GREEK SERIES · VOLUME 79

Hellenica

Xenophon

ΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΑ
ΑΓΗΣΙΛΑΟΣ
ΛΑΚΕΔΑΙΜΟΝΙΩΝ ΠΟΛΙΤΕΙΑ
ΙΠΠΑΡΧΙΚΟΣ

Hellenica

Part Two: Books V–VII, with the Agesilaus,
the Spartan Constitution, and the Cavalry Commander

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with a word-for-word interlinear English translation

preserving the original word order



CANES NOBILES · MMXXVI

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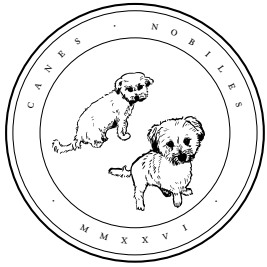

Volume 79 of the Canes Nobiles Greek interlinear texts

The Greek text follows Hude's Teubner Historia Graeca and Dindorf's Teubner Scripta minora. Agesilaus V.4–7 and Spartan Constitution II.12–14 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 V–VII

BOOK V

I · THE KING'S PEACE

Eteonicus holds Aegina against the Athenians, and the beloved Teleutias hands over the fleet to Hierax. Gorgopas, left at Aegina, harries Attica until Chabrias ambushes and kills him. Teleutias returns, tells his unpaid sailors that freedom from flattering anyone comes from providing for themselves, and sails by night into Piraeus, seizing merchant ships and men. Antalcidas comes down with Tiribazus and the king's alliance, traps an Athenian squadron, and with ships from Syracuse and Ionia masters the sea, keeping the ships from the Pontus out of Athens. The Athenians, the Spartans, and the Argives all want peace, and Tiribazus reads out the king's peace: the cities of Asia are his, the other Greek cities autonomous. Agesilaus forces Thebes to swear for itself alone and the Argives out of Corinth, and Sparta stands the more glorious for the peace.

Καὶ τὰ μὲν δὴ περὶ Ἑλλήσποντον Ἀθηναίοις τε καὶ 1
And the-things indeed then around the-Hellespont for-Athenians both and
Λακεδαιμονίοις τοιαῦτα ἦν. ὧν δὲ πάλιν ὁ Ἐτεόνικος ἐν
for-Lacedaemonians such were being and again — Eteonicus in
τῇ Αἰγίνῃ, καὶ ἐπιμειξίᾳ χρωμένων τὸν πρόσθεν χρόνον
— Aegina and intercourse using the former time
τῶν Αἰγινητῶν πρὸς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους, ἐπεὶ φανερῶς κατὰ
the Aeginetans with the Athenians since openly by
θάλατταν [ὁ πόλεμος] ἐπολεμεῖτο, συνδόξαν καὶ τοῖς
sea the war was-being-waged it-having-seemed-good also to-the
ἐφόροις ἐφίησι λῄζεσθαι τὸν βουλόμενον ἐκ τῆς Ἀττικῆς.
ephors he-permits to-plunder the-one wishing from — Attica
οἱ δ' Ἀθηναῖοι πολιορκούμενοι ὑπ' αὐτῶν, πέμψαντες εἰς 2
the but Athenians being-besieged by them having-sent to
Αἴγιναν καὶ ὁπλίτας καὶ στρατηγὸν αὐτῶν Πάμφιλον
Aegina both hoplites and a-general of-them Pamphilus
ἐπετείχισαν Αἰγινήταις καὶ ἐπολιόρκουν αὐτοὺς καὶ
fortified-a-post-against the-Aeginetans and besieged them both

κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν δέκα τριήρεσιν. ὁ μέντοι
by land and by sea with-ten triremes — however
Τελευτίας τυχὼν ἐπὶ τῶν νήσων ποι ἀφιγμένος κατὰ
Teleutias happening at the islands somewhere having-come for
χρημάτων πόρον, ἀκούσας ταῦτα περὶ τοῦ ἐπιτειχισμοῦ,
of-money raising having-heard these-things about the fortification
ἐβοήθει τοῖς Αἰγινήταις· καὶ τὸ μὲν ναυτικὸν ἀπήλασε,
came-to-help the Aeginetans and the indeed fleet drove-off
τὸ δ' ἐπιτείχισμα διεφύλαττεν ὁ Πάμφιλος.
the but fort kept-guarding — Pamphilus

3 Ἐκ δὲ τούτου ἀπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων Ἱέραξ ναύαρχος
From and this from Lacedaemonians Hierax admiral
ἀφικνεῖται. κἀκεῖνος μὲν παραλαμβάνει τὸ ναυτικόν, ὁ
arrives and-that-one indeed takes-over the fleet —
δὲ Τελευτίας μακαριώτατα δὴ ἀπέπλευσεν οἴκαδε. ἡνίκα
and Teleutias most-blessedly indeed sailed-off home when
γὰρ ἐπὶ θάλατταν κατέβαινεν ἐπ' οἴκου ὁρμώμενος,
for to sea he-was-going-down for home setting-out
οὐδεὶς ἐκεῖνον τῶν στρατιωτῶν ὃς οὐκ ἐδεξιώσατο, καὶ
no-one him of-the soldiers who not shook-hands-with and
ὁ μὲν ἐστεφάνωσεν, ὁ δὲ ἐταινίωσεν, οἱ δ'
the-one indeed crowned the-other but filleted the-ones but
ὑστερήσαντες ὅμως καὶ ἀναγομένου ἔρριπτον εἰς τὴν
having-come-late nevertheless even putting-out threw into the
θάλατταν στεφάνους καὶ ηὔχοντο αὐτῷ πολλὰ καὶ ἀγαθά.
sea crowns and prayed for-him many-things and good

4 γιγνώσκω μὲν οὖν ὅτι ἐν τούτοις οὔτε δαπάνημα οὔτε
I-know indeed then that in these-things neither expenditure nor
κίνδυνον οὔτε μηχάνημα ἀξιόλογον οὐδὲν διηγοῦμαι·
danger nor stratagem worth-mentioning any I-narrate
ἀλλὰ ναὶ μὰ Δία τόδε ἄξιόν μοι δοκεῖ εἶναι ἀνδρὶ
but yes by Zeus this worthy to-me seems to-be for-a-man

ἐννοεῖν, τί ποτε ποιῶν ὁ Τελευτίας οὕτω διέθηκε τοὺς
to-consider what ever doing — Teleutias so disposed the
ἀρχομένους. τοῦτο γὰρ ἤδη πολλῶν καὶ χρημάτων καὶ
ruled this for already of-many both of-money and
κινδύνων ἀξιολογώτερον ἀνδρὸς ἔργον ἐστίν.
of-dangers more-worth-mentioning of-a-man work is
Ὁ δ' αὖ Ἱέραξ τὰς μὲν ἄλλας ναῦς λαβὼν πάλιν 5
— and in-turn Hierax the indeed other ships having-taken again
ἔπλει εἰς Ῥόδον, ἐν Αἰγίνῃ δὲ τριήρεις δώδεκα κατέλιπε
sailed to Rhodes in Aegina but triremes twelve he-left-behind
καὶ Γοργώπαν τὸν αὑτοῦ ἐπιστολέα ἁρμοστήν. καὶ ἐκ
and Gorgopas the his-own vice-admiral as-harmost and from
τούτου ἐπολιορκοῦντο μᾶλλον οἱ ἐν τῷ ἐπιτειχίσματι
this were-besieged rather the-ones in the fort
Ἀθηναίων ἢ οἱ ἐν τῇ πόλει· ὥστε ὑπὸ ψηφίσματος
of-Athenians than the-ones in the city so-that by decree
Ἀθηναῖοι πληρώσαντες ναῦς πολλὰς ἀπεκομίσαντο ἐξ
Athenians having-manned ships many carried-away from
Αἰγίνης πέμπτῳ μηνὶ τοὺς ἐκ τοῦ φρουρίου. τούτων δὲ
Aegina in-the-fifth month the-ones from the garrison these-things and
γενομένων οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι πάλιν αὖ πράγματα εἶχον ὑπό
having-happened the Athenians again in-turn troubles had from
τε τῶν λῃστῶν καὶ τοῦ Γοργώπα· καὶ ἀντιπληροῦσι ναῦς
both the pirates and — Gorgopas and they-man-in-return ships
τρεῖς καὶ δέκα, καὶ αἱροῦνται Εὔνομον ναύαρχον ἐπ' αὐτάς.
three and ten and choose Eunomus as-admiral over them
ὄντος δὲ τοῦ Ἱέρακος ἐν Ῥόδῳ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι 6
being and — Hierax in Rhodes the Lacedaemonians
Ἀνταλκίδαν ναύαρχον ἐκπέμπουσι, νομίζοντες καὶ Τιριβάζῳ
Antalcidas as-admiral send-out thinking also to-Tiribazus
τοῦτο ποιοῦντες μάλιστ' ἂν χαρίζεσθαι. ὁ δὲ Ἀνταλκίδας
this doing most — to-gratify — and Antalcidas

ἐπεὶ ἀφίκετο εἰς Αἴγιναν, συμπαραλαβὼν τὰς τοῦ Γοργώπα
when he-arrived at Aegina having-taken-along the — of-Gorgopas
ναῦς ἔπλευσεν εἰς Ἔφεσον, καὶ τὸν μὲν Γοργώπαν
ships sailed to Ephesus and — indeed Gorgopas
πάλιν ἀποπέμπει εἰς Αἴγιναν σὺν ταῖς δώδεκα ναυσίν,
again sends-back to Aegina with the twelve ships
ἐπὶ δὲ ταῖς ἄλλαις Νικόλοχον ἐπέστησε τὸν ἐπιστολέα.
over but the others Nicolochus he-set the vice-admiral
καὶ ὁ μὲν Νικόλοχος βοηθῶν Ἀβυδηνοῖς ἔπλει ἐκεῖσε·
and — indeed Nicolochus helping the-Abydenes sailed thither
παρατρεπόμενος δὲ εἰς Τένεδον ἐδῄου τὴν χώραν, καὶ
turning-aside but to Tenedos ravaged the land and
χρήματα λαβὼν ἀπέπλευσεν εἰς Ἄβυδον.
money having-taken sailed-off to Abydos

7 οἱ δὲ τῶν Ἀθηναίων στρατηγοὶ ἁθροισθέντες ἀπὸ
the and of-the Athenians generals having-gathered from
Σαμοθρᾴκης τε καὶ Θάσου καὶ τῶν κατ' ἐκεῖνα
Samothrace both and Thasos and the in-the-region-of those-parts
χωρίων ἐβοήθουν τοῖς Τενεδίοις. ὡς δ' ᾔσθοντο εἰς
places came-to-help the Tenedians when and they-perceived to
Ἄβυδον καταπεπλευκότα τὸν Νικόλοχον, ὁρμώμενοι ἐκ
Abydos having-sailed-down — Nicolochus setting-out from
Χερρονήσου ἐπολιόρκουν αὐτὸν ἔχοντα ναῦς πέντε καὶ
Chersonese besieged him having ships five and
εἴκοσι δύο καὶ τριάκοντα ταῖς μεθ' ἑαυτῶν. ὁ μέντοι
twenty with-two and thirty the with themselves — however
Γοργώπας ἀποπλέων ἐξ Ἐφέσου περιτυγχάνει Εὐνόμῳ·
Gorgopas sailing-off from Ephesus falls-in-with Eunomus
καὶ τότε μὲν κατέφυγεν εἰς Αἴγιναν μικρὸν πρὸ ἡλίου
and then indeed fled-for-refuge to Aegina a-little before of-sun
δυσμῶν. ἐκβιβάσας δ' εὐθὺς ἐδείπνιζε τοὺς στρατιώτας.
setting having-disembarked and at-once gave-dinner-to the soldiers

ὁ δ᾽ Εὔνομος ὀλίγον χρόνον ὑπομείνας ἀπέπλει. νυκτὸς δ᾽ 8
— and Eunomus little time having-waited sailed-off night and
ἐπιγενομένης, φῶς ἔχων, ὥσπερ νομίζεται, ἀφηγεῖτο, ὅπως
having-come-on a-light having as is-customary led-the-way so-that
μὴ πλανῶνται αἱ ἑπόμεναι. ὁ δὲ Γοργώπας ἐμβιβάσας
not should-wander the following-ships — and Gorgopas having-embarked
εὐθὺς ἐπηκολούθει κατὰ τὸν λαμπτῆρα, ὑπολειπόμενος,
at-once followed by the lamp keeping-behind
ὅπως μὴ φανερὸς εἴη μηδ᾽ αἴσθησιν παρέχοι, λίθων
so-that not visible he-might-be nor perception give of-stones
τε ψόφῳ τῶν κελευστῶν ἀντὶ φωνῆς χρωμένων καὶ
both with-noise the boatswains instead-of voice using and
παραγωγῇ τῶν κωπῶν.
with-gliding of-the oars
ἐπεὶ δὲ ἦσαν αἱ τοῦ Εὐνόμου πρὸς τῇ γῇ περὶ Ζωστῆρα τῆς 9
when and were the — of-Eunomus at the land near Zoster —
Ἀττικῆς, ἐκέλευε τῇ σάλπιγγι ἐπιπλεῖν. τῷ δὲ Εὐνόμῳ
of-Attica he-ordered with-the trumpet to-sail-against — and for-Eunomus
ἐξ ἐνίων μὲν τῶν νεῶν ἄρτι ἐξέβαινον, οἱ δὲ καὶ
from some indeed of-the ships just-then they-were-disembarking the-others and also
ἔτι ὡρμίζοντο, οἱ δὲ καὶ ἔτι κατέπλεον. ναυμαχίας δὲ
still were-anchoring the-others and also still were-sailing-in sea-battle and
πρὸς τὴν σελήνην γενομένης, τέτταρας τριήρεις λαμβάνει
by the moon having-taken-place four triremes takes
ὁ Γοργώπας, καὶ ἀναδησάμενος ᾤχετο ἄγων εἰς Αἴγιναν. αἱ
— Gorgopas and having-taken-in-tow went bringing to Aegina the
δ᾽ ἄλλαι νῆες αἱ τῶν Ἀθηναίων εἰς τὸν Πειραιᾶ κατέφυγον.
but other ships the of-the Athenians into the Piraeus fled-for-refuge
Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Χαβρίας ἐξέπλει εἰς Κύπρον βοηθῶν 10
After and these-things Chabrias sailed-out to Cyprus helping
Εὐαγόρᾳ, πελταστάς τ᾽ ἔχων ὀκτακοσίους καὶ δέκα
Evagoras peltasts both having eight-hundred and ten

τριήρεις, προσλαβὼν δὲ καὶ Ἀθήνηθεν ἄλλας τε ναῦς
triremes having-taken-in-addition and also from-Athens other both ships
καὶ ὁπλίτας· αὐτὸς δὲ τῆς νυκτὸς ἀποβὰς εἰς τὴν Αἴγιναν
and hoplites himself and in-the night having-landed on — Aegina
πορρωτέρω τοῦ Ἡρακλείου ἐν κοίλῳ χωρίῳ ἐνήδρευσεν,
beyond the Heracleum in a-hollow place lay-in-ambush
ἔχων τοὺς πελταστάς. ἅμα δὲ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ, ὥσπερ
having the peltasts at-the-same-time and with-the day as
ξυνέκειτο, ἦκον οἱ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ὁπλῖται, Δημαινέτου
had-been-agreed came the of-the Athenians hoplites Demaenetus
αὐτῶν ἡγουμένου, καὶ ἀνέβαινον τοῦ Ἡρακλείου ἐπέκεινα
them leading and went-up of-the Heracleum beyond
ὡς ἑκκαίδεκα σταδίους, ἔνθα ἡ Τριπυργία καλεῖται.
about sixteen stades where — Tripyrgia is-called

11 ἀκούσας δὲ ταῦτα ὁ Γοργώπας, ἐβοήθει μετά τε
having-heard and these-things — Gorgopas came-to-help with both
τῶν Αἰγινητῶν καὶ σὺν τοῖς τῶν νεῶν ἐπιβάταις καὶ
the Aeginetans and with the of-the ships marines and
Σπαρτιατῶν οἳ ἔτυχον αὐτόθι παρόντες ὀκτώ. καὶ ἀπὸ
of-Spartiates who happened there being-present eight and from
τῶν πληρωμάτων δὲ τῶν ἐκ τῶν νεῶν ἐκήρυξε βοηθεῖν
the crews and the from the ships he-proclaimed to-help
ὅσοι ἐλεύθεροι εἶεν· ὥστ᾽ ἐβοήθουν καὶ τούτων πολλοί,
as-many-as free were so-that came-to-help also of-these many
ὅ τι ἐδύνατο ἕκαστος ὅπλον ἔχων.
what ever could each weapon having

12 ἐπεὶ δὲ παρήλλαξαν οἱ πρῶτοι τὴν ἐνέδραν, ἐξανίστανται
when and passed the first the ambush rise-up
οἱ περὶ τὸν Χαβρίαν, καὶ εὐθὺς ἠκόντιζον καὶ ἔβαλλον.
the-ones around — Chabrias and at-once hurled-javelins and threw
ἐπῇσαν δὲ καὶ οἱ ἐκ τῶν νεῶν ἀποβεβηκότες ὁπλῖται.
advanced and also the-ones from the ships having-landed hoplites

καὶ οἱ μὲν πρῶτοι, ἅτε οὐδενὸς ἀθρόου ὄντος, ταχὺ
and the indeed first inasmuch-as nobody massed being quickly
ἀπέθανον, ὧν ἦν Γοργώπας τε καὶ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι·
died of-whom was Gorgopas both and the Lacedaemonians
ἐπεὶ δὲ οὗτοι ἔπεσον, ἐτράπησαν δὴ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι. καὶ
when and these fell were-routed indeed also the others and
ἀπέθανον Αἰγινητῶν μὲν ὡς πεντήκοντα καὶ ἑκατόν,
died of-Aeginetans indeed about fifty and hundred
ξένοι δὲ καὶ μέτοικοι καὶ ναῦται καταδεδραμηκότες οὐκ
foreigners and also metics and sailors having-run-down not
ἐλάττους διακοσίων.
fewer than-two-hundred

ἐκ δὲ τούτου οἱ μὲν Ἀθηναῖοι, ὥσπερ ἐν εἰρήνῃ, ἔπλεον τὴν 13
from and this the indeed Athenians as in peace sailed the
θάλατταν. οὐδὲ γὰρ τῷ Ἐτεονίκῳ ἤθελον οἱ ναῦται καίπερ
sea not-even for — to-Eteonicus were-willing the sailors although
ἀναγκάζοντι ἐμβάλλειν, ἐπεὶ μισθὸν οὐκ ἐδίδου. Ἐκ δὲ τούτου
compelling to-row since pay not he-gave From and this
οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι Τελευτίαν αὖ †ἐπὶ ταύτῃ ἐκπέμπουσιν ἐπὶ
the Lacedaemonians Teleutias again on this send-out over
ταύτας τὰς ναῦς ναύαρχον. ὡς δὲ εἶδον αὐτὸν ἥκοντα οἱ
these the ships as-admiral when and they-saw him arriving the
ναῦται, ὑπερήσθησαν. ὁ δ' αὐτοὺς συγκαλέσας εἶπε τοιάδε·
sailors were-overjoyed he but them having-called-together spoke as-follows

Ὦ ἄνδρες στρατιῶται, ἐγὼ χρήματα μὲν οὐκ ἔχων 14
O men soldiers I money indeed not having
ἥκω· ἐὰν μέντοι θεὸς ἐθέλῃ καὶ ὑμεῖς συμπροθυμῆσθε,
come if however god be-willing and you be-eager-together
πειράσομαι τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ὑμῖν ὡς πλεῖστα πορίζειν. εὖ
I-will-try the provisions for-you as most to-provide well
δ' ἴστε, ἐγὼ ὅταν ὑμῶν ἄρχω, εὔχομαί τε οὐδὲν ἧττον
and know I whenever you I-command pray both no less

ζῆν ὑμᾶς ἢ καὶ ἐμαυτόν, τά τ᾽ ἐπιτήδεια θαυμάσαιτε
to-live you than also myself the both provisions you-would-wonder
μὲν ἂν ἴσως εἰ φαίην βούλεσθαι ὑμᾶς μᾶλλον ἢ
indeed — perhaps if I-should-say to-wish you rather than
ἐμὲ ἔχειν· ἐγὼ δὲ νὴ τοὺς θεοὺς καὶ δεξαίμην ἂν αὐτὸς
me to-have I but by the gods even would-accept — myself
μᾶλλον δύο ἡμέρας ἄσιτος ἢ ὑμᾶς μίαν γενέσθαι· ἥ
rather two days without-food than you one to-be the
γε μὴν θύρα ἡ ἐμὴ ἀνέῳκτο μὲν δήπου καὶ πρόσθεν
at-least truly door the my was-open indeed surely also before
εἰσιέναι τῷ δεομένῳ τι ἐμοῦ, ἀνεῴξεται δὲ καὶ νῦν.
to-enter for-the-one needing anything of-me will-be-open and also now
15 ὥστε ὅταν ὑμεῖς πλήρη ἔχητε τὰ ἐπιτήδεια, τότε καὶ
so-that whenever you full have the provisions then also
ἐμὲ ὄψεσθε ἀφθονώτερον διαιτώμενον· ἢν δὲ ἀνεχόμενόν
me you-will-see more-abundantly living if but enduring
με ὁρᾶτε καὶ ψύχη καὶ θάλπη καὶ ἀγρυπνίαν, οἴεσθε καὶ
me you-see both colds and heats and sleeplessness think also
ὑμεῖς ταῦτα πάντα καρτερεῖν. οὐδὲν γὰρ ἐγὼ τούτων
you these-things all to-endure nothing for I of-these
κελεύω ὑμᾶς ποιεῖν ἵνα ἀνιᾶσθε, ἀλλ᾽ ἵνα ἐκ
order you to-do so-that you-may-be-distressed but so-that from
τούτων ἀγαθόν τι λαμβάνητε.
these-things good something you-may-take
16 καὶ ἡ πόλις δέ τοι, ἔφη, ὦ ἄνδρες στρατιῶται, ἡ
and the city and you-know he-said O men soldiers the
ἡμετέρα, ἣ δοκεῖ εὐδαίμων εἶναι, εὖ ἴστε ὅτι τἀγαθὰ
our which seems happy to-be well know that the-goods
καὶ τὰ καλὰ ἐκτήσατο οὐ ῥᾳθυμοῦσα, ἀλλὰ ἐθέλουσα
and the fine-things it-acquired not taking-it-easy but being-willing
καὶ πονεῖν καὶ κινδυνεύειν, ὁπότε δέοι. καὶ ὑμεῖς οὖν
both to-toil and to-run-risks whenever it-was-needful and you then

ἦτε μὲν καὶ πρότερον, ὡς ἐγὼ οἶδα, ἄνδρες ἀγαθοί· νῦν
were indeed also before as I know men good now
δὲ πειρᾶσθαι χρὴ ἔτι ἀμείνονας γίγνεσθαι, ἵν' ἡδέως
but to-try it-is-needful still better to-become so-that gladly
μὲν ξυμπονῶμεν, ἡδέως δὲ ξυνευδαιμονῶμεν.
indeed we-may-toil-together gladly and we-may-prosper-together
τί γὰρ ἥδιον ἢ μηδένα ἀνθρώπων κολακεύειν 17
what for more-pleasant than no-one of-men to-flatter
μήτε Ἕλληνα μήτε βάρβαρον ἕνεκα μισθοῦ, ἀλλ'
neither Greek nor barbarian for-the-sake of-pay but
ἑαυτοῖς ἱκανοὺς εἶναι τὰ ἐπιτήδεια πορίζεσθαι, καὶ ταῦτα
for-ourselves sufficient to-be the provisions to-procure and these
ὅθενπερ κάλλιστον; ἡ γάρ τοι ἐν πολέμῳ ἀπὸ
from-whence-exactly finest the for you-know in war from
τῶν πολεμίων ἀφθονία εὖ ἴστε ὅτι ἅμα τροφήν
the enemies abundance well know that at-the-same-time sustenance
τε καὶ εὔκλειαν ἐν πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις παρέχεται.
both and good-repute among all men provides
Ὁ μὲν ταῦτ' εἶπεν, οἱ δὲ πάντες ἀνεβόησαν παραγγέλλειν 18
He indeed these-things said they but all shouted to-give-orders
ὅ τι ἂν δέῃ, ὡς σφῶν ὑπηρετησόντων. ὁ δὲ τεθυμένος
what ever — be-needed as they would-serve he and having-sacrificed
ἐτύγχανεν· εἶπε δέ· Ἄγετε, ὦ ἄνδρες, δειπνήσατε μὲν
happened said and Come O men dine indeed
ἅπερ καὶ ὡς ἐμέλλετε· προπαράσχεσθε δέ μοι μιᾶς
what-very also anyway you-were-going-to provide-beforehand and for-me of-one
ἡμέρας σῖτον. ἔπειτα δὲ ἥκετε ἐπὶ τὰς ναῦς αὐτίκα μάλα,
day food then and come to the ships at-once very
ὅπως πλεύσωμεν ἔνθα θεὸς ἐθέλει, ἐν καιρῷ ἀφιξόμενοι.
so-that we-may-sail where god wishes in season going-to-arrive

19 ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἦλθον, ἐμβιβασάμενος αὐτοὺς εἰς τὰς ναῦς
when and they-came having-embarked them into the ships
ἔπλει τῆς νυκτὸς εἰς τὸν λιμένα τῶν Ἀθηναίων, τοτὲ
he-sailed in-the night to the harbor of-the Athenians at-times
μὲν ἀναπαύων καὶ παραγγέλλων ἀποκοιμᾶσθαι, τοτὲ
indeed resting and ordering to-take-a-nap at-times
δὲ κώπαις προκομιζόμενος. εἰ δέ τις ὑπολαμβάνει ὡς
but with-oars advancing if but anyone supposes that
ἀφρόνως ἔπλει δώδεκα τριήρεις ἔχων ἐπὶ πολλὰς ναῦς
foolishly he-sailed twelve triremes having against many ships
κεκτημένους, ἐννοησάτω τὸν ἀναλογισμὸν αὐτοῦ.
possessing let-him-consider the reckoning his
20 ἐκεῖνος γὰρ ἐνόμισεν ἀμελέστερον μὲν ἔχειν τοὺς Ἀθηναίους
he for thought more-carelessly indeed to-be the Athenians
περὶ τὸ ἐν τῷ λιμένι ναυτικὸν Γοργώπα ἀπολωλότος· εἰ
about the in the harbor fleet Gorgopas having-perished if
δὲ καὶ εἶεν τριήρεις ὁρμοῦσαι, ἀσφαλέστερον ἡγήσατο
but even there-were triremes lying-at-anchor safer he-considered-it
ἐπ᾽ εἴκοσι ναῦς Ἀθήνησιν οὔσας πλεῦσαι ἢ ἄλλοθι
against twenty ships at-Athens being to-sail than elsewhere
δέκα. τῶν μὲν γὰρ ἔξω ᾔδει ὅτι κατὰ ναῦν ἔμελλον
ten of-the-ones indeed for outside he-knew that by ship were-going
οἱ ναῦται σκηνήσειν, τῶν δὲ Ἀθήνησιν ἐγίγνωσκεν ὅτι
the sailors to-encamp of-the-ones but at-Athens he-recognized that
οἱ μὲν τριήραρχοι οἴκοι καθευδήσοιεν, οἱ δὲ ναῦται
the indeed trierarchs at-home would-sleep the and sailors
ἄλλος ἄλλῃ σκηνήσοιεν.
one in-another-place would-encamp
21 ἔπλει μὲν δὴ ταῦτα διανοηθείς· ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἀπεῖχε
he-sailed indeed then these-things having-planned when and he-was-distant
πέντε ἢ ἓξ στάδια τοῦ λιμένος, ἡσυχίαν εἶχε καὶ
five or six stades from-the harbor quiet he-kept and

ἀνέπαυεν. ὡς δὲ ἡμέρα ὑπέφαινεν, ἡγεῖτο· οἱ δὲ
rested when and day was-dawning he-led-the-way they and
ἐπηκολούθουν. καὶ καταδύειν μὲν οὐδὲν εἴα στρογγύλον
followed and to-sink indeed no he-allowed round
πλοῖον οὐδὲ λυμαίνεσθαι ταῖς ἑαυτῶν ναυσίν, εἰ δέ που
boat nor to-damage with-the their-own ships if but anywhere
τριήρη ἴδοιεν ὁρμοῦσαν, ταύτην πειρᾶσθαι ἄπλουν
a-trireme they-should-see lying-at-anchor this to-try unseaworthy
ποιεῖν, τὰ δὲ φορτικὰ πλοῖα καὶ γέμοντα ἀναδουμένους
to-make the but freight boats and loaded having-taken-in-tow
ἄγειν ἔξω, ἐκ δὲ τῶν μειζόνων ἐμβαίνοντας ὅπου
to-bring out from and the larger embarking where
δύναιντο τοὺς ἀνθρώπους λαμβάνειν. ἦσαν δέ τινες οἳ
they-could the men to-take there-were and some who
καὶ ἐκπηδήσαντες εἰς τὸ Δεῖγμα ἐμπόρους τέ τινας καὶ
also having-leapt-out onto the Deigma merchants both some and
ναυκλήρους συναρπάσαντες εἰς τὰς ναῦς εἰσήνεγκαν.
shipowners having-seized into the ships carried
ὁ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα ἐπεποιήκει. τῶν δὲ Ἀθηναίων οἱ μὲν 22
he indeed then these-things had-done of-the but Athenians the-ones indeed
αἰσθόμενοι ἔνδοθεν ἔθεον ἔξω, σκεψόμενοι τίς ἡ κραυγή,
having-perceived from-within ran out going-to-see what the shouting
οἱ δὲ ἔξωθεν οἴκαδε ἐπὶ τὰ ὅπλα, οἱ δὲ καὶ εἰς
the-others but from-outside home to the arms the-others and also to
ἄστυ ἀγγελοῦντες. πάντες δ' Ἀθηναῖοι τότε ἐβοήθησαν
town going-to-report all and Athenians then came-to-help
καὶ ὁπλῖται καὶ ἱππεῖς, ὡς τοῦ Πειραιῶς ἑαλωκότος.
both hoplites and horsemen as the Piraeus having-been-taken
ὁ δὲ τὰ μὲν πλοῖα ἀπέστειλεν εἰς Αἴγιναν, καὶ τῶν 23
he but the indeed boats sent-off to Aegina and of-the
τριήρων τρεῖς ἢ τέτταρας συναπαγαγεῖν ἐκέλευσε, ταῖς
triremes three or four to-bring-along he-ordered with-the

δὲ ἄλλαις παραπλέων παρὰ τὴν Ἀττικήν, ἅτε ἐκ
but others sailing-along along — Attica inasmuch-as from
τοῦ λιμένος πλέων, πολλὰ καὶ ἁλιευτικὰ ἔλαβε καὶ
the harbor sailing many both fishing-boats he-took and
πορθμεῖα ἀνθρώπων μεστά, καταπλέοντα ἀπὸ νήσων. ἐπὶ
ferries of-men full sailing-in from islands to
δὲ Σούνιον ἐλθὼν καὶ ὁλκάδας γεμούσας τὰς μέν
and Sunium having-come also merchantmen laden the-ones indeed
τινας σίτου, τὰς δὲ καὶ ἐμπολῆς, ἔλαβε.
some with-grain the-others and also with-merchandise he-took

24 ταῦτα δὲ ποιήσας ἀπέπλευσεν εἰς Αἴγιναν. καὶ ἀποδόμενος
these-things and having-done he-sailed-off to Aegina and having-sold
τὰ λάφυρα μηνὸς μισθὸν προέδωκε τοῖς στρατιώταις.
the spoils of-a-month pay he-paid-in-advance to-the soldiers
καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν δὲ περιπλέων ἐλάμβανεν ὅ τι ἐδύνατο.
and the rest and sailing-around he-took what ever he-could
καὶ ταῦτα ποιῶν πλήρεις τε τὰς ναῦς ἔτρεφε καὶ
and these-things doing full both the ships he-maintained and
τοὺς στρατιώτας εἶχεν ἡδέως καὶ ταχέως ὑπηρετοῦντας.
the soldiers had gladly and quickly serving

25 Ὁ δὲ Ἀνταλκίδας κατέβη μὲν μετὰ Τιριβάζου
— and Antalcidas came-down indeed with Tiribazus
διαπεπραγμένος συμμαχεῖν βασιλέα, εἰ μὴ ἐθέλοιεν
having-accomplished to-be-ally the-king if not should-be-willing
Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ οἱ σύμμαχοι χρῆσθαι τῇ εἰρήνῃ ᾗ
Athenians and the allies to-accept the peace which
αὐτὸς ἔλεγεν· ὡς δ᾽ ἤκουσε Νικόλοχον σὺν ταῖς ναυσὶ
he-himself proposed when and he-heard Nicolochus with the ships
πολιορκεῖσθαι ἐν Ἀβύδῳ ὑπὸ Ἰφικράτους καὶ Διοτίμου, πεζῇ
to-be-besieged in Abydos by Iphicrates and Diotimus by-land
ᾤχετο εἰς Ἄβυδον. ἐκεῖθεν δὲ λαβὼν τὸ ναυτικὸν νυκτὸς
he-went to Abydos thence and having-taken the fleet by-night

ἀνήγετο, διασπείρας λόγον ὡς μεταπεμπομένων τῶν
put-out having-spread-abroad word that sending-for-him the
Καλχηδονίων· ὁρμισάμενος δὲ ἐν Περκώτῃ ἡσυχίαν εἶχεν.
Chalcedonians having-anchored but in Percote quiet he-kept
αἰσθόμενοι δὲ οἱ περὶ Δημαίνετον καὶ Διονύσιον 26
having-perceived and the-ones around Demaenetus and Dionysius
καὶ Λεόντιχον καὶ Φανίαν ἐδίωκον αὐτὸν τὴν ἐπὶ
and Leontichus and Phanias pursued him the-way toward
Προκοννήσου· ὁ δ', ἐπεὶ ἐκεῖνοι παρέπλευσαν, ὑποστρέψας
Proconnesus he but when those had-sailed-past having-turned-back
εἰς Ἄβυδον ἀφίκετο· ἠκηκόει γὰρ ὅτι προσπλέοι Πολύξενος
to Abydos arrived he-had-heard for that was-sailing-up Polyxenus
ἄγων τὰς ἀπὸ Συρακουσῶν καὶ Ἰταλίας ναῦς εἴκοσιν
bringing the from Syracuse and Italy ships twenty
ὅπως ἀναλάβοι καὶ ταύτας. ἐκ δὲ τούτου Θρασύβουλος
so-that he-might-take-up also these from and this Thrasybulus
ὁ Κολλυτεὺς ἔχων ναῦς ὀκτὼ ἔπλει ἀπὸ Θράκης,
the Collytean having ships eight sailed from Thrace
βουλόμενος ταῖς ἄλλαις Ἀττικαῖς ναυσὶ συμμεῖξαι.
wishing with-the other Attic ships to-join
ὁ δὲ Ἀνταλκίδας, ἐπεὶ αὐτῷ οἱ σκοποὶ ἐσήμηναν ὅτι 27
— *and Antalcidas when to-him the scouts signaled that*
προσπλέοιεν τριήρεις ὀκτώ, ἐμβιβάσας τοὺς ναύτας εἰς
were-sailing-up triremes eight having-embarked the sailors into
δώδεκα ναῦς τὰς ἄριστα πλεούσας, καὶ προσπληρώσασθαι
twelve ships the best sailing and to-fill-up
κελεύσας, εἴ τις ἐνεδεῖτο, ἐκ τῶν καταλειπομένων,
having-ordered if any was-short from the ones-left-behind
ἐνήδρευσεν ὡς ἐδύνατο ἀφανέστατα. ἐπεὶ δὲ παρέπλεον,
lay-in-ambush as he-could most-unseen when and they-were-sailing-past
ἐδίωκεν· οἱ δὲ ἰδόντες ἔφευγον. τὰς μὲν οὖν βραδύτατα
he-pursued they and having-seen fled the indeed then slowest

πλεούσας ταῖς ἄριστα πλεούσαις ταχύτατα κατειλήφει·
sailing with-the best sailing most-quickly he-had-overtaken
παραγγείλας δὲ τοῖς πρωτόπλοις τῶν μεθ' αὑτοῦ μὴ
having-ordered and to-the leading-ships of-the with himself not
ἐμβαλεῖν ταῖς ὑστάταις, ἐδίωκε τὰς προεχούσας. ἐπεὶ δὲ
to-ram the last-ones he-pursued the ones-ahead when and
ταύτας ἔλαβεν, ἰδόντες οἱ ὕστεροι ἁλισκομένους σφῶν
these he-took having-seen the rear-ones being-taken of-their-own
αὐτῶν τοὺς πρόπλους ὑπ' ἀθυμίας καὶ †τῶν βραδυτέρων
— the leading-ships from despondency even than-the slower
ἡλίσκοντο· ὥσθ' ἥλωσαν ἅπασαι.
were-taken so-that were-taken all

28 ἐπεὶ δ' ἦλθον αὐτῷ αἵ τε ἐκ Συρακουσῶν νῆες εἴκοσιν,
when and came to-him the both from Syracuse ships twenty
ἦλθον δὲ καὶ αἱ ἀπὸ Ἰωνίας, ὅσης ἐγκρατὴς ἦν
came and also the-ones from Ionia of-as-much-as master was
Τιρίβαζος, συνεπληρώθησαν δὲ καὶ ἐκ τῆς Ἀριοβαρζάνους
Tiribazus were-manned and also from the of-Ariobarzanes
(καὶ γὰρ ἦν ξένος ἐκ παλαιοῦ τῷ Ἀριοβαρζάνει), ὁ δὲ
and for he-was guest-friend from of-old — to-Ariobarzanes — and
Φαρνάβαζος ἤδη ἀνακεκλημένος ᾤχετο ἄνω, ὅτε δὴ καὶ
Pharnabazus already recalled had-gone up when indeed also
ἔγημε τὴν βασιλέως θυγατέρα· ὁ δὲ Ἀνταλκίδας γενομέναις
he-married the of-the-king daughter — and Antalcidas having-become
ταῖς πάσαις ναυσὶ πλείοσιν ἢ ὀγδοήκοντα ἐκράτει τῆς
with-the all ships more than eighty was-master of-the
θαλάττης· ὥστε καὶ τὰς ἐκ τοῦ Πόντου ναῦς Ἀθήναζε μὲν
sea so-that even the from the Pontus ships to-Athens indeed
ἐκώλυε καταπλεῖν, εἰς δὲ τοὺς ἑαυτῶν συμμάχους κατῆγεν.
he-prevented to-sail-in to but the their-own allies he-brought-in

οἱ μὲν οὖν Ἀθηναῖοι, ὁρῶντες μὲν πολλὰς τὰς 29
the indeed then Athenians seeing indeed many the
πολεμίας ναῦς, φοβούμενοι δὲ μὴ ὡς πρότερον
enemy ships fearing but lest as before
καταπολεμηθείησαν, συμμάχου Λακεδαιμονίοις βασιλέως
they-should-be-warred-down ally to-Lacedaemonians the-king
γεγενημένου, πολιορκούμενοι δ' ἐκ τῆς Αἰγίνης ὑπὸ τῶν
having-become being-besieged and from — Aegina by the
λῃστῶν, διὰ ταῦτα μὲν ἰσχυρῶς ἐπεθύμουν τῆς εἰρήνης.
pirates because-of these-things indeed strongly desired the peace
οἱ δ' αὖ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, φρουροῦντες μόρᾳ μὲν ἐν
the but in-turn Lacedaemonians garrisoning with-a-regiment indeed in
Λεχαίῳ, μόρᾳ δ' ἐν Ὀρχομενῷ, φυλάττοντες δὲ τὰς
Lechaeum with-a-regiment and in Orchomenus guarding and the
πόλεις, αἷς μὲν ἐπίστευον, μὴ ἀπόλοιντο, αἷς δὲ ἠπίστουν,
cities which indeed they-trusted lest they-should-perish which but they-distrusted
μὴ ἀποσταῖεν, πράγματα δ' ἔχοντες καὶ παρέχοντες περὶ
lest they-should-revolt troubles and having and causing around
τὴν Κόρινθον, χαλεπῶς ἔφερον τῷ πολέμῳ. οἵ γε μὴν
— Corinth hard bore the war the at-least truly
Ἀργεῖοι, εἰδότες φρουράν τε πεφασμένην ἐφ' ἑαυτοὺς καὶ
Argives knowing a-levy both declared against themselves and
γιγνώσκοντες ὅτι ἡ τῶν μηνῶν ὑποφορὰ οὐδὲν ἔτι
recognizing that the of-the months plea nothing any-longer
σφᾶς ὠφελήσει, καὶ οὗτοι εἰς τὴν εἰρήνην πρόθυμοι ἦσαν.
them will-help also these for the peace eager were
ὥστ' ἐπεὶ παρήγγειλεν ὁ Τιρίβαζος παρεῖναι τοὺς 30
so-that when ordered — Tiribazus to-be-present the-ones
βουλομένους ὑπακοῦσαι ἣν βασιλεὺς εἰρήνην καταπέμποι,
wishing to-hear-and-obey which the-king peace was-sending-down
ταχέως πάντες παρεγένοντο. ἐπεὶ δὲ συνῆλθον, ἐπιδείξας
quickly all were-present when and they-came-together having-shown

ὁ Τιρίβαζος τὰ βασιλέως σημεῖα ἀνεγίγνωσκε τὰ
— Tiribazus the of-the-king seals read the-things
γεγραμμένα. εἶχε δὲ ὧδε.
written it-ran and thus

31 Ἀρταξέρξης βασιλεὺς νομίζει δίκαιον τὰς μὲν ἐν τῇ
Artaxerxes the-king thinks just the indeed in —
Ἀσίᾳ πόλεις ἑαυτοῦ εἶναι καὶ τῶν νήσων Κλαζομενὰς καὶ
Asia cities his-own to-be and of-the islands Clazomenae and
Κύπρον, τὰς δὲ ἄλλας Ἑλληνίδας πόλεις καὶ μικρὰς καὶ
Cyprus the but other Greek cities both small and
μεγάλας αὐτονόμους ἀφεῖναι πλὴν Λήμνου καὶ Ἴμβρου
great autonomous to-leave except Lemnos and Imbros
καὶ Σκύρου· ταύτας δὲ ὥσπερ τὸ ἀρχαῖον εἶναι Ἀθηναίων.
and Scyros these but as the of-old to-be of-Athenians
ὁπότεροι δὲ ταύτην τὴν εἰρήνην μὴ δέχονται, τούτοις
whichever and this the peace not accept on-these
ἐγὼ πολεμήσω μετὰ τῶν ταὐτὰ βουλομένων καὶ
I will-make-war with the-ones the-same-things wishing both
πεζῇ καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν καὶ ναυσὶ καὶ χρήμασιν.
by-land and by sea and with-ships and with-money

32 Ἀκούοντες οὖν ταῦτα οἱ ἀπὸ τῶν πόλεων πρέσβεις,
Hearing then these-things the from the cities envoys
ἀπήγγελλον ἐπὶ τὰς ἑαυτῶν ἕκαστοι πόλεις. καὶ οἱ μὲν
reported to the their-own each cities and the indeed
ἄλλοι ἅπαντες ὤμνυσαν ἐμπεδώσειν ταῦτα, οἱ δὲ Θηβαῖοι
others all swore to-abide-by these-things the but Thebans
ἠξίουν ὑπὲρ πάντων Βοιωτῶν ὀμνύναι. ὁ δὲ Ἀγησίλαος
claimed on-behalf-of all Boeotians to-swear — and Agesilaus
οὐκ ἔφη δέξεσθαι τοὺς ὅρκους, ἐὰν μὴ ὀμνύωσιν, ὥσπερ
not said he-would-accept the oaths if not they-swear as
τὰ βασιλέως γράμματα ἔλεγεν, αὐτονόμους εἶναι καὶ
the of-the-king letter said autonomous to-be both

μικρὰν καὶ μεγάλην πόλιν. οἱ δὲ τῶν Θηβαίων πρέσβεις
small and great city the but of-the Thebans envoys
ἔλεγον ὅτι οὐκ ἐπεσταλμένα σφίσι ταῦτ᾽ εἴη. Ἴτε νυν,
said that not enjoined on-them these-things were Go now
ἔφη ὁ Ἀγησίλαος, καὶ ἐρωτᾶτε· ἀπαγγέλλετε δ᾽ αὐτοῖς
said — Agesilaus and ask report and to-them
καὶ ταῦτα, ὅτι εἰ μὴ ποιήσουσι ταῦτα, ἔκσπονδοι
also this that if not they-do these-things excluded-from-the-treaty
ἔσονται. οἱ μὲν δὴ ᾤχοντο.
they-will-be they indeed then went-off
ὁ δ᾽ Ἀγησίλαος διὰ τὴν πρὸς Θηβαίους ἔχθραν οὐκ 33
— and Agesilaus because-of the toward Thebans hatred not
ἔμελλεν, ἀλλὰ πείσας τοὺς ἐφόρους εὐθὺς ἐθύετο.
delayed but having-persuaded the ephors at-once sacrificed
ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἐγένετο τὰ διαβατήρια, ἀφικόμενος εἰς τὴν
when and came-out the crossing-sacrifices having-arrived at —
Τεγέαν διέπεμπε τῶν μὲν ἱππέων κατὰ τοὺς περιοίκους
Tegea he-sent-round of-the indeed horsemen to the perioeci
ἐπισπεύσοντας, διέπεμπε δὲ καὶ ξεναγοὺς εἰς τὰς
to-hurry-them he-sent-round and also mercenary-commanders to the
πόλεις. πρὶν δὲ αὐτὸν ὁρμηθῆναι ἐκ Τεγέας, παρῆσαν οἱ
cities before but him to-set-out from Tegea were-present the
Θηβαῖοι λέγοντες ὅτι ἀφιᾶσι τὰς πόλεις αὐτονόμους. καὶ
Thebans saying that they-let-go the cities autonomous and
οὕτω Λακεδαιμόνιοι μὲν οἴκαδε ἀπῆλθον, Θηβαῖοι δ᾽ εἰς
thus Lacedaemonians indeed home went-away Thebans but into
τὰς σπονδὰς εἰσελθεῖν ἠναγκάσθησαν, αὐτονόμους ἀφέντες
the treaty to-enter were-compelled autonomous having-let-go
τὰς Βοιωτίας πόλεις.
the Boeotian cities

34 οἱ δ' αὖ Κορίνθιοι οὐκ ἐξέπεμπον τὴν τῶν Ἀργείων
the but in-turn Corinthians not sent-out the of-the Argives
φρουράν. ἀλλ' ὁ Ἀγησίλαος καὶ τούτοις προεῖπε, τοῖς
garrison but — Agesilaus also to-these proclaimed to-the-ones
μέν, εἰ μὴ ἐκπέμψοιεν τοὺς Ἀργείους, τοῖς δέ, εἰ
indeed if not they-sent-out the Argives to-the-others but if
μὴ ἀπίοιεν ἐκ τῆς Κορίνθου, ὅτι πόλεμον ἐξοίσει
not they-went-away from — Corinth that war he-would-bring
πρὸς αὐτούς. ἐπεὶ δὲ φοβηθέντων ἀμφοτέρων ἐξῆλθον
against them when and having-feared both went-out
οἱ Ἀργεῖοι καὶ αὐτὴ ἐφ' αὑτῆς ἡ τῶν Κορινθίων πόλις
the Argives and itself by itself the of-the Corinthians city
ἐγένετο, οἱ μὲν σφαγεῖς καὶ οἱ μεταίτιοι τοῦ ἔργου
became the indeed slaughterers and the accessories of-the deed
αὐτοὶ γνόντες ἀπῆλθον ἐκ τῆς Κορίνθου· οἱ δ' ἄλλοι
themselves having-recognized went-away from — Corinth the but other
πολῖται ἄκοντες κατεδέχοντο τοὺς πρόσθεν φεύγοντας.
citizens unwillingly received-back the before exiled
35 Ἐπεὶ δὲ ταῦτ' ἐπράχθη καὶ ὠμωμόκεσαν αἱ πόλεις
When and these-things had-been-done and had-sworn the cities
ἐμμενεῖν τῇ εἰρήνῃ ἣν κατέπεμψε βασιλεύς, ἐκ τούτου
to-abide the peace which sent-down the-king from this
διελύθη μὲν τὰ πεζικά, διελύθη δὲ καὶ τὰ ναυτικὰ
were-disbanded indeed the infantry were-disbanded and also the naval
στρατεύματα. Λακεδαιμονίοις μὲν δὴ καὶ Ἀθηναίοις καὶ τοῖς
armies for-Lacedaemonians indeed then and for-Athenians and for-the
συμμάχοις οὕτω μετὰ τὸν ὕστερον πόλεμον τῆς καθαιρέσεως
allies thus after the later war of-the demolition
τῶν Ἀθήνησι τειχῶν αὕτη πρώτη εἰρήνη ἐγένετο.
of-the at-Athens walls this first peace came-about

ἐν δὲ τῷ πολέμῳ μᾶλλον ἀντιρρόπως τοῖς ἐναντίοις 36
in and the war rather evenly-balanced with-the opponents
πράττοντες οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι πολὺ ἐπικυδέστεροι ἐγένοντο
faring the Lacedaemonians much more-glorious became
ἐκ τῆς ἐπ᾽ Ἀνταλκίδου εἰρήνης καλουμένης. προστάται
from the in-the-time-of Antalcidas peace called champions
γὰρ γενόμενοι τῆς ὑπὸ βασιλέως καταπεμφθείσης εἰρήνης
for having-become of-the by the-king sent-down peace
καὶ τὴν αὐτονομίαν ταῖς πόλεσι πράττοντες, προσέλαβον
and the autonomy for-the cities achieving they-took-in-addition
μὲν σύμμαχον Κόρινθον, αὐτονόμους δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν Θηβαίων
indeed as-ally Corinth autonomous and from the Thebans
τὰς Βοιωτίδας πόλεις ἐποίησαν, οὓπερ πάλαι ἐπεθύμουν,
the Boeotian cities they-made which-very long-ago they-desired
ἔπαυσαν δὲ καὶ Ἀργείους Κόρινθον σφετεριζομένους, φρουρὰν
they-stopped and also Argives Corinth appropriating a-levy
φήναντες ἐπ᾽ αὐτούς, εἰ μὴ ἐξίοιεν ἐκ Κορίνθου.
having-declared against them if not they-went-out from Corinth

Sparta punishes allies who failed it in the war. Agesilaus asks to be excused from the campaign against Mantinea, so Agesipolis leads it, dams the river against the city's walls, and breaks Mantinea up into its four villages. Phlius is made to take back its exiles. Envoys from Acanthus and Apollonia warn that Olynthus is building a great power in Chalcidice, and Sparta and its allies vote an army, with money allowed in place of men. Eudamidas goes ahead, and his brother Phoebidas follows with the rest. While the Theban women keep the Thesmophoria, Leontiades leads Phoebidas into the Cadmea and then arrests Ismenias before the council. The ephors are angry with Phoebidas, but Agesilaus defends the deed and Leontiades persuades the assembly; Sparta keeps the citadel, and Ismenias is tried and put to death. Teleutias marches on Olynthus with the Macedonians and Derdas, whose horsemen ride for the gates and drive the Olynthian cavalry back.

1 Τούτων δὲ προκεχωρηκότων ὡς ἐβούλοντο, ἔδοξεν
These-things and having-advanced as they-wished it-seemed-good
αὐτοῖς, ὅσοι ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ τῶν συμμάχων ἐπέκειντο
to-them as-many-as in the war of-the allies had-pressed-hard
καὶ τοῖς πολεμίοις εὐμενέστεροι ἦσαν ἢ τῇ Λακεδαίμονι,
and to-the enemies more-well-disposed were than — to-Lacedaemon
τούτους κολάσαι καὶ κατασκευάσαι ὡς μὴ δύναιντο
these to-punish and to-arrange so-that not they-could
ἀπιστεῖν. πρῶτον μὲν οὖν πέμψαντες πρὸς τοὺς Μαντινέας
to-be-faithless first indeed then having-sent to the Mantineans
ἐκέλευσαν αὐτοὺς τὸ τεῖχος περιαιρεῖν, λέγοντες ὅτι οὐκ ἂν
they-ordered them the wall to-pull-down saying that not —
πιστεύσειαν ἄλλως αὐτοῖς μὴ σὺν τοῖς πολεμίοις γενέσθαι.
they-would-trust otherwise them not with the enemies to-be
2 αἰσθάνεσθαι γὰρ ἔφασαν καὶ ὡς σῖτον ἐξέπεμπον τοῖς
to-perceive for they-said both how grain they-sent to-the
Ἀργείοις σφῶν αὐτοῖς πολεμούντων, καὶ ὡς ἔστι μὲν
Argives they with-them at-war and how there-are indeed

ὅτε οὐδὲ συστρατεύοιεν ἐκεχειρίαν προφασιζόμενοι,
times-when not-even they-joined-the-campaign a-holy-truce alleging
ὁπότε δὲ καὶ ἀκολουθοῖεν, ὡς κακῶς συστρατεύοιεν. ἔτι
whenever but even they-followed how badly they-campaigned further
δὲ γιγνώσκειν ἔφασαν φθονοῦντας μὲν αὐτούς, εἴ τι
and to-know they-said envious indeed them if anything
σφίσιν ἀγαθὸν γίγνοιτο, ἐφηδομένους δ', εἴ τις συμφορὰ
for-themselves good should-happen rejoicing but if any misfortune
προσπίπτοι. ἐλέγοντο δὲ καὶ αἱ σπονδαὶ ἐξεληλυθέναι
should-befall were-said and also the treaty to-have-expired
τοῖς Μαντινεῦσι τούτῳ τῷ ἔτει αἱ μετὰ τὴν ἐν Μαντινείᾳ
for-the Mantineans in-this the year the after the in Mantinea
μάχην τριακονταετεῖς γενόμεναι.
battle thirty-year having-been-made
ἐπεὶ δ' οὐκ ἤθελον καθαιρεῖν τὰ τείχη, φρουρὰν 3
when and not they-were-willing to-pull-down the walls a-levy
φαίνουσιν ἐπ' αὐτούς. Ἀγησίλαος μὲν οὖν ἐδεήθη τῆς
they-declare against them Agesilaus indeed then asked the
πόλεως ἀφεῖναι ἑαυτὸν ταύτης τῆς στρατηγίας, λέγων
city to-release himself from-this the command saying
ὅτι τῷ πατρὶ αὐτοῦ ἡ τῶν Μαντινέων πόλις πολλὰ
that to-the father his the of-the Mantineans city many-things
ὑπηρετήκοι ἐν τοῖς πρὸς Μεσσήνην πολέμοις· Ἀγησίπολις
had-served in the against Messene wars Agesipolis
δὲ ἐξήγαγε τὴν φρουρὰν καὶ μάλα Παυσανίου τοῦ
but led-out the levy and very-much Pausanias the
πατρὸς αὐτοῦ φιλικῶς ἔχοντος πρὸς τοὺς ἐν Μαντινείᾳ
father his friendly being toward the in Mantinea
τοῦ δήμου προστάτας.
of-the people champions

4 ὡς δὲ ἐνέβαλε, πρῶτον μὲν τὴν γῆν ἐδῄου. ἐπεὶ δὲ
when and he-invaded first indeed the land he-ravaged when and
οὐδ᾽ οὕτω καθῄρουν τὰ τείχη, τάφρον ὤρυττε κύκλῳ
not-even so they-pulled-down the walls a-ditch he-dug in-a-circle
περὶ τὴν πόλιν, τοῖς μὲν ἡμίσεσι τῶν στρατιωτῶν
around the city with-the indeed halves of-the soldiers
προκαθημένοις σὺν τοῖς ὅπλοις τῶν ταφρευόντων, τοῖς
sitting-in-front with the arms of-the ditch-diggers with-the
δ᾽ ἡμίσεσιν ἐργαζομένοις. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐξείργαστο ἡ τάφρος,
but halves working when and had-been-completed the ditch
ἀσφαλῶς ἤδη κύκλον [τεῖχος] περὶ τὴν πόλιν ᾠκοδόμησεν.
safely now a-circuit a-wall around the city he-built
αἰσθόμενος δὲ ὅτι ὁ σῖτος ἐν τῇ πόλει πολὺς ἐνείη,
having-perceived and that the grain in the city much was-in
εὐετηρίας γενομένης τῷ πρόσθεν ἔτει, καὶ νομίσας
a-good-harvest having-occurred in-the before year and having-thought
χαλεπὸν ἔσεσθαι, εἰ δεήσει πολὺν χρόνον τρύχειν
hard it-would-be if it-will-be-needful much time to-wear-out
στρατείαις τήν τε πόλιν καὶ τοὺς συμμάχους, ἀπέχωσε
with-campaigns the both city and the allies he-dammed
τὸν ῥέοντα ποταμὸν διὰ τῆς πόλεως μάλ᾽ ὄντα εὐμεγέθη.
the flowing river through the city very being large
5 ἐμφραχθείσης δὲ τῆς ἀπορροίας ᾖρετο τὸ ὕδωρ ὑπέρ τε
having-been-blocked and the outflow rose the water above both
τῶν ὑπὸ ταῖς οἰκίαις καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν ὑπὸ τῷ τείχει θεμελίων.
the under the houses and above the under the wall foundations
βρεχομένων δὲ τῶν κάτω πλίνθων καὶ προδιδουσῶν τὰς
being-soaked and the lower bricks and giving-way-under the
ἄνω, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἐρρήγνυτο τὸ τεῖχος, ἔπειτα δὲ
upper-ones the indeed first cracked the wall then and
καὶ ἐκλίνετο. οἱ δὲ χρόνον μέν τινα ξύλα ἀντήρειδον καὶ
also leaned they and for-a-time indeed some timbers propped-against-it and

ἐμηχανῶντο ὡς μὴ πίπτοι ὁ πύργος· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἡττῶντο
contrived so-that not should-fall the tower when but they-were-beaten
τοῦ ὕδατος, δείσαντες μὴ πεσόντος πῃ τοῦ κύκλου
by-the water having-feared lest having-fallen somewhere the circuit
[τείχους] δοριάλωτοι γένοιντο, ὡμολόγουν περιαιρήσειν.
wall captured-by-the-spear they-should-become agreed to-pull-down
οἱ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι οὐκ ἔφασαν σπείσεσθαι, εἰ μὴ
the but Lacedaemonians not said they-would-make-a-truce if not
καὶ διοικιοῖντο κατὰ κώμας. οἱ δ' αὖ νομίσαντες
also they-were-dispersed into villages they but in-turn having-thought
ἀνάγκην εἶναι, συνέφασαν καὶ ταῦτα ποιήσειν.
necessity to-be agreed also these-things to-do
οἰομένων δὲ ἀποθανεῖσθαι τῶν ἀργολιζόντων καὶ τῶν 6
thinking and to-be-going-to-die the argolizers and the
τοῦ δήμου προστατῶν, διεπράξατο ὁ πατὴρ παρὰ τοῦ
of-the people champions obtained the father from —
Ἀγησιπόλιδος ἀσφάλειαν αὐτοῖς γενέσθαι ἀπαλλαττομένοις
Agesipolis safety for-them to-be departing
ἐκ τῆς πόλεως, ἑξήκοντα οὖσι. καὶ ἀμφοτέρωθεν μὲν
from the city sixty being and on-both-sides indeed
τῆς ὁδοῦ ἀρξάμενοι ἀπὸ τῶν πυλῶν ἔχοντες τὰ δόρατα
of-the road having-begun from the gates holding the spears
οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἕστασαν, θεώμενοι τοὺς ἐξιόντας, καὶ
the Lacedaemonians stood watching the-ones going-out and
μισοῦντες αὐτοὺς ὅμως ἀπείχοντο αὐτῶν ῥᾷον ἢ
hating them nevertheless kept-their-hands-off them more-easily than
οἱ βέλτιστοι τῶν Μαντινέων. καὶ τοῦτο μὲν εἰρήσθω
the best of-the Mantineans and this indeed let-be-said
μέγα τεκμήριον πειθαρχίας.
great proof of-discipline

7 ἐκ δὲ τούτου καθῃρέθη μὲν τὸ τεῖχος, διῳκίσθη δ' ἡ
from and this was-pulled-down indeed the wall was-dispersed and —
Μαντίνεια τετραχῇ, καθάπερ τὸ ἀρχαῖον ᾤκουν. καὶ τὸ μὲν
Mantinea in-four-parts as-very — of-old they-dwelt and the indeed
πρῶτον ἤχθοντο, ὅτι τὰς μὲν ὑπαρχούσας οἰκίας ἔδει
first they-were-vexed because the indeed existing houses it-was-needful
καθαιρεῖν, ἄλλας δὲ οἰκοδομεῖν· ἐπεὶ δὲ οἱ ἔχοντες τὰς
to-pull-down others and to-build when but the-ones having the
οὐσίας ἐγγύτερον μὲν ᾤκουν τῶν χωρίων ὄντων αὐτοῖς
properties nearer indeed dwelt of-the estates being to-them
περὶ τὰς κώμας, ἀριστοκρατίᾳ δ' ἐχρῶντο, ἀπηλλαγμένοι
around the villages aristocracy and used rid
δ' ἦσαν τῶν βαρέων δημαγωγῶν, ἥδοντο τοῖς
and they-were of-the oppressive demagogues they-were-pleased with-the
πεπραγμένοις. καὶ ἔπεμπον μὲν αὐτοῖς οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι
things-done and sent indeed to-them the Lacedaemonians
οὐ καθ' ἕν, ἀλλὰ κατὰ κώμην ἑκάστην ξεναγόν.
not by one but by village each a-mercenary-commander
συνεστρατεύοντο δ' ἐκ τῶν κωμῶν πολὺ προθυμότερον ἢ
they-joined-campaigns and from the villages much more-eagerly than
ὅτε ἐδημοκρατοῦντο. καὶ τὰ μὲν δὴ περὶ Μαντινείας
when they-were-democratically-governed and the-things indeed then about Mantinea
οὕτω διεπέπρακτο, σοφωτέρων γενομένων ταύτῃ γε
thus had-been-accomplished wiser having-become in-this at-least
τῶν ἀνθρώπων τὸ μὴ διὰ τειχῶν ποταμὸν ποιεῖσθαι.
the men the not through walls a-river to-make

8 Οἱ δ' ἐκ Φλειοῦντος φεύγοντες αἰσθανόμενοι τοὺς
The and from Phlius exiles perceiving the
Λακεδαιμονίους ἐπισκοποῦντας τῶν συμμάχων ὁποῖοί
Lacedaemonians examining of-the allies of-what-sort
τινες ἕκαστοι ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ αὐτοῖς ἐγεγένηντο, καιρὸν
some each in the war to-them had-been opportunity

ἡγησάμενοι, ἐπορεύθησαν εἰς Λακεδαίμονα καὶ ἐδίδασκον
having-considered went to Lacedaemon and taught
ὡς ἕως μὲν σφεῖς οἴκοι ἦσαν, ἐδέχετό τε ἡ πόλις
that as-long-as indeed they at-home were received both the city
τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους εἰς τὸ τεῖχος καὶ συνεστρατεύοντο
the Lacedaemonians into the wall and joined-the-campaign
ὅποι ἡγοῖντο· ἐπεὶ δὲ σφᾶς αὐτοὶ ἐξέβαλον, ὡς ἔπεσθαι
wherever they-led when but them themselves they-had-expelled that to-follow
μὲν οὐδαμοῦ ἐθέλοιεν, μόνους δὲ πάντων ἀνθρώπων
indeed nowhere they-were-willing alone but of-all men
Λακεδαιμονίους οὐ δέχοιντο εἴσω τῶν πυλῶν.
Lacedaemonians not they-received inside the gates
ἀκούσασιν οὖν ταῦτα τοῖς ἐφόροις ἄξιον ἔδοξεν ἐπιστροφῆς 9
having-heard then these-things to-the ephors worthy it-seemed of-attention
εἶναι. καὶ πέμψαντες πρὸς τὴν τῶν Φλειασίων πόλιν
to-be and having-sent to the of-the Phliasians city
ἔλεγον ὡς φίλοι μὲν οἱ φυγάδες τῇ Λακεδαιμονίων
they-said that friends indeed the exiles to-the of-Lacedaemonians
πόλει εἶεν, ἀδικοῦντες δ' οὐδὲν φεύγοιεν. ἀξιοῦν δ'
city were doing-wrong but nothing they-were-exiled to-claim and
ἔφασαν μὴ ὑπ' ἀνάγκης, ἀλλὰ παρ' ἑκόντων διαπράξασθαι
they-said not by necessity but from willing-men to-accomplish
κατελθεῖν αὐτούς. ἃ δὴ ἀκούσαντες οἱ Φλειάσιοι
to-return them which indeed having-heard the Phliasians
ἔδεισαν μὴ εἰ στρατεύσαιντο ἐπ' αὐτούς, τῶν ἔνδοθεν
feared lest if they-should-march against them of-the-ones within
παρείησάν τινες αὐτοὺς εἰς τὴν πόλιν. καὶ γὰρ συγγενεῖς
should-let-in some them into the city and for kinsmen
πολλοὶ ἔνδον ἦσαν τῶν φευγόντων καὶ ἄλλως εὐμενεῖς,
many inside were of-the exiles and otherwise well-disposed

καὶ οἷα δὴ ἐν ταῖς πλείσταις πόλεσι νεωτέρων τινὲς
and as indeed in the most cities new some
ἐπιθυμοῦντες πραγμάτων κατάγειν ἐβούλοντο τὴν φυγήν.
desiring affairs to-bring-back wished the exiles
10 τοιαῦτα μὲν δὴ φοβηθέντες ἐψηφίσαντο καταδέχεσθαι τοὺς
such-things indeed then having-feared they-voted to-receive-back the
φυγάδας καὶ ἐκείνοις μὲν ἀποδοῦναι τὰ ἐμφανῆ κτήματα,
exiles and to-those indeed to-give-back the visible properties
τοὺς δὲ τὰ ἐκείνων πριαμένους ἐκ δημοσίου τὴν
the-ones but the-things of-those having-bought from public-funds the
τιμὴν ἀπολαβεῖν· εἰ δέ τι ἀμφίλογον πρὸς ἀλλήλους
price to-get-back if but anything disputed with one-another
γίγνοιτο, δίκῃ διακριθῆναι. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν αὖ περὶ
should-arise by-a-trial to-be-decided and these-things indeed in-turn about
τῶν Φλειασίων φυγάδων ἐν ἐκείνῳ τῷ χρόνῳ ἐπέπρακτο.
the Phliasian exiles at that the time had-been-done
11 Ἐξ Ἀκάνθου δὲ καὶ Ἀπολλωνίας, αἵπερ μέγισται τῶν
From Acanthus and also Apollonia which-very greatest of-the
περὶ Ὄλυνθον πόλεων, πρέσβεις ἀφίκοντο εἰς Λακεδαίμονα.
around Olynthus cities envoys arrived at Lacedaemon
ἀκούσαντες δ᾽ οἱ ἔφοροι ὧν ἕνεκα ἥκον, προσήγαγον
having-heard and the ephors of-what for-the-sake they-had-come they-brought
αὐτοὺς πρός τε τὴν ἐκκλησίαν καὶ τοὺς συμμάχους.
them before both the assembly and the allies
12 ἔνθα δὴ Κλειγένης Ἀκάνθιος ἔλεξεν· Ὦ ἄνδρες
there indeed Cleigenes Acanthian spoke O men
Λακεδαιμόνιοί τε καὶ σύμμαχοι, οἰόμεθα λανθάνειν ὑμᾶς
Lacedaemonians both and allies we-think to-escape-notice-of you
πρᾶγμα μέγα φυόμενον ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι. ὅτι μὲν γὰρ τῶν
a-matter great growing in — Greece that indeed for of-the
ἐπὶ Θρᾴκης μεγίστη πόλις Ὄλυνθος σχεδὸν πάντες
in-the-region-of Thrace greatest city Olynthus nearly all

ἐπίστασθε. οὗτοι τῶν πόλεων προσηγάγοντο ἐφ᾽ ᾧτε
know these of-the cities brought-over on condition-that
νόμοις τοῖς αὐτοῖς χρῆσθαι καὶ συμπολιτεύειν, ἔπειτα δὲ
with-laws the same to-use and to-share-citizenship then and
καὶ τῶν μειζόνων προσέλαβόν τινας. ἐκ δὲ τούτου
also of-the greater they-took-in-addition some from and this
ἐπεχείρησαν καὶ τὰς τῆς Μακεδονίας πόλεις ἐλευθεροῦν
they-attempted also the — of-Macedonia cities to-free
ἀπὸ Ἀμύντου τοῦ Μακεδόνων βασιλέως.
from Amyntas the of-Macedonians king
ἐπεὶ δὲ εἰσήκουσαν αἱ ἐγγύτατα αὐτῶν, ταχὺ καὶ ἐπὶ 13
when and listened the nearest them quickly also against
τὰς πόρρω καὶ μείζους ἐπορεύοντο· καὶ κατελίπομεν ἡμεῖς
the distant and greater they-went and we-left we
ἔχοντας ἤδη ἄλλας τε πολλὰς καὶ Πέλλαν, ἥπερ
holding already others both many and Pella which-very
μεγίστη τῶν ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ πόλεων· καὶ Ἀμύνταν δὲ
greatest of-the in Macedonia cities and Amyntas and
ᾐσθανόμεθα ἀποχωροῦντά τε ἐκ τῶν πόλεων καὶ ὅσον
we-perceived withdrawing both from the cities and all-but
οὐκ ἐκπεπτωκότα ἤδη ἐκ πάσης Μακεδονίας. πέμψαντες
— having-been-driven-out already from all Macedonia having-sent
δὲ καὶ πρὸς ἡμᾶς καὶ πρὸς Ἀπολλωνιάτας οἱ Ὀλύνθιοι
and also to us and to Apollonians the Olynthians
προεῖπον ἡμῖν ὅτι εἰ μὴ παρεσόμεθα συστρατευσόμενοι,
proclaimed to-us that if not we-would-be-present going-to-campaign-with-them
ἐκεῖνοι ἐφ᾽ ἡμᾶς ἴοιεν.
they against us would-come
ἡμεῖς δέ, ὦ ἄνδρες Λακεδαιμόνιοι, βουλόμεθα μὲν τοῖς 14
we but O men Lacedaemonians wish indeed with-the
πατρίοις νόμοις χρῆσθαι καὶ αὐτοπολῖται εἶναι· εἰ μέντοι
ancestral laws to-use and own-citizens to-be if however

μὴ βοηθήσει τις, ἀνάγκη καὶ ἡμῖν μετ᾽ ἐκείνων γίγνεσθαι.
not shall-help anyone necessity also for-us with those to-be
καίτοι νῦν γ᾽ ἤδη αὐτοῖς εἰσὶν ὁπλῖται μὲν οὐκ
and-yet now at-least already to-them are hoplites indeed not
ἐλάττους †ὀκτακοσίων, πελτασταὶ δὲ πολὺ πλείους ἢ
fewer than-eight-hundred peltasts and much more than
τοσοῦτοι· ἱππεῖς γε μέντοι, ἐὰν καὶ ἡμεῖς μετ᾽ αὐτῶν
so-many horsemen at-least however if also we with them
γενώμεθα, ἔσονται πλείους ἢ χίλιοι.
become will-be more than a-thousand
15 κατελίπομεν δὲ καὶ Ἀθηναίων καὶ Βοιωτῶν πρέσβεις
we-left and also of-Athenians and of-Boeotians envoys
ἤδη αὐτόθι. ἠκούομεν δὲ ὡς καὶ αὐτοῖς Ὀλυνθίοις
already there we-heard and that also themselves by-the-Olynthians
ἐψηφισμένον εἴη συμπέμπειν πρέσβεις εἰς ταύτας τὰς
it-had-been-voted — to-send-with envoys to these the
πόλεις περὶ συμμαχίας. καίτοι εἰ τοσαύτη δύναμις
cities about alliance and-yet if so-great power
προσγενήσεται τῇ τε Ἀθηναίων καὶ Θηβαίων ἰσχύι,
shall-be-added to-the both of-Athenians and of-Thebans strength
ὁρᾶτε, ἔφη, ὅπως μὴ οὐκέτι εὐμεταχείριστα ἔσται ἐκεῖνα
see-to-it be-said that not no-longer manageable will-be those-things
ὑμῖν. ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ Ποτείδαιαν ἔχουσιν ἐπὶ τῷ ἰσθμῷ τῆς
for-you since and also Potidaea they-hold on the isthmus —
Παλλήνης οὖσαν, νομίζετε καὶ τὰς ἐντὸς ταύτης πόλεις
of-Pallene being consider also the within this cities
ὑπηκόους ἔσεσθαι αὐτῶν. τεκμήριον δ᾽ ἔτι ἔστω ὑμῖν καὶ
subject will-be to-them proof and still let-be for-you also
τοῦτο ὅτι ἰσχυρῶς αὗται αἱ πόλεις πεφόβηνται· μάλιστα
this that strongly these the cities have-been-frightened most

γὰρ μισοῦσαι τοὺς Ὀλυνθίους ὅμως οὐκ ἐτόλμησαν μεθ'
for hating the Olynthians nevertheless not they-dared with
ἡμῶν πρεσβείας πέμπειν διδαξούσας ταῦτα.
us embassies to-send going-to-tell these-things
ἐννοήσατε δὲ καὶ τόδε, πῶς εἰκὸς ὑμᾶς τῆς μὲν Βοιωτίας 16
consider and also this how reasonable you of-the indeed Boeotia
ἐπιμεληθῆναι ὅπως μὴ καθ' ἓν εἴη, πολὺ δὲ μείζονος
to-have-taken-care that not as one it-be much but greater
ἀθροιζομένης δυνάμεως ἀμελῆσαι, καὶ ταύτης οὐ κατὰ γῆν
being-gathered power to-neglect and this not by land
μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν ἰσχυρᾶς γιγνομένης. τί
only but also by sea strong becoming what
γὰρ δὴ καὶ ἐμποδών, ὅπου ξύλα μὲν ναυπηγήσιμα ἐν
for indeed also is-in-the-way where timbers indeed for-shipbuilding in
αὐτῇ τῇ χώρᾳ ἐστί, χρημάτων δὲ πρόσοδοι ἐκ πολλῶν
the-very the land are of-money and revenues from many
μὲν λιμένων, ἐκ πολλῶν δ' ἐμπορίων, πολυανθρωπία
indeed harbors from many and markets populousness
γε μὴν διὰ τὴν πολυσιτίαν ὑπάρχει;
at-least truly because-of the abundance-of-grain exists
ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ γείτονές γ' εἰσὶν αὐτοῖς Θρᾷκες οἱ 17
but truly also neighbors at-least are to-them Thracians the
ἀβασίλευτοι, οἳ θεραπεύουσι μὲν καὶ νῦν ἤδη τοὺς
kingless who court indeed even now already the
Ὀλυνθίους· εἰ δὲ ὑπ' ἐκείνους ἔσονται, πολλὴ καὶ
Olynthians if but under those they-will-be great also
αὕτη δύναμις προσγένοιτ' ἂν αὐτοῖς. τούτων γε μὴν
this power would-be-added — to-them these at-least truly
ἀκολουθούντων καὶ τὰ ἐν τῷ Παγγαίῳ χρύσεια χεῖρα ἂν
following also the in — Pangaeus gold-mines a-hand —

αὐτοῖς ἤδη ὀρέγοι. καὶ τούτων ἡμεῖς οὐδὲν λέγομεν ὅ
to-them already would-stretch-out and of-these we nothing say what
τι οὐ καὶ ἐν τῷ τῶν Ὀλυνθίων δήμῳ μυριόλεκτόν ἐστι.
ever not also in the of-the Olynthians people ten-thousand-times-said is
18 τό γε μὴν φρόνημα αὐτῶν τί ἄν τις λέγοι; καὶ
the at-least truly pride their what — anyone could-say and
γὰρ ὁ θεὸς ἴσως ἐποίησεν ἅμα τῷ δύνασθαι καὶ
for the god perhaps made at-the-same-time with-the to-be-able also
τὰ φρονήματα αὔξεσθαι τῶν ἀνθρώπων. ἡμεῖς μὲν οὖν,
the prides to-grow of-the men we indeed then
ὦ ἄνδρες Λακεδαιμόνιοί τε καὶ σύμμαχοι, ἐξαγγέλλομεν
O men Lacedaemonians both and allies report
ὅτι οὕτω τἀκεῖ ἔχει· ὑμεῖς δὲ βουλεύεσθε, εἰ δοκεῖ
that thus the-things-there are you but deliberate if it-seems
ἄξια ἐπιμελείας εἶναι. δεῖ γε μὴν ὑμᾶς καὶ τόδε
worthy of-care to-be it-is-needful at-least truly you also this
εἰδέναι, ὡς ἣν εἰρήκαμεν δύναμιν μεγάλην οὖσαν, οὔπω
to-know that which we-have-spoken-of power great being not-yet
δυσπάλαιστός ἐστιν. αἱ γὰρ ἄκουσαι τῶν πόλεων τῆς
hard-to-wrestle is the for unwilling of-the cities of-the
πολιτείας κοινωνοῦσαι, αὗται, ἄν τι ἴδωσιν ἀντίπαλον,
citizenship sharing these if anything they-see opposing
ταχὺ ἀποστήσονται·
quickly will-revolt
19 εἰ μέντοι συγκλεισθήσονται ταῖς τε ἐπιγαμίαις καὶ
if however they-shall-be-locked-together with-the both intermarriages and
ἐγκτήσεσι παρ᾽ ἀλλήλοις, ἃς ἐψηφισμένοι εἰσί, καὶ
rights-of-property among one-another which having-voted are and
γνώσονται ὅτι μετὰ τῶν κρατούντων ἕπεσθαι κερδαλέον
they-shall-recognize that with the stronger to-follow profitable
ἐστίν, ὥσπερ Ἀρκάδες, ὅταν μεθ᾽ ὑμῶν ἴωσι, τά τε
it-is as Arcadians whenever with you they-go the both

αὐτῶν σῴζουσι καὶ τὰ ἀλλότρια ἁρπάζουσιν, ἴσως οὐκέθ'
their-own save and the others' plunder perhaps no-longer
ὁμοίως εὔλυτα ἔσται.
similarly easy-to-dissolve will-be
Λεχθέντων δὲ τούτων ἐδίδοσαν οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι τοῖς 20
Having-been-said and these-things gave the Lacedaemonians to-the
συμμάχοις λόγον καὶ ἐκέλευον συμβουλεύειν ὅ τι
allies speech and bade to-advise what ever
γιγνώσκει τις ἄριστον τῇ Πελοποννήσῳ τε καὶ τοῖς
recognizes anyone best for-the Peloponnese both and for-the
συμμάχοις. ἐκ τούτου μέντοι πολλοὶ μὲν συνηγόρευον
allies from this however many indeed spoke-in-favor
στρατιὰν ποιεῖν, μάλιστα δὲ οἱ βουλόμενοι χαρίζεσθαι
an-army to-make most but the-ones wishing to-gratify
τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις, καὶ ἔδοξε πέμπειν τὸ εἰς τοὺς
the Lacedaemonians and it-seemed-good to-send the toward the
μυρίους σύνταγμα ἑκάστην πόλιν.
ten-thousand contingent each city
λόγοι δὲ ἐγένοντο ἀργύριόν τε ἀντ' ἀνδρῶν ἐξεῖναι 21
proposals and were-made silver both instead-of men to-be-permitted
διδόναι τῇ βουλομένῃ τῶν πόλεων, τριώβολον Αἰγιναῖον
to-give for-the willing of-the cities three-obols Aeginetan
κατὰ ἄνδρα, ἱππέας τε εἴ τις παρέχοι, ἀντὶ τεττάρων
per man horsemen and if anyone provided instead-of four
ὁπλιτῶν τὸν μισθὸν τῷ ἱππεῖ δίδοσθαι·
hoplites the pay to-the horseman to-be-given
εἰ δέ τις τῶν πόλεων ἐκλίποι τὴν στρατιάν, ἐξεῖναι 22
if but any of-the cities should-fail-in the campaign to-be-permitted
Λακεδαιμονίοις ἐπιζημιοῦν στατῆρι κατὰ τὸν ἄνδρα τῆς
for-Lacedaemonians to-fine with-a-stater per the man for-the
ἡμέρας.
day

23 ἐπεὶ δὲ ταῦτα ἔδοξεν, ἀναστάντες οἱ Ἀκάνθιοι πάλιν
when and these-things had-seemed-good having-stood-up the Acanthians again
ἐδίδασκον ὡς ταῦτα καλὰ μὲν εἴη τὰ ψηφίσματα, οὐ
taught that these-things fine indeed were the decrees not
μέντοι δυνατὰ ταχὺ περανθῆναι. βέλτιον οὖν ἔφασαν εἶναι,
however possible quickly to-be-accomplished better then they-said to-be
ἐν ᾧ αὕτη ἡ παρασκευὴ ἁθροίζοιτο, ὡς τάχιστα ἄνδρα
in which this the preparation is-being-gathered as quickly-as-possible a-man
ἐξελθεῖν ἄρχοντα καὶ δύναμιν ἐκ Λακεδαίμονός τε, ὅση
to-go-out as-commander and a-force from Lacedaemon both as-much-as
ἂν ταχὺ ἐξέλθοι, καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἄλλων πόλεων· τούτου
— quickly might-go-out and from the other cities this
γὰρ γενομένου τάς τε οὔπω προσκεχωρηκυίας πόλεις
for having-happened the both not-yet having-gone-over cities
στῆναι ἂν καὶ τὰς βεβιασμένας ἧττον ἂν συμμαχεῖν.
would-stand-firm — and the forced less — would-be-allied
24 δοξάντων δὲ καὶ τούτων, ἐκπέμπουσιν οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι
having-seemed-good and also these-things send-out the Lacedaemonians
Εὐδαμίδαν, καὶ σὺν αὐτῷ νεοδαμώδεις τε καὶ τῶν
Eudamidas and with him neodamodes both and of-the
περιοίκων καὶ τῶν Σκιριτῶν ἄνδρας ὡς δισχιλίους. ὁ
perioeci and of-the Sciritae men about two-thousand —
μέντοι Εὐδαμίδας ἐξιὼν Φοιβίδαν τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἐδεήθη τῶν
however Eudamidas going-out Phoebidas the brother asked the
ἐφόρων τοὺς ὑπολειπομένους τῶν ἑαυτῷ προστεταγμένων
ephors the left-behind of-the to-himself assigned
ἁθροίσαντα μετιέναι· αὐτὸς δὲ ἐπεὶ ἀφίκετο εἰς τὰ
having-gathered to-follow himself and when he-arrived at the
ἐπὶ Θρᾴκης χωρία, ταῖς μὲν δεομέναις τῶν πόλεων
in-the-region-of Thrace places to-the indeed asking of-the cities
φρουροὺς ἔπεμπε, Ποτείδαιαν δὲ καὶ προσέλαβεν ἑκοῦσαν,
garrisons he-sent Potidaea and also he-took-in-addition willing

σύμμαχον ἤδη ἐκείνων οὖσαν, καὶ ἐντεῦθεν ὁρμώμενος
as-ally already of-those being and thence setting-out
ἐπολέμει ὥσπερ εἰκὸς τὸν ἐλάττω ἔχοντα δύναμιν.
he-made-war as reasonable the lesser having power
Ὁ δὲ Φοιβίδας, ἐπεὶ ἠθροίσθησαν αὐτῷ οἱ ὑπολειφθέντες τοῦ 25
— and Phoebidas when had-been-gathered for-him the left-behind —
Εὐδαμίδου, λαβὼν αὐτοὺς ἐπορεύετο. ὡς δ' ἐγένοντο ἐν
of-Eudamidas having-taken them marched when and they-were at
Θήβαις, ἐστρατοπεδεύσαντο μὲν ἔξω τῆς πόλεως περὶ τὸ
Thebes they-encamped indeed outside the city near the
γυμνάσιον· στασιαζόντων δὲ τῶν Θηβαίων, πολεμαρχοῦντες
gymnasium being-in-faction and the Thebans being-polemarchs
μὲν ἐτύγχανον Ἰσμηνίας τε καὶ Λεοντιάδης, διάφοροι δὲ
indeed happened Ismenias both and Leontiades at-odds but
ὄντες ἀλλήλοις καὶ ἀρχηγὸς ἑκάτερος τῶν ἑταιριῶν. ὁ
being with-one-another and leader each of-the clubs —
μὲν οὖν Ἰσμηνίας διὰ τὸ μῖσος τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων
indeed then Ismenias because-of the hatred of-the Lacedaemonians
οὐδὲ ἐπλησίαζε τῷ Φοιβίδᾳ. ὁ μέντοι Λεοντιάδης ἄλλως
not-even went-near — to-Phoebidas — however Leontiades in-other-ways
τε ἐθεράπευεν αὐτόν, καὶ ἐπεὶ εἰσῳκειώθη, ἔλεγε τάδε·
both courted him and when he-had-become-intimate he-said the-following
Ἔξεστί σοι, ὦ Φοιβίδα, τῇδε τῇ ἡμέρᾳ μέγιστα ἀγαθὰ 26
It-is-possible for-you O Phoebidas on-this the day greatest goods
τῇ σεαυτοῦ πατρίδι ὑπουργῆσαι· ἐὰν γὰρ ἀκολουθήσῃς
for-the your-own fatherland to-render if for you-follow
ἐμοὶ σὺν τοῖς ὁπλίταις, εἰσάξω σε ἐγὼ εἰς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν.
me with the hoplites I-will-bring-in you I into the acropolis
τούτου δὲ γενομένου νόμιζε τὰς Θήβας παντάπασιν ὑπὸ
this and having-happened consider — Thebes altogether under
Λακεδαιμονίοις καὶ ἡμῖν τοῖς ὑμετέροις φίλοις ἔσεσθαι.
Lacedaemonians and us the your friends to-be

27 καίτοι νῦν μέν, ὡς ὁρᾷς, ἀποκεκήρυκται μηδένα μετὰ
and-yet now indeed as you-see it-has-been-proclaimed no-one with
σοῦ στρατεύειν Θηβαίων ἐπ᾽ Ὀλυνθίους· ἐὰν δέ γε σὺ
you to-campaign of-Thebans against Olynthians if but at-least you
ταῦτα μεθ᾽ ἡμῶν πράξῃς, εὐθύς σοι ἡμεῖς πολλοὺς μὲν
these-things with us do at-once for-you we many indeed
ὁπλίτας, πολλοὺς δὲ ἱππέας συμπέμψομεν· ὥστε πολλῇ
hoplites many and horsemen will-send-with so-that with-great
δυνάμει βοηθήσεις τῷ ἀδελφῷ, καὶ ἐν ᾧ μέλλει ἐκεῖνος
force you-will-help the brother and in which is-about that-one
Ὄλυνθον καταστρέφεσθαι, σὺ κατεστραμμένος ἕσει Θήβας,
Olynthus to-subdue you having-subdued will-be Thebes
πολὺ μείζω πόλιν Ὀλύνθου.
much greater city than-Olynthus

28 ἀκούσας δὲ ταῦτα ὁ Φοιβίδας ἀνεκουφίσθη· καὶ γὰρ ἦν
having-heard and these-things — Phoebidas was-elated and for he-was
τοῦ λαμπρόν τι ποιῆσαι πολὺ μᾶλλον ἢ τοῦ ζῆν
of-the brilliant something to-do much rather than of-the to-live
ἐραστής, οὐ μέντοι λογιστικός γε οὐδὲ πάνυ φρόνιμος
a-lover not however calculating at-least nor very prudent
ἐδόκει εἶναι. ἐπεὶ δὲ ὡμολόγησε ταῦτα, προορμῆσαι μὲν
he-seemed to-be when and he-agreed these-things to-set-out-ahead indeed
αὐτὸν ἐκέλευσεν, ὥσπερ συνεσκευασμένος ἦν εἰς τὸ
him he-bade as packed-up he-was for the
ἀπιέναι· ἡνίκα δ᾽ ἂν ᾖ καιρός, πρὸς σὲ ἥξω ἐγώ, ἔφη
to-depart when but — be the-moment to you will-come I said
ὁ Λεοντιάδης, καὶ αὐτός σοι ἡγήσομαι.
— Leontiades and myself for-you will-lead-the-way

29 ἐν ᾧ δὲ ἡ μὲν βουλὴ ἐκάθητο ἐν τῇ ἐν ἀγορᾷ στοᾷ
in which and the indeed council was-sitting in the in agora colonnade
διὰ τὸ τὰς γυναῖκας ἐν τῇ Καδμείᾳ θεσμοφοριάζειν,
because-of the the women in the Cadmea celebrating-the-Thesmophoria

θέρους δὲ ὄντος καὶ μεσημβρίας πλείστη ἦν ἐρημία ἐν
summer and being and midday greatest was emptiness in
ταῖς ὁδοῖς, ἐν τούτῳ προσελάσας ἐφ᾽ ἵππου ὁ Λεοντιάδης
the streets at this-time having-ridden-up on horse — Leontiades
ἀποστρέφει τε τὸν Φοιβίδαν καὶ ἡγεῖται εὐθὺς εἰς τὴν
turns-back both — Phoebidas and leads at-once to the
ἀκρόπολιν. καταστήσας δ᾽ ἐκεῖ τὸν Φοιβίδαν καὶ τοὺς μετ᾽
acropolis having-stationed and there — Phoebidas and the-ones with
αὐτοῦ καὶ παραδοὺς τὴν βαλανάγραν αὐτῷ τῶν πυλῶν,
him and having-handed-over the gate-key to-him of-the gates
καὶ εἰπὼν μηδένα παριέναι εἰς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν ὅντινα
and having-told no-one to-let-in into the acropolis whomever
μὴ αὐτὸς κελεύοι, εὐθὺς ἐπορεύετο πρὸς τὴν βουλήν.
not he-himself should-order at-once went to the council
ἐλθὼν δὲ εἶπε τάδε· Ὅτι μέν, ὦ ἄνδρες, Λακεδαιμόνιοι 30
having-come and he-said the-following That indeed O men Lacedaemonians
κατέχουσι τὴν ἀκρόπολιν, μηδὲν ἀθυμεῖτε· οὐδενὶ γάρ
occupy the acropolis not-at-all be-disheartened to-no-one for
φασι πολέμιοι ἥκειν, ὅστις μὴ πολέμου ἐρᾷ· ἐγὼ
they-say as-enemies to-have-come who-ever not war desires I
δὲ τοῦ νόμου κελεύοντος ἐξεῖναι πολεμάρχῳ λαβεῖν,
and the law ordering to-be-permitted for-a-polemarch to-arrest
εἴ τις δοκεῖ ἄξια θανάτου ποιεῖν, λαμβάνω τουτονὶ
if anyone seems worthy of-death to-do I-arrest this-man-here
Ἰσμηνίαν, ὡς πολεμοποιοῦντα. καὶ ὑμεῖς δὲ οἱ λοχαγοί
Ismenias as war-making and you and the captains
τε καὶ οἱ μετὰ τούτων τεταγμένοι, ἀνίστασθε, καὶ
both and the-ones with these stationed rise-up and
λαβόντες ἀπαγάγετε τοῦτον ἔνθα εἴρηται.
having-seized lead-away this-one where it-has-been-stated

31 οἱ μὲν δὴ εἰδότες τὸ πρᾶγμα παρῆσάν τε καὶ
the-ones indeed then knowing the affair were-present both and
ἐπείθοντο καὶ συνελάμβανον. τῶν δὲ μὴ εἰδότων, ἐναντίων
obeyed and helped-arrest of-the but not knowing opposed
δὲ ὄντων τοῖς περὶ Λεοντιάδην, οἱ μὲν ἔφευγον
and being to-the-ones around Leontiades the-ones indeed fled
εὐθὺς ἔξω τῆς πόλεως, δείσαντες μὴ ἀποθάνοιεν· οἱ
at-once out-of the city having-feared lest they-should-die the-others
δὲ καὶ οἴκαδε πρῶτον ἀπεχώρησαν· ἐπεὶ δὲ εἰργμένον
and also home first withdrew when and shut-up
τὸν Ἰσμηνίαν ᾔσθοντο [οἱ] ἐν τῇ Καδμείᾳ, τότε δὴ
— Ismenias perceived the-ones in the Cadmea then indeed
ἀπεχώρησαν εἰς τὰς Ἀθήνας οἱ ταὐτὰ γιγνώσκοντες
withdrew to — Athens the-ones the-same-things thinking
Ἀνδροκλείδᾳ τε καὶ Ἰσμηνίᾳ μάλιστα τριακόσιοι.
with-Androcleidas both and Ismenias about three-hundred

32 ὡς δὲ ταῦτ᾽ ἐπέπρακτο, πολέμαρχον μὲν ἀντὶ
when and these-things had-been-done a-polemarch indeed instead-of
Ἰσμηνίου ἄλλον εἵλοντο, ὁ δὲ Λεοντιάδης εὐθὺς εἰς
Ismenias another they-chose — and Leontiades at-once to
Λακεδαίμονα ἐπορεύετο. ηὗρε δ᾽ ἐκεῖ τοὺς μὲν ἐφόρους
Lacedaemon went he-found and there the indeed ephors
καὶ τῆς πόλεως τὸ πλῆθος χαλεπῶς ἔχοντας τῷ Φοιβίδᾳ,
and of-the city the multitude angry being — at-Phoebidas
ὅτι οὐ προσταχθέντα ὑπὸ τῆς πόλεως ταῦτα ἐπεπράχει·
because not having-been-ordered by the city these-things he-had-done
ὁ μέντοι Ἀγησίλαος ἔλεγεν ὅτι εἰ μὲν βλαβερὰ τῇ
— however Agesilaus said that if indeed harmful-things —
Λακεδαίμονι πεπραχὼς εἴη, δίκαιος εἴη ζημιοῦσθαι, εἰ
to-Lacedaemon having-done he-had just he-was to-be-punished if
δὲ ἀγαθά, ἀρχαῖον εἶναι νόμιμον ἐξεῖναι τὰ τοιαῦτα
but good-things ancient to-be custom to-be-permitted the such-things

αὐτοσχεδιάζειν. αὐτὸ οὖν τοῦτ', ἔφη, προσήκει σκοπεῖν,
to-improvise this-very then this he-said it-befits to-consider
πότερον ἀγαθὰ ἢ κακά ἐστι τὰ πεπραγμένα.
whether good or bad are the things-done
ἔπειτα μέντοι ὁ Λεοντιάδης ἐλθὼν εἰς τοὺς ἐκκλήτους ἔλεγε 33
then however — Leontiades having-come to the assembly spoke
τοιάδε· Ἄνδρες Λακεδαιμόνιοι, ὡς μὲν πολεμικῶς εἶχον
as-follows Men Lacedaemonians that indeed hostilely were-disposed
ὑμῖν οἱ Θηβαῖοι, πρὶν τὰ νῦν πεπραγμένα γενέσθαι, καὶ
to-you the Thebans before the now done-things to-happen also
ὑμεῖς ἐλέγετε· ἑωρᾶτε γὰρ ἀεὶ τούτους τοῖς μὲν ὑμετέροις
you said you-saw for always these to-the indeed your
δυσμενέσι φιλικῶς ἔχοντας, τοῖς δ' ὑμετέροις φίλοις ἐχθροὺς
ill-wishers friendly being to-the but your friends hostile
ὄντας. οὐκ ἐπὶ μὲν τὸν Πειραιοῖ δῆμον, πολεμιώτατον
being not against indeed the in-the-Piraeus people most-hostile
ὄντα ὑμῖν, οὐκ ἠθέλησαν συστρατεύειν, Φωκεῦσι δέ,
being to-you not they-were-willing to-campaign-with-you against-Phocians but
ὅτι ὑμῖν εὐμενεῖς ὄντας ἑώρων, ἐπεστράτευον;
because to-you well-disposed being they-saw they-marched
ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ πρὸς Ὀλυνθίους εἰδότες ὑμᾶς πόλεμον 34
but truly also with Olynthians knowing you war
ἐκφέροντας συμμαχίαν ἐποιοῦντο, καὶ ὑμεῖς γε τότε μὲν
bringing alliance they-were-making and you at-least then indeed
ἀεὶ προσείχετε τὸν νοῦν πότε ἀκούσεσθε βιαζομένους
always paid the attention when you-would-hear forcing
αὐτοὺς τὴν Βοιωτίαν ὑφ' αὑτοῖς εἶναι· νῦν δ' ἐπεὶ τάδε
them — Boeotia under themselves to-be now but since these-things
πέπρακται, οὐδὲν ὑμᾶς δεῖ Θηβαίους φοβεῖσθαι·
have-been-done nothing you it-is-needful Thebans to-fear
ἀλλ' ἀρκέσει ὑμῖν μικρὰ σκυτάλη ὥστ' ἐκεῖθεν πάντα
but will-suffice for-you a-small scytale so-that from-there everything

ὑπηρετεῖσθαι ὅσων ἂν δέησθε, ἐὰν ὥσπερ ἡμεῖς ὑμῶν,
to-be-served of-as-much-as — you-need if as we you
οὕτω καὶ ὑμεῖς ἡμῶν ἐπιμελῆσθε.
so also you us take-care-of
35 ἀκούουσι ταῦτα τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις ἔδοξε τήν τε
hearing these-things to-the Lacedaemonians it-seemed-good the both
ἀκρόπολιν ὥσπερ κατείληπτο φυλάττειν καὶ Ἰσμηνίᾳ κρίσιν
acropolis as it-had-been-seized to-guard and for-Ismenias a-trial
ποιῆσαι. ἐκ δὲ τούτου πέμπουσι δικαστὰς Λακεδαιμονίων
to-make from and this they-send judges of-Lacedaemonians
μὲν τρεῖς, ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν συμμαχίδων ἕνα ἀφ' ἑκάστης καὶ
indeed three from and the allied one from each both
μικρᾶς καὶ μεγάλης πόλεως. ἐπεὶ δὲ συνεκαθίζετο τὸ
small and great city when and had-sat-down-together the
δικαστήριον, τότε δὴ κατηγορεῖτο τοῦ Ἰσμηνίου καὶ ὡς
court then indeed was-accused — against-Ismenias both that
βαρβαρίζοι καὶ ὡς ξένος τῷ Πέρσῃ ἐπ' οὐδενὶ ἀγαθῷ
he-medized and that guest-friend to-the Persian for no good
τῆς Ἑλλάδος γεγενημένος εἴη καὶ ὡς τῶν παρὰ βασιλέως
— of-Greece having-become he-was and that of-the from the-king
χρημάτων μετειληφὼς εἴη καὶ ὅτι τῆς ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι
money having-received-a-share he-was and that of-the in — Greece
ταραχῆς πάσης ἐκεῖνός τε καὶ Ἀνδροκλείδας αἰτιώτατοι εἶεν.
disturbance all that-one both and Androcleidas most-responsible were
36 ὁ δὲ ἀπελογεῖτο μὲν πρὸς πάντα ταῦτα, οὐ μέντοι ἔπειθέ
he and defended-himself indeed against all these-things not however persuaded
γε τὸ μὴ οὐ μεγαλοπράγμων τε καὶ κακοπράγμων εἶναι.
at-least the not not great-schemer both and evil-doer to-be
καὶ ἐκεῖνος μὲν κατεψηφίσθη καὶ ἀποθνῄσκει· οἱ δὲ περὶ
and that-one indeed was-condemned and dies the-ones and around

Λεοντιάδην εἶχόν τε τὴν πόλιν καὶ τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις
Leontiades held both the city and to-the Lacedaemonians
ἔτι πλείω ὑπηρέτουν ἢ προσετάττετο αὐτοῖς.
still more served than was-ordered on-them
τούτων δὴ πεπραγμένων οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι πολὺ δὴ 37
these-things indeed having-been-done the Lacedaemonians much indeed
προθυμότερον τὴν εἰς τὴν Ὄλυνθον στρατιὰν συναπέστελλον.
more-eagerly the to — Olynthus army sent-off-together
καὶ ἐκπέμπουσι Τελευτίαν μὲν ἁρμοστήν, τὴν δ᾽ εἰς τοὺς
and they-send-out Teleutias indeed as-harmost the and to the
μυρίους σύνταξιν αὐτοί τε †ἅπαντες συνεξέπεμπον, καὶ
ten-thousand contingent themselves both all sent-out-with and
εἰς τὰς συμμαχίδας πόλεις σκυτάλας διέπεμπον, κελεύοντες
to the allied cities scytales sent-round ordering
ἀκολουθεῖν Τελευτίᾳ κατὰ τὸ δόγμα τῶν συμμάχων. καὶ
to-follow Teleutias according-to the decree of-the allies and
οἵ τε ἄλλοι προθύμως τῷ Τελευτίᾳ ὑπηρέτουν (καὶ γὰρ
the both others eagerly — to-Teleutias served and for
οὐκ ἀχάριστος ἐδόκει εἶναι τοῖς ὑπουργοῦσί τι) καὶ ἡ
not ungracious he-seemed to-be to-the-ones rendering anything and the
τῶν Θηβαίων δὲ πόλις, ἅτε καὶ Ἀγησιλάου ὄντος αὐτῷ
of-the Thebans and city inasmuch-as also Agesilaus being to-him
ἀδελφοῦ, προθύμως συνέπεμψε καὶ ὁπλίτας καὶ ἱππέας.
brother eagerly sent-with both hoplites and horsemen
ὁ δὲ σπεύδων μὲν οὐ μάλα ἐπορεύετο, ἐπιμελόμενος δὲ τοῦ 38
he and hurrying indeed not very marched taking-care but of-the
τε μὴ ἀδικῶν τοὺς φίλους πορεύεσθαι καὶ τοῦ ὡς πλείστην
both not wronging the friends to-march and of-the as greatest
δύναμιν ἀθροίζειν. προέπεμπε δὲ καὶ πρὸς Ἀμύνταν, καὶ ἠξίου
force to-gather he-sent-ahead and also to Amyntas and asked
αὐτὸν καὶ ξένους μισθοῦσθαι καὶ τοῖς πλησίον βασιλεῦσι
him both mercenaries to-hire and to-the nearby kings

χρήματα διδόναι, ὡς συμμάχους εἶναι, εἴπερ βούλοιτο τὴν
money to-give so-that allies to-be if-indeed he-wished the
ἀρχὴν ἀναλαβεῖν. ἔπεμπε δὲ καὶ πρὸς Δέρδαν τὸν Ἐλιμίας
rule to-recover he-sent and also to Derdas the of-Elimia
ἄρχοντα, διδάσκων ὅτι οἱ Ὀλύνθιοι κατεστραμμένοι τὴν
ruler teaching that the Olynthians having-subdued the
μείζω δύναμιν Μακεδονίας εἶεν, καὶ οὐκ ἀνήσουσι τὴν
greater power of-Macedonia were and not would-let-go the
ἐλάττω, εἰ μή τις αὐτοὺς παύσει τῆς ὕβρεως.
lesser if not someone them will-stop from-the insolence

39 ταῦτα δὲ ποιῶν, μάλα πολλὴν ἔχων στρατιὰν ἀφίκετο εἰς
these-things and doing very great having army he-arrived at
τὴν ἑαυτῶν συμμαχίδα. ἐπεὶ δ' ἦλθεν εἰς τὴν Ποτείδαιαν,
the their-own allied-land when and he-came to — Potidaea
ἐκεῖθεν συνταξάμενος ἐπορεύετο εἰς τὴν πολεμίαν. καὶ
thence having-drawn-up he-marched into the enemy-land and
πρὸς μὲν τὴν πόλιν ἰὼν οὔτ' ἔκαεν οὔτ' ἔκοπτε,
toward indeed the city going neither he-burned nor cut
νομίζων, εἴ τι ποιήσειε τούτων, ἐμπόδιον ἂν αὐτῷ
thinking if anything he-did of-these in-the-way — for-him
πάντα γίγνεσθαι καὶ προσιόντι καὶ ἀπιόντι· ὁπότε δὲ
all-things would-be both advancing and withdrawing when but
ἀναχωροίη ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως, τότε ὀρθῶς ἔχειν κόπτοντα
he-withdrew from the city then rightly to-be cutting
τὰ δένδρα ἐμποδὼν καταβάλλειν, εἴ τις ὄπισθεν ἐπίοι.
the trees in-the-way to-throw-down if anyone from-behind should-attack

40 ὡς δὲ ἀπεῖχεν ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως οὐδὲ δέκα στάδια, ἔθετο
when and he-was-distant from the city not-even ten stades he-grounded
τὰ ὅπλα, εὐώνυμον μὲν αὐτὸς ἔχων (οὕτω γὰρ συνέβαινεν
the arms the-left indeed himself holding thus for it-happened
αὐτῷ κατὰ τὰς πύλας ἰέναι ᾗ ἐξῇσαν οἱ πολέμιοι), ἡ δὲ
to-him opposite the gates to-go by-which went-out the enemies the but

ἄλλη φάλαγξ τῶν συμμάχων ἀπετέτατο πρὸς τὸ δεξιόν. καὶ
rest phalanx of-the allies extended toward the right and
τῶν ἱππέων δὲ τοὺς μὲν Λάκωνας καὶ τοὺς Θηβαίους καὶ
of-the horsemen and the indeed Laconians and the Thebans and
ὅσοι τῶν Μακεδόνων παρῆσαν ἐπὶ τῷ δεξιῷ ἐτάξατο,
as-many-as of-the Macedonians were-present on the right he-stationed
παρὰ δὲ αὑτῷ εἶχε Δέρδαν τε καὶ τοὺς ἐκείνου ἱππέας ὡς
beside and himself he-had Derdas both and the of-that-one horsemen about
εἰς τετρακοσίους διά τε τὸ ἄγασθαι τοῦτο τὸ ἱππικὸν καὶ
to four-hundred because-of both the to-admire this the cavalry and
διὰ τὸ θεραπεύειν τὸν Δέρδαν, ὡς ἡδόμενος παρείη.
because-of the to-court — Derdas so-that pleased he-might-be-present
ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ οἱ πολέμιοι ἐλθόντες ἀντιπαρετάξαντο ὑπὸ 41
when and also the enemies having-come drew-up-opposite under
τῷ τείχει, συσπειραθέντες αὐτῶν οἱ ἱππεῖς ἐμβάλλουσι
the wall having-massed-together their the horsemen charge
κατὰ τοὺς Λάκωνας καὶ Βοιωτούς. καὶ Πολύχαρμόν τε
against the Laconians and Boeotians and Polycharmus both
τὸν Λακεδαιμόνιον ἵππαρχον καταβάλλουσιν ἀπὸ τοῦ
the Lacedaemonian hipparch they-throw-down from the
ἵππου καὶ κείμενον πάμπολλα κατέτρωσαν, καὶ ἄλλους
horse and lying very-many-times they-wounded and others
ἀπέκτειναν, καὶ τέλος τρέπονται τὸ ἐπὶ τῷ δεξιῷ κέρατι
killed and finally rout the on the right wing
ἱππικόν. φευγόντων δὲ τῶν ἱππέων ἐνέκλινε καὶ τὸ
cavalry fleeing and the horsemen gave-way also the
ἐχόμενον πεζὸν αὐτῶν, καὶ ὅλον δ' ἂν ἐκινδύνευσεν
adjoining infantry them and whole and — would-have-run-the-risk
ἡττηθῆναι τὸ στράτευμα, εἰ μὴ Δέρδας ἔχων τὸ ἑαυτοῦ
to-be-defeated the army if not Derdas having the his-own

ἱππικὸν εὐθὺς πρὸς τὰς πύλας τῶν Ὀλυνθίων ἤλασεν.
cavalry at-once to the gates of-the Olynthians had-ridden
ἐπῄει δὲ καὶ ὁ Τελευτίας σὺν τοῖς περὶ ἑαυτὸν ἐν τάξει.
advanced and also — Teleutias with the-ones around himself in order
42 ὡς δὲ ταῦτα ᾔσθοντο οἱ Ὀλύνθιοι ἱππεῖς, δείσαντες
when and these-things perceived the Olynthian horsemen having-feared
μὴ ἀποκλεισθεῖεν τῶν πυλῶν, ἀναστρέψαντες ἀπεχώρουν
lest they-be-shut-out from-the gates having-turned-back withdrew
πολλῇ σπουδῇ. ἔνθα δὴ ὁ Δέρδας παρελαύνοντας
with-much haste there indeed — Derdas riding-past
παμπόλλους [ἱππέας] αὐτῶν ἀπέκτεινεν. ἀπεχώρησαν δὲ
very-many horsemen of-them killed withdrew and
καὶ οἱ πεζοὶ τῶν Ὀλυνθίων εἰς τὴν πόλιν· οὐ μέντοι
also the infantry of-the Olynthians into the city not however
πολλοὶ αὐτῶν ἀπέθανον, ἅτε ἐγγὺς τοῦ τείχους ὄντος.
many of-them died inasmuch-as near the wall being
43 ἐπεὶ δὲ τροπαῖόν τε ἐστάθη καὶ ἡ νίκη αὕτη τῷ Τελευτίᾳ
when and a-trophy both was-set-up and the victory this — for-Teleutias
ἐγεγένητο, ἀπιὼν δὴ ἔκοπτε τὰ δένδρα. καὶ τοῦτο μὲν
had-come-about going-away indeed he-cut the trees and this indeed
στρατευσάμενος τὸ θέρος διῆκε καὶ τὸ Μακεδονικὸν
having-campaigned the summer he-dismissed both the Macedonian
στράτευμα καὶ τὸ τοῦ Δέρδα· πολλάκις μέντοι καὶ
army and the — of-Derdas often however also
οἱ Ὀλύνθιοι καταθέοντες εἰς τὰς τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων
the Olynthians raiding into the of-the Lacedaemonians
συμμαχίδας πόλεις ἐλεηλάτουν καὶ ἄνδρας ἀπεκτείνυον.
allied cities plundered and men killed

Derdas routs the Olynthian horse at Apollonia. Teleutias, enraged when the enemy cavalry strike his peltasts, leads his whole army against the walls and falls with many of his men, a lesson against acting in anger. Sparta sends King Agesipolis, who takes Torone by storm and then dies of fever near the temple of Dionysus at Aphytis, and Agesilaus weeps for him. The Phliasian exiles accuse their city, and Agesilaus besieges Phlius; the city holds out twice as long as its food was reckoned to last, and Delphion's picked men keep order, until it surrenders and Agesilaus appoints judges. Polybiades starves Olynthus into alliance with Sparta. Sparta's rule now seems firmly established.

Ἅμα δὲ τῷ ἦρι ὑποφαινομένῳ οἱ μὲν 1
At-the-same-time and with-the spring beginning-to-appear the indeed
Ὀλύνθιοι ἱππεῖς ὄντες ὡς ἑξακόσιοι κατεδεδραμήκεσαν
Olynthian horsemen being about six-hundred had-raided
εἰς τὴν Ἀπολλωνίαν ἅμα μεσημβρίᾳ καὶ
into — Apollonia at-the-same-time with-midday and
διεσπαρμένοι ἐλεηλάτουν· ὁ δὲ Δέρδας ἐτύγχανε ταύτῃ
scattered were-plundering — and Derdas happened on-this
τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἀφιγμένος μετὰ τῶν ἱππέων τῶν ἑαυτοῦ
the day having-arrived with the horsemen the his-own
καὶ ἀριστοποιούμενος ἐν τῇ Ἀπολλωνίᾳ. ὡς δ' εἶδε
and taking-breakfast in — Apollonia when and he-saw
τὴν καταδρομήν, ἡσυχίαν [τε] εἶχε, τούς θ' ἵππους
the raid quiet both he-kept the both horses
ἐπεσκευασμένους καὶ τοὺς ἀμβάτας ἐξωπλισμένους ἔχων.
saddled and the riders armed having
ἐπειδὴ δὲ καταφρονητικῶς οἱ Ὀλύνθιοι καὶ εἰς τὸ
when but contemptuously the Olynthians both into the

προάστιον καὶ εἰς αὐτὰς τὰς πύλας ἤλαυνον, τότε δὴ
suburb and to the-very the gates were-riding then indeed
συντεταγμένους ἔχων ἐξελαύνει.
drawn-up having he-rides-out

2 οἱ δὲ ὡς εἶδον, εἰς φυγὴν ὥρμησαν. ὁ δ' ὡς ἅπαξ
they and when they-saw into flight rushed he but when once
ἐτρέψατο, οὐκ ἀνῆκεν ἐνενήκοντα στάδια διώκων καὶ
he-had-routed-them not let-up ninety stades pursuing and
ἀποκτεινύς, ἕως πρὸς αὐτὸ κατεδίωξε τῶν Ὀλυνθίων τὸ
killing until to the-very he-pursued of-the Olynthians the
τεῖχος. καὶ ἐλέγετο ὁ Δέρδας ἀποκτεῖναι ἐν τούτῳ τῷ
wall and was-said — Derdas to-have-killed in this the
ἔργῳ περὶ ὀγδοήκοντα ἱππέας. καὶ ἀπὸ τούτου τειχήρεις
action about eighty horsemen and from this shut-in-by-walls
τε μᾶλλον ἦσαν οἱ πολέμιοι καὶ τῆς χώρας ὀλίγην
both more were the enemies and of-the land little
[τι] παντελῶς ἠργάζοντο.
something altogether they-worked

3 προϊόντος δὲ τοῦ χρόνου, καὶ τοῦ Τελευτίου ἐστρατευμένου
advancing and the time and — Teleutias having-campaigned
πρὸς τὴν τῶν Ὀλυνθίων πόλιν, ὡς εἴ τι δένδρον ὑπόλοιπον
toward the of-the Olynthians city so-that if any tree left
εἴη ἤ τι εἰργασμένον τοῖς πολεμίοις, φθείροι,
were or anything worked by-the enemies he-might-destroy
ἐξελθόντες οἱ Ὀλύνθιοι ἱππεῖς ἥσυχοι πορευόμενοι διέβησαν
having-gone-out the Olynthian horsemen quiet marching crossed
τὸν παρὰ τὴν πόλιν ῥέοντα ποταμόν, καὶ ἐπορεύοντο ἡσυχῇ
the beside the city flowing river and marched quietly
πρὸς τὸ ἐναντίον στράτευμα. ὡς δ' εἶδεν ὁ Τελευτίας,
toward the opposite army when and saw — Teleutias

ἀγανακτήσας τῇ τόλμῃ αὐτῶν εὐθὺς Τλημονίδαν τὸν τῶν
angered at-the boldness their at-once Tlemonidas the of-the
πελταστῶν ἄρχοντα δρόμῳ φέρεσθαι εἰς αὐτοὺς ἐκέλευσεν.
peltasts commander at-a-run to-rush at them ordered
οἱ δὲ Ὀλύνθιοι ὡς εἶδον προθέοντας τοὺς πελταστάς, 4
the and Olynthians when they-saw running-forward the peltasts
ἀναστρέψαντες ἀπεχώρουν ἥσυχοι, καὶ διέβησαν πάλιν τὸν
having-turned withdrew quietly and crossed again the
ποταμόν. οἱ δ' ἠκολούθουν μάλα θρασέως καὶ ὡς φεύγουσι
river they and followed very boldly and as fleeing-ones
διώξοντες ἐπιδιέβαινον. ἔνθα δὴ οἱ Ὀλύνθιοι ἱππεῖς, ἡνίκα
going-to-pursue crossed-after-them there indeed the Olynthian horsemen when
ἔτι εὐχείρωτοι αὐτοῖς ἐδόκουν εἶναι οἱ διαβεβηκότες,
still easy-to-handle to-them seemed to-be the-ones having-crossed
ἀναστρέψαντες ἐμβάλλουσιν αὐτοῖς, καὶ αὐτόν τε ἀπέκτειναν
having-turned charge them and himself both killed
τὸν Τλημονίδαν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων πλείους ἢ ἑκατόν.
— Tlemonidas and of-the others more than hundred
ὁ δὲ Τελευτίας ὡς εἶδε τὸ γιγνόμενον, ὀργισθεὶς 5
— and Teleutias when he-saw the thing-happening having-been-angered
ἀναλαβὼν τὰ ὅπλα ἦγε μὲν ταχὺ τοὺς ὁπλίτας, διώκειν
having-taken-up the arms led indeed quickly the hoplites to-pursue
δὲ καὶ τοὺς πελταστὰς ἐκέλευε καὶ τοὺς ἱππέας καὶ μὴ
and also the peltasts he-ordered and the horsemen and not
ἀνιέναι. πολλοὶ μὲν οὖν δὴ καὶ ἄλλοι τοῦ καιροῦ
to-let-up many indeed then indeed also others than-the right-moment
ἐγγυτέρω τοῦ τείχους διώξαντες κακῶς ἀπεχώρησαν, καὶ
nearer the wall having-pursued badly withdrew and
ἐκεῖνοι δ' ἐπεὶ ἀπὸ τῶν πύργων ἐβάλλοντο, ἀποχωρεῖν τε
those and when from the towers they-were-pelted to-withdraw both
ἠναγκάζοντο τεθορυβημένως καὶ προφυλάττεσθαι τὰ βέλη.
were-compelled in-confusion and to-guard-against the missiles

6 ἐν τούτῳ δὴ οἱ Ὀλύνθιοι ἐπεξελαύνουσι μὲν τοὺς ἱππέας,
in this indeed the Olynthians ride-out indeed the horsemen
ἐβοήθουν δὲ καὶ οἱ πελτασταί· τέλος δὲ καὶ οἱ ὁπλῖται
came-to-help and also the peltasts finally and also the hoplites
ἐπεξέθεον, καὶ τεταραγμένῃ τῇ φάλαγγι προσπίπτουσι. καὶ
sallied-out and on-disordered the phalanx fall and
ὁ μὲν Τελευτίας ἐνταῦθα μαχόμενος ἀποθνῄσκει. τούτου
— indeed Teleutias there fighting dies this
δὲ γενομένου εὐθὺς καὶ οἱ ἀμφ' αὐτὸν ἐνέκλιναν, καὶ
and having-happened at-once also the-ones around him gave-way and
οὐδεὶς ἔτι ἵστατο, ἀλλὰ πάντες ἔφευγον, οἱ μὲν
no-one any-longer stood but all fled the-ones indeed
ἐπὶ Σπαρτώλου, οἱ δὲ ἐπὶ Ἀκάνθου, οἱ δὲ
toward Spartolus the-others but toward Acanthus the-others and
εἰς Ἀπολλωνίαν, οἱ πλεῖστοι δὲ εἰς Ποτείδαιαν. ὡς δ'
into Apollonia the most and into Potidaea as and
ἄλλος ἄλλῃ ἔφευγον, οὕτω καὶ οἱ πολέμιοι ἄλλος
one in-another-direction fled so also the enemies one
ἄλλοσε διώκοντες παμπληθεῖς ἀπέκτειναν ἀνθρώπους
in-another-direction pursuing very-many killed men
καὶ ὅτιπερ ὄφελος ἦν τοῦ στρατεύματος.
and whatever-indeed use was of-the army

7 Ἐκ μέντοι γε τῶν τοιούτων παθῶν [ὡς] ἐγώ φημι
From however at-least the such sufferings as I say
ἀνθρώπους παιδεύεσθαι μάλιστα μὲν [οὖν] ὡς οὐδ'
men to-be-taught most indeed then that not-even
οἰκέτας χρὴ ὀργῇ κολάζειν· πολλάκις γὰρ καὶ δεσπόται
servants it-is-needful in-anger to-punish often for even masters
ὀργιζόμενοι μείζω κακὰ ἔπαθον ἢ ἐποίησαν· ἀτὰρ
being-angry greater evils suffered than they-did but
ἀντιπάλοις τὸ μετ' ὀργῆς ἀλλὰ μὴ γνώμῃ προσφέρεσθαι
against-opponents the with anger but not with-judgment to-attack

ὅλον ἁμάρτημα. ἡ μὲν γὰρ ὀργὴ ἀπρονόητον, ἡ δὲ
a-whole error the indeed for anger without-forethought the but
γνώμη σκοπεῖ οὐδὲν ἧττον μή τι πάθῃ ἢ ὅπως
judgment considers no less lest anything it-suffer than how
βλάψῃ τι τοὺς πολεμίους.
it-may-harm something the enemies

Τοῖς δ' οὖν Λακεδαιμονίοις, ἐπεὶ ἤκουσαν τὸ πρᾶγμα, 8
To-the and then Lacedaemonians when they-heard the affair
βουλευομένοις ἐδόκει οὐ φαύλην πεμπτέον δύναμιν εἶναι,
deliberating it-seemed not slight to-be-sent force to-be
ὅπως τό τε φρόνημα τῶν νενικηκότων κατασβεσθείη καὶ μὴ
so-that the both pride of-the having-won might-be-quenched and not
μάτην τὰ πεποιημένα γένοιτο. οὕτω δὲ γνόντες ἡγεμόνα
in-vain the things-done might-become thus and having-decided as-leader
μὲν Ἀγησίπολιν τὸν βασιλέα ἐκπέμπουσι, μετ' αὐτοῦ δὲ
indeed Agesipolis the king they-send-out with him and
ὥσπερ Ἀγησιλάου εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν τριάκοντα Σπαρτιατῶν.
as with-Agesilaus to — Asia thirty Spartiates

πολλοὶ δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ τῶν περιοίκων ἐθελονταὶ καλοὶ 9
many and him also of-the perioeci volunteers fine
κἀγαθοὶ ἠκολούθουν, καὶ ξένοι τῶν τροφίμων καλουμένων,
and-good followed and foreigners of-the foster-sons called
καὶ νόθοι τῶν Σπαρτιατῶν, μάλα εὐειδεῖς τε καὶ τῶν ἐν
and bastards of-the Spartiates very handsome both and of-the in
τῇ πόλει καλῶν οὐκ ἄπειροι. συνεστρατεύοντο δὲ καὶ ἐκ
the city fine-things not inexperienced campaigned-with and also from
τῶν συμμαχίδων πόλεων ἐθελονταί, καὶ Θετταλῶν γε
the allied cities volunteers and of-Thessalians at-least
ἱππεῖς, γνωσθῆναι τῷ Ἀγησιπόλιδι βουλόμενοι, καὶ Ἀμύντας
horsemen to-become-known — to-Agesipolis wishing and Amyntas

δὲ καὶ Δέρδας ἔτι προθυμότερον ἢ πρόσθεν. Ἀγησίπολις
and also Derdas still more-eagerly than before Agesipolis
μὲν δὴ ταῦτα πράττων ἐπορεύετο ἐπὶ τὴν Ὄλυνθον.
indeed then these-things doing marched against — Olynthus
10 Ἡ δὲ τῶν Φλειασίων πόλις, ἐπαινεθεῖσα μὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ
The and of-the Phliasians city having-been-praised indeed by —
Ἀγησιπόλιδος ὅτι πολλὰ καὶ ταχέως αὐτῷ χρήματα εἰς τὴν
Agesipolis because much and quickly to-him money for the
στρατείαν ἔδοσαν, νομίζουσα δ' ἔξω ὄντος Ἀγησιπόλιδος οὐκ
campaign they-gave thinking but outside being Agesipolis not
ἂν ἐξελθεῖν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς Ἀγησίλαον, οὐδ' ἂν γενέσθαι ὥστε
— to-go-out against them Agesilaus nor — to-happen that
ἅμα ἀμφοτέρους τοὺς βασιλέας ἔξω Σπάρτης εἶναι,
at-the-same-time both the kings outside Sparta to-be
θρασέως οὐδὲν τῶν δικαίων ἐποίουν τοῖς κατεληλυθόσιν.
boldly nothing of-the just-things did to-the having-returned
οἱ μὲν γὰρ δὴ φυγάδες ἠξίουν τὰ ἀμφίλογα ἐν ἴσῳ
the indeed for indeed exiles claimed the disputed-things in an-impartial
δικαστηρίῳ κρίνεσθαι· οἱ δὲ ἠνάγκαζον ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ πόλει
court to-be-decided they but compelled in the-very the city
διαδικάζεσθαι. λεγόντων δὲ τῶν κατεληλυθότων, καὶ τίς αὕτη
to-be-adjudged saying and the having-returned and what this
δίκη εἴη ὅπου αὐτοὶ οἱ ἀδικοῦντες δικάζοιεν, οὐδὲν εἰσήκουον.
justice was where themselves the wrongdoers should-judge nothing they-listened
11 ἐκ τούτου μέντοι ἔρχονται εἰς Λακεδαίμονα οἱ κατελθόντες
from this however go to Lacedaemon the having-returned
κατηγορήσοντες τῆς πόλεως, καὶ ἄλλοι δὲ τῶν οἴκοθεν
going-to-accuse the city and others and of-the from-home
συνηκολούθουν, λέγοντες ὅτι πολλοῖς καὶ τῶν πολιτῶν
followed-along saying that to-many also of-the citizens
οὐ δοκοῖεν δίκαια πάσχειν. ἀγανακτήσασα δὲ τούτοις
not they-seemed just-things to-suffer having-been-angered and at-these

τῶν Φλειασίων ἡ πόλις ἐζημίωσε πάντας ὅσοι μὴ
of-the Phliasians the city fined all as-many-as not
πεμπούσης τῆς πόλεως ἦλθον εἰς Λακεδαίμονα.
sending the city went to Lacedaemon
οἱ δὲ ζημιωθέντες οἴκαδε μὲν ὤκνουν ἀπιέναι, μένοντες δ' 12
the and fined home indeed hesitated to-go-away remaining but
ἐδίδασκον ὡς οὗτοι μὲν εἴησαν οἱ βιαζόμενοι ταῦτα,
taught that these indeed were the-ones forcing these-things
οἵπερ σφᾶς τε ἐξέβαλον καὶ Λακεδαιμονίους ἀπέκλεισαν,
who-very them both expelled and Lacedaemonians shut-out
οὗτοι δὲ οἱ πριάμενοί τε τὰ σφέτερα καὶ βιαζόμενοι μὴ
these and the-ones having-bought both the their-own and forcing not
ἀποδιδόναι, οὗτοι δὲ καὶ νῦν διαπεπραγμένοι εἰσὶ ζημιωθῆναι
to-give-back these and also now have-managed are to-be-fined
σφᾶς αὐτοὺς εἰς Λακεδαίμονα ἐλθόντας, ὅπως τοῦ λοιποῦ
them themselves to Lacedaemon having-come so-that for-the future
μηδεὶς τολμᾷ ἰέναι δηλώσων τὰ ἐν τῇ πόλει γιγνόμενα.
no-one should-dare to-go going-to-reveal the-things in the city happening
τῷ δ' ὄντι ὑβρίζειν δοκούντων τῶν Φλειασίων φρουρὰν 13
in-the and reality to-be-insolent seeming the Phliasians a-levy
φαίνουσιν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς οἱ ἔφοροι. ἦν δὲ οὐ τῷ
declare against them the ephors it-was and not —
Ἀγησιλάῳ ἀχθομένῳ ταῦτα· καὶ γὰρ τῷ μὲν πατρὶ
to-Agesilaus displeasing these-things and for to-the indeed father
αὐτοῦ Ἀρχιδάμῳ ξένοι ἦσαν οἱ περὶ Ποδάνεμον
his Archidamus guest-friends were the-ones around Podanemus
(καὶ τότε τῶν κατεληλυθότων ἦσαν), αὐτῷ δὲ οἱ
and then of-the having-returned were to-himself and the-ones
ἀμφὶ Προκλέα τὸν Ἱππονίκου.
around Procles the son-of-Hipponicus

14 ὡς δὲ τῶν διαβατηρίων γενομένων οὐκ ἔμελλεν, ἀλλ'
when and the crossing-sacrifices having-come-out not he-delayed but
ἐπορεύετο, πολλαὶ πρεσβεῖαι ἀπήντων καὶ χρήματα
marched many embassies met-him and money
ἐδίδοσαν, ὥστε μὴ ἐμβάλλειν. ὁ δὲ ἀπεκρίνατο ὅτι οὐχ
offered so-that not to-invade he but answered that not
ἵνα ἀδικοίη στρατεύοιτο, ἀλλ' ὅπως τοῖς ἀδικουμένοις
so-that he-might-do-wrong he-was-campaigning but so-that the wronged
βοηθήσειεν.
he-might-help

15 οἱ δὲ τελευτῶντες πάντα ἔφασκον ποιήσειν, ἐδέοντό τε
they and finally everything said they-would-do begged and
μὴ ἐμβάλλειν. ὁ δὲ πάλιν ἔλεγεν ὡς οὐκ ἂν πιστεύσειε
not to-invade he but again said that not — he-would-trust
λόγοις, καὶ γὰρ τὸ πρότερον ψεύσασθαι αὐτούς, ἀλλ'
words and for the before to-have-lied them but
ἔργου τινὸς πιστοῦ δεῖν ἔφη. ἐρωτώμενος δὲ καὶ τί
of-a-deed some trustworthy to-be-needful he-said being-asked and also what
τοῦτ' ἂν εἴη; πάλιν ἀπεκρίνατο· Ὅπερ καὶ πρόσθεν,
this — might-be again answered What-very also before
ἔφη, ποιήσαντες οὐδὲν ὑφ' ἡμῶν ἠδικήθητε. τοῦτο δὲ
he-said having-done in-nothing by us you-were-wronged this and
ἦν τὴν ἀκρόπολιν παραδοῦναι.
was the acropolis to-hand-over

16 οὐκ ἐθελόντων δὲ αὐτῶν τοῦτο ποιεῖν, ἐνέβαλέ τε [καὶ]
not being-willing and them this to-do he-invaded both also
εἰς τὴν χώραν καὶ ταχὺ περιτειχίσας ἐπολιόρκει αὐτούς.
into the land and quickly having-walled-around besieged them
πολλῶν δὲ λεγόντων Λακεδαιμονίων ὡς ὀλίγων ἕνεκεν
many and saying of-Lacedaemonians that of-few for-the-sake
ἀνθρώπων πόλει ἀπεχθάνοιντο πλέον πεντακισχιλίων
men with-a-city they-made-themselves-hateful of-more than-five-thousand

ἀνδρῶν· καὶ γὰρ δὴ ὅπως τοῦτ᾽ ἔνδηλον εἴη, οἱ
men and for indeed so-that this evident might-be the
Φλειάσιοι ἐν τῷ φανερῷ τοῖς ἔξω ἐξεκλησίαζον· ὁ
Phliasians in the open to-the-ones outside held-assemblies —
μέντοι Ἀγησίλαος πρὸς τοῦτο ἀντεμηχανήσατο.
however Agesilaus against this contrived-a-counter
ὁπότε γὰρ ἐξίοιεν ἢ διὰ φιλίαν ἢ διὰ 17
whenever for they-came-out either because-of friendship or because-of
συγγένειαν τῶν φυγάδων, ἐδίδασκε ξυσσίτιά τε αὐτῶν
kinship with-the exiles he-taught common-messes both of-them
κατασκευάζειν καὶ εἰς τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἱκανὸν διδόναι, ὁπόσοι
to-set-up and for the provisions enough to-give as-many-as
γυμνάζεσθαι ἐθέλοιεν· καὶ ὅπλα δὲ ἐκπορίζειν ἅπασι
to-exercise wished and arms and to-provide for-all
τούτοις διεκελεύετο, καὶ μὴ ὀκνεῖν εἰς ταῦτα χρήματα
these he-urged and not to-hesitate for these-things money
δανείζεσθαι. οἱ δὲ ταῦτα ὑπηρετοῦντες ἀπέδειξαν πλείους
to-borrow they and these-things serving showed more
χιλίων ἀνδρῶν ἄριστα μὲν τὰ σώματα ἔχοντας,
than-a-thousand men best indeed the bodies having
εὐτάκτους δὲ καὶ εὐοπλοτάτους· ὥστε τελευτῶντες οἱ
well-disciplined and also best-armed so-that finally the
Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἔλεγον ὡς τοιούτων δέοιντο συστρατιωτῶν.
Lacedaemonians said that such they-needed fellow-soldiers
Καὶ Ἀγησίλαος μὲν δὴ περὶ ταῦτα ἦν. ὁ δὲ Ἀγησίπολις 18
And Agesilaus indeed then about these-things was — and Agesipolis
εὐθὺς [τε] ἐκ τῆς Μακεδονίας προσιὼν ἔθετο πρὸς τῇ
at-once both from — Macedonia advancing grounded by the
πόλει τῶν Ὀλυνθίων τὰ ὅπλα. ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐδεὶς ἀντεξῄει
city of-the Olynthians the arms when and no-one came-out-against
αὐτῷ, τότε τῆς Ὀλυνθίας εἴ τι ὑπόλοιπον ἦν ἐδῄου
him then of-the Olynthian-land if anything left was he-ravaged

καὶ εἰς τὰς συμμαχίδας ἰὼν αὐτῶν ἔφθειρε τὸν σῖτον·
and into the allied going of-them destroyed the grain
Τορώνην δὲ καὶ προσβαλὼν εἷλε κατὰ κράτος.
Torone and also having-attacked he-took by force
19 ἐν δὲ τούτοις ὄντα κατὰ θέρους ἀκμὴν καῦμα περιφλεγὲς
in and these-things being at summer's height a-fever burning
λαμβάνει αὐτόν. ὡς δὲ πρόσθεν ἑορακότα τὸ ἐν Ἀφύτει
seizes him as and before having-seen the in Aphytis
τοῦ Διονύσου ἱερὸν ἔρως αὐτὸν τότ' ἔσχε τῶν τε
— of-Dionysus temple a-longing him then held of-the both
σκιερῶν σκηνημάτων καὶ τῶν λαμπρῶν καὶ ψυχρῶν
shady tents and of-the bright and cold
ὑδάτων. ἐκομίσθη μὲν οὖν ἐκεῖσε ἔτι ζῶν, ὅμως μέντοι
waters he-was-carried indeed then thither still living nevertheless however
ἑβδομαῖος ἀφ' οὗ ἔκαμεν ἔξω τοῦ ἱεροῦ ἐτελεύτησε.
on-the-seventh-day from which he-fell-ill outside of-the temple he-died
καὶ ἐκεῖνος μὲν ἐν μέλιτι τεθεὶς καὶ κομισθεὶς
and that-one indeed in honey having-been-placed and having-been-carried
οἴκαδε ἔτυχε τῆς βασιλικῆς ταφῆς.
home obtained the royal burial
20 Ἀγησίλαος δὲ τοῦτο ἀκούσας οὐχ ἥ τις ἂν ᾠ̓ετο
Agesilaus and this having-heard not as anyone — would-think
ἐφήσθη ὡς ἀντιπάλῳ, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐδάκρυσε καὶ ἐπόθησε τὴν
rejoiced as at-a-rival but even wept and missed the
συνουσίαν· συσκηνοῦσι μὲν γὰρ δὴ βασιλεῖς ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ,
companionship share-a-tent indeed for indeed kings in the same
ὅταν οἴκοι ὦσιν. ὁ δὲ Ἀγησίπολις τῷ Ἀγησιλάῳ ἱκανὸς
whenever at-home they-are — and Agesipolis — with-Agesilaus able
μὲν ἦν καὶ ἡβητικῶν καὶ θηρευτικῶν καὶ ἱππικῶν καὶ
indeed was both of-youthful and of-hunting and of-horse and
παιδικῶν λόγων μετέχειν· πρὸς δὲ τούτοις καὶ ὑπῃδεῖτο
of-love talks to-share besides and these also he-felt-respect-for

αὐτὸν ἐν τῇ συσκηνίᾳ, ὥσπερ εἰκὸς πρεσβύτερον. καὶ οἱ
him in the tent-sharing as reasonable an-older-man and the
μὲν Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἀντ' ἐκείνου Πολυβιάδην ἁρμοστὴν
indeed Lacedaemonians instead-of that-one Polybiades as-harmost
ἐπὶ τὴν Ὄλυνθον ἐκπέμπουσιν.
to — Olynthus send-out

Ὁ δὲ Ἀγησίλαος ἤδη μὲν ὑπερέβαλε τὸν χρόνον, ὅσου 21
— but Agesilaus already indeed had-exceeded the time of-as-much-as
ἐλέγετο ἐν [τῇ] Φλειοῦντι σῖτος εἶναι· τοσοῦτον γὰρ
was-said in — Phlius food to-be so-much for
ἐγκράτεια γαστρὸς διαφέρει ὥστε οἱ Φλειάσιοι τὸν ἥμισυν
control of-the-belly makes-a-difference that the Phliasians the half
ψηφισάμενοι σῖτον τελεῖν ἢ πρόσθεν καὶ ποιοῦντες τοῦτο
having-voted food to-consume than before and doing this
τὸν διπλάσιον τοῦ εἰκότος χρόνον πολιορκούμενοι διήρκεσαν.
the double of-the likely time being-besieged held-out

καὶ τόλμα δὲ ἀτολμίας ἔσθ' ὅτε τοσοῦτον διαφέρει 22
and boldness and than-timidity there-is when so-much differs
ὥστε Δελφίων τις, λαμπρὸς δοκῶν εἶναι, λαβὼν
that Delphion a-certain brilliant seeming to-be having-taken
πρὸς αὑτὸν τριακοσίους ἄνδρας Φλειασίων ἱκανὸς μὲν
to himself three-hundred men of-Phliasians able indeed
ἦν κωλύειν τοὺς βουλομένους εἰρήνην ποιεῖσθαι, ἱκανὸς
was to-prevent the-ones wishing peace to-make able
δὲ οἷς ἠπίστει εἴρξας φυλάττειν, ἐδύνατο δὲ εἴς
and whom he-distrusted having-shut-up to-guard he-was-able and to
τε τὰς φυλακὰς ἀναγκάζειν τὸ πλῆθος ἰέναι καὶ τούτους
both the guard-posts to-compel the multitude to-go and these
ἐφοδεύων πιστοὺς παρέχεσθαι. πολλάκις δὲ μεθ' ὧν
going-round faithful to-show often and with whom

εἶχε περὶ αὑτὸν καὶ ἐκθέων ἀπέκρουε φύλακας ἄλλοτ᾽
he-had around himself also sallying-out drove-back guards at-one-time
ἄλλῃ τοῦ περιτετειχισμένου κύκλου.
in-one-place of-the walled-around circle

23 ἐπεὶ μέντοι οἱ ἐπίλεκτοι οὗτοι πάντα τρόπον ζητοῦντες οὐχ
when however the picked-men these every way seeking not
ηὕρισκον σῖτον ἐν τῇ πόλει, ἐκ τούτου δὴ πέμψαντες
found food in the city from this indeed having-sent
πρὸς τὸν Ἀγησίλαον ἐδέοντο σπείσασθαι πρεσβείαν εἰς
to — Agesilaus they-asked to-make-a-truce an-embassy to
Λακεδαίμονα ἰοῦσι· δεδόχθαι γὰρ σφίσιν ἔφασαν
Lacedaemon for-(them)-going it-had-been-decided for by-them they-said
ἐπιτρέπειν τοῖς τέλεσι τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων χρήσασθαι τῇ
to-entrust to-the authorities of-the Lacedaemonians to-use the
πόλει ὅ τι βούλοιντο.
city what ever they-wished

24 ὁ δὲ ὀργισθεὶς ὅτι ἄκυρον αὐτὸν ἐποίουν, πέμψας μὲν
he and having-been-angered because powerless him they-made having-sent indeed
πρὸς τοὺς οἴκοι φίλους διεπράξατο ἑαυτῷ ἐπιτραπῆναι
to the at-home friends managed for-himself to-be-entrusted
τὰ περὶ Φλειοῦντος, ἐσπείσατο δὲ τῇ πρεσβείᾳ.
the-things about Phlius he-made-a-truce and with-the embassy
φυλακῇ δὲ ἔτι ἰσχυροτέρᾳ ἢ πρότερον ἐφύλαττεν, ἵνα
with-guard and still stronger than before he-guarded so-that
μηδεὶς τῶν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἐξίοι. ὅμως μέντοι ὅ
no-one of-the from the city should-go-out nevertheless however —
γε Δελφίων καὶ στιγματίας τις μετ᾽ αὐτοῦ, ὃς πολλὰ
at-least Delphion and a-branded-slave some with him who many
ὑφείλετο ὅπλα τῶν πολιορκούντων, ἀπέδρασαν νύκτωρ.
stole arms of-the besiegers ran-away by-night

ἐπεὶ δὲ ἦκον ἐκ τῆς Λακεδαίμονος ἀπαγγέλλοντες 25
when and they-came from — Lacedaemon reporting
ὅτι ἡ πόλις ἐπιτρέποι Ἀγησιλάῳ διαγνῶναι τὰ ἐν
that the city entrusted to-Agesilaus to-decide the-things in
Φλειοῦντι ὅπως αὐτῷ δοκοίη, Ἀγησίλαος δὴ οὕτως
Phlius as to-him might-seem-good Agesilaus indeed thus
ἔγνω, πεντήκοντα μὲν ἄνδρας τῶν κατεληλυθότων,
decided fifty indeed men of-the having-returned
πεντήκοντα δὲ τῶν οἴκοθεν πρῶτον μὲν ἀνακρῖναι ὅντινά
fifty and of-the from-home first indeed to-examine whom
τε ζῆν ἐν τῇ πόλει καὶ ὅντινα ἀποθανεῖν δίκαιον εἴη·
both to-live in the city and whom to-die just were
ἔπειτα δὲ νόμους θεῖναι, καθ' οὓς πολιτεύσοιντο· ἕως
then and laws to-make according-to which they-would-govern until
δ' ἂν ταῦτα διαπράξωνται, φυλακὴν καὶ μισθὸν τοῖς
and — these-things they-accomplish a-guard and pay for-the
φρουροῖς ἓξ μηνῶν κατέλιπε. ταῦτα δὲ ποιήσας τοὺς
garrison six months he-left these-things and having-done the
μὲν συμμάχους ἀφῆκε, τὸ δὲ πολιτικὸν οἴκαδε ἀπήγαγε.
indeed allies he-dismissed the and citizen-force home led-away
καὶ τὰ μὲν περὶ Φλειοῦντα οὕτως αὖ ἐπετετέλεστο
and the-things indeed about Phlius thus in-turn had-been-completed
ἐν ὀκτὼ μησὶ καὶ ἐνιαυτῷ.
in eight months and a-year

Καὶ ὁ Πολυβιάδης δὲ ἤδη παντάπασι κακῶς ἔχοντας 26
And — Polybiades and already altogether badly faring
λιμῷ τοὺς Ὀλυνθίους διὰ τὸ μήτ' ἐκ τῆς γῆς
from-hunger the Olynthians because-of the neither from the land
λαμβάνειν μήτε κατὰ θάλατταν εἰσάγεσθαι σῖτον αὐτοῖς,
to-take nor by sea to-be-imported food to-them
ἠνάγκασε πέμψαι εἰς Λακεδαίμονα περὶ εἰρήνης· οἱ δ' and
compelled to-send to Lacedaemon about peace they and

ἐλθόντες πρέσβεις αὐτοκράτορες συνθήκας ἐποιήσαντο τὸν
having-come envoys with-full-powers a-compact made the
αὐτὸν μὲν ἐχθρὸν καὶ φίλον Λακεδαιμονίοις νομίζειν,
same indeed enemy and friend as-the-Lacedaemonians to-consider
ἀκολουθεῖν δὲ ὅποι ἂν ἡγῶνται καὶ σύμμαχοι εἶναι. καὶ
to-follow and wherever — they-lead and allies to-be and
ὀμόσαντες ταύταις ἐμμενεῖν οὕτως ἀπῆλθον οἴκαδε.
having-sworn these-things to-abide-by thus went-away home

27 Προκεχωρηκότων δὲ τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις ὥστε Θηβαίους
Having-advanced and for-the Lacedaemonians so-that Thebans
μὲν καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους Βοιωτοὺς παντάπασιν ἐπ᾽ ἐκείνοις
indeed and the other Boeotians altogether in their-power
εἶναι, Κορινθίους δὲ πιστοτάτους γεγενῆσθαι, Ἀργείους δὲ
to-be Corinthians and most-faithful to-have-become Argives and
τεταπεινῶσθαι [διὰ τὸ μηδὲν ἔτι ὠφελεῖν αὐτοὺς
to-have-been-humbled because-of the nothing any-longer to-help them
τῶν μηνῶν τὴν ὑποφοράν], Ἀθηναίους δὲ ἠρημῶσθαι,
of-the months the plea Athenians and to-have-been-isolated
τῶν δ᾽ αὖ συμμάχων κεκολασμένων οἳ δυσμενῶς εἶχον
of-the and in-turn allies having-been-punished who ill-disposed were
αὐτοῖς, παντάπασιν ἤδη καλῶς καὶ ἀσφαλῶς ἡ ἀρχὴ
to-them altogether already finely and securely the rule
ἐδόκει αὐτοῖς κατεσκευάσθαι.
seemed to-them to-have-been-established

The gods punish the seizure of the Cadmea. The secretary Phyllidas brings Melon and other exiles disguised as women to the polemarchs' party, and they kill Archias, Philip, and Leontiades; the Spartan harmost gives up the citadel and is put to death at home. Cleombrotus leads a winter campaign that does little. Sphodrias, harmost at Thespiae, marches by night to seize Piraeus, is caught by daylight at Thria, and is acquitted because Archidamus, at the plea of Sphodrias' son Cleonymus, whom he loves, wins over Agesilaus. Athens joins Thebes. Agesilaus ravages Theban land, Phoebidas, left at Thespiae, falls in a skirmish, and Agesilaus ravages it again before falling ill; the hungry Thebans get grain when Oreus revolts, and Cleombrotus turns back at Cithaeron. At sea Chabrias defeats Pollis and brings in Athens' grain, and Timotheus sails round the Peloponnese, wins over Corcyra, and beats Nicolochus at Alyzia.

Πολλὰ μὲν οὖν ἄν τις ἔχοι καὶ ἄλλα λέγειν 1
Many indeed then — anyone could-have also other-things to-tell
καὶ Ἑλληνικὰ καὶ βαρβαρικά, ὡς θεοὶ οὔτε τῶν
both Greek and barbarian how gods neither of-the
ἀσεβούντων οὔτε τῶν ἀνόσια ποιούντων ἀμελοῦσι· νῦν
impious nor of-the unholy-things doing are-careless now
γε μὴν λέξω τὰ προκείμενα. Λακεδαιμόνιοί τε γὰρ
at-least truly I-will-tell the things-at-hand Lacedaemonians both for
οἱ ὀμόσαντες αὐτονόμους ἐάσειν τὰς πόλεις τὴν ἐν
the-ones having-sworn autonomous to-leave the cities the in
Θήβαις ἀκρόπολιν κατασχόντες ὑπ' αὐτῶν μόνων τῶν
Thebes acropolis having-seized by themselves alone the
ἀδικηθέντων ἐκολάσθησαν, πρῶτον οὐδ' ὑφ' ἑνὸς τῶν
wronged were-punished first not-even by one of-the
πώποτε ἀνθρώπων κρατηθέντες, τούς τε τῶν πολιτῶν
ever men having-been-overcome the both of-the citizens
εἰσαγαγόντας εἰς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν αὐτοὺς καὶ βουληθέντας
having-led-in into the acropolis them and having-wished

Λακεδαιμονίοις δουλεύειν τὴν πόλιν, ὥστε αὐτοὶ τυραννεῖν,
to-Lacedaemonians to-be-slave the city so-that themselves to-be-tyrants
τὴν τούτων ἀρχὴν ἑπτὰ μόνον τῶν φυγόντων ἤρκεσαν
the of-these rule seven only of-the exiles sufficed
καταλῦσαι. ὡς δὲ τοῦτ' ἐγένετο διηγήσομαι.
to-overthrow how and this happened I-will-narrate

2 Ἦν τις Φιλλίδας, ὃς ἐγραμμάτευε τοῖς περὶ
There-was a-certain Phyllidas who was-secretary to-the-ones around
Ἀρχίαν πολεμάρχοις, καὶ τἆλλα ὑπηρέτει, ὡς ἐδόκει,
Archias polemarchs and the-other served as seemed
ἄριστα. τούτῳ δ' ἀφιγμένῳ Ἀθήναζε κατὰ πρᾶξίν
best to-this-one and having-come to-Athens on business
τινα καὶ πρόσθεν γνώριμος ὢν Μέλων τῶν Ἀθήναζε
some and before acquainted being Melon of-the to-Athens
πεφευγότων Θηβαίων συγγίγνεται, καὶ διαπυθόμενος μὲν
having-fled Thebans meets and having-learned indeed
τὰ περὶ Ἀρχίαν τε τὸν πολεμαρχοῦντα καὶ [τὴν περὶ]
the-things about Archias both the being-polemarch and the around
Φίλιππον τυραννίδα, γνοὺς δὲ μισοῦντα αὐτὸν ἔτι
Philip tyranny having-recognized and hating him still
μᾶλλον αὑτοῦ τὰ οἴκοι, πιστὰ δοὺς καὶ λαβὼν
more than-himself the-things at-home pledges having-given and having-received
συνέθετο ὡς δεῖ ἕκαστα γίγνεσθαι.
arranged how it-was-needful each-thing to-happen

3 ἐκ δὲ τούτου προσλαβὼν ὁ Μέλων ἓξ τοὺς
from and this having-taken-along — Melon six the
ἐπιτηδειοτάτους τῶν φευγόντων ξιφίδια ἔχοντας καὶ ἄλλο
most-suitable of-the exiles daggers having and other
ὅπλον οὐδέν, ἔρχεται πρῶτον μὲν εἰς τὴν χώραν νυκτός·
weapon none goes first indeed into the country by-night
ἔπειτα δὲ ἡμερεύσαντες ἔν τινι τόπῳ ἐρήμῳ πρὸς τὰς
then and having-spent-the-day in some place deserted to the

πύλας ἦλθον, ὡς δὴ ἐξ ἀγροῦ ἀπιόντες, ἡνίκαπερ
gates they-came as indeed from field returning at-the-very-time
οἱ ἀπὸ τῶν ἔργων ὀψιαίτατοι. ἐπεὶ δ' εἰσῆλθον εἰς
the from the work-fields latest when and they-entered into
τὴν πόλιν, διενυκτέρευσαν μὲν ἐκείνην τὴν νύκτα παρὰ
the city they-spent-the-night indeed that the night with
Χάρωνί τινι, καὶ τὴν ἐπιοῦσαν δὲ ἡμέραν διημέρευσαν.
Charon a-certain and the following and day they-spent-the-day
ὁ μὲν οὖν Φιλλίδας τά τε ἄλλα ἐπεμελεῖτο τοῖς 4
— indeed then Phyllidas the both other-things took-care for-the
πολεμάρχοις, ὡς Ἀφροδίσια ἄγουσιν ἐπ' ἐξόδῳ τῆς
polemarchs as Aphrodisia celebrating at the-going-out of-the
ἀρχῆς, καὶ δὴ καὶ γυναῖκας πάλαι ὑπισχνούμενος ἄξειν
office and indeed also women long-ago promising to-bring
αὐτοῖς τὰς σεμνοτάτας καὶ καλλίστας τῶν ἐν Θήβαις,
to-them the most-stately and most-beautiful of-the in Thebes
τότε ἔφη ἄξειν. οἱ δέ — ἦσαν γὰρ τοιοῦτοι —
then he-said he-would-bring they and they-were for such
μάλα ἡδέως προσεδέχοντο νυκτερεύειν.
very gladly expected to-spend-the-night
ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐδείπνησάν τε καὶ συμπροθυμουμένου ἐκείνου 5
when and they-had-dined both and joining-in-the-eagerness that-one
ταχὺ ἐμεθύσθησαν, πάλαι κελευόντων ἄγειν τὰς ἑταίρας,
quickly they-were-drunk long-ago ordering to-bring the courtesans
ἐξελθὼν ἤγαγε τοὺς περὶ Μέλωνα, τρεῖς μὲν στείλας
having-gone-out he-brought the-ones around Melon three indeed having-dressed
ὡς δεσποίνας, τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους ὡς θεραπαίνας.
as ladies the and others as maidservants
κἀκείνους μὲν εἰσήγαγεν εἰς τὸ προταμιεῖον τοῦ 6
and-those indeed he-brought-in into the antechamber of-the
πολεμαρχείου, αὐτὸς δ' εἰσελθὼν εἶπε τοῖς περὶ
polemarch's-house himself and having-gone-in said to-the-ones around

Ἀρχίαν ὅτι οὐκ ἄν φασιν εἰσελθεῖν αἱ γυναῖκες, εἴ τις
Archias that not — they-say would-come-in the women if any
τῶν διακόνων ἔνδον ἔσοιτο. ἔνθεν οἱ μὲν ταχὺ ἐκέλευον
of-the attendants inside should-be whereupon they indeed quickly ordered
πάντας ἐξιέναι, ὁ δὲ Φιλλίδας δοὺς οἶνον εἰς ἑνὸς
all to-go-out — and Phyllidas having-given wine to one
τῶν διακόνων ἐξέπεμψεν αὐτούς. ἐκ δὲ τούτου εἰσήγαγε
of-the attendants sent-out them from and this he-brought-in
τὰς ἑταιρίδας δή, καὶ ἐκάθιζε παρ' ἑκάστῳ. ἦν δὲ
the courtesans indeed and seated-them beside each it-was and
σύνθημα, ἐπεὶ καθίζοιντο, παίειν εὐθὺς ἀνακαλυψαμένους.
the-signal when they-were-seated to-strike at-once having-unveiled
7 οἱ μὲν δὴ οὕτω λέγουσιν αὐτοὺς ἀποθανεῖν, οἱ
the-ones indeed then so say them to-have-died the-others
δὲ καὶ ὡς κωμαστὰς εἰσελθόντας τοὺς ἀμφὶ Μέλωνα
but also as revelers having-come-in the-ones around Melon
ἀποκτεῖναι τοὺς πολεμάρχους. λαβὼν δὲ ὁ Φιλλίδας
to-have-killed the polemarchs having-taken and — Phyllidas
τρεῖς αὐτῶν ἐπορεύετο ἐπὶ τὴν τοῦ Λεοντιάδου οἰκίαν·
three of-them went to the — of-Leontiades house
κόψας δὲ τὴν θύραν εἶπεν ὅτι παρὰ τῶν πολεμάρχων
having-knocked and the door he-said that from the polemarchs
ἀπαγγεῖλαί τι βούλοιτο. ὁ δὲ ἐτύγχανε μὲν χωρὶς
to-report something he-wished he and happened indeed apart
κατακείμενος ἔτι μετὰ δεῖπνον, καὶ ἡ γυνὴ ἐριουργοῦσα
lying still after dinner and the wife spinning-wool
παρεκάθητο. ἐκέλευσε δὲ τὸν Φιλλίδαν πιστὸν νομίζων
sat-beside he-ordered and — Phyllidas trustworthy thinking
εἰσιέναι. οἱ δ' ἐπεὶ εἰσῆλθον, τὸν μὲν ἀπέκτειναν, τὴν
to-come-in they and when they-came-in the-one indeed they-killed the
δὲ γυναῖκα φοβήσαντες κατεσιώπησαν. ἐξιόντες δὲ εἶπον
but wife having-frightened silenced going-out and they-told

τὴν θύραν κεκλεῖσθαι· εἰ δὲ λήψονται ἀνεῳγμένην,
the door to-be-shut if but they-should-find-it opened
ἠπείλησαν ἀποκτεῖναι ἅπαντας τοὺς ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ.
they-threatened to-kill all the-ones in the house
ἐπεὶ δὲ ταῦτα ἐπέπρακτο, λαβὼν δύο ὁ Φιλλίδας 8
when and these-things had-been-done having-taken two — Phyllidas
τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἦλθε πρὸς τὸ ἀνάκαιον, καὶ εἶπε τῷ
of-the men came to the Anaceum and said to-the
εἰργμοφύλακι ὅτι ἄνδρα ἄγοι παρὰ τῶν πολεμάρχων
jailer that a-man he-brought from the polemarchs
ὃν εἶρξαι δέοι. ὡς δὲ ἀνέῳξε, τοῦτον μὲν εὐθὺς
whom to-shut-up it-was-needful when and he-opened this-one indeed at-once
ἀπέκτειναν, τοὺς δὲ δεσμώτας ἔλυσαν. καὶ τούτους μὲν
they-killed the but prisoners released and these indeed
ταχὺ τῶν ἐκ τῆς στοᾶς ὅπλων καθελόντες ὥπλισαν,
quickly of-the from the colonnade arms having-taken-down armed
καὶ ἀγαγόντες ἐπὶ τὸ Ἀμφεῖον θέσθαι ἐκέλευον τὰ ὅπλα.
and having-led to the Ampheum to-ground ordered the arms
ἐκ δὲ τούτου εὐθὺς ἐκήρυττον ἐξιέναι πάντας Θηβαίους, 9
from and this at-once they-proclaimed to-come-out all Thebans
ἱππέας τε καὶ ὁπλίτας, ὡς τῶν τυράννων τεθνεώτων. οἱ
horsemen both and hoplites as the tyrants having-died the
δὲ πολῖται, ἕως μὲν νὺξ ἦν, ἀπιστοῦντες ἡσυχίαν εἶχον·
but citizens as-long-as indeed night it-was distrusting quiet kept
ἐπεὶ δ' ἡμέρα τ' ἦν καὶ φανερὸν ἦν τὸ γεγενημένον,
when but day both was and evident was the thing-done
ταχὺ δὴ καὶ οἱ ὁπλῖται καὶ οἱ ἱππεῖς σὺν τοῖς ὅπλοις
quickly indeed also the hoplites and the horsemen with the arms
ἐξεβοήθουν. ἔπεμψαν δ' ἱππέα οἱ κατεληλυθότες καὶ ἐπὶ
came-out-to-help sent and a-horseman the having-returned also to

τοὺς πρὸς τοῖς ὁρίοις Ἀθηναίων [τοὺς] δύο τῶν στρατηγῶν.
the at the borders of-Athenians the two of-the generals
οἱ δ' εἰδότες τὸ πρᾶγμα ἐφ' ὃ ἀπεστάλκεσαν ἐβοήθουν.
they and knowing the affair for which they-had-sent came-to-help
10 ὁ μέντοι ἐν τῇ ἀκροπόλει ἁρμοστὴς ἐπεὶ ᾔσθετο τὸ
— *however in the acropolis harmost when he-perceived the*
νυκτερινὸν κήρυγμα, εὐθὺς ἔπεμψεν εἰς Πλαταιὰς καὶ
night-time proclamation at-once sent to Plataea and
Θεσπιὰς ἐπὶ βοήθειαν. καὶ τοὺς μὲν Πλαταιέας αἰσθόμενοι
Thespiae for help and the indeed Plataeans having-perceived
προσιόντας οἱ τῶν Θηβαίων ἱππεῖς, ἀπαντήσαντες
approaching the of-the Thebans horsemen having-met-them
ἀπέκτειναν αὐτῶν πλέον ἢ εἴκοσιν· ἐπεὶ δὲ εἰσῆλθον
killed of-them more than twenty when and they-came-back
ταῦτα πράξαντες καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἀπὸ τῶν ὁρίων ἤδη
these-things having-done also the Athenians from the borders already
παρῆσαν, προσέβαλον πρὸς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν.
were-present they-attacked against the acropolis
11 ὡς δὲ ἔγνωσαν οἱ ἐν τῇ ἀκροπόλει ὀλίγοι ὄντες, τήν
when and recognized the-ones in the acropolis few being the
τε προθυμίαν τῶν προσιόντων ἁπάντων ἑώρων, καὶ τῶν
both eagerness of-the attacking all they-saw and of-the
κηρυγμάτων μεγάλων γιγνομένων τοῖς πρώτοις ἀναβᾶσιν,
proclamations great being-made for-the first having-climbed
ἐκ τούτων φοβηθέντες εἶπον ὅτι ἀπίοιεν ἄν, εἰ
from these-things having-feared they-said that they-would-go-away — if
σφίσιν ἀσφάλειαν μετὰ τῶν ὅπλων ἀπιοῦσι διδοῖεν.
to-them safety with the arms going-away they-should-give
οἱ δὲ ἄσμενοί τε ἔδοσαν ἃ ᾔτουν, καὶ σπεισάμενοι
they and gladly both gave what they-asked and having-made-a-truce
καὶ ὅρκους ὀμόσαντες ἐπὶ τούτοις ἐξέπεμπον.
and oaths having-sworn on these-terms sent-them-out

ἐξιόντων μέντοι, ὅσους ἐπέγνωσαν τῶν ἐχθρῶν ὄντας, 12
going-out however as-many-as they-recognized of-the enemies being
συλλαμβάνοντες ἀπέκτειναν. ἦσαν δέ τινες οἳ καὶ
seizing they-killed there-were and some who also
ὑπὸ Ἀθηναίων τῶν ἀπὸ τῶν ὁρίων ἐπιβοηθησάντων
by Athenians the-ones from the borders having-come-to-help
ἐξεκλάπησαν καὶ διεσώθησαν. οἱ μέντοι Θηβαῖοι καὶ τοὺς
were-smuggled-out and were-saved the however Thebans even the
παῖδας τῶν ἀποθανόντων, ὅσοις ἦσαν, λαβόντες
children of-the having-died of-as-many-as there-were having-taken
ἀπέσφαξαν.
slaughtered
Ἐπεὶ δὲ ταῦτα ἐπύθοντο οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, τὸν μὲν 13
When and these-things learned the Lacedaemonians the indeed
ἁρμοστὴν τὸν ἐγκαταλιπόντα τὴν ἀκρόπολιν καὶ οὐκ
harmost the-one having-abandoned the acropolis and not
ἀναμείναντα τὴν βοήθειαν ἀπέκτειναν, φρουρὰν δὲ
having-waited-for the relief they-killed a-levy and
φαίνουσιν ἐπὶ τοὺς Θηβαίους. καὶ Ἀγησίλαος μὲν λέγων
declare against the Thebans and Agesilaus indeed saying
ὅτι ὑπὲρ τετταράκοντα ἀφ' ἥβης εἴη, καὶ ὥσπερ τοῖς
that over forty from youth he-was and as for-the
ἄλλοις τοῖς τηλικούτοις οὐκέτι ἀνάγκη εἴη τῆς ἑαυτῶν
others the of-such-age no-longer necessity was of-the their-own
ἔξω στρατεύεσθαι, οὕτω δὴ καὶ βασιλεῦσι τὸν αὐτὸν
outside to-campaign so indeed also for-kings the same
νόμον ὄντα ἀπεδείκνυε. κἀκεῖνος μὲν δὴ λέγων ταῦτα
law being he-pointed-out and-that-one indeed then saying these-things
οὐκ ἐστρατεύετο. οὐ μέντοι τούτου γ' ἕνεκεν κατέμεινεν,
not campaigned not however of-this at-least for-the-sake he-stayed-behind
ἀλλ' εὖ εἰδὼς ὅτι εἰ στρατηγοίη, λέξοιεν οἱ πολῖται
but well knowing that if he-should-command would-say the citizens

ὡς Ἀγησίλαος, ὅπως βοηθήσειε τοῖς τυράννοις, πράγματα
that Agesilaus so-that he-might-help the tyrants troubles
τῇ πόλει παρέχοι. εἶα οὖν αὐτοὺς βουλεύεσθαι ὁποῖόν
for-the city was-causing he-let then them to-deliberate what-kind-of
τι βούλοιντο περὶ τούτων.
something they-wished about these-things

14 οἱ δ' ἔφοροι διδασκόμενοι ὑπὸ τῶν μετὰ τὰς ἐν
the and ephors being-taught by the-ones after the in
Θήβαις σφαγὰς ἐκπεπτωκότων, Κλεόμβροτον ἐκπέμπουσι,
Thebes slaughters having-been-driven-out Cleombrotus send-out
πρῶτον τότε ἡγούμενον, μάλα χειμῶνος ὄντος. τὴν μὲν
first then leading very winter being the indeed
οὖν δι' Ἐλευθερῶν ὁδὸν Χαβρίας ἔχων Ἀθηναίων
then through Eleutherae road Chabrias having of-Athenians
πελταστὰς ἐφύλαττεν· ὁ δὲ Κλεόμβροτος ἀνέβαινε κατὰ
peltasts was-guarding — but Cleombrotus went-up by
τὴν ἐς Πλαταιὰς φέρουσαν. προϊόντες δὲ οἱ πελτασταὶ
the to Plataea leading advancing and the peltasts
περιτυγχάνουσιν ἐπὶ τῷ ἄκρῳ φυλάττουσι τοῖς ἐκ τοῦ
fall-in-with on the height guarding the-ones from the
ἀνακαίου λελυμένοις, ὡς περὶ ἑκατὸν καὶ πεντήκοντα
Anaceum released as about hundred and fifty
οὖσι. καὶ τούτους μὲν ἅπαντας, εἰ μή τις ἐξέφυγεν,
being and these indeed all if not anyone escaped
οἱ πελτασταὶ ἀπέκτειναν· αὐτὸς δὲ κατέβαινε πρὸς τὰς
the peltasts killed he-himself but went-down toward —
Πλαταιάς, ἔτι φιλίας οὔσας.
Plataea still friendly being

15 ἐπεὶ δὲ εἰς Θεσπιὰς ἀφίκετο, ἐκεῖθεν ὁρμηθεὶς εἰς Κυνὸς
when and to Thespiae he-arrived thence having-set-out to Dog's
κεφαλὰς οὔσας Θηβαίων ἐστρατοπεδεύσατο. μείνας δὲ
Heads being of-Thebans encamped having-remained and

ἐκεῖ περὶ ἑκκαίδεκα ἡμέρας ἀπεχώρησε πάλιν εἰς Θεσπιάς·
there about sixteen days he-withdrew again to Thespiae
κἀκεῖ μὲν ἁρμοστὴν κατέλιπε Σφοδρίαν καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν
and-there indeed as-harmost he-left Sphodrias and from the
συμμάχων τὸ τρίτον μέρος ἑκάστων· παρέδωκε δὲ αὐτῷ
allies the third part of-each he-handed-over and to-him
καὶ χρήματα ὅσα ἐτύγχανεν οἴκοθεν ἔχων, καὶ ἐκέλευε
also money as-much-as he-happened from-home having and ordered
ξενικὸν προσμισθοῦσθαι.
a-mercenary-force to-hire-besides
καὶ ὁ μὲν Σφοδρίας ταῦτ' ἔπραττεν. ὁ δὲ Κλεόμβροτος 16
and — indeed Sphodrias these-things did — and Cleombrotus
ἀπῆγεν ἐπ' οἴκου τὴν διὰ Κρεύσιος τοὺς μεθ' αὑτοῦ
led-away to home the through Creusis the with himself
στρατιώτας καὶ μάλα ἀποροῦντας πότερά ποτε πόλεμος
soldiers also very being-at-a-loss whether ever war
πρὸς Θηβαίους ἢ εἰρήνη εἴη· ἤγαγε μὲν γὰρ εἰς τὴν
with Thebans or peace it-was he-led indeed for into the
τῶν Θηβαίων τὸ στράτευμα, ἀπῆλθε δὲ ὡς ἐδύνατο
of-the Thebans the army he-went-away but as he-could
ἐλάχιστα κακουργήσας.
least having-done-harm
ἀπιόντι γε μὴν ἄνεμος αὐτῷ ἐξαίσιος ἐπεγένετο, ὃν 17
going-away at-least truly a-wind to-him extraordinary came-on which
καὶ οἰωνίζοντό τινες σημαίνειν πρὸ τῶν μελλόντων.
also took-as-an-omen some to-signify before the coming-things
πολλὰ μὲν γὰρ καὶ ἄλλα βίαια ἐποίησεν, ἀτὰρ
many indeed for also other violent-things it-did but
καὶ ὑπερβάλλοντος αὐτοῦ μετὰ τῆς στρατιᾶς ἐκ τῆς
also crossing him with the army from —
Κρεύσιος τὸ καθῆκον ἐπὶ θάλατταν ὄρος πολλοὺς μὲν
Creusis the coming-down to sea mountain many indeed

ὄνους κατεκρήμνισεν αὐτοῖς σκεύεσι, πάμπολλα δὲ ὅπλα
asses it-threw-over-the-cliff with-the-very baggage very-many and arms
ἀφαρπασθέντα ἐξέπεσεν εἰς τὴν θάλατταν.
snatched-away fell into the sea

18 τέλος δὲ πολλοὶ οὐ δυνάμενοι σὺν τοῖς ὅπλοις πορεύεσθαι,
finally and many not being-able with the arms to-march
ἔνθεν καὶ ἔνθεν τοῦ ἄκρου κατέλιπον λίθων
on-this-side and on-that-side of-the height left-them with-stones
ἐμπλήσαντες ὑπτίας τὰς ἀσπίδας. καὶ τότε μὲν τῆς
having-filled upturned the shields and then indeed of-the
Μεγαρικῆς ἐν Αἰγοσθένοις ἐδείπνησαν ὡς ἐδύναντο· τῇ δ'
Megarian-land at Aegosthena dined as they-could on-the and
ὑστεραίᾳ ἐλθόντες ἐκομίσαντο τὰ ὅπλα. καὶ ἐκ τούτου οἴκαδε
next-day having-come recovered the arms and from this home
ἤδη ἕκαστοι ἀπῇσαν· ἀφῆκε γὰρ αὐτοὺς ὁ Κλεόμβροτος.
already each went-away dismissed for them — Cleombrotus

19 Οἱ μὲν οὖν Ἀθηναῖοι ὁρῶντες τὴν τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων
The indeed then Athenians seeing the of-the Lacedaemonians
ῥώμην καὶ ὅτι πόλεμος ἐν Κορίνθῳ οὐκέτι ἦν, ἀλλ' ἤδη
strength and that war in Corinth no-longer was but already
παριόντες τὴν Ἀττικὴν οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι εἰς τὰς Θήβας
passing-by — Attica the Lacedaemonians into — Thebes
ἐνέβαλλον, οὕτως ἐφοβοῦντο ὥστε καὶ τὼ δύο στρατηγώ,
were-invading so were-afraid that even the two generals
οἳ συνηπιστάσθην τὴν τοῦ Μέλωνος ἐπὶ τοὺς περὶ
who were-privy-to the — of-Melon against the-ones around
Λεοντιάδην ἐπανάστασιν, κρίναντες τὸν μὲν ἀπέκτειναν,
Leontiades uprising having-tried the-one indeed they-killed
τὸν δ', ἐπεὶ οὐχ ὑπέμεινεν, ἐφυγάδευσαν.
the-other but since not he-stayed they-exiled

Οἱ δ' αὖ Θηβαῖοι καὶ αὐτοὶ φοβούμενοι, εἰ μηδένες 20
The but in-turn Thebans also themselves fearing if none
ἄλλοι ἢ αὐτοὶ πολεμήσοιεν τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις, τοιόνδε
others than themselves should-make-war on-the Lacedaemonians such-a
εὑρίσκουσι μηχάνημα. πείθουσι τὸν ἐν ταῖς Θεσπιαῖς
find device they-persuade the in — Thespiae
ἁρμοστὴν Σφοδρίαν, χρήματα δόντες, ὡς ὑπωπτεύετο,
harmost Sphodrias money having-given as was-suspected
ἐμβαλεῖν εἰς τὴν Ἀττικήν, ἵν' ἐκπολεμώσειε τοὺς
to-invade into — Attica so-that he-might-embroil-in-war the
Ἀθηναίους πρὸς τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους. κἀκεῖνος πειθόμενος
Athenians with the Lacedaemonians and-that-one obeying
αὐτοῖς, προσποιησάμενος τὸν Πειραιᾶ καταλήψεσθαι,
them having-pretended the Piraeus to-be-going-to-seize
ὅτι δὴ ἀπύλωτος ἦν, ἦγεν ἐκ τῶν Θεσπιῶν πρῲ
because indeed ungated it-was led from — Thespiae early
δειπνήσαντας τοὺς στρατιώτας, φάσκων πρὸ ἡμέρας
having-dined the soldiers claiming before day
καθανύσειν εἰς τὸν Πειραιᾶ.
to-complete-the-journey to the Piraeus
Θριᾶσι δ' αὐτῷ ἡμέρα ἐπεγένετο, καὶ οὐδὲ ταῦτ' ἐποίησεν 21
at-Thria and to-him day came-on and not-even these-things did
ὥστε λαθεῖν, ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ ἀπετράπετο, βοσκήματα διήρπασε
so-as to-escape-notice but when he-turned-back cattle he-plundered
καὶ οἰκίας ἐπόρθησε. τῶν δ' ἐντυχόντων τινὲς τῆς νυκτὸς
and houses sacked of-the and ones-meeting-him some in-the night
φεύγοντες εἰς τὸ ἄστυ ἀπήγγελλον τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ὅτι
fleeing into the town reported to-the Athenians that
στράτευμα πάμπολυ προσίοι. οἱ μὲν δὴ ταχὺ ὁπλισάμενοι
an-army very-large was-approaching they indeed then quickly having-armed
καὶ ἱππεῖς καὶ ὁπλῖται ἐν φυλακῇ τῆς πόλεως ἦσαν.
both horsemen and hoplites on guard of-the city were

22 τῶν δὲ Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ πρέσβεις ἐτύγχανον Ἀθήνησιν
of-the and Lacedaemonians also envoys happened at-Athens
ὄντες παρὰ Καλλίᾳ τῷ προξένῳ Ἐτυμοκλῆς τε καὶ
being with Callias the proxenus Etymocles both and
Ἀριστόλοχος καὶ Ὤκυλλος· οὓς οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, ἐπεὶ τὸ
Aristolochus and Ocyllus whom the Athenians when the
πρᾶγμα ἠγγέλθη, συλλαβόντες ἐφύλαττον, ὡς καὶ τούτους
affair was-reported having-seized guarded as also these
συνεπιβουλεύοντας. οἱ δὲ ἐκπεπληγμένοι τε ἦσαν τῷ
plotting-with they but astounded both were at-the
πράγματι καὶ ἀπελογοῦντο ὡς οὐκ ἄν ποτε οὕτω μῶροι
affair and defended-themselves that not — ever so foolish
ἦσαν ὡς εἰ ᾔδεσαν καταλαμβανόμενον τὸν Πειραιᾶ,
they-were that if they-had-known being-seized the Piraeus
ἐν τῷ ἄστει ἂν ὑποχειρίους αὑτοὺς παρεῖχον, καὶ ταῦτα
in the town — into-their-hands themselves they-would-put and these-things
παρὰ τῷ προξένῳ, οὗ τάχιστ᾽ ἂν ηὑρέθησαν.
at the proxenus where most-quickly — they-would-have-been-found
23 ἔτι δ᾽ ἔλεγον ὡς εὔδηλον καὶ τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ἔσοιτο
further and they-said that evident also to-the Athenians it-would-be
ὅτι οὐδ᾽ ἡ πόλις τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων ταῦτα συνῄδει·
that not-even the city of-the Lacedaemonians these-things was-privy-to
Σφοδρίαν γὰρ εὖ εἰδέναι ἔφασαν ὅτι ἀπολωλότα
Sphodrias for well to-know they-said that having-perished
πεύσοιντο ὑπὸ τῆς πόλεως. κἀκεῖνοι μὲν κριθέντες
they-would-learn by the city and-those indeed having-been-judged
μηδὲν συνειδέναι ἀφείθησαν.
nothing to-be-privy-to were-released
24 οἱ δ᾽ ἔφοροι ἀνεκάλεσάν τε τὸν Σφοδρίαν καὶ ὑπῆγον
the but ephors recalled both — Sphodrias and brought-to-trial
θανάτου. ἐκεῖνος μέντοι φοβούμενος οὐχ ὑπήκουσεν· ὅμως
for-death that-one however fearing not obeyed nevertheless

δὲ καίπερ οὐχ ὑπακούων εἰς τὴν κρίσιν ἀπέφυγε. καὶ
but although not obeying to the trial he-was-acquitted and
πολλοῖς ἔδοξεν αὕτη δὴ ἀδικώτατα ἐν Λακεδαίμονι ἡ
to-many it-seemed this indeed most-unjustly in Lacedaemon the
δίκη κριθῆναι. ἐγένετο δὲ τοῦτο τὸ αἴτιον.
case to-have-been-judged it-was and this the cause
Ἦν υἱὸς τῷ Σφοδρίᾳ Κλεώνυμος ἡλικίαν τε ἔχων 25
There-was a-son — to-Sphodrias Cleonymus age both having
τὴν ἄρτι ἐκ παίδων, καὶ ἅμα κάλλιστός τε καὶ
the just-out from boyhood and at-the-same-time most-beautiful both and
εὐδοκιμώτατος τῶν ἡλίκων. τούτου δὲ ἐρῶν ἐτύγχανεν
most-esteemed of-the age-mates this-one and being-in-love-with happened
Ἀρχίδαμος ὁ Ἀγησιλάου. οἱ μὲν οὖν τοῦ Κλεομβρότου φίλοι,
Archidamus the son-of-Agesilaus the indeed then — of-Cleombrotus friends
ἅτε ἑταῖροι ὄντες τῷ Σφοδρίᾳ, ἀπολυτικῶς αὐτοῦ εἶχον,
inasmuch-as comrades being — to-Sphodrias for-acquittal of-him were
τὸν δέ γε Ἀγησίλαον καὶ τοὺς ἐκείνου φίλους ἐφοβοῦντο,
the but at-least Agesilaus and the of-that-one friends they-feared
καὶ τοὺς διὰ μέσου δέ· δεινὰ γὰρ ἐδόκει πεποιηκέναι.
and the-ones in between and terrible-things for he-seemed to-have-done
ἐκ τούτου δὲ ὁ μὲν Σφοδρίας εἶπε πρὸς τὸν Κλεώνυμον· 26
from this and — indeed Sphodrias said to — Cleonymus
Ἔξεστί σοι, ὦ υἱέ, σῶσαι τὸν πατέρα, δεηθέντι
It-is-possible for-you O son to-save the father having-begged
Ἀρχιδάμου εὐμενῆ Ἀγησίλαον ἐμοὶ εἰς τὴν κρίσιν
Archidamus well-disposed Agesilaus to-me in the trial
παρασχεῖν. ὁ δὲ ἀκούσας ἐτόλμησεν ἐλθεῖν πρὸς τὸν
to-make he and having-heard dared to-go to —
Ἀρχίδαμον, καὶ ἐδεῖτο σωτῆρα αὐτῷ τοῦ πατρὸς γενέσθαι.
Archidamus and begged savior for-him of-the father to-become

27 ὁ μέντοι Ἀρχίδαμος ἰδὼν μὲν τὸν Κλεώνυμον κλαίοντα
— however Archidamus having-seen indeed — Cleonymus weeping
συνεδάκρυε παρεστηκώς· ἀκούσας δὲ δεομένου, ἀπεκρίνατο·
wept-with-him standing-by having-heard and begging answered
Ἀλλ', ὦ Κλεώνυμε, ἴσθι μὲν ὅτι ἐγὼ τῷ ἐμῷ πατρὶ
But O Cleonymus know indeed that I to-the my father
οὐδ' ἀντιβλέπειν δύναμαι, ἀλλὰ κἄν τι βούλωμαι
not-even to-look-in-the-face am-able but even-if anything I-wish
διαπράξασθαι ἐν τῇ πόλει, πάντων μᾶλλον ἢ τοῦ
to-accomplish in the city of-all rather than of-the
πατρὸς δέομαι· ὅμως δ' ἐπεὶ σὺ κελεύεις, νόμιζε πᾶσάν
father I-ask nevertheless but since you bid consider all
με προθυμίαν ἔξειν ταῦτά σοι πραχθῆναι.
me eagerness to-be-going-to-have these-things for-you to-be-done

28 καὶ τότε μὲν δὴ ἐκ τοῦ φιλιτίου εἰς τὸν οἶκον
and then indeed then from the common-mess to the house
ἐλθὼν ἀνεπαύετο· τοῦ δ' ὄρθρου ἀναστὰς ἐφύλαττε μὴ
having-come he-rested of-the and dawn having-risen he-watched lest
λάθοι αὐτὸν ὁ πατὴρ ἐξελθών. ἐπεὶ δὲ εἶδεν
should-escape-his-notice him the father having-gone-out when and he-saw
αὐτὸν ἐξιόντα, πρῶτον μέν, εἴ τις τῶν πολιτῶν παρῆν,
him going-out first indeed if any of-the citizens was-present
παρίει τούτους διαλέγεσθαι αὐτῷ, ἔπειτα δ', εἴ τις ξένος,
he-let-past these to-converse with-him then and if any foreigner
ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ τῶν θεραπόντων τῷ δεομένῳ παρεχώρει.
then and also of-the servants to-the-one asking he-gave-way
τέλος δ', ἐπεὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ Εὐρώτα ἀπιὼν ὁ Ἀγησίλαος
finally and when from the Eurotas coming — Agesilaus
εἰσῆλθεν οἴκαδε, ἀπιὼν ᾤχετο οὐδὲ προσελθών. καὶ
went-in home going-away he-went not-even having-approached and
τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ δὲ ταὐτὰ ταῦτα ἐποίησεν.
on-the next-day and the-same these-things he-did

ὁ δ᾽ Ἀγησίλαος ὑπώπτευε μὲν ὧν ἕνεκεν ἐφοίτα, 29
— and Agesilaus suspected indeed of-what for-the-sake he-came-repeatedly
οὐδὲν μέντοι ἠρώτα, ἀλλ᾽ εἴα αὐτόν. ὁ δ᾽ αὖ Ἀρχίδαμος
nothing however asked but let him he but in-turn Archidamus
ἐπεθύμει μέν, ὥσπερ εἰκός, ὁρᾶν τὸν Κλεώνυμον· ὅπως
desired indeed as reasonable to-see — Cleonymus how
μέντοι ἔλθοι πρὸς αὐτὸν μὴ διειλεγμένος τῷ πατρὶ περὶ
however he-might-go to him not having-talked with-the father about
ὧν ἐκεῖνος ἐδεήθη οὐκ εἶχεν. οἱ δὲ ἀμφὶ τὸν Σφοδρίαν οὐχ
what that-one had-asked not he-had the and around — Sphodrias not
ὁρῶντες τὸν Ἀρχίδαμον ἰόντα, πρόσθεν δὲ θαμίζοντα, ἐν
seeing — Archidamus coming before but coming-often in
παντὶ ἦσαν μὴ λελοιδορημένος ὑπὸ Ἀγησιλάου εἴη.
every-(anxiety) were lest reproached by Agesilaus he-had-been
τέλος μέντοι ὁ Ἀρχίδαμος ἐτόλμησε προσελθεῖν καὶ εἰπεῖν· 30
finally however — Archidamus dared to-approach and to-say
Ὦ πάτερ, Κλεώνυμός με κελεύει σου δεηθῆναι σῶσαί
O father Cleonymus me bids you to-ask to-save
οἱ τὸν πατέρα· καὶ ἐγὼ ταὐτά σου δέομαι, εἰ δυνατόν.
for-him the father and I the-same you ask if possible
ὁ δ᾽ ἀπεκρίνατο· Ἀλλὰ σοὶ μὲν ἔγωγε συγγνώμην
he and answered But you indeed I pardon
ἔχω· αὐτὸς μέντοι ὅπως ἂν συγγνώμης τύχοιμι παρὰ
have myself however how — pardon I-might-obtain from
τῆς πόλεως ἄνδρα μὴ καταγιγνώσκων ἀδικεῖν οἷς
the city a-man not condemning to-do-wrong in-what
ἐχρηματίσατο ἐπὶ κακῷ τῆς πόλεως οὐχ ὁρῶ.
made-money to-the harm of-the city not I-see
ὁ δὲ τότε μὲν πρὸς ταῦτα οὐδὲν εἶπεν, ἀλλ᾽ ἡττηθεὶς 31
he and then indeed to these-things nothing said but defeated
τοῦ δικαίου ἀπῆλθεν. ὕστερον δὲ ἢ αὐτὸς νοήσας
by-the just went-away later but either himself having-thought

ἢ διδαχθεὶς ὑπό του εἶπεν ἐλθών· Ἀλλ᾽ ὅτι μέν,
or having-been-taught by someone said having-come But that indeed
ὦ πάτερ, εἰ μηδὲν ἠδίκει Σφοδρίας, ἀπέλυσας ἂν
O father if nothing did-wrong Sphodrias you-would-have-acquitted —
αὐτὸν οἶδα· νῦν δέ, εἰ ἠδίκηκέ τι, ἡμῶν ἕνεκεν
him I-know now but if he-has-done-wrong anything of-us for-the-sake
συγγνώμης ὑπὸ σοῦ τυχέτω. ὁ δὲ εἶπεν· Οὐκοῦν ἂν
pardon from you let-him-obtain he and said Well-then if
μέλλῃ καλὰ ταῦθ᾽ ἡμῖν εἶναι, οὕτως ἔσται. ὁ μὲν
it-be-going-to fine these-things for-us to-be so it-will-be he indeed
δὴ ταῦτ᾽ ἀκούσας μάλα δύσελπις ὢν ἀπῄει.
then these-things having-heard very despondent being went-away

32 τῶν δὲ τοῦ Σφοδρία φίλων τις διαλεγόμενος Ἐτυμοκλεῖ
of-the and — of-Sphodrias friends one conversing with-Etymocles
εἶπεν· Ὑμεῖς μέν, οἶμαι, ἔφη, οἱ Ἀγησιλάου φίλοι πάντες
said You indeed I-think he-said the of-Agesilaus friends all
ἀποκτενεῖτε τὸν Σφοδρίαν. καὶ ὁ Ἐτυμοκλῆς· Μὰ Δία
you-will-kill — Sphodrias and — Etymocles By Zeus
οὐκ ἄρα ταὔτ᾽, ἔφη, ποιήσομεν Ἀγησιλάῳ; ἐπεὶ ἐκεῖνός
not then the-same he-said shall-we-do as-Agesilaus since that-one
γε πρὸς πάντας ὅσοις διείλεκται ταὐτὰ λέγει, μὴ
at-least to all with-whom he-has-talked the-same says not
ἀδικεῖν μὲν Σφοδρίαν ἀδύνατον εἶναι, ὅστις μέντοι παῖς
to-do-wrong indeed Sphodrias impossible to-be whoever however a-boy
τε ὢν καὶ παιδίσκος καὶ ἡβῶν πάντα τὰ καλὰ ποιῶν
both being and a-lad and a-youth all the fine-things doing
διετέλεσε, χαλεπὸν εἶναι τοιοῦτον ἄνδρα ἀποκτεινύναι· τὴν
continued hard to-be such a-man to-kill —
γὰρ Σπάρτην τοιούτων δεῖσθαι στρατιωτῶν.
for Sparta such to-need soldiers

ὁ οὖν ἀκούσας ταῦτα ἀπήγγειλε τῷ Κλεωνύμῳ. ὁ δ' 33
he then having-heard these-things reported — to-Cleonymus he and
ἡσθείς, εὐθὺς ἐλθὼν πρὸς τὸν Ἀρχίδαμον εἶπεν· Ὅτι μὲν
pleased at-once having-come to — Archidamus said That indeed
ἡμῶν ἐπιμελεῖ ἤδη ἴσμεν· εὖ δ' ἐπίστω, Ἀρχίδαμε, ὅτι
us you-care-for already we-know well and know Archidamus that
καὶ ἡμεῖς πειρασόμεθα ἐπιμελεῖσθαι ὡς μήποτε σὺ ἐπὶ τῇ
also we will-try to-take-care so-that never you at the
ἡμετέρᾳ φιλίᾳ αἰσχυνθῇς. καὶ οὐκ ἐψεύσατο, ἀλλὰ καὶ ζῶν
our friendship be-ashamed and not he-lied but both living
ἅπαντ' ἐποίει ὅσα καλὰ ἐν τῇ Σπάρτῃ, καὶ ἐν Λεύκτροις
all-things did as-many-as fine in — Sparta and at Leuctra
πρὸ τοῦ βασιλέως μαχόμενος σὺν Δείνωνι τῷ πολεμάρχῳ
before the king fighting with Deinon the polemarch
τρὶς πεσὼν πρῶτος τῶν πολιτῶν ἐν μέσοις τοῖς
three-times having-fallen first of-the citizens in the-midst-of the
πολεμίοις ἀπέθανε. καὶ ἠνίασε μὲν εἰς τὰ ἔσχατα τὸν
enemies died and grieved indeed to the utmost —
Ἀρχίδαμον, ὡς δ' ὑπέσχετο, οὐ κατῄσχυνεν, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον
Archidamus as but he-had-promised not shamed but rather
ἐκόσμησε. τοιούτῳ μὲν δὴ τρόπῳ Σφοδρίας ἀπέφυγε.
adorned in-such indeed then manner Sphodrias was-acquitted
Τῶν μέντοι Ἀθηναίων οἱ βοιωτιάζοντες ἐδίδασκον τὸν δῆμον 34
Of-the however Athenians the boeotizers taught the people
ὡς οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι οὐχ ὅπως τιμωρήσαιντο, ἀλλὰ καὶ
that the Lacedaemonians not so-far-from punishing-him but even
ἐπαινέσειαν τὸν Σφοδρίαν, ὅτι ἐπεβούλευσε ταῖς Ἀθήναις.
praised — Sphodrias because he-plotted-against — Athens
καὶ ἐκ τούτου οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐπύλωσάν τε τὸν Πειραιᾶ, ναῦς
and from this the Athenians gated both the Piraeus ships
τε ἐναυπηγοῦντο, τοῖς τε Βοιωτοῖς πάσῃ προθυμίᾳ ἐβοήθουν.
and built the and Boeotians with-all eagerness helped

35 οἱ δ' αὖ Λακεδαιμόνιοι φρουράν τε ἔφηναν ἐπὶ τοὺς
the but in-turn Lacedaemonians a-levy both declared against the
Θηβαίους, καὶ τὸν Ἀγησίλαον νομίσαντες φρονιμώτερον
Thebans and — Agesilaus having-thought more-prudently
ἂν σφίσι τοῦ Κλεομβρότου ἡγεῖσθαι, ἐδέοντο αὐτοῦ ἄγειν
— for-them — than-Cleombrotus to-lead asked him to-lead
τὴν στρατιάν. ὁ δὲ εἰπὼν ὅτι οὐδὲν ἂν ὅ τι τῇ
the army he and having-said that nothing — what ever to-the
πόλει δοκοίη ἀντειπεῖν παρεσκευάζετο εἰς τὴν ἔξοδον.
city might-seem-good he-would-gainsay prepared for the expedition
36 γιγνώσκων δ' ὅτι εἰ μή τις προκαταλήψοιτο τὸν
recognizing and that if not someone should-seize-beforehand —
Κιθαιρῶνα, οὐ ῥᾴδιον ἔσται εἰς τὰς Θήβας ἐμβαλεῖν,
Cithaeron not easy it-will-be into — Thebes to-invade
μαθὼν πολεμοῦντας τοὺς Κλητορίους τοῖς Ὀρχομενίοις
having-learned at-war the Cleitorians with-the Orchomenians
καὶ ξενικὸν τρέφοντας, ἐκοινολογήσατο αὐτοῖς, ὅπως
and a-mercenary-force maintaining he-conferred with-them so-that
προσγένοιτο τὸ ξενικὸν αὐτῷ, εἴ τι δεηθείη.
might-be-added the mercenary-force to-him if anything he-should-need
37 ἐπεὶ δὲ τὰ διαβατήρια ἐγένετο, πέμψας, πρὶν ἐν Τεγέᾳ
when and the crossing-sacrifices came-out having-sent before in Tegea
αὐτὸς εἶναι, πρὸς τὸν ἄρχοντα τῶν παρὰ τοῖς Κλητορίοις
himself to-be to the commander of-the with the Cleitorians
ξένων, καὶ μισθὸν δοὺς μηνός, ἐκέλευε προκαταλαβεῖν
mercenaries and pay having-given of-a-month he-ordered to-seize-beforehand
αὐτοὺς τὸν Κιθαιρῶνα. τοῖς δ' Ὀρχομενίοις εἶπε, τέως
them — Cithaeron to-the and Orchomenians he-said as-long-as
στρατεία εἴη, παύσασθαι τοῦ πολέμου· εἰ δέ τις πόλις
campaign was to-stop from-the war if but any city

στρατιᾶς οὔσης ἔξω ἐπὶ πόλιν στρατεύσοι, ἐπὶ ταύτην
an-army being out against a-city should-march against this
ἔφη πρῶτον ἰέναι κατὰ τὸ δόγμα τῶν συμμάχων.
he-said first to-go according-to the decree of-the allies
ἐπεὶ δὲ ὑπερέβαλε τὸν Κιθαιρῶνα, ἐλθὼν εἰς Θεσπιὰς 38
when and he-crossed — Cithaeron having-come to Thespiae
ἐκεῖθεν ὁρμηθεὶς ᾖει ἐπὶ τὴν τῶν Θηβαίων χώραν. εὑρὼν
thence having-set-out went against the of-the Thebans land having-found
δὲ ἀποτεταφρευμένον τε καὶ ἀπεσταυρωμένον κύκλῳ τὸ
and ditched-off both and staked-off in-a-circle the
πεδίον καὶ τὰ πλείστου ἄξια τῆς χώρας, στρατοπεδευόμενος
plain and the of-most worth of-the land encamping
ἄλλοτ' ἄλλῃ καὶ μετ' ἄριστον ἐξάγων ἐδῄου τῆς
at-one-time in-another-place and after breakfast leading-out he-ravaged of-the
χώρας τὰ πρὸς ἑαυτοῦ τῶν σταυρωμάτων καὶ τῆς
land the-parts on his-side of-the stockades and of-the
τάφρου. οἱ γὰρ πολέμιοι, ὅπου ἐπιφαίνοιτο ὁ Ἀγησίλαος,
ditch the for enemies wherever appeared — Agesilaus
ἀντιπαρῆσαν αὐτῷ ἐντὸς τοῦ χαρακώματος ὡς ἀμυνούμενοι.
moved-alongside him inside the palisade as going-to-defend
καί ποτε ἀποχωροῦντος αὐτοῦ ἤδη τὴν ἐπὶ τὸ 39
and once withdrawing him already the-(way) to the
στρατόπεδον, οἱ τῶν Θηβαίων ἱππεῖς τέως ἀφανεῖς ὄντες
camp the of-the Thebans horsemen till-then unseen being
ἐξαίφνης διὰ τῶν ὡδοποιημένων τοῦ χαρακώματος
suddenly through the made of-the palisade
ἐξόδων ἐξελαύνουσι, καὶ οἷα δὴ ἀπιόντων πρὸς δεῖπνον
exits ride-out and as indeed going-off to dinner
καὶ συσκευαζομένων τῶν πελταστῶν, τῶν δ' ἱππέων
and packing-up the peltasts of-the and horsemen
τῶν μὲν ἔτι καταβεβηκότων, τῶν δ' ἀναβαινόντων,
the-ones indeed still dismounted the-others and mounting

ἐπελαύνουσι· καὶ τῶν τε πελταστῶν συχνοὺς κατέβαλον
they-charge and of-the both peltasts many struck-down
καὶ τῶν ἱππέων Κλέαν καὶ Ἐπικυδίδαν Σπαρτιάτας, καὶ
and of-the horsemen Cleas and Epicydidas Spartiates and
τῶν περιοίκων ἕνα, Εὔδικον, καὶ τῶν Θηβαίων τινὰς
of-the perioeci one Eudicus and of-the Thebans some
φυγάδας, οὔπω ἀναβεβηκότας ἐπὶ τοὺς ἵππους.
exiles not-yet mounted on the horses
40 ὡς δὲ ἀναστρέψας σὺν τοῖς ὁπλίταις ἐβοήθησεν ὁ
when and having-turned-back with the hoplites came-to-help —
Ἀγησίλαος, οἵ τε ἱππεῖς ἤλαυνον ἐναντίον τοῖς ἱππεῦσι
Agesilaus the both horsemen rode against the horsemen
καὶ τὰ δέκα ἀφ' ἥβης ἐκ τῶν ὁπλιτῶν ἔθει σὺν αὐτοῖς.
and the ten from youth from the hoplites ran with them
οἱ μέντοι τῶν Θηβαίων ἱππεῖς ἐῴκεσαν ὑποπεπωκόσι
the however of-the Thebans horsemen resembled men-tipsy
που ἐν μεσημβρίᾳ· ὑπέμενον μὲν γὰρ τοῖς ἐπελαύνουσιν
somewhat at midday they-awaited indeed for the riding-at-them
ὥστ' ἐξακοντίζειν τὰ δόρατα, ἐξικνοῦντο δ' οὔ.
so-as to-hurl the spears they-reached but not
41 ἀναστρέφοντες δὲ ἐκ τοσούτου ἀπέθανον αὐτῶν δώδεκα.
turning-back and from such-a-distance died of-them twelve
ὡς δὲ κατέγνω ὁ Ἀγησίλαος ὅτι ἀεὶ μετ' ἄριστον καὶ
when and noticed — Agesilaus that always after breakfast also
οἱ πολέμιοι ἐφαίνοντο, θυσάμενος ἅμα τῇ ἡμέρᾳ
the enemies appeared having-sacrificed at-the-same-time with-the day
ἦγεν ὡς οἷόν τε τάχιστα, καὶ παρῆλθε δι' ἐρημίας ἔσω
he-led as possible — quickest and passed through desolation inside
τῶν χαρακωμάτων. ἐκ δὲ τούτου τὰ ἐντὸς ἔτεμνε
the palisades from and this the-things within he-cut
καὶ ἔκαε μέχρι τοῦ ἄστεως. ταῦτα δὲ ποιήσας καὶ
and burned as-far-as the town these-things and having-done and

πάλιν ἀποχωρήσας εἰς Θεσπιάς, ἐτείχισε τὸ ἄστυ αὐτοῖς.
again having-withdrawn to Thespiae he-fortified the town for-them
καὶ ἐκεῖ μὲν Φοιβίδαν κατέλιπεν ἁρμοστήν, αὐτὸς δὲ
and there indeed Phoebidas he-left as-harmost himself and
ὑπερβαλὼν πάλιν εἰς τὰ Μέγαρα τοὺς μὲν συμμάχους
having-crossed again into — Megara the indeed allies
διῆκε, τὸ δὲ πολιτικὸν στράτευμα ἐπ᾽ οἴκου ἀπήγαγεν.
dismissed the and citizen army for home led-away
Ἐκ δὲ τούτου ὁ Φοιβίδας ἐκπέμπων μὲν λῃστήρια 42
From and this — Phoebidas sending-out indeed raiding-parties
ἔφερε καὶ ἦγε τοὺς Θηβαίους, καταδρομὰς δὲ ποιούμενος
carried and drove the Thebans raids and making
ἐκακούργει τὴν χώραν. οἱ δ᾽ αὖ Θηβαῖοι ἀντιτιμωρεῖσθαι
harmed the land they but in-turn Thebans to-retaliate
βουλόμενοι στρατεύουσι πανδημεὶ ἐπὶ τὴν τῶν Θεσπιέων
wishing march in-full-force against the of-the Thespians
χώραν. ἐπεὶ δ᾽ ἦσαν ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ, ὁ Φοιβίδας σὺν
land when and they-were in the land — Phoebidas with
τοῖς πελτασταῖς προσκείμενος οὐδαμοῦ εἴα αὐτοὺς
the peltasts pressing-upon nowhere allowed them
ἀποσκεδάννυσθαι τῆς φάλαγγος· ὥστε οἱ Θηβαῖοι
to-scatter from-the phalanx so-that the Thebans
μάλα ἀχθόμενοι τῆς ἐμβολῆς θάττονα τὴν ἀποχώρησιν
very vexed than-the invasion quicker the withdrawal
ἐποιοῦντο, καὶ οἱ ὀρεωκόμοι δὲ ἀπορριπτοῦντες ὃν
made and the mule-drivers also throwing-away what
εἰλήφεσαν καρπὸν ἀπήλαυνον οἴκαδε. οὕτω δεινὸς φόβος
they-had-taken produce drove-off home so terrible fear
τῷ στρατεύματι ἐνέπεσεν.
on-the army fell

43 ὁ δὲ ἐν τούτῳ θρασέως ἐπέκειτο, περὶ ἑαυτὸν μὲν
he and in this boldly pressed-on around himself indeed
ἔχων τὸ πελταστικόν, τὸ δ᾽ ὁπλιτικὸν ἐν τάξει ἕπεσθαι
having the peltast-force the and hoplite-force in order to-follow
κελεύσας. καὶ ἐν ἐλπίδι ἐγένετο τροπὴν τῶν ἀνδρῶν
having-ordered and in hope came a-rout of-the men
ποιήσασθαι· αὐτός τε γὰρ ἐρρωμένως ἡγεῖτο, καὶ τοῖς
to-make he both for vigorously led and the
ἄλλοις ἅπτεσθαι τῶν ἀνδρῶν παρεκελεύετο, καὶ τοὺς τῶν
others to-lay-hold of-the men urged and the of-the
Θεσπιέων ὁπλίτας ἀκολουθεῖν ἐκέλευεν.
Thespians hoplites to-follow ordered

44 ὡς δὲ ἀποχωροῦντες οἱ τῶν Θηβαίων ἱππεῖς ἐπὶ νάπῃ
when and withdrawing the of-the Thebans horsemen at a-glen
ἀδιαβάτῳ ἐγίγνοντο, πρῶτον μὲν ἠθροίσθησαν, ἔπειτα δὲ
impassable came first indeed they-massed then and
ἀνέστρεφον διὰ τὸ ἀπορεῖν ὅπῃ διαβαίεν. οἱ μὲν
turned-back because-of the to-be-at-a-loss where they-could-cross the indeed
οὖν πελτασταὶ ὀλίγοι ὄντες οἱ πρῶτοι φοβηθέντες αὐτοὺς
then peltasts few being the first having-feared them
ἔφυγον· οἱ δὲ ἱππεῖς αὖ τοῦτο ὡς εἶδον, ἐδιδάχθησαν
fled the and horsemen in-turn this when they-saw were-taught
ὑπὸ τῶν φευγόντων ἐπιθέσθαι αὐτοῖς.
by the fleeing to-attack them

45 καὶ ὁ μὲν δὴ Φοιβίδας καὶ δύο ἢ τρεῖς μετ᾽ αὐτοῦ
and — indeed then Phoebidas and two or three with him
μαχόμενοι ἀπέθανον, οἱ δὲ μισθοφόροι τούτου γενομένου
fighting died the and mercenaries this having-happened
πάντες ἔφυγον. ἐπεὶ δὲ φεύγοντες ἀφίκοντο πρὸς τοὺς
all fled when and fleeing they-came to the
ὁπλίτας τῶν Θεσπιέων, κἀκεῖνοι, μάλα πρόσθεν μέγα
hoplites of-the Thespians and-those very before greatly

φρονοῦντες μὴ ὑπείξειν τοῖς Θηβαίοις, ἔφυγον, οὐδέν
priding-themselves not to-give-way to-the Thebans fled not-at-all
τι πάνυ διωκόμενοι· καὶ γὰρ ἦν ἤδη ὀψέ. καὶ
anything very being-pursued and for it-was already late and
ἀπέθανον μὲν οὐ πολλοί, ὅμως δὲ οὐ πρόσθεν ἔστησαν
died indeed not many nevertheless but not before stopped
οἱ Θεσπιεῖς, πρὶν ἐν τῷ τείχει ἐγένοντο.
the Thespians before in the wall they-were
ἐκ δὲ τούτου πάλιν αὖ τὰ τῶν Θηβαίων 46
from and this again in-turn the-affairs of-the Thebans
ἀνεζωπυρεῖτο, καὶ ἐστρατεύοντο ἐς Θεσπιὰς καὶ εἰς
were-rekindled and they-campaigned against Thespiae and against
τὰς ἄλλας τὰς περιοικίδας πόλεις. ὁ μέντοι δῆμος ἐξ
the other the perioecic cities the however people from
αὐτῶν εἰς τὰς Θήβας ἀπεχώρει. ἐν πάσαις γὰρ ταῖς πόλεσι
them to — Thebes withdrew in all for the cities
δυναστεῖαι καθειστήκεσαν, ὥσπερ ἐν Θήβαις· ὥστε καὶ οἱ
juntas had-been-established as in Thebes so-that also the
ἐν ταύταις ταῖς πόλεσι φίλοι τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων βοηθείας
in these the cities friends of-the Lacedaemonians help
ἐδέοντο. μετὰ δὲ τὸν Φοιβίδα θάνατον πολέμαρχον μὲν
needed after and the of-Phoebidas death a-polemarch indeed
καὶ μόραν οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι κατὰ θάλατταν πέμψαντες
and a-regiment the Lacedaemonians by sea having-sent
τὰς Θεσπιὰς ἐφύλαττον.
— Thespiae guarded
Ἐπεὶ δὲ τὸ ἔαρ ἐπέστη, πάλιν ἔφαινον φρουρὰν οἱ 47
When and the spring came again declared a-levy the
ἔφοροι εἰς τὰς Θήβας, καὶ τοῦ Ἀγησιλάου, ᾗπερ τὸ
ephors against — Thebes and — Agesilaus as-very the
πρόσθεν, ἐδέοντο ἡγεῖσθαι. ὁ δ' ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐμβολῆς ταὐτὰ
before asked to-lead he and about the invasion the-same

γιγνώσκων, πρὶν καὶ τὰ διαβατήρια θύεσθαι, πέμψας πρὸς
thinking before even the crossing-sacrifices to-sacrifice having-sent to
τὸν ἐν Θεσπιαῖς πολέμαρχον ἐκέλευε προκαταλαβεῖν τὸ
the in Thespiae polemarch ordered to-seize-beforehand the
ὑπὲρ τῆς κατὰ τὸν Κιθαιρῶνα ὁδοῦ ἄκρον καὶ φυλάττειν,
above the by — Cithaeron road height and to-guard
ἕως ἂν αὐτὸς ἔλθῃ.
until — he-himself come

48 ἐπεὶ δὲ τοῦτο ὑπερβαλὼν ἐν ταῖς Πλαταιαῖς ἐγένετο,
when and this having-crossed at — Plataea he-was
πάλιν προσεποιήσατο εἰς τὰς Θεσπιὰς πρῶτον ἰέναι,
again he-pretended to — Thespiae first to-go
καὶ πέμπων ἀγοράν τε ἐκέλευε παρασκευάζειν καὶ τὰς
and sending a-market both ordered to-prepare and the
πρεσβείας ἐκεῖ περιμένειν· ὥστε οἱ Θηβαῖοι ἰσχυρῶς τὴν
embassies there to-wait-for so-that the Thebans strongly the
πρὸς Θεσπιῶν ἐμβολὴν ἐφύλαττον.
from Thespiae invasion-route guarded

49 ὁ δὲ Ἀγησίλαος τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ ἅμα τῇ ἡμέρᾳ
— and Agesilaus on-the next-day at-the-same-time with-the day
θυσάμενος ἐπορεύετο τὴν ἐπ᾽ Ἐρυθράς· καὶ ὡς
having-sacrificed marched the-road toward Erythrae and as
στρατεύματι δυοῖν ἡμέραιν ὁδὸν ἐν μιᾷ καθανύσας,
for-an-army of-two days road in one having-completed
ἔφθασεν ὑπερβὰς τὸ κατὰ Σκῶλον σταύρωμα, πρὶν
he-anticipated having-crossed the near Scolus stockade before
ἐλθεῖν τοὺς Θηβαίους ἀπὸ τῆς φυλακῆς, καθ᾽ ἣν τὸ
to-come the Thebans from the guard-post by which the
πρόσθεν εἰσῆλθεν. τοῦτο δὲ ποιήσας τὰ πρὸς ἕω τῆς
before he-had-entered this and having-done the-parts toward east of-the
τῶν Θηβαίων πόλεως ἐδῄου μέχρι τῆς Ταναγραίων· ἔτι
of-the Thebans city he-ravaged as-far-as the of-Tanagraeans still

γὰρ τότε καὶ τὴν Τάναγραν οἱ περὶ Ὑπατόδωρον,
for then also — Tanagra the-ones around Hypatodorus
φίλοι ὄντες τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων, εἶχον. καὶ ἐκ τούτου
friends being of-the Lacedaemonians held and from this
δὴ ἀπῄει ἐν ἀριστερᾷ ἔχων τὸ τεῖχος.
indeed he-went-away on left having the wall
οἱ δὲ Θηβαῖοι ὑπελθόντες ἀντετάξαντο ἐπὶ Γραὸς 50
the and Thebans having-come-up drew-up-opposite at Old-Woman's
στήθει, ὄπισθεν ἔχοντες τήν τε τάφρον καὶ τὸ σταύρωμα,
Breast behind having the both ditch and the stockade
νομίζοντες καλὸν εἶναι ἐνταῦθα διακινδυνεύειν· καὶ γὰρ
thinking fine to-be there to-risk-all and for
στενὸν ἦν ταύτῃ ἐπιεικῶς καὶ δύσβατον τὸ χωρίον.
narrow was at-this-point fairly and hard-to-traverse the place
ὁ δ' Ἀγησίλαος ἰδὼν ταῦτα πρὸς ἐκείνους μὲν οὐκ
— and Agesilaus having-seen these-things toward those indeed not
ἦγεν, ἐπισιμώσας δὲ πρὸς τὴν πόλιν ᾔει.
led having-wheeled but toward the city went
οἱ δ' αὖ Θηβαῖοι δείσαντες περὶ τῆς πόλεως, ὅτι 51
the but in-turn Thebans having-feared about the city because
ἐρήμη ἦν, ἀπολιπόντες ἔνθα παρατεταγμένοι ἦσαν
empty it-was having-left where drawn-up they-were
δρόμῳ ἔθεον εἰς τὴν πόλιν τὴν ἐπὶ Ποτνιὰς ὁδόν· ἦν
at-a-run ran to the city the toward Potniae road it-was
γὰρ αὕτη ἀσφαλεστέρα. καὶ μέντοι ἐδόκει καλὸν γενέσθαι
for this safer and indeed it-seemed fine to-be
τὸ ἐνθύμημα τοῦ Ἀγησιλάου, ὅτι πόρρω ἀπαγαγὼν ἀπὸ
the stratagem — of-Agesilaus that far having-led-away from
τῶν πολεμίων ἀποχωρεῖν δρόμῳ αὐτοὺς ἐποίησεν· ὅμως
the enemies to-withdraw at-a-run them he-made nevertheless

μέντοι ἐπὶ παραθέοντας αὐτοὺς τῶν πολεμάρχων τινὲς
however at running-alongside them of-the polemarchs some
ἐπέδραμον σὺν ταῖς μόραις.
charged with the regiments

52 οἱ μέντοι Θηβαῖοι ἀπὸ τῶν λόφων τὰ δόρατα ἐξηκόντιζον,
the however Thebans from the hills the spears hurled
ὥστε καὶ ἀπέθανεν Ἀλύπητος, εἷς τῶν πολεμάρχων,
so-that even died Alypetus one of-the polemarchs
ἀκοντισθεὶς δόρατι· ὅμως δὲ καὶ ἀπὸ τούτου τοῦ λόφου
struck-by-a-javelin with-a-spear nevertheless but also from this the hill
ἐτράπησαν οἱ Θηβαῖοι· ὥστε ἀναβάντες οἱ Σκιρῖται καὶ
were-routed the Thebans so-that having-climbed the Sciritae and
τῶν ἱππέων τινὲς ἔπαιον τοὺς τελευταίους τῶν Θηβαίων
of-the horsemen some struck the last of-the Thebans
παρελαύνοντας εἰς τὴν πόλιν.
riding-past into the city

53 ὡς μέντοι ἐγγὺς τοῦ τείχους ἐγένοντο, ὑποστρέφουσιν οἱ
when however near the wall they-came turn-back the
Θηβαῖοι· οἱ δὲ Σκιρῖται ἰδόντες αὐτοὺς θᾶττον ἢ βάδην
Thebans the and Sciritae having-seen them quicker than at-a-walk
ἀπῆλθον. καὶ ἀπέθανε μὲν οὐδεὶς αὐτῶν· ὅμως δὲ οἱ
went-off and died indeed no-one of-them nevertheless but the
Θηβαῖοι τροπαῖον [τε] ἐστήσαντο, ὅτι ἀπεχώρησαν οἱ
Thebans a-trophy both set-up because withdrew the
ἀναβάντες.
having-climbed

54 ὁ μέντοι Ἀγησίλαος, ἐπεὶ ὥρα ἦν, ἀπελθὼν
— however Agesilaus when the-hour was having-withdrawn
ἐστρατοπεδεύσατο ἔνθαπερ τοὺς πολεμίους εἶδε
encamped where-very the enemies he-had-seen
παρατεταγμένους· τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ ἀπήγαγε τὴν ἐπὶ
drawn-up on-the and next-day led-away the-way toward

Θεσπιάς. θρασέως δὲ παρακολουθούντων τῶν πελταστῶν,
Thespiae boldly and following-alongside the peltasts
οἳ ἦσαν μισθοφόροι τοῖς Θηβαίοις, καὶ τὸν Χαβρίαν
who were mercenaries for-the Thebans and — Chabrias
ἀνακαλούντων, ὅτι οὐκ ἠκολούθει, ὑποστραφέντες οἱ
calling-on because not he-followed having-turned-back the
τῶν Ὀλυνθίων ἱππεῖς (ἤδη γὰρ κατὰ τοὺς ὅρκους
of-the Olynthians horsemen already for according-to the oaths
συνεστρατεύοντο) ἐδίωξάν τε αὐτοὺς πρὸς ὄρθιον, καθάπερ
they-campaigned-with pursued both them up steep-ground as
ἠκολούθουν, καὶ ἀπέκτειναν αὐτῶν μάλα πολλούς· ταχὺ
they-were-following and killed of-them very many quickly
γὰρ πρὸς ἄναντες εὐήλατον ἁλίσκονται πεζοὶ ὑφ' ἱππέων.
for up uphill easy-for-riding are-caught foot-soldiers by horsemen
ἐπεὶ δ' ἐγένετο ὁ Ἀγησίλαος ἐν ταῖς Θεσπιαῖς, εὑρὼν 55
when and came — Agesilaus in — Thespiae having-found
στασιάζοντας τοὺς πολίτας καὶ βουλομένων τῶν
in-faction the citizens and wishing the-ones
φασκόντων λακωνίζειν ἀποκτεῖναι τοὺς ἐναντίους, ὧν
claiming to-laconize to-kill the opponents of-whom
καὶ Μένων ἦν, τοῦτο μὲν οὖν οὐκ ἐπέτρεψε· διαλλάξας
also Menon was this indeed then not he-allowed having-reconciled
δὲ αὐτοὺς καὶ ὅρκους ὀμόσαι ἀλλήλοις ἀναγκάσας, οὕτως
but them and oaths to-swear to-one-another having-compelled so
ἀπῆλθε πάλιν διὰ τοῦ Κιθαιρῶνος τὴν ἐπὶ Μέγαρα.
went-away again through — Cithaeron the-way to Megara
καὶ ἐκεῖθεν τοὺς μὲν συμμάχους ἀφῆκε, τὸ δὲ πολιτικὸν
and thence the indeed allies dismissed the and citizen
στράτευμα οἴκαδε ἀπήγαγε.
army home led-away

56 Μάλα δὲ πιεζόμενοι οἱ Θηβαῖοι σπάνει σίτου διὰ τὸ
Very and pressed the Thebans by-shortage of-grain because-of the
δυοῖν ἐτοῖν μὴ εἰληφέναι καρπὸν ἐκ τῆς γῆς, πέμπουσιν
for-two years not to-have-taken produce from the land send
ἐπὶ δυοῖν τριήροιν ἄνδρας εἰς Παγασὰς ἐπὶ σῖτον δέκα
on two triremes men to Pagasae for grain ten
τάλαντα δόντες. Ἀλκέτας δὲ ὁ Λακεδαιμόνιος φυλάττων
talents having-given Alcetas and the Lacedaemonian guarding
Ὠρεόν, ἐν ᾧ ἐκεῖνοι τὸν σῖτον συνεωνοῦντο, ἐπληρώσατο
Oreus in which those the grain were-buying manned
τρεῖς τριήρεις, ἐπιμεληθεὶς ὅπως μὴ ἐξαγγελθείη. ἐπεὶ
three triremes having-taken-care that not it-should-be-reported when
δὲ ἀπήγετο ὁ σῖτος, λαμβάνει ὁ Ἀλκέτας τόν
and was-being-carried-off the grain takes — Alcetas the
τε σῖτον καὶ τὰς τριήρεις, καὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας ἐζώγρησεν
both grain and the triremes and the men took-alive
οὐκ ἐλάττους ἢ τριακοσίους. τούτους δὲ εἶρξεν ἐν τῇ
not fewer than three-hundred these and he-shut-up in the
ἀκροπόλει, οὗπερ αὐτὸς ἐσκήνου.
acropolis where-very he-himself was-quartered

57 ἀκολουθοῦντος δέ τινος τῶν Ὠρειτῶν παιδός, ὡς
following and a-certain of-the Oreitans boy as
ἔφασαν, μάλα καλοῦ τε κἀγαθοῦ, καταβαίνων ἐκ
they-said very fine both and-good going-down from
τῆς ἀκροπόλεως περὶ τοῦτον ἦν. καταγνόντες δὲ οἱ
the acropolis about this-one he-was having-noted and the
αἰχμάλωτοι τὴν ἀμέλειαν, καταλαμβάνουσι τὴν ἀκρόπολιν,
prisoners the carelessness seize the acropolis
καὶ ἡ πόλις ἀφίσταται· ὥστ᾽ εὐπόρως ἤδη οἱ Θηβαῖοι
and the city revolts so-that easily now the Thebans
σῖτον παρεκομίζοντο.
grain brought-in

Ὑποφαίνοντος δὲ πάλιν τοῦ ἦρος ὁ μὲν Ἀγησίλαος 58
Beginning-to-appear and again the spring — indeed Agesilaus
κλινοπετὴς ἦν. ὅτε γὰρ ἀπῆγε τὸ στράτευμα ἐκ τῶν
bedridden was when for he-led-away the army from —
Θηβῶν, ἐν τοῖς Μεγάροις ἀναβαίνοντος αὐτοῦ ἐκ τοῦ
Thebes in — Megara going-up him from the
Ἀφροδισίου εἰς τὸ ἀρχεῖον ῥήγνυται ὁποία δὴ φλέψ,
Aphrodisium to the government-house bursts some-sort indeed vein
καὶ ἐρρύη τὸ ἐκ τοῦ σώματος αἷμα εἰς τὸ ὑγιὲς σκέλος.
and flowed the from the body blood into the healthy leg
γενομένης δὲ τῆς κνήμης ὑπερόγκου καὶ ὀδυνῶν ἀφορήτων,
having-become and the shin swollen and of-pains unbearable
Συρακόσιός τις ἰατρὸς σχάζει τὴν παρὰ τῷ σφυρῷ
Syracusan a-certain doctor lances the by the ankle
φλέβα αὐτοῦ. ὡς δὲ ἅπαξ ἤρξατο, ἔρρει αὐτῷ νύκτα τε
vein his when and once it-began it-flowed for-him night both
καὶ ἡμέραν τὸ αἷμα, καὶ πάντα ποιοῦντες οὐκ ἐδύναντο
and day the blood and everything doing not they-could
σχεῖν τὸ ῥεῦμα πρὶν ἐλιποψύχησε· τότε μέντοι ἐπαύσατο.
to-check the flow before he-fainted then however it-stopped
καὶ οὕτως ἐκεῖνος μὲν ἀποκομισθεὶς εἰς Λακεδαίμονα
and so that-one indeed having-been-carried-back to Lacedaemon
ἠρρώστει τό τε λοιπὸν θέρος καὶ διὰ χειμῶνος.
was-sick the both rest summer and through winter
Οἱ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, ἐπεὶ ἔαρ ὑπέφαινε, πάλιν φρουράν 59
The and Lacedaemonians when spring was-dawning again a-levy
τε ἔφαινον καὶ Κλεόμβροτον ἡγεῖσθαι ἐκέλευον. ἐπεὶ δ᾽
both declared and Cleombrotus to-lead ordered when and
ἔχων τὸ στράτευμα πρὸς τῷ Κιθαιρῶνι ἐγένετο, προῆσαν
having the army at — Cithaeron he-was went-ahead
αὐτῷ οἱ πελτασταὶ ὡς προκαταληψόμενοι τὰ ὑπὲρ
of-him the peltasts as going-to-seize-beforehand the-(heights) above

τῆς ὁδοῦ. Θηβαίων δὲ καὶ Ἀθηναίων προκατέχοντές τινες
the road of-Thebans and also of-Athenians occupying-beforehand some
τὸ ἄκρον τέως μὲν εἴων αὐτοὺς ἀναβαίνειν· ἐπεὶ δ'
the height for-a-while indeed let them to-climb when but
ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ἦσαν, ἐξαναστάντες ἐδίωκον καὶ ἀπέκτειναν
on them they-were having-risen-up pursued and killed
περὶ τετταράκοντα. τούτου δὲ γενομένου ὁ Κλεόμβροτος
about forty this and having-happened — Cleombrotus
ἀδύνατον νομίσας τὸ ὑπερβῆναι εἰς τὴν τῶν Θηβαίων,
impossible having-thought the to-cross into the of-the Thebans
ἀπῆγέ τε καὶ διῆκε τὸ στράτευμα.
led-away both and dismissed the army

60 Συλλεγέντων δὲ τῶν συμμάχων εἰς Λακεδαίμονα, λόγοι
Having-gathered and the allies at Lacedaemon speeches
ἐγίγνοντο ἀπὸ τῶν συμμάχων ὅτι διὰ μαλακίαν
were-made from the allies that through softness
κατατριβήσοιντο ὑπὸ τοῦ πολέμου. ἐξεῖναι γὰρ σφίσι
they-would-be-worn-out by the war it-was-possible for for-them
ναῦς πληρώσαντας πολὺ πλείονας τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἑλεῖν
ships having-manned much more than-the Athenians to-take
λιμῷ τὴν πόλιν αὐτῶν· ἐξεῖναι δ' ἐν ταῖς αὐταῖς
by-hunger the city their it-was-possible and in the same
ταύταις ναυσὶ καὶ εἰς Θήβας στράτευμα διαβιβάζειν, εἰ μὲν
these ships also to Thebes an-army to-carry-across if indeed
βούλοιντο, ἐπὶ Φωκέων, εἰ δὲ βούλοιντο, ἐπὶ Κρεύσιος.
they-wished toward Phocians if but they-wished toward Creusis

61 ταῦτα δὲ λογισάμενοι ἑξήκοντα μὲν τριήρεις ἐπλήρωσαν,
these-things and having-reckoned sixty indeed triremes they-manned
Πόλλις δ' αὐτῶν ναύαρχος ἐγένετο. καὶ μέντοι οὐκ
Pollis and of-them admiral became and indeed not
ἐψεύσθησαν οἱ ταῦτα γνόντες, ἀλλ' οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι
were-deceived the-ones these-things having-decided but the Athenians

ἐπολιορκοῦντο· τὰ γὰρ σιταγωγὰ αὐτοῖς πλοῖα ἐπὶ μὲν τὸν
were-besieged the for grain-carrying for-them boats at indeed —
Γεραστὸν ἀφίκετο, ἐκεῖθεν δ' οὐκέτι ἤθελε παραπλεῖν,
Geraestus arrived thence but no-longer were-willing to-sail-along
τοῦ ναυτικοῦ ὄντος τοῦ Λακεδαιμονίων περί τε Αἴγιναν
the fleet being the of-Lacedaemonians around both Aegina
καὶ Κέω καὶ Ἄνδρον. γνόντες δ' οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι τὴν
and Ceos and Andros having-recognized and the Athenians the
ἀνάγκην, ἐνέβησαν αὐτοὶ εἰς τὰς ναῦς, καὶ ναυμαχήσαντες
necessity embarked themselves into the ships and having-fought-at-sea
πρὸς τὸν Πόλλιν Χαβρίου ἡγουμένου νικῶσι τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ.
with — Pollis Chabrias leading win the sea-battle
καὶ ὁ μὲν σῖτος τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις οὕτω παρεκομίσθη.
and the indeed grain to-the Athenians so was-brought-in
παρασκευαζομένων δὲ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων στράτευμα 62
preparing and the Lacedaemonians an-army
διαβιβάζειν ἐπὶ τοὺς Βοιωτούς, ἐδεήθησαν οἱ Θηβαῖοι τῶν
to-carry-across against the Boeotians asked the Thebans the
Ἀθηναίων περὶ Πελοπόννησον στράτευμα πέμψαι, νομίσαντες
Athenians around the-Peloponnese an-army to-send thinking
ὅτι εἰ τοῦτο γένοιτο, οὐ δυνατὸν ἔσοιτο τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις
that if this should-happen not possible it-would-be for-the Lacedaemonians
ἅμα μὲν τὴν ἑαυτῶν χώραν φυλάττειν, ἅμα
at-the-same-time indeed the their-own land to-guard at-the-same-time
δὲ τὰς περὶ ἐκεῖνα τὰ χωρία συμμαχίδας πόλεις,
and the around those the places allied cities
ἅμα δὲ στράτευμα διαβιβάζειν ἱκανὸν πρὸς ἑαυτούς.
at-the-same-time and an-army to-carry-across sufficient against themselves
καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι μέντοι ὀργιζόμενοι τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις 63
and the Athenians indeed being-angry with-the Lacedaemonians
διὰ τὸ Σφοδρία ἔργον, προθύμως ἐξέπεμψαν περὶ
because-of the of-Sphodrias deed eagerly sent-out around

τὴν Πελοπόννησον ναῦς τε ἑξήκοντα πληρώσαντες καὶ
the Peloponnese ships both sixty having-manned and
στρατηγὸν αὐτῶν Τιμόθεον ἑλόμενοι. ἅτε δὲ εἰς τὰς
as-general of-them Timotheus having-chosen inasmuch-as and into —
Θήβας οὐκ ἐμβεβληκότων τῶν πολεμίων οὔτ' ἐν ᾧ
Thebes not having-invaded the enemies neither in which
Κλεόμβροτος ἦγε τὴν στρατιὰν ἔτει οὔτ' ἐν ᾧ Τιμόθεος
Cleombrotus led the army year nor in which Timotheus
περιέπλευσε, θρασέως δὴ ἐστρατεύοντο οἱ Θηβαῖοι ἐπὶ
sailed-around boldly indeed campaigned the Thebans against
τὰς περιοικίδας πόλεις καὶ πάλιν αὐτὰς ἀνελάμβανον.
the perioecic cities and again them recovered
64 ὁ μέντοι Τιμόθεος περιπλεύσας Κέρκυραν μὲν εὐθὺς ὑφ'
— however Timotheus having-sailed-around Corcyra indeed at-once under
ἑαυτῷ ἐποιήσατο· οὐ μέντοι ἠνδραποδίσατο οὐδὲ ἄνδρας
himself made not however he-enslaved nor men
ἐφυγάδευσεν οὐδὲ νόμους μετέστησεν· ἐξ ὧν τὰς περὶ
exiled nor laws changed from which the around
ἐκεῖνα πόλεις ἁπάσας εὐμενεστέρας ἔσχεν.
those-parts cities all more-well-disposed he-had
65 ἀντεπλήρωσαν δὲ καὶ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ναυτικόν, καὶ
manned-in-return and also the Lacedaemonians a-fleet and
Νικόλοχον ναύαρχον, μάλα θρασὺν ἄνδρα, ἐξέπεμψαν·
Nicolochus as-admiral very bold man sent-out
ὃς ἐπειδὴ εἶδε τὰς μετὰ Τιμοθέου ναῦς, οὐκ ἐμέλλησε,
who when he-saw the with Timotheus ships not delayed
καίπερ ἓξ νεῶν αὐτῷ ἀπουσῶν τῶν Ἀμβρακιωτίδων,
although six ships for-him being-absent the Ambraciot
ἀλλὰ πέντε καὶ πεντήκοντα ἔχων ναῦς ἑξήκοντα οὔσαις
but five and fifty having ships against-sixty being

ταῖς μετὰ Τιμοθέου ἐναυμάχησε. καὶ τότε μὲν ἡττήθη,
the with Timotheus fought-at-sea and then indeed was-defeated
καὶ τροπαῖον ὁ Τιμόθεος ἔστησεν ἐν Ἀλυζείᾳ.
and a-trophy — Timotheus set-up at Alyzia
ὁ δὲ ἀνειλκυσμένων τῶν Τιμοθέου νεῶν καὶ ἐπισκευαζομένων, 66
he and having-been-hauled-up the of-Timotheus ships and being-refitted
ἐπεὶ παρεγένοντο αὐτῷ αἱ Ἀμβρακιώτιδες ἓξ τριήρεις,
when were-present to-him the Ambraciot six triremes
ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀλύζειαν ἔπλευσεν, ἔνθα ἦν ὁ Τιμόθεος. ὡς δὲ
against — Alyzia sailed where was — Timotheus when and
οὐκ ἀντανῆγε, τροπαῖον αὖ κἀκεῖνος ἐστήσατο ἐν
not he-put-out-against-him a-trophy in-turn and-that-one set-up in
ταῖς ἐγγυτάτω νήσοις. ὁ δὲ Τιμόθεος ἐπεὶ ἅς τε εἶχεν
the nearest islands — and Timotheus when which both he-had
ἐπεσκεύασε καὶ ἐκ Κερκύρας ἄλλας προσεπληρώσατο,
he-refitted and from Corcyra others manned-in-addition
γενομένων αὐτῷ τῶν πασῶν πλέον ἑβδομήκοντα, πολὺ
having-become for-him the all more-than seventy much
δὴ ὑπερεῖχε ναυτικῷ· χρήματα μέντοι μετεπέμπετο
indeed he-surpassed in-fleet money however he-sent-for
Ἀθήνηθεν. πολλῶν γὰρ ἐδεῖτο, ἅτε πολλὰς ναῦς ἔχων.
from-Athens of-much for he-needed inasmuch-as many ships having

BOOK VI

I · JASON OF PHERAE

Thebes, master of the Boeotian cities, marches into Phocis, and Sparta ships Cleombrotus there with four regiments. Polydamas of Pharsalus then tells the Spartans of Jason: a man of great strength and endurance, with up to six thousand trained mercenaries, who offered Polydamas the second place in Greece if he would bring Pharsalus over, and planned to rule all Thessaly, then the sea, and even the king of Persia. Only a real army, Polydamas warns, will stop him. Sparta, counting its forces, says it cannot help, and Polydamas comes to terms with Jason, who becomes tagus of Thessaly, assigns each city its quota of horse and hoplites, and sets the tribute of the surrounding peoples as it was under Scopas.

Οἱ μὲν οὖν Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι περὶ ταῦτα ἦσαν. 1
The indeed then Athenians and Lacedaemonians about these-things were
οἱ δὲ Θηβαῖοι ἐπεὶ κατεστρέψαντο τὰς ἐν τῇ Βοιωτίᾳ
the but Thebans when they-had-subdued the in — Boeotia
πόλεις, ἐστράτευον καὶ εἰς τὴν Φωκίδα. ὡς δ' αὖ καὶ
cities campaigned also into — Phocis when and in-turn also
οἱ Φωκεῖς ἐπρέσβευον εἰς τὴν Λακεδαίμονα καὶ ἔλεγον
the Phocians sent-envoys to — Lacedaemon and said
ὅτι εἰ μὴ βοηθήσοιεν, οὐ δυνήσοιντο μὴ πείθεσθαι τοῖς
that if not they-should-help not they-would-be-able not to-obey the
Θηβαίοις, ἐκ τούτου οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι διαβιβάζουσι κατὰ
Thebans from this the Lacedaemonians carry-across by
θάλατταν εἰς Φωκέας Κλεόμβροτόν τε τὸν βασιλέα καὶ
sea to Phocians Cleombrotus both the king and
μετ' αὐτοῦ τέτταρας μόρας καὶ τῶν συμμάχων τὸ μέρος.
with him four regiments and of-the allies the share

2 Σχεδὸν δὲ περὶ τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον καὶ ἐκ Θετταλίας
Nearly and around this the time also from Thessaly
ἀφικνεῖται πρὸς τὸ κοινὸν τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων Πολυδάμας
arrives to the commonwealth of-the Lacedaemonians Polydamas
Φαρσάλιος. οὗτος δὲ καὶ ἐν τῇ ἄλλῃ Θετταλίᾳ μάλα
Pharsalian this-man and also in the rest-of Thessaly very
ηὐδοκίμει, καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ δὲ τῇ πόλει οὕτως ἐδόκει καλός
was-well-regarded and in the-very and the city so seemed fine
τε κἀγαθὸς εἶναι ὥστε καὶ στασιάσαντες οἱ Φαρσάλιοι
both and-good to-be that even having-fallen-into-faction the Pharsalians
παρακατέθεντο αὐτῷ τὴν ἀκρόπολιν, καὶ τὰς προσόδους
deposited-with him the acropolis and the revenues
ἐπέτρεψαν λαμβάνοντι, ὅσα ἐγέγραπτο ἐν τοῖς νόμοις,
entrusted taking as-much-as had-been-written in the laws
εἵς τε τὰ ἱερὰ ἀναλίσκειν καὶ εἰς τὴν ἄλλην διοίκησιν.
on both the sacred-things to-spend and on the other administration
3 κἀκεῖνος μέντοι ἀπὸ τούτων τῶν χρημάτων τήν τε
and-that-one however from these the money the both
ἄκραν φυλάττων διέσῳζεν αὐτοῖς καὶ τἆλλα διοικῶν
citadel guarding kept-safe for-them and the-rest administering
ἀπελογίζετο κατ᾽ ἐνιαυτόν. καὶ ὁπότε μὲν ἐνδεήσειε, παρ᾽
rendered-account by year and whenever indeed it-fell-short from
ἑαυτοῦ προσετίθει, ὁπότε δὲ περιγένοιτο τῆς προσόδου,
himself he-added whenever but there-was-surplus of-the revenue
ἀπελάμβανεν. ἦν δὲ καὶ ἄλλως φιλόξενός τε καὶ
he-took-back he-was and also otherwise hospitable both and
μεγαλοπρεπὴς τὸν Θετταλικὸν τρόπον. οὗτος οὖν ἐπεὶ
magnificent in-the Thessalian manner this-man then when
ἀφίκετο εἰς τὴν Λακεδαίμονα, εἶπε τοιάδε.
he-arrived at — Lacedaemon spoke as-follows

Ἐγώ, ὦ ἄνδρες Λακεδαιμόνιοι, πρόξενος ὑμῶν ὢν καὶ 4
I O men Lacedaemonians proxenus your being and
εὐεργέτης ἐκ πάντων ὧν μεμνήμεθα προγόνων, ἀξιῶ, ἐάν
benefactor from all whom we-remember ancestors claim if
τέ τι ἀπορῶ, πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἰέναι, ἐάν τέ τι χαλεπὸν
both anything I-am-at-a-loss to you to-come if both anything hard
ὑμῖν ἐν τῇ Θετταλίᾳ συνίστηται, σημαίνειν. ἀκούετε μὲν
for-you in — Thessaly be-forming to-signal you-hear indeed
οὖν, εὖ οἶδ' ὅτι, καὶ ὑμεῖς Ἰάσονος ὄνομα· ὁ γὰρ ἀνὴρ
then well I-know that also you of-Jason the-name the for man
καὶ δύναμιν ἔχει μεγάλην καὶ ὀνομαστός ἐστιν. οὗτος δὲ
both power has great and renowned is this-man and
σπονδὰς ποιησάμενος συνεγένετό μοι, καὶ εἶπε τάδε·
a-truce having-made met me and said the-following
Ὅτι μέν, ὦ Πολυδάμα, καὶ ἄκουσαν τὴν ὑμετέραν πόλιν 5
That indeed O Polydamas even unwilling the your city
[Φάρσαλον] δυναίμην ἂν παραστήσασθαι ἔξεστί σοι ἐκ
Pharsalus I-could — bring-over it-is-possible for-you from
τῶνδε λογίζεσθαι. ἐγὼ γάρ, ἔφη, ἔχω μὲν Θετταλίας τὰς
the-following to-reckon I for he-said have indeed of-Thessaly the
πλείστας καὶ μεγίστας πόλεις συμμάχους· κατεστρεψάμην
most and greatest cities as-allies I-subdued
δ' αὐτὰς ὑμῶν σὺν αὐταῖς τὰ ἐναντία ἐμοὶ στρατευομένων.
and them you with them the opposite to-me campaigning
καὶ μὴν οἶσθά γε ὅτι ξένους ἔχω μισθοφόρους εἰς
and truly you-know at-least that foreigners I-have mercenaries up-to
ἑξακισχιλίους, οἷς, ὡς ἐγὼ οἶμαι, οὐδεμία πόλις δύναιτ'
six-thousand with-whom as I think no city could
ἂν ῥᾳδίως μάχεσθαι. ἀριθμὸς μὲν γάρ, ἔφη, καὶ ἄλλοθεν
— easily fight number indeed for he-said even from-elsewhere
οὐκ ἂν ἐλάττων ἐξέλθοι· ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν ἐκ τῶν πόλεων
not — less might-go-out but the indeed from the cities

στρατεύματα τοὺς μὲν προεληλυθότας ἤδη ταῖς ἡλικίαις
armies the-ones indeed advanced already in-the ages
ἔχει, τοὺς δ' οὔπω ἀκμάζοντας. σωμασκοῦσί γε μὴν
has the-others but not-yet in-their-prime train-their-bodies at-least truly
μάλα ὀλίγοι τινὲς ἐν ἑκάστῃ πόλει· παρ' ἐμοὶ δὲ οὐδεὶς
very few some in each city with me but no-one
μισθοφορεῖ, ὅστις μὴ ἱκανός ἐστιν ἐμοὶ ἴσα πονεῖν.
serves-for-pay who not able is with-me equal-things to-toil
6 αὐτὸς δ' ἐστὶ (λέγειν γὰρ χρὴ πρὸς ὑμᾶς τἀληθῆ) καὶ
himself and he-is to-speak for it-is-needful to you the-truth both
τὸ σῶμα μάλα εὔρωστος καὶ ἄλλως φιλόπονος. καὶ τοίνυν
the body very robust and otherwise fond-of-toil and indeed
τῶν παρ' αὐτῷ πεῖραν λαμβάνει καθ' ἑκάστην ἡμέραν·
of-the-ones with him trial he-takes by each day
ἡγεῖται γὰρ σὺν τοῖς ὅπλοις καὶ ἐν τοῖς γυμνασίοις καὶ
he-leads for with the arms both in the gymnasia and
ὅταν πῃ στρατεύηται. καὶ οὓς μὲν ἂν μαλακοὺς τῶν
whenever anywhere he-campaigns and whom indeed — soft of-the
ξένων αἰσθάνηται, ἐκβάλλει, οὓς δ' ἂν ὁρᾷ φιλοπόνως
mercenaries he-perceives he-throws-out whom but — he-sees toil-lovingly
καὶ φιλοκινδύνως ἔχοντας πρὸς τοὺς πολέμους, τιμᾷ
and danger-lovingly disposed toward the wars he-honors
τοὺς μὲν διμοιρίαις, τοὺς δὲ τριμοιρίαις, τοὺς δὲ
the-ones indeed with-double-pay the-others and with-triple-pay the-others and
καὶ τετραμοιρίαις, καὶ ἄλλοις δώροις, καὶ νόσων γε
even with-quadruple-pay and with-other gifts and of-illnesses at-least
θεραπείαις καὶ περὶ ταφὰς κόσμῳ· ὥστε πάντες ἴσασιν
with-treatments and around burials with-honor so-that all know
οἱ παρ' ἐκείνῳ ξένοι ὅτι ἡ πολεμικὴ αὐτοῖς ἀρετὴ
the with that-one mercenaries that the warlike for-them excellence
ἐντιμότατόν τε βίον καὶ ἀφθονώτατον παρέχεται.
most-honored both life and most-abundant provides

ἐπεδείκνυε δέ μοι εἰδότι ὅτι καὶ ὑπήκοοι ἤδη αὐτῷ εἶεν 7
he-showed and to-me knowing that also subject already to-him were
Μαρακοὶ καὶ Δόλοπες καὶ Ἀλκέτας ὁ ἐν τῇ Ἠπείρῳ
Maracians and Dolopians and Alcetas the in — Epirus
ὕπαρχος· ὥστε, ἔφη, τί ἂν ἐγὼ φοβούμενος οὐ ῥᾳδίως ἂν
governor so-that he-said what — I fearing not easily —
ὑμᾶς οἰοίμην καταστρέψεσθαι; τάχα οὖν ὑπολάβοι ἄν τις
you would-think to-be-going-to-subdue perhaps then might-reply — someone
ἐμοῦ ἄπειρος· Τί οὖν μέλλεις καὶ οὐκ ἤδη στρατεύεις ἐπὶ
of-me inexperienced Why then do-you-delay and not now march against
τοὺς Φαρσαλίους; ὅτι νὴ Δία τῷ παντὶ κρεῖττόν μοι δοκεῖ
the Pharsalians because by Zeus by-the whole better to-me seems
εἶναι ἑκόντας ὑμᾶς μᾶλλον ἢ ἄκοντας προσαγαγέσθαι.
to-be willing you rather than unwilling to-win-over
βιασθέντες μὲν γὰρ ὑμεῖς τ' ἂν βουλεύοισθε ὅ τι
having-been-forced indeed for you both — would-plan what ever
δύναισθε κακὸν ἐμοί, ἐγώ τ' ἂν ὑμᾶς ὡς ἀσθενεστάτους
you-could evil against-me I both — you as weakest
βουλοίμην εἶναι· εἰ δὲ πεισθέντες μετ' ἐμοῦ γένοισθε,
would-wish to-be if but persuaded with me you-should-be
δῆλον ὅτι αὔξοιμεν ἂν ὅ τι δυναίμεθα ἀλλήλους.
clear that we-would-increase — what ever we-could one-another
γιγνώσκω μὲν οὖν, ὦ Πολυδάμα, ὅτι ἡ σὴ πατρὶς εἰς σὲ 8
I-know indeed then O Polydamas that the your fatherland to you
ἀποβλέπει· ἐὰν δέ μοι φιλικῶς αὐτὴν ἔχειν παρασκευάσῃς,
looks if but for-me friendly it to-be you-arrange
ὑπισχνοῦμαί σοι, ἔφη, ἐγὼ μέγιστόν σε τῶν ἐν τῇ
I-promise you he-said I greatest you of-the in —
Ἑλλάδι μετ' ἐμὲ καταστήσειν· οἵων δὲ πραγμάτων τὰ
Greece after me to-make of-what-sort and affairs the
δεύτερά σοι δίδωμι ἄκουε, καὶ μηδὲν πίστευέ μοι ὅ
second-place to-you I-give hear and nothing trust me what

τι ἂν μὴ λογιζομένῳ σοι ἀληθὲς φαίνηται. οὐκοῦν τοῦτο
ever — not reckoning to-you true appears well-then this
μὲν εὔδηλον ἡμῖν, ὅτι Φαρσάλου προσγενομένης καὶ τῶν
indeed evident to-us that Pharsalus having-been-added and the
ἐξ ὑμῶν ἠρτημένων πόλεων εὐπετῶς ἂν ἐγὼ ταγὸς
from you depending cities easily — I tagus
Θετταλῶν ἁπάντων κατασταίην, ὥς γε μήν, ὅταν
of-Thessalians all might-become since at-least truly whenever
ταγεύηται Θετταλία, εἰς ἑξακισχιλίους μὲν οἱ ἱππεύοντες
is-under-a-tagus Thessaly to six-thousand indeed the riding
γίγνονται, ὁπλῖται δὲ πλείους ἢ μύριοι καθίστανται.
become hoplites and more than ten-thousand are-established
9 ὧν ἐγὼ καὶ τὰ σώματα καὶ τὴν μεγαλοψυχίαν ὁρῶν
of-whom I both the bodies and the high-spirit seeing
οἶμαι ἂν αὐτῶν εἰ καλῶς τις ἐπιμελοῖτο, οὐκ εἶναι ἔθνος
think — of-them if well anyone took-care not to-be a-nation
ὁποίῳ ἂν ἀξιώσαιεν ὑπήκοοι εἶναι Θετταλοί. πλατυτάτης
to-which — they-would-deign subject to-be Thessalians broadest
γε μὴν γῆς οὔσης Θετταλίας, πάντα τὰ κύκλῳ ἔθνη
at-least truly land being Thessaly all the around nations
ὑπήκοα μέν ἐστιν, ὅταν ταγὸς ἐνθάδε καταστῇ· σχεδὸν
subject indeed are whenever a-tagus here be-established nearly
δὲ πάντες οἱ ταύτῃ ἀκοντισταί εἰσιν· ὥστε καὶ
and all the-ones in-this-region javelin-men are so-that also
πελταστικῷ εἰκὸς ὑπερέχειν τὴν ἡμετέραν δύναμιν.
in-peltast-force reasonable to-excel the our power
10 καὶ μὴν Βοιωτοί γε καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι πάντες ὅσοι
and truly Boeotians at-least and the others all as-many-as
Λακεδαιμονίοις πολεμοῦντες ὑπάρχουσί μοι σύμμαχοι·
with-Lacedaemonians at-war are to-me allies
καὶ ἀκολουθεῖν τοίνυν ἀξιοῦσιν ἐμοί, ἂν μόνον ἀπὸ
and to-follow indeed claim me if only from

Λακεδαιμονίων ἐλευθερῶ αὐτούς. καὶ Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ εὖ οἶδ'
Lacedaemonians I-free them and Athenians and well I-know
ὅτι πάντα ποιήσαιεν ἂν ὥστε σύμμαχοι ἡμῖν γενέσθαι·
that everything would-do — so-as allies to-us to-become
ἀλλ' ἐγὼ οὐκ ἄν μοι δοκῶ πρὸς αὐτοὺς φιλίαν
but I not — to-myself seem with them friendship
ποιήσασθαι. νομίζω γὰρ ἔτι ῥᾷον τὴν κατὰ θάλατταν
to-make I-think for still more-easily the by sea
ἢ τὴν κατὰ γῆν ἀρχὴν παραλαβεῖν ἄν.
than the by land rule to-take-over —
εἰ δὲ εἰκότα λογίζομαι, σκόπει, ἔφη, καὶ ταῦτα. 11
if and reasonable-things I-reckon consider he-said also these-things
ἔχοντες μέν γε Μακεδονίαν, ἔνθεν καὶ Ἀθηναῖοι τὰ ξύλα
having indeed at-least Macedonia whence also Athenians the timber
ἄγονται, πολὺ δήπου πλέονας ἐκείνων ἱκανοὶ ἐσόμεθα ναῦς
bring much surely more than-those able we-shall-be ships
ποιήσασθαι. ἀνδρῶν γε μὴν ταύτας πληροῦν πότερον
to-make with-men at-least truly these to-man which-of-the-two
Ἀθηναίους ἢ ἡμᾶς εἰκὸς μᾶλλον δύνασθαι, τοσούτους
Athenians or us reasonable rather to-be-able so-many
καὶ τοιούτους ἔχοντας πενέστας; τούς γε μὴν ναύτας
and such having serfs the at-least truly sailors
τρέφειν πότερον ἡμᾶς ἱκανωτέρους εἰκὸς εἶναι τοὺς
to-feed which-of-the-two us more-able reasonable to-be the-ones
δι' ἀφθονίαν καὶ ἄλλοσε σῖτον ἐκπέμποντας ἢ Ἀθηναίους
through abundance even elsewhere grain exporting or Athenians
τοὺς μηδ' αὐτοῖς ἱκανὸν ἔχοντας, ἂν μὴ πρίωνται;
the-ones not-even for-themselves enough having if not they-buy
καὶ χρήμασί γε εἰκὸς δήπου ἡμᾶς ἀφθονωτέροις 12
and with-money at-least reasonable surely us more-abundant
χρῆσθαι μὴ εἰς νησύδρια ἀποβλέποντας, ἀλλ' ἠπειρωτικὰ
to-use not to islets looking but mainland

ἔθνη καρπουμένους. πάντα γὰρ δήπου τὰ κύκλῳ φόρον
nations reaping all for surely the around tribute
φέρει, ὅταν ταγεύηται τὰ κατὰ Θετταλίαν. οἶσθα δὲ
bring whenever is-under-a-tagus the-affairs in Thessaly you-know and
δήπου ὅτι καὶ βασιλεὺς ὁ Περσῶν οὐ νήσους ἀλλ' ἤπειρον
surely that also king the of-the-Persians not islands but mainland
καρπούμενος πλουσιώτατος ἀνθρώπων ἐστίν· ὃν ἐγὼ
reaping richest of-men is whom I
ὑπήκοον ποιήσασθαι ἔτι εὐκατεργαστότερον ἡγοῦμαι εἶναι
subject to-make still easier-to-accomplish consider to-be
ἢ τὴν Ἑλλάδα. οἶδα γὰρ πάντας τοὺς ἐκεῖ ἀνθρώπους
than — Greece I-know for all the there men
πλὴν ἑνὸς μᾶλλον δουλείαν ἢ ἀλκὴν μεμελετηκότας, οἶδα
except one rather slavery than strength having-practiced I-know
δὲ ὑφ' οἵας δυνάμεως καὶ τῆς μετὰ Κύρου ἀναβάσης
and by what-sort of-force both the with Cyrus having-gone-up
καὶ τῆς μετ' Ἀγησιλάου εἰς πᾶν ἀφίκετο βασιλεύς.
and the with Agesilaus to every-straits came the-king
13 ἐπεὶ δὲ ταῦτ' εἰπόντος αὐτοῦ ἐγὼ ἀπεκρινάμην ὅτι τὰ
when and these-things having-said him I answered that the
μὲν ἄλλα ἀξιόσκεπτα λέγει, τὸ δὲ Λακεδαιμονίοις ὄντας
indeed other-things worth-considering he-said the but to-Lacedaemonians being
φίλους ἀποστῆναι πρὸς τοὺς ἐναντίους, μηδὲν ἔχοντας
friends to-revolt to the opponents nothing having
ἐγκαλεῖν, τοῦτ', ἔφην, ἄπορόν μοι δοκεῖ εἶναι· ὁ δ'
to-charge this I-said impossible to-me seems to-be he but
ἐπαινέσας με καὶ εἰπὼν ὅτι μᾶλλον ἑκτέον μου εἴη, ὅτι
having-praised me and having-said that more to-be-clung-to of-me was because
τοιοῦτος εἴην, ἐφῆκέ μοι ἐλθόντι πρὸς ὑμᾶς λέγειν τἀληθῆ,
such I-was let me having-come to you to-tell the-truth
ὅτι διανοοῖτο στρατεύειν ἐπὶ Φαρσαλίους, εἰ μὴ πεισοίμεθα.
that he-intended to-march against Pharsalians if not we-obeyed

αἰτεῖν οὖν ἐκέλευε βοήθειαν παρ᾽ ὑμῶν. καὶ ἐὰν μέν σοι,
to-ask then he-bade help from you and if indeed to-you
ἔφη, διδῶσιν ὥστε σε πείθειν ἱκανὴν πέμπειν συμμαχίαν
he-said they-give so-that you to-persuade sufficient to-send an-alliance
ὡς ἐμοὶ πολεμεῖν, ἄγ᾽, ἔφη, καὶ τούτῳ χρώμεθα ὅ τι
as with-me to-make-war come he-said also this let-us-accept what ever
ἂν ἀποβαίνῃ ἐκ τοῦ πολέμου· ἂν δέ σοι μὴ δοκῶσιν
— results from the war if but to-you not they-seem
ἱκανῶς βοηθεῖν, οὐκ ἤδη ἀνέγκλητος ἂν δικαίως εἴης, εἰ
sufficiently to-help not now blameless — justly you-would-be if
τῇ πατρίδι, ἥ σε τιμᾷ, καὶ σὺ πράττοις τὰ κράτιστα;
for-the fatherland which you honors also you should-do the best
περὶ τούτων δὴ ἐγὼ ἥκω πρὸς ὑμᾶς καὶ λέγω πάντα 14
about these-things indeed I come to you and say all
ὅσα ἐκεῖ αὐτός τε ὁρῶ καὶ ἐκείνου ἀκήκοα. καὶ
as-many-as there myself both see and from-that-one have-heard and
νομίζω οὕτως ἔχειν, ὦ ἄνδρες Λακεδαιμόνιοι, ὡς εἰ μὲν
I-think so to-be O men Lacedaemonians that if indeed
πέμψετε ἐκεῖσε δύναμιν οἵαν μὴ ἐμοὶ μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ
you-will-send thither a-force such-as not to-me alone but also
τοῖς ἄλλοις Θετταλοῖς ἱκανὴν δοκεῖν εἶναι πρὸς Ἰάσονα
to-the other Thessalians sufficient to-seem to-be against Jason
πολεμεῖν, ἀποστήσονται αὐτοῦ αἱ πόλεις· πᾶσαι γὰρ
to-make-war will-revolt from-him the cities all for
φοβοῦνται ὅποι ποτὲ προβήσεται ἡ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς δύναμις·
are-afraid whither ever will-advance the of-the man power
εἰ δὲ νεοδαμώδεις καὶ ἄνδρα ἰδιώτην οἴεσθε ἀρκέσειν,
if but neodamodes and a-man private you-think will-suffice
συμβουλεύω ἡσυχίαν ἔχειν.
I-advise quiet to-keep

15 εὖ γὰρ ἴστε, [ὅτι] πρός τε μεγάλην ἔσται ῥώμην ὁ πόλεμος,
well for know that against both great will-be strength the war
καὶ πρὸς ἄνδρα ὃς φρόνιμος μὲν οὕτω στρατηγός ἐστιν
and against a-man who prudent indeed so a-general is
ὡς ὅσα τε λανθάνειν καὶ ὅσα φθάνειν καὶ ὅσα
that as-many-as both to-escape-notice and as-many-as to-anticipate and as-many-as
βιάζεσθαι ἐπιχειρεῖ οὐ μάλα ἀφαμαρτάνει. ἱκανὸς γάρ ἐστι
to-force he-attempts not very he-misses able for he-is
καὶ νυκτὶ ἅπερ ἡμέρᾳ χρῆσθαι, καὶ ὅταν σπεύδῃ, ἄριστον
also by-night which-very by-day to-use and whenever he-hurries breakfast
καὶ δεῖπνον †ποιησάμενος ἅμα ποιεῖσθαι. οἴεται δὲ
and dinner having-made at-the-same-time to-make he-thinks and
καὶ ἀναπαύεσθαι χρῆναι, ὅταν ἀφίκηται ἔνθ' ἂν ὡρμημένος
also to-rest it-is-needful whenever he-arrives where — having-set-out
ᾖ καὶ διαπράξηται ἃ δεῖ· καὶ τοὺς μεθ' αὑτοῦ δὲ
he-be and accomplish what is-needful and the-ones with him and
ταῦτα εἴθικεν. ἐπίσταται δὲ καὶ ὅταν ἐπιπονήσαντες
these-things he-has-accustomed he-knows and also whenever having-toiled
ἀγαθόν τι πράξωσιν οἱ στρατιῶται, ἐκπλῆσαι τὰς
good something they-accomplish the soldiers to-satisfy the
γνώμας αὐτῶν· ὥστε καὶ τοῦτο μεμαθήκασι πάντες οἱ
minds their so-that also this have-learned all the-ones
μετ' αὐτοῦ, ὅτι ἐκ τῶν πόνων καὶ τὰ μαλακὰ γίγνεται.
with him that from the toils also the soft-things come
16 καὶ μὴν ἐγκρατέστατός γ' ἐστὶν ὧν ἐγὼ οἶδα
and truly most-self-controlled at-least he-is of-whom I know
τῶν περὶ τὸ σῶμα ἡδονῶν· ὥστε οὐδὲ διὰ ταῦτα
of-the about the body pleasures so-that not-even because-of these-things
ἀσχολίαν ἔχει τὸ μὴ [εἰς τὸ] πράττειν ἀεὶ τὸ δεόμενον.
hindrance he-has the not into the to-do always the needful

ὑμεῖς οὖν σκεψάμενοι εἴπατε πρὸς ἐμέ, ὥσπερ ὑμῖν
you then having-considered tell to me as for-you
προσήκει, ὁποῖα δυνήσεσθέ τε καὶ μέλλετε ποιήσειν.
it-befits what-sort-of-things you-will-be-able both and intend to-do
Ὁ μὲν ταῦτ' εἶπεν. οἱ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι τότε μὲν 17
He indeed these-things said the and Lacedaemonians then indeed
ἀνεβάλοντο τὴν ἀπόκρισιν· τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ καὶ τῇ
put-off the answer on-the but next-day and on-the
τρίτῃ λογισάμενοι τάς τε ἔξω μόρας ὅσαι αὐτοῖς εἶεν
third having-reckoned the both outside regiments as-many-as for-them were
καὶ τὰς περὶ Λακεδαίμονα πρὸς τὰς †ἔξω τῶν Ἀθηναίων
and the around Lacedaemon against the outside of-the Athenians
τριήρεις καὶ τὸν πρὸς τοὺς ὁμόρους πόλεμον, ἀπεκρίναντο
triremes and the against the neighbors war answered
ὅτι ἐν τῷ παρόντι οὐκ ἂν δύναιντο ἱκανὴν αὐτῷ ἐκπέμψαι
that at the present not — they-could sufficient to-him send-out
ἐπικουρίαν, ἀλλ' ἀπιόντα συντίθεσθαι αὐτὸν ἐκέλευον ὅπῃ
aid but going-away to-arrange him they-bade as
δύναιτο ἄριστα τά τε ἑαυτοῦ καὶ τὰ τῆς πόλεως.
he-could best the both his-own and the-affairs of-the city
κἀκεῖνος μέντοι ἐπαινέσας τὴν ἁπλότητα τῆς πόλεως 18
and-that-one however having-praised the frankness of-the city
ἀπῆλθε. καὶ τὴν μὲν ἀκρόπολιν τῶν Φαρσαλίων ἐδέετο
went-away and the indeed acropolis of-the Pharsalians he-asked
τοῦ Ἰάσονος μὴ ἀναγκάσαι αὐτὸν παραδοῦναι, ὅπως
— Jason not to-compel him to-hand-over so-that
τοῖς παρακαταθεμένοις διασῴζῃ· τοὺς δὲ αὐτοῦ
for-the-ones having-deposited-it he-might-keep-it the but his-own
παῖδας ἔδωκεν ὁμήρους, ὑποσχόμενος αὐτῷ τήν τε
children he-gave as-hostages having-promised to-him the both
πόλιν πείσας ἑκοῦσαν σύμμαχον ποιήσειν καὶ ταγὸν
city having-persuaded willing as-ally to-make and tagus

συγκαταστήσειν αὐτόν. ὡς δὲ τὰ πιστὰ ἔδοσαν ἀλλήλοις,
to-help-establish him when and the pledges they-gave to-one-another
εὐθὺς μὲν οἱ Φαρσάλιοι εἰρήνην ἦγον, ταχὺ δὲ ὁ Ἰάσων
at-once indeed the Pharsalians peace kept quickly and — Jason
ὁμολογουμένως ταγὸς τῶν Θετταλῶν καθειστήκει.
admittedly tagus of-the Thessalians had-become
19 ἐπεί γε μὴν ἐτάγευσε, διέταξεν ἱππικόν τε ὅσον
when at-least truly he-became-tagus he-assigned cavalry both as-much-as
ἑκάστη πόλις δυνατὴ ἦν παρέχειν καὶ ὁπλιτικόν. καὶ
each city able was to-provide and hoplite-force and
ἐγένοντο αὐτῷ ἱππεῖς μὲν σὺν τοῖς συμμάχοις πλείους
there-came-to-be for-him horsemen indeed with the allies more
ἢ ὀκτακισχίλιοι, ὁπλῖται δὲ ἐλογίσθησαν οὐκ ἐλάττους
than eight-thousand hoplites and were-reckoned not fewer
δισμυρίων, πελταστικόν γε μὴν ἱκανὸν πρὸς πάντας
than-twenty-thousand peltast-force at-least truly sufficient against all
ἀνθρώπους ἀντιταχθῆναι· ἔργον γὰρ ἐκείνων γε καὶ
men to-be-drawn-up a-task for of-those at-least even
τὰς πόλεις ἀριθμῆσαι. προεῖπε δὲ τοῖς περιοίκοις πᾶσι
the cities to-count he-proclaimed and to-the perioeci all
καὶ τὸν φόρον ὥσπερ ἐπὶ Σκόπα τεταγμένος ἦν
also the tribute as in-the-time-of Scopas assessed it-was
φέρειν. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν οὕτως ἐπεραίνετο· ἐγὼ δὲ πάλιν
to-bring and these-things indeed thus were-accomplished I and again
ἐπάνειμι, ὅθεν εἰς τὰς περὶ Ἰάσονος πράξεις ἐξέβην.
return whence into the about Jason deeds I-digressed

Athens, worn down by the war, makes peace with Sparta, but Timotheus lands Zacynthian exiles on his way home and the war resumes. Sparta sends Mnasippus with sixty ships against Corcyra; he ravages the rich land and blockades the starving city, but withholds his mercenaries' pay and strikes their captains, and when the Corcyraeans sally he is killed and his army scattered. Athens replaces Timotheus with Iphicrates, who trains his crews on the voyage round the Peloponnese, subdues the cities of Cephallenia, and at Corcyra takes the Syracusan triremes Dionysius sends to help Sparta, though the Rhodian Melanippus escapes with his ship. With about ninety ships he then levies money in Cephallenia and prepares to raid Spartan land. Xenophon praises his generalship and his choice of Callistratus and Chabrias as colleagues.

Οἱ μὲν γὰρ Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ οἱ σύμμαχοι συνελέγοντο εἰς 1
The indeed for Lacedaemonians and the allies were-gathering to
τοὺς Φωκέας, οἱ δὲ Θηβαῖοι ἀναχωρήσαντες εἰς τὴν αὐτῶν
the Phocians the but Thebans having-withdrawn into the their-own
ἐφύλαττον τὰς εἰσβολάς. οἱ δ' Ἀθηναῖοι, αὐξανομένους μὲν
guarded the passes the but Athenians growing indeed
ὁρῶντες διὰ σφᾶς τοὺς Θηβαίους, χρήματα [τε] οὐ
seeing because-of themselves the Thebans money and not
συμβαλλομένους εἰς τὸ ναυτικόν, αὐτοὶ δὲ ἀποκναιόμενοι καὶ
contributing to the fleet themselves but being-worn-out both
χρημάτων εἰσφοραῖς καὶ λῃστείαις ἐξ Αἰγίνης καὶ φυλακαῖς
of-money by-levies and by-piracies from Aegina and by-guards
τῆς χώρας, ἐπεθύμησαν παύσασθαι τοῦ πολέμου, καὶ
of-the land desired to-stop from-the war and
πέμψαντες πρέσβεις εἰς Λακεδαίμονα εἰρήνην ἐποιήσαντο.
having-sent envoys to Lacedaemon peace made

2 Εὐθὺς δ' ἐκεῖθεν δύο τῶν πρέσβεων πλεύσαντες κατὰ
At-once and from-there two of-the envoys having-sailed according-to
δόγμα τῆς πόλεως εἶπον τῷ Τιμοθέῳ ἀποπλεῖν οἴκαδε
decree of-the city told — to-Timotheus to-sail-off home
ὡς εἰρήνης οὔσης· ὁ δ' ἅμα ἀποπλέων τοὺς τῶν
as peace being he and at-the-same-time sailing-off the of-the
Ζακυνθίων φυγάδας ἀπεβίβασεν εἰς τὴν χώραν αὐτῶν.
Zacynthians exiles landed into the land their
3 ἐπεὶ δὲ οἱ ἐκ τῆς πόλεως Ζακύνθιοι πέμψαντες πρὸς
when and the from the city Zacynthians having-sent to
τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους ἔλεγον οἷα πεπονθότες εἶεν
the Lacedaemonians told what-sort-of-things having-suffered they-were
ὑπὸ τοῦ Τιμοθέου, εὐθὺς οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἀδικεῖν τε
by — Timotheus at-once the Lacedaemonians to-do-wrong both
ἡγοῦντο τοὺς Ἀθηναίους καὶ ναυτικὸν πάλιν κατεσκεύαζον
considered the Athenians and a-fleet again prepared
καὶ συνετάττοντο εἰς ἑξήκοντα ναῦς ἀπ' αὐτῆς τε τῆς
and were-drawing-up up-to sixty ships from itself both —
Λακεδαίμονος καὶ Κορίνθου καὶ Λευκάδος καὶ Ἀμβρακίας
Lacedaemon and Corinth and Leucas and Ambracia
καὶ Ἤλιδος καὶ Ζακύνθου καὶ Ἀχαΐας καὶ Ἐπιδαύρου καὶ
and Elis and Zacynthus and Achaea and Epidaurus and
Τροιζῆνος καὶ Ἑρμιόνος καὶ Ἁλιέων.
Troezen and Hermione and Halieis
4 ἐπιστήσαντες δὲ ναύαρχον Μνάσιππον ἐκέλευον τῶν τε
having-set-over and as-admiral Mnasippus they-ordered of-the both
ἄλλων ἐπιμελεῖσθαι τῶν κατ' ἐκείνην τὴν θάλατταν
other to-take-care of-the-things in that the sea
καὶ στρατεύειν ἐπὶ Κέρκυραν. ἔπεμψαν δὲ καὶ πρὸς
and to-campaign against Corcyra they-sent and also to

Διονύσιον διδάσκοντες ὡς καὶ ἐκείνῳ χρήσιμον εἴη
Dionysius teaching that also for-that-one useful it-would-be
τὴν Κέρκυραν μὴ ὑπ᾽ Ἀθηναίοις εἶναι.
— Corcyra not under Athenians to-be
καὶ ὁ μὲν δὴ Μνάσιππος, ἐπεὶ συνελέγη αὐτῷ τὸ 5
and — indeed then Mnasippus when was-gathered for-him the
ναυτικόν, ἔπλευσεν εἰς τὴν Κέρκυραν· εἶχε δὲ καὶ
fleet sailed to — Corcyra he-had and also
μισθοφόρους σὺν τοῖς ἐκ Λακεδαίμονος μετ᾽ αὐτοῦ
mercenaries with the-ones from Lacedaemon with him
στρατευομένοις οὐκ ἐλάττους χιλίων καὶ πεντακοσίων.
campaigning not fewer than-a-thousand and five-hundred
ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀπέβη, ἐκράτει τε τῆς γῆς καὶ ἐδῄου ἐξειργασμένην 6
when and he-landed he-was-master both of-the land and ravaged worked
μὲν παγκάλως καὶ πεφυτευμένην τὴν χώραν, μεγαλοπρεπεῖς
indeed most-beautifully and planted the country magnificent
δὲ οἰκήσεις καὶ οἰνῶνας κατεσκευασμένους ἐπὶ τῶν ἀγρῶν·
and dwellings and wine-cellars furnished on the farms
ὥστ᾽ ἔφασαν τοὺς στρατιώτας εἰς τοῦτο τρυφῆς ἐλθεῖν ὥστ᾽
so-that they-said the soldiers to this of-luxury to-come that
οὐκ ἐθέλειν πίνειν, εἰ μὴ ἀνθοσμίας εἴη. καὶ ἀνδράποδα
not to-be-willing to-drink if not fragrant it-were and slaves
δὲ καὶ βοσκήματα πάμπολλα ἡλίσκετο ἐκ τῶν ἀγρῶν.
and also cattle very-many were-taken from the farms
ἔπειτα δὲ κατεστρατοπεδεύσατο τῷ μὲν πεζῷ ἐπὶ 7
then and he-encamped with-the indeed infantry on
λόφῳ ἀπέχοντι τῆς πόλεως ὡς πέντε στάδια, πρὸ
a-hill distant from-the city about five stades in-front-of
τῆς χώρας ὄντι, ὅπως ἀποτέμνοιτο ἐντεῦθεν, εἴ τις ἐπὶ
the country being so-that he-might-cut-off from-there if anyone toward
τὴν χώραν τῶν Κερκυραίων ἐξίοι· τὸ δὲ ναυτικὸν
the land of-the Corcyraeans should-go-out the but fleet

εἰς τἀπὶ θάτερα τῆς πόλεως κατεστρατοπέδευσεν,
to the on-the-other-side of-the city he-stationed
ἔνθεν ᾤετ' ἂν τὰ προσπλέοντα καὶ προαισθάνεσθαι καὶ
whence he-thought — the ships-sailing-up both to-perceive-beforehand and
διακωλύειν. πρὸς δὲ τούτοις καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ λιμένι, ὁπότε
to-prevent besides and these also at the harbor whenever
μὴ χειμὼν κωλύοι, ἐφώρμει.
not storm prevented he-lay-at-anchor-off

8 ἐπολιόρκει μὲν δὴ οὕτω τὴν πόλιν. ἐπεὶ δὲ οἱ Κερκυραῖοι
he-besieged indeed then thus the city when and the Corcyraeans
ἐκ μὲν τῆς γῆς οὐδὲν ἐλάμβανον διὰ τὸ κρατεῖσθαι
from indeed the land nothing took because-of the to-be-overpowered
κατὰ γῆν, κατὰ θάλατταν δὲ οὐδὲν εἰσήγετο αὐτοῖς
by land by sea and nothing was-imported to-them
διὰ τὸ ναυκρατεῖσθαι, ἐν πολλῇ ἀπορίᾳ ἦσαν.
because-of the to-be-mastered-at-sea in much perplexity they-were

9 καὶ πέμποντες πρὸς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους βοηθεῖν τε ἐδέοντο
and sending to the Athenians to-help both they-begged
καὶ ἐδίδασκον ὡς μέγα μὲν ἀγαθὸν ἀποβάλοιεν ἄν, εἰ
and taught that great indeed good they-would-lose — if
Κερκύρας στερηθεῖεν, τοῖς δὲ πολεμίοις μεγάλην ἂν
of-Corcyra they-were-deprived to-the and enemies great —
ἰσχὺν προσβάλοιεν· ἐξ οὐδεμιᾶς γὰρ πόλεως πλήν γε
strength they-would-add from none for city except at-least
Ἀθηνῶν οὔτε ναῦς οὔτε χρήματα πλείονα ἂν γενέσθαι.
Athens neither ships nor money more — to-come
ἔτι δὲ κεῖσθαι τὴν Κέρκυραν ἐν καλῷ μὲν τοῦ
further and to-lie — Corcyra in fine-position indeed for-the
Κορινθιακοῦ κόλπου καὶ τῶν πόλεων αἳ ἐπὶ τοῦτον
Corinthian gulf and of-the cities which on it
καθήκουσιν, ἐν καλῷ δὲ τοῦ τὴν Λακωνικὴν χώραν
reach-down in fine-position and for-the the Laconian land

βλάπτειν, ἐν καλλίστῳ δὲ τῆς τε ἀντιπέρας Ἠπείρου
to-harm in finest-position and for-the both opposite Epirus
καὶ τοῦ εἰς Πελοπόννησον ἀπὸ Σικελίας παράπλου.
and of-the to Peloponnese from Sicily voyage-along
ἀκούσαντες δὲ ταῦτα οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐνόμισαν ἰσχυρῶς 10
having-heard and these-things the Athenians thought strongly
ἐπιμελητέον εἶναι, καὶ κατὰ γῆν πέμπουσι Κτησικλέα
one-must-take-care to-be and by land send Ctesicles
εἰς ἑξακοσίους ἔχοντα πελταστάς, Ἀλκέτου δὲ ἐδεήθησαν
up-to six-hundred having peltasts Alcetas and they-asked
συνδιαβιβάσαι τούτους.
to-help-carry-across these
καὶ οὗτοι μὲν νυκτὸς διακομισθέντες που τῆς χώρας 11
and these indeed by-night having-been-conveyed somewhere of-the land
εἰσῆλθον εἰς τὴν πόλιν. ἐψηφίσαντο δὲ καὶ ἑξήκοντα ναῦς
entered into the city they-voted and also sixty ships
πληροῦν, Τιμόθεον δ' αὐτῶν στρατηγὸν ἐχειροτόνησαν.
to-man Timotheus and of-them as-general elected
ὁ δ' οὐ δυνάμενος αὐτόθεν τὰς ναῦς πληρῶσαι, ἐπὶ νήσων 12
he but not being-able from-there the ships to-man to islands
πλεύσας ἐκεῖθεν ἐπειρᾶτο συμπληροῦν, οὐ φαῦλον ἡγούμενος
having-sailed thence tried to-fill-up not slight considering
εἶναι ἐπὶ συγκεκροτημένας ναῦς εἰκῇ περιπλεῦσαι.
to-be against well-drilled ships at-random to-sail-around
οἱ δ' Ἀθηναῖοι νομίζοντες αὐτὸν ἀναλοῦν τὸν τῆς ὥρας εἰς 13
the but Athenians thinking him to-waste the of-the season for
τὸν περίπλουν χρόνον, συγγνώμην οὐκ ἔσχον αὐτῷ, ἀλλὰ
the voyage-around time pardon not had for-him but
παύσαντες αὐτὸν τῆς στρατηγίας Ἰφικράτη ἀνθαιροῦνται.
having-stopped him from-the command Iphicrates choose-instead

14 ὁ δ' ἐπεὶ κατέστη στρατηγός, μάλα ὀξέως τὰς ναῦς
he and when he-became general very sharply the ships
ἐπληροῦτο καὶ τοὺς τριηράρχους ἠνάγκαζε. προσέλαβε δὲ
manned and the trierarchs compelled he-took-in-addition and
παρὰ τῶν Ἀθηναίων καὶ εἴ πού τις ναῦς περὶ τὴν Ἀττικὴν
from the Athenians also if anywhere any ship around — Attica
ἔπλει καὶ τὴν Πάραλον καὶ τὴν Σαλαμινίαν, λέγων ὡς ἐὰν
sailed both the Paralus and the Salaminia saying that if
τἀκεῖ καλῶς γένηται, πολλὰς αὐτοῖς ναῦς ἀποπέμψοι.
the-things-there well turn-out many to-them ships he-would-send-back
καὶ ἐγένοντο αὐτῷ αἱ ἅπασαι περὶ ἑβδομήκοντα.
and there-came-to-be for-him the all about seventy

15 ἐν δὲ τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ οἱ Κερκυραῖοι οὕτω σφόδρα
in and this the time the Corcyraeans so violently
ἐπείνων ὥστε διὰ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν αὐτομολούντων
were-starving that because-of the number of-the deserting
ἐκήρυξεν ὁ Μνάσιππος πεπρᾶσθαι ὅστις αὐτομολοίη.
proclaimed — Mnasippus to-be-sold whoever should-desert
ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐδὲν ἧττον ηὐτομόλουν, τελευτῶν καὶ μαστιγῶν
when and no less they-deserted finally even whipping
ἀπέπεμπεν. οἱ μέντοι ἔνδοθεν τούς γε δούλους οὐκ
he-sent-back they however from-within the at-least slaves not
ἐδέχοντο πάλιν εἰς τὸ τεῖχος, ἀλλὰ πολλοὶ ἔξω ἀπέθνῃσκον.
received back into the wall but many outside died

16 ὁ δ' αὖ Μνάσιππος ὁρῶν ταῦτα ἐνόμιζέ τε ὅσον
— and in-turn Mnasippus seeing these-things thought both all-but
οὐκ ἤδη ἔχειν τὴν πόλιν καὶ περὶ τοὺς μισθοφόρους
— already to-hold the city and with the mercenaries
ἐκαινούργει, καὶ τοὺς μέν τινας αὐτῶν ἀπομίσθους
made-innovations and the indeed some of-them unpaid
ἐπεποιήκει, τοῖς δὲ μένουσι καὶ δυοῖν ἤδη μηνοῖν ὤφειλε
had-made to-the and remaining even for-two already months he-owed

τὸν μισθόν, οὐκ ἀπορῶν, ὡς ἐλέγετο, χρημάτων· καὶ γὰρ
the pay not lacking as was-said money and for
τῶν πόλεων αἱ πολλαὶ αὐτῷ ἀργύριον ἀντὶ τῶν ἀνδρῶν
of-the cities the most to-him silver instead-of the men
ἔπεμπον, ἅτε καὶ διαποντίου τῆς στρατείας οὔσης.
sent inasmuch-as also overseas the campaign being
κατιδόντες δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν πύργων οἱ ἐκ τῆς πόλεως τάς 17
having-observed and from the towers the-ones from the city the
τε φυλακὰς χεῖρον ἢ πρόσθεν φυλαττομένας ἐσπαρμένους
both guards worse than before being-kept scattered
τε κατὰ τὴν χώραν τοὺς ἀνθρώπους, ἐπεκδραμόντες
and throughout the country the men having-sallied-out
τοὺς μέν τινας αὐτῶν ἔλαβον, τοὺς δὲ κατέκοψαν.
the indeed some of-them took the-others but cut-down
αἰσθόμενος δὲ ὁ Μνάσιππος αὐτός τε ἐξωπλίζετο καὶ 18
having-perceived and — Mnasippus himself both armed and
ὅσους εἶχεν ὁπλίτας ἅπασιν ἐβοήθει, καὶ τοὺς λοχαγοὺς
as-many-as he-had hoplites with-all came-to-help and the captains
καὶ τοὺς ταξιάρχους ἐξάγειν ἐκέλευε τοὺς μισθοφόρους.
and the taxiarchs to-lead-out ordered the mercenaries
ἀποκριναμένων δέ τινων λοχαγῶν ὅτι οὐ ῥᾴδιον εἴη 19
having-answered and some captains that not easy it-was
μὴ διδόντας τἀπιτήδεια πειθομένους παρέχειν, τὸν μέν
not giving the-provisions obedient to-make the-one indeed
τινα βακτηρίᾳ, τὸν δὲ τῷ στύρακι ἐπάταξεν. οὕτω
some with-a-stick the-other and with-the butt-spike he-struck so
μὲν δὴ ἀθύμως ἔχοντες καὶ μισοῦντες αὐτὸν συνεξῆλθον
indeed then despondently being and hating him went-out-with-him
πάντες· ὅπερ ἥκιστα εἰς μάχην συμφέρει.
all what-very least for battle is-advantageous

20 ὁ δ’ ἐπεὶ παρετάξατο, αὐτὸς μὲν τοὺς κατὰ τὰς
he and when he-had-drawn-up himself indeed the-ones by the
πύλας τῶν πολεμίων τρεψάμενος ἐπεδίωκεν. οἱ δ’ ἐπεὶ
gates of-the enemies having-routed pursued they and when
ἐγγὺς τοῦ τείχους ἐγένοντο, ἀνέστρεφόν τε καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν
near the wall they-came turned-round both and from the
μνημάτων ἔβαλλον καὶ ἠκόντιζον· ἄλλοι δ’ ἐκδραμόντες
tombs threw and hurled-javelins others and having-run-out
καθ’ ἑτέρας πύλας ἐπιτίθενται ἁθρόοι τοῖς ἐσχάτοις·
by other gates attack massed the last
21 οἱ δ’ ἐπ’ ὀκτὼ τεταγμένοι, ἀσθενὲς νομίσαντες τὸ ἄκρον
the and on eight drawn-up weak having-thought the end
τῆς φάλαγγος ἔχειν, ἀναστρέφειν ἐπειρῶντο. ὡς δ’
of-the phalanx to-hold to-turn-back tried when and
ἤρξαντο ἐπαναχωρεῖν, οἱ μὲν πολέμιοι ὡς φεύγουσιν
they-began to-withdraw the indeed enemies as fleeing-ones
ἐπέθεντο, οἱ δ’ οὐκέτι ἐπανέστρεψαν· καὶ οἱ ἐχόμενοι
attacked they but no-longer turned-round and the-ones next
δ’ αὐτῶν εἰς φυγὴν ὥρμων.
and them into flight rushed
22 ὁ δὲ Μνάσιππος τοῖς μὲν πιεζομένοις οὐκ ἐδύνατο βοηθεῖν
— and Mnasippus to-the indeed hard-pressed not could help
διὰ τοὺς ἐκ τοῦ καταντικρὺ προσκειμένους, ἀεὶ δ’
because-of the from the opposite-side pressing always and
ἐλείπετο σὺν ἐλάττοσι. τέλος δὲ οἱ πολέμιοι ἁθρόοι γενόμενοι
he-was-left with fewer finally and the enemies massed having-become
πάντες ἐπετίθεντο τοῖς περὶ τὸν Μνάσιππον, ἤδη μάλα
all attacked the-ones around — Mnasippus already very
ὀλίγοις οὖσι. καὶ οἱ πολῖται ὁρῶντες τὸ γιγνόμενον ἐπεξῇσαν.
few being and the citizens seeing the thing-happening sallied-out

ἐπεὶ δ᾽ ἐκεῖνον ἀπέκτειναν, ἐδίωκον ἤδη ἅπαντες. 23
when and that-one they-killed pursued already all
ἐκινδύνευσαν δ᾽ ἂν καὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον ἑλεῖν σὺν τῷ
they-ran-the-risk and — also the camp to-take with the
χαρακώματι, εἰ μὴ οἱ διώκοντες τὸν ἀγοραῖόν τε ὄχλον
palisade if not the pursuers the market both crowd
ἰδόντες καὶ τὸν τῶν θεραπόντων καὶ τὸν τῶν ἀνδραπόδων,
having-seen and the of-the servants and the of-the slaves
οἰηθέντες ὄφελός τι αὐτῶν εἶναι, ἀπεστρέφοντο.
having-thought use any of-them to-be turned-back
καὶ τότε μὲν τροπαῖόν τε ἵστασαν οἱ Κερκυραῖοι τούς 24
and then indeed a-trophy both set-up the Corcyraeans the
τε νεκροὺς ὑποσπόνδους ἀπεδίδοσαν. ἐκ δὲ τούτου οἱ
both dead under-truce gave-back from and this the-ones
μὲν ἐν τῇ πόλει ἐρρωμενέστεροι ἐγεγένηντο, οἱ δ᾽
indeed in the city stronger had-become the-ones but
ἔξω ἐν πάσῃ δὴ ἀθυμίᾳ ἦσαν. καὶ γὰρ ἐλέγετο ὅτι
outside in all indeed despondency were and for was-said that
Ἰφικράτης τε ὅσον οὐκ ἤδη παρείη, καὶ οἱ Κερκυραῖοι
Iphicrates both all-but — already was-present and the Corcyraeans
δὲ τῷ ὄντι ναῦς ἐπλήρουν.
and in-the reality ships were-manning
Ὑπερμένης δέ, ὃς ἐτύγχανεν ἐπιστολιαφόρος τῷ Μνασίππῳ 25
Hypermenes and who happened vice-admiral — to-Mnasippus
ὤν, τό τε ναυτικὸν πᾶν ὅσον ἦν ἐκεῖ συνεπλήρωσε,
being the both fleet all as-much-as was there manned
καὶ περιπλεύσας πρὸς τὸ χαράκωμα τὰ πλοῖα πάντα
and having-sailed-around to the palisade the boats all
γεμίσας τῶν τε ἀνδραπόδων καὶ τῶν χρημάτων
having-loaded with-the both slaves and with-the property

ἀπέστελλεν· αὐτὸς δὲ σύν τε τοῖς ἐπιβάταις καὶ τοῖς
sent-off himself and with both the marines and the
περισωθεῖσι τῶν στρατιωτῶν διεφύλαττε τὸ χαράκωμα·
having-survived of-the soldiers guarded the palisade

26 τέλος δὲ καὶ οὗτοι μάλα τεταραγμένως ἀναβάντες ἐπὶ τὰς
finally and also these very in-disorder having-gone-up on the
τριήρεις ἀπέπλεον, πολὺν μὲν σῖτον, πολὺν δὲ οἶνον, πολλὰ
triremes sailed-away much indeed grain much and wine many
δὲ ἀνδράποδα καὶ ἀσθενοῦντας στρατιώτας καταλιπόντες·
and slaves and sick soldiers having-left-behind
δεινῶς γὰρ ἐπεφόβηντο μὴ καταληφθεῖεν ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀθηναίων
terribly for they-had-feared lest they-be-caught by the Athenians
ἐν τῇ νήσῳ. καὶ ἐκεῖνοι μὲν εἰς Λευκάδα ἀπεσώθησαν.
in the island and those indeed to Leucas got-safe

27 Ὁ δὲ Ἰφικράτης ἐπεὶ ἤρξατο τοῦ περίπλου, ἅμα
— and Iphicrates when he-began the voyage-around at-the-same-time
μὲν ἔπλεεν, ἅμα δὲ πάντα ὅσα εἰς ναυμαχίαν
indeed he-sailed at-the-same-time and all as-many-as for sea-battle
παρεσκευάζετο· εὐθὺς μὲν γὰρ τὰ μεγάλα ἱστία αὐτοῦ
he-prepared at-once indeed for the large sails his
κατέλιπεν, ὡς ἐπὶ ναυμαχίαν πλέων· καὶ τοῖς ἀκατείοις
he-left-behind as to sea-battle sailing and with-the boat-sails
δέ, καὶ εἰ φορὸν πνεῦμα εἴη, ὀλίγα ἐχρῆτο· τῇ δὲ
and even if favorable wind were little he-used with-the but
κώπῃ τὸν πλοῦν ποιούμενος ἄμεινόν τε τὰ σώματα ἔχειν
oar the voyage making better both the bodies to-have
τοὺς ἄνδρας καὶ ἄμεινον τὰς ναῦς πλεῖν ἐποίει.
the men and better the ships to-sail he-made

28 πολλάκις δὲ καὶ ὅπῃ μέλλοι ἀριστοποιεῖσθαι τὸ στράτευμα
often and also where was-going to-take-breakfast the army
ἢ δειπνοποιεῖσθαι, ἐπανήγαγεν ἂν τὸ κέρας ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς
or to-take-dinner he-would-lead-back — the wing from the land

κατὰ ταῦτα τὰ χωρία. †ἐπεὶ δ' ἐπιστρέψας ἂν καὶ
opposite these the places when and having-turned-about — and
ἀντιπρῴρους καταστήσας τὰς τριήρεις ἀπὸ σημείου ἀφίει
with-prows-facing having-placed the triremes from a-signal he-let-go
ἀνθαμιλλᾶσθαι εἰς τὴν γῆν, μέγα δὴ νικητήριον ἦν
to-race to the land great indeed prize it-was
τὸ πρώτους καὶ ὕδωρ λαβεῖν καὶ εἴ του ἄλλου ἐδέοντο,
the first both water to-get and if anything else they-needed
καὶ πρώτους ἀριστῆσαι. τοῖς δ' ὑστάτοις ἀφικομένοις
and first to-breakfast for-the and last having-arrived
μεγάλη ζημία ἦν τό τε ἐλαττοῦσθαι πᾶσι τούτοις
great penalty it-was the both to-fall-short in-all these-things
καὶ ὅτι ἀνάγεσθαι ἅμα ἔδει, ἐπεὶ σημήνειε·
and that to-put-out at-the-same-time it-was-needful when he-signaled
συνέβαινε γὰρ τοῖς μὲν πρώτοις ἀφικνουμένοις καθ'
it-happened for for-the indeed first arriving at
ἡσυχίαν ἅπαντα ποιεῖν, τοῖς δὲ τελευταίοις διὰ σπουδῆς.
leisure all-things to-do for-the but last in haste
φυλακάς γε μήν, εἰ τύχοι ἐν τῇ πολεμίᾳ 29
guards at-least truly if he-happened in the enemy-land
ἀριστοποιούμενος, τὰς μὲν ἐν τῇ γῇ, ὥσπερ προσήκει,
taking-breakfast the indeed on the land as is-fitting
καθίστη, ἐν δὲ ταῖς ναυσὶν αἰρόμενος αὖ τοὺς ἱστοὺς
he-set-up in and the ships raising in-turn the masts
ἀπὸ τούτων ἐσκοπεῖτο. πολὺ οὖν ἐπὶ πλέον οὗτοι
from these he-watched much then to more these
καθεώρων ἢ οἱ ἐκ τοῦ ὁμαλοῦ, ἀφ' ὑψηλοτέρου
saw than the-ones from the level from higher
καθορῶντες. ὅπου δὲ δειπνοποιοῖτο καὶ καθεύδοι, ἐν μὲν
looking where and he-took-dinner and slept in indeed
τῷ στρατοπέδῳ νύκτωρ πῦρ οὐκ ἔκαε, πρὸ δὲ τοῦ
the camp by-night fire not he-burned in-front but of-the

στρατεύματος φῶς ἐποίει, ἵνα μηδεὶς λάθῃ προσιών.
army a-light he-made so-that no-one escape-notice approaching
πολλάκις δέ, εἰ εὐδία εἴη, εὐθὺς δειπνήσας ἀνήγετο· καὶ
often and if calm it-were at-once having-dined he-put-out and
εἰ μὲν αὔρα φέροι, θέοντες ἅμα ἀνεπαύοντο· εἰ
if indeed a-breeze carried running at-the-same-time they-rested if
δὲ ἐλαύνειν δέοι, κατὰ μέρος τοὺς ναύτας ἀνέπανεν.
but to-row it-was-needful by turn the sailors he-rested
30 ἐν δὲ τοῖς μεθ' ἡμέραν πλοῖς ἀπὸ σημείων τοτὲ μὲν ἐπὶ
in and the by day voyages from signals at-times indeed in
κέρως ἦγε, τοτὲ δ' ἐπὶ φάλαγγος· ὥστε ἅμα μὲν
column he-led at-times and in line so-that at-the-same-time indeed
ἔπλεον, ἅμα δὲ πάντα ὅσα εἰς ναυμαχίαν καὶ
they-sailed at-the-same-time and all-things as-many-as for sea-battle both
ἠσκηκότες καὶ ἐπιστάμενοι εἰς τὴν ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων, ὡς
having-practiced and knowing into the by the enemies as
ᾤοντο, κατεχομένην θάλατταν ἀφικνοῦντο. καὶ τὰ μὲν
they-thought held sea they-arrived and the indeed
πολλὰ ἐν τῇ πολεμίᾳ καὶ ἠρίστων καὶ ἐδείπνουν. διὰ
most in the enemy-land both breakfasted and dined because-of
δὲ τὸ τἀναγκαῖα μόνον πράττειν καὶ τὰς βοηθείας
and the the-necessary-things only to-do also the relief-forces
ἔφθανεν ἀναγόμενος καὶ ταχὺ ἐπέραινε.
he-anticipated putting-out and quickly accomplished-the-voyage
31 περὶ δὲ τὸν Μνασίππου θάνατον ἐτύγχανεν ὢν τῆς
around and the of-Mnasippus death he-happened being of-the
Λακωνικῆς περὶ τὰς Σφαγίας. εἰς τὴν Ἠλείαν δὲ
Laconian-land near the Sphagiae to the Elean-land and
ἀφικόμενος καὶ παραπλεύσας τὸ τοῦ Ἀλφειοῦ στόμα
having-arrived and having-sailed-past the of-the Alpheus mouth
ὑπὸ τὸν Ἰχθῦν καλούμενον ὡρμίσατο. τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ
under the Ichthys called he-anchored on-the and next-day

ἐντεῦθεν ἀνήγετο ἐπὶ τῆς Κεφαλληνίας, οὕτω καὶ
thence he-put-out toward — Cephallenia so both
τεταγμένος καὶ τὸν πλοῦν ποιούμενος ὡς, εἰ δέοι,
drawn-up and the voyage making that if it-were-needed
πάντα ὅσα χρὴ παρεσκευασμένος ναυμαχοίη. καὶ
everything as-much-as is-needful prepared he-might-fight-at-sea and
γὰρ τὰ περὶ τοῦ Μνασίππου αὐτόπτου μὲν οὐδενὸς
for the-things about — Mnasippus from-eyewitness indeed no-one
ἠκηκόει, ὑπώπτευε δὲ μὴ ἀπάτης ἕνεκα λέγοιτο, καὶ
he-had-heard he-suspected and lest of-deceit for-the-sake it-was-said and
ἐφυλάττετο· ἐπεὶ μέντοι ἀφίκετο εἰς τὴν Κεφαλληνίαν,
was-on-guard when however he-arrived at — Cephallenia
ἐνταῦθα δὴ σαφῶς ἐπύθετο, καὶ ἀνέπαυε τὸ στράτευμα.
there indeed clearly he-learned and rested the army
Οἶδα μὲν οὖν ὅτι ταῦτα πάντα, ὅταν οἴωνται 32
I-know indeed then that these-things all whenever they-think
ναυμαχήσειν ἄνθρωποι, καὶ ἀσκεῖται καὶ μελετᾶται·
to-be-going-to-fight-at-sea men both are-practiced and are-rehearsed
ἀλλὰ τοῦτο ἐπαινῶ, ὅτι ἐπεὶ ἀφικέσθαι ταχὺ ἔδει ἔνθα
but this I-praise that when to-arrive quickly it-was-needful where
τοῖς πολεμίοις ναυμαχήσειν ᾤετο, ηὕρετο ὅπως μήτε
with-the enemies to-fight-at-sea he-thought be-found how neither
διὰ τὸν πλοῦν ἀνεπιστήμονας εἶναι τῶν εἰς ναυμαχίαν
because-of the voyage unskilled to-be of-the-things for sea-battle
μήτε διὰ τὸ ταῦτα μελετᾶν βραδύτερόν τι ἀφικέσθαι.
nor because-of the these-things to-practice more-slowly at-all to-arrive
Καταστρεψάμενος δὲ τὰς ἐν τῇ Κεφαλληνίᾳ πόλεις 33
Having-subdued and the in — Cephallenia cities
ἔπλευσεν εἰς Κέρκυραν. ἐκεῖ δὲ πρῶτον μὲν ἀκούσας ὅτι
he-sailed to Corcyra there and first indeed having-heard that
προσπλέοιεν δέκα τριήρεις παρὰ Διονυσίου βοηθήσουσαι
were-sailing-up ten triremes from Dionysius going-to-help

τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις, αὐτὸς ἐλθὼν καὶ σκεψάμενος τῆς
the Lacedaemonians himself having-gone and having-examined of-the
χώρας ὅθεν τούς τε προσπλέοντας δυνατὸν ἦν ὁρᾶν
country whence the both sailing-up possible it-was to-see
καὶ τοὺς σημαίνοντας εἰς τὴν πόλιν καταφανεῖς εἶναι,
and the signaling to the city visible to-be
ἐνταῦθα κατέστησε τοὺς σκοπούς.
there he-stationed the lookouts

34 κἀκείνοις μὲν συνέθετο προσπλεόντων τε καὶ ὁρμούντων
and-with-those indeed he-arranged sailing-up both and anchoring
ὡς δέοι σημαίνειν. αὐτὸς δὲ τῶν τριηράρχων
how it-was-needful to-signal himself and of-the trierarchs
προσέταξεν εἴκοσιν, οὓς δεήσοι, ἐπεὶ κηρύξειεν, ἀκολουθεῖν·
ordered twenty who would-have whenever he-proclaimed to-follow
εἰ δέ τις μὴ ἀκολουθήσοι, προεῖπε μὴ μέμψεσθαι τὴν
if but anyone not should-follow he-warned not to-blame the
δίκην. ἐπεὶ δ' ἐσημάνθησαν προσπλέουσαι καὶ ἐκηρύχθη,
penalty when and they-were-signaled sailing-up and it-was-proclaimed
ἀξία ἐγένετο θέας ἡ σπουδή· οὐδεὶς γὰρ ὅστις οὐ δρόμῳ
worthy became of-seeing the haste no-one for who not at-a-run
τῶν μελλόντων πλεῖν εἰσέβη εἰς τὰς ναῦς.
of-the going-to sail embarked into the ships

35 πλεύσας δὲ ἔνθα ἦσαν αἱ πολέμιαι τριήρεις, καταλαμβάνει
having-sailed and where were the enemy triremes he-catches
ἀπὸ μὲν τῶν ἄλλων τριήρων εἰς τὴν γῆν τοὺς ἄνδρας
from indeed the other triremes on the land the men
ἐκβεβηκότας, Μελάνιππος μέντοι ὁ Ῥόδιος τοῖς τε ἄλλοις
having-disembarked Melanippus however the Rhodian to-the both others
συνεβούλευε μὴ μένειν ἐνταῦθα καὶ αὐτὸς πληρωσάμενος
advised not to-stay there and himself having-manned
τὴν ναῦν ἐξέπλει. ἐκεῖνος μὲν οὖν καίπερ ἀπαντῶν
the ship sailed-out that-one indeed then although meeting

ταῖς Ἰφικράτους ναυσὶν ὅμως ἀπέφυγεν· αἱ δὲ ἀπὸ
the of-Iphicrates ships nevertheless escaped the but from
Συρακουσῶν νῆες ἅπασαι ἑάλωσαν αὐτοῖς ἀνδράσιν.
Syracuse ships all were-taken with-the-very men
ὁ μέντοι Ἰφικράτης τὰς μὲν τριήρεις ἀκρωτηριασάμενος 36
— however Iphicrates the indeed triremes having-stripped-of-figureheads
ἕλκων κατηγάγετο εἰς τὸν τῶν Κερκυραίων λιμένα, τῶν
towing brought-in to the of-the Corcyraeans harbor of-the
δὲ ἀνδρῶν συνέβη ἑκάστῳ τακτὸν ἀργύριον ἀποτεῖσαι,
and men it-was-agreed for-each a-fixed silver to-pay
πλὴν Κρινίππου τοῦ ἄρχοντος· τοῦτον δ' ἐφύλαττεν,
except Crinippus the commander this-one and he-guarded
ὡς ἢ πραξόμενος πάμπολλα χρήματα ἢ ὡς πωλήσων.
as either going-to-exact very-much money or as going-to-sell
κἀκεῖνος μὲν ὑπὸ λύπης αὐθαιρέτῳ θανάτῳ ἀποθνήσκει,
and-that-one indeed from grief by-self-chosen death dies
τοὺς δ' ἄλλους ὁ Ἰφικράτης ἀφῆκε, Κερκυραίους ἐγγυητὰς
the and others — Iphicrates released Corcyraeans as-sureties
δεξάμενος τῶν χρημάτων.
having-accepted for-the money
καὶ τοὺς μὲν ναύτας γεωργοῦντας τοῖς Κερκυραίοις τὸ 37
and the indeed sailors working-the-land for-the Corcyraeans the
πλεῖστον διέτρεφε, τοὺς δὲ πελταστὰς καὶ τοὺς ἀπὸ
most-part he-maintained the but peltasts and the-ones from
τῶν νεῶν ὁπλίτας ἔχων διέβαινεν εἰς τὴν Ἀκαρνανίαν·
the ships hoplites having crossed into — Acarnania
καὶ ἐκεῖ ταῖς μὲν φιλίαις πόλεσιν ἐπεκούρει, εἴ τίς
and there to-the indeed friendly cities he-gave-aid if anyone
[τι] δέοιτο, Θυριεῦσι δέ, μάλα καὶ ἀνδράσιν ἀλκίμοις
anything needed with-Thyrians but very both men valiant
καὶ χωρίον καρτερὸν ἔχουσιν, ἐπολέμει.
and a-place strong having he-made-war

38 καὶ τὸ ἀπὸ Κερκύρας ναυτικὸν προσλαβών, σχεδὸν
and the from Corcyra fleet having-taken-in-addition nearly
περὶ ἐνενήκοντα ναῦς, πρῶτον μὲν εἰς Κεφαλληνίαν
about ninety ships first indeed to Cephallenia
πλεύσας χρήματα ἐπράξατο, τὰ μὲν παρ᾽ ἑκόντων,
having-sailed money he-exacted the-ones indeed from willing
τὰ δὲ παρ᾽ ἀκόντων· ἔπειτα δὲ παρεσκευάζετο τήν
the-ones but from unwilling then and he-prepared the
τε τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων χώραν κακῶς ποιεῖν καὶ τῶν
both of-the Lacedaemonians land badly to-treat and of-the
ἄλλων τῶν κατ᾽ ἐκεῖνα πόλεων πολεμίων οὐσῶν τὰς μὲν
other the in those-parts cities hostile being the indeed
ἐθελούσας προσλαμβάνειν, τοῖς δὲ μὴ πειθομένοις πολεμεῖν.
willing to-take-in-addition on-the but not obeying to-make-war

39 Ἐγὼ μὲν δὴ ταύτην τὴν στρατηγίαν τῶν Ἰφικράτους οὐχ
I indeed then this the generalship of-the of-Iphicrates not
ἥκιστα ἐπαινῶ, ἔπειτα καὶ τὸ προσελέσθαι κελεῦσαι ἑαυτῷ
least praise then also the to-choose-as-colleagues to-bid for-himself
Καλλίστρατόν τε τὸν δημηγόρον, οὐ μάλα ἐπιτήδειον
Callistratus both the popular-speaker not very friendly
ὄντα, καὶ Χαβρίαν, μάλα στρατηγὸν νομιζόμενον. εἴτε
being and Chabrias very general considered whether
γὰρ φρονίμους αὐτοὺς ἡγούμενος εἶναι συμβούλους λαβεῖν
for prudent them considering to-be advisers to-take
ἐβούλετο, σῶφρόν μοι δοκεῖ διαπράξασθαι, εἴτε ἀντιπάλους
he-wished sensibly to-me he-seems to-have-acted or opponents
νομίζων οὕτω θρασέως μήτε καταῤῥᾳθυμῶν μήτε καταμελῶν
thinking so boldly neither being-lazy nor neglecting
μηδὲν φαίνεσθαι, μεγαλοφρονοῦντος ἐφ᾽ ἑαυτῷ τοῦτό μοι
anything to-appear of-one-confident in himself this to-me
δοκεῖ ἀνδρὸς εἶναι. κἀκεῖνος μὲν δὴ ταῦτ᾽ ἔπραττεν.
seems of-a-man to-be and-that-one indeed then these-things did

Angered that Thebes has driven out the Plataeans, left the Thespians cityless, and attacked the Phocians, Athens invites Thebes to join it and sends envoys to Sparta to make peace. Callias, the torchbearer and Sparta's hereditary proxenus, appeals to old ties and the gift of Demeter's grain. Autocles accuses Sparta of preaching autonomy while leading its allies wherever it pleases, setting up decarchies and boards of thirty, and seizing the Cadmea. Callistratus admits errors on both sides, says the cities have now fallen into Thebes' power, and argues that as friends the two would be unassailable on land and sea. Peace is sworn on the terms that the harmosts be withdrawn, armaments disbanded, and the cities left autonomous. The Thebans swear, then ask to be entered as the Boeotians; Agesilaus refuses, and they go home despondent, alone outside the peace.

Οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι, ἐκπεπτωκότας μὲν ὁρῶντες ἐκ τῆς 1
The and Athenians driven-out indeed seeing from —
Βοιωτίας Πλαταιέας φίλους ὄντας καὶ καταπεφευγότας πρὸς
Boeotia Plataeans friends being and having-fled-for-refuge to
αὐτούς, ἱκετεύοντας δὲ Θεσπιέας μὴ σφᾶς περιδεῖν ἀπόλιδας
themselves begging and Thespians not them to-overlook cityless
γενομένους, οὐκέτι ἐπῄνουν τοὺς Θηβαίους, ἀλλὰ πολεμεῖν
having-become no-longer praised the Thebans but to-make-war
μὲν αὐτοῖς τὰ μὲν ᾐσχύνοντο, τὰ δὲ ἀσυμφόρως ἔχειν
indeed on-them partly indeed they-were-ashamed partly and disadvantageously to-be
ἐλογίζοντο· κοινωνεῖν γε μὴν αὐτοῖς ὧν ἔπραττον οὐκέτι
they-reckoned to-share at-least truly with-them in-what they-were-doing no-longer
ἤθελον, ἐπεὶ ἑώρων στρατεύοντάς τε αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ φίλους
were-willing since they-saw campaigning both them against friends
ἀρχαίους τῇ πόλει Φωκέας, καὶ πόλεις πιστάς τ' ἐν τῷ
old to-the city Phocians and cities faithful both in the
πρὸς τὸν βάρβαρον πολέμῳ καὶ φίλας ἑαυτοῖς ἀφανίζοντας.
against the barbarian war and friendly to-themselves destroying

2 ἐκ τούτων δὲ ψηφισάμενος ὁ δῆμος εἰρήνην ποιεῖσθαι,
from these-things and having-voted the people peace to-make
πρῶτον μὲν εἰς Θήβας πρέσβεις ἔπεμψε παρακαλοῦντας
first indeed to Thebes envoys sent inviting
ἀκολουθεῖν, εἰ βούλοιντο, εἰς Λακεδαίμονα περὶ εἰρήνης·
to-follow if they-wished to Lacedaemon about peace
ἔπειτα δὲ ἐξέπεμψαν καὶ αὐτοὶ πρέσβεις. ἦν δὲ τῶν
then and sent-out also themselves envoys there-were and of-the
αἱρεθέντων Καλλίας Ἱππονίκου, Αὐτοκλῆς Στρομβιχίδου,
chosen Callias son-of-Hipponicus Autocles son-of-Strombichides
Δημόστρατος Ἀριστοφῶντος, Ἀριστοκλῆς, Κηφισόδοτος,
Demostratus son-of-Aristophon Aristocles Cephisodotus
Μελάνωπος, Λύκαιθος.
Melanopus Lycaethus

3 [ἐπεὶ δὲ προσῆλθον ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐκκλήτους τε τῶν
when and they-came before the assembly both of-the
Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ τοὺς συμμάχους]· καὶ Καλλίστρατος
Lacedaemonians and the allies and Callistratus
δὲ ὁ δημηγόρος παρῆν· ὑποσχόμενος γὰρ Ἰφικράτει,
and the popular-speaker was-present having-promised for to-Iphicrates
εἰ αὐτὸν ἀφείη, ἢ χρήματα πέμψειν τῷ ναυτικῷ ἢ
if him he-released either money to-send to-the fleet or
εἰρήνην ποιήσειν, οὕτως Ἀθήνησί τε ἦν καὶ ἔπραττε
peace to-make so at-Athens both he-was and worked
περὶ εἰρήνης· ἐπεὶ δὲ κατέστησαν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐκκλήτους τε
about peace when and they-stood before the assembly both
τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ τοὺς συμμάχους, πρῶτος ἔλεξεν
of-the Lacedaemonians and the allies first spoke
αὐτῶν Καλλίας ὁ δᾳδοῦχος. ἦν δ' οὗτος οἷος μηδὲν
of-them Callias the torch-bearer he-was and this-man such-as no

ἧττον ἥδεσθαι ὑφ᾽ αὑτοῦ ἢ ὑπ᾽ ἄλλων ἐπαινούμενος·
less to-be-pleased by himself than by others being-praised
καὶ τότε δὴ ἤρξατο ὧδέ πως.
and then indeed began thus somehow
Ὦ ἄνδρες Λακεδαιμόνιοι, τὴν μὲν προξενίαν ὑμῶν οὐκ 4
O men Lacedaemonians the indeed proxeny your not
ἐγὼ ἔχω μόνος, ἀλλὰ καὶ πατρὸς πατὴρ πατρῴαν ἔχων
I have alone but also of-father father ancestral having
παρεδίδου τῷ γένει. βούλομαι δὲ καὶ τοῦτο ὑμῖν δηλῶσαι,
handed-down to-the family I-wish and also this to-you to-show
ὡς ἔχουσα ἡ πόλις διατελεῖ πρὸς ἡμᾶς. ἐκείνη γάρ,
how disposed the city continues toward us she for
ὅταν μὲν πόλεμος ᾖ, στρατηγοὺς ἡμᾶς αἱρεῖται, ὅταν
whenever indeed war be as-generals us chooses whenever
δὲ ἡσυχίας ἐπιθυμήσῃ, εἰρηνοποιοὺς [ἡμᾶς] ἐκπέμπει. κἀγὼ
but quiet she-desire as-peacemakers us sends-out and-I
πρόσθεν δὶς ἤδη ἦλθον περὶ πολέμου καταλύσεως, καὶ
before twice already came about of-war ending and
ἐν ἀμφοτέραις ταῖς πρεσβείαις διεπραξάμην καὶ ὑμῖν καὶ
in both the embassies I-accomplished both for-you and
ἡμῖν εἰρήνην· νῦν δὲ τρίτον ἥκω, καὶ ἡγοῦμαι πολὺ
for-us peace now but a-third-time I-come and I-think by-far
δικαιότατα νῦν ἂν διαλλαγῆς τυχεῖν.
most-justly now — reconciliation to-obtain
ὁρῶ γὰρ οὐκ ἄλλα μὲν ὑμῖν, ἄλλα δὲ ἡμῖν δοκοῦντα, 5
I-see for not other-things indeed to-you other-things but to-us seeming
ἀλλ᾽ ὑμᾶς τε ἀχθομένους καὶ ἡμᾶς τῇ Πλαταιῶν τε
but you both vexed and us at-the of-Plataeans both
καὶ Θεσπιῶν ἀναιρέσει. πῶς οὖν οὐκ εἰκὸς τὰ αὐτὰ
and of-Thespians destruction how then not reasonable the same-things
γιγνώσκοντας φίλους μᾶλλον ἀλλήλοις ἢ πολεμίους εἶναι;
thinking friends rather to-one-another than enemies to-be

καὶ σωφρόνων μὲν δήπου ἐστὶ μηδὲ εἰ μικρὰ τὰ διαφέροντα
and of-sensible-men indeed surely it-is not-even if small the differences
εἴη πόλεμον ἀναιρεῖσθαι· εἰ δὲ δὴ καὶ ὁμογνωμονοῖμεν,
were war to-take-up if but indeed even we-should-agree
οὐκ ἂν πάνυ τῶν θαυμαστῶν εἴη μὴ εἰρήνην ποιεῖσθαι;
not — very of-the astonishing-things would-it-be not peace to-make
6 δίκαιον μὲν οὖν ἦν μηδὲ ὅπλα ἐπιφέρειν ἀλλήλοις
just indeed then it-was not-even arms to-bring against-one-another
ἡμᾶς, ἐπεὶ λέγεται μὲν Τριπτόλεμος ὁ ἡμέτερος
us since is-said indeed Triptolemus the our
πρόγονος τὰ Δήμητρος καὶ Κόρης ἄρρητα ἱερὰ πρώτοις
ancestor the of-Demeter and of-Kore secret rites to-first
ξένοις δεῖξαι Ἡρακλεῖ τε τῷ ὑμετέρῳ ἀρχηγέτῃ καὶ
foreigners to-have-shown to-Heracles both the your founder and
Διοσκόροιν τοῖν ὑμετέροιν πολίταιν, καὶ τοῦ Δήμητρος
the-Dioscuri the your citizens and of-the of-Demeter
δὲ καρποῦ εἰς πρώτην τὴν Πελοπόννησον σπέρμα
and fruit to first the Peloponnese seed
δωρήσασθαι. πῶς οὖν δίκαιον ἢ ὑμᾶς, παρ᾽ ὧν ἐλάβετε
to-have-given how then just either you from whom you-received
σπέρματα, τὸν τούτων ποτὲ καρπὸν ἐλθεῖν δῃώσοντας,
seeds the of-these ever fruit to-come going-to-ravage
ἡμᾶς τε, οἷς ἐδώκαμεν, μὴ οὐχὶ βούλεσθαι ὡς πλείστην
us both to-whom we-gave not not to-wish as greatest
τούτοις ἀφθονίαν τροφῆς γενέσθαι; εἰ δὲ ἄρα ἐκ θεῶν
to-these abundance of-food to-be if but after-all from gods
πεπρωμένον ἐστὶ πολέμους ἐν ἀνθρώποις γίγνεσθαι,
fated it-is wars among men to-arise
ἡμᾶς δὴ χρὴ ἄρχεσθαι μὲν αὐτοῦ ὡς σχολαίτατα,
we indeed it-is-needful to-begin indeed it as most-slowly
ὅταν δὲ γένηται, καταλύεσθαι ἧ δυνατὸν τάχιστα.
whenever but it-arise to-end-it as possible most-quickly

Μετὰ τοῦτον Αὐτοκλῆς, μάλα δοκῶν ἐπιστρεφὴς εἶναι 7
After this-one Autocles very seeming incisive to-be
ῥήτωρ, ὧδε ἠγόρευεν· Ἄνδρες Λακεδαιμόνιοι, ὅτι μὲν ἃ
orator thus spoke Men Lacedaemonians that indeed what
μέλλω λέγειν οὐ πρὸς χάριν ὑμῖν ῥηθήσεται οὐκ ἀγνοῶ·
I-am-about to-say not for favor to-you will-be-said not I-am-ignorant
ἀλλὰ δοκεῖ μοι, οἵτινες βούλονται, ἢν ἂν ποιήσωνται
but it-seems to-me whoever wish which — they-make
φιλίαν, ταύτην ὡς πλεῖστον χρόνον διαμένειν, διδακτέον
friendship this as longest time to-last must-teach
εἶναι ἀλλήλους τὰ αἴτια τῶν πολέμων. ὑμεῖς δὲ ἀεὶ μέν
to-be one-another the causes of-the wars you and always indeed
φατε· αὐτονόμους τὰς πόλεις χρὴ εἶναι, αὐτοὶ δ' ἐστὲ
say autonomous the cities it-is-needful to-be yourselves but are
μάλιστα ἐμποδὼν τῇ αὐτονομίᾳ. συντίθεσθε μὲν γὰρ
most in-the-way to-the autonomy you-agree indeed for
πρὸς τὰς συμμαχίδας πόλεις τοῦτο πρῶτον, ἀκολουθεῖν
with the allied cities this first to-follow
ὅποι ἂν ὑμεῖς ἡγῆσθε.
wherever — you lead
καίτοι τί τοῦτο αὐτονομίᾳ προσήκει; ποιεῖσθε δὲ 8
and-yet what this with-autonomy fits you-make and
πολεμίους οὐκ ἀνακοινούμενοι τοῖς συμμάχοις, καὶ ἐπὶ
enemies not consulting the allies and against
τούτους ἡγεῖσθε· ὥστε πολλάκις ἐπὶ τοὺς εὐμενεστάτους
these you-lead so-that often against the most-well-disposed
ἀναγκάζονται στρατεύειν οἱ λεγόμενοι αὐτόνομοι εἶναι.
are-compelled to-campaign the said autonomous to-be
ἔτι δὲ τὸ πάντων ἐναντιώτατον αὐτονομίᾳ, καθίστατε
further and the of-all most-opposed to-autonomy you-establish
ἔνθα μὲν δεκαρχίας, ἔνθα δὲ τριακονταρχίας· καὶ τούτων
here indeed decarchies there and thirty-rules and of-these

τῶν ἀρχόντων ἐπιμελεῖσθε οὐχ ὅπως νομίμως ἄρχωσιν,
the rulers you-take-care not that lawfully they-may-rule
ἀλλ᾽ ὅπως δύνωνται βίᾳ κατέχειν τὰς πόλεις. ὥστ᾽
but that they-may-be-able by-force to-hold the cities so-that
ἐοίκατε τυραννίσι μᾶλλον ἢ πολιτείαις ἡδόμενοι.
you-seem with-tyrannies rather than with-constitutions pleased
9 καὶ ὅτε μὲν βασιλεὺς προσέταττεν αὐτονόμους τὰς πόλεις
and when indeed the-king ordered autonomous the cities
εἶναι, μάλα γιγνώσκοντες ἐφαίνεσθε ὅτι εἰ μὴ ἐάσοιεν οἱ
to-be very recognizing you-appeared that if not should-let the
Θηβαῖοι ἑκάστην τῶν πόλεων ἄρχειν τε ἑαυτῆς καὶ οἷς
Thebans each of-the cities to-rule both itself and what
ἂν βούληται νόμοις χρῆσθαι, οὐ ποιήσουσι κατὰ τὰ
— it-wishes laws to-use not they-would-act according-to the
βασιλέως γράμματα· ἐπεὶ δὲ παρελάβετε τὴν Καδμείαν,
of-the-king letter when but you-seized the Cadmea
οὐδ᾽ αὐτοῖς Θηβαίοις ἐπετρέπετε αὐτονόμους εἶναι.
not-even to-the-very Thebans you-allowed autonomous to-be
δεῖ δὲ τοὺς μέλλοντας φίλους ἔσεσθαι οὐ παρὰ
it-is-needful and the-ones intending friends to-be not from
τῶν ἄλλων μὲν ἀξιοῦν τῶν δικαίων τυγχάνειν, αὐτοὺς
the others indeed to-claim the just-things to-obtain themselves
δὲ ὅπως ἂν πλεῖστα δύνωνται πλεονεκτοῦντας φαίνεσθαι.
but how — most they-can getting-more to-appear
10 Ταῦτα εἰπὼν σιωπὴν μὲν παρὰ πάντων ἐποίησεν,
These-things having-said silence indeed from all he-made
ἡδομένους δὲ τοὺς ἀχθομένους τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις
pleased but the-ones vexed with-the Lacedaemonians
ἐποίησε. μετὰ τοῦτον Καλλίστρατος ἔλεξεν· Ἀλλ᾽ ὅπως μέν,
he-made after this-one Callistratus spoke But that indeed
ὦ ἄνδρες Λακεδαιμόνιοι, οὐκ ἐγγεγένηται ἁμαρτήματα καὶ
O men Lacedaemonians not have-arisen errors both

ἀφ᾽ ἡμῶν καὶ ἀφ᾽ ὑμῶν ἐγὼ μὲν οὐκ ἂν ἔχειν μοι δοκῶ
from us and from you I indeed not — to-be-able to-me seem
εἰπεῖν· οὐ μέντοι οὕτω γιγνώσκω ὡς τοῖς ἁμαρτάνουσιν
to-say not however so I-think that the-ones erring
οὐδέποτε ἔτι χρηστέον. ὁρῶ γὰρ τῶν ἀνθρώπων οὐδένα
never again one-must-deal-with I-see for of-the men no-one
ἀναμάρτητον διατελοῦντα. δοκοῦσι δέ μοι καὶ εὐπορώτεροι
faultless continuing seem and to-me also more-resourceful
ἐνίοτε γίγνεσθαι ἄνθρωποι ἁμαρτάνοντες, ἄλλως τε καὶ
sometimes to-become men erring especially both and
ἐὰν κολασθῶσιν ὑπὸ τῶν ἁμαρτημάτων, ὡς ἡμεῖς.
if they-be-punished by the errors as we
καὶ ὑμῖν δὲ ἔγωγε ὁρῶ διὰ τὰ ἀγνωμόνως 11
and for-you and I see because-of the-things unreasonably
πραχθέντα ἔστιν ὅτε πολλὰ ἀντίτυπα γιγνόμενα· ὧν
done there-is times-when many reverses happening of-which
ἦν καὶ ἡ καταληφθεῖσα ἐν Θήβαις Καδμεία· νῦν γοῦν, ὡς
was also the having-been-seized in Thebes Cadmea now at-any-rate as
ἐσπουδάσατε αὐτονόμους τὰς πόλεις γενέσθαι, πᾶσαι πάλιν,
you-were-eager autonomous the cities to-become all again
ἐπεὶ ἠδικήθησαν οἱ Θηβαῖοι, ἐπ᾽ ἐκείνοις γεγένηνται. ὥστε
since were-wronged the Thebans in their-power have-become so-that
πεπαιδευμένους ἡμᾶς ὡς τὸ πλεονεκτεῖν ἀκερδές ἐστι νῦν
having-been-taught us that the to-take-more unprofitable is now
ἐλπίζω πάλιν μετρίους ἐν τῇ πρὸς ἀλλήλους φιλίᾳ ἔσεσθαι.
I-hope again moderate in the toward one-another friendship to-be
ἃ δὲ βουλόμενοί τινες ἀποτρέπειν τὴν εἰρήνην 12
what and wishing some to-turn-aside the peace
διαβάλλουσιν, ὡς ἡμεῖς οὐ φιλίας δεόμενοι, ἀλλὰ
slander that we not friendship needing but
φοβούμενοι μὴ Ἀνταλκίδας ἔλθῃ ἔχων παρὰ βασιλέως
fearing lest Antalcidas come having from the-king

χρήματα, διὰ τοῦθ' ἥκομεν, ἐνθυμήθητε ὡς φλυαροῦσι.
money because-of this have-come consider how they-talk-nonsense
βασιλεὺς μὲν γὰρ δήπου ἔγραψε πάσας τὰς ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι
the-king indeed for surely wrote all the in — Greece
πόλεις αὐτονόμους εἶναι· ἡμεῖς δὲ ταὐτὰ ἐκείνῳ
cities autonomous to-be we and the-same-things with-him
λέγοντές τε καὶ πράττοντες τί ἂν φοβοίμεθα βασιλέα; ἢ
saying both and doing why — should-we-fear the-king or
τοῦτο οἴεταί τις, ὡς ἐκεῖνος βούλεται χρήματα ἀναλώσας
this thinks anyone that be wishes money having-spent
ἄλλους μεγάλους ποιῆσαι μᾶλλον ἢ ἄνευ δαπάνης ἃ
others great to-make rather than without expense what
ἔγνω ἄριστα εἶναι, ταῦτα ἑαυτῷ πεπρᾶχθαι;
he-decided best to-be these-things for-himself to-have-been-done
13 εἶεν. τί μὴν ἥκομεν; ὅτι μὲν [οὖν] οὐκ ἀποροῦντες,
so-be-it why indeed have-we-come that indeed then not being-at-a-loss
γνοίητε ἄν, εἰ μὲν βούλεσθε, πρὸς τὰ κατὰ θάλατταν
you-would-recognize — if indeed you-wish at the by sea
ἰδόντες, εἰ δὲ βούλεσθε, πρὸς τὰ κατὰ γῆν ἐν τῷ
having-looked if but you-wish at the by land at the
παρόντι. †τί μήν ἐστιν; εὔδηλον ὅτι †εἰ τῶν συμμάχων
present why indeed is-it clear that if of-the allies
τινὲς οὐκ ἀρεστὰ πράττουσιν ἡμῖν ἢ ὑμῖν ἀρεστά. ἴσως
some not pleasing-things do to-us or to-you pleasing perhaps
δὲ καὶ βουλοίμεθ' ἂν ὧν ἕνεκα περιεσώσατε ἡμᾶς
and also we-would-wish — of-what for-the-sake you-saved us
ὡς ὀρθῶς ἔγνωτε ὑμῖν ἐπιδεῖξαι.
that rightly you-judged to-you to-show
14 ἵνα δὲ καὶ τοῦ συμφόρου ἔτι ἐπιμνησθῶ, εἰσὶ μὲν
so-that and also of-the advantage still I-may-remind there-are indeed
δήπου πασῶν τῶν πόλεων αἱ μὲν τὰ ὑμέτερα, αἱ
surely of-all the cities the-ones indeed the your-things the-others

δὲ τὰ ἡμέτερα φρονοῦσαι, καὶ ἐν ἑκάστῃ πόλει οἱ μὲν
but the our-things favoring and in each city the-ones indeed
λακωνίζουσιν, οἱ δὲ ἀττικίζουσιν. εἰ οὖν ἡμεῖς φίλοι
laconize the-others but atticize if then we friends
γενοίμεθα, πόθεν ἂν εἰκότως χαλεπόν τι προσδοκήσαιμεν;
should-become whence — reasonably hard anything should-we-expect
καὶ γὰρ δὴ κατὰ γῆν μὲν τίς ἂν ὑμῶν φίλων ὄντων
and for indeed by land indeed who — of-you friends being
ἱκανὸς γένοιτο ἡμᾶς λυπῆσαι, κατὰ θάλαττάν γε μὴν
able would-be us to-hurt by sea at-least truly
τίς ἂν ὑμᾶς βλάψαι τι ἡμῶν ὑμῖν ἐπιτηδείων ὄντων;
who — you to-harm at-all us to-you friendly being
ἀλλὰ μέντοι ὅτι μὲν πόλεμοι ἀεί ποτε γίγνονται καὶ ὅτι 15
but however that indeed wars always ever arise and that
καταλύονται πάντες ἐπιστάμεθα, καὶ ὅτι ἡμεῖς, ἂν μὴ νῦν,
they-are-ended all know and that we if not now
ἀλλ' αὖθίς ποτε εἰρήνης ἐπιθυμήσομεν. τί οὖν δεῖ
but again sometime peace shall-desire why then is-it-needful
ἐκεῖνον τὸν χρόνον ἀναμένειν, ἕως ἂν ὑπὸ πλήθους κακῶν
that the time to-wait-for until — by multitude of-evils
ἀπείπωμεν, μᾶλλον ἢ οὐχ ὡς τάχιστα πρίν τι
we-give-up rather than not as quickly-as-possible before anything
ἀνήκεστον γενέσθαι τὴν εἰρήνην ποιήσασθαι;
incurable to-happen the peace to-make
ἀλλὰ μὴν οὐδ' ἐκείνους ἔγωγε ἐπαινῶ οἵτινες ἀγωνισταὶ 16
but truly not-even those I praise whoever competitors
γενόμενοι καὶ νενικηκότες ἤδη πολλάκις καὶ δόξαν
having-become and having-won already often and fame
ἔχοντες οὕτω φιλονικοῦσιν ὥστε οὐ πρότερον παύονται,
having so are-contentious that not before they-stop
πρὶν ἂν ἡττηθέντες τὴν ἄσκησιν καταλύσωσιν, οὐδέ
before — having-been-defeated the training they-end nor

γε τῶν κυβευτῶν οἵτινες αὖ ἐὰν ἕν τι ἀποτύχωσι,
at-least of-the dice-players who in-turn if one anything they-fail
περὶ διπλασίων κυβεύουσιν· ὁρῶ γὰρ καὶ τῶν τοιούτων
for double play I-see for also of-the such
τοὺς πλείους ἀπόρους παντάπασι γιγνομένους.
the most resourceless altogether becoming

17 ἃ χρὴ καὶ ἡμᾶς ὁρῶντας εἰς μὲν τοιοῦτον ἀγῶνα
which it-is-needful also us seeing into indeed such a-contest
μηδέποτε καταστῆναι, ὥστ᾽ ἢ πάντα λαβεῖν ἢ πάντ᾽
never to-enter so-as either all to-take or all
ἀποβαλεῖν, ἕως δὲ καὶ ἐρρώμεθα καὶ εὐτυχοῦμεν, φίλους
to-lose while but both we-are-strong and are-fortunate friends
ἀλλήλοις γενέσθαι. οὕτω γὰρ ἡμεῖς τ᾽ ἂν δι᾽ ὑμᾶς
to-one-another to-become so for we both — because-of you
καὶ ὑμεῖς δι᾽ ἡμᾶς ἔτι μείζους ἢ τὸν παρελθόντα
and you because-of us still greater than the past
χρόνον ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι ἀναστρεφοίμεθα.
time in — Greece would-move-about

18 Δοξάντων δὲ τούτων καλῶς εἰπεῖν, ἐψηφίσαντο καὶ οἱ
Having-seemed and these-men well to-speak voted also the
Λακεδαιμόνιοι δέχεσθαι τὴν εἰρήνην, ἐφ᾽ ᾧ τούς τε
Lacedaemonians to-accept the peace on condition-that the both
ἁρμοστὰς ἐκ τῶν πόλεων ἐξάγειν, τά τε στρατόπεδα
harmosts from the cities to-lead-out the both armies
διαλύειν καὶ τὰ ναυτικὰ καὶ τὰ πεζικά, τάς τε πόλεις
to-disband both the naval and the infantry the and cities
αὐτονόμους ἐᾶν· εἰ δέ τις παρὰ ταῦτα ποιοίη, τὸν μὲν
autonomous to-leave if but anyone contrary-to these-things should-act the indeed
βουλόμενον βοηθεῖν ταῖς ἀδικουμέναις πόλεσι, τῷ δὲ μὴ
wishing to-help the wronged cities for-the but not
βουλομένῳ μὴ εἶναι ἔνορκον συμμαχεῖν τοῖς ἀδικουμένοις.
wishing not to-be sworn to-ally-with the wronged

ἐπὶ τούτοις ὤμοσαν Λακεδαιμόνιοι μὲν ὑπὲρ αὑτῶν 19
on these-terms swore Lacedaemonians indeed on-behalf-of themselves
καὶ τῶν συμμάχων, Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ καὶ οἱ σύμμαχοι κατὰ
and the allies Athenians and also the allies by
πόλεις ἕκαστοι. ἀπογραψάμενοι δ' ἐν ταῖς ὁμωμοκυίαις
cities each having-been-registered and among the having-sworn
πόλεσι καὶ οἱ Θηβαῖοι, προσελθόντες πάλιν τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ
cities also the Thebans having-come-forward again on-the next-day
οἱ πρέσβεις αὐτῶν ἐκέλευον μεταγράφειν ἀντὶ Θηβαίων
the envoys of-them bade to-change-the-entry instead-of Thebans
Βοιωτοὺς ὁμωμοκότας. ὁ δὲ Ἀγησίλαος ἀπεκρίνατο ὅτι
Boeotians having-sworn — and Agesilaus answered that
μεταγράψει μὲν οὐδὲν ὧν τὸ πρῶτον ὤμοσάν τε καὶ
he-would-change indeed nothing of-what — first they-swore both and
ἀπεγράψαντο· εἰ μέντοι μὴ βούλοιντο ἐν ταῖς σπονδαῖς
registered if however not they-wished in the treaty
εἶναι, ἐξαλείφειν ἂν ἔφη, εἰ κελεύοιεν.
to-be to-erase — he-said if they-should-bid
οὕτω δὴ εἰρήνην τῶν ἄλλων πεποιημένων, πρὸς δὲ 20
so indeed peace the others having-made with but
Θηβαίους μόνους ἀντιλογίας οὔσης, οἱ μὲν Ἀθηναῖοι οὕτως
Thebans alone dispute being the indeed Athenians so
εἶχον τὴν γνώμην ὡς νῦν Θηβαίους τὸ λεγόμενον δὴ
were-disposed the mind that now Thebans the saying indeed
δεκατευθῆναι ἐλπὶς εἴη, αὐτοὶ δὲ οἱ Θηβαῖοι παντελῶς
to-be-tithed hope there-was themselves but the Thebans altogether
ἀθύμως ἔχοντες ἀπῆλθον.
despondent being went-away

Athens withdraws its garrisons, and Sparta, rejecting Prothous' advice to disband, orders Cleombrotus in Phocis to march on Thebes unless it frees the Boeotian cities. He enters Boeotia by an unexpected mountain road, takes Creusis and twelve Theban triremes, and camps at Leuctra, where the Thebans, encouraged by oracles, resolve to fight. The Spartan cavalry is poor, the king's last council meets over wine at midday, and the massed Theban column drives back his right wing; Cleombrotus is carried from the field, and nearly a thousand Lacedaemonians fall, about four hundred of them Spartiates. At Sparta the ephors let the festival go on, and the families of the dead appear cheerful. Jason, called in by Thebes, steers both sides to a truce, and Archidamus leads the relief army home. Jason plans to preside over the Pythian games but is assassinated. Of his brothers, Polyphron apparently kills Polydorus, Alexander kills Polyphron and rules cruelly, and Alexander's wife has her brothers kill him.

1 Ἐκ δὲ τούτου οἱ μὲν Ἀθηναῖοι τάς τε φρουρὰς ἐκ τῶν
From and this the indeed Athenians the both garrisons from the
πόλεων ἀπῆγον καὶ Ἰφικράτη καὶ τὰς ναῦς μετεπέμποντο,
cities withdrew and Iphicrates and the ships recalled
καὶ ὅσα ὕστερον ἔλαβε μετὰ τοὺς ὅρκους τοὺς ἐν
and as-much-as later he-took after the oaths the-ones in
Λακεδαίμονι γενομένους, πάντα ἠνάγκασαν ἀποδοῦναι.
Lacedaemon made all they-compelled to-give-back

2 Λακεδαιμόνιοι μέντοι ἐκ μὲν τῶν ἄλλων πόλεων τούς
Lacedaemonians however from indeed the other cities the
τε ἁρμοστὰς καὶ τοὺς φρουροὺς ἀπήγαγον, Κλεόμβροτον
both harmosts and the garrisons withdrew Cleombrotus
δὲ ἔχοντα τὸ ἐν Φωκεῦσι στράτευμα καὶ ἐπερωτῶντα
but having the in Phocis army and asking
τὰ οἴκοι τέλη τί χρὴ ποιεῖν, Προθόου λέξαντος
the at-home authorities what it-is-needful to-do Prothous having-said
ὅτι αὐτῷ δοκοίη διαλύσαντας τὸ στράτευμα κατὰ
that to-him it-seemed-best having-disbanded the army according-to

τοὺς ὅρκους καὶ περιαγγείλαντας ταῖς πόλεσι συμβαλέσθαι
the oaths and having-sent-round to-the cities to-contribute
εἰς τὸν ναὸν τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος ὁπόσον βούλοιτο ἑκάστη
to the temple — of-Apollo as-much-as wished each
πόλις, ἔπειτα εἰ μή τις ἐᾷ αὐτονόμους τὰς πόλεις
city then if not anyone allowed autonomous the cities
εἶναι, τότε πάλιν παρακαλέσαντας ὅσοι τῇ αὐτονομίᾳ
to-be then again having-summoned as-many-as the autonomy
βούλοιντο βοηθεῖν, ἄγειν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐναντιουμένους· οὕτω
wished to-help to-lead against the opposing thus
γὰρ ἂν ἔφη οἴεσθαι τούς τε θεοὺς εὐμενεστάτους εἶναι
for — he-said to-think the both gods most-well-disposed to-be
καὶ τὰς πόλεις ἥκιστ' ἂν ἄχθεσθαι·
and the cities least — to-be-vexed
ἡ δ' ἐκκλησία ἀκούσασα ταῦτα ἐκεῖνον μὲν φλυαρεῖν 3
the but assembly having-heard these-things him indeed to-talk-nonsense
ἡγήσατο (ἤδη γάρ, ὡς ἔοικε, τὸ δαιμόνιον ἦγεν),
considered already for as it-seems the divine was-leading
ἐπέστειλαν δὲ τῷ Κλεομβρότῳ μὴ διαλύειν τὸ στράτευμα,
they-enjoined but — to-Cleombrotus not to-disband the army
ἀλλ' εὐθὺς ἄγειν ἐπὶ τοὺς Θηβαίους, εἰ μὴ αὐτονόμους
but at-once to-lead against the Thebans if not autonomous
ἀφίοιεν τὰς πόλεις. [ὁ δὲ Κλεόμβροτος ἐπειδὴ ἐπύθετο
they-should-let-go the cities — but Cleombrotus when he-learned
τὴν εἰρήνην γεγενημένην, πέμψας πρὸς τοὺς ἐφόρους
the peace having-been-made having-sent to the ephors
ἠρώτα τί χρὴ ποιεῖν· οἱ δ' ἐκέλευσαν αὐτὸν
asked what it-is-needful to-do they and bade him
στρατεύειν ἐπὶ τοὺς Θηβαίους, εἰ μὴ ἀφίοιεν τὰς
to-march against the Thebans if not they-let-go the
Βοιωτίας πόλεις αὐτονόμους]. ἐπεὶ οὖν ᾔσθετο οὐχ ὅπως
Boeotian cities autonomous when then he-perceived not only

τὰς πόλεις ἀφιέντας, ἀλλ᾽ οὐδὲ τὸ στράτευμα διαλύοντας,
the cities letting-go but not-even the army disbanding
ὡς ἀντετάττοντο πρὸς αὐτόν, οὕτω δὴ ἄγει τὴν
as they-were-drawn-up-against toward him so indeed leads the
στρατιὰν εἰς τὴν Βοιωτίαν. καὶ ᾗ μὲν οἱ Θηβαῖοι
army into — Boeotia and where indeed the Thebans
ἐμβαλεῖν αὐτὸν ἐκ τῶν Φωκέων προσεδόκων καὶ ἐπὶ στενῷ
to-invade him from the Phocians expected and at a-narrow
τινι ἐφύλαττον οὐκ ἐμβάλλει· διὰ Θισβῶν δὲ ὀρεινὴν καὶ
some were-guarding not he-invades through Thisbae but mountainous and
ἀπροσδόκητον πορευθεὶς ἀφικνεῖται εἰς Κρεῦσιν, καὶ τὸ
unexpected having-marched arrives at Creusis and the
τεῖχος αἱρεῖ, καὶ τριήρεις τῶν Θηβαίων δώδεκα λαμβάνει.
wall takes and triremes of-the Thebans twelve takes
4 ταῦτα δὲ ποιήσας καὶ ἀναβὰς ἀπὸ τῆς θαλάττης,
these-things and having-done and having-gone-up from the sea
ἐστρατοπεδεύσατο ἐν Λεύκτροις τῆς Θεσπικῆς. οἱ δὲ
he-encamped at Leuctra of-the Thespian-land the and
Θηβαῖοι ἐστρατοπεδεύσαντο ἐπὶ τῷ ἀπαντικρὺ λόφῳ οὐ
Thebans encamped on the opposite hill not
πολὺ διαλείποντες, οὐδένας ἔχοντες συμμάχους ἀλλ᾽ ἢ
much distant no having allies but than
τοὺς Βοιωτούς. ἔνθα δὴ τῷ Κλεομβρότῳ οἱ μὲν φίλοι
the Boeotians there indeed — to-Cleombrotus the indeed friends
προσιόντες ἔλεγον·
approaching said
5 Ὦ Κλεόμβροτε, εἰ ἀφήσεις τοὺς Θηβαίους ἄνευ μάχης,
O Cleombrotus if you-let-go the Thebans without battle
κινδυνεύσεις ὑπὸ τῆς πόλεως τὰ ἔσχατα παθεῖν.
you-will-risk by the city the utmost-things to-suffer
ἀναμνησθήσονται γάρ σου καὶ ὅτε εἰς Κυνὸς κεφαλὰς
they-will-remember for you both when to Dog's Heads

ἀφικόμενος οὐδὲν τῆς χώρας τῶν Θηβαίων ἐδῄωσας,
having-come nothing of-the land of-the Thebans you-ravaged
καὶ ὅτε ὕστερον στρατεύων ἀπεκρούσθης τῆς ἐμβολῆς,
and when later campaigning you-were-repulsed from-the invasion
Ἀγησιλάου ἀεὶ ἐμβάλλοντος διὰ τοῦ Κιθαιρῶνος. εἴπερ
Agesilaus always invading through — Cithaeron if-indeed
οὖν ἢ σαυτοῦ κήδει ἢ τῆς πατρίδος ἐπιθυμεῖς, ἀκτέον
then either for-yourself you-care or the fatherland desire one-must-lead
ἐπὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας. οἱ μὲν φίλοι τοιαῦτα ἔλεγον· οἱ δ’
against the men the indeed friends such-things said the but
ἐναντίοι· Νῦν δή, ἔφασαν, δηλώσει ὁ ἀνὴρ εἰ τῷ
opponents Now indeed they-said will-show the man whether in-the
ὄντι κήδεται τῶν Θηβαίων, ὥσπερ λέγεται.
reality he-cares-for the Thebans as is-said
ὁ μὲν δὴ Κλεόμβροτος ταῦτα ἀκούων παρωξύνετο πρὸς 6
— indeed then Cleombrotus these-things hearing was-provoked toward
τὸ μάχην συνάπτειν. τῶν δ’ αὖ Θηβαίων οἱ προεστῶτες
the battle to-join of-the and in-turn Thebans the leaders
ἐλογίζοντο ὡς εἰ μὴ μαχοῖντο, ἀποστήσοιντο μὲν αἱ
reckoned that if not they-fought would-revolt indeed the
περιοικίδες αὐτῶν πόλεις, αὐτοὶ δὲ πολιορκήσοιντο· εἰ
perioecic their cities themselves and would-be-besieged if
δὲ μὴ ἔξοι ὁ δῆμος ὁ Θηβαίων τἀπιτήδεια, ὅτι
and not should-have the people the of-Thebans the-provisions that
κινδυνεύσοι καὶ ἡ πόλις αὐτοῖς ἐναντία γενέσθαι. ἅτε
would-risk also the city to-them opposed to-become inasmuch-as
δὲ καὶ πεφευγότες πρόσθεν πολλοὶ αὐτῶν ἐλογίζοντο
and also having-been-exiled before many of-them reckoned
κρεῖττον εἶναι μαχομένους ἀποθνῄσκειν ἢ πάλιν φεύγειν.
better to-be fighting to-die than again to-be-exiled

7 πρὸς δὲ τούτοις παρεθάρρυνε μέν τι αὐτοὺς καὶ ὁ
besides and these encouraged indeed somewhat them also the
χρησμὸς ὁ λεγόμενος ὡς δέοι ἐνταῦθα Λακεδαιμονίους
oracle the said that it-was-needful there Lacedaemonians
ἡττηθῆναι ἔνθα τὸ τῶν παρθένων ἦν μνῆμα, αἳ λέγονται
to-be-defeated where the of-the maidens was monument who are-said
διὰ τὸ βιασθῆναι ὑπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων τινῶν ἀποκτεῖναι
because-of the to-have-been-violated by Lacedaemonians some to-have-killed
ἑαυτάς. καὶ ἐκόσμησαν δὴ τοῦτο τὸ μνῆμα οἱ Θηβαῖοι
themselves and adorned indeed this the monument the Thebans
πρὸ τῆς μάχης. ἀπηγγέλλετο δὲ καὶ ἐκ τῆς πόλεως αὐτοῖς
before the battle it-was-reported and also from the city to-them
ὡς οἵ τε νεὼ πάντες αὐτόματοι ἀνεῴγοντο, αἵ τε ἱέρειαι
that the both temples all of-their-own-accord were-opening the and priestesses
λέγοιεν ὡς νίκην οἱ θεοὶ φαίνοιεν. ἐκ δὲ τοῦ Ἡρακλείου
said that victory the gods showed from and the Heracleum
καὶ τὰ ὅπλα ἔφασαν ἀφανῆ εἶναι, ὡς τοῦ Ἡρακλέους
also the arms they-said vanished to-be as — Heracles
εἰς τὴν μάχην ἐξωρμημένου. οἱ μὲν δή τινες λέγουσιν
into the battle having-set-out the-ones indeed then some say
ὡς ταῦτα πάντα τεχνάσματα ἦν τῶν προεστηκότων.
that these-things all contrivances were of-the leaders
8 εἰς δ᾽ οὖν τὴν μάχην τοῖς μὲν Λακεδαιμονίοις πάντα [τὰ]
into and then the battle for-the indeed Lacedaemonians all-things the
ἐναντία ἐγίγνετο, τοῖς δὲ πάντα καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς τύχης
contrary went for-the-others but all-things even by the fortune
κατωρθοῦτο. ἦν μὲν γὰρ μετ᾽ ἄριστον τῷ Κλεομβρότῳ
went-right was indeed for after breakfast — for-Cleombrotus
ἡ τελευταία βουλὴ περὶ τῆς μάχης· ἐν δὲ τῇ μεσημβρίᾳ
the last council about the battle at and the midday
ὑποπινόντων καὶ τὸν οἶνον παροξῦναί τι αὐτοὺς ἔλεγον.
drinking-a-little and the wine to-have-excited somewhat them they-said

ἐπεὶ δὲ ὡπλίζοντο ἑκάτεροι καὶ πρόδηλον ἤδη ἦν ὅτι 9
when and they-were-arming each-side and evident already it-was that
μάχη ἔσοιτο, πρῶτον μὲν ἀπιέναι ὡρμημένων ἐκ τοῦ
battle there-would-be first indeed to-go-away having-set-out from the
Βοιωτίου στρατεύματος τῶν τὴν ἀγορὰν παρεσκευακότων
Boeotian army the-ones the market having-provided
καὶ σκευοφόρων τινῶν καὶ τῶν οὐ βουλομένων μάχεσθαι,
and baggage-carriers some and the-ones not wishing to-fight
περιόντες κύκλῳ οἵ τε μετὰ τοῦ Ἱέρωνος μισθοφόροι καὶ
going-round in-a-circle the both with — Hiero mercenaries and
οἱ τῶν Φωκέων πελτασταὶ καὶ τῶν ἱππέων Ἡρακλεῶται
the of-the Phocians peltasts and of-the horsemen Heracleots
καὶ Φλειάσιοι ἐπιθέμενοι τοῖς ἀπιοῦσιν ἐπέστρεψάν τε
and Phliasians having-attacked the-ones going-away turned both
αὐτοὺς καὶ κατεδίωξαν πρὸς τὸ στρατόπεδον τὸ τῶν
them and chased to the camp the of-the
Βοιωτῶν. ὥστε πολὺ μὲν ἐποίησαν μεῖζόν τε καὶ
Boeotians so-that much indeed they-made greater both and
ἀθροώτερον ἢ πρόσθεν τὸ τῶν Βοιωτῶν στράτευμα.
more-massed than before the of-the Boeotians army
ἔπειτα δέ, ἅτε καὶ πεδίου ὄντος τοῦ μεταξύ, 10
then and inasmuch-as also plain being the between
προετάξαντο μὲν τῆς ἑαυτῶν φάλαγγος οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι
drew-up-in-front indeed of-the their-own phalanx the Lacedaemonians
τοὺς ἱππέας, ἀντετάξαντο δ' αὐτοῖς καὶ οἱ Θηβαῖοι τοὺς
the horsemen drew-up-against and them also the Thebans the
ἑαυτῶν. ἦν δὲ τὸ μὲν τῶν Θηβαίων ἱππικὸν μεμελετηκὸς
their-own was and the indeed of-the Thebans cavalry well-practiced
διά τε τὸν πρὸς Ὀρχομενίους πόλεμον καὶ διὰ τὸν
because-of both the against Orchomenians war and because-of the

πρὸς Θεσπιέας, τοῖς δὲ Λακεδαιμονίοις κατ' ἐκεῖνον τὸν
against Thespians for-the but Lacedaemonians at that the
χρόνον πονηρότατον ἦν τὸ ἱππικόν.
time most-wretched was the cavalry

11 ἔτρεφον μὲν γὰρ τοὺς ἵππους οἱ πλουσιώτατοι· ἐπεὶ δὲ
kept indeed for the horses the richest when but
φρουρὰ φανθείη, τότε ἦκεν ὁ συντεταγμένος· λαβὼν δ'
a-levy was-declared then came the man-assigned having-taken and
ἂν τὸν ἵππον καὶ ὅπλα ὁποῖ' ἂν δοθῇ αὐτῷ ἐκ
— the horse and arms whatever-sort — should-be-given to-him from
τοῦ παραχρῆμα ἂν ἐστρατεύετο· τῶν δ' αὖ στρατιωτῶν
the instant — he-campaigned of-the and in-turn soldiers
οἱ τοῖς σώμασιν ἀδυνατώτατοι καὶ ἥκιστα φιλότιμοι
the-ones in-the bodies weakest and least ambitious
ἐπὶ τῶν ἵππων ἦσαν.
on the horses were

12 τοιοῦτον μὲν οὖν τὸ ἱππικὸν ἑκατέρων ἦν. τῆς δὲ φάλαγγος
such indeed then the cavalry of-each-side was of-the and phalanx
τοὺς μὲν Λακεδαιμονίους ἔφασαν εἰς τρεῖς τὴν ἐνωμοτίαν
the indeed Lacedaemonians they-said into three the enomoty
ἄγειν· τοῦτο δὲ συμβαίνειν αὐτοῖς οὐ πλέον ἢ εἰς δώδεκα
to-lead this and to-result for-them not more than to twelve
τὸ βάθος. οἱ δὲ Θηβαῖοι οὐκ ἔλαττον ἢ ἐπὶ πεντήκοντα
the depth the but Thebans not less than on fifty
ἀσπίδων συνεστραμμένοι ἦσαν, λογιζόμενοι ὡς εἰ νικήσειαν
shields massed were reckoning that if they-should-beat
τὸ περὶ τὸν βασιλέα, τὸ ἄλλο πᾶν εὐχείρωτον ἔσοιτο.
the-(part) around the king the other all easy-to-handle would-be

13 ἐπεὶ δὲ ἤρξατο ἄγειν ὁ Κλεόμβροτος πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους,
when and began to-lead — Cleombrotus against the enemies
πρῶτον μὲν πρὶν καὶ αἰσθέσθαι τὸ μετ' αὐτοῦ στράτευμα
first indeed before even to-perceive the with him army

ὅτι ἡγοῖτο, καὶ δὴ καὶ οἱ ἱππεῖς συνεβεβλήκεσαν
that he-was-leading also indeed also the horsemen had-engaged
καὶ ταχὺ ἥττηντο οἱ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων. φεύγοντες δὲ
and quickly were-defeated the of-the Lacedaemonians fleeing and
ἐνεπεπτώκεσαν τοῖς ἑαυτῶν ὁπλίταις, ἔτι δὲ ἐνέβαλλον
had-fallen-upon the their-own hoplites further and were-charging
οἱ τῶν Θηβαίων λόχοι. ὅμως δὲ ὡς οἱ μὲν περὶ
the of-the Thebans companies nevertheless but that the-ones indeed around
τὸν Κλεόμβροτον τὸ πρῶτον ἐκράτουν τῇ μάχῃ σαφεῖ
— Cleombrotus the first were-winning in-the battle by-clear
τούτῳ τεκμηρίῳ γνοίη τις ἄν· οὐ γὰρ ἂν ἐδύναντο
this proof could-recognize anyone — not for — they-could
αὐτὸν ἀνελέσθαι καὶ ζῶντα ἀπενεγκεῖν, εἰ μὴ οἱ πρὸ
him to-take-up and alive to-carry-off if not the-ones before
αὐτοῦ μαχόμενοι ἐπεκράτουν ἐν ἐκείνῳ τῷ χρόνῳ.
him fighting were-prevailing at that the time
ἐπεὶ μέντοι ἀπέθανε Δείνων τε ὁ πολέμαρχος καὶ Σφοδρίας 14
when however died Deinon both the polemarch and Sphodrias
τῶν περὶ δαμοσίαν καὶ Κλεώνυμος ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ, καὶ οἱ
of-the around the-damosia and Cleonymus the son his and the
μένιπποι καὶ οἱ συμφορεῖς τοῦ πολεμάρχου καλούμενοι
horse-companions and the aides of-the polemarch called
οἵ τε ἄλλοι ὑπὸ τοῦ ὄχλου ὠθούμενοι ἀνεχώρουν, οἱ δὲ
the both others by the crowd being-pushed withdrew the but
τοῦ εὐωνύμου ὄντες τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων ὡς ἑώρων τὸ
of-the left being of-the Lacedaemonians when they-saw the
δεξιὸν ὠθούμενον, ἐνέκλιναν· ὅμως δὲ πολλῶν τεθνεώτων
right being-pushed gave-way nevertheless but many having-died
καὶ ἡττημένοι ἐπεὶ διέβησαν τὴν τάφρον, ἧ πρὸ τοῦ
and defeated when they-crossed the ditch which before the
στρατοπέδου ἔτυχεν οὖσα αὐτοῖς, ἔθεντο τὰ ὅπλα κατὰ
camp happened being for-them grounded the arms in

χώραν ἔνθεν ὥρμηντο. ἦν μέντοι οὐ πάνυ ἐν ἐπιπέδῳ,
place whence they-had-set-out was however not very on level-ground
ἀλλὰ πρὸς ὀρθίῳ μᾶλλόν τι τὸ στρατόπεδον. ἐκ δὲ
but toward uphill rather somewhat the camp from and
τούτου ἦσαν μέν τινες τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων οἳ ἀφόρητον
this there-were indeed some of-the Lacedaemonians who unbearable
τὴν συμφορὰν ἡγούμενοι τό τε τροπαῖον ἔφασαν χρῆναι
the disaster considering the both trophy said it-was-needful
κωλύειν ἱστάναι τοὺς πολεμίους, τούς τε νεκροὺς μὴ
to-prevent to-set-up the enemies the and dead not
ὑποσπόνδους, ἀλλὰ διὰ μάχης πειρᾶσθαι ἀναιρεῖσθαι.
under-truce but through battle to-try to-take-up
οἱ δὲ πολέμαρχοι, ὁρῶντες μὲν τῶν συμπάντων
the but polemarchs seeing indeed of-the all-together
Λακεδαιμονίων τεθνεῶτας ἐγγὺς χιλίους, ὁρῶντες δ᾽
Lacedaemonians dead nearly a-thousand seeing and
αὐτῶν Σπαρτιατῶν, ὄντων τῶν ἐκεῖ ὡς ἑπτακοσίων,
of-the-very Spartiates being of-the-ones there about seven-hundred
τεθνηκότας περὶ τετρακοσίους, αἰσθανόμενοι δὲ τοὺς
dead about four-hundred perceiving and the
συμμάχους πάντας μὲν ἀθύμως ἔχοντας πρὸς τὸ
allies all indeed despondently disposed toward the
μάχεσθαι, ἔστι δὲ οὓς αὐτῶν οὐδὲ ἀχθομένους τῷ
to-fight there-are but whom of-them not-even vexed at-the
γεγενημένῳ, συλλέξαντες τοὺς ἐπικαιριωτάτους ἐβουλεύοντο
thing-happened having-collected the most-important deliberated
τί χρὴ ποιεῖν. ἐπεὶ δὲ πᾶσιν ἐδόκει ὑποσπόνδους
what it-is-needful to-do when and to-all it-seemed-best under-truce
τοὺς νεκροὺς ἀναιρεῖσθαι, οὕτω δὴ ἔπεμψαν κήρυκα περὶ
the dead to-take-up so indeed they-sent a-herald about

σπονδῶν. οἱ μέντοι Θηβαῖοι μετὰ ταῦτα καὶ τροπαῖον
truce the however Thebans after these-things both a-trophy
ἐστήσαντο καὶ τοὺς νεκροὺς ὑποσπόνδους ἀπέδοσαν.
set-up and the dead under-truce gave-back
Γενομένων δὲ τούτων, ὁ μὲν εἰς τὴν Λακεδαίμονα 16
Having-happened and these-things the-one indeed to — Lacedaemon
ἀγγέλλων τὸ πάθος ἀφικνεῖται γυμνοπαιδιῶν τε οὔσης
reporting the disaster arrives of-Gymnopaediae both being
τῆς τελευταίας καὶ τοῦ ἀνδρικοῦ χοροῦ ἔνδον ὄντος· οἱ δὲ
the last-day and the of-men chorus inside being the and
ἔφοροι ἐπεὶ ἤκουσαν τὸ πάθος, ἐλυποῦντο μέν, ὥσπερ, οἶμαι,
ephors when they-heard the disaster were-grieved indeed as I-think
ἀνάγκη· τὸν μέντοι χορὸν οὐκ ἐξήγαγον, ἀλλὰ διαγωνίσασθαι
necessity the however chorus not they-led-out but to-finish-the-contest
εἴων. καὶ τὰ μὲν ὀνόματα πρὸς τοὺς οἰκείους ἑκάστου τῶν
allowed and the indeed names to the relatives of-each of-the
τεθνεώτων ἀπέδοσαν· προεῖπαν δὲ ταῖς γυναιξὶ μὴ ποιεῖν
dead they-gave they-ordered and to-the women not to-make
κραυγήν, ἀλλὰ σιγῇ τὸ πάθος φέρειν. τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ
outcry but in-silence the disaster to-bear on-the and next-day
ἦν ὁρᾶν, ὧν μὲν ἐτέθνασαν οἱ προσήκοντες,
it-was-possible to-see of-whom indeed had-died the relatives
λιπαροὺς καὶ φαιδροὺς ἐν τῷ φανερῷ ἀναστρεφομένους,
anointed and bright in the open going-about
ὧν δὲ ζῶντες ἠγγελμένοι ἦσαν, ὀλίγους ἂν εἶδες,
of-whom but living reported were few — you-would-have-seen
τούτους δὲ σκυθρωποὺς καὶ ταπεινοὺς περιόντας.
these and gloomy and humbled going-around
Ἐκ δὲ τούτου φρουρὰν μὲν ἔφαινον οἱ ἔφοροι τοῖν 17
From and this a-levy indeed declared the ephors for-the
ὑπολοίποιν μόραιν μέχρι τῶν τετταράκοντα ἀφ' ἥβης.
two-remaining regiments up-to the forty from youth

ἐξέπεμπον δὲ καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ἔξω μορῶν μέχρι τῆς αὐτῆς
they-sent-out and also from the outside regiments up-to the same
ἡλικίας· τὸ γὰρ πρόσθεν εἰς τοὺς Φωκέας μέχρι τῶν
age the for before to the Phocians up-to the
πέντε καὶ τριάκοντα ἀφ' ἥβης ἐστρατεύοντο· καὶ τοὺς
five and thirty from youth were-campaigning and the-ones
ἐπ' ἀρχαῖς δὲ τότε καταλειφθέντας ἀκολουθεῖν ἐκέλευον.
in offices and then left-behind to-follow they-ordered
18 ὁ μὲν οὖν Ἀγησίλαος ἐκ τῆς ἀσθενείας οὔπω ἴσχυεν· ἡ δὲ
— indeed then Agesilaus from the illness not-yet was-strong the but
πόλις Ἀρχίδαμον τὸν υἱὸν ἐκέλευεν ἀντ' αὐτοῦ ἡγεῖσθαι.
city Archidamus the son ordered instead-of him to-lead
προθύμως δ' αὐτῷ συνεστρατεύοντο Τεγεᾶται· ἔτι γὰρ ἔζων
eagerly and with-him campaigned Tegeans still for lived
οἱ περὶ Στάσιππον, λακωνίζοντες καὶ οὐκ ἐλάχιστον
the-ones around Stasippus laconizing and not least
δυνάμενοι ἐν τῇ πόλει. ἐρρωμένως δὲ καὶ οἱ Μαντινεῖς
having-power in the city vigorously and also the Mantineans
ἐκ τῶν κωμῶν συνεστρατεύοντο· ἀριστοκρατούμενοι γὰρ
from the villages campaigned-with-(him) being-aristocratically-governed for
ἐτύγχανον. καὶ Κορίνθιοι δὲ καὶ Σικυώνιοι καὶ Φλειάσιοι καὶ
they-happened and Corinthians and also Sicyonians and Phliasians and
Ἀχαιοὶ μάλα προθύμως ἠκολούθουν, καὶ ἄλλαι δὲ πόλεις
Achaeans very eagerly followed and other and cities
ἐξέπεμπον στρατιώτας. ἐπλήρουν δὲ καὶ τριήρεις αὐτοί τε
sent-out soldiers they-manned and also triremes themselves both
οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ Κορίνθιοι, καὶ ἐδέοντο καὶ Σικυωνίων
the Lacedaemonians and Corinthians and asked also Sicyonians
συμπληροῦν, ἐφ' ὧν διενοοῦντο τὸ στράτευμα διαβιβάζειν.
to-help-man on which they-intended the army to-carry-across

καὶ ὁ μὲν δὴ Ἀρχίδαμος ἐθύετο ἐπὶ τῇ διαβάσει. Οἱ δὲ 19
and — indeed then Archidamus sacrificed for the crossing The but
Θηβαῖοι εὐθὺς μὲν μετὰ τὴν μάχην ἔπεμψαν εἰς Ἀθήνας
Thebans at-once indeed after the battle sent to Athens
ἄγγελον ἐστεφανωμένον, καὶ ἅμα μὲν τῆς νίκης
a-messenger crowned and at-the-same-time indeed of-the victory
τὸ μέγεθος ἔφραζον, ἅμα δὲ βοηθεῖν ἐκέλευον,
the magnitude told at-the-same-time and to-help bade
λέγοντες ὡς νῦν ἐξείη Λακεδαιμονίους πάντων ὧν
saying that now it-was-possible Lacedaemonians for-all which
ἐπεποιήκεσαν αὐτοὺς τιμωρήσασθαι.
they-had-done them to-punish
τῶν δὲ Ἀθηναίων ἡ βουλὴ ἐτύγχανεν ἐν ἀκροπόλει 20
of-the and Athenians the council happened on acropolis
καθημένη. ἐπεὶ δ' ἤκουσαν τὸ γεγενημένον, ὅτι μὲν σφόδρα
sitting when and they-heard the thing-happened that indeed exceedingly
ἠνιάθησαν πᾶσι δῆλον ἐγένετο· οὔτε γὰρ ἐπὶ ξένια τὸν
they-were-grieved to-all clear became neither for to hospitality the
κήρυκα ἐκάλεσαν, περί τε τῆς βοηθείας οὐδὲν ἀπεκρίναντο.
herald they-invited about both the help nothing they-answered
καὶ Ἀθήνηθεν μὲν οὕτως ἀπῆλθεν ὁ κῆρυξ. πρὸς μέντοι
and from-Athens indeed so went-away the herald to however
Ἰάσονα, σύμμαχον ὄντα, ἔπεμπον σπουδῇ οἱ Θηβαῖοι,
Jason ally being sent in-haste the Thebans
κελεύοντες βοηθεῖν, διαλογιζόμενοι πῇ τὸ μέλλον ἀποβήσοιτο.
bidding to-help considering how the future would-turn-out
ὁ δ' εὐθὺς τριήρεις μὲν ἐπλήρου, ὡς βοηθήσων κατὰ 21
he and at-once triremes indeed manned as going-to-help by
θάλατταν, συλλαβὼν δὲ τό τε ξενικὸν καὶ τοὺς περὶ
sea having-gathered and the both mercenary-force and the around
αὐτὸν ἱππέας, καίπερ ἀκηρύκτῳ πολέμῳ τῶν Φωκέων
himself horsemen although undeclared war the Phocians

χρωμένων, πεζῇ διεπορεύθη εἰς τὴν Βοιωτίαν, ἐν πολλαῖς
waging by-land marched-through into — Boeotia in many
τῶν πόλεων πρότερον ὀφθεὶς ἢ ἀγγελθεὶς ὅτι πορεύοιτο.
of-the cities sooner seen than reported that he-was-marching
πρὶν οὖν συλλέγεσθαί τι πανταχόθεν ἔφθανε πόρρω
before then to-gather anything from-everywhere he-anticipated far
γιγνόμενος, δῆλον ποιῶν ὅτι πολλαχοῦ τὸ τάχος μᾶλλον
being clear making that often the speed rather
τῆς βίας διαπράττεται τὰ δέοντα.
than-the force accomplishes the needful-things

22 ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀφίκετο εἰς τὴν Βοιωτίαν, λεγόντων τῶν Θηβαίων
when and he-arrived into — Boeotia saying the Thebans
ὡς καιρὸς εἴη ἐπιτίθεσθαι τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις, ἄνωθεν
that the-moment it-was to-attack the Lacedaemonians from-above
μὲν ἐκεῖνον σὺν τῷ ξενικῷ, σφᾶς δὲ ἀντιπροσώπους,
indeed him with the mercenary-force themselves and face-to-face
ἀπέτρεπεν αὐτοὺς ὁ Ἰάσων, διδάσκων ὡς καλοῦ ἔργου
dissuaded them — Jason teaching that a-fine deed
γεγενημένου οὐκ ἄξιον αὐτοῖς εἴη διακινδυνεῦσαι, ὥστε ἢ
having-been-done not worthy for-them it-was to-risk-all so-as either
ἔτι μείζω καταπρᾶξαι ἢ στερηθῆναι καὶ τῆς γεγενημένης
still greater to-accomplish or to-be-deprived also of-the having-come-about
νίκης.
victory

23 οὐχ ὁρᾶτε, ἔφη, ὅτι καὶ ὑμεῖς, ἐπεὶ ἐν ἀνάγκῃ ἐγένεσθε,
not do-you-see he-said that also you when in necessity you-were
ἐκρατήσατε; οἴεσθαι οὖν χρὴ καὶ Λακεδαιμονίους ἄν,
you-prevailed to-think then it-is-needful also Lacedaemonians —
εἰ ἀναγκάζοιντο, [ἐκγενέσθαι] τοῦ ζῆν, ἀπονοηθέντας
if they-should-be-compelled to-be-deprived of-the life desperate

διαμάχεσθαι. καὶ ὁ θεὸς δέ, ὡς ἔοικε, πολλάκις χαίρει τοὺς
to-fight-it-out and the god and as it-seems often rejoices the
μὲν μικροὺς μεγάλους ποιῶν, τοὺς δὲ μεγάλους μικρούς.
indeed small great making the but great small
τοὺς μὲν οὖν Θηβαίους τοιαῦτα λέγων ἀπέτρεπε τοῦ 24
the indeed then Thebans such-things saying he-dissuaded from-the
διακινδυνεύειν· τοὺς δ' αὖ Λακεδαιμονίους ἐδίδασκεν
to-risk-all the and in-turn Lacedaemonians he-taught
οἷον μὲν εἴη ἡττημένον στράτευμα, οἷον δὲ νενικηκός.
what-sort indeed was a-defeated army what-sort and having-won
εἰ δ' ἐξιάσασθαι, ἔφη, βούλεσθε τὸ γεγενημένον πάθος,
if and to-repair he-said you-wish the having-happened disaster
συμβουλεύω ἀναπνεύσαντας καὶ ἀναπαυσαμένους καὶ μείζους
I-advise having-breathed-again and having-rested and greater
γεγενημένους τοῖς ἀηττήτοις οὕτως εἰς μάχην ἰέναι. νῦν
having-become with-the undefeated so into battle to-go now
δέ, ἔφη, εὖ ἴστε ὅτι καὶ τῶν συμμάχων ὑμῖν εἰσὶν οἳ
but he-said well know that even of-the allies to-you there-are who
διαλέγονται περὶ φιλίας τοῖς πολεμίοις· ἀλλὰ ἐκ παντὸς
are-talking about friendship with-the enemies but by every
τρόπου πειρᾶσθε σπονδὰς λαβεῖν. ταῦτα δ', ἔφη, ἐγὼ
way try a-truce to-get these-things and he-said I
προθυμοῦμαι, σῶσαι ὑμᾶς βουλόμενος διά τε τὴν τοῦ
am-eager to-save you wishing because-of both the of-the
πατρὸς φιλίαν πρὸς ὑμᾶς καὶ διὰ τὸ προξενεῖν ὑμῶν.
father friendship toward you and because-of the to-be-proxenus your
ἔλεγε μὲν οὖν τοιαῦτα, ἔπραττε δ' ἴσως ὅπως διάφοροι 25
he-said indeed then such-things he-was-doing but perhaps so-that at-odds
καὶ οὗτοι ἀλλήλοις ὄντες ἀμφότεροι ἐκείνου δέοιντο. οἱ
also these with-one-another being both that-one might-need the
μέντοι Λακεδαιμόνιοι, ἀκούσαντες αὐτοῦ, πράττειν περὶ τῶν
however Lacedaemonians having-heard him to-negotiate about the

σπονδῶν ἐκέλευον· ἐπεὶ δ' ἀπηγγέλθη ὅτι εἴησαν αἱ σπονδαί,
truce bade when and it-was-reported that were the truce
παρήγγειλαν οἱ πολέμαρχοι δειπνήσαντας συνεσκευάσθαι
ordered the polemarchs having-dined to-have-packed-up
πάντας, ὡς τῆς νυκτὸς πορευσομένους, ὅπως ἅμα
all as in-the night going-to-march so-that at-the-same-time
τῇ ἡμέρᾳ πρὸς τὸν Κιθαιρῶνα ἀναβαίνοιεν. ἐπεὶ δ'
with-the day to — Cithaeron they-might-climb when and
ἐδεί̈πνησαν, πρὶν καθεύδειν παραγγείλαντες ἀκολουθεῖν,
they-had-dined before to-sleep having-ordered to-follow
ἡγοῦντο εὐθὺς ἀφ' ἑσπέρας τὴν διὰ Κρεύσιος, τῷ
they-led at-once from evening the-(road) through Creusis on-the
λαθεῖν πιστεύοντες μᾶλλον ἢ ταῖς σπονδαῖς.
to-escape-notice trusting rather than on-the truce

26 μάλα δὲ χαλεπῶς πορευόμενοι, οἷα δὴ ἐν νυκτί τε
very and hard marching as indeed in night both
καὶ ἐν φόβῳ ἀπιόντες καὶ χαλεπὴν ὁδόν, εἰς Αἰγόσθενα
and in fear going-away and hard road to Aegosthena
τῆς Μεγαρικῆς ἀφικνοῦνται. ἐκεῖ δὲ περιτυγχάνουσι τῷ
of-the Megarian-land they-arrive there and they-fall-in-with the
μετὰ Ἀρχιδάμου στρατεύματι. ἔνθα δὴ ἀναμείνας, ἕως
with Archidamus army there indeed having-waited until
καὶ οἱ σύμμαχοι πάντες παρεγένοντο, ἀπῆγε πᾶν ὁμοῦ
also the allies all were-present he-led-back all together
τὸ στράτευμα μέχρι Κορίνθου· ἐκεῖθεν δὲ τοὺς μὲν
the army as-far-as Corinth thence and the indeed
συμμάχους ἀφῆκε, τοὺς δὲ πολίτας οἴκαδε ἀπήγαγεν.
allies he-dismissed the and citizens home led-away

27 Ὁ μέντοι Ἰάσων ἀπιὼν διὰ τῆς Φωκίδος Ὑαμπολιτῶν
— however Jason going-away through — Phocis of-Hyampolitans
μὲν τό τε προάστιον εἷλε καὶ τὴν χώραν ἐπόρθησε
indeed the both suburb took and the land sacked

καὶ ἀπέκτεινε πολλούς· τὴν δ' ἄλλην Φωκίδα διῆλθεν
and killed many the but rest-of Phocis passed-through
ἀπραγμόνως. ἀφικόμενος δὲ εἰς Ἡράκλειαν κατέβαλε τὸ
without-trouble having-arrived and at Heraclea he-threw-down the
Ἡρακλεωτῶν τεῖχος, δῆλον ὅτι οὐ τοῦτο φοβούμενος, μή
of-Heracleots wall clear that not this fearing lest
τινες ἀναπεπταμένης ταύτης τῆς παρόδου πορεύσοιντο ἐπὶ
some opened this the passage should-march against
τὴν ἐκείνου δύναμιν, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον ἐνθυμούμενος μή τινες
the of-that-one power but rather considering lest some
τὴν Ἡράκλειαν ἐπὶ στενῷ οὖσαν καταλαβόντες εἴργοιεν
— Heraclea on a-narrow-pass being having-seized should-shut-out
αὐτόν, εἴ ποι βούλοιτο τῆς Ἑλλάδος πορεύεσθαι.
him if anywhere he-wished — of-Greece to-march
ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀπῆλθε πάλιν εἰς τὴν Θετταλίαν, μέγας μὲν ἦν 28
when and he-went-away again into — Thessaly great indeed he-was
καὶ διὰ τὸ τῷ νόμῳ Θετταλῶν ταγὸς καθεστάναι
both because-of the by-the law of-Thessalians tagus to-have-been-established
καὶ διὰ τὸ μισθοφόρους πολλοὺς τρέφειν περὶ αὑτὸν
and because-of the mercenaries many to-maintain around himself
καὶ πεζοὺς καὶ ἱππέας, καὶ τούτους ἐκπεπονημένους ὡς
both foot and horsemen and these trained so-that
ἂν κράτιστοι εἶεν· ἔτι δὲ μείζων καὶ διὰ τὸ
— strongest they-might-be still and greater also because-of the
συμμάχους πολλοὺς τοὺς μὲν ἤδη εἶναι αὐτῷ, τοὺς
allies many the-ones indeed already to-be to-him the-others
δὲ καὶ ἔτι βούλεσθαι γίγνεσθαι, μέγιστος δ' ἦν τῶν
and also still to-wish to-become greatest and he-was of-the
καθ' αὑτὸν τῷ μηδ' ὑφ' ἑνὸς εὐκαταφρόνητος εἶναι.
in his-own-time by-the not-even by one easily-despised to-be

29 ἐπιόντων δὲ Πυθίων παρήγγειλε μὲν ταῖς πόλεσι βοῦς καὶ
approaching and Pythian-games he-ordered indeed to-the cities oxen and
οἷς καὶ αἶγας καὶ ὗς παρασκευάζεσθαι ὡς εἰς τὴν θυσίαν.
sheep and goats and pigs to-prepare as for the sacrifice
καὶ ἔφασαν πάνυ μετρίως ἑκάστῃ πόλει ἐπαγγελλομένῳ
and they-said very moderately to-each city to-(him)-requisitioning
γενέσθαι βοῦς μὲν οὐκ ἐλάττους χιλίων, τὰ δὲ
to-have-come-to oxen indeed not fewer than-a-thousand the and
ἄλλα βοσκήματα πλείω ἢ μύρια. ἐκήρυξε δὲ καὶ
other cattle more than ten-thousand he-proclaimed and also
νικητήριον χρυσοῦν στέφανον ἔσεσθαι, ἥτις τῶν πόλεων
as-prize a-golden crown to-be whichever of-the cities
βοῦν ἡγεμόνα κάλλιστον τῷ θεῷ θρέψειε.
an-ox leader finest for-the god should-rear
30 παρήγγειλε δὲ καὶ ὡς στρατευσομένοις εἰς τὸν περὶ τὰ
he-ordered and also as going-to-campaign for the around the
Πύθια χρόνον Θετταλοῖς παρασκευάζεσθαι· διενοεῖτο γάρ,
Pythian-games time for-Thessalians to-prepare he-intended for
ὡς ἔφασαν, καὶ τὴν πανήγυριν τῷ θεῷ καὶ τοὺς ἀγῶνας
as they-said both the festival for-the god and the games
αὐτὸς διατιθέναι. περὶ μέντοι τῶν ἱερῶν χρημάτων ὅπως
himself to-arrange about however the sacred money how
μὲν διενοεῖτο ἔτι καὶ νῦν ἄδηλον· λέγεται δὲ ἐπερομένων
indeed he-intended still even now unclear it-is-said but asking
τῶν Δελφῶν τί χρὴ ποιεῖν, ἐὰν λαμβάνῃ τῶν τοῦ θεοῦ
the Delphians what it-is-needful to-do if he-take of-the of-the god
χρημάτων, ἀποκρίνασθαι τὸν θεὸν ὅτι αὐτῷ μελήσει.
money to-have-answered the god that to-himself it-will-be-a-care
31 ὁ δ’ οὖν ἀνὴρ τηλικοῦτος ὢν καὶ τοσαῦτα καὶ τοιαῦτα
the and then man of-such-size being and so-many-things and such
διανοούμενος, ἐξέτασιν πεποιηκὼς καὶ δοκιμασίαν τοῦ
intending a-review having-made and a-scrutiny of-the

Φεραίων ἱππικοῦ, καὶ ἤδη καθήμενος καὶ ἀποκρινόμενος,
Pheraean cavalry and already sitting and answering
εἴ τις δεόμενός του προσίοι, ὑπὸ νεανίσκων
if anyone needing anything should-approach by young-men
ἑπτὰ προσελθόντων ὡς διαφερομένων τι ἀλλήλοις
seven having-approached as quarreling something with-one-another
ἀποσφάττεται καὶ κατακόπτεται.
is-slaughtered and is-cut-down
βοηθησάντων δὲ ἐρρωμένως τῶν παραγενομένων 32
having-come-to-help and vigorously the being-present
δορυφόρων εἷς μὲν ἔτι τύπτων τὸν Ἰάσονα λόγχῃ
bodyguards one indeed still striking — Jason by-a-lance
πληγεὶς ἀποθνῄσκει· ἕτερος δὲ ἀναβαίνων ἐφ' ἵππον
struck dies another and mounting on horse
ἐγκαταληφθεὶς καὶ πολλὰ τραύματα λαβὼν ἀπέθανεν· οἱ
having-been-caught and many wounds having-received died the
δ' ἄλλοι ἀναπηδήσαντες ἐπὶ τοὺς παρεσκευασμένους ἵππους
but others having-leapt on the prepared horses
ἀπέφυγον· ὅποι δὲ ἀφίκοιντο τῶν Ἑλληνίδων πόλεων, ἐν
escaped wherever and they-came of-the Greek cities in
ταῖς πλείσταις ἐτιμῶντο. ᾧ καὶ δῆλον ἐγένετο ὅτι
the most they-were-honored by-which also clear it-became that
ἰσχυρῶς ἔδεισαν οἱ Ἕλληνες αὐτὸν μὴ τύραννος γένοιτο.
strongly feared the Greeks him lest tyrant he-might-become
Ἀποθανόντος μέντοι ἐκείνου Πολύδωρος ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ 33
Having-died however that-one Polydorus brother his
καὶ Πολύφρων ταγοὶ κατέστησαν. καὶ ὁ μὲν Πολύδωρος,
and Polyphron tagi were-established and — indeed Polydorus
πορευομένων ἀμφοτέρων εἰς Λάρισαν, νύκτωρ καθεύδων
marching both to Larisa by-night sleeping
ἀποθνῄσκει ὑπὸ Πολύφρονος τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ, ὡς ἐδόκει· ὁ
dies by Polyphron the brother as it-seemed the

γὰρ θάνατος αὐτοῦ ἐξαπιναίός τε καὶ οὐκ ἔχων φανερὰν
for death his sudden both and not having evident
πρόφασιν ἐγένετο.
cause came-about

34 ὁ δ' αὖ Πολύφρων ἦρξε μὲν ἐνιαυτόν, κατεσκευάσατο
— and in-turn Polyphron ruled indeed a-year he-made
δὲ τὴν ταγείαν τυραννίδι ὁμοίαν. ἔν τε γὰρ Φαρσάλῳ
and the tagus-ship to-a-tyranny like in both for Pharsalus
τὸν Πολυδάμαντα καὶ ἄλλους τῶν πολιτῶν ὀκτὼ τοὺς
— Polydamas and others of-the citizens eight the
κρατίστους ἀπέκτεινεν, ἔκ τε Λαρίσης πολλοὺς φυγάδας
strongest he-killed from both Larisa many exiles
ἐποίησε.
he-made

35 ταῦτα δὲ ποιῶν καὶ οὗτος ἀποθνῄσκει ὑπ' Ἀλεξάνδρου ὡς
these-things and doing also this-one dies by Alexander as
τιμωροῦντος τῷ Πολυδώρῳ καὶ τὴν τυραννίδα καταλύοντος.
avenging — for-Polydorus and the tyranny overthrowing
ἐπεὶ δ' αὐτὸς παρέλαβε τὴν ἀρχήν, χαλεπὸς μὲν Θετταλοῖς
when and himself he-took-over the rule harsh indeed to-Thessalians
ταγὸς ἐγένετο, χαλεπὸς δὲ Θηβαίοις καὶ Ἀθηναίοις πολέμιος,
tagus he-became harsh and to-Thebans and to-Athenians enemy
ἄδικος δὲ λῃστὴς καὶ κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν.
unjust and robber both by land and by sea
τοιοῦτος δ' ὢν καὶ αὐτὸς αὖ ἀποθνῄσκει, αὐτοχειρίᾳ μὲν
such and being also himself in-turn dies by-the-hand indeed
ὑπὸ τῶν τῆς γυναικὸς ἀδελφῶν, βουλῇ δὲ ὑπ' αὐτῆς ἐκείνης.
by the of-the wife brothers by-plan but by her that-one

36 τοῖς τε γὰρ ἀδελφοῖς ἐξήγγειλεν ὡς ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος
to-the both for brothers she-reported that — Alexander
ἐπιβουλεύοι αὐτοῖς καὶ ἔκρυψεν αὐτοὺς ἔνδον ὄντας ὅλην
was-plotting-against them and hid them inside being whole

τὴν ἡμέραν. καὶ δεξαμένη μεθύοντα τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον, ἐπεὶ
the day and having-received drunk — Alexander when
κατεκοίμισεν, ὁ μὲν λύχνος ἐκάετο, τὸ δὲ ξίφος
she-had-put-(him)-to-sleep the indeed lamp was-burning the but sword
αὐτοῦ ἐξήνεγκεν. ὡς δ' ᾔσθετο ὀκνοῦντας εἰσιέναι ἐπὶ
his she-carried-out when and she-perceived hesitating to-go-in against
τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον τοὺς ἀδελφούς, εἶπεν ὡς εἰ μὴ ἤδη
— Alexander the brothers she-said that if not at-once
πράξοιεν, ἐξεγερεῖ αὐτόν. ὡς δ' εἰσῆλθον, ἐπισπάσασα
they-act she-will-wake him when and they-went-in having-drawn
τὴν θύραν εἶχετο τοῦ ῥόπτρου, ἕως ἀπέθανεν ὁ ἀνήρ.
the door she-held-on-to the knocker until died the man
ἡ δὲ ἔχθρα λέγεται αὐτῇ πρὸς τὸν ἄνδρα γενέσθαι ὑπὸ μέν 37
the and hatred is-said in-her toward the husband to-have-arisen by indeed
τινων ὡς ἐπεὶ ἔδησε τὰ ἑαυτοῦ παιδικὰ ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος,
some because when bound the his-own favorite — Alexander
νεανίσκον ὄντα καλόν, δεηθείσης αὐτῆς λῦσαι ἐξαγαγὼν
young-man being handsome having-asked she to-release-him having-led-out
αὐτὸν ἀπέσφαξεν· οἱ δέ τινες ὡς, ἐπεὶ παῖδες
him he-slaughtered the-others and some because when children
αὐτῷ οὐκ ἐγίγνοντο ἐκ ταύτης, ὅτι πέμπων ἐς Θήβας
to-him not came from her that sending to Thebes
ἐμνήστευε τὴν Ἰάσονος γυναῖκα ἀναλαβεῖν. τὰ μὲν οὖν
he-sought-in-marriage the of-Jason wife to-take the indeed then
αἴτια τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς ὑπὸ τῆς γυναικὸς οὕτω λέγεται· τῶν
causes of-the plot by the wife thus are-told of-the
δὲ ταῦτα πραξάντων ἄχρι οὗ ὅδε ὁ λόγος ἐγράφετο
and these-things having-done until which-time this the account was-being-written
Τεισίφονος πρεσβύτατος ὢν τῶν ἀδελφῶν τὴν ἀρχὴν εἶχε.
Tisiphonus eldest being of-the brothers the rule held

Athens calls the cities to swear to the king's peace, and all but Elis swear. The Mantineans unite into one walled city despite Agesilaus, and at Tegea the party of Stasippus, which opposes an Arcadian league, is overpowered, forced out of the temple of Artemis, and put to death. Agesilaus invades Arcadia, ravages Mantinean land, and withdraws in midwinter. The Arcadians, Argives, and Eleans persuade the Thebans to invade Laconia. The Arcadians destroy Ischolaus' garrison at Oeum, and the army burns Sellasia and plunders along the Eurotas without trying the bridge into Sparta. Sparta arms some six thousand helots for promised freedom, allies arrive, and an ambush from the precinct of the Tyndaridae routs the enemy cavalry at the hippodrome. The invaders then burn the unwalled towns and attack Gytheum, some perioeci joining them. At Athens the Spartan envoys, Cleiteles of Corinth, and Procles of Phlius plead for help, and Iphicrates marches out but fails to stop the Thebans going home.

1 Καὶ τὰ μὲν Θετταλικά, ὅσα περὶ Ἰάσονα ἐπράχθη
And the indeed Thessalian-affairs as-many-as about Jason were-done
καὶ μετὰ τὸν ἐκείνου θάνατον μέχρι τῆς Τεισιφόνου
and after the of-that-one death up-to the of-Tisiphonus
ἀρχῆς δεδήλωται· νῦν δ' ἐπάνειμι ἔνθεν ἐπὶ ταῦτα
rule have-been-shown now but I-return whence to these-things
ἐξέβην. ἐπεὶ γὰρ Ἀρχίδαμος ἐκ τῆς ἐπὶ Λεῦκτρα βοηθείας
I-digressed when for Archidamus from the to Leuctra relief
ἀπήγαγε τὸ στράτευμα, ἐνθυμηθέντες οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ὅτι
led-back the army having-considered the Athenians that
οἱ Πελοποννήσιοι ἔτι οἴονται χρῆναι ἀκολουθεῖν καὶ
the Peloponnesians still think it-is-needful to-follow and
οὔπω διακέοιντο οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ὥσπερ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους
not-yet were-disposed the Lacedaemonians as the Athenians
διέθεσαν, μεταπέμπονται τὰς πόλεις ὅσαι βούλοιντο
they-had-disposed send-for the cities as-many-as wished
τῆς εἰρήνης μετέχειν ἣν βασιλεὺς κατέπεμψεν.
in-the peace to-share which the-king sent-down

ἐπεὶ δὲ συνῆλθον, δόγμα ἐποιήσαντο μετὰ τῶν κοινωνεῖν 2
when and they-came-together a-decree they-made with the-ones to-share
βουλομένων ὀμόσαι τόνδε τὸν ὅρκον. Ἐμμενῶ ταῖς
wishing to-swear the-following the oath I-will-abide-by the
σπονδαῖς ἃς βασιλεὺς κατέπεμψε καὶ τοῖς ψηφίσμασι
treaty which the-king sent-down and the decrees
τοῖς Ἀθηναίων καὶ τῶν συμμάχων. ἐὰν δέ τις στρατεύῃ
the of-Athenians and of-the allies if and anyone march
ἐπί τινα πόλιν τῶν ὁμοσασῶν τόνδε τὸν ὅρκον, βοηθήσω
against any city of-the having-sworn this the oath I-will-help
παντὶ σθένει. οἱ μὲν οὖν ἄλλοι πάντες ἔχαιρον τῷ ὅρκῳ·
with-all strength the indeed then others all rejoiced at-the oath
Ἠλεῖοι δὲ ἀντέλεγον ὡς οὐ δέοι αὐτονόμους ποιεῖν
Eleans but objected that not it-was-needful autonomous to-make
οὔτε Μαργανέας οὔτε Σκιλλουντίους οὔτε Τριφυλίους·
either Marganians or Scilluntians or Triphylians
σφετέρας γὰρ εἶναι ταύτας τὰς πόλεις.
their-own for to-be these the cities
οἱ δ' Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι ψηφισάμενοι, ὥσπερ βασιλεὺς 3
the but Athenians and the others having-voted as the-king
ἔγραψεν, αὐτονόμους εἶναι ὁμοίως καὶ μικρὰς καὶ μεγάλας
wrote autonomous to-be alike both small and great
πόλεις, ἐξέπεμψαν τοὺς ὁρκωτάς, καὶ ἐκέλευσαν τὰ
cities sent-out the oath-administrators and ordered the
μέγιστα τέλη ἐν ἑκάστῃ πόλει ὁρκῶσαι. καὶ ὤμοσαν
highest authorities in each city to-administer-the-oath and swore
πάντες πλὴν Ἠλείων. Ἐξ ὧν δὴ καὶ οἱ Μαντινεῖς, ὡς
all except Eleans From which indeed also the Mantineans as
ἤδη αὐτόνομοι παντάπασιν ὄντες, συνῆλθόν τε πάντες
already autonomous altogether being came-together both all

καὶ ἐψηφίσαντο μίαν πόλιν τὴν Μαντίνειαν ποιεῖν καὶ
and voted one city — Mantinea to-make and
τειχίζειν τὴν πόλιν.
to-wall the city

4 οἱ δ' αὖ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἡγοῦντο, εἰ τοῦτο ἄνευ τῆς
the but in-turn Lacedaemonians thought if this without the
σφετέρας γνώμης ἔσοιτο, χαλεπὸν ἔσεσθαι. πέμπουσιν
their-own judgment should-be hard it-would-be they-send
οὖν Ἀγησίλαον πρεσβευτὴν πρὸς τοὺς Μαντινέας, ὅτι
then Agesilaus as-envoy to the Mantineans because
ἐδόκει πατρικὸς φίλος αὐτοῖς εἶναι. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀφίκετο πρὸς
he-seemed ancestral friend to-them to-be when and he-arrived to
αὐτούς, τὸν μὲν δῆμον τῶν Μαντινέων οἱ ἄρχοντες οὐκ
them the indeed people of-the Mantineans the rulers not
ἤθελον συλλέξαι αὐτῷ, πρὸς δὲ σφᾶς ἐκέλευον λέγειν
were-willing to-assemble for-him to but themselves they-bade to-say
ὅτου δέοιτο. ὁ δὲ ὑπισχνεῖτο αὐτοῖς, ἐὰν νῦν ἐπίσχωσι
what he-needed he and promised them if now they-stop
τῆς τειχίσεως, ποιήσειν ὥστε μετὰ τῆς Λακεδαίμονος
from-the walling to-make-it so-that with the of-Lacedaemon
γνώμης καὶ μὴ δαπανηρῶς τειχισθῆναι τὸ τεῖχος.
consent and not expensively to-be-built the wall

5 ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀπεκρίναντο ὅτι ἀδύνατον εἴη ἐπισχεῖν, δόγματος
when and they-answered that impossible it-was to-stop a-decree
γεγενημένου πάσῃ τῇ πόλει ἤδη τειχίζειν, ἐκ τούτου ὁ
having-been-made by-all the city already to-wall from this —
μὲν Ἀγησίλαος ἀπῄει ὀργιζόμενος· στρατεύειν γε μέντοι
indeed Agesilaus went-away angry to-march at-least however
ἐπ' αὐτοὺς οὐ δυνατὸν ἐδόκει εἶναι, ἐπ' αὐτονομίᾳ τῆς
against them not possible it-seemed to-be on autonomy the
εἰρήνης γεγενημένης. τοῖς δὲ Μαντινεῦσιν ἔπεμπον μὲν καὶ
peace having-been-made to-the but Mantineans sent indeed also

τῶν Ἀρκαδικῶν πόλεών τινες συντειχιοῦντας, οἱ δὲ Ἠλεῖοι
of-the Arcadian cities some to-help-wall the and Eleans
καὶ ἀργυρίου τρία τάλαντα συνεβάλοντο αὐτοῖς εἰς τὴν περὶ
even of-silver three talents contributed to-them for the on
τὸ τεῖχος δαπάνην. καὶ οἱ μὲν Μαντινεῖς περὶ ταῦτ' ἦσαν.
the wall expense and the indeed Mantineans about these-things were
Τῶν δὲ Τεγεατῶν οἱ μὲν περὶ τὸν Καλλίβιον καὶ 6
Of-the and Tegeans the-ones indeed around — Callibius and
Πρόξενον ἐνῆγον ἐπὶ τὸ συνιέναι τε πᾶν τὸ Ἀρκαδικόν,
Proxenus urged toward the to-come-together both all the Arcadian-people
καὶ ὅ τι νικῴη ἐν τῷ κοινῷ, τοῦτο κύριον εἶναι καὶ τῶν
and what ever should-win in the common this binding to-be also of-the
πόλεων· οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Στάσιππον ἔπραττον ἐᾶν τε
cities the-ones but around — Stasippus worked to-leave both
κατὰ χώραν τὴν πόλιν καὶ τοῖς πατρίοις νόμοις χρῆσθαι.
in place the city and the ancestral laws to-use
ἡττώμενοι δὲ οἱ περὶ τὸν Πρόξενον καὶ Καλλίβιον 7
being-defeated and the-ones around — Proxenus and Callibius
ἐν τοῖς θεαροῖς, νομίσαντες, εἰ συνέλθοι ὁ δῆμος,
among the magistrates thinking if should-come-together the people
πολὺ ἂν τῷ πλήθει κρατῆσαι, ἐκφέρονται τὰ ὅπλα.
much — by-the number they-would-prevail carry-out the arms
ἰδόντες δὲ τοῦτο οἱ περὶ τὸν Στάσιππον, καὶ αὐτοὶ
having-seen and this the-ones around — Stasippus also themselves
ἀνθωπλίσαντο, καὶ ἀριθμῷ μὲν [οὐκ] ἐλάττους ἐγένοντο·
armed-in-turn and in-number indeed not fewer became
ἐπεὶ μέντοι εἰς μάχην ὥρμησαν, τὸν μὲν Πρόξενον καὶ
when however to battle they-rushed — indeed Proxenus and
ἄλλους ὀλίγους μετ' αὐτοῦ ἀποκτείνουσι, τοὺς δ' ἄλλους
others few with him they-kill the but others

τρεψάμενοι οὐκ ἐδίωκον· καὶ γὰρ ὁ Στάσιππος ἦν οἷος
having-routed not pursued and for — Stasippus was such-as
μὴ βούλεσθαι πολλοὺς ἀποκτεινύναι τῶν πολιτῶν.
not to-wish many to-kill of-the citizens

8 οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Καλλίβιον ἀνακεχωρηκότες ὑπὸ τὸ πρὸς
the and around — Callibius having-withdrawn under the toward
Μαντινείας τεῖχος καὶ τὰς πύλας, ἐπεὶ οὐκέτι αὐτοῖς
Mantinea wall and the gates since no-longer them
οἱ ἐναντίοι ἐπεχείρουν, ἡσυχίαν εἶχον ἠθροισμένοι. καὶ
the opponents were-attacking quiet kept massed and
πάλαι μὲν ἐπεπόμφεσαν ἐπὶ τοὺς Μαντινέας βοηθεῖν
long-before indeed had-sent to the Mantineans to-help
κελεύοντες· πρὸς δὲ τοὺς περὶ Στάσιππον διελέγοντο
bidding with but the-ones around Stasippus negotiated
περὶ συναλλαγῶν. ἐπεὶ δὲ καταφανεῖς ἦσαν οἱ Μαντινεῖς
about reconciliation when and visible were the Mantineans
προσιόντες, οἱ μὲν αὐτῶν ἀναπηδῶντες ἐπὶ τὸ τεῖχος
approaching the-ones indeed of-them leaping-up onto the wall
ἐκέλευον βοηθεῖν τὴν ταχίστην, καὶ βοῶντες σπεύδειν
bade to-help the quickest-way and shouting to-hurry
διεκελεύοντο· ἄλλοι δὲ ἀνοίγουσι τὰς πύλας αὐτοῖς.
urged others and open the gates to-them

9 οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Στάσιππον ὡς ᾔσθοντο τὸ γιγνόμενον,
the and around — Stasippus when they-perceived the thing-happening
ἐκπίπτουσι κατὰ τὰς ἐπὶ τὸ Παλλάντιον φερούσας πύλας,
rush-out by the to the Pallantium leading gates
καὶ φθάνουσι πρὶν καταληφθῆναι ὑπὸ τῶν διωκόντων εἰς
and anticipate before to-be-caught by the pursuers into
τὸν τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος νεὼν καταφυγόντες, καὶ ἐγκλεισάμενοι
the — of-Artemis temple having-fled-for-refuge and having-shut-themselves-in
ἡσυχίαν εἶχον. οἱ δὲ μεταδιώξαντες ἐχθροὶ αὐτῶν ἀναβάντες
quiet kept the but having-pursued enemies their having-climbed

ἐπὶ τὸν νεὼν καὶ τὴν ὀροφὴν διελόντες ἔπαιον ταῖς
onto the temple and the roof having-broken-through struck with-the
κεραμίσιν. οἱ δὲ ἐπεὶ ἔγνωσαν τὴν ἀνάγκην, παύεσθαί
tiles they and when they-recognized the necessity to-stop
τε ἐκέλευον καὶ ἐξιέναι ἔφασαν. οἱ δ' ἐναντίοι ὡς
both they-bade and to-come-out they-said the but opponents as
ὑποχειρίους ἔλαβον αὐτούς, δήσαντες καὶ ἀναβαλόντες ἐπὶ
into-their-hands they-got them having-bound and having-put on
τὴν ἁρμάμαξαν ἀπήγαγον ἐς Τεγέαν. ἐκεῖ δὲ μετὰ τῶν
the wagon led-away to Tegea there and with the
Μαντινέων καταγνόντες ἀπέκτειναν.
Mantineans having-condemned killed
Τούτων δὲ γιγνομένων ἔφυγον εἰς Λακεδαίμονα τῶν περὶ 10
These-things and happening fled to Lacedaemon of-the around
Στάσιππον Τεγεατῶν περὶ ὀκτακοσίους. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα
Stasippus Tegeans about eight-hundred after and these-things
τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις ἐδόκει βοηθητέον εἶναι κατὰ τοὺς
to-the Lacedaemonians it-seemed must-be-helped to-be according-to the
ὅρκους τοῖς τεθνεῶσί τε τῶν Τεγεατῶν καὶ ἐκπεπτωκόσι·
oaths the dead both of-the Tegeans and exiled
καὶ οὕτω στρατεύουσιν ἐπὶ τοὺς Μαντινέας, ὡς παρὰ
and so march against the Mantineans as contrary-to
τοὺς ὅρκους σὺν ὅπλοις ἐληλυθότων αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τοὺς
the oaths with arms having-come them against the
Τεγεάτας. καὶ φρουρὰν μὲν οἱ ἔφοροι ἔφαινον, Ἀγησίλαον
Tegeans and a-levy indeed the ephors declared Agesilaus
δ' ἐκέλευεν ἡ πόλις ἡγεῖσθαι.
and ordered the city to-lead
οἱ μὲν οὖν ἄλλοι Ἀρκάδες εἰς Ἀσέαν συνελέγοντο. 11
the indeed then other Arcadians at Asea were-gathering
Ὀρχομενίων δὲ οὐκ ἐθελόντων κοινωνεῖν τοῦ Ἀρκαδικοῦ
Orchomenians but not wishing to-share-in the Arcadian-league

διὰ τὴν πρὸς Μαντινέας ἔχθραν, ἀλλὰ καὶ δεδεγμένων
because-of the toward Mantineans hatred but even having-received
εἰς τὴν πόλιν τὸ ἐν Κορίνθῳ συνειλεγμένον ξενικόν, οὗ
into the city the at Corinth gathered mercenary-force which
Πολύτροπος ἦρχεν, ἔμενον οἴκοι οἱ Μαντινεῖς τούτων
Polytropus commanded stayed at-home the Mantineans these
ἐπιμελόμενοι. Ἡραιεῖς δὲ καὶ Λεπρεᾶται συνεστρατεύοντο
taking-care-of Heraeans and also Lepreans campaigned-with
τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις ἐπὶ τοὺς Μαντινέας.
the Lacedaemonians against the Mantineans

12 ὁ δὲ Ἀγησίλαος, ἐπεὶ ἐγένετο αὐτῷ τὰ διαβατήρια, εὐθὺς
— *and Agesilaus when came-out for-him the crossing-sacrifices at-once*
ἐχώρει ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀρκαδίαν. καὶ καταλαβὼν πόλιν ὅμορον
advanced into — Arcadia and having-seized a-city bordering
οὖσαν Εὔταιαν καὶ εὑρὼν ἐκεῖ τοὺς μὲν πρεσβυτέρους καὶ
being Eutaea and having-found there the indeed older-men and
τὰς γυναῖκας καὶ τοὺς παῖδας οἰκοῦντας ἐν ταῖς οἰκίαις, τοὺς
the women and the children dwelling in the houses the
δ' ἐν τῇ στρατευσίμῳ ἡλικίᾳ οἰχομένους εἰς τὸ Ἀρκαδικόν,
but in the military age gone to the Arcadian-league
ὅμως οὐκ ἠδίκησε τὴν πόλιν, ἀλλ' εἶα τε αὐτοὺς οἰκεῖν,
nevertheless not he-wronged the city but let both them dwell
καὶ ὠνούμενοι ἐλάμβανον ὅσων δέοιντο· εἰ δέ τι καὶ
and buying they-took as-much-as they-needed if and anything even
ἡρπάσθη, ὅτε εἰσῄει εἰς τὴν πόλιν, ἐξευρὼν ἀπέδωκε. καὶ
was-seized when he-entered into the city having-found-it he-gave-back and
ἐπῳκοδόμει δὲ τὸ τεῖχος αὐτῶν ὅσα ἐδεῖτο, ἕωσπερ αὐτοῦ
he-rebuilt and the wall their as-much-as needed while there
διέτριβεν ἀναμένων τοὺς μετὰ Πολυτρόπου μισθοφόρους.
he-stayed waiting-for the with Polytropus mercenaries

Ἐν δὲ τούτῳ οἱ Μαντινεῖς στρατεύουσιν ἐπὶ τοὺς 13
In and this the Mantineans march against the
Ὀρχομενίους. καὶ ἀπὸ μὲν τοῦ τείχους μάλα χαλεπῶς
Orchomenians and from indeed the wall very badly
ἀπῆλθον, καὶ ἀπέθανόν τινες αὐτῶν· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀποχωροῦντες
came-away and died some of-them when and withdrawing
ἐν τῇ Ἐλυμίᾳ ἐγένοντο, καὶ οἱ μὲν Ὀρχομένιοι ὁπλῖται
in — Elymia they-were and the indeed Orchomenian hoplites
οὐκέτι ἠκολούθουν, οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Πολύτροπον ἐπέκειντο
no-longer followed the but around — Polytropus pressed-on
καὶ μάλα θρασέως, ἐνταῦθα γνόντες οἱ Μαντινεῖς
and very boldly there having-recognized the Mantineans
ὡς, εἰ μὴ ἀποκρούσονται αὐτούς, ὅτι πολλοὶ σφῶν
that if not they-repulse them that many of-them
κατακοντισθήσονται, ὑποστρέψαντες ὁμόσε ἐχώρησαν
will-be-shot-down having-turned-back to-close-quarters advanced
τοῖς ἐπικειμένοις.
against-the pressing-on
καὶ ὁ μὲν Πολύτροπος μαχόμενος αὐτοῦ ἀποθνῄσκει· 14
and — indeed Polytropus fighting there dies
τῶν δὲ ἄλλων φευγόντων πάμπολλοι ἂν ἀπέθανον, εἰ
of-the and others fleeing very-many — would-have-died if
μὴ οἱ Φλειάσιοι ἱππεῖς παραγενόμενοι καὶ εἰς τὸ ὄπισθεν
not the Phliasian horsemen having-come-up and to the rear
περιελάσαντες τῶν Μαντινέων ἐπέσχον αὐτοὺς τῆς
having-ridden-round of-the Mantineans had-checked them from-the
διώξεως. καὶ οἱ μὲν Μαντινεῖς ταῦτα πράξαντες οἴκαδε
pursuit and the indeed Mantineans these-things having-done home
ἀπῆλθον.
went-away

15 Ὁ δὲ Ἀγησίλαος ἀκούσας ταῦτα καὶ νομίσας οὐκ
— and Agesilaus having-heard these-things and having-thought not
ἂν ἔτι συμμεῖξαι αὐτῷ τοὺς ἐκ τοῦ Ὀρχομενοῦ
— any-longer to-join him the from — Orchomenus
μισθοφόρους, οὕτω προῄει. καὶ τῇ μὲν πρώτῃ ἐν τῇ
mercenaries so advanced and on-the indeed first-day in the
Τεγεάτιδι χώρᾳ ἐδειπνοποιήσατο, τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ διαβαίνει
Tegean land he-took-dinner on-the and next-day crosses
εἰς τὴν Μαντινικήν, καὶ ἐστρατοπεδεύσατο ὑπὸ τοῖς πρὸς
into the Mantinean-land and encamped under the toward
ἑσπέραν ὄρεσι τῆς Μαντινείας· καὶ ἐκεῖ ἅμα ἐδῄου
west mountains — of-Mantinea and there at-the-same-time ravaged
τὴν χώραν καὶ ἐπόρθει τοὺς ἀγρούς. τῶν δὲ Ἀρκάδων οἱ
the land and sacked the farms of-the and Arcadians the-ones
συλλεγέντες ἐν τῇ Ἀσέᾳ νυκτὸς παρῆλθον εἰς τὴν Τεγέαν.
gathered at — Asea by-night passed into — Tegea
16 τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ ὁ μὲν Ἀγησίλαος ἀπέχων Μαντινείας ὅσον
on-the and next-day — indeed Agesilaus distant from-Mantinea about
εἴκοσι σταδίους ἐστρατοπεδεύσατο· οἱ δ' ἐκ τῆς Τεγέας
twenty stades encamped the and from — Tegea
Ἀρκάδες, ἐχόμενοι τῶν μεταξὺ Μαντινείας καὶ Τεγέας ὀρῶν,
Arcadians holding-to the between Mantinea and Tegea mountains
παρῆσαν μάλα πολλοὶ ὁπλῖται, συμμεῖξαι βουλόμενοι τοῖς
were-present very many hoplites to-join wishing with-the
Μαντινεῦσι· καὶ γὰρ οἱ Ἀργεῖοι οὐ πανδημεὶ ἠκολούθουν
Mantineans and for the Argives not in-full-force followed
αὐτοῖς· καὶ ἦσαν μέν τινες οἳ τὸν Ἀγησίλαον ἔπειθον
them and there-were indeed some who — Agesilaus were-persuading
χωρὶς τούτοις ἐπιθέσθαι· ὁ δὲ φοβούμενος μὴ ἐν ὅσῳ
separately on-these to-fall he but fearing lest in the-time-that
πρὸς ἐκείνους πορεύοιτο, ἐκ τῆς πόλεως οἱ Μαντινεῖς
against those he-marched from the city the Mantineans

ἐξελθόντες κατὰ κέρας τε καὶ ἐκ τοῦ ὄπισθεν ἐπιπέσοιεν
having-come-out on flank both and from the rear should-fall-upon
αὐτῷ, ἔγνω κράτιστον εἶναι ἐâσαι συνελθεῖν αὐτούς, καὶ εἰ
him decided best to-be to-let come-together them and if
βούλοιντο μάχεσθαι, ἐκ τοῦ δικαίου καὶ φανεροῦ τὴν μάχην
they-wished to-fight from the just and open the battle
ποιεῖσθαι. καὶ οἱ μὲν δὴ Ἀρκάδες ὁμοῦ ἤδη ἐγεγένηντο.
to-make and the indeed then Arcadians together already had-become
οἱ δ' ἐκ τοῦ Ὀρχομενοῦ πελτασταὶ καὶ οἱ τῶν Φλειασίων 17
the but from — Orchomenus peltasts and the of-the Phliasians
ἱππεῖς μετ' αὐτῶν τῆς νυκτὸς διεξελθόντες παρὰ τὴν
horsemen with them in-the night having-passed-through past —
Μαντίνειαν θυομένῳ τῷ Ἀγησιλάῳ πρὸ τοῦ στρατοπέδου
Mantinea to-the-sacrificing — Agesilaus before the camp
ἐπιφαίνονται ἅμα τῇ ἡμέρᾳ, καὶ ἐποίησαν
appear at-the-same-time with-the day and made
τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους εἰς τὰς τάξεις δραμεῖν, Ἀγησίλαον
the indeed others into the ranks to-run Agesilaus
δ' ἐπαναχωρῆσαι πρὸς τὰ ὅπλα. ἐπεὶ δ' ἐκεῖνοι μὲν
and to-withdraw to the arms when and those indeed
ἐγνώσθησαν φίλοι ὄντες, Ἀγησίλαος δὲ ἐκεκαλλιέρητο, ἐξ
were-recognized friends being Agesilaus and had-got-good-omens after
ἀρίστου προῆγε τὸ στράτευμα. ἑσπέρας δ' ἐπιγιγνομένης
breakfast he-led-forward the army evening and coming-on
ἔλαθε στρατοπεδευσάμενος εἰς τὸν ὄπισθεν κόλπον
he-escaped-notice having-encamped in the rear hollow
τῆς Μαντινικῆς, μάλα σύνεγγυς καὶ κύκλῳ ὄρη ἔχοντα.
of-the Mantinean-land very close and in-a-circle mountains having
τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ ἅμα τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐθύετο μὲν πρὸ 18
on-the and next-day at-the-same-time with-the day he-sacrificed indeed before
τοῦ στρατεύματος· ἰδὼν δὲ συλλεγομένους ἐκ τῆς τῶν
the army having-seen and gathering from the of-the

Μαντινέων πόλεως ἐπὶ τοῖς ὄρεσι τοῖς ὑπὲρ τῆς οὐρᾶς τοῦ
Mantineans city on the mountains the above the rear of-the
ἑαυτῶν στρατεύματος, ἔγνω ἐξακτέον εἶναι τὴν ταχίστην
their-own army he-decided must-lead-out to-be the quickest-way
ἐκ τοῦ κόλπου. εἰ μὲν οὖν αὐτὸς ἀφηγοῖτο, ἐφοβεῖτο μὴ
from the hollow if indeed then himself he-led-the-way he-feared lest
τῇ οὐρᾷ ἐπίθοιντο οἱ πολέμιοι· ἡσυχίαν δὲ ἔχων καὶ τὰ
on-the rear should-attack the enemies quiet but keeping and the
ὅπλα πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους φαίνων, ἀναστρέψαντας ἐκέλευε
arms toward the enemies showing having-turned-about he-ordered
τοὺς ἀπ᾽ οὐρᾶς εἰς δόρυ ὄπισθεν τῆς φάλαγγος
the-ones from rear to the-spear-side behind the phalanx
ἡγεῖσθαι πρὸς αὐτόν· καὶ οὕτως ἅμα ἔκ τε τοῦ
to-lead toward himself and thus at-the-same-time from both the
στενοῦ ἐξῆγε καὶ ἰσχυροτέραν ἀεὶ τὴν φάλαγγα ἐποιεῖτο.
narrow he-led-out and stronger always the phalanx made
19 ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἐδεδίπλωτο ἡ φάλαγξ, οὕτως ἔχοντι τῷ
when and had-been-doubled the phalanx thus being the
ὁπλιτικῷ προελθὼν εἰς τὸ πεδίον ἐξέτεινε πάλιν ἐπ᾽ ἐννέα
hoplite-force having-advanced into the plain he-extended again to nine
ἢ δέκα τὸ στράτευμα ἀσπίδων. οἱ μέντοι Μαντινεῖς οὐκέτι
or ten the army shields the however Mantineans no-longer
ἐξῇσαν· καὶ γὰρ οἱ Ἠλεῖοι συστρατευόμενοι αὐτοῖς ἔπειθον
came-out and for the Eleans campaigning-with them persuaded
μὴ ποιεῖσθαι μάχην, πρὶν οἱ Θηβαῖοι παραγένοιντο· εὖ δὲ
not to-make battle before the Thebans should-be-present well and
εἰδέναι ἔφασαν ὅτι παρέσοιντο. καὶ γὰρ δέκα τάλαντα
to-know they-said that they-would-be-present and for ten talents
δεδανεῖσθαι αὐτοὺς παρὰ σφῶν εἰς τὴν βοήθειαν.
to-have-borrowed them from themselves for the relief

οἱ μὲν δὴ Ἀρκάδες ταῦτα ἀκούσαντες ἡσυχίαν εἶχον ἐν τῇ 20
the indeed then Arcadians these-things having-heard quiet kept in —
Μαντινείᾳ· ὁ δ' Ἀγησίλαος καὶ μάλα βουλόμενος ἀπάγειν
Mantinea — and Agesilaus also very wishing to-lead-away
τὸ στράτευμα (καὶ γὰρ ἦν μέσος χειμών) ὅμως ἐκεῖ
the army and for it-was middle winter nevertheless there
κατέμεινε τρεῖς ἡμέρας, οὐ πολὺ ἀπέχων τῆς Μαντινέων
remained three days not far distant from-the of-Mantineans
πόλεως, ὅπως μὴ δοκοίη φοβούμενος σπεύδειν τὴν
city so-that not he-might-seem fearing to-hasten the
ἄφοδον. τῇ δὲ τετάρτῃ πρῲ ἀριστοποιησάμενος ἀπῆγεν
departure on-the and fourth-day early having-breakfasted he-led-away
ὡς στρατοπεδευσόμενος ἔνθαπερ τὸ πρῶτον ἀπὸ τῆς
as going-to-encamp where-very the first from —
Εὐταίας ἐξώρμητο.
Eutaea he-had-set-out
ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐδεὶς ἐφαίνετο τῶν Ἀρκάδων, ἦγε τὴν ταχίστην 21
when and no-one appeared of-the Arcadians he-led the quickest-way
εἰς τὴν Εὔταιαν, καίπερ μάλα ὀψίζων, βουλόμενος
to — Eutaea although very late wishing
ἀπαγαγεῖν τοὺς ὁπλίτας πρὶν καὶ τὰ πυρὰ τῶν πολεμίων
to-lead-away the hoplites before even the fires of-the enemies
ἰδεῖν, ἵνα μή τις εἴποι ὡς φεύγων ἀπαγάγοι. ἐκ γὰρ
to-see so-that not anyone might-say that fleeing he-led-away from for
τῆς πρόσθεν ἀθυμίας ἐδόκει τι ἀνειληφέναι τὴν πόλιν,
the former despondency he-seemed something to-have-recovered the city
ὅτι καὶ ἐνεβεβλήκει εἰς τὴν Ἀρκαδίαν καὶ δηοῦντι
because both he-had-invaded into — Arcadia and to-him-ravaging
τὴν χώραν οὐδεὶς ἠθελήκει μάχεσθαι. ἐπεὶ δ' ἐν τῇ
the land no-one had-been-willing to-fight when and in the

Λακωνικῇ ἐγένετο, τοὺς μὲν Σπαρτιάτας ἀπέλυσεν οἴκαδε,
Laconian-land he-was the indeed Spartiates he-released home
τοὺς δὲ περιοίκους ἀφῆκεν ἐπὶ τὰς ἑαυτῶν πόλεις.
the and perioeci he-let-go to the their-own cities

22 Οἱ δὲ Ἀρκάδες, ἐπεὶ ὁ Ἀγησίλαος ἀπεληλύθει καὶ
The and Arcadians when — Agesilaus had-gone-away and
ᾔσθοντο διαλελυμένον αὐτῷ τὸ στράτευμα, αὐτοὶ δὲ
they-perceived disbanded for-him the army themselves but
ἠθροισμένοι ἐτύγχανον, στρατεύουσιν ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἡραιέας,
gathered happened march against the Heraeans
ὅτι τε οὐκ ἤθελον τοῦ Ἀρκαδικοῦ μετέχειν καὶ
because both not they-were-willing in-the Arcadian-league to-share and
ὅτι συνεισεβεβλήκεσαν εἰς τὴν Ἀρκαδίαν μετὰ τῶν
because they-had-joined-in-invading into — Arcadia with the
Λακεδαιμονίων. ἐμβαλόντες δ' ἐνεπίμπρων τε τὰς οἰκίας
Lacedaemonians having-invaded and they-burned both the houses
καὶ ἔκοπτον τὰ δένδρα. Ἐπεὶ δὲ οἱ Θηβαῖοι βεβοηθηκότες
and cut the trees When and the Thebans having-come-to-help
παρεῖναι ἐλέγοντο εἰς τὴν Μαντίνειαν, οὕτως ἀπαλλάττονται
to-be-present were-said in — Mantinea so they-depart
ἐκ τῆς Ἡραίας καὶ συμμειγνύουσι τοῖς Θηβαίοις.
from — Heraea and join the Thebans

23 ὡς δὲ ὁμοῦ ἐγένοντο, οἱ μὲν Θηβαῖοι καλῶς σφίσιν
when and together they-were the indeed Thebans well for-themselves
ᾤοντο ἔχειν, ἐπεὶ ἐβεβοηθήκεσαν μέν, πολέμιον δὲ οὐδένα
thought to-be since they-had-come-to-help indeed enemy but no-one
ἔτι ἑώρων ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ, καὶ ἀπιέναι παρεσκευάζοντο·
any-longer they-saw in the land and to-go-away were-preparing
οἱ δὲ Ἀρκάδες καὶ Ἀργεῖοι καὶ Ἠλεῖοι ἔπειθον αὐτοὺς
the but Arcadians and Argives and Eleans were-persuading them
ἡγεῖσθαι ὡς τάχιστα εἰς τὴν Λακωνικήν, ἐπιδεικνύοντες
to-lead as quickly-as-possible into the Laconian-land pointing-out

μὲν τὸ ἑαυτῶν πλῆθος, ὑπερεπαινοῦντες δὲ τὸ τῶν
indeed the their-own number over-praising and the of-the
Θηβαίων στράτευμα. καὶ γὰρ οἱ μὲν Βοιωτοὶ ἐγυμνάζοντο
Thebans army and for the indeed Boeotians exercised
πάντες περὶ τὰ ὅπλα, ἀγαλλόμενοι τῇ ἐν Λεύκτροις νίκῃ·
all about the arms exulting in-the at Leuctra victory
ἠκολούθουν δ' αὐτοῖς καὶ Φωκεῖς ὑπήκοοι γεγενημένοι καὶ
followed and them also Phocians subjects having-become and
Εὐβοεῖς ἀπὸ πασῶν τῶν πόλεων καὶ Λοκροὶ ἀμφότεροι
Euboeans from all the cities and Locrians both
καὶ Ἀκαρνᾶνες καὶ Ἡρακλεῶται καὶ Μηλιεῖς· ἠκολούθουν
and Acarnanians and Heracleots and Malians followed
δ' αὐτοῖς καὶ ἐκ Θετταλίας ἱππεῖς τε καὶ πελτασταί.
and them also from Thessaly horsemen both and peltasts
ταῦτα δὴ †συνηδόμενοι καὶ τὴν ἐν Λακεδαίμονι ἐρημίαν
these-things indeed rejoicing-with and the in Lacedaemon emptiness
λέγοντες ἱκέτευον μηδαμῶς ἀποτρέπεσθαι, πρὶν ἐμβαλεῖν
telling they-begged by-no-means to-turn-back before to-invade
εἰς τὴν τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων χώραν.
into the of-the Lacedaemonians land
οἱ δὲ Θηβαῖοι ἤκουον μὲν ταῦτα, ἀντελογίζοντο δὲ ὅτι 24
the but Thebans heard indeed these-things reckoned-against-them but that
δυσεμβολωτάτη μὲν ἡ Λακωνικὴ ἐλέγετο εἶναι, φρουρὰς
hardest-to-invade indeed the Laconian-land was-said to-be garrisons
δὲ καθεστάναι ἐνόμιζον ἐπὶ τοῖς εὐπροσοδωτάτοις. καὶ γὰρ
and to-be-established they-thought at the most-accessible-places and for
ἦν Ἰσχόλαος μὲν ἐν Οἰῷ τῆς Σκιρίτιδος, ἔχων νεοδαμώδεις
was Ischolaus indeed at Oeum — of-Sciritis having neodamodes
τε φρουροὺς καὶ τῶν Τεγεατῶν φυγάδων τοὺς νεωτάτους
both as-garrison and of-the Tegean exiles the youngest
περὶ τετρακοσίους· ἦν δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ Λεύκτρῳ ὑπὲρ
about four-hundred there-was and also at Leuctrum above

τῆς Μαλεάτιδος ἄλλη φρουρά. ἐλογίζοντο δὲ καὶ τοῦτο
— Maleatis another garrison they-reckoned and also this
οἱ Θηβαῖοι, ὡς καὶ συνελθοῦσαν ἂν ταχέως τὴν τῶν
the Thebans that both having-come-together — quickly the of-the
Λακεδαιμονίων δύναμιν καὶ μάχεσθαι ἂν αὐτοὺς οὐδαμοῦ
Lacedaemonians power and would-fight — them nowhere
ἄμεινον ἢ ἐν τῇ ἑαυτῶν. ἃ δὴ πάντα λογιζόμενοι οὐ
better than in the their-own which indeed all reckoning not
πάνυ προπετεῖς ἦσαν εἰς τὸ ἰέναι εἰς τὴν Λακεδαίμονα.
very headlong were toward the to-go into — Lacedaemon
25 ἐπεὶ μέντοι ἦκον ἔκ τε Καρυῶν λέγοντες τὴν ἐρημίαν καὶ
when however came from both Caryae telling the emptiness and
ὑπισχνούμενοι αὐτοὶ ἡγήσεσθαι, καὶ κελεύοντες, ἄν τι
promising themselves to-lead and bidding if in-anything
ἐξαπατῶντες φαίνωνται, ἀποσφάττειν σφᾶς, παρῆσαν δέ
deceiving they-be-seen to-slaughter them were-present and
τινες καὶ τῶν περιοίκων ἐπικαλούμενοι καὶ φάσκοντες
some also of-the perioeci calling-in and claiming
ἀποστήσεσθαι, εἰ μόνον φανείησαν εἰς τὴν χώραν, ἔλεγον δὲ
they-would-revolt if only they-appeared in the land they-said and
ὡς καὶ νῦν καλούμενοι [οἱ περίοικοι] ὑπὸ τῶν Σπαρτιατῶν
that even now being-called the perioeci by the Spartiates
οὐκ ἐθέλοιεν βοηθεῖν· πάντα οὖν ταῦτα ἀκούοντες καὶ
not were-willing to-help all then these-things hearing and
παρὰ πάντων οἱ Θηβαῖοι ἐπείσθησαν, καὶ αὐτοὶ μὲν κατὰ
from all the Thebans were-persuaded and themselves indeed by
Καρύας ἐνέβαλον, οἱ δὲ Ἀρκάδες κατὰ Οἰὸν τῆς Σκιρίτιδος.
Caryae invaded the and Arcadians by Oeum — of-Sciritis
26 καὶ εἰ μὲν ἐπὶ τὰ δύσβατα προελθὼν ὁ Ἰσχόλαος
and if indeed to the rough-places having-advanced — Ischolaus
ὑφίστατο, οὐδένα ἂν ταύτῃ γ' ἔφασαν ἀναβῆναι·
had-stood-against-them no-one — by-this-way at-least they-said would-have-climbed

νῦν δὲ βουλόμενος τοῖς Οἰάταις συμμάχοις χρῆσθαι,
now but wishing the Oeatans as-allies to-use
ἔμεινεν ἐν τῇ κώμῃ· οἱ δὲ ἀνέβησαν παμπλήθεις
he-remained in the village they and climbed very-many
Ἀρκάδες. ἐνταῦθα δὴ ἀντιπρόσωποι μὲν μαχόμενοι οἱ
Arcadians there indeed face-to-face indeed fighting the-ones
περὶ τὸν Ἰσχόλαον ἐπεκράτουν· ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ ὄπισθεν καὶ
around — Ischolaus prevailed when but both from-behind and
ἐκ πλαγίου καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν οἰκιῶν ἀναβαίνοντες ἔπαιον
from flank and from the houses climbing struck
καὶ ἔβαλλον αὐτούς, ἐνταῦθα ὅ τε Ἰσχόλαος ἀποθνήσκει
and pelted them there — both Ischolaus dies
καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι πάντες, εἰ μή τις ἀμφιγνοηθεὶς διέφυγε.
and the others all if not anyone being-mistaken escaped
διαπραξάμενοι δὲ ταῦτα οἱ Ἀρκάδες ἐπορεύοντο πρὸς 27
having-accomplished and these-things the Arcadians marched to
τοὺς Θηβαίους ἐπὶ τὰς Καρύας. οἱ δὲ Θηβαῖοι ἐπεὶ
the Thebans at — Caryae the and Thebans when
ᾔσθοντο τὰ πεπραγμένα ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀρκάδων, πολὺ δὴ
they-perceived the-things done by the Arcadians much indeed
θρασύτερον κατέβαινον. καὶ τὴν μὲν Σελλασίαν εὐθὺς
more-boldly came-down and the indeed Sellasia at-once
ἔκαιον καὶ ἐπόρθουν· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ ἐγένοντο ἐν
burned and sacked when and in the plain they-were in
τῷ τεμένει τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος, ἐνταῦθα ἐστρατοπεδεύσαντο·
the precinct — of-Apollo there encamped
τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ ἐπορεύοντο. καὶ διὰ μὲν τῆς γεφύρας
on-the and next-day marched and through indeed the bridge
οὐδ' ἐπεχείρουν διαβαίνειν ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν· καὶ γὰρ
not-even tried to-cross toward the city and for
ἐν τῷ τῆς Ἀλέας ἱερῷ ἐφαίνοντο ἐναντίοι οἱ ὁπλῖται.
in the — of-Alea temple appeared opposite the hoplites

ἐν δεξιᾷ δ' ἔχοντες τὸν Εὐρώταν παρῆσαν κάοντες καὶ
on right but having the Eurotas went-along burning and
πορθοῦντες πολλῶν κἀγαθῶν μεστὰς οἰκίας.
sacking many and-good full houses

28 τῶν δ' ἐκ τῆς πόλεως αἱ μὲν γυναῖκες οὐδὲ τὸν καπνὸν
of-the and from the city the indeed women not-even the smoke
ὁρῶσαι ἠνείχοντο, ἅτε οὐδέποτε ἰδοῦσαι πολεμίους· οἱ δὲ
seeing could-bear inasmuch-as never having-seen enemies the but
Σπαρτιᾶται ἀτείχιστον ἔχοντες τὴν πόλιν, ἄλλος ἄλλῃ
Spartiates unwalled having the city one in-another-place
διαταχθείς, μάλα ὀλίγοι καὶ ὄντες καὶ φαινόμενοι ἐφύλαττον.
stationed very few both being and appearing kept-guard
ἔδοξε δὲ τοῖς τέλεσι καὶ προειπεῖν τοῖς Εἵλωσιν, εἴ τις
it-seemed-good and to-the authorities also to-proclaim to-the Helots if any
βούλοιτο ὅπλα λαμβάνειν καὶ εἰς τάξιν τίθεσθαι, τὰ πιστὰ
wished arms to-take and in rank to-be-placed the pledges
λαμβάνειν ὡς ἐλευθέρους ἐσομένους ὅσοι συμπολεμήσαιεν.
to-receive that free going-to-be as-many-as should-fight-with-them

29 καὶ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἔφασαν ἀπογράψασθαι πλέον
and the indeed first they-said to-have-enrolled more
ἢ ἑξακισχιλίους, ὥστε φόβον αὖ οὗτοι παρεῖχον
than six-thousand so-that fear in-turn these caused
συντεταγμένοι καὶ λίαν ἐδόκουν πολλοὶ εἶναι· ἐπεὶ μέντοι
drawn-up and too-much seemed many to-be when however
ἔμενον μὲν οἱ ἐξ Ὀρχομενοῦ μισθοφόροι, ἐβοήθησαν
stayed indeed the from Orchomenus mercenaries came-to-help
δὲ τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις Φλειάσιοί τε καὶ Κορίνθιοι καὶ
and the Lacedaemonians Phliasians both and Corinthians and
Ἐπιδαύριοι καὶ Πελληνεῖς καὶ ἄλλαι δέ τινες τῶν πόλεων,
Epidaurians and Pellenians and other and some of-the cities
ἤδη καὶ τοὺς ἀπογεγραμμένους ἧττον ὠρρώδουν.
already also the enrolled less they-dreaded

ὡς δὲ προϊὸν τὸ στράτευμα ἐγένετο κατ᾽ Ἀμύκλας, 30
when and advancing the army came by Amyclae
ταύτῃ διέβαινον τὸν Εὐρώταν. καὶ οἱ μὲν Θηβαῖοι,
there they-crossed the Eurotas and the indeed Thebans
ὅπου στρατοπεδεύοιντο, εὐθὺς ὧν ἔκοπτον δένδρων
wherever they-encamped at-once of-what they-cut trees
κατέβαλλον πρὸ τῶν τάξεων ὡς ἐδύναντο πλεῖστα, καὶ
threw-down before the ranks as they-could most and
οὕτως ἐφυλάττοντο· οἱ δὲ Ἀρκάδες τούτων τε οὐδὲν
so guarded-themselves the but Arcadians of-these both nothing
ἐποίουν, καταλείποντες δὲ τὰ ὅπλα εἰς ἁρπαγὴν ἐπὶ τὰς
did leaving and the arms to plunder at the
οἰκίας ἐτράποντο. ἐκ τούτου δὴ ἡμέρᾳ τρίτῃ ἢ τετάρτῃ
houses turned from this indeed on-day third or fourth
προῆλθον οἱ ἱππεῖς εἰς τὸν ἱππόδρομον εἰς Γαιαόχου
advanced the horsemen into the hippodrome to (the-shrine)-of-Gaeaochus
κατὰ τάξεις, οἵ τε Θηβαῖοι πάντες καὶ οἱ Ἠλεῖοι καὶ
by ranks the both Thebans all and the Eleans and
ὅσοι Φωκέων ἢ Θετταλῶν ἢ Λοκρῶν ἱππεῖς παρῆσαν.
as-many-as of-Phocians or of-Thessalians or of-Locrians horsemen were-present
οἱ δὲ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων ἱππεῖς, μάλα ὀλίγοι φαινόμενοι, 31
the but of-the Lacedaemonians horsemen very few appearing
ἀντιτεταγμένοι αὐτοῖς ἦσαν. ἐνέδραν δὲ ποιήσαντες
drawn-up-against them were an-ambush and having-made
ὁπλιτῶν τῶν νεωτέρων ὅσον τριακοσίων ἐν τῇ τῶν
of-hoplites of-the younger about three-hundred in the-(precinct) —
Τυνδαριδῶν, ἅμα οὗτοι μὲν ἐξέθεον, οἱ δ᾽ ἱππεῖς
of-Tyndaridae at-the-same-time these indeed ran-out the and horsemen
ἤλαυνον. οἱ δὲ πολέμιοι οὐκ ἐδέξαντο, ἀλλ᾽ ἐνέκλιναν. ἰδόντες
rode the but enemies not received-them but gave-way having-seen
δὲ ταῦτα πολλοὶ καὶ τῶν πεζῶν εἰς φυγὴν ὥρμησαν. ἐπεὶ
and these-things many also of-the foot into flight rushed when

μέντοι οἵ τε διώκοντες ἐπαύσαντο καὶ τὸ τῶν Θηβαίων
however the both pursuers stopped and the of-the Thebans
στράτευμα ἔμενε, πάλιν δὴ κατεστρατοπεδεύσαντο.
army stood-fast again indeed they-encamped

32 καὶ τὸ μὲν μὴ πρὸς τὴν πόλιν προσβαλεῖν ἂν ἔτι αὐτοὺς
and the indeed not against the city to-attack — any-longer them
ἤδη τι ἐδόκει θαρραλεώτερον εἶναι· ἐκεῖθεν μέντοι
already somewhat seemed more-encouraging to-be thence however
ἀπᾶραν τὸ στράτευμα ἐπορεύετο τὴν ἐφ᾽ Ἕλος καὶ
having-set-off the army marched the-road toward Helos and
Γύθειον. καὶ τὰς μὲν ἀτειχίστους τῶν πόλεων ἐνεπίμπρασαν,
Gytheum and the indeed unwalled of-the cities they-burned
Γυθείῳ δέ, ἔνθα τὰ νεώρια τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις ἦν, καὶ
at-Gytheum but where the dockyards for-the Lacedaemonians were also
προσέβαλλον τρεῖς ἡμέρας. ἦσαν δέ τινες τῶν περιοίκων
they-attacked three days there-were and some of-the perioeci
οἳ καὶ ἐπέθεντο καὶ συνεστρατεύοντο τοῖς μετὰ Θηβαίων.
who also joined-the-attack and campaigned-with the-ones with Thebans

33 Ἀκούοντες δὲ ταῦτα οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐν φροντίδι ἦσαν ὅ
Hearing and these-things the Athenians in anxiety were what
τι χρὴ ποιεῖν περὶ Λακεδαιμονίων, καὶ ἐκκλησίαν
ever it-is-needful to-do about Lacedaemonians and an-assembly
ἐποίησαν κατὰ δόγμα βουλῆς. ἔτυχον δὲ παρόντες
they-held according-to decree of-council happened and present
πρέσβεις Λακεδαιμονίων τε καὶ τῶν ἔτι ὑπολοίπων
envoys of-Lacedaemonians both and of-the still remaining
συμμάχων αὐτοῖς. ὅθεν δὴ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι Ἄρακος καὶ
allies to-them whence indeed the Lacedaemonians Aracus and
Ὄκυλλος καὶ Φάραξ καὶ Ἐτυμοκλῆς καὶ Ὀλονθεὺς σχεδὸν
Ocyllus and Pharax and Etymocles and Olontheus nearly
πάντες παραπλήσια ἔλεγον. ἀνεμίμνῃσκόν τε γὰρ τοὺς
all similar-things said reminded both for the

Ἀθηναίους ὡς ἀεί ποτε ἀλλήλοις ἐν τοῖς μεγίστοις καιροῖς
Athenians how always ever one-another in the greatest crises
παρίσταντο ἐπ᾽ ἀγαθοῖς· αὐτοί τε γὰρ ἔφασαν τοὺς
they-stood-by for good-things themselves both for they-said the
τυράννους συνεκβαλεῖν Ἀθήνηθεν, καὶ Ἀθηναίους, ὅτε
tyrants to-have-helped-drive-out from-Athens and Athenians when
αὐτοὶ ἐπολιορκοῦντο ὑπὸ Μεσσηνίων, προθύμως βοηθεῖν.
themselves were-besieged by Messenians eagerly to-have-helped
ἔλεγον δὲ καὶ ὅσ᾽ ἀγαθὰ εἴη, ὅτε κοινῶς ἀμφότεροι 34
they-said and also how-many good-things there-were when in-common both
ἔπραττον, ὑπομιμνήσκοντες μὲν ὡς τὸν βάρβαρον κοινῇ
acted reminding indeed how the barbarian in-common
ἀπεμαχέσαντο, ἀναμιμνήσκοντες δὲ ὡς Ἀθηναῖοί τε ὑπὸ
they-fought-off recalling and how Athenians both by
τῶν Ἑλλήνων ᾑρέθησαν ἡγεμόνες τοῦ ναυτικοῦ καὶ τῶν
the Greeks were-chosen leaders of-the fleet and of-the
κοινῶν χρημάτων φύλακες, τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων ταῦτα
common money guardians the Lacedaemonians this
συμβουλομένων, αὐτοί τε κατὰ γῆν ὁμολογουμένως
concurring themselves both by land admittedly
ὑφ᾽ ἁπάντων τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἡγεμόνες προκριθείησαν,
by all the Greeks leaders were-preferred
συμβουλομένων αὖ ταῦτα τῶν Ἀθηναίων.
concurring in-turn this the Athenians
εἷς δὲ αὐτῶν καὶ ὧδέ πως εἶπεν· Ἐὰν δὲ ὑμεῖς καὶ ἡμεῖς, 35
one and of-them also thus somehow spoke If and you and we
ὦ ἄνδρες, ὁμονοήσωμεν, νῦν ἐλπὶς τὸ πάλαι λεγόμενον
O men agree now hope the of-old said
δεκατευθῆναι Θηβαίους. οἱ μέντοι Ἀθηναῖοι οὐ πάνυ
to-be-tithed Thebans the however Athenians not very
ἐδέξαντο, ἀλλὰ θροῦς τις τοιοῦτος διῆλθεν ὡς νῦν ταῦτα
received-it but murmur some such went-through that now these-things

λέγοιεν, ὅτε δὲ εὖ ἔπραττον, ἐπέκειντο ἡμῖν. μέγιστον
they-said when but well they-fared they-pressed-upon us greatest
δὲ τῶν λεχθέντων παρὰ Λακεδαιμονίων ἐδόκει εἶναι
and of-the things-said by Lacedaemonians seemed to-be
ὅτι ἡνίκα κατεπολέμησαν αὐτούς, Θηβαίων βουλομένων
that when they-had-warred-down them Thebans wishing
ἀναστάτους ποιῆσαι τὰς Ἀθήνας, σφεῖς ἐμποδὼν γένοιντο.
destroyed to-make — Athens they in-the-way had-been
36 ὁ δὲ πλεῖστος ἦν λόγος ὡς κατὰ τοὺς ὅρκους βοηθεῖν
the and most was argument that according-to the oaths to-help
δέοι· οὐ γὰρ ἀδικησάντων σφῶν ἐπιστρατεύοιεν οἱ
it-was-needful not for having-done-wrong them were-campaigning the
Ἀρκάδες καὶ οἱ μετ᾽ αὐτῶν τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις, ἀλλὰ
Arcadians and the-ones with them against-the Lacedaemonians but
βοηθησάντων τοῖς Τεγεάταις, ὅτι οἱ Μαντινεῖς παρὰ
having-helped the Tegeans because the Mantineans contrary-to
τοὺς ὅρκους ἐπεστράτευσαν αὐτοῖς. διέθει οὖν καὶ κατὰ
the oaths had-marched-against them ran-through then also on
τούτους τοὺς λόγους θόρυβος ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ· οἱ μὲν
these the arguments uproar in the assembly the-ones indeed
γὰρ δικαίως τοὺς Μαντινέας ἔφασαν βοηθῆσαι τοῖς περὶ
for justly the Mantineans said to-have-helped the-ones around
Πρόξενον ἀποθανοῦσιν ὑπὸ τῶν περὶ τὸν Στάσιππον,
Proxenus killed by the-ones around — Stasippus
οἱ δὲ ἀδικεῖν, ὅτι ὅπλα ἐπήνεγκαν Τεγεάταις.
the-others but to-do-wrong because arms they-brought against-Tegeans
37 Τούτων δὲ διοριζομένων ὑπ᾽ αὐτῆς τῆς ἐκκλησίας, ἀνέστη
These-things and being-disputed by the-very the assembly rose
Κλειτέλης Κορίνθιος καὶ εἶπε τάδε· Ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μέν, ὦ
Cleiteles Corinthian and said the-following But these-things indeed O
ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ἴσως ἀντιλέγεται, τίνες ἦσαν οἱ ἄρξαντες
men Athenians perhaps is-disputed who were the-ones having-begun

ἀδικεῖν· ἡμῶν δέ, ἐπεὶ εἰρήνη ἐγένετο, ἔχει τις κατηγορῆσαι
to-do-wrong us but since peace came-about has anyone to-accuse
ἢ ὡς ἐπὶ πόλιν τινὰ ἐστρατεύσαμεν ἢ ὡς χρήματά τινων
either that against city any we-campaigned or that money of-anyone
ἐλάβομεν ἢ ὡς γῆν ἀλλοτρίαν ἐδῃώσαμεν; ἀλλ᾽ ὅμως οἱ
we-took or that land another's we-ravaged but nevertheless the
Θηβαῖοι εἰς τὴν χώραν ἡμῶν ἐλθόντες καὶ δένδρα ἐκκεκόφασι
Thebans into the land our having-come both trees have-cut-down
καὶ οἰκίας κατακεκαύκασι καὶ χρήματα καὶ πρόβατα
and houses have-burned-down and property and sheep
διηρπάκασι. πῶς οὖν, ἐὰν μὴ βοηθῆτε οὕτω περιφανῶς ἡμῖν
have-plundered how then if not you-help so manifestly us
ἀδικουμένοις, οὐ παρὰ τοὺς ὅρκους ποιήσετε; καὶ ταῦτα
wronged not contrary-to the oaths will-you-act and these-things
ὧν αὐτοὶ ἐπεμελήθητε ὅρκων ὅπως πᾶσιν ὑμῖν πάντες
which yourselves took-care-of oaths that to-all you all
ἡμεῖς ὀμόσαιμεν; ἐνταῦθα μέντοι οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐπεθορύβησαν
we should-swear there however the Athenians applauded
ὡς ὀρθῶς τε καὶ δίκαια εἰρηκότος τοῦ Κλειτέλους.
as rightly both and just-things having-spoken — Cleiteles
ἐπὶ δὲ τούτῳ ἀνέστη Προκλῆς Φλειάσιος καὶ εἶπεν· Ὅτι μέν, 38
after and this rose Procles Phliasian and said That indeed
ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, εἰ ἐκποδὼν γένοιντο Λακεδαιμόνιοι,
O men Athenians if out-of-the-way they-should-be Lacedaemonians
ἐπὶ πρώτους ἂν ὑμᾶς στρατεύσαιεν οἱ Θηβαῖοι, πᾶσιν
against first — you would-march the Thebans to-all
οἶμαι τοῦτο δῆλον εἶναι· τῶν γὰρ ἄλλων μόνους ἂν ὑμᾶς
I-think this clear to-be of-the for others alone — you
οἴονται ἐμποδὼν γενέσθαι τοῦ ἄρξαι αὐτοὺς τῶν Ἑλλήνων.
they-think in-the-way to-be of-the to-rule them of-the Greeks

39 εἰ δ' οὕτως ἔχει, ἐγὼ μὲν οὐδὲν μᾶλλον Λακεδαιμονίοις ἂν
if and so it-is I indeed in-nothing more to-Lacedaemonians —
ὑμᾶς ἡγοῦμαι στρατεύσαντας βοηθῆσαι ἢ καὶ ὑμῖν αὐτοῖς.
you I-consider having-marched would-help than also to-you yourselves
τὸ γὰρ δυσμενεῖς ὄντας ὑμῖν Θηβαίους καὶ ὁμόρους οἰκοῦντας
the for hostile being to-you Thebans and neighboring dwelling
ἡγεμόνας γενέσθαι τῶν Ἑλλήνων πολὺ οἶμαι χαλεπώτερον
leaders to-become of-the Greeks much I-think harder
ἂν ὑμῖν φανῆναι ἢ ὁπότε πόρρω τοὺς ἀντιπάλους εἴχετε.
— to-you would-appear than when far-off the opponents you-had
συμφορώτερόν γε μεντἂν ὑμῖν αὐτοῖς βοηθήσαιτε ἐν
more-advantageously at-least however-would you yourselves help in
ᾧ ἔτι εἰσὶν οἳ συμμαχοῖεν ἂν ἢ εἰ ἀπολομένων αὐτῶν
which still there-are who would-fight-as-allies — than if having-perished them
μόνοι ἀναγκάζοισθε διαμάχεσθαι πρὸς τοὺς Θηβαίους.
alone you-should-be-compelled to-fight-it-out against the Thebans
40 εἰ δέ τινες φοβοῦνται μὴ ἐὰν νῦν ἀναφύγωσιν οἱ
if and some fear lest if now they-recover the
Λακεδαιμόνιοι, ἔτι ποτὲ πράγματα παρέχωσιν ὑμῖν,
Lacedaemonians still sometime troubles may-cause you
ἐνθυμήθητε ὅτι οὐχ οὓς ἂν εὖ ἀλλ' οὓς ἂν κακῶς
consider that not whom — well but whom — badly
τις ποιῇ φοβεῖσθαι δεῖ μή ποτε μέγα δυνασθῶσιν.
anyone treats to-fear it-is-needful lest ever great they-become-able
ἐνθυμεῖσθαι δὲ καὶ τάδε χρή, ὅτι κτᾶσθαι μέν
to-consider and also this it-is-needful that to-acquire indeed
τι ἀγαθὸν καὶ ἰδιώταις καὶ πόλεσι προσήκει, ὅταν
some good both for-private-men and for-cities befits whenever
ἐρρωμενέστατοι ὦσιν, ἵνα ἔχωσιν, ἐάν ποτ' ἀδύνατοι
strongest they-be so-that they-may-have if ever unable
γένωνται, ἐπικουρίαν τῶν προπεπονημένων.
they-become help from-the toils-undergone-before

ὑμῖν δὲ νῦν ἐκ θεῶν τινος καιρὸς παραγεγένηται, ἐὰν 41
for-you and now from gods some opportunity has-come if
δεομένοις βοηθήσητε Λακεδαιμονίοις, κτήσασθαι τούτους εἰς
needing you-help Lacedaemonians to-acquire them for
τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον φίλους ἀπροφασίστους. καὶ γὰρ δὴ
the all time friends unhesitating and for indeed
οὐχ ὑπ᾽ ὀλίγων μοι δοκοῦσι μαρτύρων νῦν ἂν εὖ παθεῖν
not by few to-me they-seem witnesses now — well to-be-treated
ὑφ᾽ ὑμῶν· ἀλλ᾽ εἴσονται μὲν ταῦτα θεοὶ οἱ πάντα ὁρῶντες
by you but will-know indeed these-things gods the all-things seeing
καὶ νῦν καὶ εἰς ἀεί, συνεπίστανται δὲ τὰ γιγνόμενα οἵ
both now and for ever are-privy-to and the-things happening the
τε σύμμαχοι καὶ οἱ πολέμιοι, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις καὶ ἅπαντες
both allies and the enemies besides and these also all
Ἕλληνές τε καὶ βάρβαροι· οὐδενὶ γὰρ τούτων ἀμελές.
Greeks both and barbarians to-no-one for of-these indifferent
ὥστε εἰ κακοὶ φανείησαν περὶ ὑμᾶς, τίς ἄν ποτε ἔτι 42
so-that if base they-should-appear toward you who — ever still
πρόθυμος εἰς αὐτοὺς γένοιτο; ἐλπίζειν δὲ χρὴ [ὡς]
eager toward them would-be to-hope but it-is-needful that
ἄνδρας ἀγαθοὺς μᾶλλον ἢ κακοὺς αὐτοὺς γενήσεσθαι· εἰ
men good rather than base they will-become if
γάρ τινες ἄλλοι, καὶ οὗτοι δοκοῦσι διατετελεκέναι ἐπαίνου
for any others also these seem to-have-continued praise
μὲν ὀρεγόμενοι, αἰσχρῶν δὲ ἔργων ἀπεχόμενοι.
indeed reaching-for from-shameful and deeds abstaining
πρὸς δὲ τούτοις ἐνθυμήθητε καὶ τάδε. εἴ ποτε πάλιν ἔλθοι 43
besides and these consider also this if ever again should-come
τῇ Ἑλλάδι κίνδυνος ὑπὸ βαρβάρων, τίσιν ἂν μᾶλλον
— to-Greece danger from barbarians whom — more
πιστεύσαιτε ἢ Λακεδαιμονίοις; τίνας δὲ ἂν παραστάτας
would-you-trust than Lacedaemonians whom and — as-comrades-in-line

ἥδιον τούτων ποιήσαισθε, ὧν γε καὶ οἱ ταχθέντες
more-gladly than-these would-you-make of-whom at-least even the-ones stationed
ἐν Θερμοπύλαις ἅπαντες εἵλοντο μαχόμενοι ἀποθανεῖν
at Thermopylae all chose fighting to-die
μᾶλλον ἢ ζῶντες ἐπεισφρέσθαι τὸν βάρβαρον τῇ Ἑλλάδι;
rather than living to-let-in the barbarian — to-Greece
πῶς οὖν οὐ δίκαιον ὧν τε ἕνεκα ἐγένοντο ἄνδρες
how then not just of-what both for-the-sake they-were men
ἀγαθοὶ μεθ' ὑμῶν καὶ ὧν ἐλπὶς καὶ αὖθις γενέσθαι πᾶσαν
good with you and of-which hope also again to-be all
προθυμίαν εἰς αὐτοὺς καὶ ὑμᾶς καὶ ἡμᾶς παρέχεσθαι;
eagerness toward them both you and us to-show
44 ἄξιον δὲ καὶ τῶν παρόντων συμμάχων αὐτοῖς ἕνεκα
worthy and also of-the present allies their for-the-sake
προθυμίαν ἐνδείξασθαι· εὖ γὰρ ἴστε ὅτι οἵπερ τούτοις πιστοὶ
eagerness to-show well for know that who-very to-these faithful
διαμένουσιν ἐν ταῖς συμφοραῖς, οὗτοι καὶ ὑμῖν αἰσχύνοιντ'
remain in the misfortunes these also to-you would-be-ashamed
ἂν μὴ ἀποδιδόντες χάριτας. εἰ δὲ μικραὶ δοκοῦμεν
— not repaying favors if and small we-seem
πόλεις εἶναι αἱ τοῦ κινδύνου μετέχειν αὐτοῖς ἐθέλουσαι,
cities to-be the-ones the danger to-share with-them willing
ἐνθυμήθητε ὅτι ἐὰν ἡ ὑμετέρα πόλις προσγένηται, οὐκέτι
consider that if the your city be-added no-longer
μικραὶ πόλεις ἐσόμεθα αἱ βοηθοῦσαι αὐτοῖς.
small cities we-shall-be the-ones helping them
45 ἐγὼ δέ, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, πρόσθεν μὲν ἀκούων ἐζήλουν
I and O men Athenians before indeed hearing envied
τήνδε τὴν πόλιν ὅτι πάντας καὶ τοὺς ἀδικουμένους
this the city because all both the wronged
καὶ τοὺς φοβουμένους ἐνθάδε καταφεύγοντας ἐπικουρίας
and the fearing here fleeing help

ἤκουον τυγχάνειν· νῦν δ᾽ οὐκέτ᾽ ἀκούω, ἀλλ᾽ αὐτὸς ἤδη
I-heard to-obtain now but no-longer I-hear but myself already
παρὼν ὁρῶ Λακεδαιμονίους τε τοὺς ὀνομαστοτάτους καὶ
being-present I-see Lacedaemonians both the most-renowned and
μετ᾽ αὐτῶν τοὺς πιστοτάτους φίλους αὐτῶν πρὸς ὑμᾶς
with them the most-faithful friends their to you
τε ἥκοντας καὶ δεομένους αὖ ὑμῶν ἐπικουρῆσαι.
both having-come and asking in-turn you to-help
ὁρῶ δὲ καὶ Θηβαίους, οἳ τότε οὐκ ἔπεισαν Λακεδαιμονίους 46
I-see and also Thebans who then not persuaded Lacedaemonians
ἐξανδραποδίσασθαι ὑμᾶς, νῦν δεομένους ὑμῶν [μὴ] περιδεῖν
to-enslave you now asking you not to-overlook
ἀπολομένους τοὺς σώσαντας ὑμᾶς. τῶν μὲν οὖν ὑμετέρων
perishing the-ones having-saved you of-the indeed then your
προγόνων καλὸν λέγεται, ὅτε τοὺς Ἀργείων τελευτήσαντας
ancestors fine-thing is-said when the of-Argives having-died
ἐπὶ τῇ Καδμείᾳ οὐκ εἴασαν ἀτάφους γενέσθαι· ὑμῖν
at the Cadmea not they-allowed unburied to-be for-you
δὲ πολὺ κάλλιον ἂν γένοιτο, εἰ τοὺς ἔτι ζῶντας
but much finer — would-be if the still living
Λακεδαιμονίων μήτε ὑβρισθῆναι μήτε ἀπολέσθαι ἐάσαιτε.
of-Lacedaemonians neither to-be-outraged nor to-perish you-should-allow
καλοῦ γε μὴν κἀκείνου ὄντος, ὅτε σχόντες τὴν Εὐρυσθέως 47
fine at-least truly also-that being when having-checked the of-Eurystheus
ὕβριν διεσώσατε τοὺς Ἡρακλέους παῖδας, πῶς οὐ καὶ ἐκείνου
insolence you-saved the of-Heracles children how not also than-that
τόδε κάλλιον, εἰ μὴ μόνον τοὺς ἀρχηγέτας, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅλην
this finer if not only the founders but also whole
τὴν πόλιν περισώσαιτε; πάντων δὲ κάλλιστον, εἰ ψήφῳ
the city you-should-save of-all and finest if by-vote

ἀκινδύνῳ σωσάντων ὑμᾶς τότε τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων, νῦν
without-danger having-saved you then the Lacedaemonians now
ὑμεῖς σὺν ὅπλοις τε καὶ διὰ κινδύνων ἐπικουρήσετε αὐτοῖς.
you with arms both and through dangers will-help them
48 ὁπότε δὲ καὶ ἡμεῖς ἀγαλλόμεθα [οἱ] συναγορεύοντες
since and even we exult the-ones joining-in-urging
βοηθῆσαι ἀνδράσιν ἀγαθοῖς, ἦ που ὑμῖν γε
to-help men good surely I-suppose for-you at-least
τοῖς ἔργῳ δυναμένοις βοηθῆσαι γενναῖα ἂν ταῦτα
the-ones in-deed able to-help noble — these-things
φανείη, εἰ πολλάκις καὶ φίλοι καὶ πολέμιοι γενόμενοι
would-appear if often both friends and enemies having-become
Λακεδαιμονίοις μὴ ὧν ἐβλάβητε μᾶλλον ἢ ὧν εὖ
to-Lacedaemonians not what you-were-harmed rather than what well
ἐπάθετε μνησθείητε καὶ χάριν ἀποδοίητε αὐτοῖς μὴ
you-were-treated you-should-remember and gratitude should-repay them not
ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν αὐτῶν μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑπὲρ πάσης τῆς
on-behalf-of you yourselves only but also on-behalf-of all —
Ἑλλάδος, ὅτι ἄνδρες ἀγαθοὶ ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς ἐγένοντο.
Greece because men good for it they-became
49 Μετὰ ταῦτα ἐβουλεύοντο οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ τῶν μὲν
After these-things deliberated the Athenians and of-the indeed
ἀντιλεγόντων οὐκ ἠνείχοντο ἀκούοντες, ἐψηφίσαντο δὲ
speaking-against not they-endured hearing they-voted and
βοηθεῖν πανδημεί, καὶ Ἰφικράτη στρατηγὸν εἵλοντο. ἐπεὶ
to-help in-full-force and Iphicrates as-general chose when
δὲ τὰ ἱερὰ ἐγένετο καὶ παρήγγειλεν ἐν Ἀκαδημείᾳ
and the sacrifices came-out and he-ordered in the-Academy
δειπνοποιεῖσθαι, πολλοὺς ἔφασαν προτέρους αὐτοῦ
to-take-dinner many they-said before himself
Ἰφικράτους ἐξελθεῖν. ἐκ δὲ τούτου ἡγεῖτο μὲν ὁ Ἰφικράτης,
Iphicrates to-go-out from and this led indeed — Iphicrates

οἱ δ' ἠκολούθουν, νομίζοντες ἐπὶ καλόν τι ἔργον ἡγήσεσθαι.
they and followed thinking to fine some deed he-would-lead
ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀφικόμενος εἰς Κόρινθον διέτριβέ τινας ἡμέρας, εὐθὺς
when but having-arrived at Corinth he-spent some days at-once
μὲν ἐπὶ ταύτῃ τῇ διατριβῇ πρῶτον ἔψεγον αὐτόν· ὡς
indeed for this the delay first they-blamed him when
δ' ἐξήγαγέ ποτε, προθύμως μὲν ἠκολούθουν ὅποι ἡγοῖτο,
but he-led-out once eagerly indeed they-followed wherever he-led
προθύμως δ', εἰ πρὸς τεῖχος προσάγοι, προσέβαλλον.
eagerly and if against a-wall he-led they-attacked
τῶν δ' ἐν τῇ Λακεδαίμονι πολεμίων Ἀρκάδες μὲν καὶ 50
of-the and in — Lacedaemon enemies Arcadians indeed and
Ἀργεῖοι καὶ Ἠλεῖοι πολλοὶ ἀπεληλύθεσαν, ἅτε ὅμοροι
Argives and Eleans many had-gone-away inasmuch-as bordering
οἰκοῦντες, οἱ μὲν ἄγοντες, οἱ δὲ φέροντές ὅ
dwelling the-ones indeed driving the-others but carrying what
τι ἡρπάκεσαν. οἱ δὲ Θηβαῖοι καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι τὰ μὲν
ever they-had-plundered the but Thebans and the others partly indeed
καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἀπιέναι ἐβούλοντο ἐκ τῆς χώρας, ὅτι
also because-of this to-go-away wished from the land because
ἑώρων ἐλάττονα τὴν στρατιὰν καθ' ἡμέραν γιγνομένην,
they-saw smaller the army by day becoming
τὰ δέ, ὅτι σπανιώτερα τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἦν· τὰ μὲν γὰρ
partly and because scarcer the provisions were the-ones indeed for
ἀνήλωτο, τὰ δὲ διήρπαστο, τὰ δὲ ἐξεκέχυτο,
had-been-consumed the-others and had-been-plundered the-others and had-been-poured-out
τὰ δὲ κατεκέκαυτο· πρὸς δ' ἔτι καὶ χειμὼν ἦν,
the-others and had-been-burned besides and still also winter it-was
ὥστ' ἤδη πάντες ἀπιέναι ἐβούλοντο.
so-that now all to-go-away wished

51 ὡς δ᾽ ἐκεῖνοι ἀπεχώρουν ἐκ τῆς Λακεδαίμονος, οὕτω
when and those were-withdrawing from — Lacedaemon so
δὴ καὶ ὁ Ἰφικράτης τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἀπῆγεν ἐκ τῆς
indeed also — Iphicrates the Athenians led-away from —
Ἀρκαδίας εἰς Κόρινθον. εἰ μὲν οὖν ἄλλο τι καλῶς
Arcadia to Corinth if indeed then other anything well
ἐστρατήγησεν, οὐ ψέγω· ἐκεῖνα μέντοι ἃ ἐν τῷ χρόνῳ
he-commanded not I-blame those-things however which in the time
ἐκείνῳ ἔπραξε, πάντα εὑρίσκω τὰ μὲν μάτην, τὰ δὲ
that he-did all I-find the-ones indeed in-vain the-others and
καὶ ἀσυμφόρως πεπραγμένα αὐτῷ. ἐπιχειρήσας μὲν γὰρ
also disadvantageously done by-him having-undertaken indeed for
φυλάττειν ἐπὶ τῷ Ὀνείῳ, ὅπως μὴ δύναιντο οἱ Βοιωτοὶ
to-guard at — Oneum so-that not could the Boeotians
ἀπελθεῖν οἴκαδε, παρέλιπεν ἀφύλακτον τὴν καλλίστην
to-go-away home he-left unguarded the finest
παρὰ Κεγχρειὰς πάροδον.
by Cenchreae passage

52 μαθεῖν δὲ βουλόμενος εἰ παρεληλυθότες εἶεν οἱ Θηβαῖοι
to-learn and wishing if having-passed were the Thebans
τὸ Ὄνειον ἔπεμψε σκοποὺς τούς τε Ἀθηναίων ἱππέας καὶ
— Oneum he-sent as-scouts the both of-Athenians horsemen and
τοὺς Κορινθίων ἅπαντας. καίτοι ἰδεῖν μὲν οὐδὲν ἧττον
the of-Corinthians all and-yet to-see indeed in-nothing less
ὀλίγοι τῶν πολλῶν ἱκανοί· εἰ δὲ δέοι ἀποχωρεῖν,
few than-the many are-able if but it-be-needful to-withdraw
πολὺ ῥᾷον τοῖς ὀλίγοις ἢ τοῖς πολλοῖς καὶ ὁδοῦ εὐπόρου
much easier for-the few than for-the many both a-road easy
τυχεῖν καὶ καθ᾽ ἡσυχίαν ἀποχωρῆσαι. τὸ δὲ πολλούς τε
to-find and at leisure to-withdraw the but many both
προσάγειν καὶ ἥττονας τῶν ἐναντίων πῶς οὐ πολλὴ
to-bring-up and weaker than-the opponents how not great

ἀφροσύνη; καὶ γὰρ δὴ ἅτε ἐπὶ πολὺ παραταξάμενοι
folly and for indeed inasmuch-as over much drawn-up
χωρίον οἱ ἱππεῖς διὰ τὸ πολλοὶ εἶναι, ἐπεὶ ἔδει
ground the horsemen because-of the many to-be when it-was-needful
ἀποχωρεῖν, πολλῶν καὶ χαλεπῶν χωρίων ἐπελάβοντο,
to-withdraw many and hard places they-got-onto
ὥστε οὐκ ἐλάττους ἀπώλοντο εἴκοσιν ἱππέων. καὶ τότε
so-that not fewer perished than-twenty horsemen and then
μὲν οἱ Θηβαῖοι ὅπως ἐβούλοντο ἀπῆλθον.
indeed the Thebans as they-wished went-away

BOOK VII

I · ALLIANCES AND EMBASSIES

Athens and Sparta make an alliance. Procles of Phlius proposes that Athens lead at sea and Sparta on land, but Cephisodotus persuades the Athenians to share both commands in five-day turns. The Thebans force their way past the guard on Oneum and attack Sicyon and Pellene, and Dionysius sends Celts, Iberians, and horsemen to help Sparta. The Arcadian Lycomedes fills his people with pride, and their successes make the Thebans and Eleans jealous. A peace conference at Delphi fails over Messene. Archidamus defeats the Arcadians without losing a man. Pelopidas wins a decree from the Persian king on Theban terms, but the Greek cities refuse to swear to it. Epaminondas wins over Achaea, Thebes overturns his settlement, and the returning exiles take Achaea over to Sparta. At Sicyon, Euphron makes himself tyrant with Argive and Arcadian help.

Τῷ δ' ὑστέρῳ ἔτει Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ τῶν συμμάχων 1
In-the and next year of-Lacedaemonians and of-the allies
πρέσβεις ἦλθον αὐτοκράτορες Ἀθήναζε, βουλευσόμενοι καθ'
envoys came with-full-powers to-Athens going-to-deliberate on
ὅ τι ἡ συμμαχία Λακεδαιμονίοις καὶ Ἀθηναίοις ἔσοιτο.
what ever the alliance for-Lacedaemonians and Athenians would-be
λεγόντων δὲ πολλῶν μὲν ξένων, πολλῶν δὲ Ἀθηναίων,
saying and many indeed foreigners many and Athenians
ὡς δέοι ἐπὶ τοῖς ἴσοις καὶ ὁμοίοις τὴν συμμαχίαν
that it-was-needful on the equal and like-terms the alliance
εἶναι, Προκλῆς Φλειάσιος εἶπε τόνδε τὸν λόγον.
to-be Procles Phliasian spoke this the speech
Ἐπείπερ, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ἀγαθὸν ὑμῖν ἔδοξεν εἶναι 2
Since-indeed O men Athenians good to-you it-seemed to-be
Λακεδαιμονίους φίλους ποιεῖσθαι, δοκεῖ μοι χρῆναι τοῦτο
Lacedaemonians friends to-make it-seems to-me it-is-needful this
σκοπεῖν, ὅπως ἡ φιλία ὅτι πλεῖστον χρόνον συμμενεῖ.
to-consider how the friendship as longest time will-last

ἐὰν οὖν ᾗ ἑκατέροις μάλιστα συνοίσει, ταύτῃ καὶ
if then where to-each most it-will-benefit in-this-way also
τὰς συνθήκας ποιησώμεθα, οὕτω κατά γε τὸ εἰκὸς
the agreements we-make so according-to at-least the likely
μάλιστα συμμένοι ἄν. τὰ μὲν οὖν ἄλλα σχεδόν
most would-hold-together — the indeed then other-things nearly
τι συνωμολόγηται, περὶ δὲ τῆς ἡγεμονίας νῦν ἡ
somewhat have-been-agreed about and the leadership now the
σκέψις. τῇ μὲν οὖν βουλῇ προβεβούλευται ὑμετέραν μὲν
inquiry by-the indeed then council it-has-been-proposed yours indeed
εἶναι τὴν κατὰ θάλατταν, Λακεδαιμονίων δὲ τὴν κατὰ γῆν·
to-be the by sea of-Lacedaemonians and the by land
ἐμοὶ δὲ καὶ αὐτῷ δοκεῖ ταῦτα οὐκ ἀνθρωπίνῃ μᾶλλον
to-me and also myself seems these-things not by-human rather
γνώμῃ ἢ θείᾳ φύσει τε καὶ τύχῃ διωρίσθαι.
by-judgment than by-divine nature both and fortune to-have-been-marked-out
3 πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ τόπον ἔχετε κάλλιστα πεφυκότα πρὸς
first indeed for a-place you-have most-finely suited for
τοῦτο. πλεῖσται γὰρ πόλεις τῶν δεομένων τῆς θαλάττης
this most for cities of-the needing the sea
περὶ τὴν ὑμετέραν πόλιν οἰκοῦσι, καὶ αὗται πᾶσαι
around the your city dwell and these all
ἀσθενέστεραι τῆς ὑμετέρας. πρὸς τούτοις δὲ λιμένας
weaker than-the yours besides these and harbors
ἔχετε, ὧν ἄνευ οὐχ οἷόν τε ναυτικῇ δυνάμει χρῆσθαι.
you-have which without not possible — with-naval power to-use
ἔτι δὲ τριήρεις κέκτησθε πολλάς, καὶ πάτριον ὑμῖν
further and triremes you-have-acquired many and ancestral for-you
ἐστι ναυτικὸν ἐπικτᾶσθαι.
it-is a-fleet to-acquire-besides

ἀλλὰ μὴν τάς γε τέχνας τὰς περὶ ταῦτα πάσας 4
but truly the at-least crafts the about these-things all
οἰκείας ἔχετε. καὶ μὴν ἐμπειρίᾳ γε πολὺ προέχετε τῶν
your-own you-have and truly in-experience at-least much you-excel the
ἄλλων περὶ τὰ ναυτικά· ὁ γὰρ βίος τοῖς πλείστοις
others about the naval-things the for livelihood for-the most
ὑμῶν ἀπὸ τῆς θαλάττης· ὥστε τῶν ἰδίων ἐπιμελόμενοι
of-you from the sea so-that the private-things taking-care-of
ἅμα καὶ τῶν κατὰ θάλατταν ἀγώνων ἔμπειροι
at-the-same-time also of-the by sea contests experienced
γίγνεσθε. ἔτι δὲ καὶ τόδε. οὐδαμόθεν ἂν τριήρεις πλείους
you-become further and also this from-nowhere — triremes more
ἀθρόαι ἐκπλεύσειαν ἢ παρ' ὑμῶν. ἔστι δὲ τοῦτο οὐκ
massed could-sail-out than from you is and this not
ἐλάχιστον πρὸς ἡγεμονίαν· πρὸς γὰρ τὸ πρῶτον ἰσχυρὸν
least toward leadership to for the first strong
γενόμενον ἥδιστα πάντες συλλέγονται.
having-become most-gladly all gather
ἔτι δὲ καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν θεῶν δέδοται ὑμῖν εὐτυχεῖν ἐν 5
further and also from the gods it-has-been-given to-you to-be-fortunate in
τούτῳ. πλείστους γὰρ καὶ μεγίστους ἀγῶνας ἠγωνισμένοι
this most for and greatest contests having-contended
κατὰ θάλατταν ἐλάχιστα μὲν ἀποτετυχήκατε, πλεῖστα
by sea least indeed you-have-failed most
δὲ κατωρθώκατε. εἰκὸς οὖν καὶ τοὺς συμμάχους μεθ'
and you-have-succeeded reasonable then also the allies with
ὑμῶν ἂν ἥδιστα τούτου τοῦ κινδύνου μετέχειν.
you — most-gladly in-this the danger to-share
ὡς δὲ δὴ καὶ ἀναγκαία καὶ προσήκουσα ὑμῖν αὕτη ἡ 6
that and indeed both necessary and fitting for-you this the
ἐπιμέλεια ἐκ τῶνδε ἐνθυμήθητε. Λακεδαιμόνιοι ὑμῖν
care from the-following consider Lacedaemonians against-you

ἐπολέμουν ποτὲ πολλὰ ἔτη, καὶ κρατοῦντες τῆς χώρας
warred once many years and mastering the land
οὐδὲν προύκοπτον εἰς τὸ ἀπολέσαι ὑμᾶς. ἐπεὶ δ' ὁ θεὸς
nothing advanced toward the to-destroy you when but the god
ἔδωκέ ποτε αὐτοῖς κατὰ θάλατταν ἐπικρατῆσαι, εὐθὺς ὑπ'
granted once to-them by sea to-prevail at-once under
ἐκείνοις παντελῶς ἐγένεσθε. οὐκοῦν εὔδηλον ἐν τούτοις ἐστὶν
them altogether you-were well-then clear in these-things it-is
ὅτι ἐκ τῆς θαλάττης ἅπασα ὑμῖν ἤρτηται ἡ σωτηρία.
that from the sea all for-you hangs the safety
7 οὕτως οὖν πεφυκότων πῶς ἂν ἔχοι καλῶς ὑμῖν
so then these-things-being-by-nature how — would-it-be well for-you
Λακεδαιμονίοις ἐπιτρέψαι κατὰ θάλατταν ἡγεῖσθαι, οἳ
to-Lacedaemonians to-entrust by sea to-lead who
πρῶτον μὲν καὶ αὐτοὶ ὁμολογοῦσιν ἀπειρότεροι ὑμῶν
first indeed also themselves agree more-inexperienced than-you
τούτου τοῦ ἔργου εἶναι, ἔπειτα δ' οὐ περὶ τῶν ἴσων ὁ
in-this the work to-be then and not about the equal-things the
κίνδυνός ἐστιν ἐν τοῖς κατὰ θάλατταν ἀγῶσιν, ἀλλ' ἐκείνοις
danger is in the by sea contests but for-those
μὲν περὶ τῶν ἐν ταῖς τριήρεσι μόνων ἀνθρώπων, ὑμῖν
indeed about the in the triremes only men for-you
δὲ καὶ περὶ παίδων καὶ γυναικῶν καὶ ὅλης τῆς πόλεως;
but also about children and women and whole the city
8 καὶ τὰ μὲν δὴ ὑμέτερα οὕτως ἔχει· τὰ δὲ δὴ τῶν
and the-things indeed then yours so are the-things but then of-the
Λακεδαιμονίων ἐπισκέψασθε. πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ οἰκοῦσιν
Lacedaemonians consider first indeed for they-dwell
ἐν μεσογείᾳ· ὥστε τῆς γῆς κρατοῦντες καὶ εἰ θαλάττης
in inland so-that the land holding even if from-the-sea
εἴργοιντο, δύναιντ' ἂν καλῶς διαζῆν. ἐγνωκότες οὖν
they-be-shut-off they-could — well live having-recognized then

καὶ οὗτοι ταῦτα εὐθὺς ἐκ παίδων πρὸς τὸν κατὰ γῆν
also these these-things at-once from boyhood for the by land
πόλεμον τὴν ἄσκησιν ποιοῦνται. καὶ τὸ πλείστου δὲ
war the training make and the of-most and
ἄξιον, τὸ πείθεσθαι τοῖς ἄρχουσιν, οὗτοι μὲν κράτιστοι
worth the to-obey the rulers these indeed strongest
κατὰ γῆν, ὑμεῖς δὲ κατὰ θάλατταν.
by land you but by sea
ἔπειτα δὲ ὥσπερ ὑμεῖς ναυτικῷ, οὕτως αὖ ἐκεῖνοι κατὰ 9
then and as you with-a-navy so in-turn those by
γῆν πλεῖστοι καὶ τάχιστ᾽ ἂν ἐξέλθοιεν· ὥστε πρὸς τούτους
land most and quickest — could-go-out so-that to these
αὖ κατὰ γῆν εἰκὸς τοὺς συμμάχους εὐθαρσεστάτους
in-turn by land reasonable the allies most-confidently
προσιέναι. ἔτι δὲ καὶ ὁ θεὸς αὐτοῖς δέδωκεν, ὥσπερ
to-come further and also the god to-them has-granted as
ὑμῖν κατὰ θάλατταν εὐτυχεῖν, οὕτως ἐκείνοις κατὰ γῆν·
to-you by sea to-be-fortunate so to-those by land
πλείστους γὰρ αὖ οὗτοι ἀγῶνας ἐν τῇ γῇ ἠγωνισμένοι
most for in-turn these contests on the land having-contended
ἐλάχιστα μὲν ἐσφαλμένοι εἰσί, πλεῖστα δὲ κατωρθωκότες.
least indeed having-failed are most and having-succeeded
ὡς δὲ καὶ ἀναγκαία οὐδὲν ἧττον τούτοις ἡ κατὰ γῆν 10
that and also necessary no less for-these the by land
ἐπιμέλεια ἢ ὑμῖν ἡ κατὰ θάλατταν ἐκ τῶν ἔργων ἔξεστι
care than for-you the by sea from the deeds it-is-possible
γιγνώσκειν. ὑμεῖς γὰρ τούτοις πολλὰ ἔτη πολεμοῦντες καὶ
to-recognize you for these many years warring and
πολλάκις καταναυμαχοῦντες οὐδὲν προὔργου ἐποιεῖτε πρὸς
often defeating-at-sea nothing advantageous did toward
τὸ τούτους καταπολεμῆσαι. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἅπαξ ἡττήθησαν ἐν
the these to-war-down when but once they-were-defeated on

τῇ γῇ, εὐθὺς καὶ περὶ παίδων καὶ περὶ γυναικῶν καὶ
the land at-once also about children and about women and
περὶ ὅλης τῆς πόλεως κίνδυνος αὐτοῖς ἐγένετο.
about whole the city danger to-them arose
11 πῶς οὖν οὐ τούτοις αὖ δεινὸν ἄλλοις μὲν ἐπιτρέπειν κατὰ
how then not for-these in-turn terrible to-others indeed to-entrust by
γῆν ἡγεῖσθαι, αὐτοὺς δὲ ἄριστα τῶν κατὰ γῆν ἐπιμελεῖσθαι;
land to-lead themselves but best of-the by land to-take-care
ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν, ὥσπερ τῇ βουλῇ προβεβούλευται, ταῦτα
I indeed then as by-the council it-has-been-proposed these-things
εἴρηκά τε καὶ συμφορώτατα ἡγοῦμαι ἀμφοῖν εἶναι· ὑμεῖς
have-said both and most-advantageous I-think for-both to-be you
δὲ εὐτυχοῖτε τὰ κράτιστα πᾶσιν ἡμῖν βουλευσάμενοι.
but may-you-succeed the best for-all us having-deliberated
12 Ὁ μὲν ταῦτ' εἶπεν, οἱ δ' Ἀθηναῖοί τε καὶ οἱ τῶν
He indeed these-things said the and Athenians both and the-ones of-the
Λακεδαιμονίων παρόντες ἐπῄνεσαν ἀμφότεροι ἰσχυρῶς
Lacedaemonians present praised both strongly
τὸν λόγον αὐτοῦ. Κηφισόδοτος δὲ παρελθών· Ἄνδρες
the speech his Cephisodotus but having-come-forward Men
Ἀθηναῖοι, ἔφη, οὐκ αἰσθάνεσθε ἐξαπατώμενοι; ἀλλ' ἐὰν
Athenians he-said not do-you-perceive being-deceived but if
ἀκούσητέ μου, ἐγὼ ὑμῖν αὐτίκα μάλα ἐπιδείξω. ἤδη
you-hear me I to-you at-once very will-show already
γὰρ ἡγήσεσθε κατὰ θάλατταν. Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ ὑμῖν ἐὰν
for you-will-lead by sea Lacedaemonians and to-you if
συμμαχῶσι, δῆλον ὅτι πέμψουσι τοὺς μὲν τριηράρχους
they-ally clear that they-will-send the indeed trierarchs
Λακεδαιμονίους καὶ ἴσως τοὺς ἐπιβάτας, οἱ δὲ ναῦται
Lacedaemonians and perhaps the marines the but sailors
δῆλον ὅτι ἔσονται ἢ Εἵλωτες ἢ μισθοφόροι.
clear that will-be either Helots or mercenaries

οὐκοῦν ὑμεῖς μὲν τούτων ἡγήσεσθε. οἱ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι 13
well-then you indeed of-these will-lead the but Lacedaemonians
ὅταν παραγγείλωσιν ὑμῖν κατὰ γῆν στρατείαν, δῆλον
whenever they-call-out you by land campaign clear
ὅτι πέμψετε τοὺς ὁπλίτας καὶ τοὺς ἱππέας. οὐκοῦν οὕτως
that you-will-send the hoplites and the horsemen well-then so
ἐκεῖνοι μὲν ὑμῶν αὐτῶν γίγνονται ἡγεμόνες, ὑμεῖς δὲ τῶν
those indeed of-you yourselves become leaders you but of-the
ἐκείνων δούλων καὶ ἐλαχίστου ἀξίων. ἀπόκριναι δέ μοι,
of-those slaves and of-least worth answer and me
ἔφη, ὦ Λακεδαιμόνιε Τιμόκρατες, οὐκ ἄρτι ἔλεγες
he-said O Lacedaemonian Timocrates not just-now were-you-saying
ὡς ἐπὶ τοῖς ἴσοις καὶ ὁμοίοις ἥκοις τὴν συμμαχίαν
that on the equal and like-terms you-had-come the alliance
ποιούμενος; Εἶπον ταῦτα.
making I-said these-things
Ἔστιν οὖν, ἔφη ὁ Κηφισόδοτος, ἰσαίτερον ἢ ἐν μέρει 14
Is-there then said — Cephisodotus more-equal than in turn
μὲν ἑκατέρους ἡγεῖσθαι τοῦ ναυτικοῦ, ἐν μέρει δὲ τοῦ
indeed each-side to-lead the fleet in turn and the
πεζοῦ, καὶ ὑμᾶς τε, εἴ τι ἀγαθόν ἐστιν ἐν τῇ κατὰ
infantry and you both if anything good is in the by
θάλατταν ἀρχῇ, τούτων μετέχειν, καὶ ἡμᾶς ἐν τῇ κατὰ
sea command of-these to-share and us in the by
γῆν; ἀκούσαντες ταῦτα οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι μετεπείσθησαν, καὶ
land having-heard these-things the Athenians were-won-over and
ἐψηφίσαντο κατὰ πενθήμερον ἑκατέρους ἡγεῖσθαι.
voted by five-day-periods each-side to-lead
Στρατευομένων δ' ἀμφοτέρων αὐτῶν καὶ τῶν συμμάχων 15
Campaigning and both them and the allies
εἰς Κόρινθον ἔδοξε κοινῇ φυλάττειν τὸ Ὄνειον.
to Corinth it-seemed-good in-common to-guard — Oneum

καὶ ἐπεὶ ἐπορεύοντο οἱ Θηβαῖοι καὶ οἱ σύμμαχοι,
and when were-marching the Thebans and the allies
παραταξάμενοι ἐφύλαττον ἄλλος ἄλλοθεν τοῦ Ὀνείου,
having-drawn-up they-guarded one from-another-side — of-Oneum
Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ καὶ Πελληνεῖς κατὰ τὸ ἐπιμαχώτατον.
Lacedaemonians and also Pellenians at the most-assailable-point
οἱ δὲ Θηβαῖοι καὶ οἱ σύμμαχοι ἐπεὶ ἀπεῖχον τῶν
the but Thebans and the allies when they-were-distant from-the
φυλαττόντων τριάκοντα στάδια, κατεστρατοπεδεύσαντο
guards thirty stades encamped
ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ. συντεκμηράμενοι δὲ ἡνίκ᾽ ἂν ᾠοντο
in the plain having-reckoned and when — they-thought
ὁρμηθέντες καθανύσαι ἅμα κνέφᾳ, πρὸς τὴν τῶν
having-set-out to-arrive at-the-same-time with-twilight toward the of-the
Λακεδαιμονίων φυλακὴν ἐπορεύοντο.
Lacedaemonians guard-post marched
16 καὶ μέντοι οὐκ ἐψεύσθησαν τῆς ὥρας, ἀλλ᾽ ἐπιπίπτουσι
and indeed not were-deceived of-the time but fall-upon
τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις καὶ τοῖς Πελληνεῦσιν ἡνίκα αἱ μὲν
the Lacedaemonians and the Pellenians when the indeed
νυκτεριναὶ φυλακαὶ ἤδη ἔληγον, ἐκ δὲ τῶν στιβάδων
night guards already were-ending from and the mattresses
ἀνίσταντο ὅποι ἐδεῖτο ἕκαστος. ἐνταῦθα οἱ Θηβαῖοι
were-rising wherever needed each there the Thebans
προσπεσόντες ἔπαιον παρεσκευασμένοι ἀπαρασκευάστους
having-fallen-on struck prepared unprepared
καὶ συντεταγμένοι ἀσυντάκτους.
and drawn-up undrawn-up
17 ὡς δὲ οἱ σωθέντες ἐκ τοῦ πράγματος ἀπέφυγον ἐπὶ τὸν
when and the-ones saved from the affair escaped to the
ἐγγύτατα λόφον, ἐξὸν τῷ Λακεδαιμονίων πολεμάρχῳ
nearest hill it-being-possible for-the of-Lacedaemonians polemarch

λαβόντι ὁπόσους μὲν ἐβούλετο τῶν συμμάχων ὁπλίτας,
having-taken as-many-as indeed he-wished of-the allies hoplites
ὁπόσους δὲ πελταστάς, κατέχειν τὸ χωρίον (καὶ γὰρ τὰ
as-many-as and peltasts to-hold the place and for the
ἐπιτήδεια ἐξῆν ἀσφαλῶς ἐκ Κεγχρειῶν κομίζεσθαι)
provisions it-was-possible safely from Cenchreae to-bring
οὐκ ἐποίησε ταῦτα, ἀλλὰ μάλα ἀπορούντων τῶν Θηβαίων
not he-did these-things but very being-at-a-loss the Thebans
πῶς χρὴ ἐκ τοῦ πρὸς Σικυῶνα βλέποντος καταβῆναι
how it-is-needful from the toward Sicyon facing to-come-down
ἢ πάλιν ἀπελθεῖν, σπονδὰς ποιησάμενος, ὡς τοῖς πλείστοις
or again to-go-away a-truce having-made as to-the most
ἐδόκει, πρὸς Θηβαίων μᾶλλον ἢ πρὸς ἑαυτῶν, οὕτως
it-seemed in-favor-of Thebans rather than in-favor-of themselves so
ἀπῆλθε καὶ τοὺς μεθ' αὑτοῦ ἀπήγαγεν.
he-went-away and the-ones with himself led-away
Οἱ δὲ Θηβαῖοι ἀσφαλῶς καταβάντες καὶ συμμείξαντες τοῖς 18
The and Thebans safely having-come-down and having-joined the
ἑαυτῶν συμμάχοις, Ἀρκάσι τε καὶ Ἀργείοις καὶ Ἠλείοις,
their-own allies Arcadians both and Argives and Eleans
εὐθὺς μὲν προσέβαλον πρὸς Σικυῶνα καὶ Πελλήνην·
at-once indeed attacked against Sicyon and Pellene
στρατευσάμενοι δὲ εἰς Ἐπίδαυρον ἐδῄωσαν αὐτῶν πᾶσαν τὴν
having-marched and to Epidaurus ravaged their all the
χώραν. ἀναχωροῦντες δὲ ἐκεῖθεν μάλα πάντων ὑπεροπτικῶς
land withdrawing and from-there very of-all contemptuously
τῶν ἐναντίων, ὡς ἐγένοντο ἐγγὺς τοῦ Κορινθίων ἄστεως,
the opponents when they-were near the of-Corinthians town
δρόμῳ ἐφέροντο πρὸς τὰς πύλας τὰς ἐπὶ Φλειοῦντα
at-a-run they-rushed to the gates the toward Phlius
ἰόντι, ὡς εἰ ἀνεῳγμέναι τύχοιεν, εἰσπεσούμενοι.
going as if open they-happened going-to-burst-in

19 ἐκβοηθήσαντες δέ τινες ψιλοὶ ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἀπαντῶσι
having-sallied and some light-troops from the city meet
τῶν Θηβαίων τοῖς ἐπιλέκτοις οὐδὲ τέτταρα πλέθρα
of-the Thebans the picked-men not-even four plethra
ἀπέχουσι τοῦ τείχους· καὶ ἀναβάντες ἐπὶ τὰ μνήματα
distant from-the wall and having-climbed onto the tombs
καὶ τὰ ὑπερέχοντα χωρία, βάλλοντες καὶ ἀκοντίζοντες
and the overlooking places pelting and javelining
ἀποκτείνουσι τῶν πρώτων καὶ μάλα συχνούς, καὶ τρεψάμενοι
kill of-the foremost even very many and having-routed
ἐδίωκον ὡς τρία ἢ τέτταρα στάδια. τούτου δὲ γενομένου
pursued about three or four stades this and having-happened
οἱ Κορίνθιοι τοὺς νεκροὺς πρὸς τὸ τεῖχος ἑλκύσαντες καὶ
the Corinthians the dead to the wall having-dragged and
ὑποσπόνδους ἀποδόντες τροπαῖον ἔστησαν. καὶ ταύτῃ
under-truce having-given-back a-trophy set-up and so
μὲν ἀνεψύχθησαν οἱ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων σύμμαχοι.
indeed revived the of-the Lacedaemonians allies
20 Ἅμα δὲ δὴ πεπραγμένων τούτων καταπλεῖ
At-the-same-time and indeed having-been-done these-things sails-in
Λακεδαιμονίοις ἡ παρὰ Διονυσίου βοήθεια, τριήρεις πλέον
for-the-Lacedaemonians the from Dionysius help triremes more
ἢ εἴκοσιν. ἦγον δὲ Κελτούς τε καὶ Ἴβηρας καὶ
than twenty they-brought and Celts both and Iberians and
ἱππέας ὡς πεντήκοντα. τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ οἱ Θηβαῖοί
horsemen about fifty on-the and next-day the Thebans
τε καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι αὐτῶν σύμμαχοι διαταξάμενοι καὶ
both and the other their allies having-drawn-up and
ἐμπλήσαντες τὸ πεδίον μέχρι τῆς θαλάττης καὶ μέχρι
having-filled the plain as-far-as the sea and as-far-as
τῶν ἐχομένων τῆς πόλεως γηλόφων ἔφθειρον εἴ τι
the adjoining the city hills destroyed if anything

χρήσιμον ἦν ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ. καὶ οἱ μὲν τῶν Ἀθηναίων
useful was in the plain and the indeed of-the Athenians
καὶ οἱ τῶν Κορινθίων ἱππεῖς οὐ μάλα ἐπλησίαζον τῷ
and the of-the Corinthians horsemen not very approached the
στρατεύματι, ὁρῶντες ἰσχυρὰ καὶ πολλὰ τἀντίπαλα.
army seeing strong and many the-opposing-forces
οἱ δὲ παρὰ τοῦ Διονυσίου ἱππεῖς ὅσοι παρῆσαν, οὗτοι 21
the but from — Dionysius horsemen as-many-as were-present these
διεσκεδασμένοι ἄλλος ἄλλῃ παραθέοντες ἠκόντιζόν τε
scattered one in-another-place riding-along hurled-javelins both
προσελαύνοντες, καὶ ἐπεὶ ὥρμων ἐπ᾽ αὐτούς, ἀνεχώρουν,
riding-up and when they-rushed at them they-withdrew
καὶ πάλιν ἀναστρέφοντες ἠκόντιζον. καὶ ταῦτα ἅμα
and again turning-back hurled-javelins and these-things at-the-same-time
ποιοῦντες κατέβαινον ἀπὸ τῶν ἵππων καὶ ἀνεπαύοντο. εἰ
doing they-dismounted from the horses and rested if
δὲ καταβεβηκόσιν ἐπελαύνοιέν τινες, εὐπετῶς ἀναπηδῶντες
but on-the-dismounted should-ride some easily leaping-up
ἀνεχώρουν, εἰ δ᾽ αὖ τινες διώξειαν αὐτοὺς πολὺ ἀπὸ τοῦ
they-withdrew if but in-turn some should-pursue them far from the
στρατεύματος, τούτους, ὁπότε ἀποχωροῖεν, ἐπικείμενοι καὶ
army these when they-withdrew pressing and
ἀκοντίζοντες δεινὰ ἠργάζοντο, καὶ πᾶν τὸ στράτευμα
javelining terrible-things they-did and all the army
ἠνάγκαζον ἑαυτῶν ἕνεκα καὶ προϊέναι καὶ ἀναχωρεῖν.
they-compelled of-themselves for-the-sake both to-advance and to-withdraw
μετὰ ταῦτα μέντοι οἱ Θηβαῖοι μείναντες οὐ πολλὰς 22
after these-things however the Thebans having-stayed not many
ἡμέρας ἀπῆλθον οἴκαδε, καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι δὲ ἕκαστος οἴκαδε.
days went-away home and the others and each home
ἐκ δὲ τούτου ἐμβάλλουσιν οἱ παρὰ Διονυσίου εἰς
from and this invade the-ones from Dionysius into

Σικυῶνα, καὶ μάχῃ μὲν νικῶσι τοὺς Σικυωνίους ἐν
Sicyon and in-battle indeed defeat the Sicyonians in
τῷ πεδίῳ, καὶ ἀπέκτειναν περὶ ἑβδομήκοντα· Δέρας
the plain and killed about seventy Deras
δὲ τεῖχος κατὰ κράτος αἱροῦσι. καὶ ἡ μὲν παρὰ
and fort by force take and the indeed from
Διονυσίου πρώτη βοήθεια ταῦτα πράξασα ἀπέπλευσεν εἰς
Dionysius first help these-things having-done sailed-off to
Συρακούσας. Θηβαῖοι δὲ καὶ πάντες οἱ ἀποστάντες ἀπὸ
Syracuse Thebans and also all the-ones having-revolted from
Λακεδαιμονίων μέχρι μὲν τούτου τοῦ χρόνου ὁμοθυμαδὸν
Lacedaemonians up-to indeed this the time with-one-mind
καὶ ἔπραττον καὶ ἐστρατεύοντο ἡγουμένων Θηβαίων.
both acted and campaigned leading Thebans

23 ἐγγενόμενος δέ τις Λυκομήδης Μαντινεύς, γένει τε
having-arisen but a-certain Lycomedes Mantinean in-birth both
οὐδενὸς ἐνδεὴς χρήμασί τε προήκων καὶ ἄλλως φιλότιμος,
to-no-one inferior in-wealth both excelling and otherwise ambitious
οὗτος ἐνέπλησε φρονήματος τοὺς Ἀρκάδας, λέγων ὡς
this-man filled with-pride the Arcadians saying that
μόνοις μὲν αὐτοῖς πατρὶς Πελοπόννησος εἴη (μόνοι γὰρ
alone indeed to-them fatherland the-Peloponnese was alone for
αὐτόχθονες ἐν αὐτῇ οἰκοῖεν), πλεῖστον δὲ τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν
indigenous in it they-dwelt most-numerous and of-the Greek
φῦλον τὸ Ἀρκαδικὸν εἴη καὶ σώματα ἐγκρατέστατα
race the Arcadian was and bodies most-vigorous
ἔχοι. καὶ ἀλκιμωτάτους δὲ αὐτοὺς ἀπεδείκνυε, τεκμήρια
had and most-valiant and them he-declared proofs
παρεχόμενος ὡς ἐπικούρων ὁπότε δεηθεῖέν τινες, οὐδένας
providing that mercenaries whenever needed any none
ἠροῦντο ἀντ᾽ Ἀρκάδων. ἔτι δὲ οὔτε Λακεδαιμονίους

πώποτε ἄνευ σφῶν ἐμβαλεῖν εἰς τὰς Ἀθήνας οὔτε νῦν
ever without them to-have-invaded into — Athens nor now
Θηβαίους ἐλθεῖν ἄνευ Ἀρκάδων εἰς Λακεδαίμονα.
Thebans to-have-come without Arcadians into Lacedaemon
ἐὰν οὖν σωφρονῆτε, τοῦ ἀκολουθεῖν ὅποι ἄν τις 24
if then you-are-wise from-the to-follow wherever — anyone
παρακαλῇ φείσεσθε· ὡς πρότερόν τε Λακεδαιμονίοις
summons you-will-refrain as before both Lacedaemonians
ἀκολουθοῦντες ἐκείνους ηὐξήσατε, νῦν δ', ἐὰν Θηβαίοις
following those you-increased now but if Thebans
εἰκῇ ἀκολουθῆτε καὶ μὴ κατὰ μέρος ἡγεῖσθαι ἀξιῶτε,
at-random you-follow and not by turn to-lead you-claim
ἴσως τάχα τούτους ἄλλους Λακεδαιμονίους εὑρήσετε. οἱ
perhaps soon these other Lacedaemonians you-will-find the
μὲν δὴ Ἀρκάδες ταῦτα ἀκούοντες ἀνεφυσῶντό τε καὶ
indeed then Arcadians these-things hearing were-puffed-up both and
ὑπερεφίλουν τὸν Λυκομήδη καὶ μόνον ἄνδρα ἡγοῦντο·
adored — Lycomedes and alone a-man considered
ὥστε ἄρχοντας ἔταττον οὕστινας ἐκεῖνος κελεύοι. καὶ ἐκ
so-that rulers they-appointed whomever that-one bade and from
τῶν συμβαινόντων δὲ ἔργων ἐμεγαλύνοντο οἱ Ἀρκάδες·
the happening and deeds were-made-great the Arcadians
ἐμβαλόντων μὲν γὰρ εἰς Ἐπίδαυρον τῶν Ἀργείων καὶ 25
having-invaded indeed for into Epidaurus the Argives and
ἀποκλεισθέντων τῆς ἐξόδου ὑπό τε τῶν μετὰ Χαβρίου
having-been-shut-off from-the way-out by both the-ones with Chabrias
ξένων καὶ Ἀθηναίων καὶ Κορινθίων, βοηθήσαντες μάλα
mercenaries and Athenians and Corinthians having-come-to-help very
πολιορκουμένους ἐξελύσαντο τοὺς Ἀργείους, οὐ μόνον τοῖς
besieged they-released the Argives not only the
ἀνδράσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς χωρίοις πολεμίοις χρώμενοι.
men but also the places as-enemies using

στρατευσάμενοι δὲ καὶ εἰς Ἀσίνην τῆς Λακαίνης ἐνίκησάν
having-campaigned and also to Asine of-the Laconian-land they-defeated
τε τὴν τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων φρουρὰν καὶ τὸν Γεράνορα
both the of-the Lacedaemonians garrison and — Geranor
τὸν Σπαρτιάτην πολέμαρχον †γεγενημένον ἀπέκτειναν
the Spartiate polemarch having-become killed
καὶ τὸ προάστιον τῶν Ἀσιναίων ἐπόρθησαν. ὅπου δὲ
and the suburb of-the Asinaeans sacked where and
βουληθεῖεν ἐξελθεῖν, οὐ νύξ, οὐ χειμών, οὐ μῆκος ὁδοῦ,
they-wished to-go-out not night not storm not length of-road
οὐκ ὄρη δύσβατα ἀπεκώλυεν αὐτούς· ὥστε ἔν γε
not mountains hard-to-pass prevented them so-that in at-least
ἐκείνῳ τῷ χρόνῳ πολὺ ᾤοντο κράτιστοι εἶναι.
that the time much they-thought strongest to-be
26 οἱ μὲν δὴ Θηβαῖοι διὰ ταῦτα ὑποφθόνως καὶ οὐκέτι
the indeed then Thebans because-of these-things jealously and no-longer
φιλικῶς εἶχον πρὸς τοὺς Ἀρκάδας. οἵ γε μὴν Ἠλεῖοι
friendlily were-disposed toward the Arcadians the at-least truly Eleans
ἐπεὶ ἀπαιτοῦντες τὰς πόλεις τοὺς Ἀρκάδας ἃς ὑπὸ
when demanding-back the cities from-the Arcadians which by
Λακεδαιμονίων ἀφῃρέθησαν ἔγνωσαν αὐτοὺς τοὺς
Lacedaemonians they-had-been-deprived-of they-recognized them the
μὲν ἑαυτῶν λόγους ἐν οὐδενὶ λόγῳ ποιουμένους, τοὺς δὲ
indeed their-own words in no account making the but
Τριφυλίους καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους τοὺς ἀπὸ σφῶν ἀποστάντας
Triphylians and the others the-ones from them having-revolted
περὶ παντὸς ποιουμένους, ὅτι Ἀρκάδες ἔφασαν εἶναι, ἐκ
of all-importance making because Arcadians they-claimed to-be from
τούτων αὖ καὶ οἱ Ἠλεῖοι δυσμενῶς εἶχον πρὸς αὐτούς.
these-things in-turn also the Eleans hostilely were-disposed toward them

Οὕτω δ' ἑκάστων μέγα ἐφ' ἑαυτοῖς φρονούντων τῶν 27
So and each greatly on themselves priding the
συμμάχων, ἔρχεται Φιλίσκος Ἀβυδηνὸς παρ' Ἀριοβαρζάνους
allies comes Philiscus Abydene from Ariobarzanes
χρήματα ἔχων πολλά. καὶ πρῶτα μὲν εἰς Δελφοὺς
money having much and first indeed at Delphi
συνήγαγε περὶ εἰρήνης Θηβαίους καὶ τοὺς συμμάχους καὶ
he-gathered about peace Thebans and the allies and
τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους. ἐκεῖ δὲ ἐλθόντες τῷ μὲν θεῷ οὐδὲν
the Lacedaemonians there and having-come with-the indeed god nothing
ἀνεκοινώσαντο ὅπως ἂν ἡ εἰρήνη γένοιτο, αὐτοὶ δὲ
they-consulted how — the peace might-come-about themselves but
ἐβουλεύοντο. ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐ συνεχώρουν οἱ Θηβαῖοι Μεσσήνην
deliberated when and not agreed the Thebans Messene
ὑπὸ Λακεδαιμονίοις εἶναι, ξενικὸν πολὺ συνέλεγεν ὁ
under Lacedaemonians to-be a-mercenary-force large gathered —
Φιλίσκος, ὅπως πολεμοίη μετὰ Λακεδαιμονίων.
Philiscus so-that he-might-make-war with Lacedaemonians
Τούτων δὲ πραττομένων ἀφικνεῖται καὶ ἡ παρὰ Διονυσίου 28
These-things and being-done arrives also the from Dionysius
δευτέρα βοήθεια. λεγόντων δὲ Ἀθηναίων μὲν ὡς χρεὼν
second help saying and Athenians indeed that necessary
εἴη αὐτοὺς ἰέναι εἰς Θετταλίαν τἀναντία Θηβαίοις,
it-was them to-go into Thessaly against Thebans
Λακεδαιμονίων δὲ ὡς εἰς τὴν Λακωνικήν, ταῦτα ἐν τοῖς
Lacedaemonians but that into the Laconian-land this among the
συμμάχοις ἐνίκησεν. ἐπεὶ δὲ περιέπλευσαν οἱ παρὰ
allies prevailed when and had-sailed-round the-ones from
Διονυσίου εἰς Λακεδαίμονα, λαβὼν αὐτοὺς Ἀρχίδαμος μετὰ
Dionysius to Lacedaemon having-taken them Archidamus with
τῶν πολιτικῶν ἐστρατεύετο. καὶ Καρύας μὲν ἐξαιρεῖ κατὰ
the citizen-troops campaigned and Caryae indeed takes by

κράτος, καὶ ὅσους ζῶντας ἔλαβεν, ἀπέσφαξεν· ἐκεῖθεν δ'
force and as-many-as alive he-took he-slaughtered thence and
εὐθὺς στρατευσάμενος εἰς Παρρασίους τῆς Ἀρκαδίας μετ'
at-once having-marched against Parrhasians — of-Arcadia with
αὐτῶν ἐδῄου τὴν χώραν. ἐπεὶ δ' ἐβοήθησαν οἱ Ἀρκάδες
them ravaged the land when and came-to-help the Arcadians
καὶ οἱ Ἀργεῖοι, ἐπαναχωρήσας ἐστρατοπεδεύσατο ἐν τοῖς
and the Argives having-withdrawn he-encamped on the
ὑπὲρ Μηλέας γηλόφοις. ἐνταῦθα δ' ὄντος αὐτοῦ Κισσίδας
above Melea hills there and being him Cissidas
ὁ ἄρχων τῆς παρὰ Διονυσίου βοηθείας ἔλεγεν ὅτι ἐξήκοι
the commander of-the from Dionysius help said that had-expired
αὐτῷ ὁ χρόνος ὃς εἰρημένος ἦν παραμένειν. καὶ
for-him the time which agreed had-been to-stay and
ἅμα ταῦτ' ἔλεγε καὶ ἀπῄει τὴν ἐπὶ Σπάρτης.
at-the-same-time these-things he-said and went-away the-road toward Sparta
29 ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀποπορευόμενον ὑπετέμνοντο αὐτὸν οἱ Μεσσήνιοι
when and marching-off cut-off him the Messenians
ἐπὶ στενῷ τῆς ὁδοῦ, ἐνταῦθα δὴ ἔπεμπεν ἐπὶ τὸν
at narrow of-the road there indeed he-sent to —
Ἀρχίδαμον καὶ βοηθεῖν ἐκέλευε· κἀκεῖνος μέντοι ἐβοήθει.
Archidamus and to-help bade and-that-one indeed came-to-help
ὡς δὲ ἐγένοντο ἐν τῇ ἐπ' Εὐτρησίους ἐκτροπῇ, οἱ μὲν
when and they-were at the toward Eutresians turn-off the indeed
Ἀρκάδες καὶ Ἀργεῖοι προσέβαινον εἰς τὴν Λάκαιναν, καὶ
Arcadians and Argives advanced into the Laconian-land also
οὗτοι ὡς ἀποκλείσοντες αὐτὸν τῆς ἐπ' οἶκον ὁδοῦ. ὁ
these as going-to-shut-off him from-the toward home road he
δέ, οὗπέρ ἐστι χωρίον ἐπίπεδον ἐν ταῖς συμβολαῖς τῆς
but where-very is a-place level in the junctions of-the

τε ἐπ᾽ Εὐτρησίων καὶ τῆς ἐπὶ Μηλέας ὁδοῦ, ἐνταῦθα
both toward Eutresians and of-the toward Melea road there
ἐκβὰς παρετάξατο ὡς μαχούμενος.
having-gone-out drew-up as going-to-fight
ἔφασαν δ᾽ αὐτὸν καὶ πρὸ τῶν λόχων παριόντα 30
they-said and him also before the companies going-along
τοιάδε παρακελεύσασθαι· Ἄνδρες πολῖται, νῦν ἀγαθοὶ
the-following to-have-exhorted Men citizens now good
γενόμενοι ἀναβλέψωμεν ὀρθοῖς ὄμμασιν· ἀποδῶμεν τοῖς
having-become let-us-look-up with-straight eyes let-us-hand-over to-the
ἐπιγιγνομένοις τὴν πατρίδα οἵανπερ παρὰ τῶν πατέρων
coming-after the fatherland such-as-very from the fathers
παρελάβομεν· παυσώμεθα αἰσχυνόμενοι καὶ παῖδας καὶ
we-received let-us-stop being-ashamed-before both children and
γυναῖκας καὶ πρεσβυτέρους καὶ ξένους, ἐν οἷς πρόσθεν
wives and elders and foreigners among whom before
γε πάντων τῶν Ἑλλήνων περιβλεπτότατοι ἦμεν.
at-least of-all the Greeks most-admired we-were
τούτων δὲ ῥηθέντων ἐξ αἰθρίας ἀστραπάς τε καὶ βροντὰς 31
these-things and having-been-said from clear-sky lightnings both and thunders
λέγουσιν αἰσίους αὐτῷ φανῆναι· συνέβη δὲ καὶ πρὸς τῷ
they-say favorable to-him to-have-appeared it-happened and also near the
δεξιῷ κέρατι τέμενός τε καὶ ἄγαλμα Ἡρακλέους [οὗ δὴ
right wing a-precinct both and statue of-Heracles of-whom indeed
καὶ ἀπόγονος λέγεται] εἶναι. τοιγαροῦν ἐκ τούτων πάντων
also descendant is-said to-be accordingly from these-things all
οὕτω πολὺ μένος καὶ θάρρος τοῖς στρατιώταις φασὶν
so much might and courage on-the soldiers they-say
ἐμπεσεῖν ὥστ᾽ ἔργον εἶναι τοῖς ἡγεμόσιν ἀνείργειν τοὺς
to-have-fallen that a-task it-was for-the leaders to-hold-back the
στρατιώτας ὠθουμένους εἰς τὸ πρόσθεν. ἐπεὶ μέντοι ἡγεῖτο
soldiers pushing to the front when however led

ὁ Ἀρχίδαμος, ὀλίγοι μὲν τῶν πολεμίων δεξάμενοι εἰς
— Archidamus few indeed of-the enemies having-awaited at
δόρυ αὐτοὺς ἀπέθανον· οἱ δ᾽ ἄλλοι φεύγοντες ἔπιπτον,
spear-point them died the but others fleeing fell
πολλοὶ μὲν ὑπὸ ἱππέων, πολλοὶ δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν Κελτῶν.
many indeed by horsemen many and by the Celts
32 ὡς δὲ ληξάσης τῆς μάχης τροπαῖον ἐστήσατο, εὐθὺς
when and having-ended the battle a-trophy he-set-up at-once
ἔπεμψεν οἴκαδε ἀγγελοῦντα Δημοτέλη τὸν κήρυκα τῆς τε
he-sent home to-report Demoteles the herald the both
νίκης τὸ μέγεθος καὶ ὅτι Λακεδαιμονίων μὲν οὐδὲ εἷς
victory the magnitude and that of-Lacedaemonians indeed not-even one
τεθναίη, τῶν δὲ πολεμίων παμπληθεῖς. τοὺς μέντοι ἐν
had-died of-the but enemies very-many the however in
Σπάρτῃ ἔφασαν ἀκούσαντας ἀρξαμένους ἀπὸ Ἀγησιλάου
Sparta they-said having-heard having-begun from Agesilaus
καὶ τῶν γερόντων καὶ τῶν ἐφόρων πάντας κλαίειν· οὕτω
and the elders and the ephors all to-weep so
κοινόν τι ἄρα χαρᾷ καὶ λύπῃ δάκρυά ἐστιν. ἐπὶ
common something then to-joy and to-grief tears are at
μέντοι τῇ τῶν Ἀρκάδων τύχῃ οὐ πολύ τι ἧττον
however the of-the Arcadians misfortune not much anything less
Λακεδαιμονίων ἥσθησαν Θηβαῖοί τε καὶ Ἠλεῖοι· οὕτως
than-Lacedaemonians were-pleased Thebans both and Eleans so
ἤδη ἤχθοντο ἐπὶ τῷ φρονήματι αὐτῶν.
already they-were-vexed at the pride their
33 Συνεχῶς δὲ βουλευόμενοι Θηβαῖοι ὅπως ἂν τὴν ἡγεμονίαν
Continually and deliberating Thebans how — the leadership
λάβοιεν τῆς Ἑλλάδος, ἐνόμισαν, εἰ πέμψειαν πρὸς τὸν
they-might-get — of-Greece they-thought if they-should-send to the
Περσῶν βασιλέα, πλεονεκτῆσαι ἄν τι ἐν ἐκείνῳ. καὶ
of-Persians king to-gain-advantage — something with that-one and

ἐκ τούτου παρακαλέσαντες ἤδη τοὺς συμμάχους ἐπὶ
from this having-summoned already the allies on
προφάσει ὅτι καὶ Εὐθυκλῆς ὁ Λακεδαιμόνιος εἴη παρὰ
pretext that also Euthycles the Lacedaemonian was with
βασιλεῖ, ἀναβαίνουσι Θηβαίων μὲν Πελοπίδας, Ἀρκάδων
the-king go-up of-Thebans indeed Pelopidas of-Arcadians
δὲ Ἀντίοχος ὁ παγκρατιαστής, Ἠλείων δὲ Ἀρχίδαμος·
and Antiochus the pancratiast of-Eleans and Archidamus
ἠκολούθει δὲ καὶ Ἀργεῖος. καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἀκούσαντες
followed and also an-Argive and the Athenians having-heard
ταῦτα ἀνέπεμψαν Τιμαγόραν τε καὶ Λέοντα.
these-things sent-up Timagoras both and Leon
ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐκεῖ ἐγένοντο, πολὺ ἐπλεονέκτει ὁ Πελοπίδας 34
when and there they-were much had-the-advantage — Pelopidas
παρὰ τῷ Πέρσῃ. εἶχε γὰρ λέγειν καὶ ὅτι μόνοι τῶν
with the Persian he-was-able for to-say both that alone of-the
Ἑλλήνων βασιλεῖ συνεμάχοντο ἐν Πλαταιαῖς, καὶ ὅτι
Greeks with-the-king they-fought-as-allies at Plataea and that
ὕστερον οὐδεπώποτε στρατεύσαιντο ἐπὶ βασιλέα, καὶ ὡς
later never they-had-campaigned against the-king and that
Λακεδαιμόνιοι διὰ τοῦτο πολεμήσειαν αὐτοῖς, ὅτι οὐκ
Lacedaemonians because-of this had-made-war on-them because not
ἐθελήσαιεν μετ᾽ Ἀγησιλάου ἐλθεῖν ἐπ᾽ αὐτὸν οὐδὲ θῦσαι
they-had-been-willing with Agesilaus to-go against him nor to-sacrifice
ἐάσαιεν αὐτὸν ἐν Αὐλίδι τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι, ἔνθαπερ ὅτε
they-had-allowed him at Aulis — to-Artemis where-very when
Ἀγαμέμνων εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν ἐξέπλει θύσας εἶλε Τροίαν.
Agamemnon to — Asia sailed-out having-sacrificed he-took Troy
μέγα δὲ συνεβάλλετο τῷ Πελοπίδᾳ εἰς τὸ τιμᾶσθαι καὶ 35
greatly and contributed — to-Pelopidas toward the to-be-honored also
ὅτι ἐνενικήκεσαν οἱ Θηβαῖοι μάχῃ ἐν Λεύκτροις καὶ ὅτι
that had-won the Thebans in-battle at Leuctra and that

πεπορθηκότες τὴν χώραν τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων ἐφαίνοντο.
having-ravaged the land of-the Lacedaemonians they-appeared
ἔλεγε δὲ ὁ Πελοπίδας ὅτι οἱ Ἀργεῖοι καὶ οἱ Ἀρκάδες
said and — Pelopidas that the Argives and the Arcadians
μάχῃ ἡττημένοι εἶεν ὑπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων, ἐπεὶ αὐτοὶ
in-battle defeated had-been by Lacedaemonians since themselves
οὐ παρεγένοντο. συνεμαρτύρει δ' αὐτῷ ταῦτα πάντα
not were-present bore-witness and to-him these-things all
ὡς ἀληθῆ λέγοι ὁ Ἀθηναῖος Τιμαγόρας, καὶ ἐτιμᾶτο
that true-things he-said the Athenian Timagoras and was-honored
δεύτερος μετὰ τὸν Πελοπίδαν.
second after — Pelopidas

36 ἐκ δὲ τούτου ἐρωτώμενος ὑπὸ βασιλέως ὁ Πελοπίδας τί
from and this being-asked by the-king — Pelopidas what
βούλοιτο ἑαυτῷ γραφῆναι εἶπεν ὅτι Μεσσήνην τε αὐτόνομον
he-wished for-himself to-be-written said that Messene both autonomous
εἶναι ἀπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ Ἀθηναίους ἀνέλκειν τὰς ναῦς·
to-be from Lacedaemonians and Athenians to-haul-up the ships
εἰ δὲ ταῦτα μὴ πείθοιντο, στρατεύειν ἐπ' αὐτούς· εἴ τις
if but these-things not they-obeyed to-march against them if any
δὲ πόλις μὴ ἐθέλοι ἀκολουθεῖν, ἐπὶ ταύτην πρῶτον ἰέναι.
but city not were-willing to-follow against this first to-go

37 γραφέντων δὲ τούτων καὶ ἀναγνωσθέντων τοῖς πρέσβεσιν,
having-been-written and these-things and read to-the envoys
εἶπεν ὁ Λέων ἀκούοντος τοῦ βασιλέως· Νὴ Δία, ὦ
said — Leon hearing the king By Zeus O
Ἀθηναῖοι, ὥρα γε ὑμῖν, ὡς ἔοικεν, ἄλλον τινὰ φίλον
Athenians time at-least for-you as it-seems other some friend
ἀντὶ βασιλέως ζητεῖν. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀπήγγειλεν ὁ γραμματεὺς
instead-of the-king to-seek when and reported the secretary
ἃ εἶπεν ὁ Ἀθηναῖος, πάλιν ἐξήνεγκε προσγεγραμμένα·
what said the Athenian again he-brought-out added

εἰ δέ τι δικαιότερον τούτων γιγνώσκουσιν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι,
if but anything more-just than-these think the Athenians
ἰόντας πρὸς βασιλέα διδάσκειν.
going to the-king to-inform
ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀφίκοντο οἱ πρέσβεις οἴκαδε ἕκαστοι, τὸν μὲν 38
when and arrived the envoys home each — indeed
Τιμαγόραν ἀπέκτειναν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, κατηγοροῦντος τοῦ
Timagoras put-to-death the Athenians accusing —
Λέοντος ὡς οὔτε συσκηνοῦν ἑαυτῷ ἐθέλοι μετά τε
Leon that neither to-share-a-tent with-himself he-was-willing with both
Πελοπίδου πάντα βουλεύοιτο. τῶν δὲ ἄλλων πρέσβεων
Pelopidas everything he-had-planned of-the but other envoys
ὁ μὲν Ἠλεῖος Ἀρχίδαμος, ὅτι προυτίμησε τὴν Ἦλιν
the indeed Elean Archidamus because he-preferred — Elis
πρὸ τῶν Ἀρκάδων, ἐπῄνει τὰ τοῦ βασιλέως, ὁ δ’
before the Arcadians praised the-things of-the king — but
Ἀντίοχος, ὅτι ἠλαττοῦτο τὸ Ἀρκαδικόν, οὔτε τὰ δῶρα
Antiochus because was-made-less the Arcadian-league neither the gifts
ἐδέξατο ἀπήγγειλέ τε πρὸς τοὺς μυρίους ὡς βασιλεὺς
accepted reported both to the ten-thousand that the-king
ἀρτοκόπους μὲν καὶ ὀψοποιοὺς καὶ οἰνοχόους καὶ θυρωροὺς
bakers indeed and cooks and wine-pourers and doorkeepers
παμπληθεῖς ἔχοι, ἄνδρας δὲ οἳ μάχοιντ’ ἂν Ἕλλησι
very-many had men but who could-fight — against-Greeks
πάνυ ζητῶν οὐκ [ἂν] ἔφη δύνασθαι ἰδεῖν. πρὸς δὲ
very-much seeking not — he-said to-be-able to-see besides and
τούτοις καὶ τὸ τῶν χρημάτων πλῆθος ἀλαζονείαν οἱ
these also the of-the money abundance boastfulness to-him
γε δοκεῖν ἔφη εἶναι, ἐπεὶ καὶ τὴν ὑμνουμένην ἂν χρυσῆν
at-least to-seem he-said to-be since even the much-sung — golden
πλάτανον οὐχ ἱκανὴν ἔφη εἶναι τέττιγι σκιὰν παρέχειν.
plane-tree not sufficient he-said to-be for-a-cicada shade to-provide

39 Ὡς δὲ οἱ Θηβαῖοι συνεκάλεσαν ἀπὸ τῶν πόλεων ἁπασῶν
When and the Thebans summoned from the cities all
ἀκουσομένους τῆς παρὰ βασιλέως ἐπιστολῆς, καὶ ὁ Πέρσης
going-to-hear the from the-king letter and the Persian
ὁ φέρων τὰ γράμματα δείξας τὴν βασιλέως σφραγῖδα
the-one bringing the letters having-shown the of-the-king seal
ἀνέγνω τὰ γεγραμμένα, οἱ μὲν Θηβαῖοι ὀμνύναι ταῦτα
read the-things written the indeed Thebans to-swear these-things
ἐκέλευον βασιλεῖ καὶ ἑαυτοῖς τοὺς βουλομένους φίλους εἶναι,
bade to-the-king and to-themselves the-ones wishing friends to-be
οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν πόλεων ἀπεκρίναντο ὅτι οὐκ ὀμούμενοι ἀλλ'
the but from the cities answered that not to-swear but
ἀκουσόμενοι πεμφθείησαν· εἰ δέ τι ὅρκων δέοιντο, πρὸς τὰς
to-hear they-had-been-sent if but any oaths they-needed to the
πόλεις πέμπειν ἐκέλευον. ὁ μέντοι Ἀρκὰς Λυκομήδης καὶ
cities to-send they-bade the however Arcadian Lycomedes also
τοῦτο ἔλεγεν, ὅτι οὐδὲ τὸν σύλλογον ἐν Θήβαις δέοι
this said that not-even the congress in Thebes it-was-needful
εἶναι, ἀλλ' ἔνθα ἂν ᾖ ὁ πόλεμος. χαλεπαινόντων δ' αὐτῷ
to-be but where — be the war being-angry and with-him
τῶν Θηβαίων καὶ λεγόντων ὡς διαφθείροι τὸ συμμαχικόν,
the Thebans and saying that he-was-ruining the alliance
οὐδ' εἰς τὸ συνέδριον ἤθελε καθίζειν, ἀλλ' ἀπιὼν
not-even into the council was-willing to-sit but going-away
ᾤχετο, καὶ μετ' αὐτοῦ πάντες οἱ ἐξ Ἀρκαδίας πρέσβεις.
went and with him all the from Arcadia envoys
40 ὡς δ' ἐν Θήβαις οὐκ ἠθέλησαν οἱ συνελθόντες
when and at Thebes not were-willing the-ones having-come-together
ὀμόσαι, ἔπεμπον οἱ Θηβαῖοι πρέσβεις ἐπὶ τὰς πόλεις,
to-swear sent the Thebans envoys to the cities
ὀμνύναι κελεύοντες ποιήσειν κατὰ τὰ βασιλέως
to-swear bidding to-act according-to the of-the-king

γράμματα, νομίζοντες ὀκνήσειν μίαν ἑκάστην τῶν πόλεων
letter thinking would-hesitate one each of-the cities
ἀπεχθάνεσθαι ἅμα ἑαυτοῖς τε καὶ βασιλεῖ. ἐπεὶ
to-incur-enmity at-the-same-time with-themselves both and with-the-king when
μέντοι εἰς Κόρινθον πρῶτον αὐτῶν ἀφικομένων ὑπέστησαν
however at Corinth first of-them having-arrived withstood
οἱ Κορίνθιοι καὶ ἀπεκρίναντο ὅτι οὐδὲν δέοιντο πρὸς
the Corinthians and answered that in-no-way they-needed with
βασιλέα κοινῶν ὅρκων, ἐπηκολούθησαν καὶ ἄλλαι πόλεις
the-king common oaths followed also other cities
κατὰ ταὐτὰ ἀποκρινόμεναι. καὶ αὕτη μὲν ἡ Πελοπίδου
in-the same answering and this indeed the of-Pelopidas
καὶ τῶν Θηβαίων τῆς ἀρχῆς περιβολὴ οὕτω διελύθη.
and of-the Thebans of-the rule grasping so was-dissolved
Αὖθις δ' Ἐπαμεινώνδας, βουληθεὶς τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς 41
Again and Epaminondas having-wished the Achaeans
προσαγαγέσθαι, ὅπως μᾶλλον σφίσι καὶ οἱ Ἀρκάδες καὶ οἱ
to-win-over so-that more to-them both the Arcadians and the
ἄλλοι σύμμαχοι προσέχοιεν τὸν νοῦν, ἔγνω ἐκστρατευτέον
other allies should-pay the attention decided must-be-marched
εἶναι ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀχαιΐαν. Πεισίαν οὖν τὸν Ἀργεῖον
to-be against — Achaea Peisias then the Argive
στρατηγοῦντα ἐν τῷ Ἄργει πείθει προκαταλαβεῖν τὸ
being-general in — Argos he-persuades to-seize-beforehand —
Ὄνειον. καὶ ὁ Πεισίας μέντοι καταμαθὼν ἀμελουμένην
Oneum and — Peisias indeed having-learned neglected
τὴν τοῦ Ὀνείου φυλακὴν ὑπό τε Ναυκλέους, ὃς ἦρχε
the — of-Oneum guard by both Naucles who commanded
τοῦ ξενικοῦ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων, καὶ ὑπὸ Τιμομάχου τοῦ
the mercenary-force of-the Lacedaemonians and by Timomachus the

Ἀθηναίου, καταλαμβάνει νύκτωρ μετὰ δισχιλίων ὁπλιτῶν
Athenian seizes by-night with two-thousand hoplites
τὸν ὑπὲρ Κεγχρειῶν λόφον, ἔχων ἑπτὰ ἡμερῶν τὰ ἐπιτήδεια.
the above Cenchreae hill having seven days the provisions
42 ἐν δὲ ταύταις ταῖς ἡμέραις ἐλθόντες οἱ Θηβαῖοι ὑπερβαίνουσι
in and these the days having-come the Thebans cross
τὸ Ὄνειον, καὶ στρατεύουσι πάντες οἱ σύμμαχοι ἐπ᾽
— Oneum and march all the allies against
Ἀχαιΐαν, ἡγουμένου Ἐπαμεινώνδου. προσπεσόντων δ᾽
Achaea leading Epaminondas having-appealed-to and
αὐτῷ τῶν βελτίστων ἐκ τῆς Ἀχαιΐας, ἐνδυναστεύει ὁ
him the best from — Achaea uses-his-influence —
Ἐπαμεινώνδας ὥστε μὴ φυγαδεῦσαι τοὺς κρατίστους μηδὲ
Epaminondas so-as not to-exile the strongest nor
πολιτείαν μεταστῆσαι, ἀλλὰ πιστὰ λαβὼν παρὰ τῶν
the-constitution to-change but pledges having-taken from the
Ἀχαιῶν ἦ μὴν συμμάχους ἔσεσθαι καὶ ἀκολουθήσειν
Achaeans truly indeed allies to-be and to-follow
ὅποι ἂν Θηβαῖοι ἡγῶνται, οὕτως ἀπῆλθεν οἴκαδε.
wherever — Thebans lead so he-went-away home
43 κατηγορούντων δὲ αὐτοῦ τῶν τε Ἀρκάδων καὶ τῶν
accusing and him the both Arcadians and the
ἀντιστασιωτῶν ὡς Λακεδαιμονίοις κατεσκευακὼς τὴν
opposing-faction that for-Lacedaemonians having-arranged —
Ἀχαιΐαν ἀπέλθοι, ἔδοξε Θηβαίοις πέμψαι ἁρμοστὰς
Achaea he-had-gone-away it-seemed-good to-Thebans to-send harmosts
εἰς τὰς Ἀχαιΐδας πόλεις. οἱ δ᾽ ἐλθόντες τοὺς μὲν
to the Achaean cities they and having-come the indeed
βελτίστους σὺν τῷ πλήθει ἐξέβαλον, δημοκρατίας δὲ ἐν τῇ
best with the people expelled democracies and in —
Ἀχαιΐᾳ κατέστησαν. οἱ μέντοι ἐκπεσόντες συστάντες
Achaea established the however exiled having-banded-together

ταχύ, ἐπὶ μίαν ἑκάστην τῶν πόλεων πορευόμενοι, ὄντες
quickly against one each of-the cities marching being
οὐκ ὀλίγοι, κατῆλθόν τε καὶ κατέσχον τὰς πόλεις.
not few returned both and held the cities
ἐπεὶ δὲ κατελθόντες οὐκέτι ἐμέσευον, ἀλλὰ προθύμως
when and having-returned no-longer they-stayed-neutral but eagerly
συνεμάχουν τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις, ἐπιέζοντο οἱ Ἀρκάδες
fought-as-allies with-the Lacedaemonians were-hard-pressed the Arcadians
ἔνθεν μὲν ὑπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων, ἔνθεν δὲ ὑπὸ Ἀχαιῶν.
on-one-side indeed by Lacedaemonians on-the-other but by Achaeans
ἐν δὲ τῷ Σικυῶνι τὸ μὲν μέχρι τούτου κατὰ τοὺς 44
in and — Sicyon the indeed up-to this according-to the
ἀρχαίους νόμους ἡ πολιτεία ἦν. ἐκ δὲ τούτου βουλόμενος
ancient laws the constitution was from but this wishing
ὁ Εὔφρων, ὥσπερ παρὰ τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις μέγιστος
— Euphron as among the Lacedaemonians greatest
ἦν τῶν πολιτῶν, οὕτω καὶ παρὰ τοῖς ἐναντίοις αὐτῶν
he-was of-the citizens so also among the opponents their
πρωτεύειν, λέγει πρὸς τοὺς Ἀργείους καὶ πρὸς τοὺς
to-be-first says to the Argives and to the
Ἀρκάδας ὡς εἰ μὲν οἱ πλουσιώτατοι ἐγκρατεῖς ἔσοιντο τοῦ
Arcadians that if indeed the richest masters should-be —
Σικυῶνος, σαφῶς, ὅταν τύχῃ, πάλιν λακωνιεῖ ἡ πόλις·
of-Sicyon clearly whenever it-happen again will-laconize the city
ἐὰν δὲ δημοκρατία γένηται, εὖ ἴστε, ἔφη, ὅτι διαμενεῖ
if but democracy come-about well know he-said that will-remain
ὑμῖν ἡ πόλις. ἐὰν οὖν μοι παραγένησθε, ἐγὼ ἔσομαι
for-you the city if then to-me you-come-to-help I will-be
ὁ συγκαλῶν τὸν δῆμον, καὶ ἅμα ἐγὼ ὑμῖν
the-one summoning the people and at-the-same-time I to-you
ταύτην πίστιν ἐμαυτοῦ δώσω καὶ τὴν πόλιν βέβαιον ἐν τῇ
this pledge of-myself will-give and the city steadfast in the

συμμαχίᾳ παρέξω. ταῦτα δ', ἔφη, ἐγὼ πράττω εὖ ἴστε ὅτι
alliance will-make these-things and he-said I do well know that
πάλαι μὲν χαλεπῶς φέρων, ὥσπερ ὑμεῖς, τὸ φρόνημα τῶν
long-ago indeed hard bearing as you the pride of-the
Λακεδαιμονίων, ἄσμενος δ' ἂν τὴν δουλείαν ἀποφυγών.
Lacedaemonians gladly and — the slavery having-escaped
45 οἱ οὖν Ἀρκάδες καὶ οἱ Ἀργεῖοι ἡδέως ταῦτ' ἀκούσαντες
the then Arcadians and the Argives gladly these-things having-heard
παρεγένοντο αὐτῷ. ὁ δ' εὐθὺς ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ παρόντων
came-to-help him he and at-once in the agora being-present
τῶν Ἀργείων καὶ τῶν Ἀρκάδων συνεκάλει τὸν δῆμον,
the Argives and the Arcadians summoned the people
ὡς τῆς πολιτείας ἐσομένης ἐπὶ τοῖς ἴσοις καὶ ὁμοίοις.
as the constitution going-to-be on the equal and like-terms
ἐπεὶ δὲ συνῆλθον, στρατηγοὺς ἐκέλευσεν ἑλέσθαι
when and they-came-together generals he-bade to-choose
οὕστινας αὐτοῖς δοκοίη· οἱ δ' αἱροῦνται αὐτόν τε
whomever to-them it-seemed-good they and choose himself both
τὸν Εὔφρονα καὶ Ἱππόδαμον καὶ Κλέανδρον καὶ Ἀκρίσιον
— Euphron and Hippodamus and Cleander and Acrisius
καὶ Λύσανδρον. ὡς δὲ ταῦτα ἐπέπρακτο, καὶ ἐπὶ τὸ
and Lysander when and these-things had-been-done also over the
ξενικὸν καθίστησιν Ἀδέαν τὸν αὑτοῦ υἱόν, Λυσιμένη
mercenary-force he-sets Adeas the his-own son Lysimenes
τὸν πρόσθεν ἄρχοντα ἀποστήσας.
the before commander having-removed
46 καὶ εὐθὺς μὲν τούτων τῶν ξένων ὁ Εὔφρων πιστούς
and at-once indeed of-these the mercenaries — Euphron faithful
τινας εὖ ποιῶν ἐποιήσατο, καὶ ἄλλους προσελάμβανεν,
some well treating made and others took-on-besides
οὔτε τῶν δημοσίων οὔτε τῶν ἱερῶν χρημάτων φειδόμενος.
neither the public nor the sacred money sparing

καὶ ὅσους δ' ἐξέβαλεν ἐπὶ λακωνισμῷ, καὶ τοῖς
and of-as-many-as and he-banished for pro-Spartan-leanings also the
τούτων χρήμασιν ἐχρῆτο. καὶ τῶν συναρχόντων δὲ τοὺς
of-these money he-used and of-the fellow-rulers and the-ones
μὲν δόλῳ ἀπέκτεινε, τοὺς δ' ἐξέβαλεν· ὥστε πάντα
indeed by-guile he-killed the-others but banished so-that everything
ὑφ' ἑαυτῷ ἐποιήσατο καὶ σαφῶς τύραννος ἦν. ὅπως
under himself he-made and clearly tyrant he-was so-that
δὲ ταῦτα ἐπιτρέποιεν αὐτῷ οἱ σύμμαχοι, τὰ μέν
and these-things should-permit him the allies partly indeed
τι καὶ χρήμασι διεπράττετο, τὰ δὲ καί, εἴ που
somewhat also by-money he-managed partly and also if anywhere
στρατεύοιντο, προθύμως ἔχων τὸ ξενικὸν συνηκολούθει.
they-campaigned eagerly having the mercenary-force he-followed-along

II · THE LOYALTY OF PHLIUS

Xenophon praises little Phlius, which stays loyal to Sparta through every hardship. After Leuctra its men slip past the enemy to reach Sparta, and they rout the rear guard of an Argive invasion. Exiles climb the walls by night and take the acropolis, but the citizens retake it and kill or drive out the intruders while the Arcadians and Argives attack from outside. In later invasions the Phliasians guard their harvest and defeat the Sicyonians and Pellenians under a Theban commander and Euphron. Cut off from their fields, they buy food at Corinth and bring their convoys through ambushes. With Chares and his mercenaries they storm the fort the Sicyonians are building at Thyamia, and while they fortify it, the Corinthians bring them grain every day.

Οὕτω δὲ τούτων προκεχωρηκότων, καὶ τῶν τε Ἀργείων 1
So and these-things having-advanced and the both Argives
ἐπιτετειχικότων [ἐν] τῷ Φλειοῦντι τὸ ὑπὲρ τοῦ Ἡραίου
having-fortified-a-post-against in — Phlius the above the Heraeum

Τρικάρανον, καὶ τῶν Σικυωνίων ἐπὶ τοῖς ὁρίοις αὐτῶν
Tricaranum and the Sicyonians on the borders their
τειχιζόντων τὴν Θυαμίαν, μάλα ἐπιέζοντο οἱ Φλειάσιοι
fortifying — Thyamia very were-hard-pressed the Phliasians
καὶ ἐσπάνιζον τῶν ἐπιτηδείων· ὅμως δὲ διεκαρτέρουν
and were-short of-the provisions nevertheless but held-out
ἐν τῇ συμμαχίᾳ. ἀλλὰ γὰρ τῶν μὲν μεγάλων πόλεων, εἴ
in the alliance but for of-the indeed great cities if
τι καλὸν ἔπραξαν, ἅπαντες οἱ συγγραφεῖς μέμνηνται·
anything fine they-did all the historians remember
ἐμοὶ δὲ δοκεῖ, καὶ εἴ τις μικρὰ πόλις οὖσα πολλὰ καὶ καλὰ
to-me but it-seems even if some small city being many and fine
ἔργα διαπέπρακται, ἔτι μᾶλλον ἄξιον εἶναι ἀποφαίνειν.
deeds has-accomplished still more worthy to-be to-make-known
2 Φλειάσιοι τοίνυν φίλοι μὲν ἐγένοντο Λακεδαιμονίοις,
Phliasians then friends indeed became to-Lacedaemonians
ὅτ' ἐκεῖνοι μέγιστοι ἦσαν· σφαλέντων δ' αὐτῶν ἐν
when those greatest were having-been-overthrown but they in
τῇ ἐν Λεύκτροις μάχῃ καὶ ἀποστάντων μὲν πολλῶν
the at Leuctra battle and having-revolted indeed many
περιοίκων, ἀποστάντων δὲ πάντων τῶν Εἱλώτων, ἔτι
perioeci having-revolted and all the Helots further
δὲ τῶν συμμάχων πλὴν πάνυ ὀλίγων, ἐπιστρατευόντων
and of-the allies except very few marching-against
δ' αὐτοῖς ὡς εἰπεῖν πάντων τῶν Ἑλλήνων, πιστοὶ
and them so-to speak all the Greeks faithful
διέμειναν, καὶ ἔχοντες πολεμίους τοὺς δυνατωτάτους τῶν
they-remained and having as-enemies the most-powerful of-the
ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ Ἀρκάδας καὶ Ἀργείους ὅμως ἐβοήθησαν
in Peloponnese Arcadians and Argives nevertheless they-came-to-help
αὐτοῖς, καὶ διαβαίνειν τελευταῖοι λαχόντες εἰς Πρασιὰς
them and to-cross last having-drawn-lot to Prasiae

τῶν συμβοηθησάντων (ἦσαν δ' οὗτοι Κορίνθιοι, Ἐπιδαύριοι,
of-the joint-relievers were and these Corinthians Epidaurians
Τροιζήνιοι, Ἑρμιονεῖς, Ἁλιεῖς, Σικυώνιοι καὶ Πελληνεῖς·
Troezenians Hermionians Halians Sicyonians and Pellenians
οὐ γάρ πω τότε ἀφέστασαν), ἀλλ' οὐδ' ἐπεὶ ὁ 3
not for yet then had-revolted but not-even when the
ξεναγὸς τοὺς προδιαβεβῶτας λαβὼν ἀπολιπὼν
mercenary-commander the having-crossed-first having-taken leaving
αὐτοὺς ᾤχετο, οὐδ' ὡς ἀπεστράφησαν, ἀλλ' ἡγεμόνα
them went not-even so turned-back but a-guide
μισθωσάμενοι ἐκ Πρασιῶν, ὄντων τῶν πολεμίων περὶ
having-hired from Prasiae being the enemies around
Ἀμύκλας, ὅπως ἐδύναντο διαδύντες εἰς Σπάρτην
Amyclae as they-could having-slipped-through to Sparta
ἀφίκοντο. καὶ μὴν οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἄλλως τε ἐτίμων
arrived and truly the Lacedaemonians otherwise both honored
αὐτοὺς καὶ βοῦν ξένια ἔπεμψαν.
them and an-ox as-guest-gift sent
ἐπεὶ δ' ἀναχωρησάντων τῶν πολεμίων ἐκ τῆς 4
when and having-withdrawn the enemies from —
Λακεδαίμονος οἱ Ἀργεῖοι ὀργιζόμενοι τῇ τῶν Φλειασίων
Lacedaemon the Argives being-angry at-the of-the Phliasians
περὶ τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους προθυμίᾳ ἐνέβαλον πανδημεὶ
toward the Lacedaemonians eagerness invaded in-full-force
εἰς τὸν Φλειοῦντα καὶ τὴν χώραν αὐτῶν ἐδῄουν, οὐδ'
into — Phlius and the land their ravaged not-even
ὡς ὑφίεντο, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπεὶ ἀπεχώρουν φθείραντες
so they-gave-in but also when they-withdrew having-destroyed
ὅσα ἐδύναντο, ἐπεξελθόντες οἱ τῶν Φλειασίων ἱππεῖς
as-much-as they-could having-sallied the of-the Phliasians horsemen
ἐπηκολούθουν αὐτοῖς, καὶ ὀπισθοφυλακούντων τοῖς Ἀργείοις
followed them and guarding-the-rear for-the Argives

τῶν ἱππέων ἁπάντων καὶ λόχων τῶν μετ᾽ αὐτοὺς
the horsemen all and companies of-the after them
τεταγμένων, ἐπιθέμενοι τούτοις ἑξήκοντα ὄντες ἐτρέψαντο
stationed having-attacked these sixty being routed
πάντας τοὺς ὀπισθοφύλακας· καὶ ἀπέκτειναν μὲν ὀλίγους
all the rear-guard and killed indeed few
αὐτῶν, τροπαῖον μέντοι ἐστήσαντο ὁρώντων τῶν Ἀργείων
of-them a-trophy however set-up looking-on the Argives
οὐδὲν διαφέρον ἢ εἰ πάντας ἀπεκτόνεσαν αὐτούς.
no different than if all they-had-killed them
Αὖθις δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι μὲν καὶ οἱ σύμμαχοι ἐφρούρουν
Again and Lacedaemonians indeed and the allies were-guarding
τὸ Ὄνειον, Θηβαῖοι δὲ προσῇσαν ὡς ὑπερβησόμενοι.
— Oneum Thebans but were-approaching as going-to-cross
πορευομένων δὲ διὰ Νεμέας τῶν Ἀρκάδων καὶ Ἠλείων,
marching and through Nemea the Arcadians and Eleans
ὅπως συμμείξαιεν τοῖς Θηβαίοις, προσήνεγκαν μὲν λόγον
so-that they-might-join the Thebans brought-forward indeed proposal
τῶν Φλειασίων φυγάδες ὡς εἰ ἐθελήσειαν ἐπιφανῆναι
of-the Phliasians exiles that if they-would-be-willing to-appear
μόνον σφίσι, λάβοιεν ἂν Φλειοῦντα· ἐπεὶ δὲ ταῦτα
only for-them they-would-take — Phlius when and these-things
συνωμολογήθη, τῆς νυκτὸς ὑπεκαθίζοντο ὑπ᾽ αὐτῷ τῷ
were-agreed of-the night sat-down-in-ambush under the-very the
τείχει κλίμακας ἔχοντες οἵ τε φυγάδες καὶ ἄλλοι μετ᾽
wall ladders having the both exiles and others with
αὐτῶν ὡς ἑξακόσιοι. ἐπεὶ δὲ οἱ μὲν σκοποὶ ἐσήμαινον
them about six-hundred when and the indeed scouts signaled
ἀπὸ τοῦ Τρικαράνου ὡς πολεμίων ἐπιόντων, ἡ δὲ
from — Tricaranum that enemies approaching the and

πόλις πρὸς τούτους τὸν νοῦν εἶχεν, ἐν δὴ τούτῳ οἱ
city to these the mind held at indeed this the
προδιδόντες ἐσήμαινον τοῖς ὑποκαθημένοις ἀναβαίνειν.
betraying signaled to-the-ones lying-in-ambush to-climb
οἱ δ' ἀναβάντες καὶ λαβόντες τῶν φρουρῶν τὰ ὅπλα 6
they and having-climbed and having-taken of-the guards the arms
ἔρημα, ἐδίωκον τοὺς ἡμεροφύλακας ὄντας δέκα· ἀφ'
unguarded pursued the day-guards being ten from
ἑκάστης δὲ τῆς πεμπάδος εἷς ἡμεροφύλαξ κατελείπετο·
each and the group-of-five a day-guard was-left
καὶ ἕνα μὲν ἔτι καθεύδοντα ἀπέκτειναν, ἄλλον δὲ
and one indeed still sleeping they-killed another and
καταφυγόντα πρὸς τὸ Ἥραιον. φυγῇ δ' ἐξαλλομένων κατὰ
having-fled to the Heraeum in-flight and leaping-down from
τοῦ τείχους τοῦ εἰς τὸ ἄστυ ὁρῶντος τῶν ἡμεροφυλάκων,
the wall the toward the town facing of-the day-guards
ἀναμφισβητήτως εἶχον οἱ ἀναβάντες τὴν ἀκρόπολιν.
indisputably held the-ones having-climbed the acropolis
ἐπεὶ δὲ κραυγῆς εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἀφικομένης ἐβοήθουν οἱ 7
when and a-shout to the city having-come came-to-help the
πολῖται, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἐπεξελθόντες ἐκ τῆς ἀκροπόλεως
citizens the indeed first having-sallied from the acropolis
οἱ πολέμιοι ἐμάχοντο ἐν τῷ πρόσθεν τῶν εἰς τὴν
the enemies fought in the front-of the into the
πόλιν φερουσῶν πυλῶν· ἔπειτα πολιορκούμενοι ὑπὸ τῶν
city leading gates then being-besieged by the
προσβοηθούντων ἐχώρουν πάλιν πρὸς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν· οἱ
reinforcements they-withdrew again toward the acropolis the
δὲ πολῖται συνεισπίπτουσιν αὐτοῖς. τὸ μὲν οὖν μέσον τῆς
and citizens burst-in-with them the indeed then middle of-the
ἀκροπόλεως εὐθὺς ἔρημον ἐγένετο· ἐπὶ δὲ τὸ τεῖχος καὶ
acropolis at-once empty became onto but the wall and

τοὺς πύργους ἀναβάντες οἱ πολέμιοι ἔπαιον καὶ ἔβαλλον
the towers having-climbed the enemies struck and pelted
τοὺς ἔνδον. οἱ δὲ χαμόθεν ἠμύνοντο καὶ κατὰ τὰς
the-ones inside they and from-the-ground defended-themselves and by the
ἐπὶ τὸ τεῖχος φερούσας κλίμακας προσεμάχοντο.
onto the wall leading ladders fought

8 ἐπεὶ δὲ τῶν ἔνθεν καὶ ἔνθεν πύργων ἐκράτησάν τινων
when and of-the on-this-side and on-that-side towers they-mastered some
οἱ πολῖται, ὁμόσε δὴ ἐχώρουν ἀπονενοημένως τοῖς
the citizens to-close-quarters indeed advanced desperately against-the
ἀναβεβηκόσιν. οἱ δὲ ὠθούμενοι ὑπ᾽ αὐτῶν τῇ τόλμῃ τε
having-climbed they and being-pushed by them by-the daring both
καὶ μάχῃ εἰς ἔλαττον συνειλοῦντο. ἐν δὲ τούτῳ τῷ καιρῷ οἱ
and fighting into smaller-space were-packed in and this the moment the
μὲν Ἀρκάδες καὶ οἱ Ἀργεῖοι περὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐκυκλοῦντο, καὶ
indeed Arcadians and the Argives around the city surrounded and
κατὰ κεφαλὴν τὸ τεῖχος τῆς ἀκροπόλεως διώρυττον· τῶν
from above the wall of-the acropolis were-digging-through of-the
δ᾽ ἔνδοθεν οἱ μὲν τοὺς ἐπὶ τοῦ τείχους, οἱ δὲ καὶ
and from-within the-ones indeed the-ones on the wall the-others and also
τοὺς ἔξωθεν ἔτι ἐπαναβαίνοντας, ἐπὶ ταῖς κλίμαξιν ὄντας,
the-ones from-outside still climbing on the ladders being
ἔπαιον, οἱ δὲ πρὸς τοὺς ἀναβεβηκότας αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τοὺς
struck the-others and against the-ones having-climbed of-them onto the
πύργους ἐμάχοντο, καὶ πῦρ εὑρόντες ἐν ταῖς σκηναῖς ὑφῆπτον
towers fought and fire having-found in the tents set-fire-to
αὐτούς, προσφοροῦντες τῶν δραγμάτων ἃ ἔτυχον ἐξ
them bringing-up of-the sheaves which happened from
αὐτῆς τῆς ἀκροπόλεως τεθερισμένα. ἐνταῦθα δὴ οἱ μὲν
the-very the acropolis harvested then indeed the-ones indeed

ἀπὸ τῶν πύργων τὴν φλόγα φοβούμενοι ἐξήλλοντο, οἱ
from the towers the flame fearing leaped-down the-others
δὲ ἐπὶ τῶν τειχῶν ὑπὸ τῶν ἀνδρῶν παιόμενοι ἐξέπιπτον.
but on the walls by the men being-struck fell-off
ἐπεὶ δ' ἅπαξ ἤρξαντο ὑπείκειν, ταχὺ δὴ πᾶσα ἡ 9
when and once they-began to-yield quickly indeed all the
ἀκρόπολις ἔρημος τῶν πολεμίων ἐγεγένητο. εὐθὺς δὲ
acropolis empty of-the enemies had-become at-once and
καὶ οἱ ἱππεῖς ἐξήλαυνον· οἱ δὲ πολέμιοι ἰδόντες αὐτοὺς
also the horsemen rode-out the but enemies having-seen them
ἀπεχώρουν, καταλιπόντες τάς τε κλίμακας καὶ τοὺς
withdrew having-left the both ladders and the
νεκρούς, ἐνίους δὲ καὶ ζῶντας ἀποκεχωλευμένους. ἀπέθανον
dead some and also living lamed died
δὲ τῶν πολεμίων οἵ τε ἔνδον μαχόμενοι καὶ οἱ
and of-the enemies the-ones both inside fighting and the-ones
ἔξω ἁλλόμενοι οὐκ ἐλάττους τῶν ὀγδοήκοντα. ἔνθα
outside leaping not fewer than-the eighty there
δὴ θεάσασθαι παρῆν ἐπὶ τῆς σωτηρίας τοὺς μὲν
indeed to-see it-was-possible for the deliverance the indeed
ἄνδρας δεξιουμένους ἀλλήλους, τὰς δὲ γυναῖκας πιεῖν τε
men greeting one-another the and women drink both
φερούσας καὶ ἅμα χαρᾷ δακρυούσας. πάντας δὲ
bringing and at-the-same-time from-joy weeping all and
τοὺς παρόντας τότε γε τῷ ὄντι κλαυσίγελως εἶχεν.
the present then at-least in-the reality laughing-weeping held
Ἐνέβαλον δὲ καὶ τῷ ὑστέρῳ ἔτει εἰς τὸν Φλειοῦντα οἵ τε 10
Invaded and also in-the following year into — Phlius the both
Ἀργεῖοι καὶ οἱ Ἀρκάδες ἅπαντες. αἴτιον δ' ἦν τοῦ ἐπικεῖσθαι
Argives and the Arcadians all cause and was of-the to-press
αὐτοὺς ἀεὶ τοῖς Φλειασίοις ὅτι ἅμα μὲν ὠργίζοντο
them always on-the Phliasians that at-the-same-time indeed they-were-angry

αὐτοῖς, ἅμα δὲ ἐν μέσῳ εἶχον, καὶ ἐν ἐλπίδι ἦσαν
with-them at-the-same-time and in middle they-had-them and in hope were
ἀεὶ διὰ τὴν ἀπορίαν τῶν ἐπιτηδείων παραστήσεσθαι
always because-of the lack of-the provisions to-bring-over
αὐτούς. οἱ δ' ἱππεῖς καὶ οἱ ἐπίλεκτοι τῶν Φλειασίων καὶ ἐν
them the and horsemen and the picked-men of-the Phliasians also in
ταύτῃ τῇ ἐμβολῇ ἐπὶ τῇ διαβάσει τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἐπιτίθενται
this the invasion at the crossing of-the river attack
σὺν τοῖς παροῦσι τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἱππεῦσι· καὶ κρατήσαντες
with the present of-the Athenians horsemen and having-prevailed
ἐποίησαν τοὺς πολεμίους τὸ λοιπὸν τῆς ἡμέρας ὑπὸ τὰς
made the enemies the rest of-the day under the
ἀκρωρείας ὑποχωρεῖν, ὥσπερ ἀπὸ φιλίου καρποῦ τοῦ ἐν
ridges to-withdraw as from friendly crop the in
τῷ πεδίῳ φυλαττομένους μὴ καταπατήσειαν.
the plain guarding-against lest they-trample

11 Αὖθις δέ ποτε ἐστράτευσεν εἰς τὸν Φλειοῦντα ὁ ἐν
Again and once marched against — Phlius the in
τῷ Σικυῶνι ἄρχων Θηβαῖος, ἄγων οὕς τε αὐτὸς εἶχε
— Sicyon commander Theban leading whom both himself he-had
φρουροὺς καὶ Σικυωνίους καὶ Πελληνέας· ἤδη γὰρ τότε
as-garrison and Sicyonians and Pellenians already for then
ἠκολούθουν τοῖς Θηβαίοις· καὶ Εὔφρων δὲ τοὺς αὑτοῦ
followed the Thebans and Euphron and the his-own
ἔχων μισθοφόρους περὶ δισχιλίους συνεστρατεύετο. οἱ μὲν
having mercenaries about two-thousand campaigned-with-them the indeed
οὖν ἄλλοι αὐτῶν διὰ τοῦ Τρικαράνου κατέβαινον ἐπὶ τὸ
then others of-them through — Tricaranum went-down to the
Ἥραιον, ὡς τὸ πεδίον φθεροῦντες· κατὰ δὲ τὰς εἰς Κόρινθον
Heraeum as the plain going-to-ravage at and the to Corinth
φερούσας πύλας ἐπὶ τοῦ ἄκρου κατέλιπε Σικυωνίους τε
leading gates on the height he-left Sicyonians both

καὶ Πελληνέας, ὅπως μὴ ταύτῃ περιελθόντες οἱ Φλειάσιοι
and Pellenians so-that not this-way having-gone-round the Phliasians
κατὰ κεφαλὴν αὐτῶν γένοιντο ὑπὲρ τοῦ Ἡραίου.
at head their should-get over the Heraeum
ὡς δ' ἔγνωσαν οἱ ἐκ τῆς πόλεως τοὺς πολεμίους 12
when and recognized the-ones from the city the enemies
ἐπὶ τὸ πεδίον ὡρμημένους, ἀντεξελθόντες οἵ τε
to the plain having-set-out having-come-out-against-them the both
ἱππεῖς καὶ οἱ ἐπίλεκτοι τῶν Φλειασίων ἐμάχοντο καὶ οὐκ
horsemen and the picked-men of-the Phliasians fought and not
ἀνίεσαν εἰς τὸ πεδίον αὐτούς. καὶ τὸ μὲν πλεῖστον τῆς
let-go into the plain them and the indeed greatest-part of-the
ἡμέρας ἐνταῦθα ἀκροβολιζόμενοι διῆγον, οἱ μὲν περὶ
day there skirmishing they-spent the-ones indeed around
τὸν Εὔφρονα ἐπιδιώκοντες μέχρι τοῦ ἱππασίμου, οἱ
— Euphron pursuing as-far-as the ground-fit-for-riding the-others
δὲ ἔνδοθεν μέχρι τοῦ Ἡραίου.
and from-within as-far-as the Heraeum
ἐπεὶ δὲ καιρὸς ἐδόκει εἶναι, ἀπῆσαν οἱ πολέμιοι κύκλῳ 13
when and the-moment it-seemed to-be went-away the enemies around
τοῦ Τρικαράνου· ὥστε γὰρ τὴν σύντομον πρὸς τοὺς
— of-Tricaranum so-as for the short-cut to the
Πελληνέας ἀφικέσθαι ἡ πρὸ τοῦ τείχους φάραγξ εἶργε.
Pellenians to-reach the before the wall ravine prevented
μικρὸν δ' αὐτοὺς πρὸς τὸ ὄρθιον προπέμψαντες οἱ
a-little and them toward the steep having-escorted the
Φλειάσιοι ἀποτρεπόμενοι ἵεντο τὴν παρὰ τὸ τεῖχος ἐπὶ
Phliasians turning-back rushed the-road along the wall against
τοὺς Πελληνέας καὶ τοὺς μετ' αὐτῶν.
the Pellenians and the-ones with them

14 καὶ οἱ περὶ τὸν Θηβαῖον δὲ αἰσθόμενοι τὴν σπουδὴν τῶν
and the-ones around the Theban and perceiving the haste of-the
Φλειασίων ἡμιλλῶντο ὅπως φθάσειαν τοῖς Πελληνεῦσι
Phliasians raced so-that they-might-anticipate the Pellenians
βοηθήσαντες. ἀφικόμενοι δὲ πρότεροι οἱ ἱππεῖς ἐμβάλλουσι
in-helping having-arrived and first the horsemen charge
τοῖς Πελληνεῦσι. δεξαμένων δὲ τὸ πρῶτον, ἐπαναχωρήσαντες
the Pellenians having-received but the first-charge having-withdrawn
πάλιν σὺν τοῖς παραγεγενημένοις τῶν πεζῶν ἐνέβαλον
again with the arrived of-the infantry they-charged
καὶ ἐκ χειρὸς ἐμάχοντο. καὶ ἐκ τούτου δὴ ἐγκλίνουσιν
and from hand fought and from this indeed give-way
οἱ πολέμιοι, καὶ ἀποθνήσκουσι τῶν τε Σικυωνίων τινὲς
the enemies and die of-the both Sicyonians some
καὶ τῶν Πελληνέων μάλα πολλοὶ καὶ ἄνδρες ἀγαθοί.
and of-the Pellenians very many and men good
15 τούτων δὲ γενομένων οἱ μὲν Φλειάσιοι τροπαῖον ἵσταντο
these-things and having-happened the indeed Phliasians a-trophy set-up
λαμπρὸν παιανίζοντες, ὥσπερ εἰκός· οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν
splendid singing-the-paean as (was)-fitting the but around the
Θηβαῖον καὶ τὸν Εὔφρονα περιεώρων ταῦτα, ὥσπερ ἐπὶ
Theban and — Euphron looked-on-at these-things as to
θέαν ἐπιδεδραμηκότες. τούτων δὲ πραχθέντων, οἱ μὲν
a-spectacle having-run-up these-things and having-been-done the-ones indeed
ἐπὶ Σικυῶνος ἀπῆλθον, οἱ δ' εἰς τὸ ἄστυ ἀπεχώρησαν.
toward Sicyon went-away the-others but into the town withdrew
16 Καλὸν δὲ καὶ τοῦτο διεπράξαντο οἱ Φλειάσιοι· τὸν
Fine-thing and also this accomplished the Phliasians the
γὰρ Πελληνέα πρόξενον ζῶντα λαβόντες, καίπερ πάντων
for Pellenian proxenus alive having-taken although of-everything
σπανιζόμενοι, ἀφῆκαν ἄνευ λύτρων. γενναίους μὲν
being-short they-released-him without ransom noble indeed

δὴ καὶ ἀλκίμους πῶς οὐκ ἄν τις φαίη εἶναι τοὺς
then and valiant how not — anyone would-say to-be the-ones
τοιαῦτα διαπραττομένους;
such-things doing
Ὥς γε μὴν καὶ διὰ καρτερίας τὴν πίστιν τοῖς φίλοις 17
That at-least truly also through endurance the faith to-the friends
διέσωζον περιφανές· οἳ ἐπεὶ εἴργοντο τῶν ἐκ τῆς γῆς
they-kept evident who when they-were-shut-off from-the from the land
καρπῶν, ἔζων τὰ μὲν ἐκ τῆς πολεμίας λαμβάνοντες,
crops lived partly indeed from the enemy-land taking
τὰ δὲ ἐκ Κορίνθου ὠνούμενοι, διὰ πολλῶν κινδύνων
partly and from Corinth buying through many dangers
ἐπὶ τὴν ἀγορὰν ἰόντες, χαλεπῶς μὲν τιμὴν πορίζοντες,
to the market going hardly indeed price providing
χαλεπῶς δὲ τοὺς κομίζοντας διαπραττόμενοι, γλίσχρως
hardly and the-ones conveying persuading grudgingly
δ' ἐγγυητὰς καθιστάντες τῶν ἀξόντων ὑποζυγίων.
and sureties furnishing for-the going-to-carry pack-animals
ἤδη δὲ παντάπασιν ἀποροῦντες Χάρητα διεπράξαντο 18
already and altogether being-at-a-loss Chares they-induced
σφίσι παραπέμψαι τὴν παραπομπήν. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐν Φλειοῦντι
for-them to-escort the convoy when and at Phlius
ἐγένετο, ἐδεήθησαν αὐτοῦ καὶ τοὺς ἀχρείους συνεκπέμψαι εἰς
he-was they-asked him also the useless to-send-out-with to
τὴν Πελλήνην. κἀκείνους μὲν ἐκεῖ κατέλιπον, ἀγοράσαντες
— Pellene and-those indeed there they-left having-bought
δὲ καὶ ἐπισκευασάμενοι ὁπόσα ἐδύναντο ὑποζύγια νυκτὸς
and also having-loaded as-many-as they-could pack-animals by-night
ἀπῆσαν, οὐκ ἀγνοοῦντες ὅτι ἐνεδρεύσοιντο ὑπὸ τῶν
went-away not being-ignorant that they-would-be-ambushed by the

πολεμίων, ἀλλὰ νομίζοντες χαλεπώτερον εἶναι τοῦ
enemies but thinking harder to-be than-the
μάχεσθαι τὸ μὴ ἔχειν τἀπιτήδεια.
to-fight the not to-have the-provisions

19 καὶ προῇσαν μὲν οἱ Φλειάσιοι μετὰ Χάρητος· ἐπεὶ δὲ
and advanced indeed the Phliasians with Chares when and
ἐνέτυχον τοῖς πολεμίοις, εὐθὺς ἔργου τε εἴχοντο καὶ
they-met the enemies at-once work both set-to and
παρακελευσάμενοι ἀλλήλοις ἐνέκειντο, καὶ ἅμα
having-exhorted one-another pressed-on and at-the-same-time
Χάρητα ἐπιβοηθεῖν ἐβόων. νίκης δὲ γενομένης καὶ
Chares to-help shouted victory and having-come-about and
ἐκβληθέντων ἐκ τῆς ὁδοῦ τῶν πολεμίων, οὕτω δὴ οἴκαδε
having-been-driven from the road the enemies so indeed home
καὶ ἑαυτοὺς καὶ ἃ ἦγον ἀπέσωσαν. ὡς δὲ τὴν
both themselves and what they-were-bringing got-safe since and the
νύκτα ἠγρύπνησαν, ἐκάθευδον μέχρι πόρρω τῆς ἡμέρας.
night they-had-been-sleepless they-slept until far-on into-the day

20 ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀνέστη ὁ Χάρης, προσελθόντες οἵ τε ἱππεῖς καὶ οἱ
when and rose — Chares having-approached the both horsemen and the
χρησιμώτατοι τῶν ὁπλιτῶν ἔλεγον· Ὦ Χάρης, ἔξεστί σοι
most-useful of-the hoplites said O Chares it-is-possible for-you
τήμερον κάλλιστον ἔργον διαπράξασθαι. χωρίον γὰρ ἐπὶ τοῖς
today a-very-fine deed to-accomplish a-place for on the
ὁρίοις ἡμῖν οἱ Σικυώνιοι τειχίζουσιν, οἰκοδόμους μὲν πολλοὺς
borders for-us the Sicyonians are-fortifying builders indeed many
ἔχοντες, ὁπλίτας δὲ οὐ πάνυ πολλούς. ἡγησόμεθα μὲν οὖν
having hoplites but not very many will-lead indeed then
ἡμεῖς οἱ ἱππεῖς καὶ τῶν ὁπλιτῶν οἱ ἐρρωμενέστατοι· σὺ δὲ
we the horsemen and of-the hoplites the strongest you and
τὸ ξενικὸν ἔχων ἐὰν ἀκολουθῇς, ἴσως μὲν διαπεπραγμένα
the mercenary-force having if you-follow perhaps indeed accomplished

σοι καταλήψει, ἴσως δὲ ἐπιφανεὶς σὺ τροπήν, ὥσπερ ἐν
for-you you-will-find-it perhaps and having-appeared you a-rout as at
Πελλήνῃ, ποιήσεις. εἰ δέ τι δυσχερές σοί ἐστὶν ὧν
Pellene will-make if but anything troublesome to-you is of-what
λέγομεν, ἀνακοίνωσαι τοῖς θεοῖς θυόμενος· οἰόμεθα γὰρ ἔτι σε
we-say consult the gods sacrificing we-think for even you
μᾶλλον ἡμῶν τοὺς θεοὺς ταῦτα πράττειν κελεύσειν. τοῦτο
more than-us the gods these-things to-do will-bid this
δὲ χρή, ὦ Χάρης, εὖ εἰδέναι, ὅτι ἐὰν ταῦτα πράξῃς,
and it-is-needful O Chares well to-know that if these-things you-do
τοῖς μὲν πολεμίοις ἐπιτετειχικὼς ἔσει, φιλίαν δὲ
on-the indeed enemies having-fortified-a-post-against you-will-be friendly and
πόλιν διασεσωκώς, εὐκλεέστατος δὲ ἐν τῇ πατρίδι ἔσει,
city having-saved most-glorious and in the fatherland you-will-be
ὀνομαστότατος δὲ καὶ ἐν τοῖς συμμάχοις καὶ πολεμίοις.
most-renowned and also among the allies and enemies
ὁ μὲν δὴ Χάρης πεισθεὶς ἐθύετο, τῶν δὲ Φλειασίων εὐθὺς 21
— indeed then Chares persuaded sacrificed of-the and Phliasians at-once
οἱ μὲν ἱππεῖς τοὺς θώρακας ἐνεδύοντο καὶ τοὺς ἵππους
the indeed horsemen the breastplates put-on and the horses
ἐχαλίνουν, οἱ δὲ ὁπλῖται ὅσα εἰς πεζὸν παρεσκευάζοντο.
bridled the but hoplites as-much-as for infantry prepared
ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀναλαβόντες τὰ ὅπλα ἐπορεύοντο ἔνθα ἐθύετο,
when and having-taken-up the arms they-marched where he-was-sacrificing
ἀπήντα αὐτοῖς ὁ Χάρης καὶ ὁ μάντις, καὶ ἔλεγον ὅτι
met them — Chares and the seer and said that
καλὰ τὰ ἱερά. ἀλλὰ περιμένετε, ἔφασαν· ἤδη γὰρ καὶ
favorable the sacrifices but wait they-said already for also
ἡμεῖς ἔξιμεν. ὡς δὲ τάχιστα ἐκηρύχθη, θείᾳ τινὶ
we will-go-out when and as-soon-as it-was-proclaimed with-divine a-certain
προθυμίᾳ καὶ οἱ μισθοφόροι ταχὺ ἐξέδραμον.
eagerness also the mercenaries quickly ran-out

22 ἐπεὶ δὲ Χάρης ἤρξατο πορεύεσθαι, προῆσαν αὐτοῦ οἱ
when and Chares began to-march went-ahead-of him the
τῶν Φλειασίων ἱππεῖς καὶ πεζοί· καὶ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον
of-the Phliasians horsemen and foot and the indeed first
ταχέως ἡγοῦντο, ἔπειτα δὲ ἐτρόχαζον· τέλος δὲ οἱ μὲν
quickly they-led then and ran finally and the indeed
ἱππεῖς κατὰ κράτος ἤλαυνον, οἱ δὲ πεζοὶ κατὰ κράτος
horsemen with all-speed rode the and foot with all-speed
ἔθεον ὡς δυνατὸν ἐν τάξει, οἷς καὶ ὁ Χάρης σπουδῇ
ran as possible in order whom also — Chares in-haste
ἐπηκολούθει. ἦν μὲν οὖν τῆς ὥρας μικρὸν πρὸ δύντος
followed it-was indeed then of-the hour a-little before setting
ἡλίου· κατελάμβανον δὲ τοὺς ἐν τῷ τείχει πολεμίους
sun they-caught and the in the fort enemies
τοὺς μὲν λουομένους, τοὺς δ' ὀψοποιουμένους, τοὺς
the-ones indeed bathing the-others and cooking the-others
δὲ φυρῶντας, τοὺς δὲ στιβάδας ποιουμένους.
and kneading the-others and beds making

23 ὡς δ' εἶδον τὴν σφοδρότητα τῆς ἐφόδου, εὐθὺς
when and they-saw the vehemence of-the attack at-once
ἐκπλαγέντες ἔφυγον, καταλιπόντες τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς
having-been-panic-stricken they-fled having-left to-the good
ἀνδράσι πάντα τἀπιτήδεια. κἀκεῖνοι μὲν ταῦτα
men all the-provisions and-those indeed these-things
δειπνήσαντες καὶ οἴκοθεν ἄλλα ἐλθόντα, ὡς ἐπ'
having-dined and from-home other-things having-come as for
εὐτυχίᾳ σπείσαντες καὶ παιανίσαντες καὶ φυλακὰς
good-fortune having-poured-libations and having-sung-the-paean and guards
καταστησάμενοι, κατέδαρθον. οἱ δὲ Κορίνθιοι, ἀφικομένου
having-set slept the and Corinthians having-arrived
τῆς νυκτὸς ἀγγέλου περὶ τῆς Θυαμίας, μάλα φιλικῶς
in-the night a-messenger about — Thyamia very in-friendly-fashion

κηρύξαντες τὰ ζεύγη καὶ τὰ ὑποζύγια πάντα καὶ σίτου
having-proclaimed the teams and the pack-animals all and with-grain
γεμίσαντες εἰς τὸν Φλειοῦντα παρήγαγον· καὶ ἕωσπερ
having-loaded to — Phlius conveyed and as-long-as
ἐτειχίζετο τὸ τεῖχος, ἑκάστης ἡμέρας παραπομπαὶ ἐγίγνοντο.
was-being-built the fort each day escorts took-place

III · EUPHRON OF SICYON

Aeneas of Stymphalus, general of the Arcadians, comes to Sicyon, summons its leading men, and recalls those exiled without a decree. Euphron flees to the harbor and hands it over to the Lacedaemonians. He later returns with mercenaries from Athens and holds the town with the people while a Theban harmost holds the acropolis. He then goes to Thebes with money to persuade the Thebans to make him master of the city again. Former exiles kill him on the acropolis of Thebes, and the magistrates prosecute them before the council. One of them confesses and argues that anyone may kill a traitor and tyrant, and the Thebans judge that Euphron died justly. His own citizens bring him home, bury him in the agora, and honor him as the city's founder.

Περὶ μὲν δὴ Φλειασίων, ὡς καὶ πιστοὶ τοῖς φίλοις 1
About indeed then Phliasians how both faithful to-the friends
ἐγένοντο καὶ ἄλκιμοι ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ διετέλεσαν, καὶ ὡς
they-were and valiant in the war continued and how
πάντων σπανίζοντες διέμενον ἐν τῇ συμμαχίᾳ, εἴρηται.
of-all being-short they-remained in the alliance it-has-been-told
σχεδὸν δὲ περὶ τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον Αἰνέας Στυμφάλιος,
about and around this the time Aeneas Stymphalian
στρατηγὸς τῶν Ἀρκάδων γεγενημένος, νομίσας οὐκ
general of-the Arcadians having-become having-thought not
ἀνεκτῶς ἔχειν τὰ ἐν τῷ Σικυῶνι, ἀναβὰς σὺν τῷ
tolerably to-be the-affairs in — Sicyon having-gone-up with the

ἑαυτοῦ στρατεύματι εἰς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν συγκαλεῖ τῶν
his-own army to the acropolis summons of-the
Σικυωνίων τῶν τε ἔνδον ὄντων τοὺς κρατίστους καὶ
Sicyonians of-the both inside being the most-powerful and
τοὺς ἄνευ δόγματος ἐκπεπτωκότας μετεπέμπετο.
the-ones without decree having-been-exiled he-sent-for

2 φοβηθεὶς δὲ ταῦτα ὁ Εὔφρων καταφεύγει εἰς τὸν
having-feared and these-things — Euphron flees to the
λιμένα τῶν Σικυωνίων, καὶ μεταπεμψάμενος Πασίμηλον
harbor of-the Sicyonians and having-sent-for Pasimelus
ἐκ Κορίνθου, διὰ τούτου παραδίδωσι τὸν λιμένα
from Corinth through this-one hands-over the harbor
τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις καὶ ἐν ταύτῃ αὖ τῇ συμμαχίᾳ
to-the Lacedaemonians and in this in-turn the alliance
ἀνεστρέφετο, λέγων ὡς Λακεδαιμονίοις διατελοίη πιστὸς
moved-about saying that to-Lacedaemonians he-continued faithful
ὤν. ὅτε γὰρ ψῆφος ἐδίδοτο ἐν τῇ πόλει, εἰ δοκοίη
being when for a-vote was-given in the city whether it-seemed-good
ἀφίστασθαι, μετ᾽ ὀλίγων ἀποψηφίσασθαι ἔφη·
to-revolt with few to-have-voted-against he-said

3 ἔπειτα δὲ τοὺς προδόντας ἑαυτὸν βουλόμενος τιμωρήσασθαι
then and the-ones having-betrayed him wishing to-punish
δῆμον καταστῆσαι. καὶ νῦν, ἔφη, φεύγουσιν ὑπ᾽ ἐμοῦ
a-democracy to-have-established and now he-said are-in-exile by me
πάντες οἱ ὑμᾶς προδιδόντες. εἰ μὲν οὖν ἐδυνάσθην
all the-ones you betraying if indeed then I-had-been-able
ἐγώ, ὅλην ἂν ἔχων τὴν πόλιν πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἀπέστην.
I whole — having the city to you I-would-have-revolted
νῦν δ᾽ οὗ ἐγκρατὴς ἐγενόμην τὸν λιμένα παραδέδωκα
now but of-what master I-became the harbor I-have-handed-over

ὑμῖν. ἠκροῶντο μὲν δὴ πολλοὶ αὐτοῦ ταῦτα· ὁπόσοι
to-you listened indeed then many him these-things as-many-as
δὲ ἐπείθοντο οὐ πάνυ κατάδηλον.
but were-persuaded not very evident
Ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἐπείπερ ἠρξάμην, διατελέσαι βούλομαι τὰ 4
But for since I-began to-complete I-wish the-things
περὶ Εὔφρονος. στασιασάντων γὰρ ἐν τῷ Σικυῶνι τῶν
about Euphron having-fallen-into-faction for in — Sicyon the
τε βελτίστων καὶ τοῦ δήμου, λαβὼν ὁ Εὔφρων Ἀθήνηθεν
both best and the people having-taken — Euphron from-Athens
ξενικὸν πάλιν κατέρχεται. καὶ τοῦ μὲν ἄστεως ἐκράτει
a-mercenary-force again returns and of-the indeed town was-master
σὺν τῷ δήμῳ· Θηβαίου δὲ ἁρμοστοῦ τὴν ἀκρόπολιν ἔχοντος,
with the people a-Theban but harmost the acropolis holding
ἐπεὶ ἔγνω οὐκ ἂν δυνάμενος τῶν Θηβαίων ἐχόντων τὴν
when he-recognized not — being-able the Thebans holding the
ἀκρόπολιν τῆς πόλεως κρατεῖν, συσκευασάμενος χρήματα
acropolis of-the city to-be-master having-packed-up money
ᾤχετο, ὡς τούτοις πείσων Θηβαίους ἐκβάλλειν μὲν
he-went as with-these going-to-persuade Thebans to-expel indeed
τοὺς κρατίστους, παραδοῦναι δ' αὐτῷ πάλιν τὴν πόλιν.
the most-powerful to-hand-over and to-him again the city
αἰσθόμενοι δὲ οἱ πρόσθεν φυγάδες τὴν ὁδὸν αὐτοῦ καὶ 5
having-perceived and the before exiles the journey his and
τὴν παρασκευήν, ἀντεπορεύοντο εἰς τὰς Θήβας. ὡς δ'
the preparation went-in-turn to — Thebes when and
ἑώρων αὐτὸν οἰκείως τοῖς ἄρχουσι συνόντα, φοβηθέντες
they-saw him intimately with-the rulers associating having-feared
μὴ διαπράξαιτο ἃ βούλεται, παρεκινδύνευσάν τινες
lest he-should-accomplish what he-wishes took-the-risk some
καὶ ἀποσφάττουσιν ἐν τῇ ἀκροπόλει τὸν Εὔφρονα, τῶν
and slaughter in the acropolis — Euphron the

τε ἀρχόντων καὶ τῆς βουλῆς συγκαθημένων. οἱ μέντοι
both rulers and the council sitting-together the however
ἄρχοντες τοὺς ποιήσαντας εἰσήγαγον εἰς τὴν βουλήν, καὶ
rulers the-ones having-done brought into the council and
ἔλεγον τάδε.
said the-following

6 Ὦ ἄνδρες πολῖται, ἡμεῖς τουτουσὶ τοὺς ἀποκτείναντας
O men citizens we these-here the having-killed
Εὔφρονα διώκομεν περὶ θανάτου, ὁρῶντες ὅτι οἱ μὲν
Euphron prosecute for death seeing that the indeed
σώφρονες οὐδὲν δήπου ἄδικον οὐδὲ ἀνόσιον ποιοῦσιν,
prudent nothing surely unjust nor unholy do
οἱ δὲ πονηροὶ ποιοῦσι μέν, λανθάνειν δὲ πειρῶνται,
the but wicked do indeed to-escape-notice but they-try
οὗτοι δὲ τοσοῦτον πάντας ἀνθρώπους ὑπερβεβλήκασι
these but so-much all men have-surpassed
τόλμῃ τε καὶ μιαρίᾳ ὥστε παρ᾽ αὐτάς τε τὰς
in-daring both and in-abomination that in-defiance-of the-very both the
ἀρχὰς καὶ παρ᾽ αὐτοὺς ὑμᾶς τοὺς κυρίους οὕστινας
magistrates and in-defiance-of yourselves you the sovereign-ones whoever
δεῖ ἀποθνῄσκειν καὶ οὕστινας μή, αὐτογνωμονήσαντες
must die and whoever not by-their-own-judgment
ἀπέκτειναν τὸν ἄνδρα. εἰ οὖν οὗτοι μὴ δώσουσι τὴν
killed the man if then these not shall-pay the
ἐσχάτην δίκην, τίς ποτε πρὸς τὴν πόλιν θαρρῶν
utmost penalty who ever to the city confidently
πορεύσεται; τί δὲ πείσεται ἡ πόλις, εἰ ἐξέσται τῷ
will-go what and will-suffer the city if it-shall-be-possible for-the
βουλομένῳ ἀποκτεῖναι πρὶν δηλῶσαι ὅτου ἕνεκα ἥκει
one-wishing to-kill before to-make-clear of-what for-the-sake has-come
ἕκαστος; ἡμεῖς μὲν δὴ τούτους διώκομεν ὡς ἀνοσιωτάτους
each we indeed then these prosecute as most-impious

καὶ ἀδικωτάτους καὶ ἀνομωτάτους καὶ πλεῖστον δὴ
and most-unjust and most-lawless and most indeed
ὑπεριδόντας τῆς πόλεως. ὑμεῖς δὲ ἀκηκοότες, ὁποίας τινὸς
having-despised the city you but having-heard of-what-sort some
ὑμῖν δοκοῦσιν ἄξιοι εἶναι δίκης, ταύτην αὐτοῖς ἐπίθετε.
to-you they-seem worthy to-be penalty this on-them impose
Οἱ μὲν ἄρχοντες τοιαῦτα εἶπον· τῶν δὲ ἀποκτεινάντων οἱ 7
The indeed rulers such-things said of-the but having-killed the
μὲν ἄλλοι ἠρνοῦντο μὴ αὐτόχειρες γεγενῆσθαι· εἷς δὲ
indeed others denied — the-actual-perpetrators to-have-been one but
ὡμολογήκει, καὶ τῆς ἀπολογίας ὧδέ πως ἤρχετο. Ἀλλ'
had-confessed and the defense thus somehow began But
ὑπερορᾶν μέν, ὦ Θηβαῖοι, οὐ δυνατὸν ὑμῶν ἀνδρὶ ὃς εἰδείη
to-disregard indeed O Thebans not possible you for-a-man who knew
κυρίους μὲν ὄντας ὅ τι βούλεσθε αὐτῷ χρῆσθαι· τίνι μὴν
masters indeed being what ever you-wish him to-use in-what then
πιστεύων ἐνθάδε ἀπέκτεινα τὸν ἄνδρα; εὖ ἴστε ὅτι πρῶτον
trusting here I-killed the man well know that first
μὲν τῷ νομίζειν δίκαιον ποιεῖν, ἔπειτα δὲ τῷ ὑμᾶς ὀρθῶς
indeed on-the to-think just to-do then and on-the you rightly
γνώσεσθαι· ᾔδειν γὰρ ὅτι καὶ ὑμεῖς τοὺς περὶ Ἀρχίαν
going-to-judge I-knew for that also you the-ones around Archias
καὶ Ὑπάτην, οὓς ἐλάβετε ὅμοια Εὔφρονι πεποιηκότας,
and Hypates whom you-caught like-things to-Euphron having-done
οὐ ψῆφον ἀνεμείνατε, ἀλλὰ ὁπότε πρῶτον ἐδυνάσθητε
not a-vote awaited but when first you-were-able
ἐτιμωρήσασθε, νομίζοντες τῶν τε περιφανῶς ἀνοσίων καὶ
punished thinking of-the both manifestly impious and
τῶν φανερῶς προδοτῶν καὶ τυραννεῖν ἐπιχειρούντων ὑπὸ
of-the openly traitors and to-be-tyrants attempting by
πάντων ἀνθρώπων θάνατον κατεγνῶσθαι.
all men death to-have-been-decreed

8 οὐκοῦν καὶ Εὔφρων πᾶσι τούτοις ἔνοχος ἦν· παραλαβὼν
well-then also Euphron to-all these liable was having-taken-over
μὲν γὰρ τὰ ἱερὰ μεστὰ καὶ ἀργυρῶν καὶ χρυσῶν
indeed for the temples full both of-silver and of-gold
ἀναθημάτων κενὰ πάντων τούτων ἀπέδειξε. προδότης γε
offerings empty of-all these he-made-them traitor at-least
μὴν τίς ἂν περιφανέστερος Εὔφρονος εἴη, ὃς φιλαίτατος
truly who — more-manifest than-Euphron would-be who most-friendly
μὲν ὢν Λακεδαιμονίοις ὑμᾶς ἀντ᾽ ἐκείνων εἵλετο, πιστὰ
indeed being to-Lacedaemonians you instead-of those chose pledges
δὲ δοὺς καὶ λαβὼν παρ᾽ ὑμῶν πάλιν προύδωκεν
and having-given and having-received from you again betrayed
ὑμᾶς καὶ παρέδωκε τοῖς ἐναντίοις τὸν λιμένα; καὶ μὴν
you and handed-over to-the opponents the harbor and truly
πῶς οὐκ ἀπροφασίστως τύραννος ἦν, ὃς δούλους μὲν οὐ
how not undeniably tyrant was-he who slaves indeed not
μόνον ἐλευθέρους ἀλλὰ καὶ πολίτας ἐποίει, ἀπεκτείννυε δὲ
only free but also citizens made killed but
καὶ ἐφυγάδευε καὶ χρήματα ἀφῃρεῖτο οὐ τοὺς ἀδικοῦντας,
also exiled and property took-away not the wrongdoers
ἀλλ᾽ οὓς αὐτῷ ἐδόκει; οὗτοι δὲ ἦσαν οἱ βέλτιστοι.
but whom to-him it-seemed-good these and were the best

9 αὖθις δὲ μετὰ τῶν ἐναντιωτάτων ὑμῖν Ἀθηναίων κατελθὼν
again and with the most-hostile to-you Athenians having-returned
εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἐναντία μὲν ἔθετο τὰ ὅπλα τῷ παρ᾽
into the city opposed indeed he-set the arms to-the from
ὑμῶν ἁρμοστῇ· ἐπεὶ δ᾽ ἐκεῖνον οὐκ ἐδυνάσθη ἐκ τῆς
you harmost when and that-one not he-was-able from the
ἀκροπόλεως ἐκβαλεῖν, συσκευασάμενος χρήματα δεῦρο
acropolis to-expel having-packed-up money hither
ἀφίκετο. καὶ εἰ μὲν ὅπλα ἠθροικὼς ἐφάνη ἐφ᾽
he-came and if indeed arms having-gathered he-had-appeared against

ὑμᾶς, καὶ χάριν ἄν μοι εἴχετε, εἰ ἀπέκτεινα αὐτόν·
you even gratitude — to-me you-would-have-had if I-killed him
ὃς δὲ χρήματα ἦλθε παρασκευασάμενος, ὡς τούτοις ὑμᾶς
who but money came having-prepared so-that with-these you
διαφθερῶν καὶ πείσων πάλιν κύριον αὐτὸν ποιῆσαι τῆς
to-corrupt and to-persuade again master him to-make of-the
πόλεως, τούτῳ ἐγὼ τὴν δίκην ἐπιθεὶς πῶς ἂν δικαίως
city on-this-one I the penalty having-imposed how — justly
ὑφ' ὑμῶν ἀποθάνοιμι; καὶ γὰρ οἱ μὲν ὅπλοις βιασθέντες
by you should-I-die and for the indeed by-arms forced
βλάπτονται μέν, οὐ μέντοι ἄδικοί γε ἀναφαίνονται, οἱ
are-harmed indeed not however unjust at-least are-shown-to-be the
δὲ χρήμασι παρὰ τὸ βέλτιστον διαφθαρέντες ἅμα
but by-money against the best corrupted at-the-same-time
μὲν βλάπτονται, ἅμα δὲ αἰσχύνῃ περιπίπτουσιν.
indeed are-harmed at-the-same-time and into-shame fall
εἰ μὲν τοίνυν ἐμοὶ μὲν πολέμιος ἦν, ὑμῖν δὲ φίλος, 10
if indeed then to-me indeed enemy he-was to-you but friend
κἀγὼ ὁμολογῶ μὴ καλῶς ἄν μοι ἔχειν παρ' ὑμῖν
I-too agree not well — for-me to-be in your-presence
τοῦτον ἀποκτεῖναι· ὁ δὲ ὑμᾶς προδιδοὺς τί ἐμοὶ
this-one to-kill the-one but you betraying how to-me
πολεμιώτερος ἦν ἢ ὑμῖν; ἀλλὰ νὴ Δία, εἴποι ἄν τις,
more-hostile was than to-you but by Zeus might-say — someone
ἑκὼν ἦλθε. ποῦ ἔχων ἐν Ἕλλησι σπονδὰς ἀποδεῖξαι
willingly he-came where having among Greeks treaties to-show
ἢ προδόταις ἢ παλιναυτομόλοις ἢ τυράννοις; κᾆτα εἰ
either for-traitors or for-turncoats or for-tyrants and-then if
μὲν ἀπεχόμενον τῆς ὑμετέρας πόλεως ἀπέκτεινέ τις
indeed keeping-away from-the your city had-killed anyone
αὐτόν, ἐπαίνου ἂν ἐτύγχανε, νῦν δὲ ὅτι πάλιν ἦλθεν
him praise — he-would-have-got now but because again he-came

ἄλλα πρὸς τοῖς πρόσθεν κακὰ ποιήσων, οὐ δικαίως
other-things in-addition-to the former evils going-to-do not justly
φήσει τις αὐτὸν τεθνάναι;
will-say anyone him to-have-died

11 πρὸς δὲ τούτοις ἀναμνήσθητε ὅτι καὶ ἐψηφίσασθε δήπου
besides and these remember that also you-voted surely
τοὺς φυγάδας ἀγωγίμους εἶναι ἐκ πασῶν τῶν συμμαχίδων.
the exiles extraditable to-be from all the allied-cities
ὅστις δὲ ἄνευ κοινοῦ τῶν συμμάχων δόγματος κατέρχεται
whoever and without common of-the allies decree returns
φυγάς, τοῦτον ἔχοι τις ἂν εἰπεῖν ὅπως οὐ δίκαιόν ἐστιν
an-exile this-one could anyone — to-say how not just it-is
ἀποθνῄσκειν; ἐγώ φημι, ὦ ἄνδρες, ἀποκτείναντας μὲν
to-die I say O men having-killed indeed
ὑμᾶς ἐμὲ τετιμωρηκότας ἔσεσθαι ἀνδρὶ τῷ πάντων ὑμῖν
you me to-have-avenged will-be a-man the of-all to-you
πολεμιωτάτῳ, γνόντας δὲ δίκαια πεποιηκέναι αὐτοὺς
most-hostile having-judged but just-things to-have-done yourselves
τετιμωρηκότας φανεῖσθαι ὑπέρ τε ὑμῶν αὐτῶν καὶ
having-avenged will-appear on-behalf-of both you yourselves and
ὑπὲρ τῶν συμμάχων ἁπάντων.
on-behalf-of the allies all

12 Οἱ μὲν οὖν Θηβαῖοι ταῦτα ἀκούσαντες ἔγνωσαν δίκαια
The indeed then Thebans these-things having-heard judged just-things
τὸν Εὔφρονα πεπονθέναι· οἱ μέντοι πολῖται αὐτοῦ ὡς
— Euphron to-have-suffered the however citizens his as
ἄνδρα ἀγαθὸν κομισάμενοι ἔθαψάν τε ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ καὶ
a-man good having-brought-home buried both in the agora and
ὡς ἀρχηγέτην τῆς πόλεως σέβονται. οὕτως, ὡς ἔοικεν, οἱ
as founder of-the city revere so as it-seems the

πλεῖστοι ὁρίζονται τοὺς εὐεργέτας ἑαυτῶν ἄνδρας ἀγαθοὺς
most define the benefactors their-own men good
εἶναι.
to-be

IV · OROPUS, ELIS, AND OLYMPIA

Exiles seize Oropus, and Athens, left without help by its allies, hands it to Thebes pending arbitration. Lycomedes wins Athens to an Arcadian alliance and is killed on his way home. Alarmed by an Athenian proposal about Corinth, the Corinthians send the Athenian garrisons away and, with Sparta's leave, make peace with Thebes. Elis and Arcadia go to war over Lasion, and the Arcadians seize Olympia. They besiege the garrison Archidamus leaves at Cromnus; he is wounded trying to relieve it, and a night attack frees only part of it. The Arcadians and Pisatans hold the games, and the Eleans fight them in the sacred precinct. A quarrel over the sacred treasure brings peace with Elis. A Theban officer at Tegea arrests leading Arcadians, then releases them, and Epaminondas threatens war.

Καὶ τὰ μὲν περὶ Εὔφρονος εἴρηται· ἐγὼ δὲ 1
And the-things indeed about Euphron have-been-told I and
ἔνθεν εἰς ταῦτα ἐξέβην ἐπάνειμι. ἔτι γὰρ τειχιζόντων
whence to these-things I-digressed return still for fortifying
τῶν Φλειασίων τὴν Θυαμίαν καὶ τοῦ Χάρητος ἔτι
the Phliasians — Thyamia and — Chares still
παρόντος Ὠρωπὸς ὑπὸ τῶν φευγόντων κατελήφθη ***
being-present Oropus by the exiles was-seized (lacuna)
στρατευσαμένων δὲ πάντων Ἀθηναίων ἐπ᾽ αὐτὸν καὶ τὸν
having-marched and all Athenians against it and —
Χάρητα μεταπεμψαμένων ἐκ τῆς Θυαμίας, ὁ μὲν λιμὴν
Chares having-sent-for from — Thyamia the indeed harbor
αὖ ὁ τῶν Σικυωνίων πάλιν ὑπ᾽ αὐτῶν τε τῶν πολιτῶν
in-turn the of-the Sicyonians again by themselves both the citizens

καὶ τῶν Ἀρκάδων ἁλίσκεται· τοῖς δ' Ἀθηναίοις οὐδεὶς
and the Arcadians is-taken for-the and Athenians no-one
τῶν συμμάχων ἐβοήθησεν, ἀλλ' ἀνεχώρησαν Θηβαίοις
of-the allies came-to-help but they-withdrew to-Thebans
παρακαταθέμενοι τὸν Ὠρωπὸν μέχρι δίκης.
having-deposited — Oropus until arbitration

2 Καταμαθὼν δὲ ὁ Λυκομήδης μεμφομένους τοὺς Ἀθηναίους
Having-noticed and — Lycomedes blaming the Athenians
τοῖς συμμάχοις, ὅτι αὐτοὶ μὲν πολλὰ πράγματα εἶχον
the allies because themselves indeed many troubles had
δι' ἐκείνους, ἀντεβοήθησε δ' αὐτοῖς οὐδείς, πείθει τοὺς
because-of them came-to-help-in-return but them no-one persuades the
μυρίους πράττειν περὶ συμμαχίας πρὸς αὐτούς. τὸ μὲν οὖν
ten-thousand to-negotiate about alliance with them the indeed then
πρῶτον ἐδυσχέραινόν τινες τῶν Ἀθηναίων τὸ Λακεδαιμονίοις
first were-displeased some of-the Athenians the to-Lacedaemonians
ὄντας φίλους γενέσθαι τοῖς ἐναντίοις αὐτῶν συμμάχους·
being friends to-become to-the opponents their allies
ἐπειδὴ δὲ λογιζόμενοι ηὕρισκον οὐδὲν μεῖον Λακεδαιμονίοις
when but reckoning they-found no less to-Lacedaemonians
ἢ σφίσιν ἀγαθὸν τὸ Ἀρκάδας μὴ προσδεῖσθαι Θηβαίων,
than to-themselves good the Arcadians not to-need-besides Thebans
οὕτω δὴ προσεδέχοντο τὴν τῶν Ἀρκάδων συμμαχίαν.
so indeed they-accepted the of-the Arcadians alliance

3 καὶ Λυκομήδης ταῦτα πράττων, ἀπιὼν Ἀθήνηθεν
and Lycomedes these-things doing going-away from-Athens
δαιμονιώτατα ἀποθνῄσκει. ὄντων γὰρ παμπόλλων πλοίων,
most-strangely dies being for very-many boats
ἐκλεξάμενος τούτων ὃ ἐβούλετο καὶ συνθέμενος τοῖς
having-chosen of-these which he-wished and having-agreed with-the
ναύταις ἀποβιβάσαι ὅποι αὐτὸς κελεύοι, εἵλετο ἐνταῦθα
sailors to-land-him wherever himself should-order chose there

ἐκβῆναι ἔνθα οἱ φυγάδες ἐτύγχανον ὄντες. κἀκεῖνος μὲν
to-disembark where the exiles happened being and-that-one indeed
οὕτως ἀποθνῄσκει, ἡ μέντοι συμμαχία ὄντως ἐπεραίνετο.
so dies the however alliance really was-accomplished
Εἰπόντος δὲ Δημοτίωνος ἐν τῷ δήμῳ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ὡς 4
Having-said and Demotion in the people of-the Athenians that
ἡ μὲν πρὸς τοὺς Ἀρκάδας φιλία καλῶς αὐτῷ δοκοίη
the indeed toward the Arcadians friendship well to-him seemed
πράττεσθαι, τοῖς μέντοι στρατηγοῖς προστάξαι ἔφη χρῆναι
to-be-managed to-the however generals to-order he-said it-was-needful
ὅπως καὶ Κόρινθος σῴα ᾖ τῷ δήμῳ τῶν Ἀθηναίων,
that also Corinth safe be for-the people of-the Athenians
ἀκούσαντες [δὲ] ταῦτα οἱ Κορίνθιοι ταχὺ πέμψαντες ἱκανοὺς
having-heard and these-things the Corinthians quickly having-sent sufficient
φρουροὺς ἑαυτῶν πάντοσε ὅπου Ἀθηναῖοι ἐφρούρουν εἶπαν
garrisons of-their-own everywhere where Athenians were-garrisoning told
αὐτοῖς ἀπιέναι, ὡς οὐδὲν ἔτι δεόμενοι φρουρῶν. οἱ δ'
them to-go-away as nothing any-longer needing garrisons they and
ἐπείθοντο. ὡς δὲ συνῆλθον οἱ ἐκ τῶν φρουρίων Ἀθηναῖοι
obeyed when and came-together the-ones from the forts Athenians
εἰς τὴν πόλιν, ἐκήρυξαν οἱ Κορίνθιοι, εἴ τις ἀδικοῖτο
into the city proclaimed the Corinthians if anyone was-wronged
Ἀθηναίων, ἀπογράφεσθαι, ὡς ληψομένους τὰ δίκαια.
of-Athenians to-register as going-to-get the just-things
οὕτω δὲ τούτων ἐχόντων Χάρης ἀφικνεῖται μετὰ ναυτικοῦ 5
so and these-things being Chares arrives with a-fleet
πρὸς Κεγχρειάς. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἔγνω τὰ πεπραγμένα, ἔλεξεν
at Cenchreae when and he-learned the-things done he-said
ὅτι ἀκούσας ἐπιβουλεύεσθαι τῇ πόλει βοηθῶν παρείη.
that having-heard to-be-plotted-against the city helping he-was-present
οἱ δ' ἐπαινέσαντες αὐτὸν οὐδέν τι μᾶλλον ἐδέχοντο
they but having-praised him not-at-all anything more received

τὰς ναῦς εἰς τὸν λιμένα, ἀλλ᾽ ἀποπλεῖν ἐκέλευον· καὶ
the ships into the harbor but to-sail-off bade and
τοὺς ὁπλίτας δὲ τὰ δίκαια ποιήσαντες ἀπέπεμψαν. ἐκ
the hoplites and the just-things having-done sent-away from
μὲν οὖν τῆς Κορίνθου οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι οὕτως ἀπηλλάγησαν.
indeed then — Corinth the Athenians so were-rid
6 τοῖς μέντοι Ἀρκάσι πέμπειν ἠναγκάζοντο τοὺς ἱππέας
to-the however Arcadians to-send were-compelled the horsemen
ἐπικούρους διὰ τὴν συμμαχίαν, εἴ τις στρατεύοιτο
as-auxiliaries because-of the alliance if anyone should-march
ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀρκαδίαν· τῆς δὲ Λακωνικῆς οὐκ ἐπέβαινον
against — Arcadia of-the but Laconian-land not set-foot-on
ἐπὶ πολέμῳ. Τοῖς δὲ Κορινθίοις ἐνθυμουμένοις ὡς
for war To-the and Corinthians considering how
χαλεπῶς ἔχοι αὐτοὺς σωθῆναι, κρατουμένους μὲν καὶ
hard it-was them to-be-saved being-overpowered indeed even
πρόσθεν κατὰ γῆν, προσγεγενημένων δὲ αὐτοῖς Ἀθηναίων
before by land having-been-added and to-them Athenians
ἀνεπιτηδείων, ἔδοξεν ἀθροίζειν καὶ πεζοὺς καὶ ἱππέας
unfriendly it-seemed-good to-collect both foot and horsemen
μισθοφόρους. ἡγούμενοι δὲ τούτων, ἅμα μὲν τὴν
mercenaries leading and these at-the-same-time indeed the
πόλιν ἐφύλαττον, ἅμα δὲ πολλὰ τοὺς πλησίον
city they-guarded at-the-same-time and much the nearby
πολεμίους κακῶς ἐποίουν· εἰς μέντοι Θήβας ἔπεμψαν
enemies badly treated to however Thebes they-sent
ἐπερησομένους εἰ τύχοιεν ἂν ἐλθόντες εἰρήνης.
going-to-ask if they-would-obtain — having-come peace
7 ἐπεὶ δὲ οἱ Θηβαῖοι ἰέναι ἐκέλευον ὡς ἐσομένης, ἐδεήθησαν
when and the Thebans to-come bade as it-would-be asked
οἱ Κορίνθιοι ἐᾶσαι σφᾶς ἐλθεῖν καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς συμμάχους,
the Corinthians to-allow them to-go also to the allies

ὡς μετὰ μὲν τῶν βουλομένων ποιησόμενοι τὴν
so-that with indeed the-ones wishing going-to-make the
εἰρήνην, τοὺς δὲ πόλεμον αἱρουμένους ἐάσοντες πολεμεῖν.
peace the-ones but war choosing going-to-allow to-make-war
ἐφέντων δὲ καὶ ταῦτα πράττειν τῶν Θηβαίων,
having-permitted and also these-things to-do the Thebans
ἐλθόντες εἰς Λακεδαίμονα οἱ Κορίνθιοι εἶπον·
having-come to Lacedaemon the Corinthians said
Ἡμεῖς, ὦ ἄνδρες Λακεδαιμόνιοι, πρὸς ὑμᾶς πάρεσμεν 8
We O men Lacedaemonians to you are-present
ὑμέτεροι φίλοι, καὶ ἀξιοῦμεν, εἰ μέν τινα ὁρᾶτε σωτηρίαν
your friends and we-ask if indeed any you-see safety
ἡμῖν, ἐὰν διακαρτερῶμεν πολεμοῦντες, διδάξαι καὶ ἡμᾶς· εἰ
for-us if we-hold-out warring to-teach also us if
δὲ ἀπόρως γιγνώσκετε ἔχοντα τὰ ἡμέτερα, εἰ μὲν καὶ ὑμῖν
but helplessly you-recognize being the our-affairs if indeed also for-you
συμφέρει, ποιήσασθαι μεθ' ἡμῶν τὴν εἰρήνην (ὡς οὐδὲ
it-is-advantageous to-make with us the peace as not-even
μετ' οὐδένων ἂν ἥδιον ἢ μεθ' ὑμῶν σωθείημεν), εἰ μέντοι
with any — more-gladly than with you we-would-be-saved if however
ὑμεῖς λογίζεσθε συμφέρειν ὑμῖν πολεμεῖν, δεόμεθα ὑμῶν
you reckon it-to-be-advantageous for-you to-make-war we-ask you
ἐâσαι ἡμᾶς εἰρήνην ποιήσασθαι. σωθέντες μὲν γὰρ ἴσως
to-allow us peace to-make saved indeed for perhaps
ἂν αὖθις ἔτι ποτὲ ἐν καιρῷ ὑμῖν γενοίμεθα· ἐὰν δὲ νῦν
— again still sometime in season to-you we-might-be if but now
ἀπολώμεθα, δῆλον ὅτι οὐδέποτε χρήσιμοι ἔτι ἐσόμεθα.
we-perish clear that never useful any-longer we-shall-be
ἀκούσαντες δὲ ταῦτα οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι τοῖς τε Κορινθίοις 9
having-heard and these-things the Lacedaemonians the both Corinthians
συνεβούλευον τὴν εἰρήνην ποιήσασθαι καὶ τῶν ἄλλων
advised the peace to-make and of-the other

συμμάχων ἐπέτρεψαν τοῖς μὴ βουλομένοις σὺν ἑαυτοῖς
allies permitted the-ones not wishing with them
πολεμεῖν ἀναπαύεσθαι· αὐτοὶ δ' ἔφασαν πολεμοῦντες
to-make-war to-rest themselves but they-said warring
πράξειν ὅ τι ἂν τῷ θεῷ φίλον ᾖ· ὑφήσεσθαι δὲ
to-do what ever — to-the god dear be to-submit but
οὐδέποτε, ἣν παρὰ τῶν πατέρων παρέλαβον Μεσσήνην,
never which from the fathers they-received Messene
ταύτης στερηθῆναι.
this to-be-deprived-of
οἱ οὖν Κορίνθιοι ἀκούσαντες ταῦτα ἐπορεύοντο εἰς τὰς
the then Corinthians having-heard these-things marched to —
Θήβας ἐπὶ τὴν εἰρήνην. οἱ μέντοι Θηβαῖοι ἠξίουν αὐτοὺς
Thebes for the peace the however Thebans claimed them
καὶ συμμαχίαν ὀμνύναι· οἱ δὲ ἀπεκρίναντο ὅτι ἡ μὲν
also alliance to-swear they but answered that the indeed
συμμαχία οὐκ εἰρήνη, ἀλλὰ πολέμου μεταλλαγὴ εἴη·
alliance not peace but of-war exchange was
εἰ δὲ βούλοιντο, παρεῖναι ἔφασαν τὴν δικαίαν εἰρήνην
if but they-wished to-be-present they-said the just peace
ποιησόμενοι. ἀγασθέντες δὲ αὐτοὺς οἱ Θηβαῖοι, ὅτι καίπερ
going-to-make having-admired and them the Thebans that although
ἐν κινδύνῳ ὄντες οὐκ ἤθελον τοῖς εὐεργέταις εἰς
in danger being not they-were-willing with-the benefactors into
πόλεμον καθίστασθαι, συνεχώρησαν αὐτοῖς καὶ Φλειασίοις
war to-be-placed agreed to-them and Phliasians
καὶ τοῖς ἐλθοῦσι μετ' αὐτῶν εἰς Θήβας τὴν εἰρήνην ἐφ'
and the-ones having-come with them to Thebes the peace on
ᾧτε ἔχειν τὴν ἑαυτῶν ἑκάστους.
condition-that to-hold the their-own each

καὶ ἐπὶ τούτοις ὠμόσθησαν οἱ ὅρκοι. οἱ μὲν δὴ Φλειάσιοι, 11
and on these-terms were-sworn the oaths the indeed then Phliasians
ἐπεὶ οὕτως ἡ ξύμβασις ἐγένετο, εὐθὺς ἀπῆλθον ἐκ τῆς
when so the agreement came-about at-once went-away from —
Θυαμίας· οἱ δὲ Ἀργεῖοι ὀμόσαντες ἐπὶ τοῖς αὐτοῖς τούτοις
Thyamia the but Argives having-sworn on the same these-terms
εἰρήνην ποιήσεσθαι, ἐπεὶ οὐκ ἐδύναντο καταπρᾶξαι ὥστε
peace to-make since not they-were-able to-accomplish so-that
τοὺς τῶν Φλειασίων φυγάδας μένειν ἐν τῷ Τρικαράνῳ ὡς
the of-the Phliasians exiles should-stay in — Tricaranum as
ἐν τῇ ἑαυτῶν πόλει οἰκοῦντας, παραλαβόντες ἐφρούρουν,
in the their-own city inhabiting having-taken-it-over they-garrisoned
φάσκοντες σφετέραν τὴν γῆν ταύτην εἶναι, ἣν ὀλίγῳ
claiming their-own the land this to-be which a-little
πρότερον ὡς πολεμίαν οὖσαν ἐδῄουν, καὶ δίκας τῶν
before as hostile being they-ravaged and arbitration the
Φλειασίων προκαλουμένων οὐκ ἐδίδοσαν.
Phliasians proposing not they-granted
Σχεδὸν δὲ περὶ τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον τετελευτηκότος ἤδη 12
About and around this the time having-died already
τοῦ πρόσθεν Διονυσίου ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ πέμπει βοήθειαν
the elder Dionysius the son his sends help
τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις δώδεκα τριήρεις καὶ ἄρχοντα αὐτῶν
to-the Lacedaemonians twelve triremes and as-commander of-them
Τιμοκράτη. οὗτος οὖν ἀφικόμενος συνεξαιρεῖ αὐτοῖς
Timocrates this-man then having-arrived helps-take for-them
Σελλασίαν· καὶ τοῦτο πράξας ἀπέπλευσεν οἴκαδε. Μετὰ
Sellasia and this having-done sailed-off home After
δὲ τοῦτο οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον καταλαμβάνουσιν οἱ Ἠλεῖοι
and this not much later seize the Eleans

Λασιῶνα, τὸ μὲν παλαιὸν ἑαυτῶν ὄντα, ἐν δὲ τῷ
Lasion the indeed of-old their-own being at but the
παρόντι συντελοῦντα εἰς τὸ Ἀρκαδικόν.
present belonging to the Arcadian-league

13 οἱ μέντοι Ἀρκάδες οὐ παρωλιγώρησαν, ἀλλ' εὐθὺς
the however Arcadians not neglected-it but at-once
παραγγείλαντες ἐβοήθουν. ἀντεβοήθησαν δὲ καὶ τῶν Ἠλείων
having-sent-orders came-to-help came-to-help-in-return and also of-the Eleans
οἱ τριακόσιοι, καὶ ἔτι τετρακόσιοι. ἀντεστρατοπεδευμένων
the three-hundred and further four-hundred encamped-opposite
δὲ τὴν ἡμέραν ἐν ἐπιπεδεστέρῳ χωρίῳ τῶν Ἠλείων
and the day on more-level ground the Eleans
τῆς νυκτὸς οἱ Ἀρκάδες ἀναβαίνουσιν ἐπὶ τὴν τοῦ ὑπὲρ
in-the night the Arcadians go-up to the of-the above
τῶν Ἠλείων ὄρους κορυφήν· ἅμα δὲ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ
the Eleans mountain summit at-the-same-time and with-the day
κατέβαινον ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἠλείους. οἱ δὲ ἰδόντες ἅμα μὲν
they-came-down on the Eleans they and having-seen at-the-same-time indeed
ἐξ ὑπερδεξίου προσιόντας, ἅμα δὲ πολλαπλασίους,
from higher-ground approaching at-the-same-time and many-times-as-many
ἐκ πολλοῦ μὲν ἀπελθεῖν ᾐσχύνθησαν, ὁμόσε δ' ἦλθον
from far indeed to-go-away they-were-ashamed to-close-quarters but they-came
καὶ εἰς χεῖρας δεξάμενοι ἔφυγον· καὶ πολλοὺς μὲν ἄνδρας,
and into hands having-received-them they-fled and many indeed men
πολλὰ δὲ ὅπλα ἀπώλεσαν, κατὰ δυσχωρίας ἀποχωροῦντες.
many and arms lost over rough-ground withdrawing

14 Οἱ δὲ Ἀρκάδες διαπραξάμενοι ταῦτα ἐπορεύοντο ἐπὶ
The and Arcadians having-accomplished these-things marched against
τὰς τῶν Ἀκρωρείων πόλεις. λαβόντες δὲ ταύτας πλὴν
the of-the Acroreians cities having-taken and these except
Θραύστου ἀφικνοῦνται εἰς Ὀλυμπίαν, καὶ περισταυρώσαντες
Thraustus they-arrive at Olympia and having-staked-round

τὸ Κρόνιον ἐνταῦθα ἐφρούρουν καὶ ἐκράτουν τοῦ Ὀλυμπικοῦ
the Cronium there they-garrisoned and were-masters of-the Olympian
ὄρους· ἔλαβον δὲ καὶ Μαργανέας ἐνδόντων τινῶν. οὕτω
mountain they-took and also Marganians betraying-it some so
δὲ προκεχωρηκότων οἱ μὲν Ἠλεῖοι αὖ παντάπασιν
and having-advanced the indeed Eleans in-turn altogether
ἠθύμησαν, οἱ δὲ Ἀρκάδες ἔρχονται ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν. καὶ
lost-heart the but Arcadians come against the city and
μέχρι μὲν τῆς ἀγορᾶς ἦλθον· ἐκεῖ μέντοι ὑποστάντες
as-far-as indeed the agora they-came there however having-withstood
οἵ τε ἱππεῖς καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι αὐτῶν ἐκβάλλουσί τε αὐτοὺς
the both horsemen and the others of-them drive-out both them
καὶ ἀπέκτεινάν τινας καὶ τροπαῖον ἐστήσαντο.
and killed some and a-trophy set-up
ἦν μὲν οὖν καὶ πρότερον διαφορὰ ἐν τῇ Ἤλιδι. οἱ 15
there-was indeed then also before dissension in — Elis the-ones
μὲν γὰρ περὶ Χάροπόν τε καὶ Θρασωνίδαν καὶ Ἀργεῖον εἰς
indeed for around Charopus both and Thrasonidas and Argeius toward
δημοκρατίαν ἦγον τὴν πόλιν, οἱ δὲ περὶ †Στάλκαν
democracy were-leading the city the-ones but around Stalcas
τε καὶ Ἱππίαν καὶ Στρατόλαν εἰς ὀλιγαρχίαν. ἐπεὶ δ' οἱ
both and Hippias and Stratolas toward oligarchy when and the
Ἀρκάδες μεγάλην δύναμιν ἔχοντες σύμμαχοι ἐδόκουν εἶναι
Arcadians great power having allies seemed to-be
τοῖς δημοκρατεῖσθαι βουλομένοις, ἐκ τούτου δὴ
for-the-ones to-be-democratically-governed wishing from this indeed
θρασύτεροι οἱ περὶ τὸν Χάροπον ἦσαν, καὶ συνθέμενοι
bolder the-ones around — Charopus were and having-agreed
τοῖς Ἀρκάσιν ἐπιβοηθεῖν καταλαμβάνουσι τὴν ἀκρόπολιν.
with-the Arcadians to-come-to-help seize the acropolis

16 οἱ δ᾽ ἱππεῖς καὶ οἱ τριακόσιοι οὐκ ἐμέλλησαν, ἀλλ᾽ εὐθὺς
the and horsemen and the three-hundred not delayed but at-once
ἐχώρουν ἄνω, καὶ ἐκκρούουσιν αὐτούς· ὥστ᾽ ἔφυγον σὺν
advanced up and drive-out them so-that fled with
τῷ Ἀργείῳ καὶ Χαρόπῳ τῶν πολιτῶν περὶ τετρακοσίους.
— Argeius and Charopus of-the citizens about four-hundred
οὐ πολὺ δ᾽ ὕστερον οὗτοι παραλαβόντες τῶν Ἀρκάδων
not much and later these having-taken-along of-the Arcadians
τινὰς καταλαμβάνουσι Πύλον. καὶ πολλοὶ μέντοι πρὸς
some seize Pylus and many indeed to
αὐτοὺς ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἀπῆσαν τοῦ δήμου, ἅτε
them from the city went-away of-the people inasmuch-as
χωρίον τε καλὸν καὶ μεγάλην ῥώμην τὴν τῶν Ἀρκάδων
a-place both fine and great strength the of-the Arcadians
σύμμαχον ἔχοντας. ἐνέβαλον δὲ καὶ ὕστερον εἰς τὴν
as-ally having they-invaded and also later into the
χώραν τὴν τῶν Ἠλείων οἱ Ἀρκάδες, ὑπὸ τῶν φευγόντων
land the of-the Eleans the Arcadians by the exiles
ἀναπειθόμενοι ὡς ἡ πόλις προσχωρήσοιτο.
being-persuaded that the city would-come-over

17 ἀλλὰ τότε μὲν οἱ Ἀχαιοὶ φίλοι γεγενημένοι τοῖς Ἠλείοις
but then indeed the Achaeans friends having-become to-the Eleans
τὴν πόλιν αὐτῶν διεφύλαξαν· ὥστε οἱ Ἀρκάδες οὐδὲν ἄλλο
the city their protected so-that the Arcadians nothing else
πράξαντες ἢ δηώσαντες αὐτῶν τὴν χώραν ἀπῆλθον.
having-done than having-ravaged their the land went-away
εὐθὺς μέντοι ἐκ τῆς Ἠλείας ἐξιόντες, αἰσθόμενοι τοὺς
at-once however from — Elis going-out having-perceived the
Πελληνέας ἐν Ἤλιδι ὄντας, νυκτὸς μακροτάτην ὁδὸν
Pellenians in Elis being by-night longest road
ἐλθόντες καταλαμβάνουσιν αὐτῶν Ὄλουρον· ἤδη γὰρ
having-gone seize their Olurus already for

πάλιν προσεκεχωρήκεσαν οἱ Πελληνεῖς εἰς τὴν τῶν
again had-gone-over the Pellenians to the of-the
Λακεδαιμονίων συμμαχίαν.
Lacedaemonians alliance

ἐπεὶ δ' ᾔσθοντο τὰ περὶ Ὀλούρου, περιελθόντες αὖ καὶ 18
when and they-perceived the-things about Olurus having-gone-round in-turn also
οὗτοι ὅπῃ ἐδύναντο εἰς τὴν αὐτῶν πόλιν Πελλήνην εἰσῆλθον.
these where they-could into the their-own city Pellene entered
καὶ ἐκ τούτου δὴ ἐπολέμουν τοῖς ἐν Ὀλούρῳ Ἀρκάσι τε
and from this indeed they-made-war on-the in Olurus Arcadians both
καὶ τῷ ἑαυτῶν παντὶ δήμῳ μάλα ὀλίγοι ὄντες· ὅμως δὲ
and the their-own whole people very few being nevertheless and
οὐ πρόσθεν ἐπαύσαντο πρὶν ἐξεπολιόρκησαν τὸν Ὄλουρον.
not sooner stopped before they-reduced-by-siege — Olurus

Οἱ δ' αὖ Ἀρκάδες πάλιν ποιοῦνται ἄλλην στρατείαν 19
The but in-turn Arcadians again make another campaign
εἰς τὴν Ἦλιν. μεταξὺ δὲ Κυλλήνης καὶ τῆς πόλεως
into — Elis between and Cyllene and the city
στρατοπεδευομένοις αὐτοῖς ἐπιτίθενται οἱ Ἠλεῖοι, ὑποστάντες
encamping them attack the Eleans having-stood
δὲ οἱ Ἀρκάδες ἐνίκησαν αὐτούς. καὶ Ἀνδρόμαχος μὲν
but the Arcadians defeated them and Andromachus indeed
ὁ Ἠλεῖος ἵππαρχος, ὅσπερ αἴτιος ἐδόκει εἶναι τὴν
the Elean hipparch who-very responsible seemed to-be the
μάχην συνάψαι, αὐτὸς αὑτὸν διέφθειρεν· οἱ δ' ἄλλοι εἰς
battle to-have-joined himself himself destroyed the and others into
τὴν πόλιν ἀπεχώρησαν. ἀπέθανε δὲ ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ μάχῃ
the city withdrew died and in this the battle
παραγενόμενος καὶ Σωκλείδης ὁ Σπαρτιάτης· ἤδη γὰρ
being-present also Socleides the Spartiate already for
τότε οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι σύμμαχοι τοῖς Ἠλείοις ἦσαν.
then the Lacedaemonians allies to-the Eleans were

20 πιεζόμενοι δὲ οἱ Ἠλεῖοι ἐν τῇ ἑαυτῶν ἠξίουν καὶ τοὺς
being-pressed and the Eleans in the their-own asked also the
Λακεδαιμονίους πέμποντες πρέσβεις ἐπιστρατεύειν τοῖς
Lacedaemonians sending envoys to-march-against the
Ἀρκάσι, νομίζοντες οὕτως ἂν μάλιστα ἀποβαλεῖν τοὺς
Arcadians thinking so — most to-throw-off the
Ἀρκάδας, εἰ ἀμφοτέρωθεν πολεμοῖντο. καὶ ἐκ τούτου
Arcadians if on-both-sides they-were-warred-upon and from this
δὴ Ἀρχίδαμος στρατεύεται μετὰ τῶν πολιτῶν, καὶ
indeed Archidamus campaigns with the citizens and
καταλαμβάνει Κρῶμνον. καταλιπὼν δ' ἐν αὐτῷ φρουρὰν
seizes Cromnus having-left and in it a-garrison
τῶν δώδεκα λόχων τρεῖς, οὕτως ἐπ' οἴκου ἀνεχώρησεν.
of-the twelve companies three so for home withdrew
21 οἱ μέντοι Ἀρκάδες, ὥσπερ ἔτυχον ἐκ τῆς εἰς Ἦλιν
the however Arcadians as they-happened from the into Elis
στρατείας συνειλεγμένοι, βοηθήσαντες περιεσταύρωσαν τὸν
campaign gathered having-come-to-help staked-round —
Κρῶμνον διπλῷ σταυρώματι, καὶ ἐν ἀσφαλεῖ ὄντες
Cromnus with-double stockade and in safety being
ἐπολιόρκουν τοὺς ἐν τῷ Κρώμνῳ. χαλεπῶς δὲ ἡ τῶν
besieged the-ones in — Cromnus hard and the of-the
Λακεδαιμονίων πόλις φέρουσα ἐπὶ τῇ πολιορκίᾳ τῶν
Lacedaemonians city bearing at the siege of-the
πολιτῶν, ἐκπέμπει στρατιάν· ἡγεῖτο δὲ καὶ τότε Ἀρχίδαμος.
citizens sends-out an-army led and also then Archidamus
ἐλθὼν δὲ ἐδῄου καὶ τῆς Ἀρκαδίας ὅσα ἐδύνατο
having-come and ravaged both — of-Arcadia as-much-as he-could
καὶ τῆς Σκιρίτιδος, καὶ πάντα ἐποίει ὅπως, εἰ δύναιτο,
and — of-Sciritis and everything did so-that if he-could

ἀπαγάγοι τοὺς πολιορκοῦντας. οἱ δὲ Ἀρκάδες οὐδέν
he-might-draw-off the besiegers the but Arcadians not-at-all
τι μᾶλλον ἐκινοῦντο, ἀλλὰ ταῦτα πάντα παρεώρων.
anything more were-moved but these-things all they-disregarded
κατιδὼν δέ τινα λόφον ὁ Ἀρχίδαμος, δι' οὗ τὸ ἔξω 22
having-observed and a-certain hill — Archidamus through which the outer
σταύρωμα περιεβέβλητο οἱ Ἀρκάδες, ἐνόμισεν ἑλεῖν ἂν
stockade had-been-drawn-round the Arcadians he-thought to-take —
τοῦτον, καὶ εἰ τούτου κρατήσειεν, οὐκ ἂν δύνασθαι μένειν
it and if this he-should-master not — to-be-able to-stay
τοὺς ὑπὸ τούτῳ πολιορκοῦντας. κύκλῳ δὲ περιάγοντος
the-ones under it besieging in-a-circle and leading-round
αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τοῦτο τὸ χωρίον, ὡς εἶδον οἱ προθέοντες τοῦ
him to this the place when saw the running-ahead —
Ἀρχιδάμου πελτασταὶ τοὺς ἐπαρίτους ἔξω τοῦ σταυρώματος,
of-Archidamus peltasts the Eparitoi outside the stockade
ἐπιτίθενται αὐτοῖς, καὶ οἱ ἱππεῖς συνεμβάλλειν ἐπειρῶντο. οἱ
they-attack them and the horsemen to-charge-with-them tried they
δ' οὐκ ἐνέκλιναν, ἀλλὰ συντεταγμένοι ἡσυχίαν εἶχον. οἱ δ'
but not gave-way but drawn-up quiet kept they and
αὖ πάλιν ἐνέβαλον. ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐδὲ τότε ἐνέκλιναν, ἀλλὰ
in-turn again charged when and not-even then they-gave-way but
καὶ ἐπῆσαν, ἤδη οὔσης πολλῆς κραυγῆς, ἐβοήθει δὴ καὶ
even advanced already being much shouting came-to-help indeed also
αὐτὸς ὁ Ἀρχίδαμος, ἐκτραπόμενος κατὰ τὴν ἐπὶ Κρῶμνον
himself — Archidamus having-turned-aside by the toward Cromnus
φέρουσαν ἁμαξιτόν, εἰς δύο ἄγων, ὥσπερ ἐτύγχανεν ἔχων.
leading wagon-road in two leading as he-happened having
ὡς δ' ἐπλησίασαν ἀλλήλοις, οἱ μὲν σὺν τῷ Ἀρχιδάμῳ 23
when and approached one-another the-ones indeed with — Archidamus
κατὰ κέρας, ἅτε καθ' ὁδὸν πορευόμενοι, οἱ δ'
in column inasmuch-as along road marching the but

Ἀρκάδες ἀθρόοι συνασπιδοῦντες, ἐν τούτῳ οὐκέτι ἐδύναντο
Arcadians massed locking-shields in this no-longer could
οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἀντέχειν τῷ τῶν Ἀρκάδων πλήθει,
the Lacedaemonians to-hold-out against-the of-the Arcadians number
ἀλλὰ ταχὺ μὲν ὁ Ἀρχίδαμος ἐτέτρωτο τὸν μηρὸν
but quickly indeed — Archidamus had-been-wounded the thigh
διαμπάξ, ταχὺ δὲ οἱ μαχόμενοι πρὸ αὐτοῦ ἀπέθνῃσκον,
right-through quickly and the-ones fighting before him died
Πολυαινίδας τε καὶ Χίλων ὁ τὴν ἀδελφὴν τοῦ
Polyaenidas both and Chilon the-one the sister —
Ἀρχιδάμου ἔχων, καὶ οἱ πάντες [δὲ] αὐτῶν τότε ἀπέθανον
of-Archidamus having and the all and of-them then died
οὐκ ἔλαττον τῶν τριάκοντα.
not fewer than-the thirty

24 ὡς δὲ κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν ἀναχωροῦντες εἰς τὴν εὐρυχωρίαν
when and along the road withdrawing into the open-space
ἐξῆλθον, ἐνταῦθα δὴ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἀντιπαρετάξαντο.
they-came-out there indeed Lacedaemonians drew-up-opposite
καὶ μὴν οἱ Ἀρκάδες, ὥσπερ εἶχον, συντεταγμένοι
and truly the Arcadians as they-were drawn-up
ἔστασαν, καὶ πλήθει μὲν ἐλείποντο, εὐθυμότερον δὲ πολὺ
stood and in-number indeed were-inferior more-cheerful but much
εἶχον, ἐπεληλυθότες ἀποχωροῦσι καὶ ἄνδρας ***
were having-attacked against-withdrawing-men and men (lacuna)
ἀπεκτονότες. οἱ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι μάλα ἀθύμως εἶχον,
having-killed the but Lacedaemonians very despondently were
τετρωμένον μὲν ὁρῶντες τὸν Ἀρχίδαμον, ἀκηκοότες δὲ
wounded indeed seeing — Archidamus having-heard and
τὰ ὀνόματα τῶν τεθνηκότων, ἀνδρῶν τε ἀγαθῶν καὶ
the names of-the dead men both good and
σχεδὸν τῶν ἐπιφανεστάτων.
nearly the most-distinguished

ὡς δὲ πλησίον ὄντων ἀναβοήσας τις τῶν πρεσβυτέρων 25
when and near they-were having-shouted one of-the elders
εἶπε· Τί δεῖ ἡμᾶς, ὦ ἄνδρες, μάχεσθαι, ἀλλ' οὐ
said Why is-it-needful us O men to-fight but not
σπεισαμένους διαλυθῆναι; ἄσμενοι δὴ ἀμφότεροι ἀκούσαντες
having-made-a-truce to-separate gladly indeed both having-heard
ἐσπείσαντο. καὶ οἱ μὲν Λακεδαιμόνιοι τοὺς νεκροὺς
made-a-truce and the indeed Lacedaemonians the dead
ἀνελόμενοι ἀπῆλθον, οἱ δ' Ἀρκάδες ἐπαναχωρήσαντες ἔνθα
having-taken-up went-away the but Arcadians having-withdrawn where
τὸ πρῶτον ἤρξαντο ἐπιέναι τροπαῖον ἐστήσαντο.
the first they-began to-advance a-trophy set-up
Ὡς δὲ οἱ Ἀρκάδες περὶ τὸν Κρῶμνον ἦσαν, οἱ ἐκ 26
When and the Arcadians around — Cromnus were the from
τῆς πόλεως Ἠλεῖοι πρῶτον μὲν ἰόντες ἐπὶ τὴν Πύλον
the city Eleans first indeed going against — Pylus
περιτυγχάνουσι τοῖς Πυλίοις ἀποκεκρουμένοις ἐκ τῶν
fall-in-with the Pylians repulsed from —
Θαλαμῶν. καὶ προσελαύνοντες οἱ ἱππεῖς τῶν Ἠλείων
Thalamae and riding-up the horsemen of-the Eleans
ὡς εἶδον αὐτούς, οὐκ ἐμέλλησαν, ἀλλ' εὐθὺς ἐμβάλλουσι,
when they-saw them not delayed but at-once charge
καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἀποκτεινύουσιν, οἱ δέ τινες αὐτῶν
and the-ones indeed kill the-others but some of-them
καταφεύγουσιν ἐπὶ γήλοφον. ἐπεὶ μέντοι ἦλθον οἱ πεζοί,
flee to a-hill when however came the infantry
ἐκκόπτουσι καὶ τοὺς ἐπὶ τῷ λόφῳ, καὶ τοὺς μὲν αὐτοῦ
they-dislodge also the-ones on the hill and the-ones indeed there
ἀπέκτειναν, τοὺς δὲ καὶ ζῶντας ἔλαβον ἐγγὺς διακοσίων.
killed the-others and also alive took near two-hundred
καὶ ὅσοι μὲν ξένοι ἦσαν αὐτῶν, ἀπέδοντο, ὅσοι δὲ
and as-many-as indeed foreigners were of-them they-sold as-many-as but

φυγάδες, ἀπέσφαττον. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα τούς τε Πυλίους,
exiles they-slaughtered after and these-things the both Pylians
ὡς οὐδεὶς αὐτοῖς ἐβοήθει, σὺν αὐτῷ τῷ χωρίῳ αἱροῦσι,
since no-one them helped with the-very the place they-take
καὶ τοὺς Μαργανέας ἀναλαμβάνουσι.
and the Marganians recover

27 καὶ μὴν οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ὕστερον αὖ ἐλθόντες νυκτὸς ἐπὶ
and truly the Lacedaemonians later in-turn having-come by-night to
τὸν Κρῶμνον ἐπικρατοῦσι τοῦ σταυρώματος τοῦ κατὰ τοὺς
— Cromnus master the stockade the facing the
Ἀργείους καὶ τοὺς πολιορκουμένους [τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων]
Argives and the besieged of-the Lacedaemonians
εὐθὺς ἐξεκάλουν. ὅσοι μὲν οὖν ἐγγύτατά τε ἐτύγχανον
at-once called-out as-many-as indeed then nearest both happened
ὄντες καὶ ὠξυλάβησαν, ἐξῆλθον· ὁπόσους δὲ ἔφθασαν
being and seized-the-chance went-out as-many-as but anticipated
πολλοὶ τῶν Ἀρκάδων συμβοηθήσαντες, ἀπεκλείσθησαν
many of-the Arcadians having-rushed-to-help were-shut-off
ἔνδον καὶ ληφθέντες διενεμήθησαν. καὶ ἓν μὲν μέρος
inside and having-been-taken were-distributed and one indeed share
ἔλαβον Ἀργεῖοι, ἓν δὲ Θηβαῖοι, ἓν δὲ Ἀρκάδες, ἓν δὲ
took Argives one and Thebans one and Arcadians one and
Μεσσήνιοι. οἱ δὲ σύμπαντες ληφθέντες Σπαρτιατῶν τε
Messenians the and altogether taken of-Spartiates both
καὶ περιοίκων πλέονες τῶν ἑκατὸν ἐγένοντο.
and perioeci more than-the hundred were

28 Ἐπεί γε μὴν οἱ Ἀρκάδες ἐσχόλασαν ἀπὸ τοῦ Κρώμνου,
When at-least truly the Arcadians were-free from — Cromnus
πάλιν δὴ περὶ τοὺς Ἠλείους εἶχον, καὶ τήν τε Ὀλυμπίαν
again indeed with the Eleans were-busy and the both Olympia
ἐρρωμενέστερον ἐφρούρουν, καὶ ἐπιόντος Ὀλυμπικοῦ ἔτους
more-strongly garrisoned and approaching the-Olympic year

παρεσκευάζοντο ποιεῖν τὰ Ὀλύμπια σὺν Πισάταις τοῖς
prepared to-hold the Olympic-games with Pisatans the
πρώτοις φάσκουσι προστῆναι τοῦ ἱεροῦ. ἐπεὶ δὲ ὅ τε
first claiming to-have-presided-over the sanctuary when and the both
μὴν ἦκεν ἐν ᾧ τὰ Ὀλύμπια γίγνεται αἵ τε ἡμέραι ἐν
month came in which the Olympic-games take-place the both days in
αἷς ἡ πανήγυρις ἀθροίζεται, ἐνταῦθα δὴ οἱ Ἠλεῖοι ἐκ
which the festival gathers then indeed the Eleans from
τοῦ φανεροῦ συσκευασάμενοι καὶ παρακαλέσαντες Ἀχαιοὺς
the open having-prepared and having-summoned Achaeans
ἐπορεύοντο τὴν Ὀλυμπικὴν ὁδόν.
marched the Olympian road
οἱ δὲ Ἀρκάδες ἐκείνους μὲν οὐκ ἄν ποτε ᾠοντο ἐλθεῖν ἐπὶ 29
the but Arcadians those indeed not — ever thought to-come against
σφᾶς, αὐτοὶ δὲ σὺν Πισάταις διετίθεσαν τὴν πανήγυριν.
them themselves but with Pisatans were-conducting the festival
καὶ τὴν μὲν ἱπποδρομίαν ἤδη ἐπεποιήκεσαν καὶ τὰ
and the indeed chariot-race already had-held and the
δρομικὰ τοῦ πεντάθλου. οἱ δ' εἰς πάλην ἀφικόμενοι
running-events of-the pentathlon the-ones but to wrestling having-come
οὐκέτι ἐν τῷ δρόμῳ, ἀλλὰ μεταξὺ τοῦ δρόμου καὶ τοῦ
no-longer in the race-course but between the race-course and the
βωμοῦ ἐπάλαιον· οἱ γὰρ Ἠλεῖοι σὺν τοῖς ὅπλοις παρῆσαν
altar wrestled the for Eleans with the arms were-present
ἤδη εἰς τὸ τέμενος. οἱ δὲ Ἀρκάδες πορρωτέρω μὲν οὐκ
already into the precinct the but Arcadians further indeed not
ἀπήντησαν, ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ Κλαδάου ποταμοῦ παρετάξαντο,
met-them but at the Cladaus river drew-up
ὃς παρὰ τὴν Ἄλτιν καταρρέων εἰς τὸν Ἀλφειὸν ἐμβάλλει.
which past the Altis flowing-down into the Alpheus empties

καὶ σύμμαχοι δὲ παρῆσαν αὐτοῖς, ὁπλῖται μὲν Ἀργείων
and allies and were-present with-them hoplites indeed of-Argives
εἰς δισχιλίους, Ἀθηναίων δὲ ἱππεῖς περὶ τετρακοσίους.
up-to two-thousand of-Athenians and horsemen about four-hundred
30 καὶ μὴν οἱ Ἠλεῖοι τἀπὶ θάτερα τοῦ ποταμοῦ παρετάξαντο,
and truly the Eleans on-the other-side of-the river drew-up
σφαγιασάμενοι δὲ εὐθὺς ἐχώρουν. καὶ τὸν πρόσθεν χρόνον
having-sacrificed and at-once advanced and the former time
εἰς τὰ πολεμικὰ καταφρονούμενοι μὲν ὑπ' Ἀρκάδων καὶ
in the warlike-things despised indeed by Arcadians and
Ἀργείων, καταφρονούμενοι δὲ ὑπ' Ἀχαιῶν καὶ Ἀθηναίων,
Argives despised and by Achaeans and Athenians
ὅμως ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῶν μὲν συμμάχων ὡς ἀλκιμώτατοι
nevertheless on-that the day of-the indeed allies as most-valiant
ὄντες ἡγοῦντο, τοὺς δ' Ἀρκάδας (τούτοις γὰρ πρώτοις
being led the and Arcadians with-these for first
συνέβαλον) καὶ εὐθὺς ἐτρέψαντο, καὶ ἐπιβοηθήσαντας δὲ
they-engaged and at-once routed and having-come-to-help and
τοὺς Ἀργείους δεξάμενοι καὶ τούτων ἐκράτησαν.
the Argives having-received also these they-overcame
31 ἐπεὶ μέντοι κατεδίωξαν εἰς τὸ μεταξὺ τοῦ βουλευτηρίου καὶ
when however they-chased into the between the council-house and
τοῦ τῆς Ἑστίας ἱεροῦ καὶ τοῦ πρὸς ταῦτα προσήκοντος
the — of-Hestia temple and the toward these adjoining
θεάτρου, ἐμάχοντο μὲν οὐδὲν ἧττον καὶ ἐώθουν πρὸς τὸν
theater they-fought indeed no less and pushed toward the
βωμόν, ἀπὸ μέντοι τῶν στοῶν τε καὶ τοῦ βουλευτηρίου
altar from however the colonnades both and the council-house
καὶ τοῦ μεγάλου ναοῦ βαλλόμενοι καὶ ἐν τῷ ἰσοπέδῳ
and the great temple being-pelted and on the level-ground
μαχόμενοι, ἀποθνῄσκουσιν ἄλλοι τε τῶν Ἠλείων καὶ
fighting die others both of-the Eleans and

αὐτὸς ὁ τῶν τριακοσίων ἄρχων Στρατόλας. τούτων δὲ
himself the of-the three-hundred commander Stratolas these and
πραχθέντων ἀπεχώρησαν εἰς τὸ αὑτῶν στρατόπεδον.
having-been-done they-withdrew to the their-own camp
οἱ μέντοι Ἀρκάδες καὶ οἱ μετ' αὐτῶν οὕτως ἐπεφόβηντο 32
the however Arcadians and the-ones with them so feared
τὴν ἐπιοῦσαν ἡμέραν ὥστε οὐδ' ἀνεπαύσαντο τῆς
the coming day that not-even they-rested in-the
νυκτός, ἐκκόπτοντες τὰ διαπεπονημένα σκηνώματα καὶ
night cutting-down the laboriously-built booths and
ἀποσταυροῦντες. οἱ δ' αὖ Ἠλεῖοι ἐπεὶ τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ
building-a-palisade the but in-turn Eleans when on-the next-day
προσιόντες εἶδον καρτερὸν τὸ τεῖχος καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ναῶν
approaching they-saw strong the wall and on the temples
πολλοὺς ἀναβεβηκότας, ἀπῆλθον εἰς τὸ ἄστυ, τοιοῦτοι
many having-climbed went-away into the town such
γενόμενοι οἵους τὴν ἀρετὴν θεὸς μὲν ἂν ἐμπνεύσας
having-become as the courage a-god indeed — having-inspired
δύναιτο καὶ ἐν ἡμέρᾳ ἀποδεῖξαι, ἄνθρωποι δὲ οὐδ' ἂν
could even in a-day show men but not-even —
ἐν πολλῷ χρόνῳ τοὺς μὴ ὄντας ἀλκίμους ποιήσειαν.
in much time the-ones not being valiant could-make
Χρωμένων δὲ τοῖς ἱεροῖς χρήμασι τῶν ἐν τοῖς Ἀρκάσιν 33
Using and the sacred money the-ones among the Arcadians
ἀρχόντων καὶ ἀπὸ τούτων τοὺς ἐπαρίτους τρεφόντων,
rulers and from these the Eparitoi maintaining
πρῶτοι Μαντινεῖς ἀπεψηφίσαντο μὴ χρῆσθαι τοῖς ἱεροῖς
first Mantineans voted not to-use the sacred
χρήμασι, καὶ αὐτοὶ τὸ γιγνόμενον μέρος εἰς τοὺς ἐπαρίτους
money and themselves the falling-due share for the Eparitoi
ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἐκπορίσαντες ἀπέπεμψαν τοῖς ἄρχουσιν. οἱ
from the city having-provided sent to-the rulers the

δὲ ἄρχοντες φάσκοντες αὐτοὺς λυμαίνεσθαι τὸ Ἀρκαδικόν,
but rulers claiming them to-be-damaging the Arcadian-league
ἀνεκαλοῦντο εἰς τοὺς μυρίους τοὺς προστάτας αὐτῶν· καὶ
summoned to the ten-thousand the leaders their and
ἐπεὶ οὐχ ὑπήκουον, κατεδίκασαν αὐτῶν, καὶ τοὺς ἐπαρίτους
when not they-obeyed condemned them and the Eparitoi
ἔπεμπον ὡς ἄξοντας τοὺς κατακεκριμένους. οἱ μὲν οὖν
sent as going-to-bring the condemned the indeed then
Μαντινεῖς κλείσαντες τὰς πύλας οὐκ ἐδέχοντο αὐτοὺς εἴσω.
Mantineans having-shut the gates not received them inside
34 ἐκ δὲ τούτου τάχα δὴ καὶ ἄλλοι τινὲς ἔλεγον ἐν τοῖς
from and this soon indeed also others some said among the
μυρίοις ὡς οὐ χρὴ τοῖς ἱεροῖς χρήμασι χρῆσθαι οὐδὲ
ten-thousand that not it-is-needful the sacred money to-use nor
καταλιπεῖν εἰς τὸν ἀεὶ χρόνον τοῖς παισὶν ἔγκλημα τοῦτο
to-leave for the always time to-the children charge this
πρὸς τοὺς θεούς. ὡς δὲ καὶ ἐν τῷ κοινῷ ἀπέδοξε μηκέτι
against the gods when and also in the league it-was-decided no-longer
χρῆσθαι τοῖς ἱεροῖς χρήμασι, ταχὺ δὴ οἱ μὲν οὐκ
to-use the sacred money quickly indeed the-ones indeed not
ἂν δυνάμενοι ἄνευ μισθοῦ τῶν ἐπαρίτων εἶναι διεχέοντο,
— being-able without pay of-the Eparitoi to-be melted-away
οἱ δὲ δυνάμενοι παρακελευσάμενοι αὑτοῖς καθίσταντο
the-ones but being-able having-exhorted themselves enrolled
εἰς τοὺς ἐπαρίτους, ὅπως μὴ αὐτοὶ ἐπ᾽ ἐκείνοις,
into the Eparitoi so-that not themselves in-the-power-of those
ἀλλ᾽ ἐκεῖνοι ἐπὶ σφίσιν εἶεν. γνόντες δὲ τῶν
but those in-the-power-of them might-be having-recognized and of-the
ἀρχόντων οἱ διακεχειρικότες τὰ ἱερὰ χρήματα ὅτι εἰ
rulers the-ones having-handled the sacred money that if
δώσοιεν εὐθύνας, κινδυνεύσοιεν ἀπολέσθαι, πέμπουσιν
they-should-give accounts they-would-risk to-perish send

εἰς Θήβας, καὶ διδάσκουσι τοὺς Θηβαίους ὡς εἰ μὴ
to Thebes and teach the Thebans that if not
στρατεύσειαν, κινδυνεύσοιεν οἱ Ἀρκάδες πάλιν λακωνίσαι.
they-should-march would-risk the Arcadians again to-laconize
καὶ οἱ μὲν παρεσκευάζοντο ὡς στρατευσόμενοι· οἱ 35
and the-ones indeed prepared as going-to-march the-others
δὲ τὰ κράτιστα τῇ Πελοποννήσῳ βουλευόμενοι ἔπεισαν
but the best for-the Peloponnese planning persuaded
τὸ κοινὸν τῶν Ἀρκάδων πέμψαντας πρέσβεις εἰπεῖν τοῖς
the league of-the Arcadians having-sent envoys to-tell the
Θηβαίοις μὴ ἰέναι σὺν ὅπλοις εἰς τὴν Ἀρκαδίαν, εἰ μή τι
Thebans not to-come with arms into — Arcadia if not at-all
καλοῖεν. καὶ ἅμα μὲν ταῦτα πρὸς τοὺς Θηβαίους
they-should-summon and at-the-same-time indeed these-things to the Thebans
ἔλεγον, ἅμα δὲ ἐλογίζοντο ὅτι πολέμου οὐδὲν
they-said at-the-same-time and they-reckoned that of-war in-no-way
δέοιντο. τοῦ τε γὰρ ἱεροῦ τοῦ Διὸς προεστάναι οὐδὲν
they-needed the both for sanctuary — of-Zeus to-preside-over in-no-way
προσδεῖσθαι ἐνόμιζον, ἀλλ' ἀποδιδόντες ἂν καὶ δικαιότερα
to-need-besides they-thought but giving-back — both more-just
καὶ ὁσιώτερα ποιεῖν, καὶ τῷ θεῷ οἴεσθαι μᾶλλον ἂν οὕτω
and holier-things to-do and to-the god to-think more — so
χαρίζεσθαι. βουλομένων δὲ ταῦτα καὶ τῶν Ἠλείων ἔδοξεν
to-gratify wishing and these-things also the Eleans it-seemed-good
ἀμφοτέροις εἰρήνην ποιήσασθαι· καὶ ἐγένοντο σπονδαί.
to-both peace to-make and came-about a-treaty
Γενομένων δὲ τῶν ὅρκων καὶ ὀμοσάντων τῶν τε 36
Having-come-about and the oaths and having-sworn the both
ἄλλων ἁπάντων καὶ Τεγεατῶν καὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ Θηβαίου, ὃς
other all and Tegeans and himself the Theban who
ἐτύγχανεν ἐν Τεγέᾳ ἔχων τριακοσίους ὁπλίτας τῶν Βοιωτῶν,
happened in Tegea having three-hundred hoplites of-the Boeotians

οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι Ἀρκάδες ἐν τῇ Τεγέᾳ αὐτοῦ ἐπικαταμείναντες
the indeed other Arcadians in — Tegea there having-stayed-on
ἐδειπνοποιοῦντό τε καὶ ηὐθυμοῦντο καὶ σπονδὰς καὶ παιᾶνας
dined both and made-merry and libations and paeans
ὡς εἰρήνης γεγενημένης ἐποιοῦντο, ὁ δὲ Θηβαῖος καὶ
as peace having-come-about made the but Theban and
τῶν ἀρχόντων οἱ φοβούμενοι τὰς εὐθύνας σύν τε τοῖς
of-the rulers the-ones fearing the accountings with both the
Βοιωτοῖς καὶ τοῖς ὁμογνώμοσι τῶν ἐπαρίτων κλείσαντες
Boeotians and the like-minded of-the Eparitoi having-shut
τὰς πύλας τοῦ τῶν Τεγεατῶν τείχους, πέμποντες ἐπὶ
the gates of-the of-the Tegeans wall sending to
τοὺς σκηνοῦντας συνελάμβανον τοὺς βελτίστους. ἅτε
the-ones encamped arrested the best inasmuch-as
δὲ ἐκ πασῶν τῶν πόλεων παρόντων τῶν Ἀρκάδων καὶ
and from all the cities being-present the Arcadians and
πάντων εἰρήνην βουλομένων ἔχειν, πολλοὺς ἔδει
all peace wishing to-have many it-was-necessary
τοὺς συλλαμβανομένους εἶναι· ὥστε ταχὺ μὲν αὐτοῖς τὸ
the arrested to-be so-that quickly indeed for-them the
δεσμωτήριον μεστὸν ἦν, ταχὺ δὲ ἡ δημοσία οἰκία.
prison full was quickly and the public house

37 ὡς δὲ πολλοὶ οἱ εἰργμένοι ἦσαν, πολλοὶ δὲ οἱ κατὰ
when and many the shut-up were many and the-ones down
τοῦ τείχους ἐκπεπηδηκότες, ἦσαν δ' οἳ καὶ διὰ τῶν
the wall had-leaped there-were and who also through the
πυλῶν ἀφεῖντο (οὐδεὶς γὰρ οὐδενὶ ὠργίζετο, ὅστις μὴ ᾤετο
gates were-let-go no-one for at-anyone was-angry who not thought
ἀπολεῖσθαι), ἀπορῆσαι δὴ μάλιστα ἐποίησε τόν τε Θηβαῖον
he-would-perish to-be-at-a-loss indeed most made the both Theban
καὶ τοὺς μετ' αὐτοῦ ταῦτα πράττοντας ὅτι Μαντινέας, οὓς
and the-ones with him these-things doing that Mantineans whom

μάλιστα ἐβούλοντο λαβεῖν, ὀλίγους τινὰς πάνυ εἶχον· διὰ
most they-wished to-take few some very they-had because-of
γὰρ τὸ ἐγγὺς τὴν πόλιν εἶναι σχεδὸν πάντες ᾤχοντο οἴκαδε.
for the near the city to-be nearly all had-gone home
ἐπεὶ δὲ ἡμέρα ἐγένετο καὶ τὰ πεπραγμένα ἐπύθοντο οἱ 38
when and day came and the-things done learned the
Μαντινεῖς, εὐθὺς πέμποντες εἴς τε τὰς ἄλλας Ἀρκαδικὰς
Mantineans at-once sending to both the other Arcadian
πόλεις προηγόρευον ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις εἶναι καὶ φυλάττειν
cities proclaimed under the arms to-be and to-guard
τὰς παρόδους. καὶ αὐτοὶ δὲ οὕτως ἐποίουν, καὶ ἅμα
the passes and themselves and so did and at-the-same-time
πέμψαντες εἰς τὴν Τεγέαν ἀπῄτουν ὅσους ἔχοιεν ἄνδρας
having-sent to — Tegea demanded as-many-as they-had men
Μαντινέων· καὶ τῶν ἄλλων δὲ Ἀρκάδων οὐδένα ἀξιοῦν
of-Mantineans and of-the other and Arcadians no-one to-think-it-right
ἔφασαν οὔτε δεδέσθαι οὔτε ἀποθνῄσκειν πρὸ δίκης. εἰ
they-said either to-be-bound or to-die before trial if
δὲ καί τινες ἐπαιτιῶντο, ἔλεγον ἐπαγγέλλοντες ὅτι ἡ
and even any were-bringing-charges they-said announcing that the
τῶν Μαντινέων πόλις ἐγγυῷτο ἦ μὴν παρέξειν εἰς τὸ
of-the Mantineans city guaranteed truly indeed to-produce to the
κοινὸν τῶν Ἀρκάδων ὁπόσους τις προσκαλοῖτο.
league of-the Arcadians as-many-as anyone should-summon
ἀκούων οὖν ὁ Θηβαῖος ἠπόρει τε ὅ τι χρήσαιτο τῷ 39
hearing then the Theban was-at-a-loss both what ever he-should-do-with the
πράγματι καὶ ἀφίησι πάντας τοὺς ἄνδρας. καὶ τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ
affair and releases all the men and on-the next-day
συγκαλέσας τῶν Ἀρκάδων ὁπόσοι γε δὴ συνελθεῖν
having-summoned of-the Arcadians as-many-as at-least indeed to-come-together
ἠθέλησαν, ἀπελογεῖτο ὡς ἐξαπατηθείη. ἀκοῦσαι γὰρ ἔφη
were-willing he-defended-himself that he-had-been-deceived to-have-heard for he-said

ὡς Λακεδαιμόνιοί τε εἶεν σὺν τοῖς ὅπλοις ἐπὶ τοῖς ὁρίοις
that Lacedaemonians both were with the arms at the borders
προδιδόναι τε μέλλοιεν αὐτοῖς τὴν Τεγέαν τῶν Ἀρκάδων
to-betray both were-about to-them — Tegea of-the Arcadians
τινές. οἱ δὲ ἀκούσαντες ἐκεῖνον μέν, καίπερ γιγνώσκοντες
some they and having-heard that-one indeed although recognizing
ὅτι ἐψεύδετο περὶ σφῶν, ἀφίεσαν, πέμψαντες δ' εἰς Θήβας
that he-was-lying about them let-go having-sent but to Thebes
πρέσβεις κατηγόρουν αὐτοῦ ὡς δεῖν ἀποθανεῖν.
envoys they-accused him that to-be-necessary to-die
40 τὸν δ' Ἐπαμεινώνδαν ἔφασαν (καὶ γὰρ στρατηγῶν
— and Epaminondas they-said and for being-general
τότε ἐτύγχανε) λέγειν ὡς πολὺ ὀρθότερον ποιήσειεν, ὅτε
then happened to-say that much more-rightly he-had-acted when
συνελάμβανε τοὺς ἄνδρας ἢ ὅτε ἀφῆκε. τὸ γὰρ
he-arrested the men than when he-released-them the for
ἡμῶν δι' ὑμᾶς εἰς πόλεμον καταστάντων ὑμᾶς ἄνευ
us because-of you into war having-entered you without
τῆς ἡμετέρας γνώμης εἰρήνην ποιεῖσθαι πῶς οὐκ ἂν
the our judgment peace to-make how not —
δικαίως προδοσίαν τις ὑμῶν τοῦτο κατηγοροίη; εὖ δ'
justly treason anyone you this would-charge well and
ἴστε, ἔφη, ὅτι ἡμεῖς καὶ στρατευσόμεθα εἰς τὴν Ἀρκαδίαν
know he-said that we both will-march into — Arcadia
καὶ σὺν τοῖς τὰ ἡμέτερα φρονοῦσι πολεμήσομεν.
and with the-ones the our-things favoring will-make-war

Seeing that Thebes means to weaken and enslave the Peloponnese, the Mantineans, Eleans, and Achaeans call on Athens and Sparta for help. Epaminondas waits at Nemea for the Athenians, then camps inside Tegea. Learning that Agesilaus has left Sparta, he marches straight on the city, but a Cretan warns the king, who returns in time, and Archidamus with barely a hundred men drives the Thebans back. Epaminondas' cavalry is then beaten off outside Mantinea by the Athenian horse. Xenophon admires his foresight and his army's discipline. In the decisive battle he masks his intent, drives his column in like a trireme's prow, and routs the enemy, but he falls, and his army fails to pursue. Both sides claim victory, Greece is more confused than before, and Xenophon ends his history.

Ὡς δὲ ταῦτα ἀπηγγέλθη πρός τε τὸ κοινὸν τῶν Ἀρκάδων 1
When and these-things were-reported to both the league of-the Arcadians
καὶ κατὰ πόλεις, ἐκ τούτου ἀνελογίζοντο Μαντινεῖς τε καὶ
and by cities from this considered Mantineans both and
τῶν ἄλλων Ἀρκάδων οἱ κηδόμενοι τῆς Πελοποννήσου,
of-the other Arcadians the-ones caring-for the Peloponnese
ὡσαύτως δὲ καὶ Ἠλεῖοι καὶ Ἀχαιοί, ὅτι Θηβαῖοι δῆλοι
likewise and also Eleans and Achaeans that Thebans evident
εἶεν βουλόμενοι ὡς ἀσθενεστάτην τὴν Πελοπόννησον εἶναι,
were wishing as weakest the Peloponnese to-be
ὅπως ὡς ῥᾷστα αὐτὴν καταδουλώσαιντο.
so-that as most-easily it they-might-enslave

τί γὰρ δὴ πολεμεῖν ἡμᾶς βούλονται ἢ ἵνα ἡμεῖς μὲν 2
why for indeed to-make-war us do-they-wish or so-that we indeed
ἀλλήλους κακῶς ποιῶμεν, ἐκείνων δ' ἀμφότεροι δεώμεθα;
one-another badly may-treat of-those but both may-need
ἢ τί λεγόντων ἡμῶν ὅτι οὐ δεόμεθα αὐτῶν ἐν τῷ παρόντι
or why saying us that not we-need them at the present

παρασκευάζονται ὡς ἐξιόντες; οὐ δῆλον ὡς ἐπὶ τῷ κακόν
do-they-prepare as going-out not clear that for the harm
τι ἐργάζεσθαι ἡμᾶς στρατεύειν παρασκευάζονται;
some to-do us to-march they-prepare

3 ἔπεμπον δὲ καὶ Ἀθήναζε βοηθεῖν κελεύοντες· ἐπορεύθησαν
they-sent and also to-Athens to-help bidding went
δὲ καὶ εἰς Λακεδαίμονα πρέσβεις ἀπὸ τῶν ἐπαρίτων,
and also to Lacedaemon envoys from the Eparitoi
παρακαλοῦντες Λακεδαιμονίους, εἰ βούλοιντο κοινῇ
summoning Lacedaemonians if they-wished in-common
διακωλύειν, ἄν τινες ἴωσι καταδουλωσόμενοι τὴν
to-prevent if any come going-to-enslave the
Πελοπόννησον. περὶ μέντοι ἡγεμονίας αὐτόθεν διεπράττοντο
Peloponnese about however leadership forthwith they-arranged
ὅπως ἐν τῇ ἑαυτῶν ἕκαστοι ἡγήσοιντο.
that in the their-own each would-lead

4 Ἐν ὅσῳ δὲ ταῦτ' ἐπράττετο, Ἐπαμεινώνδας ἐξῄει,
In the-time-that and these-things were-being-done Epaminondas went-out
Βοιωτοὺς ἔχων πάντας καὶ Εὐβοέας καὶ Θετταλῶν
Boeotians having all and Euboeans and of-Thessalians
πολλοὺς παρά τε Ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ τῶν ἐναντίων αὐτῷ.
many from both Alexander and the-ones opposed to-him
Φωκεῖς μέντοι οὐκ ἠκολούθουν, λέγοντες ὅτι συνθῆκαι
Phocians however not followed saying that agreements
σφίσιν αὐτοῖς εἶεν, εἴ τις ἐπὶ Θήβας ἴοι, βοηθεῖν,
for-them themselves were if anyone against Thebes should-come to-help
ἐπ' ἄλλους δὲ στρατεύειν οὐκ εἶναι ἐν ταῖς συνθήκαις.
against others but to-march not to-be in the agreements

5 ὁ μέντοι Ἐπαμεινώνδας ἐλογίζετο καὶ ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ
— however Epaminondas reckoned also in Peloponnese
σφίσιν ὑπάρχειν Ἀργείους τε καὶ Μεσσηνίους καὶ Ἀρκάδων
for-them to-be-at-hand Argives both and Messenians and of-Arcadians

τοὺς τὰ σφέτερα φρονοῦντας. ἦσαν δ' οὗτοι Τεγεᾶται
the-ones the their-own favoring were and these Tegeans
καὶ Μεγαλοπολῖται καὶ Ἀσεᾶται καὶ Παλλαντιεῖς, καὶ
and Megalopolitans and Aseans and Pallantians and
εἴ τινες δὴ πόλεις διὰ τὸ μικραί τε εἶναι καὶ ἐν
if any indeed cities because-of the small both to-be and in
μέσαις ταύταις οἰκεῖν ἠναγκάζοντο.
middle these to-dwell were-compelled
ἐξῆλθε μὲν δὴ ὁ Ἐπαμεινώνδας διὰ ταχέων· ἐπεὶ 6
went-out indeed then — Epaminondas with speed when
δὲ ἐγένετο ἐν Νεμέᾳ, ἐνταῦθα διέτριβεν, ἐλπίζων τοὺς
and he-was at Nemea there he-stayed hoping the
Ἀθηναίους παριόντας λήψεσθαι καὶ λογιζόμενος μέγα ἂν
Athenians passing-by to-catch and reckoning great —
τοῦτο γενέσθαι τοῖς μὲν σφετέροις συμμάχοις εἰς τὸ
this to-be for-the indeed their-own allies toward the
ἐπιρρῶσαι αὐτούς, τοῖς δὲ ἐναντίοις εἰς τὸ εἰς ἀθυμίαν
to-encourage them for-the but opponents toward the into despondency
ἐμπεσεῖν, ὡς δὲ συνελόντι εἰπεῖν, πᾶν ἀγαθὸν εἶναι
to-fall as and to-one-summing-up to-say all good to-be
Θηβαίοις ὅ τι ἐλαττοῖντο Ἀθηναῖοι.
for-Thebans what ever should-be-diminished Athenians
ἐν δὲ τῇ διατριβῇ αὐτοῦ ταύτῃ συνῆσαν πάντες 7
in and the delay his this were-gathering all
οἱ ὁμοφρονοῦντες εἰς τὴν Μαντίνειαν. ἐπεὶ μέντοι ὁ
the like-minded at — Mantinea when however —
Ἐπαμεινώνδας ἤκουσε τοὺς Ἀθηναίους τὸ μὲν κατὰ γῆν
Epaminondas heard the Athenians the indeed by land
πορεύεσθαι ἀπεγνωκέναι, κατὰ θάλατταν δὲ παρασκευάζεσθαι
to-march to-have-given-up by sea but to-be-preparing

ὡς διὰ Λακεδαίμονος βοηθήσοντας τοῖς Ἀρκάσιν, οὕτω
as through Lacedaemon going-to-help the Arcadians so
δὴ ἀφορμήσας ἐκ τῆς Νεμέας ἀφικνεῖται εἰς τὴν Τεγέαν.
indeed having-set-out from — Nemea arrives at — Tegea
8 εὐτυχῆ μὲν οὖν οὐκ ἂν ἔγωγε φήσαιμι τὴν στρατηγίαν
fortunate indeed then not — I would-say the generalship
αὐτῷ γενέσθαι· ὅσα μέντοι προνοίας ἔργα καὶ τόλμης
for-him to-have-been as-many-as however of-foresight deeds and of-daring
ἐστίν, οὐδέν μοι δοκεῖ ἀνὴρ ἐλλείπειν. πρῶτον μὲν
are nothing to-me seems the-man to-have-left-undone first indeed
γὰρ ἔγωγε ἐπαινῶ αὐτοῦ ὅτι τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐν τῷ
for I praise him that the camp in the
τείχει τῶν Τεγεατῶν ἐποιήσατο, ἔνθ' ἐν ἀσφαλεστέρῳ τε
wall of-the Tegeans he-made where in safer both
ἦν ἢ εἰ ἔξω ἐστρατοπεδεύετο καὶ τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐν
he-was than if outside he-encamped and to-the enemies in
ἀδηλοτέρῳ ὅ τι πράττοιτο. καὶ παρασκευάζεσθαι δέ,
more-unclear-state what ever was-being-done and to-prepare and
εἴ του ἐδεῖτο, ἐν τῇ πόλει ὄντι εὐπορώτερον ἦν. τῶν
if anything he-needed in the city being easier it-was of-the
δ' ἑτέρων ἔξω στρατοπεδευομένων ἐξῆν ὁρᾶν, εἴτε
but others outside encamping it-was-possible to-see whether
τι ὀρθῶς ἐπράττετο εἴτε τι ἡμάρτανον. καὶ μὴν
anything rightly was-done or anything they-erred and truly
οἰόμενος κρείττων τῶν ἀντιπάλων εἶναι, ὁπότε ὁρῴη
thinking stronger than-the opponents to-be whenever he-saw
χωρίοις πλεονεκτοῦντας αὐτούς, οὐκ ἐξήγετο ἐπιτίθεσθαι.
in-positions having-the-advantage them not was-drawn-out to-attack
9 ὁρῶν δὲ οὔτε πόλιν αὐτῷ προσχωροῦσαν οὐδεμίαν
seeing and neither city to-him coming-over any
τόν τε χρόνον προβαίνοντα, ἐνόμισε πρακτέον τι
the and time advancing he-thought must-be-done something

εἶναι· εἰ δὲ μή, ἀντὶ τῆς πρόσθεν εὐκλείας πολλὴν
to-be if but not instead-of the former glory much
ἀδοξίαν προσεδέχετο. ἐπεὶ οὖν κατεμάνθανε περὶ
disrepute he-expected since then he-learned around
μὲν τὴν Μαντίνειαν τοὺς ἀντιπάλους πεφυλαγμένους,
indeed — Mantinea the opponents on-guard
μεταπεμπομένους δὲ Ἀγησίλαόν τε καὶ πάντας τοὺς
sending-for and Agesilaus both and all the
Λακεδαιμονίους, καὶ ᾔσθετο ἐξεστρατευμένον τὸν Ἀγησίλαον
Lacedaemonians and he-perceived having-marched-out — Agesilaus
καὶ ὄντα ἤδη ἐν τῇ Πελλήνῃ, δειπνοποιήσασθαι [καὶ]
and being already in — Pellene to-dine and
παραγγείλας ἡγεῖτο τῷ στρατεύματι εὐθὺς ἐπὶ Σπάρτην.
having-given-orders he-led the army straight against Sparta
καὶ εἰ μὴ Κρὴς θείᾳ τινὶ μοίρᾳ προσελθὼν ἐξήγγειλε 10
and if not a-Cretan by-divine some fate having-come had-reported
τῷ Ἀγησιλάῳ προσιὸν τὸ στράτευμα, ἔλαβεν ἂν
— to-Agesilaus approaching the army he-would-have-taken —
τὴν πόλιν ὥσπερ νεοττιὰν παντάπασιν ἔρημον τῶν
the city like a-nest altogether empty of-the
ἀμυνομένων. ἐπεὶ μέντοι προπυθόμενος ταῦτα ὁ
defenders when however having-learned-beforehand these-things —
Ἀγησίλαος ἔφθη εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἀπελθών, διαταξάμενοι
Agesilaus anticipated into the city having-gone-back having-drawn-up
οἱ Σπαρτιᾶται ἐφύλαττον, καὶ μάλα ὀλίγοι ὄντες. οἵ τε
the Spartiates guarded even very few being the both
γὰρ ἱππεῖς αὐτοῖς πάντες ἐν Ἀρκαδίᾳ ἀπῆσαν καὶ τὸ
for horsemen of-them all in Arcadia were-away and the
ξενικὸν καὶ τῶν λόχων δώδεκα ὄντων οἱ τρεῖς.
mercenary-force and of-the companies twelve being the three

11 ἐπεὶ δ᾽ ἐγένετο Ἐπαμεινώνδας ἐν τῇ πόλει τῶν Σπαρτιατῶν,
when and was Epaminondas in the city of-the Spartiates
ὅπου μὲν ἔμελλον ἔν τε ἰσοπέδῳ μαχεῖσθαι καὶ ἀπὸ
where indeed they-were-going in both level-ground to-fight and from
τῶν οἰκιῶν βληθήσεσθαι, οὐκ εἰσῄει ταύτῃ, οὐδ᾽ ὅπου
the houses to-be-pelted not he-went-in this-way nor where
γε μηδὲν πλέον ἔχοντες μαχεῖσθαι τῶν ὀλίγων πολλοὶ
at-least nothing more having to-fight than-the few many
ὄντες. ἔνθεν δὲ πλεονεκτεῖν ἂν ἐνόμιζε, τοῦτο λαβὼν
being whence but to-have-the-advantage — he-thought this having-taken
τὸ χωρίον κατέβαινε [καὶ οὐκ ἀνέβαινεν] εἰς τὴν πόλιν.
the place he-came-down and not went-up into the city
12 τό [τε] γε μὴν ἐντεῦθεν γενόμενον ἔξεστι μὲν τὸ θεῖον
the both at-least truly thereafter having-happened it-is-possible indeed the divine
αἰτιᾶσθαι, ἔξεστι δὲ λέγειν ὡς τοῖς ἀπονενοημένοις οὐδεὶς
to-blame it-is-possible and to-say that the desperate no-one
ἂν ὑποσταίη. ἐπεὶ γὰρ ἡγεῖτο Ἀρχίδαμος οὐδὲ ἑκατὸν
— would-withstand when for led Archidamus not-even hundred
ἔχων ἄνδρας καὶ διαβὰς ὅπερ ἐδόκει τι ἔχειν κώλυμα
having men and having-crossed what-very seemed some to-have obstacle
ἐπορεύετο πρὸς ὄρθιον ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀντιπάλους, ἐνταῦθα δὴ
he-marched toward uphill against the opponents there indeed
οἱ πῦρ πνέοντες, οἱ νενικηκότες τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους, οἱ
the fire breathing the having-defeated the Lacedaemonians the
τῷ παντὶ πλέονες καὶ προσέτι ὑπερδέξια χωρία ἔχοντες,
by-the whole more and besides higher positions having
οὐκ ἐδέξαντο τοὺς περὶ τὸν Ἀρχίδαμον, ἀλλ᾽ ἐγκλίνουσι.
not awaited the-ones around — Archidamus but give-way
13 καὶ οἱ μὲν πρῶτοι τῶν Ἐπαμεινώνδα ἀποθνῄσκουσιν·
and the indeed first of-the of-Epaminondas die
ἐπεὶ μέντοι ἀγαλλόμενοι τῇ νίκῃ ἐδίωξαν οἱ ἔνδοθεν
when however exulting in-the victory pursued the-ones from-within

πορρωτέρω τοῦ καιροῦ, οὗτοι αὖ ἀποθνήσκουσι·
farther than-the right-moment these in-turn die
περιεγέγραπτο γάρ, ὡς ἔοικεν, ὑπὸ τοῦ θείου μέχρι ὅσου
had-been-marked-out for as it-seems by the divine up-to how-far
νίκη ἐδέδοτο αὐτοῖς. καὶ ὁ μὲν δὴ Ἀρχίδαμος τροπαῖόν
victory had-been-given to-them and — indeed then Archidamus a-trophy
τε ἵστατο ἔνθα ἐπεκράτησε καὶ τοὺς ἐνταῦθα πεσόντας
both set-up where he-prevailed and the-ones there having-fallen
τῶν πολεμίων ὑποσπόνδους ἀπεδίδου.
of-the enemies under-truce gave-back
ὁ δ' Ἐπαμεινώνδας λογιζόμενος ὅτι βοηθήσοιεν οἱ Ἀρκάδες 14
— and Epaminondas reckoning that would-come-to-help the Arcadians
εἰς τὴν Λακεδαίμονα, ἐκείνοις μὲν οὐκ ἐβούλετο καὶ πᾶσι
to — Lacedaemon with-those indeed not he-wished also with-all
Λακεδαιμονίοις ὁμοῦ γενομένοις μάχεσθαι, ἄλλως τε καὶ
Lacedaemonians together having-become to-fight especially both and
ηὐτυχηκόσι, τῶν δὲ ἀποτετυχηκότων· πάλιν δὲ πορευθεὶς
having-been-successful of-the but having-failed again and having-marched
ὡς ἐδύνατο τάχιστα εἰς τὴν Τεγέαν τοὺς μὲν ὁπλίτας
as he-could quickest to — Tegea the indeed hoplites
ἀνέπαυσε, τοὺς δ' ἱππέας ἔπεμψεν εἰς τὴν Μαντίνειαν,
he-rested the but horsemen sent to — Mantinea
δεηθεὶς αὐτῶν προσκαρτερῆσαι, καὶ διδάσκων ὡς πάντα
having-asked them to-persevere and teaching that all
μὲν εἰκὸς ἔξω εἶναι τὰ τῶν Μαντινέων βοσκήματα, πάντας
indeed likely outside to-be the of-the Mantineans cattle all
δὲ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους, ἄλλως τε καὶ σίτου συγκομιδῆς οὔσης.
and the people especially both and of-grain harvest being
καὶ οἱ μὲν ᾤχοντο· οἱ δ' Ἀθηναῖοι ἱππεῖς ὁρμηθέντες ἐξ 15
and they indeed went the but Athenian horsemen having-set-out from
Ἐλευσῖνος ἐδειπνοποιήσαντο μὲν ἐν Ἰσθμῷ, διελθόντες δὲ
Eleusis took-dinner indeed at Isthmus having-passed and

καὶ τὰς Κλεωνὰς ἐτύγχανον προσιόντες εἰς τὴν Μαντίνειαν
also — Cleonae happened approaching to — Mantinea
καὶ καταστρατοπεδευσάμενοι ἐντὸς τείχους ἐν ταῖς οἰκίαις.
and having-encamped inside wall in the houses
ἐπεὶ δὲ δῆλοι ἦσαν προσελαύνοντες οἱ πολέμιοι, ἐδέοντο
when and evident were riding-up the enemies asked
οἱ Μαντινεῖς τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἱππέων βοηθῆσαι, εἴ τι
the Mantineans the Athenian horsemen to-help if anything
δύναιντο· ἔξω γὰρ εἶναι καὶ τὰ βοσκήματα πάντα καὶ
they-could outside for to-be both the cattle all and
τοὺς ἐργάτας, πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ παῖδας καὶ γεραιτέρους τῶν
the workers many and also children and older-men of-the
ἐλευθέρων. ἀκούσαντες δὲ ταῦτα οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐκβοηθοῦσιν,
free having-heard and these-things the Athenians sally-out
ἔτι ὄντες ἀνάριστοι καὶ αὐτοὶ καὶ οἱ ἵπποι.
still being without-breakfast both themselves and the horses
16 ἐνταῦθα δὴ τούτων αὖ τὴν ἀρετὴν τίς οὐκ ἂν ἀγασθείη;
there indeed of-these in-turn the courage who not — would-admire
οἳ καὶ πολὺ πλείονας ὁρῶντες τοὺς πολεμίους καὶ ἐν
who even much more seeing the enemies and at
Κορίνθῳ δυστυχήματος γεγενημένου τοῖς ἱππεῦσιν οὐδὲν
Corinth misfortune having-befallen the horsemen nothing
τούτων ἐπελογίσαντο, οὐδ' ὅτι καὶ Θηβαίοις καὶ Θετταλοῖς
of-these took-into-account nor that both against-Thebans and Thessalians
τοῖς κρατίστοις ἱππεῦσιν εἶναι δοκοῦσιν ἔμελλον μάχεσθαι,
the best horsemen to-be seeming they-were-going to-fight
ἀλλ' αἰσχυνόμενοι, εἰ παρόντες μηδὲν ὠφελήσειαν τοὺς
but being-ashamed if being-present in-nothing they-should-help the
συμμάχους, ὡς εἶδον τάχιστα τοὺς πολεμίους, συνέρραξαν,
allies as they-saw soonest the enemies dashed-together
ἐρῶντες ἀνασώσασθαι τὴν πατρῴαν δόξαν.
desiring to-restore the ancestral glory

καὶ μαχόμενοι αἴτιοι μὲν ἐγένοντο τὰ ἔξω πάντα 17
and fighting responsible indeed became the-things outside all
σωθῆναι τοῖς Μαντινεῦσιν, αὐτῶν δ' ἀπέθανον ἄνδρες
to-be-saved for-the Mantineans of-them but died men
ἀγαθοί, καὶ ἀπέκτειναν δὲ δῆλον ὅτι τοιούτους· οὐδὲν γὰρ
good and they-killed and clear that such not-one for
οὕτω βραχὺ ὅπλον ἑκάτεροι εἶχον ᾧ οὐκ ἐξικνοῦντο
so short weapon each-side had with-which not they-reached
ἀλλήλων. καὶ τοὺς μὲν φιλίους νεκροὺς οὐ προήκαντο,
one-another and the indeed friendly dead not they-abandoned
τῶν δὲ πολεμίων ἦν οὓς ὑποσπόνδους ἀπέδοσαν.
of-the but enemies there-were whom under-truce they-gave-back
ὁ δ' αὖ Ἐπαμεινώνδας, ἐνθυμούμενος ὅτι ὀλίγων 18
— and in-turn Epaminondas considering that few
μὲν ἡμερῶν ἀνάγκη ἔσοιτο ἀπιέναι διὰ τὸ ἐξήκειν
indeed days necessity there-would-be to-go-away because-of the to-expire
τῇ στρατείᾳ τὸν χρόνον, εἰ δὲ καταλείψοι ἐρήμους
for-the campaign the time if but he-left deserted
οἷς ἦλθε σύμμαχος, ἐκεῖνοι πολιορκήσοιντο ὑπὸ
the-ones-to-whom he-had-come as-ally those would-be-besieged by
τῶν ἀντιπάλων, αὐτὸς δὲ λελυμασμένος τῇ ἑαυτοῦ δόξῃ
the opponents himself and having-been-ruined the his-own glory
παντάπασιν ἔσοιτο, ἡττημένος μὲν ἐν Λακεδαίμονι
altogether would-be having-been-defeated indeed in Lacedaemon
σὺν πολλῷ ὁπλιτικῷ ὑπ' ὀλίγων, ἡττημένος δὲ ἐν
with large hoplite-force by few having-been-defeated and at
Μαντινείᾳ ἱππομαχίᾳ, αἴτιος δὲ γεγενημένος διὰ τὴν εἰς
Mantinea in-a-cavalry-battle responsible and having-become through the into
Πελοπόννησον στρατείαν τοῦ συνεστάναι Λακεδαιμονίους
Peloponnese campaign for-the to-have-combined Lacedaemonians
καὶ Ἀρκάδας καὶ Ἀχαιοὺς καὶ Ἠλείους καὶ Ἀθηναίους·
and Arcadians and Achaeans and Eleans and Athenians

ὥστε οὐκ ἐδόκει αὐτῷ δυνατὸν εἶναι ἀμαχεὶ παρελθεῖν,
so-that not seemed to-him possible to-be without-battle to-pass-by
λογιζομένῳ ὅτι εἰ μὲν νικῴη, πάντα ταῦτα ἀναλύσοιτο,
reckoning that if indeed he-should-win all these-things he-would-undo
εἰ δὲ ἀποθάνοι, καλὴν τὴν τελευτὴν ἡγήσατο ἔσεσθαι
if but he-should-die fine the end he-considered would-be
πειρωμένῳ τῇ πατρίδι ἀρχὴν Πελοποννήσου καταλιπεῖν.
for-one-trying for-the fatherland rule of-Peloponnese to-leave

19 τὸ μὲν οὖν αὐτὸν τοιαῦτα διανοεῖσθαι οὐ πάνυ μοι
the indeed then him such-things to-intend not very to-me
δοκεῖ θαυμαστὸν εἶναι. φιλοτίμων γὰρ ἀνδρῶν τὰ τοιαῦτα
seems wonderful to-be of-ambitious for men the such
διανοήματα· τὸ μέντοι τὸ στράτευμα παρεσκευακέναι ὡς
intentions the however the army to-have-prepared so-that
πόνον τε μηδένα ἀποκάμνειν μήτε νυκτὸς μήτε ἡμέρας,
toil both no to-weary-of neither by-night nor by-day
κινδύνου τε μηδενὸς ἀφίστασθαι, σπάνιά τε τἀπιτήδεια
danger and no to-shrink-from scanty and the-provisions
ἔχοντας ὅμως πείθεσθαι ἐθέλειν, ταῦτά μοι δοκεῖ
having nevertheless to-obey to-be-willing these-things to-me seem
θαυμαστότερα εἶναι.
more-wonderful to-be

20 καὶ γὰρ ὅτε τὸ τελευταῖον παρήγγειλεν αὐτοῖς
and for when the last-time he-ordered them
παρασκευάζεσθαι ὡς μάχης ἐσομένης, προθύμως μὲν
to-prepare as battle being-about-to-be eagerly indeed
ἐλευκοῦντο οἱ ἱππεῖς τὰ κράνη κελεύοντος ἐκείνου,
whitened the horsemen the helmets bidding that-one
ἐπεγράφοντο δὲ καὶ οἱ τῶν Ἀρκάδων ὁπλῖται ῥόπαλα,
painted-on and also the of-the Arcadians hoplites clubs

ὡς Θηβαῖοι ὄντες, πάντες δὲ ἠκονῶντο καὶ λόγχας καὶ
as Thebans being all and sharpened both spears and
μαχαίρας καὶ ἐλαμπρύνοντο τὰς ἀσπίδας.
swords and polished the shields
ἐπεὶ μέντοι οὕτω παρεσκευασμένους ἐξήγαγεν, ἄξιον αὖ 21
when however so prepared he-led-out worthy in-turn
κατανοῆσαι ἃ ἐποίησε. πρῶτον μὲν γάρ, ὥσπερ εἰκός,
to-consider what he-did first indeed for as reasonable
συνετάττετο. τοῦτο δὲ πράττων σαφηνίζειν ἐδόκει ὅτι εἰς
he-drew-up this and doing to-make-clear he-seemed that for
μάχην παρεσκευάζετο· ἐπεί γε μὴν ἐτέτακτο αὐτῷ
battle he-was-preparing when at-least truly had-been-drawn-up for-him
τὸ στράτευμα ὡς ἐβούλετο, τὴν μὲν συντομωτάτην πρὸς
the army as he-wished the indeed shortest-way toward
τοὺς πολεμίους οὐκ ἦγε, πρὸς δὲ τὰ πρὸς ἑσπέραν ὄρη
the enemies not he-led toward but the toward west mountains
κατ᾽ ἀντιπέρας τῆς Τεγέας ἠγεῖτο, ὥστε δόξαν παρεῖχε
at opposite — of-Tegea he-led so-that impression he-gave
τοῖς πολεμίοις μὴ ποιήσεσθαι μάχην ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ.
to-the enemies not to-be-going-to-make battle on-that the day
καὶ γὰρ δὴ ὡς πρὸς τῷ ὄρει ἐγένετο, ἐπεὶ ἐξετάθη 22
and for indeed when near the mountain he-was when was-extended
αὐτῷ ἡ φάλαγξ, ὑπὸ τοῖς ὑψηλοῖς ἔθετο τὰ ὅπλα, ὥστε
for-him the phalanx under the heights he-grounded the arms so-that
ἠκάσθη στρατοπεδευομένῳ. τοῦτο δὲ ποιήσας ἔλυσε μὲν
he-seemed-like one-encamping this and having-done he-loosened indeed
τῶν πλείστων πολεμίων τὴν ἐν ταῖς ψυχαῖς πρὸς μάχην
of-the most enemies the in the souls for battle
παρασκευήν, ἔλυσε δὲ τὴν ἐν ταῖς συντάξεσιν. ἐπεί γε
readiness he-loosened and the in the formations when at-least
μὴν παραγαγὼν τοὺς ἐπὶ κέρως πορευομένους λόχους εἰς
truly having-brought-up the in column marching companies into

μέτωπον ἰσχυρὸν ἐποιήσατο τὸ περὶ ἑαυτὸν ἔμβολον, τότε
front strong he-made the around himself wedge then
δὴ [ἀναλαβεῖν] παραγγείλας εἰς τὰ ὅπλα ἡγεῖτο· οἱ
indeed to-take-up having-ordered to the arms he-led they
δ' ἠκολούθουν. οἱ δὲ πολέμιοι ὡς εἶδον παρὰ δόξαν
and followed the but enemies when they-saw contrary-to expectation
ἐπιόντας, οὐδεὶς αὐτῶν ἡσυχίαν ἔχειν ἐδύνατο, ἀλλ' οἱ
advancing no-one of-them quiet to-keep was-able but the-ones
μὲν ἔθεον εἰς τὰς τάξεις, οἱ δὲ παρετάττοντο, οἱ
indeed ran to the ranks the-others and drew-up the-others
δὲ ἵππους ἐχαλίνουν, οἱ δὲ θώρακας ἐνεδύοντο, πάντες
and horses bridled the-others and breastplates put-on all
δὲ πεισομένοις τι μᾶλλον ἢ ποιήσουσιν ἐῴκεσαν.
and men-going-to-suffer something rather than going-to-do they-resembled
23 ὁ δὲ τὸ στράτευμα ἀντίπρῳρον ὥσπερ τριήρη προσῆγε,
he but the army prow-on like a-trireme brought-on
νομίζων, ὅποι ἐμβαλὼν διακόψειε, διαφθερεῖν ὅλον
thinking wherever having-struck he-should-cut-through to-destroy whole
τὸ τῶν ἐναντίων στράτευμα. καὶ γὰρ δὴ τῷ μὲν
the of-the opposing army and for indeed with-the indeed
ἰσχυροτάτῳ παρεσκευάζετο ἀγωνίζεσθαι, τὸ δὲ ἀσθενέστατον
strongest he-was-preparing to-fight the but weakest
πόρρω ἀπέστησεν, εἰδὼς ὅτι ἡττηθὲν ἀθυμίαν ἂν παράσχοι
far-off he-set-away knowing that defeated discouragement — would-cause
τοῖς μεθ' αὑτοῦ, ῥώμην δὲ τοῖς πολεμίοις. καὶ μὴν τοὺς
to-the-ones with himself strength but to-the enemies and truly the
ἱππέας οἱ μὲν πολέμιοι ἀντιπαρετάξαντο ὥσπερ ὁπλιτῶν
horsemen the indeed enemies drew-up-opposite like of-hoplites
φάλαγγα βάθος ἐφ' ἓξ καὶ ἔρημον πεζῶν ἀμίππων·
a-phalanx in-depth by six and bare of-infantry horse-runners

ὁ δ' Ἐπαμεινώνδας αὖ καὶ τοῦ ἱππικοῦ ἔμβολον 24
— but Epaminondas in-turn also of-the cavalry a-wedge
ἰσχυρὸν ἐποιήσατο, καὶ ἀμίππους πεζοὺς συνέταξεν αὐτοῖς,
strong made and horse-runner infantry he-ranged-with them
νομίζων τὸ ἱππικὸν ἐπεὶ διακόψειεν, ὅλον τὸ ἀντίπαλον
thinking the cavalry when it-should-cut-through whole the opposing
νενικηκὼς ἔσεσθαι· μάλα γὰρ χαλεπὸν εὑρεῖν τοὺς
having-conquered to-be very for hard to-find the
ἐθελήσοντας μένειν, ἐπειδάν τινας φεύγοντας τῶν
ones-going-to-be-willing to-stand whenever some fleeing of-the
ἑαυτῶν ὁρῶσι· καὶ ὅπως μὴ ἐπιβοηθῶσιν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι
their-own they-see and so-that not should-come-to-help the Athenians
ἀπὸ τοῦ εὐωνύμου κέρως ἐπὶ τὸ ἐχόμενον, κατέστησεν ἐπὶ
from the left wing to the next he-posted on
γηλόφων τινῶν ἐναντίους αὐτοῖς καὶ ἱππέας καὶ ὁπλίτας,
hills some opposite them both horsemen and hoplites
φόβον βουλόμενος καὶ τούτοις παρέχειν ὡς, εἰ βοηθήσαιεν,
fear wishing also to-these to-give that if they-should-help
ὄπισθεν οὗτοι ἐπικείσοιντο αὐτοῖς. τὴν μὲν δὴ συμβολὴν
from-behind these would-press-upon them the indeed then engagement
οὕτως ἐποιήσατο, καὶ οὐκ ἐψεύσθη τῆς ἐλπίδος· κρατήσας
thus he-made and not he-was-deceived of-the hope having-prevailed
γὰρ ᾗ προσέβαλεν ὅλον ἐποίησε φεύγειν τὸ τῶν ἐναντίων.
for where he-attacked whole he-made to-flee the of-the opponents
ἐπεί γε μὴν ἐκεῖνος ἔπεσεν, οἱ λοιποὶ οὐδὲ τῇ νίκῃ ὀρθῶς 25
when at-least truly that-man fell the rest not-even the victory rightly
ἔτι ἐδυνάσθησαν χρήσασθαι, ἀλλὰ φυγούσης μὲν αὐτοῖς
any-longer were-able to-use but having-fled indeed for-them
τῆς ἐναντίας φάλαγγος οὐδένα ἀπέκτειναν οἱ ὁπλῖται οὐδὲ
of-the opposing phalanx no-one killed the hoplites nor
προῆλθον ἐκ τοῦ χωρίου ἔνθα ἡ συμβολὴ ἐγένετο. φυγόντων
advanced from the place where the engagement happened having-fled

δ' αὐτοῖς καὶ τῶν ἱππέων, ἀπέκτειναν μὲν οὐδ' οἱ ἱππεῖς
and for-them also of-the horsemen killed indeed not-even the horsemen
διώκοντες οὔτε ἱππέας οὔθ' ὁπλίτας, ὥσπερ δὲ ἡττώμενοι
pursuing either horsemen or hoplites as-if but being-defeated
πεφοβημένως διὰ τῶν φευγόντων πολεμίων διέπεσον. καὶ
in-fear through the fleeing enemies fell-through and
μὴν οἱ ἄμιπποι καὶ οἱ πελτασταὶ συννενικηκότες τοῖς
truly the horse-runners and the peltasts having-shared-the-victory with-the
ἱππεῦσιν ἀφίκοντο μὲν ἐπὶ τοῦ εὐωνύμου, ὡς κρατοῦντες,
horsemen arrived indeed at the left as prevailing
ἐκεῖ δ' ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀθηναίων οἱ πλεῖστοι αὐτῶν ἀπέθανον.
there but by the Athenians the most of-them died

26 Τούτων δὲ πραχθέντων τοὐναντίον ἐγεγένητο οὗ
These-things and having-been-done the-opposite had-happened of-what
ἐνόμισαν πάντες ἄνθρωποι ἔσεσθαι. συνεληλυθυίας γὰρ
thought all men to-be-going-to-be having-come-together for
σχεδὸν ἁπάσης τῆς Ἑλλάδος καὶ ἀντιτεταγμένων,
nearly all — Greece and drawn-up-against-each-other
οὐδεὶς ἦν ὅστις οὐκ ᾤετο, εἰ μάχη ἔσοιτο, τοὺς
no-one there-was who not thought if a-battle should-be the
μὲν κρατήσαντας ἄρξειν, τοὺς δὲ κρατηθέντας ὑπηκόους
indeed having-prevailed to-rule the but having-been-defeated subjects
ἔσεσθαι· ὁ δὲ θεὸς οὕτως ἐποίησεν ὥστε ἀμφότεροι
to-be-going-to-be the but god so made-it that both
μὲν τροπαῖον [ὡς νενικηκότες] ἐστήσαντο, τοὺς δὲ
indeed a-trophy as having-conquered set-up the but
ἱσταμένους οὐδέτεροι ἐκώλυον, νεκροὺς δὲ ἀμφότεροι μὲν
setting-up neither hindered the-dead and both indeed
ὡς νενικηκότες ὑποσπόνδους ἀπέδοσαν, ἀμφότεροι δὲ ὡς
as having-conquered under-truce gave-back both but as
ἡττημένοι ὑποσπόνδους ἀπελάμβανον,
defeated under-truce took-back

νενικηκέναι δὲ φάσκοντες ἑκάτεροι οὔτε χώρᾳ οὔτε πόλει 27
to-have-conquered and claiming each neither in-land nor in-city
οὔτ᾽ ἀρχῇ οὐδέτεροι οὐδὲν πλέον ἔχοντες ἐφάνησαν ἢ
nor in-rule either anything more having appeared than
πρὶν τὴν μάχην γενέσθαι· ἀκρισία δὲ καὶ ταραχὴ ἔτι
before the battle to-happen confusion but and disorder still
πλείων μετὰ τὴν μάχην ἐγένετο ἢ πρόσθεν ἐν τῇ
greater after the battle came-about than before in —
Ἑλλάδι. ἐμοὶ μὲν δὴ μέχρι τούτου γραφέσθω· τὰ δὲ
Greece by-me indeed then up-to this-point let-it-be-written the but
μετὰ ταῦτα ἴσως ἄλλῳ μελήσει.
after these-things perhaps to-another will-be-a-care

XENOPHON

ΑΓΗΣΙΛΑΟΣ

Agesilaus

Xenophon sets out to praise Agesilaus, of the line of Heracles and king of the most glorious city, chosen over Leotychides as the worthier. Early in his reign he offers to cross to Asia with thirty Spartiates, two thousand neodamodes, and six thousand allies. Tissaphernes breaks his oath of truce, and Agesilaus, who keeps his, thanks him for making the gods the Greeks' allies. He feints at Caria and raids Phrygia, enriches his friends, treats captives humanely, raises cavalry from the rich, and turns Ephesus into a workshop of war. He routs the Persian horse by the Pactolus and ravages the land around Sardis, and the king has Tissaphernes beheaded. Recalled at the height of his power, he obeys at once, and the Greeks of Asia, whose cities he kept in concord, grieve at his going.

Οἶδα μὲν ὅτι τῆς Ἀγησιλάου ἀρετῆς τε καὶ δόξης οὐ 1
I-know indeed that of-the of-Agesilaus excellence both and glory not
ῥᾴδιον ἄξιον ἔπαινον γράψαι, ὅμως δ' ἐγχειρητέον.
easy worthy praise to-write nevertheless but it-must-be-attempted
οὐ γὰρ ἂν καλῶς ἔχοι εἰ ὅτι τελέως ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς
not for — well it-would-be if because perfectly a-man good
ἐγένετο, διὰ τοῦτο οὐδὲ μειόνων τυγχάνοι ἐπαίνων.
he-was because-of this not-even lesser he-should-obtain praises
περὶ μὲν οὖν εὐγενείας αὐτοῦ τί ἄν τις μεῖζον καὶ 2
about indeed then good-birth his what — anyone greater and
κάλλιον εἰπεῖν ἔχοι ἢ ὅτι ἔτι καὶ νῦν τοῖς προγόνοις
finer to-say could-have than that still even now with-the ancestors
ὀνομαζομένοις ἀπομνημονεύεται ὁπόστος ἀφ' Ἡρακλέους
being-named it-is-recorded how-many-th from Heracles
ἐγένετο, καὶ τούτοις οὐκ ἰδιώταις ἀλλ' ἐκ βασιλέων
he-was and these not private-men but from kings
βασιλεῦσιν;
kings

3 ἀλλὰ μὴν οὐδὲ ταύτῃ γ᾽ ἄν τις ἔχοι καταμέμψασθαι
but truly not-even in-this-respect at-least — anyone could to-find-fault-with
αὐτοὺς ὡς βασιλεύουσι μέν, πόλεως δὲ τῆς ἐπιτυχούσης·
them as being-kings indeed of-a-city but the chance-one
ἀλλ᾽ ὥσπερ τὸ γένος αὐτῶν τῆς πατρίδος ἐντιμότατον,
but as the family their of-the fatherland most-honored
οὕτω καὶ ἡ πόλις ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι ἐνδοξοτάτη· ὥστε οὐ
so also the city in — Greece most-glorious so-that not
δευτέρων πρωτεύουσιν, ἀλλ᾽ ἡγεμόνων ἡγεμονεύουσι.
of-seconds they-are-first but of-leaders they-lead

4 τῇδέ γε μὴν καὶ κοινῇ ἄξιον ἐπαινέσαι τήν τε πατρίδα
in-this-way at-least truly also in-common worthy to-praise the both fatherland
καὶ τὸ γένος αὐτοῦ· ἥ τε γὰρ πόλις οὐδεπώποτε φθονήσασα
and the family his the both for city never having-envied
τοῦ προτετιμῆσθαι αὐτοὺς ἐπεχείρησε καταλῦσαι τὴν ἀρχὴν
the being-honored-above them attempted to-overthrow the rule
αὐτῶν, οἵ τε βασιλεῖς οὐδεπώποτε μειζόνων ὠρέχθησαν ἢ
their the both kings never for-greater-things reached than
ἐφ᾽ οἷσπερ ἐξ ἀρχῆς τὴν βασιλείαν παρέλαβον. τοιγαροῦν
for which-very from beginning the kingship they-received therefore
ἄλλη μὲν οὐδεμία ἀρχὴ φανερά ἐστι διαγεγενημένη
other indeed no rule evident is having-lasted-through
ἀδιάσπαστος οὔτε δημοκρατία οὔτε ὀλιγαρχία οὔτε τυραννὶς
unbroken neither democracy nor oligarchy nor tyranny
οὔτε βασιλεία· αὕτη δὲ μόνη διαμένει συνεχὴς βασιλεία.
nor kingship this but alone remains continuous kingship

5 ὡς γε μὴν καὶ πρὶν ἄρξαι ἄξιος τῆς βασιλείας ἐδόκει
how at-least truly even before to-rule worthy of-the kingship he-seemed
εἶναι Ἀγησίλαος τάδε τὰ σημεῖα. ἐπεὶ γὰρ Ἄγις βασιλεὺς
to-be Agesilaus these-are the signs when for Agis king
ὢν ἐτελεύτησεν, ἐρισάντων περὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς Λεωτυχίδα
being died having-disputed about the rule Leotychides

μὲν ὡς Ἄγιδος ὄντος υἱοῦ, Ἀγησιλάου δὲ ὡς Ἀρχιδάμου,
indeed as of-Agis being son Agesilaus but as of-Archidamus
κρίνασα ἡ πόλις ἀνεπικλητότερον εἶναι Ἀγησίλαον καὶ
having-judged the city more-unimpeachable to-be Agesilaus both
τῷ γένει καὶ τῇ ἀρετῇ τοῦτον ἐστήσατο βασιλέα. καίτοι
in-the family and in-the excellence this-man set-up king and-yet
τὸ ἐν τῇ κρατίστῃ πόλει ὑπὸ τῶν ἀρίστων κριθέντα
the in the strongest city by the best having-been-judged
τοῦ καλλίστου γέρως ἀξιωθῆναι ποίων ἔτι τεκμηρίων
of-the finest privilege to-be-deemed-worthy what-kind further of-proofs
προσδεῖται τῆς γε πρὶν ἄρξαι αὐτὸν ἀρετῆς;
needs-besides of-the at-least before to-rule him excellence
Ὅσα γε μὴν ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ διεπράξατο νῦν ἤδη 6
As-many-things at-least truly in the kingship he-accomplished now already
διηγήσομαι· ἀπὸ γὰρ τῶν ἔργων καὶ τοὺς τρόπους αὐτοῦ
I-will-relate from for the deeds also the ways his
κάλλιστα νομίζω καταδήλους ἔσεσθαι. Ἀγησίλαος τοίνυν
best I-think clear-to-see to-be-going-to-be Agesilaus then
ἔτι μὲν νέος ὢν ἔτυχε τῆς βασιλείας· ἄρτι δὲ ὄντος αὐτοῦ
still indeed young being obtained the kingship just and being him
ἐν τῇ ἀρχῇ, ἐξηγγέλθη βασιλεὺς ὁ Περσῶν ἀθροίζων καὶ
in the rule it-was-reported king the of-Persians gathering both
ναυτικὸν καὶ πεζὸν πολὺ στράτευμα ὡς ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἕλληνας·
a-navy and infantry great army as against the Greeks
βουλευομένων δὲ περὶ τούτων Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ 7
deliberating and about these-things the-Lacedaemonians and
τῶν συμμάχων, Ἀγησίλαος ὑπέστη, ἐὰν δῶσιν αὐτῷ
the allies Agesilaus undertook if they-gave him
τριάκοντα μὲν Σπαρτιατῶν, δισχιλίους δὲ νεοδαμώδεις, εἰς
thirty indeed of-Spartiates two-thousand and neodamodes to
ἑξακισχιλίους δὲ τὸ σύνταγμα τῶν συμμάχων, διαβήσεσθαι
six-thousand and the contingent of-the allies to-cross

εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν καὶ πειράσεσθαι εἰρήνην ποιῆσαι, ἢ ἂν
into — Asia and to-try peace to-make or if
πολεμεῖν βούληται ὁ βάρβαρος, ἀσχολίαν αὐτῷ παρέξειν
to-wage-war should-wish the barbarian occupation to-him to-give
στρατεύειν ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἕλληνας.
to-march against the Greeks

8 εὐθὺς μὲν οὖν πολλοὶ πάνυ ἠγάσθησαν αὐτὸ τοῦτο
at-once indeed then many very admired very this
τὸ ἐπιθυμῆσαι, ἐπειδὴ ὁ Πέρσης πρόσθεν ἐπὶ τὴν
the to-desire since the Persian before against —
Ἑλλάδα διέβη, ἀντιδιαβῆναι ἐπ᾽ αὐτόν, τό τε αἱρεῖσθαι
Greece crossed to-cross-over-against against him the both to-choose
ἐπιόντα μᾶλλον ἢ ὑπομένοντα μάχεσθαι αὐτῷ, καὶ τὸ
attacking rather than awaiting to-fight him and the
τἀκείνου δαπανῶντα βούλεσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ τὰ τῶν
the-things-of-that-man spending to-wish rather than the-things of-the
Ἑλλήνων πολεμεῖν, κάλλιστον δὲ πάντων ἐκρίνετο μὴ περὶ
Greeks to-make-war finest but of-all was-judged not about
τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἀλλὰ περὶ τῆς Ἀσίας τὸν ἀγῶνα καθιστάναι.
— Greece but about — Asia the contest to-establish

9 ἐπεί γε μὴν λαβὼν τὸ στράτευμα ἐξέπλευσε, πῶς
when at-least truly having-taken the army he-sailed-out how
ἄν τις σαφέστερον ἐπιδείξειεν ὡς ἐστρατήγησεν ἢ εἰ
— anyone more-clearly could-show how he-commanded than if
αὐτὰ διηγήσαιτο ἃ ἔπραξεν;
these-things he-should-relate which he-did

10 ἐν τοίνυν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ ἥδε πρώτη πρᾶξις ἐγένετο. Τισσαφέρνης
in then — Asia this first action happened Tissaphernes
μὲν ὤμοσεν Ἀγησιλάῳ, εἰ σπείσαιτο ἕως ἔλθοιεν οὓς
indeed swore to-Agesilaus if he-made-truce until should-come whom
πέμψειε πρὸς βασιλέα ἀγγέλους, διαπράξεσθαι αὐτῷ
he-sent to king messengers to-bring-about for-him

ἀφεθῆναι αὐτονόμους τὰς ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ πόλεις Ἑλληνίδας,
to-be-let-go autonomous the in — Asia cities Greek
Ἀγησίλαος δὲ ἀντώμοσε σπονδὰς ἄξειν ἀδόλως, ὁρισάμενος
Agesilaus and swore-in-return the-truce to-keep without-guile having-set
τῆς πράξεως τρεῖς μῆνας.
for-the business three months
ὁ μὲν δὴ Τισσαφέρνης ἃ ὤμοσεν εὐθὺς ἐψεύσατο· ἀντὶ 11
— indeed then Tissaphernes what he-swore at-once falsified instead-of
γὰρ τοῦ εἰρήνην πράττειν στράτευμα πολὺ παρὰ βασιλέως
for the peace to-negotiate army large from king
πρὸς ᾧ πρόσθεν εἶχε μετεπέμπετο. Ἀγησίλαος δὲ καίπερ
besides what before he-had he-sent-for Agesilaus but although
αἰσθόμενος ταῦτα ὅμως ἐνέμεινε ταῖς σπονδαῖς.
having-perceived these-things nevertheless abided-by the truce
ἐμοὶ οὖν τοῦτο πρῶτον καλὸν δοκεῖ διαπράξασθαι 12
to-me then this first fine seems to-have-accomplished
ὅτι Τισσαφέρνην μὲν ἐμφανίσας ἐπίορκον ἄπιστον
that Tissaphernes indeed having-shown-up a-perjurer untrustworthy
πᾶσιν ἐποίησεν, ἑαυτὸν δ' ἀντεπιδείξας πρῶτον μὲν
to-all made himself but having-shown-in-contrast first indeed
ὅρκους ἐμπεδοῦντα, ἔπειτα συνθήκας μὴ ψευδόμενον,
oaths keeping then agreements not falsifying
πάντας ἐποίησε καὶ Ἕλληνας καὶ βαρβάρους θαρροῦντας
all made both Greeks and barbarians confident
συντίθεσθαι ἑαυτῷ, εἴ τι βούλοιτο.
to-make-agreements with-himself if anything he-wished
ἐπεὶ δὲ μέγα φρονήσας ὁ Τισσαφέρνης ἐπὶ τῷ 13
when and greatly having-prided-himself — Tissaphernes at the
καταβάντι στρατεύματι προεῖπεν Ἀγησιλάῳ πόλεμον, εἰ
come-down army announced to-Agesilaus war if
μὴ ἀπίοι ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας, οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι σύμμαχοι
not he-should-depart from — Asia the indeed other allies

καὶ Λακεδαιμονίων οἱ παρόντες μάλα ἀχθεσθέντες
and of-Lacedaemonians the-ones present greatly vexed
φανεροὶ ἐγένοντο, νομίζοντες μείονα τὴν παροῦσαν δύναμιν
evident became thinking smaller the present force
Ἀγησιλάῳ τῆς βασιλέως παρασκευῆς εἶναι· Ἀγησίλαος δὲ
for-Agesilaus than-the of-king preparation to-be Agesilaus but
μάλα φαιδρῷ τῷ προσώπῳ ἀπαγγεῖλαι τῷ Τισσαφέρνει
very cheerful with-the face to-report — to-Tissaphernes
τοὺς πρέσβεις ἐκέλευσεν ὡς πολλὴν χάριν αὐτῷ ἔχοι ὅτι
the envoys bade that much gratitude to-him he-had because
ἐπιορκήσας αὐτὸς μὲν πολεμίους τοὺς θεοὺς ἐκτήσατο,
having-perjured himself indeed enemies the gods he-acquired
τοῖς δ' Ἕλλησι συμμάχους ἐποίησεν.
for-the but Greeks allies he-made

14 ἐκ δὲ τούτου εὐθὺς τοῖς μὲν στρατιώταις παρήγγειλε
from and this at-once to-the indeed soldiers he-ordered
συσκευάζεσθαι ὡς εἰς στρατείαν· ταῖς δὲ πόλεσιν εἰς
to-pack-up as for an-expedition to-the and cities to
ἃς ἀνάγκη ἦν ἀφικνεῖσθαι στρατευομένῳ ἐπὶ Καρίαν
which necessity was to-come for-one-marching to Caria
προεῖπεν ἀγορὰν παρασκευάζειν. ἐπέστειλε δὲ καὶ Ἴωσι
he-proclaimed a-market to-prepare he-sent-word and also to-Ionians
καὶ Αἰολεῦσι καὶ Ἑλλησποντίοις πέμπειν πρὸς αὐτὸν εἰς
and to-Aeolians and to-Hellespontines to-send to himself to
Ἔφεσον τοὺς συστρατευσομένους.
Ephesus the ones-going-to-campaign-with

15 ὁ μὲν οὖν Τισσαφέρνης, καὶ ὅτι ἱππικὸν οὐκ εἶχεν ὁ
— indeed then Tissaphernes both because cavalry not had —
Ἀγησίλαος, ἡ δὲ Καρία ἄφιππος ἦν, καὶ ὅτι ἡγεῖτο
Agesilaus — and Caria without-horses was and because he-supposed
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 ὁρμήσειν
having-thought against the his-own house to Caria to-be-going-to-set-out
αὐτόν, τὸ μὲν πεζὸν ἅπαν διεβίβασεν ἐκεῖσε, τὸ δὲ
him the indeed infantry all he-took-across there the but
ἱππικὸν εἰς τὸ Μαιάνδρου πεδίον περιήγαγε, νομίζων
cavalry into the of-Maeander plain he-led-around thinking
ἱκανὸς εἶναι καταπατῆσαι τῇ ἵππῳ τοὺς Ἕλληνας πρὶν
able to-be to-trample with-the cavalry the Greeks before
εἰς τὰ δύσιππα ἀφικέσθαι.
into the bad-for-horses to-arrive
ὁ δὲ Ἀγησίλαος ἀντὶ τοῦ ἐπὶ Καρίαν ἰέναι εὐθὺς 16
— but Agesilaus instead-of the to Caria to-go at-once
ἀντιστρέψας ἐπὶ Φρυγίας ἐπορεύετο· καὶ τάς τε ἐν
having-turned-back toward Phrygia marched and the both on
τῇ πορείᾳ ἀπαντώσας δυνάμεις ἀναλαμβάνων ἦγε καὶ
the march meeting forces taking-up he-led and
τὰς πόλεις κατεστρέφετο καὶ ἐμβαλὼν ἀπροσδοκήτως
the cities subdued and having-invaded unexpectedly
παμπληθῆ χρήματα ἔλαβε.
vast money he-took
στρατηγικὸν οὖν καὶ τοῦτο ἐδόκει διαπράξασθαι ὅτι ἐπεὶ 17
of-a-general then also this he-seemed to-have-accomplished that when
πόλεμος προερρήθη καὶ τὸ ἐξαπατᾶν ὅσιόν τε καὶ δίκαιον ἐξ
war was-proclaimed and the to-deceive holy both and just from
ἐκείνου ἐγένετο, παῖδα ἀπέδειξε τὸν Τισσαφέρνην τῇ ἀπάτῃ,
that-time became a-child he-showed — Tissaphernes in-the deception
φρονίμως δὲ καὶ τοὺς φίλους ἐνταῦθα ἔδοξε πλουτίσαι·
prudently and also the friends then he-seemed to-enrich
ἐπεὶ γὰρ διὰ τὸ πολλὰ χρήματα εἰλῆφθαι ἀντίπροικα 18
when for because-of the much money to-have-been-taken for-a-pittance
τὰ πάντα ἐπωλεῖτο, τοῖς μὲν φίλοις προεῖπεν ὠνεῖσθαι,
— all-things were-being-sold to-the indeed friends he-gave-notice to-buy

εἰπὼν ὅτι καταβήσοιτο ἐπὶ θάλατταν ἐν τάχει τὸ
having-said that he-would-go-down to the-sea in haste the
στράτευμα κατάγων· τοὺς δὲ λαφυροπώλας ἐκέλευσε
army leading-down the but booty-sellers he-bade
γραφομένους ὁπόσου τι πρίαιντο προϊέσθαι τὰ
writing-down for-how-much anything they-bought to-hand-over the
χρήματα. ὥστε οὐδὲν προτελέσαντες οἱ φίλοι αὐτοῦ οὐδὲ
goods so-that nothing having-paid-in-advance the friends his nor
τὸ δημόσιον βλάψαντες πάντες παμπληθῆ χρήματα ἔλαβον.
the public-treasury harming all vast money took
19 ἔτι δὲ ὁπότε αὐτόμολοι ὡς εἰκὸς πρὸς βασιλέα ἰόντες
further and whenever deserters as was-likely to the-king going
χρήματα ἐθέλοιεν ὑφηγεῖσθαι, καὶ ταῦτα ἐπεμέλετο ὡς
money were-willing to-point-out also these-things he-took-care that
διὰ τῶν φίλων ἁλίσκοιτο, ὅπως ἅμα μὲν χρηματίζοιντο,
through the friends should-be-seized so-that at-once indeed they-might-make-money
ἅμα δὲ ἐνδοξότεροι γίγνοιντο. διὰ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα
at-once and more-renowned might-become because-of indeed then these-things
εὐθὺς πολλοὺς ἐραστὰς τῆς αὑτοῦ φιλίας ἐποιήσατο.
at-once many lovers of-the his-own friendship he-made
20 γιγνώσκων δ' ὅτι ἡ μὲν πορθουμένη καὶ ἐρημουμένη
knowing and that the indeed being-ravaged and being-laid-waste
χώρα οὐκ ἂν δύναιτο πολὺν χρόνον στράτευμα φέρειν, ἡ
land not — would-be-able long time an-army to-bear the
δ' οἰκουμένη μὲν σπειρομένη δὲ ἀέναον ἂν τὴν τροφὴν
but inhabited indeed being-sown and everlasting — the sustenance
παρέχοι, ἐπεμέλετο οὐ μόνον τοῦ βίᾳ χειροῦσθαι τοὺς
would-provide he-took-care not only of-the by-force to-subdue the
ἐναντίους, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦ πρᾳότητι προσάγεσθαι.
opponents but also of-the by-gentleness to-win-over

καὶ πολλάκις μὲν προηγόρευε τοῖς στρατιώταις τοὺς 21
and often indeed he-proclaimed to-the soldiers the
ἁλισκομένους μὴ ὡς ἀδίκους τιμωρεῖσθαι, ἀλλ᾽ ὡς
being-captured not as wrongdoers to-punish but as
ἀνθρώπους ὄντας φυλάττειν, πολλάκις δὲ ὁπότε
human-beings being to-guard often and whenever
μεταστρατοπεδεύοιτο, εἰ αἴσθοιτο καταλελειμμένα παιδάρια
he-shifted-camp if he-perceived left-behind children
παρὰ ἐμπόρων, ἃ πολλοὶ ἐπώλουν διὰ τὸ νομίζειν
from traders which many were-selling because-of the to-think
μὴ δύνασθαι ἂν φέρειν αὐτὰ καὶ τρέφειν, ἐπεμέλετο καὶ
not to-be-able — to-carry them and to-rear he-took-care also
τούτων ὅπως συγκομίζοιντό ποι.
of-these that they-should-be-brought-together somewhere
τοῖς δ᾽ αὖ διὰ γῆρας καταλειπομένοις αἰχμαλώτοις 22
for-the and in-turn because-of old-age being-left-behind captives
προσέταττεν ἐπιμελεῖσθαι αὐτῶν, ὡς μήτε ὑπὸ κυνῶν
he-assigned to-take-care of-them so-that neither by dogs
μήθ᾽ ὑπὸ λύκων διαφθείροιντο. ὥστε οὐ μόνον οἱ
nor by wolves they-should-be-destroyed so-that not only the-ones
πυνθανόμενοι ταῦτα, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτοὶ οἱ ἁλισκόμενοι εὐμενεῖς
learning these-things but also themselves the being-captured well-disposed
αὐτῷ ἐγίγνοντο. ὁπόσας δὲ πόλεις προσαγάγοιτο, ἀφαιρῶν
to-him became as-many-as and cities he-won-over taking-away
αὐτῶν ὅσα δοῦλοι δεσπόταις ὑπηρετοῦσι προσέταττεν
from-them what-things slaves to-masters serve he-enjoined
ὅσα ἐλεύθεροι ἄρχουσι πείθονται· καὶ τῶν κατὰ κράτος
what-things free-men to-rulers obey and of-the by force
ἀναλώτων τειχέων τῇ φιλανθρωπίᾳ ὑπὸ χεῖρα ἐποιεῖτο.
unassailable walls by-the humanity under hand he-brought

23 ἐπεὶ μέντοι ἀνὰ τὰ πεδία οὐδὲ ἐν τῇ Φρυγίᾳ ἐδύνατο
when however across the plains not-even in — Phrygia he-was-able
στρατεύεσθαι διὰ τὴν Φαρναβάζου ἱππείαν, ἔδοξεν
to-campaign because-of the of-Pharnabazus cavalry it-seemed-best
αὐτῷ ἱππικὸν κατασκευαστέον εἶναι, ὡς μὴ δραπετεύοντα
to-him cavalry to-be-provided to-be so-that not running-away
πολεμεῖν δέοι αὐτόν. τοὺς μὲν οὖν πλουσιωτάτους
to-make-war should-need he the-ones indeed then richest
ἐκ πασῶν τῶν ἐκεῖ πόλεων ἱπποτροφεῖν κατέλεξε.
from all the there cities to-breed-horses he-enrolled

24 προεῖπε δέ, ὅστις παρέχοιτο ἵππον καὶ ὅπλα καὶ ἄνδρα
he-proclaimed and whoever should-provide a-horse and arms and man
δόκιμον, ὡς ἐξέσοιτο αὐτῷ μὴ στρατεύεσθαι· καὶ
approved that it-would-be-allowed to-him not to-serve and
ἐποίησεν οὕτως ἕκαστον προθύμως ταῦτα πράττειν ὥσπερ
he-made so each eagerly these-things to-do as
ἄν τις τὸν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ ἀποθανούμενον προθύμως
— someone the-one for himself going-to-die eagerly
μαστεύοι. ἔταξε δὲ καὶ πόλεις ἐξ ὧν δέοι τοὺς
should-seek he-appointed and also cities from which it-was-needful the
ἱππέας παρασκευάζειν, νομίζων ἐκ τῶν ἱπποτρόφων πόλεων
horsemen to-provide thinking from the horse-breeding cities
εὐθὺς καὶ φρονηματίας μάλιστα ἂν ἐπὶ τῇ ἱππικῇ γενέσθαι.
at-once also proud-men most — about the cavalry to-be
καὶ τοῦτ᾽ οὖν ἀγαστῶς ἔδοξε πρᾶξαι ὅτι κατεσκεύαστο
and this then admirably he-seemed to-do that had-been-provided
τὸ ἱππικὸν αὐτῷ καὶ εὐθὺς ἐρρωμένον ἦν καὶ ἐνεργόν.
the cavalry to-him and at-once strong was and effective

25 ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἔαρ ὑπέφαινε, συνήγαγε πᾶν τὸ στράτευμα εἰς
when and spring was-dawning he-gathered all the army to
Ἔφεσον· ἀσκῆσαι δὲ αὐτὸ βουλόμενος ἆθλα προὔθηκε καὶ
Ephesus to-train and it wishing prizes he-set-out both

ταῖς ἱππικαῖς τάξεσιν, ἥτις κράτιστα ἱππεύοι, καὶ ταῖς
for-the cavalry squadrons whichever best should-ride and for-the
ὁπλιτικαῖς, ἥτις ἄριστα σωμάτων ἔχοι· καὶ πελτασταῖς
hoplite whichever best in-bodies should-be and for-peltasts
δὲ καὶ τοξόταις ἆθλα προὔθηκεν, οἵτινες κράτιστοι τὰ
and also for-archers prizes he-set-out whoever best the
προσήκοντα ἔργα φαίνοιντο. ἐκ τούτου δὲ παρῆν ὁρᾶν
fitting tasks should-appear from this and it-was-possible to-see
τὰ μὲν γυμνάσια μεστὰ τῶν ἀνδρῶν γυμναζομένων, τὸν
the indeed gymnasiums full of-the men exercising the
δὲ ἱππόδρομον ἱππέων ἱππαζομένων, τοὺς δὲ ἀκοντιστὰς
and racecourse of-horsemen riding the and javelin-throwers
καὶ τοὺς τοξότας ἐπὶ στόχον ἱέντας.
and the archers at the-mark shooting
ἀξίαν δὲ καὶ ὅλην τὴν πόλιν ἐν ᾗ ἦν θέας ἐποίησεν. 26
worthy and also whole the city in which he-was of-a-sight he-made
ἥ τε γὰρ ἀγορὰ μεστὴ ἦν παντοδαπῶν καὶ ὅπλων καὶ
the both for market full was of-all-kinds both of-arms and
ἵππων ὠνίων, οἵ τε χαλκοτύποι καὶ οἱ τέκτονες καὶ οἱ
of-horses for-sale the both bronze-smiths and the carpenters and the
σιδηρεῖς καὶ σκυτεῖς καὶ γραφεῖς πάντες πολεμικὰ ὅπλα
iron-workers and leather-workers and painters all warlike arms
κατεσκεύαζον· ὥστε τὴν πόλιν ὄντως ἂν ἡγήσω
were-making so-that the city really — you-would-have-thought
πολέμου ἐργαστήριον εἶναι.
of-war a-workshop to-be
ἐπερρώσθη δ' ἄν τις κἀκεῖνο ἰδών, Ἀγησίλαον 27
would-have-taken-heart and — anyone also-that having-seen Agesilaus
μὲν πρῶτον, ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους στρατιώτας
indeed first then and also the other soldiers
ἐστεφανωμένους τε ὅπου ἀπὸ τῶν γυμνασίων ἴοιεν, καὶ
crowned both wherever from the gymnasiums they-went and

ἀνατιθέντας τοὺς στεφάνους τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι. ὅπου γὰρ ἄνδρες
dedicating the crowns — to-Artemis where for men
θεοὺς μὲν σέβοιεν, πολεμικὰ δὲ ἀσκοῖεν, πειθαρχίαν δὲ
gods indeed should-revere war and should-practice discipline and
μελετῷεν, πῶς οὐκ εἰκὸς ἐνταῦθα πάντα μεστὰ ἐλπίδων
should-study how not likely there all-things full of-hopes
ἀγαθῶν εἶναι;
good to-be

28 ἡγούμενος δὲ καὶ τὸ καταφρονεῖν τῶν πολεμίων ῥώμην
thinking and also the to-despise the enemies strength
τινὰ ἐμβαλεῖν πρὸς τὸ μάχεσθαι, προεῖπε τοῖς κήρυξι τοὺς
some to-instill for the to-fight he-ordered the heralds the
ὑπὸ τῶν λῃστῶν ἁλισκομένους βαρβάρους γυμνοὺς πωλεῖν.
by the raiders being-captured barbarians naked to-sell
ὁρῶντες οὖν οἱ στρατιῶται λευκοὺς μὲν διὰ τὸ μηδέποτε
seeing then the soldiers white indeed because-of the never
ἐκδύεσθαι, πίονας δὲ καὶ ἀπόνους διὰ τὸ ἀεὶ ἐπ᾽
to-undress fat and also unused-to-toil because-of the always on
ὀχημάτων εἶναι, ἐνόμισαν μηδὲν διοίσειν τὸν πόλεμον
carriages to-be they-thought nothing to-be-going-to-differ the war
ἢ εἰ γυναιξὶ δέοι μάχεσθαι. προεῖπε δὲ καὶ τοῦτο
than if with-women it-were-needful to-fight he-announced and also this
τοῖς στρατιώταις ὡς εὐθὺς ἡγήσοιτο τὴν συντομωτάτην ἐπὶ
to-the soldiers that at-once he-would-lead the shortest-way to
τὰ κράτιστα τῆς χώρας, ὅπως αὐτόθεν αὐτῷ τὰ σώματα
the best-parts of-the country so-that from-there for-him the bodies
καὶ τὴν γνώμην παρασκευάζοιντο ὡς ἀγωνιούμενοι.
and the mind they-should-prepare as going-to-contend

29 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. τό τε οὖν πεζὸν καθάπερ τὸ πρόσθεν εἰς
reality to-invade the both then infantry as the before to
Καρίαν διεβίβασε καὶ τὸ ἱππικὸν εἰς τὸ Μαιάνδρου πεδίον
Caria he-took-across and the cavalry into the of-Maeander plain
κατέστησεν. ὁ δὲ Ἀγησίλαος οὐκ ἐψεύσατο, ἀλλ᾽ ὥσπερ
he-posted — but Agesilaus not lied but as
προεῖπεν εὐθὺς ἐπὶ τὸν Σαρδιανὸν τόπον ἐχώρησε, καὶ
he-had-announced at-once to the Sardian region went and
τρεῖς μὲν ἡμέρας δι᾽ ἐρημίας πολεμίων πορευόμενος
three indeed days through emptiness of-enemies marching
πολλὰ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια τῇ στρατιᾷ παρεῖχε· τῇ δὲ
many the provisions for-the army he-provided on-the but
τετάρτῃ ἡμέρᾳ ἦκον οἱ τῶν πολεμίων ἱππεῖς.
fourth day came the of-the enemies horsemen
καὶ τῷ μὲν ἄρχοντι τῶν σκευοφόρων εἶπεν ὁ ἡγεμὼν 30
and to-the indeed commander of-the baggage-carriers said the leader
διαβάντι τὸν Πακτωλὸν ποταμὸν στρατοπεδεύεσθαι·
having-crossed the Pactolus river to-encamp
αὐτοὶ δὲ κατιδόντες τοὺς τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἀκολούθους
they but having-caught-sight-of the of-the Greeks camp-followers
ἐσπαρμένους καθ᾽ ἁρπαγὴν πολλοὺς αὐτῶν ἀπέκτειναν.
scattered for plunder many of-them killed
αἰσθόμενος δὲ ὁ Ἀγησίλαος βοηθεῖν ἐκέλευσε τοὺς ἱππέας.
having-perceived and — Agesilaus to-help bade the horsemen
οἱ δ᾽ αὖ Πέρσαι ὡς εἶδον τὴν βοήθειαν, ἠθροίσθησαν
the and in-turn Persians when they-saw the help were-gathered
καὶ ἀντιπαρετάξαντο παμπληθέσι τῶν ἱππέων τάξεσιν.
and drew-up-opposite with-very-numerous of-the horsemen squadrons
ἔνθα δὴ ὁ Ἀγησίλαος γιγνώσκων ὅτι τοῖς μὲν πολεμίοις 31
there indeed — Agesilaus knowing that to-the indeed enemies
οὔπω παρείη τὸ πεζόν, αὐτῷ δὲ οὐδὲν ἀπείη τῶν
not-yet was-present the infantry to-him but nothing was-absent of-the

παρεσκευασμένων, καιρὸν ἡγήσατο μάχην συνάψαι, εἰ
things-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 ἀντιτεταγμένους ἱππέας, ἐκ δὲ τῶν ὁπλιτῶν
against the drawn-up-opposite horsemen from and the hoplites
ἐκέλευσε τὰ δέκα ἀφ' ἥβης θεῖν ὁμόσε αὐτοῖς, τοῖς
he-bade the ten-years 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

32 τοὺς μὲν δὴ ἱππέας ἐδέξαντο οἱ ἀγαθοὶ τῶν Περσῶν·
the indeed then horsemen received the brave of-the Persians
ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἅμα πάντα τὰ δεινὰ παρῆν ἐπ' αὐτούς,
when but at-once all the terrors were-present upon them
ἐνέκλιναν, καὶ οἱ μὲν αὐτῶν εὐθὺς ἐν τῷ ποταμῷ
they-gave-way and the-ones indeed of-them at-once in the river
ἔπεσον, οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι ἔφευγον. οἱ δὲ Ἕλληνες ἑπόμενοι
fell the and others fled the but Greeks following
αἱροῦσι καὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον αὐτῶν. καὶ οἱ μὲν πελτασταὶ
take also the camp their and the indeed peltasts
ὥσπερ εἰκὸς ἐφ' ἁρπαγὴν ἐτρέποντο· ὁ δὲ Ἀγησίλαος ἔχων
as was-likely to plunder turned — but Agesilaus having
κύκλῳ πάντα καὶ φίλια καὶ πολέμια περιεστρατοπεδεύσατο.
in-a-circle all-things both friendly and hostile encamped-around

33 ὡς δὲ ἤκουσε τοὺς πολεμίους ταράττεσθαι διὰ τὸ
when and he-heard the enemies to-be-in-confusion because-of the
αἰτιᾶσθαι ἀλλήλους τοῦ γεγενημένου, εὐθὺς ἦγεν ἐπὶ
to-blame one-another for-the thing-that-had-happened at-once he-led to

Σάρδεις. κἀκεῖ ἅμα μὲν ἔκαιε καὶ ἐπόρθει τὰ περὶ
Sardis and-there at-once indeed he-burned and ravaged the-things around
τὸ ἄστυ, ἅμα δὲ καὶ κηρύγματι ἐδήλου τοὺς μὲν
the town at-once and also by-proclamation he-made-known the-ones indeed
ἐλευθερίας δεομένους ὡς πρὸς σύμμαχον αὐτὸν παρεῖναι·
of-freedom needing as to an-ally him to-come
εἰ δέ τινες τὴν Ἀσίαν ἑαυτῶν ποιοῦνται, πρὸς τοὺς
if but any — Asia their-own make against the
ἐλευθεροῦντας διακρινουμένους ἐν ὅπλοις παρεῖναι.
ones-freeing to-decide-the-issue in arms to-come
ἐπεὶ μέντοι οὐδεὶς ἀντεξήει, ἀδεῶς δὴ τὸ ἀπὸ τούτου 34
when however no-one came-out-against fearlessly indeed the from this-point
ἐστρατεύετο, τοὺς μὲν πρόσθεν προσκυνεῖν Ἕλληνας
he-campaigned the-ones indeed before to-do-obeisance Greeks
ἀναγκαζομένους ὁρῶν τιμωμένους ὑφ' ὧν ὑβρίζοντο, τοὺς
being-compelled seeing honored by whom they-were-outraged the-ones
δ' ἀξιοῦντας καὶ τὰς τῶν θεῶν τιμὰς καρποῦσθαι, τούτους
but claiming even the of-the gods honors to-enjoy these
ποιήσας μηδ' ἀντιβλέπειν τοῖς Ἕλλησι δύνασθαι, καὶ τὴν
having-made not-even to-look-in-the-face the Greeks to-be-able and the
μὲν τῶν φίλων χώραν ἀδῄωτον παρέχων, τὴν δὲ τῶν
indeed of-the friends land unravaged keeping the but of-the
πολεμίων οὕτω καρπούμενος ὥστε ἐν δυοῖν ἐτοῖν πλέον τῶν
enemies so reaping so-that in two years more than-the
ἑκατὸν ταλάντων τῷ θεῷ ἐν Δελφοῖς δεκάτην ἀποθῦσαι.
hundred talents to-the god at Delphi as-tithe to-offer
ὁ μέντοι Περσῶν βασιλεύς, νομίσας Τισσαφέρνην αἴτιον 35
the however of-Persians king having-thought Tissaphernes responsible
εἶναι τοῦ κακῶς φέρεσθαι τὰ ἑαυτοῦ, Τιθραύστην
to-be for-the badly to-go the-affairs his-own Tithraustes
καταπέμψας ἀπέτεμεν αὐτοῦ τὴν κεφαλήν. μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο
having-sent-down cut-off his the head after and this

τὰ μὲν τῶν βαρβάρων ἔτι ἀθυμότερα ἐγένετο, τὰ
the-affairs indeed of-the barbarians still more-dispirited became the-affairs
δὲ Ἀγησιλάου πολὺ ἐρρωμενέστερα. ἀπὸ πάντων γὰρ τῶν
but of-Agesilaus much stronger from all for the
ἐθνῶν ἐπρεσβεύοντο περὶ φιλίας, πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ ἀφίσταντο
nations they-sent-embassies about friendship many and also revolted
πρὸς αὐτόν, ὀρεγόμενοι τῆς ἐλευθερίας, ὥστε οὐκέτι Ἑλλήνων
to him reaching-for the freedom so-that no-longer of-Greeks
μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ βαρβάρων πολλῶν ἡγεμὼν ἦν ὁ Ἀγησίλαος.
only but also of-barbarians many leader was — Agesilaus
36 ἄξιόν γε μὴν καὶ ἐντεῦθεν ὑπερβαλλόντως ἄγασθαι αὐτοῦ,
worthy at-least truly also from-this exceedingly to-admire him
ὅστις ἄρχων μὲν παμπόλλων ἐν τῇ ἠπείρῳ πόλεων, ἄρχων
who ruling indeed very-many on the mainland cities ruling
δὲ καὶ νήσων, ἐπεὶ καὶ τὸ ναυτικὸν προσῆψεν αὐτῷ ἡ
and also islands since also the navy attached to-him the
πόλις, αὐξανόμενος δὲ καὶ εὐκλείᾳ καὶ δυνάμει, παρὸν
city increasing and both in-good-fame and in-power it-being-possible
δ' αὐτῷ πολλοῖς καὶ ἀγαθοῖς χρῆσθαι ὅ τι ἐβούλετο, πρὸς
and for-him with-many and good-things to-use what ever he-wished besides
δὲ τούτοις τὸ μέγιστον, ἐπινοῶν καὶ ἐλπίζων καταλύσειν τὴν
and these-things the greatest intending and hoping to-overthrow the
ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα στρατεύσασαν πρότερον ἀρχήν, ὅμως ὑπ'
against — Greece having-marched before empire nevertheless by
οὐδενὸς τούτων ἐκρατήθη, ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ ἦλθεν αὐτῷ ἀπὸ τῶν
none of-these was-overcome but when came to-him from the
οἴκοι τελῶν βοηθεῖν τῇ πατρίδι, ἐπείθετο τῇ πόλει οὐδὲν
at-home authorities to-help the fatherland he-obeyed the city no
διαφερόντως ἢ εἰ ἐν τῷ ἐφορείῳ ἔτυχεν ἑστηκὼς μόνος
differently than if in the ephors'-hall he-had-happened standing alone
παρὰ τοὺς πέντε, μάλα ἔνδηλον ποιῶν ὡς οὔτε ἂν πᾶσαν
beside the five very clear making that neither — all

τὴν γῆν δέξαιτο ἀντὶ τῆς πατρίδος οὔτε τοὺς ἐπικτήτους
the earth he-would-accept instead-of the fatherland nor the newly-acquired
ἀντὶ τῶν ἀρχαίων φίλων οὔτε αἰσχρὰ καὶ ἀκίνδυνα
instead-of the old friends nor shameful and riskless
κέρδη μᾶλλον ἢ μετὰ κινδύνων τὰ καλὰ καὶ δίκαια.
gains rather than with dangers the fine and just-things
ὅσον γε μὴν χρόνον ἐπὶ τῇ ἀρχῇ ἔμεινε πῶς οὐκ 37
as-long at-least truly time over the rule he-remained how not
ἀξιεπαίνου βασιλέως καὶ τοῦτ᾽ ἔργον ἐπεδείξατο, ὅστις
of-a-praiseworthy king also this work he-displayed who
παραλαβὼν πάσας πόλεις ἐφ᾽ ἃς ἄρξων ἐξέπλευσε
having-taken-over all cities to which to-rule he-sailed-out
στασιαζούσας διὰ τὸ τὰς πολιτείας κινηθῆναι, ἐπεὶ
being-in-faction because-of the the constitutions to-have-been-disturbed when
Ἀθηναῖοι τῆς ἀρχῆς ἔληξαν, ἐποίησεν ὥστ᾽ ἄνευ φυγῆς
Athenians the empire ceased made so-that without exile
καὶ θανάτων ἕως αὐτὸς παρῆν ὁμονόως πολιτευομένας
and deaths while he was-present in-concord governed
καὶ εὐδαίμονας τὰς πόλεις διατελέσαι;
and happy the cities to-continue
τοιγαροῦν οἱ ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ Ἕλληνες οὐχ ὡς ἄρχοντος 38
therefore the in — Asia Greeks not as for-a-ruler
μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ ὡς πατρὸς καὶ ἑταίρου ἀπιόντος αὐτοῦ
only but also as for-a-father and comrade departing him
ἐλυποῦντο. καὶ τέλος ἐδήλωσαν ὅτι οὐ πλαστὴν τὴν
grieved and finally showed that not feigned the
φιλίαν παρείχοντο. ἐθελούσιοι γοῦν αὐτῷ συνεβοήθησαν
friendship they-offered volunteering at-any-rate with-him helped
τῇ Λακεδαίμονι, καὶ ταῦτα εἰδότες ὅτι οὐ χείροσιν
— Lacedaemon and this knowing that not with-worse-men

ἑαυτῶν δεήσοι μάχεσθαι. τῶν μὲν δὴ ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ
than-themselves it-would-be-needful to-fight of-the indeed then in — Asia
πράξεων τοῦτο τέλος ἐγένετο.
actions this end came-about

II · THE RETURN AND THE LATER WARS

Agesilaus crosses the Hellespont and in less than a month covers the road Xerxes took a year to march. He routs the Thessalian cavalry with horsemen of his own raising, and at Coronea, his troops shining in bronze and crimson, meets the Thebans face to face, wins, and though wounded spares the enemies who take refuge in the temple. He takes the long walls of Corinth and the Piraeum, beats the Acarnanians in the passes, restores exiles, ravages Theban land, holds Sparta unwalled against the great invasion, and in old age serves as an envoy, frightening off besiegers in Asia and raising money. At about eighty he goes to Egypt, and when its king withholds the command he backs the more pro-Greek of two rival kings and sails home in midwinter.

1 Διαβὰς δὲ τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον ἐπορεύετο διὰ τῶν
Having-crossed and the Hellespont he-marched through the
αὐτῶν ἐθνῶν ὥνπερ ὁ Πέρσης τῷ παμπληθεῖ
same nations through-which-very the Persian with-the very-numerous
στόλῳ· καὶ ἣν ἐνιαυσίαν ὁδὸν ὁ βάρβαρος ἐποιήσατο,
expedition and which year-long journey the barbarian made
ταύτην μεῖον ἢ ἐν μηνὶ κατήνυσεν ὁ Ἀγησίλαος. οὐ
this less than in a-month completed — Agesilaus not
γὰρ ὡς ὑστερήσειε τῆς πατρίδος προεθυμεῖτο.
for that he-might-be-too-late for-the fatherland he-was-eager
2 ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐξαμείψας Μακεδονίαν εἰς Θετταλίαν ἀφίκετο,
when and having-passed-through Macedonia into Thessaly he-came
Λαρισαῖοι μὲν καὶ Κραννώνιοι καὶ Σκοτουσσαῖοι καὶ
Larisaeans indeed and Crannonians and Scotussaeans and

Φαρσάλιοι σύμμαχοι ὄντες Βοιωτοῖς, καὶ πάντες δὲ
Pharsalians allies being to-Boeotians and all and
Θετταλοὶ πλὴν ὅσοι αὐτῶν φυγάδες τότε ὄντες
Thessalians except as-many-as of-them exiles then being
ἐτύγχανον, ἐκακούργουν οὗτοι ἐφεπόμενοι. ὁ δὲ τέως
happened did-harm these following-after he and for-a-while
μὲν ἦγεν ἐν πλαισίῳ τὸ στράτευμα, τοὺς ἡμίσεις μὲν
indeed led in a-hollow-square the army the half indeed
ἔμπροσθεν, τοὺς ἡμίσεις δὲ ἐπ᾽ οὐρᾷ ἔχων τῶν ἱππέων· ἐπεὶ
in-front the half and at the-rear having of-the horsemen when
δ᾽ ἐκώλυον τῆς πορείας αὐτὸν οἱ Θετταλοὶ ἐπιτιθέμενοι
but hindered from-the march him the Thessalians attacking
τοῖς ὄπισθεν, παραπέμπει ἐπ᾽ οὐρὰν καὶ τὸ ἀπὸ τοῦ
the-ones behind he-sends-along to the-rear also the from the
προηγουμένου στρατεύματος ἱππικὸν πλὴν τῶν περὶ αὐτόν.
leading army cavalry except the-ones around himself
ὡς δὲ παρετάξαντο ἀλλήλοις, οἱ μὲν Θετταλοί, νομίσαντες 3
when and they-drew-up against-each-other the indeed Thessalians thinking
οὐκ ἐν καλῷ εἶναι πρὸς τοὺς ὁπλίτας ἱππομαχεῖν,
not in fine-position to-be against the hoplites to-fight-on-horseback
στρέψαντες βάδην ἀπεχώρουν· οἱ δὲ μάλα σωφρόνως
having-wheeled at-a-walk withdrew the but very prudently
ἐφείποντο. γνοὺς δὲ ὁ Ἀγησίλαος ἃ ἑκάτεροι
followed having-recognized and — Agesilaus what each
ἡμάρτανον παραπέμπει τοὺς ἀμφ᾽ αὑτὸν μάλ᾽ εὐρώστους
were-erring he-sends-along the-ones around himself very stalwart
ἱππέας, καὶ κελεύει τοῖς τε ἄλλοις παραγγέλλειν καὶ αὐτοὺς
horsemen and bids the both others to-order and themselves
διώκειν κατὰ κράτος καὶ μηκέτι δοῦναι αὐτοῖς ἀναστροφήν.
to-pursue with might and no-longer to-give them a-wheeling-about
οἱ δὲ Θετταλοὶ ὡς εἶδον παρὰ δόξαν ἐλαύνοντας, οἱ
the and Thessalians when they-saw contrary-to expectation charging the-ones

μὲν αὐτῶν οὐδ' ἀνέστρεψαν, οἱ δὲ καὶ ἀναστρέφειν
indeed of-them not-even wheeled-about the-others but also to-wheel-about
πειρώμενοι πλαγίους ἔχοντες τοὺς ἵππους ἡλίσκοντο.
trying sideways having the horses were-taken
4 Πολύχαρμος μέντοι ὁ Φαρσάλιος ἱππαρχῶν ἀνέστρεψέ
Polycharmus however the Pharsalian commanding-the-cavalry wheeled-about
τε καὶ μαχόμενος σὺν τοῖς ἀμφ' αὐτὸν ἀποθνήσκει.
both and fighting with the-ones around himself dies
ὡς δὲ τοῦτο ἐγένετο, φυγὴ γίγνεται ἐξαισία· ὥσθ' οἱ
when and this happened flight happens extraordinary so-that the-ones
μὲν ἀπέθνησκον αὐτῶν, οἱ δὲ καὶ ζῶντες ἡλίσκοντο.
indeed died of-them the-others but also alive were-captured
ἔστησαν δ' οὖν οὐ πρόσθεν πρὶν ἐπὶ τῷ ὄρει τῷ
they-stopped and at-any-rate not before until on the mountain the
Ναρθακίῳ ἐγένοντο.
Narthacian they-were
5 καὶ τότε μὲν δὴ ὁ Ἀγησίλαος τρόπαιόν τε ἐστήσατο
and then indeed then — Agesilaus a-trophy both set-up
μεταξὺ Πραντὸς καὶ Ναρθακίου· καὶ αὐτοῦ κατέμεινε, μάλα
between Pras and Narthacium and there he-stayed very
ἡδόμενος τῷ ἔργῳ, ὅτι τοὺς μέγιστον φρονοῦντας ἐφ'
pleased with-the deed because the-ones greatest priding-themselves on
ἱππικῇ ἐνενικήκει σὺν ᾧ αὐτὸς ἐμηχανήσατο ἱππικῷ.
horsemanship he-had-conquered with which himself he-had-contrived cavalry
τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ ὑπερβάλλων τὰ Ἀχαϊκὰ τῆς Φθίας
on-the but next-day crossing the Achaean — of-Phthia
ὄρη τὴν λοιπὴν ἤδη πᾶσαν διὰ φιλίας ἐπορεύθη
mountains the remaining already all through friendly-land he-marched
εἰς τὰ Βοιωτῶν ὅρια.
into the of-Boeotians borders

ἐνταῦθα δὴ ἀντιτεταγμένους εὑρὼν Θηβαίους, Ἀθηναίους, 6
there indeed drawn-up-opposite having-found Thebans Athenians
Ἀργείους, Κορινθίους, Αἰνιᾶνας, Εὐβοέας καὶ Λοκροὺς
Argives Corinthians Aenianians Euboeans and Locrians
ἀμφοτέρους, οὐδὲν ἐμέλλησεν, ἀλλ' ἐκ τοῦ φανεροῦ
both nothing he-delayed but from the open
ἀντιπαρέταττε, Λακεδαιμονίων μὲν ἔχων μόραν καὶ
he-drew-up-against-them of-Lacedaemonians indeed having a-regiment and
ἥμισυ, τῶν δ' αὐτόθεν συμμάχων Φωκέας καὶ Ὀρχομενίους
half of-the and from-there allies Phocians and Orchomenians
μόνους, τό τ' ἄλλο στράτευμα ὅπερ ἠγάγετο αὐτός.
only the and other army which he-had-brought himself
καὶ οὐ τοῦτο λέξων ἔρχομαι ὡς πολὺ μὲν ἐλάττους 7
and not this going-to-say I-come that much indeed fewer
πολὺ δὲ χείρονας ἔχων ὅμως συνέβαλεν· εἰ γὰρ
much and worse having nevertheless he-engaged if for
ταῦτα λέγοιμι, Ἀγησίλαόν τ' ἄν μοι δοκῶ ἄφρονα
these-things I-should-say Agesilaus both — to-me I-seem foolish
ἀποφαίνειν καὶ ἐμαυτὸν μωρόν, εἰ ἐπαινοίην τὸν περὶ
to-show and myself stupid if I-should-praise the-one about
τῶν μεγίστων εἰκῇ κινδυνεύοντα· ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον τάδ'
the greatest-things at-random running-risks but rather these-things
αὐτοῦ ἄγαμαι ὅτι πλῆθός τε οὐδὲν μεῖον ἢ τὸ τῶν
his I-admire that a-multitude both nothing less than the of-the
πολεμίων παρεσκευάσατο, ὥπλισέ τε οὕτως ὡς ἅπαντα
enemies he-prepared armed and so that all
μὲν χαλκόν, ἅπαντα δὲ φοινικᾶ φαίνεσθαι·
indeed bronze all and crimson to-appear
ἐπεμελήθη δ' ὅπως οἱ στρατιῶται τοὺς πόνους δυνήσοιντο 8
he-took-care and that the soldiers the toils would-be-able
ὑποφέρειν· ἐνέπλησε δὲ καὶ φρονήματος τὰς ψυχὰς αὐτῶν,
to-bear he-filled and also with-pride the souls their

ὡς ἱκανοὶ εἶεν πρὸς οὕστινας δέοι μάχεσθαι· ἔτι
that able they-were against whomever it-was-needful to-fight further
δὲ φιλονεικίαν ἐνέβαλε πρὸς ἀλλήλους τοῖς μετ' αὐτοῦ
and rivalry he-instilled toward one-another in-the-ones with him
ὅπως ἕκαστοι αὐτῶν ἄριστοι φαίνοιντο. ἐλπίδων γε
so-that each of-them best might-appear with-hopes at-least
μὴν πάντας ἐνέπλησεν ὡς πᾶσι πολλὰ κἀγαθὰ ἔσοιτο,
truly all he-filled that for-all many and-good-things would-be
εἰ ἄνδρες ἀγαθοὶ γίγνοιντο, νομίζων ἐκ τῶν τοιούτων
if men good they-should-be thinking from the such
ἀνθρώπους προθυμότατα τοῖς πολεμίοις μάχεσθαι.
men most-eagerly with-the enemies to-fight
9 καὶ μέντοι οὐκ ἐψεύσθη. διηγήσομαι δὲ καὶ τὴν μάχην·
and indeed not he-was-deceived I-will-relate and also the battle
καὶ γὰρ ἐγένετο οἵαπερ οὐκ ἄλλη τῶν ἐφ' ἡμῶν.
and for it-was such-as not other of-the in our-time
συνήεσαν μὲν γὰρ εἰς τὸ κατὰ Κορώνειαν πεδίον
they-came-together indeed for into the at Coronea plain
οἱ μὲν σὺν Ἀγησιλάῳ ἀπὸ τοῦ Κηφισοῦ, οἱ δὲ
the-ones indeed with Agesilaus from the Cephisus the-others but
σὺν τοῖς Θηβαίοις ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἑλικῶνος. ἑώρων δὲ τάς τε
with the Thebans from — Helicon they-saw and the both
φάλαγγας ἀλλήλων μάλα ἰσομάχους, σχεδὸν δὲ καὶ οἱ
phalanxes of-one-another very evenly-matched nearly and also the
ἱππεῖς ἦσαν ἑκατέρων ἰσοπληθεῖς. εἶχε δὲ ὁ Ἀγησίλαος
horsemen were of-each equal-in-number had and — Agesilaus
μὲν τὸ δεξιὸν τοῦ μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ, Ὀρχομένιοι δὲ ἔσχατοι
indeed the right of-the with himself Orchomenians and last
ἦσαν αὐτῷ τοῦ εὐωνύμου. οἱ δ' αὖ Θηβαῖοι αὐτοὶ
were for-him of-the left the and in-turn Thebans themselves
μὲν δεξιοὶ ἦσαν, Ἀργεῖοι δ' αὐτοῖς τὸ εὐώνυμον εἶχον.
indeed right were Argives and for-them the left held

συνιόντων δὲ τέως μὲν σιγὴ πολλὴ ἦν ἀπ’ 10
coming-together and for-a-while indeed silence much there-was from
ἀμφοτέρων· ἡνίκα δὲ ἀπεῖχον ἀλλήλων ὅσον στάδιον,
both when but they-were-distant from-one-another about a-stade
ἀλαλάξαντες οἱ Θηβαῖοι δρόμῳ ὁμόσε ἐφέροντο. ὡς
having-raised-the-war-cry the Thebans at-a-run to-close-quarters rushed when
δὲ τριῶν ἔτι πλέθρων ἐν μέσῳ ὄντων ἀντεξέδραμον ἀπὸ
and of-three still plethra in between being ran-out-against-them from
τῆς Ἀγησιλάου φάλαγγος ὧν Ἡριππίδας ἐξενάγει.
the of-Agesilaus phalanx whom Heripidas was-mercenary-commander
ἦσαν δ’ οὗτοι τῶν τε ἐξ οἴκου αὐτῷ συστρατευσαμένων 11
were and these of-the both from home with-him having-campaigned
καὶ τῶν Κυρείων τινές, καὶ Ἴωνες δὲ καὶ Αἰολεῖς
and of-the Cyreans some and Ionians and also Aeolians
καὶ Ἑλλησπόντιοι ἐχόμενοι. καὶ πάντες οὗτοι τῶν
and Hellespontines next-to and all these of-the
συνεκδραμόντων τε ἐγένοντο καὶ εἰς δόρυ ἀφικόμενοι
ones-running-out-together both were and to spear having-come
ἐτρέψαντο τὸ καθ’ ἑαυτούς. Ἀργεῖοι μέντοι οὐκ ἐδέξαντο
routed the-(part) against themselves Argives however not received
τοὺς ἀμφ’ Ἀγησίλαον, ἀλλ’ ἔφυγον ἐπὶ τὸν Ἑλικῶνα.
the-ones around Agesilaus but fled to — Helicon
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 Θηβαῖοι τοὺς
— Agesilaus reports but someone to-him that Thebans the
Ὀρχομενίους διακόψαντες ἐν τοῖς σκευοφόροις εἰσί. καὶ
Orchomenians having-cut-through among the baggage are and
ὁ μὲν εὐθὺς ἐξελίξας τὴν φάλαγγα ἦγεν ἐπ’ αὐτούς·
he indeed at-once having-wheeled the phalanx led against them
οἱ δ’ αὖ Θηβαῖοι ὡς εἶδον τοὺς συμμάχους πρὸς τῷ
the and in-turn Thebans when they-saw the allies at —

Ἑλικῶνι πεφευγότας, διαπεσεῖν βουλόμενοι πρὸς τοὺς
Helicon having-fled to-break-through wishing to the
ἑαυτῶν ἐχώρουν ἐρρωμένως.
their-own advanced vigorously

12 ἐνταῦθα δὴ Ἀγησίλαον ἀνδρεῖον μὲν ἔξεστιν εἰπεῖν
there indeed Agesilaus brave indeed it-is-possible to-call
ἀναμφιλόγως, οὐ μέντοι εἵλετό γε τὰ ἀσφαλέστατα·
indisputably not however he-chose at-least the safest-things
ἐξὸν γὰρ αὐτῷ παρέντι τοὺς διαπίπτοντας ἑπομένῳ
it-being-possible for for-him letting-pass the ones-breaking-through following
χειροῦσθαι τοὺς ὄπισθεν οὐκ ἐποίησε τοῦτο, ἀλλ᾽
to-subdue the-ones behind not he-did this but
ἀντιμέτωπος συνέρραξε τοῖς Θηβαίοις. καὶ συμβαλόντες
face-to-face he-crashed-together with-the Thebans and having-clashed
τὰς ἀσπίδας ἐωθοῦντο, ἐμάχοντο, ἀπέκτεινον, ἀπέθνησκον.
the shields they-shoved they-fought they-killed they-died
καὶ κραυγὴ μὲν οὐδεμία παρῆν, οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ σιγή, φωνὴ
and shouting indeed no was-present not truly not-even silence sound
δέ τις ἦν τοιαύτη οἵαν ὀργή τε καὶ μάχη παράσχοιτ᾽
but a there-was such as anger both and battle would-produce
ἄν. τέλος δὲ τῶν Θηβαίων οἱ μὲν διαπίπτουσι πρὸς
— finally and of-the Thebans the-ones indeed break-through to
τὸν Ἑλικῶνα, πολλοὶ δ᾽ ἀποχωροῦντες ἀπέθανον.
— Helicon many but withdrawing died

13 ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἡ μὲν νίκη σὺν Ἀγησιλάῳ ἐγένετο, τετρωμένος
when and the indeed victory with Agesilaus was wounded
δ᾽ αὐτὸς προσηνέχθη πρὸς τὴν φάλαγγα, προσελάσαντές
but himself was-carried-up to the phalanx having-ridden-up
τινες τῶν ἱππέων λέγουσιν αὐτῷ ὅτι τῶν πολεμίων
some of-the horsemen tell him that of-the enemies
ὀγδοήκοντα σὺν τοῖς ὅπλοις ὑπὸ τῷ ναῷ εἰσι, καὶ ἠρώτων
eighty with the arms under the temple are and they-asked

τί χρὴ ποιεῖν. ὁ δὲ καίπερ πολλὰ τραύματα ἔχων
what it-is-needful to-do he but although many wounds having
πάντοσε καὶ παντοίοις ὅπλοις ὅμως οὐκ ἐπελάθετο
everywhere and from-all-kinds-of weapons nevertheless not forgot
τοῦ θείου, ἀλλ' ἐᾶν τε ἀπιέναι ὅποι βούλοιντο ἐκέλευε
the divine but to-allow both to-depart wherever they-wished he-bade
καὶ ἀδικεῖν οὐκ εἴα, καὶ προπέμψαι ἐπέταξε τοὺς ἀμφ'
and to-wrong not allowed and to-escort ordered the-ones around
αὐτὸν ἱππεῖς ἕστε ἐν τῷ ἀσφαλεῖ ἐγένοντο.
himself horsemen until in the safety they-were
ἐπεί γε μὴν ἔληξεν ἡ μάχη, παρῆν δὴ θεάσασθαι 14
when at-least truly ceased the battle it-was-possible indeed to-behold
ἔνθα συνέπεσον ἀλλήλοις τὴν μὲν γῆν αἵματι
where they-clashed with-one-another the indeed earth with-blood
πεφυρμένην, νεκροὺς δὲ κειμένους φιλίους καὶ πολεμίους
stained corpses and lying friendly and hostile
μετ' ἀλλήλων, ἀσπίδας δὲ διατεθρυμμένας, δόρατα
with one-another shields and shattered spears
συντεθραυσμένα, ἐγχειρίδια γυμνὰ κολεῶν, τὰ μὲν
broken-in-pieces daggers bare of-sheaths the-ones indeed
χαμαί, τὰ δ' ἐν σώμασι, τὰ δ' ἔτι μετὰ χεῖρας.
on-the-ground the-ones and in bodies the-ones and still in hands
τότε μὲν οὖν, καὶ γὰρ ἦν ἤδη ὀψέ, συνελκύσαντες τοὺς 15
then indeed then and for it-was already late having-dragged-together the
[τῶν πολεμίων] νεκροὺς εἴσω φάλαγγος ἐδειπνοποιήσαντο
of-the enemies corpses inside the-phalanx they-took-supper
καὶ ἐκοιμήθησαν· πρωὶ δὲ Γῦλιν τὸν πολέμαρχον
and slept early and Gylis the polemarch
παρατάξαι τε ἐκέλευσε τὸ στράτευμα καὶ τρόπαιον
to-draw-up both he-bade the army and a-trophy

ἵστασθαι καὶ στεφανοῦσθαι πάντας τῷ θεῷ καὶ τοὺς
to-set-up and to-be-crowned all to-the god and the
αὐλητὰς πάντας αὐλεῖν.
flute-players all to-play

16 καὶ οἱ μὲν ταῦτ᾽ ἐποίουν· οἱ δὲ Θηβαῖοι ἔπεμψαν
and the-ones indeed these-things did the but Thebans sent
κήρυκα, ὑποσπόνδους τοὺς νεκροὺς αἰτοῦντες θάψαι. καὶ
a-herald under-truce the dead asking to-bury and
οὕτω δὴ αἵ τε σπονδαὶ γίγνονται καὶ ὁ Ἀγησίλαος οἴκαδε
thus indeed the both truce comes-about and — Agesilaus homeward
ἀπεχώρει, ἑλόμενος ἀντὶ τοῦ μέγιστος εἶναι ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ
withdrew having-chosen instead-of the greatest to-be in — Asia
οἴκοι τὰ νόμιμα μὲν ἄρχειν, τὰ νόμιμα δὲ ἄρχεσθαι.
at-home by-the laws indeed to-rule by-the laws and to-be-ruled

17 Ἐκ δὲ τούτου κατανοήσας τοὺς Ἀργείους τὰ μὲν οἴκοι
From and this having-observed the Argives the-things indeed at-home
καρπουμένους, Κόρινθον δὲ προσειληφότας, ἡδομένους
enjoying Corinth and having-taken-in-addition pleased
δὲ τῷ πολέμῳ, στρατεύει ἐπ᾽ αὐτούς· καὶ δῃώσας
and with-the war he-marches against them and having-ravaged
πᾶσαν αὐτῶν τὴν χώραν εὐθὺς ἐκεῖθεν ὑπερβαλὼν κατὰ
all their the land at-once from-there crossing-over by
τὰ στενὰ εἰς Κόρινθον αἱρεῖ τὰ ἐπὶ τὸ Λέχαιον τείνοντα
the narrows to Corinth he-takes the-ones to the Lechaeum stretching
τείχη· καὶ ἀναπετάσας τῆς Πελοποννήσου τὰς πύλας
walls and having-flung-open of-the Peloponnese the gates
οὕτως οἴκαδε ἀπελθὼν εἰς τὰ Ὑακίνθια ὅπου ἐτάχθη
so homeward having-gone-off to the Hyacinthia where he-was-posted
ὑπὸ τοῦ χοροποιοῦ τὸν παιᾶνα τῷ θεῷ συνεπετέλει.
by the chorus-master the paean to-the god he-joined-in-performing

ἐκ τούτου δὲ αἰσθανόμενος τοὺς Κορινθίους πάντα μὲν 18
from this and perceiving the Corinthians all indeed
τὰ κτήνη ἐν τῷ Πειραίῳ σωζομένους, πᾶν δὲ τὸ Πείραιον
the cattle in the Piraeum keeping-safe all and the Piraeum
σπείροντας καὶ καρπουμένους, μέγιστον δὲ ἡγησάμενος,
sowing and reaping greatest and having-thought
ὅτι Βοιωτοὶ ταύτῃ ἐκ Κρεύσιος ὁρμώμενοι εὐπετῶς τοῖς
that Boeotians this-way from Creusis setting-out easily to-the
Κορινθίοις παρεγίγνοντο, στρατεύει ἐπὶ τὸ Πείραιον.
Corinthians came-to-help he-marches against the Piraeum
ἰδὼν δὲ ὑπὸ πολλῶν φυλαττόμενον, ὡς ἐνδιδομένης τῆς
having-seen and by many being-guarded as-if being-betrayed the
πόλεως ἐξ ἀρίστου μετεστρατοπεδεύσατο πρὸς τὸ ἄστυ·
city after breakfast he-shifted-camp toward the town
αἰσθόμενος δὲ ὑπὸ νύκτα βεβοηθηκότας ἐκ τοῦ Πειραίου εἰς 19
having-perceived and at night having-come-to-help from the Piraeum into
τὴν πόλιν πασσυδίᾳ, ὑποστρέψας ἅμα τῇ ἡμέρᾳ
the city in-full-force having-turned-back at-the-same-time with-the day
αἱρεῖ τὸ Πείραιον, ἔρημον εὑρὼν φυλακῆς, καὶ τά τε
he-takes the Piraeum empty having-found of-guard and the both
ἄλλα τὰ ἐνόντα λαμβάνει καὶ τὰ τείχη ἃ ἐνετετείχιστο.
other the things-within he-takes and the walls which had-been-built-in-it
ταῦτα δὲ ποιήσας οἴκαδε ἀπεχώρησε. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα 20
these-things and having-done homeward he-withdrew after and these-things
προθύμων ὄντων τῶν Ἀχαιῶν εἰς τὴν συμμαχίαν καὶ
eager being the Achaeans for the alliance and
δεομένων συστρατεύειν αὐτοῖς εἰς Ἀκαρνανίαν καὶ ἐπιθεμένων
asking to-campaign-with them into Acarnania and attacking
ἐν στενοῖς τῶν Ἀκαρνάνων καταλαβὼν τοῖς ψιλοῖς
in narrows the Acarnanians having-seized with-the light-troops
τὰ ὑπὲρ κεφαλῆς αὐτῶν μάχην συνάπτει καὶ πολλοὺς
the-(heights) above head their battle he-joins and many

ἀποκτείνας αὐτῶν τρόπαιον ἐστήσατο, καὶ οὐ πρότερον
having-killed of-them a-trophy set-up and not before
ἔληξε πρὶν Ἀχαιοῖς μὲν φίλους ἐποίησεν Ἀκαρνᾶνας καὶ
he-stopped until to-Achaeans indeed friends he-made Acarnanians and
Αἰτωλοὺς καὶ Ἀργείους, ἑαυτῷ δὲ καὶ συμμάχους.
Aetolians and Argives to-himself and also allies

21 ἐπειδὴ δὲ εἰρήνης ἐπιθυμήσαντες οἱ πολέμιοι ἐπρεσβεύοντο,
when and of-peace having-desired the enemies sent-envoys
Ἀγησίλαος ἀντεῖπε τῇ εἰρήνῃ, ἕως τοὺς διὰ
Agesilaus spoke-against the peace until the-ones because-of
Λακεδαιμονίους φυγόντας Κορινθίων καὶ Θηβαίων
Lacedaemonians having-been-exiled of-Corinthians and of-Thebans
ἠνάγκασε τὰς πόλεις οἴκαδε καταδέξασθαι. ὕστερον δ'
he-compelled the cities homeward to-receive-back later and
αὖ καὶ Φλιασίων τοὺς διὰ Λακεδαιμονίους φυγόντας
in-turn also of-Phliasians the-ones because-of Lacedaemonians exiled
κατήγαγεν, αὐτὸς στρατευσάμενος ἐπὶ Φλιοῦντα. εἰ
he-restored himself having-marched against Phlius if
δέ τις ἄλλῃ πῃ ταῦτα μέμφεται, ἀλλ' οὖν
but anyone in-other some-way these-things blames but at-any-rate
φιλεταιρίᾳ γε πραχθέντα φανερά ἐστι.
from-love-of-comrades at-least done evident they-are

22 καὶ γὰρ ἐπεὶ τοὺς ἐν Θήβαις τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων κατέκανον
and for when the-ones in Thebes of-the Lacedaemonians killed
οἱ ἐναντίοι, βοηθῶν αὖ τούτοις στρατεύει ἐπὶ τὰς Θήβας.
the opponents helping in-turn these he-marches against — Thebes
εὑρὼν δὲ ἀποτεταφρευμένα καὶ ἀπεσταυρωμένα ἅπαντα,
having-found but entrenched and palisaded all-things
ὑπερβὰς τὰς Κυνὸς κεφαλὰς ἐδῄου τὴν χώραν μέχρι τοῦ
having-crossed the Dog's Heads he-ravaged the land up-to the
ἄστεος, παρέχων καὶ ἐν πεδίῳ καὶ ἀνὰ τὰ ὄρη μάχεσθαι
town offering both in plain and among the mountains to-fight

Θηβαίοις, εἰ βούλοιντο. ἐστράτευσε δὲ καὶ τῷ ἐπιόντι
to-Thebans if they-wished he-marched and also in-the following
ἔτει πάλιν ἐπὶ Θήβας· καὶ ὑπερβὰς τὰ κατὰ Σκῶλον
year again against Thebes and having-crossed the at Scolus
σταυρώματα καὶ τάφρους ἐδῄωσε τὰ λοιπὰ τῆς Βοιωτίας.
palisades and trenches ravaged the rest — of-Boeotia
τὰ μὲν δὴ μέχρι τούτου κοινῇ αὐτός τε καὶ ἡ 23
the-things indeed then up-to this in-common he both and the
πόλις εὐτύχει· ὅσα γε μὴν μετὰ τοῦτο σφάλματα
city prospered as-many-things at-least truly after this failures
ἐγένοντο οὐδεὶς ἂν εἴποι ὡς Ἀγησιλάου ἡγουμένου
came-about no-one would say that with-Agesilaus leading
ἐπράχθη. ἐπεὶ δ' αὖ τῆς ἐν Λεύκτροις συμφορᾶς
they-were-done when and in-turn of-the at Leuctra disaster
γεγενημένης κατακαίνουσι τοὺς ἐν Τεγέᾳ φίλους καὶ
having-occurred kill the in Tegea friends and
ξένους αὐτοῦ οἱ ἀντίπαλοι σὺν Μαντινεῦσι, συνεστηκότων
guest-friends his the opponents with Mantineans being-united
ἤδη Βοιωτῶν τε πάντων καὶ Ἀρκάδων καὶ Ἠλείων,
already Boeotians both all and Arcadians and Eleans
στρατεύει σὺν μόνῃ τῇ Λακεδαιμονίων δυνάμει, πολλῶν
he-marches with alone the of-Lacedaemonians force many
νομιζόντων οὐδ' ἂν ἐξελθεῖν Λακεδαιμονίους πολλοῦ
thinking not-even — to-go-out the-Lacedaemonians for-a-long
χρόνου ἐκ τῆς αὑτῶν. δῃώσας δὲ τὴν χώραν τῶν
time from the their-own having-ravaged and the land of-the
κατακανόντων τοὺς φίλους οὕτως αὖ οἴκαδε ἀπεχώρησεν.
ones-who-had-killed the friends so in-turn homeward he-withdrew
ἀπό γε μὴν τούτου ἐπὶ τὴν Λακεδαίμονα στρατευσαμένων 24
from at-least truly this against — Lacedaemon having-marched
Ἀρκάδων τε πάντων καὶ Ἀργείων καὶ Ἠλείων καὶ
Arcadians both all and Argives and Eleans and

Βοιωτῶν, καὶ σὺν αὐτοῖς Φωκέων καὶ Λοκρῶν ἀμφοτέρων
Boeotians and with them Phocians and Locrians both
καὶ Θετταλῶν καὶ Αἰνιάνων καὶ Ἀκαρνάνων καὶ Εὐβοέων,
and Thessalians and Aenianians and Acarnanians and Euboeans
πρὸς δὲ τούτοις ἀφεστηκότων μὲν τῶν δούλων, πολλῶν
besides and these having-revolted indeed the slaves many
δὲ περιοικίδων πόλεων, καὶ αὐτῶν Σπαρτιατῶν οὐ μειόνων
and of-the-perioecic cities and themselves Spartiates not fewer
ἀπολωλότων ἐν τῇ ἐν Λεύκτροις μάχῃ ἢ λειπομένων,
having-perished in the at Leuctra battle than remaining
ὅμως διεφύλαξε τὴν πόλιν, καὶ ταῦτα ἀτείχιστον οὖσαν,
nevertheless he-guarded-safe the city and this unwalled being
ὅπου μὲν τῷ παντὶ πλεῖον ἂν εἶχον οἱ πολέμιοι,
where indeed in-the whole more — would-have-had the enemies
οὐκ ἐξάγων ἐνταῦθα, ὅπου δὲ οἱ πολῖται πλέον ἔξειν
not leading-out there where but the citizens more to-have
ἔμελλον, εὐρώστως παρατεταγμένος, νομίζων εἰς μὲν τὸ
they-were-going stoutly drawn-up thinking into indeed the
πλατὺ ἐξιὼν πάντοθεν ἂν περιέχεσθαι, ἐν δὲ τοῖς στενοῖς
open going-out from-all-sides — to-be-surrounded in but the narrows
καὶ ὑπερδεξίοις τόποις ὑπομένων τῷ παντὶ κρατεῖν ἄν.
and commanding places standing-firm in-the whole to-prevail —
25 ἐπεί γε μὴν ἀπεχώρησε τὸ στράτευμα, πῶς οὐκ ἂν
when at-least truly withdrew the army how not —
φαίη τις αὐτὸν εὐγνωμόνως χρῆσθαι ἑαυτῷ; ὡς γὰρ
would-say anyone him sensibly to-use himself as for
τοῦ στρατεύεσθαι αὐτὸν καὶ πεζῇ καὶ ἐφ' ἵππων ἀπεῖργεν
from-the to-campaign him both on-foot and on horses kept-away
ἤδη τὸ γῆρας, χρημάτων δὲ ἑώρα τὴν πόλιν δεομένην,
already the old-age of-money but he-saw the city needing
εἰ μέλλοι σύμμαχόν τινα ἕξειν, ἐπὶ τὸ πορίζειν ταῦτα
if it-was-going ally some to-have to the providing these-things

ἑαυτὸν ἔταξε. καὶ ὅσα μὲν ἐδύνατο οἴκοι μένων
himself he-assigned and as-many-things indeed he-was-able at-home staying
ἐμηχανᾶτο, ἃ δὲ καιρὸς ἦν οὐκ ὤκνει μετιέναι, οὐδ᾽
he-contrived what but the-occasion was not he-shrank to-pursue nor
ἠσχύνετο, εἰ μέλλοι τὴν πόλιν ὠφελήσειν, πρεσβευτὴς
was-ashamed if he-was-going the city to-benefit as-envoy
ἐκπορευόμενος ἀντὶ στρατηγοῦ.
going-out instead-of general
ὅμως δὲ καὶ ἐν τῇ πρεσβείᾳ μεγάλου στρατηγοῦ ἔργα 26
nevertheless and also in the embassy of-a-great general works
διεπράξατο. Αὐτοφραδάτης τε γὰρ πολιορκῶν ἐν Ἀσσῷ
he-accomplished Autophradates both for besieging in Assus
Ἀριοβαρζάνην σύμμαχον ὄντα δείσας Ἀγησίλαον φεύγων
Ariobarzanes ally being having-feared Agesilaus fleeing
ᾤχετο· Κότυς δ᾽ αὖ Σηστὸν πολιορκῶν Ἀριοβαρζάνου ἔτι
went-off Cotys and in-turn Sestus besieging of-Ariobarzanes still
οὖσαν λύσας καὶ οὗτος τὴν πολιορκίαν ἀπηλλάγη· ὥστ᾽
being having-raised also this-one the siege departed so-that
οὐκ ἀλόγως καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς πρεσβείας τρόπαιον τῶν πολεμίων
not unreasonably also from the embassy a-trophy of-the enemies
ἑστήκει αὐτῷ. Μαύσωλός γε μὴν κατὰ θάλατταν
had-been-set-up for-him Mausolus at-least truly by sea
ἑκατὸν ναυσὶ πολιορκῶν ἀμφότερα τὰ χωρία ταῦτα
with-a-hundred ships besieging both the places these
οὐκέτι δείσας ἀλλὰ πεισθεὶς ἀπέπλευσεν οἴκαδε.
no-longer having-feared but having-been-persuaded sailed-off homeward
κἀνταῦθα οὖν ἄξια θαύματος διεπράξατο· οἵ τε 27
and-there then things-worthy of-wonder he-accomplished the-ones both
γὰρ εὖ πεπονθέναι νομίζοντες ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ καὶ οἱ
for well to-have-been-treated thinking by him and the-ones
φεύγοντες αὐτὸν χρήματα ἀμφότεροι ἔδοσαν. Ταχὼς
fleeing him money both gave Tachos

γε μὴν καὶ Μαύσωλος, διὰ τὴν πρόσθεν Ἀγησιλάου
at-least truly and Mausolus because-of the earlier of-Agesilaus
ξενίαν συμβαλόμενος καὶ οὗτος χρήματα τῇ Λακεδαίμονι,
guest-friendship contributing also this-one money — to-Lacedaemon
ἀπέπεμψαν αὐτὸν οἴκαδε προπομπὴν δόντες μεγαλοπρεπῆ.
sent-off him homeward an-escort having-given magnificent

28 ἐκ δὲ τούτου ἤδη μὲν ἔτη ἐγεγόνει ἀμφὶ τὰ ὀγδοήκοντα·
from and this already indeed years he-had-reached about the eighty
κατανενοηκὼς δὲ τὸν Αἰγυπτίων βασιλέα ἐπιθυμοῦντα
having-observed and the of-Egyptians king desiring
τῷ Πέρσῃ πολεμεῖν, καὶ πολλοὺς μὲν πεζούς, πολλοὺς
with-the Persian to-make-war and many indeed infantry many
δὲ ἱππέας, πολλὰ δὲ χρήματα ἔχοντα, ἅσμενος ἤκουσεν ὅτι
and horsemen much and money having gladly he-heard that
μετεπέμπετο αὐτόν, καὶ ταῦτα ἡγεμονίαν ὑπισχνούμενος.
he-was-sending-for him and this leadership promising

29 ἐνόμιζε γὰρ τῇ αὐτῇ ὁρμῇ τῷ μὲν Αἰγυπτίῳ χάριν
he-thought for with-the same stroke to-the indeed Egyptian gratitude
ἀποδώσειν ἀνθ' ὧν εὐεργετήκει τὴν Λακεδαίμονα, τοὺς
to-repay for what he-had-benefited — Lacedaemon the
δ' ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ Ἕλληνας πάλιν ἐλευθερώσειν, τῷ δὲ
and in — Asia Greeks again to-free on-the but
Πέρσῃ δίκην ἐπιθήσειν καὶ τῶν πρόσθεν καὶ ὅτι νῦν
Persian penalty to-impose both for-the earlier-things and because now
σύμμαχος εἶναι φάσκων ἐπέταττε Μεσσήνην ἀφιέναι.
ally to-be claiming he-ordered Messene to-let-go

30 ἐπεὶ μέντοι ὁ μεταπεμψάμενος οὐκ ἀπεδίδου τὴν
when however the-one having-sent-for not gave the
ἡγεμονίαν αὐτῷ, ὁ μὲν Ἀγησίλαος ὡς τὸ μέγιστον
leadership to-him — indeed Agesilaus as in-the greatest-thing
ἐξηπατημένος ἐφρόντιζε τί δεῖ ποιεῖν. ἐκ τούτου
deceived considered what it-is-needful to-do from this

δὲ πρῶτον μὲν οἱ δίχα στρατευόμενοι τῶν Αἰγυπτίων
and first indeed the separately campaigning of-the Egyptians
ἀφίστανται τοῦ βασιλέως, ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι πάντες
revolt from-the king then and also the others all
ἀπέλιπον αὐτόν. καὶ αὐτὸς μὲν δείσας ἀπεχώρησε φυγῇ
deserted him and he indeed having-feared withdrew in-flight
εἰς Σιδῶνα τῆς Φοινίκης, οἱ δ' Αἰγύπτιοι στασιάζοντες
to Sidon — of-Phoenicia the but Egyptians being-in-faction
διττοὺς βασιλέας αἱροῦνται.
two kings choose
ἐνταῦθα δὴ Ἀγησίλαος γνοὺς ὅτι εἰ μὲν μηδετέρῳ 31
there indeed Agesilaus having-recognized that if indeed neither
συλλήψοιτο, μισθὸν οὐδέτερος λύσει τοῖς Ἕλλησιν, ἀγορὰν
he-should-help pay neither will-pay to-the Greeks a-market
δὲ οὐδέτερος παρέξει, ὁπότερός τ' ἂν κρατήσῃ, οὗτος
and neither will-provide whichever and — should-prevail this-one
ἐχθρὸς ἔσται· εἰ δὲ τῷ ἑτέρῳ συλλήψοιτο, οὗτός γε εὖ
an-enemy will-be if but the one he-should-help this-one at-least well
παθὼν ὡς τὸ εἰκὸς φίλος ἔσοιτο, οὕτω δὴ κρίνας,
having-been-treated as the likely a-friend would-be so indeed having-judged
ὁπότερος φιλέλλην μᾶλλον ἐδόκει εἶναι, στρατευσάμενος μετὰ
whichever pro-Greek more seemed to-be having-campaigned with
τούτου τὸν μὲν μισέλληνα μάχῃ νικήσας χειροῦται, τὸν
this-one the indeed Greek-hater in-battle having-defeated subdues the
δ' ἕτερον συγκαθίστησι· καὶ φίλον ποιήσας τῇ Λακεδαίμονι
and other he-helps-establish and a-friend having-made — to-Lacedaemon
καὶ χρήματα πολλὰ προσλαβὼν οὕτως ἀποπλεῖ οἴκαδε
and money much having-received-besides so sails-off homeward
καίπερ μέσου χειμῶνος ὄντος, σπεύδων ὡς μὴ ἀργὸς
although mid winter being hastening so-that not idle
ἡ πόλις εἰς τὸ ἐπιὸν θέρος πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους γένοιτο.
the city for the coming summer against the enemies should-be

Agesilaus so reveres the gods that even his enemies trust his oaths and treaties more than their own friendship. Spithridates the Persian, outraged that Pharnabazus means to take his daughter without marriage, entrusts himself, his family, and his force to him. Cotys of Paphlagonia, who would not trust the king's pledge, comes to his camp trusting the truce and joins him with a thousand horse and two thousand peltasts. Pharnabazus himself, in their talks, says he will revolt from the king unless he is given the whole command, and if he is, he will fight Agesilaus as hard as he can, sure all the while that he will suffer nothing treacherous.

1 Καὶ ταῦτα μὲν δὴ εἴρηται ὅσα τῶν ἐκείνου ἔργων
And these-things indeed then have-been-told as-many-as of-the his deeds
μετὰ πλείστων μαρτύρων ἐπράχθη. τὰ γὰρ τοιαῦτα
with very-many witnesses were-done the-things for such
οὐ τεκμηρίων προσδεῖται, ἀλλ' ἀναμνῆσαι μόνον ἀρκεῖ καὶ
not of-proofs need-besides but to-remind only suffices and
εὐθὺς πιστεύεται. νῦν δὲ τὴν ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ αὐτοῦ ἀρετὴν
at-once are-believed now but the in the soul his excellence
πειράσομαι δηλοῦν, δι' ἣν ταῦτα ἔπραττε καὶ πάντων
I-will-try to-make-clear through which these-things he-did and all
τῶν καλῶν ἤρα καὶ πάντα τὰ αἰσχρὰ ἐξεδίωκεν.
the fine-things loved and all the shameful-things drove-out

2 Ἀγησίλαος γὰρ τὰ μὲν θεῖα οὕτως ἐσέβετο ὡς καὶ
Agesilaus for the indeed divine-things so revered that even
οἱ πολέμιοι τοὺς ἐκείνου ὅρκους καὶ τὰς ἐκείνου σπονδὰς
the enemies the his oaths and the his treaties
πιστοτέρας ἐνόμιζον ἢ τὴν ἑαυτῶν φιλίαν· οἳ †μὲν
more-trustworthy thought than the their-own friendship who indeed
ὤκνουν εἰς ταὐτὸν ἰέναι, Ἀγησιλάῳ δὲ αὑτοὺς ἐνεχείριζον.
sbrank into the-same to-go to-Agesilaus but themselves they-entrusted

ὅπως δὲ μή τις ἀπιστῇ, καὶ ὀνομάσαι βούλομαι τοὺς
so-that and not anyone should-disbelieve also to-name I-wish the
ἐπιφανεστάτους αὐτῶν.
most-illustrious of-them
Σπιθριδάτης μέν γε ὁ Πέρσης εἰδὼς ὅτι Φαρνάβαζος 3
Spithridates indeed at-least the Persian knowing that Pharnabazus
γῆμαι μὲν τὴν βασιλέως ἔπραττε θυγατέρα, τὴν δ'
to-marry indeed the of-king was-negotiating daughter the but
αὐτοῦ ἄνευ γάμου λαβεῖν ἐβούλετο, ὕβριν νομίσας
his without marriage to-take wished an-outrage having-thought
τοῦτο Ἀγησιλάῳ ἑαυτὸν καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα καὶ τὰ τέκνα
this to-Agesilaus himself and the wife and the children
καὶ τὴν δύναμιν ἐνεχείρισε.
and the force entrusted
Κότυς δὲ ὁ τῶν Παφλαγόνων ἄρχων βασιλεῖ μὲν οὐχ 4
Cotys and the of-the Paphlagonians ruler to-king indeed not
ὑπήκουσε δεξιὰν πέμποντι, φοβούμενος μὴ ληφθεὶς
hearkened right-hand sending fearing lest having-been-seized
ἢ χρήματα πολλὰ ἀποτίσειεν ἢ καὶ ἀποθάνοι,
either money much he-should-pay or even should-die
Ἀγησιλάου δὲ καὶ οὗτος ταῖς σπονδαῖς πιστεύσας εἰς
of-Agesilaus but also this-one in-the treaties having-trusted into
τὸ στρατόπεδόν τε ἦλθε καὶ συμμαχίαν ποιησάμενος
the camp both came and alliance having-made
εἵλετο σὺν Ἀγησιλάῳ στρατεύεσθαι, χιλίους μὲν ἱππέας,
chose with Agesilaus to-campaign a-thousand indeed horsemen
δισχιλίους δὲ πελτοφόρους ἔχων.
two-thousand and peltasts having
ἀφίκετο δὲ καὶ Φαρνάβαζος Ἀγησιλάῳ εἰς λόγους καὶ 5
came and also Pharnabazus with-Agesilaus into talks and
διωμολόγησεν, εἰ μὴ αὐτὸς πάσης τῆς στρατιᾶς στρατηγὸς
agreed if not he of-all the army general

καταστα θείη, ἀποστήσεσθαι βασιλέως· ἢν μέντοι ἐγὼ
should-be-appointed to-revolt from-king if however I
γένωμαι στρατηγός, ἔφη, πολεμήσω σοι, ὦ Ἀγησίλαε,
become general he-said I-will-make-war on-you O Agesilaus
ὡς ἂν ἐγὼ δύνωμαι κράτιστα. καὶ ταῦτα λέγων ἐπίστευε
as — I can best and these-things saying he-trusted
μηδὲν ἂν παράσπονδον παθεῖν. οὕτω μέγα καὶ καλὸν
nothing — treacherous to-suffer so great and fine
κτῆμα τοῖς τε ἄλλοις ἅπασι καὶ ἀνδρὶ δὴ στρατηγῷ
a-possession for-the both others all and for-a-man indeed general
τὸ ὅσιόν τε καὶ πιστὸν εἶναί τε καὶ ὄντα ἐγνῶσθαι.
the holy both and trustworthy to-be both and being to-be-known
καὶ περὶ μὲν εὐσεβείας ταῦτα.
and about indeed piety these-things

IV · JUSTICE IN MONEY

No one ever accused Agesilaus of taking anything, and many owed him kindness. He gives freely, repays favors, and thinks a powerful man should repay them many times over, and he gives the state the gratitude owed to himself. When the city awards him all of Agis' estate, he gives half of it to his poor kinsmen on his mother's side. Offered gifts by Tithraustes to leave the land, he answers that at Sparta a commander is to enrich his army rather than himself and to take spoils, not gifts, from the enemy.

1 Περί γε μὴν τῆς εἰς χρήματα δικαιοσύνης ποῖα ἄν
About at-least truly the regarding money justice what-kind —
τις μείζω τεκμήρια ἔχοι τῶνδε; ὑπὸ γὰρ Ἀγησιλάου
anyone greater proofs could-have than-these by for Agesilaus
στέρεσθαι μὲν οὐδεὶς οὐδὲν πώποτε ἐνεκάλεσεν, εὖ δὲ
to-be-deprived indeed no-one anything ever complained well but

πεπονθέναι πολλοὶ πολλὰ ὡμολόγουν. ὅτῳ δὲ ἡδὺ
to-have-been-treated many many-things acknowledged to-whom and pleasant
τὰ αὑτοῦ διδόναι ἐπ᾽ ὠφελείᾳ ἀνθρώπων, πῶς ἂν οὗτος
the his-own to-give for benefit of-men how — this-one
ἐθέλοι τὰ ἀλλότρια ἀποστερεῖν ἐφ᾽ ᾧ κακόδοξος εἶναι;
would-wish the others' to-take-away for which ill-reputed to-be
εἰ γὰρ χρημάτων ἐπιθυμοίη, πολὺ ἀπραγμονέστερον τὰ
if for of-money he-should-desire much less-troublesome the
αὑτοῦ φυλάττειν ἢ τὰ μὴ προσήκοντα λαμβάνειν.
his-own to-keep than the not belonging to-take
ὃς δὲ δὴ καὶ χάριτας ἀποστερεῖν μὴ ἐθέλοι, ὧν 2
who and indeed even favors to-withhold not would-wish for-which
οὐκ εἰσὶ δίκαι πρὸς τὸν μὴ ἀποδιδόντα, πῶς ἄ γε
not there-are lawsuits against the-one not repaying how what at-least
καὶ νόμος κωλύει ἐθέλοι ἂν ἀποστερεῖν; Ἀγησίλαος δὲ
even law forbids would-he-wish — to-withhold Agesilaus but
οὐ μόνον τὸ μὴ ἀποδιδόναι χάριτας ἄδικον ἔκρινεν, ἀλλὰ
not only the not to-repay favors unjust judged but
καὶ τὸ μὴ πολὺ μείζους τὸν μείζω δυνάμενον.
also the not much greater the-one greater being-able
τά γε μὴν τῆς πόλεως κλέπτειν πῇ ἄν τις 3
the at-least truly of-the city to-steal in-what-way — anyone
αὐτὸν εἰκότως αἰτιάσαιτο, ὃς καὶ τὰς αὐτῷ χάριτας
him reasonably could-accuse who even the to-himself favors
ὀφειλομένας τῇ πατρίδι καρποῦσθαι παρεδίδου; τὸ δ᾽
owed to-the fatherland to-reap handed-over the and
ὁπότε βούλοιτο εὖ ποιεῖν ἢ πόλιν ἢ φίλους χρήμασι,
whenever he-wished well to-do either a-city or friends with-money
δύνασθαι παρ᾽ ἑτέρων λαμβάνοντα ὠφελεῖν, οὐ καὶ τοῦτο
to-be-able from others taking to-benefit not also this
μέγα τεκμήριον ἐγκρατείας χρημάτων;
great proof of-self-control in-money

4 εἰ γὰρ ἐπώλει τὰς χάριτας ἢ μισθοῦ εὐεργέτει, οὐδεὶς
if for he-sold the favors or for-pay did-good no-one
ἂν οὐδὲν ὀφείλειν αὐτῷ ἐνόμισεν· ἀλλ᾽ οἱ προῖκα εὖ
— anything to-owe him would-have-thought but the freely well
πεπονθότες, οὗτοι ἀεὶ ἡδέως ὑπηρετοῦσι τῷ εὐεργέτῃ,
having-been-treated these always gladly serve the benefactor
καὶ διότι εὖ ἔπαθον καὶ διότι προεπιστεύθησαν ἄξιοι
both because well they-were-treated and because they-were-trusted-beforehand worthy
εἶναι παρακαταθήκην χάριτος φυλάττειν.
to-be a-deposit of-gratitude to-keep

5 ὅστις δ᾽ ᾑρεῖτο καὶ σὺν τῷ γενναίῳ μειονεκτεῖν ἢ
whoever and chose even with the noble to-have-less than
σὺν τῷ ἀδίκῳ πλέον ἔχειν, πῶς οὗτος οὐκ ἂν πολὺ
with the unjust more to-have how this-one not — much
τὴν αἰσχροκέρδειαν ἀποφεύγοι; ἐκεῖνος τοίνυν κριθεὶς
the sordid-gain would-shun that-man then having-been-judged
ὑπὸ τῆς πόλεως ἅπαντα ἔχειν τὰ Ἄγιδος τὰ ἡμίσεα
by the city all to-have the-things of-Agis the half
τοῖς ἀπὸ μητρὸς αὐτῷ ὁμογόνοις μετέδωκεν, ὅτι
to-the-ones on-the-side-of mother his kin he-gave because
πενομένους αὐτοὺς ἑώρα. ὡς δὲ ταῦτα ἀληθῆ πᾶσα
poor them he-saw that and these-things true-are all
μάρτυς ἡ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων πόλις.
witness the of-the Lacedaemonians city

6 διδόντος δ᾽ αὐτῷ πάμπολλα δῶρα Τιθραύστου, εἰ
offering and to-him very-many gifts Tithraustes if
ἀπέλθοι ἐκ τῆς χώρας, ἀπεκρίνατο ὁ Ἀγησίλαος,
he-would-depart from the land answered — Agesilaus
Ὦ Τιθραύστα, νομίζεται παρ᾽ ἡμῖν τῷ ἄρχοντι κάλλιον
O Tithraustes it-is-thought among us for-the ruler finer

εἶναι τὴν στρατιὰν ἢ ἑαυτὸν πλουτίζειν, καὶ παρὰ τῶν
to-be the army than himself to-enrich and from the
πολεμίων λάφυρα μᾶλλον πειρᾶσθαι ἢ δῶρα λαμβάνειν.
enemies spoils rather to-try than gifts to-take

V · SELF-CONTROL

Agesilaus keeps clear of drink and gluttony, gives away the king's double portion at the feasts so that he can honor others with it, and treats sleep as a servant of his business. He takes the meanest bed among his companions, thinking a ruler should surpass private men in endurance, not softness, and is not ashamed to outdo others in bearing the summer's heat and the winter's cold, toiling willingly beside his soldiers to encourage them.

Ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ ὅσαι γε ἡδοναὶ πολλῶν κρατοῦσιν 1
But truly also as-many-as at-least pleasures many overpower
ἀνθρώπων, ποίας οἶδέ τις Ἀγησίλαον ἡττηθέντα; ὃς
men which knows anyone Agesilaus defeated-by who
μέθης μὲν ἀποσχέσθαι ὁμοίως ᾤετο χρῆναι καὶ
from-drunkenness indeed to-abstain likewise thought it-needful as
μανίας, σίτων δ' ὑπὲρ καιρὸν ὁμοίως καὶ ἀργίας.
from-madness from-food and beyond due-measure likewise as from-idleness
διμοιρίαν γε μὴν λαμβάνων ἐν ταῖς θοίναις οὐχ
a-double-portion at-least truly receiving at the feasts not
ὅπως ἀμφοτέραις ἐχρῆτο, ἀλλὰ διαπέμπων οὐδετέραν
to-speak-of both he-used but sending-round neither
αὑτῷ κατέλειπε, νομίζων βασιλεῖ τοῦτο διπλασιασθῆναι
for-himself left thinking for-a-king this to-have-been-doubled
οὐχὶ πλησμονῆς ἕνεκα, ἀλλ' ὅπως ἔχοι καὶ τούτῳ
not of-surfeit for-the-sake but so-that he-might-have also with-this
τιμᾶν εἴ τινα βούλοιτο.
to-honor if anyone he-wished

2 οὐ μὴν ὕπνῳ γε δεσπότῃ ἀλλ᾽ ἀρχομένῳ ὑπὸ τῶν πράξεων
not truly sleep at-least as-master but as-ruled by the affairs
ἐχρῆτο, καὶ εὐνήν γε εἰ μὴ τῶν συνόντων φαυλοτάτην
he-used and bed at-least if not of-the companions meanest
ἔχοι, αἰδούμενος οὐκ ἄδηλος ἦν· ἡγεῖτο γὰρ ἄρχοντι
he-had ashamed not unclear he-was he-thought for for-a-ruler
προσήκειν οὐ μαλακίᾳ ἀλλὰ καρτερίᾳ τῶν ἰδιωτῶν περιεῖναι.
to-be-fitting not in-softness but in-endurance the private-men to-surpass
3 τάδε μέντοι πλεονεκτῶν οὐκ ἠσχύνετο, ἐν μὲν τῷ
these-things however having-more-of not he-was-ashamed in indeed the
θέρει τοῦ ἡλίου, ἐν δὲ τῷ χειμῶνι τοῦ ψύχους· καὶ μὴν
summer of-the sun in and the winter of-the cold and truly
εἴ ποτε μοχθῆσαι στρατιᾷ συμβαίη, ἑκὼν ἐπόνει παρὰ
if ever to-toil for-the-army it-happened willingly he-labored beyond
τοὺς ἄλλους, νομίζων πάντα τὰ τοιαῦτα παραμυθίαν εἶναι
the others thinking all the such-things encouragement to-be
τοῖς στρατιώταις. ὡς δὲ συνελόντι εἰπεῖν, Ἀγησίλαος
for-the soldiers as and to-one-summing-up to-say Agesilaus
πονῶν μὲν ἠγάλλετο, ῥᾳστώνην δὲ πάμπαν οὐ προσίετο.
toiling indeed exulted ease but at-all not admitted

Agesilaus always takes on the strongest enemies of Sparta and Greece and posts himself in front, winning in stubborn battle and carrying his wounds as proof. He obeys his city, wins his friends' loyalty and his soldiers' love, and outruns and slips past his enemies, his army moving as quietly as a modest girl; so he is feared by his foes and loved by his friends.

Ἀνδρείας γε μὴν οὐκ ἀφανῆ τεκμήριά μοι δοκεῖ 1
Of-courage at-least truly not obscure proofs to-me he-seems
παρασχέσθαι ὑφιστάμενος μὲν ἀεὶ πολεμεῖν πρὸς τοὺς
to-have-given undertaking indeed always to-make-war against the
ἰσχυροτάτους τῶν ἐχθρῶν τῇ τε πόλει καὶ τῇ Ἑλλάδι,
strongest of-the enemies for-the both city and — for-Greece
ἐν δὲ τοῖς πρὸς τούτους ἀγῶσι πρῶτον ἑαυτὸν τάττων.
in and the against these contests first himself posting
ἔνθα γε μὴν ἠθέλησαν αὐτῷ οἱ πολέμιοι μάχην συνάψαι, 2
where at-least truly were-willing with-him the enemies battle to-join
οὐ φόβῳ τρεψάμενος νίκης ἔτυχεν, ἀλλὰ μάχῃ ἀντιτύπῳ
not by-fear having-routed victory he-obtained but in-battle stubborn
κρατήσας τρόπαιον ἐστήσατο, ἀθάνατα μὲν τῆς ἑαυτοῦ
having-prevailed a-trophy he-set-up immortal indeed of-the his-own
ἀρετῆς μνημεῖα καταλιπών, σαφῆ δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς σημεῖα
excellence memorials leaving-behind clear and also himself marks
ἀπενεγκάμενος τοῦ θυμῷ μάχεσθαι· ὥστ' οὐκ ἀκούοντας
having-carried-away of-the with-spirit to-fight so-that not hearing
ἀλλ' ὁρῶντας ἐξῆν αὐτοῦ τὴν ψυχὴν δοκιμάζειν.
but seeing it-was-possible his the soul to-test
τρόπαια μὴν Ἀγησιλάου οὐχ ὅσα ἐστήσατο ἀλλ' ὅσα 3
trophies truly of-Agesilaus not as-many-as he-set-up but as-many-as
ἐστρατεύσατο δίκαιον νομίζειν. μεῖον μὲν γὰρ οὐδὲν
he-campaigned just to-consider less indeed for no

ἐκράτει ὅτε οὐκ ἤθελον αὐτῷ οἱ πολέμιοι μάχεσθαι,
he-prevailed when not were-willing with-him the enemies to-fight
ἀκινδυνότερον δὲ καὶ συμφορώτερον τῇ τε πόλει καὶ
less-dangerously but and more-advantageously for-the both city and
τοῖς συμμάχοις· καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἀγῶσι δὲ οὐδὲν ἧττον τοὺς
for-the allies and in the contests and no less the-ones
ἀκονιτὶ ἢ τοὺς διὰ μάχης νικῶντας στεφανοῦσι.
without-dust than the-ones through battle winning they-crown

4 τήν γε μὴν σοφίαν αὐτοῦ ποῖαι τῶν ἐκείνου πράξεων
the at-least truly wisdom his which of-the his actions
οὐκ ἐπιδεικνύουσιν; ὃς τῇ μὲν πατρίδι οὕτως ἐχρῆτο
not show who the indeed fatherland so treated
ὥστε μάλιστα πειθόμενος ∗∗∗ ἑταίροις δὲ πρόθυμος
so-that most obeying (lacuna) to-comrades and eager
ὢν ἀπροφασίστους τοὺς φίλους ἐκέκτητο· τοὺς δέ
being unhesitating the friends he-had-acquired the and
γε στρατιώτας ἅμα πειθομένους καὶ φιλοῦντας αὐτὸν
at-least soldiers at-once obeying and loving him
παρεῖχε. καίτοι πῶς ἂν ἰσχυροτέρα γένοιτο φάλαγξ ἢ
he-rendered and-yet how — stronger could-be a-phalanx than
διὰ τὸ μὲν πείθεσθαι εὔτακτος οὖσα, διὰ δὲ τὸ φιλεῖν
through the indeed to-obey well-ordered being through and the to-love
τὸν ἄρχοντα πιστῶς παροῦσα;
the commander faithfully being-present

5 τούς γε μὴν πολεμίους εἶχε ψέγειν μὲν οὐ δυναμένους,
the at-least truly enemies he-had to-blame indeed not being-able
μισεῖν δὲ ἀναγκαζομένους. τοὺς γὰρ συμμάχους ἀεὶ πλέον
to-hate but being-compelled the for allies always more
ἔχειν αὐτῶν ἐμηχανᾶτο, ἐξαπατῶν μὲν ὅπου καιρὸς
to-have than-they he-contrived deceiving indeed where the-occasion
εἴη, φθάνων δὲ ὅπου τάχους δέοι, λήθων δὲ
might-be anticipating and where speed was-needed escaping-notice and

ὅπου τοῦτο συμφέροι, πάντα δὲ τἀναντία πρὸς τοὺς
where this was-advantageous all and the-opposite toward the
πολεμίους ἢ πρὸς τοὺς φίλους ἐπιτηδεύων.
enemies than toward the friends practicing
καὶ γὰρ νυκτὶ μὲν ὅσαπερ ἡμέρᾳ ἐχρῆτο, ἡμέρᾳ δὲ 6
and for the-night indeed as-much-as the-day he-used the-day and
ὅσαπερ νυκτί, πολλάκις ἄδηλος γιγνόμενος ὅπου τε εἴη
as-much-as the-night often unseen becoming where both he-was
καὶ ὅποι ἴοι καὶ ὅ τι ποιήσοι. ὥστε καὶ τὰ ἐχυρὰ
and whither he-went and what ever he-would-do so-that also the strong-places
ἀνώχυρα τοῖς ἐχθροῖς καθίστη, τὰ μὲν παριών, τὰ
unfortified to-the enemies he-made the-ones indeed passing-by the-ones
δὲ ὑπερβαίνων, τὰ δὲ κλέπτων.
and crossing-over the-ones and stealing
ὁπότε γε μὴν πορεύοιτο εἰδὼς ὅτι ἐξείη τοῖς 7
whenever at-least truly he-marched knowing that it-was-possible for-the
πολεμίοις μάχεσθαι, εἰ βούλοιντο, συντεταγμένον μὲν
enemies to-fight if they-wished drawn-up indeed
οὕτως ἦγε τὸ στράτευμα ὡς ἂν ἐπικουρεῖν μάλιστα
so he-led the army as — to-support most
ἑαυτῷ δύναιτο, ἡσύχως δὲ ὥσπερ ἂν παρθένος ἡ
itself it-could quietly and as — a-maiden the
σωφρονεστάτη προβαίνοι, νομίζων ἐν τῷ τοιούτῳ τό
most-modest would-step-forward thinking in the such the
τε ἀτρεμὲς καὶ ἀνεκπληκτότατον καὶ ἀθορυβητότατον καὶ
both calm and most-unshakable and least-disordered and
ἀναμαρτητότατον καὶ δυσεπιβουλευτότατον εἶναι.
least-erring and hardest-to-ambush to-be
τοιγαροῦν τοιαῦτα ποιῶν τοῖς μὲν πολεμίοις δεινὸς ἦν, τοῖς 8
therefore such-things doing to-the indeed enemies terrible he-was to-the
δὲ φίλοις θάρρος καὶ ῥώμην ἐνεποίει. ὥστε ἀκαταφρόνητος
but friends confidence and strength he-instilled so-that not-despised

μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν ἐχθρῶν διετέλεσεν, ἀζήμιος δ' ὑπὸ τῶν
indeed by the enemies he-continued unpunished and by the
πολιτῶν, ἄμεμπτος δ' ὑπὸ τῶν φίλων, πολυεραστότατος
citizens blameless and by the friends most-beloved
δὲ καὶ πολυεπαινετώτατος ὑπὸ πάντων ἀνθρώπων.
and also most-praised by all men

VII · LOVE OF CITY AND OF GREECE

Agesilaus spares no toil, danger, money, body, or age for his city, and as the most powerful man in Sparta is the most obedient to its laws, treating his opponents in the city like a father. He loves the Greeks: hearing of the many enemies killed at Corinth, he grieves that the dead could have conquered all the barbarians, and he refuses to storm Corinth, saying Greek cities should be corrected, not enslaved. He hates the Persians, since one king once marched to enslave Greece and the present one pays Greeks to harm one another. He works to detach peoples from the king, and even while Sparta is at war with Greeks he sails out to harm the barbarian.

1 Ὡς γε μὴν φιλόπολις ἦν καθ' ἓν μὲν ἕκαστον μακρὸν
How at-least truly city-loving he-was by one indeed each long
ἂν εἴη γράφειν· οἶομαι γὰρ οὐδὲν εἶναι τῶν
— it-would-be to-write I-think for nothing to-be of-the-things
πεπραγμένων αὐτῷ ὅ τι οὐκ εἰς τοῦτο συντείνει. ὡς δ'
done by-him what ever not to this tends as but
ἐν βραχεῖ εἰπεῖν, ἅπαντες ἐπιστάμεθα ὅτι Ἀγησίλαος, ὅπου
in brief to-say all we-know that Agesilaus where
ᾤετο τὴν πατρίδα τι ὠφελήσειν, οὐ πόνων ὑφίετο,
he-thought the fatherland in-anything to-be-going-to-benefit not from-toils he-held-back
οὐ κινδύνων ἀφίστατο, οὐ χρημάτων ἐφείδετο, οὐ σῶμα,
not from-dangers he-stood-aside not money he-spared not body

οὐ γῆρας προὐφασίζετο, ἀλλὰ καὶ βασιλέως ἀγαθοῦ τοῦτο
not old-age he-pleaded but also of-a-king good this
ἔργον ἐνόμιζε τὸ τοὺς ἀρχομένους ὡς πλεῖστα ἀγαθὰ ποιεῖν.
work he-thought the the ruled as most goods to-do
ἐν τοῖς μεγίστοις δὲ ὠφελήμασι τῆς πατρίδος καὶ τόδε 2
among the greatest and benefits to-the fatherland also this
ἐγὼ τίθημι αὐτοῦ ὅτι δυνατώτατος ὢν ἐν τῇ πόλει φανερὸς
I set of-him that most-powerful being in the city evident
ἦν μάλιστα τοῖς νόμοις λατρεύων. τίς γὰρ ἂν ἠθέλησεν
he-was most to-the laws serving who for — would-have-wished
ἀπειθεῖν ὁρῶν τὸν βασιλέα πειθόμενον; τίς δ' ἂν ἡγούμενος
to-disobey seeing the king obeying who and — thinking
μειονεκτεῖν νεώτερόν τι ἐπεχείρησε ποιεῖν εἰδὼς τὸν
to-have-less revolutionary anything would-have-attempted to-do knowing the
βασιλέα νομίμως καὶ τὸ κρατεῖσθαι φέροντα;
king lawfully even the to-be-overruled bearing
ὃς καὶ πρὸς τοὺς διαφόρους ἐν τῇ πόλει ὥσπερ πατὴρ 3
who even toward the opponents in the city as a-father
πρὸς παῖδας προσεφέρετο. ἐλοιδορεῖτο μὲν γὰρ ἐπὶ
toward children behaved he-rebuked indeed for at
τοῖς ἁμαρτήμασιν, ἐτίμα δ' εἴ τι καλὸν πράττοιεν,
the faults he-honored and if anything fine they-did
παρίστατο δ' εἴ τις συμφορὰ συμβαίνοι, ἐχθρὸν μὲν οὐδένα
he-stood-by and if any misfortune befell an-enemy indeed no-one
ἡγούμενος πολίτην, ἐπαινεῖν δὲ πάντας ἐθέλων, σώζεσθαι δὲ
thinking citizen to-praise but all wishing to-be-saved and
πάντας κέρδος νομίζων, ζημίαν δὲ τιθεὶς εἰ καὶ ὁ μικροῦ
all gain thinking loss and counting if even the-one of-little
ἄξιος ἀπόλοιτο· εἰ δ' ἐν τοῖς νόμοις ἠρεμοῦντες διαμένοιεν,
worth should-perish if and in the laws keeping-quiet they-should-remain

δῆλος ἦν εὐδαίμονα μὲν ἀεὶ ἔσεσθαι τὴν πατρίδα
clear he-was happy indeed always to-be-going-to-be the fatherland
λογιζόμενος, ἰσχυρὰν δὲ τότε ὅταν οἱ Ἕλληνες σωφρονῶσιν.
reckoning strong but then when the Greeks are-sensible
4 εἴ γε μὴν αὖ καλὸν Ἕλληνα ὄντα φιλέλληνα εἶναι,
if at-least truly in-turn fine a-Greek being a-Greek-lover to-be
τίνα τις εἶδεν ἄλλον στρατηγὸν ἢ πόλιν οὐκ ἐθέλοντα
whom anyone saw other general either a-city not willing
αἱρεῖν, ὅταν οἴηται πορθήσειν, ἢ συμφορὰν νομίζοντα
to-take when he-thinks to-be-going-to-sack or a-disaster thinking
τὸ νικᾶν ἐν τῷ πρὸς Ἕλληνας πολέμῳ;
the to-win in the against Greeks war
5 ἐκεῖνος τοίνυν, ἀγγελίας μὲν ἐλθούσης αὐτῷ ὡς ἐν τῇ ἐν
that-man then news indeed having-come to-him that in the at
Κορίνθῳ μάχῃ ὀκτὼ μὲν Λακεδαιμονίων, ἐγγὺς δὲ μύριοι
Corinth battle eight indeed of-Lacedaemonians nearly but ten-thousand
τῶν πολεμίων τεθναῖεν, οὐκ ἐφησθεὶς φανερὸς ἐγένετο, ἀλλ᾽
of-the enemies had-died not rejoicing evident became but
εἶπεν ἄρα, Φεῦ, ὦ Ἑλλάς, ὁπότε οἱ νῦν τεθνηκότες ἱκανοὶ
said then Alas O Greece when the now dead able
ἦσαν ζῶντες νικᾶν μαχόμενοι πάντας τοὺς βαρβάρους.
were living to-conquer fighting all the barbarians
6 Κορινθίων γε μὴν τῶν φευγόντων λεγόντων ὅτι
the-Corinthians at-least truly the exiles saying that
ἐνδιδοῖτο αὐτοῖς ἡ πόλις, καὶ μηχανὰς ἐπιδεικνύντων
was-being-betrayed to-them the city and engines showing
αἷς πάντως ἤλπιζον ἑλεῖν τὰ τείχη, οὐκ ἤθελε
with-which by-all-means they-hoped to-take the walls not he-wished
προσβάλλειν, λέγων ὅτι οὐκ ἀνδραποδίζεσθαι δέοι
to-attack saying that not to-enslave it-was-needful
Ἑλληνίδας πόλεις ἀλλὰ σωφρονίζειν. εἰ δὲ τοὺς
Greek cities but to-bring-to-their-senses if but the

ἁμαρτάνοντας, ἔφη, ἡμῶν αὐτῶν ἀφανιοῦμεν, ὁρᾶν χρὴ
erring he-said of-us ourselves we-shall-destroy to-see it-is-needful
μὴ οὐδ' ἔξομεν μεθ' ὅτου τῶν βαρβάρων κρατήσομεν.
lest not-even we-shall-have with whom the barbarians we-shall-conquer
εἰ δ' αὖ καλὸν καὶ μισοπέρσην εἶναι, ὅτι καὶ ὁ 7
if and in-turn fine also a-Persian-hater to-be because both the-one
πάλαι ἐξεστράτευσεν ὡς δουλωσόμενος τὴν Ἑλλάδα καὶ
long-ago marched-out as going-to-enslave — Greece and
ὁ νῦν συμμαχεῖ μὲν τούτοις μεθ' ὁποτέρων ἂν οἴηται
the-one now allies-himself indeed with-these with whichever — he-thinks
μείζω βλάψειν, δωρεῖται δ' ἐκείνοις οὓς ἂν νομίζῃ
more to-be-going-to-harm gives-gifts and to-those who — he-thinks
λαβόντας πλεῖστα κακὰ τοὺς Ἕλληνας ποιήσειν, εἰρήνην
having-received most evils the Greeks to-be-going-to-do peace
δὲ συμπράττει ἐξ ἧς ἂν ἡγῆται μάλιστα ἡμᾶς ἀλλήλοις
and helps-arrange from which — he-supposes most us one-another
πολεμήσειν· ὁρῶσι μὲν οὖν ἅπαντες ταῦτα· ἐπεμελήθη
to-be-going-to-war see indeed then all these-things took-care
δέ τίς ἄλλος πώποτε πλὴν Ἀγησίλαος ἢ ὅπως φῦλόν
but who else ever except Agesilaus either that a-tribe
τι ἀποστήσεται τοῦ Πέρσου ἢ ὅπως τὸ ἀποστὰν μὴ
some should-revolt from-the Persian or that the having-revolted not
ἀπόληται ἢ τὸ παράπαν ὡς καὶ βασιλεὺς κακὰ ἔχων
should-perish or the altogether that even the-king troubles having
μὴ δυνήσεται τοῖς Ἕλλησι πράγματα παρέχειν; ὃς καὶ
not will-be-able to-the Greeks troubles to-cause who even
πολεμούσης τῆς πατρίδος πρὸς Ἕλληνας ὅμως τοῦ
being-at-war the fatherland with Greeks nevertheless of-the
κοινοῦ ἀγαθοῦ τῇ Ἑλλάδι οὐκ ἠμέλησεν, ἀλλ' ἐξέπλευσεν
common good — for-Greece not neglected but sailed-out
ὅ τι δύναιτο κακὸν ποιήσων τὸν βάρβαρον.
what ever he-could harm going-to-do the barbarian

Though honored and powerful, Agesilaus is never boastful, but affectionate and attentive to his friends and cheerful company, and he bears it patiently when others praise themselves, thinking they promise to become good men. He refuses the Persian king's letter of guest-friendship: if the king proves a friend to Sparta and Greece, Agesilaus will be his friend, and if he plots, no letters will make him one. He holds that the better man, not the richer, should be proud, keeps faith with satraps who would revolt, and lives so simply that he needs none of the gold the Persian hoards, making his soul, not his walls, impregnable to money, pleasure, and fear.

1 Ἀλλὰ μὴν ἄξιόν γε αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸ εὔχαρι μὴ
But truly worthy at-least of-him also the gracious-manner not
σιωπᾶσθαι· ᾧ γε ὑπαρχούσης μὲν τιμῆς,
to-be-passed-over-in-silence in-whom at-least existing indeed honor
παρούσης δὲ δυνάμεως, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις βασιλείας, καὶ
being-present and power besides and these kingship and
ταύτης οὐκ ἐπιβουλευομένης ἀλλ' ἀγαπωμένης, τὸ μὲν
this not plotted-against but loved the indeed
μεγάλαυχον οὐκ ἂν εἶδέ τις, τὸ δὲ φιλόστοργον καὶ
boastfulness not — would-have-seen anyone the but affection and
θεραπευτικὸν τῶν φίλων καὶ μὴ ζητῶν κατενόησεν ἄν.
attentiveness to-the friends even not seeking would-have-noticed —
2 καὶ μὴν μετεῖχε μὲν ἥδιστα παιδικῶν λόγων, συνεσπούδαζε
and truly be-took-part indeed most-gladly in-playful talk be-joined-in-earnest
δὲ πᾶν ὅ τι δέοι φίλοις. διὰ δὲ τὸ εὔελπις
but all what ever was-needed for-friends because-of and the hopeful
καὶ εὔθυμος καὶ ἀεὶ ἱλαρὸς εἶναι πολλοὺς ἐποίει μὴ
and cheerful and always merry to-be many he-made not
τοῦ διαπράξασθαί τι μόνον ἕνεκα πλησιάζειν, ἀλλὰ
of-the to-accomplish something only for-the-sake to-approach but
καὶ τοῦ ἥδιον διημερεύειν. ἥκιστα δ' ὢν οἷος
also of-the more-pleasantly to-spend-the-day least and being such-as

μεγαληγορεῖν ὅμως τῶν ἐπαινούντων αὑτοὺς οὐ βαρέως
to-boast nevertheless the praising themselves not heavily
ἤκουεν, ἡγούμενος βλάπτειν οὐδὲν αὐτούς, ὑπισχνεῖσθαι
he-heard thinking to-harm in-nothing they to-promise
δὲ ἄνδρας ἀγαθοὺς ἔσεσθαι.
but men good to-be-going-to-be
ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ τῇ μεγαλογνωμοσύνῃ γε ὡς εὐκαίρως ἐχρῆτο 3
but truly also the high-mindedness at-least how opportunely he-used
οὐ παραλειπτέον. ἐκεῖνος γὰρ ὅτ' ἦλθεν αὐτῷ ἐπιστολὴ παρὰ
not must-be-omitted that-man for when came to-him a-letter from
βασιλέως, ἣν ὁ μετὰ Καλλέα τοῦ Λακεδαιμονίου Πέρσης
the-king which the with Callias the Lacedaemonian Persian
ἤνεγκε, περὶ ξενίας τε καὶ φιλίας αὐτοῦ, ταύτην μὲν
brought about guest-friendship both and friendship his this indeed
οὐκ ἐδέξατο, τῷ δὲ φέροντι εἶπεν ἀπαγγεῖλαι βασιλεῖ ὡς
not he-accepted to-the but bearer he-said to-report to-the-king that
ἰδίᾳ μὲν πρὸς αὐτὸν οὐδὲν δέοι ἐπιστολὰς πέμπειν,
privately indeed to him nothing it-was-needful letters to-send
ἢν δὲ φίλος τῇ Λακεδαίμονι καὶ τῇ Ἑλλάδι εὔνους ὢν
if but a-friend — to-Lacedaemon and — to-Greece well-disposed being
φαίνηται, ὅτι καὶ αὐτὸς φίλος ἀνὰ κράτος αὐτῷ ἔσοιτο·
he-appears that also himself a-friend with-all might to-him would-be
ἢν μέντοι, ἔφη, ἐπιβουλεύων ἁλίσκηται, μηδ' ἂν πάνυ
if however he-said plotting he-is-caught not-even if very
πολλὰς ἐπιστολὰς δέχωμαι, φίλον ἔξειν με οἰέσθω.
many letters I-receive a-friend to-be-going-to-have me let-him-think
ἐγὼ οὖν καὶ τοῦτο ἐπαινῶ Ἀγησιλάου τὸ πρὸς τὸ ἀρέσκειν 4
I then also this praise of-Agesilaus the for the to-please
τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ὑπεριδεῖν τὴν βασιλέως ξενίαν. ἄγαμαι
the Greeks to-disdain the of-the-king guest-friendship I-admire
δὲ κἀκεῖνο ὅτι οὐχ ὁπότερος πλείω τε χρήματα ἔχοι καὶ
and also-that that not whichever more both money had and

πλειόνων ἄρχοι, τούτῳ ἡγήσατο μεῖζον φρονητέον
more ruled with-this-one he-thought more one-must-pride-oneself
εἶναι, ἀλλ᾽ ὁπότερος αὐτός τε ἀμείνων εἴη καὶ ἀμεινόνων
to-be but whichever himself both better was and better-men
ἡγοῖτο.
led

5 ἐπαινῶ δὲ κἀκεῖνο τῆς προνοίας αὐτοῦ ὅτι νομίζων
I-praise and also-that of-the foresight his that thinking
ἀγαθὸν τῇ Ἑλλάδι ἀφίστασθαι τοῦ βασιλέως ὡς
good — for-Greece to-revolt from-the king as
πλείστους σατράπας, οὐκ ἐκρατήθη οὔθ᾽ ὑπὸ δώρων
many-as-possible satraps not he-was-overcome either by gifts
οὔθ᾽ ὑπὸ τῆς βασιλέως ῥώμης ἐθελῆσαι ξενωθῆναι
or by the of-the-king strength to-wish to-become-guest-friend
αὐτῷ, ἀλλ᾽ ἐφυλάξατο μὴ ἄπιστος γενέσθαι τοῖς
with-him but he-guarded-against lest untrustworthy he-should-become to-the-ones
ἀφίστασθαι βουλομένοις.
to-revolt wishing

6 ἐκεῖνό γε μὴν αὐτοῦ τίς οὐκ ἂν ἀγασθείη; ὁ μὲν
that at-least truly of-him who not — would-admire the indeed
γὰρ Πέρσης, νομίζων, ἢν χρήματα πλεῖστα ἔχῃ, πάνθ᾽
for Persian thinking if money most he-has all-things
ὑφ᾽ ἑαυτῷ ποιήσεσθαι, διὰ τοῦτο πᾶν μὲν τὸ ἐν
under himself to-be-going-to-make because-of this all indeed the among
ἀνθρώποις χρυσίον, πᾶν δὲ τὸ ἀργύριον, πάντα δὲ τὰ
men gold all and the silver all and the
πολυτελέστατα ἐπειρᾶτο πρὸς ἑαυτὸν ἁθροίζειν. ὁ δὲ οὕτως
most-costly-things tried to himself to-gather he but so
ἀντεσκευάσατο τὸν οἶκον ὥστε τούτων μηδενὸς προσδεῖσθαι.
furnished-in-contrast the house that of-these none to-need-besides

εἰ δέ τις ταῦτα ἀπιστεῖ, ἰδέτω μὲν οἵα οἰκία ἥρκει 7
if but anyone these-things disbelieves let-him-see indeed what-sort-of house sufficed
αὐτῷ, θεασάσθω δὲ τὰς θύρας αὐτοῦ· εἰκάσειε γὰρ ἄν τις
him let-him-look-at and the doors his would-guess for — anyone
ἔτι ταύτας ἐκείνας εἶναι ἅσπερ Ἀριστόδημος ὁ
still these those to-be which-very Aristodemus the-(descendant)
Ἡρακλέους ὅτε κατῆλθε λαβὼν ἐπεστήσατο· πειράσθω
of-Heracles when he-returned having-taken set-up let-him-try
δὲ θεάσασθαι τὴν ἔνδον κατασκευήν, ἐννοησάτω δὲ ὡς
and to-look-at the inside furnishing let-him-consider and how
ἐθοίναζεν ἐν ταῖς θυσίαις, ἀκουσάτω δὲ ὡς ἐπὶ πολιτικοῦ
he-feasted at the sacrifices let-him-hear and how on a-common
καννάθρου κατῄει εἰς Ἀμύκλας ἡ θυγάτηρ αὐτοῦ.
wicker-carriage went-down to Amyclae the daughter his
τοιγαροῦν οὕτως ἐφαρμόσας τὰς δαπάνας ταῖς προσόδοις 8
therefore so having-fitted the expenses to-the revenues
οὐδὲν ἠναγκάζετο χρημάτων ἕνεκα ἄδικον πράττειν.
nothing he-was-compelled of-money for-the-sake unjust to-do
καίτοι καλὸν μὲν δοκεῖ εἶναι τείχη ἀνάλωτα κτᾶσθαι
and-yet fine indeed seems to-be walls impregnable to-acquire
ὑπὸ πολεμίων· πολὺ μέντοι ἔγωγε κάλλιον κρίνω τὸ τὴν
by enemies much however I-at-least finer judge the the
αὐτοῦ ψυχὴν ἀνάλωτον κατασκευάσαι καὶ ὑπὸ χρημάτων
his-own soul impregnable to-make both by money
καὶ ὑπὸ ἡδονῶν καὶ ὑπὸ φόβου.
and by pleasures and by fear

Agesilaus is always visible while the Persian king hides himself, is easy of access while the king is hard to reach, and is quick to grant requests. The king's servants search the earth for what he may enjoy, while Agesilaus enjoys whatever food, drink, and bed come to hand, and bears heat and cold as the gods arranged them. He keeps hunting dogs and war horses, and persuades his sister Cynisca to breed chariot horses to show, by her victory, that such breeding proves wealth, not manly excellence. He knows that a chariot victory brings no renown, but that a man who is loved by his city, has the best friends, and benefits his country while punishing its enemies wins the finest contests and fame in life and death.

1 Ἀλλὰ μὴν ἐρῶ γε ὡς καὶ τὸν τρόπον ὑπεστήσατο τῇ
But truly I-will-tell at-least how also the manner he-set-against the
τοῦ Πέρσου ἀλαζονείᾳ. πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ ὁ μὲν τῷ σπανίως
of-the Persian pretension first indeed for he indeed in-the rarely
ὁρᾶσθαι ἐσεμνύνετο, Ἀγησίλαος δὲ τῷ ἀεὶ ἐμφανὴς εἶναι
to-be-seen prided-himself Agesilaus but in-the always visible to-be
ἠγάλλετο, νομίζων αἰσχρουργίᾳ μὲν τὸ ἀφανίζεσθαι πρέπειν,
exulted thinking to-shameful-conduct indeed the to-hide to-befit
τῷ δὲ εἰς κάλλος βίῳ τὸ φῶς μᾶλλον κόσμον παρέχειν.
to-the but for beauty life the light rather adornment to-give
2 ἔπειτα δὲ ὁ μὲν τῷ δυσπρόσοδος εἶναι ἐσεμνύνετο, ὁ δὲ
then and he indeed in-the hard-of-access to-be prided-himself he but
τῷ πᾶσιν εὐπρόσοδος εἶναι ἔχαιρε· καὶ ὁ μὲν ἡβρύνετο
in-the to-all easy-of-access to-be rejoiced and he indeed gave-himself-airs
τῷ βραδέως διαπράττειν, ὁ δὲ τότε μάλιστα ἔχαιρεν
in-the slowly to-transact he but then most rejoiced
ὁπότε τάχιστα τυχόντας ὧν δέοιντο ἀποπέμποι.
when most-quickly having-obtained what they-needed he-sent-away

ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ τὴν εὐπάθειαν ὅσῳ ῥᾴονα καὶ 3
but truly also the comfort by-how-much easier and
εὐπορωτέραν Ἀγησίλαος ἐπετήδευσεν ἄξιον κατανοῆσαι.
better-supplied Agesilaus practiced worth to-consider
τῷ μὲν γὰρ Πέρσῃ πᾶσαν γῆν περιέρχονται μαστεύοντες
for-the indeed for Persian all earth they-go-around seeking
τί ἂν ἡδέως πίοι, μυρίοι δὲ τεχνῶνται τί ἂν
what — pleasantly he-might-drink ten-thousands and contrive what —
ἡδέως φάγοι· ὅπως γε μὴν καταδάρθοι οὐδ᾽ ἂν
pleasantly he-might-eat how at-least truly he-might-fall-asleep not-even —
εἴποι τις ὅσα πραγματεύονται. Ἀγησίλαος δὲ διὰ
could-tell anyone how-much they-toil Agesilaus but because-of
τὸ φιλόπονος εἶναι πᾶν μὲν τὸ παρὸν ἡδέως ἔπινε,
the toil-loving to-be all indeed the at-hand pleasantly drank
πᾶν δὲ τὸ συντυχὸν ἡδέως ἤσθιεν· εἰς δὲ τὸ ἀσμένως
all and the chance-met pleasantly ate for and the gladly
κοιμηθῆναι πᾶς τόπος ἱκανὸς ἦν αὐτῷ.
to-sleep every place sufficient was for-him
καὶ ταῦτα οὐ μόνον πράττων ἔχαιρεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ 4
and these-things not only doing he-rejoiced but also
ἐνθυμούμενος ἠγάλλετο ὅτι αὐτὸς μὲν ἐν μέσαις ταῖς
reflecting he-exulted that he indeed in the-midst the
εὐφροσύναις ἀναστρέφοιτο, τὸν δὲ βάρβαρον ἑώρα, εἰ
good-cheer moved the but barbarian he-saw if
μέλλοι ἀλύπως βιώσεσθαι, συνελκυστέον αὐτῷ ἀπὸ
he-was-going painlessly to-live having-to-drag-together for-him from
περάτων τῆς γῆς τὰ τέρψοντα.
the-ends of-the earth the-things going-to-delight
εὔφραινε δὲ αὐτὸν καὶ τάδε ὅτι αὐτὸς μὲν ᾔδει τῇ 5
gladdened and him also these-things that he indeed knew the
τῶν θεῶν κατασκευῇ δυνάμενος ἀλύπως χρῆσθαι, τὸν
of-the gods arrangement being-able painlessly to-use the-other

δὲ ἑώρα φεύγοντα μὲν θάλπη, φεύγοντα δὲ ψύχη, δι᾽
but he-saw fleeing indeed heats fleeing and colds through
ἀσθένειαν ψυχῆς, οὐκ ἀνδρῶν ἀγαθῶν ἀλλὰ θηρίων τῶν
weakness of-soul not of-men good but of-beasts the
ἀσθενεστάτων βίον μιμούμενον.
weakest the-life imitating

6 ἐκεῖνό γε μὴν πῶς οὐ καλὸν καὶ μεγαλόγνωμον, τὸ
that at-least truly how not fine and high-minded the
αὐτὸν μὲν ἀνδρὸς ἔργοις καὶ κτήμασι κοσμεῖν τὸν
himself indeed of-a-man with-works and possessions to-adorn the
ἑαυτοῦ οἶκον, κύνας τε πολλοὺς θηρευτὰς καὶ ἵππους
his-own house dogs both many hunting and horses
πολεμιστηρίους τρέφοντα, Κυνίσκαν δὲ ἀδελφὴν οὖσαν
war rearing Cynisca but sister being
πεῖσαι ἁρματοτροφεῖν καὶ ἐπιδεῖξαι νικώσης αὐτῆς ὅτι τὸ
to-persuade to-breed-chariot-horses and to-show winning her that the
θρέμμα τοῦτο οὐκ ἀνδραγαθίας ἀλλὰ πλούτου ἐπίδειγμά ἐστι.
breeding this not of-manly-excellence but of-wealth a-display is

7 τόδε γε μὴν πῶς οὐ σαφῶς πρὸς τὸ γενναῖον
this at-least truly how not clearly with-regard-to the noble
ἔγνω ὅτι ἅρματι μὲν νικήσας τοὺς ἰδιώτας οὐδὲν
he-recognized that with-a-chariot indeed having-defeated the private-men nothing
ὀνομαστότερος ἂν γένοιτο, εἰ δὲ φίλην μὲν πάντων
more-renowned — he-would-become if but dear indeed of-all
μάλιστα τὴν πόλιν ἔχοι, πλείστους δὲ φίλους καὶ
most the city he-should-have most and friends and
ἀρίστους ἀνὰ πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν κεκτῆτο, νικῴη δὲ
best throughout all the earth he-should-possess should-win and
τὴν μὲν πατρίδα καὶ τοὺς ἑταίρους εὐεργετῶν, τοὺς δὲ
the indeed fatherland and the comrades benefiting the but
ἀντιπάλους τιμωρούμενος, ὅτι οὕτως ἂν εἴη νικηφόρος
opponents punishing that so — he-would-be victorious

τῶν καλλίστων καὶ μεγαλοπρεπεστάτων ἀγωνισμάτων καὶ
of-the finest and most-magnificent contests and
ὀνομαστότατος καὶ ζῶν καὶ τελευτήσας γένοιτ᾽ ἄν;
most-renowned both living and having-died would-become —

X · THE PATTERN OF VIRTUE

Xenophon praises Agesilaus for qualities that belong to the man and not to fortune: endurance where toil is needed, strength where courage, and judgment where counsel. His excellence is a pattern for anyone who would practice virtue, since no one imitating him could become impious, unjust, insolent, or self-indulgent. The speech is an encomium, not a dirge: he lived gloriously, died at the longest span of life, remained undefeated, and was blameless toward those he led and those he fought.

Ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν τὰ τοιαῦτα ἐπαινῶ Ἀγησίλαον. ταῦτα γὰρ 1
I indeed then the such-things praise in-Agesilaus these-things for
οὐχ ὥσπερ εἰ θησαυρῷ τις ἐντύχοι, πλουσιώτερος
not as if a-treasure someone should-come-upon richer
μὲν ἂν εἴη, οἰκονομικώτερος δ᾽ οὐδὲν ἄν, καὶ εἰ νόσου
indeed — he-would-be better-at-managing but nothing — and if a-disease
δὲ πολεμίοις ἐμπεσούσης κρατήσειεν, εὐτυχέστερος μὲν ἂν
and on-the-enemies having-fallen he-should-prevail more-fortunate indeed —
εἴη, στρατηγικώτερος δὲ οὐδὲν ἄν· ὁ δὲ καρτερίᾳ μὲν
he-would-be more-skilled-in-generalship but nothing — he but in-endurance indeed
πρωτεύων ἔνθα πονεῖν καιρός, ἀλκῇ δὲ ὅπου ἀνδρείας
being-first where to-toil the-occasion in-strength and where of-courage
ἀγών, γνώμῃ δὲ ὅπου βουλῆς ἔργον, οὗτος ἔμοιγε
the-contest in-judgment and where of-counsel the-work this-one to-me-at-least
δοκεῖ δικαίως ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς παντελῶς ἂν νομίζεσθαι.
seems justly a-man good altogether — to-be-thought

2 εἰ δὲ καλὸν εὕρημα ἀνθρώποις στάθμη καὶ κανὼν πρὸς
if and fine an-invention for-men a-plumb-line and rule for
τὸ ἀγαθὰ ἐργάζεσθαι, καλὸν ἄν μοι δοκεῖ ἡ Ἀγησιλάου
the good-things to-work fine — to-me seems the of-Agesilaus
ἀρετὴ παράδειγμα γενέσθαι τοῖς ἀνδραγαθίαν ἀσκεῖν
excellence a-pattern to-become for-the-ones manly-excellence to-practice
βουλομένοις. τίς γὰρ ἂν ἢ θεοσεβῆ μιμούμενος
wishing who for — either a-god-fearing-man imitating
ἀνόσιος γένοιτο ἢ δίκαιον ἄδικος ἢ σώφρονα ὑβριστὴς
unholy would-become or a-just-man unjust or a-temperate-man insolent
ἢ ἐγκρατῆ ἀκρατής; καὶ γὰρ δὴ οὐχ οὕτως ἐπὶ τῷ
or a-self-controlled-man uncontrolled and for indeed not so at the
ἄλλων βασιλεύειν ὡς ἐπὶ τῷ ἑαυτοῦ ἄρχειν ἐμεγαλύνετο,
over-others to-be-king as at the himself to-rule he-prided-himself
οὐδ' ἐπὶ τῷ πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τῷ πρὸς
nor at the against the enemies but at the toward
πᾶσαν ἀρετὴν ἡγεῖσθαι τοῖς πολίταις.
all excellence to-lead the citizens

3 ἀλλὰ γὰρ μὴ ὅτι τετελευτηκὼς ἐπαινεῖται τούτου ἕνεκα
but for not because having-died he-is-praised of-this for-the-sake
θρῆνόν τις τοῦτον τὸν λόγον νομισάτω ἀλλὰ πολὺ
a-dirge anyone this the speech let-him-think but much
μᾶλλον ἐγκώμιον. πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ ἅπερ ζῶν ἤκουε,
rather an-encomium first indeed for what-very living he-heard
ταῦτα καὶ νῦν λέγεται περὶ αὐτοῦ· ἔπειτα δὲ τί καὶ
these-things also now are-said about him then and what also
πλέον θρήνου ἄπεστιν ἢ βίος τε εὐκλεὴς καὶ θάνατος
more from-a-dirge is-distant than a-life both glorious and a-death
ὡραῖος; ἐγκωμίων δὲ τί ἀξιώτερον ἢ νῖκαί τε αἱ
timely of-encomia but what worthier than victories both the
κάλλισται καὶ ἔργα τὰ πλείστου ἄξια;
finest and deeds the of-most worth

δικαίως δ᾽ ἂν ἐκεῖνός γε μακαρίζοιτο ὃς εὐθὺς μὲν ἐκ 4
justly and — that-man at-least would-be-called-blessed who at-once indeed from
παιδὸς ἐρασθεὶς τοῦ εὐκλεὴς γενέσθαι ἔτυχε τούτου μάλιστα
a-child having-loved the glorious to-become obtained this most
τῶν καθ᾽ ἑαυτόν· φιλοτιμότατος δὲ πεφυκὼς ἀήττητος
of-the in his-own-time most-ambitious and by-nature undefeated
διετέλεσεν, ἐπεὶ βασιλεὺς ἐγένετο. ἀφικόμενος δὲ ἐπὶ τὸ
he-continued when king he-became having-come and to the
μήκιστον ἀνθρωπίνου αἰῶνος ἀναμάρτητος ἐτελεύτησε καὶ
longest-span of-human life blameless he-died both
περὶ τούτους ὢν ἡγεῖτο καὶ πρὸς ἐκείνους οἷς ἐπολέμει.
toward these whom he-led and toward those with-whom he-warred

XI · A SUMMARY OF HIS VIRTUES

Xenophon sums up Agesilaus' virtues. He respected even enemy temples and suppliants, thought the gods pleased by holy deeds, and was thankful in success. He loved zealous friends, hated ingratitude, liked to make the just rich, learned as much about speakers' characters as about their subjects when he heard them praise or blame, and welcomed frank critics while guarding against secretive men. He refused a statue of his body, spent justly and generously, was gentle to friends and fierce to enemies, and was plain in his own dress and splendid in his army's. His body aged, but his soul's vigor never did; the enemy rejoiced at his death, his friends mourned him, and he was brought home to a royal burial.

Βούλομαι δὲ καὶ ἐν κεφαλαίοις ἐπανελθεῖν τὴν ἀρετὴν 1
I-wish and also in summary to-go-over the excellence
αὐτοῦ, ὡς ἂν ὁ ἔπαινος εὐμνημονεστέρως ἔχῃ.
his so-that — the praise more-memorably may-be
Ἀγησίλαος ἱερὰ μὲν καὶ τὰ ἐν τοῖς πολεμίοις
Agesilaus sacred-things indeed even the-ones in the enemy-lands
ἐσέβετο, ἡγούμενος τοὺς θεοὺς οὐχ ἧττον ἐν τῇ πολεμίᾳ
revered thinking the gods no less in the hostile

χρῆναι ἢ ἐν τῇ φιλίᾳ συμμάχους ποιεῖσθαι. ἱκέτας δὲ
to-be-needful than in the friendly allies to-make suppliants and
θεῶν οὐδὲ ἐχθροὺς ἐβιάζετο, νομίζων ἄλογον εἶναι τοὺς
of-gods not-even enemies he-forced thinking unreasonable to-be the-ones
μὲν ἐξ ἱερῶν κλέπτοντας ἱεροσύλους καλεῖν, τοὺς δὲ
indeed from temples stealing temple-robbers to-call the-ones but
βωμῶν ἱκέτας ἀποσπῶντας εὐσεβεῖς ἡγεῖσθαι.
from-altars suppliants dragging pious to-consider

2 ἐκεῖνός γε μὴν ὑμνῶν οὔποτ' ἔληγεν ὡς τοὺς θεοὺς
that-man at-least truly declaring never ceased that the gods
οἴοιτο οὐδὲν ἧττον ὁσίοις ἔργοις ἢ ἁγνοῖς ἱεροῖς
he-thought no less in-holy deeds than in-pure sacrifices
ἥδεσθαι. ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ ὁπότε εὐτυχοίη, οὐκ ἀνθρώπων
to-delight but truly also whenever he-was-fortunate not men
ὑπερεφρόνει, ἀλλὰ θεοῖς χάριν ἤδει. καὶ θαρρῶν πλείονα
he-disdained but to-gods thanks he-knew and being-confident more
ἔθυεν ἢ ὀκνῶν ηὔχετο. εἴθιστο δὲ φοβούμενος
sacrificed than being-hesitant prayed he-was-accustomed and fearing
μὲν ἱλαρὸς φαίνεσθαι, εὐτυχῶν δὲ πρᾷος εἶναι.
indeed cheerful to-appear being-fortunate but mild to-be

3 τῶν γε μὴν φίλων οὐ τοὺς δυνατωτάτους ἀλλὰ τοὺς
of-the at-least truly friends not the most-powerful but the
προθυμοτάτους μάλιστα ἠσπάζετο. ἐμίσει δὲ οὐκ εἴ τις
most-zealous most he-embraced he-hated and not if anyone
κακῶς πάσχων ἠμύνετο, ἀλλ' εἴ τις εὐεργετούμενος
badly being-treated defended-himself but if anyone being-benefited
ἀχάριστος φαίνοιτο. ἔχαιρε δὲ τοὺς μὲν αἰσχροκερδεῖς
ungrateful should-appear he-rejoiced and the-ones indeed sordid-gainers
πένητας ὁρῶν, τοὺς δὲ δικαίους πλουσίους ποιῶν,
poor seeing the-ones but just rich making

βουλόμενος τὴν δικαιοσύνην τῆς ἀδικίας κερδαλεωτέραν
wishing the justice than-the injustice more-profitable
καθιστάναι.
to-make

ἤσκει δὲ ἐξομιλεῖν μὲν παντοδαποῖς, χρῆσθαι δὲ τοῖς 4
he-practiced and to-associate indeed with-all-kinds to-use but the
ἀγαθοῖς. ὁπότε δὲ ψεγόντων ἢ ἐπαινούντων τινὰς ἀκούοι,
good whenever and blaming or praising some he-heard
οὐχ ἧττον ᾤετο καταμανθάνειν τοὺς τῶν λεγόντων
no less he-thought to-learn the of-the speakers
τρόπους ἢ περὶ ὧν λέγοιεν. καὶ τοὺς μὲν ὑπὸ φίλων
characters than about what they-spoke and the-ones indeed by friends
ἐξαπατωμένους οὐκ ἔψεγε, τοὺς δὲ ὑπὸ πολεμίων πάμπαν
deceived not he-blamed the-ones but by enemies altogether
κατεμέμφετο, καὶ τὸ μὲν ἀπιστοῦντας ἐξαπατᾶν σοφὸν
he-censured and the indeed distrustful to-deceive clever
ἔκρινε, τὸ δὲ πιστεύοντας ἀνόσιον.
he-judged the but trusting unholy

ἐπαινούμενος δὲ ἔχαιρεν ὑπὸ τῶν καὶ ψέγειν ἐθελόντων 5
being-praised and he-rejoiced by the-ones also to-blame willing
τὰ μὴ ἀρεστά, καὶ τῶν παρρησιαζομένων οὐδένα
the-things not pleasing and of-the outspoken none
ἤχθραινε, τοὺς δὲ κρυψίνους ὥσπερ ἐνέδρας ἐφυλάττετο.
he-hated the but secretive like ambushes he-guarded-against
τούς γε μὴν διαβόλους μᾶλλον ἢ τοὺς κλέπτας ἐμίσει,
the at-least truly slanderers more than the thieves he-hated
μείζω ζημίαν ἡγούμενος φίλων ἢ χρημάτων στερίσκεσθαι.
greater loss thinking of-friends than of-money to-be-deprived

καὶ τὰς μὲν τῶν ἰδιωτῶν ἁμαρτίας πρᾴως ἔφερε, τὰς 6
and the indeed of-the private-men errors mildly he-bore the
δὲ τῶν ἀρχόντων μεγάλας ἦγε, κρίνων τοὺς μὲν ὀλίγα,
but of-the rulers great he-held judging the indeed few-things

τοὺς δὲ πολλὰ κακῶς διατιθέναι. τῇ δὲ βασιλείᾳ
the but many-things badly to-manage to-the and kingship
προσήκειν ἐνόμιζεν οὐ ῥᾳδιουργίαν ἀλλὰ καλοκἀγαθίαν.
to-befit he-thought not laxity but nobility
7 καὶ τοῦ μὲν σώματος εἰκόνα στήσασθαι ἀπέσχετο,
and of-the indeed body a-statue to-set-up he-refrained
πολλῶν αὐτῷ τοῦτο δωρεῖσθαι θελόντων, τῆς δὲ ψυχῆς
many to-him this to-give wishing of-the but soul
οὐδέποτε ἐπαύετο μνημεῖα διαπονούμενος, ἡγούμενος τὸ
never he-ceased memorials working-at thinking the
μὲν ἀνδριαντοποιῶν, τὸ δὲ αὑτοῦ ἔργον εἶναι, καὶ τὸ
indeed of-sculptors the but his-own work to-be and the
μὲν πλουσίων, τὸ δὲ τῶν ἀγαθῶν.
indeed of-the-rich the but of-the good
8 χρήμασί γε μὴν οὐ μόνον δικαίως ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐλευθερίως
money at-least truly not only justly but also liberally
ἐχρῆτο, τῷ μὲν δικαίῳ ἀρκεῖν ἡγούμενος τὸ ἐᾶν
he-used for-the indeed just-man to-suffice thinking the to-let-alone
τὰ ἀλλότρια, τῷ δὲ ἐλευθερίῳ καὶ τῶν ἑαυτοῦ
the others' for-the but liberal-man even with-the his-own
προσωφελητέον εἶναι. ἀεὶ δὲ δεισιδαίμων ἦν, νομίζων
one-must-help-besides to-be always and god-fearing he-was thinking
τοὺς μὲν καλῶς ζῶντας οὔπω εὐδαίμονας, τοὺς δὲ
the-ones indeed finely living not-yet happy the-ones but
εὐκλεῶς τετελευτηκότας ἤδη μακαρίους.
gloriously having-died already blessed
9 μείζω δὲ συμφορὰν ἔκρινε τὸ γιγνώσκοντα ἢ ἀγνοοῦντα
greater and misfortune he-judged the knowing than not-knowing
ἀμελεῖν τῶν ἀγαθῶν. δόξης δὲ οὐδεμιᾶς ἧρα ἧς οὐκ
to-neglect the good-things of-glory and none he-loved which not
ἐξεπόνει τὰ ἴδια. μετ' ὀλίγων δέ μοι ἐδόκει ἀνθρώπων οὐ
he-worked-out the his-own with few and to-me he-seemed of-men not

καρτερίαν τὴν ἀρετὴν ἀλλ᾽ εὐπάθειαν νομίζειν· ἐπαινούμενος
endurance the excellence but comfort to-think being-praised
γοῦν ἔχαιρε μᾶλλον ἢ χρήματα κτώμενος. ἀλλὰ μὴν
at-any-rate he-rejoiced more than money acquiring but truly
ἀνδρείαν γε τὸ πλέον μετ᾽ εὐβουλίας ἢ μετὰ κινδύνων
courage at-least the more with good-counsel than with dangers
ἐπεδείκνυτο, καὶ σοφίαν ἔργῳ μᾶλλον ἢ λόγοις ἤσκει.
he-displayed and wisdom in-deed more than in-words he-practiced
πρᾳότατός γε μὴν φίλοις ὢν ἐχθροῖς φοβερώτατος 10
mildest at-least truly to-friends being to-enemies most-terrible
ἦν· καὶ πόνοις μάλιστα ἀντέχων ἑταίροις ἥδιστα ὑπεῖκε,
he-was and toils most withstanding to-comrades most-gladly he-yielded
καλῶν ἔργων μᾶλλον ἢ τῶν καλῶν σωμάτων ἐπιθυμῶν.
of-fine deeds more than of-the fine bodies desirous
ἔν γε μὴν ταῖς εὐπραξίαις σωφρονεῖν ἐπιστάμενος ἐν
in at-least truly the successes to-be-temperate knowing-how in
τοῖς δεινοῖς εὐθαρσὴς ἐδύνατο εἶναι.
the dangers confident he-was-able to-be
καὶ τὸ εὔχαρι οὐ σκώμμασιν ἀλλὰ τρόπῳ ἐπετήδευε, 11
and the gracious-manner not in-jests but in-character he-practiced
καὶ τῷ μεγαλόφρονι οὐ σὺν ὕβρει ἀλλὰ σὺν γνώμῃ
and the high-mindedness not with insolence but with judgment
ἐχρῆτο· τῶν γοῦν ὑπεραύχων καταφρονῶν τῶν
he-used of-the at-any-rate overboastful being-contemptuous than-the
μετρίων ταπεινότερος ἦν. καὶ γὰρ ἐκαλλωπίζετο τῇ
moderate humbler he-was and for he-prided-himself on-the
μὲν ἀμφὶ τὸ σῶμα φαυλότητι, τῷ δ᾽ ἀμφὶ τὸ στράτευμα
indeed around the body plainness on-the but around the army
κόσμῳ· τῷ δ᾽ αὐτὸς μὲν ὡς ἐλαχίστων δεῖσθαι, τοὺς
adornment in-the but himself indeed as fewest-things to-need the
δὲ φίλους ὡς πλεῖστα ὠφελεῖν.
but friends as most to-benefit

12 πρὸς δὲ τούτοις βαρύτατος μὲν ἀνταγωνιστὴς ἦν,
besides and these heaviest indeed antagonist he-was
κουφότατος δὲ κρατήσας· ἐχθροῖς μὲν δυσεξαπάτητος, φίλοις
lightest but having-prevailed to-enemies indeed hard-to-deceive to-friends
δὲ εὐπαραπειστότατος. ἀεὶ δὲ τιθεὶς τὰ τῶν φίλων
but most-easily-persuaded always and setting the-affairs of-the friends
ἀσφαλῶς ἀεὶ ἀμαυροῦν τὰ τῶν πολεμίων ἔργον εἶχεν.
safely always to-obscure the-affairs of-the enemies work he-held
13 ἐκεῖνον οἱ μὲν συγγενεῖς φιλοκηδεμόνα ἐκάλουν, οἱ δὲ
that-man the indeed kinsmen devoted-to-kin called the and
χρώμενοι ἀπροφάσιστον, οἱ δ' ὑπουργήσαντές τι
intimates unhesitating the and having-done-a-service anything
μνήμονα, οἱ δ' ἀδικούμενοι ἐπίκουρον, οἵ γε μὴν
mindful the and wronged a-protector the at-least truly
συγκινδυνεύοντες μετὰ θεοὺς σωτῆρα.
sharing-dangers after gods a-savior
14 δοκεῖ δ' ἔμοιγε καὶ τόδε μόνος ἀνθρώπων ἐπιδεῖξαι
he-seems and to-me-at-least also this alone of-men to-have-shown
ὅτι ἡ μὲν τοῦ σώματος ἰσχὺς γηράσκει, ἡ δὲ τῆς ψυχῆς
that the indeed of-the body strength grows-old the but of-the soul
ῥώμη τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἀνδρῶν ἀγήρατός ἐστιν. ἐκεῖνος γοῦν
vigor of-the good men ageless is that-man at-any-rate
οὐκ ἀπεῖπε μεγάλην καὶ καλὴν ἐφιέμενος δόξαν, εἰ καὶ
not gave-up great and fine aiming-at glory if even
μὴ τὸ σῶμα φέρειν ἠδύνατο τὴν τῆς ψυχῆς αὐτοῦ ῥώμην.
not the body to-bear was-able the of-the soul his vigor
15 τοιγαροῦν ποίας οὐ νεότητος κρεῖττον τὸ ἐκείνου γῆρας
therefore than-what not youth stronger the his old-age
ἐφάνη; τίς μὲν γὰρ τοῖς ἐχθροῖς ἀκμάζων οὕτω φοβερὸς
appeared who indeed for to-the enemies in-his-prime so terrible
ἦν ὡς Ἀγησίλαος τὸ μήκιστον τοῦ αἰῶνος ἔχων; τίνος
was as Agesilaus the longest of-the life having of-whom

δ᾽ ἐκποδὼν γενομένου μᾶλλον ἥσθησαν οἱ πολέμιοι
and out-of-the-way having-gone more were-pleased the enemies
ἢ Ἀγησιλάου καίπερ γηραιοῦ τελευτήσαντος; τίς δὲ
than Agesilaus although old having-died who and
συμμάχοις θάρρος παρέσχεν ὅσον Ἀγησίλαος, καίπερ
to-allies confidence gave as-much-as Agesilaus although
ἤδη πρὸς τῷ στόματι τοῦ βίου ὤν; τίνα δὲ νέον οἱ
already at the mouth of-the life being whom and young the
φίλοι πλέον ἐπόθησαν ἢ Ἀγησίλαον γηραιὸν ἀποθανόντα;
friends more missed than Agesilaus old having-died
οὕτω δὲ τελέως ὁ ἀνὴρ τῇ πατρίδι ὠφέλιμος ὢν 16
so and perfectly the man to-the fatherland useful being
διεγένετο ὡς καὶ τετελευτηκὼς ἤδη ἔτι μεγαλείως ὠφελῶν
continued that even having-died already still magnificently benefiting
τὴν πόλιν εἰς τὴν ἀΐδιον οἴκησιν κατηγάγετο, μνημεῖα
the city to the everlasting home he-was-brought-home memorials
μὲν τῆς ἑαυτοῦ ἀρετῆς ἀνὰ πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν κτησάμενος,
indeed of-the his-own excellence throughout all the earth having-acquired
τῆς δὲ βασιλικῆς ταφῆς ἐν τῇ πατρίδι τυχών.
of-the and royal burial in the fatherland having-obtained

XENOPHON

ΛΑΚΕΔΑΙΜΟΝΙΩΝ ΠΟΛΙΤΕΙΑ

The Spartan Constitution

I · BEGETTING CHILDREN

Xenophon wondered how Sparta, one of the least populous cities, became the most powerful, until he studied its practices and the laws of Lycurgus, who did the opposite of other cities. Instead of rearing girls on little food and keeping them at their wool, he had free women exercise and race like men so that strong parents would have strong children. He made a husband shy of being seen visiting his wife, set marriages in the prime of life, let an old husband bring in a man he admired to father children, and let a man who did not want a wife have children by another man's wife with her husband's consent. Wives gain two households this way, and husbands gain brothers for their sons who claim no share of the property.

Ἀλλ' ἐγὼ ἐννοήσας ποτὲ ὡς ἡ Σπάρτη τῶν 1
But I having-reflected once how — Sparta of-the
ὀλιγανθρωποτάτων πόλεων οὖσα δυνατωτάτη τε καὶ
most-thinly-peopled cities being most-powerful both and
ὀνομαστοτάτη ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι ἐφάνη, ἐθαύμασα ὅτῳ
most-renowned in — Greece appeared I-wondered in-what
ποτὲ τρόπῳ τοῦτ' ἐγένετο· ἐπεὶ μέντοι κατενόησα τὰ
ever way this happened when however I-observed the
ἐπιτηδεύματα τῶν Σπαρτιατῶν, οὐκέτι ἐθαύμαζον.
practices of-the Spartiates no-longer I-wondered
Λυκοῦργον μέντοι τὸν θέντα αὐτοῖς τοὺς νόμους οἷς 2
Lycurgus however the-one having-laid-down for-them the laws which
πειθόμενοι ηὐδαιμόνησαν, τοῦτον καὶ θαυμάζω καὶ εἰς τὰ
obeying they-prospered this-man both I-admire and to the
ἔσχατα μάλα σοφὸν ἡγοῦμαι. ἐκεῖνος γὰρ οὐ μιμησάμενος
utmost very wise I-consider that-man for not having-imitated
τὰς ἄλλας πόλεις, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐναντία γνοὺς ταῖς
the other cities but even opposite-things having-decided to-the
πλείσταις, προέχουσαν εὐδαιμονίᾳ τὴν πατρίδα ἀπέδειξεν.
most excelling in-happiness the fatherland he-showed

3 αὐτίκα γὰρ περὶ τεκνοποιίας, ἵνα ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἄρξωμαι,
at-once for about child-begetting so-that from the-beginning I-may-begin
οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι τὰς μελλούσας τίκτειν καὶ καλῶς δοκούσας
the indeed others the-ones going to-bear and well seeming
κόρας παιδεύεσθαι καὶ σίτῳ ᾗ ἀνυστὸν μετριωτάτῳ
girls to-be-brought-up both on-food as possible most-moderate
τρέφουσι καὶ ὄψῳ ᾗ δυνατὸν μικροτάτῳ· οἴνου γε μὴν
rear and on-relish as possible smallest from-wine at-least truly
ἢ πάμπαν ἀπεχομένας ἢ ὑδαρεῖ χρωμένας διάγουσιν.
either altogether abstaining or watered using they-keep
ὥσπερ δὲ οἱ πολλοὶ τῶν τὰς τέχνας ἐχόντων ἑδραῖοί
as and the many of-the the crafts having sedentary
εἰσιν, οὕτω καὶ τὰς κόρας οἱ ἄλλοι Ἕλληνες ἠρεμιζούσας
are so also the girls the other Greeks keeping-still
ἐριουργεῖν ἀξιοῦσι. τὰς μὲν οὖν οὕτω τρεφομένας πῶς
to-work-wool think-fit the indeed then so reared how
χρὴ προσδοκῆσαι μεγαλεῖον ἄν τι γεννῆσαι;
is-it-needful to-expect magnificent — anything to-bear
4 ὁ δὲ Λυκοῦργος ἐσθῆτας μὲν καὶ δούλας παρέχειν ἱκανὰς
— but Lycurgus clothes indeed even slave-women to-provide sufficient
ἡγήσατο εἶναι, ταῖς δ' ἐλευθέραις μέγιστον νομίσας εἶναι
thought to-be for-the but free-women greatest having-thought to-be
τὴν τεκνοποιίαν πρῶτον μὲν σωμασκεῖν ἔταξεν οὐδὲν
the child-begetting first indeed to-exercise-the-body he-ordered no
ἧττον τὸ θῆλυ τοῦ ἄρρενος φύλου· ἔπειτα δὲ δρόμου καὶ
less the female than-the male sex then and of-running and
ἰσχύος, ὥσπερ καὶ τοῖς ἀνδράσιν, οὕτω καὶ ταῖς θηλείαις
of-strength as also for-the men so also for-the women
ἀγῶνας πρὸς ἀλλήλας ἐποίησε, νομίζων ἐξ ἀμφοτέρων
contests against one-another he-made thinking from both
ἰσχυρῶν καὶ τὰ ἔκγονα ἐρρωμενέστερα γίγνεσθαι.
strong also the offspring sturdier to-become

ἐπεί γε μὴν γυνὴ πρὸς ἄνδρα ἔλθοι, ὁρῶν τοὺς 5
when at-least truly a-woman to a-man came seeing the
ἄλλους τὸν πρῶτον τοῦ χρόνου ἀμέτρως ταῖς γυναιξὶ
others the first of-the time immoderately with-the wives
συνόντας, καὶ τούτου τἀναντία ἔγνω· ἔθηκε γὰρ αἰδεῖσθαι
consorting also of-this the-opposite he-decided he-made for to-be-ashamed
μὲν εἰσιόντα ὀφθῆναι, αἰδεῖσθαι δ' ἐξιόντα. οὕτω δὲ
indeed going-in to-be-seen to-be-ashamed and going-out so and
συνόντων ποθεινοτέρως μὲν ἀνάγκη σφῶν αὐτῶν ἔχειν,
consorting more-longingly indeed necessarily one-another them to-feel
ἐρρωμενέστερα δὲ γίγνεσθαι, εἴ τι βλάστοι, οὕτω
sturdier and to-become if anything should-be-born so
μᾶλλον ἢ εἰ διάκοροι ἀλλήλων εἶεν.
rather than if surfeited with-one-another they-were
πρὸς δὲ τούτοις καὶ ἀποπαύσας τοῦ ὁπότε βούλοιντο 6
besides and these also having-stopped from-the whenever they-wished
ἕκαστοι γυναῖκα ἄγεσθαι ἔταξεν ἐν ἀκμαῖς τῶν σωμάτων
each a-wife to-marry he-ordered in the-prime of-the bodies
τοὺς γάμους ποιεῖσθαι, καὶ τοῦτο συμφέρον τῇ εὐγονίᾳ
the marriages to-make also this advantageous to-the good-breeding
νομίζων.
thinking
εἴ γε μέντοι συμβαίη γεραιῷ νέαν ἔχειν, ὁρῶν 7
if at-least however it-should-happen for-an-old-man a-young-woman to-have seeing
τοὺς τηλικούτους φυλάττοντας μάλιστα τὰς γυναῖκας,
the such-age guarding most the wives
τἀναντία καὶ τούτου ἐνόμισε· τῷ γὰρ πρεσβύτῃ ἐποίησεν,
the-opposite also of-this he-thought to-the for old-man he-made-it
ὁποίου ἀνδρὸς σῶμά τε καὶ ψυχὴν ἀγασθείη, τοῦτον
whatever man body both and soul he-should-admire this-one
ἐπαγομένῳ τεκνοποιήσασθαι.
bringing-in to-beget-children

8 εἰ δέ τις αὖ γυναικὶ μὲν συνοικεῖν μὴ βούλοιτο,
if and anyone in-turn with-a-wife indeed to-live not should-wish
τέκνων δὲ ἀξιολόγων ἐπιθυμοίη, καὶ τούτῳ νόμον
children but notable should-desire also for-this-one law
ἐποίησεν, ἥντινα εὔτεκνον καὶ γενναίαν ὁρᾴη,
he-made whatever-woman fruitful and noble he-should-see
πείσαντα τὸν ἔχοντα ἐκ ταύτης τεκνοποιεῖσθαι.
having-persuaded the husband from her to-beget-children

9 καὶ πολλὰ μὲν τοιαῦτα συνεχώρει. αἵ τε γὰρ γυναῖκες
and many indeed such-things he-allowed the both for women
διττοὺς οἴκους βούλονται κατέχειν, οἵ τε ἄνδρες ἀδελφοὺς
two households wish to-hold the both men brothers
τοῖς παισὶ προσλαμβάνειν, οἳ τοῦ μὲν γένους καὶ τῆς
for-the sons to-take-in-addition who of-the indeed family and of-the
δυνάμεως κοινωνοῦσι, τῶν δὲ χρημάτων οὐκ ἀντιποιοῦνται.
power share of-the but money not lay-claim

10 περὶ μὲν δὴ τεκνοποιίας οὕτω τἀναντία γνοὺς τοῖς
about indeed then child-begetting so the-opposite having-decided to-the
ἄλλοις εἴ τι διαφέροντας καὶ κατὰ μέγεθος καὶ κατ᾽
others whether at-all superior both in size and in
ἰσχὺν ἄνδρας τῇ Σπάρτῃ ἀπετέλεσεν ὁ βουλόμενος
strength men — for-Sparta he-produced the-one wishing
ἐπισκοπείτω.
let-him-examine

Other Greeks put their sons under slave tutors, soften their feet with sandals and their bodies with changes of clothing, and feed them as their bellies like. Lycurgus set over the boys a citizen, the boy-warden, with young men carrying whips, made them go barefoot and wear one cloak all year, and gave them food enough to keep them lean but let them steal more, flogging those caught for stealing badly. He also made it an honor to snatch cheeses from Orthia and had others whip the thieves, to show that brief pain can buy lasting glory. Any citizen present may command and punish any boy, and where none is present the sharpest of the young leaders commands each troop, so that Spartan boys are never without a ruler.

Ἐγὼ μέντοι, ἐπεὶ καὶ περὶ γενέσεως ἐξήγημαι, βούλομαι καὶ 1
I however since also about birth I-have-explained I-wish also
τὴν παιδείαν ἑκατέρων σαφηνίσαι. τῶν μὲν τοίνυν ἄλλων
the education of-each to-make-clear of-the indeed then other
Ἑλλήνων οἱ φάσκοντες κάλλιστα τοὺς υἱεῖς παιδεύειν,
Greeks the-ones claiming best the sons to-educate
ἐπειδὰν τάχιστα αὐτοῖς οἱ παῖδες τὰ λεγόμενα ξυνιῶσιν,
as soon-as to-them the boys the-things said understand
εὐθὺς μὲν ἐπ᾽ αὐτοῖς παιδαγωγοὺς θεράποντας ἐφιστᾶσιν,
at-once indeed over them tutors attendants they-set
εὐθὺς δὲ πέμπουσιν εἰς διδασκάλων μαθησομένους καὶ
at-once and they-send to teachers to-learn both
γράμματα καὶ μουσικὴν καὶ τὰ ἐν παλαίστρᾳ. πρὸς δὲ
letters and music and the-things in wrestling-school besides and
τούτοις τῶν παίδων πόδας μὲν ὑποδήμασιν ἁπαλύνουσι,
these of-the boys feet indeed with-sandals they-soften
σώματα δὲ ἱματίων μεταβολαῖς διαθρύπτουσι· σίτου γε
bodies and of-cloaks with-changes they-pamper of-food at-least
μὴν αὐτοῖς γαστέρα μέτρον νομίζουσιν.
truly for-them the-belly measure they-hold

2 ὁ δὲ Λυκοῦργος ἀντὶ μὲν τοῦ ἰδίᾳ ἕκαστον παιδαγωγοὺς
— but Lycurgus instead-of indeed the privately each tutors
δούλους ἐφιστάναι ἄνδρα ἐπέστησε κρατεῖν αὐτῶν ἐξ
slaves to-set-over a-man set-over to-rule them from
ὧνπερ αἱ μέγισται ἀρχαὶ καθίστανται, ὃς δὴ καὶ
whom-very the greatest offices are-appointed who indeed also
παιδονόμος καλεῖται. τοῦτον δὲ κύριον ἐποίησε καὶ ἀθροίζειν
boy-warden is-called this-one and in-control he-made both to-gather
τοὺς παῖδας, καὶ ἐπισκοποῦντα, εἴ τις ῥᾳδιουργοίη,
the boys and inspecting if anyone should-be-slack
ἰσχυρῶς κολάζειν. ἔδωκε δ' αὐτῷ καὶ τῶν ἡβώντων
severely to-punish he-gave and to-him also of-the young-men
μαστιγοφόρους, ὅπως τιμωροῖεν ὅτε δέοι. ὥστε
whip-bearers so-that they-might-punish whenever it-was-needful so-that
πολλὴν μὲν αἰδῶ, πολλὴν δὲ πειθὼ ἐκεῖ συμπαρεῖναι.
much indeed respect much and obedience there to-be-present-together
3 ἀντί γε μὴν τοῦ ἁπαλύνειν τοὺς πόδας ὑποδήμασιν
instead-of at-least truly the to-soften the feet with-sandals
ἔταξεν ἀνυποδησίᾳ κρατύνειν, νομίζων, εἰ τοῦτ' ἀσκήσειαν,
he-ordered by-barefootedness to-strengthen thinking if this they-practiced
πολὺ μὲν ῥᾷον ἂν ὄρθιάδε βαίνειν, ἀσφαλέστερον δὲ
much indeed more-easily — uphill to-go more-safely and
πρανῆ καταβαίνειν, καὶ πηδῆσαι δὲ καὶ ἀναθορεῖν καὶ
downhill to-go-down and to-leap and also to-spring-up and
δραμεῖν θᾶττον ἀνυπόδητον, εἰ ἠσκηκὼς εἴη τοὺς
to-run faster barefoot if trained should-be the
πόδας, ἢ ὑποδεδεμένον.
feet than shod

καὶ ἀντί γε τοῦ ἱματίοις διαθρύπτεσθαι ἐνόμισεν ἑνὶ 4
and instead-of at-least the with-cloaks to-be-pampered he-thought-fit with-one
ἱματίῳ δι᾽ ἔτους προσεθίζεσθαι, νομίζων οὕτω καὶ πρὸς
cloak through the-year to-become-accustomed thinking so both against
ψύχη καὶ πρὸς θάλπη ἄμεινον ἂν παρασκευάσασθαι.
colds and against heats better — to-be-prepared
σῖτόν γε μὴν ἔταξε τοσοῦτον ἔχοντα συμβολεύειν τὸν 5
food at-least truly he-ordered so-much having to-contribute the
εἴρενα ὡς ὑπὸ πλησμονῆς μὲν μήποτε βαρύνεσθαι, τοῦ δὲ
eiren so-that by surfeit indeed never to-be-weighed-down of-the but
ἐνδεεστέρως διάγειν μὴ ἀπείρως ἔχειν, νομίζων τοὺς οὕτω
more-scantily to-live not inexperienced to-be thinking the-ones so
παιδευομένους μᾶλλον μὲν ἂν δύνασθαι, εἰ δεήσειεν,
educated more indeed — to-be-able if it-should-be-needful
ἀσιτήσαντας ἐπιπονῆσαι, μᾶλλον δ᾽ ἄν, εἰ παραγγελθείη,
having-gone-without-food to-toil more and — if it-were-ordered
ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτοῦ σίτου πλείω χρόνον ἐπιταθῆναι, ἧττον
from the same food longer time to-hold-out less
δ᾽ ἂν ὄψου δεῖσθαι, εὐχερέστερον δὲ πρὸς πᾶν ἔχειν
and — of-relish to-need more-easily and toward all to-be-disposed
βρῶμα, καὶ ὑγιεινοτέρως δ᾽ ἂν διάγειν, καὶ εἰς μῆκος ἂν
food and more-healthily and — to-live and for height —
αὐξάνεσθαι τὴν ῥαδινὰ τὰ σώματα ποιοῦσαν τροφὴν μᾶλλον
to-grow the slender the bodies making food more
συλλαμβάνειν ἡγήσατο ἢ τὴν διαπλατύνουσαν τῷ σίτῳ.
to-help he-thought than the broadening with-the food
ὡς δὲ μὴ ὑπὸ λιμοῦ ἄγαν αὖ πιέζοιντο, ἀπραγμόνως 6
so-that and not by hunger too-much in-turn they-should-be-pressed without-trouble
μὲν αὐτοῖς οὐκ ἔδωκε λαμβάνειν ὧν ἂν προσδέωνται,
indeed to-them not he-gave to-take what — they-needed-besides
κλέπτειν δ᾽ ἐφῆκεν ἔστιν ἃ τῷ λιμῷ ἐπικουροῦντας.
to-steal but he-permitted there-are things for-the hunger helping

7 καὶ ὡς μὲν οὐκ ἀπορῶν ὅ τι δοίη ἐφῆκεν αὐτοῖς τὸ
and that indeed not being-at-a-loss what ever he-should-give he-permitted them the
μηχανᾶσθαι τὴν τροφὴν οὐδένα οἶμαι τοῦτο ἀγνοεῖν· δῆλον
to-contrive the food no-one I-think this not-to-know clear
δ' ὅτι τὸν μέλλοντα κλωπεύειν καὶ νυκτὸς ἀγρυπνεῖν δεῖ
but that the-one going to-steal both by-night to-lie-awake must
καὶ μεθ' ἡμέραν ἀπατᾶν καὶ ἐνεδρεύειν, καὶ κατασκόπους δὲ
and by day to-deceive and to-lie-in-wait and spies and
ἑτοιμάζειν τὸν μέλλοντά τι λήψεσθαι. ταῦτα οὖν δὴ
to-prepare the-one going anything to-take these-things then indeed
πάντα δῆλον ὅτι μηχανικωτέρους τῶν ἐπιτηδείων βουλόμενος
all clear that more-resourceful in-the provisions wishing
τοὺς παῖδας ποιεῖν καὶ πολεμικωτέρους οὕτως ἐπαίδευσεν.
the boys to-make and more-warlike so he-educated

8 εἴποι δ' ἂν οὖν τις, τί δῆτα, εἴπερ τὸ κλέπτειν ἀγαθὸν
would-say and — then anyone why then if-indeed the to-steal good
ἐνόμιζε, πολλὰς πληγὰς ἐπέβαλε τῷ ἁλισκομένῳ; ὅτι,
he-thought many blows he-inflicted on-the being-caught because
φημὶ ἐγώ, καὶ τἄλλα ὅσα ἄνθρωποι διδάσκουσι
I-say I also the-other-things as-many-as men teach
κολάζουσι τὸν μὴ καλῶς ὑπηρετοῦντα. κἀκεῖνοι οὖν τοὺς
they-punish the-one not well performing those then the
ἁλισκομένους ὡς κακῶς κλέπτοντας τιμωροῦνται.
being-caught as badly stealing punish

9 καὶ ὡς πλείστους δὴ ἁρπάσαι τυροὺς παρ' Ὀρθίας
and as most indeed to-snatch cheeses from Orthia
καλὸν θείς, μαστιγοῦν τούτους ἄλλοις ἐπέταξε, τοῦτο
fine having-made to-flog these to-others he-assigned this
δὴ δηλῶσαι καὶ ἐν τούτῳ βουλόμενος ὅτι ἔστιν
indeed to-show also in this wishing that it-is-possible
ὀλίγον χρόνον ἀλγήσαντα πολὺν χρόνον εὐδοκιμοῦντα
little time having-suffered-pain long time being-well-regarded

εὐφραίνεσθαι. δηλοῦται δὲ ἐν τούτῳ ὅτι καὶ ὅπου τάχους
to-rejoice is-shown and in this that also where speed
δεῖ ὁ βλακεύων ἐλάχιστα μὲν ὠφελεῖται, πλεῖστα
is-needed the-one being-lazy least indeed is-benefited most
δὲ πράγματα λαμβάνει.
but troubles gets
ὅπως δὲ μηδ' εἰ ὁ παιδονόμος ἀπέλθοι, ἔρημοί ποτε 10
so-that and not-even if the boy-warden should-go-away bereft ever
οἱ παῖδες εἶεν ἄρχοντος, ἐποίησε τὸν ἀεὶ παρόντα
the boys should-be of-a-ruler he-made the always present
τῶν πολιτῶν κύριον εἶναι καὶ ἐπιτάττειν τοῖς παισὶν
of-the citizens in-control to-be and to-command the boys
ὅ τι [ἂν] ἀγαθὸν δοκοίη εἶναι, καὶ κολάζειν, εἴ
what ever — good should-seem to-be and to-punish if
τι ἁμαρτάνοιεν. τοῦτο δὲ ποιήσας διέπραξε καὶ
anything they-should-err this and having-done he-brought-about also
αἰδημονεστέρους εἶναι τοὺς παῖδας· οὐδὲν γὰρ οὕτως
more-respectful to-be the boys nothing for so
αἰδοῦνται οὔτε παῖδες οὔτε ἄνδρες ὡς τοὺς ἄρχοντας.
respect either boys or men as the rulers
ὡς δὲ καὶ εἴ ποτε μηδεὶς τύχοι ἀνὴρ παρών, 11
so-that and even if ever no-one should-happen man being-present
μηδ' ὣς ἔρημοι οἱ παῖδες ἄρχοντος εἶεν, ἔθηκε τῆς
not-even so bereft the boys of-a-ruler should-be he-set of-the
ἴλης ἑκάστης τὸν τορώτατον τῶν εἰρένων ἄρχειν· ὥστε
troop each the sharpest of-the eirens to-rule so-that
οὐδέποτε ἐκεῖ οἱ παῖδες ἔρημοι ἄρχοντός εἰσι.
never there the boys bereft of-a-ruler are

Where other Greeks free their boys from tutors and teachers as they come of age, Lycurgus, seeing pride and desire then at their strongest, loaded the youths with toil and occupation and barred any who shirked from every honor. He made them walk in silence with their hands inside their cloaks and their eyes on the ground, so that they are quieter than statues and more modest than maidens, and at the common mess one is glad to get even an answer to a question from them.

1 Ὅταν γε μὴν ἐκ παίδων εἰς τὸ μειρακιοῦσθαι
When at-least truly from boys into the being-a-youth
ἐκβαίνωσι, τηνικαῦτα οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι παύουσι μὲν ἀπὸ
they-pass-out then the indeed others release indeed from
παιδαγωγῶν, παύουσι δὲ ἀπὸ διδασκάλων, ἄρχουσι δὲ
tutors release and from teachers rule and
οὐδένες ἔτι αὐτῶν, ἀλλ᾽ αὐτονόμους ἀφιᾶσιν· ὁ δὲ
none still them but independent they-let-go — but
Λυκοῦργος καὶ τούτων τἀναντία ἔγνω.
Lycurgus also of-these the-opposite decided

2 καταμαθὼν γὰρ τοῖς τηλικούτοις μέγιστον μὲν φρόνημα
having-learned for in-the such-age greatest indeed pride
ἐμφυόμενον, μάλιστα δὲ ὕβριν ἐπιπολάζουσαν, ἰσχυροτάτας
growing-in most and insolence rising-to-the-surface strongest
δὲ ἐπιθυμίας τῶν ἡδονῶν παρισταμένας, τηνικαῦτα
and desires of-the pleasures attending then
πλείστους μὲν πόνους αὐτοῖς ἐπέβαλε, πλείστην δὲ
most indeed toils on-them he-imposed most and
ἀσχολίαν ἐμηχανήσατο.
occupation he-contrived

3 ἐπιθεὶς δὲ καὶ εἴ τις ταῦτα φύγοι, μηδενὸς ἔτι τῶν
having-added and also if anyone these-things should-shun of-no longer of-the
καλῶν τυγχάνειν, ἐποίησε μὴ μόνον τοὺς ἐκ δημοσίου
fine-things to-obtain he-made not only the-ones from public

ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς κηδομένους ἑκάστων ἐπιμελεῖσθαι ὡς
but also the-ones caring-for each to-take-care that
μὴ ἀποδειλιάσαντες ἀδόκιμοι παντάπασιν ἐν τῇ πόλει
not having-turned-coward disreputable altogether in the city
γένοιντο.
they-should-become
πρὸς δὲ τούτοις τὸ αἰδεῖσθαι ἰσχυρῶς ἐμφυσιῶσαι 4
besides and these the to-be-modest strongly to-implant
βουλόμενος αὐτοῖς καὶ ἐν ταῖς ὁδοῖς ἐπέταξεν ἐντὸς μὲν τοῦ
wishing in-them even in the streets he-ordered inside indeed of-the
ἱματίου τὼ χεῖρε ἔχειν, σιγῇ δὲ πορεύεσθαι, περιβλέπειν
cloak the two-hands to-keep in-silence and to-walk to-look-around
δὲ μηδαμοῖ, ἀλλ' αὐτὰ τὰ πρὸ τῶν ποδῶν ὁρᾶν. ἔνθα
and nowhere but the-very things before the feet to-see there
δὴ καὶ δῆλον γεγένηται ὅτι τὸ ἄρρεν φῦλον καὶ εἰς τὸ
indeed even clear has-become that the male sex even for the
σωφρονεῖν ἰσχυρότερόν ἐστι τῆς τῶν θηλειῶν φύσεως.
being-temperate stronger is than-the the females nature
ἐκείνων γοῦν ἧττον μὲν ἂν φωνὴν ἀκούσαις ἢ τῶν 5
of-them at-any-rate less indeed — a-voice you-would-hear than of-the
λιθίνων, ἧττον δ' ἂν ὄμματα μεταστρέψαις ἢ τῶν χαλκῶν,
stone-ones less and — eyes you-would-turn than of-the bronze-ones
αἰδημονεστέρους δ' ἂν αὐτοὺς ἡγήσαιο καὶ αὐτῶν τῶν
more-modest and — them you-would-think even than-the-very the
ἐν τοῖς θαλάμοις παρθένων. καὶ ἐπειδὰν εἰς τὸ φιλίτιόν
in the chambers maidens and when to the common-mess
γε ἀφίκωνται, ἀγαπητὸν αὐτῶν καὶ τὸ ἐρωτηθὲν
at-least they-come content-one-must-be from-them even the-thing asked
ἀκοῦσαι. καὶ τῶν μὲν αὖ παιδίσκων οὕτως ἐπεμελήθη.
to-hear and of-the indeed in-turn young-boys so he-took-care

Lycurgus thought the young men mattered most and set them to compete in excellence. The ephors choose three hippagretae, each of whom picks a hundred young men and says why he prefers some and rejects others; the rejected watch the chosen for any lapse. So they strive always to be best, keep in condition, and even come to blows, which any passerby may stop, the boy-warden bringing the disobedient to the ephors. Men past youth, from whom the highest offices are filled, are encouraged to hunt so that they can still bear the toils of war.

1 Περί γε μὴν τῶν ἡβώντων πολὺ μάλιστα ἐσπούδασε,
About at-least truly the young-men much most he-was-zealous
νομίζων τούτους, εἰ γένοιντο οἵους δεῖ, πλεῖστον ῥέπειν
thinking these if they-became such-as is-needful most to-tip
ἐπὶ τὸ ἀγαθὸν τῇ πόλει.
toward the good for-the city

2 ὁρῶν οὖν, οἷς ἂν μάλιστα φιλονεικία ἐγγένηται, τούτων
seeing then in-whom — most rivalry is-engendered of-these
καὶ χοροὺς ἀξιακροατοτάτους γιγνομένους, καὶ γυμνικοὺς
both choruses most-worth-hearing becoming and athletic
ἀγῶνας ἀξιοθεατοτάτους, ἐνόμιζεν, εἰ καὶ τοὺς ἡβῶντας
contests most-worth-seeing he-thought if also the young-men
συμβάλλοι εἰς ἔριν περὶ ἀρετῆς, οὕτως ἂν καὶ τούτους
he-should-pit into strife about excellence so — also these
ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἀφικνεῖσθαι ἀνδραγαθίας. ὡς οὖν τούτους
to most to-arrive of-manly-excellence how then these
αὖ συνέβαλεν ἐξηγήσομαι.
in-turn he-pitted I-will-explain

3 αἱροῦνται τοίνυν αὐτῶν οἱ ἔφοροι ἐκ τῶν ἀκμαζόντων
choose then of-them the ephors from the ones-in-their-prime
τρεῖς ἄνδρας· οὗτοι δὲ ἱππαγρέται καλοῦνται. τούτων
three men these and hippagretae are-called of-these

δ᾽ ἕκαστος ἄνδρας ἑκατὸν καταλέγει, διασαφηνίζων ὅτου
and each men a-hundred enrolls making-clear of-what
ἕνεκα τοὺς μὲν προτιμᾷ, τοὺς δὲ ἀποδοκιμάζει.
for-the-sake the-ones indeed he-prefers the-ones but rejects
οἱ οὖν μὴ τυγχάνοντες τῶν καλῶν πολεμοῦσι τοῖς 4
the-ones then not obtaining the honors make-war-on the-ones
τε ἀποστείλασιν αὐτοὺς καὶ τοῖς αἱρεθεῖσιν ἀνθ᾽ αὑτῶν
both having-sent-off them and the-ones chosen instead-of themselves
καὶ παραφυλάττουσιν ἀλλήλους, ἐάν τι παρὰ τὰ
and watch one-another if in-anything against the
καλὰ νομιζόμενα ῥᾳδιουργῶσι.
honorable customs they-are-slack
Καὶ αὕτη δὴ γίγνεται ἡ θεοφιλεστάτη τε καὶ πολιτικωτάτη 5
And this indeed becomes the most-dear-to-the-gods both and most-civic
ἔρις, ἐν ᾗ ἀποδέδεικται μὲν ἃ δεῖ ποιεῖν τὸν ἀγαθόν,
strife in which has-been-shown indeed what is-needful to-do the good-man
χωρὶς δ᾽ ἑκάτεροι ἀσκοῦσιν ὅπως ἀεὶ κράτιστοι ἔσονται,
apart and each-side practice so-that always best they-shall-be
ἐὰν δέ τι δέῃ, καθ᾽ ἕνα ἀρήξουσι τῇ πόλει παντὶ σθένει.
if and anything be-needful by one they-will-help the city with-all strength
ἀνάγκη δ᾽ αὐτοῖς καὶ εὐεξίας ἐπιμελεῖσθαι. καὶ 6
necessity and for-them also of-good-condition to-take-care and
γὰρ πυκτεύουσι διὰ τὴν ἔριν ὅπου ἂν συμβάλωσι·
for they-box because-of the strife wherever — they-meet
διαλύειν μέντοι τοὺς μαχομένους πᾶς ὁ παραγενόμενος
to-part however the fighting every the-one present
κύριος. ἢν δέ τις ἀπειθῇ τῷ διαλύοντι, ἄγει αὐτὸν ὁ
has-authority if but anyone disobeys the-one parting leads him the
παιδονόμος ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐφόρους· οἱ δὲ ζημιοῦσι μεγαλείως,
boy-warden to the ephors they and fine heavily

καθιστάναι βουλόμενοι εἰς τὸ μήποτε ὀργὴν τοῦ μὴ
to-establish wishing to the never anger the not
πείθεσθαι τοῖς νόμοις κρατῆσαι.
to-obey the laws to-prevail

7 τοῖς γε μὴν τὴν ἡβητικὴν ἡλικίαν πεπερακόσιν, ἐξ
for-the-ones at-least truly the youthful age having-passed from
ὧν ἤδη καὶ αἱ μέγισται ἀρχαὶ καθίστανται, οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι
whom already also the greatest offices are-appointed the indeed other
Ἕλληνες ἀφελόντες αὐτῶν τὸ ἰσχύος ἔτι ἐπιμελεῖσθαι
Greeks having-taken-away from-them the of-strength still to-take-care
στρατεύεσθαι ὅμως αὐτοῖς ἐπιτάττουσιν, ὁ δὲ Λυκοῦργος
to-campaign nevertheless them they-command — but Lycurgus
τοῖς τηλικούτοις νόμιμον ἐποίησε κάλλιστον εἶναι τὸ
for-the such-age lawful made finest to-be the
θηρᾶν, εἰ μή τι δημόσιον κωλύοι, ὅπως δύναιντο
to-hunt if not something public should-prevent so-that might-be-able
καὶ οὗτοι μηδὲν ἧττον τῶν ἡβώντων στρατιωτικοὺς
also these no less than-the young-men military
πόνους ὑποφέρειν.
toils to-bear

V · THE COMMON MEALS

Lycurgus brought the Spartans into common messes with rations that neither stuff nor starve them, stopped unnecessary drinking, and mixed the ages so that the young learn from the old. The walk home in the dark keeps them sober, and exercise matched to food makes them the healthiest of men.

Ἃ μὲν οὖν ἑκάστῃ ἡλικίᾳ ἐνομοθέτησεν ὁ Λυκοῦργος 1
What-things indeed then for-each age laid-down-by-law — Lycurgus
ἐπιτηδεύματα σχεδὸν εἴρηται· οἷαν δὲ καὶ πᾶσι δίαιταν
practices nearly have-been-told what-sort and also for-all way-of-life
κατεσκεύασε νῦν πειράσομαι διηγεῖσθαι.
he-arranged now I-will-try to-relate

Λυκοῦργος τοίνυν παραλαβὼν τοὺς Σπαρτιάτας ὥσπερ 2
Lycurgus then having-taken-over the Spartiates like
τοὺς ἄλλους Ἕλληνας οἴκοι σκηνοῦντας, γνοὺς ἐν
the other Greeks at-home messing having-recognized in
τούτοις πλεῖστα ῥᾳδιουργεῖσθαι εἰς τὸ φανερὸν ἐξήγαγε
these most to-be-done-carelessly into the open brought-out
τὰ συσκήνια, οὕτως ἡγούμενος ἥκιστ' ἂν παραβαίνεσθαι
the common-messes so thinking least — to-be-transgressed
τὰ προσταττόμενα.
the-things commanded

καὶ σῖτον δὲ ἔταξεν αὐτοῖς ὡς μήτε ὑπερπληροῦσθαι μήτε 3
and food and he-ordered for-them so-that neither to-be-overfilled nor
ἐνδεεῖς γίγνεσθαι. πολλὰ δὲ καὶ παράλογα γίγνεται ἀπὸ
needy to-become many and also unexpected-things come from
τῶν ἀγρευομένων· οἱ δὲ πλούσιοι ἔστιν ὅτε καὶ ἄρτον
the-things caught-in-hunting the and rich there-is when also bread

ἀντιπαραβάλλουσιν· ὥστε οὔτε ἔρημός ποτε ἡ τράπεζα
contribute-in-turn so-that neither empty ever the table
βρωτῶν γίγνεται, ἔστ' ἂν διασκηνῶσιν, οὔτε πολυδάπανος.
of-food becomes until — they-disperse nor costly
4 καὶ μὴν τοῦ πότου ἀποπαύσας τὰς οὐκ ἀναγκαίας πόσεις,
and truly of-the drinking having-stopped the not necessary drinkings
αἳ σφάλλουσι μὲν σώματα, σφάλλουσι δὲ γνώμας,
which trip-up indeed bodies trip-up and minds
ἐφῆκεν ὁπότε διψῴη ἕκαστος πίνειν, οὕτω νομίζων
he-permitted whenever should-thirst each to-drink so thinking
ἀβλαβέστατόν τε καὶ ἥδιστον ποτὸν γίγνεσθαι. οὕτω
most-harmless both and pleasantest drink to-become so
γε μὴν συσκηνούντων πῶς ἄν τις ἢ ὑπὸ λιχνείας
at-least truly messing-together how — anyone either by gluttony
ἢ οἰνοφλυγίας ἢ αὐτὸν ἢ οἶκον διαφθείρειε;
or wine-bibbing either himself or household could-ruin
5 καὶ γὰρ δὴ ἐν μὲν ταῖς ἄλλαις πόλεσιν ὡς τὸ πολὺ
and for indeed in indeed the other cities for the most-part
οἱ ἥλικες ἀλλήλοις σύνεισι, μεθ' ὧνπερ καὶ ἐλαχίστη
the age-mates with-one-another associate with whom-very also least
αἰδὼς παραγίγνεται· ὁ δὲ Λυκοῦργος ἐν τῇ Σπάρτῃ
respect is-present — but Lycurgus in — Sparta
ἀνέμιξε παιδεύεσθαι τὰ πολλὰ τοὺς νεωτέρους ὑπὸ τῆς
mixed to-be-taught the most-things the younger by the
τῶν γεραιτέρων ἐμπειρίας.
of-the elder experience
6 καὶ γὰρ δὴ ἐπιχώριον ἐν τοῖς φιλιτίοις λέγεσθαι ὅ
and for indeed customary in the common-messes to-be-told what
τι ἂν καλῶς τις ἐν τῇ πόλει ποιήσῃ· ὥστ' ἐκεῖ ἥκιστα
ever — finely anyone in the city should-do so-that there least

μὲν ὕβριν, ἥκιστα δὲ παροινίαν, ἥκιστα δὲ αἰσχρουργίαν
indeed insolence least and drunken-violence least and shameful-conduct
καὶ αἰσχρολογίαν ἐγγίγνεσθαι.
and shameful-talk to-arise
ἀγαθά γε μὴν ἀπεργάζεται καὶ τάδε ἡ ἔξω σίτησις· 7
goods at-least truly works-out also these-things the outside dining
περιπατεῖν τε γὰρ ἀναγκάζονται ἐν τῇ οἴκαδε ἀφόδῳ,
to-walk both for they-are-compelled in the homeward return
καὶ μὴν τὸ ὑπὸ οἴνου μὴ σφάλλεσθαι ἐπιμελεῖσθαι, εἰδότες
and truly the by wine not to-be-tripped-up to-take-care knowing
ὅτι οὐκ ἔνθαπερ ἐδείπνουν καταμενοῦσι, καὶ τῇ ὄρφνῃ
that not where-very they-dined they-will-remain and in-the darkness
ὅσα ἡμέρᾳ χρηστέον· οὐδὲ γὰρ ὑπὸ φανοῦ τὸν ἔτι
as in-the-day one-must-use not-even for by torch the-one still
ἔμφρουρον ἔξεστι πορεύεσθαι.
liable-to-service it-is-allowed to-walk
Καταμαθών γε μὴν ὁ Λυκοῦργος καὶ ὅτι ἀπὸ τῶν 8
Having-learned at-least truly — Lycurgus also that from the
†σίτων οἱ μὲν διαπονούμενοι εὖχροοί τε καὶ εὔσαρκοι
foods the-ones indeed toiling of-good-color both and well-fleshed
καὶ εὔρωστοί εἰσιν, οἱ δ' ἄπονοι πεφυσημένοι τε καὶ
and robust are the-ones but idle puffed-up both and
αἰσχροὶ καὶ ἀσθενεῖς ἀναφαίνονται, οὐδὲ τούτου ἠμέλησεν,
ugly and weak appear not-even this he-neglected
ἀλλ' ἐννοῶν ὅτι καὶ ὅταν αὐτός τις τῇ ἑαυτοῦ γνώμῃ
but considering that even when himself anyone by-the his-own judgment
φιλοπονῇ, ἀρκοῦν τὸ σῶμα ἔχων ἀναφαίνεται, ἐπέταξε τὸν
loves-toil adequate the body having appears he-ordered the
ἀεὶ πρεσβύτατον ἐν τῷ γυμνασίῳ ἑκάστῳ ἐπιμελεῖσθαι
always eldest in the gymnasium each to-take-care
ὡς μήποτε αὐτοὶ ἐλάττους τῶν σιτίων γίγνεσθαι.
that never they less than-the food to-become

9 καὶ ἐμοὶ μὲν οὐδ' ἐν τούτῳ σφαλῆναι δοκεῖ. οὐκ ἂν οὖν
and to-me indeed not-even in this to-have-erred he-seems not — then
ῥᾳδίως γέ τις εὕροι Σπαρτιατῶν οὔτε ὑγιεινοτέρους
easily at-least anyone could-find than-Spartiates either healthier
οὔτε τοῖς σώμασι χρησιμωτέρους· ὁμοίως γὰρ ἀπό τε τῶν
or in-the bodies more-useful alike for from both the
σκελῶν καὶ ἀπὸ χειρῶν καὶ ἀπὸ τραχήλου γυμνάζονται.
legs and from hands and from neck they-exercise

VI · SHARING

Lycurgus made each father the ruler of other men's children as of his own, so that a boy beaten by another man and complaining to his father gets a second beating. Citizens may use one another's servants, hunting dogs, and horses, and hunters caught short may open another man's sealed stores and take what they need, so that even those with little share in all the land holds.

1 Ἐναντία γε μὴν ἔγνω καὶ τάδε τοῖς πλείστοις.
Opposite-things at-least truly he-decided also these to-the most
ἐν μὲν γὰρ ταῖς ἄλλαις πόλεσι τῶν ἑαυτοῦ ἕκαστος
in indeed for the other cities of-the his-own each
καὶ παίδων καὶ οἰκετῶν καὶ χρημάτων ἄρχουσιν· ὁ δὲ
both children and servants and money rule — but
Λυκοῦργος, κατασκευάσαι βουλόμενος ὡς ἂν μηδὲν
Lycurgus to-arrange wishing so-that — in-nothing
βλάπτοντες ἀπολαύοιέν τι οἱ πολῖται ἀλλήλων ἀγαθόν,
harming might-enjoy some the citizens from-one-another good
ἐποίησε παίδων ἕκαστον ὁμοίως τῶν ἑαυτοῦ καὶ τῶν
he-made-it children each alike of-the his-own and of-the
ἀλλοτρίων ἄρχειν.
others' to-rule

ὅταν δέ τις εἰδῇ ὅτι οὗτοι πατέρες εἰσὶ τῶν παίδων ὧν 2
when and anyone knows that these fathers are of-the children whom
αὐτὸς ἄρχει, ἀνάγκη οὕτως ἄρχειν ὥσπερ ἂν καὶ τῶν
he rules necessity so to-rule as — also the
ἑαυτοῦ ἄρχεσθαι βούλοιτο. ἢν δέ τις παῖς ποτε πληγὰς
his-own to-be-ruled he-would-wish if but any boy ever blows
λαβὼν ὑπ᾽ ἄλλου κατείπῃ πρὸς τὸν πατέρα, αἰσχρόν ἐστι
having-received from another should-tell to the father shameful it-is
μὴ οὐκ ἄλλας πληγὰς ἐμβάλλειν τῷ υἱεῖ. οὕτω πιστεύουσιν
not — other blows to-lay-on the son so they-trust
ἀλλήλους μηδὲν αἰσχρὸν προστάττειν τοῖς παισίν.
one-another nothing shameful to-command the boys
ἐποίησε δὲ καὶ οἰκέταις, εἴ τις δεηθείη, χρῆσθαι καὶ τοῖς 3
he-made-it and also servants if anyone should-need to-use even the
ἀλλοτρίοις. καὶ κυνῶν δὲ θηρευτικῶν συνῆψε κοινωνίαν·
others' and of-dogs and hunting he-joined partnership
ὥστε οἱ μὲν δεόμενοι παρακαλοῦσιν ἐπὶ θήραν, ὁ δὲ μὴ
so-that the-ones indeed needing invite to a-hunt he but not
αὐτὸς σχολάζων ἡδέως ἐκπέμπει. καὶ ἵπποις δὲ ὡσαύτως
himself being-at-leisure gladly sends-out and horses and likewise
χρῶνται· ὁ γὰρ ἀσθενήσας ἢ δεηθεὶς ὀχήματος ἢ
they-use the-one for having-fallen-sick or needing a-vehicle or
ταχύ ποι βουληθεὶς ἀφικέσθαι, ἤν που ἴδῃ ἵππον
quickly somewhere having-wished to-arrive if anywhere he-sees a-horse
ὄντα, λαβὼν καὶ χρησάμενος καλῶς ἀποκαθίστησιν.
being having-taken and having-used well restores-it
οὐ μὴν οὐδ᾽ ἐκεῖνό γε παρὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις εἰθισμένον 4
not truly not-even that at-least among the others customary
ἐποίησεν ἐπιτηδεύεσθαι. ὅπου γὰρ ἂν ὑπὸ θήρας ὀψισθέντες
he-made to-be-practiced where for — by hunting belated
δεηθῶσι τῶν ἐπιτηδείων, ἢν μὴ συνεσκευασμένοι τύχωσι, καὶ
they-need the provisions if not prepared they-happen also

ἐνταῦθα ἔθηκε τοὺς μὲν πεπαμένους καταλείπειν τὰ
there he-laid-down the-ones indeed having-acquired to-leave the-things
πεποιημένα, τοὺς δὲ δεομένους ἀνοίξαντας τὰ σήμαντρα,
made the-ones but needing having-opened the seals
λαβόντας ὅσων ἂν δέωνται σημηναμένους καταλιπεῖν.
having-taken as-much-as — they-need having-sealed to-leave
5 τοιγαροῦν οὕτως μεταδιδόντες ἀλλήλοις καὶ οἱ τὰ
therefore so giving-shares to-one-another even the-ones the
μικρὰ ἔχοντες μετέχουσι πάντων τῶν ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ,
little having share-in all the-things in the country
ὁπόταν τινὸς δεηθῶσιν.
whenever anything they-need

VII · AGAINST MONEY-MAKING

Elsewhere everyone makes money as best he can, but Lycurgus forbade free Spartans any business and set them only to the work that keeps cities free. Wealth is pointless where all contribute equally and live alike, where men are adorned by a fit body rather than costly clothes, and where friends are helped by toil rather than spending. To stop unjust gain he made a coinage so bulky that ten minas of it need a wagon and cannot be hidden, gold and silver are searched for and their owners fined, and possession brings more pain than use brings pleasure.

1 Ἐναντία γε μὴν καὶ τάδε τοῖς ἄλλοις Ἕλλησι
Opposite-things at-least truly also these to-the other Greeks
κατέστησεν ὁ Λυκοῦργος ἐν τῇ Σπάρτῃ νόμιμα. ἐν μὲν
established — Lycurgus in — Sparta customs in indeed
γὰρ δήπου ταῖς ἄλλαις πόλεσι πάντες χρηματίζονται ὅσον
for surely the other cities all make-money as-much-as

δύνανται· ὁ μὲν γὰρ γεωργεῖ, ὁ δὲ ναυκληρεῖ,
they-can the-one indeed for farms the-other and is-a-shipowner
ὁ δ' ἐμπορεύεται, οἱ δὲ καὶ ἀπὸ τεχνῶν τρέφονται·
the-other and trades the-others and also from crafts are-fed
ἐν δὲ τῇ Σπάρτῃ ὁ Λυκοῦργος τοῖς ἐλευθέροις τῶν 2
in but — Sparta — Lycurgus for-the free of-the-things
μὲν ἀμφὶ χρηματισμὸν ἀπεῖπε μηδενὸς ἅπτεσθαι, ὅσα
indeed about money-making forbade anything to-touch as-many-things
δὲ ἐλευθερίαν ταῖς πόλεσι παρασκευάζει, ταῦτα ἔταξε
but freedom for-the cities provide these he-ordered
μόνα ἔργα αὐτῶν νομίζειν.
alone works their-own to-consider
καὶ γὰρ δὴ τί πλοῦτος ἐκεῖ γε σπουδαστέος 3
and for indeed why wealth there at-least to-be-pursued
ἔνθα ἴσα μὲν φέρειν εἰς τὰ ἐπιτήδεια, ὁμοίως δὲ
where equal indeed to-contribute to the provisions alike and
διαιτᾶσθαι τάξας, ἐποίησε μὴ ἡδυπαθείας ἕνεκα
to-live having-ordered he-made not of-luxury for-the-sake
χρημάτων ὀρέγεσθαι; ἀλλὰ μὴν οὐδ' ἱματίων γε
money to-reach-for but truly not-even of-cloaks at-least
ἕνεκα χρηματιστέον· οὐ γὰρ ἐσθῆτος πολυτελείᾳ ἀλλὰ
for-the-sake must-one-make-money not for by-clothing's costliness but
σώματος εὐεξίᾳ κοσμοῦνται.
by-body's good-condition they-are-adorned
οὐδὲ μὴν τοῦ γε εἰς τοὺς συσκήνους ἕνεκα ἔχειν 4
nor truly for-the at-least on the mess-mates for-the-sake to-have
δαπανᾶν χρήματα ἀθροιστέον, ἐπεὶ τὸ τῷ σώματι
to-spend money must-one-gather since the with-the body
πονοῦντα ὠφελεῖν τοὺς συνόντας εὐδοξότερον ἐποίησεν ἢ τὸ
toiling to-benefit the companions more-reputable he-made than the
δαπανῶντα, ἐπιδείξας τὸ μὲν ψυχῆς, τὸ δὲ πλούτου ἔργον.
spending having-shown the indeed of-soul the but of-wealth work

5 τό γε μὴν ἐξ ἀδίκων χρηματίζεσθαι καὶ ἐν τοῖς
the at-least truly from unjust-means to-make-money also in the
τοιούτοις διεκώλυσε. πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ νόμισμα τοιοῦτον
such-things he-prevented first indeed for coinage such
κατεστήσατο ὃ δέκα μνῶν μόνον ἂν εἰς οἰκίαν εἰσελθὸν
he-established which of-ten minas only — into a-house having-come
οὔτε δεσπότας οὔτε οἰκέτας λάθοι· καὶ γὰρ χώρας
neither masters nor servants would-escape and for room
μεγάλης καὶ ἁμάξης ἀγωγῆς δέοιτ' ἄν.
great and of-a-wagon transport it-would-need —

6 χρυσίον γε μὴν καὶ ἀργύριον ἐρευνᾶται, καὶ ἄν τί
gold at-least truly and silver is-searched-for and if anything
που φανῇ, ὁ ἔχων ζημιοῦται. τί οὖν ἂν ἐκεῖ
anywhere appears the-one having is-fined why then — there
χρηματισμὸς σπουδάζοιτο ἔνθα ἡ κτῆσις πλείους λύπας
money-making should-be-pursued where the possession more pains
ἢ ἡ χρῆσις εὐφροσύνας παρέχει;
than the use enjoyments provides

VIII · OBEDIENCE TO THE LAWS

Spartans obey their magistrates and laws above all others: the leading men set the example by running when summoned, and helped establish the ephors, who may fine, depose, and try anyone. Lycurgus gave the laws only after Delphi approved them, so that disobeying them is impious as well as unlawful.

1 Ἀλλὰ γὰρ ὅτι μὲν ἐν Σπάρτῃ μάλιστα πείθονται ταῖς
But for that indeed in Sparta most they-obey the
ἀρχαῖς τε καὶ τοῖς νόμοις ἴσμεν ἅπαντες. ἐγὼ μέντοι
magistrates both and the laws we-know all I however
οὐδ' ἐγχειρῆσαι οἶμαι πρότερον τὸν Λυκοῦργον ταύτην
not-even to-have-attempted I-think before — Lycurgus this

τὴν εὐταξίαν καθιστάναι πρὶν ὁμογνώμονας ἐποιήσατο
the good-order to-establish before of-one-mind he-made
τοὺς κρατίστους τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει.
the best of-the-men in the city
τεκμαίρομαι δὲ ταῦτα ὅτι ἐν μὲν ταῖς ἄλλαις πόλεσιν 2
I-infer and these-things because in indeed the other cities
οἱ δυνατώτεροι οὐδὲ βούλονται δοκεῖν τὰς ἀρχὰς
the more-powerful not-even wish to-seem the magistrates
φοβεῖσθαι, ἀλλὰ νομίζουσι τοῦτο ἀνελεύθερον εἶναι· ἐν δὲ
to-fear but think this servile to-be in but
τῇ Σπάρτῃ οἱ κράτιστοι καὶ ὑπέρχονται μάλιστα τὰς
— *Sparta the best both court most the*
ἀρχὰς καὶ τῷ ταπεινοὶ εἶναι μεγαλύνονται, καὶ τῷ
magistrates and in-the humble to-be pride-themselves and in-the
ὅταν καλῶνται τρέχοντες ἀλλὰ μὴ βαδίζοντες ὑπακούειν,
when they-are-called running but not walking to-obey
νομίζοντες, ἢν αὐτοὶ κατάρχωσι τοῦ σφόδρα πείθεσθαι,
thinking if they lead-the-way in-the strongly to-obey
ἕψεσθαι καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους· ὅπερ καὶ γεγένηται.
to-be-going-to-follow also the others which-very also has-happened
εἰκὸς δὲ καὶ τὴν τῆς ἐφορείας δύναμιν τοὺς αὐτοὺς 3
likely and also the of-the ephorate power the same
τούτους συγκατασκευάσαι, ἐπείπερ ἔγνωσαν τὸ πείθεσθαι
these to-have-helped-establish since they-recognized the to-obey
μέγιστον ἀγαθὸν εἶναι καὶ ἐν πόλει καὶ ἐν στρατιᾷ καὶ ἐν
greatest good to-be both in city and in army and in
οἴκῳ· ὅσῳ γὰρ μείζω δύναμιν ἔχει ἡ ἀρχή, τοσούτῳ
household by-how-much for greater power has the office by-so-much
μᾶλλον ἂν ἡγήσαντο αὐτὴν καὶ καταπλήξειν τοὺς
more — they-would-have-thought it also to-be-going-to-awe the
πολίτας τοῦ ὑπακούειν.
citizens into-the obeying

4 ἔφοροι οὖν ἱκανοὶ μέν εἰσι ζημιοῦν ὃν ἂν βούλωνται,
ephors then able indeed are to-fine whomever — they-wish
κύριοι δ' ἐκπράττειν παραχρῆμα, κύριοι δὲ καὶ
having-authority and to-exact at-once having-authority and also
ἄρχοντας μεταξὺ [καὶ] καταπαῦσαι καὶ εἶρξαί γε καὶ
magistrates in-office both to-depose and to-imprison at-least and
περὶ τῆς ψυχῆς εἰς ἀγῶνα καταστῆσαι. τοσαύτην δὲ
on the life into trial to-put such and
ἔχοντες δύναμιν, οὐχ ὥσπερ αἱ ἄλλαι πόλεις ἐῶσι τοὺς
having power not as the other cities they-allow the
αἱρεθέντας ἀεὶ ἄρχειν τὸ ἔτος ὅπως ἂν βούλωνται, ἀλλ'
elected always to-rule the year as — they-wish but
ὥσπερ οἱ τύραννοι καὶ οἱ ἐν τοῖς γυμνικοῖς ἀγῶσιν
as the tyrants and the-ones in the athletic contests
ἐπιστάται, ἤν τινα αἰσθάνωνται παρανομοῦντά τι,
presidents if anyone they-perceive transgressing in-anything
εὐθὺς παραχρῆμα κολάζουσι.
at-once immediately they-punish

5 πολλῶν δὲ καὶ ἄλλων ὄντων μηχανημάτων καλῶν τῷ
many and also other being devices fine —
Λυκούργῳ εἰς τὸ πείθεσθαι τοῖς νόμοις ἐθέλειν τοὺς
for-Lycurgus for the to-obey the laws to-be-willing the
πολίτας, ἐν τοῖς καλλίστοις καὶ τοῦτό μοι δοκεῖ εἶναι
citizens among the finest also this to-me seems to-be
ὅτι οὐ πρότερον ἀπέδωκε τῷ πλήθει τοὺς νόμους πρὶν
that not before he-gave to-the multitude the laws before
ἐλθὼν σὺν τοῖς κρατίστοις εἰς Δελφοὺς ἐπήρετο τὸν θεὸν
having-gone with the best to Delphi he-asked the god
εἰ λῷον καὶ ἄμεινον εἴη τῇ Σπάρτῃ πειθομένῃ
whether more-desirable and better it-would-be — for-Sparta obeying
οἷς αὐτὸς ἔθηκε νόμοις. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀνεῖλε τῷ παντὶ
which he laid-down laws when and he-answered in-the whole

ἄμεινον εἶναι, τότε ἀπέδωκεν, οὐ μόνον ἄνομον ἀλλὰ καὶ
better to-be then he-gave not only lawless but also
ἀνόσιον θεὶς τὸ πυθοχρήστοις νόμοις μὴ πείθεσθαι.
unholy having-made the Pythian-ordained laws not to-obey

IX · DEATH BEFORE DISGRACE

Lycurgus made a fine death preferable at Sparta to a shameful life, and in fact fewer of the brave die than of those who choose to retreat, so that safety follows courage rather than cowardice, along with ease, strength, and good fame. Elsewhere a coward has only the name and mixes freely with the brave, but at Sparta no one will take him as a messmate or a wrestling partner; he is left unpicked for the ball teams, sent to the worst places in the chorus, must give way in the street and rise even for younger men, keep his unmarried girls at home, live without a wife and pay the penalty for it, and take blows from his betters, so that death is preferable.

Ἄξιον δὲ τοῦ Λυκούργου καὶ τόδε ἀγασθῆναι, τὸ 1
Worthy and — of-Lycurgus also this to-be-admired the
κατεργάσασθαι ἐν τῇ πόλει αἱρετώτερον εἶναι τὸν καλὸν
to-have-brought-about in the city more-choiceworthy to-be the fine
θάνατον ἀντὶ τοῦ αἰσχροῦ βίου· καὶ γὰρ δὴ ἐπισκοπῶν
death instead-of the shameful life and for indeed examining
τις ἂν εὕροι μείους ἀποθνήσκοντας τούτων ἢ τῶν
anyone — would-find fewer dying of-these than of-the-ones
ἐκ τοῦ φοβεροῦ ἀποχωρεῖν αἱρουμένων
from the fearful to-withdraw choosing
ὥστε τἀληθὲς εἰπεῖν καὶ ἕπεται τῇ ἀρετῇ σώζεσθαι εἰς 2
so-as the-truth to-say also follows the excellence to-be-saved for
τὸν πλείω χρόνον μᾶλλον ἢ τῇ κακίᾳ· καὶ γὰρ ῥᾴων
the longer time rather than the vice and for easier
καὶ ἡδίων καὶ εὐπορωτέρα καὶ ἰσχυροτέρα. δῆλον δὲ ὅτι
and pleasanter and more-resourceful and stronger clear and that

καὶ εὔκλεια μάλιστα ἕπεται τῇ ἀρετῇ· καὶ γὰρ συμμαχεῖν
also good-fame most follows the excellence and for to-fight-alongside
πως πάντες τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς βούλονται.
somehow all the good wish

3 ᾗ μέντοι ὥστε ταῦτα γίγνεσθαι ἐμηχανήσατο, καὶ
how however so-that these-things to-happen he-contrived also
τοῦτο καλὸν μὴ παραλιπεῖν. ἐκεῖνος τοίνυν σαφῶς
this fine not to-omit that-man then clearly
παρεσκεύασε τοῖς μὲν ἀγαθοῖς εὐδαιμονίαν, τοῖς δὲ κακοῖς
provided for-the indeed good happiness for-the but bad
κακοδαιμονίαν.
unhappiness

4 ἐν μὲν γὰρ ταῖς ἄλλαις πόλεσιν, ὁπόταν τις κακὸς
in indeed for the other cities whenever anyone bad
γένηται, ἐπίκλησιν μόνον ἔχει κακὸς εἶναι, ἀγοράζει
becomes the-name only he-has bad to-be he-goes-to-market
δὲ ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ ὁ κακὸς τἀγαθῷ καὶ κάθηται καὶ
and in the same the bad-man with-the-good-man and sits and
γυμνάζεται, ἐὰν βούληται· ἐν δὲ τῇ Λακεδαίμονι πᾶς μὲν
exercises if he-wishes in but — Lacedaemon every indeed
ἄν τις αἰσχυνθείη τὸν κακὸν σύσκηνον παραλαβεῖν,
— anyone would-be-ashamed the bad-man as-mess-mate to-take-in
πᾶς δ' ἂν ἐν παλαίσματι συγγυμναστήν.
every and — in wrestling as-fellow-exerciser

5 πολλάκις δ' ὁ τοιοῦτος καὶ διαιρουμένων τοὺς
often and the such-man even when-they-divide-up the
ἀντισφαιριοῦντας ἀχώριστος περιγίγνεται, καὶ ἐν χοροῖς δ'
opposing-ball-players unchosen is-left-over and in choruses and
εἰς τὰς ἐπονειδίστους χώρας ἀπελαύνεται, καὶ μὴν ἐν ὁδοῖς
into the disgraceful places is-driven-off and truly in streets
παραχωρητέον αὐτῷ καὶ ἐν θάκοις καὶ τοῖς νεωτέροις
one-must-make-way for-him and in seats and to-the younger

ὑπαναστατέον, καὶ τὰς μὲν προσηκούσας κόρας οἴκοι
one-must-rise and the indeed belonging girls at-home
θρεπτέον, καὶ ταύταις τῆς ἀνανδρίας αἰτίαν ὑφεκτέον,
one-must-rear and for-these of-the cowardice the-blame one-must-bear
γυναικὸς δὲ κενὴν ἑστίαν περιοπτέον καὶ ἅμα τούτου ζημίαν
of-a-wife and empty hearth one-must-endure and at-once for-this a-penalty
ἀποτιστέον, λιπαρὸν δὲ οὐ πλανητέον, οὐδὲ μιμητέον
one-must-pay sleek and not one-must-go-about nor one-must-imitate
τοὺς ἀνεγκλήτους, ἢ πληγὰς ὑπὸ τῶν ἀμεινόνων ληπτέον.
the blameless or blows from the better one-must-take
ἐγὼ μὲν δὴ τοιαύτης τοῖς κακοῖς ἀτιμίας ἐπικειμένης 6
I indeed then such for-the bad disgrace being-imposed
οὐδὲν θαυμάζω τὸ προαιρεῖσθαι ἐκεῖ θάνατον ἀντὶ τοῦ
in-nothing wonder the to-prefer there death instead-of the
οὕτως ἀτίμου τε καὶ ἐπονειδίστου βίου.
so dishonored both and disgraceful life

X · THE COUNCIL OF ELDERS

By making election to the council of elders the prize at the end of life, Lycurgus kept nobility alive into old age and made the elders, who judge capital cases, more honored than men in their prime; the contest of souls is worthier than the contests of bodies. He compelled all Spartans to practice every virtue in public, punished the cowardly most, and excluded those who shirked from the peers. His laws are the most ancient yet still the newest, praised by all and imitated by no city.

Καλῶς δέ μοι δοκεῖ ὁ Λυκοῦργος νομοθετῆσαι καὶ ᾗ 1
Finely and to-me seems — Lycurgus to-have-legislated also how
μέχρι γήρως ἀσκοῖτ' ἂν ἀρετή. ἐπὶ γὰρ τῷ τέρματι
until old-age might-be-practiced — excellence at for the goal

τοῦ βίου τὴν κρίσιν τῆς γεροντίας προσθεὶς ἐποίησε
of-the life the selection of-the council-of-elders having-added he-made
μηδὲ ἐν τῷ γήρᾳ ἀμελεῖσθαι τὴν καλοκἀγαθίαν.
not-even in the old-age to-be-neglected the nobility

2 ἀξιάγαστον δ' αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸ ἐπικουρῆσαι τῷ τῶν ἀγαθῶν
admirable and of-him also the to-have-assisted the of-the good
γήρᾳ· θεὶς γὰρ τοὺς γέροντας κυρίους τοῦ περὶ τῆς
old-age having-set for the elders in-control of-the about the
ψυχῆς ἀγῶνος διέπραξεν ἐντιμότερον εἶναι τὸ γῆρας
life contest he-brought-about more-honored to-be the old-age
τῆς τῶν ἀκμαζόντων ῥώμης.
than-the of-the ones-in-their-prime strength

3 εἰκότως δέ τοι καὶ σπουδάζεται οὗτος ὁ ἀγὼν μάλιστα
reasonably and surely also is-pursued this the contest most
[τῶν] ἀνθρώπων. καλοὶ μὲν γὰρ καὶ οἱ γυμνικοί· ἀλλ'
of-the of-men fine indeed for also the athletic but
οὗτοι μὲν σωμάτων εἰσίν· ὁ δὲ περὶ τῆς γεροντίας ἀγὼν
these indeed of-bodies are the but about the council-of-elders contest
ψυχῶν ἀγαθῶν κρίσιν παρέχει. ὅσῳ οὖν κρείττων
of-souls good a-judgment provides by-how-much then stronger
ψυχὴ σώματος, τοσούτῳ καὶ οἱ ἀγῶνες οἱ τῶν ψυχῶν
soul than-body by-so-much also the contests the of-the souls
ἢ οἱ τῶν σωμάτων ἀξιοσπουδαστότεροι.
than the of-the bodies more-worth-pursuing

4 Τόδε γε μὴν τοῦ Λυκούργου πῶς οὐ μεγάλως ἄξιον
This at-least truly — of-Lycurgus how not greatly worthy
ἀγασθῆναι; ὃς ἐπειδὴ κατέμαθεν ὅτι [ὅπου] οἱ βουλόμενοι
to-be-admired who when be-learned that where the willing
ἐπιμελεῖσθαι τῆς ἀρετῆς οὐχ ἱκανοί εἰσι τὰς πατρίδας
to-take-care of-the excellence not able are the fatherlands
αὔξειν, ἐκεῖνος ἐν τῇ Σπάρτῃ ἠνάγκασε δημοσίᾳ πάντας
to-increase that-man in — Sparta compelled publicly all

πάσας ἀσκεῖν τὰς ἀρετάς. ὥσπερ οὖν ἰδιῶται ἰδιωτῶν
all to-practice the excellences as then private-men from-private-men
διαφέρουσιν ἀρετῇ οἱ ἀσκοῦντες τῶν ἀμελούντων,
differ in-excellence the-ones practicing from-the-ones neglecting
οὕτω καὶ ἡ Σπάρτη εἰκότως πασῶν τῶν πόλεων ἀρετῇ
so also — Sparta reasonably from-all the cities in-excellence
διαφέρει, μόνη δημοσίᾳ ἐπιτηδεύουσα τὴν καλοκἀγαθίαν.
differs alone publicly pursuing the nobility
οὐ γὰρ κἀκεῖνο καλόν, τὸ τῶν ἄλλων πόλεων κολαζουσῶν 5
not for also-that fine the the other cities punishing
ἤν τίς τι ἕτερος ἕτερον ἀδικῇ, ἐκεῖνον ζημίας
if anyone in-anything one another should-wrong that-man penalties
μὴ ἐλάττους ἐπιθεῖναι, εἴ τις φανερὸς εἴη ἀμελῶν
not less to-impose if anyone evident should-be neglecting
τοῦ ὡς βέλτιστος εἶναι;
the as best to-be
ἐνόμιζε γάρ, ὡς ἔοικεν, ὑπὸ μὲν τῶν ἀνδραποδιζομένων 6
he-thought for as it-seems by indeed the-ones enslaving
τινὰς ἢ ἀποστερούντων τι ἢ κλεπτόντων τοὺς
some or depriving-of something or stealing the
βλαπτομένους μόνον ἀδικεῖσθαι, ὑπὸ δὲ τῶν κακῶν καὶ
harmed only to-be-wronged by but the bad and
ἀνάνδρων ὅλας τὰς πόλεις προδίδοσθαι. ὥστε εἰκότως
unmanly whole the cities to-be-betrayed so-that reasonably
ἔμοιγε δοκεῖ τούτοις μεγίστας ζημίας ἐπιθεῖναι.
to-me-at-least he-seems on-these greatest penalties to-have-imposed
ἐπέθηκε δὲ καὶ τὴν ἀνυπόστατον ἀνάγκην ἀσκεῖν ἅπασαν 7
he-imposed and also the irresistible necessity to-practice all
πολιτικὴν ἀρετήν. τοῖς μὲν γὰρ τὰ νόμιμα ἐκτελοῦσιν
civic excellence to-the indeed for the lawful-things fulfilling
ὁμοίως ἅπασι τὴν πόλιν οἰκείαν ἐποίησε, καὶ οὐδὲν

ὑπελογίσατο οὔτε σωμάτων οὔτε χρημάτων ἀσθένειαν· εἰ δέ
he-took-into-account neither of-bodies nor of-money weakness if but
τις ἀποδειλιάσειε τοῦ τὰ νόμιμα διαπονεῖσθαι, τοῦτον
anyone should-shrink from-the the lawful-things to-labor-at this-one
ἐκεῖνος ἀπέδειξε μηδὲ νομίζεσθαι ἔτι τῶν ὁμοίων εἶναι.
that-man declared not-even to-be-counted any-longer of-the peers to-be
8 ἀλλὰ γὰρ ὅτι μὲν παλαιότατοι οὗτοι οἱ νόμοι εἰσί, σαφές·
but for that indeed most-ancient these the laws are clear
ὁ γὰρ Λυκοῦργος κατὰ τοὺς Ἡρακλείδας λέγεται
— for Lycurgus in-the-time-of the Heraclidae is-said
γενέσθαι· οὕτω δὲ παλαιοὶ ὄντες ἔτι καὶ νῦν τοῖς ἄλλοις
to-have-lived so but ancient being still even now to-the others
καινότατοί εἰσι· καὶ γὰρ τὸ πάντων θαυμαστότατον
newest they-are and for the of-all most-wonderful
ἐπαινοῦσι μὲν πάντες τὰ τοιαῦτα ἐπιτηδεύματα, μιμεῖσθαι
praise indeed all the such practices to-imitate
δὲ αὐτὰ οὐδεμία πόλις ἐθέλει.
but them no city wishes

XI · THE ARMY

Lycurgus' arrangements for war: the ephors call up men by year groups, the soldiers wear crimson and carry bronze shields, and the army is divided into six regiments under their officers. The formation, thought complicated, is easy; only men trained under these laws can fight on beside whoever stands next to them when the line is thrown into confusion.

1 Καὶ ταῦτα μὲν δὴ κοινὰ ἀγαθὰ καὶ ἐν εἰρήνῃ καὶ ἐν
And these-things indeed then common goods both in peace and in
πολέμῳ· εἰ δέ τις βούλεται καταμαθεῖν ὅ τι καὶ εἰς
war if but anyone wishes to-learn what ever also for

τὰς στρατείας βέλτιον τῶν ἄλλων ἐμηχανήσατο, ἔξεστι
the campaigns better than-the others he-contrived it-is-possible
καὶ τούτων ἀκούειν.
also these to-hear
πρῶτον μὲν τοίνυν οἱ ἔφοροι προκηρύττουσι τὰ ἔτη 2
first indeed then the ephors proclaim the years
εἰς ἃ δεῖ στρατεύεσθαι καὶ ἱππεῦσι καὶ ὁπλίταις,
to which it-is-needful to-campaign both for-horsemen and for-hoplites
ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ τοῖς χειροτέχναις· ὥστε ὅσοισπερ ἐπὶ
then and also for-the craftsmen so-that as-many-as in
πόλεως χρῶνται ἄνθρωποι, πάντων τούτων καὶ ἐπὶ
city use men all these also on
στρατιᾶς οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι εὐποροῦσι· καὶ ὅσα δὲ
campaign the Lacedaemonians are-well-supplied-with and as-many-as and
ὀργάνων ἡ στρατιὰ κοινῇ δεηθείη ἄν, ἁπάντων τὰ
tools the army in-common should-need — of-all the-ones
μὲν ἁμάξῃ προστέτακται παρέχειν, τὰ δὲ ὑποζυγίῳ·
indeed by-wagon are-ordered to-provide the-ones and by-pack-animal
οὕτω γὰρ ἥκιστ᾽ ἂν τὸ ἐκλεῖπον διαλάθοι.
so for least — the lacking would-escape-notice
εἴς γε μὴν τὸν ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις ἀγῶνα τοιάδ᾽ 3
for at-least truly the in the arms contest such-things
ἐμηχανήσατο, στολὴν μὲν ἔχειν φονικίδα καὶ χαλκῆν
he-contrived a-garment indeed to-have crimson and bronze
ἀσπίδα, ταύτην νομίζων ἥκιστα μὲν γυναικείᾳ κοινωνεῖν,
shield this thinking least indeed with-feminine-dress to-share
πολεμικωτάτην δ᾽ εἶναι· καὶ γὰρ τάχιστα λαμπρύνεται
most-warlike but to-be and for most-quickly is-polished
καὶ σχολαιότατα ῥυπαίνεται. ἐφῆκε δὲ καὶ κομᾶν
and most-slowly is-soiled he-permitted and also to-wear-long-hair

τοῖς ὑπὲρ τὴν ἡβητικὴν ἡλικίαν, νομίζων οὕτω καὶ
to-the-ones beyond the youthful age thinking so both
μείζους ἂν καὶ ἐλευθεριωτέρους καὶ γοργοτέρους φαίνεσθαι.
taller — and more-free and more-fierce to-appear
4 οὕτω γε μὴν κατεσκευασμένων μόρας μὲν διεῖλεν ἓξ
so at-least truly equipped regiments indeed he-divided six
καὶ ἱππέων καὶ ὁπλιτῶν. ἑκάστη δὲ τῶν πολιτικῶν
both of-horsemen and of-hoplites each and of-the citizen
τούτων μορῶν ἔχει πολέμαρχον ἕνα, λοχαγοὺς τέτταρας,
these regiments has polemarch one captains four
πεντηκοντῆρας ὀκτώ, ἐνωμοτάρχας ἑκκαίδεκα. ἐκ δὲ
fifty-commanders eight enomotarchs sixteen from and
τούτων τῶν μορῶν διὰ παρεγγυήσεως καθίστανται τότε
these the regiments by word-of-command are-formed sometimes
μὲν εἰς ἐνωμοτίας, τότε δὲ εἰς τρεῖς, τότε δὲ εἰς ἕξ.
indeed into enomoties sometimes and into three sometimes and into six
5 ὃ δὲ οἱ πλεῖστοι οἴονται, πολυπλοκωτάτην εἶναι τὴν
what but the most think most-complicated to-be the
ἐν ὅπλοις Λακωνικὴν τάξιν, τὸ ἐναντιώτατον ὑπειλήφασι
in arms Laconian formation the most-opposite they-have-supposed
τοῦ ὄντος. εἰσὶ μὲν γὰρ ἐν τῇ Λακωνικῇ τάξει οἱ
of-the reality are indeed for in the Laconian formation the
πρωτοστάται ἄρχοντες, καὶ ὁ στίχος ἕκαστος πάντ᾽
front-rankers commanders and the file each everything
ἔχων ὅσα δεῖ παρέχεσθαι.
having as-much-as it-is-needful to-provide
6 οὕτω δὲ ῥᾴδιον ταύτην τὴν τάξιν μαθεῖν ὡς ὅστις τοὺς
so and easy this the formation to-learn that whoever the
ἀνθρώπους δύναται γιγνώσκειν, οὐδεὶς ἂν ἁμάρτοι· τοῖς
men can to-recognize no-one — would-err to-the
μὲν γὰρ ἡγεῖσθαι δέδοται, τοῖς δὲ ἕπεσθαι τέτακται. αἱ
indeed for to-lead it-has-been-given to-the and to-follow it-is-assigned the

δὲ παραγωγαὶ ὥσπερ ὑπὸ κήρυκος ὑπὸ τοῦ ἐνωμοτάρχου
and deployments as by a-herald by the enomotarch
λόγῳ δηλοῦνται, †ἀραιαί τε καὶ βαθύτεραι αἱ φάλαγγες
by-word are-made-known thin both and deeper the phalanxes
γίγνονται· ὧν δὴ οὐδ' ὁπωστιοῦν χαλεπὸν μαθεῖν.
become of-which indeed not-even in-any-way hard to-learn
τὸ μέντοι κἂν ταραχθῶσι μετὰ τοῦ παρατυχόντος 7
the however even-if they-are-thrown-into-confusion with the chance-comer
ὁμοίως μάχεσθαι, ταύτην τὴν τάξιν οὐκέτι ῥᾴδιόν ἐστι
alike to-fight this the formation no-longer easy it-is
μαθεῖν πλὴν τοῖς ὑπὸ τῶν τοῦ Λυκούργου νόμων
to-learn except for-the-ones by the — of-Lycurgus laws
πεπαιδευμένοις.
educated
εὐπορώτατα δὲ καὶ ἐκεῖνα Λακεδαιμόνιοι ποιοῦσι τὰ 8
most-easily and also those-things the-Lacedaemonians do the-things
τοῖς ὁπλομάχοις πάνυ δοκοῦντα χαλεπὰ εἶναι· ὅταν μὲν γὰρ
to-the drill-masters very seeming hard to-be when indeed for
ἐπὶ κέρως πορεύωνται, κατ' οὐρὰν δήπου ἐνωμοτία †ἕπεται·
in column they-march in rear surely enomoty follows
ἐὰν δ' ἐν τῷ τοιούτῳ ἐκ τοῦ ἐναντίου πολεμία φάλαγξ
if but in the such from the opposite an-enemy phalanx
ἐπιφανῇ, τῷ ἐνωμοτάρχῃ παρεγγυᾶται εἰς μέτωπον παρ'
should-appear to-the enomotarch the-order-is-passed into front to-the
ἀσπίδα καθίστασθαι, καὶ διὰ παντὸς οὕτως, ἔστ' ἂν ἡ
shield-side to-form and through all so until — the
φάλαγξ ἐναντία καταστῇ. ἤν γε μὴν οὕτως ἐχόντων ἐκ
phalanx opposite stands if at-least truly so being from
τοῦ ὄπισθεν οἱ πολέμιοι ἐπιφανῶσιν, ἐξελίττεται ἕκαστος ὁ
the rear the enemies should-appear countermarches each the
στίχος, ἵνα οἱ κράτιστοι ἐναντίοι ἀεὶ τοῖς πολεμίοις ὦσιν.
file so-that the strongest facing always the enemies may-be

9 ὅτι δὲ ὁ ἄρχων εὐώνυμος γίγνεται, οὐδ' ἐν τούτῳ
that but the commander on-the-left becomes not-even in this
μειονεκτεῖν ἡγοῦνται, ἀλλ' ἔστιν ὅτε καὶ πλεονεκτεῖν.
to-be-at-a-disadvantage they-think but there-is times also to-have-the-advantage
εἰ γάρ τινες κυκλοῦσθαι ἐπιχειροῖεν, οὐκ ἂν κατὰ τὰ
if for any to-encircle should-try not — on the
γυμνὰ ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὰ ὡπλισμένα περιβάλλοιεν ἄν. ἦν
bare-parts but on the armed-parts they-would-outflank — if
δέ ποτε ἕνεκά τινος δοκῇ συμφέρειν τὸν ἡγεμόνα
but ever for-the-sake-of something it-seems to-be-advantageous the leader
δεξιὸν κέρας ἔχειν, στρέψαντες τὸ ἄγημα ἐπὶ κέρας
the-right wing to-have having-turned the guard to wing
ἐξελίττουσι τὴν φάλαγγα, ἔστ' ἂν ὁ μὲν ἡγεμὼν δεξιὸς
they-countermarch the phalanx until — the indeed leader on-the-right
ᾖ, ἡ δὲ οὐρὰ εὐώνυμος γένηται.
be the and rear on-the-left become
10 ἦν δ' αὖ ἐκ τῶν δεξιῶν πολεμίων τάξις ἐπιφαίνηται
if but in-turn from the right of-enemies a-formation should-appear
ἐπὶ κέρως πορευομένων, οὐδὲν ἄλλο πραγματεύονται
in column marching nothing else they-do
ἢ τὸν λόχον ἕκαστον ὥσπερ τριήρη ἀντίπρῳρον τοῖς
than the company each like a-trireme prow-on to-the
ἐναντίοις στρέφουσι, καὶ οὕτως αὖ γίγνεται ὁ κατ'
opponents they-turn and so in-turn becomes the in
οὐρὰν λόχος παρὰ δόρυ. ἦν γε μὴν κατὰ τὰ εὐώνυμα
rear company on-the spear-side if at-least truly on the left
πολέμιοι προσίωσιν, οὐδὲ τοῦτο ἐῶσιν, ἀλλ' ἀπωθοῦσιν
enemies approach not-even this they-allow but push-back
ἢ ἐναντίους ἀντιπάλοις τοὺς λόχους στρέφουσι· καὶ οὕτως
or facing to-the-opponents the companies they-turn and so
αὖ ὁ κατ' οὐρὰν λόχος παρ' ἀσπίδα καθίσταται.
in-turn the in rear company on-the shield-side is-formed

Lycurgus had the Spartans camp in a circle, with sentries facing inward and cavalry watching from high ground, and the Sciritae keeping guard at night. They carry spears always, shift camp often, exercise every day, and sing to the gods before sleeping on their arms.

Ἐρῶ δὲ καὶ ᾗ στρατοπεδεύεσθαι ἐνόμισε χρῆναι 1
I-will-tell and also how to-encamp he-thought it-needful
Λυκοῦργος. διὰ μὲν γὰρ τὸ τὰς γωνίας τοῦ τετραγώνου
Lycurgus because-of indeed for the the corners of-the square
ἀχρήστους εἶναι εἰς κύκλον ἐστρατοπεδεύσατο, εἰ μὴ
useless to-be in a-circle he-encamped if not
ὄρος ἀσφαλὲς εἴη, ἢ τεῖχος ἢ ποταμὸν ὄπισθεν ἔχοιεν.
a-mountain safe there-were or a-wall or a-river behind they-had
φυλακάς γε μὴν ἐποίησε μεθημερινὰς τὰς μὲν παρὰ 2
guards at-least truly he-made by-day the-ones indeed beside
τὰ ὅπλα εἴσω βλεπούσας· οὐ γὰρ πολεμίων ἕνεκα
the arms inward looking not for of-enemies for-the-sake
ἀλλὰ φίλων αὗται καθίστανται· τούς γε μὴν πολεμίους
but of-friends these are-posted the at-least truly enemies
ἱππεῖς φυλάττουσιν ἀπὸ χωρίων ὧν ἂν ἐκ πλείστου
horsemen watch from places from-which — from farthest
προορῷεν.
they-could-see-ahead
εἰ δέ τις προΐοι νύκτωρ ἔξω τῆς φάλαγγος, 3
if but anyone should-go-forward by-night outside the phalanx
ἐνόμισεν ὑπὸ Σκιριτῶν προφυλάττεσθαι· νῦν δ' ἤδη καὶ
he-thought by Sciritae to-be-guarded now but already also
ὑπὸ ξένων ***
by mercenaries (lacuna)

4 αὐτῶν τινες συμπαρόντες. τὸ δὲ ἔχοντας τὰ δόρατα ἀεὶ
of-them some being-present-with the and having the spears always
περιέναι, εὖ καὶ τοῦτο δεῖ εἰδέναι ὅτι τοῦ αὐτοῦ
to-go-around well also this one-must know that of-the same
ἕνεκά ἐστιν οὗπερ καὶ τοὺς δούλους εἴργουσιν ἀπὸ
for-the-sake it-is for-which-very also the slaves they-keep-away from
τῶν ὅπλων. καὶ τοὺς ἐπὶ τὰ ἀναγκαῖα ἀπιόντας οὐ
the arms and the-ones for the necessary-things going-off not
δεῖ θαυμάζειν ὅτι οὔτε ἀλλήλων οὔτε τῶν ὅπλων
one-must wonder that neither from-one-another nor from-the arms
πλέον ἢ ὅσον μὴ λυπεῖν ἀλλήλους ἀπέρχονται· καὶ
farther than as-much-as not to-annoy one-another they-go-away and
γὰρ ταῦτα ἀσφαλείας ἕνεκα ποιοῦσιν.
for these-things of-safety for-the-sake they-do
5 μεταστρατοπεδεύονταί γε μὴν πυκνὰ καὶ τοῦ σίνεσθαι
they-shift-camp at-least truly frequently both of-the to-harm
τοὺς πολεμίους ἕνεκα καὶ τοῦ ὠφελεῖν τοὺς φίλους.
the enemies for-the-sake and of-the to-benefit the friends
καὶ γυμνάζεσθαι δὲ προαγορεύεται ὑπὸ τοῦ νόμου
and to-exercise and is-ordered by the law
ἅπασι Λακεδαιμονίοις, ἕωσπερ ἂν στρατεύωνται· ὥστε
for-all Lacedaemonians as-long-as — they-are-on-campaign so-that
μεγαλοφρονεστέρους μὲν αὐτοὺς ἐφ' ἑαυτοῖς γίγνεσθαι,
prouder indeed themselves in themselves to-become
ἐλευθεριωτέρους δὲ τῶν ἄλλων φαίνεσθαι. δεῖ δὲ οὔτε
more-free and than-the others to-appear it-is-needful and neither
περίπατον οὔτε δρόμον μάσσω ποιεῖσθαι ἢ ὅσον ἂν ἡ
a-walk nor a-run longer to-make than as-much-as — the
μόρα ἐφήκῃ, ὅπως μηδεὶς τῶν αὑτοῦ ὅπλων πόρρω γίγνηται.
regiment extends so-that no-one of-the his-own arms far-off may-be

μετὰ δὲ τὰ γυμνάσια καθίζειν μὲν ὁ πρῶτος πολέμαρχος 6
after and the exercises to-sit-down indeed the first polemarch
κηρύττει· ἔστι δὲ τοῦτο ὥσπερ ἐξέτασις· ἐκ τούτου δὲ
proclaims it-is and this like a-review from this and
ἀριστοποιεῖσθαι, καὶ ταχὺ τὸν πρόσκοπον ὑπολύεσθαι·
to-take-breakfast and quickly the outpost to-be-relieved
ἐκ τούτου δ' αὖ διατριβαὶ καὶ ἀναπαύσεις πρὸ τῶν
from this and in-turn pastimes and rests before the
ἑσπερινῶν γυμνασίων.
evening exercises
μετά γε μὴν ταῦτα δειπνοποιεῖσθαι κηρύττεται, καὶ 7
after at-least truly these-things to-take-supper it-is-proclaimed and
ἐπειδὰν ᾄσωσιν εἰς τοὺς θεοὺς οἷς ἂν κεκαλλιερηκότες
when they-have-sung to the gods to-whom — having-sacrificed-favorably
ὦσιν, ἐπὶ τῶν ὅπλων ἀναπαύεσθαι. ὅτι δὲ πολλὰ γράφω
they-are on the arms to-rest that but many-things I-write
οὐ δεῖ θαυμάζειν· ἥκιστα γὰρ Λακεδαιμονίοις εὕροι
not one-must wonder least for in-Lacedaemonians would-find
ἄν τις παραλελειμμένα ἐν τοῖς στρατιωτικοῖς ὅσα
— anyone omitted in the military-matters as-many-as
δεῖ ἐπιμελείας.
it-is-needful care

On campaign the city feeds the king and his staff, and the polemarchs mess with him. Before he leaves he and his staff sacrifice to Zeus the Leader, and at the border to Zeus and Athena, the fire carried before him never going out. Officers, mercenary commanders, and two ephors attend his sacrifices at dawn, and then he gives his orders, so that the Spartans alone seem true craftsmen of war. On the march only the Sciritae and mounted scouts go ahead of him, and in battle he takes his place between two regiments, with his messmates, seers, doctors, and flute players behind. When a goat is sacrificed in sight of the enemy, every flute player plays, every Spartan wears a garland, and arms are polished. The king chooses the camp and sends embassies, and he passes justice, money, and booty to their officers, keeping only the priest's and general's work.

1 Διηγήσομαι δὲ καὶ ἣν ἐπὶ στρατιᾶς ὁ Λυκοῦργος
I-will-relate and also what on campaign — Lycurgus
βασιλεῖ δύναμιν καὶ τιμὴν παρεσκεύασε. πρῶτον μὲν
for-the-king power and honor he-arranged first indeed
γὰρ ἐπὶ φρουρᾶς τρέφει ἡ πόλις βασιλέα καὶ τοὺς σὺν
for on service feeds the city the-king and the-ones with
αὐτῷ· συσκηνοῦσι δὲ αὐτῷ οἱ πολέμαρχοι, ὅπως ἀεὶ
him mess and with-him the polemarchs so-that always
συνόντες μᾶλλον καὶ κοινοβουλῶσιν, ἤν τι δέωνται.
being-together more also they-may-take-counsel-together if anything they-need
συσκηνοῦσι δὲ καὶ ἄλλοι τρεῖς ἄνδρες τῶν ὁμοίων· οὗτοι
mess and also other three men of-the peers these
τούτοις ἐπιμελοῦνται πάντων τῶν ἐπιτηδείων, ὡς μηδεμία
for-these take-care-of all the provisions so-that no
ἀσχολία ᾖ αὐτοῖς τῶν πολεμικῶν ἐπιμελεῖσθαι.
occupation may-be to-them from-the warlike-matters to-attend

ἐπαναλήψομαι δὲ ὡς ἐξορμᾶται σὺν στρατιᾷ ὁ βασιλεύς. 2
I-will-go-back and how sets-out with army the king
θύει μὲν γὰρ πρῶτον οἴκοι ὢν Διὶ ἀγήτορι καὶ
he-sacrifices indeed for first at-home being to-Zeus the-Leader and
οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ· ἢν δὲ ἐνταῦθα καλλιερήσῃ, λαβὼν ὁ
the-ones with him if and there he-obtains-good-omens having-taken the
πυρφόρος πῦρ ἀπὸ τοῦ βωμοῦ προηγεῖται ἐπὶ τὰ ὅρια τῆς
fire-bearer fire from the altar leads-the-way to the borders of-the
χώρας· ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς ἐκεῖ αὖ θύεται Διὶ καὶ Ἀθηνᾷ.
country the and king there in-turn sacrifices to-Zeus and to-Athena
ὅταν δὲ ἀμφοῖν τούτοιν τοῖν θεοῖν καλλιερηθῇ, τότε 3
when and from-both these the gods good-omens-are-obtained then
διαβαίνει τὰ ὅρια τῆς χώρας· καὶ τὸ πῦρ μὲν ἀπὸ
he-crosses the borders of-the country and the fire indeed from
τούτων τῶν ἱερῶν προηγεῖται οὔποτε ἀποσβεννύμενον,
these the sacrifices leads-the-way never extinguished
σφάγια δὲ παντοῖα ἕπεται. ἀεὶ δὲ ὅταν θύηται ἄρχεται
victims and of-all-kinds follow always and when he-sacrifices he-begins
μὲν τούτου τοῦ ἔργου ἔτι κνεφαῖος, προλαμβάνειν
indeed this the work still in-the-dark to-anticipate
βουλόμενος τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ εὔνοιαν.
wishing the of-the god goodwill
πάρεισι δὲ περὶ τὴν θυσίαν πολέμαρχοι, λοχαγοί, 4
are-present and around the sacrifice polemarchs captains
πεντηκοντῆρες, ξένων στρατίαρχοι, στρατοῦ σκευοφορικοῦ
fifty-commanders of-mercenaries commanders of-the-army of-baggage-train
ἄρχοντες, καὶ τῶν ἀπὸ τῶν πόλεων δὲ στρατηγῶν ὁ
commanders and of-the from the cities and generals the-one
βουλόμενος·
wishing

5 πάρεισι δὲ καὶ τῶν ἐφόρων δύο, οἳ πολυπραγμονοῦσι
are-present and also of-the ephors two who meddle
μὲν οὐδέν, ἢν μὴ ὁ βασιλεὺς προσκαλῇ· ὁρῶντες δὲ
indeed in-nothing if not the king summons seeing but
ὅ τι ποιεῖ ἕκαστος πάντας σωφρονίζουσιν, ὡς τὸ εἰκός.
what ever does each all they-keep-in-order as — is-likely
ὅταν δὲ τελεσθῇ τὰ ἱερά, ὁ βασιλεὺς προσκαλέσας
when and are-completed the sacrifices the king having-summoned
πάντας παραγγέλλει τὰ ποιητέα. ὥστε ὁρῶν ταῦτα
all announces the-things to-be-done so-that seeing these-things
ἡγήσαιο ἂν τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους αὐτοσχεδιαστὰς εἶναι
you-would-think — the indeed others improvisers to-be
τῶν στρατιωτικῶν, Λακεδαιμονίους δὲ μόνους τῷ ὄντι
of-the military-matters Lacedaemonians but alone in-the reality
τεχνίτας τῶν πολεμικῶν.
craftsmen of-the warlike-matters

6 ἐπειδάν γε μὴν ἡγῆται ὁ βασιλεύς, ἢν μὲν μηδεὶς
when at-least truly leads the king if indeed no-one
ἐναντίος φαίνηται, οὐδεὶς αὐτοῦ πρόσθεν πορεύεται πλὴν
opposing appears no-one of-him before marches except
Σκιρῖται καὶ οἱ προερευνώμενοι ἱππεῖς· ἢν δέ ποτε μάχην
Sciritae and the scouting-ahead horsemen if but ever a-battle
οἴωνται ἔσεσθαι, λαβὼν τὸ ἄγημα τῆς πρώτης μόρας
they-think to-be-going-to-be having-taken the guard of-the first regiment
ὁ βασιλεὺς ἄγει στρέψας ἐπὶ δόρυ, ἔστ' ἂν γένηται
the king leads having-turned to spear-side until — he-is
ἐν μέσῳ δυοῖν μόραιν καὶ δυοῖν πολεμάρχοιν.
in middle of-two regiments and of-two polemarchs

7 οὓς δὲ δεῖ ἐπὶ τούτοις τετάχθαι, ὁ πρεσβύτατος
whom and it-is-needful behind these to-be-posted the eldest
τῶν περὶ δαμοσίαν συντάττει· εἰσὶ δὲ οὗτοι ὅσοι
of-the-ones about the-public-tent arranges are and these as-many-as

ἂν σύσκηνοι ὦσι τῶν ὁμοίων, καὶ μάντεις καὶ ἰατροὶ
— *mess-mates are of-the peers and seers and doctors*
καὶ αὐληταὶ οἱ τοῦ στρατοῦ ἄρχοντες, καὶ ἐθελούσιοι ἤν
and flute-players the of-the army commanders and volunteers if
τινες παρῶσιν. ὥστε τῶν δεομένων γίγνεσθαι οὐδὲν
any are-present so-that of-the-things needed to-be-done nothing
ἀπορεῖται· οὐδὲν γὰρ ἀπρόσκεπτόν ἐστι.
is-lacking nothing for unforeseen is
μάλα δὲ καὶ τάδε ὠφέλιμα, ὡς ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ, ἐμηχανήσατο 8
very and also these-things useful as to-me it-seems contrived
Λυκοῦργος εἰς τὸν ἐν ὅπλοις ἀγῶνα. ὅταν γὰρ
Lycurgus for the in arms contest when for
ὁρώντων ἤδη τῶν πολεμίων χίμαιρα σφαγιάζηται,
seeing already the enemies a-she-goat is-slaughtered
αὐλεῖν τε πάντας τοὺς παρόντας αὐλητὰς νόμος καὶ
to-play-the-flute both all the present flute-players is-the-law and
μηδένα Λακεδαιμονίων ἀστεφάνωτον εἶναι· καὶ ὅπλα δὲ
no of-Lacedaemonians uncrowned to-be and arms and
λαμπρύνεσθαι προαγορεύεται.
to-be-polished is-ordered
ἔξεστι δὲ τῷ νέῳ καὶ κεκριμένῳ εἰς μάχην συνιέναι 9
it-is-allowed and for-the young-man also chosen into battle to-go
καὶ φαιδρὸν εἶναι καὶ εὐδόκιμον. καὶ παρακελεύονται δὲ
and cheerful to-be and well-reputed and they-pass-the-word and
τῷ ἐνωμοτάρχῃ· οὐδ' ἀκούεται γὰρ εἰς ἑκάστην πᾶσαν
to-the enomotarch not-even it-is-heard for to each all
τὴν ἐνωμοτίαν ἀφ' ἑκάστου ἐνωμοτάρχου ἔξω· ὅπως δὲ
the enomoty from each enomotarch outside how but
καλῶς γίγνηται πολεμάρχῳ δεῖ μέλειν.
well it-may-be-done for-the-polemarch must care

10 ὅταν γε μὴν καιρὸς δοκῇ εἶναι στρατοπεδεύεσθαι,
when at-least truly the-moment seems to-be to-encamp
τούτου μὲν κύριος βασιλεύς, καὶ τοῦ δεῖξαί γε ὅπου
of-this indeed in-control the-king also of-the to-show at-least where
δεῖ· τὸ μέντοι πρεσβείας ἀποπέμπεσθαι καὶ φιλίας
it-is-needful the however embassies to-send and friendly
καὶ πολεμίας, τοῦτ᾽ αὖ βασιλέως. καὶ ἄρχονται μὲν
and hostile this in-turn of-the-king and begin indeed
πάντες ἀπὸ βασιλέως, ὅταν βούλωνται πρᾶξαί τι.
all from the-king when they-wish to-do anything
11 ἢν δ᾽ οὖν δίκης δεόμενός τις ἔλθῃ, πρὸς ἑλλανοδίκας
if but then of-justice needing anyone comes to hellanodicae
τοῦτον ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀποπέμπει, ἢν δὲ χρημάτων, πρὸς
this-one the king sends-off if and of-money to
ταμίας, ἢν δὲ ληΐδα ἄγων, πρὸς λαφυροπώλας. οὕτω
treasurers if and booty bringing to booty-sellers so
δὲ πραττομένων βασιλεῖ οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἔργον καταλείπεται
and being-done for-the-king no other work is-left
ἐπὶ φρουρᾶς ἢ ἱερεῖ μὲν τὰ πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς εἶναι,
on service than as-priest indeed the-things toward the gods to-be
στρατηγῷ δὲ τὰ πρὸς τοὺς ἀνθρώπους.
as-general and the-things toward the men

If asked whether the laws of Lycurgus still stand unchanged, Xenophon could no longer say so. Spartans who once preferred to live modestly at home now seek governorships abroad and flattery, take pride in gold they once feared to be seen with, and strive to rule rather than to be worthy of it. Once the Greeks came to Sparta asking it to lead them against wrongdoers; now they urge one another to stop its rule, since it obeys neither the god nor Lycurgus.

Εἰ δέ τίς με ἔροιτο εἰ καὶ νῦν ἔτι μοι δοκοῦσιν 1
If but anyone me should-ask whether even now still to-me seem
οἱ Λυκούργου νόμοι ἀκίνητοι διαμένειν, τοῦτο μὰ Δί᾽ οὐκ
the of-Lycurgus laws unmoved to-remain this by Zeus not
ἂν ἔτι θρασέως εἴποιμι.
— any-longer confidently I-would-say

οἶδα γὰρ πρότερον μὲν Λακεδαιμονίους αἱρουμένους 2
I-know for formerly indeed the-Lacedaemonians choosing
οἴκοι τὰ μέτρια ἔχοντας ἀλλήλοις συνεῖναι μᾶλλον
at-home the moderate having with-one-another to-live rather
ἢ ἁρμόζοντας ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι καὶ κολακευομένους
than being-governors in the cities and being-flattered
διαφθείρεσθαι.
to-be-corrupted

καὶ πρόσθεν μὲν οἶδα αὐτοὺς φοβουμένους χρυσίον 3
and before indeed I-know them fearing gold
ἔχοντας φαίνεσθαι νῦν δ᾽ ἔστιν οὓς καὶ καλλωπιζομένους
having to-appear now but there-are whom even priding-themselves
ἐπὶ τῷ κεκτῆσθαι.
on the to-have-acquired

ἐπίσταμαι δὲ καὶ πρόσθεν τούτου ἕνεκα ξενηλασίας 4
I-know and also before of-this for-the-sake expulsions-of-foreigners
γιγνομένας καὶ ἀποδημεῖν οὐκ ἐξόν, ὅπως μὴ
happening and to-go-abroad not being-allowed so-that not

ῥᾳδιουργίας οἱ πολῖται ἀπὸ τῶν ξένων ἐμπίπλαιντο· νῦν
with-laxity the citizens from the foreigners should-be-filled now
δ᾽ ἐπίσταμαι τοὺς δοκοῦντας πρώτους εἶναι ἐσπουδακότας
but I-know the-ones seeming first to-be having-striven
ὡς μηδέποτε παύωνται ἁρμόζοντες ἐπὶ ξένης.
that never they-may-cease being-governors in foreign-land
5 καὶ ἦν μὲν ὅτε ἐπεμελοῦντο ὅπως ἄξιοι εἶεν
and there-was indeed when they-took-care that worthy they-might-be
ἡγεῖσθαι· νῦν δὲ πολὺ μᾶλλον πραγματεύονται ὅπως
to-lead now but much more they-work that
ἄρξουσιν ἢ ὅπως ἄξιοι τούτου ἔσονται.
they-shall-rule than that worthy of-this they-shall-be
6 τοιγαροῦν οἱ Ἕλληνες πρότερον μὲν ἰόντες εἰς Λακεδαίμονα
therefore the Greeks formerly indeed going to Lacedaemon
ἐδέοντο αὐτῶν ἡγεῖσθαι ἐπὶ τοὺς δοκοῦντας ἀδικεῖν·
asked them to-lead against the-ones seeming to-do-wrong
νῦν δὲ πολλοὶ παρακαλοῦσιν ἀλλήλους ἐπὶ τὸ διακωλύειν
now but many call-on one-another to the to-prevent
ἄρξαι πάλιν αὐτούς.
to-rule again them
7 οὐδὲν μέντοι δεῖ θαυμάζειν τούτων τῶν ἐπιψόγων
in-nothing however one-must wonder these the reproaches
αὐτοῖς γιγνομένων, ἐπειδὴ φανεροί εἰσιν οὔτε τῷ θεῷ
on-them coming since evident they-are neither the god
πειθόμενοι οὔτε τοῖς Λυκούργου νόμοις.
obeying nor the of-Lycurgus laws

Lycurgus' compact between the kings and the city is the only constitution still as it was founded. The king offers the city's public sacrifices and leads its armies, receives portions of the victims, chosen land in the perioecic towns, a public tent, a double portion at dinner, two Pythian companions, and a pig from every litter, with a pond by his house, and all but the ephors rise for him. King and ephors exchange oaths monthly. These living honors exceed a private man's only a little, so as to breed neither tyranny nor envy, but the honors after death show that the laws honor Sparta's kings as heroes.

Βούλομαι δὲ καὶ ἃς βασιλεῖ πρὸς τὴν πόλιν συνθήκας 1
I-wish and also what for-the-king toward the city compacts
ὁ Λυκοῦργος ἐποίησε διηγήσασθαι· μόνη γὰρ δὴ αὕτη
— Lycurgus made to-relate alone for indeed this
ἀρχὴ διατελεῖ οἵαπερ ἐξ ἀρχῆς κατεστάθη· τὰς δὲ
office continues such-as from the-beginning it-was-established the but
ἄλλας πολιτείας εὕροι ἄν τις μετακεκινημένας καὶ ἔτι
other constitutions would-find — anyone changed and still
καὶ νῦν μετακινουμένας.
even now changing
ἔθηκε γὰρ θύειν μὲν βασιλέα πρὸ τῆς πόλεως τὰ 2
he-laid-down for to-sacrifice indeed the-king on-behalf-of the city the
δημόσια ἅπαντα, ὡς ἀπὸ [τοῦ] θεοῦ ὄντα, καὶ στρατιὰν
public-sacrifices all as from the god being and an-army
ὅποι ἂν ἡ πόλις ἐκπέμπῃ, ἡγεῖσθαι.
wherever — the city sends-out to-lead
ἔδωκε δὲ καὶ γέρα ἀπὸ τῶν θυομένων λαμβάνειν, 3
he-gave and also prerogatives from the-things sacrificed to-take
καὶ γῆν δὲ ἐν πολλαῖς τῶν περιοίκων πόλεων ἀπέδειξεν
and land and in many of-the perioecic cities he-assigned

ἐξαίρετον τοσαύτην ὥστε μήτε δεῖσθαι τῶν μετρίων
chosen so-much that neither to-lack the moderate-things
μήτε πλούτῳ ὑπερφέρειν.
nor in-wealth to-excel

4 ὅπως δὲ καὶ οἱ βασιλεῖς ἔξω σκηνοῖεν, σκηνὴν αὐτοῖς
so-that and also the kings outside might-mess a-tent for-them
δημοσίαν ἀπέδειξε, καὶ διμοιρίᾳ γε ἐπὶ τῷ δείπνῳ
public he-assigned and with-a-double-portion at-least at the dinner
ἐτίμησεν, οὐχ ἵνα διπλάσια καταφάγοιεν, ἀλλ' ἵνα καὶ
he-honored not so-that double they-might-eat but so-that also
ἀπὸ τοῦδε τιμῆσαι ἔχοιεν εἴ τινα βούλοιντο.
from this to-honor they-might-be-able if anyone they-wished

5 ἔδωκε δ' αὖ καὶ συσκήνους δύο ἑκατέρῳ προσελέσθαι,
he-gave and in-turn also mess-mates two to-each to-choose
οἳ δὴ καὶ Πύθιοι καλοῦνται. ἔδωκε δὲ καὶ πασῶν τῶν
who indeed also Pythians are-called he-gave and also of-all the
συῶν ἀπὸ τόκου χοῖρον λαμβάνειν, ὡς μήποτε ἀπορήσαι
sows from a-litter a-pig to-take so-that never should-lack
βασιλεὺς ἱερῶν, ἤν τι δεηθῇ θεοῖς συμβουλεύσασθαι.
the-king victims if in-anything he-needs the-gods to-consult

6 καὶ πρὸς τῇ οἰκίᾳ δὲ λίμνη ὕδατος ἀφθονίαν παρέχει· ὅτι
and by the house and a-pond of-water abundance provides that
δὲ καὶ τοῦτο πρὸς πολλὰ χρήσιμον οἱ μὴ ἔχοντες αὐτὸ
but also this for many-things useful the-ones not having it
μᾶλλον γιγνώσκουσι. καὶ ἕδρας δὲ πάντες ὑπανίστανται
more know and from-seats and all rise
βασιλεῖ, πλὴν οὐκ ἔφοροι ἀπὸ τῶν ἐφορικῶν δίφρων.
for-the-king except not ephors from the ephoral chairs

7 καὶ ὅρκους δὲ ἀλλήλοις κατὰ μῆνα ποιοῦνται, ἔφοροι
and oaths and to-one-another by month make ephors
μὲν ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως, βασιλεὺς δ' ὑπὲρ ἑαυτοῦ. ὁ
indeed on-behalf-of the city the-king and on-behalf-of himself the

δὲ ὅρκος ἐστὶ τῷ μὲν βασιλεῖ κατὰ τοὺς τῆς πόλεως
and oath is for-the indeed king according-to the of-the city
κειμένους νόμους βασιλεύσειν, τῇ δὲ πόλει ἐμπεδορκοῦντος
established laws to-be-going-to-reign for-the and city keeping-his-oath
ἐκείνου ἀστυφέλικτον τὴν βασιλείαν παρέξειν.
that-man unshaken the kingship to-be-going-to-keep
αὗται μὲν οὖν αἱ τιμαὶ οἴκοι ζῶντι βασιλεῖ δέδονται, οὐδέν 8
these indeed then the honors at-home living for-the-king have-been-given in-nothing
τι πολὺ ὑπερφέρουσαι τῶν ἰδιωτικῶν· οὐ γὰρ ἐβουλήθη
— much exceeding the private not for he-wished
οὔτε τοῖς βασιλεῦσι τυραννικὸν φρόνημα παραστῆσαι οὔτε
either in-the kings tyrannical pride to-instill or
τοῖς πολίταις φθόνον ἐμποιῆσαι τῆς δυνάμεως.
in-the citizens envy to-engender of-the power
αἱ δὲ τελευτήσαντι τιμαὶ βασιλεῖ δέδονται, τῇδε 9
the-ones but having-died honors for-the-king have-been-given in-this-way
βούλονται δηλοῦν οἱ Λυκούργου νόμοι ὅτι οὐχ ὡς
wish to-show the of-Lycurgus laws that not as
ἀνθρώπους ἀλλ' ὡς ἥρωας τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίων βασιλεῖς
men but as heroes the of-Lacedaemonians kings
προτετιμήκασιν.
they-have-honored-above-others

XENOPHON

ΙΠΠΑΡΧΙΚΟΣ

The Cavalry Commander

Xenophon advises the cavalry commander to begin by asking the gods for success, then to keep the roll full and the horses fed, sound-footed, and manageable, rejecting kickers. He should train riders to mount, ride over any ground, throw javelins, and wear good armor, and make them obedient. With the phylarchs and the council's help he should bring the rich into the cavalry, warn that unfit horses will be rejected, harden hooves on loose stones, and stir rivalry among the tribes with prizes.

Πρῶτον μὲν θύοντα χρὴ αἰτεῖσθαι θεοὺς ταῦτα 1
First indeed sacrificing one-must ask gods these-things
διδόναι καὶ νοεῖν καὶ λέγειν καὶ πράττειν ἀφ' ὧν θεοῖς
to-grant both to-think and to-say and to-do from which to-gods
μὲν κεχαρισμενώτατα ἄρξειας ἄν, σαυτῷ δὲ καὶ
indeed most-pleasingly you-might-command — to-yourself and both
φίλοις καὶ τῇ πόλει προσφιλέστατα καὶ εὐκλεέστατα καὶ
to-friends and to-the city most-dearly and most-gloriously and
πολυωφελέστατα.
most-beneficially
θεῶν δ' ἵλεων ὄντων ἀναβιβαστέον μέν σοι ἱππέας, καὶ 2
gods and propitious being one-must-mount indeed by-you horsemen both
ὅπως ἀναπληρῶται ὁ κατὰ τὸν νόμον ἀριθμὸς καὶ ὅπως
so-that may-be-filled-up the according-to the law number and so-that
τὸ ὂν ἱππικὸν μὴ μειῶται. εἰ δὲ μὴ προσαναβήσονται
the existing cavalry not may-be-diminished if but not will-mount-in-addition
ἱππεῖς, μείονες ἀεὶ ἔσονται· ἀνάγκη γὰρ τοὺς μὲν
horsemen fewer always they-will-be necessity for the-ones indeed
γήρᾳ ἀπαγορεύειν, τοὺς δὲ καὶ ἄλλως ἐκλείπειν.
through-old-age to-give-up the-ones and also otherwise to-drop-out
πληρουμένου γε μὴν τοῦ ἱππικοῦ ἐπιμελητέον μὲν 3
being-filled at-least truly the cavalry one-must-take-care indeed
ὅπως τρέφωνται οἱ ἵπποι ὡς ἂν δύνωνται πόνους
that may-be-fed the horses so-that — they-may-be-able toils

ὑποφέρειν· οἱ γὰρ ἥττους τῶν πόνων οὔτε αἱρεῖν οὔτε
to-bear the for weaker than-the toils neither to-overtake nor
ἀποφεύγειν δύναιντο ἄν. ἐπιμελητέον δὲ ὅπως εὔχρηστοι
to-escape could — one-must-take-care and that manageable
ὦσιν· οἱ γὰρ αὖ ἀπειθεῖς τοῖς πολεμίοις μᾶλλον ἢ
they-may-be the for in-turn disobedient the enemies rather than
τοῖς φίλοις συμμαχοῦσι.
the friends help

4 καὶ οἱ λακτίζοντες δὲ ἀναβεβαμένοι ἵπποι ἐκποδὼν
and the kicking and when-mounted horses out-of-the-way
ποιητέοι· οἱ γὰρ τοιοῦτοι πολλάκις πλείω κακὰ ἢ οἱ
must-be-made the for such often more harm than the
πολέμιοι ποιοῦσι. δεῖ δὲ καὶ τῶν ποδῶν ἐπιμελεῖσθαι,
enemies do it-is-needful and also of-the feet to-take-care
ὅπως δύνωνται καὶ ἐν τραχείᾳ χώρᾳ ἱππεύειν, εἰδότας ὅτι
so-that they-may-be-able also in rough country to-ride knowing that
ὅπου ἂν ἀλγῶσιν ἐλαυνόμενοι, ἐνταῦθα οὐ χρήσιμοί εἰσι.
where — they-are-in-pain being-ridden there not useful they-are

5 τῶν γε μὴν ἵππων ὑπαρχόντων οἵων δεῖ τοὺς
the at-least truly horses being such-as is-needful the
ἱππέας αὖ ἀσκητέον, πρῶτον μὲν ὅπως ἐπὶ τοὺς ἵππους
horsemen in-turn one-must-train first indeed that on the horses
ἀναπηδᾶν δύνωνται· πολλοῖς γὰρ ἤδη ἡ σωτηρία παρὰ
to-leap-up they-may-be-able for-many for already the safety by
τοῦτο ἐγένετο· δεύτερον δὲ ὅπως ἐν παντοίοις χωρίοις
this came-about second and that in all-kinds-of places
ἱππάζεσθαι δυνήσονται· καὶ γὰρ οἱ πόλεμοι ἄλλοτε ἐν
to-ride they-will-be-able and for the wars at-one-time in
ἀλλοίοις τόποις γίγνονται.
other places happen

ὅταν δὲ ἤδη ἔποχοι ὦσι, δεῖ αὖ σκοπεῖσθαι 6
when and already firm-seated they-are it-is-needful in-turn to-consider
ὅπως ἀκοντιοῦσί τε ὡς πλεῖστοι ἀπὸ τῶν ἵππων καὶ
that may-throw-javelins both as many-as-possible from the horses and
τἄλλα δυνήσονται ποιεῖν ἃ δεῖ τοὺς ἱππικούς. μετὰ
the-other-things will-be-able to-do which must the horsemen after
ταῦτα ὁπλιστέον καὶ ἵππους καὶ ἱππέας ὡς αὐτοὶ
these-things one-must-arm both horses and horsemen so-that themselves
μὲν ἥκιστα τιτρώσκοιντ' ἄν, βλάπτειν δὲ τοὺς πολεμίους
indeed least might-be-wounded — to-harm but the enemies
μάλιστα δύναιντ' ἄν.
most might-be-able —
ἐκ τούτων παρασκευαστέον ὅπως εὐπειθεῖς οἱ ἄνδρες 7
from these one-must-provide that obedient the men
ὦσιν· ἄνευ γὰρ τούτου οὔθ' ἵππων ἀγαθῶν οὔτε ἱππέων
may-be without for this neither of-horses good nor of-horsemen
ἐπόχων οὔτε ὅπλων καλῶν ὄφελος οὐδέν. προστατεύειν
firm-seated nor of-arms fine benefit any to-preside
μὲν οὖν τούτων πάντων ὅπως καλῶς γίγνηται τὸν
indeed then over-these all that finely it-may-be-done the
ἵππαρχον εἰκός ἐστιν.
hipparch likely it-is
ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ ἡ πόλις χαλεπὸν ἡγησαμένη ταῦτα πάντα 8
since and also the city hard having-thought these-things all
τὸν ἵππαρχον μόνον ὄντα κατεργάζεσθαι προσαιρεῖται
the hipparch alone being to-accomplish chooses-in-addition
μὲν αὐτῷ συνεργοὺς φυλάρχους, προσέταξε δὲ τῇ βουλῇ
indeed for-him as-fellow-workers phylarchs it-ordered and the council
συνεπιμελεῖσθαι τοῦ ἱππικοῦ, ἀγαθόν μοι δοκεῖ εἶναι
to-help-oversee the cavalry good to-me seems to-be
τοὺς μὲν φυλάρχους παρασκευάζειν συνεπιθυμεῖν σοι
the indeed phylarchs to-prepare to-share-the-desire with-you

τῶν καλῶν τῷ ἱππικῷ, ἐν δὲ τῇ βουλῇ ἔχειν ῥήτορας
of-the fine-things for-the cavalry in and the council to-have speakers
ἐπιτηδείους, ὅπως λέγοντες φοβῶσί τε τοὺς ἱππέας,
suitable so-that speaking they-may-frighten both the horsemen
βελτίονες γὰρ ἂν εἶεν φοβούμενοι, καταπραΰνωσί τε
better for — they-would-be frightened they-may-calm and
τὴν βουλήν, ἤν τι παρὰ καιρὸν χαλεπαίνῃ.
the council if anything out-of season it-should-be-harsh
9 ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ὑπομνήματα ὧν δεῖ σε ἐπιμελεῖσθαι·
these-things indeed then reminders of-what it-is-needful you to-take-care
ὡς δ' ἂν ἕκαστα τούτων βέλτιστα περαίνοιτο, τοῦτο
how and — each of-these best might-be-accomplished this
δὴ πειράσομαι λέγειν.
indeed I-will-try to-tell
Τοὺς μὲν τοίνυν ἱππέας δῆλον ὅτι καθιστάναι δεῖ
The indeed then horsemen clear that to-appoint it-is-needful
κατὰ τὸν νόμον τοὺς δυνατωτάτους καὶ χρήμασι καὶ
according-to the law the most-able both in-money and
σώμασιν ἢ εἰσάγοντα εἰς δικαστήριον ἢ πείθοντα.
in-bodies either bringing into court or persuading
10 ἐγὼ δὲ οἶμαι εἰς μὲν τὸ δικαστήριον τούτους εἰσακτέον
I and think into indeed the court these must-be-brought
εἶναι οὓς μὴ εἰσάγων ἄν τις διὰ κέρδος δοκοίη τοῦτο
to-be whom not bringing — anyone for gain might-seem this
ποιεῖν· καὶ γὰρ τοῖς ἧττον δυναμένοις εὐθὺς ἂν εἴη
to-do and for to-the less able at-once — would-be
ἀποστροφή, εἰ μὴ τοὺς δυνατωτάτους πρώτους ἀναγκάζοις.
an-excuse if not the most-able first you-should-compel
11 ἔτι δὲ καὶ οὕτως ἄν μοι δοκεῖ τις νέους μὲν τὰ
further and also so — to-me it-seems anyone young indeed the-things
ἐν ἱππικῇ λαμπρὰ λέγων εἰς ἐπιθυμίαν καθιστάναι τοῦ
in horsemanship splendid telling into desire would-bring of-the

ἱππεύειν, τοὺς δὲ κυρίους αὐτῶν ἧττον ἀντιτείνοντας ἔχειν,
to-ride the and guardians their less resisting to-have
τάδε διδάσκων ὡς ἀναγκασθήσονται μὲν ἱπποτροφεῖν,
these-things teaching that they-will-be-compelled indeed to-keep-horses
ἢν μὴ ὑπὸ σοῦ, ὑπ᾽ ἄλλου, διὰ τὰ χρήματα·
if not by you by another because-of the money
ἢν δ᾽ ἐπὶ σοῦ ἀναβῶσιν, ὡς ἀποστρέψεις μὲν τοὺς 12
if but under you they-mount that you-will-turn-away indeed the
παῖδας αὐτῶν τῶν πολυτελῶν τε καὶ μανικῶν ἱππωνιῶν,
sons their from-the costly both and mad horse-buyings
ἐπιμελήσει δὲ ὡς ἂν ταχὺ ἱππικοὶ γίγνοιντο. λέγοντα
you-will-take-care and that — quickly horsemen they-may-become saying
δὲ οὕτω καὶ ποιεῖν ταῦτα πειρατέον.
and so also to-do these-things one-must-try
τούς γε μὴν ὄντας ἱππέας ἡ βουλὴ ἄν μοι δοκεῖ 13
the at-least truly existing horsemen the council — to-me seems
προειποῦσα ὡς τὸ λοιπὸν δεήσει διπλάσια ἱππάζεσθαι
having-proclaimed that the future it-will-be-needful double to-ride
καὶ ὡς τὸν μὴ δυνάμενον ἵππον ἀκολουθεῖν ἀποδοκιμάσει
and that the not able horse to-follow it-will-reject
ἐπιτεῖναι ἂν τρέφειν τε ἄμεινον καὶ ἐπιμελεῖσθαι μᾶλλον
to-urge-on — to-feed both better and to-take-care more
τῶν ἵππων.
of-the horses
καὶ τοὺς βιαίους δ᾽ ἵππους ἀγαθόν μοι δοκεῖ εἶναι 14
and the vicious and horses good to-me it-seems to-be
προρρηθῆναι ὅτι ἀποδοκιμασθήσονται. αὕτη γὰρ ἡ ἀπειλὴ
to-be-proclaimed that they-will-be-rejected this for the threat
πωλεῖν ἂν τοὺς τοιούτους μᾶλλον παρορμήσειε καὶ
to-sell — the such rather would-spur and
ἱππωνεῖν σωφρονέστερον.
to-buy-horses more-prudently

15 ἀγαθὸν δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἐν ταῖς ἱππασίαις λακτίζοντας
good and also the in the rides kicking
ἵππους προρρηθῆναι ὅτι ἀποδοκιμασθήσονται· οὐδὲ γὰρ
horses to-be-proclaimed that they-will-be-rejected not-even for
συντάττειν τοὺς τοιούτους δυνατόν, ἀλλ' ἀνάγκη, κἄν
to-draw-up the such possible but necessity even-if
ποι ἐπὶ πολεμίους δέῃ ἐλαύνειν, ὑστάτους [ἂν]
somewhere against enemies it-be-needful to-ride last —
αὐτοὺς ἕπεσθαι, ὥστε διὰ τὴν τοῦ ἵππου κακουργίαν
them to-follow so-that because-of the of-the horse viciousness
ἄχρηστος καὶ ὁ ἱππεὺς καθίσταται.
useless also the horseman becomes

16 ὡς δ' ἂν καὶ οἱ πόδες εἶεν τῷ ἵππῳ κράτιστοι, εἰ μέν
how and — also the feet might-be for-the horse strongest if indeed
τις ἄλλην ἔχει ῥᾴω καὶ εὐτελεστέραν ἄσκησιν, ἐκείνη ἔστω·
anyone another has easier and cheaper training that let-it-be
εἰ δὲ μή, ἐγώ φημι χρῆναι πεῖραν ἔχων χύδην καταβαλόντα
if but not I say it-is-needful experience having in-a-heap having-thrown-down
λίθους τῶν ἐκ τῆς ὁδοῦ ὅσον μναιαίους καὶ πλέον καὶ
stones of-the-ones from the road about a-mina-each and more and
μεῖον, ἐν τούτοις τὸν ἵππον καὶ ψήχειν καὶ ἐνιστάναι
less on these the horse both to-rub-down and to-stand
ὅταν ἀπὸ τῆς φάτνης ἀποβῇ· βαδίζων γὰρ ἐν τοῖς λίθοις
whenever from the manger he-comes-out walking for on the stones
οὔποτε ὁ ἵππος παύσεται οὔθ' ὅταν ψήχηται οὔθ' ὅταν
never the horse will-cease neither when he-is-rubbed-down nor when
μυωπίζηται. ὁ δὲ πειραθεὶς τά τε ἄλλα ἃ λέγω
he-is-stung-by-flies the-one and having-tried the both other-things which I-say
πιστεύσει καὶ στρογγύλους τοὺς πόδας τοῦ ἵππου ὄψεται.
will-believe and round the hooves of-the horse will-see

ὁπότε γε μὴν οἱ ἵπποι εἰσὶν οἵους δεῖ, ὡς ἂν 17
when at-least truly the horses are such-as is-needful how —
αὐτοὶ οἱ ἱππεῖς ἄριστοι γίγνοιντο, τοῦτο διηγήσομαι.
themselves the horsemen best might-become this I-will-relate
τὸ μὲν τοίνυν τοὺς νέους αὐτῶν ἀναπηδᾶν ἐπὶ τοὺς
the indeed then the young of-them to-leap-up on the
ἵππους πείθοιμεν ἂν αὐτοὺς μανθάνειν· τὸν διδάξοντα
horses we-might-persuade — them to-learn the teacher
δὲ παρασχὼν ἐπαίνου δικαίως ἂν τυγχάνοις. τούς γε
and having-provided praise justly — you-would-obtain the at-least
μὴν πρεσβυτέρους τὸν Περσικὸν τρόπον ἀναβάλλεσθαι ὑπ᾽
truly older the Persian way to-be-helped-up by
ἄλλων προσεθίσας, καὶ τούτους ὠφελήσαις ἄν.
others having-accustomed also these you-would-benefit —
ὅπως γε μὴν ἐν παντοδαποῖς χωρίοις ἕποχοι οἱ ἱππεῖς 18
how at-least truly in all-kinds-of places firm-seated the horsemen
δυνήσονται εἶναι, τὸ μὲν πυκνὰ ἐξάγειν μὴ πολέμου ὄντος
will-be-able to-be the indeed often to-lead-out not war being
ἴσως ὀχληρόν· συγκαλέσαντα δὲ χρὴ τοὺς ἱππέας
perhaps troublesome having-called-together but it-is-needful the horsemen
συμβουλεῦσαι αὐτοῖς μελετᾶν, καὶ ὅταν εἰς χώραν ἐλαύνωσι
to-advise them to-practice both when into the-country they-ride
καὶ ὅταν ἄλλοσέ ποι, ἐκβιβάζοντας τῶν ὁδῶν καὶ ταχὺ
and when elsewhere somewhere leading-off from-the roads and quickly
ἐλαύνοντας ἐν τόποις παντοδαποῖς. τοῦτο γὰρ ὠφελεῖ μὲν
riding in places of-all-kinds this for benefits indeed
παραπλησίως τῷ ἐξάγειν, ὄχλον δ᾽ οὐχ ὅμοιον παρέχει.
nearly-as-much-as the to-lead-out trouble but not alike causes
ἐπιτήδειον δὲ ὑπομιμνήσκειν ὅτι καὶ ἡ πόλις ἀνέχεται 19
suitable and to-remind that also the city endures
δαπανῶσα εἰς τὸ ἱππικὸν ἐγγὺς τετταράκοντα τάλαντα τοῦ
spending on the cavalry nearly forty talents in-the

ἐνιαυτοῦ, ὡς ἢν πόλεμος γίγνηται, μὴ ζητεῖν δέῃ
year so-that if war happens not to-seek it-may-be-needful
ἱππικόν, ἀλλ' ἐξ ἑτοίμου ἔχῃ παρεσκευασμένῳ
a-cavalry but from readiness it-may-have prepared
χρῆσθαι. ταῦτα γὰρ ἐνθυμουμένους εἰκὸς καὶ τοὺς ἱππέας
to-use these-things for reflecting likely also the horsemen
μᾶλλον ἀσκεῖν τὴν ἱππικήν, ὅπως ἢν πόλεμος ἐγείρηται,
more to-practice the horsemanship so-that if war is-roused
μὴ ἀμελετήτους ὄντας ἀγωνίζεσθαι δέῃ περί τε
not unpracticed being to-contend it-may-be-needful about both
τῆς πόλεως καὶ περὶ εὐκλείας καὶ περὶ τῆς ψυχῆς.
the city and about glory and about the life
20 ἀγαθὸν δὲ καὶ τοῦτο προειπεῖν τοῖς ἱππεῦσιν ὅτι
good and also this to-announce to-the horsemen that
ἐξάξεις καὶ σύ ποτε αὐτοὺς καὶ διὰ παντοίων
you-will-lead-out also you sometime them and through all-kinds-of
χωρίων ἡγήσει. καὶ ἐν ταῖς μελέταις δὲ τῆς ἀνθιππασίας
places will-lead and in the practices and of-the sham-cavalry-fight
καλὸν ἐξάγειν ἄλλοτε εἰς ἀλλοῖον τόπον· καὶ γὰρ τοῖς
fine to-lead-out at-one-time into another place and for for-the
ἱππεῦσι καὶ τοῖς ἵπποις βέλτιον.
horsemen and for-the horses better
21 ἀκοντίζειν γε μὴν ἀπὸ τῶν ἵππων ὧδ' ἂν πλεῖστοί
to-throw-javelins at-least truly from the horses so — most
μοι δοκοῦσι μελετᾶν, εἰ τοῦτ' αὖ προείποις τοῖς
to-me seem to-practice if this in-turn you-should-announce to-the
φυλάρχοις ὅτι αὐτοὺς δεήσει ἡγουμένους τοῖς τῆς
phylarchs that them it-will-be-needful leading the of-the
φυλῆς ἀκοντισταῖς ἐλαύνειν ἐπὶ τὸ ἀκόντιον. φιλοτιμοῖντο
tribe javelin-throwers to-ride to the javelin-range would-be-ambitious

γὰρ ἄν, ᾗ εἰκός, ὡς πλείστους ἕκαστος ἀποδεῖξαι
for — as likely as many-as-possible each to-show
ἀκοντιστὰς τῇ πόλει.
javelin-throwers for-the city
ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ τοῦ καλῶς γε ὁπλισθῆναι τοὺς ἱππέας 22
but truly also of-the finely at-least to-be-armed the horsemen
οἱ φύλαρχοι ἄν μοι δοκοῦσι μέγιστον συλλαμβάνειν,
the phylarchs — to-me seem most to-contribute
εἰ πεισθείησαν ὅτι πολύ ἐστι πρὸς τῆς πόλεως
if they-should-be-persuaded that much it-is in-the-eyes-of the city
εὐδοξότερον τῇ τῆς φυλῆς λαμπρότητι κεκοσμῆσθαι ἢ
more-glorious with-the of-the tribe splendor to-be-adorned than
μόνον τῇ ἑαυτῶν στολῇ.
only with-the their-own equipment
εἰκὸς δὲ μὴ δυσπείστους εἶναι αὐτοὺς τὰ τοιαῦτα, οἵ 23
likely and not hard-to-persuade to-be them the such-things who
γε φυλαρχεῖν ἐπεθύμησαν δόξης καὶ τιμῆς ὀρεγόμενοι.
at-least to-be-phylarchs desired glory and honor reaching-for
δυνατοὶ δ᾽ εἰσὶ κατὰ τὰ ἐν τῷ νόμῳ ὁπλίσαι καὶ
able and they-are according-to the-things in the law to-arm even
ἄνευ τοῦ αὐτοὶ δαπανᾶν τῷ μισθῷ ἐπαναγκάζοντες
without the themselves to-spend with-the pay compelling
κατὰ τὸν νόμον ὁπλίζεσθαι.
according-to the law to-be-armed
εἴς γε μὴν τὸ εὐπειθεῖς εἶναι τοὺς ἀρχομένους μέγα 24
for at-least truly the obedient to-be the ruled great
μὲν καὶ τὸ λόγῳ διδάσκειν ὅσα ἀγαθὰ ἔνι ἐν τῷ
indeed also the by-word to-teach how-many goods there-are in the
πειθαρχεῖν, μέγα δὲ καὶ τὸ ἔργῳ [κατὰ τὸν νόμον]
to-obey-discipline great and also the in-deed according-to the law

πλεονεκτεῖν μὲν ποιεῖν τοὺς εὐτάκτους, μειονεκτεῖν δὲ ἐν
to-have-more indeed to-make the orderly to-have-less but in
πᾶσι τοὺς ἀτακτοῦντας.
all the disorderly

25 ἰσχυροτάτη δέ μοι δοκεῖ εἶναι παρόρμησις τῶν φυλάρχων
strongest and to-me seems to-be incentive of-the phylarchs
εἰς τὸ φιλοτιμεῖσθαι αὐτοὺς καλῶς παρεσκευασμένους
for the to-be-ambitious them finely prepared
ἕκαστον τῆς φυλῆς ἡγεῖσθαι, εἰ τοὺς ἀμφὶ σὲ προδρόμους
each the tribe to-lead if the around you forerunners
κοσμήσαις μὲν ὅπλοις ὡς κάλλιστα, ἀκοντίζειν δὲ
you-should-adorn indeed with-arms as finest-possible to-throw-javelins and
μελετᾶν ἐξαναγκάσαις ὡς μάλιστα, εἰσηγοῖο δὲ αὐτοῖς
to-practice you-should-compel as most-possible you-should-lead and them
ἐπὶ τὸ ἀκόντιον αὐτὸς εὖ μάλα μεμελετηκώς.
to the javelin-range yourself well very having-practiced

26 εἰ δὲ καὶ ἆθλά τις δύναιτο προτιθέναι ταῖς φυλαῖς
if and also prizes anyone could to-set-out for-the tribes
πάντων ὁπόσα ἀγαθὰ νομίζουσιν ἀσκεῖσθαι ἐν ταῖς θέαις
of-all as-many-as good-things they-think to-be-practiced in the spectacles
ὑπὸ τοῦ ἱππικοῦ, τοῦτο πάντας οἶμαι Ἀθηναίους γε
by the cavalry this all I-think Athenians at-least
μάλιστα προτρέπειν εἰς φιλονεικίαν. δῆλον δὲ τοῦτο καὶ ἐν
most to-urge to rivalry clear and this also in
τοῖς χοροῖς ὡς μικρῶν ἄθλων ἕνεκα πολλοὶ μὲν πόνοι,
the choruses how small prizes for-the-sake many indeed toils
μεγάλοι δὲ δαπάναι τελοῦνται. τοὺς μέντοι κριτὰς τοιούτους
great and expenses are-incurred the however judges such
δεῖ εὑρίσκειν παρ᾽ οἷς νικῶντες μάλιστ᾽ ἂν ἀγάλλοιντο.
one-must find by whom winning most — they-would-exult

Each tribe should be divided under decadarchs chosen from the vigorous and ambitious as front rankers, with as many of the oldest and wisest as rear rankers, the men between chosen by the decadarchs, and a capable man to lead the tribe off in retreat. An even number of files divides easily, and since the front rankers are all officers they are keener to do well and quicker to carry orders. Each tribe and file should know its place, so that the cavalry moves in good order and fights willingly.

Ἦν δὲ δή σοι ταῦτα πάντα ἐξησκημένοι ὦσιν οἱ 1
If and indeed for-you these-things all trained should-be the
ἱππεῖς, δεῖ δήπου καὶ τάξιν τινὰ ἐπίστασθαι αὐτοὺς
horsemen it-is-needful surely also formation some to-know them
ἐξ ἧς καλλίστας μὲν θεοῖς πομπὰς πέμψουσι, κάλλιστα
from which finest indeed for-gods processions they-will-conduct finest
δὲ ἱππάσονται, ἄριστα δὲ μαχοῦνται, ἢν δέῃ, ῥᾷστα
and they-will-ride best and they-will-fight if it-be-needful most-easily
δὲ καὶ ἀταρακτότατα ὁδοὺς πορεύσονται καὶ διαβάσεις
and also most-untroubled roads they-will-travel and crossings
περάσουσιν. ᾗ τοίνυν χρώμενοι τάξει δοκοῦσιν ἄν
will-pass which then using formation they-seem —
μοι ταῦτα κάλλιστα διαπράττεσθαι, ταύτην νῦν ἤδη
to-me these-things finest to-accomplish this now already
πειράσομαι δηλοῦν.
I-will-try to-show

οὐκοῦν ὑπὸ μὲν τῆς πόλεως ὑπάρχουσι διῃρημέναι φυλαί. 2
surely-then by indeed the city exist divided tribes
τούτων δ' ἐγώ φημι χρῆναι πρῶτον μὲν δεκαδάρχους
of-these and I say it-is-needful first indeed decadarchs
σὺν τῇ τῶν φυλάρχων ἑκάστου γνώμῃ καταστῆσαι ἐκ
with the of-the phylarchs each judgment to-appoint from

τῶν ἀκμαζόντων τε καὶ φιλοτιμοτάτων καλόν τι ποιεῖν
the ones-in-their-prime both and most-ambitious fine anything to-do
καὶ ἀκούειν· καὶ τούτους μὲν προστάτας δεῖ εἶναι.
and to-hear and these indeed front-rankers it-is-needful to-be
3 μετὰ δὲ τούτους ἴσους χρὴ τούτοις ἀριθμὸν ἐκ τῶν
after and these equal one-must to-these in-number from the
πρεσβυτάτων τε καὶ φρονιμωτάτων ἑλέσθαι οἵτινες
eldest both and most-sensible to-choose who
τελευταῖοι τῶν δεκάδων ἔσονται. εἰ γὰρ δεῖ καὶ
last of-the decads will-be if for one-must also
ἀπεικάσαι, οὕτω καὶ σίδηρος μάλιστα διατέμνει σίδηρον
to-make-a-comparison so also iron most cuts-through iron
ὅταν τό τε ἡγούμενον τοῦ τομέως ἐρρωμένον ᾖ καὶ τὸ
when the both leading of-the cutter strong be and the
ἐπελαυνόμενον ἱκανόν.
being-driven-on sufficient
4 τούς γε μὴν ἐν μέσῳ τῶν πρώτων καὶ τῶν τελευταίων, εἰ
the at-least truly in middle of-the first and of-the last if
οἱ δεκάδαρχοι ἐπιστάτας ἕλοιντο καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι ἐφέλοιντο,
the decadarchs file-leaders should-choose and the others should-choose-in-turn
οὕτως εἰκὸς ἑκάστῳ πιστότατον τὸν ἐπιστάτην εἶναι.
so likely for-each most-trustworthy the file-leader to-be
5 τὸν μέντοι ἀφηγούμενον ἐκ παντὸς τρόπου δεῖ
the however rear-leader by every means one-must
ἱκανὸν ἄνδρα καθιστάναι. ἀγαθὸς γὰρ ὤν, εἴτε ποτὲ
capable man to-appoint good for being whether ever
δέοι ἐπὶ πολεμίους ἐλαύνειν, ἐγκελεύων ῥώμην
it-should-be-needful against enemies to-ride cheering-on strength
ἂν ἐμβάλλοι τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν, εἴτ᾽ αὖ καὶ ἀποχωρεῖν
— he-would-instill in-the ones-in-front or in-turn also to-withdraw

καιρὸς συμβαίνοι, φρονίμως ἀφηγούμενος μᾶλλον ἂν ὡς
the-moment should-occur prudently leading-the-rear rather — as
τὸ εἰκὸς σώζοι τοὺς φυλέτας.
the likely he-would-save the tribesmen
οἱ μέντοι δεκάδαρχοι ἄρτιοι ὄντες πλείω ἴσα μέρη 6
the however decadarchs even being more equal parts
παρέχοιεν ἂν διαιρεῖν ἢ εἰ περιττοὶ εἶεν. αὕτη δέ
would-provide — to-divide than if odd they-were this and
μοι ἡ τάξις ἀρέσκει διὰ τάδε ὅτι πρῶτον μὲν
to-me the formation pleases because-of these-things that first indeed
οἱ προστάται πάντες ἄρχοντες γίγνονται· οἱ δ' αὐτοὶ
the front-rankers all commanders become the and same
ἄνδρες ὅταν ἄρχωσι, μᾶλλόν πως οἴονται ἑαυτοῖς
men when they-command more somehow think for-themselves
προσήκειν τι καλὸν ποιεῖν ἢ ὅταν ἰδιῶται ὦσιν·
to-be-fitting something fine to-do than when private-men they-are
ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ ὅταν πρακτέον τι ᾖ, τὸ παραγγέλλειν
then and also when must-be-done anything be the to-give-orders
μὴ ἰδιώταις ἀλλ' ἄρχουσι πολὺ ἀνυτικώτερον.
not to-private-men but to-commanders much more-effective
τεταγμένων γε μὴν οὕτω χρή, ὥσπερ καὶ τοῖς 7
having-been-drawn-up at-least truly so one-must as also to-the
φυλάρχοις προαγορεύεται ἡ χώρα ὑπὸ τοῦ ἱππάρχου ἐν ᾗ
phylarchs is-announced the place by the hipparch in which
ἑκάστῳ ἐλατέον, οὕτω καὶ τοῖς δεκαδάρχοις παρηγγέλθαι
for-each one-must-ride so also to-the decadarchs to-have-been-ordered
ὑπὸ τῶν φυλάρχων ὅπως πορευτέον ἑκάστῳ. οὕτω γὰρ
by the phylarchs how one-must-go for-each so for
προειρημένων πολὺ εὐτακτοτέρως ἂν ἔχοι ἢ εἰ ὥσπερ
announced-beforehand much more-orderly — it-would-be than if as
ἐκ θεάτρου ὡς ἂν τύχωσιν ἀπιόντες λυποῖεν ἀλλήλους.
from a-theater as — they-happen going-off they-would-annoy one-another

8 καὶ μάχεσθαι δὲ μᾶλλον ἐθέλουσιν οἵ τε πρῶτοι, ἤν
and to-fight and more they-are-willing the both first if
τι ἐκ τοῦ πρόσθεν προσπίπτῃ, οἷ ἂν εἰδῶσιν ὅτι
anything from the front should-fall-upon who — they-know that
αὕτη ἡ χώρα αὐτῶν· καὶ οἱ τελευταῖοι, ἤν τι ὄπισθεν
this the place theirs and the last if anything behind
ἐπιφαίνηται, ἐπιστάμενοι ὅτι αἰσχρὸν λιπεῖν τὴν τάξιν.
should-appear knowing that shameful to-leave the post
9 ἄτακτοι δ' ὄντες ἀλλήλους μὲν ταράττουσι καὶ ἐν
disorderly and being one-another indeed they-confuse both in
στεναῖς ὁδοῖς καὶ ἐν διαβάσεσι, τοῖς δὲ πολεμίοις οὐδεὶς
narrow roads and in crossings to-the but enemies no-one
ἑκὼν αὑτὸν τάττει μάχεσθαι. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν δὴ πάντα
willingly himself sets to-fight and these-things indeed then all
ὑπάρχειν δεῖ ἐκπεπονημένα πᾶσι τοῖς ἱππεῦσιν, εἰ
to-exist it-is-needful worked-out by-all the horsemen if
μέλλουσιν ἀπροφάσιστοι ἔσεσθαι συνεργοὶ τῷ ἡγουμένῳ.
they-are-going unhesitating to-be fellow-workers with-the leader

III · PROCESSIONS AND DISPLAYS

The commander must obtain good omens and give the city fine displays: in the procession the riders circle the shrines of the Agora and gallop by tribes to the Eleusinium; at the Lyceum they ride in line as into battle; in the hippodrome's sham fight the tribes charge through one another at the trumpet.

1 Τῶνδέ γε μὴν αὐτῷ ἤδη μέλειν δεῖ τῷ ἱππάρχῳ·
Of-these at-least truly himself already to-care it-is-needful the hipparch
πρῶτον μὲν ὅπως καλλιερήσει τοῖς θεοῖς ὑπὲρ
first indeed that he-will-obtain-good-omens from-the gods on-behalf-of
τοῦ ἱππικοῦ, ἔπειτα ὅπως τὰς πομπὰς ἐν ταῖς ἑορταῖς
the cavalry then that the processions in the festivals

ἀξιοθεάτους ποιήσει, ἔτι δὲ καὶ τἄλλα ὅσα
worth-seeing he-will-make further and also the-other-things as-many-as
ἐπιδεικνύναι δεῖ τῇ πόλει ὅπως ᾗ δυνατὸν κάλλιστα
to-display it-is-needful to-the city that as possible finest
ἐπιδείξει, τά τε ἐν Ἀκαδημείᾳ καὶ τὰ ἐν Λυκείῳ
he-will-display the-things both in the-Academy and the-things in the-Lyceum
καὶ τὰ Φαληροῖ καὶ τὰ ἐν τῷ ἱπποδρόμῳ. καὶ
and the-things at-Phalerum and the-things in the hippodrome and
ταῦτα μὲν ἄλλα ὑπομνήματα· ὡς δὲ τούτων ἕκαστα
these-things indeed other reminders how but of-these each
κάλλιστα ἂν πράττοιτο, νῦν αὖ ταῦτα λέξω.
finest — might-be-done now in-turn these-things I-will-tell
Τὰς μὲν οὖν πομπὰς οἶομαι ἂν καὶ τοῖς θεοῖς 2
The indeed then processions I-think — both to-the gods
κεχαρισμενωτάτας καὶ τοῖς θεαταῖς εἶναι εἰ ὅσων ἱερὰ
most-pleasing and to-the spectators to-be if as-many-as shrines
καὶ ἀγάλματα ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ ἐστι ταῦτα ἀρξάμενοι ἀπὸ
and statues in the market-place there-are these beginning from
τῶν Ἑρμῶν κύκλῳ περιελαύνοιεν τιμῶντες τοὺς θεούς.
the Herms in-a-circle they-should-ride-around honoring the gods
καὶ ἐν τοῖς Διονυσίοις δὲ οἱ χοροὶ προσεπιχαρίζονται
and in the Dionysia and the choruses add-grace
ἄλλοις τε θεοῖς καὶ τοῖς δώδεκα χορεύοντες. ἐπειδὰν
to-other both gods and to-the twelve dancing when
δὲ πάλιν πρὸς τοῖς Ἑρμαῖς γένωνται περιεληλακότες,
and again at the Herms they-are having-ridden-around
ἐντεῦθεν καλόν μοι δοκεῖ εἶναι κατὰ φυλὰς εἰς τάχος
from-there fine to-me seems to-be by tribes at speed
ἀνιέναι τοὺς ἵππους μέχρι τοῦ Ἐλευσινίου.
to-let-go the horses as-far-as the Eleusinium

3 οὐδὲ δόρατα μὴν παραλείψω ὡς ἥκιστα ἂν ἀλλήλοις
nor spears truly I-will-omit so-that least — with-one-another
ἐπαλλάττοιτο. δεῖ γὰρ μεταξὺ τοῖν ὤτοιν τοῦ ἵππου
they-might-cross it-is-needful for between the two-ears of-the horse
ἕκαστον σχεῖν, εἰ μέλλει φοβερά τε καὶ εὐκρινῆ ἔσεσθαι
each to-hold if they-are-going terrible both and distinct to-be
καὶ ἅμα πολλὰ φανεῖσθαι.
and at-once many to-appear

4 ἐπειδὰν δὲ τῆς εἰς τάχος διελάσεως λήξωσι, τὴν ἄλλην ἤδη
when and of-the at speed riding-through they-cease the rest already
καλὸν σχέδην εἰς τὰ ἱερά, ᾗπερ καὶ πρόσθεν, διελαύνειν.
fine slowly to the shrines by-which-very also before to-ride-through
καὶ οὕτως ὅσα ἔστιν ἐν ἵππῳ ἀναβεβαμένῳ πάντα
and so as-many-as are in horse mounted all
ἐπιδεδειγμένα ἔσται καὶ τοῖς θεοῖς καὶ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις.
displayed will-be both to-the gods and to-the men

5 καὶ ὅτι μὲν ταῦτα οὐκ εἰθισμένοι ποιεῖν οἱ ἱππεῖς εἰσιν
and that indeed these-things not accustomed to-do the horsemen are
οἶδα· γιγνώσκω δὲ ὅτι ἀγαθὰ καὶ καλὰ καὶ τοῖς θεαταῖς
I-know I-recognize but that good and fine and to-the spectators
ἡδέα ἔσται. αἰσθάνομαι δὲ καὶ ἄλλα ἀγωνίσματα
pleasant they-will-be I-perceive and also other feats
τοὺς ἱππέας κεκαινουργηκότας, ἐπειδὴ οἱ ἵππαρχοι ἱκανοὶ
the horsemen having-innovated since the hipparchs able
ἐγένοντο πεῖσαι ἃ ἠβουλήθησαν.
were to-persuade what they-wished

6 ὅταν γε μὴν πρὸ τοῦ ἀκοντισμοῦ διελαύνωσιν ἐν
when at-least truly before the javelin-display they-ride-through in
Λυκείῳ, καλὸν ἑκατέρας τὰς πέντε φυλὰς ἐπὶ μετώπου
the-Lyceum fine both-groups-of the five tribes in front
ἐλαύνειν ὥσπερ εἰς μάχην ἡγουμένου τοῦ ἱππάρχου καὶ
to-ride as into battle leading the hipparch and

τῶν φυλάρχων ἐν τοιαύτῃ τάξει ἀφ᾽ ἧς πληρώσεται
the phylarchs in such a-formation from which will-be-filled
τοῦ δρόμου τὸ πλάτος.
of-the course the breadth
ἐπειδὰν δ᾽ ὑπερβάλωσι τὸ κεφάλαιον τοῦ ἀντιπροσώπου 7
when and they-pass-over the summit of-the opposite
θεάτρου, χρήσιμον ἂν οἶομαι φανῆναι καὶ εἰ καθ᾽ ὁπόσους
theater useful — I-think to-appear also if by as-many-as
μέτριον εἰς τὸ κάταντες δυναμένους ταχὺ ἐλαύνειν
moderate down the slope able quickly to-ride
ἐπιδείξαις τοὺς ἱππέας.
you-should-display the horsemen
οὐ μέντοι ἀγνοῶ ὅτι ἢν μὲν πιστεύωσι δυνήσεσθαι 8
not however I-am-ignorant-of that if indeed they-trust to-be-going-to-be-able
ταχὺ ἐλαύνειν, πάνυ ἂν ἡδέως ἐπιδείξαιντο· ἢν δὲ
quickly to-ride very — gladly they-would-display-it if but
ἀμελέτητοι ὦσιν, ὁρᾶν χρὴ ὅπως μὴ οἱ πολέμιοι
unpracticed they-are to-see it-is-needful that not the enemies
αὐτοὺς τοῦτο δρᾶν ἀναγκάσουσιν.
them this to-do will-compel
Ἔν γε μὴν ταῖς δοκιμασίαις ἡ μὲν τάξις εἴρηται 9
In at-least truly the inspections the indeed formation has-been-told
μεθ᾽ ἧς ἂν κάλλιστα ἱππάζοιντο. ἢν δ᾽ ὁ ἡγούμενος,
with which — finest they-might-ride if but the leader
ἤνπερ ἔχῃ δυνατὸν ἵππον, ἐν τῷ ἔξωθεν ἀεὶ στίχῳ
if-indeed he-has strong horse in the outside always file
περιφέρηται, οὕτως αὐτὸς μὲν ἀεὶ ταχὺ ἐλᾷ καὶ οἱ
is-carried-around so himself indeed always quickly will-ride and the-ones
σὺν αὐτῷ ἔξωθεν γιγνόμενοι πάλιν αὖ ταχὺ ἐλῶσιν·
with him outside becoming again in-turn quickly will-ride

ὥστε ἡ μὲν βουλὴ ἀεὶ τὸ ταχὺ ἐλαυνόμενον θεάσεται,
so-that the indeed council always the quickly being-ridden will-behold
οἱ δὲ ἵπποι οὐκ ἀπεροῦσιν ἐν μέρει ἀναπαυόμενοι.
the but horses not will-tire in turn resting
10 ὅταν γε μὴν ἐν τῷ ἱπποδρόμῳ ἡ ἐπίδειξις ᾖ, καλὸν
when at-least truly in the hippodrome the display is fine
μὲν οὕτω πρῶτον τάξασθαι ὡς ἂν ἐπὶ μετώπου
indeed so first to-be-drawn-up so-that — in front
ἐμπλήσαντες ἵππων τὸν ἱππόδρομον ἐξελάσειαν τοὺς
having-filled with-horses the hippodrome they-might-drive-out the
ἐκ τοῦ μέσου ἀνθρώπους.
from the middle people
11 καλὸν δ', ἐπεὶ αἱ φυλαὶ ἐν τῇ ἀνθιππασίᾳ φεύγουσί τε
fine and since the tribes in the sham-cavalry-fight flee both
ἀλλήλας καὶ διώκουσι ταχέως, ὅταν οἱ ἵππαρχοι ἡγῶνται
one-another and pursue quickly when the hipparchs lead
ταῖς πέντε φυλαῖς, ἑκατέρας διελαύνειν τὰς φυλὰς δι'
the five tribes both-groups to-ride-through the tribes through
ἀλλήλων. ταύτης γὰρ τῆς θέας τό τε ἀντιμετώπους
one-another of-this for the spectacle the both face-to-face
προσελαύνειν ἀλλήλοις γοργόν, τό τε διελάσαντας τὸν
to-ride-at one-another fierce the both having-ridden-through the
ἱππόδρομον ἀντίους πάλιν στῆναι ἀλλήλοις σεμνόν,
hippodrome facing again to-stand one-another majestic
12 καὶ τὸ ἀπὸ σάλπιγγος αὖ τὸ δεύτερον θᾶττον ἐπελαύνειν
and the from trumpet in-turn the second-time faster to-charge
καλόν. στάντας δὲ ἤδη τὸ τρίτον αὖ ἀπὸ [τῆς] σάλπιγγος
fine having-halted and already the third-time in-turn from the trumpet
χρὴ τάχιστα ἀλλήλοις ἐπελαύνειν, καὶ διελάσαντας
one-must most-quickly at-one-another to-charge and having-ridden-through

εἰς κατάλυσιν ἤδη ἐπὶ φάλαγγος ἅπαντας καταστάντας,
for dismissal already in line all having-formed
ὥσπερ εἰώθατε, πρὸς τὴν βουλὴν προσελαύνειν.
as you-are-accustomed toward the council to-ride-up
ταῦτά μοι δοκεῖ πολεμικώτερά τε φαίνεσθαι ἂν καὶ 13
these-things to-me seem more-warlike both to-appear — and
καινότερα. τὸ δὲ βραδύτερον μὲν τῶν φυλάρχων ἐλαύνειν,
newer the but slower indeed than-the phylarchs to-ride
τὸν δ' αὐτὸν τρόπον ἐκείνοις ἱππεύειν, οὐκ ἄξιον ἱππαρχίας.
the and same way as-they to-ride not worthy of-the-hipparchy
ὅταν γε μὴν ἐν τῷ ἐπικρότῳ ἐν Ἀκαδημείᾳ ἱππεύειν 14
when at-least truly on the hard-ground in the-Academy to-ride
δέῃ, ἔχω τάδε παραινέσαι· εἰς μὲν τὸ μὴ
it-be-needful I-have these-things to-advise for indeed the not
ἀποκρούεσθαί ποτε τῶν ἵππων ὑπτίους ἀναπεπτωκότας
to-be-thrown-off ever the horses on-their-backs leaning-back
ἐλαύνειν, εἰς δὲ τὸ μὴ πίπτειν τοὺς ἵππους ὑπολαμβάνειν
to-ride for and the not to-fall the horses to-hold-up
ἐν ταῖς ἀναστροφαῖς. τὰ μέντοι ὀρθὰ ταχὺ ἐλαύνειν χρή·
in the turns the however straights quickly to-ride one-must
οὕτω γὰρ τὸ ἀσφαλὲς καὶ τὸ καλὸν θεάσεται ἡ βουλή.
so for the safety and the beauty will-behold the council

On the march the commander should rest horses and men by turns, ride in column through narrow places and in line on the plains, and send guides ahead over rough country and scouts into danger. He should learn the country in peacetime, keep spies and false deserters, and never trust spies so far as to neglect his guards. Hidden outposts are better than visible ones, and he should risk battle only where he has the advantage, strike where the enemy is weak, and learn from kites and wolves how to seize what is unguarded.

1 Ἔν γε μὴν ταῖς πορείαις ἀεὶ δεῖ τὸν ἵππαρχον
In at-least truly the marches always it-is-needful the hipparch
προνοεῖν ὅπως ἀναπαύῃ μὲν τῶν ἵππων τὰς ἕδρας,
to-take-forethought that he-may-rest indeed of-the horses the backs
ἀναπαύῃ δὲ τοὺς ἱππέας τοῦ βαδίζειν, μέτριον μὲν
he-may-rest and the horsemen from-the walking moderate indeed
ὀχοῦντα, μέτριον δὲ πεζοποροῦντα. τοῦ δὲ μετρίου ἐννοῶν
riding moderate and going-on-foot of-the and moderate reflecting
οὐκ ἂν ἁμαρτάνοις· αὐτὸς γὰρ μέτρον ἕκαστος τοῦ μὴ
not — you-would-err himself for the-measure each of-the not
λαθεῖν ὑπερπονοῦντας.
to-escape-notice overtoiling

2 ὅταν μέντοι ἀδήλου ὄντος εἰ πολεμίοις ἐντεύξει πορεύῃ
when however unclear being whether with-enemies you-will-meet you-march
ποι, κατὰ μέρος χρὴ τὰς φυλὰς ἀναπαύειν. χαλεπὸν
somewhere in turn one-must the tribes to-rest hard
γὰρ εἰ πᾶσι καταβεβηκόσι πλησιάσειαν οἱ πολέμιοι.
for if on-all dismounted should-come-near the enemies

3 καὶ ἦν μέν γε διὰ στενῶν ὁδῶν ἐλαύνῃς, ἀπὸ
and if indeed at-least through narrow roads you-ride from
παραγγέλσεως εἰς κέρας ἡγητέον· ἦν δὲ πλατείαις
word-of-command in column one-must-lead if but broad

ἐπιτυγχάνῃς ὁδοῖς, ἀπὸ παραγγέλσεως αὖ πλατυντέον
you-come-upon roads from word-of-command in-turn one-must-widen
τῆς φυλῆς ἑκάστης τὸ μέτωπον· ὅταν γε μὴν εἰς πεδίον
of-the tribe each the front when at-least truly into a-plain
ἀφικνῆσθε, ἐπὶ φάλαγγος πάσας τὰς φυλάς. ἀγαθὸν γὰρ καὶ
you-come in line all the tribes good for both
μελέτης ἕνεκα ταῦτα ποιεῖν, καὶ τοῦτο ἥδιον διαπερᾶν
of-practice for-the-sake these-things to-do and this more-pleasantly to-traverse
τὰς ὁδοὺς ποικίλλοντας ἱππικαῖς τάξεσι τὰς πορείας.
the roads varying with-cavalry formations the marches
ὅταν μέντοι ἔξω τῶν ὁδῶν διὰ δυσχωρίας ἐλαύνητε, 4
when however outside the roads through rough-country you-ride
μάλα χρήσιμον καὶ ἐν πολεμίᾳ καὶ ἐν φιλίᾳ προελαύνειν
very useful both in hostile and in friendly to-ride-ahead
τῆς φυλῆς ἑκάστης τῶν ὑπηρετῶν οἵτινες, ἢν ἀπόροις
of-the tribe each of-the attendants who if impassable
νάπαις ἐντυγχάνωσι, παριόντες ἐπὶ τὰ εὔπορα δηλώσουσι
ravines they-meet going-by to the passable-places will-show
τοῖς ἱππεῦσιν ᾗ χρὴ τὴν ἔλασιν ποιεῖσθαι, ὡς μὴ
to-the horsemen where it-is-needful the riding to-make so-that not
ὅλαι αἱ τάξεις πλανῶνται.
whole the formations may-wander
ἢν δὲ ἐπὶ κίνδυνον ἐλαύνητέ που, φρονίμου ἱππάρχου 5
if but into danger you-ride somewhere of-a-prudent hipparch
τὸ τῶν προόδων ἄλλους προόδους διερευνωμένους
the of-the advance-guard other advance-guards scouting
προηγεῖσθαι· τὸ γὰρ ὡς ἐκ πλείστου προαισθάνεσθαι
to-lead-ahead the for as from farthest to-perceive-beforehand
πολεμίων χρήσιμον καὶ πρὸς τὸ ἐπιθέσθαι καὶ πρὸς τὸ
enemies useful both for the to-attack and for the
φυλάξασθαι, καὶ τὸ ἀναμένειν δὲ ἐπὶ ταῖς διαβάσεσιν,
to-guard-against and the to-wait and at the crossings

ὡς μὴ κατακόπτωσι τοὺς ἵππους οἱ τελευταῖοι τὸν
so-that not may-wear-out the horses the last the
ἡγεμόνα διώκοντες. ἴσασι μὲν οὖν ταῦτα σχεδὸν πάντες,
leader pursuing know indeed then these-things nearly all
καρτερεῖν δ' ἐπιμελόμενοι οὐ πολλοὶ ἐθέλουσι.
to-persevere but taking-care not many are-willing

6 Προσήκει δὲ ἱππάρχῳ ἔτι ἐν εἰρήνῃ ἐπιμελεῖσθαι ὅπως
It-befits and for-a-hipparch still in peace to-take-care that
ἐμπείρως ἕξει τῆς τε πολεμίας καὶ τῆς φιλίας χώρας·
experienced he-will-be-of the both hostile and the friendly country
ἢν δ' ἄρα αὐτὸς ἀπείρως ἔχῃ, τῶν ἄλλων γε δὴ
if but then he inexperienced be of-the others at-least indeed
τοὺς ἐπιστημονεστάτους ἑκάστων τόπων παραλαμβάνειν.
the most-knowledgeable of-each places to-take-along
πάνυ γὰρ διαφέρει ὁ ἡγούμενος εἰδὼς τὰς ὁδοὺς τοῦ
quite for differs the-one leading knowing the roads from-the
μὴ εἰδότος, καὶ ἐπιβουλεύων δὲ πολεμίοις ὁ εἰδὼς
not knowing and plotting and against-enemies the-one knowing
τοὺς τόπους τοῦ μὴ εἰδότος πολὺ διαφέρει.
the places from-the not knowing much differs

7 καὶ κατασκόπων δὲ πρὶν πόλεμον εἶναι δεῖ μεμεληκέναι
and of-spies and before war to-be it-is-needful to-have-taken-care
ὅπως ἔσονται καὶ ἐκ πόλεων ἀμφοτέροις φιλίων καὶ ἐξ
that there-will-be both from cities to-both friendly and from
ἐμπόρων· πᾶσαι γὰρ αἱ πόλεις τοὺς εἰσάγοντάς τι
traders all for the cities the-ones importing anything
ἀεὶ ὡς εὐμενεῖς δέχονται· καὶ ψευδαυτόμολοι δ' ἔστιν
always as well-disposed receive and false-deserters and there-is
ὅτε χρήσιμον.
times useful

οὐ μέντοι τοῖς γε κατασκόποις δεῖ ποτε πιστεύοντα 8
not however the at-least spies it-is-needful ever trusting
φυλακῆς ἀμελεῖν, ἀλλ᾽ ἀεὶ οὕτω κατεσκευάσθαι χρὴ
of-guard to-neglect but always so to-be-prepared one-must
ὥσπερ ἢν ἥξοντες εἰσηγγελμένοι ὦσιν οἱ πολέμιοι. καὶ γὰρ
as if coming announced should-be the enemies and for
ἢν πάνυ πιστοὶ ὦσιν οἱ κατάσκοποι, χαλεπὸν ἐν καιρῷ
if very trustworthy be the spies hard in time
ἀπαγγέλλειν· πολλὰ γὰρ ἐν πολέμῳ τὰ ἐμπόδια ἐμπίπτει.
to-report many for in war the hindrances befall
τάς γε μὴν ἐξαγωγὰς τοῦ ἱππικοῦ ἧττον ἂν οἱ πολέμιοι 9
the at-least truly marchings-out of-the cavalry less — the enemies
αἰσθάνοιντο, εἰ ἀπὸ παραγγέλσεως γίγνοιντο μᾶλλον
would-perceive if from word-of-command they-happened rather
ἢ ἀπὸ κήρυκος ἢ ἀπὸ προγραφῆς. ἀγαθὸν οὖν καὶ
than from herald or from posted-notice good then also
πρὸς τῷ διὰ παραγγέλσεως ἐξάγειν τὸ δεκαδάρχους
besides the through word-of-command to-lead-out the decadarchs
καθιστάναι, καὶ τοῖς [τε] δεκαδάρχοις πεμπαδάρχους, ἵν᾽
to-appoint and for-the both decadarchs pempadarchs so-that
ὡς ἐλαχίστοις ἕκαστος παραγγέλλῃ·
as to-fewest each may-give-orders
καὶ τὸ μέτωπον δὲ οὕτω μηκύνοιεν ἂν τῆς τάξεως 10
and the front and so would-lengthen — of-the formation
ἀταράκτως οἱ πεμπάδαρχοι παράγοντες, ὁπότε τούτου
untroubled the pempadarchs bringing-up whenever of-this
καιρὸς εἴη. ὅταν γε μὴν προφυλάττειν δέῃ, ἐγὼ
the-moment should-be when at-least truly to-keep-outposts it-be-needful I
μὲν ἀεὶ ἐπαινῶ τὰς κρυπτὰς σκοπιάς τε καὶ φυλακάς·
indeed always praise the hidden lookouts both and guards

οὕτω γὰρ ἅμα μὲν τῶν φίλων φυλακαὶ γίγνονται, ἅμα
so for at-once indeed of-the friends guards become at-once
δὲ τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐνέδραι κατασκευάζονται.
and for-the enemies ambushes are-prepared

11 καὶ αὐτοὶ μὲν δυσεπιβουλευτότεροί εἰσιν ἀφανεῖς ὄντες,
and themselves indeed harder-to-plot-against are unseen being
τοῖς δὲ πολεμίοις φοβερώτεροι. τὸ γὰρ εἰδέναι μὲν ὅτι
to-the but enemies more-terrible the for to-know indeed that
εἰσί που φυλακαί, ὅπου δ᾽ εἰσὶ καὶ ὁπόσαι μὴ
there-are somewhere guards where but they-are and how-many not
εἰδέναι, τοῦτο θαρρεῖν μὲν κωλύει τοὺς πολεμίους,
to-know this to-be-confident indeed prevents the enemies
ὑποπτεύειν δὲ ἀναγκάζει πάντα τὰ χωρία· αἱ δὲ φανεραὶ
to-suspect and compels all the places the but visible
φυλακαὶ δῆλα ἔχουσι καὶ τὰ δεινὰ καὶ τὰ εὐθαρσῆ.
guards clear have both the dangers and the safe-things

12 ἔτι δὲ τῷ μὲν κρυπτὰς ἔχοντι φυλακὰς ἐξέσται
further and for-the-one indeed hidden having guards it-will-be-possible
μὲν φανεροῖς ὀλίγοις ἔμπροσθεν τῶν κρυπτῶν φυλάττοντα
indeed with-visible few in-front of-the hidden guarding
πειρᾶσθαι τοὺς πολεμίους εἰς ἐνέδρας ὑπάγειν. ἀγρευτικὸν
to-try the enemies into ambushes to-lure good-for-hunting
δὲ καὶ ὄπισθεν τῶν κρυπτῶν ἄλλοις φανεροῖς ἔστιν ὅτε
and also behind the hidden with-others visible there-is times
φυλάττειν· καὶ τοῦτο γὰρ ἐξαπατητικὸν τῶν πολεμίων
to-guard also this for deceptive of-the enemies
ὁμοίως τῷ πρόσθεν εἰρημένῳ.
equally to-the before said

13 ἀλλὰ μὴν φρονίμου γε ἄρχοντος καὶ τὸ μήποτε
but truly of-a-prudent at-least commander also the never
κινδυνεύειν ἑκόντα, πλὴν ὅπου ἂν πρόδηλον ᾖ ὅτι πλεῖον
to-run-risks willingly except where — evident be that more

ἕξει τῶν πολεμίων· τὸ δὲ ὑπηρετεῖν τὰ ἥδιστα
he-will-have than-the enemies the and to-serve the-things most-pleasant
τοῖς πολεμίοις προδοσία τῶν ξυμμάχων δικαίως ἂν
to-the enemies betrayal of-the allies justly —
μᾶλλον ἢ ἀνδρεία κρίνοιτο.
rather than courage would-be-judged
σῶφρον δὲ καὶ τὸ ἐκεῖσε ὁρμᾶν ὅπου ἂν ἀσθενῇ τὰ τῶν 14
prudent and also the there to-rush where — weak the-things of-the
πολεμίων ᾖ, κἂν πρόσω ὄντα τυγχάνῃ. τὸ γὰρ σφόδρα
enemies be even-if far being they-happen the for hard
πονῆσαι ἀκινδυνότερον ἢ πρὸς τοὺς κρείττους ἀγωνίζεσθαι.
to-toil less-dangerous than against the stronger to-contend
ἢν δέ πῃ εἰς μέσον φιλίων τειχέων εἰσίωσιν οἱ 15
if and somewhere into middle of-friendly walls come the
πολέμιοι, κἂν πολὺ κρείττους ὄντες, καλὸν μὲν ἐντεῦθεν
enemies even-if much stronger being fine indeed from-there
ἐπιχειρεῖν ὁποτέρωθι ἂν λελήθῃς παρών, καλὸν δὲ
to-attack on-whichever-side — you-escape-notice being-present fine and
καὶ ἅμα ἀμφοτέρωθεν. ὅταν γὰρ οἱ ἕτεροι ἀποχωρῶσιν,
also at-once from-both-sides when for the ones withdraw
οἱ ἐκ τοῦ ἐπὶ θάτερα ἐλαύνοντες ταράττοιεν μὲν
the-ones from the on the-other-side riding would-confuse indeed
ἂν τοὺς πολεμίους, σώζοιεν δ' ἂν τοὺς φίλους.
— the enemies would-save and — the friends
καὶ τὸ μὲν διὰ κατασκόπων πειρᾶσθαι εἰδέναι τὰ 16
and the indeed through spies to-try to-know the-things
τῶν πολεμίων πάλαι εἴρηται ὡς ἀγαθόν ἐστιν. ἐγὼ
of-the enemies long-ago has-been-said that good it-is I
δὲ πάντων ἄριστον νομίζω εἶναι τὸ αὐτὸν πειρᾶσθαι, ἢν
but of-all best think to-be the himself to-try if

ᾖ ποθεν ἐξ ἀσφαλοῦς, θεώμενον τοὺς πολεμίους
it-be-possible from-anywhere from safety watching the enemies
ἀθρεῖν, ἤν τι ἁμαρτάνωσι.
to-observe if in-anything they-err

17 καὶ τὸ μὲν κλαπῆναι δυνατὸν πέμπειν χρὴ τοὺς
and the indeed to-be-stolen possible to-send one-must the
ἐπιτηδείους κλέψοντας, τὸ δ' ἁρπασθῆναι ἐγχωροῦν ἐφιέναι
suitable going-to-steal the but to-be-seized being-possible to-let-loose
τοὺς ἁρπάσοντας. ἢν δὲ πορευομένων ποι τῶν πολεμίων
the going-to-seize if and marching somewhere the enemies
ἀπαρτᾶταί τι ἀσθενέστερον τῆς αὐτοῦ δυνάμεως ἢ
is-detached anything weaker from-the its-own force or
θαρροῦν ἀποσκεδαννύηται, οὐδὲ ταῦτα χρὴ λανθάνειν·
being-confident is-scattered not-even these-things one-must to-escape-notice
ἀεὶ μέντοι τῷ ἰσχυροτέρῳ τὸ ἀσθενέστερον θηρᾶν.
always however with-the stronger the weaker to-hunt

18 δυνατὸν δὲ προσέχοντι τὸν νοῦν ταῦτα καταμανθάνειν,
possible and to-one-paying the attention these-things to-learn
ἐπεὶ καὶ τὰ βραχυγνωμονέστερα ἀνθρώπου θηρία οἵ τε
since even the less-intelligent than-man beasts the both
ἴκτινοι δύνανται ὃ ἂν ἀφύλακτον ᾖ ἁφαρπάσαντες εἰς
kites are-able what — unguarded be having-snatched to
τὸ ἀσφαλὲς ἀποχωρεῖν πρὶν ληφθῆναι καὶ οἱ λύκοι δὲ
the safety to-withdraw before to-be-caught and the wolves and
τά τε ἐρημούμενα φυλακῆς ἀγρεύουσι καὶ τὰ ἐν
the-things both bereft of-guard hunt and the-things in
τοῖς δυσοράτοις κλέπτουσι,
the hard-to-see-places steal

19 κἂν μεταθέων γέ τις ἐπιγίγνηται κύων, ἢν μὲν ἥττων
and-if running-after at-least any comes-upon a-dog if indeed weaker
ᾖ, τούτῳ ἐπιτίθεται· ἢν δὲ κρείττων, ἀποσφάξας ὅ τι
it-be this-one it-attacks if but stronger having-slaughtered what ever

ἂν ἔχῃ ἀποχωρεῖ. ὅταν δέ γε φυλακῆς καταφρονήσωσι
— *it-has it-withdraws when and at-least of-a-guard they-despise*
λύκοι, τάξαντες ἑαυτῶν τοὺς μὲν ἀπελαύνειν τὴν
wolves having-posted of-themselves the-ones indeed to-drive-off the
φυλακήν, τοὺς δὲ ἁρπάζειν, οὕτω τὰ ἐπιτήδεια πορίζονται.
guard the-others and to-seize so the provisions they-procure
θηρίων γε μὴν δυναμένων τὰ τοιαῦτα φρονίμως λῄζεσθαι, 20
beasts at-least truly being-able the such-things sensibly to-plunder
πῶς οὐκ ἄνθρωπόν γε ὄντα εἰκὸς σοφώτερον τούτων
how not a-man at-least being likely wiser than-these
φαίνεσθαι ἃ καὶ αὐτὰ τέχνῃ ὑπ᾽ ἀνθρώπου ἁλίσκεται;
to-appear which even themselves by-art by man are-caught

V · DECEPTIONS

A cavalry commander should know how far a horse can catch a man and on what ground infantry beats cavalry, make few horsemen look many and many few, and frighten the enemy with false ambushes and reports, since nothing in war is more profitable than deception, always undertaken with the gods.

Κἀκεῖνό γε μὴν εἰδέναι ἱππικοῦ ἀνδρός, ἐκ πόσου ἂν 1
Also-that at-least truly to-know of-a-cavalry man from how-far —
ἵππος πεζὸν ἕλοι καὶ ἐξ ὁπόσου βραδεῖς ἂν ἵπποι
a-horse a-foot-soldier would-catch and from what-distance slow — horses
ταχεῖς ἀποφύγοιεν. ἱππαρχικὸν δὲ καὶ χωρία γιγνώσκειν
fast-ones would-escape of-a-hipparch and also places to-know
ἔνθα πεζοὶ κρείττους ἱππέων καὶ ἔνθα πεζῶν
where foot-soldiers stronger than-horsemen and where than-foot-soldiers
κρείττους ἱππεῖς.
stronger horsemen

2 χρὴ δὲ μηχανητικὸν εἶναι καὶ τοῦ πολλοὺς μὲν
it-is-needful and inventive to-be both of-the many indeed
φαίνεσθαι τοὺς ὀλίγους ἱππέας, πάλιν δ' ὀλίγους τοὺς
to-appear the few horsemen again but few the
πολλούς, καὶ τοῦ δοκεῖν παρόντα μὲν ἀπεῖναι, ἀπόντα
many and of-the to-seem being-present indeed to-be-away being-away
δὲ παρεῖναι, καὶ τοῦ μὴ τὰ τῶν πολεμίων μόνον
but to-be-present and of-the not the-things of-the enemies only
κλέπτειν ἐπίστασθαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ ἱππέας ἅμα
to-steal to-know-how but also the his-own horsemen at-once
κλέπτοντα ἐξ ἀπροσδοκήτου τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐπιτίθεσθαι.
stealing from the-unexpected the enemies to-attack

3 ἀγαθὸν δὲ μηχάνημα καὶ τὸ δύνασθαι, ὅταν μὲν τὰ
good and a-device also the to-be-able when indeed the-things
ἑαυτοῦ ἀσθενῶς ἔχῃ, φόβον παρασκευάζειν τοῖς πολεμίοις
his-own weakly be fear to-prepare for-the enemies
ὡς μὴ ἐπίθωνται· ὅταν δ' ἐρρωμένα, θάρρος αὐτοῖς
so-that not they-attack when but strong confidence in-them
ἐμποιεῖν ὡς ἐγχειρῶσιν. οὕτω γὰρ αὐτὸς μὲν ἂν
to-instill so-that they-attempt so for yourself indeed —
ἥκιστα κακῶς πάσχοις, τοὺς δὲ πολεμίους μάλιστ' ἂν
least badly would-suffer the but enemies most —
ἁμαρτάνοντας λαμβάνοις.
erring would-catch

4 ὅπως δὲ μὴ προστάττειν δοκῶ ἀδύνατα, καὶ γράψω
so-that and not to-command I-seem impossible-things also I-may-write
ὡς ἂν γίγνοιτο τὰ δοκοῦντα αὐτῶν χαλεπώτατα
how — might-be-done the-things seeming of-them hardest
εἶναι. τὸ μὲν τοίνυν μὴ σφάλλεσθαι ἐγχειροῦντα διώκειν
to-be the indeed then not to-be-tripped-up attempting to-pursue
ἢ ἀποχωρεῖν ἐμπειρία ποιεῖ ἵππων δυνάμεως. πῶς δ' ἂν
or to-withdraw experience produces of-horses' power how and —

ἐμπείρως ἔχοι; εἰ προσέχοι τὸν νοῦν ἐν ταῖς μετὰ
experienced would-one-be if one-should-pay the attention in the with
φιλίας ἀνθιππασίαις οἷα ἀποβαίνουσιν ἐκ τῶν διώξεών
friendship sham-cavalry-fights what-sort they-come-out from the pursuits
τε καὶ φυγῶν.
both and flights
ὅταν μέντοι βούλῃ τοὺς ἱππέας πολλοὺς φαίνεσθαι, ἓν 5
when however you-wish the horsemen many to-appear one
μὲν πρῶτον ὑπαρχέτω, ἤνπερ ἐγχωρῇ, μὴ ἐγγὺς τῶν
indeed first let-there-be if-indeed it-is-possible not near the
πολεμίων ἐγχειρεῖν ἐξαπατᾶν· καὶ γὰρ ἀσφαλέστερον τὸ
enemies to-attempt to-deceive and for safer the
πρόσω καὶ ἀπατητικώτερον. ἔπειτα δὲ χρὴ εἰδέναι
at-a-distance and more-deceptive then and one-must to-know
ὅτι ἀθρόοι μὲν ἵπποι πολλοὶ φαίνονται διὰ τὸ μέγεθος
that massed indeed horses many appear because-of the size
τοῦ ζῴου, διασπειρόμενοι δ' εὐαρίθμητοι γίγνονται.
of-the animal scattered but easy-to-count become
ἔτι δ' ἂν πλεῖόν σοι τὸ ἱππικὸν τοῦ ὄντος φαίνοιτο, εἰ 6
further and — more to-you the cavalry than-the reality would-appear if
τοὺς ἱπποκόμους εἰς τοὺς ἱππέας ἐνισταίης μάλιστα μὲν
the grooms among the horsemen you-should-station best indeed
δόρατα, εἰ δὲ μή, ὅμοια δόρασιν ἔχοντας, ἤν τε ἑστηκὸς
spears if but not like to-spears having if both standing
ἐπιδεικνύῃς τὸ ἱππικὸν ἤν τε παράγῃς· ἀνάγκη γὰρ τὸν
you-display the cavalry if and you-lead-it-along necessity for the
ὄγκον τῆς τάξεως οὕτω μείζω τε καὶ πυκνότερον φαίνεσθαι.
mass of-the formation so greater both and denser to-appear
ἢν δ' αὖ τοὺς πολλοὺς ὀλίγους βούλῃ δοκεῖν εἶναι, 7
if but in-turn the many few you-wish to-seem to-be
ἢν μέν σοι χωρία ὑπάρχῃ οἷα συγκρύπτειν, δῆλον

ὅτι τοὺς μὲν ἐν τῷ φανερῷ ἔχων, τοὺς δ' εἰς τὸ
that the-ones indeed in the open having the-ones but into the
ἄδηλον ἀποκρύπτων, κλέπτοις ἂν τοὺς ἱππέας· ἦν δὲ
unseen hiding you-might-steal — the horsemen if but
πᾶν καταφανὲς ᾖ τὸ χωρίον, δεκάδας χρὴ στοιχούσας
all visible be the place decads one-must in-file
ποιήσαντα διαλειπούσας παράγειν· καὶ τοὺς μὲν πρὸς
having-made with-intervals to-lead-along and the-ones indeed toward
τῶν πολεμίων ἱππέας ἑκάστης δεκάδος ὀρθὰ τὰ δόρατα
the enemies horsemen of-each decad upright the spears
ἔχειν, τοὺς δ' ἄλλους ταπεινὰ καὶ μὴ ὑπερφανῆ.
to-hold the and others low and not showing-above

8 φοβεῖν γε μὴν τοὺς πολεμίους καὶ ψευδενέδρας οἷόν τε
to-frighten at-least truly the enemies both false-ambushes possible —
καὶ ψευδοβοηθείας καὶ ψευδαγγελίας ποιοῦντα. θαρροῦσι
and false-reliefs and false-reports making are-confident
δὲ μάλιστα πολέμιοι, ὅταν τοῖς ἐναντίοις πράγματα καὶ
and most enemies when for-the opponents troubles and
ἀσχολίας πυνθάνωνται.
occupations they-learn

9 τούτων δὲ γεγραμμένων μηχανᾶσθαι αὐτὸν χρὴ πρὸς
these-things and having-been-written to-contrive himself it-is-needful for
τὸ παρὸν ἀεὶ ἀπατᾶν· ὄντως γὰρ οὐδὲν κερδαλεώτερον
the present always to-deceive really for nothing more-profitable
ἐν πολέμῳ ἀπάτης·
in war than-deception

10 ὁπότε γε καὶ οἱ παῖδες ὅταν παίζωσι ποσίνδα, δύνανται
when at-least even the children when they-play how-many are-able
ἀπατᾶν προΐσχοντες ὥστε ὀλίγους τ' ἔχοντες πολλοὺς
to-deceive holding-out so-that few both having many
δοκεῖν ἔχειν καὶ πολλοὺς προέχοντες ὀλίγους φαίνεσθαι
to-seem to-have and many holding-out few to-appear

ἔχειν. πῶς οὐκ ἄνδρες γε τῷ ἐξαπατᾶν προσέχοντες
to-have how not men at-least to-the to-deceive applying
τὸν νοῦν δύναιντ' ἂν τοιαῦτα μηχανᾶσθαι;
the mind could — such-things to-contrive
καὶ ἐνθυμούμενος δ' ἂν τὰ ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις πλεονεκτήματα 11
and reflecting and — the in the wars advantages
εὕροι ἄν τις τὰ πλεῖστα καὶ μέγιστα σὺν ἀπάτῃ
would-find — anyone the most and greatest with deception
γεγενημένα. ὧν ἕνεκα ἢ οὐκ ἐγχειρητέον ἄρχειν ἢ
having-come-about of-which for-the-sake either not must-be-attempted to-command or
τοῦτο σὺν τῇ ἄλλῃ παρασκευῇ καὶ παρὰ θεῶν αἰτητέον
this with the other preparation also from gods must-be-asked
δύνασθαι ποιεῖν καὶ αὐτῷ μηχανητέον.
to-be-able to-do and by-oneself must-be-contrived
οἷς δὲ θάλαττα πρόσεστιν, ἀπατητικὸν καὶ τὸ πλοῖα 12
for-whom and the-sea is-near deceptive also the ships
παρασκευαζόμενον πεζῇ τι πρᾶξαι καὶ τὸ πεζῇ
preparing by-land something to-do and the by-land
προσποιούμενον ἐπιβουλεύειν κατὰ θάλατταν ἐπιχειρῆσαι.
pretending to-plot by sea to-attempt
ἱππαρχικὸν δὲ καὶ τὸ διδάσκειν τὴν πόλιν ὡς ἀσθενὲς τὸ 13
of-a-hipparch and also the to-teach the city that weak the
πεζῶν ἔρημον ἱππικὸν πρὸς τὸ ἀμίππους πεζοὺς ἔχον.
of-infantry bare cavalry against the horse-runner infantry having
ἱππαρχικὸν δὲ καὶ τὸ λαβόντα πεζοὺς αὐτοῖς χρῆσθαι·
of-a-hipparch and also the having-taken infantry them to-use
ἔστι δὲ πεζοὺς οὐ μόνον ἐν τούτοις ἀλλὰ καὶ ὄπισθεν
it-is-possible and infantry not only in these but also behind
ἵππων ἀποκρύψασθαι· πολὺ γὰρ μείζων ὁ ἱππεὺς τοῦ
horses to-hide much for greater the horseman than-the
πεζοῦ.
foot-soldier

14 ταῦτα δὲ πάντα ἐγὼ καὶ ὅσα πρὸς τούτοις τις
these-things and all I and as-many-as besides these anyone
μηχανήσεται ἢ βίᾳ ἢ τέχνῃ αἱρεῖν τοὺς ἐναντίους
will-contrive either by-force or by-art to-take the opponents
βουλόμενος σὺν τῷ θεῷ πράττειν συμβουλεύω, ἵνα καὶ
wishing with the god to-do I-advise so-that also
ἡ τύχη συνεπαινῇ θεῶν ἵλεων ὄντων.
the fortune may-approve gods propitious being
15 ἔστι δ' ὅτε πάνυ ἀπατητικὸν καὶ τὸ λίαν φυλακτικὸν
there-is and when very deceptive also the too cautious
προσποιήσασθαι εἶναι καὶ μηδαμῶς φιλοκίνδυνον· τοῦτο
to-pretend to-be and in-no-way fond-of-danger this
γὰρ τοὺς πολεμίους πολλάκις προάγεται ἀφυλακτοῦντας
for the enemies often leads-on being-off-guard
μᾶλλον ἁμαρτάνειν. ἢν δ' ἅπαξ δόξῃ τις φιλοκίνδυνος
more to-err if but once seems anyone fond-of-danger
εἶναι, ἔξεστι καὶ ἡσυχίαν ἔχοντα, προσποιούμενον δὲ
to-be it-is-possible even quiet keeping pretending but
πράξειν τι, πράγματα τοῖς πολεμίοις παρέχειν.
to-be-going-to-do something trouble to-the enemies to-cause

Men obey a commander they like and think wiser than themselves. He wins their goodwill by kindness and by seeing to their food, safe retreats, and rest, and their respect by doing better than they what he asks of them, from mounting and leaping trenches to throwing the javelin. If they see that he knows how to draw up and lead them, and never leads them out rashly or against the gods and the sacrifices, they will follow him more readily.

Ἀλλὰ γὰρ οὐδὲν ἄν τις δύναιτο πλάσαι οἷον βούλεται, 1
But for nothing — anyone could to-mold such-as he-wishes
εἰ μὴ ἐξ ὧν γε πλάττοιτο παρεσκευασμένα εἴη ὡς
if not from what at-least it-is-molded prepared should-be so-that
πείθεσθαι τῇ τοῦ χειροτέχνου γνώμῃ· οὐδέ γ' ἂν ἐξ
to-obey the of-the craftsman judgment not-even at-least — from
ἀνδρῶν, εἰ μὴ σὺν θεῷ οὕτω παρεσκευασμένοι ἔσονται ὡς
men if not with god so prepared they-will-be so-that
φιλικῶς τε ἔχειν πρὸς τὸν ἄρχοντα καὶ φρονιμώτερον σφῶν
friendly both to-be toward the commander and more-sensible than-them
αὐτῶν ἡγεῖσθαι περὶ τῶν πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους ἀγώνων.
themselves to-consider about the toward the enemies contests
εὐνοϊκῶς μὲν οὖν ἔχειν καὶ ἐκ τῶνδε εἰκὸς τοὺς ἀρχομένους 2
well-disposed indeed then to-be also from these-things likely the ruled
ὅταν φιλοφρόνως τε ἔχῃ πρὸς αὐτοὺς καὶ προνοῶν
when kindly both be-is toward them and taking-forethought
φαίνηται ὅπως τε σῖτον ἕξουσι καὶ ὅπως ἀσφαλῶς
appears that both food they-will-have and that safely
μὲν ἀποχωρήσουσι, πεφυλαγμένως δὲ ἀναπαύσονται.
indeed they-will-withdraw guardedly and they-will-rest
ἐν δὲ ταῖς φρουραῖς χρὴ καὶ χιλοῦ καὶ σκηνῶν καὶ 3
in and the garrisons it-is-needful both of-fodder and of-tents and
ὑδάτων καὶ φυλακῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἐπιτηδείων φανερὸν
of-water and of-guards and of-the other provisions evident

εἶναι ἐπιμελούμενον καὶ προνοοῦντά τε καὶ ἀγρυπνοῦντα
to-be taking-care and taking-forethought both and lying-awake
ἕνεκα τῶν ἀρχομένων. καὶ ὅταν γε πλέον ἔχῃ τι,
for-the-sake of-the ruled and when at-least more he-has anything
τὸ μεταδοῦναι κερδαλέον τῷ προεστηκότι.
the to-share profitable for-the one-in-charge
4 ἥκιστα δ' ἂν καταφρονοῖεν ἄρχοντος, ὡς μὲν συνελόντι
least and — they-would-despise a-commander as indeed to-one-summing-up
εἰπεῖν, εἰ ὁπόσα ἐκείνοις παραινοίη, αὐτὸς ταῦτα
to-say if as-many-things to-them he-should-urge himself these-things
βέλτιον ἐκείνων φαίνοιτο ποιῶν.
better than-they should-appear doing
5 ἀρξάμενον οὖν δεῖ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀναβαίνειν ἐπὶ τοὺς
beginning then it-is-needful from the to-mount on the
ἵππους πάντα τὰ ἐν ἱππικῇ μελετᾶν, ὅπως ὁρῶσι
horses all the-things in horsemanship to-practice so-that they-may-see
τὸν ἄρχοντα δυνάμενον ἐπὶ τοῦ ἵππου καὶ τάφρους
the commander able on the horse both trenches
ἀσφαλῶς περᾶν καὶ τειχία ὑπερακρίζειν καὶ ἀπ' ὄχθων
safely to-cross and walls to-leap-over and from banks
καταίρειν καὶ ἀκοντίζειν ἱκανῶς· πάντα γὰρ ταῦτα
to-come-down and to-throw-javelins well all for these-things
προκόπτει τι εἰς τὸ μὴ καταφρονεῖσθαι.
advance something toward the not to-be-despised
6 ἦν δὲ δὴ καὶ πράττειν γνῶσιν ἐπιστάμενόν τε καὶ
if and indeed also to-act they-recognize knowing-how both and
δυνάμενον παρασκευάζειν ὡς ἂν πλέον ἔχοιεν τῶν
able to-arrange so-that — more they-may-have than-the
πολεμίων, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις κἀκεῖνο λάβωσιν εἰς τὴν
enemies besides and these also-that they-take into the
γνώμην ὡς οὔτ' ἂν εἰκῇ οὔτ' ἄνευ θεῶν οὔτε παρὰ
mind that neither — at-random nor without gods nor against

τὰ ἱερὰ ἡγήσαιτ᾽ ἂν ἐπὶ πολεμίους, πάντα ταῦτα
the sacrifices he-would-lead — against enemies all these-things
πιθανωτέρους τῷ ἄρχοντι τοὺς ἀρχομένους ποιεῖ.
more-obedient to-the commander the ruled make

VII · DEFENDING ATTICA

The Athenian commander must excel in piety and generalship, since Athens has neighbors whose cavalry is nearly equal to its own and whose hoplites are many. Invading alone he runs a risk, and the enemy invades only with allies. If the whole city marches out the hopes are fine, but if it keeps behind its walls and leaves the country to the cavalry, he needs the gods' help and great judgment and daring. He should guard what lies outside the walls with men who keep watch and bring things to safety, use the rest as raiders against an enemy who straggles, scatters for food, camps, or eats, fall on outposts unawares, and, when the enemy's own country is poorly guarded, raid it with care for his retreat.

Παντὶ μὲν οὖν προσήκει ἄρχοντι φρονίμῳ εἶναι· πολὺ 1
For-every indeed then it-befits commander sensible to-be much
μέντοι τὸν Ἀθηναίων ἵππαρχον διαφέρειν δεῖ καὶ
however the of-Athenians hipparch to-excel it-is-needful both
τῷ τοὺς θεοὺς θεραπεύειν καὶ τῷ πολεμικὸν εἶναι,
in-the the gods to-serve and in-the warlike to-be
ᾧ γε ὑπάρχουσι μὲν ὅμοροι ἀντίπαλοι ἱππεῖς τε
for-whom at-least exist indeed bordering opponents horsemen both
παραπλήσιοι τὸ πλῆθος καὶ ὁπλῖται πολλοί.
nearly-equal in-the number and hoplites many
κἂν μὲν εἰς τὴν πολεμίαν ἐμβάλλειν ἐπιχειρῇ ἄνευ τῆς 2
and-if indeed into the hostile-land to-invade he-attempts without the
ἄλλης πόλεως, πρὸς ἀμφοτέρους τούτους μόνοις ἂν τοῖς
rest-of-the city against both these alone — with-the
ἱππεῦσι διακινδυνεύοι. ἢν δ᾽ οἱ πολέμιοι εἰς τὴν Ἀθηναίων
horsemen he-would-run-the-risk if but the enemies into the of-Athenians

χώραν ἐμβάλλωσι, πρῶτον μὲν οὐκ ἂν ἄλλως ἔλθοιεν
country invade first indeed not — otherwise they-would-come
εἰ μὴ σὺν ἄλλοις τε ἱππεῦσι πρὸς τοῖς ἑαυτῶν καὶ πρὸς
if not with other both horsemen besides the their-own and besides
τούτοις ὁπλίταις ὁπόσοις ἂν οἴωνται πάντας Ἀθηναίους
these hoplites as-many-as — they-think all Athenians
μὴ ἱκανοὺς εἶναι μάχεσθαι.
not able to-be to-fight

3 πρὸς οὖν τοσούτους πολεμίους ἦν μὲν ἡ πόλις πᾶσα
against then so-many enemies if indeed the city whole
ἐπεξίῃ ἀρήξουσα τῇ χώρᾳ, ἐλπίδες καλαί. ἱππεῖς
should-march-out going-to-help the country hopes fine horsemen
τε γὰρ σὺν θεῷ ἀμείνους, ἤν τις αὐτῶν ἐπιμελῆται
both for with god better if anyone of-them takes-care
ὡς δεῖ, ὁπλῖταί τε οὐ μείους ἔσονται καὶ τὰ σώματα
as is-needful hoplites and not fewer will-be and the bodies
τοίνυν οὐ χείρω ἔχοντες καὶ τὰς ψυχὰς φιλοτιμότεροι,
then not worse having and the souls more-ambitious
ἢν ὀρθῶς ἀσκηθῶσι σὺν θεῷ. καὶ μὴν ἐπί γε τοῖς
if rightly they-are-trained with god and truly on at-least the
προγόνοις οὐ μεῖον Ἀθηναῖοι ἢ Βοιωτοὶ φρονοῦσιν.
ancestors not less Athenians than Boeotians pride-themselves

4 ἢν δὲ ἡ μὲν πόλις τρέπηται ἐπὶ τὰ ναυτικὰ καὶ ἀρκῇ
if but the indeed city should-turn to the naval-things and it-is-enough
αὐτῇ τὰ τείχη διασώζειν, ὥσπερ καὶ ὁπότε Λακεδαιμόνιοι
for-it the walls to-keep-safe as also when Lacedaemonians
σὺν ἅπασι τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ἐνέβαλον, τοὺς δὲ ἱππέας
with all the Greeks invaded the but horsemen
ἀξιώσῃ τά τε ἐκτὸς τοῦ τείχους διασώζειν καὶ αὐτοὺς
it-should-think-fit the-things both outside the wall to-keep-safe and themselves
μόνους διακινδυνεύειν πρὸς πάντας τοὺς ἐναντίους, ἐνταῦθα
alone to-run-risks against all the opponents then

δὴ θεῶν μὲν οἶμαι πρῶτον συμμάχων ἰσχυρῶν δεῖ,
indeed of-gods indeed I-think first allies strong there-is-need
ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ τὸν ἵππαρχον προσήκει ἀποτετελεσμένον
then and also the hipparch it-befits accomplished
ἄνδρα εἶναι. καὶ γὰρ φρονήσεως δεῖ πολλῆς πρὸς
a-man to-be and for of-prudence there-is-need much against
τοὺς πολὺ πλείους, καὶ τόλμης, ὁπότε καιρὸς παραπέσοι.
the much more and of-daring whenever the-moment should-occur
δεῖ δέ, ὡς ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ, καὶ πονεῖν αὐτὸν ἱκανὸν εἶναι. πρὸς 5
it-is-needful and as to-me it-seems also to-toil himself able to-be against
μὲν γὰρ τὸ παρὸν στράτευμα διακινδυνεύων, ᾧ μηδὲ ὅλη
indeed for the present army running-risks to-which not-even whole
ἡ πόλις θέλοι ἀντικαθίστασθαι, δῆλον ὅτι πάσχοι ἂν ὅ
the city would-wish to-stand-opposed clear that he-would-suffer — what
τι οἱ κρείττους βούλοιντο, ποιεῖν δὲ οὐδὲν ἂν ἱκανὸς εἴη.
ever the stronger should-wish to-do but nothing — able he-would-be
εἰ δὲ φυλάττοι μὲν τὰ ἔξω τείχους τοσούτοις ὅσοι 6
if but he-should-guard indeed the-things outside the-wall with-so-many as-many-as
σκοπεύειν τε τοὺς πολεμίους ἱκανοὶ ἔσονται καὶ ἀναχωρεῖν
to-watch both the enemies able will-be and to-withdraw
εἰς τὸ ἀσφαλὲς τὰ δεόμενα ὡς ἐκ πλείστου· ἱκανοὶ
into the safety the-things needing as from farthest able
δὲ καὶ προυρᾶν οὐδὲν ἧττον οἱ ὀλίγοι τῶν πολλῶν
and also to-see-ahead no less the few than-the many
καὶ φυλάττειν τοίνυν καὶ ἀναχωρίζειν τὰ φίλια οὐκ
and to-guard then and to-withdraw the friendly-things not
ἀκαιρότεροι οἱ μήτε αὐτοῖς μήτε τοῖς ἵπποις πιστεύοντες·
more-unsuitable the-ones neither themselves nor the horses trusting
ὁ γὰρ φόβος δεινὸς δοκεῖ συμφύλαξ εἶναι· τοὺς 7
the for fear formidable seems a-fellow-guard to-be the
μὲν φύλακας ἐκ τούτων ἄν τις ποιῶν ἴσως ὀρθῶς
indeed guards from these — anyone making perhaps rightly

βουλεύοιτο· τοὺς δὲ περιττοὺς τῆς φυλακῆς εἰ μέν τις
would-plan the but surplus of-the guard if indeed anyone
στρατιὰν ἔχειν ἡγήσεται, ὀλίγη αὐτῷ φανεῖται· τοῦ παντὸς
an-army to-have will-think small to-him will-appear of-the whole
γὰρ ἐνδεήσεται ὥστε ἐκ τοῦ ἐμφανοῦς διακινδυνεύειν.
for it-will-fall-short so-that from the open to-run-risks
ἢν δὲ ὡς λῃσταῖς αὐτοῖς χρῆται, πάνυ ἂν ὡς τὸ εἰκὸς
if but as raiders them he-uses quite — as the likely
ἱκανὴν τοῦτο πράττειν ἔχοι δύναμιν.
sufficient this to-do he-would-have a-force

8 δεῖ δέ, ὡς ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ, τούτους παρεσκευασμένους ἀεὶ
it-is-needful and as to-me it-seems these prepared always
ἔχοντα ὡς ποιεῖν τι μὴ καταφανῆ ὄντα φυλάττειν,
having so-that to-do something not visible being to-watch
ἤν τι ἁμαρτάνῃ τὸ τῶν πολεμίων στράτευμα.
if in-anything should-err the of-the enemies army

9 φιλοῦσι δέ πως στρατιῶται, ὅσῳ ἂν πλείους ὦσι,
are-fond and somehow soldiers by-how-much — more they-are
τοσούτῳ πλείω ἁμαρτάνειν. ἢ γὰρ ἐπὶ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια
by-so-much more to-err either for for the provisions
ἐπιμελείᾳ σκεδάννυνται ἢ πορευομένων ἀταξίᾳ οἱ μὲν
with-care they-scatter or of-(men)-marching in-disorder the-ones indeed
προέρχονται, οἱ δ' ὑπολείπονται πλέον τοῦ καιροῦ.
go-ahead the-ones and fall-behind more than-the occasion

10 τὰ οὖν τοιαῦτα ἁμαρτήματα οὐ χρὴ παριέναι ἀκόλαστα·
the then such errors not one-must to-let-pass unpunished
εἰ δὲ μή, ὅλη ἡ χώρα στρατόπεδον ἔσται· ἐκεῖνο καλῶς
if but not whole the country a-camp will-be that-thing well
προνοοῦντα, ἢν ποιήσῃ τι, φθάσαι ἀποχωρήσαντα
taking-forethought if he-does something to-anticipate having-withdrawn
πρὶν τὸ πολὺ βοηθοῦν ἐπιγενέσθαι.
before the main helping to-come-up

πολλάκις δὲ πορευόμενον στράτευμα καὶ εἰς ὁδοὺς ἔρχεται 11
often and marching an-army also into roads comes
ἐν αἷς οὐδὲν πλεῖον οἱ πολλοὶ τῶν ὀλίγων δύνανται.
in which nothing more the many than-the few are-able
καὶ ἐν διαβάσεσί γε ἔστι τῷ προσέχοντι τὸν
and in crossings at-least it-is-possible for-the one-applying the
νοῦν ἀσφαλῶς ἐφεπομένῳ ταμιεύσασθαι ὥστε ὁπόσοις ἂν
mind safely following to-portion-out so-that as-many-as —
βούληται τῶν πολεμίων ἐπιτίθεσθαι.
he-wishes of-the enemies to-attack
ἔστι δ᾽ ὅτε καλὸν καὶ στρατοπεδευομένοις καὶ ἀριστῶσι 12
there-is and times fine also encamping and taking-breakfast
καὶ δειπνοποιουμένοις ἐπιχειρεῖν, καὶ ἐκ κοίτης γε
and taking-supper to-attack and from bed at-least
ἀνισταμένοις. ἐν πᾶσι γὰρ τούτοις ἄοπλοι στρατιῶται
rising in all for these unarmed soldiers
γίγνονται, μείονα μὲν χρόνον οἱ ὁπλῖται, πλείονα δὲ οἱ
become less indeed time the hoplites more but the
ἱππεῖς.
horsemen
σκοποῖς μέντοι καὶ προφυλακαῖς οὐδέποτε δεῖ 13
scouts however and outposts never it-is-needful
παύεσθαι ἐπιβουλεύοντα. οὗτοι γὰρ αὖ ὀλίγοι μὲν ἀεὶ
to-cease plotting-against these for in-turn few indeed always
καθίστανται, πολὺ δὲ τοῦ ἰσχυροῦ ἐνίοτε ἀποστατοῦσιν.
are-posted far and from-the strength sometimes stand-apart
ὅταν δὲ τὰ τοιαῦτα ἤδη καλῶς φυλάττωνται οἱ πολέμιοι, 14
when and the such-things already well are-guarded the enemies
καλόν ἐστι σὺν θεῷ λαθόντα ἐλθεῖν εἰς τὴν πολεμίαν
fine it-is with god having-escaped-notice to-go into the hostile-land
μεμεληκότα ὅσοι τε ἑκασταχοῦ καὶ ποῦ τῆς χώρας
having-taken-care how-many both in-each-place and where of-the country

προφυλάττουσιν. οὐδεμία γὰρ οὕτω καλὴ λεία ὡς φυλακαί,
keep-outposts no for so fine booty as guards
ἢν κρατηθῶσι.
if they-are-overpowered
καὶ εὐεξαπάτητοι δ' εἰσὶν οἱ φύλακες· διώκουσι γὰρ ὅ
and easy-to-deceive and are the guards they-pursue for what
τι ἂν ὀλίγον ἴδωσι, νομίζοντες σφίσι τοῦτο προστετάχθαι.
ever — few they-see thinking for-them this to-have-been-assigned
τὰς μέντοι ἀποχωρήσεις σκοπεῖν δεῖ ὅπως μὴ ἐναντίαι
the however withdrawals to-consider one-must so-that not opposite
τοῖς βοηθοῦσιν ἔσονται.
the-ones helping they-will-be

VIII · TRAINING AND TACTICS

Men who mean to harm a much stronger army must be far better trained, able to leap trenches, scale walls, ride up and down slopes, and know the ground, as the winged excel the walking and the sighted the blind. Horse training is less work and more pleasure than athletics, and victory in war more glorious. The commander should never ride against stronger forces with ground hard for horses behind him, and should attack weaker enemies in full strength and stronger ones with a few picked men. Against equal cavalry he should form each tribe in two divisions and hide infantry behind the horse. He should pursue and withdraw quickly, and leave a few of his strongest men behind to fall on the enemy as it turns back.

Τοὺς μέντοι μέλλοντας δυνήσεσθαι ἀσφαλῶς τὸ πολὺ
The however going to-be-able safely the much
κρεῖττον στράτευμα κακουργεῖν σαφῶς δεῖ τοσοῦτον
stronger army to-harm clearly it-is-needful so-much
διαφέρειν ὥστε αὐτοὺς μὲν ἀσκητὰς φαίνεσθαι τῶν
to-excel that themselves indeed practitioners to-appear of-the
πολεμικῶν ἐν ἱππικῇ ἔργων, τοὺς δὲ πολεμίους ἰδιώτας.
warlike in horsemanship works the but enemies amateurs

τοῦτο δ' ἂν εἴη πρῶτον μὲν εἰ οἱ λῄζεσθαι 2
this and — would-be first indeed if the to-raid
μέλλοντες ἐκπεπονημένοι εἶεν τῇ ἐλάσει ὥστε δύνασθαι
going trained should-be in-the riding so-that to-be-able
στρατιωτικοὺς πόνους ὑποφέρειν. οἱ γὰρ πρὸς ταῦτα
military toils to-bear the for toward these-things
ἀμελῶς ἔχοντες καὶ ἵπποι καὶ ἄνδρες εἰκότως ἂν ὥσπερ
carelessly being both horses and men reasonably — like
γυναῖκες πρὸς ἄνδρας ἀγωνίζοιντο.
women against men would-contend
οἱ δέ γε δεδιδαγμένοι τε καὶ εἰθισμένοι τάφρους 3
the but at-least taught both and accustomed trenches
διαπηδᾶν καὶ τειχία ὑπεραίρειν καὶ ἐπ' ὄχθους ἀνάλλεσθαι
to-leap-across and walls to-get-over and onto banks to-spring-up
καὶ ἀφ' ὑψηλῶν ἀσφαλῶς κατιέναι καὶ τὰ κατάντη ταχὺ
and from heights safely to-come-down and the slopes quickly
ἐλαύνεσθαι, οὗτοι δ' αὖ τοσοῦτον διαφέροιεν ἂν τῶν
to-ride these and in-turn so-much would-differ — from-the
ἀμελετήτων ταῦτα ὅσονπερ πτηνοὶ πεζῶν· οἱ δέ
unpracticed in-these as-much-as winged-creatures from-walkers the but
γε αὖ τοὺς πόδας ἐκπεπονημένοι τῶν ἀτριβάστων
at-least in-turn the feet hardened than-the untrained
πρὸς τραχέα ὅσονπερ ὑγιεῖς χωλῶν· καὶ οἵ γε
on rough-ground as-much-as healthy-men than-lame-men and the-ones at-least
τῶν τόπων ἔμπειροι πρὸς τοὺς ἀπείρους τοσοῦτον ἐν
of-the places experienced compared-with the inexperienced so-much in
ταῖς προελάσεσι καὶ ἀποχωρήσεσι διαφέροιεν ἂν ὅσονπερ
the advances and withdrawals would-differ — as-much-as
οἱ ὁρῶντες τῶν τυφλῶν.
the seeing from-the blind

4 καὶ τοῦτο δὲ χρὴ εἰδέναι ὅτι οἱ εὐωχούμενοι ἵπποι,
and this and one-must know that the well-fed horses
ἐκπεπονημένοι δὲ ὥστε μὴ ἀποπνίγεσθαι ἐν τοῖς πόνοις,
hardened but so-that not to-be-choked in the toils
εὖ παρεσκευασμένοι εἰσί. χρὴ δέ, ἐπείπερ χαλινοὶ καὶ
well prepared are one-must and since bridles and
ἐφίππια ἐξ ἱμάντων ἠρτημένα ἐστί [χρήσιμα], μήποτε
saddle-cloths from straps hung are useful never
τὸν ἵππαρχον τούτων ἔρημον εἶναι· μικρᾷ γὰρ δαπάνῃ
the hipparch of-these unprovided to-be with-small for expense
τοὺς ἀποροῦντας χρησίμους ἂν παρέχοιτο.
the ones-lacking useful — he-could-make

5 Εἰ δέ τις νομίζει πολλὰ ἔχειν πράγματα, εἰ οὕτω δεήσει
If but anyone thinks many to-have troubles if so it-will-be-needful
ἀσκεῖν τὴν ἱππικήν, ἐνθυμηθήτω ὅτι οἱ εἰς τοὺς γυμνικοὺς
to-practice the horsemanship let-him-reflect that the-ones for the athletic
ἀγῶνας ἀσκοῦντες πολὺ πλείω πράγματα καὶ χαλεπώτερα
contests training much more troubles and harder
ἔχουσιν ἢ οἱ τὴν ἱππικὴν τὰ μάλιστα μελετῶντες.
have than the-ones the horsemanship — most practicing

6 καὶ γὰρ τῶν μὲν γυμνικῶν ἀσκημάτων τὰ πολλὰ σὺν
and for of-the indeed athletic exercises the most with
ἱδρῶτι ἐκπονοῦνται, τῆς δὲ ἱππικῆς τὰ πλεῖστα μεθ'
sweat are-worked-out of-the but horsemanship the most with
ἡδονῆς. ὅπερ γὰρ εὔξαιτ' ἄν τις πτηνὸς γενέσθαι, οὐκ
pleasure what-very for would-pray — anyone winged to-become not
ἔστιν ὅ τι μᾶλλον τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων ἔργων ἔοικεν αὐτῷ.
there-is what ever more of-the human works resembles it

7 καὶ μὴν τό γ' ἐν πολέμῳ νικᾶν πολλῷ εὐδοξότερον
and truly the at-least in war to-conquer much more-glorious
ἢ πυγμῇ· μετέχει μὲν γάρ τι καὶ ἡ πόλις ταύτης
than in-boxing shares indeed for something also the city this

τῆς δόξης· ὡς δὲ τὰ πολλὰ ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ πολέμου νίκῃ
the glory as but the most for the of-the war victory
καὶ εὐδαιμονίᾳ οἱ θεοὶ τὰς πόλεις στεφανοῦσιν. ὥστ᾽ οὐκ
and happiness the gods the cities crown so-that not
οἶδ᾽ ἔγωγε τί προσήκει ἄλλ᾽ ἄττα μᾶλλον ἀσκεῖσθαι ἢ
I-know I-at-least why it-befits other things rather to-be-practiced than
τὰ πολεμικά.
the warlike-things
ἐννοεῖν δὲ χρὴ ὅτι καὶ οἱ κατὰ θάλατταν λῃσταὶ 8
to-consider and one-must that also the-ones by sea pirates
διὰ τὸ πονεῖν ἠσκηκέναι δύνανται ζῆν καὶ ἀπὸ
because-of the to-toil to-have-trained are-able to-live even from
τῶν πολὺ κρειττόνων. προσήκει γε μὴν καὶ κατὰ
the much stronger it-befits at-least truly also by
γῆν οὐ τοῖς καρπουμένοις τὰ ἑαυτῶν ἀλλὰ τοῖς
land not for-the-ones reaping the their-own but for-the-ones
στερισκομένοις τῆς τροφῆς λῃζεσθαι· ἢ γὰρ ἐργαστέον
being-deprived of-the food to-raid either for one-must-work
ἢ ἀπὸ τῶν εἰργασμένων θρεπτέον· ἄλλως δ᾽ οὐ ῥᾴδιον
or from the-ones having-worked one-must-be-fed otherwise but not easy
οὔτε βιοτεύειν οὔτε εἰρήνης τυχεῖν.
either to-live or peace to-obtain
μεμνῆσθαι δὲ κἀκεῖνο χρή, μήποτε ἐπὶ τοὺς κρείττους 9
to-remember and also-that one-must never against the stronger
ἐλαύνειν ὄπισθεν ἵπποις δύσβατον ποιούμενον· οὐ γὰρ
to-ride behind with-horses impassable-ground making not for
ὅμοιον φεύγοντι καὶ διώκοντι σφαλῆναι.
alike for-one-fleeing and for-one-pursuing to-slip
ἔτι δὲ βούλομαι ὑπομνῆσαι καὶ τόδε φυλάττεσθαι. εἰσὶ 10
further and I-wish to-remind also this to-guard-against there-are
γάρ τινες οἳ ὅταν μὲν ἴωσιν ἐπὶ τούτους ὧν
for some who when indeed they-go against those than-whom

ἂν οἴωνται κρείττους εἶναι, παντάπασιν ἀσθενεῖ δυνάμει
— they-think stronger to-be with-altogether weak force
ἔρχονται, ὥστε πολλάκις ἔπαθον ἃ ᾤοντο ποιήσειν·
go so-that often they-suffered what they-thought to-be-going-to-do
ὅταν δ' ἐπὶ τούτους ὧν ἂν σαφῶς ἐπίστωνται
when but against those than-whom — clearly they-know
ἥττους ὄντες, πᾶσαν ὅσην ἂν ἔχωσι δύναμιν ἄγουσιν.
weaker being all as-much-as — they-have force they-lead
11 ἐγὼ δέ φημι χρῆναι τἀναντία τούτων ποιεῖν· ὅταν μὲν
I but say it-is-needful the-opposite of-these to-do when indeed
κρατήσειν οἰόμενος ἄγῃ, μὴ φείδεσθαι τῆς δυνάμεως
to-be-going-to-prevail thinking he-leads not to-spare the force
ὅσην ἂν ἔχῃ. τὸ γὰρ πολὺ νικᾶν οὐδενὶ πώποτε
as-much-as — he-has the for much to-conquer to-no-one ever
μεταμέλειαν παρέσχεν.
regret gave
12 ὅταν δὲ τοῖς πολὺ κρείττοσιν ἐπιχειρῇ καὶ προγιγνώσκῃ
when but the much stronger he-attacks and foresees
ὅτι ποιήσαντα ὅ τι ἂν δύνηται φευκτέον ἐστίν, εἰς
that having-done what ever — he-can one-must-flee it-is for
τὰ τοιαῦτά φημι πολὺ κρεῖττον εἶναι ὀλίγους ἢ πάντας
the such-things I-say much better to-be few than all
προσάγειν, τοὺς μέντοι ἀπειλεγμένους καὶ ἵππους καὶ
to-bring-up the however picked both horses and
ἄνδρας τοὺς κρατίστους. τοιοῦτοι γὰρ ὄντες καὶ ποιῆσαι
men the strongest such for being both to-do
ἄν τι καὶ ὑποχωρῆσαι ἀσφαλέστερον ἂν δύναιντο.
— something and to-withdraw more-safely — they-could
13 ὅταν δὲ πρὸς τοὺς κρείττους πάντας προσαγαγὼν
when but against the stronger all having-brought-up
ἀποχωρεῖν βούληται, ἀνάγκη τοὺς μὲν ἐπὶ τῶν βραδυτάτων
to-withdraw he-wishes necessity the-ones indeed on the slowest

ἵππων ἁλίσκεσθαι, τοὺς δὲ καὶ δι᾽ ἀφιππείαν πίπτειν,
horses to-be-caught the-ones and also through poor-horsemanship to-fall
τοὺς δὲ διὰ δυσχωρίας ἀπολαμβάνεσθαι· καὶ γὰρ πολὺν
the-ones and through rough-ground to-be-cut-off and for large
τόπον χαλεπὸν εὑρεῖν οἷον ἄν τις εὔξαιτο.
space hard to-find such-as — anyone would-pray-for
ὑπό γε μὴν τοῦ πλήθους καὶ συμπίπτοιεν ἂν καὶ 14
by at-least truly the number both they-would-collide — and
ἐμποδίζοντες πολλὰ ἂν ἀλλήλους κακουργοῖεν. οἱ δ᾽
hindering many-things — one-another would-harm the but
ἀγαθοὶ ἵπποι καὶ ἱππεῖς δυνατοὶ καὶ ἐξ αὐτῶν διαφεύγειν
good horses and horsemen able even from them to-escape
ἄλλως τε ἂν καὶ μηχανᾶταί τις τοῖς διώκουσι φόβον
especially both if and contrives anyone for-the pursuers fear
ἀπὸ τῶν περιττῶν ἱππέων.
from the surplus horsemen
σύμφορον δ᾽ εἰς τοῦτο καὶ αἱ ψευδενέδραι· χρήσιμον δὲ 15
advantageous and for this also the false-ambushes useful and
κἀκεῖνο, τὸ εὑρίσκειν πόθεν ἂν οἱ φίλοι ἐξ ἀσφαλοῦς
also-that the to-find from-where — the friends from safety
ἐπιφαινόμενοι βραδυτέρους τοὺς διώκοντας παρέχοιεν.
appearing slower the pursuers might-make
ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ τόδε δῆλον ὡς πόνοις καὶ τάχει οἱ ὀλίγοι 16
but truly also this clear that in-toils and in-speed the few
τῶν πολλῶν πολὺ μᾶλλον ἢ οἱ πολλοὶ τῶν ὀλίγων
than-the many much more than the many than-the few
περιγίγνοιντ᾽ ἄν. καὶ οὐ λέγω ὡς διὰ τὸ ὀλίγοι εἶναι
would-prevail — and not I-say that because-of the few to-be
καὶ πονεῖν μᾶλλον δυνήσονται καὶ θάττους ἔσονται, ἀλλ᾽
both to-toil more they-will-be-able and faster they-will-be but
ὅτι ῥᾷον εὑρεῖν ὀλίγους ἢ πολλοὺς τοὺς καὶ τῶν
that easier to-find few than many the-ones both of-the

ἵππων ἐπιμελησομένους ὡς δεῖ καὶ αὐτοὺς φρονίμως
horses going-to-take-care as is-needful and themselves sensibly
μελετήσοντας τὴν ἱππικήν.
going-to-practice the horsemanship

17 Ἂν δέ ποτε συμβαίνῃ ἀγωνίζεσθαι πρὸς παραπλησίους
If but ever it-should-happen to-contend against nearly-equal
ἱππέας, ἐγὼ μὲν οἶμαι οὐκ ἂν χεῖρον εἶναι εἴ τις δύο τάξεις
horsemen I indeed think not — worse to-be if anyone two divisions
ἐκ τῆς φυλῆς ποιήσειε, καὶ τῆς μὲν ὁ φύλαρχος ἡγοῖτο,
from the tribe should-make and of-the indeed the phylarch should-lead
18 τῆς δὲ ἄλλης ὅστις ἄριστος δοκοίη εἶναι. οὗτος δὲ τέως
of-the and other whoever best should-seem to-be this-one and for-a-while
μὲν ἕποιτο κατ᾽ οὐρὰν τῆς μετὰ τοῦ φυλάρχου τάξεως,
indeed should-follow in rear of-the with the phylarch division
ἐπεὶ δ᾽ ἐγγὺς ἤδη εἶεν οἱ ἀντίπαλοι, ἀπὸ παραγγέλσεως
when but near already they-were the opponents from word-of-command
παρελαύνοι ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους. οὕτω γὰρ οἶμαι καὶ
he-should-ride-up against the enemies so for I-think both
ἐκπληκτικωτέρους τοῖς ἐχθροῖς ἂν εἶναι καὶ δυσμαχωτέρους.
more-terrifying to-the enemies — to-be and harder-to-fight
19 εἰ δὲ πεζοὺς ἔχοιεν ἑκάτεροι, καὶ οὗτοι ἀποκεκρυμμένοι
if and infantry should-have each and these hidden
ὄπισθεν τῶν ἱππέων, ἐξαπίνης δὲ παραφαινόμενοι καὶ
behind the horsemen suddenly and appearing and
ὁμόσε ἰόντες, δοκοῦσιν ἄν μοι τὴν νίκην πολὺ
to-close-quarters going they-seem — to-me the victory much
μᾶλλον κατεργάζεσθαι. ὁρῶ γὰρ τὰ παράδοξα ἢν μὲν
more to-accomplish I-see for the unexpected-things if indeed
ἀγαθὰ ᾖ, μᾶλλον εὐφραίνοντα τοὺς ἀνθρώπους, ἢν δὲ
good they-be more gladdening the men if but
δεινά, μᾶλλον ἐκπλήττοντα.
terrible more terrifying

ταῦτα δὲ γνοίη ἄν τις μάλιστα ἐνθυμούμενος ὡς 20
these-things and would-recognize — anyone most reflecting how
οἵ τε ἐνέδραις ἐμπίπτοντες ἐκπλήττονται, καὶ ἐὰν πολὺ
the-ones both into-ambushes falling are-terrified even if much
πλείους ὦσι· καὶ ὅταν πολέμιοι ἀλλήλοις ἀντικάθωνται,
more they-are and when enemies against-one-another take-position
ὡς πολὺ ταῖς πρώταις ἡμέραις φοβερώτατα ἔχουσιν.
how much in-the first days most-fearfully they-are
ἀλλὰ τὸ μὲν διατάξαι ταῦτα οὐ χαλεπόν· τὸ δ᾽ εὑρεῖν 21
but the indeed to-arrange these-things not hard the but to-find
τοὺς φρονίμως καὶ πιστῶς καὶ προθύμως καὶ εὐψύχως
the-ones sensibly and faithfully and eagerly and bravely
παρελῶντας ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους, τοῦτο ἤδη ἀγαθοῦ
going-to-ride-up against the enemies this already of-a-good
ἱππάρχου.
hipparch
δεῖ γὰρ καὶ λέγειν αὐτὸν ἱκανὸν εἶναι καὶ ποιεῖν 22
it-is-needful for both to-speak himself able to-be and to-do
τοιαῦτα ἀφ᾽ ὧν οἱ ἀρχόμενοι γνώσονται ἀγαθὸν εἶναι τό
such-things from which the ruled will-recognize good to-be the
τε πείθεσθαι καὶ τὸ ἕπεσθαι καὶ τὸ ὁμόσε ἐλαύνειν
both to-obey and the to-follow and the to-close-quarters to-ride
τοῖς πολεμίοις καὶ ἐπιθυμήσουσι τοῦ καλόν τι ἀκούειν
with-the enemies and they-will-desire the fine something to-hear
καὶ δυνήσονται ἃ ἂν γνῶσιν ἐγκαρτερεῖν.
and they-will-be-able what — they-resolve to-persevere-in
ἐὰν δέ ποτε αὖ ἢ φαλάγγων ἀντιτεταγμένων ἢ 23
if and ever in-turn either phalanxes drawn-up-opposite or
χωρίων ἑκατέροις ὑπαρχόντων ἐν τῷ μέσῳ τοῖς ἱππεῦσιν
places to-each-side being-held in the middle for-the horsemen
ἀναστροφαί τε καὶ διώξεις καὶ ἀποχωρήσεις γίγνωνται,
wheelings both and pursuits and withdrawals happen

εἰώθασι μὲν ὡς τὰ πολλὰ ἐκ τῶν τοιούτων ὁρμᾶν
they-are-accustomed indeed as the most-part from the such-places to-start
μὲν ἐκ τῶν ἀναστροφῶν βραδέως ἀμφότεροι, τὸ δ' ἐν
indeed from the wheelings slowly both the but in
μέσῳ τάχιστα ἐλαύνειν.
middle very-fast to-ride

24 ἢν δέ τις οὕτω προδείξας, ἔπειτα δ' ἐκ τῶν ἀναστροφῶν
if but anyone so having-feinted then and from the wheelings
ταχέως τε διώκῃ καὶ ταχέως ἀποχωρῇ, βλάπτειν τ'
quickly both should-pursue and quickly should-withdraw to-harm both
ἂν μάλιστα τοὺς πολεμίους δύναιτο καὶ ὡς τὸ εἰκὸς
— most the enemies he-could and as the likely
ἀσφαλέστατ' ἂν διάγοι, ταχὺ μὲν διώκων ἐν ᾧ
most-safely — he-would-continue quickly indeed pursuing in what
ἂν ἐγγὺς ᾖ τοῦ ἑαυτοῦ ἰσχυροῦ, ταχὺ δὲ ἀποχωρῶν
— near he-be of-the his-own strength quickly and withdrawing
ἀπὸ τῶν τοῖς πολεμίοις ἰσχυρῶν.
from the for-the enemies strong-points

25 εἰ δὲ καὶ λαθεῖν δύναιτο ἀπὸ τῆς τάξεως ἑκάστης
if and also to-escape-notice he-could from the division each
καταλιπὼν [ἢ] τέτταρας ἢ πέντε τῶν κρατίστων ἵππων
having-left-behind either four or five of-the strongest horses
τε καὶ ἀνδρῶν, πολὺ ἂν προέχοιεν εἰς τὸ
both and men much — they-would-have-the-advantage for the
ἐπαναστρεφομένοις τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐμπίπτειν.
turning-back the enemies to-fall

These rules need reading only now and then, but the commander must always act on what the moment brings and work at what he has judged good, since right judgment bears no fruit without care. Xenophon suggests enrolling two hundred foreign horsemen, as Sparta did, paying for the horses with money from those who wish to be excused and from rich orphans, enlisting ambitious metics, and forming infantry from the enemy's bitterest foes. All this needs the gods' will, and he has written so often of acting with the god because only the gods know what plans are afoot and give signs to those who serve them in good fortune as well as in need.

Ταῦτα δὲ ἀναγιγνώσκειν μὲν καὶ ὀλιγάκις ἀρκεῖ, ποιεῖν 1
These-things and to-read indeed even seldom suffices to-do
δὲ τὸ παρατυγχάνον ἀεὶ αὐτῷ δεῖ, καὶ πρὸς τὸ
but the-thing occurring always to-him one-must and with-regard-to the
παριστάμενον σκοποῦντα τὸ συμφέρον ἐκπονεῖν. γράψαι
present examining the advantageous to-work-out to-write
δὲ πάντα ὁπόσα δεῖ ποιεῖν οὐδὲν μᾶλλον οἷόν τέ
and all as-many-as one-must to-do nothing more possible —
ἐστιν ἢ τὰ μέλλοντα πάντα εἰδέναι.
it-is than the future-things all to-know
πάντων δὲ τῶν ὑπομνημάτων ἔμοιγε δοκεῖ κράτιστον 2
of-all and the reminders to-me-at-least seems best
εἶναι τὸ ὅσα ἂν γνῷ ἀγαθὰ εἶναι ἐπιμελεῖσθαι
to-be the as-many-things-as — be-recognizes good to-be to-take-care
ὡς ἂν πραχθῇ. ὀρθῶς δὲ γιγνωσκόμενα οὐ φέρει
so-that — they-may-be-done rightly and recognized not brings
καρπὸν οὔτε ἐν γεωργίᾳ οὔτε ἐν ναυκληρίᾳ οὔτε ἐν
fruit either in farming or in shipowning or in
ἀρχῇ, ἢν μή τις ἐπιμέληται ὡς ἂν ταῦτα περαίνηται.
command if not anyone takes-care that — these-things may-be-accomplished

3 Φημὶ δ' ἐγὼ [ταῦτα] σὺν τοῖς θεοῖς καὶ τὸ πᾶν ἱππικὸν
I-say and I these-things with the gods also the whole cavalry
ὧδ' ἂν πολὺ θᾶττον ἐκπληρωθῆναι εἰς τοὺς χιλίους ἱππέας
so — much faster to-be-filled-up to the thousand horsemen
καὶ πολὺ ῥᾷον τοῖς πολίταις, εἰ διακοσίους ἱππεῖς ξένους
and much more-easily for-the citizens if two-hundred horsemen foreign
καταστήσαιντο· δοκοῦσι γὰρ ἄν μοι οὗτοι προσγενόμενοι
they-should-establish they-seem for — to-me these having-been-added
καὶ εὐπειστότερον ἂν πᾶν τὸ ἱππικὸν ποιῆσαι καὶ
both more-obedient — all the cavalry to-make and
φιλοτιμότερον πρὸς ἀλλήλους περὶ ἀνδραγαθίας.
more-ambitious toward one-another about manly-excellence

4 οἶδα δ' ἔγωγε καὶ Λακεδαιμονίοις ἱππικὸν ἀρξάμενον
I-know and I-at-least also among-Lacedaemonians cavalry having-begun
εὐδοκιμεῖν, ἐπεὶ ξένους ἱππέας προσέλαβον. καὶ ἐν
to-be-well-reputed when foreign horsemen they-took-in and in
ταῖς ἄλλαις δὲ πόλεσι πανταχοῦ τὰ ξενικὰ ὁρῶ
the other and cities everywhere the foreign-contingents I-see
εὐδοκιμοῦντα· ἡ γὰρ χρεία μεγάλην προθυμίαν συμβάλλεται.
well-reputed the for need great zeal contributes

5 εἰς δὲ τιμὴν τῶν ἵππων νομίζω ἂν αὐτοῖς χρήματα
for and the-price of-the horses I-think — for-them money
ὑπάρξαι καὶ παρὰ τῶν σφόδρα ἀπεχομένων μὴ
would-be-available both from the-ones strongly abstaining not
ἱππεύειν, ὅτι καὶ οἷς καθίστησι τὸ ἱππικὸν ἐθέλουσι
to-ride because even whom establishes the cavalry are-willing
τελεῖν ἀργύριον ὡς μὴ ἱππεύειν, παρὰ πλουσίων μέν,
to-pay silver so-that not to-ride from rich-men indeed
ἀδυνάτων δὲ τοῖς σώμασιν· οἶμαι δὲ καὶ παρ' ὀρφανῶν
unable but in-the bodies I-think and also from orphans
τῶν δυνατοὺς οἴκους ἐχόντων.
the-ones powerful houses having

νομίζω δὲ καὶ μετοίκων φιλοτιμεῖσθαι ἄν τινας εἰς ἱππικὴν 6
I-think and also of-metics to-be-ambitious — some into cavalry
καθισταμένους· ὁρῶ γὰρ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὁπόσων ἂν
being-enrolled I-see for also of-the other-things as-many-as —
καλῶν ὄντων μεταδιδῶσιν αὐτοῖς οἱ πολῖται, φιλοτίμως
fine being share with-them the citizens ambitiously
ἐνίους ἐθέλοντας τὸ προσταχθὲν διαπράττεσθαι.
some wishing the-thing assigned to-accomplish
δοκεῖ δ' ἄν μοι καὶ πεζὸν σὺν τοῖς ἵπποις ἐνεργότατον 7
seems and — to-me also infantry with the horses most-effective
εἶναι, εἰ συσταθείη ἐξ ἀνδρῶν τῶν ἐναντιωτάτων τοῖς
to-be if it-were-formed from men the most-hostile to-the
πολεμίοις.
enemies
ταῦτα δὲ πάντα θεῶν συνεθελόντων γένοιτ' ἄν. εἰ 8
these-things and all gods willing-with would-happen — if
δέ τις τοῦτο θαυμάζει ὅτι πολλάκις γέγραπται τὸ σὺν
but anyone this wonders-at that often has-been-written the with
θεῷ πράττειν, εὖ ἴστω ὅτι ἢν πολλάκις κινδυνεύῃ,
god to-act well let-him-know that if often he-runs-risks
ἧττον τοῦτο θαυμάσεται, καὶ ἤν γε κατανοῇ ὅτι ὅταν
less this he-will-wonder and if at-least he-observes that when
πόλεμος ᾖ, ἐπιβουλεύουσι μὲν ἀλλήλοις οἱ ἐναντίοι,
war is plot indeed against-one-another the opponents
ὀλιγάκις δὲ ἴσασι πῶς ἔχει τὰ ἐπιβουλευόμενα.
seldom but know how stand the-things plotted
τὰ οὖν τοιαῦτα οὐδ' ὅτῳ συμβουλεύσαιτ' ἄν τις 9
the-things then such not-even with-whom would-consult — anyone
οἷόν τε εὑρεῖν πλὴν θεῶν· οὗτοι δὲ πάντα ἴσασι καὶ
possible — to-find except gods these and all-things know and
προσημαίνουσιν ᾧ ἂν ἐθέλωσι καὶ ἐν ἱεροῖς καὶ ἐν
give-signs-beforehand to-whom — they-wish both in sacrifices and in

οἰωνοῖς καὶ ἐν φήμαις καὶ ἐν ὀνείρασιν. εἰκὸς δὲ μᾶλλον
omens and in voices and in dreams likely and more
ἐθέλειν αὐτοὺς συμβουλεύειν τούτοις οἳ ἂν μὴ μόνον ὅταν
to-wish them to-advise those who — not only when
δέωνται ἐπερωτῶσι τί χρὴ ποιεῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν ταῖς
they-need ask what it-is-needful to-do but also in the
εὐτυχίαις θεραπεύωσιν ὅ τι ἂν δύνωνται τοὺς θεούς.
good-fortunes serve what ever — they-can the gods
