LATIN SERIES · VOLUME 55

Lives of the Commanders

Cornelius Nepos · Tacitus

Vitae · De Vita Iulii Agricolae

Lives of the Commanders

With the Agricola of Tacitus

---

with a word-for-word interlinear English translation

preserving the original word order



CANES NOBILES · MMXXVI

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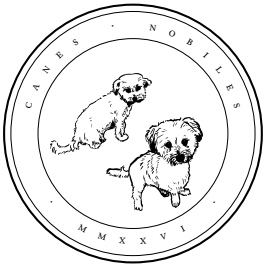

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CORNELIUS NEPOS

Vitae

Lives of the Commanders

PRAEFATIO

PREFACE

Nepos expects some to think this kind of writing trivial when they read who taught Epaminondas music or that he danced well. Such readers know no Greek ways. What is honorable differs among peoples: Cimon married his full sister, Cretan youths take lovers, Spartan widows go out to dinners, and Greeks think no shame of the stage, while Romans take their wives to banquets, where a Greek wife keeps to the inner rooms. Space and haste forbid more; now to the lives of excellent commanders.

Non dubito fore plerosque, Attice, qui hoc genus 1
not I-doubt to-be-going-to-be most Atticus who this kind
scripturae leve et non satis dignum summorum virorum
of-writing light and not enough worthy of-the-highest men
personis iudicent, cum relatum legent, quis musicam
to-the-characters will-judge when related they-read who music
docuerit Epaminondam, aut in eius virtutibus commemorari,
taught Epaminondas or among his virtues to-be-recorded
saltasse eum commode scienterque tibiis cantasse. Sed
to-have-danced him gracefully and-skillfully on-the-pipes to-have-played but
hi erunt fere, qui expertes litterarum Graecarum nihil
these will-be mostly who without-knowledge of-letters Greek nothing
rectum, nisi quod ipsorum moribus conveniat, putabunt.
right except what their-own to-customs accords will-think
Ii si didicerint non eadem omnibus esse honesta
these if they-shall-have-learned not the-same-things to-all to-be honorable
atque turpia, sed omnia maiorum institutis iudicari,
and base but all-things of-the-ancestors by-the-institutions to-be-judged
non admirabuntur nos in Graiorum virtutibus exponendis
not will-wonder us in of-the-Greeks virtues setting-forth
mores eorum secutos. Neque enim Cimoni fuit turpe,
the-customs their to-have-followed nor indeed for-Cimon was-it shameful

Atheniensium summo viro, sororem germanam habere in
of-the-Athenians to-the-highest man the-sister full to-have in
matrimonio, quippe cum cives eius eodem uterentur
marriage indeed since the-citizens his the-same used
instituto. At id quidem nostris moribus nefas habetur. Laudi
custom but that indeed by-our customs a-crime is-held to-praise
in Creta ducitur adulescentulis quam plurimos habuisse
in Crete it-is-counted for-young-men as many-as-possible to-have-had
amatores. Nulla Lacedaemoni vidua tam est nobilis, quae
lovers no at-Lacedaemon widow so is noble who
non ad cenam eat condictam. Magnis in laudibus tota fere
not to dinner goes engaged great in praises all almost
fuit Graecia victorem Olympiae citari, in scaenam vero
was Greece a-victor at-Olympia to-be-proclaimed onto the-stage however
prodire ac populo esse spectaculo nemini in eisdem
to-go-forth and to-the-people to-be a-spectacle to-no-one among the-same
gentibus fuit turpitudini. Quae omnia apud nos partim
nations was for-a-disgrace which all-things among us partly
infamia, partim humilia atque ab honestate remota ponuntur.
infamy partly low and from honor removed are-reckoned
Contra ea pleraque nostris moribus sunt decora, quae apud
against these most-things by-our customs are seemly which among
illos turpia putantur. Quem enim Romanorum pudet uxorem
them base are-thought whom for of-the-Romans shames-it a-wife
ducere in convivium? Aut cuius non mater familias primum
to-take to a-banquet or whose not mother of-family the-first
locum tenet aedium atque in celebritate versatur? Quod multo
place holds of-the-house and in company moves which much
fit aliter in Graecia. Nam neque in convivium adhibetur
happens otherwise in Greece for neither to a-banquet is-she-brought
nisi propinquorum, neque sedet nisi in interiore parte
except of-relatives nor sits except in the-inner part

aedium, quae gynaeconitis appellatur, quo nemo accedit nisi
of-the-house which gynaeconitis is-called where no-one approaches except
propinqua cognatione coniunctus. Sed hic plura persequi
by-near kinship joined but here more-things to-pursue
cum magnitudo voluminis prohibet, tum festinatio, ut ea
both the-size of-the-volume prevents and haste that those-things
explicem, quae exorsus sum. Quare ad propositum veniemus et
I-may-unfold which begun I-have therefore to the-purpose we-shall-come and
in hoc exponemus libro de vita excellentium imperatorum.
in this we-shall-set-forth book about the-life of-excellent commanders

MILTIADES

I · THE CHERSONESE AND LEMNOS

Miltiades, son of Cimon, is chosen at Delphi to lead Athenian settlers to the Chersonese. The Lemnians mock his demand to submit: they will yield when he sails from home to Lemnos with a north wind. He subdues the Chersonese, rules it justly with the power of a king, and serves Athens still. Later, sailing from his home in the Chersonese with that wind, he claims Lemnos, and the Carians leave. He takes the Cyclades.

1 Miltiades, Cimonis filius, Atheniensis, cum et antiquitate
Miltiades of-Cimon the-son the-Athenian when both by-antiquity
generis et gloria maiorum et sua modestia unus
of-family and by-the-glory of-his-ancestors and by-his-own modesty alone
omnium maxime floreret eaque esset aetate, ut non iam
of-all most flourished and-of-such was age that not now
solum de eo bene sperare, sed etiam confidere cives possent
only about him well to-hope but also to-trust the-citizens could
sui, talem eum futurum, qualem cognitum iudicarunt,
his such him to-be-going-to-be as known they-had-judged
accidit ut Athenienses Chersonesum colonos vellent mittere.
it-happened that the-Athenians to-the-Chersonese settlers wished to-send
Cuius generis cum magnus numerus esset et multi eius
of-which kind when a-great number was and many of-this
demigrationis peterent societatem, ex iis delecti Delphos
emigration sought the-partnership from these chosen-men to-Delphi
deliberatum missi sunt, quo potissimum duce uterentur.
to-consult sent were which especially as-leader they-should-use
Namque tum Thraeces eas regiones tenebant, cum quibus
for then the-Thracians those regions held with whom
armis erat dimicandum. Consulentibus nominatim Pythia
by-arms it-was to-be-fought to-the-consulting by-name the-Pythia

praecepit, ut Miltiadem imperatorem sibi sumerent: id
instructed that Miltiades as-commander for-themselves they-should-take that
si fecissent, incepta prospera futura. Hoc oraculi
if they-did the-undertakings successful to-be-going-to-be by-this of-the-oracle
responso Miltiades cum delecta manu classe Chersonesum
response Miltiades with chosen band by-fleet to-the-Chersonese
profectus cum accessisset Lemnum et incolas eius insulae
having-set-out when he-had-reached Lemnos and the-inhabitants of-that island
sub potestatem redigere vellet Atheniensium, idque ut
under the-power to-bring wished of-the-Athenians and-that that
Lemnii sua sponte facerent postulasset, illi irridentes
the-Lemnians of-their-own accord should-do had-demanded they mocking
responderunt tum id se facturos, cum ille domo
replied then that themselves to-be-going-to-do when he from-home
navibus profectus vento aquilone venisset Lemnum.
with-ships having-set-out by-the-wind north should-have-come to-Lemnos
Hic enim ventus ab septemtrionibus oriens adversum tenet
this for wind from the-north rising contrary holds
Athenis proficiscentibus. Miltiades morandi tempus non habens
from-Athens for-those-setting-out Miltiades of-delaying time not having
cursum direxit, quo tendebat, pervenitque Chersonesum.
the-course directed where he-was-heading and-reached the-Chersonese
Ibi brevi tempore barbarorum copiis disiectis, tota 2
there in-a-short time of-the-barbarians the-forces having-been-scattered of-the-whole
regione, quam petierat, potitus, loca castellis idonea
region which he-had-sought having-gained-possession places with-forts suitable
communiit, multitudinem, quam secum duxerat, in agris
he-fortified the-multitude which with-himself he-had-led on the-lands
collocavit crebrisque excursionibus locupletavit. Neque minus
he-settled and-by-frequent raids he-enriched nor less
in ea re prudentia quam felicitate adiutus est. Nam cum
in this matter by-prudence than by-good-fortune helped was for when

virtute militum devicisset hostium exercitus, summa
by-the-valor of-the-soldiers he-had-defeated of-the-enemy the-armies with-the-highest
aequitate res constituit atque ipse ibidem manere
fairness affairs he-settled and he-himself in-the-same-place to-remain
decrevit. Erat enim inter eos dignitate regia, quamquam carebat
decided he-was for among them in-rank royal although he-lacked
nomine, neque id magis imperio quam iustitia consecutus.
the-name nor that more by-command than by-justice having-attained
Neque eo setius Atheniensibus, a quibus erat profectus,
nor for-that less to-the-Athenians from whom he-had set-out
officia praestabat. Quibus rebus fiebat ut non minus eorum
services he-rendered by-which things it-came-about that not less with-their
voluntate perpetuum imperium obtineret, qui miserant, quam
good-will lasting command he-held who had-sent than
illorum, cum quibus erat profectus. Chersoneso tali modo
of-those with whom he-had set-out the-Chersonese in-such way
constituta Lemnum revertitur et ex pacto postulat ut
settled to-Lemnos he-returns and from the-agreement demands that
sibi urbem tradant: se enim domum Chersonesi habere.
to-him the-city they-hand-over himself for home in-the-Chersonese to-have
Cares, qui tum Lemnum incolebant, etsi praeter opinionem
the-Carians who then Lemnos inhabited although beyond expectation
res ceciderat, tamen non dicto, sed secunda fortuna
the-matter had-fallen-out yet not by-the-saying but by-the-favorable fortune
adversariorum capti resistere ausi non sunt atque ex
of-their-opponents seized to-resist dared not they-have and from
insula demigrarunt. Pari felicitate ceteras insulas, quae
the-island emigrated with-like good-fortune the-other islands which
Cyclades nominantur, sub Atheniensium redegit potestatem.
Cyclades are-named under of-the-Athenians brought power

Guarding Darius' bridge on the Hister, Miltiades urges the Ionian chiefs to break it and free Greece; Histiaeus prevails, and Miltiades returns to Athens. Darius sends Datis and Artaphernes, who take Eretria and land at Marathon. Athens sends to Sparta for help, and of its ten generals Miltiades presses for battle. The Plataeans' thousand make ten thousand, who rout a hundred thousand foot beneath the hills and drive them to their ships. No battle is more famous.

Eisdem temporibus Persarum rex Darius ex Asia in 3
in-the-same times of-the-Persians the-king Darius from Asia into
Europam exercitu traiecto Scythis bellum inferre
Europe the-army having-been-carried-across on-the-Scythians war to-bring
decrevit. Pontem fecit in Histro flumine, qua copias
decided a-bridge he-made on the-Hister river where the-forces
traduceret. Eius pontis, dum ipse abesset, custodes
he-might-lead-across of-that bridge while he-himself was-away as-guards
reliquit principes, quos secum ex Ionia et Aeolide
he-left the-chiefs whom with-himself from Ionia and Aeolis
duxerat, quibus singularum urbium perpetua dederat
he-had-brought to-whom of-single cities lasting he-had-given
imperia. Sic enim facillime putavit se Graeca lingua
commands thus for most-easily he-thought himself the-Greek tongue
loquentes, qui Asiam incolerent, sub sua retenturum
speaking who Asia inhabited under his-own to-be-going-to-keep
potestate, si amicis suis oppida tuenda tradidisset, quibus
power if to-friends his-own towns to-be-guarded he-handed-over to-whom
se oppresso nulla spes salutis relinqueretur. In hoc fuit
himself overthrown no hope of-safety would-be-left in this was
tum numero Miltiades. Hic, cum crebri afferrent nuntii
then number Miltiades he when frequent brought messengers
male rem gerere Darium premique a Scythis, hortatus
badly the-matter to-manage Darius and-to-be-pressed by the-Scythians urged

est pontis custodes, ne a fortuna datam occasionem
has of-the-bridge the-guards not by fortune given opportunity
liberandae Graeciae dimitterent. Nam si cum iis copiis, quas
of-freeing Greece they-should-let-slip for if with those forces which
secum transportarat, interisset Darius, non solum Europam
with-himself he-had-carried-across had-perished Darius not only Europe
fore tutam, sed etiam eos, qui Asiam incolerent Graeci
to-be-going-to-be safe but also those who Asia inhabited Greeks
genere, liberos a Persarum futuros dominatione et
by-race free from of-the-Persians to-be-going-to-be rule and
periculo. Id facile effici posse: ponte enim rescisso
danger that easily to-be-done to-be-able the-bridge for having-been-cut-down
regem vel hostium ferro vel inopia paucis diebus
the-king either of-the-enemy by-the-sword or by-want in-a-few days
interiturum. Ad hoc consilium cum plerique accederent,
to-be-going-to-perish to this plan when most agreed
Hestiaeus Milesius, ne res conficeretur, obstitit, dicens non
Histiaeus of-Miletus lest the-thing be-accomplished opposed saying not
idem ipsis, qui summas imperii tenerent, expedire et
the-same for-themselves who the-highest of-command held to-be-expedient and
multitudini, quod Darii regno ipsorum niteretur dominatio:
for-the-multitude because of-Darius on-the-rule their rested rule
quo exstincto ipsos potestate expulsos civibus suis poenas
which extinguished themselves from-power driven-out to-citizens their penalties
daturos. Itaque adeo se abhorrere a ceterorum
to-be-going-to-pay and-so so-much himself to-shrink from of-the-others
consilio, ut nihil putet ipsis utilius quam confirmari
plan that nothing he-thinks for-themselves more-useful than to-be-strengthened
regnum Persarum. Huius cum sententiam plurimi essent
the-kingdom of-the-Persians of-this-man when the-opinion most had
secuti, Miltiades non dubitans tam multis consciis ad
followed Miltiades not doubting so many being-privy to

regis aures consilia sua perventura, Chersonesum reliquit
of-the-king ears plans his to-be-going-to-come the-Chersonese he-left
ac rursus Athenas demigravit. Cuius ratio etsi non
and again to-Athens moved of-whom the-reasoning although not
valuit, tamen magno opere est laudanda, cum amicior
it-prevailed yet great by-effort is to-be-praised since more-friendly
omnium libertati quam suae fuerit dominationi.
of-all to-the-freedom than to-his-own was rule
Darius autem, cum ex Europa in Asiam redisset, hortantibus 4
Darius however when from Europe into Asia had-returned urging
amicis, ut Graeciam redigeret in suam potestatem, classem
friends that Greece he-should-bring into his power a-fleet
quingentarum navium comparavit eique Datim praefecit et
of-five-hundred ships prepared and-over-it Datis he-put and
Artaphernem iisque ducenta peditum, decem equitum milia
Artaphernes and-to-them two-hundred of-foot ten of-horse thousands
dedit, causam interserens se hostem esse Atheniensibus,
he-gave a-cause inserting himself an-enemy to-be to-the-Athenians
quod eorum auxilio Iones Sardis expugnassent suaque
because their by-help the-Ionians Sardis had-stormed and-his
praesidia interfecissent. Illi praefecti regii classe ad Euboeam
garrisons had-killed those commanders royal the-fleet to Euboea
appulsa celeriter Eretriam ceperunt omnesque eius
having-been-brought-in quickly Eretria took and-all of-that
gentis cives abreptos in Asiam ad regem miserunt. Inde
people the-citizens carried-off into Asia to the-king sent thence
ad Atticam accesserunt ac suas copias in campum Marathona
to Attica they-approached and their forces into the-plain Marathon
deduxerunt. Is abest ab oppido circiter milia passuum decem.
led-down it is-distant from the-town about miles of-paces ten
Hoc tumultu Athenienses tam propinquo tamque magno
by-this alarm the-Athenians so near and-so great

permoti auxilium nusquam nisi a Lacedaemoniis petiverunt
alarmed help nowhere except from the-Lacedaemonians sought
Phidippumque cursorem eius generis, qui hemerodromoe
and-Phidippus a-runner of-that kind who day-runners
vocantur, Lacedaemonem miserunt, ut nuntiaret quam
are-called to-Lacedaemon sent that he-might-announce how
celerrimo opus esse auxilio. Domi autem creant decem
very-swift need to-be of-help at-home however they-elect ten
praetores, qui exercitui praeessent, in eis Miltiadem.
generals who over-the-army should-be-in-command among them Miltiades
Inter quos magna fuit contentio, utrum moenibus se
among whom great was the-dispute whether by-the-walls themselves
defenderent an obviam irent hostibus acieque decernerent.
they-should-defend or to-meet should-go the-enemy and-in-battle-line decide
Unus Miltiades maxime nitebatur, ut primo quoque tempore
alone Miltiades most strove that at-the-first possible time
castra fierent: id si factum esset, et civibus animum
camp should-be-made that if done should-be both to-the-citizens courage
accessurum, cum viderent de eorum virtute non desperari,
to-be-going-to-be-added when they-saw about their valor not to-be-despaired
et hostes eadem re fore tardiores, si animadverterent
and the-enemy by-the-same thing to-be-going-to-be slower if they-should-notice
auderi adversus se tam exiguis copiis dimicari.
to-be-dared against themselves so with-small forces to-be-fought
Hoc in tempore nulla civitas Atheniensibus auxilio fuit praeter
this at time no state to-the-Athenians for-help was except
Plataeenses. Ea mille misit militum. Itaque horum adventu
the-Plataeans it a-thousand sent of-soldiers and-so by-their arrival
decem milia armatorum completa sunt, quae manus mirabili
ten thousand of-armed-men completed were which band with-wonderful
flagrabat pugnandi cupiditate. Quo factum est ut plus quam
burned of-fighting desire by-which done it-was that more than

collegae Miltiades valeret. Eius ergo auctoritate impulsi
his-colleagues Miltiades should-prevail by-his therefore authority driven
Athenienses copias ex urbe eduxerunt locoque idoneo castra
the-Athenians the-forces from the-city led-out and-in-a-place suitable camp
fecerunt. Dein postero die sub montis radicibus acie
made then on-the-next day under of-a-mountain the-roots the-battle-line
regione instructa non apertissima (namque arbores multis
in-a-region drawn-up not most-open for trees in-many
locis erant rarae) proelium commiserunt hoc consilio, ut
places were scattered battle joined with-this plan that
et montium altitudine tegerentur et arborum tractu
both of-the-mountains by-the-height they-might-be-covered and of-the-trees by-the-stretch
equitatus hostium impediretur. Datis etsi non aequum
the-cavalry of-the-enemy might-be-hindered Datis although not equal
locum videbat suis, tamen fretus numero copiarum
the-place he-saw for-his-own yet relying on-the-number of-forces
suarum confligere cupiebat, eoque magis, quod, priusquam
his to-engage desired and-for-that more because before
Lacedaemonii subsidio venirent, dimicare utile arbitrabatur.
the-Lacedaemonians in-aid should-come to-fight useful he-thought
Itaque in aciem peditum centum, equitum decem milia
and-so into the-battle-line of-foot a-hundred of-horse ten thousand
produxit proeliumque commisit. In quo tanto plus virtute
he-led-out and-battle joined in which so-much more by-valor
valuerunt Athenienses, ut decemplicem numerum hostium
prevailed the-Athenians that a-tenfold number of-the-enemy
profligarint, adeoque eos perterruerunt, ut Persae non castra,
they-routed and-so-much them terrified that the-Persians not the-camp
sed naves petierint. Qua pugna nihil adhuc exstitit nobilius:
but the-ships sought than-which battle nothing as-yet has-stood more-famous
nulla enim umquam tam exigua manus tantas opes prostravit.
no for ever so small a-band so-great power laid-low

Athens' reward for Marathon is modest: his portrait first among the ten generals in the Painted Colonnade, while the same people later decree three hundred statues to Demetrius of Phalerum. Sent against the islands, Miltiades besieges Paros, but a grove burns at night, and fearing the Persian fleet he withdraws. Accused of taking a bribe, he is fined fifty talents and dies in prison. The true cause is the Athenians' fear of his power.

6 Cuius victoriae non alienum videtur quale praemium
of-which victory not foreign it-seems what-sort-of reward
Miltiadi sit tributum docere, quo facilius intellegi possit
to-Miltiades was given to-show by-which more-easily to-be-understood can
eandem omnium civitatum esse naturam. Ut enim populi
the-same of-all states to-be the-nature as for of-the-people
Romani honores quondam fuerunt rari et tenues ob
Roman the-honors once were rare and slight on-account-of
eamque causam gloriosi, nunc autem effusi atque obsoleti,
and-that reason glorious now however lavish and worn-out
sic olim apud Athenienses fuisse reperimus. Namque huic
so formerly among the-Athenians to-have-been we-find for to-this
Miltiadi, qui Athenas totamque Graeciam liberarat, talis honos
Miltiades who Athens and-all Greece had-freed such an-honor
tributus est, in porticu, quae Poecile vocatur, cum pugna
given was in the-colonnade which Poecile is-called when the-battle
depingeretur Marathonia, ut in decem praetorum numero
was-being-painted of-Marathon that in of-the-ten generals the-number
prima eius imago poneretur isque hortaretur milites
first his image should-be-placed and-he should-be-urging the-soldiers
proeliumque committeret. Idem ille populus, posteaquam
and-battle should-be-joining the-same that people after

maius imperium est nactus et largitione magistratuum
greater command has obtained and by-the-largess of-magistrates
corruptus est, trecentas statuas Demetrio Phalereo decrevit.
corrupted was three-hundred statues to-Demetrius of-Phalerum decreed
Post hoc proelium classem septuaginta navium Athenienses 7
after this battle a-fleet of-seventy ships the-Athenians
eidem Miltiadi dederunt, ut insulas, quae barbaros
to-the-same Miltiades gave that the-islands which the-barbarians
adiuverant, bello persequeretur. Quo in imperio plerasque
had-helped with-war he-might-pursue which in command most
ad officium redire coegit, nonnullas vi expugnavit. Ex his
to duty to-return he-forced some by-force stormed of these
Parum insulam opibus elatam cum oratione reconciliare non
Paros the-island by-wealth elated when by-speech to-reconcile not
posset, copias e navibus eduxit, urbem operibus clausit
he-could the-forces from the-ships he-led-out the-city with-works shut
omnique commeatu privavit, dein vineis ac testudinibus
and-of-all supply deprived then sheds and tortoises
constitutis propius muros accessit. Cum iam in eo
having-been-set-up nearer to-the-walls he-approached when now in this
esset, ut oppido potiretur, procul in continenti lucus,
he-was that of-the-town he-should-gain-possession far-off on the-mainland a-grove
qui ex insula conspiciebatur, nescio quo casu nocturno
which from the-island was-seen I-know-not by-what chance at-night
tempore incensus est. Cuius flamma ut ab oppidanis
time set-on-fire was of-which the-flame when by the-townsmen
et oppugnatoribus est visa, utrisque venit in opinionem
and the-besiegers was seen to-both came into the-belief
signum a classiariis regiis datum. Quo factum est ut
a-signal by the-marines royal given by-which done it-was that
et Parii a deditione deterrerentur et Miltiades, timens
both the-Parians from surrender were-deterred and Miltiades fearing

ne classis regia adventaret, incensis operibus, quae statuerat,
lest the-fleet royal should-arrive burned the-works which he-had-set-up
cum totidem navibus atque erat profectus Athenas magna
with as-many ships as he-had set-out to-Athens great
cum offensione civium suorum rediret. Accusatus ergo est
with offense of-citizens his returned accused therefore he-was
proditionis, quod, cum Parum expugnare posset, a rege
of-treason because when Paros to-storm he-could by the-king
corruptus infectis rebus discessisset. Eo tempore aeger
bribed unaccomplished things he-had-departed at-that time sick
erat vulneribus, quae in oppugnando oppido acceperat. Itaque
he-was from-wounds which in storming the-town he-had-received and-so
cum ipse pro se dicere non posset, verba fecit frater
since he-himself for himself to-speak not could the-words made the-brother
eius Stesagoras. Causa cognita capitis absolutus
his Stesagoras the-case having-been-heard on-the-capital-charge acquitted
pecunia multatus est, eaque lis quinquaginta talentis
with-money fined he-was and-that suit at-fifty talents
aestimata est, quantus in classem sumptus factus erat.
assessed was as-much-as on the-fleet expense made had-been
Hanc pecuniam quod solvere in praesentia non poterat, in
this money because to-pay at present not he-could into
vincla publica coniectus est ibique diem obiit supremum.
chains public thrown he-was and-there the-day met last

8 Hic etsi crimine Pario est accusatus, tamen alia causa
he although on-the-charge Parian was accused yet another cause
fuit damnationis. Namque Athenienses propter Pisistrati
was of-the-condemnation for the-Athenians because-of of-Pisistratus
tyrannidem, quae paucis annis ante fuerat, nimiam civium
the-tyranny which a-few years before had-been the-excessive of-citizens
suorum potentiam extimescebant. Miltiades, multum in
their power feared Miltiades much in

imperiis magistratibusque versatus, non videbatur posse
commands and-magistracies having-been-engaged not seemed to-be-able
esse privatus, praesertim cum consuetudine ad imperii
to-be a-private-man especially since by-habit to of-command
cupiditatem trahi videretur. Nam in Chersoneso omnes
the-desire to-be-drawn he-seemed for in the-Chersonese all
illos quos habitarat annos perpetuam obtinuerat dominationem
those which he-had-dwelt years lasting he-had-held rule
tyrannusque fuerat appellatus, sed iustus. Non erat enim
and-tyrant had-been called but just not he-had for
vi consecutus, sed suorum voluntate, eamque potestatem
by-force attained but of-his-people by-the-will and-that power
bonitate retinebat. Omnes autem et dicuntur et habentur
by-goodness he-kept all however both are-called and are-held
tyranni, qui potestate sunt perpetua in ea civitate, quae
tyrants who in-power are lasting in that state which
libertate usa est. Sed in Miltiade erat cum summa
freedom used has but in Miltiades there-was both the-highest
humanitas tum mira communitas, ut nemo tam humilis
kindness and wonderful affability that no-one so lowly
esset, cui non ad eum aditus pateret; magna auctoritas
should-be to-whom not to him access lay-open great influence
apud omnes civitates, nobile nomen, laus rei militaris
among all states a-noble name renown of-the-matter military
maxima. Haec populus respiciens maluit illum innoxium
the-greatest these-things the-people regarding preferred him innocent
plecti quam se diutius esse in timore.
to-be-punished than itself longer to-be in fear

THEMISTOCLES

I · THE WOODEN WALLS

Themistocles, disinherited for a wild youth, gives himself to public life and rises quickly. He persuades the Athenians to spend the silver of the mines on a hundred ships. When Xerxes invades, the oracle bids Athens defend itself with wooden walls; Themistocles reads them as the ships, and the city is moved to Salamis and Troezen. Leonidas falls at Thermopylae, and the fleet fights at Artemisium. Themistocles, by a false message, makes Xerxes fight in the straits of Salamis and wins.

1 Themistocles, Neocli filius, Atheniensis. Huius vitia ineuntis
Themistocles of-Neocles the-son the-Athenian his the-faults of-beginning
adulescentiae magnis sunt emendata virtutibus, adeo ut
youth by-great were corrected virtues so-far that
anteferatur huic nemo, pauci pares putentur. Sed ab initio
is-preferred to-him no-one few equal are-thought but from the-beginning
est ordiendus. Pater eius Neocles generosus fuit. Is uxorem
is to-be-begun the-father his Neocles well-born was he a-wife
Acarnanam civem duxit, ex qua natus est Themistocles. Qui
Acarnanian a-citizen married from whom born was Themistocles who
cum minus esset probatus parentibus, quod et liberius vivebat
when less he-was approved by-his-parents because both more-freely he-lived
et rem familiarem neglegebat, a patre exheredatus
and the-property family he-neglected by his-father disinherited
est. Quae contumelia non fregit eum, sed erexit. Nam cum
he-was which insult not broke him but roused for when
iudicasset sine summa industria non posse eam exstingui,
he-had-judged without the-highest industry not to-be-able it to-be-wiped-out
totum se dedidit rei publicae, diligentius amicis
wholly himself he-gave to-the-thing public more-diligently to-friends
famaeque serviens. Multum in iudiciis privatis versabatur,
and-to-reputation serving much in trials private he-was-engaged

saepe in contionem populi prodibat; nulla res maior sine
often into the-assembly of-the-people he-came-forth no thing greater without
eo gerebatur; celeriter quae opus erant reperiebat, facile eadem
him was-done quickly what needed were he-found easily the-same
oratione explicabat, neque minus in rebus gerendis promptus
by-speech he-explained nor less in things to-be-done ready
quam excogitandis erat, quod et de instantibus, ut ait
than to-be-devised he-was because both about present-things as says
Thucydides, verissime iudicabat et de futuris callidissime
Thucydides most-truly he-judged and about future-things most-shrewdly
coniciebat. Quo factum est ut brevi tempore illustraretur.
he-conjectured by-which done it-was that in-a-short time he-became-famous
Primus autem gradus fuit capessendae rei publicae bello 2
the-first however step was of-undertaking the-thing public in-the-war
Corcyraeo: ad quod gerendum praetor a populo factus
Corcyraean for which to-be-waged general by the-people made
non solum praesenti bello, sed etiam reliquo tempore
not only for-the-present war but also for-the-remaining time
ferociorem reddidit civitatem. Nam cum pecunia publica, quae
fiercer he-rendered the-state for when the-money public which
ex metallis redibat, largitione magistratuum quotannis interiret,
from the-mines came-in by-largess of-the-magistrates yearly perished
ille persuasit populo ut ea pecunia classis centum
he persuaded the-people that with-that money a-fleet of-a-hundred
navium aedificaretur. Qua celeriter effecta primum
ships should-be-built which quickly having-been-made first
Corcyraeos fregit, deinde maritimos praedones consectando
the-Corcyraeans he-broke then maritime pirates by-pursuing
mare tutum reddidit. In quo cum divitiis ornavit, tum etiam
the-sea safe he-rendered in which both with-riches he-adorned and also
peritissimos belli navalis fecit Athenienses. Id quantae
most-skilled of-war naval he-made the-Athenians that of-how-great

saluti fuerit universae Graeciae, bello cognitum est Persico.
safety it-was for-all Greece in-the-war known was Persian
Nam cum Xerxes et mari et terra bellum universae inferret
for when Xerxes both by-sea and by-land war on-all brought
Europae, cum tantis copiis eam invasit, quantas neque ante
Europe with so-great forces it he-invaded as-great-as neither before
nec postea habuit quisquam: huius enim classis mille
nor afterward had anyone of-him for the-fleet of-a-thousand
et ducentarum navium longarum fuit, quam duo milia
and two-hundred ships long was which two thousand
onerariarum sequebantur, terrestris autem exercitus septingenta
of-cargo-ships followed of-land however the-army seven-hundred
peditum, equitum quadringenta milia fuerunt. Cuius de
of-foot of-horse four-hundred thousand were whose about
adventu cum fama in Graeciam esset perlata et maxime
arrival when the-report into Greece had been-brought and especially
Athenienses peti dicerentur propter pugnam Marathoniam,
the-Athenians to-be-sought were-said because-of the-battle of-Marathon
miserunt Delphos consultum, quidnam facerent de rebus
they-sent to-Delphi to-consult what they-should-do about affairs
suis. Deliberantibus Pythia respondit, ut moenibus ligneis
their to-the-deliberating the-Pythia replied that with-walls wooden
se munirent. Id responsum quo valeret cum intellegeret
themselves they-should-fortify that response what it-meant when understood
nemo, Themistocles persuasit consilium esse Apollinis, ut
no-one Themistocles persuaded the-plan to-be of-Apollo that
in naves se suaque conferrent: eum enim a
into the-ships themselves and-their-things they-should-bring that for by
deo significari murum ligneum. Tali consilio probato
the-god to-be-meant the-wall wooden such plan having-been-approved
addunt ad superiores totidem naves triremes suaque omnia,
they-add to the-former as-many ships triremes and-their all-things

quae moveri poterant, partim Salamina, partim Troezena
which to-be-moved could partly to-Salamis partly to-Troezen
deportant: arcem sacerdotibus paucisque maioribus natu ad
they-carry-off the-citadel to-the-priests and-to-a-few older by-birth for
sacra procuranda tradunt, reliquum oppidum relinquunt.
rites to-be-cared-for they-hand-over the-rest-of the-town they-leave
Huius consilium plerisque civitatibus displicebat et in terra 3
his plan to-most states was-displeasing and on land
dimicari magis placebat. Itaque missi sunt delecti cum
to-be-fought more pleased and-so sent were chosen-men with
Leonida, Lacedaemoniorum rege, qui Thermopylas occuparent
Leonidas of-the-Lacedaemonians king who Thermopylae should-occupy
longiusque barbaros progredi non paterentur. Ii vim
and-farther the-barbarians to-advance not should-allow they the-force
hostium non sustinuerunt eoque loco omnes interierunt. At
of-the-enemy not withstood and-in-that place all perished but
classis communis Graeciae trecentarum navium, in qua ducentae
the-fleet common of-Greece of-three-hundred ships in which two-hundred
erant Atheniensium, primum apud Artemisium inter Euboeam
were of-the-Athenians first at Artemisium between Euboea
continentemque terram cum classiariis regiis conflixit. Angustias
and-the-mainland land with the-marines royal engaged the-narrows
enim Themistocles quaerebat, ne multitudine circumiretur. Hinc
for Themistocles sought lest by-the-multitude he-be-surrounded hence
etsi pari proelio discesserant, tamen eodem loco
although from-an-equal battle they-had-come-away yet in-the-same place
non sunt ausi manere, quod erat periculum, ne, si pars
not they-have dared to-remain because there-was danger lest if a-part
navium adversariorum Euboeam superasset, ancipiti premerentur
of-the-ships of-the-opponents Euboea had-passed by-double they-be-pressed

periculo. Quo factum est ut ab Artemisio discederent et
danger by-which done it-was that from Artemisium they-withdrew and
exadversum Athenas apud Salamina classem suam constituerent.
opposite Athens at Salamis the-fleet their they-stationed
4 At Xerxes Thermopylis expugnatis protinus accessit astu
but Xerxes Thermopylae having-been-stormed at-once approached the-city
idque nullis defendentibus interfectis sacerdotibus, quos
and-that with-no-one defending having-been-killed the-priests whom
in arce invenerat, incendio delevit. Cuius flamma perterriti
in the-citadel he-had-found by-fire destroyed by-whose flame terrified
classiarii cum manere non auderent et plurimi hortarentur,
the-marines when to-remain not they-dared and most urged
ut domos suas discederent moenibusque se defenderent,
that to-homes their they-should-depart and-by-the-walls themselves they-should-defend
Themistocles unus restitit et universos pares esse posse aiebat,
Themistocles alone resisted and all-together equal to-be to-be-able he-said
dispersos testabatur perituros, idque Eurybiadi, regi
scattered he-testified to-be-going-to-perish and-that to-Eurybiades to-the-king
Lacedaemoniorum, qui tum summae imperii praeerat,
of-the-Lacedaemonians who then over-the-supreme of-command was-in-charge
fore affirmabat. Quem cum minus quam vellet moveret,
to-be-going-to-be he-affirmed whom when less than he-wished he-moved
noctu de servis suis quem habuit fidelissimum ad regem misit,
by-night of slaves his whom he-had most-faithful to the-king he-sent
ut ei nuntiaret suis verbis, adversarios eius in fuga esse:
that to-him he-might-announce in-his words the-opponents his in flight to-be
qui si discessissent, maiore cum labore et longinquiore tempore
who if they-should-depart greater with toil and longer time
bellum confecturum, cum singulos consectari cogeretur:
the-war to-be-going-to-finish since one-by-one to-pursue he-would-be-forced
quos si statim aggrederetur, brevi universos oppressurum.
whom if at-once he-attacked in-short-time all-together to-be-going-to-crush

Hoc eo valebat, ut ingratiis ad depugnandum omnes
this to-this tended that unwillingly to fighting-it-out all
cogerentur. Hac re audita barbarus, nihil doli subesse
should-be-forced this thing having-been-heard the-barbarian nothing of-guile to-lie-beneath
credens, postridie alienissimo sibi loco, contra
believing next-day most-unfavorable to-himself in-a-place on-the-other-hand
opportunissimo hostibus adeo angusto mari conflixit, ut eius
most-favorable to-the-enemy so narrow on-a-sea engaged that his
multitudo navium explicari non potuerit. Victus ergo est
multitude of-ships to-be-deployed not could conquered therefore he-was
magis etiam consilio Themistocli quam armis Graeciae.
more even by-the-plan of-Themistocles than by-the-arms of-Greece

II · THE WALLS OF ATHENS

Warned that the Hellespont bridge will be broken, Xerxes hurries back to Asia, believing Themistocles has saved him; Salamis ranks with Marathon. Themistocles builds the Piraeus and rebuilds the walls of Athens against Sparta's will. As envoy he delays at Sparta while every Athenian, slave and free, builds. Sparta sends three envoys to see, and Athens holds them. He then tells the Spartans that Athens has walled itself by the right of nations and that they must send him back for their envoys.

Hic etsi male rem gesserat, tamen tantas habebat reliquias
he although badly the-matter had-managed yet such-great he-had remnants
copiarum, ut etiamtum iis opprimere posset hostes:
of-forces that even-then with-them to-crush he-could the-enemy
iterum ab eodem gradu depulsus est. Nam Themistocles,
again from the-same step dislodged he-was for Themistocles
verens ne bellare perseveraret, certiorem eum fecit id agi,
fearing lest to-make-war he-should-persist more-certain him made that to-be-done
ut pons, quem ille in Hellesponto fecerat, dissolveretur ac
that the-bridge which he on the-Hellespont had-made should-be-broken-up and

reditu in Asiam excluderetur, idque ei persuasit. Itaque
from-return into Asia he-be-shut-out and-that to-him he-persuaded and-so
qua sex mensibus iter fecerat, eadem minus diebus
by-which in-six months the-march he-had-made the-same in-less days
triginta in Asiam reversus est seque a Themistocle
than-thirty into Asia returned he-has and-himself by Themistocles
non superatum, sed conservatum iudicavit. Sic unius viri
not overcome but saved he-judged thus of-one man
prudentia Graecia liberata est Europaeque succubuit Asia.
by-the-prudence Greece freed was and-to-Europe yielded Asia
Haec altera victoria, quae cum Marathonio possit comparari
this the-other victory which with the-Marathonian can to-be-compared
tropaeo. Nam pari modo apud Salamina parvo numero
trophy for in-equal manner at Salamis with-a-small number
navium maxima post hominum memoriam classis est devicta.
of-ships the-greatest after of-men memory fleet was defeated
6 Magnus hoc bello Themistocles fuit neque minor in pace. Cum
great in-this war Themistocles was nor less in peace when
enim Phalerico portu neque magno neque bono Athenienses
for the-Phaleric harbor neither great nor good the-Athenians
uterentur, huius consilio triplex Piraei portus constitutus est
used by-his plan the-triple of-Piraeus harbor established was
iisque moenibus circumdatus, ut ipsam urbem dignitate
and-with-those walls surrounded that the-very city in-dignity
aequiperaret, utilitate superaret. Idem muros Atheniensium
it-equaled in-usefulness surpassed the-same the-walls of-the-Athenians
restituit praecipuo suo periculo. Namque Lacedaemonii
restored at-especial his-own danger for the-Lacedaemonians
causam idoneam nacti propter barbarorum excursiones,
a-cause suitable having-got on-account-of of-the-barbarians the-raids
qua negarent oportere extra Peloponnesum ullam urbem
by-which they-might-deny to-be-proper outside the-Peloponnese any city

muros habere, ne essent loca munita, quae hostes possiderent,
walls to-have lest there-be places fortified which the-enemy might-possess
Athenienses aedificantes prohibere sunt conati. Hoc longe
the-Athenians building to-prevent they-have tried this far
alio spectabat atque videri volebant. Athenienses enim duabus
elsewhere looked than to-seem they-wished the-Athenians for by-two
victoriis, Marathonia et Salaminia, tantam gloriam apud
victories Marathonian and Salaminian such glory among
omnes gentes erant consecuti, ut intellegerent Lacedaemonii
all nations had attained that understood the-Lacedaemonians
de principatu sibi cum iis certamen fore.
about the-leadership for-themselves with them a-contest to-be-going-to-be
Quare eos quam infirmissimos esse volebant. Postquam autem
wherefore them as weakest-possible to-be they-wished after however
audierunt muros strui, legatos Athenas miserunt, qui id
they-heard the-walls to-be-built envoys to-Athens they-sent who that
fieri vetarent. His praesentibus desierunt ac se de ea
to-be-done should-forbid these being-present they-ceased and themselves about that
re legatos ad eos missuros dixerunt. Hanc legationem
matter envoys to them to-be-going-to-send said this embassy
suscepit Themistocles et solus primo profectus est: reliqui
undertook Themistocles and alone first set-out he-has the-other
legati ut tum exirent, cum satis alti tuendo muri
envoys that then they-should-go-out when enough high for-defending the-walls
exstructi viderentur, praecepit: interim omnes, servi atque
built should-seem he-instructed meanwhile all slaves and
liberi, opus facerent neque ulli loco parcerent, sive sacer
free the-work should-do nor any place should-spare whether sacred
sive privatus esset sive publicus, et undique, quod idoneum
or private it-was or public and from-everywhere what suitable

ad muniendum putarent, congererent. Quo factum est ut
for fortifying they-thought should-gather by-which done it-was that
Atheniensium muri ex sacellis sepulcrisque constarent.
of-the-Athenians the-walls of shrines and-tombs consisted
7 Themistocles autem, ut Lacedaemonem venit, adire ad
Themistocles however when to-Lacedaemon he-came to-approach to
magistratus noluit et dedit operam, ut quam longissime
the-magistrates was-unwilling and gave effort that as long-as-possible
tempus duceret, causam interponens se collegas
the-time he-might-draw-out a-cause interposing himself his-colleagues
exspectare. Cum Lacedaemonii quererentur opus nihilo
to-await when the-Lacedaemonians complained the-work by-nothing
minus fieri eumque in ea re conari fallere, interim
less to-be-done and-him in that matter to-try to-deceive meanwhile
reliqui legati sunt consecuti. A quibus cum audisset non
the-other envoys have followed from whom when he-had-heard not
multum superesse munitionis, ad ephoros Lacedaemoniorum
much to-remain of-the-fortification to the-ephors of-the-Lacedaemonians
accessit, penes quos summum erat imperium, atque apud
he-went in-the-hands-of whom the-supreme was command and before
eos contendit falsa iis esse delata: quare aequum esse
them he-contended false-things to-them to-have been-reported wherefore fair to-be
illos viros bonos nobilesque mittere, qui rem explorarent:
them men good and-noble to-send who the-matter should-investigate
interea se obsidem retinerent. Gestus est ei mos,
meanwhile himself as-hostage they-should-keep granted was to-him the-wish
tresque legati functi summis honoribus Athenas missi
and-three envoys having-discharged the-highest offices to-Athens sent
sunt. Cum his collegas suos Themistocles iussit proficisci
were with these colleagues his Themistocles ordered to-set-out
iisque praedixit, ut ne prius Lacedaemoniorum legatos
and-to-them he-charged-beforehand that not sooner of-the-Lacedaemonians the-envoys

dimitterent quam ipse esset remissus. Hos postquam
they-should-dismiss than he-himself should-be sent-back these after
Athenas pervenisse ratus est, ad magistratus senatumque
to-Athens to-have-arrived reckoned he-has to the-magistrates and-senate
Lacedaemoniorum adiit et apud eos liberrime professus est:
of-the-Lacedaemonians he-went and before them most-freely professed he-has
Athenienses suo consilio, quod communi iure gentium facere
the-Athenians by-his plan because by-common law of-nations to-do
possent, deos publicos suosque patrios ac penates, quo
they-could the-gods public and-their-own ancestral and household-gods by-which
facilius ab hoste possent defendere, muris saepsisse
more-easily from the-enemy they-could defend with-walls to-have-fenced
neque in eo quod inutile esset Graeciae fecisse. Nam
nor in that which useless was to-Greece to-have-acted for
illorum urbem propugnaculum oppositum esse barbaris,
their city a-bulwark set-against to-be to-the-barbarians
apud quam iam bis copias regias fecisse naufragium.
at which already twice the-forces royal to-have-made shipwreck
Lacedaemonios autem male et iniuste facere, qui id potius
the-Lacedaemonians however badly and unjustly to-act who that rather
intuerentur, quod ipsorum dominationi quam quod universae
looked-to which to-their-own rule than which to-all
Graeciae utile esset. Quare, si suos legatos recipere vellent,
Greece useful was wherefore if their envoys to-receive-back they-wished
quos Athenas miserant, se remitterent, cum aliter illos
whom to-Athens they-had-sent himself they-should-send-back since otherwise them
numquam in patriam essent recepturi.
never into their-country they-were going-to-receive

Ostracized, Themistocles lives at Argos; the Spartans have him condemned for treason. He flees to Admetus of the Molossians, then by ship past Naxos to Ephesus. Following Thucydides, Nepos says he wrote to Artaxerxes offering his friendship. He learns Persian in a year and is given Magnesia, Lampsacus, and Myus. He dies at Magnesia, of disease or by his own poison, and friends bury his bones secretly in Attica.

8 Tamen non effugit civium suorum invidiam. Namque
yet not he-escaped of-citizens his the-envy for
ob eundem timorem, quo damnatus erat Miltiades,
on-account-of the-same fear by-which condemned had-been Miltiades
testularum suffragiis e civitate eiectus Argos habitatum
of-the-potsherds by-the-votes from the-state cast-out to-Argos to-dwell
concessit. Hic cum propter multas virtutes magna cum
he-withdrew here when because-of many virtues great with
dignitate viveret, Lacedaemonii legatos Athenas miserunt, qui
dignity he-lived the-Lacedaemonians envoys to-Athens sent who
eum absentem accusarent, quod societatem cum rege Perse
him absent should-accuse because an-alliance with the-king Persian
ad Graeciam opprimendam fecisset. Hoc crimine absens
for Greece to-be-crushed he-had-made on-this charge absent
damnatus est. Id ut audivit, quod non satis tutum se
condemned he-was that when he-heard because not enough safe himself
Argis videbat, Corcyram demigravit. Ibi cum eius principes
at-Argos he-saw to-Corcyra he-moved there when its leading-men
insulae animadvertisset timere, ne propter se bellum
of-the-island he-had-noticed to-fear lest on-account-of him war
iis Lacedaemonii et Athenienses indicerent, ad Admetum,
on-them the-Lacedaemonians and the-Athenians should-declare to Admetus
Molossum regem, cum quo ei hospitium non erat,
Molossian king with whom to-him a-guest-friendship not was

confugit. Huc cum venisset et in praesentia rex abesset,
he-fled hither when he-had-come and at present the-king was-away
quo maiore religione se receptum tueretur, filium
by-which with-greater sanctity himself received he-might-protect the-son
eius parvulum arripuit et cum eo se in sacrarium,
his very-little he-snatched-up and with him himself into a-shrine
quod summa colebatur caerimonia, coniecit. Inde non prius
which with-the-highest was-honored ceremony he-threw thence not sooner
egressus est, quam rex eum data dextra in fidem
went-out he-has than the-king him with-given right-hand into protection
reciperet, quam praestitit. Nam cum ab Atheniensibus et
received which he-made-good for when by the-Athenians and
Lacedaemoniis exposceretur publice, supplicem non prodidit
the-Lacedaemonians he-was-demanded publicly the-suppliant not he-betrayed
monuitque ut consuleret sibi: difficile enim esse in
and-warned that he-should-look-out for-himself difficult for to-be in
tam propinquo loco tuto eum versari. Itaque Pydnam eum
so near a-place safely him to-stay and-so to-Pydna him
deduci iussit et quod satis esset praesidii dedit. Hic in
to-be-escorted he-ordered and what enough was of-guard gave here onto
navem omnibus ignotus nautis escendit. Quae cum tempestate
a-ship to-all unknown the-sailors he-went-up which when by-storm
maxima Naxum ferretur, ubi tum Atheniensium erat exercitus,
the-greatest to-Naxos was-carried where then of-the-Athenians was an-army
sensit Themistocles, si eo pervenisset, sibi esse pereundum.
perceived Themistocles if there it-had-arrived for-himself to-be to-be-perished
Hac necessitate coactus domino navis, quis sit, aperit,
by-this necessity compelled to-the-master of-the-ship who he-is reveals
multa pollicens, si se conservasset. At ille clarissimi
many-things promising if himself he-should-have-saved but he of-the-most-famous
viri captus misericordia diem noctemque procul ab insula
man seized by-pity a-day and-a-night far from the-island

in salo navem tenuit in ancoris neque quemquam ex ea
on the-open-sea the-ship held at anchors nor anyone from it
exire passus est. Inde Ephesum pervenit ibique Themistoclem
to-go-out allowed has thence to-Ephesus he-came and-there Themistocles
exponit. Cui ille pro meritis postea gratiam rettulit.
puts-ashore to-whom he for services afterward thanks returned
9 Scio plerosque ita scripsisse, Themistoclem Xerxe regnante
I-know most so to-have-written Themistocles Xerxes reigning
in Asiam transisse. Sed ego potissimum Thucydidi credo,
into Asia to-have-crossed but I most-of-all Thucydides believe
quod et aetate proximus de iis, qui illorum temporum
because both in-age nearest of those who of-those times
historiam reliquerunt, et eiusdem civitatis fuit. Is autem ait
a-history left and of-the-same state was he however says
ad Artaxerxen eum venisse atque his verbis epistulam
to Artaxerxes him to-have-come and in-these words a-letter
misisse: 'Themistocles veni ad te, qui plurima mala
to-have-sent Themistocles I-have-come to you who very-many evils
omnium Graiorum in domum tuam intuli, quamdiu mihi
of-all the-Greeks upon house your brought as-long-as for-me
necesse fuit adversum patrem tuum bellare patriamque
necessary it-was against father your to-make-war and-country
meam defendere. Idem multo plura bona feci, postquam in
my to-defend the-same much more good-things I-did after in
tuto ipse et ille in periculo esse coepit. Nam cum in Asiam
safety I-myself and he in danger to-be began for when into Asia
reverti vellet proelio apud Salamina facto, litteris eum
to-return he-wished the-battle at Salamis having-been-fought by-letter him
certiorem feci id agi ut pons, quem in Hellesponto
more-certain I-made that to-be-done that the-bridge which on the-Hellespont
fecerat, dissolveretur atque ab hostibus circumiretur:
he-had-made should-be-broken-up and by the-enemy he-should-be-surrounded

quo nuntio ille periculo est liberatus. Nunc autem confugi
by-which message he from-danger was freed now however I-have-fled
ad te exagitatus a cuncta Graecia, tuam petens amicitiam:
to you hounded by all Greece your seeking friendship
quam si ero adeptus, non minus me bonum amicum
which if I-shall-have obtained not less me a-good friend
habebis, quam fortem inimicum ille expertus est. Te autem
you-will-have than a-brave enemy he experienced has you however
rogo, ut de iis rebus, quas tecum colloqui volo, annuum
I-ask that about those things which with-you to-discuss I-wish a-year's
mihi tempus des eoque transacto ad te venire patiaris.'
to-me time you-give and-that having-passed to you to-come you-allow
Huius rex animi magnitudinem admirans cupiensque talem 10
his the-king of-spirit the-greatness admiring and-desiring such
virum sibi conciliari veniam dedit. Ille omne illud
a-man to-himself to-be-won-over leave gave he all that
tempus litteris sermonique Persarum dedit: quibus adeo
time to-the-letters and-speech of-the-Persians gave in-which so-much
eruditus est, ut multo commodius dicatur apud regem verba
learned he-was that much more-fittingly he-is-said before the-king words
fecisse, quam ii poterant, qui in Perside erant nati. Hic
to-have-made than those could who in Persia were born he
cum multa regi esset pollicitus gratissimumque illud, si
when many-things to-the-king had promised and-most-welcome that if
suis uti consiliis vellet, illum Graeciam bello oppressurum,
his to-use plans he-wished him Greece by-war to-be-going-to-crush
magnis muneribus ab Artaxerxe donatus in Asiam rediit
with-great gifts by Artaxerxes presented into Asia returned
domiciliumque Magnesiae sibi constituit. Namque hanc
and-a-dwelling at-Magnesia for-himself established for this
urbem ei rex donarat, his quidem verbis, quae
city to-him the-king had-given in-these indeed words which

ei panem praeberet (ex qua regione quinquagena talenta
to-him bread should-provide from which region fifty talents
quotannis redibant), Lampsacum autem, unde vinum sumeret,
yearly came-in Lampsacus however whence wine he-should-take
Myunta, ex qua obsonium haberet. Huius ad nostram
Myus from which provisions he-should-have of-him to our
memoriam monumenta manserunt duo: sepulcrum prope
memory memorials have-remained two a-tomb near
oppidum, in quo est sepultus, statua in foro Magnesiae.
the-town in which he-is buried a-statue in the-forum of-Magnesia
De cuius morte multimodis apud plerosque scriptum est,
about whose death in-many-ways among most written it-is
sed nos eundem potissimum Thucydidem auctorem probamus,
but we the-same especially Thucydides as-authority approve
qui illum ait Magnesiae morbo mortuum neque negat
who him says at-Magnesia by-disease to-have-died nor denies
fuisse famam, venenum sua sponte sumpsisse, cum
to-have-been a-report poison of-his-own accord to-have-taken when
se, quae regi de Graecia opprimenda pollicitus esset,
himself what to-the-king about Greece to-be-crushed promised he-had
praestare posse desperaret. Idem ossa eius clam in Attica
to-make-good to-be-able despaired the-same the-bones his secretly in Attica
ab amicis sepulta, quoniam legibus non concederetur, quod
by friends buried since by-the-laws not it-was-allowed because
proditionis esset damnatus, memoriae prodidit.
of-treason he-had been-condemned to-memory handed-down

ARISTIDES

I · ARISTIDES THE JUST

Aristides, called the Just, is ostracized through Themistocles; a voter who does not know him says he dislikes a man who has worked so hard to be called the Just. Recalled in the sixth year, he fights at Salamis and commands at Plataea. His fairness moves the allies' leadership from Sparta to Athens; he fixes the tribute paid to Delos. He dies so poor that the state must keep and dower his daughters.

Aristides, Lysimachi filius, Atheniensis, aequalis fere fuit 1
Aristides of-Lysimachus the-son the-Athenian of-equal-age almost was
Themistocli atque cum eo de principatu contendit: namque
to-Themistocles and with him about the-leadership contended for
obtrectarunt inter se. In his autem cognitum est,
they-disparaged between themselves in these however known it-was
quanto antestaret eloquentia innocentiae. Quamquam enim
by-how-much surpassed eloquence innocence although for
adeo excellebat Aristides abstinentia, ut unus post hominum
so-far excelled Aristides in-integrity that alone after of-men
memoriam, quem quidem nos audierimus, cognomine Iustus
memory whom indeed we have-heard by-the-surname the-Just
sit appellatus, tamen a Themistocle collabefactus testula
he-was called yet by Themistocles brought-down by-that
illa exilio decem annorum multatus est. Qui quidem
potsherd with-exile of-ten years punished he-was who indeed
cum intellegeret reprimi concitatam multitudinem non
when he-understood to-be-checked the-roused multitude not
posse, cedensque animadvertisset quendam scribentem, ut
to-be-able and-withdrawing had-noticed a-certain-man writing that
patria pelleretur, quaesisse ab eo dicitur, quare
from-his-country he-should-be-driven to-have-asked from him is-said why

id faceret aut quid Aristides commisisset, cur tanta
that he-did or what Aristides had-committed why of-so-great
poena dignus duceretur. Cui ille respondit se ignorare
a-penalty worthy he-was-thought to-whom he replied himself not-to-know
Aristiden, sed sibi non placere, quod tam cupide
Aristides but to-himself not to-be-pleasing because so eagerly
laborasset, ut praeter ceteros Iustus appellaretur. Hic decem
he-had-labored that beyond the-others the-Just he-should-be-called he of-ten
annorum legitimam poenam non pertulit. Nam postquam
years the-legal penalty not endured for after
Xerxes in Graeciam descendit, sexto fere anno quam
Xerxes into Greece came-down in-the-sixth about year than
erat expulsus, populi scito in patriam restitutus
he-had been-expelled of-the-people by-the-decree into his-country restored
est.
he-was

2 Interfuit autem pugnae navali apud Salamina, quae
he-took-part however in-the-battle naval at Salamis which
facta est prius quam poena liberaretur. Idem
fought was before than from-the-penalty he-was-freed the-same
praetor fuit Atheniensium apud Plataeas in proelio,
general was of-the-Athenians at Plataea in the-battle
quo fusus barbarorum exercitus Mardoniusque interfectus
in-which routed of-the-barbarians the-army and-Mardonius killed
est. Neque aliud est ullum huius in re militari
was nor another is any his in matter military
illustre factum quam eius imperii memoria, iustitiae
famous deed than of-his command the-memory of-justice
vero et aequitatis et innocentiae multa, in primis
however and of-fairness and of-innocence many in the-first-place
quod huius aequitate factum est, cum in communi
that by-his fairness done it-was when in the-common

classe esset Graeciae simul cum Pausania, ut summa
fleet he-was of-Greece together with Pausanias that the-supreme
imperii maritimi ab Lacedaemoniis transferretur ad
of-command naval from the-Lacedaemonians should-be-transferred to
Athenienses: namque ante id tempus et mari et terra
the-Athenians for before that time both by-sea and by-land
duces erant Lacedaemonii. Tum autem et intemperantia
leaders were the-Lacedaemonians then however both by-the-intemperance
Pausaniae et iustitia factum est Aristidis, ut omnes
of-Pausanias and by-the-justice done it-was of-Aristides that all
fere civitates Graeciae ad Atheniensium societatem se
almost states of-Greece to of-the-Athenians the-alliance themselves
applicarent et adversus barbaros hos duces deligerent
attached and against the-barbarians these as-leaders chose
sibi.
for-themselves
Quos quo facilius repellerent, si forte bellum renovare 3
whom by-which more-easily they-might-repel if by-chance war to-renew
conarentur, ad classes aedificandas exercitusque comparandos
they-should-attempt for fleets to-be-built and-armies to-be-raised
quantum pecuniae quaeque civitas daret, Aristides delectus
how-much of-money each state should-give Aristides chosen
est qui constitueret, eiusque arbitrio quadringena et
was who should-determine and-by-his judgment four-hundred and
sexagena talenta quotannis Delum sunt collata: id enim
sixty talents yearly to-Delos were brought that for
commune aerarium esse voluerunt. Quae omnis pecunia
the-common treasury to-be they-wished which all money
postero tempore Athenas translata est. Hic qua fuerit
at-a-later time to-Athens transferred was he of-what was
abstinentia, nullum est certius indicium quam quod, cum
integrity no is surer proof than that when

tantis rebus praefuisset, in tanta paupertate decessit,
over-so-great things he-had-presided in so-great poverty he-died
ut qui efferretur vix reliquerit. Quo factum est
that wherewith he-might-be-buried scarcely he-left by-which done it-was
ut filiae eius publice alerentur et de communi
that the-daughters his publicly were-maintained and from the-common
aerario dotibus datis collocarentur. Decessit autem fere
treasury dowries having-been-given were-married he-died however about
post annum quartum quam Themistocles Athenis erat
after the-year fourth than Themistocles from-Athens had-been
expulsus.
expelled

PAUSANIAS

I · VICTORY AND TREASON

Pausanias wins at Plataea, then is blamed for his vain inscription on the Delphic tripod. Sent to Cyprus and the Hellespont, he takes Byzantium, sends Xerxes' captured kinsmen home, and offers to marry the king's daughter and subject Greece to him. Recalled, acquitted of the capital charge and fined, he goes back to the army and lives like a Persian. Summoned home by the staff, he is jailed by the ephors but gets free. He is thought to stir the Helots, but no clear proof is found.

Pausanias Lacedaemonius magnus homo, sed varius in omni 1
Pausanias the-Lacedaemonian a-great man but changeable in every
genere vitae fuit: nam ut virtutibus eluxit, sic vitiis est
kind of-life was for as by-virtues he-shone so by-vices was
obrutus. Huius illustrissimum est proelium apud Plataeas.
buried his most-famous is the-battle at Plataea
Namque illo duce Mardonius, satrapes regius, natione
for with-him as-leader Mardonius satrap royal by-nation
Medus, regis gener, in primis omnium Persarum
a-Mede of-the-king the-son-in-law among the-first of-all the-Persians
et manu fortis et consilii plenus, cum ducentis milibus
both in-hand brave and of-counsel full with two-hundred thousand
peditum, quos viritim legerat, et viginti equitum haud
of-foot whom man-by-man he-had-chosen and twenty of-horse not
ita magna manu Graeciae fugatus est, eoque ipse dux
so great by-a-band of-Greece routed was and-in-that himself the-leader
cecidit proelio. Qua victoria elatus plurima miscere
fell battle by-which victory elated very-many-things to-stir-up
coepit et maiora concupiscere. Sed primum in eo est
he-began and greater-things to-covet but first in this he-was
reprehensus, quod ex praeda tripodem aureum Delphis
blamed that from the-booty a-tripod golden at-Delphi

posuisset epigrammate inscripto, in quo haec erat sententia:
he-had-set-up an-epigram inscribed in which this was the-sense
suo ductu barbaros apud Plataeas esse deletos eiusque
under-his leadership the-barbarians at Plataea to-have-been destroyed and-of-that
victoriae ergo Apollini id donum dedisse. Hos versus
victory for-the-sake-of to-Apollo that gift to-have-given these verses
Lacedaemonii exsculpserunt neque aliud scripserunt quam
the-Lacedaemonians chiseled-out nor other-thing wrote than
nomina earum civitatum, quarum auxilio Persae erant victi.
the-names of-those states by-whose help the-Persians had-been conquered
2 Post id proelium eundem Pausaniam cum classe communi
after that battle the-same Pausanias with the-fleet common
Cyprum atque Hellespontum miserunt, ut ex iis regionibus
to-Cyprus and the-Hellespont they-sent that from those regions
barbarorum praesidia depelleret. Pari felicitate in ea
of-the-barbarians the-garrisons he-might-drive with-equal good-fortune in that
re usus elatius se gerere coepit maioresque
matter having-enjoyed more-haughtily himself to-conduct he-began and-greater
appetere res. Nam cum Byzantio expugnato cepisset
to-seek things for when Byzantium having-been-stormed he-had-captured
complures Persarum nobiles atque in eis nonnullos regis
several of-the-Persians nobles and among them some of-the-king
propinquos, hos clam Xerxi remisit, simulans ex vinclis
relatives these secretly to-Xerxes he-sent-back pretending from the-chains
publicis effugisse, et cum iis Gongylum Eretriensem, qui
public to-have-escaped and with them Gongylus of-Eretria who
litteras regi redderet, in quibus haec fuisse scripta
a-letter to-the-king should-deliver in which these-words to-have-been written
Thucydides memoriae prodidit: ‘Pausanias, dux Spartae,
Thucydides to-memory handed-down Pausanias leader of-Sparta
quos Byzantii ceperat, postquam propinquos tuos
those-whom at-Byzantium he-had-captured after relatives your

cognovit, tibi muneri misit seque tecum affinitate coniungi
he-learned to-you as-a-gift sent and-himself with-you by-marriage to-be-joined
cupit: quare, si tibi videtur, des ei filiam tuam
desires wherefore if to-you it-seems you-should-give to-him daughter your
nuptum. Id si feceris, et Spartam et ceteram Graeciam sub
to-wed that if you-do both Sparta and the-rest-of Greece under
tuam potestatem se adiuvante te redacturum pollicetur.
your power himself helping you to-be-going-to-bring he-promises
His de rebus si quid agere volueris, certum hominem
about these things if anything to-do you-wish a-sure man
ad eum mittas face, cum quo colloquatur.' Rex tot
to him send see-to-it with whom he-may-confer the-king of-so-many
hominum salute tam sibi necessariorum magno opere
men by-the-safety so to-himself closely-related great by-effort
gavisus confestim cum epistula Artabazum ad Pausaniam
rejoiced at-once with a-letter Artabazus to Pausanias
mittit in qua eum collaudat ac petit, ne cui rei parcat
sends in which him he-praises and asks lest to-any thing he-spare
ad ea efficienda, quae polliceretur: si perfecerit,
for those-things to-be-accomplished which he-promised if he-should-achieve-it
nullius rei a se repulsam laturum. Huius Pausanias
of-no thing from himself refusal to-be-going-to-bear of-him Pausanias
voluntate cognita alacrior ad rem gerendam factus in
the-wish known more-eager for the-matter to-be-done made into
suspicionem cecidit Lacedaemoniorum. Quo facto domum
suspicion fell of-the-Lacedaemonians which done home
revocatus, accusatus capitis absolvitur, multatur tamen
recalled accused on-a-capital-charge he-is-acquitted is-fined however
pecunia, quam ob causam ad classem remissus non est.
with-money which on-account-of reason to the-fleet sent-back not he-was

3 At ille post non multo sua sponte ad exercitum rediit
but he after not much of-his-own accord to the-army returned
et ibi non stolida, sed dementi ratione cogitata patefecit:
and there not a-stupid but a-mad by-plan things-devised revealed
non enim mores patrios solum, sed etiam cultum
not for the-customs ancestral only but also the-way-of-life
vestitumque mutavit. Apparatu regio utebatur, veste Medica;
and-dress he-changed with-pomp royal he-used with-dress Median
satellites Medi et Aegyptii sequebantur; epulabatur more
attendants Median and Egyptian followed he-feasted in-the-manner
Persarum luxuriosius, quam qui aderant perpeti possent;
of-the-Persians more-luxuriously than who were-present to-endure could
aditum petentibus non dabat, superbe respondebat, crudeliter
access to-those-seeking not he-gave arrogantly he-replied cruelly
imperabat. Spartam redire nolebat; Colonas, qui locus
he-commanded to-Sparta to-return he-was-unwilling to-Colonae which place
in agro Troade est, se contulerat; ibi consilia
in the-territory Troad is himself he-had-betaken there plans
cum patriae tum sibi inimica capiebat. Id postquam
both to-his-country and to-himself hostile he-formed that after
Lacedaemonii rescierunt, legatos cum clava ad eum miserunt,
the-Lacedaemonians learned envoys with a-staff to him sent
in qua more illorum erat scriptum: nisi domum
on which in-the-manner of-theirs was written unless home
reverteretur, se capitis eum damnaturos. Hoc
he-returned themselves on-a-capital-charge him to-be-going-to-condemn by-this
nuntio commotus, sperans se etiamtum pecunia et potentia
message alarmed hoping himself even-then by-money and power
instans periculum posse depellere, domum rediit. Huc
the-threatening danger to-be-able to-avert home he-returned here
ut venit, ab ephoris in vincla publica est coniectus:
when he-came by the-ephors into chains public was thrown

licet enim legibus eorum cuivis ephoro hoc facere regi.
it-is-allowed for by-the-laws their to-any ephor this to-do to-a-king
Hinc tamen se expedivit, neque eo magis carebat
from-here however himself he-freed nor for-that more was-he-free-of
suspicione: nam opinio manebat eum cum rege habere
suspicion for the-belief remained him with the-king to-have
societatem. Est genus quoddam hominum, quod Hilotae
an-alliance there-is a-kind certain of-men which Helots
vocatur, quorum magna multitudo agros Lacedaemoniorum
is-called of-whom a-great multitude the-fields of-the-Lacedaemonians
colit servorumque munere fungitur. Hos quoque sollicitare
tills and-of-slaves the-office performs these also to-stir-up
spe libertatis existimabatur. Sed quod harum rerum
with-hope of-freedom he-was-thought but because of-these things
nullum erat apertum crimen, quo coargui posset, non
no was open charge by-which to-be-convicted he-could not
putabant de tali tamque claro viro suspicionibus oportere
they-thought about such and-so famous a-man by-suspicions to-be-proper
iudicari et exspectandum, dum se ipsa res aperiret.
to-be-judged and to-be-waited until itself the-very matter should-reveal

A young Argilian, sent with a letter to Artabazus, opens it and finds he is to be killed. He gives it to the ephors, who overhear Pausanias at Taenarus confess the plot to him. Warned by an ephor's look, Pausanias flees into the temple of Athena of the Bronze House; the doors are walled up, his old mother among the first to bring a stone, and he is carried out dying. Delphi later has him buried where he died.

4 Interim Argilius quidam adulescentulus, quem puerum Pausanias
meanwhile an-Argilian a-certain young-man whom as-a-boy Pausanias
amore venerio dilexerat, cum epistulam ab eo ad Artabazum
with-love sexual had-loved when a-letter from him to Artabazus
accepisset eique in suspicionem venisset aliquid in ea de
he-had-received and-to-him into suspicion it-had-come something in it about
se esse scriptum, quod nemo eorum redisset, qui eodem
himself to-be written because no-one of-them had-returned who to-the-same-place
missi erant, vincla epistulae laxavit signoque detracto
sent had-been the-bonds of-the-letter he-loosened and-the-seal having-been-removed
cognovit, si pertulisset, sibi esse pereundum. Erant in
he-learned if he-had-delivered-it for-himself to-be to-be-perished there-were in
eadem epistula quae ad ea pertinebant, quae inter regem
the-same letter what to those-things pertained which between the-king
Pausaniamque convenerant. Has ille litteras ephoris tradidit.
and-Pausanias had-been-agreed this he letter to-the-ephors handed-over
Non est praetereunda gravitas Lacedaemoniorum hoc loco.
not is to-be-passed-over the-seriousness of-the-Lacedaemonians in-this place
Nam ne huius quidem indicio impulsi sunt ut Pausaniam
for not of-him even by-the-evidence driven were-they that Pausanias
comprehenderent, neque prius vim adhibendam putaverunt,
they-should-arrest nor sooner force to-be-applied they-thought
quam se ipse indicasset. Itaque huic indici, quid
than himself he-himself should-have-betrayed and-so to-this informer what

fieri vellent, praeceperunt. Fanum Neptuni est Taenari,
to-be-done they-wished they-instructed a-shrine of-Neptune there-is at-Taenarus
quod violari nefas putant Graeci. Eo ille confugit in
which to-be-violated a-sin think the-Greeks thither he fled on
araque consedit. Hanc iuxta locum fecerunt sub terra, ex
and-the-altar sat-down this beside a-place they-made under the-ground from
quo posset exaudiri, si quis quid loqueretur cum Argilio.
which could to-be-overheard if anyone anything should-say with the-Argilian
Huc ex ephoris quidam descenderunt. Pausanias, ut audivit
hither of the-ephors some went-down Pausanias when he-heard
Argilium confugisse in aram, perturbatus venit eo. Quem
the-Argilian to-have-fled to the-altar disturbed came thither whom
cum supplicem dei videret in ara sedentem, quaerit,
when a-suppliant of-the-god he-saw on the-altar sitting he-asks
causae quid sit tam repentini consilii. Huic ille, quid ex
of-the-reason what is of-so sudden a-plan to-him he what from
litteris comperisset, aperit. Quo magis Pausanias perturbatus
the-letter he-had-found-out reveals by-which more Pausanias disturbed
orare coepit, ne enuntiaret neu se meritum de illo
to-beg began not he-should-disclose nor himself well-deserving of him
optime proderet: quodsi eam veniam sibi dedisset tantisque
best should-betray but-if that pardon to-him he-had-given and-in-so-great
implicatum rebus sublevasset, magno ei praemio futurum.
involved affairs relieved great to-him reward to-be-going-to-be
His rebus ephori cognitis satius putarunt in urbe eum 5
these things the-ephors having-learned better they-thought in the-city him
comprehendi. Quo cum essent profecti et Pausanias placato
to-be-arrested whither when they-had set-out and Pausanias appeased
Argilio, ut putabat, Lacedaemonem reverteretur, in itinere,
the-Argilian as he-thought to-Lacedaemon was-returning on the-road
cum iam in eo esset ut comprehenderetur, ex vultu
when already in this he-was that he-should-be-arrested from the-face

cuiusdam ephori, qui eum admoneri cupiebat, insidias sibi
of-a-certain ephor who him to-be-warned desired a-trap for-himself
fieri intellexit. Itaque paucis ante gradibus, quam qui eum
to-be-made he-understood and-so by-a-few before steps than who him
sequebantur, in aedem Minervae, quae Chalcioicos vocatur,
were-following into the-temple of-Minerva which Chalcioecus is-called
confugit. Hinc ne exire posset, statim ephori valvas
he-fled from-here lest to-go-out he-could at-once the-ephors the-doors
eius aedis obstruxerunt tectumque sunt demoliti, quo
of-that temple blocked and-the-roof they-have demolished by-which
celerius sub divo interiret. Dicitur eo tempore
more-quickly under the-open-sky he-might-perish it-is-said at-that time
matrem Pausaniae vixisse eamque iam magno natu,
the-mother of-Pausanias to-have-lived and-her already in-great age
postquam de scelere filii comperit, in primis ad filium
after about the-crime of-her-son she-learned among the-first for her-son
claudendum lapidem ad introitum aedis attulisse. Hic
to-be-shut-in a-stone to the-entrance of-the-temple to-have-brought he
cum semianimis de templo elatus esset, confestim animam
when half-dead from the-temple carried-out had-been at-once his-life
efflavit. Sic Pausanias magnam belli gloriam turpi morte
breathed-out thus Pausanias great of-war the-glory by-a-shameful death
maculavit. Cuius mortui corpus cum eodem nonnulli
stained of-whom dead the-body when to-the-same-place some
dicerent inferri oportere, quo ii qui ad supplicium essent
said to-be-carried to-be-proper where those who to punishment had
dati, displicuit pluribus, et procul ab eo loco infoderunt,
been-given it-displeased the-majority and far from that place they-buried-it
quo erat mortuus. Inde posterius dei Delphici responso
where he-had died thence later of-the-god Delphic by-the-response
erutus atque eodem loco sepultus est, ubi vitam posuerat.
dug-up and in-the-same place buried he-was where his-life he-had-laid-down

CIMON

I · CIMON

Cimon, kept in prison for his father's fine, is freed when Callias marries his sister Elpinice and pays it. Skilled in war and law, he routs the Thracians at the Strymon, founds Amphipolis, and wins on sea and land at Mycale on one day. Ostracized, he is recalled in the fifth year of his exile and makes peace with Sparta. He dies at Citium in Cyprus. His generosity is famous: open gardens, gifts of clothes, and a daily table for anyone.

Cimon, Miltiadis filius, Atheniensis, duro admodum initio 1
Cimon of-Miltiades the-son the-Athenian a-hard very beginning
usus est adulescentiae. Nam cum pater eius litem
experienced he-has of-youth for when the-father his the-suit
aestimatam populo solvere non potuisset ob eamque
assessed to-the-people to-pay not had-been-able on-account-of and-that
causam in vinclis publicis decessisset, Cimon eadem custodia
reason in chains public had-died Cimon in-the-same custody
tenebatur neque legibus Atheniensium emitti poterat, nisi
was-held nor by-the-laws of-the-Athenians to-be-released could unless
pecuniam, qua pater multatus erat, solvisset. Habebat
the-money with-which his-father fined had-been he-paid he-had
autem in matrimonio sororem germanam suam, nomine
however in marriage the-sister full his by-name
Elpinicen, non magis amore quam more ductus: namque
Elpinice not more by-love than by-custom led for
Atheniensibus licet eodem patre natas uxores ducere.
for-the-Athenians it-is-allowed from-the-same father born as-wives to-take
Huius coniugii cupidus Callias quidam, non tam generosus
of-this marriage desirous Callias a-certain not so well-born
quam pecuniosus, qui magnas pecunias ex metallis fecerat,
as moneyed who great sums from the-mines had-made

egit cum Cimone ut eam sibi uxorem daret: id
dealt with Cimon that her to-himself as-wife he-should-give that
si impetrasset, se pro illo pecuniam soluturum. Is
if he-obtained himself for him the-money to-be-going-to-pay he
cum talem condicionem aspernaretur, Elpinice negavit se
when such a-condition spurned Elpinice denied herself
passuram Miltiadis progeniem in vinclis publicis interire,
to-be-going-to-allow of-Miltiades the-offspring in chains public to-perish
quoniam prohibere posset, seque Calliae nupturam, si
since to-prevent-it she-could and-herself to-Callias to-be-going-to-marry if
ea quae polliceretur praestitisset.
those-things which he-promised he-made-good

2 Tali modo custodia liberatus Cimon celeriter ad principatum
in-such way from-custody freed Cimon quickly to the-leadership
pervenit. Habebat enim satis eloquentiae, summam liberalitatem,
came he-had for enough of-eloquence the-highest generosity
magnam prudentiam cum iuris civilis tum rei militaris,
great skill both of-law civil and of-the-matter military
quod cum patre a puero in exercitibus fuerat versatus.
because with his-father from a-boy in armies he-had been-engaged
Itaque hic et populum urbanum in sua tenuit potestate
and-so he both the-people of-the-city in his held power
et apud exercitum plurimum valuit auctoritate. Primum
and with the-army very-much prevailed by-authority first
imperator apud flumen Strymona magnas copias Thraecum
as-commander at the-river Strymon great forces of-the-Thracians
fugavit, oppidum Amphipolim constituit eoque decem milia
he-routed the-town Amphipolis he-founded and-thither ten thousand
Atheniensium in coloniam misit. Idem iterum imperator
of-Athenians as a-colony sent the-same again as-commander
apud Mycalen Cypriorum et Phoenicum ducentarum navium
at Mycale of-the-Cyprians and of-the-Phoenicians of-two-hundred ships

classem devictam cepit eodemque die pari fortuna in terra
a-fleet defeated took and-on-the-same day with-equal fortune on land
usus est. Namque hostium navibus captis statim ex
fared he-has for of-the-enemy the-ships having-been-captured at-once from
classe copias suas eduxit barbarorumque maximam vim uno
the-fleet the-forces his he-led-out and-of-the-barbarians the-greatest force in-one
concursu prostravit. Qua victoria magna praeda potitus
charge laid-low by-which victory great booty having-gained
cum domum reverteretur, quod iam nonnullae insulae
when home he-was-returning because already some islands
propter acerbitatem imperii defecerant, bene animatas
on-account-of the-harshness of-the-rule had-revolted the-well disposed
confirmavit, alienatas ad officium redire coegit. Scyrum,
he-strengthened the-estranged to duty to-return he-forced Scyros
quam eo tempore Dolopes incolebant, quod contumacius
which at-that time the-Dolopians inhabited because more-defiantly
se gesserant, vacuefecit, possessores veteres urbe
themselves they-had-conducted he-emptied the-possessors old from-the-city
insulaque eiecit, agros civibus divisit. Thasios
and-from-the-island he-cast-out the-fields to-the-citizens divided the-Thasians
opulentia fretos suo adventu fregit. His ex manubiis
on-their-wealth relying by-his arrival he-broke these from spoils
arx Athenarum, qua ad meridiem vergit, est ornata.
the-citadel of-Athens where to the-south it-faces was adorned
Quibus rebus cum unus in civitate maxime floreret, incidit 3
by-which things when alone in the-state most he-flourished he-fell
in eandem invidiam quam pater suus ceterique Atheniensium
into the-same envy as father his and-the-other of-the-Athenians
principes: nam testarum suffragiis decem annorum exilio
leading-men for of-the-potsherds by-the-votes of-ten years with-exile
multatus est. Cuius facti celerius Athenienses quam ipsum
fined he-was of-which deed sooner the-Athenians than himself

paenituit. Nam cum ille animo forti invidiae ingratorum
it-repented for when he with-spirit brave to-the-envy of-the-ungrateful
civium cessisset bellumque Lacedaemonii Atheniensibus
citizens had-yielded and-war the-Lacedaemonians on-the-Athenians
indixissent, confestim notae eius virtutis desiderium
had-declared at-once of-known his valor a-longing
consecutum est. Itaque post annum quintum, quam expulsus
followed has and-so after the-year fifth than expelled
erat, in patriam revocatus est. Ille, quod hospitio
he-had-been into his-country recalled he-was he because the-guest-friendship
Lacedaemoniorum utebatur, satius existimans Graeciae civitates
of-the-Lacedaemonians he-enjoyed better thinking of-Greece the-states
de controversiis suis inter se iure disceptare quam
about controversies their among themselves by-law to-dispute than
armis contendere, Lacedaemonem sua sponte est profectus
by-arms to-contend to-Lacedaemon of-his-own accord has set-out
pacemque inter duas potentissimas civitates conciliavit. Post,
and-peace between the-two most-powerful states he-brought-about after
neque ita multo, Cyprum cum ducentis navibus imperator
nor so much to-Cyprus with two-hundred ships as-commander
missus, cum eius maiorem partem insulae devicisset, in
sent when its greater part of-the-island he-had-subdued into
morbum implicitus in oppugnando oppido Citio est mortuus.
disease fallen in storming the-town Citium has died

4 Hunc Athenienses non solum in bello, sed etiam in
him the-Athenians not only in war but also in
pace diu desideraverunt. Fuit enim tanta liberalitate, cum
peace long missed he-was for of-such generosity when
compluribus locis praedia hortosque haberet, ut numquam
in-several places estates and-gardens he-had that never
in eis custodem posuerit fructus servandi gratia, ne
in them a-guard he-placed of-the-fruit to-be-kept for-the-sake lest

quis impediretur, quominus eis rebus quibus quisque
anyone be-hindered from-enjoying those things which each
vellet frueretur. Semper eum pedisequi cum nummis sunt
wished should-enjoy always him attendants with cash have
secuti, ut, si quis opis eius indigeret, haberet quod
followed that if anyone of-help his needed he-might-have what
statim daret, ne differendo videretur negare. Saepe, cum
at-once he-could-give lest by-putting-off he-seem to-refuse often when
aliquem offensum fortunae videret minus bene vestitum,
someone injured of-fortune he-saw less well clothed
suum amiculum dedit. Cottidie sic cena ei coquebatur,
his-own cloak he-gave daily so a-dinner for-him was-cooked
ut, quos invocatos vidisset in foro, omnes ad se
that those-whom uninvited he-had-seen in the-forum all to himself
vocaret, quod facere nullo die praetermittebat. Nulli fides
he-might-invite which to-do on-no day he-omitted to-no-one the-trust
eius, nulli opera, nulli res familiaris defuit: multos
his to-no-one the-help to-no-one the-property family was-lacking many
locupletavit, complures pauperes, qui unde efferrentur non
he-enriched several poor-men who whence they-might-be-buried not
reliquissent, suo sumptu extulit. Sic se gerendo minime
had-left at-his-own expense he-buried thus himself conducting least
est mirandum, si et vita eius fuit secura et mors acerba.
is to-be-wondered if both the-life his was secure and the-death bitter

I · LYSANDER

Lysander owes his fame to fortune: the Athenians lose at Aegospotami by their own indiscipline. He sets up boards of ten in every city under his friends and plots against loyal Thasos. When Sparta abolishes the boards, he plots to abolish the kings and tries to bribe the oracles; Ammon's priests accuse him, but he is acquitted. He falls at Haliartus, and a speech against the kings is found in his house. Pharnabazus once tricked him with a sealed book that accused him.

1 Lysander Lacedaemonius magnam reliquit sui famam,
Lysander the-Lacedaemonian great left of-himself fame
magis felicitate quam virtute partam: Athenienses enim
more by-good-fortune than by-valor won the-Athenians for
adversus Peloponnesios bellum gerentes sexto et vicesimo
against the-Peloponnesians war waging in-the-sixth and twentieth
anno confecisse apparet, neque id qua ratione consecutus
year to-have-finished it-is-clear nor it by-what means attained
sit latet: non enim virtute sui exercitus, sed immodestia
he-has is-hidden not for by-the-valor of-his army but by-the-indiscipline
factum est adversariorum, qui, quod dicto audientes
done it-was of-the-opponents who because to-the-word obedient
imperatoribus suis non erant, dispalati in agris relictis
to-commanders their not they-were scattered in the-fields having-been-left
navibus in hostium venerunt potestatem. Quo facto
the-ships into of-the-enemy came power which done
Athenienses se Lacedaemoniis dediderunt. Hac victoria
the-Athenians themselves to-the-Lacedaemonians surrendered by-this victory
Lysander elatus, cum antea semper factiosus audaxque
Lysander elated when before always factious and-bold
fuisset, sic sibi indulsit, ut eius opera in maximum
he-had-been so himself he-indulged that by-his work into the-greatest

odium Graeciae Lacedaemonii pervenerint. Nam cum hanc
hatred of-Greece the-Lacedaemonians came for when this
causam Lacedaemonii dictitassent sibi esse belli,
cause the-Lacedaemonians had-kept-saying to-themselves to-be of-the-war
ut Atheniensium impotentem dominationem refringerent,
that of-the-Athenians the-unbridled rule they-might-break
postquam apud Aegos flumen Lysander classis hostium est
after at Aegos river Lysander of-the-fleet of-the-enemy has
potitus, nihil aliud molitus est quam ut omnes civitates
gained-possession nothing else contrived he-has than that all states
in sua teneret potestate, cum id se Lacedaemoniorum
in his he-might-hold power while that himself for-the-Lacedaemonians'
causa facere simularet. Namque undique, qui Atheniensium
sake to-do he-pretended for from-everywhere who to-the-Athenians'
rebus studuissent, eiectis decem delegerat in una
affairs had-been-devoted having-been-cast-out ten he-had-chosen in each
quaque civitate, quibus summum imperium potestatemque
single state to-whom the-supreme command and-power
omnium rerum committeret. Horum in numerum nemo
of-all things he-might-entrust of-these into number no-one
admittebatur, nisi qui aut eius hospitio contineretur aut
was-admitted except who either by-his guest-friendship was-bound or
se illius fore proprium fide confirmarat.
himself his to-be-going-to-be own by-pledge had-confirmed
Ita decemvirali potestate in omnibus urbibus constituta 2
thus the-decemviral power in all cities established
ipsius nutu omnia gerebantur. Cuius de crudelitate ac
at-his-own nod all-things were-done of-whose about cruelty and
perfidia satis est unam rem exempli gratia proferre,
treachery enough it-is one thing of-example for-the-sake to-bring-forward
ne de eodem plura enumerando defatigemus lectores.
lest about the-same-man more-things by-enumerating we-weary the-readers

Victor ex Asia cum reverteretur Thasumque devertisset,
victor from Asia when he-was-returning and-to-Thasos had-turned-aside
quod ea civitas praecipua fide fuerat erga Athenienses,
because that state with-especial loyalty had-been toward the-Athenians
proinde ac si non iidem firmissimi solerent esse amici, qui
just as if not the-same most-firm were-wont to-be friends who
constantes fuissent inimici, pervertere eam concupivit. Vidit
constant had-been enemies to-overthrow it he-desired he-saw
autem, nisi in eo occultasset voluntatem, futurum ut
however unless in this he-concealed his-intention to-be-going-to-be that
Thasii dilaberentur consulerentque rebus suis ***
the-Thasians would-slip-away and-look-out for-things their (lacuna)
3 Itaque ii decemviralem potestatem ab illo constitutam
and-so they the-decemviral power by him established
sustulerunt. Quo dolore incensus iniit consilia reges
abolished by-which grief inflamed he-entered-upon plans the-kings
Lacedaemoniorum tollere. Sed sentiebat id se sine ope
of-the-Lacedaemonians to-remove but he-perceived that himself without the-help
deorum facere non posse, quod Lacedaemonii omnia ad
of-the-gods to-do not to-be-able because the-Lacedaemonians all-things to
oracula referre consuerant. Primum Delphicum corrumpere
the-oracles to-refer had-been-accustomed first the-Delphic to-corrupt
est conatus. Cum id non potuisset, Dodonaeum adortus
he-has tried when that not he-had-been-able the-Dodonaean attacked
est. Hinc quoque repulsus dixit se vota suscepisse, quae
he-has hence also repulsed he-said himself vows to-have-undertaken which
Iovi Hammoni solveret, existimans se Afros facilius
to-Jupiter Hammon he-should-pay thinking himself the-Africans more-easily
corrupturum. Hac spe cum profectus esset in Africam,
to-be-going-to-corrupt with-this hope when set-out he-had into Africa
multum eum antistites Iovis fefellerunt. Nam non solum
much him the-priests of-Jupiter deceived for not only

corrumpi non potuerunt, sed etiam legatos Lacedaemonem
to-be-corrupted not they-could but also envoys to-Lacedaemon
miserunt, qui Lysandrum accusarent, quod sacerdotes fani
they-sent who Lysander should-accuse because the-priests of-the-shrine
corrumpere conatus esset. Accusatus hoc crimine iudicumque
to-corrupt tried he-had accused on-this charge and-of-the-judges
absolutus sententiis, Orchomeniis missus subsidio occisus
acquitted by-the-votes to-the-Orchomenians sent in-aid killed
est a Thebanis apud Haliartum. Quam vere de eo secus
he-was by the-Thebans at Haliartus how truly about him otherwise
foret iudicatum, oratio indicio fuit, quae post mortem
it-would-have-been judged a-speech for-proof was which after death
in domo eius reperta est, in qua suadet Lacedaemoniis, ut
in house his found was in which he-urges the-Lacedaemonians that
regia potestate dissoluta ex omnibus dux deligatur ad
the-royal power having-been-dissolved from all a-leader be-chosen for
bellum gerendum, sed sic scripta, ut deum videretur congruere
war to-be-waged but so written that of-the-gods it-seemed to-agree
sententiae, quam ille se habiturum pecunia fidens non
with-the-opinion which he himself to-be-going-to-have on-money relying not
dubitarat. Hanc ei scripsisse Cleon Halicarnasius dicitur.
had-doubted this for-him to-have-written Cleon of-Halicarnassus is-said
Atque hoc loco non est praetereundum factum Pharnabazi, 4
and in-this place not is to-be-passed-over the-deed of-Pharnabazus
satrapis regii. Nam cum Lysander praefectus classis in
of-the-satrap royal for when Lysander commander of-the-fleet in
bello multa crudeliter avareque fecisset deque iis rebus
the-war many-things cruelly and-greedily had-done and-about those things
suspicaretur ad cives suos esse perlatum, petiit a
he-suspected to citizens his to-have-been reported he-asked from
Pharnabazo ut ad ephoros sibi testimonium daret,
Pharnabazus that to the-ephors for-him testimony he-should-give

quanta sanctitate bellum gessisset sociosque tractasset,
with-how-great integrity the-war he-had-waged and-the-allies had-treated
deque ea re accurate scriberet: magnam enim eius
and-about that matter carefully he-should-write great for his
auctoritatem in ea re futuram. Huic ille liberaliter
authority in that matter to-be-going-to-be to-him he generously
pollicetur: librum grandem verbis multis conscripsit, in quibus
promises a-book large in-words many he-wrote in which
summis eum effert laudibus. Quem cum hic legisset
with-the-highest him he-extols praises which when he had-read
probassetque, dum signatur, alterum pari magnitudine
and-approved while it-is-being-sealed another of-equal size
et tanta similitudine, ut discerni non posset, signatum
and so-great likeness that to-be-distinguished not it-could sealed
subiecit, in quo accuratissime eius avaritiam perfidiamque
he-substituted in which most-carefully his greed and-treachery
accusarat. Lysander domum cum redisset, postquam de
he-had-accused Lysander home when he-had-returned after about
suis rebus gestis apud maximum magistratum quae voluerat
his deeds done before the-highest magistracy what he-had-wished
dixerat, testimonii loco librum a Pharnabazo datum tradidit.
he-had-said of-testimony in-place the-book by Pharnabazus given handed-over
Hunc summoto Lysandro cum ephori cognossent, ipsi
this removed Lysander when the-ephors had-learned-it to-him-himself
legendum dederunt. Ita ille imprudens ipse suus fuit accusator.
to-be-read gave thus he unwitting himself his-own was accuser

ALCIBIADES

I · NATURE'S EXTREMES

Alcibiades, raised in Pericles' house as his stepson and loved by Socrates, is the most gifted and most dissolute man of his age: eloquent, handsome, rich, tireless in need and luxurious at ease. He leads Athens into the Sicilian war. One night before the fleet sails the Herms are thrown down, and suspicion falls on him, already said to celebrate the Mysteries in his house.

Alcibiades, Cliniae filius, Atheniensis. In hoc natura quid 1
Alcibiades of-Clinias the-son the-Athenian in this-man nature what
efficere possit videtur experta. Constat enim inter omnes, qui
to-accomplish can seems to-have-tested it-is-agreed for among all who
de eo memoriae prodiderunt, nihil illo fuisse excellentius
about him to-memory have-handed-down nothing than-him to-have-been more-excellent
vel in vitiis vel in virtutibus. Natus in amplissima civitate
either in vices or in virtues born in a-most-distinguished state
summo genere, omnium aetatis suae multo formosissimus,
of-the-highest family of-all of-age his by-much the-most-handsome
dives; ad omnes res aptus consiliique plenus (namque imperator
rich for all things fit and-of-counsel full for a-commander
fuit summus et mari et terra); disertus, ut in primis
he-was the-highest both by-sea and by-land eloquent so-that among the-first
dicendo valeret, quod tanta erat commendatio oris atque
in-speaking he-prevailed because so-great was the-charm of-face and
orationis, ut nemo ei posset resistere; cum tempus posceret,
of-speech that no-one him could resist when the-time demanded
laboriosus, patiens; liberalis, splendidus non minus in vita
hard-working enduring generous splendid not less in life
quam victu; affabilis, blandus, temporibus callidissime serviens:
than in-living affable winning to-the-times most-cleverly adapting

idem, simulac se remiserat neque causa suberat quare
the-same as-soon-as himself he-had-relaxed nor a-cause lay-beneath why
animi laborem perferret, luxuriosus, dissolutus, libidinosus,
of-mind toil he-should-endure luxurious dissolute lustful
intemperans reperiebatur, ut omnes admirarentur in uno
intemperate he-was-found so-that all wondered in one
homine tantam esse dissimilitudinem tamque diversam naturam.
man so-great to-be unlikeness and-so different nature

2 Educatus est in domo Pericli (privignus enim eius fuisse
brought-up he-was in the-house of-Pericles stepson for his to-have-been
dicitur), eruditus a Socrate. Socerum habuit Hipponicum,
he-is-said taught by Socrates as-father-in-law he-had Hipponicus
omnium Graeca lingua loquentium ditissimum, ut, si
of-all in-the-Greek tongue speaking the-richest so-that if
ipse fingere vellet, neque plura bona eminisci neque maiora
he-himself to-imagine wished neither more goods to-devise nor greater
posset consequi, quam vel natura vel fortuna tribuerat.
he-could attain than either nature or fortune had-bestowed
Ineunte adulescentia amatus est a multis more
at-the-beginning of-youth loved he-was by many in-the-manner
Graecorum, in eis a Socrate, de quo mentionem facit
of-the-Greeks among them by Socrates about whom mention makes
Plato in symposio. Namque eum induxit commemorantem
Plato in the-Symposium for him he-introduced relating
se pernoctasse cum Socrate neque aliter ab eo
himself to-have-spent-the-night with Socrates nor otherwise from him
surrexisse, ac filius a parente debuerit. Posteaquam
to-have-risen than a-son from a-parent ought after
robustior est factus, non minus multos amavit, in quorum
stronger he-was made not less many he-loved in whose

amore, quoad licitum est odiosa, multa delicate iocoseque
love as-far-as allowed it-was offensive many-things daintily and-playfully
fecit: quae referremus, nisi maiora potiora haberemus.
he-did which we-would-relate unless greater better-things we-had
Bello Peloponnesio huius consilio atque auctoritate 3
in-the-war Peloponnesian by-his plan and authority
Athenienses bellum Syracusanis indixerunt. Ad quod gerendum
the-Athenians war on-the-Syracusans declared for which to-be-waged
ipse dux delectus est, duo praeterea collegae dati, Nicia et
he-himself as-leader chosen was two besides colleagues given Nicias and
Lamachus. Id cum appararetur, prius quam classis exiret,
Lamachus that when it-was-being-prepared before than the-fleet went-out
accidit ut una nocte omnes Hermae, qui in oppido erant
it-happened that in-one night all the-Herms which in the-town were
Athenis, deicerentur praeter unum, qui ante ianuam erat
at-Athens were-thrown-down except one which before the-door was
Andocidi (itaque ille postea Mercurius Andocidi vocitatus est).
of-Andocides and-so that afterward the-Mercury of-Andocides called was
Hoc cum appareret non sine magna multorum consensione
this when it-appeared not without great of-many agreement
esse factum, quae non ad privatam, sed ad publicam rem
to-have-been done which not to a-private but to the-public matter
pertineret, magnus multitudini timor est iniectus, ne qua
pertained great on-the-multitude fear was cast lest some
repentina vis in civitate exsisteret, quae libertatem opprimeret
sudden violence in the-state should-arise which the-freedom should-crush
populi. Hoc maxime convenire in Alcibiadem videbatur, quod
of-the-people this most to-fit to Alcibiades seemed because
et potentior et maior quam privatus existimabatur: multos
both more-powerful and greater than a-private-man he-was-thought many
enim liberalitate devinxerat, plures etiam opera forensi
for by-generosity he-had-bound more even by-work in-the-forum

suos reddiderat. Qua re fiebat ut omnium oculos,
his-own he-had-made by-which thing it-came-about that of-all the-eyes
quotienscumque in publicum prodisset, ad se converteret
whenever into public he-came-forth to himself he-turned
neque ei par quisquam in civitate poneretur. Itaque non
nor to-him equal anyone in the-state was-placed and-so not
solum spem in eo habebant maximam, sed etiam timorem,
only hope in him they-had the-greatest but also fear
quod et obesse plurimum et prodesse poterat. Aspergebatur
because both to-harm very-much and to-help he-could he-was-sprinkled
etiam infamia, quod in domo sua facere mysteria dicebatur
also with-infamy because in house his to-perform the-mysteries he-was-said
(quod nefas erat more Atheniensium) idque non ad
which a-sin was by-the-custom of-the-Athenians and-that not to
religionem, sed ad coniurationem pertinere existimabatur.
religion but to conspiracy to-pertain it-was-thought

II · EXILE AND RETURN

Recalled from Sicily to stand trial, Alcibiades escapes, is condemned and cursed, and goes to Sparta, where he advises an alliance with Persia and the fortifying of Decelea. Distrusted there, he goes to Tissaphernes, is recalled by the Athenian army at Samos, and with Thrasybulus and Theramenes wins battles on land and sea. He returns to Athens in triumph, his property restored and the curse lifted.

4 Hoc crimine in contione ab inimicis compellabatur.
on-this charge in the-assembly by his-enemies he-was-assailed
Sed instabat tempus ad bellum proficiscendi. Id ille
but was-pressing the-time for war of-setting-out that he
intuens neque ignorans civium suorum consuetudinem
looking-to nor ignorant-of of-citizens his the-custom

postulabat, si quid de se agi vellent, potius de
demanded if anything about him to-be-done they-wished rather about
praesente quaestio haberetur, quam absens invidiae crimine
him-present an-inquiry should-be-held than absent of-envy on-a-charge
accusaretur. Inimici vero eius quiescendum in praesenti,
he-be-accused the-enemies however his to-be-quiet in the-present
quia noceri ei non posse intellegebant, et illud tempus
because to-be-harmed him not to-be-able they-understood and that time
exspectandum decreverunt, quo classis exisset, ut
to-be-awaited decided when the-fleet should-have-gone-out that
absentem aggrederentur, itaque fecerunt. Nam postquam in
absent they-might-attack and-so they-did for after into
Siciliam eum pervenisse crediderunt, absentem, quod sacra
Sicily him to-have-arrived they-believed absent because the-rites
violasset, reum fecerunt. Qua de re cum ei nuntius a
he-had-violated defendant they-made which about thing when to-him a-messenger by
magistratu in Siciliam missus esset, ut domum ad causam
the-magistracy into Sicily sent had-been that home for the-case
dicendam rediret, essetque in magna spe provinciae bene
to-be-pleaded he-should-return and-he-was in great hope of-the-province well
administrandae, non parere noluit et in triremem, quae
to-be-administered not to-obey he-was-unwilling and onto the-trireme which
ad eum erat deportandum missa, ascendit. Hac Thurios in
for him was to-be-carried-off sent he-went-aboard by-this to-Thurii in
Italiam pervectus, multa secum reputans de immoderata
Italy carried many-things with-himself pondering about the-immoderate
civium suorum licentia crudelitateque erga nobiles, utilissimum
of-citizens his license and-cruelty toward the-nobles most-useful
ratus impendentem evitare tempestatem, clam se ab
thinking the-impending to-avoid storm secretly himself from
custodibus subduxit et inde primum Elidem, dein Thebas
the-guards he-withdrew and thence first to-Elis then to-Thebes

venit. Postquam autem se capitis damnatum bonis
came after however himself on-a-capital-charge condemned the-goods
publicatis audivit, et, id quod numquam antea usu
having-been-confiscated he-heard and that which never before in-practice
venerat, Eumolpidas sacerdotes a populo coactos ut se
had-come the-Eumolpidae priests by the-people forced that him
devoverent, eiusque devotionis quo testatior esset memoria,
they-should-curse and-of-that curse that more-attested should-be the-memory
exemplum in pila lapidea incisum esse positum in
a-copy on a-pillar of-stone cut to-have-been placed in
publico, Lacedaemonem demigravit. Ibi, ut ipse praedicare
public to-Lacedaemon he-moved there as he-himself to-declare
consuerat, non adversus patriam, sed inimicos suos bellum
was-accustomed not against his-country but enemies his war
gessit, qui eidem hostes essent civitati: nam cum intellegerent
he-waged who the-same enemies were to-the-state for when they-understood
se plurimum prodesse posse rei publicae, ex ea
him very-much to-help to-be-able the-thing public from it
eiecisse plusque irae suae quam utilitati communi
to-have-cast-out and-more to-anger their-own than to-the-advantage common
paruisse. Itaque huius consilio Lacedaemonii cum Perse
to-have-obeyed and-so by-his plan the-Lacedaemonians with the-Persian
rege amicitiam fecerunt, dein Deceleam in Attica munierunt
king friendship made then Decelea in Attica they-fortified
praesidioque ibi perpetuo posito in obsidione Athenas
and-a-garrison there permanent having-been-placed in siege Athens
tenuerunt. Eiusdem opera Ioniam a societate averterunt
they-held by-the-same-man's work Ionia from the-alliance they-turned-away
Atheniensium. Quo facto multo superiores bello esse coeperunt.
of-the-Athenians which done much superior in-war to-be they-began

Neque vero his rebus tam amici Alcibiadi sunt facti quam 5
nor indeed by-these things so friends to-Alcibiades were made as
timore ab eo alienati. Nam cum acerrimi viri praestantem
by-fear from him estranged for when of-a-most-keen man the-outstanding
prudentiam in omnibus rebus cognoscerent, pertimuerunt ne
prudence in all things they-recognized they-were-terrified lest
caritate patriae ductus aliquando ab ipsis descisceret et cum
by-love of-his-country led some-time from them he-should-revolt and with
suis in gratiam rediret. Itaque tempus eius interficiundi
his-own into favor he-should-return and-so a-time of-him to-be-killed
quaerere instituerunt. Id Alcibiades diutius celari non
to-seek they-began that Alcibiades longer to-be-hidden-from not
potuit: erat enim ea sagacitate, ut decipi non posset,
could he-was for of-such shrewdness that to-be-deceived not he-could
praesertim cum animum attendisset ad cavendum. Itaque ad
especially when his-mind he-had-turned to being-on-guard and-so to
Tissaphernem, praefectum regis Darii, se contulit. Cuius
Tissaphernes commander of-king Darius himself he-betook whose
cum in intimam amicitiam pervenisset et Atheniensium
when into close friendship he-had-come and of-the-Athenians
male gestis in Sicilia rebus opes senescere,
badly having-been-managed in Sicily the-affairs the-resources to-grow-old
contra Lacedaemoniorum crescere videret, initio cum
on-the-other-hand of-the-Lacedaemonians to-grow he-saw at-first with
Pisandro praetore, qui apud Samum exercitum habebat, per
Pisander the-general who at Samos an-army had through
internuntios colloquitur et de reditu suo facit mentionem.
go-betweens he-confers and about return his makes mention
Is erat enim eodem quo Alcibiades sensu, populi potentiae
he was for of-the-same as Alcibiades feeling of-the-people to-the-power
non amicus et optimatium fautor. Ab hoc destitutus
not a-friend and of-the-optimates a-supporter by this-man deserted

primum per Thrasybulum, Lyci filium, ab exercitu recipitur
first through Thrasybulus of-Lycus the-son by the-army he-is-received
praetorque fit apud Samum, post suffragante Theramene
and-general is-made at Samos afterward on-the-vote-of Theramenes
populi scito restituitur parique absens imperio praeficitur
by-the-people's decree he-is-restored and-to-equal absent command is-appointed
simul cum Thrasybulo et Theramene. Horum in imperio
together with Thrasybulus and Theramenes of-these in the-command
tanta commutatio rerum facta est, ut Lacedaemonii, qui
so-great a-change of-things made was that the-Lacedaemonians who
paulo ante victores viguerant, perterriti pacem peterent.
a-little before victors had-flourished terrified peace sought
Victi enim erant quinque proeliis terrestribus, tribus
conquered for they-had-been in-five battles on-land in-three
navalibus, in quibus ducentas naves triremes amiserant, quae
naval in which two-hundred ships triremes they-had-lost which
captae in hostium venerant potestatem. Alcibiades simul cum
captured into of-the-enemy had-come power Alcibiades together with
collegis receperat Ioniam, Hellespontum, multas praeterea
his-colleagues had-recovered Ionia the-Hellespont many besides
urbes Graecas, quae in ora sitae sunt Thraeciae, quarum
cities Greek which on the-coast situated are of-Thrace of-which
expugnarant complures, in eis Byzantium, neque minus
they-had-stormed several among them Byzantium nor fewer
multas consilio ad amicitiam adiunxerant, quod in captos
many by-plan to friendship they-had-joined because toward the-captured
clementia fuerant usi. Ita praeda onusti, locupletato
clemency they-had used thus with-booty laden having-been-enriched
exercitu, maximis rebus gestis Athenas venerunt.
the-army very-great things having-been-done to-Athens they-came

His cum obviam universa civitas in Piraeum descendisset, 6
to-these when to-meet the-whole state into the-Piraeus had-come-down
tanta fuit omnium exspectatio visendi Alcibiadis, ut ad eius
so-great was of-all the-eagerness of-seeing Alcibiades that to his
triremem vulgus conflueret, proinde ac si solus advenisset.
trireme the-crowd flocked just as if alone he-had-arrived
Sic enim populo erat persuasum, et adversas superiores et
thus for the-people had been-persuaded both the-adverse former and
praesentes secundas res accidisse eius opera. Itaque et
the-present favorable things to-have-happened by-his work and-so both
exercitum in Sicilia amissum et Lacedaemoniorum victorias
the-army in Sicily lost and of-the-Lacedaemonians the-victories
culpae suae tribuebant, quod talem virum e civitate
to-the-fault their-own they-attributed because such a-man from the-state
expulissent. Neque id sine causa arbitrari videbantur.
they-had-expelled nor that without cause to-think they-seemed
Nam postquam exercitui praeesse coeperat, neque terra
for after the-army to-command he-had-begun neither by-land
neque mari hostes pares esse potuerant. Hic ut e
nor by-sea the-enemy equal to-be had-been-able he when from
navi egressus est, quamquam Theramenes et Thrasybulus
the-ship disembarked has although Theramenes and Thrasybulus
eisdem rebus praefuerant simulque venerant in Piraeum,
over-the-same things had-been-in-command and-together had-come into the-Piraeus
tamen unum omnes illum prosequebantur, et, id quod
yet one all him escorted and that which
numquam antea usu venerat nisi Olympiae victoribus,
never before in-practice had-come except at-Olympia to-victors
coronis laureis taeniisque vulgo donabatur. Ille lacrimans
with-crowns laurel and-ribbons by-the-crowd he-was-presented he weeping
talem benivolentiam civium suorum accipiebat, reminiscens
such goodwill of-citizens his received remembering

pristini temporis acerbitatem. Postquam in astu venit,
of-former time the-bitterness after into the-city he-came
contione advocata sic verba fecit, ut nemo tam ferus
an-assembly having-been-called so words he-made that no-one so savage
fuerit, quin eius casui illacrimarit inimicumque iis se
was but-that at-his misfortune he-wept and-hostile to-those himself
ostenderit, quorum opera patria pulsus fuerat, proinde
showed by-whose work from-his-country driven he-had-been just
ac si alius populus, non ille ipse qui tum flebat, eum
as if another people not that very which then wept him
sacrilegii damnasset. Restituta ergo huic sunt publice bona,
of-sacrilege had-condemned restored therefore to-him were publicly the-goods
eidemque illi Eumolpidae sacerdotes rursus resacrare
and-the-same those Eumolpidae priests again to-unsay-the-curse
sunt coacti, qui eum devoverant, pilaeque illae, in quibus
were forced who him had-cursed and-the-pillars those on which
devotio fuerat scripta, in mare praecipitatae.
the-curse had-been written into the-sea thrown

III · THE SECOND FALL

Given supreme command, Alcibiades fails at Cyme, is blamed for everything, and is deposed in his absence; he will not come home and builds three forts in Thrace. Before Aegospotami he offers Philocles the Thracian king's help and is rebuffed, then warns him that his naval camp lies too near the enemy. Lysander catches the crews ashore and ends the war at a stroke.

7 Haec Alcibiadi laetitia non nimis fuit diuturna. Nam cum
this for-Alcibiades joy not too was long-lasting for when
ei omnes essent honores decreti totaque res publica
to-him all had-been honors decreed and-the-whole thing public

domi bellique tradita, ut unius arbitrio gereretur,
at-home and-at-war handed-over that by-one-man's judgment it-should-be-managed
et ipse postulasset ut duo sibi collegae darentur,
and he-himself had-demanded that two to-himself colleagues should-be-given
Thrasybulus et Adimantus, neque id negatum esset, classe
Thrasybulus and Adimantus nor that refused had-been with-the-fleet
in Asiam profectus, quod apud Cymen minus ex
into Asia having-set-out because at Cyme less according-to
sententia rem gesserat, in invidiam recidit: nihil enim
wish the-matter he-had-managed into envy he-fell-back nothing for
eum non efficere posse ducebant. Ex quo fiebat ut
him not to-accomplish to-be-able they-thought from which it-came-about that
omnia minus prospere gesta culpae tribuerent, cum aut eum
all-things less successfully done to-the-fault they-attributed since either him
neglegenter aut malitiose fecisse loquerentur, sicut tum
negligently or maliciously to-have-acted they-said as then
accidit: nam corruptum a rege capere Cymen noluisse
it-happened for bribed by the-king to-take Cyme to-have-been-unwilling
arguebant. Itaque huic maxime putamus malo fuisse
they-charged and-so to-him most we-think as-an-evil to-have-been
nimiam opinionem ingenii atque virtutis: timebatur enim
the-excessive opinion of-his-talent and valor he-was-feared for
non minus quam diligebatur, ne secunda fortuna magnisque
not less than he-was-loved lest by-favorable fortune and-great
opibus elatus tyrannidem concupisceret. Quibus rebus factum
resources elated tyranny he-should-covet by-which things done
est ut absenti magistratum abrogarent et alium in eius
it-was that from-him-absent the-command they-took-away and another into his
locum substituerent. Id ille ut audivit, domum reverti noluit
place substituted that he when he-heard home to-return refused
et se Pactyen contulit ibique tria castella communiit,
and himself to-Pactye betook and-there three forts fortified

Ornos, Bizanthen, Neontichos, manuque collecta primus
Orni Bizanthe Neontichos and-a-band having-been-collected first
Graecae civitatis in Thraeciam introiit, gloriosius existimans
of-a-Greek state into Thrace entered more-gloriously thinking
barbarorum praeda locupletari quam Graiorum. Qua ex
with-the-barbarians' booty to-be-enriched than with-the-Greeks' which from
re creverat cum fama tum opibus, magnamque amicitiam
thing he-had-grown both in-fame and in-resources and-great friendship
sibi cum quibusdam regibus Thraeciae pepererat.
for-himself with certain kings of-Thrace he-had-won
8 Neque tamen a caritate patriae potuit recedere. Nam cum
nor however from love of-his-country could-be withdraw for when
apud Aegos flumen Philocles, praetor Atheniensium, classem
at Aegos river Philocles general of-the-Athenians the-fleet
constituisset suam neque longe abesset Lysander, praetor
had-stationed his nor far was-away Lysander general
Lacedaemoniorum, qui in eo erat occupatus ut bellum
of-the-Lacedaemonians who in this was occupied that the-war
quam diutissime duceret, quod ipsis pecunia a rege
as long-as-possible he-might-draw-out because to-them money by the-king
suppeditabatur, contra Atheniensibus exhaustis praeter
was-supplied on-the-other-hand to-the-Athenians exhausted except
arma et naves nihil erat super, Alcibiades ad exercitum
arms and ships nothing was left Alcibiades to the-army
venit Atheniensium ibique praesente vulgo agere coepit: si
came of-the-Athenians and-there present the-crowd to-plead began if
vellent, se coacturum Lysandrum dimicare aut pacem
they-wished himself to-be-going-to-force Lysander to-fight or peace
petere; Lacedaemonios eo nolle classe confligere,
to-seek the-Lacedaemonians therefore to-be-unwilling with-the-fleet to-engage
quod pedestribus copiis plus quam navibus valerent; sibi
because with-foot forces more than with-ships they-prevailed for-himself

autem esse facile Seuthem, regem Thraecum, adducere ut
however to-be easy Seuthes king of-the-Thracians to-bring that
eum terra depelleret: quo facto necessario aut classe
him from-the-land he-should-drive which done necessarily either with-the-fleet
conflicturum aut bellum compositurum. Id etsi vere dictum
to-be-going-to-engage or the-war to-be-going-to-settle that although truly said
Philocles animadvertebat, tamen postulata facere noluit, quod
Philocles perceived yet the-demands to-do he-refused because
sentiebat se Alcibiade recepto nullius momenti apud
he-felt himself Alcibiades having-been-received of-no weight with
exercitum futurum et, si quid secundi evenisset, nullam in
the-army to-be-going-to-be and if anything of-success should-turn-out no in
ea re suam partem fore, contra ea, si quid adversi
that matter his share to-be-going-to-be against these if anything of-adversity
accidisset, se unum eius delicti futurum reum. Ab
should-happen himself alone of-that fault to-be-going-to-be the-defendant from
hoc discedens Alcibiades 'quoniam' inquit 'victoriae patriae
this-man departing Alcibiades since he-says to-the-victory of-your-country
repugnas, illud moneo, ne iuxta hostem castra habeas nautica:
you-oppose this I-warn lest near the-enemy a-camp you-have naval
periculum est enim, ne immodestia militum vestrorum
danger it-is for lest by-the-indiscipline of-soldiers your
occasio detur Lysandro vestri opprimendi exercitus'. Neque
an-opportunity be-given to-Lysander your of-crushing army nor
ea res illum fefellit. Nam Lysander, cum per speculatores
that thing him deceived for Lysander when through scouts
comperisset vulgum Atheniensium in terram praedatum
he-had-learned the-crowd of-the-Athenians onto land to-plunder
exisse navesque paene inanes relictas, tempus rei
to-have-gone-out and-the-ships almost empty left the-time of-the-thing
gerendae non dimisit eoque impetu bellum totum delevit.
to-be-done not he-let-slip and-in-that attack the-war whole he-destroyed

After Athens falls Alcibiades hides in Thrace, where the Thracians rob him, then goes to Pharnabazus, who gives him a fort. He means to tell the Persian king of Cyrus' plot, but Critias and Lysander want him dead, and Pharnabazus sends men who set fire to his house. He breaks out with a friend's dagger and is killed by missiles at about forty; the woman who lived with him wraps him in her clothes and burns his body. Three historians praise him for adapting to every people's ways.

9 At Alcibiades, victis Atheniensibus non satis tuta eadem
but Alcibiades conquered the-Athenians not enough safe the-same
loca sibi arbitrans, penitus in Thraeciam se supra
places for-himself judging deep into Thrace himself above
Propontidem abdidit, sperans ibi facillime suam fortunam
the-Propontis hid hoping there most-easily his fortune
occuli posse. Falso. Nam Thraeces, postquam eum cum
to-be-hidden to-be-able falsely for the-Thracians after him with
magna pecunia venisse senserunt, insidias fecerunt eaque
great money to-have-come they-perceived a-trap made and-those-things
quae apportarat abstulerunt, ipsum capere non potuerunt.
which he-had-brought took-away himself to-capture not they-could
Ille cernens nullum locum sibi tutum in Graecia propter
he seeing no place for-himself safe in Greece because-of
potentiam Lacedaemoniorum ad Pharnabazum in Asiam
the-power of-the-Lacedaemonians to Pharnabazus into Asia
transiit, quem quidem adeo sua cepit humanitate, ut
crossed whom indeed so-much by-his he-captivated kindness that
eum nemo in amicitia antecederet. Namque ei Grynium
him no-one in friendship surpassed for to-him Grynium
dederat, in Phrygia castrum, ex quo quinquagena talenta
he-had-given in Phrygia a-fort from which fifty talents
vectigalis capiebat. Qua fortuna Alcibiades non erat
of-revenue he-took with-which fortune Alcibiades not was

contentus neque Athenas victas Lacedaemoniis servire
content nor Athens conquered to-the-Lacedaemonians to-be-slave
poterat pati. Itaque ad patriam liberandam omni ferebatur
could-he endure and-so to his-country to-be-freed with-all he-was-carried
cogitatione. Sed videbat id sine rege Perse non posse
thought but he-saw that without the-king Persian not to-be-able
fieri, ideoque eum amicum sibi cupiebat adiungi
to-be-done and-for-that-reason him a-friend to-himself he-desired to-be-joined
neque dubitabat facile se consecuturum, si modo eius
nor did-he-doubt easily himself to-be-going-to-attain-it if only of-him
conveniundi habuisset potestatem. Nam Cyrum fratrem ei
of-meeting he-had-had the-opportunity for Cyrus brother to-him
bellum clam parare Lacedaemoniis adiuvantibus sciebat: id
war secretly to-prepare the-Lacedaemonians helping he-knew that
si aperuisset, magnam se initurum gratiam videbat.
if he-revealed great himself to-be-going-to-enter-into favor he-saw
Hoc cum moliretur peteretque a Pharnabazo, ut ad 10
this when he-was-attempting and-was-asking from Pharnabazus that to
regem mitteretur, eodem tempore Critias ceterique tyranni
the-king he-be-sent at-the-same time Critias and-the-other tyrants
Atheniensium certos homines ad Lysandrum in Asiam
of-the-Athenians reliable men to Lysander into Asia
miserant, qui eum certiorem facerent, nisi Alcibiadem
had-sent who him more-certain should-make unless Alcibiades
sustulisset, nihil earum rerum fore ratum, quas ipse
he-removed none of-those things to-be-going-to-be valid which he-himself
Athenis constituisset: quare, si suas res gestas manere vellet,
at-Athens had-established wherefore if his deeds done to-remain he-wished
illum persequeretur. His Laco rebus commotus statuit
him he-should-pursue by-these the-Laconian things stirred decided
accuratius sibi agendum cum Pharnabazo, huic ergo
more-carefully for-himself to-be-dealt with Pharnabazus to-him therefore

renuntiat quae regi cum Lacedaemoniis convenissent,
he-announces that-which to-the-king with the-Lacedaemonians had-agreed
nisi Alcibiadem vivum aut mortuum sibi tradidisset. Non
unless Alcibiades alive or dead to-himself he-handed-over not
tulit hoc satrapes et violare clementiam quam regis opes
bore this the-satrap and to-violate clemency than of-the-king the-power
minui maluit. Itaque misit Susamithren et Bagaeum ad
to-be-diminished he-preferred and-so he-sent Susamithres and Bagaeus to
Alcibiadem interficiendum, cum ille esset in Phrygia iterque
Alcibiades to-be-killed when he was in Phrygia and-a-journey
ad regem compararet. Missi clam vicinitati, in qua tum
to the-king was-preparing sent secretly to-the-neighborhood in which then
Alcibiades erat, dant negotium ut eum interficiant. Illi
Alcibiades was they-give the-task that him they-should-kill they
cum ferro aggredi non auderent, noctu ligna contulerunt
when with-the-sword to-attack not dared by-night wood they-gathered
circa casam eam, in qua quiescebat, eaque succenderunt, ut
around the-hut that in which he-was-resting and-them they-set-on-fire that
incendio conficerent, quem manu superari posse diffidebant.
by-fire they-might-finish whom by-hand to-be-overcome to-be-able they-distrusted
Ille autem ut sonitu flammae est excitatus, etsi gladius
he however when by-the-sound of-the-flame was roused although the-sword
ei erat subductus, familiaris sui subalare telum
from-him had-been withdrawn of-a-friend his the-underarm weapon
eripuit. Namque erat cum eo quidam ex Arcadia hospes,
he-snatched for there-was with him a-certain from Arcadia guest-friend
qui numquam discedere voluerat. Hunc sequi se iubet
who never to-depart had-wished him to-follow himself he-orders
et id quod in praesentia vestimentorum fuit arripit. His
and that which at present of-clothes was he-snatches-up these
in ignem coniectis flammae vim transiit. Quem ut
into the-fire having-been-thrown the-flame's force he-passed whom when

barbari incendium effugisse viderunt, telis eminus
the-barbarians the-fire to-have-escaped saw with-weapons from-afar
missis interfecerunt caputque eius ad Pharnabazum rettulerunt.
thrown they-killed and-the-head his to Pharnabazus brought-back
At mulier, quae cum eo vivere consuerat, muliebri sua
but a-woman who with him to-live had-been-accustomed with-womanly her-own
veste contectum aedificii incendio mortuum cremavit, quod
garment covered by-the-building's fire dead she-cremated which
ad vivum interimendum erat comparatum. Sic Alcibiades
for him-alive to-be-killed had-been prepared thus Alcibiades
annos circiter quadraginta natus diem obiit supremum.
years about forty old the-day met last
Hunc infamatum a plerisque tres gravissimi historici summis 11
him defamed by most three most-weighty historians with-the-highest
laudibus extulerunt: Thucydides, qui eiusdem aetatis fuit,
praises extolled Thucydides who of-the-same age was
Theopompus, post aliquanto natus, et Timaeus: qui quidem
Theopompus after somewhat born and Timaeus who indeed
duo maledicentissimi nescio quo modo in illo uno
two most-slanderous I-know-not in-what way in that one-man
laudando consentiunt. Namque ea, quae supra scripsimus,
praising agree for those-things which above we-have-written
de eo praedicarunt atque hoc amplius: cum Athenis,
about him they-proclaimed and this further when at-Athens
splendidissima civitate, natus esset, omnes splendore ac
most-splendid state born he-had-been all in-splendor and
dignitate superasse vitae; postquam inde expulsus Thebas
dignity to-have-surpassed of-life after thence expelled to-Thebes
venerit, adeo studiis eorum inservisse, ut nemo eum
he-had-come so-much to-the-pursuits their to-have-devoted-himself that no-one him
labore corporisque viribus posset aequiperare (omnes enim
in-toil and-of-body in-strength could equal all for

Boeoti magis firmitati corporis quam ingenii acumini
the-Boeotians more to-the-strength of-body than of-intellect to-the-sharpness
serviunt); eundem apud Lacedaemonios, quorum moribus
are-devoted the-same among the-Lacedaemonians by-whose customs
summa virtus in patientia ponebatur, sic duritiae se dedisse,
the-highest virtue in endurance was-placed so to-hardness himself to-have-given
ut parsimonia victus atque cultus omnes Lacedaemonios
that by-thrift of-food and dress all the-Lacedaemonians
vinceret; fuisse apud Thraecas, homines vinolentos rebusque
he-surpassed to-have-been among the-Thracians men given-to-wine and-to-matters
veneriis deditos: hos quoque in his rebus antecessisse; venisse
sexual devoted these also in these things to-have-surpassed to-have-come
ad Persas, apud quos summa laus esset fortiter venari,
to the-Persians among whom the-highest praise was bravely to-hunt
luxuriose vivere: horum sic imitatum consuetudinem, ut illi
luxuriously to-live of-these so to-have-imitated the-custom that they
ipsi eum in his maxime admirarentur. Quibus rebus
themselves him in these-things most admired by-which things
effecisse ut, apud quoscumque esset, princeps poneretur
to-have-brought-about that among whomever he-was the-first he-was-placed
habereturque carissimus. Sed satis de hoc: reliquos ordiamur.
and-was-held most-dear but enough about this-man the-rest let-us-begin

I · THRASYBULUS

Thrasybulus may be the first of all in valor, though others outshine him in rank. With thirty men he seizes Phyle, then fortifies Munychia in the Piraeus, repels the Thirty Tyrants twice, and Critias falls fighting against him. Pausanias of Sparta makes peace; Thrasybulus passes an amnesty law and enforces it. Honored with an olive crown, he asks for nothing more. He is killed in Cilicia by a night sally.

Thrasybulus, Lyci filius, Atheniensis. Si per se virtus sine 1
Thrasybulus of-Lycus the-son the-Athenian if by itself valor without
fortuna ponderanda est, dubito an hunc primum omnium
fortune to-be-weighed is I-doubt whether this-man first of-all
ponam. Illud sine dubio: neminem huic praefero fide,
I-should-place this without doubt no-one to-him I-prefer in-loyalty
constantia, magnitudine animi, in patriam amore. Nam quod
in-steadfastness in-greatness of-spirit toward his-country in-love for what
multi voluerunt paucique potuerunt, ab uno tyranno patriam
many wished and-few were-able from one tyrant their-country
liberare, huic contigit ut a triginta oppressam tyrannis e
to-free to-him it-befell that by thirty oppressed tyrants from
servitute in libertatem vindicaret. Sed nescio quo modo,
slavery into freedom he-should-deliver-it but I-know-not in-what way
cum eum nemo anteiret his virtutibus, multi nobilitate
when him no-one surpassed in-these virtues many in-nobility
praecucurrerunt. Primum Peloponnesio bello multa hic
outran first in-the-Peloponnesian war many-things he
sine Alcibiade gessit, ille nullam rem sine hoc: quae ille
without Alcibiades did he no thing without him which he
universa naturali quodam bono fecit lucri. Sed illa tamen
all by-a-natural certain gift turned to-profit but those however

omnia communia imperatoribus cum militibus et fortuna,
all-things common to-commanders with soldiers and fortune
quod in proelii concursu abit res a consilio ad vices
because in of-battle the-clash passes the-matter from planning to the-turns
rerum virtutemque pugnantium. Itaque iure suo nonnulla
of-things and-the-valor of-the-fighters and-so by-right his-own some-things
ab imperatore miles, plurima vero fortuna vindicat seque
from the-commander the-soldier most however fortune claims and-herself
his plus valuisse vere potest praedicare. Verum illud
in-these more to-have-prevailed truly can proclaim but that
magnificentissimum factum proprium est Thrasybuli. Nam cum
most-magnificent deed own is of-Thrasybulus for when
triginta tyranni praepositi a Lacedaemoniis servitute oppressas
the-thirty tyrants set-over by the-Lacedaemonians by-slavery oppressed
tenerent Athenas, plurimos cives, quibus in bello parserat
held Athens very-many citizens whom in war had-spared
fortuna, partim patria expulissent partim interfecissent,
fortune partly from-their-country had-expelled partly had-killed
plurimorum bona publicata inter se divisissent, non solum
of-very-many the-goods confiscated among themselves had-divided not only
princeps, sed etiam solus initio bellum iis indixit.
the-first but also alone at-the-beginning war on-them declared

2 Hic enim cum Phylen confugisset, quod est castellum in
he for when to-Phyle had-fled which is a-fort in
Attica munitissimum, non plus habuit secum triginta de
Attica most-fortified not more he-had with-himself than-thirty of
suis. Hoc initium fuit salutis Atticorum, hoc robur
his-own this the-beginning was of-the-safety of-the-Athenians this the-strength
libertatis clarissimae civitatis. Neque vero hic non contemptus
of-the-freedom of-a-most-famous state nor indeed he not despised
est primo a tyrannis atque eius solitudo. Quae quidem res
was at-first by the-tyrants and his isolation which indeed thing

et contemnentibus perniciei et despecto saluti fuit:
both to-the-despisers for-ruin and to-the-despised-one for-safety was
etenim illos segnes ad persequendum, hos autem tempore
for those slack for pursuing these however time
ad comparandum dato fecit robustiores. Quo magis
for preparing having-been-given it-made stronger by-which more
praeceptum illud omnium in animis esse debet, nihil in bello
precept that of-all in the-minds to-be ought nothing in war
oportere contemni, neque sine causa dicitur matrem timidi
to-be-proper to-be-despised nor without cause it-is-said the-mother of-a-coward
flere non solere. Neque tamen pro opinione
to-weep not to-be-accustomed nor however according-to the-expectation
Thrasybuli auctae sunt opes: nam iam illis temporibus
of-Thrasybulus increased were the-resources for already in-those times
fortius boni pro libertate loquebantur quam pugnabant. Hinc
more-bravely the-good for freedom spoke than they-fought hence
in Piraeum transiit Munichiamque munivit. Hanc bis tyranni
into the-Piraeus he-crossed and-Munychia fortified this twice the-tyrants
oppugnare sunt adorti, ab eaque turpiter repulsi protinus
to-attack have undertaken from and-it shamefully repelled at-once
in urbem armis impedimentisque amissis refugerunt. Usus
into the-city arms and-baggage having-been-lost fled-back used
est Thrasybulus non minus prudentia quam fortitudine. Nam
has Thrasybulus not less prudence than courage for
cedentes violari vetuit (cives enim civibus parcere
those-withdrawing to-be-harmed he-forbade citizens for citizens to-spare
aequum censebat), neque quisquam est vulneratus nisi qui
fair he-thought nor anyone was wounded except who
prior impugnare voluit. Neminem iacentem veste spoliavit,
first to-attack wished no-one lying of-his-clothing he-stripped
nil attigit nisi arma, quorum indigebat, quaeque ad victum
nothing he-touched except arms which he-needed and-what to food

pertinebant. In secundo proelio cecidit Critias, dux tyrannorum,
pertained in the-second battle fell Critias leader of-the-tyrants
cum quidem adversus Thrasybulum fortissime pugnaret.
when indeed against Thrasybulus most-bravely he-was-fighting
3 Hoc deiecto Pausanias venit Atticis auxilio, rex
this-man cast-down Pausanias came to-the-Athenians for-help king
Lacedaemoniorum. Is inter Thrasybulum et eos, qui urbem
of-the-Lacedaemonians he between Thrasybulus and those who the-city
tenebant, fecit pacem his condicionibus: ne qui praeter
held made peace on-these conditions that-not any except
triginta tyrannos et decem, qui postea praetores creati
the-thirty tyrants and the-ten who afterward as-generals created
superioris more crudelitatis erant usi, afficerentur exilio
of-the-former manner of-cruelty had used should-be-affected with-exile
neve bona publicarentur: rei publicae procuratio
nor goods be-confiscated of-the-thing public the-administration
populo redderetur. Praeclarum hoc quoque Thrasybuli, quod
to-the-people be-restored splendid this also of-Thrasybulus that
reconciliata pace, cum plurimum in civitate posset, legem
having-been-restored peace when very-much in the-state he-could a-law
tulit, ne quis ante actarum rerum accusaretur neve
he-carried that-not anyone of-before done things should-be-accused nor
multaretur, eamque illi oblivionis appellarunt. Neque vero hanc
should-be-fined and-it they of-oblivion called nor indeed it
tantum ferendam curavit, sed etiam ut valeret effecit.
only to-be-carried he-saw-to but also that it-should-prevail he-brought-about
Nam cum quidam ex iis, qui simul cum eo in exilio fuerant,
for when some of those who together with him in exile had-been
caedem facere eorum vellent, cum quibus in gratiam reditum
a-slaughter to-make of-those wished with whom into favor returned
erat publice, prohibuit et id quod pollicitus erat praestitit.
it-had-been publicly he-forbade-it and that which promised he-had he-made-good

Huic pro tantis meritis honoris causa corona a populo 4
to-him for so-great services of-honor for-the-sake a-crown by the-people
data est, facta duabus virgulis oleagineis. Quam quod amor
given was made of-two twigs of-olive which because the-love
civium et non vis expresserat, nullam habuit invidiam
of-the-citizens and not force had-extorted no it-had envy
magnaque fuit gloria. Bene ergo Pittacus ille, qui in
and-great was glory well therefore Pittacus that who among
septem sapientum numero est habitus, cum Mytilenaei
the-seven of-the-wise number was held when the-Mytilenaeans
multa milia iugerum agri ei muneri darent, 'nolite,
many thousands of-acres of-land to-him as-a-gift were-giving do-not
oro vos,' inquit 'id mihi dare, quod multi invideant, plures
I-pray you he-says that to-me give which many may-envy more
etiam concupiscant. Quare ex istis nolo amplius quam
even may-covet wherefore of those I-do-not-want more than
centum iugera, quae et meam animi aequitatem et vestram
a-hundred acres which both my of-mind evenness and your
voluntatem indicent.' Nam parva munera diutina, locupletia
goodwill may-show for small gifts lasting rich
non propria esse consuerunt. Illa igitur corona contentus
not one's-own to-be are-accustomed that therefore crown content
Thrasybulus neque amplius requisivit neque quemquam honore
Thrasybulus nor more he-asked nor anyone in-honor
se antecessisse existimavit. Hic sequenti tempore, cum
himself to-have-surpassed thought he in-the-following time when
praetor classem ad Ciliciam appulisset neque satis diligenter
as-general the-fleet to Cilicia he-had-brought-in nor enough diligently
in castris eius agerentur vigiliae, a barbaris ex oppido
in the-camp his were-kept the-watches by the-barbarians from the-town
noctu eruptione facta in tabernaculo interfectus est.
by-night a-sally having-been-made in the-tent killed he-was

CONON

I · CONON

Conon serves Athens in the Peloponnesian War and is absent from Aegospotami. He goes to Pharnabazus and checks Agesilaus in Asia. Sent to the Persian king, he refuses to prostrate himself and sends his message in writing. Given a fleet, he crushes the Spartans at Cnidus, rebuilds the walls of Athens and Piraeus, and gives the citizens fifty talents from Pharnabazus. Seeking to restore Ionia and Aeolis to Athens, he is arrested by Tiribazus and either dies or escapes.

1 Conon Atheniensis Peloponnesio bello accessit ad rem
Conon the-Athenian in-the-Peloponnesian war approached to the-thing
publicam, in eoque eius opera magni fuit. Nam et praetor
public in and-it his work of-great-value was for both as-general
pedestribus exercitibus praefuit et praefectus classis magnas
the-land armies he-commanded and as-commander of-the-fleet great
mari res gessit. Quas ob causas praecipuus ei honos
at-sea things he-did which on-account-of reasons special to-him honor
habitus est. Namque omnibus unus insulis praefuit, in
paid was for over-all alone the-islands he-was-in-charge in
qua potestate Pheras cepit, coloniam Lacedaemoniorum. Fuit
which power Pherae he-took a-colony of-the-Lacedaemonians he-was
etiam extremo Peloponnesio bello praetor, cum apud Aegos
also at-the-end-of the-Peloponnesian war general when at Aegos
flumen copiae Atheniensium ab Lysandro sunt devictae. Sed
river the-forces of-the-Athenians by Lysander were defeated but
tum afuit, eoque peius res administrata est: nam
then he-was-away and-for-that worse the-matter managed was for
et prudens rei militaris et diligens erat imperator.
both skilled of-the-matter military and diligent he-was a-commander

Itaque nemini erat iis temporibus dubium, si affuisset,
and-so to-no-one was in-those times doubtful if he-had-been-present
illam Athenienses calamitatem accepturos non fuisse.
that the-Athenians disaster to-be-going-to-have-suffered not to-have-been
Rebus autem afflictis, cum patriam obsideri audisset, non 2
affairs however ruined when his-country to-be-besieged he-had-heard not
quaesivit, ubi ipse tuto viveret, sed unde praesidio posset
he-sought where himself safely he-might-live but whence for-protection he-could
esse civibus suis. Itaque contulit se ad Pharnabazum,
be to-citizens his and-so he-betook himself to Pharnabazus
satrapem Ioniae et Lydiae eundemque generum regis
satrap of-Ionia and Lydia and-the-same son-in-law of-the-king
et propinquum: apud quem ut multum gratia valeret,
and relative with whom that much in-favor he-should-prevail
multo labore multisque effecit periculis. Nam cum
with-much toil and-many he-brought-about dangers for when
Lacedaemonii Atheniensibus devictis in societate non
the-Lacedaemonians the-Athenians having-been-defeated in the-alliance not
manerent, quam cum Artaxerxe fecerant, Agesilaumque
they-remained which with Artaxerxes they-had-made and-Agesilaus
bellatum misissent in Asiam, maxime impulsi a Tissapherne,
to-make-war had-sent into Asia most urged by Tissaphernes
qui ex intimis regis ab amicitia eius defecerat et cum
who from the-intimates of-the-king from friendship his had-revolted and with
Lacedaemoniis coierat societatem, hunc adversus Pharnabazus
the-Lacedaemonians had-formed an-alliance him against Pharnabazus
habitus est imperator, re quidem vera exercitui praefuit
held was commander in-thing indeed true the-army commanded
Conon eiusque omnia arbitrio gesta sunt. Hic multum
Conon and-by-his all-things judgment done were he much
ducem summum Agesilaum impedivit saepeque eius consiliis
the-leader the-highest Agesilaus hindered and-often his plans

obstitit, neque vero non fuit apertum, si ille non fuisset,
opposed nor indeed not was it-clear if he not had-been
Agesilaum Asiam Tauro tenus regi fuisse erepturum.
Agesilaus Asia the-Taurus as-far-as from-the-king to-have-been going-to-snatch
Qui posteaquam domum a suis civibus revocatus est, quod
who after home by his citizens recalled was because
Boeoti et Athenienses Lacedaemoniis bellum indixerant,
the-Boeotians and the-Athenians on-the-Lacedaemonians war had-declared
Conon nihilo setius apud praefectos regis versabatur
Conon none the-less with the-commanders of-the-king was-engaged
iisque omnibus magno erat usui.
and-to-them all of-great was use

3 Defecerat a rege Tissaphernes, neque id tam Artaxerxi
had-revolted from the-king Tissaphernes nor that so to-Artaxerxes
quam ceteris erat apertum: multis enim magnisque meritis
as to-the-others was clear by-many for and-great services
apud regem, etiam cum in officio non maneret, valebat. Neque
with the-king even when in duty not he-remained he-prevailed nor
id erat mirandum, si non facile ad credendum adducebatur,
that was to-be-wondered-at if not easily to believing he-was-led
reminiscens eius se opera Cyrum fratrem superasse.
remembering by-his himself work Cyrus his-brother to-have-overcome
Huius accusandi gratia Conon a Pharnabazo ad regem
of-him for-accusing the-sake Conon by Pharnabazus to the-king
missus posteaquam venit, primum ex more Persarum
sent after he-came first according-to the-custom of-the-Persians
ad chiliarchum, qui secundum gradum imperii tenebat,
to the-chiliarch who the-second rank of-command held
Tithrausten accessit seque ostendit cum rege colloqui
Tithraustes he-approached and-himself showed with the-king to-confer
velle. Huic ille 'nulla' inquit 'mora est, sed tu delibera, utrum
to-wish to-him he no he-says delay is but you consider whether

colloqui malis an per litteras agere quae cogitas. Necesse
to-confer you-prefer or by letter to-treat what you-intend necessary
est enim, si in conspectum veneris, venerari te regem
it-is for if into the-sight you-come to-worship you the-king
(nemo enim sine hoc admittitur). Hoc si tibi grave est,
no-one for without this is-admitted this if to-you burdensome is
per me nihilo setius editis mandatis conficies quod
through me none the-less issued instructions you-will-accomplish what
studes.' Tum Conon 'mihi vero' inquit 'non est grave
you-are-eager-for then Conon to-me indeed he-says not is burdensome
quemvis honorem habere regi, sed vereor ne civitati meae
any honor to-pay to-the-king but I-fear lest to-state my
sit opprobrio, si, cum ex ea sim profectus, quae ceteris
it-be for-a-disgrace if when from it I-have set-out which over-the-other
gentibus imperare consuerit, potius barbarorum quam
nations to-rule has-been-accustomed rather of-the-barbarians than
illius more fungar.' Itaque quae volebat huic scripta tradidit.
its custom I-perform and-so what he-wished to-him written he-handed-over
Quibus cognitis rex tantum auctoritate eius motus 4
which having-been-learned the-king so-much by-the-authority his moved
est, ut et Tissaphernem hostem iudicarit et Lacedaemonios
was that both Tissaphernes an-enemy he-judged and the-Lacedaemonians
bello persequi iusserit et ei permiserit quem vellet eligere
with-war to-pursue he-ordered and to-him permitted whom he-wished to-choose
ad dispensandam pecuniam. Id arbitrium Conon negavit
for dispensing money that judgment Conon denied
sui esse consilii, sed ipsius, qui optime suos nosse
of-his-own to-be counsel but of-himself who best his-own-people to-know
deberet, sed se suadere Pharnabazo id negotii daret.
ought but himself to-advise to-Pharnabazus that of-business he-should-give
Hinc magnis muneribus donatus ad mare est missus, ut
thence with-great gifts presented to the-sea he-was sent that

Cypriis et Phoenicibus ceterisque maritimis civitatibus
on-the-Cyprians and Phoenicians and-the-other maritime states
naves longas imperaret classemque, qua proxima aestate
ships long he-should-levy and-a-fleet with-which in-the-next summer
mare tueri posset, compararet, dato adiutore Pharnabazo, sicut
the-sea to-guard he-could he-should-prepare given as-helper Pharnabazus as
ipse voluerat. Id ut Lacedaemoniis est nuntiatum, non
he-himself had-wished that when to-the-Lacedaemonians was announced not
sine cura rem administrant, quod maius bellum imminere
without care the-matter they-manage because a-greater war to-threaten
arbitrabantur, quam si cum barbaro solum contenderent. Nam
they-thought than if with the-barbarian alone they-contended for
ducem fortem et prudentem regiis opibus praefuturum
a-leader brave and prudent the-royal resources to-be-going-to-command
ac secum dimicaturum videbant, quem neque consilio
and with-themselves to-be-going-to-fight they-saw whom neither in-plan
neque copiis superare possent. Hac mente magnam
nor in-forces to-overcome they-could with-this mind a-great
contrahunt classem: proficiscuntur Pisandro duce. Hos
they-draw-together fleet they-set-out Pisander as-leader these
Conon apud Cnidum adortus magno proelio fugat, multas
Conon at Cnidus having-attacked in-a-great battle routs many
naves capit, complures deprimit. Qua victoria non solum
ships he-takes several sinks by-which victory not only
Athenae, sed cuncta Graecia, quae sub Lacedaemoniorum
Athens but all Greece which under of-the-Lacedaemonians
fuerat imperio, liberata est. Conon cum parte navium in
had-been the-rule freed was Conon with a-part of-the-ships into
patriam venit, muros dirutos a Lysandro utrosque, et Piraei
his-country came the-walls destroyed by Lysander both-sets both of-Piraeus

et Athenarum, reficiendos curat pecuniaeque quinquaginta
and of-Athens to-be-rebuilt he-sees-to and-of-money fifty
talenta, quae a Pharnabazo acceperat, civibus suis donat.
talents which from Pharnabazus he-had-received to-citizens his he-gives
Accidit huic, quod ceteris mortalibus, ut inconsideratior
it-happened to-him what to-the-other mortals that more-thoughtless
in secunda quam in adversa esset fortuna. Nam classe
in favorable than in adverse he-was fortune for the-fleet
Peloponnesiorum devicta, cum ultum se iniurias patriae
of-the-Peloponnesians defeated when avenged himself the-wrongs of-his-country
putaret, plura concupivit quam efficere potuit. Neque
he-thought more-things he-coveted than to-accomplish he-could nor
tamen ea non pia et probanda fuerunt, quod potius
however those-things not dutiful and to-be-approved were because rather
patriae opes augeri quam regis maluit. Nam cum
of-his-country the-resources to-be-increased than of-the-king's he-preferred for when
magnam auctoritatem sibi pugna illa navali, quam apud
great authority for-himself by-battle that naval which at
Cnidum fecerat, constituisset non solum inter barbaros, sed
Cnidus he-had-fought he-had-established not only among the-barbarians but
etiam omnes Graeciae civitates, clam dare operam coepit, ut
also all of-Greece the-states secretly to-give effort he-began that
Ioniam et Aeoliam restitueret Atheniensibus. Id cum minus
Ionia and Aeolis he-might-restore to-the-Athenians that when less
diligenter esset celatum, Tiribazus, qui Sardibus praeerat,
diligently had been-concealed Tiribazus who at-Sardis was-in-charge
Cononem evocavit, simulans ad regem eum se mittere velle
Conon summoned pretending to the-king him himself to-send to-wish
magna de re. Huius nuntio parens cum venisset, in
great about matter his to-the-message obeying when he-had-come into
vincla coniectus est, in quibus aliquamdiu fuit. Inde nonnulli
chains thrown he-was in which for-some-time he-was thence some

eum ad regem abductum ibique eum perisse scriptum
him to the-king led-off and-there him to-have-perished written
reliquerunt. Contra ea Dinon historicus, cui nos plurimum
have-left against these Dinon the-historian whom we most
de Persicis rebus credimus, effugisse scripsit: illud
about Persian things believe to-have-escaped wrote this
addubitat, utrum Tiribazo sciente an imprudente sit factum.
he-doubts whether Tiribazus knowing or unaware it-was done

DION

I · DION AND THE DIONYSII

Dion, brother-in-law of the elder Dionysius, is rich, gifted, and trusted with embassies. At his urging Dionysius brings Plato to Syracuse, and Plato returns even after the tyrant has had him sold. When the elder Dionysius falls ill, Dion asks the doctors to tell him if the king is in danger, wanting to ask a share for his sister's sons; the younger Dionysius has the doctors give his father a sleeping draft, and he dies. Plato's influence on the son is undone by Philistus.

Dion, Hipparini filius, Syracusanus, nobili genere natus, 1
Dion of-Hipparinus the-son the-Syracusan of-noble family born
utraque implicatus tyrannide Dionysiorum. Namque ille
with-both entangled the-tyranny of-the-Dionysii for that
superior Aristomachen, sororem Dionis, habuit in matrimonio,
elder Aristomache the-sister of-Dion had in marriage
ex qua duos filios, Hipparinum et Nisaeum, procreavit
from whom two sons Hipparinus and Nisaeus he-begot
totidemque filias, nomine Sophrosynen et Areten, quarum
and-as-many daughters by-name Sophrosyne and Arete of-whom
priorem Dionysio filio, eidem cui regnum reliquit, nuptum
the-former to-Dionysius his-son the-same to-whom the-kingdom he-left to-wed
dedit, alteram, Areten, Dioni. Dion autem praeter generosam
he-gave the-other Arete to-Dion Dion however besides noble
propinquitatem nobilemque maiorum famam multa alia ab
kinship and-noble of-his-ancestors fame many other from
natura habuit bona, in eis ingenium docile, come, aptum
nature had goods among them a-mind teachable courteous fit
ad artes optimas, magnam corporis dignitatem, quae non
for arts the-best great of-body dignity which not
minimum commendat, magnas praeterea divitias a patre
least commends great besides riches by his-father

relictas, quas ipse tyranni muneribus auxerat. Erat
left which he-himself with-the-tyrant's gifts had-increased he-was
intimus Dionysio priori, neque minus propter mores quam
intimate to-Dionysius the-elder nor less on-account-of his-character than
affinitatem. Namque etsi Dionysii crudelitas ei displicebat,
kinship for although of-Dionysius the-cruelty to-him was-displeasing
tamen salvum propter necessitudinem, magis etiam suorum
yet safe because-of the-relationship more even of-his-own-people
causa studebat. Aderat in magnis rebus, eiusque consilio
for-the-sake he-was-eager he-was-present in great affairs and-by-his counsel
multum movebatur tyrannus, nisi qua in re maior ipsius
much was-moved the-tyrant unless some in matter greater his-own
cupiditas intercesserat. Legationes vero omnes, quae essent
desire had-intervened embassies indeed all which were
illustriores, per Dionem administrabantur: quas quidem
more-distinguished through Dion were-administered which indeed
ille diligenter obeundo, fideliter administrando crudelissimum
he diligently by-undertaking faithfully by-administering the-most-cruel
nomen tyranni sua humanitate leniebat. Hunc a Dionysio
name of-the-tyrant by-his humanity softened him by Dionysius
missum Karthaginienses sic suspexerunt, ut neminem
sent the-Carthaginians so looked-up-to that no-one
umquam Graeca lingua loquentem magis sint admirati.
ever the-Greek tongue speaking more they-have admired

2 Neque vero haec Dionysium fugiebant: nam quanto
nor indeed these-things Dionysius escaped for of-how-great
esset sibi ornamento, sentiebat. Quo fiebat ut uni
he-was to-himself an-ornament he-felt by-which it-came-about that to-this
huic maxime indulgeret neque eum secus diligeret ac
alone most he-was-indulgent nor him otherwise did-he-love than
filium: qui quidem, cum Platonem Tarentum venisse fama
a-son who indeed when Plato to-Tarentum to-have-come the-report

in Siciliam esset perlata, adulescenti negare non potuerit,
into Sicily had been-brought to-the-young-man to-refuse not could
quin eum arcesseret, cum Dion eius audiendi cupiditate
but-that him he-should-summon since Dion of-him of-hearing with-desire
flagraret. Dedit ergo huic veniam magnaque eum ambitione
burned he-gave therefore to-him leave and-with-great him display
Syracusas perduxit. Quem Dion adeo admiratus est atque
to-Syracuse he-brought whom Dion so-much admired has and
adamavit, ut se ei totum traderet. Neque vero minus
loved that himself to-him wholly he-gave-over nor indeed less
ipse Plato delectatus est Dione. Itaque cum a tyranno
himself Plato delighted was with-Dion and-so when by the-tyrant
crudeliter violatus esset, quippe qui eum venumdari
cruelly outraged he-had-been since-indeed who him to-be-sold
iussisset, tamen eodem rediit eiusdem Dionis precibus
had-ordered yet to-the-same-place he-returned by-the-same Dion's prayers
adductus. Interim in morbum incidit Dionysius. Quo cum
induced meanwhile into illness fell Dionysius with-which when
gravius conflictaretur, quaesivit a medicis Dion, quem
more-seriously he-was-afflicted asked from the-doctors Dion in-what
ad modum se haberet, simulque ab iis petiit, si
to manner himself he-was and-at-the-same-time from them begged if
forte in maiore esset periculo, ut sibi faterentur: nam
by-chance in greater he-was danger that to-him they-should-confess for
velle se cum eo colloqui de partiendo regno, quod
to-wish himself with him to-confer about dividing the-kingdom because
sororis suae filios ex illo natos partem regni putabat
of-sister his the-sons from him born a-part of-the-kingdom he-thought
debere habere. Id medici non tacuerunt et ad Dionysium
ought to-have that the-doctors not kept-silent and to Dionysius
filium sermonem rettulerunt. Quo ille commotus, ne agendi
the-son the-talk reported by-which he alarmed lest of-acting

esset Dioni potestas, patri soporem medicos dare
there-should-be for-Dion opportunity to-his-father a-sleeping-draft the-doctors to-give
coegit. Hoc aeger sumpto sopitus diem obiit supremum.
forced this sick-man having-taken lulled-to-sleep the-day met last
3 Tale initium fuit Dionis et Dionysii simultatis, eaque multis
such the-beginning was of-Dion and of-Dionysius of-the-feud and-it by-many
rebus aucta est. Sed tamen primis temporibus aliquamdiu
things increased was but yet in-the-first times for-some-time
simulata inter eos amicitia mansit. Sicut, cum Dion
feigned between them friendship remained just-as when Dion
non desisteret obsecrare Dionysium, ut Platonem Athenis
not ceased to-beseech Dionysius that Plato from-Athens
arcesseret et eius consiliis uteretur, ille, qui in aliqua re
he-should-summon and his counsels use he who in some thing
vellet patrem imitari, morem ei gessit. Eodemque tempore
wished his-father to-imitate the-wish for-him he-humored and-at-the-same time
Philistum historicum Syracusas reduxit, hominem amicum non
Philistus the-historian to-Syracuse brought-back a-man friendly not
magis tyranno quam tyrannidi. Sed de hoc in eo libro
more to-the-tyrant than to-tyranny but about this-man in that book
plura sunt exposita, qui de historicis Graecis conscriptus
more-things are set-out which about historians Greek written
est. Plato autem tantum apud Dionysium auctoritate potuit
has-been Plato however so-much with Dionysius in-authority was-able
valuitque eloquentia, ut ei persuaserit tyrannidis facere
and-prevailed in-eloquence that him he-persuaded of-the-tyranny to-make
finem libertatemque reddere Syracusanis. A qua voluntate
an-end and-freedom to-restore to-the-Syracusans from which intention
Philisti consilio deterritus aliquanto crudelior esse coepit.
by-Philistus' advice deterred somewhat more-cruel to-be he-began

The younger Dionysius sends Dion to Corinth, gives his wife to another, and corrupts his son. With two cargo ships Dion overthrows a tyranny guarded by a great fleet and army, and enters Syracuse on the third day. He wins all of the city but the citadel and the island, and the tyrant offers to divide the realm. Then fortune turns: his son dies, he has Heraclides killed, and he gives his opponents' goods to the soldiers. Short of money, he loses the optimates, and the crowd calls him a tyrant.

Qui quidem cum a Dione se superari videret ingenio, 4
who indeed when by Dion himself to-be-surpassed he-saw in-talent
auctoritate, amore populi, verens ne, si eum secum haberet,
in-authority in-the-love of-the-people fearing lest if him with-himself he-had
aliquam occasionem sui daret opprimendi, navem ei
some opportunity of-himself he-might-give of-crushing a-ship to-him
triremem dedit, qua Corinthum deveheretur, ostendens
a-trireme he-gave in-which to-Corinth he-should-be-carried showing
se id utriusque facere causa, ne, cum inter se
himself that of-both to-do for-the-sake lest when between themselves
timerent, alteruter alterum praeoccuparet. Id cum factum multi
they-feared one-or-other the-other should-forestall that when done many
indignarentur magnaeque esset invidiae tyranno, Dionysius
resented and-of-great it-was envy for-the-tyrant Dionysius
omnia, quae moveri poterant Dionis, in naves imposuit
all-things which to-be-moved could of-Dion onto ships put
ad eumque misit. Sic enim existimari volebat, id se non
to and-him sent thus for to-be-thought he-wished that himself not
odio hominis, sed suae salutis fecisse causa. Postea
from-hatred of-the-man but of-his-own safety to-have-done for-the-sake afterward
vero quam audivit eum in Peloponneso manum comparare
indeed when he-heard him in the-Peloponnese a-band to-prepare

sibique bellum facere conari, Areten, Dionis uxorem,
and-on-himself war to-make to-try Arete of-Dion the-wife
alii nuptum dedit filiumque eius sic educari iussit, ut
to-another to-wed he-gave and-the-son his so to-be-brought-up ordered that
indulgendo turpissimis imbueretur cupiditatibus. Nam puero
by-indulging with-the-basest he-might-be-steeped desires for for-the-boy
prius quam pubes esset scorta adducebantur, vino epulisque
before than grown-up he-was harlots were-brought with-wine and-feasts
obruebatur, neque ullum tempus sobrio relinquebatur. Is
he-was-overwhelmed nor any time to-the-sober was-left he
usque eo vitae statum commutatum ferre non potuit, postquam
up-to that of-life the-state changed to-bear not could after
in patriam rediit pater (namque appositi erant custodes, qui
into his-country returned his-father for set had-been guards who
eum a pristino victu deducerent), ut se de superiore
him from former way-of-life should-lead-away that himself from the-upper
parte aedium deiecerit atque ita interierit. Sed illuc revertor.
part of-the-house he-threw-down and so perished but thither I-return
5 Postquam Corinthum pervenit Dion et eodem perfugit
after to-Corinth arrived Dion and to-the-same-place fled
Heraclides ab eodem expulsus Dionysio, qui praefectus
Heraclides by the-same expelled Dionysius who commander
fuerat equitum, omni ratione bellum comparare coeperunt.
had-been of-the-cavalry in-every way war to-prepare they-began
Sed non multum proficiebant, quod multorum annorum
but not much did-they-accomplish because of-many years
tyrannis magnarum opum putabatur: quam ob causam
a-tyranny of-great resources was-thought which on-account-of reason
pauci ad societatem periculi perducebantur. Sed Dion,
few to the-alliance of-the-danger were-brought but Dion
fretus non tam suis copiis quam odio tyranni,
relying not so-much on-his-own forces as on-the-hatred of-the-tyrant

maximo animo duabus onerariis navibus quinquaginta
with-the-greatest courage with-two cargo ships of-fifty
annorum imperium, munitum quingentis longis navibus,
years an-empire fortified with-five-hundred long ships
decem equitum centumque peditum milibus, profectus
ten of-horse and-a-hundred of-foot thousands having-set-out
oppugnatum, quod omnibus gentibus admirabile est visum,
to-attack which to-all nations wonderful has seemed
adeo facile perculit, ut post diem tertium, quam Siciliam
so easily he-struck-down that after the-day third than Sicily
attigerat, Syracusas introierit. Ex quo intellegi potest
he-had-touched Syracuse he-entered from which to-be-understood can
nullum esse imperium tutum nisi benivolentia munitum. Eo
no to-be empire safe unless by-goodwill fortified at-that
tempore aberat Dionysius et in Italia classem opperiebatur
time was-away Dionysius and in Italy the-fleet was-awaiting
adversariorum, ratus neminem sine magnis copiis ad se
of-his-opponents thinking no-one without great forces to himself
venturum. Quae res eum fefellit. Nam Dion iis ipsis,
to-be-going-to-come which thing him deceived for Dion by-those very
qui sub adversarii fuerant potestate, regios spiritus repressit
who under of-his-opponent had-been power the-royal spirits checked
totiusque eius partis Siciliae potitus est, quae sub
and-of-the-whole that part of-Sicily gained-possession he-has which under
Dionysii fuerat potestate, parique modo urbis Syracusarum
of-Dionysius had-been power and-in-equal manner of-the-city of-Syracuse
praeter arcem et insulam adiunctam oppido, eoque rem
except the-citadel and the-island joined to-the-town and-to-that the-matter
perduxit, ut talibus pactionibus pacem tyrannus facere
he-brought that on-such terms peace the-tyrant to-make

vellet: Siciliam Dion obtineret, Italiam Dionysius, Syracusas
wished Sicily Dion should-hold Italy Dionysius Syracuse
Apollocrates, cui maximam fidem uni habebat. Dion ∗∗∗
Apollocrates in-whom the-greatest trust alone he-had Dion (lacuna)
6 Has tam prosperas tamque inopinatas res consecuta est subita
these so prosperous and-so unexpected things followed has a-sudden
commutatio, quod fortuna sua mobilitate, quem paulo ante
change because fortune by-her fickleness whom a-little before
extulerat, demergere est adorta. Primum in filio, de quo
she-had-raised to-sink has undertaken first in his-son about whom
commemoravi supra, suam vim exercuit. Nam cum uxorem
I-have-made-mention above her force she-exercised for when his-wife
reduxisset, quae alii fuerat tradita, filiumque vellet
he-had-taken-back who to-another had-been handed-over and-his-son wished
revocare ad virtutem a perdita luxuria, accepit gravissimum
to-call-back to virtue from ruined luxury he-received the-heaviest
parens vulnus morte filii. Deinde orta dissensio est
as-a-parent wound by-the-death of-his-son then arisen a-dissension has
inter eum et Heraclidem, qui, quod ei principatum non
between him and Heraclides who because to-him the-leadership not
concedebat, factionem comparavit. Neque is minus valebat
he-yielded a-faction formed nor he less prevailed
apud optimates, quorum consensu praeerat classi, cum Dion
with the-optimates by-whose consent he-commanded the-fleet while Dion
exercitum pedestrem teneret. Non tulit hoc animo aequo Dion,
the-army land held not bore this with-mind even Dion
et versum illum Homeri rettulit ex secunda rhapsodia, in quo
and verse that of-Homer quoted from the-second rhapsody in which
haec sententia est: non posse bene geri rem publicam
this sentence is not to-be-able well to-be-managed the-thing public
multorum imperiis. Quod dictum magna invidia consecuta est:
of-many by-commands which saying great envy followed has

namque aperuisse videbatur omnia in sua potestate esse velle.
for to-have-revealed he-seemed all-things in his power to-be to-wish
Hanc ille non lenire obsequio, sed acerbitate opprimere studuit,
this he not to-soften by-compliance but by-harshness to-crush strove
Heraclidemque, cum Syracusas venisset, interficiundum curavit.
and-Heraclides when to-Syracuse he-had-come to-be-killed saw-to
Quod factum omnibus maximum timorem iniecit: nemo enim 7
which deed into-all the-greatest fear cast no-one for
illo interfecto se tutum putabat. Ille autem adversario
him having-been-killed himself safe thought he however his-opponent
remoto licentius eorum bona, quos sciebat adversus se
removed more-freely of-those the-goods whom he-knew against himself
sensisse, militibus dispertivit. Quibus divisis cum
to-have-been-minded to-the-soldiers distributed which divided when
cottidiani maximi fierent sumptus, celeriter pecunia deesse
daily very-great were-made expenses quickly money to-be-lacking
coepit, neque, quo manus porrigeret, suppetebat nisi in
began nor whither his-hand he-might-stretch was-there except onto
amicorum possessiones. Id eius modi erat, ut, cum milites
of-his-friends the-possessions that of-this kind was that when the-soldiers
reconciliasset, amitteret optimates. Quarum rerum cura
he-had-won-over he-lost the-optimates of-which of-things by-the-care
angebatur et insuetus male audiendi non animo aequo
he-was-tormented and unaccustomed ill to-hear-of not with-mind even
ferebat, de se ab iis male existimari, quorum paulo
he-bore about himself by those ill to-be-thought by-whose a-little
ante in caelum fuerat elatus laudibus. Vulgus autem
before to the-sky he-had-been raised praises the-crowd however
offensa in eum militum voluntate liberius loquebatur et
offended toward him of-the-soldiers the-goodwill more-freely spoke and
tyrannum non ferendum dictitabat.
a-tyrant not to-be-borne kept-saying

Callicrates, an Athenian, offers to pose as Dion's enemy to expose plotters, and uses the role to plot himself. Dion's sister and wife make Callicrates swear that Dion is safe from him; it only hastens him. On a feast day his Zacynthian men enter Dion's room unarmed, and Lyco hands a sword through the window. Dion dies at about fifty, mourned and buried publicly by the people who had hated him.

8 Haec ille intuens cum quem ad modum sedaret
these-things he observing when in-what to manner he-might-calm
nesciret et quorsum evaderent timeret, Callicrates
he-did-not-know and whither they-would-turn-out he-feared Callicrates
quidam, civis Atheniensis, qui simul cum eo ex Peloponneso
a-certain citizen Athenian who together with him from the-Peloponnese
in Siciliam venerat, homo et callidus et ad fraudem acutus,
into Sicily had-come a-man both cunning and for fraud sharp
sine ulla religione ac fide, adiit ad Dionem et ait: eum
without any scruple and good-faith went to Dion and says him
magno in periculo esse propter offensionem populi et odium
great in danger to-be because-of the-offense of-the-people and the-hatred
militum, quod nullo modo evitare posset, nisi alicui suorum
of-the-soldiers which by-no means to-avoid he-could unless to-some-one of-his-own
negotium daret, qui se simularet illi inimicum. Quem
the-task he-gave who himself should-feign to-him hostile whom
si invenisset idoneum, facile omnium animos cogniturum
if he-found suitable easily of-all the-minds to-be-going-to-learn
adversariosque sublaturum, quod inimici eius dissidenti
and-the-opponents to-be-going-to-remove because the-enemies his to-the-dissenter
suos sensus aperturi forent. Tali consilio probato
their feelings going-to-reveal would-be such plan having-been-approved
excepit has partes ipse Callicrates et se armat imprudentia
took-up this part himself Callicrates and himself arms by-the-imprudence

Dionis. Ad eum interficiundum socios conquirit, adversarios
of-Dion for him to-be-killed accomplices he-seeks-out the-opponents
eius convenit, coniuratione confirmat. Res, multis consciis
his he-meets by-conspiracy he-confirms the-thing many being-privy
quae ageretur, elata defertur ad Aristomachen, sororem
which was-being-done published is-reported to Aristomache the-sister
Dionis, uxoremque Areten. Illae timore perterritae conveniunt,
of-Dion and-the-wife Arete they with-fear terrified meet-with-him
cuius de periculo timebant. At ille negat a Callicrate
for-whose about the-danger they-feared but he denies by Callicrates
fieri sibi insidias, sed illa, quae agerentur,
to-be-made against-himself a-plot but those-things which were-being-done
fieri praecepto suo. Mulieres nihilo setius Callicratem in
to-be-done by-instruction his the-women none the-less Callicrates into
aedem Proserpinae deducunt ac iurare cogunt, nihil ab
the-temple of-Proserpina lead and to-swear force that-nothing from
illo periculi fore Dioni. Ille hac religione non modo non
him of-danger would-be to-Dion he by-this oath not only not
est deterritus, sed ad maturandum concitatus est, verens ne
was deterred but to hastening spurred-on was fearing lest
prius consilium aperiretur suum, quam cogitata perfecisset.
sooner the-plan should-be-revealed his than his-designs he-had-carried-out
Hac mente proximo die festo, cum a conventu se 9
with-this intent on-the-next day festal when from the-gathering himself
remotum Dion domi teneret atque in conclavi edito
removed Dion at-home kept and in a-room upper
recubuisset, consciis facinoris loca munitiora oppidi
had-lain-down to-the-accomplices of-the-crime the-places more-fortified of-the-town
tradit, domum custodiis saepit, a foribus qui non
he-hands-over the-house with-guards he-hedges from the-doors who not
discedant, certos praeficit, navem triremem armatis
should-depart reliable-men he-sets-over a-ship trireme with-armed-men

ornat Philostratoque, fratri suo, tradit eamque in portu
he-fits-out and-to-Philostratus his-brother his hands-over and-it in the-harbor
agitare iubet, ut si exercere remiges vellet, cogitans, si forte
to-row-about orders as if to-exercise the-rowers he-wished thinking if by-chance
consiliis obstitisset fortuna, ut haberet, qua aufugeret ad
his-plans had-opposed fortune that he-might-have by-which he-might-flee to
salutem. Suorum autem e numero Zacynthios adulescentes
safety of-his-own however from the-number Zacynthian young-men
quosdam eligit cum audacissimos tum viribus maximis,
certain he-chooses both most-daring and with-strength greatest
iisque dat negotium, ad Dionem eant inermes, sic ut
and-to-them gives the-task to Dion they-should-go unarmed so that
conveniendi eius gratia viderentur venire. Ii propter notitiam
of-meeting him for-the-sake they-might-seem to-come they because-of acquaintance
sunt intromissi. At illius ut limen intrarant, foribus
were let-in but his when the-threshold they-had-entered the-doors
obseratis in lecto cubantem invadunt, colligant: fit
having-been-barred on the-bed lying they-attack bind there-arises
strepitus, adeo ut exaudiri posset foris. Hic, sicut ante saepe
a-din so that to-be-heard it-could outside here as before often
dictum est, quam invisa sit singularis potentia et miseranda
said has-been how hated is sole power and pitiable
vita, qui se metui quam amari malunt, cuivis
the-life of-those-who themselves to-be-feared than to-be-loved prefer to-anyone
facile intellectu fuit. Namque illi ipsi custodes, si prompta
easy to-understand it-was for those very guards if ready
fuissent voluntate, foribus effractis servare eum potuissent,
they-had-been in-will the-doors having-been-broken to-save him they-could-have
quoad illi inermes telum foris flagitantes vivum tenebant.
while those unarmed a-weapon from-outside demanding alive held

Cui cum succurreret nemo, Lyco quidam Syracusanus
to-whom when helped no-one Lyco a-certain Syracusan
per fenestram gladium dedit, quo Dion interfectus est.
through a-window a-sword gave by-which Dion killed was
Confecta caede, cum multitudo visendi gratia introisset, 10
completed the-slaughter when the-multitude of-seeing for-the-sake had-entered
nonnulli ab insciis pro noxiis conciduntur. Nam celeri
some by the-unknowing for guilty-ones are-cut-down for swift
rumore dilato, Dioni vim allatam, multi concurrerant, quibus
by-rumor spread to-Dion violence brought many had-run-together to-whom
tale facinus displicebat. Ii falsa suspicione ducti immerentes
such a-deed was-displeasing they by-false suspicion led the-undeserving
ut sceleratos occidunt. Huius de morte ut palam factum
as criminals kill of-him about the-death when public made
est, mirabiliter vulgi mutata est voluntas. Nam qui
it-was wonderfully of-the-crowd changed was the-will for who
vivum eum tyrannum vocitarant, eidem liberatorem patriae
alive him a-tyrant had-been-calling the-same the-liberator of-his-country
tyrannique expulsorem praedicabant. Sic subito misericordia
and-of-the-tyrant the-expeller proclaimed so suddenly pity
odio successerat, ut eum suo sanguine ab Acherunte,
to-hatred had-succeeded that him with-their-own blood from Acheron
si possent, cuperent redimere. Itaque in urbe celeberrimo
if they-could they-desired to-buy-back and-so in the-city in-the-most-frequented
loco, elatus publice, sepulcri monumento donatus est. Diem
place buried publicly of-a-tomb with-a-monument presented he-was the-day
obiit circiter annos quinquaginta natus, quartum post annum,
he-met about years fifty old in-the-fourth after year
quam ex Peloponneso in Siciliam redierat.
than from the-Peloponnese into Sicily he-had-returned

I · IPHICRATES

Iphicrates is famous for military discipline. He reforms the infantry's arms, with light shields, longer spears and swords, and linen armor. He trains the army at Corinth to perfect order, destroys a Spartan battalion, commands Artaxerxes' mercenaries, and checks Epaminondas at Sparta. He protects the sons of Amyntas. Asked whether he values his father or his mother more, his son Menestheus says his mother, because she made him an Athenian.

1 Iphicrates Atheniensis non tam magnitudine rerum gestarum
Iphicrates the-Athenian not so-much by-the-greatness of-deeds done
quam disciplina militari nobilitatus est. Fuit enim talis dux,
as by-discipline military made-famous was he-was for such a-leader
ut non solum aetatis suae cum primis compararetur, sed ne
that not only of-age his with the-first he-was-compared but not
de maioribus natu quidem quisquam anteponeretur. Multum
of older by-birth even anyone was-put-before-him much
vero in bello est versatus, saepe exercitibus praefuit, nusquam
indeed in war was engaged often armies he-commanded nowhere
culpa male rem gessit, semper consilio vicit
through-fault badly the-matter managed always by-planning he-conquered
tantumque eo valuit, ut multa in re militari partim
and-so-much in-that he-excelled that many-things in matter military partly
nova attulerit, partim meliora fecerit. Namque ille pedestria
new he-introduced partly better he-made for he the-foot
arma mutavit. Cum ante illum imperatorem maximis clipeis,
arms changed when before him as-commander very-large shields
brevibus hastis, minutis gladiis uterentur, ille e contrario
short spears tiny swords they-used he on the-contrary
peltam pro parma fecit (a quo postea peltastae
the-pelta in-place-of the-round-shield made from whom afterward peltasts

pedites appellati sunt, qui antea hoplitae appellabantur), ut
the-foot-soldiers called were who before hoplites were-called that
ad motus concursusque essent leviores, hastae modum
for movements and-charges they-should-be lighter of-the-spear the-length
duplicavit, gladios longiores fecit. Idem genus loricarum
he-doubled the-swords longer he-made the-same a-kind of-breastplates
novum instituit et pro sertis atque aeneis linteas
new instituted and in-place-of chain and bronze linen-ones
dedit. Quo facto expeditiores milites reddidit: nam pondere
gave which done more-nimble the-soldiers he-made for the-weight
detracto, quod aeque corpus tegeret et leve esset, curavit.
removed what equally the-body should-cover and light should-be he-saw-to
Bellum cum Thraecibus gessit, Seuthem, socium Atheniensium, 2
war with the-Thracians he-waged Seuthes the-ally of-the-Athenians
in regnum restituit. Apud Corinthum tanta severitate exercitui
into the-kingdom he-restored at Corinth with-such strictness the-army
praefuit, ut nullae umquam in Graecia neque exercitatiores
he-commanded that no ever in Greece either more-trained
copiae neque magis dicto audientes fuerint duci, in
forces or more to-the-word obedient were to-a-leader into
eamque consuetudinem adduxit, ut, cum proelii signum ab
and-that habit he-brought-them that when of-battle the-signal by
imperatore esset datum, sine ducis opera sic ordinatae
the-commander was given without of-the-leader the-work so drawn-up
consisterent, ut singuli a peritissimo imperatore dispositi
they-stood that each by a-most-skilled commander placed
viderentur. Hoc exercitu moram Lacedaemoniorum interfecit,
they-seemed with-this army a-battalion of-the-Lacedaemonians he-destroyed
quod maxime tota celebratum est Graecia. Iterum eodem bello
which most in-all celebrated was Greece again in-the-same war
omnes copias eorum fugavit, quo facto magnam adeptus est
all forces their he-routed by-which done great gained he-has

gloriam. Cum Artaxerxes Aegyptio regi bellum inferre voluit,
glory when Artaxerxes on-the-Egyptian king war to-bring wished
Iphicraten ab Atheniensibus ducem petivit, quem praeficeret
Iphicrates from the-Athenians as-leader he-asked whom he-might-set-over
exercitui conducticio, cuius numerus duodecim milium fuit.
the-army mercenary whose number of-twelve thousand was
Quem quidem sic omni disciplina militari erudivit, ut, quem
which indeed so in-all discipline military he-trained that in-what
ad modum quondam Fabiani milites Romae, sic Iphicratenses
to manner once the-Fabian soldiers at-Rome so the-Iphicrateans
apud Graecos in summa laude fuerint. Idem subsidio
among the-Greeks in the-highest praise were the-same in-aid
Lacedaemoniis profectus Epaminondae retardavit impetus.
to-the-Lacedaemonians having-set-out of-Epaminondas checked the-attacks
Nam nisi eius adventus appropinquasset, non prius Thebani
for unless his arrival had-drawn-near not sooner the-Thebans
Sparta abscessissent, quam captam incendio delessent.
from-Sparta would-have-withdrawn than taken by-fire they-had-destroyed-it

3 Fuit autem et animo magno et corpore imperatoriaque
he-was however both of-spirit great and of-body and-commanding
forma, ut ipso aspectu cuivis iniceret admirationem
appearance that by-the-very sight in-anyone he-cast admiration
sui, sed in labore nimis remissus parumque patiens, ut
of-himself but in toil too slack and-little enduring as
Theopompus memoriae prodidit, bonus vero civis fideque
Theopompus to-memory handed-down a-good indeed citizen and-of-loyalty
magna. Quod cum in aliis rebus declaravit, tum maxime
great which both in other things he-showed and most
in Amyntae Macedonis liberis tuendis. Namque Eurydice,
in of-Amyntas the-Macedonian the-children protecting for Eurydice
mater Perdiccae et Philippi, cum his duobus pueris Amynta
the-mother of-Perdiccas and of-Philip with these two boys Amyntas

mortuo ad Iphicraten confugit eiusque opibus defensa est.
dead to Iphicrates fled and-by-his resources defended was
Vixit ad senectutem placatis in se suorum civium animis.
he-lived to old-age appeased toward himself of-his-own of-citizens the-minds
Causam capitis semel dixit, bello sociali, simul
a-case on-a-capital-charge once he-pleaded in-the-war Social together
cum Timotheo, eoque iudicio est absolutus. Menesthea
with Timotheus and-in-that trial was acquitted Menestheus
filium reliquit ex Thraessa natum, Coti regis filia,
a-son he-left of a-Thracian-woman born of-Cotys the-king the-daughter
is cum interrogaretur, utrum pluris, patrem matremne,
he when he-was-asked whether more his-father or-his-mother
faceret, 'matrem' inquit. Id cum omnibus mirum videretur,
he-valued his-mother he-says that when to-all strange it-seemed
at ille 'merito' inquit 'facio: nam pater, quantum in se
but he deservedly he-says I-do-so for my-father as-much-as in him
fuit, Thraecem me genuit, contra ea mater Atheniensem.'
was a-Thracian me begot against these my-mother an-Athenian

CHABRIAS

I · CHABRIAS

Chabrias invents a defense at Thebes that halts Agesilaus: the men kneel behind their shields with spears thrust forward, a pose later used for statues. He helps Nectanebis in Egypt and Evagoras in Cyprus. Recalled by Athens, he lives abroad when he can, since free cities envy their great men. He dies at Chios in the Social War, refusing to abandon his sinking ship.

1 Chabrias Atheniensis. Hic quoque in summis habitus
Chabrias the-Athenian he also among the-highest held
est ducibus resque multas memoria dignas gessit. Sed ex
was leaders and-things many of-memory worthy he-did but of
iis elucet maxime inventum eius in proelio, quod apud
these shines-out most the-device his in the-battle which at
Thebas fecit, cum Boeotis subsidio venisset. Namque
Thebes he-made when to-the-Boeotians in-aid he-had-come for
in eo victoria fidentem summum ducem Agesilaum, fugatis
in that victory trusting the-highest leader Agesilaus routed
iam ab eo conducticiis catervis, eo frustratus est, quod
already by him the-mercenary bands in-that frustrated he-has that
reliquam phalangem loco vetuit cedere obnixoque
the-remaining phalanx from-its-place he-forbade to-yield and-with-braced
genu scuto, proiecta hasta impetum excipere
knee against-the-shield with-thrust-forward spear the-attack to-receive
hostium docuit. Id novum Agesilaus contuens progredi
of-the-enemy he-taught that new-thing Agesilaus beholding to-advance
non est ausus suosque iam incurrentes tuba revocavit.
not has dared and-his-own already charging by-trumpet recalled
Hoc usque eo tota Graecia fama celebratum est, ut
this up-to that in-all Greece by-fame celebrated was that

illo statu Chabrias sibi statuam fieri voluerit, quae
in-that posture Chabrias for-himself a-statue to-be-made wished which
publice ei ab Atheniensibus in foro constituta est.
publicly for-him by the-Athenians in the-forum set-up was
Ex quo factum est ut postea athletae ceterique artifices
from which done it-was that afterward athletes and-the-other artists
iis statibus in statuis ponendis uterentur, quibus victoriam
those postures in statues to-be-set-up used in-which victory
essent adepti.
they-had obtained
Chabrias autem multa in Europa bella administravit, 2
Chabrias however many in Europe wars managed
cum dux Atheniensium esset; in Aegypto sua sponte
when leader of-the-Athenians he-was in Egypt of-his-own accord
gessit: nam Nectenebin adiutum profectus regnum ei
he-waged for Nectenebis to-help having-set-out the-kingdom for-him
constituit. Fecit idem Cypri, sed publice ab Atheniensibus
he-established he-did the-same in-Cyprus but publicly by the-Athenians
Euagorae adiutor datus, neque prius inde discessit,
to-Evagoras as-helper given nor sooner thence did-he-depart
quam totam insulam bello devinceret: qua ex re
than the-whole island in-war he-subdued which from thing
Athenienses magnam gloriam sunt adepti. Interim bellum
the-Athenians great glory have obtained meanwhile war
inter Aegyptios et Persas conflatum est. Athenienses
between the-Egyptians and the-Persians kindled was the-Athenians
cum Artaxerxe societatem habebant, Lacedaemonii cum
with Artaxerxes an-alliance had the-Lacedaemonians with
Aegyptiis, a quibus magnas praedas Agesilaus, rex
the-Egyptians from whom great booty Agesilaus the-king
eorum, faciebat. Id intuens Chabrias, cum in re
their made that observing Chabrias since in matter

nulla Agesilao cederet, sua sponte eos adiutum
no to-Agesilaus he-yielded of-his-own accord them to-help
profectus Aegyptiae classi praefuit, pedestribus copiis
having-set-out the-Egyptian fleet commanded the-foot forces
Agesilaus.
Agesilaus

3 Tum praefecti regis Persae legatos miserunt Athenas
then the-commanders of-the-king Persian envoys sent to-Athens
questum, quod Chabrias adversum regem bellum gereret cum
to-complain that Chabrias against the-king war was-waging with
Aegyptiis. Athenienses diem certam Chabriae praestituerunt,
the-Egyptians the-Athenians a-day fixed for-Chabrias set
quam ante domum nisi redisset, capitis se illum
which before home unless he-returned on-a-capital-charge themselves him
damnaturos denuntiarunt. Hoc ille nuntio Athenas
to-be-going-to-condemn they-announced on-this he message to-Athens
rediit, neque ibi diutius est moratus, quam fuit necesse.
returned nor there longer has lingered than was necessary
Non enim libenter erat ante oculos suorum civium,
not for gladly was-he before the-eyes of-his-own citizens
quod et vivebat laute et indulgebat sibi liberalius,
because both he-lived lavishly and indulged himself more-freely
quam ut invidiam vulgi posset effugere. Est enim
than that the-envy of-the-crowd he-could escape is for
hoc commune vitium magnis liberisque civitatibus, ut
this a-common vice in-great and-free states that
invidia gloriae comes sit et libenter de iis detrahant,
envy of-glory the-companion is and gladly from those they-detract
quos eminere videant altius, neque animo aequo pauperes
whom to-stand-out they-see higher nor with-mind even the-poor
alienam opulentiam intueantur. Itaque Chabrias, quoad ei
another's wealth behold and-so Chabrias as-long-as to-him

licebat, plurimum aberat. Neque vero solus ille aberat
it-was-allowed mostly was-away nor indeed alone he was-away
Athenis libenter, sed omnes fere principes fecerunt idem,
from-Athens gladly but all almost the-leading-men did the-same
quod tantum se ab invidia putabant afuturos,
because so-far themselves from envy they-thought to-be-going-to-be-away
quantum a conspectu suorum recesserint. Itaque Conon
as-far-as from the-sight of-their-own they-withdrew and-so Conon
plurimum Cypri vixit, Iphicrates in Thraecia, Timotheus
mostly in-Cyprus lived Iphicrates in Thrace Timotheus
Lesbi, Chares Sigei, dissimilis quidem Chares horum et
in-Lesbos Chares at-Sigeum unlike indeed Chares to-these both
factis et moribus, sed tamen Athenis et honoratus et
in-deeds and in-character but yet at-Athens both honored and
potens.
powerful
Chabrias autem periit bello sociali tali modo. Oppugnabant 4
Chabrias however perished in-the-war Social in-such way were-besieging
Athenienses Chium. Erat in classe Chabrias privatus,
the-Athenians Chios was in the-fleet Chabrias a-private-man
sed omnes, qui in magistratu erant, auctoritate anteibat,
but all who in office were in-authority he-surpassed
eumque magis milites quam qui praeerant suspiciebant.
and-him more the-soldiers than those-who were-in-command looked-up-to
Quae res ei maturavit mortem. Nam dum primus
which thing for-him hastened death for while first
studet portum intrare gubernatoremque iubet eo derigere
he-strives the-harbor to-enter and-the-helmsman orders thither to-steer
navem, ipse sibi perniciei fuit: cum enim eo
the-ship he-himself to-himself for-ruin was when for thither
penetrasset, ceterae non sunt secutae. Quo facto circumfusus
he-had-penetrated the-others not have followed which done surrounded

hostium concursu cum fortissime pugnaret, navis rostro
of-the-enemy by-the-onrush when most-bravely he-fought the-ship by-a-beak
percussa coepit sidere. Hinc refugere cum posset, si se
struck began to-sink from-here to-flee-back though he-could if himself
in mare deiecisset, quod suberat classis Atheniensium,
into the-sea he-threw because there-lay-near the-fleet of-the-Athenians
quae exciperet natantes, perire maluit quam armis
which might-pick-up the-swimmers to-perish he-preferred than arms
abiectis navem relinquere, in qua fuerat vectus. Id
having-been-thrown-away the-ship to-abandon in which he-had-been carried that
ceteri facere noluerunt, qui nando in tutum pervenerunt.
the-others to-do were-unwilling who by-swimming to safety came
At ille, praestare honestam mortem existimans turpi
but he to-be-better an-honorable death thinking than-a-shameful
vitae, comminus pugnans telis hostium interfectus
life at-close-quarters fighting by-the-weapons of-the-enemy killed
est.
was

I · TIMOTHEUS

Timotheus, son of Conon, takes Samos without public expense, wins Corcyra, and is honored with a statue beside his father's. Old, he is prosecuted after Chares' failure in a storm, fined a hundred talents, and withdraws to Chalcis; after his death Athens remits nine tenths of the fine but makes his son rebuild part of the wall. On trial in his youth, he is defended even by Jason of Thessaly. His age ends Athens' great commanders; Nepos turns to the ablest barbarian after Hamilcar and Hannibal.

Timotheus, Cononis filius, Atheniensis. Hic a patre 1
Timotheus of-Conon the-son the-Athenian he from his-father
acceptam gloriam multis auxit virtutibus: fuit enim disertus,
received the-glory by-many increased virtues he-was for eloquent
impiger, laboriosus, rei militaris peritus neque minus
energetic hard-working of-the-matter military skilled nor less
civitatis regendae. Multa huius sunt praeclare facta, sed haec
of-the-state to-be-governed many his are splendidly done-deeds but these
maxime illustria. Olynthios et Byzantios bello subegit. Samum
most famous the-Olynthians and the-Byzantines in-war he-subdued Samos
cepit: in quo oppido oppugnando superiore bello Athenienses
he-took in which town to-be-besieged in-the-former war the-Athenians
mille et ducenta talenta consumpserant, id ille sine ulla
a-thousand and two-hundred talents had-spent that he without any
publica impensa populo restituit. Adversus Cotum bella gessit
public expense to-the-people restored against Cotys wars he-waged
ab eoque ducenta talenta praedae in publicum rettulit.
from and-him two-hundred talents of-booty into the-treasury he-brought-back
Cyzicum obsidione liberavit. Ariobarzani simul cum Agesilao
Cyzicus from-siege he-freed to-Ariobarzanes together with Agesilaus

auxilio profectus est, a quo cum Laco pecuniam
for-help set-out he-has from whom when the-Laconian money
numeratam accepisset, ille cives suos agro atque urbibus
counted-out had-received he citizens his with-land and with-cities
augeri maluit quam id sumere, cuius partem domum suam
to-be-enlarged preferred than that to-take of-which a-part home his-own
quisque ferre posset. Itaque accepit Crithoten et Sestum.
each to-carry could and-so he-received Crithote and Sestus

2 Idem classi praefectus circumvehens Peloponnesum,
the-same over-the-fleet set sailing-around the-Peloponnese
Laconicen populatus, classem eorum fugavit Corcyram sub
Laconia having-ravaged the-fleet their he-routed Corcyra under
imperium Atheniensium redegit sociosque dein adiunxit
the-rule of-the-Athenians brought and-as-allies then joined
Epirotas, Athamanas, Chaonas omnesque eas gentes, quae
the-Epirotes the-Athamanians the-Chaonians and-all those nations which
mare illud adiacent. Quo facto Lacedaemonii de diutina
the-sea that lie-along which done the-Lacedaemonians from the-long-lasting
contentione destiterunt et sua sponte Atheniensibus
contest desisted and of-their-own accord to-the-Athenians
imperii maritimi principatum concesserunt, pacemque iis
of-command naval the-leadership conceded and-peace on-these
legibus constituerunt, ut Athenienses mari duces essent.
terms established that the-Athenians by-sea leaders should-be
Quae victoria tantae fuit Atticis laetitiae, ut tum
which victory of-so-great was for-the-Athenians joy that then
primum arae Paci publice sint factae eique deae
for-the-first-time altars to-Peace publicly were made and-for-that goddess
pulvinar sit institutum. Cuius laudis ut memoria maneret,
a-couch was instituted of-which praise that the-memory might-remain
Timotheo publice statuam in foro posuerunt. Qui honos
for-Timotheus publicly a-statue in the-forum they-set-up which honor

huic uni ante id tempus contigit, ut, cum patri populus
to-him alone before that time befell that when to-his-father the-people
statuam posuisset, filio quoque daret. Sic iuxta posita
a-statue had-set-up to-the-son also they-gave thus beside placed
recens filii veterem patris renovavit memoriam.
the-recent of-the-son the-old of-the-father renewed memory
Hic cum esset magno natu et magistratus gerere desisset, 3
he when he-was of-great age and offices to-hold had-ceased
bello Athenienses undique premi sunt coepti. Defecerat
by-war the-Athenians on-all-sides to-be-pressed were begun had-revolted
Samus, descierat Hellespontus, Philippus iam tum valens
Samos had-fallen-away the-Hellespont Philip already then strong
multa moliebatur: cui oppositus Chares cum esset, non
many-things was-attempting to-whom set-against Chares when he-was not
satis in eo praesidii putabatur. Fit Menestheus praetor, filius
enough in him of-protection was-thought is-made Menestheus general the-son
Iphicratis, gener Timothei, et ut ad bellum proficiscatur
of-Iphicrates the-son-in-law of-Timotheus and that to the-war he-should-set-out
decernitur. Huic in consilium dantur viri duo usu
it-is-decreed to-him in counsel are-given men two in-experience
sapientiaque praestantes, pater et socer, quod in his tanta
and-wisdom outstanding his-father and father-in-law because in these so-great
erat auctoritas, ut magna spes esset per eos amissa posse
was authority that great hope was through them the-lost-things to-be-able
recuperari. Ii cum Samum profecti essent et eodem
to-be-recovered they when to-Samos set-out had and to-the-same-place
Chares illorum adventu cognito cum suis copiis proficisceretur,
Chares of-their arrival learned with his forces was-setting-out
ne quid absente se gestum videretur, accidit, cum ad
lest anything absent himself done should-seem it-happened when to
insulam appropinquarent, ut magna tempestas oreretur: quam
the-island they-drew-near that a-great storm arose which

evitare duo veteres imperatores utile arbitrati suam classem
to-avoid the-two old commanders useful judging their fleet
suppresserunt. At ille temeraria usus ratione non cessit
held-back but he rash using reasoning not yielded
maiorum natu auctoritati, velut in sua manu esset fortuna.
of-the-older by-birth to-the-authority as-if in his hand was fortune
Quo contenderat, pervenit, eodemque ut sequerentur, ad
where he-had-been-heading he-arrived and-to-the-same-place that they-should-follow to
Timotheum et Iphicraten nuntium misit. Hinc male re
Timotheus and Iphicrates a-messenger sent hence badly the-matter
gesta, compluribus amissis navibus eo, unde erat profectus,
managed several lost ships thither whence he-had set-out
se recepit litterasque Athenas publice misit, sibi proclive
himself he-withdrew and-a-letter to-Athens publicly sent for-himself easy
fuisse Samum capere, nisi a Timotheo et Iphicrate desertus
to-have-been Samos to-take unless by Timotheus and Iphicrates deserted
esset. Populus acer, suspicax ob eamque rem mobilis,
he-had-been the-people keen suspicious on-account-of and-that thing changeable
adversarius, invidus (etenim potentia in crimen vocabatur)
hostile envious since their-power into accusation was-called
domum revocat: accusantur proditionis. Hoc iudicio damnatur
home recalls they-are-accused of-treason on-this charge is-condemned
Timotheus lisque eius aestimatur centum talentis. Ille
Timotheus and-the-suit his is-assessed at-a-hundred talents he
odio ingratae civitatis exactus Chalcidem se contulit.
by-hatred of-the-ungrateful state driven-out to-Chalcis himself betook
4 Huius post mortem cum populum iudicii sui paeniteret,
of-him after the-death when the-people of-judgment its-own repented
multae novem partes detraxit et decem talenta Cononem,
of-the-fine nine parts it-took-off and ten talents Conon
filium eius, ad muri quandam partem reficiendam iussit
the-son his for of-the-wall a-certain part to-be-rebuilt it-ordered

dare. In quo fortunae varietas est animadversa. Nam quos
to-give in which of-fortune the-changeableness was noticed for which
avus muros ex hostium praeda patriae restituerat,
the-grandfather walls from of-the-enemy the-booty to-his-country had-restored
eosdem nepos cum summa ignominia familiae ex sua
the-same the-grandson with the-greatest disgrace of-the-family from his-own
re familiari reficere coactus est. Timothei autem moderatae
property family to-rebuild forced was of-Timotheus however of-the-moderate
sapientisque vitae cum pleraque possimus proferre testimonia,
and-wise life though very-many we-could bring-forward testimonies
uno erimus contenti, quod ex eo facile conici poterit,
with-one we-shall-be content because from it easily to-be-inferred will-be-able
quam carus suis fuerit. Cum Athenis adulescentulus causam
how dear to-his-own he-was when at-Athens a-young-man a-case
diceret, non solum amici privatique hospites ad eum
he-was-pleading not only friends and-private guest-friends to him
defendendum convenerunt, sed etiam in eis Iason, tyrannus
to-be-defended came but also among them Jason the-tyrant
Thessaliae, qui illo tempore fuit omnium potentissimus.
of-Thessaly who at-that time was of-all the-most-powerful
Hic cum in patria sine satellitibus se tutum non
he though in his-country without attendants himself safe not
arbitraretur, Athenas sine ullo praesidio venit tantique
he-thought to-Athens without any guard came and-of-such-account
hospitem fecit, ut mallet se capitis periculum adire
his-host he-made that he-preferred himself of-the-head the-danger to-incur
quam Timotheo de fama dimicanti deesse. Hunc adversus
than to-Timotheus for reputation fighting to-be-lacking him against
tamen Timotheus postea populi iussu bellum gessit:
however Timotheus afterward by-the-people's order war waged
patriae enim sanctiora iura quam hospitii esse duxit.
of-country for more-sacred the-rights than of-guest-friendship to-be he-held

Haec extrema fuit aetas imperatorum Atheniensium, Iphicratis,
this the-last was the-age of-the-commanders Athenian of-Iphicrates
Chabriae, Timothei, neque post illorum obitum quisquam
of-Chabrias of-Timotheus nor after their death any
dux in illa urbe fuit dignus memoria.
leader in that city was worthy of-memory
Venio nunc ad fortissimum virum maximique consilii
I-come now to a-most-brave man and-of-the-greatest counsel
omnium barbarorum, exceptis duobus Karthaginiensibus,
of-all the-barbarians excepted two Carthaginians
Hamilcare et Hannibale. De quo hoc plura referemus,
Hamilcar and Hannibal about whom by-this more-things we-shall-relate
quod et obscuriora sunt eius gesta pleraque et ea,
because both more-obscure are his deeds most and those-things
quae prospere ei cesserunt, non magnitudine copiarum,
which successfully for-him turned-out not by-the-greatness of-forces
sed consilii, quo tum omnes superabat, acciderunt: quorum
but of-counsel in-which then all he-surpassed happened of-which
nisi ratio explicata fuerit, res apparere non poterunt.
unless the-reason explained shall-have-been the-things to-be-clear not will-be-able

DATAMES

I · DATAMES AND THUYS

Datames, son of a Carian father and a Scythian mother, serves in Artaxerxes' guard, distinguishes himself against the Cadusians, and succeeds his father as governor. Sent against his kinsman Thuys of Paphlagonia, who tries to kill him, he captures him, dresses him in royal finery, and drives him bound to the king like a captured beast, while he himself wears a hunter's garb. The king is delighted and gives him a command equal to Pharnabazus' and Tithraustes', and later the supreme command.

Datames, patre Camisare, natione Care, matre Scythissa 1
Datames with-father Camisares by-nation a-Carian with-mother a-Scythian
natus, primum militum in numero fuit apud Artaxerxen
born first of-soldiers in the-number was with Artaxerxes
eorum, qui regiam tuebantur. Pater eius Camisares, quod
of-those who the-palace guarded the-father his Camisares because
et manu fortis et bello strenuus et regi multis locis
both in-hand brave and in-war vigorous and to-the-king in-many places
fidelis erat repertus, habuit provinciam partem Ciliciae iuxta
loyal was found held as-province part of-Cilicia next-to
Cappadociam, quam incolunt Leucosyri. Datames militare
Cappadocia which inhabit the-White-Syrians Datames military
munus fungens primum, qualis esset, aperuit in bello, quod
service performing first what-sort he-was revealed in the-war which
rex adversus Cadusios gessit. Namque hic magni fuit
the-king against the-Cadusians waged for here of-great-value was
eius opera. Quo factum est, cum in eo bello cecidisset
his work by-which done it-was when in that war had-fallen
Camisares, ut paterna ei traderetur provincia.
Camisares that his-father's to-him was-handed-over province

2 Pari se virtute postea praebuit, cum Autophrodates
with-equal himself valor afterward showed when Autophrodates
iussu regis bello persequeretur eos qui defecerant. Namque
by-order of-the-king in-war was-pursuing those who had-revolted for
huius opera hostes, cum castra iam intrassent, multis
by-his work the-enemy when the-camp already had-entered many
milibus regiorum interfectis profligati sunt exercitusque
thousands of-the-king's-men having-been-killed routed were and-the-army
reliquus conservatus regis est: qua ex re maioribus rebus
remaining of-the-king saved was which from thing over-greater affairs
praeesse coepit. Erat eo tempore Thuys dynastes
to-be-in-charge he-began there-was at-that time Thuys ruler
Paphlagoniae, antiquo genere, ortus a Pylaemene illo,
of-Paphlagonia of-ancient family sprung from Pylaemenes that-one
quem Homerus Troico bello a Patroclo interfectum ait. Is
whom Homer in-the-Trojan war by Patroclus killed says he
regi dicto audiens non erat. Quam ob causam
to-the-king to-the-word obedient not was which on-account-of reason
bello eum persequi constituit eique rei praefecit
with-war him to-pursue he-decided and-over-that matter he-put-in-charge
Datamen, propinquum Paphlagonis: namque ex fratre et
Datames a-relative of-the-Paphlagonian for from a-brother and
sorore erant nati. Quam ob causam Datames primum
a-sister they-were born which on-account-of reason Datames first
experiri voluit, ut sine armis propinquum ad officium
to-try wished that without arms his-relative to duty
reduceret. Ad quem cum venisset sine praesidio, quod
he-might-bring-back to whom when he-had-come without a-guard because
ab amico nullas vereretur insidias, paene interiit: nam Thuys
from a-friend no he-feared plot almost he-perished for Thuys
eum clam interficere voluit. Erat mater cum Datame,
him secretly to-kill wished there-was the-mother with Datames

amita Paphlagonis. Ea quid ageretur resciit filiumque
the-aunt of-the-Paphlagonian she what was-being-done found-out and-her-son
monuit. Ille fuga periculum evitavit bellumque indixit
warned he by-flight the-danger avoided and-war declared
Thuyni. In quo cum ab Ariobarzane, praefecto Lydiae et
on-Thuys in which when by Ariobarzanes commander of-Lydia and
Ioniae totiusque Phrygiae, desertus esset, nihilo segnius
Ionia and-of-all Phrygia deserted he-had-been by-nothing less-energetically
perseveravit vivumque Thuyn cepit cum uxore et liberis.
he-persevered and-alive Thuys took with his-wife and children
Cuius facti ne prius fama ad regem quam ipse perveniret, 3
of-which deed lest before the-report to the-king than he-himself should-arrive
dedit operam. Itaque omnibus insciis eo, ubi erat rex,
he-gave effort and-so all unaware thither where was the-king
venit posteroque die Thuyn, hominem maximi corporis
he-came and-on-the-next day Thuys a-man of-very-great body
terribilique facie, quod et niger et capillo longo barbaque
and-of-terrible face because both swarthy and with-hair long and-beard
erat promissa, optima veste texit, quam satrapae regii
was let-grow with-the-best clothing he-covered which the-satraps royal
gerere consuerant, ornavit etiam torque atque armillis
to-wear were-accustomed he-adorned also with-a-collar and with-armlets
aureis ceteroque regio cultu; ipse agresti duplici
golden and-with-the-other royal dress he-himself in-a-rustic double
amiculo circumdatus hirtaque tunica, gerens in capite galeam
cloak wrapped and-a-shaggy tunic wearing on his-head a-helmet
venatoriam, dextra manu clavam, sinistra copulam, ita vinctum
hunting in-right hand a-club in-left a-leash so bound
ante se Thuynem agebat, ut si feram bestiam captam
before himself Thuys he-drove as if a-wild beast captured
duceret. Quae cum omnes aspicerent propter novitatem
he-were-leading which-things when all beheld because-of the-novelty

ornatus ignotamque formam ob eamque rem magnus
of-the-attire and-the-unknown figure on-account-of and-that thing great
esset concursus, fuit nonnemo qui agnosceret Thuyn
was the-crowding there-was someone who recognized Thuys
regique nuntiaret. Primo non accredidit itaque Pharnabazum
and-to-the-king reported at-first not he-believed and-so Pharnabazus
misit exploratum. A quo ut rem gestam comperit, statim
he-sent to-investigate from whom when the-thing done he-learned at-once
admitti iussit, magno opere delectatus cum facto
to-be-admitted he-ordered great by-effort delighted both by-the-deed
tum ornatu, inprimis quod nobilis rex in potestatem
and by-the-attire especially that a-noble king into his-power
inopinanti venerat. Itaque magnifice Datamen donatum ad
to-him-unexpecting had-come and-so magnificently Datames presented to
exercitum misit, qui tum contrahebatur duce Pharnabazo
the-army he-sent which then was-being-gathered with-leader Pharnabazus
et Tithrauste ad bellum Aegyptium, parique eum atque
and Tithraustes for the-war Egyptian and-equal him and
illos imperio esse iussit. Postea vero quam Pharnabazum
them in-command to-be he-ordered afterward indeed when Pharnabazus
rex revocavit, illi summa imperii tradita est.
the-king recalled to-him the-supreme of-command handed-over was

Datames captures the rebel Aspis of Cataonia. Warned that the courtiers envy him and that a setback in Egypt would ruin him, he resolves to revolt, but hands the army to Mandrocles first, then seizes Cappadocia and Paphlagonia and secretly allies with Ariobarzanes.

Hic cum maximo studio compararet exercitum Aegyptumque 4
he when with-the-greatest zeal he-was-preparing the-army and-to-Egypt
proficisci pararet, subito a rege litterae sunt ei
to-set-out was-getting-ready suddenly from the-king a-letter was to-him
missae, ut Aspim aggrederetur, qui Cataoniam tenebat: quae
sent that Aspis he-should-attack who Cataonia held which
gens iacet supra Ciliciam, confinis Cappadociae. Namque
people lies above Cilicia bordering on-Cappadocia for
Aspis, saltuosam regionem castellisque munitam incolens, non
Aspis a-wooded region and-with-forts fortified inhabiting not
solum imperio regis non parebat, sed etiam finitimas
only to-the-rule of-the-king not did-he-submit but also the-neighboring
regiones vexabat et quae regi portarentur abripiebat.
regions he-harassed and what to-the-king was-being-carried he-carried-off
Datames etsi longe aberat ab iis regionibus et a
Datames although far he-was-away from those regions and from
maiore re abstrahebatur, tamen regis voluntati morem
a-greater matter was-being-drawn-away yet to-the-king's wish compliance
gerendum putavit. Itaque cum paucis, sed viris fortibus navem
to-be-shown he-thought and-so with a-few but men brave a-ship
conscendit, existimans, quod accidit, facilius se imprudentem
he-boarded thinking what happened more-easily himself unaware
parva manu oppressurum quam paratum quamvis magno
with-a-small band to-be-going-to-crush than prepared though with-a-great

exercitu. Hac delatus in Ciliciam, egressus inde,
army by-this carried-down to Cilicia having-disembarked thence
dies noctesque iter faciens Taurum transit eoque quo
days and-nights a-march making the-Taurus he-crosses and-to-that where
studuerat venit. Quaerit quibus locis sit Aspis: cognoscit
he-had-been-eager he-comes he-asks in-what places is Aspis he-learns
haud longe abesse profectumque tum venatum. Quem dum
not far to-be-away and-to-have-set-out then to-hunt whom while
speculatur, adventus eius causa cognoscitur. Pisidas cum
he-is-watching of-arrival his the-cause is-learned the-Pisidians with
iis, quos secum habebat, ad resistendum Aspis comparat.
those whom with-himself he-had for resisting Aspis prepares
Id Datames ubi audivit, arma sumit, suos sequi iubet;
that Datames when he-heard arms he-takes his-own to-follow he-orders
ipse equo concitato ad hostem vehitur. Quem procul
he-himself with-horse spurred to the-enemy is-carried whom from-afar
Aspis conspiciens ad se ferentem pertimescit atque a
Aspis seeing at himself rushing is-terrified and from
conatu resistendi deterritus sese dedidit. Hunc Datames
the-attempt of-resisting deterred himself surrendered him Datames
vinctum ad regem ducendum tradit Mithridati.
bound to the-king to-be-led he-hands-over to-Mithridates
Haec dum geruntur, Artaxerxes reminiscens, a quanto
these-things while are-being-done Artaxerxes remembering from how-great
bello ad quam parvam rem principem ducum misisset,
a-war to how small a-matter the-first of-leaders he-had-sent
se ipse reprehendit et nuntium ad exercitum Acen
himself he-himself blamed and a-messenger to the-army to-Ace
misit, quod nondum Datamen profectum putabat, qui
sent because not-yet Datames set-out he-thought who
diceret, ne ab exercitu discederet. Hic priusquam perveniret,
should-say not from the-army he-should-depart he before he-arrived

quo erat profectus, in itinere convenit, qui Aspim
where he-had set-out on the-road met those-who Aspis
ducebant. Qua celeritate cum magnam benivolentiam regis
were-leading by-which speed when great goodwill of-the-king
Datames consecutus esset, non minorem invidiam aulicorum
Datames gained had not less envy of-the-courtiers
excepit, quod illum unum pluris quam se omnes
he-received because him alone of-more-worth than themselves all
fieri videbant. Quo facto cuncti ad eum opprimendum
to-be-made they-saw which done all to him to-be-crushed
consenserunt. Haec Pandantes, gazae custos regiae,
agreed these-things Pandantes of-the-treasury the-keeper royal
amicus Datami, perscripta ei mittit, in quibus docet eum
a-friend to-Datames written-out to-him sends in which he-shows him
in magno fore periculo, si quid illo imperante adversi
in great to-be-going-to-be danger if anything him commanding of-adversity
in Aegypto accidisset. Namque eam esse consuetudinem
in Egypt should-happen for that to-be the-custom
regiam, ut casus adversos hominibus tribuant, secundos
royal that misfortunes adverse to-men they-attribute favorable
fortunae suae: quo fieri ut facile impellantur ad eorum
to-fortune their-own by-which to-happen that easily they-are-driven to of-those
perniciem, quorum ductu res male gestae nuntientur. Illum
the-ruin under-whose leadership things badly done are-reported he
hoc maiore fore in discrimine, quod, quibus rex
by-this greater to-be-going-to-be in danger because those-whom the-king
maxime oboediat, eos habeat inimicissimos. Talibus ille litteris
most obeys them he-has most-hostile such he letter
cognitis, cum iam ad exercitum Acen venisset, quod
having-been-learned when already to the-army to-Ace he-had-come because
non ignorabat ea vere scripta, desciscere a rege
not he-was-ignorant those-things truly written to-revolt from the-king

constituit. Neque tamen quicquam fecit, quod fide sua esset
he-decided nor however anything did-he which of-loyalty his was
indignum. Nam Mandroclem Magnetem exercitui praefecit;
unworthy for Mandrocles of-Magnesia over-the-army he-put
ipse cum suis in Cappadociam discedit coniunctamque
he-himself with his-own into Cappadocia departs and-joined
huic Paphlagoniam occupat, celans, qua voluntate esset
to-this Paphlagonia seizes hiding with-what will he-was
in regem. Clam cum Ariobarzane facit amicitiam, manum
toward the-king secretly with Ariobarzanes makes friendship a-band
comparat, urbes munitas suis tuendas tradit.
prepares the-cities fortified to-his-own to-be-guarded hands-over

III · VICTORIES BY STRATAGEM

Datames' son falls against the Pisidians. When his father-in-law Mithrobarzanes deserts, Datames gives out that he went on his orders as a pretended deserter and follows with the army, so that the Pisidians think the deserters a plant and kill them, and Datames routs them. Betrayed by his son Sisinas, he fails to seize the Cilician Gates, picks a position where he cannot be surrounded, and defeats the huge army of Autophrodates, who then urges him to make peace; Datames agrees to send envoys.

6 Sed haec propter hiemale tempus minus prospere
but these-things because-of the-winter time less successfully
procedebant. Audit Pisidas quosdam copias adversus se
went-forward he-hears the-Pisidians certain forces against himself
parare. Filium eo Arsidaeum cum exercitu mittit; cadit in
to-prepare his-son thither Arsidaeus with an-army he-sends falls in
proelio adulescens. Proficiscitur eo pater non ita magna cum
battle the-young-man sets-out thither the-father not so great with
manu, celans, quantum vulnus accepisset, quod prius ad hostem
a-band hiding how-great a-wound he-had-received because sooner to the-enemy

pervenire cupiebat, quam de male re gesta fama ad
to-arrive he-desired than about badly the-matter done the-report to
suos perveniret, ne cognita filii morte animi debilitarentur
his-own should-arrive lest learned of-his-son the-death the-spirits should-be-weakened
militum. Quo contenderat, pervenit iisque locis castra
of-the-soldiers where he-had-been-heading he-arrived and-in-such places camp
ponit, ut neque circumiri multitudine adversariorum posset
pitches that neither to-be-surrounded by-the-multitude of-the-opponents he-could
neque impediri, quominus ipse ad dimicandum manum
nor to-be-hindered from himself for fighting a-band
haberet expeditam. Erat cum eo Mithrobarzanes, socer
having ready there-was with him Mithrobarzanes the-father-in-law
eius, praefectus equitum. Is desperatis generi rebus ad
his commander of-the-cavalry he despaired-of of-his-son-in-law's affairs to
hostes transfugit. Id Datames ut audivit, sensit, si in
the-enemy deserted that Datames when he-heard he-perceived if into
turbam exisset ab homine tam necessario se relictum,
the-crowd it-had-gone-out by a-man so closely-related himself abandoned
futurum ut ceteri idem consilium sequerentur; itaque
to-be-going-to-be so-that the-others the-same plan would-follow and-so
in vulgus edit suo iussu Mithrobarzanem profectum
to the-crowd he-gives-out by-his order Mithrobarzanes set-out
pro perfuga, quo facilius receptus interficeret hostes: quare
as a-deserter so-that more-easily received he-might-kill the-enemy wherefore
relinqui eum par non esse et omnes confestim sequi.
to-be-abandoned him right not to-be and all at-once to-follow
Quod si animo strenuo fecissent, futurum ut
which if with-spirit vigorous they-should-have-done to-be-going-to-be that
adversarii non possent resistere, cum et intra vallum et
the-opponents not could resist since both within the-rampart and
foris caederentur. Hac re probata exercitum educit,
outside they-would-be-cut-down this thing approved the-army he-leads-out

Mithrobarzanem persequitur, qui tantum quod ad hostes
Mithrobarzanes pursues who just when to the-enemy
pervenerat, cum Datames signa inferri iubet. Pisidae
he-had-arrived when Datames the-standards to-be-advanced orders the-Pisidians
nova re commoti in opinionem adducuntur perfugas mala
by-the-new thing disturbed into the-belief are-brought the-deserters in-bad
fide compositoque fecisse, ut recepti maiori essent
faith and-by-arrangement to-have-acted that received to-a-greater they-might-be
calamitati. Primum eos adoriuntur. Illi cum, quid ageretur
disaster first them they-attack they when what was-being-done
aut quare fieret, ignorarent, coacti sunt cum iis pugnare,
or why it-was-done they-did-not-know forced were with those to-fight
ad quos transierant, ab iisque stare, quos reliquerant: quibus
to whom they-had-gone-over with and-those to-stand whom they-had-left whom
cum neutri parcerent, celeriter sunt concisi. Reliquos Pisidas
since neither spared quickly they-were cut-down the-remaining Pisidians
resistentes Datames invadit: primo impetu pellit, fugientes
resisting Datames attacks at-the-first assault drives the-fleeing
persequitur, multos interficit, castra hostium capit. Tali
pursues many kills the-camp of-the-enemy takes by-such
consilio uno tempore et proditores perculit et hostes
a-plan at-one time both the-traitors he-struck-down and the-enemy
profligavit, et, quod ad perniciem suam fuerat cogitatum,
routed and what for ruin his had-been planned
id ad salutem convertit. Quo neque acutius ullius
that to safety turned than-which neither more-acutely of-any
imperatoris cogitatum neque celerius factum usquam legimus.
commander planned nor more-swiftly done anywhere we-read

7 Ab hoc tamen viro Sisinas, maximo natu filius, desciit ad
from this however man Sisinas the-greatest by-birth his-son revolted to
regemque transiit et de defectione patris detulit. Quo
and-the-king crossed and about the-defection of-his-father reported by-which

nuntio Artaxerxes commotus, quod intellegebat sibi cum
message Artaxerxes moved because he-understood to-himself with
viro forti ac strenuo negotium esse, qui et prius cogitare
a-man brave and vigorous business to-be who both before to-think
quam conari consuesset et, cum cogitasset, facere auderet,
than to-attempt was-accustomed and when he-had-thought to-do dared
Autophrodatem in Cappadociam mittit. Hic ne intrare
Autophrodates into Cappadocia sends he lest to-enter
posset, saltum, in quo Ciliciae portae sunt sitae, Datames
he-could the-pass in which of-Cilicia the-gates are situated Datames
praeoccupare studuit. Sed tam subito copias contrahere
to-seize-first strove but so suddenly forces to-gather
non potuit. A qua re depulsus cum ea manu, quam
not he-could from which thing driven with that band which
contraxerat, locum delegit talem, ut neque circumiretur
he-had-gathered a-place he-chose such that neither he-might-be-surrounded
ab hostibus neque praeteriret adversarius, quin ancipitibus
by the-enemy nor might-pass-by the-opponent but-that on-both-sides
locis premeretur, et, si dimicare vellet, non multum
in-places he-would-be-pressed and if to-fight he-wished not much
obesse multitudo hostium suae paucitati posset.
to-harm the-multitude of-the-enemy his-own to-fewness could
Haec etsi Autophrodates videbat, tamen statim maluit 8
these-things although Autophrodates saw yet at-once he-preferred
congredi quam cum tantis copiis refugere aut tam diu uno
to-engage than with so-great forces to-retreat or so long in-one
loco sedere. Habebat barbarorum equitum viginti, peditum
place to-sit he-had of-barbarians of-horse twenty of-foot
centum milia, quos illi Cardacas appellant, eiusdemque
a-hundred thousand whom they Cardaces call and-of-the-same
generis tria milia funditorum, praeterea Cappadocum octo
kind three thousand of-slingers besides of-Cappadocians eight

milia, Armeniorum decem milia, Paphlagonum quinque milia,
thousand of-Armenians ten thousand of-Paphlagonians five thousand
Phrygum decem milia, Lydorum quinque milia, Aspendiorum
of-Phrygians ten thousand of-Lydians five thousand of-Aspendians
et Pisidarum circiter tria milia, Cilicum duo milia,
and of-Pisidians about three thousand of-Cilicians two thousand
Captianorum totidem, ex Graecia conductorum tria milia,
of-Captianians as-many from Greece of-hired-men three thousand
levis armaturae maximum numerum. Has adversus copias
of-light armament the-greatest number these against forces
spes omnis consistebat Datami in se locique natura
hope all rested for-Datames in himself and-of-the-place the-nature
(namque huius partem non habebat vicesimam militum).
for of-this a-part not he-had the-twentieth of-soldiers
Quibus fretus conflixit adversariorumque multa milia concidit,
on-whom relying he-engaged and-of-the-opponents many thousands cut-down
cum de ipsius exercitu non amplius hominum mille
while of his-own army not more of-men than-a-thousand
cecidisset. Quam ob causam postero die tropaeum
had-fallen which on-account-of reason on-the-next day a-trophy
posuit, quo loco pridie pugnatum erat. Hinc cum
he-set-up in-which place the-day-before fought it-had-been hence when
castra movisset semperque inferior copiis superior omnibus
the-camp he-had-moved and-always inferior in-forces superior in-all
proeliis discederet, quod numquam manum consereret, nisi
battles came-off because never a-hand he-joined except
cum adversarios locorum angustiis clausisset, quod perito
when the-opponents of-places in-the-narrows he-had-shut-in which to-one-skilled
regionum callideque cogitanti saepe accidebat, Autophrodates,
of-regions and-cleverly thinking often happened Autophrodates
cum bellum duci maiore regis calamitate quam
when the-war to-be-drawn-out with-greater of-the-king disaster than

adversariorum videret, pacem amicitiamque pristinam memorans
of-the-opponents he-saw peace and-friendship former recalling
eum hortatus est, ut cum rege in gratiam rediret. Quam
him urged has that with the-king into favor he-should-return which
ille etsi fidam non fore putabat, tamen condicionem
he although faithful not to-be-going-to-be he-thought yet the-condition
accepit seque ad Artaxerxem legatos missurum dixit. Sic
accepted and-himself to Artaxerxes envoys to-be-going-to-send said thus
bellum, quod rex adversus Datamen susceperat, sedatum
the-war which the-king against Datames had-undertaken calmed
est. Autophrodates in Phrygiam se recepit.
was Autophrodates into Phrygia himself withdrew

IV · DEATH BY TREACHERY

The king seeks to kill Datames by plots. Datames dresses another man in his clothes and so escapes an ambush, and his guards kill the plotters. At last Mithridates, son of Ariobarzanes, pretends to revolt, wins his trust by gifts and forts, and after a conference calls him back and stabs him from behind with a sword buried there in advance.

At rex, quod implacabile odium in Datamen susceperat, 9
but the-king because implacable hatred toward Datames he-had-conceived
postquam bello eum opprimi non posse animadvertit, insidiis
after by-war him to-be-crushed not to-be-able he-noticed by-plots
interficere studuit: quas ille plerasque evitavit. Sicut, cum ei
to-kill strove which he most avoided just-as when to-him
nuntiatum esset quosdam sibi insidiari, qui in amicorum
announced it-had-been certain-men against-him to-be-plotting who in of-friends
erant numero (de quibus, quod inimici detulerant, neque
were the-number about whom because enemies had-reported neither

credendum neque neglegendum putavit), experiri voluit, verum
to-be-believed nor to-be-neglected he-thought to-test he-wished true
falsumne sibi esset relatum. Itaque eo profectus est,
or-false to-himself had-been reported and-so thither set-out he-has
in quo itinere futuras insidias dixerant. Sed elegit
on which road to-be-going-to-be the-ambush they-had-said but he-chose-(a-man)
corpore ac statura simillimum sui eique vestitum suum
in-body and stature most-like to-himself and-to-him clothing his
dedit atque eo loco ire, quo ipse consuerat, iussit;
gave and in-that place to-go where he-himself was-accustomed ordered
ipse autem ornatu vestituque militari inter corporis
he-himself however in-the-attire and-dress military among of-the-body
custodes iter facere coepit. At insidiatores, postquam in eum
the-guards march to-make began but the-plotters after into that
quem insederant locum agmen pervenit, decepti ordine
which they-had-occupied place the-column came deceived by-the-position
atque vestitu impetum in eum faciunt, qui suppositus
and by-the-dress an-attack upon him make who substituted
erat. Praedixerat autem iis Datames, cum quibus iter
had-been had-instructed however those Datames with whom the-march
faciebat, ut parati essent facere, quod ipsum vidissent.
he-was-making that ready they-should-be to-do what himself they-saw
Ipse, ut concurrentes insidiatores animum advertit, tela
he-himself when charging the-plotters his-mind turned weapons
in eos coniecit. Hoc idem cum universi fecissent, priusquam
at them hurled this same when all had-done before
pervenirent ad eum quem aggredi volebant, confixi conciderunt.
they-reached to him whom to-attack they-wished pierced they-fell
10 Hic tamen tam callidus vir extremo tempore captus est
he however so clever a-man at-the-last time caught was
Mithridatis, Ariobarzanis filii, dolo. Namque is pollicitus
of-Mithridates of-Ariobarzanes of-the-son by-the-trick for he promised

est regi se eum interfecturum, si rex permitteret,
has to-the-king himself him to-be-going-to-kill if the-king allowed
ut quodcumque vellet liceret impune facere,
that whatever he-wished it-should-be-allowed with-impunity to-do
fidemque de ea re more Persarum dextra
and-pledge about that thing in-the-manner of-the-Persians with-the-right-hand
dedisset. Hanc ut accepit a rege missam, copias parat
he-had-given this when he-received from the-king sent forces he-prepares
et absens amicitiam cum Datame facit, regis provincias
and absent friendship with Datames makes the-king's provinces
vexat, castella expugnat, magnas praedas capit, quarum
harries forts storms great booty takes of-which
partim suis dispertit, partim ad Datamen mittit; pari
partly to-his-own he-distributes partly to Datames sends in-equal
modo complura castella ei tradit. Haec diu faciendo
manner several forts to-him hands-over these-things long by-doing
persuasit homini se infinitum adversus regem suscepisse
he-persuaded the-man himself endless against the-king to-have-undertaken
bellum, cum nihilo magis, ne quam suspicionem illi
war while none more lest any suspicion to-him
praeberet insidiarum, neque colloquium eius petivit neque
he-should-offer of-a-plot neither a-conference his did-he-seek nor
in conspectum venire studuit. Sic absens amicitiam gerebat,
into his-sight to-come strove thus absent friendship he-conducted
ut non beneficiis mutuis, sed communi odio, quod erga
that not by-kindnesses mutual but by-common hatred which toward
regem susceperant, contineri viderentur.
the-king they-had-conceived to-be-held they-seemed
Id cum satis se confirmasse arbitratus esset, certiorem 11
that when enough himself to-have-confirmed thought he-had more-certain
facit Datamen, tempus esse maiores res parari et
makes Datames the-time to-be greater things to-be-prepared and

bellum cum ipso rege suscipi, deque ea re, si
war with the-king himself to-be-undertaken and-about that matter if
ei videretur, quo loco vellet, in colloquium veniret.
to-him it-seemed in-what place he-wished into conference he-should-come
Probata re colloquendi tempus sumitur locusque, quo
approved the-matter of-conferring the-time is-taken and-the-place where
conveniretur. Huc Mithridates cum uno, cui maxime
they-should-meet hither Mithridates with one in-whom most
habebat fidem, ante aliquot dies venit compluribusque locis
he-had trust before several days comes and-in-several places
separatim gladios obruit eaque loca diligenter notat. Ipso
separately swords he-buries and-those places carefully marks on-the-very
autem colloquii die utrique, locum qui explorarent
however of-the-conference day both a-place those-who should-search
atque ipsos scrutarentur, mittunt; deinde ipsi sunt
and themselves should-examine send then they-themselves have
congressi. Hic cum aliquamdiu in colloquio fuissent et
met here when for-some-time in conference they-had-been and
diversi discessissent iamque procul Datames abesset,
in-different-directions had-departed and-now far-off Datames was-away
Mithridates, priusquam ad suos perveniret, ne quam
Mithridates before to his-own he-reached lest any
suspicionem pareret, in eundem locum revertitur atque
suspicion he-should-arouse to the-same place returns and
ibi, ubi telum erat infossum, resedit, ut si lassitudine
there where the-weapon was buried sat-down as if from-weariness
cuperet acquiescere, Datamenque revocavit, simulans se
he-desired to-rest and-Datames recalled pretending himself
quiddam in colloquio esse oblitum. Interim telum, quod
something in the-conference to-be forgotten meanwhile the-weapon which
latebat, protulit nudatumque vagina veste texit ac
lay-hidden he-brought-out and-bared of-its-sheath with-his-garment covered and

Datami venienti ait, digredientem se animadvertisse locum
to-Datames coming says departing himself to-have-noticed a-place
quendam, qui erat in conspectu, ad castra ponenda esse
a-certain which was in sight for camp to-be-pitched to-be
idoneum. Quem cum digito demonstraret et ille respiceret,
suitable which when with-his-finger he-pointed-out and he looked-back
aversum ferro transfixit priusque, quam quisquam
turned-away with-the-sword he-pierced and-before than anyone
posset succurrere, interfecit. Ita ille vir, qui multos consilio,
could help he-killed-him thus that man who many by-counsel
neminem perfidia ceperat, simulata captus est amicitia.
no-one by-treachery had-taken by-feigned taken was friendship

EPAMINONDAS

I · EDUCATION AND CHARACTER

Before writing of Epaminondas, Nepos warns Roman readers not to judge Greek customs by their own: music and dancing are honored in Greece. Epaminondas is born poor; he learns the lyre, singing, the pipes, and dancing from Dionysius, Olympiodorus, and Calliphron, philosophy from Lysis the Pythagorean, and trains for speed and arms. He is modest, wise, truthful, patient, and generous, giving through his friends to those in need.

1 Epaminondas, Polymnii filius, Thebanus. De hoc priusquam
Epaminondas of-Polymnis the-son the-Theban about this-man before
scribimus, haec praecipienda videntur lectoribus, ne alienos
we-write these-things to-be-said-first seem to-the-readers lest others'
mores ad suos referant, neve ea, quae ipsis leviora
customs to their-own they-refer nor those-things which to-themselves lighter
sunt, pari modo apud ceteros fuisse arbitrentur. Scimus
are in-equal manner among the-others to-have-been they-think we-know
enim musicen nostris moribus abesse a principis
for music by-our customs to-be-absent from of-a-leading-man
persona, saltare vero etiam in vitiis poni: quae omnia
the-character to-dance indeed even among vices to-be-placed which all-things
apud Graecos et grata et laude digna ducuntur. Cum
among the-Greeks both pleasing and of-praise worthy are-held since
autem exprimere imaginem consuetudinis atque vitae
however to-express the-image of-the-habit and of-the-life
velimus Epaminondae, nihil videmur debere praetermittere,
we-wish of-Epaminondas nothing we-seem to-be-obliged to-pass-over
quod pertineat ad eam declarandam. Quare dicemus primum
which pertains to it to-be-made-clear wherefore we-shall-speak first
de genere eius, deinde quibus disciplinis et a quibus
about the-family his then in-what disciplines and by whom

sit eruditus, tum de moribus ingeniique facultatibus et
he-was educated then about the-character and-of-the-mind the-faculties and
si qua alia memoria digna erunt, postremo de rebus
if any other-things of-memory worthy shall-be lastly about the-deeds
gestis, quae a plurimis animi anteponuntur virtutibus.
done which by most to-the-mind's are-preferred virtues
Natus igitur patre, quo diximus, genere honesto, pauper 2
born therefore with-the-father whom we-have-named of-family honorable poor
iam a maioribus relictus est, eruditus autem sic ut nemo
already by his-ancestors left he-was educated however so that no
Thebanus magis. Nam et citharizare et cantare ad chordarum
Theban more for both to-play-the-lyre and to-sing to of-the-strings
sonum doctus est a Dionysio, qui non minore fuit in musicis
the-sound taught he-was by Dionysius who not less was in music
gloria quam Damon aut Lamprus, quorum pervulgata sunt
in-glory than Damon or Lamprus whose well-known are
nomina, cantare tibiis ab Olympiodoro, saltare a Calliphrone.
the-names to-play on-the-pipes by Olympiodorus to-dance by Calliphron
At philosophiae praeceptorem habuit Lysim Tarentinum,
but of-philosophy as-teacher he-had Lysis of-Tarentum
Pythagoreum: cui quidem sic fuit deditus, ut adulescens
the-Pythagorean to-whom indeed so he-was devoted that a-young-man
tristem ac severum senem omnibus aequalibus suis in
a-gloomy and stern old-man to-all coevals his in
familiaritate anteposuerit; neque prius eum a se dimisit,
intimacy he-preferred nor sooner him from himself did-he-dismiss
quam in doctrinis tanto antecessit condiscipulos, ut facile
than in learning so-far he-surpassed his-fellow-pupils that easily
intellegi posset pari modo superaturum omnes in ceteris
to-be-understood it-could in-equal manner to-be-going-to-surpass all in the-other
artibus. Atque haec ad nostram consuetudinem sunt levia
arts and these-things to our custom are light

et potius contemnenda; at in Graecia, utique olim, magnae
and rather to-be-despised but in Greece certainly once of-great
laudi erant. Postquam ephebus est factus et palaestrae
praise were after an-ephebe he-was made and to-the-wrestling-school
dare operam coepit, non tam magnitudini virium servivit
to-give effort began not so-much to-the-greatness of-strength he-attended
quam velocitati: illam enim ad athletarum usum, hanc ad belli
as to-speed that for to of-athletes the-use this to of-war
existimabat pertinere. Itaque exercebatur plurimum currendo
he-thought to-pertain and-so he-trained most in-running
et luctando ad eum finem, quoad stans complecti posset
and in-wrestling to that end as-far-as standing to-grapple he-could
atque contendere. In armis vero plurimum studii consumebat.
and to-strive in arms however most of-zeal he-spent
3 Ad hanc corporis firmitatem plura etiam animi bona
to this of-body strength more even of-mind goods
accesserant. Erat enim modestus, prudens, gravis, temporibus
had-been-added he-was for modest prudent grave the-times
sapienter utens, peritus belli, fortis manu, animo maximo,
wisely using skilled of-war brave in-hand of-spirit greatest
adeo veritatis diligens, ut ne ioco quidem mentiretur. Idem
so of-truth careful that not in-jest even he-lied the-same
continens, clemens patiensque admirandum in modum, non
self-controlled merciful and-patient wonderful in manner not
solum populi, sed etiam amicorum ferens iniurias, in primis
only of-the-people but also of-friends bearing the-wrongs in the-first-place
commissa celans, quodque interdum non minus prodest quam
things-entrusted concealing and-what sometimes not less helps than
diserte dicere, studiosus audiendi: ex hoc enim facillime
eloquently to-speak eager of-listening from this for most-easily
disci arbitrabatur. Itaque cum in circulum venisset, in
to-be-learned he-thought and-so when into a-circle he-had-come in

quo aut de re publica disputaretur aut de philosophia
which either about the-thing public was-disputed or about philosophy
sermo haberetur, numquam inde prius discessit, quam ad
talk was-held never thence sooner did-he-depart than to
finem sermo esset adductus. Paupertatem adeo facile perpessus
the-end the-talk had been-brought poverty so easily endured
est, ut de re publica nihil praeter gloriam ceperit.
he-has that from the-thing public nothing except glory he-took
Amicorum in se tuendo caruit facultatibus, fide ad
of-friends in himself being-defended he-lacked the-means by-trust for
alios sublevandos saepe sic usus est, ut iudicari possit omnia
others to-be-relieved often so used he-has that to-be-judged it-could all-things
ei cum amicis fuisse communia. Nam cum aut civium
to-him with friends to-have-been common for when either of-citizens
suorum aliquis ab hostibus esset captus aut virgo nubilis
his someone by the-enemy had-been captured or a-maiden marriageable
propter paupertatem collocari non posset, amicorum concilium
because-of poverty to-be-married not could of-friends a-council
habebat et, quantum quisque daret, pro facultatibus
he-held and how-much each should-give according-to his-means
imperabat. Eamque summam cum fecerat, potius quam ipse
he-ordered and-that sum when he-had-made rather than he-himself
acciperet pecuniam, adducebat eum, qui quaerebat, ad eos, qui
should-receive the-money he-brought him who sought to those who
conferebant, eique ut ipsi numerarent faciebat, ut
were-contributing and-to-him that themselves they-should-count-it-out he-made so-that
ille, ad quem ea perveniebat, sciret quantum cuique deberet.
he to whom it came should-know how-much to-each he-owed

Diomedon of Cyzicus tries to bribe Epaminondas for Artaxerxes; he refuses and, at Diomedon's request, gives him an escort to Athens. He answers Meneclides that peace is born of war, and that he has freed all Greece from Sparta in one day. At an Arcadian assembly he turns the Athenian Callistratus' insults back on Athens, and at Sparta before Leuctra his speech undermines Spartan power.

4 Tentata autem eius est abstinentia a Diomedonte Cyziceno:
tested however his was integrity by Diomedon of-Cyzicus
namque is rogatu Artaxerxis regis Epaminondam pecunia
for he at-the-request of-Artaxerxes the-king Epaminondas with-money
corrumpendum susceperat. Hic magno cum pondere auri
to-be-corrupted had-undertaken he great with weight of-gold
Thebas venit et Micythum adulescentulum, quem tum
to-Thebes came and Micythus a-young-man whom then
Epaminondas plurimum diligebat, quinque talentis ad suam
Epaminondas very-much loved with-five talents to his
perduxit voluntatem. Micythus Epaminondam convenit et
brought will Micythus Epaminondas met and
causam adventus Diomedontis ostendit. At ille Diomedonti
the-cause of-the-arrival of-Diomedon showed but he to-Diomedon
coram 'nihil' inquit 'opus pecunia est: nam si rex
face-to-face nothing he-says need of-money is for if the-king
ea vult, quae Thebanis sunt utilia, gratiis facere
those-things wishes which to-the-Thebans are useful for-nothing to-do
sum paratus, sin autem contraria, non habet auri atque
I-am ready but-if however the-contrary not he-has of-gold and
argenti satis. Namque orbis terrarum divitias accipere
of-silver enough for of-the-world of-the-lands the-riches to-accept
nolo pro patriae caritate. Tu quod me incognitum
I-do-not-want in-exchange-for of-country love you because me unknown

tentasti tuique similem existimasti, non miror tibique
you-have-tested and-of-yourself like have-thought not I-wonder and-to-you
ignosco; sed egredere propere, ne alios corrumpas, cum
I-pardon but go-out quickly lest others you-corrupt since
me non potueris. Et tu, Micythe, argentum huic redde,
me not you-could and you Micythus the-silver to-this-man give-back
aut, nisi id confestim facis, ego te tradam magistratui.'
or unless that at-once you-do I you shall-hand-over to-the-magistrate
Hunc Diomedon cum rogaret, ut tuto exire suaque,
him Diomedon when asked that safely to-go-out and-his-things
quae attulerat, liceret efferre, 'istud quidem' inquit
which he-had-brought it-should-be-allowed to-carry-out that indeed he-says
'faciam, neque tua causa, sed mea, ne, si tibi sit pecunia
I-shall-do nor your for-the-sake but mine lest if from-you be the-money
adempta, aliquis dicat id ad me ereptum pervenisse, quod
taken someone should-say that to me snatched to-have-come which
delatum accipere noluissem.' A quo cum quaesisset, quo
offered to-receive I-had-been-unwilling from whom when he-had-asked where
se deduci vellet, et ille Athenas dixisset, praesidium
himself to-be-escorted he-wished and he to-Athens had-said a-guard
dedit, ut tuto perveniret. Neque vero id satis habuit, sed
he-gave that safely he-might-arrive nor indeed that enough did-he-hold but
etiam, ut inviolatus in navem escenderet, per Chabriam
also that unharmed onto a-ship he-should-go-up through Chabrias
Atheniensem, de quo supra mentionem fecimus, effecit.
the-Athenian about whom above mention we-made he-brought-about
Abstinentiae erit hoc satis testimonium. Plurima quidem
of-integrity will-be this enough testimony very-many-things indeed
proferre possumus, sed modus adhibendus est, quoniam
to-bring-forward we-can but measure to-be-applied is since
uno hoc volumine vitam excellentium virorum complurium
in-one this volume the-life of-excellent men of-several

concludere constituimus, quorum res separatim multis
to-include we-have-decided whose deeds separately in-many
milibus versuum complures scriptores ante nos explicarunt.
thousands of-lines several writers before us have-set-out
Fuit etiam disertus, ut nemo ei Thebanus par esset
he-was also eloquent so-that no to-him Theban equal was
eloquentia, neque minus concinnus in brevitate respondendi
in-eloquence nor less neat in brevity of-replying
quam in perpetua oratione ornatus. Habuit obtrectatorem
than in continuous speech ornate he-had as-detractor
Menecliden quendam, indidem Thebis, et adversarium in
Meneclides a-certain from-the-same at-Thebes and an-opponent in
administranda re publica, satis exercitatum in dicendo, ut
administering the-thing public enough practiced in speaking as
Thebanum scilicet: namque illi genti plus inest virium quam
a-Theban of-course for in-that race more is of-strength than
ingenii. Is quod in re militari florere Epaminondam videbat,
of-wit he because in matter military to-flourish Epaminondas he-saw
hortari solebat Thebanos, ut pacem bello anteferrent, ne
to-urge was-accustomed the-Thebans that peace to-war they-should-prefer lest
illius imperatoris opera desideraretur. Huic ille 'fallis' inquit
of-that commander the-work should-be-needed to-him he you-deceive he-says
'verbo cives tuos, quod eos a bello avocas: otii enim
with-a-word citizens your because them from war you-call-away of-leisure for
nomine servitutem concilias. Nam paritur pax bello. Itaque
in-the-name slavery you-procure for is-born peace from-war and-so
qui ea diutina volunt frui, bello exercitati esse debent.
who it long-lasting wish to-enjoy in-war practiced to-be ought
Quare si principes Graeciae vultis esse, castris est vobis
wherefore if the-leaders of-Greece you-wish to-be the-camp is by-you
utendum, non palaestra.' Idem ille Meneclides cum huic
to-be-used not the-wrestling-school the-same that Meneclides when to-him

obiceret, quod liberos non haberet neque uxorem duxisset,
he-objected that children not he-had nor a-wife had-married
maximeque insolentiam, quod sibi Agamemnonis belli
and-most the-arrogance that to-himself of-Agamemnon of-war
gloriam videretur consecutus: at ille 'desine,' inquit 'Meneclida,
the-glory he-seemed to-have-attained but he cease he-says Meneclides
de uxore mihi exprobrare: nam nullius in ista re minus
about a-wife me to-reproach for of-no-one in that matter less
uti consilio volo.' (Habebat enim Meneclides suspicionem
to-use the-counsel I-wish he-had for Meneclides suspicion
adulterii.) 'quod autem me Agamemnonem aemulari putas,
of-adultery that however me Agamemnon to-rival you-think
falleris. Namque ille cum universa Graecia vix decem
you-are-mistaken for he with all Greece scarcely in-ten
annis unam cepit urbem, ego contra ea una urbe nostra
years one took city I against these with-one city our
dieque uno totam Graeciam Lacedaemoniis fugatis liberavi.'
and-in-day one the-whole Greece the-Lacedaemonians routed freed
Idem cum in conventum venisset Arcadum, petens ut 6
the-same when into the-assembly he-had-come of-the-Arcadians seeking that
societatem cum Thebanis et Argivis facerent, contraque
an-alliance with the-Thebans and the-Argives they-should-make and-on-the-other-side
Callistratus, Atheniensium legatus, qui eloquentia omnes
Callistratus of-the-Athenians envoy who in-eloquence all
eo praestabat tempore, postularet ut potius amicitiam
at-that surpassed time demanded that rather the-friendship
sequerentur Atticorum, et in oratione sua multa invectus
they-should-follow of-the-Athenians and in speech his many-things inveighed
esset in Thebanos et Argivos in eisque hoc posuisset,
had against the-Thebans and the-Argives among and-them this he-had-put
animum advertere debere Arcades, quales utraque civitas
the-mind to-turn to-be-obliged the-Arcadians what-sort-of each state

cives procreasset, ex quibus de ceteris possent iudicare:
citizens had-produced from whom about the-others they-could judge
Argivos enim fuisse Orestem et Alcmeonem matricidas,
Argives for to-have-been Orestes and Alcmaeon matricides
Thebis Oedipum natum, qui, cum patrem suum interfecisset,
at-Thebes Oedipus born who when father his he-had-killed
ex matre liberos procreasset: huic in respondendo
from his-mother children had-begotten to-this-man in replying
Epaminondas, cum de ceteris perorasset, postquam ad
Epaminondas when about the-other-things he-had-concluded after to
illa duo opprobria pervenit, admirari se dixit stultitiam
those two reproaches he-came to-wonder himself he-said at-the-folly
rhetoris Attici, qui non animadverterit, innocentes illos natos
of-the-orator Attic who not had-noticed innocent those born
domi, scelere admisso cum patria essent
at-home a-crime having-been-committed when from-their-country they-had-been
expulsi, receptos esse ab Atheniensibus. Sed maxime eius
expelled received to-have-been by the-Athenians but most his
eloquentia eluxit Spartae legati ante pugnam Leuctricam.
eloquence shone-out at-Sparta as-envoy before the-battle of-Leuctra
Quo cum omnium sociorum convenissent legati, coram
whither when of-all the-allies had-come the-envoys before
frequentissimo conventu sic Lacedaemoniorum tyrannidem
a-most-crowded assembly so of-the-Lacedaemonians the-tyranny
coarguit, ut non minus illa oratione opes eorum
he-exposed that not less by-that speech the-power their
concusserit quam Leuctrica pugna. Tum enim perfecit,
he-shook than by-the-Leuctrian battle then for he-accomplished
quod post apparuit, ut auxilio sociorum privarentur.
what afterward appeared that of-the-help of-the-allies they-were-deprived

Kept from command by envy, Epaminondas saves the army as a private soldier. He keeps his command four months past its term to save it, is tried, and asks only that his tomb record that he forced the Thebans to beat Sparta at Leuctra; the judges dare not vote. Mortally wounded at Mantinea, he waits for the Boeotians' victory before the iron is drawn. Unmarried, he leaves Leuctra as his offspring; he stays home while Thebans kill Thebans. Only while he leads is Thebes the head of Greece.

Fuisse patientem suorumque iniurias ferentem civium, 7
to-have-been patient and-of-his-own the-wrongs bearing of-citizens
quod se patriae irasci nefas esse duceret, haec sunt
because himself with-his-country to-be-angry a-sin to-be he-held these are
testimonia. Cum eum propter invidiam cives sui praeficere
the-proofs when him because-of envy citizens his to-put-over
exercitui noluissent duxque esset delectus belli imperitus,
the-army had-been-unwilling and-a-leader had-been chosen of-war unskilled
cuius errore res eo esset deducta, ut omnes de salute
by-whose error the-matter to-that had-been brought that all about safety
pertimescerent, quod locorum angustiis clausi ab hostibus
were-terrified because of-places in-the-narrows shut-in by the-enemy
obsidebantur, desiderari coepta est Epaminondae diligentia:
they-were-besieged to-be-missed begun was of-Epaminondas the-diligence
erat enim ibi privatus numero militis. A quo cum
he-was for there a-private-man in-the-number of-the-soldiery from whom when
peterent opem, nullam adhibuit memoriam contumeliae et
they-sought help no he-applied memory of-the-insult and
exercitum obsidione liberatum domum reduxit incolumem.
the-army from-siege freed home led-back unharmed
Nec vero hoc semel fecit, sed saepius. Maxime autem fuit
nor indeed this once did-he-do but more-often most however was
illustre, cum in Peloponnesum exercitum duxisset adversus
famous when into the-Peloponnese an-army he-had-led against

Lacedaemonios haberetque collegas duos, quorum alter erat
the-Lacedaemonians and-had colleagues two of-whom one was
Pelopidas, vir fortis ac strenuus. Hi cum criminibus
Pelopidas a-man brave and vigorous these when by-the-accusations
adversariorum omnes in invidiam venissent ob eamque
of-their-opponents all into envy had-come on-account-of and-that
rem imperium iis esset abrogatum atque in eorum
thing the-command from-them had-been taken-away and into their
locum alii praetores successissent, Epaminondas populi scito
place other generals had-succeeded Epaminondas the-people's decree
non paruit idemque ut facerent persuasit collegis et
not obeyed and-the-same that they-should-do he-persuaded his-colleagues and
bellum, quod susceperat, gessit. Namque animadvertebat,
the-war which he-had-undertaken waged for he-noticed
nisi id fecisset, totum exercitum propter praetorum
unless that he-had-done the-whole army because-of of-the-generals
imprudentiam inscitiamque belli periturum. Lex erat
the-imprudence and-ignorance of-war to-be-going-to-perish a-law there-was
Thebis, quae morte multabat, si quis imperium diutius
at-Thebes which with-death punished if anyone command longer
retinuisset, quam lege praefinitum foret. Hanc Epaminondas
had-retained than by-law fixed had-been this Epaminondas
cum rei publicae conservandae causa latam videret, ad
when of-the-thing public to-be-preserved for-the-sake carried he-saw to
perniciem civitatis conferri noluit et quattuor mensibus
the-ruin of-the-state to-be-turned he-was-unwilling and by-four months
diutius, quam populus iusserat, gessit imperium.
longer than the-people had-ordered held command

8 Postquam domum reditum est, collegae eius hoc crimine
after home returned it-was the-colleagues his on-this charge
accusabantur. Quibus ille permisit, ut omnem causam in
were-accused to-whom he allowed that the-whole case onto

se transferrent suaque opera factum contenderent, ut
himself they-should-transfer and-by-his work done they-should-maintain that
legi non oboedirent. Qua defensione illis periculo
to-the-law not they-obeyed by-which defense them from-danger
liberatis nemo Epaminondam responsurum putabat, quod
freed no-one Epaminondas to-be-going-to-answer thought because
quid diceret non haberet. At ille in iudicium venit, nihil
what he-should-say not he-had but he into court came nothing
eorum negavit, quae adversarii crimini dabant, omniaque,
of-those-things denied which the-opponents as-a-charge gave and-all-things
quae collegae dixerant, confessus est neque recusavit
which his-colleagues had-said admitted he-has nor refused
quominus legis poenam subiret, sed unum ab iis petivit,
from of-the-law the-penalty undergoing but one-thing from them he-asked
ut in sepulcro suo inscriberent: 'Epaminondas a Thebanis
that on tomb his they-should-inscribe Epaminondas by the-Thebans
morte multatus est, quod eos coegit apud Leuctra superare
with-death punished was because them he-forced at Leuctra to-overcome
Lacedaemonios, quos ante se imperatorem nemo Boeotorum
the-Lacedaemonians whom before himself as-commander no-one of-the-Boeotians
ausus sit aspicere in acie, quodque uno proelio non solum
dared has to-look-at in battle-line and-because in-one battle not only
Thebas ab interitu retraxit, sed etiam universam Graeciam
Thebes from destruction he-dragged-back but also all Greece
in libertatem vindicavit eoque res utrorumque perduxit,
into freedom delivered and-to-that the-affairs of-both he-brought
ut Thebani Spartam oppugnarent, Lacedaemonii satis
that the-Thebans Sparta attacked the-Lacedaemonians enough
haberent, si salvi esse possent, neque prius bellare destitit,
held if safe to-be they-could nor sooner to-make-war did-he-cease
quam Messene restituta urbem eorum obsidione clausit.'
than Messene restored the-city their by-siege he-shut-in

Haec cum dixisset, risus omnium cum hilaritate coortus
these-things when he-had-said laughter of-all with merriment arisen
est, neque quisquam iudex ausus est de eo ferre suffragium.
has nor any judge dared has about him to-cast a-vote
Sic a iudicio capitis maxima discessit gloria.
thus from the-trial on-a-capital-charge with-the-greatest he-came-away glory
9 Hic extremo tempore imperator apud Mantineam cum
he at-the-last time as-commander at Mantinea when
acie instructa audacius instaret hostes, cognitus a
with-the-battle-line drawn-up more-boldly he-pressed the-enemy recognized by
Lacedaemoniis, quod in unius pernicie eius patriae sitam
the-Lacedaemonians because in of-one-man the-ruin his of-country placed
putabant salutem, universi in unum impetum fecerunt neque
they-thought the-safety all-together against one-man an-attack made nor
prius abscesserunt, quam magna caede edita multisque
sooner withdrew than great slaughter having-been-made and-many
occisis fortissime ipsum Epaminondam pugnantem, sparo
slain most-bravely himself Epaminondas fighting by-a-javelin
eminus percussum, concidere viderunt. Huius casu aliquantum
from-afar struck to-fall they-saw by-his fall somewhat
retardati sunt Boeoti, neque tamen prius pugna
checked were the-Boeotians nor however sooner from-the-battle
excesserunt, quam repugnantes profligarunt. At Epaminondas,
did-they-withdraw than the-resisters they-routed but Epaminondas
cum animadverteret mortiferum se vulnus accepisse
when he-perceived a-deadly himself wound to-have-received
simulque, si ferrum, quod ex hastili in corpore
and-at-the-same-time if the-iron which from the-shaft in his-body
remanserat, extraxisset, animam statim emissurum,
had-remained he-drew-out his-life at-once to-be-going-to-breathe-out
usque eo retinuit, quoad renuntiatum est vicisse
up-to that he-kept until reported it-was to-have-conquered

Boeotos. Id postquam audivit, ‘satis’ inquit ‘vixi: invictus
the-Boeotians that after he-heard enough he-says I-have-lived unconquered
enim morior.’ Tum ferro extracto confestim exanimatus est.
for I-die then the-iron drawn-out at-once lifeless he-was
Hic uxorem numquam duxit. In quo cum reprehenderetur 10
he a-wife never married in which when he-was-blamed
a Pelopida, qui filium habebat infamem, maleque eum in
by Pelopidas who a-son had infamous and-badly him in
eo patriae consulere diceret, quod liberos non relinqueret,
this for-his-country to-provide said because children not he-left
‘vide’ inquit ‘ne tu peius consulas, qui talem ex te natum
see he-says lest you worse provide who such from yourself born
relicturus sis. Neque vero stirps potest mihi deesse: namque
going-to-leave you-are nor indeed offspring can to-me be-lacking for
ex me natam relinquo pugnam Leuctricam, quae non
from me born I-leave the-battle of-Leuctra which not
modo mihi superstes, sed etiam immortalis sit necesse est.’
only to-me surviving but also immortal be necessary it-is
Quo tempore duce Pelopida exules Thebas occuparunt
at-which time with-leader Pelopidas the-exiles Thebes seized
et praesidium Lacedaemoniorum ex arce expulerunt,
and the-garrison of-the-Lacedaemonians from the-citadel drove-out
Epaminondas, quamdiu facta est caedes civium, domo se
Epaminondas as-long-as done was the-slaughter of-citizens at-home himself
tenuit, quod neque defendere malos volebat neque impugnare,
kept because neither to-defend the-bad he-wished nor to-attack
ne manus suorum sanguine cruentaret: namque omnem civilem
lest his-hands of-his-own with-the-blood he-should-stain for every civil
victoriam funestam putabat. Idem, postquam apud Cadmeam
victory deadly he-thought the-same after at the-Cadmea
cum Lacedaemoniis pugnari coeptum est, in primis stetit.
with the-Lacedaemonians to-be-fought begun it-was among the-first he-stood

Huius de virtutibus vitaque satis erit dictum, si hoc
of-his about virtues and-life enough will-be said if this
unum adiunxero, quod nemo ibit infitias, Thebas et ante
one-thing I-shall-have-added which no-one will-go to-denial Thebes both before
Epaminondam natum et post eiusdem interitum perpetuo alieno
Epaminondas born and after his death always another's
paruisse imperio, contra ea, quamdiu ille praefuerit rei
to-have-obeyed command against these as-long-as he was-in-charge of-the-thing
publicae, caput fuisse totius Graeciae. Ex quo intellegi
public the-head to-have-been of-all Greece from which to-be-understood
potest unum hominem pluris quam civitatem fuisse.
can one man of-more-worth than the-state to-have-been

I · PELOPIDAS

Pelopidas is better known to historians than to the people. When the Spartans hold the Cadmea, he and eleven exiles return from Athens disguised as hunters and kill the drunken magistrates at a banquet; their chief had put off reading a warning letter. Thebes is freed. Second only to Epaminondas, he leads the chosen band at Leuctra. Seized by Alexander of Pherae and rescued by Epaminondas, he later charges Alexander in a battle already won and dies; Thessaly honors him with statues.

Pelopidas Thebanus, magis historicis quam vulgo notus. 1
Pelopidas the-Theban more to-historians than to-the-crowd known
Cuius de virtutibus dubito quem ad modum exponam,
of-whom about the-virtues I-doubt in-what to manner I-should-set-them-out
quod vereor, si res explicare incipiam, ne non vitam eius
because I-fear if the-deeds to-unfold I-begin lest not the-life his
enarrare, sed historiam videar scribere, sin tantummodo
to-recount but history I-seem to-write but-if only
summas attigero, ne rudibus Graecarum litterarum
the-main-points I-touch lest to-those-unversed in-Greek letters
minus dilucide appareat, quantus fuerit ille vir. Itaque
less clearly it-appear how-great was that man and-so
utrique rei occurram, quantum potuero, et medebor cum
to-both thing I-shall-meet as-much-as I-can and I-shall-remedy both
satietati tum ignorantiae lectorum.
the-satiety and the-ignorance of-the-readers
Phoebidas Lacedaemonius cum exercitum Olynthum duceret
Phoebidas the-Lacedaemonian when the-army to-Olynthus he-was-leading
iterque per Thebas faceret, arcem oppidi, quae Cadmea
and-the-march through Thebes was-making the-citadel of-the-town which the-Cadmea

nominatur, occupavit impulsu paucorum Thebanorum, qui
is-named seized at-the-instigation of-a-few Thebans who
adversariae factioni quo facilius resisterent, Laconum rebus
the-opposing faction that more-easily they-might-resist to-the-Laconians' affairs
studebant, idque suo privato, non publico fecit consilio.
were-devoted and-that by-his private not public he-did plan
Quo facto eum Lacedaemonii ab exercitu removerunt
which done him the-Lacedaemonians from the-army removed
pecuniaque multarunt, neque eo magis arcem Thebanis
and-with-money fined nor for-that more the-citadel to-the-Thebans
reddiderunt, quod susceptis inimicitiis satius ducebant
did-they-return because enmities having-been-undertaken better they-thought
eos obsideri quam liberari. Nam post Peloponnesium bellum
them to-be-besieged than to-be-freed for after the-Peloponnesian war
Athenasque devictas cum Thebanis sibi rem esse
and-Athens conquered with the-Thebans to-themselves the-business to-be
existimabant et eos esse solos, qui adversus se
they-thought and them to-be the-only-ones who against themselves
sistere auderent. Hac mente amicis suis summas potestates
to-stand dared with-this mind to-friends their the-highest powers
dederant alteriusque factionis principes partim interfecerant,
they-had-given and-of-the-other faction the-leaders partly had-killed
alios in exilium eiecerant: in quibus Pelopidas hic, de
others into exile had-cast among whom Pelopidas this about
quo scribere exorsi sumus, pulsus patria carebat.
whom to-write begun we-have driven-out from-his-country was-deprived

2 Hi omnes fere Athenas se contulerant, non quo
these all almost to-Athens themselves had-betaken not that
sequerentur otium, sed ut, quem ex proximo locum fors
they-might-follow leisure but that whatever from nearest place chance
obtulisset, eo patriam recuperare niterentur. Itaque cum
had-offered from-there their-country to-recover they-might-strive and-so when

tempus esset visum rei gerendae, communiter cum iis,
the-time had seemed of-the-thing to-be-done jointly with those
qui Thebis idem sentiebant, diem delegerunt ad inimicos
who at-Thebes the-same felt a-day they-chose for the-enemies
opprimendos civitatemque liberandam eum, quo maximi
to-be-crushed and-the-state to-be-freed that on-which the-greatest
magistratus simul consuerant epulari. Magnae saepe res
magistrates together were-accustomed to-feast great often things
non ita magnis copiis sunt gestae, sed profecto numquam
not so great with-forces have-been done but surely never
tam ab tenui initio tantae opes sunt profligatae. Nam
so from slight a-beginning such-great power has-been overthrown for
duodecim adulescentuli coierunt ex iis, qui exilio erant
twelve young-men came-together of those who with-exile had-been
multati, cum omnino non essent amplius centum, qui
punished when altogether not there-were more a-hundred who
tanto se offerrent periculo. Qua paucitate perculsa est
to-so-great themselves offered danger by-which fewness struck-down was
Lacedaemoniorum potentia. Ii enim non magis adversariorum
of-the-Lacedaemonians the-power they for not more on-the-opponents'
factioni quam Spartanis eo tempore bellum intulerunt, qui
faction than on-the-Spartans at-that time war brought who
principes erant totius Graeciae: quorum imperii maiestas, neque
the-leaders were of-all Greece of-whose rule the-majesty not
ita multo post, Leuctrica pugna ab hoc initio perculsa
so much after by-the-Leuctrian battle from this beginning struck-down
concidit. Illi igitur duodecim, quorum dux erat Pelopidas,
fell those therefore twelve whose leader was Pelopidas
Athenis interdiu, ut vesperascente caelo Thebas possent
from-Athens in-the-daytime so-that at-evening sky Thebes they-could
pervenire, cum canibus venaticis exierunt, retia ferentes, vestitu
reach with dogs hunting went-out nets carrying in-dress

agresti, quo minore suspicione facerent iter. Qui cum
rustic by-which with-less suspicion they-might-make the-march who when
tempore ipso, quo studuerant, pervenissent, domum Charonis
at-the-time very which they-had-aimed-at had-arrived to-the-house of-Charon
deverterunt, a quo et tempus et dies erat datus.
turned-in by whom both the-time and the-day had-been given

3 Hoc loco libet interponere, etsi seiunctum ab re
in-this place it-pleases to-insert although separate from the-matter
proposita est, nimia fiducia quantae calamitati soleat
proposed it-is excessive confidence of-how-great disaster it-is-wont
esse. Nam magistratuum Thebanorum statim ad aures
to-be for of-the-magistrates Theban at-once to the-ears
pervenit exules in urbem venisse. Id illi vino epulisque
it-came the-exiles into the-city to-have-come that they to-wine and-feasts
dediti usque eo despexerunt, ut ne quaerere quidem de
given up-to that despised that not to-inquire even about
tanta re laborarint. Accessit quod etiam magis
so-great a-matter did-they-take-the-trouble there-was-added what even more
aperiret eorum dementiam. Allata est enim epistula Athenis
might-reveal their madness brought was for a-letter from-Athens
ab Archia, uno ex iis qui sacris praeerant Eleusiniis,
from Archias one of those who over-the-rites presided Eleusinian
Archiae, qui tum maximum magistratum Thebis obtinebat,
to-Archias who then the-highest magistracy at-Thebes held
in qua omnia de profectione eorum perscripta erant. Quae
in which all-things about the-departure their written-out were which
cum iam accubanti in convivio esset data, sicut erat
when already to-him-reclining at the-banquet it-had-been given as it-was
signata, sub pulvinum subiciens 'in crastinum' inquit 'differo
sealed under the-cushion putting to tomorrow he-says I-put-off
res serias.' At illi omnes, cum iam nox processisset,
things serious but they all when already the-night had-advanced

vinolenti ab exulibus duce Pelopida sunt interfecti. Quibus
drunk by the-exiles with-leader Pelopidas were killed which
rebus confectis, vulgo ad arma libertatemque vocato, non
things done the-crowd to arms and-freedom called not
solum qui in urbe erant, sed etiam undique ex
only those-who in the-city were but also from-everywhere from
agris concurrerunt, praesidium Lacedaemoniorum ex arce
the-fields they-ran-together the-garrison of-the-Lacedaemonians from the-citadel
pepulerunt, patriam obsidione liberarunt, auctores Cadmeae
they-drove their-country from-siege freed the-authors of-the-Cadmea's
occupandae partim occiderunt, partim in exilium eiecerunt.
seizure partly killed partly into exile cast
Hoc tam turbido tempore, sicut supra docuimus, Epaminondas, 4
in-this so turbulent time as above we-have-shown Epaminondas
quoad cum civibus dimicatum est, domi quietus fuit. Itaque
as-long-as with citizens fought it-was at-home quiet was and-so
haec liberatarum Thebarum propria laus est Pelopidae, ceterae
this freed of-Thebes own praise is of-Pelopidas the-rest
fere communes cum Epaminonda. Namque in Leuctrica pugna
almost shared with Epaminondas for in the-Leuctrian battle
imperatore Epaminonda hic fuit dux delectae manus, quae
as-commander Epaminondas he was leader of-the-chosen band which
prima phalangem prostravit Laconum. Omnibus praeterea
first the-phalanx laid-low of-the-Laconians in-all besides
periculis eius affuit (sicut, Spartam cum oppugnavit, alterum
dangers his he-was-present as Sparta when he-attacked the-other
tenuit cornu), quoque Messena celerius restitueretur, legatus
he-held wing and-so-that Messene more-quickly should-be-restored as-envoy
in Persas est profectus. Denique haec fuit altera persona
to the-Persians has set-out finally this was the-second personage
Thebis, sed tamen secunda ita, ut proxima esset Epaminondae.
at-Thebes but yet second so that nearest he-was to-Epaminondas

5 Conflictatus autem est etiam adversa fortuna. Nam et
struggled however he-has also with-adverse fortune for both
initio, sicut ostendimus, exul patria caruit
at-the-beginning as we-have-shown as-an-exile from-his-country he-was-cut-off
et, cum Thessaliam in potestatem Thebanorum cuperet
and when Thessaly into the-power of-the-Thebans he-desired
redigere legationisque iure satis tectum se arbitraretur,
to-bring and-of-an-embassy by-the-right enough protected himself he-thought
quod apud omnes gentes sanctum esse consuesset, a tyranno
which among all nations sacred to-be was-accustomed by the-tyrant
Alexandro Pheraeo simul cum Ismenia comprehensus in vincla
Alexander of-Pherae together with Ismenias seized into chains
coniectus est. Hunc Epaminondas recuperavit, bello persequens
thrown he-was him Epaminondas recovered in-war pursuing
Alexandrum. Post id factum numquam animo placari potuit
Alexander after that deed never in-mind to-be-appeased could-he
in eum, a quo erat violatus. Itaque persuasit Thebanis
toward him by whom he-had-been wronged and-so he-persuaded the-Thebans
ut subsidio Thessaliae proficiscerentur tyrannosque eius
that in-aid of-Thessaly they-should-set-out and-the-tyrants its
expellerent. Cuius belli cum ei summa esset data
should-expel of-which war when to-him the-supreme-command had-been given
eoque cum exercitu profectus esset, non dubitavit, simulac
and-thither with the-army set-out he-had not he-hesitated as-soon-as
conspexit hostem, confligere. In quo proelio Alexandrum ut
he-saw the-enemy to-engage in which battle Alexander when
animadvertit, incensus ira equum in eum concitavit
he-noticed inflamed with-anger his-horse against him spurred
proculque digressus a suis coniectu telorum confossus
and-far having-separated from his-own by-a-volley of-weapons pierced
concidit. Atque hoc secunda victoria accidit: nam iam
he-fell and this in-a-favorable victory happened for already

inclinatae erant tyrannorum copiae. Quo facto omnes
given-way had of-the-tyrants the-forces which done all
Thessaliae civitates interfectum Pelopidam coronis aureis et
of-Thessaly the-states slain Pelopidas with-crowns golden and
statuis aeneis liberosque eius multo agro donarunt.
with-statues bronze and-the-children his with-much land presented

AGESILAUS

I · KING AGESILAUS

Agesilaus becomes king of Sparta with Lysander's help. Sent to Asia, he keeps the truce Tissaphernes breaks, gaining the gods' favor. He wins great plunder in Phrygia, trains his army at Ephesus, and deceives the enemy by announcing his true route. He wins whenever he fights.

1 Agesilaus Lacedaemonius cum a ceteris scriptoribus tum
Agesilaus the-Lacedaemonian both by the-other writers and
eximie a Xenophonte Socratico collaudatus est: eo enim
especially by Xenophon the-Socratic praised has-been him for
usus est familiarissime. Hic primum de regno cum
used he-has most-intimately he first about the-kingship with
Leotychide, fratris filio, habuit contentionem. Mos erat
Leotychides of-his-brother the-son had a-dispute the-custom was
enim Lacedaemoniis a maioribus traditus, ut binos
for with-the-Lacedaemonians from their-ancestors handed-down that two
haberent semper reges, nomine magis quam imperio, ex
they-should-have always kings in-name more than in-power from
duabus familiis Procli et Eurysthenis, qui principes ex
two families of-Procles and of-Eurysthenes who the-first from
progenie Herculis Spartae reges fuerunt. Horum ex altera
the-offspring of-Hercules of-Sparta kings were of-these from one
in alterius familiae locum fieri non licebat: ita suum
into of-the-other family the-place to-be-made not it-was-allowed so its-own
utraque retinebat ordinem. Primum ratio habebatur, qui
each kept order first account was-taken who
maximus natu esset ex liberis eius, qui regnans decessisset;
the-greatest by-birth was of the-children of-him who reigning had-died
sin is virile secus non, reliquisset, tum deligebatur, qui
but-if he male sex not had-left then was-chosen who

proximus esset propinquitate. Mortuus erat Agis rex,
nearest was in-kinship dead was Agis the-king
frater Agesilai: filium reliquerat Leotychidem. Quem ille
the-brother of-Agesilaus a-son he-had-left Leotychides whom he
natum non agnorat, eundem moriens suum esse dixerat.
born not had-acknowledged the-same dying his-own to-be had-said
Is de honore regni cum Agesilao, patruo suo, contendit
he about the-honor of-the-kingship with Agesilaus uncle his contended
neque id quod petivit consecutus est. Nam Lysandro
nor that which he-sought attained has for Lysander
suffragante, homine, ut ostendimus supra, factioso et iis
supporting a-man as we-have-shown above factious and in-those
temporibus potente, Agesilaus antelatus est.
times powerful Agesilaus preferred was
Hic simulatque imperii potitus est, persuasit 2
he as-soon-as of-the-command gained-possession has he-persuaded
Lacedaemoniis ut cum exercitu se mitterent in Asiam
the-Lacedaemonians that with an-army him they-should-send into Asia
bellumque regi facerent, docens satius esse in Asia quam
and-war on-the-king should-make showing better to-be in Asia than
in Europa dimicari. Namque fama exierat Artaxerxen
in Europe to-be-fought for the-report had-gone-out Artaxerxes
comparare classes pedestresque exercitus, quos in Graeciam
to-prepare fleets and-land armies which into Greece
mitteret. Data potestate tanta celeritate usus est, ut prius
he-might-send given the-permission such speed used he-has that sooner
in Asiam cum copiis pervenerit, quam regii satrapae eum
into Asia with forces he-arrived than the-royal satraps him
scirent profectum. Quo factum est ut omnes imparatos
knew set-out by-which done it-was that all unprepared
imprudentesque offenderet. Id ut cognovit Tissaphernes, qui
and-unaware he-found that when he-learned Tissaphernes who

summum imperium tum inter praefectos habebat regios,
the-supreme command then among the-commanders held royal
indutias a Lacone petivit, simulans se dare operam, ut
a-truce from the-Laconian sought pretending himself to-give effort that
Lacedaemoniis cum rege conveniret, re autem vera
for-the-Lacedaemonians with the-king it-might-be-agreed in-matter however true
ad copias comparandas, easque impetravit trimenstres. Iuravit
for forces to-be-prepared and-it he-obtained of-three-months swore
autem uterque se sine dolo indutias conservaturum. In
however each himself without deceit the-truce to-be-going-to-keep in
qua pactione summa fide mansit Agesilaus, contra ea
which compact with-the-highest good-faith remained Agesilaus against these
Tissaphernes nihil aliud quam bellum comparavit. Id etsi
Tissaphernes nothing else than war prepared that although
sentiebat Laco, tamen iusiurandum servabat multumque
perceived the-Laconian yet the-oath he-kept and-much
in eo se consequi dicebat, quod Tissaphernes periurio
in that himself to-gain he-said because Tissaphernes by-perjury
suo et homines suis rebus abalienaret et deos sibi
his both men from-his affairs estranged and the-gods to-himself
iratos redderet, se autem conservata religione confirmare
angry rendered himself however by-preserved religion to-strengthen
exercitum, cum animadverteret deum numen facere secum,
the-army since it-noticed of-the-gods the-power to-act with-himself
hominesque sibi conciliare amiciores, quod iis studere
and-men to-himself to-win-over more-friendly because those to-favor
consuessent, quos conservare fidem viderent.
they-were-accustomed whom to-keep faith they-saw

3 Postquam indutiarum praeteriit dies, barbarus non dubitans,
after of-the-truce passed the-day the-barbarian not doubting
quod ipsius erant plurima domicilia in Caria et ea
because his were very-many dwellings in Caria and that

regio iis temporibus multo putabatur locupletissima, eo
region in-those times by-much was-thought the-richest there
potissimum hostes impetum facturos, omnes suas copias
most-of-all the-enemy an-attack to-be-going-to-make all his forces
eo contraxerat. At Agesilaus in Phrygiam se convertit
there he-had-drawn but Agesilaus into Phrygia himself turned
eamque prius depopulatus est, quam Tissaphernes usquam
and-it before ravaged he-has than Tissaphernes anywhere
se moveret. Magna praeda militibus locupletatis Ephesum
himself moved with-great booty the-soldiers having-been-enriched to-Ephesus
hiematum exercitum reduxit atque ibi officinis armorum
to-winter the-army he-led-back and there workshops of-arms
institutis magna industria bellum apparavit. Et quo
having-been-set-up with-great industry the-war he-prepared and so-that
studiosius armarentur insigniusque ornarentur, praemia
more-zealously they-might-be-armed and-more-splendidly be-equipped rewards
proposuit, quibus donarentur, quorum egregia in ea re
he-offered with-which should-be-presented those-whose outstanding in that matter
fuisset industria. Fecit idem in exercitationum generibus, ut,
had-been industry he-did the-same in of-exercises the-kinds that
qui ceteris praestitissent, eos magnis afficeret muneribus.
who the-others had-excelled them with-great he-should-honor gifts
His igitur rebus effecit ut et ornatissimum et
by-these therefore things he-brought-about that both a-most-splendid and
exercitatissimum haberet exercitum. Huic cum tempus esset
a-most-trained he-had army to-him when the-time had
visum copias extrahere ex hibernaculis, vidit, si, quo
seemed the-forces to-draw-out from winter-quarters he-saw if where
esset iter facturus, palam pronuntiasset, hostes non
he-was the-march going-to-make openly he-had-announced the-enemy not
crediturus aliasque regiones praesidiis occupaturos neque
to-be-going-to-believe and-other regions with-garrisons to-be-going-to-occupy nor

dubitaturos aliud eum facturum ac pronuntiasset. Itaque
to-be-going-to-doubt other-thing him to-be-going-to-do than he-had-announced and-so
cum ille Sardis iturum se dixisset, Tissaphernes eandem
when he to-Sardis to-be-going-to-go himself had-said Tissaphernes the-same
Cariam defendendam putavit. In quo cum eum opinio fefellisset
Caria to-be-defended thought in which when him the-belief had-deceived
victumque se vidisset consilio, sero suis praesidio
and-conquered himself he-had-seen by-the-plan late to-his-own in-aid
profectus est. Nam cum illo venisset, iam Agesilaus multis
set-out he-has for when thither he-had-come already Agesilaus many
locis expugnatis magna erat praeda potitus. Laco autem
places having-been-stormed great had booty gained the-Laconian however
cum videret hostes equitatu superare, numquam in campo
when he-saw the-enemy in-cavalry to-surpass never in the-plain
sui fecit potestatem et iis locis manum conseruit, quibus
of-himself made opportunity and in-those places a-hand joined in-which
plus pedestres copiae valerent. Pepulit ergo, quotienscumque
more the-foot forces prevailed he-drove-back therefore whenever
congressus est, multo maiores adversariorum copias et sic in
engaged he-has much greater of-the-opponents forces and so in
Asia versatus est, ut omnium opinione victor duceretur.
Asia conducted-himself he-has that of-all in-the-opinion the-victor he-was-held

Recalled to Sparta, Agesilaus obeys at once, giving up the hope of Persia. He beats the Athenians, Boeotians, and their allies at Coronea but spares those who took refuge in Athena's temple. In the Corinthian War he mourns the Greek dead and refuses to sack Corinth, saying that Greeks who destroy Greeks only serve the barbarians.

Hic cum iam animo meditaretur proficisci in Persas 4
he when already in-mind he-was-planning to-set-out against the-Persians
et ipsum regem adoriri, nuntius ei domo venit
and himself the-king to-attack a-messenger to-him from-home came
ephororum missu, bellum Athenienses et Boeotos indixisse
by-the-ephors' sending war the-Athenians and the-Boeotians to-have-declared
Lacedaemoniis: quare venire ne dubitaret. In hoc non
on-the-Lacedaemonians wherefore to-come not he-should-hesitate in this not
minus eius pietas suspicienda est quam virtus bellica:
less his dutifulness to-be-admired is than valor warlike
qui cum victori praeesset exercitui maximamque haberet
who when a-victorious he-commanded army and-the-greatest had
fiduciam regni Persarum potiundi, tanta modestia
confidence of-the-kingdom of-the-Persians to-be-gained with-such modesty
dicto audiens fuit iussis absentium magistratuum, ut
to-the-word obedient was to-the-orders of-the-absent magistrates as
si privatus in comitio esset Spartae. Cuius exemplum
if a-private-man in the-comitium he-were at-Sparta whose example
utinam imperatores nostri sequi voluissent! Sed illuc
would-that commanders our to-follow had-wished but thither
redeamus. Agesilaus opulentissimo regno praeposuit bonam
let-us-return Agesilaus to-the-richest kingdom preferred a-good
existimationem multoque gloriosius duxit, si institutis
reputation and-much more-gloriously he-held-it if to-the-institutions

patriae paruisset, quam si bello superasset Asiam. Hac
of-his-country he-obeyed than if in-war he-overcame Asia with-this
igitur mente Hellespontum copias traiecit tantaque usus
therefore mind the-Hellespont the-forces he-carried-across and-such used
est celeritate, ut, quod iter Xerxes anno vertente confecerat,
he-has speed that which march Xerxes in-a-year turning had-completed
hic transierit triginta diebus. Cum iam haud ita longe
he crossed in-thirty days when already not so far
abesset a Peloponneso, obsistere ei conati sunt Athenienses
he-was-away from the-Peloponnese to-oppose him tried have the-Athenians
et Boeoti ceterique eorum socii apud Coroneam: quos
and the-Boeotians and-the-other their allies at Coronea whom
omnes gravi proelio vicit. Huius victoriae vel maxima
all in-a-heavy battle he-conquered of-this victory perhaps the-greatest
fuit laus, quod, cum plerique ex fuga se in templum
was the-praise that when most from flight themselves into the-temple
Minervae coniecissent quaerereturque ab eo, quid iis vellet
of-Minerva had-thrown and-it-was-asked of him what to-them he-wished
fieri, etsi aliquot vulnera acceperat eo proelio et
to-be-done although several wounds he-had-received in-that battle and
iratus videbatur omnibus, qui adversus arma tulerant, tamen
angry he-seemed with-all who against arms had-borne yet
antetulit irae religionem et eos vetuit violari. Neque
he-put-before anger religion and them forbade to-be-harmed nor
vero hoc solum in Graecia fecit, ut templa deorum sancta
indeed this only in Greece did-he that the-temples of-the-gods sacred
haberet, sed etiam apud barbaros summa religione omnia
he-held but also among the-barbarians with-the-highest scruple all
simulacra arasque conservavit. Itaque praedicabat mirari
images and-altars he-preserved and-so he-proclaimed to-wonder
se, non sacrilegorum numero haberi, qui supplicibus
himself not of-the-sacrilegious in-the-number to-be-held who the-suppliants

deorum nocuissent, aut non gravioribus poenis affici, qui
of-the-gods had-harmed or not with-heavier penalties to-be-afflicted who
religionem minuerent, quam qui fana spoliarent.
religion diminished than who shrines plundered
Post hoc proelium collatum omne bellum est circa 5
after this battle brought-together all the-war was around
Corinthum ideoque Corinthium est appellatum. Hic cum
Corinth and-therefore Corinthian it-was called here when
una pugna decem milia hostium Agesilao duce cecidissent
in-one battle ten thousand of-the-enemy Agesilaus as-leader had-fallen
eoque facto opes adversariorum debilitatae viderentur,
and-by-that deed the-power of-the-opponents weakened seemed
tantum afuit ab insolentia gloriae, ut commiseratus sit
so-far was-he from arrogance of-glory that pitied he-has
fortunam Graeciae, quod tam multi a se victi vitio
the-fortune of-Greece because so many by himself conquered by-the-fault
adversariorum concidissent: namque illa multitudine, si
of-the-opponents had-fallen for with-that multitude if
sana mens esset, Graeciae supplicium Persas dare
a-sound mind there-were to-Greece punishment the-Persians to-give
potuisse. Idem cum adversarios intra moenia compulisset
to-have-been-able the-same when the-opponents within the-walls he-had-driven
et ut Corinthum oppugnaret multi hortarentur, negavit
and that Corinth he-should-attack many urged he-denied
id suae virtuti convenire: se enim eum esse, qui ad
that to-his valor to-befit himself for him to-be who to
officium peccantes redire cogeret, non qui urbes nobilissimas
duty those-erring to-return should-force not who the-cities most-noble
expugnaret Graeciae. ‘Nam si’ inquit ‘eos exstinguere
should-storm of-Greece for if he-says those to-destroy
voluerimus, qui nobiscum adversus barbaros steterunt,
we-wish who with-us against the-barbarians stood

nosmet ipsi nos expugnaverimus illis quiescentibus. Quo
we ourselves ourselves shall-have-stormed they being-at-rest which
facto sine negotio, cum voluerint, nos oppriment.'
done without trouble when they-wish us they-will-crush

III · OLD AGE AND DEATH

Pleading old age, Agesilaus stays away from Leuctra; afterward he saves Sparta from Epaminondas and, by a trick, keeps a band of young men from deserting. He helps his country with money from rebels against the Persian king but lives simply. Small and lame, he is despised by the Egyptians when he arrives in plain dress at eighty. He dies returning from Egypt; his body is carried home in wax.

6 Interim accidit illa calamitas apud Leuctra Lacedaemoniis. Quo
meanwhile happened that disaster at Leuctra to-the-Lacedaemonians to-which
ne proficisceretur, cum a plerisque ad exeundum impelleretur,
lest he-should-set-out when by most to going-out he-was-urged
ut si de exitu divinaret, excusavit senectutem. Idem,
as if about the-outcome he-divined he-pleaded his-old-age the-same
cum Epaminondas Spartam oppugnaret essetque sine muris
when Epaminondas Sparta was-attacking and-was without walls
oppidum, talem se imperatorem praebuit, ut eo tempore
the-town such himself a-commander he-showed that at-that time
omnibus apparuerit, nisi ille fuisset, Spartam futuram
to-all it-was-clear unless he had-been Sparta to-be-going-to-be
non fuisse. In quo quidem discrimine celeritas eius
not to-have-been in which indeed crisis the-swiftness of-his
consilii saluti fuit universis. Nam cum quidam adulescentuli
plan for-safety was to-all for when certain young-men
hostium adventu perterriti ad Thebanos transfugere vellent
by-the-enemy's arrival terrified to the-Thebans to-desert wished

et locum extra urbem editum cepissent, Agesilaus, qui
and a-place outside the-city high had-taken Agesilaus who
perniciosissimum fore videret, si animadversum esset
most-ruinous to-be-going-to-be saw if noticed it-were
quemquam ad hostes transfugere conari, cum suis eo
anyone to the-enemy to-desert to-try with his-own thither
venit atque, ut si bono animo fecissent, laudavit consilium
came and as if with-good intention they-had-acted praised the-plan
eorum, quod eum locum occupassent: id se quoque fieri
their that that place they-had-occupied that himself also to-be-done
debere animadvertisse. Sic adulescentes simulata laudatione
ought to-have-noticed thus the-young-men by-feigned praise
recuperavit et adiunctis de suis comitibus locum tutum
he-recovered and having-been-joined of his-own companions the-place safe
reliquit. Namque illi adiecto numero eorum, qui expertes
he-left for they added the-number of-those who without-share
erant consilii, commovere se non sunt ausi eoque
were of-the-plan to-stir themselves not have dared and-for-that
libentius, quod latere arbitrabantur quae cogitaverant.
more-gladly because to-be-hidden they-thought what they-had-intended
Sine dubio post Leuctricam pugnam Lacedaemonii se 7
without doubt after the-Leuctrian battle the-Lacedaemonians themselves
numquam refecerunt neque pristinum imperium recuperarunt,
never restored nor former power recovered
cum interim numquam Agesilaus destitit quibuscumque rebus
while meanwhile never Agesilaus ceased by-whatever things
posset patriam iuvare. Nam cum praecipue Lacedaemonii
he-could his-country to-help for when especially the-Lacedaemonians
indigerent pecunia, ille omnibus, qui a rege defecerant,
needed money he to-all who from the-king had-revolted
praesidio fuit: a quibus magna donatus pecunia patriam
for-protection was by whom with-great presented money his-country

sublevavit. Atque in hoc illud inprimis fuit admirabile, cum
he-relieved and in this that especially was admirable when
maxima munera ei ab regibus ac dynastis civitatibusque
very-great gifts to-him by kings and princes and-states
conferrentur, quod nihil umquam domum suam contulit,
were-brought that nothing ever to-house his he-brought
nihil de victu, nihil de vestitu Laconum mutavit. Domo
nothing of food nothing of dress of-the-Laconians he-changed with-a-house
eadem fuit contentus, qua Eurysthenes, progenitor maiorum
the-same he-was content which Eurysthenes the-founder of-ancestors
suorum, fuerat usus: quam qui intrarat, nullum signum
his had used which who had-entered no sign
libidinis, nullum luxuriae videre poterat, contra ea plurima
of-lust none of-luxury to-see could against these very-many
patientiae atque abstinentiae. Sic enim erat instructa, ut
of-endurance and of-self-restraint thus for it-was furnished that
in nulla re differret a cuiusvis inopis atque privati.
in no thing it-differed from of-any poor and private-man
8 Atque hic tantus vir ut naturam fautricem habuerat in
and this so-great man as nature as-a-patroness he-had-had in
tribuendis animi virtutibus, sic maleficam nactus est in
bestowing of-mind the-virtues so harmful found he-has in
corpore fingendo: nam et statura fuit humili et corpore
body fashioning for both in-stature he-was low and in-body
exiguo et claudus altero pede. Quae res etiam nonnullam
small and lame in-one foot which thing also some
afferebat deformitatem, atque ignoti, faciem eius cum
brought deformity and the-unknowing the-face his when
intuerentur, contemnebant; qui autem virtutes noverant, non
they-beheld they-despised who however his-virtues had-known not
poterant admirari satis. Quod ei usu venit, cum
could admire enough which to-him in-experience came when

annorum octoginta subsidio Tacho in Aegyptum missus
of-years eighty in-aid to-Tachos into Egypt sent
esset et in acta cum suis accubuisset sine ullo tecto
he-had-been and on the-shore with his-own had-reclined without any roof
stratumque haberet tale, ut terra tecta esset stramentis neque
and-a-bed had such that the-ground covered was with-straw nor
huc amplius quam pellis esset iniecta, eodem quo comites
here more than a-skin was thrown-on in-the-same as the-companions
omnes vestitu humili atque obsoleto, ut eorum ornatus non
all dress humble and worn that their attire not
modo in eis regem neminem significaret, sed homines esse
only among them a-king none signified but men to-be
non beatissimos suspicionem praeberet. Huius de adventu
not most-wealthy suspicion offered of-his about the-arrival
fama cum ad regios esset perlata, celeriter munera eo
the-report when to the-royal-men had-been brought quickly gifts thither
cuiusque generis sunt allata. His quaerentibus Agesilaum vix
of-every kind were brought to-these seeking Agesilaus scarcely
fides facta est, unum esse ex iis qui tum accubabant. Qui cum
belief made was one to-be of those who then were-reclining who when
regis verbis quae attulerant dedissent, ille praeter vitulinam
in-the-king's words what they-had-brought had-given he except veal
et eius modi genera obsonii, quae praesens tempus desiderabat,
and of-this kind kinds of-food which the-present time required
nihil accepit: unguenta, coronas secundamque mensam
nothing accepted the-unguents the-garlands and-the-second course
servis dispertiit, cetera referri iussit. Quo facto eum
to-the-slaves he-distributed the-rest to-be-carried-back he-ordered which done him
barbari magis etiam contempserunt, quod eum ignorantia
the-barbarians more even despised because him from-ignorance
bonarum rerum vilia potissimum sumpsisse arbitrabantur.
of-good things cheap-things especially to-have-taken they-thought

Hic cum ex Aegypto reverteretur, donatus a rege
he when from Egypt he-was-returning presented by the-king
Nectanabide ducentis viginti talentis, quae ille muneri
Nectanabis with-two-hundred twenty talents which he as-a-gift
populo suo daret, venissetque in portum, qui Menelai
to-the-people his should-give and-had-come into the-harbor which of-Menelaus
vocatur, iacens inter Cyrenas et Aegyptum, in morbum
is-called lying between Cyrene and Egypt into illness
implicitus decessit. Ibi eum amici, quo Spartam
fallen died there him his-friends so-that to-Sparta
facilius perferre possent, quod mel non habebant, cera
more-easily to-carry they-could because honey not they-had with-wax
circumfuderunt atque ita domum rettulerunt.
poured-around and so home brought-back

EUMENES

I · EUMENES THE SECRETARY

Eumenes of Cardia, of the highest family at home, lacks only Macedonian birth. He serves Philip and Alexander as secretary. After Alexander's death he receives Cappadocia, sides with Perdiccas, and escapes Leonnatus, who tries to kill him. Against Antipater and Craterus he leads his troops by back roads so they do not learn whom they are fighting, and he joins battle where his cavalry counts most.

Eumenes Cardianus. Huius si virtuti par data esset 1
Eumenes of-Cardia of-him if to-the-valor equal given had-been
fortuna, non ille quidem maior exstitisset, quod magnos
fortune not he indeed greater would-have-stood-out because great
homines virtute metimur, non fortuna, sed multo illustrior
men by-valor we-measure not by-fortune but much more-famous
atque etiam honoratior. Nam cum aetas eius incidisset in
and even more-honored for since the-age his had-fallen into
ea tempora, quibus Macedones florerent, multum ei
those times in-which the-Macedonians flourished much from-him
detraxit inter eos viventi, quod alienae erat civitatis,
it-took-away among them living that of-a-foreign he-was state
neque aliud huic defuit quam generosa stirps. Etsi
nor anything-else to-him was-lacking than noble stock although
enim domestico summo genere erat, tamen Macedones
for at-home of-the-highest family he-was yet the-Macedonians
eum sibi aliquando anteponi indigne ferebant, neque
him to-themselves at-some-time to-be-preferred unworthily bore nor
tamen non patiebantur: vincebat enim omnes cura, vigilantia,
yet not did-they-endure-it he-surpassed for all in-care vigilance
patientia, calliditate et celeritate ingenii.
endurance shrewdness and in-quickness of-wit

Hic peradulescentulus ad amicitiam accessit Philippi, Amyntae
he as-a-very-young-man to the-friendship came of-Philip of-Amyntas
filii, brevique tempore in intimam pervenit familiaritatem:
the-son and-in-a-short time into close came intimacy
fulgebat enim iam in adulescentulo indoles virtutis. Itaque
shone for already in the-young-man the-nature of-valor and-so
eum habuit ad manum scribae loco, quod multo apud
him he-had at hand of-secretary in-the-place which much among
Graios honorificentius est quam apud Romanos. Namque
the-Greeks more-honorable is than among the-Romans for
apud nos, re vera sicut sunt, mercennarii scribae
among us in-matter truth as they-are hirelings the-secretaries
existimantur; at apud illos e contrario nemo ad id officium
are-thought but among them on the-contrary no-one to that office
admittitur nisi honesto loco, et fide et industria cognita,
is-admitted except of-honorable position and in-loyalty and in-industry known
quod necesse est omnium consiliorum eum esse participem.
because necessary it-is of-all plans him to-be the-sharer
Hunc locum tenuit amicitiae apud Philippum annos septem.
this place he-held of-friendship with Philip years seven
Illo interfecto eodem gradu fuit apud Alexandrum annos
him killed in-the-same rank he-was with Alexander years
tredecim. Novissimo tempore praefuit etiam alterae equitum
thirteen in-the-last time he-commanded also the-second of-cavalry
alae, quae Hetaerice appellabatur. Utrique autem in consilio
wing which Hetaerice was-called to-both however in council
semper affuit et omnium rerum habitus est particeps.
always he-was-present and of-all things held was the-sharer
2 Alexandro Babylone mortuo, cum regna singulis familiaribus
Alexander at-Babylon dead when the-kingdoms to-single friends
dispertirentur et summa tradita esset tuenda eidem,
were-distributed and the-supreme-power handed-over had-been to-be-guarded to-the-same

cui Alexander moriens anulum suum dederat, Perdiccae
to-whom Alexander dying ring his had-given to-Perdiccas
(ex quo omnes coniecerant eum regnum ei commisisse,
from which all had-inferred him the-kingdom to-him to-have-entrusted
quoad liberi eius in suam tutelam pervenissent: aberat
until the-children his into their wardship should-have-come was-away
enim Crateros et Antipater, qui antecedere hunc videbantur;
for Craterus and Antipater who to-go-before this-man seemed
mortuus erat Hephaestio, quem unum Alexander, quod facile
dead was Hephaestion whom alone Alexander as easily
intellegi posset, plurimi fecerat), hoc tempore data
to-be-understood could of-the-greatest-value had-made at-this time given
est Eumeni Cappadocia sive potius dicta: nam tum in hostium
was to-Eumenes Cappadocia or rather assigned for then in of-the-enemy
erat potestate. Hunc sibi Perdiccas adiunxerat magno
it-was the-power him to-himself Perdiccas had-joined with-great
studio, quod in homine fidem et industriam magnam videbat,
zeal because in the-man loyalty and industry great he-saw
non dubitans, si eum pellexisset, magno usui fore
not doubting if him he-had-enticed of-great use to-be-going-to-be
sibi in eis rebus quas apparabat. Cogitabat enim,
to-himself in those things which he-was-preparing he-was-planning for
quod fere omnes in magnis imperiis concupiscunt, omnium
what almost all in great commands covet of-all
partes corripere atque complecti. Neque vero hoc ille solus
the-parts to-seize and to-embrace nor indeed this he alone
fecit, sed ceteri quoque omnes, qui Alexandri fuerant amici.
did but the-others also all who of-Alexander had-been friends
Primus Leonnatus Macedoniam praeoccupare destinavit. Is
first Leonnatus Macedonia to-seize-first intended he
multis magnisque pollicitationibus persuadere Eumeni studuit,
with-many and-great promises to-persuade Eumenes strove

ut Perdiccam desereret ac secum faceret societatem.
that Perdiccas he-should-desert and with-himself should-make an-alliance
Cum perducere eum non posset, interficere conatus est et
when to-bring-over him not he-could to-kill tried has and
fecisset, nisi ille clam noctu ex praesidiis eius effugisset.
would-have-done-it unless he secretly by-night from the-garrisons his had-escaped
3 Interim conflata sunt illa bella, quae ad internicionem post
meanwhile kindled were those wars which to extermination after
Alexandri mortem gesta sunt, omnesque concurrerunt ad
of-Alexander the-death waged were and-all ran-together to
Perdiccam opprimendum. Quem etsi infirmum videbat,
Perdiccas to-be-crushed whom although weak he-saw
quod unus omnibus resistere cogebatur, tamen amicum non
because alone all to-resist he-was-forced yet his-friend not
deseruit neque salutis quam fidei fuit cupidior. Praefecerat
he-deserted nor of-safety than of-loyalty was more-desirous had-put-over
hunc Perdiccas ei parti Asiae, quae inter Taurum montem
this-man Perdiccas to-that part of-Asia which between the-Taurus mountain
iacet atque Hellespontum, et illum unum opposuerat
lies and the-Hellespont and him alone he-had-set-against
Europaeis adversariis; ipse Aegyptum oppugnatum adversus
the-European opponents he-himself Egypt to-attack against
Ptolemaeum erat profectus. Eumenes cum neque magnas
Ptolemy had set-out Eumenes since neither great
copias neque firmas haberet, quod et inexercitatae et non
forces nor steady he-had because both untrained and not
multo ante erant contractae, adventare autem dicerentur
much before had-been gathered to-be-approaching however were-said
Hellespontumque transisse Antipater et Crateros magno cum
and-the-Hellespont to-have-crossed Antipater and Craterus great with
exercitu Macedonum, viri cum claritate tum usu belli
an-army of-Macedonians men both in-fame and in-experience of-war

praestantes (Macedones vero milites ea tum erant fama,
outstanding the-Macedonian however soldiers in-that then were reputation
qua nunc Romani feruntur: etenim semper habiti sunt
in-which now the-Romans are-held for always held were
fortissimi, qui summi imperii potirentur): Eumenes intellegebat,
the-bravest who of-supreme command gained-possession Eumenes understood
si copiae suae cognossent, adversus quos ducerentur, non
if forces his learned against whom they-were-being-led not
modo non ituras, sed simul cum nuntio dilapsuras.
only not to-be-going-to-go but together with the-news to-be-going-to-slip-away
Itaque hoc ei visum est prudentissimum, ut deviis
and-so this to-him seemed has wisest that by-out-of-the-way
itineribus milites duceret, in quibus vera audire non
roads the-soldiers he-should-lead on which the-truth to-hear not
possent, et iis persuaderet se contra quosdam barbaros
they-could and them he-should-persuade himself against certain barbarians
proficisci. Atque tenuit hoc propositum et prius in aciem
to-set-out and he-held this purpose and sooner into battle-line
exercitum eduxit proeliumque commisit, quam milites sui
the-army led-out and-battle joined than the-soldiers his
scirent, cum quibus arma conferrent. Effecit etiam
knew with whom arms they-were-bringing-together he-brought-about also
illud locorum praeoccupatione, ut equitatu potius dimicaret,
that of-places by-the-seizing-first that with-cavalry rather he-fought
quo plus valebat, quam peditatu, quo erat deterior.
in-which more he-prevailed than with-infantry in-which he-was weaker

Eumenes kills Neoptolemus hand to hand, defeats Craterus, and buries him with honor. Perdiccas is killed and Eumenes condemned. Besieged by Antigonus at Nora, he keeps his horses fit by making them kick while tied up, and escapes in spring by a feigned surrender. Olympias seeks his advice; he advises restraint, and decides to help Alexander's children.

4 Quorum acerrimo concursu cum magnam partem diei
of-whom in-the-fiercest clash when a-great part of-the-day
esset pugnatum, cadit Crateros dux et Neoptolemus,
had-been fought falls Craterus the-leader and Neoptolemus
qui secundum locum imperii tenebat. Cum hoc concurrit
who the-second place of-command held with this-man clashed
ipse Eumenes. Qui cum inter se complexi in terram
himself Eumenes who when with each-other grappling onto the-ground
ex equis decidissent, ut facile intellegi possent
from their-horses had-fallen so-that easily to-be-understood they-could
inimica mente contendisse animoque magis etiam pugnasse
with-hostile mind to-have-contended and-in-spirit more even to-have-fought
quam corpore, non prius distracti sunt, quam alterum anima
than in-body not sooner separated were than the-one his-life
relinqueret. Ab hoc aliquot plagis Eumenes vulneratur,
should-leave by this-man with-several blows Eumenes is-wounded
neque eo magis ex proelio excessit, sed acrius hostes
nor for-that more from the-battle withdrew but more-fiercely the-enemy
institit. Hic equitibus profligatis, interfecto duce Cratero,
pressed here the-cavalry routed killed the-leader Craterus
multis praeterea et maxime nobilibus captis pedester exercitus,
many besides and most noble taken the-infantry army
quod in ea loca erat deductus, ut invito Eumene elabi
because into those places it-was led-down that unwilling Eumenes to-slip-away

non posset, pacem ab eo petiit. Quam cum impetrasset, in
not it-could peace from him sought which when it-had-obtained in
fide non mansit et se, simulac potuit, ad Antipatrum
good-faith not it-remained and itself as-soon-as it-could to Antipater
recepit. Eumenes Craterum ex acie semivivum elatum
withdrew Eumenes Craterus from the-battle-line half-alive carried-out
recreare studuit; cum id non posset, pro hominis
to-revive strove when that not he-could according-to the-man's
dignitate proque pristina amicitia (namque illo usus
dignity and-according-to former friendship for him used
erat Alexandro vivo familiariter) amplo funere extulit
he-had Alexander living familiarly with-an-ample funeral he-buried
ossaque in Macedoniam uxori eius ac liberis remisit.
and-the-bones into Macedonia to-the-wife his and children sent-back
Haec dum apud Hellespontum geruntur, Perdiccas apud 5
these-things while at the-Hellespont are-done Perdiccas at
Nilum flumen interficitur a Seleuco et Antigene, rerumque
the-Nile river is-killed by Seleucus and Antigenes and-of-affairs
summa ad Antipatrum defertur. Hic qui non
the-supreme-power to Antipater is-transferred here those-who not
deseruerant, exercitu suffragium ferente capitis absentes
had-deserted the-army a-vote carrying on-a-capital-charge absent
damnantur, in eis Eumenes. Hac ille perculsus plaga non
are-condemned among them Eumenes by-this he struck blow not
succubuit neque eo setius bellum administravit. Sed exiles
succumbed nor for-that less the-war conducted but slender
res animi magnitudinem, etsi non frangebant, tamen
resources of-spirit the-greatness though not they-broke yet
minuebant. Hunc persequens Antigonus, cum omni genere
they-diminished him pursuing Antigonus though with-every kind
copiarum abundaret, saepe in itineribus vexabatur, neque
of-forces he-abounded often on the-marches was-harassed nor

umquam ad manum accedere licebat nisi iis locis,
ever to hand-to-hand to-come was-it-allowed except in-those places
quibus pauci multis possent resistere. Sed extremo tempore,
in-which few many could resist but at-the-last time
cum consilio capi non posset, multitudine circumitus
when by-plan to-be-taken not he-could by-the-multitude surrounded
est. Hinc tamen multis suis amissis se expedivit
he-was from-here however many his-own lost himself he-extricated
et in castellum Phrygiae, quod Nora appellatur, confugit.
and into a-fort of-Phrygia which Nora is-called fled
In quo cum circumsederetur et vereretur, ne uno loco
in which when he-was-besieged and he-feared lest in-one place
manens equos militares perderet, quod spatium non esset
staying the-horses military he-should-ruin because space not there-was
agitandi, callidum fuit eius inventum, quem ad modum
of-exercising clever was his device in-what to manner
stans iumentum concalfieri exercerique posset, quo libentius
standing the-beast to-be-warmed and-exercised could so-that more-gladly
et cibo uteretur et a corporis motu non removeretur.
both food it-might-use and from of-the-body movement not be-kept-away
Substringebat caput loro altius, quam ut prioribus
he-tied-up the-head with-a-thong higher than that with-the-front
pedibus plene terram posset attingere, deinde post verberibus
feet fully the-ground it-could touch then behind with-blows
cogebat exsultare et calces remittere: qui motus non minus
he-forced-it to-leap-up and kicks to-send-back which motion not less
sudorem excutiebat, quam si in spatio decurreret. Quo
sweat shook-out than if on a-racecourse it-ran by-which
factum est, quod omnibus mirabile est visum, ut aeque
done it-was what to-all wonderful has seemed that equally
nitida iumenta ex castello educeret, cum complures menses
sleek the-beasts from the-fort he-led-out when several months

in obsidione fuisset, ac si in campestribus ea locis habuisset.
in siege he-had-been as if in level them places he-had-had
In hac conclusione, quotienscumque voluit, apparatum et
in this confinement whenever he-wished the-apparatus and
munitiones Antigoni alias incendit, alias disiecit. Tenuit
fortifications of-Antigonus sometimes he-burned sometimes threw-down he-kept
autem se uno loco, quamdiu hiems fuit, quod castra
however himself in-one place as-long-as winter was because a-camp
sub divo habere non poterat. Ver appropinquabat: simulata
under the-sky to-have not he-could spring was-approaching feigned
deditione, dum de condicionibus tractat, praefectis
a-surrender while about the-terms he-negotiates on-the-commanders
Antigoni imposuit seque ac suos omnes extraxit incolumes.
of-Antigonus he-imposed and-himself and his-own all drew-out unharmed
Ad hunc Olympias, mater quae fuerat Alexandri, cum 6
to this-man Olympias the-mother who had-been of-Alexander when
litteras et nuntios misisset in Asiam consultum, utrum
a-letter and messengers she-had-sent into Asia to-consult whether
repetitum iret Macedoniam (nam tum in Epiro
to-reclaim she-should-go Macedonia for then in Epirus
habitabat) et suas res occuparet, huic ille primum suasit,
she-lived and her affairs she-should-seize to-her he first advised
ne se moveret et exspectaret, quoad Alexandri filius
not herself she-should-move and she-should-wait until of-Alexander the-son
regnum adipisceretur; sin aliqua cupiditate raperetur
the-kingdom should-obtain but-if by-some desire she-were-carried
in Macedoniam, oblivisceretur omnium iniuriarum et in
into Macedonia she-should-forget all wrongs and on
neminem acerbiore uteretur imperio. Horum illa nihil fecit:
no-one harsher she-should-use command of-these she nothing did
nam et in Macedoniam profecta est et ibi crudelissime
for both into Macedonia set-out she-has and there most-cruelly

se gessit. Petiit autem ab Eumene absente, ne
herself conducted she-asked however of Eumenes absent that-not
pateretur Philippi domus ac familiae inimicissimos stirpem
he-should-allow of-Philip of-the-house and family the-bitterest-enemies the-stock
quoque interimere, ferretque opem liberis Alexandri.
also to-destroy and-should-bring help to-the-children of-Alexander
Quam veniam si daret, quam primum exercitus pararet,
which favor if he-gave as first-as-possible armies he-should-prepare
quos sibi subsidio adduceret. Id quo facilius faceret, se
which to-her for-help he-should-lead that that more-easily he-might-do-it herself
omnibus praefectis, qui in officio manebant, misisse litteras,
to-all the-commanders who in duty remained to-have-sent letters
ut ei parerent eiusque consiliis uterentur. His rebus
that to-him they-should-obey and-his counsels they-should-use by-these things
Eumenes permotus satius duxit, si ita tulisset fortuna, perire
Eumenes moved better held-it if so fortune had-brought to-perish
bene meritis referentem gratiam quam ingratum vivere.
well to-the-deserving returning thanks than ungrateful to-live

III · THE GOLDEN CHAIR

To avoid Macedonian jealousy, Eumenes holds councils in a tent with Alexander's empty throne. He beats Antigonus in Paraetacene, but the Macedonian veterans winter wherever they please. Antigonus marches across the desert; Eumenes lights false campfires on the hills to make him think an army waits, and buys time.

7 Itaque copias contraxit, bellum adversus Antigonum comparavit.
and-so forces he-gathered war against Antigonus prepared
Quod una erant Macedones complures nobiles, in eis
because together were Macedonians several nobles among them
Peucestes, qui corporis custos fuerat Alexandri, tum autem
Peucestes who of-the-body guard had-been of-Alexander then however

obtinebat Persidem, et Antigenes, cuius sub imperio phalanx
held Persia and Antigenes whose under command the-phalanx
erat Macedonum, invidiam verens (quam tamen effugere
was of-the-Macedonians envy fearing which however to-escape
non potuit), si potius ipse alienigena summi imperii
not he-could if rather he-himself a-foreigner of-the-supreme command
potiretur quam aliquis Macedonum, quorum ibi erat
should-gain-possession than someone of-the-Macedonians of-whom there was
multitudo, in principiis Alexandri nomine tabernaculum
a-multitude in the-headquarters in-Alexander's name a-tent
statuit in eoque sellam auream cum sceptro ac diademate
he-set-up in and-it a-chair golden with scepter and diadem
iussit poni eoque omnes cottidie convenire, ut ibi de
he-ordered to-be-placed and-thither all daily to-assemble that there about
summis rebus consilia caperentur, credens minore se invidia
the-highest matters plans might-be-taken believing with-less himself envy
fore, si specie imperii nominisque simulatione
to-be-going-to-be if in-the-appearance of-command and-of-the-name in-the-pretense
Alexandri bellum videretur administrare. Quod effecit. Nam
of-Alexander the-war he-seemed to-administer which he-achieved for
cum non ad Eumenis principia, sed ad regia
since not to of-Eumenes the-headquarters but to the-royal-quarters
conveniretur atque ibi de rebus deliberaretur, quodam modo
they-assembled and there about affairs it-was-deliberated in-a-certain way
latebat, cum tamen per eum unum gererentur omnia.
he-was-hidden though yet through him alone were-done all-things
Hic in Paraetacis cum Antigono conflixit, non acie 8
he in Paraetacene with Antigonus engaged not with-battle-line
instructa, sed in itinere, eumque male acceptum in Mediam
drawn-up but on the-march and-him badly treated into Media
hiematum coegit redire. Ipse in finitima regione Persidis
to-winter forced to-return he-himself in the-neighboring region of-Persia

hiematum copias divisit, non ut voluit, sed ut militum
to-winter the-forces divided not as he-wished but as of-the-soldiers
cogebat voluntas. Namque illa phalanx Alexandri Magni, quae
forced the-will for that phalanx of-Alexander the-Great which
Asiam peragrarat deviceratque Persas, inveterata cum gloria
Asia had-traversed and-had-defeated the-Persians grown-old both in-glory
tum etiam licentia, non parere se ducibus, sed imperare
and also in-license not to-obey itself the-leaders but to-command
postulabat, ut nunc veterani faciunt nostri. Itaque periculum
demanded as now veterans do our and-so danger
est ne faciant quod illi fecerunt, sua intemperantia
there-is lest they-do what they did by-their intemperance
nimiaque licentia ut omnia perdant neque minus eos, cum
and-excessive license that all-things they-ruin nor less those with
quibus fecerint, quam adversus quos steterint. Quodsi quis
whom they-have-acted than against whom they-have-stood but-if anyone
illorum veteranorum legat facta, paria horum cognoscat
of-those veterans should-read the-deeds equal of-these he-would-recognize
neque rem ullam nisi tempus interesse iudicet. Sed ad
nor thing any except the-time to-differ he-would-judge but to
illos revertar. Hiberna sumpserant non ad usum belli,
those I-shall-return winter-quarters they-had-taken not for the-use of-war
sed ad ipsorum luxuriam, longeque inter se discesserant.
but for their-own luxury and-far among themselves had-separated
Hoc Antigonus cum comperisset intellegeretque se parem
this Antigonus when he-had-learned and-understood himself equal
non esse paratis adversariis, statuit aliquid sibi consilii
not to-be to-the-prepared opponents he-decided something for-himself of-plan
novi esse capiendum. Duae erant viae, qua ex Medis, ubi
new to-be to-be-taken two were roads by-which from the-Medes where
ille hiemabat, ad adversariorum hibernacula posset perveniri.
he was-wintering to of-the-opponents the-winter-quarters it-could to-be-reached

Quarum brevior per loca deserta, quae nemo incolebat propter
of-which the-shorter through places desert which no-one inhabited because-of
aquae inopiam, ceterum dierum erat fere decem; illa autem,
of-water the-want but of-days it-was about ten that however
qua omnes commeabant, altero tanto longiorem habebat
by-which all traveled by-a-second as-great longer had
anfractum, sed erat copiosa omniumque rerum abundans. Hac
detour but it-was plentiful and-of-all things abounding by-this
si proficisceretur, intellegebat prius adversarios rescituros de
if he-set-out he-understood sooner the-opponents to-be-going-to-learn about
suo adventu, quam ipse tertiam partem confecisset itineris;
his arrival than he-himself a-third part had-completed of-the-march
sin per loca sola contenderet, sperabat se imprudentem
but-if through places lonely he-pressed he-hoped himself the-unaware
hostem oppressurum. Ad hanc rem conficiendam imperavit
enemy to-be-going-to-crush for this thing to-be-accomplished he-ordered
quam plurimos utres atque etiam culleos comparari post
as many-as-possible wineskins and even sacks to-be-procured after
haec pabulum, praeterea cibaria cocta dierum decem, ut quam
these fodder besides rations cooked of-days ten that as
minime fieret ignis in castris. Iter quo habeat,
little-as-possible should-be-made fire in the-camp the-march where he-holds
omnes celat. Sic paratus, qua constituerat, proficiscitur.
all he-conceals thus prepared by-which-way he-had-decided he-sets-out
Dimidium fere spatium confecerat, cum ex fumo castrorum 9
half almost the-distance he-had-completed when from the-smoke of-the-camp
eius suspicio allata est ad Eumenem hostem appropinquare.
his suspicion brought was to Eumenes the-enemy to-be-approaching
Conveniunt duces: quaeritur, quid opus sit facto.
assemble the-leaders it-is-asked what needful is to-be-done
Intellegebant omnes tam celeriter copias ipsorum contrahi
they-understood all so quickly the-forces their-own to-be-gathered

non posse, quam Antigonus affuturus videbatur. Hic
not to-be-able as Antigonus to-be-going-to-be-present seemed here
omnibus titubantibus et de rebus summis desperantibus
all wavering and about the-highest matters despairing
Eumenes ait, si celeritatem velint adhibere et imperata
Eumenes says if speed they-were-willing to-apply and the-orders
facere, quod ante non fecerint, se rem expediturum.
to-carry-out which before not they-had-done himself the-matter to-be-going-to-settle
Nam quod iter diebus quinque hostis transisse posset,
for what march in-days five the-enemy to-have-crossed could
se effecturum ut non minus totidem dierum spatio
himself to-be-going-to-bring-about that not less by-as-many days' space
retardaretur: quare circumirent, suas quisque contraheret
he-should-be-delayed wherefore they-should-go-round their each should-gather
copias. Ad Antigoni autem refrenandum impetum tale capit
forces for of-Antigonus however to-be-checked the-attack such takes
consilium. Certos mittit homines ad infimos montes, qui
plan reliable he-sends men to the-lowest mountains which
obvii erant itineri adversariorum, iisque praecipit ut
in-the-way were to-the-march of-the-opponents and-to-them instructs that
prima nocte, quam latissime possint, ignes faciant quam
at-the-first night as widely-as they-can fires they-should-make as
maximos atque hos secunda vigilia minuant, tertia
great-as-possible and these at-the-second watch they-should-diminish at-the-third
perexiguos reddant, ut assimulata castrorum consuetudine
very-small they-should-make that by-imitated of-a-camp habit
suspicionem iniciant hostibus, iis locis esse castra
suspicion they-might-cast into-the-enemy in-those places to-be a-camp
ac de eorum adventu esse praenuntiatum; idemque
and about their arrival to-have-been forewarned and-the-same
postera nocte faciant. Quibus imperatum erat,
on-the-following night they-should-do to-whom ordered it-had-been

diligenter praeceptum curant. Antigonus tenebris obortis
diligently the-instruction they-carry-out Antigonus darkness having-arisen
ignes conspicatur: credit de suo adventu esse auditum
the-fires sees he-believes about his arrival to-have-been heard
et adversarios illuc suas contraxisse copias. Mutat consilium
and the-opponents thither their to-have-gathered forces he-changes plan
et, quoniam imprudentes adoriri non posset, flectit iter suum
and since unaware to-attack not he-could he-turns route his
et illum anfractum longiorem copiosae viae capit ibique
and that detour longer of-the-plentiful road takes and-there
diem unum opperitur ad lassitudinem sedandam militum
day one waits for the-weariness to-be-relieved of-the-soldiers
ac reficienda iumenta, quo integriore exercitu decerneret.
and to-be-refreshed the-beasts so-that with-fresher army he-might-decide

IV · BETRAYAL AND DEATH

The Macedonian veterans hand Eumenes over to Antigonus. In chains he asks why he is not killed or freed, and tells Onomarchus he never met a braver man; Nepos adds that he fell by his friends' treachery. Antigonus hesitates, then starves him; the guards kill him. Only after his death do the generals take the title of king. Antigonus hands his body to his relatives, who bury him with military honors.

Sic Eumenes callidum imperatorem vicit consilio 10
thus Eumenes a-clever commander conquered by-plan
celeritatemque impedivit eius, neque tamen multum profecit.
and-the-speed hindered his nor yet much did-he-gain
Nam invidia ducum, cum quibus erat, perfidiaque
for by-the-envy of-the-leaders with whom he-was and-by-the-treachery
Macedonum veteranorum, cum superior proelio discessisset,
of-the-Macedonian veterans though superior from-battle he-had-come-away

Antigono est deditus, cum exercitus ei ter ante separatis
to-Antigonus was surrendered though the-army to-him three-times before at-separate
temporibus iurasset se eum defensurum neque umquam
times had-sworn itself him to-be-going-to-defend nor ever
deserturum. Sed tanta fuit nonnullorum virtutis obtrectatio,
to-be-going-to-desert but so-great was of-some of-valor the-disparagement
ut fidem amittere mallent quam eum non perdere. Atque
that their-faith to-lose they-preferred than him not to-ruin and
hunc Antigonus, cum ei fuisset infestissimus, conservasset,
this-man Antigonus though to-him he-had-been most-hostile would-have-saved
si per suos esset licitum, quod ab nullo se plus adiuvari
if through his-own it-had-been allowed because by no-one himself more to-be-helped
posse intellegebat in eis rebus, quas impendere iam apparebat
could he-understood in those things which to-impend already was-clear
omnibus. Imminebant enim Seleucus, Lysimachus, Ptolemaeus,
to-all were-threatening for Seleucus Lysimachus Ptolemy
opibus iam valentes, cum quibus ei de summis rebus
in-resources already strong with whom to-him about the-highest matters
erat dimicandum. Sed non passi sunt ii qui circa erant,
it-was to-be-fought but not allowed-it have those who around were
quod videbant Eumene recepto omnes prae illo parvi
because they-saw Eumenes received all in-comparison-with him of-little
futuros. Ipse autem Antigonus adeo erat incensus, ut
to-be-going-to-be himself however Antigonus so-much was inflamed that
nisi magna spe maximarum rerum leniri non posset.
unless by-great hope of-the-greatest things to-be-softened not he-could
11 Itaque cum eum in custodiam dedisset et praefectus
and-so when him into custody he-had-given and the-commander
custodum quaesisset, quem ad modum servari vellet, ‘ut
of-the-guards had-asked in-what to manner to-be-kept he-wished as
acerrimum’ inquit ‘leonem aut ferocissimum elephantum’:
the-fiercest he-says lion or the-most-savage elephant

nondum enim statuerat, conservaret eum necne. Veniebat
not-yet for he-had-decided he-should-save him or-not came
autem ad Eumenem utrumque genus hominum, et qui
however to Eumenes each kind of-men both who
propter odium fructum oculis ex eius casu capere vellent,
because-of hatred enjoyment for-their-eyes from his fall to-take wished
et qui propter veterem amicitiam colloqui consolarique
and who because-of old friendship to-converse and-console
cuperent, multi etiam, qui eius formam cognoscere studebant,
desired many also who his form to-learn were-eager
qualis esset, quem tam diu tamque valde timuissent, cuius
what-sort he-was whom so long and-so greatly they-had-feared whose
in pernicie positam spem habuissent victoriae. At Eumenes,
in ruin placed hope they-had-had of-victory but Eumenes
cum diutius in vinclis esset, ait Onomarcho, penes quem
when longer in chains he-was says to-Onomarchus in-the-hands-of whom
summa imperii erat custodiae, se mirari, quare iam
the-supreme-power of-command was of-the-guard himself to-wonder why already
tertium diem sic teneretur: non enim hoc convenire Antigoni
the-third day thus he-was-held not for this to-befit of-Antigonus
prudentiae, ut sic uteretur devicto: quin aut interfici
to-the-prudence that so he-should-use the-defeated-man but-that either to-be-killed
aut missum fieri iuberet. Hic cum ferocius Onomarcho
or released to-be-made he-should-order he when too-fiercely to-Onomarchus
loqui videretur, ‘quid? Tu’ inquit ‘animo si isto eras, cur
to-speak he-seemed what you he-says with-spirit if that you-were why
non in proelio cecidisti potius quam in potestatem inimici
not in battle did-you-fall rather than into the-power of-an-enemy
venires?’ Huic Eumenes ‘utinam quidem istud evenisset!
you-should-come to-him Eumenes would-that indeed that had-happened
Sed eo non accidit, quod numquam cum fortiore sum
but for-that not it-happened because never with a-braver-man have-I

congressus: non enim cum quoquam arma contuli,
engaged not for with anyone arms have-I-brought-together
quin is mihi succubuerit.' Neque id erat falsum: non enim
but-that he to-me has-succumbed nor that was false not for
virtute hostium, sed amicorum perfidia decidit. ∗∗∗ Nam
by-the-valor of-the-enemy but of-friends by-the-treachery he-fell (lacuna) for
et dignitate fuit honesta et viribus ad laborem ferendum
both in-dignity he-was honorable and in-strength for toil to-be-borne
firmis neque tam magno corpore quam figura venusta.
firm nor so in-great body as in-figure handsome

12 De hoc Antigonus cum solus constituere non auderet,
about this-man Antigonus when alone to-decide not he-dared
ad consilium rettulit. Hic cum omnes primo perturbati
to the-council he-referred here when all at-first disturbed
admirarentur non iam de eo sumptum esse supplicium,
wondered not already on him taken to-have-been punishment
a quo tot annos adeo essent male habiti, ut saepe
by whom so-many years so-much they-had-been badly handled that often
ad desperationem forent adducti, quique maximos duces
to despair they-had-been brought and-who the-greatest leaders
interfecisset, denique in quo uno tantum esset, ut, quoad
had-killed finally in whom alone so-much was that as-long-as
ille viveret, ipsi securi esse non possent, interfecto nihil
he lived themselves secure to-be not they-could him-killed nothing
habituri negotii essent: postremo, si illi redderet salutem,
going-to-have of-trouble they-would-be lastly if to-him he-returned safety
quaerebant, quibus amicis esset usurus: sese enim cum
they-asked what friends he-was going-to-use themselves for with
Eumene apud eum non futuros. Hic cognita consilii
Eumenes with him not to-be-going-to-be he having-been-learned of-the-council
voluntate tamen usque ad septimum diem deliberandi sibi
the-wish yet right to the-seventh day of-deliberating for-himself

spatium reliquit. Tum autem, cum iam vereretur ne qua
space he-left then however when already he-feared lest some
seditio exercitus oreretur, vetuit quemquam ad eum admitti
mutiny of-the-army should-arise he-forbade anyone to him to-be-admitted
et cottidianum victum removeri iussit: nam negabat se
and the-daily food to-be-removed he-ordered for he-denied himself
ei vim allaturum, cui aliquando fuisset amicus. Hic
on-him violence to-be-going-to-bring to-whom once he-had-been a-friend he
tamen non amplius quam triduum fame fatigatus, cum castra
however not more than three-days by-hunger exhausted when the-camp
moverentur, insciente Antigono iugulatus est a custodibus.
was-being-moved unaware Antigonus butchered was by the-guards
Sic Eumenes annorum quinque et quadraginta, cum ab 13
thus Eumenes of-years five and forty when from
anno vicesimo, uti supra ostendimus, septem annos Philippo
the-year twentieth as above we-have-shown seven years to-Philip
apparuisset, tredecim apud Alexandrum eundem locum
he-had-attended thirteen with Alexander the-same place
obtinuisset, in eis unum equitum alae praefuisset, post
had-held in those one of-cavalry over-a-wing had-presided after
autem Alexandri Magni mortem imperator exercitus duxisset
however of-Alexander the-Great the-death as-commander armies had-led
summosque duces partim reppulisset, partim interfecisset,
and-the-highest leaders partly had-repulsed partly had-killed
captus non Antigoni virtute, sed Macedonum periurio talem
taken not by-Antigonus' valor but by-the-Macedonians' perjury such
habuit exitum vitae. In quo quanta omnium fuerit opinio
had end of-life in which how-great of-all was the-opinion
eorum, qui post Alexandrum Magnum reges sunt appellati, ex
of-those who after Alexander the-Great kings were called from
hoc facillime potest iudicari, quod, quorum nemo Eumene vivo
this most-easily can to-be-judged that of-whom no-one Eumenes living

rex appellatus est, sed praefectus, eidem post huius occasum
king called was but commander the-same after this-man's fall
statim regium ornatum nomenque sumpserunt neque, quod
at-once royal attire and-name assumed nor what
initio praedicarant, se Alexandri liberis regnum
at-the-beginning they-had-proclaimed themselves for-Alexander's children the-kingdom
servare, praestare voluerunt et hoc uno propugnatore sublato
to-preserve to-make-good wished and this one champion removed
quid sentirent aperuerunt. Huius sceleris principes fuerunt
what they-felt they-revealed of-this crime the-leaders were
Antigonus, Ptolemaeus, Seleucus, Lysimachus, Cassandrus.
Antigonus Ptolemy Seleucus Lysimachus Cassander
Antigonus autem Eumenem mortuum propinquis eius
Antigonus however Eumenes dead to-relatives his
sepeliendum tradidit. Ii militari honestoque funere, comitante
to-be-buried handed-over they with-military and-honorable funeral accompanying
toto exercitu, humaverunt ossaque eius in Cappadociam
the-whole army buried-him and-the-bones his into Cappadocia
ad matrem atque uxorem liberosque eius deportanda curarunt.
to his-mother and wife and-children his to-be-carried saw-to

I · PHOCION

Phocion, called the Good, refuses Philip's gifts, saying his small farm will be enough for sons like him. In old age he is hated for agreeing to hand Athens over to Antipater, for abandoning Demosthenes, and for denying the danger when warned that Nicanor was plotting against the Piraeus. Driven into exile, he goes to Polyperchon, is sent back to Athens in custody, condemned, and executed; his friend Euphiletus weeps, and slaves bury him.

Phocion Atheniensis etsi saepe exercitibus praefuit 1
Phocion the-Athenian although often armies he-commanded
summosque magistratus cepit, tamen multo eius notior
and-the-highest offices held yet by-much his more-known
est integritas vitae quam rei militaris labor. Itaque
is the-integrity of-life than of-the-matter military the-toil and-so
huius memoria est nulla, illius autem magna fama, ex quo
of-this memory is none of-that however great the-fame from which
cognomine Bonus est appellatus. Fuit enim perpetuo pauper,
by-the-surname the-Good he-was called he-was for always poor
cum divitissimus esse posset propter frequentes delatos honores
though very-rich to-be he-could because-of the-frequent conferred honors
potestatesque summas, quae ei a populo dabantur. Hic
and-powers highest which to-him by the-people were-given he
cum a rege Philippo munera magnae pecuniae repudiaret
when from king Philip gifts of-great money he-refused
legatique hortarentur accipere simulque admonerent, si
and-the-envoys urged to-accept and-at-the-same-time reminded if
ipse iis facile careret, liberis tamen suis prospiceret,
he-himself them easily did-without for-children yet his-own he-should-provide
quibus difficile esset in summa paupertate tantam paternam
to-whom difficult it-would-be in the-utmost poverty so-great paternal

tueri gloriam, iis ille ‘si mei similes erunt, idem
to-maintain the-glory to-them he if of-me like they-shall-be the-same
hic’ inquit ‘agellus illos alet, qui me ad hanc dignitatem
this he-says little-farm them will-nourish which me to this rank
perduxit; sin dissimiles sunt futuri, nolo meis
has-brought but-if unlike they-are going-to-be I-do-not-want at-my
impensis illorum ali augerique luxuriam.’
expense their to-be-nourished and-to-be-increased the-luxury

2 Idem cum prope ad annum octogesimum prospera
the-same when nearly to the-year eightieth with-prosperous
pervenisset fortuna, extremis temporibus magnum in odium
he-had-come fortune in-the-last times great into hatred
pervenit suorum civium, primo quod cum Demade de
came of-his-own citizens first because with Demades about
urbe tradenda Antipatro consenserat eiusque consilio
the-city to-be-handed-over to-Antipater he-had-agreed and-by-his advice
Demosthenes cum ceteris, qui bene de re publica
Demosthenes with the-others who well of the-thing public
meriti existimabantur, populi scito in exilium erant
to-have-deserved were-thought by-the-people's decree into exile had-been
expulsi. Neque in eo solum offenderat, quod patriae male
driven nor in this only had-he-offended that for-his-country badly
consuluerat, sed etiam quod amicitiae fidem non praestiterat.
he-had-provided but also that of-friendship the-good-faith not he-had-kept
Namque auctus adiutusque a Demosthene eum, quem tenebat,
for increased and-helped by Demosthenes that which he-held
ascenderat gradum, cum adversus Charetem eum subornaret:
he-had-climbed rank when against Chares him he-set-up
ab eodem in iudiciis, cum capitis causam diceret,
by the-same-man in trials when on-a-capital-charge his-case he-pleaded
defensus aliquotiens, liberatus discesserat. Hunc non solum
defended several-times freed had-come-away him not only

in periculis non defendit, sed etiam prodidit. Concidit autem
in dangers not he-defended but also he-betrayed he-fell however
maxime uno crimine, quod, cum apud eum summum esset
most by-one charge that when with him the-supreme was
imperium populi iussu et Nicanorem, Cassandri praefectum,
command by-the-people's order and Nicanor Cassander's commander
insidiari Piraeo a Dercylo moneretur idemque postularet
to-plot against-the-Piraeus by Dercylus he-was-warned and-the-same demanded
ut provideret, ne commeatibus civitas privaretur, huic
that he-should-see-to-it lest of-supplies the-state be-deprived to-him
audiente populo Phocion negavit esse periculum seque
in-the-hearing-of the-people Phocion denied to-be danger and-himself
eius rei obsidem fore pollicitus est. Neque ita multo
of-that thing the-guarantor to-be-going-to-be promised has nor so much
post Nicanor Piraeo est potitus. Ad quem recuperandum
after Nicanor of-the-Piraeus has gained-possession to which to-be-recovered
cum populus armatus concurrisset, ille non modo neminem ad
when the-people armed had-run-together he not only no-one to
arma vocavit, sed ne armatis quidem praeesse voluit.
arms called but not over-the-armed even to-be-in-command wished
Erant eo tempore Athenis duae factiones, quarum una 3
there-were at-that time at-Athens two factions of-which one
populi causam agebat, altera optimatium. In hac erat
of-the-people the-cause pleaded the-other of-the-optimates in this was
Phocion et Demetrius Phalereus. Harum utraque Macedonum
Phocion and Demetrius of-Phalerum of-these each of-the-Macedonians
patrociniis utebatur: nam populares Polyperchonti favebant,
the-patronage used for the-popular-party Polyperchon favored
optimates cum Cassandro sentiebant. Interim a Polyperchonte
the-optimates with Cassander sided meanwhile by Polyperchon
Cassandrus Macedonia pulsus est. Quo facto populus superior
Cassander from-Macedonia driven was which done the-people superior

factus statim duces adversariae factionis capitis damnatos
made at-once the-leaders of-the-opposing faction on-a-capital-charge condemned
patria propulit, in eis Phocionem et Demetrium
from-their-country drove among them Phocion and Demetrius
Phalereum, deque ea re legatos ad Polyperchontem
of-Phalerum and-about that matter envoys to Polyperchon
misit, qui ab eo peterent ut sua decreta confirmaret. Huc
sent who from him should-ask that its decrees he-should-confirm hither
eodem profectus est Phocion. Quo ut venit, causam apud
to-the-same-place set-out has Phocion whither when he-came his-case before
Philippum regem verbo, re ipsa quidem apud Polyperchontem
Philip the-king in-word in-fact itself indeed before Polyperchon
iussus est dicere: namque is tum regis rebus praeerat.
ordered he-was to-plead for he then of-the-king over-the-affairs presided
Hic ab Agnone accusatus, quod Piraeum Nicanori prodidisset,
he by Hagnon accused that the-Piraeus to-Nicanor he-had-betrayed
ex consilii sententia in custodiam coniectus Athenas
by of-the-council the-vote into custody thrown to-Athens
deductus est, ut ibi de eo legibus fieret iudicium.
escorted he-was that there about him by-the-laws should-be-held a-trial
4 Huc ut perventum est, cum propter aetatem pedibus
hither when arrived it-was since because-of age on-his-feet
iam non valeret vehiculoque portaretur, magni concursus
already not he-was-strong and-in-a-carriage was-carried great crowds
sunt facti, cum alii, reminiscentes veteris famae, aetatis
were made when some remembering the-old reputation his-age
misererentur, plurimi vero ira exacuerentur propter
pitied most however with-anger were-sharpened because-of
proditionis suspicionem maximeque quod adversus populi
of-treason the-suspicion and-most that against of-the-people
commoda in senectute steterat. Quare ne perorandi
the-interests in old-age he-had-stood wherefore not of-pleading

quidem ei data est facultas dicenti causam in iudicio:
even to-him given was the-opportunity speaking his-case in court
legitimis quibusdam confectis damnatus traditus est
legal-forms certain having-been-completed condemned handed-over he-was
undecimviris, quibus ad supplicium more Atheniensium
to-the-Eleven to-whom for punishment by-the-custom of-the-Athenians
publice damnati tradi solent. Hic cum ad mortem
publicly the-condemned to-be-handed-over are-accustomed he when to death
duceretur, obvius ei fuit Euphiletus, quo familiariter
he-was-being-led in-his-way to-him was Euphiletus whom intimately
fuerat usus. Is cum lacrimans dixisset 'o quam indigna
he-had used he when weeping he-had-said O how undeserved-things
perpeteris, Phocion!' Huic ille 'at non inopinata' inquit:
you-suffer Phocion to-him he but not unexpected he-says
'hunc enim exitum plerique clari viri habuerunt Athenienses.'
this for end most famous men have-had Athenian
In hoc tantum fuit odium multitudinis, ut nemo ausus
in this so-great was the-hatred of-the-multitude that no-one dared
sit eum liber sepelire. Itaque a servis sepultus est.
has him a-free-man to-bury and-so by slaves buried he-was

TIMOLEON

I · TIMOLEON THE LIBERATOR

Timoleon frees Corinth by having his brother Timophanes, its tyrant, killed, though he will not watch; his mother curses him, and he thinks of dying. Sent to Syracuse, he drives Dionysius out of Sicily, sparing his life, defeats Hicetas and the Carthaginians, and captures Mamercus.

1 Timoleon Corinthius. Sine dubio magnus omnium iudicio
Timoleon the-Corinthian without doubt great of-all by-the-judgment
hic vir exstitit. Namque huic uni contigit, quod nescio
this man stood-out for to-him alone befell what I-know-not
an nulli, ut et patriam, in qua erat natus, oppressam
whether to-none that both his-country in which he-had-been born oppressed
a tyranno liberaret, et a Syracusanis, quibus auxilio
by a-tyrant he-should-free and from the-Syracusans to-whom for-help
erat missus, iam inveteratam servitutem depelleret
he-had-been sent already the-long-established slavery should-drive-off
totamque Siciliam, multos annos bello vexatam a barbarisque
and-the-whole Sicily many years by-war harassed by and-barbarians
oppressam, suo adventu in pristinum restitueret. Sed in
oppressed by-his arrival into its-former-state should-restore but in
his rebus non simplici fortuna conflictatus est et, id quod
these things not by-simple fortune afflicted he-was and that which
difficilius putatur, multo sapientius tulit secundam quam
more-difficult is-thought much more-wisely he-bore the-favorable than
adversam fortunam. Nam cum frater eius Timophanes,
the-adverse fortune for when the-brother his Timophanes
dux a Corinthiis delectus, tyrannidem per milites
as-leader by the-Corinthians chosen tyranny through soldiers
mercennarios occupasset particepsque regni ipse posset
mercenary had-seized and-a-sharer of-the-kingship himself could

esse, tantum afuit a societate sceleris, ut antetulerit
be so-far was-he from partnership of-the-crime that he-put-before
civium suorum libertatem fratris saluti et parere legibus
of-citizens his the-freedom to-his-brother's safety and to-obey the-laws
quam imperare patriae satius duxerit. Hac mente per
than to-rule his-country better he-held with-this mind through
haruspicem communemque affinem, cui soror ex
a-soothsayer and-a-common relative-by-marriage to-whom the-sister from
eisdem parentibus nata nupta erat, fratrem tyrannum
the-same parents born married had-been his-brother the-tyrant
interficiundum curavit. Ipse non modo manus non attulit,
to-be-killed he-saw-to he-himself not only a-hand not laid-on
sed ne aspicere quidem fraternum sanguinem voluit. Nam
but not to-look-at even his-brother's blood he-wished for
dum res conficeretur, procul in praesidio fuit, ne quis
while the-thing was-being-done far-off on guard he-was lest any
satelles posset succurrere. Hoc praeclarissimum eius factum
attendant could help this most-splendid his deed
non pari modo probatum est ab omnibus: nonnulli enim
not in-equal manner approved was by all some for
laesam ab eo pietatem putabant et invidia laudem virtutis
injured by him the-duty-of-family thought and by-envy the-praise of-his-virtue
obterebant. Mater vero post id factum neque domum ad
they-wore-down his-mother indeed after that deed neither into-the-house to
se filium admisit neque aspexit, quin eum fratricidam
herself her-son admitted nor looked-at-him but-that him fratricide
impiumque detestans compellaret. Quibus rebus ille adeo
and-impious cursing she-addressed by-which things he so-much
est commotus, ut nonnumquam vitae finem facere voluerit
was moved that sometimes of-life an-end to-make he-wished
atque ex ingratorum hominum conspectu morte decedere.
and from of-ungrateful men the-sight by-death to-depart

2 Interim Dione Syracusis interfecto Dionysius rursus
meanwhile Dion at-Syracuse having-been-killed Dionysius again
Syracusarum potitus est. Cuius adversarii opem a
of-Syracuse gained-possession he-has whose opponents help from
Corinthiis petierunt ducemque, quo in bello uterentur,
the-Corinthians sought and-a-leader whom in the-war they-might-use
postularunt. Huc Timoleon missus incredibili felicitate
they-demanded hither Timoleon sent with-incredible good-fortune
Dionysium tota Sicilia depulit. Cum interficere posset,
Dionysius from-all Sicily drove-out when to-kill he-could
noluit, tutoque ut Corinthum perveniret effecit,
he-was-unwilling and-safely that to-Corinth he-should-arrive he-brought-about
quod utrorumque Dionysiorum opibus Corinthii saepe
because of-both of-the-Dionysii by-the-resources the-Corinthians often
adiuti fuerant, cuius benignitatis memoriam volebat exstare,
helped had-been of-which kindness the-memory he-wished to-survive
eamque praeclaram victoriam ducebat, in qua plus esset
and-that splendid victory he-held in which more there-was
clementiae quam crudelitatis, postremo ut non solum
of-clemency than of-cruelty finally that not only
auribus acciperetur, sed etiam oculis cerneretur, quem
by-the-ears it-should-be-received but also by-the-eyes it-should-be-seen whom
ex quanto regno ad quam fortunam detulisset. Post
from how-great a-kingdom to what fortune he-had-brought-down after
Dionysii decessum cum Hiceta bellavit, qui adversatus
of-Dionysius the-departure with Hicetas he-made-war who opposed
erat Dionysio: quem non odio tyrannidis dissensisse,
he-had Dionysius whom not from-hatred of-tyranny to-have-disagreed
sed cupiditate indicio fuit, quod ipse expulso Dionysio
but from-desire a-proof was that he-himself driven-out Dionysius
imperium dimittere noluit. Hoc superato Timoleon maximas
the-command to-give-up was-unwilling him overcome Timoleon the-greatest

copias Karthaginiensium apud Crinissum flumen fugavit ac
forces of-the-Carthaginians at the-Crinissus river routed and
satis habere coegit, si liceret Africam obtinere, qui
enough to-hold forced-them if it-were-allowed Africa to-keep who
iam complures annos possessionem Siciliae tenebant. Cepit
already several years the-possession of-Sicily held he-took
etiam Mamercum, Italicum ducem, hominem bellicosum et
also Mamercus the-Italian leader a-man warlike and
potentem, qui tyrannos adiutum in Siciliam venerat.
powerful who the-tyrants to-help into Sicily had-come

II · THE RESTORER OF SICILY

Timoleon resettles Sicily's cities, razes the tyrants' citadel, and lays down his power. Going blind, he attends assemblies in a carriage. He thanks the gods for his successes and keeps a shrine to Chance. He fights all his great battles on his birthday, protects even his accusers' right to speak, and is buried at public expense.

Quibus rebus confectis cum propter diuturnitatem belli non 3
which things done when because-of the-long-duration of-the-war not
solum regiones, sed etiam urbes desertas videret, conquisivit
only regions but also cities deserted he-saw he-sought-out
quos potuit, primum Siculos, dein Corintho arcessivit colonos,
whom he-could first Sicilians then from-Corinth he-summoned settlers
quod ab iis initio Syracusae erant conditae. Civibus
because by them at-the-beginning Syracuse had-been founded to-the-citizens
veteribus sua restituit, novis bello vacuefactas possessiones
old their-own he-restored to-the-new by-war emptied the-possessions
divisit, urbium moenia disiecta fanaque detecta refecit,
he-divided of-the-cities the-walls thrown-down and-the-shrines unroofed he-rebuilt
civitatibus leges libertatemque reddidit: ex maximo bello
to-the-states laws and-freedom he-restored from the-greatest war

tantum otium totae insulae conciliavit, ut hic conditor
such peace to-the-whole island he-secured that he the-founder
urbium earum, non illi qui initio deduxerant, videretur.
of-the-cities those not they who at-the-beginning had-led-them-out seemed
Arcem Syracusis, quam munierat Dionysius ad urbem
the-citadel at-Syracuse which had-fortified Dionysius for the-city
obsidendam, a fundamentis disiecit, cetera tyrannidis
to-be-besieged from the-foundations he-threw-down the-other of-tyranny
propugnacula demolitus est deditque operam, ut quam
bulwarks demolished he-has and-gave effort that as
minime multa vestigia servitutis manerent. Cum tantis esset
least many traces of-slavery should-remain though with-such he-was
opibus, ut etiam invitis imperare posset, tantum autem
resources that even over-the-unwilling to-command he-could such however
amorem haberet omnium Siculorum, ut nullo recusante
love he-had of-all the-Sicilians that with-no-one refusing
regnum obtinere liceret, maluit se diligi quam metui.
kingship to-hold it-was-allowed he-preferred himself to-be-loved than to-be-feared
Itaque, cum primum potuit, imperium deposuit ac privatus
and-so when first he-could the-command he-laid-down and as-a-private-man
Syracusis, quod reliquum vitae fuit, vixit. Neque vero id
at-Syracuse what remainder of-life was he-lived nor indeed that
imperite fecit: nam quod ceteri reges imperio potuerunt,
unskillfully did-he-do for what the-other kings by-command could
hic benivolentia tenuit. Nullus honos huic defuit, neque
he by-goodwill held no honor to-him was-lacking nor
postea res ulla Syracusis gesta est publice, de qua prius sit
afterward matter any at-Syracuse done was publicly about which sooner was
decretum quam Timoleontis sententia cognita. Nullius umquam
decreed than of-Timoleon the-opinion known of-no-one ever

consilium non modo antelatum, sed ne comparatum quidem est.
the-counsel not only preferred but not compared even was
Neque id magis eius benivolentia factum est quam prudentia.
nor that more his by-goodwill done was than by-prudence
Hic cum aetate iam provectus esset, sine ullo morbo 4
he when in-age already advanced he-was without any disease
lumina oculorum amisit. Quam calamitatem ita moderate
the-lights of-his-eyes lost which misfortune so moderately
tulit, ut neque eum querentem quisquam audierit neque
he-bore that neither him complaining anyone heard nor
eo minus privatis publicisque rebus interfuerit. Veniebat
for-that less in-private and-public affairs he-took-part he-came
autem in theatrum, cum ibi concilium populi haberetur,
however into the-theater when there an-assembly of-the-people was-held
propter valetudinem vectus iumentis iunctis, atque ita de
because-of his-health drawn by-beasts yoked and so from
vehiculo quae videbantur dicebat. Neque hoc illi quisquam
the-carriage what seemed-good he-spoke nor this to-him anyone
tribuebat superbiae: nihil enim umquam neque insolens
attributed to-arrogance nothing for ever neither insolent
neque gloriosum ex ore eius exiit. Qui quidem, cum suas
nor boastful from mouth his went-out who indeed when his
laudes audiret praedicari, numquam aliud dixit quam se
praises he-heard proclaimed never anything-else he-said than himself
in ea re maxime dis agere gratias atque habere, quod,
in that matter most to-the-gods to-give thanks and to-feel because
cum Siciliam recreare constituissent, tum se potissimum
when Sicily to-restore they-had-decided then himself especially
ducem esse voluissent. Nihil enim rerum humanarum
the-leader to-be they-had-wished nothing for of-things human

sine deorum numine geri putabat; itaque suae domi
without of-the-gods the-will to-be-done he-thought and-so in-his-own house
sacellum Automatias constituerat idque sanctissime colebat.
a-shrine of-Automatia he-had-set-up and-it most-reverently he-worshiped
Ad hanc hominis excellentem bonitatem mirabiles accesserant
to this of-the-man excellent goodness wonderful had-been-added
casus. Nam proelia maxima natali suo die fecit omnia,
chances for battles the-greatest on-his birth day he-fought all
quo factum est ut eius diem natalem festum haberet
by-which done it-was that his day birth festive held
universa Sicilia. Huic quidam Laphystius, homo petulans
all Sicily on-him a-certain Laphystius a-man insolent
et ingratus, vadimonium cum vellet imponere, quod cum
and ungrateful a-bail-summons when he-wished to-impose because with
illo se lege agere diceret, et complures concurrissent,
him himself by-law to-proceed he-said and several had-run-together
qui procacitatem hominis manibus coercere conarentur,
who the-impudence of-the-man with-their-hands to-check tried
Timoleon oravit homines, ne id facerent. Namque id ut
Timoleon begged the-men not that they-should-do for that that
Laphystio et cuivis liceret, se maximos labores
for-Laphystius and for-anyone it-should-be-allowed himself the-greatest toils
summaque adiisse pericula. Hanc enim speciem libertatis
and-the-highest to-have-undergone dangers this for the-form of-freedom
esse, si omnibus, quod quisque vellet, legibus experiri
to-be if for-all what each wished by-the-laws to-try
liceret. Idem, cum quidam Laphystii similis, nomine
it-were-allowed the-same when a-certain-man of-Laphystius like by-name
Demaenetus, in contione populi de rebus gestis eius
Demaenetus in the-assembly of-the-people from deeds done his
detrahere coepisset ac nonnulla inveheretur in Timoleonta,
to-detract had-begun and some-things inveighed against Timoleon

dixit nunc demum se voti esse damnatum: namque
he-said now at-last himself of-his-vow to-be condemned for
hoc a dis immortalibus semper precatum, ut talem
this from the-gods immortal always to-have-prayed that such
libertatem restitueret Syracusanis, in qua cuivis liceret
freedom he-should-restore to-the-Syracusans in which for-anyone it-was-allowed
de quo vellet quod vellet impune dicere. Hic cum diem
about whom he-wished what he-wished with-impunity to-say he when the-day
supremum obisset, publice a Syracusanis in gymnasio, quod
last he-had-met publicly by the-Syracusans in the-gymnasium which
Timoleonteum appellatur, tota celebrante Sicilia sepultus est.
the-Timoleonteum is-called the-whole celebrating Sicily buried he-was

DE REGIBUS

I · ON THE KINGS

Nepos passes over the kings, whose deeds are told elsewhere. Agesilaus is a king in name only. The greatest who ruled by power are the Persians Cyrus, Darius, Xerxes, and the two Artaxerxes; the Macedonians Philip and Alexander; Pyrrhus of Epirus; and Dionysius the elder of Syracuse, who dies in power past sixty without seeing a funeral in his family. Alexander's successors fight and kill each other. Hamilcar and Hannibal come next.

1 Hi fere fuerunt Graecae gentis duces, qui memoria digni
these mostly were of-the-Greek race the-leaders who of-memory worthy
videantur, praeter reges: namque eos attingere noluimus, quod
seem except the-kings for them to-touch-on we-did-not-wish because
omnium res gestae separatim sunt relatae. Neque tamen ii
of-all the-deeds done separately have-been related nor yet they
admodum sunt multi. Lacedaemonius autem Agesilaus nomine,
very are many the-Lacedaemonian however Agesilaus in-name
non potestate fuit rex, sicut ceteri Spartani. Ex iis vero, qui
not in-power was king as the-other Spartans of those however who
dominatum imperio tenuerunt, excellentissimi fuerunt, ut nos
rule by-command held the-most-excellent were as we
iudicamus, Persarum Cyrus et Darius, Hystaspi filius, quorum
judge of-the-Persians Cyrus and Darius of-Hystaspes the-son of-whom
uterque privatus virtute regnum est adeptus. Prior horum
each a-private-man by-valor kingship has obtained the-former of-these
apud Massagetas in proelio cecidit, Darius senectute diem obiit
among the-Massagetae in battle fell Darius by-old-age the-day met
supremum. Tres sunt praeterea eiusdem gentis: Xerxes et duo
last three are besides of-the-same race Xerxes and two
Artaxerxae, Macrochir cognomine et Mnemon. Xerxi maxime
Artaxerxes Macrochir by-surname and Mnemon for-Xerxes most

est illustre, quod maximis post hominum memoriam
is famous that with-the-greatest after of-men memory
exercitibus terra marique bellum intulit Graeciae. At Macrochir
armies by-land and-by-sea war he-brought on-Greece but Macrochir
praecipuam habet laudem amplissimae pulcherrimaeque corporis
special has praise of-most-ample and-most-beautiful of-body
formae, quam incredibili ornavit virtute belli: namque illo
form which with-incredible he-adorned valor of-war for than-him
Perses nemo manu fuit fortior. Mnemon autem iustitiae
Persian no-one in-hand was braver Mnemon however of-justice
fama floruit. Nam cum matris suae scelere amisisset
in-the-fame flourished for when of-mother his by-the-crime he-had-lost
uxorem, tantum indulsit dolori, ut eum pietas vinceret. Ex
his-wife so-much he-indulged his-grief that him dutifulness should-overcome of
his duo eodem nomine morbo naturae debitum reddiderunt,
these two of-the-same name by-disease to-nature the-debt paid
tertius ab Artabano praefecto ferro interemptus est.
the-third by Artabanus the-commander with-the-sword slain was
Ex Macedonum autem gente duo multo ceteros antecesserunt 2
of the-Macedonian however race two by-much the-others surpassed
rerum gestarum gloria: Philippus, Amyntae filius, et Alexander
of-deeds done in-glory Philip of-Amyntas the-son and Alexander
Magnus. Horum alter Babylone morbo consumptus est,
the-Great of-these the-one at-Babylon by-disease consumed was
Philippus Aegiis a Pausania, cum spectatum ludos iret,
Philip at-Aegae by Pausanias when to-watch the-games he-was-going
iuxta theatrum occisus est. Unus Epirotes, Pyrrhus, qui cum
near the-theater slain was one Epirote Pyrrhus who with
populo Romano bellavit. Is cum Argos oppidum oppugnaret
the-people Roman made-war he when Argos the-town he-was-attacking
in Peloponneso, lapide ictus interiit. Unus item Siculus,
in the-Peloponnese by-a-stone struck perished one likewise Sicilian

Dionysius prior. Nam et manu fortis et belli peritus fuit et,
Dionysius the-elder for both in-hand brave and of-war skilled he-was and
id quod in tyranno non facile reperitur, minime libidinosus,
that which in a-tyrant not easily is-found least lustful
non luxuriosus, non avarus, nullius denique rei cupidus nisi
not luxurious not greedy of-no finally thing desirous except
singularis perpetuique imperii ob eamque rem crudelis:
of-sole and-lasting rule on-account-of and-that thing cruel
nam dum id studuit munire, nullius pepercit vitae, quem
for while that he-strove to-fortify of-no-one he-spared the-life whom
eius insidiatorem putaret. Hic cum virtute tyrannidem sibi
his plotter he-thought he when by-valor tyranny for-himself
peperisset, magna retinuit felicitate: maior enim annos
had-won with-great he-kept-it good-fortune older for than-years
sexaginta natus decessit florente regno. Neque in tam multis
sixty born he-died with-flourishing kingdom nor in so many
annis cuiusquam ex sua stirpe funus vidit, cum ex tribus
years of-anyone from his stock the-funeral saw though from three
uxoribus liberos procreasset multique ei nati essent nepotes.
wives children he-had-begotten and-many to-him born had-been grandsons
3 Fuerunt praeterea magni reges ex amicis Alexandri Magni,
there-were besides great kings from the-friends of-Alexander the-Great
qui post obitum eius imperia ceperunt, in eis Antigonus
who after the-death his empires took among them Antigonus
et huius filius Demetrius, Lysimachus, Seleucus, Ptolemaeus.
and his son Demetrius Lysimachus Seleucus Ptolemy
Ex his Antigonus in proelio, cum adversus Seleucum et
of these Antigonus in battle when against Seleucus and
Lysimachum dimicaret, occisus est. Pari leto affectus est
Lysimachus he-was-fighting slain was with-equal death affected was
Lysimachus ab Seleuco: namque societate dissoluta bellum inter
Lysimachus by Seleucus for the-alliance dissolved war among

se gesserunt. At Demetrius, cum filiam suam Seleuco
themselves they-waged but Demetrius when daughter his to-Seleucus
in matrimonium dedisset neque eo magis fida inter eos
in marriage he-had-given nor for-that more faithful between them
amicitia manere potuisset, captus bello in custodia socer
friendship to-remain had-been-able captured in-war in custody the-father-in-law
generi periit a morbo. Neque ita multo post Seleucus
of-the-son-in-law perished from disease nor so much after Seleucus
a Ptolemaeo Cerauno dolo interfectus est, quem ille
by Ptolemy Ceraunus by-treachery killed was whom he
a patre expulsum Alexandrea alienarum opum indigentem
from his-father expelled from-Alexandria of-others' resources needy
receperat. Ipse autem Ptolemaeus, cum vivus filio
had-received he-himself however Ptolemy when alive to-his-son
regnum tradidisset, ab illo eodem vita privatus dicitur.
the-kingdom he-had-handed-over by that same of-life deprived is-said
De quibus quoniam satis dictum putamus, non incommodum
about whom since enough said we-think not unsuitable
videtur non praeterire Hamilcarem et Hannibalem, quos et
it-seems not to-pass-over Hamilcar and Hannibal who both
animi magnitudine et calliditate omnes in Africa natos
in-greatness of-spirit and in-shrewdness all in Africa born
praestitisse constat.
to-have-surpassed it-is-agreed

HAMILCAR

I · HAMILCAR BARCA

Hamilcar holds Eryx undefeated in the First Punic War and refuses to give up his arms when making peace. At home he puts down the mercenaries' revolt. He takes his son Hannibal to Spain and gives his daughter to Hasdrubal. There he subdues warlike peoples and is killed fighting the Vettones. His hatred of Rome seems the chief cause of the Second Punic War.

1 Hamilcar, Hannibalis filius, cognomine Barca, Karthaginiensis,
Hamilcar of-Hannibal the-son by-surname Barca the-Carthaginian
primo Poenico bello, sed temporibus extremis, admodum
in-the-first Punic war but in-the-times last very
adulescentulus in Sicilia praeesse coepit exercitui. Cum ante
a-young-man in Sicily to-command began the-army when before
eius adventum et mari et terra male res gererentur
his arrival both by-sea and by-land badly affairs were-managed
Karthaginiensium, ipse ubi affuit, numquam hosti
of-the-Carthaginians he-himself when he-was-present never to-the-enemy
cessit neque locum nocendi dedit, saepeque e contrario
did-he-yield nor a-place of-harming gave and-often on the-contrary
occasione data lacessivit semperque superior discessit. Quo
opportunity given he-provoked and-always superior came-away which
facto, cum paene omnia in Sicilia Poeni amisissent, ille
done when almost everything in Sicily the-Carthaginians had-lost he
Erycem sic defendit, ut bellum eo loco gestum non videretur.
Eryx so defended that war in-that place waged not it-seemed
Interim Karthaginienses classe apud insulas Aegates a C.
meanwhile the-Carthaginians with-their-fleet at the-islands Aegates by Gaius
Lutatio, consule Romanorum, superati statuerunt belli facere
Lutatius consul of-the-Romans overcome decided of-the-war to-make

finem eamque rem arbitrio permiserunt Hamilcaris. Ille
an-end and-that matter to-the-judgment entrusted of-Hamilcar he
etsi flagrabat bellandi cupiditate, tamen paci serviundum
though he-burned of-making-war with-desire yet to-peace to-be-served
putavit, quod patriam exhaustam sumptibus diutius calamitates
he-thought because his-country exhausted by-expenses longer the-disasters
belli ferre non posse intellegebat, sed ita ut statim
of-war to-bear not to-be-able he-understood but so that at-once
mente agitaret, si paulum modo res essent refectae,
in-mind he-should-revolve if a-little only affairs had-been restored
bellum renovare Romanosque armis persequi, donicum aut
war to-renew and-the-Romans with-arms to-pursue until either
virtute vicissent aut victi manus dedissent. Hoc
by-valor they-had-conquered or conquered their-hands had-given with-this
consilio pacem conciliavit, in quo tanta fuit ferocia, cum
plan peace he-brought-about in which so-great was the-fierceness when
Catulus negaret bellum compositurum, nisi ille cum suis,
Catulus denied the-war to-be-going-to-settle unless he with his-men
qui Erycem tenerent, armis relictis Sicilia decederent, ut
who Eryx held arms left from-Sicily withdrew that
succumbente patria ipse periturum se potius dixerit,
succumbing his-country himself to-be-going-to-perish himself rather he-said
quam cum tanto flagitio domum rediret: non enim suae
than with such disgrace home he-should-return not for his
esse virtutis arma a patria accepta adversus hostes
to-be of-valor the-arms from his-country received against the-enemy
adversariis tradere. Huius pertinaciae cessit Catulus.
to-the-adversaries to-hand-over his to-the-stubbornness yielded Catulus
At ille ut Karthaginem venit, multo aliter ac sperarat 2
but he when to-Carthage he-came much otherwise than he-had-hoped
rem publicam se habentem cognovit. Namque diuturnitate
the-thing public itself holding he-learned for by-the-long-duration

externi mali tantum exarsit intestinum bellum, ut numquam
of-foreign evil so-great blazed-up internal war that never
in pari periculo fuerit Karthago nisi cum deleta est. Primo
in equal danger was Carthage except when destroyed it-was first
mercennarii milites, quibus adversus Romanos usi erant,
the-mercenary soldiers whom against the-Romans used they-had
desciverunt, quorum numerus erat viginti milium. Ii totam
revolted whose number was of-twenty thousand they all
abalienarunt Africam, ipsam Karthaginem oppugnarunt. Quibus
estranged Africa itself Carthage they-attacked by-which
malis adeo sunt Poeni perterriti, ut etiam auxilia ab
evils so-much were the-Carthaginians terrified that even help from
Romanis petierint; eaque impetrarunt. Sed extremo, cum prope
the-Romans they-sought and-them obtained but at-last when nearly
iam ad desperationem pervenissent, Hamilcarem imperatorem
already to despair they-had-come Hamilcar commander
fecerunt. Is non solum hostes a muris Karthaginis removit,
they-made he not only the-enemy from the-walls of-Carthage removed
cum amplius centum milia facta essent armatorum, sed etiam
when more-than a-hundred thousand made had-been of-armed-men but also
eo compulit, ut locorum angustiis clausi plures fame
to-that drove that of-places in-the-narrows shut-in more by-hunger
quam ferro interirent. Omnia oppida abalienata, in eis
than by-the-sword perished all the-towns estranged among them
Uticam atque Hipponem, valentissima totius Africae, restituit
Utica and Hippo the-strongest of-all Africa he-restored
patriae. Neque eo fuit contentus, sed etiam fines
to-his-country nor with-that was-he content but also the-bounds
imperii propagavit, tota Africa tantum otium reddidit, ut
of-the-empire extended in-all Africa such peace he-restored that
nullum in ea bellum videretur multis annis fuisse.
no in it war seemed for-many years to-have-been

Rebus his ex sententia peractis fidenti animo atque 3
affairs these according-to wish completed with-confident mind and
infesto Romanis, quo facilius causam bellandi reperiret,
hostile to-the-Romans so-that more-easily a-cause of-making-war he-might-find
effecit ut imperator cum exercitu in Hispaniam
he-brought-about that as-commander with an-army into Spain
mitteretur, eoque secum duxit filium Hannibalem
he-should-be-sent and-thither with-himself he-led his-son Hannibal
annorum novem. Erat praeterea cum eo adulescens illustris,
of-years nine there-was besides with him a-young-man distinguished
formosus, Hasdrubal, quem nonnulli diligi turpius, quam
handsome Hasdrubal whom some to-be-loved more-shamefully than
par erat, ab Hamilcare loquebantur (non enim maledici
right was by Hamilcar said not for slanderers
tanto viro deesse poterant). Quo factum est ut a
to-so-great a-man to-be-lacking could by-which done it-was that by
praefecto morum Hasdrubal cum eo vetaretur esse. Huic ille
the-prefect of-morals Hasdrubal with him was-forbidden to-be to-him he
filiam suam in matrimonium dedit, quod moribus eorum
daughter his in marriage gave because by-the-customs their
non poterat interdici socero genero. De hoc
not could to-be-forbidden from-the-father-in-law to-the-son-in-law about him
ideo mentionem fecimus, quod Hamilcare occiso ille
therefore mention we-have-made because Hamilcar slain he
exercitui praefuit resque magnas gessit et princeps largitione
the-army commanded and-things great did and first by-largess
vetustos pervertit mores Karthaginiensium eiusdemque post
the-ancient corrupted customs of-the-Carthaginians and-of-the-same after
mortem Hannibal ab exercitu accepit imperium.
the-death Hannibal from the-army received the-command

4 At Hamilcar, posteaquam mare transiit in Hispaniamque
but Hamilcar after the-sea he-crossed into and-Spain
venit, magnas res secunda gessit fortuna: maximas
came great things with-favorable he-did fortune the-greatest
bellicosissimasque gentes subegit, equis, armis, viris, pecunia
and-most-warlike nations he-subdued with-horses arms men money
totam locupletavit Africam. Hic cum in Italiam bellum
the-whole he-enriched Africa he when into Italy war
inferre meditaretur, nono anno postquam in Hispaniam
to-bring he-was-planning in-the-ninth year after into Spain
venerat, in proelio pugnans adversus Vettones occisus est.
he-had-come in battle fighting against the-Vettones slain was
Huius perpetuum odium erga Romanos maxime concitasse
his lasting hatred toward the-Romans most to-have-stirred-up
videtur secundum bellum Poenicum. Namque Hannibal, filius
seems the-second war Punic for Hannibal son
eius, assiduis patris obtestationibus eo est perductus,
his by-constant of-his-father adjurations to-that was brought
ut interire quam Romanos non experiri mallet.
that to-perish than the-Romans not to-try he-preferred

HANNIBAL

I · HANNIBAL'S OATH

Hannibal surpasses all generals, and only envy at home keeps him from beating Rome. He tells Antiochus how, aged nine, he swore at an altar never to be friends with Rome. Made commander before twenty-five, he subdues Spain, takes Saguntum, crosses the Alps, and brings his army into Italy.

Hannibal, Hamilcaris filius, Karthaginiensis. Si verum est, 1
Hannibal of-Hamilcar the-son the-Carthaginian if true it-is
quod nemo dubitat, ut populus Romanus omnes gentes
what no-one doubts that the-people Roman all nations
virtute superarit, non est infitiandum Hannibalem tanto
in-valor surpassed not is to-be-denied Hannibal by-as-much
praestitisse ceteros imperatores prudentia, quanto populus
to-have-surpassed the-other commanders in-prudence as the-people
Romanus antecedat fortitudine cunctas nationes. Nam
Roman surpasses in-bravery all nations for
quotienscumque cum eo congressus est in Italia, semper
whenever with them engaged he-has in Italy always
discessit superior. Quod nisi domi civium suorum invidia
he-came-away superior and unless at-home of-citizens his by-the-envy
debilitatus esset, Romanos videtur superare potuisse. Sed
weakened he-had-been the-Romans he-seems to-overcome to-have-been-able but
multorum obtrectatio devicit unius virtutem. Hic autem
of-many the-disparagement overcame of-one-man the-valor he however
velut hereditate relictum odium paternum erga Romanos
as-if by-inheritance left the-hatred paternal toward the-Romans
sic conservavit, ut prius animam quam id deposuerit, qui
so preserved that sooner his-life than it he-laid-down who

quidem, cum patria pulsus esset et alienarum opum
indeed when from-his-country driven he-had-been and of-others' resources
indigeret, numquam destiterit animo bellare cum Romanis.
was-in-need never ceased in-mind to-make-war with the-Romans
2 Nam ut omittam Philippum, quem absens hostem reddidit
for that I-may-pass-over Philip whom absent hostile he-made
Romanis, omnium iis temporibus potentissimus rex
to-the-Romans of-all in-those times the-most-powerful king
Antiochus fuit. Hunc tanta cupiditate incendit bellandi, ut
Antiochus was him with-such desire he-inflamed of-making-war that
usque a rubro mari arma conatus sit inferre Italiae. Ad
even from the-Red sea arms tried he-has to-bring on-Italy to
quem cum legati venissent Romani, qui de eius voluntate
whom when envoys had-come Roman who about his intention
explorarent darentque operam consiliis clandestinis ut
should-explore and-should-give effort by-plans secret that
Hannibalem in suspicionem regi adducerent, tamquam
Hannibal into suspicion with-the-king they-should-bring as-if
ab ipsis corruptus alia atque antea sentiret, neque id
by them bribed other-things than before he-felt nor that
frustra fecissent idque Hannibal comperisset seque ab
in-vain they-had-done and-that Hannibal had-learned and-himself from
interioribus consiliis segregari vidisset, tempore dato adiit
the-inner councils to-be-excluded had-seen opportunity given he-went
ad regem, eique cum multa de fide sua et odio in
to the-king and-to-him when many-things about loyalty his and hatred toward
Romanos commemorasset, hoc adiunxit: 'pater meus' inquit
the-Romans he-had-recounted this he-added father my he-says
'Hamilcar puerulo me, utpote non amplius novem annos
Hamilcar a-little-boy me as-being not more-than nine years
nato, in Hispaniam imperator proficiscens Karthagine Iovi
old to Spain as-commander setting-out at-Carthage to-Jupiter

optimo maximo hostias immolavit. Quae divina res dum
best greatest victims sacrificed which divine thing while
conficiebatur, quaesivit a me vellemne secum in castra
it-was-being-performed he-asked from me whether-I-wished with-him to the-camp
proficisci. Id cum libenter accepissem atque ab eo petere
to-set-out that when gladly I-had-accepted and from him to-beg
coepissem ne dubitaret ducere, tum ille, faciam, inquit,
had-begun not he-should-hesitate to-take-me then he I-shall-do-it he-says
si mihi fidem quam postulo dederis. Simul me ad aram
if to-me the-pledge which I-demand you-give at-once me to the-altar
adduxit, apud quam sacrificare instituerat, eamque ceteris
he-led at which to-sacrifice he-had-begun and-it the-others
remotis tenentem iurare iussit numquam me in amicitia cum
removed holding to-swear he-ordered never me in friendship with
Romanis fore. Id ego iusiurandum patri datum
the-Romans to-be-going-to-be that I oath to-my-father given
usque ad hanc aetatem ita conservavi, ut nemini dubium esse
up-to to this age so have-kept that to-no-one doubtful to-be
debeat, quin reliquo tempore eadem mente sim futurus.
ought but-that in-the-remaining time of-the-same mind I-am going-to-be
Quare si quid amice de Romanis cogitabis, non imprudenter
wherefore if anything friendly about the-Romans you-plan not unwisely
feceris, si me celaris; cum quidem bellum parabis,
you-will-have-done if me you-conceal when indeed war you-will-prepare
te ipsum frustraberis, si non me in eo principem posueris.'
yourself very you-will-deceive if not me in it at-the-head you-have-placed
Hac igitur qua diximus aetate cum patre in Hispaniam 3
at-this therefore which we-have-named age with his-father into Spain
profectus est, cuius post obitum, Hasdrubale imperatore
set-out he-has whose after death Hasdrubal as-commander
suffecto, equitatui omni praefuit. Hoc quoque interfecto
substituted over-the-cavalry all he-was-in-charge this-one also killed

exercitus summam imperii ad eum detulit. Id Karthaginem
the-army the-supreme of-command to him conferred that to-Carthage
delatum publice comprobatum est. Sic Hannibal minor quinque
reported publicly approved was thus Hannibal less than-five
et viginti annis natus imperator factus proximo triennio
and twenty years old commander made in-the-next three-years
omnes gentes Hispaniae bello subegit, Saguntum, foederatam
all the-nations of-Spain in-war he-subdued Saguntum an-allied
civitatem, vi expugnavit, tres exercitus maximos comparavit.
state by-force stormed three armies very-large he-raised
Ex his unum in Africam misit, alterum cum Hasdrubale
of these one into Africa he-sent the-second with Hasdrubal
fratre in Hispania reliquit, tertium in Italiam secum duxit.
his-brother in Spain he-left the-third into Italy with-himself he-led
Ut saltum Pyrenaeum transiit, quacumque iter fecit, cum
when the-pass Pyrenean he-crossed wherever a-march he-made with
omnibus incolis conflixit: neminem nisi victum dimisit.
all the-inhabitants he-engaged no-one except conquered he-let-go
Ad Alpes posteaquam venit, qua Italiam ab Gallia seiungunt,
to the-Alps after he-came which Italy from Gaul separate
quas nemo umquam cum exercitu ante eum praeter Herculem
which no-one ever with an-army before him except Hercules
Graium transierat (quo facto is hodie saltus Graius
the-Greek had-crossed by-which done that today pass Graian
appellatur), Alpicos conantes prohibere transitu concidit,
is-called the-Alpine-tribes trying to-prevent from-crossing he-cut-down
loca patefecit, itinera muniit, effecit ut ea elephantus
the-places he-opened-up the-roads he-built he-brought-about that there an-elephant
ornatus ire posset, qua antea unus homo inermis vix
equipped to-go could where before one man unarmed scarcely
poterat repere. Hac copias traduxit in Italiamque pervenit.
could creep by-this-way the-forces he-led-across into and-Italy arrived

Hannibal beats Scipio at the Rhone, at Clastidium, and at the Trebia, crosses the Apennines with a disease that weakens his right eye, kills Flaminius at Trasimene, and routs both consuls at Cannae. He escapes Fabius by tying burning brushwood to the horns of cattle, and later kills Gracchus and Marcellus. Recalled to Africa, he loses at Zama. Made one of the two annual kings at Carthage, he reforms the revenues, and when Roman envoys come he flees to Antiochus.

Conflixerat apud Rhodanum cum P. Cornelio Scipione 4
he-had-engaged at the-Rhone with Publius Cornelius Scipio
consule eumque pepulerat. Cum hoc eodem Clastidii
the-consul and-him had-driven-back with this-man same at-Clastidium
apud Padum decernit sauciumque inde ac fugatum dimittit.
at the-Po he-fights and-wounded thence and routed sends-off
Tertio idem Scipio cum collega Ti. Longo apud
a-third-time the-same Scipio with his-colleague Tiberius Longus at
Trebiam adversus eum venit. Cum iis manum conseruit,
the-Trebia against him came with them a-hand he-joined
utrosque profligavit. Inde per Ligures Appenninum transiit,
both he-routed thence through the-Ligurians the-Apennines he-crossed
petens Etruriam. Hoc in itinere adeo gravi morbo afficitur
seeking Etruria this on march so serious by-a-disease he-is-afflicted
oculorum, ut postea numquam dextro aeque bene usus
of-the-eyes that afterward never the-right equally well used
sit. Qua valetudine cum etiamnum premeretur lecticaque
he-has by-which illness though even-then he-was-pressed and-in-a-litter
ferretur, C. Flaminium consulem apud Trasumennum
was-carried Gaius Flaminius the-consul at Trasimene
cum exercitu insidiis circumventum occidit, neque multo
with his-army by-an-ambush surrounded he-killed nor much
post C. Centenium praetorem cum delecta manu saltus
after Gaius Centenius the-praetor with a-chosen band the-pass

occupantem. Hinc in Apuliam pervenit. Ibi obviam ei
occupying from-here into Apulia he-came there to-meet him
venerunt duo consules, C. Terentius et L. Aemilius.
came the-two consuls Gaius Terentius and Lucius Aemilius
Utriusque exercitus uno proelio fugavit, Paulum consulem
of-both the-armies in-one battle he-routed Paulus the-consul
occidit et aliquot praeterea consulares, in eis Cn.
he-killed and several besides ex-consuls among them Gnaeus
Servilium Geminum, qui superiore anno fuerat consul.
Servilius Geminus who in-the-former year had-been consul
5 Hac pugna pugnata Romam profectus nullo resistente in
this battle fought to-Rome having-set-out with-no-one resisting in
propinquis urbi montibus moratus est. Cum aliquot ibi
the-near to-the-city mountains lingered he-has when several there
dies castra habuisset et Capuam reverteretur, Q. Fabius
days camp he-had-had and to-Capua was-returning Quintus Fabius
Maximus, dictator Romanus, in agro Falerno ei se
Maximus dictator Roman in the-district Falernian to-him himself
obiecit. Hic clausus locorum angustiis noctu sine ullo
opposed he shut-in of-places by-the-narrows by-night without any
detrimento exercitus se expedivit Fabioque, callidissimo
loss of-the-army himself extricated and-to-Fabius most-shrewd
imperatori, dedit verba. Namque obducta nocte sarmenta
commander gave words for drawn-over night brushwood
in cornibus iuvencorum deligata incendit eiusque generis
on the-horns of-young-bullocks tied he-set-on-fire and-of-that kind
multitudinem magnam dispalatam immisit. Quo repentino
a-multitude great scattered he-sent-in by-which sudden
visu obiecto tantum terrorem iniecit exercitui Romanorum,
sight thrown-before so-great terror he-cast into-the-army of-the-Romans
ut egredi extra vallum nemo sit ausus. Hanc post rem
that to-go-out outside the-rampart no-one dared has this after thing

gestam non ita multis diebus M. Minucium Rufum,
done not so many days-afterward Marcus Minucius Rufus
magistrum equitum pari ac dictatorem imperio, dolo
master of-the-horse with-equal as the-dictator command by-guile
productum in proelium fugavit. Ti. Sempronium Gracchum,
drawn into battle he-routed Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus
iterum consulem, in Lucanis absens in insidias
for-the-second-time consul among the-Lucanians absent into an-ambush
inductum sustulit. M. Claudium Marcellum, quinquiens
led he-destroyed Marcus Claudius Marcellus five-times
consulem, apud Venusiam pari modo interfecit. Longum est
consul at Venusia in-equal manner he-killed long it-is
omnia enumerare proelia. Quare hoc unum satis erit dictum,
all to-enumerate the-battles wherefore this one-thing enough will-be said
ex quo intellegi possit, quantus ille fuerit: quamdiu in
from which to-be-understood can how-great he was as-long-as in
Italia fuit, nemo ei in acie restitit, nemo adversus eum
Italy he-was no-one him in battle-line withstood no-one against him
post Cannensem pugnam in campo castra posuit.
after the-Cannae battle in the-plain camp pitched
Hinc invictus patriam defensum revocatus bellum gessit 6
thence unconquered his-country to-defend recalled war he-waged
adversus P. Scipionem, filium eius Scipionis, quem
against Publius Scipio the-son of-that Scipio whom
ipse primo apud Rhodanum, iterum apud Padum, tertio
he-himself first at the-Rhone second at the-Po third
apud Trebiam fugarat. Cum hoc exhaustis iam patriae
at the-Trebia had-routed with this-man exhausted already of-his-country
facultatibus cupivit impraesentiarum bellum componere, quo
the-resources he-desired for-the-present the-war to-settle so-that
valentior postea congrederetur. Inde colloquium convenit,
stronger afterward he-might-engage thence a-conference was-agreed-on

condiciones non convenerunt. Post id factum paucis diebus
the-terms not agreed after that deed in-a-few days
apud Zamam cum eodem conflixit; pulsus (incredibile
at Zama with the-same-man he-engaged driven-back incredible
dictu) biduo et duabus noctibus Hadrumetum pervenit,
to-say in-two-days and two nights to-Hadrumetum he-came
quod abest ab Zama circiter milia passuum trecenta.
which is-distant from Zama about miles of-paces three-hundred
In hac fuga Numidae, qui simul cum eo ex acie
in this flight the-Numidians who together with him from the-battle-line
excesserant, insidiati sunt ei, quos non solum effugit, sed
had-withdrawn laid-a-trap have for-him whom not only he-escaped but
etiam ipsos oppressit. Hadrumeti reliquos e fuga collegit,
also them he-crushed at-Hadrumetum the-rest from flight he-gathered
novis dilectibus paucis diebus multos contraxit.
by-new levies in-a-few days many he-drew-together

7 Cum in apparando acerrime esset occupatus, Karthaginienses
when in preparing most-keenly he-was occupied the-Carthaginians
bellum cum Romanis composuerunt. Ille nihilo setius
the-war with the-Romans settled he none the-less
exercitui postea praefuit resque in Africa gessit usque
the-army afterward commanded and-things in Africa did even
ad P. Sulpicium C. Aurelium consules. His enim
to Publius Sulpicius Gaius Aurelius consuls in-these for
magistratibus legati Karthaginienses Romam venerunt, qui
magistrates envoys Carthaginian to-Rome came who
senatui populoque Romano gratias agerent, quod cum
to-the-senate and-people Roman thanks should-give that with
iis pacem fecissent, ob eamque rem corona aurea
them peace they-had-made on-account-of and-that thing with-a-crown golden
eos donarent simulque peterent, ut obsides eorum
them should-present and-at-the-same-time should-ask that the-hostages their

Fregellis essent captivique redderentur. His ex senatus
at-Fregellae should-be and-the-captives be-returned to-these from of-the-senate
consulto responsum est: munus eorum gratum acceptumque
the-decree answered was the-gift their pleasing and-welcome
esse; obsides, quo loco rogarent, futuros; captivos non
to-be the-hostages in-which place they-asked to-be-going-to-be the-captives not
remissuros, quod Hannibalem, cuius opera susceptum
to-be-going-to-send-back because Hannibal by-whose work undertaken
bellum foret, inimicissimum nomini Romano, etiamnum
the-war had-been most-hostile to-the-name Roman even-now
cum imperio apud exercitum haberent itemque fratrem
with command with the-army they-had and-likewise brother
eius Magonem. Hoc responso Karthaginienses cognito
his Mago this answer the-Carthaginians having-learned
Hannibalem domum et Magonem revocarunt. Huc ut
Hannibal home and Mago recalled here when
rediit, rex factus est, postquam imperator fuerat, anno
he-returned king made he-was after commander he-had-been in-the-year
secundo et vicesimo: ut enim Romae consules, sic Karthagine
second and twentieth as for at-Rome consuls so at-Carthage
quotannis annui bini reges creabantur. In eo magistratu
yearly annual two kings were-created in that magistracy
pari diligentia se Hannibal praebuit, ac fuerat in bello.
with-equal diligence himself Hannibal showed as he-had-been in war
Namque effecit ex novis vectigalibus non solum ut
for he-brought-about from new revenues not only that
esset pecunia, quae Romanis ex foedere penderetur, sed
there-was money which to-the-Romans under the-treaty should-be-paid but
etiam superesset, quae in aerario reponeretur. Deinde M.
also there-was-left-over which in the-treasury should-be-stored then Marcus
Claudio L. Furio consulibus Roma legati Karthaginem
Claudius Lucius Furius consuls from-Rome envoys to-Carthage

venerunt. Hos Hannibal ratus sui exposcendi gratia
came these Hannibal thinking of-himself to-be-demanded for-the-sake
missos, priusquam iis senatus daretur, navem ascendit clam
sent before to-them the-senate was-given a-ship boarded secretly
atque in Syriam ad Antiochum perfugit. Hac re palam
and into Syria to Antiochus fled this thing public
facta Poeni naves duas, quae eum comprehenderent, si
made the-Carthaginians ships two which him should-seize if
possent consequi, miserunt, bona eius publicarunt, domum
they-could to-overtake sent the-goods his confiscated the-house
a fundamentis disiecerunt, ipsum exulem iudicarunt.
from the-foundations threw-down him an-exile judged

III · EXILE

Hannibal fails to rouse Carthage from Cyrene, advises Antiochus, and fights the Rhodian fleet. In Crete he hides his money in bronze statues while leaving jars of lead, topped with gold and silver, in the temple for the Gortynians to guard. At the court of Prusias he arms the king against Rome and, for a sea battle against Eumenes of Pergamum, has snakes gathered in jars and his marines told to attack the king's ship.

8 At Hannibal anno quarto, postquam domo profugerat,
but Hannibal in-the-year fourth after from-home he-had-fled
L. Cornelio Q. Minucio consulibus, cum quinque
Lucius Cornelius Quintus Minucius consuls with five
navibus Africam accessit in finibus Cyrenaeorum, si forte
ships Africa approached in the-territory of-the-Cyrenaeans if by-chance
Karthaginienses ad bellum inducere posset Antiochi spe
the-Carthaginians to war to-bring he-could of-Antiochus by-the-hope
fiduciaque, cui iam persuaserat ut cum exercitibus in
and-confidence whom already he-had-persuaded that with armies into

Italiam proficisceretur. Huc Magonem fratrem excivit. Id
Italy he-should-set-out hither Mago his-brother he-summoned that
ubi Poeni resciverunt, Magonem eadem, qua fratrem,
when the-Carthaginians learned Mago with-the-same as his-brother
absentem affecerunt poena. Illi desperatis rebus cum
absent they-afflicted penalty they having-despaired-of affairs when
solvissent naves ac vela ventis dedissent, Hannibal ad
they-had-loosed the-ships and the-sails to-the-winds had-given Hannibal to
Antiochum pervenit. De Magonis interitu duplex memoria
Antiochus came about Mago's death a-twofold memory
prodita est: namque alii naufragio, alii a servulis ipsius
handed-down is for some by-shipwreck others by slaves his-own
interfectum eum scriptum reliquerunt. Antiochus autem si
killed him in-writing have-left Antiochus however if
tam in gerendo bello consiliis eius parere voluisset, quam in
as in waging war to-the-counsels his to-obey he-had-wished as in
suscipiendo instituerat, propius Tiberi quam in Thermopylis
undertaking-it he-had-begun nearer to-the-Tiber than at Thermopylae
de summa imperii dimicasset. Quem etsi multa
about the-supremacy of-command he-would-have-fought whom although many-things
stulte conari videbat, tamen nulla deseruit in re.
foolishly to-attempt he-saw yet in-no he-deserted-him in thing
Praefuit paucis navibus, quas ex Syria iussus erat in Asiam
he-commanded a-few ships which from Syria ordered he-was into Asia
ducere, iisque adversus Rhodiorum classem in Pamphylio
to-bring and-with-these against of-the-Rhodians the-fleet on the-Pamphylian
mari conflixit. In quo cum multitudine adversariorum sui
sea engaged in which though by-the-multitude of-the-opponents his-men
superarentur, ipse quo cornu rem gessit fuit superior.
were-overcome he-himself on-which wing the-matter he-managed was superior

9 Antiocho fugato verens ne dederetur, quod sine dubio
Antiochus routed fearing lest he-be-handed-over which without doubt
accidisset, si sui fecisset potestatem, Cretam ad
would-have-happened if of-himself he-had-made opportunity to-Crete to
Gortynios venit, ut ibi, quo se conferret, consideraret.
the-Gortynians he-came that there whither himself he-should-betake he-might-consider
Vidit autem vir omnium callidissimus in magno se
he-saw however the-man of-all the-most-shrewd in great himself
fore periculo, nisi quid providisset, propter avaritiam
to-be-going-to-be danger unless something he-had-foreseen because-of the-greed
Cretensium: magnam enim secum pecuniam portabat, de
of-the-Cretans great for with-himself money he-was-carrying about
qua sciebat exisse famam. Itaque capit tale consilium.
which he-knew to-have-gone-out a-report and-so he-takes such a-plan
Amphoras complures complet plumbo, summas operit auro
jars several he-fills with-lead the-tops he-covers with-gold
et argento. Has praesentibus principibus deponit in templo
and silver these in-the-presence-of the-leading-men he-deposits in the-temple
Dianae, simulans se suas fortunas illorum fidei
of-Diana pretending himself his fortunes their to-the-good-faith
credere. His in errorem inductis statuas aeneas, quas
to-entrust these into error led the-statues bronze which
secum portabat, omni sua pecunia complet easque in
with-himself he-was-carrying with-all his money he-fills and-them in
propatulo domi abicit. Gortynii templum magna cura
the-open-court of-his-house throws-down the-Gortynians the-temple with-great care
custodiunt, non tam a ceteris quam ab Hannibale, ne
guard not so-much from the-others as from Hannibal lest
ille inscientibus iis tolleret sua secumque duceret.
he unaware them should-take-away his-things and-with-himself should-carry-off

Sic conservatis suis rebus omnibus Poenus illusis 10
thus preserved his things all the-Carthaginian having-mocked
Cretensibus ad Prusiam in Pontum pervenit. Apud quem
the-Cretans to Prusias into Pontus came with whom
eodem animo fuit erga Italiam neque aliud quicquam egit
in-the-same mind he-was toward Italy nor else anything did-he
quam regem armavit et exacuit adversus Romanos. Quem cum
than the-king he-armed and spurred-on against the-Romans whom when
videret domesticis opibus minus esse robustum, conciliabat
he-saw domestic in-resources less to-be strong he-won-over
ceteros reges, adiungebat bellicosas nationes. Dissidebat ab eo
the-other kings he-joined warlike nations was-at-odds with him
Pergamenus rex Eumenes, Romanis amicissimus, bellumque
the-Pergamene king Eumenes to-the-Romans most-friendly and-war
inter eos gerebatur et mari et terra; sed utrobique
between them was-waged both by-sea and by-land but in-both
Eumenes plus valebat propter Romanorum societatem. Quo
Eumenes more prevailed because-of of-the-Romans the-alliance by-which
magis cupiebat eum Hannibal opprimi, quem si removisset,
more desired him Hannibal to-be-crushed whom if he-removed
faciliora sibi cetera fore arbitrabatur. Ad hunc
easier for-himself the-rest to-be-going-to-be he-thought for this-man
interficiundum talem iniit rationem. Classe paucis
to-be-killed such he-entered-upon plan with-the-fleet in-a-few
diebus erant decreturi. Superabatur navium multitudine:
days they-were going-to-decide he-was-surpassed of-ships in-the-number
dolo erat pugnandum, cum par non esset armis. Imperavit
by-trick it-was to-be-fought since equal not he-was in-arms he-ordered
quam plurimas venenatas serpentes vivas colligi easque
as many-as-possible poisonous snakes alive to-be-gathered and-them
in vasa fictilia conici. Harum cum effecisset magnam
into vessels earthenware to-be-put of-these when he-had-made a-great

multitudinem, die ipso, quo facturus erat navale
multitude on-the-day itself on-which going-to-fight he-was the-naval
proelium, classiarios convocat iisque praecipit, omnes ut in
battle the-marines he-calls-together and-to-them instructs all that on
unam Eumenis regis concurrant navem, a ceteris tantum
one of-Eumenes the-king they-should-converge ship from the-others only
satis habeant se defendere. Id illos facile serpentium
enough they-should-hold themselves to-defend that they easily of-the-snakes
multitudine consecuturos. Rex autem in qua nave veheretur,
by-the-multitude to-be-going-to-achieve the-king however in which ship he-was-carried
ut scirent, se facturum: quem si aut cepissent
that they-should-know himself to-be-going-to-see-to whom if either they-had-taken
aut interfecissent, magno iis pollicetur praemio fore.
or killed great to-them he-promises for-a-reward to-be-going-to-be

IV · THE SNAKES AND THE END

Hannibal finds Eumenes' ship by sending him a mocking letter, puts the king to flight, and routs his fleet with jars of snakes. When Roman envoys, refused by Prusias, surround his house themselves, he takes the poison he always carried, aged seventy. Nepos lists the conflicting dates of his death and notes his Greek writings.

11 Tali cohortatione militum facta classis ab utrisque in
such exhortation of-the-soldiers made the-fleet by both into
proelium deducitur. Quarum acie constituta, priusquam
battle is-led-down of-which the-line drawn-up before
signum pugnae daretur, Hannibal, ut palam faceret
the-signal of-battle should-be-given Hannibal that clear he-might-make
suis, quo loco Eumenes esset, tabellarium in scapha cum
to-his-own in-what place Eumenes was a-letter-carrier in a-skiff with
caduceo mittit. Qui ubi ad naves adversariorum pervenit
a-herald's-staff sends who when to the-ships of-the-opponents he-came

epistulamque ostendens se regem professus est quaerere,
and-the-letter showing himself the-king professed has to-seek
statim ad Eumenem deductus est, quod nemo dubitabat quin
at-once to Eumenes led was because no-one doubted but-that
aliquid de pace esset scriptum. Tabellarius ducis nave
something about peace was written the-letter-carrier the-leader's ship
declarata suis eodem, unde erat egressus, se
having-been-made-known to-his-own to-the-same-place whence he-had come-out himself
recepit. At Eumenes soluta epistula nihil in ea repperit nisi
withdrew but Eumenes opened the-letter nothing in it found except
quae ad irridendum eum pertinerent. Cuius rei etsi causam
what to mocking him pertained of-which thing although the-cause
mirabatur neque reperiebat, tamen proelium statim committere
he-wondered nor found yet battle at-once to-join
non dubitavit. Horum in concursu Bithyni Hannibalis
not he-hesitated of-these in the-clash the-Bithynians of-Hannibal
praecepto universi navem Eumenis adoriuntur. Quorum vim
by-the-instruction all-together the-ship of-Eumenes attack whose force
rex cum sustinere non posset, fuga salutem petiit, quam
the-king when to-withstand not he-could by-flight safety sought which
consecutus non esset, nisi intra sua praesidia se
attained not he-would-have unless within his-own garrisons himself
recepisset, quae in proximo litore erant collocata. Reliquae
he-had-withdrawn which on the-nearest shore were stationed the-remaining
Pergamenae naves cum adversarios premerent acrius, repente
Pergamene ships when the-opponents they-pressed more-sharply suddenly
in eas vasa fictilia, de quibus supra mentionem fecimus,
onto them vessels earthenware about which above mention we-made
conici coepta sunt. Quae iacta initio risum pugnantibus
to-be-thrown begun were which thrown at-first laughter in-the-fighters
concitarunt, neque quare id fieret poterat intellegi.
roused nor why that was-done could to-be-understood

Postquam autem naves suas oppletas conspexerunt serpentibus,
after however the-ships their filled they-saw with-snakes
nova re perterriti, cum, quid potissimum vitarent, non
by-the-new thing terrified since what especially they-should-avoid not
viderent, puppes verterunt seque ad sua castra nautica
they-saw the-sterns they-turned and-themselves to their camp naval
rettulerunt. Sic Hannibal consilio arma Pergamenorum
brought-back thus Hannibal by-plan the-arms of-the-Pergamenes
superavit, neque tum solum, sed saepe alias pedestribus
overcame nor then only but often at-other-times with-land
copiis pari prudentia pepulit adversarios.
forces with-equal prudence he-drove-back the-opponents

12 Quae dum in Asia geruntur, accidit casu ut
which-things while in Asia are-done it-happened by-chance that
legati Prusiae Romae apud T. Quintium Flamininum
the-envoys of-Prusias at-Rome at-the-house-of Titus Quinctius Flamininus
consularem cenarent, atque ibi de Hannibale mentione facta
the-ex-consul were-dining and there about Hannibal mention made
ex iis unus diceret eum in Prusiae regno esse. Id postero
from them one said him in Prusias' kingdom to-be that on-the-next
die Flamininus senatui detulit. Patres conscripti, qui
day Flamininus to-the-senate reported the-fathers conscript who
Hannibale vivo numquam se sine insidiis futuros
Hannibal living never themselves without plots to-be-going-to-be
existimarent, legatos in Bithyniam miserunt, in eis
thought envoys into Bithynia sent among them
Flamininum, qui ab rege peterent, ne inimicissimum
Flamininus who from the-king should-ask that-not the-most-hostile
suum secum haberet sibique dederet. His Prusia
his with-himself he-should-have and-to-them should-hand-over to-these Prusias
negare ausus non est; illud recusavit, ne id a se
to-refuse dared not has that he-refused that-not that by himself

fieri postularent, quod adversus ius hospitii esset:
to-be-done they-should-demand which against the-right of-hospitality was
ipsi, si possent, comprehenderent: locum, ubi esset, facile
themselves if they-could they-should-seize the-place where he-was easily
inventuros. Hannibal enim uno loco se tenebat, in
to-be-going-to-find Hannibal for in-one place himself kept in
castello quod ei a rege datum erat muneri, idque sic
a-fort which to-him by the-king given had-been as-a-gift and-it so
aedificarat, ut in omnibus partibus aedificii exitus haberet,
he-had-built that in all parts of-the-building exits it-had
scilicet verens ne usu veniret, quod accidit. Huc cum
of-course fearing lest in-practice it-might-come what happened hither when
legati Romanorum venissent ac multitudine domum eius
the-envoys of-the-Romans had-come and with-a-multitude the-house his
circumdedissent, puer ab ianua prospiciens Hannibali dixit
had-surrounded a-boy from the-door looking-out to-Hannibal said
plures praeter consuetudinem armatos apparere. Qui imperavit
more than usual armed-men to-appear who ordered
ei, ut omnes fores aedificii circumiret ac propere sibi
him that all the-doors of-the-building he-should-go-round and quickly to-him
nuntiaret, num eodem modo undique obsideretur. Puer cum
report whether in-the-same way on-all-sides he-was-besieged the-boy when
celeriter, quid vidisset, renuntiasset omnesque exitus occupatos
quickly what he-had-seen had-reported and-all the-exits occupied
ostendisset, sensit id non fortuito factum, sed se peti
had-shown he-perceived that not by-chance done but himself to-be-sought
neque sibi diutius vitam esse retinendam. Quam ne alieno
nor by-him longer life to-be to-be-kept which lest at-another's
arbitrio dimitteret, memor pristinarum virtutum venenum,
will he-should-let-go mindful of-former virtues the-poison
quod semper secum habere consuerat, sumpsit.
which always with-himself to-have he-had-been-accustomed took

13 Sic vir fortissimus, multis variisque perfunctus laboribus,
thus the-man bravest many and-various having-gone-through toils
anno acquievit septuagesimo. Quibus consulibus interierit,
in-the-year rested seventieth under-which consuls he-died
non convenit. Namque Atticus M. Claudio Marcello Q.
not is-agreed for Atticus Marcus Claudius Marcellus Quintus
Fabio Labeone consulibus mortuum in annali suo scriptum
Fabius Labeo consuls dead in annal his written
reliquit, at Polybius L. Aemilio Paulo Cn. Baebio
left but Polybius Lucius Aemilius Paulus Gnaeus Baebius
Tamphilo, Sulpicius autem Blitho P. Cornelio Cethego
Tamphilus Sulpicius however Blitho Publius Cornelius Cethegus
M. Baebio Tamphilo. Atque hic tantus vir tantisque
Marcus Baebius Tamphilus and he so-great a-man and-by-so-great
bellis districtus nonnihil temporis tribuit litteris. Namque
wars distracted something of-time gave to-letters for
aliquot eius libri sunt, Graeco sermone confecti, in eis
several his books are in-the-Greek language composed among them
ad Rhodios de Cn. Manlii Volsonis in Asia rebus gestis.
to the-Rhodians about Gnaeus Manlius Vulso's in Asia deeds done
Huius belli gesta multi memoriae prodiderunt, sed ex eis
of-this-man's war the-deeds many to-memory have-handed-down but of them
duo, qui cum eo in castris fuerunt simulque vixerunt, quamdiu
two who with him in camp were and-together lived as-long-as
fortuna passa est, Silenus et Sosylus Lacedaemonius. Atque
fortune allowed has Silenus and Sosylus the-Lacedaemonian and
hoc Sosylo Hannibal litterarum Graecarum usus est doctore.
this Sosylus Hannibal of-letters Greek used has as-teacher

Sed nos tempus est huius libri facere finem et Romanorum
but for-us time it-is of-this book to-make an-end and of-the-Romans
explicare imperatores, quo facilius collatis utrorumque factis,
to-set-out the-commanders so-that more-easily compared of-both the-deeds
qui viri praeferendi sint, possit iudicari.
which men to-be-preferred are can to-be-judged

CATO

I · CATO THE ELDER

Cato rises from Tusculum, fights in Sicily and at Sena, and quarrels with Scipio. As consul he triumphs in Spain; as censor he is severe against luxury. A lifelong opponent of the powerful, he is also a farmer, lawyer, orator, and historian, author of the Origines.

1 M. Cato, ortus municipio Tusculo, adulescentulus, priusquam
Marcus Cato sprung from-the-town Tusculum a-young-man before
honoribus operam daret, versatus est in Sabinis, quod ibi
to-offices attention he-gave lived has among the-Sabines because there
heredium a patre relictum habebat. Inde hortatu L.
an-inherited-estate by his-father left he-had thence at-the-urging of-Lucius
Valerii Flacci, quem in consulatu censuraque habuit collegam,
Valerius Flaccus whom in consulship and-censorship he-had as-colleague
ut M. Perpenna censorius narrare solitus est, Romam
as Marcus Perperna ex-censor to-relate accustomed was to-Rome
demigravit in foroque esse coepit. Primum stipendium
he-moved in and-the-forum to-be began the-first campaign
meruit annorum decem septemque. Q. Fabio M. Claudio
he-served of-years ten and-seven Quintus Fabius Marcus Claudius
consulibus tribunus militum in Sicilia fuit. Inde ut rediit,
consuls tribune of-the-soldiers in Sicily he-was thence when he-returned
castra secutus est C. Claudii Neronis, magnique opera eius
the-camp followed he-has of-Gaius Claudius Nero and-of-great the-work his
existimata est in proelio apud Senam, quo cecidit Hasdrubal,
esteemed was in the-battle at Sena in-which fell Hasdrubal
frater Hannibalis. Quaestor obtigit P. Africano consuli,
the-brother of-Hannibal as-quaestor he-fell-by-lot-to Publius Africanus the-consul
cum quo non pro sortis necessitudine vixit: namque
with whom not according-to of-the-lot the-bond he-lived for

ab eo perpetua dissensit vita. Aedilis plebei factus est
from him all-through disagreed his-life aedile of-the-plebs made he-was
cum C. Helvio. Praetor provinciam obtinuit Sardiniam, ex
with Gaius Helvius as-praetor the-province he-held Sardinia from
qua quaestor superiore tempore ex Africa decedens Q.
which as-quaestor at-an-earlier time from Africa departing Quintus
Ennium poetam deduxerat, quod non minoris aestimamus
Ennius the-poet he-had-brought which not of-less we-value
quam quemlibet amplissimum Sardiniensem triumphum.
than any most-splendid Sardinian triumph
Consulatum gessit cum L. Valerio Flacco. Sorte provinciam 2
the-consulship he-held with Lucius Valerius Flaccus by-lot the-province
nactus Hispaniam citeriorem ex ea triumphum deportavit.
having-obtained Spain hither from it a-triumph he-brought-home
Ibi cum diutius moraretur, P. Scipio Africanus consul
there when longer he-lingered Publius Scipio Africanus consul
iterum, cuius in priore consulatu quaestor fuerat,
for-the-second-time whose in former consulship quaestor he-had-been
voluit eum de provincia depellere et ipse ei succedere,
wished him from the-province to-drive-out and himself him to-succeed
neque hoc per senatum efficere potuit, cum quidem Scipio
nor this through the-senate to-effect could-be though indeed Scipio
principatum in civitate obtineret, quod tum non potentia,
the-leadership in the-state held because then not by-power
sed iure res publica administrabatur. Qua ex re iratus
but by-right the-thing public was-administered which from thing angry
senatui consulatu peracto privatus in urbe mansit. At
with-the-senate the-consulship completed a-private-man in the-city he-remained but
Cato, censor cum eodem Flacco factus, severe praefuit ei
Cato censor with the-same Flaccus made strictly presided-over that
potestati. Nam et in complures nobiles animadvertit et
power for both on several nobles he-took-action and

multas res novas in edictum addidit, qua re luxuria
many things new into the-edict added by-which thing luxury
reprimeretur, quae iam tum incipiebat pullulare. Circiter
might-be-checked which already then was-beginning to-sprout about
annos octoginta, usque ad extremam aetatem ab adulescentia,
years eighty up-to to the-last age from youth
rei publicae causa suscipere inimicitias non destitit. A
of-the-thing public for-the-sake to-undertake enmities not he-ceased by
multis tentatus non modo nullum detrimentum existimationis
many assailed not only no loss of-reputation
fecit, sed, quoad vixit, virtutum laude crevit.
did-he-make but as-long-as he-lived in-the-praise of-virtues he-grew

3 In omnibus rebus singulari fuit industria: nam et agricola
in all things of-singular he-was industry for both a-farmer
sollers et peritus iuris consultus et magnus imperator et
skillful and skilled in-law expert and a-great commander and
probabilis orator et cupidissimus litterarum fuit. Quarum
a-commendable orator and most-eager of-letters he-was of-which
studium etsi senior arripuerat, tamen tantum progressum
the-study although older he-had-taken-up yet such progress
fecit, ut non facile reperiri possit neque de Graecis
he-made that not easily to-be-found it-can either about Greek
neque de Italicis rebus, quod ei fuerit incognitum. Ab
or about Italian things what to-him was unknown from
adulescentia confecit orationes. Senex historias scribere
youth he-composed speeches as-an-old-man histories to-write
instituit. Earum sunt libri septem. Primus continet res
he-began of-them are books seven the-first contains the-deeds
gestas regum populi Romani, secundus et tertius unde
done of-the-kings of-the-people Roman the-second and the-third whence
quaeque civitas orta sit Italica, ob quam rem omnes
each state sprung has Italian on-account-of which thing all

Origines videtur appellasse. In quarto autem bellum Poenicum
Origines he-seems to-have-called in the-fourth however the-war Punic
est primum, in quinto secundum. Atque haec omnia
is the-first in the-fifth the-second and these all
capitulatim sunt dicta. Reliqua quoque bella pari modo
by-headings are told the-other also wars in-equal manner
persecutus est usque ad praeturam Ser. Galbae, qui diripuit
pursued he-has up-to to the-praetorship of-Servius Galba who plundered
Lusitanos: atque horum bellorum duces non nominavit, sed
the-Lusitanians and of-these wars the-leaders not he-named but
sine nominibus res notavit. In eisdem exposuit, quae in
without names the-events he-noted in the-same he-set-out what in
Italia Hispaniisque viderentur admiranda: in quibus multa
Italy and-the-Spains seemed to-be-wondered-at in which much
industria et diligentia comparet, nulla doctrina. Huius
industry and diligence appears no learning of-this-man
de vita et moribus plura in eo libro persecuti sumus,
about the-life and character more-things in that book pursued we-have
quem separatim de eo fecimus rogatu T. Pomponii
which separately about him we-made at-the-request-of Titus Pomponius
Attici. Quare studiosos Catonis ad illud volumen delegamus.
Atticus wherefore those-eager of-Cato to that volume we-refer

ATTICUS

I · YOUTH AND ATHENS

Titus Pomponius Atticus, of an old equestrian family, is well educated and a friend of Cicero. To avoid the civil wars he moves to Athens, though he funds the outlawed young Marius' flight. He lends Athens money without interest and gives grain. The Athenians honor him, offer citizenship, which he declines, and set up statues.

1 T. Pomponius Atticus, ab origine ultima stirpis Romanae
Titus Pomponius Atticus from the-origin earliest of-stock Roman
generatus, perpetuo a maioribus acceptam equestrem obtinuit
begotten continuously from his-ancestors received the-equestrian held
dignitatem. Patre usus est diligente et, ut tum erant
rank a-father used he-has diligent and as then were
tempora, diti inprimisque studioso litterarum. Hic, prout
the-times rich and-especially devoted of-letters he as
ipse amabat litteras, omnibus doctrinis, quibus puerilis
he-himself loved letters in-all the-learning in-which boyhood
aetas impertiri debet, filium erudivit. Erat autem in puero
age to-be-imparted ought his-son he-educated there-was however in the-boy
praeter docilitatem ingenii summa suavitas oris atque vocis,
besides teachableness of-mind the-greatest sweetness of-mouth and of-voice
ut non solum celeriter acciperet quae tradebantur, sed
so-that not only quickly he-grasped what was-taught but
etiam excellenter pronuntiaret. Qua ex re in pueritia nobilis
also excellently he-delivered-it which from thing in boyhood famous
inter aequales ferebatur clariusque exsplendescebat, quam
among his-equals he-was-reckoned and-more-brightly he-shone than
generosi condiscipuli animo aequo ferre possent. Itaque
the-well-born fellow-pupils with-mind even to-bear could and-so
incitabat omnes studio suo, quo in numero fuerunt L.
he-spurred all by-zeal his which in number were Lucius

Torquatus, C. Marius filius, M. Cicero: quos consuetudine
Torquatus Gaius Marius the-son Marcus Cicero whom by-companionship
sua sic devinxit, ut nemo iis perpetua vita fuerit carior.
his so he-bound that no-one to-them through-all life was dearer
Pater mature decessit. Ipse adulescentulus propter 2
his-father early died he-himself a-young-man because-of
affinitatem P. Sulpicii, qui tribunus plebei interfectus
the-kinship of-Publius Sulpicius who tribune of-the-plebs killed
est, non expers fuit illius periculi: namque Anicia,
was not without-share was of-that danger for Anicia
Pomponii consobrina, nupserat Servio, fratri Sulpicii. Itaque
of-Pomponius the-cousin had-married Servius the-brother of-Sulpicius and-so
interfecto Sulpicio posteaquam vidit Cinnano tumultu
killed Sulpicius after he-saw by-the-Cinnan uproar
civitatem esse perturbatam neque sibi dari facultatem
the-state to-be thrown-into-confusion nor to-himself to-be-given the-means
pro dignitate vivendi, quin alterutram partem offenderet,
according-to his-dignity of-living but-that one-or-other party he-should-offend
dissociatis animis civium, cum alii Sullanis, alii Cinnanis
divided the-minds of-the-citizens when some to-the-Sullan others to-the-Cinnan
faverent partibus, idoneum tempus ratus studiis obsequendi
favored parties a-suitable time thinking for-studies to-be-followed
suis Athenas se contulit. Neque eo setius adulescentem
his-own to-Athens himself he-betook nor for-that less the-young
Marium hostem iudicatum iuvit opibus suis, cuius fugam
Marius an-enemy judged he-helped with-resources his whose flight
pecunia sublevavit. Ac ne illa peregrinatio detrimentum
with-money he-relieved and lest that sojourn loss
aliquod afferret rei familiari, eodem magnam
some should-bring to-property family to-the-same-place a-great
partem fortunarum traiecit suarum. Hic ita vixit, ut
part of-fortunes he-transferred his here so he-lived that

universis Atheniensibus merito esset carissimus. Nam praeter
to-all Athenians deservedly he-was most-dear for besides
gratiam, quae iam in adulescentulo magna erat, saepe
the-influence which already in the-young-man great was often
suis opibus inopiam eorum publicam levavit. Cum enim
with-his resources the-want their public he-relieved when for
versuram facere publice necesse esset neque eius condicionem
a-new-loan to-make publicly necessary it-was nor its condition
aequam haberent, semper se interposuit, atque ita ut
fair they-had always himself he-interposed and so that
neque usuram umquam ab iis acceperit neque longius,
neither interest ever from them he-received nor longer
quam dictum esset, debere passus sit. Quod utrumque
than stated had-been to-owe allowed he-has which both
erat iis salutare: nam neque indulgendo inveterascere
was to-them beneficial for neither by-indulging to-grow-old
eorum aes alienum patiebatur neque multiplicandis usuris
their money borrowed he-allowed nor by-being-multiplied interest
crescere. Auxit hoc officium alia quoque liberalitate: nam
to-grow he-increased this service by-other also generosity for
universos frumento donavit, ita ut singulis seni modii tritici
all with-grain he-presented so that to-each six pecks of-wheat
darentur, qui modus mensurae medimnus Athenis appellatur.
were-given which measure of-quantity medimnus at-Athens is-called

3 Hic autem sic se gerebat, ut communis infimis, par
he however so himself conducted that sociable to-the-lowest equal
principibus videretur. Quo factum est ut huic omnes
to-the-leaders he-seemed by-which done it-was that to-him all
honores, quos possent, publice haberent civemque facere
honors which they-could publicly they-paid and-a-citizen to-make
studerent: quo beneficio ille uti noluit. Quamdiu affuit,
they-were-eager which kindness he to-use was-unwilling as-long-as he-was-present

ne qua sibi statua poneretur, restitit, absens prohibere non
lest any to-him statue be-set-up he-resisted absent to-prevent not
potuit. Itaque aliquot ipsi et Phidiae locis sanctissimis
he-could and-so several to-himself and to-Phidias in-places most-sacred
posuerunt: hunc enim in omni procuratione rei publicae
they-set-up him for in every administration of-the-thing public
actorem auctoremque habebant potissimum. Igitur primum illud
as-agent and-adviser they-had especially therefore first that
munus fortunae, quod in ea urbe natus est, in qua domicilium
gift of-fortune that in that city born he-was in which the-seat
orbis terrarum esset imperii, ut eandem et patriam
of-the-circle of-lands was of-empire so-that the-same both as-his-country
haberet et domum; hoc specimen prudentiae, quod, cum in
he-had and as-home this a-proof of-prudence that when into
eam se civitatem contulisset, quae antiquitate, humanitate
that himself state he-had-betaken which in-antiquity culture
doctrinaque praestaret omnes, unus ei fuit carissimus.
and-learning surpassed all alone to-it was most-dear

II · NEUTRALITY AND FRIENDSHIP

Sulla wants to take Atticus to Rome; Atticus refuses to fight. He helps Cicero in exile and returns to Rome. He inherits from his uncle Caecilius, keeps out of politics, takes no office, and helps Pompey's friends without joining him. Caesar spares him and pardons his nephew and Quintus Cicero.

Huc ex Asia Sulla decedens cum venisset, quamdiu ibi 4
hither from Asia Sulla departing when he-had-come as-long-as there
fuit, secum habuit Pomponium, captus adulescentis et
he-was with-himself he-kept Pomponius captivated of-the-young-man both
humanitate et doctrina. Sic enim Graece loquebatur, ut
by-the-courtesy and by-the-learning so for in-Greek he-spoke that

Athenis natus videretur; tanta autem suavitas erat sermonis
at-Athens born he-seemed such however sweetness was of-speech
Latini, ut appareret in eo nativum quendam leporem esse,
Latin that it-appeared in him a-native certain charm to-be
non ascitum. Idem poemata pronuntiabat et Graece et
not acquired the-same poems recited both in-Greek and
Latine sic, ut supra nihil posset addi. Quibus rebus factum
in-Latin so that beyond nothing could to-be-added by-which things done
est ut Sulla nusquam eum ab se dimitteret cuperetque
it-was that Sulla nowhere him from himself would-let-go and-desired
secum deducere. Cui cum persuadere tentaret, 'noli, oro
with-himself to-take-away to-whom when to-persuade he-tried do-not I-pray
te,' inquit Pomponius 'adversum eos me velle ducere, cum
you says Pomponius against those me to-wish to-lead with
quibus ne contra te arma ferrem, Italiam reliqui.' At
whom that-not against you arms I-might-bear Italy I-left but
Sulla adulescentis officio collaudato omnia munera ei,
Sulla of-the-young-man the-dutifulness praised all the-gifts to-him
quae Athenis acceperat, proficiscens iussit deferri.
which at-Athens he-had-received setting-out ordered to-be-delivered
Hic complures annos moratus, cum et rei familiari
here several years having-stayed while both to-property family
tantum operae daret, quantum non indiligens deberet
as-much of-attention he-gave as not careless ought
pater familias, et omnia reliqua tempora aut litteris aut
father of-a-family and all remaining time either to-letters or
Atheniensium rei publicae tribueret, nihilo minus amicis
of-the-Athenians to-the-thing public he-gave none less to-friends
urbana officia praestitit. Nam et ad comitia eorum ventitavit
city services he-rendered for both to the-elections their he-kept-coming
et, si qua res maior acta est, non defuit. Sicut Ciceroni
and if any matter greater transacted was not he-was-lacking as to-Cicero

in omnibus eius periculis singularem fidem praebuit: cui
in all his dangers singular loyalty he-showed to-whom
ex patria fugienti sestertium ducenta et quinquaginta
from his-country fleeing sesterces two-hundred and fifty
milia donavit. Tranquillatis autem rebus Romanis remigravit
thousand he-gave calmed however the-affairs Roman he-moved-back
Romam, ut opinor L. Cotta L. Torquato consulibus:
to-Rome as I-think Lucius Cotta Lucius Torquatus consuls
quem discedentem sic universa civitas Atheniensium prosecuta
whom departing so the-whole state of-the-Athenians escorted
est, ut lacrimis desiderii futuri dolorem indicaret.
has that by-tears of-longing to-come its-grief it-showed
Habebat avunculum Q. Caecilium, equitem Romanum, 5
he-had as-maternal-uncle Quintus Caecilius a-knight Roman
familiarem L. Luculli, divitem, difficillima natura: cuius
intimate of-Lucius Lucullus rich of-most-difficult nature whose
sic asperitatem veritus est, ut, quem nemo ferre posset,
so the-harshness respected he-has that whom no-one to-bear could
huius sine offensione ad summam senectutem retinuerit
of-him without offense up-to the-utmost old-age he-kept
benivolentiam. Quo facto tulit pietatis fructum. Caecilius
the-goodwill which done he-carried-off of-dutifulness the-fruit Caecilius
enim moriens testamento adoptavit eum heredemque fecit
for dying by-will adopted him and-heir made
ex dodrante: ex qua hereditate accepit circiter centiens
of three-quarters from which inheritance he-received about ten-million
sestertium. Erat nupta soror Attici Q. Tullio Ciceroni,
sesterces was married the-sister of-Atticus to-Quintus Tullius Cicero
easque nuptias M. Cicero conciliarat, cum quo a
and-that marriage Marcus Cicero had-arranged with whom from
condiscipulatu vivebat coniunctissime, multo etiam familiarius
fellow-studentship he-lived most-closely much even more-intimately

quam cum Quinto, ut iudicari possit plus in amicitia valere
than with Quintus so-that to-be-judged can more in friendship to-avail
similitudinem morum quam affinitatem. Utebatur autem
likeness of-character than kinship he-was-intimate however
intime Q. Hortensio, qui iis temporibus principatum
closely with-Quintus Hortensius who in-those times the-leadership
eloquentiae tenebat, ut intellegi non posset, uter eum plus
of-eloquence held so-that to-be-understood not it-could which him more
diligeret, Cicero an Hortensius: et, id quod erat difficillimum,
loved Cicero or Hortensius and that which was most-difficult
efficiebat ut, inter quos tantae laudis esset aemulatio,
he-brought-about that between whom of-so-great praise was rivalry
nulla intercederet obtrectatio essetque talium virorum copula.
no came-between disparagement and-he-was of-such men the-link
6 In re publica ita est versatus, ut semper optimarum
in the-thing public so he-has engaged-himself that always of-the-best
partium et esset et existimaretur, neque tamen se civilibus
party both he-was and was-thought nor yet himself to-the-civil
fluctibus committeret, quod non magis eos in sua potestate
waves did-he-commit because not more those in their-own power
existimabat esse, qui se his dedissent, quam qui
he-thought to-be who themselves to-these had-given than who
maritimis iactarentur. Honores non petiit, cum ei paterent
by-sea-waves were-tossed offices not he-sought though to-him they-lay-open
propter vel gratiam vel dignitatem: quod neque peti
because-of either influence or rank because neither to-be-sought
more maiorum neque capi possent conservatis
in-the-manner of-the-ancestors nor to-be-taken they-could kept
legibus in tam effusis ambitus largitionibus neque geri
the-laws in so lavish of-canvassing largesses nor to-be-held
e re publica sine periculo corruptis civitatis moribus
for the-thing public without danger corrupted of-the-state the-morals

ad hastam publicam numquam accessit. Nullius rei neque
to the-spear public never he-went of-no thing neither
praes neque manceps factus est. Neminem neque suo
surety nor contractor made was-he no-one either in-his-own
nomine neque subscribens accusavit, in ius de sua re
name nor as-co-signer did-he-accuse to court about his-own matter
numquam iit, iudicium nullum habuit. Multorum consulum
never went a-trial none he-had of-many consuls
praetorumque praefecturas delatas sic accepit, ut neminem in
and-praetors the-prefectures offered so he-accepted that no-one into
provinciam sit secutus, honore fuerit contentus, rei
a-province he-has followed with-the-honor was content of-the-thing
familiaris despexerit fructum: qui ne cum Quinto quidem
family despised the-profit who not with Quintus even
Cicerone voluerit ire in Asiam, cum apud eum legati
Cicero wished to-go into Asia when with him of-legate
locum obtinere posset. Non enim decere se arbitrabatur,
the-place to-hold he-could not for to-befit himself he-thought
cum praeturam gerere noluisset, asseclam esse praetoris.
when the-praetorship to-hold he-had-been-unwilling an-attendant to-be of-a-praetor
Qua in re non solum dignitati serviebat, sed etiam
which in matter not only to-his-dignity was-he-attending but also
tranquillitati, cum suspiciones quoque vitaret criminum.
to-tranquility since suspicions also he-avoided of-charges
Quo fiebat ut eius observantia omnibus esset carior,
by-which it-came-about that his attentiveness to-all was more-dear
cum eam officio, non timori neque spei tribui viderent.
since it to-duty not to-fear nor to-hope to-be-given they-saw
Incidit Caesarianum civile bellum. Cum haberet annos circiter 7
befell the-Caesarian civil war when he-had years about
sexaginta, usus est aetatis vacatione neque se quoquam
sixty used he-has of-age the-exemption nor himself anywhere

movit ex urbe. Quae amicis suis opus fuerant ad Pompeium
he-moved from the-city what to-friends his needful had-been to Pompey
proficiscentibus, omnia ex sua re familiari dedit, ipsum
setting-out all-things from his property family he-gave himself
Pompeium coniunctum non offendit. Nullum ab eo habebat
Pompey joined not he-offended no from him did-he-have
ornamentum, ut ceteri, qui per eum aut honores aut divitias
distinction as the-others who through him either offices or riches
ceperant: quorum partim invitissimi castra sunt secuti, partim
had-taken of-whom partly most-unwillingly the-camp have followed partly
summa cum eius offensione domi remanserunt. Caesari autem
the-greatest with his offense at-home stayed to-Caesar however
Attici quies tanto opere fuit grata, ut victor, cum privatis
of-Atticus the-quiet so greatly was pleasing that the-victor when on-private-persons
pecunias per epistulas imperaret, huic non solum molestus non
sums through letters he-levied to-him not only troublesome not
fuerit, sed etiam sororis filium et Q. Ciceronem ex Pompei
he-was but also of-his-sister the-son and Quintus Cicero from Pompey's
castris concesserit. Sic vetere instituto vitae effugit nova pericula.
camp he-pardoned thus by-old habit of-life he-escaped new dangers

III · BRUTUS AND ANTONY

After Caesar's death Atticus refuses to fund a treasury for the assassins, but helps Brutus in exile. When Antony is declared an enemy, Atticus protects his friends and stands by his wife Fulvia in her lawsuits and debts.

8 Secutum est illud. Occiso Caesare cum res publica
followed has this Caesar slain when the-thing public
penes Brutos videretur esse et Cassium ac tota civitas
in-the-hands-of the-Bruti seemed to-be and Cassius and the-whole state

se ad eos convertisset, sic M. Bruto usus est, ut
itself to them had-turned so with-Marcus Brutus intimate-with he-has that
nullo ille adulescens aequali familiarius quam hoc sene,
with-no that young-man coeval more-familiarly than with-this old-man
neque solum eum principem consilii haberet, sed etiam in
nor only him the-chief of-counsel he-had but also in
convictu. Excogitatum est a quibusdam, ut privatum aerarium
social-life devised was by certain-men that a-private treasury
Caesaris interfectoribus ab equitibus Romanis constitueretur.
for-Caesar's killers by the-knights Roman should-be-established
Id facile effici posse arbitrati sunt, si principes eius
that easily to-be-done to-be-able thought they-have if the-leading-men of-that
ordinis pecunias contulissent. Itaque appellatus est a C.
order money contributed and-so approached was by Gaius
Flavio, Bruti familiari, Atticus, ut eius rei princeps esse
Flavius Brutus' intimate Atticus that of-that thing the-leader to-be
vellet. At ille, qui officia amicis praestanda sine factione
he-would-wish but he who services to-friends to-be-rendered without faction
existimaret semperque a talibus se consiliis removisset,
thought and-always from such himself plans had-removed
respondit: si quid Brutus de suis facultatibus uti voluisset,
replied if anything Brutus of his resources to-use had-wished
usurum, quantum eae paterentur, se neque cum
him-to-be-going-to-use as-much-as they allowed himself neither with
quoquam de ea re collocuturum neque coiturum. Sic
anyone about that matter to-be-going-to-confer nor to-be-going-to-combine thus
ille consensionis globus huius unius dissensione disiectus est.
that of-agreement knot of-this one-man by-the-dissent broken-up was
Neque multo post superior esse coepit Antonius, ita ut Brutus
nor much after superior to-be began Antony so that Brutus
et Cassius omissa cura provinciarum, quae iis dicis
and Cassius neglected the-care of-the-provinces which to-them for-form's

causa datae erant a consule, desperatis rebus in exilium
sake given had-been by the-consul despaired affairs into exile
proficiscerentur. Atticus, qui pecuniam simul cum ceteris
set-out Atticus who money together with the-others
conferre noluerat florenti illi parti, abiecto Bruto Italiaque
to-contribute had-refused to-flourishing that party to-cast-down Brutus and-from-Italy
cedenti sestertium centum milia muneri misit. Eidem in
withdrawing sesterces a-hundred thousand as-a-gift sent to-the-same in
Epiro absens trecenta iussit dari, neque eo magis
Epirus absent three-hundred he-ordered to-be-given nor for-that more
potenti adulatus est Antonio neque desperatos reliquit.
the-powerful flattered he-has Antony nor the-desperate did-he-abandon
9 Secutum est bellum gestum apud Mutinam. In quo si tantum
followed has the-war waged at Mutina in which if only
eum prudentem dicam, minus quam debeam praedicem,
him prudent I-should-call less than I-ought I-should-proclaim
cum ille potius divinus fuerit, si divinatio appellanda est
since he rather divine was if divination to-be-called is
perpetua naturalis bonitas, quae nullis casibus agitatur neque
a-lasting natural goodness which by-no chances is-shaken nor
minuitur. Hostis Antonius iudicatus Italia cesserat: spes
diminished an-enemy Antony judged from-Italy had-withdrawn hope
restituendi nulla erat. Non solum inimici, qui tum erant
of-restoration none there-was not only his-enemies who then were
potentissimi et plurimi, sed etiam qui adversariis eius
most-powerful and very-many but also who to-the-opponents his
se venditabant et in eo laedendo aliquam consecuturos
themselves were-selling and in him harming some to-be-going-to-gain
sperabant commoditatem, Antonii familiares insequebantur,
hoped advantage Antony's intimates were-persecuting
uxorem Fulviam omnibus rebus spoliare cupiebant, liberos
his-wife Fulvia of-all things to-strip they-desired the-children

etiam exstinguere parabant. Atticus, cum Ciceronis
even to-destroy they-were-preparing Atticus though of-Cicero
intima familiaritate uteretur, amicissimus esset Bruto, non
close intimacy he-used most-friendly was to-Brutus not
modo nihil iis indulsit ad Antonium violandum, sed
only nothing to-them did-he-concede for Antony to-be-harmed but
e contrario familiares eius ex urbe profugientes, quantum
on the-contrary the-intimates his from the-city fleeing as-much-as
potuit, texit, quibus rebus indiguerunt, adiuvit. Publio
he-could he-protected with-what things they-needed he-helped to-Publius
vero Volumnio ea tribuit, ut plura a parente proficisci
indeed Volumnius such-things he-bestowed that more from a-parent to-come
non potuerint. Ipsi autem Fulviae, cum litibus distineretur
not could to-Fulvia herself however when by-lawsuits she-was-distracted
magnisque terroribus vexaretur, tanta diligentia officium
and-by-great terrors was-harassed with-such diligence service
suum praestitit, ut nullum illa stiterit vadimonium sine
his he-rendered that no she appeared bail-appointment without
Attico, Atticus sponsor omnium rerum fuerit. Quin etiam,
Atticus Atticus guarantor of-all things was nay even
cum illa fundum secunda fortuna emisset in diem neque post
when she an-estate in-favorable fortune had-bought on credit nor after
calamitatem versuram facere potuisset, ille se interposuit
the-disaster a-new-loan to-make could he himself interposed
pecuniamque sine faenore sineque ulla stipulatione credidit,
and-money without interest and-without any stipulation lent
maximum existimans quaestum, memorem gratumque cognosci,
greatest thinking the-profit mindful and-grateful to-be-known
simulque aperiens se non fortunae, sed hominibus
and-at-the-same-time showing himself not to-fortune but to-men
solere esse amicum. Quae cum faciebat, nemo eum
to-be-accustomed to-be a-friend which-things when he-did no-one him

temporis causa facere poterat existimare: nemini enim
of-the-time for-the-sake to-do could think to-no-one for
in opinionem veniebat Antonium rerum potiturum.
into the-belief it-came Antony of-affairs to-be-going-to-gain-mastery
Sed sensus eius a nonnullis optimatibus reprehendebatur,
but the-feeling his by some optimates was-blamed
quod parum odisse malos cives videretur. Ille autem, sui
because too-little to-hate the-bad citizens he-seemed he however of-his-own
iudicii, potius quid se facere par esset intuebatur quam
judgment rather what himself to-do right was looked-to than
quid alii laudaturi forent.
what others going-to-praise would-be

IV · THE PROSCRIPTIONS

When Antony returns to power, Atticus hides, but Antony protects him in gratitude. Atticus shelters the proscribed in Epirus and helps Brutus' mother. Nepos notes that each person's character shapes his fortune. Agrippa marries Atticus' daughter, a match Antony arranged, and Atticus uses his influence only to save his friends, among them Saufeius and the poet Julius Calidus.

10 Conversa subito fortuna est. Ut Antonius rediit in
turned suddenly fortune has when Antony returned into
Italiam, nemo non magno in periculo Atticum putarat
Italy no-one not great in danger Atticus had-thought
propter intimam familiaritatem Ciceronis et Bruti. Itaque
because-of his-close intimacy of-Cicero and of-Brutus and-so
ad adventum imperatorum de foro decesserat, timens
at the-arrival of-the-commanders from the-forum he-had-withdrawn fearing
proscriptionem, latebatque apud P. Volumnium, cui, ut
proscription and-was-hiding with Publius Volumnius to-whom as

ostendimus, paulo ante opem tulerat (tanta varietas iis
we-have-shown a-little before help he-had-brought so-great variety in-those
temporibus fuit fortunae, ut modo hi, modo illi in summo
times was of-fortune that now these now those in the-highest
essent aut fastigio aut periculo), habebatque secum Q.
were either eminence or danger and-he-had with-himself Quintus
Gellium Canum, aequalem simillimumque sui. Hoc quoque
Gellius Canus a-coeval and-most-like to-himself this also
Attici bonitatis exemplum, quod cum eo, quem puerum in
of-Atticus' goodness an-example that with him whom as-a-boy in
ludo cognorat, adeo coniuncte vixit, ut ad extremam aetatem
school he-had-known so closely he-lived that to the-last age
amicitia eorum creverit. Antonius autem, etsi tanto odio
the-friendship their grew Antony however although with-such hatred
ferebatur in Ciceronem, ut non solum ei sed etiam
he-was-carried against Cicero that not only to-him but also
omnibus eius amicis esset inimicus eosque vellet proscribere
to-all his friends he-was hostile and-them wished to-proscribe
multis hortantibus, tamen Attici memor fuit officii et
many urging yet of-Atticus mindful he-was of-the-service and
ei, cum requisisset, ubinam esset, sua manu scripsit,
to-him when he-had-asked where he-was with-his-own hand wrote
ne timeret statimque ad se veniret: se eum et
that-not he-should-fear and-at-once to himself he-should-come himself him and
eius causa Canum de proscriptorum numero exemisse.
for-his sake Canus from of-the-proscribed the-number to-have-removed
Ac ne quod periculum incideret, quod noctu fiebat,
and lest any danger should-befall because by-night it-was-happening
praesidium ei misit. Sic Atticus in summo timore non
a-guard to-him he-sent thus Atticus in the-greatest fear not
solum sibi, sed etiam ei, quem carissimum habebat,
only to-himself but also to-him whom most-dear he-held

praesidio fuit, ut appareret nullam seiunctam sibi
a-protection was so-that it-appeared no separated for-himself
ab eo velle fortunam. Quodsi gubernator praecipua laude
from him to-wish fortune but-if a-helmsman with-special praise
effertur, qui navem ex hieme marique scopuloso servat, cur
is-extolled who his-ship out-of winter and-the-sea rocky saves why
non singularis eius existimetur prudentia, qui ex tot
not singular his should-be-thought the-prudence who out-of so-many
tamque gravibus procellis civilibus ad incolumitatem pervenit?
and-so severe storms civil to safety came
11 Quibus ex malis ut se emersit, nihil aliud egit quam
which out-of evils when himself he-emerged nothing else he-did than
ut quam plurimis, quibus rebus posset, esset auxilio.
that as to-very-many by-what things he-could he-should-be for-help
Cum proscriptos praemiis imperatorum vulgus conquireret,
when the-proscribed for-the-rewards of-the-commanders the-crowd hunted
nemo in Epirum venit, cui res ulla defuerit: nemini
no-one into Epirus came to-whom thing any was-lacking to-no-one
non ibi perpetuo manendi potestas facta est; quin
not there of-permanently remaining the-opportunity made was nay
etiam post proelium Philippense interitumque C. Cassii
even after the-battle of-Philippi and-the-death of-Gaius Cassius
et M. Bruti L. Iulium Mocillam praetorium et
and of-Marcus Brutus Lucius Julius Mocilla ex-praetor and
filium eius Aulumque Torquatum ceterosque pari fortuna
son his and-Aulus Torquatus and-the-others by-equal fortune
perculsos instituit tueri atque ex Epiro iis omnia
struck he-undertook to-protect and from Epirus to-them all-things
Samothraciam supportari iussit. Difficile est omnia persequi
to-Samothrace to-be-carried ordered difficult it-is all-things to-pursue
et non necessarium. Illud unum intellegi volumus, illius
and not necessary this one-thing to-be-understood we-wish his

liberalitatem neque temporariam neque callidam fuisse. Id
generosity neither temporary nor calculating to-have-been that
ex ipsis rebus ac temporibus iudicari potest, quod non
from the-very facts and times to-be-judged can because not
florentibus se venditavit, sed afflictis semper succurrit: qui
to-the-flourishing himself he-sold but the-afflicted always he-helped who
quidem Serviliam, Bruti matrem, non minus post mortem
indeed Servilia of-Brutus the-mother not less after death
eius quam florentem coluerit. Sic liberalitate utens nullas
his than flourishing respected thus generosity using no
inimicitias gessit, quod neque laedebat quemquam neque, si
enmities he-carried-on because neither did-he-harm anyone nor if
quam iniuriam acceperat, non malebat oblivisci quam ulcisci.
any injury he-had-received not did-he-prefer to-forget than to-avenge
Idem immortali memoria percepta retinebat beneficia; quae
the-same with-undying memory received retained kindnesses which
autem ipse tribuerat, tam diu meminerat, quoad ille gratus
however he-himself had-bestowed so long he-remembered as he grateful
erat, qui acceperat. Itaque hic fecit ut vere dictum videatur:
was who had-received-them and-so he made that truly said it-seems

Sui cuique mores fingunt fortunam hominibus.
their-own to-each character fashions fortune for-men

Neque tamen ille prius fortunam quam se ipse finxit,
nor yet he sooner fortune than himself he-himself fashioned
qui cavit ne qua in re iure plecteretur.
who took-care lest any in matter by-right he-be-punished
His igitur rebus effecit ut M. Vipsanius Agrippa, 12
by-these therefore things he-brought-about that Marcus Vipsanius Agrippa
intima familiaritate coniunctus adulescenti Caesari, cum propter
by-close intimacy joined to-the-young Caesar though because-of

suam gratiam et Caesaris potentiam nullius condicionis non
his influence and of-Caesar the-power of-no match not
haberet potestatem, potissimum eius deligeret affinitatem
he-had the-power especially his he-should-choose alliance
praeoptaretque equitis Romani filiam generosarum
and-should-prefer of-a-knight Roman the-daughter of-the-well-born
nuptiis. Atque harum nuptiarum conciliator fuit (non est
to-the-marriages and of-this marriage the-arranger was not is
enim celandum) M. Antonius, triumvirum rei publicae
for to-be-concealed Marcus Antony of-the-triumvirs of-the-thing public
constituendae. Cuius gratia cum augere possessiones posset
to-be-established by-whose influence though to-increase possessions he-could
suas, tantum afuit a cupiditate pecuniae, ut nulla in re
his-own so-far was-he from desire of-money that no in thing
usus sit ea nisi in deprecandis amicorum aut periculis aut
used he-has it except in averting of-friends either dangers or
incommodis. Quod quidem sub ipsa proscriptione perillustre
misfortunes which indeed in the-very proscription very-conspicuous
fuit. Nam cum L. Saufei equitis Romani, aequalis sui, qui
was for when of-Lucius Saufeius a-knight Roman coeval his who
complures annos studio ductus philosophiae habitabat Athenis
several years by-zeal led of-philosophy lived at-Athens
habebatque in Italia pretiosas possessiones, tresviri bona
and-had in Italy valuable possessions the-triumvirs the-goods
vendidissent consuetudine ea, qua tum res gerebantur,
had-sold in-the-manner that in-which then affairs were-conducted
Attici labore atque industria factum est ut eodem
by-Atticus' toil and industry done it-was that by-the-same
nuntio Saufeius fieret certior se patrimonium amisisse
message Saufeius was-made more-certain himself his-patrimony to-have-lost
et recuperasse. Idem L. Iulium Calidum, quem post
and to-have-recovered the-same Lucius Julius Calidus whom after

Lucretii Catullique mortem multo elegantissimum poetam
of-Lucretius and-Catullus the-death by-far the-most-elegant poet
nostram tulisse aetatem vere videor posse contendere,
our to-have-produced age truly I-seem to-be-able to-contend
neque minus virum bonum optimisque artibus eruditum,
nor less a-man good and-in-the-best arts learned
post proscriptionem equitum propter magnas eius Africanas
after the-proscription of-the-knights because-of great his African
possessiones in proscriptorum numerum a P. Volumnio,
possessions into of-the-proscribed the-number by Publius Volumnius
praefecto fabrum Antonii, absentem relatum expedivit. Quod
prefect of-engineers of-Antony absent entered he-extricated which
in praesenti utrum ei laboriosius an gloriosius fuerit, difficile
at present whether to-him more-laborious or more-glorious was difficult
est iudicare, quod in eorum periculis non secus absentes
it-is to-judge because in their dangers not otherwise absent
quam praesentes amicos Attico esse curae cognitum est.
than present friends to-Atticus to-be for-a-concern known it-was

Atticus is a good householder: a fine old house on the Quirinal, trained slaves all born at home, and elegance without luxury on three thousand sesterces a month. Only a reader entertains his guests. His wealth grows fivefold, from two million sesterces to ten, without changing his way of life. He never lies, keeps every promise, and manages the business of the Ciceros, Cato, Hortensius, and many knights, avoiding public office by judgment, not idleness.

13 Neque vero ille minus bonus pater familias habitus est quam
nor indeed he less good father of-a-family held was than
civis. Nam cum esset pecuniosus, nemo illo minus fuit
citizen for though he-was moneyed no-one than-him less was
emax, minus aedificator. Neque tamen non inprimis bene
fond-of-buying less a-builder nor yet not especially well
habitavit omnibusque optimis rebus usus est. Nam domum
did-he-dwell and-all the-best things used he-has for a-house
habuit in colle Quirinali Tamphilianam, ab avunculo
he-had on the-hill Quirinal the-Tamphilian by his-maternal-uncle
hereditate relictam, cuius amoenitas non aedificio, sed silva
by-inheritance left whose charm not in-building but in-wood
constabat: ipsum enim tectum antiquitus constitutum plus
consisted the-very for roof anciently built more
salis quam sumptus habebat: in quo nihil commutavit, nisi
of-wit than of-expense had in which nothing he-changed unless
si quid vetustate coactus est. Usus est familia, si utilitate
if anything by-age forced he-was used he-has a-household if by-usefulness
iudicandum est, optima, si forma, vix mediocri. Namque in ea
to-be-judged it-is the-best if by-looks hardly mediocre for in it
erant pueri litteratissimi, anagnostae optimi et plurimi librarii,
were slaves most-lettered readers the-best and very-many copyists
ut ne pedisequus quidem quisquam esset, qui non utrumque
so-that not a-footman even any-one was who not each

horum pulchre facere posset, pari modo artifices ceteri, quos
of-these finely to-do could in-equal manner the-craftsmen other whom
cultus domesticus desiderat, apprime boni. Neque tamen
the-establishment domestic requires exceedingly good nor yet
horum quemquam nisi domi natum domique factum habuit:
of-these anyone except at-home born and-at-home made did-he-have
quod est signum non solum continentiae, sed etiam diligentiae.
which is a-sign not only of-self-restraint but also of-diligence
Nam et non intemperanter concupiscere, quod a plurimis
for both not intemperately to-covet what by very-many
videas, continentis debet duci, et potius industria quam
you-see of-a-self-restrained-man ought to-be-held and rather by-industry than
pretio parare non mediocris est diligentiae. Elegans, non
by-price to-procure not of-ordinary is diligence elegant not
magnificus, splendidus, non sumptuosus: omnisque diligentia
magnificent splendid not extravagant and-all diligence
munditiam, non affluentiam affectabat. Supellex modica,
neatness not abundance he-aimed-at the-furniture modest
non multa, ut in neutram partem conspici posset. Nec
not much so-that in neither direction conspicuous it-could-be nor
praeteribo, quamquam nonnullis leve visum iri putem,
shall-I-pass-over although to-some trivial going-to-seem to-be I-think
cum inprimis lautus esset eques Romanus et non parum
though especially well-off he-was a-knight Roman and not too-little
liberaliter domum suam omnium ordinum homines invitaret,
generously to-house his of-all orders men invited
non amplius quam terna milia peraeque in singulos menses
not more than three thousand equally per single months
ex ephemeride eum expensum sumptui ferre solitum.
from the-day-book him spent as-expense to-enter was-accustomed

Atque hoc non auditum, sed cognitum praedicamus: saepe
and this not heard but known we-proclaim often
enim propter familiaritatem domesticis rebus interfuimus.
for because-of intimacy in-domestic affairs we-took-part
14 Nemo in convivio eius aliud acroama audivit quam anagnosten,
no-one at banquet his other entertainment heard than a-reader
quod nos quidem iucundissimum arbitramur; neque umquam
which we indeed most-delightful think nor ever
sine aliqua lectione apud eum cenatum est, ut non
without some reading at his-house dined was so-that not
minus animo quam ventre convivae delectarentur: namque eos
less in-mind than in-belly the-guests were-delighted for those
vocabat, quorum mores a suis non abhorrerent. Cum tanta
he-invited whose characters from his-own not were-averse when so-great
pecuniae facta esset accessio, nihil de cottidiano cultu mutavit,
of-money made had-been an-increase nothing of daily style he-changed
nihil de vitae consuetudine, tantaque usus est moderatione,
nothing of of-life the-habit and-such used he-has moderation
ut neque in sestertio viciens, quod a patre acceperat,
that neither in sesterces two-million which from his-father he-had-received
parum se splendide gesserit neque in sestertio centiens
too-little himself splendidly he-conducted nor in sesterces ten-million
affluentius vixerit, quam instituerat, parique fastigio steterit
more-lavishly he-lived than he-had-begun and-at-equal height he-stood
in utraque fortuna. Nullos habuit hortos, nullam suburbanam
in each fortune no he-had gardens no suburban
aut maritimam sumptuosam villam, neque in Italia, praeter
or seaside costly villa nor in Italy except
Arretinum et Nomentanum, rusticum praedium, omnisque
at-Arretium and at-Nomentum country estate and-all
eius pecuniae reditus constabat in Epiroticis et urbanis
his of-money income consisted in Epirote and city

possessionibus. Ex quo cognosci potest usum eum pecuniae
possessions from which to-be-known can use him of-money
non magnitudine, sed ratione metiri solitum.
not by-size but by-reckoning to-measure to-have-been-accustomed
Mendacium neque dicebat neque pati poterat. Itaque 15
a-lie neither did-he-tell nor to-endure could-he and-so
eius comitas non sine severitate erat neque gravitas sine
his affability not without strictness was nor dignity without
facilitate, ut difficile esset intellectu, utrum eum amici
easiness so-that difficult it-was to-understand whether him his-friends
magis vererentur an amarent. Quidquid rogabatur, religiose
more feared or loved whatever he-was-asked scrupulously
promittebat, quod non liberales, sed leves arbitrabatur
he-promised because not generous but fickle he-thought
polliceri quod praestare non possent. Idem in tenendo,
to-promise what to-make-good not they-could the-same in keeping
quod semel annuisset, tanta erat cura, ut non mandatam,
what once he-had-assented-to such was care that not entrusted
sed suam rem videretur agere. Numquam suscepti negotii
but his-own business he-seemed to-conduct never undertaken of-business
eum pertaesum est: suam enim existimationem in ea
him wearied has his for reputation in that
re agi putabat, qua nihil habebat carius. Quo
matter to-be-at-stake he-thought than-which nothing he-had dearer by-which
fiebat ut omnia Ciceronum, M. Catonis, Q.
it-came-about that all-the of-the-Ciceros of-Marcus Cato of-Quintus
Hortensii, A. Torquati, multorum praeterea equitum
Hortensius of-Aulus Torquatus of-many besides knights
Romanorum negotia procuraret. Ex quo iudicari potest non
Roman business he-managed from which to-be-judged can not
inertia, sed iudicio fugisse rei publicae procurationem.
by-inertia but by-judgment to-have-fled of-the-thing public the-administration

Atticus is dear to old Sulla and young Brutus, to Hortensius, and above all to Cicero, whose sixteen books of letters to him read as a history of the times. He never quarrels with his mother or his sister. He writes a chronicle of Roman magistracies, family histories, verses under portraits of great Romans, and a Greek book on Cicero's consulship. Content with equestrian rank, he becomes kin to Augustus: his granddaughter by Agrippa is betrothed to Tiberius.

16 Humanitatis vero nullum afferre maius testimonium possum,
of-courtesy indeed no to-bring greater testimony I-can
quam quod adulescens idem seni Sullae fuit iucundissimus,
than that as-a-young-man the-same to-the-old Sulla was most-delightful
senex adulescenti M. Bruto, cum aequalibus autem suis
as-an-old-man to-the-young Marcus Brutus with coevals however his
Q. Hortensio et M. Cicerone sic vixit, ut iudicare difficile
Quintus Hortensius and Marcus Cicero so he-lived that to-judge difficult
sit, cui aetati fuerit aptissimus. Quamquam eum praecipue
it-is to-which age he-was most-suited although him especially
dilexit Cicero, ut ne frater quidem ei Quintus carior
loved Cicero so-that not his-brother even to-him Quintus dearer
fuerit aut familiarior. Ei rei sunt indicio praeter eos libros,
was or more-intimate to-that thing are as-proof besides those books
in quibus de eo facit mentionem, qui in vulgus sunt
in which about him he-makes mention which to the-public have-been
editi, sedecim volumina epistularum, ab consulatu eius usque
published sixteen volumes of-letters from consulship his up-to
ad extremum tempus ad Atticum missarum: quae qui legat,
to the-last time to Atticus sent which who reads
non multum desideret historiam contextam eorum temporum.
not much would-miss a-history connected of-those times
Sic enim omnia de studiis principum, vitiis ducum,
so for all-things about the-pursuits of-the-leaders the-faults of-the-generals

mutationibus rei publicae perscripta sunt, ut nihil in
the-changes of-the-thing public written-out are that nothing in
eis non appareat et facile existimari possit, prudentiam
them not appears and easily to-be-thought can prudence
quodam modo esse divinationem. Non enim Cicero ea
in-a-certain way to-be divination not for Cicero those-things
solum, quae vivo se acciderunt, futura praedixit, sed
only which alive himself happened the-things-to-come foretold but
etiam, quae nunc usu veniunt, cecinit ut vates.
also what now in-practice come he-sang as a-seer
De pietate autem Attici quid plura commemorem? Cum 17
about dutifulness however of-Atticus why more-things should-I-recount when
hoc ipsum vere gloriantem audierim in funere matris suae,
this itself truly boasting I-heard at the-funeral of-mother his
quam extulit annorum nonaginta, cum ipse esset septem
whom he-buried of-years ninety when he-himself was seven
et sexaginta, se numquam cum matre in gratiam
and sixty himself never with his-mother into favor
redisse, numquam cum sorore fuisse in simultate,
to-have-returned never with his-sister to-have-been in a-quarrel
quam prope aequalem habebat. Quod est signum aut nullam
whom nearly of-equal-age he-had which is a-sign either no
umquam inter eos querimoniam intercessisse, aut hunc ea
ever between them complaint to-have-come or him of-such
fuisse in suos indulgentia, ut, quos amare deberet,
to-have-been toward his-own indulgence that whom to-love he-ought
irasci eis nefas duceret. Neque id fecit natura solum,
to-be-angry with-them a-sin he-held nor that did-he by-nature only
quamquam omnes ei paremus, sed etiam doctrina: nam
although all to-it we-obey but also by-learning for

principum philosophorum ita percepta habuit praecepta, ut
of-the-leading philosophers so grasped he-had the-precepts that
iis ad vitam agendam, non ad ostentationem uteretur.
them for life to-be-led not for display he-used
18 Moris etiam maiorum summus imitator fuit antiquitatisque
of-the-custom also of-the-ancestors the-highest imitator he-was and-of-antiquity
amator, quam adeo diligenter habuit cognitam, ut eam totam
a-lover which so diligently he-had known that it whole
in eo volumine exposuerit, quo magistratus ordinavit. Nulla
in that volume he-set-out in-which the-magistracies he-arranged no
enim lex neque pax neque bellum neque res illustris est
for law nor peace nor war nor event famous is
populi Romani, quae non in eo suo tempore sit notata,
of-the-people Roman which not in it at-its-own time is noted
et, quod difficillimum fuit, sic familiarum originem subtexuit,
and what most-difficult was so of-families the-origin he-interwove
ut ex eo clarorum virorum propagines possimus cognoscere.
that from it of-famous men the-offshoots we-can learn
Fecit hoc idem separatim in aliis libris, ut M. Bruti rogatu
he-did this same separately in other books as at-Marcus Brutus' request
Iuniam familiam a stirpe ad hanc aetatem ordine enumeraverit,
the-Junian family from the-stock to this age in-order he-enumerated
notans, quis a quo ortus quos honores quibusque temporibus
noting who from whom sprung what offices and-at-what times
cepisset: pari modo Marcelli Claudii Marcellorum, Scipionis
he-had-taken in-equal manner at-Marcellus Claudius' of-the-Marcelli at-Scipio's
Cornelii et Fabii Maximi Fabiorum et Aemiliorum. Quibus
Cornelius' and at-Fabius Maximus' of-the-Fabii and of-the-Aemilii than-which
libris nihil potest esse dulcius iis, qui aliquam cupiditatem
books nothing can be sweeter to-those who some desire
habent notitiae clarorum virorum. Attigit poeticen quoque,
have of-knowledge of-famous men he-touched-on poetry also

credimus, ne eius expers esset suavitatis. Namque versibus
we-believe lest of-its without-share he-should-be of-sweetness for in-verses
de iis, qui honore rerumque gestarum amplitudine ceteros
about those who in-honor and-of-deeds done in-greatness the-others
populi Romani praestiterunt, exposuit ita, ut sub singulorum
of-the-people Roman excelled he-set-out so that under of-each
imaginibus facta magistratusque eorum non amplius quaternis
the-portraits the-deeds and-offices their not more than-four
quinisve versibus descripserit: quod vix credendum sit
or-five verses he-described which scarcely to-be-believed is
tantas res tam breviter potuisse declarari. Est etiam
so-great things so briefly to-have-been-able to-be-declared there-is also
unus liber Graece confectus, de consulatu Ciceronis.
one book in-Greek composed about the-consulship of-Cicero
Haec hactenus Attico vivo edita a nobis sunt. Nunc, 19
these-things so-far Atticus living published by us have-been now
quoniam fortuna nos superstites ei esse voluit, reliqua
since fortune us surviving him to-be has-wished the-rest
persequemur et, quantum potuerimus, rerum exemplis
we-shall-pursue and as-far-as we-can of-events by-examples
lectores docebimus, sicut supra significavimus, suos cuique
the-readers we-shall-teach as above we-indicated their-own to-each
mores plerumque conciliare fortunam. Namque hic contentus
character mostly to-procure fortune for he content
ordine equestri, quo erat ortus, in affinitatem pervenit
with-the-order equestrian in-which he-was born into alliance came
imperatoris divi filii, cum iam ante familiaritatem eius
of-the-commander of-the-deified the-son when already before the-intimacy his
esset consecutus nulla alia re quam elegantia vitae, qua
he-had attained by-no other thing than by-the-elegance of-life by-which
ceteros ceperat principes civitatis dignitate pari, fortuna
the-other he-had-captivated leading-men of-the-state in-rank equal in-fortune

humiliores. Tanta enim prosperitas Caesarem est consecuta,
humbler so-great for prosperity Caesar has followed
ut nihil ei non tribuerit fortuna, quod cuiquam ante
that nothing to-him not bestowed fortune which on-anyone before
detulerat, et conciliarit, quod nemo adhuc civis Romanus
she-had-conferred and procured what no-one yet citizen Roman
quivit consequi. Nata est autem Attico neptis ex
could attain born was however to-Atticus a-granddaughter from
Agrippa, cui virginem filiam collocarat. Hanc
Agrippa to-whom maiden his-daughter he-had-given-in-marriage her
Caesar vix anniculam Ti. Claudio Neroni, Drusilla
Caesar scarcely a-year-old to-Tiberius Claudius Nero of-Drusilla
nato, privigno suo, despondit: quae coniunctio necessitudinem
born stepson his betrothed which union the-relationship
eorum sanxit, familiaritatem reddidit frequentiorem.
their sealed the-intimacy made more-frequent

VII · DEATH

Augustus writes to Atticus almost daily and restores Jupiter Feretrius' temple at his prompting; Antony writes too. At seventy-seven, gravely ill, Atticus tells Agrippa, Balbus, and Peducaeus he will starve himself; though the fever leaves him, he dies on the fifth day and is buried simply by the Appian Way.

20 Quamquam ante haec sponsalia non solum, cum ab urbe
although before this betrothal not only when from the-city
abesset, numquam ad suorum quemquam litteras misit,
he-was-away never to of-his-own anyone a-letter did-he-send
quin Attico scriberet, quid ageret, inprimis quid legeret
but-that to-Atticus he-wrote what he-was-doing especially what he-was-reading
quibusque in locis et quamdiu esset moraturus, sed etiam,
and-what in places and how-long he-was going-to-stay but also

cum esset in urbe et propter infinitas suas occupationes
when he-was in the-city and because-of endless his occupations
minus saepe, quam vellet, Attico frueretur, nullus dies
less often than he-wished Atticus he-enjoyed no day
temere intercessit, quo non ad eum scriberet, cum modo
at-random passed on-which not to him he-wrote when now
aliquid de antiquitate ab eo requireret, modo aliquam
something about antiquity from him he-sought now some
quaestionem poeticam ei proponeret, interdum iocans eius
question poetic to-him he-put sometimes joking his
verbosiores eliceret epistulas. Ex quo accidit, cum aedis
more-wordy he-drew-out letters from which it-happened when the-temple
Iovis Feretrii in Capitolio, ab Romulo constituta, vetustate
of-Jupiter Feretrius on the-Capitol by Romulus founded by-age
atque incuria detecta prolaberetur, ut Attici admonitu
and by-neglect unroofed was-collapsing that at-Atticus' prompting
Caesar eam reficiendam curaret. Neque vero a M. Antonio
Caesar it to-be-rebuilt saw-to nor indeed by Marcus Antony
minus absens litteris colebatur, adeo ut accurate ille ex
less absent by-letters he-was-cultivated so-much that carefully he from
ultimis terris, quid ageret, curae sibi haberet certiorem
the-farthest lands what he-was-doing a-concern to-himself he-had more-certain
facere Atticum. Hoc quale sit, facilius existimabit is,
to-make Atticus this of-what-sort is more-easily will-judge he
qui iudicare poterit, quantae sit sapientiae eorum retinere
who to-judge will-be-able of-how-great is wisdom of-those to-keep
usum benivolentiamque, inter quos maximarum rerum non
the-intimacy and-goodwill between whom of-the-greatest things not
solum aemulatio, sed obtrectatio tanta intercedebat, quantam
only rivalry but disparagement so-great came-between as-much-as
fuit necesse inter Caesarem atque Antonium, cum se
was necessary between Caesar and Antony since himself

uterque principem non solum urbis Romae, sed orbis
each the-leader not only of-the-city of-Rome but of-the-circle
terrarum esse cuperet.
of-lands to-be desired

21 Tali modo cum septem et septuaginta annos complesset
in-such way when seven and seventy years he-had-completed
atque ad extremam senectutem non minus dignitate quam
and to extreme old-age not less in-dignity than
gratia fortunaque crevisset (multas enim hereditates nulla
in-influence and-fortune had-grown many for inheritances by-no
alia re quam bonitate consecutus est) tantaque prosperitate
other thing than by-goodness attained he-has and-such prosperity
usus esset valetudinis ut annis triginta medicina non
enjoyed he-had of-health that for-years thirty of-medicine not
indiguisset, nactus est morbum, quem initio et ipse
he-had-needed contracted he-has a-disease which at-first both he-himself
et medici contempserunt: nam putarunt esse tenesmon,
and the-doctors despised for they-thought it-to-be tenesmus
cui remedia celeria faciliaque proponebantur. In hoc
for-which remedies quick and-easy were-proposed in this
cum tres menses sine ullis doloribus, praeterquam quos
when three months without any pains except those-which
ex curatione capiebat, consumpsisset, subito tanta vis
from the-treatment he-got he-had-spent suddenly so-great a-force
morbi in imum intestinum prorupit, ut extremo tempore
of-the-disease into the-lowest intestine broke-out that at-the-last time
per lumbos fistulae puris eruperint. Atque hoc priusquam
through the-loins fistulas of-pus broke-forth and this before
ei accideret, postquam in dies dolores accrescere
to-him it-happened after from day-to-day the-pains to-increase
febresque accessisse sensit, Agrippam generum ad se
and-fevers to-have-come-on he-felt Agrippa his-son-in-law to himself

arcessi iussit et cum eo L. Cornelium Balbum
to-be-summoned he-ordered and with him Lucius Cornelius Balbus
Sextumque Peducaeum. Hos ut venisse vidit, in cubitum
and-Sextus Peducaeus these when to-have-come he-saw on his-elbow
innixus 'quantam' inquit 'curam diligentiamque in valetudine
leaning how-much he-says care and-diligence in health
mea tuenda hoc tempore adhibuerim, cum vos testes
my to-be-guarded at-this time I-have-applied since you as-witnesses
habeam, nihil necesse est pluribus verbis commemorare.
I-have nothing necessary is in-more words to-recount
Quibus quoniam, ut spero, satisfeci, me nihil reliqui
whom since as I-hope I-have-satisfied me nothing remaining
fecisse, quod ad sanandum me pertineret, reliquum est
to-have-done which to curing me pertained the-rest it-is
ut egomet mihi consulam. Id vos ignorare nolui:
that I-myself for-myself should-provide that you to-be-ignorant-of I-did-not-wish
nam mihi stat alere morbum desinere. Namque his
for to-me it-stands to-nourish the-disease to-cease for in-these
diebus quidquid cibi sumpsi, ita produxi vitam, ut
days whatever of-food I-have-taken so I-have-prolonged life that
auxerim dolores sine spe salutis. Quare a vobis peto,
I-have-increased the-pains without hope of-recovery wherefore of you I-ask
primum ut consilium probetis meum, deinde ne frustra
first that the-plan you-approve my then not in-vain
dehortando impedire conemini.'
by-dissuading to-hinder you-try
Hac oratione habita tanta constantia vocis atque vultus, ut 22
this speech delivered with-such steadiness of-voice and of-face that
non ex vita, sed ex domo in domum videretur migrare,
not from life but from house into house he-seemed to-move
cum quidem Agrippa eum flens atque osculans oraret
when indeed Agrippa him weeping and kissing begged

atque obsecraret, ne id quod natura cogeret ipse
and besought that-not that which nature would-force he-himself
quoque sibi acceleraret, et, quoniam tum quoque posset
also for-himself should-hasten and since then also he-could
temporibus superesse, se sibi suisque reservaret,
the-times to-survive himself for-himself and-for-his-own should-keep
preces eius taciturna sua obstinatione depressit. Sic cum
the-prayers his by-silent his obstinacy he-suppressed thus when
biduum cibo se abstinuisset, subito febris decessit
two-days from-food himself he-had-abstained suddenly the-fever departed
leviorque morbus esse coepit. Tamen propositum nihilo setius
and-lighter the-disease to-be began yet the-purpose none the-less
peregit itaque die quinto, postquam id consilium
he-carried-through and-so on-the-day fifth after that plan
inierat, pridie kal. Apriles Cn. Domitio C.
he-had-entered-upon the-day-before the-kalends of-April Gnaeus Domitius Gaius
Sosio consulibus decessit. Elatus est in lecticula, ut
Sosius consuls he-died carried-out he-was in a-little-litter as
ipse praescripserat, sine ulla pompa funeris, comitantibus
he-himself had-prescribed without any pomp of-funeral accompanying
omnibus bonis, maxima vulgi frequentia. Sepultus est
all the-good with-the-greatest of-the-crowd attendance buried he-was
iuxta viam Appiam ad quintum lapidem in monumento
beside the-road Appian at the-fifth milestone in the-tomb
Q. Caecilii, avunculi sui.
of-Quintus Caecilius maternal-uncle his

TACITUS

De Vita Iulii Agricolae

The Agricola

AGRICOLA

I · THE LIFE OF AGRICOLA

Recording famous men's lives is an old custom, yet Rusticus and Senecio were put to death for praising Thrasea and Helvidius, their books burned. Fifteen years of silence under a savage emperor have passed; now, under Nerva and Trajan, Tacitus writes of his father-in-law. Agricola comes from Forum Julii, and his father was killed by Gaius for refusing to accuse Silanus. Schooled at Massilia, he has his eager taste for philosophy checked by his mother.

Clarorum virorum facta moresque posteris tradere, antiquitus 1
of-famous men the-deeds and-characters to-posterity to-hand-down anciently
usitatum, ne nostris quidem temporibus quamquam incuriosa
customary not in-our even times although careless
suorum aetas omisit, quotiens magna aliqua ac nobilis virtus
of-its-own age has-omitted whenever great some and noble virtue
vicit ac supergressa est vitium parvis magnisque civitatibus
has-conquered and surmounted has the-vice to-small and-great states
commune, ignorantiam recti et invidiam. Sed apud priores ut
common ignorance of-right and envy but among the-earlier as
agere digna memoratu pronum magisque in aperto erat, ita
to-do things-worthy of-record easy and-more in the-open was so
celeberrimus quisque ingenio ad prodendam virtutis memoriam
the-most-celebrated each in-talent for handing-down of-virtue the-memory
sine gratia aut ambitione bonae tantum conscientiae pretio
without favor or ambition of-good only of-conscience by-the-reward
ducebatur. Ac plerique suam ipsi vitam narrare fiduciam
was-led and most their-own themselves life to-narrate confidence
potius morum quam adrogantiam arbitrati sunt, nec id
rather of-character than arrogance thought have nor that
Rutilio et Scauro citra fidem aut obtrectationi fuit: adeo
to-Rutilius and Scaurus short-of belief or for-disparagement was so

virtutes isdem temporibus optime aestimantur, quibus
virtues in-the-same times best are-valued in-which
facillime gignuntur. At nunc narraturo mihi vitam defuncti
most-easily they-are-born but now going-to-narrate for-me the-life of-a-dead
hominis venia opus fuit, quam non petissem incusaturus:
man pardon need was which not I-would-have-sought going-to-arraign
tam saeva et infesta virtutibus tempora.
so savage and hostile to-virtues times

2 Legimus, cum Aruleno Rustico Paetus Thrasea, Herennio
we-read when by-Arulenus Rusticus Paetus Thrasea by-Herennius
Senecioni Priscus Helvidius laudati essent, capitale fuisse,
Senecio Priscus Helvidius praised had-been capital to-have-been
neque in ipsos modo auctores, sed in libros quoque
nor against themselves only the-authors but against the-books also
eorum saevitum, delegato triumviris ministerio ut
their to-have-been-raged delegated to-the-triumvirs the-office that
monumenta clarissimorum ingeniorum in comitio ac foro
the-monuments of-most-famous minds in the-comitium and forum
urerentur. Scilicet illo igne vocem populi Romani et
should-be-burned of-course by-that fire the-voice of-the-people Roman and
libertatem senatus et conscientiam generis humani aboleri
the-freedom of-the-senate and the-conscience of-the-race human to-be-destroyed
arbitrabantur, expulsis insuper sapientiae professoribus atque
they-thought expelled besides of-wisdom the-professors and
omni bona arte in exilium acta, ne quid usquam
every good art into exile driven lest anything anywhere
honestum occurreret. Dedimus profecto grande patientiae
honorable should-meet-the-eye we-have-given surely a-great of-patience
documentum; et sicut vetus aetas vidit quid ultimum
proof and as the-old age saw what the-utmost
in libertate esset, ita nos quid in servitute, adempto
in freedom was so we what in slavery taken-away

per inquisitiones etiam loquendi audiendique commercio.
through spyings even of-speaking and-of-hearing the-exchange
Memoriam quoque ipsam cum voce perdidissemus, si tam
memory also itself with voice we-would-have-lost if as
in nostra potestate esset oblivisci quam tacere.
in our power it-were to-forget as to-be-silent
Nunc demum redit animus; sed quamquam primo statim 3
now at-last returns spirit but although at-first at-once
beatissimi saeculi ortu Nerva Caesar res olim dissociabilis
of-a-most-blessed age at-the-dawn Nerva Caesar things once incompatible
miscuerit, principatum ac libertatem, augeatque quotidie
has-mingled the-principate and freedom and-increases daily
felicitatem temporum Nerva Traianus, nec spem modo ac
the-happiness of-the-times Nerva Trajan nor hope only and
votum securitas publica, sed ipsius voti fiduciam ac
prayer the-security public but of-itself of-the-prayer the-confidence and
robur adsumpserit, natura tamen infirmitatis humanae
strength has-taken by-the-nature yet of-weakness human
tardiora sunt remedia quam mala; et ut corpora nostra lente
slower are the-remedies than the-ills and as bodies our slowly
augescunt, cito extinguuntur, sic ingenia studiaque oppresseris
grow quickly are-extinguished so minds and-studies you-would-crush
facilius quam revocaveris: subit quippe etiam ipsius inertiae
more-easily than you-would-recall creeps-in indeed even of-itself of-inertia
dulcedo, et invisa primo desidia postremo amatur. Quid, si
the-sweetness and hated at-first idleness at-last is-loved what if
per quindecim annos, grande mortalis aevi spatium, multi
through fifteen years a-great of-mortal life span many
fortuitis casibus, promptissimus quisque saevitia principis
by-accidental chances the-most-ready each by-the-savagery of-the-emperor
interciderunt, pauci et, ut ita dixerim, non modo aliorum sed
perished few and as so I-may-say not only of-others but

etiam nostri superstites sumus, exemptis e media vita
also of-ourselves survivors we-are taken-away from the-middle-of life
tot annis, quibus iuvenes ad senectutem, senes prope ad
so-many years in-which young-men to old-age old-men nearly to
ipsos exactae aetatis terminos per silentium venimus? Non
the-very of-completed age limits through silence we-have-come not
tamen pigebit vel incondita ac rudi voce memoriam prioris
however it-will-irk even with-unskilled and rough voice the-memory of-former
servitutis ac testimonium praesentium bonorum composuisse.
slavery and a-testimony of-present blessings to-have-composed
Hic interim liber honori Agricolae soceri mei destinatus,
this meanwhile book to-the-honor of-Agricola father-in-law my destined
professione pietatis aut laudatus erit aut excusatus.
by-the-profession of-dutifulness either praised will-be or excused

4 Gnaeus Iulius Agricola, vetere et inlustri Foroiuliensium
Gnaeus Julius Agricola from-the-old and famous of-the-Forum-Julians
colonia ortus, utrumque avum procuratorem Caesarum habuit,
colony sprung each grandfather as-procurator of-the-Caesars had
quae equestris nobilitas est. Pater illi Iulius Graecinus
which equestrian nobility is the-father to-him Julius Graecinus
senatorii ordinis, studio eloquentiae sapientiaeque notus,
of-the-senatorial order for-his-zeal of-eloquence and-of-wisdom known
iisque ipsis virtutibus iram Gai Caesaris meritus: namque
and-by-those very virtues the-anger of-Gaius Caesar earned for
M. Silanum accusare iussus et, quia abnuerat, interfectus
Marcus Silanus to-accuse ordered and because he-had-refused killed
est. Mater Iulia Procilla fuit, rarae castitatis. In huius sinu
was the-mother Julia Procilla was of-rare chastity in her bosom
indulgentiaque educatus per omnem honestarum artium
and-indulgence brought-up through all of-honorable arts
cultum pueritiam adulescentiamque transegit. Arcebat eum
the-cultivation boyhood and-youth he-spent kept him

ab inlecebris peccantium praeter ipsius bonam integramque
from the-enticements of-wrongdoers besides his-own good and-sound
naturam, quod statim parvulus sedem ac magistram studiorum
nature that at-once very-small as-seat and teacher of-studies
Massiliam habuit, locum Graeca comitate et provinciali
Massilia he-had a-place with-Greek refinement and provincial
parsimonia mixtum ac bene compositum. Memoria teneo
thrift mixed and well blended in-memory I-hold
solitum ipsum narrare se prima in iuventa studium
accustomed him-himself to-relate himself early in youth the-study
philosophiae acrius, ultraque quam concessum Romano ac
of-philosophy more-keenly and-beyond than allowed to-a-Roman and
senatori, hausisse, ni prudentia matris incensum ac
senator to-have-drunk-in unless the-prudence of-his-mother inflamed and
flagrantem animum coercuisset. Scilicet sublime et erectum
burning spirit had-restrained of-course lofty and elevated
ingenium pulchritudinem ac speciem magnae excelsaeque gloriae
mind the-beauty and splendor of-great and-exalted glory
vehementius quam caute adpetebat. Mox mitigavit ratio et
more-vehemently than cautiously sought soon calmed reason and
aetas, retinuitque, quod est difficillimum, ex sapientia modum.
age and-he-retained what is most-difficult from wisdom moderation

Agricola learns soldiering under Suetonius Paulinus in Britain during the great revolt. He marries Domitia Decidiana and serves quietly as quaestor, tribune, and praetor. His mother is killed by Otho's fleet; he joins Vespasian, takes the mutinous Twentieth Legion, and serves Bolanus and Cerialis loyally, claiming no glory.

Prima castrorum rudimenta in Britannia Suetonio Paulino,
the-first of-camp-life rudiments in Britain to-Suetonius Paulinus
diligenti ac moderato duci, adprobavit, electus quem
a-diligent and moderate leader he-commended chosen whom
contubernio aestimaret. Nec Agricola licenter, more
by-tent-sharing he-might-assess nor Agricola licentiously in-the-manner
iuvenum qui militiam in lasciviam vertunt, neque segniter
of-young-men who soldiering into wantonness turn nor lazily
ad voluptates et commeatus titulum tribunatus et inscitiam
to pleasures and leaves the-title of-the-tribunate and inexperience
rettulit: sed noscere provinciam, nosci exercitui, discere
applied but to-know the-province to-be-known to-the-army to-learn
a peritis, sequi optimos, nihil adpetere in iactationem,
from the-experienced to-follow the-best nothing to-seek for boasting
nihil ob formidinem recusare, simulque et anxius
nothing on-account-of fear to-refuse and-at-the-same-time both anxious
et intentus agere. Non sane alias excitatior magisque
and attentive to-act not indeed at-other-times more-agitated and-more
in ambiguo Britannia fuit: trucidati veterani, incensae
in uncertainty Britain was slaughtered the-veterans burned
coloniae, intersepti exercitus; tum de salute, mox de victoria
the-colonies cut-off the-armies then for safety soon for victory
certavere. Quae cuncta etsi consiliis ductuque alterius
they-strove which all-things although by-the-plans and-leadership of-another

agebantur, ac summa rerum et reciperatae provinciae gloria
were-conducted and the-sum of-affairs and of-the-recovered province the-glory
in ducem cessit, artem et usum et stimulos addidere
to the-leader fell skill and experience and spurs added
iuveni, intravitque animum militaris gloriae cupido,
to-the-young-man and-entered his-mind of-military glory desire
ingrata temporibus quibus sinistra erga eminentis interpretatio
unwelcome to-the-times in-which hostile toward the-eminent construction
nec minus periculum ex magna fama quam ex mala.
nor less danger from great fame than from bad
Hinc ad capessendos magistratus in urbem degressus 6
thence for undertaking offices to the-city having-come-down
Domitiam Decidianam, splendidis natalibus ortam, sibi
Domitia Decidiana of-splendid birth sprung to-himself
iunxit; idque matrimonium ad maiora nitenti decus
he-joined and-that marriage to greater-things to-him-striving a-distinction
ac robur fuit. Vixeruntque mira concordia, per mutuam
and strength was and-they-lived in-wonderful harmony through mutual
caritatem et in vicem se anteponendo, nisi quod in
affection and in turn each-other preferring except that in
bona uxore tanto maior laus, quanto in mala plus culpae
a-good wife by-so-much greater the-praise as in a-bad more of-blame
est. Sors quaesturae provinciam Asiam, pro consule Salvium
is the-lot of-the-quaestorship as-province Asia as proconsul Salvius
Titianum dedit, quorum neutro corruptus est, quamquam et
Titianus gave of-whom by-neither corrupted was-he although both
provincia dives ac parata peccantibus, et pro consule in omnem
the-province rich and open to-wrongdoers and the proconsul to every
aviditatem pronus quantalibet facilitate redempturus esset
greed inclined with-whatever indulgence going-to-buy would-be
mutuam dissimulationem mali. Auctus est ibi filia, in
mutual concealment of-wrong blessed he-was there with-a-daughter for

subsidium simul et solacium; nam filium ante sublatum
support at-the-same-time and comfort for a-son before raised
brevi amisit. Mox inter quaesturam ac tribunatum plebis atque
shortly he-lost soon between the-quaestorship and tribunate of-the-plebs and
ipsum etiam tribunatus annum quiete et otio transiit, gnarus
the-very also of-the-tribunate year in-quiet and leisure he-passed knowing
sub Nerone temporum, quibus inertia pro sapientia fuit. Idem
under Nero of-the-times in-which inertia for wisdom was the-same
praeturae tenor et silentium; nec enim iurisdictio obvenerat.
of-the-praetorship tenor and silence nor for jurisdiction had-fallen-to-him
Ludos et inania honoris medio rationis atque
the-games and empty-trappings of-office by-the-mean of-reason and
abundantiae duxit, uti longe a luxuria ita famae propior.
of-abundance he-conducted as far from luxury so to-fame nearer
Tum electus a Galba ad dona templorum recognoscenda
then chosen by Galba for the-gifts of-the-temples to-be-reviewed
diligentissima conquisitione fecit, ne cuius alterius
by-most-diligent search he-brought-about that-not of-any other
sacrilegium res publica quam Neronis sensisset.
the-sacrilege the-thing public than of-Nero should-have-felt

7 Sequens annus gravi vulnere animum domumque eius
the-following year with-a-heavy wound the-mind and-house his
adflixit. Nam classis Othoniana licenter vaga dum Intimilium
afflicted for the-fleet Othonian licentiously roving while Intimilium
(Liguriae pars est) hostiliter populatur, matrem Agricolae
of-Liguria a-part is hostilely it-ravages the-mother of-Agricola
in praediis suis interfecit, praediaque ipsa et magnam
on estates her-own killed and-the-estates themselves and a-great
patrimonii partem diripuit, quae causa caedis fuerat. Igitur
of-the-patrimony part plundered which the-cause of-the-murder had-been therefore
ad sollemnia pietatis profectus Agricola, nuntio adfectati a
for the-rites of-dutifulness having-set-out Agricola by-the-news of-aimed-at by

Vespasiano imperii deprehensus ac statim in partis transgressus
Vespasian empire overtaken and at-once into the-party crossed-over
est. Initia principatus ac statum urbis Mucianus regebat,
he-has the-beginnings of-the-principate and the-state of-the-city Mucianus was-ruling
iuvene admodum Domitiano et ex paterna fortuna tantum
the-young-man very Domitian and from his-father's fortune only
licentiam usurpante. Is missum ad dilectus agendos Agricolam
license usurping he sent for levies to-be-held Agricola
integreque ac strenue versatum vicesimae legioni
and-uprightly and vigorously having-conducted-himself to-the-twentieth legion
tarde ad sacramentum transgressae praeposuit, ubi decessor
slowly to the-oath having-gone-over put-in-command where his-predecessor
seditiose agere narrabatur: quippe legatis quoque consularibus
seditiously to-act was-said since for-legates also consular
nimia ac formidolosa erat, nec legatus praetorius ad
too-great and formidable it-was nor the-legate praetorian for
cohibendum potens, incertum suo an militum ingenio. Ita
restraining powerful uncertain by-his-own or the-soldiers' character so
successor simul et ultor electus rarissima moderatione
successor at-the-same-time and avenger chosen with-most-rare moderation
maluit videri invenisse bonos quam fecisse.
he-preferred to-seem to-have-found them-good than to-have-made-them
Praeerat tunc Britanniae Vettius Bolanus, placidius 8
was-in-command then of-Britain Vettius Bolanus more-gently
quam feroci provincia dignum est. Temperavit Agricola
than for-a-fierce province fitting is restrained Agricola
vim suam ardoremque compescuit, ne increscerent, peritus
force his and-ardor checked lest it-should-grow skilled
obsequi eruditusque utilia honestis miscere. Brevi deinde
to-obey and-taught the-useful with-the-honorable to-mix shortly then
Britannia consularem Petilium Cerialem accepit. Habuerunt
Britain as-consular Petilius Cerialis received had

virtutes spatium exemplorum, sed primo Cerialis labores
the-virtues room for-examples but at-first Cerialis the-toils
modo et discrimina, mox et gloriam communicabat: saepe
only and the-dangers soon also the-glory he-shared often
parti exercitus in experimentum, aliquando maioribus copiis
over-part of-the-army as a-test sometimes over-greater forces
ex eventu praefecit. Nec Agricola umquam in suam
from the-outcome he-put-him-in-command nor Agricola ever for his-own
famam gestis exsultavit; ad auctorem ac ducem ut minister
fame in-deeds exulted to the-author and leader as an-agent
fortunam referebat. Ita virtute in obsequendo, verecundia in
his-fortune he-referred thus by-virtue in obeying by-modesty in
praedicando extra invidiam nec extra gloriam erat.
proclaiming outside envy nor outside glory he-was

III · GOVERNOR OF AQUITANIA

Vespasian makes Agricola a patrician and governor of Aquitania, where he judges justly. Consul, he betroths his daughter to Tacitus and is sent to govern Britain. Tacitus describes the island: its shape, the newly circled north, Thule, the sluggish sea. Its peoples are of uncertain origin: the Caledonians look German, the Silures Spanish, the nearer tribes Gallic.

9 Revertentem ab legatione legionis divus Vespasianus
returning from the-command of-the-legion the-deified Vespasian
inter patricios adscivit; ac deinde provinciae Aquitaniae
among the-patricians enrolled and then over-the-province of-Aquitania
praeposuit, splendidae inprimis dignitatis administratione
set of-splendid especially dignity in-administration
ac spe consulatus, cui destinarat. Credunt plerique
and in-hope of-the-consulship for-which he-had-destined-him believe most

militaribus ingeniis subtilitatem deesse, quia castrensis
in-military minds subtlety to-be-lacking because of-the-camp
iurisdictio secura et obtusior ac plura manu agens
jurisdiction untroubled and blunter and more-things by-hand doing
calliditatem fori non exerceat: Agricola naturali prudentia,
the-shrewdness of-the-forum not exercises Agricola by-natural prudence
quamvis inter togatos, facile iusteque agebat. Iam vero
though among civilians easily and-justly acted now indeed
tempora curarum remissionumque divisa: ubi conventus
the-times of-cares and-of-relaxations divided when the-assizes
ac iudicia poscerent, gravis intentus, severus et saepius
and trials demanded grave intent stern and more-often
misericors: ubi officio satis factum, nulla ultra potestatis
merciful when to-duty enough done no further of-power
persona; tristitiam et adrogantiam et avaritiam exuerat.
the-mask gloominess and arrogance and greed he-had-put-off
Nec illi, quod est rarissimum, aut facilitas auctoritatem aut
nor to-him what is most-rare either easiness authority or
severitas amorem deminuit. Integritatem atque abstinentiam
strictness affection diminished integrity and self-restraint
in tanto viro referre iniuria virtutum fuerit. Ne famam
in so-great a-man to-report an-insult to-his-virtues would-be not fame
quidem, cui saepe etiam boni indulgent, ostentanda virtute
even to-which often even the-good indulge by-displaying virtue
aut per artem quaesivit: procul ab aemulatione adversus
or through art did-he-seek far from rivalry toward
collegas, procul a contentione adversus procuratores, et
his-colleagues far from contention toward the-procurators both
vincere inglorium et atteri sordidum arbitrabatur.
to-win inglorious and to-be-worn-down mean he-thought
Minus triennium in ea legatione detentus ac statim ad spem
less-than three-years in that command detained and at-once to the-hope

consulatus revocatus est, comitante opinione Britanniam
of-the-consulship recalled he-was accompanying the-belief Britain
ei provinciam dari, nullis in hoc suis sermonibus,
to-him as-province to-be-given no in this his-own talk
sed quia par videbatur. Haud semper errat fama; aliquando
but because fit he-seemed not always errs fame sometimes
et elegit. Consul egregiae tum spei filiam iuveni
also it-chose consul of-excellent then hope his-daughter to-a-young-man
mihi despondit ac post consulatum collocavit, et statim
to-me he-betrothed and after the-consulship gave-in-marriage and at-once
Britanniae praepositus est, adiecto pontificatus sacerdotio.
over-Britain set he-was added of-the-pontificate the-priesthood
10 Britanniae situm populosque multis scriptoribus memoratos
of-Britain the-position and-peoples by-many writers recorded
non in comparationem curae ingeniive referam, sed quia
not into comparison of-care or-talent shall-I-bring but because
tum primum perdomita est. Ita quae priores nondum
then first thoroughly-subdued it-was so what the-earlier not-yet
comperta eloquentia percoluere, rerum fide tradentur.
ascertained with-eloquence embellished of-facts with-fidelity will-be-handed-down
Britannia, insularum quas Romana notitia complectitur
Britain of-the-islands which Roman knowledge embraces
maxima, spatio ac caelo in orientem Germaniae, in
the-greatest in-extent and in-climate toward the-east of-Germany toward
occidentem Hispaniae obtenditur, Gallis in meridiem
the-west of-Spain stretches by-the-Gauls toward the-south
etiam inspicitur; septentrionalia eius, nullis contra terris,
even it-is-looked-at the-northern-parts its with-no opposite lands
vasto atque aperto mari pulsantur. Formam totius Britanniae
by-a-vast and open sea are-beaten the-shape of-all Britain
Livius veterum, Fabius Rusticus recentium eloquentissimi
Livy of-the-old Fabius Rusticus of-the-recent the-most-eloquent

auctores oblongae scutulae vel bipenni adsimulavere. Et est
authors to-an-oblong shield or to-an-axe have-likened and is
ea facies citra Caledoniam, unde et in universum
that the-appearance on-this-side-of Caledonia whence also in general
fama; sed transgressis inmensum et enorme spatium
report but to-those-who-have-crossed a-measureless and enormous tract
procurrentium extremo iam litore terrarum velut in cuneum
of-jutting at-the-farthest now shore lands as-if into a-wedge
tenuatur. Hanc oram novissimi maris tunc primum Romana
is-narrowed this coast of-the-farthest sea then first a-Roman
classis circumvecta insulam esse Britanniam adfirmavit, ac
fleet sailing-round an-island to-be Britain affirmed and
simul incognitas ad id tempus insulas, quas Orcadas
at-the-same-time unknown to that time islands which Orcades
vocant, invenit domuitque. Dispecta est et Thyle, quia
they-call discovered and-subdued seen was also Thule because
hactenus iussum, et hiems adpetebat. Sed mare pigrum
so-far ordered and winter was-approaching but the-sea sluggish
et grave remigantibus perhibent ne ventis quidem perinde
and heavy to-the-rowers they-report not by-winds even equally
attolli, credo quod rariores terrae montesque, causa ac
to-be-raised I-believe because rarer lands and-mountains the-cause and
materia tempestatum, et profunda moles continui maris
material of-storms and the-deep mass of-unbroken sea
tardius impellitur. Naturam Oceani atque aestus neque
more-slowly is-driven the-nature of-Ocean and of-the-tide neither
quaerere huius operis est, ac multi rettulere: unum addiderim,
to-inquire of-this work is and many have-reported one-thing I-would-add
nusquam latius dominari mare, multum fluminum huc
nowhere more-widely to-hold-sway the-sea much of-currents hither
atque illuc ferre, nec litore tenus adcrescere aut resorberi,
and thither to-carry nor to-the-shore as-far-as to-rise or to-be-sucked-back

sed influere penitus atque ambire, et iugis etiam ac
but to-flow-in deep and to-wind-around and among-ridges even and
montibus inseri velut in suo.
mountains to-be-inserted as-if in its-own

11 Ceterum Britanniam qui mortales initio coluerint, indigenae
for-the-rest Britain what mortals at-first inhabited natives
an advecti, ut inter barbaros, parum compertum. Habitus
or brought-in as among barbarians too-little ascertained the-builds
corporum varii atque ex eo argumenta. Namque rutilae
of-bodies various and from that inferences for the-reddish
Caledoniam habitantium comae, magni artus Germanicam
Caledonia of-those-inhabiting hair the-large limbs a-Germanic
originem adseverant; Silurum colorati vultus, torti plerumque
origin assert of-the-Silures the-swarthy faces curled mostly
crines et posita contra Hispania Hiberos veteres traiecisse
the-locks and situated opposite Spain that-Iberians old to-have-crossed
easque sedes occupasse fidem faciunt; proximi Gallis et
and-those seats to-have-occupied belief make the-nearest to-the-Gauls also
similes sunt, seu durante originis vi, seu procurrentibus
like are whether lasting of-origin by-the-force or jutting
in diversa terris positio caeli corporibus habitum dedit.
in opposite lands the-position of-climate to-bodies their-build gave
In universum tamen aestimanti Gallos vicinam
on the-whole however to-one-estimating that-the-Gauls the-neighboring
insulam occupasse credibile est. Eorum sacra deprehendas,
island to-have-occupied credible is their rites you-would-detect
superstitionum persuasiones; sermo haud multum diversus,
of-superstitions the-beliefs the-language not much different
in deposcendis periculis eadem audacia et, ubi advenere,
in demanding dangers the-same boldness and when they-have-come
in detrectandis eadem formido. Plus tamen ferociae Britanni
in declining-them the-same fear more however of-fierceness the-Britons

praeferunt, ut quos nondum longa pax emollierit. Nam Gallos
display as whom not-yet a-long peace has-softened for the-Gauls
quoque in bellis floruisse accepimus; mox segnitia cum otio
also in wars to-have-flourished we-have-heard soon slackness with leisure
intravit, amissa virtute pariter ac libertate. Quod Britannorum
entered lost valor equally and freedom which of-the-Britons
olim victis evenit: ceteri manent quales Galli fuerunt.
formerly to-the-conquered happened the-others remain such-as the-Gauls were

IV · BRITAIN AND ITS CONQUEST

The Britons fight on foot and from chariots, divided among quarrelsome chiefs. The climate is damp, the nights short; the soil yields crops and metals, and the sea dull pearls. Caesar only showed Britain to Rome; Claudius conquered it, and governors from Plautius to Paulinus extended the province. With Paulinus away at Mona, the Britons tally their wrongs and resolve to revolt.

In pedite robur; quaedam nationes et curru 12
in the-infantry their-strength some nations also from-the-chariot
proeliantur. Honestior auriga, clientes propugnant. Olim
fight the-more-honorable the-driver the-dependents fight-in-front formerly
regibus parebant, nunc per principes factionibus et studiis
to-kings they-were-subject now through chiefs by-factions and partisanships
distrahuntur. Nec aliud adversus validissimas gentis pro
they-are-torn-apart nor anything-else against the-most-powerful nations for
nobis utilius quam quod in commune non consulunt.
us more-useful than that in common not they-take-counsel
Rarus duabus tribusve civitatibus ad propulsandum commune
rare of-two or-three states for repelling a-common
periculum conventus: ita singuli pugnant, universi vincuntur.
danger the-gathering so singly they-fight all-together they-are-conquered

Caelum crebris imbribus ac nebulis foedum; asperitas
the-sky with-frequent rains and mists foul harshness
frigorum abest. Dierum spatia ultra nostri orbis mensuram;
of-cold is-absent of-the-days the-lengths beyond of-our world the-measure
nox clara et extrema Britanniae parte brevis, ut finem
the-night bright and in-the-farthest of-Britain part short so-that the-end
atque initium lucis exiguo discrimine internoscas. Quod
and beginning of-the-light by-a-slight difference you-would-distinguish but
si nubes non officiant, aspici per noctem solis fulgorem,
if clouds not obstruct to-be-seen through the-night of-the-sun the-glow
nec occidere et exsurgere, sed transire adfirmant. Scilicet
nor to-set and to-rise but to-pass-over they-affirm of-course
extrema et plana terrarum humili umbra non erigunt
the-extremities and flat-parts of-the-earth with-low shadow not raise
tenebras, infraque caelum et sidera nox cadit. Solum praeter
the-darkness and-below the-sky and the-stars the-night falls the-soil except
oleam vitemque et cetera calidioribus terris oriri sueta
the-olive and-the-vine and the-others in-warmer lands to-grow accustomed
patiens frugum, fecundum: tarde mitescunt, cito proveniunt;
tolerant of-crops fertile slowly they-ripen quickly they-come-up
eademque utriusque rei causa, multus umor terrarum
and-the-same of-each thing the-cause much moisture of-the-lands
caelique. Fert Britannia aurum et argentum et alia metalla,
and-of-the-sky bears Britain gold and silver and other metals
pretium victoriae. Gignit et Oceanus margarita, sed subfusca
the-prize of-victory produces also the-Ocean pearls but dusky
ac liventia. Quidam artem abesse legentibus arbitrantur;
and livid some the-skill to-be-lacking in-those-gathering they-think
nam in rubro mari viva ac spirantia saxis avelli,
for in the-Red sea living and breathing from-the-rocks to-be-torn

in Britannia, prout expulsa sint, colligi: ego facilius
in Britain as cast-up they-may-be to-be-gathered I more-easily
crediderim naturam margaritis deesse quam nobis avaritiam.
would-believe quality to-the-pearls to-be-lacking than to-us greed
Ipsi Britanni dilectum ac tributa et iniuncta imperii 13
themselves the-Britons the-levy and tributes and imposed of-the-empire
munera impigre obeunt, si iniuriae absint: has aegre
duties energetically discharge if wrongs be-absent these with-difficulty
tolerant, iam domiti ut pareant, nondum ut serviant.
they-bear already subdued so-that they-obey not-yet so-that they-are-slaves
Igitur primus omnium Romanorum divus Iulius cum
therefore first of-all the-Romans the-deified Julius with
exercitu Britanniam ingressus, quamquam prospera pugna
an-army Britain having-entered although in-a-prosperous battle
terruerit incolas ac litore potitus sit, potest videri
he-terrified the-inhabitants and of-the-shore gained-possession he-has can seem
ostendisse posteris, non tradidisse. Mox bella civilia et
to-have-shown to-posterity not to-have-handed-down soon the-wars civil and
in rem publicam versa principum arma, ac longa oblivio
against the-thing public turned of-the-leaders the-arms and a-long forgetting
Britanniae etiam in pace: consilium id divus Augustus
of-Britain even in peace policy that the-deified Augustus
vocabat, Tiberius praeceptum. Agitasse Gaium Caesarem
called Tiberius a-precept to-have-pondered Gaius Caesar
de intranda Britannia satis constat, ni velox ingenio
about entering Britain enough is-agreed had-not swift with-mind
mobili paenitentiae, et ingentes adversus Germaniam conatus
changeable of-repentance and huge against Germany attempts
frustra fuissent. Divus Claudius auctor iterati operis,
in-vain had-been the-deified Claudius author of-the-renewed work
transvectis legionibus auxiliisque et adsumpto in partem
carried-across the-legions and-auxiliaries and taken-up into a-share

rerum Vespasiano, quod initium venturae mox fortunae fuit:
of-affairs Vespasian which the-beginning of-coming soon fortune was
domitae gentes, capti reges et monstratus fatis Vespasianus.
subdued nations captured kings and pointed-out by-the-fates Vespasian
14 Consularium primus Aulus Plautius praepositus ac subinde
of-the-consulars first Aulus Plautius put-in-charge and soon-after
Ostorius Scapula, uterque bello egregius: redactaque paulatim
Ostorius Scapula each in-war outstanding and-reduced gradually
in formam provinciae proxima pars Britanniae, addita insuper
into the-form of-a-province the-nearest part of-Britain added besides
veteranorum colonia. Quaedam civitates Cogidumno regi
of-veterans a-colony certain states to-Cogidumnus the-king
donatae (is ad nostram usque memoriam fidissimus mansit),
given he to our even memory most-faithful remained
vetere ac iam pridem recepta populi Romani consuetudine,
by-the-old and now long-since accepted of-the-people Roman custom
ut haberet instrumenta servitutis et reges. Mox Didius
that it-should-have as-instruments of-slavery even kings soon Didius
Gallus parta a prioribus continuit, paucis admodum castellis
Gallus the-gains by the-former held few very forts
in ulteriora promotis, per quae fama aucti officii
into the-farther-parts advanced through which the-fame of-an-increased duty
quaereretur. Didium Veranius excepit, isque intra annum
should-be-sought Didius Veranius succeeded and-he within a-year
extinctus est. Suetonius hinc Paulinus biennio prosperas
dead was Suetonius next Paulinus for-two-years prosperous
res habuit, subactis nationibus firmatisque praesidiis; quorum
affairs had subdued nations and-strengthened garrisons of-which
fiducia Monam insulam ut vires rebellibus ministrantem
in-confidence Mona the-island as strength to-the-rebels supplying
adgressus terga occasioni patefecit.
having-attacked his-back to-opportunity he-laid-open

Namque absentia legati remoto metu Britanni agitare inter 15
for by-the-absence of-the-legate removed fear the-Britons to-discuss among
se mala servitutis, conferre iniurias et interpretando
themselves the-evils of-slavery to-compare wrongs and by-interpreting
accendere: nihil profici patientia nisi ut graviora tamquam
to-inflame nothing to-be-gained by-patience except that heavier as-though
ex facili tolerantibus imperentur. Singulos sibi olim
from easy on-those-who-bear be-imposed single to-themselves once
reges fuisse, nunc binos imponi, e quibus legatus in
kings to-have-been now two to-be-imposed of whom the-legate against
sanguinem, procurator in bona saeviret. Aeque discordiam
blood the-procurator against goods raged equally the-discord
praepositorum, aeque concordiam subiectis exitiosam. Alterius
of-those-set-over equally the-concord to-the-subjects ruinous of-the-one
manum centuriones, alterius servos vim et contumelias
the-band centurions of-the-other slaves violence and insults
miscere. Nihil iam cupiditati, nihil libidini exceptum. In
to-mingle nothing now to-greed nothing to-lust exempted in
proelio fortiorem esse qui spoliet: nunc ab ignavis
battle braver to-be he-who should-despoil now by cowards
plerumque et inbellibus eripi domos, abstrahi
mostly and unwarlike-men to-be-snatched the-homes to-be-dragged-off
liberos, iniungi dilectus, tamquam mori tantum pro
the-children to-be-imposed levies as-though to-die only for
patria nescientibus. Quantulum enim transisse
their-country for-those-who-do-not-know how-small for to-have-crossed
militum, si sese Britanni numerent? Sic Germanias
of-soldiers if themselves the-Britons should-count thus the-Germanies
excussisse iugum: et flumine, non Oceano defendi.
to-have-shaken-off the-yoke and by-a-river not by-the-Ocean to-be-defended
Sibi patriam coniuges parentes, illis avaritiam et
for-themselves country wives parents for-them greed and

luxuriam causas belli esse. Recessuros, ut divus Iulius
luxury the-causes of-war to-be to-be-going-to-withdraw as the-deified Julius
recessisset, modo virtutem maiorum suorum aemularentur.
had-withdrawn if-only the-valor of-ancestors their they-rivaled
Neve proelii unius aut alterius eventu pavescerent: plus
nor of-battle of-one or of-a-second by-the-outcome should-they-panic more
impetus, maiorem constantiam penes miseros esse. Iam
of-impetus greater steadfastness in-the-hands-of the-wretched to-be already
Britannorum etiam deos misereri, qui Romanum ducem
of-the-Britons even the-gods to-pity who the-Roman leader
absentem, qui relegatum in alia insula exercitum detinerent;
absent who banished on another island the-army were-keeping
iam ipsos, quod difficillimum fuerit, deliberare. Porro in
now themselves what most-difficult has-been to-deliberate moreover in
eius modi consiliis periculosius esse deprehendi quam audere.
of-this kind plans more-dangerous to-be to-be-caught than to-dare

V · BOUDICCA AND AFTER

Led by Boudicca, the Britons storm the colony and forts until Paulinus restores order. His successors govern weakly; under Trebellius the army mutinies. Cerialis and Frontinus subdue the Brigantes and Silures. Agricola arrives at midsummer, crushes the Ordovices, and takes Mona by swimming his auxiliaries across, yet sends no laureled dispatch.

16 His atque talibus in vicem instincti, Boudicca generis regii
by-these and such-things in turn roused with-Boudicca of-family royal
femina duce (neque enim sexum in imperiis discernunt)
a-woman as-leader nor for sex in commands do-they-distinguish
sumpsere universi bellum; ac sparsos per castella milites
took-up all-together war and scattered through the-forts the-soldiers

consectati, expugnatis praesidiis ipsam coloniam invasere ut
hunting-down stormed the-garrisons itself the-colony invaded as
sedem servitutis, nec ullum in barbaris saevitiae genus
the-seat of-slavery nor any among the-barbarians of-savagery kind
omisit ira et victoria. Quod nisi Paulinus cognito provinciae
did-omit anger and victory and unless Paulinus having-learned of-the-province
motu propere subvenisset, amissa Britannia foret;
the-commotion quickly had-come-to-help lost Britain would-have-been
quam unius proelii fortuna veteri patientiae restituit, tenentibus
which of-one battle the-fortune to-old obedience restored holding
arma plerisque, quos conscientia defectionis et propius ex
arms most whom the-consciousness of-revolt and nearer from
legato timor agitabat, ne quamquam egregius cetera
the-legate fear was-driving lest although outstanding in-other-respects
adroganter in deditos et ut suae cuiusque iniuriae
arrogantly toward the-surrendered and as of-his-own of-each wrong
ultor durius consuleret. Missus igitur Petronius
the-avenger more-harshly he-should-take-measures sent therefore Petronius
Turpilianus tamquam exorabilior et delictis hostium novus
Turpilianus as more-placable and to-the-offenses of-the-enemy new
eoque paenitentiae mitior, compositis prioribus nihil ultra
and-therefore to-repentance milder settled the-former-things nothing further
ausus Trebellio Maximo provinciam tradidit. Trebellius
having-dared to-Trebellius Maximus the-province handed-over Trebellius
segnior et nullis castrorum experimentis, comitate
more-sluggish and with-no of-camp experiences by-an-affability
quadam curandi provinciam tenuit. Didicere iam barbari
certain of-administering the-province held learned now the-barbarians
quoque ignoscere vitiis blandientibus, et interventus civilium
also to-pardon vices flattering and the-intervention of-civil
armorum praebuit iustam segnitiae excusationem: sed discordia
arms offered a-just for-sloth excuse but with-discord

laboratum, cum adsuetus expeditionibus miles otio
there-was-trouble since accustomed to-campaigns the-soldier in-leisure
lasciviret. Trebellius, fuga ac latebris vitata exercitus
grew-wanton Trebellius by-flight and hiding having-avoided of-the-army
ira, indecorus atque humilis precario mox praefuit, ac velut
the-anger disgraced and lowly on-sufferance soon commanded and as-if
pacti, exercitus licentiam, dux salutem, et seditio sine
having-bargained the-army license the-leader safety and the-mutiny without
sanguine stetit. Nec Vettius Bolanus, manentibus adhuc civilibus
blood stood nor Vettius Bolanus remaining still the-civil
bellis, agitavit Britanniam disciplina: eadem inertia erga
wars did-he-disturb Britain with-discipline the-same inertia toward
hostis, similis petulantia castrorum, nisi quod innocens Bolanus
the-enemy like insolence of-the-camp except that blameless Bolanus
et nullis delictis invisus caritatem paraverat loco auctoritatis.
and by-no offenses hated affection had-acquired in-place of-authority
17 Sed ubi cum cetero orbe Vespasianus et Britanniam
but when with the-rest-of the-world Vespasian also Britain
reciperavit, magni duces, egregii exercitus, minuta hostium
recovered great leaders outstanding armies diminished of-the-enemy
spes. Et terrorem statim intulit Petilius Cerialis, Brigantum
the-hope and terror at-once struck Petilius Cerialis of-the-Brigantes
civitatem, quae numerosissima provinciae totius perhibetur,
the-state which the-most-populous of-the-province whole is-said
adgressus. Multa proelia, et aliquando non incruenta;
attacking many battles and sometimes not bloodless
magnamque Brigantum partem aut victoria amplexus est
and-a-great of-the-Brigantes part either by-victory embraced he-has
aut bello. Et Cerialis quidem alterius successoris curam
or by-war and Cerialis indeed of-another successor the-care
famamque obruisset: sustinuitque molem Iulius Frontinus,
and-fame would-have-buried and-bore the-burden Julius Frontinus

vir magnus, quantum licebat, validamque et pugnacem
a-man great as-far-as was-allowed and-the-strong and warlike
Silurum gentem armis subegit, super virtutem hostium
of-the-Silures race with-arms subdued over the-valor of-the-enemy
locorum quoque difficultates eluctatus.
of-the-places also the-difficulties having-struggled-through
Hunc Britanniae statum, has bellorum vices media iam 18
this of-Britain state these of-wars vicissitudes in-the-middle already
aestate transgressus Agricola invenit, cum et milites velut
summer having-crossed Agricola found when both the-soldiers as-if
omissa expeditione ad securitatem et hostes ad occasionem
abandoned the-campaign to security and the-enemy to opportunity
verterentur. Ordovicum civitas haud multo ante adventum
were-turned of-the-Ordovices the-state not much before arrival
eius alam in finibus suis agentem prope universam
his a-cavalry-wing in territory their operating nearly entirely
obtriverat, eoque initio erecta provincia. Et quibus bellum
had-crushed and-by-that beginning roused the-province and to-whom war
volentibus erat, probare exemplum ac recentis legati animum
wishing was to-approve the-example and of-the-new legate the-temper
opperiri, cum Agricola, quamquam transvecta aestas, sparsi
to-await when Agricola although passed the-summer scattered
per provinciam numeri, praesumpta apud militem illius anni
through the-province the-units taken-for-granted among the-soldiers of-that year
quies, tarda et contraria bellum inchoaturo, et plerisque
rest slow and adverse-things war to-one-going-to-begin and to-most
custodiri suspecta potius videbatur, ire obviam discrimini
to-be-guarded the-suspect-places rather seemed to-go to-meet the-danger
statuit; contractisque legionum vexillis et modica
he-decided and-having-collected of-the-legions the-detachments and a-moderate
auxiliorum manu, quia in aequum degredi Ordovices non
of-auxiliaries band because into the-level to-come-down the-Ordovices not

audebant, ipse ante agmen, quo ceteris par animus simili
dared he-himself before the-column so-that to-the-rest equal courage with-like
periculo esset, erexit aciem. Caesaque prope universa gente,
danger might-be raised the-line and-slaughtered nearly whole the-race
non ignarus instandum famae ac, prout prima cessissent,
not ignorant to-be-pressed-on fame and as the-first-things had-turned-out
terrorem ceteris fore, Monam insulam, a cuius
terror to-the-rest to-be-going-to-be Mona the-island from whose
possessione revocatum Paulinum rebellione totius Britanniae
possession recalled Paulinus by-the-rebellion of-all Britain
supra memoravi, redigere in potestatem animo intendit.
above I-recounted to-reduce into power in-mind he-intended
Sed, ut in subitis consiliis, naves deerant: ratio et
but as in sudden plans ships were-lacking the-resource and
constantia ducis transvexit. Depositis omnibus sarcinis
steadfastness of-the-leader carried-them-across laid-aside all the-baggage
lectissimos auxiliarium, quibus nota vada et patrius
the-choicest of-the-auxiliaries to-whom known the-shallows and ancestral
nandi usus, quo simul seque et arma et
of-swimming the-practice by-which at-the-same-time both-themselves and arms and
equos regunt, ita repente inmisit, ut obstupefacti hostes,
horses they-guide so suddenly he-sent-in that astounded the-enemy
qui classem, qui navis, qui mare exspectabant, nihil arduum
who a-fleet who ships who the-sea were-expecting nothing arduous
aut invictum crediderint sic ad bellum venientibus. Ita petita
or invincible believed thus to war to-those-coming so sought
pace ac dedita insula clarus ac magnus haberi Agricola,
peace and surrendered the-island famous and great to-be-held Agricola
quippe cui ingredienti provinciam, quod tempus alii per
since to-whom entering the-province what time others in
ostentationem et officiorum ambitum transigunt, labor et
display and of-attentions the-canvassing pass toil and

periculum placuisset. Nec Agricola prosperitate rerum in
danger had-pleased nor Agricola the-prosperity of-affairs for
vanitatem usus, expeditionem aut victoriam vocabat victos
vanity used a-campaign or victory he-called the-conquered
continuisse; ne laureatis quidem gesta prosecutus est,
to-have-held-in-check not with-laureled-letters even the-deeds attended he-has
sed ipsa dissimulatione famae famam auxit, aestimantibus
but by-the-very concealment of-fame his-fame increased to-those-estimating
quanta futuri spe tam magna tacuisset.
with-what-great of-the-future hope so great-things he-had-kept-silent

VI · PEACE AND CIVILIZATION

Agricola begins with his own household and staff, curbs extortion in the grain levy, and so wins a name for peace. In summer he leads in person, then offers peace to those cowed. In winter he encourages temples, forums, and houses, teaches the chiefs' sons, and the Britons take up the toga and baths, which they call civilization. In his third year he reaches the Tanaus and builds forts that hold. He never takes credit for another's deed, and his anger is open, never secret.

Ceterum animorum provinciae prudens, simulque doctus 19
for-the-rest of-the-minds of-the-province aware and-at-the-same-time taught
per aliena experimenta parum profici armis, si iniuriae
through others' experiences too-little to-be-gained by-arms if wrongs
sequerentur, causas bellorum statuit excidere. A se suisque
followed the-causes of-wars he-decided to-cut-out from himself and-his-own
orsus primum domum suam coercuit, quod plerisque
having-begun first house his he-restrained which for-most
haud minus arduum est quam provinciam regere. Nihil per
not less arduous is than a-province to-rule nothing through
libertos servosque publicae rei, non studiis privatis nec ex
freedmen and-slaves of-the-public business not by-favors private nor from

commendatione aut precibus centurionem militesve adscire, sed
recommendation or prayers a-centurion or-soldiers to-enlist but
optimum quemque fidissimum putare. Omnia scire, non omnia
the-best each most-faithful to-think all-things to-know not all-things
exsequi. Parvis peccatis veniam, magnis severitatem commodare;
to-pursue for-small offenses pardon for-great strictness to-apply
nec poena semper, sed saepius paenitentia contentus esse;
nor with-punishment always but more-often with-repentance content to-be
officiis et administrationibus potius non peccaturos praeponere,
to-offices and administrations rather not going-to-offend to-appoint
quam damnare cum peccassent. Frumenti et tributorum
than to-condemn when they-had-offended of-grain and of-tributes
exactionem aequalitate munerum mollire, circumcisis quae
the-exaction by-the-fairness of-burdens to-soften cut-off what
in quaestum reperta ipso tributo gravius tolerabantur.
for profit devised than-the-very tribute more-heavily were-borne
Namque per ludibrium adsidere clausis horreis et emere
for in mockery to-sit-by at-closed granaries and to-buy
ultro frumenta ac ludere pretio cogebantur. Divortia
moreover grain and to-make-sport with-a-price they-were-forced detours
itinerum et longinquitas regionum indicebatur, ut civitates
of-roads and the-remoteness of-regions was-imposed so-that the-states
proximis hibernis in remota et avia deferrent,
from-the-nearest winter-quarters to remote and pathless-places should-carry
donec quod omnibus in promptu erat paucis lucrosum fieret.
until what for-all at hand was for-few profitable became
20 Haec primo statim anno comprimendo egregiam famam
these-things in-the-first at-once year by-restraining an-outstanding reputation
paci circumdedit, quae vel incuria vel intolerantia
to-peace he-put-around which either by-the-negligence or by-the-intolerance
priorum haud minus quam bellum timebatur. Sed ubi
of-the-predecessors not less than war was-feared but when

aestas advenit, contracto exercitu multus in agmine, laudare
summer came gathered the-army much on the-march to-praise
modestiam, disiectos coercere; loca castris ipse capere, aestuaria
discipline the-stragglers to-restrain places for-camp himself to-choose estuaries
ac silvas ipse praetemptare; et nihil interim apud hostis
and forests himself to-explore-first and nothing meanwhile among the-enemy
quietum pati, quo minus subitis excursibus popularetur;
quiet to-allow by-which less by-sudden raids he-should-ravage
atque ubi satis terruerat, parcendo rursus invitamenta pacis
and when enough he-had-terrified by-sparing again the-inducements of-peace
ostentare. Quibus rebus multae civitates, quae in illum diem
to-display by-which things many states which to that day
ex aequo egerant, datis obsidibus iram posuere et praesidiis
on equal-terms had-dealt given hostages anger laid-aside and with-garrisons
castellisque circumdatae sunt, tanta ratione curaque, ut
and-forts surrounded were with-such skill and-care that
nulla ante Britanniae nova pars pariter inlacessita transierit.
no before of-Britain new part equally unprovoked passed-over
Sequens hiems saluberrimis consiliis absumpta. Namque ut 21
the-following winter in-most-wholesome plans spent for that
homines dispersi ac rudes eoque in bella faciles quieti
men scattered and rude and-therefore to wars easy to-quiet
et otio per voluptates adsuescerent, hortari privatim,
and leisure through pleasures should-grow-accustomed to-urge privately
adiuvare publice, ut templa fora domos exstruerent, laudando
to-help publicly that temples forums houses they-should-build by-praising
promptos et castigando segnis: ita honoris aemulatio pro
the-ready and by-chastising the-sluggish so of-honor rivalry instead-of
necessitate erat. Iam vero principum filios liberalibus artibus
compulsion was already indeed of-the-chiefs the-sons in-liberal arts
erudire, et ingenia Britannorum studiis Gallorum anteferre,
to-educate and the-talents of-the-Britons to-the-studies of-the-Gauls to-prefer

ut qui modo linguam Romanam abnuebant, eloquentiam
so-that who lately the-tongue Roman were-refusing eloquence
concupiscerent. Inde etiam habitus nostri honor et frequens
desired thence even of-dress our the-honor and frequent
toga; paulatimque discessum ad delenimenta vitiorum,
the-toga and-gradually departure-was-made to the-allurements of-vices
porticus et balnea et conviviorum elegantiam. Idque apud
colonnades and baths and of-banquets the-elegance and-that among
inperitos humanitas vocabatur, cum pars servitutis esset.
the-inexperienced civilization was-called when a-part of-slavery it-was
22 Tertius expeditionum annus novas gentis aperuit, vastatis usque
the-third of-campaigns year new peoples opened ravaged up
ad Tanaum (aestuario nomen est) nationibus. Qua formidine
to the-Tanaus estuary the-name is to-the-nations by-which dread
territi hostes quamquam conflictatum saevis tempestatibus
terrified the-enemy although harassed by-savage storms
exercitum lacessere non ausi; ponendisque insuper castellis
the-army to-provoke not dared and-for-being-placed moreover forts
spatium fuit. Adnotabant periti non alium ducem
space there-was noted the-experienced not another leader
opportunitates locorum sapientius legisse. Nullum ab Agricola
the-advantages of-places more-wisely to-have-chosen no by Agricola
positum castellum aut vi hostium expugnatum aut
placed fort either by-the-force of-the-enemy stormed or
pactione ac fuga desertum; nam adversus moras obsidionis
by-capitulation and flight deserted for against the-delays of-siege
annuis copiis firmabantur. Ita intrepida ibi hiems, crebrae
with-yearly supplies they-were-strengthened thus fearless there the-winter frequent
eruptiones et sibi quisque praesidio, inritis hostibus
sallies and for-himself each a-protection frustrated the-enemy
eoque desperantibus, quia soliti plerumque damna aestatis
and-therefore despairing because accustomed mostly the-losses of-summer

hibernis eventibus pensare tum aestate atque hieme iuxta
by-winter's outcomes to-balance then in-summer and winter alike
pellebantur. Nec Agricola umquam per alios gesta avidus
they-were-driven-back nor Agricola ever through others' deeds-done greedy
intercepit: seu centurio seu praefectus incorruptum facti
did-he-intercept whether centurion or prefect an-incorruptible of-the-deed
testem habebat. Apud quosdam acerbior in conviciis narrabatur,
witness he-had among some more-bitter in reproaches he-was-said
ut erat comis bonis, ita adversus malos iniucundus.
as he-was courteous to-the-good so toward the-bad unpleasant
Ceterum ex iracundia nihil supererat secretum, ut silentium
for-the-rest of anger nothing remained hidden so-that the-silence
eius non timeres: honestius putabat offendere quam odisse.
his not you-would-fear more-honorable he-thought to-offend than to-hate

VII · IRELAND AND THE NORTH

In the fourth summer Agricola secures the narrow neck between Clota and Bodotria. In the fifth he subdues unknown peoples and garrisons the coast facing Ireland, which he believes one legion could take. In the sixth he explores the harbors beyond the Bodotria with the fleet. The Caledonians attack his forts, and he divides his army in three; they fall at night on the Ninth Legion, but Agricola arrives in time, and the Britons are driven off.

Quarta aestas obtinendis quae percucurrerat insumpta; ac 23
the-fourth summer in-securing what he-had-overrun was-spent and
si virtus exercituum et Romani nominis gloria pateretur,
if the-valor of-the-armies and of-the-Roman name the-glory allowed
inventus in ipsa Britannia terminus. Namque Clota
would-have-been-found in the-very Britain a-boundary for the-Clota
et Bodotria diversi maris aestibus per inmensum revectae,
and the-Bodotria of-opposite sea by-the-tides through a-vast-distance carried-back

angusto terrarum spatio dirimuntur: quod tum praesidiis
by-a-narrow of-land space are-separated which then with-garrisons
firmabatur atque omnis propior sinus tenebatur, summotis
was-strengthened and all the-nearer bay was-held removed
velut in aliam insulam hostibus.
as-if into another island the-enemy

24 Quinto expeditionum anno nave prima transgressus ignotas
in-the-fifth of-campaigns year in-a-ship first having-crossed unknown
ad id tempus gentis crebris simul ac prosperis
to that time peoples in-repeated at-the-same-time and successful
proeliis domuit; eamque partem Britanniae quae Hiberniam
battles he-subdued and-that part of-Britain which Ireland
aspicit copiis instruxit, in spem magis quam ob
faces with-forces he-furnished for hope more than on-account-of
formidinem, si quidem Hibernia medio inter Britanniam
fear if indeed Ireland midway between Britain
atque Hispaniam sita et Gallico quoque mari opportuna
and Spain situated and to-the-Gallic also sea convenient
valentissimam imperii partem magnis in vicem usibus
the-strongest of-the-empire part with-great in turn advantages
miscuerit. Spatium eius, si Britanniae comparetur, angustius
would-join the-extent its if with-Britain it-be-compared narrower
nostri maris insulas superat. Solum caelumque et ingenia
of-our sea the-islands surpasses the-soil and-climate and the-characters
cultusque hominum haud multum a Britannia differunt:
and-ways of-the-men not much from Britain differ
in *** melius aditus portusque per commercia et
in (lacuna) better the-approaches and-harbors through trade and
negotiatores cogniti. Agricola expulsum seditione domestica
merchants known Agricola expelled by-sedition domestic
unum ex regulis gentis exceperat ac specie amicitiae
one of the-petty-kings of-the-race had-received and in-the-guise of-friendship

in occasionem retinebat. Saepe ex eo audivi legione una
for an-opportunity kept often from him I-have-heard by-a-legion one
et modicis auxiliis debellari obtinerique Hiberniam posse;
and moderate auxiliaries to-be-subdued and-held Ireland to-be-able
idque etiam adversus Britanniam profuturum, si Romana
and-that also against Britain to-be-going-to-be-useful if Roman
ubique arma et velut e conspectu libertas tolleretur.
everywhere arms and as-if from sight freedom were-removed
Ceterum aestate, qua sextum officii annum inchoabat, 25
for-the-rest in-the-summer in-which the-sixth of-office year he-was-beginning
amplexus civitates trans Bodotriam sitas, quia motus
having-embraced the-states beyond the-Bodotria situated because a-rising
universarum ultra gentium et infesta hostibus exercitus
of-all beyond the-peoples and hostile with-enemies of-the-army
itinera timebantur, portus classe exploravit; quae ab
the-routes were-feared the-harbors with-the-fleet he-explored which by
Agricola primum adsumpta in partem virium sequebatur
Agricola first taken-up into part of-his-strength was-following
egregia specie, cum simul terra, simul mari
with-splendid appearance when at-the-same-time by-land at-the-same-time by-sea
bellum impelleretur, ac saepe isdem castris pedes equesque
war was-pushed and often in-the-same camp foot and-horse
et nauticus miles mixti copiis et laetitia sua quisque
and naval soldier mixed in-supplies and in-joy his-own each
facta, suos casus attollerent, ac modo silvarum ac montium
deeds his-own chances extolled and now of-forests and of-mountains
profunda, modo tempestatum ac fluctuum adversa, hinc
the-depths now of-storms and of-waves the-adversities on-this-side
terra et hostis, hinc victus Oceanus militari iactantia
land and the-enemy on-that conquered the-Ocean with-military boasting
compararentur. Britannos quoque, ut ex captivis audiebatur,
were-compared the-Britons also as from the-captives was-heard

visa classis obstupefaciebat, tamquam aperto maris sui
the-seen fleet astounded as-if opened of-the-sea their
secreto ultimum victis perfugium clauderetur. Ad manus
secret the-last for-the-conquered refuge were-closed to hands
et arma conversi Caledoniam incolentes populi, paratu
and arms turned Caledonia inhabiting peoples with-preparation
magno, maiore fama, uti mos est de ignotis, obpugnare
great greater rumor as the-custom is about the-unknown to-attack
ultro castella adorti, metum ut provocantes addiderant;
unprovoked forts having-attacked fear as challengers had-added
regrediendumque citra Bodotriam et excedendum
and-to-be-retreated on-this-side-of the-Bodotria and to-be-withdrawn
potius quam pellerentur ignavi specie prudentium
rather than they-should-be-driven the-cowardly in-the-guise of-the-prudent
admonebant, cum interim cognoscit hostis pluribus agminibus
advised when meanwhile he-learns the-enemy in-several columns
inrupturos. Ac ne superante numero et peritia locorum
to-be-going-to-burst-in and lest by-superior number and skill of-the-places
circumiretur, diviso et ipse in tris partes exercitu incessit.
he-be-surrounded divided also himself into three parts the-army he-advanced
26 Quod ubi cognitum hosti, mutato repente consilio universi
which when known to-the-enemy changed suddenly plan all-together
nonam legionem ut maxime invalidam nocte adgressi,
the-ninth legion as most weak by-night attacking
inter somnum ac trepidationem caesis vigilibus inrupere.
amid sleep and panic slain the-sentries burst-in
Iamque in ipsis castris pugnabatur, cum Agricola iter
and-now in the-very camp it-was-fought when Agricola the-route
hostium ab exploratoribus edoctus et vestigiis insecutus,
of-the-enemy from the-scouts informed and in-their-tracks having-followed
velocissimos equitum peditumque adsultare tergis pugnantium
the-swiftest of-horse and-foot to-assail the-backs of-the-fighters

iubet, mox ab universis adici clamorem; et propinqua
orders soon by all to-be-added a-shout and at-approaching
luce fulsere signa. Ita ancipiti malo territi Britanni; et
light gleamed the-standards so by-twofold evil terrified the-Britons and
Romanis rediit animus, ac securi pro salute de gloria
to-the-Romans returned courage and secure for safety for glory
certabant. Ultro quin etiam erupere, et fuit atrox in
they-strove moreover nay even they-burst-out and there-was fierce in
ipsis portarum angustiis proelium, donec pulsi hostes,
the-very of-the-gates narrows a-battle until driven-back the-enemy
utroque exercitu certante, his, ut tulisse opem, illis,
each army striving these that to-have-brought help those
ne eguisse auxilio viderentur. Quod nisi paludes et
that-not to-have-needed aid they-might-seem but unless marshes and
silvae fugientis texissent, debellatum illa victoria foret.
forests the-fleeing had-covered finished-off by-that victory would-have-been

VIII · MONS GRAUPIUS

Both sides grow fiercer. A cohort of Usipi mutinies, seizes three ships, sails around Britain, and is captured. Agricola loses an infant son and finds relief in war. At Mount Graupius more than thirty thousand Britons gather, and Calgacus speaks: they are the last free people, and the Romans, plunderers of the world, make a desert and call it peace.

Cuius conscientia ac fama ferox exercitus nihil virtuti suae 27
of-which by-the-consciousness and fame fierce the-army nothing to-valor its-own
invium et penetrandam Caledoniam inveniendumque tandem
impassable and to-be-penetrated Caledonia and-to-be-found at-last
Britanniae terminum continuo proeliorum cursu fremebant.
of-Britain the-boundary in-continuous of-battles course clamored

Atque illi modo cauti ac sapientes prompti post eventum
and they lately cautious and wise ready after the-outcome
ac magniloqui erant. Iniquissima haec bellorum condicio
and boastful were most-unfair this of-wars the-condition
est: prospera omnes sibi vindicant, adversa uni
is prosperous-things all for-themselves claim adverse-things to-one
imputantur. At Britanni non virtute se, sed occasione et
are-imputed but the-Britons not by-valor themselves but by-opportunity and
arte ducis victos rati, nihil ex adrogantia remittere,
by-the-skill of-the-leader conquered thinking nothing of arrogance to-relax
quo minus iuventutem armarent, coniuges ac liberos in
by-which less the-youth they-should-arm wives and children into
loca tuta transferrent, coetibus ac sacrificiis conspirationem
places safe they-should-transfer with-assemblies and sacrifices the-conspiracy
civitatum sancirent. Atque ita inritatis utrimque animis
of-the-states they-should-ratify and so inflamed on-both-sides the-spirits
discessum.
it-was-parted

28 Eadem aestate cohors Usiporum per Germanias conscripta
the-same summer a-cohort of-Usipi among the-Germanies enlisted
et in Britanniam transmissa magnum ac memorabile
and into Britain sent-across a-great and memorable
facinus ausa est. Occiso centurione ac militibus, qui
deed dared it-has killed the-centurion and soldiers who
ad tradendam disciplinam inmixti manipulis exemplum
for imparting discipline mingled with-the-maniples as-example
et rectores habebantur, tris liburnicas adactis per vim
and directors were-held three galleys driven by force
gubernatoribus ascendere; et uno † remigante, suspectis
the-helmsmen they-boarded and one (corrupt) rowing suspected
duobus eoque interfectis, nondum vulgato rumore ut
two and-therefore killed not-yet spread the-rumor as

miraculum praevehebantur. Mox ad aquam atque utilia
a-marvel they-sailed-past soon for water and useful-things
raptis secum ∗∗∗ cum plerisque Britannorum
having-been-seized with-them (lacuna) with most of-the-Britons
sua defensantium proelio congressi ac saepe victores,
their-property defending in-battle engaging and often victors
aliquando pulsi, eo ad extremum inopiae venere, ut
sometimes driven-back thither to the-extreme of-want they-came that
infirmissimos suorum, mox sorte ductos vescerentur. Atque
the-weakest of-their-own soon by-lot drawn they-ate and
ita circumvecti Britanniam, amissis per inscitiam regendi
so having-sailed-round Britain lost through ignorance of-steering
navibus, pro praedonibus habiti, primum a Suebis, mox a
the-ships for pirates held first by the-Suebi soon by
Frisiis intercepti sunt. Ac fuere quos per commercia
the-Frisians intercepted were and there-were those-whom through trade
venundatos et in nostram usque ripam mutatione ementium
sold and to our even bank by-the-change of-buyers
adductos indicium tanti casus inlustravit.
brought the-telling of-so-great an-adventure made-famous
Initio aestatis Agricola domestico vulnere ictus, anno 29
at-the-beginning of-summer Agricola by-a-domestic wound struck in-the-year
ante natum filium amisit. Quem casum neque ut plerique
before born a-son lost which misfortune neither as most
fortium virorum ambitiose, neque per lamenta rursus
of-brave men ostentatiously nor in laments again
ac maerorem muliebriter tulit; et in luctu bellum
and grief womanishly he-bore and in mourning war
inter remedia erat. Igitur praemissa classe, quae pluribus
among the-remedies was therefore sent-ahead the-fleet which in-more
locis praedata magnum et incertum terrorem faceret,
places plundering great and uncertain terror should-make

expedito exercitu, cui ex Britannis fortissimos et
with-the-light-armed army to-which of the-Britons the-bravest and
longa pace exploratos addiderat, ad montem Graupium
by-long peace tested he-had-added to the-mountain Graupius
pervenit, quem iam hostis insederat. Nam Britanni nihil
he-came which already the-enemy had-occupied for the-Britons nothing
fracti pugnae prioris eventu et ultionem aut servitium
broken of-the-battle former by-the-outcome and vengeance or slavery
exspectantes, tandemque docti commune periculum concordia
expecting and-at-last taught the-common danger by-concord
propulsandum, legationibus et foederibus omnium civitatum
to-be-repelled by-embassies and treaties of-all the-states
vires exciverant. Iamque super triginta milia armatorum
the-strength had-roused and-already over thirty thousand of-armed-men
aspiciebantur, et adhuc adfluebat omnis iuventus et quibus
were-seen and still was-flowing-in all the-youth and those-to-whom
cruda ac viridis senectus, clari bello et sua quisque
raw and green old-age famous in-war and his-own each
decora gestantes, cum inter pluris duces virtute et genere
honors wearing when among many leaders in-valor and in-family
praestans nomine Calgacus apud contractam multitudinem
outstanding by-name Calgacus before the-assembled multitude
proelium poscentem in hunc modum locutus fertur:
battle demanding in this manner having-spoken is-said
30 ‘Quotiens causas belli et necessitatem nostram intueor,
whenever the-causes of-the-war and necessity our I-regard
magnus mihi animus est hodiernum diem consensumque
great to-me the-spirit is today's day and-the-agreement
vestrum initium libertatis toti Britanniae fore: nam
your the-beginning of-freedom to-all Britain to-be-going-to-be for
et universi servitutis expertes, et nullae ultra terrae ac ne
both all-together of-slavery free and no further lands and not

mare quidem securum inminente nobis classe Romana. Ita
the-sea even safe threatening us the-fleet Roman so
proelium atque arma, quae fortibus honesta, eadem etiam
battle and arms which for-the-brave honorable the-same even
ignavis tutissima sunt. Priores pugnae, quibus adversus
for-cowards safest are the-former battles in-which against
Romanos varia fortuna certatum est, spem ac subsidium
the-Romans with-varying fortune fought it-was hope and help
in nostris manibus habebant, quia nobilissimi totius Britanniae
in our hands had because the-noblest of-all Britain
eoque in ipsis penetralibus siti nec servientium litora
and-therefore in the-very innermost-recesses situated nor of-the-enslaved shores
aspicientes, oculos quoque a contactu dominationis inviolatos
seeing the-eyes also from the-contact of-domination unviolated
habebamus. Nos terrarum ac libertatis extremos recessus
we-had us of-the-lands and of-freedom the-farthest-ones the-remoteness
ipse ac sinus famae in hunc diem defendit; atque omne
itself and the-seclusion of-fame to this day has-defended and every
ignotum pro magnifico est: sed nunc terminus Britanniae
unknown-thing for magnificent is but now the-boundary of-Britain
patet, nulla iam ultra gens, nihil nisi fluctus et saxa, et
lies-open no now beyond race nothing except waves and rocks and
infestiores Romani, quorum superbiam frustra per obsequium
more-hostile the-Romans whose arrogance in-vain through compliance
ac modestiam effugeris. Raptores orbis, postquam cuncta
and moderation you-would-escape robbers of-the-world after all-things
vastantibus defuere terrae, iam et mare scrutantur: si locuples
to-those-ravaging have-failed the-lands now even the-sea they-search if rich
hostis est, avari, si pauper, ambitiosi, quos non Oriens, non
the-enemy is greedy if poor ambitious whom not the-East not
Occidens satiaverit: soli omnium opes atque inopiam pari
the-West has-sated alone of-all wealth and want with-equal

adfectu concupiscunt. Auferre trucidare rapere falsis nominibus
passion they-covet to-carry-off to-slaughter to-plunder by-false names
imperium, atque ubi solitudinem faciunt, pacem appellant.'
empire and where a-desert they-make peace they-call

IX · THE SPEECHES

Calgacus continues: Rome takes children, goods, and labor, and the Britons, the newest slaves, with no mines or harbors to work, are marked for destruction. Rome's army is a mixture of peoples held by fear, and the Gauls, Germans, and Britons in it will desert. Let them fight for freedom. Agricola tells his soldiers that in seven years they have reached the end of Britain; to flee now is death, and a noble death is better than shame.

31 'Liberos cuique ac propinquos suos natura carissimos esse
children to-each and relatives his-own nature dearest to-be
voluit: hi per dilectus alibi servituri auferuntur;
wished these through levies elsewhere going-to-be-slaves are-carried-off
coniuges sororesque etiam si hostilem libidinem effugiant,
wives and-sisters even if hostile lust they-escape
nomine amicorum atque hospitum polluuntur. Bona
in-the-name of-friends and of-guests are-defiled goods
fortunaeque in tributum, ager atque annus in frumentum,
and-fortunes into tribute the-field and the-year into grain
corpora ipsa ac manus silvis ac paludibus emuniendis
bodies themselves and hands in-forests and marshes to-be-cleared
inter verbera ac contumelias conteruntur. Nata servituti
amid blows and insults are-worn-out born for-slavery
mancipia semel veneunt, atque ultro a dominis aluntur:
slaves once are-sold and moreover by masters are-fed
Britannia servitutem suam cotidie emit, cotidie pascit. Ac
Britain slavery her-own daily buys daily feeds and

sicut in familia recentissimus quisque servorum etiam
as in a-household the-newest each of-slaves even
conservis ludibrio est, sic in hoc orbis terrarum
to-fellow-slaves a-laughingstock is so in this of-the-world of-lands
vetere famulatu novi nos et viles in excidium petimur;
in-old servitude new we and worthless for destruction are-sought
neque enim arva nobis aut metalla aut portus sunt, quibus
nor for fields for-us or mines or harbors are which
exercendis reservemur. Virtus porro ac ferocia subiectorum
for-working we-might-be-kept valor moreover and fierceness of-subjects
ingrata imperantibus; et longinquitas ac secretum ipsum
unwelcome to-those-ruling and remoteness and seclusion itself
quo tutius, eo suspectius. Ita sublata spe veniae tandem
by-which more-safe by-that more-suspect so removed hope of-pardon at-last
sumite animum, tam quibus salus quam quibus gloria
take courage as-much those-to-whom safety as those-to-whom glory
carissima est. Brigantes femina duce exurere coloniam,
dearest is the-Brigantes with-a-woman as-leader to-burn a-colony
expugnare castra, ac nisi felicitas in socordiam vertisset,
to-storm a-camp and unless success into carelessness had-turned
exuere iugum potuere: nos integri et indomiti et in
to-throw-off the-yoke were-able we unimpaired and unconquered and for
libertatem, non in paenitentiam † laturi; primo statim
freedom not for repentance (corrupt) about-to-bear at-the-first at-once
congressu ostendamus, quos sibi Caledonia viros seposuerit.'
encounter let-us-show what for-herself Caledonia men has-set-apart
'An eandem Romanis in bello virtutem quam in pace 32
or the-same in-the-Romans in war valor as in peace
lasciviam adesse creditis? Nostris illi dissensionibus ac
wantonness to-be-present do-you-believe by-our they dissensions and
discordiis clari vitia hostium in gloriam exercitus sui
discords famous the-faults of-the-enemy into the-glory of-the-army their

vertunt; quem contractum ex diversissimis gentibus ut
turn which gathered from the-most-diverse peoples as
secundae res tenent, ita adversae dissolvent: nisi si Gallos
favorable things hold so adverse-things will-dissolve unless if the-Gauls
et Germanos et (pudet dictu) Britannorum plerosque, licet
and Germans and it-shames to-say of-the-Britons most though
dominationi alienae sanguinem commodent, diutius tamen
to-a-domination foreign their-blood they-lend longer however
hostis quam servos, fide et adfectu teneri putatis.
enemies than slaves by-loyalty and affection to-be-held do-you-think
Metus ac terror sunt infirma vincla caritatis; quae ubi
fear and terror are weak bonds of-affection which when
removeris, qui timere desierint, odisse incipient. Omnia
you-have-removed who to-fear have-ceased to-hate will-begin all
victoriae incitamenta pro nobis sunt: nullae Romanos coniuges
of-victory incentives for us are no the-Romans wives
accendunt, nulli parentes fugam exprobraturi sunt; aut nulla
fire no parents flight going-to-reproach are or no
plerisque patria aut alia est. Paucos numero, trepidos
for-most country or another is few in-number fearful
ignorantia, caelum ipsum ac mare et silvas, ignota omnia
from-ignorance the-sky itself and the-sea and the-forests unknown all-things
circumspectantis, clausos quodam modo ac vinctos di nobis
looking-around shut-in in-a-certain way and bound the-gods to-us
tradiderunt. Ne terreat vanus aspectus et auri fulgor atque
have-handed-over let-not frighten the-empty appearance and of-gold the-gleam and
argenti, quod neque tegit neque vulnerat. In ipsa hostium
of-silver which neither protects nor wounds in the-very of-the-enemy
acie inveniemus nostras manus: adgnoscent Britanni suam
line we-shall-find our-own hands will-recognize the-Britons their-own
causam, recordabuntur Galli priorem libertatem: deserent
cause will-remember the-Gauls their-former freedom will-desert

illos ceteri Germani, tam quam nuper Usipi reliquerunt. Nec
them the-other Germans just as lately the-Usipi abandoned nor
quicquam ultra formidinis: vacua castella, senum coloniae,
anything further of-terror empty forts of-old-men colonies
inter male parentis et iniuste imperantis aegra municipia et
between badly obeying and unjustly ruling sick towns and
discordantia. Hic dux, hic exercitus: ibi tributa et metalla
discordant here the-leader here the-army there tributes and mines
et ceterae servientium poenae, quas in aeternum perferre
and the-other of-the-enslaved penalties which into eternity to-endure
aut statim ulcisci in hoc campo est. Proinde ituri in
or at-once to-avenge in this plain is therefore going-to-go into
aciem et maiores vestros et posteros cogitate.'
battle-line both ancestors your and descendants think-of
Excepere orationem alacres, ut barbaris moris, cantu 33
received the-speech eager as for-barbarians the-custom with-song
fremituque et clamoribus dissonis. Iamque agmina et
and-with-roaring and with-shouts discordant and-now columns and
armorum fulgores audentissimi cuiusque procursu;
of-arms gleamings of-the-boldest each by-the-running-forward
simul instruebatur acies, cum Agricola quamquam
at-the-same-time was-drawn-up the-battle-line when Agricola although
laetum et vix munimentis coercitum militem accendendum
joyful and scarcely by-the-fortifications restrained the-soldier to-be-fired
adhuc ratus, ita disseruit: 'septimus annus est, commilitones,
still thinking so spoke the-seventh year it-is fellow-soldiers
ex quo virtute vestra, auspiciis imperii Romani,
from which by-the-valor your by-the-auspices of-the-empire Roman
fide atque opera nostra Britanniam vicistis. Tot
by-loyalty and work our Britain you-have-conquered in-so-many
expeditionibus, tot proeliis, seu fortitudine adversus
campaigns in-so-many battles whether courage against

hostis seu patientia ac labore paene adversus ipsam rerum
the-enemy or endurance and toil almost against the-very of-things
naturam opus fuit, neque me militum neque vos ducis
nature need was nor me of-the-soldiers nor you of-the-leader
paenituit. Ergo egressi, ego veterum legatorum, vos
has-repented therefore having-gone-beyond I of-the-old legates you
priorum exercituum terminos, finem Britanniae non fama nec
of-the-former armies the-limits the-end of-Britain not by-fame nor
rumore, sed castris et armis tenemus: inventa Britannia et
by-rumor but by-camps and arms we-hold found Britain and
subacta. Equidem saepe in agmine, cum vos paludes montesve
subdued indeed often on the-march when you marshes or-mountains
et flumina fatigarent, fortissimi cuiusque voces audiebam:
and rivers wearied of-the-bravest each the-voices I-heard
"quando dabitur hostis, quando acies?" Veniunt, e
when will-be-given the-enemy when the-battle-line they-come from
latebris suis extrusi, et vota virtusque in aperto, omniaque
hiding-places their driven and vows and-valor in the-open and-all-things
prona victoribus atque eadem victis adversa. Nam ut
favorable to-the-victors and the-same to-the-conquered adverse for as
superasse tantum itineris, silvas evasisse, transisse
to-have-overcome so-much of-the-march the-forests to-have-come-out-of to-have-crossed
aestuaria pulchrum ac decorum in frontem, ita fugientibus
the-estuaries fine and becoming in the-front so to-those-fleeing
periculosissima quae hodie prosperrima sunt; neque enim nobis
most-dangerous what today most-favorable are neither for to-us
aut locorum eadem notitia aut commeatuum eadem abundantia,
either of-the-places the-same knowledge or of-supplies the-same abundance
sed manus et arma et in his omnia. Quod ad me attinet,
but hands and arms and in these all-things as to me pertains
iam pridem mihi decretum est neque exercitus neque ducis
already long-ago by-me decided it-is neither of-the-army nor of-the-leader

terga tuta esse. Proinde et honesta mors turpi vita
the-backs safe to-be therefore both an-honorable death than-a-shameful life
potior, et incolumitas ac decus eodem loco sita sunt; nec
preferable and safety and honor in-the-same place set are nor
inglorium fuerit in ipso terrarum ac naturae fine cecidisse.'
inglorious would-it-be at the-very of-lands and of-nature end to-have-fallen

X · THE BATTLE

Agricola ends: these are the Britons a shout routed last year, the cowards left over; win the day and end fifty years of war. He sets the auxiliaries in the center, cavalry on the wings, and the legions before the rampart, and stands on foot before the standards. Batavian and Tungrian cohorts come to close quarters, where the Britons' small shields and pointless swords fail, and drive up the hill, while the cavalry stalls in the press.

'Si novae gentes atque ignota acies constitisset, aliorum 34
if new peoples and an-unknown battle-line had-stood of-other
exercituum exemplis vos hortarer: nunc vestra decora
armies by-the-examples you I-would-urge now your honors
recensete, vestros oculos interrogate. Hi sunt, quos
review your eyes question these are those-whom
proximo anno unam legionem furto noctis adgressos
in-the-last year one legion by-the-theft of-night having-attacked
clamore debellastis; hi ceterorum Britannorum fugacissimi
by-a-shout you-defeated these of-the-other Britons the-most-ready-to-flee
ideoque tam diu superstites. Quo modo silvas saltusque
and-therefore so long survivors in-what way forests and-glades
penetrantibus fortissimum quodque animal contra ruere,
to-those-penetrating the-bravest each animal against-them they-rushed
pavida et inertia ipso agminis sono pellebantur, sic
the-timid and inert by-the-very of-the-column sound were-driven so

acerrimi Britannorum iam pridem ceciderunt, reliquus est
the-keenest of-the-Britons already long-ago have-fallen the-remaining is
numerus ignavorum et metuentium. Quos quod tandem
the-number of-cowards and of-the-fearful whom that at-last
invenistis, non restiterunt, sed deprehensi sunt; novissimae
you-have-found not they-have-stood but caught they-have-been the-last
res et extremus metus corpora defixere in his vestigiis,
circumstances and the-extreme fear their-bodies have-fixed in these tracks
in quibus pulchram et spectabilem victoriam ederetis.
in which a-fine and spectacular victory you-might-produce
Transigite cum expeditionibus, imponite quinquaginta annis
finish with campaigns impose on-fifty years
magnum diem, adprobate rei publicae numquam exercitui
a-great day prove to-the-thing public never to-the-army
imputari potuisse aut moras belli aut causas rebellandi.'
to-be-charged to-have-been-possible either delays of-war or causes of-rebelling
35 Et adloquente adhuc Agricola militum ardor eminebat,
and speaking still Agricola of-the-soldiers the-ardor was-conspicuous
et finem orationis ingens alacritas consecuta est, statimque
and the-end of-the-speech huge eagerness followed it-has and-at-once
ad arma discursum. Instinctos ruentisque ita disposuit,
to arms a-rush-was-made fired and-rushing so be-arranged
ut peditum auxilia, quae octo milium erant, mediam
that of-the-foot the-auxiliaries which of-eight thousand were the-middle
aciem firmarent, equitum tria milia cornibus adfunderentur.
line should-strengthen of-the-horse three thousand on-the-wings should-be-spread
Legiones pro vallo stetere, ingens victoriae decus citra
the-legions before the-rampart stood a-huge of-victory glory without
Romanum sanguinem bellandi, et auxilium, si pellerentur.
Roman blood of-fighting and a-support if they-were-driven-back
Britannorum acies in speciem simul ac terrorem
of-the-Britons the-line for show at-the-same-time and terror

editioribus locis constiterat ita, ut primum agmen in aequo,
on-higher ground had-stood so that the-first column on the-level
ceteri per adclive iugum conexi velut insurgerent; media
the-rest along the-sloping ridge linked as-if rose-up the-middle
campi covinnarius eques strepitu ac discursu complebat.
of-the-plain the-charioteer horseman with-din and running-about filled
Tum Agricola superante hostium multitudine veritus, ne in
then Agricola superior of-the-enemy the-multitude fearing lest against
frontem simul et latera suorum pugnaretur, diductis
the-front at-the-same-time and the-flanks of-his-own it-should-be-fought drawn-apart
ordinibus, quamquam porrectior acies futura erat et
the-ranks although more-extended the-line going-to-be was and
arcessendas plerique legiones admonebant, promptior in spem et
to-be-summoned many the-legions advised readier for hope and
firmus adversis, dimisso equo pedes ante vexilla constitit.
firm against-adversity sent-away his-horse on-foot before the-standards took-his-stand
Ac primo congressu eminus certabatur; simulque 36
and at-the-first encounter at-long-range it-was-fought and-at-the-same-time
constantia, simul arte Britanni ingentibus gladiis et
with-steadiness at-the-same-time with-skill the-Britons with-huge swords and
brevibus caetris missilia nostrorum vitare vel excutere,
short shields the-missiles of-ours they-avoided or they-knocked-aside
atque ipsi magnam vim telorum superfundere, donec
and themselves a-great force of-weapons they-poured-down until
Agricola Batavorum cohortis ac Tungrorum duas cohortatus
Agricola of-Batavians cohorts and of-Tungrians two exhorted
est, ut rem ad mucrones ac manus adducerent; quod
he-has that the-matter to the-points and hands they-should-bring which
et ipsis vetustate militiae exercitatum et hostibus
both for-themselves by-the-length of-service practiced and for-the-enemy
inhabile parva scuta et enormis gladios gerentibus; nam
unsuited small shields and enormous swords carrying for

Britannorum gladii sine mucrone complexum armorum et
of-the-Britons the-swords without point the-clash of-arms and
in arto pugnam non tolerabant. Igitur ut Batavi
in a-confined-space fighting not did-endure therefore when the-Batavians
miscere ictus, ferire umbonibus, ora fodere, et stratis
to-exchange blows to-strike with-the-bosses faces to-stab and laid-low
qui in aequo adstiterant, erigere in collis aciem
those-who on the-level had-stood to-push-up toward the-hills the-line
coepere, ceterae cohortes aemulatione et impetu conisae
began the-other cohorts in-rivalry and impetus striving
proximos quosque caedere: ac plerique semineces aut integri
the-nearest each they-cut-down and many half-dead or unhurt
festinatione victoriae relinquebantur. Interim equitum turmae,
by-the-haste of-victory were-left meanwhile of-the-horse the-squadrons
ut fugere covinnarii, peditum se proelio miscuere.
when fled the-charioteers of-the-foot themselves with-the-battle mingled
Et quamquam recentem terrorem intulerant, densis
and although fresh terror they-had-brought by-the-dense
tamen hostium agminibus et inaequalibus locis haerebant;
however of-the-enemy columns and by-the-uneven places they-stuck
minimeque equestris ei pugnae facies erat, cum † egra
and-least of-cavalry to-that battle the-face was since (corrupt) feeble
diu aut stante simul equorum corporibus impellerentur;
long or standing at-the-same-time of-the-horses by-the-bodies they-were-pushed
ac saepe vagi currus, exterriti sine rectoribus equi, ut
and often stray chariots terrified without drivers the-horses as
quemque formido tulerat, transversos aut obvios incursabant.
each fear had-carried crosswise or head-on rushed-into

The Britons on the hills try to outflank the Romans, but Agricola's reserve cavalry routs them. The pursuit is grim: ten thousand Britons fall, against three hundred sixty Romans. The next day shows deserted hills and burning houses. The fleet sails around Britain. Domitian receives the news with feigned joy and secret fear and decrees triumphal honors; Agricola hands over a quiet province, enters Rome by night, and lives in modest retirement.

Et Britanni, qui adhuc pugnae expertes summa collium 37
and the-Britons who till-then of-the-battle without-share the-tops of-the-hills
insederant et paucitatem nostrorum vacui spernebant,
had-occupied and the-fewness of-ours at-leisure despised
degredi paulatim et circumire terga vincentium coeperant,
to-come-down gradually and to-surround the-backs of-the-winners had-begun
ni id ipsum veritus Agricola quattuor equitum alas, ad
had-not that very-thing fearing Agricola four of-horse wings for
subita belli retentas, venientibus opposuisset, quantoque
the-emergencies of-war kept-back to-the-comers had-opposed and-by-as-much-as
ferocius adcucurrerant, tanto acrius pulsos in fugam
more-fiercely they-had-run-up by-so-much more-sharply driven-back into flight
disiecisset. Ita consilium Britannorum in ipsos versum,
had-scattered so the-plan of-the-Britons against themselves turned
transvectaeque praecepto ducis a fronte pugnantium alae
and-carried-across by-the-order of-the-leader from the-front of-the-fighters the-wings
aversam hostium aciem invasere. Tum vero patentibus locis
the-rear of-the-enemy line attacked then indeed in-open places
grande et atrox spectaculum: sequi, vulnerare, capere,
a-great and terrible spectacle they-followed they-wounded they-captured
atque eosdem oblatis aliis trucidare. Iam hostium, prout cuique
and the-same offered others they-butchered now of-the-enemy as to-each
ingenium erat, catervae armatorum paucioribus terga praestare,
his-character was bands of-armed-men to-fewer the-backs they-showed

quidam inermes ultro ruere ac se morti offerre.
some unarmed of-their-own-accord they-rushed and themselves to-death they-offered
Passim arma et corpora et laceri artus et cruenta humus; et
everywhere arms and bodies and mangled limbs and bloody ground and
aliquando etiam victis ira virtusque. Postquam silvis
sometimes even in-the-conquered anger and-valor after the-forests
adpropinquaverunt, idem primos sequentium incautos
they-approached the-same-men the-first of-the-pursuers incautious
collecti et locorum gnari circumveniebant. Quod ni frequens
rallied and of-the-places knowing were-surrounding but if-not thronging
ubique Agricola validas et expeditas cohortis indaginis
everywhere Agricola strong and light-armed cohorts of-a-ring
modo et, sicubi artiora erant, partem equitum dimissis
in-the-manner and wherever more-confined they-were part of-the-cavalry sent-off
equis, simul rariores silvas equitem persultare iussisset,
their-horses at-the-same-time the-thinner forests the-horseman to-scour had-ordered
acceptum aliquod vulnus per nimiam fiduciam foret.
received some wound through excessive confidence would-have-been
Ceterum ubi compositos firmis ordinibus sequi rursus videre,
but when arranged in-firm ranks to-follow again they-saw
in fugam versi, non agminibus, ut prius, nec alius alium
into flight turned not in-columns as before nor one another
respectantes: rari et vitabundi in vicem longinqua atque
looking-back scattered and avoiding in turn distant and
avia petiere. Finis sequendi nox et satietas fuit. Caesa
pathless-places sought the-end of-pursuing night and satiety was slaughtered
hostium ad decem milia: nostrorum trecenti sexaginta
of-the-enemy about ten thousand of-ours three-hundred sixty
cecidere, in quis Aulus Atticus praefectus cohortis, iuvenili
fell among whom Aulus Atticus prefect of-a-cohort by-youthful
ardore et ferocia equi hostibus inlatus.
ardor and by-the-fierceness of-his-horse onto-the-enemy carried

Et nox quidem gaudio praedaque laeta victoribus: Britanni 38
and the-night indeed with-joy and-booty glad for-the-victors the-Britons
palantes mixtoque virorum mulierumque ploratu trahere
wandering and-with-mingled of-men and-of-women wailing they-dragged
vulneratos, vocare integros, deserere domos ac per iram
the-wounded they-called the-unhurt they-deserted homes and in anger
ultro incendere, eligere latebras et statim
of-their-own-accord they-burned-(them) they-chose hiding-places and at-once
relinquere; miscere in vicem consilia aliqua, dein separare;
they-left they-shared in turn plans some then they-separated
aliquando frangi aspectu pignorum suorum, saepius
sometimes they-were-broken by-the-sight of-pledges their more-often
concitari. Satisque constabat saevisse quosdam in
they-were-roused and-enough was-agreed to-have-raged certain-men against
coniuges ac liberos, tamquam misererentur. Proximus dies
wives and children as-though they-pitied the-next day
faciem victoriae latius aperuit: vastum ubique silentium,
the-face of-the-victory more-widely opened desolate everywhere silence
secreti colles, fumantia procul tecta, nemo exploratoribus
deserted the-hills smoking far-off the-roofs no-one to-the-scouts
obvius. Quibus in omnem partem dimissis, ubi incerta
met whom into every part sent when uncertain
fugae vestigia neque usquam conglobari hostis compertum
of-the-flight the-traces nor anywhere to-mass the-enemy found
(et exacta iam aestate spargi bellum nequibat), in finis
and spent already the-summer to-be-spread the-war could-not into the-territory
Borestorum exercitum deducit. Ibi acceptis obsidibus,
of-the-Boresti the-army he-leads-down there received hostages
praefecto classis circumvehi Britanniam praecipit. Datae ad
to-the-commander of-the-fleet to-sail-round Britain he-instructs given for
id vires, et praecesserat terror. Ipse peditem atque equites
that strength and had-gone-before terror he-himself the-infantry and cavalry

lento itinere, quo novarum gentium animi ipsa transitus
by-slow march so-that of-the-new peoples the-minds by-the-very of-the-passage
mora terrerentur, in hibernis locavit. Et simul classis
delay might-be-terrified in winter-quarters stationed and at-the-same-time the-fleet
secunda tempestate ac fama Trucculensem portum tenuit,
with-favorable weather and fame the-Trucculensian harbor reached
unde proximo Britanniae latere lecto omni redierat.
whence by-the-nearest of-Britain side coasted all it-had-returned

39 Hunc rerum cursum, quamquam nulla verborum iactantia
this of-events course although by-no of-words boasting
epistulis Agricolae auctum, ut Domitiano moris erat, fronte
in-the-letters of-Agricola amplified as for-Domitian the-custom was with-face
laetus, pectore anxius excepit. Inerat conscientia derisui
glad in-heart anxious he-received was-within-him the-consciousness a-laughingstock
fuisse nuper falsum e Germania triumphum, emptis
to-have-been lately his-false over Germany triumph bought
per commercia, quorum habitus et crines in captivorum
through trade men-whose dress and hair into of-captives
speciem formarentur: at nunc veram magnamque victoriam
the-appearance should-be-fashioned but now a-true and-great victory
tot milibus hostium caesis ingenti fama celebrari. Id
so-many thousands of-the-enemy slaughtered with-huge fame to-be-celebrated that
sibi maxime formidolosum, privati hominis nomen supra
to-himself most formidable of-a-private man the-name above
principis attolli: frustra studia fori et civilium
of-the-emperor to-be-raised in-vain the-pursuits of-the-forum and of-civil
artium decus in silentium acta, si militarem gloriam
arts the-honor into silence driven if military glory
alius occuparet; et cetera utcumque facilius dissimulari,
another seized and the-other-things somehow more-easily to-be-concealed
ducis boni imperatoriam virtutem esse. Talibus curis
of-a-leader good the-imperial virtue to-be by-such cares

exercitus, quodque saevae cogitationis indicium erat, secreto
troubled and-what of-savage brooding a-sign was in-seclusion
suo satiatus, optimum in praesentia statuit reponere odium,
his sated best for the-present he-decided to-store-away his-hatred
donec impetus famae et favor exercitus languesceret: nam
until the-impetus of-fame and the-favor of-the-army should-languish for
etiam tum Agricola Britanniam obtinebat.
even then Agricola Britain was-holding
Igitur triumphalia ornamenta et inlustris statuae honorem 40
therefore the-triumphal insignia and of-an-illustrious statue the-honor
et quidquid pro triumpho datur, multo verborum honore
and whatever instead-of a-triumph is-given with-much of-words honor
cumulata, decerni in senatu iubet addique insuper
heaped to-be-decreed in the-senate he-orders and-to-be-added besides
opinionem, Suriam provinciam Agricolae destinari, vacuam
the-belief Syria as-province for-Agricola to-be-destined vacant
tum morte Atilii Rufi consularis et maioribus reservatam.
then by-the-death of-Atilius Rufus the-consular and for-greater-men reserved
Credidere plerique libertum ex secretioribus ministeriis missum
believed most a-freedman from the-more-secret services sent
ad Agricolam codicillos, quibus ei Suria dabatur, tulisse,
to Agricola the-dispatch by-which to-him Syria was-given to-have-carried
cum praecepto ut, si in Britannia foret, traderentur;
with instruction that if in Britain he-were they-should-be-delivered
eumque libertum in ipso freto Oceani obvium Agricolae, ne
and-that freedman in the-very strait of-Ocean meeting Agricola not
appellato quidem eo ad Domitianum remeasse, sive verum
addressed even him to Domitian to-have-gone-back whether true
istud, sive ex ingenio principis fictum ac compositum
that or from the-character of-the-emperor invented and fabricated
est. Tradiderat interim Agricola successori suo provinciam
it-is had-handed-over meanwhile Agricola to-successor his the-province

quietam tutamque. Ac ne notabilis celebritate et frequentia
quiet and-safe and lest notable by-the-crowding and throng
occurrentium introitus esset, vitato amicorum officio noctu
of-those-meeting-him the-entry should-be avoided of-friends the-attention by-night
in urbem, noctu in Palatium, ita ut praeceptum erat,
into the-city by-night into the-Palace so as instructed it-had-been
venit; exceptusque brevi osculo et nullo sermone turbae
he-came and-received with-a-brief kiss and with-no talk into-the-crowd
servientium inmixtus est. Ceterum uti militare nomen, grave
of-the-servile mingled was for-the-rest that the-military name offensive
inter otiosos, aliis virtutibus temperaret, tranquillitatem atque
among the-idle by-other virtues he-might-temper calm and
otium penitus hausit, cultu modicus, sermone facilis, uno
leisure deeply drank-in in-dress moderate in-speech easy by-one
aut altero amicorum comitatus, adeo uti plerique, quibus
or a-second of-friends accompanied so-much that most to-whom
magnos viros per ambitionem aestimare mos est, viso
great men through display to-judge custom is seen
aspectoque Agricola quaererent famam, pauci interpretarentur.
and-looked-at Agricola sought the-fame few would-interpret

Accused and acquitted in his absence, Agricola is called for by the people as armies are lost on the Danube. Pressed by the emperor's men, he declines the lot for Asia or Africa. His moderation shows that great men can live under bad emperors. Rumor speaks of poison at his death, and Domitian rejoices at being named in the will.

Crebro per eos dies apud Domitianum absens accusatus, 41
frequently through those days before Domitian absent accused
absens absolutus est. Causa periculi non crimen ullum aut
absent acquitted he-was the-cause of-the-danger not charge any or
querela laesi cuiusquam, sed infensus virtutibus princeps
complaint of-one-injured any but hostile to-virtues the-emperor
et gloria viri ac pessimum inimicorum genus, laudantes.
and the-glory of-the-man and the-worst of-enemies kind those-praising
Et ea insecuta sunt rei publicae tempora, quae
and those followed they-have of-the-thing public times which
sileri Agricolam non sinerent: tot exercitus in Moesia
to-be-kept-silent Agricola not would-allow so-many armies in Moesia
Daciaque et Germania et Pannonia temeritate aut per
and-Dacia and Germany and Pannonia by-the-rashness or through
ignaviam ducum amissi, tot militares viri cum tot
the-cowardice of-the-leaders lost so-many military men with so-many
cohortibus expugnati et capti; nec iam de limite imperii
cohorts stormed and captured nor now about the-frontier of-the-empire
et ripa, sed de hibernis legionum et possessione
and the-bank but about the-winter-quarters of-the-legions and the-possession
dubitatum. Ita cum damna damnis continuarentur atque
was-there-doubt so when losses on-losses were-continued and
omnis annus funeribus et cladibus insigniretur, poscebatur
every year by-deaths and disasters was-marked was-demanded

ore vulgi dux Agricola, comparantibus cunctis
by-the-mouth of-the-crowd as-leader Agricola comparing all
vigorem et constantiam et expertum bellis animum cum
the-vigor and the-steadfastness and tested in-wars spirit with
inertia et formidine ceterorum. Quibus sermonibus satis
the-inertia and fear of-the-rest by-which talk enough
constat Domitiani quoque auris verberatas, dum optimus
is-agreed of-Domitian also the-ears were-beaten while the-best
quisque libertorum amore et fide, pessimi malignitate et
each of-the-freedmen from-love and loyalty the-worst from-malice and
livore pronum deterioribus principem exstimulabant. Sic
envy prone to-the-worse the-emperor goaded thus
Agricola simul suis virtutibus, simul vitiis
Agricola at-the-same-time by-his-own virtues at-the-same-time by-the-vices
aliorum in ipsam gloriam praeceps agebatur.
of-others into the-very glory headlong was-driven

42 Aderat iam annus, quo proconsulatum Africae et Asiae
was-at-hand now the-year in-which the-proconsulship of-Africa and of-Asia
sortiretur, et occiso Civica nuper nec Agricolae
he-should-draw-by-lot and killed Civica lately neither to-Agricola
consilium deerat nec Domitiano exemplum. Accessere
counsel was-lacking nor to-Domitian a-precedent came
quidam cogitationum principis periti, qui iturusne esset
certain-men of-the-thoughts of-the-emperor skilled who whether-going-to-go he-was
in provinciam ultro Agricolam interrogarent. Ac primo
into a-province unprompted Agricola should-ask and at-first
occultius quietem et otium laudare, mox operam suam in
more-covertly quiet and leisure they-praised soon service their in
adprobanda excusatione offerre, postremo non iam obscuri
approving the-excuse they-offered at-last not now obscure
suadentes simul terrentesque pertraxere ad Domitianum.
persuading at-the-same-time and-terrifying they-dragged-him to Domitian

Qui paratus simulatione, in adrogantiam compositus, et
who prepared by-dissimulation into arrogance composed both
audiit preces excusantis et, cum adnuisset, agi sibi
heard the-prayers of-the-excuser and when he-had-assented to-be-given to-himself
gratias passus est, nec erubuit beneficii invidia. Salarium
thanks allowed he-has nor did-he-blush of-the-favor at-the-odium the-salary
tamen proconsuli consulari solitum offerri et quibusdam
yet to-a-proconsul of-consular-rank accustomed to-be-offered and to-certain-men
a se ipso concessum Agricolae non dedit, sive offensus
by him himself granted to-Agricola not he-gave whether offended
non petitum, sive ex conscientia, ne quod vetuerat
not sought or from conscience lest what he-had-forbidden
videretur emisse. Proprium humani ingenii est odisse
he-might-seem to-have-bought own of-the-human mind it-is to-hate
quem laeseris: Domitiani vero natura praeceps in iram,
whom you-have-injured of-Domitian however the-nature headlong to anger
et quo obscurior, eo inrevocabilior, moderatione
and by-as-much-as more-hidden by-so-much more-irrevocable by-the-moderation
tamen prudentiaque Agricolae leniebatur, quia non contumacia
however and-prudence of-Agricola was-softened because not by-defiance
neque inani iactatione libertatis famam fatumque provocabat.
nor by-empty boasting of-freedom fame and-fate he-challenged
Sciant, quibus moris est inlicita mirari, posse etiam
let-them-know to-whom custom is illicit-things to-admire to-be-able even
sub malis principibus magnos viros esse, obsequiumque ac
under bad emperors great men to-be and-obedience and
modestiam, si industria ac vigor adsint, eo laudis excedere,
moderation if industry and vigor be-present to-that of-praise to-go-beyond
quo plerique per abrupta, sed in nullum rei publicae
to-which most through steep-places but to no of-the-thing public
usum ambitiosa morte inclaruerunt.
use by-an-ostentatious death became-famous

43 Finis vitae eius nobis luctuosus, amicis tristis, extraneis
the-end of-life his to-us grievous to-friends sad to-strangers
etiam ignotisque non sine cura fuit. Vulgus quoque et
even and-the-unknown not without concern was the-crowd also and
hic aliud agens populus et ventitavere ad domum et
this other-business pursuing people both kept-coming to the-house and
per fora et circulos locuti sunt; nec quisquam audita
through forums and circles talked they-have nor anyone heard
morte Agricolae aut laetatus est aut statim oblitus. Augebat
the-death of-Agricola either rejoiced he-has or at-once forgot increased
miserationem constans rumor veneno interceptum: nobis nihil
the-pity a-persistent rumor by-poison taken-off to-us nothing
comperti adfirmare ausim. Ceterum per omnem valetudinem
ascertained to-affirm I-would-dare for-the-rest through all illness
eius crebrius quam ex more principatus per
his more-frequently than according-to the-custom of-the-principate through
nuntios visentis et libertorum primi et medicorum intimi
messengers visiting both of-the-freedmen the-first and of-the-physicians the-intimate
venere, sive cura illud sive inquisitio erat. Supremo quidem
came whether care that or inquisition was on-the-last indeed
die momenta ipsa deficientis per dispositos cursores nuntiata
day the-moments very of-the-one-failing by posted runners reported
constabat, nullo credente sic adcelerari quae tristis audiret.
it-was-agreed with-no-one believing so to-be-hastened what grieved he-would-hear
Speciem tamen doloris animi vultu prae se tulit, securus
the-appearance yet of-grief of-mind on-his-face before himself he-bore secure
iam odii et qui facilius dissimularet gaudium quam
now of-hatred and one-who more-easily could-hide joy than
metum. Satis constabat lecto testamento Agricolae, quo
fear enough was-agreed read the-will of-Agricola in-which
coheredem optimae uxori et piissimae filiae Domitianum
as-co-heir to-the-best wife and most-dutiful daughter Domitian

scripsit, laetatum eum velut honore iudicioque. Tam caeca
he-wrote to-have-rejoiced him as-if by-honor and-judgment so blind
et corrupta mens adsiduis adulationibus erat, ut nesciret
and corrupt the-mind by-constant flatteries was that he-did-not-know
a bono patre non scribi heredem nisi malum principem.
by a-good father not to-be-written as-heir except a-bad emperor

XIII · EPITAPH

Agricola dies in his fifty-fourth year, a man more comely than imposing, fulfilled in glory. He is spared seeing the senate besieged, consulars slain, and noble women exiled. Tacitus mourns that he and Agricola's daughter, long absent, could not sit by him. Let Agricola rest; his family should honor him by imitation more than by images, and his fame will survive.

Natus erat Agricola Gaio Caesare tertium consule 44
born he-had-been Agricola with-Gaius Caesar for-the-third-time consul
idibus Iuniis: excessit quarto et quinquagesimo anno,
on-the-ides of-June he-departed in-the-fourth and fiftieth year
decumo kalendas Septembris Collega Priscoque
on-the-tenth-day-before the-kalends of-September Collega and-Priscus
consulibus. Quod si habitum quoque eius posteri noscere
consuls but if the-appearance also his posterity to-know
velint, decentior quam sublimior fuit; nihil impetus in
wish more-comely than more-lofty he-was nothing of-fierceness in
vultu: gratia oris supererat. Bonum virum facile
his-face the-charm of-the-countenance was-abundant a-good man easily
crederes, magnum libenter. Et ipse quidem, quamquam
you-would-believe a-great-one gladly and he-himself indeed although
medio in spatio integrae aetatis ereptus, quantum ad
the-middle in the-course of-unimpaired age snatched-away as-much-as for

gloriam, longissimum aevum peregit. Quippe et vera bona,
glory the-longest life he-completed for both the-true goods
quae in virtutibus sita sunt, impleverat, et consulari
which in virtues placed are he-had-fulfilled and to-one-with-consular
ac triumphalibus ornamentis praedito quid aliud adstruere
and triumphal insignia endowed what else to-build-on
fortuna poterat? Opibus nimiis non gaudebat, speciosae non
fortune could in-wealth excessive not he-delighted handsome not
contigerant. Filia atque uxore superstitibus potest videri
had-fallen-to-him his-daughter and wife surviving he-can seem
etiam beatus incolumi dignitate, florente fama, salvis
even happy with-unimpaired dignity flourishing fame safe
adfinitatibus et amicitiis futura effugisse. Nam sicuti
his-kinships and friendships the-things-to-come to-have-escaped for as
∗∗∗ durare in hanc beatissimi saeculi lucem ac principem
(lacuna) to-last into this of-a-most-blessed age light and the-emperor
Traianum videre, quod augurio votisque apud nostras auris
Trajan to-see which by-augury and-prayers in our ears
ominabatur, ita festinatae mortis grande solacium tulit
he-foretold so of-his-hastened death a-great solace he-carried
evasisse postremum illud tempus, quo Domitianus non
to-have-escaped the-last that time in-which Domitian not
iam per intervalla ac spiramenta temporum, sed continuo
now through intervals and breathing-spaces of-time but continuously
et velut uno ictu rem publicam exhausit.
and as-if with-one stroke the-thing public drained
45 Non vidit Agricola obsessam curiam et clausum armis
not saw Agricola the-besieged senate-house and shut-in by-arms
senatum et eadem strage tot consularium caedes,
the-senate and in-the-same slaughter so-many of-consulars the-murders
tot nobilissimarum feminarum exilia et fugas. Una adhuc
so-many of-the-noblest women the-exiles and flights one so-far

victoria Carus Metius censebatur, et intra Albanam arcem
victory Carus Metius was-reckoned and within the-Alban citadel
sententia Messalini strepebat, et Massa Baebius tum reus
the-opinion of-Messalinus resounded and Massa Baebius then a-defendant
erat: mox nostrae duxere Helvidium in carcerem manus; nos
was soon our dragged Helvidius into prison hands we
Mauricum Rusticumque divisimus, nos innocenti sanguine
Mauricus and-Rusticus we-parted us with-innocent blood
Senecio perfudit. Nero tamen subtraxit oculos suos iussitque
Senecio drenched Nero yet withdrew eyes his and-ordered
scelera, non spectavit: praecipua sub Domitiano miseriarum
crimes not he-watched the-chief under Domitian of-miseries
pars erat videre et aspici, cum suspiria nostra subscriberentur,
part was to-see and to-be-seen when sighs our were-recorded
cum denotandis tot hominum palloribus sufficeret saevus
when for-the-noting so-many of-men pallors sufficed savage
ille vultus et rubor, quo se contra pudorem muniebat.
that face and red-flush by-which himself against shame he-fortified
Tu vero felix, Agricola, non vitae tantum claritate, sed etiam
you indeed fortunate Agricola not of-life only by-the-fame but also
opportunitate mortis. Ut perhibent qui interfuerunt novissimis
by-the-timeliness of-death as report who were-present at-the-last
sermonibus tuis, constans et libens fatum excepisti, tamquam
words your steadfast and willing fate you-received as-if
pro virili portione innocentiam principi donares. Sed
for a-man's share innocence to-the-emperor you-were-giving but
mihi filiaeque eius praeter acerbitatem parentis erepti
for-me and-to-the-daughter his besides the-bitterness of-a-parent snatched-away
auget maestitiam, quod adsidere valetudini, fovere deficientem,
increases the-sorrow that to-sit-by his-illness to-cherish the-failing
satiari vultu complexuque non contigit. Excepissemus
to-be-sated with-the-face and-embrace not befell-us we-would-have-received

certe mandata vocesque, quas penitus animo figeremus.
certainly the-instructions and-words which deep in-mind we-might-fix
Noster hic dolor, nostrum vulnus, nobis tam longae
our this grief our wound to-us so long
absentiae condicione ante quadriennium amissus est. Omnia
of-absence by-the-condition before four-years lost he-was all-things
sine dubio, optime parentum, adsidente amantissima uxore
without doubt best of-parents sitting-by most-loving a-wife
superfuere honori tuo: paucioribus tamen lacrimis comploratus
were-abundant for-honor your with-fewer yet tears bewailed
es, et novissima in luce desideravere aliquid oculi tui.
you-were and the-last in light longed-for something the-eyes your
46 Si quis piorum manibus locus, si, ut sapientibus placet, non
if any for-the-dutiful shades place if as to-the-wise it-is-pleasing not
cum corpore extinguuntur magnae animae, placide quiescas,
with the-body are-extinguished great souls peacefully may-you-rest
nosque et domum tuam ab infirmo desiderio et muliebribus
and-us and household your from weak longing and womanish
lamentis ad contemplationem virtutum tuarum voces, quas
laments to the-contemplation of-virtues your may-you-call which
neque lugeri neque plangi fas est. Admiratione te
neither to-be-mourned nor to-be-beaten-for right is with-admiration you
potius et inmortalibus laudibus et, si natura suppeditet,
rather and with-immortal praises and if nature supply
similitudine colamus: is verus honos, ea coniunctissimi
by-likeness let-us-honor this true honor this of-the-most-closely-joined
cuiusque pietas. Id filiae quoque uxorique praeceperim,
each dutifulness that to-the-daughter also and-wife I-would-enjoin
sic patris, sic mariti memoriam venerari, ut omnia facta
so of-a-father so of-a-husband the-memory to-revere that all deeds
dictaque eius secum revolvant, formamque ac figuram
and-words his with-themselves they-turn-over and-the-form and figure

animi magis quam corporis complectantur, non quia
of-the-mind more than of-the-body embrace not because
intercedendum putem imaginibus quae marmore aut aere
to-be-forbidden I-think the-images which in-marble or bronze
finguntur, sed, ut vultus hominum, ita simulacra vultus
are-fashioned but as the-faces of-men so the-likenesses of-the-face
inbecilla ac mortalia sunt, forma mentis aeterna, quam
weak and mortal are the-form of-the-mind eternal which
tenere et exprimere non per alienam materiam et artem,
to-hold and to-express not through another's material and art
sed tuis ipse moribus possis. Quidquid ex Agricola
but by-your-own yourself character you-can whatever of Agricola
amavimus, quidquid mirati sumus, manet mansurumque est
we-loved whatever admired we-have remains and-going-to-remain is
in animis hominum in aeternitate temporum, fama rerum;
in the-minds of-men in the-eternity of-ages in-the-fame of-deeds
nam multos veterum velut inglorios et ignobilis oblivio
for many of-the-ancients as-if inglorious and ignoble oblivion
obruit: Agricola posteritati narratus et traditus superstes erit.
has-buried Agricola to-posterity narrated and handed-down surviving will-be

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