GREEK SERIES · VOLUME 78

Hellenica

Xenophon

ΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΑ · ΙΕΡΩΝ

Hellenica

Part One: Books I–IV, with the Hiero

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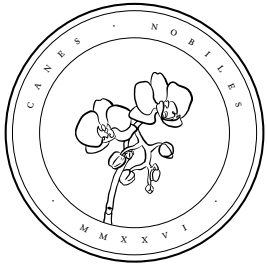
with a word-for-word interlinear English translation

preserving the original word order



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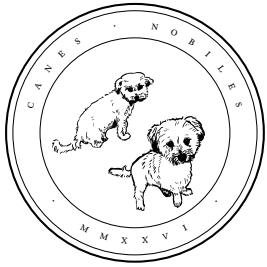

Volume 78 of the Canes Nobiles Greek interlinear texts

The Greek text follows Hude's Teubner Historia Graeca and Dindorf's
Teubner Scripta minora. Hiero I.29–38 and VIII.6 are not printed.

Set from the Perseus Digital Library, with corrections

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Words the editors seclude are printed between their square brackets, words they supply without marks; † marks a place they hold corrupt, and ∗∗∗ a lacuna.

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XENOPHON

ΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΑ

Hellenica I–IV

BOOK I

I · CYZICUS

Soon after Thymochares arrives from Athens, the Spartans under Agesandridas win a sea battle. The Athenians drive Dorieus' fourteen ships ashore at Rhoeteum but achieve nothing, and Mindarus fights them off Abydos until Alcibiades sails in with eighteen ships and routs the Peloponnesians, while Pharnabazus rides into the sea to help them. Tissaphernes imprisons Alcibiades at Sardis, but he escapes to Clazomenae. Gathering eighty-six ships, he hides their number, finds Mindarus' fleet drilling far from the harbor of Cyzicus, and lands; Mindarus dies fighting on the shore, and Cyzicus goes over to Athens. The Athenians fortify Chrysopolis to tithe the Pontic shipping and capture a Spartan letter reporting the disaster. Pharnabazus pays and arms the beaten crews and has them build new ships at Antandrus. The exiled Syracusan generals hand over their command, and Hermocrates goes to raise money for his return. Agis, turned back from the walls by Thrasyllus, sees the grain ships reaching Piraeus and sends Clearchus to Byzantium. Carthage takes Selinus and Himera.

Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα οὐ πολλαῖς ἡμέραις ὕστερον ἦλθεν 1
After and these-things not many days later came
ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν Θυμοχάρης ἔχων ναῦς ὀλίγας· καὶ εὐθὺς
from Athens Thymochares having ships few and at-once
ἐναυμάχησαν αὖθις Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ Ἀθηναῖοι, ἐνίκησαν
fought-at-sea again Lacedaemonians and Athenians won
δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἡγουμένου Ἀγησανδρίδου.
and Lacedaemonians leading Agesandridas
μετ' ὀλίγον δὲ τούτων Δωριεὺς ὁ Διαγόρου ἐκ Ῥόδου 2
after little and these-things Dorieus the son-of-Diagoras from Rhodes
εἰς Ἑλλήσποντον εἰσέπλει ἀρχομένου χειμῶνος τέτταρσι
into the-Hellespont sailed-in beginning winter with-four
καὶ δέκα νανσὶν ἅμα ἡμέρᾳ. κατιδὼν δὲ ὁ τῶν
and ten ships at-the-same-time with-day having-sighted and the of-the

Ἀθηναίων ἡμεροσκόπος ἐσήμανε τοῖς στρατηγοῖς. οἱ δὲ
Athenians day-watcher signaled to-the generals they and
ἀνηγάγοντο ἐπ᾽ αὐτὸν εἴκοσι ναυσίν, ἃς ὁ Δωριεὺς
put-out against him with-twenty ships which — Dorieus
φυγὼν πρὸς τὴν γῆν ἀνεβίβαζε τὰς αὑτοῦ τριήρεις, ὡς
fleeing toward the land ran-ashore the his-own triremes as
ἤνοιγε, περὶ τὸ Ῥοίτειον.
he-opened-way around the Rhoeteum

3 ἐγγὺς δὲ γενομένων τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐμάχοντο ἀπό τε
near and having-come the Athenians they-fought from both
τῶν νεῶν καὶ τῆς γῆς, μέχρι οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἀπέπλευσαν εἰς
the ships and the land until the Athenians sailed-off to
Μάδυτον πρὸς τὸ ἄλλο στρατόπεδον οὐδὲν πράξαντες.
Madytus to the other camp nothing having-accomplished

4 Μίνδαρος δὲ κατιδὼν τὴν μάχην ἐν Ἰλίῳ θύων τῇ Ἀθηνᾷ,
Mindarus and having-seen the battle in Ilium sacrificing — to-Athena
ἐβοήθει ἐπὶ τὴν θάλατταν, καὶ καθελκύσας τὰς ἑαυτοῦ
came-to-help to the sea and having-launched the his-own
τριήρεις ἀπέπλει, ὅπως ἀναλάβοι τὰς μετὰ Δωριέως.
triremes sailed-out so-that he-might-pick-up the-ones with Dorieus

5 οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι ἀνταναγαγόμενοι ἐναυμάχησαν περὶ
the and Athenians having-put-out-against-them fought-at-sea around
Ἄβυδον κατὰ τὴν ἠόνα μέχρι δείλης ἐξ ἑωθινοῦ. καὶ τὰ
Abydos along the shore until afternoon from early-morning and partly
μὲν νικώντων, τὰ δὲ νικωμένων, Ἀλκιβιάδης ἐπεισπλεῖ
indeed winning partly but being-beaten Alcibiades sails-in
δυοῖν δεούσαις εἴκοσι ναυσίν.
with-two lacking twenty ships

6 ἐντεῦθεν δὲ φυγὴ τῶν Πελοποννησίων ἐγένετο πρὸς τὴν
thereupon and flight of-the Peloponnesians came-about toward —
Ἄβυδον· καὶ ὁ Φαρνάβαζος παρεβοήθει, καὶ ἐπεισβαίνων
Abydos and — Pharnabazus came-to-help-alongside and riding-in

τῷ ἵππῳ εἰς τὴν θάλατταν μέχρι δυνατὸν ἦν ἐμάχετο,
with-the horse into the sea as-far-as possible it-was he-fought
καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις τοῖς αὑτοῦ ἱππεῦσι καὶ πεζοῖς παρεκελεύετο.
and to-the others the his-own horsemen and foot-soldiers gave-encouragement
συμφράξαντες δὲ τὰς ναῦς οἱ Πελοποννήσιοι καὶ 7
having-fenced-together and the ships the Peloponnesians and
παραταξάμενοι πρὸς τῇ γῇ ἐμάχοντο. Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ
having-drawn-up by the land fought Athenians but
ἀπέπλευσαν, τριάκοντα ναῦς τῶν πολεμίων λαβόντες
sailed-off thirty ships of-the enemies having-taken
κενὰς καὶ ἃς αὐτοὶ ἀπώλεσαν κομισάμενοι, εἰς Σηστόν.
empty and which themselves they-had-lost having-recovered to Sestus
ἐντεῦθεν πλὴν τετταράκοντα νεῶν ἄλλαι ἄλλῃ ᾤχοντο ἐπ᾽ 8
thereupon except forty ships others other-ways went for
ἀργυρολογίαν ἔξω τοῦ Ἑλλησπόντου· καὶ ὁ Θράσυλλος,
money-collecting outside the Hellespont and — Thrasyllus
εἷς ὢν τῶν στρατηγῶν, εἰς Ἀθήνας ἔπλευσε ταῦτα
one being of-the generals to Athens sailed these-things
ἐξαγγελῶν καὶ στρατιὰν καὶ ναῦς αἰτήσων.
to-report and army and ships to-ask-for
μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Τισσαφέρνης ἦλθεν εἰς Ἑλλήσποντον· 9
after and these-things Tissaphernes came to the-Hellespont
ἀφικόμενον δὲ παρ᾽ αὐτὸν μιᾷ τριήρει Ἀλκιβιάδην
having-come and to him with-one trireme Alcibiades
ξένιά τε καὶ δῶρα ἄγοντα συλλαβὼν εἶρξεν ἐν Σάρδεσι,
guest-gifts both and gifts bringing having-arrested he-shut-up in Sardis
φάσκων κελεύειν βασιλέα πολεμεῖν Ἀθηναίοις.
claiming to-command the-king to-make-war on-Athenians

10 ἡμέραις δὲ τριάκοντα ὕστερον Ἀλκιβιάδης ἐκ Σάρδεων μετὰ
days and thirty later Alcibiades from Sardis with
Μαντιθέου τοῦ ἁλόντος ἐν Καρίᾳ ἵππων εὐπορήσαντες
Mantitheus the-one captured in Caria horses having-got-plenty-of
νυκτὸς ἀπέδρασαν εἰς Κλαζομενάς.
by-night ran-away to Clazomenae

11 οἱ δ' ἐν Σηστῷ Ἀθηναῖοι αἰσθόμενοι Μίνδαρον πλεῖν
the and in Sestus Athenians having-perceived Mindarus to-sail
ἐπ' αὐτοὺς μέλλοντα ναυσὶν ἑξήκοντα, νυκτὸς ἀπέδρασαν
against them intending with-ships sixty by-night ran-away
εἰς Καρδίαν. ἐνταῦθα δὲ καὶ Ἀλκιβιάδης ἦκεν ἐκ τῶν
to Cardia there and also Alcibiades came from the
Κλαζομενῶν σὺν πέντε τριήρεσι καὶ ἐπακτρίδι. πυθόμενος
Clazomenae with five triremes and a-skiff having-learned
δὲ ὅτι αἱ τῶν Πελοποννησίων νῆες ἐξ Ἀβύδου ἀνηγμέναι
and that the of-the Peloponnesians ships from Abydos having-put-out
εἶεν εἰς Κύζικον, αὐτὸς μὲν πεζῇ ἦλθεν εἰς Σηστόν, τὰς
were to Cyzicus himself indeed on-foot came to Sestus the
δὲ ναῦς περιπλεῖν ἐκεῖσε ἐκέλευσεν.
but ships to-sail-around thither he-ordered

12 ἐπεὶ δ' ἦλθον, ἀνάγεσθαι ἤδη αὐτοῦ μέλλοντος ὡς
when and they-came to-put-out already him intending as
ἐπὶ ναυμαχίαν ἐπεισπλεῖ Θηραμένης εἴκοσι ναυσὶν ἀπὸ
for sea-battle sails-in Theramenes with-twenty ships from
Μακεδονίας, ἅμα δὲ καὶ Θρασύβουλος εἴκοσιν
Macedonia at-the-same-time and also Thrasybulus with-twenty
ἑτέραις ἐκ Θάσου, ἀμφότεροι ἠργυρολογηκότες.
others from Thasos both having-collected-money

13 Ἀλκιβιάδης δὲ εἰπὼν καὶ τούτοις διώκειν αὐτὸν
Alcibiades and having-told also these to-pursue him
ἐξελομένοις τὰ μεγάλα ἱστία αὐτὸς ἔπλευσεν εἰς Πάριον·
having-taken-out the large sails himself sailed to Parium

ἁθρόαι δὲ γενόμεναι αἱ νῆες ἅπασαι ἐν Παρίῳ ἓξ καὶ
all-together and having-become the ships all in Parium six and
ὀγδοήκοντα τῆς ἐπιούσης νυκτὸς ἀνηγάγοντο, καὶ τῇ
eighty the following night put-out and on-the
ἄλλῃ ἡμέρᾳ περὶ ἀρίστου ὥραν ἦκον εἰς Προκόννησον.
next day about of-breakfast time came to Proconnesus
ἐκεῖ δ' ἐπύθοντο ὅτι Μίνδαρος ἐν Κυζίκῳ εἴη καὶ 14
there and they-learned that Mindarus in Cyzicus was and
Φαρνάβαζος μετὰ τοῦ πεζοῦ. ταύτην μὲν οὖν τὴν ἡμέραν
Pharnabazus with the infantry this indeed then the day
αὐτοῦ ἔμειναν, τῇ δὲ ὑστεραίᾳ Ἀλκιβιάδης ἐκκλησίαν
there they-remained on-the but next-day Alcibiades assembly
ποιήσας παρεκελεύετο αὐτοῖς ὅτι ἀνάγκη εἴη καὶ ναυμαχεῖν
having-made exhorted them that necessity it-was both to-fight-at-sea
καὶ πεζομαχεῖν καὶ τειχομαχεῖν· Οὐ γὰρ ἔστιν, ἔφη,
and to-fight-on-land and to-fight-at-walls Not for there-is he-said
χρήματα ἡμῖν, τοῖς δὲ πολεμίοις ἄφθονα παρὰ βασιλέως.
money to-us to-the but enemies abundant from the-king
τῇ δὲ προτεραίᾳ, ἐπειδὴ ὡρμίσαντο, τὰ πλοῖα πάντα, καὶ 15
on-the and day-before when they-anchored the boats all also
τὰ μικρά, συνήθροισε παρ' ἑαυτόν, ὅπως μηδεὶς ἐξαγγείλαι
the small he-gathered beside himself so-that no-one might-report
τοῖς πολεμίοις τὸ πλῆθος τῶν νεῶν, ἐπεκήρυξέ τε, ὃς
to-the enemies the number of-the ships he-proclaimed and whoever
ἂν ἁλίσκηται εἰς τὸ πέραν διαπλέων, θάνατον τὴν ζημίαν.
— be-caught to the other-side crossing death the penalty
μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν παρασκευασάμενος ὡς ἐπὶ 16
after and the assembly having-prepared as for
ναυμαχίαν ἀνηγάγετο ἐπὶ τὴν Κύζικον ὄντος πολλῷ.
sea-battle he-put-out against — Cyzicus raining heavily
ἐπειδὴ δ' ἐγγὺς τῆς Κυζίκου ἦν, αἰθρίας γενομένης καὶ
when and near — Cyzicus he-was clear-sky having-come and

τοῦ ἡλίου ἐκλάμψαντος καθορᾷ τὰς τοῦ Μινδάρου ναῦς
the sun having-shone-out he-sees the — of-Mindarus ships
γυμναζομένας πόρρω ἀπὸ τοῦ λιμένος καὶ ἀπειλημμένας
exercising far from the harbor and cut-off
ἀπ᾽ αὐτοῦ, ἑξήκοντα οὔσας.
from it sixty being

17 οἱ δὲ Πελοποννήσιοι, ἰδόντες τὰς τῶν Ἀθηναίων τριήρεις
the and Peloponnesians having-seen the of-the Athenians triremes
οὔσας πλείους τε πολλῷ ἢ πρότερον καὶ πρὸς τῷ
being more both by-much than before and near the
λιμένι, ἔφυγον εἰς τὴν γῆν· καὶ συνορμίσαντες τὰς ναῦς
harbor fled to the land and having-moored-together the ships
ἐμάχοντο ἐπιπλέουσι τοῖς ἐναντίοις.
fought sailing-at-(them) with-the opponents

18 Ἀλκιβιάδης δὲ ταῖς εἴκοσι τῶν νεῶν περιπλεύσας ἀπέβη
Alcibiades and with-the twenty of-the ships having-sailed-around landed
εἰς τὴν γῆν. ἰδὼν δὲ ὁ Μίνδαρος, καὶ αὐτὸς ἀποβὰς
on the land having-seen and — Mindarus also himself having-landed
ἐν τῇ γῇ μαχόμενος ἀπέθανεν· οἱ δὲ μετ᾽ αὐτοῦ ὄντες
on the land fighting died the-ones but with him being
ἔφυγον. τὰς δὲ ναῦς οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ᾤχοντο ἄγοντες ἁπάσας
fled the but ships the Athenians went bringing all
εἰς Προκόννησον πλὴν τῶν Συρακοσίων· ἐκείνας δὲ αὐτοὶ
to Proconnesus except the Syracusans those but themselves
κατέκαυσαν οἱ Συρακόσιοι.
burned the Syracusans

19 ἐκεῖθεν δὲ τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ ἔπλεον οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐπὶ Κύζικον.
thence and on-the next-day sailed the Athenians against Cyzicus
οἱ δὲ Κυζικηνοὶ τῶν Πελοποννησίων καὶ Φαρναβάζου
the and Cyzicenes the Peloponnesians and Pharnabazus
ἐκλιπόντων αὐτὴν ἐδέχοντο τοὺς Ἀθηναίους.
having-abandoned it received the Athenians

Ἀλκιβιάδης δὲ μείνας αὐτοῦ εἴκοσιν ἡμέρας καὶ χρήματα 20
Alcibiades and having-remained there twenty days and money
πολλὰ λαβὼν παρὰ τῶν Κυζικηνῶν οὐδὲν ἄλλο κακὸν
much having-taken from the Cyzicenes no other harm
ἐργασάμενος ἐν τῇ πόλει ἀπέπλευσεν εἰς Προκόννησον.
having-done in the city sailed-off to Proconnesus
ἐκεῖθεν δ' ἔπλευσεν εἰς Πέρινθον καὶ Σηλυμβρίαν.
thence and he-sailed to Perinthus and Selymbria
καὶ Περίνθιοι μὲν εἰσεδέξαντο εἰς τὸ ἄστυ τὸ στρατόπεδον· 21
and Perinthians indeed received into the town the army
Σηλυμβριανοὶ δὲ ἐδέξαντο μὲν οὔ, χρήματα δὲ ἔδοσαν.
Selymbrians but received indeed not money but gave
ἐντεῦθεν δ' ἀφικόμενοι τῆς Καλχηδονίας εἰς Χρυσόπολιν 22
thence and having-arrived of-the Chalcedonian-land at Chrysopolis
ἐτείχισαν αὐτήν, καὶ δεκατευτήριον κατεσκεύασαν ἐν αὐτῇ
they-fortified it and a-tithe-house they-set-up in it
καὶ τὴν δεκάτην ἐξέλεγον τῶν ἐκ τοῦ Πόντου πλοίων καὶ
and the tenth collected of-the from the Pontus boats and
φυλακὴν ἐγκαταλιπόντες ναῦς τριάκοντα καὶ στρατηγὼ
a-guard having-left-behind ships thirty and generals
δύο, Θηραμένη καὶ Εὔμαχον, τοῦ τε χωρίου ἐπιμελεῖσθαι
two Theramenes and Eumachus of-the both place to-take-care
καὶ τῶν ἐκπλεόντων πλοίων καὶ εἴ τι ἄλλο δύναιντο
and of-the sailing-out boats and if anything else they-could
βλάπτειν τοὺς πολεμίους. οἱ δ' ἄλλοι στρατηγοὶ εἰς τὸν
to-harm the enemies the but other generals to the
Ἑλλήσποντον ᾤχοντο.
Hellespont went
παρὰ δὲ Ἱπποκράτους τοῦ Μινδάρου ἐπιστολέως εἰς 23
from and Hippocrates — of-Mindarus vice-admiral to
Λακεδαίμονα γράμματα πεμφθέντα ἑάλωσαν εἰς Ἀθήνας
Lacedaemon letter sent was-captured to Athens

λέγοντα τάδε· Ἔρρει τὰ κᾶλα. Μίνδαρος [δ'] ἀπεσσύα.
saying the-following Gone the ships Mindarus and is-dead
πεινῶντι τῶνδρες. ἀπορίομες τί χρὴ δρᾶν.
are-hungry the-men we-are-at-a-loss what must-one do
24 Φαρνάβαζος δὲ παντὶ τῷ τῶν Πελοποννησίων στρατεύματι
Pharnabazus and all the of-the Peloponnesians army
καὶ τοῖς συμμάχοις παρακελευσάμενος μὴ ἀθυμεῖν ἕνεκα
and the allies having-exhorted not to-lose-heart for-the-sake
ξύλων, ὡς ὄντων πολλῶν ἐν τῇ βασιλέως, ἕως ἂν
of-timber since being much in the of-the-king's as-long-as —
τὰ σώματα σᾶ ᾖ, ἱμάτιόν τ' ἔδωκεν ἑκάστῳ καὶ
the bodies safe be cloak both he-gave to-each and
ἐφόδιον δυοῖν μηνοῖν, καὶ ὁπλίσας τοὺς ναύτας φύλακας
provisions for-two months and having-armed the sailors as-guards
κατέστησε τῆς ἑαυτοῦ παραθαλαττίας γῆς.
he-set of-the his-own coastal land
25 καὶ συγκαλέσας τούς τε ἀπὸ τῶν πόλεων στρατηγοὺς
and having-called-together the both from the cities generals
καὶ τριηράρχους ἐκέλευε ναυπηγεῖσθαι τριήρεις ἐν Ἀντάνδρῳ
and trierarchs he-bade to-build triremes in Antandrus
ὅσας ἕκαστοι ἀπώλεσαν, χρήματά τε διδοὺς καὶ ὕλην
as-many-as each lost money both giving and timber
ἐκ τῆς Ἴδης κομίζεσθαι φράζων.
from — Ida to-bring telling
26 ναυπηγουμένων δὲ οἱ Συρακόσιοι ἅμα τοῖς Ἀνταν δρίοις
being-built and the Syracusans together-with the Antandrians
τοῦ τείχους τι ἐπετέλεσαν, καὶ ἐν τῇ φρουρᾷ ἤρεσαν
of-the wall some-part completed and in the garrison pleased
πάντων μάλιστα. διὰ ταῦτα δὲ εὐεργεσία τε καὶ
of-all most because-of these-things and benefaction both and

πολιτεία Συρακοσίοις ἐν Ἀντάνδρῳ ἐστί. Φαρνάβαζος μὲν
citizenship for-Syracusans in Antandrus is Pharnabazus indeed
οὖν ταῦτα διατάξας εὐθὺς εἰς Καλχηδόνα ἐβοήθει.
then these-things having-arranged at-once to Chalcedon came-to-help
Ἐν δὲ τῷ χρόνῳ τούτῳ ἠγγέλθη τοῖς τῶν Συρακοσίων 27
In and the time this it-was-announced to-the of-the Syracusans
στρατηγοῖς οἴκοθεν ὅτι φεύγοιεν ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου.
generals from-home that they-were-exiled by the people
συγκαλέσαντες οὖν τοὺς ἑαυτῶν στρατιώτας Ἑρμοκράτους
having-called-together then the their-own soldiers Hermocrates
προηγοροῦντος ἀπωλοφύροντο τὴν ἑαυτῶν συμφοράν, ὡς
speaking-for-them they-lamented the their-own misfortune how
ἀδίκως φεύγοιεν ἅπαντες παρὰ τὸν νόμον· παρῄνεσάν
unjustly they-were-exiled all against the law they-exhorted
τε προθύμους εἶναι καὶ τὰ λοιπά, ὥσπερ τὰ πρότερα,
and eager to-be also the rest as the former
καὶ ἄνδρας ἀγαθοὺς πρὸς τὰ ἀεὶ παραγγελλόμενα,
also men good toward the always ordered-things
μεμνημένους ὅσας τε ναυμαχίας αὐτοὶ [τε] καθ' αὑτοὺς
remembering how-many both sea-battles yourselves both by yourselves
νενικήκατε καὶ ναῦς εἰλήφατε, ὅσα τε μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων
you-have-won and ships you-have-taken how-many both with the others
ἀήττητοι γεγόνατε ἡμῶν ἡγουμένων, τάξιν ἔχοντες τὴν
undefeated you-have-become us leading station having the
κρατίστην διά τε τὴν ἡμετέραν ἀρετὴν καὶ διὰ τὴν
strongest because-of both the our valor and because-of the
ὑμετέραν προθυμίαν καὶ κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν
your eagerness both by land and by sea
ὑπάρχουσαν· ἑλέσθαι δὲ ἐκέλευον ἄρχοντας, μέχρι ἂν
existing to-choose and they-bade commanders until —
ἀφίκωνται οἱ ἠρημένοι ἀντ' ἐκείνων.
arrive the-ones chosen in-place-of them

28 οἱ δ' ἀναβοήσαντες ἐκέλευον κείνους ἄρχειν, καὶ μάλιστα
they but having-shouted bade them to-rule and most
οἱ τριήραρχοι καὶ οἱ ἐπιβάται καὶ οἱ κυβερνῆται. οἱ δ' οὐκ
the trierarchs and the marines and the helmsmen they but not
ἔφασαν δεῖν στασιάζειν πρὸς τὴν ἑαυτῶν πόλιν· εἰ δέ
said it-was-needful to-make-faction against the their-own city if and
τις ἐπικαλοίη τι αὐτοῖς, λόγον ἔφασαν χρῆναι διδόναι.
anyone should-charge anything them account they-said it-was-needful to-give
29 οὐδενὸς δὲ οὐδὲν ἐπαιτιωμένου, δεομένων ἔμειναν, ἕως
no-one and anything charging asking they-remained until
ἀφίκοντο οἱ ἀντ' ἐκείνων στρατηγοί, Δήμαρχός τ'
arrived the-ones in-place-of them generals Demarchus both
Ἐπικύδου καὶ Μύσκων Μενεκράτους καὶ Πόταμις Γνώσιος.
son-of-Epicydes and Myscon son-of-Menecrates and Potamis son-of-Gnosis
τῶν δὲ τριηράρχων ὀμόσαντες οἱ πλεῖστοι κατάξειν
of-the and trierarchs having-sworn the most to-restore
αὐτούς, ἐπὰν εἰς Συρακούσας ἀφίκωνται, ἀπεπέμψαντο
them when to Syracuse they-arrive sent-them-off
ὅποι ἐβούλοντο πάντας ἐπαινοῦντες·
wherever they-wished all praising
30 ἰδίᾳ δὲ οἱ πρὸς Ἑρμοκράτη προσομιλοῦντες μάλιστα
privately and the-ones with Hermocrates associating most
ἐπόθησαν τήν τε ἐπιμέλειαν καὶ προθυμίαν καὶ κοινότητα.
missed the both care and eagerness and affability
ὧν γὰρ ἐγίγνωσκε τοὺς ἐπιεικεστάτους καὶ τριηράρχων
whom for he-knew the most-capable both of-trierarchs
καὶ κυβερνητῶν καὶ ἐπιβατῶν, ἑκάστης ἡμέρας τὸ πρῲ
and of-helmsmen and of-marines every day the early
καὶ πρὸς ἑσπέραν συναλίζων πρὸς τὴν σκηνὴν τὴν ἑαυτοῦ
and toward evening gathering to the tent the his-own
ἀνεξυνοῦτο ὅ τι ἔμελλεν ἢ λέγειν ἢ πράττειν,
he-shared what ever he-was-about either to-say or to-do

κἀκείνους ἐδίδασκε κελεύων λέγειν τὰ μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ
and-those he-taught bidding to-speak partly indeed from the
παραχρῆμα, τὰ δὲ βουλευσαμένους.
moment partly but having-deliberated
ἐκ τούτων Ἑρμοκράτης τὰ πολλὰ ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῳ 31
from these-things Hermocrates the most-part in the council
ηὐδόξει, λέγειν τε δοκῶν καὶ βουλεύειν τὰ κράτιστα.
was-well-regarded to-speak both seeming and to-advise the best
κατηγορήσας δὲ Τισσαφέρνους ἐν Λακεδαίμονι Ἑρμοκράτης,
having-accused and Tissaphernes in Lacedaemon Hermocrates
μαρτυροῦντος καὶ Ἀστυόχου, καὶ δόξας τὰ ὄντα
testifying also Astyochus and having-seemed the things-being
λέγειν, ἀφικόμενος παρὰ Φαρνάβαζον, πρὶν αἰτῆσαι
to-say having-come to Pharnabazus before to-ask
χρήματα λαβών, παρεσκευάζετο πρὸς τὴν εἰς Συρακούσας
money having-received he-prepared for the to Syracuse
κάθοδον ξένους τε καὶ τριήρεις. ἐν τούτῳ δὲ ἦκον οἱ
return mercenaries both and triremes in this and came the
διάδοχοι τῶν Συρακοσίων εἰς Μίλητον καὶ παρέλαβον
successors of-the Syracusans to Miletus and took-over
τὰς ναῦς καὶ τὸ στράτευμα.
the ships and the army
Ἐν Θάσῳ δὲ κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν τοῦτον στάσεως 32
In Thasos and about the time this faction
γενομένης ἐκπίπτουσιν οἱ λακωνισταὶ καὶ ὁ Λάκων
having-arisen are-expelled the laconizers and the Laconian
ἁρμοστὴς Ἐτεόνικος. καταιτιαθεὶς δὲ ταῦτα πρᾶξαι σὺν
harmost Eteonicus having-been-accused and these-things to-have-done with
Τισσαφέρνει Πασιππίδας ὁ Λάκων ἔφυγεν ἐκ Σπάρτης· ἐπὶ
Tissaphernes Pasippidas the Laconian was-exiled from Sparta to

δὲ τὸ ναυτικόν, ὃ ἐκεῖνος ἠθροίκει ἀπὸ τῶν συμμάχων,
and the fleet which that-one had-gathered from the allies
ἐξεπέμφθη Κρατησιππίδας, καὶ παρέλαβεν ἐν Χίῳ.
was-sent-out Cratesippidas and took-it-over in Chios

33 περὶ δὲ τούτους τοὺς χρόνους Θρασύλλου ἐν Ἀθήναις
about and these the times Thrasyllus in Athens
ὄντος Ἄγις ἐκ τῆς Δεκελείας προνομὴν ποιούμενος
being Agis from — Decelea foraging making
πρὸς αὐτὰ τὰ τείχη ἦλθε τῶν Ἀθηναίων· Θράσυλλος δὲ
to the-very the walls came of-the Athenians Thrasyllus and
ἐξαγαγὼν Ἀθηναίους καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους τοὺς ἐν τῇ πόλει
having-led-out Athenians and the others the-ones in the city
ὄντας ἅπαντας παρέταξε παρὰ τὸ Λύκειον [γυμνάσιον],
being all drew-up beside the Lyceum gymnasium
ὡς μαχούμενος, ἂν προσίωσιν.
as going-to-fight if they-approach

34 ἰδὼν δὲ ταῦτα Ἄγις ἀπήγαγε ταχέως, καί τινες
having-seen and these-things Agis led-away quickly and some
αὐτῶν ὀλίγοι τῶν ἐπὶ πᾶσιν ὑπὸ τῶν ψιλῶν
of-them few of-the-ones behind all by the light-troops
ἀπέθανον. οἱ οὖν Ἀθηναῖοι τῷ Θρασύλλῳ διὰ ταῦτα
died the then Athenians — toward-Thrasyllus because-of these-things
ἔτι προθυμότεροι ἦσαν ἐφ' ἃ ἦκε, καὶ ἐψηφίσαντο
still more-eager were for what he-had-come and voted
ὁπλίτας τε αὐτὸν καταλέξασθαι χιλίους, ἱππέας δὲ
hoplites both him to-enlist thousand horsemen and
ἑκατόν, τριήρεις δὲ πεντήκοντα.
hundred triremes and fifty

35 Ἄγις δὲ ἐκ τῆς Δεκελείας ἰδὼν πλοῖα πολλὰ σίτου εἰς
Agis and from — Decelea having-seen boats many of-grain to
Πειραιᾶ καταθέοντα, οὐδὲν ὄφελος ἔφη εἶναι τοὺς μετ'
Piraeus running-in no benefit he-said to-be the-ones with

αὐτοῦ πολὺν ἤδη χρόνον Ἀθηναίους εἴργειν τῆς γῆς, εἰ
him much already time Athenians to-shut-out from-the land if
μή τις σχήσοι καὶ ὅθεν ὁ κατὰ θάλατταν σῖτος φοιτᾷ·
not someone should-hold also whence the by sea grain comes
κράτιστόν τε εἶναι [καὶ] Κλέαρχον τὸν Ῥαμφίου πρόξενον
best both to-be also Clearchus the son-of-Ramphias proxenus
ὄντα Βυζαντίων πέμψαι εἰς Καλχηδόνα τε καὶ Βυζάντιον.
being of-Byzantines to-send to Chalcedon both and Byzantium
δόξαντος δὲ τούτου, πληρωθεισῶν νεῶν ἔκ τε Μεγάρων 36
having-seemed-good and this having-been-manned ships from both Megara
καὶ παρὰ τῶν ἄλλων συμμάχων πεντεκαίδεκα στρατιωτίδων
and from the other allies fifteen troop-carriers
μᾶλλον ἢ ταχειῶν ᾤχετο. καὶ αὐτοῦ τῶν νεῶν τρεῖς
rather than swift he-went and of-him of-the ships three
ἀπόλλυνται ἐν τῷ Ἑλλησπόντῳ ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀττικῶν ἐννέα
are-lost in the Hellespont by the Attic nine
νεῶν, αἳ ἀεὶ ἐνταῦθα τὰ πλοῖα διεφύλαττον, αἱ δ' ἄλλαι
ships which always there the boats guarded the but others
ἔφυγον εἰς Σηστόν, ἐκεῖθεν δὲ εἰς Βυζάντιον ἐσώθησαν.
fled to Sestus thence and to Byzantium were-saved
καὶ ὁ ἐνιαυτὸς ἔληγεν, ἐν ᾧ Καρχηδόνιοι Ἀννίβα 37
and the year was-ending in which Carthaginians Hannibal
ἡγουμένου στρατεύσαντες ἐπὶ Σικελίαν δέκα μυριάσι
leading having-campaigned against Sicily with-ten ten-thousands
στρατιᾶς αἱροῦσιν ἐν τρισὶ μησὶ δύο πόλεις Ἑλληνίδας
of-army take in three months two cities Greek
Σελινοῦντα καὶ Ἱμέραν.
Selinus and Himera

Thrasyllus sails to Samos with the fleet Athens voted him, ravages the land of Pygela, wins over Colophon, and raids Lydia. He attacks Ephesus from two sides, but Tissaphernes' troops, the Ephesians, and the Syracusans rout both his divisions, and the Ephesians reward the Syracusans and the Selinuntines. Thrasyllus takes four Syracusan ships off Methymna, stones Alcibiades' cousin, and joins the other army, which winters at Lampsacus. There Alcibiades' undefeated soldiers refuse to be ranked with Thrasyllus' beaten ones until the two armies win together against Pharnabazus at Abydos. Syracusan prisoners dig out of the quarries at Piraeus. The Spartans let the Helots of Coryphasium go under truce; seven hundred settlers die at Heraclea in Trachis, and the Medes return to Darius.

1 Τῷ δὲ ἄλλῳ ἔτει, [ᾧ ἦν Ὀλυμπιὰς τρίτη καὶ ἐνενηκοστή,
In-the and next year in-which was Olympiad third and ninetieth
ᾗ προστεθεῖσα ξυνωρὶς ἐνίκα Εὐαγόρου Ἠλείου, τὸ δὲ
in-which added two-horse-team won of-Euagoras Elean the and
στάδιον Εὐβώτας Κυρηναῖος, ἐπὶ ἐφόρου μὲν ὄντος ἐν
stadium Eubotas Cyrenaean in-the-time-of ephor indeed being in
Σπάρτῃ Εὐαρχίππου, ἄρχοντος δ' ἐν Ἀθήναις Εὐκτήμονος],
Sparta Euarchippus archon and in Athens Euctemon
Ἀθηναῖοι μὲν Θορικὸν ἐτείχισαν, Θράσυλλος δὲ τά τε
Athenians indeed Thoricus fortified Thrasyllus but the both
ψηφισθέντα πλοῖα λαβὼν καὶ πεντακισχιλίοις τῶν
voted boats having-taken and for-five-thousand of-the
ναυτῶν πελτὰς ποιησάμενος ὡς ἅμα καὶ πελτασταῖς
sailors light-shields having-made as at-the-same-time also peltasts
ἐσομένοις ἐξέπλευσεν ἀρχομένου τοῦ θέρους εἰς Σάμον.
going-to-be sailed-out beginning the summer to Samos

2 ἐκεῖ δὲ μείνας τρεῖς ἡμέρας ἔπλευσεν εἰς Πύγελα· καὶ
there and having-remained three days he-sailed to Pygela and
ἐνταῦθα τήν τε χώραν ἐδῄου καὶ προσέβαλλε τῷ τείχει.
there the both land he-ravaged and attacked the wall

ἐκ δὲ τῆς Μιλήτου βοηθήσαντές τινες τοῖς Πυγελεῦσι
from and — Miletus having-come-to-help some to-the Pygelans
διεσπαρμένους [ὄντας] τῶν Ἀθηναίων τοὺς ψιλοὺς ἐδίωκον.
scattered being of-the Athenians the light-troops pursued
οἱ δὲ πελτασταὶ καὶ τῶν ὁπλιτῶν δύο λόχοι βοηθήσαντες 3
the but peltasts and of-the hoplites two companies having-come-to-help
πρὸς τοὺς αὐτῶν ψιλοὺς ἀπέκτειναν ἅπαντας τοὺς ἐκ
to the their-own light-troops killed all the-ones from
Μιλήτου ἐκτὸς ὀλίγων, καὶ ἀσπίδας ἔλαβον ὡς διακοσίας,
Miletus except few and shields took about two-hundred
καὶ τροπαῖον ἔστησαν.
and a-trophy set-up
τῇ δὲ ὑστεραίᾳ ἔπλευσαν εἰς Νότιον, καὶ ἐντεῦθεν 4
on-the and next-day they-sailed to Notium and thence
παρασκευασάμενοι ἐπορεύοντο εἰς Κολοφῶνα. Κολοφώνιοι
having-prepared they-marched to Colophon Colophonians
δὲ προσεχώρησαν. καὶ τῆς ἐπιούσης νυκτὸς ἐνέβαλον εἰς
and came-over and the following night they-invaded into
τὴν Λυδίαν ἀκμάζοντος τοῦ σίτου, καὶ κώμας τε πολλὰς
— Lydia being-ripe the grain and villages both many
ἐνέπρησαν καὶ χρήματα ἔλαβον καὶ ἀνδράποδα καὶ ἄλλην
burned and money took and slaves and other
λείαν πολλήν.
booty much
Στάγης δὲ ὁ Πέρσης περὶ ταῦτα τὰ χωρία ὤν, ἐπεὶ οἱ 5
Stages and the Persian about these the places being when the
Ἀθηναῖοι ἐκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου διεσκεδασμένοι ἦσαν κατὰ
Athenians from the camp scattered were for
τὰς ἰδίας λείας, βοηθησάντων τῶν ἱππέων ἕνα μὲν ζῶν
the private plunders having-come-to-help the horsemen one indeed alive
ἔλαβεν, ἑπτὰ δὲ ἀπέκτεινε.
took seven but killed

6 Θράσυλλος δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα ἀπήγαγεν ἐπὶ θάλατταν τὴν
Thrasyllus and after these-things led-away to sea the
στρατιάν, ὡς εἰς Ἔφεσον πλευσούμενος. Τισσαφέρνης δὲ
army as to Ephesus going-to-sail Tissaphernes but
αἰσθόμενος τοῦτο τὸ ἐπιχείρημα στρατιάν τε συνέλεγε
having-perceived this the undertaking army both gathered
πολλὴν καὶ ἱππέας ἀπέστελλε παραγγέλλων πᾶσιν [εἰς
much and horsemen sent ordering all to
Ἔφεσον] βοηθεῖν τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι.
Ephesus to-help — Artemis

7 Θράσυλλος δὲ ἑβδόμῃ καὶ δεκάτῃ ἡμέρᾳ μετὰ τὴν
Thrasyllus and on-the-seventh and tenth day after the
εἰσβολὴν εἰς Ἔφεσον ἀπέπλευσε, καὶ τοὺς μὲν ὁπλίτας
invasion to Ephesus sailed and the indeed hoplites
πρὸς τὸν Κορησσὸν ἀποβιβάσας, τοὺς δὲ ἱππέας καὶ
by — Coressus having-landed the and horsemen and
πελταστὰς καὶ ἐπιβάτας καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους πάντας πρὸς
peltasts and marines and the others all by
τὸ ἕλος ἐπὶ τὰ ἕτερα τῆς πόλεως, ἅμα τῇ
the marsh on the other-side of-the city at-the-same-time with-the
ἡμέρᾳ προσῆγε δύο στρατόπεδα.
day led-up two armies

8 οἱ δ' ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἐβοήθησαν σφίσιν οἵ τε σύμμαχοι,
the and from the city came-to-help them the both allies
οὓς Τισσαφέρνης ἤγαγε, καὶ Συρακόσιοι οἵ τ' ἀπὸ
whom Tissaphernes brought and Syracusans the-ones both from
τῶν προτέρων εἴκοσι νεῶν καὶ ἀπὸ ἑτέρων πέντε, αἳ
the former twenty ships and from other five which
ἔτυχον τότε παραγενόμεναι, νεωστὶ ἥκουσαι μετὰ Εὐκλέους
happened then having-arrived lately having-come with Eucles

τε τοῦ Ἵππωνος καὶ Ἡρακλείδου τοῦ Ἀριστογένους
both the son-of-Hippon and Heraclides the son-of-Aristogenes
στρατηγῶν καὶ Σελινούσιαι δύο.
generals and Selinuntine two
οὗτοι δὲ πάντες πρῶτον μὲν πρὸς τοὺς ὁπλίτας τοὺς 9
these and all first indeed against the hoplites the-ones
ἐν Κορησσῷ ἐβοήθησαν, τούτους δὲ τρεψάμενοι καὶ
at Coressus came-to-help these and having-routed and
ἀποκτείναντες ἐξ αὐτῶν ὡσεὶ ἑκατὸν καὶ εἰς τὴν θάλατταν
having-killed of them about hundred and into the sea
καταδιώξαντες πρὸς τοὺς παρὰ τὸ ἕλος ἐτράποντο. ἔφυγον
having-pursued against the-ones beside the marsh turned fled
δὲ κἀκεῖ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ ἀπώλοντο αὐτῶν ὡς τριακόσιοι.
and there-too the Athenians and perished of-them about three-hundred
οἱ δὲ Ἐφέσιοι τροπαῖον ἐνταῦθα ἔστησαν καὶ ἕτερον πρὸς τῷ 10
the and Ephesians a-trophy there set-up and another at —
Κορησσῷ. τοῖς δὲ Συρακοσίοις καὶ Σελινουσίοις κρατίστοις
Coressus to-the and Syracusans and Selinuntines best
γενομένοις ἀριστεῖα ἔδωκαν καὶ κοινῇ καὶ ἰδίᾳ πολλοῖς,
having-proved prizes-of-valor they-gave both in-common and privately to-many
καὶ οἰκεῖν ἀτελεῖ ἔδοσαν τῷ βουλομένῳ ἀεί. Σελινουσίοις
and to-dwell tax-free they-gave to-the-one wishing always to-Selinuntines
δέ, ἐπεὶ ἡ πόλις ἀπωλώλει, καὶ πολιτείαν ἔδοσαν.
and since the city had-perished also citizenship they-gave
οἱ δ' Ἀθηναῖοι τοὺς νεκροὺς ὑποσπόνδους ἀπολαβόντες 11
the and Athenians the dead under-truce having-recovered
ἀπέπλευσαν εἰς Νότιον, κἀκεῖ θάψαντες αὐτοὺς ἔπλεον
sailed-off to Notium and-there having-buried them they-sailed
εὐθὺ Λέσβου καὶ Ἑλλησπόντου.
straight for-Lesbos and the-Hellespont

12 ὁρμοῦντες δὲ ἐν Μηθύμνῃ τῆς Λέσβου εἶδον παραπλεούσας
lying-at-anchor and in Methymna — of-Lesbos they-saw sailing-past
ἐξ Ἐφέσου τὰς Συρακοσίας ναῦς πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι· καὶ
from Ephesus the Syracusan ships five and twenty and
ἐπ᾽ αὐτὰς ἀναχθέντες τέτταρας μὲν ἔλαβον αὐτοῖς
against them having-put-out four indeed they-took together-with-their
ἀνδράσι, τὰς δ᾽ ἄλλας κατεδίωξαν εἰς Ἔφεσον.
men the but others they-chased to Ephesus
13 καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους αἰχμαλώτους Θράσυλλος εἰς Ἀθήνας
and the indeed other prisoners Thrasyllus to Athens
ἀπέπεμψε πάντας, Ἀλκιβιάδην δὲ Ἀθηναῖον, Ἀλκιβιάδου
sent-off all Alcibiades but Athenian of-Alcibiades
ὄντα ἀνεψιὸν καὶ συμφυγάδα, κατέλευσεν. ἐντεῦθεν δὲ
being cousin and fellow-exile he-stoned thence and
ἔπλευσεν εἰς τὸν Σηστὸν πρὸς τὸ ἄλλο στράτευμα·
he-sailed to — Sestus to the other army
14 ἐκεῖθεν δὲ ἅπασα ἡ στρατιὰ διέβη εἰς Λάμψακον. καὶ
thence and all the army crossed to Lampsacus and
χειμὼν ἐπῄει, ἐν ᾧ οἱ αἰχμάλωτοι Συρακόσιοι, εἰργμένοι
winter came-on in which the prisoner Syracusans shut-up
τοῦ Πειραιῶς ἐν λιθοτομίαις, διορύξαντες τὴν πέτραν,
of-the Piraeus in stone-quarries having-dug-through the rock
ἀποδράντες νυκτὸς ᾤχοντο εἰς Δεκέλειαν, οἱ δ᾽ εἰς
having-run-away by-night went to Decelea the-others and to
Μέγαρα.
Megara
15 ἐν δὲ τῇ Λαμψάκῳ συντάττοντος Ἀλκιβιάδου τὸ στράτευμα
in and — Lampsacus marshaling Alcibiades the army
πᾶν οἱ πρότεροι στρατιῶται οὐκ ἐβούλοντο τοῖς μετὰ
whole the earlier soldiers not wished with-the-ones with
Θρασύλλου συντάττεσθαι, ὡς αὐτοὶ μὲν ὄντες ἀήττητοι,
Thrasyllus to-be-marshaled as themselves indeed being undefeated

κεῖνοι δὲ ἡττημένοι ἥκοιεν. ἐνταῦθα δὴ ἐχείμαζον ἅπαντες
those but defeated had-come there indeed wintered all
Λάμψακον τειχίζοντες.
Lampsacus fortifying
καὶ ἐστράτευσαν πρὸς Ἄβυδον· Φαρνάβαζος δ' ἐβοήθησεν 16
and they-campaigned against Abydos Pharnabazus and came-to-help
ἵπποις πολλοῖς, καὶ μάχῃ ἡττηθεὶς ἔφυγεν. Ἀλκιβιάδης δὲ
with-horses many and in-battle defeated fled Alcibiades and
ἐδίωκεν ἔχων τούς τε ἱππέας καὶ τῶν ὁπλιτῶν εἴκοσι καὶ
pursued having the both horsemen and of-the hoplites twenty and
ἑκατόν, ὧν ἦρχε Μένανδρος, μέχρι σκότος ἀφείλετο.
hundred whom commanded Menander until darkness took-away
ἐκ δὲ τῆς μάχης ταύτης συνέβησαν οἱ στρατιῶται αὐτοὶ 17
from and the battle this came-together the soldiers themselves
αὑτοῖς καὶ ἠσπάζοντο τοὺς μετὰ Θρασύλλου. ἐξῆλθον
with-themselves and embraced the-ones with Thrasyllus they-went-out
δέ τινας καὶ ἄλλας ἐξόδους τοῦ χειμῶνος εἰς τὴν ἤπειρον
and some also other expeditions of-the winter into the mainland
καὶ ἐπόρθουν τὴν βασιλέως χώραν.
and ravaged the of-the-king land
τῷ δ' αὐτῷ χρόνῳ καὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι τοὺς εἰς τὸ 18
in-the and same time also Lacedaemonians the-ones to the
Κορυφάσιον τῶν Εἱλώτων ἀφεστῶτας ἐκ Μαλέας
Coryphasium of-the Helots having-revolted from Malea
ὑποσπόνδους ἀφῆκαν. κατὰ δὲ τὸν αὐτὸν καιρὸν
under-truce let-go at and the same moment
καὶ ἐν Ἡρακλείᾳ τῇ Τραχινίᾳ Ἀχαιοὶ τοὺς ἐποίκους,
also in Heraclea the Trachinian Achaeans the settlers
ἀντιτεταγμένων πάντων πρὸς Οἰταίους πολεμίους ὄντας,
drawn-up all against Oetaeans enemies being

προέδοσαν, ὥστε ἀπολέσθαι αὐτῶν πρὸς ἑπτακοσίους σὺν
betrayed so-that to-perish of-them about seven-hundred with
τῷ ἐκ Λακεδαίμονος ἁρμοστῇ Λαβώτῃ.
the from Lacedaemon harmost Labotas
19 καὶ ὁ ἐνιαυτὸς ἔληγεν οὗτος, ἐν ᾧ καὶ Μῆδοι
and the year was-ending this in which also Medes
ἀπὸ Δαρείου τοῦ Περσῶν βασιλέως ἀποστάντες πάλιν
from Darius the of-the-Persians king having-revolted again
προσεχώρησαν αὐτῷ.
came-over to-him

III · CHALCEDON AND BYZANTIUM

The Athenians wall off Chalcedon from sea to sea. Its harmost Hippocrates comes out and is killed, and Pharnabazus, kept off by the river and the walls, agrees with the generals to pay twenty talents, to have the Chalcedonians pay their tribute, and to conduct Athenian envoys to the king. He waits for Alcibiades, back from taking Selymbria, to swear as well, but Alcibiades will swear only if Pharnabazus swears to him, and their deputies exchange the oaths. The envoys set out with Pharnabazus, Spartan envoys and the exiled Hermocrates among them. The Athenians then besiege Byzantium, where Clearchus commands. While he crosses to Pharnabazus for pay and ships, Byzantines open the Thracian gates at night and let Alcibiades in, and the garrison surrenders. Coeratadas slips away at Piraeus. One of the betrayers, tried later at Sparta, is acquitted on the plea that Clearchus fed the soldiers while the city's women and children starved.

1 Τοῦ δ' ἐπιόντος ἔτους ὁ ἐν Φωκαίᾳ νεὼς τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς
Of-the and following year the in Phocaea temple — of-Athena
ἐνεπρήσθη πρηστῆρος ἐμπεσόντος. ἐπεὶ δ' ὁ χειμὼν
was-burned a-lightning-bolt having-fallen-in when and the winter
ἔληγε, [Παντακλέους μὲν ἐφορεύοντος, ἄρχοντος δ'
was-ending Pantacles indeed being-ephor archon and

Ἀντιγένους, ἔαρος ἀρχομένου, δυοῖν καὶ εἴκοσιν ἐτῶν
Antigenes spring beginning two and twenty years
τῷ πολέμῳ παρεληλυθότων], οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἔπλευσαν εἰς
for-the war having-passed the Athenians sailed to
Προκόννησον παντὶ τῷ στρατοπέδῳ.
Proconnesus with-all the army
ἐκεῖθεν δ' ἐπὶ Καλχηδόνα καὶ Βυζάντιον ὁρμήσαντες 2
thence and against Chalcedon and Byzantium having-set-out
ἐστρατοπεδεύσαντο πρὸς Καλχηδόνι. οἱ δὲ Καλχηδόνιοι
they-encamped by Chalcedon the and Chalcedonians
προσιόντας αἰσθόμενοι τοὺς Ἀθηναίους, τὴν λείαν ἅπασαν
approaching having-perceived the Athenians the booty all
κατέθεντο εἰς τοὺς Βιθυνοὺς Θρᾷκας ἀστυγείτονας ὄντας.
deposited with the Bithynian Thracians neighbors being
Ἀλκιβιάδης δὲ λαβὼν τῶν τε ὁπλιτῶν ὀλίγους καὶ 3
Alcibiades and having-taken of-the both hoplites few and
τοὺς ἱππέας, καὶ τὰς ναῦς παραπλεῖν κελεύσας, ἐλθὼν
the horsemen and the ships to-sail-along having-ordered having-come
εἰς τοὺς Βιθυνοὺς ἀπῄτει τὰ τῶν Καλχηδονίων χρήματα·
to the Bithynians demanded the of-the Chalcedonians property
εἰ δὲ μή, πολεμήσειν ἔφη αὐτοῖς. οἱ δὲ ἀπέδοσαν.
if but not to-make-war he-said on-them they and gave-it-back
Ἀλκιβιάδης δ' ἐπεὶ ἦκεν εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον τήν τε λείαν 4
Alcibiades and when he-came to the camp the both booty
ἔχων καὶ πίστεις πεποιημένος, ἀπετείχιζε τὴν Καλχηδόνα
having and pledges having-made walled-off — Chalcedon
παντὶ τῷ στρατοπέδῳ ἀπὸ θαλάττης εἰς θάλατταν καὶ
with-all the army from sea to sea and
τοῦ ποταμοῦ ὅσον οἷόν τ' ἦν ξυλίνῳ τείχει.
of-the river as-much-as possible — it-was with-a-wooden wall

5 ἐνταῦθα Ἱπποκράτης μὲν ὁ Λακεδαιμόνιος ἁρμοστὴς ἐκ
there Hippocrates indeed the Lacedaemonian harmost from
τῆς πόλεως ἐξήγαγε τοὺς στρατιώτας ὡς μαχούμενος·
the city led-out the soldiers as going-to-fight
οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι ἀντιπαρετάξαντο αὐτῷ, Φαρνάβαζος δὲ
the and Athenians drew-up-against him Pharnabazus and
ἔξωθεν τῶν περιτειχισμάτων ἐβοήθει στρατιᾷ τε καὶ
from-outside the circumvallations came-to-help with-army both and
ἵπποις πολλοῖς.
horses many

6 Ἱπποκράτης μὲν οὖν καὶ Θράσυλλος ἐμάχοντο ἑκάτερος
Hippocrates indeed then and Thrasyllus fought each
τοῖς ὁπλίταις χρόνον πολύν, μέχρι Ἀλκιβιάδης ἔχων ὁπλίτας
with-the hoplites time long until Alcibiades having hoplites
τέ τινας καὶ τοὺς ἱππέας ἐβοήθησε. καὶ Ἱπποκράτης μὲν
both some and the horsemen came-to-help and Hippocrates indeed
ἀπέθανεν, οἱ δὲ μετ᾽ αὐτοῦ ὄντες ἔφυγον εἰς τὴν πόλιν.
died the-ones but with him being fled into the city

7 ἅμα δὲ καὶ Φαρνάβαζος, οὐ δυνάμενος συμμεῖξαι
at-the-same-time and also Pharnabazus not being-able to-join-up
πρὸς τὸν Ἱπποκράτη διὰ τὴν στενοπορίαν, τοῦ ποταμοῦ
with — Hippocrates because-of the narrowness of-the river
καὶ τῶν ἀποτειχισμάτων ἐγγὺς ὄντων, ἀπεχώρησεν εἰς
and the blockade-walls near being withdrew to
τὸ Ἡράκλειον τὸ τῶν Καλχηδονίων, οὗ ἦν αὐτῷ τὸ
the Heracleum the of-the Chalcedonians where was his the
στρατόπεδον.
camp

8 ἐκ τούτου δὲ Ἀλκιβιάδης μὲν ᾤχετο εἰς τὸν
after this and Alcibiades indeed went to the
Ἑλλήσποντον καὶ εἰς Χερρόνησον χρήματα πράξων· οἱ
Hellespont and to Chersonese money to-exact the

δὲ λοιποὶ στρατηγοὶ συνεχώρησαν πρὸς Φαρνάβαζον ὑπὲρ
but remaining generals agreed with Pharnabazus for
Καλχηδόνος εἴκοσι τάλαντα δοῦναι Ἀθηναίοις Φαρνάβαζον
Chalcedon twenty talents to-give to-Athenians Pharnabazus
καὶ ὡς βασιλέα πρέσβεις Ἀθηναίων ἀναγαγεῖν,
and to the-king envoys of-Athenians to-conduct-up
καὶ ὅρκους ἔδοσαν καὶ ἔλαβον παρὰ Φαρναβάζου 9
and oaths they-gave and received from Pharnabazus
ὑποτελεῖν τὸν φόρον Καλχηδονίους Ἀθηναίοις ὅσονπερ
to-pay the tribute Chalcedonians to-Athenians just-as-much-as
εἰώθεσαν καὶ τὰ ὀφειλόμενα χρήματα ἀποδοῦναι,
they-were-accustomed and the owed money to-pay-back
Ἀθηναίους δὲ μὴ πολεμεῖν Καλχηδονίοις, ἕως ἂν οἱ παρὰ
Athenians and not to-make-war on-Chalcedonians until — the from
βασιλέως πρέσβεις ἔλθωσιν.
the-king envoys come
Ἀλκιβιάδης δὲ τοῖς [τε] ὅρκοις οὐκ ἐτύγχανε παρών, 10
Alcibiades and at-the both oaths not happened being-present
ἀλλὰ περὶ Σηλυμβρίαν ἦν· κείνην δ' ἑλὼν πρὸς τὸ
but around Selymbria was that and having-taken to —
Βυζάντιον ἦκεν, ἔχων Χερρονησίτας τε πανδημεὶ καὶ ἀπὸ
Byzantium came having Chersonesites both in-full-force and from
Θρᾴκης στρατιώτας καὶ ἱππέας πλείους τριακοσίων.
Thrace soldiers and horsemen more than-three-hundred
Φαρνάβαζος δὲ ἀξιῶν δεῖν κἀκεῖνον ὀμνύναι, περιέμενεν 11
Pharnabazus and deeming it-necessary that-one-too to-swear waited
ἐν Καλχηδόνι, μέχρι ἔλθοι ἐκ τοῦ Βυζαντίου· ἐπειδὴ δὲ
in Chalcedon until he-came from — Byzantium when and
ἦκεν, οὐκ ἔφη ὀμεῖσθαι, εἰ μὴ κἀκεῖνος αὐτῷ ὀμεῖται.
he-came not he-said he-would-swear if not that-one-too to-him would-swear

12 μετὰ ταῦτα ὤμοσεν ὁ μὲν ἐν Χρυσοπόλει οἷς
after these-things swore the-one indeed in Chrysopolis to-those-whom
Φαρνάβαζος ἔπεμψε Μιτροβάτῃ καὶ Ἀρνάπει, ὁ δ'
Pharnabazus sent to-Mitrobates and Arnapes the-other and
ἐν Καλχηδόνι τοῖς παρ' Ἀλκιβιάδου Εὐρυπτολέμῳ καὶ
in Chalcedon to-the-ones from Alcibiades to-Euryptolemus and
Διοτίμῳ τόν τε κοινὸν ὅρκον καὶ ἰδίᾳ ἀλλήλοις πίστεις
Diotimus the both common oath and privately to-one-another pledges
ἐποιήσαντο.
they-made

13 Φαρνάβαζος μὲν οὖν εὐθὺς ἀπῄει, καὶ τοὺς παρὰ βασιλέα
Pharnabazus indeed then at-once went-away and the-ones to the-king
πορευομένους πρέσβεις ἀπαντᾶν ἐκέλευσεν εἰς Κύζικον.
traveling envoys to-meet he-bade at Cyzicus
ἐπέμφθησαν δὲ Ἀθηναίων μὲν Δωρόθεος, Φιλοκύδης,
were-sent and of-Athenians indeed Dorotheus Philocydes
Θεογένης, Εὐρυπτόλεμος, Μαντίθεος, σὺν δὲ τούτοις
Theogenes Euryptolemus Mantitheus with and these
Ἀργεῖοι Κλεόστρατος, Πυρρόλοχος· ἐπορεύοντο δὲ καὶ
Argives Cleostratus Pyrrholochus traveled and also
Λακεδαιμονίων πρέσβεις Πασιππίδας καὶ ἕτεροι, μετὰ δὲ
of-Lacedaemonians envoys Pasippidas and others with and
τούτων καὶ Ἑρμοκράτης, ἤδη φεύγων ἐκ Συρακουσῶν,
these also Hermocrates already being-exiled from Syracuse
καὶ ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ Πρόξενος.
and the brother his Proxenus

14 καὶ Φαρνάβαζος μὲν τούτους ἦγεν· οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι τὸ
and Pharnabazus indeed these led the but Athenians —
Βυζάντιον ἐπολιόρκουν περιτειχίσαντες, καὶ πρὸς τὸ τεῖχος
Byzantium besieged having-walled-around and against the wall
ἀκροβολισμοὺς καὶ προσβολὰς ἐποιοῦντο.
skirmishes and assaults made

ἐν δὲ τῷ Βυζαντίῳ ἦν Κλέαρχος Λακεδαιμόνιος ἁρμοστὴς 15
in and — Byzantium was Clearchus Lacedaemonian harmost
καὶ σὺν αὐτῷ τῶν περιοίκων τινὲς καὶ τῶν νεοδαμώδων
and with him of-the perioeci some and of-the neodamodes
οὐ πολλοὶ καὶ Μεγαρεῖς καὶ ἄρχων αὐτῶν Ἕλιξος
not many and Megarians and commander of-them Helixus
Μεγαρεὺς καὶ Βοιωτοὶ καὶ τούτων ἄρχων Κοιρατάδας.
Megarian and Boeotians and of-these commander Coeratadas
οἱ δ᾽ Ἀθηναῖοι ὡς οὐδὲν ἐδύναντο διαπράξασθαι κατ᾽ 16
the and Athenians as nothing they-could to-accomplish by
ἰσχύν, ἔπεισάν τινας τῶν Βυζαντίων προδοῦναι τὴν πόλιν.
force persuaded some of-the Byzantines to-betray the city
Κλέαρχος δὲ ὁ ἁρμοστὴς οἰόμενος οὐδένα ἂν τοῦτο 17
Clearchus and the harmost thinking no-one — this
ποιῆσαι, καταστήσας δὲ ἅπαντα ὡς ἐδύνατο κάλλιστα
to-do having-settled and all as he-could best
καὶ ἐπιτρέψας τὰ ἐν τῇ πόλει Κοιρατάδᾳ καὶ Ἑλίξῳ,
and having-entrusted the-things in the city to-Coeratadas and Helixus
διέβη παρὰ τὸν Φαρνάβαζον εἰς τὸ πέραν, μισθόν τε τοῖς
crossed to — Pharnabazus to the other-side pay both for-the
στρατιώταις παρ᾽ αὐτοῦ ληψόμενος καὶ ναῦς συλλέξων, αἳ
soldiers from him going-to-get and ships going-to-collect which
ἦσαν ἐν τῷ Ἑλλησπόντῳ ἄλλαι ἄλλῃ καταλελειμμέναι
were in the Hellespont other in-other-places left-behind
φρουρίδες ὑπὸ Πασιππίδου καὶ ἃς Ἀγησανδρίδας εἶχεν
guard-ships by Pasippidas and which Agesandridas had
ἐπὶ Θρᾴκης, ἐπιβάτης ὢν Μινδάρου, καὶ ὅπως καὶ
in-the-region-of Thrace marine being of-Mindarus and so-that also
ἐν Ἀντάνδρῳ ἄλλαι ναυπηγηθείησαν, ἁθρόαι δὲ γενόμεναι
in Antandrus others might-be-built all-together and having-become

πᾶσαι κακῶς τοὺς συμμάχους τῶν Ἀθηναίων ποιοῦσαι
all badly the allies of-the Athenians treating
ἀποσπάσειαν τὸ στρατόπεδον ἀπὸ τοῦ Βυζαντίου.
might-draw-off the army from — Byzantium
18 ἐπεὶ δ' ἐξέπλευσεν ὁ Κλέαρχος, οἱ προδιδόντες τὴν πόλιν
when and sailed-out — Clearchus the-ones betraying the city
τῶν Βυζαντίων, Κύδων καὶ Ἀρίστων καὶ Ἀναξικράτης καὶ
of-the Byzantines Cydon and Ariston and Anaxicrates and
Λυκοῦργος καὶ Ἀναξίλαος (ὃς ὑπαγόμενος θανάτου ὕστερον
Lycurgus and Anaxilaus who being-tried for-his-life later
19 ἐν Λακεδαίμονι διὰ τὴν προδοσίαν ἀπέφυγεν
in Lacedaemon because-of the betrayal was-acquitted
ἀπολογούμενος, ὅτι οὐ προδοίη τὴν πόλιν, ἀλλὰ σώσαι,
defending-himself that not he-betrayed the city but saved
παῖδας ὁρῶν καὶ γυναῖκας λιμῷ ἀπολλυμένους, Βυζάντιος
children seeing and women by-hunger perishing Byzantine
ὢν καὶ οὐ Λακεδαιμόνιος· τὸν γὰρ ἐνόντα σῖτον
being and not Lacedaemonian the for being-within grain
Κλέαρχον τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίων στρατιώταις διδόναι· διὰ
Clearchus to-the of-Lacedaemonians soldiers was-giving because-of
ταῦτ' οὖν τοὺς πολεμίους ἔφη εἰσέσθαι, οὐκ ἀργυρίου
these-things then the enemies he-said to-have-let-in not of-silver
ἕνεκα οὐδὲ διὰ τὸ μισεῖν Λακεδαιμονίους)·
for-the-sake nor because-of the to-hate Lacedaemonians
20 ἐπεὶ δὲ αὐτοῖς παρεσκεύαστο, νυκτὸς ἀνοίξαντες τὰς
when and for-them it-had-been-prepared by-night having-opened the
πύλας τὰς ἐπὶ τὸ Θρᾴκιον καλουμένας εἰσήγαγον τὸ
gates the-ones toward the Thracian called they-led-in the
στράτευμα καὶ τὸν Ἀλκιβιάδην.
army and — Alcibiades

ὁ δὲ Ἕλιξος καὶ ὁ Κοιρατάδας οὐδὲν τούτων εἰδότες 21
— *and Helixus and — Coeratadas nothing of-these knowing*
ἐβοήθουν μετὰ πάντων εἰς τὴν ἀγοράν· ἐπεὶ δὲ πάντῃ
came-to-help with all into the agora when but everywhere
οἱ πολέμιοι κατεῖχον, οὐδὲν ἔχοντες ὅ τι ποιήσαιεν,
the enemies held nothing having what ever they-should-do
παρέδοσαν σφᾶς αὐτούς.
surrendered themselves —
καὶ οὗτοι μὲν ἀπεπέμφθησαν εἰς Ἀθήνας, καὶ ὁ 22
and these indeed were-sent-off to Athens and —
Κοιρατάδας ἐν τῷ ὄχλῳ ἀποβαινόντων ἐν Πειραιεῖ
Coeratadas in the crowd disembarking in Piraeus
ἔλαθεν ἀποδρὰς καὶ ἀπεσώθη εἰς Δεκέλειαν.
escaped-notice running-away and got-safe to Decelea

IV · ALCIBIADES COMES HOME

The Athenian envoys to the king meet the Spartan embassy and Cyrus, now commander of the coast, and Pharnabazus holds them for three years. Alcibiades raises money in Caria while Thrasybulus subdues Thrace. Elected general in his absence, Alcibiades sails into Piraeus on the day of the Plynteria; the crowd argues over him, but he is named commander with full powers, escorts the Mysteries procession by land, and sails against Andros.

Φαρνάβαζος δὲ καὶ οἱ πρέσβεις τῆς Φρυγίας ἐν Γορδιείῳ 1
Pharnabazus and also the envoys — of-Phrygia in Gordium
ὄντες τὸν χειμῶνα τὰ περὶ τὸ Βυζάντιον πεπραγμένα
being the winter the-things about — Byzantium done
ἤκουσαν.
heard

2 ἀρχομένου δὲ τοῦ ἔαρος πορευομένοις αὐτοῖς παρὰ
beginning and the spring traveling them to
βασιλέα ἀπήντησαν καταβαίνοντες οἵ τε Λακεδαιμονίων
the-king met coming-down the both of-Lacedaemonians
πρέσβεις, Βοιώτιος [ὄνομα] καὶ οἱ μετ' αὐτοῦ καὶ οἱ
envoys Boeotius by-name and the-ones with him and the
ἄλλοι [ἄγγελοι], λέγοντες ὅτι Λακεδαιμόνιοι ὧν δέονται
other messengers saying that Lacedaemonians what they-ask
πάντων πεπραγότες εἶεν παρὰ βασιλέως,
all having-obtained were from the-king
3 καὶ Κῦρος, ἄρξων πάντων τῶν ἐπὶ θαλάττῃ καὶ
and Cyrus going-to-rule all the-ones by sea and
συμπολεμήσων Λακεδαιμονίοις, ἐπιστολήν τε ἔφερε τοῖς
going-to-make-war-with Lacedaemonians letter both bore to-the
κάτω πᾶσι τὸ βασίλειον σφράγισμα ἔχουσαν, ἐν ᾗ
below all the royal seal having in which
ἐνῆν καὶ τάδε· Καταπέμπω Κῦρον κάρανον τῶν εἰς
was also the-following I-send-down Cyrus karanos of-the-ones at
Καστωλὸν ἀθροιζομένων. τὸ δὲ κάρανόν ἔστι κύριον.
Castolus mustering the and karanos is lord
4 ταῦτ' οὖν ἀκούοντες οἱ τῶν Ἀθηναίων πρέσβεις, καὶ
these-things then hearing the of-the Athenians envoys and
ἐπειδὴ Κῦρον εἶδον, ἐβούλοντο μὲν μάλιστα παρὰ βασιλέα
when Cyrus they-saw wished indeed most to the-king
ἀναβῆναι, εἰ δὲ μή, οἴκαδε ἀπελθεῖν.
to-go-up if but not home to-go-away
5 Κῦρος δὲ Φαρναβάζῳ εἶπεν ἢ παραδοῦναι τοὺς πρέσβεις
Cyrus and to-Pharnabazus said either to-hand-over the envoys
ἑαυτῷ ἢ μὴ οἴκαδέ πω ἀποπέμψαι, βουλόμενος τοὺς
to-himself or not home yet to-send-away wishing the
Ἀθηναίους μὴ εἰδέναι τὰ πραττόμενα.
Athenians not to-know the-things being-done

Φαρνάβαζος δὲ τέως μὲν κατεῖχε τοὺς πρέσβεις, 6
Pharnabazus and for-a-while indeed detained the envoys
φάσκων τοτὲ μὲν ἀνάξειν αὐτοὺς παρὰ βασιλέα,
claiming at-one-time indeed to-conduct-up them to the-king
τοτὲ δὲ οἴκαδε ἀποπέμψειν, ὡς μηδὲν μέμψησθε·
at-another but home to-send-away so-that in-nothing you-may-blame
ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἐνιαυτοὶ ἦσαν τρεῖς, ἐδεήθη τοῦ Κύρου ἀφεῖναι 7
when and years were three he-asked — Cyrus to-let-go
αὐτούς, φάσκων ὀμωμοκέναι καὶ ἀπάξειν ἐπὶ θάλατταν,
them claiming to-have-sworn also to-take-back to sea
ἐπειδὴ οὐ παρὰ βασιλέα. πέμψαντες δὲ Ἀριοβαρζάνει
since not to the-king having-sent and to-Ariobarzanes
παρακομίσαι αὐτοὺς ἐκέλευον· ὁ δὲ ἀπήγαγεν εἰς Κίον
to-escort them they-bade he and led-them-away to Cius
τῆς Μυσίας, ὅθεν πρὸς τὸ ἄλλο στρατόπεδον ἀπέπλευσαν.
— of-Mysia whence to the other army they-sailed-off
Ἀλκιβιάδης δὲ βουλόμενος μετὰ τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἀποπλεῖν 8
Alcibiades and wishing with the soldiers to-sail-off
οἴκαδε, ἀνήχθη εὐθὺς ἐπὶ Σάμου· ἐκεῖθεν δὲ λαβὼν τῶν
home put-out straight for Samos thence and having-taken of-the
νεῶν εἴκοσιν ἔπλευσε τῆς Καρίας εἰς τὸν Κεραμικὸν κόλπον.
ships twenty he-sailed — of-Caria into the Ceramic gulf
ἐκεῖθεν δὲ συλλέξας ἑκατὸν τάλαντα ἦκεν εἰς τὴν 9
thence and having-collected hundred talents he-came to —
Σάμον. Θρασύβουλος δὲ σὺν τριάκοντα ναυσὶν ἐπὶ
Samos Thrasybulus and with thirty ships to-the-region-of
Θρᾴκης ᾤχετο, ἐκεῖ δὲ τά τε ἄλλα χωρία τὰ πρὸς
Thrace went there and the both other places the-ones to
Λακεδαιμονίους μεθεστηκότα κατεστρέψατο καὶ Θάσον,
Lacedaemonians having-gone-over he-subdued and Thasos
ἔχουσαν κακῶς ὑπό τε τῶν πολέμων καὶ στάσεων καὶ λιμοῦ.
faring badly from both the wars and factions and hunger

10 Θράσυλλος δὲ σὺν τῇ ἄλλῃ στρατιᾷ εἰς Ἀθήνας
Thrasyllus and with the other army to Athens
κατέπλευσε· πρὶν δὲ ἥκειν αὐτὸν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι στρατηγοὺς
sailed-home before and to-come him the Athenians generals
εἵλοντο Ἀλκιβιάδην μὲν φεύγοντα καὶ Θρασύβουλον
chose Alcibiades indeed being-exiled and Thrasybulus
ἀπόντα, Κόνωνα δὲ τρίτον ἐκ τῶν οἴκοθεν.
being-absent Conon and third from the-ones at-home

11 Ἀλκιβιάδης δ' ἐκ τῆς Σάμου ἔχων τὰ χρήματα κατέπλευσεν
Alcibiades and from — Samos having the money sailed-down
εἰς Πάρον ναυσὶν εἴκοσιν, ἐκεῖθεν δ' ἀνήχθη εὐθὺ
to Paros with-ships twenty thence and he-put-out straight-for
Γυθείου ἐπὶ κατασκοπὴν τῶν τριήρων, ἃς ἐπυνθάνετο
Gytheum for observation of-the triremes which he-learned
Λακεδαιμονίους αὐτόθι παρασκευάζειν τριάκοντα, καὶ τοῦ
Lacedaemonians there were-preparing thirty and of-the
οἴκαδε κατάπλου ὅπως ἡ πόλις πρὸς αὐτὸν ἔχοι.
home return how the city toward him was-disposed

12 ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἑώρα αὐτῷ εὔνουν οὖσαν καὶ στρατηγὸν
when and he-saw toward-himself well-disposed being and general
αὐτὸν ᾑρημένους καὶ ἰδίᾳ μεταπεμπομένους τοὺς
him having-chosen and privately sending-for-him the
ἐπιτηδείους, κατέπλευσεν εἰς τὸν Πειραιᾶ ἡμέρᾳ ᾗ
friends he-sailed-in into the Piraeus on-the-day on-which
Πλυντήρια ἦγεν ἡ πόλις, τοῦ ἕδους κατακεκαλυμμένου
Plynteria was-holding the city the image being-veiled
τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς, ὅ τινες οἰωνίζοντο ἀνεπιτήδειον εἶναι καὶ
— of-Athena which some took-as-omen unfavorable to-be both
αὐτῷ καὶ τῇ πόλει. Ἀθηναίων γὰρ οὐδεὶς ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ
for-him and for-the city of-Athenians for no-one on this the
ἡμέρᾳ οὐδενὸς σπουδαίου ἔργου τολμήσαι ἂν ἅψασθαι.
day any serious work would-dare — to-touch

καταπλέοντος δ᾽ αὐτοῦ ὅ τε καὶ ἐκ τοῦ Πειραιῶς 13
sailing-in and him the both also from the Piraeus
καὶ ὁ ἐκ τοῦ ἄστεως ὄχλος ἠθροίσθη πρὸς τὰς ναῦς,
and the from the town crowd gathered at the ships
θαυμάζοντες καὶ ἰδεῖν βουλόμενοι τὸν Ἀλκιβιάδην, λέγοντες
wondering and to-see wishing — Alcibiades saying
[ὅτι] οἱ μὲν ὡς κράτιστος εἴη τῶν πολιτῶν καὶ
that the-ones indeed that best he-was of-the citizens and
μόνος †ἀπελογήθη ὡς οὐ δικαίως φύγοι, ἐπιβουλευθεὶς
alone defended-himself that not justly had-been-exiled plotted-against
δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν ἔλαττον ἐκείνου δυναμένων μοχθηρότερά τε
but by the-ones less than-him able wickeder-things both
λεγόντων καὶ πρὸς τὸ αὑτῶν ἴδιον κέρδος πολιτευόντων,
speaking and for the their-own private gain conducting-politics
κείνου [δ᾽] ἀεὶ τὸ [τε] κοινὸν αὔξοντος καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν
of-him but always the both common-good increasing both from the
αὑτοῦ καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ τῆς πόλεως δυνατοῦ·
his-own and from the of-the city power
ἐθέλοντος δὲ τότε κρίνεσθαι παραχρῆμα τῆς αἰτίας 14
being-willing and then to-be-tried at-once the charge
ἄρτι γεγενημένης ὡς ἠσεβηκότος εἰς τὰ μυστήρια,
just having-arisen that he-had-committed-impiety against the mysteries
ὑπερβαλλόμενοι οἱ ἐχθροὶ τὰ δοκοῦντα δίκαια εἶναι
putting-off the enemies the-things seeming just to-be
ἀπόντα αὐτὸν ἐστέρησαν τῆς πατρίδος·
absent him deprived of-the fatherland
ἐν ᾧ χρόνῳ ὑπὸ ἀμηχανίας δουλεύων ἠναγκάσθη μὲν 15
in which time from helplessness being-a-slave he-was-forced indeed
θεραπεύειν τοὺς ἐχθίστους, κινδυνεύων ἀεὶ παρ᾽ ἑκάστην
to-court the bitterest-enemies being-in-danger always on each
ἡμέραν ἀπολέσθαι· τοὺς δὲ οἰκειοτάτους πολίτας τε καὶ
day to-perish the but nearest citizens both and

συγγενεῖς καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἅπασαν ὁρῶν ἐξαμαρτάνουσαν,
kinsmen and the city whole seeing erring
οὐκ εἶχεν ὅπως ὠφελοίη φυγῇ ἀπειργόμενος·
not he-had how he-could-help by-exile shut-out
16 οὐκ ἔφασαν δὲ τῶν οἵωνπερ αὐτὸς ὄντων εἶναι καινῶν
not they-said and of-the such-as-very himself being it-was new
δεῖσθαι πραγμάτων οὐδὲ μεταστάσεως· ὑπάρχειν γὰρ ἐκ
to-need affairs nor change there-was for from
τοῦ δήμου αὐτῷ μὲν τῶν τε ἡλικιωτῶν πλέον ἔχειν
the people for-him indeed than-the both age-mates more to-have
τῶν τε πρεσβυτέρων μὴ ἐλαττοῦσθαι, τοῖς δ' αὐτοῦ
than-the both elders not to-be-worsted to-the but his
ἐχθροῖς τοιούτοις δοκεῖν εἶναι οἵοισπερ πρότερον, ὕστερον
enemies such to-seem to-be as-very before later
δὲ δυνασθεῖσιν ἀπολλύναι τοὺς βελτίστους, αὐτοὺς δὲ
and having-become-able to-destroy the best themselves and
μόνους λειφθέντας δι' αὐτὸ τοῦτο ἀγαπᾶσθαι ὑπὸ
alone left because-of the-very this to-be-loved by
τῶν πολιτῶν ὅτι ἑτέροις βελτίοσιν οὐκ εἶχον χρῆσθαι·
the citizens because others better not they-had to-use
17 οἱ δέ, ὅτι τῶν παροιχομένων αὐτοῖς κακῶν μόνος αἴτιος
others but that of-the past for-them evils alone cause
εἴη, τῶν τε φοβερῶν ὄντων τῇ πόλει γενέσθαι μόνος
he-was of-the both fearful-things being for-the city to-happen alone
κινδυνεύσαι ἡγεμὼν καταστῆναι.
he-ran-the-risk leader to-be-established
18 Ἀλκιβιάδης δὲ πρὸς τὴν γῆν ὁρμισθεὶς ἀπέβαινε μὲν
Alcibiades and to the land having-anchored disembarked indeed
οὐκ εὐθύς, φοβούμενος τοὺς ἐχθρούς· ἐπαναστὰς δὲ ἐπὶ
not at-once fearing the enemies having-stood-up but on

τοῦ καταστρώματος ἐσκόπει τοὺς αὑτοῦ ἐπιτηδείους, εἰ
the deck he-looked-for the his-own friends whether
παρείησαν.
they-were-present
κατιδὼν δὲ Εὐρυπτόλεμον τὸν Πεισιάνακτος, ἑαυτοῦ δὲ 19
having-seen and Euryptolemus the son-of-Peisianax his-own and
ἀνεψιόν, καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους οἰκείους καὶ τοὺς φίλους μετ᾽
cousin and the other relatives and the friends with
αὐτῶν, τότε ἀποβὰς ἀναβαίνει εἰς τὴν πόλιν μετὰ
them then having-disembarked goes-up into the city with
τῶν παρεσκευασμένων, εἴ τις ἅπτοιτο, μὴ ἐπιτρέπειν.
the-ones prepared if anyone should-lay-hands not to-allow
ἐν δὲ τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ ἀπολογησάμενος ὡς οὐκ 20
in and the council and the assembly having-defended-himself that not
ἠσεβήκει, εἰπὼν δὲ ὡς ἠδίκηται, λεχθέντων
he-had-committed-impiety having-said and that he-had-been-wronged said
δὲ καὶ ἄλλων τοιούτων καὶ οὐδενὸς ἀντειπόντος διὰ
and also other such-things and no-one having-spoken-against because-of
τὸ μὴ ἀνασχέσθαι ἂν τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, ἀναρρηθεὶς ἁπάντων
the not to-endure — the assembly proclaimed of-all
ἡγεμὼν αὐτοκράτωρ, ὡς οἷός τε ὢν σῶσαι τὴν προτέραν
leader with-full-power as able — being to-save the former
τῆς πόλεως δύναμιν, πρότερον μὲν τὰ μυστήρια τῶν
of-the city power first indeed the mysteries the
Ἀθηναίων κατὰ θάλατταν ἀγόντων διὰ τὸν πόλεμον,
Athenians by sea conducting because-of the war
κατὰ γῆν ἐποίησεν ἐξαγαγὼν τοὺς στρατιώτας ἅπαντας·
by land he-made having-led-out the soldiers all
μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα κατελέξατο στρατιάν, ὁπλίτας μὲν 21
after and these-things he-enlisted an-army hoplites indeed
πεντακοσίους καὶ χιλίους, ἱππέας δὲ πεντήκοντα καὶ
five-hundred and thousand horsemen and fifty and

ἑκατόν, ναῦς δ᾽ ἑκατόν. καὶ μετὰ τὸν κατάπλουν τετάρτῳ
hundred ships and hundred and after the return in-the-fourth
μηνὶ ἀνήχθη ἐπ᾽ Ἄνδρον ἀφεστηκυῖαν τῶν Ἀθηναίων, καὶ
month put-out against Andros having-revolted from-the Athenians and
μετ᾽ αὐτοῦ Ἀριστοκράτης καὶ Ἀδείμαντος ὁ Λευκολοφίδου
with him Aristocrates and Adeimantus the son-of-Leucolophides
συνεπέμφθησαν ᾑρημένοι κατὰ γῆν στρατηγοί.
were-sent-with chosen by land generals

22 Ἀλκιβιάδης δὲ τὸ στράτευμα ἀπεβίβασε τῆς Ἀνδρίας
Alcibiades and the army landed of-the Andrian
[χώρας] εἰς Γαύριον· ἐκβοηθήσαντας δὲ τοὺς Ἀνδρίους
land at Gaurium having-come-out-to-help and the Andrians
ἐτρέψαντο καὶ κατέκλεισαν εἰς τὴν πόλιν καί τινας
they-routed and shut-in into the city and some
ἀπέκτειναν οὐ πολλούς, καὶ τοὺς Λάκωνας οἳ αὐτόθι ἦσαν.
killed not many and the Laconians who there were

23 Ἀλκιβιάδης δὲ τροπαῖόν τε ἔστησε, καὶ μείνας αὐτοῦ
Alcibiades and a-trophy both set-up and having-remained there
ὀλίγας ἡμέρας ἔπλευσεν εἰς Σάμον, κἀκεῖθεν ὁρμώμενος
few days sailed to Samos and-thence setting-out
ἐπολέμει.
made-war

Lysander, the new Spartan admiral, waits at Ephesus until Cyrus reaches Sardis, then goes up to him; Cyrus promises the war his five hundred talents, his private wealth, and even his silver and gold throne. He will not raise the pay to an Attic drachma against the king's agreements, but at dinner Lysander asks him to add an obol a sailor, and Cyrus pays four obols, the arrears, and a month in advance. Cyrus will not receive the Athenian envoys. Alcibiades leaves his helmsman Antiochus in charge at Notium with orders not to attack; Antiochus provokes Lysander, and the Athenians lose fifteen triremes. Athens blames Alcibiades and chooses ten new generals, and he withdraws to his forts in the Chersonese. Phanosthenes captures the Rhodian Dorieus, and the Athenians let him go out of pity. Conon takes over the despondent fleet at Samos and raids enemy land, and Carthage takes Acragas.

Οἱ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι πρότερον τούτων οὐ πολλῷ χρόνῳ 1
The and Lacedaemonians before these-things not much time
Κρατησιππίδᾳ τῆς ναυαρχίας παρεληλυθυίας Λύσανδρον
for-Cratesippidas the admiralty having-passed Lysander
ἐξέπεμψαν ναύαρχον. ὁ δὲ ἀφικόμενος εἰς Ῥόδον καὶ ναῦς
sent-out as-admiral he and having-arrived at Rhodes and ships
ἐκεῖθεν λαβών, εἰς Κῶ καὶ Μίλητον ἔπλευσεν, ἐκεῖθεν
thence having-taken to Cos and Miletus sailed thence
δ' εἰς Ἔφεσον, καὶ ἐκεῖ ἔμεινε ναῦς ἔχων ἑβδομήκοντα
and to Ephesus and there remained ships having seventy
μέχρι οὗ Κῦρος εἰς Σάρδεις ἀφίκετο.
until — Cyrus to Sardis arrived
ἐπεὶ δ' ἦκεν, ἀνέβη πρὸς αὐτὸν σὺν τοῖς ἐκ 2
when and he-came he-went-up to him with the from
Λακεδαίμονος πρέσβεσιν. ἐνταῦθα δὴ κατά τε τοῦ
Lacedaemon envoys there indeed against both —

Τισσαφέρνους ἔλεγον ἃ πεποιηκὼς εἴη, αὐτοῦ τε Κύρου
Tissaphernes they-spoke what having-done he-was himself both Cyrus
ἐδέοντο ὡς προθυμοτάτου πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον γενέσθαι.
they-asked as most-eager for the war to-become

3 Κῦρος δὲ τόν τε πατέρα ἔφη ταῦτα ἐπεσταλκέναι καὶ
Cyrus and the both father said these-things to-have-enjoined and
αὐτὸς οὐκ ἄλλα ἐγνωκέναι, ἀλλὰ πάντα ποιήσειν· ἔχων
himself not other to-have-decided but all to-do having
δὲ ἥκειν τάλαντα πεντακόσια· ἢν δὲ ταῦτα ἐπιλίπῃ,
and to-have-come talents five-hundred if and these run-short
τοῖς ἰδίοις χρήσεσθαι ἔφη, ἃ ὁ πατὴρ αὐτῷ ἔδωκεν·
the private-means to-use he-said which the father to-him gave
ἢν δὲ καὶ ταῦτα, καὶ τὸν θρόνον κατακόψειν ἐφ' οὗ
if and also these even the throne to-break-up on which
ἐκάθητο, ὄντα ἀργυροῦν καὶ χρυσοῦν.
he-sat being silver and gold

4 οἱ δὲ ταῦτά τε ἐπῄνουν καὶ ἐκέλευον αὐτὸν τάξαι τῷ
they and these-things both praised and bade him to-fix for-the
ναύτῃ δραχμὴν Ἀττικήν, διδάσκοντες ὅτι, ἂν οὗτος ὁ
sailor a-drachma Attic teaching that if this the
μισθὸς γένηται, οἱ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ναῦται ἀπολείψουσι τὰς
pay become the of-the Athenians sailors will-leave the
ναῦς καὶ μείω χρήματα ἀναλώσει.
ships and less money he-will-spend

5 ὁ δὲ καλῶς μὲν ἔφη αὐτοὺς λέγειν, οὐ δυνατὸν δ' εἶναι
he and well indeed said them to-speak not possible but to-be
παρ' ἃ βασιλεὺς ἐπέστειλεν αὐτῷ ἄλλα ποιεῖν. εἶναι
contrary-to what the-king enjoined on-him other-things to-do to-be
δὲ καὶ τὰς συνθήκας οὕτως ἐχούσας, τριάκοντα μνᾶς
and also the agreements so holding thirty minas

ἑκάστῃ νηὶ τοῦ μηνὸς διδόναι, ὁπόσας ἂν βούλωνται
to-each ship for-the month to-give as-many-as — wish
τρέφειν Λακεδαιμόνιοι.
to-maintain Lacedaemonians
ὁ δὲ Λύσανδρος τότε μὲν ἐσιώπησε· μετὰ δὲ τὸ δεῖπνον, 6
— and Lysander then indeed was-silent after but the dinner
ἐπεὶ αὐτῷ προπιὼν ὁ Κῦρος ἤρετο τί ἂν μάλιστα
when to-him having-drunk-a-toast — Cyrus asked what — most
χαρίζοιτο ποιῶν, εἶπεν ὅτι Εἰ πρὸς τὸν μισθὸν ἑκάστῳ
he-would-gratify doing he-said that If to the pay to-each
ναύτῃ ὀβολὸν προσθείης.
sailor an-obol you-should-add
ἐκ δὲ τούτου τέτταρες ὀβολοὶ ἦν ὁ μισθός, πρότερον 7
from and this four obols was the pay before
δὲ τριώβολον. καὶ τόν τε προοφειλόμενον ἀπέδωκε
but three-obols and the both owed-before he-paid
καὶ ἔτι μηνὸς προέδωκεν, ὥστε τὸ στράτευμα πολὺ
and also of-a-month paid-in-advance so-that the army much
προθυμότερον εἶναι.
more-eager to-be
οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι ἀκούοντες [ταῦτα] ἀθύμως μὲν εἶχον, 8
the and Athenians hearing these-things despondent indeed were
ἔπεμπον δὲ πρὸς τὸν Κῦρον πρέσβεις διὰ Τισσαφέρνους.
sent but to — Cyrus envoys through Tissaphernes
ὁ δὲ οὐ προσεδέχετο, δεομένου Τισσαφέρνους καὶ λέγοντος, 9
he but not received-them asking Tissaphernes and saying
ἅπερ αὐτὸς ἐποίει πεισθεὶς ὑπ᾽ Ἀλκιβιάδου, σκοπεῖν
what-very himself did persuaded by Alcibiades to-look
ὅπως τῶν Ἑλλήνων μηδὲ οἵτινες ἰσχυροὶ ὦσιν, ἀλλὰ
how of-the Greeks not-even any strong may-be but
πάντες ἀσθενεῖς, αὐτοὶ ἐν αὑτοῖς στασιάζοντες.
all weak themselves among themselves quarreling

10 καὶ ὁ μὲν Λύσανδρος, ἐπεὶ αὐτῷ τὸ ναυτικὸν συνετέτακτο,
and — indeed Lysander when for-him the fleet had-been-organized
ἀνελκύσας τὰς ἐν τῇ Ἐφέσῳ οὔσας ναῦς ἐνενήκοντα
having-hauled-up the in — Ephesus being ships ninety
ἡσυχίαν ἦγεν, ἐπισκευάζων καὶ ἀναψύχων αὐτάς.
quiet kept refitting and drying them
11 Ἀλκιβιάδης δὲ ἀκούσας Θρασύβουλον ἔξω Ἑλλησπόντου
Alcibiades and having-heard Thrasybulus outside the-Hellespont
ἥκοντ' ἀποτειχίζειν Φώκαιαν διέπλευσε πρὸς αὐτόν,
having-come to-wall-off Phocaea sailed-across to him
καταλιπὼν ἐπὶ ταῖς ναυσὶν Ἀντίοχον τὸν αὑτοῦ
having-left-behind in-charge-of the ships Antiochus the his-own
κυβερνήτην, ἐπιστείλας μὴ ἐπιπλεῖν ἐπὶ τὰς Λυσάνδρου
helmsman having-enjoined not to-attack against the of-Lysander
ναῦς.
ships
12 ὁ δὲ Ἀντίοχος τῇ τε αὑτοῦ νηὶ καὶ ἄλλῃ ἐκ Νοτίου
— but Antiochus with-the both his-own ship and another from Notium
εἰς τὸν λιμένα τῶν Ἐφεσίων εἰσπλεύσας παρ' αὐτὰς τὰς
into the harbor of-the Ephesians having-sailed-in along the-very the
πρῴρας τῶν Λυσάνδρου νεῶν παρέπλει.
prows of-the of-Lysander ships sailed-past
13 ὁ δὲ Λύσανδρος τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ὀλίγας τῶν νεῶν
— and Lysander the indeed first few of-the ships
καθελκύσας ἐδίωκεν αὐτόν, ἐπεὶ δὲ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι τῷ
having-launched pursued him when but the Athenians —
Ἀντιόχῳ ἐβοήθουν πλείοσι ναυσί, τότε δὴ καὶ πάσας
Antiochus came-to-help with-more ships then indeed also all
συντάξας ἐπέπλει. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐκ
having-drawn-up he-sailed-against after and these-things also the Athenians from

τοῦ Νοτίου καθελκύσαντες τὰς λοιπὰς τριήρεις ἀνήχθησαν,
— Notium having-launched the remaining triremes put-out
ὡς ἕκαστος ἤνοιξεν.
as each opened-way
ἐκ τούτου δ' ἐναυμάχησαν οἱ μὲν ἐν τάξει, οἱ 14
after this and they-fought-at-sea the-ones indeed in order the
δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι διεσπαρμέναις ταῖς ναυσί, μέχρι οὗ ἔφυγον
but Athenians with-scattered the ships until — they-fled
ἀπολέσαντες πεντεκαίδεκα τριήρεις· τῶν δὲ ἀνδρῶν οἱ
having-lost fifteen triremes of-the and men the
μὲν πλεῖστοι ἐξέφυγον, οἱ δ' ἐζωγρήθησαν. Λύσανδρος
indeed most escaped the-others but were-taken-alive Lysander
δὲ τάς τε ναῦς ἀναλαβὼν καὶ τροπαῖον στήσας ἐπὶ τοῦ
and the both ships having-taken-up and a-trophy having-set-up at —
Νοτίου διέπλευσεν εἰς Ἔφεσον, οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι εἰς Σάμον.
Notium sailed-across to Ephesus the and Athenians to Samos
μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Ἀλκιβιάδης ἐλθὼν εἰς Σάμον ἀνήχθη 15
after and these-things Alcibiades having-come to Samos put-out
ταῖς ναυσὶν ἁπάσαις ἐπὶ τὸν λιμένα τῶν Ἐφεσίων, καὶ
with-the ships all against the harbor of-the Ephesians and
πρὸ τοῦ στόματος παρέταξεν, εἴ τις βούλοιτο ναυμαχεῖν.
before the mouth drew-up if anyone wished to-fight-at-sea
ἐπειδὴ δὲ Λύσανδρος οὐκ ἀντανήγαγε διὰ τὸ πολλαῖς
when but Lysander not put-out-against-him because-of the by-many
ναυσὶν ἐλαττοῦσθαι, ἀπέπλευσεν εἰς Σάμον. Λακεδαιμόνιοι
ships to-be-inferior he-sailed-off to Samos Lacedaemonians
δὲ ὀλίγῳ ὕστερον αἱροῦσι Δελφίνιον καὶ Ἠιόνα.
and little later take Delphinium and Eion
οἱ δὲ ἐν οἴκῳ Ἀθηναῖοι, ἐπειδὴ ἠγγέλθη ἡ ναυμαχία, 16
the and at home Athenians when was-announced the sea-battle
χαλεπῶς εἶχον τῷ Ἀλκιβιάδῃ, οἰόμενοι δι' ἀμέλειάν
harshly were-disposed — toward-Alcibiades thinking through negligence

τε καὶ ἀκράτειαν ἀπολωλεκέναι τὰς ναῦς, καὶ
both and lack-of-self-control to-have-lost the ships and
στρατηγοὺς εἵλοντο ἄλλους δέκα, Κόνωνα, Διομέδοντα,
generals chose other ten Conon Diomedon
Λέοντα, Περικλέα, Ἐρασινίδην, Ἀριστοκράτη, Ἀρχέστρατον,
Leon Pericles Erasinides Aristocrates Archestratus
Πρωτόμαχον, Θράσυλλον, Ἀριστογένη.
Protomachus Thrasyllus Aristogenes

17 Ἀλκιβιάδης μὲν οὖν πονήρως καὶ ἐν τῇ στρατιᾷ φερόμενος,
Alcibiades indeed then badly also in the army faring
λαβὼν τριήρη μίαν ἀπέπλευσεν εἰς Χερρόνησον εἰς τὰ
having-taken trireme one sailed-off to Chersonese to the
ἑαυτοῦ τείχη.
his-own forts

18 μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Κόνων ἐκ τῆς Ἄνδρου σὺν αἷς εἶχε
after and these-things Conon from — Andros with which he-had
ναυσὶν εἴκοσιν ψηφισαμένων Ἀθηναίων εἰς Σάμον ἔπλευσεν
ships twenty having-voted Athenians to Samos sailed
ἐπὶ τὸ ναυτικόν. ἀντὶ δὲ Κόνωνος εἰς Ἄνδρον ἔπεμψαν
to the fleet in-place-of and Conon to Andros they-sent
Φανοσθένη, τέτταρας ναῦς ἔχοντα.
Phanosthenes four ships having

19 οὗτος περιτυχὼν δυοῖν τριήροιν Θουρίαιν ἔλαβεν
this-one having-fallen-in-with two triremes Thurian took-them
αὐτοῖς ἀνδράσι· καὶ τοὺς μὲν αἰχμαλώτους ἅπαντας
with-the-very men and the indeed prisoners all
ἔδησαν Ἀθηναῖοι, τὸν δὲ ἄρχοντα αὐτῶν Δωριέα, ὄντα
bound Athenians the but commander of-them Dorieus being
μὲν Ῥόδιον, πάλαι δὲ φυγάδα ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν καὶ Ῥόδου
indeed Rhodian long-ago but exile from Athens and Rhodes
ὑπὸ Ἀθηναίων κατεψηφισμένων αὐτοῦ θάνατον καὶ τῶν
by Athenians having-condemned of-him death and of-the

ἐκείνου συγγενῶν, πολιτεύοντα παρ᾽ αὐτοῖς, ἐλεήσαντες
his kinsmen being-a-citizen among them having-pitied
ἀφεῖσαν οὐδὲ χρήματα πραξάμενοι.
let-go not-even money having-exacted
Κόνων δ᾽ ἐπεὶ εἰς τὴν Σάμον ἀφίκετο καὶ τὸ ναυτικὸν 20
Conon and when to — Samos arrived and the fleet
κατέλαβεν ἀθύμως ἔχον, συμπληρώσας τριήρεις ἑβδομήκοντα
found despondent being having-manned triremes seventy
ἀντὶ τῶν προτέρων, οὐσῶν πλέον ἢ ἑκατόν, καὶ ταύταις
in-place-of the former being more than hundred and with-these
ἀναγαγόμενος μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων στρατηγῶν, ἄλλοτε
having-put-out with the other generals at-other-times
ἄλλῃ ἀποβαίνων τῆς τῶν πολεμίων χώρας ἐλῄζετο.
in-other-places landing of-the of-the enemies land plundered
καὶ ὁ ἐνιαυτὸς ἔληγεν, ἐν ᾧ Καρχηδόνιοι εἰς Σικελίαν 21
and the year was-ending in which Carthaginians to Sicily
στρατεύσαντες εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατὸν τριήρεσι καὶ πεζῆς
having-campaigned with-twenty and hundred triremes and of-foot
στρατιᾶς δώδεκα μυριάσιν εἷλον Ἀκράγαντα λιμῷ, μάχῃ
army with-twelve ten-thousands took Acragas by-hunger in-battle
μὲν ἡττηθέντες, προσκαθεζόμενοι δὲ ἑπτὰ μῆνας.
indeed having-been-defeated sitting-down-before-it but seven months

Callicratidas succeeds Lysander, who hands back Cyrus' money. Kept waiting at Cyrus' door, Callicratidas calls the Greeks wretched for flattering barbarians for silver, raises money from the Milesians, and storms Methymna, where he says no Greek will be enslaved under his command, frees the citizens, and sells only the Athenian garrison and the slaves. He chases Conon into Mytilene, takes thirty of his ships, and blockades him there. Of two ships Conon slips out, one reaches Athens, which mans a hundred and ten ships with slaves and free men alike. At Arginusae, Callicratidas will not retreat before the larger fleet, saying Sparta will be no worse off if he dies; he falls overboard and is lost, and the Peloponnesians are routed. A storm keeps the Athenians from the wrecks, and Eteonicus, falsely announcing a victory, sends his ships off to Chios and leads his infantry to Methymna. The Athenians reach Mytilene, sail on to Chios, and return to Samos with nothing done.

1 Τῷ δ' ἐπιόντι ἔτει, ᾧ ἥ τε σελήνη ἐξέλιπεν ἑσπέρας
In-the and following year in-which the both moon was-eclipsed in-the-evening
καὶ ὁ παλαιὸς τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς νεὼς ἐν Ἀθήναις ἐνεπρήσθη,
and the old — of-Athena temple in Athens was-burned
[Πιτύα μὲν ἐφορεύοντος, ἄρχοντος δὲ Καλλίου Ἀθήνησιν],
Pityas indeed being-ephor archon and Callias at-Athens
οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι τῷ Λυσάνδρῳ παρεληλυθότος ἤδη τοῦ
the Lacedaemonians — for-Lysander having-passed already the
χρόνου [καὶ τῷ πολέμῳ τεττάρων καὶ εἴκοσιν ἐτῶν]
time and for-the war of-four and twenty years
ἔπεμψαν ἐπὶ τὰς ναῦς Καλλικρατίδαν.
sent to the ships Callicratidas

2 ὅτε δὲ παρεδίδου ὁ Λύσανδρος τὰς ναῦς, ἔλεγε τῷ
when and was-handing-over — Lysander the ships he-said —
Καλλικρατίδᾳ ὅτι θαλαττοκράτωρ τε παραδιδοίη καὶ
to-Callicratidas that master-of-the-sea both he-handed-over and
ναυμαχίᾳ νενικηκώς. ὁ δὲ αὐτὸν ἐκέλευσεν ἐξ Ἐφέσου
in-sea-battle having-won he but him bade from Ephesus

ἐν ἀριστερᾷ Σάμου παραπλεύσαντα, οὗ ἦσαν αἱ τῶν
on left of-Samos having-sailed-along where were the of-the
Ἀθηναίων νῆες, ἐν Μιλήτῳ τὰς ναῦς παραδοῦναι, καὶ
Athenians ships in Miletus the ships to-hand-over and
ὁμολογήσειν θαλαττοκρατεῖν.
to-agree to-be-master-of-the-sea
οὐ φαμένου δὲ τοῦ Λυσάνδρου πολυπραγμονεῖν ἄλλου 3
not saying but — Lysander to-meddle another
ἄρχοντος, αὐτὸς ὁ Καλλικρατίδας πρὸς αἷς παρὰ
ruling himself — Callicratidas to which from
Λυσάνδρου ἔλαβε ναυσὶ προσεπλήρωσεν ἐκ Χίου καὶ
Lysander he-received ships manned-in-addition from Chios and
Ῥόδου καὶ ἄλλοθεν ἀπὸ τῶν συμμάχων πεντήκοντα ναῦς.
Rhodes and elsewhere from the allies fifty ships
ταύτας δὲ πάσας ἀθροίσας, οὔσας τετταράκοντα καὶ
these and all having-gathered being forty and
ἑκατόν, παρεσκευάζετο ὡς ἀπαντησόμενος τοῖς πολεμίοις.
hundred he-prepared as going-to-meet the enemies
καταμαθὼν δ' ὑπὸ τῶν Λυσάνδρου φίλων 4
having-learned and by the of-Lysander friends
καταστασιαζόμενος, οὐ μόνον ἀπροθύμως ὑπηρετούντων,
being-undermined not only unwillingly serving
ἀλλὰ καὶ διαθροούντων ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν ὅτι Λακεδαιμόνιοι
but also spreading-word in the cities that Lacedaemonians
μέγιστα παραπίπτοιεν ἐν τῷ ἀεὶ διαλλάττειν τοὺς
greatly blundered in the always changing the
ναυάρχους, πολλάκις ἀνεπιτηδείων γιγνομένων καὶ ἄρτι
admirals often unsuitable-ones becoming and just
ξυνιέντων τὰ ναυτικὰ καὶ ἀνθρώποις ὡς χρηστέον οὐ
understanding the naval-things and men how one-must-use not
γιγνωσκόντων [ἀπείρους θαλάττης πέμποντες καὶ ἀγνῶτας
knowing inexperienced of-sea sending and unknown

τοῖς ἐκεῖ, κινδυνεύοιέν τι παθεῖν διὰ τοῦτο],
to-the-ones there they-ran-a-risk something to-suffer because-of this
ἐκ τούτου δὲ ὁ Καλλικρατίδας συγκαλέσας τοὺς
from this and — Callicratidas having-called-together the
Λακεδαιμονίων ἐκεῖ παρόντας ἔλεγεν αὐτοῖς τοιάδε.
of-Lacedaemonians there present said to-them the-following
5 Ἐμοὶ μὲν ἀρκεῖ οἴκοι μένειν, καὶ εἴτε Λύσανδρος εἴτε
For-me indeed it-is-enough at-home to-remain and whether Lysander or
ἄλλος τις ἐμπειρότερος περὶ τὰ ναυτικὰ βούλεται εἶναι,
other someone more-experienced about the naval-things wishes to-be
οὐ κωλύω τὸ κατ' ἐμέ· ἐγὼ δ' ὑπὸ τῆς πόλεως ἐπὶ
not I-prevent the-part as-to me I but by the city to
τὰς ναῦς πεμφθεὶς οὐκ ἔχω τί ἄλλο ποιῶ ἢ τὰ
the ships sent not I-have what else I-should-do than the-things
κελευόμενα ὡς ἂν δύνωμαι κράτιστα. ὑμεῖς δὲ πρὸς ἃ
ordered as — I-can best you but as-to what
ἐγώ τε φιλοτιμοῦμαι καὶ ἡ πόλις ἡμῶν αἰτιάζεται (ἴστε
I both am-ambitious-for and the city our is-blamed-for know
γὰρ αὐτὰ ὥσπερ καὶ ἐγώ), συμβουλεύετε τὰ ἄριστα
for them as also I advise the best
ὑμῖν δοκοῦντα εἶναι περὶ τοῦ ἐμὲ ἐνθάδε μένειν ἢ οἴκαδε
to-you seeming to-be about the me here to-remain or home
ἀποπλεῖν ἐροῦντα τὰ καθεστῶτα ἐνθάδε.
to-sail-off going-to-report the state-of-affairs here
6 Οὐδενὸς δὲ τολμήσαντος ἄλλο τι εἰπεῖν ἢ τοῖς οἴκοι
No-one and having-dared other anything to-say than to-the at-home
πείθεσθαι ποιεῖν τε ἐφ' ἃ ἥκει, ἐλθὼν παρὰ Κῦρον
to-obey to-do both for what he-had-come having-gone to Cyrus
ᾔτει μισθὸν τοῖς ναύταις· ὁ δὲ αὐτῷ εἶπε δύο ἡμέρας
he-asked pay for-the sailors he and to-him said two days
ἐπισχεῖν.
to-wait

Καλλικρατίδας δὲ ἀχθεσθεὶς τῇ ἀναβολῇ καὶ ταῖς ἐπὶ 7
Callicratidas and annoyed at-the delay and at-the to
τὰς θύρας φοιτήσεσιν ὀργισθεὶς καὶ εἰπὼν ἀθλιωτάτους
the doors visits enraged and having-said most-wretched
εἶναι τοὺς Ἕλληνας, ὅτι βαρβάρους κολακεύουσιν ἕνεκα
to-be the Greeks because barbarians they-flatter for-the-sake
ἀργυρίου, φάσκων τε, ἢν σωθῇ οἴκαδε, κατά γε τὸ
of-silver claiming and if he-get-safe home by at-least the
αὑτοῦ δυνατὸν διαλλάξειν Ἀθηναίους καὶ Λακεδαιμονίους,
his-own power to-reconcile Athenians and Lacedaemonians
ἀπέπλευσεν εἰς Μίλητον·
sailed-off to Miletus
κἀκεῖθεν πέμψας τριήρεις εἰς Λακεδαίμονα ἐπὶ χρήματα, 8
and-thence having-sent triremes to Lacedaemon for money
ἐκκλησίαν ἀθροίσας τῶν Μιλησίων τάδε εἶπεν. Ἐμοὶ
an-assembly having-gathered of-the Milesians the-following said For-me
μέν, ὦ Μιλήσιοι, ἀνάγκη τοῖς οἴκοι ἄρχουσι πείθεσθαι·
indeed O Milesians necessity to-the at-home rulers to-obey
ὑμᾶς δὲ ἐγὼ ἀξιῶ προθυμοτάτους εἶναι εἰς τὸν πόλεμον
you but I deem most-eager to-be for the war
διὰ τὸ οἰκοῦντας ἐν βαρβάροις πλεῖστα κακὰ ἤδη
because-of the dwelling among barbarians most evils already
ὑπ᾽ αὐτῶν πεπονθέναι.
by them to-have-suffered
δεῖ δ᾽ ὑμᾶς ἐξηγεῖσθαι τοῖς ἄλλοις συμμάχοις ὅπως 9
it-is-needful and you to-lead the other allies how
ἂν τάχιστά τε καὶ μάλιστα βλάπτωμεν τοὺς πολεμίους,
— most-quickly both and most we-may-harm the enemies
ἕως ἂν οἱ ἐκ Λακεδαίμονος ἥκωσιν, οὓς ἐγὼ ἔπεμψα
until — the-ones from Lacedaemon come whom I sent
χρήματα ἄξοντας,
money going-to-bring

10 ἐπεὶ τὰ ἐνθάδε ὑπάρχοντα Λύσανδρος Κύρῳ ἀποδοὺς
since the-things here existing Lysander to-Cyrus having-given-back
ὡς περιττὰ ὄντα οἴχεται· Κῦρος δὲ ἐλθόντος ἐμοῦ ἐπ᾽
as superfluous being is-gone Cyrus and having-come me to
αὐτὸν ἀεὶ ἀνεβάλλετό μοι διαλεχθῆναι, ἐγὼ δ᾽ ἐπὶ τὰς
him always put-off to-me to-converse I but to the
ἐκείνου θύρας φοιτᾶν οὐκ ἐδυνάμην ἐμαυτὸν πεῖσαι.
his doors to-go-repeatedly not was-able myself to-persuade
11 ὑπισχνοῦμαι δ᾽ ὑμῖν ἀντὶ τῶν συμβάντων ἡμῖν
I-promise and to-you in-return-for the having-befallen us
ἀγαθῶν ἐν τῷ χρόνῳ ᾧ ἂν ἐκεῖνα προσδεχώμεθα
goods in the time in-which — those-things we-are-awaiting
χάριν ἀξίαν ἀποδώσειν. ἀλλὰ σὺν τοῖς θεοῖς δείξωμεν
gratitude worthy to-repay but with the gods let-us-show
τοῖς βαρβάροις ὅτι καὶ ἄνευ τοῦ ἐκείνους θαυμάζειν
the barbarians that even without the them to-admire
δυνάμεθα τοὺς ἐχθροὺς τιμωρεῖσθαι.
we-are-able the enemies to-punish
12 Ἐπεὶ δὲ ταῦτ᾽ εἶπεν, ἀνιστάμενοι πολλοὶ καὶ μάλιστα
When and these-things he-said rising-up many and most
οἱ αἰτιαζόμενοι ἀντιοῦσθαι δεδιότες εἰσηγοῦντο πόρον
the-ones accused to-oppose fearing proposed a-source
χρημάτων καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐπαγγελλόμενοι ἰδίᾳ. λαβὼν δὲ
of-money and themselves promising privately having-taken and
ταῦτα ἐκεῖνος καὶ ἐκ Χίου πενταδραχμίαν ἑκάστῳ
these-things he and from Chios five-drachmas to-each
τῶν ναυτῶν ἐφοδιασάμενος ἔπλευσε τῆς Λέσβου ἐπὶ
of-the sailors having-furnished-for-the-way sailed — of-Lesbos to
Μήθυμναν πολεμίαν οὖσαν.
Methymna hostile being

οὐ βουλομένων δὲ τῶν Μηθυμναίων προσχωρεῖν, ἅτ᾽ 13
not wishing and the Methymnaeans to-come-over inasmuch-as
ἐμφρούρων ὄντων Ἀθηναίων καὶ τῶν τὰ πράγματα
in-garrison being Athenians and the-ones the affairs
ἐχόντων ἀττικιζόντων, προσβαλὼν αἱρεῖ τὴν πόλιν κατὰ
holding atticizing having-attacked he-takes the city by
κράτος.
force

τὰ μὲν οὖν χρήματα πάντα διήρπασαν οἱ στρατιῶται, 14
the indeed then property all plundered the soldiers
τὰ δὲ ἀνδράποδα πάντα συνήθροισεν ὁ Καλλικρατίδας
the but slaves all gathered — Callicratidas
εἰς τὴν ἀγοράν, καὶ κελευόντων τῶν συμμάχων ἀποδόσθαι
into the agora and bidding the allies to-sell
καὶ τοὺς Μηθυμναίους οὐκ ἔφη ἑαυτοῦ γε ἄρχοντος
also the Methymnaeans not he-said himself at-least ruling
οὐδέν᾽ ἂν Ἑλλήνων εἰς τὸ κείνου δυνατὸν ἀνδραποδισθῆναι.
anyone — of-Greeks into the his power to-be-enslaved

τῇ δ᾽ ὑστεραίᾳ τοὺς μὲν ἐλευθέρους ἀφῆκε, τοὺς 15
on-the and next-day the indeed free he-released the
δὲ τῶν Ἀθηναίων φρουροὺς καὶ τὰ ἀνδράποδα τὰ
but of-the Athenians garrison and the slaves the-ones
δοῦλα πάντα ἀπέδοτο· Κόνωνι δὲ εἶπεν ὅτι παύσει
servile all he-sold to-Conon and he-said that he-will-stop
αὐτὸν μοιχῶντα τὴν θάλατταν. κατιδὼν δὲ αὐτὸν
him committing-adultery-with the sea having-seen and him
ἀναγόμενον ἅμα τῇ ἡμέρᾳ, ἐδίωκεν ὑποτεμνόμενος
putting-out at-the-same-time with-the day he-pursued cutting-off
τὸν εἰς Σάμον πλοῦν, ὅπως μὴ ἐκεῖσε φύγοι.
the to Samos voyage so-that not thither he-might-flee

16 Κόνων δ' ἔφευγε ταῖς ναυσὶν εὖ πλεούσαις διὰ
Conon and fled with-the ships well sailing because-of
τὸ ἐκ πολλῶν πληρωμάτων εἰς ὀλίγας ἐκλελέχθαι
the from many crews into few to-have-been-picked
τοὺς ἀρίστους ἐρέτας, καὶ καταφεύγει εἰς Μυτιλήνην τῆς
the best rowers and flees-for-refuge to Mytilene —
Λέσβου καὶ σὺν αὐτῷ τῶν δέκα στρατηγῶν †Λέων καὶ
of-Lesbos and with him of-the ten generals Leon and
Ἐρασινίδης. Καλλικρατίδας δὲ συνεισέπλευσεν εἰς τὸν
Erasinides Callicratidas and sailed-in-with-him into the
λιμένα, διώκων ναυσὶν ἑκατὸν καὶ ἑβδομήκοντα.
harbor pursuing with-ships hundred and seventy

17 Κόνων δὲ ὡς ἔφθη ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων κατακωλυθείς,
Conon and as he-was-forestalled by the enemies prevented
ἠναγκάσθη ναυμαχῆσαι πρὸς τῷ λιμένι, καὶ ἀπώλεσε ναῦς
was-forced to-fight-at-sea at the harbor and lost ships
τριάκοντα· οἱ δὲ ἄνδρες εἰς τὴν γῆν ἀπέφυγον· τὰς δὲ λοιπὰς
thirty the but men to the land escaped the and remaining
τῶν νεῶν, τετταράκοντα οὔσας, ὑπὸ τῷ τείχει ἀνείλκυσε.
of-the ships forty being under the wall he-hauled-up

18 Καλλικρατίδας δὲ ἐν τῷ λιμένι ὁρμισάμενος ἐπολιόρκει
Callicratidas and in the harbor having-anchored besieged
ἐνταῦθα, τὸν ἔκπλουν ἔχων. καὶ κατὰ γῆν μεταπεμψάμενος
there the sailing-out holding and by land having-sent-for
τοὺς Μηθυμναίους πανδημεὶ καὶ ἐκ τῆς Χίου τὸ στράτευμα
the Methymnaeans in-full-force and from — Chios the army
διεβίβασε· χρήματά τε παρὰ Κύρου αὐτῷ ἦλθεν.
he-brought-across money and from Cyrus to-him came

19 ὁ δὲ Κόνων ἐπεὶ ἐπολιορκεῖτο καὶ κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ
— and Conon since he-was-besieged both by land and by
θάλατταν, καὶ σίτων οὐδαμόθεν ἦν εὐπορῆσαι, οἱ δὲ
sea and of-food from-nowhere it-was-possible to-get-plenty the and

ἄνθρωποι πολλοὶ ἐν τῇ πόλει ἦσαν καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι οὐκ
people many in the city were and the Athenians not
ἐβοήθουν διὰ τὸ μὴ πυνθάνεσθαι ταῦτα, καθελκύσας
came-to-help because-of the not to-learn these-things having-launched
τῶν νεῶν τὰς ἄριστα πλεούσας δύο ἐπλήρωσε πρὸ
of-the ships the best sailing two he-manned before
ἡμέρας, ἐξ ἁπασῶν τῶν νεῶν τοὺς ἀρίστους ἐρέτας
day from all the ships the best rowers
ἐκλέξας καὶ τοὺς ἐπιβάτας εἰς κοίλην ναῦν μεταβιβάσας
having-picked and the marines into hollow ship having-transferred
καὶ τὰ παραρύματα παραβαλών.
and the side-screens having-put-alongside
τὴν μὲν οὖν ἡμέραν οὕτως ἀνεῖχον, εἰς δὲ τὴν ἑσπέραν, 20
the indeed then day so they-held-out toward but the evening
ἐπεὶ σκότος εἴη, ἐξεβίβαζεν, ὡς μὴ καταδήλους εἶναι
when dark it-was he-put-them-ashore so-that not plainly-visible to-be
τοῖς πολεμίοις ταῦτα ποιοῦντας. πέμπτῃ δὲ ἡμέρᾳ
to-the enemies these-things doing on-the-fifth and day
εἰσθέμενοι σῖτα μέτρια, ἐπειδὴ ἤδη μέσον ἡμέρας
having-put-in food moderate when already middle of-day
ἦν καὶ οἱ ἐφορμοῦντες ὀλιγώρως εἶχον καὶ ἔνιοι
it-was and the-ones blockading carelessly were and some
ἀνεπαύοντο, ἐξέπλευσαν ἔξω τοῦ λιμένος, καὶ ἡ μὲν
were-resting they-sailed-out outside the harbor and the-one indeed
ἐπὶ Ἑλλησπόντου ὥρμησεν, ἡ δὲ εἰς τὸ πέλαγος.
toward the-Hellespont set-out the-other and to the open-sea
τῶν δ᾽ ἐφορμούντων ὡς ἕκαστοι ἤνοιγον, τάς τε ἀγκύρας 21
of-the and blockaders as each opened-way the both anchors
ἀποκόπτοντες καὶ ἐγειρόμενοι ἐβοήθουν τεταραγμένοι,
cutting-off and waking came-to-help in-confusion
τυχόντες ἐν τῇ γῇ ἀριστοποιούμενοι· εἰσβάντες δὲ
happening on the land breakfasting having-embarked and

ἐδίωκον τὴν εἰς τὸ πέλαγος ἀφορμήσασαν, καὶ ἅμα
they-pursued the-one to the open-sea having-set-out and at-the-same-time
τῷ ἡλίῳ δύνοντι κατέλαβον, καὶ κρατήσαντες μάχῃ,
with-the sun setting overtook and having-prevailed in-battle
ἀναδησάμενοι ἀπῆγον εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον αὐτοῖς ἀνδράσιν.
having-taken-in-tow led-away to the camp with-the-very men

22 ἡ δ' ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἑλλησπόντου φυγοῦσα ναῦς διέφυγε, καὶ
the but toward the Hellespont having-fled ship escaped and
ἀφικομένη εἰς τὰς Ἀθήνας ἐξαγγέλλει τὴν πολιορκίαν.
having-arrived at — Athens reports the siege
Διομέδων δὲ βοηθῶν Κόνωνι πολιορκουμένῳ δώδεκα
Diomedon and helping Conon being-besieged with-twelve
ναυσὶν ὡρμίσατο εἰς τὸν εὔριπον τὸν τῶν Μυτιληναίων.
ships anchored in the strait the of-the Mytilenaeans

23 ὁ δὲ Καλλικρατίδας ἐπιπλεύσας αὐτῷ ἐξαίφνης δέκα
— and Callicratidas having-sailed-against him suddenly ten
μὲν τῶν νεῶν ἔλαβε, Διομέδων δ' ἔφυγε τῇ τε αὐτοῦ
indeed of-the ships took Diomedon but fled with-the both his-own
καὶ ἄλλῃ.
and another

24 οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι τὰ γεγενημένα καὶ τὴν πολιορκίαν
the and Athenians the-things having-happened and the siege
ἐπεὶ ἤκουσαν, ἐψηφίσαντο βοηθεῖν ναυσὶν ἑκατὸν καὶ
when they-heard voted to-help with-ships hundred and
δέκα, εἰσβιβάζοντες τοὺς ἐν τῇ ἡλικίᾳ ὄντας ἅπαντας
ten putting-aboard the-ones in the age being all
καὶ δούλους καὶ ἐλευθέρους καὶ πληρώσαντες τὰς δέκα
both slaves and free and having-manned the ten
καὶ ἑκατὸν ἐν τριάκοντα ἡμέραις ἀπῆραν. εἰσέβησαν δὲ
and hundred in thirty days put-to-sea embarked and
καὶ τῶν ἱππέων πολλοί.
also of-the horsemen many

μετὰ ταῦτα ἀνήχθησαν εἰς Σάμον, κἀκεῖθεν Σαμίας ναῦς 25
after these-things they-put-out to Samos and-thence Samian ships
ἔλαβον δέκα· ἤθροισαν δὲ καὶ ἄλλας πλείους ἢ τριάκοντα
they-took ten gathered and also others more than thirty
παρὰ τῶν ἄλλων συμμάχων, εἰσβαίνειν ἀναγκάσαντες
from the other allies to-embark having-compelled
ἅπαντας, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ εἴ τινες αὐτοῖς ἔτυχον ἔξω οὖσαι.
all likewise and also if any of-them happened outside being
ἐγένοντο δὲ αἱ πᾶσαι πλείους ἢ πεντήκοντα καὶ ἑκατόν.
became and the all more than fifty and hundred
ὁ δὲ Καλλικρατίδας ἀκούων τὴν βοήθειαν ἤδη ἐν 26
— and Callicratidas hearing the relief-force already in
Σάμῳ οὖσαν, αὐτοῦ μὲν κατέλιπε πεντήκοντα ναῦς καὶ
Samos being there indeed he-left fifty ships and
ἄρχοντα Ἐτεόνικον, ταῖς δὲ εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατὸν ἀναχθεὶς
commander Eteonicus with-the but twenty and hundred having-put-out
ἐδειπνοποιεῖτο τῆς Λέσβου ἐπὶ τῇ Μαλέᾳ ἄκρᾳ [ἀντίον
took-dinner — of-Lesbos at — Malea cape opposite
τῆς Μυτιλήνης].
— Mytilene
τῇ δ' αὐτῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἔτυχον καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι δειπνοποιούμενοι 27
on-the and same day happened also the Athenians taking-dinner
ἐν ταῖς Ἀργινούσαις. αὗται δ' εἰσὶν [ἀντίον τῆς Λέσβου
in the Arginusae these and are opposite — Lesbos
ἐπὶ τῇ Μαλέᾳ ἄκρᾳ] ἀντίον τῆς Μυτιλήνης.
at — Malea cape opposite — Mytilene
τῆς δὲ νυκτὸς ἰδὼν τὰ πυρά, καί τινων αὐτῷ 28
in-the and night having-seen the fires and some to-him
ἐξαγγειλάντων ὅτι οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι εἶεν, ἀνήγετο περὶ μέσας
having-reported that the Athenians were he-put-out about middle
νύκτας, ὡς ἐξαπιναίως προσπέσοι· ὕδωρ δ' ἐπιγενόμενον
night so-that suddenly he-might-fall-on-them rain but having-come-on

πολὺ καὶ βρονταὶ διεκώλυσαν τὴν ἀναγωγήν. ἐπεὶ δὲ
much and thunders prevented the putting-out when and
ἀνέσχεν, ἅμα τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἔπλει ἐπὶ τὰς Ἀργινούσας.
it-cleared at-the-same-time with-the day he-sailed against the Arginusae
29 οἱ δ' Ἀθηναῖοι ἀντανήγοντο εἰς τὸ πέλαγος τῷ εὐωνύμῳ,
the and Athenians put-out-against-him to the open-sea with-the left-wing
παρατεταγμένοι ὧδε. Ἀριστοκράτης μὲν τὸ εὐώνυμον
drawn-up thus Aristocrates indeed the left
ἔχων ἡγεῖτο πεντεκαίδεκα ναυσί, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Διομέδων
having led with-fifteen ships after and these Diomedon
ἑτέραις πεντεκαίδεκα· ἐπετέτακτο δὲ Ἀριστοκράτει μὲν
with-other fifteen was-stationed-behind and Aristocrates indeed
Περικλῆς, Διομέδοντι δὲ Ἐρασινίδης· παρὰ δὲ Διομέδοντα
Pericles Diomedon and Erasinides beside and Diomedon
οἱ Σάμιοι δέκα ναυσὶν ἐπὶ μιᾶς τεταγμένοι· ἐστρατήγει
the Samians with-ten ships in one-line drawn-up was-general
δὲ αὐτῶν Σάμιος ὀνόματι Ἱππεύς· ἐχόμεναι δὲ αἱ τῶν
and of-them Samian by-name Hippeus next and the of-the
ταξιάρχων δέκα, καὶ αὐταὶ ἐπὶ μιᾶς· ἐπὶ δὲ ταύταις αἱ
taxiarchs ten also themselves in one-line upon and these the
τῶν ναυάρχων τρεῖς, καὶ εἴ τινες ἄλλαι ἦσαν συμμαχίδες.
of-the admirals three and if any other were allied
30 τὸ δὲ δεξιὸν κέρας Πρωτόμαχος εἶχε πεντεκαίδεκα
the and right wing Protomachus held with-fifteen
ναυσί· παρὰ δ' αὐτὸν Θράσυλλος ἑτέραις πεντεκαίδεκα·
ships beside and him Thrasyllus with-other fifteen
ἐπετέτακτο δὲ Πρωτομάχῳ μὲν Λυσίας, ἔχων τὰς ἴσας
was-stationed-behind and Protomachus indeed Lysias having the equal
ναῦς, Θρασύλλῳ δ' Ἀριστογένης.
ships Thrasyllus and Aristogenes

οὕτω δ' ἐτάχθησαν, ἵνα μὴ διέκπλουν διδοῖεν· χεῖρον 31
so and they-were-drawn-up so-that not a-breaking-through they-might-give worse
γὰρ ἔπλεον. αἱ δὲ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων ἀντιτεταγμέναι
for they-sailed the but of-the Lacedaemonians drawn-up-opposite
ἦσαν ἅπασαι ἐπὶ μιᾶς ὡς πρὸς διέκπλουν καὶ περίπλουν
were all in one-line as for breaking-through and sailing-around
παρεσκευασμέναι, διὰ τὸ βέλτιον πλεῖν. εἶχε δὲ τὸ
prepared because-of the better to-sail held and the
δεξιὸν κέρας Καλλικρατίδας.
right wing Callicratidas
Ἕρμων δὲ Μεγαρεὺς ὁ τῷ Καλλικρατίδᾳ κυβερνῶν 32
Hermon and Megarian the-one — for-Callicratidas steering
εἶπε πρὸς αὐτὸν ὅτι εἴη καλῶς ἔχον ἀποπλεῦσαι·
said to him that it-was well being to-sail-off
αἱ γὰρ τριήρεις τῶν Ἀθηναίων πολλῷ πλέονες ἦσαν.
the for triremes of-the Athenians by-much more were
Καλλικρατίδας δὲ εἶπεν ὅτι ἡ Σπάρτη οὐδὲν [μὴ] κάκιον
Callicratidas but said that — Sparta in-nothing not worse
οἰκεῖται αὐτοῦ ἀποθανόντος, φεύγειν δὲ αἰσχρὸν [ἔφη] εἶναι.
is-inhabited him having-died to-flee but shameful he-said to-be
μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἐναυμάχησαν χρόνον πολύν, πρῶτον μὲν 33
after and these-things they-fought-at-sea time long first indeed
ἁθρόαι, ἔπειτα δὲ διεσκεδασμέναι. ἐπεὶ δὲ Καλλικρατίδας
all-together then and scattered when and Callicratidas
τε ἐμβαλούσης τῆς νεὼς ἀποπεσὼν εἰς τὴν θάλατταν
both having-rammed the ship having-fallen-off into the sea
ἠφανίσθη Πρωτόμαχός τε καὶ οἱ μετ' αὐτοῦ τῷ δεξιῷ
disappeared Protomachus both and the-ones with him with-the right
τὸ εὐώνυμον ἐνίκησαν, ἐντεῦθεν φυγὴ τῶν Πελοποννησίων
the left defeated thereupon flight of-the Peloponnesians

ἐγένετο εἰς Χίον πλείστων, τινῶν δὲ καὶ εἰς Φώκαιαν·
came-about to Chios most some and also to Phocaea
οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι πάλιν εἰς τὰς Ἀργινούσας κατέπλευσαν.
the and Athenians again to the Arginusae sailed-back
34 ἀπώλοντο δὲ τῶν μὲν Ἀθηναίων νῆες πέντε καὶ εἴκοσιν
perished and of-the indeed Athenians ships five and twenty
αὐτοῖς ἀνδράσιν ἐκτὸς ὀλίγων τῶν πρὸς τὴν γῆν
with-the-very men except few of-the-ones to the land
προσενεχθέντων, τῶν δὲ Πελοποννησίων Λακωνικαὶ μὲν
carried of-the but Peloponnesians Laconian indeed
ἐννέα, τῶν πασῶν οὐσῶν δέκα, τῶν δ' ἄλλων συμμάχων
nine of-the all being ten of-the and other allies
πλείους ἢ ἑξήκοντα.
more than sixty
35 ἔδοξε δὲ καὶ τοῖς τῶν Ἀθηναίων στρατηγοῖς ἑπτὰ μὲν
it-seemed-good and also to-the of-the Athenians generals seven indeed
καὶ τετταράκοντα ναυσὶ Θηραμένη τε καὶ Θρασύβουλον
and forty with-ships Theramenes both and Thrasybulus
τριηράρχους ὄντας καὶ τῶν ταξιάρχων τινὰς πλεῖν ἐπὶ
trierarchs being and of-the taxiarchs some to-sail to
τὰς καταδεδυκυίας ναῦς καὶ τοὺς ἐπ' αὐτῶν ἀνθρώπους,
the sunken ships and the-ones on them men
ταῖς δὲ ἄλλαις ἐπὶ τὰς μετ' Ἐτεονίκου τῇ Μυτιλήνῃ
with-the and others against the-ones with Eteonicus — at-Mytilene
ἐφορμούσας. ταῦτα δὲ βουλομένους ποιεῖν ἄνεμος καὶ
blockading these-things but wishing to-do wind and
χειμὼν διεκώλυσεν [αὐτοὺς] μέγας γενόμενος· τροπαῖον
storm prevented them great having-become a-trophy
δὲ στήσαντες αὐτοῦ ηὐλίζοντο.
and having-set-up there they-bivouacked

τῷ δ' Ἐτεονίκῳ ὁ ὑπηρετικὸς κέλης πάντα ἐξήγγειλε 36
— and to-Eteonicus the dispatch boat all reported
τὰ περὶ τὴν ναυμαχίαν. ὁ δὲ αὐτὸν πάλιν ἐξέπεμψεν
the-things about the sea-battle he and it again sent-out
εἰπὼν τοῖς ἐνοῦσι σιωπῇ ἐκπλεῖν καὶ μηδενὶ διαλέγεσθαι,
having-told the-ones aboard in-silence to-sail-out and with-no-one to-converse
παραχρῆμα δὲ αὖθις πλεῖν εἰς τὸ ἑαυτῶν στρατόπεδον
immediately and again to-sail to the their-own camp
ἐστεφανωμένους καὶ βοῶντας ὅτι Καλλικρατίδας νενίκηκε
crowned and shouting that Callicratidas has-won
ναυμαχῶν καὶ ὅτι αἱ τῶν Ἀθηναίων νῆες ἀπολώλασιν
fighting-at-sea and that the of-the Athenians ships have-perished
ἅπασαι.
all
καὶ οἱ μὲν τοῦτ' ἐποίουν· αὐτὸς δ', ἐπειδὴ ἐκεῖνοι 37
and they indeed this did he but when those
κατέπλεον, ἔθυε τὰ εὐαγγέλια, καὶ τοῖς στρατιώταις
sailed-in sacrificed the good-news-offerings and to-the soldiers
παρήγγειλε δειπνοποιεῖσθαι, καὶ τοῖς ἐμπόροις τὰ χρήματα
ordered to-take-dinner and to-the merchants the goods
σιωπῇ ἐνθεμένους εἰς τὰ πλοῖα ἀποπλεῖν εἰς Χίον (ἦν
in-silence having-put-aboard into the boats to-sail-off to Chios was
δὲ τὸ πνεῦμα οὔριον) καὶ τὰς τριήρεις τὴν ταχίστην.
and the wind favorable and the triremes the quickest-way
αὐτὸς δὲ τὸ πεζὸν ἀπῆγεν εἰς τὴν Μήθυμναν, τὸ 38
himself and the infantry led-away to — Methymna the
στρατόπεδον ἐμπρήσας. Κόνων δὲ καθελκύσας τὰς ναῦς,
camp having-burned Conon and having-launched the ships
ἐπεὶ οἵ τε πολέμιοι ἀπεδεδράκεσαν καὶ ὁ ἄνεμος
when the both enemies had-run-away and the wind
εὐδιαίτερος ἦν, ἀπαντήσας τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ἤδη ἀνηγμένοις
calmer was having-met the Athenians already having-put-out

ἐκ τῶν Ἀργινουσῶν ἔφρασε τὰ περὶ τοῦ Ἐτεονίκου.
from the Arginusae told the-things about — Eteonicus
οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι κατέπλευσαν εἰς τὴν Μυτιλήνην, ἐκεῖθεν
the and Athenians sailed-down to — Mytilene thence
δ' ἐπανήχθησαν εἰς τὴν Χίον, καὶ οὐδὲν διαπραξάμενοι
and they-put-out to — Chios and nothing having-accomplished
ἀπέπλευσαν ἐπὶ Σάμου.
sailed-off to Samos

VII · THE TRIAL OF THE GENERALS

Athens deposes the generals of Arginusae. Six of the eight come home: a court jails Erasinides, and the council imprisons the rest. In the assembly Theramenes accuses them of failing to pick up the shipwrecked, and they answer that they assigned the rescue to Theramenes and Thrasybulus and that the storm prevented it. The vote is put off, and at the Apaturia Theramenes' men parade as mourning kinsmen while Callixenus moves that the generals be judged all together by a single vote. Those who call this illegal are shouted down, and of the prytanes only Socrates refuses to put the question. Euryptolemus pleads for separate trials under the decree of Cannonus and recounts the battle; his motion carries on the first show of hands but loses on the second; the six generals present are put to death. Athens soon repents, and Callixenus, hated by all, dies of hunger.

1 Οἱ δ' ἐν οἴκῳ τούτους μὲν τοὺς στρατηγοὺς ἔπαυσαν
The and at home these indeed the generals deposed
πλὴν Κόνωνος· πρὸς δὲ τούτῳ εἵλοντο Ἀδείμαντον καὶ
except Conon to and this-one they-chose Adeimantus and
τρίτον Φιλοκλέα.
third Philocles
2 τῶν δὲ ναυμαχησάντων στρατηγῶν Πρωτόμαχος μὲν
of-the and having-fought-at-sea generals Protomachus indeed
καὶ Ἀριστογένης οὐκ ἀπῆλθον εἰς Ἀθήνας, τῶν δὲ ἓξ
and Aristogenes not went-away to Athens of-the but six

καταπλευσάντων, Περικλέους καὶ Διομέδοντος καὶ Λυσίου
having-sailed-home Pericles and Diomedon and Lysias
καὶ Ἀριστοκράτους καὶ Θρασύλλου καὶ Ἐρασινίδου,
and Aristocrates and Thrasyllus and Erasinides
Ἀρχέδημος ὁ τοῦ δήμου τότε προεστηκὼς ἐν
Archedemus the-one of-the people then leading in
Ἀθήναις καὶ τῆς διωβελίας ἐπιμελόμενος Ἐρασινίδῃ
Athens and the two-obol-fund managing to-Erasinides
ἐπιβολὴν ἐπιβαλὼν κατηγόρει ἐν δικαστηρίῳ, φάσκων
a-fine having-imposed accused-him in court claiming
ἐξ Ἑλλησπόντου αὐτὸν ἔχειν χρήματα ὄντα τοῦ δήμου·
from the-Hellespont him to-have money being of-the people
κατηγόρει δὲ καὶ περὶ τῆς στρατηγίας. καὶ ἔδοξε
he-accused and also about the generalship and it-seemed-good
τῷ δικαστηρίῳ δῆσαι τὸν Ἐρασινίδην.
to-the court to-imprison — Erasinides
μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἐν τῇ βουλῇ διηγοῦντο οἱ στρατηγοὶ 3
after and these-things in the council related the generals
περί τε τῆς ναυμαχίας καὶ τοῦ μεγέθους τοῦ χειμῶνος·
about both the sea-battle and the magnitude of-the storm
Τιμοκράτους δ' εἰπόντος ὅτι καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους χρὴ
Timocrates and having-said that also the others it-is-needful
δεθέντας εἰς τὸν δῆμον παραδοθῆναι, ἡ βουλὴ ἔδησε.
bound to the people to-be-handed-over the council imprisoned-them
μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἐκκλησία ἐγένετο, ἐν ᾗ τῶν στρατηγῶν 4
after and these-things an-assembly took-place in which of-the generals
κατηγόρουν ἄλλοι τε καὶ Θηραμένης μάλιστα, δικαίους
accused others both and Theramenes most just
εἶναι λόγον ὑποσχεῖν διότι οὐκ ἀνείλοντο τοὺς ναυαγούς. ὅτι
to-be account to-render why not they-picked-up the shipwrecked that
μὲν γὰρ οὐδενὸς ἄλλου καθήπτοντο, ἐπιστολὴν ἐπεδείκνυε
indeed for no-one else they-blamed a-letter he-showed

μαρτύριον ἦν ἔπεμψαν οἱ στρατηγοὶ εἰς τὴν βουλὴν καὶ
as-evidence which sent the generals to the council and
εἰς τὸν δῆμον, ἄλλο οὐδὲν αἰτιώμενοι ἢ τὸν χειμῶνα.
to the people other nothing blaming than the storm
μετὰ ταῦτα δὲ οἱ στρατηγοὶ βραχέως ἕκαστος ἀπελογήσατο
after these-things and the generals briefly each defended-himself
(οὐ γὰρ προυτέθη σφίσι λόγος κατὰ τὸν νόμον) καὶ τὰ
not for was-granted to-them a-speech according-to the law and the-things
πεπραγμένα διηγοῦντο, ὅτι αὐτοὶ μὲν ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους
done they-related that themselves indeed against the enemies
πλέοιεν, τὴν δὲ ἀναίρεσιν τῶν ναυαγῶν προστάξαιεν τῶν
sailed the but recovery of-the shipwrecked they-assigned of-the
τριηράρχων ἀνδράσιν ἱκανοῖς καὶ ἐστρατηγηκόσιν ἤδη,
trierarchs to-men capable and having-been-generals already
Θηραμένει καὶ Θρασυβούλῳ καὶ ἄλλοις τοιούτοις·
to-Theramenes and Thrasybulus and others such
καὶ εἴπερ γέ τινας δέοι, περὶ τῆς ἀναιρέσεως
and if-indeed at-least anyone it-were-needful about the recovery
οὐδένα ἄλλον ἔχειν αὐτοὺς αἰτιάσασθαι ἢ τούτους
no other to-have them to-blame than these
οἷς προσετάχθη. καὶ οὐχ ὅτι γε κατηγοροῦσιν
to-whom it-was-assigned and not because at-least they-accuse
ἡμῶν, ἔφασαν, ψευσόμεθα φάσκοντες αὐτοὺς αἰτίους εἶναι,
us they-said we-shall-lie claiming them guilty to-be
ἀλλὰ τὸ μέγεθος τοῦ χειμῶνος εἶναι τὸ κωλῦσαν
but the magnitude of-the storm to-be the-thing having-prevented
τὴν ἀναίρεσιν. τούτων δὲ μάρτυρας παρείχοντο τοὺς
the recovery of-these and as-witnesses they-offered the
κυβερνήτας καὶ ἄλλους τῶν συμπλεόντων πολλούς. τοιαῦτα
helmsmen and others of-the fellow-voyagers many such-things
λέγοντες ἔπειθον τὸν δῆμον·
saying they-were-persuading the people

ἐβούλοντο δὲ πολλοὶ τῶν ἰδιωτῶν ἐγγυᾶσθαι ἀνιστάμενοι· 7
wished and many of-the private-citizens to-stand-surety rising-up
ἔδοξε δὲ ἀναβαλέσθαι εἰς ἑτέραν ἐκκλησίαν (τότε
it-seemed-good but to-postpone to another assembly then
γὰρ ὀψὲ ἦν καὶ τὰς χεῖρας οὐκ ἂν καθεώρων), τὴν
for late it-was and the hands not — they-could-see the
δὲ βουλὴν προβουλεύσασαν εἰσενεγκεῖν ὅτῳ τρόπῳ οἱ
and council having-deliberated-beforehand to-bring-in in-what manner the
ἄνδρες κρίνοιντο.
men should-be-tried
μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἐγίγνετο Ἀπατούρια, ἐν οἷς οἵ τε 8
after and these-things took-place Apaturia in which the both
φράτερες καὶ οἱ συγγενεῖς σύνεισι σφίσιν αὐτοῖς. οἱ
clansmen and the kinsmen come-together with-themselves — the
οὖν περὶ τὸν Θηραμένη παρεσκεύασαν ἀνθρώπους μέλανα
then around — Theramenes prepared men black
ἱμάτια ἔχοντας καὶ ἐν χρῷ κεκαρμένους πολλοὺς ἐν
cloaks having and to-the skin shorn many in
ταύτῃ τῇ ἑορτῇ, ἵνα πρὸς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἥκοιεν, ὡς
this the festival so-that to the assembly they-might-come as-if
δὴ συγγενεῖς ὄντες τῶν ἀπολωλότων, καὶ Καλλίξεινον
indeed kinsmen being of-the dead and Callixenus
ἔπεισαν ἐν τῇ βουλῇ κατηγορεῖν τῶν στρατηγῶν.
they-persuaded in the council to-accuse the generals
ἐντεῦθεν ἐκκλησίαν ἐποίουν, εἰς ἣν ἡ βουλὴ εἰσήνεγκε 9
thereupon an-assembly they-held into which the council brought
τὴν ἑαυτῆς γνώμην Καλλιξείνου εἰπόντος τήνδε· Ἐπειδὴ
the its-own proposal Callixenus having-moved the-following Since
τῶν τε κατηγορούντων κατὰ τῶν στρατηγῶν καὶ ἐκείνων
the both accusers against the generals and those
ἀπολογουμένων ἐν τῇ προτέρᾳ ἐκκλησίᾳ ἀκηκόασι,
defending-themselves in the former assembly they-have-heard

διαψηφίσασθαι Ἀθηναίους ἅπαντας κατὰ φυλάς· θεῖναι δὲ
to-vote Athenians all by tribes to-place and
εἰς τὴν φυλὴν ἑκάστην δύο ὑδρίας· ἐφ' ἑκάστῃ δὲ τῇ φυλῇ
in the tribe each two urns over each and the tribe
κήρυκα κηρύττειν, ὅτῳ δοκοῦσιν ἀδικεῖν οἱ στρατηγοὶ
a-herald to-proclaim to-whomever they-seem to-do-wrong the generals
οὐκ ἀνελόμενοι τοὺς νικήσαντας [ἐν] τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ, εἰς τὴν
not having-picked-up the-ones having-won in the sea-battle into the
προτέραν ψηφίσασθαι, ὅτῳ δὲ μή, εἰς τὴν ὑστέραν·
first to-vote to-whomever but not into the second
10 ἂν δὲ δόξωσιν ἀδικεῖν, θανάτῳ ζημιῶσαι καὶ τοῖς ἕνδεκα
if and they-seem to-do-wrong with-death to-punish and to-the Eleven
παραδοῦναι καὶ τὰ χρήματα δημεῦσαι, τὸ δ' ἐπιδέκατον
to-hand-over and the property to-confiscate the but tenth
τῆς θεοῦ εἶναι.
of-the goddess to-be
11 παρῆλθε δέ τις εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν φάσκων ἐπὶ
came-forward and someone into the assembly claiming on
τεύχους ἀλφίτων σωθῆναι· ἐπιστέλλειν δ' αὐτῷ τοὺς
a-tub of-barley-meal to-have-been-saved to-have-enjoined and him the-ones
ἀπολλυμένους, ἐὰν σωθῇ, ἀπαγγεῖλαι τῷ δήμῳ ὅτι
perishing if be-be-saved to-report to-the people that
οἱ στρατηγοὶ οὐκ ἀνείλοντο τοὺς ἀρίστους ὑπὲρ τῆς
the generals not picked-up the best for the
πατρίδος γενομένους.
fatherland having-become
12 τὸν δὲ Καλλίξεινον προσεκαλέσαντο παράνομα φάσκοντες
— but Callixenus summoned illegal-things claiming
συγγεγραφέναι Εὐρυπτόλεμός τε ὁ Πεισιάνακτος καὶ
to-have-drafted Euryptolemus both the son-of-Peisianax and
ἄλλοι τινές. τοῦ δὲ δήμου ἔνιοι ταῦτα ἐπῄνουν, τὸ δὲ
others some of-the and people some these-things praised the but

πλῆθος ἐβόα δεινὸν εἶναι, εἰ μή τις ἐάσει τὸν δῆμον
multitude shouted terrible to-be if not anyone will-allow the people
πράττειν ὃ ἂν βούληται.
to-do what — it-wishes
καὶ ἐπὶ τούτοις εἰπόντος Λυκίσκου καὶ τούτους τῇ αὐτῇ 13
and on these-things having-said Lyciscus also these by-the same
ψήφῳ κρίνεσθαι ἥπερ καὶ τοὺς στρατηγούς, ἐὰν μὴ
vote to-be-tried by-which-very also the generals unless —
ἀφῶσι τὴν κλῆσιν, ἐπεθορύβησε πάλιν ὁ ὄχλος, καὶ
they-drop the summons raised-an-uproar again the crowd and
ἠναγκάσθησαν ἀφιέναι τὰς κλήσεις.
they-were-forced to-drop the summonses
τῶν δὲ πρυτάνεών τινων οὐ φασκόντων προθήσειν 14
of-the and prytanes some not saying they-would-put-to-the-vote
τὴν διαψήφισιν παρὰ τὸν νόμον, αὖθις Καλλίξεινος
the division contrary-to the law again Callixenus
ἀναβὰς κατηγόρει αὐτῶν τὰ αὐτά.
having-gone-up accused them the same-things
οἱ δὲ ἐβόων καλεῖν τοὺς οὐ φάσκοντας. οἱ δὲ 15
they and shouted to-summon the-ones not saying-so the and
πρυτάνεις φοβηθέντες ὡμολόγουν ἅπαντες προθήσειν
prytanes having-become-afraid agreed all to-put-it
πλὴν Σωκράτους τοῦ Σωφρονίσκου· οὗτος δ' οὐκ ἔφη
except Socrates the son-of-Sophroniscus he but not said
ἀλλ' ἢ κατὰ νόμον πάντα ποιήσειν.
but than according-to law everything to-do
μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἀναβὰς Εὐρυπτόλεμος ἔλεξεν ὑπὲρ 16
after and these-things having-gone-up Euryptolemus spoke for
τῶν στρατηγῶν τάδε. Τὰ μὲν κατηγορήσων, ὦ
the generals the-following Partly indeed going-to-accuse O
ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ἀνέβην ἐνθάδε Περικλέους ἀναγκαίου
men Athenians I-came-up here Pericles a-relative

μοι ὄντος καὶ ἐπιτηδείου καὶ Διομέδοντος φίλου, τὰ
to-me being and friend and Diomedon a-friend partly
δ' ὑπεραπολογησόμενος, τὰ δὲ συμβουλεύσων ἅ μοι
and going-to-speak-in-defense partly and going-to-advise what to-me
δοκεῖ ἄριστα εἶναι ἁπάσῃ τῇ πόλει.
seems best to-be for-all the city

17 κατηγορῶ μὲν οὖν αὐτῶν ὅτι ἔπεισαν τοὺς συνάρχοντας
I-accuse indeed then them that they-persuaded the fellow-commanders
βουλομένους πέμπειν γράμματα τῇ τε βουλῇ καὶ ὑμῖν
wishing to-send a-letter to-the both council and to-you
ὅτι ἐπέταξαν τῷ Θηραμένει καὶ Θρασυβούλῳ τετταράκοντα
that they-assigned — to-Theramenes and Thrasybulus forty
καὶ ἑπτὰ τριήρεσιν ἀνελέσθαι τοὺς ναυαγούς, οἱ δὲ οὐκ
and seven with-triremes to-pick-up the shipwrecked they but not
ἀνείλοντο.
picked-them-up

18 εἶτα νῦν τὴν αἰτίαν κοινὴν ἔχουσιν ἐκείνων ἰδίᾳ ἁμαρτόντων
then now the blame common they-have those privately having-erred
καὶ ἀντὶ τῆς τότε φιλανθρωπίας νῦν ὑπ' ἐκείνων τε
and in-return-for the then humanity now by those both
καί τινων ἄλλων ἐπιβουλευόμενοι κινδυνεύουσιν ἀπολέσθαι;
and some others plotted-against they-are-in-danger to-perish

19 οὔκ, ἂν ὑμεῖς γέ μοι πείθησθε τὰ δίκαια καὶ ὅσια
not if you at-least me you-obey the just-things and holy-things
ποιοῦντες καὶ ὅθεν μάλιστα τἀληθῆ πεύσεσθε, καὶ οὐ
doing and whence most true-things you-will-learn and not
μετανοήσαντες ὕστερον εὑρήσετε σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ἡμαρτηκότας
having-repented later you-will-find yourselves — having-erred
τὰ μέγιστα εἰς θεούς τε καὶ ὑμᾶς αὐτούς. συμβουλεύω
the greatest against gods both and yourselves — I-advise
δ' ὑμῖν, ἐν οἷς οὔθ' ὑπ' ἐμοῦ οὔθ' ὑπ' ἄλλου
and you in which-matters neither by me nor by other

οὐδενὸς ἔστιν ἐξαπατηθῆναι ὑμᾶς, καὶ τοὺς ἀδικοῦντας
anyone it-is-possible to-be-deceived you and the-ones doing-wrong
εἰδότες κολάσεσθε ᾗ ἂν βούλησθε δίκῃ, καὶ ἅμα
knowing you-will-punish by-whatever — you-wish penalty both at-once
πάντας καὶ καθ' ἕνα ἕκαστον, εἰ μὴ πλέον, ἀλλὰ κἂν
all and by one each if not more but even-if
μίαν ἡμέραν δόντες αὐτοῖς ὑπὲρ αὑτῶν ἀπολογήσασθαι,
one day having-given to-them for themselves to-make-defense
μὴ ἄλλοις μᾶλλον πιστεύοντες ἢ ὑμῖν αὐτοῖς.
not others rather trusting than you yourselves
ἴστε δέ, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, πάντες ὅτι τὸ Καννωνοῦ 20
you-know and O men Athenians all that the of-Cannonus
ψήφισμά ἐστιν ἰσχυρότατον, ὃ κελεύει, ἐάν τις τὸν
decree is very-strong which bids if anyone the
τῶν Ἀθηναίων δῆμον ἀδικῇ, δεδεμένον ἀποδικεῖν ἐν τῷ
of-the Athenians people wrongs bound to-plead-his-case in the
δήμῳ, καὶ ἐὰν καταγνωσθῇ ἀδικεῖν, ἀποθανεῖν εἰς τὸ
people and if he-be-condemned to-do-wrong to-die into the
βάραθρον ἐμβληθέντα, τὰ δὲ χρήματα αὐτοῦ δημευθῆναι
pit cast the and property his to-be-confiscated
καὶ τῆς θεοῦ τὸ ἐπιδέκατον εἶναι.
and of-the goddess the tenth to-be
κατὰ τοῦτο τὸ ψήφισμα κελεύω κρίνεσθαι τοὺς 21
according-to this the decree I-bid to-be-tried the
στρατηγοὺς καὶ νὴ Δία, ἂν ὑμῖν γε δοκῇ, πρῶτον
generals and by Zeus if to-you at-least it-seem first
Περικλέα τὸν ἐμοὶ προσήκοντα· αἰσχρὸν γάρ μοί ἐστιν
Pericles the-one to-me related shameful for to-me it-is
ἐκεῖνον περὶ πλείονος ποιεῖσθαι ἢ τὴν ὅλην πόλιν.
him of more to-hold than the whole city

22 τοῦτο δ' εἰ μὴ βούλεσθε, κατὰ τόνδε τὸν νόμον
this but if not you-wish according-to this the law
κρίνατε, ὅς ἐστιν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἱεροσύλοις καὶ προδόταις,
judge which is against the temple-robbers and traitors
ἐάν τις ἢ τὴν πόλιν προδιδῷ ἢ τὰ ἱερὰ κλέπτῃ,
if anyone either the city betray or the holy-things steal
κριθέντα ἐν δικαστηρίῳ, ἂν καταγνωσθῇ, μὴ ταφῆναι
having-been-tried in court if he-be-condemned not to-be-buried
ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ, τὰ δὲ χρήματα αὐτοῦ δημόσια εἶναι.
in — Attica the and property his public to-be

23 τούτων ὁποτέρῳ βούλεσθε, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τῷ νόμῳ
of-these by-whichever you-wish O men Athenians the law
κρινέσθων οἱ ἄνδρες κατὰ ἕνα ἕκαστον διῃρημένων τῆς
let-be-tried the men by one each having-been-divided the
ἡμέρας τριῶν μερῶν, ἑνὸς μὲν ἐν ᾧ συλλέγεσθαι ὑμᾶς
day into-three parts one indeed in which to-assemble you
δεῖ καὶ διαψηφίζεσθαι, ἐάν τε ἀδικεῖν δοκῶσιν ἐάν
it-is-needful and to-vote if both to-do-wrong they-seem if
τε μή, ἑτέρου δ' ἐν ᾧ κατηγορῆσαι, ἑτέρου δ' ἐν ᾧ
both not another and in which to-accuse another and in which
ἀπολογήσασθαι.
to-make-defense

24 τούτων δὲ γιγνομένων οἱ μὲν ἀδικοῦντες τεύξονται
these-things and happening the-ones indeed doing-wrong will-meet-with
τῆς μεγίστης τιμωρίας, οἱ δ' ἀναίτιοι ἐλευθερωθήσονται
the greatest punishment the but guiltless will-be-set-free
ὑφ' ὑμῶν, ὦ Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ οὐκ †ἀδικοῦντες ἀπολοῦνται.
by you O Athenians and not doing-wrong will-perish

25 ὑμεῖς δὲ κατὰ τὸν νόμον εὐσεβοῦντες καὶ εὐορκοῦντες
you and according-to the law being-pious and keeping-your-oaths
κρινεῖτε καὶ οὐ συμπολεμήσετε Λακεδαιμονίοις τοὺς
will-judge and not will-fight-on-the-side-of Lacedaemonians the-ones

ἐκείνους ἑβδομήκοντα ναῦς ἀφελομένους καὶ νενικηκότας,
from-those seventy ships having-taken-away and having-won
τούτους ἀπολλύντες ἀκρίτους παρὰ τὸν νόμον.
these destroying untried contrary-to the law
τί δὲ καὶ δεδιότες σφόδρα οὕτως ἐπείγεσθε; ἢ μὴ οὐχ 26
what and also fearing exceedingly so do-you-hurry or-is-it lest not
ὑμεῖς ὃν ἂν βούλησθε ἀποκτείνητε καὶ ἐλευθερώσητε,
you whom-ever — you-wish you-may-kill and set-free
ἂν κατὰ τὸν νόμον κρίνητε, ἀλλ' οὔκ, ἂν παρὰ τὸν
if according-to the law you-try but not if contrary-to the
νόμον, ὥσπερ Καλλίξεινος τὴν βουλὴν ἔπεισεν εἰς τὸν
law as Callixenus the council persuaded into the
δῆμον εἰσενεγκεῖν, μιᾷ ψήφῳ;
people to-bring-in by-one vote
ἀλλ' ἴσως, ἄν τινα καὶ οὐκ αἴτιον ὄντα ἀποκτείνητε, 27
but perhaps if someone even not guilty being you-kill
μεταμελήσει [δὲ] ὕστερον· ἀναμνήσθητε δὲ ὡς ἀλγεινὸν
it-will-repent and later remember and how painful
καὶ ἀνωφελὲς ἤδη ἐστί, πρὸς δ' ἔτι καὶ περὶ θανάτου
and useless already it-is besides and further also about death
ἀνθρώπου ἡμαρτηκότας.
of-a-man having-erred
δεινὰ δ' ἂν ποιήσαιτε, εἰ Ἀριστάρχῳ μὲν πρότερον 28
terrible-things and — you-would-do if to-Aristarchus indeed before
τὸν δῆμον καταλύοντι, εἶτα δ' Οἰνόην προδιδόντι
the democracy overthrowing then and Oenoe betraying
Θηβαίοις πολεμίοις οὖσιν, ἔδοτε ἡμέραν ἀπολογήσασθαι
to-Thebans enemies being you-gave a-day to-make-defense
ᾗ ἐβούλετο καὶ τἆλλα κατὰ τὸν νόμον προύθετε,
in-the-way he-wished and the-rest according-to the law you-granted
τοὺς δὲ στρατηγοὺς τοὺς πάντα ὑμῖν κατὰ γνώμην
the but generals the-ones all for-you according-to judgment

πράξαντας, νικήσαντας δὲ τοὺς πολεμίους, τῶν αὐτῶν
having-done having-defeated and the enemies of-the same
τούτων ἀποστερήσετε.
these you-will-deprive

29 μὴ ὑμεῖς γε, ὦ Ἀθηναῖοι, ἀλλ' ἑαυτῶν ὄντες τοὺς
not you at-least O Athenians but your-own being the
νόμους, δι' οὓς μάλιστα μέγιστοί ἐστε, φυλάττοντες,
laws through which most greatest you-are guarding
ἄνευ τούτων μηδὲν πράττειν πειρᾶσθε. ἐπανέλθετε δὲ
without these nothing to-do try go-back and
καὶ ἐπ' αὐτὰ τὰ πράγματα καθ' ἃ καὶ αἱ ἁμαρτίαι
also to the-very the facts by which also the errors
δοκοῦσι γεγενῆσθαι τοῖς στρατηγοῖς. ἐπεὶ γὰρ κρατήσαντες
seem to-have-occurred to-the generals when for having-prevailed
τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ εἰς τὴν γῆν κατέπλευσαν, Διομέδων μὲν
in-the sea-battle to the land they-sailed-in Diomedon indeed
ἐκέλευεν ἀναχθέντας ἐπὶ κέρως ἅπαντας ἀναιρεῖσθαι τὰ
bade having-put-out in column all to-pick-up the
ναυάγια καὶ τοὺς ναυαγούς, Ἐρασινίδης δ' ἐπὶ τοὺς
wrecks and the shipwrecked Erasinides but against the-ones
πρὸς Μυτιλήνην πολεμίους τὴν ταχίστην πλεῖν ἅπαντας·
at Mytilene enemies the quickest-way to-sail all
Θράσυλλος δὲ ἀμφότερ' ἂν ἔφη γενέσθαι, ἂν τὰς μὲν
Thrasyllus and both-things — said to-happen if the-ones indeed
αὐτοῦ καταλίπωσι, ταῖς δὲ ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους πλέωσι·
there they-leave with-the but against the enemies they-sail
30 καὶ δοξάντων τούτων καταλιπεῖν τρεῖς ναῦς ἕκαστον
and having-seemed-good these-things to-leave three ships each
ἐκ τῆς αὑτοῦ συμμορίας, τῶν στρατηγῶν ὀκτὼ ὄντων,
from the his-own division of-the generals eight being
καὶ τὰς τῶν ταξιάρχων δέκα καὶ τὰς Σαμίων δέκα
and the of-the taxiarchs ten and the of-Samians ten

καὶ τὰς τῶν ναυάρχων τρεῖς· αὗται ἅπασαι γίγνονται
and the of-the admirals three these all become
ἑπτὰ καὶ τετταράκοντα, τέτταρες περὶ ἑκάστην ναῦν τῶν
seven and forty four for each ship of-the
ἀπολωλυιῶν δώδεκα οὐσῶν.
lost twelve being
τῶν δὲ καταλειφθέντων [τριηράρχων] ἦσαν καὶ 31
of-the and left-behind trierarchs were also
Θρασύβουλος καὶ Θηραμένης, ὃς ἐν τῇ προτέρᾳ ἐκκλησίᾳ
Thrasybulus and Theramenes who in the former assembly
κατηγόρει τῶν στρατηγῶν. ταῖς δὲ ἄλλαις ναυσὶν ἔπλεον
accused the generals with-the and other ships they-sailed
ἐπὶ τὰς πολεμίας. τί τούτων οὐχ ἱκανῶς καὶ καλῶς
against the enemy what of-these not sufficiently and well
ἔπραξαν; οὐκοῦν δίκαιον τὰ μὲν πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους
did-they-do therefore just the-things indeed against the enemies
μὴ καλῶς πραχθέντα τοὺς πρὸς †τούτοις ταχθέντας
not well done the-ones to these stationed
ὑπέχειν λόγον, τοὺς δὲ πρὸς τὴν ἀναίρεσιν, μὴ ποιήσαντας
to-render account the-ones but for the recovery not having-done
ἃ οἱ στρατηγοὶ ἐκέλευσαν, διότι οὐκ ἀνείλοντο κρίνεσθαι.
what the generals ordered because not they-picked-up to-be-tried
τοσοῦτον δ' ἔχω εἰπεῖν ὑπὲρ ἀμφοτέρων ὅτι ὁ 32
so-much but I-have to-say for both that the
χειμὼν διεκώλυσε μηδὲν πρᾶξαι ὧν οἱ στρατηγοὶ
storm prevented anything to-do of-what the generals
παρεσκευάσαντο. τούτων δὲ μάρτυρες οἱ σωθέντες ἀπὸ
had-prepared of-these and witnesses the-ones saved by
τοῦ αὐτομάτου, ὧν εἷς τῶν ἡμετέρων στρατηγῶν ἐπὶ
— chance of-whom one of-the our generals on
καταδύσης τῆς νεὼς διασωθείς, ὃν κελεύουσι τῇ αὐτῇ
sinking the ship saved whom they-bid by-the same

ψήφῳ κρίνεσθαι, καὶ αὐτὸν τότε δεόμενον ἀναιρέσεως,
vote to-be-tried and himself then needing recovery
ἥπερ τοὺς οὐ πράξαντας τὰ προσταχθέντα.
by-which-very the-ones not having-done the-things assigned
33 μὴ τοίνυν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ἀντὶ μὲν τῆς νίκης
not then O men Athenians in-return-for indeed the victory
καὶ τῆς εὐτυχίας ὅμοια ποιήσητε τοῖς ἡττημένοις τε
and the good-fortune like-things do to-the defeated both
καὶ ἀτυχοῦσιν, ἀντὶ δὲ τῶν ἐκ θεοῦ ἀναγκαίων
and unfortunate in-return-for and the-things from god necessary
ἀγνωμονεῖν δόξητε, προδοσίαν καταγνόντες ἀντὶ τῆς
to-be-unreasonable seem treason having-condemned instead-of the
ἀδυναμίας, †οὐχ ἱκανοὺς γενομένους διὰ τὸν χειμῶνα
inability not able having-become because-of the storm
πρᾶξαι τὰ προσταχθέντα· ἀλλὰ πολὺ δικαιότερον
to-do the-things assigned but much more-just
στεφάνοις γεραίρειν τοὺς νικῶντας ἢ θανάτῳ ζημιοῦν
with-crowns to-honor the-ones winning than with-death to-punish
πονηροῖς ἀνθρώποις πειθομένους.
to-wicked men obeying
34 Ταῦτ' εἰπὼν Εὐρυπτόλεμος ἔγραψε γνώμην κατὰ τὸ
These-things having-said Euryptolemus wrote a-motion according-to the
Καννωνοῦ ψήφισμα κρίνεσθαι τοὺς ἄνδρας δίχα ἕκαστον·
of-Cannonus decree to-be-tried the men separately each
ἡ δὲ τῆς βουλῆς ἦν μιᾷ ψήφῳ ἅπαντας κρίνειν. τούτων
the but of-the council was by-one vote all to-try of-these
δὲ διαχειροτονουμένων τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἔκριναν τὴν
and being-decided-by-show-of-hands the indeed first they-decided-for the-(motion)
Εὐρυπτολέμου· ὑπομοσαμένου δὲ Μενεκλέους καὶ
of-Euryptolemus having-entered-an-objection-on-oath but Menecles and
πάλιν διαχειροτονίας γενομένης ἔκριναν τὴν τῆς βουλῆς.
again a-show-of-hands having-taken-place they-decided-for the of-the council

καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα κατεψηφίσαντο τῶν ναυμαχησάντων
and after these-things they-condemned the having-fought-at-sea
στρατηγῶν ὀκτὼ ὄντων· ἀπέθανον δὲ οἱ παρόντες ἕξ.
generals eight being died and the-ones present six
καὶ οὐ πολλῷ χρόνῳ ὕστερον μετέμελε τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις, 35
and not much time later it-repented the Athenians
καὶ ἐψηφίσαντο, οἵτινες τὸν δῆμον ἐξηπάτησαν, προβολὰς
and they-voted whoever the people deceived complaints
αὐτῶν εἶναι, καὶ ἐγγυητὰς καταστῆσαι, ἕως ἂν κριθῶσιν,
against-them to-be and sureties to-appoint until — they-be-tried
εἶναι δὲ καὶ Καλλίξεινον τούτων. προυβλήθησαν δὲ καὶ
to-be and also Callixenus of-these were-charged and also
ἄλλοι τέτταρες, καὶ ἐδέθησαν ὑπὸ τῶν ἐγγυησαμένων,
others four and they-were-imprisoned by the-ones having-stood-surety
ὕστερον δὲ στάσεώς τινος γενομένης, ἐν ᾗ Κλεοφῶν
later but faction some having-arisen in which Cleophon
ἀπέθανεν, ἀπέδρασαν οὗτοι, πρὶν κριθῆναι· Καλλίξεινος
died ran-away these before to-be-tried Callixenus
δὲ κατελθὼν ὅτε καὶ οἱ ἐκ Πειραιῶς εἰς τὸ ἄστυ,
and having-returned when also the-ones from Piraeus into the town
μισούμενος ὑπὸ πάντων λιμῷ ἀπέθανεν.
hated by all by-hunger died

BOOK II

I · AEGOSPOTAMI

At Chios Eteonicus breaks a soldiers' conspiracy by killing one man who carries its reed, then raises their pay from the Chians. The allies ask for Lysander, and Sparta sends him as vice-admiral. Cyrus kills two cousins for failing to show him the king's honor and is summoned to his father's sickbed; he gives Lysander all his revenues and tells him not to fight unless he has far more ships. Lysander takes Cedreae and Lampsacus, and the Athenian fleet anchors opposite at Goat's Rivers, on an open beach far from food. For four days Lysander refuses battle while they scatter ashore; their generals send away Alcibiades, who urges them to move to Sestus; on the fifth he falls on their empty ships and takes nearly all of them. Conon escapes to Cyprus. The allies vote to kill every Athenian prisoner except Adeimantus, and Lysander cuts Philocles' throat himself.

1 Οἱ δ' ἐν τῇ Χίῳ μετὰ τοῦ Ἐτεονίκου στρατιῶται ὄντες,
The and in — Chios with — Eteonicus soldiers being
ἕως μὲν θέρος ἦν, ἀπό τε τῆς ὥρας ἐτρέφοντο καὶ
while indeed summer it-was from both the season they-were-fed and
ἐργαζόμενοι μισθοῦ κατὰ τὴν χώραν· ἐπεὶ δὲ χειμὼν
working for-wages throughout the country when but winter
ἐγένετο καὶ τροφὴν οὐκ εἶχον γυμνοί τε ἦσαν καὶ
came and food not they-had naked both they-were and
ἀνυπόδητοι, συνίσταντο ἀλλήλοις καὶ συνετίθεντο ὡς
unshod they-banded-together with-one-another and conspired as
τῇ Χίῳ ἐπιθησόμενοι· οἷς δὲ ταῦτα ἀρέσκοι κάλαμον
— Chios going-to-attack to-whom and these-things pleased a-reed
φέρειν ἐδόκει, ἵνα ἀλλήλους μάθοιεν πόσοι εἴησαν.
to-carry it-seemed-best so-that one-another they-might-learn how-many they-were
2 πυθόμενος δὲ τὸ σύνθημα ὁ Ἐτεόνικος, ἀπόρως μὲν
having-learned and the watchword — Eteonicus at-a-loss indeed
εἶχε τί χρῷτο τῷ πράγματι διὰ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν
was how he-should-deal-with the affair because-of the number of-the

καλαμηφόρων· τό τε γὰρ ἐκ τοῦ ἐμφανοῦς ἐπιχειρῆσαι
reed-bearers the both for from the open to-attack
σφαλερὸν ἐδόκει εἶναι, μὴ εἰς τὰ ὅπλα ὁρμήσωσι καὶ
dangerous seemed to-be lest to the arms they-rush and
τὴν πόλιν κατασχόντες καὶ πολέμιοι γενόμενοι ἀπολέσωσι
the city having-seized and enemies having-become they-ruin
πάντα τὰ πράγματα, ἂν κρατήσωσι, τό τ᾽ αὖ ἀπολλύναι
all the affairs if they-prevail the and in-turn to-destroy
ἀνθρώπους συμμάχους πολλοὺς δεινὸν ἐφαίνετο εἶναι, μή
men allies many terrible appeared to-be lest
τινα καὶ εἰς τοὺς ἄλλους Ἕλληνας διαβολὴν σχοῖεν
some also with the other Greeks slander they-might-incur
καὶ οἱ στρατιῶται δύσνοι πρὸς τὰ πράγματα ὦσιν·
and the soldiers ill-disposed toward the cause be
ἀναλαβὼν δὲ μεθ᾽ ἑαυτοῦ ἄνδρας πεντεκαίδεκα ἐγχειρίδια 3
having-taken and with himself men fifteen daggers
ἔχοντας ἐπορεύετο κατὰ τὴν πόλιν, καὶ ἐντυχών τινι
having he-went through the city and having-met a-certain
ὀφθαλμιῶντι ἀνθρώπῳ ἀπιόντι ἐξ ἰατρείου, κάλαμον
having-sore-eyes man going-away from a-surgery a-reed
ἔχοντι, ἀπέκτεινε.
having he-killed
θορύβου δὲ γενομένου καὶ ἐρωτώντων τινῶν διὰ τί 4
uproar and having-arisen and asking some for what
ἀπέθανεν ὁ ἄνθρωπος, παραγγέλλειν ἐκέλευεν ὁ Ἐτεόνικος,
died the man to-announce bade — Eteonicus
ὅτι τὸν κάλαμον εἶχε. κατὰ δὲ τὴν παραγγελίαν
that the reed he-had according-to and the announcement
ἐρρίπτουν πάντες ὅσοι εἶχον τοὺς καλάμους, ἀεὶ
threw-away all as-many-as had the reeds each-time
ὁ ἀκούων δεδιὼς μὴ ὀφθείη ἔχων.
the-one hearing fearing lest he-be-seen having

μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ὁ Ἐτεόνικος συγκαλέσας τοὺς Χίους
after and these-things — Eteonicus having-called-together the Chians
χρήματα ἐκέλευσε συνενεγκεῖν, ὅπως οἱ ναῦται λάβωσι μισθὸν
money bade to-contribute so-that the sailors might-get pay
καὶ μὴ νεωτερίσωσί τι· οἱ δὲ εἰσήνεγκαν· ἅμα δὲ
and not make-revolution any they and contributed at-the-same-time and
εἰς τὰς ναῦς ἐσήμανεν εἰσβαίνειν· προσιὼν δὲ ἐν μέρει παρ᾽
to the ships he-signaled to-embark going-up and in turn to
ἑκάστην ναῦν παρεθάρρυνέ τε καὶ παρῄνει πολλά, ὡς τοῦ
each ship he-encouraged both and exhorted much as of-the
γεγενημένου οὐδὲν εἰδώς, καὶ μισθὸν ἑκάστῳ μηνὸς διέδωκε.
having-happened nothing knowing and pay to-each of-a-month distributed

6 μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα οἱ Χῖοι καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι σύμμαχοι συλλεγέντες
after and these-things the Chians and the other allies having-gathered
εἰς Ἔφεσον ἐβουλεύσαντο περὶ τῶν ἐνεστηκότων πραγμάτων
at Ephesus deliberated about the present affairs
πέμπειν εἰς Λακεδαίμονα πρέσβεις ταῦτά τε ἐροῦντας
to-send to Lacedaemon envoys these-things both going-to-say
καὶ Λύσανδρον αἰτήσοντας ἐπὶ τὰς ναῦς, εὖ φερόμενον
and Lysander going-to-ask-for for the ships well regarded
παρὰ τοῖς συμμάχοις κατὰ τὴν προτέραν ναυαρχίαν, ὅτε
among the allies during the former admiralty when
καὶ τὴν ἐν Νοτίῳ ἐνίκησε ναυμαχίαν.
also the at Notium he-won sea-battle

7 καὶ ἀπεπέμφθησαν πρέσβεις, σὺν αὐτοῖς δὲ καὶ παρὰ
and were-sent-off envoys with them and also from
Κύρου ταὐτὰ λέγοντες ἄγγελοι. οἱ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι
Cyrus the-same-things saying messengers the and Lacedaemonians
ἔδοσαν τὸν Λύσανδρον ὡς ἐπιστολέα, ναύαρχον δὲ
gave — Lysander as vice-admiral as-admiral but
Ἄρακον· οὐ γὰρ νόμος αὐτοῖς δὶς τὸν αὐτὸν ναυαρχεῖν·
Aracus not for law for-them twice the same to-be-admiral

τὰς μέντοι ναῦς παρέδοσαν Λυσάνδρῳ [ἐτῶν ἤδη τῷ
the however ships they-handed-over to-Lysander years already for-the
πολέμῳ πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι παρεληλυθότων].
war five and twenty having-passed
Τούτῳ δὲ τῷ ἐνιαυτῷ καὶ Κῦρος ἀπέκτεινεν Αὐτοβοισάκην 8
In-this and the year also Cyrus killed Autoboesaces
καὶ Μιτραῖον, υἱεῖς ὄντας τῆς Δαρειαίου ἀδελφῆς [τῆς
and Mitraeus sons being of-the of-Dariaeus sister the-(daughter)
τοῦ Ξέρξου τοῦ Δαρείου πατρός], ὅτι αὐτῷ ἀπαντῶντες
— of-Xerxes the of-Darius father because him meeting
οὐ διέωσαν διὰ τῆς κόρης τὰς χεῖρας, ὃ ποιοῦσι
not they-thrust-through through the korē the hands which they-do
βασιλεῖ μόνῳ· ἡ δὲ κόρη ἐστὶ μακρότερον ἢ χειρίς,
for-the-king alone the and korē is longer than a-sleeve
ἐν ᾗ τὴν χεῖρα ἔχων οὐδὲν ἂν δύναιτο ποιῆσαι.
in which the hand having nothing — he-could to-do
Ἱεραμένης μὲν οὖν καὶ ἡ γυνὴ ἔλεγον πρὸς Δαρειαῖον 9
Hieramenes indeed then and the wife spoke to Dariaeus
δεινὸν εἶναι εἰ περιόψεται τὴν λίαν ὕβριν τούτου· ὁ δὲ
terrible to-be if he-will-overlook the excessive insolence of-this-one he and
αὐτὸν μεταπέμπεται ὡς ἀρρωστῶν, πέμψας ἀγγέλους.
him sends-for as being-ill having-sent messengers
Τῷ δ' ἐπιόντι ἔτει, [ἐπὶ Ἀρχύτα μὲν ἐφορεύοντος, 10
In-the and following year in-the-time-of Archytas indeed being-ephor
ἄρχοντος δ' ἐν Ἀθήναις Ἀλεξίου], Λύσανδρος ἀφικόμενος εἰς
archon and in Athens Alexias Lysander having-arrived at
Ἔφεσον μετεπέμψατο Ἐτεόνικον ἐκ Χίου σὺν ταῖς ναυσί,
Ephesus sent-for Eteonicus from Chios with the ships
καὶ τὰς ἄλλας πάσας συνήθροισεν, εἴ πού τις ἦν, καὶ
and the other all gathered if anywhere any was and
ταύτας τ' ἐπεσκεύαζε καὶ ἄλλας ἐν Ἀντάνδρῳ ἐναυπηγεῖτο.
these both he-refitted and others in Antandrus he-was-having-built

11 ἐλθὼν δὲ παρὰ Κῦρον χρήματα ᾔτει· ὁ δ' αὐτῷ εἶπεν
having-gone and to Cyrus money he-asked he but to-him said
ὅτι τὰ μὲν παρὰ βασιλέως ἀνηλωμένα εἴη, καὶ ἔτι
that the-things indeed from the-king spent were and still
πλείω πολλῷ, δεικνύων ὅσα ἕκαστος τῶν ναυάρχων
more by-much showing how-much each of-the admirals
ἔχοι, ὅμως δ' ἔδωκε.
had nevertheless but he-gave

12 λαβὼν δὲ ὁ Λύσανδρος τἀργύριον, ἐπὶ τὰς τριήρεις
having-taken and — Lysander the-silver over the triremes
τριηράρχους ἐπέστησε καὶ τοῖς ναύταις τὸν ὀφειλόμενον
trierarchs set and to-the sailors the owed
μισθὸν ἀπέδωκε. παρεσκευάζοντο δὲ καὶ οἱ τῶν Ἀθηναίων
pay paid prepared and also the of-the Athenians
στρατηγοὶ πρὸς τὸ ναυτικὸν ἐν τῇ Σάμῳ.
generals for the fleet in — Samos

13 Κῦρος δ' ἐπὶ τούτοις μετεπέμψατο Λύσανδρον, ἐπεὶ αὐτῷ
Cyrus and upon these-things sent-for Lysander since to-him
παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς ἦκεν ἄγγελος λέγων ὅτι ἀρρωστῶν
from the father had-come a-messenger saying that being-ill
κεῖνον καλοίη, ὢν ἐν Θαμνηρίοις τῆς Μηδίας ἐγγὺς
him he-called being in Thamneria — of-Media near
Καδουσίων, ἐφ' οὓς ἐστράτευσεν ἀφεστῶτας.
Cadusians against whom he-had-campaigned having-revolted

14 ἥκοντα δὲ Λύσανδρον οὐκ εἴα ναυμαχεῖν πρὸς
having-come and Lysander not he-allowed to-fight-at-sea against
Ἀθηναίους, ἐὰν μὴ πολλῷ πλείους ναῦς ἔχῃ· εἶναι γὰρ
Athenians if not by-much more ships he-have to-be for
χρήματα πολλὰ καὶ βασιλεῖ καὶ ἑαυτῷ, ὥστε τούτου
money much both to-the-king and to-himself so-that of-this
ἕνεκεν πολλὰς πληροῦν. παρέδειξε δ' αὐτῷ πάντας τοὺς
for-the-sake many to-man he-assigned and to-him all the

φόρους τοὺς ἐκ τῶν πόλεων, οἳ αὐτῷ ἴδιοι ἦσαν,
tributes the-ones from the cities which to-him private were
καὶ τὰ περιττὰ χρήματα ἔδωκε· καὶ ἀναμνήσας ὡς
and the surplus money he-gave and having-reminded-him how
εἶχε φιλίας πρός τε τὴν τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων πόλιν
he-was-disposed of-friendship toward both the of-the Lacedaemonians city
καὶ πρὸς Λύσανδρον ἰδίᾳ, ἀνέβαινε παρὰ τὸν πατέρα.
and toward Lysander privately he-went-up to the father
Λύσανδρος δ' ἐπεὶ αὐτῷ Κῦρος πάντα παραδοὺς 15
Lysander and when to-him Cyrus all having-handed-over
τὰ αὑτοῦ πρὸς τὸν πατέρα ἀρρωστοῦντα μετάπεμπτος
the his-own to the father being-ill summoned
ἀνέβαινε, μισθὸν διαδοὺς τῇ στρατιᾷ ἀνήχθη τῆς
went-up pay having-distributed to-the army put-out —
Καρίας εἰς τὸν Κεραμικὸν κόλπον. καὶ προσβαλὼν πόλει
of-Caria into the Ceramic gulf and having-attacked a-city
τῶν Ἀθηναίων συμμάχῳ ὄνομα Κεδρείαις τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ
of-the Athenians allied by-name Cedreae on-the following
προσβολῇ κατὰ κράτος αἱρεῖ καὶ ἐξηνδραπόδισεν. ἦσαν
attack by force takes and enslaved were
δὲ μειξοβάρβαροι οἱ ἐνοικοῦντες.
and half-barbarians the inhabitants
ἐκεῖθεν δὲ ἀπέπλευσεν εἰς Ῥόδον. οἱ δ' Ἀθηναῖοι ἐκ τῆς 16
thence and he-sailed-off to Rhodes the and Athenians from —
Σάμου ὁρμώμενοι τὴν βασιλέως κακῶς ἐποίουν, καὶ ἐπὶ
Samos setting-out the-(land) of-the-king badly treated and against
τὴν Χίον καὶ τὴν Ἔφεσον ἐπέπλεον, καὶ παρεσκευάζοντο
— Chios and — Ephesus sailed and prepared
πρὸς ναυμαχίαν, καὶ στρατηγοὺς πρὸς τοῖς ὑπάρχουσι
for sea-battle and generals in-addition-to the existing
προσείλοντο Μένανδρον, Τυδέα, Κηφισόδοτον.
chose Menander Tydeus Cephisodotus

17 Λύσανδρος δ' ἐκ τῆς Ῥόδου παρὰ τὴν Ἰωνίαν ἔπλει
Lysander and from — Rhodes along — Ionia sailed
πρὸς τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον πρός τε τῶν πλοίων τὸν ἔκπλουν
toward the Hellespont against both of-the boats the sailing-out
καὶ ἐπὶ τὰς ἀφεστηκυίας αὐτῶν πόλεις. ἀνήγοντο δὲ
and against the having-revolted from-them cities put-out and
καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐκ τῆς Χίου πελάγιοι·
also the Athenians from — Chios on-the-open-sea

18 ἡ γὰρ Ἀσία πολεμία αὐτοῖς ἦν· Λύσανδρος δ' ἐξ Ἀβύδου
— for Asia hostile to-them was Lysander and from Abydos
παρέπλει εἰς Λάμψακον σύμμαχον οὖσαν Ἀθηναίων· καὶ οἱ
sailed-along to Lampsacus allied being of-Athenians and the
Ἀβυδηνοὶ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι παρῆσαν πεζῇ· ἡγεῖτο δὲ Θώραξ
Abydenes and the others were-present on-foot led and Thorax
Λακεδαιμόνιος.
Lacedaemonian

19 προσβαλόντες δὲ τῇ πόλει αἱροῦσι κατὰ κράτος, καὶ
having-attacked and the city they-take by force and
διήρπασαν οἱ στρατιῶται οὖσαν πλουσίαν καὶ οἴνου καὶ
plundered the soldiers being rich and of-wine and
σίτου καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἐπιτηδείων πλήρη· τὰ δὲ ἐλεύθερα
of-grain and of-the other provisions full the but free
σώματα πάντα ἀφῆκε Λύσανδρος.
persons all released Lysander

20 οἱ δ' Ἀθηναῖοι κατὰ πόδας πλέοντες ὡρμίσαντο τῆς
the and Athenians on-his heels sailing anchored —
Χερρονήσου ἐν Ἐλαιοῦντι ναυσὶν ὀγδοήκοντα καὶ ἑκατόν.
of-the-Chersonese at Elaeus with-ships eighty and hundred
ἐνταῦθα δὴ ἀριστοποιουμένοις αὐτοῖς ἀγγέλλεται τὰ
there indeed taking-breakfast to-them is-reported the-things
περὶ Λάμψακον, καὶ εὐθὺς ἀνήχθησαν εἰς Σηστόν.
about Lampsacus and at-once they-put-out to Sestus

ἐκεῖθεν δ᾽ εὐθὺς ἐπισιτισάμενοι ἔπλευσαν εἰς Αἰγὸς ποταμοὺς 21
thence and at-once having-provisioned they-sailed to Goat's Rivers
ἀντίον τῆς Λαμψάκου· διέχει δὲ ὁ Ἑλλήσποντος ταύτῃ
opposite — Lampsacus is-wide and the Hellespont here
σταδίους ὡς πεντεκαίδεκα. ἐνταῦθα δὴ ἐδειπνοποιοῦντο.
stades about fifteen there indeed they-took-dinner
Λύσανδρος δὲ τῇ ἐπιούσῃ νυκτί, ἐπεὶ ὄρθρος ἦν, 22
Lysander and on-the following night when dawn it-was
ἐσήμηνεν εἰς τὰς ναῦς ἀριστοποιησαμένους εἰσβαίνειν,
signaled into the ships having-breakfasted to-embark
πάντα δὲ παρασκευασάμενος ὡς εἰς ναυμαχίαν καὶ τὰ
all and having-prepared as for sea-battle and the
παραβλήματα παραβάλλων, προεῖπεν ὡς μηδεὶς κινήσοιτο
side-screens putting-alongside proclaimed that no-one should-move
ἐκ τῆς τάξεως μηδὲ ἀνάξοιτο.
from the line nor should-put-out
οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι ἅμα τῷ ἡλίῳ ἀνίσχοντι ἐπὶ τῷ 23
the and Athenians at-the-same-time with-the sun rising at the
λιμένι παρετάξαντο ἐν μετώπῳ ὡς εἰς ναυμαχίαν. ἐπεὶ
harbor drew-up in front as for sea-battle when
δὲ οὐκ ἀντανήγαγε Λύσανδρος καὶ τῆς ἡμέρας ὀψὲ ἦν,
but not put-out-against-them Lysander and of-the day late it-was
ἀπέπλευσαν πάλιν εἰς τοὺς Αἰγὸς ποταμούς.
they-sailed-off again to the Goat's Rivers
Λύσανδρος δὲ τὰς ταχίστας τῶν νεῶν ἐκέλευσεν ἕπεσθαι 24
Lysander and the swiftest of-the ships bade to-follow
τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις, ἐπειδὰν δὲ ἐκβῶσι, κατιδόντας ὅ τι
the Athenians when and they-disembark having-observed what ever
ποιοῦσιν ἀποπλεῖν καὶ αὐτῷ ἐξαγγεῖλαι. καὶ οὐ πρότερον
they-do to-sail-back and to-him to-report and not before

ἐξεβίβασεν ἐκ τῶν νεῶν πρὶν αὗται ἦκον. ταῦτα δ'
he-disembarked from the ships before these came these-things and
ἐποίει τέτταρας ἡμέρας· καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐπανήγοντο.
he-did four days and the Athenians put-out-against-him
25 Ἀλκιβιάδης δὲ κατιδὼν ἐκ τῶν τειχῶν τοὺς μὲν
Alcibiades and having-observed from the forts the indeed
Ἀθηναίους ἐν αἰγιαλῷ ὁρμοῦντας καὶ πρὸς οὐδεμιᾷ πόλει,
Athenians on a-beach anchoring and near no city
τὰ δ' ἐπιτήδεια ἐκ Σηστοῦ μετιόντας πεντεκαίδεκα
the and provisions from Sestus fetching fifteen
σταδίους ἀπὸ τῶν νεῶν, τοὺς δὲ πολεμίους ἐν λιμένι καὶ
stades from the ships the but enemies in a-harbor and
πρὸς πόλει ἔχοντας πάντα, οὐκ ἐν καλῷ ἔφη αὐτοὺς
near a-city having everything not in good he-said them
ὁρμεῖν, ἀλλὰ μεθορμίσαι εἰς Σηστὸν παρῄνει πρός τε
to-anchor but to-change-anchorage to Sestus he-urged to both
λιμένα καὶ πρὸς πόλιν·
harbor and to city
26 οὗ ὄντες ναυμαχήσετε, ἔφη, ὅταν βούλησθε. οἱ δὲ
where being you-will-fight-at-sea he-said whenever you-wish the but
στρατηγοί, μάλιστα δὲ Τυδεὺς καὶ Μένανδρος, ἀπιέναι
generals most and Tydeus and Menander to-go-away
αὐτὸν ἐκέλευσαν· αὐτοὶ γὰρ νῦν στρατηγεῖν, οὐκ ἐκεῖνον.
him bade themselves for now to-be-generals not him
27 καὶ ὁ μὲν ᾤχετο. Λύσανδρος δ', ἐπεὶ ἦν ἡμέρα
and he indeed went-off Lysander and when it-was day
πέμπτη ἐπιπλέουσι τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις, εἶπε τοῖς παρ'
fifth sailing-against-him for-the Athenians told to-the-ones from
αὐτοῦ ἑπομένοις, ἐπὴν κατίδωσιν αὐτοὺς ἐκβεβηκότας καὶ
him following when they-see them disembarked and
ἐσκεδασμένους κατὰ τὴν Χερρόνησον, ὅπερ ἐποίουν
scattered throughout the Chersonese which-very they-did

πολὺ μᾶλλον καθ᾽ ἑκάστην ἡμέραν, τά τε σιτία πόρρωθεν
much more by each day the both food from-afar
ὠνούμενοι καὶ καταφρονοῦντες δὴ τοῦ Λυσάνδρου, ὅτι
buying and despising indeed — Lysander because
οὐκ ἀντανῆγεν, ἀποπλέοντας τοὔμπαλιν παρ᾽ αὐτὸν
not he-put-out-against-them sailing-back back toward him
ἆραι ἀσπίδα κατὰ μέσον τὸν πλοῦν. οἱ δὲ ταῦτα
to-raise a-shield in middle the voyage they and these-things
ἐποίησαν ὡς ἐκέλευσε.
did as he-bade
Λύσανδρος δ᾽ εὐθὺς ἐσήμανε τὴν ταχίστην πλεῖν, συμπαρῄει 28
Lysander and at-once signaled the quickest-way to-sail went-along-with
δὲ καὶ Θώραξ τὸ πεζὸν ἔχων. Κόνων δὲ ἰδὼν τὸν
and also Thorax the infantry having Conon and having-seen the
ἐπίπλουν, ἐσήμανεν εἰς τὰς ναῦς βοηθεῖν κατὰ κράτος.
attack signaled to the ships to-come-to-help with force
διεσκεδασμένων δὲ τῶν ἀνθρώπων, αἱ μὲν τῶν νεῶν
scattered but the men the-ones indeed of-the ships
δίκροτοι ἦσαν, αἱ δὲ μονόκροτοι, αἱ δὲ παντελῶς
two-banked were the-others but single-banked the-others and entirely
κεναί· ἡ δὲ Κόνωνος καὶ ἄλλαι περὶ αὐτὸν ἑπτὰ πλήρεις
empty the but of-Conon and others around him seven full
ἀνήχθησαν ἁθρόαι καὶ ἡ Πάραλος, τὰς δ᾽ ἄλλας πάσας
put-out all-together and the Paralus the but others all
Λύσανδρος ἔλαβε πρὸς τῇ γῇ. τοὺς δὲ πλείστους ἄνδρας
Lysander took at the land the and most men
ἐν τῇ γῇ συνέλεξεν· οἱ δὲ καὶ ἔφυγον εἰς τὰ τειχύδρια.
on the land he-gathered the-others but also fled into the small-forts
Κόνων δὲ ταῖς ἐννέα ναυσὶ φεύγων, ἐπεὶ ἔγνω τῶν 29
Conon and with-the nine ships fleeing when he-knew of-the
Ἀθηναίων τὰ πράγματα διεφθαρμένα, κατασχὼν ἐπὶ τὴν
Athenians the affairs ruined having-put-in at —

Ἀβαρνίδα τὴν Λαμψάκου ἄκραν ἔλαβεν αὐτόθεν τὰ μεγάλα
Abarnis the of-Lampsacus cape took from-there the large
τῶν Λυσάνδρου νεῶν ἱστία, καὶ αὐτὸς μὲν ὀκτὼ ναυσὶν
of-the of-Lysander ships sails and himself indeed with-eight ships
ἀπέπλευσε παρ' Εὐαγόραν εἰς Κύπρον, ἡ δὲ Πάραλος
sailed-off to Evagoras to Cyprus the and Paralus
εἰς τὰς Ἀθήνας, ἀπαγγελοῦσα τὰ γεγονότα.
to — Athens going-to-report the-things having-happened
30 Λύσανδρος δὲ τάς τε ναῦς καὶ τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους καὶ
Lysander and the both ships and the prisoners and
τἆλλα πάντα εἰς Λάμψακον ἀπήγαγεν, ἔλαβε δὲ καὶ
the-rest all to Lampsacus led-away took and also
τῶν στρατηγῶν ἄλλους τε καὶ Φιλοκλέα καὶ Ἀδείμαντον.
of-the generals others both and Philocles and Adeimantus
ᾗ δ' ἡμέρᾳ ταῦτα κατηργάσατο, ἔπεμψε Θεόπομπον
on-which and day these-things he-accomplished he-sent Theopompus
τὸν Μιλήσιον λῃστὴν εἰς Λακεδαίμονα, ἀπαγγελοῦντα
the Milesian pirate to Lacedaemon going-to-report
τὰ γεγονότα, ὃς ἀφικόμενος τριταῖος ἀπήγγειλε.
the-things having-happened who having-arrived on-the-third-day reported
31 μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Λύσανδρος ἀθροίσας τοὺς συμμάχους
after and these-things Lysander having-gathered the allies
ἐκέλευσε βουλεύεσθαι περὶ τῶν αἰχμαλώτων. ἐνταῦθα
bade-them to-deliberate about the prisoners there
δὴ κατηγορίαι ἐγίγνοντο πολλαὶ τῶν Ἀθηναίων, ἅ
indeed accusations arose many of-the Athenians what
τε ἤδη παρενενομήκεσαν καὶ ἃ ἐψηφισμένοι ἦσαν
both already they-had-transgressed and what having-voted they-were
ποιεῖν, εἰ κρατήσειαν τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ, τὴν δεξιὰν χεῖρα
to-do if they-should-prevail in-the sea-battle the right hand
ἀποκόπτειν τῶν ζωγρηθέντων πάντων, καὶ ὅτι λαβόντες
to-cut-off of-the captured all and that having-taken

δύο τριήρεις, Κορινθίαν καὶ Ἀνδρίαν, τοὺς ἄνδρας
two triremes Corinthian and Andrian the men
ἐξ αὐτῶν πάντας κατακρημνίσειαν. Φιλοκλῆς δ' ἦν
from them all they-had-thrown-overboard Philocles and was
στρατηγὸς τῶν Ἀθηναίων, ὃς τούτους διέφθειρεν.
general of-the Athenians who these destroyed
ἐλέγετο δὲ καὶ ἄλλα πολλά, καὶ ἔδοξεν ἀποκτεῖναι τῶν 32
were-said and also other-things many and it-seemed-best to-kill of-the
αἰχμαλώτων ὅσοι ἦσαν Ἀθηναῖοι πλὴν Ἀδειμάντου, ὅτι
prisoners as-many-as were Athenians except Adeimantus because
μόνος ἐπελάβετο ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ τοῦ περὶ τῆς ἀποτομῆς τῶν
alone he-had-opposed in the assembly the about the cutting-off of-the
χειρῶν ψηφίσματος· ἠτιάθη μέντοι ὑπό τινων προδοῦναι
hands decree he-was-accused however by some to-have-betrayed
τὰς ναῦς. Λύσανδρος δὲ Φιλοκλέα πρῶτον ἐρωτήσας, ὃς
the ships Lysander and Philocles first having-asked who
τοὺς Ἀνδρίους καὶ Κορινθίους κατεκρήμνισε, τί εἴη ἄξιος
the Andrians and Corinthians had-thrown-overboard what he-was worthy
παθεῖν ἀρξάμενος εἰς Ἕλληνας παρανομεῖν, ἀπέσφαξεν.
to-suffer having-begun against Greeks to-transgress cut-his-throat

Lysander takes Byzantium and Chalcedon and sends every Athenian he finds home to Athens, knowing that the more people crowd into the city, the sooner its food will run out. When the Paralus brings the news by night, a wail runs from Piraeus up the long walls to the city, and no one sleeps, fearing they will suffer what they did to the Melians and others. Besieged by land and sea, with no ships, allies, or grain, the Athenians enfranchise the disfranchised and hold out while many starve. Theramenes stays with Lysander more than three months and then goes to Sparta with full powers. Corinth and Thebes want Athens destroyed, but Sparta refuses to enslave a Greek city that did great good in the greatest dangers. Athens must pull down the long walls and the Piraeus, give up all but twelve ships, and recall its exiles. It accepts, and the walls come down to the music of flute-girls. So ends the year in whose middle Dionysius made himself tyrant of Syracuse.

1 Ἐπεὶ δὲ τὰ ἐν τῇ Λαμψάκῳ κατεστήσατο, ἔπλει ἐπὶ
When and the-things in — Lampsacus he-had-settled he-sailed against
τὸ Βυζάντιον καὶ Καλχηδόνα. οἱ δ' αὐτὸν ὑπεδέχοντο,
— Byzantium and Chalcedon they and him received
τοὺς τῶν Ἀθηναίων φρουροὺς ὑποσπόνδους ἀφέντες. οἱ
the of-the Athenians garrison under-truce having-let-go the-ones
δὲ προδόντες Ἀλκιβιάδῃ τὸ Βυζάντιον τότε μὲν ἔφυγον εἰς
but having-betrayed to-Alcibiades — Byzantium then indeed fled to
τὸν Πόντον, ὕστερον δ' εἰς Ἀθήνας καὶ ἐγένοντο Ἀθηναῖοι.
the Pontus later but to Athens and became Athenians
2 Λύσανδρος δὲ τούς τε φρουροὺς τῶν Ἀθηναίων καὶ εἴ τινά
Lysander and the both garrison of-the Athenians and if anyone
που ἄλλον ἴδοι Ἀθηναῖον, ἀπέπεμπεν εἰς τὰς Ἀθήνας,
anywhere other he-saw Athenian sent-off to — Athens
διδοὺς ἐκεῖσε μόνον πλέουσιν ἀσφάλειαν, ἄλλοσε δ' οὔ, εἰδὼς
giving thither only to-those-sailing safety elsewhere but not knowing
[ὅτι] ὅσῳ ἂν πλείους συλλεγῶσιν εἰς τὸ ἄστυ καὶ τὸν
that by-how-much — more gather into the town and the

Πειραιᾶ, θᾶττον τῶν ἐπιτηδείων ἔνδειαν ἔσεσθαι. καταλιπὼν
Piraeus the-sooner of-the provisions want would-be having-left-behind
δὲ Βυζαντίου καὶ Καλχηδόνος Σθενέλαον ἁρμοστὴν Λάκωνα,
and of-Byzantium and of-Chalcedon Sthenelaus as-harmost Laconian
αὐτὸς ἀποπλεύσας εἰς Λάμψακον τὰς ναῦς ἐπεσκεύαζεν.
himself having-sailed-off to Lampsacus the ships he-refitted
Ἐν δὲ ταῖς Ἀθήναις τῆς Παράλου ἀφικομένης νυκτὸς 3
In and — Athens the Paralus having-arrived by-night
ἐλέγετο ἡ συμφορά, καὶ οἰμωγὴ ἐκ τοῦ Πειραιῶς διὰ
was-told the disaster and a-wail from the Piraeus through
τῶν μακρῶν τειχῶν εἰς ἄστυ διῆκεν, ὁ ἕτερος τῷ ἑτέρῳ
the long walls to town passed the-one other to-the other
παραγγέλλων· ὥστ᾽ ἐκείνης τῆς νυκτὸς οὐδεὶς ἐκοιμήθη, οὐ
passing-it-on so-that that the night no-one slept not
μόνον τοὺς ἀπολωλότας πενθοῦντες, ἀλλὰ πολὺ μᾶλλον
only the lost mourning but much more
ἔτι αὐτοὶ ἑαυτούς, πείσεσθαι νομίζοντες οἷα ἐποίησαν
still themselves themselves to-suffer thinking such-things-as they-did
Μηλίους τε Λακεδαιμονίων ἀποίκους ὄντας, κρατήσαντες
to-Melians both of-Lacedaemonians colonists being having-prevailed
πολιορκίᾳ, καὶ Ἱστιαιέας καὶ Σκιωναίους καὶ Τορωναίους
by-siege and Histiaeans and Scionaeans and Toronaeans
καὶ Αἰγινήτας καὶ ἄλλους πολλοὺς τῶν Ἑλλήνων.
and Aeginetans and others many of-the Greeks
τῇ δ᾽ ὑστεραίᾳ ἐκκλησίαν ἐποίησαν, ἐν ᾗ ἔδοξε τούς 4
on-the and next-day an-assembly they-held in which it-seemed-best the
τε λιμένας ἀποχῶσαι πλὴν ἑνὸς καὶ τὰ τείχη εὐτρεπίζειν
both harbors to-block-up except one and the walls to-put-in-order
καὶ φυλακὰς ἐφιστάναι καὶ τἆλλα πάντα ὡς εἰς πολιορκίαν
and guards to-station and the-rest all as for siege
παρασκευάζειν τὴν πόλιν. καὶ οὗτοι μὲν περὶ ταῦτα ἦσαν.
to-prepare the city and these indeed about these-things were

5 Λύσανδρος δ' ἐκ τοῦ Ἑλλησπόντου ναυσὶ διακοσίαις
Lysander and from the Hellespont with-ships two-hundred
ἀφικόμενος εἰς Λέσβον κατεσκευάσατο τάς τε ἄλλας
having-arrived at Lesbos settled the both other
πόλεις ἐν αὐτῇ καὶ Μυτιλήνην· εἰς δὲ τὰ ἐπὶ
cities on it and Mytilene to and the in-the-region-of
Θρᾴκης χωρία ἔπεμψε δέκα τριήρεις ἔχοντα Ἐτεόνικον,
Thrace places sent ten triremes having Eteonicus
ὃς τὰ ἐκεῖ πάντα πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους μετέστησεν.
who the-things there all to Lacedaemonians brought-over
6 εὐθὺς δὲ καὶ ἡ ἄλλη Ἑλλὰς ἀφειστήκει Ἀθηναίων μετὰ
at-once and also the rest-of Greece had-revolted from-Athenians after
τὴν ναυμαχίαν πλὴν Σαμίων· οὗτοι δὲ σφαγὰς τῶν
the sea-battle except Samians these but slaughters of-the
γνωρίμων ποιήσαντες κατεῖχον τὴν πόλιν.
notables having-made held the city
7 Λύσανδρος δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα ἔπεμψε πρὸς Ἄγιν τε
Lysander and after these-things sent to Agis both
εἰς Δεκέλειαν καὶ εἰς Λακεδαίμονα ὅτι προσπλεῖ σὺν
at Decelea and to Lacedaemon that he-is-sailing-up with
διακοσίαις ναυσί. Λακεδαιμόνιοι δ' ἐξῆσαν πανδημεὶ καὶ
two-hundred ships Lacedaemonians and marched-out in-full-force and
οἱ ἄλλοι Πελοποννήσιοι πλὴν Ἀργείων, παραγγείλαντος
the other Peloponnesians except Argives having-ordered
τοῦ ἑτέρου Λακεδαιμονίων βασιλέως Παυσανίου.
the other of-Lacedaemonians king Pausanias
8 ἐπεὶ δ' ἅπαντες ἠθροίσθησαν, ἀναλαβὼν αὐτοὺς πρὸς τὴν
when and all were-gathered having-taken them to the
πόλιν ἐστρατοπέδευσεν ἐν τῇ Ἀκαδημείᾳ [τῷ καλουμένῳ
city he-encamped in the Academy the called
γυμνασίῳ].
gymnasium

Λύσανδρος δὲ ἀφικόμενος εἰς Αἴγιναν ἀπέδωκε τὴν πόλιν 9
Lysander and having-arrived at Aegina gave-back the city
Αἰγινήταις, ὅσους ἐδύνατο πλείστους [αὐτῶν] ἀθροίσας,
to-Aeginetans as-many-as he-could most of-them having-gathered
ὡς δ' αὖτως καὶ Μηλίοις καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ὅσοι τῆς
so and likewise also to-Melians and to-the others as-many-as of-the
αὐτῶν ἐστέροντο. μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο δηώσας Σαλαμῖνα
their-own were-deprived after and this having-ravaged Salamis
ὡρμίσατο πρὸς τὸν Πειραιᾶ ναυσὶ πεντήκοντα καὶ
he-anchored at the Piraeus with-ships fifty and
ἑκατόν, καὶ τὰ πλοῖα εἶργε τοῦ εἴσπλου.
hundred and the boats he-shut-out-from the sailing-in
Οἱ δ' Ἀθηναῖοι πολιορκούμενοι κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ 10
The and Athenians besieged by land and by
θάλατταν ἠπόρουν τί χρὴ ποιεῖν, οὔτε νεῶν οὔτε
sea were-at-a-loss what it-is-needful to-do neither of-ships nor
συμμάχων αὐτοῖς ὄντων οὔτε σίτου· ἐνόμιζον δὲ οὐδεμίαν
of-allies for-them being nor of-grain they-thought and no
εἶναι σωτηρίαν [εἰ] μὴ παθεῖν ἃ οὐ τιμωρούμενοι ἐποίησαν,
to-be safety if not to-suffer what not avenging they-had-done
ἀλλὰ διὰ τὴν ὕβριν ἠδίκουν ἀνθρώπους μικροπολίτας
but through the insolence they-wronged men of-small-cities
οὐδ' ἐπὶ μιᾷ αἰτίᾳ ἑτέρᾳ ἢ ὅτι ἐκείνοις συνεμάχουν.
not-even on one charge other than that with-those they-were-allied
διὰ ταῦτα τοὺς ἀτίμους ἐπιτίμους ποιήσαντες 11
because-of these-things the disfranchised enfranchised having-made
ἐκαρτέρουν, καὶ ἀποθνῃσκόντων ἐν τῇ πόλει λιμῷ
they-held-out and dying in the city of-hunger
πολλῶν οὐ διελέγοντο περὶ διαλλαγῆς. ἐπεὶ δὲ παντελῶς
many not they-negotiated about reconciliation when but entirely
ἤδη ὁ σῖτος ἐπελελοίπει, ἔπεμψαν πρέσβεις παρ' Ἄγιν,
already the grain had-failed they-sent envoys to Agis

βουλόμενοι σύμμαχοι εἶναι Λακεδαιμονίοις ἔχοντες τὰ
wishing allies to-be to-Lacedaemonians having the
τείχη καὶ τὸν Πειραιᾶ καὶ ἐπὶ τούτοις συνθήκας ποιεῖσθαι.
walls and the Piraeus and on these-terms an-agreement to-make
12 ὁ δὲ αὐτοὺς εἰς Λακεδαίμονα ἐκέλευεν ἰέναι· οὐ γὰρ εἶναι
he but them to Lacedaemon bade to-go not for to-be
κύριος αὐτός. ἐπεὶ δ' ἀπήγγειλαν οἱ πρέσβεις ταῦτα
competent himself when and reported the envoys these-things
τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις, ἔπεμψαν αὐτοὺς εἰς Λακεδαίμονα.
to-the Athenians they-sent them to Lacedaemon
13 οἱ δ' ἐπεὶ ἦσαν ἐν Σελλασίᾳ [πλησίον] τῆς Λακωνικῆς
they and when they-were at Sellasia near the Laconian-land
καὶ ἐπύθοντο οἱ ἔφοροι αὐτῶν ἃ ἔλεγον, ὄντα οἷάπερ
and learned the ephors from-them what they-said being just-such-as
καὶ πρὸς Ἄγιν, αὐτόθεν αὐτοὺς ἐκέλευον ἀπιέναι, καὶ εἴ
also to Agis from-there them they-bade to-go-away and if
τι δέονται εἰρήνης, κάλλιον ἥκειν βουλευσαμένους.
anything they-want of-peace better to-come having-deliberated
14 οἱ δὲ πρέσβεις ἐπεὶ ἦκον οἴκαδε καὶ ἀπήγγειλαν
the and envoys when they-came home and reported
ταῦτα εἰς τὴν πόλιν, ἀθυμία ἐνέπεσε πᾶσιν· ᾤοντο
these-things to the city despondency fell-on all they-thought
γὰρ ἀνδραποδισθήσεσθαι, καὶ ἕως ἂν πέμπωσιν ἑτέρους
for would-be-enslaved and until — they-send other
πρέσβεις, πολλοὺς τῷ λιμῷ ἀπολεῖσθαι.
envoys many by-the hunger to-perish
15 περὶ δὲ τῶν τειχῶν τῆς καθαιρέσεως οὐδεὶς ἐβούλετο
about and of-the walls the demolition no-one wished
συμβουλεύειν· Ἀρχέστρατος γὰρ εἰπὼν ἐν τῇ βουλῇ
to-advise Archestratus for having-said in the council
Λακεδαιμονίοις κράτιστον εἶναι ἐφ' οἷς προυκαλοῦντο
with-Lacedaemonians best to-be on what they-proposed

εἰρήνην ποιεῖσθαι, ἐδέθη· προυκαλοῦντο δὲ τῶν μακρῶν
peace to-make was-imprisoned they-proposed and of-the long
τειχῶν ἐπὶ δέκα σταδίους καθελεῖν ἑκατέρου· ἐγένετο δὲ
walls for ten stades to-pull-down of-each was and
ψήφισμα μὴ ἐξεῖναι περὶ τούτων συμβουλεύειν.
a-decree not to-be-permitted about these-things to-advise
τοιούτων δὲ ὄντων Θηραμένης εἶπεν ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ ὅτι εἰ 16
such-things and being Theramenes said in assembly that if
βούλονται αὐτὸν πέμψαι παρὰ Λύσανδρον, εἰδὼς ἥξει
they-wish him to-send to Lysander knowing he-will-come
Λακεδαιμονίους πότερον ἐξανδραποδίσασθαι τὴν πόλιν
Lacedaemonians whether to-enslave the city
βουλόμενοι ἀντέχουσι περὶ τῶν τειχῶν ἢ πίστεως ἕνεκα.
wishing they-hold-out about the walls or of-a-pledge for-the-sake
πεμφθεὶς δὲ διέτριβε παρὰ Λυσάνδρῳ τρεῖς μῆνας
having-been-sent and he-stayed with Lysander three months
καὶ πλείω, ἐπιτηρῶν ὁπότε Ἀθηναῖοι ἔμελλον διὰ
and more watching when Athenians were-going because-of
τὸ ἐπιλελοιπέναι τὸν σῖτον ἅπαντα ὅ τι τις λέγοι
the to-have-failed the grain all what ever anyone said
ὁμολογήσειν.
to-agree
ἐπεὶ δὲ ἦκε τετάρτῳ μηνί, ἀπήγγειλεν ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ ὅτι 17
when and he-came in-the-fourth month he-reported in assembly that
αὐτὸν Λύσανδρος τέως μὲν κατέχοι, εἶτα κελεύοι εἰς
him Lysander for-a-while indeed detained then bade to
Λακεδαίμονα ἰέναι· οὐ γὰρ εἶναι κύριος ὧν ἐρωτῷτο
Lacedaemon to-go not for to-be competent of-what he-was-asked
ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ, ἀλλὰ τοὺς ἐφόρους. μετὰ ταῦτα ᾑρέθη
by him but the ephors after these-things he-was-chosen
πρεσβευτὴς εἰς Λακεδαίμονα αὐτοκράτωρ δέκατος αὐτός.
envoy to Lacedaemon with-full-powers tenth himself

18 Λύσανδρος δὲ τοῖς ἐφόροις ἔπεμψεν ἀγγελοῦντα μετ'
Lysander and to-the ephors sent going-to-report with
ἄλλων Λακεδαιμονίων Ἀριστοτέλη, φυγάδα Ἀθηναῖον ὄντα,
others of-Lacedaemonians Aristoteles exile Athenian being
ὅτι ἀποκρίναιτο Θηραμένει κείνους κυρίους εἶναι εἰρήνης
that he-answered to-Theramenes those competent to-be of-peace
καὶ πολέμου.
and of-war

19 Θηραμένης δὲ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι πρέσβεις ἐπεὶ ἦσαν ἐν
Theramenes and also the other envoys when they-were at
Σελλασίᾳ, ἐρωτώμενοι δὲ ἐπὶ τίνι λόγῳ ἥκοιεν εἶπαν ὅτι
Sellasia being-asked and on what terms they-came said that
αὐτοκράτορες περὶ εἰρήνης, μετὰ ταῦτα οἱ ἔφοροι καλεῖν
with-full-powers about peace after these-things the ephors to-call
ἐκέλευον αὐτούς. ἐπεὶ δ' ἦκον, ἐκκλησίαν ἐποίησαν, ἐν ᾗ
bade them when and they-came an-assembly they-held in which
ἀντέλεγον Κορίνθιοι καὶ Θηβαῖοι μάλιστα, πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ
spoke-against Corinthians and Thebans most many and also
ἄλλοι τῶν Ἑλλήνων, μὴ σπένδεσθαι Ἀθηναίοις, ἀλλ' ἐξαιρεῖν.
others of-the Greeks not to-make-treaty with-Athenians but to-destroy

20 Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ οὐκ ἔφασαν πόλιν Ἑλληνίδα ἀνδραποδιεῖν
Lacedaemonians but not said a-city Greek to-enslave
μέγα ἀγαθὸν εἰργασμένην ἐν τοῖς μεγίστοις κινδύνοις
great good having-done in the greatest dangers
γενομένοις τῇ Ἑλλάδι, ἀλλ' ἐποιοῦντο εἰρήνην ἐφ' ᾧ
having-happened — to-Greece but they-made peace on condition-that
τά τε μακρὰ τείχη καὶ τὸν Πειραιᾶ καθελόντας καὶ τὰς
the both long walls and the Piraeus having-pulled-down and the
ναῦς πλὴν δώδεκα παραδόντας καὶ τοὺς φυγάδας καθέντας
ships except twelve having-handed-over and the exiles having-restored

τὸν αὐτὸν ἐχθρὸν καὶ φίλον νομίζοντας Λακεδαιμονίοις
the same enemy and friend considering as-Lacedaemonians
ἕπεσθαι καὶ κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν ὅποι ἂν ἡγῶνται.
to-follow both by land and by sea wherever — they-lead
Θηραμένης δὲ καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ πρέσβεις ἐπανέφερον ταῦτα 21
Theramenes and also the with him envoys brought-back these-things
εἰς τὰς Ἀθήνας. εἰσιόντας δ' αὐτοὺς ὄχλος περιεχεῖτο πολύς,
to — Athens entering and them a-crowd poured-around great
φοβούμενοι μὴ ἄπρακτοι ἥκοιεν· οὐ γὰρ ἔτι ἐνεχώρει
fearing lest unsuccessful they-had-come not for any-longer it-was-possible
μέλλειν διὰ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ἀπολλυμένων τῷ λιμῷ.
to-delay because-of the number of-the perishing by-the hunger
τῇ δὲ ὑστεραίᾳ ἀπήγγελλον οἱ πρέσβεις ἐφ' οἷς οἱ 22
on-the and next-day reported the envoys on what-terms the
Λακεδαιμόνιοι ποιοῖντο τὴν εἰρήνην· προηγόρει δὲ αὐτῶν
Lacedaemonians were-making the peace spoke-for and them
Θηραμένης, λέγων ὡς χρὴ πείθεσθαι Λακεδαιμονίοις καὶ
Theramenes saying that it-is-needful to-obey Lacedaemonians and
τὰ τείχη περιαιρεῖν. ἀντειπόντων δέ τινων αὐτῷ, πολὺ δὲ
the walls to-pull-down having-spoken-against and some him much but
πλειόνων συνεπαινεσάντων, ἔδοξε δέχεσθαι τὴν εἰρήνην.
more having-approved it-seemed-best to-accept the peace
μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Λύσανδρός τε κατέπλει εἰς τὸν Πειραιᾶ 23
after and these-things Lysander both sailed-in into the Piraeus
καὶ οἱ φυγάδες κατῆσαν καὶ τὰ τείχη κατέσκαπτον
and the exiles returned and the walls they-dug-down
ὑπ' αὐλητρίδων πολλῇ προθυμίᾳ, νομίζοντες ἐκείνην τὴν
to flute-girls with-much eagerness thinking that the
ἡμέραν τῇ Ἑλλάδι ἄρχειν τῆς ἐλευθερίας.
day — for-Greece to-begin of-the freedom

24 Καὶ ὁ ἐνιαυτὸς ἔληγεν, ἐν ᾧ μεσοῦντι Διονύσιος ὁ
And the year was-ending in which at-its-middle Dionysius the
Ἑρμοκράτους Συρακόσιος ἐτυράννησε, μάχῃ μὲν πρότερον
son-of-Hermocrates Syracusan became-tyrant in-battle indeed before
ἡττηθέντων ὑπὸ Συρακοσίων Καρχηδονίων, σπάνει δὲ
defeated by Syracusans Carthaginians from-shortage but
σίτου ἑλόντων Ἀκράγαντα, ἐκλιπόντων τῶν Σικελιωτῶν
of-grain having-taken Acragas having-abandoned the Sicilians
τὴν πόλιν.
the city

III · THE THIRTY AND THE DEATH OF THERAMENES

Athens chooses thirty men to draw up its ancestral laws, and Lysander takes Samos and carries the war's spoils home to Sparta. The Thirty never publish laws; they kill first the informers, then, with a Spartan garrison, men they fear, and Theramenes, Critias' friend at first, warns them against it. They enroll three thousand citizens and disarm everyone else, and to pay the garrison each of the Thirty is to seize a metic. Theramenes refuses. Critias accuses him before the council as a traitor by nature, the turncoat called Buskin who betrayed the Four Hundred and the generals of Arginusae. Theramenes answers that it is their killings that make enemies, and the council applauds him; Critias then strikes his name from the list and has him dragged from the altar. Drinking the hemlock, he toasts it to Critias.

1 Τῷ δ' ἐπιόντι ἔτει, [ᾧ ἦν Ὀλυμπιάς, ᾗ τὸ στάδιον
In-the and following year in-which was Olympiad in-which the stadium
ἐνίκα Κροκίνας Θετταλός, Ἐνδίου ἐν Σπάρτῃ ἐφορεύοντος,
won Crocinas Thessalian Endius in Sparta being-ephor
Πυθοδώρου δ' ἐν Ἀθήναις ἄρχοντος, ὃν Ἀθηναῖοι, ὅτι
Pythodorus and in Athens archon whom Athenians because

ἐν ὀλιγαρχίᾳ ᾑρέθη, οὐκ ὀνομάζουσιν, ἀλλ᾽ ἀναρχίαν τὸν
in oligarchy he-was-chosen not name but anarchy the
ἐνιαυτὸν καλοῦσιν. ἐγένετο δὲ αὕτη ἡ ὀλιγαρχία ὧδε].
year call came-about and this the oligarchy thus
ἔδοξε τῷ δήμῳ τριάκοντα ἄνδρας ἑλέσθαι, οἳ [τοὺς 2
it-seemed-best to-the people thirty men to-choose who the
πατρίους] νόμους συγγράψουσι, καθ᾽ οὓς πολιτεύσουσι.
ancestral laws will-draw-up according-to which they-will-govern
καὶ ᾑρέθησαν οἵδε· Πολυχάρης, Κριτίας, Μηλόβιος,
and were-chosen the-following Polychares Critias Melobius
Ἱππόλοχος, Εὐκλείδης, Ἱέρων, Μνησίλοχος, Χρέμων,
Hippolochus Eucleides Hieron Mnesilochus Chremon
Θηραμένης, Ἀρεσίας, Διοκλῆς, Φαιδρίας, Χαιρέλεως,
Theramenes Aresias Diocles Phaedrias Chaereleos
Ἀναίτιος, Πείσων, Σοφοκλῆς, Ἐρατοσθένης, Χαρικλῆς,
Anaetius Peison Sophocles Eratosthenes Charicles
Ὀνομακλῆς, Θέογνις, Αἰσχίνης, Θεογένης, Κλεομήδης,
Onomacles Theognis Aeschines Theogenes Cleomedes
Ἐρασίστρατος, Φείδων, Δρακοντίδης,
Erasistratus Pheidon Dracontides
Εὐμάθης, Ἀριστοτέλης, Ἱππόμαχος, Μνησιθείδης. τούτων 3
Eumathes Aristoteles Hippomachus Mnesitheides these
δὲ πραχθέντων ἀπέπλει Λύσανδρος πρὸς Σάμον, Ἄγις
and having-been-done sailed-off Lysander to Samos Agis
δ᾽ ἐκ τῆς Δεκελείας ἀπαγαγὼν τὸ πεζὸν στράτευμα
and from — Decelea having-led-away the infantry army
διέλυσε κατὰ πόλεις ἑκάστους.
dismissed by cities each
Κατὰ δὲ τοῦτον τὸν καιρὸν περὶ ἡλίου ἔκλειψιν Λυκόφρων 4
At and this the time about of-the-sun eclipse Lycophron
ὁ Φεραῖος, βουλόμενος ἄρξαι ὅλης τῆς Θετταλίας, τοὺς
the Pheraean wishing to-rule whole — Thessaly the-ones

ἐναντιουμένους αὐτῷ τῶν Θετταλῶν, Λαρισαίους τε καὶ
opposing him of-the Thessalians Larisaeans both and
ἄλλους, μάχῃ ἐνίκησε καὶ πολλοὺς ἀπέκτεινεν.
others in-battle defeated and many killed

5 Ἐν δὲ τῷ αὐτῷ χρόνῳ καὶ Διονύσιος ὁ Συρακόσιος
In and the same time also Dionysius the Syracusan
τύραννος μάχῃ ἡττηθεὶς ὑπὸ Καρχηδονίων Γέλαν καὶ
tyrant in-battle defeated by Carthaginians Gela and
Καμάριναν ἀπώλεσε. μετ᾽ ὀλίγον δὲ καὶ Λεοντῖνοι
Camarina lost after little and also Leontines
Συρακοσίοις συνοικοῦντες ἀπέστησαν εἰς τὴν αὐτῶν πόλιν
with-Syracusans dwelling-together revolted to the their-own city
ἀπὸ Διονυσίου καὶ Συρακοσίων. παραχρῆμα δὲ καὶ οἱ
from Dionysius and Syracusans immediately and also the
Συρακόσιοι ἱππεῖς ὑπὸ Διονυσίου εἰς Κατάνην ἀπεστάλησαν.
Syracusan horsemen by Dionysius to Catana were-sent-off

6 Οἱ δὲ Σάμιοι πολιορκούμενοι ὑπὸ Λυσάνδρου πάντῃ,
The and Samians besieged by Lysander on-all-sides
ἐπεὶ οὐ βουλομένων αὐτῶν τὸ πρῶτον ὁμολογεῖν
when not wishing them at-the first to-come-to-terms
προσβάλλειν ἤδη ἔμελλεν ὁ Λύσανδρος, ὡμολόγησαν
to-attack already was-about — Lysander agreed
ἓν ἱμάτιον ἔχων ἕκαστος ἀπιέναι τῶν ἐλευθέρων, τὰ δ᾽
one cloak having each to-go-away of-the free the but
ἄλλα παραδοῦναι· καὶ οὕτως ἐξῆλθον.
rest to-hand-over and so they-went-out

7 Λύσανδρος δὲ τοῖς ἀρχαίοις πολίταις παραδοὺς τὴν πόλιν
Lysander and to-the old citizens having-handed-over the city
καὶ τὰ ἐνόντα πάντα καὶ δέκα ἄρχοντας καταστήσας
and the-things within all and ten rulers having-appointed
φρουρεῖν ἀφῆκε τὸ τῶν συμμάχων ναυτικὸν κατὰ πόλεις,
to-guard-it dismissed the of-the allies fleet by cities

ταῖς δὲ Λακωνικαῖς ναυσὶν ἀπέπλευσεν εἰς Λακεδαίμονα, 8
with-the and Laconian ships he-sailed-off to Lacedaemon
ἀπάγων τά τε τῶν αἰχμαλώτων νεῶν ἀκρωτήρια καὶ τὰς
taking-away the both of-the captured ships figureheads and the
ἐκ Πειραιῶς τριήρεις πλὴν δώδεκα καὶ στεφάνους, οὓς
from Piraeus triremes except twelve and crowns which
παρὰ τῶν πόλεων ἐλάμβανε δῶρα ἰδίᾳ, καὶ ἀργυρίου
from the cities he-received as-gifts privately and of-silver
τετρακόσια καὶ ἑβδομήκοντα τάλαντα, ἃ περιεγένοντο
four-hundred and seventy talents which were-left-over
τῶν φόρων, οὓς αὐτῷ Κῦρος παρέδειξεν εἰς τὸν πόλεμον,
of-the tributes which to-him Cyrus assigned for the war
καὶ εἴ τι ἄλλο ἐκτήσατο ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ.
and if anything else he-acquired in the war
ταῦτα δὲ πάντα Λακεδαιμονίοις ἀπέδωκε, τελευτῶντος 9
these-things and all to-Lacedaemonians he-delivered ending
τοῦ θέρους, [εἰς ὃ ἑξάμηνος καὶ ὀκτὼ καὶ εἴκοσιν ἔτη
the summer in which six-months and eight and twenty years
τῷ πολέμῳ ἐτελεύτα, ἐν οἷς ἔφοροι οἱ ἀριθμούμενοι
for-the war ended in which ephors the counted
οἵδε ἐγένοντο, Αἰνησίας πρῶτος, ἐφ' οὗ ἤρξατο
the-following were Aenesias first in-the-time-of whom began
ὁ πόλεμος, πέμπτῳ καὶ δεκάτῳ ἔτει τῶν μετ' Εὐβοίας
the war in-the-fifth and tenth year of-the after Euboea's
ἅλωσιν τριακονταετίδων σπονδῶν, μετὰ δὲ τοῦτον
capture thirty-year treaty after and this-one
οἵδε· Βρασίδας, Ἰσάνωρ, Σωστρατίδας, Ἔξαρχος,
the-following Brasidas Isanor Sostratidas Exarchus
Ἀγησίστρατος, Ἀγγενίδας, Ὀνομακλῆς, Ζεύξιππος, Πιτύας,
Agesistratus Angenidas Onomacles Zeuxippus Pityas
Πλειστόλας, Κλεινόμαχος, Ἴλαρχος, Λέων, Χαιρίλας,
Pleistolas Cleinomachus Ilarchus Leon Chaerilas

Πατησιάδας, Κλεοσθένης, Λυκάριος, Ἐπήρατος, Ὀνομάντιος,
Patesiadas Cleosthenes Lycarius Eperatus Onomantius
Ἀλεξιππίδας, Μισγολάϊδας, Ἰσίας, Ἄρακος, Εὐάρχιππος,
Alexippidas Misgolaidas Isias Aracus Euarchippus
Παντακλῆς, Πιτύας, Ἀρχύτας, Ἔνδιος, ἐφ' οὗ
Pantacles Pityas Archytas Endius in-the-time-of whom
Λύσανδρος πράξας τὰ εἰρημένα οἴκαδε κατέπλευσεν]
Lysander having-done the-things stated home sailed-back

11 Οἱ δὲ τριάκοντα ᾑρέθησαν μὲν ἐπεὶ τάχιστα τὰ μακρὰ
The and thirty were-chosen indeed as soon-as the long
τείχη καὶ τὰ περὶ τὸν Πειραιᾶ καθῃρέθη· αἱρεθέντες
walls and the-ones around the Piraeus were-pulled-down having-been-chosen
δὲ ἐφ' ᾧτε συγγράψαι νόμους, καθ' οὕστινας
but on condition-that to-draw-up laws according-to which
πολιτεύσοιντο, τούτους μὲν ἀεὶ ἔμελλον συγγράφειν
they-would-govern these indeed always they-were-going to-draw-up
τε καὶ ἀποδεικνύναι, βουλὴν δὲ καὶ τὰς ἄλλας ἀρχὰς
both and to-publish a-council but and the other offices
κατέστησαν ὡς ἐδόκει αὐτοῖς.
they-appointed as it-seemed-good to-them

12 ἔπειτα πρῶτον μὲν οὓς πάντες ᾔδεσαν ἐν τῇ δημοκρατίᾳ
then first indeed whom all knew in the democracy
ἀπὸ συκοφαντίας ζῶντας καὶ τοῖς καλοῖς κἀγαθοῖς βαρεῖς
by sycophancy living and to-the fine and-good oppressive
ὄντας, συλλαμβάνοντες ὑπῆγον θανάτου· καὶ ἥ τε
being arresting they-indicted for-death and the both
βουλὴ ἡδέως αὐτῶν κατεψηφίζετο οἵ τε ἄλλοι ὅσοι
council gladly them condemned the both others as-many-as
συνῄδεσαν ἑαυτοῖς μὴ ὄντες τοιοῦτοι οὐδὲν ἤχθοντο.
were-conscious-in themselves not being such nothing were-vexed

ἐπεὶ δὲ ἤρξαντο βουλεύεσθαι ὅπως ἂν ἐξείη αὐτοῖς 13
when but they-began to-deliberate how — it-might-be-possible for-them
τῇ πόλει χρῆσθαι ὅπως βούλοιντο, ἐκ τούτου πρῶτον μὲν
the city to-use as they-wished from this first indeed
πέμψαντες εἰς Λακεδαίμονα Αἰσχίνην τε καὶ Ἀριστοτέλη
having-sent to Lacedaemon Aeschines both and Aristoteles
ἔπεισαν Λύσανδρον φρουροὺς σφίσι συμπρᾶξαι ἐλθεῖν, ἕως
they-persuaded Lysander guards them to-help to-come until
δὴ τοὺς πονηροὺς ἐκποδὼν ποιησάμενοι καταστήσαιντο
indeed the wicked out-of-the-way having-put they-might-establish
τὴν πολιτείαν· θρέψειν δὲ αὐτοὶ ὑπισχνοῦντο.
the constitution to-maintain and themselves they-promised
ὁ δὲ πεισθεὶς τούς τε φρουροὺς καὶ Καλλίβιον ἁρμοστὴν 14
he and persuaded the both guards and Callibius as-harmost
συνέπραξεν αὐτοῖς πεμφθῆναι. οἱ δ' ἐπὶ τὴν φρουρὰν
helped them to-be-sent they but when the garrison
ἔλαβον, τὸν μὲν Καλλίβιον ἐθεράπευον πάσῃ θεραπείᾳ,
they-received — indeed Callibius courted with-every attention
ὡς πάντα ἐπαινοίη ἃ πράττοιεν, τῶν δὲ φρουρῶν
so-that everything he-might-praise what they-did of-the and guards
τούτου συμπέμποντος αὐτοῖς οὓς ἐβούλοντο συνελάμβανον,
this-one sending-with them whom they-wished they-arrested
οὐκέτι τοὺς πονηρούς τε καὶ ὀλίγου ἀξίους, ἀλλ' ἤδη
no-longer the wicked both and little worth but already
οὓς ἐνόμιζον ἥκιστα μὲν παρωθουμένους ἀνέχεσθαι,
whom they-thought least indeed being-thrust-aside to-endure
ἀντιπράττειν δέ τι ἐπιχειροῦντας πλείστους ἂν τοὺς
to-oppose but anything attempting most — the
συνεθέλοντας λαμβάνειν.
willing-to-join to-get

15 τῷ μὲν οὖν πρώτῳ χρόνῳ ὁ Κριτίας τῷ Θηραμένει
in-the indeed then first time — Critias — with-Theramenes
ὁμογνώμων τε καὶ φίλος ἦν· ἐπεὶ δὲ αὐτὸς μὲν προπετὴς
like-minded both and friend was when but himself indeed headlong
ἦν ἐπὶ τὸ πολλοὺς ἀποκτείνειν, ἅτε καὶ φυγὼν
was toward the many to-kill inasmuch-as also having-been-exiled
ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου, ὁ δὲ Θηραμένης ἀντέκοπτε, λέγων ὅτι
by the people — but Theramenes opposed saying that
οὐκ εἰκὸς εἴη θανατοῦν, εἴ τις ἐτιμᾶτο ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου,
not reasonable it-was to-put-to-death if anyone was-honored by the people
τοὺς δὲ καλοὺς κἀγαθοὺς μηδὲν κακὸν ἠργάζετο, ἐπεὶ καὶ
the but fine and-good nothing bad did since both
ἐγώ, ἔφη, καὶ σὺ πολλὰ δὴ τοῦ ἀρέσκειν ἕνεκα τῇ
I he-said and you much indeed of-the to-please for-the-sake the
πόλει καὶ εἴπομεν καὶ ἐπράξαμεν·
city both said and did

16 ὁ δέ (ἔτι γὰρ οἰκείως ἐχρῆτο τῷ Θηραμένει) ἀντέλεγεν
he but still for familiarly treated — with-Theramenes replied
ὅτι οὐκ ἐγχωροίη τοῖς πλεονεκτεῖν βουλομένοις μὴ
that not it-was-possible for-the-ones to-take-more wishing not
οὐκ ἐκποδὼν ποιεῖσθαι τοὺς ἱκανωτάτους διακωλύειν·
not out-of-the-way to-put the most-capable to-hinder
εἰ δέ, ὅτι τριάκοντά ἐσμεν καὶ οὐχ εἷς, ἧττόν τι
if but because thirty we-are and not one less anything
οἴει [ὥσπερ] τυραννίδος ταύτης τῆς ἀρχῆς χρῆναι
you-think as of-a-tyranny this the rule it-is-needful
ἐπιμελεῖσθαι, εὐήθης εἶ.
to-take-care simple you-are

17 ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀποθνῃσκόντων πολλῶν καὶ ἀδίκως πολλοὶ δῆλοι
when but dying many and unjustly many plainly
ἦσαν συνιστάμενοί τε καὶ θαυμάζοντες τί ἔσοιτο ἡ
were banding-together both and wondering what would-be the

πολιτεία, πάλιν ἔλεγεν ὁ Θηραμένης ὅτι εἰ μή τις
constitution again said — Theramenes that if not someone
κοινωνοὺς ἱκανοὺς λήψοιτο τῶν πραγμάτων, ἀδύνατον
partners sufficient should-take of-the affairs impossible
ἔσοιτο τὴν ὀλιγαρχίαν διαμένειν.
it-would-be the oligarchy to-last
ἐκ τούτου μέντοι Κριτίας καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι τριάκοντα, ἤδη 18
after this however Critias and the other thirty already
φοβούμενοι καὶ οὐχ ἥκιστα τὸν Θηραμένη, μὴ συρρυείησαν
fearing and not least — Theramenes lest should-flock
πρὸς αὐτὸν οἱ πολῖται, καταλέγουσι τρισχιλίους τοὺς
to him the citizens enroll three-thousand the-ones
μεθέξοντας δὴ τῶν πραγμάτων·
going-to-share indeed of-the affairs
ὁ δ' αὖ Θηραμένης καὶ πρὸς ταῦτα ἔλεγεν ὅτι ἄτοπον 19
— but in-turn Theramenes also against these-things said that absurd
δοκοίη ἑαυτῷ γε εἶναι τὸ πρῶτον μὲν βουλομένους τοὺς
it-seemed to-himself at-least to-be the first indeed wishing the
βελτίστους τῶν πολιτῶν κοινωνοὺς ποιήσασθαι τρισχιλίους,
best of-the citizens partners to-make three-thousand
ὥσπερ τὸν ἀριθμὸν τοῦτον ἔχοντά τινα ἀνάγκην καλοὺς καὶ
as-if the number this having some necessity fine and
ἀγαθοὺς εἶναι, καὶ οὔτ' ἔξω τούτων σπουδαίους οὔτ' ἐντὸς
good to-be and neither outside these worthy nor within
τούτων πονηροὺς οἷόν τε εἴη γενέσθαι· ἔπειτα δ', ἔφη, ὁρῶ
these wicked possible — it-was to-be then and he-said I-see
ἔγωγε δύο ἡμᾶς τὰ ἐναντιώτατα πράττοντας, βιαίαν τε
I-at-least two-things us the most-opposite doing violent both
τὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ ἥττονα τῶν ἀρχομένων κατασκευαζομένους.
the rule and weaker than-the ruled preparing

20 ὁ μὲν ταῦτ᾽ ἔλεγεν. οἱ δ᾽ ἐξέτασιν ποιήσαντες τῶν μὲν
he indeed these-things said they but a-review having-made of-the indeed
τρισχιλίων ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ, τῶν δ᾽ ἔξω τοῦ καταλόγου ἄλλων
three-thousand in the agora of-the but outside the list others
ἀλλαχοῦ, ἔπειτα κελεύσαντες ἐπὶ τὰ ὅπλα, ἐν ᾧ
elsewhere then having-ordered to the arms in which-time
ἐκεῖνοι ἀπεληλύθεσαν πέμψαντες τοὺς φρουροὺς καὶ τῶν
those had-gone-away having-sent the guards and of-the
πολιτῶν τοὺς ὁμογνώμονας αὑτοῖς τὰ ὅπλα πάντων
citizens the like-minded with-themselves the arms of-all
πλὴν τῶν τρισχιλίων παρείλοντο, καὶ ἀνακομίσαντες
except the three-thousand took-away and having-carried-up
ταῦτα εἰς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν συνέθηκαν ἐν τῷ ναῷ.
these-things to the acropolis they-deposited in the temple

21 τούτων δὲ γενομένων, ὡς ἐξὸν ἤδη ποιεῖν αὐτοῖς ὅ
these-things and having-happened as being-possible now to-do for-them what
τι βούλοιντο, πολλοὺς μὲν ἔχθρας ἕνεκα ἀπέκτεινον,
ever they-wished many indeed of-enmity for-the-sake they-killed
πολλοὺς δὲ χρημάτων. ἔδοξε δ᾽ αὐτοῖς, ὅπως
many and of-money it-seemed-good and to-them so-that
ἔχοιεν [καὶ] τοῖς φρουροῖς χρήματα διδόναι, καὶ τῶν
they-might-have also for-the guards money to-give also of-the
μετοίκων ἕνα ἕκαστον λαβεῖν, καὶ αὐτοὺς μὲν ἀποκτεῖναι,
metics one each to-take and them indeed to-kill
τὰ δὲ χρήματα αὐτῶν ἀποσημήνασθαι.
the but property their to-seal-up

22 ἐκέλευον δὲ καὶ τὸν Θηραμένη λαβεῖν ὅντινα βούλοιτο.
they-bade and also — Theramenes to-take whomever he-wished
ὁ δ᾽ ἀπεκρίνατο· Ἀλλ᾽ οὐ δοκεῖ μοι, ἔφη, καλὸν εἶναι
he but answered But not it-seems to-me he-said fine to-be
φάσκοντας βελτίστους εἶναι ἀδικώτερα τῶν συκοφαντῶν
claiming best to-be more-unjust-things than-the sycophants

ποιεῖν. ἐκεῖνοι μὲν γὰρ παρ᾽ ὧν χρήματα λαμβάνοιεν
to-do those indeed for from whom money they-got
ζῆν εἴων, ἡμεῖς δὲ ἀποκτενοῦμεν μηδὲν ἀδικοῦντας, ἵνα
to-live allowed we but shall-kill in-nothing doing-wrong so-that
χρήματα λαμβάνωμεν;
money we-may-get
πῶς οὐ ταῦτα τῷ παντὶ ἐκείνων ἀδικώτερα; οἱ δ᾽ 23
how not these-things by-the whole than-those more-unjust they but
ἐμποδὼν νομίζοντες αὐτὸν εἶναι τῷ ποιεῖν ὅ τι
in-the-way thinking him to-be of-the to-do what ever
βούλοιντο, ἐπιβουλεύουσιν αὐτῷ, καὶ ἰδίᾳ γε πρὸς τοὺς
they-wished plot-against him and privately indeed to the
βουλευτὰς ἄλλος πρὸς ἄλλον διέβαλλον ὡς λυμαινόμενον
councilors one to another slandered-him as ruining
τὴν πολιτείαν. καὶ παραγγείλαντες νεανίσκοις οἳ ἐδόκουν
the constitution and having-ordered young-men who seemed
αὐτοῖς θρασύτατοι εἶναι ξιφίδια ὑπὸ μάλης ἔχοντας
to-them boldest to-be daggers under armpit having
παραγενέσθαι, συνέλεξαν τὴν βουλήν.
to-be-present they-assembled the council
ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ Θηραμένης παρῆν, ἀναστὰς ὁ Κριτίας 24
when and — Theramenes was-present having-stood-up — Critias
ἔλεξεν ὧδε· Ὦ ἄνδρες βουλευταί, εἰ μέν τις ὑμῶν
spoke thus O men councilors if indeed anyone of-you
νομίζει πλέονας τοῦ καιροῦ ἀποθνήσκειν, ἐννοησάτω ὅτι
thinks more than-the occasion to-die let-him-reflect that
ὅπου πολιτεῖαι μεθίστανται πανταχοῦ ταῦτα γίγνεται·
where constitutions change everywhere these-things happen
πλείστους δὲ ἀνάγκη ἐνθάδε πολεμίους εἶναι τοῖς εἰς
most and necessity here enemies to-be to-the-ones to
ὀλιγαρχίαν μεθιστᾶσι διά τε τὸ πολυανθρωποτάτην
oligarchy changing because-of both the most-populous

τῶν Ἑλληνίδων τὴν πόλιν εἶναι καὶ διὰ τὸ πλεῖστον
of-the Greek the city to-be and because-of the longest
χρόνον ἐν ἐλευθερίᾳ τὸν δῆμον τεθράφθαι.
time in freedom the people to-have-been-reared

25 ἡμεῖς δὲ γνόντες μὲν τοῖς οἵοις ἡμῖν τε καὶ ὑμῖν
we but having-recognized indeed for-the such-as us both and you
χαλεπὴν πολιτείαν εἶναι δημοκρατίαν, γνόντες δὲ ὅτι
harsh constitution to-be democracy having-recognized and that
Λακεδαιμονίοις τοῖς περισώσασιν ἡμᾶς ὁ μὲν δῆμος
to-Lacedaemonians the-ones having-saved us the indeed people
οὔποτ' ἂν φίλος γένοιτο, οἱ δὲ βέλτιστοι ἀεὶ ἂν πιστοὶ
never — friend would-become the but best always — faithful
διατελοῖεν, διὰ ταῦτα σὺν τῇ Λακεδαιμονίων γνώμῃ
would-continue because-of these-things with the of-Lacedaemonians judgment
τήνδε τὴν πολιτείαν καθίσταμεν.
this the constitution we-are-establishing

26 καὶ ἐάν τινα αἰσθανώμεθα ἐναντίον τῇ ὀλιγαρχίᾳ, ὅσον
and if anyone we-perceive opposed to-the oligarchy as-far-as
δυνάμεθα ἐκποδὼν ποιούμεθα· πολὺ δὲ μάλιστα δοκεῖ
we-can out-of-the-way we-put much and most seems
ἡμῖν δίκαιον εἶναι, εἴ τις ἡμῶν αὐτῶν λυμαίνεται ταύτῃ
to-us just to-be if anyone of-us ourselves damages this
τῇ καταστάσει, δίκην αὐτὸν διδόναι.
the settlement penalty him to-pay

27 νῦν οὖν αἰσθανόμεθα Θηραμένη τουτονὶ οἷς δύναται
now then we-perceive Theramenes this-man by-what-means he-can
ἀπολλύντα ἡμᾶς τε καὶ ὑμᾶς. ὡς δὲ ταῦτα ἀληθῆ,
destroying us both and you that and these-things true-things
ἢν κατανοῆτε, εὑρήσετε οὔτε ψέγοντα οὐδένα μᾶλλον
if you-consider you-will-find neither blaming anyone more
Θηραμένους τουτουὶ τὰ παρόντα οὔτε ἐναντιούμενον, ὅταν
than-Theramenes this-here the present-state nor opposing whenever

τινὰ ἐκποδὼν βουλώμεθα ποιήσασθαι τῶν δημαγωγῶν.
someone out-of-the-way we-wish to-put of-the popular-leaders
εἰ μὲν τοίνυν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ταῦτα ἐγίγνωσκε, πολέμιος
if indeed then from the-beginning these-things he-thought enemy
μὲν ἂν ἦν, οὐ μέντοι πονηρός γ' ἂν δικαίως
indeed — he-would-have-been not however wicked at-least — justly
ἐνομίζετο·
he-would-have-been-thought
νῦν δὲ αὐτὸς μὲν ἄρξας τῆς πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους 28
now but himself indeed having-begun of-the toward Lacedaemonians
πίστεως καὶ φιλίας, αὐτὸς δὲ τῆς τοῦ δήμου καταλύσεως,
trust and friendship himself and of-the of-the people overthrow
μάλιστα δὲ ἐξορμήσας ὑμᾶς τοῖς πρώτοις ὑπαγομένοις
most and having-urged-on you for-the first brought-to-trial
εἰς ὑμᾶς δίκην ἐπιτιθέναι, νῦν ἐπεὶ καὶ ὑμεῖς καὶ ἡμεῖς
before you penalty to-inflict now since both you and we
φανερῶς ἐχθροὶ τῷ δήμῳ γεγενήμεθα, οὐκέτ' αὐτῷ τὰ
openly hateful to-the people have-become no-longer to-him the-things
γιγνόμενα ἀρέσκει, ὅπως αὐτὸς μὲν αὖ ἐν τῷ ἀσφαλεῖ
happening please so-that himself indeed in-turn in the safe
καταστῇ, ἡμεῖς δὲ δίκην δῶμεν τῶν πεπραγμένων.
may-be-established we but penalty may-pay for-the-things done
ὥστε οὐ μόνον ὡς ἐχθρῷ αὐτῷ προσήκει ἀλλὰ καὶ 29
so-that not only as to-an-enemy for-him it-is-fitting but also
ὡς προδότῃ ὑμῶν τε καὶ ἡμῶν διδόναι τὴν δίκην.
as to-a-traitor of-you both and of-us to-pay the penalty
καίτοι τοσούτῳ μὲν δεινότερον προδοσία πολέμου, ὅσῳ
and-yet by-so-much indeed more-terrible treason than-war by-as-much
χαλεπώτερον φυλάξασθαι τὸ ἀφανὲς τοῦ φανεροῦ,
harder to-guard-against the unseen than-the seen
τοσούτῳ δ' ἔχθιον, ὅσῳ πολεμίοις μὲν ἄνθρωποι
by-so-much and more-hateful by-as-much with-enemies indeed men

καὶ σπένδονται καὶ αὖθις πιστοὶ γίγνονται, ὃν δ' ἂν
both make-truce and again faithful become whom but —
προδιδόντα λαμβάνωσι, τούτῳ οὔτε ἐσπείσατο πώποτε
betraying they-catch with-this-one neither made-truce ever
οὐδεὶς οὔτ' ἐπίστευσε τοῦ λοιποῦ.
anyone nor trusted for-the future

30 ἵνα δὲ εἰδῆτε ὅτι οὐ καινὰ ταῦτα οὗτος ποιεῖ, ἀλλὰ
so-that and you-may-know that not new these-things this-man does but
φύσει προδότης ἐστίν, ἀναμνήσω ὑμᾶς τὰ τούτῳ
by-nature traitor he-is I-will-remind you the-things by-this-one
πεπραγμένα. οὗτος γὰρ ἐξ ἀρχῆς μὲν τιμώμενος ὑπὸ
done this-one for from the-beginning indeed being-honored by
τοῦ δήμου κατὰ τὸν πατέρα Ἄγνωνα, προπετέστατος
the people according-to the father Hagnon most-headlong
ἐγένετο τὴν δημοκρατίαν μεταστῆσαι εἰς τοὺς τετρακοσίους,
became the democracy to-change into the four-hundred
καὶ ἐπρώτευεν ἐν ἐκείνοις. ἐπεὶ δ' ᾔσθετο ἀντίπαλόν
and was-first among those when but he-perceived opposing
τι τῇ ὀλιγαρχίᾳ συνιστάμενον, πρῶτος αὖ ἡγεμὼν
something to-the oligarchy forming first in-turn leader
τῷ δήμῳ ἐπ' ἐκείνους ἐγένετο·
for-the people against those became

31 ὅθεν δήπου [γὰρ] καὶ κόθορνος ἐπικαλεῖται. [καὶ γὰρ
whence surely for also buskin he-is-nicknamed and for
ὁ κόθορνος ἁρμόττειν μὲν τοῖς ποσὶν ἀμφοτέροις δοκεῖ,
the buskin to-fit indeed the feet both seems
ἀποβλέπει δὲ ἀπ' ἀμφοτέρων]· δεῖ δέ, ὦ Θηράμενες,
looks and from both it-is-needful and O Theramenes
ἄνδρα τὸν ἄξιον ζῆν οὐ προάγειν μὲν δεινὸν εἶναι εἰς
a-man the-one worthy to-live not to-lead indeed clever to-be into
πράγματα τοὺς συνόντας, ἢν δέ τι ἀντικόπτῃ, εὐθὺς
affairs the companions if but anything resist at-once

μεταβάλλεσθαι, ἀλλ᾽ ὥσπερ ἐν νηὶ διαπονεῖσθαι, ἕως
to-change-about but as on a-ship to-labor until
ἂν εἰς ὅρμον καταστῶσιν· εἰ δὲ μή, πῶς ἂν ἀφίκοιντό
— into anchorage they-be-established if but not how — would-they-arrive
ποτε ἔνθα δεῖ, εἰ ἐπειδάν τι ἀντικόψῃ, εὐθὺς εἰς
ever where it-is-needful if whenever anything resist at-once to
τἀναντία πλέοιεν;
the-opposite they-should-sail
καὶ εἰσὶ μὲν δήπου πᾶσαι μεταβολαὶ πολιτειῶν θανατηφόροι, 32
and are indeed surely all changes of-constitutions deadly
σὺ δὲ διὰ τὸ εὐμετάβολος εἶναι πλείστοις μὲν μεταίτιος
you but because-of the changeable to-be to-most indeed partly-responsible
εἶ ἐξ ὀλιγαρχίας ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου ἀπολωλέναι, πλείστοις
you-are from oligarchy by the people to-have-perished to-most
δ᾽ ἐκ δημοκρατίας ὑπὸ τῶν βελτιόνων. οὗτος δέ τοί
but from democracy by the better-men this-one and you-know
ἐστιν ὃς καὶ ταχθεὶς ἀνελέσθαι ὑπὸ τῶν στρατηγῶν
is who also having-been-ordered to-pick-up by the generals
τοὺς καταδύντας Ἀθηναίων ἐν τῇ περὶ Λέσβον ναυμαχίᾳ
the sunk of-Athenians in the about Lesbos sea-battle
αὐτὸς οὐκ ἀνελόμενος ὅμως τῶν στρατηγῶν κατηγορῶν
himself not having-picked-up nevertheless the generals accusing
ἀπέκτεινεν αὐτούς, ἵνα αὐτὸς περισωθείη.
killed them so-that himself he-might-be-saved
ὅστις γε μὴν φανερός ἐστι τοῦ μὲν πλεονεκτεῖν ἀεὶ 33
whoever indeed truly evident is of-the indeed taking-more always
ἐπιμελόμενος, τοῦ δὲ καλοῦ καὶ τῶν φίλων μηδὲν
taking-care of-the but noble and of-the friends in-nothing
ἐντρεπόμενος, πῶς τούτου χρή ποτε φείσασθαι; πῶς δὲ
having-regard how this-one is-it-needful ever to-spare how and
οὐ φυλάξασθαι, εἰδότας αὐτοῦ τὰς μεταβολάς, ὡς μὴ καὶ
not to-guard-against knowing his the changes so-that not also

ἡμᾶς ταὐτὸ δυνασθῇ ποιῆσαι; ἡμεῖς οὖν τοῦτον ὑπάγομεν
us the-same he-may-be-able to-do we then this-one bring-to-trial
καὶ ὡς ἐπιβουλεύοντα καὶ ὡς προδιδόντα ἡμᾶς τε καὶ
both as plotting and as betraying us both and
ὑμᾶς. ὡς δ' εἰκότα ποιοῦμεν, καὶ τάδ' ἐννοήσατε.
you that and reasonable-things we-do also these-things consider
34 καλλίστη μὲν γὰρ δήπου δοκεῖ πολιτεία εἶναι ἡ
finest indeed for surely seems constitution to-be the
Λακεδαιμονίων· εἰ δὲ ἐκείνῃ ἐπιχειρήσειέ τις τῶν ἐφόρων
of-Lacedaemonians if but that-one should-attempt any of-the ephors
ἀντὶ τοῦ τοῖς πλείοσι πείθεσθαι ψέγειν τε τὴν ἀρχὴν
instead-of the the majority to-obey to-blame both the rule
καὶ ἐναντιοῦσθαι τοῖς πραττομένοις, οὐκ ἂν οἴεσθε αὐτὸν
and to-oppose the-things being-done not — think-you him
καὶ ὑπ' αὐτῶν τῶν ἐφόρων καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς ἄλλης ἁπάσης
both by the-very the ephors and by the other whole
πόλεως τῆς μεγίστης τιμωρίας ἀξιωθῆναι; καὶ ὑμεῖς οὖν,
city of-the greatest punishment to-be-deemed-worthy also you then
ἐὰν σωφρονῆτε, οὐ τούτου ἀλλ' ὑμῶν αὐτῶν φείσεσθε, ὡς
if you-are-wise not this-one but yourselves — will-spare since
οὗτος σωθεὶς μὲν πολλοὺς ἂν μέγα φρονεῖν ποιήσειε
this-one saved indeed many — greatly to-pride-themselves would-make
τῶν ἐναντία γιγνωσκόντων ὑμῖν, ἀπολόμενος δὲ πάντων καὶ
of-the opposite thinking to-you having-perished but of-all both
τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει καὶ τῶν ἔξω ὑποτέμοι ἂν τὰς ἐλπίδας.
of-the-ones in the city and of-the-ones outside would-cut-off — the hopes
35 Ὁ μὲν ταῦτ' εἰπὼν ἐκαθέζετο· Θηραμένης δὲ ἀναστὰς
He indeed these-things having-said sat-down Theramenes but having-stood-up
ἔλεξεν· Ἀλλὰ πρῶτον μὲν μνησθήσομαι, ὦ ἄνδρες, ὃ
spoke But first indeed I-will-mention O men what
τελευταῖον κατ' ἐμοῦ εἶπε. φησὶ γάρ με τοὺς στρατηγοὺς
last against me he-said he-says for me the generals

ἀποκτεῖναι κατηγοροῦντα. ἐγὼ δὲ οὐκ ἦρχον δήπου κατ'
to-have-killed accusing I but not began surely against
ἐκείνων λόγου, ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνοι ἔφασαν προσταχθέν μοι ὑφ'
them speech but they said having-been-ordered to-me by
ἑαυτῶν οὐκ ἀνελέσθαι τοὺς δυστυχοῦντας ἐν τῇ περὶ
themselves not to-have-picked-up the unfortunate in the about
Λέσβον ναυμαχίᾳ. ἐγὼ δὲ ἀπολογούμενος ὡς διὰ τὸν
Lesbos sea-battle I but defending-myself that because-of the
χειμῶνα οὐδὲ πλεῖν, μὴ ὅτι ἀναιρεῖσθαι τοὺς ἄνδρας
storm not-even to-sail not that to-pick-up the men
δυνατὸν ἦν, ἔδοξα τῇ πόλει εἰκότα λέγειν, ἐκεῖνοι
possible it-was seemed to-the city reasonable-things to-say they
δ' ἑαυτῶν κατηγορεῖν ἐφαίνοντο. φάσκοντες γὰρ οἷόν τε
but themselves to-accuse appeared claiming for possible —
εἶναι σῶσαι τοὺς ἄνδρας, προέμενοι αὐτοὺς ἀπολέσθαι
to-be to-save the men having-abandoned them to-perish
ἀποπλέοντες ᾤχοντο.
sailing-off went-away
οὐ μέντοι θαυμάζω γε τὸ Κριτίαν παρανενομικέναι· 36
not however I-wonder at-least the Critias to-have-transgressed
ὅτε γὰρ ταῦτα ἦν, οὐ παρὼν ἐτύγχανεν, ἀλλ' ἐν
when for these-things were not present he-happened-to-be but in
Θετταλίᾳ μετὰ Προμηθέως δημοκρατίαν κατεσκεύαζε καὶ
Thessaly with Prometheus democracy he-was-setting-up and
τοὺς πενέστας ὥπλιζεν ἐπὶ τοὺς δεσπότας.
the serfs was-arming against the masters
ὧν μὲν οὖν οὗτος ἐκεῖ ἔπραττε μηδὲν ἐνθάδε γένοιτο· 37
of-what indeed then this-one there did nothing here may-happen
τάδε γε μέντοι ὁμολογῶ ἐγὼ τούτῳ, εἴ τις ὑμᾶς μὲν
these-things at-least however I-agree I with-this-one if anyone you indeed
τῆς ἀρχῆς βούλεται παῦσαι, τοὺς δ' ἐπιβουλεύοντας ὑμῖν
from-the rule wishes to-stop the-ones but plotting-against you

ἰσχυροὺς ποιεῖ, δίκαιον εἶναι τῆς μεγίστης αὐτὸν τιμωρίας
strong makes just to-be of-the greatest him punishment
τυγχάνειν· ὅστις μέντοι ὁ ταῦτα πράττων ἐστὶν οἶμαι
to-meet-with who however the-one these-things doing is I-think
ἂν ὑμᾶς κάλλιστα κρίνειν, τά τε πεπραγμένα καὶ ἃ
— *you best to-judge the-things both done and what*
νῦν πράττει ἕκαστος ἡμῶν εἰ κατανοήσετε.
now does each of-us if you-consider

38 οὐκοῦν μέχρι μὲν τοῦ ὑμᾶς τε καταστῆναι εἰς τὴν βουλείαν
therefore until indeed the you both to-be-established into the council
καὶ ἀρχὰς ἀποδειχθῆναι καὶ τοὺς ὁμολογουμένως συκοφάντας
and offices to-be-appointed and the admittedly sycophants
ὑπάγεσθαι πάντες ταὐτὰ ἐγιγνώσκομεν· ἐπεὶ δέ γε
to-be-brought-to-trial all the-same-things we-thought when but indeed
οὗτοι ἤρξαντο ἄνδρας καλούς τε κἀγαθοὺς συλλαμβάνειν,
these began men fine both and-good to-arrest
ἐκ τούτου κἀγὼ ἠρξάμην τἀναντία τούτοις γιγνώσκειν.
from this I-too began the-opposite to-these to-think

39 ᾔδειν γὰρ ὅτι ἀποθνήσκοντος μὲν Λέοντος τοῦ Σαλαμινίου,
I-knew for that dying indeed Leon the Salaminian
ἀνδρὸς καὶ ὄντος καὶ δοκοῦντος ἱκανοῦ εἶναι, ἀδικοῦντος
a-man both being and seeming capable to-be doing-wrong
δ' οὐδὲ ἕν, οἱ ὅμοιοι τούτῳ φοβήσοιντο, φοβούμενοι
but not-even one-thing the-ones like this-one would-fear fearing
δὲ ἐναντίοι τῇδε τῇ πολιτείᾳ ἔσοιντο· ἐγίγνωσκον δὲ ὅτι
and opposed to-this the constitution would-be I-recognized and that
συλλαμβανομένου Νικηράτου τοῦ Νικίου, καὶ πλουσίου
being-arrested Niceratus the son-of-Nicias both rich
καὶ οὐδὲν πώποτε δημοτικὸν οὔτε αὐτοῦ οὔτε τοῦ πατρὸς
and nothing ever popular either himself or the father
πράξαντος, οἱ τούτῳ ὅμοιοι δυσμενεῖς ἡμῖν γενήσοιντο.
having-done the-ones this-one like hostile to-us would-become

ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ Ἀντιφῶντος ὑφ᾽ ἡμῶν ἀπολλυμένου, ὃς 40
but truly also Antiphon by us perishing who
ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ δύο τριήρεις εὖ πλεούσας παρείχετο,
in the war two triremes well sailing provided
ἠπιστάμην ὅτι καὶ οἱ πρόθυμοι τῇ πόλει γεγενημένοι
I-knew that also the-ones eager for-the city having-been
πάντες ὑπόπτως ἡμῖν ἔξοιεν.
all suspiciously toward-us would-be-disposed
ἀντεῖπον δὲ καὶ ὅτε τῶν μετοίκων ἕνα ἕκαστον λαβεῖν 41
I-spoke-against and also when of-the metics one each to-take
ἔφασαν χρῆναι· εὔδηλον γὰρ ἦν ὅτι τούτων ἀπολομένων
they-said it-was-needful clear for it-was that these perishing
καὶ οἱ μέτοικοι ἅπαντες πολέμιοι τῇ πολιτείᾳ ἔσοιντο.
also the metics all hostile to-the constitution would-be
ἀντεῖπον δὲ καὶ ὅτε τὰ ὅπλα τοῦ πλήθους παρῃροῦντο,
I-spoke-against and also when the arms of-the multitude they-took-away
οὐ νομίζων χρῆναι ἀσθενῆ τὴν πόλιν ποιεῖν· οὐδὲ γὰρ
not thinking it-needful weak the city to-make not-even for
τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους ἑώρων τούτου ἕνεκα βουλομένους
the Lacedaemonians I-saw of-this for-the-sake wishing
περισῶσαι ἡμᾶς, ὅπως ὀλίγοι γενόμενοι μηδὲν δυναίμεθ᾽
to-preserve us so-that few having-become nothing we-might-be-able
αὐτοὺς ὠφελεῖν· ἐξῆν γὰρ αὐτοῖς, εἰ τούτου γ᾽ ἐδέοντο,
them to-help it-was-possible for for-them if this at-least they-wanted
καὶ μηδένα λιπεῖν ὀλίγον ἔτι χρόνον τῷ λιμῷ πιέσαντας.
also no-one to-leave little still time by-the hunger having-pressed
οὐδέ γε τὸ φρουροὺς μισθοῦσθαι συνήρεσκέ μοι, ἐξὸν 42
nor at-least the guards to-hire pleased me it-being-possible
αὐτῶν τῶν πολιτῶν τοσούτους προσλαμβάνειν, ἕως
of-the-very the citizens so-many to-take-on until
ῥᾳδίως ἐμέλλομεν οἱ ἄρχοντες τῶν ἀρχομένων κρατήσειν.
easily we-were-going the rulers the ruled to-overcome

ἐπεί γε μὴν πολλοὺς ἑώρων ἐν τῇ πόλει τῇ ἀρχῇ τῇδε
since indeed truly many I-saw in the city to-the rule this
δυσμενεῖς, πολλοὺς δὲ φυγάδας γιγνομένους, οὐκ αὖ
hostile many and exiles becoming not in-turn
ἐδόκει μοι οὔτε Θρασύβουλον οὔτε Ἄνυτον οὔτε Ἀλκιβιάδην
it-seemed to-me either Thrasybulus or Anytus or Alcibiades
φυγαδεύειν· ᾔδειν γὰρ ὅτι οὕτω γε τὸ ἀντίπαλον ἰσχυρὸν
to-banish I-knew for that so at-least the opposition strong
ἔσοιτο, εἰ τῷ μὲν πλήθει ἡγεμόνες ἱκανοὶ προσγενήσοιντο,
would-be if to-the indeed multitude leaders capable should-be-added
τοῖς δ' ἡγεῖσθαι βουλομένοις σύμμαχοι πολλοὶ φανήσοιντο.
to-the but to-lead wishing allies many should-appear
43 ὁ ταῦτα οὖν νουθετῶν ἐν τῷ φανερῷ πότερα
the-one these-things then admonishing in the open whether
εὐμενὴς ἂν δικαίως ἢ προδότης νομίζοιτο; οὐχ οἱ
well-disposed — justly or traitor would-be-considered not the-ones
ἐχθρούς, ὦ Κριτία, κωλύοντες πολλοὺς ποιεῖσθαι, οὐδ'
enemies O Critias preventing many to-make nor
οἱ συμμάχους πλείστους διδάσκοντες κτᾶσθαι, οὗτοι
the-ones allies most teaching to-acquire these
τοὺς πολεμίους ἰσχυροὺς ποιοῦσιν, ἀλλὰ πολὺ μᾶλλον
the enemies strong make but much rather
οἱ ἀδίκως τε χρήματα ἀφαιρούμενοι καὶ τοὺς οὐδὲν
the-ones unjustly both money taking-away and the in-nothing
ἀδικοῦντας ἀποκτείνοντες, οὗτοί εἰσιν οἱ καὶ πολλοὺς
doing-wrong killing these are the-ones both many
τοὺς ἐναντίους ποιοῦντες καὶ προδιδόντες οὐ μόνον τοὺς
the opponents making and betraying not only the
φίλους ἀλλὰ καὶ ἑαυτοὺς δι' αἰσχροκέρδειαν.
friends but also themselves through base-greed

εἰ δὲ μὴ ἄλλως γνωστὸν ὅτι ἀληθῆ λέγω, ὧδε ἐπισκέψασθε. 44
if but not otherwise knowable that true-things I-say thus consider
πότερον οἴεσθε Θρασύβουλον καὶ Ἄνυτον καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους
whether think-you Thrasybulus and Anytus and the other
φυγάδας ἃ ἐγὼ λέγω μᾶλλον ἂν ἐνθάδε βούλεσθαι
exiles what I say rather — here to-wish
γίγνεσθαι ἢ ἃ οὗτοι πράττουσιν; ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ οἶμαι νῦν
to-happen or what these do I indeed for I-think now
μὲν αὐτοὺς νομίζειν συμμάχων πάντα μεστὰ εἶναι, εἰ δὲ τὸ
indeed them to-think of-allies all full to-be if but the
κράτιστον τῆς πόλεως προσφιλῶς ἡμῖν εἶχε, χαλεπὸν
strongest of-the city friendly to-us were-disposed hard
ἂν ἡγεῖσθαι εἶναι καὶ τὸ ἐπιβαίνειν ποι τῆς χώρας.
— to-consider to-be even the to-set-foot anywhere of-the country
ἃ δ' αὖ εἶπεν ὡς ἐγώ εἰμι οἷος ἀεί ποτε 45
what and in-turn he-said that I am such-as always ever
μεταβάλλεσθαι, κατανοήσατε καὶ ταῦτα. τὴν μὲν γὰρ
to-change consider also these-things the indeed for
ἐπὶ τῶν τετρακοσίων πολιτείαν καὶ αὐτὸς δήπου ὁ
under the four-hundred constitution also itself surely the
δῆμος ἐψηφίσατο, διδασκόμενος ὡς οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι πάσῃ
people voted being-taught that the Lacedaemonians every
πολιτείᾳ μᾶλλον ἂν ἢ δημοκρατίᾳ πιστεύσειαν.
constitution rather — than democracy would-trust
ἐπεὶ δέ γε ἐκεῖνοι μὲν οὐδὲν ἀνίεσαν, οἱ δὲ ἀμφὶ 46
when but indeed those indeed nothing relaxed the-ones but around
Ἀριστοτέλη καὶ Μελάνθιον καὶ Ἀρίσταρχον στρατηγοῦντες
Aristoteles and Melanthius and Aristarchus being-generals
φανεροὶ ἐγένοντο ἐπὶ τῷ χώματι ἔρυμα τειχίζοντες, εἰς
evident became on the mole a-fort fortifying into
ὃ ἐβούλοντο τοὺς πολεμίους δεξάμενοι ὑφ' αὑτοῖς καὶ
which they-wished the enemies having-received under themselves and

τοῖς ἑταίροις τὴν πόλιν ποιήσασθαι, εἰ ταῦτ' αἰσθόμενος
the comrades the city to-bring if these-things having-perceived
ἐγὼ διεκώλυσα, τοῦτ' ἐστὶ προδότην εἶναι τῶν φίλων;
I prevented this is traitor to-be of-the friends
47 ἀποκαλεῖ δὲ κόθορνόν με, ὡς ἀμφοτέροις πειρώμενον
calls and buskin me as both trying
ἁρμόττειν. ὅστις δὲ μηδετέροις ἀρέσκει, τοῦτον ὦ πρὸς
to-fit whoever but neither pleases this-one O by
τῶν θεῶν τί ποτε καὶ καλέσαι χρή; σὺ γὰρ δὴ ἐν
the gods what ever also to-call is-it-needful you for indeed in
μὲν τῇ δημοκρατίᾳ πάντων μισοδημότατος ἐνομίζου, ἐν
indeed the democracy of-all most-people-hating were-considered in
δὲ τῇ ἀριστοκρατίᾳ πάντων μισοχρηστότατος γεγένησαι.
but the aristocracy of-all most-good-hating you-have-become
48 ἐγὼ δ', ὦ Κριτία, ἐκείνοις μὲν ἀεί ποτε πολεμῶ τοῖς
I but O Critias with-those indeed always ever make-war the-ones
οὐ πρόσθεν οἰομένοις καλὴν ἂν δημοκρατίαν εἶναι, πρὶν
not before thinking fine — democracy to-be before
ἂν καὶ οἱ δοῦλοι καὶ οἱ δι' ἀπορίαν δραχμῆς ἂν
— both the slaves and the-ones through want of-a-drachma —
ἀποδόμενοι τὴν πόλιν ἀρχῆς μετέχοιεν, καὶ τοῖσδέ γ'
would-sell the city in-the-rule would-share and to-these at-least
αὖ ἀεὶ ἐναντίος εἰμὶ οἳ οὐκ οἴονται καλὴν ἂν ἐγγενέσθαι
in-turn always opposed I-am who not think fine — to-arise
ὀλιγαρχίαν, πρὶν ἂν εἰς τὸ ὑπ' ὀλίγων τυραννεῖσθαι τὴν
oligarchy before — into the by few to-be-tyrannized the
πόλιν καταστήσειαν. τὸ μέντοι σὺν τοῖς δυναμένοις καὶ μεθ'
city they-establish the however with the-ones being-able both with
ἵππων καὶ μετ' ἀσπίδων ὠφελεῖν διατάττειν τὴν πολιτείαν
horses and with shields to-help to-order the constitution
πρόσθεν ἄριστον ἡγούμην εἶναι καὶ νῦν οὐ μεταβάλλομαι.
formerly best I-thought to-be and now not I-change

εἰ δ' ἔχεις εἰπεῖν, ὦ Κριτία, ὅπου ἐγὼ σὺν τοῖς δημοτικοῖς 49
if but you-can to-say O Critias where I with the democrats
ἢ τυραννικοῖς τοὺς καλούς τε κἀγαθοὺς ἀποστερεῖν
or tyrannical-ones the fine both and-good to-deprive
πολιτείας ἐπεχείρησα, λέγε· ἐὰν γὰρ ἐλεγχθῶ ἢ νῦν
of-citizenship attempted say if for I-be-convicted either now
ταῦτα πράττων ἢ πρότερον πώποτε πεποιηκώς, ὁμολογῶ
these-things doing or before ever having-done I-agree
τὰ πάντων ἐσχατώτατα παθὼν ἂν δικαίως ἀποθνήσκειν.
the of-all extremest-things having-suffered — justly to-die
Ὡς δὲ εἰπὼν ταῦτα ἐπαύσατο καὶ ἡ βουλὴ δήλη 50
When and having-said these-things he-stopped and the council plain
ἐγένετο εὐμενῶς ἐπιθορυβήσασα, γνοὺς ὁ Κριτίας
became favorably applauding having-recognized — Critias
ὅτι εἰ ἐπιτρέψοι τῇ βουλῇ διαψηφίζεσθαι περὶ αὐτοῦ,
that if he-should-allow the council to-vote about him
ἀναφεύξοιτο, καὶ τοῦτο οὐ βιωτὸν ἡγησάμενος, προσελθὼν
he-would-escape and this not livable having-considered having-approached
καὶ διαλεχθείς τι τοῖς τριάκοντα ἐξῆλθε, καὶ
and having-conferred something with-the thirty went-out and
ἐπιστῆναι ἐκέλευσε τοὺς τὰ ἐγχειρίδια ἔχοντας φανερῶς
to-stand-by bade the-ones the daggers having openly
τῇ βουλῇ ἐπὶ τοῖς δρυφάκτοις.
to-the council at the railings
πάλιν δὲ εἰσελθὼν εἶπεν· Ἐγώ, ὦ βουλή, νομίζω 51
again and having-entered he-said I O council think
προστάτου ἔργον εἶναι οἵου δεῖ, ὃς ἂν ὁρῶν τοὺς
of-a-leader work to-be such-as is-needful who — seeing the
φίλους ἐξαπατωμένους μὴ ἐπιτρέπῃ. καὶ ἐγὼ οὖν τοῦτο
friends being-deceived not permits and I then this
ποιήσω. καὶ γὰρ οἵδε οἱ ἐφεστηκότες οὔ φασιν ἡμῖν
will-do and for these the standing-by not say to-us

ἐπιτρέψειν, εἰ ἀνήσομεν ἄνδρα τὸν φανερῶς τὴν
they-will-permit if we-let-go a-man the-one openly the
ὀλιγαρχίαν λυμαινόμενον. ἔστι δὲ ἐν τοῖς καινοῖς νόμοις
oligarchy damaging it-is and in the new laws
τῶν μὲν ἐν τοῖς τρισχιλίοις ὄντων μηδένα ἀποθνῄσκειν
of-the indeed in the three-thousand being no-one to-die
ἄνευ τῆς ὑμετέρας ψήφου, τῶν δ' ἔξω τοῦ καταλόγου
without the your vote of-the but outside the list
κυρίους εἶναι τοὺς τριάκοντα θανατοῦν. ἐγὼ οὖν, ἔφη,
competent to-be the thirty to-put-to-death I then he-said
Θηραμένη τουτονὶ ἐξαλείφω ἐκ τοῦ καταλόγου, συνδοκοῦν
Theramenes this-man I-erase from the list it-seeming-good
ἅπασιν ἡμῖν. καὶ τοῦτον, ἔφη, ἡμεῖς θανατοῦμεν.
to-all us and this-one he-said we put-to-death

52 ἀκούσας ταῦτα ὁ Θηραμένης ἀνεπήδησεν ἐπὶ τὴν ἑστίαν
having-heard these-things — Theramenes leaped onto the hearth
καὶ εἶπεν· Ἐγὼ δ', ἔφη, ὦ ἄνδρες, ἱκετεύω τὰ πάντων
and said I and he-said O men supplicate the of-all
ἐννομώτατα, μὴ ἐπὶ Κριτίᾳ εἶναι ἐξαλείφειν μήτε ἐμὲ
most-lawful-things not on Critias to-be to-erase either me
μήτε ὑμῶν ὃν ἂν βούληται, ἀλλ' ὅνπερ νόμον οὗτοι
or of-you whom-ever — he-wishes but the-very law these
ἔγραψαν περὶ τῶν ἐν τῷ καταλόγῳ, κατὰ τοῦτον καὶ
wrote about the-ones in the list according-to this both
ὑμῖν καὶ ἐμοὶ τὴν κρίσιν εἶναι.
for-you and for-me the judgment to-be

53 καὶ τοῦτο μέν, ἔφη, μὰ τοὺς θεοὺς οὐκ ἀγνοῶ, ὅτι
and this indeed he-said by the gods not I-am-ignorant that
οὐδέν μοι ἀρκέσει ὅδε ὁ βωμός, ἀλλὰ βούλομαι καὶ
in-nothing me will-help this the altar but I-wish also
τοῦτο ἐπιδεῖξαι, ὅτι οὗτοι οὐ μόνον εἰσὶ περὶ ἀνθρώπους
this to-show that these not only are toward men

ἀδικώτατοι, ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ θεοὺς ἀσεβέστατοι. ὑμῶν μέντοι,
most-unjust but also toward gods most-impious of-you however
ἔφη, ὦ ἄνδρες καλοὶ κἀγαθοί, θαυμάζω, εἰ μὴ βοηθήσετε
he-said O men fine and-good I-wonder if not you-will-help
ὑμῖν αὐτοῖς, καὶ ταῦτα γιγνώσκοντες ὅτι οὐδὲν τὸ
yourselves — and these-things knowing that in-nothing the
ἐμὸν ὄνομα εὐεξαλειπτότερον ἢ τὸ ὑμῶν ἑκάστου.
my name more-easily-erased than the of-you each
ἐκ δὲ τούτου ἐκάλεσε μὲν ὁ τῶν τριάκοντα κῆρυξ τοὺς 54
after and this called indeed the of-the thirty herald the
ἕνδεκα ἐπὶ τὸν Θηραμένη· ἐκεῖνοι δὲ εἰσελθόντες σὺν τοῖς
Eleven against — Theramenes those and having-come-in with the
ὑπηρέταις, ἡγουμένου αὐτῶν Σατύρου τοῦ θρασυτάτου τε
attendants leading them Satyrus the boldest both
καὶ ἀναιδεστάτου, εἶπε μὲν ὁ Κριτίας· Παραδίδομεν ὑμῖν,
and most-shameless said indeed — Critias We-hand-over to-you
ἔφη, Θηραμένη τουτονὶ κατακεκριμένον κατὰ τὸν νόμον·
he-said Theramenes this-man condemned according-to the law
ὑμεῖς δὲ λαβόντες καὶ ἀπαγαγόντες [οἱ ἕνδεκα] οὗ δεῖ 55
you and having-taken and having-led-away the Eleven where it-is-needful
τὰ ἐκ τούτων πράττετε. ὡς δὲ ταῦτα εἶπεν, εἵλκε
the-things after these do when but these-things he-said dragged
μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ βωμοῦ ὁ Σάτυρος, εἵλκον δὲ οἱ ὑπηρέται.
indeed from the altar — Satyrus dragged and the attendants
ὁ δὲ Θηραμένης ὥσπερ εἰκὸς καὶ θεοὺς ἐπεκαλεῖτο καὶ
— and Theramenes as reasonable both gods called-on and
ἀνθρώπους καθορᾶν τὰ γιγνόμενα. ἡ δὲ βουλὴ ἡσυχίαν
men to-look-down-on the-things happening the but council quiet
εἶχεν, ὁρῶσα καὶ τοὺς ἐπὶ τοῖς δρυφάκτοις ὁμοίους Σατύρῳ
kept seeing both the-ones at the railings like to-Satyrus

καὶ τὸ ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ βουλευτηρίου πλῆρες τῶν φρουρῶν,
and the front of-the council-house full of-the guards
καὶ οὐκ ἀγνοοῦντες ὅτι ἐγχειρίδια ἔχοντες παρῆσαν.
and not being-ignorant that daggers having they-were-present
56 οἱ δ' ἀπήγαγον τὸν ἄνδρα διὰ τῆς ἀγορᾶς μάλα μεγάλῃ
they and led-away the man through the agora very loud
τῇ φωνῇ δηλοῦντα οἷα ἔπασχε. λέγεται δὲ ἓν ῥῆμα
with-the voice showing such-things-as he-suffered it-is-said and one saying
καὶ τοῦτο αὐτοῦ. ὡς εἶπεν ὁ Σάτυρος ὅτι οἰμώξοιτο, εἰ μὴ
also this of-him when said — Satyrus that he-would-howl if not
σιωπήσειεν, ἐπήρετο· Ἂν δὲ σιωπῶ, οὐκ ἄρ', ἔφη, οἰμώξομαι;
he-were-silent he-asked If but I-am-silent not then he-said shall-I-howl
καὶ ἐπεί γε ἀποθνήσκειν ἀναγκαζόμενος τὸ κώνειον ἔπιε,
and when indeed to-die being-compelled the hemlock he-drank
τὸ λειπόμενον ἔφασαν ἀποκοτταβίσαντα εἰπεῖν αὐτόν·
the remainder they-said having-flung-as-in-kottabos to-have-said him
Κριτίᾳ τοῦτ' ἔστω τῷ καλῷ. καὶ τοῦτο μὲν οὐκ ἀγνοῶ,
to-Critias this let-it-be the fair and this indeed not I-am-ignorant
ὅτι ταῦτα ἀποφθέγματα οὐκ ἀξιόλογα, ἐκεῖνο δὲ κρίνω
that these-things sayings not worth-mentioning that but I-judge
τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἀγαστόν, τὸ τοῦ θανάτου παρεστηκότος μήτε
of-the man admirable the of-the death being-at-hand neither
τὸ φρόνιμον μήτε τὸ παιγνιῶδες ἀπολιπεῖν ἐκ τῆς ψυχῆς.
the wisdom nor the playfulness to-have-left from the soul

The Thirty bar everyone off the list from the city and drive them from their estates; setting out from Thebes, Thrasybulus seizes Phyle; a snowstorm turns back the siege, and his men surprise the guard at dawn. The Thirty seize Eleusis and make their supporters condemn its men. Thrasybulus takes Piraeus and holds Munichia. Before the battle he tells his men that the gods fight with them, and his seer charges first and dies, as he foretold; Critias falls, and Cleocritus, herald of the initiates, pleads with the city men across the dead to end the war. The Thirty are deposed and withdraw to Eleusis, ten men are chosen in their place, and both the Thirty and the city send to Sparta for help. Lysander besieges Piraeus by land and his brother by sea, but King Pausanias, jealous of him, fights a battle and then arranges a reconciliation. Later the city kills the generals of the men at Eleusis, and the amnesty is sworn and kept.

Θηραμένης μὲν δὴ οὕτως ἀπέθανεν· οἱ δὲ τριάκοντα, 1
Theramenes indeed then so died the but thirty
ὡς ἐξὸν ἤδη αὐτοῖς τυραννεῖν ἀδεῶς, προεῖπον μὲν
as being-possible now for-them to-be-tyrants fearlessly proclaimed indeed
τοῖς ἔξω τοῦ καταλόγου μὴ εἰσιέναι εἰς τὸ ἄστυ,
to-the-ones outside the list not to-enter into the town
ἦγον δὲ ἐκ τῶν χωρίων, ἵν' αὐτοὶ καὶ οἱ φίλοι
they-dragged and from the estates so-that themselves and the friends
τοὺς τούτων ἀγροὺς ἔχοιεν. φευγόντων δὲ εἰς τὸν Πειραιᾶ
the of-these lands might-have fleeing and to the Piraeus
καὶ ἐντεῦθεν πολλοὺς ἄγοντες ἐνέπλησαν καὶ τὰ Μέγαρα
and from-there many driving they-filled both — Megara
καὶ τὰς Θήβας τῶν ὑποχωρούντων.
and — Thebes with-the ones-withdrawing
Ἐκ δὲ τούτου Θρασύβουλος ὁρμηθεὶς ἐκ Θηβῶν ὡς 2
After and this Thrasybulus having-set-out from Thebes about
σὺν ἑβδομήκοντα Φυλὴν χωρίον καταλαμβάνει ἰσχυρόν.
with seventy Phyle a-place seizes strong

οἱ δὲ τριάκοντα ἐβοήθουν ἐκ τοῦ ἄστεως σύν τε τοῖς
the and thirty came-to-help from the town with both the
τρισχιλίοις καὶ σὺν τοῖς ἱππεῦσι καὶ μάλ᾽ εὐημερίας
three-thousand and with the horsemen and very fine-weather
οὔσης. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀφίκοντο, εὐθὺς μὲν θρασυνόμενοί τινες
being when and they-arrived at-once indeed being-bold some
τῶν νέων προσέβαλον πρὸς τὸ χωρίον, καὶ ἐποίησαν
of-the young-men attacked against the place and did
μὲν οὐδέν, τραύματα δὲ λαβόντες ἀπῆλθον.
indeed nothing wounds but having-received went-away

3 βουλομένων δὲ τῶν τριάκοντα ἀποτειχίζειν, ὅπως
wishing and the thirty to-wall-off so-that
ἐκπολιορκήσειαν αὐτοὺς ἀποκλείσαντες τὰς ἐφόδους τῶν
they-might-reduce-by-siege them having-shut-off the approaches of-the
ἐπιτηδείων, ἐπιγίγνεται τῆς νυκτὸς χιὼν παμπληθὴς καὶ
provisions comes-on in-the night snow very-great and
τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ. οἱ δὲ νειφόμενοι ἀπῆλθον εἰς τὸ ἄστυ, μάλα
on-the next-day they and snowed-on went-away to the town very
συχνοὺς τῶν σκευοφόρων ὑπὸ τῶν ἐκ Φυλῆς ἀποβαλόντες.
many of-the baggage-carriers by the-ones from Phyle having-lost

4 γιγνώσκοντες δὲ ὅτι καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἀγρῶν λεηλατήσοιεν,
recognizing and that also from the fields they-would-plunder
εἰ μή τις φυλακὴ ἔσοιτο, διαπέμπουσιν εἰς τὰς ἐσχατιὰς
if not some guard should-be they-send-out to the border-lands
ὅσον πεντεκαίδεκα στάδια ἀπὸ Φυλῆς τούς τε Λακωνικοὺς
about fifteen stades from Phyle the both Laconian
πλὴν ὀλίγων φρουροὺς καὶ τῶν ἱππέων δύο φυλάς. οὗτοι
except few garrison and of-the horsemen two tribes these
δὲ στρατοπεδευσάμενοι ἐν χωρίῳ λασίῳ ἐφύλαττον.
and having-encamped in a-place wooded kept-guard

ὁ δὲ Θρασύβουλος, ἤδη συνειλεγμένων εἰς τὴν Φυλὴν 5
— *and Thrasybulus already gathered into — Phyle*
περὶ ἑπτακοσίους, λαβὼν αὐτοὺς καταβαίνει τῆς νυκτός·
about seven-hundred having-taken them comes-down in-the night
θέμενος δὲ τὰ ὅπλα ὅσον τρία ἢ τέτταρα στάδια ἀπὸ
having-grounded and the arms about three or four stades from
τῶν φρουρῶν ἡσυχίαν εἶχεν.
the guards quiet kept
ἐπεὶ δὲ πρὸς ἡμέραν ἐγίγνετο, καὶ ἤδη ἀνίσταντο ὅποι 6
when and toward day it-was-becoming and already they-were-rising wherever
ἐδεῖτο ἕκαστος ἀπὸ τῶν ὅπλων, καὶ οἱ ἱπποκόμοι ψήχοντες
needed each from the arms and the grooms currying
τοὺς ἵππους ψόφον ἐποίουν, ἐν τούτῳ ἀναλαβόντες οἱ
the horses noise made in this having-taken-up the-ones
περὶ Θρασύβουλον τὰ ὅπλα δρόμῳ προσέπιπτον· καὶ
around Thrasybulus the arms at-a-run fell-upon-them and
ἔστι μὲν οὓς αὐτῶν κατέβαλον, πάντας δὲ τρεψάμενοι
there-are indeed whom of-them they-struck-down all but having-routed
ἐδίωξαν ἓξ ἢ ἑπτὰ στάδια, καὶ ἀπέκτειναν τῶν μὲν
they-pursued six or seven stades and killed of-the indeed
ὁπλιτῶν πλέον ἢ εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατόν, τῶν δὲ ἱππέων
hoplites more than twenty and hundred of-the and horsemen
Νικόστρατόν τε τὸν καλὸν ἐπικαλούμενον, καὶ ἄλλους
Nicostratus both the handsome nicknamed and others
δὲ δύο, ἔτι καταλαβόντες ἐν ταῖς εὐναῖς.
and two still having-caught in the beds
ἐπαναχωρήσαντες δὲ καὶ τροπαῖον στησάμενοι καὶ 7
having-returned and also a-trophy having-set-up and
συσκευασάμενοι ὅπλα τε ὅσα ἔλαβον καὶ σκεύη ἀπῆλθον
having-packed-up arms both as-many-as they-took and baggage went-away
ἐπὶ Φυλῆς. οἱ δὲ ἐξ ἄστεως ἱππεῖς βοηθήσαντες τῶν μὲν
to Phyle the but from town horsemen having-come-to-help of-the indeed

πολεμίων οὐδένα ἔτι εἶδον, προσμείναντες δ' ἕως τοὺς
enemies no-one any-longer saw having-waited but until the
νεκροὺς ἀνείλοντο οἱ προσήκοντες ἀνεχώρησαν εἰς ἄστυ.
dead picked-up the relatives withdrew to town
8 ἐκ δὲ τούτου οἱ τριάκοντα, οὐκέτι νομίζοντες ἀσφαλῆ
after and this the thirty no-longer thinking safe
σφίσι τὰ πράγματα, ἐβουλήθησαν Ἐλευσῖνα ἐξιδιώσασθαι,
for-themselves the affairs wished Eleusis to-appropriate
ὥστε εἶναι σφίσι καταφυγήν, εἰ δεήσειε. καὶ
so-that to-be for-themselves a-refuge if it-should-be-needed and
παραγγείλαντες τοῖς ἱππεῦσιν ἦλθον εἰς Ἐλευσῖνα Κριτίας
having-ordered the horsemen came to Eleusis Critias
τε καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι τῶν τριάκοντα, ἐξέτασιν δὲ ποιήσαντες
both and the others of-the thirty a-review and having-made
ἐν τοῖς ἱππεῦσι, φάσκοντες εἰδέναι βούλεσθαι πόσοι
among the horsemen claiming to-know to-wish how-many
εἶεν καὶ πόσης φυλακῆς προσδεήσοιντο, ἐκέλευον
they-were and how-much guard they-would-need-in-addition they-bade
ἀπογράφεσθαι πάντας· τὸν δὲ ἀπογραψάμενον ἀεὶ διὰ
to-register all the and registered each-one through
τῆς πυλίδος ἐπὶ τὴν θάλατταν ἐξιέναι. ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ αἰγιαλῷ
the postern to the sea to-go-out on and the beach
τοὺς μὲν ἱππέας ἔνθεν καὶ ἔνθεν κατέστησαν, τὸν
the indeed horsemen on-this-side and on-that-side they-stationed the
δ' ἐξιόντα ἀεὶ οἱ ὑπηρέται συνέδουν. ἐπεὶ δὲ πάντες
but going-out each-one the attendants bound when and all
συνειλημμένοι ἦσαν, Λυσίμαχον τὸν ἵππαρχον ἐκέλευον
arrested were Lysimachus the hipparch they-bade
ἀναγαγόντα παραδοῦναι αὐτοὺς τοῖς ἕνδεκα.
having-brought-up to-hand-over them to-the Eleven

τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ εἰς τὸ Ὠιδεῖον παρεκάλεσαν τοὺς ἐν 9
on-the and next-day to the Odeum they-summoned the in
τῷ καταλόγῳ ὁπλίτας καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἱππέας. ἀναστὰς
the list hoplites and the other horsemen having-stood-up
δὲ Κριτίας ἔλεξεν· Ἡμεῖς, ἔφη, ὦ ἄνδρες, οὐδὲν ἧττον
and Critias spoke We he-said O men in-nothing less
ὑμῖν κατασκευάζομεν τὴν πολιτείαν ἢ ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς.
for-you are-setting-up the constitution than for-us ourselves
δεῖ οὖν ὑμᾶς, ὥσπερ καὶ τιμῶν μεθέξετε, οὕτω
it-is-needful then you as also of-honors you-will-share so
καὶ τῶν κινδύνων μετέχειν. τῶν οὖν συνειλημμένων
also of-the dangers to-share of-the then arrested
Ἐλευσινίων καταψηφιστέον ἐστίν, ἵνα ταὐτὰ ἡμῖν
Eleusinians one-must-condemn it-is so-that the-same-things with-us
καὶ θαρρῆτε καὶ φοβῆσθε. δείξας δέ τι χωρίον,
both you-may-be-confident and may-fear having-shown and some place
εἰς τοῦτο ἐκέλευε φανερὰν φέρειν τὴν ψῆφον.
into this he-bade openly to-cast the vote
οἱ δὲ Λακωνικοὶ φρουροὶ ἐν τῷ ἡμίσει τοῦ Ὠιδείου 10
the and Laconian garrison in the half of-the Odeum
ἐξωπλισμένοι ἦσαν· ἦν δὲ ταῦτα ἀρεστὰ καὶ τῶν πολιτῶν
under-arms were was and these-things pleasing also to-the citizens
οἷς τὸ πλεονεκτεῖν μόνον ἔμελεν. Ἐκ δὲ τούτου λαβὼν
to-whom the to-take-more alone mattered After and this having-taken
ὁ Θρασύβουλος τοὺς ἀπὸ Φυλῆς περὶ χιλίους ἤδη
— Thrasybulus the-ones from Phyle about a-thousand already
συνειλεγμένους, ἀφικνεῖται τῆς νυκτὸς εἰς τὸν Πειραιᾶ. οἱ δὲ
gathered arrives in-the night at the Piraeus the and
τριάκοντα ἐπεὶ ᾔσθοντο ταῦτα, εὐθὺς ἐβοήθουν σύν τε τοῖς
thirty when they-perceived these-things at-once came-to-help with both the

Λακωνικοῖς καὶ σὺν τοῖς ἱππεῦσι καὶ τοῖς ὁπλίταις· ἔπειτα
Laconians and with the horsemen and the hoplites then
ἐχώρουν κατὰ τὴν εἰς τὸν Πειραιᾶ ἁμαξιτὸν ἀναφέρουσαν.
they-advanced along the to the Piraeus wagon-road leading-up
11 οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ Φυλῆς ἔτι μὲν ἐπεχείρησαν μὴ ἀνιέναι αὐτούς,
the and from Phyle still indeed tried not to-come-up them
ἐπεὶ δὲ μέγας ὁ κύκλος ὢν πολλῆς φυλακῆς ἐδόκει δεῖσθαι
when but large the circuit being much guarding seemed to-need
οὔπω πολλοῖς οὖσι, συνεσπειράθησαν ἐπὶ τὴν Μουνιχίαν. οἱ
not-yet many being they-massed-together on — Munichia the
δ' ἐκ τοῦ ἄστεως εἰς τὴν Ἱπποδάμειον ἀγορὰν ἐλθόντες
and from the town into the Hippodamean agora having-come
πρῶτον μὲν συνετάξαντο, ὥστε ἐμπλῆσαι τὴν ὁδὸν ᾗ
first indeed formed-up so-as to-fill the road which
φέρει πρός τε τὸ ἱερὸν τῆς Μουνιχίας Ἀρτέμιδος καὶ
leads to both the temple of-the Munichian Artemis and
τὸ Βενδίδειον· καὶ ἐγένοντο βάθος οὐκ ἔλαττον ἢ ἐπὶ
the Bendideum and became in-depth not less than for
πεντήκοντα ἀσπίδων. οὕτω δὲ συντεταγμένοι ἐχώρουν ἄνω.
fifty shields thus and drawn-up they-advanced upward
12 οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ Φυλῆς ἀντενέπλησαν μὲν τὴν ὁδόν, βάθος
the but from Phyle filled-opposite indeed the road in-depth
δὲ οὐ πλέον ἢ εἰς δέκα ὁπλίτας ἐγένοντο. ἐτάχθησαν
but not more than to ten hoplites became were-stationed
μέντοι ἐπ' αὐτοῖς πελτοφόροι τε καὶ ψιλοὶ ἀκοντισταί,
however behind them peltasts both and light javelin-men
ἐπὶ δὲ τούτοις οἱ πετροβόλοι. οὗτοι μέντοι συχνοὶ ἦσαν·
behind and these the stone-throwers these however numerous were
καὶ γὰρ αὐτόθεν προσεγένοντο. ἐν ᾧ δὲ προσῇσαν οἱ
and for from-there were-added while — and approached the
ἐναντίοι, Θρασύβουλος τοὺς μεθ' αὑτοῦ θέσθαι κελεύσας

τὰς ἀσπίδας καὶ αὐτὸς θέμενος, τὰ δ' ἄλλα ὅπλα
the shields and himself having-grounded the but other arms
ἔχων, κατὰ μέσον στὰς ἔλεξεν·
having in middle having-stood spoke
Ἄνδρες πολῖται, τοὺς μὲν διδάξαι, τοὺς δὲ ἀναμνῆσαι 13
Men citizens the-ones indeed to-teach the-others but to-remind
ὑμῶν βούλομαι ὅτι εἰσὶ τῶν προσιόντων οἱ μὲν τὸ
of-you I-wish that are of-the approaching the indeed the
δεξιὸν ἔχοντες οὓς ὑμεῖς ἡμέραν πέμπτην τρεψάμενοι
right holding whom you on-the-day fifth having-routed
ἐδιώξατε, οἱ δ' ἐπὶ τοῦ εὐωνύμου ἔσχατοι, οὗτοι δὴ
pursued the but on the left last these indeed
οἱ τριάκοντα, οἳ ἡμᾶς καὶ πόλεως ἀπεστέρουν οὐδὲν
the thirty who us both of-city deprived nothing
ἀδικοῦντας καὶ οἰκιῶν ἐξήλαυνον καὶ τοὺς φιλτάτους τῶν
doing-wrong and from-houses drove-out and the dearest of-the
ἡμετέρων ἀπεσημαίνοντο. ἀλλὰ νῦν τοι παραγεγένηνται
our proscribed but now you-know they-have-come
οὗ οὗτοι μὲν οὔποτε ᾠοντο, ἡμεῖς δὲ ἀεὶ ηὐχόμεθα.
where these indeed never thought we but always prayed
ἔχοντες γὰρ ὅπλα μὲν ἐναντίοι αὐτοῖς καθέσταμεν· 14
having for arms indeed opposed to-them we-have-taken-our-stand
οἱ δὲ θεοί, ὅτι ποτὲ καὶ δειπνοῦντες συνελαμβανόμεθα
the but gods because once also dining we-were-arrested
καὶ καθεύδοντες καὶ ἀγοράζοντες, οἱ δὲ καὶ οὐχ ὅπως
and sleeping and marketing some and even not to-speak-of
ἀδικοῦντες, ἀλλ' οὐδ' ἐπιδημοῦντες ἐφυγαδευόμεθα, νῦν
doing-wrong but not-even being-at-home were-exiled now
φανερῶς ἡμῖν συμμαχοῦσι. καὶ γὰρ ἐν εὐδίᾳ χειμῶνα
openly us are-allied-with and for in fair-weather a-storm
ποιοῦσιν, ὅταν ἡμῖν συμφέρῃ, καὶ ὅταν ἐγχειρῶμεν,
they-make whenever for-us it-be-advantageous and whenever we-attack

πολλῶν ὄντων ἐναντίων ὀλίγοις οὖσι τροπαῖα ἵστασθαι
many being opponents to-few being trophies to-set-up
διδόασι·
they-grant

15 καὶ νῦν δὲ κεκομίκασιν ἡμᾶς εἰς χωρίον ἐν ᾧ οὗτοι μὲν
and now and they-have-brought us into a-place in which these indeed
οὔτε βάλλειν οὔτε ἀκοντίζειν ὑπὲρ τῶν προτεταγμένων
neither to-throw nor to-hurl-javelins over the-ones posted-in-front
διὰ τὸ πρὸς ὄρθιον ἰέναι δύναιντ' ἄν, ἡμεῖς δὲ εἰς τὸ
because-of the up steep to-go could — we but into the
κάταντες καὶ δόρατα ἀφιέντες καὶ ἀκόντια καὶ πέτρους
downhill both spears throwing and javelins and stones
ἐξιξόμεθά τε αὐτῶν καὶ πολλοὺς κατατρώσομεν.
shall-reach both them and many shall-wound

16 καὶ ᾤετο μὲν ἄν τις δεήσειν τοῖς γε
and would-have-thought indeed — anyone it-would-be-needful with-the at-least
πρωτοστάταις ἐκ τοῦ ἴσου μάχεσθαι· νῦν δέ, ἂν ὑμεῖς,
front-rankers on the equal to-fight now but if you
ὥσπερ προσήκει, προθύμως ἀφίητε τὰ βέλη, ἁμαρτήσεται
as is-fitting eagerly throw the missiles will-miss
μὲν οὐδεὶς ὧν γε μεστὴ ἡ ὁδός, φυλαττόμενοι δὲ
indeed no-one of-whom at-least full the road guarding-themselves and
δραπετεύσουσιν ἀεὶ ὑπὸ ταῖς ἀσπίσιν· ὥστε ἐξέσται
they-will-skulk always under the shields so-that it-will-be-possible
ὥσπερ τυφλοὺς καὶ τύπτειν ὅπου ἂν βουλώμεθα καὶ
as blind-men both to-strike wherever — we-wish and
ἐναλλομένους ἀνατρέπειν.
leaping-on to-overturn

17 ἀλλ', ὦ ἄνδρες, οὕτω χρὴ ποιεῖν ὅπως ἕκαστός τις
but O men so it-is-needful to-act that each one
ἑαυτῷ συνείσεται τῆς νίκης αἰτιώτατος ὤν. αὕτη γὰρ ἡμῖν,
himself will-be-conscious of-the victory most-responsible being this for for-us

ἂν θεὸς θέλῃ, νῦν ἀποδώσει καὶ πατρίδα καὶ οἴκους καὶ
if god be-willing now will-give-back both fatherland and homes and
ἐλευθερίαν καὶ τιμὰς καὶ παῖδας, οἷς εἰσί, καὶ γυναῖκας.
freedom and honors and children to-whom there-are and wives
ὦ μακάριοι δῆτα, οἳ ἂν ἡμῶν νικήσαντες ἐπίδωσι τὴν
O blessed truly whoever — of-us having-won shall-see the
πασῶν ἡδίστην ἡμέραν. εὐδαίμων δὲ καὶ ἄν τις ἀποθάνῃ·
of-all sweetest day happy and also if anyone die
μνημείου γὰρ οὐδεὶς οὕτω πλούσιος ὢν καλοῦ τεύξεται.
of-a-monument for no-one so rich being fine will-obtain
ἐξάρξω μὲν οὖν ἐγὼ ἡνίκ' ἂν καιρὸς ᾖ παιᾶνα· ὅταν
I-will-lead indeed then I when — the-moment be the-paean whenever
δὲ τὸν Ἐνυάλιον παρακαλέσωμεν, τότε πάντες ὁμοθυμαδὸν
but — Enyalius we-call-on then all with-one-mind
ἀνθ' ὧν ὑβρίσθημεν τιμωρώμεθα τοὺς ἄνδρας.
in-return-for what we-were-outraged let-us-punish the men
Ταῦτα δ' εἰπὼν καὶ μεταστραφεὶς πρὸς τοὺς ἐναντίους 18
These-things and having-said and having-turned toward the opponents
ἡσυχίαν εἶχε· καὶ γὰρ ὁ μάντις παρήγγελλεν αὐτοῖς
quiet kept and for the seer exhorted them
μὴ πρότερον ἐπιτίθεσθαι, πρὶν ἂν τῶν σφετέρων ἢ
not sooner to-attack before — of-the their-own either
πέσοι τις ἢ τρωθείη· ἐπειδὰν μέντοι τοῦτο γένηται,
should-fall someone or should-be-wounded when however this happen
ἡγησόμεθα μέν, ἔφη, ἡμεῖς, νίκη δ' ὑμῖν ἔσται ἑπομένοις,
we-will-lead indeed he-said we victory and to-you will-be following
ἐμοὶ μέντοι θάνατος, ὥς γέ μοι δοκεῖ.
for-me however death as at-least to-me it-seems
καὶ οὐκ ἐψεύσατο, ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ ἀνέλαβον τὰ ὅπλα, αὐτὸς 19
and not he-lied but when they-took-up the arms himself
μὲν ὥσπερ ὑπὸ μοίρας τινὸς ἀγόμενος ἐκπηδήσας, πρῶτος
indeed as by fate some led having-leapt-out first

ἐμπεσὼν τοῖς πολεμίοις ἀποθνῄσκει, καὶ τέθαπται ἐν
having-fallen-upon the enemies dies and is-buried at
τῇ διαβάσει τοῦ Κηφισοῦ· οἱ δ' ἄλλοι ἐνίκων καὶ
the crossing of-the Cephisus the but others were-winning and
κατεδίωξαν μέχρι τοῦ ὁμαλοῦ. ἀπέθανον δ' ἐνταῦθα τῶν
pursued as-far-as the level-ground died and there of-the
μὲν τριάκοντα Κριτίας τε καὶ Ἱππόμαχος, τῶν δὲ ἐν
indeed thirty Critias both and Hippomachus of-the and in
Πειραιεῖ δέκα ἀρχόντων Χαρμίδης ὁ Γλαύκωνος, τῶν δ'
Piraeus ten rulers Charmides the son-of-Glaucon of-the and
ἄλλων περὶ ἑβδομήκοντα. καὶ τὰ μὲν ὅπλα ἔλαβον, τοὺς
others about seventy and the indeed arms they-took the
δὲ χιτῶνας οὐδενὸς τῶν πολιτῶν ἐσκύλευσαν. ἐπεὶ δὲ
but tunics of-no-one of-the citizens they-stripped when and
τοῦτο ἐγένετο καὶ τοὺς νεκροὺς ὑποσπόνδους ἀπεδίδοσαν,
this happened and the dead under-truce they-were-giving-back
προσιόντες ἀλλήλοις πολλοὶ διελέγοντο.
approaching one-another many conversed

20 Κλεόκριτος δὲ ὁ τῶν μυστῶν κῆρυξ, μάλ' εὔφωνος
Cleocritus and the of-the initiates herald very loud-voiced
ὤν, κατασιωπησάμενος ἔλεξεν· Ἄνδρες πολῖται, τί ἡμᾶς
being having-called-for-silence spoke Men citizens why us
ἐξελαύνετε; τί ἀποκτεῖναι βούλεσθε; ἡμεῖς γὰρ ὑμᾶς κακὸν
do-you-drive-out why to-kill do-you-wish we for you harm
μὲν οὐδὲν πώποτε ἐποιήσαμεν, μετεσχήκαμεν δὲ ὑμῖν
indeed none ever did we-have-shared but with-you
καὶ ἱερῶν τῶν σεμνοτάτων καὶ θυσιῶν καὶ ἑορτῶν τῶν
both rites the most-solemn and sacrifices and festivals the
καλλίστων καὶ συγχορευταὶ καὶ συμφοιτηταὶ γεγενήμεθα
finest and fellow-dancers and fellow-pupils we-have-become
καὶ συστρατιῶται, καὶ πολλὰ μεθ' ὑμῶν κεκινδυνεύκαμεν
and fellow-soldiers and much with you we-have-run-risks

καὶ κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν ὑπὲρ τῆς κοινῆς
both by land and by sea for the common
ἀμφοτέρων ἡμῶν σωτηρίας τε καὶ ἐλευθερίας.
of-both us safety both and freedom
πρὸς θεῶν πατρῴων καὶ μητρῴων καὶ συγγενείας καὶ 21
by gods paternal and maternal and kinship and
κηδεστίας καὶ ἑταιρίας (πάντων γὰρ τούτων πολλοὶ
marriage-ties and comradeship of-all for these many
κοινωνοῦμεν ἀλλήλοις) αἰδούμενοι καὶ θεοὺς καὶ ἀνθρώπους
share with-one-another respecting both gods and men
παύσασθε ἁμαρτάνοντες εἰς τὴν πατρίδα, καὶ μὴ πείθεσθε
stop erring against the fatherland and not obey
τοῖς ἀνοσιωτάτοις τριάκοντα, οἳ ἰδίων κερδέων ἕνεκα
the most-impious thirty who of-private gains for-the-sake
ὀλίγου δεῖν πλείους ἀπεκτόνασιν Ἀθηναίων ἐν ὀκτὼ μησὶν
little to-lack more have-killed of-Athenians in eight months
ἢ πάντες Πελοποννήσιοι δέκα ἔτη πολεμοῦντες.
than all Peloponnesians ten years making-war
ἐξὸν δ' ἡμῖν ἐν εἰρήνῃ πολιτεύεσθαι, οὗτοι τὸν 22
being-possible and for-us in peace to-live-as-citizens these the
πάντων αἴσχιστόν τε καὶ χαλεπώτατον καὶ ἀνοσιώτατον
of-all most-shameful both and harshest and most-impious
καὶ ἔχθιστον καὶ θεοῖς καὶ ἀνθρώποις πόλεμον ἡμῖν πρὸς
and most-hateful both to-gods and to-men war to-us against
ἀλλήλους παρέχουσιν. ἀλλ' εὖ γε μέντοι ἐπίστασθε ὅτι
one-another provide but well at-least however know that
καὶ τῶν νῦν ὑφ' ἡμῶν ἀποθανόντων οὐ μόνον ὑμεῖς ἀλλὰ
also of-the now by us having-died not only you but
καὶ ἡμεῖς ἔστιν οὓς πολλὰ κατεδακρύσαμεν. Ὁ μὲν
also we there-are whom much we-have-wept-over He indeed

τοιαῦτα ἔλεγεν· οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ ἄρχοντες καὶ διὰ τὸ τοιαῦτα
such-things said the but remaining commanders also because-of the such-things
προσακούειν τοὺς μεθ' αὑτῶν ἀπήγαγον εἰς τὸ ἄστυ.
to-hear-besides the-ones with themselves led-away to the town

23 τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ οἱ μὲν τριάκοντα πάνυ δὴ ταπεινοὶ καὶ
on-the and next-day the indeed thirty very indeed humbled and
ἔρημοι συνεκάθηντο ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῳ· τῶν δὲ τρισχιλίων
deserted sat-together in the council-room of-the but three-thousand
ὅπου ἕκαστοι τεταγμένοι ἦσαν, πανταχοῦ διεφέροντο πρὸς
wherever each stationed were everywhere they-quarreled with
ἀλλήλους. ὅσοι μὲν γὰρ ἐπεποιήκεσάν τι βιαιότερον
one-another as-many-as indeed for had-done anything more-violent
καὶ ἐφοβοῦντο, ἐντόνως ἔλεγον ὡς οὐ χρείη καθυφίεσθαι
and were-afraid vehemently said that not it-was-needful to-give-in
τοῖς ἐν Πειραιεῖ· ὅσοι δὲ ἐπίστευον μηδὲν ἠδικηκέναι,
to-the-ones in Piraeus as-many-as but were-confident in-nothing to-have-done-wrong
αὐτοί τε ἀνελογίζοντο καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἐδίδασκον ὡς οὐδὲν
themselves both reflected and the others taught that in-no-way
δέοιντο τούτων τῶν κακῶν, καὶ τοῖς τριάκοντα οὐκ ἔφασαν
they-needed these the evils and the thirty not they-said
χρῆναι πείθεσθαι οὐδ' ἐπιτρέπειν ἀπολλύναι τὴν πόλιν.
it-was-needful to-obey nor to-allow to-destroy the city
καὶ τὸ τελευταῖον ἐψηφίσαντο ἐκείνους μὲν καταπαῦσαι,
and the last they-voted those indeed to-depose
ἄλλους δὲ ἑλέσθαι. καὶ εἵλοντο δέκα, ἕνα ἀπὸ φυλῆς.
others and to-choose and they-chose ten one from tribe

24 Καὶ οἱ μὲν τριάκοντα Ἐλευσῖνάδε ἀπῆλθον· οἱ δὲ δέκα
And the indeed thirty to-Eleusis went-away the and ten
τῶν ἐν ἄστει καὶ μάλα τεταραγμένων καὶ ἀπιστούντων
of-the-ones in town both very being-in-confusion and distrusting
ἀλλήλοις σὺν τοῖς ἱππάρχοις ἐπεμέλοντο. ἐξεκάθευδον δὲ
one-another with the hipparchs took-charge slept-out and

καὶ οἱ ἱππεῖς ἐν τῷ Ὠιδείῳ, τούς τε ἵππους καὶ τὰς
also the horsemen in the Odeum the both horses and the
ἀσπίδας ἔχοντες, καὶ δι᾽ ἀπιστίαν ἐφώδευον τὸ μὲν ἀφ᾽
shields having and through distrust they-patrolled the indeed from
ἑσπέρας σὺν ταῖς ἀσπίσι κατὰ [τὰ] τείχη, τὸ δὲ πρὸς
evening with the shields along the walls the but toward
ὄρθρον σὺν τοῖς ἵπποις, ἀεὶ φοβούμενοι μὴ ἐπεισπέσοιέν
dawn with the horses always fearing lest should-fall-upon
τινες αὐτοῖς τῶν ἐκ τοῦ Πειραιῶς.
some them of-the from the Piraeus
οἱ δὲ πολλοί τε ἤδη ὄντες καὶ παντοδαποί, ὅπλα 25
they but many both already being and of-all-kinds arms
ἐποιοῦντο, οἱ μὲν ξύλινα, οἱ δὲ οἰσύινα, καὶ
made the-ones indeed wooden the-others but of-wicker and
ταῦτα ἐλευκοῦντο. πρὶν δὲ ἡμέρας δέκα γενέσθαι, πιστὰ
these-things they-whitened before and days ten to-pass pledges
δόντες, οἵτινες συμπολεμήσειαν, καὶ εἰ ξένοι εἶεν,
having-given whoever should-fight-with-them even if foreigners they-were
ἰσοτέλειαν ἔσεσθαι, ἐξῆσαν πολλοὶ μὲν ὁπλῖται,
equal-taxation to-be they-marched-out many indeed hoplites
πολλοὶ δὲ γυμνῆτες· ἐγένοντο δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ ἱππεῖς ὡσεὶ
many and light-armed there-came and to-them also horsemen about
ἑβδομήκοντα· προνομὰς δὲ ποιούμενοι, καὶ λαμβάνοντες
seventy forays and making and taking
ξύλα καὶ ὀπώραν, ἐκάθευδον πάλιν ἐν Πειραιεῖ.
wood and fruit slept again in Piraeus
τῶν δ᾽ ἐκ τοῦ ἄστεως ἄλλος μὲν οὐδεὶς σὺν ὅπλοις 26
of-the and from the town other indeed no-one with arms
ἐξῄει, οἱ δὲ ἱππεῖς ἔστιν ὅτε καὶ λῃστὰς ἐχειροῦντο
went-out the but horsemen there-were times-when also raiders seized
τῶν ἐκ Πειραιῶς, καὶ τὴν φάλαγγα αὐτῶν ἐκακούργουν.
of-the from Piraeus and the line their damaged

περιέτυχον δὲ καὶ τῶν Αἰξωνέων τισὶν εἰς τοὺς αὐτῶν
they-fell-in-with and also of-the Aexoneans some to the their-own
ἀγροὺς ἐπὶ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια πορευομένοις· καὶ τούτους
fields for the provisions going and these
Λυσίμαχος ὁ ἵππαρχος ἀπέσφαξε, πολλὰ λιτανεύοντας
Lysimachus the hipparch slaughtered much entreating
καὶ πολλῶν χαλεπῶς φερόντων ἱππέων.
and many ill taking-it horsemen

27 ἀνταπέκτειναν δὲ καὶ οἱ ἐν Πειραιεῖ τῶν ἱππέων ἐπ᾽
killed-in-return and also the-ones in Piraeus of-the horsemen in
ἀγροῦ λαβόντες Καλλίστρατον φυλῆς Λεοντίδος. καὶ γὰρ
the-country having-taken Callistratus of-the-tribe Leontis and for
ἤδη μέγα ἐφρόνουν, ὥστε καὶ πρὸς τὸ τεῖχος τοῦ
already greatly they-prided-themselves so-that even against the wall of-the
ἄστεως προσέβαλλον. εἰ δὲ καὶ τοῦτο δεῖ εἰπεῖν τοῦ
town they-made-attacks if and also this it-is-needful to-tell of-the
μηχανοποιοῦ τοῦ ἐν τῷ ἄστει, ὃς ἐπεὶ ἔγνω ὅτι κατὰ τὸν ἐκ
engineer the in the town who when he-knew that along the from
Λυκείου δρόμον μέλλοιεν τὰς μηχανὰς προσάγειν, τὰ ζεύγη
Lyceum race-course they-were-going the engines to-bring-up the teams
ἐκέλευσε πάντα ἁμαξιαίους λίθους ἄγειν καὶ καταβάλλειν
bade all wagon-load stones to-bring and to-throw-down
ὅπου ἕκαστος βούλοιτο τοῦ δρόμου. ὡς δὲ τοῦτο ἐγένετο,
where each wished of-the course when and this happened
πολλὰ εἷς ἕκαστος τῶν λίθων πράγματα παρεῖχε.
many one each of-the stones trouble caused

28 πεμπόντων δὲ πρέσβεις εἰς Λακεδαίμονα τῶν μὲν
sending and envoys to Lacedaemon the indeed
τριάκοντα ἐξ Ἐλευσῖνος, τῶν δ᾽ ἐν τῷ καταλόγῳ ἐξ
thirty from Eleusis the but in the list from
ἄστεως, καὶ βοηθεῖν κελευόντων, ὡς ἀφεστηκότος τοῦ
town and to-help bidding as having-revolted the

δήμου ἀπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων, Λύσανδρος λογισάμενος ὅτι
people from Lacedaemonians Lysander having-reckoned that
οἷόν τε εἴη ταχὺ ἐκπολιορκῆσαι τοὺς ἐν τῷ Πειραιεῖ
possible — it-was quickly to-reduce-by-siege the-ones in the Piraeus
κατά τε γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν, εἰ τῶν ἐπιτηδείων
by both land and by sea if from-the provisions
ἀποκλεισθείησαν, συνέπραξεν ἑκατόν τε τάλαντα αὐτοῖς
they-were-shut-off helped hundred both talents to-them
δανεισθῆναι, καὶ αὐτὸν μὲν κατὰ γῆν ἁρμοστήν, Λίβυν
to-be-lent and himself indeed by land as-harmost Libys
δὲ τὸν ἀδελφὸν ναυαρχοῦντα ἐκπεμφθῆναι.
and the brother as-admiral to-be-sent-out
καὶ ἐξελθὼν αὐτὸς μὲν Ἐλευσῖνάδε συνέλεγεν ὁπλίτας 29
and having-gone-out himself indeed to-Eleusis gathered hoplites
πολλοὺς Πελοποννησίους· ὁ δὲ ναύαρχος κατὰ θάλατταν
many Peloponnesian the and admiral by sea
ἐφύλαττεν ὅπως μηδὲν εἰσπλέοι αὐτοῖς τῶν ἐπιτηδείων,
guarded so-that nothing should-sail-in to-them of-the provisions
ὥστε ταχὺ πάλιν ἐν ἀπορίᾳ ἦσαν οἱ ἐν Πειραιεῖ,
so-that quickly again in perplexity were the-ones in Piraeus
οἱ δ' ἐν τῷ ἄστει πάλιν αὖ μέγα ἐφρόνουν ἐπὶ
the but in the town again in-turn greatly they-prided-themselves on
τῷ Λυσάνδρῳ. οὕτω δὲ προχωρούντων Παυσανίας ὁ
— Lysander so and going-forward Pausanias the
βασιλεὺς φθονήσας Λυσάνδρῳ, εἰ κατειργασμένος ταῦτα
king having-envied Lysander if having-accomplished these-things
ἅμα μὲν εὐδοκιμήσοι, ἅμα δὲ ἰδίας ποιήσοιτο τὰς
at-once indeed he-would-gain-repute at-once and his-own would-make —
Ἀθήνας, πείσας τῶν ἐφόρων τρεῖς ἐξάγει φρουράν.
Athens having-persuaded of-the ephors three leads-out a-levy

30 συνείποντο δὲ καὶ οἱ σύμμαχοι πάντες πλὴν Βοιωτῶν
followed and also the allies all except Boeotians
καὶ Κορινθίων· οὗτοι δὲ ἔλεγον μὲν ὅτι οὐ νομίζοιεν
and Corinthians these and said indeed that not they-thought
εὐορκεῖν ἂν στρατευόμενοι ἐπ' Ἀθηναίους μηδὲν
to-keep-their-oaths — campaigning against Athenians nothing
παράσπονδον ποιοῦντας, ἔπραττον δὲ ταῦτα, ὅτι
in-breach-of-treaty doing they-did but these-things because
ἐγίγνωσκον Λακεδαιμονίους βουλομένους τὴν τῶν Ἀθηναίων
they-recognized Lacedaemonians wishing the of-the Athenians
χώραν οἰκείαν καὶ πιστὴν ποιήσασθαι. ὁ δὲ Παυσανίας
land their-own and faithful to-make — and Pausanias
ἐστρατοπεδεύσατο μὲν ἐν τῷ Ἁλιπέδῳ καλουμένῳ πρὸς
encamped indeed in — Halipedum called near
τῷ Πειραιεῖ δεξιὸν ἔχων κέρας, Λύσανδρος δὲ σὺν τοῖς
the Piraeus right holding wing Lysander and with the
μισθοφόροις τὸ εὐώνυμον.
mercenaries the left

31 πέμπων δὲ πρέσβεις ὁ Παυσανίας πρὸς τοὺς ἐν Πειραιεῖ
sending and envoys — Pausanias to the-ones in Piraeus
ἐκέλευεν ἀπιέναι ἐπὶ τὰ ἑαυτῶν· ἐπεὶ δ' οὐκ ἐπείθοντο,
bade to-go-away to the their-own when but not they-obeyed
προσέβαλλεν ὅσον ἀπὸ βοῆς ἕνεκεν, ὅπως μὴ δῆλος
he-attacked as-much-as from shout for-the-sake so-that not evident
εἴη εὐμενὴς αὐτοῖς ὤν. ἐπεὶ δ' οὐδὲν ἀπὸ τῆς
he-might-be well-disposed to-them being when and nothing from the
προσβολῆς πράξας ἀπῆλθε, τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ λαβὼν τῶν
attack having-done he-went-away on-the next-day having-taken of-the
μὲν Λακεδαιμονίων δύο μόρας, τῶν δὲ Ἀθηναίων ἱππέων
indeed Lacedaemonians two regiments of-the and Athenian horsemen

τρεῖς φυλάς, παρῆλθεν ἐπὶ τὸν κωφὸν λιμένα, σκοπῶν
three tribes he-went-along to the blind harbor considering
πῇ εὐαποτειχιστότατος εἴη ὁ Πειραιεύς.
where most-easily-walled-off was the Piraeus
ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀπιόντος αὐτοῦ προσέθεόν τινες καὶ πράγματα 32
when and going-away him ran-at-him some and trouble
αὐτῷ παρεῖχον, ἀχθεσθεὶς παρήγγειλε τοὺς μὲν ἱππέας
to-him caused annoyed he-ordered the indeed horsemen
ἐλᾶν εἰς αὐτοὺς ἐνέντας, καὶ [τοὺς] τὰ δέκα ἀφ' ἥβης
to-ride at them having-let-go and the the ten from youth
συνέπεσθαι· σὺν δὲ τοῖς ἄλλοις αὐτὸς ἐπηκολούθει. καὶ
to-follow-with with and the others himself followed and
ἀπέκτειναν μὲν ἐγγὺς τριάκοντα τῶν ψιλῶν, τοὺς δ'
they-killed indeed nearly thirty of-the light-troops the but
ἄλλους κατεδίωξαν πρὸς τὸ Πειραιοῖ θέατρον.
others they-chased to the in-Piraeus theater
ἐκεῖ δὲ ἔτυχον ἐξοπλιζόμενοι οἵ τε πελτασταὶ πάντες καὶ 33
there and happened arming-themselves the both peltasts all and
οἱ ὁπλῖται τῶν ἐκ Πειραιῶς. καὶ οἱ μὲν ψιλοὶ εὐθὺς
the hoplites of-the-ones from Piraeus and the indeed light-troops at-once
ἐκδραμόντες ἠκόντιζον, ἔβαλλον, ἐτόξευον, ἐσφενδόνων·
having-run-out hurled-javelins threw shot-arrows slung
οἱ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, ἐπεὶ αὐτῶν πολλοὶ ἐτιτρώσκοντο,
the but Lacedaemonians when of-them many were-being-wounded
μάλα πιεζόμενοι ἀνεχώρουν ἐπὶ πόδα· οἱ δ' ἐν τούτῳ
very hard-pressed withdrew on foot-backward they but in this
πολὺ μᾶλλον ἐπέκειντο. ἐνταῦθα καὶ ἀποθνῄσκει Χαίρων
much more pressed-on there also dies Chaeron
τε καὶ Θίβραχος, ἄμφω πολεμάρχω, καὶ Λακράτης ὁ
both and Thibrachus both polemarchs and Lacrates the

ὀλυμπιονίκης καὶ ἄλλοι οἱ τεθαμμένοι Λακεδαιμονίων
Olympic-victor and others the-ones buried of-Lacedaemonians
πρὸ τῶν πυλῶν ἐν Κεραμεικῷ.
before the gates in the-Ceramicus

34 ὁρῶν δὲ ταῦτα ὁ Θρασύβουλος καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι ὁπλῖται,
seeing and these-things — Thrasybulus and the other hoplites
ἐβοήθουν, καὶ ταχὺ παρετάξαντο πρὸ τῶν Ἁλῶν ἐπ᾽ ὀκτώ.
came-to-help and quickly drew-up before the Halae on eight
ὁ δὲ Παυσανίας μάλα πιεσθεὶς καὶ ἀναχωρήσας ὅσον
— but Pausanias very hard-pressed and having-withdrawn about
στάδια τέτταρα ἢ πέντε πρὸς λόφον τινά, παρήγγελλε
stades four or five to a-hill some ordered
τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις συμμάχοις ἐπιχωρεῖν
the Lacedaemonians and the other allies to-come-up
πρὸς ἑαυτόν. ἐκεῖ δὲ συνταξάμενος παντελῶς βαθεῖαν τὴν
to himself there and having-formed very deep the
φάλαγγα ἦγεν ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους. οἱ δ᾽ εἰς χεῖρας
phalanx he-led against the Athenians they and at hands
μὲν ἐδέξαντο, ἔπειτα δὲ οἱ μὲν ἐξεώσθησαν εἰς τὸν ἐν
indeed received-them then but the-ones indeed were-pushed into the in
ταῖς Ἁλαῖς πηλόν, οἱ δὲ ἐνέκλιναν· καὶ ἀποθνῄσκουσιν
the Halae mud the-others but gave-way and die
αὐτῶν ὡς πεντήκοντα καὶ ἑκατόν.
of-them about fifty and hundred

35 ὁ δὲ Παυσανίας τροπαῖον στησάμενος ἀνεχώρησε· καὶ
— and Pausanias a-trophy having-set-up withdrew and
οὐδ᾽ ὣς ὠργίζετο αὐτοῖς, ἀλλὰ λάθρᾳ πέμπων ἐδίδασκε
not-even so was-angry with-them but secretly sending taught
τοὺς ἐν Πειραιεῖ οἷα χρὴ λέγοντας πρέσβεις πέμπειν
the-ones in Piraeus what-sort it-is-needful saying envoys to-send
πρὸς ἑαυτὸν καὶ τοὺς παρόντας ἐφόρους. οἱ δ᾽ ἐπείθοντο.
to himself and the present ephors they and obeyed

διίστη δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἐν τῷ ἄστει, καὶ ἐκέλευε πρὸς
he-divided and also the-ones in the town and bade to
σφᾶς προσιέναι ὡς πλείστους συλλεγομένους, λέγοντας ὅτι
them to-come as most gathering saying that
οὐδὲν δέονται τοῖς ἐν [τῷ] Πειραιεῖ πολεμεῖν, ἀλλὰ
in-no-way they-need with-the-ones in the Piraeus to-make-war but
διαλυθέντες κοινῇ ἀμφότεροι Λακεδαιμονίοις φίλοι εἶναι.
having-been-reconciled in-common both to-Lacedaemonians friends to-be
ἡδέως δὲ ταῦτα καὶ Ναυκλείδας ἔφορος ὢν συνήκουεν· 36
gladly and these-things also Naucleidas ephor being heard
ὥσπερ γὰρ νομίζεται σὺν βασιλεῖ δύο τῶν ἐφόρων
as for is-customary with a-king two of-the ephors
συστρατεύεσθαι, καὶ τότε παρῆν οὗτός τε καὶ ἄλλος,
to-campaign-together also then were-present this-one both and another
ἀμφότεροι τῆς μετὰ Παυσανίου γνώμης ὄντες μᾶλλον
both of-the with Pausanias opinion being rather
ἢ τῆς μετὰ Λυσάνδρου. διὰ ταῦτα οὖν καὶ εἰς τὴν
than of-the with Lysander because-of these-things then also to —
Λακεδαίμονα προθύμως ἔπεμπον τούς τ᾽ ἐκ [τοῦ] Πειραιῶς
Lacedaemon eagerly they-sent the both from the Piraeus
ἔχοντας τὰς πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους σπονδὰς καὶ τοὺς ἀπὸ
having the toward Lacedaemonians truce and the from
τῶν ἐν ἄστει ἰδιώτας, [καὶ] Κηφισοφῶντά τε καὶ Μέλητον.
the-ones in town private-men and Cephisophon both and Meletus
ἐπεὶ μέντοι οὗτοι ᾤχοντο εἰς Λακεδαίμονα, ἔπεμπον δὴ 37
when however these went to Lacedaemon sent indeed
καὶ οἱ ἀπὸ τοῦ κοινοῦ ἐκ τοῦ ἄστεως λέγοντας ὅτι
also the-ones from the commonalty from the town saying that
αὐτοὶ μὲν παραδιδόασι καὶ τὰ τείχη ἃ ἔχουσι καὶ
themselves indeed hand-over both the walls which they-have and
σφᾶς αὐτοὺς Λακεδαιμονίοις χρῆσθαι ὅ τι βούλονται·
themselves — to-Lacedaemonians to-use what ever they-wish

ἀξιοῦν δ' ἔφασαν καὶ τοὺς ἐν Πειραιεῖ, εἰ φίλοι φασὶν
to-deem-right and they-said also the-ones in Piraeus if friends they-say
εἶναι Λακεδαιμονίοις, παραδιδόναι τόν τε Πειραιᾶ καὶ
to-be to-Lacedaemonians to-hand-over the both Piraeus and
τὴν Μουνιχίαν.
— Munichia

38 ἀκούσαντες δὲ πάντων αὐτῶν οἱ ἔφοροι καὶ οἱ ἔκκλητοι,
having-heard and all them the ephors and the assembly
ἐξέπεμψαν πεντεκαίδεκα ἄνδρας εἰς τὰς Ἀθήνας, καὶ
sent-out fifteen men to — Athens and
ἐπέταξαν σὺν Παυσανίᾳ διαλλάξαι ὅπῃ δύναιντο
enjoined with Pausanias to-reconcile how-ever they-could
κάλλιστα. οἱ δὲ διήλλαξαν ἐφ' ᾧτε εἰρήνην μὲν
best they and reconciled on condition-that peace indeed
ἔχειν ὡς πρὸς ἀλλήλους, ἀπιέναι δὲ ἐπὶ τὰ ἑαυτῶν
to-have as toward one-another to-go-away but to the their-own
ἕκαστον πλὴν τῶν τριάκοντα καὶ τῶν ἕνδεκα καὶ τῶν
each except the thirty and the Eleven and the
ἐν Πειραιεῖ ἀρξάντων δέκα. εἰ δέ τινες φοβοῖντο τῶν
in Piraeus having-ruled ten if and any feared of-the-ones
ἐξ ἄστεως, ἔδοξεν αὐτοὺς Ἐλευσῖνα κατοικεῖν.
from town it-seemed-good them Eleusis to-inhabit

39 τούτων δὲ περανθέντων Παυσανίας μὲν διῆκε τὸ
these-things and having-been-accomplished Pausanias indeed disbanded the
στράτευμα, οἱ δ' ἐκ τοῦ Πειραιῶς ἀνελθόντες σὺν τοῖς
army the but from the Piraeus having-gone-up with the
ὅπλοις εἰς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν ἔθυσαν τῇ Ἀθηνᾷ. ἐπεὶ δὲ
arms to the acropolis sacrificed — to-Athena when and
κατέβησαν, ἐκκλησίαν ἐποίησαν οἱ στρατηγοί, ἔνθα δὴ
came-down an-assembly made the generals there indeed
ὁ Θρασύβουλος ἔλεξεν·
— Thrasybulus spoke

Ὑμῖν, ἔφη, ὦ ἐκ τοῦ ἄστεως ἄνδρες, συμβουλεύω ἐγὼ 40
To-you he-said O from the town men I-advise I
γνῶναι ὑμᾶς αὐτούς. μάλιστα δ' ἂν γνοίητε, εἰ
to-know yourselves — most and — you-would-know if
ἀναλογίσαισθε ἐπὶ τίνι ὑμῖν μέγα φρονητέον ἐστίν,
you-should-reckon on what to-you greatly one-must-pride-oneself it-is
ὥστε ἡμῶν ἄρχειν ἐπιχειρεῖν. πότερον δικαιότεροί ἐστε;
so-as us to-rule to-attempt whether more-just you-are
ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν δῆμος πενέστερος ὑμῶν ὢν οὐδὲν πώποτε
but the indeed people poorer than-you being nothing ever
ἕνεκα χρημάτων ὑμᾶς ἠδίκησεν· ὑμεῖς δὲ πλουσιώτεροι
for-the-sake of-money you has-wronged you but richer
πάντων ὄντες πολλὰ καὶ αἰσχρὰ ἕνεκα κερδέων
of-all being many and shameful-things for-the-sake of-gains
πεποιήκατε. ἐπεὶ δὲ δικαιοσύνης οὐδὲν ὑμῖν προσήκει,
have-done since but of-justice nothing to-you belongs
σκέψασθε εἰ ἄρα ἐπ' ἀνδρείᾳ ὑμῖν μέγα φρονητέον.
consider whether then on courage to-you greatly one-must-pride-oneself
καὶ τίς ἂν καλλίων κρίσις τούτου γένοιτο ἢ ὡς 41
and what — finer test of-this would-be than how
ἐπολεμήσαμεν πρὸς ἀλλήλους; ἀλλὰ γνώμῃ φαίητ' ἂν
we-made-war against one-another but in-judgment you-would-say —
προέχειν, οἳ ἔχοντες καὶ τεῖχος καὶ ὅπλα καὶ χρήματα
to-excel who having both wall and arms and money
καὶ συμμάχους Πελοποννησίους ὑπὸ τῶν οὐδὲν τούτων
and allies Peloponnesians by the-ones nothing of-these
ἐχόντων περιείληφθε; ἀλλ' ἐπὶ Λακεδαιμονίοις δὴ οἴεσθε
having have-been-surrounded but on Lacedaemonians indeed you-think
μέγα φρονητέον εἶναι; πῶς, οἵγε ὥσπερ τοὺς δάκνοντας
greatly one-must-pride-oneself to-be how who as the biting

κύνας κλοιῷ δήσαντες παραδιδόασιν, οὕτω κἀκεῖνοι ὑμᾶς
dogs with-a-collar having-bound hand-over so those-too you
παραδόντες τῷ ἠδικημένῳ τούτῳ δήμῳ οἴχονται ἀπιόντες;
having-handed-over to-the wronged this people are-gone going-away
42 οὐ μέντοι γε ὑμᾶς, ὦ ἄνδρες, ἀξιῶ ἐγὼ ὧν
not however at-least you O men I-deem-right I of-what
ὀμωμόκατε παραβῆναι οὐδέν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦτο πρὸς τοῖς
you-have-sworn to-transgress anything but also this besides the
ἄλλοις καλοῖς ἐπιδεῖξαι, ὅτι καὶ εὔορκοι καὶ ὅσιοί ἐστε.
other fine-things to-show that both oath-keeping and pious you-are
εἰπὼν δὲ ταῦτα καὶ ἄλλα τοιαῦτα, καὶ ὅτι οὐδὲν
having-said and these-things and other such-things and that in-nothing
δέοι ταράττεσθαι, ἀλλὰ τοῖς νόμοις τοῖς ἀρχαίοις
it-was-needful to-be-troubled but the laws the ancient
χρῆσθαι, ἀνέστησε τὴν ἐκκλησίαν.
to-use he-dismissed the assembly
43 καὶ τότε μὲν ἀρχὰς καταστησάμενοι ἐπολιτεύοντο·
and then indeed offices having-appointed they-governed
ὑστέρῳ δὲ χρόνῳ ἀκούσαντες ξένους μισθοῦσθαι τοὺς
at-a-later and time having-heard mercenaries to-be-hiring the-ones
Ἐλευσῖνι, στρατευσάμενοι πανδημεὶ ἐπ᾽ αὐτοὺς τοὺς
at-Eleusis having-campaigned in-full-force against them the
μὲν στρατηγοὺς αὐτῶν εἰς λόγους ἐλθόντας ἀπέκτειναν,
indeed generals of-them to talks having-come they-killed
τοῖς δὲ ἄλλοις εἰσπέμψαντες τοὺς φίλους καὶ ἀναγκαίους
to-the and others having-sent-in the friends and relatives
ἔπεισαν συναλλαγῆναι. καὶ ὀμόσαντες ὅρκους ἦ μὴν
persuaded to-be-reconciled and having-sworn oaths truly indeed
μὴ μνησικακήσειν, ἔτι καὶ νῦν ὁμοῦ τε πολιτεύονται καὶ
not to-bear-grudges still even now together both they-live-as-citizens and
τοῖς ὅρκοις ἐμμένει ὁ δῆμος.
by-the oaths abides the people

BOOK III

I · THIBRON AND DERCYLIDAS

Sparta helps Cyrus' expedition, and Xenophon refers the march itself to the account of Themistogenes of Syracuse. When Tissaphernes claims the Ionian cities, they appeal to Sparta, which sends Thibron, who gathers the Greeks back from Cyrus' march but fails to take Egyptian Larisa by siege, and is exiled for letting his troops plunder allies. Dercylidas, nicknamed Sisyphus, makes a truce with Tissaphernes and turns on Pharnabazus. Mania, a widow who had ruled Aeolis for Pharnabazus and taken cities with her mercenaries while watching from her carriage, has been strangled by her son-in-law Meidias. Dercylidas takes nine cities, Cebren among them after the sacrifices relent, marches Meidias into Gergis, frees the cities, and claims Mania's treasure as Pharnabazus' property and so his own, enough to pay eight thousand men for a year.

Ἡ μὲν δὴ Ἀθήνησι στάσις οὕτως ἐτελεύτησεν. ἐκ δὲ τούτου 1
The indeed then at-Athens faction so ended after and this
πέμψας Κῦρος ἀγγέλους εἰς Λακεδαίμονα ἠξίου, οἷόσπερ
having-sent Cyrus messengers to Lacedaemon deemed-it-right such-as-very
αὐτὸς Λακεδαιμονίοις ἦν ἐν τῷ πρὸς Ἀθηναίους πολέμῳ,
himself to-Lacedaemonians was in the against Athenians war
τοιούτους καὶ Λακεδαιμονίους αὐτῷ γίγνεσθαι. οἱ δ' ἔφοροι
such also Lacedaemonians to-him to-be the and ephors
δίκαια νομίσαντες λέγειν αὐτόν, Σαμίῳ τῷ τότε ναυάρχῳ
just-things having-thought to-say him to-Samius the then admiral
ἐπέστειλαν ὑπηρετεῖν Κύρῳ, εἴ τι δέοιτο. κἀκεῖνος μέντοι
enjoined to-serve Cyrus if anything he-needed and-he indeed
προθύμως ὅπερ ἐδεήθη ὁ Κῦρος ἔπραξεν· ἔχων γὰρ τὸ
eagerly what-very asked — Cyrus did having for the
ἑαυτοῦ ναυτικὸν σὺν τῷ Κύρου περιέπλευσεν εἰς Κιλικίαν,
his-own fleet with the-(fleet) of-Cyrus he-sailed-around to Cilicia

καὶ ἐποίησε τὸν τῆς Κιλικίας ἄρχοντα Συέννεσιν μὴ δύνασθαι
and made the — of-Cilicia ruler Syennesis not to-be-able
κατὰ γῆν ἐναντιοῦσθαι Κύρῳ πορευομένῳ ἐπὶ βασιλέα.
by land to-oppose Cyrus marching against the-king

2 ὡς μὲν οὖν Κῦρος στράτευμά τε συνέλεξε καὶ τοῦτ' ἔχων
how indeed then Cyrus an-army both gathered and this having
ἀνέβη ἐπὶ τὸν ἀδελφόν, καὶ ὡς ἡ μάχη ἐγένετο, καὶ
went-up against the brother and how the battle took-place and
ὡς ἀπέθανε, καὶ ὡς ἐκ τούτου ἀπεσώθησαν οἱ Ἕλληνες
how he-died and how after this got-safe-away the Greeks
ἐπὶ θάλατταν, Θεμιστογένει τῷ Συρακοσίῳ γέγραπται.
to sea by-Themistogenes the Syracusan has-been-written

3 Ἐπεὶ μέντοι Τισσαφέρνης, πολλοῦ ἄξιος βασιλεῖ δόξας
When however Tissaphernes of-much worth to-the-king having-seemed
γεγενῆσθαι ἐν τῷ πρὸς τὸν ἀδελφὸν πολέμῳ, σατράπης
to-have-been in the against the brother war satrap
κατεπέμφθη ὧν τε αὐτὸς πρόσθεν ἦρχε καὶ ὧν Κῦρος,
was-sent-down of-what both himself before ruled and of-what Cyrus
εὐθὺς ἠξίου τὰς Ἰωνικὰς πόλεις ἁπάσας ἑαυτῷ ὑπηκόους
at-once he-demanded the Ionian cities all to-himself subject
εἶναι. αἱ δὲ ἅμα μὲν ἐλεύθεραι βουλόμεναι εἶναι,
to-be they but at-the-same-time indeed free wishing to-be
ἅμα δὲ φοβούμεναι τὸν Τισσαφέρνην, ὅτι Κῦρον,
at-the-same-time and fearing — Tissaphernes because Cyrus
ὅτ' ἔζη, ἀντ' ἐκείνου ᾑρημέναι ἦσαν, εἰς μὲν τὰς πόλεις
when he-lived instead-of that-one chosen they-had into indeed the cities
οὐκ ἐδέχοντο αὐτόν, εἰς Λακεδαίμονα δὲ ἔπεμπον πρέσβεις,
not they-received him to Lacedaemon but they-sent envoys
καὶ ἠξίουν, ἐπεὶ πάσης τῆς Ἑλλάδος προστάται εἰσίν,
and deemed-it-right since of-all — Greece leaders they-are

ἐπιμεληθῆναι καὶ σφῶν τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ Ἑλλήνων, ὅπως
to-take-care also of-them the in — Asia Greeks so-that
ἥ τε χώρα μὴ δηοῖτο αὐτῶν καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐλεύθεροι εἶεν.
the both land not be-ravaged their and themselves free be
οἱ οὖν Λακεδαιμόνιοι πέμπουσιν αὐτοῖς Θίβρωνα ἁρμοστήν, 4
the then Lacedaemonians send to-them Thibron as-harmost
δόντες στρατιώτας τῶν μὲν νεοδαμώδων εἰς χιλίους,
having-given soldiers of-the indeed neodamodes about thousand
τῶν δὲ ἄλλων Πελοποννησίων εἰς τετρακισχιλίους.
of-the and other Peloponnesians about four-thousand
ἠτήσατο δ' ὁ Θίβρων καὶ παρ' Ἀθηναίων τριακοσίους
asked and — Thibron also from Athenians three-hundred
ἱππέας, εἰπὼν ὅτι αὐτὸς μισθὸν παρέξει. οἱ δ' ἔπεμψαν
horsemen having-said that himself pay will-provide they and sent
τῶν ἐπὶ τῶν τριάκοντα ἱππευσάντων, νομίζοντες
of-the-ones under the thirty having-served-as-horsemen thinking
κέρδος τῷ δήμῳ, εἰ ἀποδημοῖεν καὶ ἐναπόλοιντο.
gain for-the people if they-were-abroad and perished-there
ἐπεὶ δ' εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν ἀφίκοντο, συνήγαγε [μὲν] 5
when and to — Asia they-arrived he-gathered indeed
στρατιώτας καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἐν τῇ ἠπείρῳ Ἑλληνίδων
soldiers also from the-ones on the mainland Greek
πόλεων· πᾶσαι γὰρ τότε αἱ πόλεις ἐπείθοντο ὅ τι
cities all for then the cities obeyed what ever
Λακεδαιμόνιος ἀνὴρ ἐπιτάττοι. καὶ σὺν μὲν ταύτῃ τῇ
Lacedaemonian man commanded and with indeed this the
στρατιᾷ ὁρῶν Θίβρων τὸ ἱππικὸν εἰς τὸ πεδίον οὐ
army seeing Thibron the cavalry into the plain not
κατέβαινεν, ἠγάπα δὲ εἰ ὅπου τυγχάνοι ὤν, δύναιτο
came-down was-content but if where he-happened being he-could
ταύτην τὴν χώραν ἀδῄωτον διαφυλάττειν.
this the land unravaged to-preserve

6 ἐπεὶ δὲ σωθέντες οἱ ἀναβάντες μετὰ Κύρου συνέμειξαν
when and having-got-safe the-ones having-gone-up with Cyrus joined
αὐτῷ, ἐκ τούτου ἤδη καὶ ἐν τοῖς πεδίοις ἀντετάττετο τῷ
him from this already also in the plains he-drew-up-against —
Τισσαφέρνει, καὶ πόλεις Πέργαμον μὲν ἑκοῦσαν προσέλαβε
Tissaphernes and cities Pergamum indeed willing he-acquired
καὶ Τευθρανίαν καὶ Ἁλίσαρναν, ὧν Εὐρυσθένης τε καὶ
and Teuthrania and Halisarna of-which Eurysthenes both and
Προκλῆς ἦρχον οἱ ἀπὸ Δημαράτου τοῦ Λακεδαιμονίου·
Procles ruled the-ones from Demaratus the Lacedaemonian
ἐκείνῳ δ' αὖτη ἡ χώρα δῶρον ἐκ βασιλέως ἐδόθη ἀντὶ
to-that-one and this the land as-a-gift from the-king was-given in-return-for
τῆς ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα συστρατείας· προσεχώρησαν δὲ αὐτῷ
the against — Greece joint-campaign came-over and to-him
καὶ Γοργίων καὶ Γογγύλος, ἀδελφοὶ ὄντες, ἔχοντες ὁ
also Gorgion and Gongylus brothers being having the-one
μὲν Γάμβριον καὶ Παλαιγάμβριον, ὁ δὲ Μύριναν καὶ
indeed Gambrium and Palaegambrium the-other and Myrina and
Γρύνειον· δῶρον δὲ καὶ αὗται αἱ πόλεις ἦσαν παρὰ βασιλέως
Gryneum gift and also these the cities were from the-king
Γογγύλῳ, ὅτι μόνος Ἐρετριέων μηδίσας ἔφυγεν.
to-Gongylus because alone of-Eretrians having-medized he-was-exiled

7 ἦν δὲ ἃς ἀσθενεῖς οὔσας καὶ κατὰ κράτος ὁ Θίβρων
there-were and which weak being also by force — Thibron
ἐλάμβανε· Λάρισάν γε μὴν τὴν Αἰγυπτίαν καλουμένην,
took Larisa at-least truly the Egyptian called
ἐπεὶ οὐκ ἐπείθετο, περιστρατοπεδευσάμενος ἐπολιόρκει.
since not it-obeyed having-encamped-around he-besieged
ἐπεὶ δὲ ἄλλως οὐκ ἐδύνατο ἑλεῖν, φρεατίαν τεμόμενος
when but otherwise not he-could take-it a-shaft having-cut
ὑπόνομον ὤρυττεν, ὡς ἀφαιρησόμενος τὸ ὕδωρ αὐτῶν. ὡς
a-tunnel he-dug as going-to-take-away the water their when

δ᾽ ἐκ τοῦ τείχους ἐκθέοντες πολλάκις ἐνέβαλον εἰς τὸ
but from the wall running-out often they-threw into the
ὄρυγμα καὶ ξύλα καὶ λίθους, ποιησάμενος αὖ χελώνην
trench both wood and stones having-made in-turn a-tortoise
ξυλίνην ἐπέστησεν ἐπὶ τῇ φρεατίᾳ. καὶ ταύτην μέντοι
wooden he-set over the shaft and this however
ἐκδραμόντες οἱ Λαρισαῖοι νύκτωρ κατέκαυσαν. δοκοῦντος
having-run-out the Larisaeans by-night burned-down seeming
δ᾽ αὐτοῦ οὐδὲν ποιεῖν, πέμπουσιν οἱ ἔφοροι ἀπολιπόντα
and him nothing to-do send the ephors having-left
Λάρισαν στρατεύεσθαι ἐπὶ Καρίαν.
Larisa to-campaign against Caria
Ἐν Ἐφέσῳ δὲ ἤδη ὄντος αὐτοῦ, ὡς ἐπὶ Καρίαν 8
In Ephesus and already being him as to Caria
πορευομένου, Δερκυλίδας ἄρξων ἀφίκετο ἐπὶ τὸ
marching Dercylidas going-to-command arrived at the
στράτευμα, ἀνὴρ δοκῶν εἶναι μάλα μηχανητικός· καὶ
army a-man seeming to-be very contriving and
ἐπεκαλεῖτο δὲ Σίσυφος. ὁ μὲν οὖν Θίβρων ἀπῆλθεν
he-was-nicknamed and Sisyphus — indeed then Thibron went-away
οἴκαδε καὶ ζημιωθεὶς ἔφυγε· κατηγόρουν γὰρ αὐτοῦ οἱ
home and having-been-fined was-exiled accused for him the
σύμμαχοι ὡς ἐφείη ἁρπάζειν τῷ στρατεύματι τοὺς φίλους.
allies that he-allowed to-plunder to-the army the friends
ὁ δὲ Δερκυλίδας ἐπεὶ παρέλαβε τὸ στράτευμα, γνοὺς 9
— and Dercylidas when he-took-over the army having-recognized
ὑπόπτους ὄντας ἀλλήλοις τὸν Τισσαφέρνην καὶ τὸν
suspicious being of-one-another — Tissaphernes and —
Φαρνάβαζον, κοινολογησάμενος τῷ Τισσαφέρνει ἀπήγαγεν
Pharnabazus having-conferred — with-Tissaphernes led-away
εἰς τὴν Φαρναβάζου χώραν τὸ στράτευμα, ἑλόμενος
into the of-Pharnabazus land the army having-chosen

θατέρῳ μᾶλλον ἢ ἅμα ἀμφοτέροις πολεμεῖν. ἦν δὲ
with-the-one rather than at-once with-both to-make-war was and
καὶ πρόσθεν ὁ Δερκυλίδας πολέμιος τῷ Φαρναβάζῳ·
also before — Dercylidas hostile — to-Pharnabazus
ἁρμοστὴς γὰρ γενόμενος ἐν Ἀβύδῳ ἐπὶ Λυσάνδρου
harmost for having-been at Abydos in-the-time-of Lysander
ναυαρχοῦντος, διαβληθεὶς ὑπὸ Φαρναβάζου, ἐστάθη
being-admiral slandered by Pharnabazus was-made-to-stand
τὴν ἀσπίδα ἔχων, ὃ δοκεῖ κηλὶς εἶναι τοῖς σπουδαίοις
the shield holding which seems a-disgrace to-be to-the serious
Λακεδαιμονίων· ἀταξίας γὰρ ζημίωμά ἐστι. καὶ διὰ
of-Lacedaemonians of-disorder for penalty it-is and because-of
ταῦτα δὴ πολὺ ἥδιον ἐπὶ τὸν Φαρνάβαζον ᾔει.
these-things indeed much more-gladly against — Pharnabazus he-went
10 καὶ εὐθὺς μὲν τοσούτῳ διέφερεν εἰς τὸ ἄρχειν τοῦ
and at-once indeed by-so-much he-differed in the ruling —
Θίβρωνος ὥστε παρήγαγε τὸ στράτευμα διὰ τῆς φιλίας
from-Thibron so-that he-led-along the army through the friendly
χώρας μέχρι τῆς Φαρναβάζου Αἰολίδος οὐδὲν βλάψας
land as-far-as of-the of-Pharnabazus Aeolis nothing having-harmed
τοὺς συμμάχους. Ἡ δὲ Αἰολὶς αὕτη ἦν μὲν Φαρναβάζου,
the allies The and Aeolis this was indeed of-Pharnabazus
ἐσατράπευε δ' αὐτῷ ταύτης τῆς χώρας, ἕως μὲν
was-satrap but for-him of-this the land as-long-as indeed
ἔζη, Ζῆνις Δαρδανεύς· ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἐκεῖνος νόσῳ ἀπέθανε,
lived Zenis Dardanian when but that-one by-disease died
παρασκευαζομένου τοῦ Φαρναβάζου ἄλλῳ δοῦναι τὴν
preparing — Pharnabazus to-another to-give the
σατραπείαν, Μανία ἡ τοῦ Ζήνιος γυνή, Δαρδανὶς καὶ
satrapy Mania the — of-Zenis wife Dardanian also
αὐτή, ἀναζεύξασα στόλον καὶ δῶρα λαβοῦσα ὥστε καὶ
herself having-yoked-up a-train and gifts having-taken so-as also

αὐτῷ Φαρναβάζῳ δοῦναι καὶ παλλακίσιν αὐτοῦ χαρίσασθαι
to-him Pharnabazus to-give and to-concubines his to-show-favor
καὶ τοῖς δυναμένοις μάλιστα παρὰ Φαρναβάζῳ, ἐπορεύετο.
and to-the being-powerful most with Pharnabazus she-traveled
ἐλθοῦσα δ' εἰς λόγους εἶπεν· Ὦ Φαρνάβαζε, ὁ ἀνήρ σοι 11
having-come and to talks she-said O Pharnabazus the husband to-you
ὁ ἐμὸς καὶ τἆλλα φίλος ἦν καὶ τοὺς φόρους ἀπεδίδου
the my both in-other-respects friend was and the tributes paid
ὥστε σὺ ἐπαινῶν αὐτὸν ἐτίμας. ἢν οὖν ἐγώ σοι μηδὲν
so-that you praising him honored-him if then I to-you in-nothing
χεῖρον ἐκείνου ὑπηρετῶ, τί σε δεῖ ἄλλον σατράπην
worse than-him serve why you it-is-needful another satrap
καθιστάναι; ἢν δέ τί σοι μὴ ἀρέσκω, ἐπὶ σοὶ δήπου
to-appoint if but in-anything you not I-please in you surely
ἔσται ἀφελομένῳ ἐμὲ ἄλλῳ δοῦναι τὴν ἀρχήν.
it-will-be having-taken-away from-me to-another to-give the rule
ἀκούσας ταῦτα ὁ Φαρνάβαζος ἔγνω δεῖν τὴν γυναῖκα 12
having-heard these-things — Pharnabazus decided it-was-needful the woman
σατραπεύειν. ἡ δ' ἐπεὶ κυρία τῆς χώρας ἐγένετο, τούς τε
to-be-satrap she and when mistress of-the land became the both
φόρους οὐδὲν ἧττον τἀνδρὸς ἀπεδίδου, καὶ πρὸς
tributes in-nothing less than-the-husband paid and in-addition-to
τούτοις, ὁπότε ἀφικνοῖτο πρὸς Φαρνάβαζον, ἀεὶ ἦγε δῶρα
these whenever she-came to Pharnabazus always brought gifts
αὐτῷ, καὶ ὁπότε ἐκεῖνος εἰς τὴν χώραν καταβαίνοι, πολὺ
to-him and whenever that-one into the land came-down by-much
πάντων τῶν ὑπάρχων κάλλιστα καὶ ἥδιστα ἐδέχετο αὐτόν,
of-all the lieutenants most-finely and most-pleasantly received him
καὶ ἅς τε παρέλαβε πόλεις διεφύλαττεν αὐτῷ καὶ τῶν 13
and which both she-took-over cities she-guarded for-him and of-the
οὐχ ὑπηκόων προσέλαβεν ἐπιθαλαττιδίας Λάρισάν τε
not subject she-acquired coastal Larisa both

καὶ Ἁμαξιτὸν καὶ Κολωνάς, ξενικῷ μὲν Ἑλληνικῷ
and Hamaxitus and Colonae with-a-mercenary indeed Greek-force
προσβαλοῦσα τοῖς τείχεσιν, αὐτὴ δὲ ἐφ' ἁρμαμάξης
attacking the walls herself but on a-carriage
θεωμένη· ὃν δ' ἐπαινέσειε, τούτῳ δῶρα ἀμέμπτως
watching whom and she-praised to-this-one gifts unstintingly
ἐδίδου, ὥστε λαμπρότατα τὸ ξενικὸν κατεσκευάσατο.
she-gave so-that most-splendidly the mercenary-force she-equipped
συνεστρατεύετο δὲ τῷ Φαρναβάζῳ καὶ ὁπότε εἰς Μυσοὺς ἢ
she-campaigned-with and — Pharnabazus also whenever into Mysians or
Πισίδας ἐμβάλοι, ὅτι τὴν βασιλέως χώραν κακουργοῦσιν.
Pisidians he-invaded because the of-the-king land they-harm
ὥστε καὶ ἀντετίμα αὐτὴν μεγαλοπρεπῶς ὁ Φαρνάβαζος
so-that also honored-in-return her magnificently — Pharnabazus
καὶ σύμβουλον ἔστιν ὅτε παρεκάλει.
and as-adviser there-is when summoned

14 ἤδη δ' οὔσης αὐτῆς ἐτῶν πλέον ἢ τετταράκοντα,
already and being her of-years more than forty
Μειδίας, θυγατρὸς ἀνὴρ αὐτῆς ὤν, ἀναπτερωθεὶς ὑπό τινων
Meidias of-a-daughter husband her being having-been-excited by some
ὡς αἰσχρὸν εἴη γυναῖκα μὲν ἄρχειν, αὐτὸν δ' ἰδιώτην
that shameful it-was a-woman indeed to-rule himself but private
εἶναι, τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους μάλα φυλαττομένης αὐτῆς, ὥσπερ ἐν
to-be the indeed others very guarding-against her as in
τυραννίδι προσῆκεν, ἐκείνῳ δὲ πιστευούσης καὶ ἀσπαζομένης
a-tyranny was-fitting him but trusting and greeting
ὥσπερ ἂν γυνὴ γαμβρὸν ἀσπάζοιτο, εἰσελθὼν ἀποπνῖξαι
as — a-woman a-son-in-law would-greet having-entered to-strangle
αὐτὴν λέγεται. ἀπέκτεινε δὲ καὶ τὸν υἱὸν αὐτῆς, τό τε
her is-said he-killed and also the son her in-the both
εἶδος ὄντα πάγκαλον καὶ ἐτῶν ὄντα ὡς ἑπτακαίδεκα.
form being very-fine and of-years being about seventeen

ταῦτα δὲ ποιήσας Σκῆψιν καὶ Γέργιθα ἐχυρὰς πόλεις 15
these-things and having-done Scepsis and Gergis strong cities
κατέσχεν, ἔνθα καὶ τὰ χρήματα μάλιστα ἦν τῇ Μανίᾳ.
he-seized where also the money mostly was — for-Mania
αἱ δ' ἄλλαι πόλεις οὐκ ἐδέχοντο αὐτόν, ἀλλὰ Φαρναβάζῳ
the but other cities not received him but for-Pharnabazus
ἔσῳζον αὐτὰς οἱ ἐνόντες φρουροί. ἐκ δὲ τούτου ὁ
kept them the within garrisons after and this —
Μειδίας πέμψας δῶρα τῷ Φαρναβάζῳ ἠξίου ἔχειν τὴν
Meidias having-sent gifts — to-Pharnabazus deemed-it-right to-have the
χώραν ὥσπερ ἡ Μανία. ὁ δ' ἀπεκρίνατο φυλάττειν αὐτά,
land as — Mania he but answered to-guard them
ἕστ' ἂν αὐτὸς ἐλθὼν σὺν αὐτῷ ἐκείνῳ λάβοι τὰ δῶρα·
until — himself having-come with him himself take the gifts
οὐ γὰρ ἂν ἔφη ζῆν βούλεσθαι μὴ τιμωρήσας Μανίᾳ.
not for — he-said to-live to-wish not having-avenged Mania
ὁ δὲ Δερκυλίδας ἐν τούτῳ τῷ καιρῷ ἀφικνεῖται, καὶ εὐθὺς 16
— and Dercylidas in this the time arrives and at-once
μὲν ἐν μιᾷ ἡμέρᾳ Λάρισαν καὶ Ἁμαξιτὸν καὶ Κολωνὰς
indeed in one day Larisa and Hamaxitus and Colonae
τὰς ἐπιθαλαττίους πόλεις ἑκούσας παρέλαβε· πέμπων δὲ
the coastal cities willing he-took-over sending and
καὶ πρὸς τὰς Αἰολίδας πόλεις ἠξίου ἐλευθεροῦσθαί
also to the Aeolian cities he-deemed-it-right to-be-freed
τε αὐτὰς καὶ εἰς τὰ τείχη δέχεσθαι καὶ συμμάχους
both them and into the walls to-receive-him and allies
γίγνεσθαι. οἱ μὲν οὖν Νεανδρεῖς καὶ Ἰλιεῖς καὶ Κοκυλῖται
to-become the indeed then Neandrians and Ilians and Cocylitans
ἐπείθοντο· καὶ γὰρ οἱ φρουροῦντες Ἕλληνες ἐν αὐταῖς,
obeyed and for the garrisoning Greeks in them
ἐπεὶ ἡ Μανία ἀπέθανεν, οὐ πάνυ τι καλῶς περιείποντο·
since — Mania died not very at-all well were-treated

17 ὁ δ' ἐν Κεβρῆνι, μάλα ἰσχυρῷ χωρίῳ, τὴν φυλακὴν ἔχων,
the but in Cebren a-very strong place the garrison holding
νομίσας, εἰ διαφυλάξειε Φαρναβάζῳ τὴν πόλιν, τιμηθῆναι
having-thought if he-should-guard for-Pharnabazus the city to-be-honored
ἂν ὑπ' ἐκείνου, οὐκ ἐδέχετο τὸν Δερκυλίδαν. ὁ δὲ
— by him not received — Dercylidas he and
ὀργιζόμενος παρεσκευάζετο προσβάλλειν. ἐπεὶ δὲ θυομένῳ
being-angry prepared to-attack when but sacrificing
αὐτῷ οὐκ ἐγίγνετο τὰ ἱερὰ τῇ πρώτῃ, τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ πάλιν
to-him not came-out the victims on-the first the next-day again
ἐθύετο. ὡς δὲ οὐδὲ ταῦτα ἐκαλλιερεῖτο, πάλιν τῇ
he-sacrificed when and not-even these-things were-favorable again on-the
τρίτῃ· καὶ μέχρι τεττάρων ἡμερῶν ἐκαρτέρει θυόμενος,
third and up-to four days he-persisted sacrificing
μάλα χαλεπῶς φέρων· ἔσπευδε γὰρ πρὶν Φαρνάβαζον
very hard bearing-it he-was-hurrying for before Pharnabazus
βοηθῆσαι ἐγκρατὴς γενέσθαι πάσης τῆς Αἰολίδος.
came-to-help master to-become of-all — Aeolis

18 Ἀθηνάδας δέ τις Σικυώνιος λοχαγός, νομίσας τὸν μὲν
Athenadas and some Sicyonian captain having-thought — indeed
Δερκυλίδαν φλυαρεῖν διατρίβοντα, αὐτὸς δ' ἱκανὸς εἶναι
Dercylidas to-trifle delaying himself but able to-be
τὸ ὕδωρ ἀφελέσθαι τοὺς Κεβρηνίους, προσδραμὼν σὺν τῇ
the water to-cut-off-from the Cebrenians having-run-up with the
ἑαυτοῦ τάξει ἐπειρᾶτο τὴν κρήνην συγχοῦν. οἱ δὲ ἔνδοθεν
his-own company tried the spring to-choke-up they and from-within
ἐπεξελθόντες αὐτόν τε συνέτρωσαν καὶ δύο ἀπέκτειναν,
having-sallied him both wounded and two killed
καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους παίοντες καὶ βάλλοντες ἀπήλασαν.
and the others striking and pelting drove-off
ἀχθομένου δὲ τοῦ Δερκυλίδου καὶ νομίζοντος ἀθυμοτέραν
vexed and — Dercylidas and thinking more-dispirited

καὶ τὴν προσβολὴν ἔσεσθαι, ἔρχονται ἐκ τοῦ τείχους
also the attack would-be come from the wall
παρὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων κήρυκες, καὶ εἶπον ὅτι ἃ μὲν ὁ
from the Greeks heralds and said that what indeed the
ἄρχων ποιοίη οὐκ ἀρέσκοι σφίσιν, αὐτοὶ δὲ βούλοιντο
commander did not pleased them themselves but wished
σὺν τοῖς Ἕλλησι μᾶλλον ἢ σὺν τῷ βαρβάρῳ εἶναι.
with the Greeks rather than with the barbarian to-be
ἔτι δὲ διαλεγομένων αὐτῶν ταῦτα, παρὰ τοῦ ἄρχοντος 19
still and conversing them these-things from the commander
αὐτῶν ἦκε λέγων ὅτι ὅσα λέγοιεν οἱ πρόσθεν καὶ
their came saying that whatever said the-ones before also
αὐτῷ δοκοῦντα λέγοιεν. ὁ οὖν Δερκυλίδας εὐθὺς ὥσπερ
to-him seeming they-said — then Dercylidas at-once as
ἔτυχε κεκαλλιερηκὼς ταύτῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ, ἀναλαβὼν τὰ
happened having-got-favorable-omens on-this the day having-taken-up the
ὅπλα ἡγεῖτο πρὸς τὰς πύλας· οἱ δ' ἀναπετάσαντες
arms led to the gates they and having-thrown-open
ἐδέξαντο. καταστήσας δὲ καὶ ἐνταῦθα φρουροὺς εὐθὺς
received-him having-stationed and also there guards at-once
ᾔει ἐπὶ τὴν Σκῆψιν καὶ τὴν Γέργιθα.
he-went against — Scepsis and — Gergis
ὁ δὲ Μειδίας προσδοκῶν μὲν τὸν Φαρνάβαζον, ὀκνῶν δ' 20
— and Meidias expecting indeed — Pharnabazus fearing but
ἤδη τοὺς πολίτας, πέμψας πρὸς τὸν Δερκυλίδαν εἶπεν ὅτι
already the citizens having-sent to — Dercylidas said that
ἔλθοι ἂν εἰς λόγους, εἰ ὁμήρους λάβοι. ὁ δὲ πέμψας
he-would-come — to talks if hostages he-should-get he and having-sent
αὐτῷ ἀπὸ πόλεως ἑκάστης τῶν συμμάχων ἕνα ἐκέλευσε
to-him from city each of-the allies one bade
λαβεῖν τούτων ὁπόσους τε καὶ ὁποίους βούλοιτο. ὁ δὲ
to-take of-these as-many-as both and whichever he-wished he and

λαβὼν δέκα ἐξῆλθε, καὶ συμμείξας τῷ Δερκυλίδᾳ ἠρώτα
having-taken ten came-out and having-met — Dercylidas asked
ἐπὶ τίσιν ἂν σύμμαχος γένοιτο. ὁ δ᾽ ἀπεκρίνατο ἐφ᾽
on what-terms — ally he-might-become he but answered on
ᾧτε τοὺς πολίτας ἐλευθέρους τε καὶ αὐτονόμους ἐᾶν.
condition-that the citizens free both and autonomous to-leave
καὶ ἅμα ταῦτα λέγων ᾔει πρὸς τὴν Σκῆψιν.
and at-the-same-time these-things saying he-went to — Scepsis
21 γνοὺς δὲ ὁ Μειδίας ὅτι οὐκ ἂν δύναιτο κωλύειν
having-recognized and — Meidias that not — he-could to-prevent
βίᾳ τῶν πολιτῶν, εἴασεν αὐτὸν εἰσιέναι. ὁ δὲ Δερκυλίδας
by-force of-the citizens allowed him to-enter — but Dercylidas
θύσας τῇ Ἀθηνᾷ ἐν τῇ τῶν Σκηψίων ἀκροπόλει τοὺς
having-sacrificed — to-Athena in the of-the Scepsians acropolis the
μὲν τοῦ Μειδίου φρουροὺς ἐξήγαγε, παραδοὺς δὲ τοῖς
indeed — of-Meidias garrison led-out having-handed-over and to-the
πολίταις τὴν πόλιν καὶ παρακελευσάμενος, ὥσπερ Ἕλληνας
citizens the city and having-exhorted as Greeks
καὶ ἐλευθέρους χρή, οὕτω πολιτεύειν, ἐξελθὼν ἡγεῖτο
and free it-is-needful so to-live-as-citizens having-gone-out led
ἐπὶ τὴν Γέργιθα. συμπρούπεμπον δὲ πολλοὶ αὐτὸν καὶ τῶν
against — Gergis escorted and many him also of-the
Σκηψίων, τιμῶντές τε καὶ ἡδόμενοι τοῖς πεπραγμένοις.
Scepsians honoring both and being-pleased with-the things-done
22 ὁ δὲ Μειδίας παρεπόμενος αὐτῷ ἠξίου τὴν τῶν
— and Meidias following him deemed-it-right the of-the
Γεργιθίων πόλιν παραδοῦναι αὑτῷ. καὶ ὁ Δερκυλίδας μέντοι
Gergithians city to-hand-over to-himself and — Dercylidas however
ἔλεγεν ὡς τῶν δικαίων οὐδενὸς ἀτυχήσοι· ἅμα δὲ
said that of-the just-things nothing he-would-fail-of at-the-same-time and
ταῦτα λέγων ᾔει πρὸς τὰς πύλας σὺν τῷ Μειδίᾳ, καὶ
these-things saying he-went to the gates with — Meidias and

τὸ στράτευμα ἠκολούθει αὐτῷ εἰρηνικῶς εἰς δύο. οἱ δ' ἀπὸ
the army followed him peaceably in twos they and from
τῶν πύργων καὶ μάλα ὑψηλῶν ὄντων ὁρῶντες τὸν Μειδίαν
the towers also very high being seeing — Meidias
σὺν αὐτῷ οὐκ ἔβαλλον· εἰπόντος δὲ τοῦ Δερκυλίδου·
with him not threw having-said and — Dercylidas
Κέλευσον, ὦ Μειδία, ἀνοῖξαι τὰς πύλας, ἵνα ἡγῇ μὲν
Bid O Meidias to-open the gates so-that may-lead indeed
σύ, ἐγὼ δὲ σὺν σοὶ εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν ἔλθω κἀνταῦθα θύσω
you I and with you into the temple may-come and-there I-may-sacrifice
τῇ Ἀθηνᾷ, ὁ Μειδίας ὤκνει μὲν ἀνοίγειν τὰς πύλας,
— to-Athena — Meidias hesitated indeed to-open the gates
φοβούμενος δὲ μὴ παραχρῆμα συλληφθῇ, ἐκέλευσεν ἀνοῖξαι.
fearing but lest immediately he-be-arrested he-bade to-open
ὁ δ' ἐπεὶ εἰσῆλθεν, ἔχων αὖ τὸν Μειδίαν ἐπορεύετο 23
he and when he-entered having in-turn — Meidias marched
πρὸς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν· καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους στρατιώτας
to the acropolis and the indeed other soldiers
ἐκέλευε θέσθαι περὶ τὰ τείχη τὰ ὅπλα, αὐτὸς δὲ σὺν τοῖς
he-bade to-ground around the walls the arms himself but with the-ones
περὶ αὐτὸν ἔθυε τῇ Ἀθηνᾷ. ἐπεὶ δ' ἐτέθυτο, ἀνεῖπε
around him sacrificed — to-Athena when and he-had-sacrificed he-proclaimed
καὶ τοὺς Μειδίου δορυφόρους θέσθαι τὰ ὅπλα ἐπὶ τῷ
also the of-Meidias bodyguards to-ground the arms at the
στόματι τοῦ ἑαυτοῦ στρατεύματος ὡς μισθοφορήσοντας·
front of-the his-own army as going-to-serve-for-pay
Μειδίᾳ γὰρ οὐδὲν ἔτι δεινὸν εἶναι.
for-Meidias for nothing still terrible to-be
ὁ μέντοι Μειδίας ἀπορῶν ὅ τι ποιοίη, εἶπεν· Ἐγὼ μὲν 24
— however Meidias at-a-loss what ever he-should-do said I indeed
τοίνυν ἄπειμι, ἔφη, ξένιά σοι παρασκευάσων. ὁ δέ·
then will-go-away he-said guest-gifts for-you going-to-prepare he but

Οὔ, μὰ Δί', ἔφη, ἐπεὶ αἰσχρὸν ἐμὲ τεθυκότα ξενίζεσθαι
No by Zeus he-said since shameful-it-is me having-sacrificed to-be-entertained
ὑπὸ σοῦ, ἀλλὰ μὴ ξενίζειν σέ. μένε οὖν παρ' ἡμῖν· ἐν
by you but not to-entertain you stay then with us in
ᾧ δ' ἂν τὸ δεῖπνον παρασκευάζηται, ἐγὼ καὶ σὺ τὰ
which and — the dinner is-being-prepared I and you the
δίκαια πρὸς ἀλλήλους καὶ διασκεψόμεθα καὶ ποιήσομεν.
just-things toward one-another both we-shall-examine and we-shall-do
25 ἐπεὶ δ' ἐκαθέζοντο, ἠρώτα ὁ Δερκυλίδας· Εἰπέ μοι, ὦ
when and they-sat-down asked — Dercylidas Tell me O
Μειδία, ὁ πατήρ σε ἄρχοντα τοῦ οἴκου κατέλιπε; Μάλιστα,
Meidias the father you master of-the house left Certainly
ἔφη. Καὶ πόσαι σοι οἰκίαι ἦσαν; πόσοι δὲ χῶροι;
he-said And how-many to-you houses were how-many and estates
πόσαι δὲ νομαί; ἀπογράφοντος δ' αὐτοῦ οἱ παρόντες
how-many and pastures listing but him the present
τῶν Σκηψίων εἶπον· Ψεύσεταί σε οὗτος, ὦ Δερκυλίδα.
of-the Scepsians said Will-deceive you this-man O Dercylidas
26 Ὑμεῖς δέ γ', ἔφη, μὴ λίαν μικρολογεῖσθε. ἐπειδὴ δὲ
You but at-least he-said not too be-petty when and
ἀπεγέγραπτο τὰ πατρῷα, Εἰπέ μοι, ἔφη, Μανία δὲ
had-been-listed the paternal-property Tell me he-said Mania but
τίνος ἦν; οἱ δὲ πάντες εἶπον ὅτι Φαρναβάζου. Οὐκοῦν
whose was they and all said that of-Pharnabazus Therefore
καὶ τὰ ἐκείνης, ἔφη, Φαρναβάζου; Μάλιστα, ἔφασαν.
also the of-her he-said of-Pharnabazus Certainly they-said
Ἡμέτερ' ἂν εἴη, ἔφη, ἐπεὶ κρατοῦμεν· πολέμιος γὰρ
Ours — would-be he-said since we-are-masters enemy for
ἡμῖν Φαρνάβαζος. ἀλλ' ἡγείσθω τις, ἔφη, ὅπου κεῖται
to-us Pharnabazus but let-lead someone he-said where lie
τὰ Μανίας καὶ τὰ Φαρναβάζου.
the-things of-Mania and the-things of-Pharnabazus

ἡγουμένων δὲ τῶν ἄλλων ἐπὶ τὴν Μανίας οἴκησιν, ἣν 27
leading and the others to — of-Mania dwelling which
παρειλήφει ὁ Μειδίας, ἠκολούθει κἀκεῖνος. ἐπεὶ δ' εἰσῆλθεν,
had-taken-over — Meidias followed he-too when and he-entered
ἐκάλει ὁ Δερκυλίδας τοὺς ταμίας, φράσας δὲ τοῖς ὑπηρέταις
called — Dercylidas the stewards having-told and the attendants
λαβεῖν αὐτοὺς προεῖπεν αὐτοῖς ὡς εἴ τι κλέπτοντες
to-seize them he-warned them that if anything stealing
ἁλώσοιντο τῶν Μανίας, παραχρῆμα ἀποσφαγήσοιντο.
they-should-be-caught of-the of-Mania immediately they-would-be-slaughtered
οἱ δ' ἐδείκνυσαν. ὁ δ' ἐπεὶ εἶδε πάντα, κατέκλεισεν
they but showed he and when he-saw all locked-up
αὐτὰ καὶ κατεσημήνατο καὶ φύλακας κατέστησεν.
them and sealed and guards stationed
ἐξιὼν δὲ οὓς ηὗρεν ἐπὶ ταῖς θύραις τῶν ταξιάρχων 28
going-out and whom he-found at the doors of-the taxiarchs
καὶ λοχαγῶν, εἶπεν αὐτοῖς· Μισθὸς μὲν ἡμῖν, ὦ ἄνδρες,
and captains he-said to-them Pay indeed for-us O men
εἴργασται τῇ στρατιᾷ ἐγγὺς ἐνιαυτοῦ ὀκτακισχιλίοις
has-been-earned for-the army nearly a-year for-eight-thousand
ἀνδράσιν· ἢν δέ τι προσεργασώμεθα, καὶ ταῦτα
men if and anything we-earn-more also these-things
προσέσται. ταῦτα δ' εἶπε γιγνώσκων ὅτι ἀκούσαντες
will-be-added these-things and he-said knowing that having-heard
πολὺ εὐτακτότεροι καὶ θεραπευτικώτεροι ἔσονται. ἐρομένου
much more-orderly and more-attentive they-will-be having-asked
δὲ τοῦ Μειδίου· Ἐμὲ δὲ ποῦ χρὴ οἰκεῖν, ὦ Δερκυλίδα;
and — Meidias Me but where is-it-needful to-dwell O Dercylidas
ἀπεκρίνατο· Ὅπου καὶ δικαιότατον, ὦ Μειδία, ἐν τῇ
he-answered Where-very also most-just O Meidias in the
πατρίδι τῇ σαυτοῦ Σκήψει καὶ ἐν τῇ πατρῴᾳ οἰκίᾳ.
fatherland the your-own Scepsis and in the paternal house

Dercylidas makes a truce with Pharnabazus and winters in Bithynian Thrace, where the Bithynians fall on two hundred of his hoplites left guarding his Thracian allies' stockaded camp and shoot them down. Commissioners from Sparta extend his command and praise the soldiers. He walls off the Chersonese across its thirty-seven stades, takes Atarneus from the Chian exiles after eight months, and is sent into Caria. Tissaphernes and Pharnabazus meet him in the Maeander plain, where his Ionian troops run off into the tall grain; but Tissaphernes, remembering how Cyrus' Greeks fought, asks for talks, and they agree on a truce while each side reports the terms home. Sparta, angry that Elis barred it from the Olympic games and from praying there for victory, invades; an earthquake turns Agis back, but a second invasion forces Elis to free its subject towns, though it keeps the sanctuary at Olympia.

1 Ὁ μὲν δὴ Δερκυλίδας ταῦτα διαπραξάμενος καὶ λαβὼν
— indeed then Dercylidas these-things having-accomplished and having-taken
ἐν ὀκτὼ ἡμέραις ἐννέα πόλεις, ἐβουλεύετο ὅπως ἂν μὴ ἐν τῇ
in eight days nine cities deliberated how — not in the
φιλίᾳ χειμάζων βαρὺς εἴη τοῖς συμμάχοις, ὥσπερ
friendly-land wintering burdensome he-might-be to-the allies as
Θίβρων, μηδ' αὖ Φαρνάβαζος καταφρονῶν τῇ ἵππῳ
Thibron nor in-turn Pharnabazus despising with-the cavalry
κακουργῇ τὰς Ἑλληνίδας πόλεις. πέμπει οὖν πρὸς αὐτὸν καὶ
might-harm the Greek cities he-sends then to him and
ἐρωτᾷ πότερον βούλεται εἰρήνην ἢ πόλεμον ἔχειν. ὁ μέντοι
asks whether he-wishes peace or war to-have — however
Φαρνάβαζος νομίσας τὴν Αἰολίδα ἐπιτετειχίσθαι τῇ
Pharnabazus having-thought — Aeolis to-have-been-fortified-against the
ἑαυτοῦ οἰκήσει Φρυγίᾳ, σπονδὰς εἵλετο.
his-own dwelling Phrygia a-truce chose

Ὡς δὲ ταῦτα ἐγένετο, ἐλθὼν ὁ Δερκυλίδας εἰς τὴν 2
When and these-things happened having-gone — Dercylidas into the
Βιθυνίδα Θρᾴκην ἐκεῖ διεχείμαζεν, οὐδὲ τοῦ Φαρναβάζου
Bithynian Thrace there wintered not-even — Pharnabazus
πάνυ τι ἀχθομένου· πολλάκις γὰρ οἱ Βιθυνοὶ αὐτῷ
very at-all being-vexed often for the Bithynians him
ἐπολέμουν. καὶ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα ὁ Δερκυλίδας ἀσφαλῶς
made-war-on and the indeed rest — Dercylidas safely
φέρων καὶ ἄγων τὴν Βιθυνίδα καὶ ἄφθονα ἔχων
plundering and carrying-off the Bithynian-land and abundant having
τὰ ἐπιτήδεια διετέλει· ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἦλθον αὐτῷ παρὰ
the provisions continued when but came to-him from
τοῦ Σεύθου πέραθεν σύμμαχοι τῶν Ὀδρυσῶν ἱππεῖς
— Seuthes from-across allies of-the Odrysians horsemen
τε ὡς διακόσιοι καὶ πελτασταὶ ὡς τριακόσιοι, οὗτοι
both about two-hundred and peltasts about three-hundred these
στρατοπεδευσάμενοι καὶ περισταυρωσάμενοι ἀπὸ τοῦ
having-encamped and having-staked-round from the
Ἑλληνικοῦ ὡς εἴκοσι στάδια, αἰτοῦντες φύλακας τοῦ
Greek-camp about twenty stades asking-for as-guards of-the
στρατοπέδου τὸν Δερκυλίδαν τῶν ὁπλιτῶν, ἐξῆσαν ἐπὶ
camp — Dercylidas of-the hoplites went-out for
λείαν, καὶ πολλὰ ἐλάμβανον ἀνδράποδά τε καὶ χρήματα.
booty and much took slaves both and goods
ἤδη δ' ὄντος μεστοῦ τοῦ στρατοπέδου αὐτοῖς πολλῶν 3
already and being full the camp for-them of-many
αἰχμαλώτων, καταμαθόντες οἱ Βιθυνοὶ ὅσοι τ' ἐξῆσαν
prisoners having-learned the Bithynians how-many both went-out
καὶ ὅσους κατέλιπον Ἕλληνας φύλακας, συλλεγέντες
and how-many they-left Greeks as-guards having-gathered
παμπλήθεις πελτασταὶ καὶ ἱππεῖς ἅμ' ἡμέρᾳ
very-many peltasts and horsemen at-the-same-time with-day

προσπίπτουσι τοῖς ὁπλίταις ὡς διακοσίοις οὖσιν. ἐπειδὴ
fall-upon the hoplites about two-hundred being when
δ' ἐγγὺς ἐγένοντο, οἱ μὲν ἔβαλλον, οἱ δ'
and near they-came the-ones indeed threw the-others and
ἠκόντιζον εἰς αὐτούς. οἱ δ' ἐπεὶ ἐτιτρώσκοντο μὲν
hurled-javelins at them they and when were-being-wounded indeed
καὶ ἀπέθνῃσκον, ἐποίουν δ' οὐδὲν κατειργμένοι ἐν τῷ
and were-dying did but nothing shut-in in the
σταυρώματι ὡς ἀνδρομήκει ὄντι, διασπάσαντες τὸ αὑτῶν
stockade about man-high being having-torn-apart the their-own
ὀχύρωμα ἐφέροντο εἰς αὐτούς,
fortification rushed at them
4 οἱ δὲ ᾗ μὲν ἐκθέοιεν ὑπεχώρουν, καὶ ῥᾳδίως ἀπέφευγον
they but where indeed they-ran-out withdrew and easily escaped
πελτασταὶ ὁπλίτας, ἔνθεν δὲ καὶ ἔνθεν ἠκόντιζον, καὶ
peltasts hoplites from-here but and from-there they-hurled-javelins and
πολλοὺς αὐτῶν ἐφ' ἑκάστῃ ἐκδρομῇ κατέβαλλον· τέλος δὲ
many of-them at each sally struck-down finally and
ὥσπερ ἐν αὐλίῳ σηκασθέντες κατηκοντίσθησαν. ἐσώθησαν
as in a-pen penned-in were-shot-down-with-javelins were-saved
μέντοι αὐτῶν ἀμφὶ τοὺς πεντεκαίδεκα εἰς τὸ Ἑλληνικόν, καὶ
however of-them about the fifteen to the Greek-camp and
οὗτοι, ἐπεὶ εὐθέως ᾔσθοντο τὸ πρᾶγμα, ἀποχωρήσαντες,
these since at-once they-perceived the affair having-withdrawn
ἐν τῇ μάχῃ διαπεσόντες ἀμελησάντων τῶν Βιθυνῶν.
in the battle having-slipped-through neglecting-it the Bithynians
5 ταχὺ δὲ ταῦτα διαπραξάμενοι οἱ Βιθυνοὶ καὶ τοὺς
quickly and these-things having-accomplished the Bithynians and the
σκηνοφύλακας τῶν Ὀδρυσῶν Θρᾳκῶν ἀποκτείναντες,
tent-guards of-the Odrysian Thracians having-killed
ἀπολαβόντες πάντα τὰ αἰχμάλωτα ἀπῆλθον· ὥστε οἱ
having-recovered all the prisoners went-away so-that the

Ἕλληνες ἐπεὶ ᾔσθοντο, βοηθοῦντες οὐδὲν ἄλλο ηὗρον
Greeks when they-perceived coming-to-help nothing else found
ἢ νεκροὺς γυμνοὺς ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ. ἐπεὶ μέντοι
than dead naked in the camp when however
ἐπανῆλθον οἱ Ὀδρύσαι, θάψαντες τοὺς ἑαυτῶν καὶ πολὺν
came-back the Odrysians having-buried the their-own and much
οἶνον ἐκπιόντες ἐπ᾽ αὐτοῖς καὶ ἱπποδρομίαν ποιήσαντες,
wine having-drunk over them and a-horse-race having-made
ὁμοῦ δὴ τὸ λοιπὸν τοῖς Ἕλλησι στρατοπεδευσάμενοι
together indeed the rest with-the Greeks having-encamped
ἦγον καὶ ἔκαιον τὴν Βιθυνίδα.
plundered and burned the Bithynian-land
Ἅμα δὲ τῷ ἦρι ἀποπορευόμενος ὁ Δερκυλίδας 6
At-the-same-time and with-the spring marching-away — Dercylidas
ἐκ τῶν Βιθυνῶν ἀφικνεῖται εἰς Λάμψακον. ἐνταῦθα δ᾽
from the Bithynians arrives at Lampsacus there and
ὄντος αὐτοῦ ἔρχονται ἀπὸ τῶν οἴκοι τελῶν Ἄρακός
being him come from the at-home authorities Aracus
τε καὶ Ναυβάτης καὶ Ἀντισθένης. οὗτοι δ᾽ ἦλθον
both and Naubates and Antisthenes these and came
ἐπισκεψόμενοι τά τε ἄλλα ὅπως ἔχοι τὰ ἐν
going-to-inspect the both other-things how they-were the-things in
τῇ Ἀσίᾳ, καὶ Δερκυλίδᾳ ἐροῦντες μένοντι ἄρχειν καὶ
— Asia and to-Dercylidas going-to-tell remaining to-command also
τὸν ἐπιόντα ἐνιαυτόν· ἐπιστεῖλαι δὲ σφίσιν αὐτοῖς τοὺς
the coming year to-have-enjoined and them themselves the
ἐφόρους καὶ συγκαλέσαντας τοὺς στρατιώτας εἰπεῖν ὡς
ephors also having-called-together the soldiers to-say that
ὧν μὲν πρόσθεν ἐποίουν μέμφοιντο αὐτοῖς, ὅτι δὲ νῦν
of-what indeed before they-did they-blamed them that but now
οὐδὲν ἠδίκουν, ἐπαινοῖεν· καὶ περὶ τοῦ λοιποῦ χρόνου
nothing they-did-wrong they-praised and about the future time

εἰπεῖν ὅτι ἢν μὲν ἀδικῶσιν, οὐκ ἐπιτρέψουσιν, ἢν δὲ
to-say that if indeed they-do-wrong not they-will-permit if but
δίκαια περὶ τοὺς συμμάχους ποιῶσιν, ἐπαινέσονται αὐτούς.
just-things toward the allies they-do they-will-praise them
7 ἐπεὶ μέντοι συγκαλέσαντες τοὺς στρατιώτας ταῦτ'
when however having-called-together the soldiers these-things
ἔλεγον, ὁ τῶν Κυρείων προεστηκὼς ἀπεκρίνατο·
they-said the-one of-the Cyreans having-been-at-the-head answered
Ἀλλ', ὦ ἄνδρες Λακεδαιμόνιοι, ἡμεῖς μέν ἐσμεν οἱ αὐτοὶ
But O men Lacedaemonians we indeed are the same
νῦν τε καὶ πέρυσιν· ἄρχων δὲ ἄλλος μὲν νῦν, ἄλλος δὲ
now both and last-year commander but other indeed now other but
τὸ παρελθόν. τὸ οὖν αἴτιον τοῦ νῦν μὲν μὴ ἐξαμαρτάνειν,
the past the then cause of-the now indeed not to-err
τότε δέ, αὐτοὶ ἤδη ἱκανοί ἐστε γιγνώσκειν.
then but yourselves already able are to-recognize
8 συσκηνούντων δὲ τῶν τε οἴκοθεν πρέσβεων καὶ τοῦ
messing-together and the both from-home envoys and —
Δερκυλίδα, ἐπεμνήσθη τις τῶν περὶ τὸν Ἄρακον ὅτι
Dercylidas mentioned someone of-the-ones around — Aracus that
καταλελοίποιεν πρέσβεις τῶν Χερρονησιτῶν ἐν Λακεδαίμονι.
they-had-left-behind envoys of-the Chersonesites in Lacedaemon
τούτους δὲ λέγειν ἔφασαν ὡς νῦν μὲν οὐ δύναιντο τὴν
these and to-say they-said that now indeed not they-could the
Χερρόνησον ἐργάζεσθαι· φέρεσθαι γὰρ καὶ ἄγεσθαι ὑπὸ τῶν
Chersonese to-work to-be-plundered for and carried-off by the
Θρᾳκῶν. εἰ δ' ἀποτειχισθείη ἐκ θαλάττης εἰς θάλατταν,
Thracians if but it-were-walled-off from sea to sea
καὶ σφίσιν ἂν γῆν πολλὴν καὶ ἀγαθὴν εἶναι ἐργάζεσθαι
both for-themselves — land much and good to-be to-work
καὶ ἄλλοις ὁπόσοι βούλοιντο Λακεδαιμονίων. ὥστ' ἔφασαν
and for-others as-many-as wished of-Lacedaemonians so-that they-said

οὐκ ἂν θαυμάζειν, εἰ καὶ πεμφθείη τις Λακεδαιμονίων
not — to-wonder if also should-be-sent someone of-Lacedaemonians
ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως σὺν δυνάμει ταῦτα πράξων.
from the city with force these-things going-to-do
ὁ οὖν Δερκυλίδας πρὸς μὲν ἐκείνους οὐκ εἶπεν ἣν ἔχοι 9
— then Dercylidas to indeed them not said what he-had
γνώμην ταῦτ' ἀκούσας, ἀλλ' ἔπεμψεν αὐτοὺς ἐπ' Ἐφέσου
opinion these-things having-heard but sent them to Ephesus
διὰ τῶν Ἑλληνίδων πόλεων, ἡδόμενος ὅτι ἔμελλον
through the Greek cities being-pleased that they-were-going
ὄψεσθαι τὰς πόλεις ἐν εἰρήνῃ εὐδαιμονικῶς διαγούσας.
to-see the cities in peace prosperously living
οἱ μὲν δὴ ἐπορεύοντο. ὁ δὲ Δερκυλίδας ἐπειδὴ ἔγνω
they indeed then went-on — but Dercylidas when he-knew
μενετέον ὄν, πάλιν πέμψας πρὸς τὸν Φαρνάβαζον
necessary-to-remain being again having-sent to — Pharnabazus
ἐπήρετο πότερα βούλοιτο σπονδὰς ἔχειν καθάπερ διὰ
asked whether he-wished a-truce to-have as through
τοῦ χειμῶνος ἢ πόλεμον. ἑλομένου δὲ τοῦ Φαρναβάζου
the winter or war having-chosen and — Pharnabazus
καὶ τότε σπονδάς, οὕτω καταλιπὼν καὶ τὰς περὶ ἐκεῖνα
also then truce so having-left also the around those-things
πόλεις [φιλίας] ἐν εἰρήνῃ διαβαίνει τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον
cities friendly in peace crosses the Hellespont
σὺν τῷ στρατεύματι εἰς τὴν Εὐρώπην, καὶ διὰ φιλίας
with the army to — Europe and through friendly
τῆς Θρᾴκης πορευθεὶς καὶ ξενισθεὶς ὑπὸ Σεύθου
— Thrace having-marched and having-been-entertained by Seuthes
ἀφικνεῖται εἰς Χερρόνησον.
arrives at Chersonese

10 ἣν καταμαθὼν πόλεις μὲν ἕνδεκα ἢ δώδεκα ἔχουσαν,
which having-learned cities indeed eleven or twelve having
χώραν δὲ παμφορωτάτην καὶ ἀρίστην οὖσαν, κεκακωμένην
land and most-productive and best being ravaged
δέ, ὥσπερ ἐλέγετο, ὑπὸ τῶν Θρᾳκῶν, ἐπεὶ μέτρον ηὗρε
but as was-said by the Thracians when measure he-found
τοῦ ἰσθμοῦ ἑπτὰ καὶ τριάκοντα στάδια, οὐκ ἐμέλλησεν,
of-the isthmus seven and thirty stades not he-delayed
ἀλλὰ θυσάμενος ἐτείχιζε, κατὰ μέρη διελὼν τοῖς
but having-sacrificed he-walled-it in parts having-divided to-the
στρατιώταις τὸ χωρίον· καὶ ἆθλα αὐτοῖς ὑποσχόμενος
soldiers the place and prizes to-them having-promised
δώσειν τοῖς πρώτοις ἐκτειχίσασι, καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις
to-give to-the first having-completed-the-wall and to-the others
ὡς ἕκαστοι ἄξιοι εἶεν, ἀπετέλεσε τὸ τεῖχος ἀρξάμενος
as each worthy were he-completed the wall having-begun
ἀπὸ ἠρινοῦ χρόνου πρὸ ὀπώρας. καὶ ἐποίησεν ἐντὸς
from spring time before autumn and made within
τοῦ τείχους ἕνδεκα μὲν πόλεις, πολλοὺς δὲ λιμένας,
the wall eleven indeed cities many and harbors
πολλὴν δὲ κἀγαθὴν σπόριμον, πολλὴν δὲ πεφυτευμένην,
much and good sowing-land much and planted
παμπληθεῖς δὲ καὶ παγκάλας νομὰς παντοδαποῖς κτήνεσι.
very-many and also very-fine pastures for-all-kinds-of cattle
11 ταῦτα δὲ πράξας διέβαινε πάλιν εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν.
these-things and having-done he-crossed again to — Asia
Ἐπισκοπῶν δὲ τὰς πόλεις ἑώρα τὰ μὲν ἄλλα καλῶς
Inspecting and the cities he-saw in-the indeed other-respects well
ἐχούσας, Χίων δὲ φυγάδας ηὗρεν Ἀταρνέα ἔχοντας
faring of-Chians but exiles he-found Atarneus holding
χωρίον ἰσχυρόν, καὶ ἐκ τούτου ὁρμωμένους φέροντας καὶ
a-place strong and from this setting-out plundering and

ἄγοντας τὴν Ἰωνίαν, καὶ ζῶντας ἐκ τούτου. πυθόμενος
carrying-off — Ionia and living from this having-learned
δὲ ὅτι πολὺς σῖτος ἐνῆν αὐτοῖς, περιστρατοπεδευσάμενος
and that much grain was-in for-them having-encamped-around
ἐπολιόρκει· καὶ ἐν ὀκτὼ μησὶ παραστησάμενος αὐτούς,
he-besieged and in eight months having-brought-to-terms them
καταστήσας ἐν αὐτῷ Δράκοντα Πελληνέα ἐπιμελητὴν καὶ
having-appointed in it Dracon Pellenean as-overseer and
κατασκευάσας ἐν τῷ χωρίῳ ἔκπλεω πάντα τὰ ἐπιτήδεια,
having-stocked in the place full all the provisions
ἵνα εἴη αὐτῷ καταγωγή, ὁπότε ἀφικνοῖτο, ἀπῆλθεν
so-that there-might-be for-him a-lodging whenever he-came he-went-away
εἰς Ἔφεσον, ἣ ἀπέχει ἀπὸ Σάρδεων τριῶν ἡμερῶν ὁδόν.
to Ephesus which is-distant from Sardis of-three days journey
Καὶ μέχρι τούτου τοῦ χρόνου ἐν εἰρήνῃ διῆγον Τισσαφέρνης 12
And until this the time in peace lived Tissaphernes
τε καὶ Δερκυλίδας καὶ οἱ ταύτῃ Ἕλληνες καὶ οἱ βάρβαροι.
both and Dercylidas and the there Greeks and the barbarians
ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀφικνούμενοι πρέσβεις εἰς Λακεδαίμονα ἀπὸ τῶν
when but arriving envoys to Lacedaemon from the
Ἰωνίδων πόλεων ἐδίδασκον ὅτι εἴη ἐπὶ Τισσαφέρνει, εἰ
Ionian cities taught that it-was upon Tissaphernes if
βούλοιτο, ἀφιέναι αὐτονόμους τὰς Ἑλληνίδας πόλεις· εἰ
he-wished to-leave autonomous the Greek cities if
οὖν κακῶς πάσχοι Καρία, ἔνθαπερ ὁ Τισσαφέρνους οἶκος,
then badly suffered Caria where-very the of-Tissaphernes house
οὕτως ἂν ἔφασαν τάχιστα νομίζειν αὐτὸν συγχωρῆσαι
so — they-said most-quickly to-think him to-agree
αὐτονόμους σφᾶς ἀφεῖναι· ἀκούσαντες ταῦτα οἱ ἔφοροι
autonomous them to-let-go having-heard these-things the ephors
ἔπεμψαν πρὸς Δερκυλίδαν, καὶ ἐκέλευον αὐτὸν διαβαίνειν
sent to Dercylidas and bade him to-cross

σὺν τῷ στρατεύματι ἐπὶ Καρίαν καὶ Φάρακα τὸν ναύαρχον
with the army into Caria and Pharax the admiral
σὺν ταῖς ναυσὶ παραπλεῖν.
with the ships to-sail-along

13 οἱ μὲν δὴ ταῦτ' ἐποίουν. ἐτύγχανε δὲ κατὰ τοῦτον
they indeed then these-things did happened and at this
τὸν χρόνον καὶ Φαρνάβαζος πρὸς Τισσαφέρνη ἀφιγμένος,
the time also Pharnabazus to Tissaphernes having-come
ἅμα μὲν ὅτι στρατηγὸς τῶν πάντων ἀπεδέδεικτο
partly indeed because general of-the all had-been-appointed
Τισσαφέρνης, ἅμα δὲ διαμαρτυρόμενος ὅτι ἕτοιμος εἴη
Tissaphernes partly and protesting that ready he-was
κοινῇ πολεμεῖν καὶ συμμάχεσθαι καὶ συνεκβάλλειν τοὺς
in-common to-make-war and to-fight-as-ally and to-help-drive-out the
Ἕλληνας ἐκ τῆς βασιλέως· ἄλλως τε γὰρ ὑπεφθόνει
Greeks from the of-the-king especially both for he-somewhat-envied
τῆς στρατηγίας τῷ Τισσαφέρνει καὶ τῆς Αἰολίδος χαλεπῶς
of-the generalship — Tissaphernes and — of-Aeolis hard
ἔφερεν ἀπεστερημένος. ὁ δ' ἀκούων· Πρῶτον μὲν τοίνυν,
he-bore having-been-deprived he but hearing First indeed then
ἔφη, διάβηθι σὺν ἐμοὶ ἐπὶ Καρίαν, ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ περὶ
he-said cross with me into Caria then and also about
τούτων βουλευσόμεθα.
these-things we-will-deliberate

14 ἐπεὶ δ' ἐκεῖ ἦσαν, ἔδοξεν αὐτοῖς ἱκανὰς φυλακὰς
when and there they-were it-seemed-good to-them sufficient guards
εἰς τὰ ἐρύματα καταστήσαντας διαβαίνειν πάλιν ἐπὶ
in the strongholds having-stationed to-cross again to
τὴν Ἰωνίαν. ὡς δ' ἤκουσεν ὁ Δερκυλίδας ὅτι πάλιν
— Ionia when and heard — Dercylidas that again
πεπερακότες εἰσὶ τὸν Μαίανδρον, εἰπὼν τῷ Φάρακι
having-crossed they-are the Maeander having-said — to-Pharax

ὡς [ὅτι] ὀκνοίη μὴ ὁ Τισσαφέρνης καὶ ὁ Φαρνάβαζος
that that he-feared lest — Tissaphernes and — Pharnabazus
ἐρήμην οὖσαν καταθέοντες φέρωσι καὶ ἄγωσι τὴν χώραν,
undefended being overrunning plunder and carry-off the land
διέβαινε καὶ αὐτός. πορευόμενοι δὲ οὗτοι οὐδέν τι
crossed also himself marching and these not at-all
συντεταγμένῳ τῷ στρατεύματι, ὡς προεληλυθότων τῶν
drawn-up the army as having-gone-ahead the
πολεμίων εἰς τὴν Ἐφεσίαν, ἐξαίφνης ὁρῶσιν ἐκ τοῦ
enemies into the Ephesian-land suddenly they-see from the
ἀντιπέρας σκοποὺς ἐπὶ τῶν μνημάτων·
opposite-side scouts on the tombs
καὶ ἀναβιβάσαντες εἰς τὰ παρ᾽ ἑαυτοῖς μνημεῖα καὶ 15
and having-sent-up-in-turn on the beside themselves monuments and
τύρσεις τινὰς καθορῶσι παρατεταγμένους ᾗ αὐτοῖς ἦν
towers some they-see drawn-up where for-them was
ἡ ὁδὸς Κᾶράς τε λευκάσπιδας καὶ τὸ Περσικὸν ὅσον
the road Carians both white-shielded and the Persian as-much-as
ἐτύγχανε παρὸν στράτευμα καὶ τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν ὅσον
happened present army and the Greek as-much-as
εἶχεν ἑκάτερος αὐτῶν καὶ τὸ ἱππικὸν μάλα πολύ, τὸ μὲν
had each of-them and the cavalry very large the indeed
Τισσαφέρνους ἐπὶ τῷ δεξιῷ κέρατι, τὸ δὲ Φαρναβάζου
of-Tissaphernes on the right wing the but of-Pharnabazus
ἐπὶ τῷ εὐωνύμῳ.
on the left
ὡς δὲ ταῦτα ᾔσθετο ὁ Δερκυλίδας, τοῖς μὲν ταξιάρχοις 16
when and these-things perceived — Dercylidas to-the indeed taxiarchs
καὶ τοῖς λοχαγοῖς εἶπε παρατάττεσθαι τὴν ταχίστην εἰς
and the captains he-said to-draw-up the quickest-way into
ὀκτώ, τοὺς δὲ πελταστὰς ἐπὶ τὰ κράσπεδα ἑκατέρωθεν
eight the but peltasts on the flanks on-either-side

καθίστασθαι καὶ τοὺς ἱππέας, ὅσους γε δὴ καὶ οἵους
to-station and the horsemen as-many-as at-least indeed and such-as
ἐτύγχανεν ἔχων· αὐτὸς δὲ ἐθύετο.
he-happened having himself but sacrificed

17 ὅσον μὲν δὴ ἦν ἐκ Πελοποννήσου στράτευμα, ἡσυχίαν
as-much-as indeed then was from Peloponnese army quiet
εἶχε καὶ παρεσκευάζετο ὡς μαχούμενον· ὅσοι δὲ ἦσαν ἀπὸ
kept and prepared as going-to-fight as-many-as but were from
Πριήνης τε καὶ Ἀχιλλείου καὶ ἀπὸ νήσων καὶ τῶν Ἰωνικῶν
Priene both and Achilleum and from islands and the Ionian
πόλεων, οἱ μέν τινες καταλιπόντες ἐν τῷ σίτῳ τὰ ὅπλα
cities the-ones indeed some having-left in the grain the arms
ἀπεδίδρασκον· καὶ γὰρ ἦν βαθὺς ὁ σῖτος ἐν τῷ Μαιάνδρου
ran-away and for was deep the grain in the of-Maeander
πεδίῳ· ὅσοι δὲ καὶ ἔμενον, δῆλοι ἦσαν οὐ μενοῦντες.
plain as-many-as but also remained plain were not going-to-stay

18 τὸν μὲν οὖν Φαρνάβαζον ἐξηγγέλλετο μάχεσθαι κελεύειν.
— indeed then Pharnabazus was-reported to-fight to-urge
ὁ μέντοι Τισσαφέρνης τό τε Κύρειον στράτευμα
— however Tissaphernes the both Cyrean army
καταλογιζόμενος ὡς ἐπολέμησεν αὐτοῖς καὶ τούτῳ πάντας
reckoning-up how it-fought-against them and to-this all
νομίζων ὁμοίους εἶναι τοὺς Ἕλληνας, οὐκ ἐβούλετο
thinking like to-be the Greeks not wished
μάχεσθαι, ἀλλὰ πέμψας πρὸς Δερκυλίδαν εἶπεν ὅτι εἰς
to-fight but having-sent to Dercylidas said that to
λόγους βούλοιτο αὐτῷ ἀφικέσθαι. καὶ ὁ Δερκυλίδας
talks he-wished with-him to-come and — Dercylidas
λαβὼν τοὺς κρατίστους τὰ εἴδη τῶν περὶ αὐτὸν
having-taken the strongest in-the appearance of-the-ones around him
καὶ ἱππέων καὶ πεζῶν προῆλθε πρὸς τοὺς ἀγγέλους, καὶ
both horsemen and foot came-forward to the messengers and

εἶπεν· Ἀλλὰ παρεσκευασάμην μὲν ἔγωγε μάχεσθαι, ὡς
said But I-had-prepared indeed I-at-least to-fight as
ὁρᾶτε· ἐπεὶ μέντοι ἐκεῖνος βούλεται εἰς λόγους ἀφικέσθαι,
you-see since however that-one wishes to talks to-come
οὐδ' ἐγὼ ἀντιλέγω. ἂν μέντοι ταῦτα δέῃ ποιεῖν,
not-even I object if however these-things it-be-needful to-do
πιστὰ καὶ ὁμήρους δοτέον καὶ ληπτέον.
pledges and hostages must-be-given and must-be-received
δόξαντα δὲ ταῦτα καὶ περανθέντα, τὰ μὲν 19
having-seemed-good and these-things and having-been-concluded the indeed
στρατεύματα ἀπῆλθε, τὸ μὲν βαρβαρικὸν εἰς Τράλλεις
armies went-away the indeed barbarian to Tralles
τῆς Καρίας, τὸ δ' Ἑλληνικὸν εἰς Λεύκοφρυν, ἔνθα ἦν
— of-Caria the but Greek to Leucophrys where was
Ἀρτέμιδός τε ἱερὸν μάλα ἅγιον καὶ λίμνη πλέον ἢ
of-Artemis both temple very holy and a-lake more than
σταδίου ὑπόψαμμος ἀέναος ποτίμου καὶ θερμοῦ ὕδατος.
a-stade sandy-bottomed ever-flowing of-drinkable and warm water
καὶ τότε μὲν ταῦτα ἐπράχθη· τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ εἰς τὸ
and then indeed these-things were-done on-the and next-day to the
συγκείμενον χωρίον ἦλθον, καὶ ἔδοξεν αὐτοῖς πυθέσθαι
agreed place they-came and it-seemed-good to-them to-learn
ἀλλήλων ἐπὶ τίσιν ἂν τὴν εἰρήνην ποιήσαιντο.
from-one-another on what-terms — the peace they-would-make
ὁ μὲν δὴ Δερκυλίδας εἶπεν, εἰ αὐτονόμους ἐῴη 20
— indeed then Dercylidas said if autonomous should-leave
βασιλεὺς τὰς Ἑλληνίδας πόλεις, ὁ δὲ Τισσαφέρνης
the-king the Greek cities — but Tissaphernes
καὶ Φαρνάβαζος εἶπαν ὅτι εἰ ἐξέλθοι τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν
and Pharnabazus said that if should-go-out the Greek
στράτευμα ἐκ τῆς χώρας καὶ οἱ Λακεδαιμονίων ἁρμοσταὶ
army from the land and the of-Lacedaemonians harmosts

ἐκ τῶν πόλεων. ταῦτα δὲ εἰπόντες ἀλλήλοις σπονδὰς
from the cities these-things and having-said to-one-another a-truce
ἐποιήσαντο, ἕως ἀπαγγελθείη τὰ λεχθέντα Δερκυλίδᾳ
they-made until should-be-reported the-things said by-Dercylidas
μὲν εἰς Λακεδαίμονα, Τισσαφέρνει δὲ ἐπὶ βασιλέα.
indeed to Lacedaemon by-Tissaphernes and to the-king
21 Τούτων δὲ πραττομένων ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ ὑπὸ Δερκυλίδα,
These-things and being-done in — Asia by Dercylidas
Λακεδαιμόνιοι κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον, πάλαι ὀργιζόμενοι
Lacedaemonians at the same time long being-angry
τοῖς Ἠλείοις καὶ ὅτι ἐποιήσαντο συμμαχίαν πρὸς
with-the Eleans both because they-had-made alliance with
Ἀθηναίους καὶ Ἀργείους καὶ Μαντινέας, καὶ ὅτι δίκην
Athenians and Argives and Mantineans and because a-judgment
φάσκοντες καταδεδικάσθαι αὐτῶν ἐκώλυον καὶ τοῦ
claiming to-have-been-given-against them they-excluded both from-the
ἱππικοῦ καὶ τοῦ γυμνικοῦ ἀγῶνος, καὶ οὐ μόνον ταῦτ᾽
horse and from-the gymnastic contest and not only these-things
ἤρκει, ἀλλὰ καὶ Λίχα παραδόντος Θηβαίοις τὸ ἅρμα, ἐπεὶ
sufficed but also Lichas having-handed-over to-Thebans the chariot when
ἐκηρύττοντο νικῶντες, ὅτε εἰσῆλθε Λίχας στεφανώσων τὸν
they-were-proclaimed winning when came-in Lichas going-to-crown the
ἡνίοχον, μαστιγοῦντες αὐτόν, ἄνδρα γέροντα, ἐξήλασαν.
charioteer whipping him a-man old drove-out
22 τούτων δ᾽ ὕστερον καὶ Ἄγιδος πεμφθέντος θῦσαι τῷ
these-things and later also Agis having-been-sent to-sacrifice —
Διὶ κατὰ μαντείαν τινὰ ἐκώλυον οἱ Ἠλεῖοι μὴ
to-Zeus according-to oracle some prevented the Eleans not
προσεύχεσθαι νίκην πολέμου, λέγοντες ὡς καὶ τὸ ἀρχαῖον
to-pray-for victory in-war saying that also the of-old

εἴη οὕτω νόμιμον, μὴ χρηστηριάζεσθαι τοὺς Ἕλληνας
it-was so lawful not to-consult-the-oracle the Greeks
ἐφ' Ἑλλήνων πολέμῳ· ὥστε ἄθυτος ἀπῆλθεν.
on Greeks war so-that unsacrificed be-went-away
ἐκ τούτων οὖν πάντων ὀργιζομένοις ἔδοξε τοῖς ἐφόροις 23
from these then all being-angry it-seemed-good to-the ephors
καὶ τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ σωφρονίσαι αὐτούς. πέμψαντες οὖν
and the assembly to-bring-to-their-senses them having-sent then
πρέσβεις εἰς Ἦλιν εἶπον ὅτι τοῖς τέλεσι τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων
envoys to Elis they-said that to-the authorities of-the Lacedaemonians
δίκαιον δοκοίη εἶναι ἀφιέναι αὐτοὺς τὰς περιοικίδας
just it-seemed to-be to-leave them the perioecic
πόλεις αὐτονόμους. ἀποκριναμένων δὲ τῶν Ἠλείων ὅτι
cities autonomous having-answered and the Eleans that
οὐ ποιήσοιεν ταῦτα (ἐπιλήδας γὰρ ἔχοιεν τὰς πόλεις)
not they-would-do these-things captured-in-war for they-held the cities
φρουρὰν ἔφηναν οἱ ἔφοροι. ἄγων δὲ τὸ στράτευμα Ἆγις
a-levy declared the ephors leading and the army Agis
ἐνέβαλε διὰ τῆς Ἀχαΐας εἰς τὴν Ἠλείαν κατὰ Λάρισον.
invaded through — Achaea into the Elean-land by Larisus
ἄρτι δὲ τοῦ στρατεύματος ὄντος ἐν τῇ πολεμίᾳ καὶ 24
just and the army being in the enemy-land and
κοπτομένης τῆς χώρας, σεισμὸς ἐπιγίγνεται. ὁ δ' Ἆγις
being-cut-down the land an-earthquake comes-on — and Agis
θεῖον ἡγησάμενος ἐξελθὼν πάλιν ἐκ τῆς χώρας διαφῆκε
divine having-considered having-gone-out again from the land disbanded
τὸ στράτευμα. ἐκ δὲ τούτου οἱ Ἠλεῖοι πολὺ θρασύτεροι
the army after and this the Eleans much bolder
ἦσαν, καὶ διεπρεσβεύοντο εἰς τὰς πόλεις, ὅσας ᾔδεσαν
were and sent-envoys to the cities as-many-as they-knew
δυσμενεῖς τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις οὔσας.
hostile to-the Lacedaemonians being

περιόντι δὲ τῷ ἐνιαυτῷ φαίνουσι πάλιν οἱ ἔφοροι
coming-round and the year declare again the ephors
φρουρὰν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἦλιν, καὶ συνεστρατεύοντο τῷ Ἄγιδι
a-levy against — Elis and campaigned-with — Agis
πλὴν Βοιωτῶν καὶ Κορινθίων οἵ τε ἄλλοι πάντες
except Boeotians and Corinthians the both other all
σύμμαχοι καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι. ἐμβαλόντος δὲ τοῦ Ἄγιδος
allies and the Athenians having-invaded and — Agis
δι' Αὐλῶνος, εὐθὺς μὲν Λεπρεᾶται ἀποστάντες τῶν
through Aulon at-once indeed Lepreatans having-revolted from-the
Ἠλείων προσεχώρησαν αὐτῷ, εὐθὺς δὲ Μακίστιοι, ἐχόμενοι
Eleans came-over to-him at-once and Macistians next
δ' Ἐπιταλιεῖς. διαβαίνοντι δὲ τὸν ποταμὸν προσεχώρουν
and Epitalians crossing and the river came-over
Λετρῖνοι καὶ Ἀμφίδολοι καὶ Μαργανεῖς.
Letrinians and Amphidolians and Marganians

26 ἐκ δὲ τούτου ἐλθὼν εἰς Ὀλυμπίαν ἔθυε τῷ Διὶ τῷ
after and this having-come to Olympia he-sacrificed — to-Zeus the
Ὀλυμπίῳ· κωλύειν δὲ οὐδεὶς ἔτι ἐπειρᾶτο. θύσας
Olympian to-prevent and no-one any-longer tried having-sacrificed
δὲ πρὸς τὸ ἄστυ ἐπορεύετο, κόπτων καὶ κάων τὴν χώραν,
and to the town he-marched cutting and burning the land
καὶ ὑπέρπολλα μὲν κτήνη, ὑπέρπολλα δὲ ἀνδράποδα
and very-many indeed cattle very-many and slaves
ἡλίσκετο ἐκ τῆς χώρας· ὥστε ἀκούοντες καὶ ἄλλοι πολλοὶ
were-taken from the land so-that hearing also others many
τῶν Ἀρκάδων καὶ Ἀχαιῶν ἑκόντες ἦσαν συστρατευσόμενοι
of-the Arcadians and Achaeans willingly came going-to-campaign-with
καὶ μετεῖχον τῆς ἁρπαγῆς. καὶ ἐγένετο αὕτη ἡ στρατεία
and shared the plunder and became this the campaign
ὥσπερ ἐπισιτισμὸς τῇ Πελοποννήσῳ.
as a-provisioning for-the Peloponnese

ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀφίκετο πρὸς τὴν πόλιν, τὰ μὲν προάστια καὶ τὰ 27
when and he-arrived at the city the indeed suburbs and the
γυμνάσια καλὰ ὄντα ἐλυμαίνετο, τὴν δὲ πόλιν (ἀτείχιστος
gymnasia fine being he-damaged the but city unwalled
γὰρ ἦν) ἐνόμισαν αὐτὸν μὴ βούλεσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ μὴ
for it-was they-thought him not to-wish rather than not
δύνασθαι ἑλεῖν. δῃουμένης δὲ τῆς χώρας καὶ οὔσης τῆς
to-be-able to-take being-ravaged and the land and being the
στρατιᾶς περὶ Κυλλήνην, βουλόμενοι οἱ περὶ Ξενίαν
army about Cyllene wishing the-ones around Xenias
τὸν λεγόμενον μεδίμνῳ ἀπομετρήσασθαι τὸ παρὰ τοῦ
the-one said with-a-medimnus to-have-measured-out the from the
πατρὸς ἀργύριον τὴν πόλιν δι' αὐτῶν προσχωρῆσαι
father silver the city through themselves to-come-over
τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις, ἐκπεσόντες ἐξ οἰκίας ξίφη ἔχοντες
to-the Lacedaemonians having-rushed-out from a-house swords having
σφαγὰς ποιοῦσι, καὶ ἄλλους τέ τινας ἀποκτείνουσι καὶ
slaughters make and others both some kill and
ὅμοιόν τινα Θρασυδαίῳ ἀποκτείναντες τῷ τοῦ δήμου
like some-man to-Thrasydaeus having-killed the of-the people
προστάτῃ ᾤοντο Θρασυδαῖον ἀπεκτονέναι, ὥστε ὁ μὲν
leader they-thought Thrasydaeus to-have-killed so-that the indeed
δῆμος παντελῶς κατηθύμησε καὶ ἡσυχίαν εἶχεν,
people utterly lost-heart and quiet kept
οἱ δὲ σφαγεῖς πάντ' ᾤοντο πεπραγμένα εἶναι, καὶ 28
the but slaughterers all-things thought done to-be and
οἱ ὁμογνώμονες αὐτοῖς ἐξεφέροντο τὰ ὅπλα εἰς τὴν
the like-minded with-them brought-out the arms into the
ἀγοράν. ὁ δὲ Θρασυδαῖος ἔτι καθεύδων ἐτύγχανεν οὗπερ
agora — but Thrasydaeus still sleeping happened where-very
ἐμεθύσθη. ὡς δὲ ᾔσθετο ὁ δῆμος ὅτι οὐ τέθνηκεν [ὁ
he-had-got-drunk when and perceived the people that not has-died —

Θρασυδαῖος], περιεπλήσθη ἡ οἰκία ἔνθεν καὶ ἔνθεν,
Thrasydaeus was-surrounded the house on-this-side and on-that-side
ὥσπερ ὑπὸ ἑσμοῦ μελιττῶν ὁ ἡγεμών.
as by a-swarm of-bees the leader
29 ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἡγεῖτο ὁ Θρασυδαῖος ἀναλαβὼν τὸν δῆμον,
when and led — Thrasydaeus having-taken-up the people
γενομένης μάχης ἐκράτησεν ὁ δῆμος, ἐξέπεσον δὲ πρὸς
having-taken-place a-battle prevailed the people were-expelled and to
τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους οἱ ἐγχειρήσαντες ταῖς σφαγαῖς.
the Lacedaemonians the-ones having-undertaken the slaughters
ἐπεὶ δ' αὖ ὁ Ἄγις ἀπιὼν διέβη πάλιν τὸν Ἀλφειόν,
when and in-turn — Agis going-away crossed again the Alpheus
φρουροὺς καταλιπὼν ἐν Ἐπιταλίῳ πλησίον τοῦ Ἀλφειοῦ
garrison having-left in Epitalium near the Alpheus
καὶ Λύσιππον ἁρμοστὴν καὶ τοὺς ἐξ Ἤλιδος φυγάδας,
and Lysippus as-harmost and the from Elis exiles
τὸ μὲν στράτευμα διῆκεν, αὐτὸς δὲ οἴκαδε ἀπῆλθε.
the indeed army disbanded himself but home went-away
30 καὶ τὸ μὲν λοιπὸν θέρος καὶ τὸν ἐπιόντα χειμῶνα
and the indeed remaining summer and the following winter
ὑπὸ τοῦ Λυσίππου καὶ τῶν περὶ αὐτὸν ἐφέρετο
by — Lysippus and the-ones around him was-plundered
καὶ ἤγετο ἡ τῶν Ἠλείων χώρα. τοῦ δ' ἐπιόντος
and was-carried-off the of-the Eleans land in-the and following
θέρους πέμψας Θρασυδαῖος εἰς Λακεδαίμονα συνεχώρησε
summer having-sent Thrasydaeus to Lacedaemon agreed
Φέας τε τὸ τεῖχος περιελεῖν καὶ Κυλλήνης καὶ τὰς
of-Pheia both the wall to-pull-down and of-Cyllene and the
Τριφυλίδας πόλεις ἀφεῖναι Φρίξαν καὶ Ἐπιτάλιον καὶ
Triphylian cities to-let-go Phrixa and Epitalium and
Λετρίνους καὶ Ἀμφιδόλους καὶ Μαργανέας, πρὸς δὲ
Letrinians and Amphidolians and Marganians besides and

ταύταις καὶ Ἀκρωρείους καὶ Λασιῶνα τὸν ὑπ᾽ Ἀρκάδων
these also Acroreians and Lasion the-one by Arcadians
ἀντιλεγόμενον. Ἤπειον μέντοι τὴν μεταξὺ πόλιν Ἡραίας
disputed Epeum however the between city of-Heraea
καὶ Μακίστου ἠξίουν οἱ Ἠλεῖοι ἔχειν· πρίασθαι γὰρ
and Macistus deemed-it-right the Eleans to-hold to-have-bought for
ἔφασαν τὴν χώραν ἅπασαν παρὰ τῶν τότε ἐχόντων τὴν
they-said the land whole from the-ones then holding the
πόλιν τριάκοντα ταλάντων, καὶ τὸ ἀργύριον δεδωκέναι.
city for-thirty talents and the silver to-have-given
οἱ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι γνόντες μηδὲν δικαιότερον εἶναι 31
the but Lacedaemonians having-judged in-no-way more-just to-be
βίᾳ πριαμένους ἢ βίᾳ ἀφελομένους παρὰ τῶν ἡττόνων
by-force having-bought than by-force having-taken-away from the weaker
λαμβάνειν, ἀφιέναι καὶ ταύτην ἠνάγκασαν· τοῦ μέντοι
to-take to-let-go also this-one they-compelled of-the however
προεστάναι τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Ὀλυμπίου ἱεροῦ, καίπερ οὐκ
to-preside-over — of-Zeus the Olympian sanctuary although not
ἀρχαίου Ἠλείοις ὄντος, οὐκ ἀπήλασαν αὐτούς, νομίζοντες
of-old to-Eleans belonging not they-drove-away them thinking
τοὺς ἀντιποιουμένους χωρίτας εἶναι καὶ οὐχ ἱκανοὺς
the counter-claimants rustics to-be and not able
προεστάναι. τούτων δὲ συγχωρηθέντων εἰρήνη τε γίγνεται
to-preside these-things and having-been-agreed peace both comes-about
καὶ συμμαχία Ἠλείων πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους. καὶ οὕτω
and alliance of-Eleans with Lacedaemonians and thus
μὲν δὴ ὁ Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ Ἠλείων πόλεμος ἔληξε.
indeed then the of-Lacedaemonians and Eleans war ended

Agis dies, and his son Leotychides and his brother Agesilaus dispute the throne: Agesilaus says Agis denied that Leotychides was his son, since an earthquake drove Agis from his wife's chamber ten months before the boy's birth, and Diopeithes cites an oracle against a lame kingship, which Lysander reads as a king not of Heracles' line. The city chooses Agesilaus. Within a year a seer finds the sacrifices showing a plot, and an informer reveals that Cinadon, a young man not of the peers, had him count the Spartiates in the agora, about forty among more than four thousand, and called the rest allies, who would gladly eat the Spartiates raw; for arms he pointed to the tools in the iron market. The ephors send Cinadon to Aulon on a pretext and have him arrested there. Asked what he wanted, he answers that he wished to be inferior to no one in Lacedaemon, and he and his accomplices are flogged through the city.

1 Μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο Ἄγις ἀφικόμενος εἰς Δελφοὺς καὶ τὴν
After and this Agis having-arrived at Delphi and the
δεκάτην ἀποθύσας, πάλιν ἀπιὼν ἔκαμεν ἐν Ἡραίᾳ, γέρων
tithe having-sacrificed again going-away fell-ill in Heraea old
ἤδη ὤν, καὶ ἀπηνέχθη μὲν εἰς Λακεδαίμονα ἔτι ζῶν, ἐκεῖ δὲ
already being and was-carried indeed to Lacedaemon still living there but
ταχὺ ἐτελεύτησε· καὶ ἔτυχε σεμνοτέρας ἢ κατὰ ἄνθρωπον
quickly died and obtained more-solemn than according-to man
ταφῆς. ἐπεὶ δὲ ὡσιώθησαν αἱ ἡμέραι καὶ ἔδει
burial when and were-completed-in-due-form the days and it-was-needful
βασιλέα καθίστασθαι, ἀντέλεγον περὶ βασιλείας Λεωτυχίδης,
a-king to-be-appointed disputed about the-kingship Leotychides
υἱὸς φάσκων Ἄγιδος εἶναι, Ἀγησίλαος δὲ ἀδελφός.
son claiming of-Agis to-be Agesilaus but brother
2 εἰπόντος δὲ τοῦ Λεωτυχίδου· Ἀλλ' ὁ νόμος, ὦ Ἀγησίλαε,
having-said and — Leotychides But the law O Agesilaus
οὐκ ἀδελφὸν ἀλλ' υἱὸν βασιλέως βασιλεύειν κελεύει· εἰ δὲ
not brother but son of-king to-be-king bids if but

υἱὸς ὢν μὴ τυγχάνοι, ὁ ἀδελφός κα ὡς βασιλεύοι. Ἐμὲ
son being not should-happen the brother — so should-be-king Me
ἂν δέοι βασιλεύειν. Πῶς, ἐμοῦ γε ὄντος; Ὅτι
— it-would-be-needful to-be-king How me at-least being Since
ὃν τὺ καλεῖς πατέρα, οὐκ ἔφη σε εἶναι ἑαυτοῦ. Ἀλλ'
whom you call father not he-said you to-be his But
ἡ πολὺ κάλλιον ἐκείνου εἰδυῖα μήτηρ καὶ νῦν ἔτι φησίν.
the much better than-him knowing mother even now still says
Ἀλλὰ ὁ Ποτειδὰν ὡς μάλα σευ ψευδομένω κατεμήνυσεν
But — Poseidon as very of-you lying informed
ἐκ τοῦ θαλάμου ἐξελάσας σεισμῷ εἰς τὸ φανερὸν
from the bedchamber having-driven-out by-earthquake into the open
τὸν σὸν πατέρα. συνεμαρτύρησε δὲ ταῦτ' αὐτῷ καὶ
the your father testified-with and these-things for-him also
ὁ ἀληθέστατος λεγόμενος χρόνος εἶναι· ἀφ' οὗ γάρ τυ
the truest said time to-be from which for you
ἔφυσε καὶ ἐφάνη ἐν τῷ θαλάμῳ, δεκάτῳ μηνὶ ἐγένου.
he-begot and appeared in the bedchamber in-the-tenth month you-were-born
οἱ μὲν τοιαῦτ' ἔλεγον. Διοπείθης δέ, μάλα χρησμολόγος 3
they indeed such-things said Diopeithes but very oracle-learned
ἀνήρ, Λεωτυχίδῃ συναγορεύων εἶπεν ὡς καὶ Ἀπόλλωνος
a-man for-Leotychides pleading said that also of-Apollo
χρησμὸς εἴη φυλάξασθαι τὴν χωλὴν βασιλείαν. Λύσανδρος
an-oracle there-was to-guard-against the lame kingship Lysander
δὲ πρὸς αὐτὸν ὑπὲρ Ἀγησιλάου ἀντεῖπεν ὡς οὐκ οἴοιτο
but against him for Agesilaus spoke-against that not be-thought
τὸν θεὸν τοῦτο κελεύειν φυλάξασθαι, μὴ προσπταίσας
the god this to-bid to-guard-against lest having-stumbled
τις χωλεύσαι, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον μὴ οὐκ ὢν τοῦ γένους
someone be-lame but rather lest not being of-the race

βασιλεύσειε· παντάπασι γὰρ ἂν χωλὴν εἶναι τὴν βασιλείαν
he-should-be-king altogether for — lame to-be the kingship
ὁπότε μὴ οἱ ἀφ' Ἡρακλέους τῆς πόλεως ἡγοῖντο.
whenever not the-ones from Heracles of-the city should-lead
4 τοιαῦτα δὲ ἀκούσασα ἡ πόλις ἀμφοτέρων Ἀγησίλαον
such-things and having-heard the city from-both Agesilaus
εἵλοντο βασιλέα. Οὔπω δ' ἐνιαυτὸν ὄντος ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ
chose king Not-yet and a-year being in the kingship
Ἀγησιλάου, θύοντος αὐτοῦ τῶν τεταγμένων τινὰ θυσιῶν
Agesilaus sacrificing him of-the appointed some sacrifices
ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως εἶπεν ὁ μάντις ὅτι ἐπιβουλήν τινα τῶν
for the city said the seer that a-plot some of-the
δεινοτάτων φαίνοιεν οἱ θεοί. ἐπεὶ δὲ πάλιν ἔθυεν, ἔτι
most-terrible showed the gods when and again he-sacrificed still
δεινότερα ἔφη τὰ ἱερὰ φαίνεσθαι. τὸ τρίτον δὲ θύοντος,
more-terrible he-said the victims to-appear the third and sacrificing
εἶπεν· Ὦ Ἀγησίλαε, ὥσπερ εἰ ἐν αὐτοῖς εἴημεν τοῖς
he-said O Agesilaus as if in the-very we-were the
πολεμίοις, οὕτω μοι σημαίνεται. ἐκ δὲ τούτου θύοντες
enemies so to-me it-is-signified after and this sacrificing
καὶ τοῖς ἀποτροπαίοις καὶ τοῖς σωτῆρσι, καὶ μόλις
both to-the averting-gods and to-the saviors and hardly
καλλιερήσαντες, ἐπαύσαντο. ληγούσης δὲ τῆς θυσίας
having-got-favorable-omens they-stopped ending and the sacrifice
ἐντὸς πένθ' ἡμερῶν καταγορεύει τις πρὸς τοὺς ἐφόρους
within five days denounces someone to the ephors
ἐπιβουλὴν καὶ τὸν ἀρχηγὸν τοῦ πράγματος Κινάδωνα.
a-plot and the leader of-the affair Cinadon
5 οὗτος δ' ἦν καὶ τὸ εἶδος νεανίσκος καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν
this-one and was both in-the appearance a-young-man and in-the soul
εὔρωστος, οὐ μέντοι τῶν ὁμοίων. ἐρομένων δὲ τῶν ἐφόρων
strong not however of-the peers having-asked and the ephors

πῶς φαίη τὴν πρᾶξιν ἔσεσθαι, εἶπεν ὁ εἰσαγγείλας ὅτι
how he-said the deed would-be said the informer that
ὁ Κινάδων ἀγαγὼν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὸ ἔσχατον τῆς ἀγορᾶς
— Cinadon having-led him to the edge of-the agora
ἀριθμῆσαι κελεύοι ὁπόσοι εἶεν Σπαρτιᾶται ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ.
to-count bade how-many were Spartiates in the agora
καὶ ἐγώ, ἔφη, ἀριθμήσας βασιλέα τε καὶ ἐφόρους καὶ
and I he-said having-counted king both and ephors and
γέροντας καὶ ἄλλους ὡς τετταράκοντα, ἠρόμην· Τί δή
elders and others about forty I-asked Why indeed
με τούτους, ὦ Κινάδων, ἐκέλευσας ἀριθμῆσαι; ὁ δὲ εἶπε·
me these O Cinadon did-you-bid to-count he and said
Τούτους, ἔφη, νόμιζέ σοι πολεμίους εἶναι, τοὺς δ' ἄλλους
These he-said consider to-you enemies to-be the but others
πάντας συμμάχους πλέον ἢ τετρακισχιλίους ὄντας τοὺς
all allies more than four-thousand being the-ones
ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ. ἐπιδεικνύναι δ' αὐτὸν ἔφη ἐν ταῖς ὁδοῖς
in the agora to-point-out and him he-said in the streets
ἔνθα μὲν ἕνα, ἔνθα δὲ δύο πολεμίους ἀπαντῶντας, τοὺς
here indeed one there but two enemies meeting the
δ' ἄλλους ἅπαντας συμμάχους· καὶ ὅσοι δὴ ἐν τοῖς
but others all allies and as-many-as indeed in the
χωρίοις Σπαρτιατῶν τύχοιεν ὄντες, ἕνα μὲν πολέμιον
estates of-Spartiates happened being one indeed enemy
τὸν δεσπότην, συμμάχους δ' ἐν ἑκάστῳ πολλούς.
the master allies but in each many
ἐρωτώντων δὲ τῶν ἐφόρων πόσους φαίη καὶ τοὺς 6
asking and the ephors how-many he-said also the-ones
συνειδότας τὴν πρᾶξιν εἶναι, λέγειν καὶ περὶ τούτου ἔφη
knowing-of the deed to-be to-say also about this he-said
αὐτὸν ὡς σφίσι μὲν τοῖς προστατεύουσιν οὐ πάνυ
him that with-themselves indeed the leaders not very

πολλοί, ἀξιόπιστοι δὲ συνειδεῖεν· αὐτοὶ μέντοι πᾶσιν
many trustworthy but were-in-the-secret they however with-all
ἔφασαν συνειδέναι καὶ εἵλωσι καὶ νεοδαμώδεσι καὶ τοῖς
said to-be-in-the-secret both helots and neodamodes and the
ὑπομείοσι καὶ τοῖς περιοίκοις· ὅπου γὰρ ἐν τούτοις
inferiors and the perioeci where for among these
τις λόγος γένοιτο περὶ Σπαρτιατῶν, οὐδένα δύνασθαι
any talk arose about Spartiates no-one to-be-able
κρύπτειν τὸ μὴ οὐχ ἡδέως ἂν καὶ ὠμῶν ἐσθίειν αὐτῶν.
to-hide the not not gladly — even raw to-eat them

7 πάλιν οὖν ἐρωτώντων· Ὅπλα δὲ πόθεν ἔφασαν λήψεσθαι;
again then asking Arms and whence they-said they-would-get
*** τὸν δ' εἰπεῖν ὅτι οἱ μὲν δήπου συντεταγμένοι
(lacuna) he and to-have-said that those indeed surely organized
ἡμῶν αὐτοὶ ἐφ' ὅσον γε δεῖ ὅπλα κεκτήμεθα, τῷ
of-us ourselves as-far as at-least is-needful arms possess for-the
δ' ὄχλῳ, ἀγαγόντα εἰς τὸν σίδηρον ἐπιδεῖξαι αὐτὸν
but crowd having-led-him to the iron-market to-have-shown him
ἔφη πολλὰς μὲν μαχαίρας, πολλὰ δὲ ξίφη, πολλοὺς δὲ
he-said many indeed knives many and swords many and
ὀβελίσκους, πολλοὺς δὲ πελέκεις καὶ ἀξίνας, πολλὰ δὲ
spits many and axes and hatchets many and
δρέπανα. λέγειν δ' αὐτὸν ἔφη ὅτι καὶ ταῦτα ὅπλα
sickles to-have-said and him he-said that also these-things arms
πάντ' εἴη ὁπόσοις ἄνθρωποι καὶ γῆν καὶ ξύλα καὶ λίθους
all were with-which men both land and timber and stones
ἐργάζονται, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων δὲ τεχνῶν τὰς πλείστας τὰ
work and of-the other and crafts the most the
ὄργανα ὅπλα ἔχειν ἀρκοῦντα, ἄλλως τε καὶ πρὸς ἀόπλους.
tools arms to-have sufficient especially both and against unarmed-men

πάλιν αὖ ἐρωτώμενος ἐν τίνι χρόνῳ μέλλοι ταῦτα
again in-turn being-asked at what time it-was-going these-things
πράττεσθαι, εἶπεν ὅτι ἐπιδημεῖν οἱ παρηγγελμένον εἴη.
to-be-done he-said that to-be-in-town to-him ordered it-was
ἀκούσαντες ταῦτα οἱ ἔφοροι ἐσκεμμένα τε λέγειν 8
having-heard these-things the ephors considered both to-speak
ἡγήσαντο αὐτὸν καὶ ἐξεπλάγησαν, καὶ οὐδὲ τὴν μικρὰν
thought him and were-alarmed and not-even the small
καλουμένην ἐκκλησίαν συλλέξαντες, ἀλλὰ συλλεγόμενοι
called assembly having-gathered but gathering
τῶν γερόντων ἄλλοι ἄλλοθι ἐβουλεύσαντο πέμψαι τὸν
of-the elders others in-other-places deliberated to-send —
Κινάδωνα εἰς Αὐλῶνα σὺν ἄλλοις τῶν νεωτέρων καὶ
Cinadon to Aulon with others of-the younger-men and
κελεῦσαι ἥκειν ἄγοντα τῶν Αὐλωνιτῶν τέ τινας καὶ
to-bid to-come bringing of-the Aulonites both some and
τῶν εἱλώτων τοὺς ἐν τῇ σκυτάλῃ γεγραμμένους. ἀγαγεῖν
of-the helots the-ones on the scytale written to-bring
δὲ ἐκέλευον καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα, ἣ καλλίστη μὲν αὐτόθι
and they-bade also the woman who most-beautiful indeed there
ἐλέγετο εἶναι, λυμαίνεσθαι δ' ἐᾠκει τοὺς ἀφικνουμένους
was-said to-be to-corrupt but she-seemed the arriving
Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ πρεσβυτέρους καὶ νεωτέρους.
of-Lacedaemonians both older and younger
ὑπηρετήκει δὲ καὶ ἄλλ' ἤδη ὁ Κινάδων τοῖς ἐφόροις 9
had-served and also other-things already — Cinadon to-the ephors
τοιαῦτα. καὶ τότε δὴ ἔδοσαν τὴν σκυτάλην ἐκείνῳ ἐν ᾗ
such and then indeed they-gave the scytale to-him in which
γεγραμμένοι ἦσαν οὓς ἔδει συλληφθῆναι. ἐρομένου δὲ
written were whom it-was-needful to-be-arrested having-asked and
τίνας ἄγοι μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ τῶν νέων· Ἴθι, ἔφασαν, καὶ τὸν
whom he-should-take with himself of-the young Go they-said and the

πρεσβύτατον τῶν ἱππαγρετῶν κέλευέ σοι συμπέμψαι ἓξ ἢ
eldest of-the hippagretai bid to-you to-send-with six or
ἑπτὰ οἳ ἂν τύχωσι παρόντες. ἐμεμελήκει δὲ αὐτοῖς
seven who-ever — happen being-present it-had-been-taken-care-of and by-them
ὅπως ὁ ἱππαγρέτης εἰδείη οὓς δέοι πέμπειν καὶ
that the hippagretes should-know whom it-was-needful to-send and
οἱ πεμπόμενοι εἰδεῖεν ὅτι Κινάδωνα δέοι συλλαβεῖν.
the-ones sent should-know that Cinadon it-was-needful to-arrest
εἶπον δὲ καὶ τοῦτο τῷ Κινάδωνι, ὅτι πέμψοιεν τρεῖς
they-told and also this — to-Cinadon that they-would-send three
ἁμάξας, ἵνα μὴ πεζοὺς ἄγωσι τοὺς ληφθέντας, ἀφανίζοντες
wagons so-that not on-foot they-bring the captured concealing
ὡς ἐδύναντο μάλιστα ὅτι ἐφ᾽ ἕνα ἐκεῖνον ἔπεμπον.
as they-could most that against one him they-were-sending
10 ἐν δὲ τῇ πόλει οὐ συνελάμβανον αὐτόν, ὅτι τὸ πρᾶγμα
in and the city not they-arrested him because the affair
οὐκ ᾔδεσαν ὁπόσον τὸ μέγεθος εἴη καὶ ἀκοῦσαι πρῶτον
not they-knew how-great the magnitude was and to-hear first
ἐβούλοντο τοῦ Κινάδωνος οἵτινες εἶεν οἱ συμπράττοντες,
they-wished — from-Cinadon who were the-ones conspiring
πρὶν αἰσθέσθαι αὐτοὺς ὅτι μεμήνυνται, ἵνα μὴ
before to-perceive them that they-have-been-informed-on so-that not
ἀποδρῶσιν. ἔμελλον δὲ οἱ συλλαβόντες αὐτὸν μὲν
they-run-away were-to and the-ones having-arrested him indeed
κατέχειν, τοὺς δὲ συνειδότας πυθόμενοι αὐτοῦ γράψαντες
to-hold the but accomplices having-learned from-him having-written
ἀποπέμπειν τὴν ταχίστην τοῖς ἐφόροις. οὕτω δ᾽ ἔσχον
to-send the quickest-way to-the ephors so and were-disposed
οἱ ἔφοροι πρὸς τὸ πρᾶγμα, ὥστε καὶ μόραν ἱππέων
the ephors toward the affair that also a-regiment of-horsemen
ἔπεμψαν τοῖς ἐπ᾽ Αὐλῶνος.
they-sent to-the-ones at Aulon

ἐπεὶ δ᾽ εἰλημμένου τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἦκεν ἱππεὺς φέρων τὰ 11
when and having-been-seized the man came a-horseman bringing the
ὀνόματα ὧν ὁ Κινάδων ἀπέγραψε, παραχρῆμα τόν τε
names of-whom — Cinadon had-listed immediately the both
μάντιν Τεισαμενὸν καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους τοὺς ἐπικαιριωτάτους
seer Tisamenus and the others the most-important
συνελάμβανον. ὡς δ᾽ ἀνήχθη ὁ Κινάδων καὶ ἠλέγχετο
they-arrested when and was-brought-up — Cinadon and was-examined
καὶ ὡμολόγει πάντα καὶ τοὺς συνειδότας ἔλεγε, τέλος
and confessed all and the accomplices named finally
αὐτὸν ἤροντο τί καὶ βουλόμενος ταῦτα πράττοι. ὁ
him they-asked what also wishing these-things he-did he
δ᾽ ἀπεκρίνατο, μηδενὸς ἧττων εἶναι ἐν Λακεδαίμονι. ἐκ
and answered than-no-one inferior to-be in Lacedaemon after
τούτου μέντοι ἤδη δεδεμένος καὶ τὼ χεῖρε καὶ τὸν
this however already bound both the two-hands and the
τράχηλον ἐν κλοιῷ μαστιγούμενος καὶ κεντούμενος αὐτός
neck in a-collar being-whipped and being-goaded himself
τε καὶ οἱ μετ᾽ αὐτοῦ κατὰ τὴν πόλιν περιήγοντο. καὶ
both and the-ones with him through the city were-led-around and
οὗτοι μὲν δὴ τῆς δίκης ἔτυχον.
these indeed then the penalty met

A Syracusan brings word of a Phoenician fleet in preparation, and Lysander persuades Agesilaus to lead an army to Asia, hoping to restore his own decarchies. At Aulis the Boeotarchs' horsemen throw Agesilaus' sacrifice from the altar. Tissaphernes swears a truce and breaks it at once, sending for more troops. At Ephesus Agesilaus snubs every man Lysander brings forward until Lysander asks to be sent away. Sent to the Hellespont, Lysander wins over the Persian Spithridates. Agesilaus feints at Caria and raids Phrygia and raises cavalry from the rich. He beats the Persian horse by the Pactolus; Tissaphernes is beheaded, his successor Tithraustes pays Agesilaus to go north, and Sparta gives him the fleet too, which he puts under his brother-in-law Peisander.

1 Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Ἡρώδας τις Συρακόσιος ἐν Φοινίκῃ
After and these-things Herodas a-certain Syracusan in Phoenicia
ὢν μετὰ ναυκλήρου τινὸς καὶ ἰδὼν τριήρεις Φοινίσσας
being with a-shipowner certain and having-seen triremes Phoenician
τὰς μὲν καταπλεούσας ἄλλοθεν, τὰς δὲ καὶ αὐτοῦ
the-ones indeed sailing-in from-elsewhere the-others but also there
πεπληρωμένας, τὰς δὲ καὶ ἔτι κατασκευαζομένας,
manned the-others but also still being-built
προσακούσας δὲ καὶ τοῦτο, ὅτι τριακοσίας αὐτὰς δέοι
having-heard-besides and also this that three-hundred them it-was-needed
γενέσθαι, ἐπιβὰς ἐπὶ τὸ πρῶτον ἀναγόμενον πλοῖον εἰς
to-be having-embarked on the first putting-out boat to
τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἐξήγγειλε τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις ὡς βασιλέως
— Greece reported to-the Lacedaemonians that the-king
καὶ Τισσαφέρνους τὸν στόλον τοῦτον παρασκευαζομένων·
and Tissaphernes the fleet this were-preparing
ὅποι δὲ οὐδὲν ἔφη εἰδέναι.
where but nothing he-said to-know

ἀνεπτερωμένων δὲ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ τοὺς συμμάχους 2
being-excited and the Lacedaemonians and the allies
συναγόντων καὶ βουλευομένων τί χρὴ ποιεῖν, Λύσανδρος
gathering and deliberating what it-is-needful to-do Lysander
νομίζων καὶ τῷ ναυτικῷ πολὺ περιέσεσθαι τοὺς Ἕλληνας
thinking both in-the navy much to-prevail the Greeks
καὶ τὸ πεζὸν λογιζόμενος ὡς ἐσώθη τὸ μετὰ Κύρου
and the infantry reckoning how was-saved the-one with Cyrus
ἀναβάν, πείθει τὸν Ἀγησίλαον ὑποστῆναι, ἢν αὐτῷ
having-gone-up persuades — Agesilaus to-undertake if to-him
δῶσι τριάκοντα μὲν Σπαρτιατῶν, εἰς δισχιλίους δὲ
they-give thirty indeed of-Spartiates up-to two-thousand and
τῶν νεοδαμώδων, εἰς ἑξακισχιλίους δὲ τὸ σύνταγμα τῶν
of-the neodamodes up-to six-thousand and the contingent of-the
συμμάχων, στρατεύεσθαι εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν. πρὸς δὲ τούτῳ τῷ
allies to-campaign into — Asia besides and this the
λογισμῷ καὶ αὐτὸς συνεξελθεῖν αὐτῷ ἐβούλετο, ὅπως τὰς
calculation also himself to-go-out-with him wished so-that the
δεκαρχίας τὰς κατασταθείσας ὑπ᾽ ἐκείνου ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν,
decarchies the-ones established by him in the cities
ἐκπεπτωκυίας δὲ διὰ τοὺς ἐφόρους, οἳ τὰς πατρίους
having-been-expelled but because-of the ephors who the ancestral
πολιτείας παρήγγειλαν, πάλιν καταστήσειε μετ᾽ Ἀγησιλάου.
constitutions proclaimed again he-might-establish with Agesilaus
ἐπαγγειλαμένου δὲ τοῦ Ἀγησιλάου τὴν στρατείαν, διδόασί 3
having-promised and — Agesilaus the campaign give
τε οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ὅσαπερ ᾔτησε καὶ ἑξαμήνου σῖτον.
both the Lacedaemonians as-much-as he-asked and of-six-months grain
ἐπεὶ δὲ θυσάμενος ὅσα ἔδει καὶ τἆλλα καὶ τὰ
when and having-sacrificed as-much-as was-needed both the-other and the
διαβατήρια ἐξῆλθε, ταῖς μὲν πόλεσι διαπέμψας ἀγγέλους
crossing-sacrifices he-went-out to-the indeed cities having-sent-round messengers

προεῖπεν ὅσους τε δέοι ἑκασταχόθεν πέμπεσθαι καὶ
he-proclaimed how-many both it-was-needed from-each-place to-be-sent and
ὅπου παρεῖναι, αὐτὸς δ' ἐβουλήθη ἐλθὼν θῦσαι ἐν
where to-be-present himself but wished having-gone to-sacrifice at
Αὐλίδι, ἔνθαπερ ὁ Ἀγαμέμνων ὅτ' εἰς Τροίαν ἔπλει ἐθύετο.
Aulis where-very — Agamemnon when to Troy he-sailed sacrificed
4 ὡς δ' ἐκεῖ ἐγένετο, πυθόμενοι οἱ βοιώταρχοι ὅτι
when and there he-was having-learned the boeotarchs that
θύοι, πέμψαντες ἱππέας τοῦ τε λοιποῦ εἶπαν μὴ
he-was-sacrificing having-sent horsemen for-the both rest said not
θύειν καὶ οἷς ἐνέτυχον ἱεροῖς τεθυμένοις διέρριψαν
to-sacrifice and what they-came-upon victims sacrificed threw-down
ἀπὸ τοῦ βωμοῦ. ὁ δ' ἐπιμαρτυράμενος τοὺς θεοὺς καὶ
from the altar he and having-called-to-witness the gods and
ὀργιζόμενος, ἀναβὰς ἐπὶ τὴν τριήρη ἀπέπλει. ἀφικόμενος
being-angry having-gone-up onto the trireme sailed-off having-arrived
δὲ ἐπὶ Γεραστόν, καὶ συλλέξας ἐκεῖ ὅσον ἐδύνατο τοῦ
and at Geraestus and having-gathered there as-much-as he-could of-the
στρατεύματος πλεῖστον εἰς Ἔφεσον τὸν στόλον ἐποιεῖτο.
army most to Ephesus the voyage made
5 Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐκεῖσε ἀφίκετο, πρῶτον μὲν Τισσαφέρνης πέμψας
When and thither he-arrived first indeed Tissaphernes having-sent
ἤρετο αὐτὸν τίνος δεόμενος ἥκοι. ὁ δ' εἶπεν αὐτονόμους
asked him of-what needing he-had-come he and said autonomous
καὶ τὰς ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ πόλεις εἶναι, ὥσπερ καὶ τὰς ἐν τῇ παρ'
also the in — Asia cities to-be as also the in the beside
ἡμῖν Ἑλλάδι. πρὸς ταῦτ' εἶπεν ὁ Τισσαφέρνης· Εἰ τοίνυν
us Greece to these-things said — Tissaphernes If then
θέλεις σπείσασθαι ἕως ἂν ἐγὼ πρὸς βασιλέα πέμψω, οἶμαι
you-wish to-make-truce until — I to the-king send I-think
ἄν σε ταῦτα διαπραξάμενον ἀποπλεῖν, εἰ βούλοιο. Ἀλλὰ
— you these-things having-accomplished to-sail-off if you-should-wish But

βουλοίμην ἄν, ἔφη, εἰ μὴ οἰοίμην γε ὑπὸ σοῦ ἐξαπατᾶσθαι.
I-would-wish — he-said if not I-thought at-least by you to-be-deceived
Ἀλλ᾽ ἔξεστιν, ἔφη, σοὶ τούτων πίστιν λαβεῖν ἢ μὴν
But it-is-possible he-said for-you of-these pledge to-receive truly indeed
ἀδόλως ἐμὲ ταῦτα πράξειν. Καὶ σοὶ δέ, ἔφη, ἔξεστι παρ᾽
without-guile me these-things to-do And for-you and he-said it-is-possible from
ἐμοῦ πίστιν λαβεῖν ἢ μὴν ἀδόλως σοῦ πράττοντος ταῦτα
me pledge to-receive truly indeed without-guile you doing these-things
ἡμᾶς μηδὲν τῆς σῆς ἀρχῆς ἀδικήσειν ἐν ταῖς σπονδαῖς.
us in-nothing the your realm to-wrong in the truce
ἐπὶ τούτοις ῥηθεῖσι Τισσαφέρνης μὲν ὤμοσε τοῖς 6
on these spoken Tissaphernes indeed swore to-the-ones
πεμφθεῖσι πρὸς αὐτὸν Ἡριππίδᾳ καὶ Δερκυλίδᾳ καὶ
sent to him Herippidas and Dercylidas and
Μεγίλλῳ ἢ μὴν πράξειν ἀδόλως τὴν εἰρήνην, ἐκεῖνοι
Megillus truly indeed to-carry-out without-guile the peace those
δὲ ἀντώμοσαν ὑπὲρ Ἀγησιλάου Τισσαφέρνει ἢ μὴν
and swore-in-return for Agesilaus to-Tissaphernes truly indeed
ταῦτα πράττοντος αὐτοῦ ἐμπεδώσειν τὰς σπονδάς. ὁ
these-things doing him to-abide-by the truce —
μὲν δὴ Τισσαφέρνης ἃ ὤμοσεν εὐθὺς ἐψεύσατο· ἀντὶ
indeed then Tissaphernes what he-swore at-once lied instead-of
γὰρ τοῦ εἰρήνην ἔχειν στράτευμα πολὺ παρὰ βασιλέως
for the peace to-keep army large from the-king
πρὸς ᾧ εἶχε πρόσθεν μετεπέμπετο. Ἀγησίλαος δέ, καίπερ
besides what he-had before he-sent-for Agesilaus but although
αἰσθανόμενος ταῦτα, ὅμως ἐπέμενε ταῖς σπονδαῖς.
perceiving these-things nevertheless abided by-the truce
Ὡς δὲ ἡσυχίαν τε καὶ σχολὴν ἔχων ὁ Ἀγησίλαος 7
When and quiet both and leisure having — Agesilaus
διέτριβεν ἐν τῇ Ἐφέσῳ, ἅτε συντεταραγμένων ἐν
stayed in — Ephesus inasmuch-as being-confused in

ταῖς πόλεσι τῶν πολιτειῶν, καὶ οὔτε δημοκρατίας ἔτι
the cities the constitutions and neither democracy any-longer
οὔσης, ὥσπερ ἐπ᾽ Ἀθηναίων, οὔτε δεκαρχίας, ὥσπερ ἐπὶ
being as under Athenians nor decarchy as under
Λυσάνδρου, ἅτε γιγνώσκοντες πάντες τὸν Λύσανδρον,
Lysander inasmuch-as knowing all — Lysander
προσέκειντο αὐτῷ ἀξιοῦντες διαπράττεσθαι αὐτὸν παρ᾽
pressed-upon him deeming-it-right to-obtain him from
Ἀγησιλάου ὧν ἐδέοντο· καὶ διὰ ταῦτα ἀεὶ παμπληθὴς
Agesilaus what they-wanted and because-of these-things always a-huge
ὄχλος θεραπεύων αὐτὸν ἠκολούθει, ὥστε ὁ μὲν Ἀγησίλαος
crowd courting him followed so-that — indeed Agesilaus
ἰδιώτης ἐφαίνετο, ὁ δὲ Λύσανδρος βασιλεύς.
a-private-man appeared — but Lysander king

8 ὅτι μὲν οὖν ἔμηνε καὶ τὸν Ἀγησίλαον ταῦτα ἐδήλωσεν
that indeed then it-enraged also — Agesilaus these-things he-showed
ὕστερον· οἵ γε μὴν ἄλλοι τριάκοντα ὑπὸ τοῦ φθόνου οὐκ
later the at-least truly other thirty from the envy not
ἐσίγων, ἀλλ᾽ ἔλεγον πρὸς τὸν Ἀγησίλαον ὡς παράνομα
were-silent but said to — Agesilaus that illegal-things
ποιοίη Λύσανδρος τῆς βασιλείας ὀγκηρότερον διάγων.
he-did Lysander than-the kingship more-pompously living
ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ ἤρξατο προσάγειν τινὰς τῷ Ἀγησιλάῳ
when and also began to-introduce some — to-Agesilaus
ὁ Λύσανδρος, πάντας οἷς γνοίη αὐτὸν συμπράττοντά
— Lysander all whom he-knew him helping
τι ἡττωμένους ἀπέπεμπεν. ὡς δ᾽ ἀεὶ τὰ ἐναντία
anything defeated he-sent-away when and always the opposite
ὧν ἐβούλετο ἀπέβαινε τῷ Λυσάνδρῳ, ἔγνω δὴ τὸ
of-what he-wished turned-out — for-Lysander he-recognized indeed the
γιγνόμενον· καὶ οὔτε ἕπεσθαι ἑαυτῷ ἔτι εἴα ὄχλον
happening and neither to-follow himself any-longer allowed a-crowd

τοῖς τε συμπρᾶξαί τι δεομένοις σαφῶς ἔλεγεν ὅτι
to-the-ones and to-help anything asking plainly said that
ἔλαττον ἕξοιεν, εἰ αὐτὸς παρείη.
less they-would-have if he-himself were-present
βαρέως δὲ φέρων τῇ ἀτιμίᾳ, προσελθὼν εἶπεν· Ὦ 9
heavily and bearing at-the dishonor having-approached he-said O
Ἀγησίλαε, μειοῦν μὲν ἄρα σύγε τοὺς φίλους ἠπίστω. Ναὶ
Agesilaus to-diminish indeed then you-at-least the friends knew-how Yes
μὰ Δί᾽, ἔφη, τούς γε βουλομένους ἐμοῦ μείζους φαίνεσθαι·
by Zeus he-said the-ones at-least wishing than-me greater to-appear
τοὺς δέ γε αὔξοντας εἰ μὴ ἐπισταίμην ἀντιτιμᾶν,
the-ones but at-least increasing if not I-knew-how to-honor-in-return
αἰσχυνοίμην ἄν. καὶ ὁ Λύσανδρος εἶπεν· Ἀλλ᾽ ἴσως καὶ
I-would-be-ashamed — and — Lysander said But perhaps also
μᾶλλον εἰκότα σὺ ποιεῖς ἢ ἐγὼ ἔπραττον. τάδε οὖν μοι
more reasonable-things you do than I did this then to-me
ἐκ τοῦ λοιποῦ χάρισαι, ὅπως ἂν μήτ᾽ αἰσχύνωμαι ἀδυνατῶν
from the future grant so-that — neither I-may-be-ashamed being-powerless
παρὰ σοὶ μήτ᾽ ἐμποδών σοι ὦ, ἀπόπεμψόν ποί
with you nor in-the-way to-you I-may-be send-away somewhere
με. ὅπου γὰρ ἂν ὦ, πειράσομαι ἐν καιρῷ σοι εἶναι.
me where for — I-may-be I-will-try in season for-you to-be
εἰπόντος δὲ ταῦτα ἔδοξε καὶ τῷ Ἀγησιλάῳ οὕτω 10
having-said and these-things it-seemed-good also — to-Agesilaus so
ποιῆσαι, καὶ πέμπει αὐτὸν ἐφ᾽ Ἑλλησπόντου. ἐκεῖ
to-do and he-sends him to the-Hellespont there
δὲ ὁ Λύσανδρος αἰσθόμενος Σπιθριδάτην τὸν Πέρσην
and — Lysander having-perceived Spithridates the Persian
ἐλαττούμενόν τι ὑπὸ Φαρναβάζου, διαλέγεται αὐτῷ
being-slighted somewhat by Pharnabazus converses with-him
καὶ πείθει ἀποστῆναι ἔχοντα τούς τε παῖδας καὶ τὰ
and persuades to-revolt having the both children and the

περὶ αὑτὸν χρήματα καὶ ἱππέας ὡς διακοσίους. καὶ
around himself money and horsemen about two-hundred and
τὰ μὲν ἄλλα κατέλιπεν ἐν Κυζίκῳ, αὐτὸν δὲ καὶ τὸν
the indeed rest he-left in Cyzicus himself but and the
υἱὸν ἀναβιβασάμενος ἦκεν ἄγων πρὸς Ἀγησίλαον. ἰδὼν
son having-put-aboard he-came bringing to Agesilaus having-seen
δὲ ὁ Ἀγησίλαος ἥσθη τε τῇ πράξει καὶ εὐθὺς
and — Agesilaus was-pleased both with-the deed and at-once
ἀνεπυνθάνετο περὶ τῆς Φαρναβάζου χώρας τε καὶ ἀρχῆς.
inquired about the of-Pharnabazus land both and rule

11 Ἐπεὶ δὲ μέγα φρονήσας ὁ Τισσαφέρνης ἐπὶ τῷ
When and greatly having-prided-himself — Tissaphernes on the
καταβάντι στρατεύματι παρὰ βασιλέως προεῖπεν Ἀγησιλάῳ
come-down army from the-king proclaimed to-Agesilaus
πόλεμον, εἰ μὴ ἀπίοι ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας, οἱ μὲν
war if not he-went-away from — Asia the indeed
ἄλλοι σύμμαχοι καὶ Λακεδαιμονίων οἱ παρόντες
other allies and of-Lacedaemonians the-ones present
μάλα ἀχθεσθέντες φανεροὶ ἐγένοντο, νομίζοντες ἐλάττω
very annoyed evident became thinking smaller
τὴν παροῦσαν εἶναι δύναμιν Ἀγησιλάῳ τῆς βασιλέως
the present to-be force for-Agesilaus than-the of-the-king
παρασκευῆς, Ἀγησίλαος δὲ μάλα φαιδρῷ τῷ προσώπῳ
preparation Agesilaus but very cheerful with-the face
ἀπαγγεῖλαι Τισσαφέρνει τοὺς πρέσβεις ἐκέλευσεν ὡς
to-report to-Tissaphernes the envoys bade that
πολλὴν χάριν αὐτῷ ἔχοι, ὅτι ἐπιορκήσας αὐτὸς μὲν
much gratitude to-him he-had because having-sworn-falsely himself indeed
πολεμίους τοὺς θεοὺς ἐκτήσατο, τοῖς δ' Ἕλλησι συμμάχους
enemies the gods acquired for-the but Greeks allies
ἐποίησεν. ἐκ δὲ τούτου εὐθὺς τοῖς μὲν στρατιώταις
made after and this at-once to-the indeed soldiers

παρήγγειλε συσκευάζεσθαι ὡς εἰς στρατείαν, ταῖς δὲ
he-ordered to-pack-up as for campaign to-the and
πόλεσιν εἰς ἃς ἀνάγκη ἦν ἀφικνεῖσθαι στρατευομένῳ
cities to which necessity it-was to-arrive for-one-campaigning
ἐπὶ Καρίαν προεῖπεν ἀγορὰν παρασκευάζειν. ἐπέστειλε
against Caria he-proclaimed a-market to-prepare he-enjoined
δὲ καὶ Ἴωσι καὶ Αἰολεῦσι καὶ Ἑλλησποντίοις πέμπειν
and also on-Ionians and Aeolians and Hellespontines to-send
πρὸς ἑαυτὸν εἰς Ἔφεσον τοὺς συστρατευσομένους.
to himself to Ephesus the-ones going-to-campaign-with-him
ὁ δὲ Τισσαφέρνης, καὶ ὅτι ἱππικὸν οὐκ εἶχεν ὁ 12
— and Tissaphernes both because cavalry not had —
Ἀγησίλαος, ἡ δὲ Καρία ἄφιππος ἦν, καὶ ὅτι ἡγεῖτο
Agesilaus — and Caria unsuitable-for-horses was and because he-thought
αὐτὸν ὀργίζεσθαι αὐτῷ διὰ τὴν ἀπάτην, τῷ ὄντι
him to-be-angry with-him because-of the deceit in-the reality
νομίσας ἐπὶ τὸν αὐτοῦ οἶκον εἰς Καρίαν αὐτὸν ὁρμήσειν,
having-thought against the his-own house to Caria him would-set-out
τὸ μὲν πεζὸν ἅπαν διεβίβασεν ἐκεῖσε, τὸ δ' ἱππικὸν
the indeed infantry all brought-across thither the but cavalry
εἰς τὸ Μαιάνδρου πεδίον περιήγαγε, νομίζων ἱκανὸς εἶναι
into the of-Maeander plain led-around thinking able to-be
καταπατῆσαι τῇ ἵππῳ τοὺς Ἕλληνας, πρὶν εἰς τὰ
to-trample with-the cavalry the Greeks before into the
δύσιππα ἀφικέσθαι. ὁ δ' Ἀγησίλαος ἀντὶ τοῦ ἐπὶ
unsuitable-for-horses to-arrive — but Agesilaus instead-of the against
Καρίαν ἰέναι εὐθὺς τἀναντία ἀποστρέψας ἐπὶ Φρυγίας
Caria to-go at-once the-opposite-way having-turned toward Phrygia
ἐπορεύετο, καὶ τάς τ' ἐν τῇ πορείᾳ ἀπαντώσας δυνάμεις
marched and the both on the march meeting forces

ἀναλαμβάνων ἦγε καὶ τὰς πόλεις κατεστρέφετο καὶ
taking-up he-led and the cities subdued and
ἐμβαλὼν ἀπροσδοκήτοις παμπληθῆ χρήματα ἐλάμβανε.
having-invaded on-unsuspecting huge property took
13 καὶ τὸν μὲν ἄλλον χρόνον ἀσφαλῶς διεπορεύετο· οὐ πόρρω
and the indeed other time safely he-marched-through not far
δ' ὄντος Δασκυλείου, προϊόντες αὐτοῦ οἱ ἱππεῖς ἤλαυνον
but being Dascylium advancing his the horsemen rode
ἐπὶ λόφον τινά, ὡς προΐδοιεν τί τἄμπροσθεν εἴη. κατὰ
to hill some so-that they-might-see what the-things-ahead was by
τύχην δέ τινα καὶ οἱ τοῦ Φαρναβάζου ἱππεῖς οἱ περὶ
chance and some also the — of-Pharnabazus horsemen the-ones around
Ῥαθίνην καὶ Βαγαῖον τὸν νόθον ἀδελφόν, ὄντες παρόμοιοι
Rhathines and Bagaeus the bastard brother being nearly-equal
τοῖς Ἕλλησι τὸν ἀριθμόν, πεμφθέντες ὑπὸ Φαρναβάζου
to-the Greeks in-the number having-been-sent by Pharnabazus
ἤλαυνον καὶ οὗτοι ἐπὶ τὸν αὐτὸν τοῦτον λόφον. ἰδόντες
rode also these to the same this hill having-seen
δὲ ἀλλήλους οὐδὲ τέτταρα πλέθρα ἀπέχοντας, τὸ μὲν
and one-another not-even four plethra distant the indeed
πρῶτον ἔστησαν ἀμφότεροι, οἱ μὲν Ἕλληνες ἱππεῖς ὥσπερ
first halted both the indeed Greek horsemen like
φάλαγξ ἐπὶ τεττάρων παρατεταγμένοι, οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι τοὺς
a-phalanx on four drawn-up the but barbarians the
πρώτους οὐ πλέον ἢ εἰς δώδεκα ποιήσαντες, τὸ βάθος δ'
front not more than to twelve having-made the depth but
ἐπὶ πολλῶν. ἔπειτα μέντοι πρόσθεν ὥρμησαν οἱ βάρβαροι.
on many then however forward charged the barbarians
14 ὡς δ' εἰς χεῖρας ἦλθον, ὅσοι μὲν τῶν Ἑλλήνων
when and to hands they-came as-many-as indeed of-the Greeks
ἔπαισάν τινας, πάντες συνέτριψαν τὰ δόρατα, οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι
struck some all shattered the spears the but Persians

κρανέϊνα παλτὰ ἔχοντες ταχὺ δώδεκα μὲν ἱππέας, δύο δ'
cornel-wood javelins having quickly twelve indeed horsemen two and
ἵππους ἀπέκτειναν. ἐκ δὲ τούτου ἐτρέφθησαν οἱ Ἕλληνες
horses killed after and this were-routed the Greek
ἱππεῖς. βοηθήσαντος δὲ Ἀγησιλάου σὺν τοῖς ὁπλίταις, πάλιν
horsemen having-come-to-help and Agesilaus with the hoplites again
ἀπεχώρουν οἱ βάρβαροι, καὶ [Περσῶν] εἷς αὐτῶν ἀποθνῄσκει.
withdrew the barbarians and of-Persians one of-them dies
γενομένης δὲ ταύτης τῆς ἱππομαχίας, θυομένῳ τῷ
having-taken-place and this the cavalry-battle sacrificing —
Ἀγησιλάῳ τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ ἐπὶ προόδῳ ἄλοβα γίγνεται
for-Agesilaus on-the next-day for advance lobeless become
τὰ ἱερά. τούτου μέντοι φανέντος στρέψας ἐπορεύετο
the victims this however having-appeared having-turned he-marched
ἐπὶ θάλατταν. γιγνώσκων δὲ ὅτι εἰ μὴ ἱππικὸν ἱκανὸν
to sea recognizing and that if not cavalry sufficient
κτήσαιτο, οὐ δυνήσοιτο κατὰ τὰ πεδία στρατεύεσθαι,
he-should-acquire not he-would-be-able in the plains to-campaign
ἔγνω τοῦτο κατασκευαστέον εἶναι, ὡς μὴ δραπετεύοντα
decided this one-must-provide to-be so-that not running-away
πολεμεῖν δέοι. καὶ τοὺς μὲν πλουσιωτάτους ἐκ πασῶν
to-make-war it-be-needful and the indeed richest from all
τῶν ἐκεῖ πόλεων ἱπποτροφεῖν κατέλεξε· προειπὼν δέ,
the there cities to-keep-horses he-enrolled having-proclaimed and
ὅστις παρέχοιτο ἵππον καὶ ὅπλα καὶ ἄνδρα δόκιμον, ὅτι
whoever should-provide a-horse and arms and man approved that
ἐξέσται αὐτῷ μὴ στρατεύεσθαι, ἐποίησεν οὕτω ταῦτα
it-will-be-possible for-him not to-serve he-made so these-things
συντόμως πράττεσθαι ὥσπερ ἄν τις τὸν ὑπὲρ αὑτοῦ
briskly to-be-done as — anyone the-one for himself
ἀποθανούμενον προθύμως ζητοίη.
going-to-die eagerly would-seek

16 Ἐκ δὲ τούτου ἐπειδὴ ἔαρ ὑπέφαινε, συνήγαγε μὲν ἅπαν
After and this when spring began-to-appear he-gathered indeed all
τὸ στράτευμα εἰς Ἔφεσον· ἀσκῆσαι δ' αὐτὸ βουλόμενος
the army at Ephesus to-train but it wishing
ἆθλα προύθηκε ταῖς τε ὁπλιτικαῖς τάξεσιν, ἥτις ἄριστα
prizes he-set-out for-the both hoplite companies whichever best
σωμάτων ἔχοι, καὶ ταῖς ἱππικαῖς, ἥτις κράτιστα ἱππεύοι·
in-bodies was and for-the cavalry whichever best rode
καὶ πελτασταῖς δὲ καὶ τοξόταις ἆθλα προύθηκεν, ὅσοι
and for-peltasts and also for-archers prizes he-set-out as-many-as
κράτιστοι πρὸς τὰ προσήκοντα ἔργα φανεῖεν. ἐκ τούτου
best at the proper tasks should-appear from this
δὲ παρῆν ὁρᾶν τὰ μὲν γυμνάσια πάντα μεστὰ ἀνδρῶν
and it-was-possible to-see the indeed gymnasia all full of-men
τῶν γυμναζομένων, τὸν δ' ἱππόδρομον τῶν ἱππαζομένων,
the exercising the and hippodrome of-the riding
τοὺς δὲ ἀκοντιστὰς καὶ τοὺς τοξότας μελετῶντας.
the and javelin-men and the archers practicing

17 ἀξίαν δὲ καὶ ὅλην τὴν πόλιν ἐν ᾗ ἦν [τὴν Ἔφεσον]
worthy and also whole the city in which he-was — Ephesus
θέας ἐποίησεν· ἥ τε γὰρ ἀγορὰ ἦν μεστὴ παντοδαπῶν
of-seeing he-made the both for agora was full of-all-kinds
καὶ ἵππων καὶ ὅπλων ὠνίων, οἵ τε χαλκοτύποι καὶ
both of-horses and of-arms for-sale the both bronze-smiths and
οἱ τέκτονες καὶ οἱ χαλκεῖς καὶ οἱ σκυτοτόμοι καὶ οἱ
the carpenters and the smiths and the leather-workers and the
ζωγράφοι πάντες πολεμικὰ ὅπλα κατεσκεύαζον, ὥστε τὴν
painters all warlike arms were-making so-that the
πόλιν ὄντως οἴεσθαι πολέμου ἐργαστήριον εἶναι.
city truly to-think of-war workshop to-be

ἐπερρώσθη δ' ἄν τις καὶ ἐκεῖνο ἰδών, Ἀγησίλαον 18
would-have-been-heartened and — anyone also that having-seen Agesilaus
μὲν πρῶτον, ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους στρατιώτας
indeed first then and also the other soldiers
ἐστεφανωμένους ἀπὸ τῶν γυμνασίων ἀπιόντας καὶ
crowned from the gymnasia going-away and
ἀνατιθέντας τοὺς στεφάνους τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι. ὅπου γὰρ ἄνδρες
dedicating the crowns — to-Artemis where for men
θεοὺς μὲν σέβοιντο, τὰ δὲ πολεμικὰ ἀσκοῖεν, πειθαρχεῖν
gods indeed revere the and warlike-things practice to-obey
δὲ μελετῷεν, πῶς οὐκ εἰκὸς ἐνταῦθα πάντα μεστὰ
and train how not reasonable there all full
ἐλπίδων ἀγαθῶν εἶναι;
of-hopes good to-be
ἡγούμενος δὲ καὶ τὸ καταφρονεῖν τῶν πολεμίων ῥώμην 19
thinking and also the to-despise the enemies strength
τινὰ ἐμβάλλειν πρὸς τὸ μάχεσθαι, προεῖπε τοῖς κήρυξι
some to-instill for the to-fight he-proclaimed to-the heralds
τοὺς ὑπὸ τῶν λῃστῶν ἁλισκομένους βαρβάρους γυμνοὺς
the by the raiders captured barbarians naked
πωλεῖν. ὁρῶντες οὖν οἱ στρατιῶται λευκοὺς μὲν διὰ
to-sell seeing then the soldiers white indeed because-of
τὸ μηδέποτε ἐκδύεσθαι, μαλακοὺς δὲ καὶ ἀπόνους διὰ
the never to-undress soft and also toilless because-of
τὸ ἀεὶ ἐπ' ὀχημάτων εἶναι, ἐνόμισαν οὐδὲν διοίσειν τὸν
the always on carriages to-be thought in-nothing would-differ the
πόλεμον ἢ εἰ γυναιξὶ δέοι μάχεσθαι.
war than if with-women it-were-needful to-fight
Ἐν δὲ τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ καὶ ὁ ἐνιαυτὸς ἤδη ἀφ' οὗ 20
In and this the time also the year already from which
ἐξέπλευσεν ὁ Ἀγησίλαος διεληλύθει, ὥστε οἱ μὲν περὶ
sailed-out — Agesilaus had-passed so-that the indeed around

Λύσανδρον τριάκοντα οἴκαδε ἀπέπλεον, διάδοχοι δ' αὐτοῖς
Lysander thirty home sailed-off successors and to-them
οἱ περὶ Ἡριππίδαν παρῆσαν. τούτων Ξενοκλέα μὲν
the-ones around Herippidas were-present of-these Xenocles indeed
καὶ ἄλλον ἔταξεν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἱππέας, Σκύθην δὲ ἐπὶ τοὺς
and another he-stationed over the horsemen Scythes and over the
νεοδαμώδεις ὁπλίτας, Ἡριππίδαν δ' ἐπὶ τοὺς Κυρείους,
neodamode hoplites Herippidas and over the Cyreans
Μύγδωνα δὲ ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν πόλεων στρατιώτας, καὶ
Mygdon and over the-ones from the cities soldiers and
προεῖπεν αὐτοῖς ὡς εὐθὺς ἡγήσοιτο τὴν συντομωτάτην ἐπὶ
he-proclaimed to-them that at-once he-would-lead the shortest-way to
τὰ κράτιστα τῆς χώρας, ὅπως αὐτόθεν οὕτω τὰ σώματα
the best-parts of-the land so-that from-there so the bodies
καὶ τὴν γνώμην παρασκευάζοιντο ὡς ἀγωνιούμενοι.
and the mind they-might-prepare as going-to-contend
21 ὁ μέντοι Τισσαφέρνης ταῦτα μὲν ἐνόμισε λέγειν αὐτὸν
— however Tissaphernes these-things indeed thought to-say him
πάλιν βουλόμενον ἐξαπατῆσαι, εἰς Καρίαν δὲ νῦν τῷ
again wishing to-deceive into Caria but now in-the
ὄντι ἐμβαλεῖν, καὶ τό τε πεζὸν καθάπερ τὸ πρόσθεν
reality to-invade and the both infantry as the before
εἰς Καρίαν διεβίβασε καὶ τὸ ἱππικὸν εἰς τὸ Μαιάνδρου
into Caria brought-across and the cavalry into the of-Maeander
πεδίον κατέστησεν. ὁ δ' Ἀγησίλαος οὐκ ἐψεύσατο, ἀλλ'
plain stationed — but Agesilaus not lied but
ὥσπερ προεῖπεν εὐθὺς εἰς τὸν Σαρδιανὸν τόπον ἐνέβαλε.
as he-proclaimed at-once into the Sardian region invaded
καὶ τρεῖς μὲν ἡμέρας δι' ἐρημίας πολεμίων πορευόμενος
and three indeed days through absence of-enemies marching

πολλὰ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια τῇ στρατιᾷ εἶχε, τῇ δὲ τετάρτῃ
many the provisions for-the army had on-the but fourth
ἦκον οἱ τῶν πολεμίων ἱππεῖς.
came the of-the enemies horsemen
καὶ τῷ μὲν ἄρχοντι τῶν σκευοφόρων εἶπε διαβάντι τὸν 22
and to-the indeed commander of-the baggage-carriers he-said having-crossed the
Πακτωλὸν ποταμὸν στρατοπεδεύεσθαι, αὐτοὶ δὲ κατιδόντες
Pactolus river to-encamp themselves but having-seen
τοὺς τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἀκολούθους ἐσπαρμένους εἰς ἁρπαγὴν
the of-the Greeks camp-followers scattered for plunder
πολλοὺς αὐτῶν ἀπέκτειναν. αἰσθόμενος δὲ Ἀγησίλαος,
many of-them killed having-perceived and Agesilaus
βοηθεῖν ἐκέλευσε τοὺς ἱππέας. οἱ δ' αὖ Πέρσαι ὡς
to-help bade the horsemen the but in-turn Persians when
εἶδον τὴν βοήθειαν, ἠθροίσθησαν καὶ ἀντιπαρετάξαντο
they-saw the help were-gathered and drew-up-against-them
παμπληθέσι τῶν ἱππέων τάξεσιν.
with-very-many of-the horsemen companies
ἔνθα δὴ ὁ Ἀγησίλαος γιγνώσκων ὅτι τοῖς μὲν πολεμίοις 23
there indeed — Agesilaus recognizing that to-the indeed enemies
οὔπω παρεῖη τὸ πεζόν, αὐτῷ δὲ οὐδὲν ἀπεῖη τῶν
not-yet was-present the infantry to-him but nothing was-absent of-the-things
παρεσκευασμένων, καιρὸν ἡγήσατο μάχην συνάψαι, εἰ
prepared the-moment thought battle to-join if
δύναιτο. σφαγιασάμενος οὖν τὴν μὲν φάλαγγα εὐθὺς ἦγεν
he-could having-sacrificed then the indeed phalanx at-once he-led
ἐπὶ τοὺς παρατεταγμένους ἱππέας, ἐκ δὲ τῶν ὁπλιτῶν
against the drawn-up horsemen of and the hoplites
ἐκέλευσε τὰ δέκα ἀφ' ἥβης θεῖν ὁμόσε αὐτοῖς, τοῖς
he-bade the ten from youth to-run to-close-quarters with-them to-the
δὲ πελτασταῖς εἶπε δρόμῳ ὑφηγεῖσθαι. παρήγγειλε δὲ
and peltasts he-said at-a-run to-lead-the-way he-ordered and

καὶ τοῖς ἱππεῦσιν ἐμβάλλειν, ὡς αὐτοῦ τε καὶ παντὸς
also the horsemen to-charge as himself both and all
τοῦ στρατεύματος ἑπομένου.
the army following

24 τοὺς μὲν δὴ ἱππέας ἐδέξαντο οἱ Πέρσαι· ἐπεὶ δ' ἅμα πάντα
the indeed then horsemen received the Persians when but at-once all
τὰ δεινὰ παρῆν, ἐνέκλιναν, καὶ οἱ μὲν αὐτῶν εὐθὺς
the terrible-things were-present they-gave-way and the-ones indeed of-them at-once
ἐν τῷ ποταμῷ ἔπεσον, οἱ δ' ἄλλοι ἔφευγον. οἱ δ' Ἕλληνες
in the river fell the but others fled the and Greeks
ἐπακολουθοῦντες αἱροῦσι καὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον αὐτῶν. καὶ
following-up take also the camp their and
οἱ μὲν πελτασταί, ὥσπερ εἰκός, εἰς ἁρπαγὴν ἐτράποντο·
the indeed peltasts as reasonable to plunder turned
ὁ δ' Ἀγησίλαος κύκλῳ πάντα καὶ φίλια καὶ πολέμια
— but Agesilaus in-a-circle all both friendly and hostile
περιεστρατοπεδεύσατο. καὶ ἄλλα τε πολλὰ χρήματα ἐλήφθη,
encamped-around and other both much property was-taken
ἃ ἦρε πλέον ἢ ἑβδομήκοντα τάλαντα, καὶ αἱ κάμηλοι δὲ
which fetched more than seventy talents and the camels and
τότε ἐλήφθησαν, ἃς Ἀγησίλαος εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἀπήγαγεν.
then were-taken which Agesilaus to — Greece took-away

25 Ὅτε δ' αὕτη ἡ μάχη ἐγένετο, Τισσαφέρνης ἐν Σάρδεσιν
When and this the battle took-place Tissaphernes in Sardis
ἔτυχεν ὤν· ὥστε ἠτιῶντο οἱ Πέρσαι προδεδόσθαι ὑπ'
happened being so-that accused the Persians to-have-been-betrayed by
αὐτοῦ. γνοὺς δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ Περσῶν βασιλεὺς
him having-recognized and also himself the of-the-Persians king
Τισσαφέρνην αἴτιον εἶναι τοῦ κακῶς φέρεσθαι τὰ ἑαυτοῦ,
Tissaphernes responsible to-be of-the badly faring the his-own
Τιθραύστην καταπέμψας ἀποτέμνει αὐτοῦ τὴν κεφαλήν.
Tithraustes having-sent-down cuts-off his the head

τοῦτο δὲ ποιήσας ὁ Τιθραύστης πέμπει πρὸς τὸν Ἀγησίλαον
this and having-done — Tithraustes sends to — Agesilaus
πρέσβεις λέγοντας· Ὦ Ἀγησίλαε, ὁ μὲν αἴτιος τῶν
envoys saying O Agesilaus the indeed responsible of-the
πραγμάτων καὶ ὑμῖν καὶ ἡμῖν ἔχει τὴν δίκην· βασιλεὺς δὲ
troubles both to-you and to-us has the penalty the-king and
ἀξιοῖ σὲ μὲν ἀποπλεῖν οἴκαδε, τὰς δ' ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ πόλεις
deems-it-right you indeed to-sail-off home the but in — Asia cities
αὐτονόμους οὔσας τὸν ἀρχαῖον δασμὸν αὐτῷ ἀποφέρειν.
autonomous being the ancient tribute to-him to-pay
ἀποκριναμένου δὲ τοῦ Ἀγησιλάου ὅτι οὐκ ἂν ποιήσειε ταῦτα 26
having-answered and — Agesilaus that not — he-would-do these-things
ἄνευ τῶν οἴκοι τελῶν, Σὺ δ' ἀλλά, ἕως ἂν πύθῃ τὰ
without the at-home authorities You but at-least until — you-learn the-things
παρὰ τῆς πόλεως, μεταχώρησον, ἔφη, εἰς τὴν Φαρναβάζου,
from the city move he-said into the of-Pharnabazus
ἐπειδὴ καὶ ἐγὼ τὸν σὸν ἐχθρὸν τετιμώρημαι. Ἕως ἂν τοίνυν,
since also I the your enemy have-punished Until — then
ἔφη ὁ Ἀγησίλαος, ἐκεῖσε πορεύωμαι, δίδου δὴ τῇ στρατιᾷ
said — Agesilaus thither I-march give indeed to-the army
τὰ ἐπιτήδεια. ἐκείνῳ μὲν δὴ ὁ Τιθραύστης δίδωσι τριάκοντα
the provisions to-him indeed then — Tithraustes gives thirty
τάλαντα· ὁ δὲ λαβὼν ᾔει ἐπὶ τὴν Φαρναβάζου Φρυγίαν.
talents he and having-taken went into the of-Pharnabazus Phrygia
ὄντι δ' αὐτῷ ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ τῷ ὑπὲρ Κύμης ἔρχεται ἀπὸ 27
being and to-him in the plain the above Cyme comes from
τῶν οἴκοι τελῶν ἄρχειν καὶ τοῦ ναυτικοῦ ὅπως γιγνώσκοι
the at-home authorities to-command also the navy as he-saw-fit
καὶ καταστήσασθαι ναύαρχον ὅντινα αὐτὸς βούλοιτο.
and to-appoint as-admiral whomever himself he-wished
τοῦτο δ' ἐποίησαν οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι τοιῷδε λογισμῷ, ὡς
this and did the Lacedaemonians with-such reasoning that

εἰ ὁ αὐτὸς ἀμφοτέρων ἄρχοι, τό τε πεζὸν πολὺ ἂν
if the same both should-command the both infantry much —
ἰσχυρότερον εἴη, καθ' ἓν οὔσης τῆς ἰσχύος ἀμφοτέροις,
stronger would-be in one being the strength for-both
τό τε ναυτικόν, ἐπιφαινομένου τοῦ πεζοῦ ἔνθα δέοι.
the and navy appearing the infantry where it-was-needed

28 ἀκούσας δὲ ταῦτα ὁ Ἀγησίλαος, πρῶτον μὲν ταῖς
having-heard and these-things — Agesilaus first indeed to-the
πόλεσι παρήγγειλε ταῖς ἐν ταῖς νήσοις καὶ ταῖς
cities ordered the-ones in the islands and the-ones
ἐπιθαλαττιδίοις τριήρεις ποιεῖσθαι ὁπόσας ἑκάστη βούλοιτο
coastal triremes to-make as-many-as each wished
τῶν πόλεων. καὶ ἐγένοντο καιναί, ἐξ ὧν αἵ τε
of-the cities and there-came-to-be new from what the both
πόλεις ἐπηγγείλαντο καὶ οἱ ἰδιῶται ἐποιοῦντο χαρίζεσθαι
cities promised and the private-men made to-gratify
βουλόμενοι, εἰς εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατόν.
wishing about twenty and hundred

29 Πείσανδρον δὲ τὸν τῆς γυναικὸς ἀδελφὸν ναύαρχον
Peisander and the of-the wife brother as-admiral
κατέστησε, φιλότιμον μὲν καὶ ἐρρωμένον τὴν ψυχήν,
he-appointed ambitious indeed and strong in-the soul
ἀπειρότερον δὲ τοῦ παρασκευάζεσθαι ὡς δεῖ. καὶ
more-inexperienced but in-the to-prepare as is-needed and
Πείσανδρος μὲν ἀπελθὼν τὰ ναυτικὰ ἔπραττεν· ὁ δ'
Peisander indeed having-gone-away the naval-affairs managed — but
Ἀγησίλαος, ὥσπερ ὥρμησεν, ἐπὶ τὴν Φρυγίαν ἐπορεύετο.
Agesilaus as he-had-set-out to — Phrygia marched

Tithraustes sends Timocrates of Rhodes with gold worth fifty talents of silver to the leaders of Thebes, Corinth, and Argos to start a war against Sparta; the Athenians, who take none of it, are eager anyway. The Thebans set the Opuntian Locrians against the Phocians and invade Phocis, and Sparta, long angry with Thebes, sends Lysander ahead and Pausanias with the army. Theban envoys at Athens argue that Athens can now lead all those Sparta wrongs, and Athens votes to help. Lysander attacks Haliartus without waiting for Pausanias and is killed under its walls, though his men then rout the pursuing Thebans. Pausanias arrives, and with the Athenians in the field chooses to take up the dead under truce on condition of leaving Boeotia. Tried at home for his lateness, for the truce, and for sparing the Athenian democrats at Piraeus, he flees to Tegea and dies there.

Ὁ μέντοι Τιθραύστης, καταμαθεῖν δοκῶν τὸν Ἀγησίλαον 1
— however Tithraustes to-have-learned seeming — Agesilaus
καταφρονοῦντα τῶν βασιλέως πραγμάτων καὶ οὐδαμῇ
despising the of-the-king affairs and in-no-way
διανοούμενον ἀπιέναι ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον ἐλπίδας
intending to-go-away from — Asia but rather hopes
ἔχοντα μεγάλας αἱρήσειν βασιλέα, ἀπορῶν τί χρῷτο
having great to-overthrow the-king at-a-loss how he-should-deal
τοῖς πράγμασι, πέμπει Τιμοκράτη τὸν Ῥόδιον εἰς Ἑλλάδα,
with-the affairs sends Timocrates the Rhodian to Greece
δοὺς χρυσίον εἰς πεντήκοντα τάλαντα ἀργυρίου,
having-given gold to-the-value-of fifty talents of-silver
καὶ κελεύει πειρᾶσθαι πιστὰ τὰ μέγιστα λαμβάνοντα
and bids to-try pledges the greatest taking
διδόναι τοῖς προεστηκόσιν ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν ἐφ᾽ ᾧτε
to-give to-the-ones leading in the cities on condition-that
πόλεμον ἐξοίσειν πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους. ἐκεῖνος δ᾽ ἐλθὼν
war to-bring-about against Lacedaemonians he and having-come

δίδωσιν ἐν Θήβαις μὲν Ἀνδροκλείδᾳ τε καὶ Ἰσμηνίᾳ καὶ
gives in Thebes indeed to-Androclidas both and to-Ismenias and
Γαλαξιδώρῳ, ἐν Κορίνθῳ δὲ Τιμολάῳ τε καὶ Πολυάνθει,
to-Galaxidorus in Corinth and to-Timolaus both and to-Polyanthes
ἐν Ἄργει δὲ Κύλωνί τε καὶ τοῖς μετ' αὐτοῦ.
in Argos and to-Cylon both and to-the-ones with him

2 Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ καὶ οὐ μεταλαβόντες τούτου τοῦ χρυσίου
Athenians but even not having-received-a-share of-this the gold
ὅμως πρόθυμοι ἦσαν εἰς τὸν πόλεμον, νομίζοντές γ'
nevertheless eager were for the war thinking at-least
ἑαυτῶν ἄρχεσθαι. οἱ μὲν δὴ δεξάμενοι τὰ χρήματα
of-themselves to-be-ruled the-ones indeed then having-received the money
εἰς τὰς οἰκείας πόλεις διέβαλλον τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους·
in the their-own cities slandered the Lacedaemonians
ἐπεὶ δὲ ταύτας εἰς μῖσος αὐτῶν προήγαγον, συνίστασαν
when and these into hatred of-them they-had-led they-united
καὶ τὰς μεγίστας πόλεις πρὸς ἀλλήλας.
also the greatest cities with one-another

3 Γιγνώσκοντες δὲ οἱ ἐν ταῖς Θήβαις προεστῶτες ὅτι εἰ
Recognizing and the-ones in — Thebes leading that if
μή τις ἄρξει πολέμου, οὐκ ἐθελήσουσιν οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι
not someone shall-begin war not will-be-willing the Lacedaemonians
λύειν τὰς σπονδὰς πρὸς τοὺς συμμάχους, πείθουσι
to-break the treaty with the allies persuade
Λοκροὺς τοὺς Ὀπουντίους ἐκ τῆς ἀμφισβητησίμου χώρας
Locrians the Opuntian from the disputed land
Φωκεῦσί τε καὶ ἑαυτοῖς χρήματα τελέσαι, νομίζοντες
with-Phocians both and with-themselves money to-levy thinking
τοὺς Φωκέας τούτου γενομένου ἐμβαλεῖν εἰς τὴν Λοκρίδα.
the Phocians this having-happened to-invade into — Locris

καὶ οὐκ ἐψεύσθησαν, ἀλλ᾽ εὐθὺς οἱ Φωκεῖς ἐμβαλόντες
and not were-deceived but at-once the Phocians having-invaded
εἰς τὴν Λοκρίδα πολλαπλάσια χρήματα ἔλαβον.
into — Locris many-times-as-much money took
οἱ οὖν περὶ τὸν Ἀνδροκλείδαν ταχὺ ἔπεισαν τοὺς Θηβαίους 4
the then around — Androclidas quickly persuaded the Thebans
βοηθεῖν τοῖς Λοκροῖς, ὡς οὐκ εἰς τὴν ἀμφισβητήσιμον,
to-help the Locrians as not into the disputed
ἀλλ᾽ εἰς τὴν ὁμολογουμένην φίλην τε καὶ σύμμαχον
but into the agreed friendly both and allied
εἶναι Λοκρίδα ἐμβεβληκότων αὐτῶν. ἐπεὶ δὲ οἱ Θηβαῖοι
to-be Locris having-invaded them when and the Thebans
ἀντεμβαλόντες εἰς τὴν Φωκίδα ἐδῄουν τὴν χώραν,
having-invaded-in-return into — Phocis ravaged the land
εὐθὺς οἱ Φωκεῖς πέμπουσι πρέσβεις εἰς Λακεδαίμονα καὶ
at-once the Phocians send envoys to Lacedaemon and
ἠξίουν βοηθεῖν αὑτοῖς, διδάσκοντες ὡς οὐκ ἤρξαντο
deemed-it-right to-help them showing that not they-began
πολέμου, ἀλλ᾽ ἀμυνόμενοι ἦλθον ἐπὶ τοὺς Λοκρούς.
war but defending-themselves they-went against the Locrians
οἱ μέντοι Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἄσμενοι ἔλαβον πρόφασιν 5
the however Lacedaemonians gladly took a-pretext
στρατεύειν ἐπὶ τοὺς Θηβαίους, πάλαι ὀργιζόμενοι αὐτοῖς
to-campaign against the Thebans long being-angry with-them
τῆς τε ἀντιλήψεως τῆς τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος δεκάτης ἐν
of-the both claim of-the — of-Apollo tithe in
Δεκελείᾳ καὶ τοῦ ἐπὶ τὸν Πειραιᾶ μὴ ἐθελῆσαι
Decelea and of-the against the Piraeus not to-have-been-willing
ἀκολουθῆσαι· ᾐτιῶντο δ᾽ αὐτοὺς καὶ Κορινθίους πεῖσαι
to-follow they-accused and them also Corinthians to-have-persuaded
μὴ συστρατεύειν. ἀνεμιμνῄσκοντο δὲ καὶ ὡς θύειν τ᾽ ἐν
not to-campaign-with they-remembered and also how to-sacrifice both at

Αὐλίδι τὸν Ἀγησίλαον οὐκ εἴων καὶ τὰ τεθυμένα ἱερὰ
Aulis — Agesilaus not they-allowed and the sacrificed victims
ὡς ἔρριψαν ἀπὸ τοῦ βωμοῦ καὶ ὅτι οὐδ' εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν
how they-threw from the altar and that not-even to — Asia
Ἀγησιλάῳ συνεστράτευον. ἐλογίζοντο δὲ καὶ καλὸν καιρὸν
with-Agesilaus they-campaigned they-reckoned and also fine moment
εἶναι τοῦ ἐξάγειν στρατιὰν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς καὶ παῦσαι τῆς
to-be of-the to-lead-out an-army against them and to-stop the
εἰς αὐτοὺς ὕβρεως· τά τε γὰρ ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ καλῶς
toward them insolence the both for in — Asia well
σφίσιν ἔχειν, κρατοῦντος Ἀγησιλάου, καὶ ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι
for-them to-be prevailing Agesilaus and in — Greece
οὐδένα ἄλλον πόλεμον ἐμποδὼν σφίσιν εἶναι.
no other war in-the-way for-them to-be

6 οὕτω δὲ γιγνωσκούσης τῆς πόλεως τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων
so and thinking the city of-the Lacedaemonians
φρουρὰν μὲν οἱ ἔφοροι ἔφαινον, Λύσανδρον δ' ἐξέπεμψαν
a-levy indeed the ephors declared Lysander and they-sent-out
εἰς Φωκέας καὶ ἐκέλευσαν αὐτούς τε τοὺς Φωκέας ἄγοντα
to Phocians and bade the-very both the Phocians leading
παρεῖναι καὶ Οἰταίους καὶ Ἡρακλεώτας καὶ Μηλιέας καὶ
to-be-present and Oetaeans and Heracleots and Malians and
Αἰνιᾶνας εἰς Ἁλίαρτον. ἐκεῖσε δὲ καὶ Παυσανίας, ὅσπερ
Aenianians at Haliartus there and also Pausanias who-very
ἔμελλεν ἡγεῖσθαι, συνετίθετο παρέσεσθαι εἰς ῥητὴν ἡμέραν,
was-going to-lead agreed to-be-present on an-appointed day
ἔχων Λακεδαιμονίους τε καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους Πελοποννησίους.
having Lacedaemonians both and the other Peloponnesians
καὶ ὁ μὲν Λύσανδρος τά τε ἄλλα τὰ κελευόμενα
and — indeed Lysander the both other the-things ordered
ἔπραττε καὶ προσέτι Ὀρχομενίους ἀπέστησε Θηβαίων.
did and besides Orchomenians detached from-Thebans

ὁ δὲ Παυσανίας, ἐπεὶ τὰ διαβατήρια ἐγένετο αὐτῷ, 7
— *and Pausanias when the crossing-sacrifices came-out for-him*
καθεζόμενος ἐν Τεγέᾳ τούς τε ξεναγοὺς διέπεμπε
sitting in Tegea the both mercenary-commanders sent-around
καὶ τοὺς ἐκ τῶν περιοικίδων στρατιώτας περιέμενεν.
and the from the perioecic soldiers awaited
ἐπεί γε μὴν δῆλον τοῖς Θηβαίοις ἐγένετο ὅτι ἐμβαλοῖεν
when at-least truly clear to-the Thebans became that would-invade
οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι εἰς τὴν χώραν αὐτῶν, πρέσβεις ἔπεμψαν
the Lacedaemonians into the land their envoys they-sent
Ἀθήναζε λέγοντας τοιάδε.
to-Athens saying the-following
Ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ἃ μὲν μέμφεσθε ἡμῖν ὡς ψηφισαμένων 8
O men Athenians what indeed you-blame us that having-voted
χαλεπὰ περὶ ὑμῶν ἐν τῇ καταλύσει τοῦ πολέμου, οὐκ ὀρθῶς
harsh-things about you in the ending of-the war not rightly
μέμφεσθε· οὐ γὰρ ἡ πόλις ἐκεῖνα ἐψηφίσατο, ἀλλ' εἷς ἀνὴρ
you-blame not for the city those-things voted but one man
εἶπεν, ὃς ἔτυχε τότε ἐν τοῖς συμμάχοις καθήμενος. ὅτε δὲ
said who happened then among the allies sitting when but
παρεκάλουν ἡμᾶς οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἐπὶ τὸν Πειραιᾶ, τότε
summoned us the Lacedaemonians against the Piraeus then
ἅπασα ἡ πόλις ἀπεψηφίσατο μὴ συστρατεύειν αὐτοῖς. δι'
all the city voted-against not to-campaign-with them because-of
ὑμᾶς οὖν οὐχ ἥκιστα ὀργιζομένων ἡμῖν τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων,
you then not least being-angry with-us the Lacedaemonians
δίκαιον εἶναι νομίζομεν βοηθεῖν ὑμᾶς τῇ πόλει ἡμῶν.
just to-be we-think to-help you the city our
πολὺ δ' ἔτι μᾶλλον ἀξιοῦμεν, ὅσοι τῶν ἐν ἄστει 9
much and still more we-deem-right as-many-as of-the in town
ἐγένεσθε, προθύμως ἐπὶ τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους ἰέναι. ἐκεῖνοι
you-became eagerly against the Lacedaemonians to-go those

γὰρ καταστήσαντες ὑμᾶς εἰς ὀλιγαρχίαν καὶ εἰς ἔχθραν
for having-established you into oligarchy and into enmity
τῷ δήμῳ, ἀφικόμενοι πολλῇ δυνάμει ὡς ὑμῖν σύμμαχοι
with-the people having-arrived with-great force as for-you allies
παρέδοσαν ὑμᾶς τῷ πλήθει· ὥστε τὸ μὲν ἐπ' ἐκείνοις
handed-over you to-the multitude so-that the indeed on those
εἶναι ἀπολώλατε, ὁ δὲ δῆμος οὑτοσὶ ὑμᾶς ἔσωσε.
to-be you-have-perished the but people this-here you saved
10 καὶ μὴν ὅτι μέν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, βούλοισθ' ἂν
and truly that indeed O men Athenians you-would-wish —
τὴν ἀρχὴν ἣν πρότερον ἐκέκτησθε ἀναλαβεῖν πάντες
the rule which before you-possessed to-recover all
ἐπιστάμεθα· τοῦτο δὲ πῶς μᾶλλον εἰκὸς γενέσθαι ἢ εἰ
we-know this but how more likely to-come-about than if
αὐτοὶ τοῖς ὑπ' ἐκείνων ἀδικουμένοις βοηθοῖτε; ὅτι δὲ
yourselves to-the-ones by them being-wronged you-should-help that but
πολλῶν ἄρχουσι, μὴ φοβηθῆτε, ἀλλὰ πολὺ μᾶλλον διὰ
many they-rule not be-afraid but much rather because-of
τοῦτο θαρρεῖτε, ἐνθυμούμενοι ὅτι καὶ ὑμεῖς ὅτε πλείστων
this take-courage considering that also you when most
ἤρχετε, τότε πλείστους ἐχθροὺς ἐκέκτησθε. ἀλλ' ἕως
you-ruled then most enemies you-acquired but as-long-as
μὲν οὐκ εἶχον ὅποι ἀποσταῖεν, ἔκρυπτον τὴν πρὸς ὑμᾶς
indeed not they-had whither they-might-revolt they-hid the toward you
ἔχθραν· ἐπεὶ δέ γε Λακεδαιμόνιοι προέστησαν, τότε
enmity when but indeed Lacedaemonians took-the-lead then
ἔφηναν οἷα περὶ ὑμῶν ἐγίγνωσκον.
they-showed such-things-as about you they-thought
11 καὶ νῦν γε, ἂν φανεροὶ γενώμεθα ἡμεῖς τε καὶ ὑμεῖς
and now at-least if openly we-become we both and you
συνασπιδοῦντες ἐναντία τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις, εὖ ἴστε,
fighting-shield-to-shield against the Lacedaemonians well know

ἀναφανήσονται πολλοὶ οἱ μισοῦντες αὐτούς. ὡς δὲ
will-appear many the-ones hating them that and
ἀληθῆ λέγομεν, ἐὰν ἀναλογίσησθε, αὐτίκα γνώσεσθε. τίς
true-things we-say if you-reckon at-once you-will-know who
γὰρ ἤδη καταλείπεται αὐτοῖς εὐμενής; οὐκ Ἀργεῖοι μὲν
for already is-left to-them well-disposed not Argives indeed
ἀεί ποτε δυσμενεῖς αὐτοῖς ὑπάρχουσιν;
always ever hostile to-them are
Ἠλεῖοί γε μὴν νῦν ἐστερημένοι καὶ χώρας πολλῆς καὶ 12
Eleans at-least truly now deprived both of-land much and
πόλεων ἐχθροὶ αὐτοῖς προσγεγένηνται. Κορινθίους δὲ καὶ
of-cities enemies to-them have-been-added Corinthians and also
Ἀρκάδας καὶ Ἀχαιοὺς τί φῶμεν, οἳ ἐν μὲν τῷ πρὸς
Arcadians and Achaeans what shall-we-say who in indeed the against
ὑμᾶς πολέμῳ μάλα λιπαρούμενοι ὑπ᾽ ἐκείνων πάντων καὶ
you war very being-entreated by them of-all both
πόνων καὶ κινδύνων καὶ τῶν δαπανημάτων μετεῖχον, ἐπεὶ
toils and dangers and the expenses shared when
δ᾽ ἔπραξαν ἃ ἐβούλοντο οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, ποίας ἢ
but they-did what they-wished the Lacedaemonians what-kind either
ἀρχῆς ἢ τιμῆς ἢ ποίων χρημάτων μεταδεδώκασιν αὐτοῖς;
of-rule or of-honor or what-kind of-money have-they-given-a-share to-them
ἀλλὰ τοὺς μὲν εἵλωτας ἁρμοστὰς ἀξιοῦσι καθιστάναι,
but the indeed helots harmosts they-deem-right to-appoint
τῶν δὲ συμμάχων ἐλευθέρων ὄντων, ἐπεὶ ηὐτύχησαν,
of-the but allies free being since they-prospered
δεσπόται ἀναπεφήνασιν.
masters they-have-shown-themselves
ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ οὓς ὑμῶν ἀπέστησαν φανεροί εἰσιν 13
but truly also whom from-you they-detached evident are
ἐξηπατηκότες· ἀντὶ γὰρ ἐλευθερίας διπλῆν αὐτοῖς δουλείαν
having-deceived instead-of for freedom double to-them slavery

παρεσχήκασιν· ὑπό τε γὰρ τῶν ἁρμοστῶν τυραννοῦνται καὶ
they-have-provided by both for the harmosts they-are-tyrannized and
ὑπὸ δέκα ἀνδρῶν, οὓς Λύσανδρος κατέστησεν ἐν ἑκάστῃ
by ten men whom Lysander established in each
πόλει. ὅ γε μὴν τῆς Ἀσίας βασιλεὺς καὶ τὰ μέγιστ'
city the at-least truly — of-Asia king also the greatest-things
αὐτοῖς συμβαλόμενος εἰς τὸ ὑμῶν κρατῆσαι νῦν τί
to-them having-contributed to the you to-overcome now what
διάφορον πάσχει ἢ εἰ μεθ' ὑμῶν κατεπολέμησεν αὐτούς;
different suffers than if with you he-had-warred-down them
14 πῶς οὖν οὐκ εἰκός, ἐὰν ὑμεῖς αὖ προστῆτε τῶν οὕτω
how then not likely if you in-turn take-the-lead of-the-ones so
φανερῶς ἀδικουμένων, νῦν ὑμᾶς πολὺ ἤδη μεγίστους
openly being-wronged now you much already greatest
τῶν πώποτε γενέσθαι; ὅτε μὲν γὰρ ἤρχετε, τῶν
of-the-ones ever to-become when indeed for you-ruled of-the-ones
κατὰ θάλατταν μόνων δήπου ἡγεῖσθε· νῦν δὲ πάντων
by sea alone surely you-led now but of-all
καὶ ἡμῶν καὶ Πελοποννησίων καὶ ὧν πρόσθεν ἤρχετε
both of-us and of-Peloponnesians and of-whom before you-ruled
καὶ αὐτοῦ βασιλέως τοῦ μεγίστην δύναμιν ἔχοντος
and of-the-very king the greatest power having
ἡγεμόνες ἂν γένοισθε. καίτοι ἦμεν πολλοῦ ἄξιοι καὶ
leaders — you-would-become and-yet we-were of-much worth also
ἐκείνοις σύμμαχοι, ὡς ὑμεῖς ἐπίστασθε· νῦν δέ γε εἰκὸς
to-those allies as you know now but at-least likely
τῷ παντὶ ἐρρωμενεστέρως ὑμῖν συμμαχεῖν ἡμᾶς ἢ
by-the whole more-strongly with-you to-fight-as-allies us than
τότε Λακεδαιμονίοις· οὐδὲ γὰρ ὑπὲρ νησιωτῶν ἢ
then with-Lacedaemonians not-even for on-behalf-of islanders or

Συρακοσίων οὐδ' ὑπὲρ ἀλλοτρίων, ὥσπερ τότε, ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ
Syracusans nor for others as then but for
ἡμῶν αὐτῶν ἀδικουμένων βοηθήσομεν.
us ourselves being-wronged we-will-help
καὶ τοῦτο μέντοι χρὴ εὖ εἰδέναι, ὅτι ἡ Λακεδαιμονίων 15
and this however it-is-needful well to-know that the of-Lacedaemonians
πλεονεξία πολὺ εὐκαταλυτωτέρα ἐστὶ τῆς ὑμετέρας
greed much more-easily-overthrown is than-the your
γενομένης ἀρχῆς. ὑμεῖς μὲν γὰρ ἔχοντες ναυτικὸν οὐκ
having-been rule you indeed for having a-navy not
ἐχόντων ἤρχετε, οὗτοι δὲ ὀλίγοι ὄντες πολλαπλασίων
having ruled these but few being of-many-times-more
ὄντων καὶ οὐδὲν χεῖρον ὡπλισμένων πλεονεκτοῦσι. ταῦτ'
being and nothing worse armed take-advantage these-things
οὖν λέγομεν ἡμεῖς· εὖ γε μέντοι ἐπίστασθε, ὦ ἄνδρες
then say we well at-least however know O men
Ἀθηναῖοι, ὅτι νομίζομεν ἐπὶ πολὺ μείζω ἀγαθὰ παρακαλεῖν
Athenians that we-think to much greater goods to-summon
ὑμᾶς τῇ ὑμετέρᾳ πόλει ἢ τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ.
you for-the your city than for-the ours
Ὁ μὲν ταῦτ' εἰπὼν ἐπαύσατο. τῶν δ' Ἀθηναίων 16
He indeed these-things having-said stopped of-the and Athenians
πάμπολλοι μὲν συνηγόρευον, πάντες δ' ἐψηφίσαντο
very-many indeed spoke-in-support all and voted
βοηθεῖν αὐτοῖς. Θρασύβουλος δὲ ἀποκρινάμενος τὸ
to-help them Thrasybulus and having-answered the
ψήφισμα καὶ τοῦτο ἐνεδείκνυτο, ὅτι ἀτειχίστου τοῦ
decree also this pointed-out that unwalled the
Πειραιῶς ὄντος ὅμως παρακινδυνεύσοιεν χάριτα αὐτοῖς
Piraeus being nevertheless they-would-risk a-favor to-them
ἀποδοῦναι μείζονα ἢ ἔλαβον. ὑμεῖς μὲν γάρ, ἔφη, οὐ
to-return greater than they-received you indeed for he-said not

συνεστρατεύσατε ἐφ᾽ ἡμᾶς, ἡμεῖς δέ γε μεθ᾽ ὑμῶν
campaigned against us we but at-least with you
μαχούμεθα ἐκείνοις, ἂν ἴωσιν ἐφ᾽ ὑμᾶς.
will-fight those if they-come against you

17 οἱ μὲν δὴ Θηβαῖοι ἀπελθόντες παρεσκευάζοντο ὡς
the indeed then Thebans having-gone-away prepared as
ἀμυνούμενοι, οἱ δ᾽ Ἀθηναῖοι ὡς βοηθήσοντες. καὶ μὴν
going-to-defend the and Athenians as going-to-help and truly
οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι οὐκέτι ἔμελλον, ἀλλὰ Παυσανίας μὲν ὁ
the Lacedaemonians no-longer delayed but Pausanias indeed the
βασιλεὺς ἐπορεύετο εἰς τὴν Βοιωτίαν τό τε οἴκοθεν ἔχων
king marched into — Boeotia the both from-home having
στράτευμα καὶ τὸ ἐκ Πελοποννήσου, πλὴν Κορίνθιοι οὐκ
army and the from Peloponnese except Corinthians not
ἠκολούθουν αὐτοῖς. ὁ δὲ Λύσανδρος, ἄγων τὸ ἀπὸ Φωκέων
followed them — but Lysander leading the from Phocians
καὶ Ὀρχομενοῦ καὶ τῶν κατ᾽ ἐκεῖνα χωρίων στράτευμα,
and Orchomenus and of-the in those places army
ἔφθη τὸν Παυσανίαν ἐν τῷ Ἁλιάρτῳ γενόμενος.
anticipated — Pausanias at — Haliartus having-arrived

18 ἦκων δὲ οὐκέτι ἡσυχίαν ἔχων ἀνέμενε τὸ ἀπὸ
having-come and no-longer quiet keeping waited-for the from
Λακεδαίμονος στράτευμα, ἀλλὰ σὺν οἷς εἶχεν ᾔει πρὸς
Lacedaemon army but with what he-had went to
τὸ τεῖχος τῶν Ἁλιαρτίων. καὶ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἔπειθεν
the wall of-the Haliartians and the indeed first tried-to-persuade
αὐτοὺς ἀφίστασθαι καὶ αὐτονόμους γίγνεσθαι· ἐπεὶ δὲ τῶν
them to-revolt and autonomous to-become when but of-the
Θηβαίων τινὲς ὄντες ἐν τῷ τείχει διεκώλυον, προσέβαλε
Thebans some being in the wall prevented he-attacked
πρὸς τὸ τεῖχος.
against the wall

ἀκούσαντες δὲ ταῦτα οἱ Θηβαῖοι, δρόμῳ ἐβοήθουν οἵ 19
having-heard and these-things the Thebans at-a-run came-to-help the
τε ὁπλῖται καὶ οἱ ἱππεῖς. ὁπότερα μὲν οὖν, εἴτε
both hoplites and the horsemen which-of-the-two indeed then whether
λαθόντες τὸν Λύσανδρον ἐπέπεσον αὐτῷ εἴτε καὶ
having-escaped-notice-of — Lysander they-fell-upon him or also
αἰσθόμενος προσιόντας ὡς κρατήσων ὑπέμενεν, ἄδηλον·
having-perceived approaching as going-to-prevail he-awaited unclear
τοῦτο δ' οὖν σαφές, ὅτι παρὰ τὸ τεῖχος ἡ μάχη
this but at-any-rate clear that beside the wall the battle
ἐγένετο· καὶ τροπαῖον ἕστηκε πρὸς τὰς πύλας τῶν
took-place and a-trophy stands at the gates of-the
Ἁλιαρτίων. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀποθανόντος Λυσάνδρου ἔφευγον οἱ
Haliartians when and having-died Lysander fled the
ἄλλοι πρὸς τὸ ὄρος, ἐδίωκον ἐρρωμένως οἱ Θηβαῖοι.
others to the mountain pursued vigorously the Thebans
ὡς δὲ ἄνω ἤδη ἦσαν διώκοντες καὶ δυσχωρία τε 20
when and up already they-were pursuing and rough-ground both
καὶ στενοπορία ὑπελάμβανεν αὐτούς, ὑποστρέψαντες οἱ
and narrow-pass caught-up-with them having-turned the
ὁπλῖται ἠκόντιζόν τε καὶ ἔβαλλον. ὡς δὲ ἔπεσον
hoplites hurled-javelins both and threw when and fell
αὐτῶν δύο ἢ τρεῖς οἱ πρῶτοι καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς
of-them two or three the first and on the rest
ἐπεκυλίνδουν πέτρους εἰς τὸ κάταντες καὶ πολλῇ προθυμίᾳ
they-rolled stones into the downhill and with-much eagerness
ἐνέκειντο, ἐτρέφθησαν οἱ Θηβαῖοι ἀπὸ τοῦ κατάντους καὶ
pressed-on were-routed the Thebans from the downhill and
ἀποθνήσκουσιν αὐτῶν πλείους ἢ διακόσιοι.
die of-them more than two-hundred

21 ταύτῃ μὲν οὖν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ οἱ Θηβαῖοι ἠθύμουν, νομίζοντες
on-this indeed then the day the Thebans were-despondent thinking
οὐκ ἐλάττω κακὰ πεπονθέναι ἢ πεποιηκέναι· τῇ δ'
not less evils to-have-suffered than to-have-done on-the but
ὑστεραίᾳ, ἐπεὶ ᾔσθοντο ἀπεληλυθότας ἐν νυκτὶ τούς
next-day when they-perceived having-gone-away in-the night the
τε Φωκέας καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἅπαντας οἴκαδε ἑκάστους,
both Phocians and the others all home each
ἐκ τούτου μεῖζον δὴ ἐφρόνουν ἐπὶ τῷ γεγενημένῳ.
after this more indeed they-prided-themselves on the having-happened
ἐπεὶ δ' αὖ ὁ Παυσανίας ἀνεφαίνετο ἔχων τὸ ἐκ
when but in-turn — Pausanias appeared having the from
Λακεδαίμονος στράτευμα, πάλιν αὖ ἐν μεγάλῳ κινδύνῳ
Lacedaemon army again in-turn in great danger
ἡγοῦντο εἶναι, καὶ πολλὴν ἔφασαν σιωπήν τε καὶ
they-thought to-be and much they-said silence both and
ταπεινότητα ἐν τῷ στρατεύματι εἶναι αὐτῶν.
dejection in the army to-be their

22 ὡς δὲ τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ οἵ τε Ἀθηναῖοι ἐλθόντες
when and on-the next-day the both Athenians having-come
συμπαρετάξαντο ὅ τε Παυσανίας οὐ προσῆγεν οὐδὲ ἐμάχετο,
drew-up-alongside — and Pausanias not advanced nor fought
ἐκ τούτου τὸ μὲν Θηβαίων πολὺ μεῖζον φρόνημα ἐγίγνετο· ὁ
from this the indeed of-Thebans much greater pride became —
δὲ Παυσανίας συγκαλέσας πολεμάρχους καὶ πεντηκοστῆρας
but Pausanias having-called-together polemarchs and pentecosters
ἐβουλεύετο πότερον μάχην συνάπτοι ἢ ὑπόσπονδον τόν
deliberated whether battle he-should-join or under-truce —
τε Λύσανδρον ἀναιροῖτο καὶ τοὺς μετ' αὐτοῦ πεσόντας.
both Lysander he-should-take-up and the-ones with him having-fallen

λογιζόμενος δ᾽ ὁ Παυσανίας καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι οἱ ἐν 23
reckoning and — Pausanias and the others the-ones in
τέλει Λακεδαιμονίων ὡς Λύσανδρος τετελευτηκὼς εἴη καὶ
office of-Lacedaemonians that Lysander dead was and
τὸ μετ᾽ αὐτοῦ στράτευμα ἡττημένον ἀποκεχωρήκοι, καὶ
the with him army defeated had-withdrawn and
Κορίνθιοι μὲν παντάπασιν οὐκ ἠκολούθουν αὐτοῖς, οἱ δὲ
Corinthians indeed altogether not followed them the and
παρόντες οὐ προθύμως στρατεύοιντο· ἐλογίζοντο δὲ καὶ τὸ
present not eagerly campaigned they-reckoned and also the
ἱππικὸν ὡς τὸ μὲν ἀντίπαλον πολύ, τὸ δὲ αὐτῶν ὀλίγον
cavalry how the indeed opposing large the but their-own small
εἴη, τὸ δὲ μέγιστον, ὅτι οἱ νεκροὶ ὑπὸ τῷ τείχει ἔκειντο,
was the and greatest that the dead under the wall lay
ὥστε οὐδὲ κρείττοσιν οὖσι διὰ τοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν πύργων
so-that not-even for-stronger being because-of the-ones on the towers
ῥᾴδιον εἴη ἀνελέσθαι· διὰ οὖν πάντα ταῦτα
easy it-would-be to-take-up because-of then all these-things
ἔδοξεν αὐτοῖς τοὺς νεκροὺς ὑποσπόνδους ἀναιρεῖσθαι.
it-seemed-good to-them the dead under-truce to-take-up
οἱ μέντοι Θηβαῖοι εἶπαν ὅτι οὐκ ἂν ἀποδοῖεν τοὺς 24
the however Thebans said that not — they-would-give-back the
νεκρούς, εἰ μὴ ἐφ᾽ ᾧτε ἀπιέναι ἐκ τῆς χώρας.
dead if not on condition-that to-go-away from the land
οἱ δὲ ἄσμενοί τε ταῦτα ἤκουσαν καὶ ἀνελόμενοι τοὺς
they and gladly both these-things heard and having-taken-up the
νεκροὺς ἀπῆσαν ἐκ τῆς Βοιωτίας. τούτων δὲ πραχθέντων
dead went-away from — Boeotia these-things and having-been-done
οἱ μὲν Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἀθύμως ἀπῆσαν, οἱ δὲ Θηβαῖοι
the indeed Lacedaemonians despondently went-away the but Thebans
μάλα ὑβριστικῶς, εἰ καὶ μικρόν τις τῶν χωρίων του
very insolently if even a-little anyone of-the fields anyone's

ἐπιβαίη, παίοντες ἐδίωκον εἰς τὰς ὁδούς. αὕτη μὲν δὴ
set-foot-on striking pursued into the roads this indeed then
οὕτως ἡ στρατιὰ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων διελύθη.
so the army of-the Lacedaemonians was-dissolved
ὁ μέντοι Παυσανίας ἐπεὶ ἀφίκετο οἴκαδε, ἐκρίνετο περὶ
— however Pausanias when he-arrived home was-tried for
θανάτου. κατηγορουμένου δ' αὐτοῦ καὶ ὅτι ὑστερήσειεν
life being-accused and him both that he-had-been-late
εἰς Ἁλίαρτον τοῦ Λυσάνδρου, συνθέμενος εἰς τὴν αὐτὴν
to Haliartus — than-Lysander having-agreed for the same
ἡμέραν παρέσεσθαι, καὶ ὅτι ὑποσπόνδους ἀλλ' οὐ μάχῃ
day to-be-present and that under-truce but not by-battle
ἐπειρᾶτο τοὺς νεκροὺς ἀναιρεῖσθαι, καὶ ὅτι τὸν δῆμον
he-tried the dead to-take-up and that the people
τῶν Ἀθηναίων λαβὼν ἐν τῷ Πειραιεῖ ἀνῆκε, καὶ
of-the Athenians having-caught in the Piraeus he-let-go and
πρὸς τούτοις οὐ παρόντος ἐν τῇ δίκῃ, θάνατος αὐτοῦ
besides these not being-present at the trial death his
κατεγνώσθη· καὶ ἔφυγεν εἰς Τεγέαν, καὶ ἐτελεύτησε μέντοι
was-decreed and he-fled to Tegea and died however
ἐκεῖ νόσῳ. κατὰ μὲν οὖν τὴν Ἑλλάδα ταῦτ' ἐπράχθη.
there of-disease in indeed then — Greece these-things were-done

BOOK IV

I · AGESILAUS AND PHARNABAZUS

Agesilaus ravages Pharnabazus' Phrygia and marches into Paphlagonia, where King Otys becomes his ally; he talks Otys and Spithridates into a marriage between Otys and Spithridates' daughter. He winters at Pharnabazus' palace of Dascylium, where Pharnabazus falls on his scattered foragers with two scythed chariots and his horsemen, who cut down about a hundred of them. Herippidas takes Pharnabazus' camp at dawn but strips Spithridates and the Paphlagonians of their spoil, and they desert to Sardis, the worst blow of the campaign. Apollophanes of Cyzicus brings Pharnabazus to talk with Agesilaus, who lies on the grass; Pharnabazus lies down beside him in his costly robe and reproaches the Spartans for cutting down and burning the parks his father left him. Agesilaus offers him freedom as an ally. Pharnabazus answers that he will be their friend if the king puts him under another general, but will fight his best if the king gives him command. Pharnabazus' son makes Agesilaus his guest-friend, and Agesilaus leaves the land as promised, encamping in the plain of Thebe to gather an army for a march inland.

Ὁ δὲ Ἀγησίλαος ἐπεὶ ἀφίκετο ἅμα μετοπώρῳ εἰς τὴν 1
— and Agesilaus when he-arrived at-the-same-time with-autumn into the
τοῦ Φαρναβάζου Φρυγίαν, τὴν μὲν χώραν ἔκαε καὶ ἐπόρθει,
— of-Pharnabazus Phrygia the indeed land burned and ravaged
πόλεις δὲ τὰς μὲν βίᾳ, τὰς δ' ἑκούσας προσελάμβανε.
cities but the-ones indeed by-force the-others but willing he-acquired
λέγοντος δὲ τοῦ Σπιθριδάτου ὡς εἰ ἔλθοι πρὸς τὴν 2
saying and — Spithridates that if he-went to —
Παφλαγονίαν σὺν αὐτῷ, τὸν τῶν Παφλαγόνων βασιλέα
Paphlagonia with him the of-the Paphlagonians king
καὶ εἰς λόγους ἄξοι καὶ σύμμαχον ποιήσοι, προθύμως
both to talks he-would-bring and ally would-make eagerly

ἐπορεύετο, πάλαι τούτου ἐπιθυμῶν, τοῦ ἀφιστάναι τι
he-marched long this desiring the to-detach some
ἔθνος ἀπὸ βασιλέως.
nation from the-king

3 Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀφίκετο εἰς τὴν Παφλαγονίαν, ἦλθεν Ὅτυς καὶ
When and he-arrived into — Paphlagonia came Otys and
συμμαχίαν ἐποιήσατο· καὶ γὰρ καλούμενος ὑπὸ βασιλέως
alliance made and for being-summoned by the-king
οὐκ ἀνεβεβήκει. πείσαντος δὲ τοῦ Σπιθριδάτου κατέλιπε
not had-gone-up having-persuaded and — Spithridates left
τῷ Ἀγησιλάῳ Ὅτυς χιλίους μὲν ἱππέας, δισχιλίους δὲ
— for-Agesilaus Otys thousand indeed horsemen two-thousand and
πελταστάς.
peltasts

4 χάριν δὲ τούτων εἰδὼς Ἀγησίλαος τῷ Σπιθριδάτῃ· Εἰπέ μοι,
thanks and for-these knowing Agesilaus — to-Spithridates Tell me
ἔφη, ὦ Σπιθριδάτα, οὐκ ἂν δοίης Ὅτυϊ τὴν θυγατέρα;
he-said O Spithridates not — would-you-give to-Otys the daughter
Πολύ γε, ἔφη, μᾶλλον ἢ ἐκεῖνος ἂν λάβοι φυγάδος
Much at-least he-said rather than he — would-take of-an-exiled
ἀνδρὸς βασιλεύων πολλῆς καὶ χώρας καὶ δυνάμεως. τότε
man being-king of-much both land and power then
μὲν οὖν ταῦτα μόνον ἐρρήθη περὶ τοῦ γάμου.
indeed then these-things only were-said about the marriage

5 ἐπεὶ δὲ Ὅτυς ἔμελλεν ἀπιέναι, ἦλθε πρὸς τὸν Ἀγησίλαον
when and Otys was-going to-depart he-came to — Agesilaus
ἀσπασόμενος. ἤρξατο δὲ λόγου ὁ Ἀγησίλαος παρόντων
going-to-take-leave began and the-talk — Agesilaus being-present
τῶν τριάκοντα, μεταστησάμενος τὸν Σπιθριδάτην·
the thirty having-sent-aside — Spithridates

Λέξον μοι, ἔφη, ὦ Ὄτυ, ποίου τινὸς γένους ἐστὶν ὁ 6
Tell me he-said O Otys of-what some family is —
Σπιθριδάτης; ὁ δ' εἶπεν ὅτι Περσῶν οὐδενὸς ἐνδεέστερος.
Spithridates he and said that of-Persians of-none inferior
Τὸν δὲ υἱόν, ἔφη, ἑόρακας αὐτοῦ ὡς καλός ἐστι; Τί δ'
The and son he-said have-you-seen his how fine he-is Why and
οὐ μέλλω; καὶ γὰρ ἑσπέρας συνεδείπνουν αὐτῷ. Τούτου
not am-I-likely and for in-the-evening I-dined-with him Than-this-one
μέν φασι τὴν θυγατέρα αὐτῷ καλλίονα εἶναι.
indeed they-say the daughter his finer to-be
Νὴ Δί', ἔφη ὁ Ὄτυς, καλὴ γάρ ἐστι. Καὶ ἐγὼ μέν, ἔφη, 7
By Zeus said — Otys fine for she-is And I indeed he-said
ἐπεὶ φίλος ἡμῖν γεγένησαι, συμβουλεύοιμ' ἄν σοι τὴν παῖδα
since friend to-us you-have-become would-advise — you the girl
ἀγαγέσθαι γυναῖκα, καλλίστην μὲν οὖσαν (οὗ τί ἀνδρὶ
to-take as-wife most-beautiful indeed being than-which what for-a-man
ἥδιον;), πατρὸς δ' εὐγενεστάτου, δύναμιν δ' ἔχοντος
more-pleasant of-a-father and most-noble power and having
τοσαύτην, ὃς ὑπὸ Φαρναβάζου ἀδικηθεὶς οὕτω τιμωρεῖται
so-much who by Pharnabazus having-been-wronged so punishes
αὐτὸν ὥστε φυγάδα πάσης τῆς χώρας, ὡς ὁρᾷς, πεποίηκεν.
him that an-exile of-all the land as you-see he-has-made
εὖ ἴσθι μέντοι, ἔφη, ὅτι ὥσπερ ἐκεῖνον ἐχθρὸν ὄντα 8
well know however he-said that as that-one an-enemy being
δύναται τιμωρεῖσθαι, οὕτω καὶ φίλον ἄνδρα εὐεργετεῖν
he-can to-punish so also friend man to-benefit
ἂν δύναιτο. νόμιζε δὲ τούτων πραχθέντων μὴ κεῖνον ἄν
— he-could consider and these-things having-been-done not him —
σοι μόνον κηδεστὴν εἶναι, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐμὲ καὶ τοὺς
to-you only relative-by-marriage to-be but also me and the

ἄλλους Λακεδαιμονίους, ἡμῶν δ' ἡγουμένων τῆς Ἑλλάδος
other Lacedaemonians us and leading — of-Greece
καὶ τὴν ἄλλην Ἑλλάδα.
also the rest-of Greece

9 καὶ μὴν μεγαλειοτέρως γε σοῦ, εἰ ταῦτα πράττοις,
and truly more-magnificently at-least than-you if these-things you-should-do
τίς ἄν ποτε γήμειε; ποίαν γὰρ νύμφην πώποτε τοσοῦτοι
who — ever would-marry what-kind for bride ever so-many
ἱππεῖς καὶ πελτασταὶ καὶ ὁπλῖται προύπεμψαν ὅσοι
horsemen and peltasts and hoplites escorted as-many-as
τὴν σὴν γυναῖκα εἰς τὸν σὸν οἶκον προπέμψειαν ἄν;
the your wife to the your house would-escort —

10 καὶ ὁ Ὄτυς ἐπήρετο· Δοκοῦντα δ', ἔφη, ὦ Ἀγησίλαε, ταῦτα
and — Otys asked Seeming-good and he-said O Agesilaus these-things
καὶ Σπιθριδάτῃ λέγεις; Μὰ τοὺς θεούς, ἔφη ὁ Ἀγησίλαος,
also to-Spithridates do-you-say By the gods said — Agesilaus
ἐκεῖνος μὲν ἐμέ γε οὐκ ἐκέλευσε ταῦτα λέγειν· ἐγὼ μέντοι,
that-one indeed me at-least not bade these-things to-say I however
καίπερ ὑπερχαίρων, ὅταν ἐχθρὸν τιμωρῶμαι, πολὺ μᾶλλόν
although rejoicing-exceedingly whenever an-enemy I-punish much more
μοι δοκῶ ἥδεσθαι, ὅταν τι τοῖς φίλοις ἀγαθὸν ἐξευρίσκω.
to-me I-seem to-be-pleased whenever some for-the friends good I-find-out

11 Τί οὖν, ἔφη, οὐ πυνθάνει εἰ καὶ ἐκείνῳ βουλομένῳ
Why then he-said not do-you-inquire if also to-that-one wishing
ταῦτ' ἐστί; καὶ ὁ Ἀγησίλαος· Ἴτ', ἔφη, ὑμεῖς, ὦ
these-things are and — Agesilaus Go he-said you O
Ἡριππίδα, καὶ διδάσκετε αὐτὸν βουληθῆναι ἅπερ ἡμεῖς.
Herippidas and teach him to-wish what-very we

12 οἱ μὲν δὴ ἀναστάντες ἐδίδασκον. ἐπεὶ δὲ διέτριβον·
they indeed then having-stood-up taught when but they-delayed
Βούλει, ἔφη, ὦ Ὄτυ, καὶ ἡμεῖς δεῦρο καλέσωμεν αὐτόν;
Do-you-wish he-said O Otys also we here call him

Πολύ γ᾽ ἂν οἶμαι μᾶλλον ὑπὸ σοῦ πεισθῆναι αὐτὸν
Much at-least — I-think more by you to-be-persuaded him
ἢ ὑπὸ τῶν ἄλλων ἁπάντων. ἐκ τούτου δὴ ἐκάλει
than by the others all after this indeed called
ὁ Ἀγησίλαος τὸν Σπιθριδάτην τε καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους.
— Agesilaus — Spithridates both and the others
προσιόντων δ᾽ εὐθὺς εἶπεν ὁ Ἡριππίδας· Τὰ μὲν ἄλλα, 13
approaching and at-once said — Herippidas The indeed other
ὦ Ἀγησίλαε, τὰ ῥηθέντα τί ἄν τις μακρολογοίη;
O Agesilaus the-things said why — anyone should-speak-at-length
τέλος δὲ λέγει Σπιθριδάτης πᾶν ποιεῖν ἂν ἡδέως ὅ
finally but says Spithridates everything to-do — gladly what
τι σοὶ δοκοίη.
ever to-you should-seem-good
Ἐμοὶ μὲν τοίνυν, ἔφη, δοκεῖ, ὁ Ἀγησίλαος, σὲ μέν, ὦ 14
To-me indeed then he-said seems — Agesilaus you indeed O
Σπιθριδάτα, τύχῃ ἀγαθῇ διδόναι Ὄτυϊ τὴν θυγατέρα,
Spithridates with-fortune good to-give to-Otys the daughter
σὲ δὲ λαμβάνειν. τὴν μέντοι παῖδα πρὸ ἦρος οὐκ ἂν
you but to-take the however girl before spring not —
δυναίμεθα πεζῇ ἀγαγεῖν. Ἀλλὰ ναὶ μὰ Δί᾽, ἔφη ὁ Ὄτυς,
we-could on-foot to-bring But yes by Zeus said — Otys
κατὰ θάλατταν ἤδη ἂν πέμποιτο, εἰ σὺ βούλοιο.
by sea now — she-could-be-sent if you should-wish
ἐκ τούτου δεξιὰς δόντες καὶ λαβόντες ἐπὶ τούτοις 15
after this right-hands having-given and having-received on these-terms
ἀπέπεμπον τὸν Ὄτυν. Καὶ εὐθὺς ὁ Ἀγησίλαος, ἐπεὶ
they-sent-off — Otys And at-once — Agesilaus when
ἔγνω αὐτὸν σπεύδοντα, τριήρη πληρώσας καὶ Καλλίαν
he-knew him hurrying a-trireme having-manned and Callias
Λακεδαιμόνιον κελεύσας ἀπαγαγεῖν τὴν παῖδα, αὐτὸς
Lacedaemonian having-bidden to-bring-away the girl himself

ἐπὶ Δασκυλείου ἀπεπορεύετο, ἔνθα καὶ τὰ βασίλεια ἦν
to Dascylium went-away where also the palace was
Φαρναβάζῳ, καὶ κῶμαι περὶ αὐτὰ πολλαὶ καὶ μεγάλαι καὶ
for-Pharnabazus and villages around it many and large and
ἄφθονα ἔχουσαι τὰ ἐπιτήδεια, καὶ θῆραι αἱ μὲν καὶ ἐν
abundant having the provisions and hunts the-ones indeed also in
περιειργμένοις [παραδείσοις], αἱ δὲ καὶ ἀναπεπταμένοις
enclosed parks the-others but also open
τόποις, πάγκαλαι.
places very-fine
16 παρέρρει δὲ καὶ ποταμὸς παντοδαπῶν ἰχθύων πλήρης.
flowed-past and also a-river of-all-kinds-of fish full
ἦν δὲ καὶ τὰ πτηνὰ ἄφθονα τοῖς ὀρνιθεῦσαι
there-were and also the birds abundant for-the to-fowl
δυναμένοις. ἐνταῦθα μὲν δὴ διεχείμαζε, καὶ αὐτόθεν καὶ
being-able there indeed then he-wintered both from-there and
σὺν προνομαῖς τὰ ἐπιτήδεια τῇ στρατιᾷ λαμβάνων.
with foraging-parties the provisions for-the army taking
17 καταφρονητικῶς δέ ποτε καὶ ἀφυλάκτως διὰ τὸ μηδὲν
contemptuously and once and unguardedly because-of the nothing
πρότερον ἐσφάλθαι λαμβανόντων τῶν στρατιωτῶν
before to-have-been-tripped taking the soldiers
τὰ ἐπιτήδεια, ἐπέτυχεν αὐτοῖς ὁ Φαρνάβαζος κατὰ τὸ
the provisions fell-upon them — Pharnabazus throughout the
πεδίον ἐσπαρμένοις, ἅρματα μὲν ἔχων δύο δρεπανηφόρα,
plain scattered chariots indeed having two scythe-bearing
ἱππέας δὲ ὡς τετρακοσίους. διὰ γὰρ τὸ φοβεῖσθαι
horsemen and about four-hundred because-of for the to-fear
μή, εἴ που κατασταίη, κυκλωθεὶς πολιορκοῖτο, ἄλλοτε
lest if anywhere he-settled encircled he-be-besieged at-other-times

ἄλλῃ τῆς χώρας ἐπήει, ὥσπερ οἱ νομάδες, καὶ μάλα
in-other-parts of-the land he-went as the nomads and very
ἀφανίζων τὰς στρατοπεδεύσεις.
concealing the encampments
οἱ δ' Ἕλληνες ὡς εἶδον αὐτὸν προσελαύνοντα, 18
the and Greeks when they-saw him riding-up
συνέδραμον ὡς εἰς ἑπτακοσίους· ὁ δ' οὐκ ἐμέλλησεν,
ran-together about up-to seven-hundred he but not delayed
ἀλλὰ προστησάμενος τὰ ἅρματα, αὐτὸς δὲ σὺν τοῖς
but having-placed-in-front the chariots himself and with the
ἱππεῦσιν ὄπισθεν γενόμενος, ἐλαύνειν εἰς αὐτοὺς ἐκέλευσεν.
horsemen behind having-gotten to-charge at them bade
ὡς δὲ τὰ ἅρματα ἐμβαλόντα διεσκέδασε τὸ ἁθρόον, 19
when and the chariots having-charged scattered the massed-body
ταχὺ οἱ ἱππεῖς κατέβαλον ὡς εἰς ἑκατὸν ἀνθρώπους, οἱ
quickly the horsemen struck-down about up-to hundred men the
δ' ἄλλοι κατέφυγον πρὸς Ἀγησίλαον· ἐγγὺς γὰρ ἔτυχε
but others fled to Agesilaus near for he-happened
σὺν τοῖς ὁπλίταις ὤν.
with the hoplites being
ἐκ δὲ τούτου τρίτῃ ἢ τετάρτῃ ἡμέρᾳ αἰσθάνεται ὁ 20
after and this on-the-third or fourth day perceives —
Σπιθριδάτης τὸν Φαρνάβαζον ἐν Καυῇ κώμῃ μεγάλῃ
Spithridates — Pharnabazus in Caue a-village large
στρατοπεδευόμενον, ἀπέχοντα στάδια ὡς ἑξήκοντα καὶ
encamped being-distant stades about sixty and
ἑκατόν, καὶ εὐθὺς λέγει πρὸς τὸν Ἡριππίδαν.
hundred and at-once says to — Herippidas
καὶ ὁ Ἡριππίδας ἐπιθυμῶν λαμπρόν τι ἐργάσασθαι, αἰτεῖ 21
and — Herippidas desiring brilliant something to-accomplish asks
τὸν Ἀγησίλαον ὁπλίτας τε εἰς δισχιλίους καὶ πελταστὰς
— Agesilaus hoplites both about two-thousand and peltasts

ἄλλους τοσούτους καὶ ἱππέας τούς τε Σπιθριδάτου καὶ
others as-many and horsemen the both of-Spithridates and
τοὺς Παφλαγόνας καὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ὁπόσους πείσειεν.
the Paphlagonians and of-the Greeks as-many-as he-could-persuade
22 ἐπεὶ δὲ ὑπέσχετο αὐτῷ, ἐθύετο· καὶ ἅμα
when and he-promised to-him he-sacrificed and at-the-same-time
δείλῃ καλλιερησάμενος κατέλυσε τὴν θυσίαν. ἐκ δὲ
with-afternoon having-got-favorable-omens he-ended the sacrifice after and
τούτου δειπνήσαντας παρήγγειλε παρεῖναι πρόσθεν τοῦ
this having-dined he-ordered to-be-present in-front of-the
στρατοπέδου. σκότους δὲ γενομένου οὐδ' οἱ ἡμίσεις
camp darkness but having-come not-even the halves
ἑκάστων ἐξῆλθον.
of-each came-out
23 ὅπως δὲ μή, εἰ ἀποτρέποιτο, καταγελῷεν αὐτοῦ οἱ ἄλλοι
so-that and not if he-turned-back should-laugh-at him the other
τριάκοντα, ἐπορεύετο σὺν ᾗ εἶχε δυνάμει.
thirty he-marched with what he-had force
24 ἅμα δὲ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐπιπεσὼν τῇ Φαρναβάζου
at-the-same-time and with-the day having-fallen-upon in-the of-Pharnabazus
στρατοπεδείᾳ, τῆς μὲν προφυλακῆς αὐτοῦ Μυσῶν ὄντων
camp of-the indeed advance-guard his Mysians being
πολλοὶ ἔπεσον, αὐτοὶ δὲ διαφεύγουσι, τὸ δὲ στρατόπεδον
many fell they but escape the and camp
ἁλίσκεται, καὶ πολλὰ μὲν ἐκπώματα καὶ ἄλλα δὴ οἷα
is-taken and many indeed cups and other indeed such-as
Φαρναβάζου κτήματα, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις σκεύη πολλὰ καὶ
of-Pharnabazus possessions besides and these baggage much and
ὑποζύγια σκευοφόρα.
pack-animals baggage-carrying

ἐπεὶ δὲ τὰ ληφθέντα χρήματα ἀπήγαγον οἵ τε Παφλαγόνες 26
when and the captured goods led-away the both Paphlagonians
καὶ ὁ Σπιθριδάτης, ὑποστήσας Ἡριππίδας ταξιάρχους καὶ
and — Spithridates having-posted Herippidas taxiarchs and
λοχαγοὺς ἀφείλετο ἅπαντα τόν τε Σπιθριδάτην καὶ τοὺς
captains took-away everything — both Spithridates and the
Παφλαγόνας, ἵνα δὴ πολλὰ ἀπαγάγοι τὰ αἰχμάλωτα
Paphlagonians so-that indeed much he-might-bring-in the captured
τοῖς λαφυροπώλαις.
to-the booty-sellers

ἐκεῖνοι μέντοι ταῦτα παθόντες οὐκ ἤνεγκαν, ἀλλ᾽ ὡς 27
they however these-things having-suffered not bore-it but as
ἀδικηθέντες καὶ ἀτιμασθέντες νυκτὸς συσκευασάμενοι
wronged and dishonored by-night having-packed-up
ᾤχοντο ἀπιόντες εἰς Σάρδεις πρὸς Ἀριαῖον, πιστεύσαντες,
went going-away to Sardis to Ariaeus trusting
ὅτι καὶ ὁ Ἀριαῖος ἀποστὰς βασιλέως ἐπολέμησεν αὐτῷ.
because also — Ariaeus having-revolted from-the-king had-made-war on-him

Ἀγησιλάῳ μὲν δὴ τῆς ἀπολείψεως τοῦ Σπιθριδάτου 28
for-Agesilaus indeed then than-the desertion — of-Spithridates
καὶ τοῦ Μεγαβάτου καὶ τῶν Παφλαγόνων οὐδὲν ἐγένετο
and — of-Megabates and of-the Paphlagonians nothing happened
βαρύτερον ἐν τῇ στρατείᾳ.
more-grievous in the campaign

Ἦν δέ τις Ἀπολλοφάνης Κυζικηνός, ὃς καὶ 29
There-was and a-certain Apollophanes Cyzicene who both
Φαρναβάζῳ ἐτύγχανεν ἐκ παλαιοῦ ξένος ὢν καὶ
to-Pharnabazus happened from of-old guest-friend being and
Ἀγησιλάῳ κατ᾽ ἐκεῖνον τὸν χρόνον ἐξενώθη. οὗτος οὖν
to-Agesilaus at that the time became-guest-friend this-one then

εἶπε πρὸς τὸν Ἀγησίλαον ὡς οἴοιτο συναγαγεῖν αὐτῷ
said to — Agesilaus that he-thought to-bring-together with-him
ἂν εἰς λόγους περὶ φιλίας Φαρνάβαζον.
— into talks about friendship Pharnabazus
30 ὡς δ' ἤκουσεν αὐτοῦ, σπονδὰς λαβὼν καὶ δεξιὰν
when and he-heard him truce having-received and right-hand
παρῆν ἄγων τὸν Φαρνάβαζον εἰς συγκείμενον χωρίον,
he-was-present bringing — Pharnabazus to an-agreed place
ἔνθα δὴ Ἀγησίλαος καὶ οἱ περὶ αὐτὸν τριάκοντα χαμαὶ
where indeed Agesilaus and the around him thirty on-the-ground
ἐν πόᾳ τινὶ κατακείμενοι ἀνέμενον· ὁ δὲ Φαρνάβαζος ἧκεν
in grass some lying waited — but Pharnabazus came
ἔχων στολὴν πολλοῦ χρυσοῦ ἀξίαν. ὑποτιθέντων δὲ αὐτῷ
having a-robe of-much gold worth placing-under and him
τῶν θεραπόντων ῥαπτά, ἐφ' ὧν καθίζουσιν οἱ Πέρσαι
the attendants sewn-rugs on which sit the Persians
μαλακῶς, ᾐσχύνθη ἐντρυφῆσαι, ὁρῶν τοῦ Ἀγησιλάου τὴν
softly he-was-ashamed to-be-luxurious seeing — of-Agesilaus the
φαυλότητα· κατεκλίθη οὖν καὶ αὐτὸς ὥσπερ εἶχε χαμαί.
simplicity he-lay-down then also himself as he-was on-the-ground
31 καὶ πρῶτα μὲν ἀλλήλους χαίρειν προσεῖπαν, ἔπειτα τὴν
and first indeed one-another greeting they-addressed then the
δεξιὰν προτείναντος τοῦ Φαρναβάζου ἀντιπρούτεινε καὶ ὁ
right-hand having-held-out — Pharnabazus held-out-in-return also —
Ἀγησίλαος. μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο ἤρξατο λόγου ὁ Φαρνάβαζος
Agesilaus after and this began the-speech — Pharnabazus
(καὶ γὰρ ἦν πρεσβύτερος)·
also for he-was older
32 Ὦ Ἀγησίλαε καὶ πάντες οἱ παρόντες Λακεδαιμόνιοι, ἐγὼ
O Agesilaus and all the present Lacedaemonians I
ὑμῖν, ὅτε τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ἐπολεμεῖτε, φίλος καὶ σύμμαχος
to-you when the Athenians you-were-fighting friend and ally

ἐγενόμην, καὶ τὸ μὲν ναυτικὸν τὸ ὑμέτερον χρήματα
became and the indeed navy the your money
παρέχων ἰσχυρὸν ἐποίουν, ἐν δὲ τῇ γῇ αὐτὸς ἀπὸ τοῦ
providing strong I-made on but the land myself from the
ἵππου μαχόμενος μεθ᾽ ὑμῶν εἰς τὴν θάλατταν κατεδίωκον
horse fighting with you into the sea I-chased
τοὺς πολεμίους. καὶ διπλοῦν ὥσπερ Τισσαφέρνους οὐδὲν
the enemies and double-dealing as of-Tissaphernes nothing
πώποτέ μου οὔτε ποιήσαντος οὔτ᾽ εἰπόντος πρὸς ὑμᾶς
ever of-me either having-done or having-said to you
ἔχοιτ᾽ ἂν κατηγορῆσαι.
you-could — accuse
τοιοῦτος δὲ γενόμενος νῦν οὕτω διάκειμαι ὑφ᾽ ὑμῶν ὡς 33
such but having-been now so I-am-treated by you that
οὐδὲ δεῖπνον ἔχω ἐν τῇ ἐμαυτοῦ χώρᾳ, εἰ μή τι ὧν
not-even dinner I-have in the my-own land if not anything of-what
ἂν ὑμεῖς λίπητε συλλέξομαι, ὥσπερ τὰ θηρία. ἃ δέ μοι
— you leave I-shall-gather as the beasts what but to-me
ὁ πατὴρ καὶ οἰκήματα καλὰ καὶ παραδείσους καὶ δένδρων
the father both dwellings fine and parks and of-trees
καὶ θηρίων μεστοὺς κατέλιπεν, ἐφ᾽ οἷς ηὐφραινόμην,
and of-beasts full left in which I-delighted
ταῦτα πάντα ὁρῶ τὰ μὲν κατακεκομμένα τὰ δὲ
these-things all I-see the-ones indeed cut-down the-others but
κατακεκαυμένα. εἰ οὖν ἐγὼ μὴ γιγνώσκω μήτε τὰ ὅσια
burned-down if then I not know either the holy-things
μήτε τὰ δίκαια, ὑμεῖς δὲ διδάξατέ με ὅπως ταῦτ᾽ ἐστὶν
or the just-things you but teach me how these-things are
ἀνδρῶν ἐπισταμένων χάριτας ἀποδιδόναι.
of-men knowing favors to-repay

34 ὁ μὲν ταῦτ᾽ εἶπεν. οἱ δὲ τριάκοντα πάντες μὲν
he indeed these-things said the and thirty all indeed
ἐπῃσχύνθησαν αὐτὸν καὶ ἐσιώπησαν· ὁ δὲ Ἀγησίλαος χρόνῳ
were-ashamed-before him and were-silent — but Agesilaus in-time
ποτὲ εἶπεν· Ἀλλ᾽ οἶμαι μέν σε, ὦ Φαρνάβαζε, εἰδέναι ὅτι
at-last said But I-think indeed you O Pharnabazus to-know that
καὶ ἐν ταῖς Ἑλληνικαῖς πόλεσι ξένοι ἀλλήλοις γίγνονται
also in the Greek cities guest-friends to-one-another become
ἄνθρωποι. οὗτοι δέ, ὅταν αἱ πόλεις πολέμιαι γένωνται,
men these but whenever the cities hostile become
σὺν ταῖς πατρίσι καὶ τοῖς ἐξενωμένοις πολεμοῦσι καί, ἂν
with the fatherlands also the guest-friends make-war and if
οὕτω τύχωσιν, ἔστιν ὅτε καὶ ἀπέκτειναν ἀλλήλους.
so they-happen there-are times-when also they-have-killed one-another
καὶ ἡμεῖς οὖν νῦν βασιλεῖ τῷ ὑμετέρῳ πολεμοῦντες
and we then now the-king the your making-war-on
πάντα ἠναγκάσμεθα τὰ ἐκείνου πολέμια νομίζειν· σοί
all have-been-compelled the of-him hostile to-consider to-you
γε μέντοι φίλοι γενέσθαι περὶ παντὸς ἂν ποιησαίμεθα.
at-least however friends to-become above everything — we-would-value
35 καὶ εἰ μὲν ἀλλάξασθαί σε ἔδει ἀντὶ δεσπότου
and if indeed to-exchange you it-were-needful instead-of master
βασιλέως ἡμᾶς δεσπότας, οὐκ ἂν ἔγωγέ σοι συνεβούλευον·
the-king us as-masters not — I-at-least to-you would-advise
νῦν δὲ ἔξεστί σοι μεθ᾽ ἡμῶν γενομένῳ μηδένα
now but it-is-possible for-you with us having-become no-one
προσκυνοῦντα μηδὲ δεσπότην ἔχοντα ζῆν καρπούμενον τὰ
doing-obeisance nor master having to-live enjoying the
ἑαυτοῦ. καίτοι ἐλεύθερον εἶναι ἐγὼ μὲν οἶμαι ἀντάξιον
your-own and-yet free to-be I indeed think equal-in-worth
εἶναι τῶν πάντων χρημάτων.
to-be to-the all goods

οὐδὲ μέντοι τοῦτό σε κελεύομεν, πένητα μέν, ἐλεύθερον 36
nor however this you we-bid poor indeed free
δ' εἶναι, ἀλλ' ἡμῖν συμμάχοις χρώμενον αὔξειν μὴ τὴν
but to-be but us as-allies using to-increase not the
βασιλέως ἀλλὰ τὴν σαυτοῦ ἀρχήν, τοὺς νῦν ὁμοδούλους
of-the-king but the your-own rule the now fellow-slaves
σοι καταστρεφόμενον, ὥστε σοὺς ὑπηκόους εἶναι. καίτοι
with-you subduing so-that your subjects to-be and-yet
εἰ ἅμα ἐλεύθερός τ' εἴης καὶ πλούσιος γένοιο, τίνος
if at-once free both you-should-be and rich become of-what
ἂν δέοις μὴ οὐχὶ πάμπαν εὐδαίμων εἶναι;
— would-you-need not not altogether happy to-be
Οὐκοῦν, ἔφη ὁ Φαρνάβαζος, ἁπλῶς ὑμῖν ἀποκρίνωμαι 37
Then said — Pharnabazus simply to-you should-I-answer
ἅπερ ποιήσω; Πρέπει γοῦν σοι. Ἐγὼ τοίνυν, ἔφη,
what-very I-will-do It-is-fitting at-any-rate for-you I then he-said
ἐὰν βασιλεὺς ἄλλον μὲν στρατηγὸν πέμπῃ, ἐμὲ δὲ
if the-king another indeed general send me but
ὑπήκοον ἐκείνου τάττῃ, βουλήσομαι ὑμῖν καὶ φίλος καὶ
subordinate of-him place I-will-wish to-you both friend and
σύμμαχος εἶναι· ἐὰν μέντοι μοι τὴν ἀρχὴν προστάττῃ
ally to-be if however to-me the command be-assign
(τοιοῦτόν τι, ὡς ἔοικε, φιλοτιμία ἐστίν), εὖ χρὴ
such something as it-seems ambition is well it-is-needful
εἰδέναι ὅτι πολεμήσω ὑμῖν ὡς ἂν δύνωμαι ἄριστα.
to-know that I-will-make-war on-you as — I-can best
ἀκούσας ταῦτα ὁ Ἀγησίλαος ἐλάβετο τῆς χειρὸς αὐτοῦ 38
having-heard these-things — Agesilaus took the hand his
καὶ εἶπεν· Εἴθ', ὦ λῷστε, σὺ τοιοῦτος ὢν φίλος ἡμῖν
and said Would-that O best-of-men you such being friend to-us
γένοιο. ἓν δ' οὖν, ἔφη, ἐπίστω, ὅτι νῦν τε
might-become one-thing and at-any-rate he-said know that now both

ἄπειμι ὡς ἂν δύνωμαι τάχιστα ἐκ τῆς χώρας τῆς σῆς,
I-go-away as — I-can quickest from the land the your
τοῦ τε λοιποῦ, κἂν πόλεμος ᾖ, ἕως ἂν ἐπ᾽ ἄλλον
the and future even-if war be until — against another
ἔχωμεν στρατεύεσθαι, σοῦ τε καὶ τῶν σῶν ἀφεξόμεθα.
we-have to-campaign you both and the yours we-will-keep-from
39 Τούτων δὲ λεχθέντων διέλυσε τὴν σύνοδον. καὶ ὁ μὲν
These-things and having-been-said he-dissolved the meeting and — indeed
Φαρνάβαζος ἀναβὰς ἐπὶ τὸν ἵππον ἀπῄει, ὁ δὲ ἐκ τῆς
Pharnabazus having-mounted onto the horse went-away the but from —
Παραπίτας υἱὸς αὐτοῦ, καλὸς ἔτι ὤν, ὑπολειφθεὶς καὶ
Parapita son his fine still being having-been-left-behind and
προσδραμών· Ξένον σε, ἔφη, ὦ Ἀγησίλαε, ποιοῦμαι. Ἐγὼ
having-run-up Guest-friend you he-said O Agesilaus I-make I
δέ γε δέχομαι. Μέμνησό νυν, ἔφη, καὶ εὐθὺς τὸ παλτόν
and at-least accept Remember now he-said and at-once the javelin
(εἶχε δὲ καλόν) ἔδωκε τῷ Ἀγησιλάῳ. ὁ δὲ δεξάμενος,
he-had and fine he-gave — to-Agesilaus he and having-received
φάλαρα ἔχοντος περὶ τῷ ἵππῳ Ἰδαίου τοῦ γραφέως
trappings having around the horse of-Idaeus the secretary
πάγκαλα, περιελὼν ἀντέδωκεν αὐτῷ. τότε μὲν οὖν ὁ
very-fine having-taken-off gave-in-return to-him then indeed then the
παῖς ἀναπηδήσας ἐπὶ τὸν ἵππον μετεδίωκε τὸν πατέρα.
boy having-leapt onto the horse pursued the father
40 ὡς δ᾽ ἐν τῇ τοῦ Φαρναβάζου ἀποδημίᾳ ἀποστερῶν
when and in the — of-Pharnabazus absence depriving
ἀδελφὸς τὴν ἀρχὴν φυγάδα ἐποίησε τὸν τῆς Παραπίτας
the-brother the rule exile made the — of-Parapita
υἱόν, τά τ᾽ ἄλλα ὁ Ἀγησίλαος ἐπεμελεῖτο αὐτοῦ,
son the both other-things — Agesilaus took-care-of him
καὶ ἐρασθέντος αὐτοῦ τοῦ Εὐάλκους υἱέος Ἀθηναίου,
and having-fallen-in-love him the of-Eualces son Athenian

πάντ᾽ ἐποίησεν ὅπως ἂν δι᾽ ἐκεῖνον ἐγκριθείη
everything he-did so-that — through that-one he-might-be-admitted-to
τὸ στάδιον ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ, μέγιστος ὢν τῶν παίδων.
the stade-race in Olympia biggest being of-the boys
Καὶ τότε δή, ὥσπερ εἶπε πρὸς τὸν Φαρνάβαζον, 41
And then indeed as he-said to — Pharnabazus
εὐθὺς ἀπεπορεύετο ἐκ τῆς χώρας· σχεδὸν δὲ καὶ
at-once marched-away from the land nearly and also
ἔαρ ἤδη ὑπέφαινεν. ἀφικόμενος δ᾽ εἰς Θήβης πεδίον
spring already was-appearing having-arrived and into of-Thebe plain
κατεστρατοπεδεύσατο περὶ τὸ τῆς Ἀστυρηνῆς Ἀρτέμιδος
he-encamped around the of-the Astyrene Artemis
ἱερόν, καὶ ἐκεῖ πρὸς ᾧ εἶχε συνέλεγε πανταχόθεν
sanctuary and there besides what he-had gathered from-everywhere
παμπληθὲς στράτευμα. παρεσκευάζετο γὰρ πορευσόμενος
a-huge army he-was-preparing for going-to-march
ὡς δύναιτο ἀνωτάτω, νομίζων ὁπόσα ὄπισθεν ποιήσαιτο
as he-could farthest-inland thinking as-many behind he-should-make
ἔθνη πάντα ἀποστήσειν βασιλέως.
nations all to-detach from-the-king

With the great cities banded against them and Persian money in Greece, the Spartans recall Agesilaus. He grieves at the honors and hopes he is losing, promises his weeping allies to come back, and sets out prizes for the best contingents to bring with him, judging them in the Chersonese before he marches the road Xerxes took. Since King Agesipolis is still a boy, his guardian Aristodemus leads the Spartan levy. At Corinth, Timolaus urges the allies to fight near Sparta, where the river is small and the wasps are still in their nest. The armies meet at the Nemea ravine. The Boeotians, once facing the Achaeans, deepen their line past sixteen and drift right, dragging the Athenians along. Sparta's allies are beaten, but the Spartans outflank the Athenians, rout the six tribes opposite them, and then fall on the Argives, Corinthians, and Thebans as they come back from the pursuit, and they set up a trophy.

1 Ἀγησίλαος μὲν δὴ ἐν τούτοις ἦν. οἱ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι
Agesilaus indeed then in these-things was the but Lacedaemonians
ἐπεὶ σαφῶς ᾔσθοντο τά τε χρήματα ἐληλυθότα εἰς
when clearly they-perceived the both money having-come into
τὴν Ἑλλάδα καὶ τὰς μεγίστας πόλεις συνεστηκυίας ἐπὶ
— Greece and the greatest cities banded-together for
πολέμῳ πρὸς ἑαυτούς, ἐν κινδύνῳ τε τὴν πόλιν ἐνόμισαν
war against themselves in danger both the city they-thought
καὶ στρατεύειν ἀναγκαῖον ἡγήσαντο εἶναι.
and to-campaign necessary considered to-be
2 καὶ αὐτοὶ μὲν ταῦτα παρεσκευάζοντο, εὐθὺς δὲ καὶ
and themselves indeed these-things were-preparing at-once and also
ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀγησίλαον πέμπουσιν Ἐπικυδίδαν. ὁ δ' ἐπεὶ
to — Agesilaus they-send Epicydidas he and when
ἀφίκετο, τά τε ἄλλα διηγεῖτο ὡς ἔχοι καὶ ὅτι ἡ
he-arrived the both other-things related how they-stood and that the
πόλις ἐπιστέλλοι αὐτῷ βοηθεῖν ὡς τάχιστα τῇ πατρίδι.
city enjoined on-him to-help as quickly-as-possible the fatherland

ὁ δὲ Ἀγησίλαος ἐπεὶ ἤκουσε, χαλεπῶς μὲν ἤνεγκεν, 3
— *and Agesilaus when he-heard hard indeed bore-it*
ἐνθυμούμενος καὶ οἵων τιμῶν καὶ οἵων ἐλπίδων
considering both of-what-sort honors and of-what-sort hopes
ἀπεστερεῖτο, ὅμως δὲ συγκαλέσας τοὺς συμμάχους
he-was-deprived nevertheless but having-called-together the allies
ἐδήλωσε τὰ ὑπὸ τῆς πόλεως παραγγελλόμενα, καὶ
he-showed the-things by the city ordered and
εἶπεν ὅτι ἀναγκαῖον εἴη βοηθεῖν τῇ πατρίδι· ἐὰν μέντοι
said that necessary it-was to-help the fatherland if however
ἐκεῖνα καλῶς γένηται, εὖ ἐπίστασθε, ἔφη, ὦ ἄνδρες
those-things well turn-out well know he-said O men
σύμμαχοι, ὅτι οὐ μὴ ἐπιλάθωμαι ὑμῶν, ἀλλὰ πάλιν
allies that not — I-will-forget you but again
παρέσομαι πράξων ὧν ὑμεῖς δεῖσθε.
I-will-be-present going-to-do what you need
ἀκούσαντες ταῦτα πολλοὶ μὲν ἐδάκρυσαν, πάντες δ' 4
having-heard these-things many indeed wept all but
ἐψηφίσαντο βοηθεῖν μετ' Ἀγησιλάου τῇ Λακεδαίμονι· εἰ
voted to-help with Agesilaus — Lacedaemon if
δὲ καλῶς τἀκεῖ γένοιτο, λαβόντες αὐτὸν πάλιν
and well the-things-there should-turn-out having-taken him again
ἥκειν εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν.
to-come to — Asia
καὶ οἱ μὲν δὴ συνεσκευάζοντο ὡς ἀκολουθήσοντες. ὁ δ' 5
and they indeed then packed-up as going-to-follow — but
Ἀγησίλαος ἐν μὲν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ κατέλιπεν Εὔξενον ἁρμοστὴν
Agesilaus in indeed — Asia left Euxenus as-harmost
καὶ φρουροὺς παρ' αὐτῷ οὐκ ἔλαττον τετρακισχιλίων, ἵνα
and guards with him not fewer than-four-thousand so-that
δύναιτο διασῴζειν τὰς πόλεις· αὐτὸς δὲ ὁρῶν ὅτι οἱ
he-might-be-able to-keep-safe the cities himself but seeing that the

πολλοὶ τῶν στρατιωτῶν μένειν ἐπεθύμουν μᾶλλον ἢ ἐφ᾽
many of-the soldiers to-stay desired rather than against
Ἕλληνας στρατεύεσθαι, βουλόμενος ὡς βελτίστους καὶ
Greeks to-campaign wishing as best and
πλείστους ἄγειν μεθ᾽ ἑαυτοῦ, ἆθλα προύθηκε ταῖς πόλεσιν,
most to-take with himself prizes he-set-out for-the cities
ἥτις ἄριστον στράτευμα πέμποι, καὶ τῶν μισθοφόρων τοῖς
whichever best army should-send and of-the mercenaries for-the
λοχαγοῖς, ὅστις εὐοπλότατον λόχον ἔχων συστρατεύοιτο
captains whoever best-armed company having should-campaign-with-him
καὶ ὁπλιτῶν καὶ τοξοτῶν καὶ πελταστῶν. προεῖπε δὲ
both of-hoplites and of-archers and of-peltasts he-proclaimed and
καὶ τοῖς ἱππάρχοις, ὅστις εὐιπποτάτην καὶ εὐοπλοτάτην
also to-the hipparchs whoever best-horsed and best-armed
τάξιν παρέχοιτο, ὡς καὶ τούτοις νικητήριον δώσων.
squadron should-provide that also to-these a-victory-prize going-to-give
6 τὴν δὲ κρίσιν ἔφη ποιήσειν, ἐπεὶ διαβαίησαν ἐκ
the and judging he-said he-would-make when they-crossed from
τῆς Ἀσίας εἰς τὴν Εὐρώπην, ἐν Χερρονήσῳ, ὅπως εὖ
— Asia to — Europe in Chersonese so-that well
εἰδείησαν ὅτι τοὺς στρατευομένους δεῖ εὐκρινεῖν.
they-might-know that the campaigners it-is-needful to-be-in-good-order
7 ἦν δὲ τὰ ἆθλα τὰ μὲν πλεῖστα ὅπλα ἐκπεπονημένα εἰς
were and the prizes the indeed most arms worked-out for
κόσμον καὶ ὁπλιτικὰ καὶ ἱππικά· ἦσαν δὲ καὶ στέφανοι
adornment both hoplite and cavalry there-were and also crowns
χρυσοῖ· τὰ δὲ πάντα ἆθλα οὐκ ἔλαττον ἐγένοντο ἢ
golden the and all prizes not less came-to than
ἀπὸ τεττάρων ταλάντων. τοσούτων μέντοι ἀναλωθέντων,
from four talents so-much however having-been-spent
παμπόλλων χρημάτων ὅπλα εἰς τὴν στρατιὰν κατεσκευάσθη.
very-much money arms for the army were-made

ἐπεὶ δὲ διέβη τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον, κριταὶ κατέστησαν 8
when and he-crossed the Hellespont judges were-appointed
Λακεδαιμονίων μὲν Μένασκος καὶ Ἡριππίδας καὶ Ὄρσιππος,
of-Lacedaemonians indeed Menascus and Herippidas and Orsippus
τῶν δὲ συμμάχων εἷς ἀπὸ πόλεως. καὶ Ἀγησίλαος μέν, ἐπεὶ
of-the and allies one from city and Agesilaus indeed when
τὴν κρίσιν ἐποίησεν, ἔχων τὸ στράτευμα ἐπορεύετο τὴν αὐτὴν
the judging he-had-made having the army marched the same
ὁδὸν ἥνπερ βασιλεὺς ὅτε ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἐστράτευεν.
road which-very the-king when against — Greece campaigned
Ἐν δὲ τούτῳ οἱ μὲν ἔφοροι φρουρὰν ἔφηναν· ἡ δὲ πόλις, 9
In and this the indeed ephors a-levy declared the and city
ἐπεὶ Ἀγησίπολις παῖς ἔτι ἦν, Ἀριστόδημον τοῦ γένους ὄντα
since Agesipolis a-boy still was Aristodemus of-the family being
καὶ πρόδικον τοῦ παιδός, ἡγεῖσθαι τῇ στρατιᾷ ἐκέλευον.
and guardian of-the boy to-lead the army bade
ἐπεὶ δ' ἐξῇσαν μὲν οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, συνειλεγμένοι δ' 10
when and had-gone-out indeed the Lacedaemonians gathered and
ἦσαν οἱ ἐναντίοι, συνελθόντες ἐβουλεύοντο πῶς ἂν τὴν
had-been the opponents having-come-together they-deliberated how — the
μάχην συμφορώτατα σφίσιν αὐτοῖς ποιήσαιντο.
battle most-advantageously for themselves they-might-make
Τιμόλαος μὲν δὴ Κορίνθιος ἔλεξεν· Ἀλλ' ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ, ἔφη, 11
Timolaus indeed then Corinthian spoke But to-me seems he-said
ὦ ἄνδρες σύμμαχοι, ὅμοιον εἶναι τὸ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων
O men allies like to-be the of-the Lacedaemonians
πρᾶγμα οἷόνπερ τὸ τῶν ποταμῶν. οἵ τε γὰρ ποταμοὶ
affair as-very the of-the rivers the both for rivers
πρὸς μὲν ταῖς πηγαῖς οὐ μεγάλοι εἰσὶν ἀλλ' εὐδιάβατοι,
at indeed the springs not large are but easy-to-cross

ὅσῳ δ' ἂν πορρωτέρω γίγνωνται, ἐπεμβάλλοντες
by-as-much-as but — farther they-go falling-in
ἕτεροι ποταμοὶ ἰσχυρότερον αὐτῶν τὸ ῥεῦμα ποιοῦσι,
other rivers stronger their the current make
12 καὶ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ὡσαύτως, ἔνθεν μὲν ἐξέρχονται,
and the Lacedaemonians likewise from-where indeed they-come-out
αὐτοὶ μόνοι εἰσί, προϊόντες δὲ καὶ παραλαμβάνοντες
themselves alone are advancing but and taking-over
τὰς πόλεις πλειόνές τε καὶ δυσμαχώτεροι γίγνονται. ὁρῶ
the cities more both and harder-to-fight become I-see
δ' ἔγωγε, ἔφη, καὶ ὁπόσοι σφῆκας ἐξαιρεῖν βούλονται,
and I-at-least he-said also as-many-as wasps to-take-out wish
ἐὰν μὲν ἐκθέοντας τοὺς σφῆκας πειρῶνται θηρᾶν, ὑπὸ
if indeed running-out the wasps they-try to-hunt by
πολλῶν τυπτομένους, ἐὰν δ' ἔτι ἔνδον ὄντων τὸ πῦρ
many being-stung if but still inside being the fire
προσφέρωσι, πάσχοντας μὲν οὐδέν, χειρουμένους δὲ τοὺς
they-apply suffering indeed nothing overcoming but the
σφῆκας. ταῦτ' οὖν ἐνθυμούμενος ἡγοῦμαι κράτιστον
wasps these-things then considering I-think best
εἶναι μάλιστα μὲν ἐν αὐτῇ, εἰ δὲ μή, ὅτι ἐγγύτατα τῆς
to-be most indeed in itself if but not as near-as-possible —
Λακεδαίμονος τὴν μάχην ποιεῖσθαι.
of-Lacedaemon the battle to-make
13 δόξαντος δ' εὖ λέγειν αὐτοῦ ἐψηφίσαντο ταῦτα. ἐν ᾧ
having-seemed and well to-speak he they-voted these-things in the-time
δὲ περὶ ἡγεμονίας τε διεπράττοντο καὶ διωμολογοῦντο
and about leadership both they-negotiated and agreed
εἰς ὁπόσους δέοι τάττεσθαι πᾶν τὸ στράτευμα,
into how-many-deep it-was-needful to-be-drawn-up all the army
ὅπως μὴ λίαν βαθείας τὰς φάλαγγας ποιούμεναι αἱ
so-that not too deep the phalanxes making the

πόλεις κύκλωσιν τοῖς πολεμίοις παρέχοιεν, ἐν τούτῳ
cities an-encirclement to-the enemies should-give in this
οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ δὴ Τεγεάτας παρειληφότες καὶ
the Lacedaemonians and indeed Tegeans having-taken-on and
Μαντινέας ἐξῇσαν εἰς τὴν ἀμφίαλον.
Mantineans went-out to the coast-road
καὶ πορευόμενοι, σχεδόν τι ἅμα οἱ μὲν περὶ 14
and marching nearly somewhat at-the-same-time the indeed around
τοὺς Κορινθίους ἐν τῇ Νεμέᾳ ἦσαν, οἱ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι
the Corinthians in — Nemea were the but Lacedaemonians
καὶ οἱ σύμμαχοι ἐν τῷ Σικυῶνι. ἐμβαλόντων δὲ αὐτῶν
and the allies in — Sicyon having-invaded and they
κατὰ τὴν Ἐπιείκειαν, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἐκ τῶν ὑπερδεξίων
by — Epieicia the indeed first from the higher-ground
βάλλοντες αὐτοὺς καὶ τοξεύοντες μάλα κακῶς ἐποίουν
pelting them and shooting very badly treated
οἱ γυμνῆτες τῶν ἀντιπάλων.
the light-troops of-the opponents
ὡς δὲ κατέβησαν ἐπὶ θάλατταν, ταύτῃ προῇσαν διὰ 15
when and they-came-down to sea this-way they-advanced through
τοῦ πεδίου, τέμνοντες καὶ κάοντες τὴν χώραν· καὶ
the plain cutting and burning the land and
οἱ ἕτεροι μέντοι ἀπελθόντες κατεστρατοπεδεύσαντο,
the others however having-gone-away encamped
ἔμπροσθεν ποιησάμενοι τὴν χαράδραν· ἐπεὶ δὲ προϊόντες οἱ
in-front having-made the ravine when and advancing the
Λακεδαιμόνιοι οὐκέτι δέκα στάδια ἀπεῖχον τῶν πολεμίων,
Lacedaemonians no-longer ten stades were-distant from-the enemies
κἀκεῖνοι αὐτοῦ στρατοπεδευσάμενοι ἡσυχίαν εἶχον.
they-too there having-encamped quiet kept

16 Φράσω δὲ καὶ τὸ πλῆθος ἑκατέρων. συνελέγησαν γὰρ
I-will-tell and also the number of-each gathered for
ὁπλῖται Λακεδαιμονίων μὲν εἰς ἑξακισχιλίους, Ἠλείων
hoplites of-Lacedaemonians indeed about six-thousand of-Eleans
δὲ καὶ Τριφυλίων καὶ Ἀκρωρείων καὶ Λασιωνίων
and also of-Triphylians and of-Acroreians and of-Lasionians
ἐγγὺς τρισχίλιοι καὶ Σικυωνίων πεντακόσιοι καὶ χίλιοι,
nearly three-thousand and of-Sicyonians five-hundred and thousand
Ἐπιδαυρίων δὲ καὶ Τροιζηνίων καὶ Ἑρμιονέων καὶ Ἁλιέων
of-Epidaurians and also of-Troezenians and of-Hermionians and of-Halians
ἐγένοντο οὐκ ἐλάττους τρισχιλίων. πρὸς δὲ τούτοις ἱππεῖς
there-were not fewer than-three-thousand besides and these horsemen
μὲν Λακεδαιμονίων περὶ ἑξακοσίους, Κρῆτες δὲ τοξόται
indeed of-Lacedaemonians about six-hundred Cretan and archers
ἠκολούθουν ὡς τριακόσιοι, καὶ μὴν σφενδονῆται Μαργανέων
followed about three-hundred and truly slingers of-Marganians
καὶ Λετρίνων καὶ Ἀμφιδόλων οὐκ ἐλάττους τετρακοσίων.
and of-Letrinians and of-Amphidolians not fewer than-four-hundred
Φλειάσιοι μέντοι οὐκ ἠκολούθουν· ἐκεχειρίαν γὰρ ἔφασαν
Phliasians however not followed a-truce for they-said
ἔχειν. αὕτη μὲν δὴ ἡ μετὰ Λακεδαιμονίων δύναμις ἦν.
to-have this indeed then the with Lacedaemonians force was

17 ἥ γε μὴν τῶν πολεμίων ἠθροίσθη Ἀθηναίων μὲν
the at-least truly of-the enemies was-gathered of-Athenians indeed
εἰς ἑξακισχιλίους ὁπλίτας, Ἀργείων δ' ἐλέγοντο περὶ
about six-thousand hoplites of-Argives and were-said about
ἑπτακισχιλίους, Βοιωτῶν δ', ἐπεὶ Ὀρχομένιοι οὐ παρῆσαν,
seven-thousand of-Boeotians and since Orchomenians not were-present
περὶ πεντακισχιλίους, Κορινθίων γε μὴν εἰς τρισχιλίους,
about five-thousand of-Corinthians at-least truly about three-thousand
καὶ μὴν ἐξ Εὐβοίας ἁπάσης οὐκ ἐλάττους τρισχιλίων.
and truly from Euboea all not fewer than-three-thousand

ὁπλιτικὸν μὲν δὴ τοσοῦτον· ἱππεῖς δὲ Βοιωτῶν μὲν [ἐπεὶ
hoplite-force indeed then so-much horsemen and of-Boeotians indeed since
Ὀρχομένιοι οὐ παρῆσαν] εἰς ὀκτακοσίους, Ἀθηναίων δ' εἰς
Orchomenians not were-present about eight-hundred of-Athenians and about
ἑξακοσίους, καὶ Χαλκιδέων τῶν ἐξ Εὐβοίας εἰς ἑκατόν,
six-hundred and of-Chalcidians the from Euboea about hundred
Λοκρῶν δὲ τῶν Ὀπουντίων εἰς πεντήκοντα. καὶ ψιλῶν
of-Locrians and the Opuntian about fifty and of-light-troops
δὲ σὺν τοῖς τῶν Κορινθίων πλέον ἦν *** καὶ γὰρ Λοκροὶ
and with the of-the Corinthians more was (lacuna) and for Locrians
οἱ Ὀζόλαι καὶ Μηλιεῖς καὶ Ἀκαρνᾶνες παρῆσαν αὐτοῖς.
the Ozolian and Malians and Acarnanians were-present for-them
Αὕτη μὲν δὴ ἑκατέρων ἡ δύναμις ἐγένετο. οἱ δὲ Βοιωτοὶ 18
This indeed then of-each the force was the and Boeotians
ἕως μὲν τὸ εὐώνυμον εἶχον, οὐδέν τι κατήπειγον
as-long-as indeed the left they-held not at-all were-eager
τὴν μάχην συνάπτειν· ἐπεὶ δὲ οἱ μὲν Ἀθηναῖοι κατὰ
the battle to-join when but the indeed Athenians opposite
Λακεδαιμονίους ἐγένοντο, αὐτοὶ δὲ τὸ δεξιὸν ἔσχον καὶ κατ'
Lacedaemonians came-to-be themselves and the right took and opposite
Ἀχαιοὺς ἀντετάχθησαν, εὐθὺς τά τε ἱερὰ καλὰ ἔφασαν εἶναι
Achaeans were-drawn-up at-once the both victims fine they-said to-be
καὶ παρήγγειλαν παρασκευάζεσθαι ὡς μάχης ἐσομένης.
and ordered to-prepare as battle being-about-to-be
καὶ πρῶτον μὲν ἀμελήσαντες τοῦ εἰς ἑκκαίδεκα βαθεῖαν
and first indeed having-neglected the to sixteen deep
παντελῶς ἐποιήσαντο τὴν φάλαγγα, ἔτι δὲ καὶ ἦγον ἐπὶ
altogether they-made the phalanx still and also they-led toward
τὰ δεξιά, ὅπως ὑπερέχοιεν τῷ κέρατι τῶν πολεμίων·
the right so-that they-might-overlap with-the wing the enemies

οἱ δ᾽ Ἀθηναῖοι, ἵνα μὴ διασπασθείησαν, ἐπηκολούθουν,
the and Athenians so-that not they-be-torn-apart followed
καίπερ γιγνώσκοντες ὅτι κίνδυνος εἴη κυκλωθῆναι.
although recognizing that danger it-was to-be-encircled
19 τέως μὲν οὖν οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι οὐκ ᾐσθάνοντο
for-a-time indeed then the Lacedaemonians not perceived
προσιόντων τῶν πολεμίων· καὶ γὰρ ἦν λάσιον τὸ χωρίον·
approaching the enemies and for was wooded the place
ἐπεὶ δ᾽ ἐπαιάνισαν, τότε δὴ ἔγνωσαν, καὶ εὐθὺς
when but they-sang-the-paean then indeed they-recognized and at-once
ἀντιπαρήγγειλαν ἅπαντας διασκευάζεσθαι ὡς εἰς μάχην. ἐπεὶ
gave-counter-orders all to-get-ready as for battle when
δὲ συνετάχθησαν ὡς ἑκάστους οἱ ξεναγοὶ ἔταξαν,
and they-were-drawn-up as each the mercenary-commanders stationed
παρηγγύησαν μὲν ἀκολουθεῖν τῷ ἡγουμένῳ, ἦγον δὲ καὶ
they-passed-the-word indeed to-follow the leading led and also
οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἐπὶ τὰ δεξιά, καὶ οὕτω πολὺ ὑπερέτεινον
the Lacedaemonians to the right and so much they-outflanked
τὸ κέρας ὥστε τῶν Ἀθηναίων αἱ μὲν ἓξ φυλαὶ κατὰ τοὺς
the wing that of-the Athenians the indeed six tribes opposite the
Λακεδαιμονίους ἐγένοντο, αἱ δὲ τέτταρες κατὰ Τεγεάτας.
Lacedaemonians came-to-be the but four opposite Tegeans
20 οὐκέτι δὲ στάδιον ἀπεχόντων, σφαγιασάμενοι οἱ
no-longer and a-stade being-distant having-sacrificed the
Λακεδαιμόνιοι τῇ Ἀγροτέρᾳ, ὥσπερ νομίζεται, τὴν
Lacedaemonians to-the Huntress as is-customary the
χίμαιραν, ἡγοῦντο ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐναντίους, τὸ ὑπερέχον
she-goat led against the opponents the overlapping-part
ἐπικάμψαντες εἰς κύκλωσιν. ἐπεὶ δὲ συνέμειξαν, οἱ
having-wheeled into encirclement when and they-engaged the
μὲν ἄλλοι σύμμαχοι πάντες οἱ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων
indeed other allies all the-ones of-the Lacedaemonians

ἐκρατήθησαν ὑπὸ τῶν ἐναντίων, Πελληνεῖς δὲ κατὰ Θεσπιέας
were-defeated by the opponents Pelleneans but opposite Thespians
γενόμενοι ἐμάχοντό τε καὶ ἐν χώρᾳ ἔπιπτον ἑκατέρων.
having-come-to-be fought both and in place fell of-both
αὐτοὶ δὲ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ὅσον τε κατέσχον τῶν 21
themselves and the Lacedaemonians as-much-as both they-held of-the
Ἀθηναίων ἐκράτησαν, καὶ κυκλωσάμενοι τῷ ὑπερέχοντι
Athenians defeated and having-encircled with-the overlapping-part
πολλοὺς ἀπέκτειναν αὐτῶν, καὶ ἅτε δὴ ἀπαθεῖς
many killed of-them and inasmuch-as indeed unharmed
ὄντες συντεταγμένοι ἐπορεύοντο· καὶ τὰς μὲν τέτταρας
being drawn-up they-marched and the indeed four
φυλὰς τῶν Ἀθηναίων πρὶν ἐκ τῆς διώξεως ἐπαναχωρῆσαι
tribes of-the Athenians before from the pursuit to-return
παρῆλθον, ὥστε οὐκ ἀπέθανον αὐτῶν πλὴν εἴ τις ἐν
passed so-that not died of-them except if anyone in
τῇ συμβολῇ ὑπὸ Τεγεατῶν·
the encounter by Tegeans
τοῖς δ' Ἀργείοις ἐπιτυγχάνουσιν οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι 22
the and Argives meet the Lacedaemonians
ἀναχωροῦσι, καὶ μέλλοντος τοῦ πρώτου πολεμάρχου
returning and being-about the first polemarch
ἐκ τοῦ ἐναντίου συμβάλλειν αὐτοῖς, λέγεται ἄρα
from the front to-engage them it-is-said then
τις ἀναβοῆσαι παρεῖναι τοὺς πρώτους. ὡς δὲ τοῦτ'
someone to-have-shouted to-let-pass the first when and this
ἐγένετο, παραθέοντας δὴ παίοντες εἰς τὰ γυμνὰ
happened running-past indeed striking into the unprotected-sides
πολλοὺς ἀπέκτειναν αὐτῶν. ἐπελάβοντο δὲ καὶ Κορινθίων
many killed of-them caught and also Corinthians
ἀναχωρούντων. ἔτι δ' ἐπέτυχον οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ
returning further and fell-upon the Lacedaemonians also

τῶν Θηβαίων τισὶν ἀναχωροῦσιν ἐκ τῆς διώξεως, καὶ
of-the Thebans some returning from the pursuit and
ἀπέκτειναν συχνοὺς αὐτῶν.
killed many of-them

23 τούτων δὲ γενομένων, οἱ ἡττώμενοι τὸ μὲν πρῶτον
these-things and having-happened the defeated the indeed first
ἔφευγον πρὸς τὰ τείχη· ἔπειτα δ' εἰρξάντων Κορινθίων
fled to the walls then but having-shut-out Corinthians
πάλιν κατεσκήνησαν εἰς τὸ ἀρχαῖον στρατόπεδον.
again encamped in the old camp
Λακεδαιμόνιοι δ' αὖ ἐπαναχωρήσαντες, ἔνθα τὸ πρῶτον
Lacedaemonians and in-turn having-returned where the first
τοῖς πολεμίοις συνέμειξαν, ἐστήσαντο τροπαῖον. καὶ αὕτη
with-the enemies they-engaged set-up a-trophy and this
μὲν δὴ ἡ μάχη οὕτως ἐγένετο.
indeed then the battle so took-place

At Amphipolis Dercylidas brings Agesilaus news of the victory at Nemea and is sent to carry it to the cities of Asia. In Thessaly Agesilaus turns his cavalry on the harassing Thessalian horse and routs it. As he enters Boeotia the sun is eclipsed and word comes that Peisander has been killed and the fleet beaten off Cnidus by Pharnabazus and Conon; he tells the army that Peisander died but won, and sacrifices for good news. At Coronea his mercenaries rout the line opposite them and the Argives flee without waiting for him, but the Thebans cut through the Orchomenians to the baggage. Agesilaus meets them face to face rather than letting them pass, and is wounded many times. He spares the men in the temple and grants the Thebans a truce for their dead.

Ὁ δ' Ἀγησίλαος σπεύδων μὲν ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας ἐβοήθει· 1
— and Agesilaus hurrying indeed from — Asia came-to-help
ὄντι δ' αὐτῷ ἐν Ἀμφιπόλει ἀγγέλλει Δερκυλίδας ὅτι
being and him in Amphipolis reports Dercylidas that
νικῷέν τε αὖ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, καὶ αὐτῶν μὲν τεθνάναι
were-victorious both again Lacedaemonians and of-themselves indeed to-have-died
ὀκτώ, τῶν δὲ πολεμίων παμπλήθεις· ἐδήλου δὲ ὅτι καὶ
eight of-the but enemies very-many he-made-clear and that also
τῶν συμμάχων οὐκ ὀλίγοι πεπτωκότες εἶεν.
of-the allies not few fallen were
ἐρομένου δὲ τοῦ Ἀγησιλάου· Ἆρ' ἄν, ὦ Δερκυλίδα, ἐν 2
having-asked and — Agesilaus Then — O Dercylidas in
καιρῷ γένοιτο, εἰ αἱ συμπέμπουσαι πόλεις ἡμῖν τοὺς
season would-it-be if the sending-with cities to-us the
στρατιώτας τὴν νίκην ὡς τάχιστα πύθοιντο; ἀπεκρίνατο
soldiers the victory as quickly-as-possible should-learn answered
δὴ ὁ Δερκυλίδας· Εὐθυμοτέρους γοῦν εἰκὸς ταῦτ'
indeed — Dercylidas More-cheerful at-any-rate likely these-things
ἀκούσαντας εἶναι. Οὐκοῦν σύ, ἐπεὶ παρεγένου, κάλλιστα
having-heard to-be Then you since you-were-present best

ἂν ἀπαγγείλαις; ὁ δὲ ἄσμενος ἀκούσας, καὶ γὰρ ἀεὶ
— would-report he and gladly having-heard and for always
φιλαπόδημος ἦν, εἶπεν· Εἰ σὺ τάττοις. Ἀλλὰ τάττω,
fond-of-travel he-was said If you should-assign But I-assign
ἔφη, καὶ προσαπαγγέλλειν γε κελεύω ὅτι ἐὰν καὶ
he-said and to-report-besides at-least I-bid that if also
τάδε εὖ γένηται, πάλιν παρεσόμεθα, ὥσπερ καὶ ἔφαμεν.
these-things well turn-out again we-will-be-present as also we-said
3 ὁ μὲν δὴ Δερκυλίδας ἐφ' Ἑλλησπόντου πρῶτον
— indeed then Dercylidas to the-Hellespont first
ἐπορεύετο· ὁ δ' Ἀγησίλαος διαλλάξας Μακεδονίαν εἰς
went — but Agesilaus having-crossed Macedonia into
Θετταλίαν ἀφίκετο. Λαρισαῖοι μὲν οὖν καὶ Κραννώνιοι καὶ
Thessaly arrived Larisaeans indeed then and Crannonians and
Σκοτουσσαῖοι καὶ Φαρσάλιοι, σύμμαχοι ὄντες Βοιωτοῖς,
Scotussaeans and Pharsalians allies being to-Boeotians
καὶ πάντες δὲ Θετταλοί, πλὴν ὅσοι αὐτῶν φυγάδες
and all and Thessalians except as-many-as of-them exiles
τότ' ἐτύγχανον, ἐκακούργουν αὐτὸν ἐπακολουθοῦντες.
then happened harassed him following
4 ὁ δὲ τέως μὲν ἦγεν ἐν πλαισίῳ τὸ στράτευμα, τοὺς
he and for-a-time indeed led in hollow-square the army the
ἡμίσεις μὲν ἔμπροσθεν, τοὺς ἡμίσεις δ' ἐπ' οὐρᾷ ἔχων
halves indeed in-front the halves and at rear having
τῶν ἱππέων· ἐπεὶ δ' ἐκώλυον τῆς πορείας οἱ Θετταλοὶ
of-the horsemen when but hindered the march the Thessalians
ἐπελαύνοντες τοῖς ὄπισθεν, παραπέμπει ἐπ' οὐρὰν καὶ
riding-at the-ones behind sends to rear also
τὸ ἀπὸ τοῦ στόματος ἱππικὸν πλὴν τῶν περὶ αὑτόν·
the from the front cavalry except the-ones around himself

ὡς δὲ παρετάξαντο ἀλλήλοις, οἱ μὲν Θετταλοὶ 5
when and drew-up against-one-another the indeed Thessalians
νομίσαντες οὐκ ἐν καλῷ εἶναι πρὸς τοὺς ὁπλίτας
having-thought not in good-position to-be against the hoplites
ἱππομαχεῖν, στρέψαντες βάδην ἀπεχώρουν.
to-fight-on-horseback having-turned at-a-walk withdrew
οἱ δὲ μάλα σωφρόνως ἐπηκολούθουν. γνοὺς δὲ ὁ 6
they but very prudently followed having-recognized and —
Ἀγησίλαος ἃ ἑκάτεροι ἡμάρτανον, πέμπει τοὺς περὶ
Agesilaus what each erred sends the-ones around
αὐτὸν μάλα εὐρώστους ἱππέας, καὶ κελεύει τοῖς τε ἄλλοις
himself very strong horsemen and bids to-the both others
παραγγέλλειν καὶ αὐτοὺς διώκειν ὡς τάχιστα καὶ
to-pass-orders and themselves to-pursue as quickly-as-possible and
μηκέτι δοῦναι αὐτοῖς ἀναστροφήν.
no-longer to-give them a-turning-back
οἱ δὲ Θετταλοὶ ὡς εἶδον παρὰ δόξαν ἐλαύνοντας, 7
the and Thessalians when they-saw contrary-to expectation riding
οἱ μὲν αὐτῶν ἔφυγον, οἱ δ' ἀνέστρεψαν, οἱ
the-ones indeed of-them fled the-others but turned-back the-others
δὲ πειρώμενοι τοῦτο ποιεῖν πλαγίους ἔχοντες τοὺς ἵππους
and trying this to-do sideways having the horses
ἡλίσκοντο.
were-caught
Πολύχαρμος μέντοι ὁ Φαρσάλιος ἱππαρχῶν ἀνέστρεψέ 8
Polycharmus however the Pharsalian being-hipparch turned-back
τε καὶ μαχόμενος σὺν τοῖς περὶ αὐτὸν ἀποθνῄσκει.
both and fighting with the-ones around him dies
ὡς δὲ τοῦτ' ἐγένετο, φυγὴ τῶν Θετταλῶν ἐξαισία
when and this happened flight of-the Thessalians extraordinary
γίγνεται, ὥστε οἱ μὲν ἀπέθνῃσκον αὐτῶν, οἱ δὲ
takes-place so-that the-ones indeed died of-them the-others and

καὶ ἡλίσκοντο. ἔστησαν δ' οὖν οὐ πρόσθεν, πρὶν ἐν
also were-captured stopped but at-any-rate not sooner before on
τῷ ὄρει τῷ Ναρθακίῳ ἐγένοντο.
the mountain the Narthacian they-arrived

9 καὶ τότε μὲν δὴ ὁ Ἀγησίλαος τροπαῖόν τ' ἐστήσατο μεταξὺ
and then indeed then — Agesilaus a-trophy both set-up between
Πραντὸς καὶ Ναρθακίου, καὶ αὐτοῦ ἔμεινε, μάλα ἡδόμενος
Pras and Narthacium and there remained very pleased
τῷ ἔργῳ, ὅτι τοὺς μέγιστον φρονοῦντας ἐπὶ ἱππικῇ
at-the deed because the-ones most-greatly priding-themselves on horsemanship
ἐνενικήκει σὺν ᾧ αὐτὸς συνέλεξεν ἱππικῷ. τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ
he-had-defeated with which himself he-had-gathered cavalry on-the but next-day
ὑπερβαλὼν τὰ Ἀχαϊϊκὰ τῆς Φθίας ὄρη τὴν λοιπὴν πᾶσαν
crossing the Achaean — of-Phthia mountains the remaining all
διὰ φιλίας ἐπορεύετο μέχρι πρὸς τὰ Βοιωτῶν ὅρια.
through friendly-land he-marched as-far as the of-Boeotians borders

10 Ὄντος δ' αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τῇ ἐμβολῇ ὁ ἥλιος μηνοειδὴς
Being and him at the invasion the sun crescent-shaped
ἔδοξε φανῆναι, καὶ ἠγγέλθη ὅτι ἡττημένοι εἶεν οἱ
seemed to-appear and it-was-reported that defeated were the
Λακεδαιμόνιοι τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ καὶ ὁ ναύαρχος Πείσανδρος
Lacedaemonians in-the sea-battle and the admiral Peisander
τεθναίη. ἐλέγετο δὲ καὶ ᾧ τρόπῳ ἡ ναυμαχία ἐγένετο.
had-died it-was-told and also in-what manner the sea-battle took-place

11 εἶναι μὲν γὰρ περὶ Κνίδον τὸν ἐπίπλουν ἀλλήλοις,
to-be indeed for around Cnidus the sailing-against one-another
Φαρνάβαζον δὲ ναύαρχον ὄντα σὺν ταῖς Φοινίσσαις
Pharnabazus and admiral being with the Phoenician-(ships)
εἶναι, Κόνωνα δὲ τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν ἔχοντα τετάχθαι
to-be Conon and the Greek having to-have-been-stationed
ἔμπροσθεν αὐτοῦ.
in-front of-him

ἀντιπαραταξαμένου δὲ τοῦ Πεισάνδρου, καὶ πολὺ ἐλαττόνων 12
having-drawn-up-opposite and — Peisander and much fewer
αὐτῷ τῶν νεῶν φανεισῶν τῶν αὑτοῦ τοῦ μετὰ Κόνωνος
to-him the ships appearing the his-own than-the with Conon
Ἑλληνικοῦ, τοὺς μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ εὐωνύμου συμμάχους εὐθὺς
Greek the indeed from the left allies at-once
αὐτῷ φεύγειν, αὐτὸν δὲ συμμείξαντα τοῖς πολεμίοις
on-him to-flee himself but having-engaged with-the enemies
ἐμβολὰς ἐχούσῃ τῇ τριήρει πρὸς τὴν γῆν ἐξωσθῆναι·
ramming-blows having with-the trireme to the land to-have-been-pushed
καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους ὅσοι εἰς τὴν γῆν ἐξεώσθησαν
and the indeed others as-many-as to the land were-pushed
ἀπολιπόντας τὰς ναῦς σώζεσθαι ὅπῃ δύναιντο εἰς τὴν
having-abandoned the ships to-save-themselves how they-could to —
Κνίδον, αὐτὸν δ' ἐπὶ τῇ νηὶ μαχόμενον ἀποθανεῖν.
Cnidus himself but on the ship fighting to-have-died
ὁ οὖν Ἀγησίλαος πυθόμενος ταῦτα τὸ μὲν πρῶτον 13
— then Agesilaus having-learned these-things the indeed first
χαλεπῶς ἤνεγκεν· ἐπεὶ μέντοι ἐνεθυμήθη ὅτι τοῦ
hard bore-it when however he-considered that of-the
στρατεύματος τὸ πλεῖστον εἴη αὐτῷ οἷον ἀγαθῶν μὲν
army the most-part was for-him such-as good-things indeed
γιγνομένων ἡδέως μετέχειν, εἰ δέ τι χαλεπὸν ὁρῷεν,
happening gladly to-share if but anything hard they-should-see
οὐκ ἀνάγκην εἶναι κοινωνεῖν αὐτοῖς, ἐκ τούτου μεταβαλὼν
not necessity to-be to-share with-them after this having-changed
ἔλεγεν ὡς ἀγγέλλοιτο ὁ μὲν Πείσανδρος τετελευτηκώς,
he-said that it-was-reported — indeed Peisander dead
νικῴη δὲ τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ.
was-victorious but in-the sea-battle

14 ἅμα δὲ ταῦτα λέγων καὶ ἐβουθύτει ὡς εὐαγγέλια
at-the-same-time and these-things saying also he-sacrificed-oxen as for-good-news
καὶ πολλοῖς διέπεμπε τῶν τεθυμένων, ὥστε ἀκροβολισμοῦ
and to-many he-sent-around of-the sacrificed-things so-that a-skirmish
ὄντος πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους ἐκράτησαν οἱ τοῦ Ἀγησιλάου
being against the enemies prevailed the — of-Agesilaus
τῷ λόγῳ ὡς Λακεδαιμονίων νικώντων τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ.
by-the report that Lacedaemonians were-winning in-the sea-battle
15 Ἦσαν δ' οἱ μὲν ἀντιτεταγμένοι τῷ Ἀγησιλάῳ Βοιωτοί,
Were and the indeed drawn-up-against — Agesilaus Boeotians
Ἀθηναῖοι, Ἀργεῖοι, Κορίνθιοι, Αἰνιᾶνες, Εὐβοεῖς, Λοκροὶ
Athenians Argives Corinthians Aenianians Euboeans Locrians
ἀμφότεροι· σὺν Ἀγησιλάῳ δὲ Λακεδαιμονίων μὲν μόρα
both with Agesilaus but of-Lacedaemonians indeed a-regiment
ἡ ἐκ Κορίνθου διαβᾶσα, ἥμισυ δὲ μόρας τῆς
the-one from Corinth having-crossed half and of-a-regiment the-one
ἐξ Ὀρχομενοῦ, ἔτι δ' οἱ ἐκ Λακεδαίμονος νεοδαμώδεις
from Orchomenus further and the from Lacedaemon neodamodes
συστρατευσάμενοι αὐτῷ, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις οὗ Ἡριππίδας
having-campaigned-with him besides and these of-what Herippidas
ἐξενάγει ξενικοῦ, ἔτι δὲ οἱ ἀπὸ τῶν ἐν τῇ
was-mercenary-commander mercenary-force further and the-ones from the in —
Ἀσίᾳ πόλεων Ἑλληνίδων, καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ἐν τῇ Εὐρώπῃ
Asia cities Greek and from the-ones in — Europe
ὅσας διιὼν παρέλαβεν· αὐτόθεν δὲ προσεγένοντο
as-many-as passing-through he-took-on from-there and were-added
ὁπλῖται Ὀρχομένιοι καὶ Φωκεῖς. πελτασταί γε μὴν πολὺ
hoplites Orchomenians and Phocians peltasts at-least truly much
πλέονες οἱ μετ' Ἀγησιλάου· ἱππεῖς δ' αὖ παραπλήσιοι
more the with Agesilaus horsemen and in-turn nearly-equal
ἀμφοτέροις τὸ πλῆθος.
to-both in-the number

ἡ μὲν δὴ δύναμις αὕτη ἀμφοτέρων· διηγήσομαι δὲ καὶ 16
the indeed then force this of-both I-will-narrate and also
τὴν μάχην, καὶ πῶς ἐγένετο οἵα οὐκ ἄλλη τῶν γ'
the battle and how it-took-place such-as not other of-the at-least
ἐφ' ἡμῶν. συνῆσαν μὲν γὰρ εἰς τὸ κατὰ Κορώνειαν
in our-time they-came-together indeed for into the by Coronea
πεδίον οἱ μὲν σὺν Ἀγησιλάῳ ἀπὸ τοῦ Κηφισοῦ, οἱ
plain the-ones indeed with Agesilaus from the Cephisus the-ones
δὲ σὺν Θηβαίοις ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἑλικῶνος. εἶχε δ' Ἀγησίλαος
but with Thebans from — Helicon held and Agesilaus
μὲν δεξιὸν τοῦ μετ' αὐτοῦ, Ὀρχομένιοι δ' αὐτῷ ἔσχατοι
indeed right of-the with him Orchomenians and of-him last
ἦσαν τοῦ εὐωνύμου. οἱ δ' αὖ Θηβαῖοι αὐτοὶ μὲν
were of-the left the but in-turn Thebans themselves indeed
δεξιοὶ ἦσαν, Ἀργεῖοι δ' αὐτοῖς τὸ εὐώνυμον εἶχον.
right were Argives and of-them the left held
συνιόντων δὲ τέως μὲν σιγὴ πολλὴ ἀπ' ἀμφοτέρων 17
coming-together and for-a-time indeed silence much from both
ἦν· ἡνίκα δ' ἀπεῖχον ἀλλήλων ὅσον στάδιον,
was when and they-were-distant from-one-another about a-stade
ἀλαλάξαντες οἱ Θηβαῖοι δρόμῳ ὁμόσε ἐφέροντο.
having-raised-the-war-cry the Thebans at-a-run to-close-quarters rushed
ὡς δὲ τριῶν ἔτι πλέθρων ἐν μέσῳ ὄντων ἀντεξέδραμον ἀπὸ
when and three still plethra in middle being ran-out-to-meet-them from
τῆς Ἀγησιλάου φάλαγγος ὧν Ἡριππίδας ἐξενάγει
of-the of-Agesilaus phalanx of-whom Herippidas was-mercenary-commander
καὶ σὺν αὐτοῖς Ἴωνες καὶ Αἰολεῖς καὶ Ἑλλησπόντιοι, καὶ
and with them Ionians and Aeolians and Hellespontines and
πάντες οὗτοι τῶν συνεκδραμόντων τε ἐγένοντο καὶ εἰς δόρυ
all these of-the having-run-out-together both were and to spear

ἀφικόμενοι ἔτρεψαν τὸ καθ' αὑτούς. Ἀργεῖοι μέντοι οὐκ
having-come routed the-(part) opposite themselves Argives however not
ἐδέξαντο τοὺς περὶ Ἀγησίλαον, ἀλλ' ἔφυγον ἐπὶ τὸν Ἑλικῶνα.
awaited the around Agesilaus but fled to — Helicon
18 κἀνταῦθα οἱ μέν τινες τῶν ξένων ἐστεφάνουν ἤδη
and-there the-ones indeed some of-the mercenaries were-crowning already
τὸν Ἀγησίλαον, ἀγγέλλει δέ τις αὐτῷ ὅτι οἱ Θηβαῖοι
— Agesilaus reports but someone to-him that the Thebans
τοὺς Ὀρχομενίους διακόψαντες ἐν τοῖς σκευοφόροις
the Orchomenians having-cut-through in-among the baggage
εἴησαν. καὶ ὁ μὲν εὐθὺς ἐξελίξας τὴν φάλαγγα ἦγεν
were and he indeed at-once having-countermarched the phalanx led
ἐπ' αὐτούς· οἱ δ' αὖ Θηβαῖοι ὡς εἶδον τοὺς συμμάχους
against them the but in-turn Thebans when they-saw the allies
πρὸς Ἑλικῶνι πεφευγότας, διαπεσεῖν βουλόμενοι πρὸς
to Helicon having-fled to-break-through wishing to
τοὺς ἑαυτῶν, συσπειραθέντες ἐχώρουν ἐρρωμένως.
the their-own having-massed-together advanced vigorously
19 ἐνταῦθα δὴ Ἀγησίλαον ἀνδρεῖον μὲν ἔξεστιν εἰπεῖν
there indeed Agesilaus brave indeed it-is-possible to-call
ἀναμφισβητήτως· οὐ μέντοι εἵλετό γε τὰ ἀσφαλέστατα.
indisputably not however he-chose at-least the safest-course
ἐξὸν γὰρ αὐτῷ παρέντι τοὺς διαπίπτοντας
being-possible for for-him having-let-pass the-ones breaking-through
ἀκολουθοῦντι χειροῦσθαι τοὺς ὄπισθεν, οὐκ ἐποίησε
following to-overcome the-ones behind not he-did
τοῦτο, ἀλλ' ἀντιμέτωπος συνέρραξε τοῖς Θηβαίοις· καὶ
this but face-to-face crashed-into the Thebans and
συμβαλόντες τὰς ἀσπίδας ἐωθοῦντο, ἐμάχοντο, ἀπέκτεινον,
having-locked the shields they-shoved fought killed

ἀπέθνῃσκον. τέλος δὲ τῶν Θηβαίων οἱ μὲν διαπίπτουσι
died finally but of-the Thebans the-ones indeed break-through
πρὸς τὸν Ἑλικῶνα, πολλοὶ δ' ἀποχωροῦντες ἀπέθανον.
to — Helicon many but withdrawing died
ἐπεὶ δ' ἡ μὲν νίκη Ἀγησιλάου ἐγεγένητο, τετρωμένος δ' 20
when and the indeed victory of-Agesilaus had-come-about wounded but
αὐτὸς προσενήνεκτο πρὸς τὴν φάλαγγα, προσελάσαντές
himself had-been-carried to the phalanx having-ridden-up
τινες τῶν ἱππέων λέγουσιν αὐτῷ ὅτι τῶν πολεμίων ὡς
some of-the horsemen tell him that of-the enemies about
ὀγδοήκοντα σὺν ὅπλοις ὑπὸ τῷ νεῷ εἰσι, καὶ ἠρώτων
eighty with arms under the temple are and asked
τί χρὴ ποιεῖν. ὁ δέ, καίπερ πολλὰ τραύματα ἔχων,
what it-is-needful to-do he and although many wounds having
ὅμως οὐκ ἐπελάθετο τοῦ θείου, ἀλλ' ἐᾶν τε ἀπιέναι
nevertheless not forgot the divine but to-allow both to-go-away
ᾗ βούλοιντο ἐκέλευε καὶ ἀδικεῖν οὐκ εἴα. τότε μὲν οὖν,
where they-wished bade and to-harm not allowed then indeed then
καὶ γὰρ ἦν ἤδη ὀψέ, δειπνοποιησάμενοι ἐκοιμήθησαν.
and for it-was already late having-dined they-slept
πρῲὰ δὲ Γύλιν τὸν πολέμαρχον παρατάξαι τε ἐκέλευε 21
early and Gylis the polemarch to-draw-up both bade
τὸ στράτευμα καὶ τροπαῖον ἵστασθαι, καὶ στεφανοῦσθαι
the army and a-trophy to-set-up and to-be-crowned
πάντας τῷ θεῷ καὶ τοὺς αὐλητὰς πάντας αὐλεῖν. καὶ
all for-the god and the flute-players all to-play and
οἱ μὲν ταῦτ' ἐποίουν. οἱ δὲ Θηβαῖοι ἔπεμψαν κήρυκας,
they indeed these-things did the but Thebans sent heralds
ὑποσπόνδους τοὺς νεκροὺς αἰτοῦντες θάψαι. καὶ οὕτω
under-truce the dead asking to-bury and so
δὴ αἵ τε σπονδαὶ γίγνονται καὶ Ἀγησίλαος μὲν εἰς
indeed the both truce comes-about and Agesilaus indeed to

Δελφοὺς ἀφικόμενος δεκάτην τῶν ἐκ τῆς λείας τῷ
Delphi having-arrived a-tithe of-the-things from the booty to-the
θεῷ ἀπέθυσεν οὐκ ἐλάττω ἑκατὸν ταλάντων· Γύλις
god offered not less than-hundred talents Gylis
δὲ ὁ πολέμαρχος ἔχων τὸ στράτευμα ἀπεχώρησεν εἰς
but the polemarch having the army withdrew to
Φωκέας, ἐκεῖθεν δ' εἰς τὴν Λοκρίδα ἐμβάλλει.
Phocians thence and into — Locris invades

22 καὶ τὴν μὲν ἄλλην ἡμέραν οἱ στρατιῶται καὶ σκεύη
and the indeed rest-of day the soldiers both goods
ἐκ τῶν κωμῶν καὶ σῖτον ἥρπαζον· ἐπεὶ δὲ πρὸς
from the villages and grain plundered when but toward
ἑσπέραν ἦν, τελευταίων ἀποχωρούντων τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων
evening it-was last withdrawing the Lacedaemonians
ἐπηκολούθουν αὐτοῖς οἱ Λοκροὶ βάλλοντες καὶ ἀκοντίζοντες.
followed them the Locrians pelting and hurling-javelins
ὡς δ' αὐτῶν οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ὑποστρέψαντες καὶ
when and of-them the Lacedaemonians having-turned and
διώξαντες κατέβαλόν τινας, ἐκ τούτου ὄπισθεν μὲν
having-pursued struck-down some after this behind indeed
οὐκέτι ἐπηκολούθουν, ἐκ δὲ τῶν ὑπερδεξίων ἔβαλλον.
no-longer they-followed from but the higher-ground they-pelted

23 οἱ δ' ἐπεχείρησαν μὲν καὶ πρὸς τὸ σιμὸν διώκειν· ἐπεὶ δὲ
they and attempted indeed also up the slope to-pursue when but
σκότος τε ἐγίγνετο καὶ ἀποχωροῦντες οἱ μὲν διὰ
darkness both was-coming-on and withdrawing the-ones indeed because-of
τὴν δυσχωρίαν ἔπιπτον, οἱ δὲ καὶ διὰ τὸ μὴ προορᾶν
the rough-ground fell the-others but also because-of the not to-see-ahead
τὰ ἔμπροσθεν, οἱ δὲ καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν βελῶν, ἐνταῦθα
the-things in-front the-others but also by the missiles there
ἀποθνήσκουσι Γύλίς τε ὁ πολέμαρχος καὶ τῶν παραστατῶν
die Gylis both the polemarch and of-the men-beside-him

Πελλῆς, καὶ οἱ πάντες ὡς ὀκτωκαίδεκα τῶν Σπαρτιατῶν,
Pelles and the all about eighteen of-the Spartiates
οἱ μὲν καταλευσθέντες, οἱ δὲ καὶ τραυματισθέντες. εἰ
the-ones indeed stoned the-others but also wounded if
δὲ μὴ ἐβοήθησαν αὐτοῖς ἐκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου δειπνοῦντες,
but not had-come-to-help them from the camp dining
ἐκινδύνευσαν ἂν ἅπαντες ἀπολέσθαι.
they-would-have-run-the-risk — all to-perish

IV · THE LONG WALLS OF CORINTH

Corinth wants peace, and the party that took the king's money slaughters its opponents in the agora and at the altars on the last day of the Euclea; Argos absorbs the city, its boundary stones torn up. Two survivors let the Spartan polemarch Praxitas inside the long walls to Lechaeum. The Argives attack and rout the Sicyonians, and Pasimachus dies fighting with the Sicyonian shields; then the Spartans take the Argives in the flank, and so many fall in the crush at the walls that the Spartans see heaps of corpses as they used to see heaps of grain. Praxitas breaches the walls and takes Sidus and Crommyon. Iphicrates' peltasts frighten Phlius into receiving a Spartan garrison and terrify the Arcadians. The Athenians rebuild the walls, and Agesilaus takes them while his brother Teleutias takes the ships and dockyards.

Μετὰ τοῦτό γε μὴν ἀφείθη μὲν κατὰ πόλεις τὸ ἄλλο 1
After this at-least truly was-dismissed indeed by cities the other
στράτευμα, ἀπέπλευσε δὲ καὶ ὁ Ἀγησίλαος ἐπ' οἴκου.
army sailed-off and also — Agesilaus to home
ἐκ δὲ τούτου ἐπολέμουν Ἀθηναῖοι μὲν καὶ Βοιωτοὶ καὶ
after and this made-war Athenians indeed and Boeotians and
Ἀργεῖοι καὶ οἱ σύμμαχοι αὐτῶν ἐκ Κορίνθου ὁρμώμενοι,
Argives and the allies their from Corinth setting-out
Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ καὶ οἱ σύμμαχοι ἐκ Σικυῶνος. ὁρῶντες
Lacedaemonians but and the allies from Sicyon seeing

δ' οἱ Κορίνθιοι ἑαυτῶν μὲν καὶ τὴν χώραν δῃουμένην
and the Corinthians their-own indeed both the land being-ravaged
καὶ πολλοὺς ἀποθνῄσκοντας διὰ τὸ ἀεὶ τῶν πολεμίων
and many dying because-of the always the enemies
ἐγγὺς εἶναι, τοὺς δ' ἄλλους συμμάχους καὶ αὐτοὺς ἐν
near to-be the but other allies both themselves in
εἰρήνῃ ὄντας καὶ τὰς χώρας αὐτῶν ἐνεργοὺς οὔσας, οἱ
peace being and the lands their tilled being the
πλεῖστοι καὶ βέλτιστοι αὐτῶν εἰρήνης ἐπεθύμησαν, καὶ
most and best of-them peace desired and
συνιστάμενοι ἐδίδασκον ταῦτα ἀλλήλους.
banding-together taught these-things one-another

2 γνόντες δ' οἱ Ἀργεῖοι καὶ Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ Βοιωτοὶ
having-recognized and the Argives and Athenians and Boeotians
καὶ Κορινθίων οἵ τε τῶν παρὰ βασιλέως χρημάτων
and of-Corinthians the-ones both of-the from the-king money
μετεσχηκότες καὶ οἱ τοῦ πολέμου αἰτιώτατοι γεγενημένοι
having-had-a-share and the-ones of-the war most-responsible having-been
ὡς εἰ μὴ ἐκποδὼν ποιήσοιντο τοὺς ἐπὶ τὴν εἰρήνην
that if not out-of-the-way they-should-put the-ones to the peace
τετραμμένους, κινδυνεύσοι πάλιν ἡ πόλις λακωνίσαι,
turned would-run-the-risk again the city to-laconize
οὕτω δὴ σφαγὰς ἐπεχείρουν ποιεῖσθαι. καὶ πρῶτον μὲν
so indeed slaughters they-attempted to-make and first indeed
τὸ πάντων ἀνοσιώτατον ἐβουλεύσαντο· οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἄλλοι,
the of-all most-impious they-planned the indeed for others
κἂν νόμῳ τις καταγνωσθῇ, οὐκ ἀποκτεινύουσιν ἐν
even-if by-law someone be-condemned not kill at
ἑορτῇ· ἐκεῖνοι δ' Εὐκλείων τὴν τελευταίαν προείλοντο, ὅτι
a-festival they but of-the-Euclea the last chose because
πλείονας ἂν ᾤοντο λαβεῖν ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ, ὥστε ἀποκτεῖναι.
more — they-thought to-catch in the agora so-as to-kill

ὡς δ' ἐσημάνθη οἷς εἴρητο οὓς ἔδει ἀποκτεῖναι, 3
when and it-was-signaled to-whom it-had-been-told whom it-was-needful to-kill
σπασάμενοι τὰ ξίφη ἔπαιον τὸν μέν τινα συνεστηκότα ἐν
having-drawn the swords they-struck the-one indeed some standing-together in
κύκλῳ, τὸν δὲ καθήμενον, τὸν δέ τινα ἐν θεάτρῳ, ἔστι
a-circle the-other but sitting the-other but some in theater there-is
δ' ὃν καὶ κριτὴν καθήμενον. ὡς δ' ἐγνώσθη τὸ πρᾶγμα,
and whom also as-judge sitting when and was-known the affair
εὐθὺς ἔφευγον οἱ βέλτιστοι, οἱ μὲν πρὸς τὰ ἀγάλματα
at-once fled the best the-ones indeed to the statues
τῶν ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ θεῶν, οἱ δ' ἐπὶ τοὺς βωμούς· ἔνθα δὴ
of-the in the agora gods the-others but to the altars there indeed
οἱ ἀνοσιώτατοι καὶ παντάπασιν οὐδὲν νόμιμον φρονοῦντες,
the most-impious and altogether nothing lawful thinking
οἵ τε κελεύοντες καὶ οἱ πειθόμενοι, ἔσφαττον καὶ πρὸς
the-ones both ordering and the-ones obeying slaughtered also at
τοῖς ἱεροῖς, ὥστ' ἐνίους καὶ τῶν οὐ τυπτομένων, νομίμων
the holy-places so-that some even of-the not being-struck law-abiding
δ' ἀνθρώπων, ἀδημονῆσαι τὰς ψυχὰς ἰδόντας τὴν ἀσέβειαν.
but men to-be-distressed in-the souls having-seen the impiety
ἀποθνῄσκουσι δ' οὕτω τῶν μὲν πρεσβυτέρων πολλοί· 4
die and thus of-the indeed older many
μᾶλλον γὰρ ἔτυχον ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ ὄντες· οἱ δὲ νεώτεροι,
rather for they-happened in the agora being the but younger
ὑποπτεύσαντος Πασιμήλου τὸ μέλλον ἔσεσθαι, ἡσυχίαν
having-suspected Pasimelus the about-to be quiet
ἔσχον ἐν τῷ Κρανείῳ. ὡς δὲ τῆς κραυγῆς ᾔσθοντο,
kept in — Craneion when and the shouting they-perceived
καὶ φεύγοντές τινες ἐκ τοῦ πράγματος ἀφίκοντο πρὸς
and fleeing some from the affair came to

αὐτούς, ἐκ τούτου ἀναδραμόντες κατὰ τὸν Ἀκροκόρινθον,
them after this having-run-up by — Acrocorinth
προσβαλόντας μὲν Ἀργείους καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἀπεκρούσαντο·
attacking indeed Argives and the others they-beat-off
5 βουλευομένων δὲ τί χρὴ ποιεῖν, πίπτει τὸ κιόκρανον
deliberating and what it-is-needful to-do falls the capital
ἀπό του κίονος οὔτε σεισμοῦ οὔτε ἀνέμου γενομένου. καὶ
from a column neither earthquake nor wind having-occurred and
θυομένοις δὲ τοιαῦτα ἦν τὰ ἱερὰ ὥστε οἱ μάντεις ἔφασαν
sacrificing and such were the victims so-that the seers said
ἄμεινον εἶναι καταβαίνειν ἐκ τοῦ χωρίου. καὶ τὸ μὲν
better to-be to-come-down from the place and the indeed
πρῶτον ὡς φευξόμενοι ἔξω τῆς Κορινθίας ἀπεχώρησαν·
first as going-to-flee out-of the Corinthian-land they-withdrew
ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ οἱ φίλοι αὐτοὺς ἔπειθον καὶ μητέρες ἰοῦσαι
when but also the friends them persuaded and mothers coming
καὶ ἀδελφαί, καὶ αὐτῶν δὲ τῶν ἐν δυνάμει ὄντων
and sisters and of-themselves and the-ones in power being
ἦσαν οἳ ὀμνύοντες ὑπισχνοῦντο μηδὲν χαλεπὸν αὐτοὺς
there-were who swearing promised nothing hard them
πείσεσθαι, οὕτω δὴ ἀπῆλθόν τινες οἴκαδε αὐτῶν.
to-suffer so indeed went-away some home of-them
6 ὁρῶντες δὲ τοὺς ἐν δυνάμει ὄντας τυραννεύοντας,
seeing and the-ones in power being being-tyrants
αἰσθανόμενοι δὲ ἀφανιζομένην τὴν πόλιν διὰ τὸ
perceiving and being-made-to-vanish the city because-of the
καὶ ὅρους ἀνασπᾶσθαι καὶ Ἄργος ἀντὶ Κορίνθου
both boundary-stones to-be-torn-up and Argos instead-of Corinth
τὴν πατρίδα αὐτοῖς ὀνομάζεσθαι, καὶ πολιτείας μὲν
the fatherland for-them to-be-named and citizenship indeed
ἀναγκαζόμενοι τῆς ἐν Ἄργει μετέχειν, ἧς οὐδὲν ἐδέοντο,
being-compelled the in Argos to-share of-which nothing they-needed

ἐν δὲ τῇ πόλει μετοίκων ἔλαττον δυνάμενοι, ἐγένοντό τινες
in but the city than-metics less being-powerful there-were some
αὐτῶν οἳ ἐνόμισαν οὕτω μὲν ἀβίωτον εἶναι· πειρωμένους δὲ
of-them who thought so indeed unlivable to-be trying but
τὴν πατρίδα, ὥσπερ ἦν καὶ ἐξ ἀρχῆς, Κόρινθον ποιῆσαι
the fatherland as it-was also from beginning Corinth to-make
καὶ ἐλευθέραν ἀποδεῖξαι καὶ τῶν μὲν μιαφόνων καθαράν,
and free to-show and of-the indeed murderers clean
εὐνομίᾳ δὲ χρωμένην, ἄξιον εἶναι, εἰ μὲν δύναιντο
with-good-order and using worthy to-be if indeed they-could
καταπρᾶξαι ταῦτα, σωτῆρας γενέσθαι τῆς πατρίδος, εἰ δὲ
to-accomplish these-things saviors to-become of-the fatherland if but
μὴ δύναιντο, τῶν γε καλλίστων καὶ μεγίστων ἀγαθῶν
not they-could of-the at-least finest and greatest goods
ὀρεγομένους ἀξιεπαινοτάτης τελευτῆς τυχεῖν.
reaching-for most-praiseworthy end to-obtain
οὕτω δὴ ἐπιχειρεῖτον ἄνδρε δύο, Πασίμηλός τε καὶ 7
so indeed attempt men two Pasimelus both and
Ἀλκιμένης, διαδύντε διὰ χειμάρρου συγγενέσθαι
Alcimenes having-slipped-through through a-torrent-bed to-meet
Πραξίτᾳ τῷ Λακεδαιμονίων πολεμάρχῳ, ὃς ἐτύγχανε μετὰ
with-Praxitas the of-Lacedaemonians polemarch who happened with
τῆς ἑαυτοῦ μόρας φρουρῶν ἐν Σικυῶνι, καὶ εἶπον ὅτι
the his-own regiment garrisoning in Sicyon and said that
δύναιντ' ἂν παρασχεῖν αὐτῷ εἴσοδον εἰς τὰ κατατείνοντα
they-could — provide to-him entry into the stretching
ἐπὶ Λέχαιον τείχη. ὁ δὲ καὶ πρόσθεν γιγνώσκων τὼ ἄνδρε
to Lechaeum walls he and also before knowing the two-men
ἀξιοπίστω ὄντε ἐπίστευσε, καὶ διαπραξάμενος ὥστε καὶ
trustworthy being trusted and having-arranged so-that also

τὴν ἀπιέναι μέλλουσαν ἐκ Σικυῶνος μόραν καταμεῖναι,
the to-depart being-about from Sicyon regiment to-stay-behind
ἔπραττε τὴν εἴσοδον.
managed the entry

8 ἐπεὶ δὲ τὼ ἄνδρε καὶ κατὰ τύχην καὶ κατ' ἐπιμέλειαν
when and the two-men both by chance and by design
ἐγενέσθην φύλακε κατὰ τὰς πύλας ταύτας ἔνθαπερ τὸ
became guards at the gates these where-very the
τροπαῖον ἕστηκεν, οὕτω δὴ ἔχων ὁ Πραξίτας ἔρχεται
trophy stands so indeed having — Praxitas comes
τήν τε μόραν καὶ Σικυωνίους καὶ Κορινθίων ὅσοι
the both regiment and Sicyonians and of-Corinthians as-many-as
φυγάδες ὄντες ἐτύγχανον. ἐπεὶ δ' ἦν πρὸς ταῖς πύλαις,
exiles being happened when and he-was at the gates
φοβούμενος τὴν εἴσοδον, ἐβουλήθη τῶν πιστῶν ἄνδρα
fearing the entry he-wished of-the trusted a-man
εἰσπέμψαι σκεψόμενον τὰ ἔνδον. τὼ δὲ εἰσηγαγέτην
to-send-in going-to-inspect the-things inside the-two and led-in
καὶ οὕτως ἁπλῶς ἀπεδειξάτην ὥστε ὁ εἰσελθὼν
and so simply showed that the-one having-entered
ἐξήγγειλε πάντα εἶναι ἀδόλως οἷάπερ ἐλεγέτην.
reported all to-be without-guile such-as-very they-said

9 ἐκ τούτου δ' εἰσέρχεται. ὡς δὲ πολὺ διεχόντων τῶν
after this and he-enters when and far being-apart the
τειχῶν ἀπ' ἀλλήλων παραταττόμενοι ὀλίγοι ἑαυτοῖς ἔδοξαν
walls from one-another drawing-up few to-themselves seemed
εἶναι, σταύρωμά τ' ἐποιήσαντο καὶ τάφρον οἵαν ἐδύναντο
to-be a-stockade both they-made and a-ditch such-as they-could
πρὸ αὑτῶν, ἕως δὴ οἱ σύμμαχοι βοηθήσαιεν αὐτοῖς.
in-front-of themselves until indeed the allies should-come-to-help them
ἦν δὲ καὶ ὄπισθεν αὐτῶν ἐν τῷ λιμένι Βοιωτῶν φυλακή.
was and also behind them in the harbor of-Boeotians a-guard

τὴν μὲν οὖν ἐπὶ τῇ νυκτὶ ᾗ εἰσῆλθον ἡμέραν ἄμαχοι
the indeed then after the night in-which they-entered day without-battle
διήγαγον· τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ ἦκον οἱ Ἀργεῖοι πασσυδίᾳ
they-passed on-the but next-day came the Argives in-full-force
βοηθοῦντες· καὶ εὑρόντες τεταγμένους Λακεδαιμονίους μὲν
helping and having-found drawn-up Lacedaemonians indeed
ἐπὶ τῷ δεξιῷ ἑαυτῶν, Σικυωνίους δὲ ἐχομένους, Κορινθίων
on the right their-own Sicyonians and next of-Corinthians
δὲ τοὺς φυγάδας ὡς πεντήκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν πρὸς τῷ
and the exiles about fifty and hundred by the
ἑῴῳ τείχει, ἀντιτάττονται ἐχόμενοι [δὲ] τοῦ ἑῴου τείχους
eastern wall draw-up-against next-to and the eastern wall
οἱ περὶ Ἰφικράτη μισθοφόροι, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις Ἀργεῖοι·
the around Iphicrates mercenaries next-to and these Argives
εὐώνυμον δ' εἶχον αὐτοῖς Κορίνθιοι οἱ ἐκ τῆς πόλεως.
the-left and held for-them Corinthians the-ones from the city
καταφρονήσαντες δὲ τῷ πλήθει εὐθὺς ἐχώρουν· καὶ τοὺς 10
having-despised and with-the number at-once they-advanced and the
μὲν Σικυωνίους ἐκράτησαν καὶ διασπάσαντες τὸ σταύρωμα
indeed Sicyonians defeated and having-torn-apart the stockade
ἐδίωκον ἐπὶ θάλατταν, καὶ ἐκεῖ πολλοὺς αὐτῶν ἀπέκτειναν.
pursued to sea and there many of-them killed
Πασίμαχος δὲ ὁ ἱππαρμοστής, ἔχων ἱππέας οὐ πολλούς,
Pasimachus but the cavalry-commander having horsemen not many
ὡς ἑώρα τοὺς Σικυωνίους πιεζομένους, καταδήσας ἀπὸ
when he-saw the Sicyonians being-hard-pressed having-tied from
δένδρων τοὺς ἵππους καὶ ἀφελόμενος τὰς ἀσπίδας αὐτῶν,
trees the horses and having-taken-away the shields their
μετὰ τῶν ἐθελόντων ᾔει ἐναντίον τοῖς Ἀργείοις. οἱ δὲ
with the willing went against the Argives the and
Ἀργεῖοι ὁρῶντες τὰ σίγμα τὰ ἐπὶ τῶν ἀσπίδων, ὡς
Argives seeing the sigmas the on the shields as

Σικυωνίους οὐδὲν ἐφοβοῦντο. ἔνθα δὴ λέγεται εἰπὼν ὁ
Sicyonians nothing feared there indeed is-said having-said —
Πασίμαχος· Ναὶ τὼ σιώ, [ὦ] Ἀργεῖοι, ψευσεῖ ὑμὲ τὰ
Pasimachus Yes by-the two-gods O Argives will-deceive you the
σίγμα ταῦτα, χωρεῖν ὁμόσε· καὶ οὕτω μαχόμενος μετ'
sigmas these to-come to-close-quarters and so fighting with
ὀλίγων πρὸς πολλοὺς ἀποθνῄσκει καὶ ἄλλοι τῶν περὶ αὐτόν.
few against many dies and others of-the around him
11 οἱ μέντοι φυγάδες τῶν Κορινθίων νικῶντες τοὺς καθ' αὑτοὺς
the however exiles of-the Corinthians defeating the-ones opposite themselves
διέδυσαν ἄνω, καὶ ἐγένοντο ἐγγὺς τοῦ περὶ τὸ ἄστυ κύκλου·
slipped-through up and came near the around the town circuit
οἱ δ' αὖ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ὡς ᾔσθοντο κρατοῦντα τὰ
the and in-turn Lacedaemonians when they-perceived prevailing the-things
κατὰ τοὺς Σικυωνίους, βοηθοῦσιν ἐξελθόντες, ἐν ἀριστερᾷ
by the Sicyonians come-to-help having-gone-out on left
ἔχοντες τὸ σταύρωμα. οἵ γε μὴν Ἀργεῖοι ἐπεὶ ἤκουσαν
having the stockade the at-least truly Argives when they-heard
ὄπισθεν ὄντας τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους, στραφέντες δρόμῳ πάλιν
behind being the Lacedaemonians having-turned at-a-run again
ἐκ τοῦ σταυρώματος ἐξέπιπτον. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐν δεξιᾷ ἔσχατοι
from the stockade rushed-out and the indeed on right last
αὐτῶν παιόμενοι εἰς τὰ γυμνὰ ὑπὸ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων
of-them being-struck on the unprotected-sides by the Lacedaemonians
ἀπέθνῃσκον, οἱ δὲ πρὸς τῷ τείχει ἁθρόοι σὺν πολλῷ ὄχλῳ
died the but by the wall massed with much crowd
πρὸς τὴν πόλιν ἀπεχώρουν. ὡς δ' ἐνέτυχον τοῖς φυγάσι τῶν
toward the city withdrew when and they-met the exiles of-the
Κορινθίων καὶ ἔγνωσαν πολεμίους ὄντας, ἀπέκλιναν πάλιν.
Corinthians and knew enemies being they-turned-aside again
ἐνταῦθα μέντοι οἱ μὲν κατὰ τὰς κλίμακας ἀναβαίνοντες
there however the-ones indeed by the ladders climbing

ἤλλοντο κατὰ τοῦ τείχους καὶ διεφθείροντο, οἱ δὲ
leapt down the wall and perished the-others but
περὶ τὰς κλίμακας ὠθούμενοι καὶ παιόμενοι ἀπέθνησκον,
around the ladders being-shoved and being-struck died
οἱ δὲ καὶ καταπατούμενοι ὑπ᾽ ἀλλήλων ἀπεπνίγοντο.
the-others but also being-trampled by one-another were-suffocated
οἱ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι οὐκ ἠπόρουν τίνα ἀποκτείνοιεν· 12
the and Lacedaemonians not were-at-a-loss whom they-should-kill
ἔδωκε γὰρ τότε γε ὁ θεὸς αὐτοῖς ἔργον οἷον
gave for then at-least the god to-them a-work such-as
οὐδ᾽ ηὔξαντό ποτ᾽ ἄν. τὸ γὰρ ἐγχειρισθῆναι
not-even they-would-have-prayed ever — the for to-be-handed-over
αὐτοῖς πολεμίων πλῆθος πεφοβημένον, ἐκπεπληγμένον, τὰ
to-them of-enemies multitude terrified panic-stricken the
γυμνὰ παρέχον, ἐπὶ τὸ μάχεσθαι οὐδένα τρεπόμενον, εἰς
unprotected-sides presenting for the to-fight no-one turning to
δὲ τὸ ἀπόλλυσθαι πάντας πάντα ὑπηρετοῦντας, πῶς οὐκ ἄν
but the to-perish all all-things serving how not —
τις θεῖον ἡγήσαιτο; τότε γοῦν οὕτως ἐν ὀλίγῳ πολλοὶ
anyone divine would-consider then at-any-rate so in a-little-(space) many
ἔπεσον ὥστε εἰθισμένοι ὁρᾶν οἱ ἄνθρωποι σωροὺς σίτου,
fell that accustomed to-see the men heaps of-grain
ξύλων, λίθων, τότε ἐθεάσαντο σωροὺς νεκρῶν. ἀπέθανον δὲ
of-wood of-stones then they-beheld heaps of-corpses died and
καὶ οἱ ἐν τῷ λιμένι τῶν Βοιωτῶν φύλακες, οἱ μὲν ἐπὶ
also the in the harbor of-the Boeotians guards the-ones indeed on
τῶν τειχῶν, οἱ δὲ ἐπὶ τὰ τέγη τῶν νεωσοίκων ἀναβάντες.
the walls the-others but onto the roofs of-the ship-sheds having-climbed
μετὰ μὲν τοίνυν τοῦτο οἱ μὲν Κορίνθιοι καὶ Ἀργεῖοι 13
after indeed then this the indeed Corinthians and Argives
τοὺς νεκροὺς ὑποσπόνδους ἀπήγοντο, οἱ δὲ σύμμαχοι
the dead under-truce took-away the but allies

τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων ἐβοήθουν. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἠθροίσθησαν,
of-the Lacedaemonians came-to-help when and they-were-gathered
ἔγνω Πραξίτας πρῶτον μὲν τῶν τειχῶν καθελεῖν ὥστε
decided Praxitas first indeed of-the walls to-pull-down so-that
δίοδον στρατοπέδῳ ἱκανὴν εἶναι, ἔπειτα δ' ἀναλαβὼν τὸ
passage for-an-army sufficient to-be then and having-taken-up the
στράτευμα ἦγε τὴν ἐπὶ Μέγαρα, καὶ αἱρεῖ προσβαλὼν
army he-led the-road to Megara and takes having-attacked
πρῶτον μὲν Σιδοῦντα, ἔπειτα δὲ Κρομμυῶνα. καὶ ἐν
first indeed Sidus then and Crommyon and in
τούτοις τοῖς τείχεσι καταστήσας φρουροὺς τοὔμπαλιν
these the walls having-stationed garrisons back
ἐπορεύετο· καὶ τειχίσας Ἐπιείκειαν, ἵνα φρούριον εἴη
he-marched and having-fortified Epieicia so-that a-guard-post it-might-be
πρὸ τῆς φιλίας τοῖς συμμάχοις, οὕτω διαφῆκε τὸ
before the friendly-land for-the allies so disbanded the
στράτευμα, καὶ αὐτὸς τὴν ἐπὶ Λακεδαίμονα ἀπεχώρει.
army and himself the-road to Lacedaemon withdrew

14 Ἐκ δὲ τούτου στρατιαὶ μὲν μεγάλαι ἑκατέρων διεπέπαυντο,
After and this armies indeed large of-both had-ceased
φρουροὺς δὲ πέμπουσαι αἱ πόλεις, αἱ μὲν εἰς Κόρινθον,
garrisons but sending the cities the-ones indeed to Corinth
αἱ δὲ εἰς Σικυῶνα, ἐφύλαττον τὰ τείχη. μισθοφόρους γε
the-others but to Sicyon guarded the walls mercenaries at-least
μὴν ἑκάτεροι ἔχοντες διὰ τούτων ἐρρωμένως ἐπολέμουν.
truly both having through these vigorously made-war

15 Ἔνθα δὴ καὶ Ἰφικράτης εἰς Φλειοῦντα ἐμβαλὼν καὶ
There indeed also Iphicrates into Phlius having-invaded and
ἐνεδρευσάμενος, ὀλίγοις δὲ λεηλατῶν, βοηθησάντων τῶν
having-set-an-ambush with-few and plundering having-come-to-help the
ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἀφυλάκτως, ἀπέκτεινε τοσούτους ὥστε καὶ
from the city unguardedly he-killed so-many that also

τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους πρόσθεν οὐ δεχόμενοι εἰς τὸ τεῖχος οἱ
the Lacedaemonians before not receiving into the wall the
Φλειάσιοι, φοβούμενοι μὴ τοὺς φάσκοντας ἐπὶ λακωνισμῷ
Phliasians fearing lest the-ones claiming for laconism
φεύγειν κατάγοιεν, τότε οὕτω κατεπλάγησαν τοὺς ἐκ
to-be-exiled they-would-restore then so were-terrified-of the-ones from
Κορίνθου ὥστε μετεπέμψαντό τε τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους καὶ
Corinth that they-sent-for both the Lacedaemonians and
τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὴν ἄκραν φυλάττειν αὐτοῖς παρέδωκαν.
the city and the citadel to-guard to-them handed-over
οἱ μέντοι Λακεδαιμόνιοι, καίπερ εὐνοϊκῶς ἔχοντες τοῖς
the however Lacedaemonians although well-disposed being to-the
φυγάσιν, ὅσον χρόνον εἶχον αὐτῶν τὴν πόλιν, οὐδ'
exiles as-long time they-held their the city not-even
ἐμνήσθησαν παντάπασι περὶ καθόδου φυγάδων, ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ
mentioned at-all about return of-exiles but when
ἀναθαρρῆσαι ἐδόκει ἡ πόλις, ἐξῆλθον καὶ τὴν πόλιν
to-have-taken-courage seemed the city they-went-out and the city
καὶ τοὺς νόμους παραδόντες οἵανπερ καὶ παρέλαβον.
and the laws having-handed-over such-as-very also they-received
οἱ δ' αὖ περὶ τὸν Ἰφικράτη πολλαχόσε καὶ τῆς 16
the and in-turn around — Iphicrates in-many-directions also —
Ἀρκαδίας ἐμβαλόντες ἐλεηλάτουν τε καὶ προσέβαλλον πρὸς
of-Arcadia having-invaded plundered both and attacked against
τὰ τείχη· ἔξω γὰρ οἱ τῶν Ἀρκάδων ὁπλῖται παντάπασιν
the walls outside for the of-the Arcadians hoplites altogether
οὐκ ἀντεξῆσαν· οὕτω τοὺς πελταστὰς ἐπεφόβηντο.
not came-out-against-them so the peltasts they-had-come-to-fear
τοὺς μέντοι Λακεδαιμονίους οὕτως αὖ οἱ πελτασταὶ
the however Lacedaemonians so in-turn the peltasts
ὤκνουν ὡς ἐντὸς ἀκοντίσματος οὐ προσῆσαν τοῖς ὁπλίταις·
shrank that within javelin-range not they-approached the hoplites

ἤδη γάρ ποτε καὶ ἐκ τοσούτου διώξαντες οἱ νεώτεροι
already for once even from so-far having-pursued the younger
τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων ἑλόντες ἀπέκτειναν τινας αὐτῶν.
of-the Lacedaemonians having-caught killed some of-them
17 καταφρονοῦντες δὲ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι τῶν πελταστῶν ἔτι
despising and the Lacedaemonians the peltasts still
μᾶλλον τῶν ἑαυτῶν συμμάχων κατεφρόνουν· καὶ γὰρ οἱ
more the their-own allies despised and for the
Μαντινεῖς βοηθήσαντές ποτε ἐπ᾽ ἐκδραμόντας πελταστὰς
Mantineans having-come-to-help once against having-run-out peltasts
ἐκ τοῦ ἐπὶ Λέχαιον τείνοντος τείχους, ἀκοντιζόμενοι
from the to Lechaeum stretching wall being-struck-with-javelins
ἐνέκλιναν τε καὶ ἀπέθανόν τινες αὐτῶν φεύγοντες· ὥστε οἱ
gave-way both and died some of-them fleeing so-that the
μὲν Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ ἐπισκώπτειν ἐτόλμων ὡς οἱ σύμμαχοι
indeed Lacedaemonians also to-jeer dared that the allies
φοβοῖντο τοὺς πελταστὰς ὥσπερ μορμόνας παιδάρια. αὐτοὶ
feared the peltasts as bogeys little-children themselves
δὲ ἐκ τοῦ Λεχαίου ὁρμώμενοι σὺν μόρᾳ καὶ τοῖς Κορινθίων
but from — Lechaeum setting-out with a-regiment and the of-Corinthians
φυγάσι κύκλῳ περὶ τὸ ἄστυ τῶν Κορινθίων ἐστρατεύοντο·
exiles in-a-circle around the town of-the Corinthians campaigned
18 οἱ δ᾽ αὖ Ἀθηναῖοι φοβούμενοι τὴν ῥώμην τῶν
the and in-turn Athenians fearing the strength of-the
Λακεδαιμονίων, μὴ ἐπεὶ τὰ μακρὰ τείχη τῶν Κορινθίων
Lacedaemonians lest since the long walls of-the Corinthians
διῄρητο, ἔλθοιεν ἐπὶ σφᾶς, ἡγήσαντο κράτιστον εἶναι
had-been-breached they-should-come against them considered best to-be
ἀνατειχίσαι τὰ διῃρημένα ὑπὸ Πραξίτα τείχη. καὶ ἐλθόντες
to-rebuild the breached by Praxitas walls and having-come
πανδημεὶ μετὰ λιθολόγων καὶ τεκτόνων τὸ μὲν πρὸς
in-full-force with stone-masons and carpenters the indeed toward

Σικυῶνος καὶ πρὸς ἑσπέρας ἐν ὀλίγαις ἡμέραις πάνυ καλὸν
Sicyon and toward west in few days very fine
ἐξετείχισαν, τὸ δὲ ἑῷον μᾶλλον κατὰ ἡσυχίαν ἐτείχιζον.
they-completed-the-wall the but eastern more at leisure they-walled
Οἱ δ' αὖ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἐνθυμηθέντες τοὺς Ἀργείους 19
The and in-turn Lacedaemonians having-considered the Argives
τὰ μὲν οἴκοι καρπουμένους, ἡδομένους δὲ τῷ πολέμῳ,
the indeed at-home enjoying-crops being-pleased but with-the war
στρατεύουσιν ἐπ' αὐτούς. Ἀγησίλαος δ' ἡγεῖτο, καὶ
campaign against them Agesilaus and led and
δηώσας πᾶσαν αὐτῶν τὴν χώραν, εὐθὺς ἐκεῖθεν ὑπερβαλὼν
having-ravaged all their the land at-once thence having-crossed
κατὰ Τενέαν εἰς Κόρινθον αἱρεῖ τὰ ἀνοικοδομηθέντα ὑπὸ
by Tenea into Corinth takes the rebuilt by
τῶν Ἀθηναίων τείχη. παρεγένετο δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ ἀδελφὸς
the Athenians walls was-present and with-him also the-brother
Τελευτίας κατὰ θάλατταν, ἔχων τριήρεις περὶ δώδεκα, ὥστε
Teleutias by sea having triremes about twelve so-that
μακαρίζεσθαι αὐτῶν τὴν μητέρα, ὅτι τῇ αὐτῇ ἡμέρᾳ ὧν
to-be-called-blessed their the mother because on-the same day of-whom
ἔτεκεν ὁ μὲν κατὰ γῆν τὰ τείχη τῶν πολεμίων, ὁ
she-bore the-one indeed by land the walls of-the enemies the-other
δὲ κατὰ θάλατταν τὰς ναῦς καὶ τὰ νεώρια ᾕρηκε. καὶ τότε
but by sea the ships and the dockyards has-taken and then
μὲν ταῦτα πράξας ὁ Ἀγησίλαος τό τε τῶν συμμάχων
indeed these-things having-done — Agesilaus the both of-the allies
στράτευμα διῆκε καὶ τὸ πολιτικὸν οἴκαδε ἀπήγαγεν.
army dismissed and the citizen-force home led-away

Agesilaus marches on Corinth at the Isthmian festival and drives off the Argives, and the Corinthian exiles hold the games; when he leaves, the Argives hold them again, so that some contests are won twice that year. He feints at the city, then takes the Piraeum, sending fire up to a regiment freezing on the heights; the people there surrender, and he hands the slaughterers to the exiles. As he sits by the lake watching the captives led out, ignoring the Boeotian envoys, a horseman brings word that a Spartan regiment escorting the Amyclaeans home for the Hyacinthia has been destroyed near Lechaeum. Iphicrates' peltasts had picked it apart, its pursuits always too slow, until the survivors broke on a hillock by the sea; about two hundred and fifty died. The families of the dead walk about as if they had won, and Agesilaus leads the stricken regiment home, passing Mantinea in the dark. Iphicrates retakes the forts Sparta had taken.

1 Ἐκ δὲ τούτου Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἀκούοντες τῶν φευγόντων
After and this Lacedaemonians hearing from-the exiles
ὅτι οἱ ἐν τῇ πόλει πάντα μὲν τὰ βοσκήματα ἔχοιεν
that the-ones in the city all indeed the flocks had
καὶ σῴζοιντο ἐν τῷ Πειραίῳ, πολλοὶ δὲ τρέφοιντο
and were-keeping-safe in the Piraeum many and were-fed
αὐτόθεν, στρατεύουσι πάλιν εἰς τὴν Κόρινθον, Ἀγησιλάου
from-there campaign again into — Corinth Agesilaus
καὶ τότε ἡγουμένου. καὶ πρῶτον μὲν ἦλθεν εἰς Ἰσθμόν·
also then leading and first indeed he-came to Isthmus
καὶ γὰρ ἦν ὁ μὴν ἐν ᾧ Ἴσθμια γίγνεται, καὶ
and for it-was the month in which Isthmian-games take-place and
οἱ Ἀργεῖοι αὐτοῦ ἐτύγχανον τότε ποιοῦντες τὴν θυσίαν
the Argives there happened then making the sacrifice
τῷ Ποσειδῶνι, ὡς Ἄργους Κορίνθου ὄντος. ὡς δ'
— to-Poseidon as Argos Corinth being when and
ᾔσθοντο προσιόντα τὸν Ἀγησίλαον καταλιπόντες καὶ τὰ
they-perceived approaching — Agesilaus having-left both the

τεθυμένα καὶ τὰ ἀριστοποιούμενα μάλα σὺν πολλῷ φόβῳ
sacrificed-things and the breakfast-things very with much fear
ἀπεχώρουν εἰς τὸ ἄστυ κατὰ τὴν ἐπὶ Κεγχρειὰς ὁδόν.
withdrew into the town by the to Cenchreae road
ὁ μέντοι Ἀγησίλαος ἐκείνους μὲν καίπερ ὁρῶν οὐκ ἐδίωκε, 2
— *however Agesilaus them indeed although seeing not pursued*
κατασκηνήσας δὲ ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ αὐτός τε τῷ θεῷ ἔθυε καὶ
having-encamped but in the sanctuary himself both to-the god sacrificed and
περιέμενεν, ἕως οἱ φυγάδες τῶν Κορινθίων ἐποίησαν τῷ
waited until the exiles of-the Corinthians made —
Ποσειδῶνι τὴν θυσίαν καὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα. ἐποίησαν δὲ καὶ οἱ
to-Poseidon the sacrifice and the contest made and also the
Ἀργεῖοι ἀπελθόντος Ἀγησιλάου ἐξ ἀρχῆς πάλιν Ἴσθμια.
Argives having-gone-away Agesilaus from beginning again Isthmian-games
καὶ ἐκείνῳ τῷ ἔτει ἔστι μὲν ἃ τῶν ἄθλων δὶς
and in-that the year there-were indeed which of-the events twice
ἕκαστος ἐνικήθη, ἔστι δὲ ἃ δὶς οἱ αὐτοὶ ἐκηρύχθησαν.
each was-defeated there-were but which twice the same were-proclaimed
τῇ δὲ τετάρτῃ ἡμέρᾳ ὁ Ἀγησίλαος ἦγε πρὸς τὸ Πείραιον 3
on-the and fourth day — Agesilaus led to the Piraeum
τὸ στράτευμα. ἰδὼν δὲ ὑπὸ πολλῶν φυλαττόμενον,
the army having-seen but by many guarded
ἀπεχώρησε μετ᾽ ἄριστον πρὸς τὸ ἄστυ, ὡς προδιδομένης
he-withdrew after breakfast to the town as-if being-betrayed
τῆς πόλεως· ὥστε οἱ Κορίνθιοι δείσαντες μὴ προδιδοῖτο
the city so-that the Corinthians having-feared lest be-betrayed
ὑπό τινων ἡ πόλις, μετεπέμψαντο τὸν Ἰφικράτη σὺν τοῖς
by some the city sent-for — Iphicrates with the
πλείστοις τῶν πελταστῶν. αἰσθόμενος δὲ ὁ Ἀγησίλαος τῆς
most of-the peltasts having-perceived and — Agesilaus in-the
νυκτὸς παρεληλυθότας αὐτούς, ὑποστρέψας ἅμα τῇ
night having-passed them having-turned-back at-the-same-time with-the

ἡμέρᾳ εἰς τὸ Πείραιον ἦγε. καὶ αὐτὸς μὲν κατὰ τὰ θερμὰ
day to the Piraeum led and himself indeed by the hot-springs
προῄει, μόραν δὲ κατὰ τὸ ἀκρότατον ἀνεβίβασε. καὶ ταύτην
advanced a-regiment and by the highest-point sent-up and this
μὲν τὴν νύκτα ὁ μὲν πρὸς ταῖς θέρμαις ἐστρατοπεδεύετο,
indeed the night he indeed by the hot-springs encamped
ἡ δὲ μόρα τὰ ἄκρα κατέχουσα ἐνυκτέρευσεν.
the and regiment the heights holding passed-the-night

4 ἔνθα δὴ καὶ ὁ Ἀγησίλαος μικρῷ μέν, καιρίῳ δ'
there indeed also — Agesilaus by-small indeed well-timed but
ἐνθυμήματι ηὐδοκίμησε. τῶν γὰρ τῇ μόρᾳ φερόντων τὰ
device gained-repute of-the for for-the regiment carrying the
σιτία οὐδενὸς πῦρ εἰσενεγκόντος, ψύχους δὲ ὄντος διά
provisions no-one fire having-brought-in cold and being because-of
τε τὸ πάνυ ἐφ' ὑψηλοῦ εἶναι καὶ διὰ τὸ γενέσθαι ὕδωρ
both the very on high to-be and because-of the to-have-come rain
καὶ χάλαζαν πρὸς τὴν ἑσπέραν (καὶ ἀνεβεβήκεσαν δὲ
and hail toward the evening and they-had-gone-up and
ἔχοντες οἷα δὴ θέρους σπειρία), ῥιγούντων δ' αὐτῶν
having such-as indeed in-summer light-cloaks shivering and they
καὶ ἐν σκότῳ ἀθύμως πρὸς τὸ δεῖπνον ἐχόντων, πέμπει
and in darkness despondently toward the dinner being sends
ὁ Ἀγησίλαος οὐκ ἔλαττον δέκα φέροντας πῦρ ἐν χύτραις.
— Agesilaus not fewer than-ten bringing fire in pots
ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀνέβησαν ἄλλος ἄλλῃ καὶ πολλὰ καὶ μεγάλα
when and they-went-up one another-way and many and great
πυρὰ ἐγένετο, ἅτε πολλῆς ὕλης παρούσης, πάντες
fires there-were inasmuch-as much wood being-at-hand all
μὲν ἠλείφοντο, πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ ἐδείπνησαν ἐξ ἀρχῆς.
indeed anointed-themselves many and also dined from beginning

φανερὸς δὲ ἐγένετο καὶ ὁ νεὼς τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος ταύτῃ
visible and became also the temple — of-Poseidon on-this
τῇ νυκτὶ καιόμενος· ὑφ' ὅτου δ' ἐνεπρήσθη οὐδεὶς οἶδεν.
the night burning by whom but it-was-set-on-fire no-one knows
ἐπεὶ δὲ ᾔσθοντο οἱ ἐν τῷ Πειραίῳ τὰ ἄκρα ἐχόμενα, 5
when and perceived the-ones in the Piraeum the heights held
ἐπὶ μὲν τὸ ἀμύνασθαι οὐκέτι ἐτράποντο, εἰς δὲ τὸ
to indeed the to-defend-themselves no-longer they-turned to but the
Ἥραιον κατέφυγον καὶ ἄνδρες καὶ γυναῖκες καὶ δοῦλοι
Heraeum they-fled both men and women and slaves
καὶ ἐλεύθεροι καὶ τῶν βοσκημάτων τὰ πλεῖστα. καὶ
and free and of-the flocks the most and
Ἀγησίλαος μὲν δὴ σὺν τῷ στρατεύματι παρὰ θάλατταν
Agesilaus indeed then with the army along sea
ἐπορεύετο· ἡ δὲ μόρα ἅμα καταβαίνουσα ἀπὸ τῶν
marched the and regiment at-the-same-time coming-down from the
ἄκρων Οἰνόην τὸ ἐντετειχισμένον τεῖχος αἱρεῖ καὶ τὰ
heights Oenoe the walled-in fort takes and the-things
ἐνόντα ἔλαβε, καὶ πάντες δὲ οἱ στρατιῶται ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ
inside took and all and the soldiers on this the
ἡμέρᾳ πολλὰ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἐκ τῶν χωρίων ἐλάμβανον.
day many the provisions from the farms took
οἱ δ' ἐν τῷ Ἡραίῳ καταπεφευγότες ἐξῆσαν, ἐπιτρέψαντες
the but in the Heraeum having-fled-for-refuge came-out having-entrusted
Ἀγησιλάῳ γνῶναι ὅ τι βούλοιτο περὶ σφῶν. ὁ δ'
to-Agesilaus to-decide what ever he-wished about themselves he and
ἔγνω, ὅσοι μὲν τῶν σφαγέων ἦσαν, παραδοῦναι αὐτοὺς
decided as-many-as indeed of-the slaughterers were to-hand-over them
τοῖς φυγάσι, τὰ δ' ἄλλα πάντα πραθῆναι.
to-the exiles the but other all to-be-sold

6 ἐκ τούτου δὲ ἐξῄει μὲν ἐκ τοῦ Ἡραίου πάμπολλα τὰ
after this and came-out indeed from the Heraeum very-many the
αἰχμάλωτα, πρεσβεῖαι δὲ ἄλλοθέν τε πολλαὶ παρῆσαν
captives embassies and from-elsewhere both many were-present
καὶ ἐκ Βοιωτῶν ἧκον ἐρησόμενοι τί ἂν ποιοῦντες εἰρήνης
and from Boeotians came going-to-ask what — doing peace
τύχοιεν. ὁ δὲ Ἀγησίλαος μάλα μεγαλοφρόνως τούτους
they-might-obtain — and Agesilaus very haughtily these
μὲν οὐδ' ὁρᾶν ἐδόκει, καίπερ Φάρακος τοῦ προξένου
indeed not-even to-see seemed although Pharax the proxenus
παρεστηκότος αὐτοῖς, ὅπως προσαγάγοι· καθήμενος
standing-beside them so-that he-might-introduce-them sitting
δ' ἐπὶ τοῦ περὶ τὴν λίμνην κυκλοτεροῦς οἰκοδομήματος
but on the around the lake circular building
ἐθεώρει πολλὰ τὰ ἐξαγόμενα. τῶν δὲ Λακεδαιμονίων
he-watched many the-things being-led-out of-the and Lacedaemonians
ἀπὸ τῶν ὅπλων σὺν τοῖς δόρασι παρηκολούθουν φύλακες
from the arms with the spears accompanied as-guards
τῶν αἰχμαλώτων, μάλα ὑπὸ τῶν παρόντων θεωρούμενοι·
of-the captives very by the present being-watched
οἱ γὰρ εὐτυχοῦντες καὶ κρατοῦντες ἀεί πως ἀξιοθέατοι
the for prospering and prevailing always somehow worth-seeing
δοκοῦσιν εἶναι.
seem to-be

7 ἔτι δὲ καθημένου Ἀγησιλάου καὶ ἐοικότος ἀγαλλομένῳ τοῖς
still and sitting Agesilaus and seeming exulting at-the
πεπραγμένοις, ἱππεύς τις προσήλαυνε καὶ μάλα ἰσχυρῶς
deeds a-horseman some rode-up and very hard
ἱδρῶντι τῷ ἵππῳ. ὑπὸ πολλῶν δὲ ἐρωτώμενος ὅ τι
sweating on-the horse by many and being-asked what ever
ἀγγέλλοι, οὐδενὶ ἀπεκρίνατο, ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ ἐγγὺς ἦν τοῦ
he-reported to-no-one answered but when near he-was —

Ἀγησιλάου, καθαλόμενος ἀπὸ τοῦ ἵππου καὶ προσδραμὼν
Agesilaus having-leapt-down from the horse and having-run-up
αὐτῷ μάλα σκυθρωπὸς ὢν λέγει τὸ τῆς ἐν Λεχαίῳ μόρας
to-him very grim-faced being tells the of-the at Lechaeum regiment
πάθος. ὁ δ' ὡς ἤκουσεν, εὐθύς τε ἐκ τῆς ἕδρας ἀνεπήδησε
disaster he and when he-heard at-once both from the seat leapt-up
καὶ τὸ δόρυ ἔλαβε καὶ πολεμάρχους καὶ πεντηκοστῆρας
and the spear took and polemarchs and pentecosters
καὶ ξεναγοὺς καλεῖν τὸν κήρυκα ἐκέλευεν.
and mercenary-commanders to-call the herald bade
ὡς δὲ συνέδραμον οὗτοι, τοῖς μὲν ἄλλοις εἶπεν (οὐ 8
when and ran-together these to-the indeed others he-said not
γάρ πω ἠριστοποίηντο) ἐμφαγοῦσιν ὅ τι δύναιντο
for yet they-had-breakfasted having-eaten what ever they-could
ἥκειν τὴν ταχίστην, αὐτὸς δὲ σὺν τοῖς περὶ δαμοσίαν
to-come the quickest-way himself but with the around the-damosia
ὑφηγεῖτο ἀνάριστος. καὶ οἱ δορυφόροι τὰ ὅπλα ἔχοντες
led-the-way without-breakfast and the spearmen the arms having
παρηκολούθουν σπουδῇ, τοῦ μὲν ὑφηγουμένου, τῶν δὲ
followed hastily he indeed leading they and
μετιόντων. ἤδη δ' ἐκπεπερακότος αὐτοῦ τὰ θερμὰ
following already and having-passed him the hot-springs
εἰς τὸ πλατὺ τοῦ Λεχαίου, προσελάσαντες ἱππεῖς τρεῖς
into the flat — of-Lechaeum having-ridden-up horsemen three
ἀγγέλλουσιν ὅτι οἱ νεκροὶ ἀνῃρημένοι εἴησαν. ὁ δ' ἐπεὶ
report that the dead taken-up were he and when
τοῦτο ἤκουσε, θέσθαι κελεύσας τὰ ὅπλα καὶ ὀλίγον
this he-heard to-ground having-ordered the arms and little
χρόνον ἀναπαύσας, ἀπῆγε πάλιν τὸ στράτευμα ἐπὶ τὸ
time having-rested led-back again the army to the
Ἥραιον· τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ τὰ αἰχμάλωτα διετίθετο.
Heraeum on-the and next-day the captives he-disposed-of

9 Οἱ δὲ πρέσβεις τῶν Βοιωτῶν προσκληθέντες καὶ
The and envoys of-the Boeotians having-been-called and
ἐρωτώμενοι ὅ τι ἥκοιεν, περὶ μὲν τῆς εἰρήνης οὐκέτι
being-asked what ever they-had-come about indeed the peace no-longer
ἐμέμνηντο, εἶπον δὲ ὅτι εἰ μή τι κωλύοι βούλοιντο
mentioned they-said but that if not anything prevented they-wished
εἰς ἄστυ πρὸς τοὺς σφετέρους στρατιώτας παρελθεῖν.
into town to the their-own soldiers to-pass
ὁ δ' ἐπιγελάσας· Ἀλλ' οἶδα μέν, ἔφη, ὅτι οὐ τοὺς
he and having-laughed But I-know indeed he-said that not the
στρατιώτας ἰδεῖν βούλεσθε, ἀλλὰ τὸ εὐτύχημα τῶν φίλων
soldiers to-see you-wish but the good-fortune of-the friends
ὑμῶν θεάσασθαι πόσον τι γεγένηται. περιμείνατε οὖν,
your to-view how-great some has-become wait then
ἔφη· ἐγὼ γὰρ ὑμᾶς αὐτὸς ἄξω, καὶ μᾶλλον μετ' ἐμοῦ
he-said I for you myself will-lead and better with me
ὄντες γνώσεσθε ποῖόν τι τὸ γεγενημένον ἐστί.
being you-will-know what-sort some the having-happened is
10 καὶ οὐκ ἐψεύσατο, ἀλλὰ τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ θυσάμενος ἦγε πρὸς
and not he-lied but on-the next-day having-sacrificed he-led to
τὴν πόλιν τὸ στράτευμα. καὶ τὸ μὲν τροπαῖον οὐ κατέβαλεν,
the city the army and the indeed trophy not threw-down
εἰ δέ τι ἦν λοιπὸν δένδρον, κόπτων καὶ κάων ἐπεδείκνυεν ὡς
if but any was left tree cutting and burning he-showed that
οὐδεὶς ἀντεξήει. ταῦτα δὲ ποιήσας ἐστρατοπεδεύσατο
no-one came-out-against-him these-things and having-done he-encamped
περὶ τὸ Λέχαιον· καὶ τοὺς Θηβαίων μέντοι πρέσβεις εἰς
around — Lechaeum and the of-Thebans however envoys into
μὲν τὸ ἄστυ οὐκ ἀνῆκε, κατὰ θάλατταν δὲ εἰς Κρεῦσιν
indeed the town not he-let-go by sea but to Creusis
ἀπέπεμψεν. ἅτε δὲ ἀήθους τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις
sent-off inasmuch-as and unaccustomed to-the Lacedaemonians

γεγενημένης τῆς τοιαύτης συμφορᾶς, πολὺ πένθος ἦν κατὰ
having-become the such disaster much mourning was throughout
τὸ Λακωνικὸν στράτευμα, πλὴν ὅσων ἐτέθνασαν ἐν χώρᾳ
the Laconian army except of-whom had-died in place
ἢ υἱοὶ ἢ πατέρες ἢ ἀδελφοί· οὗτοι δ' ὥσπερ νικηφόροι
either sons or fathers or brothers these but like victors
λαμπροὶ καὶ ἀγαλλόμενοι τῷ οἰκείῳ πάθει περιῆσαν.
radiant and exulting in-the their-own suffering went-about
ἐγένετο δὲ τὸ τῆς μόρας πάθος τοιῷδε τρόπῳ. οἱ 11
happened and the of-the regiment disaster in-such manner the
Ἀμυκλαῖοι ἀεί ποτε ἀπέρχονται εἰς τὰ Ὑακίνθια ἐπὶ τὸν
Amyclaeans always ever go-home to the Hyacinthia for the
παιᾶνα, ἐάν τε στρατοπεδευόμενοι τυγχάνωσιν ἐάν τε
paean whether both campaigning they-happen or both
ἄλλως πως ἀποδημοῦντες. καὶ τότε δὴ τοὺς ἐκ πάσης
otherwise somehow being-abroad and then indeed the from all
τῆς στρατιᾶς Ἀμυκλαίους κατέλιπε μὲν Ἀγησίλαος ἐν
the army Amyclaeans left indeed Agesilaus in
Λεχαίῳ. ὁ δ' ἐκεῖ φρουρῶν πολέμαρχος τοὺς μὲν ἀπὸ
Lechaeum the and there garrisoning polemarch the indeed from
τῶν συμμάχων φρουροὺς παρέταξε φυλάττειν τὸ τεῖχος,
the allies garrison posted to-guard the wall
αὐτὸς δὲ σὺν τῇ τῶν ὁπλιτῶν καὶ τῇ τῶν ἱππέων μόρᾳ
himself and with the of-the hoplites and the of-the horsemen regiment
παρὰ τὴν πόλιν τῶν Κορινθίων τοὺς Ἀμυκλαιεῖς παρῆγεν.
along the city of-the Corinthians the Amyclaeans led-past
ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀπεῖχον ὅσον εἴκοσιν ἢ τριάκοντα σταδίους τοῦ 12
when and they-were-distant about twenty or thirty stades —
Σικυῶνος, ὁ μὲν πολέμαρχος σὺν τοῖς ὁπλίταις οὖσιν ὡς
from-Sicyon the indeed polemarch with the hoplites being about
ἑξακοσίοις ἀπῄει πάλιν ἐπὶ τὸ Λέχαιον, τὸν δ' ἱππαρμοστὴν
six-hundred went-away again to — Lechaeum the but cavalry-commander

ἐκέλευσε σὺν τῇ τῶν ἱππέων μόρᾳ, ἐπεὶ προπέμψειαν τοὺς
he-bade with the of-the horsemen regiment when they-had-escorted the
Ἀμυκλαιεῖς μέχρι ὁπόσου αὐτοὶ κελεύοιεν, μεταδιώκειν.
Amyclaeans as-far-as how-far they-themselves should-bid to-follow-after
καὶ ὅτι μὲν πολλοὶ ἦσαν ἐν τῇ Κορίνθῳ καὶ πελτασταὶ
and that indeed many were in — Corinth both peltasts
καὶ ὁπλῖται οὐδὲν ἠγνόουν· κατεφρόνουν δὲ διὰ
and hoplites in-no-way they-were-ignorant they-despised but because-of
τὰς ἔμπροσθεν τύχας μηδένα ἂν ἐπιχειρῆσαι σφίσιν.
the former successes no-one — to-attack them
13 οἱ δ' ἐκ τῶν Κορινθίων ἄστεως, Καλλίας τε ὁ Ἱππονίκου,
the but from of-the Corinthians town Callias both the son-of-Hipponicus
τῶν Ἀθηναίων ὁπλιτῶν στρατηγῶν, καὶ Ἰφικράτης, τῶν
of-the Athenian hoplites commanding and Iphicrates of-the
πελταστῶν ἄρχων, καθορῶντες αὐτοὺς καὶ οὐ πολλοὺς
peltasts commanding seeing them and not many
ὄντας καὶ ἐρήμους καὶ πελταστῶν καὶ ἱππέων, ἐνόμισαν
being and deserted both of-peltasts and of-horsemen thought
ἀσφαλὲς εἶναι ἐπιθέσθαι αὐτοῖς τῷ πελταστικῷ. εἰ μὲν
safe to-be to-attack them with-the peltast-force if indeed
γὰρ πορεύοιντο τῇ ὁδῷ, ἀκοντιζομένους ἂν αὐτοὺς εἰς τὰ
for they-should-march on-the road being-javelined — them on the
γυμνὰ ἀπόλλυσθαι· εἰ δ' ἐπιχειροῖεν διώκειν, ῥᾳδίως
unprotected-sides to-perish if but they-should-try to-pursue easily
ἂν ἀποφυγεῖν πελτασταῖς τοῖς ἐλαφροτάτοις τοὺς ὁπλίτας.
— to-escape for-peltasts the lightest the hoplites
14 γνόντες δὲ ταῦτα ἐξάγουσι. καὶ ὁ μὲν Καλλίας
having-recognized and these-things they-lead-out and — indeed Callias
παρέταξε τοὺς ὁπλίτας οὐ πόρρω τῆς πόλεως, ὁ δὲ
drew-up the hoplites not far from-the city — but
Ἰφικράτης λαβὼν τοὺς πελταστὰς ἐπέθετο τῇ μόρᾳ. οἱ
Iphicrates having-taken the peltasts attacked the regiment the

δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἐπεὶ ἠκοντίζοντο καὶ ὁ μέν τις
and Lacedaemonians when they-were-being-javelined and the-one indeed some
ἐτέτρωτο, ὁ δὲ καὶ ἐπεπτώκει, τούτους μὲν ἐκέλευον
had-been-wounded the-other and also had-fallen these indeed they-bade
τοὺς ὑπασπιστὰς ἀραμένους ἀποφέρειν εἰς Λέχαιον (καὶ
the shield-bearers having-picked-up to-carry-off to Lechaeum and
οὗτοι μόνοι τῆς μόρας τῇ ἀληθείᾳ ἐσώθησαν)· ὁ δὲ
these alone of-the regiment in-the truth were-saved the and
πολέμαρχος ἐκέλευσε τὰ δέκα ἀφ᾽ ἥβης ἀποδιώξαι τοὺς
polemarch bade the ten from youth to-chase-off the
προειρημένους.
aforementioned
ὡς δὲ ἐδίωκον, ᾕρουν τε οὐδένα ἐξ ἀκοντίου βολῆς 15
when and they-pursued they-caught both no-one from javelin throw
ὁπλῖται ὄντες πελταστάς· καὶ γὰρ ἀναχωρεῖν αὐτοὺς
hoplites being peltasts and for to-withdraw them
ἐκέλευε, πρὶν τοὺς ὁπλίτας ὁμοῦ γίγνεσθαι· ἐπεὶ δὲ
he-bade before the hoplites together to-come when and
ἀνεχώρουν ἐσπαρμένοι, ἅτε διώξαντες ὡς τάχους
they-withdrew scattered inasmuch-as having-pursued as of-speed
ἕκαστος εἶχεν, ἀναστρέφοντες οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἰφικράτη,
each had turning-back the around — Iphicrates
οἵ τε ἐκ τοῦ ἐναντίου πάλιν ἠκόντιζον καὶ ἄλλοι ἐκ
the-ones both from the front again hurled-javelins and others from
πλαγίου παραθέοντες εἰς τὰ γυμνά. καὶ εὐθὺς μὲν
flank running-along at the unprotected-sides and at-once indeed
ἐπὶ τῇ πρώτῃ διώξει κατηκόντιζον ἐννέα ἢ δέκα αὐτῶν.
at the first pursuit they-shot-down nine or ten of-them
ὡς δὲ τοῦτο ἐγένετο, πολὺ ἤδη θρασύτερον ἐπέκειντο.
when and this happened much already more-boldly they-pressed-on

16 ἐπεὶ δὲ κακῶς ἔπασχον, πάλιν ἐκέλευσεν ὁ πολέμαρχος
when and badly they-fared again bade the polemarch
διώκειν τὰ πεντεκαίδεκα ἀφ' ἥβης. ἀναχωροῦντες δὲ ἔτι
to-pursue the fifteen from youth withdrawing and still
πλείονες αὐτῶν ἢ τὸ πρῶτον ἔπεσον. ἤδη δὲ τῶν
more of-them than the first fell already and of-the
βελτίστων ἀπολωλότων, οἱ ἱππεῖς αὐτοῖς παραγίγνονται καὶ
best having-perished the horsemen to-them come and
σὺν τούτοις αὖθις δίωξιν ἐποιήσαντο. ὡς δ' ἐνέκλιναν οἱ
with these again a-pursuit they-made when but gave-way the
πελτασταί, ἐν τούτῳ κακῶς οἱ ἱππεῖς ἐπέθεντο· οὐ γὰρ ἕως
peltasts in this badly the horsemen attacked not for until
ἀπέκτειναν τινας αὐτῶν ἐδίωξαν, ἀλλὰ σὺν τοῖς ἐκδρόμοις
they-killed some of-them they-pursued but with the sallying-party
ἰσομέτωποι καὶ ἐδίωκον καὶ ἐπέστρεφον. ποιοῦντες δὲ καὶ
in-line both pursued and turned-back doing and also
πάσχοντες τὰ ὅμοια τούτοις καὶ αὖθις, αὐτοὶ μὲν ἀεὶ
suffering the like-things to-these also again themselves indeed always
ἐλάττους τε καὶ μαλακώτεροι ἐγίγνοντο, οἱ δὲ πολέμιοι
fewer both and softer became the but enemies
θρασύτεροί τε καὶ ἀεὶ πλείους οἱ ἐγχειροῦντες.
bolder both and always more the-ones attacking

17 ἀποροῦντες δὴ συνίστανται ἐπὶ βραχύν τινα γήλοφον,
being-at-a-loss indeed they-gather on low some hillock
ἀπέχοντα τῆς μὲν θαλάττης ὡς δύο στάδια, τοῦ δὲ
distant from-the indeed sea about two stades — and
Λεχαίου ὡς ἓξ ἢ ἑπτὰ καὶ δέκα στάδια. αἰσθόμενοι δ'
from-Lechaeum about six or seven and ten stades having-perceived and
οἱ ἀπὸ τοῦ Λεχαίου, εἰσβάντες εἰς πλοιάρια παρέπλεον,
the-ones from — Lechaeum having-embarked into small-boats sailed-along
ἕως ἐγένοντο κατὰ τὸν γήλοφον. οἱ δ' ἀποροῦντες ἤδη,
until they-were opposite the hillock they but at-a-loss already

ὅτι ἔπασχον μὲν κακῶς καὶ ἀπέθνῃσκον, ποιεῖν δὲ οὐδὲν
because they-suffered indeed badly and were-dying to-do but nothing
ἐδύναντο, πρὸς τούτοις δὲ ὁρῶντες καὶ τοὺς ὁπλίτας
could besides these and seeing also the hoplites
ἐπιόντας, ἐγκλίνουσι. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐμπίπτουσιν αὐτῶν
advancing give-way and the-ones indeed fall of-them
εἰς τὴν θάλατταν, ὀλίγοι δέ τινες μετὰ τῶν ἱππέων εἰς
into the sea few but some with the horsemen to
Λέχαιον ἐσώθησαν. ἐν πάσαις δὲ ταῖς μάχαις καὶ τῇ
Lechaeum were-saved in all and the battles and the
φυγῇ ἀπέθανον περὶ πεντήκοντα καὶ διακοσίους.
flight died about fifty and two-hundred
καὶ ταῦτα μὲν οὕτως ἐπέπρακτο. Ἐκ δὲ τούτου ὁ 18
and these-things indeed so had-been-done After and this —
Ἀγησίλαος τὴν μὲν σφαλεῖσαν μόραν ἔχων ἀπῄει, ἄλλην
Agesilaus the indeed stricken regiment having went-away another
δὲ κατέλιπεν ἐν τῷ Λεχαίῳ. διιὼν δὲ ἐπ᾽ οἴκου
and he-left in — Lechaeum passing-through and to home
ὡς μὲν ἐδύνατο ὀψιαίτατα κατήγετο εἰς τὰς πόλεις, ὡς
as indeed he-could latest he-lodged to the cities as
δ᾽ ἐδύνατο πρῳαίτατα ἐξωρμᾶτο. παρὰ δὲ Μαντίνειαν
but he-could earliest he-set-out past and Mantinea
ἐξ Ὀρχομενοῦ ὄρθρου ἀναστὰς ἔτι σκοταῖος παρῆλθεν.
from Orchomenus at-dawn having-risen still in-the-dark he-passed
οὕτω χαλεπῶς ἂν ἐδόκουν οἱ στρατιῶται τοὺς Μαντινέας
so hard — seemed the soldiers the Mantineans
ἐφηδομένους τῷ δυστυχήματι θεάσασθαι.
rejoicing at-the misfortune to-see
ἐκ τούτου δὲ μάλα καὶ τἆλλα ἐπετύγχανεν Ἰφικράτης. 19
after this and very also in-other-things succeeded Iphicrates
καθεστηκότων γὰρ φρουρῶν ἐν Σιδοῦντι μὲν καὶ Κρομμυῶνι
having-been-established for garrisons in Sidus indeed and Crommyon

ὑπὸ Πραξίτου, ὅτε ἐκεῖνος εἶλε ταῦτα τὰ τείχη, ἐν Οἰνόῃ δὲ
by Praxitas when that-one took these the walls in Oenoe and
ὑπὸ Ἀγησιλάου, ὅτεπερ τὸ Πείραιον ἑάλω, πάνθ' εἶλε ταῦτα
by Agesilaus when-very the Piraeum was-taken all he-took these
τὰ χωρία. τὸ μέντοι Λέχαιον ἐφρούρουν οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι
the places — however Lechaeum garrisoned the Lacedaemonians
καὶ οἱ σύμμαχοι. οἱ φυγάδες δὲ τῶν Κορινθίων, οὐκέτι πεζῇ
and the allies the exiles and of-the Corinthians no-longer on-foot
παριόντες ἐκ Σικυῶνος διὰ τὴν τῆς μόρας δυστυχίαν,
passing from Sicyon because-of the of-the regiment misfortune
ἀλλὰ παραπλέοντες εἰς Λέχαιον καὶ ἐντεῦθεν ὁρμώμενοι,
but sailing-along to Lechaeum and from-there setting-out
πράγματα εἶχόν τε καὶ παρεῖχον τοῖς ἐν τῷ ἄστει.
trouble had both and caused to-the-ones in the town

VI · AGESILAUS IN ACARNANIA

The Achaeans, holding Calydon against the Acarnanians and their Athenian and Boeotian allies, threaten to leave the alliance unless Sparta helps them, and Agesilaus is sent with two regiments. When the Acarnanians will not give up their alliance, he ravages their land so slowly, ten or twelve stades a day, that they bring their flocks down from the mountains; then he marches a hundred and sixty stades in one day and takes their herds by the lake. Trapped in a narrow plain by peltasts on the heights, he sends his young hoplites and horsemen uphill and kills about three hundred. He takes no city, and when the Achaeans ask him at least to stop the sowing, he answers that the more the Acarnanians sow, the more they will want peace. He goes home through Aetolia.

1 Μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο οἱ Ἀχαιοὶ ἔχοντες Καλυδῶνα, ἣ τὸ
After and this the Achaeans holding Calydon which in-the
παλαιὸν Αἰτωλίας ἦν, καὶ πολίτας πεποιημένοι τοὺς
old-time of-Aetolia was and citizens having-made the

Καλυδωνίους, φρουρεῖν ἠναγκάζοντο ἐν αὐτῇ. οἱ γὰρ
Calydonians to-garrison were-compelled in it the for
Ἀκαρνᾶνες ἐπεστράτευον, καὶ τῶν Ἀθηναίων δὲ καὶ
Acarnanians were-campaigning-against-it and of-the Athenians and also
Βοιωτῶν συμπαρῆσάν τινες αὐτοῖς διὰ τὸ συμμάχους
Boeotians were-present-with some them because-of the allies
εἶναι. πιεζόμενοι οὖν ὑπ᾽ αὐτῶν οἱ Ἀχαιοὶ πρέσβεις
to-be being-pressed then by them the Achaeans envoys
πέμπουσιν εἰς τὴν Λακεδαίμονα. οἱ δ᾽ ἐλθόντες ἔλεγον
send to — Lacedaemon they and having-come said
ὅτι οὐ δίκαια πάσχοιεν ὑπὸ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων.
that not just-things they-suffered from the Lacedaemonians
Ἡμεῖς μὲν γάρ, ἔφασαν, ὑμῖν, ὦ ἄνδρες, ὅπως ἂν 2
We indeed for they-said with-you O men in-whatever-way —
ὑμεῖς παραγγέλλητε συστρατευόμεθα καὶ ἑπόμεθα ὅποι ἂν
you order campaign-with and follow wherever —
ἡγῆσθε· ὑμεῖς δὲ πολιορκουμένων ἡμῶν ὑπὸ Ἀκαρνάνων
you-lead you but being-besieged us by Acarnanians
καὶ τῶν συμμάχων αὐτοῖς Ἀθηναίων καὶ Βοιωτῶν οὐδεμίαν
and the allies to-them Athenians and Boeotians no
ἐπιμέλειαν ποιεῖσθε. οὐκ ἂν οὖν δυναίμεθα ἡμεῖς τούτων
care take not — then could we these
οὕτω γιγνομένων ἀντέχειν, ἀλλ᾽ ἢ ἐάσαντες τὸν ἐν
so happening hold-out but either having-let-go the in
Πελοποννήσῳ πόλεμον διαβάντες πάντες πολεμήσομεν
Peloponnese war having-crossed all we-will-make-war
Ἀκαρνᾶσί τε καὶ τοῖς συμμάχοις αὐτῶν, ἢ εἰρήνην
on-Acarnanians both and the allies their or peace
ποιησόμεθα ὁποίαν ἄν τινα δυνώμεθα.
we-will-make whatever-sort — some we-can

3 ταῦτα δ' ἔλεγον ὑπαπειλοῦντες τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις
these-things and they-said hinting-threats to-the Lacedaemonians
ἀπαλλαγήσεσθαι τῆς συμμαχίας, εἰ μὴ αὐτοῖς
to-withdraw from-the alliance if not to-them
ἀντεπικουρήσουσι. τούτων δὲ λεγομένων ἔδοξε τοῖς
they-will-help-in-return these-things and being-said it-seemed-good to-the
τ' ἐφόροις καὶ τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι στρατεύεσθαι
both ephors and the assembly necessary to-be to-campaign
μετὰ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἀκαρνᾶνας. καὶ ἐκπέμπουσιν
with the Achaeans against the Acarnanians and they-send-out
Ἀγησίλαον, δύο μόρας ἔχοντα καὶ τῶν συμμάχων τὸ
Agesilaus two regiments having and of-the allies the
μέρος. οἱ μέντοι Ἀχαιοὶ πανδημεὶ συνεστρατεύοντο.
share the however Achaeans in-full-force campaigned-with-him
4 ἐπεὶ δὲ διέβη ὁ Ἀγησίλαος, πάντες μὲν οἱ ἐκ τῶν
when and crossed — Agesilaus all indeed the from the
ἀγρῶν Ἀκαρνᾶνες ἔφυγον εἰς τὰ ἄστη, πάντα δὲ τὰ
fields Acarnanians fled into the towns all and the
βοσκήματα ἀπεχώρησε πόρρω, ὅπως μὴ ἁλίσκηται ὑπὸ
flocks withdrew far so-that not they-be-caught by
τοῦ στρατεύματος. ὁ δ' Ἀγησίλαος ἐπειδὴ ἐγένετο ἐν
the army — and Agesilaus when he-was at
τοῖς ὁρίοις τῆς πολεμίας, πέμψας εἰς Στράτον πρὸς τὸ
the borders of-the enemy-land having-sent to Stratus to the
κοινὸν τῶν Ἀκαρνάνων εἶπεν ὡς, εἰ μὴ παυσάμενοι τῆς
federation of-the Acarnanians said that if not having-ceased from-the
πρὸς Βοιωτοὺς καὶ Ἀθηναίους συμμαχίας ἑαυτοὺς καὶ
toward Boeotians and Athenians alliance themselves and
τοὺς συμμάχους αἱρήσονται, δηώσει πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν
the allies they-will-choose he-will-ravage all the land
αὐτῶν ἐφεξῆς καὶ παραλείψει οὐδέν.
their in-succession and will-leave-out nothing

ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐκ ἐπείθοντο, οὕτως ἐποίει, καὶ κόπτων συνεχῶς 5
when and not they-obeyed so he-did and cutting continuously
τὴν χώραν οὐ προῄει πλέον τῆς ἡμέρας ἢ δέκα ἢ
the land not advanced more in-the day than ten or
δώδεκα σταδίων. οἱ μὲν οὖν Ἀκαρνᾶνες, ἡγησάμενοι
twelve stades the indeed then Acarnanians having-considered
ἀσφαλὲς εἶναι διὰ τὴν βραδυτῆτα τοῦ στρατεύματος,
safe to-be because-of the slowness of-the army
τά τε βοσκήματα κατεβίβαζον ἐκ τῶν ὀρῶν καὶ τῆς
the both flocks brought-down from the mountains and of-the
χώρας τὰ πλεῖστα ἠργάζοντο.
land the most worked
ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐδόκουν τῷ Ἀγησιλάῳ πάνυ ἤδη θαρρεῖν, ἡμέρᾳ 6
when and they-seemed — to-Agesilaus quite already to-be-confident on-day
πέμπτῃ ἢ ἕκτῃ καὶ δεκάτῃ ἀφ᾽ ἧς εἰσέβαλε θυσάμενος
fifth or sixth and tenth from which he-invaded having-sacrificed
πρῲ διεπορεύθη πρὸ δείλης ἑξήκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν στάδια
early he-traveled before afternoon sixty and hundred stades
ἐπὶ τὴν λίμνην περὶ ἣν τὰ βοσκήματα τῶν Ἀκαρνάνων
to the lake around which the flocks of-the Acarnanians
σχεδὸν πάντα ἦν, καὶ ἔλαβε παμπληθῆ καὶ βουκόλια
nearly all were and he-took very-many both herds-of-cattle
καὶ ἱπποφόρβια καὶ ἄλλα παντοδαπὰ βοσκήματα καὶ
and herds-of-horses and other all-kinds-of flocks and
ἀνδράποδα πολλά. λαβὼν δὲ καὶ μείνας αὐτοῦ τὴν
slaves many having-taken and also having-remained there the
ἐπιοῦσαν ἡμέραν διεπώλει τὰ αἰχμάλωτα.
following day he-sold the captives
τῶν μέντοι Ἀκαρνάνων πολλοὶ πελτασταὶ ἦλθον, καὶ 7
of-the however Acarnanians many peltasts came and
πρὸς τῷ ὄρει σκηνοῦντος τοῦ Ἀγησιλάου βάλλοντες
at the mountain camping — Agesilaus pelting

καὶ σφενδονῶντες ἀπὸ τῆς ἀκρωνυχίας τοῦ ὄρους
and slinging from the summit of-the mountain
ἔπασχον μὲν οὐδέν, κατεβίβασαν δὲ εἰς τὸ ὁμαλὲς τὸ
suffered indeed nothing they-brought-down but into the level-ground the
στρατόπεδον, καίπερ ἤδη περὶ δεῖπνον παρασκευαζόμενον.
camp although already about dinner preparing
εἰς δὲ τὴν νύκτα οἱ μὲν Ἀκαρνᾶνες ἀπῆλθον, οἱ δὲ
toward and the night the indeed Acarnanians went-away the and
στρατιῶται φυλακὰς καταστησάμενοι ἐκάθευδον.
soldiers guards having-stationed slept
8 τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ ἀπῆγεν ὁ Ἀγησίλαος τὸ στράτευμα.
on-the and next-day led-away — Agesilaus the army
καὶ ἦν μὲν ἡ ἔξοδος ἐκ τοῦ περὶ τὴν λίμνην λειμῶνός
and was indeed the exit from the around the lake meadow
τε καὶ πεδίου στενὴ διὰ τὰ κύκλῳ περιέχοντα ὄρη·
both and plain narrow because-of the in-a-circle surrounding mountains
καταλαβόντες δὲ οἱ Ἀκαρνᾶνες ἐκ τῶν ὑπερδεξίων
having-occupied and the Acarnanians from the higher-ground
ἔβαλλόν τε καὶ ἠκόντιζον, καὶ ὑποκαταβαίνοντες εἰς
pelted both and hurled-javelins and coming-down-a-little to
τὰ κράσπεδα τῶν ὀρῶν προσέκειντο καὶ πράγματα
the skirts of-the mountains pressed-on and trouble
παρεῖχον, ὥστε οὐκέτι ἐδύνατο τὸ στράτευμα πορεύεσθαι.
caused so-that no-longer could the army march
9 ἐπιδιώκοντες δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς φάλαγγος οἵ τε ὁπλῖται καὶ
pursuing and from the phalanx the both hoplites and
οἱ ἱππεῖς τοὺς ἐπιτιθεμένους οὐδὲν ἔβλαπτον· ταχὺ γὰρ
the horsemen the attackers in-no-way harmed quickly for
ἦσαν, ὁπότε ἀποχωροῖεν, πρὸς τοῖς ἰσχυροῖς οἱ Ἀκαρνᾶνες.
they-were whenever they-withdrew at the strongholds the Acarnanians
χαλεπὸν δ' ἡγησάμενος ὁ Ἀγησίλαος διὰ τοῦ στενοπόρου
hard and having-considered — Agesilaus through the narrow-pass

ἐξελθεῖν ταῦτα πάσχοντας, ἔγνω διώκειν τοὺς ἐκ τῶν
to-go-out these-things suffering decided to-pursue the-ones from the
εὐωνύμων προσκειμένους, μάλα πολλοὺς ὄντας· εὐβατώτερον
left pressing-on very many being easier-to-climb
γὰρ ἦν τοῦτο τὸ ὄρος καὶ ὁπλίταις καὶ ἵπποις.
for was this the mountain both for-hoplites and for-horses
καὶ ἐν ᾧ μὲν ἐσφαγιάζετο, μάλα κατεῖχον βάλλοντες 10
and in which-time indeed he-was-sacrificing very held-on pelting
καὶ ἀκοντίζοντες οἱ Ἀκαρνᾶνες, καὶ ἐγγὺς προσιόντες
and hurling-javelins the Acarnanians and near approaching
πολλοὺς ἐτίτρωσκον. ἐπεὶ δὲ παρήγγειλεν, ἔθει μὲν ἐκ
many wounded when but he-gave-the-order ran indeed from
τῶν ὁπλιτῶν τὰ πεντεκαίδεκα ἀφ᾽ ἥβης, ἤλαυνον δὲ οἱ
the hoplites the fifteen from youth rode and the
ἱππεῖς, αὐτὸς δὲ σὺν τοῖς ἄλλοις ἠκολούθει.
horsemen himself and with the others followed
οἱ μὲν οὖν ὑποκαταβεβηκότες τῶν Ἀκαρνάνων καὶ 11
the indeed then having-come-down-a-little of-the Acarnanians and
ἀκροβολιζόμενοι ταχὺ ἐνέκλιναν καὶ ἀπέθνῃσκον φεύγοντες
skirmishing quickly gave-way and died fleeing
πρὸς τὸ ἄναντες· ἐπὶ μέντοι τοῦ ἀκροτάτου οἱ ὁπλῖται ἦσαν
toward the uphill on however the summit the hoplites were
τῶν Ἀκαρνάνων παρατεταγμένοι καὶ τῶν πελταστῶν τὸ
of-the Acarnanians drawn-up and of-the peltasts the
πολύ, καὶ ἐνταῦθα ἐπέμενον, καὶ τά τε ἄλλα βέλη ἠφίεσαν
most and there they-stood-firm and the both other missiles they-let-fly
καὶ τοῖς δόρασιν ἐξακοντίζοντες ἱππέας τε κατέτρωσαν
and with-the spears hurling horsemen both wounded
καὶ ἵππους τινὰς ἀπέκτειναν. ἐπεὶ μέντοι μικροῦ ἔδεον
and horses some killed when however by-little they-lacked

ἤδη ἐν χερσὶ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων ὁπλιτῶν εἶναι, ἐνέκλιναν,
already in hands of-the Lacedaemonian hoplites to-be they-gave-way
καὶ ἀπέθανον αὐτῶν ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ περὶ τριακοσίους.
and died of-them in that the day about three-hundred
12 τούτων δὲ γενομένων ὁ Ἀγησίλαος τροπαῖον ἐστήσατο. καὶ
these-things and having-happened — Agesilaus a-trophy set-up and
τὸ ἀπὸ τούτου περιὼν κατὰ τὴν χώραν ἔκοπτε καὶ ἔκαιε·
the from this going-around through the land he-cut and burned
πρὸς ἐνίας δὲ τῶν πόλεων καὶ προσέβαλλεν, ὑπὸ τῶν
against some and of-the cities also he-made-attacks by the
Ἀχαιῶν ἀναγκαζόμενος, οὐ μὴν εἷλέ γε οὐδεμίαν. ἡνίκα
Achaeans being-compelled not however he-took at-least any when
δὲ ἤδη ἐπεγίγνετο τὸ μετόπωρον, ἀπῄει ἐκ τῆς χώρας.
and already came-on the autumn he-went-away from the land
13 οἱ δὲ Ἀχαιοὶ πεποιηκέναι τε οὐδὲν ἐνόμιζον αὐτόν, ὅτι
the and Achaeans to-have-done both nothing thought him because
πόλιν οὐδεμίαν προσειλήφει οὔτε ἑκοῦσαν οὔτε ἄκουσαν,
city none he-had-acquired either willing or unwilling
ἐδέοντό τε, εἰ μή τι ἄλλο, ἀλλὰ τοσοῦτόν γε χρόνον
they-asked both if not anything other yet so-much at-least time
καταμεῖναι αὐτόν, ἕως ἂν τὸν σπορητὸν διακωλύσῃ τοῖς
to-stay him until — the sowing he-should-prevent for-the
Ἀκαρνᾶσιν. ὁ δὲ ἀπεκρίνατο ὅτι τὰ ἐναντία λέγοιεν
Acarnanians he and answered that the-things opposite they-said
τοῦ συμφέροντος. ἐγὼ μὲν γάρ, ἔφη, στρατεύσομαι πάλιν
of-the advantage I indeed for he-said will-campaign again
δεῦρο εἰς τὸ ἐπιὸν θέρος· οὗτοι δὲ ὅσῳ ἂν πλείω
hither for the coming summer these but by-how-much — more
σπείρωσι, τοσούτῳ μᾶλλον τῆς εἰρήνης ἐπιθυμήσουσι.
they-sow by-so-much more for-the peace will-desire

ταῦτα δ᾽ εἰπὼν ἀπῄει πεζῇ δι᾽ Αἰτωλίας 14
these-things and having-said he-went-away on-foot through Aetolia
τοιαύτας ὁδοὺς ἃς οὔτε πολλοὶ οὔτε ὀλίγοι δύναιντ᾽
such roads which neither many nor few could
ἂν ἀκόντων Αἰτωλῶν πορεύεσθαι· ἐκεῖνον μέντοι εἴασαν
— *unwilling Aetolians to-march him however they-allowed*
διελθεῖν· ἤλπιζον γὰρ Ναύπακτον αὐτοῖς συμπράξειν
to-pass-through they-hoped for Naupactus for-them he-would-help
ὥστ᾽ ἀπολαβεῖν. ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἐγένετο κατὰ τὸ Ῥίον, ταύτῃ
so-as to-recover when and he-was at the Rhium here
διαβὰς οἴκαδε ἀπῆλθε· καὶ γὰρ τὸν ἐκ Καλυδῶνος
having-crossed home he-went-away and for the from Calydon
ἔκπλουν εἰς Πελοπόννησον οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐκώλυον τριήρεσιν
sailing-out to Peloponnese the Athenians prevented with-triremes
ὁρμώμενοι ἐξ Οἰνιαδῶν.
setting-out from Oeniadae

VII · AGESIPOLIS INVADES ARGOS

The Acarnanians make peace with the Achaeans and alliance with Sparta, which turns on Argos. Agesipolis asks Zeus at Olympia and Apollo at Delphi whether he may refuse the truce the Argives claim by shifting their festival months, and both say he may. Taking an earthquake as a sign to go on, he ravages up to the gates; when the sacrifices for a fort come out lobeless he goes home, having done much harm.

Παρελθόντος δὲ τοῦ χειμῶνος, ὥσπερ ὑπέσχετο τοῖς 1
Having-passed and the winter as he-had-promised to-the
Ἀχαιοῖς, εὐθὺς ἀρχομένου τοῦ ἦρος πάλιν φρουρὰν ἔφαινεν
Achaeans at-once beginning the spring again a-levy he-declared
ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἀκαρνᾶνας. οἱ δὲ αἰσθόμενοι, καὶ νομίσαντες
against the Acarnanians they and having-perceived and having-thought

διὰ τὸ ἐν μεσογείᾳ σφίσι τὰς πόλεις εἶναι ὁμοίως ἂν
because-of the in inland for-them the cities to-be likewise —
πολιορκεῖσθαι ὑπὸ τῶν τὸν σῖτον φθειρόντων ὥσπερ εἰ
to-be-besieged by the-ones the grain destroying as if
περιεστρατοπεδευμένοι πολιορκοῖντο, ἔπεμψαν πρέσβεις εἰς
surrounded-by-a-camp they-were-besieged sent envoys to
τὴν Λακεδαίμονα, καὶ εἰρήνην μὲν πρὸς τοὺς Ἀχαιούς,
— Lacedaemon and peace indeed with the Achaeans
συμμαχίαν δὲ πρὸς τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους ἐποιήσαντο. καὶ
alliance and with the Lacedaemonians made and
τὰ μὲν περὶ Ἀκαρνᾶνας οὕτω διεπέπρακτο.
the-things indeed concerning Acarnanians so had-been-settled

2 Ἐκ δὲ τούτου τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις τὸ μὲν ἐπ' Ἀθηναίους
After and this to-the Lacedaemonians the indeed against Athenians
ἢ ἐπὶ Βοιωτοὺς στρατεύειν οὐκ ἐδόκει ἀσφαλὲς εἶναι
or against Boeotians to-campaign not seemed safe to-be
ὄπισθεν καταλιπόντας ὅμορον τῇ Λακεδαίμονι πολεμίαν καὶ
behind having-left bordering — Lacedaemon hostile and
οὕτω μεγάλην τὴν τῶν Ἀργείων πόλιν, εἰς δὲ τὸ Ἄργος
so great the of-the Argives city into but — Argos
φρουρὰν φαίνουσιν. ὁ δὲ Ἀγησίπολις ἐπεὶ ἔγνω ὅτι εἴη
a-levy they-declare — and Agesipolis when he-knew that it-was
αὐτῷ ἡγητέον τῆς φρουρᾶς καὶ τὰ διαβατήρια θυομένῳ
for-him necessary-to-lead the levy and the crossing-sacrifices sacrificing
ἐγένετο, ἐλθὼν εἰς Ὀλυμπίαν καὶ χρηστηριαζόμενος
came-out having-gone to Olympia and consulting-the-oracle
ἐπηρώτα τὸν θεὸν εἰ ὁσίως ἂν ἔχοι αὐτῷ μὴ δεχομένῳ
asked the god if piously — it-would-be for-him not accepting
τὰς σπονδὰς τῶν Ἀργείων, ὅτι οὐχ ὁπότε καθήκοι ὁ
the truce of-the Argives because not when fell-due the
χρόνος, ἀλλ' ὁπότε ἐμβάλλειν μέλλοιεν Λακεδαιμόνιοι,
time but when to-invade were-about-to Lacedaemonians

τότε ὑπέφερον τοὺς μῆνας. ὁ δὲ θεὸς ἐπεσήμαινεν αὐτῷ
then they-alleged the months the and god signified to-him
ὅσιον εἶναι μὴ δεχομένῳ σπονδὰς ἀδίκως ὑποφερομένας.
pious to-be not accepting a-truce unjustly alleged
ἐκεῖθεν δ' εὐθὺς πορευθεὶς εἰς Δελφοὺς ἐπήρετο αὖ τὸν
thence and at-once having-traveled to Delphi asked in-turn —
Ἀπόλλω εἰ κἀκείνῳ δοκοίη περὶ τῶν σπονδῶν καθάπερ
Apollo if to-him-too it-seemed about the truce as
τῷ πατρί. ὁ δὲ ἀπεκρίνατο καὶ μάλα κατὰ ταὐτά.
to-the father he and answered indeed very according-to the-same-things
καὶ οὕτω δὴ Ἀγησίπολις ἀναλαβὼν ἐκ Φλειοῦντος τὸ 3
and so indeed Agesipolis having-taken-up from Phlius the
στράτευμα (ἐκεῖσε γὰρ αὐτῷ συνελέγετο, ἕως πρὸς τὰ
army there for for-him was-gathered while to the
ἱερὰ ἀπεδήμει), ἐνέβαλε διὰ Νεμέας. οἱ δ' Ἀργεῖοι
holy-places he-was-away invaded through Nemea the and Argives
ἐπεὶ ἔγνωσαν οὐ δυνησόμενοι κωλύειν, ἔπεμψαν, ὥσπερ
when they-knew not going-to-be-able to-prevent sent as
εἰώθεσαν, ἐστεφανωμένους δύο κήρυκας ὑποφέροντας
they-were-accustomed crowned two heralds alleging
σπονδάς. ὁ δὲ Ἀγησίπολις, ἀποκρινάμενος ὅτι οὐ δοκοῖεν
a-truce — and Agesipolis having-answered that not they-seemed
τοῖς θεοῖς δικαίως ὑποφέρειν, οὐκ ἐδέχετο τὰς σπονδάς,
to-the gods justly to-allege not accepted the truce
ἀλλ' ἐνέβαλε καὶ πολλὴν ἀπορίαν καὶ ἔκπληξιν κατά
but invaded and much perplexity and consternation throughout
τε τοὺς ἀγροὺς καὶ ἐν τῇ πόλει ἐποίησε.
both the fields and in the city caused
δειπνοποιουμένου δ' αὐτοῦ ἐν τῇ Ἀργείᾳ τῇ πρώτῃ 4
taking-dinner and him in the Argive-land the first
ἑσπέρᾳ, καὶ σπονδῶν τῶν μετὰ δεῖπνον ἤδη γιγνομένων,
evening and libations the after dinner already taking-place

ἔσεισεν ὁ θεός. καὶ οἱ μὲν Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἀρξαμένων τῶν
shook the god and the indeed Lacedaemonians having-begun the-ones
ἀπὸ δαμοσίας πάντες ὕμνησαν τὸν περὶ τὸν Ποσειδῶ
from the-damosia all sang the about — Poseidon
παιᾶνα· οἱ δ' ἄλλοι στρατιῶται ᾠοντο ἀπιέναι, ὅτι καὶ
paean the but other soldiers thought to-go-away because also
Ἆγις σεισμοῦ ποτε γενομένου ἀπήγαγεν ἐξ Ἤλιδος.
Agis an-earthquake once having-happened led-away from Elis
ὁ δὲ Ἀγησίπολις εἰπὼν ὅτι εἰ μὲν μέλλοντος αὐτοῦ
— but Agesipolis having-said that if indeed being-about him
ἐμβάλλειν σείσειε, κωλύειν ἂν αὐτὸν ἡγοῖτο· ἐπεὶ δὲ
to-invade it-had-shaken to-prevent — him he-considered since but
ἐμβεβληκότος, ἐπικελεύειν νομίζοι·
having-invaded to-urge-on he-thought
5 καὶ οὕτω τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ θυσάμενος τῷ Ποσειδῶνι ἡγεῖτο οὐ
and so on-the next-day having-sacrificed — to-Poseidon he-led not
πόρρω εἰς τὴν χώραν. ἅτε δὲ νεωστὶ τοῦ Ἀγησιλάου
far into the land inasmuch-as and lately — Agesilaus
ἐστρατευμένου εἰς τὸ Ἄργος, πυνθανόμενος ὁ Ἀγησίπολις
having-campaigned into — Argos inquiring — Agesipolis
τῶν στρατιωτῶν μέχρι μὲν ποῖ πρὸς τὸ τεῖχος ἤγαγεν
of-the soldiers as-far-as indeed where toward the wall had-led
ὁ Ἀγησίλαος, μέχρι δὲ ποῖ τὴν χώραν ἐδῄωσεν, ὥσπερ
— Agesilaus as-far-as and where the land he-had-ravaged like
πένταθλος πάντῃ ἐπὶ τὸ πλέον ὑπερβάλλειν ἐπειρᾶτο.
a-pentathlete in-every-way to the more to-surpass tried
6 καὶ ἤδη μέν ποτε βαλλόμενος ἀπὸ τῶν τύρσεων τὰς
and already indeed once being-pelted from the towers the
περὶ τὸ τεῖχος τάφρους πάλιν διέβη· ἦν δ' ὅτε
around the wall ditches again he-crossed there-was and when
οἰχομένων τῶν πλείστων Ἀργείων εἰς τὴν Σαρωνικὴν
having-gone the most Argives into the Saronic

οὕτως ἐγγὺς πυλῶν προσῆλθεν ὥστε οἱ πρὸς ταῖς
so near gates he-approached that the-ones at the
πύλαις ὄντες τῶν Ἀργείων ἀπέκλεισαν τοὺς τῶν Βοιωτῶν
gates being of-the Argives shut-out the of-the Boeotians
ἱππέας εἰσελθεῖν βουλομένους, δείσαντες μὴ συνεισπέσοιεν
horsemen to-enter wishing having-feared lest should-fall-in-together
κατὰ τὰς πύλας οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι· ὥστ᾽ ἠναγκάσθησαν
through the gates the Lacedaemonians so-that were-compelled
οἱ ἱππεῖς ὥσπερ νυκτερίδες πρὸς τοῖς τείχεσιν ὑπὸ ταῖς
the horsemen like bats to the walls under the
ἐπάλξεσι προσαραρέναι. καὶ εἰ μὴ ἔτυχον τότε οἱ
battlements to-cling and if not had-happened then the
Κρῆτες εἰς Ναυπλίαν καταδεδραμηκότες, πολλοὶ ἂν καὶ
Cretans to Nauplia having-made-a-raid many — both
ἄνδρες καὶ ἵπποι κατετοξεύθησαν.
men and horses would-have-been-shot-down
ἐκ δὲ τούτου περὶ τὰς εἰρκτὰς στρατοπεδευομένου αὐτοῦ 7
after and this around the enclosures encamping him
πίπτει κεραυνὸς εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον· καὶ οἱ μέν τινες
falls a-thunderbolt into the camp and the-ones indeed some
πληγέντες, οἱ δὲ καὶ ἐμβροντηθέντες ἀπέθανον. ἐκ
having-been-struck the-others and also thunderstruck died after
δὲ τούτου βουλόμενος τειχίσαι φρούριόν τι ἐπὶ ταῖς παρὰ
and this wishing to-fortify guard-post a at the by
Κηλοῦσαν ἐμβολαῖς ἐθύετο· καὶ ἐφάνη αὐτῷ τὰ ἱερὰ
Celusa passes he-sacrificed and appeared to-him the victims
ἄλοβα. ὡς δὲ τοῦτο ἐγένετο, ἀπήγαγε τὸ στράτευμα καὶ
lobeless when and this happened he-led-away the army and
διέλυσε, μάλα πολλὰ βλάψας τοὺς Ἀργείους, ἅτε
disbanded very much having-harmed the Argives inasmuch-as
ἀπροσδοκήτως αὐτοῖς ἐμβαλών.
unexpectedly on-them having-invaded

After Cnidus, Pharnabazus and Conon drive the Spartan governors from the coast, ravage Laconia, garrison Cythera, and fund the allies at Corinth, and Conon rebuilds the long walls of Athens with Persian gold. Antalcidas offers Tiribazus the Greek cities of Asia; the allies refuse, but Tiribazus funds Sparta in secret and imprisons Conon. Struthas kills Thibron. Thrasybulus wins over Thrace, Byzantium, and Lesbos but is killed at Aspendus, and Iphicrates ambushes Anaxibius near Abydos.

1 Καὶ ὁ μὲν δὴ κατὰ γῆν πόλεμος οὕτως ἐπολεμεῖτο.
And the indeed then by land war so was-waged
ἐν ᾧ δὲ πάντα ταῦτα ἐπράττετο, τὰ
in which-time and all these-things were-being-done the-things
κατὰ θάλατταν αὖ καὶ τὰς πρὸς θαλάττῃ πόλεις
by sea in-turn and the by sea cities
γενόμενα διηγήσομαι, καὶ τῶν πράξεων τὰς
having-happened I-will-narrate and of-the actions the-ones
μὲν ἀξιομνημονεύτους γράψω, τὰς δὲ μὴ ἀξίας
indeed memorable I-will-write the-ones but not worthy
λόγου παρήσω. πρῶτον μὲν τοίνυν Φαρνάβαζος
of-account I-will-pass-over first indeed then Pharnabazus
καὶ Κόνων, ἐπεὶ ἐνίκησαν τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους τῇ
and Conon when they-defeated the Lacedaemonians in-the
ναυμαχίᾳ, περιπλέοντες καὶ τὰς νήσους καὶ πρὸς
sea-battle sailing-around both the islands and to
τὰς ἐπιθαλαττιδίας πόλεις τούς τε Λακωνικοὺς
the coastal cities the both Laconian
ἁρμοστὰς ἐξήλαυνον καὶ παρεμυθοῦντο τὰς πόλεις
harmosts drove-out and encouraged the cities

ὡς οὔτε ἀκροπόλεις ἐντειχίσοιεν ἐάσοιέν τε
that neither citadels they-would-fortify-within they-would-leave and
αὐτονόμους.
autonomous

οἱ δ' ἀκούοντες ταῦτα ἥδοντό τε καὶ ἐπήνουν καὶ 2
they and hearing these-things were-pleased both and praised and
ξένια προθύμως ἔπεμπον τῷ Φαρναβάζῳ. καὶ γὰρ
guest-gifts eagerly sent — to-Pharnabazus and for
ὁ Κόνων τὸν Φαρνάβαζον ἐδίδασκεν ὡς οὕτω μὲν
— Conon — Pharnabazus taught that so indeed
ποιοῦντι πᾶσαι αὐτῷ αἱ πόλεις φίλιαι ἔσοιντο, εἰ
doing all to-him the cities friendly would-be if
δὲ δουλοῦσθαι βουλόμενος φανερὸς ἔσοιτο, ἔλεγεν ὡς
but to-enslave wishing evident he-should-be he-said that
μία ἑκάστη πολλὰ πράγματα ἱκανὴ εἴη παρέχειν καὶ
one each much trouble able was to-cause and
κίνδυνος εἴη μὴ καὶ οἱ Ἕλληνες, εἰ ταῦτα αἴσθοιντο,
danger there-was lest also the Greeks if these-things they-perceived
συσταῖεν.
should-combine

ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἐπείθετο ὁ Φαρνάβαζος. ἀποβὰς 3
these-things indeed then was-persuaded-of — Pharnabazus having-disembarked
δ' εἰς Ἔφεσον τῷ μὲν Κόνωνι δοὺς τετταράκοντα
and at Ephesus — indeed to-Conon having-given forty
τριήρεις εἰς Σηστὸν εἶπεν ἀπαντᾶν, αὐτὸς δὲ
triremes at Sestus he-told to-meet himself but
πεζῇ παρήει ἐπὶ τὴν αὑτοῦ ἀρχήν. καὶ γὰρ ὁ
on-foot went to the his-own province and for —
Δερκυλίδας, ὅσπερ καὶ πάλαι πολέμιος ἦν αὐτῷ,
Dercylidas who-very also long-ago enemy was to-him
ἔτυχεν ἐν Ἀβύδῳ ὤν, ὅτε ἡ ναυμαχία ἐγένετο,
happened in Abydos being when the sea-battle took-place

καὶ οὐχ ὥσπερ οἱ ἄλλοι ἁρμοσταὶ ἐξέλιπεν, ἀλλὰ
and not as the other harmosts abandoned but
κατέσχε τὴν Ἄβυδον καὶ διέσῳζε φίλην τοῖς
held — Abydos and kept-safe friendly to-the
Λακεδαιμονίοις. καὶ γὰρ συγκαλέσας τοὺς Ἀβυδηνοὺς
Lacedaemonians and for having-called-together the Abydenes
ἔλεξε τοιάδε.
he-spoke as-follows

4 Ὦ ἄνδρες, νῦν ἔξεστιν ὑμῖν καὶ πρόσθεν φίλοις οὖσι
O men now it-is-possible for-you also before friends being
τῇ πόλει ἡμῶν εὐεργέτας φανῆναι τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων.
to-the city our benefactors to-appear of-the Lacedaemonians
καὶ γὰρ τὸ μὲν ἐν ταῖς εὐπραξίαις πιστοὺς φαίνεσθαι
and for the indeed in the successes faithful to-appear
οὐδὲν θαυμαστόν· ὅταν δέ τινες ἐν συμφοραῖς γενομένων
nothing remarkable whenever but some in misfortunes having-come
φίλων βέβαιοι φανῶσι, τοῦτ᾽ εἰς τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον
friends steadfast appear this for the all time
μνημονεύεται. ἔστι δὲ οὐχ οὕτως ἔχον ὡς, εἰ τῇ
is-remembered it-is and not so being that if in-the
ναυμαχίᾳ ἐκρατήθημεν, οὐδὲν ἄρα ἔτι ἐσμέν· ἀλλὰ καὶ
sea-battle we-were-defeated nothing then any-longer we-are but also
τὸ πρόσθεν δήπου, Ἀθηναίων ἀρχόντων τῆς θαλάττης,
the before surely Athenians ruling the sea
ἱκανὴ ἦν ἡ ἡμετέρα πόλις καὶ εὖ φίλους καὶ κακῶς
able was the our city both well friends and badly
ἐχθροὺς ποιεῖν. ὅσῳ δὲ μᾶλλον αἱ ἄλλαι πόλεις
enemies to-treat by-as-much and more the other cities
σὺν τῇ τύχῃ ἀπεστράφησαν ἡμῶν, τοσούτῳ [ὄντως]
with the fortune turned-away from-us by-so-much truly
ἡ ὑμετέρα πιστότης μείζων φανείη ἄν. εἰ δέ τις
the your faithfulness greater would-appear — if but anyone

τοῦτο φοβεῖται, μὴ καὶ κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν
this fears lest both by land and by sea
ἐνθάδε πολιορκώμεθα, ἐννοείτω ὅτι Ἑλληνικὸν μὲν
here we-be-besieged let-him-consider that Greek indeed
οὔπω ναυτικόν ἐστιν ἐν τῇ θαλάττῃ, οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι εἰ
not-yet fleet is on the sea the but barbarians if
ἐπιχειρήσουσι τῆς θαλάττης ἄρχειν, οὐκ ἀνέξεται ταῦτα
they-attempt the sea to-rule not will-endure these-things
ἡ Ἑλλάς· ὥσθ' ἑαυτῇ ἐπικουροῦσα καὶ ὑμῖν σύμμαχος
— Greece so-that herself helping also to-you ally
γενήσεται.
will-become
οἱ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα ἀκούοντες οὐκ ἀκόντως ἀλλὰ 5
they indeed then these-things hearing not unwillingly but
προθύμως ἐπείσθησαν· καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἰόντας ἁρμοστὰς
eagerly were-persuaded and the indeed coming harmosts
φίλως ἐδέχοντο, τοὺς δὲ ἀπόντας μετεπέμποντο. ὁ
kindly received the-ones but absent sent-for —
δὲ Δερκυλίδας, ὡς συνελέγησαν πολλοὶ καὶ χρήσιμοι
and Dercylidas when were-gathered many and useful
ἄνδρες εἰς τὴν πόλιν, διαβὰς καὶ εἰς Σηστόν,
men into the city having-crossed also to Sestus
καταντικρὺ ὄντα Ἀβύδου καὶ ἀπέχοντα οὐ πλέον
opposite being Abydos and being-distant not more
ὀκτὼ σταδίων, ὅσοι τε διὰ Λακεδαιμονίους γῆν
than-eight stades as-many-as both because-of Lacedaemonians land
ἔσχον ἐν Χερρονήσῳ, ἤθροιζε, καὶ ὅσοι αὖ ἐκ
had in Chersonese gathered and as-many-as in-turn from
τῶν ἐν τῇ Εὐρώπῃ πόλεων ἁρμοσταὶ ἐξέπιπτον, καὶ
the in — Europe cities harmosts were-expelled also
τούτους ἐδέχετο, λέγων ὅτι οὐδ' ἐκείνους ἀθυμεῖν
these he-received saying that not-even those to-lose-heart

δεῖ, ἐννοουμένους ὅτι καὶ ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ, ἧ ἐξ
it-is-needful considering that also in — Asia which from
ἀρχῆς βασιλέως ἐστί, καὶ Τῆμνος, οὐ μεγάλη πόλις,
beginning of-the-king is both Temnus not great city
καὶ Αἰγαιεῖς καὶ ἄλλα γε χωρία δύνανται οἰκεῖν
and Aegaeans and other at-least places are-able to-dwell
οὐχ ὑπήκοοι ὄντες βασιλέως. καίτοι, ἔφη, ποῖον μὲν
not subject being to-the-king and-yet he-said what-sort indeed
ἂν ἰσχυρότερον Σηστοῦ λάβοιτε χωρίον, ποῖον δὲ
— stronger than-Sestus could-you-take place what-sort and
δυσπολιορκητότερον; ὃ καὶ νεῶν καὶ πεζῶν δεῖται, εἰ
harder-to-besiege which both ships and infantry needs if
μέλλει πολιορκηθήσεσθαι.
it-is-going to-be-besieged

6 τούτους αὖ τοιαῦτα λέγων ἔσχε τοῦ ἐκπεπλῆχθαι.
these in-turn such-things saying he-checked from-the to-be-panic-stricken
ὁ δὲ Φαρνάβαζος ἐπεὶ ηὗρε τήν τε Ἄβυδον καὶ
— and Pharnabazus when he-found — both Abydos and
τὸν Σηστὸν οὕτως ἔχοντα, προηγόρευεν αὐτοῖς ὡς εἰ
— Sestus so being proclaimed to-them that if
μὴ ἐκπέμψοιεν τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους, πόλεμον ἐξοίσει
not they-sent-out the Lacedaemonians war he-would-bring
πρὸς αὐτούς. ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐκ ἐπείθοντο, Κόνωνι μὲν
against them when and not they-obeyed to-Conon indeed
προσέταξε κωλύειν αὐτοὺς τὴν θάλατταν πλεῖν, αὐτὸς
he-ordered to-prevent them the sea to-sail himself
δὲ ἐδῄου τὴν τῶν Ἀβυδηνῶν χώραν. ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐδὲν
but ravaged the of-the Abydenes land when and nothing
ἐπέραινε πρὸς τὸ καταστρέφεσθαι, αὐτὸς μὲν ἐπ᾽ οἴκου
he-accomplished for the to-subdue himself indeed to home
ἀπῆλθε, τὸν δὲ Κόνωνα ἐκέλευεν εὐτρεπίζεσθαι τὰς καθ᾽
went-away — but Conon he-bade to-prepare the along-the

Ἑλλήσποντον πόλεις, ὅπως εἰς τὸ ἔαρ ὅτι πλεῖστον
Hellespont cities so-that for the spring as most
ναυτικὸν ἀθροισθείη. ὀργιζόμενος γὰρ τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις
fleet might-be-gathered being-angry for with-the Lacedaemonians
ἀνθ' ὧν ἐπεπόνθει περὶ παντὸς ἐποιεῖτο ἐλθεῖν
in-return-for what he-had-suffered above everything he-made-it to-come
τε εἰς τὴν χώραν αὐτῶν καὶ τιμωρήσασθαι ὅ τι
both into the land their and to-punish what ever
δύναιτο.
he-could
καὶ τὸν μὲν χειμῶνα ἐν τοιούτοις ὄντες διῆγον· ἅμα 7
and the indeed winter in such-things being they-passed at-the-same-time
δὲ τῷ ἔαρι ναῦς τε πολλὰς συμπληρώσας καὶ
and with-the spring ships both many having-manned and
ξενικὸν προσμισθωσάμενος ἔπλευσεν ὁ Φαρνάβαζός
mercenary-force having-hired-besides sailed — Pharnabazus
τε καὶ ὁ Κόνων μετ' αὐτοῦ διὰ νήσων εἰς
both and — Conon with him through islands to
Μῆλον, ἐκεῖθεν δὲ ὁρμώμενοι εἰς τὴν Λακεδαίμονα.
Melos thence and setting-out to — Lacedaemon
καταπλεύσας δὲ πρῶτον μὲν εἰς Φερὰς ἐδήωσε
having-sailed-down and first indeed to Pherae he-ravaged
ταύτην τὴν χώραν, ἔπειτα καὶ ἄλλοσε ἀποβαίνων
this the land then also elsewhere landing
τῆς παραθαλαττίας ἐκακούργει ὅ τι ἐδύνατο.
of-the coast he-harmed what ever he-could
φοβούμενος δὲ τήν τε ἀλιμενότητα τῆς χώρας καὶ
fearing but the both harborlessness of-the land and
τὰ τῆς βοηθείας καὶ τὴν σπανοσιτίαν, ταχύ τε
the-things of-the relief and the shortage-of-food quickly both

ἀνέστρεψε καὶ ἀποπλέων ὡρμίσθη τῆς Κυθηρίας εἰς
turned-back and sailing-off anchored of-the Cytherian-land at
Φοινικοῦντα.
Phoenicus

8 ἐπεὶ δὲ οἱ ἔχοντες τὴν πόλιν τῶν Κυθηρίων
when and the-ones holding the city of-the Cytherians
φοβηθέντες μὴ κατὰ κράτος ἁλοῖεν ἐξέλιπον τὰ
having-feared lest by force they-be-taken abandoned the
τείχη, ἐκείνους μὲν ὑποσπόνδους ἀφῆκεν εἰς τὴν
walls those indeed under-truce he-let-go to the
Λακωνικήν, αὐτὸς δ' ἐπισκευάσας τὸ τῶν Κυθηρίων
Laconian-land himself but having-repaired the of-the Cytherians
τεῖχος φρουρούς τε καὶ Νικόφημον Ἀθηναῖον ἁρμοστὴν
wall garrison both and Nicophemus Athenian as-harmost
ἐν τοῖς Κυθήροις κατέλιπε. ταῦτα δὲ ποιήσας
in — Cythera left these-things and having-done
καὶ εἰς Ἰσθμὸν τῆς Κορινθίας καταπλεύσας, καὶ
also to Isthmus of-the Corinthian-land having-sailed and
παρακελευσάμενος τοῖς συμμάχοις προθύμως τε πολεμεῖν
having-exhorted the allies eagerly both to-make-war
καὶ ἄνδρας πιστοὺς φαίνεσθαι βασιλεῖ, καταλιπὼν
and men faithful to-appear to-the-king having-left
αὐτοῖς χρήματα ὅσα εἶχεν, ᾤχετο ἐπ' οἴκου
them money as-much-as he-had went to home
ἀποπλέων.
sailing-off

9 λέγοντος δὲ τοῦ Κόνωνος ὡς εἰ ἐάση αὐτὸν ἔχειν
saying and — Conon that if he-allowed him to-have
τὸ ναυτικόν, θρέψοι μὲν ἀπὸ τῶν νήσων,
the fleet he-would-maintain-it indeed from the islands
καταπλεύσας δ' εἰς τὴν πατρίδα συναναστήσοι τά
having-sailed and to the fatherland would-help-raise-again the

τε μακρὰ τείχη τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις καὶ τὸ περὶ τὸν
both long walls for-the Athenians and the around the
Πειραιᾶ τεῖχος, οὗ εἰδέναι ἔφη ὅτι Λακεδαιμονίοις
Piraeus wall than-which he-knew he-said that to-Lacedaemonians
οὐδὲν ἂν βαρύτερον γένοιτο, καὶ τοῦτο οὖν, ἔφη,
nothing — more-grievous would-be and this then he-said
σὺ τοῖς μὲν Ἀθηναίοις κεχαρισμένος ἔσει, τοὺς δὲ
you to-the indeed Athenians having-done-a-favor will-be the but
Λακεδαιμονίους τετιμωρημένος· ἐφ' ᾧ γὰρ πλεῖστα
Lacedaemonians having-punished on which for most
ἐπόνησαν, ἀτελὲς αὐτοῖς ποιήσεις. ὁ δὲ Φαρνάβαζος
they-toiled unaccomplished for-them you-will-make — and Pharnabazus
ἀκούσας ταῦτα ἀπέστειλεν αὐτὸν προθύμως εἰς τὰς
having-heard these-things sent-off him eagerly to —
Ἀθήνας, καὶ χρήματα προσέθηκεν αὐτῷ εἰς τὸν
Athens and money added to-him for the
ἀνατειχισμόν.
rebuilding-of-the-wall
ὁ δὲ ἀφικόμενος πολὺ τοῦ τείχους ὤρθωσε, τά 10
he and having-arrived much of-the wall raised-up the
τε αὑτοῦ πληρώματα παρέχων καὶ τέκτοσι καὶ
both his-own crews providing and to-carpenters and
λιθολόγοις μισθὸν διδούς, καὶ ἄλλο εἴ τι ἀναγκαῖον
stone-masons pay giving and other if anything necessary
ἦν, δαπανῶν. ἦν μέντοι τοῦ τείχους ᾗ καὶ
was spending there-was however of-the wall what also
αὐτοὶ Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ Βοιωτοὶ καὶ ἄλλαι πόλεις
themselves Athenians and Boeotians and other cities
ἐθελούσιαι συνετείχισαν. οἱ μέντοι Κορίνθιοι ἀφ' ὧν
voluntarily helped-to-wall the however Corinthians from what
ὁ Φαρνάβαζος κατέλιπε χρημάτων ναῦς πληρώσαντες
— Pharnabazus left money ships having-manned

καὶ Ἀγαθῖνον ναύαρχον ἐπιστήσαντες ἐθαλαττοκράτουν ἐν
and Agathinus as-admiral having-set-over ruled-the-sea in
τῷ περὶ Ἀχαΐαν καὶ Λέχαιον κόλπῳ. ἀντεπλήρωσαν
the around Achaea and Lechaeum gulf manned-in-return
δὲ καὶ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ναῦς, ὧν Ποδάνεμος
and also the Lacedaemonians ships which Podanemus
ἦρχεν.
commanded

11 ἐπεὶ δὲ οὗτος ἐν προσβολῇ τινι γενομένῃ ἀπέθανε,
when and this-one in attack some having-occurred died
καὶ Πόλλις αὖ ἐπιστολεὺς ὢν τρωθεὶς ἀπῆλθεν,
and Pollis in-turn vice-admiral being having-been-wounded went-away
Ἡριππίδας ταύτας ἀναλαμβάνει τὰς ναῦς. Πρόαινος
Herippidas these takes-over the ships Proaenus
μέντοι Κορίνθιος τὰς παρ᾽ Ἀγαθίνου παραλαβὼν ναῦς
however Corinthian the from Agathinus having-taken-over ships
ἐξέλιπε τὸ Ῥίον· Λακεδαιμόνιοι δ᾽ αὐτὸ παρέλαβον.
abandoned — Rhium Lacedaemonians and it took-over
μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο Τελευτίας ἐπὶ τὰς Ἡριππίδου
after and this Teleutias to the of-Heripppidas
ναῦς ἦλθε, καὶ οὗτος αὖ τοῦ κόλπου πάλιν
ships came and this-one in-turn the gulf again
ἐκράτει.
controlled

12 Οἱ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἀκούοντες ὅτι Κόνων καὶ τὸ
The and Lacedaemonians hearing that Conon even the
τεῖχος τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ἐκ τῶν βασιλέως χρημάτων
wall for-the Athenians from the of-the-king money
ἀνορθοίη, καὶ τὸ ναυτικὸν ἀπὸ τῶν ἐκείνου τρέφων
was-raising and the fleet from the his maintaining
τάς τε νήσους καὶ τὰς ἐν τῇ ἠπείρῳ παρὰ
the both islands and the-ones on the mainland by

θάλατταν πόλεις Ἀθηναίοις εὐτρεπίζοι, ἐνόμισαν, εἰ
sea cities for-Athenians was-making-ready thought if
ταῦτα διδάσκοιεν Τιρίβαζον βασιλέως ὄντα στρατηγόν,
these-things they-should-teach Tiribazus of-the-king being general
ἢ καὶ ἀποστῆσαι ἂν πρὸς ἑαυτοὺς τὸν Τιρίβαζον
either even to-detach — to themselves — Tiribazus
ἢ παῦσαί γ' ἂν τὸ Κόνωνος ναυτικὸν τρέφοντα.
or to-stop at-least — the of-Conon fleet maintaining
γνόντες δὲ οὕτω, πέμπουσιν Ἀνταλκίδαν πρὸς
having-decided and so they-send Antalcidas to
τὸν Τιρίβαζον, προστάξαντες αὐτῷ ταῦτα διδάσκειν
— Tiribazus having-ordered him these-things to-teach
καὶ πειρᾶσθαι εἰρήνην τῇ πόλει ποιεῖσθαι πρὸς
and to-try peace for-the city to-make with
βασιλέα.
the-king
αἰσθόμενοι δὲ ταῦτα οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἀντιπέμπουσι 13
having-perceived and these-things the Athenians send-in-return
πρέσβεις μετὰ Κόνωνος Ἑρμογένη καὶ Δίωνα καὶ
envoys with Conon Hermogenes and Dion and
Καλλισθένη καὶ Καλλιμέδοντα. συμπαρεκάλεσαν
Callisthenes and Callimedon they-invited-also
δὲ καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν συμμάχων πρέσβεις· καὶ
and also from the allies envoys and
παρεγένοντο ἀπό τε Βοιωτῶν καὶ Κορίνθου καὶ
there-were-present from both Boeotians and Corinth and
Ἄργους.
Argos
ἐπεὶ δ' ἐκεῖ ἦσαν, ὁ μὲν Ἀνταλκίδας ἔλεγε πρὸς 14
when and there they-were — indeed Antalcidas said to
τὸν Τιρίβαζον ὅτι εἰρήνης δεόμενος ἥκοι τῇ
— Tiribazus that peace wanting he-had-come for-the

πόλει πρὸς βασιλέα, καὶ ταύτης οἵασπερ βασιλεὺς
city with the-king and this such-as-very the-king
ἐπεθύμει. τῶν τε γὰρ ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ Ἑλληνίδων πόλεων
desired of-the both for in — Asia Greek cities
Λακεδαιμονίους βασιλεῖ οὐκ ἀντιποιεῖσθαι, τάς τε
Lacedaemonians against-the-king not to-contend-for the both
νήσους ἁπάσας καὶ τὰς ἄλλας πόλεις ἀρκεῖν σφίσιν
islands all and the other cities to-suffice for-them
αὐτονόμους εἶναι. καίτοι, ἔφη, τοιαῦτα ἐθελόντων
autonomous to-be and-yet he-said such-things being-willing
ἡμῶν, τίνος ἂν ἕνεκα πρὸς ἡμᾶς [οἱ Ἕλληνες ἢ]
us for-what — reason against us the Greeks or
βασιλεὺς πολεμοίη ἢ χρήματα δαπανῴη; καὶ γὰρ
the-king should-make-war or money should-spend and for
οὐδ' ἐπὶ βασιλέα στρατεύεσθαι δυνατὸν οὔτε Ἀθηναίοις
not-even against the-king to-campaign possible either for-Athenians
μὴ ἡγουμένων ἡμῶν οὔθ' ἡμῖν αὐτονόμων οὐσῶν τῶν
not leading us or for-us autonomous being the
πόλεων.
cities

15 τῷ μὲν δὴ Τιριβάζῳ ἀκούοντι ἰσχυρῶς ἤρεσκον οἱ τοῦ
— indeed then to-Tiribazus hearing strongly pleased the —
Ἀνταλκίδου λόγοι· τοῖς δὲ ἐναντίοις †λόγοις ταῦτ' ἦν.
of-Antalcidas words to-the but opponents words these-things were
οἵ τε γὰρ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐφοβοῦντο συνθέσθαι αὐτονόμους
the both for Athenians feared to-agree autonomous
τὰς πόλεις καὶ τὰς νήσους εἶναι, μὴ Λήμνου καὶ
the cities and the islands to-be lest of-Lemnos and
Ἴμβρου καὶ Σκύρου στερηθεῖεν, οἵ τε Θηβαῖοι, μὴ
Imbros and Scyros they-be-deprived the both Thebans lest
ἀναγκασθείησαν ἀφεῖναι τὰς Βοιωτίδας πόλεις αὐτονόμους,
they-be-compelled to-let-go the Boeotian cities autonomous

οἵ τ᾽ Ἀργεῖοι, οὗ ἐπεθύμουν, οὐκ ἐνόμιζον ἂν
the both Argives of-what they-desired not thought —
τὴν Κόρινθον δύνασθαι ὥς τ᾽ Ἄργος ἔχειν τοιούτων
— Corinth to-be-able so-as both Argos to-hold such
συνθηκῶν καὶ σπονδῶν γενομένων. αὕτη μὲν ἡ
agreements and treaties having-come-about this indeed the
εἰρήνη οὕτως ἐγένετο ἀτελής, καὶ ἀπῆλθον οἴκαδε
peace so became unaccomplished and went-away home
ἕκαστος.
each

Ὁ μέντοι Τιρίβαζος τὸ μὲν ἄνευ βασιλέως μετὰ 16
— however Tiribazus the indeed without the-king with
Λακεδαιμονίων γενέσθαι οὐκ ἀσφαλὲς αὑτῷ ἡγεῖτο
Lacedaemonians to-side not safe for-himself thought
εἶναι· λάθρᾳ γε μέντοι ἔδωκε χρήματα Ἀνταλκίδᾳ,
to-be secretly at-least however he-gave money to-Antalcidas
ὅπως ἂν πληρωθέντος ναυτικοῦ ὑπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων
so-that — having-been-manned a-fleet by Lacedaemonians
οἵ τε Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ οἱ σύμμαχοι αὐτῶν μᾶλλον τῆς
the both Athenians and the allies their more the
εἰρήνης προσδέοιντο, καὶ τὸν Κόνωνα ὡς ἀδικοῦντά
peace should-need and — Conon as wronging
τε βασιλέα καὶ ἀληθῆ λεγόντων Λακεδαιμονίων
both the-king and true speaking Lacedaemonians
εἶρξε. ταῦτα δὲ ποιήσας ἀνέβαινε πρὸς
he-imprisoned these-things and having-done he-went-up to
βασιλέα, φράσων ἅ τε λέγοιεν οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι
the-king going-to-tell what both said the Lacedaemonians
καὶ ὅτι Κόνωνα συνειληφὼς εἴη ὡς ἀδικοῦντα,
and that Conon having-arrested he-had as wronging

καὶ ἐρωτήσων τί χρὴ ποιεῖν περὶ τούτων
and going-to-ask what it-is-needful to-do about these
ἁπάντων.
all

17 καὶ βασιλεὺς μέν, ὡς Τιρίβαζος ἄνω παρ' αὐτῷ ἦν,
and the-king indeed when Tiribazus up with him was
Στρούθαν καταπέμπει ἐπιμελησόμενον τῶν κατὰ θάλατταν.
Struthas sends-down going-to-take-charge of-the by sea
ὁ μέντοι Στρούθας ἰσχυρῶς τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις καὶ τοῖς
— however Struthas strongly to-the Athenians and the
συμμάχοις τὴν γνώμην προσεῖχε, μεμνημένος ὅσα
allies the mind applied remembering how-many
κακὰ ἐπεπόνθει ἡ βασιλέως χώρα ὑπ' Ἀγησιλάου.
evils had-suffered the of-the-king land by Agesilaus
οἱ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἐπεὶ ἑώρων τὸν Στρούθαν πρὸς
the and Lacedaemonians when they-saw — Struthas toward
ἑαυτοὺς μὲν πολεμικῶς ἔχοντα, πρὸς δὲ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους
themselves indeed hostilely disposed toward but the Athenians
φιλικῶς, Θίβρωνα πέμπουσιν ἐπὶ πολέμῳ πρὸς αὐτόν.
friendlily Thibron they-send for war against him
ὁ δὲ διαβάς τε καὶ ὁρμώμενος ἐξ Ἐφέσου τε
he and having-crossed both and setting-out from Ephesus both
καὶ τῶν ἐν Μαιάνδρου πεδίῳ πόλεων Πριήνης τε
and the in of-Maeander plain cities Priene both
καὶ Λευκόφρυος καὶ Ἀχιλλείου, ἔφερε καὶ ἦγε τὴν
and Leucophrys and Achilleum plundered and carried-off the
βασιλέως.
of-the-king

18 προϊόντος δὲ τοῦ χρόνου κατανοήσας ὁ Στρούθας ὅτι
advancing and the time having-observed — Struthas that
Θίβρων βοηθοίη ἑκάστοτε ἀτάκτως καὶ καταφρονητικῶς,
Thibron came-to-help each-time in-disorder and contemptuously

ἔπεμψεν ἱππέας εἰς τὸ πεδίον καὶ καταδραμόντας ἐκέλευσε
sent horsemen into the plain and having-made-a-raid bade
περιβαλλομένους ἐλαύνειν ὅ τι δύναιντο. ὁ δὲ Θίβρων
rounding-up to-drive-off what ever they-could — and Thibron
ἐτύγχανεν ἐξ ἀρίστου δισκεύων μετὰ Θερσάνδρου
happened after breakfast throwing-the-discus with Thersander
τοῦ αὐλητοῦ· ἦν γὰρ ὁ Θέρσανδρος οὐ μόνον αὐλητὴς
the flute-player was for — Thersander not only flute-player
ἀγαθός, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀλκῆς [ἰσχύος], ἅτε λακωνίζων,
good but also to-strength of-might inasmuch-as laconizing
ἀντεποιεῖτο.
laid-claim
ὁ δὲ Στρούθας, ἰδὼν ἀτάκτως τε βοηθοῦντας 19
— and Struthas having-seen in-disorder both coming-to-help
καὶ ὀλίγους τοὺς πρώτους, ἐπιφαίνεται πολλούς τε
and few the first appears many both
ἔχων καὶ συντεταγμένους ἱππέας. καὶ Θίβρωνα μὲν
having and drawn-up horsemen and Thibron indeed
καὶ Θέρσανδρον πρώτους ἀπέκτειναν· ἐπεὶ δ' οὗτοι
and Thersander first they-killed when and these
ἔπεσον, ἐτρέψαντο καὶ τὸ ἄλλο στράτευμα, καὶ
fell they-routed also the other army and
διώκοντες παμπλήθεις κατέβαλον· ἦσαν δὲ καὶ οἳ
pursuing very-many struck-down there-were but also who
ἐσώθησαν αὐτῶν εἰς τὰς φιλίας πόλεις, καὶ πλέονες
were-saved of-them into the friendly cities and more
διὰ τὸ ὀψὲ αἰσθέσθαι τῆς βοηθείας ἀπελείποντο.
because-of the late to-have-perceived of-the expedition they-were-left-behind
πολλάκις γάρ, ὡς καὶ τότε, οὐδὲ παραγγείλας
often for as even then not-even having-ordered

τὴν βοήθειαν ἐποιήσατο. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν οὕτως
the expedition he-made and these-things indeed so
ἐγεγένητο.
had-happened

20 Ἐπεὶ δ' ἦλθον εἰς Λακεδαίμονα οἱ ἐκπεπτωκότες
When and came to Lacedaemon the-ones exiled
Ῥοδίων ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου, ἐδίδασκον ὡς οὐκ ἄξιον
of-Rhodians by the people they-taught that not worthy
εἴη περιδεῖν Ἀθηναίους Ῥόδον καταστρεψαμένους καὶ
it-was to-overlook Athenians Rhodes having-subdued and
τοσαύτην δύναμιν συνθεμένους. γνόντες οὖν οἱ
so-great power having-assembled having-recognized then the
Λακεδαιμόνιοι ὡς εἰ μὲν ὁ δῆμος κρατήσοι, Ἀθηναίων
Lacedaemonians that if indeed the people should-prevail of-Athenians
ἔσται Ῥόδος ἅπασα, εἰ δὲ οἱ πλουσιώτεροι, ἑαυτῶν,
will-be Rhodes all if but the richer of-themselves
ἐπλήρωσαν αὐτοῖς ναῦς ὀκτώ, ναύαρχον δὲ Ἔκδικον
manned for-them ships eight as-admiral and Ecdicus
ἐπέστησαν.
they-set-over

21 συνεξέπεμψαν δ' ἐπὶ τούτων τῶν νεῶν καὶ Διφρίδαν.
they-sent-out-with and on these the ships also Diphridas
ἐκέλευσαν δ' αὐτὸν διαβάντα εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν τάς τε
they-bade and him having-crossed into — Asia the both
Θίβρωνα ὑποδεξαμένας πόλεις διασῴζειν, καὶ στράτευμα
Thibron having-received cities to-keep-safe and army
τὸ περισωθὲν ἀναλαβόντα καὶ ἄλλο, εἴ ποθεν
the saved having-taken-up and other if from-anywhere
δύναιτο, συλλέξαντα πολεμεῖν πρὸς Στρούθαν. ὁ μὲν δὴ
he-could having-gathered to-make-war against Struthas — indeed then
Διφρίδας ταῦτα ἐποίει, καὶ τά τ' ἄλλα ἐπετύγχανε
Diphridas these-things did and the both other-things succeeded

καὶ Τιγράνην τὸν τὴν Στρούθα ἔχοντα θυγατέρα
and Tigranes the-one the of-Struthas having daughter
πορευόμενον εἰς Σάρδεις λαμβάνει σὺν αὐτῇ τῇ γυναικί,
traveling to Sardis he-takes with the-very the wife
καὶ χρημάτων πολλῶν ἀπέλυσεν· ὥστ' εὐθὺς ἐντεῦθεν
and for-money much released so-that at-once from-this
εἶχε μισθοδοτεῖν.
he-could to-pay-wages

ἦν δ' οὗτος ἀνὴρ εὔχαρίς τε οὐχ ἧττον τοῦ Θίβρωνος, 22
was and this-one the-man charming both not less — than-Thibron
μᾶλλόν τε συντεταγμένος καὶ ἐγχειρητικώτερος στρατηγός.
more both disciplined and more-enterprising general
οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐκράτουν αὐτοῦ αἱ τοῦ σώματος ἡδοναί,
not-even for mastered him the of-the body pleasures
ἀλλ' ἀεὶ πρὸς ᾧ εἴη ἔργῳ, τοῦτο ἔπραττεν.
but always at whatever he-was task this he-did
ὁ δ' Ἔκδικος ἐπεὶ εἰς τὴν Κνίδον ἔπλευσε καὶ
— and Ecdicus when to — Cnidus he-sailed and
ἐπύθετο τὸν ἐν τῇ Ῥόδῳ δῆμον πάντα κατέχοντα καὶ
learned the in — Rhodes people all holding and
κρατοῦντα καὶ κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν †διέπλεον
prevailing both by land and by sea sailed-about
διπλασίαις τριήρεσιν ἢ αὐτὸς εἶχεν, ἡσυχίαν ἦγεν ἐν τῇ
with-double triremes than himself had quiet kept in —
Κνίδῳ.
Cnidus

οἱ δ' αὖ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἐπεὶ ᾔσθοντο αὐτὸν ἐλάττω 23
the and in-turn Lacedaemonians when they-perceived him less
ἔχοντα δύναμιν ἢ ὥστε τοὺς φίλους ὠφελεῖν, ἐκέλευσαν
having force than so-as the friends to-help bade
τὸν Τελευτίαν σὺν ταῖς δώδεκα ναυσὶν αἷς εἶχεν
— Teleutias with the twelve ships which he-had

ἐν τῷ περὶ Ἀχαΐαν καὶ Λέχαιον κόλπῳ περιπλεῖν
in the around Achaea and Lechaeum gulf to-sail-round
πρὸς τὸν Ἔκδικον, κἀκεῖνον μὲν ἀποπέμψαι, αὐτὸν
to — Ecdicus and-that-one indeed to-send-off himself
δὲ τῶν τε βουλομένων φίλων εἶναι ἐπιμελεῖσθαι καὶ
but of-the both wishing friends to-be to-take-care and
τοὺς πολεμίους ὅ τι δύναιτο κακὸν ποιεῖν. ὁ δὲ
the enemies what ever he-could harm to-do — and
Τελευτίας ἐπειδὴ ἀφίκετο εἰς τὴν Σάμον, προσλαβὼν
Teleutias when he-arrived at — Samos having-taken-besides
ἐκεῖθεν ναῦς ἑπτὰ ἔπλευσεν εἰς Κνίδον, ὁ δ' Ἔκδικος
thence ships seven sailed to Cnidus — and Ecdicus
οἴκαδε.
home

24 αὐτὸς δ' ἔπλει εἰς τὴν Ῥόδον, ἤδη ἔχων ναῦς ἑπτὰ
himself and sailed to — Rhodes already having ships seven
καὶ εἴκοσι· πλέων δὲ περιτυγχάνει Φιλοκράτει τῷ
and twenty sailing and he-falls-in-with Philocrates the
Ἐφιάλτου πλέοντι μετὰ δέκα τριήρων Ἀθήνηθεν εἰς
son-of-Ephialtes sailing with ten triremes from-Athens to
Κύπρον ἐπὶ συμμαχίᾳ τῇ Εὐαγόρου, καὶ λαμβάνει
Cyprus for alliance to-the of-Evagoras and takes
πάσας, ὑπεναντιώτατα δὴ ταῦτα ἀμφότεροι ἑαυτοῖς
all most-contrary indeed these-things both to-themselves
πράττοντες· οἵ τε γὰρ Ἀθηναῖοι φίλῳ χρώμενοι βασιλεῖ
doing the both for Athenians friend using the-king
συμμαχίαν ἔπεμπον Εὐαγόρᾳ τῷ πολεμοῦντι πρὸς
alliance were-sending to-Evagoras the-one warring against
βασιλέα, ὅ τε Τελευτίας Λακεδαιμονίων πολεμούντων
the-king — both Teleutias Lacedaemonians warring-with
βασιλεῖ τοὺς πλέοντας ἐπὶ τῷ ἐκείνου πολέμῳ διέφθειρεν.
the-king the-ones sailing for the his war destroyed

ἐπαναπλεύσας δ' εἰς Κνίδον καὶ διαθέμενος ἃ ἔλαβεν,
having-sailed-back and to Cnidus and having-disposed-of what he-took
εἰς Ῥόδον αὖ ἀφικόμενος ἐβοήθει τοῖς τὰ αὐτῶν
to Rhodes in-turn having-arrived he-helped the-ones the their-own
φρονοῦσιν.
thinking
Οἱ δ' Ἀθηναῖοι νομίσαντες τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους πάλιν 25
The and Athenians having-thought the Lacedaemonians again
δύναμιν κατασκευάζεσθαι ἐν τῇ θαλάττῃ, ἀντεκπέμπουσι
power to-be-preparing on the sea send-out-in-return
Θρασύβουλον τὸν Στειριέα σὺν τετταράκοντα ναυσίν.
Thrasybulus the Steirian with forty ships
ὁ δ' ἐκπλεύσας τῆς μὲν εἰς Ῥόδον βοηθείας ἐπέσχε,
he and having-sailed-out of-the indeed to Rhodes relief held-back
νομίζων οὔτ' ἂν αὐτὸς ῥᾳδίως τιμωρήσασθαι τοὺς
thinking neither — himself easily to-punish the
φίλους τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων τεῖχος ἔχοντας καὶ Τελευτίου
friends of-the Lacedaemonians a-wall holding and Teleutias
σὺν ναυσὶ παρόντος συμμάχου αὐτοῖς, οὔτ' ἂν τοὺς
with ships being-present as-ally to-them nor — the
σφετέρους φίλους ὑπὸ τοῖς πολεμίοις γενέσθαι, τάς
their-own friends under the enemies to-come the
τε πόλεις ἔχοντας καὶ πολὺ πλείονας καὶ μάχῃ γε
both cities holding and much more and in-battle at-least
κεκρατηκότας·
having-prevailed
εἰς δὲ τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον πλεύσας καὶ οὐδενὸς 26
to but the Hellespont having-sailed and no
ἀντιπάλου παρόντος ἐνόμισε καταπρᾶξαι ἄν τι
opponent being-present he-thought to-accomplish — something
τῇ πόλει ἀγαθόν. καὶ οὕτω δὴ πρῶτον μὲν
for-the city good and so indeed first indeed

καταμαθὼν στασιάζοντας Ἀμήδοκόν τε τὸν Ὀδρυσῶν
having-learned quarreling Amedocus both the of-Odrysians
βασιλέα καὶ Σεύθην τὸν ἐπὶ θαλάττῃ ἄρχοντα
king and Seuthes the-one on sea ruling
ἀλλήλοις μὲν διήλλαξεν αὐτούς, Ἀθηναίοις δὲ φίλους
with-one-another indeed he-reconciled them to-Athenians and friends
καὶ συμμάχους ἐποίησε, νομίζων καὶ τὰς ὑπὸ τῇ
and allies made thinking also the under —
Θρᾴκῃ οἰκούσας Ἑλληνίδας πόλεις φίλων ὄντων
Thrace dwelling Greek cities friends being
τούτων μᾶλλον προσέχειν ἂν τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις τὸν
these more to-attend — to-the Athenians the
νοῦν.
mind

27 ἐχόντων δὲ τούτων τε καλῶς καὶ τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ
being and these both well and the in — Asia
πόλεων διὰ τὸ βασιλέα φίλον τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις
cities because-of the the-king friendly to-the Athenians
εἶναι, πλεύσας εἰς Βυζάντιον ἀπέδοτο τὴν δεκάτην
to-be having-sailed to Byzantium he-sold the tenth
τῶν ἐκ τοῦ Πόντου πλεόντων. μετέστησε δὲ ἐξ
of-the from the Pontus sailing he-changed and from
ὀλιγαρχίας εἰς τὸ δημοκρατεῖσθαι τοὺς Βυζαντίους·
oligarchy to the to-be-democratically-governed the Byzantines
ὥστε οὐκ ἀχθεινῶς ἑώρα ὁ τῶν Βυζαντίων
so-that not with-annoyance saw the of-the Byzantines
δῆμος Ἀθηναίους ὅτι πλείστους παρόντας ἐν τῇ
people Athenians as most being-present in the
πόλει.
city

ταῦτα δὲ πράξας καὶ Καλχηδονίους φίλους 28
these-things and having-done and Chalcedonians friends
προσποιησάμενος ἀπέπλει ἔξω τοῦ Ἑλλησπόντου.
having-made sailed-off outside the Hellespont
ἐπιτυχὼν δ' ἐν τῇ Λέσβῳ ταῖς πόλεσι πάσαις πλὴν
having-found and in — Lesbos the cities all except
Μυτιληναίων λακωνιζούσαις, ἐπ' οὐδεμίαν αὐτῶν ᾔει,
Mytilenaeans laconizing against none of-them he-went
πρὶν ἐν Μυτιλήνῃ συντάξας τούς τε ἀπὸ τῶν
before in Mytilene having-drawn-up the both from the
ἑαυτοῦ νεῶν τετρακοσίους ὁπλίτας καὶ τοὺς ἐκ τῶν
his-own ships four-hundred hoplites and the from the
πόλεων φυγάδας, ὅσοι εἰς Μυτιλήνην κατεπεφεύγεσαν,
cities exiles as-many-as to Mytilene had-fled
καὶ αὐτῶν δὲ Μυτιληναίων τοὺς ἐρρωμενεστάτους
and of-the-very and Mytilenaeans the strongest
προσλαβών, καὶ ἐλπίδας ὑποθεὶς τοῖς μὲν Μυτιληναίοις
having-taken-besides and hopes having-suggested to-the indeed Mytilenaeans
ὡς ἐὰν λάβῃ τὰς πόλεις, προστάται πάσης Λέσβου
that if he-take the cities leaders of-all Lesbos
ἔσονται, τοῖς δὲ φυγάσιν ὡς ἐὰν ὁμοῦ ὄντες ἐπὶ μίαν
they-will-be to-the and exiles that if together being against one
ἑκάστην τῶν πόλεων ἴωσιν, ἱκανοὶ ἔσονται ἅπαντες
each of-the cities they-go able they-will-be all
εἰς τὰς πατρίδας ἀνασωθῆναι, τοῖς δ' αὖ ἐπιβάταις
to the fatherlands to-be-restored to-the and in-turn marines
ὡς φίλην Λέσβον προσποιήσαντες τῇ πόλει πολλὴν
that friendly Lesbos having-made for-the city much
εὐπορίαν χρημάτων διαπεπραγμένοι ἔσονται, ταῦτα
plenty of-money having-procured they-will-be these-things

δὲ παραμυθησάμενος καὶ συντάξας ἦγεν αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ
and having-encouraged and having-drawn-up he-led them against
Μήθυμναν.
Methymna

29 Θηρίμαχος μέντοι, ὃς ἁρμοστὴς ἐτύγχανεν ὢν
Therimachus however who harmost happened being
τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων, ὡς ἤκουσε τὸν Θρασύβουλον
of-the Lacedaemonians when he-heard — Thrasybulus
προσιέναι, τούς τ᾽ ἀπὸ τῶν αὑτοῦ νεῶν λαβὼν
approaching the both from the his-own ships having-taken
ἐπιβάτας καὶ αὐτοὺς τοὺς Μηθυμναίους καὶ ὅσοι
marines and the-very the Methymnaeans and as-many-as
Μυτιληναίων φυγάδες ἐτύγχανον αὐτόθι, ἀπήντων ἐπὶ
of-Mytilenaeans exiles happened there went-to-meet at
τὰ ὅρια. μάχης δὲ γενομένης ὁ μὲν Θηρίμαχος
the borders battle and having-taken-place — indeed Therimachus
αὐτοῦ ἀποθνῄσκει, τῶν δ᾽ ἄλλων φευγόντων πολλοὶ
there dies of-the and others fleeing many
ἀπέθανον.
died

30 ἐκ δὲ τούτου τὰς μὲν προσηγάγετο τῶν πόλεων,
after and this the-ones indeed he-won-over of-the cities
ἐκ δὲ τῶν οὐ προσχωρουσῶν λεηλατῶν χρήματα τοῖς
from but the not coming-over plundering money for-the
στρατιώταις, ἔσπευσεν εἰς τὴν Ῥόδον ἀφικέσθαι. ὅπως
soldiers he-hurried to — Rhodes to-arrive so-that
δ᾽ ἂν καὶ ἐκεῖ ὡς ἐρρωμενέστατον τὸ στράτευμα
and — also there as strongest the army
ποιήσαιτο, ἐξ ἄλλων τε πόλεων ἠργυρολόγει καὶ εἰς
he-might-make from other both cities he-collected-money and to
Ἄσπενδον ἀφικόμενος ὡρμίσατο εἰς τὸν Εὐρυμέδοντα
Aspendus having-arrived anchored in the Eurymedon

ποταμόν. ἤδη δ' ἔχοντος αὐτοῦ χρήματα παρὰ
river already and having him money from
τῶν Ἀσπενδίων, ἀδικησάντων τι ἐκ τῶν ἀγρῶν
the Aspendians having-done-wrong some from the fields
τῶν στρατιωτῶν, ὀργισθέντες οἱ Ἀσπένδιοι τῆς
of-the soldiers having-become-angry the Aspendians in-the
νυκτὸς ἐπιπεσόντες κατακόπτουσιν ἐν τῇ σκηνῇ
night having-fallen-upon cut-down in the tent
αὐτόν.
him

Καὶ Θρασύβουλος μὲν δὴ μάλα δοκῶν ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς 31
And Thrasybulus indeed then very seeming man good
εἶναι οὕτως ἐτελεύτησεν. οἱ μέντοι Ἀθηναῖοι ἑλόμενοι
to-be so died the however Athenians having-chosen
ἀντ' αὐτοῦ Ἀγύρριον ἐπὶ τὰς ναῦς ἐξέπεμψαν. αἰσθόμενοι
instead-of him Agyrrhius to the ships sent-out having-perceived
δ' οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ὅτι ἡ δεκάτη τε τῶν ἐκ τοῦ
and the Lacedaemonians that the tenth both of-the-ones from the
Πόντου πεπραμένη εἴη ἐν Βυζαντίῳ ὑπ' Ἀθηναίων καὶ
Pontus had-been-sold was in Byzantium by Athenians and
Καλχηδόνα ἔχουσι καὶ αἱ ἄλλαι Ἑλλησπόντιαι πόλεις
Chalcedon they-held and the other Hellespontine cities
φίλου ὄντος αὐτοῖς Φαρναβάζου εὖ ἔχοιεν, ἔγνωσαν
friend being to-them Pharnabazus well were decided
ἐπιμελητέον εἶναι.
one-must-take-care to-be

τῷ μὲν οὖν Δερκυλίδᾳ οὐδὲν ἐμέμφοντο· Ἀναξίβιος 32
— indeed then to-Dercylidas in-nothing they-found-fault Anaxibius
μέντοι φίλων αὐτῷ γενομένων τῶν ἐφόρων διεπράξατο
however friends to-him having-become the ephors managed
ὥστε αὐτὸς ἐκπλεῦσαι ἁρμοστὴς εἰς Ἄβυδον. εἰ δὲ
so-that himself to-sail-out as-harmost to Abydos if and

λάβοι ἀφορμὴν καὶ ναῦς, καὶ πολεμήσειν ὑπισχνεῖτο
he-should-get funds and ships also to-make-war he-promised
τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις, ὥστε μὴ ἔχειν ἐκείνοις καλῶς τὰ ἐν
on-the Athenians so-that not to-be for-them well the-things in
Ἑλλησπόντῳ.
the-Hellespont

33 οἱ μὲν δὴ δόντες καὶ τρεῖς τριήρεις καὶ ἀφορμὴν
they indeed then having-given both three triremes and funds
εἰς ξένους χιλίους ἐξέπεμψαν τὸν Ἀναξίβιον. ὁ δὲ
for mercenaries thousand sent-out — Anaxibius he and
ἐπειδὴ ἀφίκετο, κατὰ γῆν μὲν ἀθροίσας ξενικὸν
when he-arrived by land indeed having-gathered a-mercenary-force
τῶν τ᾽ Αἰολίδων πόλεων παρεσπᾶτό τινας τοῦ
of-the both Aeolian cities drew-away some —
Φαρναβάζου καὶ ἐπιστρατευσάσαις ταῖς πόλεσιν ἐπὶ
from-Pharnabazus and having-campaigned-against the cities against
τὴν Ἄβυδον ἀντεπεστράτευε καὶ ἐπεπορεύετο καὶ ἐδῄου
— Abydos counter-campaigned and marched-against and ravaged
τὴν χώραν αὐτῶν· καὶ ναῦς δὲ πρὸς αἷς εἶχε
the land their and ships and besides which he-had
συμπληρώσας ἐξ Ἀβύδου τρεῖς ἄλλας κατῆγεν, εἴ
having-manned from Abydos three others brought-down if
τί που λαμβάνοι Ἀθηναίων πλοῖον ἢ τῶν ἐκείνων
anything anywhere he-might-catch of-Athenians boat or of-the their
συμμάχων.
allies

34 αἰσθόμενοι δὲ ταῦτα οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ δεδιότες μὴ
having-perceived and these-things the Athenians and fearing lest
φθαρείη σφίσιν ἃ κατεσκεύασεν ἐν τῷ Ἑλλησπόντῳ
should-be-destroyed for-them what had-established in the Hellespont
Θρασύβουλος, ἀντεκπέμπουσιν Ἰφικράτη ναῦς ὀκτὼ ἔχοντα
Thrasybulus send-out-in-return Iphicrates ships eight having

καὶ πελταστὰς εἰς διακοσίους καὶ χιλίους. οἱ πλεῖστοι
and peltasts about two-hundred and thousand the most
δὲ αὐτῶν ἦσαν ὧν ἐν Κορίνθῳ ἦρξεν. ἐπεὶ γὰρ
and of-them were of-whom in Corinth he-commanded when for
οἱ Ἀργεῖοι τὴν Κόρινθον Ἄργος ἐπεποίηντο, οὐδὲν
the Argives — Corinth Argos had-made nothing
ἔφασαν αὐτῶν δεῖσθαι· καὶ γὰρ ἀπεκτόνει τινὰς τῶν
they-said of-them to-need and for he-had-killed some of-the
ἀργολιζόντων· καὶ οὕτως ἀπελθὼν Ἀθήναζε οἴκοι ἔτυχεν
argolizers and so having-gone-away to-Athens at-home happened
ὤν.
being
ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀφίκετο εἰς Χερρόνησον, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον 35
when and he-arrived at Chersonese the indeed first
Ἀναξίβιος καὶ Ἰφικράτης ληστὰς διαπέμποντες ἐπολέμουν
Anaxibius and Iphicrates raiders sending-across made-war
ἀλλήλοις· προϊόντος δὲ τοῦ χρόνου ὁ Ἰφικράτης
on-one-another advancing and the time — Iphicrates
αἰσθόμενος [καὶ] Ἀναξίβιον οἰχόμενον εἰς Ἄντανδρον σύν
having-perceived also Anaxibius gone to Antandrus with
τε τοῖς μισθοφόροις καὶ τοῖς περὶ αὐτὸν Λακωνικοῖς
both the mercenaries and the around him Laconians
καὶ σὺν Ἀβυδηνοῖς διακοσίοις ὁπλίταις, καὶ ἀκούσας
and with Abydenes two-hundred hoplites and having-heard
ὅτι τὴν Ἄντανδρον φιλίαν προσειληφὼς εἴη, ὑπονοῶν
that — Antandrus friendly having-taken-over he-was suspecting
ὅτι καταστήσας αὖ τὴν ἐκεῖ φρουρὰν ἀποπορεύσοιτο
that having-stationed in-turn the there garrison he-would-march-back
πάλιν καὶ ἀπάξοι τοὺς Ἀβυδηνοὺς οἴκαδε, διαβὰς
again and would-take-back the Abydenes home having-crossed
τῆς νυκτὸς ᾗ ἐρημότατον ἦν τῆς Ἀβυδηνῆς καὶ
in-the night where loneliest it-was of-the Abydene-land and

ἐπανελθὼν εἰς τὰ ὄρη ἐνέδραν ἐποιήσατο. τὰς
having-gone-up into the mountains an-ambush made the
δὲ τριήρεις αἳ διήγαγον αὐτὸν ἐκέλευε παραπλεῖν
and triremes which carried-across him he-bade to-sail-along
ἅμα τῇ ἡμέρᾳ παρὰ τὴν Χερρόνησον τῆς ἄνω,
at-the-same-time with-the day along the Chersonese the upper
ὅπως δοκοίη, ὥσπερ εἰώθει, ἐπ᾽ ἀργυρολογίαν
so-that he-might-seem as he-was-accustomed for money-collecting
ἐπαναπεπλευκέναι.
to-have-sailed-up

36 ταῦτα δὲ ποιήσας οὐκ ἐψεύσθη, ἀλλ᾽ ὁ Ἀναξίβιος
these-things and having-done not was-deceived but — Anaxibius
ἀπεπορεύετο, ὡς μὲν ἐλέγετο, οὐδὲ τῶν ἱερῶν
marched-away as indeed was-said not-even the victims
γεγενημένων αὐτῷ ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ, ἀλλὰ καταφρονήσας,
having-been-favorable for-him that the day but despising
ὅτι διὰ φιλίας τε ἐπορεύετο καὶ εἰς πόλιν φιλίαν
because through friendly-land both he-marched and to a-city friendly
καὶ ὅτι ἤκουε τῶν ἀπαντώντων τὸν Ἰφικράτη
and because he-heard from-the-ones meeting-him — Iphicrates
ἀναπεπλευκέναι τῆς ἐπὶ Προκοννήσου, ἀμελέστερον
to-have-sailed-up the to Proconnesus more-carelessly
ἐπορεύετο.
he-marched

37 ὅμως δὲ ὁ Ἰφικράτης, ἕως μὲν ἐν τῷ ἰσοπέδῳ
nevertheless and — Iphicrates while indeed in the level-ground
τὸ στράτευμα τοῦ Ἀναξιβίου ἦν, οὐκ ἐξανίστατο·
the army — of-Anaxibius was not rose-up
ἐπειδὴ δὲ οἱ μὲν Ἀβυδηνοὶ ἀφηγούμενοι ἤδη ἐν
when but the indeed Abydenes leading already in
τῷ παρὰ Κρεμαστὴν ἦσαν πεδίῳ, ἔνθα ἐστὶ τὰ
the by Cremaste were plain where are the

χρύσεια αὐτοῖς, τὸ δ' ἄλλο στράτευμα ἑπόμενον ἐν
gold-mines for-them the but other army following in
τῷ κατάντει ἦν, ὁ δὲ Ἀναξίβιος ἄρτι κατέβαινε
the downhill was — and Anaxibius just was-coming-down
σὺν τοῖς Λακωνικοῖς, ἐν τούτῳ ὁ Ἰφικράτης
with the Laconians in this — Iphicrates
ἐξανίστησι τὴν ἐνέδραν καὶ δρόμῳ ἐφέρετο πρὸς
raises the ambush and at-a-run rushed at
αὐτόν.
him

καὶ ὁ Ἀναξίβιος γνοὺς μὴ εἶναι ἐλπίδα σωτηρίας, 38
and — Anaxibius having-recognized not to-be hope of-safety
ὁρῶν ἐπὶ πολύ τε καὶ στενὸν ἐκτεταμένον τὸ
seeing for long both and narrow stretched-out the
ἑαυτοῦ στράτευμα, καὶ νομίζων πρὸς τὸ ἄναντες
his-own army and thinking to the uphill
οὐκ ἂν δύνασθαι σαφῶς βοηθῆσαι ἑαυτῷ τοὺς
not — to-be-able clearly to-help him the-ones
προεληλυθότας, ὁρῶν δὲ καὶ ἐκπεπληγμένους ἅπαντας,
gone-ahead seeing and also panic-stricken all
ὡς εἶδον τὴν ἐνέδραν, εἶπε πρὸς τοὺς παρόντας·
as they-saw the ambush said to the present
Ἄνδρες, ἐμοὶ μὲν ἐνθάδε καλὸν ἀποθανεῖν, ὑμεῖς
Men for-me indeed here fine to-die you
δὲ πρὶν συμμεῖξαι τοῖς πολεμίοις σπεύδετε εἰς τὴν
but before to-engage with-the enemies hurry to the
σωτηρίαν.
safety

καὶ ταῦτ' ἔλεγε καὶ παρὰ τοῦ ὑπασπιστοῦ λαβὼν 39
and these-things he-said and from the shield-bearer having-taken
τὴν ἀσπίδα ἐν χώρᾳ αὐτοῦ μαχόμενος ἀποθνῄσκει.
the shield in place there fighting dies

καὶ τὰ παιδικὰ μέντοι αὐτῷ παρέμεινε, καὶ τῶν
and the favorite however with-him stayed and of-the
Λακεδαιμονίων δὲ τῶν συνεληλυθότων ἐκ τῶν πόλεων
Lacedaemonians and the having-come-together from the cities
ἁρμοστήρων ὡς δώδεκα μαχόμενοι συναπέθανον. οἱ
harmosts about twelve fighting died-with-him the
δ' ἄλλοι φεύγοντες ἔπιπτον. οἱ δ' ἐδίωκον μέχρι
but others fleeing fell they and pursued as-far-as
τοῦ ἄστεως. καὶ τῶν τε ἄλλων ὡς διακόσιοι
the town and of-the both others about two-hundred
ἀπέθανον καὶ τῶν Ἀβυδηνῶν ὁπλιτῶν περὶ πεντήκοντα.
died and of-the Abydenes hoplites about fifty
ταῦτα δὲ πράξας ὁ Ἰφικράτης ἀνεχώρησε πάλιν εἰς
these-things and having-done — Iphicrates withdrew again to
Χερρόνησον.
Chersonese

XENOPHON

ΙΕΡΩΝ

Hiero

I · THE TYRANT'S PLEASURES

The poet Simonides, visiting the tyrant Hiero, asks him, who has lived both lives, how the tyrant's life differs from the private man's in its pleasures and pains. Simonides lists the pleasures of the senses, and Hiero answers that tyrants enjoy fewer and suffer more. They cannot travel to see the spectacles of the festivals, since they dare not leave home, and what comes to them is sold at a high price. Praise gives them no pleasure, since they suspect it is flattery, and the silence of others hides ill will. Their tables are always full, so festivals give them nothing to look forward to, and the sauces they are served are only the cravings of a jaded soul. Even in love they are worse off: unless he marries a foreigner, a tyrant must marry beneath him, and the attentions of slaves give no pleasure.

Σιμωνίδης ὁ ποιητὴς ἀφίκετό ποτε πρὸς Ἱέρωνα τὸν 1
Simonides the poet came once to Hiero the
τύραννον. σχολῆς δὲ γενομένης ἀμφοῖν εἶπεν ὁ Σιμωνίδης,
tyrant leisure and having-arisen for-both said — Simonides
Ἆρ' ἄν μοι ἐθελήσαις, ὦ Ἱέρων, διηγήσασθαι ἃ
Then — to-me would-you-be-willing O Hiero to-relate what
εἰκὸς εἰδέναι σε βέλτιον ἐμοῦ; Καὶ ποῖα ταῦτ' ἐστίν,
likely to-know you better than-me And what-sort these-things are
ἔφη ὁ Ἱέρων, ὁποῖα δὴ ἐγὼ βέλτιον ἂν εἰδείην σοῦ
said — Hiero such-as indeed I better — could-know than-you
οὕτως ὄντος σοφοῦ ἀνδρός;
so being wise a-man
Οἶδά σε, ἔφη, ἐγὼ καὶ ἰδιώτην γεγενημένον καὶ νῦν 2
I-know you he-said I both private-man having-been and now
τύραννον ὄντα· εἰκὸς οὖν ἀμφοτέρων πεπειραμένον καὶ
tyrant being likely then both having-experienced also
εἰδέναι σε μᾶλλον ἐμοῦ πῇ διαφέρει ὁ τυραννικός τε καὶ
to-know you more than-me how differs the tyrannical both and
ὁ ἰδιωτικὸς βίος εἰς εὐφροσύνας τε καὶ λύπας ἀνθρώποις.
the private life for joys both and pains for-men

3 Τί οὖν, ἔφη ὁ Ἱέρων, οὐχὶ καὶ σύ, ἐπεὶ νῦν γε ἔτι
Why then said — Hiero not also you since now at-least still
ἰδιώτης εἶ, ὑπέμνησάς με τὰ ἐν τῷ ἰδιωτικῷ βίῳ;
private-man you-are did-you-remind me the-things in the private life
οὕτω γὰρ ἄν σοι οἶμαι μάλιστα ἐγὼ δύνασθαι δηλοῦν
so for — to-you I-think most I to-be-able to-show
τὰ διαφέροντα ἐν ἑκατέρῳ.
the differences in each

4 οὕτω δὴ ὁ Σιμωνίδης εἶπε, Τοὺς μὲν δὴ ἰδιώτας
so indeed — Simonides said The indeed then private-men
ἔγωγε, ὦ Ἱέρων, δοκῶ μοι καταμεμαθηκέναι διὰ μὲν
I-at-least O Hiero seem to-myself to-have-observed through indeed
τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν ὁράμασιν ἡδομένους τε καὶ ἀχθομένους,
the eyes by-sights pleased both and vexed
διὰ δὲ τῶν ὤτων ἀκούσμασι, διὰ δὲ τῶν ῥινῶν
through and the ears by-sounds through and the nostrils
ὀσμαῖς, διὰ δὲ τοῦ στόματος σίτοις τε καὶ ποτοῖς, τὰ
by-smells through and the mouth by-foods both and drinks the
δ' ἀφροδίσια δι' ὧν δὴ πάντες ἐπιστάμεθα·
and sexual-pleasures through what indeed all we-know

5 τὰ δὲ ψύχη καὶ θάλπη καὶ σκληρὰ καὶ μαλακὰ καὶ
the and colds and heats and hard-things and soft-things and
κοῦφα καὶ βαρέα ὅλῳ τῷ σώματί μοι δοκοῦμεν,
light-things and heavy-things with-whole the body to-myself we-seem
ἔφη, κρίνοντες ἥδεσθαί τε καὶ λυπεῖσθαι ἐπ' αὐτοῖς·
he-said judging to-be-pleased both and to-be-pained at them
ἀγαθοῖς δὲ καὶ κακοῖς ἔστι μὲν ὅτε δι' αὐτῆς τῆς
at-goods and also evils there-are indeed times-when through the-very the
ψυχῆς μοι δοκοῦμεν ἥδεσθαί τε καὶ λυπεῖσθαι, ἔστι δ'
soul to-myself we-seem to-be-pleased both and to-be-pained there-are but
ὅτε κοινῇ· διά τε τῆς ψυχῆς καὶ διὰ τοῦ σώματος.
times-when in-common through both the soul and through the body

τῷ δ' ὕπνῳ ὅτι μὲν ἡδόμεθα δοκῶ μοι αἰσθάνεσθαι, 6
in-the and sleep that indeed we-are-pleased I-seem to-myself to-perceive
ὅπως δὲ καὶ ᾧτινι καὶ ὁπότε, ταῦτα μᾶλλόν πως, ἔφη,
how but and by-what and when these-things more somehow he-said
δοκῶ μοι ἀγνοεῖν. καὶ οὐδὲν ἴσως τοῦτο θαυμαστόν, εἰ
I-seem to-myself to-be-ignorant and nothing perhaps this wonderful if
τὰ ἐν τῷ ἐγρηγορέναι σαφεστέρας ἡμῖν τὰς αἰσθήσεις
the-things in the to-be-awake clearer to-us the perceptions
παρέχεται ἢ τὰ ἐν τῷ ὕπνῳ.
provide than the-things in the sleep
πρὸς ταῦτα δὴ ὁ Ἱέρων ἀπεκρίνατο, Ἐγὼ μὲν τοίνυν, 7
to these-things indeed — Hiero answered I indeed then
ἔφη, ὦ Σιμωνίδη, ἔξω τούτων ὧν εἴρηκας σύγε
he-said O Simonides outside these of-which you-have-spoken you-at-least
οὐδ' ὅπως ἂν αἴσθοιτό τινος ἄλλου ὁ τύραννος ἔχοιμ'
not-even how — might-perceive anything else the tyrant I-could
ἂν εἰπεῖν, ὥστε μέχρι γε τούτου οὐκ οἶδ' εἴ τινι
— say so-that as-far at-least as-this not I-know if in-anything
διαφέρει ὁ τυραννικὸς βίος τοῦ ἰδιωτικοῦ βίου.
differs the tyrannical life from-the private life
καὶ ὁ Σιμωνίδης εἶπεν, Ἀλλ' ἐν τοῖσδε, ἔφη, διαφέρει· 8
and — Simonides said But in these-things he-said it-differs
πολλαπλάσια μὲν δι' ἑκάστου τούτων εὐφραίνεται,
many-times-more indeed through each of-these he-is-gladdened
πολὺ δὲ μείω τὰ λυπηρὰ ἔχει. καὶ ὁ Ἱέρων εἶπεν, Οὐχ
much but fewer the painful-things he-has and — Hiero said Not
οὕτως ἔχει, ὦ Σιμωνίδη, ταῦτα, ἀλλ' εὖ ἴσθ' ὅτι μείω
so are O Simonides these-things but well know that fewer
πολὺ εὐφραίνονται οἱ τύραννοι τῶν μετρίως διαγόντων
much are-gladdened the tyrants than-the moderately living
ἰδιωτῶν, πολὺ δὲ πλείω καὶ μείζω λυποῦνται.
private-men much but more and greater are-pained

9 Ἄπιστα λέγεις, ἔφη ὁ Σιμωνίδης. εἰ γὰρ οὕτω ταῦτ'
Incredible-things you-say said — Simonides if for so these-things
εἶχε, πῶς ἂν πολλοὶ μὲν ἐπεθύμουν τυραννεῖν, καὶ ταῦτα
were how — many indeed would-desire to-be-tyrants and these-things
τῶν δοκούντων ἱκανωτάτων ἀνδρῶν εἶναι; πῶς δὲ πάντες
of-the seeming most-capable men to-be how and all
ἐζήλουν ἂν τοὺς τυράννους;
would-envy — the tyrants
10 Ὅτι ναὶ μὰ τὸν Δί', ἔφη ὁ Ἱέρων, ἄπειροι ὄντες ἀμφοτέρων
Because yes by — Zeus said — Hiero inexperienced being of-both
τῶν ἔργων σκοποῦνται περὶ αὐτοῦ. ἐγὼ δὲ πειράσομαί
the conditions they-consider about it I but will-try
σε διδάσκειν ὅτι ἀληθῆ λέγω, ἀρξάμενος ἀπὸ τῆς ὄψεως·
you to-teach that true-things I-say having-begun from the sight
ἐντεῦθεν γὰρ καὶ σὲ δοκῶ μεμνῆσθαι ἀρξάμενον λέγειν.
thence for also you I-seem to-remember having-begun to-speak
11 πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ ἐν τοῖς διὰ τῆς ὄψεως θεάμασι
first indeed for in the through the sight spectacles
λογιζόμενος εὑρίσκω μειονεκτοῦντας τοὺς τυράννους. ἄλλα
reckoning I-find being-worse-off the tyrants other-things
μέν γε ἐν ἄλλῃ χώρᾳ ἐστὶν ἀξιοθέατα· ἐπὶ δὲ τούτων
indeed at-least in other land are worth-seeing to and these
ἕκαστα οἱ μὲν ἰδιῶται ἔρχονται καὶ εἰς πόλεις ἃς ἂν
each the indeed private-men go both to cities which —
βούλωνται θεαμάτων ἕνεκα, καὶ εἰς τὰς κοινὰς πανηγύρεις,
they-wish of-spectacles for-the-sake and to the common festivals
ἔνθα τὰ ἀξιοθεατότατα δοκεῖ ἀνθρώποις συναγείρεσθαι.
where the most-worth-seeing seems for-men to-be-gathered
12 οἱ δὲ τύραννοι οὐ μάλα ἀμφὶ θεωρίας ἔχουσιν. οὔτε
the but tyrants not very about sightseeing are neither
γὰρ ἰέναι αὐτοῖς ἀσφαλὲς ὅπου μὴ κρείττονες τῶν
for to-go for-them safe where not stronger than-the

παρόντων μέλλουσιν ἔσεσθαι, οὔτε τὰ οἴκοι κέκτηνται
present they-are-going to-be nor the-things at-home they-possess
ἐχυρά, ὥστε ἄλλοις παρακαταθεμένους ἀποδημεῖν. φοβερὸν
secure so-that to-others having-entrusted to-go-abroad fearful
γὰρ μὴ ἅμα στερηθῶσι τῆς ἀρχῆς καὶ ἀδύνατοι
for lest at-the-same-time they-be-deprived of-the rule and unable
γένωνται τιμωρήσασθαι τοὺς ἀδικήσαντας.
become to-punish the wrongdoers
εἴποις οὖν ἂν ἴσως σύ, ἀλλ᾽ ἄρα ἔρχεται αὐτοῖς τὰ 13
you-might-say then — perhaps you but then come to-them the
τοιαῦτα καὶ οἴκοι μένουσι. ναὶ μὰ Δί᾽, ὦ Σιμωνίδη, ὀλίγα
such-things also at-home remaining yes by Zeus O Simonides few
τε τῶν πολλῶν καὶ ταῦτα τοιαῦτα ὄντα οὕτω τίμια
both of-the many and these-things such being so dear
πωλεῖται τοῖς τυράννοις ὥστε οἱ ἐπιδεικνύμενοι καὶ
are-sold to-the tyrants that the-ones exhibiting even
ὁτιοῦν ἀξιοῦσι πολλαπλάσια λαβόντες ἐν ὀλίγῳ
anything-whatever deem-it-right many-times-more having-received in little
χρόνῳ ἀπιέναι παρὰ τοῦ τυράννου ἢ ὅσα ἐν παντὶ
time to-go-away from the tyrant than as-much-as in all
τῷ βίῳ παρὰ πάντων τῶν ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων κτῶνται.
the life from all the other men they-acquire
καὶ ὁ Σιμωνίδης εἶπεν, Ἀλλ᾽ εἰ τοῖς θεάμασι μειονεκτεῖτε, 14
and — Simonides said But if the spectacles you-are-worse-off
διά γέ τοι τῆς ἀκοῆς πλεονεκτεῖτε. ἐπεὶ τοῦ μὲν
through at-least you-know the hearing you-are-better-off since of-the indeed
ἡδίστου ἀκροάματος ἐπαίνου οὔποτε σπανίζετε· πάντες
sweetest hearing praise never you-lack all
γὰρ οἱ παρόντες ὑμῖν πάντα καὶ ὅσα ἂν λέγητε καὶ
for the present to-you all-things both whatever — you-say and
ὅσα ἂν ποιῆτε ἐπαινοῦσι. τοῦ δ᾽ αὖ χαλεπωτάτου
whatever — you-do praise of-the but in-turn harshest

ἀκροάματος λοιδορίας ἀνήκοοί ἐστε· οὐδεὶς γὰρ ἐθέλει
hearing abuse unhearing you-are no-one for wishes
τυράννου κατ᾽ ὀφθαλμοὺς κατηγορεῖν.
of-a-tyrant before eyes to-accuse
15 καὶ ὁ Ἱέρων εἶπε, Καὶ τί οἴει, ἔφη, τοὺς μὴ
and — Hiero said And what do-you-think he-said the-ones not
λέγοντας κακῶς εὐφραίνειν, ὅταν εἰδῇ τις σαφῶς ὅτι οἱ
speaking ill to-gladden when knows one clearly that the
σιωπῶντες οὗτοι πάντα κακὰ νοοῦσι τῷ τυράννῳ; ἢ
silent these all evil-things intend for-the tyrant or
τοὺς ἐπαινοῦντας τί δοκεῖς εὐφραίνειν, ὅταν ὕποπτοι
the praising what do-you-think to-gladden when suspected
ὦσιν ἕνεκα τοῦ κολακεύειν τοὺς ἐπαίνους ποιεῖσθαι;
they-be for-the-sake of-the to-flatter the praises to-make
16 καὶ ὁ Σιμωνίδης εἶπε, Τοῦτο μὲν δὴ ναὶ μὰ τὸν Δία
and — Simonides said This indeed then yes by — Zeus
ἔγωγέ σοι, Ἱέρων, πάνυ συγχωρῶ, τοὺς ἐπαίνους παρὰ
I-at-least to-you Hiero entirely concede the praises from
τῶν ἐλευθερωτάτων ἡδίστους εἶναι, ἀλλ᾽, ὁρᾷς, ἐκεῖνό
the freest sweetest to-be but you-see that
γε οὐκ ἂν ἔτι πείσαις ἀνθρώπων οὐδένα ὡς
at-least not — any-longer you-could-persuade of-men anyone that
οὐχὶ δι᾽ ὧν τρεφόμεθα οἱ ἄνθρωποι, πολὺ πλείω ὑμεῖς
not through what are-nourished the men much more you
ἐν αὐτοῖς εὐφραίνεσθε.
in them are-gladdened
17 Καὶ οἶδά γ᾽, ἔφη, ὦ Σιμωνίδη, ὅτι τούτῳ κρίνουσιν
And I-know at-least he-said O Simonides that by-this judge
οἱ πλεῖστοι ἥδιον ἡμᾶς καὶ πίνειν καὶ ἐσθίειν τῶν
the most more-sweetly us both to-drink and to-eat than-the
ἰδιωτῶν, ὅτι δοκοῦσι καὶ αὐτοὶ ἥδιον ἂν δειπνῆσαι
private-men because they-think also themselves more-sweetly — to-dine-on

τὸ ἡμῖν παρατιθέμενον δεῖπνον ἢ τὸ ἑαυτοῖς· τὸ γὰρ
the to-us served dinner than the for-themselves the for
τὰ εἰωθότα ὑπερβάλλον, τοῦτο παρέχει τὰς ἡδονάς.
the customary-things exceeding this provides the pleasures
διὸ καὶ πάντες ἄνθρωποι ἡδέως προσδέχονται τὰς 18
therefore also all men gladly welcome the
ἑορτὰς πλὴν οἱ τύραννοι· ἔκπλεῳ γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἀεὶ
festivals except the tyrants full for for-them always
παρεσκευασμέναι οὐδεμίαν ἐν ταῖς ἑορταῖς ἔχουσιν αἱ
prepared no in the festivals have the
τράπεζαι αὐτῶν ἐπίδοσιν· ὥστε ταύτῃ πρῶτον τῇ
tables their increase so-that in-this first the
εὐφροσύνῃ τῆς ἐλπίδος μειονεκτοῦσι τῶν ἰδιωτῶν.
joy of-the hope they-are-worse-off than-the private-men
ἔπειτα δ', ἔφη, ἐκεῖνο εὖ οἶδ' ὅτι καὶ σὺ ἔμπειρος εἶ 19
then and he-said that well I-know that also you experienced are
ὅτι ὅσῳ ἂν πλείω τις παραθῆται τὰ περιττὰ
that by-as-much-as — more one serves-himself the superfluous-things
τῶν ἱκανῶν, τοσούτῳ θᾶττον κόρος ἐμπίπτει τῆς
beyond-the sufficient by-so-much sooner satiety falls-upon of-the
ἐδωδῆς· ὥστε καὶ τῷ χρόνῳ τῆς ἡδονῆς μειονεκτεῖ ὁ
eating so-that also in-the duration of-the pleasure is-worse-off the-one
παρατιθέμενος πολλὰ τῶν μετρίως διαιτωμένων.
serving-himself many-things than-the moderately living
Ἀλλὰ ναὶ μὰ Δί', ἔφη ὁ Σιμωνίδης, ὅσον ἂν χρόνον 20
But yes by Zeus said — Simonides as-much — time
ἡ ψυχὴ προσίηται, τοῦτον πολὺ μᾶλλον ἥδονται οἱ
the soul admits this much more are-pleased the-ones
ταῖς πολυτελεστέραις παρασκευαῖς τρεφόμενοι τῶν
with-the more-costly provisions fed than-the-ones
τὰ εὐτελέστερα παρατιθεμένων.
the cheaper serving-themselves

21 Οὐκοῦν, ἔφη ὁ Ἱέρων, ὦ Σιμωνίδη, τὸν ἑκάστῳ ἡδόμενον
Then said — Hiero O Simonides the-one with-each pleased
μάλιστα, τοῦτον οἴει καὶ ἐρωτικώτατα ἔχειν τοῦ
most this-one do-you-think also most-lovingly to-be-disposed toward-the
ἔργου τούτου; Πάνυ μὲν οὖν, ἔφη. Ἦ οὖν ὁρᾷς τι
activity this Certainly indeed then he-said Truly then do-you-see at-all
τοὺς τυράννους ἥδιον ἐπὶ τὴν ἑαυτῶν παρασκευὴν ἰόντας
the tyrants more-gladly to the their-own provision going
ἢ τοὺς ἰδιώτας ἐπὶ τὴν ἑαυτῶν; Οὐ μὰ τὸν Δί᾽, ἔφη, οὐ
than the private-men to the their-own Not by — Zeus he-said not
μὲν οὖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀγλευκέστερον, ὡς πολλοῖς ἂν δόξειε.
indeed then but even more-sourly as to-many — it-would-seem
22 Τί γάρ, ἔφη ὁ Ἱέρων, τὰ πολλὰ ταῦτα μηχανήματα
What for said — Hiero the many these contrivances
κατανενόηκας ἃ παρατίθεται τοῖς τυράννοις, ὀξέα καὶ
have-you-noticed which are-served to-the tyrants sharp and
δριμέα καὶ στρυφνὰ καὶ τὰ τούτων ἀδελφά; Πάνυ μὲν
pungent and astringent and the of-these kindred Certainly indeed
οὖν, ἔφη ὁ Σιμωνίδης, καὶ πάνυ γέ μοι δοκοῦντα
then said — Simonides and very at-least to-me seeming
παρὰ φύσιν εἶναι ταῦτα ἀνθρώποις.
against nature to-be these-things for-men
23 Ἄλλο τι οὖν οἴει, ἔφη ὁ Ἱέρων, ταῦτα τὰ
Other anything then do-you-think said — Hiero these the
ἐδέσματα εἶναι ἢ μαλακῆς καὶ ἀσθενούσης τρυφῇ ψυχῆς
dishes to-be than of-a-soft and weak from-luxury soul
ἐπιθυμήματα; ἐπεὶ εὖ οἶδ᾽ ἔγωγε ὅτι οἱ ἡδέως
cravings since well I-know I-at-least that the-ones with-pleasure
ἐσθίοντες καὶ σύ που οἶσθα ὅτι οὐδὲν προσδέονται
eating and you I-suppose know that in-nothing they-need-besides
τούτων τῶν σοφισμάτων.
these the devices

Ἀλλὰ μέντοι, ἔφη ὁ Σιμωνίδης, τῶν γε πολυτελῶν 24
But however said — Simonides of-the at-least costly
ὀσμῶν τούτων αἷς χρίεσθε τοὺς πλησιάζοντας
perfumes these with-which you-anoint-yourselves the-ones being-near
οἶμαι μᾶλλον ἀπολαύειν ἢ αὐτοὺς ὑμᾶς, ὥσπερ γε
I-think more to-enjoy than yourselves you just-as at-least
καὶ τῶν ἀχαρίστων ὀσμῶν οὐκ αὐτὸς ὁ βεβρωκὼς
also of-the unpleasant smells not himself the-one having-eaten
αἰσθάνεται, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον οἱ πλησιάζοντες.
perceives but rather the-ones being-near
Οὕτω μέντοι, ἔφη ὁ Ἱέρων, καὶ τῶν σίτων ὁ μὲν 25
So however said — Hiero also of-the foods the-one indeed
ἔχων παντοδαπὰ ἀεὶ οὐδὲν μετὰ πόθου αὐτῶν λαμβάνει·
having of-all-kinds always nothing with longing of-them takes
ὁ δὲ σπανίσας τινός, οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ μετὰ χαρᾶς
the-one but having-lacked something this-one is the-one with joy
πιμπλάμενος, ὅταν αὐτῷ προφανῇ τι.
being-filled whenever to-him appears something
Κινδυνεύουσιν, ἔφη ὁ Σιμωνίδης, αἱ τῶν ἀφροδισίων μόνον 26
They-run-the-risk said — Simonides the of-the sexual-pleasures alone
ὑμῖν ἀπολαύσεις τοῦ τυραννεῖν τὰς ἐπιθυμίας παρέχειν·
to-you enjoyments of-the to-be-tyrant the desires to-provide
ἐν γὰρ τούτῳ ἔξεστιν ὑμῖν ὅ τι ἂν κάλλιστον ἴδητε
in for this it-is-possible for-you what ever — most-beautiful you-see
τούτῳ συνεῖναι.
with-this to-be-with
Νῦν δή, ἔφη ὁ Ἱέρων, εἴρηκας ἐν ᾧ γε, σάφ' ἴσθι, 27
Now indeed said — Hiero you-have-spoken-of in which at-least clearly know
μειονεκτοῦμεν τῶν ἰδιωτῶν. πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ γάμος ὁ
we-are-worse-off than-the private-men first indeed for marriage the-one
μὲν ἐκ μειζόνων δήπου καὶ πλούτῳ καὶ δυνάμει κάλλιστος
indeed from greater surely both in-wealth and in-power finest

δοκεῖ εἶναι καὶ παρέχειν τινὰ τῷ γήμαντι φιλοτιμίαν μεθ'
seems to-be and to-provide some to-the man-marrying pride with
ἡδονῆς· δεύτερον δ' ὁ ἐκ τῶν ὁμοίων· ὁ δ' ἐκ
pleasure second and the-one from the equals the-one but from
τῶν φαυλοτέρων πάνυ ἄτιμός τε καὶ ἄχρηστος νομίζεται.
the meaner very dishonorable both and useless is-thought
28 τῷ τοίνυν τυράννῳ, ἂν μὴ ξένην γήμῃ, ἀνάγκη
for-the then tyrant if not a-foreign-woman be-marry necessity
ἐκ μειόνων γαμεῖν, ὥστε τὸ ἀγαπητὸν οὐ πάνυ αὐτῷ
from lesser to-marry so-that the cherished not very to-him
παραγίγνεται. πολὺ δὲ καὶ αἱ θεραπεῖαι αἱ ἀπὸ τῶν
comes much and also the attentions the-ones from the
μέγιστον φρονουσῶν γυναικῶν εὐφραίνουσι μάλιστα, αἱ
most-greatly priding-themselves women gladden most the-ones
δ' ἀπὸ τῶν δούλων παροῦσαι μὲν οὐδέν τι ἀγαπῶνται,
but from the slaves being-present indeed nothing at-all are-cherished
ἐὰν δέ τι ἐλλείπωσι, δεινὰς ὀργὰς καὶ λύπας ἐμποιοῦσιν.
if but anything they-fall-short terrible angers and pains they-cause

II · THE TYRANT AT WAR

Simonides objects that tyrants do great things quickly, own the finest horses, arms, and houses, and best harm enemies and help friends. Hiero answers that the crowd sees what a tyranny displays, while happiness lies hidden in the soul: a tyrant goes everywhere as through enemy land, is in most danger at home, and, killing those he suspects, rules fewer and guards himself the more.

1 Πρὸς ταῦτα δὲ εἶπεν ὁ Σιμωνίδης, Ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν
To these-things and said — Simonides But these-things indeed
πάνυ ἔμοιγε μικρὰ δοκεῖ εἶναι ἃ σὺ λέγεις. πολλοὺς
very to-me-at-least small seem to-be which you say many

γάρ, ἔφη, ἔγωγε ὁρῶ τῶν δοκούντων ἀνδρῶν εἶναι
for he-said I-at-least see of-the reputed men to-be
ἑκόντας μειονεκτοῦντας καὶ σίτων καὶ ποτῶν καὶ ὄψων
willingly taking-less both of-foods and of-drinks and of-delicacies
καὶ ἀφροδισίων γε ἀπεχομένους.
and of-sexual-pleasures at-least abstaining
ἀλλ᾽ ἐν ἐκείνοις γε πολὺ διαφέρετε τῶν ἰδιωτῶν, ὅτι 2
but in those-things at-least much you-differ from-the private-men that
μεγάλα μὲν ἐπινοεῖτε, ταχὺ δὲ κατεργάζεσθε, πλεῖστα δὲ
great-things indeed you-plan quickly and you-accomplish most and
τὰ περιττὰ ἔχετε, κέκτησθε δὲ διαφέροντας μὲν ἀρετῇ
the superfluous-things you-have you-possess and excelling indeed in-excellence
ἵππους, διαφέροντα δὲ κάλλει ὅπλα, ὑπερέχοντα δὲ
horses excelling and in-beauty arms surpassing and
κόσμον γυναιξί, μεγαλοπρεπεστάτας δ᾽ οἰκίας, καὶ ταύτας
adornment for-wives most-magnificent and houses and these
κατεσκευασμένας τοῖς πλείστου ἀξίοις, ἔτι δὲ πλήθει
furnished with-the most worth further and in-number
καὶ ἐπιστήμαις θεράποντας ἀρίστους κέκτησθε, ἱκανώτατοι
and in-skills servants best you-possess most-able
δ᾽ ἐστὲ κακῶσαι μὲν ἐχθρούς, ὀνῆσαι δὲ φίλους.
and you-are to-harm indeed enemies to-benefit and friends
πρὸς ταῦτα δὲ ὁ Ἱέρων εἶπεν, Ἀλλὰ τὸ μὲν πλῆθος τῶν 3
to these-things and — Hiero said But the indeed multitude of-the
ἀνθρώπων, ὦ Σιμωνίδη, ἐξαπατᾶσθαι ὑπὸ τῆς τυραννίδος
men O Simonides to-be-deceived by the tyranny
οὐδέν τι θαυμάζω· μάλα γὰρ ὁ ὄχλος μοι δοκεῖ
in-no-way at-all I-wonder very for the crowd to-me seems
δοξάζειν ὁρῶν καὶ εὐδαίμονάς τινας εἶναι καὶ ἀθλίους·
to-judge seeing both happy some to-be and wretched

4 ἡ δὲ τυραννὶς τὰ μὲν δοκοῦντα πολλοῦ ἄξια κτήματα
the but tyranny the-things indeed seeming of-much worth possessions
εἶναι ἀνεπτυγμένα θεᾶσθαι φανερὰ πᾶσι παρέχεται, τὰ
to-be unfolded to-view visible to-all presents the-things
δὲ χαλεπὰ ἐν ταῖς ψυχαῖς τῶν τυράννων κέκτηται
but hard in the souls of-the tyrants it-keeps
ἀποκεκρυμμένα, ἔνθαπερ καὶ τὸ εὐδαιμονεῖν καὶ τὸ
hidden where-very also the to-be-happy and the
κακοδαιμονεῖν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἀπόκειται.
to-be-unhappy for-the men is-stored

5 τὸ μὲν οὖν τὸ πλῆθος περὶ τούτου λεληθέναι, ὥσπερ
the indeed then the multitude about this to-have-escaped-notice as
εἶπον, οὐ θαυμάζω· τὸ δὲ καὶ ὑμᾶς ταῦτ᾽ ἀγνοεῖν,
I-said not I-wonder the but also you these-things to-be-ignorant-of
οἳ διὰ τῆς γνώμης δοκεῖτε θεᾶσθαι κάλλιον ἢ διὰ
who through the judgment seem to-view better than through
τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν τὰ πλεῖστα τῶν πραγμάτων, τοῦτό μοι
the eyes the most of-the affairs this to-me
δοκεῖ θαυμαστὸν εἶναι.
seems wonderful to-be

6 ἐγὼ δὲ πεπειραμένος σαφῶς οἶδα, ὦ Σιμωνίδη, καὶ λέγω
I but having-experienced clearly know O Simonides and I-say
σοι ὅτι οἱ τύραννοι τῶν μεγίστων ἀγαθῶν ἐλάχιστα
to-you that the tyrants of-the greatest goods least
μετέχουσι, τῶν δὲ μεγίστων κακῶν πλεῖστα κέκτηνται.
share of-the but greatest evils most possess

7 αὐτίκα γὰρ εἰ μὲν εἰρήνη δοκεῖ μέγα ἀγαθὸν τοῖς
for-instance for if indeed peace seems great good for-the
ἀνθρώποις εἶναι, ταύτης ἐλάχιστον τοῖς τυράννοις μέτεστιν·
men to-be of-this least to-the tyrants there-is-a-share

εἰ δὲ πόλεμος μέγα κακόν, τούτου πλεῖστον μέρος οἱ
if but war great evil of-this most part the
τύραννοι μετέχουσιν.
tyrants share
εὐθὺς γὰρ τοῖς μὲν ἰδιώταις, ἂν μὴ ἡ πόλις αὐτῶν 8
at-once for to-the indeed private-men if not the city their
κοινὸν πόλεμον πολεμῇ, ἔξεστιν ὅποι ἂν βούλωνται
common war wage it-is-possible wherever — they-wish
πορεύεσθαι μηδὲν φοβουμένους μή τις αὐτοὺς ἀποκτείνῃ,
to-travel nothing fearing lest someone them kill
οἱ δὲ τύραννοι πάντες πανταχῇ ὡς διὰ πολεμίας
the but tyrants all everywhere as through hostile-land
πορεύονται. αὐτοί τε γοῦν ὡπλισμένοι οἴονται ἀνάγκην
travel themselves both at-any-rate armed think necessity
εἶναι διάγειν καὶ ἄλλους ὁπλοφόρους ἀεὶ συμπεριάγεσθαι.
to-be to-live and others armed-men always to-take-around
ἔπειτα δὲ οἱ μὲν ἰδιῶται, ἐὰν καὶ στρατεύωνταί που 9
then and the indeed private-men if even they-campaign somewhere
εἰς πολεμίαν, ἀλλ' οὖν ἐπειδάν γε ἔλθωσιν οἴκαδε,
into hostile-land but nevertheless when at-least they-come home
ἀσφάλειαν σφίσιν ἡγοῦνται εἶναι, οἱ δὲ τύραννοι ἐπειδὰν
safety for-themselves they-think to-be the but tyrants when
εἰς τὴν ἑαυτῶν πόλιν ἀφίκωνται, τότε ἐν πλείστοις
into the their-own city they-arrive then among most
πολεμίοις ἴσασιν ὄντες.
enemies they-know being
ἐὰν δὲ δὴ καὶ ἄλλοι στρατεύωσιν εἰς τὴν πόλιν 10
if and indeed also others campaign against the city
κρείττονες, ἐὰν ἔξω τοῦ τείχους ὄντες οἱ ἥττονες ἐν κινδύνῳ
stronger if outside the wall being the weaker in danger
δοκῶσιν εἶναι, ἀλλ' ἐπειδάν γε εἴσω τοῦ ἐρύματος ἔλθωσιν,
seem to-be but when at-least inside the fortification they-come

ἐν ἀσφαλείᾳ πάντες νομίζουσι καθεστάναι, ὁ δὲ τύραννος
in safety all think to-be-established the but tyrant
οὐδ᾽ ἐπειδὰν εἴσω τῆς οἰκίας παρέλθῃ ἐν ἀκινδύνῳ ἐστίν,
not-even when inside the house he-passes in safety is
ἀλλ᾽ ἐνταῦθα δὴ καὶ μάλιστα φυλακτέον οἴεται εἶναι.
but there indeed also most one-must-guard he-thinks to-be
11 ἔπειτα τοῖς μὲν ἰδιώταις καὶ διὰ σπονδῶν καὶ δι᾽
then to-the indeed private-men both through truces and through
εἰρήνης γίγνεται πολέμου ἀνάπαυσις, τοῖς δὲ τυράννοις
peace comes of-war rest to-the but tyrants
οὔτε εἰρήνη ποτὲ πρὸς τοὺς τυραννευομένους γίγνεται
neither peace ever toward the tyrannized comes
οὔτε σπονδαῖς ἄν ποτε πιστεύσας ὁ τύραννος θαρρήσειε.
nor in-truces — ever having-trusted the tyrant would-be-confident
12 καὶ πόλεμοι μὲν δή εἰσιν οὓς τε αἱ πόλεις πολεμοῦσι
and wars indeed then there-are which both the cities wage
καὶ οὓς οἱ τύραννοι πρὸς τοὺς βεβιασμένους· τούτων
and which the tyrants against the having-been-forced of-these
δὴ τῶν πολέμων ὅσα μὲν ἔχει χαλεπὰ ὁ ἐν
indeed the wars as-much-as indeed has hard the-one in
ταῖς πόλεσι, ταῦτα καὶ ὁ τύραννος ἔχει·
the cities these-things also the tyrant has
13 καὶ γὰρ ἐν ὅπλοις δεῖ εἶναι ἀμφοτέρους καὶ
and for in arms it-is-needful to-be both and
φυλάττεσθαι καὶ κινδυνεύειν, καὶ ἄν τι πάθωσι κακὸν
to-be-on-guard and to-run-risks and if anything they-suffer bad
ἡττηθέντες, λυποῦνται ἐπὶ τούτοις ἑκάτεροι.
defeated they-are-pained at these-things each

μέχρι μὲν δὴ τούτου ἴσοι οἱ πόλεμοι· ἃ δὲ ἔχουσιν 14
up-to indeed then this equal the wars what but have
ἡδέα οἱ ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι πρὸς τὰς πόλεις, ταῦτα
pleasant the-ones in the cities against the cities these-things
οὐκέτι ἔχουσιν οἱ τύραννοι.
no-longer have the tyrants
αἱ μὲν γὰρ πόλεις δήπου ὅταν κρατήσωσι μάχῃ τῶν 15
the indeed for cities surely whenever they-prevail in-battle over-the
ἐναντίων, οὐ ῥᾴδιον εἰπεῖν ὅσην μὲν ἡδονὴν ἔχουσιν ἐν τῷ
opponents not easy to-say how-much indeed pleasure they-have in the
τρέψασθαι τοὺς πολεμίους, ὅσην δ' ἐν τῷ διώκειν, ὅσην
to-rout the enemies how-much and in the to-pursue how-much
δ' ἐν τῷ ἀποκτείνειν τοὺς πολεμίους, ὡς δὲ γαυροῦνται
and in the to-kill the enemies how and they-exult
ἐπὶ τῷ ἔργῳ, ὡς δὲ δόξαν λαμπρὰν ἀναλαμβάνουσιν, ὡς
at the deed how and glory brilliant they-take-up how
δ' εὐφραίνονται τὴν πόλιν νομίζοντες ηὐξηκέναι.
and they-rejoice the city thinking to-have-increased
ἕκαστος δέ τις προσποιεῖται καὶ τῆς βουλῆς μετεσχηκέναι 16
each and someone claims also of-the counsel to-have-shared
καὶ πλείστους ἀπεκτονέναι, χαλεπὸν δὲ εὑρεῖν ὅπου οὐχὶ
and most to-have-killed hard and to-find where not
καὶ ἐπιψεύδονται, πλέονας φάσκοντες ἀπεκτονέναι ἢ
also they-lie-in-addition more claiming to-have-killed than
ὅσοι ἂν τῷ ὄντι ἀποθάνωσιν· οὕτω καλόν τι
as-many-as — in-the reality died so fine something
αὐτοῖς δοκεῖ εἶναι τὸ πολὺ νικᾶν.
to-them seems to-be the much to-win
ὁ δὲ τύραννος ὅταν ὑποπτεύσῃ καὶ αἰσθανόμενος τῷ ὄντι 17
the but tyrant when he-suspects and perceiving in-the reality
ἀντιπραττομένους τινὰς ἀποκτείνῃ, οἶδεν ὅτι οὐκ αὔξει
opposing some kills he-knows that not he-increases

ὅλην τὴν πόλιν, ἐπίσταταί τε ὅτι μειόνων ἄρξει, φαιδρός
whole the city he-knows and that fewer he-will-rule cheerful
τε οὐ δύναται εἶναι, οὐδὲ μεγαλύνεται ἐπὶ τῷ ἔργῳ, ἀλλὰ
both not can to-be nor exults at the deed but
καὶ μειοῖ καθ' ὅσον ἂν δύνηται τὸ γεγενημένον, καὶ
also diminishes by as-much-as — he-can the having-happened and
ἀπολογεῖται ἅμα πράττων ὡς οὐκ ἀδικῶν πεποίηκεν.
defends-himself at-the-same-time doing that not wronging he-did-it
οὕτως οὐδ' αὐτῷ δοκεῖ καλὰ τὰ ποιούμενα εἶναι.
so not-even to-himself seem fine the-things being-done to-be
18 καὶ ὅταν ἀποθάνωσιν οὓς ἐφοβήθη, οὐδέν τι μᾶλλον
and when have-died whom he-feared in-nothing at-all more
τούτου θαρρεῖ, ἀλλὰ φυλάττεται ἔτι μᾶλλον ἢ τὸ
this he-is-confident but guards-himself still more than the
πρόσθεν. καὶ πόλεμον μὲν δὴ τοιοῦτον ἔχων διατελεῖ
before and war indeed then such having continues
ὁ τύραννος ὢν ἐγὼ δηλῶ.
the tyrant which I show

Hiero turns to friendship, the greatest good a man can have: a friend is glad to see him, shares his joys, and comes to his help, and good things come of their own accord to the man who is loved. In this tyrants are worst off of all. The firmest friendships are of parents and children, brothers, husbands and wives; yet many tyrants have killed their own kin or been killed by them. Hated by those bound to love them, how can they be loved by others?

Φιλίας δ' αὖ καταθέασαι ὡς κοινωνοῦσιν οἱ τύραννοι. 1
In-friendship and in-turn observe how share the tyrants
πρῶτον μὲν εἰ μέγα ἀγαθὸν ἀνθρώποις ἡ φιλία, τοῦτο
first indeed if great good for-men the friendship this
ἐπισκεψώμεθα.
let-us-consider

ὃς γὰρ ἂν φιλῆται δήπου ὑπό τινων, ἡδέως μὲν 2
who for — be-loved surely by some gladly indeed
τοῦτον οἱ φιλοῦντες παρόντα ὁρῶσιν, ἡδέως δ' εὖ
this-one the loving present see gladly and well
ποιοῦσι, ποθοῦσι δέ, ἄν που ἀπίῃ, ἥδιστα δὲ πάλιν
they-treat they-long-for and if somewhere he-be-absent most-gladly and again
προσιόντα δέχονται, συνήδονται δ' ἐπὶ τοῖς αὐτοῦ ἀγαθοῖς,
approaching welcome they-rejoice-with and at the his goods
συνεπικουροῦσι δέ, ἐάν τι σφαλλόμενον ὁρῶσιν.
they-help-together and if anything failing they-see

οὐ μὲν δὴ λέληθεν οὐδὲ τὰς πόλεις ὅτι ἡ φιλία 3
not indeed then has-escaped-notice not-even the cities that the friendship
μέγιστον ἀγαθὸν καὶ ἥδιστον ἀνθρώποις ἐστί· μόνους γοῦν
greatest good and sweetest for-men is only at-any-rate
τοὺς μοιχοὺς νομίζουσι πολλαὶ τῶν πόλεων νηποινεὶ
the adulterers think many of-the cities with-impunity

ἀποκτείνειν, δῆλον ὅτι διὰ ταῦτα ὅτι λυμαντῆρας αὐτοὺς
to-kill clear that because-of these-things that destroyers them
νομίζουσι τῆς τῶν γυναικῶν φιλίας πρὸς τοὺς ἄνδρας εἶναι.
they-think of-the of-the women friendship toward the husbands to-be
4 ἐπεὶ ὅταν γε ἀφροδισιασθῇ κατὰ συμφοράν τινα γυνή,
since when at-least be-violated by misfortune some a-woman
οὐδὲν ἧττον τούτου ἕνεκεν τιμῶσιν αὐτὰς οἱ ἄνδρες,
in-nothing less of-this because honor them the husbands
ἐάνπερ ἡ φιλία δοκῇ αὐτοῖς ἀκήρατος διαμένειν.
if-indeed the friendship seem to-them unspoiled to-remain
5 τοσοῦτον δέ τι ἀγαθὸν κρίνω ἔγωγε τὸ φιλεῖσθαι εἶναι
so-great and some good judge I-at-least the to-be-loved to-be
ὥστε νομίζω τῷ ὄντι αὐτόματα τἀγαθὰ τῷ φιλουμένῳ
that I-think in-the reality of-their-own-accord the-goods to-the one-loved
γίγνεσθαι καὶ παρὰ θεῶν καὶ παρὰ ἀνθρώπων.
come both from gods and from men
6 καὶ τούτου τοίνυν τοῦ κτήματος τοιούτου ὄντος
and of-this then the possession such being
μειονεκτοῦσιν οἱ τύραννοι πάντων μάλιστα. εἰ δὲ βούλει,
are-worse-off the tyrants of-all most if and you-wish
ὦ Σιμωνίδη, εἰδέναι ὅτι ἀληθῆ λέγω, ὧδε ἐπίσκεψαι.
O Simonides to-know that true-things I-say thus consider
7 βεβαιόταται μὲν γὰρ δήπου δοκοῦσι φιλίαι εἶναι γονεῦσι
most-steadfast indeed for surely seem friendships to-be for-parents
πρὸς παῖδας καὶ παισὶ πρὸς γονεῖς καὶ ἀδελφοῖς πρὸς
toward children and for-children toward parents and for-brothers toward
ἀδελφοὺς καὶ γυναιξὶ πρὸς ἄνδρας καὶ ἑταίροις πρὸς
brothers and for-wives toward husbands and for-comrades toward
ἑταίρους.
comrades

εἰ τοίνυν ἐθέλεις κατανοεῖν, εὑρήσεις μὲν τοὺς ἰδιώτας 8
if then you-are-willing to-consider you-will-find indeed the private-men
ὑπὸ τούτων μάλιστα φιλουμένους, τοὺς δὲ τυράννους
by these most loved the but tyrants
πολλοὺς μὲν παῖδας ἑαυτῶν ἀπεκτονότας, πολλοὺς δ'
many indeed children their-own having-killed many and
ὑπὸ παίδων αὐτοὺς ἀπολωλότας, πολλοὺς δὲ ἀδελφοὺς
by children themselves having-perished many and brothers
ἐν τυραννίσιν ἀλληλοφόνους γεγενημένους, πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ
in tyrannies mutual-murderers having-become many and also
ὑπὸ γυναικῶν τῶν ἑαυτῶν τυράννους διεφθαρμένους, καὶ
by wives the their-own tyrants destroyed and
ὑπὸ ἑταίρων γε τῶν μάλιστα δοκούντων φίλων εἶναι.
by comrades at-least the most seeming friends to-be
οἵτινες οὖν ὑπὸ τῶν φύσει πεφυκότων μάλιστα φιλεῖν 9
who then by the by-nature disposed most to-love
καὶ νόμῳ συνηναγκασμένων οὕτω μισοῦνται, πῶς ὑπ'
and by-law compelled so are-hated how by
ἄλλου γέ τινος οἴεσθαι χρὴ αὐτοὺς φιλεῖσθαι;
another at-least anyone to-think it-is-needful them to-be-loved

No company is pleasant without trust, Hiero says, and a tyrant trusts no one: his servants must taste his food. Cities honor the man who kills a tyrant with statues in the temples. Nor does wealth gladden him: his desires are harder to win, and many tyrants must plunder temples and men to pay their guard.

1 Ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ πίστεως ὅστις ἐλάχιστον μετέχει, πῶς οὐχὶ
But truly also of-trust whoever least shares how not
μεγάλου ἀγαθοῦ μειονεκτεῖ; ποία μὲν γὰρ ξυνουσία ἡδεῖα
of-great good is-worse-off what-sort indeed for association pleasant
ἄνευ πίστεως τῆς πρὸς ἀλλήλους, ποία δ' ἀνδρὶ καὶ
without trust the toward one-another what-sort and for-man and
γυναικὶ τερπνὴ ἄνευ πίστεως ὁμιλία, ποῖος δὲ θεράπων
woman delightful without trust intercourse what-sort and servant
ἡδὺς ἀπιστούμενος;
pleasant being-distrusted

2 καὶ τούτου τοίνυν τοῦ πιστῶς πρός τινας ἔχειν
and of-this then the trustingly toward some to-be-disposed
ἐλάχιστον μέτεστι τυράννῳ· ὁπότε γε οὐδὲ σιτίοις
least has-a-share a-tyrant since at-least not-even foods
καὶ ποτοῖς πιστεύων διάγει, ἀλλὰ καὶ τούτων πρὶν
and drinks trusting he-lives but also of-these before
ἀπάρχεσθαι τοῖς θεοῖς τοὺς διακόνους πρῶτον κελεύουσιν
to-offer-first-fruits to-the gods the attendants first they-bid
ἀπογεύσασθαι διὰ τὸ ἀπιστεῖν μὴ καὶ ἐν τούτοις κακόν
to-taste because-of the to-distrust lest also in these bad
τι φάγωσιν ἢ πίωσιν.
something they-eat or drink

ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ αἱ πατρίδες τοῖς μὲν ἄλλοις ἀνθρώποις 3
but truly also the fatherlands to-the indeed other men
πλείστου ἄξιαι. πολῖται γὰρ δορυφοροῦσι μὲν ἀλλήλους
of-most worth citizens for guard indeed one-another
ἄνευ μισθοῦ ἐπὶ τοὺς δούλους, δορυφοροῦσι δ' ἐπὶ
without pay against the slaves they-guard and against
τοὺς κακούργους, ὑπὲρ τοῦ μηδένα τῶν πολιτῶν βιαίῳ
the wrongdoers for the no-one of-the citizens by-violent
θανάτῳ ἀποθνήσκειν.
death to-die
οὕτω δὲ πόρρω προεληλύθασι φυλακῆς ὥστε πεποίηνται 4
so and far they-have-advanced in-guarding that have-made
πολλοὶ νόμον τῷ μιαιφόνῳ μηδὲ τὸν συνόντα
many a-law with-the murderer not-even the companion
καθαρεύειν· ὥστε διὰ τὰς πατρίδας ἀσφαλῶς ἕκαστος
to-be-clean so-that because-of the fatherlands safely each
βιοτεύει τῶν πολιτῶν.
lives of-the citizens
τοῖς δὲ τυράννοις καὶ τοῦτο ἔμπαλιν ἀνέστραπται. ἀντὶ 5
for-the but tyrants also this reversed has-been-turned-round instead-of
γὰρ τοῦ τιμωρεῖν αἱ πόλεις αὐτοῖς μεγάλως τιμῶσι τὸν
for the to-avenge the cities them greatly honor the-one
ἀποκτείναντα τὸν τύραννον, καὶ ἀντί γε τοῦ εἴργειν
having-killed the tyrant and instead-of at-least the to-shut-out
ἐκ τῶν ἱερῶν, ὥσπερ τοὺς τῶν ἰδιωτῶν φονέας, ἀντὶ
from the temples as the of-the private-men murderers instead-of
τούτου καὶ εἰκόνας ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς ἱστᾶσιν αἱ πόλεις
this also statues in the temples set-up the cities
τῶν τὸ τοιοῦτο ποιησάντων.
of-the-ones the such-thing having-done

6 Εἰ δὲ σὺ οἴει ὡς πλείω ἔχων τῶν ἰδιωτῶν κτήματα ὁ
If and you think that more having than-the private-men possessions the
τύραννος διὰ τοῦτο καὶ πλείω ἀπ᾽ αὐτῶν εὐφραίνεται,
tyrant because-of this also more from them is-gladdened
οὐδὲ τοῦτο οὕτως ἔχει, ὦ Σιμωνίδη, ἀλλ᾽ ὥσπερ οἱ
not-even this so is O Simonides but as the
ἀθληταὶ οὐχ ὅταν ἰδιωτῶν γένωνται κρείττονες, τοῦτ᾽
athletes not when than-private-men they-become stronger this
αὐτοὺς εὐφραίνει, ἀλλ᾽ ὅταν τῶν ἀνταγωνιστῶν ἥττους,
them gladdens but when than-the competitors weaker
τοῦτ᾽ αὐτοὺς ἀνιᾷ, οὕτω καὶ ὁ τύραννος οὐχ ὅταν τῶν
this them pains so also the tyrant not when than-the
ἰδιωτῶν πλείω φαίνηται ἔχων, τότ᾽ εὐφραίνεται, ἀλλ᾽ ὅταν
private-men more he-appears having then is-gladdened but when
ἑτέρων τυράννων ἐλάττω ἔχῃ, τούτῳ λυπεῖται· τούτους
than-other tyrants less he-has by-this is-pained these
γὰρ ἀνταγωνιστὰς ἡγεῖται αὑτῷ τοῦ πλούτου εἶναι.
for competitors he-thinks for-himself of-the wealth to-be

7 οὐδέ γε θᾶττόν τι γίγνεται τῷ τυράννῳ ἢ τῷ
nor at-least sooner anything comes to-the tyrant than to-the
ἰδιώτῃ ὧν ἐπιθυμεῖ. ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἰδιώτης οἰκίας ἢ
private-man of-what he-desires the indeed for private-man a-house or
ἀγροῦ ἢ οἰκέτου ἐπιθυμεῖ, ὁ δὲ τύραννος ἢ πόλεων
a-field or a-servant desires the but tyrant either cities
ἢ χώρας πολλῆς ἢ λιμένων ἢ ἀκροπόλεων ἰσχυρῶν, ἅ
or land much or harbors or citadels strong which
ἐστι πολὺ χαλεπώτερα καὶ ἐπικινδυνότερα κατεργάσασθαι
are much harder and more-dangerous to-accomplish
τῶν ἰδιωτικῶν ἐπιθυμημάτων.
than-the private desires

ἀλλὰ μέντοι καὶ πένητας ὄψει οὐχ οὕτως ὀλίγους τῶν 8
but however also poor-men you-will-see not so few of-the
ἰδιωτῶν ὡς πολλοὺς τῶν τυράννων. οὐ γὰρ τῷ ἀριθμῷ
private-men as many of-the tyrants not for by-the number
οὔτε τὰ πολλὰ κρίνεται οὔτε τὰ ἱκανά, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὰς
either the many-things is-judged or the sufficient but by the
χρήσεις· ὥστε τὰ μὲν ὑπερβάλλοντα τὰ ἱκανὰ πολλά
uses so-that the-things indeed exceeding the sufficient many
ἐστι, τὰ δὲ τῶν ἱκανῶν ἐλλείποντα ὀλίγα.
are the-things but than-the sufficient falling-short few
τῷ οὖν τυράννῳ τὰ πολλαπλάσια ἧττον ἱκανά ἐστιν 9
for-the then tyrant the many-times-greater-things less sufficient are
εἰς τὰ ἀναγκαῖα δαπανήματα ἢ τῷ ἰδιώτῃ. τοῖς μὲν
for the necessary expenses than for-the private-man for-the indeed
γὰρ ἰδιώταις ἔξεστι τὰς δαπάνας συντέμνειν εἰς τὰ καθ᾽
for private-men it-is-possible the expenses to-cut-down to the by
ἡμέραν ὅπῃ βούλονται, τοῖς δὲ τυράννοις οὐκ ἐνδέχεται.
day however they-wish for-the but tyrants not it-is-possible
αἱ γὰρ μέγισται αὐτοῖς δαπάναι καὶ ἀναγκαιόταται εἰς
the for greatest for-them expenses and most-necessary for
τὰς τῆς ψυχῆς φυλακάς εἰσι· τὸ δὲ τούτων συντέμνειν
the of-the life guards are the but of-these to-cut-down
ὄλεθρος δοκεῖ εἶναι.
destruction seems to-be
ἔπειτα δὲ ὅσοι μὲν δύνανται ἔχειν ἀπὸ τοῦ δικαίου 10
then and as-many-as indeed are-able to-have from the just
ὅσων δέονται, τί ἂν τούτους οἰκτείροι τις ὡς πένητας;
as-much-as they-need why — these would-pity anyone as poor
ὅσοι δ᾽ ἀναγκάζονται δι᾽ ἔνδειαν κακόν τι καὶ
as-many-as but are-compelled through want evil something and

αἰσχρὸν μηχανώμενοι ζῆν, πῶς οὐ τούτους ἀθλίους ἄν
shameful contriving to-live how not these wretched —
τις καὶ πένητας δικαίως καλοῖ;
anyone and poor justly would-call
11 οἱ τύραννοι τοίνυν ἀναγκάζονται πλεῖστα συλᾶν ἀδίκως
the tyrants then are-compelled most to-plunder unjustly
καὶ ἱερὰ καὶ ἀνθρώπους διὰ τὸ εἰς τὰς ἀναγκαίας
both temples and men because-of the for the necessary
δαπάνας ἀεὶ προσδεῖσθαι χρημάτων. ὥσπερ γὰρ πολέμου
expenses always to-need-besides money as for war
ὄντος ἀεὶ ἀναγκάζονται στράτευμα τρέφειν ἢ ἀπολωλέναι.
being always they-are-compelled an-army to-maintain or to-have-perished

V · THE TYRANT AND THE GOOD

A tyrant recognizes orderly, wise, and just men as well as anyone, Hiero says, but instead of admiring them he fears them: the brave lest they dare something for freedom, the wise lest they contrive something, the just lest the people want them as leaders. Once he has removed them, he is left with the unjust, the uncontrolled, and the slavish, so that he must think some men good and use others. He must love his city, since without it he can be neither safe nor happy, yet his rule compels him to find fault with his own country: he takes no pleasure in making its citizens brave or well armed, and prefers to make foreigners more formidable than the citizens and use them as his guards. Not even a good harvest gladdens him, for he thinks needy subjects more humble and easier to use.

1 Χαλεπὸν δ' ἐρῶ σοι καὶ ἄλλο πάθημα, ὦ Σιμωνίδη,
Hard and I-will-tell to-you also another affliction O Simonides
τῶν τυράννων. γιγνώσκουσι μὲν γὰρ οὐδὲν ἧττον τῶν
of-the tyrants they-recognize indeed for in-nothing less than-the
ἰδιωτῶν τοὺς κοσμίους τε καὶ σοφοὺς καὶ δικαίους. τούτους
private-men the orderly both and wise and just these

δ᾽ ἀντὶ τοῦ ἄγασθαι φοβοῦνται, τοὺς μὲν ἀνδρείους,
but instead-of the to-admire they-fear the-ones indeed brave
μή τι τολμήσωσι τῆς ἐλευθερίας ἕνεκεν, τοὺς δὲ
lest anything they-dare of-the freedom for-the-sake the-ones and
σοφούς, μή τι μηχανήσωνται, τοὺς δὲ δικαίους, μὴ
wise lest anything they-contrive the-ones and just lest
ἐπιθυμήσῃ τὸ πλῆθος ὑπ᾽ αὐτῶν προστατεῖσθαι.
should-desire the multitude by them to-be-led
ὅταν δὲ τοὺς τοιούτους διὰ τὸν φόβον ὑπεξαιρῶνται, 2
when and the such because-of the fear they-remove
τίνες ἄλλοι αὐτοῖς καταλείπονται χρῆσθαι ἀλλ᾽ ἢ οἱ
who others to-them are-left to-use but than the
ἄδικοί τε καὶ ἀκρατεῖς καὶ ἀνδραποδώδεις; οἱ μὲν
unjust both and uncontrolled and slavish the-ones indeed
ἄδικοι πιστευόμενοι, διότι φοβοῦνται ὥσπερ οἱ τύραννοι
unjust trusted because they-fear as the tyrants
τὰς πόλεις μήποτε ἐλεύθεραι γενόμεναι ἐγκρατεῖς αὐτῶν
the cities lest-ever free having-become masters of-them
γένωνται, οἱ δ᾽ ἀκρατεῖς τῆς εἰς τὸ παρὸν ἐξουσίας
become the-ones and uncontrolled of-the for the present license
ἕνεκα, οἱ δ᾽ ἀνδραποδώδεις, διότι οὐδ᾽ αὐτοὶ
for-the-sake the-ones and slavish because not-even themselves
ἀξιοῦσιν ἐλεύθεροι εἶναι. χαλεπὸν οὖν καὶ τοῦτο τὸ
deem-it-right free to-be hard then also this the
πάθημα ἔμοιγε δοκεῖ εἶναι, τὸ ἄλλους μὲν ἡγεῖσθαι
affliction to-me-at-least seems to-be the others indeed to-consider
ἀγαθοὺς ἄνδρας, ἄλλοις δὲ χρῆσθαι ἀναγκάζεσθαι.
good men others but to-use to-be-compelled
ἔτι δὲ φιλόπολιν μὲν ἀνάγκη καὶ τὸν τύραννον εἶναι· 3
further and city-loving indeed necessity also the tyrant to-be
ἄνευ γὰρ τῆς πόλεως οὔτ᾽ ἂν σώζεσθαι δύναιτο οὔτ᾽
without for the city neither — be-kept-safe could nor

ἂν εὐδαιμονεῖν· ἡ δὲ τυραννὶς ἀναγκάζει καὶ ταῖς ἑαυτῶν
— *be-happy* *the* *but* *tyranny* *compels* *even* *the* *their-own*
πατρίσιν ἐγκαλεῖν. οὔτε γὰρ ἀλκίμους οὔτ' εὐόπλους
fatherlands *to-accuse* *neither* *for* *valiant* *nor* *well-armed*
χαίρουσι τοὺς πολίτας παρασκευάζοντες, ἀλλὰ τοὺς ξένους
they-rejoice *the* *citizens* *making* *but* *the* *foreigners*
δεινοτέρους τῶν πολιτῶν ποιοῦντες ἥδονται μᾶλλον
more-formidable *than-the* *citizens* *making* *they-are-pleased* *rather*
καὶ τούτοις χρῶνται δορυφόροις.
and *these* *they-use* *as-bodyguards*

4 ἀλλὰ μὴν οὐδ' ἂν εὐετηριῶν γενομένων ἀφθονία τῶν
but *truly* *not-even* *if* *good-harvests* *having-come* *abundance* *of-the*
ἀγαθῶν γίγνηται, οὐδὲ τότε συγχαίρει ὁ τύραννος.
goods *come* *not-even* *then* *rejoices-with* *the* *tyrant*
ἐνδεεστέροις γὰρ οὖσι ταπεινοτέροις αὐτοῖς οἴονται χρῆσθαι.
more-needy *for* *being* *more-humble* *them* *they-think* *to-use*

VI · WHAT THE TYRANT HAS LOST

Hiero lists what he has lost: friends his own age, quiet, and drinking parties that made him forget life's hardships. Now he has slaves for comrades, guards against drink and sleep as against an ambush, and fears his hired guards, who could earn more by killing him. Like a fine but dangerous horse, the citizens he fears are hard to live with and hard to kill.

1 Βούλομαι δέ σοι, ἔφη, ὦ Σιμωνίδη, κἀκείνας τὰς
I-wish *and* *to-you* *he-said* *O* *Simonides* *those-too* *the*
εὐφροσύνας δηλῶσαι ὅσαις ἐγὼ χρώμενος ὅτ' ἦν
joys *to-show* *as-many-as* *I* *using* *when* *I-was*

ἰδιώτης, νῦν ἐπειδὴ τύραννος ἐγενόμην, αἰσθάνομαι
private-man now since tyrant I-became I-perceive
στερόμενος αὐτῶν.
being-deprived of-them
ἐγὼ γὰρ ξυνῆν μὲν ἡλικιώταις ἡδόμενος ἡδομένοις 2
I for I-associated indeed with-age-mates pleased with-them-pleased
ἐμοί, συνῆν δὲ ἐμαυτῷ, ὁπότε ἡσυχίας ἐπιθυμήσαιμι,
with-me I-associated and with-myself whenever quiet I-desired
διῆγον δ' ἐν συμποσίοις πολλάκις μὲν μέχρι τοῦ
I-passed and in drinking-parties often indeed up-to the
ἐπιλαθέσθαι πάντων εἴ τι χαλεπὸν ἐν ἀνθρωπίνῳ βίῳ
to-forget all if anything hard in human life
ἦν, πολλάκις δὲ μέχρι τοῦ ᾠδαῖς τε καὶ θαλίαις καὶ
was often and up-to the with-songs both and festivities and
χοροῖς τὴν ψυχὴν συγκαταμιγνύναι, πολλάκις δὲ μέχρι
dances the soul to-mingle often and up-to
κοινῆς ἐπιθυμίας ἐμῆς τε καὶ τῶν παρόντων.
common desire mine both and of-the present
νῦν δὲ ἀπεστέρημαι μὲν τῶν ἡδομένων ἐμοὶ διὰ τὸ 3
now but I-have-been-deprived indeed of-the-ones taking-pleasure in-me because-of the
δούλους ἀντὶ φίλων ἔχειν τοὺς ἑταίρους, ἀπεστέρημαι
slaves instead-of friends to-have the comrades I-have-been-deprived
δ' αὐτὸς τοῦ ἡδέως ἐκείνοις ὁμιλεῖν διὰ τὸ μηδεμίαν
and myself of-the pleasantly with-them to-associate because-of the no
ἐνορᾶν εὔνοιαν ἐμοὶ παρ' αὐτῶν· μέθην δὲ καὶ ὕπνον
to-see-in goodwill for-me from them drunkenness and also sleep
ὁμοίως ἐνέδρᾳ φυλάττομαι.
like an-ambush I-guard-against
τὸ δὲ φοβεῖσθαι μὲν ὄχλον, φοβεῖσθαι δ' ἐρημίαν, φοβεῖσθαι 4
the and to-fear indeed a-crowd to-fear and solitude to-fear
δὲ ἀφυλαξίαν, φοβεῖσθαι δὲ καὶ αὐτοὺς τοὺς φυλάττοντας,
and lack-of-guard to-fear and also the-very the guards

καὶ μήτ᾽ ἀνόπλους ἔχειν ἐθέλειν περὶ αὐτὸν μήθ᾽ ὡπλισμένους
and neither unarmed to-have to-wish around himself nor armed
ἡδέως θεᾶσθαι, πῶς οὐκ ἀργαλέον ἐστὶ πρᾶγμα;
gladly to-behold how not painful is a-thing
5 ἔτι δὲ ξένοις μὲν μᾶλλον ἢ πολίταις πιστεύειν,
further and foreigners indeed rather than citizens to-trust
βαρβάροις δὲ μᾶλλον ἢ Ἕλλησιν, ἐπιθυμεῖν δὲ τοὺς μὲν
barbarians and rather than Greeks to-desire and the indeed
ἐλευθέρους δούλους ἔχειν, τοὺς δὲ δούλους ἀναγκάζεσθαι
free slaves to-have the but slaves to-be-compelled
ποιεῖν ἐλευθέρους, οὐ πάντα σοι ταῦτα δοκεῖ ψυχῆς
to-make free not all to-you these-things seem of-a-soul
ὑπὸ φόβων καταπεπληγμένης τεκμήρια εἶναι;
by fears stricken signs to-be
6 ὅ γέ τοι φόβος οὐ μόνον αὐτὸς ἐνὼν ταῖς
the at-least you-know fear not only itself being-in the
ψυχαῖς λυπηρός ἐστιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάντων τῶν ἡδέων
souls painful is but also of-all the pleasant-things
συμπαρακολουθῶν λυμεὼν γίγνεται.
accompanying destroyer becomes
7 εἰ δὲ καὶ σὺ πολεμικῶν ἔμπειρος εἶ, ὦ Σιμωνίδη,
if and also you of-warlike-things experienced are O Simonides
καὶ ἤδη ποτὲ πολεμίᾳ φάλαγγι πλησίον ἀντετάξω,
and already once to-an-enemy phalanx near you-were-drawn-up
ἀναμνήσθητι ποῖον μέν τινα σῖτον ᾔρου ἐν ἐκείνῳ τῷ
remember what-sort indeed some food you-took in that the
χρόνῳ, ποῖον δέ τινα ὕπνον ἐκοιμῶ.
time what-sort and some sleep you-slept

οἷα μέντοι σοὶ τότ᾽ ἦν τὰ λυπηρά, τοιαῦτά ἐστι τὰ 8
such-as however to-you then were the painful-things such are the-things
τῶν τυράννων καὶ ἔτι δεινότερα· οὐ γὰρ ἐξ ἐναντίας μόνον,
of-the tyrants and still more-terrible not for from opposite only
ἀλλὰ καὶ πάντοθεν πολεμίους ὁρᾶν νομίζουσιν οἱ τύραννοι.
but also from-all-sides enemies to-see think the tyrants
ταῦτα δ᾽ ἀκούσας ὁ Σιμωνίδης ὑπολαβὼν εἶπεν, Ὑπέρευ 9
these-things and having-heard — Simonides taking-up said Very-well
μοι δοκεῖς ἔνια λέγειν. ὁ γὰρ πόλεμος φοβερὸν
to-me you-seem some-things to-say the for war fearful
μέν, ἀλλ᾽ ὅμως, ὦ Ἱέρων, ἡμεῖς γε ὅταν ὦμεν ἐν
indeed but nevertheless O Hiero we at-least when we-are on
στρατείᾳ, φύλακας προκαθιστάμενοι θαρραλέως δείπνου
campaign guards posting-in-front confidently of-dinner
τε καὶ ὕπνου λαγχάνομεν.
both and of-sleep partake
καὶ ὁ Ἱέρων ἔφη, Ναὶ μὰ Δία, ὦ Σιμωνίδη· αὐτῶν 10
and — Hiero said Yes by Zeus O Simonides them
μὲν γὰρ προφυλάττουσιν οἱ νόμοι, ὥστε περὶ ἑαυτῶν
indeed for guard-in-front the laws so-that about themselves
φοβοῦνται καὶ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν· οἱ δὲ τύραννοι μισθοῦ φύλακας
they-fear and for you the but tyrants for-pay guards
ἔχουσιν ὥσπερ θεριστάς.
have like reapers
καὶ δεῖ μὲν δήπου τοὺς φύλακας μηδὲν οὕτω ποιεῖν 11
and it-is-needful indeed surely the guards nothing so to-do
δύνασθαι ὡς πιστοὺς εἶναι· πιστὸν δὲ ἕνα πολὺ χαλεπώτερον
to-be-able as faithful to-be faithful but one much harder
εὑρεῖν ἢ πάνυ πολλοὺς ἐργάτας ὁποίου βούλει ἔργου,
to-find than very many workers of-whatever you-wish work
ἄλλως τε καὶ ὁπόταν χρημάτων μὲν ἕνεκα παρῶσιν
especially both and whenever of-money indeed for-the-sake be-present

οἱ φυλάττοντες, ἐξῆ δ' αὐτοῖς ἐν ὀλίγῳ χρόνῳ πολὺ
the guarding it-be-possible but for-them in little time much
πλείω λαβεῖν ἀποκτείνασι τὸν τύραννον ἢ ὅσα πολὺν
more to-get having-killed the tyrant than as-much-as long
χρόνον φυλάττοντες παρὰ τοῦ τυράννου λαμβάνουσιν.
time guarding from the tyrant they-get

12 ὃ δ' ἐζήλωσας ἡμᾶς ὡς τοὺς μὲν φίλους μάλιστα
what but you-envied us that the indeed friends most
εὖ ποιεῖν δυνάμεθα, τοὺς δ' ἐχθροὺς πάντων μάλιστα
well to-treat we-are-able the and enemies of-all most
χειρούμεθα, οὐδὲ ταῦθ' οὕτως ἔχει.
we-subdue not-even these-things so are

13 φίλους μὲν γὰρ πῶς ἂν νομίσαις ποτὲ εὖ ποιεῖν, ὅταν
friends indeed for how — could-you-think ever well to-treat when
εὖ εἰδῇς ὅτι ὁ τὰ πλεῖστα λαμβάνων παρὰ σοῦ
well you-know that the-one the most receiving from you
ἥδιστ' ἂν ὡς τάχιστα ἐξ ὀφθαλμῶν σου γένοιτο; ὅ
most-gladly — as quickly-as-possible out-of eyes your would-get what
τι γὰρ ἄν τις λάβῃ παρὰ τυράννου, οὐδεὶς οὐδὲν αὑτοῦ
ever for — anyone receive from a-tyrant no-one anything his-own
νομίζει πρὶν ἂν ἔξω τῆς τούτου ἐπικρατείας γένηται.
thinks before — outside the of-this dominion be-be

14 ἐχθροὺς δ' αὖ πῶς ἂν φαίης μάλιστα τοῖς τυράννοις
enemies and in-turn how — could-you-say most for-the tyrants
ἐξεῖναι χειροῦσθαι, ὅταν εὖ εἰδῶσιν ὅτι ἐχθροὶ αὐτῶν
to-be-possible to-subdue when well they-know that enemies of-them
εἰσι πάντες οἱ τυραννούμενοι, τούτους δὲ μήτε κατακτείνειν
are all the tyrannized these but neither to-kill
ἅπαντας μήτε δεσμεύειν οἷόν τε ᾖ· τίνων γὰρ ἔτι ἄρξει;
all nor to-imprison possible — be of-whom for still will-be-rule
ἀλλ' εἰδότα ὅτι ἐχθροί εἰσι,
but knowing that enemies they-are

τούτους ἅμα μὲν φυλάττεσθαι δέῃ, καὶ χρῆσθαι δ' 15
these at-once indeed to-guard-against it-be-needful and to-use but
αὐτοῖς ἀναγκάζεσθαι; εὖ δ' ἴσθι καὶ τοῦτο, ὦ Σιμωνίδη, ὅτι
them to-be-compelled well and know also this O Simonides that
καὶ οὓς τῶν πολιτῶν δεδίασι χαλεπῶς μὲν αὐτοὺς ζῶντας
also whom of-the citizens they-fear hard indeed them living
ὁρῶσι, χαλεπῶς δ' ἀποκτείνουσιν· ὥσπερ γε καὶ ἵππος εἰ
they-see hard but they-kill as at-least also a-horse if
ἀγαθὸς μὲν εἴη, φοβερὸς δὲ μὴ ἀνήκεστόν τι ποιήσῃ,
good indeed it-be fearful but lest incurable something it-do
χαλεπῶς μὲν ἄν τις αὐτὸν ἀποκτείναι διὰ τὴν ἀρετήν,
hard indeed — anyone it would-kill because-of the excellence
χαλεπῶς δὲ ζῶντι χρῷτο, εὐλαβούμενος μή τι ἀνήκεστον 16
hard but living would-use being-cautious lest something incurable
ἐν τοῖς κινδύνοις ἐργάσηται. καὶ τἄλλα γε κτήματα
in the dangers it-do and the-other at-least possessions
ὅσα χαλεπὰ μὲν χρήσιμα δ' ἐστίν, ὁμοίως ἅπαντα
as-many-as hard indeed useful but are likewise all
λυπεῖ μὲν τοὺς κεκτημένους, λυπεῖ δὲ ἀπαλλαττομένους.
pains indeed the possessors pains and getting-rid-of

Simonides suggests that honor makes a tyrant endure all this. Hiero answers that the honors paid to a tyrant are like forced love, the work of fear; true honor is given willingly to a benefactor, who lives unenvied, while a tyrant lives as one condemned to die for his injustice. No tyrant lays down his rule, since he could never repay what he took: if anyone should hang himself, it is a tyrant.

1 Ἐπεὶ δὲ ταῦτα αὐτοῦ ἤκουσεν ὁ Σιμωνίδης, εἶπεν,
When and these-things from-him heard — Simonides he-said
Ἔοικεν, ἔφη, ὦ Ἱέρων, μέγα τι εἶναι ἡ τιμή, ἧς
It-seems he-said O Hiero great something to-be the honor which
ὀρεγόμενοι οἱ ἄνθρωποι πάντα μὲν πόνον ὑποδύονται,
reaching-for the men every indeed toil undergo
πάντα δὲ κίνδυνον ὑπομένουσι.
every and danger endure

2 καὶ ὑμεῖς, ὡς ἔοικε, τοσαῦτα πράγματα ἐχούσης ὁπόσα
and you as it-seems so-many troubles having as-many-as
λέγεις τῆς τυραννίδος, ὅμως προπετῶς φέρεσθε εἰς
you-say the tyranny nevertheless headlong rush into
αὐτήν, ὅπως τιμᾶσθε καὶ ὑπηρετῶσι μὲν ὑμῖν πάντες
it so-that you-may-be-honored and may-serve indeed you all
πάντα τὰ προσταττόμενα ἀπροφασίστως, περιβλέπωσι
all the-things ordered without-excuse may-look-to
δὲ πάντες, ὑπανιστῶνται δ' ἀπὸ τῶν θάκων, ὁδῶν τε
and all may-rise and from the seats from-roads both
παραχωρῶσι, γεραίρωσι δὲ καὶ λόγοις καὶ ἔργοις πάντες οἱ
may-make-way may-honor and both with-words and with-deeds all the
παρόντες ἀεὶ ὑμᾶς· τοιαῦτα γὰρ δὴ ποιοῦσι τοῖς τυράννοις
present always you such-things for indeed they-do to-the tyrants
οἱ ἀρχόμενοι καὶ ἄλλον ὅντινα ἀεὶ τιμῶντες τυγχάνουσι.
the ruled and other whomever always honoring they-happen

καὶ γάρ μοι δοκεῖ, ὦ Ἱέρων, τούτῳ διαφέρειν ἀνὴρ τῶν 3
and for to-me it-seems O Hiero in-this to-differ a-man from-the
ἄλλων ζῴων, τῷ τιμῆς ὀρέγεσθαι. ἐπεὶ σιτίοις γε καὶ
other animals in-the honor to-reach-for since in-foods at-least and
ποτοῖς καὶ ὕπνοις καὶ ἀφροδισίοις πάντα ὁμοίως ἥδεσθαι
drinks and sleeps and sexual-pleasures all alike to-be-pleased
ἔοικε τὰ ζῷα· ἡ δὲ φιλοτιμία οὔτ' ἐν τοῖς ἀλόγοις
seem the animals the but love-of-honor neither in the irrational
ζῴοις ἐμφύεται οὔτ' ἐν ἅπασιν ἀνθρώποις· οἷς δ' ἂν
animals is-innate nor in all men in-whom but —
ἐμφύῃ τιμῆς τε καὶ ἐπαίνου ἔρως, οὗτοί εἰσιν ἤδη οἱ
be-innate of-honor both and of-praise love these are already the-ones
πλεῖστον μὲν τῶν βοσκημάτων διαφέροντες, ἄνδρες δὲ
most indeed from-the cattle differing men and
καὶ οὐκέτι ἄνθρωποι μόνον νομιζόμενοι.
also no-longer human-beings only being-considered
ὥστε ἐμοὶ μὲν εἰκότως δοκεῖτε ταῦτα πάντα ὑπομένειν 4
so-that to-me indeed reasonably you-seem these-things all to-endure
ἃ φέρετε ἐν τῇ τυραννίδι, ἐπείπερ τιμᾶσθε διαφερόντως
which you-bear in the tyranny since you-are-honored exceptionally
τῶν ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων. καὶ γὰρ οὐδεμία ἀνθρωπίνη
beyond-the other men and for no human
ἡδονὴ τοῦ θείου ἐγγυτέρω δοκεῖ εἶναι ἢ ἡ περὶ τὰς
pleasure to-the divine nearer seems to-be than the about the
τιμὰς εὐφροσύνη.
honors joy
πρὸς ταῦτα δὴ εἶπεν ὁ Ἱέρων, Ἀλλ', ὦ Σιμωνίδη, 5
to these-things indeed said — Hiero But O Simonides
καὶ αἱ τιμαὶ τῶν τυράννων ὅμοιαι ἐμοὶ δοκοῦσιν εἶναι
also the honors of-the tyrants like to-me seem to-be
οἷάπερ ἐγώ σοι τὰ ἀφροδίσια ὄντα αὐτῶν ἀπέδειξα.
such-as-very I to-you the sexual-pleasures being of-them showed

6 οὔτε γὰρ αἱ μὴ ἐξ ἀντιφιλούντων ὑπουργίαι χάριτες
neither for the not from loving-in-return services favors
ἡμῖν ἐδόκουν εἶναι οὔτε τὰ ἀφροδίσια τὰ βίαια ἡδέα
to-us seemed to-be nor the sexual-pleasures the forced pleasant
ἐφαίνετο. ὡσαύτως τοίνυν οὐδὲ αἱ ὑπουργίαι αἱ παρὰ
appeared likewise then not-even the services the-ones from
τῶν φοβουμένων τιμαί εἰσι.
the fearing honors are

7 πῶς γὰρ ἂν φαίημεν ἢ τοὺς βίᾳ ἐξανισταμένους
how for — could-we-say either the-ones by-force rising-from
θάκων διὰ τὸ τιμᾶν τοὺς ἀδικοῦντας ἐξανίστασθαι, ἢ
seats because-of the to-honor the wrongdoers to-rise or
τοὺς ὁδῶν παραχωροῦντας τοῖς κρείττοσι διὰ τὸ
the-ones from-roads making-way for-the stronger because-of the
τιμᾶν τοὺς ἀδικοῦντας παραχωρεῖν;
to-honor the wrongdoers to-make-way

8 καὶ δῶρά γε διδόασιν οἱ πολλοὶ τούτοις οὓς μισοῦσι,
and gifts at-least give the many to-these whom they-hate
καὶ ταῦτα ὅταν μάλιστα φοβῶνται μή τι κακὸν ὑπ᾽
and these-things when most they-fear lest anything bad by
αὐτῶν πάθωσιν. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν οἶμαι δουλείας ἔργα
them they-suffer but these-things indeed I-think of-slavery works
εἰκότως ἂν νομίζοιτο· αἱ δὲ τιμαὶ ἔμοιγε δοκοῦσιν
reasonably — would-be-considered the but honors to-me-at-least seem
ἐκ τῶν ἐναντίων τούτοις γίγνεσθαι.
from the opposites of-these to-come

9 ὅταν γὰρ ἄνθρωποι ἄνδρα ἡγησάμενοι εὐεργετεῖν ἱκανὸν
when for men a-man having-thought to-benefit able
εἶναι, καὶ ἀπολαύειν αὐτοῦ ἀγαθὰ νομίσαντες, ἔπειτα
to-be and to-enjoy from-him goods having-thought then
τοῦτον ἀνὰ στόμα τε ἔχωσιν ἐπαινοῦντες, θεῶνταί τ᾽
this-one in mouth both have praising behold and

αὐτὸν ὡς οἰκεῖον ἕκαστος ἀγαθόν, ἑκόντες τε παραχωρῶσι
him as own each good willingly both make-way
τούτῳ ὁδῶν καὶ θάκων ὑπανιστῶνται φιλοῦντές τε
for-this-one from-roads and from-seats rise loving both
καὶ μὴ φοβούμενοι, καὶ στεφανῶσι κοινῆς ἀρετῆς καὶ
and not fearing and crown of-common virtue and
εὐεργεσίας ἕνεκα, καὶ δωρεῖσθαι ἐθέλωσιν, οἱ αὐτοὶ οὗτοι
benefaction for-the-sake and to-give-gifts wish the same these
ἔμοιγε δοκοῦσι τιμᾶν τε τοῦτον ἀληθῶς οἳ ἂν τοιαῦτα
to-me-at-least seem to-honor both this-one truly who — such-things
ὑπουργήσωσι, καὶ ὁ τούτων ἀξιούμενος τιμᾶσθαι τῷ ὄντι.
serve and the-one of-these deemed-worthy to-be-honored in-the reality
καὶ ἔγωγε τὸν μὲν οὕτω τιμώμενον μακαρίζω· αἰσθάνομαι 10
and I-at-least the indeed so honored call-blessed I-perceive
γὰρ αὐτὸν οὐκ ἐπιβουλευόμενον ἀλλὰ φροντιζόμενον μή
for him not plotted-against but cared-for lest
τι πάθῃ καὶ ἀφόβως καὶ ἀνεπιφθόνως καὶ ἀκινδύνως
anything he-suffer and fearlessly and unenviously and without-danger
καὶ εὐδαιμόνως τὸν βίον διάγοντα· ὁ δὲ τύραννος ὡς
and happily the life living the but tyrant as
ὑπὸ πάντων ἀνθρώπων κατακεκριμένος δι᾽ ἀδικίαν
by all men condemned through injustice
ἀποθνήσκειν, οὕτως, ὦ Σιμωνίδη, εὖ ἴσθι, καὶ νύκτα καὶ
to-die so O Simonides well know both night and
ἡμέραν διάγει.
day lives
ἐπεὶ δὲ ταῦτα πάντα διήκουσεν ὁ Σιμωνίδης, Καὶ πῶς, 11
when and these-things all heard-through — Simonides And how
ἔφη, ὦ Ἱέρων, εἰ οὕτω πονηρόν ἐστι τὸ τυραννεῖν καὶ
he-said O Hiero if so miserable is the to-be-tyrant and
τοῦτο σὺ ἔγνωκας, οὐκ ἀπαλλάττει οὕτω μεγάλου κακοῦ
this you have-recognized not you-get-rid-of so great evil

οὔτε σὺ οὔτε ἄλλος μὲν δὴ οὐδεὶς πώποτε ἑκὼν εἶναι
either you or other indeed then anyone ever willingly to-be
τυραννίδος ἀφεῖτο, ὅσπερ ἅπαξ κτήσαιτο;
a-tyranny gave-up whoever once acquired-it

12 Ὅτι, ἔφη, ὦ Σιμωνίδη, καὶ ταύτῃ ἀθλιώτατόν ἐστιν ἡ
Because he-said O Simonides also in-this most-wretched is the
τυραννίς· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἀπαλλαγῆναι δυνατὸν αὐτῆς ἐστι.
tyranny not-even for to-get-rid-of possible it is
πῶς γὰρ ἄν τίς ποτε ἐξαρκέσειε τύραννος ἢ χρήματα
how for — anyone ever could-suffice tyrant either money
ἐκτίνων ὅσους ἀφείλετο, ἢ δεσμοὺς ἀντιπάσχοι ὅσους
paying-back as-many-as he-robbed or bonds suffer-in-return as-many-as
δὴ ἐδέσμευσεν, ἢ ὅσους κατέκανε πῶς ἂν ἱκανὰς
indeed he-bound or as-many-as he-killed how — sufficient
ψυχὰς ἀντιπαράσχοιτο [ἀποθανουμένας];
lives could-provide-in-return going-to-die

13 ἀλλ' εἴπερ τῳ ἄλλῳ, ὦ Σιμωνίδη, λυσιτελεῖ
but if-indeed for-anyone else O Simonides it-profits
ἀπάγξασθαι, ἴσθι, ἔφη, ὅτι τυράννῳ ἔγωγε εὑρίσκω
to-hang-himself know he-said that for-a-tyrant I-at-least find
μάλιστα τοῦτο λυσιτελοῦν ποιῆσαι. μόνῳ γὰρ αὐτῷ οὔτε
most this profitable to-do alone for him neither
ἔχειν οὔτε καταθέσθαι τὰ κακὰ λυσιτελεῖ.
to-keep nor to-lay-down the evils profits

Simonides undertakes to show that ruling is no bar to being loved, and even has the advantage over private life. Let a ruler and a private man do the same small things, greet someone, praise him, honor him at a sacrifice, tend him in sickness, or give him the same gift: the ruler's favor gladdens more, and half a gift from the most powerful outweighs a whole one from a private man. Some grace from the gods seems to attend a ruler, so that men find him finer to look at and are prouder to talk with him than with an equal. Since a ruler can do many times more good, he should be loved far more. Hiero answers that rulers must also do much that makes men hate them: exact money, compel men to guard what needs guarding, punish the unjust, restrain the insolent, and keep mercenaries, which the citizens think are kept for the tyrant's advantage and not for equality.

Καὶ ὁ Σιμωνίδης ὑπολαβὼν εἶπεν, Ἀλλὰ τὸ μὲν νῦν, 1
And — Simonides taking-up said But the indeed now
ὦ Ἱέρων, ἀθύμως ἔχειν σε πρὸς τὴν τυραννίδα
O Hiero despondently to-be-disposed you toward the tyranny
οὐ θαυμάζω, ἐπείπερ ἐπιθυμῶν φιλεῖσθαι ὑπ' ἀνθρώπων
not I-wonder since desiring to-be-loved by men
ἐμποδών σοι τούτου νομίζεις αὐτὴν εἶναι. ἐγὼ μέντοι ἔχειν
in-the-way to-you of-this you-think it to-be I however to-be-able
μοι δοκῶ διδάξαι σε ὡς τὸ ἄρχειν οὐδὲν ἀποκωλύει
to-myself I-seem to-teach you that the to-rule in-nothing prevents
τοῦ φιλεῖσθαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ πλεονεκτεῖ γε τῆς ἰδιωτείας.
from-the to-be-loved but even has-the-advantage at-least over-the private-life
ἐπισκοποῦντες δὲ αὐτὸ εἰ οὕτως ἔχει μήπω ἐκεῖνο 2
examining and it whether so it-is not-yet that
σκοπῶμεν εἰ διὰ τὸ μεῖζον δύνασθαι ὁ ἄρχων καὶ
let-us-consider whether because-of the more to-be-able the ruler also
χαρίζεσθαι πλείω δύναιτ' ἄν, ἀλλ' ἂν τὰ ὅμοια ποιῶσιν
to-do-favors more could — but if the like-things do

ὅ τε ἰδιώτης καὶ ὁ τύραννος, ἐννόει πότερος μείζω
the both private-man and the tyrant consider which-of-the-two greater
ἀπὸ τῶν ἴσων κτᾶται χάριν. ἄρξομαι δέ σοι ἀπὸ τῶν
from the equal acquires gratitude I-will-begin and for-you from the
μικροτάτων παραδειγμάτων.
smallest examples

3 ἰδὼν γὰρ πρῶτον προσειπάτω τινὰ φιλικῶς ὅ
having-seen for first let-address someone in-friendly-way the
τε ἄρχων καὶ ὁ ἰδιώτης. ἐν τούτῳ τὴν ποτέρου
both ruler and the private-man in this the of-which-of-the-two
πρόσρησιν μᾶλλον εὐφραίνειν τὸν ἀκούσαντα νομίζεις; ἴθι
greeting more to-gladden the hearer do-you-think come
δὴ ἐπαινεσάντων ἀμφοτέρων τὸν αὐτὸν τὸν ποτέρου
indeed having-praised of-both the same the of-which-of-the-two
δοκεῖς ἔπαινον ἐξικνεῖσθαι μᾶλλον εἰς εὐφροσύνην;
do-you-think praise to-reach more to joy
θύσας δὲ τιμησάτω ἑκάτερος· τὴν παρὰ ποτέρου
having-sacrificed and let-honor each the from which-of-the-two
τιμὴν μείζονος ἂν χάριτος δοκεῖς τυγχάνειν;
honor of-greater — favor do-you-think to-get

4 κάμνοντα θεραπευσάτωσαν ὁμοίως· οὐκοῦν τοῦτο σαφὲς ὅτι
being-sick let-them-tend alike then this clear that
αἱ ἀπὸ τῶν δυνατωτάτων θεραπεῖαι καὶ χαρὰν ἐμποιοῦσι
the from the most-powerful attentions also joy cause
μεγίστην; δότωσαν δὴ τὰ ἴσα· οὐ καὶ ἐν τούτῳ
greatest let-them-give indeed the equal-things not also in this
σαφὲς ὅτι αἱ ἀπὸ τῶν δυνατωτάτων ἡμίσειαι χάριτες
clear that the from the most-powerful half favors
πλέον ἢ ὅλον τὸ παρὰ τοῦ ἰδιώτου δώρημα δύνανται;
more than whole the from the private-man gift can

ἀλλ᾽ ἔμοιγε δοκεῖ καὶ ἐκ θεῶν τιμή τις καὶ χάρις 5
but to-me-at-least seems also from gods honor some and grace
συμπαρέπεσθαι ἀνδρὶ ἄρχοντι. μὴ γὰρ ὅτι καλλίονα ποιεῖ
to-accompany a-man ruling not for that finer it-makes
ἄνδρα, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν τοῦτον καλλίω θεώμεθά τε ὅταν
a-man but also the same this-one finer we-behold both when
ἄρχῃ ἢ ὅταν ἰδιωτεύῃ, διαλεγόμενοί τε ἀγαλλόμεθα τοῖς
he-rules than when he-is-private conversing both we-exult in-the-ones
προτετιμημένοις μᾶλλον ἢ τοῖς ἐκ τοῦ ἴσου ἡμῖν οὖσι.
honored-before rather than the on the equal with-us being
ὁπότε γε μὴν ἐκ τῶν ἴσων ὑπουργημάτων μειζόνων 7
when at-least truly from the equal services greater
χαρίτων ὑμεῖς τυγχάνετε, πῶς οὐκ ἐπειδάν γε ὑμεῖς
favors you obtain how not when at-least you
πολλαπλάσια μὲν διαπράττοντες ὠφελεῖν δύνησθε,
many-times-more indeed accomplishing to-benefit you-are-able
πολλαπλάσια δὲ δωρεῖσθαι ἔχητε, ὑμᾶς καὶ πολὺ μᾶλλον
many-times-more and to-give you-have you also much more
φιλεῖσθαι τῶν ἰδιωτῶν προσήκει;
to-be-loved than-the private-men it-befits
καὶ ὁ Ἱέρων εὐθὺς ὑπολαβών, Ὅτι νὴ Δί᾽, ἔφη, ὦ 8
and — Hiero at-once taking-up Because by Zeus he-said O
Σιμωνίδη, καὶ ἐξ ὧν ἀπεχθάνονται ἄνθρωποι, ἡμᾶς πολὺ
Simonides also from what are-hated men we much
πλείω τῶν ἰδιωτῶν ἀνάγκη ἐστὶ πραγματεύεσθαι.
more than-the private-men necessity is to-manage
πρακτέον μέν γε χρήματα, εἰ μέλλομεν ἕξειν δαπανᾶν 9
one-must-exact indeed at-least money if we-are-going to-have to-spend
εἰς τὰ δέοντα, ἀναγκαστέον δὲ φυλάττειν ὅσα δεῖται
on the necessary-things one-must-compel and to-guard as-much-as needs
φυλακῆς, κολαστέον δὲ τοὺς ἀδίκους, κωλυτέον δὲ
guarding one-must-punish and the unjust one-must-prevent and

τοὺς ὑβρίζειν βουλομένους· καὶ ὅταν γε τάχους καιρὸς
the-ones to-outrage wishing and when at-least of-speed occasion
παραστῇ ἢ πεζῇ ἢ κατὰ θάλατταν ἐξορμᾶσθαι, οὐκ
arises either on-foot or by sea to-set-out not
ἐπιτρεπτέον τοῖς ῥᾳδιουργοῦσιν.
one-must-allow the easygoing
10 ἔτι δὲ μισθοφόρων μὲν ἀνδρὶ τυράννῳ δεῖ· τούτου
further and of-mercenaries indeed for-a-man tyrant it-is-needful than-this
δὲ βαρύτερον φόρημα οὐδέν ἐστι τοῖς πολίταις. οὐ γὰρ
but heavier burden none is for-the citizens not for
τυράννοις ἰσοτίμους, ἀλλὰ πλεονεξίας ἕνεκα νομίζουσι
for-tyrants equals-in-honor but advantage for-the-sake they-think
τούτους τρέφεσθαι.
these to-be-maintained

IX · PRIZES INSTEAD OF PUNISHMENTS

Simonides answers that some cares bring hatred and others gratitude: teaching, praising, and honoring win favor, while compelling and punishing breed enmity, so a ruler should leave punishment to others and award the prizes himself. Let prizes be set for good arms, order, horsemanship, courage, justice in contracts, farming, and trade; small prizes, as the games show, draw out great effort.

1 Πρὸς ταῦτα δὴ πάλιν εἶπεν ὁ Σιμωνίδης, Ἀλλ' ὅπως
To these-things indeed again said — Simonides But that
μὲν οὐ πάντων τούτων ἐπιμελητέον, ὦ Ἱέρων, οὐ λέγω.
indeed not all these one-must-take-care-of O Hiero not I-say
ἐπιμέλειαι μέντοι μοι δοκοῦσιν αἱ μὲν πάνυ πρὸς
cares however to-me seem the-ones indeed entirely to
ἔχθραν ἄγειν, αἱ δὲ πάνυ διὰ χαρίτων εἶναι.
enmity to-lead the-others but entirely through favors to-be

τὸ μὲν γὰρ διδάσκειν ἅ ἐστι βέλτιστα, καὶ τὸν 2
the indeed for to-teach what are best and the-one
κάλλιστα ταῦτα ἐξεργαζόμενον ἐπαινεῖν καὶ τιμᾶν, αὕτη
finest these-things accomplishing to-praise and to-honor this
μὲν ἡ ἐπιμέλεια διὰ χαρίτων γίγνεται, τὸ δὲ τὸν
indeed the care through favors comes-about the but the-one
ἐνδεῶς τι ποιοῦντα λοιδορεῖν τε καὶ ἀναγκάζειν καὶ
deficiently anything doing to-abuse both and to-compel and
ζημιοῦν καὶ κολάζειν, ταῦτα δὲ ἀνάγκη δι᾽ ἀπεχθείας
to-fine and to-punish these-things and necessity through enmity
μᾶλλον γίγνεσθαι.
rather to-come-about
ἐγὼ οὖν φημι ἀνδρὶ ἄρχοντι τὸ μὲν τὸν ἀνάγκης 3
I then say for-a-man ruling the indeed the-one of-compulsion
δεόμενον ἄλλοις προστακτέον εἶναι κολάζειν, τὸ δὲ τὰ
needing to-others one-must-assign to-be to-punish the but the
ἆθλα ἀποδιδόναι δι᾽ αὑτοῦ ποιητέον. ὡς δὲ ταῦτα
prizes to-award through himself one-must-do that and these-things
καλῶς ἔχει μαρτυρεῖ τὰ γιγνόμενα.
well are testify the-things happening
καὶ γὰρ ὅταν χοροὺς ἡμῖν βουλώμεθα ἀγωνίζεσθαι, 4
and for when choruses for-us we-wish to-compete
ἆθλα μὲν ὁ ἄρχων προτίθησιν, ἀθροίζειν δὲ αὐτοὺς
prizes indeed the ruler sets-out to-gather but them
προστέτακται χορηγοῖς καὶ ἄλλοις διδάσκειν καὶ ἀνάγκην
is-assigned to-chorus-leaders and others to-train and compulsion
προστιθέναι τοῖς ἐνδεῶς τι ποιοῦσιν. οὐκοῦν εὐθὺς ἐν
to-apply to-the deficiently anything doing then at-once in
τούτοις τὸ μὲν ἐπίχαρι διὰ τοῦ ἄρχοντος ἐγένετο, τὰ
these the indeed pleasant through the ruler came-about the
δ᾽ ἀντίτυπα δι᾽ ἄλλων.
but harsh-things through others

5 τί οὖν κωλύει καὶ τἄλλα τὰ πολιτικὰ οὕτω περαίνεσθαι;
what then prevents also the-other the political-things so to-be-accomplished
διῄρηνται μὲν γὰρ ἅπασαι αἱ πόλεις αἱ μὲν κατὰ
are-divided indeed for all the cities the-ones indeed by
φυλάς, αἱ δὲ κατὰ μόρας, αἱ δὲ κατὰ λόχους,
tribes the-others and by regiments the-others and by companies
καὶ ἄρχοντες ἐφ' ἑκάστῳ μέρει ἐφεστήκασιν.
and rulers over each part are-set

6 οὐκοῦν εἴ τις καὶ τούτοις ὥσπερ τοῖς χοροῖς ἆθλα προτιθείη
then if anyone also to-these as to-the choruses prizes should-set-out
καὶ εὐοπλίας καὶ εὐταξίας καὶ ἱππικῆς καὶ ἀλκῆς τῆς
both for-good-arms and for-good-order and for-horsemanship and for-prowess the
ἐν πολέμῳ καὶ δικαιοσύνης τῆς ἐν τοῖς συμβολαίοις, εἰκὸς
in war and for-justice the in the contracts likely
καὶ ταῦτα πάντα διὰ φιλονεικίαν εὐτόνως ἀσκεῖσθαι.
also these-things all through rivalry vigorously to-be-practiced

7 καὶ ναὶ μὰ Δία ὁρμῷντό γ' ἂν θᾶττον ὅποι
and yes by Zeus they-would-rush at-least — sooner wherever
δέοι, τιμῆς ὀρεγόμενοι, καὶ χρήματα θᾶττον ἂν
it-were-needful honor reaching-for and money sooner —
εἰσφέροιεν, ὁπότε τούτου καιρὸς εἴη, καὶ τὸ πάντων
they-would-contribute whenever of-this occasion should-be and the of-all
γε χρησιμώτατον, ἥκιστα δὲ εἰθισμένον διὰ φιλονεικίας
at-least most-useful least but accustomed through rivalry
πράττεσθαι, ἡ γεωργία αὐτὴ ἂν πολὺ ἐπιδοίη, εἴ τις
to-be-done the farming itself — much would-advance if anyone
ἆθλα προτιθείη κατ' ἀγροὺς ἢ κατὰ κώμας τοῖς κάλλιστα
prizes should-set-out by fields or by villages for-the-ones finest
τὴν γῆν ἐξεργαζομένοις, καὶ τοῖς εἰς τοῦτο τῶν πολιτῶν
the land working and to-the-ones to this of-the citizens
ἐρρωμένως τρεπομένοις πολλὰ ἂν ἀγαθὰ περαίνοιτο.
vigorously turning many — goods would-be-accomplished

καὶ γὰρ αἱ πρόσοδοι αὔξοιντ᾽ ἂν καὶ ἡ σωφροσύνη 8
and for the revenues would-increase — and the temperance
πολὺ μᾶλλον σὺν τῇ ἀσχολίᾳ συμπαρομαρτοῖ. καὶ μὴν
much more with the busyness would-accompany and truly
κακουργίαι γε ἧττον τοῖς ἐνεργοῖς ἐμφύονται.
misdeeds at-least less in-the active grow
εἰ δὲ καὶ ἐμπορία ὠφελεῖ τι πόλιν, τιμώμενος ἂν 9
if and also trade benefits anything a-city being-honored —
ὁ πλεῖστα τοῦτο ποιῶν καὶ ἐμπόρους ἂν πλείους
the-one most this doing also merchants — more
ἀγείροι. εἰ δὲ φανερὸν γένοιτο ὅτι καὶ ὁ πρόσοδόν
would-gather if and evident it-should-become that also the-one revenue
τινα ἄλυπον ἐξευρίσκων τῇ πόλει τιμήσεται, οὐδ᾽ αὕτη
some painless finding for-the city will-be-honored not-even this
ἂν ἡ σκέψις ἀργοῖτο.
— the inquiry would-be-idle
ὡς δὲ συνελόντι εἰπεῖν, εἰ καὶ κατὰ πάντα ἐμφανὲς εἴη 10
as and to-one-summing-up to-say if also in all evident it-were
ὅτι ὁ ἀγαθόν τι εἰσηγούμενος οὐκ ἀτίμητος ἔσται,
that the-one good something proposing not unhonored will-be
πολλοὺς ἂν καὶ τοῦτο ἐξορμήσειεν ἔργον ποιεῖσθαι τὸ σκοπεῖν
many — also this would-urge work to-make the to-consider
τι ἀγαθόν. καὶ ὅταν γε πολλοῖς περὶ τῶν ὠφελίμων
something good and when at-least to-many about the useful-things
μέλῃ, ἀνάγκη εὑρίσκεσθαί τε μᾶλλον καὶ ἐπιτελεῖσθαι.
it-is-a-care necessity to-be-found both more and to-be-accomplished
εἰ δὲ φοβεῖ, ὦ Ἱέρων, μὴ ἐν πολλοῖς ἄθλων προτεθειμένων 11
if and you-fear O Hiero lest in many prizes being-set-out
πολλαὶ δαπάναι γίγνωνται, ἐννόησον ὅτι οὐκ ἔστιν
many expenses come consider that not are
ἐμπορεύματα λυσιτελέστερα ἢ ὅσα ἄνθρωποι ἄθλων
merchandise more-profitable than what men with-prizes

ὠνοῦνται. ὁρᾷς ἐν ἱππικοῖς καὶ γυμνικοῖς καὶ χορηγικοῖς
buy you-see in horse and gymnastic and choral
ἀγῶσιν ὡς μικρὰ ἆθλα μεγάλας δαπάνας καὶ πολλοὺς
contests how small prizes great expenses and many
πόνους καὶ πολλὰς ἐπιμελείας ἐξάγεται ἀνθρώπων;
toils and many cares draw-out of-men

X · THE MERCENARIES

Hiero asks whether Simonides can say how a ruler may keep mercenaries without being hated for them, or whether a ruler who has won friendship needs no bodyguards at all. Simonides says he will need them all the more, since some men, like horses, grow more insolent the fuller they are fed, and fear of the guards keeps them in check. The mercenaries can also be made a guard for all the citizens: they can help any master threatened by his slaves, check wrongdoers, protect the farmers and the herds in the country, and give the citizens leisure for their own affairs. They are the readiest to detect a surprise attack, and in war to toil, run risks, and keep watch in the citizens' place. Neighboring cities will want peace, and citizens who see that the guard harms no one who does no wrong will gladly pay for it.

1 Καὶ ὁ Ἱέρων εἶπεν, Ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μέν, ὦ Σιμωνίδη,
And — Hiero said But these-things indeed O Simonides
καλῶς μοι δοκεῖς λέγειν· περὶ δὲ τῶν μισθοφόρων ἔχεις
well to-me you-seem to-say about but the mercenaries can-you
τι εἰπεῖν ὡς μὴ μισεῖσθαι δι' αὐτούς; ἢ λέγεις ὡς
anything say so-that not to-be-hated because-of them or do-you-say that
φιλίαν κτησάμενος ἄρχων οὐδὲν ἔτι δεήσεται δορυφόρων;
friendship having-acquired a-ruler no longer will-need bodyguards
2 Ναὶ μὰ Δία, εἶπεν ὁ Σιμωνίδης, δεήσεται μὲν οὖν.
Yes by Zeus said — Simonides he-will-need indeed rather
οἶδα γὰρ ὅτι ὥσπερ ἐν ἵπποις οὕτω καὶ ἐν ἀνθρώποις
I-know for that as in horses so also in men

τισὶν ἐγγίγνεται, ὅσῳ ἂν ἔκπλεα τὰ δέοντα ἔχωσι,
some it-is-innate the-more — full the necessary-things they-have
τοσούτῳ ὑβριστοτέροις εἶναι.
the-more more-insolent to-be
τοὺς μὲν οὖν τοιούτους μᾶλλον ἂν σωφρονίζοι ὁ ἀπὸ 3
the indeed then such rather — would-chasten the from
τῶν δορυφόρων φόβος. τοῖς δὲ καλοῖς κἀγαθοῖς ἀπ᾽
the bodyguards fear to-the but fine and-good from
οὐδενὸς ἄν μοι δοκεῖς τοσαῦτα ὠφελήματα παρασχεῖν
nothing — to-me you-seem so-many benefits to-provide
ὅσα ἀπὸ τῶν μισθοφόρων.
as from the mercenaries
τρέφεις μὲν γὰρ δήπου καὶ σὺ αὐτοὺς σαυτῷ φύλακας· 4
you-maintain indeed for surely also you them for-yourself as-guards
ἤδη δὲ πολλοὶ καὶ δεσπόται βίᾳ ὑπὸ τῶν δούλων
already and many also masters by-force by the slaves
ἀπέθανον. εἰ οὖν ἓν πρῶτον τοῦτ᾽ εἴη τῶν
died if then one first this would-be of-the-things
προστεταγμένων τοῖς μισθοφόροις ὡς πάντων ὄντας
ordered to-the mercenaries that of-all being
δορυφόρους τῶν πολιτῶν βοηθεῖν πᾶσιν, ἄν τι τοιοῦτον
bodyguards of-the citizens to-help all if anything such
αἰσθάνωνται. γίγνονται δέ που, ὡς πάντες ἐπιστάμεθα,
they-perceive arise and surely as all we-know
κακοῦργοι ἐν πόλεσιν· εἰ οὖν καὶ τούτους φυλάττειν εἶεν
wrongdoers in cities if then also these to-guard-against they-were
τεταγμένοι, καὶ τοῦτ᾽ ἂν εἰδεῖεν ὑπ᾽ αὐτῶν ὠφελούμενοι.
stationed also this — they-would-know by them being-benefited
πρὸς δὲ τούτοις καὶ τοῖς ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ ἐργάταις καὶ 5
besides and these also to-the-ones in the country workers and
κτήνεσιν οὗτοι ἂν εἰκότως καὶ θάρρος καὶ ἀσφάλειαν
cattle these — reasonably both confidence and safety

δύναιντο μάλιστα παρέχειν, ὁμοίως μὲν τοῖς σοῖς ἰδίοις,
could most provide alike indeed to-the your private
ὁμοίως δὲ τοῖς ἀνὰ τὴν χώραν. ἱκανοί γε μήν
alike and to-the-ones throughout the country able at-least truly
εἰσι καὶ σχολὴν παρέχειν τοῖς πολίταις τῶν ἰδίων
they-are also leisure to-provide to-the citizens of-the private-affairs
ἐπιμελεῖσθαι, τὰ ἐπίκαιρα φυλάττοντες.
to-take-care the vital-points guarding

6 πρὸς δὲ τούτοις καὶ πολεμίων ἐφόδους κρυφαίας καὶ
besides and these also of-enemies attacks secret and
ἐξαπιναίας τίνες ἑτοιμότεροι ἢ προαισθέσθαι ἢ κωλῦσαι
sudden who readier either to-perceive-beforehand or to-prevent
τῶν ἀεὶ ἐν ὅπλοις τε ὄντων καὶ συντεταγμένων;
than-the-ones always in arms both being and drawn-up
ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ ἐν στρατείᾳ τί ἐστιν ὠφελιμώτερον πολίταις
but truly also in campaign what is more-useful for-citizens
μισθοφόρων; τούτους γὰρ προπονεῖν καὶ προκινδυνεύειν
than-mercenaries these for to-toil-before and to-run-risks-before
καὶ προφυλάττειν εἰκὸς ἑτοιμοτάτους εἶναι.
and to-guard-before likely readiest to-be

7 τὰς δ' ἀγχιτέρμονας πόλεις οὐκ ἀνάγκη διὰ τοὺς
the and bordering cities not necessity because-of the-ones
ἀεὶ ἐν ὅπλοις ὄντας καὶ εἰρήνης μάλιστα ἐπιθυμεῖν; οἱ
always in arms being also peace most to-desire the
γὰρ συντεταγμένοι καὶ σώζειν τὰ τῶν φίλων μάλιστα
for drawn-up both to-keep-safe the-things of-the friends most
καὶ σφάλλειν τὰ τῶν πολεμίων δύναιντ' ἄν.
and to-trip-up the-things of-the enemies could —

8 ὅταν γε μὴν γνῶσιν οἱ πολῖται ὅτι οὗτοι κακὸν μὲν
when at-least truly know the citizens that these harm indeed
οὐδὲν ποιοῦσι τὸν μηδὲν ἀδικοῦντα, τοὺς δὲ κακουργεῖν
nothing do to-the-one nothing doing-wrong the but to-do-harm

βουλομένους κωλύουσι, βοηθοῦσι δὲ τοῖς ἀδικουμένοις,
wishing prevent help and the wronged
προνοοῦσι δὲ καὶ προκινδυνεύουσι τῶν πολιτῶν, πῶς
take-forethought and also run-risks-before the citizens how
οὐκ ἀνάγκη καὶ δαπανᾶν εἰς τούτους ἥδιστα; τρέφουσι
not necessity also to-spend on these most-gladly they-maintain
γοῦν καὶ ἰδίᾳ ἐπὶ μείοσι τούτων φύλακας.
at-any-rate also privately for lesser than-these guards

XI · THE CONTEST OF RULERS

Simonides urges Hiero to spend his wealth on his city, adorn it, and contend with other rulers to make it the happiest: then he would be loved by those he rules, and happy without being envied.

Χρὴ δέ, ὦ Ἱέρων, οὐδ' ἀπὸ τῶν ἰδίων κτημάτων 1
It-is-needful and O Hiero not-even from the private possessions
ὀκνεῖν δαπανᾶν εἰς τὸ κοινὸν ἀγαθόν. καὶ γὰρ
to-hesitate to-spend for the common good and for
ἔμοιγε δοκεῖ τὰ εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἀναλούμενα
to-me-at-least seems the-things for the city spent
μᾶλλον εἰς τὸ δέον τελεῖσθαι ἢ τὰ εἰς
more to the needful to-be-paid than the-things for
τὸ ἴδιον ἀνδρὶ τυράννῳ. καθ' ἓν δ' ἕκαστον
the private for-a-man tyrant by one and each
σκοπῶμεν.
let-us-consider
οἰκίαν πρῶτον ὑπερβαλλούσῃ δαπάνῃ κεκαλλωπισμένην 2
a-house first by-exceeding expense beautified
μᾶλλον ἡγεῖ κόσμου ἄν σοι παρέχειν ἢ πᾶσαν τὴν
rather do-you-think of-adornment — to-you to-provide than all the

πόλιν τείχεσί τε καὶ ναοῖς καὶ παραστάσι καὶ ἀγοραῖς
city with-walls both and temples and colonnades and markets
καὶ λιμέσι κατεσκευασμένην;
and harbors furnished

3 ὅπλοις δὲ πότερον τοῖς ἐκπαγλοτάτοις αὐτὸς
with-arms and whether the most-dazzling yourself
κατακεκοσμημένος δεινότερος ἂν φαίνοιο τοῖς
adorned more-terrible — would-you-appear to-the
πολεμίοις ἢ τῆς πόλεως ὅλης εὐόπλου σοι
enemies or of-the city whole well-armed for-you
οὔσης;
being

4 προσόδους δὲ ποτέρως ἂν δοκεῖς πλείονας γίγνεσθαι,
revenues and in-which-way — do-you-think more to-come
εἰ τὰ σὰ ἰδίᾳ μόνον ἐνεργὰ ἔχοις ἢ εἰ τὰ
if the your private only productive you-should-have or if the
πάντων τῶν πολιτῶν μεμηχανημένος εἴης ἐνεργὰ
of-all the citizens contriving you-should-be productive
εἶναι;
to-be

5 τὸ δὲ πάντων κάλλιστον καὶ μεγαλοπρεπέστατον
the and of-all finest and most-magnificent
νομιζόμενον εἶναι ἐπιτήδευμα ἁρματοτροφίαν, ποτέρως
considered to-be pursuit chariot-breeding in-which-way
ἂν δοκεῖς μᾶλλον κοσμεῖν, εἰ αὐτὸς πλεῖστα
— do-you-think more to-adorn if yourself most
τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἅρματα τρέφοις τε καὶ πέμποις
of-the Greeks chariots you-should-breed both and send
εἰς τὰς πανηγύρεις, ἢ εἰ ἐκ τῆς σῆς πόλεως
to the festivals or if from the your city
πλεῖστοι μὲν ἱπποτρόφοι εἶεν, πλεῖστοι δ'
most indeed horse-breeders should-be most and

ἀγωνίζοιντο; νικᾶν δὲ πότερα δοκεῖς κάλλιον
should-compete to-win and which do-you-think finer
εἶναι ἅρματος ἀρετῇ ἢ πόλεως ἧς προστατεύεις
to-be of-a-chariot by-excellence or of-a-city which you-lead
εὐδαιμονίᾳ;
by-happiness
ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ οὐδὲ προσήκειν φημὶ ἀνδρὶ τυράννῳ 6
I indeed for not-even to-befit say for-a-man tyrant
πρὸς ἰδιώτας ἀγωνίζεσθαι. νικῶν μὲν γὰρ οὐκ ἂν
against private-men to-compete winning indeed for not —
θαυμάζοιο ἀλλὰ φθονοῖο, ὡς ἀπὸ πολλῶν οἴκων τὰς
you-would-be-admired but would-be-envied as from many houses the
δαπάνας ποιούμενος, νικώμενος δ' ἂν πάντων μάλιστα
expenses making being-defeated but — of-all most
καταγελῷο.
you-would-be-laughed-at
ἀλλ' ἐγώ σοί φημι, ὦ Ἱέρων, πρὸς ἄλλους προστάτας 7
but I to-you say O Hiero against other leaders
πόλεων τὸν ἀγῶνα εἶναι, ὧν ἐὰν σὺ εὐδαιμονεστάτην
of-cities the contest to-be of-whom if you happiest
τὴν πόλιν ἧς προστατεύεις παρέχῃς, εὖ ἴσθι νικῶν
the city which you-lead make well know winning
τῷ καλλίστῳ καὶ μεγαλοπρεπεστάτῳ ἐν ἀνθρώποις
in-the finest and most-magnificent among men
ἀγωνίσματι.
contest
καὶ πρῶτον μὲν εὐθὺς κατειργασμένος ἂν εἴης 8
and first indeed at-once having-accomplished — you-would-be
τὸ φιλεῖσθαι ὑπὸ τῶν ἀρχομένων, οὗ δὴ
the to-be-loved by the ruled which indeed
σὺ ἐπιθυμῶν τυγχάνεις· ἔπειτα δὲ τὴν σὴν
you desiring happen then and the your

νίκην οὐκ ἂν εἷς εἴη ὁ ἀνακηρύττων,
victory not — one would-be the-one proclaiming
ἀλλὰ πάντες ἄνθρωποι ὑμνοῖεν ἂν τὴν σὴν
but all men would-hymn — the your
ἀρετήν.
excellence

9 περίβλεπτος δὲ ὢν οὐχ ὑπὸ ἰδιωτῶν μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ
gazed-at and being not by private-men only but also
ὑπὸ πολλῶν πόλεων ἀγαπῷο ἄν, καὶ θαυμαστὸς
by many cities you-would-be-loved — and wondered-at
οὐκ ἰδίᾳ μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ δημοσίᾳ παρὰ πᾶσιν ἂν
not privately only but also publicly among all —
εἴης,
you-would-be

10 καὶ ἐξείη μὲν ἄν σοι ἕνεκεν ἀσφαλείας,
and it-could-be indeed — for-you for-the-sake of-safety
εἴ ποι βούλοιο, θεωρήσοντι πορεύεσθαι, ἐξείη
if anywhere you-wished going-to-view to-travel it-could-be
δ' ἂν αὐτοῦ μένοντι τοῦτο πράττειν. ἀεὶ
and — there remaining this to-do always
γὰρ ἂν παρὰ σοὶ πανήγυρις εἴη τῶν
for — with you a-festival would-be of-the-ones
βουλομένων ἐπιδεικνύναι εἴ τίς τι σοφὸν ἢ
wishing to-show if anyone anything wise or
καλὸν ἢ ἀγαθὸν ἔχοι, τῶν δὲ καὶ ἐπιθυμούντων
fine or good had of-the and also desiring
ὑπηρετεῖν.
to-serve

11 πᾶς δὲ ὁ μὲν παρὼν σύμμαχος ἂν εἴη σοι,
every and the indeed present ally — would-be to-you
ὁ δὲ ἀπὼν ἐπιθυμοίη ἂν ἰδεῖν σε. ὥστε οὐ μόνον
the but absent would-desire — to-see you so-that not only

φιλοῖο ἄν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐρῷο ὑπ᾽ ἀνθρώπων,
you-would-be-loved — but also would-be-desired by men
καὶ τοὺς καλοὺς οὐ πειρᾶν, ἀλλὰ πειρώμενον ὑπ᾽
and the beautiful not to-court but being-approached by
αὐτῶν ἀνέχεσθαι ἄν σε δέοι, φόβον δ᾽
them to-endure — you it-would-be-needful fear but
οὐκ ἂν ἔχοις ἀλλ᾽ ἄλλοις παρέχοις μή τι
not — you-would-have but to-others you-would-cause lest anything
πάθῃς,
you-suffer
ἑκόντας δὲ τοὺς πειθομένους ἔχοις ἂν καὶ 12
willing and the obeying you-would-have — and
ἐθελουσίως σου προνοοῦντας θεῷο ἄν, εἰ δέ τις
voluntarily for-you taking-forethought you-would-behold — if and any
κίνδυνος εἴη, οὐ συμμάχους μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ προμάχους
danger were not allies only but also champions
καὶ προθύμους ὁρῴης ἄν, πολλῶν μὲν δωρεῶν
and eager you-would-see — many indeed gifts
ἀξιούμενος, οὐκ ἀπορῶν δὲ ὅτῳ τούτων εὐμενεῖ
deemed-worthy not at-a-loss and to-whom of-these well-disposed
μεταδώσεις, πάντας μὲν συγχαίροντας ἔχων ἐπὶ τοῖς
you-will-give-a-share all indeed rejoicing-with having at the
σοῖς ἀγαθοῖς, πάντας δὲ πρὸ τῶν σῶν ὥσπερ τῶν ἰδίων
your goods all and for the yours as the their-own
μαχομένους.
fighting
θησαυρούς γε μὴν ἔχοις ἂν πάντας τοὺς 13
treasures at-least truly you-would-have — all the
παρὰ τοῖς φίλοις πλούτους. ἀλλὰ θαρρῶν, ὦ
with the friends riches but being-confident O
Ἱέρων, πλούτιζε μὲν τοὺς φίλους· σαυτὸν γὰρ
Hiero enrich indeed the friends yourself for

πλουτιεῖς· αὖξε δὲ τὴν πόλιν· σαυτῷ γὰρ
you-will-enrich increase and the city for-yourself for
δύναμιν περιάψεις· κτῶ δὲ αὐτῇ συμμάχους·
power you-will-fasten-on acquire and for-it allies

***

(lacuna)

14 νόμιζε δὲ τὴν μὲν πατρίδα οἶκον, τοὺς δὲ πολίτας
consider and the indeed fatherland house the and citizens
ἑταίρους, τοὺς δὲ φίλους τέκνα σεαυτοῦ, τοὺς δὲ παῖδας
comrades the and friends children your-own the and sons
ὅ τι περ τὴν σὴν ψυχήν, καὶ τούτους πάντας πειρῶ
the-same thing as the your life and these all try
νικᾶν εὖ ποιῶν.
to-surpass well doing

15 ἐὰν γὰρ τοὺς φίλους κρατῇς εὖ ποιῶν, οὐ μή σοι
if for the friends you-surpass well doing not — you
δύνωνται ἀντέχειν οἱ πολέμιοι. κἂν ταῦτα πάντα
can to-resist the enemies and-if these-things all
ποιῇς, εὖ ἴσθι, πάντων τῶν ἐν ἀνθρώποις κάλλιστον
you-do well know of-all the among men finest
καὶ μακαριώτατον κτῆμα κεκτήσει· εὐδαιμονῶν γὰρ οὐ
and most-blessed possession you-will-possess being-happy for not
φθονηθήσει.
you-will-be-envied