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HERODOTUS

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# HERODOTUS

WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION BY

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HON. FELLOW OF MAGDALEN COLLEGE, OXFORD

IN FOUR VOLUMES

II

BOOKS III AND IV



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2. The World According to Herodotus . . . . . „





## INTRODUCTION TO BOOKS III AND IV

HERODOTUS' narrative in the Third Book of his history is extremely discursive and episodic. It may be briefly summarised as follows:—

Chapters 1 to 38 deal in the main with Cambyses. They relate the Persian invasion and conquest of Egypt, Cambyses' abortive expedition against the Ethiopians, and the sacrilegious and cruel acts of the last part of his reign. The section 38–60 begins with an account of Polycrates of Samos, and his relations with Amasis of Egypt, and continues with a narrative of Polycrates' war against his banished subjects. The fact that these latter were aided not only by Spartans but by Corinthians serves to introduce the story of the domestic feuds of Periander, despot of Corinth. Chapter 61 resumes the story of Cambyses; the Magian usurpation of the Persian throne, Cambyses' death, the counterplot against and ultimate overthrow of the pseudo-Smerdis and his brother by seven Persian conspirators, and the accession of Darius—all this is narrated with much

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picturesque and dramatic detail in twenty-eight chapters (61-88). Then follows a list of Darius' tributary provinces (88-97), supplemented by various unconnected details relating to Arabia and India (98-117). The next thirty-two chapters (118-149) narrate various events in the early part of Darius' reign: the fate of Polycrates of Samos; the insolence and death of his murderer Oroetes; how Democedes, a Samian physician, rose to power at the Persian court and was sent with a Persian commission to reconnoitre Greek coasts; how Polycrates' brother Syloson regained with Persian help the sovereignty of Samos. Lastly, chapters 150-160 describe the revolt and second capture of Babylon.

Book IV begins with the intention of describing Darius' invasion of Scythia, and the subject of more than two-thirds of the book is Scythian geography and history. Chapters 1-15 deal with the legendary origin of the Scythians; 16-31, with the population of the country and the climate of the far north; this leads to a disquisition on the Hyperboreans and their alleged commerce with the Aegean (32-36), and (37-45) a parenthetical section, showing the relation to each other of Europe, Asia, and Libya. The story of a circumnavigation of Libya forms part of this section. Chapters 46-58 enumerate the rivers of Scythia, and 59-82 describe its manners and customs.

Darius' passage of the Hellespont and the Danube is

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narrated in chapters 83–98. Chapters 99–117 are once more parenthetical, describing first the general outline of Scythia, and next giving some details as to neighbouring tribes, with the story of the Amazons. From 118 to 144 Herodotus professes to relate the movements of the Persian and Scythian armies, till Darius returns to the Danube and thence to Asia again.

The Libyan part of the book begins at 145. Twenty-three chapters (145–167) give the history of Cyrene, its colonisation from Greece and the fortunes of its rulers till the time of Darius, when it was brought into contact with Persia by the appeal of its exiled queen Pheretime to the Persian governor of Egypt, who sent an army to recover Cyrene for her. The thirty-two following chapters (168–199) are a detailed description of Libya: 168–180, the Libyan seaboard from Egypt to the Tritonian lake; 181–190, the sandy ridge inland stretching (according to Herodotus) from Thebes in Egypt to the Atlas; 191–199, in the main, Libya west of the “Tritonian lake.” At chapter 200 the story of Pheretime is resumed and the capture of Barce described. The book ends with the death of Pheretime and the disastrous return to Egypt of her Persian allies.

The above brief abstract shows that Book IV, at least, is full of geography and ethnology. It is, I believe, generally held that Herodotus himself

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visited the Cyrenaica and the northern coasts of the Black Sea, where the Greek commercial centre was the "port of the Borysthenites," later called Olbia; but there is no real evidence for or against such visits. The point is not very important. If he did not actually go to Cyrene or Olbia he must at least have had opportunities of conversing with Greeks resident in those places. These, the only informants whose language he could understand, no doubt supplied him with more or less veracious descriptions of the "hinterlands" of their cities; and possibly there may have been some documentary evidence—records left by former travellers. Whatever Herodotus' authorities—and they must have been highly miscellaneous—they take him farther and farther afield, to the extreme limits of knowledge or report.

As Herodotus in description or speculation approaches what he supposes to be the farthest confines of north and south, it is natural that he should also place on record his conception of the geography of the world—a matter in which he professes himself to be in advance of the ideas current in his time. There were already, it would appear, maps in those days. According to Herodotus, they divided the world into three equal parts—Europe, Asia, Libya; the whole surrounded by the "Ocean," which was still apparently imagined, as in Homer, to be a "river" into which ships could sail from the sea known to the Greeks. Possibly, as has been

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suggested by moderns, this idea of an encircling river may have originated in the fact that to north, south, and east great rivers ran in the farthest lands known to Greeks: the Nile in the south (and if it could be made to run partly from west to east, so much the better for the belief that it was a boundary), the Danube in the north, the Euphrates in the east; in the west, of course, the untravelled waters outside the "Pillars of Hercules" fitted into the scheme. But whether the legend of an encircling stream had a rational basis or not, Herodotus will have none of it. The Greeks, he says, believe the world to be surrounded by the Ocean; but they cannot prove it. The thing, to him, is ridiculous; as is also the neat tripartite division of the world into three continents of equal extent. His own scheme is different. Taking the highlands of Persia as a base, he makes Asia a peninsula stretching westward, and Libya another great peninsula south-westward; northward and alongside of the two is the vast tract called Europe. This latter, in his view, is beyond comparison bigger than either Asia or Libya; its length from east to west is at least equal to the length of the other two together; and while there are at least traditions of the circumnavigation of Libya, and some knowledge of seas to the south and east of Asia, Europe stretches to the north in tracts of illimitable distance, the very absence of any tale of a northern boundary tending in itself to prove

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enormous extent. The lands north and south of the Mediterranean have each its great river; and Herodotus has already in the Second Book endeavoured to show that there is a kind of correspondence between the Nile and the Danube. He, too, like the geographers with whom he disagrees, is obsessed, in the absence of knowledge, by a desire for symmetry. The Nile, he is convinced, flows for a long way across the country of the Ethiopians from west to east before it makes a bend to the north and flows thus through Egypt. So the Danube, too, rises in the far west of Europe, in the country of "Pyrene"; and as the Nile eventually turns and flows northward, so the Danube, after running for a long way eastward, makes an abrupt turn southward to flow into the Black Sea. Thus the Mediterranean countries, southern Europe and northern Africa, are made to lie within what the two rivers—their mouths being regarded as roughly "opposite" to each other, in the same longitude—make into a sort of interrupted parallelogram.

Such is the scheme of the world with which Herodotus incidentally presents us. But his real concern in the Fourth Book is with the geography of Libya and Scythia—northern Africa and southern Russia; in both cases the description is germane to his narrative, its motive being, in each, a Persian expedition into the country.

Critics of the *Odyssey* have sometimes been at



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pains to distinguish its “inner” from its “outer” geography—the inner true and real, the outer a world of mere invention and fairy tale. There is no such distinction really; Greeks do not invent fairy tales; there are simply varying degrees of certitude. Greek geographical knowledge contemporaneous with the composition of the *Odyssey* being presumably confined within very narrow limits, the frontiers of the known are soon passed, and the poet launches out into a realm not of invention, but of reality dimly and imperfectly apprehended—a world of hearsay and travellers’ tales, no doubt adorned in the Homeric poem with the colours of poetry. Homer is giving the best that he knows of current information—not greatly troubled in his notices of remote countries by inconsistencies, as when he describes Egypt once as a four or five days’ sail from Crete, yet again as a country so distant that even a bird will take more than a year to reach it. Herodotus’ method is as human and natural as Homer’s. Starting, of course, from a very much wider extent of geographical knowledge, he passes from what he has seen to what he knows at first hand from Cyrenaean or Borysthenite evidence; thence into more distant regions, about which his informants have been told; and so on, the accuracy of his statements obviously diminishing (and not guaranteed by himself) as the distance increases, till at last in farthest north—farthest, that is, with the

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possible exception of "Hyperboreans," about whom nobody knows anything—he is in the country of the griffins who guard gold and pursue the one-eyed Arimaspians; and in the south, among the men who have no heads, and whose eyes are in their breasts.

It happens sometimes that the stories which have reached Herodotus from very distant lands and seas, and which he duly reports without necessarily stating his belief in them, do in truth rest on a basis of actual fact. Thus one of the strongest arguments for the truth of the story of a circumnavigation of Libya is the detail, mentioned but not believed by Herodotus, that the sailors, when sailing west at the extreme limit of their voyage, saw the sun on their right hand. Thus also the story of Hyperborean communication with Delos is entirely in harmony with ascertained fact. Whatever be the meaning of "Hyperborean," a term much discussed by the learned (Herodotus certainly understands the name to mean "living beyond the north wind"), the people so named must be located in northern Europe; and the Delos story, however imaginative in its details, does at least illustrate the known existence of trade routes linking the northern parts of our continent with the Aegean. To such an extent Herodotus' tales of the uttermost parts of the earth are informative. But with such exceptions, as one would naturally expect, it is true that as a



general rule the farther from home Herodotus is the farther also he is from reality.

It follows from this that in proportion as Herodotus' narrative of events is distant from the Greek world and his possible sources of information, so much the more is it full, for us, of geographical difficulties. It is probable that, as he tells us, "Scythians" did at some time or other invade the Black Sea coasts and dispossess an earlier population of "Cimmerians," whom, perhaps, they pursued into Asia. The bare fact may be so; but Herodotus' description of the way in which it happened cannot be reconciled with the truths of geography. The whole story is confused; the Cimmerians could not have fled along the coast of the Black Sea, as stated by Herodotus; it would, apparently, have been a physical impossibility. In such cases the severer school of critics were sometimes tempted to dismiss an entire narrative as a parcel of lies. More charitable, moderns sometimes do their best to bring the historian's detailed story into some sort of harmony with the map, by emendation of the text or otherwise. But if the former method was unjust, the latter is wasted labour. There is surely but one conclusion to draw, and a very obvious one: that Herodotus was misinformed as to geographical conditions. Ignorance lies at the root of the matter. Herodotus had not the geographical equipment for describing the movements of tribes on the north

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coast of the Black Sea, any more than our best authorities of sixty years ago had for describing tribal wanderings in Central Africa.

Even worse difficulties would confront the enterprising critic who should attempt to deal with Darius' marchings and counter-marchings in Scythia as matter for serious investigation. Herodotus' story is, with regard to its details of time, plainly incredible; a great army could not conceivably have covered anything like the alleged distance in the alleged time. It must, apparently, be confessed that there are moments when the Father of History is *supra geographiam*—guilty of disregarding it when he did, as appears from other parts of the Fourth Book, know something of Scythian distances. The disregard may be explained, if not excused. Herodotus is seldom proof against the attractions of a Moral Tale. Given an unwieldy army of invaders, *vis consili expers*, and those invaders the natural enemies of Hellas,—and given also the known evasive tactics of Scythian warfare,—there was obviously a strong temptation to make a picturesque narrative, in which overweening power should be tricked, baffled, and eventually saved only by a hair's breadth from utter destruction at a supremely dramatic moment. So strong, we may suppose, was the temptation that Herodotus put from him considerations of time and distance, in the probably not unjustified expectation that his Greek readers or

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hearers would not trouble themselves much about such details. In short, it must be confessed that Herodotus' reputation as a serious historian must rest on other foundations than his account of Darius Scythian campaign.<sup>1</sup>

Herodotus' list of the tribute-paying divisions of the Persian Empire is not a geographical document. Obviously it is drawn from some such source as the three extant inscriptions (at Behistun, Persepolis, and Naksh-i-Rustam) in which Darius enumerated the constituent parts of his empire; but it differs from these in that the numerical order of the units is not determined by their local position. It has indeed geographical importance in so far as the grouping of tribes for purposes of taxation naturally implies their local vicinity; but it is in no sense a description of the various units under Darius' rule; nor can we even infer that these districts and groups of districts are in all cases separate "satrapies" or governorships. That, apparently, is precluded by the occasional association of countries which could not have formed a single governorship, for instance, the Parthians, Chorasmians, Sogdi, and Arii, who compose the sixteenth district; while the Bactrians and Sacae, belonging here to separate tax-paying

<sup>1</sup> For a detailed discussion of the various problems suggested by Book IV the reader is referred to the long and elaborate Introduction to Dr. Macan's edition of Herodotus, Books IV, V, VI.

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units, appear in other passages in Herodotus as subjects of a single satrapy. What the historian gives us in Book III is simply a statistical list of Darius' revenues and the sources from which they were drawn.

HERODOTUS  
BOOK III

## ΗΡΟΔΟΤΟΥ ΙΣΤΟΡΙΑΙ

### Γ

1. Ἐπὶ τοῦτον δὴ τὸν Ἀμασιν Καμβύσης ὁ Κύρου ἐστρατεύετο, ἄγων καὶ ἄλλους τῶν ἡρχε καὶ Ἑλλήνων Ἰωνάς τε καὶ Αἰολέας, δι' αἰτίην τοιήνδε. πέμψας Καμβύσης ἐς Αἴγυπτον κήρυκα αἴτεε Ἀμασιν θυγατέρα, αἴτεε δὲ ἐκ βουλῆς ἀνδρὸς Αἰγυπτίου, ὃς μεμφόμενος Ἀμασιν ἔπρηξε ταῦτα ὅτι μιν ἐξ ἀπάντων τῶν ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ ἡτρῶν ἀποσπάσας ἀπὸ γυναικός τε καὶ τέκνων ἔκδοτον ἐποίησε ἐς Πέρσας, ὅτε Κῦρος πέμψας παρὰ Ἀμασιν αἴτεε ἡτρὸν ὀφθαλμῶν ὃς εἴη ἄριστος τῶν ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ. ταῦτα δὲ ἐπιμεμφόμενος ὁ Αἰγύπτιος ἐνήγε τῇ συμβουλῇ κελεύων αἰτέειν τὸν Καμβύσεα Ἀμασιν θυγατέρα, ἵνα ἢ δούς ἀνιῶτο ἢ μὴ δούς Καμβύσῃ ἀπέχθοιτο. ὁ δὲ Ἀμασις τῇ δυνάμει τῶν Περσέων ἀχθόμενος καὶ ἀρρωδέων οὐκ εἶχε οὔτε δοῦναι οὔτε ἀρνήσασθαι· εὖ γὰρ ἠπίστατο ὅτι οὐκ ὥς γυναῖκά μιν ἔμελλε Καμβύσης ἔξειν ἀλλ' ὥς παλλακὴν. ταῦτα δὲ ἐκλογιζόμενος ἐποίησε τάδε. ἦν Ἀπρίεω τοῦ προτέρου βασιλέος θυγάτηρ κάρτα μεγάλη τε καὶ εὐειδὴς μούνη τοῦ οἴκου λελειμμένη, οὖνομα δέ οἱ

# HERODOTUS

## BOOK III

1. IT was against this Amasis that Cambyes led an army of his subjects, Ionian and Aeolian Greeks among them.<sup>1</sup> This was his reason: Cambyes sent a herald to Egypt asking Amasis for his daughter; and this he did by the counsel of a certain Egyptian, who devised it by reason of a grudge that he bore against Amasis, because when Cyrus sent to Amasis asking for the best eye-doctor in Egypt the king had chosen this man out of all the Egyptian physicians and sent him perforce to Persia away from his wife and children. With this grudge in mind he moved Cambyes by his counsel to ask Amasis for his daughter, that Amasis might be grieved if he gave her, or Cambyes' enemy if he refused her. So Amasis was sorely afraid of the power of Persia, and could neither give his daughter nor deny her; for he knew well that Cambyes would make her not his queen but his mistress. Reasoning thus he bethought him of a very tall and fair damsel called Nitetis, daughter of the former king Apries, and all that was left of that

<sup>1</sup> The received date is 525 B.C.

ἦν Νίτητις· ταύτην δὴ τὴν παῖδα ὁ Ἀμασις κοσμήσας ἐσθῆτί τε καὶ χρυσῷ ἀποπέμπει ἐς Πέρσας ὡς ἑωυτοῦ θυγατέρα. μετὰ δὲ χρόνον ὥς μιν ἡσπάζετο πατρόθεν ὀνομάζων, λέγει πρὸς αὐτὸν ἡ παῖς “ὦ βασιλεῦ, διαβεβλημένος ὑπὸ Ἀμάσιος οὐ μανθάνεις. ὃς ἐμὲ σοὶ κόσμῳ ἀσκήσας ἀπέπεμψε ὡς ἑωυτοῦ θυγατέρα διδούς, ἐοῦσαν τῇ ἀληθείῃ Ἀπρίῳ, τὸν ἐκείνος ἐόντα ἑωυτοῦ δεσπότεα μετ’ Αἰγυπτίων ἐπαναστὰς ἐφόνευσε.” τοῦτο δὴ τὸ ἔπος καὶ αὕτη ἡ αἰτίη ἐγγενομένη ἤγαγε Καμβύσεα τὸν Κύρου μεγάλως θυμωθέντα ἐπ’ Αἴγυπτον.

2. Οὕτω μὲν νυν λέγουσι Πέρσαι. Αἰγύπτιοι δὲ οἰκηιοῦνται Καμβύσεα, φάμενοί μιν ἐκ ταύτης δὴ τῆς Ἀπρίῳ θυγατρὸς γενέσθαι· Κύρον γὰρ εἶναι τὸν πέμψαντα παρὰ Ἀμασιν ἐπὶ τὴν θυγατέρα, ἀλλ’ οὐ Καμβύσεα. λέγοντες δὲ ταῦτα οὐκ ὀρθῶς λέγουσι. οὐ μὲν οὐδὲ λέληθε αὐτούς (εἰ γὰρ τινὲς καὶ ἄλλοι, τὰ Περσέων νόμιμα ἐπιστέαται καὶ Αἰγύπτιοι) ὅτι πρῶτα μὲν νόθον οὐ σφι νόμος ἐστὶ βασιλεῦσαι γνησίου παρεόντος, αὐτὶς δὲ ὅτι Κασσανδάνης τῆς Φαρνάσπεω θυγατρὸς ἦν παῖς Καμβύσης, ἀνδρὸς Ἀχαιμενίδεω, ἀλλ’ οὐκ ἐκ τῆς Αἰγυπτίης. ἀλλὰ παρατράπουσι τὸν λόγον προσποιούμενοι τῇ Κύρου οἰκίῃ συγγενέες εἶναι.

3. Καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ὧδε ἔχει. λέγεται δὲ καὶ ὁδε λόγος, ἐμοὶ μὲν οὐ πιθανός, ὡς τῶν Περσίδων γυναικῶν ἐσελθοῦσά τις παρὰ τὰς Κύρου γυναῖκας, ὡς εἶδε τῇ Κασσανδάνῃ παρεστέωτα τέκνα εὐειδέα τε καὶ μεγάλα, πολλῷ ἐχρᾶτο τῷ ἐπαίνῳ ὑπερθωμάζουσα, ἡ δὲ Κασσανδάνη ἐοῦσα τοῦ Κύρου γυνὴ εἶπε τάδε. “Τοιῶνδε μέντοι ἐμὲ παίδων μητέρα



family; Amasis decked her out with raiment and golden ornaments and sent her to the Persians as if she were his own daughter. But after a while, the king greeting her as the daughter of Amasis, the damsel said, "King, you know not how Amasis has deceived you: he decked me out with ornaments and sent me to you to pass for his own daughter; but I am in truth the daughter of his master Apries, whom he and other Egyptians rebelled against and slew." It was these words and this reason that prevailed with Cambyses to lead him in great anger against Egypt.

2. This is the Persian story. But the Egyptians claim Cambyses for their own; they say that he was the son of this daughter of Apries, and that it was Cyrus, not Cambyses, who sent to Amasis for his daughter. But this tale is false. Nay, they are well aware (for the Egyptians have a truer knowledge than any men of the Persian law) firstly, that no bastard may be king of Persia if there be a son born in lawful wedlock; and secondly, that Cambyses was born not of the Egyptian woman but of Cassandane, daughter of Pharnaspes, an Achaemenid. But they so twist the story because they would claim kinship with the house of Cyrus.

3. So much for this matter. There is another tale too, which I do not believe:—that a certain Persian lady came to visit Cyrus' wives, and greatly praised and admired the fair and tall children who stood by Cassandane. Then Cassandane, Cyrus' wife, said, "Ay, yet though I be the mother of such children

εοῦσαν Κῦρος ἐν ἀτιμίῃ ἔχει, τὴν δὲ ἀπ' Αἰγύπτου ἐπίκτητον ἐν τιμῇ τίθεται." τὴν μὲν ἀχθομένην τῇ Νιτήτι εἰπεῖν ταῦτα, τῶν δέ οἱ παίδων τὸν πρεσβύτερον εἰπεῖν Καμβύσεια "Τοιγάρ τοι ὦ μήτερ, ἐπεὰν ἐγὼ γένωμαι ἀνὴρ, Αἰγύπτου τὰ μὲν ἄνω κάτω θήσω, τὰ δὲ κάτω ἄνω." ταῦτα εἰπεῖν αὐτὸν ἔτεα ὡς δέκα κου γεγονότα, καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας ἐν θώματι γενέσθαι· τὸν δὲ διαμνημονεύοντα οὕτω δῆ, ἐπεῖτε ἀνδρώθη καὶ ἔσχε τὴν βασιληίην, ποιήσασθαι τὴν ἐπ' Αἴγυπτον στρατηίην.

4. Συνήνεικε δὲ καὶ ἄλλο τι τοιόνδε πρῆγμα γενέσθαι ἐς τὴν ἐπιστράτευσιν ταύτην. ἦν τῶν ἐπικούρων Ἀμάσιος ἀνὴρ γένος μὲν Ἀλικαρνησσεύς, οὖνομα δέ οἱ Φάνης, καὶ γνώμην ἱκανὸς καὶ τὰ πολεμικὰ ἄλκιμος. οὗτος ὁ Φάνης μεμφόμενός κού τι Ἀμάσι ἐκδιδρήσκει πλοίῳ ἐξ Αἰγύπτου, βουλόμενος Καμβύσῃ ἐλθεῖν ἐς λόγους. οἷα δὲ εἶοντα αὐτὸν ἐν τοῖσι ἐπικούροισι λόγου οὐ σμικροῦ ἐπιστάμενόν τε τὰ περὶ Αἴγυπτον ἀτρεκέστατα, μεταδιώκει ὁ Ἀμασις σπουδὴν ποιούμενος ἐλεῖν, μεταδιώκει δὲ τῶν εὐνούχων τὸν πιστότατον ἀποστείλας τριήρεϊ κατ' αὐτόν, ὃς αἰρέει μιν ἐν Λυκίῃ, ἐλὼν δὲ οὐκ ἀνήγαγε ἐς Αἴγυπτον· σοφίῃ γάρ μιν περιῆλθε ὁ Φάνης· καταμεθύσας γὰρ τοὺς φυλάκους ἀπαλλάσσετο ἐς Πέρσας. ὀρμημένῳ δὲ στρατεύεσθαι Καμβύσῃ ἐπ' Αἴγυπτον καὶ ἀπορέοντι τὴν ἔλασιν, ὅκως τὴν ἄνυδρον διεκπερᾷ, ἐπελθὼν φράζει μὲν καὶ τὰ ἄλλα τὰ Ἀμάσιος πρήγματα, ἐξηγέεται δὲ καὶ τὴν ἔλασιν, ὧδε παραινέων, πέμψαντα παρὰ τὸν Ἀραβίων βασιλέα δέεσθαι τὴν διέξοδόν οἱ ἀσφαλέα παρασχεῖν.

5. Μοῦνη δὲ ταύτῃ εἰσὶ φανεραὶ ἐσβολαὶ ἐς

### BOOK III. 3-5

Cyrus dishonours me and honours this newcomer from Egypt." So she spoke in her bitterness against Nitetis; and Cambyzes, the eldest of her sons, said, "Then, mother, when I am grown a man, I will turn all Egypt upside down." When he said this he was about ten years old, and the women marvelled at him; but he kept it in mind, and it was thus that when he grew up and became king, he made the expedition against Egypt.

4. It chanced also that another thing befell tending to this expedition. There was among Amasis' foreign soldiers one Phanes, a Halicarnassian by birth, a man of sufficient judgment and valiant in war. This Phanes had some grudge against Amasis, and fled from Egypt on shipboard that he might have an audience of Cambyzes. Seeing that he was a man much esteemed among the foreign soldiery and had an exact knowledge of all Egyptian matters, Amasis was zealous to take him, and sent a trireme with the trustiest of his eunuchs to pursue him. This eunuch caught him in Lycia but never brought him back to Egypt; for Phanes was too clever for him, and made his guards drunk and so escaped to Persia. There he found Cambyzes prepared to set forth against Egypt, but in doubt as to his march, how he should cross the waterless desert; so Phanes showed him what was Amasis' condition and how he should march; as to this, he counselled Cambyzes to send and ask the king of the Arabians for a safe passage.

5. Now the only manifest way of entry into Egypt

Αἴγυπτον. ἀπὸ γὰρ Φοινίκης μέχρι οὖρων τῶν Καδύτιος πόλιος ἐστὶ Σύρων τῶν Παλαιστίνων καλεομένων· ἀπὸ δὲ Καδύτιος εὐόσης πόλιος, ὡς ἐμοὶ δοκέει, Σαρδίῳ οὐ πολλῷ ἐλάσσονος, ἀπὸ ταύτης τὰ ἐμπόρια τὰ ἐπὶ θαλάσσης μέχρι Ἰηνύσου πόλιος ἐστὶ τοῦ Ἀραβίου, ἀπὸ δὲ Ἰηνύσου αὖτις Σύρων μέχρι Σερβωνίδος λίμνης, παρ' ἣν δὴ τὸ Κάσιον ὄρος τείνει ἐς θάλασσαν· ἀπὸ δὲ Σερβωνίδος λίμνης, ἐν τῇ δὴ λόγος τὸν Τυφῶ κεκρύφθαι, ἀπὸ ταύτης ἤδη Αἴγυπτος. τὸ δὲ μεταξὺ Ἰηνύσου πόλιος καὶ Κασίου τε ὄρεος καὶ τῆς Σερβωνίδος λίμνης, ἐὼν τοῦτο οὐκ ὀλίγον χωρίον ἀλλὰ ὅσον τε ἐπὶ τρεῖς ἡμέρας ὁδόν, ἄνυδρον ἐστὶ δεινῶς.

6. Τὸ δὲ ὀλίγοι τῶν ἐς Αἴγυπτον ναυτιλλομένων ἐννενώκασι, τοῦτο ἔρχομαι φράσων. ἐς Αἴγυπτον ἐκ τῆς Ἑλλάδος πάσης καὶ πρὸς ἐκ Φοινίκης κέραμος ἐσάγεται πλήρης οἴνου δις τοῦ ἔτεος ἐκάστου, καὶ ἐν κεράμιον οἴνηρὸν ἀριθμῷ κεινὸν οὐκ ἔστι ὡς λόγῳ εἰπεῖν ἰδέσθαι. κοῦ δῆτα, εἴποι τις ἄν, ταῦτα ἀναισιμῶνται; ἐγὼ καὶ τοῦτο φράσω· δεῖ τὸν μὲν δήμαρχον ἕκαστον ἐκ τῆς ἐωυτοῦ πόλιος συλλέξαντα πάντα τὸν κέραμον ἄγειν ἐς Μέμφιν, τοὺς δὲ ἐκ Μέρμφιος ἐς ταῦτα δὴ τὰ ἄνυδρα τῆς Συρίης κομίζειν πλήσαντας ὕδατος. οὕτω δ' ἐπιφοιτέων κέραμος καὶ ἐξαιρεόμενος ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ ἐπὶ τὸν παλαιὸν κομίζεται ἐς Συρίην.

7. Οὕτω μὲν νυν Πέρσαι εἰσὶ οἱ τὴν ἐσβολὴν ταύτην παρασκευάσαντες ἐς Αἴγυπτον, κατὰ δὴ

is this. The road runs from Phoenice as far as the city of Cadytis,<sup>1</sup> which belongs to the Syrians of Palestine, as it is called. From Cadytis (which, as I judge, is a city not much smaller than Sardis) to the city of Ienysus the seaports belong to the Arabians; then they are Syrian again from Ienysus as far as the Serbonian marsh, beside which the Casian promontory stretches seawards; from this Serbonian marsh, where Typho,<sup>2</sup> it is said, was hidden, the country is Egypt. Now between Ienysus and the Casian mountain and the Serbonian marsh there lies a wide territory for as much as three days' journey, wondrous waterless.

6. I will now tell of a thing that but few of those who sail to Egypt have perceived. Earthen jars full of wine are brought into Egypt twice a year from all Greece and Phoenice besides: yet there is not to be seen, so to say, one single wine jar lying anywhere in the country. What then (one may ask) becomes of them? This too I will tell. Each governor of a district must gather in all the earthen pots from his own township and take them to Memphis, and the people of Memphis must fill them with water and carry them to those waterless lands of Syria; so the earthen pottery that is brought to Egypt and sold there is carried to Syria to join the stock whence it came.

7. Now as soon as the Persians took possession of Egypt, it was they who thus provided for the entry

<sup>1</sup> Probably Gaza.

<sup>2</sup> Hot winds and volcanic agency were attributed by Greek mythology to Typhon, cast down from heaven by Zeus and "buried" in hot or volcanic regions. Typhon came to be identified with the Egyptian god Set; and the legend grew that he was buried in the Serbonian marsh.

τὰ εἰρημένα σάξαντες ὕδατι, ἐπεῖτε τάχιστα παρέλαβον Αἴγυπτον. τότε δὲ οὐκ ἔόντος κω ὕδατος ἐτοίμου, Καμβύσης πυθόμενος τοῦ Ἀλικαρνησέος ξείνου, πέμψας παρὰ τὸν Ἀράβιον ἀγγέλους καὶ δεηθεὶς τῆς ἀσφαλείης ἔτυχε, πίστις δούς τε καὶ δεξάμενος παρ' αὐτοῦ.

8. Σέβονται δὲ Ἀράβιοι πίστις ἀνθρώπων ὅμοια τοῖσι μάλιστα, ποιεῦνται δὲ αὐτὰς τρόπῳ τοιῷδε· τῶν βουλομένων τὰ πιστὰ ποιέεσθαι ἄλλος ἀνὴρ, ἀμφοτέρων αὐτῶν ἐν μέσῳ ἐστεῶς, λίθῳ ὃξεί τὸ ἔσω τῶν χειρῶν παρὰ τοὺς δακτύλους τοὺς μεγάλους ἐπιτάμνει τῶν ποιευμένων τὰς πίστις, καὶ ἔπειτα λαβὼν ἐκ τοῦ ἱματίου ἐκατέρου κροκύδα ἀλείφει τῷ αἵματι ἐν μέσῳ κειμένους λίθους ἐπτά· τοῦτο δὲ ποιέων ἐπικαλέει τε τὸν Διόνυσον καὶ τὴν Οὐρανίην. ἐπιτελέσαντος δὲ τούτου ταῦτα, ὁ τὰς πίστις ποιησάμενος τοῖσι φίλοισι παρεγγυᾷ τὸν ξεῖνον ἢ καὶ τὸν ἀστόν, ἣν πρὸς ἀστόν ποιήσεται· οἱ δὲ φίλοι καὶ αὐτοὶ τὰς πίστις δικαιοῦσι σέβεσθαι. Διόνυσον δὲ θεῶν μῦνον καὶ τὴν Οὐρανίην ἡγέονται εἶναι, καὶ τῶν τριχῶν τὴν κουρὴν κείρεσθαι φασὶ κατά περ αὐτὸν τὸν Διόνυσον κεκάρθαι· κείρονται δὲ περιτρόχαλα, ὑποξυρῶντες τοὺς κροτάφους. ὀνομάζουσι δὲ τὸν μὲν Διόνυσον Ὀροτάλτ, τὴν δὲ Οὐρανίην Ἀλιλάτ.

9. Ἐπεὶ ὦν τὴν πίστιν τοῖσι ἀγγέλοισι τοῖσι παρὰ Καμβύσεω ἀπιγμένοισι ἐποιήσατο ὁ Ἀράβιος, ἐμηχανᾷτο τοιάδε· ἀσκούς καμήλων πλήσας ὕδατος ἐπέσαξε ἐπὶ τὰς ζωὰς τῶν καμήλων πάσας, τοῦτο δὲ ποιήσας ἤλασε ἐς τὴν ἄνυδρον καὶ ὑπέμενε ἐνθαῦτα τὸν Καμβύσεω στρατόν. οὗτος μὲν ὁ πιθανώτερος τῶν λόγων εἴρηται, δεῖ δὲ καὶ



into that country, filling pots with water as I have said. But at this time there was as yet no ready supply of water; wherefore Cambyzes, hearing what was said by the stranger from Halicarnassus, sent messengers to the Arabian and asked and obtained safe conduct, giving and receiving from him pledges.

8. There are no men who respect pledges more than the Arabians. This is the manner of their giving them:—a man stands between the two parties that would give security, and cuts with a sharp stone the palms of the hands of the parties, by the second finger; then he takes a piece of wool from the cloak of each and smears with the blood seven stones that lie between them, calling the while on Dionysus and the Heavenly Aphrodite; and when he has fully done this, he that gives the security commends to his friends the stranger (or his countryman if the party be such), and his friends hold themselves bound to honour the pledge. They deem none other to be gods save Dionysus and the Heavenly Aphrodite; and they say that the cropping of their hair is like the cropping of the hair of Dionysus, cutting it round the head and shaving the temples. They call Dionysus, Orotalt; and Aphrodite, Alilat.<sup>1</sup>

9. Having then pledged himself to the messengers who had come from Cambyzes, the Arabian planned and did as I shall show: he filled camel-skins with water and loaded live camels with these; which done, he drove them into the waterless land and there awaited Cambyzes' army. This is the most credible of the stories told; but I must relate the

<sup>1</sup> According to Movers, Orotalt is "the fire of God," *ôrath êl*, and Alilat the feminine of *hêlêl*, "morning star"; but a simpler interpretation is Al Ilat = the goddess.

τὸν ἥσσον πιθανόν, ἐπεὶ γε δὴ λέγεται, ῥηθῆναι. ποταμός ἐστι μέγας ἐν τῇ Ἀραβίῃ τῷ οὐνομα Κόρυς, ἐκδιδοῖ δὲ οὗτος ἐς τὴν Ἐρυθρὴν καλομένην θάλασσαν· ἀπὸ τούτου δὴ ὢν τοῦ ποταμοῦ λέγεται τὸν βασιλέα τῶν Ἀραβίων, ῥαψάμενον τῶν ὠμοβοέων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων δερμάτων ὀχετὸν μήκει ἐξικνεύμενον ἐς τὴν ἄνυδρον, ἀγαγεῖν διὰ δὴ τούτων τὸ ὕδωρ, ἐν δὲ τῇ ἀνύδρῳ μεγάλας δεξαμενὰς ὀρύξασθαι, ἵνα δεκόμεναι τὸ ὕδωρ σώζωσι. ὁδὸς δ' ἐστὶ δυνάδεκα ἡμερέων ἀπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἐς ταύτην τὴν ἄνυδρον. ἄγειν δέ μιν δι' ὀχετῶν τριῶν ἐς τριξὰ χωρία.

10. Ἐν δὲ τῷ Πηλουσίῳ καλεομένῳ στόματι τοῦ Νείλου ἐστρατοπεδεύετο Ψαμμήνιτος ὁ Ἀμάσιος παῖς ὑπομένων Καμβύσεα. Ἀμασιν γὰρ οὐ κατέλαβε ζῶντα Καμβύσης ἐλάσας ἐπ' Αἴγυπτον, ἀλλὰ βασιλεύσας ὁ Ἀμασις τέσσερα καὶ τεσσαράκοντα ἔτεα ἀπέθανε, ἐν τοῖσι οὐδέν οἱ μέγα ἀνάρσιον πρῆγμα συνηνείχθη· ἀποθανὼν δὲ καὶ ταριχευθεὶς ἐτάφη ἐν τῇσι ταφῇσι ἐν τῷ ἱρῷ, τὰς αὐτὸς οἰκοδομήσατο. ἐπὶ Ψαμμηνίτου δὲ τοῦ Ἀμάσιος βασιλεύοντος Αἰγύπτου φάσμα Αἰγυπτίοισι μέγιστον δὴ ἐγένετο· ὕσθησαν γὰρ Θῆβαι αἱ Αἰγύπτιαί, οὔτε πρότερον οὐδαμὰ ὕσθῃσαι οὔτε ὕστερον τὸ μέχρι ἐμεῦ, ὥς λέγουσι αὐτοὶ Θηβαῖοι· οὐ γὰρ δὴ ὕεται τὰ ἄνω τῆς Αἰγύπτου τὸ παράπαν· ἀλλὰ καὶ τότε ὕσθησαν αἱ Θῆβαι ψακάδι.

11. Οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι ἐπεῖτε διεξελάσαντες τὴν ἄνυδρον ἵζοντο πέλας τῶν Αἰγυπτίων ὥς συμβαλέοντες, ἐνθαῦτα οἱ ἐπίκουροι οἱ τοῦ Αἰγυπτίου, εὐόντες ἄνδρες Ἑλληνές τε καὶ Κᾶρες, μεμφόμενοι



less credible tale also, since they tell it. There is a great river in Arabia called Corys, issuing into the sea called Red. From this river (it is said) the king of the Arabians carried water by a duct of sewn ox-hides and other hides of a length sufficient to reach to the dry country; and he had great tanks dug in that country to receive and keep the water. It is a twelve days' journey from the river to that desert. By three ducts (they say) he led the water to three several places.

10. Psammenitus, son of Amasis, was encamped by the mouth of the Nile called Pelusian, awaiting Cambyses. For when Cambyses marched against Egypt he found Amasis no longer alive; he had died after reigning forty-four years, in which no great misfortune had befallen him; and being dead he was embalmed and laid in the burial-place built for himself in the temple. While his son Psammenitus was king of Egypt, the people saw a most wonderful sight, namely, rain at Thebes of Egypt, where, as the Thebans themselves say, there had never been rain before, nor since to my lifetime; for indeed there is no rain at all in the upper parts of Egypt; but at that time a drizzle of rain fell at Thebes.<sup>1</sup>

11. Now the Persians having crossed the waterless country and encamped near the Egyptians with intent to give battle, the foreign soldiery of the Egyptian, Greeks and Carians, devised a plan to punish Phanes,

<sup>1</sup> In modern times there is sometimes a little rain at Thebes (Luxor); very little and very seldom.

τῷ Φάνη ὅτι στρατὸν ἤγαγε ἐπ' Αἴγυπτον ἀλλόθροον, μηχανῶνται πρήγμα ἐς αὐτὸν τοιόνδε. ἦσαν τῷ Φάνη παῖδες ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ καταλελειμμένοι· τοὺς ἀγαγόντες ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον καὶ ἐς ὄψιν τοῦ πατρὸς κρητῆρα ἐν μέσῳ ἔστησαν ἀμφοτέρων τῶν στρατοπέδων, μετὰ δὲ ἀγινέοντες κατὰ ἓνα ἕκαστον τῶν παίδων ἔσφαζον ἐς τὸν κρητῆρα· διὰ πάντων δὲ διεξελθόντες τῶν παίδων οἶνόν τε καὶ ὕδωρ ἐσεφόρεον ἐς αὐτόν, ἐμπιόντες δὲ τοῦ αἵματος πάντες οἱ ἐπίκουροι οὕτω δὴ συνέβαλον. μάχης δὲ γενομένης καρτερῆς καὶ πεσόντων ἐξ ἀμφοτέρων τῶν στρατοπέδων πλήθει πολλῶν ἐτράποντο οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι.

12. Θῶμα δὲ μέγα εἶδον πυθόμενος παρὰ τῶν ἐπιχωρίων· τῶν γὰρ ὁστέων περικεχυμένων χωρὶς ἑκατέρων τῶν ἐν τῇ μάχῃ ταύτῃ πεσόντων (χωρὶς μὲν γὰρ τῶν Περσέων ἐκέετο τὰ ὁστέα, ὡς ἐχωρίσθη κατ' ἀρχάς, ἐτέρωθι δὲ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων), αἱ μὲν τῶν Περσέων κεφαλαί εἰσι ἀσθενέες οὕτω ὥστε, εἰ θέλεις ψήφῳ μούνη βαλεῖν, διατετρανέεις, αἱ δὲ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων οὕτω δὴ τι ἰσχυραί, μόγῃς ἂν λίθῳ παίσας διαρρήξειας. αἴτιον δὲ τούτου τόδε ἔλεγον, καὶ ἐμέ γ' εὐπετέως ἔπειθον, ὅτι Αἰγύπτιοι μὲν αὐτίκα ἀπὸ παιδίων ἀρξάμενοι ξυρῶνται τὰς κεφαλὰς καὶ πρὸς τὸν ἥλιον παχύνεται τὸ ὁστέον. τῷνυτὸ δὲ τοῦτο καὶ τοῦ μὴ φαλακροῦσθαι αἴτιον ἐστί· Αἰγυπτίων γὰρ ἂν τις ἐλαχίστους ἴδοιτο φαλακροὺς πάντων ἀνθρώπων. τούτοισι μὲν δὴ τοῦτο ἐστὶ αἴτιον ἰσχυρὰς φορέειν τὰς κεφαλὰς, τοῖσι δὲ Πέρσησι ὅτι ἀσθενέας φορέουσι τὰς κεφαλὰς αἴτιον τόδε· σκιητροφέουσι ἐξ ἀρχῆς πῖλους τιάρας φορέοντες. ταῦτα μὲν

being wroth with him for leading a stranger army into Egypt. Phanes had left sons in Egypt; these they brought to the camp, into their father's sight, and set a great bowl between the two armies; then they brought the sons one by one and cut their throats over the bowl. When all the sons were killed, they poured into the bowl wine and water, and the foreign soldiery drank of this and thereafter gave battle. The fight waxed hard, and many of both armies fell; but at length the Egyptians were routed.

12. I saw there a strange thing, of which the people of the country had told me. The bones of those slain on either side in this fight lying scattered separately (for the Persian bones lay in one place and the Egyptian in another, where the armies had first separately stood), the skulls of the Persians are so brittle that if you throw no more than a pebble it will pierce them, but the Egyptian skulls are so strong that a blow of a stone will hardly break them. And this, the people said (which for my own part I readily believed), is the reason of it: the Egyptians shave their heads from childhood, and the bone thickens by exposure to the sun. This also is the reason why they do not grow bald; for nowhere can one see so few bald heads as in Egypt. Their skulls then are strong for this reason; and the cause of the Persian skulls being weak is that they shelter their heads through their lives with the felt hats (called tiaras) which they wear. Such is the truth of this matter. I saw

νυν τοιαῦτα· εἶδον δὲ καὶ ἄλλα ὅμοια τούτοισι ἐν Παπρήμι τῶν ἅμα Ἀχαιμένει τῷ Δαρείου διαφθαρέντων ὑπὸ Ἰνάρῳ τοῦ Λίβυος.

13. Οἱ δὲ Αἰγύπτιοι ἐκ τῆς μάχης ὡς ἐτράποντο, ἔφευγον οὐδενὶ κόσμῳ· κατειληθέντων δὲ ἐς Μέμφιν, ἔπεμπε ἀνὰ ποταμὸν Καμβύσης νέα Μυτιληναίην κήρυκα ἄγουσαν ἄνδρα Πέρσην, ἐς ὁμολογίην προκαλεόμενος Αἰγυπτίους. οἱ δὲ ἐπεῖτε τὴν νέα εἶδον ἐσελθοῦσαν ἐς τὴν Μέμφιν, ἐκχυθέντες ἀλέες ἐκ τοῦ τείχεος τὴν τε νέα διέφθειραν καὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας κρεουργηδὸν διασπάσαντες ἐφόρεον ἐς τὸ τεῖχος. καὶ Αἰγύπτιοι μὲν μετὰ τοῦτο πολιορκεύμενοι χρόνῳ παρέστησαν, οἱ δὲ προσεχές Λίβυες δείσαντες τὰ περὶ τὴν Αἴγυπτον γεγονότα παρέδοσαν σφέας αὐτοὺς ἀμαχητὶ καὶ φόρον τε ἐτάξαντο καὶ δῶρα ἔπεμπον. ὥς δὲ Κυρηναῖοι καὶ Βαρκαῖοι, δείσαντες ὁμοίως καὶ οἱ Λίβυες, τοιαῦτα ἐποίησαν. Καμβύσης δὲ τὰ μὲν παρὰ Λιβύων ἐλθόντα δῶρα φιλοφρόνως ἐδέξατο· τὰ δὲ παρὰ Κυρηναίων ἀπικόμενα μεμφθεῖς, ὡς ἐμοὶ δοκέει, ὅτι ἦν ὀλίγα· ἔπεμψαν γὰρ δὴ πεντακοσίας μνέας ἀργυρίου οἱ Κυρηναῖοι· ταύτας δρασσόμενος αὐτοχειρίῃ διέσπειρε τῇ στρατιῇ.

14. Ἡμέρη δὲ δεκάτῃ ἀπ' ἧς παρέλαβε τὸ τεῖχος τὸ ἐν Μέμφι Καμβύσης, κατίσας ἐς τὸ προάστειον ἐπὶ λύμῃ τὸν βασιλέα τῶν Αἰγυπτίων Ψαμμήνιτον, βασιλεύσαντα μῆνας ἕξ, τοῦτον κατίσας σὺν ἄλλοισι Αἰγυπτίοισι διεπειράτο αὐτοῦ τῆς ψυχῆς ποιέων τοιάδε· στείλας αὐτοῦ τὴν θυγατέρα ἐσθῆτι δουληίῃ ἐξέπεμπε ἐπ' ὕδωρ ἔχουσιν ὕδρηιον, συνέπεμπε δὲ καὶ ἄλλας παρθένους ἀπολέξας ἀνδρῶν τῶν πρώτων, ὁμοίως

too the skulls of those Persians at Papremis who were slain with Darius' son Achaemenes by Inaros the Libyan, and they were like the others.

13. After their rout in the battle the Egyptians fled in disorder ; and they being driven into Memphis, Cambyses sent a Persian herald up the river in a ship of Mytilene to invite them to an agreement. But when they saw the ship coming to Memphis, they sallied out all together from their walls, destroyed the ship, tore the crew asunder (like butchers) and carried them within the walls. So the Egyptians were besieged, and after a good while yielded ; but the neighbouring Libyans, affrighted by what had happened in Egypt, surrendered unresisting, laying tribute on themselves and sending gifts ; and so too, affrighted like the Libyans, did the people of Cyrene and Barca. Cambyses received in all kindness the gifts of the Libyans ; but he seized what came from Cyrene and scattered it with his own hands among his army. This he did, as I think, to mark his displeasure at the littleness of the gift ; for the Cyrenaean had sent five hundred silver minae.

14. On the tenth day after the surrender of the walled city of Memphis, Cambyses took Psammenitus king of Egypt, who had reigned for six months, and set him down in the outer part of the city with other Egyptians, to do him despite ; having so done he made trial of Psammenitus' spirit, as I shall show. He dressed the king's daughter in slave's attire and sent her with a vessel to fetch water, in company with other maidens dressed as she was, chosen from



## HERODOTUS

ἐσταλμένας τῇ τοῦ βασιλέως. ὥς δὲ βοῇ τε καὶ κλαυθμῷ παρήισαν αἱ παρθένοι παρὰ τοὺς πατέρας, οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι πάντες ἀντεβόων τε καὶ ἀντέκλαιον ὀρώντες τὰ τέκνα κεκακωμένα, ὁ δὲ Ψαμμήνιτος προῖδὼν καὶ μαθὼν ἔκυψε ἐς τὴν γῆν. παρελθουσέων δὲ τῶν ὑδροφόρων, δευτέρῳ οἱ τὸν παῖδα ἔπεμπε μετ' ἄλλων Αἰγυπτίων δισχιλίων τὴν αὐτὴν ἡλικίην ἔχόντων, τοὺς τε αὐχένας κύλῳ δεδεμένους καὶ τὰ στόματα ἐγκεχαλινωμένους· ἤγοντο δὲ ποινὴν τίσοντας Μυτιληναίων τοῖσι ἐν Μέμφι ἀπολομένοισι σὺν τῇ νηί. ταῦτα γὰρ ἐδίκασαν οἱ βασιλῆες δικασταί, ὑπὲρ ἀνδρὸς ἐκάστου δέκα Αἰγυπτίων τῶν πρώτων ἀνταπόλλυσθαι. ὁ δὲ ἰδὼν παρεξίοντας καὶ μαθὼν τὸν παῖδα ἡγεόμενον ἐπὶ θάνατον, τῶν ἄλλων Αἰγυπτίων τῶν περικατημένων αὐτὸν κλαιόντων καὶ δεινὰ ποιούντων, τὠντὸ ἐποίησε τὸ καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ θυγατρὶ. παρελθόντων δὲ καὶ τούτων, συνήνεικε ὥστε τῶν συμποτέων οἱ ἄνδρα ἀπηλικέστερον, ἐκπεπτωκότα ἐκ τῶν ἑόντων ἔχοντά τε οὐδὲν εἰ μὴ ὅσα πτωχὸς καὶ προσαιτέοντα τὴν στρατιήν, παριέναι Ψαμμήνιτόν τε τὸν Ἀμάσιος καὶ τοὺς ἐν τῷ προαστείῳ κατημένους Αἰγυπτίων. ὁ δὲ Ψαμμήνιτος ὡς εἶδε, ἀνακλαύσας μέγα καὶ καλέσας ὀνομαστὶ τὸν ἐταῖρον ἐπλήξατο τὴν κεφαλὴν. ἦσαν δ' ἄρα αὐτοῦ φύλακοι, οἱ τὸ ποιούμενον πᾶν ἐξ ἐκείνου ἐπ' ἐκάστη ἐξόδῳ Καμβύσῃ ἐσήμαινον. θωμάσας δὲ ὁ Καμβύσης τὰ ποιούμενα, πέμψας ἄγγελον εἰρώτα αὐτὸν λέγων τάδε. “Δεσπότης σε Καμβύσης, Ψαμμήνιτε, εἰρωτᾷ δι' ὃ τι δὴ τὴν μὲν θυγατέρα ὀρέων κεκακωμένην καὶ τὸν παῖδα ἐπὶ θάνατον στείχοντα οὔτε ἀνέβωσας οὔτε ἀπέ-

the families of the chief men. So when the damsels came before their fathers crying and lamenting, all the rest answered with like cries and weeping, seeing their children's evil case; but Psammenitus, having already seen and learnt all, bowed himself to the ground. When the water-carriers had passed by, Cambyses next made Psammenitus' son to pass him with two thousand Egyptians of like age besides, all with ropes bound round their necks and bits in their mouths; who were led forth to make atonement for those Mytilenaeans who had perished with their ship at Memphis; for such was the judgment of the royal judges, that every man's death be paid for by the slaying of ten noble Egyptians. When Psammenitus saw them pass by and perceived that his son was led out to die, and all the Egyptians who sat with him wept and showed their affliction, he did as he had done at the sight of his daughter. When these too had gone by, it chanced that there was one of his boon companions, a man past his prime, that had lost all his possessions, and had but what a poor man might have, and begged of the army; this man now passed before Psammenitus son of Amasis and the Egyptians who sat in the outer part of the city. When Psammenitus saw him, he broke into loud weeping, smiting his head and calling on his companion by name. Now there were men set to watch Psammenitus, who told Cambyses all that he did when any came into his sight. Marvelling at what the king did, Cambyses made this inquiry of him by a messenger: "Psammenitus, Cambyses my master asks of you why, seeing your daughter mishandled and your son going to his death, you neither cried

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κλαυσας, τὸν δὲ πτωχὸν οὐδὲν σοὶ προσήκοντα, ὥς ἄλλων πυνθάνεται, ἐτίμησας.” ὁ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα ἐπειρώτα, ὁ δ' ἀμείβετο τοῖσιδε. “ὦ παῖ Κύρου, τὰ μὲν οἰκία ἦν μέζω κακὰ ἢ ὥστε ἀνακλαίειν, τὸ δὲ τοῦ ἐταίρου πένθος ἄξιον ἦν δακρύων, ὃς ἐκ πολλῶν τε καὶ εὐδαιμόνων ἐκπεσὼν ἐς πτωχήν ἂπικται ἐπὶ γήραος οὐδῶ.” καὶ ταῦτα ὥς<sup>1</sup> ἀπειχθέντα ὑπὸ τούτου εὖ δοκέειν σφί εἰρήσθαι, ὥς [δὲ] λέγεται ὑπ' Αἰγυπτίων, δακρύειν μὲν Κροῖσον (ἐτετεύχεε γὰρ καὶ οὗτος ἐπισπόμενος Καμβύσῃ ἐπ' Αἴγυπτον), δακρύειν δὲ Περσέων τοὺς παρ-εόντας· αὐτῷ τε Καμβύσῃ ἐσελθεῖν οἶκτον τινά, καὶ αὐτίκα κελεύειν τὸν τέ οἱ παῖδα ἐκ τῶν ἀπολλυμένων σώζειν καὶ αὐτὸν ἐκ τοῦ προαστείου ἀναστήσαντας ἄγειν παρ' ἑωυτόν.

15. Τὸν μὲν δὴ παῖδα εὗρον αὐτοῦ οἱ μετιόντες οὐκέτι περιέοντα ἀλλὰ πρῶτον κατακοπέντα, αὐτὸν δὲ Ψαμμήνιτον ἀναστήσαιτες ἦγον παρὰ Καμβύσεα· ἔνθα τοῦ λοιποῦ διαιτᾶτο ἔχων οὐδὲν βίαιον. εἰ δὲ καὶ ἡπιστήθη μὴ πολυπρηγμονέειν, ἀπέλαβε ἂν Αἴγυπτον ὥστε ἐπιτροπεύειν αὐτῆς, ἐπεὶ τιμᾶν ἐώθασι Πέρσαι τῶν βασιλέων τοὺς παῖδας· τῶν, εἰ καὶ σφέων ἀπεστέωσι, ὅμως τοῖσί γε παισὶ αὐτῶν ἀποδιδούσι τὴν ἀρχήν. πολλοῖσι μὲν νυν καὶ ἄλλοισι ἐστὶ σταθμῶς ασθαιῶτι τοῦτο οὕτω νενομίκασι ποιεῖν, ἐν δὲ καὶ τῷ τε Ἰνάρῳ παιδί Θαννύρα, ὃς ἀπέλαβε τὴν οἱ ὁ πατὴρ εἶχε ἀρχήν, καὶ τῷ Ἀμυρταίου Πανσίρι· καὶ γὰρ οὗτος ἀπέλαβε τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς ἀρχήν. καίτοι Ἰνάρῳ γε καὶ Ἀμυρταίου οὐδαμοί κω Πέρσας κακὰ πλέω

<sup>1</sup> Probably δέ below should be omitted; otherwise the sentence cannot be translated.



### BOOK III. 14-15

aloud nor wept, yet did this honour to the poor man, who (as Cambyzes learns from others) is none of your kin?" So the messenger inquired. Psammenitus answered: "Son of Cyrus, my private grief was too great for weeping; but the misfortune of my companion called for tears—one that has lost great wealth and now on the threshold of old age is come to beggary." When the messenger so reported, and Cambyzes and his court, it is said, found the answer good, then, as the Egyptians tell, Croesus wept (for it chanced that he too had come with Cambyzes to Egypt) and so did the Persians that were there; Cambyzes himself felt somewhat of pity, and forthwith he bade that Psammenitus' son be saved alive out of those that were to be slain, and that Psammenitus himself be taken from the outer part of the city and brought before him.

15. As for the son, those that went for him found that he was no longer living, but had been the first to be hewn down; but they brought Psammenitus away and led him to Cambyzes; and there he lived, and no violence was done him for the rest of his life. And had he but been wise enough to mind his own business, he would have so far won back Egypt as to be governor of it; for the Persians are wont to honour king's sons; even though kings revolt from them, yet they give back to their sons the sovereign power. There are many instances showing that it is their custom so to do, and notably the giving back of his father's sovereign power to Thannyras son of Inaros, and also to Pausiris son of Amyrtaeus; yet none ever did the Persians more harm than Inaros

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ἐργασαντο. νῦν δὲ μηχανώμενος κακὰ ὁ Ψαμμήνιτος ἔλαβε τὸν μισθόν· ἀπιστὰς γὰρ Αἰγυπτίους ἦλω· ἐπεῖτε δὲ ἐπαίστος ἐγένετο ὑπὸ Καμβύσεω, αἷμα ταύρου πιὼν ἀπέθανε παραχρήμα. οὕτω δὴ οὗτος ἐτελεύτησε.

16. Καμβύσης δὲ ἐκ Μέμφιος ἀπίκητο εἰς Σάιν πόλιν, βουλόμενος ποιῆσαι τὰ δὴ καὶ ἐποίησε. ἐπεῖτε γὰρ ἐσῆλθε εἰς τὰ τοῦ Ἀμάσιος οἰκία, αὐτίκα ἐκέλευε ἐκ τῆς ταφῆς τὸν Ἀμάσιος νέκυν ἐκφέρειν ἔξω· ὥς δὲ ταῦτα ἐπιτελέα ἐγένετο, μαστιγοῦν ἐκέλευε καὶ τὰς τρίχας ἀποτίλλειν καὶ κεντοῦν τε καὶ τᾶλλα πάντα λυμαίνεσθαι. ἐπεῖτε δὲ καὶ ταῦτα ἔκαμον ποιεῦντες (ὁ γὰρ δὴ νεκρὸς ἄτε τεταριχευμένος ἀντεῖχε τε καὶ οὐδὲν διεχέετο), ἐκέλευσέ μιν ὁ Καμβύσης κατακαῦσαι, ἐντελλόμενος οὐκ ὅσια· Πέρσαι γὰρ θεὸν νομίζουσι εἶναι πῦρ. τὸ ὦν κατακαίειν γε τοὺς νεκροὺς οὐδαμῶς ἐν νόμῳ οὐδετέροισι ἐστί, Πέρσησι μὲν δι' ὃ περ εἴρηται, θεῷ οὐ δίκαιον εἶναι λέγοντες νέμειν νεκρὸν ἀνθρώπου· Αἰγυπτίοισι δὲ νενόμισται πῦρ θηρίον εἶναι ἔμφυχον, πάντα δὲ αὐτὸ κατεσθίειν τὰ περ ἂν λάβῃ, πλησθὲν δὲ αὐτὸ τῆς βορῆς συναποθνήσκειν τῷ κατεσθιομένῳ. οὐκὼν θηρίοισι νόμος οὐδαμῶς σφι ἐστὶ τὸν νέκυν διδόναι, καὶ διὰ ταῦτα ταριχεύουσι, ἵνα μὴ κείμενος ὑπὸ εὐλέων καταβρωθῇ. οὕτω οὐδετέροισι νομιζόμενα ἐνετέλλετο ποιεῖν ὁ Καμβύσης. ὥς μέντοι Αἰγύπτιοι λέγουσι, οὐκ Ἄμασις ἦν ὁ ταῦτα παθών, ἀλλὰ ἄλλος τις τῶν Αἰγυπτίων ἔχων τὴν αὐτὴν ἡλικίην Ἀμάσι, τῷ λυμαινόμενῳ Πέρσαι ἐδόκεον Ἀμάσι λυμαίνεσθαι. λέγουσι γὰρ ὥς πυθόμενος ἐκ μαντηίου ὁ Ἄμασις τὰ περὶ ἐωυτὸν ἀποθανόντα

and Amyrtaeus.<sup>1</sup> But as it was, Psammenitus plotted evil and got his reward; for he was caught raising a revolt among the Egyptians; and when this came to Cambyses' ears, Psammenitus drank bulls' blood<sup>2</sup> and forthwith died. Such was his end.

16. From Memphis Cambyses went to the city Sais, desiring to do that which indeed he did. Entering the house of Amasis, straightway he bade carry Amasis' body out from its place of burial; and when this was accomplished, he gave command to scourge it and pull out the hair and do it despite in all other ways. When they were weary of doing this (for the body, being embalmed, remained whole and was not dissolved), Cambyses commanded to burn it, a sacrilegious command; for the Persians hold fire to be a god; therefore neither nation deems it right to burn the dead, the Persians for the reason assigned, as they say it is wrong to give the dead corpse of a man to a god; while the Egyptians believe fire to be a living beast that devours all that it catches, and when sated with its meal dies with the end of that whereon it feeds. Now it is by no means their custom to give the dead to beasts; and this is why they embalm the corpse, that it may not lie and be eaten of worms. Thus Cambyses commanded the doing of a thing contrary to the custom of both peoples. Howbeit, as the Egyptians say, it was not Amasis to whom this was done, but another Egyptian of a like age, whom the Persians spitefully used thinking that they so treated Amasis. For their story is that Amasis learnt from an oracle what was to be

<sup>1</sup> The revolt of the Egyptians Inaros and Amyrtaeus against the Persian governor lasted from 460 to 455 B.C.

<sup>2</sup> The blood was supposed to coagulate and choke the drinker. (How and Wells, *ad loc.*)

μέλλοντα γίνεσθαι, οὕτω δὲ ἀκεόμενος τὰ ἐπιφερόμενα τὸν μὲν ἄνθρωπον τοῦτον τὸν μαστιγωθέντα ἀποθανόντα ἔθαψε ἐπὶ τῇσι θύρῃσι ἐντὸς τῆς ἐωυτοῦ θήκης, ἐωυτὸν δὲ ἐνετείλατο τῷ παιδί ἐν μυχῷ τῆς θήκης ὡς μάλιστα θεῖναι. αἱ μὲν νυν ἐκ τοῦ Ἀμάσιος ἐντολαὶ αὗται αἱ ἐς τὴν ταφήν τε καὶ τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἔχουσai οὐ μοι δοκέουσι ἀρχὴν γενέσθαι, ἄλλως δ' αὐτὰ Αἰγύπτιοι σεμνοῦν.

17. Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ὁ Καμβύσης ἐβουλεύσατο τριφασίας στρατηίας, ἐπὶ τε Καρχηδονίους καὶ ἐπὶ Ἀμμωνίους καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς μακροβίους Αἰθίοπας, οἰκημένους δὲ Λιβύης ἐπὶ τῇ νοτίῃ θαλάσῃ· βουλευομένῳ δέ οἱ ἔδοξε ἐπὶ μὲν Καρχηδονίους τὸν ναυτικὸν στρατὸν ἀποστέλλειν, ἐπὶ δὲ Ἀμμωνίους τοῦ πεζοῦ ἀποκρίναντα, ἐπὶ δὲ τοὺς Αἰθίοπας κατόπτας πρῶτον, ὁψομένους τε τὴν ἐν τούτοισι τοῖσι Αἰθίοψι λεγομένην εἶναι ἡλίου τράπεζαν εἰ ἔστι ἀληθές, καὶ πρὸς ταύτην τὰ ἄλλα κατοψομένους, δῶρα δὲ τῷ λόγῳ φέροντας τῷ βασιλείᾳ αὐτῶν.

18. Ἡ δὲ τράπεζα τοῦ ἡλίου τοιήδε τις λέγεται εἶναι, λειμὼν ἐστὶ ἐν τῷ προαστείῳ ἐπίπλεος κρεῶν ἐφθῶν πάντων τῶν τετραπόδων, ἐς τὸν τὰς μὲν νύκτας ἐπιτηδεύοντας τιθέναι τὰ κρέα τοὺς ἐν τέλει ἐκάστοτε ἔοντας τῶν ἀστῶν, τὰς δὲ ἡμέρας δαίνυσθαι προσιόντα τὸν βουλόμενον. φάναι δὲ τοὺς ἐπιχωρίους ταῦτα τὴν γῆν αὐτὴν ἀναδιδόναι ἐκάστοτε.

19. Ἡ μὲν δὲ τράπεζα τοῦ ἡλίου καλεομένη λέγεται εἶναι τοιήδε. Καμβύσῃ δὲ ὡς ἔδοξε πέμπειν τοὺς κατασκόπους, αὐτίκα μετεπέμπετο ἐξ Ἑλεφαντίνης πόλιος τῶν Ἰχθυοφάγων ἀνδρῶν

done to him after his death, and so to avert this doom buried this man, him that was scourged, at his death by the door within his own vault, and commanded his son that he himself should be laid in the farthest corner of the vault. I think that these commands of Amasis, respecting the burial-place and the man, were never given at all, and that the Egyptians but please themselves with a lying tale.

17. After this Cambyses planned three expeditions, against the Carchedonians,<sup>1</sup> and against the Ammonians, and against the "long-lived"<sup>2</sup> Ethiopians, who dwelt on the Libyan coast of the southern sea. Taking counsel, he resolved to send his fleet against the Carchedonians and a part of his land army against the Ammonians; to Ethiopia he would send first spies, to see what truth there were in the story of a Table of the Sun in that country, and to spy out all else besides, under the pretext of bearing gifts for the Ethiopian king.

18. Now this is said to be the fashion of the Table of the Sun.<sup>3</sup> There is a meadow outside the city, filled with the roast flesh of all four-footed things; here during the night the men of authority among the townsmen are careful to set out the meat, and all day he that wishes comes and feasts thereon. These meats, say the people of the country, are ever produced by the earth of itself.

19. Such is the story of the Sun's Table. When Cambyses was resolved to send the spies, he sent straightway to fetch from the city Elephantine those of the Fish-eaters who understood

<sup>1</sup> Carthaginians.

<sup>2</sup> *cp.* beginning of ch. 23.

<sup>3</sup> This story may be an indication of offerings made to the dead, or of a region of great fertility. In Homer the gods are fabled to feast with the Ethiopians.



τοὺς ἐπισταμένους τὴν Αἰθιοπίδα γλῶσσαν. ἐν ᾧ δὲ τούτους μετήισαν, ἐν τούτῳ ἐκέλευε ἐπὶ τὴν Καρχηδόνα πλέειν τὸν ναυτικὸν στρατόν. Φοίνικες δὲ οὐκ ἔφασαν ποιήσκειν ταῦτα· ὀρκίοισι γὰρ μεγάλοισι ἐνδεδέσθαι, καὶ οὐκ ἂν ποίεειν ὅσια ἐπὶ τοὺς παῖδας τοὺς ἐωυτῶν στρατευόμενοι. Φοινίκων δὲ οὐ βουλομένων οἱ λοιποὶ οὐκ ἀξιόμαχοι ἐγίνοντο. Καρχηδόνιοι μὲν νυν οὕτῳ δουλοσύνην διέφυγον πρὸς Περσέων· Καμβύσης γὰρ βίην οὐκ ἐδικαίου προσφέρειν Φοίνιξι, ὅτι σφέας τε αὐτοὺς ἐδεδώκεσαν Πέρσησι καὶ πᾶς ἐκ Φοινίκων ἦρτητο ὁ ναυτικὸς στρατός. δόντες δὲ καὶ Κύπριοι σφέας αὐτοὺς Πέρσησι ἐστρατεύοντο ἐπ' Αἴγυπτον.

20. Ἐπεῖτε δὲ τῷ Καμβύσῃ ἐκ τῆς Ἑλεφαντίνης ἀπίκοντο οἱ Ἰχθυοφάγοι, ἔπεμπε αὐτοὺς ἐς τοὺς Αἰθίοπας ἐντειλάμενος τὰ λέγειν χρῆν· καὶ δῶρα φέροντας πορφύρεόν τε εἶμα καὶ χρύσειον στρεπτὸν περιαυχένιον καὶ ψέλια καὶ μύρου ἀλάβαστρον καὶ φοινικίου οἶνον κάδον. οἱ δὲ Αἰθίοπες οὗτοι, ἐς τοὺς ἀπέπεμπε ὁ Καμβύσης, λέγονται εἶναι μέγιστοι καὶ κάλλιστοι ἀνθρώπων πάντων. νόμοισι δὲ καὶ ἄλλοισι χρᾶσθαι αὐτοὺς κεχωρισμένοισι τῶν ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων καὶ δὴ καὶ κατὰ τὴν βασιλὴν τοιῶδε· τὸν ἂν τῶν ἀστῶν κρίνωσι μέγιστόν τε εἶναι καὶ κατὰ τὸ μέγαθος ἔχειν τὴν ἰσχύν, τοῦτον ἀξιούσι βασιλεύειν.

21. Ἐς τούτους δὴ ὦν τοὺς ἄνδρας ὡς ἀπίκοντο οἱ Ἰχθυοφάγοι, διδόντες τὰ δῶρα τῷ βασιλεῖ αὐτῶν ἔλεγον τάδε. “Βασιλεὺς ὁ Περσέων Καμβύσης, βουλόμενος φίλος καὶ ξεῖνός τοι γενέσθαι, ἡμέας τε ἀπέπεμψε ἐς λόγους τοι ἐλθεῖν κελεύων,

### BOOK III. 19-21

the Ethiopian language. While they were seeking these men, he bade his fleet sail against Carchedon. But the Phoenicians would not consent; for they were bound, they said, by a strict treaty, and could not righteously attack their own sons; and the Phoenicians being unwilling, the rest were of no account as fighters. Thus the Carchedonians escaped being enslaved by the Persians; for Cambyes would not use force with the Phoenicians, seeing that they had willingly given their help to the Persians, and the whole fleet drew its strength from them. The Cyprians too had come of their own accord to aid the Persians against Egypt.

20. When the Fish-eaters came from Elephantine at Cambyes' message, he sent them to Ethiopia, charged with what they should say, and bearing gifts, to wit, a purple cloak and a twisted gold necklace and armlets and an alabaster box of incense and a cask of palm wine. These Ethiopians, to whom Cambyes sent them, are said to be the tallest and fairest of all men. Their way of choosing kings is different from that of all others, as (it is said) are all their laws; they deem worthy to be their king that townsman whom they judge to be tallest and to have strength proportioned to his stature.

21. These were the men to whom the Fish-eaters came, offering gifts and delivering this message to their king: "Cambyes king of Persia, desiring to be your friend and guest, sends us with command to address ourselves to you; and he offers you such

καὶ δῶρα ταῦτά τοι διδοῖ τοῖσι καὶ αὐτὸς μάλιστα ἥδεται χρεώμενος.” ὁ δὲ Αἰθίοψ μαθὼν ὅτι κατόπται ἤκοιεν, λέγει πρὸς αὐτοὺς τοιάδε. “Οὐτε ὁ Περσέων βασιλεὺς δῶρα ὑμέας ἔπεμψε φέροντας προτιμῶν πολλοῦ ἐμοὶ ξεῖνος γενέσθαι, οὔτε ὑμεῖς λέγετε ἀληθέα (ἤκετε γὰρ κατόπται τῆς ἐμῆς ἀρχῆς), οὔτε ἐκεῖνος ἀνὴρ ἐστι δίκαιος. εἰ γὰρ ἦν δίκαιος, οὔτ’ ἂν ἐπεθύμησε χώρης ἄλλης ἢ τῆς ἑωυτοῦ, οὔτ’ ἂν ἐς δουλοσύνην ἀνθρώπους ἦγε ὑπ’ ὧν μηδὲν ἡδίκηται. νῦν δὲ αὐτῷ τόξον τόδε διδόντες τάδε ἔπεα λέγετε. ‘Βασιλεὺς ὁ Αἰθιοπῶν συμβουλεύει τῷ Περσέων βασιλεί, ἐπεὰν οὕτω εὐπετέως ἔλκωσι τὰ τόξα Πέρσαι ἐόντα μεγάθει τοσαῦτα, τότε ἐπ’ Αἰθίοπας τοὺς μακροβίους πλήθει ὑπερβαλλόμενον στρατεύεσθαι· μέχρι δὲ τούτου θεοῖσι εἰδέναι χάριν, οἳ οὐκ ἐπὶ νόον τράπουσι Αἰθιοπῶν παισὶ γῆν ἄλλην προσκτᾶσθαι τῇ ἑωυτῶν.’”

22. Ταῦτα δὲ εἶπας καὶ ἀνεῖς τὸ τόξον παρέδωκε τοῖσι ἤκουσι. λαβὼν δὲ τὸ εἶμα τὸ πορφύρεον εἰρώτα ὃ τι εἶη καὶ ὅκως πεποιημένον· εἰπόντων δὲ τῶν Ἰχθυοφάγων τὴν ἀληθείην περὶ τῆς πορφύρης καὶ τῆς βαφῆς, δολερούς μὲν τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἔφη εἶναι, δολερά δὲ αὐτῶν τὰ εἶματα. δεύτερα δὲ τὸν χρυσὸν εἰρώτα τὸν στρεπτὸν τὸν περιαυχένιον καὶ τὰ ψέλια· ἐξηγεομένων δὲ τῶν Ἰχθυοφάγων τὸν κόσμον αὐτοῦ, γελάσας ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ νομίσας εἶναι σφέα πέδας εἶπε ὥς παρ’ ἑωυτοῖσι εἰσὶ ῥωμαλεώτεραι τουτέων πέδα. τρίτον δὲ εἰρώτα τὸ μύρον· εἰπόντων δὲ τῆς ποιήσιος πέρι καὶ ἀλείψιος, τὸν αὐτὸν λόγον τὸν καὶ περὶ τοῦ εἵματος εἶπε. ὥς δὲ ἐς τὸν οἶνον ἀπίκητο καὶ



gifts as he himself chiefly delights to use." But the Ethiopian, perceiving that they had come as spies, spoke thus to them: "It is not because he sets great store by my friendship that the Persian King sends you with gifts, nor do you speak the truth (for you have come to spy out my dominions), nor is your king a righteous man; for were he such, he would not have coveted any country other than his own, nor would he now try to enslave men who have done him no wrong. Now, give him this bow, and this message: 'The King of the Ethiopians counsels the King of the Persians, when the Persians can draw a bow of this greatness as easily as I do, then to bring overwhelming odds to attack the long-lived Ethiopians; but till then, to thank the gods who put it not in the minds of the sons of the Ethiopians to win more territory than they have.'"

22. So speaking he unstrung the bow and gave it to the men who had come. Then, taking the purple cloak, he asked what it was and how it was made; and when the Fish-eaters told him the truth about the purple and the way of dyeing, he said that both the men and their garments were full of guile. Next he inquired about the twisted gold necklace and the bracelets; and when the Fish-eaters told him how they were made, the king smiled, and, thinking them to be fetters, said: "We have stronger chains than these." Thirdly he inquired about the incense; and when they told him of the making and the applying of it, he made the same reply as about the cloak. But when he came to the wine and asked about the

ἐπύθετο αὐτοῦ τὴν ποίησιν, ὑπερησθῆις τῷ πόματι  
ἐπείρετο ὅ τι τε σιτέεται ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ χρόνον  
όκόσον μακρότατον ἀνὴρ Πέρσης ζῶει. οἱ δὲ  
σιτέεσθαι μὲν τὸν ἄρτον εἶπον, ἐξηγησάμενοι τῶν  
πυρῶν τὴν φύσιν, ὀγδῶκοντα δὲ ἔτεα ζῆς πλή-  
ρωμα ἀνδρὶ μακρότατον προκέεσθαι. πρὸς ταῦτα  
ὁ Αἰθίοψ ἔφη οὐδὲν θωμάζειν εἰ σιτέόμενοι κόπρον  
ἔτεα ὀλίγα ζώουσι· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἂν τοσαῦτα δύνασθαι  
ζῶειν σφέας, εἰ μὴ τῷ πόματι ἀνέφερον, φράζων  
τοῖσι Ἰχθυοφάγοις τὸν οἶνον· τούτῳ γὰρ ἑωυτοὺς  
ὑπὸ Περσέων ἔσσοῦσθαι.

23. Ἀντειρομένων δὲ τὸν βασιλέα τῶν Ἰχθυο-  
φάγων τῆς ζῆς καὶ διαίτης πέρι, ἔτεα μὲν ἐς  
εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατὸν τοὺς πολλοὺς αὐτῶν ἀπικνέε-  
σθαι, ὑπερβάλλειν δὲ τινὰς καὶ ταῦτα, σίτησιν δὲ  
εἶναι κρέα τε ἐφθὰ καὶ πόμα γάλα. θῶμα δὲ  
ποιευμένων τῶν κατασκόπων περὶ τῶν ἐτέων, ἐπὶ  
κρήνην σφι ἠγησασθαι, ἀπ' ἧς λουόμενοι λιπαρώ-  
τεροι ἐγίνοντο, κατὰ περ εἰ ἐλαίου εἴη· ὅζιν δὲ  
ἀπ' αὐτῆς ὥς εἰ ἰῶν. ἀσθενὲς δὲ τὸ ὕδωρ τῆς  
κρήνης ταύτης οὕτω δὴ τι ἔλεγον εἶναι οἱ κατά-  
σκοποι ὥστε μηδὲν οἶόν τ' εἶναι ἐπ' αὐτοῦ ἐπι-  
πλέειν, μήτε ξύλον μήτε τῶν ὅσα ξύλου ἐστὶ  
ἐλαφρότερα, ἀλλὰ πάντα σφέα χωρέειν ἐς βυσσόν.  
τὸ δὲ ὕδωρ τοῦτο εἴ σφι ἐστὶ ἀληθέως οἶόν τι  
λέγεται, διὰ τοῦτο ἂν εἶεν, τούτῳ τὰ πάντα χρεώ-  
μενοι, μακρόβιοι. ἀπὸ τῆς κρήνης δὲ ἀπαλ-  
λασσομένων, ἀγαγεῖν σφεας ἐς δεσμωτήριον  
ἀνδρῶν, ἔνθα τοὺς πάντας ἐν πέδῃσι χρυσέῃσι  
δεδέσθαι. ἐστὶ δὲ ἐν τούτοις τοῖσι Αἰθίοψι  
πάντων ὁ χαλκὸς σπανιώτατος καὶ τιμιώτατος.  
θεησάμενοι δὲ καὶ τὸ δεσμωτήριον, ἐθεήσαντο καὶ  
τὴν τοῦ ἡλίου λεγομένην τράπεζαν.

### BOOK III. 22-23

making of it, he was vastly pleased with the draught, and asked further what food their king ate, and what was the greatest age to which a Persian lived. They told him their king ate bread, showing him how wheat grew; and said that the full age to which a man might hope to live was eighty years. Then said the Ethiopian, it was no wonder that their lives were so short, if they ate dung<sup>1</sup>; they would never attain even to that age were it not for the strengthening power of the draught,—whereby he signified to the Fish-eaters the wine,—for in this, he said, the Persians excelled the Ethiopians.

23. The Fish-eaters then in turn asking of the Ethiopian length of life and diet, he said that most of them attained to an hundred and twenty years, and some even to more; their food was roast meat and their drink milk. The spies showed wonder at the tale of years; whereon he led them, it is said, to a spring, by washing wherein they grew sleeker, as though it were of oil; and it smelt as it were of violets. So frail, the spies said, was this water, that nothing would float on it, neither wood nor anything lighter than wood, but all sank to the bottom. If this water be truly such as they say, it is likely that their constant use of it makes the people long-lived. When they left the spring, the king led them to a prison where all the men were bound with fetters of gold. Among these Ethiopians there is nothing so scarce and so precious as bronze. Then, having seen the prison, they saw what is called the Table of the Sun.

<sup>1</sup> *i.e.* grain produced by the manured soil.

24. Μετὰ δὲ ταύτην τελευταίας ἐθεήσαντο τὰς θήκας αὐτῶν, αἱ λέγονται σκευάζεσθαι ἐξ ύελου τρόπῳ τοιῷδε· ἐπεὰν τὸν νεκρὸν ισχυήνῃσι, εἴτε δὴ κατὰ περ Αἰγύπτιοι εἴτε ἄλλως κως, γυψώσαντες ἅπαντα αὐτὸν γραφῇ κοσμέουσι, ἐξομοιεύντες τὸ εἶδος ἐς τὸ δυνατόν, ἔπειτα δέ οἱ περιστᾶσι στήλην ἐξ ύελου πεποιημένην κοίλην· ἢ δέ σφι πολλή καὶ εὐεργὸς ὀρύσσεται. ἐν μέσῃ δὲ τῇ στήλῃ ἐνεὼν διαφαίνεται ὁ νέκυς, οὔτε ὁδμήν οὐδεμίαν ἄχαριν παρεχόμενος οὔτε ἄλλο ἀεικὲς οὐδέν, καὶ ἔχει πάντα φανερὰ ὁμοίως αὐτῷ τῷ νέκυϊ. ἐνῖαυτὸν μὲν δὴ ἔχουσι τὴν στήλην ἐν τοῖσι οἰκίοισι, οἱ μάλιστα προσήκοντες, πάντων ἀπαρχόμενοι καὶ θυσίας οἱ προσάγοντες· μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἐκκομίσαντες ἰστᾶσι περὶ τὴν πόλιν.

25. Θεησάμενοι δὲ τὰ πάντα οἱ κατάσκοποι ἀπαλλάσσοντο ὀπίσω. ἀπαγγειλάντων δὲ ταῦτα τούτων, αὐτίκα ὁ Καμβύσης ὀργήν ποιησάμενος ἐστρατεύετο ἐπὶ τοὺς Αἰθίοπας, οὔτε παρασκευὴν σίτου οὐδεμίαν παραγγείλας, οὔτε λόγον ἐωυτῷ δοὺς ὅτι ἐς τὰ ἔσχατα γῆς ἔμελλε στρατεύεσθαι· οἷα δὲ ἐμμανὴς τε ἐὼν καὶ οὐ φρενήρης, ὥς ἤκουε τῶν Ἰχθυοφάγων, ἐστρατεύετο, Ἑλλήνων μὲν τοὺς παρέοντας αὐτοῦ τάξας ὑπομένειν, τὸν δὲ πεζὸν πάντα ἅμα ἀγόμενος. ἐπεῖτε δὲ στρατενόμενος ἐγένετο ἐν Θήβησι, ἀπέκρινε τοῦ στρατοῦ ὡς πέντε μυριάδας, καὶ τούτοις μὲν ἐνετέλλετο Ἀμμωνίους ἐξανδραποδισαμένους τὸ χρηστήριον τὸ τοῦ Διὸς ἐμπρῆσαι, αὐτὸς δὲ τὸν λοιπὸν ἄγων στρατὸν ἦε ἐπὶ τοὺς Αἰθίοπας. πρὶν δὲ τῆς ὁδοῦ τὸ πέμπτον μέρος διεληλυθέναι τὴν στρατιήν, αὐτίκα πάντα αὐτοὺς τὰ εἶχον σιτίων ἐχόμενα ἐπελελοίπεε, μετὰ

24. Last after this they viewed the Ethiopian coffins; these are said to be made of porcelain, as I shall describe: they make the dead body to shrink, either as the Egyptians do or in some other way, then cover it with gypsum and paint it all as far as they may in the likeness of the living man; then they set it within a hollow pillar of porcelain, which they dig in abundance from the ground, and it is easily wrought; the body can be seen in the pillar through the porcelain, no evil stench nor aught unseemly proceeding from it, and showing clearly all its parts, as if it were the dead man himself. The nearest of kin keep the pillar in their house for a year, giving it of the firstfruits and offering it sacrifices; after which they bring the pillars out and set them round about the city.

25. Having viewed all, the spies departed back again. When they reported all this, Cambyses was angry, and marched forthwith against the Ethiopians, neither giving command for any provision of food nor considering that he was about to lead his army to the ends of the earth; and being not in his right mind but mad, he marched at once on hearing from the Fish-eaters, setting the Greeks who were with him to await him where they were, and taking with him all his land army. When he came in his march to Thebes, he parted about fifty thousand men from his army, and charged them to enslave the Ammonians and burn the oracle of Zeus; and he himself went on towards Ethiopia with the rest of his host. But before his army had accomplished the fifth part of their journey they had come to an end of all there was in the way of provision, and after the food was



δὲ τὰ σιτία καὶ τὰ ὑποζύγια ἐπέλιπε κατεσθιόμενα. εἰ μὲν νυν μαθὼν ταῦτα ὁ Καμβύσης ἐγνωσιμάχῃ καὶ ἀπῆγε ὀπίσω τὸν στρατόν, ἐπὶ τῇ ἀρχῇθεν γενομένη ἀμαρτάδι ἦν ἂν ἀνὴρ σοφός· νῦν δὲ οὐδένα λόγον ποιεύμενος ἦε αἰεὶ ἐς τὸ πρόσω. οἱ δὲ στρατιῶται ἕως μὲν τι εἶχον ἐκ τῆς γῆς λαμβάνειν, ποιηφαγέοντες διέζωον, ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐς τὴν ψάμμον ἀπίκοντο, δεινὸν ἔργον αὐτῶν τινες ἐργάσαντο· ἐκ δεκάδος γὰρ ἓνα σφέων αὐτῶν ἀποκληρώσαντες κατέφαγον. πυθόμενος δὲ ταῦτα ὁ Καμβύσης, δείσας τὴν ἀλληλοφαγίην, ἀπείσ τὸν ἐπ' Αἰθίοπας στόλον ὀπίσω ἐπορεύετο καὶ ἀπικνέεται ἐς Θήβας πολλοὺς ἀπολέσας τοῦ στρατοῦ· ἐκ Θηβέων δὲ καταβὰς ἐς Μέμφιν τοὺς Ἑλληνας ἀπῆκε ἀποπλέειν.

26. Ὁ μὲν ἐπ' Αἰθίοπας στόλος οὕτω ἔπρηξε· οἱ δ' αὐτῶν ἐπ' Ἀμμωνίους ἀποσταλέντες στρατεύεσθαι, ἐπεῖτε ὀρμηθέντες ἐκ τῶν Θηβέων ἐπορεύοντο ἔχοντες ἀγωγούς, ἀπικόμενοι μὲν φανεροί εἰσι ἐς Ὅασιν πόλιν, τὴν ἔχουσι μὲν Σάμιοι τῆς Αἰσχριωνίης φυλῆς λεγόμενοι εἶναι, ἀπέχουσι δὲ ἑπτὰ ἡμερέων ὁδὸν ἀπὸ Θηβέων διὰ ψάμμου· ὀνομάζεται δὲ ὁ χῶρος οὗτος κατὰ Ἑλλήνων γλῶσσαν Μακάρων νῆσος. ἐς μὲν δὴ τοῦτον τὸν χῶρον λέγεται ἀπικέσθαι τὸν στρατόν, τὸ ἐνθεῦτεν δέ, ὅτι μὴ αὐτοὶ Ἀμμωνιοὶ καὶ οἱ τούτων ἀκούσαντες, ἄλλοι οὐδένες οὐδὲν ἔχουσι εἰπεῖν περὶ αὐτῶν· οὔτε γὰρ ἐς τοὺς Ἀμμωνίους ἀπίκοντο οὔτε ὀπίσω ἐνόστησαν. λέγεται δὲ κατὰ τὰδε ὑπ' αὐτῶν Ἀμμωνίων· ἐπειδὴ ἐκ τῆς Ὀάσιος ταύτης ἵεναι διὰ τῆς ψάμμου ἐπὶ σφέας, γενέσθαι τε αὐτοὺς μεταξύ κου μάλιστα αὐτῶν τε καὶ τῆς Ὀάσιος,

gone they ate the beasts of burden till there was none of these left also. Now had Cambyses, when he perceived this, changed his mind and led his army back again, he had been a wise man at last after his first fault; but as it was, he went ever forward, nothing recking. While his soldiers could get anything from the earth, they kept themselves alive by eating grass; but when they came to the sandy desert, certain of them did a terrible deed, taking by lot one man out of ten and eating him. Hearing this, Cambyses feared their becoming cannibals, and so gave up his expedition against the Ethiopians and marched back to Thebes, with the loss of many of his army; from Thebes he came down to Memphis, and sent the Greeks to sail away.

26. So fared the expedition against Ethiopia. As for those of the host who were sent to march against the Ammonians, they set forth and journeyed from Thebes with guides; and it is known that they came to the city Oasis,<sup>1</sup> where dwell Samians said to be of the Aeschrionian tribe, seven days' march from Thebes across sandy desert; this place is called, in the Greek language, the Island of the Blest. Thus far, it is said, the army came; after that, save the Ammonians themselves and those who heard from them, no man can say aught of them; for they neither reached the Ammonians nor returned back. But this is what the Ammonians themselves say: When the Persians were crossing the sand from the Oasis to attack them, and were about midway between their country and the Oasis, while they were

<sup>1</sup> Oasis means simply a planted place; Herodotus makes it a proper name. What he means here is the "Great oasis" of Khargeh, about seven days' journey from Thebes, as he says.

ἄριστον αἰρεομένοισι αὐτοῖσι ἐπιπνεῦσαι νότον μέγαν τε καὶ ἐξαΐσιον, φορέοντα δὲ θῖνας τῆς ψάμμου καταχῶσαι σφέας, καὶ τρόπῳ τοιούτῳ ἀφανισθῆναι. Ἀμμώνιοι μὲν οὕτω λέγουσι γενέσθαι περὶ τῆς στρατιῆς ταύτης.

27. Ἀπιγμένον δὲ Καμβύσειω ἐς Μέμφιν ἐφάνη Αἰγυπτίοισι ὁ Ἄπις, τὸν Ἕλληνας Ἐπαφον καλέουσι· ἐπιφανέος δὲ τούτου γενομένου αὐτίκα οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι εἴματα ἐφόρεον τὰ κάλλιστα καὶ ἦσαν ἐν θαλίῃσι. ἰδὼν δὲ ταῦτα τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους ποιεῦντας ὁ Καμβύσης, πάγχυ σφέας καταδόξας ἐωυτοῦ κακῶς πρήξαντος χαρμόσυνα ταῦτα ποιέειν, ἐκάλεε τοὺς ἐπιτρόπους τῆς Μέμφιος, ἀπικομένους δὲ ἐς ὄψιν εἶρετο ὃ τι πρότερον μὲν ἔοντος αὐτοῦ ἐν Μέμφι ἐποίεον τοιοῦτον οὐδὲν Αἰγύπτιοι, τότε δὲ ἐπεὶ αὐτὸς παρείη τῆς στρατιῆς πλήθός τι ἀποβαλὼν. οἱ δὲ ἔφραζον ὥς σφι θεὸς εἴη φανείς διὰ χρόνου πολλοῦ ἑωθὼς ἐπιφαίνεσθαι, καὶ ὥς ἐπεὰν φανῇ τότε πάντες Αἰγύπτιοι κεχαρηκότες ὀρτάζοιεν. ταῦτα ἀκούσας ὁ Καμβύσης ἔφη ψεύδεσθαι σφέας καὶ ὥς ψευδομένους θανάτῳ ἐξημίον.

28. Ἀποκτείνας δὲ τούτους δεύτερα τοὺς ἱρέας ἐκάλεε ἐς ὄψιν· λεγόντων δὲ κατὰ ταῦτα τῶν ἱρέων, οὐ λήσειν ἔφη αὐτὸν εἰ θεὸς τις χειροήθης ἀπιγμένος εἴη Αἰγυπτίοισι. τὸσαῦτα δὲ εἰπας ἀπάγειν ἐκέλευε τὸν Ἄπιν τοὺς ἱρέας. οἱ μὲν δὴ μετήισαν ἄξοντες. ὁ δὲ Ἄπις οὗτος ὁ Ἐπαφος γίνεται μόσχος ἐκ βοός, ἥτις οὐκέτι οἷα τε γίνεται ἐς γαστέρα ἄλλον βάλλεσθαι γόνου. Αἰγύπτιοι δὲ λέγουσι σέλας ἐπὶ τὴν βουνὴν ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ κατῖσχειν, καὶ μιν ἐκ τούτου τίττειν τὸν Ἄπιν.



### BOOK III. 26-28

breakfasting a great and violent south wind arose, which buried them in the masses of sand which it bore; and so they disappeared from sight. Such is the Ammonian tale about this army.

27. After Cambyses was come to Memphis there appeared in Egypt that Apis<sup>1</sup> whom the Greeks call Epaphus; at which revelation straightway the Egyptians donned their fairest garments and kept high festival. Seeing the Egyptians so doing, Cambyses was fully persuaded that these signs of joy were for his misfortunes, and summoned the rulers of Memphis; when they came before him he asked them why the Egyptians acted so at the moment of his coming with so many of his army lost, though they had done nothing like it when he was before at Memphis. The rulers told him that a god, who had been wont to reveal himself at long intervals of time, had now appeared to them; and that all Egypt rejoiced and made holiday whenever he so appeared. At this Cambyses said that they lied, and he punished them with death for their lie.

28. Having put them to death, he next summoned the priests before him. When they gave him the same account, he said that "if a tame god had come to the Egyptians he would know it"; and with no more words he bade the priests bring Apis. So they went to seek and bring him. This Apis, or Epaphus, is a calf born of a cow that can never conceive again. By what the Egyptians say, the cow is made pregnant by a light from heaven, and thereafter gives birth to

<sup>1</sup> *cp.* ii. 38.

## HERODOTUS

ἔχει δὲ ὁ μόσχος οὗτος ὁ Ἄπις καλεόμενος σημήια τοιάδε ἐὼν μέλας, ἐπὶ μὲν τῷ μετώπῳ λευκὸν τι τρίγωνον, ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ νώτου αἰετὸν εἰκασμένον, ἐν δὲ τῇ οὐρῇ τὰς τρίχας διπλᾶς, ὑπὸ δὲ τῇ γλώσση κάνθαρον.

29. Ὡς δὲ ἤγαγον τὸν Ἄπιν οἱ ἱρέες, ὁ Καμβύσης, οἷα ἐὼν ὑπομαργότερος, σπασάμενος τὸ ἐγχειρίδιον, θέλων τύψαι τὴν γαστέρα τοῦ Ἄπιος παίει τὸν μηρόν· γελάσας δὲ εἶπε πρὸς τοὺς ἱρέας “ὦ κακαὶ κεφαλαί, τοιοῦτοι θεοὶ γίνονται, ἔναιμοί τε καὶ σαρκώδεις καὶ ἐπαῖοντες σιδηρίων; ἄξιός μὲν γε Αἰγυπτίων οὗτός γε ὁ θεός, ἀτάρ τοι ὑμεῖς γε οὐ χαίροντες γέλῳτα ἐμὲ θήσεσθε.” ταῦτα εἶπας ἐνετείλατο τοῖσι ταῦτα πρήσσουνσι τοὺς μὲν ἱρέας ἀπομαστιγῶσαι, Αἰγυπτίων δὲ τῶν ἄλλων τὸν ἄν λάβωσι ὀρτάζοντα κτείνειν. ὀρτὴ μὲν δὴ διελέλυτο Αἰγυπτίοισι, οἱ δὲ ἱρέες ἐδικαιεῦντο, ὁ δὲ Ἄπις πεπληγμένος τὸν μηρόν ἔφθινε ἐν τῷ ἰρῷ κατακείμενος. καὶ τὸν μὲν τελευτήσαντα ἐκ τοῦ τρώματος ἔθαψαν οἱ ἱρέες λάθρῃ Καμβύσει.

30. Καμβύσης δέ, ὡς λέγουσι Αἰγύπτιοι, αὐτίκα διὰ τοῦτο τὸ ἀδίκημα ἐμάνη, ἐὼν οὐδὲ πρότερον φρενῆρης. καὶ πρῶτα μὲν τῶν κακῶν ἐξεργάσατο τὸν ἀδελφεὸν Σμέρδιν έοντα πατρὸς καὶ μητρὸς τῆς αὐτῆς, τὸν ἀπέπεμψε ἐς Πέρσας φθόνῳ ἐξ Αἰγύπτου, ὅτι τὸ τόξον μοῦνος Περσέων ὅσον τε ἐπὶ δύο δακτύλους εἴρυσσε, τὸ παρὰ τοῦ Αἰθίοπος ἦναικαν οἱ Ἰχθυοφάγοι, τῶν δὲ ἄλλων Περσέων οὐδεὶς οἷός τε ἐγένετο. ἀποιοχομένου ὦν ἐς Πέρσας τοῦ Σμέρδιος ὄψιν εἶδε ὁ Καμβύσης ἐν τῷ ὑπνῷ τοιήνδε· ἔδοξέ οἱ ἄγγελον ἐλθόντα ἐκ Περσέων ἀγγέλλειν ὡς ἐν τῷ θρόνῳ

Apis. The marks of this calf called Apis are these: he is black, and has on his forehead a three-cornered white spot, and the likeness of an eagle on his back; the hairs of the tail are double, and there is a knot under the tongue.

29. When the priests led Apis in, Cambyses—for he was well-nigh mad—drew his dagger and made to stab the calf in the belly, but smote the thigh; then laughing he said to the priests: “Wretched wights, are these your gods, creatures of flesh and blood that can feel weapons of iron? that is a god worthy of the Egyptians. But for you, you shall suffer for making me your laughing-stock.” So saying he bade those, whose business it was, to scourge the priests well, and to kill any other Egyptian whom they found holiday-making. So the Egyptian festival was ended, and the priests were punished, and Apis lay in the temple and died of the blow on the thigh. When he was dead of the wound, the priests buried him without Cambyses’ knowledge.

30. By reason of this wrongful deed, as the Egyptians say, Cambyses’ former want of sense turned straightway to madness. His first evil act was to make away with his full brother Smerdis, whom he had sent away from Egypt to Persia out of jealousy, because Smerdis alone could draw the bow brought from the Ethiopian by the Fish-eaters as far as two fingerbreadths; but no other Persian could draw it. Smerdis having gone to Persia, Cambyses saw in a dream a vision, whereby it seemed to him that a messenger came from Persia

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τῷ βασιλήϊῳ ἰζόμενος Σμέρδις τῇ κεφαλῇ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ψεύσειε. πρὸς ὧν ταῦτα δέισας περὶ ἑωυτοῦ μὴ μιν ἀποκτείνας ὁ ἀδελφεὸς ἄρχῃ, πέμπει Πρηξιάσπεα ἐς Πέρσας, ὃς ἦν οἱ ἀνὴρ Περσέων πιστότατος, ἀποκτενέοντά μιν. ὃ δὲ ἀναβὰς ἐς Σοῦσα ἀπέκτεινε Σμέρδιν, οἱ μὲν λέγουσι ἐπ' ἄγρην ἐξαγαγόντα, οἱ δὲ ἐς τὴν Ἐρυθρὴν θάλασσαν προαγαγόντα καταποντῶσαι.

31. Πρῶτον μὲν δὴ λέγουσι Καμβύσῃ τῶν κακῶν ἄρξαι τοῦτο· δεύτερα δὲ ἐξεργάσατο τὴν ἀδελφεὴν ἐσπομένην οἱ ἐς Αἴγυπτον, τῇ καὶ συνοίκεε καὶ ἦν οἱ ἀπ' ἀμφοτέρων ἀδελφεῇ. ἔγῃμε δὲ αὐτὴν ὧδε· οὐδαμῶς γὰρ ἐώθεσαν πρότερον τῇσι ἀδελφεῇσι συνοικέειν Πέρσαι. ἡράσθη μὲν τῶν ἀδελφεῶν Καμβύσης, καὶ ἔπειτα βουλόμενος αὐτὴν γῆμαι, ὅτι οὐκ ἐωθότα ἐπενόεε ποιήσῃν, εἴρετο καλέσας τοὺς βασιλείους δικαστὰς εἴ τις ἐστὶ κελεύων νόμος τὸν βουλόμενον ἀδελφεῇ συνοικέειν. οἱ δὲ βασιλῆιοι δικασταὶ κεκριμένοι ἄνδρες γίνονται Περσέων, ἐς οὓς ἀποθάνωσι ἢ σφί παρευρεθῇ τι ἄδικον, μέχρι τούτου· οὗτοι δὲ τοῖσι Πέρσῃσι δίκας δικάζουσι καὶ ἐξηγηταὶ τῶν πατρίων θεσμῶν γίνονται, καὶ πάντα ἐς τούτους ἀνακέεται. εἰρομένου ὧν τοῦ Καμβύσεω, ὑπεκρίνοντο αὐτῷ οὗτοι καὶ δίκαια καὶ ἀσφαλέα, φάμενοι νόμον οὐδένα ἐξευρίσκειν ὃς κελεύει ἀδελφεῇ συνοικέειν ἀδελφεόν, ἄλλον μὲντοι ἐξευρηκέναι νόμον, τῷ βασιλεύοντι Περσέων ἐξεῖναι ποιεῖν τὸ ἂν βούληται. οὕτω οὔτε τὸν νόμον ἔλυσαν δείσαντες Καμβύσεια, ἵνα τε μὴ αὐτοὶ ἀπόλωνται τὸν νόμον περιστέλλοντες, παρεξεῦρον ἄλλον νόμον σύμμαχον τῷ

### BOOK III. 30-31

and told him that Smerdis had sat on the royal throne with his head reaching to heaven. Fearing therefore for himself, lest his brother might slay him and so be king, he sent to Persia Prexaspes, the trustiest of his Persians, to kill Smerdis. Prexaspes went up to Susa and so did; some say that he took Smerdis out a-hunting, others that he brought him to the Red<sup>1</sup> Sea and there drowned him.

31. This, they say, was the first of Cambyses' evil acts; next, he made away with his full sister, who had come with him to Egypt, and whom he had taken to wife. He married her on this wise (for before this, it had by no means been customary for Persians to marry their sisters): Cambyses was enamoured of one of his sisters and presently desired to take her to wife; but his intention being contrary to usage, **he summoned the royal judges<sup>2</sup> and inquired whether there were any law suffering one, that so desired, to marry his sister. These royal judges are men chosen out from the Persians to be so till they die or are detected in some injustice;** it is they who decide suits in Persia and interpret the laws of the land; all matters are referred to them. These then replied to Cambyses with an answer which was both just and safe, namely, that they could find no law giving a brother power to marry his sister; but that they had also found a law whereby the King of Persia might do whatsoever he wished. Thus they broke not the law for fear of Cambyses, and, to save themselves from death for maintaining it, they found

<sup>1</sup> Not our Red Sea (*Ἀράβιος κόλπος*) but the Persian Gulf, probably; but it is to be noted that Herodotus has no definite knowledge of a gulf between Persia and Arabia.

<sup>2</sup> **A standing body of seven**; *cp.* Book of Esther, i. 14.



θέλονται γαμέειν ἀδελφεάς. τότε μὲν δὴ ὁ Καμβύσης ἔγημε τὴν ἐρωμένην, μετὰ μέντοι οὐ πολλὸν χρόνον ἔσχε ἄλλην ἀδελφεήν. τουτέων δῆτα τὴν νεωτέραν ἐπισπομένην οἱ ἐπ' Αἴγυπτον κτείνει.

32. Ἀμφὶ δὲ τῷ θανάτῳ αὐτῆς διξὸς ὥσπερ περὶ Σμέρδιος λέγεται λόγος. Ἕλληνες μὲν λέγουσι Καμβύσεια συμβαλεῖν σκύμνον λέοντος σκύλακι κυνός, θεωρεῖν δὲ καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα ταύτην, νικωμένον δὲ τοῦ σκύλακος ἀδελφεὸν αὐτοῦ ἄλλον σκύλακα ἀπορρήξαντα τὸν δεσμὸν παραγενέσθαι οἱ, δύο δὲ γενομένους οὕτω δὴ τοὺς σκύλακας ἐπικρατῆσαι τοῦ σκύμνου. καὶ τὸν μὲν Καμβύσεια ἥδεσθαι θεώμενον, τὴν δὲ παρημένην δακρύειν. Καμβύσεια δὲ μαθόντα τοῦτο ἐπειρέσθαι δι' ὃ τι δακρύει, τὴν δὲ εἰπεῖν ὡς ἰδοῦσα τὸν σκύλακα τῷ ἀδελφεῷ τιμωρήσαντα δακρύσειε, μνησθεῖσά τε Σμέρδιος καὶ μαθοῦσα ὡς ἐκείνῳ οὐκ εἶη ὁ τιμωρήσων. Ἕλληνες μὲν δὴ διὰ τοῦτο τὸ ἔπος φασὶ αὐτὴν ἀπολέσθαι ὑπὸ Καμβύσειῳ, Αἰγύπτιοι δὲ ὡς τραπέζῃ παρακατημένων λαβοῦσαν θρίδακα τὴν γυναῖκα περιτίλαι καὶ ἐπανειρέσθαι τὸν ἄνδρα κότερον περιτετιλμένη ἢ θρίδαξ ἢ δασέα εἶη καλλίων, καὶ τὸν φάναι δασέα, τὴν δ' εἰπεῖν “Ταύτην μέντοι κοτὲ σὺ τὴν θρίδακα ἐμιμήσας τὸν Κύρου οἶκον ἀποψιλώσας.” τὸν δὲ θυμωθέντα ἐμπεδηῆσαι αὐτῇ ἐχούσῃ ἐν γαστρὶ, καὶ μιν ἐκτρώσασαν ἀποθανεῖν.

33. Ταῦτα μὲν ἐς τοὺς οἰκήσιους ὁ Καμβύσης ἐξεμάνη, εἴτε δὴ διὰ τὸν Ἀπιν εἴτε καὶ ἄλλως, οἷα πολλὰ ἔωθε ἀνθρώπους κακὰ καταλαμβάνειν· καὶ γὰρ τινὰ ἐκ γενεῆς νοῦσον μεγάλην λέγεται ἔχειν ὁ Καμβύσης, τὴν ἱρὴν ὀνομάζουσι τινές. οὐ νῦν

### BOOK III. 31-33

another law to justify one that desired wedlock with sisters. So for the nonce Cambyses married her of whom he was enamoured; yet presently he took another sister to wife. It was the younger of these who had come with him to Egypt, and whom he now killed.

32. There are two tales of her death, as of the death of Smerdis. The Greeks say that Cambyses had set a puppy to fight a lion's cub, with this woman too looking on; and the puppy being worsted, another puppy, its brother, broke its leash and came to help, whereby the two dogs together got the better of the cub. Cambyses, they say, was pleased with the sight, but the woman wept as she sat by. Cambyses perceived it and asking why she wept, she said she had wept when she saw the puppy help its brother, for thinking of Smerdis and how there was none to avenge him. For saying this, according to the Greek story, Cambyses put her to death. But the Egyptian tale is that as the two sat at table the woman took a lettuce and plucked off the leaves, then asked her husband whether he liked the look of it, with or without leaves; "With the leaves," said he; whereupon she answered: "Yet you have stripped Cyrus' house as bare as this lettuce." Angered at this, they say, he leaped upon her, she being great with child; and she died of the hurt he gave her.

33. Such were Cambyses' mad acts to his own household, whether they were done because of Apis or grew from some of the many troubles that are wont to beset men; for indeed he is said to have been afflicted from his birth with that grievous disease which some call "sacred."<sup>1</sup> It is no unlikely thing

<sup>1</sup> Epilepsy.

τοι αἰκὲς οὐδὲν ἦν τοῦ σώματος νοῦσον μεγάλην νοσέοντος μηδὲ τὰς φρένας ὑγιαίνειν.

34. Τάδε δ' ἐς τοὺς ἄλλους Πέρσας ἐξεμάνη. λέγεται γὰρ εἰπεῖν αὐτὸν πρὸς Πρηξάσπεα, τὸν ἐτίμα τε μάλιστα καὶ οἱ τὰς ἀγγελίας ἐφόρεε οὗτος, τούτου τε ὁ παῖς οἰνοχόος ἦν τῷ Καμβύσῃ, τιμὴ δὲ καὶ αὕτη οὐ σμικρὴ· εἰπεῖν δὲ λέγεται τάδε. “Πρήξασπες, κοῖόν με τινὰ νομίζουσι Πέρσαι εἶναι ἄνδρα τίνας τε λόγους περὶ ἐμέο ποιεῦνται;” τὸν δὲ εἰπεῖν “ὦ δέσποτα, τὰ μὲν ἄλλα πάντα μεγάλως ἐπαινέαι, τῇ δὲ φιλοινίῃ σε φασὶ πλεόνως προσκέεσθαι.” τὸν μὲν δὴ λέγειν ταῦτα περὶ Περσέων, τὸν δὲ θυμωθέντα τοιάδε ἀμείβεσθαι. “Νῦν ἄρα με φασὶ Πέρσαι οἶνω προσκείμενον παραφρονέειν καὶ οὐκ εἶναι νοήμονα· οὐδ' ἄρα σφέων οἱ πρότεροι λόγοι ἦσαν ἀληθέες.” πρότερον γὰρ δὴ ἄρα, Περσέων οἱ συνέδρων ἐόντων καὶ Κροίσου, εἶρετο Καμβύσης κοῖός τις δοκέει ἀνὴρ εἶναι πρὸς τὸν πατέρα τελέσαι Κῦρον, οἱ δὲ ἀμείβοντο ὡς εἴη ἀμείνων τοῦ πατρός· τά τε γὰρ ἐκείνου πάντα ἔχειν αὐτὸν καὶ προσεκτῆσθαι Αἴγυπτόν τε καὶ τὴν θάλασσαν. Πέρσαι μὲν ταῦτα ἔλεγον, Κροῖσος δὲ παρεών τε καὶ οὐκ ἀρεσκόμενος τῇ κρίσει εἶπε πρὸς τὸν Καμβύσεα τάδε. “Ἐμοὶ μὲν νυν, ὦ παῖ Κύρου, οὐ δοκέεις ὅμοιος εἶναι τῷ πατρί· οὐ γάρ κώ τοι ἐστὶ υἱὸς οἶον σὲ ἐκείνος κατελίπετο.” ἦσθη τε ταῦτα ἀκούσας ὁ Καμβύσης καὶ ἐπαίνειε τὴν Κροίσου κρίσιν.

35. Τούτων δὴ ὦν ἐπιμνησθέντα ὀργῇ λέγειν πρὸς τὸν Πρηξάσπεα “Σὺ νυν μάθε εἰ λέγουσι Πέρσαι ἀληθέα εἶτε αὐτοὶ λέγοντες ταῦτα παρα-



### BOOK III. 33-35

then that when his body was grievously afflicted his mind too should be diseased.

34. I will now tell of his mad dealings with the rest of Persia. He said, as they report, to Prexaspes—whom he held in especial honour, who brought him all his messages, whose son held the very honourable office of Cambyses' cup-bearer—thus, I say, he spoke to Prexaspes: "What manner of man, Prexaspes, do the Persians think me to be, and how speak they of me?" "Sire," said Prexaspes, "for all else they greatly praise you; but they say that you love wine too well." So he reported of the Persians; the king angrily replied: "If the Persians now say that 'tis my fondness for wine that drives me to frenzy and madness, then it would seem that their former saying also was a lie." For it is said that ere this, certain Persians and Croesus sitting with him, Cambyses asked what manner of man they thought him to be in comparison with Cyrus his father; and they answered, "that Cambyses was the better man; for he had all of Cyrus' possessions and had won besides Egypt and the sea." So said the Persians; but Croesus, who was present, and was ill-satisfied with their judgment, thus spoke to Cambyses: "To my thinking, son of Cyrus, you are not like your father; for you have as yet no son such as he left after him in you." This pleased Cambyses, and he praised Croesus' judgment.

35. Remembering this, then, he said to Prexaspes in his anger: "Judge you then if the Persians speak truth, or rather are themselves out of their minds

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φρονέουσιν· εἰ μὲν γὰρ τοῦ παιδὸς τοῦ σοῦ τοῦδε ἑστέωτος ἐν τοῖσι προθύροισι βαλὼν τύχοιμι μέσης τῆς καρδίας, Πέρσαι φανέονται λέγοντες οὐδέν· ἦν δὲ ἁμάρτω, φάναι Πέρσας τε λέγειν ἀληθέα καὶ με μὴ σωφρονέειν.” ταῦτα δὲ εἰπόντα καὶ διατείναντα τὸ τόξον βαλεῖν τὸν παῖδα, πεσόντος δὲ τοῦ παιδὸς ἀνασχίζειν αὐτὸν κελεύειν καὶ σκέψασθαι τὸ βλήμα· ὥς δὲ ἐν τῇ καρδίῃ εὐρεθῆναι ἐνεόντα τὸν οἰστόν, εἰπεῖν πρὸς τὸν πατέρα τοῦ παιδὸς γελάσαντα καὶ περιχαρέα γενόμενον “Πρήξασπες, ὥς μὲν ἐγὼ τε οὐ μαίνομαι Πέρσαι τε παραφρονέουσιν, δῆλά τοι γέγρονε. νῦν δέ μοι εἰπέ, τίνα εἶδες ἤδη πάντων ἀνθρώπων οὕτω ἐπίσκοπα τοξεύοντα;” Πρηξάσπεια δὲ ὀρώντα ἄνδρα οὐ φρενήρεα καὶ περὶ ἑωυτῷ δειμαίνοντα εἰπεῖν “Δέσποτα, οὐδ’ ἂν αὐτὸν ἔγωγε δοκέω τὸν θεὸν οὕτω ἂν καλῶς βαλεῖν.” τότε μὲν ταῦτα ἐξεργάσατο, ἐτέρωθι δὲ Περσέων ὁμοίους τοῖσι πρῶτοισι δυνάδεκα ἐπ’ οὐδεμιῇ αἰτίῃ ἀξιοχρέω ἑλὼν ζῶοντας ἐπὶ κεφαλὴν κατῶρυξε.

36. Ταῦτα δὲ μιν ποιεῖντα ἐδικαίωσε Κροῖσος ὁ Λυδὸς νουθετῆσαι τοῖσιδε τοῖσι ἔπεσι. “ὦ Βασιλεῦ, μὴ πάντα ἡλικίῃ καὶ θυμῷ ἐπίτραπε, ἀλλ’ ἴσχε καὶ καταλάμβανε σεωυτόν· ἀγαθόν τι πρόνοον εἶναι, σοφὸν δὲ ἢ προμηθίῃ. σὺ δὲ κτείνεις μὲν ἄνδρας σεωυτοῦ πολιήτας ἐπ’ οὐδεμιῇ αἰτίῃ ἀξιοχρέω ἑλὼν, κτείνεις δὲ παῖδας. ἦν δὲ πολλὰ τοιαῦτα ποιήης, ὅρα ὅπως μὴ σευ ἀποστήσονται Πέρσαι. ἐμοὶ δὲ πατήρ σὸς Κῦρος ἐνετέλλετο πολλὰ κελεύων σε νουθετεῖν καὶ ὑποτίθεσθαι ὅ τι ἂν εὐρίσκω ἀγαθόν.” ὁ μὲν δὲ εὐνοίην φαίνων συνεβούλευε οἱ ταῦτα· ὁ δ’ ἀμείβετο τοῖσιδε. “Σὺ

### BOOK III. 35-36

when they so speak of me. Yonder stands your son in the porch; now if I shoot and pierce his heart, that will prove the Persians to be wrong; if I miss, then say that they are right and I out of my senses." So saying he strung his bow and hit the boy, and bade open the fallen body and examine the wound: and the arrow being found in the heart, Cambyzes laughed in great glee and said to the boy's father: "It is plain, Prexaspes, that I am in my right mind and the Persians mad; now tell me: what man in the world saw you ever that shot so true to the mark?" Prexaspes, it is said, replied (for he saw that Cambyzes was mad, and he feared for his own life), "Master, I think that not even the god himself could shoot so true." Thus did Cambyzes then; at another time he took twelve Persians, equal to the noblest in the land, proved them guilty of some petty offence, and buried them head downwards and alive.

36. For these acts Croesus the Lydian thought fit to take him to task, and thus addressed him: "Sire, do not ever let youth and passion have their way; put some curb and check on yourself; prudence is a good thing, forethought is wisdom. But what of you? you put to death men of your own country proved guilty of but a petty offence; ay, and you kill boys. If you do often so, look to it lest the Persians revolt from you. As for me, your father Cyrus earnestly bade me counsel you and give you such advice as I think to be good." Croesus gave him this counsel out of goodwill; but Cambyzes answered: "It is very

καὶ ἐμοὶ τολμᾶς συμβουλεύειν, ὃς χρηστῶς μὲν τὴν σεωυτοῦ πατρίδα ἐπετρόπευσας, εὖ δὲ τῷ πατρὶ τῷ ἐμῷ συνεβούλευσας, κελεύων αὐτὸν Ἀράξεα ποταμὸν διαβάντα ἰέναι ἐπὶ Μασσαγέτας, βουλομένων ἐκείνων διαβαίνειν εἰς τὴν ἡμετέρην, καὶ ἀπὸ μὲν σεωυτὸν ὤλεσας τῆς σεωυτοῦ πατρίδος κακῶς προστάς, ἀπὸ δὲ ὤλεσας Κῦρον πειθόμενον σοί, ἀλλ' οὔτι χαίρων, ἐπεὶ τοι καὶ πάλαι εἰς σέ προφάσιός τευ ἐδεόμην ἐπιλαβέσθαι." ταῦτα δὲ εἶπας ἐλάμβανε τὸ τόξον ὡς κατατοξεύσων αὐτόν, Κροῖσος δὲ ἀναδραμὼν ἔθεε ἔξω. ὃ δὲ ἐπείτε τοξεῦσαι οὐκ εἶχε, ἐνετείλατο τοῖσι θεράπουσι λαβόντας μιν ἀποκτείνειν. οἱ δὲ θεράποντες ἐπιστάμενοι τὸν τρόπον αὐτοῦ κατακρύπτουσι τὸν Κροῖσον ἐπὶ τῷδε τῷ λόγῳ ὥστε, εἰ μὲν μεταμелήσῃ τῷ Καμβύσῃ καὶ ἐπιζητῇ τὸν Κροῖσον, οἱ δὲ ἐκφήναντες αὐτὸν δῶρα λάμψονται ζωάγρια Κροῖσου, ἣν δὲ μὴ μεταμέλῃται μηδὲ ποθέῃ μιν, τότε καταχρᾶσθαι. ἐπόθησέ τε δὴ ὁ Καμβύσης τὸν Κροῖσον οὐ πολλῷ μετέπειτα χρόνῳ ὕστερον, καὶ οἱ θεράποντες μαθόντες τοῦτο ἐπηγγέλλοντο αὐτῷ ὡς περιείη. Καμβύσης δὲ Κροίσῳ μὲν συνήδεσθαι ἔφη περιέοντι, ἐκείνους μέντοι τοὺς περιποιήσαντας οὐ καταπροΐξεσθαι ἀλλ' ἀποκτενέειν· καὶ ἐποίησε ταῦτα.

37. Ὁ μὲν δὴ τοιαῦτα πολλὰ εἰς Πέρσας τε καὶ τοὺς συμμάχους ἐξεμαίνετο, μένων ἐν Μέμφι καὶ θήκας τε παλαιὰς ἀνοίγων καὶ σκεπτόμενος τοὺς νεκρούς. ὥς δὲ δὴ καὶ εἰς τοῦ Ἡφαίστου τὸ ἱρὸν ἦλθε καὶ πολλὰ τῷ ἀγάλματι κατεγέλασε. ἔστι γὰρ τοῦ Ἡφαίστου τῷ γάλμα τοῖσι Φοινικῆιοισι Παταῖκοισι ἐμφερέστατον, τοὺς οἱ Φοῖνικες ἐν

### BOOK III. 36-37

well that you should dare to counsel me too ; you, who governed your own country right usefully, and gave fine advice to my father—bidding him, when the Massagetæ were willing to cross over into our lands, to pass the Araxes and attack them ; thus you wrought your own ruin by misgoverning your country, and Cyrus's by overpersuading him. Nay, but you shall rue it ; long have I waited for a pretext to deal with you." With that Cambyses took his bow to shoot him dead ; but Croesus leapt up and ran out ; and Cambyses, being unable to shoot him, charged his attendants to take and kill him. They, knowing Cambyses' mood, hid Croesus ; being minded, if Cambyses should repent and seek for Croesus, to reveal him and receive gifts for saving his life ; but if he should not repent nor wish Croesus back, then to kill the Lydian. Not long after this Cambyses did wish Croesus back, perceiving which the attendants told him that Croesus was alive. Cambyses said that he too was glad of it ; but that they, who had saved Croesus alive, should not go scot free, but be killed ; and this was done.

37. Many such mad deeds did Cambyses to the Persians and his allies ; he abode at Memphis, and there opened ancient coffins and examined the dead bodies. Thus too he entered the temple of Hephaestus and made much mockery of the image there. This image of Hephaestus is most like to the Phœnician Pataïci,<sup>1</sup> which the Phœnicians carry on the

<sup>1</sup> The Phœnician Πατάϊκος (as the Greeks called him) was the Ptah or Patah of Egypt whom the Greeks identified with Hephaestus ; always in the form of a dwarf.

τῇσι πρῶρησι τῶν τριηρέων περιάγουσι. ὃς δὲ τούτους μὴ ὄπωπε, ὧδε σημανέω· πυγμαίου ἀνδρὸς μίμησις ἐστί. ἐσῆλθε δὲ καὶ ἐς τῶν Καβείρων τὸ ἱρόν, ἐς τὸ οὐ θεμιτόν ἐστι ἐσιέναι ἄλλον γε ἢ τὸν ἱρέα· ταῦτα δὲ τὰ ἀγάλματα καὶ ἐνέπρησε πολλὰ κατασκώψας. ἔστι δὲ καὶ ταῦτα ὅμοια τοῖσι τοῦ Ἑφαίστου· τούτου δὲ σφέας παῖδας λέγουσι εἶναι.

38. Πανταχῇ ὧν μοι δῆλα ἐστὶ ὅτι ἐμάνη μεγάλως ὁ Καμβύσης· οὐ γὰρ ἂν ἱροῖσί τε καὶ νομαίοισι ἐπεχείρησε καταγελᾶν. εἰ γάρ τις προθείη πᾶσι ἀνθρώποισι ἐκλέξασθαι κελεύων νόμους τοὺς καλλίστους ἐκ τῶν πάντων νόμων, διασκεψάμενοι ἂν ἐλοίατο ἕκαστοι τοὺς ἑωυτῶν· οὕτω νομίζουνσι πολλόν τι καλλίστους τοὺς ἑωυτῶν νόμους ἕκαστοι εἶναι. οὐκὼν οἶκός ἐστι ἄλλον γε ἢ μαινόμενον ἄνδρα γέλωτα τὰ τοιαῦτα τίθεσθαι· ὥς δὲ οὕτω νενομίκασι τὰ περὶ τοὺς νόμους πάντες ἄνθρωποι, πολλοῖσί τε καὶ ἄλλοισι τεκμηρίοισι πάρεστι σταθμώσασθαι, ἐν δὲ δὴ καὶ τῷδε. Δαρεῖος ἐπὶ τῆς ἑωυτοῦ ἀρχῆς καλέσας Ἑλλήνων τοὺς παρεόντας εἵρετο ἐπὶ κόσῳ ἂν χρήματι βουλοίατο τοὺς πατέρας ἀποθνήσκοντας κατασιτέεσθαι· οἱ δὲ ἐπ' οὐδενὶ ἔφασαν ἔρδειν ἂν τοῦτο. Δαρεῖος δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα καλέσας Ἰνδῶν τοὺς καλεομένους Καλλατίας, οἱ τοὺς γονέας κατεσθίουσι, εἵρετο, παρεόντων τῶν Ἑλλήνων καὶ δι' ἑρμηνέος μανθάνοντων τὰ λεγόμενα, ἐπὶ τίνι χρήματι δεξαίαντ' ἂν τελευτῶντας τοὺς πατέρας κατακαίειν πυρί· οἱ δὲ ἀμβώσαντες μέγα εὐφημέειν μιν ἐκέλευον. οὕτω μὲν νυν ταῦτα νενόμισται, καὶ ὀρθῶς μοι δοκεῖ Πίνδαρος ποιῆσαι νόμον πάντων βασιλέα φήσας εἶναι.



prows of their triremes. I will describe it for him who has not seen these figures: it is in the likeness of a dwarf. Also he entered the temple of the Cabeiri, into which none may enter save the priest; the images here he even burnt, with bitter mockery. These also are like the images of Hephaestus, and are said to be his sons.

38. I hold it then in every way proved that Cambyzes was very mad; else he would never have set himself to deride religion and custom. For if it were proposed to all nations to choose which seemed best of all customs, each, after examination made, would place its own first; so well is each persuaded that its own are by far the best. It is not therefore to be supposed that any, save a madman, would turn such things to ridicule. I will give this one proof among many from which it may be inferred that all men hold this belief about their customs:—When Darius was king, he summoned the Greeks who were with him and asked them what price would persuade them to eat their fathers' dead bodies. They answered that there was no price for which they would do it. Then he summoned those Indians who are called Callatiae,<sup>1</sup> who eat their parents, and asked them (the Greeks being present and understanding by interpretation what was said) what would make them willing to burn their fathers at death. The Indians cried aloud, that he should not speak of so horrid an act. So firmly rooted are these beliefs; and it is, I think, rightly said in Pindar's poem that use and wont is lord of all.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Apparently from Sanskrit *Kāla* = black.

<sup>2</sup> νόμος ὁ πάντων βασιλεὺς θνατῶν τε καὶ ἀθανάτων; quoted in Plato's *Gorgias* from an otherwise unknown poem of Pindar.



39. Καμβύσεω δὲ ἐπ' Αἴγυπτον στρατευομένου ἐποιήσαντο καὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι στρατηγὴν ἐπὶ Σάμον τε καὶ Πολυκράτεα τὸν Αἰάκεος· ὃς ἔσχε Σάμον ἐπαναστάς, καὶ τὰ μὲν πρῶτα τριχῇ δασύμενος τὴν πόλιν . .<sup>1</sup> τοῖσι ἀδελφεοῖσι Πανταγνώτῳ καὶ Συλοσῶντι ἔνειμε, μετὰ δὲ τὸν μὲν αὐτῶν ἀποκτείνας τὸν δὲ νεώτερον Συλοσῶντα ἐξελάσας ἔσχε πᾶσαν Σάμον, σχὼν δὲ ξεινίην Ἀμάσι τῷ Αἰγύπτου βασιλείᾳ συνεθήκατο, πέμπων τε δῶρα καὶ δεκόμενος ἄλλα παρ' ἐκείνου. ἐν χρόνῳ δὲ ὀλίγῳ αὐτίκα τοῦ Πολυκράτεος τὰ πρήγματα ἡὔξετο καὶ ἦν βεβωμένα ἀνά τε τὴν Ἰωνίην καὶ τὴν ἄλλην Ἑλλάδα· ὅκου γὰρ ἰθύσειε στρατεύεσθαι, πάντα οἱ ἐχώρεε εὐτυχέως. ἔκτητο δὲ πεντηκοντέρους τε ἑκατὸν καὶ χιλίους τοξότας, ἔφερε δὲ καὶ ἦγε πάντας διακρίνων οὐδένα· τῷ γὰρ φίλῳ ἔφη χαριεῖσθαι μᾶλλον ἀποδιδούς τὰ ἔλαβε ἢ ἀρχὴν μηδὲ λαβών. συχνὰς μὲν δὴ τῶν νήσων ἀραιοῖκεε, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ τῆς ἡπείρου ἄστεα· ἐν δὲ δὴ καὶ Λεσβίους πανστρατιῇ βοηθέοντας Μιλησίοισι ναυμαχίῃ κρατήσας εἴλε, οἱ τὴν τάφρον περὶ τὸ τεῖχος τὸ ἐν Σάμῳ πᾶσαν δεδεμένοι ὥρυξαν.

40. Καί κως τὸν Ἀμασιν εὐτυχέων μεγάλως ὁ Πολυκράτης οὐκ ἐλάνθανε, ἀλλὰ οἱ τοῦτ' ἦν ἐπιμελής. πολλῷ δὲ ἔτι πλευνός οἱ εὐτυχίης γινομένης γράψας ἐς βυβλίον τάδε ἐπέστειλε ἐς Σάμον. "Ἀμασις Πολυκράτῃ ὧδε λέγει. ἡδὺ μὲν πυνθάνεσθαι ἄνδρα φίλον καὶ ξεῖνον εὖ πρήσσοντα· ἐμοὶ δὲ αἱ σαὶ μεγάλαι εὐτυχίαι οὐκ ἀρέσκουσι, τὸ θεῖον ἐπισταμένῳ ὥς ἔστι φθονερόν· καί κως βού-

<sup>1</sup> σύν or ἄμα is probably omitted.

39. While Cambyses was attacking Egypt, the Lacedaemonians too made war upon Samos and Aeaces' son Polycrates. He had revolted and won Samos,<sup>1</sup> and first, dividing the city into three parts, gave a share in the government to his brothers Pantagnotus and Syloson; but presently he put one of them to death, banished the younger, Syloson, and so made himself lord of all Samos; which done, he made a treaty with Amasis king of Egypt, sending and receiving from him gifts. Very soon after this Polycrates grew to such power that he was famous in Ionia and all other Greek lands; for all his warlike enterprises prospered. An hundred fifty-oared ships he had, and a thousand archers, and he harried all men alike, making no difference; for, he said, he would get more thanks if he gave a friend back what he had taken than if he never took it at all. He had taken many of the islands, and many of the mainland cities. Among others, he conquered the Lesbians; they had brought all their force to aid the Milesians, and Polycrates worsted them in a sea-fight; it was they who, being his captives, dug all the fosse round the citadel of Samos.

40. Now Amasis was in some wise aware and took good heed of Polycrates' great good fortune; and this continuing to increase greatly, he wrote this letter and sent it to Samos: "From Amasis to Polycrates, these. It is pleasant to learn of the well-being of a friend and guest. But I like not these great successes of yours; for I know how jealous are

<sup>1</sup> Probably in 532 B.C.

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λομαι καὶ αὐτὸς καὶ τῶν ἂν κήδωμαι τὸ μὲν τι εὐτυχέειν τῶν πρηγμάτων τὸ δὲ προσπταίειν, καὶ οὕτω διαφέρειν τὸν αἰῶνα ἐναλλάξ πρήσσω ἢ εὐτυχέειν τὰ πάντα. οὐδένα γάρ κω λόγῳ οἶδα ἀκούσας ὅστις ἐς τέλος οὐ κακῶς ἐτελεύτησε πρόρριζος, εὐτυχέων τὰ πάντα. σύ νυν ἐμοὶ πειθόμενος ποίησον πρὸς τὰς εὐτυχίας τοιάδε· φροντίσας τὸ ἂν εὖρης ἐόν τοι πλείστου ἄξιον καὶ ἐπ' ᾧ σὺ ἀπολομένῳ μάλιστα τὴν ψυχὴν ἀλγήσεις, τοῦτο ἀπόβαλε οὕτω ὅκως μηκέτι ἥξει ἐς ἀνθρώπους· ἦν τε μὴ ἐναλλάξ ἤδη τῶπὸ τούτου αἱ εὐτυχίαι τοι τῆσι πάθῃσι προσπίπτωσι, τρόπῳ τῷ ἐξ ἐμεῦ ὑποκειμένῳ ἀκέοι."

41. Ταῦτα ἐπιλεξάμενος ὁ Πολυκράτης καὶ νόῳ λαβὼν ὥς οἱ εὖ ὑπετίθετο Ἀμασις, ἐδίζητο ἐπ' ᾧ ἂν μάλιστα τὴν ψυχὴν ἀσθηθεῖν ἀπολομένῳ τῶν κειμηλίων, διζήμενος δὲ εὕρισκε τόδε. ἦν οἱ σφρηγὶς τὴν ἐφόρεε χρυσόδετος, σμαράγδου μὲν λίθου ἐοῦσα, ἔργον δὲ ἦν Θεοδώρου τοῦ Τηλεκλέος Σαμίου. ἐπεὶ ὦν ταύτην οἱ ἐδόκεε ἀποβαλεῖν, ἐποίησε τοιάδε· πεντηκόντερον πληρώσας ἀνδρῶν ἐσέβη ἐς αὐτήν, μετὰ δὲ ἀναγαγεῖν ἐκέλευε ἐς τὸ πέλαγος· ὥς δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς νήσου ἐκὰς ἐγένετο, περιελόμενος τὴν σφρηγίδα πάντων ὁρώντων τῶν συμπλόων ῥίπτει ἐς τὸ πέλαγος. τοῦτο δὲ ποιήσας ἀπέπλεε, ἀπικόμενος δὲ ἐς τὰ οἰκία συμφορῇ ἐχράτο.

42. Πέμπτη δὲ ἡ ἕκτη ἡμέρῃ ἀπὸ τούτων τάδε οἱ συνήνεικε γενέσθαι. ἀνὴρ ἁλιεὺς λαβὼν ἰχθὺν μέγαν τε καὶ καλὸν ἠξίου μιν Πολυκράτει δῶρον δοθῆναι· φέρων δὲ ἐπὶ τὰς θύρας Πολυκράτει ἔφη ἐθέλειν ἐλθεῖν ἐς ὄψιν, χωρήσαντος δὲ οἱ τούτου ἔλεγε διδοὺς τὸν ἰχθύν "ὦ βασιλεῦ, ἐγὼ

### BOOK III. 40-42

the gods; and I do in some sort desire for myself and my friends a mingling of prosperity and mishap, and a life of weal and woe thus chequered, rather than unbroken good fortune. For from all I have heard I know of no man whom continual good fortune did not bring in the end to evil, and utter destruction. Therefore if you will be ruled by me do this to mend your successes: consider what you deem most precious and what you will most grieve to lose, and cast it away so that it shall never again be seen among men; then, if after this the successes that come to you be not chequered by mishaps, strive to mend the matter as I have counselled you."

41. Reading this, and perceiving that Amasis' advice was good, Polycrates considered which of his treasures it would most afflict his soul to lose, and to this conclusion he came: he wore a seal set in gold, an emerald, wrought by Theodorus son of Telecles of Samos; being resolved to cast this away, he embarked in a fifty-oared ship with its crew, and bade them put out to sea; and when he was far from the island, he took off the seal-ring in sight of all that were in the ship and cast it into the sea. This done, he sailed back and went to his house, where he grieved for the loss.

42. But on the fifth or sixth day from this it so befell that a fisherman, who had taken a fine and great fish, and desired to make it a gift to Polycrates, brought it to the door and said that he wished to be seen by Polycrates. This being granted to him, he gave the fish, saying: "O King, I am a man that lives by

τόνδε ἐλὼν οὐκ ἐδικαίωσα φέρειν ἐς ἀγορήν, καίπερ ἐὼν ἀποχειροβίotos, ἀλλὰ μοι ἐδόκεε σεῦ τε εἶναι ἄξιος καὶ τῆς σῆς ἀρχῆς· σοὶ δὴ μιν φέρων δίδωμι.” ὁ δὲ ἤσθεῖς τοῖσι ἔπεσι ἀμείβεται τοῖσιδε. “Κάρτα τε εὖ ἐποίησας καὶ χάρις διπλῇ τῶν τε λόγων καὶ τοῦ δώρου, καὶ σε ἐπὶ δείπνον καλέομεν.” ὁ μὲν δὴ ἀλιεὺς μέγα ποιεύμενος ταῦτα ἦε ἐς τὰ οἰκία, τὸν δὲ ἰχθὺν τάμνοντες οἱ θεράποντες εὐρίσκουσι ἐν τῇ νηδύι αὐτοῦ ἐνεοῦσαν τὴν Πολυκράτεος σφρηγίδα. ὥς δὲ εἰδόν τε καὶ ἔλαβον τάχιστα, ἔφερον κεχαρηκότες παρὰ τὸν Πολυκράτεα, δίδόντες δέ οἱ τὴν σφρηγίδα ἔλεγον ὅτεω τρόπῳ εὐρέθη. τὸν δὲ ὥς ἐσῆλθε θεῖον εἶναι τὸ πρῆγμα, γράφει ἐς βυβλίον πάντα τὰ ποιήσαντά μιν οἷα καταλαμβάνηκε, γράψας δὲ ἐς Αἴγυπτον ἐπέθηκε.

43. Ἐπιλεξάμενος δὲ ὁ Ἀμασις τὸ βυβλίον τὸ παρὰ τοῦ Πολυκράτεος ἦκον, ἔμαθε ὅτι ἐκκομίσαι τε ἀδύνατον εἶη ἀνθρώπῳ ἄνθρωπον ἐκ τοῦ μέλλοντος γίνεσθαι πρήγματος, καὶ ὅτι οὐκ εὖ τελευτήσειν μέλλοι Πολυκράτης εὐτυχέων τὰ πάντα, ὃς καὶ τὰ ἀποβάλλει εὐρίσκει. πέμψας δέ οἱ κήρυκα ἐς Σάμον διαλύεσθαι ἔφη τὴν ξεινίην. τοῦδε δὲ εἵνεκεν ταῦτα ἐποίηε, ἵνα μὴ συντυχίης δεινῆς τε καὶ μεγάλης Πολυκράτεα καταλαβούσης αὐτὸς ἀλγήσειε τὴν ψυχὴν ὥς περὶ ξείνου ἀνδρός.

44. Ἐπὶ τοῦτον δὴ ὦν τὸν Πολυκράτεα εὐτυχεόντα τὰ πάντα ἐστρατεύοντο Λακεδαιμόνιοι, ἐπικαλεσαμένων τῶν μετὰ ταῦτα Κυδωνίην τὴν ἐν Κρήτῃ κτισάντων Σαμίων. πέμψας δὲ κήρυκα λάθρῃ Σαμίων Πολυκράτης παρὰ Καμβύσεια τὸν Κύρου συλλέγοντα στρατὸν ἐπ’ Αἴγυπτον, ἐδεήθη ὅπως ἂν καὶ παρ’ ἐωυτὸν πέμψας ἐς Σάμον δέοιτο

his calling; but when I caught this fish I thought best not to take it to market; it seemed to me worthy of you and your greatness; wherefore I bring and offer it to you." Polycrates was pleased with what the fisherman said; "You have done right well," he answered, "and I give you double thanks, for your words and for the gift; and I bid you to dinner with me." Proud of this honour, the fisherman went home; but the servants, cutting up the fish, found Polycrates' seal-ring in its belly; which having seen and taken they brought with joy to Polycrates, gave him the ring, and told him how it was found. Polycrates saw the hand of heaven in this matter; he wrote a letter and sent it to Egypt, telling all that he had done, and what had befallen him.

43. When Amasis had read Polycrates' letter, he perceived that no man could save another from his destiny, and that Polycrates, being so continually fortunate that he even found what he cast away, must come to an evil end. So he sent a herald to Samos to renounce his friendship, with this intent, that when some great and terrible mishap overtook Polycrates, he himself might not have to grieve his heart for a friend.

44. It was against this ever-victorious Polycrates that the Lacedaemonians now made war, being invited thereto by the Samians who afterwards founded Cydonia in Crete. Polycrates had without the knowledge of his subjects sent a herald to Cambyses son of Cyrus, then raising an army against Egypt, to ask that Cambyses should send to Samos too and require



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στρατοῦ. Καμβύσης δὲ ἀκούσας τούτων προθύμως ἔπεμψε ἐς Σάμον δεόμενος Πολυκράτεος στρατὸν ναυτικὸν ἅμα πέμψαι ἐωυτῷ ἐπ' Αἴγυπτον. ὁ δὲ ἐπιλέξας τῶν ἀστῶν τοὺς ὑπώπτευε μάλιστα ἐς ἐπανάστασιν ἀπέπεμπε τεσσαράκοντα τριήρεσι, ἐντειλάμενος Καμβύσῃ ὀπίσω τούτους μὴ ἀποπέμπειν.

45. Οἱ μὲν δὴ λέγουσι τοὺς ἀποπεμφθείτας Σαμίων ὑπὸ Πολυκράτεος οὐκ ἀπικέσθαι ἐς Αἴγυπτον, ἀλλ' ἐπεῖτε ἐγένοντο ἐν Καρπάθῳ πλέοντες, δοῦναι σφίσι λόγον, καὶ σφι ἰδεῖν τὸ προσωτέρω μηκέτι πλέειν· οἱ δὲ λέγουσι ἀπικομένους τε ἐς Αἴγυπτον καὶ φυλασσομένους ἐνθεῦτεν αὐτοὺς ἀποδρῆναι. καταπλέουσι δὲ ἐς τὴν Σάμον Πολυκράτης νηυσὶ ἀντιάσας ἐς μάχην κατέστη· νικήσαντες δὲ οἱ κατιόντες ἀπέβησαν ἐς τὴν νῆσον, πεζομαχήσαντες δὲ ἐν αὐτῇ ἐσώθησαν, καὶ οὕτω δὴ ἔπλεον ἐς Λακεδαίμονα. εἰσὶ δὲ οἱ λέγουσι τοὺς ἀπ' Αἰγύπτου νικῆσαι Πολυκράτεα, λέγοντες ἐμοὶ δοκέειν οὐκ ὀρθῶς· οὐδὲν γὰρ ἔδει σφέας Λακεδαιμονίους ἐπικαλέεσθαι, εἴ περ αὐτοὶ ἦσαν ἱκανοὶ Πολυκράτεα παραστήσασθαι. πρὸς δὲ τούτοις οὐδὲ λόγος αἰρέει, τῷ ἐπίκουροί τε μισθωτοὶ καὶ τοξόται οἰκῆιοι ἦσαν πλήθει πολλοί, τοῦτον ὑπὸ τῶν κατιόντων Σαμίων ἐόντων ὀλίγων ἐσσωθῆναι. τῶν δ' ὑπ' ἐωυτῷ ἐόντων πολιητέων τὰ τέκνα καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας ὁ Πολυκράτης ἐς τοὺς νεωσοίκους συνειλήσας εἶχε ἐτοιμούς, ἣν ἄρα προδιδῶσι οὗτοι πρὸς τοὺς κατιόντας, ὑποπρῆσαι αὐτοῖσι τοῖσι νεωσοῖκοις.

46. Ἐπεῖτε δὲ οἱ ἐξελασθέντες Σαμίων ὑπὸ Πολυκράτεος ἀπίκοντο ἐς τὴν Σπάρτην, κατα-

men from him. On this message Cambyses very readily sent to Samos, asking Polycrates to send a fleet to aid him against Egypt. Polycrates chose out those townsmen whom he most suspected of planning a rebellion against him, and sent them in forty triremes, charging Cambyses not to send the men back.

45. Some say that these Samians who were sent by Polycrates never came to Egypt, but having got as far over the sea as Carpathus there took counsel together and resolved to sail no further; others say that they did come to Egypt and escaped thence from the guard that was set over them. But as they sailed back to Samos, Polycrates' ships met them and joined battle; and the returning Samians gained the day and landed on the island, but were there worsted in a land battle, and so sailed to Lacedaemon. There is another story, that the Samians from Egypt defeated Polycrates; but to my thinking this is untrue; for if they were able to master Polycrates by themselves, they had no need of inviting the Lacedaemonians. Nay, moreover, it is not even reasonable to suppose that he, who had a great army of hired soldiers and bowmen of his own, was worsted by a few men like the returning Samians. Polycrates took the children and wives of the townsmen who were subject to him and shut them up in the arsenal, with intent to burn them and the arsenal too if their men should desert to the returned Samians.

46. When the Samians who were expelled by Polycrates came to Sparta, they came before the

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στάντες ἐπὶ τοὺς ἄρχοντας ἔλεγον πολλὰ οἷα κάρτα δεόμενοι· οἳ δὲ σφι τῇ πρώτῃ καταστάσει ὑπεκρίναντο τὰ μὲν πρῶτα λεχθέντα ἐπιλελῆσθαι, τὰ δὲ ὕστατα οὐ συνιέναι. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα δεύτερα καταστάντες ἄλλο μὲν εἶπον οὐδέν, θύλακον δὲ φέροντες ἔφασαν τὸν θύλακον ἀλφίτων δέεσθαι. οἳ δὲ σφι ὑπεκρίναντο τῷ θυλάκῳ περιεργάσθαι· βοηθέειν δ' ὧν ἔδοξε αὐτοῖσι.

47. Καὶ ἔπειτα παρασκευασάμενοι ἐστρατεύοντο Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἐπὶ Σάμον, ὡς μὲν Σάμιοι λέγουσι, εὐεργεσίας ἐκτίνοντες, ὅτι σφι πρότεροι αὐτοὶ νηυσὶ ἐβοήθησαν ἐπὶ Μεσσηνίους· ὡς δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι λέγουσι, οὐκ οὕτω τιμωρῆσαι δεομένοισι Σαμίοισι ἐστρατεύοντο ὡς τίσασθαι βουλόμενοι τοῦ κρητῆρος τῆς ἀρπαγῆς, τὸν ἡγον Κροίσῳ, καὶ τοῦ θώρηκος, τὸν αὐτοῖσι Ἕλλησις ὁ Αἰγύπτου βασιλεὺς ἔπεμψε δῶρον. καὶ γὰρ θώρηκα ἐλήισαντο τῷ προτέρῳ ἔτεϊ ἢ τὸν κρητῆρα οἱ Σάμιοι, ἔοντα μὲν λίνεον καὶ ζῶων ἐνυφασμένων συχνῶν, κεκοσμημένον δὲ χρυσῷ καὶ εἰρίοισι ἀπὸ ξύλου· τῶν δὲ εἵνεκα θωμάσαι ἄξιον, ἀρπεδόνῃ ἐκάστη τοῦ θώρηκος ποιέει· ἐοῦσα γὰρ λεπτὴ ἔχει ἀρπεδόνας ἐν ἐωυτῇ τριηκοσίας καὶ ἐξήκοντα, πάσας φανεράς. τοιοῦτος ἕτερος ἐστὶ καὶ τὸν ἐν Λίνδῳ ἀνέθηκε τῇ Ἀθηναίῃ Ἕλλησις.

48. Συνεπελάβοντο δὲ τοῦ στρατεύματος τοῦ ἐπὶ Σάμον ὥστε γενέσθαι καὶ Κορίνθιοι προθύμως· ὕβρισμα γὰρ καὶ ἐς τούτους εἶχε ἐκ τῶν Σαμίων γενόμενον γενεῇ πρότερον τοῦ στρατεύματος τούτου, κατὰ δὲ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον τοῦ κρητῆρος τῇ ἀρπαγῇ γεγενοῦς. Κερκυραίων γὰρ παῖδας τριηκοσίους ἀνδρῶν τῶν πρώτων Περίανδρος ὁ Κυψέλου ἐς

ruling men and made a long speech to show the greatness of their need. But the Spartans at their first sitting answered that they had forgotten the beginning of the speech and could not understand its end. After this the Samians came a second time with a sack, and said nothing but this: "The sack wants meal." To this the Spartans replied: "Your 'sack' was needless"<sup>1</sup>; but they did resolve to help them.

47. The Lacedaemonians then equipped and sent an army to Samos; the Samians say that this was the requital of services done, they having first sent a fleet to help the Lacedaemonians against Messenia; but the Lacedaemonians say that they sent this army less to aid the Samians in their need than to avenge the robbery of the bowl which they had been carrying to Croesus and the breastplate which Amasis King of Egypt had sent them as a gift. This breastplate had been stolen away by the Samians in the year before they took the bowl; it was of linen, decked with gold and cotton embroidery, and inwoven with many figures; but what makes the wonder of it is each several thread; it is delicate work, containing three hundred and sixty threads, each plainly seen. It is the exact counterpart of that one which Amasis dedicated to Athene in Lindus.

48. The Corinthians also helped zealously to further the expedition against Samos. They too had been treated in a high-handed fashion by the Samians a generation before this expedition, about the time of the robbery of the bowl. Periander son of Cypselus sent to Alyattes at Sardis three hundred boys, sons

<sup>1</sup> It would have been enough (the Lacedaemonians meant) to say ἀλφίτων δέεται, without using the word θύλακος.

Σάρδις ἀπέπεμψε παρὰ Ἀλυάττεα ἐπ' ἐκτομῇ· προσσχόντων δὲ ἐς τὴν Σάμον τῶν ἀγόντων τοὺς παῖδας Κορινθίων, πυθόμενοι οἱ Σάμιοι τὸν λόγον, ἐπ' οἷσι ἀγοίατο ἐς Σάρδις, πρῶτα μὲν τοὺς παῖδας ἐδίδαξαν ἱροῦ ἄψασθαι Ἀρτέμιδος· μετὰ δὲ οὐ περιορῶντες ἀπέλκειν τοὺς ἰκέτας ἐκ τοῦ ἱροῦ, σιτίων δὲ τοὺς παῖδας ἐργόντων Κορινθίων, ἐποίησαντο οἱ Σάμιοι ὀρτήν, τῇ καὶ νῦν ἔτι χρέωνται κατὰ ταυτά. νυκτὸς γὰρ ἐπιγειομένης, ὅσον χρόνον ἰκέτευον οἱ παῖδες, ἴστασαν χοροὺς παρθένων τε καὶ ἡθέων, ἰστάντες δὲ τοὺς χοροὺς τρωκτὰ σησάμου τε καὶ μέλιτος ἐποίησαντο νόμον φέρεσθαι, ἵνα ἀρπάζοντες οἱ τῶν Κερκυραίων παῖδες ἔχοιεν τροφήν. ἐς τοῦτο δὲ τόδε ἐγίνετο, ἐς ὃ οἱ Κορίνθιοι τῶν παίδων οἱ φύλακοι οἴχοντο ἀπολιπόντες· τοὺς δὲ παῖδας ἀπήγαγον ἐς Κέρκυραν οἱ Σάμιοι.

49. Εἰ μὲν νυν Περιάνδρου τελευτήσαντος τοῖσι Κορινθίοισι φίλα ἦν πρὸς τοὺς Κερκυραίους, οἱ δὲ οὐκ ἂν συνελάβοντο τοῦ στρατεύματος τοῦ ἐπὶ Σάμον ταύτης εἵνεκεν τῆς αἰτίας. νῦν δὲ αἰεὶ ἐπεῖτε ἔκτισαν τὴν νῆσον εἰσὶ ἀλλήλοισι διάφοροι, ἔόντες ἐωυτοῖσι . . .<sup>1</sup> τούτων ὧν εἵνεκεν ἀπεμνησικάκεον τοῖσι Σαμίοισι οἱ Κορίνθιοι.

50. Ἀπέπεμπε δὲ ἐς Σάρδις ἐπ' ἐκτομῇ Περιάνδρος τῶν πρώτων Κερκυραίων ἐπιλέξας τοὺς παῖδας τιμωρεύμενος· πρότεροι γὰρ οἱ Κερκυραῖοι ἦρξαν ἐς αὐτὸν πρῆγμα ἀτάσθαλον ποιήσαντες. ἐπεῖτε γὰρ τὴν ἐωυτοῦ γυναῖκα Μέλισσαν Περιάνδρος ἀπέκτεινε, συμφορὴν τοιήνδε οἱ ἄλλην

<sup>1</sup> I assume in translation that some word, *συγγενέες* or *δμαίμονες*, has dropped out.

of notable men in Corcyra, to be made eunuchs. The Corinthians who brought the boys put in at Samos; and when the Samians heard why the boys were brought, first they bade them take sanctuary in the temple of Artemis, then they would not suffer the suppliants to be dragged from the temple; and when the Corinthians tried to starve the boys out, the Samians made a festival which they still celebrate in the same fashion; as long as the boys took refuge, nightly dances of youths and maidens were ordained to which it was made a custom to bring cakes of sesame and honey, that the Corcyraean boys might snatch these and so be fed. This continued to be done till the Corinthian guards left their charge and departed, and the Samians took the boys back to Corcyra.

49. Now had the Corinthians after Periander's death been well disposed towards the Corcyraeans, they would not have aided in the expedition against Samos only for the reason given. But as it was, ever since the island was colonised they have been at feud with each other, for all their kinship. For these reasons the Corinthians bore a grudge against the Samians.

50. It was in vengeance that Periander chose the sons of the notable Corcyraeans and sent them to Sardis to be made eunuchs; for the Corcyraeans had first begun the quarrel by committing a terrible crime against him. For after killing his own wife Melissa, Periander suffered yet another calamity besides what



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συνέβη πρὸς τῇ γεγονυίῃ γενέσθαι. ἦσαν οἱ ἐκ Μελίσσης δύο παῖδες, ἡλικίην δὲ μὲν ἑπτακαίδεκα ὃ δὲ ὀκτωκαίδεκα ἔτεα γεγονώς. τούτους ὁ μητροπάτωρ Προκλῆς ἐὼν Ἐπιδαύρου τύραννος μεταπεμφάμενος παρ' ἐωυτὸν ἐφιλοφρονέετο, ὡς οἶκος ἦν θυγατρὸς ἐόντας τῆς ἐωυτοῦ παιδας. ἐπεῖτε δὲ σφέας ἀπεπέμπετο, εἶπε προπέμπων αὐτούς “<sup>3</sup> Ἄρα ἴστε, ὦ παῖδες, ὃς ὑμέων τὴν μητέρα ἀπέκτεινε;” τοῦτο τὸ ἔπος ὁ μὲν πρεσβύτερος αὐτῶν ἐν οὐδενὶ λόγῳ ἐποίησατο· ὁ δὲ νεώτερος, τῷ οὐνομα ἦν Λυκόφρων, ἠλγησε ἀκούσας οὕτω ὥστε ἀπικόμενος ἐς τὴν Κόρινθον ἄτε φονέα τῆς μητρὸς τὸν πατέρα οὔτε προσεῖπε, διαλεγομένῳ τε οὔτε προσδιελέγετο ἱστορέοντί τε λόγον οὐδένα ἐδίδου. τέλος δὲ μιν περιθύμως ἔχων ὁ Περίανδρος ἐξελαύνει ἐκ τῶν οἰκίων.

51. Ἐξελάσας δὲ τοῦτον ἱστόρει τὸν πρεσβύτερον τά σφι ὁ μητροπάτωρ διελέχθη. ὃ δὲ οἱ ἀπηγέετο ὡς σφέας φιλοφρόνως ἐδέξατο· ἐκείνου δὲ τοῦ ἔπεος τό σφι ὁ Προκλῆς ἀποστέλλων εἶπε, ἄτε οὐ νόῳ λαβὼν, οὐκ ἐμέμνητο. Περίανδρος δὲ οὐδεμίαν μηχανὴν ἔφη εἶναι μὴ οὐ σφι ἐκείνου ὑποθέσθαι τι, ἐλιπάρεε τε ἱστορέων· ὃ δὲ ἀναμνησθεὶς εἶπε καὶ τοῦτο. Περίανδρος δὲ νόῳ λαβὼν [καὶ τοῦτο]<sup>1</sup> καὶ μαλακὸν ἐνδιδόναι βουλόμενος οὐδέν, τῇ ὁ ἐξελασθεὶς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ παῖς δίαιταν ἐποιέετο, ἐς τούτους πέμπων ἄγγελον ἀπηγόρευε μὴ μιν δέκεσθαι οἰκίοισι. ὃ δὲ ὅκως ἀπελαυνόμενος ἔλθοι ἐς ἄλλην οἰκίην, ἀπηλαύνετ' ἂν καὶ ἀπὸ ταύτης, ἀπειλέοντός τε τοῦ Περίανδρου τοῖσι δεξαμένοισι καὶ ἐξέργειν κελεύοντος· ἀπελαυνό-

<sup>1</sup> Stein brackets καὶ τοῦτο, as a repetition from the last line.

had already befallen him. He had two sons by Melissa, one seventeen and one eighteen years old. Their mother's father, Procles, the despot of Epidaurus, sent for the boys and kindly entreated them, as was natural, seeing that they were his own daughter's sons. When they left him, he said as he bade them farewell: "Know you, boys, him who slew your mother?" The elder of them paid no heed to these words; but the younger, whose name was Lycophon, was struck with such horror when he heard them that when he came to Corinth he would speak no word to his father, as being his mother's murderer, nor would he answer him when addressed nor make any reply to his questions. At last Periander was so angry that he drove the boy from his house.

51. Having so done he questioned the elder son, what their grandfather had said in converse to them. The boy told him that Procles had treated them kindly; but he made no mention of what he had said at parting; for he had taken no heed to it. Periander said it could not be but that Procles had given them some admonition; and he questioned his son earnestly; till the boy remembered, and told of that also. Being thus informed, Periander was resolved to show no weakness; he sent a message to those with whom his banished son was living and bade them not entertain him in their house. So the boy being driven forth and going to another house was ever rejected there too, Periander threatening all who received him and bidding them keep him

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μενος δ' ἂν ἦιε ἐπ' ἑτέρην τῶν ἐταίρων· οὐ δὲ ἄτε Περιάνδρου ἔοντα παῖδα καίπερ δειμαίνοντες ὁμῶς ἐδέκοντο.

52. Τέλος δὲ ὁ Περιάνδρος κήρυγμα ἐποιήσατο, ὃς ἂν ἡ οἰκίοισι ὑποδέξηται μιν ἢ προσδιαλεχθῇ, ἱρὴν ζημίην τοῦτον τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι ὀφείλειν, ὅσῃν δὴ εἶπας. πρὸς ὧν δὴ τοῦτο τὸ κήρυγμα οὔτε τίς οἱ διαλέγεσθαι οὔτε οἰκίοισι δέκεσθαι ἠθέλε· πρὸς δὲ οὐδὲ αὐτὸς ἐκεῖνος ἐδικαίου πειρᾶσθαι ἀπειρημένου, ἀλλὰ διακαρτερέων ἐν τῇσι στοῇσι ἐκαλινδέετο. τετάρτη δὲ ἡμέρῃ ἰδὼν μιν ὁ Περιάνδρος ἀλουσίσῃ τε καὶ ἀσιτίῃσι συμπεπτωκότα οἴκτειρε· ὑπεῖς δὲ τῆς ὀργῆς ἦιε ἄσσον καὶ ἔλεγε “ὦ παῖ, κότερα τούτων αἰρετώτερα ἐστί, ταῦτα τὸ νῦν ἔχων πρήσσεις, ἢ τὴν τυραννίδα καὶ τὰ ἀγαθὰ τὰ νῦν ἐγὼ ἔχω, ταῦτα ἔοντα τῷ πατρὶ ἐπιτήδεον παραλαμβάνειν, ὃς ἐὼν ἐμός τε παῖς καὶ Κορίνθου τῆς εὐδαίμονος βασιλεὺς ἀλήτην βίον εἶλεν, ἀντιστατέων τε καὶ ὀργῇ χρεώμενος ἐς τὸν σε ἥκιστα ἐχρῆν. εἰ γάρ τις συμφορὴ ἐν αὐτοῖσι γέγονε, ἐξ ἧς ὑποψίην ἐς ἐμὲ ἔχεις, ἐμοί τε αὕτη γέγονε καὶ ἐγὼ αὐτῆς τὸ πλεῦν μέτοχος εἰμί, ὅσῳ αὐτὸς σφεα ἐξεργασάμην. σὺ δὲ μαθὼν ὅσῳ φθονέεσθαι κρέσσον ἐστὶ ἢ οἰκτείρεσθαι, ἅμα τε ὁκοῖόν τι ἐς τοὺς τοκέας καὶ ἐς τοὺς κρέσσονας τεθυμῶσθαι, ἅπιθι ἐς τὰ οἰκία.” Περιάνδρος μὲν τούτοισι αὐτὸν κατελάμβανε· ὃ δὲ ἄλλο μὲν οὐδὲν ἀμείβεται τὸν πατέρα, ἔφη δὲ μιν ἱρὴν ζημίην ὀφείλειν τῷ θεῷ ἑωυτῷ ἐς λόγους ἀπικόμενον. μαθὼν δὲ ὁ Περιάνδρος ὥς ἄπορόν τι τὸ κακὸν εἶη τοῦ παιδὸς καὶ ἀνίκητον, ἐξ ὀφθαλμῶν μιν ἀποπέμπεται στείλας πλοῖον ἐς Κέρκυραν· ἐπεκράτεε γὰρ καὶ ταύτης·

### BOOK III. 51-52

out; so he would go, when driven forth, to some other house of his friends, who, though they were afraid, did yet receive him as being Periander's son.

52. At the last Periander made a proclamation, that whosoever should receive him into their houses or address him should be held liable to a fine consecrated to Apollo, and he named the sum. In face of this proclamation none would address or receive the boy into his house; nor did the boy himself think well to try to defy the warning, but hardened his heart and lay untended in porches. After three days Periander saw him all starved and unwashed, and took pity on him: his anger being somewhat abated, he came near and said: "My son, which is the better way to choose—to follow your present way of life, or to obey your father and inherit my sovereignty and the good things which I now possess? You are my son, and a prince of wealthy Corinth; yet you have chosen the life of a vagrant, by withstanding and angrily entreating him who should least be so used by you. For if there has been any evil chance in the matter, which makes you to suspect me, 'tis on me that it has come and 'tis I that bear the greater share of it, inasmuch as the act was mine. Nay, bethink you how much better a thing it is to be envied than to be pitied, and likewise what comes of anger against parents and those that are stronger than you, and come away to my house." Thus Periander tried to win his son. But the boy only answered: "You have made yourself liable to the fine consecrated to the god by speaking to me." Then Periander saw that his son's trouble was past cure or constraint, and sent him away in a ship to Coreyra out of his sight; for Coreyra too

ἀποστείλας δὲ τοῦτον ὁ Περίανδρος ἐστρατεύετο ἐπὶ τὸν πενθερὸν Προκλέα ὡς τῶν παρεόντων οἱ πρηγμάτων ἔοντα αἰτιώτατον, καὶ εἶλε μὲν τὴν Ἐπίδauρον, εἶλε δὲ αὐτὸν Προκλέα καὶ ἐζώγρησε.

53. Ἐπεὶ δὲ τοῦ χρόνου προβαίνοντος ὃ τε Περίανδρος παρηβήκεε καὶ συνεγινώσκετο ἑωυτῷ οὐκέτι εἶναι δυνατὸς τὰ πρήγματα ἐπορᾶν τε καὶ διέπειν, πέμψας ἐς τὴν Κέρκυραν ἀπεκάλεε τὸν Λυκόφροια ἐπὶ τὴν τυραννίδα· ἐν γὰρ δὴ τῷ πρεσβυτέρῳ τῶν παίδων οὐκὼν ἐνώρα, ἀλλὰ οἱ κατεφαίνετο εἶναι νωθέστερος. ὁ δὲ Λυκόφρων οὐδὲ ἀνακρίσιος ἠξίωσε τὸν φέροντα τὴν ἀγγελίην. Περίανδρος δὲ περιεχόμενος τοῦ νεηνίῳ δεύτερα ἀπέστειλε ἐπ' αὐτὸν τὴν ἀδελφεήν, ἑωυτοῦ δὲ θυγατέρα, δοκέων μιν μάλιστα ταύτῃ ἂν πείθεσθαι. ἀπικομένης δὲ ταύτης καὶ λεγούσης “ὦ παῖ, βούλειαι τὴν τε τυραννίδα ἐς ἄλλους πεσεῖν καὶ τὸν οἶκον τοῦ πατρὸς διαφορηθέντα μᾶλλον ἢ αὐτός σφεα ἀπελθὼν ἔχειν; ἅπιθι ἐς τὰ οἰκία, παῦσαι σεωυτὸν ζημιῶν. φιλοτιμίη κτῆμα σκαιόν. μὴ τῷ κακῷ τὸ κακὸν ἰῶ. πολλοὶ τῶν δικαίων τὰ ἐπιεικέστερα προτιθεῖσι, πολλοὶ δὲ ἤδη τὰ μητρῷα διζήμενοι τὰ πατρώια ἀπέβαλον. τυραννὶς χρῆμα σφαλερόν, πολλοὶ δὲ αὐτῆς ἐρασταὶ εἰσι, ὃ δὲ γέρων τε ἤδη καὶ παρηβηκώς· μὴ δῶς τὰ σεωυτοῦ ἀγαθὰ ἄλλοισι.” ἡ μὲν δὴ τὰ ἐπαγωγότατα διδαχθεῖσα ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς ἔλεγε πρὸς αὐτόν· ὃ δὲ ὑποκρινάμενος ἔφη οὐδαμὰ ἤξειν ἐς Κόρινθον, ἔστ' ἂν πυνθάνηται περιέοντα τὸν πατέρα. ἀπαγγειλάσης δὲ ταύτης ταῦτα, τὸ τρίτον Περίανδρος κήρυκα πέμπει βουλόμενος αὐτὸς μὲν ἐς Κέρκυραν ἦκειν, ἐκείνους δὲ ἐκέλευε

### BOOK III. 52-53

was subject to him; which done, he sent an army against Procles his father-in-law (deeming him to be the chief cause of his present troubles), and took Procles himself alive, besides taking Epidaurus.

53. As time went on, Periander, now grown past his prime and aware that he could no longer oversee and direct all his business, sent to Corcyra inviting Lycophron to be despot; for he saw no hope in his eldest son, who seemed to him to be slow-witted. Lycophron refused even to answer the messenger. Then Periander, greatly desiring that the young man should come, sent to him (as the next best way) his own daughter, the youth's sister, thinking that he would be likeliest to obey her. She came and said, "Brother, would you see the sovereignty pass to others, and our father's house plundered, rather than come hence and have it for your own? Nay, come away home and cease from punishing yourself. Pride is the possession of fools. Seek not to cure one ill by another. There be many that set reason before righteousness; and many that by zeal for their mother's cause have lost their father's possessions. Despotism is a thing hard to hold; many covet it, and our father is now old and past his prime; give not what is your estate to others." So, by her father's teaching, she used such arguments as were most likely to win Lycophron; but he answered, that he would never come to Corinth as long as he knew his father to be alive. When she brought this answer back, Periander sent a third messenger, offering to go to Corcyra himself, and



## HERODOTUS

ἐς Κόρινθον ἀπικόμενον διάδοχον γίνεσθαι τῆς τυραννίδος. καταινέσαντος δὲ ἐπὶ τούτοις τοῦ παιδός, ὁ μὲν Περίανδρος ἐστέλλετο ἐς τὴν Κέρκυραν, ὁ δὲ παῖς οἱ ἐς τὴν Κόρινθον. μαθόντες δὲ οἱ Κερκυραῖοι τούτων ἕκαστα, ἵνα μὴ σφί Περίανδρος ἐς τὴν χώραν ἀπίκηται, κτείνουσι τὸν νεηνίσκον. ἀντὶ τούτων μὲν Περίανδρος Κερκυραίους ἐτιμωρέετο.

54. Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ στόλῳ μεγάλῳ ὥς ἀπίκοντο, ἐπολιόρκεον Σάμον· προσβαλόντες δὲ πρὸς τὸ τεῖχος τοῦ μὲν πρὸς θαλάσση ἐστεῶτος πύργου κατὰ τὸ προάστειον τῆς πόλιος ἐπέβησαν, μετὰ δὲ αὐτοῦ βοηθήσαντος Πολυκράτεος χειρὶ πολλῇ ἀπηλάσθησαν. κατὰ δὲ τὸν ἐπάνω πύργον τὸν ἐπὶ τῆς ῥάχιος τοῦ ὄρεος ἐπεόντα ἐπεξῆλθον οἱ τε ἐπίκουροι καὶ αὐτῶν Σαμίων συχνοί, δεξάμενοι δὲ τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους ἐπ' ὀλίγον χρόνον ἔφευγον ὀπίσω, οἱ δὲ ἐπισπόμενοι ἔκτεινον.

55. Εἰ μὲν νυν οἱ παρεόντες Λακεδαιμονίων ὅμοιοι ἐγένοντο ταύτην τὴν ἡμέρην Ἀρχίη τε καὶ Λυκώπη, αἰρέθη ἂν Σάμος· Ἀρχίης γὰρ καὶ Λυκώπης μῦνοι συνεσπесόντες φεύγουσι ἐς τὸ τεῖχος τοῖσι Σαμίοις καὶ ἀποκληισθέντες τῆς ὀπίσω ὁδοῦ ἀπέθανον ἐν τῇ πόλει τῇ Σαμίων. τρίτῳ δὲ ἀπ' Ἀρχίῳ τούτου γεγονότι ἄλλῳ Ἀρχίῳ τῷ Σαμίου τοῦ Ἀρχίῳ αὐτὸς ἐν Πιτάνῃ συνεγενόμην (δήμου γὰρ τούτου ἦν), ὃς ξείνων πάντων μάλιστα ἐτίμα τε Σαμίους καὶ οἱ τῷ πατρὶ ἔφη Σάμιον τοῦνομα τεθῆναι, ὅτι οἱ ὁ πατὴρ Ἀρχίης ἐν Σάμῳ ἀριστεύσας ἐτελεύτησε· τιμᾶν δὲ Σαμίους ἔφη, διότι ταφῆναί οἱ τὸν πάππον δημοσίῃ ὑπὸ Σαμίων.

### BOOK III. 53-55

to make Lycophron, when he came, despot in his place. The son consented to this; Periander made ready to go to Corcyra and Lycophron to go to Corinth; but when the Corcyraeans learnt of all these matters they put the young man to death, lest Periander should come to their country. It was for this that Periander desired vengeance upon them.

54. The Lacedaemonians then came with a great host, and laid siege to Samos. They assailed the fortress and made their way into the tower by the seaside in the outer part of the city; but presently Polycrates himself attacked them with a great force and drove them out. The foreign soldiery and many of the Samians themselves sallied out near the upper tower on the ridge of the hill, and withstood the Lacedaemonian onset for a little while; then they fled back, the Lacedaemonians pursuing and slaying them.

55. Now had all the Lacedaemonians there fought as valiantly that day as Archias and Lycopas, Samos had been taken. These two alone entered the fortress along with the fleeing crowd of Samians, and their way back being barred were then slain in the city of Samos. I myself have met in his native township of Pitana<sup>1</sup> another Archias (son of Samius, and grandson of the Archias afore-named), who honoured the Samians more than any other of his guest-friends, and told me that his father had borne the name Samius because he was the son of that Archias who was slain fighting gallantly at Samos. The reason of his honouring the Samians, he said, was that they had given his grandfather a public funeral.

<sup>1</sup> A part of the town of Sparta; Herodotus calls it by the Attic name of δῆμος; the Peloponnesian word would be κώμα.

## HERODOTUS

56. Λακεδαιμόνιοι δέ, ὥς σφι τεσσεράκοντα ἐγεγόνεσαν ἡμέραι πολιορκέουσι Σάμον ἐς τὸ πρόσω τε οὐδὲν προεκόπτετο τῶν πρηγμάτων, ἀπαλλάσσοντο ἐς Πελοπόννησον. ὥς δὲ ὁ ματαιότερος λόγος ὄρμηται, λέγεται Πολυκράτεα ἐπιχώριον νόμισμα κόψαντα πολλὸν μολύβδου καταχρυσώσαντα δοῦναί σφι, τοὺς δὲ δεξαμένους οὕτω δὴ ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι. ταύτην πρώτην στρατήϊν ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην Λακεδαιμόνιοι Δωριέες ἐποίησαντο.

57. Οἱ δ' ἐπὶ τὸν Πολυκράτεα στρατευσάμενοι Σαμίων, ἐπεὶ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι αὐτοὺς ἀπολιπεῖν ἔμελλον, καὶ αὐτοὶ ἀπέπλεον ἐς Σίφνον, χρημάτων γὰρ ἐδέοντο, τὰ δὲ τῶν Σιφνίων πρήγματα ἤκμαζε τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον, καὶ νησιωτέων μάλιστα ἐπλούτεον, ἅτε ἐόντων αὐτοῖσι ἐν τῇ νήσῳ χρυσέων καὶ ἀργυρέων μετάλλων, οὕτω ὥστε ἀπὸ τῆς δεκάτης τῶν γινομένων αὐτόθεν χρημάτων θησαυρὸς ἐν Δελφοῖσι ἀνάκειται ὅμοια τοῖσι πλουσιωτάτοις· αὐτοὶ δὲ τὰ γινόμενα τῷ ἐνιαυτῷ ἐκάστῳ χρήματα διενέμοντο. ὅτε ὦν ἐποιεῦντο τὸν θησαυρόν, ἐχρέωντο τῷ χρηστηρίῳ εἰ αὐτοῖσι τὰ παρεόντα ἀγαθὰ οἶά τε ἐστὶ πολλὸν χρόνον παραμένειν· ἡ δὲ Πυθίη ἔχρησέ σφι τάδε.

“Ἄλλ' ὅταν ἐν Σίφνῳ πρυτανήια λευκὰ γένηται  
 λεύκοφρύς τ' ἀγορή, τότε δὴ δεῖ φράδμονος  
 ἀνδρός  
 φράσσασθαι ξύλινόν τε λόχον κήρυκά τ'  
 ἐρυθρόν.”

τοῖσι δὲ Σιφνίοις ἦν τότε ἡ ἀγορὴ καὶ τὸ πρυτανήιον Παρίῳ λίθῳ ἡσκημένα.

### BOOK III. 56-57

56. So when the Lacedaemonians had besieged Samos for forty days with no success, they went away to Peloponnesus. There is a foolish tale abroad that Polycrates bribed them to depart by making and giving them a great number of gilt leaden coins, as a native currency. This was the first expedition to Asia made by Dorians of Lacedaemon.<sup>1</sup>

57. When the Lacedaemonians were about to abandon them, the Samians who had brought an army against Polycrates sailed away too, and went to Siphnus; for they were in want of money; and the Siphnians were at this time very prosperous and the richest of the islanders, by reason of the gold and silver mines of the island. So wealthy were they that the treasury dedicated by them at Delphi, which is as rich as any there, was made from the tenth part of their revenues; and they made a distribution for themselves of each year's revenue. Now when they were making the treasury they enquired of the oracle if their present well-being was like to abide long; whereto the priestess gave them this answer:

“Siphnus, beware of the day when white is thy  
high prytaneum,

White-browed thy mart likewise; right prudent  
then be thy counsel;

Cometh an ambush of wood and a herald red to  
assail thee.”

At this time the market-place and town-hall of Siphnus were adorned with Parian marble.

<sup>1</sup> Not the first expedition, that is, made by any inhabitants of Laconia, Achaeans from that country having taken part in the Trojan war.

## HERODOTUS

58. Τοῦτον τὸν χρησμὸν οὐκ οἶοί τε ἦσαν γνῶναι οὔτε τότε εὐθύς οὔτε τῶν Σαμίων ἀπιγμένων. ἐπεῖτε γὰρ τάχιστα πρὸς τὴν Σίφνον προσίσχον οἱ Σάμιοι, ἔπεμπον τῶν νεῶν μίαν πρέσβεας ἄγουσαν ἐς τὴν πόλιν. τὸ δὲ παλαιὸν ἅπασαι αἱ νέες ἦσαν μιληλιφέες, καὶ ἦν τοῦτο τὸ ἢ Πυθίη προηγόρευε τοῖσι Σιφνίοισι, φυλάσσειν τὸν ξύλινον λόχον κελεύουσα καὶ κήρυκα ἐρυθρόν. ἀπικόμενοι ὧν οἱ ἄγγελοι ἐδέοντο τῶν Σιφνίων δέκα τάλαντά σφι χρῆσαι· οὐ φασκόντων δὲ χρήσειν τῶν Σιφνίων αὐτοῖσι, οἱ Σάμιοι τοὺς χώρους αὐτῶν ἐπόρθεον. πυθόμενοι δὲ εὐθύς ἤκουσιν οἱ Σίφνιοι βοηθέοντες καὶ συμβαλόντες αὐτοῖσι ἐσσώθησαν, καὶ αὐτῶν πολλοὶ ἀπεκληρίσθησαν τοῦ ἄστεος ὑπὸ τῶν Σαμίων, καὶ αὐτοὺς μετὰ ταῦτα ἑκατὸν τάλαντα ἔπρηξαν.

59. Παρὰ δὲ Ἑρμιονέων νῆσον ἀντὶ χρημάτων παρέλαβον Ὑδρέην τὴν ἐπὶ Πελοποννήσῳ καὶ αὐτὴν Τροιζηνίοισι παρακατέθεντο· αὐτοὶ δὲ Κυδωνίην τὴν ἐν Κρήτῃ ἔκτισαν, οὐκ ἐπὶ τοῦτο πλέοντες ἀλλὰ Ζακυνθίους ἐξελῶντες ἐκ τῆς νήσου. ἔμειναν δ' ἐν ταύτῃ καὶ εὐδαιμόνησαν ἐπ' ἕτεα πέντε, ὥστε τὰ ἰρὰ τὰ ἐν Κυδωνίῃ ἑόντα νῦν οὗτοι εἰσὶ οἱ ποιήσαντες [καὶ τὸν τῆς Δικτύνης νηόν].<sup>1</sup> ἔκτω δὲ ἔτεϊ Αἰγινῆται αὐτοὺς ναυμαχίῃ νικήσαντες ἠνδραποδίσαντο μετὰ Κρητῶν, καὶ τῶν νεῶν καπρίους ἐχουσέων τὰς πρῶρας ἠκρωτηρίασαν καὶ ἀνέθεσαν ἐς τὸ ἱρὸν τῆς Ἀθηναίης ἐν Αἰγίνῃ. ταῦτα δὲ ἐποίησαν ἔγκοτον ἔχοντες Σαμίοισι

<sup>1</sup> Stein thinks καὶ . . . νηόν an interpolation; the temple of Dictyna was at some distance from Cydonia, and the cult was not a Greek one.

58. They could not understand this oracle either when it was spoken or at the time of the Samians' coming. As soon as the Samians put in at Siphnus, they sent ambassadors to the town in one of their ships; now in ancient times all ships were painted with vermillion<sup>1</sup>; and this was what was meant by the warning given by the priestess to the Siphnians, to beware of a wooden ambush and a red herald. The messengers, then, demanded from the Siphnians a loan of ten talents; which being refused, the Samians set about ravaging their lands. Hearing this the Siphnians came out forthwith to drive them off, but they were worsted in battle, and many of them were cut off from their town by the Samians; who presently exacted from them a hundred talents.

59. Then the Samians took from the men of Hermione, instead of money, the island Hydrea which is near to Peloponnesus, and gave it in charge to men of Troezen; they themselves settled at Cydonia in Crete, though their voyage had been made with no such intent, but rather to drive Zacynthians out of the island. Here they stayed and prospered for five years; indeed, the temples now at Cydonia and the shrine of Dictyna are the Samians' work; but in the sixth year came Aeginetans and Cretans and overcame them in a sea-fight and made slaves of them; moreover they cut off the ships' prows, that were shaped like boars' heads, and dedicated them in the temple of Athene in Aegina. This the Aeginetans did out of a grudge against the Samians, who had begun the quarrel; for when

<sup>1</sup> *μιλτοπάργοι* is one of the Homeric epithets of ships.



Αἰγινῆται· πρότεροι γὰρ Σάμιοι ἐπ' Ἀμφικράτεος βασιλεύοντος ἐν Σάμῳ στρατευσάμενοι ἐπ' Αἴγιναν μεγάλα κακὰ ἐποίησαν Αἰγινήτας καὶ ἔπαθον ὑπ' ἐκείνων. ἡ μὲν αἰτία αὕτη.

60. Ἐμήκυνα δὲ περὶ Σαμίων μᾶλλον, ὅτι σφί τρία ἐστὶ μέγιστα ἀπάντων Ἑλλήνων ἐξερ-  
γασμένα, ὁρεὸς τε ὑψηλοῦ ἐς πεντήκοντα καὶ  
ἐκατὸν ὀργυιάς, τούτου ὄρυγμα κάτῳθεν ἀρξά-  
μενον, ἀμφίστομον. τὸ μὲν μήκος τοῦ ὀρύγ-  
ματος ἐπτὰ στάδιοι εἰσί, τὸ δὲ ὕψος καὶ εὖρος  
ὀκτὼ ἐκάτερον πόδες. διὰ παντὸς δὲ αὐτοῦ ἄλλο  
ὄρυγμα εἰκοσίπηχυ βάθος ὀρώρεται, τρίπουν δὲ  
τὸ εὖρος, δι' οὗ τὸ ὕδωρ ὀχετευόμενον διὰ τῶν  
σωλήνων παραγίνεται ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἀγόμενον ἀπὸ  
μεγάλης πηγῆς. ἀρχιτέκτων δὲ τοῦ ὀρύγματος  
τούτου ἐγένετο Μεγαρεὺς Εὐπαλῖνος Ναυστρόφου.  
τοῦτο μὲν δὴ ἐν τῶν τριῶν ἐστὶ, δεύτερον δὲ  
περὶ λιμένα χῶμα ἐν θαλάσῃ, βάθος καὶ εἴκοσι  
ὀργυιέων· μήκος δὲ τοῦ χώματος μέζον δύο σταδίων.  
τρίτον δὲ σφί ἐξέργασται νηὸς μέγιστος πάντων  
νηῶν τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν· τοῦ ἀρχιτέκτων πρῶτος  
ἐγένετο Ῥοῖκος Φιλέω ἐπιχώριος. τούτων εἵνεκεν  
μᾶλλον τι περὶ Σαμίων ἐμήκυνα.

61. Καμβύση δὲ τῷ Κύρου χρονίζοντι περὶ  
Αἴγυπτον καὶ παραφρονήσαντι ἐπανιστέεται  
ἄνδρες Μάγοι δύο ἀδελφεοί, τῶν τὸν ἕτερον κατα-  
λελοίπεε τῶν οἰκίων μελεδωνὸν ὁ Καμβύσης. οὗτος  
δὴ ὢν οἱ ἐпанέστη μαθὼν τε τὸν Σμέρδιος θάνατον  
ὥς κρύπτοιο γενόμενος, καὶ ὥς ὀλίγοι εἶησαν οἱ

Amphicrates was king of Samos they had sent an army against Aegina, whereby now the Samians and now the Aeginetans had suffered great harm. Such was the cause of the feud.

60. I have written thus at length of the Samians, because they are the makers of the three greatest works to be seen in any Greek land. First of these is the double-mouthed channel pierced for an hundred and fifty fathoms through the base of a high hill; the whole channel is seven furlongs long,<sup>1</sup> eight feet high and eight feet wide; and throughout the whole of its length there runs another channel twenty cubits deep and three feet wide, wherethrough the water coming from an abundant spring is carried by its pipes to the city of Samos. The designer of this work was Eupalinus son of Naustrophus, a Megarian. This is one of the three works; the second is a mole in the sea enclosing the harbour, sunk full twenty fathoms, and more than two furlongs in length. The third Samian work is the temple, which is the greatest that I have seen; its first builder was Rhoecus son of Philes, a Samian. It is for this cause that I have written at length more than ordinary of Samos.

61. Now after Cambyses son of Cyrus had lost his wits, while he still lingered in Egypt, two Magians, who were brothers, rebelled against him.<sup>2</sup> One of them had been left by Cambyses to be steward of his house; this man now revolted from him, perceiving that the death of Smerdis was kept secret,

<sup>1</sup> Remains of this work show that the tunnel was only 1100 feet long.

<sup>2</sup> The story dropped at ch. 38 is now taken up again.

## HERODOTUS

ἐπιστάμενοι αὐτὸν Περσέων, οἱ δὲ πολλοὶ περιέ-  
 ὄντα μιν εἰδείησαν. πρὸς ταῦτα βουλευσας τάδε  
 ἐπεχείρησε τοῖσι βασιλῆίοισι. ἦν οἱ ἀδελφείας,  
 τὸν εἰπά οἱ συνεπαναστῆναι, οἰκῶς μάλιστα τὸ  
 εἶδος Σμέρδι τῷ Κύρου, τὸν ὁ Καμβύσης ἔοντα  
 ἑωυτοῦ ἀδελφεὸν ἀπέκτεινε· ἦν τε δὴ ὅμοιος εἶδος  
 τῷ Σμέρδι καὶ δὴ καὶ οὔνομα τῶντὸ εἶχε Σμέρδιν.  
 τοῦτον τὸν ἄνδρα ἀναγνώσας ὁ Μάγος Πατιζεΐθης  
 ὥς οἱ αὐτὸς πάντα διαπρήξει, εἶσε ἄγων ἐς τὸν  
 βασιλῆιον θρόνον. ποιήσας δὲ τοῦτο κήρυκας τῇ  
 τε ἄλλῃ διέπεμπε καὶ δὴ καὶ ἐς Αἴγυπτον προερέ-  
 οντα τῷ στρατῷ ὥς Σμέρδιος τοῦ Κύρου ἀκουστέα  
 εἶη τοῦ λοιποῦ ἀλλ' οὐ Καμβύσεω.

62. Οἷ τε δὴ ὦν ἄλλοι κήρυκες προηγόρευον  
 ταῦτα καὶ δὴ καὶ ὁ ἐπ' Αἴγυπτον ταχθεὶς, εὔρισκε  
 γὰρ Καμβύσεα καὶ τὸν στρατὸν ἔοντα τῆς Συρίας  
 ἐν Ἀγβατάνοισι, προηγόρευε στὰς ἐς μέσον τὰ  
 ἐντεταλμένα ἐκ τοῦ Μάγου. Καμβύσης δὲ ἀκού-  
 σας ταῦτα ἐκ τοῦ κήρυκος καὶ ἐλπίσας μιν λέγειν  
 ἀληθέα αὐτὸς τε προδεδόσθαι ἐκ Πρηξάσπεος  
 (πεμφθέντα γὰρ αὐτὸν ὥς ἀποκτενέοντα Σμέρδιν  
 οὐ ποιῆσαι ταῦτα), βλέψας ἐς τὸν Πρηξάσπεα  
 εἶπε “Πρήξασπες, οὕτω μοι διεπρήξαις τό τοι  
 προσέθηκα πρήγμα;” ὁ δὲ εἶπε “ὦ δέσποτα, οὐκ  
 ἔστι ταῦτα ἀληθέα, ὅπως κοτὲ σοὶ Σμέρδις ἀδελ-  
 φεὸς σὸς ἐπανέστηκε, οὐδὲ ὅπως τι ἐξ ἐκείνου τοῦ  
 ἀνδρὸς νεῖκός τοι ἔσται ἢ μέγα ἢ σμικρόν· ἐγὼ  
 γὰρ αὐτός, ποιήσας τὰ σύ με ἐκέλευες, ἔθαψά μιν  
 χερσὶ τῇσι ἑμεωυτοῦ. εἰ μὲν νυν οἱ τεθνεῶτες  
 ἀνεστᾶσι, προσδέκεό τοι καὶ Ἀστυάγεα τὸν Μῆδον  
 ἐπαναστήσεσθαι· εἰ δ' ἔστι ὥσπερ πρὸ τοῦ, οὐ μὴ  
 τί τοι ἔκ γε ἐκείνου νεώτερον ἀναβλάσθῃ. νῦν ὦν

and that few persons knew of it, most of them believing him to be still alive. Therefore he thus plotted to gain the royal power: he had a brother, his partner, as I said, in rebellion; this brother was very like in appearance to Cyrus' son, Smerdis, brother of Cambyses and by him put to death; nor was he like him in appearance only, but he bore the same name also, Smerdis. Patizeithes the Magian persuaded this man that he, Patizeithes, would manage the whole business for him; he brought his brother and set him on the royal throne; which done, he sent heralds to all parts, one of whom was to go to Egypt and proclaim to the army that henceforth they must obey not Cambyses but Smerdis the son of Cyrus.

62. So this proclamation was everywhere made; the herald appointed to go to Egypt, finding Cambyses and his army at Agbatana in Syria, came out before them all and proclaimed the message given him by the Magian. When Cambyses heard what the herald said, he supposed that it was truth, and that Prexaspes, when sent to kill Smerdis, had not so done but played Cambyses false; and he said, fixing his eyes on Prexaspes, "Is it thus, Prexaspes, that you did my behest?" "Nay," said Prexaspes, "this is no truth, sire, that your brother Smerdis has rebelled against you; nor can it be that he will have any quarrel with you, small or great; I myself did your bidding, and mine own hands buried him. If then the dead can rise, you may look to see Astyages the Mede rise up against you; but if nature's order be not changed, assuredly no harm to you will arise from Smerdis. Now

μοι δοκέει μεταδιώξαντας τὸν κήρυκα ἐξετάζειν εἰρωτεύοντας παρ' ὅτεν ἤκων προαγορεύει ἡμῖν Σμέρδιος βασιλέος ἀκούειν."

63. Ταῦτα εἶπαντος Πρηξάσπεος, ἤρесе γὰρ Καμβύση, αὐτίκα μεταδίωκτος γενόμενος ὁ κήρυξ ἦκε· ἀπιγμένον δέ μιν εἶρετο ὁ Πρηξάσπης τάδε. "Ὁνθρωπε, φῆς γὰρ ἦκειν παρὰ Σμέρδιος τοῦ Κύρου ἄγγελος· νῦν ὦν εἶπας τὴν ἀληθείην ἄπιθι χαίρων, κότερα αὐτός τοι Σμέρδις φαινόμενος ἐς ὄψιν ἐνετέλλετο ταῦτα ἢ τῶν τις ἐκείνου ὑπηρετέων." ὁ δὲ εἶπε "Ἐγὼ Σμέρδιν μὲν τὸν Κύρου, ἐξ ὅτεν βασιλεὺς Καμβύσης ἤλασε ἐς Αἴγυπτον, οὐκ ὅπως· ὁ δέ μοι Μάγος τὸν Καμβύσης ἐπιτροπον τῶν οἰκίων ἀπέδεξε, οὗτος ταῦτα ἐνετείλατο, φὰς Σμέρδιν τὸν Κύρου εἶναι τὸν ταῦτα ἐπιθέμενον εἶπαι πρὸς ὑμέας." ὁ μὲν δὴ σφι ἔλεγε οὐδὲν ἐπικατεψευσμένος, Καμβύσης δὲ εἶπε "Πρήξασπες, σὺ μὲν οἶα ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς ποιήσας τὸ κελευόμενον αἰτήν ἐκπέφευγας· ἐμοὶ δὲ τίς ἂν εἴη Περσέων ὁ ἐπανεστεῶς ἐπιβατεύων τοῦ Σμέρδιος οὐνόματος;" ὁ δὲ εἶπε "Ἐγὼ μοι δοκέω συνιέναι τὸ γεγονὸς τοῦτο, ὦ βασιλεῦ· οἱ Μάγοι εἰσὶ τοι οἱ ἐπανεστεῶτες, τὸν τε ἔλιπες μελεδωνὸν τῶν οἰκίων, Πατιζείθης, καὶ ὁ τούτου ἀδελφεὸς Σμέρδις."

64. Ἐνθαῦτα ἀκούσαντα Καμβύσεα τὸ Σμέρδιος οὐνομα ἔτυψε ἢ ἀληθείῃ τῶν τε λόγων καὶ τοῦ ἐνυπνίου· ὃς ἐδόκεε ἐν τῷ ὕπνῳ ἀπαγγεῖλαι τινὰ οἱ ὡς Σμέρδις ἰζόμενος ἐς τὸν βασιλῆιον θρόνον ψαύσειε τῇ κεφαλῇ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ. μαθὼν δὲ ὡς μάτην ἀπολωλεκὼς εἴη τὸν ἀδελφόν, ἀπέκλαιε Σμέρδιν· ἀποκλαύσας δὲ καὶ περιημεκτῆσας τῇ

### BOOK III. 62-64

therefore this is my counsel, that we pursue after this herald and examine him, to know from whom he comes with his proclamation that we must obey Smerdis as our king."

63. Cambyses thought well of Prexaspes' counsel; the herald was pursued and brought; and when he came, Prexaspes put this question to him: "Sirrah, you say that your message is from Cyrus' son Smerdis; tell me this now, and you may go hence unpunished: was it Smerdis who himself appeared to you and gave you this charge, or was it one of his servants?" "Since King Cambyses marched to Egypt," answered the herald, "I have never myself seen Smerdis the son of Cyrus; the Magian whom Cambyses made overseer of his house gave me the charge, saying that it was the will of Smerdis, son of Cyrus, that I should make it known to you." So spoke the herald, telling the whole truth; and Cambyses said, "Prexaspes, I hold you innocent; you have done my bidding right loyally; but who can this Persian be who rebels against me and usurps the name of Smerdis?" Prexaspes replied, "I think, sire, that I understand what has been done here; the rebels are the Magians, Patizeithes whom you left steward of your house, and his brother Smerdis."

64. At the name of Smerdis, Cambyses was smitten to the heart by the truth of the word and the fulfilment of his dream; for he had dreamt that a message had come to him that Smerdis had sat on the royal throne with his head reaching to heaven; and perceiving that he had killed his brother without cause, he wept bitterly for Smerdis. Having wept his fill, in great grief for all his mishap,



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ἀπάσῃ συμφορῇ ἀναθρώσκει ἐπὶ τὸν ἵππον, ἐν νόῳ ἔχων τὴν ταχίστην ἐς Σοῦσα στρατεύεσθαι ἐπὶ τὸν Μάγον. καὶ οἱ ἀναθρώσκοντι ἐπὶ τὸν ἵππον τοῦ κολεοῦ τοῦ ξίφεος ὁ μύκης ἀποπίπτει, γυμνωθὲν δὲ τὸ ξίφος παίει τὸν μηρόν· τρωματισθεὶς δὲ κατὰ τοῦτο τῇ αὐτὸς πρότερον τὸν τῶν Αἰγυπτίων θεὸν Ἄπιον ἔπληξε, ὥς οἱ καιρίῃ ἔδοξε τετύφθαι, εἶρετο ὁ Καμβύσης ὃ τι τῇ πόλι οὔνομα εἴη· οἱ δὲ εἶπαν ὅτι Ἀγβατάνα. τῷ δὲ ἔτι πρότερον ἐκέχρηστο ἐκ Βουτοῦς πόλιος ἐν Ἀγβατάνοισι τελευτήσῃ τὸν βίον. ὁ μὲν δὴ ἐν τοῖσι Μηδικοῖσι Ἀγβατάνοισι ἐδόκεε τελευτήσῃ γηραιός, ἐν τοῖσί οἱ ἦν τὰ πάντα πρήγματα· τὸ δὲ χρηστήριον ἐν τοῖσι ἐν Συρίῃ Ἀγβατάνοισι ἔλεγε ἄρα. καὶ δὴ ὥς τότε ἐπειρόμενος ἐπύθετο τῆς πόλιος τὸ οὔνομα, ὑπὸ τῆς συμφορῆς τῆς τε ἐκ τοῦ Μάγου ἐκπεπληγμένος καὶ τοῦ τρώματος ἐσωφρόνησε, συλλαβὼν δὲ τὸ θεοπρόπιον εἶπε “Ἐνθαῦτα Καμβύσεια τὸν Κύρου ἐστὶ πεπρωμένον τελευτᾶν.”

65. Τότε μὲν τοσαῦτα. ἡμέρησι δὲ ὕστερον ὥς εἴκοσι μεταπεμψάμενος Περσέων τῶν παρεόντων τοὺς λογιμωτάτους ἔλεγέ σφι τάδε. “ὦ Πέρσαι, καταλελάβηκέ με, τὸ πάντων μάλιστα ἔκρυπτον πρηγμάτων, τοῦτο ἐς ὑμέας ἐκφῆναι. ἐγὼ γὰρ ἔων ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ εἶδον ὄψιν ἐν τῷ ὕπνῳ, τὴν μηδαμὰ ὄφελον ἰδεῖν· ἐδόκεον δέ μοι ἄγγελον ἐλθόντα ἐξ οἴκου ἀγγέλλειν ὥς Σμέρδις ἰζόμενος ἐς τὸν βασιλῆιον θρόνον ψαύσειε τῇ κεφαλῇ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ. δείσας δὲ μὴ ἀπαιρεθῶ τὴν ἀρχὴν πρὸς τοῦ ἀδελφεοῦ, ἐποίησα ταχύτερα ἢ σοφώτερα· ἐν τῇ γὰρ ἀνθρωπίνῃ φύσει οὐκ ἐνῆν ἄρα τὸ μέλλον

### BOOK III. 64-65

he leapt upon his horse, with intent to march forthwith to Susa against the Magian. As he mounted, the scabbard knob of his sword slipped off, and the naked blade struck his thigh, wounding him in the same part where he himself had once smitten the Egyptian god Apis; and believing the blow to be mortal, Cambyses asked what was the name of the town where he was. They told him it was Agbatana. Now a prophecy had ere this come to him from Buto, that he would end his life at Agbatana; Cambyses supposed this to signify that he would die in old age at the Median Agbatana, his capital city; but as the event proved, the oracle prophesied his death at Agbatana of Syria. So when he now enquired and learnt the name of the town, the shock of his wound, and of the misfortune that came to him from the Magian, brought him to his senses; he understood the prophecy and said: "Here Cambyses son of Cyrus is doomed to die."

65. At this time he said no more. But about twenty days after, he sent for the most honourable of the Persians that were about him, and thus addressed them: "Needs must, Persians! that I declare to you a matter which I kept most strictly concealed. When I was in Egypt, I saw in my sleep a vision that I would I had never seen; methought a messenger came from home to tell me that Smerdis had sat on the royal throne, his head reaching to heaven. Then I feared that my brother would take away from me my sovereignty, and I acted with more haste than wisdom; for (as I now

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γίνεσθαι ἀποτράπειν. ἐγὼ δὲ ὁ μάταιος Πρηξάσπεα ἀποπέμπω ἐς Σοῦσα ἀποκτενέοντα Σμέρδιν. ἐξεργασθέντος δὲ κακοῦ τοσούτου ἀδεῶς διαιτώμην, οὐδαμὰ ἐπιλεξάμενος μή κοτέ τίς μοι Σμέρδιος ὑπαραιρημένου ἄλλος ἐπανασταίῃ ἰνθρώπων. παντὸς δὲ τοῦ μέλλοντος ἔσεσθαι ἀμαρτῶν ἀδελφεοκτόνος τε οὐδὲν δέον γέγονα καὶ τῆς βασιληΐης οὐδὲν ἥσσον ἐστέρημαι. Σμέρδις γὰρ δὴ ἦν ὁ Μάγος τὸν μοι ὁ δαίμων προέφαινε ἐν τῇ ὄψι ἐπαναστήσεσθαι. τὸ μὲν δὴ ἔργον ἐξέργασταί μοι, καὶ Σμέρδιν τὸν Κύρου μηκέτι ὑμῖν ἐόντα λογίζεσθε· οἱ δὲ ὑμῖν Μάγοι κρατέουσι τῶν βασιληϊῶν, τὸν τε ἔλιπον ἐπίτροπον τῶν οἰκίῶν καὶ ὁ ἐκείνου ἀδελφεὸς Σμέρδις. τὸν μὲν νυν μάλιστα χρῆν ἐμεῦ αἰσχρὰ πρὸς τῶν Μάγων πεπονθότος τιμωρέειν ἐμοί, οὗτος μὲν ἀνοσίῳ μόρῳ τετελεύτηκε ὑπὸ τῶν ἐωυτοῦ οἰκηιοτάτων· τούτου δὲ μηκέτι ἐόντος, δεύτερα τῶν λοιπῶν ὑμῖν ὧ Πέρσαι γίνεταιί μοι ἀναγκαιότατον ἐντέλλεσθαι τὰ θέλω μοι γενέσθαι τελευτῶν τὸν βίον· καὶ δὴ ὑμῖν τάδε ἐπισκήπτω θεοὺς τοὺς βασιληῖους ἐπικαλέων καὶ πᾶσι ὑμῖν καὶ μάλιστα Ἀχαιμενιδέων τοῖσι παρεούσι, μὴ περιδεῖν τὴν ἡγεμονίην αὐτὶς ἐς Μήδους περιελθοῦσαν, ἀλλ' εἴτε δόλῳ ἔχουσι αὐτὴν κτησάμενοι, δόλῳ ἀπαιρεθῆναι ὑπὸ ὑμέων, εἴτε καὶ σθένει τεῶ κατεργασάμενοι, σθένει κατὰ τὸ καρτερὸν ἀνασώσασθαι. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ποιεῦσι ὑμῖν γῇ τε καρπὸν ἐκφέρει καὶ γυναικῆς τε καὶ ποῖμναι τίκτοιν, ἐοῦσι ἐς τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον ἐλευθέροισι· μὴ δὲ ἀνασωσαμένοισι τὴν ἀρχὴν μηδ' ἐπιχειρήσασι ἀνασώζειν τὰ ἐναντία τούτοισι ἀρῶμαι ὑμῖν γενέσθαι, καὶ πρὸς ἔτι τούτοισι τὸ τέλος

### BOOK III. 65

see) no human power can turn fate aside ; fool that I was ! I sent Prexaspes to Susa to slay Smerdis. When that great wrong was done I lived without fear, for never did I think that when Smerdis was taken out of my way another man might rise against me. So did I wholly mistake what was to be ; I have slain my brother for no cause, and lost my kingship none the less ; for the rebel foretold by heaven in the vision was Smerdis the Magian. Now I have done the deed, and I would have you believe that Smerdis Cyrus' son no longer lives ; you see the Magians masters of my royal estate, even him that I left steward of my house, and his brother Smerdis. So then he that especially should have avenged the dishonour done me by the Magian lies foully slain by his nearest kinsman ; and he being no longer in life, necessity constrains me, in his default, to charge you, men of Persia, with the last desire of my life. In the name of the gods of my royal house I charge all of you, but chiefly those Achaemenids that are here, not to suffer the sovereignty to fall again into Median hands ; if they have won it by trickery, trick them of it again ; if they have wrested it away by force, then do you by force and strength of hand recover it. And if you so do, may your land bring forth her fruits, and your women and your flocks and herds be blessed with offspring ; but if you win not back the kingdom nor essay so to do, then I pray that all may go

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Περσέων ἐκάστω ἐπιγενέσθαι οἶον ἐμοὶ ἐπιγέγονε.”  
 ἅμα τε εἶπας ταῦτα ὁ Καμβύσης ἀπέκλαιε πᾶσαν  
 τὴν ἑωυτοῦ πρῆξιν.

66. Πέρσαι δὲ ὥς τὸν βασιλέα εἶδον ἀνακλαύ-  
 σαντα πάντες τὰ τε ἐσθῆτος ἐχόμενα εἶχον, ταῦτα  
 κατηρεῖκοντο καὶ οἰμωγῇ ἀφθόνῳ διεχρέωντο.  
 μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ὥς ἐσφακέλισέ τε τὸ ὀστέον καὶ  
 ὁ μηρὸς τάχιστα ἐσάπη, ἀπήνεικε Καμβύσεια τὸν  
 Κύρου, βασιλεύσαντα μὲν τὰ πάντα ἐπτὰ ἔτεα  
 καὶ πέντε μῆνας, ἅπαιδα δὲ τὸ παράπαν ἔοντα  
 ἔρσειος καὶ θήλεος γόνου. Περσέων δὲ τοῖσι  
 παρεοῦσι ἀπιστίῃ πολλὴ ὑπεκέχυτο τοὺς Μάγους  
 ἔχειν τὰ πρήγματα, ἀλλ’ ἠπιστέατο ἐπὶ διαβολῇ  
 εἰπεῖν Καμβύσεια τὰ εἶπε περὶ τοῦ Σμέρδιος  
 θανάτου, ἵνα οἱ ἐκπολεμωθῇ πᾶν τὸ Περσικόν.  
 οὗτοι μὲν νυν ἠπιστέατο Σμέρδιν τὸν Κύρου  
 βασιλέα ἐνεστεῶτα· δεινῶς γὰρ καὶ ὁ Πρηξάσπης  
 ἔξαρνος ἦν μὴ μὲν ἀποκτεῖναι Σμέρδιν· οὐ γὰρ ἦν  
 οἱ ἀσφαλὲς Καμβύσειω τετελευτηκότος φάναι τὸν  
 Κύρου υἱὸν ἀπολωλέκεναι αὐτοχειρίῃ.

67. Ὁ δὲ δὴ Μάγος τελευτήσαντος Καμβύσειω  
 ἀδεῶς ἐβασίλευσε, ἐπιβατεύων τοῦ ὁμωνύμου  
 Σμέρδιος τοῦ Κύρου, μῆνας ἐπτὰ τοὺς ἐπιλοίπους  
 Καμβύσῃ ἐς τὰ ὀκτὼ ἔτεα τῆς πληρώσιος· ἐν  
 τοῖσι ἀπεδέξατο ἐς τοὺς ὑπηκόους πάντας εὐεργε-  
 σίας μεγάλας, ὥστε ἀποθανόντος αὐτοῦ πόθον  
 ἔχειν πάντας τοὺς ἐν τῇ Ἀσίῃ πάρεξ αὐτῶν  
 Περσέων. διαπέμψας γὰρ ὁ Μάγος ἐς πᾶν ἔθνος  
 τῶν ἡρχε προεῖπε ἀτελείην εἶναι στρατηίης καὶ  
 φόρου ἐπ’ ἔτεα τρία.

68. Προεῖπε μὲν δὴ ταῦτα αὐτίκα ἐνιστάμενος  
 ἐς τὴν ἀρχήν, ὀγδόῳ δὲ μηνὶ ἐγένετο κατάδηλος

### BOOK III. 65-68

contrariwise for you, yea, that every Persian may meet an end such as mine." With that Cambyses wept bitterly for all that had befallen him.

66. When the Persians saw their king weep, they all rent the garments which they wore and lamented loud and long. But after this the bone became gangrened and the thigh rotted; which took off Cambyses son of Cyrus, who had reigned in all seven years and five months, and left no issue at all, male or female. The Persians present fully disbelieved in their hearts that the Magians were masters of the kingdom; they supposed that Cambyses' intent was to deceive them with his tale of Smerdis' death that so all Persia might be plunged into war. So they believed that it was Cyrus' son Smerdis who had been made king. For Prexaspes stoutly denied that he had killed Smerdis, since now that Cambyses was dead, it was not safe for him to say that he had slain the son of Cyrus with his own hands.

67. Cambyses being dead, the Magian, pretending to be the Smerdis of like name, Cyrus' son, reigned without fear for the seven months lacking to Cambyses' full eight years of kingship. In this time he greatly benefited all his subjects, in so much that after his death all the Asiatics except the Persians wished him back; for he sent hither and thither to every nation of his dominions and proclaimed them for three years freed from service in arms and from tribute.

68. Such was his proclamation at the beginning of his reign; but in the eighth month it was revealed who



τρόπῳ τοιῷδε. Ὀτάνης ἦν Φαρνάσπεω μὲν παῖς, γένει δὲ καὶ χρήμασι ὅμοιος τῷ πρώτῳ Περσέων. οὗτος ὁ Ὀτάνης πρῶτος ὑπώπτευσε τὸν Μάγον ὥς οὐκ εἶη ὁ Κύρου Σμέρδης ἀλλ' ὅς περ ἦν, τῇδε συμβαλλόμενος, ὅτι τε οὐκ ἐξεφοίτα ἐκ τῆς ἀκροπόλιος καὶ ὅτι οὐκ ἐκάλεε ἐς ὄψιν ἐωυτῷ οὐδένα τῶν λογίμων Περσέων· ὑποπτεύσας δέ μιν ἐποίηε τάδε. ἔσχε αὐτοῦ Καμβύσης θυγατέρα, τῇ οὐνομα ἦν Φαιδύμη· τὴν αὐτὴν δὴ ταύτην εἶχε τότε ὁ Μάγος καὶ ταύτῃ τε συνοίκεε καὶ τῇσι ἄλλησι πάσῃσι τῇσι τοῦ Καμβύσεω γυναιξί. πέμπων δὲ ὦν ὁ Ὀτάνης παρὰ ταύτην τὴν θυγατέρα ἐπυνθάνετο παρ' ὅτεω ἀνθρώπων κοιμῶτο, εἴτε μετὰ Σμέρδιος τοῦ Κύρου εἴτε μετὰ ἄλλου τευ. ἡ δέ οἱ ἀντέπεμπε φαμένῃ οὐ γινώσκειν· οὔτε γὰρ τὸν Κύρου Σμέρδιν ἰδέσθαι οὐδαμὰ οὔτε ὅστις εἶη ὁ συνοικέων αὐτῇ εἰδέναι. ἔπεμπε δεύτερα ὁ Ὀτάνης λέγων “Εἰ μὴ αὐτὴ Σμέρδιν τὸν Κύρου γινώσκεις, σὺ δὲ παρὰ Ἀτόσσης πύθου ὅτεω τούτῳ συνοικέει αὐτὴ τε ἐκείνη καὶ σύ· πάντως γὰρ δὴ κου τόν γε ἐωυτῆς ἀδελφεὸν γινώσκει.”

69. Ἀντιπέμπει πρὸς ταῦτα ἡ θυγάτηρ “Οὔτε Ἀτόσση δύναμαι ἐς λόγους ἐλθεῖν οὔτε ἄλλην οὐδεμίαν ἰδέσθαι τῶν συγκατημενέων γυναικῶν. ἐπείτε γὰρ τάχιστα οὗτος ὦνθρωπος, ὅστις κοτὲ ἐστί, παρέλαβε τὴν βασιληίην, διέσπειρε ἡμέας ἄλλην ἄλλη τάξας.” ἀκούοντι δὲ ταῦτα τῷ Ὀτάνῃ μᾶλλον κατεφαίνεται τὸ πρῆγμα. τρίτην δὲ ἀγγελίην ἐσπέμπει παρ' αὐτὴν λέγουσαν ταῦτα. “ὦ θύγατερ, δεῖ σε γεγονυῖαν εὖ κίνδυνον ἀναλαβέσθαι τὸν ἂν ὁ πατὴρ ὑποδύνειν κελεύῃ. εἰ γὰρ δὴ μὴ ἐστι ὁ Κύρου Σμέρδης ἀλλὰ τὸν καταδοκέω

### BOOK III. 68-69

he was, and this is how it was done :—There was one Otanes, son of Pharnaspes, as well-born and rich a man as any Persian. This Otanes was the first to suspect that the Magian was not Cyrus' son Smerdis but his true self; the reason was, that he never left the citadel nor summoned any notable Persian into his presence; and in his suspicion—Cambyses having married Otanes' daughter Phaedyne, whom the Magian had now wedded, with all the rest of Cambyses' wives—Otanes sent to this daughter, asking with whom she lay, Smerdis, Cyrus' son, or another. She sent back a message that she did not know; for (said she) she had never seen Cyrus' son Smerdis, nor knew who was her bedfellow. Then Otanes sent a second message, to this effect: "If you do not yourself know Cyrus' son Smerdis, then ask Atossa who is this that is her lord and yours; for surely she knows her own brother."

69. To this his daughter replied: "I cannot get speech with Atossa, nor can I see any other of the women of the household; for no sooner had this man, whoever he is, made himself king, than he sent us to live apart, each in her appointed place." When Otanes heard that, he saw more clearly how the matter stood; and he sent her this third message: "Daughter, it is due to your noble birth that you should run any risk that your father bids you face. If this man be not Smerdis son of Cyrus, but

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ἐγώ, οὗτοι μιν σοί τε συγκοιμώμενον καὶ τὸ Περσέων κράτος ἔχοντα δεῖ χαίροντα ἀπαλλάσσειν, ἀλλὰ δοῦναι δίκην. νῦν ὦν ποιήσον τάδε· ἐπεὰν σοὶ συνεύδῃ καὶ μάθῃς αὐτὸν κατυπνωμένον, ἄφασον αὐτοῦ τὰ ὦτα· καὶ ἦν μὲν φαίνεται ἔχων ὦτα, νόμιζε σεωυτὴν Σμέρδι τῷ Κύρου συνοικέειν, ἦν δὲ μὴ ἔχων, σὺ δὲ τῷ Μάγῳ Σμέρδι.” ἀντιπέμπει πρὸς ταῦτα ἡ Φαιδύμη φαμένη κινδυνεύσειν μεγάλως, ἦν ποιέῃ ταῦτα· εἰ γὰρ δὴ μὴ τυγχάνει τὰ ὦτα ἔχων, ἐπίλαμπτος δὲ ἀφάσσουσα ἔσται, εὖ εἰδέναι ὡς αἰστώσει μιν· ὅμως μέντοι ποιήσειν ταῦτα. ἡ μὲν δὴ ὑπεδέξατο ταῦτα τῷ πατρὶ κατεργάσεσθαι. τοῦ δὲ Μάγου τούτου τοῦ Σμέρδιος Κῦρος ὁ Καμβύσεω ἄρχων τὰ ὦτα ἀπέταμε ἐπ’ αἰτίῃ δὴ τινι οὐ σμικρῇ. ἡ ὦν δὴ Φαιδύμη αὕτη, ἡ τοῦ Ὀτάνεω θυγάτηρ, πάντα ἐπιτελέουσα τὰ ὑπεδέξατο τῷ πατρί, ἐπεῖτε αὐτῆς μέρος ἐγίνετο τῆς ἀπίξιος παρὰ τὸν Μάγον (ἐν περιτροπῇ γὰρ δὴ αἱ γυναῖκες φοιτέουσι τοῖσι Πέρσησι), ἐλθοῦσα παρ’ αὐτὸν ἠῦδε, ὑπνωμένου δὲ καρτερῶς τοῦ Μάγου ἤφασε τὰ ὦτα. μαθοῦσα δὲ οὐ χαλεπῶς ἀλλ’ εὐπετέως οὐκ ἔχοντα τὸν ἄνδρα ὦτα, ὡς ἡμέρη τάχιστα ἐγεγόνεε, πέμψασα ἐσήμηνε τῷ πατρὶ τὰ γενόμενα.

70. Ὁ δὲ Ὀτάνης παραλαβὼν Ἀσπαθίνην καὶ Γοβρύην, Περσέων τε πρώτους ἔοντας καὶ ἐωυτῷ ἐπιτηδεοτάτους ἐς πίστιν, ἀπηγῆσατο πᾶν τὸ πρῆγμα· οἱ δὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ ἄρα ὑπώπτευν οὕτω τοῦτο ἔχειν, ἀνευείκαντος δὲ τοῦ Ὀτάνεω τοὺς λόγους ἐδέξαντο, καὶ ἔδοξέ σφι ἕκαστον ἄνδρα Περσέων προσεταιρίσασθαι τοῦτον ὅτεω πιστεύει μάλιστα. Ὀτάνης μὲν νυν ἐσάγεται Ἰνταφρένεα,

### BOOK III. 69-70

another whom I think him to be, then he must not go unscathed, but be punished for sharing your bed and sitting on the throne of Persia. Now, therefore, when he lies with you and you see that he is asleep, do as I bid you and feel his ears; if you see that he has ears, then you may think that it is Smerdis son of Cyrus who is your lord; but if he has none, it is Smerdis the Magian." Phaedyne answered by messenger that she would run very great risk by so doing; for if it should turn out that he had no ears, and she were caught feeling him, he would surely make an end of her; nevertheless she would do it. So she promised to achieve her father's bidding. It is known that Cyrus son of Cambyses had in his reign cut off the ears of this Magian, Smerdis, for some grave reason—I know not what. So Phaedyne, daughter of Otanes, performed her promise to her father. When it was her turn to visit the Magian (as a Persian's wives come in regular order to their lord), she came to his bed, and felt the Magian's ears while he slumbered deeply; and having with much ease assured herself that he had no ears, she sent and told this to her father as soon as it was morning.

70. Otanes then took to himself two Persians of the highest rank whom he thought worthiest of trust, Aspathines and Gobryas, and told them the whole story. These, it would seem, had themselves suspected that it was so; and now they readily believed what Otanes revealed to them. They resolved that each should take into their fellowship that Persian whom he most trusted; Otanes brought in Inta-

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Γοβρύης δὲ Μεγάβυζον, Ἀσπαθίνης δὲ Ὑδάρνεα. γεγονότων δὲ τούτων ἕξ παραγίνεται εἰς τὰ Σοῦσα Δαρεῖος ὁ Ὑστάσπεος ἐκ Περσέων ἥκων· τούτων γὰρ δὴ ἦν οἱ ὁ πατὴρ ὑπαρχος. ἐπεὶ ὦν οὗτος ἀπίκητο, τοῖσι ἕξ τῶν Περσέων ἔδοξε καὶ Δαρεῖον προσεταιρίσασθαι.

71. Συνελθόντες δὲ οὗτοι ἔόντες ἐπὶ τὰ ἐδίδοσαν σφίσι πίστις καὶ λόγους. ἐπεῖτε δὲ εἰς Δαρεῖον ἀπίκητο γνώμην ἀποφαίνεσθαι, ἔλεγέ σφι τάδε. “Ἐγὼ ταῦτα ἐδόκεον μὲν αὐτὸς μῦθος ἐπίστασθαι, ὅτι τε ὁ Μάγος εἶη ὁ βασιλεύων καὶ Σμέρδης ὁ Κύρου τετελεύτηκε· καὶ αὐτοῦ τούτου εἵνεκεν ἥκω σπουδῇ ὥς συστήσω ἐπὶ τῷ Μάγῳ θάνατον. ἐπεῖτε δὲ συνήνεικε ὥστε καὶ ὑμέας εἰδέναι καὶ μὴ μῦθον ἐμὲ, ποιέειν αὐτίκα μοι δοκέει καὶ μὴ ὑπερβάλλεσθαι· οὐ γὰρ ἄμεινον.” εἶπε πρὸς ταῦτα ὁ Ὀτάνης “ὦ παῖ Ὑστάσπεος, εἰς τε πατρὸς ἀγαθοῦ καὶ ἐκφαίνειν ἔοικας σεωυτὸν ἔοντα τοῦ πατρὸς οὐδὲν ἦσσω· τὴν μέντοι ἐπιχείρησιν ταύτην μὴ οὕτω συντάχυνε ἀβούλως, ἀλλ’ ἐπὶ τὸ σωφρονέστερον αὐτὴν λάμβανε· δεῖ γὰρ πλεῦνας γενομένους οὕτω ἐπιχειρέειν.” λέγει πρὸς ταῦτα Δαρεῖος “Ἄνδρες οἱ παρεόντες, τρόπῳ τῷ εἰρημένῳ ἕξ Ὀτάνεω εἰ χρήσεσθε, ἐπίστασθε ὅτι ἀπολέεσθε κάκιστα· ἐξοίσει γάρ τις πρὸς τὸν Μάγον, ἰδίῃ περιβαλλόμενος ἐωυτῷ κέρδεα. μάλιστα μὲν νυν ὠφείλετε ἐπ’ ὑμέων αὐτῶν βαλλόμενοι ποιέειν ταῦτα· ἐπεῖτε δὲ ὑμῖν ἀναφέρειν εἰς πλεῦνας ἐδόκεε καὶ ἐμοὶ ὑπερέθεσθε, ἢ ποιέωμεν σήμερον ἢ ἴστε ὑμῖν ὅτι ἦν ὑπερπέσῃ ἢ νῦν ἡμέρῃ, ὥς οὐκ ἄλλος φθὰς ἐμεῦ κατήγορος ἔσται, ἀλλὰ σφεα αὐτὸς ἐγὼ κατερέω πρὸς τὸν Μάγον.”



phrenes, Gobryas brought Megabyzus and Aspathines Hydarnes<sup>1</sup>; so they were six. Now came to Susa Darius son of Hystaspes, from Persia, of which his father was vice-gerent; and on his coming the six Persians resolved to make Darius too their comrade.

71. The seven then met and gave each other pledges and spoke together; and when it was Darius' turn to declare his mind, he spoke as follows: "I supposed that I alone knew that it was the Magian who is king and that Smerdis son of Cyrus is dead; and it is for this cause that I have made haste to come, that I might compass the Magian's death; but since it has so fallen out that you too and not I alone know the truth, my counsel is for action forthwith, no delay; for evil will come of delay." "Son of Hystaspes," Otanes answered, "your father is a valiant man, and methinks you declare yourself as valiant as he; yet hasten not this enterprise thus inconsiderately; take the matter more prudently; we must wait to set about it till there are more of us." To this Darius answered: "Sirs, if you do as Otanes counsels, I tell you that you will perish miserably; for someone will carry all to the Magian, desiring private reward for himself. Now, it had been best for you to achieve your end yourselves unaided; but seeing that it was your pleasure to impart your plot to others and that so you have trusted me with it, let us, I say, do the deed this day; if we let to-day pass, be assured that none will accuse you ere I do, for I will myself lay the whole matter before the Magian."

<sup>1</sup> The names in the Behistun inscription (the trilingual inscription set up by Darius at Behistun, after he had crushed the revolts in his empire) are: Vindapana, Utana, Gaubaruwa, Vidarna, Bagabukhsa, Ardumanis; all but the last corresponding with Herodotus' list.



72. Λέγει πρὸς ταῦτα Ὀτάνης, ἐπειδὴ ὥρα σπερχόμενον Δαρεῖον, “Ἐπεῖτε ἡμέας συνταχύνειν ἀναγκάζεις καὶ ὑπερβάλλεσθαι οὐκ ἔās, ἴθι ἐξηγέο αὐτὸς ὅτεω τρόπῳ πάριμεν ἐς τὰ βασιλῆα καὶ ἐπιχειρήσομεν αὐτοῖσι. φυλακὰς γὰρ δὴ διεστεώσας οἰδᾶς κου καὶ αὐτός, εἰ μὴ ἰδὼν, ἀλλ’ ἀκούσας· τὰς τέω τρόπῳ περήσομεν;” ἀμείβεται Δαρεῖος τοῖσιδε. “Ὀτάνη, ἡ πολλὰ ἐστὶ τὰ λόγῳ μὲν οὐκ οἶά τε δηλώσαι, ἔργῳ δέ· ἄλλα δ’ ἐστὶ τὰ λόγῳ μὲν οἶά τε, ἔργον δὲ οὐδὲν ἀπ’ αὐτῶν λαμπρὸν γίνεται. ὑμεῖς δὲ ἴστε φυλακὰς τὰς κατεστεώσας εἰούσας οὐδὲν χαλεπὰς παρελθεῖν. τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ ἡμέων ἐόντων τοιῶνδε οὐδεὶς ὅστις οὐ παρήσει, τὰ μὲν κου καταιδεόμενος ἡμέας, τὰ δέ κου καὶ δειμαίνων· τοῦτο δὲ ἔχω αὐτὸς σκῆψιν εὐπρεπεστάτην τῇ πάριμεν, φᾶς ἄρτι τε ἤκειν ἐκ Περσέων καὶ βούλεσθαι τι ἔπος παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς σημήναι τῷ βασιλεί. ἔνθα γάρ τι δεῖ ψεῦδος λέγεσθαι, λεγέσθω. τοῦ γὰρ αὐτοῦ γλιχόμεθα οἳ τε ψευδόμενοι καὶ οἳ τῇ ἀληθείᾳ διαχρεώμενοι. οἳ μὲν γε ψεύδονται τότε ἐπεὶν τι μέλλωσι τοῖσι ψεύδεσι πείσαντες κερδήσεσθαι, οἳ δ’ ἀληθίζονται ἵνα τῇ ἀληθείᾳ ἐπισπᾶσονται κέρδος καὶ τι μᾶλλον σφι ἐπιτράπηται. οὕτω οὐ ταῦτ’ ἀσκέοντες τῶντοῦ περιεχόμεθα. εἰ δὲ μηδὲν κερδήσεσθαι μέλλοιεν, ὁμοίως ἂν ὅ τε ἀληθιζόμενος ψευδὴς εἴη καὶ ὁ ψευδόμενος ἀληθής. ὃς ἂν μὲν νυν τῶν πυλουργῶν ἐκὼν παριῇ, αὐτῷ οἳ ἄμεινον ἐς χρόνον ἔσται· ὃς δ’ ἂν ἀντιβαίνειν πειράται, δεικνύσθω ἐνθαῦτα ἐὼν πολέμιος, καὶ ἔπειτα ὡσάμενοι ἔσω ἔργον ἐχόμεθα.”

73. Λέγει Γοβρύης μετὰ ταῦτα “Ἄνδρες φίλοι,

### BOOK III. 72-73

72. To this Otanes replied, seeing Darius' vehemence, "Since you compel us to hasten and will brook no delay, tell us now yourself how we shall pass into the palace and assail the Magians. The place is beset all round by guards; this you know, for you have seen or heard of them; how shall we win past the guards?" "Otanes," answered Darius, "very many things can be done whereof the doing cannot be described in words; and sometimes a plan easy to make clear is yet followed by no deed of note. Right well you know that the guards who are set are easy to pass. For we being such as we are, there is none who will not grant us admittance, partly from reverence and partly too from fear; and further, I have myself the fairest pretext for entering, for I will say that I am lately come from Persia and have a message for the king from my father. Let lies be told where they are needful. All of us aim at the like end, whether we lie or speak truth; he that lies does it to win credence and so advantage by his deceit, and he that speaks truth hopes that truth will get him profit and greater trust; so we do but take different ways to the same goal. Were the hope of advantage taken away, the truth-teller were as ready to lie as the liar to speak truth. Now if any warder of the gate willingly suffer us to pass, it will be the better for him thereafter. But if any strives to withstand us let us mark him for an enemy, and so thrust ourselves in and begin our work."

73. Then said Gobryas, "Friends, when shall we

ἡμῖν κότε κάλλιον παρέξει ἀνασώσασθαι τὴν ἀρχήν, ἢ εἴ γε μὴ οἰοί τε ἐσόμεθα αὐτὴν ἀναλαβεῖν, ἀποθανεῖν; ὅτε γε ἀρχόμεθα μὲν ἔοντες Πέρσαι ὑπὸ Μήδου ἀνδρὸς Μάγου, καὶ τούτου ὦτα οὐκ ἔχοντος. ὅσοι τε ὑμέων Καμβύση νοσέουντι παρεγένοντο, πάντως κου μέμνησθε τὰ ἐπέσκηψε Πέρσησι τελευτῶν τὸν βίον μὴ πειρωμένοισι ἀνακτᾶσθαι τὴν ἀρχήν· τὰ τότε οὐκ ἐνεδεκόμεθα, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ διαβολῇ ἐδοκέομεν εἰπεῖν Καμβύσεια. νῦν ὦν τίθεμαι ψῆφον πείθεσθαι Δαρείῳ καὶ μὴ διαλύεσθαι ἐκ τοῦ συλλόγου τοῦδε ἀλλ' ἢ ἐπὶ τὸν Μάγον ἰθέως.” ταῦτα εἶπε Γοβρύης, καὶ πάντες ταύτῃ αἴνεον.

74. Ἐν ᾧ δὲ οὗτοι ταῦτα ἐβουλευόντο, ἐγένετο κατὰ συντυχίην τάδε. τοῖσι Μάγοισι ἔδοξε βουλευομένοισι Πρηξάσπεα φίλον προσθέσθαι, ὅτι τε ἐπεπόνθεε πρὸς Καμβύσειω ἀνάρσια, ὅς οἱ τὸν παῖδα τοξεύσας ἀπολωλέκεε, καὶ διότι μῦθος ἠπίστατο τὸν Σμέρδιος τοῦ Κύρου θάνατον αὐτοχειρίῃ μιν ἀπολέσας, πρὸς δ' ἔτι ἔοντα ἐν αἶνῃ μεγίστῃ τὸν Πρηξάσπεα ἐν Πέρσησι. τούτων δὴ μιν εἵνεκεν καλέσαντες φίλον προσεκτῶντο πίστι τε λαβόντες καὶ ὀρκίοισι, ἢ μὲν ἕξειν παρ' ἐωυτῷ μηδ' ἐξοίσειν μηδενὶ ἀνθρώπων τὴν ἀπὸ σφέων ἀπάτην ἐς Πέρσας γεγонуῖαν, ὑπισχνεύμενοι τὰ πάντα οἱ μυρία δώσειν. ὑποσχομένου δὲ τοῦ Πρηξάσπεος ποιήσεν ταῦτα, ὡς ἀνέπεισάν μιν οἱ Μάγοι, δεύτερα προσέφερον, αὐτοὶ μὲν φάμενοι Πέρσας πάντας συγκαλέειν ὑπὸ τὸ βασιλῆιον τεῖχος, κεῖνον δ' ἐκέλευον ἀναβάντα ἐπὶ πύργου ἀγορεύσαι ὡς ὑπὸ τοῦ Κύρου Σμέρδιος ἄρχονται καὶ ὑπ' οὐδενὸς ἄλλου. ταῦτα δὲ οὕτω ἐνετέλ-

have a better occasion to win back the kingship, or, if we cannot so do, to die? seeing that we who are Persians are ruled by a Mede, a Magian, a man that has no ears. Those of you that were with Cambyzes in his sickness cannot but remember the curse which with his last breath he laid on the Persians if they should not essay to win back the kingship; albeit we did not then believe Cambyzes, but thought that he spoke to deceive us. Now therefore my vote is that we follow Darius' plan, and not quit this council to do aught else but attack the Magian forthwith." So spoke Gobryas; and they all consented to what he said.

74. While they were thus planning, matters befell as I will show. The Magians had taken counsel and resolved to make a friend of Prexaspes, because he had been wronged by Cambyzes (who had shot his son to death) and because he alone knew of the death of Cyrus' son Smerdis, having himself been the slayer; and further, because Prexaspes was very greatly esteemed by the Persians. Therefore they summoned him and, to gain his friendship, made him to pledge himself and swear that he would never reveal to any man their treacherous dealing with the Persians, but keep it to himself; and they promised to give him all things in great abundance. Prexaspes was persuaded and promised to do their will. Then the Magians made this second proposal to him, that they should summon a meeting of all Persians before the palace wall, and he should go up on to a tower and declare that it was Smerdis son of Cyrus and no other who was king of Persia. They gave him this charge, because they thought him to

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λουντο ὡς πιστοτάτου δῆθεν ἑόντος αὐτοῦ ἐν Πέρσησι, καὶ πολλάκις ἀποδεξαμένου γνώμην ὡς περιεῖη ὁ Κύρου Σμέρδης, καὶ ἔξαρνησαμένου τὸν φόνον αὐτοῦ.

75. Φαμένου δὲ καὶ ταῦτα ἐτοίμου εἶναι ποιεῖν τοῦ Πρηξάσπεος, συγκαλέσαντες Πέρσας οἱ Μάγοι ἀνεβίβασαν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ πύργον καὶ ἀγορεύειν ἐκέλευον. ὃ δὲ τῶν μὲν ἐκεῖνοι προσεδέοντο αὐτοῦ, τούτων μὲν ἐκὼν ἐπελήθετο, ἀρξάμενος δὲ ἀπ' Ἀχαιμένεος ἐγενεηλόγησε τὴν πατριὴν τὴν Κύρου, μετὰ δὲ ὡς ἐς τοῦτον κατέβη τελευτῶν ἔλεγε ὅσα ἀγαθὰ Κύρος Πέρσας πεποιήκοι, διεξελθὼν δὲ ταῦτα ἐξέφαινε τὴν ἀληθείην, φάμενος πρότερον μὲν κρύπτειν (οὐ γάρ οἱ εἶναι ἀσφαλὲς λέγειν τὰ γενόμενα), ἐν δὲ τῷ παρεόντι ἀναγκαίην μιν καταλαμβάνειν φαίνειν. καὶ δὴ ἔλεγε τὸν μὲν Κύρου Σμέρδιν ὡς αὐτὸς ὑπὸ Καμβύσειω ἀναγκαζόμενος ἀποκτείνειε, τοὺς Μάγους δὲ βασιλεύειν. Πέρσησι δὲ πολλὰ ἐπαρησάμενος εἰ μὴ ἀνακτησαίαιτο ὀπίσω τὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ τοὺς Μάγους τισαίαιτο, ἀπῆκε ἑωυτὸν ἐπὶ κεφαλὴν φέρεσθαι ἀπὸ τοῦ πύργου κάτω. Πρηξάσπης μὲν νυν ἔων τὸν πάντα χρόνον ἀνὴρ δόκιμος οὕτω ἐτελεύτησε.

76. Οἱ δὲ δὴ ἐπτα τῶν Περσέων ὡς ἐβουλεύσαντο αὐτίκα ἐπιχειρεῖν τοῖσι Μάγοισι καὶ μὴ ὑπερβάλλεσθαι, ἦσαν εὐξάμενοι τοῖσι θεοῖσι, τῶν περὶ Πρηξάσπεα πρηχθέντων εἰδότες οὐδέν. ἐν τε δὴ τῇ ὁδῷ μέσῃ στείχοντες ἐγίνοντο καὶ τὰ περὶ Πρηξάσπεα γεγονότα ἐπυνθάνοντο. ἐνθαῦτα ἐκστάντες τῆς ὁδοῦ ἐδίδοσαν αὐτῖς σφίσι λόγους, οἱ μὲν ἀμφὶ τὸν Ὀτάνην πάγχυ κελεύοντες ὑπερβαλέσθαι μηδὲ οἰδεόντων τῶν πρηγμάτων ἐπιτί-

### BOOK III. 74-76

be the man most trusted by the Persians, and because he had oftentimes asserted that Cyrus' son Smerdis was alive, and had denied the murder.

75. Prexaspes consented to do this also; the Magians summoned the Persians together, and brought him up on to a tower and bade him speak. Then, putting away from his mind all the Magians' demands, he traced the lineage of Cyrus from Achaemenes downwards; when he came at last to the name of Cyrus, he recounted all the good which that king had done to Persia, after which recital he declared the truth; which, he said, he had till now concealed because he could not safely tell it, but was now constrained by necessity to reveal: "I," said he, "was compelled by Cambyses to kill Smerdis son of Cyrus; it is the Magians who now rule you." Then, invoking a terrible curse on the Persians if they failed to win back the throne and take vengeance on the Magians, he threw himself headlong down from the tower; thus honourably ended Prexaspes' honourable life.

76. The seven Persians, after counsel purposing to attack the Magians forthwith and delay no longer, prayed to the gods and set forth, knowing nothing of Prexaspes' part in the business. But when they had gone half way they heard the story of him; whereat they went aside from the way and consulted together, Otanes' friends being wholly for waiting and not attacking in the present ferment,



θεσθαι, οἱ δὲ ἀμφὶ τὸν Δαρεῖον αὐτίκα τε ἰέναι καὶ τὰ δεδογμένα ποιεῖν μηδὲ ὑπερβάλλεσθαι. ὠθιζομένων δ' αὐτῶν ἐφάνη ἱρήκων ἐπτὰ ζεύγεα δύο αἰγυπιῶν ζεύγεα διώκοντα καὶ τίλλοντά τε καὶ ἀμύσσοντα. ἰδόντες δὲ ταῦτα οἱ ἐπτὰ τὴν τε Δαρείου πάντες αἶνεον γνώμην καὶ ἔπειτα ἤισαν ἐπὶ τὰ βασιλῆα τεθαρσηκότες τοῖσι ὄρνεσι.

77. Ἐπιστᾶσι δὲ ἐπὶ τὰς πύλας ἐγένετο οἶόν τι Δαρείῳ ἡ γνώμη ἔφερε· καταιδεόμενοι γὰρ οἱ φύλακοι ἄνδρας τοὺς Περσέων πρώτους καὶ οὐδὲν τοιοῦτο ὑποπτεύοντες ἐξ αὐτῶν ἔσεσθαι, παρέσαν θείῃ πομπῇ χρεωμένους, οὐδ' ἐπειρώτα οὐδεῖς. ἐπείτε δὲ καὶ παρῆλθον ἐς τὴν αὐλήν, ἐνέκυρσαν τοῖσι τὰς ἀγγελίας ἐσφέρουσι εὐνούχοισι· οἳ σφεας ἱστόρεον ὅ τι θέλοντες ἤκοιεν, καὶ ἅμα ἱστορέοντες τούτους τοῖσι πυλουργοῖσι ἀπέειπον ὅτι σφέας παρῆκαν, ἰσχόν τε βουλομένους τοὺς ἐπτὰ ἐς τὸ πρόσω παριέναι. οἱ δὲ διακελευσάμενοι καὶ σπασάμενοι τὰ ἐγχειρίδια τούτους μὲν τοὺς ἰσχοντας αὐτοῦ ταύτη συγκεντέουσι, αὐτοὶ δὲ ἤισαν δρόμῳ ἐς τὸν ἀνδρεῶνα.

78. Οἱ δὲ Μάγοι ἔτυχον ἀμφότεροι τῆνικαῦτα ἐόντες τε ἔσω καὶ τὰ ἀπὸ Πρηξάσπεος γενόμενα ἐν βουλῇ ἔχοντες. ἐπεὶ ὦν εἶδον τοὺς εὐνούχους τεθορυβημένους τε καὶ βοῶντας, ἀνά τε ἔδραμον πάλιν ἀμφότεροι καὶ ὡς ἔμαθον τὸ ποιούμενον πρὸς ἀλκὴν ἐτράποντο. ὃ μὲν δὴ αὐτῶν φθάνει τὰ τόξα κατελόμενος, ὃ δὲ πρὸς τὴν αἰχμὴν ἐτράπετο. ἐνθαῦτα δὴ συνέμισγον ἀλλήλοισι. τῷ μὲν δὴ τὰ τόξα ἀναλαμβάνοντι αὐτῶν, ἐόντων τε ἀγχοῦ τῶν πολεμίων καὶ πρσκειμένων, ἦν

### BOOK III. 76-78

but Darius' party bidding to go forthwith and do their agreed purpose without delay. While they disputed, they saw seven pairs of hawks that chased and rent and tore two pairs of vultures; seeing which all the seven consented to Darius' opinion, and went on to the palace, heartened by the sight of the birds.

77. When they came to the gate, that happened which Darius had expected; the guards, out of regard for the chief men in Persia, and because they never suspected their design, suffered them without question to pass in under heaven's guidance. Coming into the court, they met there the eunuchs who carry messages to the king; who asked the seven with what intent they had come, at the same time threatening the gate-wards for letting them pass, and barring the further passage of the seven. These gave each other the word, drew their daggers, and stabbing the eunuchs who barred their way, ran into the men's apartment.

78. It chanced that both the Magians were within, consulting together on the outcome of Prexaspes' act. Seeing the eunuchs in confusion and hearing their cries they both sprang back: and when they saw what was afoot they set about defending themselves; one made haste to take down his bow, the other seized his spear; so the seven and the two met in fight. He that had caught up the bow found it availed him nothing, his enemies being so close and

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χρηστὰ οὐδέν· ὁ δ' ἕτερος τῇ αἰχμῇ ἡμύνετο καὶ τοῦτο μὲν Ἀσπαθίνην παίει ἐς τὸν μηρόν, τοῦτο δὲ Ἰνταφρένεα ἐς τὸν ὀφθαλμόν· καὶ ἐστερήθη μὲν τοῦ ὀφθαλμοῦ ἐκ τοῦ τρώματος ὁ Ἰνταφρένης, οὐ μέντοι ἀπέθανέ γε. τῶν μὲν δὴ Μάγων οὔτερος τρωματίζει τούτους· ὁ δὲ ἕτερος, ἐπεῖτε οἱ τὰ τόξα οὐδὲν χρηστὰ ἐγίνετο, ἦν γὰρ δὴ θάλαμος ἐσέχων ἐς τὸν ἀνδρεῶνα, ἐς τοῦτον καταφεύγει, θέλων αὐτοῦ προσθεῖναι τὰς θύρας, καὶ οἱ συνεσπίπτουσι τῶν ἐπτά δύο, Δαρεῖός τε καὶ Γοβρύης. συμπλακέντος δὲ Γοβρύεω τῷ Μάγῳ ὁ Δαρεῖος ἐπεστεῶς ἠπόρεε οἷα ἐν σκότει, προμηθεόμενος μὴ πλήξῃ τὸν Γοβρύην. ὁρέων δέ μιν ἀργὸν ἐπεστεῶτα ὁ Γοβρύης εἶρετο ὅ τι οὐ χράται τῇ χειρί· ὁ δὲ εἶπε “Προμηθεόμενος σέο, μὴ πλήξω.” Γοβρύης δὲ ἀμείβετο “ὦθες τὸ ξίφος καὶ δι' ἀμφοτέρων.” Δαρεῖος δὲ πειθόμενος ὥσέ τε τὸ ἐγχειρίδιον καὶ ἔτυχέ κως τοῦ Μάγου.

79. Ἀποκτείναντες δὲ τοὺς Μάγους καὶ ἀποταμόντες αὐτῶν τὰς κεφαλὰς, τοὺς μὲν τρωματίας ἐωυτῶν αὐτοῦ λείπουσι καὶ ἀδυνασίης εἵνεκεν καὶ φυλακῆς τῆς ἀκροπόλιος, οἱ δὲ πέντε αὐτῶν ἔχοντες τῶν Μάγων τὰς κεφαλὰς ἔθεον βοῇ τε καὶ πατάγῳ χρεώμενοι, καὶ Πέρσας τοὺς ἄλλους ἐπεκαλέοντο ἐξηγεομενοί τε τὸ πρῆγμα καὶ δεικνύοντες τὰς κεφαλὰς, καὶ ἅμα ἔκτεινον πάντα τινὰ τῶν Μάγων τὸν ἐν ποσὶ γινόμενον. οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι μαθόντες τὸ γεγονὸς ἐκ τῶν ἐπτά καὶ τῶν Μάγων τὴν ἀπάτην, ἐδικαίευν καὶ αὐτοὶ ἕτερα τοιαῦτα ποιεῖν, σπασάμενοι δὲ τὰ ἐγχειρίδια ἔκτεινον ὅκου τινὰ Μάγον εὕρισκον· εἰ δὲ μὴ νύξ ἐπελθοῦσα ἔσχε, ἔλιπον ἂν οὐδένα Μάγον. ταύ-

### BOOK III. 78-79

pressing him hard ; but the other defended himself with his spear, smiting Aspathines in the thigh and Intaphrenes in the eye ; Intaphrenes was not slain by the wound, but lost his eye. So these were wounded by one of the Magians ; the other, his bow availing him nothing, fled into a chamber adjoining the men's apartment and would have shut its door. Two of the seven, Darius and Gobryas, hurled themselves into the chamber with him. Gobryas and the Magian grappling together, Darius stood perplexed by the darkness, fearing to strike Gobryas ; whereat Gobryas, seeing Darius stand idle, cried to know why he did not strike ; " For fear of stabbing you," quoth Darius. " Nay," said Gobryas, " thrust with your sword, though it be through both of us." So Darius thrust with his dagger, and by good luck it was the Magian that he stabbed.

79. Having killed the Magians and cut off their heads, they left their wounded where they were, by reason of their infirmity and to guard the citadel ; the other five took the Magians' heads and ran with much shouting and noise, calling all Persians to aid, telling what they had done and showing the heads ; at the same time they killed every Magian that came in their way. The Persians, when they heard from the seven what had been done and how the Magians had tricked them, resolved to follow the example set, and drew their daggers and slew all the Magians they could find ; and if nightfall had not stayed them they would not have left one Magian alive. This day is

την τὴν ἡμέρην θεραπεύουσι Πέρσαι κοινῇ μάλιστα τῶν ἡμερέων, καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ ὀρθὴν μεγάλην ἀνάγουσι, ἣ κέκληται ὑπὸ Περσέων μαγοφόνια· ἐν τῇ Μάγον οὐδένα ἔξεστι φανῆναι ἐς τὸ φῶς, ἀλλὰ κατ' οἴκους ἑωυτοὺς οἱ Μάγοι ἔχουσι τὴν ἡμέρην ταύτην.

80. Ἐπεῖτε δὲ κατέστη ὁ θόρυβος καὶ ἐκτὸς πέντε ἡμερέων ἐγένετο, ἐβουλευόντο οἱ ἐπαναστάντες τοῖσι Μάγοισι περὶ τῶν πάντων πρηγμάτων καὶ ἐλέχθησαν λόγοι ἄπιστοι μὲν ἐνίοισι Ἑλλήνων, ἐλέχθησαν δ' ὧν. Ὅτάνης μὲν ἐκέλευε ἐς μέσον Πέρσῃσι καταθεῖναι τὰ πρήγματα, λέγων τάδε. “Ἐμοὶ δοκέει ἓνα μὲν ἡμέων μούναρχον μηκέτι γενέσθαι. οὔτε γὰρ ἡδὺ οὔτε ἀγαθόν. εἶδετε μὲν γὰρ τὴν Καμβύσειω ὕβριν ἐπ' ὅσον ἐπεξῆλθε, μετεσχήκατε δὲ καὶ τῆς τοῦ Μάγου ὕβριος. κὼς δ' ἂν εἴη χρήμα κατηρημένον μουναρχίῃ, τῇ ἔξεστι ἀνευθύνῳ ποιέειν τὰ βούλεται; καὶ γὰρ ἂν τὸν ἄριστον ἀνδρῶν πάντων στάντα ἐς ταύτην ἐκτὸς τῶν ἐωθότων νοημάτων στήσειε. ἐγγίνεται μὲν γὰρ οἱ ὕβρις ὑπὸ τῶν παρεόντων ἀγαθῶν, φθόνος δὲ ἀρχήθεν ἐμφύεται ἀνθρώπῳ. δύο δ' ἔχων ταῦτα ἔχει πᾶσαν κακότητα· τὰ μὲν γὰρ ὕβρι κεκορημένος ἔρδει πολλὰ καὶ ἀτάσθαλα, τὰ δὲ φθόνῳ. καίτοι ἄνδρα γε τύραννον ἄφθονον ἔδει εἶναι, ἔχοντά γε πάντα τὰ ἀγαθά. τὸ δὲ ὑπεναντίον τούτου ἐς τοὺς πολίητας πέφυκε· φθονέει γὰρ τοῖσι ἀρίστοισι περιεοῦσί τε καὶ ζῶουσι, χαίρει δὲ τοῖσι κακίστοις τῶν ἀστών, διαβολὰς δὲ ἄριστος ἐνδέκεσθαι. ἀναρμοστότατον δὲ πάντων· ἦν τε γὰρ αὐτὸν μετρίως θωμάζης, ἄχθεται ὅτι οὐ κάρτα θεραπεύεται, ἦν τε θερα-

the greatest holy day that all Persians alike keep; they celebrate a great festival on it, which they call the Massacre of the Magians; while the festival lasts no Magian may come abroad, but during this day they remain in their houses.

80. When the tumult was abated, and five days had passed, the rebels against the Magians held a council on the whole state of affairs, at which words were uttered which to some Greeks seem incredible; but there is no doubt that they were spoken. Otanes was for giving the government to the whole body of the Persian people. "I hold," he said, "that we must make an end of monarchy; there is no pleasure or advantage in it. You have seen to what lengths went the insolence of Cambyzes, and you have borne your share of the insolence of the Magian. What right order is there to be found in monarchy, when the ruler can do what he will, nor be held to account for it? Give this power to the best man on earth, and his wonted mind must leave him. The advantage which he holds breeds insolence, and nature makes all men jealous. This double cause is the root of all evil in him; he will do many wicked deeds, some from the insolence which is born of satiety, some from jealousy. For whereas an absolute ruler, as having all that heart can desire, should rightly be jealous of no man, yet it is contrariwise with him in his dealing with his countrymen; he is jealous of the safety of the good, and glad of the safety of the evil; and no man is so ready to believe calumny. Nor is any so hard to please; accord him but just honour, and he is displeased that you make him not your first care; make him such, and he damns



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πεύη τις κάρτα, ἄχθεται ἅτε θωπί. τὰ δὲ δὴ μέγιστα ἔρχομαι ἐρέων· νόμαιά τε κινέει πάτρια καὶ βιᾶται γυναῖκας κτείνει τε ἀκρίτους. πλήθος δὲ ἄρχον πρῶτα μὲν οὖνομα πάντων κάλλιστον ἔχει, ἰσονομίην, δεύτερα δὲ τούτων τῶν ὁ μούναρχος ποιέει οὐδέν· πάλω μὲν ἀρχὰς ἄρχει, ὑπεύθυνον δὲ ἀρχὴν ἔχει, βουλευματα δὲ πάντα ἐς τὸ κοινὸν ἀναφέρει. τίθεμαι ὦν γνώμην μετέντας ἡμέας μυναρχίην τὸ πλήθος ἀέξειν· ἐν γὰρ τῷ πολλῷ ἐνὶ τὰ πάντα.”

81. Ὀτάνης μὲν δὴ ταύτην γνώμην ἐσέφερε· Μεγάβυζος δὲ ὀλιγαρχίῃ ἐκέλευε ἐπιτράπειν, λέγων τάδε. “Τὰ μὲν Ὀτάνης εἶπε τυραννίδα παύων, λελέχθω καμοὶ ταῦτα, τὰ δ’ ἐς τὸ πλήθος ἄνωγε φέρειν τὸ κράτος, γνώμης τῆς ἀρίστης ἡμάρτηκε· ὁμίλου γὰρ ἀχρηίου οὐδέν ἐστι ἀξυνετώτερον οὐδὲ ὑβριστότερον. καίτοι τυράννου ὕβριν φεύγοντας ἄνδρας ἐς δῆμον ἀκολάστου ὕβριν πεσεῖν ἐστὶ οὐδαμῶς ἀνασχετόν. ὁ μὲν γὰρ εἴ τι ποιέει, γινώσκων ποιέει, τῷ δὲ οὐδὲ γινώσκειν ἐνὶ· κῶς γὰρ ἂν γινώσκοι ὃς οὔτ’ ἐδιδάχθη οὔτε εἶδε καλὸν οὐδὲν οἰκῆιον,<sup>1</sup> ὠθέει τε ἐμπεσὼν τὰ πρήγματα ἄνευ νόου, χειμάρρῳ ποταμῷ εἵκελος; δῆμῳ μὲν νυν, οἱ Πέρσῃσι κακὸν νοέουσι, οὔτοι χράσθων, ἡμεῖς δὲ ἀνδρῶν τῶν ἀρίστων ἐπιλέξαντες ὁμιλίην τούτοισι περιθέωμεν τὸ κράτος· ἐν γὰρ δὴ τούτοισι καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐνεσόμεθα· ἀρίστων δὲ ἀνδρῶν οἶκὸς ἄριστα βουλευματα γίνεσθαι.”

82. Μεγάβυζος μὲν δὴ ταύτην γνώμην ἐσέφερε·

<sup>1</sup> MSS οὐδὲν οὐδ’ οἰκῆιον; Stein brackets οὐδ’, as giving a sense not here required. I omit it in translation.

you for a flatterer. But I have yet worse to say of him than that; he turns the laws of the land upside down, he rapes women, he puts high and low to death. But the virtue of a multitude's rule lies first in its excellent name, which signifies equality before the law; and secondly, in that its acts are not the acts of the monarch. All offices are assigned by lot, and the holders are accountable for what they do therein; and the general assembly arbitrates on all counsels. Therefore I declare my opinion, that we make an end of monarchy and increase the power of the multitude, seeing that all good lies in the many."

81. Such was the judgment of Otanes: but Megabyzus' counsel was to make a ruling oligarchy. "I agree," said he, "to all that Otanes says against the rule of one; but when he bids you give the power to the multitude, his judgment falls short of the best. Nothing is more foolish and violent than a useless mob; to save ourselves from the insolence of a despot by changing it for the insolence of the unbridled commonalty—that were unbearable indeed. Whatever the despot does, he does with knowledge; but the people have not even that; how can they have knowledge, who have neither learnt nor for themselves seen what is best, but ever rush headlong and drive blindly onward, like a river in spate? Let those stand for democracy who wish ill to Persia; but let us choose a company of the best men and invest these with the power. For we ourselves shall be of that company; and where we have the best men, there 'tis like that we shall have the best counsels."

82. Such was the judgment of Megabyzus.

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τρίτος δὲ Δαρείος ἀπεδείκνυτο γνώμην, λέγων  
 “Ἐμοὶ δὲ τὰ μὲν εἶπε Μεγάβυζος ἐς τὸ πλήθος  
 ἔχοντα δοκέει ὀρθῶς λέξαι, τὰ δὲ ἐς ὀλιγαρχίην  
 οὐκ ὀρθῶς. τριῶν γὰρ προκειμένων καὶ πάντων  
 τῷ λόγῳ ἀρίστων ἑόντων, δήμου τε ἀρίστου καὶ  
 ὀλιγαρχίης καὶ μουνάρχου, πολλῷ τοῦτο προέχειν  
 λέγω. ἀνδρὸς γὰρ ἑνὸς τοῦ ἀρίστου οὐδὲν ἄμεινον  
 ἂν φανείη· γνώμη γὰρ τοιαύτη χρεώμενος ἐπιτρο-  
 पेῦοι ἂν ἀμωμήτως τοῦ πλήθους, σιγῶτό τε ἂν  
 βουλευμάτα ἐπὶ δυσμενέας ἀνδρας οὕτω μάλιστα.  
 ἐν δὲ ὀλιγαρχίᾳ πολλοῖσι ἀρετὴν ἐπασκέουσι ἐς  
 τὸ κοινὸν ἔχθρα ἴδια ἰσχυρὰ φιλέει ἐγγίνεσθαι·  
 αὐτὸς γὰρ ἕκαστος βουλόμενος κορυφαῖος εἶναι  
 γνώμῃσί τε νικᾶν ἐς ἔχθρα μεγάλα ἀλλήλοισι  
 ἀπικνέονται, ἐξ ὧν στάσιες ἐγγίνονται, ἐκ δὲ τῶν  
 στασιῶν φόνος· ἐκ δὲ τοῦ φόνου ἀπέβη ἐς μου-  
 ναρχίην, καὶ ἐν τούτῳ διέδεξε ὅσῳ ἐστὶ τοῦτο  
 ἄριστον. δήμου τε αὖ ἄρχοντος ἀδύνατα μὴ οὐ  
 κακότητα ἐγγίνεσθαι· κακότητος τοίνυν ἐγγινο-  
 μένης ἐς τὰ κοινὰ ἔχθρα μὲν οὐκ ἐγγίνεται τοῖσι  
 κακοῖσι, φιλίαι δὲ ἰσχυραί· οἱ γὰρ κακοῦντες τὰ  
 κοινὰ συγκύψαντες ποιεῦσι. τοῦτο δὲ τοιοῦτο  
 γίνεται ἐς ὃ ἂν προστάς τις τοῦ δήμου τοὺς τοιού-  
 τους παύσῃ. ἐκ δὲ αὐτῶν θωμάζεται οὗτος δὴ  
 ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου, θωμαζόμενος δὲ ἀν’ ὧν ἐφάνη  
 μουνάρχος εἶναι, καὶ ἐν τούτῳ δηλοῖ καὶ οὗτος ὡς  
 ἡ μουναρχίη κράτιστον. ἐνὶ δὲ ἑπεῖ πάντα συλ-  
 λαβόντα εἰπεῖν, κότεν ἡμῖν ἡ ἐλευθερίῃ ἐγένετο  
 καὶ τεῦ δόντος; κότερα παρὰ τοῦ δήμου ἢ ὀλι-

Darius was the third to declare his opinion. "Methinks," said he, "Megabyzus speaks rightly concerning democracy, but not so concerning oligarchy. For the choice lying between these three, and each of them, democracy, oligarchy and monarchy being supposed to be the best of its kind, I hold that monarchy is by far the most excellent. Nothing can be found better than the rule of the one best man; his judgment being like to himself, he will govern the multitude with perfect wisdom, and best conceal plans made for the defeat of enemies. But in an oligarchy, the desire of many to do the state good service oftentimes engenders bitter enmity among them; for each one wishing to be chief of all and to make his counsels prevail, violent enmity is the outcome, enmity brings faction and faction bloodshed; and the end of bloodshed is monarchy; whereby it is shown that this fashion of government is the best. Again, the rule of the commonalty must of necessity engender evil-mindedness; and when evil-mindedness in public matters is engendered, bad men are not divided by enmity but united by close friendship; for they that would do evil to the commonwealth conspire together to do it. This continues till someone rises to champion the people's cause and makes an end of such evil-doing. He therefore becomes the people's idol, and being their idol is made their monarch; so his case also proves that monarchy is the best government. But (to conclude the whole matter in one word) tell me, whence and by whose gift came our freedom—from the commonalty or an oligarchy or a single

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γαρχίης ἢ μουνάρχου; ἔχω τοίνυν γνώμην ἡμέας ἐλευθερωθέντας διὰ ἓνα ἄνδρα τὸ τοιοῦτο περιστέλλειν, χωρὶς τε τούτου πατρίους νόμους μὴ λύειν ἔχοντας εὖ· οὐ γὰρ ἄμεινον.”

83. Γνώμαι μὲν δὴ τρεῖς αὐται προεκέατο, οἱ δὲ τέσσερες τῶν ἑπτὰ ἀνδρῶν προσέθεντο ταύτῃ. ὡς δὲ ἐσσώθη τῇ γνώμῃ ὁ Ὀτάνης Πέρσησι ἰσονομίην σπεύδων ποιῆσαι, ἔλεξε ἐς μέσον αὐτοῖσι τάδε. “Ἄνδρες στασιῶται, δῆλα γὰρ δὴ ὅτι δεῖ ἓνα γε τινὰ ἡμέων βασιλέα γενέσθαι, ἥτοι κλήρῳ γε λαχόντα, ἢ ἐπιτρεψάντων τῷ Περσέων πλήθει τὸν ἂν ἐκείνο ἔληται, ἢ ἄλλη τινὶ μηχανῇ. ἐγὼ μὲν νυν ὑμῖν οὐκ ἐναγωνιεῦμαι· οὔτε γὰρ ἄρχειν οὔτε ἄρχεσθαι ἐθέλω· ἐπὶ τούτῳ δὲ ὑπεξίσταμαι τῆς ἀρχῆς, ἐπ’ ᾧ τε ὑπ’ οὐδενὸς ὑμέων ἄρξομαι, οὔτε αὐτὸς ἐγὼ οὔτε οἱ ἀπ’ ἐμεῦ αἰεὶ γινόμενοι.” τούτου εἰπαντος ταῦτα ὡς συνεχώρεον οἱ ἐξ ἐπὶ τούτοις, οὗτος μὲν δὴ σφί οὐκ ἐνηγωνίζετο ἀλλ’ ἐκ μέσου κατήστο, καὶ νῦν αὕτη ἢ οἰκίῃ διατελεῖ μούνη ἐλευθέρῃ ἐοῦσα Περσέων καὶ ἄρχεται τοσαῦτα ὅσα αὕτῃ θέλει, νόμους οὐκ ὑπερβαίνουσα τοὺς Περσέων.

84. Οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ τῶν ἑπτὰ ἐβουλεύοντο ὡς βασιλέα δικαιοτάτα στήσονται· καὶ σφί ἔδοξε Ὀτάνῃ μὲν καὶ τοῖσι ἀπὸ Ὀτάνεω αἰεὶ γινομένοις, ἣν ἐς ἄλλον τινὰ τῶν ἑπτὰ ἔλθῃ ἢ βασιληίῃ, ἐξαίρετα δίδοσθαι ἐσθῆτά τε Μηδικὴν ἔτεος ἐκάστου καὶ τὴν πᾶσαν δωρεὴν ἣ γίνεται ἐν Πέρσησι τιμιωτάτῃ. τοῦδε δὲ εἵνεκεν ἐβούλευσάν οἱ δίδοσθαι ταῦτα, ὅτι ἐβούλευσέ τε πρῶτος τὸ πρῆγμα καὶ συνέστησε αὐτούς. ταῦτα μὲν δὴ Ὀτάνῃ ἐξαίρετα, τάδε δὲ ἐς τὸ κοινὸν ἐβούλευσαν,

ruler? I hold therefore, that as the rule of one man gave us freedom, so that rule we should preserve; and, moreover, that we should not repeal the good laws of our fathers; that were ill done."

83. Having to judge between these three opinions, four of the seven declared for the last. Then Otanes, his proposal to give the Persians equality being defeated, thus spoke among them all: "Friends and partisans! seeing that it is plain that one of us must be made king (whether by lot, or by our suffering the people of Persia to choose whom they will, or in some other way), know that I will not enter the lists with you; I desire neither to rule nor to be ruled; but if I waive my claim to be king, I make this condition, that neither I nor any of my posterity shall be subject to any one of you." To these terms the six others agreed; Otanes took no part in the contest but stood aside; and to this day his house (and none other in Persia) remains free, nor is compelled to render any unwilling obedience, so long as it transgresses no Persian law.

84. The rest of the seven then consulted what was the justest way of making a king; and they resolved, if another of the seven than Otanes should gain the royal power, that Otanes and his posterity should receive for themselves specially a yearly gift of Median raiment and all such presents as the Persians hold most precious. The reason of this resolve was that it was he who had first contrived the matter and assembled the conspirators. To Otanes, then, they gave this peculiar honour; but with regard to all of



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παριέναι ἐς τὰ βασιλῆα πάντα τὸν βουλόμενον τῶν ἐπτά ἀνευ ἐσαγγελέος, ἣν μὴ τυγχάνη εὐδων μετὰ γυναικὸς βασιλεύς, γαμέειν δὲ μὴ ἐξεῖναι ἄλλοθεν τῷ βασιλείῃ ἢ ἐκ τῶν συνεπαναστάντων. περὶ δὲ τῆς βασιληίης ἐβούλευσαν τοιόνδε· ὅτεν ἂν ὁ ἵππος ἡλίου ἐπανατέλλοντος πρῶτος φθέγξεται, ἐν τῷ προαστείῳ αὐτῶν ἐπιβεβηκότων, τοῦτον ἔχειν τὴν βασιληίην.

85. Δαρείῳ δὲ ἦν ἱπποκόμος ἀνὴρ σοφός, τῷ οὐνομα ἦν Οἰβάρης. πρὸς τοῦτον τὸν ἄνδρα, ἐπεῖτε διελύθησαν, ἔλεξε Δαρεῖος τάδε. “Οἰ-  
βαρες, ἡμῖν δέδοκται περὶ τῆς βασιληίης ποιέειν κατὰ τάδε· ὅτεν ἂν ὁ ἵππος πρῶτος φθέγξεται ἅμα τῷ ἡλίῳ ἀνιόντι αὐτῶν ἐπαναβεβηκότων, τοῦτον ἔχειν τὴν βασιληίην. νῦν ὦν εἴ τινα ἔχεις σοφίην, μηχανῶ ὥς ἂν ἡμεῖς σχῶμεν τοῦτο τὸ γέρας καὶ μὴ ἄλλος τις.” ἀμείβεται Οἰβάρης τοῖσιδε. “Εἰ μὲν δὴ ὦ δέσποτα ἐν τούτῳ τοι ἐστὶ ἢ βασιλέα εἶναι ἢ μή, θάρσее τούτου εἵνεκεν καὶ θυμὸν ἔχε ἀγαθόν, ὥς βασιλεὺς οὐδεὶς ἄλλος πρὸ σεῦ ἔσται· τοιαῦτα ἔχω φάρμακα.” λέγει Δαρεῖος “Εἰ τοίνυν τι τοιοῦτον ἔχεις σόφισμα, ὥρῃ μηχανᾶσθαι καὶ μὴ ἀναβάλλεσθαι, ὥς τῆς ἐπιούσης ἡμέρης ὁ ἀγὼν ἡμῖν ἐστί.” ἀκούσας ταῦτα ὁ Οἰβάρης ποιέει τοιόνδε· ὥς ἐγένετο ἡ νύξ, τῶν θηλέων ἵππων μίαν, τὴν ὁ Δαρείου ἵππος ἔστεργε μά-  
λιστα, ταύτην ἀγαγὼν ἐς τὸ προάστειον κατέδησε καὶ ἐπήγαγε τὸν Δαρείου ἵππον, καὶ τὰ μὲν πολλὰ περιῆγε ἀγχοῦ τῇ ἵππῳ ἐγχιρίμπτων τῇ θηλέῃ, τέλος δὲ ἐπήκε ὀχεῦσαι τὸν ἵππον.

86. “Ἀμ’ ἡμέρῃ δὲ διαφωσκούσῃ οἱ ἐξ κατὰ συνεθήκαντο παρήσαν ἐπὶ τῶν ἵππων· δι-ξελαυ-

them alike they decreed that any one of the seven should, if he so wished, enter the king's palace unannounced, save if the king were sleeping with a woman; and that it should be forbidden to the king to take a wife saving from the households of the conspirators. As concerning the making of a king, they resolved that he should be elected whose horse, when they were all mounted in the suburb of the city, should first be heard to neigh at sunrise.

85. Now Darius had a clever groom, whose name was Oebares. When the council broke up, Darius said to him: "Oebares, in the matter of the kingship, we are resolved that he shall be king whose horse, when we are all mounted, shall first neigh at sunrise. Now do you devise by whatever cunning you can that we and none other may win this prize." "Master," Oebares answered, "if this is to determine whether you be king or not, you have no cause to fear; be of good courage; no man but you shall be king; trust my arts for that." "Then," said Darius, "if you have any trick such as you say, set about it without delay, for to-morrow is the day of decision." When Oebares heard that he did as I will show. At nightfall he brought a mare that was especially favoured by Darius' horse, and tethered her in the suburb of the city; then bringing in Darius' horse, he led him round her near, so as ever and anon to touch her, and at last let the stallion have his way with the mare.

86. At dawn of day came the six on horseback as they had agreed. As they rode out through the

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νόντων δὲ κατὰ τὸ προάστειον, ὡς κατὰ τοῦτο τὸ χωρίον ἐγίνοντο ἵνα τῆς παροιχομένης νυκτὸς κατεδέδετο ἡ θήλεα ἵππος, ἐνθαῦτα ὁ Δαρείου ἵππος προσδραμὼν ἐχρεμέτισε· ἅμα δὲ τῷ ἵππῳ τοῦτο ποιήσαντι ἀστραπή ἐξ αἰθρίης καὶ βροντὴ ἐγένετο. ἐπιγενόμενα δὲ ταῦτα τῷ Δαρείῳ ἐτέλῳσέ μιν ὥσπερ ἐκ συνθέτου τευ γενόμενα· οὐ δὲ καταθορόντες ἀπὸ τῶν ἵππων προσεκύνεον τὸν Δαρεῖον.

87. Οἱ μὲν δὴ φασὶ τὸν Οἰβάρεα ταῦτα μηχανήσασθαι, οὐ δὲ τοιάδε (καὶ γὰρ ἐπ' ἀμφοτέρα λέγεται ὑπὸ Περσέων), ὡς τῆς ἵππου ταύτης τῶν ἄρθρων ἐπιψαύσας τῇ χειρὶ ἔχοι αὐτὴν κρύψας ἐν τῇσι ἀναξυρίσι· ὡς δὲ ἅμα τῷ ἡλίῳ ἀνιόντι ἀπίεσθαι μέλλειν τοὺς ἵππους, τὸν Οἰβάρεα τοῦτον ἐξείραντα τὴν χεῖρα πρὸς τοῦ Δαρείου ἵππου τοὺς μυκτῆρας προσενεῖκαι, τὸν δὲ αἰσθόμενον φριμάξασθαι τε καὶ χρεμετίσαι.

88. Δαρεῖός τε δὴ ὁ Ὑστάσπεος βασιλεὺς ἀπεδέδεκτο, καὶ οἱ ἦσαν ἐν τῇ Ἀσίῃ πάντες κατήκοοι πλὴν Ἀραβίων, Κύρου τε καταστρεψαμένου καὶ ὕστερον αὐτὶς Καμβύσεω. Ἀράβιοι δὲ οὐδαμὰ κατήκουσαν ἐπὶ δουλοσύνῃ Πέρσῃσι, ἀλλὰ ξεῖνοι ἐγένοντο παρέντες Καμβύσεα ἐπ' Αἴγυπτον· ἀεκόντων γὰρ Ἀραβίων οὐκ ἂν ἐσβάλοιεν Πέρσαι ἐς Αἴγυπτον. γάμους τε τοὺς πρῶτους ἐγάμει Πέρσῃσι ὁ Δαρεῖος, Κύρου μὲν δύο θυγατέρας Ἄτοσσάν τε καὶ Ἀρτυστῶνην, τὴν μὲν Ἄτοσσαν προσυνοικήσασαν Καμβύσῃ τε τῷ ἀδελφεῷ καὶ αὐτὶς τῷ Μάγῳ, τὴν δὲ Ἀρτυστῶνην παρθένον· ἐτέρην δὲ Σμέρδιος τοῦ Κύρου θυγατέρα ἔγημε, τῇ οὐνομα ἦν Πάρμυς· ἔσχε δὲ καὶ τὴν τοῦ Ὀτάνεω

### BOOK III. 86-88

suburb and came to the place where the mare had been picketed in the past night, Darius' horse trotted up to it and whinnied; and as he so did there came lightning and thunder out of a clear sky. These signs given to Darius were thought to be foreordained and made his election perfect; his companions leapt from their horses and did obeisance to him.

87. Some say that this was Oebares' plan; but there is another story in Persia besides this: that he touched the mare with his hand, and then kept it hidden in his breeches till the six were about to let go their horses at sunrise; when he took his hand out and held it to the nostrils of Darius' horse, which forthwith snorted and whinnied.

88. So Darius son of Hystaspes was made king,<sup>1</sup> and the whole of Asia, which Cyrus first and Cambyses after him had subdued, was made subject to him, except the Arabians; these did not yield the obedience of slaves to the Persians, but were united to them by friendship, as having given Cambyses passage into Egypt, which the Persians could not enter without the consent of the Arabians. Darius took wives from the noblest houses of Persia, marrying Cyrus' daughters Atossa and Artystone; Atossa had been wife of her brother Cambyses and afterwards of the Magian, Artystone was a virgin. He married also Parmys, daughter of Cyrus' son Smerdis, and that daughter of Otanes who had discovered

<sup>1</sup> 521 B.C.

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θυγατέρα, ἣ τὸν Μάγον κατάδηλον ἐποίησε· δυνάμιος τε πάντα οἱ ἐπιμπλέατο. πρῶτον μὲν νυν τύπον ποιησάμενος λίθινον ἔστησε· ζῶον δέ οἱ ἐνὴν ἀνὴρ ἱππεύς, ἐπέγραψε δὲ γράμματα λέγοντα τάδε· “Δαρεῖος ὁ Ὑστάσπεος σὺν τε τοῦ ἵππου τῇ ἀρετῇ” τὸ οὖνομα λέγων “καὶ Οἰβάρεος τοῦ ἱπποκόμου ἐκτήσατο τὴν Περσέων βασιληίην.”

89. Ποιήσας δὲ ταῦτα ἐν Πέρσησι ἀρχὰς κατεστήσατο εἴκοσι, τὰς αὐτοὶ καλέουσι σατραπείας· καταστήσας δὲ τὰς ἀρχὰς καὶ ἄρχοντας ἐπιστήσας ἐτάξατο φόρους οἱ προσιέναι κατὰ ἔθνεά τε καὶ πρὸς τοῖσι ἔθνεσι τοὺς πλησιοχώρους προστάσσων, καὶ ὑπερβαίνων τοὺς προσεχέας τὰ ἑκαστέρῳ ἄλλοισι ἄλλα ἔθνεα νέμων. ἀρχὰς δὲ καὶ φόρων πρόσδοτον τὴν ἐπέτειον κατὰ τάδε διεΐλε. τοῖσι μὲν αὐτῶν ἀργύριον ἀπαγινέουσι εἴρητο Βαβυλώνιον σταθμὸν τάλαντον ἀπαγινέειν, τοῖσι δὲ χρυσίον ἀπαγινέουσι Εὐβοϊκόν. τὸ δὲ Βαβυλώνιον τάλαντον δύναται Εὐβοΐδας ὀκτὼ καὶ ἑβδομήκοντα μνέας.<sup>1</sup> ἐπὶ γὰρ Κύρου ἄρχοντος καὶ αὐτὶς Καμβύσῳ ἦν κατεστηκὸς οὐδὲν φόρου πέρι, ἀλλὰ δῶρα ἀγίνεον. διὰ δὲ ταύτην τὴν ἐπίταξιν τοῦ φόρου καὶ παραπλήσια ταύτῃ ἄλλα λέγουσι Πέρσαι ὥς Δαρεῖος μὲν ἦν κάπηλος, Καμβύσης δὲ δεσπότης, Κύρος δὲ πατήρ, ὃ μὲν ὅτι ἐκαπήλευε πάντα τὰ πρήγματα, ὃ δὲ ὅτι χαλεπὸς τε ἦν καὶ ὀλίγωρος, ὃ δὲ ὅτι ἡπιὸς τε καὶ ἀγαθὰ σφι πάντα ἐμηχανήσατο.

<sup>1</sup> The MSS. have Εὐβοΐδας ἑβδομήκοντα μνέας; but the reading given is now generally adopted. As the weight-relation of the Persian silver stater to the Persian gold stater—the unit, of which 3000 composed the talent—was 3 : 4, the



### BOOK III. 88-89

the truth about the Magian; and the whole land was full of his power. First he made and set up a carved stone, whereon was graven the figure of a horseman, with this inscription: "Darius son of Hystaspes, aided by the excellence of his horse" (here followed the horse's name) "and of Oebares his groom, won the kingdom of Persia."

89. Having so done in Persia, he divided his dominions into twenty governments, called by the Persians satrapies<sup>1</sup>; and doing so and appointing governors, he ordained that each several nation should pay him tribute; to this end he united each nation with its closest neighbours, and, beyond these nearest lands, assigned those that were farther off some to one and some to another nation. I will now show how he divided his governments and the tributes which were paid him yearly. Those that paid in silver were appointed to render the weight of a Babylonian talent; those that paid in gold, an Euboic talent; the Babylonian talent being equal to seventy-eight Euboic minae. In the reigns of Cyrus and Cambyzes after him there was no fixed tribute, but payment was made in gifts. It is by reason of this fixing of tribute, and other like ordinances, that the Persians called Darius the huckster, Cambyzes the master, and Cyrus the father; for Darius made petty profit out of everything, Cambyzes was harsh and arrogant, Cyrus was merciful and ever wrought for their well-being.

<sup>1</sup> On the following list see the introduction to this book.

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total silver or Babylonian talent equalled  $1\frac{1}{2}$  of the gold (or Euboic) talent. Moreover the figure 78 is confirmed by the calculation in ch. 95.



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90. Ἀπὸ μὲν δὴ Ἰώνων καὶ Μαγνήτων τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἀσίῃ καὶ Αἰολέων καὶ Καρῶν καὶ Λυκίων καὶ Μιλυέων καὶ Παμφύλων (εἷς γὰρ ἦν οἱ τεταγμένος οὗτος φόρος) προσήιε τετρακόσια τάλαντα ἀργυρίου. ὁ μὲν δὴ πρῶτος οὗτός οἱ νομὸς κατεστήκεε, ἀπὸ δὲ Μυσῶν καὶ Λυδῶν καὶ Λασιονίων καὶ Καβαλέων καὶ Ὑπεννέων πεντακόσια τάλαντα· δεύτερος νομὸς οὗτος. ἀπὸ δὲ Ἑλλησποντίων τῶν ἐπὶ δεξιὰ ἐσπλέοντι καὶ Φρυγῶν καὶ Θρηίκων τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἀσίῃ καὶ Παφλαγόνων καὶ Μαριανδυνῶν καὶ Συρίων ἐξήκοντα καὶ τριηκόσια τάλαντα ἦν φόρος· νομὸς τρίτος οὗτος. ἀπὸ δὲ Κιλικίων ἵπποι τε λευκοὶ ἐξήκοντα καὶ τριηκόσιοι, ἐκάστης ἡμέρης εἷς γινόμενος, καὶ τάλαντα ἀργυρίου πεντακόσια· τούτων δὲ τεσσεράκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν ἐς τὴν φρουρούσαν ἵππον τὴν Κιλικίην χώραν ἀναισιμοῦτο, τὰ δὲ τριηκόσια καὶ ἐξήκοντα Δαρείῳ ἐφοίτα· νομὸς τέταρτος οὗτος.

91. Ἀπὸ δὲ Ποσιδηίου πόλιος, τὴν Ἀμφίλοχος ὁ Ἀμφιάρεω οἴκισε ἐπ' οὔροισι τοῖσι Κιλικίων τε καὶ Σύρων, ἀρξάμενος ἀπὸ ταύτης μέχρι Αἰγύπτου, πλὴν μοίρης τῆς Ἀραβίων (ταῦτα γὰρ ἦν ἀτελέα), πεντήκοντα καὶ τριηκόσια τάλαντα φόρος ἦν. ἔστι δὲ ἐν τῷ νομῷ τούτῳ Φοινίκη τε πᾶσα καὶ Συρία ἢ Παλαιστίνη καλεομένη καὶ Κύπρος· νομὸς πέμπτος οὗτος. ἀπ' Αἰγύπτου δὲ καὶ Λιβύων τῶν προσεχέων Αἰγύπτῳ καὶ Κυρήνης τε καὶ Βάρκης (ἐς γὰρ τὸν Αἰγύπτιον νομὸν αὗται ἐκεκοσμέατο) ἑπτακόσια προσήιε τάλαντα, πάρεξ τοῦ ἐκ τῆς Μοίριος λίμνης γινομένου ἀργυρίου, τὸ ἐγίνετο ἐκ τῶν ἰχθύων· τούτου τε δὴ χωρὶς τοῦ ἀργυρίου καὶ τοῦ [ἐπιμετρομένου] σίτου προσήιε

90. The Ionians, Magnesians of Asia, Aeolians, Carians, Lycians, Milyans, and Pamphylians, on whom Darius laid one joint tribute, paid a revenue of three hundred talents of silver. This was established as his first province. The Mysians, Lydians, Lasonians, Cabalians, and Hytennians paid five hundred talents; this was the second province. The third comprised the Hellespontians on the right of the entrance of the straits, the Phrygians, Thracians of Asia, Paphlagonians, Mariandynians, and Syrians; these paid three hundred and sixty talents of tribute. The fourth province was Cilicia. This rendered three hundred and sixty white horses, one for each day in the year, and five hundred talents of silver. An hundred and forty of these were expended on the horsemen who were the guard of Cilicia; the three hundred and sixty that remained were paid to Darius.

91. The fifth province was the country (except the part belonging to the Arabians, which paid no tribute) between Posideion, a city founded on the Cilician and Syrian border by Amphilochous son of Amphiaraus, and Egypt; this paid three hundred and fifty talents; in this province was all Phoenice, and the part of Syria called Palestine, and Cyprus. The sixth province was Egypt and the neighbouring parts of Libya, and Cyrene and Barca, all which were included in the province of Egypt. Hence came seven hundred talents, besides the revenue of silver from the fish of the lake Moeris; besides that silver and the measure of grain that was given also, seven hundred talents were paid; for an

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ἐπτακόσια τάλαντα· σίτου γὰρ δύο καὶ δέκα μυριάδας Περσέων τε τοῖσι ἐν τῷ Λευκῷ τείχεϊ τῷ ἐν Μέμφι κατοικημένοισι καταμετρέουσι καὶ τοῖσι τούτων ἐπικούροισι. νομὸς ἕκτος οὗτος. Σατταγύδαι δὲ καὶ Γανδάριοι καὶ Δαδίκαι τε καὶ Ἀπαρύται ἐς τὸν τεταγμένοι ἐβδομήκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν τάλαντα προσέφερον· νομὸς δὲ οὗτος ἑβδομος. ἀπὸ Σούσων δὲ καὶ τῆς ἄλλης Κισσίων χώρας τριηκόσια· νομὸς ὄγδοος οὗτος.

92. Ἀπὸ Βαβυλῶνος δὲ καὶ τῆς λοιπῆς Ἀσσυρίης χίλια οἱ προσήιε τάλαντα ἀργυρίου καὶ παῖδες ἑκτομῖαι πεντακόσιοι· νομὸς εἵνατος οὗτος. ἀπὸ δὲ Ἀγβατάνων καὶ τῆς λοιπῆς Μηδικῆς καὶ Παρικανίων καὶ Ὀρθοκορυβαντίων πεντήκοντά τε καὶ τετρακόσια τάλαντα· νομὸς δέκατος οὗτος. Κάσπιοι δὲ καὶ Πανσίκαι καὶ Παντίμαθοί τε καὶ Δαρεῖται ἐς τὸν συμφέροντες διηκόσια τάλαντα ἀπαγίνεον· νομὸς ἐνδέκατος οὗτος.

93. Ἀπὸ Βακτριανῶν δὲ μέχρι Αἰγλῶν ἐξήκοντα καὶ τριηκόσια τάλαντα φόρος ἦν· νομὸς δυωδέκατος οὗτος. ἀπὸ Πακτυϊκῆς δὲ καὶ Ἀρμενίων καὶ τῶν προσεχέων μέχρι τοῦ πόντου τοῦ Εὐξείνου τετρακόσια τάλαντα· νομὸς τρίτος καὶ δέκατος οὗτος. ἀπὸ δὲ Σαγαρτίων καὶ Σαραγγέων καὶ Θαμαναίων καὶ Οὐτίων καὶ Μύκων καὶ τῶν ἐν τῇσι νήσοισι οἰκούντων τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἐρυθρῇ θαλάσῃ, ἐν τῇσι τοὺς ἀνασπάστους καλεομένους κατοικίζει βασιλεὺς, ἀπὸ τούτων πάντων ἑξακόσια τάλαντα ἐγένετο φόρος· νομὸς τέταρτος καὶ δέκατος οὗτος. Σάκαι δὲ καὶ Κάσπιοι πεντήκοντα καὶ διηκόσια ἀπαγίνεον τάλαντα· νομὸς πέμπτος καὶ δέκατος οὗτος. Πάρθοι δὲ καὶ Χοράσμιοι καὶ Σόγδοι τε

hundred and twenty thousand bushels of grain were also assigned to the Persians quartered at the White Citadel of Memphis and their allies. The Sattagydae, Gandarii, Dadicae, and Aparytae paid together an hundred and seventy talents; this was the seventh province; the eighth was Susa and the rest of the Cissian country, paying three hundred talents.

92. Babylon and the rest of Assyria rendered to Darius a thousand talents of silver and five hundred boys to be eunuchs; this was the ninth province; Agbatana and the rest of Media, with the Paricanians and Orthocorybantians, paid four hundred and fifty talents, and was the tenth province. The eleventh comprised the Caspii, Pausicae, Pantimathi, and Daritae, paying jointly two hundred;

93. The twelfth, the Bactrians as far as the land of the Aegli; these paid three hundred and sixty. The thirteenth, the Pactyic country and Armenia and the lands adjoining thereto as far as the Euxine sea; these paid four hundred. The fourteenth province was made up of the Sagartii, Sarangeis, Thamanaei, Utii, Myci, and the dwellers on those islands of the southern sea wherein the king plants the people said to be "removed"<sup>1</sup>; these together paid a tribute of six hundred talents. The Sacae and Caspii were the fifteenth, paying two hundred and fifty. The Parthians, Chorasmians,

<sup>1</sup> The regular term for the peoples or individuals who were transplanted from the western into the eastern parts of the Persian empire; the *áva-* implying removal from the sea to the highlands.

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καὶ Ἄρειοι τριηκόσια τάλαντα· νομὸς ἕκτος καὶ δέκατος οὗτος.

94. Παρικάνιοι δὲ καὶ Αἰθίοπες οἱ ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίης τετρακόσια τάλαντα ἀπαγίνεον· νομὸς ἑβδομος καὶ δέκατος οὗτος. Ματιηνοῖσι δὲ καὶ Σάσπειρσι καὶ Ἀλαροδίοισι διηκόσια ἐπετέτακτο τάλαντα· νομὸς ὄγδοος καὶ δέκατος οὗτος. Μόσχοισι δὲ καὶ Τιβαρηνοῖσι καὶ Μάκρῳσι καὶ Μοσσυνοίοισι καὶ Μαρσὶ τριηκόσια τάλαντα προείρητο· νομὸς εἵνατος καὶ δέκατος οὗτος. Ἰνδῶν δὲ πλῆθός τε πολλῷ πλείστον ἐστὶ πάντων τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν ἀνθρώπων, καὶ φόρον ἀπαγίνεον πρὸς πάντας τοὺς ἄλλους ἐξήκοντα καὶ τριηκόσια τάλαντα ψήγματος· νομὸς εἰκοστὸς οὗτος.

95. Τὸ μὲν δὴ ἀργύριον τὸ Βαβυλώνιον πρὸς τὸ Εὐβοϊκὸν συμβαλλόμενον τάλαντον γίνεται ὀγδῶκοντα καὶ ὀκτακόσια καὶ εἰνακισχίλια τάλαντα.<sup>1</sup> τὸ δὲ χρυσίον τρισκαιδεκαστάσιον λογιζόμενον, τὸ ψῆγμα εὐρίσκεται ἐὼν Εὐβοϊκῶν ταλάντων ὀγδῶκοντα καὶ ἑξακοσίων καὶ τετρακισχιλίων. τούτων ὧν πάντων συντιθεμένων τὸ πλῆθος Εὐβοϊκὰ τάλαντα συνελέγετο ἐς τὸν ἐπέτειον φόρον Δαρείῳ μύρια καὶ τετρακισχίλια καὶ πεντακόσια καὶ ἐξήκοντα· τὸ δ' ἔτι τούτων ἔλασσον ἀπιεῖς οὐ λέγω.

96. Οὗτος Δαρείῳ προσήιε φόρος ἀπὸ τῆς τε Ἀσίης καὶ τῆς Λιβύης ὀλιγαχόθεν. προϊόντος μέντοι τοῦ χρόνου καὶ ἀπὸ νήσων προσήιε ἄλλος φόρος καὶ τῶν ἐν τῇ Εὐρώπῃ μέχρι Θεσσαλίας

<sup>1</sup> The MSS. have τεσσαράκοντα καὶ πεντακόσια καὶ εἰν. τ.; but the alteration given here is generally accepted and is necessary in view of the total given below. The 19 tributes

Sogdi, and Arii were the sixteenth, paying three hundred.

94. The Paricanii and Ethiopians of Asia, being the seventeenth, paid four hundred; the Matieni, Saspiri, and Alarodii were the eighteenth, and two hundred talents were the appointed tribute. The Moschi, Tibareni, Macrones, Mossynoeci, and Mares, the nineteenth province, were ordered to pay three hundred. The Indians made up the twentieth province. These are more in number than any nation known to me, and they paid a greater tribute than any other province, namely three hundred and sixty talents of gold dust.

95. Now if these Babylonian talents be reckoned in Euboïc money, the sum is seen to be nine thousand eight hundred and eighty Euboïc talents: and the gold coin being counted as thirteen times the value of the silver, the gold-dust is found to be of the worth of four thousand six hundred and eighty Euboïc talents. Therefore it is seen by adding all together that Darius collected a yearly tribute of fourteen thousand five hundred and sixty talents; I take no account of figures less than ten.

96. This was Darius' revenue from Asia and a few parts of Libya. But as time went on he drew tribute also from the islands and the dwellers in Europe, as far as Thessaly. The tribute is stored by

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make up 7,600 Babylonian talents, that is, on the 3:4 relation (see ch. 89), 9,880 Euboïc talents; add the Indian tribute (4,680 talents) and the total is 14,560.



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οἰκημένων. τοῦτον τὸν φόρον θησαυρίζει βασιλεὺς τρόπῳ τοιῷδε· ἐς πίθους κεραμίνους τήξας κατα-  
χέει, πλήσας δὲ τὸ ἄγγος περιαιρέει τὸν κέραμον·  
ἐπεὰν δὲ δεθῇ χρημάτων, κατακόπτει τοσοῦτο  
ὅσου ἂν ἐκάστοτε δέηται.

97. Αὗται μὲν ἀρχαί τε ἦσαν καὶ φόρων ἐπιτά-  
ξεις. ἡ Περσίς δὲ χώρα μούνη μοι οὐκ εἴρηται  
δασμοφόρος· ἀτελέα γὰρ Πέρσαι νέμονται χώραν.  
οἶδε δὲ φόρον μὲν οὐδένα ἐτάχθησαν φέρειν, δῶρα  
δὲ ἀγίνεον· Αἰθίοπες οἱ πρόσουροι Αἰγύπτῳ, τοὺς  
Καμβύσης ἐλαύνων ἐπὶ τοὺς μακροβίους Αἰθίοπας  
κατεστρέψατο, οἳ τε<sup>1</sup> περί τε Νύσῃν τὴν ἱρὴν  
κατοίκηνται καὶ τῷ Διονύσῳ ἀνάγουσι τὰς ὀρτάς·  
[οὔτοι οἱ Αἰθίοπες καὶ οἱ πλησιόχωροι τούτοισι  
σπέρματι μὲν χρέωνται τῷ αὐτῷ τῷ καὶ οἱ Καλ-  
λαντίαι Ἰνδοί, οἰκήματα δὲ ἔκτηνται κατάγαια.]<sup>2</sup>  
οὔτοι συναμφοτέροι διὰ τρίτου ἔτεος ἀγίνεον,  
ἀγινέουσι δὲ καὶ τὸ μέχρι ἐμεῦ, δύο χοίνικας  
ἀπύρου χρυσίου καὶ διηκοσίας φάλαγγας ἐβένου  
καὶ πέντε παῖδας Αἰθίοπας καὶ ἐλέφαντος ὀδόντας  
μεγάλους εἴκοσι. Κόλχοι δὲ τὰ ἐτάξαντο ἐς τὴν  
δωρεὴν καὶ οἱ προσεχέες μέχρι Καυκάσιος ὄρεος  
(ἐς τοῦτο γὰρ τὸ ὄρος ὑπὸ Πέρσησι ἄρχεται, τὰ δὲ  
πρὸς βορέην ἄνεμον τοῦ Καυκάσιος Περσέων οὐδὲν  
ἔτι φροντίζει), οὔτοι ὦν δῶρα τὰ ἐτάξαντο ἔτι καὶ  
ἐς ἐμὲ διὰ πεντετηρίδος ἀγίνεον, ἑκατὸν παῖδας

<sup>1</sup> οἳ τε; MSS. οἳ; Stein places a lacuna before οἳ, because the Ethiopians bordering on Egypt did not, he says, live near Nysa; at the same time he suggests the easy correction οἳ τε, which I adopt.

<sup>2</sup> The words in brackets are probably a commentator's note drawn from ch. 101. The Καλλαντίαι are obviously the Καλλατίαι of ch. 38.

the king in this fashion : he melts it down and pours it into earthen vessels ; when the vessel is full he breaks the earthenware away, and when he needs money cuts off as much as will serve his purpose.

97. These were the several governments and appointments of tribute. The Persian country is the only one which I have not recorded as tributary ; for the Persians dwell free from all taxes. As for those on whom no tribute was laid, but who rendered gifts instead, they were, firstly, the Ethiopians nearest to Egypt, whom Cambyses subdued in his march towards the long-lived Ethiopians ; and also those who dwell about the holy Nysa,<sup>1</sup> where Dionysus is the god of their festivals. [The seed of these Ethiopians and their neighbours is like the seed of the Indian Callantiae ; they live underground.] These together brought every third year and still bring a gift of two choenixes<sup>2</sup> of pure gold, two hundred blocks of ebony, five Ethiopian boys, and twenty great elephants' tusks. Gifts were also required of the Colchians and their neighbours as far as the Caucasian mountains (which is as far as the Persian rule reaches, the country north of the Caucasus paying no regard to the Persians) ; these were rendered every five years and are still so rendered, namely, an hundred boys and as many maidens.

<sup>1</sup> Probably the mountain called Barkal in Upper Nubia ; this is called "sacred" in hieroglyphic inscriptions.

<sup>2</sup> The choenix was a measure of about the capacity of a quart.

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καὶ ἑκατὸν παρθένους. Ἀράβιοι δὲ χίλια τάλαντα ἀγίνεον λιβανωτοῦ ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος. ταῦτα μὲν οὗτοι δῶρα πάρεξ τοῦ φόρου βασιλείῃ ἐκόμιζον.

98. Τὸν δὲ χρυσὸν τοῦτον τὸν πολλὸν οἱ Ἰνδοί, ἀπ' οὗ τὸ ψῆγμα τῷ βασιλεί τὸ εἰρημένον κομίζουσι, τρόπῳ τοιῷδε κτῶνται. ἔστι τῆς Ἰνδικῆς χώρας τὸ πρὸς ἥλιον ἀνίσχοντα ψάμμος· τῶν γὰρ ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν, τῶν καὶ πέρι ἀτρεκές τι λέγεται, πρῶτοι πρὸς ἡῷ καὶ ἡλίου ἀνατολὰς οἰκέουσι ἀνθρώπων τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἀσίῃ Ἰνδοί. Ἰνδῶν γὰρ τὸ πρὸς τὴν ἡῷ ἐρημίῃ ἐστὶ διὰ τὴν ψάμμον. ἔστι δὲ πολλὰ ἔθνεα Ἰνδῶν καὶ οὐκ ὁμόφωνα σφίσι, καὶ οἱ μὲν αὐτῶν νομάδες εἰσὶ οἱ δὲ οὐ, οἱ δὲ ἐν τοῖσι ἔλεσι οἰκέουσι τοῦ ποταμοῦ καὶ ἰχθύας σιτέονται ὠμούς, τοὺς αἰρέουσι ἐκ πλοίων καλαμίνων ὀρμώμενοι· καλάμον δὲ ἐν γόνυ πλοῖον ἕκαστον ποιέεται. οὗτοι μὲν δὴ τῶν Ἰνδῶν φορέουσι ἐσθῆτα φλοῖνην· ἐπεὰν ἐκ τοῦ ποταμοῦ φλοῦν ἀμήσωσι καὶ κόψωσι, τὸ ἐνθεῦτεν φορμοῦ τρόπον καταπλέξαντες ὥς θώρηκα ἐνδύνουσι.

99. Ἄλλοι δὲ τῶν Ἰνδῶν πρὸς ἡῷ οἰκούντες τούτων νομάδες εἰσὶ κρεῶν ἐδεσταὶ ὠμῶν, καλέονται δὲ Παδαῖοι, νομαίοισι δὲ τοιοῖσιδε λέγονται χρᾶσθαι· ὃς ἂν κάμη τῶν ἀστῶν, ἦν τε γυνὴ ἦν τε ἀνὴρ, τὸν μὲν ἄνδρα ἄνδρες οἱ μάλιστά οἱ ὀμιλέοντες κτείνουσι, φάμενοι αὐτὸν τηκόμενον τῇ νούσῳ τὰ κρέα σφίσι διαφθείρεσθαι· ὁ δὲ ἄπαρνος ἐστὶ μὴ μὲν νοσέειν, οἱ δὲ οὐ συγγινωσκόμενοι ἀποκτείναντες κατευωχέονται. ἡ δὲ ἂν γυνὴ κάμη, ὥσαύτως αἱ ἐπιχρεώμεναι μάλιστα γυναῖκες ταῦτὰ τοῖσι ἀνδράσι ποιεῦσι. τὸν γὰρ δὴ ἐς γῆρας ἀπικόμενον θύσαντες κατευωχέονται· ἐς δὲ τούτου λόγον οὐ

### BOOK III. 97-99

The Arabians rendered a thousand talents' weight of frankincense yearly. Such were the gifts of these peoples to the king, besides the tribute.

98. All this abundance of gold, whence the Indians send the aforesaid gold-dust to the king, they win in such manner as I will show. All to the east of the Indian country is sand; among all men of whom hearsay gives us any clear knowledge the Indians dwell farthest to the east and the sunrise of all the nations of Asia; for on the eastern side of India all is desert by reason of the sand. There are many Indian nations, none speaking the same language; some of them are nomads, some not; some dwell in the river marshes and live on raw fish, which they catch from reed boats. Each boat is made of one single length between the joints of a reed.<sup>1</sup> These Indians wear clothes of rushes; they mow and cut these from the river, then plait them crosswise like a mat, and put it on like a breastplate.

99. Other Indians, to the east of these, are nomads and eat raw flesh; they are called Padaei. It is said to be their custom that when any of their countryfolk male or female are sick, a man's closest friends kill him, saying that they lose his flesh by the wasting of the disease; though he denies that he is sick, yet they will not believe him, but kill and eat him. When a woman is sick she is put to death like the men by the women who most consort with her. As for one that has come to old age, they sacrifice him and feast on his flesh;

<sup>1</sup> Not the bamboo, apparently, but the "kana," which sometimes grows to a height of 50 feet.

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πολλοί τινες αὐτῶν ἀπικνέονται· πρὸ γὰρ τοῦ τὸν ἐς νοῦσον πίπτοντα πάντα κτείνουσι.

100. Ἐτέρων δὲ ἐστὶ Ἰνδῶν ὃδε ἄλλος τρόπος· οὔτε κτείνουσι οὐδὲν ἔμψυχον οὔτε τι σπείρουσι οὔτε οἰκίας νομίζουσι ἐκτῆσθαι ποιηφαγέουσί τε· καὶ αὐτοῖσι ἐστὶ ὅσον κέγχρος τὸ μέγαθος ἐν κάλυκι, αὐτόματον ἐκ τῆς γῆς γινόμενον, τὸ συλλέγοντες αὐτῇ τῇ κάλυκι ἔψουσί τε καὶ σιτέονται. ὃς δ' ἂν ἐς νοῦσον αὐτῶν πέσῃ, ἐλθὼν ἐς τὴν ἔρημον κέεται· φροντίζει δὲ οὐδεὶς οὔτε ἀποθιγόντος οὔτε κάμνοντος.

101. Μίξις δὲ τούτων τῶν Ἰνδῶν τῶν κατέλεξα πάντων ἐμφανὲς ἐστὶ κατὰ περ τῶν προβάτων, καὶ τὸ χρῶμα φορέουσι ὅμοιον πάντες καὶ παραπλήσιον Αἰθίοψι. ἡ γονὴ δὲ αὐτῶν, τὴν ἀπίενται ἐς τὰς γυναῖκας, οὐ κατὰ περ τῶν ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων ἐστὶ λευκὴ, ἀλλὰ μέλαινα κατὰ περ τὸ χρῶμα. τοιαύτην δὲ καὶ Αἰθίοπες ἀπίενται θορήν. οὗτοι μὲν τῶν Ἰνδῶν ἐκαστέρῳ τῶν Περσέων οἰκέουσι καὶ πρὸς νότου ἀνέμου, καὶ Δαρείου βασιλέος οὐδαμὰ ὑπήκουσαν.

102. Ἄλλοι δὲ τῶν Ἰνδῶν Κασπατύρῳ τε πόλι καὶ τῇ Πακτυϊκῇ χώρῃ εἰσὶ πρόσουροι, πρὸς ἄρκτου τε καὶ βορέω ἀνέμου κατοικημένοι τῶν ἄλλων Ἰνδῶν, οἱ Βακτρίοισι παραπλησίην ἔχουσι δίαιταν. οὗτοι καὶ μαχιμώτατοι εἰσὶ Ἰνδῶν καὶ οἱ ἐπὶ τὸν χρυσὸν στελλόμενοι εἰσὶ οὗτοι· κατὰ γὰρ τοῦτο ἐστὶ ἐρημίη διὰ τὴν ψάμμον. ἐν δὲ ὧν τῇ ἐρημίῃ ταύτῃ καὶ τῇ ψάμμῳ γίνονται μύρμηκες μεγάθια ἔχοντες κυνῶν μὲν ἐλάσσονα ἀλωπέκων δὲ μέζονα· εἰσὶ γὰρ αὐτῶν καὶ παρὰ βασιλείῃ τῷ Περσέων ἐνθεύτεν θηρευθέντες. οὗτοι



but there are not many who come thereto, for all who fall sick are killed ere that.

100. There are other Indians, again, who kill no living creature, nor sow, nor are wont to have houses; they eat grass, and they have a grain growing naturally from the earth in its calyx, about the size of a millet-seed, which they gather with the calyx and roast and eat. When any one of them falls sick he goes into the desert and lies there, none regarding whether he be sick or die.

101. These Indians of whom I speak have intercourse openly like cattle; they are all black-skinned, like the Ethiopians. Their genital seed too is not white like other men's, but like the Ethiopians' black. These Indians dwell far away from the Persians southwards, and were no subjects of King Darius.

102. Other Indians dwell near the town of Caspatyrus and the Pactyic country,<sup>1</sup> northward of the rest of India; these live like the Bactrians; they are of all Indians the most warlike, and it is they who are charged with the getting of the gold; for in these parts all is desert by reason of the sand. There are found in this sandy desert ants<sup>2</sup> not so big as dogs but bigger than foxes; the Persian king has some of these, which have been caught

<sup>1</sup> N.E. Afghanistan. Caspatyrus (or Caspapyrus) is said to be probably Cabul.

<sup>2</sup> It is suggested that the "ants" may have been really marmots. But even this does not seem to make the story much more probable.



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ὧν οἱ μύρμηκες ποιεύμενοι οἴκησιν ὑπὸ γῆν ἀναφορέουσι τὴν ψάμμον κατὰ περ οἱ ἐν τοῖσι Ἑλλησι μύρμηκες κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον, εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ τὸ εἶδος ὁμοιότατοι· ἡ δὲ ψάμμος ἡ ἀναφερομένη ἐστὶ χρυσίτις. ἐπὶ δὲ ταύτην τὴν ψάμμον στέλλονται ἐς τὴν ἔρημον οἱ Ἰνδοί, ζευξάμενος ἕκαστος καμήλους τρεῖς, σειρηφόρον μὲν ἐκατέρωθεν ἔρσενά παρέλκειν, θήλεαν δὲ ἐς μέσον· ἐπὶ ταύτην δὲ αὐτὸς ἀναβαίνει, ἐπιτηδεύσας ὅπως ἀπὸ τέκνων ὡς νεωτάτων ἀποσπάσας ζεύξει. αἱ γάρ σφι κάμηλοι ἵππων οὐκ ἦσσονες ἐς ταχυτήτα εἰσὶ, χωρὶς δὲ ἄχθεια δυνατώτεραι πολλὸν φέρειν.

103. Τὸ μὲν δὴ εἶδος ὁκοῖόν τι ἔχει ἡ κάμηλος, ἐπισταμένοισι τοῖσι Ἑλλησι οὐ συγγράφω· τὸ δὲ μὴ ἐπιστέαται αὐτῆς, τοῦτο φράσω· κάμηλος ἐν τοῖσι ὀπισθίοισι σκέλεσι ἔχει τέσσερας μηρούς καὶ γούνατα τέσσερα, τὰ τε αἰδοῖα διὰ τῶν ὀπισθίων σκελέων πρὸς τὴν οὐρὴν τετραμμένα.

104. Οἱ δὲ δὴ Ἰνδοὶ τρόπῳ τοιούτῳ καὶ ζεύξει τοιαύτη χρεώμενοι ἐλαύνουσι ἐπὶ τὸν χρυσὸν λελογισμένως ὅπως καυμάτων τῶν θερμοτάτων ἐόντων ἔσονται ἐν τῇ ἀρπαγῇ· ὑπὸ γὰρ τοῦ καύματος οἱ μύρμηκες ἀφανέες γίνονται ὑπὸ γῆν. θερμότατος δὲ ἐστὶ ὁ ἥλιος τούτοις τοῖσι ἀνθρώποις τὸ ἐωθινόν, οὐ κατὰ περ τοῖσι ἄλλοις μεσαμβρίας, ἀλλ' ὑπερτείλας μέχρι οὗ ἀγορῆς διαλύσις. τοῦτον δὲ τὸν χρόνον καίει πολλῶ μᾶλλον ἢ τῇ μεσαμβρίῃ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, οὕτω ὥστ' ἐν ὕδατι λόγος αὐτοῦς ἐστι βρέχεσθαι τηνικαῦτα. μεσοῦσα δὲ ἡ ἡμέρη σχεδὸν παραπλησίως καίει τοὺς τε ἄλλους ἀνθρώπους καὶ τοὺς Ἰνδοὺς. ἀποκλινομένης δὲ τῆς μεσαμβρίας γίνεται σφι ὁ ἥλιος

BOOK III. 102-104

there. These ants make their dwellings underground, digging out the sand in the same manner as do the ants in Greece, to which they are very like in shape, and the sand which they carry forth from the holes is full of gold. It is for this sand that the Indians set forth into the desert. They harness three camels apiece, a male led camel on either side to help in draught, and a female in the middle: the man himself rides on the female, careful that when harnessed she has been taken away from as young an offspring as may be. Their camels are as swift as horses, and much better able to bear burdens besides.

103. I do not describe the camel's appearance to Greeks, for they know it; but I will show them a thing which they do not know concerning it: the hindlegs of the camel have four thighbones and four knee-joints; its privy parts are turned towards the tail between the hindlegs.

104. Thus and with teams so harnessed the Indians ride after the gold, using all diligence that they shall be about the business of taking it when the heat is greatest; for the ants are then out of sight underground. Now in these parts the sun is hottest in the morning, not at midday as elsewhere, but from sunrise to the hour of market-closing. Through these hours it is hotter by much than in Hellas at noon, so that men are said to sprinkle themselves with water at this time. At midday the sun's heat is well nigh the same in India and elsewhere. As it grows to afternoon, the sun of

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κατά περ τοῖσι ἄλλοισι ὁ ἑωθινός, καὶ τὸ ἀπὸ  
τούτου ἀπὶ ὧν ἐπὶ μᾶλλον ψύχει, ἐς δ' ἐπὶ δυσμῆσι  
ἔων καὶ τὸ κάρτα ψύχει.

105. Ἐπεὰν δὲ ἔλθωσι ἐς τὸν χώρον οἱ Ἴνδοι  
ἔχοντες θυλάκια, ἐμπλήσαντες ταῦτα τῆς ψάμμου  
τὴν ταχίστην ἐλαύνουσι ὀπίσω· αὐτίκα γὰρ οἱ  
μύρημκες ὁδμῇ, ὡς δὴ λέγεται ὑπὸ Περσέων,  
μαθόντες διώκουσι. εἶναι δὲ ταχυτῆτα οὐδενὶ  
ἐτέρῳ ὅμοιον, οὕτω ὥστε, εἰ μὴ προλαμβάνειν τοὺς  
Ἴνδους τῆς ὁδοῦ ἐν ᾧ τοὺς μύρμηκας συλλέγεσθαι,  
οὐδένα ἂν σφέων ἀποσώζεσθαι. τοὺς μὲν νυν  
ἔρσενας τῶν καμήλων, εἶναι γὰρ ἥσσονας θέειν  
τῶν θηλέων, παραλύεσθαι ἐπελκομένους, οὐκ  
ὁμοῦ ἀμφοτέρους· τὰς δὲ θηλέας ἀναμιμνησκο-  
μένας τῶν ἔλιπον τέκνων ἐνδιδόναι μαλακὸν οὐδέν.  
τὸν μὲν δὴ πλέω τοῦ χρυσοῦ οὕτω οἱ Ἴνδοι  
κτῶνται, ὡς Πέρσαι φασί· ἄλλος δὲ σπανιώτερος  
ἐστι ἐν τῇ χώρῃ ὀρυσσόμενος.

106. Αἱ δ' ἐσχαταί κως τῆς οἰκεομένης τὰ  
κάλλιστα ἔλαχον, κατὰ περ ἡ Ἑλλὰς τὰς ὥρας  
πολλόν τι κάλλιστα κεκρημένας ἔλαχε. τοῦτο  
μὲν γὰρ πρὸς τὴν ἡῶ ἐσχάτη τῶν οἰκεομενέων ἡ  
Ἰνδική ἐστι, ὥσπερ ὀλίγῳ πρότερον εἴρηκα· ἐν  
ταύτῃ τοῦτο μὲν τὰ ἔμψυχα, τετράποδά τε καὶ τὰ  
πετεινά, πολλῷ μέζω ἢ ἐν τοῖσι ἄλλοισι χωρίοισι  
ἐστί, πάρεξ τῶν ἵππων (οὗτοι δὲ ἐσσοῦνται ὑπὸ  
τῶν Μηδικῶν, Νησαίων δὲ καλευμένων ἵππων),  
τοῦτο δὲ χρυσὸς ἄπλετος αὐτόθι ἐστί, ὃ μὲν  
ὀρυσσόμενος, ὃ δὲ καταφορεύμενος ὑπὸ ποταμῶν,  
ὃ δὲ ὥσπερ ἐσήμηνα ἀρπαζόμενος. τὰ δὲ δένδρεα  
τὰ ἄγρια αὐτόθι φέρει καρπὸν εἴρια καλλονῇ  
τε προφέροντα καὶ ἀρετῇ τῶν ἀπὸ τῶν οἴων·

### BOOK III. 104-106

India has the power of the morning sun in other lands ; with its sinking the day becomes ever cooler, till at sunset it is exceeding cold.

105. So when the Indians come to the place with their sacks, they fill these with the sand and ride away back with all speed ; for, as the Persians say, the ants forthwith scent them out and give chase, being, it would seem, so much swifter than all other creatures that if the Indians made not haste on their way while the ants are mustering, not one of them would escape. So they loose the male trace-camels that they lead, one at a time (these being slower than the females) ; the mares never tire, for they remember the young that they have left. Such is the tale. Most of the gold (say the Persians) is got in this way by the Indians ; there is some besides that they dig from mines in their country, but it is less abundant.

106. It would seem that the fairest blessings have been granted to the most distant nations of the world, whereas in Hellas the seasons have by much the kindest temperature. As I have lately said, India lies at the world's most distant eastern limit ; and in India all living creatures four-footed and flying are by much bigger than those of other lands, except the horses, which are smaller than the Median horses called Nesaeon ; moreover the gold there, whether dug from the earth or brought down by rivers or got as I have shown, is very abundant. There too there grows on wild trees wool more beautiful and excellent than the wool

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καὶ ἐσθῆτι Ἴνδοι ἀπὸ τούτων τῶν δενδρέων χρέωνται.

107. Πρὸς δ' αὖ μεσαμβρίας ἐσχάτη Ἀραβίη τῶν οἰκεομενέων χωρέων ἐστί, ἐν δὲ ταύτῃ λιβανωτός τε ἐστὶ μούνη χωρέων πασέων φυόμενος καὶ σμύρνη καὶ κασίη καὶ κινάμωμον καὶ λήδανον. ταῦτα πάντα πλὴν τῆς σμύρνης δυσπετεώς κτῶνται οἱ Ἀράβιοι. τὸν μὲν γε λιβανωτὸν συλλέγουσι τὴν στύρακα θυμιῶντες, τὴν ἐς Ἑλληνας Φοίνικες ἐξάγουσι· ταύτην θυμιῶντες λαμβάνουσι· τὰ γὰρ δένδρεα ταῦτα τὰ λιβανωτοφόρα ὄφιος ὑπόπτεροι, μικροὶ τὰ μεγάθεα, ποικίλοι τὰ εἶδεα, φυλάσσουσι πλήθει πολλοὶ περὶ δένδρον ἕκαστον, οὗτοι οἳ περ ἐπ' Αἴγυπτον ἐπιστρατεύονται, οὐδενὶ δὲ ἄλλῳ ἀπελαύνονται ἀπὸ τῶν δενδρέων ἢ τῆς στύρακος τῷ καπνῷ.

108. Λέγουσι δὲ καὶ τότε Ἀράβιοι, ὥς πᾶσα ἂν γῆ ἐπίμπλατο τῶν ὀφίων τούτων, εἰ μὴ γίνεσθαι κατ' αὐτοὺς οἷόν τι κατὰ τὰς ἐχίδνας ἠπιστάμην γίνεσθαι. καὶ κως τοῦ θείου ἢ προνοίῃ, ὥσπερ καὶ οἶκός ἐστι, ἐοῦσα σοφή, ὅσα μὲν<sup>1</sup> ψυχὴν τε δειλὰ καὶ ἐδώδιμα, ταῦτα μὲν πάντα πολύγονα πεποίηκε, ἵνα μὴ ἐπιλίπη κατεσθιόμενα, ὅσα δὲ σχέτλια καὶ ἀνιηρά, ὀλιγόγονα. τοῦτο μὲν, ὅτι ὁ λαγὸς ὑπὸ παντὸς θηρεύεται θηρίου καὶ ὄρνιθος καὶ ἀνθρώπου, οὕτω δὴ τι πολύγονον ἐστί· ἐπικυίσκεται μούνον πάντων θηρίων, καὶ τὸ μὲν δασὺ τῶν τέκνων ἐν τῇ γαστρὶ τὸ δὲ ψιλόν, τὸ δὲ ἄρτι ἐν τῇσι μήτρῃσι πλάσσεται, τὸ δὲ ἀναιρέεται. τοῦτο μὲν δὴ

<sup>1</sup> ὅσα μὲν γὰρ MSS.; Stein brackets γὰρ, which obviously has no place here.

### BOOK III. 106-108

of 'sheep; these trees supply the Indians with clothing.

107. Again, Arabia is the most distant to the south of all inhabited countries : and this is the only country which yields frankincense and myrrh and casia and cinnamon and gum-mastich. All these but myrrh are difficult for the Arabians to get. They gather frankincense by burning that storax<sup>1</sup> which Phoenicians carry to Hellas ; this they burn and so get the frankincense ; for the spice-bearing trees are guarded by small winged snakes of varied colour, many round each tree ; these are the snakes that attack Egypt. Nothing save the smoke of storax will drive them away from the trees.

108. The Arabians also say that the whole country would be full of these snakes were it not with them as I have heard that it is with vipers. It would seem that the wisdom of divine Providence (as is but reasonable) has made all creatures prolific that are cowardly and fit to eat, that they be not minished from off the earth by devouring, whereas but few young are born to creatures cruel and baneful. The hare is so prolific, for that it is the prey of every beast and bird and man ; alone of all creatures it conceives in pregnancy ; some of the unborn young are hairy, some still naked ; while some are still forming in the womb others are already being chased and killed. But whereas this is so with

<sup>1</sup> A kind of gum, producing an acrid smoke when burnt, and therefore used as a disinfectant.



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τοιούτο ἐστί· ἡ δὲ δὴ λέαινα ἐὼν ἰσχυρότατον καὶ θρασύτατον ἅπαξ ἐν τῷ βίῳ τίκτει ἕν· τίκτουσα γὰρ συνεκβάλλει τῷ τέκνῳ τὰς μήτρας. τὸ δὲ αἷτιον τούτου τόδε ἐστί· ἐπεὰν ὁ σκύμνος ἐν τῇ μητρὶ ἐὼν ἄρχηται διακινεόμενος, ὃ δὲ ἔχων ὄνυχας θηρίων πολλὸν πάντων ὀξυτάτους ἀμύσσει τὰς μήτρας, αὐξόμενός τε δὴ πολλῷ μᾶλλον ἐσικνέεται καταγράφων· πέλας τε δὴ ὁ τόκος ἐστί, καὶ τὸ παράπαν λείπεται αὐτέων ὑγιὲς οὐδέν.

109. Ὡς δὲ καὶ οἱ ἔχιδναί τε καὶ οἱ ἐν Ἀραβίοισι ὑπόπτεροι ὄφεις εἰ ἐγίνοντο ὡς ἡ φύσις αὐτοῖσι ὑπάρχει, οὐκ ἂν ἦν βιώσιμα ἀνθρώποισι· νῦν δ' ἐπεὰν θορνύωνται κατὰ ζεύγεα καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ ἢ ὁ ἔρσην τῇ ἐκποιήσι, ἀπιεμένου αὐτοῦ τὴν γονὴν ἢ θήλεα ἅπτεται τῆς δειρῆς, καὶ ἐμφῦσα οὐκ ἀνιεῖ πρὶν ἂν διαφάγη. ὁ μὲν δὴ ἔρσην ἀποθνήσκει τρόπῳ τῷ εἰρημένῳ, ἡ δὲ θήλεα τίσιν τοιήνδε ἀποτίνει τῷ ἔρσει· τῷ γονεὶ τιμωρέοντα ἔτι ἐν τῇ γαστρὶ ἐόντα τὰ τέκνα διεσθίει τὴν μητέρα, διαφαγόντα δὲ τὴν νηδὺν αὐτῆς οὕτω τὴν ἔκδυσιν ποιέεται. οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι ὄφεις ἐόντες ἀνθρώπων οὐ δηλήμονες τίκτουσί τε ὥα καὶ ἐκλέπουσι πολλόν τι χρήμα τῶν τέκνων. αἱ μὲν νυν ἔχιδναι κατὰ πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν εἰσὶ, οἱ δὲ ὑπόπτεροι ὄφεις ἀθρόοι εἰσὶ ἐν τῇ Ἀραβίῃ καὶ οὐδαμῇ ἄλλῃ· κατὰ τοῦτο δοκέουσι πολλοὶ εἶναι.

110. Τὸν μὲν δὴ λιβανωτὸν τοῦτον οὕτω κτῶνται Ἀράβιοι, τὴν δὲ κασίην ὧδε. ἐπεὰν καταδήσωνται βύρσησι καὶ δέρμασι ἄλλοισι πᾶν τὸ σῶμα καὶ τὸ πρόσωπον πλὴν αὐτῶν τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν, ἔρχονται ἐπὶ τὴν κασίην· ἡ δὲ ἐν λίμνῃ φύεται οὐ βαθέη, περὶ δὲ αὐτὴν καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ

the hare, the lioness, a very strong and bold beast, bears offspring but once in her life, and then but one cub; for the uterus comes out with the cub in the act of birth. This is the reason of it:—when the cub first begins to stir in the mother, its claws, much sharper than those of any other creature, tear the uterus, and as it grows, much more does it scratch and tear, so that when the hour of birth is near seldom is any of the uterus left whole.

109. It is so too with vipers and the winged serpents of Arabia: were they born in the natural manner of serpents no life were possible for men; but as it is, when they pair, and the male is in the very act of generation, the female seizes him by the neck, nor lets go her grip till she have devoured him. Thus the male dies; but the female is punished for his death; the young avenge their father, and eat their mother while they are yet within her; nor are they dropped from her till they have devoured her womb. Other snakes, that do no harm to men, lay eggs and hatch out a vast number of young. The Arabian winged serpents do indeed seem to be many; but it is because (whereas there are vipers in every land) these are all in Arabia and are nowhere else found.

110. The Arabians get their frankincense as I have shown; for the winning of casia, when they seek it they bind oxhides and other skins over all their bodies and faces, leaving only the eyes. Casia grows in a shallow lake; round this and in it are

αὐλίζεται<sup>1</sup> κου θηρία πτερωτά, τῇσι νυκτερίσι προσείκελα μάλιστα, καὶ τέτριγε δεινόν, καὶ ἐς ἀλκὴν ἄλκιμα· τὰ δεῖ ἀπαμυνομένους ἀπὸ τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν οὕτω δρέπειν τὴν κασίην.

111. Τὸ δὲ δὴ κινάμωμον ἔτι τούτων θωμαστότερον συλλέγουσι. ὅκου μὲν γὰρ γίνεται καὶ ἥτις μιν γῇ ἢ τρέφουσα ἐστί, οὐκ ἔχουσι εἰπεῖν, πλὴν ὅτι λόγῳ οἰκότι χρεώμενοι ἐν τοῖσιδε χωρίοισι φασὶ τινὲς αὐτὸ φύεσθαι ἐν τοῖσι ὁ Διόνυσος ἐτράφη· ὄρνιθας δὲ λέγουσι μεγάλας φορέειν ταῦτα τὰ κάρφεια τὰ ἡμεῖς ἀπὸ Φοινίκων μαθόντες κινάμωμον καλέομεν, φορέειν δὲ τὰς ὄρνιθας ἐς νεοσσιὰς προσπεπλασμένας ἐκ πηλοῦ πρὸς ἀποκρήμνοισι ὄρεσι, ἔνθα πρόσβασιν ἀνθρώπῳ οὐδεμίαν εἶναι. πρὸς ᾧν δὴ ταῦτα τοὺς Ἀραβίους σοφίζεσθαι τάδε· βοῶν τε καὶ ὄνων τῶν ἀπογινομένων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὑποζυγίων τὰ μέλεα διαταμόντας ὥς μέγιστα κομίζειν ἐς ταῦτα τὰ χωρία, καὶ σφεα θέντας ἀγχοῦ τῶν νεοσσιέων ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι ἐκὰς αὐτέων· τὰς δὲ ὄρνιθας καταπετομένας<sup>1</sup> τὰ μέλεα τῶν ὑποζυγίων ἀναφορέειν ἐπὶ τὰς νεοσσιάς, τὰς δὲ οὐ δυναμένας ἴσχειν καταρρήγνυσθαι ἐπὶ γῇν, τοὺς δὲ ἐπιόντας συλλέγειν. οὕτω μὲν τὸ κινάμωμον συλλεγόμενον ἐκ τούτων ἀπικνέεσθαι ἐς τὰς ἄλλας χώρας.

112. Τὸ δὲ δὴ λήδανον, τὸ καλέουσι Ἀράβιοι λάδανον, ἔτι τούτου θωμασιώτερον γίνεται· ἐν γὰρ δυσοδομοτάτῳ γινόμενον εὐωδέστατον ἐστί· τῶν γὰρ αἰγῶν τῶν τράγων ἐν τοῖσι πώγῳσι εὐρίσκεται ἐγγινόμενον οἶον γλοιὸς ἀπὸ τῆς ὕλης. χρήσιμον δ' ἐς πολλὰ τῶν μύρων ἐστί, θυμιασί τε μάλιστα τοῦτο Ἀράβιοι.

<sup>1</sup> καταπετομένας [αὐτῶν] Stein.

encamped certain winged creatures, very like bats, that squeak shrilly and make a stout resistance; these must be kept from the men's eyes if the casia is to be plucked.

111. As for cinnamon, they gather it in a fashion even stranger. Where it grows and what kind of land nurtures it they cannot say, save that it is reported, reasonably enough, to grow in the places where Dionysus was reared. There are great birds, it is said, that take these sticks which the Phoenicians have taught us to call cinnamon, and carry them off to nests built of mud on the mountain crags, where no man can approach. The Arabian device for defeating the birds is to cut into very large pieces dead oxen and asses and other beasts of burden, then to set these near the eyries, withdrawing themselves far off. The birds then fly down (it is said) and carry the morsels of the beasts up to their nests; which not being able to bear the weight break and fall down the mountain side; and then the Arabians come up and gather what they seek. Thus is cinnamon said to be gathered, and so to come from Arabia to other lands.

112. But gum-mastich, which Greeks call ledanon and Arabians ladanon, is yet more strangely produced. Its scent is most sweet, yet nothing smells more evilly than that which produces it; for it is found in the beards of he-goats, forming in them like tree-gum. This is used in the making of many perfumes; there is nothing that the Arabians so often burn for fragrance.

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113. Τοσαῦτα μὲν θυωμάτων περί εἰρήσθω, ἀπόζει δὲ τῆς χώρας τῆς Ἀραβίης θεσπέσιον ὡς ἡδύ. δύο δὲ γένεα οἷων σφι ἐστὶ θώματος ἄξια, τὰ οὐδαμόθι ἐτέρωθι ἐστί. τὸ μὲν αὐτῶν ἕτερον ἔχει τὰς οὐρὰς μακράς, τριῶν πηχέων οὐκ ἐλάσσονας, τὰς εἴ τις ἐπείη σφι ἐπέλκειν, ἔλκεα ἂν ἔχοιεν ἀνατριβομενέων πρὸς τῇ γῇ τῶν οὐρέων· νῦν δ' ἅπας τις τῶν ποιμένων ἐπίσταται ξυλουργέειν ἐς τοσοῦτο· ἀμαξίδας γὰρ ποιεῦντες ὑποδέουσι αὐτὰς τῇσι οὐρῇσι, ἐνὸς ἐκάστου κτήνεος τὴν οὐρὴν ἐπὶ ἀμαξίδα ἐκάστην καταδέοντες. τὸ δὲ ἕτερον γένος τῶν οἷων τὰς οὐρὰς πλατέας φορέουσι καὶ ἐπὶ πῆχυν πλάτος.

114. Ἀποκλινομένης δὲ μεσαμβρίας παρίκει πρὸς δύνοντα ἥλιον ἡ Αἰθιοπία χώρα ἐσχάτη τῶν οἰκεομενέων· αὕτη δὲ χρυσόν τε φέρει πολλὸν καὶ ἐλέφαντας ἀμφιλαφέας καὶ δένδρεα πάντα ἄγρια καὶ ἔβενον καὶ ἄνδρας μεγίστους καὶ καλλίστους καὶ μακροβιωτάτους.

115. Αὗται μὲν νυν ἔν τε τῇ Ἀσίῃ ἐσχατιαί εἰσι καὶ ἐν τῇ Λιβύῃ. περὶ δὲ τῶν ἐν τῇ Εὐρώπῃ τῶν πρὸς ἐσπέρην ἐσχατιέων ἔχω μὲν οὐκ ἀτρεκέως λέγειν· οὔτε γὰρ ἔγωγε ἐνδέκομαι Ἡριδανὸν καλέεσθαι πρὸς βαρβάρων ποταμὸν ἐκδιδόντα ἐς θάλασσαν τὴν πρὸς βορέην ἄνεμον, ἀπ' ὅτεν τὸ ἡλεκτρον φοιτᾶν λόγος ἐστί, οὔτε νήσους οἶδα Κασσιτερίδας εἰούσας, ἐκ τῶν ὃ κασσίτερος ἡμῖν φοιτᾶ. τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ ὃ Ἡριδανὸς αὐτὸ κατηγορεῖ τὸ οὖνομα ὡς ἔστι Ἑλληνικὸν καὶ οὐ βάρβαρον, ὑπὸ ποιητέῳ δὲ τινὸς ποιηθέν· τοῦτο δὲ οὐδενὸς αὐτόπτεω γενομένου δύναμαι ἀκοῦσαι, τοῦτο μελετῶν, ὅκως θάλασσα ἐστὶ τὰ ἐπέκεινα

### BOOK III. 113-115

113. I have said enough of the spices of Arabia; airs wondrous sweet blow from that land. They have moreover two marvellous kinds of sheep, nowhere else found. One of these has tails no less than three cubits long. Were the sheep to trail these after them, they would suffer hurt by the rubbing of the tails on the ground; but as it is every shepherd there knows enough of carpentry to make little carts which they fix under the tails, binding the tail of each several sheep on its own cart. The other kind of sheep has tails a full cubit broad.

114. Where south inclines westwards, the part of the world stretching farthest towards the sunset is Ethiopia; here is great plenty of gold, and abundance of elephants, and all woodland trees, and ebony; and the people are the tallest and fairest and longest-lived of all men.

115. These then are the most distant parts of the world in Asia and Libya. But concerning the farthest western parts of Europe I cannot speak with exactness; for I do not believe that there is a river called by foreigners Eridanus issuing into the northern sea, whence our amber is said to come, nor have I any knowledge of Tin-islands, whence our tin is brought. The very name of the Eridanus betrays itself as not a foreign but a Greek name, invented by some poet; nor for all my diligence have I been able to learn from one who has seen it that there is a sea beyond Europe. This only we



Εὐρώπης. ἐξ ἐσχάτης δ' ὧν ὁ κασσίτερος ἡμῖν φοιτᾷ καὶ τὸ ἤλεκτρον.

116. Πρὸς δὲ ἄρκτου τῆς Εὐρώπης πολλῶ τι πλείστος χρυσὸς φαίνεται ἐὼν· ὅκως μὲν γινόμενος, οὐκ ἔχω οὐδὲ τοῦτο ἀτρεκέως εἶπαι, λέγεται δὲ ὑπὲκ τῶν γρυπῶν ἀρπάζειν Ἀριμασποὺς ἀνδρας μονοφθάλμους. πείθομαι δὲ οὐδὲ τοῦτο ὅκως μονοφθαλμοὶ ἄνδρες φύονται, φύσιν ἔχοντες τὴν ἄλλην ὁμοίην τοῖσι ἄλλοισι ἀνθρώποισι· αἱ δὲ ὧν ἐσχατιαὶ οἴκασι, περικληίουσαι τὴν ἄλλην χώραν καὶ ἐντὸς ἀπέργουσαι, τὰ κάλλιστα δοκέοντα ἡμῖν εἶναι καὶ σπανιώτατα ἔχειν αὐται.

117. Ἔστι δὲ πεδῖον ἐν τῇ Ἀσίῃ περικεκλημένον ὄρεϊ πάντοθεν, διασφάγες δὲ τοῦ ὄρεος εἰσὶ πέντε. τοῦτο τὸ πεδῖον ἦν μὲν κοτὲ Χορασμίων, ἐν οὖροισι ἐὼν Χορασμίων τε αὐτῶν καὶ Ὑρκανίων καὶ Πάρθων καὶ Σαραγγέων καὶ Θαμαναίων, ἐπεῖτε δὲ Πέρσαι ἔχουσι τὸ κράτος, ἐστὶ τοῦ βασιλέως. ἐκ δὲ ὧν τοῦ περικληίουτος ὄρεος τούτου ῥέει ποταμὸς μέγας, οὖνομα δὲ οἱ ἐστὶ Ἀκης. οὗτος πρότερον μὲν ἄρδεσκε διαλελαμμένος πενταχοῦ τούτων τῶν εἰρημένων τὰς χώρας, διὰ διασφάγος ἀγόμενος ἐκάστης ἐκάστοισι· ἐπεῖτε δὲ ὑπὸ τῷ Πέρσῃ εἰσὶ, πεπόνθασι τοιόνδε· τὰς διασφάγας τῶν ὁρέων ἐνδείμας ὁ βασιλεὺς πύλας ἐπ' ἐκάστη διασφάγι ἔστησε· ἀποκεκλημένου δὲ τοῦ ὕδατος τῆς ἐξόδου τὸ πεδῖον τὸ ἐντὸς τῶν ὁρέων πέλαγος γίνεται, ἐνδιδόντος μὲν τοῦ ποταμοῦ, ἔχοντος δὲ οὐδαμῇ ἐξήλυσιν. οὗτοι ὧν οἱ περ ἔμπροσθε ἐώθεσαν

know, that our tin and amber come from the most distant parts.

116. This is also plain, that to the north of Europe there is by far more gold than elsewhere. In this matter again I cannot with certainty say how the gold is got; some will have it that one-eyed men called Arimaspians steal it from griffins. But this too I hold incredible, that there can be men in all else like other men, yet having but one eye. Suffice it that it is but reasonable that the most distant parts of the world, as they enclose and wholly surround all other lands, should have those things which we deem best and rarest.

117. There is in Asia a plain surrounded by mountains, through which mountains there are five clefts.<sup>1</sup> This plain belonged formerly to the Chorasians; it adjoins the land of the Chorasmians themselves, the Hyrcanians, Parthians, Sarangeis, and Thamanaei; but since the Persians have held sway it has been the king's own land. Now from the encircling mountains flows a great river called Aces. Its stream divides into five channels, and watered formerly the lands of the peoples aforesaid by passing to them severally through the five clefts; but since the beginning of the Persian rule the king has blocked the mountain clefts, and closed each passage with a gate; the water thus barred from outlet, the plain within the mountains becomes a lake, seeing that the river pours into it and finds no way out. Those therefore who formerly used

<sup>1</sup> All this description appears to be purely imaginative. But "the idea of the chapter" (say Messrs. How and Wells) "is quite correct; the control of irrigation is in the East one of the prerogatives of government, and great sums are charged for the use of water."

χρᾶσθαι τῷ ὕδατι, οὐκ ἔχοντες αὐτῷ χρᾶσθαι  
 συμφορῇ μεγάλη διαχρέωνται. τὸν μὲν γὰρ  
 χειμῶνα ὕει σφι ὁ θεὸς ὥσπερ καὶ τοῖσι ἄλλοισι  
 ἀνθρώποισι, τοῦ δὲ θέρεος σπείροντες μελίνην καὶ  
 σήσαμον χρήσκονται τῷ ὕδατι. ἐπεὰν ὦν μηδέν  
 σφι παραδιδῶται τοῦ ὕδατος, ἐλθόντες ἐς τοὺς  
 Πέρσας αὐτοὶ τε καὶ γυναῖκες, στάντες κατὰ τὰς  
 θύρας τοῦ βασιλέως βοῶσι ὠρυόμενοι, ὁ δὲ βα-  
 σιλεὺς τοῖσι δεομένοισι αὐτῶν μάλιστα ἐντέλ-  
 λεται ἀνοίγειν τὰς πύλας τὰς ἐς τοῦτο φερούσας.  
 ἐπεὰν δὲ διάκορος ἢ γῇ σφεων γένηται πίνουσα τὸ  
 ὕδωρ, αὗται μὲν αἱ πύλαι ἀποκληίουται, ἄλλας  
 δ' ἐντέλλεται ἀνοίγειν ἄλλοισι τοῖσι δεομένοισι  
 μάλιστα τῶν λοιπῶν. ὥς δ' ἐγὼ οἶδα ἀκούσας,  
 χρήματα μεγάλα πρησόμενος ἀνοίγει πάρεξ τοῦ  
 φόρου.

118. Ταῦτα μὲν δὴ ἔχει οὕτω. τῶν δὲ τῷ Μάγῳ  
 ἐπαναστάντων ἐπὶ τὰ ἀνδρῶν, ἓνα αὐτῶν Ἰνταφρέ-  
 νεα κατέλαβε ὑβρίσαντα τάδε ἀποθανεῖν αὐτίκα  
 μετὰ τὴν ἐπανάστασιν. ἤθελε ἐς τὰ βασιλῆα  
 ἐσελθὼν χρηματίσασθαι τῷ βασιλείῳ· καὶ γὰρ δὴ  
 καὶ ὁ νόμος οὕτω εἶχε, τοῖσι ἐπαναστᾶσι τῷ Μάγῳ  
 ἔσοδον εἶναι παρὰ βασιλέα ἄνευ ἀγγέλου, ἣν μὴ  
 γυναικὶ τυγχάνη μισγόμενος βασιλεὺς. οὐκὼν δὴ  
 Ἰνταφρένης ἐδικαίου οὐδένα οἱ ἐσαγγεῖλαι, ἀλλ'  
 ὅτι ἦν τῶν ἐπτά, ἐσιέναι ἤθελε. ὁ δὲ πυλουργὸς  
 καὶ ὁ ἀγγελιηφόρος οὐ περιώρων, φάμενοι τὸν  
 βασιλέα γυναικὶ μίσγεσθαι. ὁ δὲ Ἰνταφρένης  
 δοκέων σφέας ψεύδεα λέγειν ποιεῖ τοιάδε· σπα-  
 σάμενος τὸν ἀκινάκεια ἀποτάμνει αὐτῶν τὰ τε ὦτα  
 καὶ τὰς ῥίνας, καὶ ἀνείρας περὶ τὸν χαλινὸν τοῦ  
 ἵππου περὶ τοὺς αὐχένας σφέων ἔδησε, καὶ ἀπῆκε.

### BOOK III. 117-118

the water can use it no longer, and are in very evil case; for whereas in winter they have the rain from heaven like other men, in summer they are in need of the water for their sown millet and sesame. So whenever no water is given to them, they come into Persia with their women, and cry and howl before the door of the king's palace, till the king commands that the river-gate which leads thither should be opened for those whose need is greatest; then, when this land has drunk its fill of water, that gate is shut, and the king bids open another for those of the rest who most require it. I have heard and know that he exacts great sums, over and above the tribute, for the opening of the gates.

118. So much for these matters. But Intaphrenes, one of the seven rebels against the Magian, was brought to his death by a deed of violence immediately after the rebellion. He desired to enter the palace and speak with the king; for this was the law, that the rebels should come into the king's presence without announcement given, if the king were not with one of his wives. Intaphrenes then claimed his right to enter unannounced, as one of the seven; but the gate-warden and the messenger forbade him, the king being, they said, with one of his wives. Intaphrenes thought they spoke falsely; drawing his scimitar he cut off their noses and ears, then strung these on his horse's bridle and bound it round the men's necks, and so let them go.

119. Οὐ δὲ τῷ βασιλεί δεικνύουσι ἑωυτοὺς καὶ τὴν αἰτίην εἶπον δι' ἣν πεπονθότες εἶησαν. Δαρεῖος δὲ ἄρρωδῆσας μὴ κοινῷ λόγῳ οἱ ἔξ πεποιηκότες ἑώσι ταῦτα, μεταπεμπόμενος ἕνα ἕκαστον ἀπεπειράτο γνώμης, εἰ συνέπαινοι εἰσὶ τῷ πεποιημένῳ. ἐπεῖτε δὲ ἐξέμαθε ὥς οὐ σὺν κείνοισι εἶη ταῦτα πεποιηκώς, ἔλαβε αὐτόν τε τὸν Ἰνταφρένεα καὶ τοὺς παῖδας αὐτοῦ καὶ τοὺς οἰκηίους πάντας, ἐλπίδας πολλὰς ἔχων μετὰ τῶν συγγενέων μιν ἐπιβουλεύειν οἱ ἐπανάστασιν, συλλαβὼν δὲ σφέας ἔδησε τὴν ἐπὶ θανάτῳ. ἡ δὲ γυνὴ τοῦ Ἰνταφρένεος φοιτῶσα ἐπὶ τὰς θύρας τοῦ βασιλέως κλαίεσκε ἂν καὶ ὀδυρέσκετο· ποιεύσα δὲ αἰεὶ τῷ τούτῳ τὸν Δαρεῖον ἔπεισε οἰκτεῖραί μιν. πέμψας δὲ ἄγγελον ἔλεγε τάδε· “ὦ γύναι, βασιλεὺς τοι Δαρεῖος διδοῖ ἕνα τῶν δεδεμένων οἰκηίων ρύσασθαι τὸν βούλει ἐκ πάντων.” ἡ δὲ βουλευσαμένη ὑπεκρίνετο τάδε· “Εἰ μὲν δὴ μοι διδοῖ βασιλεὺς ἑνὸς τὴν ψυχὴν, αἰρέομαι ἐκ πάντων τὸν ἀδελφεόν.” πυθόμενος δὲ Δαρεῖος ταῦτα καὶ θωμάσας τὸν λόγον, πέμψας ἠγόρευε “ὦ γύναι, εἰρωτᾷ σε βασιλεὺς, τίνα ἔχουσα γνώμην, τὸν ἄνδρα τε καὶ τὰ τέκνα ἐγκαταλιποῦσα, τὸν ἀδελφεὸν εἴλεν περιεῖναί τοι, ὃς καὶ ἀλλοτριώτερός τοι τῶν παίδων καὶ ἦσσον κεχαρισμένος τοῦ ἀνδρός ἐστι.” ἡ δ' ἀμείβετο τοῖσιδε. “ὦ βασιλεῦ, ἀνὴρ μὲν μοι ἂν ἄλλος γένοιτο, εἰ δαίμων ἐθέλοι, καὶ τέκνα ἄλλα, εἰ ταῦτα ἀποβάλοιμι· πατὴρ δὲ καὶ μητὴρ οὐκέτι μεν ζώντων ἀδελφεὸς ἂν ἄλλος οὐδενὶ τρόπῳ γένοιτο. ταύτῃ τῇ γνώμῃ χρεωμένη ἔλεξα ταῦτα.” εὖ τε δὴ ἔδοξε τῷ Δαρείῳ εἰπεῖν ἡ γυνή, καὶ οἱ ἀπῆκε τούτῳ τε τὸν παραιτέτο καὶ τῶν παίδων

119. They showed themselves to the king and told him the reason why they had been so treated. Darius, fearing that this might be a conspiracy of the six, sent for each severally and questioned him, to know if they approved the deed ; and being assured that they had no part in it, he seized Intaphrenes with his sons and all his household—for he much suspected that the man was plotting a rebellion with his kinsfolk—and imprisoned them with intent to put them to death. Then Intaphrenes' wife came ever and anon to the palace gates, weeping and lamenting ; and at last her continual so doing moved Darius to compassion ; and he sent a messenger to tell her that Darius would grant her the life of one of her imprisoned kinsfolk, whomsoever she chose. She, after counsel taken, answered that if this were the king's boon she chose the life of her brother. Darius was astonished when he heard her answer, and sent one who said to her : " Woman, the king would know for what reason you pass over your husband and your children and choose rather to save the life of your brother, who is less close to you than your children and less dear than your husband." " O King," she answered, " another husband I may get, if heaven so will, and other children, if I lose these ; but my father and mother are dead, and so I can by no means get another brother ; that is why I have thus spoken." Darius was pleased, and thought the reason good ; he delivered to the woman him for



τὸν πρεσβύτατον, ἡσθεὶς αὐτῇ, τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους ἀπέκτεινε πάντας. τῶν μὲν δὴ ἑπτὰ εἰς αὐτίκα τρόπῳ τῷ εἰρημένῳ ἀπολώλεε.

120. Κατὰ δέ κου μάλιστα τὴν Καμβύσειω νοῦσον ἐγίνετο τάδε. ὑπὸ Κύρου κατασταθεὶς ἦν Σαρδίῳ ὑπαρχος Ὀροΐτης ἀνὴρ Πέρσης· οὗτος ἐπεθύμησε πρήγματος οὐκ ὀσίῳ· οὔτε γάρ τι παθὼν οὔτε ἀκούσας μάταιον ἔπος πρὸς Πολυκράτεος τοῦ Σαμίου, οὐδὲ ἰδὼν πρότερον, ἐπεθύμει λαβὼν αὐτὸν ἀπολέσαι, ὥς μὲν οἱ πλεῖνες λέγουσι, διὰ τοιήνδε τινὰ αἰτίην. ἐπὶ τῶν βασιλέος θυρέων κατήμενον τὸν τε Ὀροΐτα καὶ ἄλλον Πέρσην τῷ οὔνομα εἶναι Μιτροβάτα, νομοῦ ἄρχοντα τοῦ ἐν Δασκυλείῳ, τούτους ἐκ λόγων ἐς νεῖκα συμπεσεῖν, κρινομένων δὲ περὶ ἀρετῆς εἰπεῖν τὸν Μιτροβάτα τῷ Ὀροΐτῃ προφέροντα “Σὺ γὰρ ἐν ἀνδρῶν λόγῳ, ὃς βασιλείῃ νῆσον Σάμον πρὸς τῷ σῶ νομῷ προσκειμένην οὐ προσεκτήσαο, ὧδε δὴ τι ἐοῦσαν εὐπετέα χειρωθῆναι, τὴν τῶν τις ἐπιχωρίων πεντεκαίδεκα ὀπλίτησι ἐπαναστὰς ἔσχε καὶ νῦν αὐτῆς τυραννεύει.” οἱ μὲν δὴ μιν φασὶ τοῦτο ἀκούσαντα καὶ ἀλγήσαντα τῷ ὀνείδεϊ ἐπιθυμῆσαι οὐκ οὔτω τὸν εἶπαντα ταῦτα τίσασθαι ὥς Πολυκράτα πάντως ἀπολέσαι, δι’ ὄντινα κακῶς ἤκουσε.

121. Οἱ δὲ ἐλάχιστοι λέγουσι πέμψαι Ὀροΐτα ἐς Σάμον κήρυκα ὅτεν δὴ χρήματος δεησόμενον (οὐ γὰρ ὦν δὴ τοῦτό γε λέγεται), καὶ τὸν Πολυκράτα τυχεῖν κατακείμενον ἐν ἀνδρεῶνι, παρεῖναι δέ οἱ καὶ Ἀνακρέοντα τὸν Τήιον· καὶ κως εἴτ’ ἐκ προνοίης αὐτὸν κατηλογέοντα τὰ Ὀροΐτεω πρήγματα, εἴτε καὶ συντυχίῃ τις τοιαύτη ἐπεγένετο· τὸν τε γὰρ κήρυκα τὸν Ὀροΐτεω παρελθόντα

### BOOK III. 119-121

whose life she had asked, and the eldest of her sons besides; all the rest he put to death. Thus immediately perished one of the seven.

120. What I will now relate happened about the time of Cambyses' sickness. The viceroy of Sardis appointed by Cyrus was Oroetes, a Persian. This man purposed to do a great wrong; for though he had received no hurt by deed or word from Polycrates of Samos, nor had even seen him, he formed the desire of seizing and killing him. The reason alleged by most was this:—As Oroetes and another Persian, Mitrobates by name, governor of the province at Dascyleium, sat by the king's door, they fell from talk to wrangling and comparing of their several achievements: and Mitrobates taunted Oroetes, saying, "You are not to be accounted a man; the island of Samos lies close to your province, yet you have not added it to the king's dominion—an island so easy to conquer that some native of it rose against his rulers with fifteen men at arms, and is now lord of it."<sup>1</sup> Some say that Oroetes, angered by this taunt, was less desirous of punishing the utterer of it than of by all means destroying the reason of the reproach, namely Polycrates.

121. Others (but fewer) say that when Oroetes sent a herald to Samos with some request (it is not said what this was), the herald found Polycrates lying in the men's apartments, in the company of Anacreon of Teos; and, whether by design to show contempt for Oroetes, or by mere chance, when Oroetes' herald

<sup>1</sup> See ch. 39.

διαλέγεσθαι, καὶ τὸν Πολυκράτεα (τυχεῖν γὰρ ὑπεστραμμένον πρὸς τὸν τοῖχον) οὔτε τι μεταστραφῆναι οὔτε ὑποκρίνασθαι.

122. Αἰτίαι μὲν δὴ αὗται διφάσιαι λέγονται τοῦ θανάτου τοῦ Πολυκράτεος γενέσθαι, πάρεστι δὲ πείθεσθαι ὁκοτέρῃ τις βούλεται αὐτέων. ὁ δὲ ὦν Ὀροίτης ἰζόμενος ἐν Μαγνησίῃ τῇ ὑπὲρ Μαιάνδρου ποταμοῦ οἰκημένη ἔπεμπε Μύρσον τὸν Γύγεω ἄνδρα Λυδὸν ἐς Σάμον ἀγγελίην φέροντα, μαθὼν τοῦ Πολυκράτεος τὸν νόον. Πολυκράτης γὰρ ἐστὶ πρῶτος τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν Ἑλλήνων ὃς θαλασσοκρατέειν ἐπενοήθη, πάρεξ Μίνωός τε τοῦ Κνωσσίου καὶ εἰ δὴ τις ἄλλος πρότερος τούτου ἦρξε τῆς θαλάσσης· τῆς δὲ ἀνθρωπίνης λεγομένης γενεῆς Πολυκράτης πρῶτος, ἐλπίδας πολλὰς ἔχων Ἰωνίης τε καὶ νήσων ἄρξειν. μαθὼν ὦν ταῦτά μιν διανοεύμενον ὁ Ὀροίτης πέμψας ἀγγελίην ἔλεγε τάδε. “Ὀροίτης Πολυκράτεϊ ὦδε λέγει. πυνθάνομαι ἐπιβουλεύειν σε πρήγμασι μεγάλοισι, καὶ χρήματά τοι οὐκ εἶναι κατὰ τὰ φρονήματα. σύ νυν ὦδε ποιήσας ὀρθώσεις μὲν σεωντόν, σώσεις δὲ καὶ ἐμέ· ἐμοὶ γὰρ βασιλεὺς Καμβύσης ἐπιβουλεύει θάνατον, καί μοι τοῦτο ἐξαγγέλλεται σαφηνέως. σύ νυν ἐμέ ἐκκομίσεις αὐτὸν καὶ χρήματα, τὰ μὲν αὐτῶν αὐτὸς ἔχε, τὰ δὲ ἐμέ ἕα ἔχειν· εἵνεκέν τε χρημάτων ἄρξεις ἀπάσης τῆς Ἑλλάδος. εἰ δέ μοι ἀπιστέεις τὰ περὶ τῶν χρημάτων, πέμψον ὅστις τοι πιστότατος τυγχάνει ἐών, τῷ ἐγὼ ἀποδέξω.”

123. Ταῦτα ἀκούσας Πολυκράτης ἦσθη τε καὶ ἐβούλετο· καὶ κως ἰμείρετο γὰρ χρημάτων μεγάλως, ὑποπέμπει πρῶτα κατοψόμενον Μαιάνδριον Μαι-

entered and addressed him, Polycrates, then lying with his face to the wall, never turned nor answered him.

122. These are the two reasons alleged for Polycrates' death; believe which you will. But the upshot was that Oroetes, being then at Magnesia which stands above the river Maeander, sent Myrsus, son of Gyges, a Lydian, with a message to Samos, having learnt Polycrates' purpose; for Polycrates was the first Greek, of whom I have knowledge, to aim at the mastery of the sea, leaving out of account Minos of Cnossus and any others who before him held maritime dominion; of such as may be called men Polycrates was the first so to do, and he had great hope of making himself master of Ionia and the Islands. Learning then that such was his intent, Oroetes sent him this message: "These from Oroetes to Polycrates:—I learn that you plan great enterprises, and that you have not money sufficient for your purpose. Do then as I counsel and you will make yourself to prosper and me to be safe. King Cambyses designs my death; of this I have clear intelligence. Now if you will bring me away with my money, you may take part of it for yourself and leave the rest with me; thus shall you have wealth enough to rule all Hellas. If you mistrust what I tell you of the money, send your trustiest minister and I will prove it to him."

123. Hearing this, Polycrates liked the plan and consented; and, as it chanced that he had a great desire for money, he first sent one of his townsmen,

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ανδρίου ἄνδρα τῶν ἀστῶν, ὃς οἱ ἦν γραμματιστής· ὃς χρόνῳ οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον τούτων τὸν κόσμον τὸν ἐκ τοῦ ἀνδρεῶνος τοῦ Πολυκράτεος εἶντα ἀξιοθέητον ἀνέθηκε πάντα ἐς τὸ Ἑραιοον. ὁ δὲ Ὅροίτης μαθὼν τὸν κατάσκοπον εἶντα προσδόκιμον ἐποίησε τοιάδε· λάρνακας ὀκτὼ πληρώσας λίθων πλὴν κάρτα βραχέος τοῦ περὶ αὐτὰ τὰ χεῖλεα, ἐπιπολῆς τῶν λίθων χρυσὸν ἐπέβαλε, καταδήσας δὲ τὰς λάρνακας εἶχε ἐτοίμας. ἐλθὼν δὲ ὁ Μαιάνδριος καὶ θεησάμενος ἀπήγγελλε τῷ Πολυκράτει.

124. Ὁ δὲ πολλὰ μὲν τῶν μαντίων ἀπαγορεύοντων πολλὰ δὲ τῶν φίλων ἐστέλλετο αὐτόσε, πρὸς δὲ καὶ ἰδούσης τῆς θυγατρὸς ὄψιν ἐνυπνίου τοιήνδε· ἐδόκεε οἷ τὸν πατέρα ἐν τῷ ἡέρι μετέωρον εἶντα λούσθαι μὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ Διός, χρίεσθαι δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ ἡλίου. ταύτην ἰδοῦσα τὴν ὄψιν παντοίῃ ἐγίνετο μὴ ἀποδημῆσαι τὸν Πολυκράτεια παρὰ τὸν Ὅροίτεια, καὶ δὴ καὶ ἰόντος αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τὴν πεντηκόντερον ἐπεφημίζετο. ὃ δὲ οἱ ἠπείλησε, ἦν σῶς ἀπονοστήσει, πολλὸν μιν χρόνον παρθενεύεσθαι. ἡ δὲ ἠρήσατο ἐπιτελέα ταῦτα γενέσθαι· βούλεσθαι γὰρ παρθενεύεσθαι πλέω χρόνον ἢ τοῦ πατρὸς ἐστερεῆσθαι.

125. Πολυκράτης δὲ πάσης συμβουλίας ἀλογήσας ἔπλεε παρὰ τὸν Ὅροίτεια, ἅμα ἀγόμενος ἄλλους τε πολλοὺς τῶν ἐταίρων, ἐν δὲ δὴ καὶ Δημοκίδεα τὸν Καλλιφῶντος Κροτωνιήτην ἄνδρα, ἱητρὸν τε εἶντα καὶ τὴν τέχνην ἀσκέοντα ἄριστα τῶν κατ' ἐωυτόν. ἀπικόμενος δὲ ἐς τὴν Μαγνησίην ὁ Πολυκράτης διεφθάρη κακῶς, οὔτε ἐωυτοῦ ἀξίως οὔτε τῶν ἐωυτοῦ φρονημάτων· ὅτι γὰρ μὴ

### BOOK III. 123-125

Maeandrius, son of Maeandrius, to look into the matter; this man was his scribe; it was he who not long afterwards dedicated in the Heraeum all the splendid adornment of the men's apartment in Polycrates' house. When Oroetes heard that an inspection was to be looked for, he filled eight chests with stones, saving only a very shallow layer at the top; then he laid gold on the surface of the stones, made the chests fast and kept them ready. Maeandrius came and saw, and brought word back to his master.

124. Polycrates then prepared to visit Oroetes, despite the strong dissuasion of his diviners and friends, and a vision seen by his daughter in a dream; she dreamt that she saw her father aloft in the air, washed by Zeus and anointed by the sun; after this vision she used all means to persuade him not to go on this journey to Oroetes; even as he went to his fifty-oared ship she prophesied evil for him. When Polycrates threatened her that if he came back safe, she should long remain a virgin, she answered with a prayer that his threat might be fulfilled: for she would rather, she said, be long left a virgin than lose her father.

125. But Polycrates would listen to no counsel. He sailed to meet Oroetes, with a great retinue of followers, among whom was Democedes, son of Calliphon, a man of Crotona and the most skilful physician of his time. But no sooner had Polycrates come to Magnesia than he was foully murdered, making an end which ill beseemed himself and his pride; for,



οἱ Συρηκοσίων γενόμενοι τύραννοι οὐδὲ εἰς τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλληνικῶν τυράννων ἄξιος ἐστὶ Πολυκράτει μεγαλοπρεπεῖην συμβληθῆναι. ἀποκτείνας δέ μιν οὐκ ἀξίως ἀπηγήσιος Ὀροίτης ἀνεσταύρωσε· τῶν δέ οἱ ἐπομένων ὅσοι μὲν ἦσαν Σάμιοι, ἀπῆκε, κελεύων σφέας ἐωυτῷ χάριν εἶδέναι ἔοντας ἐλευθέρους, ὅσοι δὲ ἦσαν ξεῖνοί τε καὶ δοῦλοι τῶν ἐπομένων, ἐν ἀνδραπόδων λόγῳ ποιούμενος εἶχε. Πολυκράτης δὲ ἀνακρεμάμενος ἐπετέλεε πᾶσαν τὴν ὄψιν τῆς θυγατρὸς· ἐλοῦτο μὲν γὰρ ὑπὸ τοῦ Διὸς ὅκως υἱοί, ἐχρίετο δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ ἡλίου, ἀνιείς αὐτὸς ἐκ τοῦ σώματος ἰκμάδα.

126. Πολυκράτεος μὲν δὴ αἱ πολλαὶ εὐτυχίαι ἐς τοῦτο ἐτελεύτησαν τῇ οἱ Ἀμασις ὁ Αἰγύπτου βασιλεὺς προεμαντεύσατο.<sup>1</sup> χρόνῳ δὲ οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον καὶ Ὀροίτεα Πολυκράτεος τίσιες μετῆλθον. μετὰ γὰρ τὸν Καμβύσεω θάνατον καὶ τῶν Μάγων τὴν βασιληίην μένων ἐν τῇσι Σάρδισι Ὀροίτης ὠφέλεε μὲν οὐδὲν Πέρσας ὑπὸ Μήδων ἀπαραιρημένους τὴν ἀρχήν· ὃ δὲ ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ ταραχῇ κατὰ μὲν ἔκτεινε Μιτροβάτεα τὸν ἐκ Δασκυλείου ὑπαρχον, ὅς οἱ ὠνείδισε τὰ ἐς Πολυκράτεα ἔχοντα, κατὰ δὲ τοῦ Μιτροβάτεω τὸν παῖδα Κρανάσπην, ἄνδρας ἐν Πέρσῃσι δοκίμους, ἄλλα τε ἐξύβρισε παντοῖα καὶ τινα ἀγγελιηφόρον ἐλθόντα Δαρείου παρ' αὐτόν, ὥς οὐ πρὸς ἡδονήν οἱ ἦν τὰ ἀγγελλόμενα, κτείνει μιν ὀπίσω κομιζόμενον, ἄνδρας οἱ ὑπείσας κατ' ὁδόν, ἀποκτείνας δέ μιν ἠφάνισε αὐτῷ ἵππῳ.

<sup>1</sup> Stein brackets τῇ . . . προεμαντεύσατο, because Amasis did not actually prophesy the details; but the words may well stand.

saving only the despots of Syracuse, there is no despot of Greek race to be compared with Polycrates for magnificence. Having killed him (in some way not worth the telling) Oroetes then crucified him; as for the Samians in his retinue he let them go, bidding them thank Oroetes for their freedom; those who were not Samians, or were servants of Polycrates' followers, he kept for slaves. So Polycrates was hanged aloft, and thereby his daughter's dream came true; for he was washed by Zeus when it rained, and the moisture from his body was his anointment by the sun.

126. This was the end of Polycrates' many successes, as Amasis king of Egypt had forewarned him. But not long after, Oroetes was overtaken by the powers that avenged Polycrates. After Cambyses had died and the Magians won the kingship, Oroetes stayed in Sardis, where he in no way helped the Persians to regain the power taken from them by the Medes, but contrariwise; for in this confusion he slew two notable Persians, Mitrobates, the governor from Dascyleium, who had taunted him concerning Polycrates, and Mitrobates' son, Cranaspes; and besides many other violent deeds, when a messenger from Darius came with a message which displeased him, he set an ambush by the way and killed that messenger on his journey homewards, and made away with the man's body and horse.

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127. Δαρείος δὲ ὥς ἔσχε τὴν ἀρχήν, ἐπεθύμει τὸν Ὀροίτεα τίσασθαι πάντων τῶν ἀδικημάτων εἵνεκεν καὶ μάλιστα Μιτροβάτεω καὶ τοῦ παιδός. ἐκ μὲν δὴ τῆς ἰθέης στρατὸν ἐπ' αὐτὸν οὐκ ἐδόκει πέμπειν ἅτε οἰδεόντων ἔτι τῶν πρηγμάτων, καὶ νεωστὶ ἔχων τὴν ἀρχήν καὶ τὸν Ὀροίτεα μεγάλην τὴν ἰσχὺν πυνθανόμενος ἔχειν· τὸν χίλιοι μὲν Περσέων ἐδορυφόρεον, εἶχε δὲ νομὸν τὸν τε Φρύγιον καὶ Λύδιον καὶ Ἰωνικόν. πρὸς ταῦτα δὴ ὦν ὁ Δαρείος τάδε ἐμηχανήσατο. συγκαλέσας Περσέων τοὺς δοκιμωτάτους ἔλεγέ σφι τάδε. “ὦ Πέρσαι, τίς ἂν μοι τοῦτο ὑμέων ὑποστὰς ἐπιτελέσειε σοφίῃ καὶ μὴ βίῃ τε καὶ ὁμίλῳ; ἔνθα γὰρ σοφίης δέει, βίης ἔργον οὐδέν· ὑμέων δὲ ὦν τίς μοι Ὀροίτεα ἢ ζῶοντα ἀγάγοι ἢ ἀποκτείνειε; ὃς ὠφέλησε μὲν κω Πέρσας οὐδέν, κακὰ δὲ μεγάλα ἔοργε· τοῦτο μὲν δύο ἡμέων ἥιστωσε, Μιτροβάτεά τε καὶ τὸν παῖδα αὐτοῦ, τοῦτο δὲ τοὺς ἀνακαλέοντας αὐτὸν καὶ πεμπομένους ὑπ' ἐμεῦ κτείνει, ὕβριν οὐκ ἀνασχετὸν φαίνων. πρὶν τι ὦν μέζον ἐξεργάσασθαι μιν Πέρσας κακόν, καταλαμπτέος ἐστὶ ἡμῖν θανάτῳ.”

128. Δαρείος μὲν ταῦτα ἐπειρώτα, τῷ δὲ ἄνδρες τριήκοντα ὑπέστησαν, αὐτὸς ἕκαστος ἐθέλων ποιέειν ταῦτα. ἐρίζοντας δὲ Δαρείος κατελάμβανε κελεύων πύλλεσθαι· παλλομένων δὲ λαγχάνει ἐκ πάντων Βαγαῖος ὁ Ἀρτόντεω· λαχὼν δὲ ὁ Βαγαῖος ποιέει τάδε· βιβλία γραψάμενος πολλὰ καὶ περὶ πολλῶν ἔχοντα πρηγμάτων σφρηγιδά σφι ἐπέβαλε τὴν Δαρείου, μετὰ δὲ ἦιε ἔχων ταῦτα ἐς τὰς Σάρδεις. ἀπικόμενος δὲ καὶ Ὀροίτεω ἐς ὄψιν ἐλθὼν, τῶν βυβλίων ἐν ἑκάστον περιαιρέομενος ἐδίδου τῷ

127. So when Darius became king he was minded to punish Oroetes for all his wrongdoing, and chiefly for the killing of Mitrobates and his son. But he thought it best not to send an army openly against the satrap, seeing that all was still in ferment and he himself was still new to the royal power ; moreover he heard that Oroetes was very strong, having a guard of a thousand Persian spearmen and being governor of the Phrygian and Lydian and Ionian province. Resorting therefore to a device to help him, he summoned an assembly of the most notable Persians, whom he thus addressed : “ Who is there among you, men of Persia, that will undertake and achieve a thing for me not with force and numbers, but by cunning ? Force has no place where cunning is needful. But to the matter in hand—which of you will bring me Oroetes alive, or kill him ? for he has done the Persians no good, but much harm ; two of us he has slain, Mitrobates and his son ; nay, and he slays my messengers who are sent to recall him ; so unbearable is the insolence of his acts. Therefore death must stay him from doing the Persians some yet worse evil.”

128. At this question thirty men promised that they were ready each for himself to do the king’s will. Darius bade them not contend but draw lots ; they all did so, and the lot fell on Bagaeus, son of Artontes. He, thus chosen, got written many letters concerning many matters ; then sealing them with Darius’ seal he went with them to Sardis. Coming there into Oroetes’ presence he took out each letter severally and gave it to one of the royal scribes who attend all

γραμματιστῇ τῷ βασιλήϊω ἐπιλέγεσθαι· γραμματιστὰς δὲ βασιληῖους οἱ πάντες ὑπαρχοὶ ἔχουσι· ἀποπειρώμενος δὲ τῶν δορυφόρων ἐδίδου τὰ βυβλία ὁ Βαγαῖος, εἰ ἐνδεξαίετο ἀπόστασιν ἀπὸ Ὀροίτεω. ὀρέων δὲ σφέας τὰ τε βυβλία σεβομένους μεγάλως καὶ τὰ λεγόμενα ἐκ τῶν βυβλίων ἔτι μεζύνως, διδοῖ ἄλλο ἐν τῷ ἐνῆν ἔπεα τάδε· “<sup>3</sup>Ω Πέρσαι, βασιλεὺς Δαρεῖος ἀπαγορεύει ὑμῖν μὴ δορυφορέειν Ὀροίτεα.” οἱ δὲ ἀκούσαντες τούτων μετήκάν οἱ τὰς αἰχμῆς. ἰδὼν δὲ τοῦτο σφέας ὁ Βαγαῖος πειθομένους τῷ βυβλίῳ, ἐνθαῦτα δὴ θαρσύνσας τὸ τελευταῖον τῶν βυβλίων διδοῖ τῷ γραμματιστῇ, ἐν τῷ ἐγέγραπτο “Βασιλεὺς Δαρεῖος Πέρσησι τοῖσι ἐν Σάρδισι ἐντέλλεται κτείνειν Ὀροίτεα.” οἱ δὲ δορυφόροι ὡς ἤκουσαν ταῦτα, σπασάμενοι τοὺς ἀκινύκας κτείνουσι παραυτίκα μιν, οὕτω δὲ Ὀροίτεα τὸν Πέρσην Πολυκράτεος τοῦ Σαμίου τίσιες μετήλθον.

129. Ἀπικομένων δὲ καὶ ἀνακομισθέντων τῶν Ὀροίτεω χρημάτων ἐς τὰ Σοῦσα, συνήνεικε χρόνῳ οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον βασιλέα Δαρεῖον ἐν ἄγρῃ θηρῶν ἀποθρόσκοντα ἀπ’ ἵππου στραφῆναι τὸν πόδα. καί κως ἰσχυροτέρως ἐστράφη· ὁ γάρ οἱ ἀστράγαλος ἐξεχώρησε ἐκ τῶν ἄρθρων. νομίζων δὲ καὶ πρότερον περὶ ἐωυτὸν ἔχειν Αἰγυπτίων τοὺς δοκέοντας εἶναι πρώτους τὴν ἰητρικὴν, τούτοις ἐχρᾶτο. οἱ δὲ στρεβλοῦντες καὶ βιώμενοι τὸν πόδα κακὸν μέζον ἐργάζοντο. ἐπ’ ἑπτὰ μὲν δὴ ἡμέρας καὶ ἑπτὰ νύκτας ὑπὸ τοῦ παρεόντος κακοῦ ὁ Δαρεῖος ἀγρυπνίῃσι εἵχετο· τῇ δὲ δὴ ὀγδόῃ ἡμέρῃ ἔχοντί οἱ φλαύρως, παρακούσας τις πρότερον ἔτι ἐν Σάρδισι τοῦ Κροτωνιήτεω Δημο-

governors, for him to read; giving the letters with intent to try the spearmen and learn if they would consent to revolt against Oroetes. Seeing that they paid great regard to the rolls and yet more to what was written therein, he gave another, wherein were these words: "Persians! King Darius forbids you to be Oroetes' guard," which when the guard heard they threw down their spears. When Bagaeus saw that they obeyed the letter thus far, he took heart and gave the last roll to the scribe, wherein were these words: "King Darius charges the Persians in Sardis to kill Oroetes." Hearing this the spearmen drew their scimitars and killed Oroetes forthwith. Thus was Oroetes the Persian overtaken by the powers that avenged Polycrates of Samos.

129. Oroetes' slaves and other possessions were brought to Susa. Not long after this, it happened that Darius, while hunting, twisted his foot in dismounting from his horse, so violently that the ball of the ankle joint was dislocated from its socket. Darius called in the first physicians of Egypt, whom he had till now kept near his person; who, by their forcible wrenching of the foot, did but make the hurt worse; and for seven days and nights the king could get no sleep for the pain. On the eighth day he was in very evil case; then someone, who had heard in Sardis of the skill of Democedes of Croton, told the



κήδεος τὴν τέχνην ἀγγέλλει τῷ Δαρείῳ· ὃ δὲ ἄγειν μιν τὴν ταχίστην παρ' ἑωυτὸν ἐκέλευσε· τὸν δὲ ὡς ἐξεύρον ἐν τοῖσι Ὀροίτεω ἀνδραπόδοισι ὅκου δὴ ἀπημελημένον, παρήγον ἐς μέσον πέδας τε ἔλκοντα καὶ ῥάκεσι ἐσθημένον.

130. Σταθέντα δὲ ἐς μέσον εἰρώτα ὁ Δαρεῖος τὴν τέχνην εἰ ἐπίσταιτο· ὃ δὲ οὐκ ὑπεδέκετο, ἀρρωδέων μὴ ἑωυτὸν ἐκφήνας τὸ παράπαν τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἢ ἀπεστερημένος· κατεφάνη τε τῷ Δαρείῳ τεχνάζειν ἐπιστάμενος, καὶ τοὺς ἀγαγόντας αὐτὸν ἐκέλευσε μάστιγας τε καὶ κέντρα παραφέρειν ἐς τὸ μέσον. ὃ δὲ ἐνθαῦτα δὴ ὦν ἐκφαίνει, φὰς ἀτρεκέως μὲν οὐκ ἐπίστασθαι, ὁμιλήσας δὲ ἰητρῷ φλαύρως ἔχειν τὴν τέχνην. μετὰ δέ, ὥς οἱ ἐπέτρεψε, Ἑλληνικοῖσι ἰήμασι χρεώμενος καὶ ἡπια μετὰ τὰ ἰσχυρὰ προσάγων ὕπνου τέ μιν λαγχάνειν ἐποίεε καὶ ἐν χρόνῳ ὀλίγῳ ὑγιέα μιν ἀπέδεξε, οὐδαμὰ ἔτι ἐλπίζοντα ἀρτίπουν ἔσεσθαι. δωρέεται δὴ μιν μετὰ ταῦτα ὁ Δαρεῖος πεδέων χρυσέων δύο ζεύγεσι· ὃ δὲ μιν ἐπείρετο εἶ οἱ διπλήσιον τὸ κακὸν ἐπίτηδες νέμει, ὅτι μιν ὑγιέα ἐποίησε. ἡσθεῖς δὲ τῷ ἑπεῖ ὁ Δαρεῖος ἀποπέμπει μιν παρὰ τὰς ἑωυτοῦ γυναῖκας· παράγοντες δὲ οἱ εὐνοῦχοι ἔλεγον πρὸς τὰς γυναῖκας ὡς βασιλέϊ οὗτος εἴη ὃς τὴν ψυχὴν ἀπέδωκε. ὑποτύπτουσα δὲ αὐτέων ἐκάστη φιάλῃ τοῦ χρυσοῦ ἐς θήκην ἐδωρέετο Δημοκίδεα οὕτω δὴ τι δαψιλέϊ δωρεῇ ὡς τοὺς ἀποπίπτοντας ἀπὸ τῶν φιαλέων στατήρας ἐπόμενος ὁ οἰκέτης, τῷ οὐνομα ἦν Σκίτων, ἀνελέγετο καὶ οἱ χρήμα πολλόν τι χρυσοῦ συνελέχθη.

king of him. Darius bade Democedes be brought to him without delay. Finding the physician somewhere all unregarded and forgotten among Oroetes' slaves, they brought him into view, dragging his chains and clad in rags.

130. When he came before the king, Darius asked him if he had knowledge of his art. Democedes denied it, for he feared that by revealing the truth about himself he would wholly be cut off from Hellas. Darius saw clearly that he was using craft to hide his knowledge,<sup>1</sup> and bade those who led him to bring out scourges and goads for him. Then Democedes confessed, in so far as to say that his knowledge was not exact: but he had consorted (he said) with a physician and thereby gained some poor acquaintance with the art. Darius then entrusting the matter to him, Democedes applied Greek remedies and used gentleness instead of the Egyptians' violence; whereby he made the king able to sleep and in a little while recovered him of his hurt, though Darius had had no hope of regaining the use of his foot. After this, Darius rewarded him with a gift of two pairs of golden fetters. "Is it then your purpose," Democedes asked, "to double my pains for my making you whole?" Darius, pleased by his wit, sent him to the king's wives. The eunuchs brought him to the women, saying, "This is he who saved the king's life"; whereupon each of them took a vessel and, scooping with it from a chest full of gold, so richly rewarded the physician that the servant, whose name was Sciton, collected a very great sum of gold by following and gleaning the staters that fell from the vessels.

<sup>1</sup> Or, that he knew how to practise his art?

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131. Ὁ δὲ Δημοκίδης οὗτος ὧδε ἐκ Κρότωνος ἀπιγμένος Πολυκράτει ὠμίλησε· πατρὶ συνείχετο ἐν τῇ Κρότῳ ὀργὴν χαλεπῶ· τοῦτον ἐπεῖτε οὐκ ἐδύνατο φέρειν, ἀπολιπὼν οἶχετο εἰς Αἴγιναν. καταστὰς δὲ εἰς ταύτην πρώτῳ ἔτεϊ ὑπερεβάλετο τοὺς ἄλλους ἱητρούς, ἀσκευὴς περ ἐὼν καὶ ἔχων οὐδὲν τῶν ὅσα περὶ τὴν τέχνην ἐστὶ ἐργαλῆα. καὶ μιν δευτέρῳ ἔτεϊ ταλάντου Αἰγινῆται δημοσίῃ μισθοῦνται, τρίτῳ δὲ ἔτεϊ Ἀθηναῖοι ἑκατὸν μνέων, τετάρτῳ δὲ ἔτεϊ Πολυκράτης δυὼν ταλάντων. οὕτῳ μὲν ἀπίκετο εἰς τὴν Σάμον, καὶ ἀπὸ τούτου τοῦ ἀνδρὸς οὐκ ἤκιστα Κροτωνιῆται ἱητροὶ εὐδοκίμησαν. ἐγένετο γὰρ ὧν τοῦτο ὅτε πρῶτοι μὲν Κροτωνιῆται ἱητροὶ ἐλέγοντο ἀνὰ τὴν Ἑλλάδα εἶναι, δεύτεροι δὲ Κυρηναῖοι. κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν δὲ τοῦτον χρόνον καὶ Ἀργεῖοι ἤκουον μουσικὴν εἶναι Ἑλλήνων πρῶτοι.<sup>1</sup>

132. Τότε δὴ ὁ Δημοκίδης ἐν τοῖσι Σούσοισι ἐξιησάμενος Δαρεῖον οἶκόν τε μέγιστον εἶχε καὶ ὁμοτράπεζος βασιλέϊ ἐγεγόνεε, πλὴν τε ἐνὸς τοῦ εἰς Ἑλληνας ἀπιέναι πάντα τὰλλὰ οἱ παρῆν. καὶ τοῦτο μὲν τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους ἱητρούς, οἱ βασιλέα πρότερον ἰῶντο, μέλλοντας ἀνασκολοπιεῖσθαι ὅτι ὑπὸ Ἑλληνος ἱητροῦ ἐσώθησαν, τούτους βασιλέα παραιτησάμενος ἐρρύσατο· τοῦτο δὲ μάντιν Ἡλείον Πολυκράτει ἐπισπόμενον καὶ ἀπημελημένον ἐν τοῖσι ἀνδραπόδοις ἐρρύσατο. ἦν δὲ μέγιστον πρῆγμα Δημοκίδης παρὰ βασιλεί.

133. Ἐν χρόνῳ δὲ ὀλίγῳ μετὰ ταῦτα τάδε

<sup>1</sup> Stein suspects from ἐγένετο γὰρ το πρῶτοι, but for no very cogent reason; though the mention of the Argive musicians is certainly irrelevant.

### BOOK III. 131-133

131. Now this is how Democedes had come from Croton to live with Polycrates : he was troubled with a harsh-tempered father at Croton, whom being unable to bear, he left him and went to Aegina. Settled there, before a year was out, he excelled all the other physicians, although he had no equipment nor any of the implements of his calling. In his second year the Aeginetans<sup>1</sup> paid him a talent to be their public physician ; in the next the Athenians hired him for an hundred minae, and Polycrates in the next again for two talents. Thus he came to Samos ; and the fame of the Crotoniat physicians was chiefly owing to him ; for at this time the best physicians in Greek countries were those of Croton, and next to them those of Cyrene. About the same time the Argives had the name of being the best musicians.

132. So now for having healed Darius at Susa Democedes had a very great house and ate at the king's table ; all was his, except only permission to return to his Greek home. When the Egyptian chirurgeons who had till now attended on the king were about to be impaled for being less skilful than a Greek, Democedes begged their lives of the king and saved them ; and he saved besides an Elean diviner, who had been of Polycrates' retinue and was left neglected among the slaves. Mightily in favour with the king was Democedes.

133. Not long after this, Atossa, Cyrus' daughter

<sup>1</sup> The Aeginetan talent = about 82 Attic minae (60 of which composed the Attic talent).

ἄλλα συνήνεικε γενέσθαι. Ἀτόσση τῇ Κύρου μὲν θυγατρὶ Δαρείου δὲ γυναικὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ μαστοῦ ἔφν φῦμα, μετὰ δὲ ἐκραγὲν ἐνέμετο πρόσω. ὅσον μὲν δὴ χρόνον ἦν ἔλασσον, ἢ δὲ κρύπτουσα καὶ αἰσχυνομένη ἔφραζε οὐδενί. ἐπείτε δὲ ἐν κακῷ ἦν, μετεπέμψατο τὸν Δημοκίδεα καὶ οἱ ἐπέδεξε. ὁ δὲ φὰς ὑγίεια ποιήσῃν ἐξορκοῖ μιν ἢ μὲν οἱ ἀντι-  
 πουργήσῃν ἐκείνην τοῦτο τὸ ἂν αὐτῆς δεηθῇ·  
 δεήσεσθαι δὲ οὐδενὸς τῶν ὅσα ἐς αἰσχύνην ἐστὶ φέροντα.

134. Ὡς δὲ ἄρα μιν μετὰ ταῦτα ἰώμενος ὑγίεια ἀπέδεξε, ἐνθαῦτα δὴ διδαχθεῖσα ὑπὸ τοῦ Δημοκίδεος ἡ Ἀτοσσα προσέφερε ἐν τῇ κοίτῃ Δαρείῳ λόγον τοιόνδε. “ὦ βασιλεῦ, ἔχων δύναμιν τοσαύτην κάτῃσαι, οὔτε τι ἔθνος προσκτώμενος οὔτε δύναμιν Πέρσῃσι. οἶκός δὲ ἐστὶ ἄνδρα καὶ νέον καὶ χρημάτων μεγάλων δεσπότην φαίνεσθαι τι ἀποδεικνύμενον, ἵνα καὶ Πέρσαι ἐκμάθωσι ὅτι ὑπ’ ἀνδρὸς ἄρχονται. ἐπ’ ἀμφότερά δέ τοι συμφέρει ταῦτα ποιεῖν, καὶ ἵνα σφέων Πέρσαι ἐπίστωνται ἄνδρα εἶναι τὸν προεστέωτα, καὶ ἵνα τρίβωνται πολέμῳ μὴδὲ σχολὴν ἄγοντες ἐπιβουλεύωσί τοι. νῦν γὰρ ἂν τι καὶ ἀποδέξαιο ἔργον, ἕως νέος εἰς ἡλικίην· αὐξομένῳ γὰρ τῷ σώματι συναύξονται καὶ αἱ φρένες, γηράσκοντι δὲ συγγηράσκουσι καὶ ἐς τὰ πρήγματα πάντα ἀπαμβλύνονται.” ἢ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα ἐκ διδαχῆς ἔλεγε, ὁ δ’ ἀμείβετο τοίσιδε. “ὦ γύναι, πάντα ὅσα περ αὐτὸς ἐπινοέω ποιήσῃν εἴρηκας· ἐγὼ γὰρ βεβούλευμαι ζεύξας γέφυραν ἐκ τῆσδε τῆς ἡπείρου ἐς τὴν ἐτέρην ἡπείρου ἐπὶ Σκύθας στρατεύεσθαι· καὶ ταῦτα ὀλίγου χρόνου ἔσται τελέμενα.” λέγει Ἀτοσσα τάδε. “ὦ Ῥα

and Darius' wife, found a swelling growing on her breast, which broke and spread further. As long as it was but a small matter, she said nothing of it but hid it for shame; but presently growing worse, she sent for Democedes and showed it to him. He promised to cure her, but made her to swear that she would requite him by granting whatsoever he requested of her; saying, that he would ask nothing shameful.

134. His remedies having made her whole, Atossa at Democedes' prompting thus addressed Darius in their chamber: "Sire, you are a mighty ruler; why sit you idle, winning neither new dominions nor new power for your Persians? If you would have them know that they have a man for their king, it is right and fitting for one of your youth and your wealth to let them see you achieving some great enterprise. Thereby will you gain a double advantage: the Persians will know that their king is truly a man; and in the stress of war they will have no leisure for conspiring against you. Now is your time for achieving great deeds, while you are still young: for as a man's mind grows with his body's growth, so as the body ages the mind too grows older and duller for all uses." Thus she spoke, being so prompted. "Lady," said Darius, "what you say I am already minded to do. I am resolved to make a bridge from this to the other continent and so lead an army against the Scythians; and in a little while we will set about accomplishing this." "See now," Atossa answered, "forbear for the nonce to attack the



νυν, ἐπὶ Σκύθας μὲν τὴν πρώτην ἵεναι ἕασον· οὗτοι γάρ, ἐπεὰν σὺ βούλῃ, ἔσονται τοι· σὺ δέ μοι ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα στρατεύεσθαι. ἐπιθυμέω γὰρ λόγῳ πυνθανομένη Λακαίνας τέ μοι γενέσθαι θεραπαίνας καὶ Ἀργείας καὶ Ἀττικὰς καὶ Κορινθίας. ἔχεις δὲ ἄνδρα ἐπιτηδεότατον ἀνδρῶν πάντων δέξαι τε ἕκαστα τῆς Ἑλλάδος καὶ κατηγήσασθαι, τοῦτον ὃς σευ τὸν πόδα ἐξιήσατο.” ἀμείβεται Δαρείος “ ὦ γύναι, ἐπεὶ τοίνυν τοι δοκέει τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἡμέας πρῶτα ἀποπειρᾶσθαι, κατασκόπους μοι δοκέει Περσέων πρῶτον ἄμεινον εἶναι ὁμοῦ τούτῳ τῷ σὺ λέγεις πέμψαι ἐς αὐτούς, οἳ μαθόντες καὶ ἰδόντες ἐξαγγελέουσιν ἕκαστα αὐτῶν ἡμῖν· καὶ ἔπειτα ἐξεπιστάμενος ἐπ’ αὐτοὺς τρέψομαι.”

135. Ταῦτα εἶπε καὶ ἅμα ἔπος τε καὶ ἔργον ἐποίηε. ἐπεῖτε γὰρ τάχιστα ἡμέρη ἐπέλαμψε, καλέσας Περσέων ἄνδρας δοκίμους πεντεκαίδεκα ἐνετέλλετό σφιν ἐπομένους Δημοκῆδεϊ διεξελθεῖν τὰ παραθαλάσσια τῆς Ἑλλάδος, ὅπως τε μὴ διαδρήσεται σφέας ὁ Δημοκῆδης, ἀλλὰ μιν πάντως ὀπίσω ἀπάξουσιν. ἐντειλάμενος δὲ τούτοις ταῦτα, δεύτερα καλέσας αὐτὸν Δημοκῆδεα ἐδέετο αὐτοῦ ὅπως ἐξηγησάμενος πᾶσαν καὶ ἐπιδέξας τὴν Ἑλλάδα τοῖσι Πέρσῃσι ὀπίσω ἦξει· δῶρα δέ μιν τῷ πατρὶ καὶ τοῖσι ἀδελφεοῖσι ἐκέλευε πάντα τὰ ἐκείνου ἐπιπλα λαβόντα ἄγειν, φὰς ἄλλα οἱ πολλαπλήσια ἀντιδώσειν· πρὸς δὲ ἐς τὰ δῶρα ὀλκάδα οἱ ἔφη συμβαλέεσθαι πλήσας ἀγαθῶν παντοίων, τὴν ἅμα οἱ πλεύσεσθαι. Δαρείος μὲν δὴ, δοκέειν ἐμοί, ἀπ’ οὐδενὸς δολεροῦ νόου ἐπαγγέλλετό οἱ ταῦτα. Δημοκῆδης δὲ δείσας μή εὖ

Scythians; you will find them whenever you so desire; nay, rather, I pray you, march against Hellas. I have heard of Laconian and Argive and Attic and Corinthian women, and would fain have them for handmaidens. There is a man by you who is fitter than any other to instruct and guide you in all matters concerning Hellas: I mean the physician who healed your foot." "Lady," answered Darius, "since it is your desire that we should first try conclusions with Hellas, methinks it is best that we send Persians with the man of whom you speak to spy out the land and bring us news of all that they have seen in it; thus shall I have full knowledge to help my adventure against Hellas."

135. So said Darius, and it was no sooner said than done. For the next day at dawn he called to him fifteen notable Persians, and bade them go with Democedes and pass along the seaboard of Hellas; charging them, too, by all means to bring the physician back and not suffer him to escape. Having thus charged them he next sent for Democedes himself, and required of him that when he had shown and made clear all Hellas to the Persians, he should come back; "And take," said he, "all your movable goods to give your father and your brethren; I will give you many times as much in return; and I will send to sail with you a ship of burden with a cargo of all things desirable." Darius, I think, made this promise in all honesty. But Democedes feared lest the king should

ἐκπειρῶτο Δαρεῖος, οὔτι ἐπιδραμῶν πάντα τὰ διδόμενα ἐδέκετο, ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν ἐωυτοῦ κατὰ χώραν ἔφη καταλείψειν, ἵνα ὀπίσω σφέα ἀπελθὼν ἔχοι, τὴν μέντοι ὀλκάδα, τὴν οἱ Δαρεῖος ἐπαγγέλλετο εἰς τὴν δωρεὴν τοῖσι ἀδελφεοῖσι, δέκεσθαι ἔφη. ἐντειλάμενος δὲ καὶ τούτῳ ταῦτ' ὁ Δαρεῖος ἀποστέλλει αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ θάλασσαν.

136. Καταβάντες δὲ οὗτοι εἰς Φοινίκην καὶ Φοινίκης εἰς Σιδῶνα πόλιν αὐτίκα μὲν τριήρεας δύο ἐπλήρωσαν, ἅμα δὲ αὐτῇσι καὶ γαῦλον μέγαν παντοίων ἀγαθῶν· παρεσκευασμένοι δὲ πάντα ἔπλεον εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα, προσίσχοντες δὲ αὐτῆς τὰ παραθαλάσσια ἐθηεῦντο καὶ ἀπεγράφοντο, εἰς δὲ τὰ πολλὰ αὐτῆς καὶ ὀνομαστὰ θεησάμενοι ἀπίκοντο τῆς Ἰταλίας εἰς Τάραντα. ἐνθαῦτα δὲ ἐκ ῥηστῶνης τῆς Δημοκίδεος Ἀριστοφιλίδης τῶν Ταραντίνων ὁ βασιλεὺς τοῦτο μὲν τὰ πηδάλια παρέλυσεν τῶν Μηδικέων νεῶν, τοῦτο δὲ αὐτοὺς τοὺς Πέρσας εἵρξε ὥς κατασκόπους δῆθεν ἑόντας. ἐν ᾧ δὲ οὗτοι ταῦτα ἔπασχον, ὁ Δημοκίδης εἰς τὴν Κρότωνα ἀπικνέεται· ἀπιγμένου δὲ ἤδη τούτου εἰς τὴν ἐωυτοῦ ὁ Ἀριστοφιλίδης ἔλυσεν τοὺς Πέρσας, καὶ τὰ παρέλαβε τῶν νεῶν ἀπέδωκέ σφι.

137. Πλέοντες δὲ ἐνθεῦτεν οἱ Πέρσαι καὶ διώκοντες Δημοκίδεα ἀπικνέονται εἰς τὴν Κρότωνα, εὐρόντες δὲ μιν ἀγοράζοντα ἅπτοντο αὐτοῦ. τῶν δὲ Κροτωνιητέων οἳ μὲν καταρρωδέοντες τὰ Περσικὰ πρήγματα προΐεναι ἔτοιμοι ἦσαν, οἳ δὲ ἀντάπτοντο καὶ τοῖσι σκυτάλοισι ἔπαιον τοὺς Πέρσας προῖσχομένους ἔπεα τάδε. “Ἄνδρες Κροτωνιῆται, ὁρᾶτε τὰ ποιεέτε· ἄνδρα βασιλέος

be but trying him; therefore he made no haste to accept all that was offered, but answered that he would leave his own possessions where they were, that he might have them at his return; as for the ship which Darius promised him to carry the gifts for his brethren, that he accepted. Having laid this same charge on Democedes also, Darius sent all the company to the coast.

136. They came down to the city of Sidon in Phoenice, and there chartered two triremes, as well as a great galleon laden with all things desirable; and when all was ready they set sail for Hellas, where they surveyed and described the coasts to which they came; until having viewed the greater and most famous parts they reached Taras in Italy. There Aristophilides, king of the Tarentines, willing to do Democedes a kindness, took off the steering gear from the Median ships, and put the Persians under a guard, calling them spies. While they were in this plight Democedes made his way to Croton; nor did Aristophilides set the Persians free and restore to them what he had taken from their ships, till the physician was by now in his own country.

137. The Persians sailed from Taras and pursued Democedes to Croton, where they found him buying in the town and were for seizing him. Some Crotoniats, who feared the Persian power, would have given him up; but others held him against the king's men and beat them with their staves. "Nay," said the Persians, "look well, men of Croton, what you

δρηπέτην γενόμενον ἔξαιρέεσθε. κῶς ταῦτα βασιλεί Δαρείῳ ἐκχρήσει περιυβρίσθαι; κῶς δὲ ὑμῖν τὰ ποιούμενα ἔξει καλῶς, ἣν ἀπέλησθε ἡμέας; ἐπὶ τίνα δὲ τῆσδε προτέρην στρατευσόμεθα πόλιν; τίνα δὲ προτέρην ἀνδραποδίζεσθαι περιησόμεθα;" ταῦτα λέγοντες τοὺς Κροτωνιήτας οὐκὼν ἔπειθον, ἀλλ' ἔξαιρεθέντες τε τὸν Δημοκίδεα καὶ τὸν γαῦλον τὸν ἅμα ἤγοντο ἀπαιρεθέντες ἀπέπλεον ὀπίσω ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην, οὐδ' ἔτι ἐζήτησαν τὸ προσωτέρω τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἀπικόμενοι ἐκμαθεῖν, ἐστερήμενοι τοῦ ἡγεμόνος. τοσόνδε μέντοι ἐνετείλατό σφι Δημοκίδης ἀναγομένοισι, κελύων εἰπεῖν σφεας Δαρείῳ ὅτι ἄρμοσται τὴν Μίλωνος θυγατέρα Δημοκίδης γυναῖκα. τοῦ γὰρ δὴ παλαιστέω Μίλωνος ἦν οὖνομα πολλὸν παρὰ βασιλεί· κατὰ δὲ τοῦτό μοι δοκέει σπεῦσαι τὸν γάμον τοῦτον τελέσας χρήματα μεγάλα Δημοκίδης, ἵνα φανῇ πρὸς Δαρείου ἐὼν καὶ ἐν τῇ ἐωυτοῦ δόκιμος.

138. Ἀναχθέντες δὲ ἐκ τῆς Κρότωνος οἱ Πέρσαι ἐκπίπτουσι τῇσι νηυσὶ ἐς Ἰηπυγίην, καὶ σφεας δουλεύοντας ἐνθαῦτα Γίλλος ἀνὴρ Ταραντῖνος φυγὰς ῥυσάμενος ἀπήγαγε παρὰ βασιλέα Δαρείου. ὁ δὲ ἀντὶ τούτων ἔτοιμος ἦν διδόναι τοῦτο ὅ τι βούλοιτο αὐτός. Γίλλος δὲ αἰρέεται κάτοδόν οἱ ἐς Τάραντα γενέσθαι, προαπηγησάμενος τὴν συμφορὴν· ἵνα δὲ μὴ συνταράξῃ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, ἣν δι' αὐτὸν στόλος μέγας πλὴν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἰταλίην, Κνιδίους μούρους ἀποχρᾶν οἱ ἔφη τοὺς κατάγοντας γίνεσθαι, δοκέων ἀπὸ τούτων ἐόντων τοῖσι Ταραντῖνοισι φίλων μάλιστα τὴν κάτοδόν οἱ ἔσεσθαι. Δαρείος δὲ ὑποδεξάμενος ἐπετέλεε·



do ; you are taking from us an escaped slave of the great king ; think you that King Darius will rest content under this insolence ? Think you that the deed will profit you if you drive us forth ? Your city will then be the first that we will attack and essay to enslave." But the men of Croton paid no heed to them ; so the Persians lost Democedes and the galleon that had been their consort, and sailed back for Asia, making no endeavour to visit and learn of the further parts of Hellas now that their guide was taken from them. But Democedes gave them a message as they were setting sail ; they should tell Darius, he said, that Democedes was betrothed to the daughter of Milon. For Darius held the name of Milon the wrestler in great honour ; and, to my thinking, the reason of Democedes' seeking this match and paying a great sum for it was to show Darius that he was a man of estimation in his own country as well as Persia.

138. The Persians then put out from Croton ; but their ships were wrecked on the Iapygian coast, and they themselves made slaves in the country, until one Gillus, a banished man of Taras, released and restored them to Darius. In return for this the king offered Gillus any reward that he might desire ; Gillus told the story of his misfortune, and asked above all to be restored to Taras ; but, not willing that a great armament should for his cause sail to Italy and thereby he should help to trouble Hellas, it was enough, he said, that the Cnidians alone should be his escort ; for he supposed that thus the Tarentines would be the readier to receive him back, the Cnidians being their friends. Darius kept his word,



πέμψας γὰρ ἄγγελον ἐς Κνίδον κατάγειν σφέας ἐκέλευε Γίλλον ἐς Τάραντα. πειθόμενοι δὲ Δαρείῳ Κνίδιοι Ταραντίνους οὐκων ἔπειθον, βίην δὲ ἀδύνατοι ἦσαν προσφέρειν. ταῦτα μὲν νυν οὕτω ἐπρήχθη· οὗτοι δὲ πρῶτοι ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίης ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἀπίκοντο Πέρσαι, καὶ οὗτοι διὰ τοιόνδε πρῆγμα κατάσκοποι ἐγένοντο.

139. Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Σάμον βασιλεὺς Δαρεῖος αἰρέει, πολλίων πασέων πρώτην Ἑλληνίδων καὶ βαρβάρων, διὰ τοιήνδε τινὰ αἰτίην. Καμβύσεω τοῦ Κύρου στρατευομένου ἐπ' Αἴγυπτον ἄλλοι τε συχνοὶ ἐς τὴν Αἴγυπτον ἀπίκοντο Ἑλλήνων, οἳ μὲν, ὥς οἶκός, κατ' ἐμπορίην στρατευόμενοι, οἳ δὲ τινὲς καὶ αὐτῆς τῆς χώρας θεηταί· τῶν ἦν καὶ Συλοσῶν ὁ Αἰάκεος, Πολυκράτεός τε ἐὼν ἀδελφεὸς καὶ φεύγων ἐκ Σάμου. τοῦτον τὸν Συλοσῶντα κατέλαβε εὐτυχίῃ τις τοιήδε. λαβὼν χλανίδα καὶ περιβαλόμενος πυρρὴν ἡγόραζε ἐν τῇ Μέμφι· ἰδὼν δὲ αὐτὸν Δαρεῖος, δορυφόρος τε ἐὼν Καμβύσεω καὶ λόγου οὐδενός κω μεγάλου, ἐπεθύμησε τῆς χλανίδος καὶ αὐτὴν προσελθὼν ὠνέετο. ὁ δὲ Συλοσῶν ὁρέων τὸν Δαρεῖον μεγάλως ἐπιθυμέοντα τῆς χλανίδος, θείῃ τύχῃ χρεώμενος λέγει “Ἐγὼ ταύτην πωλέω μὲν οὐδενὸς χρήματος, δίδωμι δὲ ἄλλως, εἴ περ οὕτω δεῖ γενέσθαι πάντως τοι.” αἰνέσας ταῦτα ὁ Δαρεῖος παραλαμβάνει τὸ εἶμα.

140. Ὁ μὲν δὴ Συλοσῶν ἠπίστατο τοῦτό οἱ ἀπολωλέναι δι' εὐηθείην. ὥς δὲ τοῦ χρόνου προβαίνοντος Καμβύσης τε ἀπέθανε καὶ τῷ Μάγῳ ἐπανέστησαν οἱ ἐπτὰ καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἐπτὰ Δαρεῖος τὴν βασιληίην ἔσχε, πυνθάνεται ὁ Συλοσῶν ὥς ἡ βασιληίῃ περιελήλυθοι ἐς τοῦτον τὸν ἄνδρα τῷ

and sent a messenger to the men of Cnidos, bidding them bring Gillus back to Taras. They obeyed Darius ; but they could not persuade the Tarentines to their will, and were not able to compel them. This is the whole story. These Persians were the first who came from Asia into Hellas ; and they came to view the country for the reason aforesaid.

139. After this, Darius conquered Samos, the greatest of all city states, Greek or other, the reason of his conquest being this :—When Cambyses, son of Cyrus, invaded Egypt, many Greeks came with the army to that country, some to trade, as was natural, and some to see the country itself ; among whom was Syloson, son of Aeaces, Polycrates' brother, and now banished from Samos. This Syloson had a stroke of good luck. He was in the market at Memphis wearing a red cloak, when Darius, at that time one of Cambyses' guard and as yet a man of no great account, saw him, and coveting the cloak came and offered to buy it. When Syloson saw Darius' eagerness, by good luck he was moved to say, "I will not sell you my cloak ; but if it must be so, and no help for it, you can have it for nothing." To this Darius agreed and took the garment.

140. Syloson supposed that he had lost his cloak out of foolish good nature. But in time Cambyses died, the seven rebelled against the Magian, and of the seven Darius came to the throne ; Syloson then learned that the successor to the royal power was

## HERODOTUS

κοτὲ αὐτὸς ἔδωκε ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ δεηθέντι τὸ εἶμα. ἀναβὰς δὲ ἐς τὰ Σοῦσα ἵζετο ἐς τὰ πρόθυρα τῶν βασιλέως οἰκίων καὶ ἔφη Δαρείου εὐεργέτης εἶναι. ἀγγέλλει ταῦτα ἀκούσας ὁ πυλουργὸς τῷ βασιλεί· ὁ δὲ θωμάσας λέγει πρὸς αὐτόν “Καὶ τίς ἐστὶ Ἑλλήνων εὐεργέτης τῷ ἐγὼ προαιδεῦμαι, νεωστὶ μὲν τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔχων, ἀναβέβηκε δ’ ἢ τις ἢ οὐδεὶς κω παρ’ ἡμέας αὐτῶν, ἔχω δὲ χρέος εἰπεῖν οὐδὲν ἀνδρὸς Ἑλληνος. ὅμως δὲ αὐτὸν παράγετε ἔσω, ἵνα εἰδέω τί θέλων λέγει ταῦτα.” παρήγε ὁ πυλουργὸς τὸν Συλοσῶντα, στάντα δὲ ἐς μέσον εἰρώτων οἱ ἑρμηνέες τίς τε εἶη καὶ τί ποιήσας εὐεργέτης φησὶ εἶναι βασιλέως. εἶπε ὢν ὁ Συλοσῶν πάντα τὰ περὶ τὴν χλανίδα γενόμενα, καὶ ὡς αὐτὸς εἶη κεῖνος ὁ δούς. ἀμείβεται πρὸς ταῦτα Δαρεῖος “ὦ γενναιότατε ἀνδρῶν, σὺ κεῖνος εἰς ὃς ἐμοὶ οὐδεμίαν ἔχοντί κω δύναμιν ἔδωκας εἰ καὶ σμικρά, ἀλλ’ ὢν ἴση γε ἡ χάρις ὁμοίως ὡς εἰ νῦν κοθέν τι μέγα λάβοιμι· ἀντ’ ὢν τοι χρυσὸν καὶ ἄργυρον ἄπλετον δίδωμι, ὡς μή κοτέ τοι μεταμелήσῃ Δαρείου τὸν Ὑστάσπεος εὖ ποιήσαντι.” λέγει πρὸς ταῦτα ὁ Συλοσῶν “Ἐμοὶ μήτε χρυσὸν ὦ βασιλεῦ μήτε ἄργυρον δίδου, ἀλλ’ ἀνασωσάμενός μοι δὸς τὴν πατρίδα Σάμον, τὴν νῦν ἀδελφεοῦ τοῦ ἐμοῦ Πολυκράτεος ἀποθανόντος ὑπὸ Ὅροίτew ἔχει δοῦλος ἡμέτερος· ταύτην μοι δὸς ἄνευ τε φόνου καὶ ἐξανδραποδίσσιος.”

141. Ταῦτα ἀκούσας Δαρεῖος ἀπέστειλλε στρατιήν τε καὶ στρατηγὸν Ὀτάνεα ἀνδρῶν τῶν ἑπτὰ γενόμενον, ἐντειλάμενος, ὅσων ἐδεήθη ὁ Συλοσῶν, ταῦτά οἱ ποιεῖν ἐπιτελέα. καταβὰς δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν θάλασσαν ὁ Ὀτάνης ἔστειλλε τὴν στρατιήν.

the man to whom he had given at request the garment in Egypt; so he went up to Susa and sat at the king's porch, saying that he was one of Darius' benefactors. When the gate-ward brought word of this to the king, "But to what Greek benefactor," Darius asked, "can I owe thanks? In the little time since I have been king hardly one of that nation has come to us, and I have, so to say, no need of any Greek. Nevertheless let him be brought in, that I may know his meaning." The gate-ward brought Syloson in and set him before them; and the interpreters asked him who he was, and what he had done to call himself the king's benefactor. Then Syloson told the story of the cloak, and said that it was he who had given it. "Most generous man," said Darius, "you are he who made me a present when I had as yet no power; if it was but a little thing, yet it was as thankworthy as if someone now gave me a great gift. Take in requital abundance of gold and silver, that you may never repent of the service you did Darius son of Hystaspes." "Nay," Syloson answered, "I ask neither gold, O king, nor silver; only win me back my fatherland of Samos, where my brother Polycrates has been done to death by Oroetes, and our slave now rules; give me back Samos, but so that there be no bloodshed nor enslaving."

141. Hearing this Darius sent an army, and Otanes, one of the seven, to command it, charging him to perform all Syloson's will. So Otanes came down to the coast and made his army ready.

142. Τῆς δὲ Σάμου Μαιάνδριος ὁ Μαιανδρίου εἶχε τὸ κράτος, ἐπιτροπαίην παρὰ Πολυκράτεος λαβὼν τὴν ἀρχήν· τῷ δικαιοτάτῳ ἀνδρῶν βουλομένῳ γενέσθαι οὐκ ἐξεγένετο. ἐπειδὴ γάρ οἱ ἐξαγγέλλθη ὁ Πολυκράτεος θάνατος, ἐποίεε τοιάδε· πρῶτα μὲν Διὸς ἐλευθερίου βωμὸν ἰδρύσατο καὶ τέμενος περὶ αὐτὸν οὖρισε τοῦτο τὸ νῦν ἐν τῷ προαστείῳ ἐστί· μετὰ δέ, ὥς οἱ ἐπεποιήτο, ἐκκλησίην συναγείρας πάντων τῶν ἀστῶν ἔλεξε τάδε. “Ἐμοί, ὥς ἴστε καὶ ὑμεῖς, σκῆπτρον καὶ δύναμις πᾶσα ἢ Πολυκράτεος ἐπιτέτραπται, καὶ μοι παρέχει νῦν ὑμέων ἄρχειν. ἐγὼ δὲ τὰ τῷ πέλας ἐπιπλήσσω, αὐτὸς κατὰ δύναμιν οὐ ποιήσω· οὔτε γάρ μοι Πολυκράτης ἤρεσκε δεσπόζων ἀνδρῶν ὁμοίων ἐωυτῷ οὔτε ἄλλος ὅστις τοιαῦτα ποιεῖ. Πολυκράτης μὲν νυν ἐξέπλησε μοῖραν τὴν ἐωυτοῦ, ἐγὼ δὲ ἐς μέσον τὴν ἀρχὴν τιθεὶς ἰσονομίην ὑμῖν προαγορεύω. τοσάδε μέντοι δικαίῳ γέρεα ἐμεωυτῷ γενέσθαι, ἐκ μὲν γε τῶν Πολυκράτεος χρημάτων ἐξαίρετα ἐξ τάλαντά μοι γενέσθαι, ἱρωςύνην δὲ πρὸς τούτοις αἰρεῦμαι αὐτῷ τέ μοι καὶ τοῖσι ἀπ’ ἐμεῦ αἰεὶ γινομένοις τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ ἐλευθερίου· τῷ αὐτὸς τε ἱρὸν ἰδρυσάμην καὶ τὴν ἐλευθερίην ὑμῖν περιτίθηνμι.” ὁ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα τοῖσι Σαμίοις ἐπαγγέλλετο· τῶν δὲ τις ἐξαναστὰς εἶπε “Ἄλλ’ οὐδ’ ἄξιος εἰς σύ γε ἡμέων ἄρχειν, γεγωνώς τε κακῶς καὶ ἐὼν ὄλεθρος· ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον ὅκως λόγον δώσεις τῶν μετεχείρισας χρημάτων.”

143. Ταῦτα εἶπε ἐὼν ἐν τοῖσι ἀστοῖσι δόκιμος, τῷ οὖνομα ἦν Τελέσαρχος. Μαιάνδριος δὲ νόῳ λαβὼν ὡς εἰ μετήσει τὴν ἀρχήν, ἄλλος τις αὐτ’ αὐτοῦ τύραννος καταστήσεται, οὐδὲν ἔτι ἐν νόῳ



142. Now Samos was ruled by Maeandrius, son of Maeandrius, whom Polycrates had made his vicerent. This Maeandrius desired to act with all justice, but could not. For when he had news of Polycrates' death, first he set up an altar to Zeus the Liberator and marked out round it that sacred enclosure which is still to be seen in the suburb of the city; when this was done, he called an assembly of all the townsfolk, and thus addressed them: "It is known to you that I have sole charge of Polycrates' sceptre and dominion; and it is in my power to be your ruler. But, so far as in me lies, I will not myself do that which I account blameworthy in my neighbour. I ever misliked that Polycrates or any other man should lord it over men like to himself. Polycrates has fulfilled his destiny; for myself, I call you to share all power, and I proclaim equality; only claiming as my own such privilege that six talents of Polycrates' wealth be set apart for my use, and that I and my descendants have besides the priesthood of Zeus the Liberator, whose temple I have founded, and I now give you freedom." Such was Maeandrius' promise to the Samians. But one of them arose and answered: "Nay, but who are you? You are not worthy to reign over us, being a low-born knave and rascal. See to it rather that you give an account of the moneys that you have handled."

143. These were the words of Telesarchus, a man of note among the townsfolk. But Maeandrius, perceiving that if he let the sovereignty slip someone else would make himself despot instead, resolved



εἶχε μετιέναι αὐτήν, ἀλλ' ὥς ἀνεχώρησε ἐς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν, μεταπεμπόμενος ἕνα ἕκαστον ὥς δὴ λόγον τῶν χρημάτων δώσων, συνέλαβε σφέας καὶ κατέδησε. οἱ μὲν δὴ ἐδεδέατο, Μαιάνδριον δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα κατέλαβε νοῦσος. ἐλπίζων δέ μιν ἀποθανέεσθαι ὁ ἀδελφεός, τῷ οὔνομα ἦν Λυκάριτος, ἵνα εὐπετεστέως κατὰσχη τὰ ἐν τῇ Σάμῳ πρήγματα, κατακτείνει τοὺς δεσμώτας πάντας· οὐ γὰρ δὴ, ὥς οἴκασι, ἐβούλοντο εἶναι ἐλεύθεροι.

144. Ἐπειδὴ ὦν ἀπίκοντο ἐς τὴν Σάμον οἱ Πέρσαι κατάγοντες Συλοσῶντα, οὔτε τίς σφι χεῖρας ἀνταείρεται, ὑπόσπονδοί τε ἔφασαν εἶναι ἔτοιμοι οἱ τοῦ Μαιανδρίου στασιῶται καὶ αὐτὸς Μαιάνδριος ἐκχωρῆσαι ἐκ τῆς νήσου. καταινέσαντος δ' ἐπὶ τούτοισι Ὀτάνεω καὶ σπεισαμένου, τῶν Περσέων οἱ πλείστου ἄξιοι θρόνους θέμενοι κατεναντίον τῆς ἀκροπόλιος κατέατο.

145. Μαιανδρίῳ δὲ τῷ τυράννῳ ἦν ἀδελφεὸς ὑπομαργότερος, τῷ οὔνομα ἦν Χαρίλεως· οὗτος ὅτι δὴ ἐξαμαρτῶν ἐν γοργύρῃ ἐδέδετο, καὶ δὴ τότε ἐπακούσας τε τὰ πρησσύμενα καὶ διακύψας διὰ τῆς γοργύρης, ὥς εἶδε τοὺς Πέρσας εἰρηναίως κατημένους, ἐβόα τε καὶ ἔφη λέγων Μαιανδρίῳ θέλειν ἐλθεῖν ἐς λόγους. ἐπακούσας δὲ ὁ Μαιάνδριος λύσαντας αὐτὸν ἐκέλευε ἄγειν παρ' ἐωυτόν· ὥς δὲ ἄχθη τάχιστα, λαιδορέων τε καὶ κακίζων μιν ἀνέπειθε ἐπιθέσθαι τοῖσι Πέρσησι, λέγων τοιάδε. “Ἐμὲ μὲν, ὦ κάκιστε ἀνδρῶν, ἔοντα σεωυτοῦ ἀδελφεὸν καὶ ἀδικήσαντα οὐδὲν ἄξιον δεσμοῦ δῆσας γοργύρης ἡξίωσας· ὀρέων δὲ τοὺς Πέρσας ἐκβάλλοντάς τέ σε καὶ ἄνοικον ποιέοντας οὐ τολμᾶς τίσασθαι, οὔτω δὴ τι ἔοντας εὐπετέας χειρωθῆναι.

not to give it up. Withdrawing into the citadel, he sent for each man severally, as though to render an account of the money ; then he seized and bound them. So they being in prison, Maeandrius presently fell sick. His brother Lycaretus thought him like to die, and, that so he might the more easily make himself master of Samos, put all the prisoners to death. They had, it would seem, no desire for freedom.

144. So when the Persians brought Syloson back to Samos, none resisted them, but Maeandrius and those of his faction offered to depart from the island under a flag of truce ; Otanes agreed to this, and the treaty being made, the Persians of highest rank sat them down on seats that they had set over against the citadel.

145. Now Maeandrius the despot had a crazy brother named Charilaus, who lay bound in the dungeon for some offence ; this man heard what was afoot, and by peering through the dungeon window saw the Persians sitting there peaceably ; whereupon he cried with a loud voice that he desired to have speech with Maeandrius. His brother, hearing him, bade Charilaus be loosed and brought before him. No sooner had he been brought than he essayed with much reviling and abuse to persuade Maeandrius to attack the Persians. "Villain," he cried, "you have bound and imprisoned me, your own brother, who had done nothing to deserve it ; and when you see the Persians casting you out of house and home, have you no courage to avenge yourself, though you could so easily master them ? If you are yourself

ἀλλ' εἴ τοι σὺ σφέας καταρρώδηκας, ἐμοὶ δὸς τοὺς ἐπικούρους, καὶ σφέας ἐγὼ τιμωρήσομαι τῆς ἐνθάδε ἀπίξιος· αὐτὸν δέ σε ἐκπέμψαι ἐκ τῆς νήσου ἔτοιμος εἰμί.”

146. Ταῦτα δὲ ἔλεξε ὁ Χαρίλεως· Μαιάνδριος δὲ ὑπέλαβε τὸν λόγον, ὥς μὲν ἐγὼ δοκέω, οὐκ ἐς τοῦτο ἀφροσύνης ἀπικόμενος ὥς δόξαι τὴν ἐωυτοῦ δύναμιν περιέσεσθαι τῆς βασιλέως, ἀλλὰ φθονήσας μᾶλλον Συλοσῶντι εἰ ἀπονητὶ ἔμελλε ἀπολάμψεσθαι ἀκέραιον τὴν πόλιν. ἐρεθίσας ὦν τοὺς Πέρσας ἤθελε ὥς ἀσθενέστατα ποιῆσαι τὰ Σάμια πρήγματα καὶ οὕτω παραδιδόναι, εὖ ἐξεπιστάμενος ὥς παθόντες οἱ Πέρσαι κακῶς προσεμπικρανέεσθαι ἔμελλον τοῖσι Σαμίοισι, εἰδὼς τε ἐωυτῷ ἀσφαλέα ἔκδυσιν εἶδεν ἐκ τῆς νήσου τότε ἐπεὰν αὐτὸς βούληται· ἐπεποίητο γάρ οἱ κρυπτὴ διῶρυξ ἐκ τῆς ἀκροπόλιος φέρουσα ἐπὶ θάλασσαν. αὐτὸς μὲν δὴ ὁ Μαιάνδριος ἐκπλέει ἐκ τῆς Σάμου· τοὺς δ' ἐπικούρους πάντας ὀπλίσας ὁ Χαρίλεως, καὶ ἀναπετάσας τὰς πύλας, ἐξῆκε ἐπὶ τοὺς Πέρσας οὔτε προσδεκομένους τοιοῦτο οὐδὲν δοκέοντάς τε δὴ πάντα συμβεβάναι. ἐμπεσόντες δὲ οἱ ἐπίκουροι τῶν Περσέων τοὺς διφροφορευμένους τε καὶ λόγου πλείστου ἔοντας ἔκτεινον. καὶ οὗτοι μὲν ταῦτα ἐποίουν, ἡ δὲ ἄλλη στρατιὴ ἡ Περσικὴ ἐπεβοήθει· πιεζεύμενοι δὲ οἱ ἐπίκουροι ὀπίσω κατειλήθησαν ἐς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν.

147. Ὅτάνης δὲ ὁ στρατηγὸς ἰδὼν πάθος μέγα Πέρσας πεπονηθότας, ἐντολὰς μὲν τὰς Δαρεϊὸς οἱ ἀποστέλλων ἐνετέλλετο, μήτε κτείνειν μηδένα Σαμίων μήτε ἀνδραποδίζεσθαι ἀπαθεία τε κακῶν

afraid of them, give me your foreign guards, and I will punish them for their coming hither; as for you, I will give you safe conduct out of the island."

146. So said Charilaus. Maeandrius took his advice. This he did, to my thinking, not that he was so foolish as to suppose that he would be strong enough to vanquish the king, but because he grudged that Syloson should recover Samos safe and whole with no trouble. He desired therefore to anger the Persians and thereby to weaken Samos as much as he might before surrendering it, for he was well aware that if the Persians were harmed they would be bitterly wroth with the Samians. Moreover he knew that he could get himself safe out of the island whenever he would, having made a secret passage leading from the citadel to the sea. Maeandrius then set sail himself from Samos; but Charilaus armed all the guards, opened the citadel gates, and threw the guard upon the Persians. These supposed that a full agreement had now been made, and were taken at unawares; the guard fell upon them and slew the Persians of highest rank, those who were carried in litters. At this the rest of the Persian force came up and pressed the guards hard, driving them into the citadel.

147. The Persian captain Otanes, seeing the great harm done to the Persians, of set purpose put away from his memory the command given him at his departure by Darius to kill or enslave no Samian

ἀποδοῦναι τὴν νῆσον Συλοσῶντι, τουτέων μὲν τῶν ἐντολέων μεμνημένος ἐπελαγθάνετο, ὃ δὲ παρήγγειλε τῇ στρατιῇ πάντα τὸν ἂν λάβωσι καὶ ἄνδρα καὶ παῖδα ὁμοίως κτείνειν. ἐνθαῦτα τῆς στρατιῆς οἱ μὲν τὴν ἀκρόπολιν ἐπολιόρκεον, οἱ δὲ ἔκτεινον πάντα τὸν ἐμποδῶν γινόμενον ὁμοίως ἔν τε ἱρῶ καὶ ἔξω ἱροῦ.

148. Μαιάνδριος δὲ ἀποδράς ἐκ τῆς Σάμου ἐκπλέει ἐς Λακεδαίμονα· ἀπικόμενος δὲ ἐς αὐτὴν καὶ ἀνενεικάμενος τὰ ἔχων ἐξεχώρησε, ἐποίησε τοιάδε· ὅκως ποτήρια ἀργύρεά τε καὶ χρύσεια προθεῖτο, οἱ μὲν θεράποντες αὐτοῦ ἐξέσμων αὐτά, ὃ δ' ἂν τὸν χρόνον τοῦτον τῷ Κλεομένει τῷ Ἀναξανδρίδῃ ἐν λόγοισι ἐὼν, βασιλεύοντι Σπάρτης, προῆγέ μιν ἐς τὰ οἰκία· ὅκως δὲ ἴδοιτο Κλεομένης τὰ ποτήρια, ἀπεθώμαζέ τε καὶ ἐξεπλήσσετο· ὃ δὲ ἂν ἐκέλευε αὐτὸν ἀποφέρεισθαι αὐτῶν ὅσα βούλοιτο. τοῦτο καὶ δις καὶ τρίς εἶπαντος Μαιανδρίου ὁ Κλεομένης δικαιοτάτος ἀνδρῶν γίνεται, ὃς λαβεῖν μὲν διδόμενα οὐκ ἐδικαίον, μαθὼν δὲ ὡς ἄλλοισι διδοὺς τῶν ἀστῶν εὐρήσεται τιμωρίην, βὰς ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐφόρους ἄμεινον εἶναι ἔφη τῇ Σπάρτῃ τὸν ξεῖνον τὸν Σάμιον ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι ἐκ τῆς Πελοποννήσου, ἵνα μὴ ἀναπείσῃ ἢ αὐτὸν ἢ ἄλλον τινὰ Σπαρτιητέων κακὸν γενέσθαι. οἱ δ' ὑπακούσαντες ἐξεκήρυξαν Μαιάνδριον.

149. Τὴν δὲ Σάμον [σαγηνεύσαντες]<sup>1</sup> οἱ Πέρσαι παρέδωκαν Συλοσῶντι ἔρημον εὐρυσαν ἀνδρῶν.

<sup>1</sup> This word may be an interpolation; the process (forming a long line to sweep all before it) is described in detail in Bk. VI. 31, as if that were the first mention of it. Moreover, it is inconsistent here with ch. 147,



but deliver the island unharmed to Syloson ; and he commanded his army to kill all they took, men and boys alike. Then, while some of the Persians laid siege to the citadel, the rest slew all they met, whether in temples or without.

148. Maeandrius, escaping from Samos, sailed to Lacedaemon ; and when he had come thither and brought the possessions with which he had left his country, it was his custom to make a display of silver and gold drinking cups ; while his servants were cleaning these, he would converse with the king of Sparta, Cleomenes son of Anaxandrides, and would bring him to his house. Cleomenes, whenever he saw the cups, marvelling greatly at them, Maeandrius would bid him take away as many of them as he wished. Maeandrius made this offer two or three times ; Cleomenes herein showed his great honesty, that he would not accept it ; but, perceiving that there were others in Lacedaemon from whom Maeandrius would get help by offering them the cups, he went to the ephors and told them it were best for Sparta that this Samian stranger should quit the country, lest he should persuade Cleomenes himself or some other Spartan to do evil. The ephors listened to his counsel and banished Maeandrius by proclamation.

149. As for Samos, the Persians swept it clear and delivered it over uninhabited to Syloson. But



ὕστέρῳ μέντοι χρόνῳ καὶ συγκατοίκισε αὐτὴν ὁ  
στρατηγὸς Ὀτάνης ἐκ τε ὄψιος ὀνείρου καὶ νούσου  
ἧ μιν κατέλαβε νοσῆσαι τὰ αἰδοῖα.

150. Ἐπὶ δὲ Σάμον στρατεύματος ναυτικοῦ οἰχομένου Βαβυλώνιοι ἀπέστησαν, κάρτα εὖ παρεσκευασμένοι· ἐν ὧσφ γὰρ ὃ τε Μάγος ἦρχε καὶ οἱ ἐπτὰ ἐπανέστησαν, ἐν τούτῳ παντὶ τῷ χρόνῳ καὶ τῇαραχῇ ἐς τὴν πολιορκίην παρεσκευάζοντο. καὶ κως ταῦτα ποιεῦντες ἐλάνθανον. ἐπεῖτε δὲ ἐκ τοῦ ἐμφανέος ἀπέστησαν, ἐποίησαν τοιόνδε· τὰς μητέρας ἐξελόντες, γυναῖκα ἕκαστος μίαν προσεξαίρετο τὴν ἐβούλετο ἐκ τῶν ἐωυτοῦ οἰκίων, τὰς δὲ λοιπὰς ἀπάσας συναγαγόντες ἀπέπνιξαν· τὴν δὲ μίαν ἕκαστος σιτοποιὸν ἐξαιρέετο· ἀπέπνιξαν δὲ αὐτάς, ἵνα μὴ σφεων τὸν σῖτον ἀναισιμώσωσι.

151. Πυθόμενος δὲ ταῦτα ὁ Δαρεῖος καὶ συλλέξας πᾶσαν τὴν ἐωυτοῦ δύναμιν ἐστρατεύετο ἐπ' αὐτούς, ἐπελάσας δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν Βαβυλῶνα ἐπολιόρκεε φροντίζοντας οὐδὲν τῆς πολιορκίης. ἀναβαίνοντες γὰρ ἐπὶ τοὺς προμαχεῶνας τοῦ τείχεος οἱ Βαβυλώνιοι κατωρχέοντο καὶ κατέσκωπτον Δαρεῖον καὶ τὴν στρατιὴν αὐτοῦ, καὶ τις αὐτῶν εἶπε τοῦτο τὸ ἔπος. “Τί κάτησθε ὦ Πέρσαι ἐνθαῦτα, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἀπαλλάσσεσθε; τότε γὰρ αἰρήσετε ἡμέας, ἐπεὰν ἡμίονοι τέκωσι.” τοῦτο εἶπε τῶν τις Βαβυλωνίων οὐδαμὰ ἐλπίζων ἂν ἡμίονον τεκεῖν.

152. Ἐπτὰ δὲ μηνῶν καὶ ἐνιαυτοῦ διεληλυθότος ἤδη ὁ Δαρεῖος τε ἥσχαλλε καὶ ἡ στρατιὴ πᾶσα οὐ δυνατὴ εἶσα ἐλεῖν τοὺς Βαβυλωνίους. καίτοι πάντα σοφίσματα καὶ πάσας μηχανὰς

afterwards Otanes, the Persian general, gave his aid to settle the land, being moved thereto by a dream, and a sickness which attacked his secret parts.

150. When the fleet had gone to Samos, the Babylonians revolted;<sup>1</sup> for which they had made very good preparation; for during the reign of the Magian, and the rebellion of the seven, they had taken advantage of the time and the disorders to prepare themselves against the siege; and (I cannot tell how) this was unknown. At the last they revolted openly and did this:—sending away all the mothers, they chose each one woman from his own household, whom he would, as a bread-maker; as for the rest, they gathered them together and strangled them, that they should not consume their bread.

151. When Darius heard of this he mustered all his power and led it against Babylon, and he marched to the town and laid siege to it; but the townsmen cared nothing for what he did. They came up on to the bastions of the wall, and mocked Darius and his army with gesture and word; and this saying came from one of them: “Why sit you there, Persians, instead of departing? You will take our city when mules bear offspring.” This said the Babylonian, supposing that no mule would ever bear offspring.

152. A year and seven months passed and Darius and all his army were vexed by ever failing to take Babylon. Yet Darius had used every trick and

<sup>1</sup> According to the course of Herodotus’ narrative, this revolt would seem to have taken place some considerable time after Darius’ accession (521 B.C.). But the Behistun inscription apparently makes it one of the earliest events of his reign.

ἐπεποιήκεε ἐς αὐτοὺς Δαρεῖος· ἀλλ' οὐδ' ὥς ἐδύνατο ἐλεῖν σφέας, ἄλλοισί τε σοφίσμασι πειρησάμενος, καὶ δὴ καὶ τῷ Κῦρος εἶλε σφέας, καὶ τούτῳ ἐπειρήθη. ἀλλὰ γὰρ δεινῶς ἦσαν ἐν φυλακῇσι οἱ Βαβυλώνιοι, οὐδὲ σφέας οἶός τε ἦν ἐλεῖν.

153. Ἐνθαῦτα εἰκοστῷ μηνὶ Ζωπύρῳ τῷ Μεγαβύζου, τούτου ὃς τῶν ἐπτά ἀνδρῶν ἐγένετο τῶν τὸν Μάγον κατελόντων, τούτῳ τῷ Μεγαβύζου παιδὶ Ζωπύρῳ ἐγένετο τέρας τόδε· τῶν οἱ σιτοφόρων ἡμίονων μία ἔτεκε. ὥς δέ οἱ ἐξαγγέλθη καὶ ὑπὸ ἀπιστίας αὐτὸς ὁ Ζώπυρος εἶδε τὸ βρέφος, ἀπείπας τοῖσι ἰδοῦσι μηδενὶ φράζειν τὸ γεγονὸς ἐβουλεύετο. καὶ οἱ πρὸς τὰ τοῦ Βαβυλωνίου ῥήματα, ὃς κατ' ἀρχὰς ἔφησε, ἐπεάν περ ἡμίονοι τέκωσι, τότε τὸ τεῖχος ἀλώσεσθαι, πρὸς ταύτην τὴν φήμην Ζωπύρῳ ἐδόκεε εἶναι ἀλώσιμος ἢ Βαβυλῶν· σὺν γὰρ θεῷ ἐκείνόν τε εἰπεῖν καὶ ἑωυτῷ τεκεῖν τὴν ἡμίονον.

154. Ὡς δέ οἱ ἐδόκεε μόρσιμον εἶναι ἤδη τῇ Βαβυλῶνι ἀλίσκεσθαι, προσελθὼν Δαρείου ἀπεπυνθάνετο εἰ περὶ πολλοῦ κάρτα ποιέεται τὴν Βαβυλῶνα ἐλεῖν. πυθόμενος δὲ ὡς πολλοῦ τιμῷτο, ἄλλο ἐβουλεύετο, ὅπως αὐτὸς τε ἔσται ὁ ἐλὼν αὐτὴν καὶ ἑωυτοῦ τὸ ἔργον ἔσται· κάρτα γὰρ ἐν τοῖσι Πέρσησι αἱ ἀγαθοεργίαι ἐς τὸ πρόσω μεγάθεος τιμῶνται. ἄλλῳ μὲν νυν οὐκ ἐφράζετο ἔργῳ δυνατὸς εἶναί μιν ὑποχειρίην ποιῆσαι, εἰ δ' ἑωυτὸν λωβησάμενος αὐτομολήσειε ἐς αὐτούς. ἐνθαῦτα ἐν ἐλαφρῷ ποιησάμενος ἑωυτὸν λωβᾶται λώβην ἀνήκεστον· ἀποταμὼν γὰρ ἑωυτοῦ τὴν ῥίνα καὶ τὰ ὦτα καὶ τὴν κόμην κακῶς περικείρας καὶ μαστιγώσας ἦλθε παρὰ Δαρείου.

every device against it. He essayed the stratagem whereby Cyrus took the city, and every other stratagem and device, yet with no success; for the Babylonians kept a marvellous strict watch and he could not take them.

153. But in the twentieth month of the siege a miraculous thing befell Zopyrus, son of that Megabyzus who was one of the seven destroyers of the Magian: one of his food-carrying mules bore offspring. Zopyrus would not believe the news; but when he saw the foal for himself, he bade those who had seen it to tell no one; then taking counsel he bethought him of the Babylonian's word at the beginning of the siege—that the city would be taken when mules bore offspring—and having this utterance in mind he conceived that Babylon might be taken; for the hand of heaven, he supposed, was in the man's word and the birth from his own mule.

154. Being then persuaded that Babylon was fated to fall, he came and inquired of Darius if he set great store by the taking of the city; and when he was assured that this was so he next looked about for a plan whereby the city's fall should be wrought by himself alone; for good service among the Persians is much honoured, and rewarded by high preferment. He could think of no way of mastering the city but to do violence to himself and then desert to the Babylonians; so he accounted it but a little thing to mishandle himself past cure; cutting off his nose and ears, shaving his head for a disfigurement, and scourging himself, he came in this guise before Darius.

155. Δαρεῖος δὲ κάρτα βαρέως ἤνεικε ἰδὼν ἄνδρα δοκιμώτατον λελωβημένον, ἔκ τε τοῦ θρόνου ἀναπηδήσας ἀνέβωσέ τε καὶ εἵρετό μιν ὅστις εἴη ὁ λωβησάμενος καὶ ὃ τι ποιήσαντα. ὃ δὲ εἶπε “Οὐκ ἔστι οὗτος ὠνήρ, ὅτι μὴ σύ, τῷ ἐστὶ δύναμις τοσαύτη ἐμὲ δὴ ὧδε διαθεῖναι· οὐδέ τις ἀλλοτρίων ὦ βασιλεῦ τάδε ἔργασται, ἀλλ’ αὐτὸς ἐγὼ ἐμεωυτὸν, δεινὸν τι ποιεύμενος Ἀσσυρίους Πέρσησι καταγελᾶν.” ὃ δ’ ἀμείβετο “ὦ σχετλιώτατε ἀνδρῶν, ἔργῳ τῷ αἰσχίστῳ οὖνομα τὸ κάλλιστον ἔθευ, φᾶς διὰ τοὺς πολιορκεομένους σεωυτὸν ἀνηκέστως διαθεῖναι. τί δ’, ὦ μάταιε, λελωβημένου σεῦ θᾶσσον οἱ πολέμιοι παραστήσονται; κῶς οὐκ ἐξέπλωσας τῶν φρενῶν σεωυτὸν διαφθείρας;” ὃ δὲ εἶπε “Εἰ μὲν τοι ὑπερετίθεα τὰ ἔμελλον ποιήσῃν, οὐκ ἂν με περιείδες· νῦν δ’ ἐπ’ ἐμεωυτοῦ βαλόμενος ἔπρηξα. ἤδη ὦν ἦν μὴ τῶν σῶν δεῖσῃ, αἰρέομεν Βαβυλῶνα. ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ ὥς ἔχω αὐτομολήσω ἐς τὸ τεῖχος καὶ φήσω πρὸς αὐτοὺς ὥς ὑπὸ σεῦ τάδε ἔπαθον· καὶ δοκέω, πείσας σφέας ταῦτα ἔχειν οὕτω, τεύξεσθαι στρατιῆς. σὺ δέ, ἀπ’ ἧς ἂν ἡμέρης ἐγὼ ἐσέλθω ἐς τὸ τεῖχος, ἀπὸ ταύτης ἐς δεκάτην ἡμέρην τῆς σεωυτοῦ στρατιῆς, τῆς οὐδεμία ἔσται ὥρῃ ἀπολλυμένης, ταύτης χιλίους τάξον κατὰ τὰς Σεμιράμιος καλεομένας πύλας· μετὰ δὲ αὗτις ἀπὸ τῆς δεκάτης ἐς ἐβδόμην ἄλλους μοι τάξον δισχιλίους κατὰ τὰς Νινίων καλεομένας πύλας· ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς ἐβδόμης διαλείπειν εἴκοσι ἡμέρας, καὶ ἔπειτα ἄλλους κάτισον ἀγαγὼν κατὰ τὰς Χαλδαίων καλεομένας πύλας, τετρακισχιλίους. ἐχόντων δὲ μήτε οἱ πρότεροι μηδὲν τῶν ἀμυννέντων μήτε



155. The king was greatly moved at the sight of so notable a man thus mishandled. Leaping up with a cry from where he sat he asked Zopyrus who had done him this outrage and why. "There is no man," answered Zopyrus, "save yourself, who could bring me to this plight; this, O King! is the work of none other but myself; for I could not bear that Persians should be mocked by Assyrians." Darius answered, "Hardhearted man; if you say that it is to win the city that you have maltreated yourself past cure, you do but give a fair name to a foul deed. Foolish man! think you that our enemies will yield the sooner for this violence done to you? Nay, you were clean out of your wits to destroy yourself thus." "Had I told you," said Zopyrus, "what I was minded to do, you would have forbidden it; as it is, I have considered with myself alone and done it. Now, then, matters so stand that if you but play your part Babylon is ours. I will in my present plight desert into the city, pretending to them that you have done this violence upon me; and I think that I shall persuade them that this is so, and thus gain the command of an army. Now, for your part, on the tenth day from my entering the city do you take a thousand men from that part of your army whereof you will least rue the loss, and post them before the gate called the gate of Semiramis; on the seventh day after that, post me again two thousand before the gate called the gate of the Ninevites; and when twenty days are past after that seventh, yet four thousand again before the Chaldean gate, as they call it; suffering neither these, nor the others that have come before them, to carry any weapons of war



οὔτοι, πλὴν ἐγχειριδίων· τοῦτο δὲ ἔαν ἔχειν. μετὰ δὲ τὴν εἰκοστὴν ἡμέρην ἰθέως τὴν μὲν ἄλλην στρατιὴν κελεύειν πέριξ προσβάλλειν πρὸς τὸ τεῖχος, Πέρσας δέ μοι τάξον κατὰ τε τὰς Βηλίδας καλεομένας καὶ Κισσίας πύλας. ὥς γὰρ ἐγὼ δοκέω, ἐμέο μεγάλα ἔργα ἀποδεξαμένου, τά τε ἄλλα ἐπιτρέψονται ἐμοὶ Βαβυλώνιοι καὶ δὴ καὶ τῶν πυλέων τὰς βαλανάγρας· τὸ δὲ ἐνθεῦτεν ἐμοὶ τε καὶ Πέρσῃσι μελήσει τὰ δεῖ ποιεῖν.”

156. Ταῦτα ἐντειλάμενος ἦμε ἐπὶ τὰς πύλας, ἐπιστρεφόμενος ὥς δὴ ἀληθέως αὐτόμολος. ὄρωντες δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν πύργων οἱ κατὰ τοῦτο τεταγμένοι κατέτρεχον κάτω καὶ ὀλίγον τι παρακλίναντες τὴν ἐτέρην πύλην εἰρώτων τίς τε εἴη καὶ ὅτεν δεόμενος ἦκοι. ὃ δὲ σφι ἠγόρευε ὥς εἴη τε Ζώπυρος καὶ αὐτομολέοι ἐς ἐκείνους. ἦγον δὴ μιν οἱ πυλουργοί, ταῦτα ὥς ἠκούσαν, ἐπὶ τὰ κοινὰ τῶν Βαβυλωνίων· καταστὰς δὲ ἐπ’ αὐτὰ κατοικτίζετο, φὰς ὑπὸ Δαρείου πεπονθέναι τὰ ἐπεπόνθεε ὑπ’ ἐωυτοῦ, παθεῖν δὲ ταῦτα διότι συμβουλευσαι οἱ ἀπανιστάναι τὴν στρατιήν, ἐπεῖτε δὴ οὐδεὶς πόρος ἐφαίνετο τῆς ἀλώσιος. “Νῦν τε” ἔφη λέγων “ἐγὼ ὑμῖν ὦ Βαβυλώνιοι ἠκω μέγιστον ἀγαθόν, Δαρεῖω δὲ καὶ τῇ στρατιῇ καὶ Πέρσῃσι μέγιστον κακόν· οὐ γὰρ δὴ ἐμέ γε ὧδε λωβησάμενος καταπροΐξεται· ἐπίσταμαι δ’ αὐτοῦ πάσας τὰς διεξόδους τῶν βουλευμάτων.” τοιαῦτα ἔλεγε.

157. Οἱ δὲ Βαβυλώνιοι ὀρώντες ἄνδρα τὸν ἐν Πέρσῃσι δοκιμώτατον ῥινός τε καὶ ὥτων ἐστερημένον, μάστιξί τε καὶ αἵματι ἀναπεφυρμένον, πάγχυ ἐλπίσαντες λέγειν μιν ἀληθέα καὶ σφι ἦκειν σύμμαχον, ἐπιτράπεσθαι ἔτοιμοι ἦσαν τῶν

save daggers; leave them these. But immediately after the twentieth day bid the rest of your army to assault the whole circuit of the walls, and post the Persians before the gate of Belus and the gate called Cissian. For I think that I shall have achieved such exploits that the Babylonians will give into my charge the keys of their gates, and all else besides; and it will thenceforward be my business and the Persians' to do what is needful."

156. With this charge, he went towards the city gate, turning and looking back as though he were in truth a deserter. When the watchers posted on the towers saw him, they ran down, and opening half the gate a little asked him who he was and for what purpose he was come; he told them that he was Zopyrus, come to them as a deserter. Hearing this the gate-wardens brought him before the general assembly of the Babylonians, where he bade them see his lamentable plight, saying of his own work that it was Darius' doing, because that he had advised the king to lead his army away, seeing that they could find no way to take the city. "Now," said he in his speech to them, "I am come greatly to aid you, men of Babylon, and greatly to harm Darius and his army and the Persians; not unpunished shall he go for the outrage he has wrought upon me; and I know all the plan and order of his counsels." Thus he spoke.

157. When the Babylonians saw the most honoured man in Persia with his nose and ears cut off and all bedabbled with blood from the scourging, they were fully persuaded that he spoke truth and was come to be their ally, and were ready to grant him all that he asked, which was, that he

ἐδέετο σφέων· ἐδέετο δὲ στρατιῆς. ὃ δὲ ἐπεῖτε αὐτῶν τοῦτο παρέλαβε, ἐποίεε τὰ περ τῷ Δαρείῳ συνεθήκατο· ἐξαγαγὼν γὰρ τῇ δεκάτῃ ἡμέρῃ τὴν στρατιὴν τῶν Βαβυλωνίων καὶ κυκλωσάμενος τοὺς χιλίους, τοὺς πρώτους ἐνετείλατο Δαρείῳ τάξαι, τούτους κατεφόνευσε. μαθόντες δέ μιν οἱ Βαβυλώνιοι τοῖσι ἔπεσι τὰ ἔργα παρεχόμενον ὅμοια, πάγχυ περιχαρές εἶντες πᾶν δὴ ἔτοιμοι ἦσαν ὑπηρετέειν. ὃ δὲ διαλιπὼν ἡμέρας τὰς συγκειμένας, αὐτὶς ἐπιλεξιόμενος τῶν Βαβυλωνίων ἐξήγαγε καὶ κατεφόνευσε τῶν Δαρείου στρατιωτέων τοὺς δισχιλίους. ἰδόντες δὲ καὶ τοῦτο τὸ ἔργον οἱ Βαβυλώνιοι πάντες Ζώπυρον εἶχον ἐν στόμασι αἰνέοντες. ὃ δὲ αὐτὶς διαλιπὼν τὰς συγκειμένας ἡμέρας ἐξήγαγε ἐς τὸ προειρημένον, καὶ κυκλωσάμενος κατεφόνευσε τοὺς τετρακισχιλίους. ὥς δὲ καὶ τοῦτο κατέργαστο, πάντα δὴ ἦν ἐν τοῖσι Βαβυλωνίοισι Ζώπυρος, καὶ στρατάρχης τε οὗτός σφι καὶ τειχοφύλαξ ἀπεδέδεκτο.

158. Προσβολὴν δὲ Δαρείου κατὰ τὰ συγκείμενα ποιευμένου πέριξ τὸ τεῖχος, ἐνθαῦτα δὴ πάντα τὸν δόλον ὁ Ζώπυρος ἐξέφαινε. οἱ μὲν γὰρ Βαβυλώνιοι ἀναβάντες ἐπὶ τὸ τεῖχος ἡμύνοντο τὴν Δαρείου στρατιὴν προσβάλλουσαν, ὁ δὲ Ζώπυρος τὰς τε Κισσίας καὶ Βηλίδας καλεομένας πύλας ἀναπετάσας ἐσήκε τοὺς Πέρσας ἐς τὸ τεῖχος. τῶν δὲ Βαβυλωνίων οἱ μὲν εἶδον τὸ ποιηθέν, οὗτοι μὲν ἔφευγον ἐς τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Βήλου τὸ ἱρόν· οἱ δὲ οὐκ εἶδον, ἔμενον ἐν τῇ ἐωυτοῦ τάξῃ ἕκαστος, ἐς ὃ δὴ καὶ οὗτοι ἔμαθον προδοδόμενοι.

159. Βαβυλὼν μὲν νυν οὕτω τὸ δεύτερον αἰρέθη. Δαρείος δὲ ἐπεῖτε ἐκράτησε τῶν Βαβυλωνίων,

might have an army ; and having received this from them he did according to his agreement with Darius. On the tenth day he led out the Babylonian army, and surrounded and put to the sword the thousand whom he had charged Darius to set first in the field. Seeing that his deeds answered his words, the Babylonians were overjoyed and ready to serve him in every way. When the agreed number of days was past, he led out again a chosen body of Babylonians, and slew the two thousand men of Darius' army. When the Babylonians saw this second feat of arms, the praise of Zopyrus was in every man's mouth. The agreed number of days being again past, he led out his men to the place he had named, where he surrounded the four thousand and put them to the sword. After this his third exploit, Zopyrus was the one man for Babylon : he was made the captain of their armies and the warden of their walls.

158. So when Darius assaulted the whole circuit of the wall, according to the agreed plan, then Zopyrus' treason was fully revealed. For while the townsmen were on the wall defending it against Darius' assault, he opened the gates called Cissian and Belian, and let in the Persians within the walls. Those Babylonians who saw what he did fled to the temple of that Zeus whom they call Belus ; those who had not seen it abode each in his place, till they too perceived how they had been betrayed.

159. Thus was Babylon the second time taken. Having mastered the Babylonians, Darius destroyed

τούτο μὲν σφέων τὸ τεῖχος περιεῖλε καὶ τὰς πύλας πάσας ἀπέσπασε· τὸ γὰρ πρότερον ἐλὼν Κῦρος τὴν Βαβυλῶνα ἐποίησε τούτων οὐδέτερον· τούτο δὲ ὁ Δαρεῖος τῶν ἀνδρῶν τοὺς κορυφαίους μάλιστα ἐς τρισχιλίους ἀνεσκολόπισε, τοῖσι δὲ λοιποῖσι Βαβυλωνίοισι ἀπέδωκε τὴν πόλιν οἰκέειν. ὥς δ' ἔξουσι γυναῖκας οἱ Βαβυλώνιοι ἵνα σφι γενεὴ ὑπογίνηται, τάδε Δαρεῖος προῖδὼν ἐποίησε· τὰς γὰρ ἐωυτῶν, ὥς καὶ κατ' ἀρχὰς δεδήλωται, ἀπέπνιξαν οἱ Βαβυλώνιοι τοῦ σίτου προορέοντες· ἐπέταξε τοῖσι περιοίκοισι ἔθνεσι γυναῖκας ἐς Βαβυλῶνα κατιστάναι, ὅσας δὴ ἐκάστοισι ἐπιτάσσω, ὥστε πέντε μυριάδων τὸ κεφαλαίωμα τῶν γυναικῶν συνῆλθε· ἐκ τουτέων δὲ τῶν γυναικῶν οἱ νῦν Βαβυλώνιοι γεγόνασι.

160. Ζωπύρου δὲ οὐδεὶς ἀγαθοεργίην Περσέων ὑπερεβάλετο παρὰ Δαρείῳ κριτῇ οὔτε τῶν ὕστερον γενομένων οὔτε τῶν πρότερον, ὅτι μὴ Κῦρος μῦνος· τούτῳ γὰρ οὐδεὶς Περσέων ἠξίωσε κω ἐωυτὸν συμβαλεῖν. πολλάκις δὲ Δαρεῖον λέγεται γνώμην τήνδε ἀποδέξασθαι, ὥς βούλοιτο ἂν Ζώπυρον εἶναι ἀπαθέα τῆς ἀεικείης μᾶλλον ἢ Βαβυλωνάς οἱ εἴκοσι πρὸς τῇ εἰρήσῃ προσγενέσθαι. ἐτίμησε δέ μιν μέγਾਲως· καὶ γὰρ δῶρά οἱ ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος ἐδίδου ταῦτα τὰ Πέρσῃσι ἐστὶ τιμιώτατα, καὶ τὴν Βαβυλωνά οἱ ἔδωκε ἀτελέα νέμεσθαι μέχρι τῆς ἐκείνου ζῆς, καὶ ἄλλα πολλὰ ἐπέδωκε. Ζωπύρου δὲ τούτου γίνεται Μεγάβυζος, ὃς ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ ἀντία Ἀθηναίων καὶ τῶν συμμάχων ἐστρατήγησε· Μεγαβύζου δὲ τούτου γίνεται Ζώπυρος, ὃς ἐς Ἀθήνας ἡυτομόλησε ἐκ Περσέων.

their walls and reft away all their gates, neither of which things **Cyrus had done at the first taking of Babylon**; moreover he impaled about **three thousand men that were chief among them**; as for the rest, he gave them back their city to dwell in. Further, as the Babylonians, fearing for their food, had strangled their own women, Darius provided that they should have wives to bear them children, by appointing that each of the neighbouring nations should send a certain tale of women to Babylon; the whole sum of the women thus collected was fifty thousand: these were the mothers of those who now inhabit the city.

160. There never was in Darius' judgment any Persian before or since who did better service than Zopyrus, save only Cyrus, with whom no Persian could compare himself. Many times Darius is said to have declared that he would rather have Zopyrus whole and not foully mishandled than twenty more Babylons. Very greatly the king honoured him; every year he sent Zopyrus such gifts as the Persians hold most precious, and suffered him to govern Babylon for all his life with no tribute to pay, giving him many other things besides. This Zopyrus was father of Megabyzus, who was general of an army in Egypt against the Athenians and their allies; and Megabyzus' son was that Zopyrus who deserted from the Persians to Athens.





## BOOK IV

## Δ

1. Μετὰ δὲ τὴν Βαβυλῶνος αἵρεσιν ἐγένετο ἐπὶ Σκύθας αὐτοῦ Δαρείου ἔλασις. ἀνθεύσης γὰρ τῆς Ἀσίης ἀνδράσι καὶ χρημάτων μεγάλων συνιόντων, ἐπεθύμησε ὁ Δαρεῖος τίσασθαι Σκύθας, ὅτι ἐκεῖνοι πρότεροι ἐσβαλόντες ἐς τὴν Μηδικὴν καὶ νικήσαντες μάχῃ τοὺς ἀντιουμένους ὑπῆρξαν ἀδικίης. τῆς γὰρ ἄνω Ἀσίης ἦρξαν, ὥς καὶ πρότερόν μοι εἴρηται, Σκύθαι ἔτεα δυὼν δέοντα τριήκοντα. Κιμμερίους γὰρ ἐπιδιώκοντες ἐσέβαλον ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην, καταπαύσαντες τῆς ἀρχῆς Μήδους· οὗτοι γὰρ πρὶν ἢ Σκύθας ἀπικέσθαι ἦρχον τῆς Ἀσίης. τοὺς δὲ Σκύθας ἀποδημήσαντας ὀκτὼ καὶ εἴκοσι ἔτεα καὶ διὰ χρόνου τοσούτου κατιόντας ἐς τὴν σφετέρην ἐξεδέξατο οὐκ ἐλάσσων πόνος τοῦ Μηδικοῦ· εὖρον γὰρ ἀντιουμένην σφίσι στρατιὴν οὐκ ὀλίγην. αἱ γὰρ τῶν Σκυθῶν γυναῖκες, ὥς σφι οἱ ἄνδρες ἀπῆσαν χρόνον πολλόν, ἐφοίτεον παρὰ τοὺς δούλους.

2. Τοὺς δὲ δούλους οἱ Σκύθαι πάντας τυφλοῦσι τοῦ γάλακτος εἵνεκεν τοῦ πίνουσι ποιεῦντες ὧδε.

## BOOK IV

1. AFTER the taking of Babylon, Darius himself marched against the Scythians. For seeing that Asia abounded in men and that he gathered from it a great revenue, he became desirous of punishing the Scythians for the unprovoked wrong they had done him when they invaded Asia and defeated those who encountered them. For the Scythians, as I have before shown, ruled the upper country of Asia<sup>1</sup> for twenty-eight years; they invaded Asia in their pursuit of the Cimmerians, and made an end of the power of the Medes, who were the rulers of Asia before the coming of the Scythians. But when the Scythians had been away from their homes for eight and twenty years and returned to their country after so long a time, there awaited them another task as hard as their Median war. They found themselves encountered by a great host; for their husbands being now long away, the Scythian women consorted with their slaves.

2. Now the Scythians blind all their slaves, by reason of the milk<sup>2</sup> whereof they drink; and this is

<sup>1</sup> That is, the eastern highlands of the Persian empire.

<sup>2</sup> Herodotus means that the slaves are blinded to prevent them stealing the best of the milk. Probably the story of blind slaves arises from some Scythian name for slaves, misunderstood by the Greeks.

ἐπεὰν φυσητῆρας λάβωσι ὀστέϊνους αὐλοῖσι προσεμφερεστάτους, τούτους ἐσθέντες ἐς τῶν θηλέων ἵππων τὰ ἄρθρα φυσῶσι τοῖσι στόμασι, ἄλλοι δὲ ἄλλων φυσώντων ἀμέλγουσι. φασὶ δὲ τοῦδε εἵνεκα τοῦτο ποιέειν· τὰς φλέβας τε πίμπλασθαι φυσωμένας τῆς ἵππου καὶ τὸ οὖθαρ κατίεσθαι. ἐπεὰν δὲ ἀμέλξωσι τὸ γάλα, ἐσχέαντες ἐς ξύλινα ἀγγήια κοῖλα καὶ περιστίζαντες κατὰ τὰ ἀγγήια τοὺς τυφλοὺς δονέουσι τὸ γάλα, καὶ τὸ μὲν αὐτοῦ ἐπιστάμενον ἀπαρύσαντες ἡγεῦνται εἶναι τιμιώτερον, τὸ δ' ὑπιστάμενον ἥσσουν τοῦ ἐτέρου. τούτων μὲν εἵνεκα ἅπαντα τὸν ἂν λάβωσι οἱ Σκύθαι ἐκτυφλοῦσι· οὐ γὰρ ἀρόται εἰσὶ ἀλλὰ νομάδες.

3. Ἐκ τούτων δὴ ὦν σφι τῶν δούλων καὶ τῶν γυναικῶν ἐτράφη νεότης· οἱ ἐπεῖτε ἔμαθον τὴν σφετέρην γένεσιν, ἠντιοῦντο αὐτοῖσι κατιοῦσι ἐκ τῶν Μήδων. καὶ πρῶτα μὲν τὴν χώραν ἀπετάμοντο, τάφρον ὀρυζάμενοι εὐρέαν κατατείνουσιν ἐκ τῶν Ταυρικῶν ὀρέων ἐς τὴν Μαιῆτιν λίμνην, τῇ περ ἐστὶ μεγίστη· μετὰ δὲ πειρωμένοισι ἐσβάλλειν τοῖσι Σκύθησι ἀντικατιζόμενοι ἐμάχοντο. γινομένης δὲ μάχης πολλάκις καὶ οὐ δυναμένων οὐδὲν πλεόν ἔχειν τῶν Σκυθῶν τῇ μάχῃ, εἰς αὐτῶν ἔλεξε τάδε. “Οἶα ποιεῦμεν, ἄνδρες Σκύθαι· δούλοισι τοῖσι ἡμετέροισι μαχόμενοι αὐτοὶ τε κτεινόμενοι ἐλάσσονες γινόμεθα καὶ ἐκείνους κτείνοντες ἐλασσόνων τὸ λοιπὸν ἄρξομεν. νῦν ὦν

## BOOK IV. 2-3

the way of their getting it: taking pipes of bone very like flutes, they thrust these into the secret parts of the mares and blow into them, some blowing and others milking. By what they say, their reason for so doing is that the blowing makes the mare's veins to swell and her udder to be let down. When milking is done, they pour the milk into deep wooden buckets, and make their slaves to stand about the buckets and shake the milk; the surface part of it they draw off, and this they most value; what lies at the bottom is less esteemed. It is for this cause that the Scythians blind all prisoners whom they take; for they are not tillers of the soil, but wandering graziers.

3. So it came about that a younger race grew up, born of these slaves and the women; and when the youths learnt of their lineage, they came out to do battle with the Scythians in their return from Media. First they barred the way to their country by digging a wide trench from the Tauric mountains to the broadest part of the Maeetian lake<sup>1</sup>; and presently when the Scythians tried to force a passage they encamped over against them and met them in battle. Many fights there were, and the Scythians could gain no advantage thereby; at last one of them said, "Men of Scythia, see what we are about! We are fighting our own slaves; they slay us, and we grow fewer; we slay them, and thereafter shall have fewer slaves. Now therefore

<sup>1</sup> The Sea of Azov. It is not clear where the *τάππος* was. Some think that Herodotus may have had in his mind the so-called "Putrid Sea," the narrow stretch of water between the Arabat isthmus and the Crimea. This at least corresponds with the "point of greatest breadth" of the Sea of Azov.



μοι δοκέει αἰχμὰς μὲν καὶ τόξα μετεῖναι, λαβόντα δὲ ἕκαστον τοῦ ἵππου τὴν μάστιγα ἰέναι ἄσσουν αὐτῶν. μέχρι μὲν γὰρ ὥρων ἡμέας ὅπλα ἔχοντας, οἱ δὲ ἐνόμιζον ὅμοιοί τε καὶ ἐξ ὁμοίων ἡμῖν εἶναι· ἐπεὰν δὲ ἴδωνται μάστιγας ἀντὶ ὅπλων ἔχοντας, μαθόντες ὥς εἰσὶ ἡμέτεροι δοῦλοι καὶ συγγνώντες τοῦτο, οὐκ ὑπομενέουσι.”

4. Ταῦτα ἀκούσαντες οἱ Σκύθαι ἐποίευν ἐπιτελέα· οἱ δὲ ἐκπλαγέντες τῷ γινομένῳ τῆς μάχης τε ἐπελάθοντο καὶ ἔφευγον. οὕτω οἱ Σκύθαι τῆς τε Ἀσίνης ἦρξαν καὶ ἐξελασθέντες αὐτὶς ὑπὸ Μήδων κατήλθον τρόπῳ τοιούτῳ ἐς τὴν σφετέρην. τῶνδε εἵνεκα ὁ Δαρεῖος τίσασθαι βουλόμενος συνήγειρε ἐπ’ αὐτοὺς στράτευμα.

5. Ὡς δὲ Σκύθαι λέγουσι, νεώτατον πάντων ἐθνέων εἶναι τὸ σφέτερον, τοῦτο δὲ γενέσθαι ὧδε. ἄνδρα γενέσθαι πρῶτον ἐν τῇ γῇ ταύτῃ εὐύση ἐρήμῳ τῷ οὔνομα εἶναι Ταργιτάον· τοῦ δὲ Ταργιτάου τούτου τοὺς τοκέας λέγουσι εἶναι, ἐμοὶ μὲν οὐ πιστὰ λέγοντες, λέγουσι δ’ ὦν, Δία τε καὶ Βορυσθένης τοῦ ποταμοῦ θυγατέρα. γένεος μὲν τοιούτου δὴ τινος γενέσθαι τὸν Ταργιτάον, τούτου δὲ γενέσθαι παῖδας τρεῖς, Λιπόξαϊν καὶ Ἀρπόξαϊν καὶ νεώτατον Κολάξαϊν. ἐπὶ τούτων ἀρχόντων ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ φερόμενα χρύσεια ποιήματα, ἄροτρόν τε καὶ ζυγὸν καὶ σάγαριν καὶ φιάλην, πεσεῖν ἐς τὴν Σκυθικὴν· καὶ τῶν ἰδόντα πρῶτον τὸν πρεσβύτατον ἄσσουν ἰέναι βουλόμενον αὐτὰ λαβεῖν, τὸν δὲ χρυσὸν ἐπιόντος καίεσθαι· ἀπαλλαχθέντος δὲ τούτου προσιέναι τὸν δεύτερον, καὶ τὸν αὐτὶς ταῦτα ποιεῖν. τοὺς μὲν δὴ καίόμενον τὸν χρυσὸν ἀπώσασθαι, τρίτῳ δὲ τῷ νεω-

my counsel is that we drop our spears and bows, and go to meet them each with his horsewhip in hand. As long as they saw us armed, they thought themselves to be our peers and the sons of our peers; let them see us with whips and no weapons of war, and they will perceive that they are our slaves; and taking this to heart they will not abide our attack."

4. This the Scythians heard, and acted thereon; and their enemies, amazed by what they saw, had no more thought of fighting, but fled. Thus the Scythians ruled Asia and were driven out again by the Medes, and by such means they won their return to their own land. Desiring to punish them for what they did, Darius mustered an army against them.

5. The Scythians say that their nation is the youngest in all the world, and that it came into being on this wise. There appeared in this country, being then desert, a man whose name was Targitaus. His parents, they say—for my part I do not believe the tale, but it is told—were Zeus and a daughter of the river Borysthenes.<sup>1</sup> Such (it is said) was Targitaus' lineage; and he had three sons, Lipoxaïs, Arpoxaïs, and Colaxaïs, youngest of the three. In the time of their rule (so the story goes) there fell down from the sky into Scythia certain implements, all of gold, namely, a plough, a yoke, a sword, and a flask. The eldest of them, seeing this, came near with intent to take them; but the gold began to burn as he came, and he ceased from his essay; then the second approached, and the gold did again as before; when these two had been driven away by the burning of the gold, last came the youngest brother,

<sup>1</sup> The Dnieper.

## HERODOTUS

τάτῳ ἐπελθόντι κατασβῆναι, καὶ μιν ἐκεῖνον κομίσαι ἐς ἑωυτοῦ· καὶ τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους ἀδελφεοὺς πρὸς ταῦτα συγγιγνόντας τὴν βασιληίην πᾶσαν παραδοῦναι τῷ νεωτάτῳ.

6. Ἀπὸ μὲν δὴ Λιποξάιος γεγονέναι τούτους τῶν Σκυθέων οἱ Αὐχάται γένος καλέονται, ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ μέσου Ἀρποξάιος οἱ Κατίαροί τε καὶ Τράσπιδες καλέονται, ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ νεωτάτου αὐτῶν τοῦ βασιλέος οἱ καλέονται Παραλάται· σύμπασιν δὲ εἶναι οὖνομα Σκολότους, τοῦ βασιλέος ἐπωνυμίην. Σκύθας δὲ Ἑλληνας ὠνόμασαν.

7. Γεγονέναι μὲν νυν σφέας ὧδε λέγουσι οἱ Σκύθαι, ἕτα δὲ σφίσι ἐπεῖτε γεγόνασι τὰ σύμπαντα λέγουσι εἶναι ἀπὸ τοῦ πρώτου βασιλέος Ταργιτάου ἐς τὴν Δαρείου διάβασιν τὴν ἐπὶ σφέας χιλίων οὐ πλέω ἀλλὰ τοσαῦτα. τὸν δὲ χρυσὸν τοῦτον τὸν ἱρὸν φυλάσσουσι οἱ βασιλεῖς ἐς τὰ μάλιστα, καὶ θυσίῃσι μεγάλῃσι ἱλασκομενοι μετέρχονται ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος. ὃς δ' ἂν ἔχων τὸν χρυσὸν τὸν ἱρὸν ἐν τῇ ὀρτῇ ὑπαίθριος κατακοιμηθῇ, οὗτος λέγεται ὑπὸ Σκυθέων οὐ διενιαυτίζειν· δίδοσθαι δὲ οἱ διὰ τοῦτο ὅσα ἂν ἵππῳ ἐν ἡμέρῃ μιῇ περιελάσῃ αὐτός. τῆς δὲ χώρας εὐούσης μεγάλης τριφασίας τὰς βασιληίας τοῖσι παισὶ τοῖσι ἑωυτοῦ καταστήσασθαι Κολάξαϊν, καὶ τουτέων μίαν ποιῆσαι μεγίστην, ἐν τῇ τὸν χρυσὸν φυλάσσεσθαι. τὰ δὲ κατύπερθε πρὸς βορέην λέγουσι ἄνεμον τῶν ὑπεροίκων τῆς χώρας οὐκ οἶά τε εἶναι ἔτι προσωτέρῳ οὔτε ὀρᾶν οὔτε διεξιέναι ὑπὸ πτερῶν κεχυμένων· πτερῶν γὰρ καὶ τὴν γῆν καὶ τὸν ἥερα εἶναι πλέον, καὶ ταῦτα εἶναι τὰ ἀποκληίοντα τὴν ὄψιν.

## BOOK IV. 5-7

and the burning was quenched at his approach; so he took the gold to his own house. At this his elder brothers saw how matters stood, and made over the whole royal power to the youngest.

6. Lipoxaïs, it is said, was the father of the Scythian clan called Auchatae; Arpoxaïs, the second brother, of those called Katiari and Traspies; the youngest, who was king, of those called Paralatae. All these together bear the name of Skoloti, after their king; "Scythians" is a name given them by Greeks.

7. Such then is the Scythians' account of their origin; they reckon that neither more nor less than a thousand years in all passed between their first King Targitaüs and the crossing over of Darius into their country. The kings guard this sacred gold most jealously, and every year offer to it solemn sacrifices of propitiation. Whoever at this festival sleeps in the open air, having with him the gold, is said by the Scythians not to live out the year; for which reason<sup>1</sup> (they say) there is given him as much land as he can himself ride round in one day. Because of the great size of the country, the lordships established by Colaxaïs for his sons were three, one of which, where they keep the gold, was the greatest. Above and northward of the neighbours of their country none (they say) can see or travel further, by reason of showers of feathers<sup>2</sup>; for earth and sky are overspread by these, and it is this which hinders sight.

<sup>1</sup> The "reason" is obscure; perhaps the gift of land is a compensation for his shortness of life.

<sup>2</sup> See ch. 31 for Herodotus' explanation.

8. Σκύθαι μὲν ὧδε ὑπὲρ σφέων τε αὐτῶν καὶ τῆς χώρας τῆς κατύπερθε λέγουσι, Ἑλλήνων δὲ οἱ τὸν Πόντον οἰκέοντες ὧδε. Ἡρακλέα ἐλαύνοντα τὰς Γηρυόνεω βούς ἀπικέσθαι ἐς γῆν ταύτην ἐοῦσαν ἐρήμην, ἦντινα νῦν Σκύθαι νέμονται. Γηρυόνεα δὲ οἰκέειν ἔξω τοῦ Πόντου, κατοικημένον τὴν Ἑλληνες λέγουσι Ἐρύθειαν νῆσον τὴν πρὸς Γαδείροισι τοῖσι ἔξω Ἡρακλέων στηλέων ἐπὶ τῷ Ὠκεανῷ. τὸν δὲ Ὠκεανὸν λόγῳ μὲν λέγουσι ἀπὸ ἡλίου ἀνατολέων ἀρξάμενον γῆν περὶ πᾶσαν ῥέειν, ἔργῳ δὲ οὐκ ἀποδεικνύσι. ἐνθεῦτεν τὸν Ἡρακλέα ἀπικέσθαι ἐς τὴν νῦν Σκυθίην χώραν καλεομένην, καὶ καταλαβεῖν γὰρ αὐτὸν χειμῶνά τε καὶ κρυμόν, ἐπειρυσάμενον τὴν λεοντέην κατυπνῶσαι, τὰς δὲ οἱ ἵππους τὰς<sup>1</sup> ὑπὸ τοῦ ἄρματος νεμομένας ἐν τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ ἀφανισθῆναι θείῃ τύχῃ.

9. Ὡς δ' ἐγερθῆναι τὸν Ἡρακλέα, δίξισθαι, πάντα δὲ τῆς χώρας ἐπεξελθόντα τέλος ἀπικέσθαι ἐς τὴν Ὑλαίην καλεομένην γῆν· ἐνθαῦτα δὲ αὐτὸν εὐρεῖν ἐν ἄντρῳ μιξοπάρθενον τινά, ἔχιδναν διφυέα, τῆς τὰ μὲν ἄνω ἀπὸ τῶν γλουτῶν εἶναι γυναικός, τὰ δὲ ἔνερθε ὄφις. ἰδόντα δὲ καὶ θωμάσαντα ἐπειρέσθαι μιν εἴ κου ἴδοι ἵππους πλανωμένας· τὴν δὲ φάναι ἐωυτὴν ἔχειν καὶ οὐκ ἀποδώσειν ἐκείνῳ πρὶν ἢ οἱ μιχθῇ· τὸν δὲ Ἡρακλέα μιχθῆναι ἐπὶ τῷ μισθῷ τούτῳ. κείνην τε δὴ ὑπερβάλλεσθαι τὴν ἀπόδοσιν τῶν ἵππων, βουλομένην ὥς πλεῖστον χρόνον συνεῖναι τῷ Ἡρακλεί, καὶ τὸν κομισάμενον ἐθέλειν ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι· τέλος δὲ ἀποδιδούσαν αὐτὴν εἰπεῖν

<sup>1</sup> [τάς] Stein.



## BOOK IV. 8-9

8. Such is the Scythians' account of themselves and the country north of them. But the story told by the Greeks is as follows. Heracles, driving the kine of Geryones, came to this land, which was then desert, but is now inhabited by the Scythians. Geryones dwelt westward of the Pontus,<sup>1</sup> being settled in the island called by the Greeks Erythea, on the shore of the Ocean near Gadira, outside the pillars of Heracles. As for the Ocean, the Greeks say that it flows from the sun's rising round the whole world, but they cannot prove that this is so. Heracles came thence to the country now called Scythia, where, meeting with wintry and frosty weather, he drew his lion's skin over him and fell asleep, and while he slept his mares, that were grazing yoked to the chariot, were marvellously spirited away.

9. When Heracles awoke he searched for them, visiting every part of the country, till at last he came to the land called the Woodland, and there he found in a cave a creature of double form that was half damsel and half serpent; above the buttocks she was a woman, below them a snake. When he saw her he was astonished, and asked her if she had anywhere seen his mares straying; she said that she had them, and would not restore them to him before he had intercourse with her; which Heracles did, in hope of this reward. But though he was fain to take the horses and depart, she delayed to restore them, that she might have Heracles with her for as long as might be; at last she gave them back, saying

<sup>1</sup> Very far west, Gadira being identified with Cadiz.



“Ἴππους μὲν δὴ ταύτας ἀπικομίνας ἐνθάδε ἔσωσά τοι ἐγώ, σῶστρά τε σὺ παρέσχε· ἐγὼ γὰρ ἐκ σεῦ τρεῖς παῖδας ἔχω. τούτους, ἐπεὰν γένωνται τρόφιες, ὅ τι χρή ποιεῖν, ἐξηγέο σύ, εἴτε αὐτοῦ κατοικίζω (χώρης γὰρ τῆσδε ἔχω τὸ κράτος αὐτή) εἴτε ἀποπέμπω παρὰ σέ.” τὴν μὲν δὴ ταῦτα ἐπειρωτᾶν, τὸν δὲ λέγουσι πρὸς ταῦτα εἰπεῖν “Ἐπεὰν ἀνδρωθέντας ἴδῃ τοὺς παῖδας, τάδε ποιεύσα οὐκ ἂν ἀμαρτάνοις· τὸν μὲν ἂν ὀράς αὐτῶν τόδε τὸ τόξον ὧδε διατεινόμενον καὶ τῷ ζωστήρι τῷδε κατὰ τάδε ζωννύμενον, τοῦτον μὲν τῆσδε τῆς χώρης οἰκήτορα ποιεῖν· ὃς δ’ ἂν τούτων τῶν ἔργων τῶν ἐντέλλομαι λείπηται, ἔκπεμπε ἐκ τῆς χώρης. καὶ ταῦτα ποιεύσα αὐτή τε εὐφρανέαι καὶ τὰ ἐντεταλμένα ποιήσεις.”

10. Τὸν μὲν δὴ εἰρύσαντα τῶν τόξων τὸ ἕτερον (δύο γὰρ δὴ φορέειν τέως Ἡρακλέα) καὶ τὸν ζωστήρα προδέξαντα, παραδοῦναι τὸ τόξον τε καὶ τὸν ζωστήρα ἔχοντα ἐπ’ ἄκρης τῆς συμβολῆς φιάλην χρυσέην, δόντα δὲ ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι. τὴν δ’, ἐπεὶ οἱ γενομένους τοὺς παῖδας ἀνδρωθῆναι, τοῦτο μὲν σφι οὐνόματα θέσθαι, τῷ μὲν Ἀγάθυρσον αὐτῶν, τῷ δ’ ἐπομένῳ Γελωνόν, Σκύθην δὲ τῷ νεωτάτῳ, τοῦτο δὲ τῆς ἐπιστολῆς μεμνημένην αὐτὴν ποιῆσαι τὰ ἐντεταλμένα. καὶ δὴ δύο μὲν οἱ τῶν παίδων, τὸν τε Ἀγάθυρσον καὶ τὸν Γελωνόν, οὐκ οἷους τε γενομένους ἐξικέσθαι πρὸς τὸν προκείμενον ἀεθλον, οἷχεσθαι ἐκ τῆς χώρης ἐκβληθέντας ὑπὸ τῆς γυναμένης, τὸν δὲ νεώτατον αὐτῶν Σκύθην ἐπιτελέσαντα καταμεῖναι ἐν τῇ χώρῃ. καὶ ἀπὸ μὲν Σκύθew τοῦ Ἡρακλέος γενέσθαι τοὺς αἰεὶ βασιλέας γινομένους Σκυθέων,

to him, "These mares came, and I kept them safe here for you, and you have paid me for keeping them, for I have three sons by you. Do you now tell me what I must do when they are grown big: shall I make them to dwell here (for I am the queen of this country), or shall I send them away to you?" Thus she inquired, and then (it is said) Heracles answered her: "When you see the boys grown to man's estate, act as I bid you and you will do rightly; whichever of them you see bending this bow thus and girding himself with this girdle, make him a dweller in this land; but whoever fails to achieve these tasks which I lay upon him, send him away out of the country. Thus do and you will yourself have comfort, and my bidding will be done."

10. So he drew one of his bows (for till then Heracles ever bore two), and showed her the girdle, and delivered to her the bow and the girdle, that had a golden vessel on the end of its clasp; and, having given them, so departed. But she, when the sons born to her were grown men, gave them names, calling one of them Agathyrsus and the next Gelonus and the youngest Scythes; moreover, remembering the charge, she did as she was commanded. Two of her sons, Agathyrsus and Gelonus, not being able to achieve the appointed task, were cast out by their mother and left the country, but Scythes, the youngest, accomplished it and so abode in the land. From Scythes son of Heracles comes the whole line of the kings of Scythia; and it is because of the

ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς φιάλης ἔτι καὶ ἐς τόδε φιάλας ἐκ τῶν ζωστήρων φορέειν Σκύθας· τὸ δὲ μῦνον μηχανήσασθαι τὴν μητέρα Σκύθη.<sup>1</sup> ταῦτα δὲ Ἑλλήνων οἱ τὸν Πόντον οἰκέοντες λέγουσι.

11. Ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἄλλος λόγος ἔχων ὥδε, τῷ μάλιστα λεγομένῳ αὐτὸς πρόσκειμαι, Σκύθας τοὺς νομάδας οἰκέοντας ἐν τῇ Ἀσίῃ, πολέμῳ πιεσθέντας ὑπὸ Μασσαγετέων, οἷχασθαι διαβάντας ποταμὸν Ἀράξην ἐπὶ γῆν τὴν Κιμμερίην (τὴν γὰρ νῦν νέμονται Σκύθαι, αὕτη λέγεται τὸ παλαιὸν εἶναι Κιμμερίων), τοὺς δὲ Κιμμερίους ἐπιόντων Σκυθέων βουλευέσθαι ὡς στρατοῦ ἐπιόντος μεγάλου, καὶ δὴ τὰς γνώμας σφέων κεχωρισμένας, ἐντόνους μὲν ἀμφοτέρας, ἀμείνω δὲ τὴν τῶν βασιλέων· τὴν μὲν γὰρ δὴ τοῦ δήμου φέρειν γνώμην ὡς ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι πρήγμα εἴη μηδὲ πρὸ σποδοῦ μένοντας κινδυνεύειν, τὴν δὲ τῶν βασιλέων διαμάχεσθαι περὶ τῆς χώρας τοῖσι ἐπιούσι. οὔκων δὲ ἐθέλειν πείθεσθαι οὔτε τοῖσι βασιλεῦσι τὸν δῆμον οὔτε τῷ δήμῳ τοὺς βασιλέας· τοὺς μὲν δὲ ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι βουλευέσθαι ἀμαχητὶ τὴν χώραν παραδόντας τοῖσι ἐπιούσι· τοῖσι δὲ βασιλεῦσι δόξαι ἐν τῇ ἐωυτῶν κεῖσθαι ἀποθανόντας μηδὲ συμφεύγειν τῷ δήμῳ, λογισαμένους ὅσα τε ἀγαθὰ πεπόνθασι καὶ ὅσα φεύγοντας ἐκ τῆς πατρίδος κακὰ ἐπίδοξα καταλαμβάνειν. ὡς δὲ δόξαι σφι ταῦτα, διαστάντας καὶ ἀριθμὸν ἴσους γενομένους μάχεσθαι πρὸς ἀλλήλους. καὶ

<sup>1</sup> This is not intelligible to me. If τῇ μητέρι Σκύθην could be read, some sense might be obtained: Scythes, and he alone, contrived this (τόδε for τὸ δὲ, "this" being the προκειμένος ἄεθλος) for his mother.

vessel that the Scythians carry vessels on their girdles to this day. This alone his mother contrived for Scythes. Such is the tale told by the Greek dwellers in Pontus.

11. There is yet another tale, to the tradition whereof I myself do especially incline. It is to this purport: The nomad Scythians inhabiting Asia, being hard pressed in war by the Massagetae, fled away across the river Araxes<sup>1</sup> to the Cimmerian country (for the country which the Scythians now inhabit is said to have belonged of old to the Cimmerians), and the Cimmerians, at the advance of the Scythians, took such counsel as behoved men threatened by a great host. Their opinions were divided; both were strongly held, but that of the princes was the more honourable; for the commonalty deemed that their business was to withdraw themselves and that there was no need to risk their lives for the dust of the earth; but the princes were for fighting to defend their country against the attackers. Neither side would be persuaded by the other, neither the people by the princes nor the princes by the people; the one part planned to depart without fighting and deliver the country to their enemies, but the princes were resolved to lie slain in their own country and not to flee with the people, for they considered how happy their state had been and what ills were like to come upon them if they fled from their native land. Being thus resolved they parted asunder into two equal bands and fought with each other till they

<sup>1</sup> Herodotus' idea of the course of this river is uncertain; *cp.* i. 202. He appears to extend the Araxes, which flowed from the west into the Caspian, into regions east of that sea.

τοὺς μὲν ἀποθανόντας πάντας ὑπ' ἐωυτῶν θάψαι τὸν δῆμον τῶν Κιμμερίων παρὰ ποταμὸν Τύρην (καὶ σφεων ἔτι δῆλος ἐστὶ ὁ τάφος), θάψαντας δὲ οὕτω τὴν ἐξοδον ἐκ τῆς χώρας ποιέεσθαι. Σκύθας δὲ ἐπελθόντας λαβεῖν τὴν χώραν ἐρήμην.

12. Καὶ νῦν ἔστι μὲν ἐν τῇ Σκυθικῇ Κιμμέρια τείχεα, ἔστι δὲ πορθμῖα Κιμμέρια, ἔστι δὲ καὶ χώρα οὐνομα Κιμμερίη, ἔστι δὲ Βόσπορος Κιμμέριος καλεόμενος· φαίνονται δὲ οἱ Κιμμέριοι φεύγοντες ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην τοὺς Σκύθας καὶ τὴν χερσόνησον κτίσαντες, ἐν τῇ νῦν Σινώπη πόλις Ἑλλὰς οἰκισται. φανεροὶ δὲ εἰσὶ καὶ οἱ Σκύθαι διώξαντες αὐτοὺς καὶ ἐσβαλόντες ἐς γῆν τὴν Μηδικήν, ἀμαρτόντες τῆς ὁδοῦ· οἱ μὲν γὰρ Κιμμέριοι αἰεὶ τὴν παρὰ θάλασσαν ἔφευγον, οἱ δὲ Σκύθαι ἐν δεξιῇ τὸν Καύκασον ἔχοντες ἐδίωκον ἐς οὐ ἐσέβαλον ἐς γῆν τὴν Μηδικήν, ἐς μεσόγαιαν τῆς ὁδοῦ τραφθέντες. οὗτος δὲ ἄλλος ξυνὸς Ἑλλήνων τε καὶ βαρβάρων λεγόμενος λόγος εἴρηται.

13. Ἐφη δὲ Ἀριστέης ὁ Καῦστροβίου ἀνὴρ Προκοννήσιος ποιέων ἔπεα, ἀπικέσθαι ἐς Ἴσσηδόνας φοιβόλαμπτος γενόμενος, Ἴσσηδόνων δὲ ὑπεροικέειν Ἀριμασποὺς ἄνδρας μounoφθάλμους, ὑπὲρ δὲ τούτων τοὺς χρυσοφύλακας γρύπας, τούτων δὲ τοὺς Ὑπερβορέους κατήκοντας ἐπὶ θάλασσαν. τούτους ὦν πάντας πλὴν Ὑπερβορέων, ἀρξάντων Ἀριμασπῶν, αἰεὶ τοῖσι πλησιοχώροισι ἐπιτίθεσθαι, καὶ ὑπὸ μὲν Ἀριμασπῶν ἐξωθέεσθαι



were all slain by their own hands; then the commonalty of the Cimmerians buried them by the river Tyres, where their tombs are still to be seen, and having buried them departed out of the land; and the country being empty, the Scythians came and took possession of it.

12. And to this day there are in Scythia Cimmerian walls, and a Cimmerian ferry, and there is a country Cimmeria<sup>1</sup> and a strait named Cimmerian. Moreover, it is clearly seen that the Cimmerians in their flight from the Scythians into Asia did also make a colony on the peninsula where now the Greek city of Sinope has been founded; and it is manifest that the Scythians pursued after them and invaded Media, missing their way; for the Cimmerians ever fled by the way of the coast, and the Scythians pursued with the Caucasus on their right till where they came into the Median land, turning inland on their way. I have now related this other tale, which is told alike by Greeks and foreigners.

13. There is also a story related by Aristeeas son of Caÿstrobius, a man of Proconnesus and a poet. This Aristeeas, being then possessed by Phoebus, visited the Issedones; beyond these (he said) dwell the one-eyed Arimaspians, beyond whom are the griffins that guard gold, and beyond these again the Hyperboreans, whose territory reaches to the sea. Except the Hyperboreans, all these nations (and first the Arimaspians) ever make war upon their neighbours; the Issedones were pushed from their lands

<sup>1</sup> The name survives in "Crimea." The "Cimmerian ferry" is probably the narrow entrance of the Sea of Azov.

For some notice of geographical difficulties here and elsewhere in this Book, see the introduction to this volume.



ἐκ τῆς χώρας Ἰσσηδόνιας, ὑπὸ δὲ Ἰσσηδόνων Σκύθας, Κιμμερίους δὲ οἰκέοντας ἐπὶ τῇ νοτίῃ θαλάσῃ ὑπὸ Σκυθέων πιεζομένους ἐκλείπειν τὴν χώραν. οὕτω οὐδὲ οὗτος συμφέρεται περὶ τῆς χώρας ταύτης Σκύθησι.

14. Καὶ ὅθεν μὲν ἦν Ἀριστέης ὁ ταῦτα εἶπας, εἵρηκα, τὸν δὲ περὶ αὐτοῦ ἤκουον λόγον ἐν Προκουννήσῳ καὶ Κυζίκῳ, λέξω. Ἀριστέην γὰρ λέγουσι, ἔοντα τῶν ἀστῶν οὐδενὸς γένος ὑποδεέστερον, ἐσελθόντα ἐς κναφήιον ἐν Προκουννήσῳ ἀποθανεῖν, καὶ τὸν κναφέα κατακληίσαντα τὸ ἐργαστήριον οἶχεσθαι ἀγγελέοντα τοῖσι προσήκουσι τῷ νεκρῷ. ἐσκεδασμένοι δὲ ἤδη τοῦ λόγου ἀνὰ τὴν πόλιν ὡς τεθνεῶς εἶη ὁ Ἀριστέης, ἐς ἀμφισβασίας τοῖσι λέγουσι ἀπικνέεσθαι ἄνδρα Κυζικηνὸν ἤκοντα ἐξ Ἀρτάκης πόλιος, φάντα συντυχεῖν τέ οἱ ἰόντι ἐπὶ Κυζίκου καὶ ἐς λόγους ἀπικέσθαι. καὶ τοῦτον μὲν ἐντεταμένως ἀμφισβατέειν, τοὺς δὲ προσήκοντας τῷ νεκρῷ ἐπὶ τὸ κναφήιον παρεῖναι ἔχοντας τὰ πρόσφορα ὡς ἀναιρησομένους· ἀνοιχθέντος δὲ τοῦ οἰκήματος οὔτε τεθνεῶτα οὔτε ζῶντα φαίνεσθαι Ἀριστέην. μετὰ δὲ ἐβδόμῳ ἔτει φανέντα αὐτὸν ἐς Προκόννησον ποιῆσαι τὰ ἔπεα ταῦτα τὰ νῦν ὑπ' Ἑλλήνων Ἀριμάσπεα καλέεται, ποιήσαντα δὲ ἀφανισθῆναι τὸ δεύτερον.

15. Ταῦτα μὲν αἱ πόλεις αὗται λέγουσι, τάδε δὲ οἶδα Μεταποντίνοισι τοῖσι ἐν Ἰταλίῃ συγκυρήσαντα μετὰ τὴν ἀφάνισιν τὴν δευτέρην Ἀριστέω ἔτεσι τεσσεράκοντα καὶ διηκοσίοισι, ὡς ἐγὼ συμβαλλόμενος ἐν Προκουννήσῳ τε καὶ Μεταποντίῳ εὑρίσκον. Μεταποντίνοι φασὶ αὐτὸν Ἀριστέην φανέντα σφί ἐς τὴν χώραν κελεῦσαι βωμὸν Ἀπόλ-

by the Arimaspians, and the Scythians by the Issedones, and the Cimmerians, dwelling by the southern sea, were hard pressed by the Scythians and left their country. Thus neither does Aristeas' story agree concerning this country with the Scythian account.

14. Whence Aristeas came who wrote this I have already said; I will now tell the story which I heard concerning him at Proconnesus and Cyzicus. It is said that this Aristeas, who was as nobly born as any of his townsmen, went into a fuller's shop at Proconnesus and there died; the fuller shut his workshop and went away to tell the dead man's kinsfolk, and the report of Aristeas' death being now spread about in the city, it was disputed by a man of Cyzicus, who had come from the town of Artace,<sup>1</sup> and said that he had met Aristeas going towards Cyzicus and spoken with him. While he vehemently disputed, the kinsfolk of the dead man had come to the fuller's shop with all that was needful for burial; but when the house was opened there was no Aristeas there, dead or alive. But in the seventh year after that Aristeas appeared at Proconnesus and made that poem which the Greeks now call the Arimaspea, after which he vanished once again.

15. Such is the tale told in these two towns. But this, I know, befell the Metapontines in Italy, two hundred and forty years after the second disappearance of Aristeas, as reckoning made at Proconnesus and Metapontium shows me: Aristeas, so the Metapontines say, appeared in their country and bade them set up an altar to Apollo, and set

<sup>1</sup> A Milesian colony, the port of Cyzicus.

λωνος ιδρύσασθαι καὶ Ἀριστέω τοῦ Προκοννησίου ἐπωνυμίην ἔχοντα ἀνδριάντα παρ' αὐτὸν ἰστάναι· φάναι γάρ σφι τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα Ἰταλιωτέων μούνοισι δὴ ἀπικέσθαι ἐς τὴν χώραν, καὶ αὐτός οἱ ἔπεσθαι ὁ νῦν ἐὼν Ἀριστέης· τότε δέ, ὅτε εἶπετο τῷ θεῷ, εἶναι κόραξ. καὶ τὸν μὲν εἰπόντα ταῦτα ἀφανισθῆναι, σφέας δὲ Μεταποντῖνοι λέγουσι ἐς Δελφοὺς πέμψαντας τὸν θεὸν ἐπειρωτᾶν ὃ τι τὸ φάσμα τοῦ ἀνθρώπου εἴη. τὴν δὲ Πυθίην σφέας κελεύειν πείθεσθαι τῷ φάσματι, πειθομένοισι δὲ ἄμεινον συννοίσεσθαι. καὶ σφέας δεξαμένους ταῦτα ποιῆσαι ἐπιτελέα. καὶ νῦν ἔστηκε ἀνδριὰς ἐπωνυμίην ἔχων Ἀριστέω παρ' αὐτῷ τῷ ἀγάλματι τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος, πέριξ δὲ αὐτὸν δάφναι ἐστᾶσι· τὸ δὲ ἄγαλμα ἐν τῇ ἀγορῇ ἵδρυται. Ἀριστέω μὲν νυν περὶ τοσαῦτα εἰρήσθω.

16. Τῆς δὲ γῆς, τῆς περὶ ὅδε ὁ λόγος ὄρμηται λέγεσθαι, οὐδεὶς οἶδε ἀτρεκέως ὃ τι τὸ κατύπερθε ἐστί· οὐδενὸς γὰρ δὴ αὐτόπτεω εἶδέναι φαμένον δύναμαι πυθέσθαι· οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδὲ Ἀριστέης, τοῦ περ ὀλίγω πρότερον τούτων μνήμην ἐποιεύμην, οὐδὲ οὗτος προσωτέρω Ἰσσηδόνων ἐν αὐτοῖσι τοῖσι ἔπεσι ποιέων ἔφησε ἀπικέσθαι, ἀλλὰ τὰ κατύπερθε ἔλεγε ἀκοῇ, φὰς Ἰσσηδόνας εἶναι τοὺς ταῦτα λέγοντας. ἀλλ' ὅσον μὲν ἡμεῖς ἀτρεκέως ἐπὶ μακρότατον οἰοί τε ἐγενόμεθα ἀκοῇ ἐξικέσθαι, πᾶν εἰρήσεται.

17. Ἀπὸ τοῦ Βορυσθενεϊτέων ἐμπορίου (τοῦτο γὰρ τῶν παραθαλασσίων μεσαίτατον ἐστὶ πάσης τῆς Σκυθίης), ἀπὸ τούτου πρῶτοι Καλλιππίδαι νέμονται ἐόντες Ἕλληνες Σκύθαι, ὑπὲρ δὲ τούτων ἄλλο ἔθνος οἱ Ἀλαζόνες καλέονται. οὗτοι δὲ καὶ

beside it a statue bearing the name of Aristeas the Proconnesian; for, he said, Apollo had come to their country alone of all Italiot lands, and he himself—who was now Aristeas, but then when he followed the god had been a crow—had come with him. Having said this, he vanished away. The Metapontines, so they say, sent to Delphi and inquired of the god what the vision of the man might be; and the Pythian priestess bade them obey the vision, saying that their fortune would be the better; having received which answer they did as commanded. And now there stands beside the very image of Apollo a statue bearing the name of Aristeas; a grove of laurels surrounds it; the image is set in the market-place. Suffice it then that I have said thus much of Aristeas.

16. As for the land of which my history has begun to speak, no one exactly knows what lies northward of it; for I can learn from none who claims to know as an eyewitness. For even Aristeas, of whom I lately made mention—even he did not claim to have gone beyond the Issedones, no, not even in his poems; but he spoke of what lay northward by hearsay; saying that the Issedones had so told him. But as far as we have been able to hear an exact report of the farthest lands, all shall be set forth.

17. Northward of the port of the Borysthenites,<sup>1</sup> which lies midway in the coastline of all Scythia, the first inhabitants are the Callippidae, who are Scythian Greeks; and beyond them another tribe called Alazones; these and the Callippidae, though in other

<sup>1</sup> Another Milesian colony, called by Greeks generally Olbia (the Fortunate) or Miletropolis; it was the most important Greek centre north of the Euxine.

οἱ Καλλιππίδαι τὰ μὲν ἄλλα κατὰ ταῦτὰ Σκύθησι ἐπασκέουσι, σίτον δὲ καὶ σπείρουσι καὶ σιτέονται, καὶ κρόμνα καὶ σκόροδα καὶ φακοὺς καὶ κέγχρους. ὑπὲρ δὲ Ἀλαζόνων οἰκέουσι Σκύθαι ἀροτῆρες, οἳ οὐκ ἐπὶ σιτήσι σπείρουσι τὸν σῖτον ἀλλ' ἐπὶ πρήσι. τούτων δὲ κατύπερθε οἰκέουσι Νευροί. Νευρῶν δὲ τὸ πρὸς βορέην ἄνεμον ἔρημον ἀνθρώπων, ὅσον ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν.

18. Ταῦτα μὲν παρὰ τὸν Ὑπανιν ποταμὸν ἐστὶ ἔθνεα πρὸς ἐσπέρης τῷ Βορυσθένεος· ἀτὰρ διαβάντι τὸν Βορυσθένεα ἀπὸ θαλάσσης πρῶτον μὲν ἢ Ὑλαίη, ἀπὸ δὲ ταύτης ἄνω ἰόντι οἰκέουσι Σκύθαι γεωργοί, τοὺς Ἕλληνες οἱ οἰκούντες ἐπὶ τῷ Ὑπάνι ποταμῷ καλέουσι Βορυσθενείτας, σφέας δὲ αὐτοὺς Ὀλβιοπολίτας. οὗτοι ὦν οἱ γεωργοὶ Σκύθαι νέμονται τὸ μὲν πρὸς τὴν ἡῶ ἐπὶ τρεῖς ἡμέρας ὁδοῦ, κατήκοντες ἐπὶ ποταμὸν τῷ οὐνομα κείμεν Παντικάπης, τὸ δὲ πρὸς βορέην ἄνεμον πλόον ἀνὰ τὸν Βορυσθένεα ἡμερέων ἑνδεκα. ἤδη δὲ κατύπερθε τούτων ἢ ἔρημος ἐστὶ ἐπὶ πολλόν. μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἔρημον Ἀνδροφάγοι οἰκέουσι, ἔθνος ἐὼν ἴδιον καὶ οὐδαμῶς Σκυθικόν. τὸ δὲ τούτων κατύπερθε ἔρημον ἤδη ἀληθέως καὶ ἔθνος ἀνθρώπων οὐδέν, ὅσον ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν.

19. Τὸ δὲ πρὸς τὴν ἡῶ τῶν γεωργῶν τούτων Σκυθέων, διαβάντι τὸν Παντικάπην ποταμὸν, νομάδες ἤδη Σκύθαι νέμονται, οὔτε τι σπείροντες οὐδὲν οὔτε ἀροῦντες· ψιλὴ δὲ δεινδρέων ἢ πᾶσα αὕτη πλὴν τῆς Ὑλαίης. οἱ δὲ νομάδες οὗτοι τὸ πρὸς τὴν ἡῶ ἡμερέων τεσσέρων καὶ δέκα ὁδὸν νέμονται χώραν κατατείνουσιν ἐπὶ ποταμὸν Γέρρον.

20. Πέρην δὲ τοῦ Γέρρου ταῦτα δὴ τὰ καλεύ-



matters they live like the Scythians, sow and eat corn, and onions, garlic, lentils, and millet. Above the Alazones dwell Scythian tillers of the land, who sow corn not for eating but for selling; north of these, the Neuri; to the north of the Neuri the land is uninhabited so far as we know.

18. These are the tribes by the river Hypanis,<sup>1</sup> westwards of the Borysthenes. But on the other side of the Borysthenes the tribe nearest to the sea is the tribe of the Woodlands; and north of these dwell Scythian farmers, whom the Greek dwellers on the Hypanis river (who call themselves Olbiopolitae) call Borystheneitae. These farming Scythians inhabit a land stretching eastward a three days' journey to a river called Panticapes,<sup>2</sup> and northward as far as an eleven days' voyage up the Borysthenes; and north of these the land is uninhabited for a long way; after which desert is the country of the Man-eaters, who are a nation by themselves and by no means Scythian; and beyond them is true desert, wherein no nation of men dwells, as far as we know.

19. But to the east of these farming Scythians, cross the river Panticapes, and you are in the land of nomad Scythians, who sow nothing, nor plough; and all these lands except the Woodlands are bare of trees. These nomads inhabit to the eastward a country that stretches fourteen days' journey to the river Gerrus.<sup>3</sup>

20. Across the Gerrus are those lands called

<sup>1</sup> The Bug.      <sup>2</sup> Not identified.      <sup>3</sup> Not identified.



μενα βασιλῆια ἐστὶ καὶ Σκύθαι οἱ ἄριστοί τε καὶ πλείστοι καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους νομίζοντες Σκύθας δούλους σφετέρους εἶναι· κατήκουσι δὲ οὗτοι τὸ μὲν πρὸς μεσαμβρίην ἐς τὴν Ταυρικὴν, τὸ δὲ πρὸς ἡῶ ἐπὶ τε τάφρον, τὴν δὴ οἱ ἐκ τῶν τυφλῶν γενόμενοι ὠρυξαν, καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς λίμνης τῆς Μαιήτιδος τὸ ἐμπόριον τὸ καλεῖται Κρημνοί· τὰ δὲ αὐτῶν κατήκουσι ἐπὶ ποταμὸν Τάναϊν. τὰ δὲ κατύπερθε πρὸς βορέην ἄνεμον τῶν βασιληίων Σκυθέων οἰκέουσι Μελάγχλαινοι, ἄλλο ἔθνος καὶ οὐ Σκυθικόν. Μελαγχλαίων δὲ τὸ κατύπερθε λίμναι καὶ ἔρημος ἐστὶ ἀνθρώπων, κατόσον ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν.

21. Τάναϊν δὲ ποταμὸν διαβάντι οὐκέτι Σκυθική, ἀλλ' ἡ μὲν πρώτη τῶν λαξίων Σαυροματέων ἐστὶ, οἱ ἐκ τοῦ μυχοῦ ἀρξάμενοι τῆς Μαιήτιδος λίμνης νέμονται τὸ πρὸς βορέην ἄνεμον ἡμερέων πεντεκαίδεκα ὁδόν, πᾶσαν ἐοῦσαν ψιλὴν καὶ ἀγρίων καὶ ἡμέρων δενδρέων· ὑπεροικέουσι δὲ τούτων δευτέρην λάξιν ἔχοντες Βουδῖνοι, γῆν νεμόμενοι πᾶσαν δασέαν ὕλη παντοίη.

22. Βουδίνων δὲ κατύπερθε πρὸς βορέην ἐστὶ πρώτη μὲν ἔρημος ἐπ' ἡμερέων ἐπτὰ ὁδόν, μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἔρημον ἀποκλίνουσι μᾶλλον πρὸς ἀπηλιώτην ἄνεμον νέμονται Θυσσαγέται, ἔθνος πολλὸν καὶ ἴδιον· ζῶσι δὲ ἀπὸ θήρης. συνεχέες δὲ τούτοις ἐν τοῖσι αὐτοῖσι τόποισι κατοικημένοι εἰσὶ τοῖσι οὖνομα κεῖται Ἰύρκαι, καὶ οὗτοι ἀπὸ θήρης ζῶντες τρόπῳ τοιῷδε· λοχᾶ ἐπὶ δένδρεον ἀναβάς, τὰ δὲ ἐστὶ πυκνὰ ἀνὰ πᾶσαν τὴν χώραν· ἵππος δὲ ἐκάστῳ δεδιδαγμένος ἐπὶ γαστέρα κεῖσθαι ταπεινότητος εἵνεκα ἔτοιμος ἐστὶ καὶ κύων· ἐπεὰν δὲ ἀπίδῃ τὸ θηρίον ἀπὸ τοῦ δενδρέου, τοξεύσας ἐπι-

Royal, where are the best and most in number of the Scythians, who deem all other Scythians their slaves; their territory stretches southward to the Tauric land, and eastward to the fosse that was dug by the sons of the blind men, and on the Maeetian lake to the port called The Cliffs<sup>1</sup>; and part of it stretches to the river Tanais. Above the Royal Scythians to the north dwell the Blackcloaks, who are of another and not a Scythian stock; and beyond the Blackcloaks the land is all marshes and uninhabited by men, so far as we know.

21. Across the Tanais it is no longer Scythia; the first of the divisions belongs to the Sauromatae, whose country begins at the inner end of the Maeetian lake and stretches fifteen days' journey to the north, and is all bare of both forest and garden trees. Above these in the second division dwell the Budini, inhabiting a country thickly overgrown with trees of all kinds.

22. Northward of the Budini the land is uninhabited for seven days' journey; after this desert, and somewhat more towards the east wind, dwell the Thyssagetae, a numerous and a separate nation, living by the chase. Adjoining these and in the same country dwell the people called Iyrkae; these also live by the chase, in such manner as I will show. The hunter climbs a tree, and there sits ambushed; for trees grow thick all over the land; and each man has his horse at hand, trained to couch upon its belly for lowliness' sake, and his dog; and when he marks the quarry from the tree, he shoots with the

<sup>1</sup> Apparently on the west coast of the Sea of Azov; *cp.* 110.

βὰς ἐπὶ τὸν ἵππον διώκει, καὶ ὁ κύων ἔχεται. ὑπὲρ δὲ τούτων τὸ πρὸς τὴν ἡῶ ἀποκλίνοντι οἰκέουσι Σκύθαι ἄλλοι, ἀπὸ τῶν βασιληίων Σκυθέων ἀποστάντες καὶ οὕτω ἀπικόμενοι ἐς τοῦτον τὸν χῶρον.

23. Μέχρι μὲν δὴ τῆς τούτων τῶν Σκυθέων χώρας ἐστὶ ἡ καταλεχθεῖσα πᾶσα πεδιάς τε γῆ καὶ βαθύγαιος, τὸ δ' ἀπὸ τούτου λιθώδης τ' ἐστὶ καὶ τρηχέα. διεξελθόντι δὲ καὶ τῆς τρηχέως χώρας πολλὸν οἰκέουσι ὑπώρεαν ὁρέων ὑψηλῶν ἄνθρωποι λεγόμενοι εἶναι πάντες φαλακροὶ ἐκ γενετῆς γινόμενοι, καὶ ἔρσενες καὶ θήλεια ὁμοίως, καὶ σιμοὶ καὶ γένεια ἔχοντες μεγάλα, φωνὴν δὲ ἰδίην ἰέντες, ἐσθῆτι δὲ χρεώμενοι Σκυθικῇ, ζῶντες δὲ ἀπὸ δενδρέων. ποντικὸν μὲν οὖνομα τῷ δενδρέῳ ἀπ' οὗ ζῶσι, μέγαθος δὲ κατὰ συκένην μάλιστα κη. καρπὸν δὲ φορέει κυάμῳ ἴσον, πυρῆνα δὲ ἔχει. τοῦτο ἐπεὰν γένηται πέπον, σακκέουσι ἱματίοισι, ἀπορρέει δὲ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ παχὺ καὶ μέλαν· οὖνομα δὲ τῷ ἀπορρέοντι ἐστὶ ἄσχυ· τοῦτο καὶ λείχουσι καὶ γάλακτι συμμίσγοντες πίνουσι, καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς παχύτητος αὐτοῦ τῆς τρυγὸς παλάθας συντιθεῖσι καὶ ταύτας σιτέονται. πρόβατα γάρ σφι οὐ πολλά ἐστι· οὐ γάρ τι σπουδαῖαι αἱ νόμαί αὐτόθι εἰσί. ὑπὸ δενδρέῳ δὲ ἕκαστος κατοίκηται, τὸν μὲν χειμῶνα ἐπεὰν τὸ δένδρεον περικαλύψῃ πῖλῳ στεγνῷ λευκῷ, τὸ δὲ θέρος ἄνευ πύλου. τούτους οὐδεὶς ἀδικεῖ ἀνθρώπων· ἱροὶ γὰρ λέγονται εἶναι· οὐδέ τι ἀρήριον ὄπλον ἐκτέαται. καὶ τοῦτο μὲν τοῖσι περιοικέουσι οὗτοι εἰσὶ οἱ τὰς διαφορὰς

bow and mounts his horse and pursues after it, till the dog grips the prey. Beyond these and somewhat towards the east dwell Scythians again, who revolted from the Royal Scythians and so came to this country.

23. As far as the country of these Scythians all the aforesaid land is level and its soil is deep ; but thereafter it is stony and rough. After a long passage through this rough country, there are men inhabiting the foothills of high mountains, who are said to be all bald from their birth (male and female alike) and snub-nosed and with long beards ; they speak a tongue of their own, and wear Scythian raiment, and their fare comes from trees. The tree wherefrom they live is called "Pontic" ; it is about the size of a fig-tree, and bears a fruit as big as a bean, with a stone in it. When this fruit is ripe, they strain it through cloth, and a thick black liquid flows from it, which they call "aschu"<sup>1</sup> ; they lick this up or mix it with milk for drinking, and of the thickest of the lees of it they make cakes, and eat them. For they have but few of smaller cattle, the pasture in their land not being good. They dwell each man under a tree, covering it in winter with a white felt cloth, but using no felt in summer. These people are wronged by no man, for they are said to be sacred ; nor have they any weapon of war. These are they who judge in the quarrels between their neighbours ; moreover, what-

<sup>1</sup> The fruit of the "Prunus Padus" is said to be made by the Cossacks into a drink called "atschi."

διαιρέοντες, τοῦτο δὲ ὃς ἂν φεύγων καταφύγῃ ἐς τούτους, ὑπ' οὐδενὸς ἀδικέεται. οὐνομα δέ σφι ἐστὶ Ἀργιππαῖοι.

24. Μέχρι μὲν νυν τῶν φαλακρῶν τούτων πολλὴ περιφανείῃ τῆς χώρας ἐστὶ καὶ τῶν ἔμπροσθε ἐθνέων· καὶ γὰρ Σκυθέων τινὲς ἀπικνέονται ἐς αὐτούς, τῶν οὐ χαλεπὸν ἐστὶ πυθέσθαι καὶ Ἑλλήνων τῶν ἐκ Βορυσθένεός τε ἐμπορίου καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Ποντικῶν ἐμπορίων· Σκυθέων δὲ οἱ ἂν ἔλθωσι ἐς αὐτούς, δι' ἑπτὰ ἐρμηνέων καὶ δι' ἑπτὰ γλωσσέων διαπρήσσονται.

25. Μέχρι μὲν δὴ τούτων γινώσκεται, τὸ δὲ τῶν φαλακρῶν κατύπερθε οὐδεὶς ἀτρεκέως οἶδε φράσαι. ὄρεα γὰρ ὑψηλὰ ἀποτάμνει ἄβατα καὶ οὐδεὶς σφραῖμα ὑπερβαίνει. οἱ δὲ φαλακροὶ οὗτοι λέγουσι, ἐμοὶ μὲν οὐ πιστὰ λέγοντες, οἰκέειν τὰ ὄρεα αἰγίποδας ἄνδρας, ὑπερβάντι δὲ τούτους ἀνθρώπους ἄλλους οἱ τὴν ἐξάμνηνον κατεύδουσι. τοῦτο δὲ οὐκ ἐνδέχομαι τὴν ἀρχήν, ἀλλὰ τὸ μὲν πρὸς ἡῶ τῶν φαλακρῶν γινώσκεται ἀτρεκέως ὑπὸ Ἰσσηδόνων οἰκεόμενον, τὸ μὲντοι κατύπερθε πρὸς βορέην ἄνεμον οὐ γινώσκεται οὔτε τῶν φαλακρῶν οὔτε τῶν Ἰσσηδόνων, εἰ μὴ ὅσα αὐτῶν τούτων λεγόντων.

26. Νόμοισι δὲ Ἰσσηδόνες τοῖσιδε λέγονται χρᾶσθαι. ἐπεὰν ἀνδρὶ ἀποθάνῃ πατήρ, οἱ προσήκοντες πάντες προσάγουσι πρόβατα, καὶ ἔπειτα ταῦτα θύσαντες καὶ καταταμόντες τὰ κρέα κατατάμνουσι καὶ τὸν τοῦ δεκομένου τεθνεῶτα γονέα, ἀναμίξαντες δὲ πάντα τὰ κρέα δαῖτα προτίθενται· τὴν δὲ κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ ψιλῶσαντες καὶ ἐκκαθήραντες καταχρυσοῦσι καὶ ἔπειτα ἅτε ἀγάλματι χρέωνται, θυσίας μεγάλας ἐπετείους ἐπιτελέοντες.



ever banished man has taken refuge with them is wronged by none. They are called Argippeans.

24. Now as far as the land of these bald men we have full knowledge of the country and the nation on the hither side of them ; for some of the Scythians make their way to them, from whom it is easy to get knowledge, and from some too of the Greeks from the Borysthenes port and the other ports of Pontus ; such Scythians as visit them do their business with seven interpreters and in seven languages.

25. So far then as these men this country is known ; but, for what lies beyond the bald men, no one can speak with exact knowledge ; for mountains high and impassable bar the way, and no man crosses them. These bald men say (but for my part I believe them not) that the mountains are inhabited by men with goats' feet ; and that beyond these again are men who sleep for six months of the twelve. This I cannot at all accept for true. But the country east of the bald-heads is known for certain to be inhabited by the Issedones ; howbeit, of what lies northward either of the bald-heads or the Issedones we have no knowledge, save what comes from the report of these latter.

26. It is said to be the custom of the Issedones, that whenever a man's father dies, all the nearest of kin bring beasts of the flock, and having killed these and cut up the flesh they cut up also the dead father of their host, and set out all the flesh mingled together for a feast. As for his head, they strip it bare and cleanse and gild it, and keep it for a sacred relic, whereto they offer yearly solemn sacrifice. Every



παῖς δὲ πατρὶ τοῦτο ποιεῖ, κατὰ περ' Ἕλληνες τὰ γενέσια. ἄλλως δὲ δίκαιοι καὶ οὗτοι λέγονται εἶναι, ἰσοκρατέες δὲ ὁμοίως αἱ γυναῖκες τοῖσι ἀνδράσι.

27. Γινώσκονται μὲν δὴ καὶ οὗτοι, τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ τούτων τὸ κατύπερθε Ἰσσηδόνες εἰσὶ οἱ λέγοντες μουννοφθάλμους ἀνθρώπους καὶ χρυσοφύλακας γρῦπας εἶναι· παρὰ δὲ τούτων Σκύθαι παραλαμβάνοντες λέγουσι, παρὰ δὲ Σκυθέων ἡμεῖς οἱ ἄλλοι νενομίκαμεν καὶ ὀνομάζομεν αὐτοὺς σκυθιστὶ Ἀριμασπούς· ἄριμα γὰρ ἐν καλέουσι Σκύθαι, σποῦ δὲ ὀφθαλμόν.

28. Δυσχεῖμερος δὲ αὕτη ἡ καταλεχθεῖσα πᾶσα χώρα οὕτω δὴ τι ἐστί, ἔνθα τοὺς μὲν ὀκτὼ τῶν μηνῶν ἀφόρητος οἶος γίνεται κρυμός, ἐν τοῖσι ὕδωρ ἐκχέας πηλὸν οὐ ποιήσεις, πῦρ δὲ ἀνακαίων ποιήσεις πηλόν.<sup>1</sup> ἡ δὲ θάλασσα πηγνυται καὶ ὁ Βόσπορος πᾶς ὁ Κιμμέριος, καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ κρυστάλλου οἱ ἐντὸς τάφρου Σκύθαι κατοικημένοι στρατεύονται καὶ τὰς ἀμάξας ἐπελαύνουσι πέρην ἐς τοὺς Σίνδους. οὕτω μὲν δὴ τοὺς ὀκτὼ μῆνας διατελέει χειμὼν ἑὼν, τοὺς δ' ἐπιλοίπους τέσσερας ψύχεα αὐτόθι ἐστί. κεχώρισται δὲ οὗτος ὁ χειμὼν τοὺς τρόπους πᾶσι τοῖσι ἐν ἄλλοισι χωρίοισι γινομένοισι χειμῶσι, ἐν τῷ τὴν μὲν ὥραίην οὐκ ὕει λόγου ἄξιον οὐδέν, τὸ δὲ θέρος ὕων οὐκ ἀνιεῖ· βρονταί τε ἤμος τῇ ἄλλῃ γίνονται, τηνικαῦτα μὲν οὐ γίνονται, θέρεος δὲ ἀμφιλαφές· ἦν δὲ χειμῶνος βροντὴ γένηται, ὥς τέρας νενόμισται θωμάζεσθαι. ὥς δὲ καὶ ἦν σεισμός γένηται ἦν τε θέρεος ἦν τε χειμῶνος ἐν τῇ Σκυθικῇ, τέρας νενόμισται. ἵπποι δὲ ἀνεχόμενοι φέρουσι τὸν χειμῶνα τοῦτον, ἡμίονοι

<sup>1</sup> [πηλόν] Stein.

## BOOK IV. 26-28

son does so by his father, even as the Greeks in their festivals in honour of the dead. For the rest, these also are said to be a law-abiding people; and the women have equal power with the men.

27. Of these then also we have knowledge; but for what is northward of them, it is from the Issedones that the tale comes of the one-eyed men and the griffins that guard gold; this is told by the Scythians, who have heard it from them; and we again have taken it for true from the Scythians, and call these people by the Scythian name, Arimaspians; for in the Scythian tongue *arima* is one, and *spou* is the eye.

28. All this aforementioned country is exceeding cold; for eight months of every year there is frost unbearable, and in these you shall not make mud by pouring out water but by lighting a fire; the sea freezes, and all the Cimmerian Bosphorus; and the Scythians dwelling this side of the fosse lead armies over the ice, and drive their wains across to the land of the Sindi. So it is ever winter for eight months, and it is cold in that country for the four that remain. Here is a winter of a different sort from the winters that come in other lands; for in the season for rain there falls scarce any, but for all the summer there is rain unceasing; and when there are thunderstorms in other lands, here there are none, but in summer there is great plenty of them; if there come a thunderstorm in winter they are wont to marvel at it for a portent. And so too if there come an earthquake, be it in summer or winter, it is esteemed a portent in Scythia. Horses have endurance to bear the Scythian winter, mules

δὲ οὐδὲ ὄνοι οὐκ ἀνέχονται ἀρχήν· τῇ δὲ ἄλλῃ ἵπποι μὲν ἐν κρυμῷ ἐστεῶτες ἀποσφακελίζουσι, ὄνοι δὲ καὶ ἡμίονοι ἀνέχονται.

29. Δοκέει δέ μοι καὶ τὸ γένος τῶν βοῶν τὸ κόλον διὰ ταῦτα οὐ φύειν κέρα αὐτόθι· μαρτυρεῖ δέ μοι τῇ γνώμῃ καὶ Ὅμηρου ἔπος ἐν Ὀδυσσεΐῃ ἔχον ὧδε,

καὶ Λιβύην, ὅθι τ' ἄρνες ἄφαρ κεραοὶ τελέθουσι,

ὀρθῶς εἰρημένον, ἐν τοῖσι θερμοῖσι ταχὺ παραγίνεσθαι τὰ κέρα, ἐν δὲ τοῖσι ἰσχυροῖσι ψύχεσι ἢ οὐ φύειν κέρα τὰ κτήνεα ἀρχήν ἢ φύοντα φύειν μόγισ.

30. Ἐνθαῦτα μὲν νυν διὰ τὰ ψύχεα γίνεται ταῦτα. θωμάζω δέ (προσθήκας γὰρ δὴ μοι ὁ λόγος ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐδίζητο) ὅτι ἐν τῇ Ἡλείῃ πάσῃ χώρῃ οὐ δυνέεται γίνεσθαι ἡμίονοι, οὔτε ψυχροῦ τοῦ χώρου ἔοντος οὔτε ἄλλου φανεροῦ αἰτίου οὐδενός. φασὶ δὲ αὐτοὶ Ἡλείοι ἐκ κατάρης τευ οὐ γίνεσθαι σφίσιν ἡμιόνους, ἀλλ' ἐπεὰν προσίῃ ἡ ὥρῃ κυΐσκεσθαι τὰς ἵππους, ἐξελαύνουσι ἐς τοὺς πλησιοχώρους αὐτάς, καὶ ἔπειτά σφι ἐν τῇ τῶν πέλας ἐπιείσιν τοὺς ὄνους, ἐς οὗ ἂν σχῶσι αἱ ἵπποι ἐν γαστρί· ἔπειτα δὲ ἀπελαύνουσι.

31. Περὶ δὲ τῶν πτερῶν τῶν Σκύθαι λέγουσι ἀνάπλεον εἶναι τὸν ἥερα, καὶ τούτων εἵνεκα οὐκ οἰοί τε εἶναι οὔτε ἰδεῖν τὸ πρόσω τῆς ἡπίρου οὔτε διεξιέναι, τήνδε ἔχω περὶ αὐτῶν γνώμην· τὰ κατ' ὑπερθε ταύτης τῆς χώρας αἰεὶ νίφεται, ἐλάσσονι δὲ τοῦ θέρεος ἢ τοῦ χειμῶνος, ὥσπερ καὶ οἰκός· ἦδη ὦν ὅστις ἀγχόθεν χιόνα ἀδρὴν πίπτουσιν

and asses cannot at all bear it; yet in other lands, whereas asses and mules can endure frost, horses that stand in it are frostbitten.

29. And to my thinking it is for this cause that the hornless kind of oxen grows no horns in Scythia. There is a verse of Homer in the *Odyssey* that witnesses to my judgment; it is this:

“Libya, the land where lambs are born with horns on their foreheads,”

wherein it is rightly signified, that in hot countries the horns grow quickly, whereas in very cold countries beasts grow horns hardly, or not at all.

30. In Scythia, then, this happens because of the cold. But I hold it strange (for it was ever the way of my history to seek after subsidiary matters) that in the whole of Elis no mules can be begotten, albeit neither is the country cold nor is there any manifest cause. The Eleans themselves say that it is by reason of a curse that mules cannot be begotten among them; but whenever the season is at hand for the mares to conceive, they drive them away into the countries of their neighbours, and then send the asses to them in the neighbouring land, till the mares be pregnant; and then they drive them home again.

31. But as touching the feathers whereof the Scythians say that the air is full, insomuch that none can see or traverse the land beyond, I hold this opinion. Northward of that country snow falls continually, though less in summer than in winter, as is to be expected. Whoever has seen snow falling thickly near him knows of himself my meaning; for

εἶδε, οἶδε τὸ λέγων· ἔοικε γὰρ ἡ χιὼν πτεροῖσι· καὶ διὰ τὸν χειμῶνα τοῦτον ἔοντα τοιοῦτον ἀνοίκητα τὰ πρὸς βορέην ἐστὶ τῆς ἡπείρου ταύτης. τὰ ὦν πτερὰ εἰκάζοντας τὴν χιόνα τοὺς Σκύθας τε καὶ τοὺς περιοίκους δοκέω λέγειν. ταῦτα μὲν νυν τὰ λέγεται μακρότατα εἴρηται.

32. Ὑπερβορέων δὲ πέρι ἀνθρώπων οὔτε τι Σκύθαι λέγουσι οὐδὲν οὔτε τινὲς ἄλλοι τῶν ταύτη οἰκημένων, εἰ μὴ ἄρα Ἴσσηδόνες. ὥς δὲ ἐγὼ δοκέω, οὐδ' οὔτοι λέγουσι οὐδέν· ἔλεγον γὰρ ἂν καὶ Σκύθαι, ὥς περὶ τῶν μουννοφθάλμων λέγουσι. ἀλλ' Ἡσιόδῳ μὲν ἐστὶ περὶ Ὑπερβορέων εἰρημένα, ἔστι δὲ καὶ Ὀμήρῳ ἐν Ἐπιγόνοισι, εἰ δὴ τῷ ἔοντι γε Ὀμηρος ταῦτα τὰ ἔπεα ἐποίησε.

33. Πολλῷ δέ τι πλεῖστα περὶ αὐτῶν Δῆλιοι λέγουσι, φάμενοι ἱρὰ ἐνδεδεμένα ἐν καλάμῃ πυρῶν ἐξ Ὑπερβορέων φερόμενα ἀπικνέεσθαι ἐς Σκύθας, ἀπὸ δὲ Σκυθέων ἤδη δεκομένους αἰεὶ τοὺς πλησιοχώρους ἐκάστους κομίζειν αὐτὰ τὸ πρὸς ἐσπέρης ἐκαστάτῳ ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀδρίην, ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ πρὸς μεσαμβρίην προπεμπόμενα πρῶτους Δωδωναίους Ἑλλήνων δέκεσθαι, ἀπὸ δὲ τούτων καταβαίνειν ἐπὶ τὸν Μηλιέα κόλπον καὶ διαπορεύεσθαι ἐς Εὐβοίαν, πόλιν τε ἐς πόλιν πέμπειν μέχρι Καρύστου, τὸ δ' ἀπὸ ταύτης ἐκλιπεῖν Ἀνδρον· Καρυστίους γὰρ εἶναι τοὺς κομίζοντας ἐς Τήνον, Τηνίους δὲ ἐς Δῆλον. ἀπικνέεσθαι μὲν νυν οὕτω

## BOOK IV. 31-33

the snow is like feathers; and by reason of the winter, which is such as I have said, the parts to the north of this continent are uninhabited. I think therefore that in this tale of feathers the Scythians and their neighbours do but speak of snow in a figure. Thus then I have spoken of those parts that are said to be most distant.

32. Concerning the Hyperborean people neither the Scythians nor any other dwellers in these lands tell us anything, except perchance the Issedones. And, as I think, even they tell nothing; for were it not so, then the Scythians too would have told, even as they tell of the one-eyed men. But Hesiod speaks of Hyperboreans, and Homer too in his poem *The Heroes' Sons*,<sup>1</sup> if that be truly the work of Homer.

33. But the Delians<sup>2</sup> tell much more concerning them than do any others. They say that offerings wrapt in wheat-straw are brought from the Hyperboreans to Scythia; when they have passed Scythia, each nation in turn receives them from its neighbours till they are carried to the Adriatic sea, which is the most westerly limit of their journey; thence they are brought on to the south, the people of Dodona being the first Greeks to receive them. From Dodona they come down to the Melian gulf, and are carried across to Euboea, and city sends them on to city till they come to Carystus; after this, Andros is left out of their journey, for it is Carystians who carry them to Tenos, and Tenians to Delos. Thus (they

<sup>1</sup> One of the "Cyclic" poems; a sequel to the "Thebais" (story of the seven against Thebes).

<sup>2</sup> This Delian story about the Hyperboreans is additional evidence of the known fact that trade routes from the earliest times linked northern with south-eastern Europe. Amber in especial was carried from the Baltic to the Aegean.



ταῦτα τὰ ἱρὰ λέγουσι ἐς Δῆλον· πρῶτον δε τοὺς Ὑπερβορέους πέμψαι φερούσας τὰ ἱρὰ δύο κόρας, τὰς ὀνομάζουσι Δήλιοι εἶναι Ὑπερόχην τε καὶ Λαοδίκην· ἅμα δὲ αὐτῇσι ἀσφαλείης εἵνεκεν πέμψαι τοὺς Ὑπερβορέους τῶν ἀστῶν ἄνδρας πέντε πομπούς, τούτους οἱ νῦν Περφερέες καλέονται τιμὰς μεγάλας ἐν Δήλῳ ἔχοντες. ἐπεὶ δὲ τοῖσι Ὑπερβορέοισι τοὺς ἀποπεμφθέντας ὀπίσω οὐκ ἀπονοοστέειν, δεινὰ ποιευμένους εἰ σφέας αἰεὶ καταλάμψεται ἀποστέλλοντας μὴ ἀποδέκεσθαι, οὕτω δὴ φέροντας ἐς τοὺς οὖρους τὰ ἱρὰ ἐνδεδεμένα ἐν πυρῶν καλάμῃ τοὺς πλησιοχώρους ἐπισκίπτειν κελεύοντας προπέμπειν σφέα ἀπὸ ἐωυτῶν ἐς ἄλλο ἔθνος. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν οὕτω προπεμπόμενα ἀπικνέεσθαι λέγουσι ἐς Δῆλον. οἶδα δὲ αὐτὸς τούτοις τοῖσι ἱροῖσι τόδε ποιούμενον προσφερές, τὰς Θρηκίας καὶ τὰς Παιονίδας γυναῖκας, ἐπεὰν θύωσι τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι τῇ βασιλείῃ, οὐκ ἄνευ πυρῶν καλάμης ἐχούσας τὰ ἱρὰ.

34. Καὶ ταῦτα μὲν δὴ ταύτας οἶδα ποιεύσας· τῇσι δὲ παρθένοισι ταύτησι τῇσι ἐξ Ὑπερβορέων τελευτησάσῃσι ἐν Δήλῳ κείρονται καὶ αἱ κόραι καὶ οἱ παῖδες οἱ Δηλίων· αἱ μὲν πρὸ γάμου πλόκαμον ἀποταμνόμεναι καὶ περὶ ἄτρακτον εἰλίξασαι ἐπὶ τὸ σῆμα τιθεῖσι (τὸ δὲ σῆμα ἐστὶ ἔσω ἐς τὸ Ἀρτεμίσιον ἐσιόντι ἀριστερῆς χειρὸς, ἐπιπέφυκε δὲ οἱ ἐλαίῃ), ὅσοι δὲ παῖδες τῶν Δηλίων, περὶ χλόην τινὰ εἰλίξαντες τῶν τριχῶν τιθεῖσι καὶ οὗτοι ἐπὶ τὸ σῆμα.

35. Αὗται μὲν δὴ ταύτην τιμὴν ἔχουσι πρὸς τῶν Δήλου οἰκητόρων. φασὶ δὲ οἱ αὐτοὶ οὗτοι καὶ τὴν Ἀργὴν τε καὶ τὴν Ὠπιν εἰσάγουσας παρθέ-

## BOOK IV. 33-35

say) these offerings come to Delos. But on the first journey the Hyperboreans sent two maidens bearing the offerings, to whom the Delians give the names Hyperoche and Laodice, sending with them for safe conduct five men of their people as escort, those who are now called Perpherees<sup>1</sup> and greatly honoured at Delos. But when the Hyperboreans found that those whom they sent never returned, they were very ill content that it should ever be their fate not to receive their messengers back; wherefore they carry the offerings, wrapt in wheat-straw, to their borders, and charge their neighbours to send them on from their own country to the next; and the offerings, it is said, come by this conveyance to Delos. I can say of my own knowledge that there is a custom like these offerings, namely, that when the Thracian and Paeonian women sacrifice to the Royal Artemis, they have wheat-straw with them while they sacrifice.

34. This I know that they do. The Delian girls and boys cut their hair in honour of these Hyperborean maidens, who died at Delos; the girls before their marriage cut off a tress and lay it on the tomb, wound about a spindle; this tomb is at the foot of an olive-tree, on the left hand of the entrance of the temple of Artemis; the Delian boys twine some of their hair round a green stalk, and they likewise lay it on the tomb.

35. Thus then are these maidens honoured by the inhabitants of Delos. These same Delians relate that two virgins, Arge and Opis, came from the

<sup>1</sup> That is, probably, the Bearers.

νους ἐξ Ὑπερβορέων κατὰ τοὺς αὐτοὺς τούτους ἀνθρώπους πορευομένας ἀπικέσθαι ἐς Δῆλον ἔτι πρότερον Ὑπερόχης τε καὶ Λαοδίκης. ταύτας μὲν νυν τῇ Εἰλειθυίᾳ ἀποφερούσας ἀντὶ τοῦ ὠκυτόκου τὸν ἐτάξαντο φῶρον ἀπικέσθαι, τὴν δὲ Ἄργην τε καὶ τὴν Ὠπιν ἅμα αὐτοῖσι θεοῖσι ἀπικέσθαι λέγουσι καὶ σφι τιμὰς ἄλλας δεδόσθαι πρὸς σφέων· καὶ γὰρ ἀγείρειν σφι τὰς γυναῖκας ἐπονομαζούσας τὰ οὐνόματα ἐν τῷ ὕμνῳ τὸν σφι Ὀλὴν ἀνὴρ Λύκιος ἐποίησε, παρὰ δὲ σφέων μαθόντας νησιώτας τε καὶ Ἰωνας ὑμνέειν Ὠπὶν τε καὶ Ἄργην ὀνομάζοντάς τε καὶ ἀγείροντας (οὗτος δὲ ὁ Ὀλὴν καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους τοὺς παλαιοὺς ὕμνους ἐποίησε ἐκ Λυκίης ἐλθὼν τοὺς ἀειδομένους ἐν Δήλῳ), καὶ τῶν μηρίων καταγιζομένων ἐπὶ τῷ βωμῷ τὴν σποδὸν ταύτην ἐπὶ τὴν θήκην τῆς Ὠπιός τε καὶ Ἀργῆς ἀναισιμονῆσαι ἐπιβαλλομένην. ἡ δὲ θήκη αὐτέων ἐστὶ ὀπισθε τοῦ Ἀρτεμισίου, πρὸς ἧῷ τετραμμένη, ἀγχοτάτῳ τοῦ Κηίων ἱστυητορίου.

36. Καὶ ταῦτα μὲν Ὑπερβορέων πέρι εἰρήσθω· τὸν γὰρ περὶ Ἀβάριος λόγον τοῦ λεγομένου εἶναι Ὑπερβορέου οὐ λέγω, ὥς<sup>1</sup> τὸν οἰστὸν περιέφερε κατὰ πᾶσαν γῆν οὐδὲν σιτεόμενος· εἰ δὲ εἰσὶ ὑπερβόρειοι τινὲς ἄνθρωποι, εἰσὶ καὶ ὑπερνότιοι ἄλλοι. γελῶ δὲ ὀρέων γῆς περιόδους γράψαντας πολλοὺς ἤδη καὶ οὐδένα νοουεχόντως ἐξηγησάμενον· οἱ Ὀκεανὸν τε ῥέοντα γράφουσι πέριξ τὴν γῆν ἐοῦσαν κυκλοτερέα ὥς ἀπὸ τόρνου, καὶ τὴν Ἀσίην τῇ Εὐρώπῃ ποιούντων ἴσην. ἐν ὀλίγοις γὰρ ἐγὼ δηλώσω μέγαθός τε ἐκάστης αὐτέων καὶ οἷη τις ἐστὶ ἐς γραφὴν ἐκάστη.

Hyperboreans by way of the peoples aforesaid to Delos, yet earlier than the coming of Hyperoche and Laodice; these latter came to bring to Ilithyia the tribute whereto they had agreed for ease of child-bearing; but Arge and Opis, they say, came with the gods themselves,<sup>1</sup> and received honours of their own from the Delians. For the women collected gifts for them, calling upon their names in the hymn made for them by Olen a man of Lycia; it was from Delos that the islanders and Ionians learnt to sing hymns to Opis and Arge, calling upon their names and collecting gifts (this Olen after his coming from Lycia made also the other and ancient hymns that are sung at Delos). Further they say that when the thighbones are burnt in sacrifice on the altar, the ashes of them are all used for casting on the burial-place of Opis and Arge; which burial-place is behind the temple of Artemis, looking eastwards, nearest to the refectory of the people of Ceos.

36. Thus far have I spoken of the Hyperboreans, and let it suffice; for I do not tell the story of that Abaris, alleged to be a Hyperborean, who carried the arrow over the whole world, fasting the while. But if there be men beyond the north wind, then there are others beyond the south. And I laugh to see how many have ere now drawn maps of the world, not one of them showing the matter reasonably; for they draw the world as round as if fashioned by compasses, encircled by the river of Ocean, and Asia and Europe of a like bigness. For myself, I will in a few words show the extent of the two, and how each should be drawn.

<sup>1</sup> Apollo and Artemis, probably.

37. Πέρσαι οἰκέουσι κατήκοντες ἐπὶ τὴν νοτίην θάλασσαν τὴν Ἐρυθρὴν καλεομένην, τούτων δὲ ὑπεροικέουσι πρὸς βορέην ἄνεμον Μῆδοι, Μήδων δὲ Σάσπειρες, Σασπείρων δὲ Κόλχοι κατήκοντες ἐπὶ τὴν βορηίην θάλασσαν, ἐς τὴν Φᾶσις ποταμὸς ἐκδιδού. ταῦτα τέσσερα ἔθνεα οἰκέει ἐκ θαλάσσης ἐς θάλασσαν.

38. Ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ τὸ πρὸς ἐσπέρης ἀκταὶ διφάσιαι ἀπ' αὐτῆς κατατείνουσι ἐς θάλασσαν, τὰς ἐγὼ ἀπηγήσομαι· ἔνθεν μὲν ἢ ἀκτὴ ἢ ἑτέρα τὰ πρὸς βορέην ἀπὸ Φάσιος ἀρξαμένη παρατέταται ἐς θάλασσαν παρὰ τε τὸν Πόντον καὶ τὸν Ἑλληνόποντον μέχρι Σιγείου τοῦ Τρωικοῦ· τὰ δὲ πρὸς νότον ἢ αὕτη αὕτη ἀκτὴ ἀπὸ τοῦ Μυριανδικοῦ κόλπου τοῦ πρὸς Φοινίκῃ κειμένου τείνει τὰ ἐς θάλασσαν μέχρι Τριοπίου ἄκρης. οἰκέει δὲ ἐν τῇ ἀκτὴ ταύτῃ ἔθνεα ἀνθρώπων τριήκοντα.

39. Αὕτη μὲν νυν ἢ ἑτέρα τῶν ἀκτέων, ἢ δὲ δὴ ἑτέρα ἀπὸ Περσέων ἀρξαμένη παρατέταται ἐς τὴν Ἐρυθρὴν θάλασσαν, ἢ τε Περσικὴ καὶ ἀπὸ ταύτης ἐκδεκομένη ἢ Ἀσσυρίῃ καὶ ἀπὸ Ἀσσυρίης ἢ Ἀραβίῃ· λήγει δὲ αὕτη, οὐ λήγουσα εἰ μὴ νόμῳ, ἐς τὸν κόλπον τὸν Ἀράβιον, ἐς τὸν Δαρείος ἐκ τοῦ Νείλου διώρυχα ἐσήγαγε. μέχρι μὲν νυν Φοινίκης ἀπὸ Περσέων χώρος πλατὺς καὶ πολλός ἐστι· τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ Φοινίκης παρήκει διὰ τῆσδε τῆς θαλάσσης ἢ ἀκτὴ αὕτη παρὰ τε Συρίην τὴν Παλαιστίνην καὶ Αἴγυπτον, ἐς τὴν τελευτᾷ· ἐν τῇ ἔθνεα ἐστὶ τρία μούνα.

40. Ταῦτα μὲν ἀπὸ Περσέων τὰ πρὸς ἐσπέρην τῆς Ἀσίας ἔχοντα ἐστί· τὰ δὲ κατύπερθε Περ-



## BOOK IV. 37-40

37. The land where the Persians dwell reaches to the southern sea, that sea which is called Red; beyond these to the north are the Medes, and beyond the Medes the Saspire, and beyond the Saspire the Colchians, whose country reaches to the northern sea<sup>1</sup> into which issues the river Phasis; so these four nations dwell between the one sea and the other.

38. But westwards of this region two promontories stretch out from it into the sea, which I will now describe. On the north side one of the promontories begins at the Phasis and stretches seaward along the Pontus and the Hellespont, as far as Sigeum in the Troad; on the south side the same promontory has a seacoast beginning at the Myriandric gulf that is near Phoenice, and stretching seaward as far as the Triopian headland. On this promontory dwell thirty nations.

39. This is the first promontory. But the second, beginning with Persia, stretches to the Red Sea, being the Persian land, and next the neighbouring country of Assyria, and after Assyria, Arabia; this promontory ends (yet not truly but only by common consent) at the Arabian Gulf, whereunto Darius brought a canal from the Nile. Now from the Persian country to Phoenice there is a wide and great tract of land; and from Phoenice this promontory runs beside our sea by the way of the Syrian Palestine and Egypt, which is at the end of it; in this promontory there are but three nations.

40. So much for the parts of Asia west of the Persians. But what is beyond the Persians, and

<sup>1</sup> Here, the Black Sea; in 42, the "northern sea" is the Mediterranean.



σέων καὶ Μήδων καὶ Σασπείρων καὶ Κόλχων, τὰ πρὸς ἡῷ τε καὶ ἥλιον ἀνατέλλοντα, ἔνθεν μὲν ἡ Ἐρυθρὴ παρήκει θάλασσα, πρὸς βορέω δὲ ἡ Κασπίη τε θάλασσα καὶ ὁ Ἀράξης ποταμός, ῥέων πρὸς ἥλιον ἀνίσχοντα. μέχρι δὲ τῆς Ἰνδικῆς οἰκέεται Ἀσίη· τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ ταύτης ἔρημος ἤδη τὸ πρὸς τὴν ἡῷ, οὐδὲ ἔχει οὐδεὶς φράσαι οἶον δὴ τι ἐστί.

41. Τοιαύτη μὲν καὶ τοσαύτη ἡ Ἀσίη ἐστί, ἡ δὲ Λιβύη ἐν τῇ ἀκτῇ τῇ ἐτέρῃ ἐστί· ἀπὸ γὰρ Αἰγύπτου Λιβύη ἤδη ἐκδέκεται. κατὰ μὲν νυν Αἰγυπτου ἡ ἀκτὴ αὕτη στεινὴ ἐστί· ἀπὸ γὰρ τῆσδε τῆς θαλάσσης ἐς τὴν Ἐρυθρὴν θάλασσαν δέκα μυριάδες εἰσὶ ὀργυιέων, αὗται δ' ἂν εἶεν χίλιοι στάδιοι· τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ στεينوῦ τούτου κάρτα πλατέα τυγχάνει ἐούσα ἡ ἀκτὴ ἥτις Λιβύη κέκληται. from ?

42. Θωμάζω ὦν τῶν διουρισάντων καὶ διελόντων Λιβύην τε καὶ Ἀσίην καὶ Εὐρώπην· οὐ γὰρ σμικρὰ τὰ διαφέροντα αὐτέων ἐστί· μήκεϊ μὲν γὰρ παρ' ἀμφοτέρας παρήκει ἡ Εὐρώπη, εὐρεος δὲ πέρι οὐδὲ συμβάλλειν ἀξίη φαίνεται μοι εἶναι. Λιβύη μὲν γὰρ δηλοῖ ἐωυτὴν<sup>1</sup> ἐούσα περίρρυτος, πλὴν ὅσον αὐτῆς πρὸς τὴν Ἀσίην οὐρίζει, Νεκῶ τοῦ Αἰγυπτίων βασιλέος πρώτου τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν καταδέξαντος· ὃς ἐπέειτε τὴν διώρυχα ἐπαύσατο ὀρύσσων τὴν ἐκ τοῦ Νείλου διέχουσαν ἐς τὸν Ἀράβιον κόλπον, ἀπέπεπψε Φοίνικας ἄνδρας πλοίοισι, ἐντειλόμενος ἐς τὸ ὀπίσω δι' Ἡρακλέων στηλέων ἐκπλέειν ἕως ἐς τὴν βορήνην θάλασσαν καὶ οὕτω ἐς Αἶγυπτον ἀπικνέεσθαι. ὀρμηθέντες ὦν οἱ Φοίνικες ἐκ τῆς Ἐρυθρῆς θαλάσσης ἔπλεον

<sup>1</sup> [ἐωυτὴν] Stein.

Medes, and Saspire, and Colchians, eastward and toward the rising sun, this is bounded on the one hand by the Red Sea, and to the north by the Caspian Sea, and the river Araxes, that flows towards the sun's rising. As far as India, Asia is an inhabited land; but thereafter all to the east is desert, nor can any man say what kind of land is there.

41. Such is Asia, and such its extent. But Libya is on this second promontory; for Libya comes next after Egypt. The Egyptian part of this promontory is narrow; for from our sea to the Red Sea it is a distance of an hundred thousand fathoms, that is, a thousand furlongs; but after this narrow part the promontory which is called Libya is very broad.

42. I wonder, then, at those who have mapped out and divided the world into Libya, Asia, and Europe; for the difference between them is great, seeing that in length Europe stretches along both the others together, and it appears to me to be beyond all comparison broader. For Libya shows clearly that it is encompassed by the sea, save only where it borders on Asia; and this was proved first (as far as we know) by Necos king of Egypt. He, when he had made an end of digging the canal which leads from the Nile to the Arabian Gulf, sent Phoenicians in ships, charging them to sail on their return voyage past the Pillars of Heracles till they should come into the northern sea and so to Egypt. So the Phoenicians set out from the Red Sea and

τὴν νοτίην θάλασσαν· ὅκως δὲ γίνοιτο φθινό-  
 πωρον, προσσχόντες ἂν σπείρεσκον τὴν γῆν, ἵνα  
 ἐκάστοτε τῆς Λιβύης πλέοντες γινοίετο, καὶ μέ-  
 νεσκον τὸν ἄμνητον· θερίσαντες δ' ἂν τὸν σῖτον  
 ἔπλεον, ὥστε δύο ἐτέων διεξελθόντων τρίτῳ ἔτεϊ  
 κάμψαντες Ἡρακλέας στήλας ἀπίκοντο ἐς Αἴ-  
 γυπτον. καὶ ἔλεγον ἐμοὶ μὲν οὐ πιστά, ἄλλω δὲ  
 δὴ τεῷ, ὡς περιπλώοντες τὴν Λιβύην τὸν ἥλιον  
 ἔσχον ἐς τὰ δεξιὰ.

43. Οὕτω μὲν αὕτη ἐγνώσθη τὸ πρῶτον, μετὰ  
 δὲ Καρχηδόνιοι εἰσὶ οἱ λέγοντες· ἐπεὶ Σατάσπης  
 γε ὁ Τεάσπιος ἀνὴρ Ἀχαιμενίδης οὐ περιέπλωσε  
 Λιβύην, <sup>ἐν</sup> <sup>πρὸς</sup> <sup>τὴν</sup> αὐτὸ τοῦτο πεμφθείς, ἀλλὰ δείσας  
 τό τε μῆκος τοῦ πλόου καὶ τὴν ἐρημίην ἀπῆλθε  
 ὀπίσω, οὐδ' ἐπετέλεσε τὸν ἐπέταξέ οἱ ἡ μήτηρ  
 ἄεθλον. θυγατέρα γὰρ Ζωπύρου τοῦ Μεγαβύζου  
 ἐβίησατο παρθένον· ἔπειτα μέλλοντος αὐτοῦ διὰ  
 ταύτην τὴν αἰτίην ἀνασκολοπιεῖσθαι ὑπὸ Ξέρξῳ  
 βασιλέος, ἡ μήτηρ τοῦ Σατάσπεος ἐοῦσα Δαρείου  
 ἀδελφεῇ παραιτήσατο, φᾶσά οἱ αὕτῃ μέζω ζημίην  
 ἐπιθήσειν ἢ περ ἐκείνον· Λιβύην γάρ οἱ ἀνάγκην  
 ἔσεσθαι περιπλῶειν, ἐς ὃ ἂν ἀπίκηται περιπλέων  
 αὐτὴν ἐς τὸν Ἀράβιον κόλπον. συγχωρήσαντος  
 δὲ Ξέρξῳ ἐπὶ τούτοισι, ὁ Σατάσπης ἀπικόμενος  
 ἐς Αἴγυπτον καὶ λαβὼν νέα τε καὶ ναῦτας παρὰ  
 τούτων ἔπλεε ἐπὶ Ἡρακλέας στήλας· διεκπλώσας  
 δὲ καὶ κάμψας τὸ ἀκρωτήριον τῆς Λιβύης τῷ  
 οὐνόμα Σολόεις ἐστί, ἔπλεε πρὸς μεσαμβρίην· περή-

sailed the southern sea; whenever autumn came they would put in and sow the land, to whatever part of Libya they might come, and there await the harvest; then, having gathered in the crop, they sailed on, so that after two years had passed, it was in the third that they rounded the Pillars of Heracles and came to Egypt. There they said (what some may believe, though I do not) that in sailing round Libya they had the sun on their right hand.<sup>1</sup>

43. Thus the first knowledge of Libya was gained. The next story is that of the Carchedonians: for as for Sataspes son of Teaspes, an Achaemenid, he did not sail round Libya, though he was sent for that end; but he feared the length and the loneliness of the voyage and so returned back without accomplishing the task laid upon him by his mother. For he had raped the virgin daughter of Zopyrus son of Megabyzus; and when on this charge he was to be impaled by King Xerxes, Sataspes' mother, who was Darius' sister, begged for his life, saying that she would lay a heavier punishment on him than did Xerxes; for he should be compelled to sail round Libya, till he completed his voyage and came to the Arabian Gulf. Xerxes agreeing to this, Sataspes went to Egypt, where he received a ship and a crew from the Egyptians, and sailed past the Pillars of Heracles. Having sailed out beyond them, and rounded the Libyan promontory called Solois,<sup>2</sup> he

<sup>1</sup> The detail which Herodotus does not believe incidentally confirms the story; as the ship sailed west round the Cape of Good Hope, the sun of the southern hemisphere would be on its right. Most authorities now accept the story of the circumnavigation.

<sup>2</sup> Probably Cape Cantin, in the latitude of Madeira.

σας δὲ θάλασσαν πολλὴν ἐν πολλοῖσι μῆσι, ἐπεῖτε τοῦ πλεῦνος αἰεὶ ἔδεε, ἀποστρέψας ὀπίσω ἀπέπλεε ἐς Αἴγυπτον. ἐκ δὲ ταύτης ἀπικόμενος παρὰ βασιλέα Ξέρξεα ἔλεγε φὰς τὰ προσωτάτω ἀνθρώπους μικροὺς παραπλέειν ἐσθῆτι φοινικίῃ διαχρεωμένους, οἳ ὅκως σφεῖς καταγοιάτο τῇ νηὶ φεύγεσκον πρὸς τὰ ὄρεα λείποντες τὰς πόλιας· αὐτοὶ δὲ ἀδικεῖν οὐδὲν ἐσιόντες, βρωτὰ δὲ μούνα ἐξ αὐτέων λαμβάνειν. τοῦ δὲ μὴ περιπλῶσαι Λιβύην παντελέως αἴτιον τόδε ἔλεγε, τὸ πλοίου τὸ πρόσω οὐ δυνατόν ἐτι εἶναι προβαίνειν ἀλλ' ἐνίσχυσθαι. Ξέρξης δὲ οὐ οἱ συγγινώσκων λέγειν ἀληθέα οὐκ ἐπιτελέσαντά τε τὸν προκείμενον ἄεθλον ἀνεσκολόπισε, τὴν ἀρχαίην δίκην ἐπιτιμῶν. τούτου δὲ τοῦ Σατάσπεος εὐνοῦχος ἀπέδρι ἐς Σάμον, ἐπεῖτε ἐπύθετο τάχιστα τὸν δεσπότεα τετελευτηκότα, ἔχων χρήματα μεγάλα, τὰ Σάμιος ἀνὴρ κατέσχε, τοῦ ἐπιστάμενος τὸ οὔνομα ἐκὼν ἐπιλήθωμαι.

44. Τῆς δὲ Ἀσίης τὰ πολλὰ ὑπὸ Δαρείου ἐξευρέθη, ὃς βουλόμενος Ἰνδὸν ποταμόν, ὃς κροκοδείλους δεύτερος οὗτος ποταμῶν πάντων παρέχεται, τοῦτον τὸν ποταμὸν εἰδέναι τῇ ἐς θάλασσαν ἐκδιδοῖ, πέμπει πλοίοισι ἄλλους τε τοῖσι ἐπίστευε τὴν ἀληθείην ἐρέειν καὶ δὴ καὶ Σκύλακα ἄνδρα Καρυανδέα. οἳ δὲ ὀρμηθέντες ἐκ Κασπατύρου τε πόλιος καὶ τῆς Πακτυϊκῆς γῆς ἔπλεον κατὰ ποταμὸν πρὸς ἡῶ τε καὶ ἡλίου ἀνατολὰς ἐς θάλασσαν, διὰ θαλάσσης δὲ πρὸς ἐσπέρην πλέοντες τριηκοστῷ μηνὶ ἀπικνέονται ἐς τοῦτον τὸν χῶρον ὅθεν ὁ Αἰγυπτίων βασιλεὺς τοὺς Φοίνικας τοὺς πρότερον εἶπα ἀπέστειλε περιπλῶειν Λιβύην. μετὰ



sailed southward ; but when he had been many months sailing far over the sea, and ever there was more before him, he turned back and made sail for Egypt. Thence coming to Xerxes, he told in his story how when he was farthest distant he sailed by a country of little men, who wore palm-leaf raiment ; these, whenever he and his men put in to land with their ship, would ever leave their towns and flee to the hills ; he and his men did no wrong when they landed, and took naught from the people but what they needed for eating. As to his not sailing wholly round Libya, the reason (he said) was that the ship could move no farther, but was stayed. But Xerxes did not believe that Sataspes spoke truth, and as the task appointed was unfulfilled he impaled him, punishing him on the charge first brought against him. This Sataspes had an eunuch, who as soon as he heard of his master's death escaped to Samos, with a great store of wealth, of which a man of Samos possessed himself. I know the man's name but of set purpose forget it.

44. But as to Asia, most of it was discovered by Darius. There is a river Indus, in which so many crocodiles are found that only one river in the world has more. Darius, desiring to know where this Indus issues into the sea, sent ships manned by Scylax, a man of Caryanda, and others in whose word he trusted ; these set out from the city Caspatyrus and the Pactyic country, and sailed down the river towards the east and the sunrise till they came to the sea ; and voyaging over the sea westwards, they came in the thirtieth month to that place whence the Egyptian king sent the Phoenicians afore-mentioned to sail round Libya. After



δὲ τούτους περιπλώσαντας Ἰνδοὺς τε κατεστρέψατο Δαρείος καὶ τῇ θαλάσῃ ταύτῃ ἐχράτο. οὕτω καὶ τῆς Ἀσίης, πλὴν τὰ πρὸς ἥλιον ἀνίσχοντα, τὰ ἄλλα ἀνεύρηται ὅμοια παρεχομένη τῇ Λιβύῃ.

45. Ἡ δὲ Εὐρώπῃ πρὸς οὐδαμῶν φανερὴ ἐστὶ γινωσκομένη, οὔτε τὰ πρὸς ἥλιον ἀνατέλλοντα οὔτε τὰ πρὸς βορέην, εἰ περίρρυτος ἐστί· μήκεϊ δὲ γινώσκεται παρ' ἀμφοτέρας παρήκουσα. οὐδ' ἔχω συμβαλέσθαι ἐπ' ὅτε μὴ εἰούσῃ γῇ οὐνόματα τριφάσια κέεται ἐπωνυμίας ἔχοντα γυναικῶν, καὶ οὐρίσματα αὐτῇ Νεῖλός τε ὁ Αἰγύπτιος ποταμὸς ἐτέθη καὶ Φᾶσις ὁ Κόλχος (οἱ δὲ Τάναϊν ποταμὸν τὸν Μαιήτην καὶ πορθμήια τὰ Κιμμέρια λέγουσι), οὐδὲ τῶν διουρισάντων τὰ οὐνόματα πυθέσθαι, καὶ ὅθεν ἔθεντο τὰς ἐπωνυμίας. ἤδη γὰρ Λιβύῃ μὲν ἐπὶ Λιβύης λέγεται ὑπὸ τῶν πολλῶν Ἑλλήνων ἔχειν τὸ οὐνομα γυναικὸς αὐτόχθονος, ἡ δὲ Ἀσίῃ ἐπὶ τῆς Προμηθέος γυναικὸς τὴν ἐπωνυμίην. καὶ τούτου μὲν μεταλαμβάνονται τοῦ οὐνόματος Λυδοί, φάμενοι ἐπὶ Ἀσίῳ τοῦ Κότυος τοῦ Μάνεω κεκληῆσθαι τὴν Ἀσίην, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐπὶ τῆς Προμηθέος Ἀσίης· ἀπ' ὅτε καὶ τὴν ἐν Σάρδισι φυλὴν κεκληῆσθαι Ἀσιάδα. ἡ δὲ δὴ Εὐρώπῃ οὔτε εἰ περίρρυτος ἐστὶ γινώσκεται πρὸς οὐδαμῶν ἀνθρώπων, οὔτε ὁκόθεν τὸ οὐνομα ἔλαβε τοῦτο, οὔτε ὅστις οἱ ἦν ὁ θέμενος φαίνεται, εἰ μὴ ἀπὸ τῆς Τυρίας φήσομεν Εὐρώπῃς λαβεῖν τὸ οὐνομα τὴν χώραν· πρότερον δὲ ἦν ἄρα ἀνώνυμος ὥσπερ αἱ ἕτεραι. ἀλλ' αὕτη γε ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίης τε φαίνεται εἰούσα καὶ οὐκ ἀπικομένη ἐς τὴν γῆν ταύτην ἣτις νῦν ὑπὸ Ἑλλήνων Εὐρώπῃ καλεῖται, ἀλλ' ὅσον

## BOOK IV. 44-45

this circumnavigation Darius subdued the Indians and made use of this sea. Thus was it discovered that Asia, saving the parts towards the rising sun, was in other respects like Libya.

45. But of Europe it is plain that none have obtained knowledge of its eastern or its northern parts so as to say if it is encompassed by seas; its length is known to be enough to stretch along both Asia and Libya. Nor can I guess for what reason the earth, which is one, has three names, all of women, and why the boundary lines set for it are the Egyptian river Nile and the Colchian river Phasis (though some say that the Maeetian river Tanaïs and the Cimmerian Ferries<sup>1</sup> are boundaries); nor can I learn the names of those who divided the world, or whence they got the names which they gave. For Libya is said by most Greeks to be called after a native woman of that name, and Asia after the wife of Prometheus<sup>2</sup>; yet the Lydians claim a share in the latter name, saying that Asia was not called after Prometheus' wife Asia, but after Asies, the son of Cotys, who was the son of Manes, and that from him the Asiad clan at Sardis also takes its name. But as for Europe, no men have any knowledge whether it be surrounded or not by seas, nor whence it took its name, nor is it clear who gave the name, unless we are to say that the land took its name from the Tyrian Europa, having been (as it would seem) till then nameless like the others. But it is plain that this woman was of Asiatic birth, and never came to this land which the Greeks now call

<sup>1</sup> *cp.* ch. 12.

<sup>2</sup> The Fire-giver celebrated by Aeschylus and Shelley; Asia is one of the principal characters in *Prometheus Unbound*.

ἐκ Φοινίκης ἐς Κρήτην, ἐκ Κρήτης δὲ ἐς Λυκίην. ταῦτα μὲν νυν ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον εἰρήσθω· τοῖσι γὰρ νομιζομένοισι αὐτῶν χρησόμεθα.

46. Ὁ δὲ Πόντος ὁ Εὐξείνος, ἐπ' ὃν ἐστρατεύετο ὁ Δαρεῖος, χωρέων πασέων παρέχεται ἕξω τοῦ Σκυθικοῦ ἔθνεα ἀμαθέστατα. οὔτε γὰρ ἔθνος τῶν ἐντὸς τοῦ Πόντου οὐδὲν ἔχομεν προβαλέσθαι σοφίης πέρι οὔτε ἄνδρα λόγιον οἶδαμεν γενόμενον, πάρεξ τοῦ Σκυθικοῦ ἔθνους καὶ Ἀναχάρσιος. τῷ δὲ Σκυθικῷ γένει ἐν μὲν τὸ μέγιστον τῶν ἀνθρωπείων πρηγμάτων σοφώτατα πάντων ἐξεύρηται τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν, τὰ μέντοι ἄλλα οὐκ ἄγμαι· τὸ δὲ μέγιστον οὕτω σφι ἀνεύρηται ὥστε ἀποφυγεῖν τε μηδένα ἐπελθόντα ἐπὶ σφέας, μὴ βουλομένους τε ἐξευρεθῆναι καταλαβεῖν μὴ οἶόν τε εἶναι. τοῖσι γὰρ μήτε ἄστυα μήτε τείχεα ἢ ἐκτισμένα, ἀλλὰ φερέοικοι ἔοντες πάντες ἕως ἰπποτοξόται, ζῶντες μὴ ἀπ' ἀρότου ἀλλ' ἀπὸ κτηνέων, οἰκήματά τε σφι ἢ ἐπὶ ζευγέων, κῶς οὐκ ἂν εἴησαν οὔτοι ἄμαχοί τε καὶ ἄποροι προσμίσγειν;

47. Ἐξεύρηται δέ σφι ταῦτα τῆς τε γῆς ἐούσης ἐπιτηδέης καὶ τῶν ποταμῶν ἔοντων σφι συμμάχων. ἢ τε γὰρ γῆ ἐούσα πεδιάς αὕτη ποιώδης τε καὶ εὐυδρος ἐστί, ποταμοὶ τε δι' αὐτῆς ῥέουσιν οὐ πολλῷ τεῷ ἀριθμὸν ἐλάσσονες τῶν ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ διωρύχων. ὅσοι δὲ ὀνομαστοί τε εἰσὶ αὐτῶν καὶ προσπλωτοὶ ἀπὸ θαλάσσης, τούτους ὀνομανέω<sup>1</sup>: . . . Ἰστρος μὲν πεντάστομος, μετὰ δὲ Τύρης τε καὶ Ὑπανίς καὶ Βορυσθένης καὶ Παντικάπης καὶ Ὑπάκυρις καὶ Γέρρος καὶ Τάναϊς. ῥέουσιν δὲ οἶδε κατὰ τάδε.

48. Ἰστρος μὲν, ἐὼν μέγιστος ποταμῶν πάντων

<sup>1</sup> Something is omitted, εἰσὶ δὲ ὅκτ' ὅδε or the like.

Europe, but only from Phoenice to Crete and from Crete to Lycia. Thus far have I spoken of these matters, and let it suffice ; we will use the names by custom established.

46. Nowhere are men seen so dull-witted (I say not this of the Scythian nation) as in the lands by the Euxine Pontus, against which Darius led his army. For we cannot show that any nation on the hither side of the Pontus has aught of cleverness, nor do we know (not reckoning the Scythian nation and Anacharsis) of any notable man born there. But the Scythian race has in that matter which of all human affairs is of greatest import made the cleverest discovery that we know ; I praise not the Scythians in all respects, but in this greatest matter they have so devised that none who attacks them can escape, and none can catch them if they desire not to be found. For when men have no stablished cities or fortresses, but all are house-bearers and mounted archers, living not by tilling the soil but by cattle-rearing and carrying their dwellings on waggons, how should these not be invincible and unapproachable ?

47. This invention they have made in a land which suits their purpose and has rivers which are their allies ; for their country is level and grassy and well watered and rivers run through it not greatly fewer than the canals of Egypt. As many of them as are famous and can be entered from the sea, these I will name. . . . There is the Ister, that has five mouths, and next, the Tyras, and Hypanis, and Borysthenes, and Panticapes, and Hypacuris, and Gerrhus, and Tanais. Their courses are as I will show.

48. The Ister, the greatest of all rivers known to

τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν, ἴσος αἰεὶ αὐτὸς ἐωυτῷ ῥέει καὶ θέρεος καὶ χειμῶνος, πρῶτος δὲ τὸ ἀπ' ἐσπέρης τῶν ἐν τῇ Σκυθικῇ ῥέων κατὰ τοιόνδε μέγιστος γέγονε· ποταμῶν καὶ ἄλλων ἐς αὐτὸν ἐκδιδόντων εἰσὶ δὴ οἶδε οἱ μέγαν αὐτὸν ποιεῦντες, διὰ μὲν γε τῆς Σκυθικῆς χώρας πέντε μὲν οἱ ῥέοντες, τὸν τε Σκύθαι Πόρατα καλέουσι Ἕλληνες δὲ Πυρετόν, καὶ ἄλλος Τιάραντος καὶ Ἀραρός τε καὶ Νάπαρις καὶ Ὀρδησσός. ὁ μὲν πρῶτος λεχθεὶς τῶν ποταμῶν μέγας καὶ πρὸς ἡῷ ῥέων ἀνακοινοῦται τῷ Ἰστρῷ τὸ ὕδωρ, ὁ δὲ δεύτερος λεχθεὶς Τιάραντος πρὸς ἐσπέρης τε μᾶλλον καὶ ἐλάσσων, ὁ δὲ δὴ Ἀραρός τε καὶ ὁ Νάπαρις καὶ ὁ Ὀρδησσός διὰ μέσου τούτων ἰόντες ἐσβάλλουσι ἐς τὸν Ἰστρον.

49. Οὗτοι μὲν αὐθιγενέες Σκυθικοὶ ποταμοὶ συμπληθύνουσι αὐτόν, ἐκ δὲ Ἀγαθύρσων Μίρις ποταμὸς ῥέων συμμίσγεται τῷ Ἰστρῷ, ἐκ δὲ τοῦ Α μου τῶν κορυφῶν τρεῖς ἄλλοι μεγάλοι ῥέοντες πρὸς βορέην ἄνεμον ἐσβάλλουσι ἐς αὐτόν, Ἀτλας καὶ Αὔρας καὶ Τίβισις. διὰ δὲ Θρηίκης καὶ Θρηίκων τῶν Κροβύζων ῥέοντες Ἀθρυς καὶ Νόης καὶ Ἀρτάνης ἐκδιδούσι ἐς τὸν Ἰστρον· ἐκ δὲ Παιόνων καὶ ὄρεος Ῥοδόπης Κίος ποταμὸς μέσον σχίζων τὸν Αἴμον ἐκδιδοὶ ἐς αὐτόν. ἐξ Ἰλλυριῶν δὲ ῥέων πρὸς βορέην ἄνεμον Ἀγγρος ποταμὸς ἐσβάλλει ἐς πεδίον τὸ Τριβαλλικὸν καὶ ἐς ποταμὸν Βρόγγον, ὁ δὲ Βρόγγος ἐς τὸν Ἰστρον· οὕτω ἀμφοτέρους ἔοντας μεγάλους ὁ Ἰστρος δέκεται. ἐκ δὲ τῆς κατύπερθε χώρας Ὀμβρικῶν Κάρπις ποταμὸς καὶ ἄλλος Ἀλπις ποταμὸς πρὸς βορέην ἄνεμον



us, flows with ever the same volume in summer and winter; it is the farthest westward of all the Scythian rivers, and the reason of its greatness is as follows: Many other rivers are its tributaries, but these are those that make it great, five flowing through the Scythian country: the river called by Scythians Porata and by Greeks Pyretus,<sup>1</sup> and besides this the Tiarantus, the Ararus, the Naparis, and the Ordessus. The first-named of these rivers is a great stream flowing eastwards and uniting its waters with the Ister, the second, the Tiarantus, is more to the west and smaller; the Ararus, Naparis, and Ordessus flow between these two and pour their waters into the Ister.

49. These are the native-born Scythian rivers that help to swell it; but the river Maris, which commingles with the Ister, flows from the Agathyrsi; the Atlas, Auras, and Tibisis, three other great rivers that pour into it, flow northward from the heights of Haemus.<sup>2</sup> The Athrys, the Noes, and the Artanes issue into the Ister from the country of the Crobyzi in Thrace; the river Cius, which cuts through the midst of Haemus, from the Paeonians and the mountain range of Rhodope. The river Angrus flows northward from Illyria into the Triballie plain and the river Brongus, and the Brongus into the Ister, which so receives these two great rivers into itself. The Carpis and another river called Alpis also flow northward, from the country north of the Ombrici,

<sup>1</sup> Probably the Pruth; the modern names of the other four rivers mentioned here are matters of conjecture.

<sup>2</sup> The Balkan range. None of the rivers in this chapter can be certainly identified; the names *Κάρπις* and *Ἀλπις* must indicate tributaries descending from the Alps and Carpathians.



καὶ οὗτοι ῥέοντες ἐκδιδούσι ἐς αὐτόν· ῥέει γὰρ δὴ διὰ πάσης τῆς Εὐρώπης ὁ Ἰστρος, ἀρξάμενος ἐκ Κελτῶν, οἱ ἔσχατοι πρὸς ἡλίου δυσμέων μετὰ Κύνητας οἰκέουσι τῶν ἐν τῇ Εὐρώπῃ· ῥέων δὲ διὰ πάσης τῆς Εὐρώπης ἐς τὰ πλάγια τῆς Σκυθίης ἐσβάλλει.

50. Τούτων ὦν τῶν καταλεχθέντων καὶ ἄλλων πολλῶν συμβαλλομένων τὸ σφέτερον ὕδωρ γίνεται ὁ Ἰστρος ποταμῶν μέγιστος, ἐπεὶ ὕδωρ γε ἐν πρὸς ἐν συμβάλλειν ὁ Νεῖλος πλήθει ἀποκρατέει. ἐς γὰρ δὴ τοῦτον οὔτε ποταμὸς οὔτε κρήνη οὐδεμία ἐσδιδούσα ἐς πληθὸς οἱ συμβάλλεται. ἴσος δὲ αἰεὶ ῥέει ἐν τε θέρεϊ καὶ χειμῶνι ὁ Ἰστρος κατὰ τοιόνδε τι, ὥς ἐμοὶ δοκέει· τοῦ μὲν χειμῶνος ἐστὶ ὅσος περ ἐστί, ὀλίγω τε μέζων τῆς ἐωυτοῦ φύσιος γίνεται· ὕεται γὰρ ἡ γῆ αὕτη τοῦ χειμῶνος πάμπαν ὀλίγω, νιφετῷ δὲ πάντα χρᾶται· τοῦ δὲ θέρεος ἡ χιὼν ἢ ἐν τῷ χειμῶνι πεσοῦσα, ἐοῦσα ἀμφιλαφής, τηκομένη πάντοθεν ἐσδιδοῖ ἐς τὸν Ἰστρον. αὕτη τε δὴ ἡ χιὼν ἐσδιδούσα ἐς αὐτὸν συμπληθύει καὶ ὄμβροι πολλοὶ τε καὶ λάβροι σὺν αὐτῇ· ὕει γὰρ δὴ τὸ θέρος. ὅσῳ δὲ πλέον ἐπ' ἐωυτὸν ὕδωρ ὁ ἥλιος ἐπέλκεται ἐν τῷ θέρεϊ ἢ ἐν τῷ χειμῶνι, τοσοῦτῳ τὰ συμμισγόμενα τῷ Ἰστρῷ πολλὰ πλῆσια ἐστὶ τοῦ θέρεος ἢ περ τοῦ χειμῶνος· ἀντιτιθέμενα δὲ ταῦτα ἀντισήκωσις γίνεται, ὥστε ἴσους αἰεὶ φαίνεσθαι ἔοντα.

51. Εἰς μὲν δὴ τῶν ποταμῶν τοῖσι Σκύθησι ἐστὶ ὁ Ἰστρος, μετὰ δὲ τοῦτον Τύρης, ὃς ἀπὸ βορέω μὲν ἀνέμου ὀρμᾶται, ἄρχεται δὲ ῥέων ἐκ λίμνης μεγάλης ἣ οὐρίζει τήν τε Σκυθικὴν καὶ Νευρίδα γῆν. ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ στόματι αὐτοῦ κατοικῆνται Ἕλληνες οἱ Τυρίται καλέονται.

to issue into it; for the Ister traverses the whole of Europe, rising among the Celts who, save only the Cynetes, are the most westerly dwellers in Europe, and flowing thus clean across Europe it issues forth along the borders of Scythia.

50. Seeing, then, that these aforesaid rivers, and many others too, are its tributaries, the Ister becomes the greatest of all rivers; stream for stream, indeed, the Nile has a greater volume, for no river or spring joins it to swell its volume of water. But the Ister is ever of the same height in summer and winter, whereof I think this to be the reason. In winter it is of its customary size, or only a little greater than is natural to it, for in that country in winter there is very little rain, but snow everywhere. But in the summer the abundant snow which has fallen in winter melts and pours from all sides into the Ister; so this snow pours into the river and helps to swell it with much violent rain besides, the summer being the season of rain. And in the same degree as the sun draws to itself more water in summer than in winter, the water that commingles with the Ister is many times more abundant in summer than it is in winter; these opposites keep the balance true, so that the volume of the river appears ever the same.

51. One of the rivers of the Scythians, then, is the Ister. The next is the Tyras<sup>1</sup>; this comes from the north, flowing at first out of a great lake, which is the boundary between the Scythian and the Neurian countries; at the mouth of the river there is a settlement of Greeks, who are called Tyritae.

<sup>1</sup> The Dniester.

52. Τρίτος δὲ Ὑπανις ποταμὸς ὀρμᾶται μὲν ἐκ τῆς Σκυθικῆς, ῥέει δὲ ἐκ λίμνης μεγάλης τὴν πέριξ νέμονται ἵπποι ἄγριοι λευκοί· καλέεται δὲ ἡ λίμνη αὕτη ὀρθῶς μήτηρ Ὑπάνιος. ἐκ ταύτης ὦν ἀνατέλλων ὁ Ὑπανις ποταμὸς ῥέει ἐπὶ μὲν πέντε ἡμερέων πλόον βραχὺς καὶ γλυκύς ἐστι, ἀπὸ δὲ τούτου πρὸς θαλάσσης τεσσέρων ἡμερέων πλόον πικρὸς δεινῶς· ἐκδιδοῖ γὰρ ἐς αὐτὸν κρήνη πικρή, οὕτω δὲ τι ἐοῦσα πικρή, ἢ μεγάθει μικρὴ ἐοῦσα κιριᾶ τὸν Ὑπανιν ἐόντα ποταμὸν ἐν ὀλίγοισι μέγαν. ἐστι δὲ ἡ κρήνη αὕτη ἐν οὖροις χώρης τῆς τε ἀροτήρων Σκυθέων καὶ Ἀλαζόνων· οὖνομα δὲ τῇ κρήνῃ καὶ ὅθεν ῥέει τῷ χώρῳ σκυθιστὶ μὲν Ἑξαμπαῖος, κατὰ δὲ τὴν Ἑλλήνων γλῶσσαν Ἰραὶ ὁδοί. συνάγουσι δὲ τὰ τέρματα ὃ τε Τύρης καὶ ὁ Ὑπανις κατὰ Ἀλαζόνας, τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ τούτου ἀποστρέψας ἐκάτερος ῥέει εὐρύνων τὸ μέσον.

53. Τέταρτος δὲ Βορυσθένης ποταμός, ὃς ἐστὶ τε μέγιστος μετὰ Ἰστρον τούτων καὶ πολυαρκέστατος κατὰ γνώμας τὰς ἡμετέρας οὗτι μῦνον τῶν Σκυθικῶν ποταμῶν ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀπάντων, πλὴν Νείλου τοῦ Αἰγυπτίου· τούτῳ γὰρ οὐκ οἶά τε ἐστὶ συμβαλεῖν ἄλλον ποταμόν· τῶν δὲ λοιπῶν Βορυσθένης ἐστὶ πολυαρκέστατος, ὃς νομάς τε καλλίστας καὶ εὐκομιδεστάτας κτήνεσι παρέχεται ἰχθύας τε ἀρίστους διακριδὸν καὶ πλείστους, πίνεσθαί τε ἡδιστος ἐστὶ, ῥέει τε καθαρὸς παρὰ θολεροῖσι, σπόρος τε παρ' αὐτὸν ἄριστος γίνεται, ποίη τε, τῇ οὐ σπείρεται ἡ χώρα, βαθυτάτη· ἄλεις τε ἐπὶ τῷ στόματι αὐτοῦ αὐτόματοι πῆγνυνται ἄπλετοι· κήτεά τε μεγάλα ἀνάκανθα, τὰ ἀντακαίους καλέουσι, παρέχεται ἐς ταρίχευσιν,

52. The third river is the Hypanis; this comes from Scythia, flowing out of a great lake, round which wild white horses graze. This lake is truly called the mother of the Hypanis. Here, then, the Hypanis rises; for five days' journey its waters are shallow and still sweet; after that for four days' journey seaward it is wondrous bitter, for a spring issues into it which is so bitter that although its volume is small its admixture taints the Hypanis, one of the few great rivers of the world. This spring is on the borderland between the farming Scythians<sup>1</sup> and the Alazones; the name of it and of the country whence it flows is in Scythian Exampaeus, in the Greek tongue Sacred Ways. The Tyras and the Hypanis draw their courses near together in the Alazones' country; after that they flow divergent, widening the space between.

53. The fourth is the river Borysthenes. This is the next greatest of them after the Ister, and the most serviceable, according to our judgment, not only of the Scythian rivers but of all, except the Egyptian Nile, with which no other river can be compared. But of the rest the Borysthenes is the most serviceable; it provides for beasts the fairest pasture lands and easiest of access, and the fish in it are beyond all in their excellence and their abundance. Its water is most sweet to drink, flowing with a clear current, whereas the other rivers are turbid. There is excellent tilth on its banks, and very rich grass where the land is not sown; and self-formed crusts of salt abound at its mouth; it provides great spineless fish, called sturgeons, for the

<sup>1</sup> See ch. 17.

ἄλλα τε πολλὰ θωμάσαι ἄξια. μέχρι μὲν νυν Γερρέων χώρου, ἐς τὸν τεσσεράκοντα ἡμερέων πλόος ἐστί, γινώσκεται ῥέων ἀπὸ βορέω ἀνέμου· τὸ δὲ κατύπερθε δι' ὧν ῥέει ἀνθρώπων οὐδείς ἔχει φράσαι· φαίνεται δὲ ῥέων δι' ἐρήμον ἐς τῶν γεωργῶν Σκυθέων τὴν χώραν· οὔτοι γὰρ οἱ Σκύθαι παρ' αὐτὸν ἐπὶ δέκα ἡμερέων πλόου νέμονται. μούνου δὲ τούτου τοῦ ποταμοῦ καὶ Νείλου οὐκ ἔχω φράσαι τὰς πηγάς, δοκέω δέ, οὐδὲ οὐδείς Ἑλλήνων. ἀγχοῦ τε δὴ θαλάσσης ὁ Βορυσθένης ῥέων γίνεται καὶ οἱ συμμίσγεται ὁ Ὑπανις ἐς τὼντὸ ἔλος ἐκδιδούς. τὸ δὲ μεταξὺ τῶν ποταμῶν τούτων, ἐὼν ἔμβολον τῆς χώρας, Ἰππόλεω ἄκρι καλέεται, ἐν δὲ αὐτῷ ἱρὸν Διμήτρος ἐνίδρυται· πέρην δὲ τοῦ ἱροῦ ἐπὶ τῷ Ὑπάνι Βορυσθενεῖται κατοικῆνται.

54. Ταῦτα μὲν τὰ ἀπὸ τούτων τῶν ποταμῶν, μετὰ δὲ τούτους πέμπτος ποταμὸς ἄλλος, τῷ οὐνομα Παντικάπης, ῥέει μὲν καὶ οὗτος ἀπὸ βορέω τε καὶ ἐκ λίμνης, καὶ τὸ μεταξὺ τούτου τε καὶ τοῦ Βορυσθέneos νέμονται οἱ γεωργοὶ Σκύθαι, ἐκδιδοῖ δὲ ἐς τὴν Ὑλαίην, παραμειψάμενος δὲ ταύτην τῷ Βορυσθενεῖ συμμίσγεται.

55. Ἐκτος δὲ Ὑπάκυρις ποταμός, ὃς ὀρμᾶται μὲν ἐκ λίμνης, διὰ μέσων δὲ τῶν νομάδων Σκυθέων ῥέων ἐκδιδοῖ κατὰ Καρκινίτιν πόλιν, ἐς δεξιὴν ἀπέργων τὴν τε Ὑλαίην καὶ τὸν Ἀχιλλήιον δρόμον καλεόμενον.

56. Ἐβδομος δὲ Γέρρος ποταμὸς ἀπέσχισται

salting, and many other wondrous things besides. Its course is from the north, and there is knowledge of it as far as the Gerrhan land, that is, for forty days' voyage; beyond that, no man can say through what nations it flows; but it is plain that it flows through desert country to the land of the farming Scythians, who dwell beside it for a ten days' voyage. This is the only river, besides the Nile, whereof I cannot say what is the source; nor, I think, can any Greek. When the stream of the Borysthenes comes near the sea, the Hypanis mingles with it, issuing into the same marsh; the land between these rivers, being a jutting beak of the country, is called Hippolaus' promontory; a temple of Demeter stands there. The settlement of the Borystheneitae is beyond the temple, on the Hypanis.

54. This is the knowledge that comes to us from these rivers. After these there is a fifth river called Panticapas; this also flows from the north out of a lake, and the land between it and the Borysthenes is inhabited by the farming Scythians; it issues into the Woodland country; which having passed it mingles with the Borysthenes.

55. The sixth is the river Hypacuris,<sup>1</sup> which rises from a lake, and flowing through the midst of the nomad Scythians issues out near the city of Carcine, bordering on its right the Woodland and the region called the Racecourse of Achilles.

56. The seventh river, the Gerrhus, parts from

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps in the Molotschna region, considerably east of the Dnieper. The "city of Carcine" lay at the eastern end of the Scythian sea-coast, close to the Tauric Chersonese (Crimea). The Racecourse of Achilles was a strip of land, now broken into islands, about 80 miles long, between the Crimea and the mouth of the Dnieper.



μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ Βορυσθέneos κατὰ τοῦτο τῆς χώρας ἐς ὃ γινώσκεται ὁ Βορυσθένης· ἀπέσχισται μὲν νυν ἐκ τούτου τοῦ χώρου, οὔνομα δὲ ἔχει τό περ ὁ χώρος αὐτός, Γέρρος, ῥέων δὲ ἐς θάλασσαν οὐρίζει τὴν τε τῶν νομάδων χώραν καὶ τὴν τῶν βασιληίων Σκυθέων, ἐκδιδοὶ δὲ ἐς τὸν Ὑπάκυριν.

57. "Ογδοος δὲ δὴ Τάναϊς ποταμός, ὃς ῥέει τάνεκαθεν ἐκ λίμνης μεγάλης ὀρμώμενος, ἐκδιδοὶ δὲ ἐς μέζω ἔτι λίμνην καλεομένην Μαιῆτιν, ἣ οὐρίζει Σκύθας τε τοὺς βασιλείους καὶ Σαυρομάτας. ἐς δὲ Τάναϊν τοῦτον ἄλλος ποταμὸς ἐσβάλλει τῷ οὔνομα ἐστὶ Ὑργις.

58. Τοῖσι μὲν δὴ ὀνομαστοῖσι ποταμοῖσι οὕτω δὴ τι οἱ Σκύθαι ἐσκευάδεται, τοῖσι δὲ κτήνεσι ἢ ποίῃ ἀναφνομένη ἐν τῇ Σκυθικῇ ἐστὶ ἐπιχολωτάτη πασέων ποιέων τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν· ἀνοιγομένοισι δὲ τοῖσι κτήνεσι ἐστὶ σταθμώσασθαι ὅτι τοῦτο οὕτω ἔχει.

59. Τὰ μὲν δὴ μέγιστα οὕτω σφι εὖπορα ἐστί, τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ νόμαια κατὰ τάδε σφι διακέεται. θεοὺς μὲν μούνους τούσδε ἱλάσκονται, Ἰστίην μὲν μάλιστα, ἐπὶ δὲ Δία καὶ Γῆν, νομίζοντες τὴν Γῆν τοῦ Διὸς εἶναι γυναῖκα, μετὰ δὲ τούτους Ἀπόλλωνά τε καὶ οὐρανίην Ἀφροδίτην καὶ Ἡρακλέα καὶ Ἄρεα. τούτους μὲν πάντες Σκύθαι νενομίκασι, οἱ δὲ καλεόμενοι βασιλῆιοι Σκύθαι καὶ τῷ Ποσειδέωνι θύουσι. ὀνομάζεται δὲ σκυθιστὶ Ἰστίῃ μὲν Ταβιτί, Ζεὺς δὲ ὀρθότατα κατὰ γνώμην γε τὴν ἐμὴν καλεόμενος Παπαῖος, Γῇ δὲ Ἀπί. Ἀπόλλων δὲ Γοιτόσυρος, οὐρανίῃ δὲ Ἀφροδίτῃ Ἀργίμπασα, Ποσειδέων δὲ Θαγιμασίδας. ἀγάλ-

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the Borysthenes at about the place which is the end of our knowledge of that river; at this place it parts, and has the same name as the place itself, Gerrhus; then in its course to the sea it divides the country of the Nomads and the country of the Royal Scythians, and issues into the Hypacuris.

57. The eighth is the river Tanaïs<sup>1</sup>; this in its upper course begins by flowing out of a great lake, and enters a yet greater lake called the Maeetian, which divides the Royal Scythians from the Sauromatae; another river, called Hyrgis,<sup>2</sup> is a tributary of this Tanaïs.

58. These are the rivers of name with which the Scythians are provided. For the rearing of cattle the grass growing in Scythia is the most bile-making of all pastures known to us; it can be judged by the opening of the bodies of the cattle that this is so.

59. The Scythians then have what most concerns them ready to hand. It remains now to show the customs which are established among them. The only gods whom they propitiate by worship are these: Hestia in especial, and secondly Zeus and Earth, whom they deem to be the wife of Zeus; after these, Apollo, and the Heavenly Aphrodite, and Heracles, and Ares. All the Scythians worship these as gods; the Scythians called Royal sacrifice also to Poseidon. In the Scythian tongue Hestia is called Tabiti: Zeus (in my judgment most rightly so called) Papaeus<sup>3</sup>; Earth is Apia, Apollo Goetosyrus, the Heavenly Aphrodite Artimpasa, and Poseidon

<sup>1</sup> The Don.

<sup>2</sup> Perhaps the "Syrgis" of ch. 123; it may be the modern Donetz.

<sup>3</sup> As the "All-Father"; *cp.* such words as *πάπας*, *παπίας*, etc.

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ματα δὲ καὶ βωμοὺς καὶ νηοὺς οὐ νομίζουσι ποιεῖν πλὴν Ἀρεῖ· τούτῳ δὲ νομίζουσι.

60. Θυσίῃ δὲ ἡ αὐτὴ πᾶσι κατέστηκε περὶ πάντα τὰ ἱρὰ ὁμοίως, ἐρδομένη ὧδε· τὸ μὲν ἱρήιον αὐτὸ ἐμπεποδισμένον τοὺς ἐμπροσθίους πόδας ἔστηκε, ὃ δὲ θύων ὀπισθε τοῦ κτήνεος ἐστεῶς σπάσας τὴν ἀρχὴν τοῦ στρόφου καταβάλλει μιν, πίπτοντος δὲ τοῦ ἱρήιου ἐπικαλέει τὸν θεὸν τῷ ἄν θύῃ, καὶ ἔπειτα βρόχῳ περὶ ὧν ἔβαλε τὸν αὐχένα, σκυταλίδα δὲ ἐμβαλὼν περιάγει καὶ ἀποπνίγει, οὔτε πῦρ ἀνακαύσας οὔτε καταρξάμενος οὔτ' ἐπισπείσας· ἀποπνίξας δὲ καὶ ἀποδείρας τράπεται πρὸς ἔψησιν.

61. Τῆς δὲ γῆς τῆς Σκυθικῆς αἰνῶς ἀξύλον εἰούσης ὧδέ σφι ἐς τὴν ἔψησιν τῶν κρεῶν ἐξεύρηται· ἐπειδὰν ἀποδείρωσι τὰ ἱρήια, γυμνοῦσι τὰ ὀστέα τῶν κρεῶν, ἔπειτα ἐσβάλλουσι, ἣν μὲν τύχῳσι ἔχοντες, ἐς λέβητας ἐπιχωρίους, μάλιστα Λεσβίοισι κρητῆρσι προσεικέλους, χωρὶς ἢ ὅτι πολλῶ μέζοντας· ἐς τούτους ἐσβάλλοντες ἔψουσι ὑποκαίοντες τὰ ὀστέα τῶν ἱρήιων. ἣν δὲ μή σφι παρῇ ὁ λέβης, οἱ δὲ ἐς τὰς γαστέρας τῶν ἱρήιων ἐσβάλλοντες τὰ κρέα πάντα καὶ παραμίξαντες ὕδωρ ὑποκαίουσι τὰ ὀστέα· τὰ δὲ αἴθεται κάλλιστα, αἱ δὲ γαστέρες χωρέουσι εὐπετέως τὰ κρέα ἐψιλωμένα τῶν ὀστέων· καὶ οὕτω βοῦς τε ἐωυτὸν ἐξέψει καὶ τᾶλλα ἱρήια ἐωυτὸ ἕκαστον. ἐπεὰν δὲ ἐψηθῇ τὰ κρέα, ὁ θύσας τῶν κρεῶν καὶ τῶν σπλάγχνων ἀπαρξάμενος ρίπτει ἐς τὸ ἐμπροσθε. θύουσι δὲ καὶ τὰ ἄλλα πρόβατα καὶ ἵππους μάλιστα.

62. Τοῖσι μὲν δὴ ἄλλοισι τῶν θεῶν οὕτω θύουσι

Thagimasadas. It is their practice to make images and altars and shrines for Ares, but for no other god.

60. In all their sacred services alike they follow the same method of sacrifice; this is how it is offered. The victim itself stands with its forefeet shackled together; the sacrificer stands behind the beast, and throws it down by plucking the end of its rope; as the victim falls, he invokes whatever god it is to whom he sacrifices. Then, throwing a noose round the beast's neck, he thrusts in a stick and twists it and so strangles the victim, lighting no fire nor offering the firstfruits, nor pouring any libation; and having strangled and flayed the beast, he sets about cooking it.

61. Now the Scythian land is wondrous bare of wood: so this is their device for cooking the flesh. When they have flayed the victims, they strip the flesh from the bones and throw them into the cauldrons of the country, if they have such: these are most like to Lesbian bowls, save that they are much bigger; into these then they throw the victim's bones, and cook them by lighting a fire beneath. But if they have no cauldron, then they cast all the flesh into the victim's stomachs, adding water thereto, and make a fire beneath of the bones, which burn finely; the stomachs easily hold the flesh when it is stripped from the bones; thus an ox serves to cook itself, and every other victim does likewise. When the flesh is cooked, the sacrificer takes the firstfruits of the flesh and the entrails and casts it before him. They use all beasts of the flock for sacrifice, but chiefly horses.

62. Such is their way of sacrificing to all other

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καὶ ταῦτα τῶν κτηνέων, τῷ δὲ Ἄρεϊ ᾧδε. κατὰ νομοὺς ἐκάστους τῶν ἀρχέων ἐσίδρυταί σφι Ἄρεος ἶρὸν τοιόνδε· φρυγάνων φάκελοι συννεύεσθαι ὅσον τ' ἐπὶ σταδίους τρεῖς μῆκος καὶ εὖρος, ὕψος δὲ ἔλασσον· ἄνω δὲ τούτου τετράγωνον ἄπεδον πεποιήται, καὶ τὰ μὲν τρία τῶν κώλων ἐστὶ ἀπότομα, κατὰ δὲ τὸ ἐν ἐπιβατόν. ἔτεος δὲ ἐκάστου ἀμάξας πεντήκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν ἐπινέουσι φρυγάνων· ὑπονοστέει γὰρ δὴ αἰεὶ ὑπὸ τῶν χειμώνων. ἐπὶ τούτου δὴ τοῦ σηκοῦ ἀκινάκης σιδήρεος ἵδρυται ἀρχαῖος ἐκάστοισι, καὶ τοῦτ' ἐστὶ τοῦ Ἄρεος τὸ ἄγαλμα. τούτῳ δὲ τῷ ἀκινάκῃ θυσίας ἐπετείλους προσάγουσι προβάτων καὶ ἵππων, καὶ δὴ καὶ τοῖσιδ' ἔτι πλέω θύουσι ἢ τοῖσι ἄλλοισι θεοῖσι· ὅσους ἂν τῶν πολεμίων ζωγρήσωσι, ἀπὸ τῶν ἑκατὸν ἀνδρῶν ἄνδρα θύουσι τρόπῳ οὐ τῷ αὐτῷ καὶ τὰ πρόβατα, ἀλλ' ἑτεροίῳ. ἐπεὰν γὰρ οἶνον ἐπισπείσωσι κατὰ τῶν κεφαλέων, ἀποσφάζουσι τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἐς ἄγγος καὶ ἔπειτα ἀνενείκαντες ἄνω ἐπὶ τὸν ὄγκον τῶν φρυγάνων καταχέουσι τὸ αἷμα τοῦ ἀκινάκεω. ἄνω μὲν δὴ φορέουσι τοῦτο, κάτω δὲ παρὰ τὸ ἶρὸν ποιεῦσι τάδε· τῶν ἀποσφαγέντων ἀνδρῶν τοὺς δεξιοὺς ὤμους πάντας ἀποταμόντες σὺν τῇσι χερσὶ ἐς τὸν ἡέρα ἰεῖσι, καὶ ἔπειτα καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ἀπέρξαντες ἱρήια ἀπαλλάσσονται. χεὶρ δὲ τῇ ἂν πέσῃ κέεται, καὶ χωρὶς ὁ νεκρός.

63. Θυσίαι μὲν νυν αὐταί σφι κατεστᾶσι. ὑσὶ δὲ οὗτοι οὐδὲν νομίζουσι, οὐδὲ τρέφειν ἐν τῇ χώρῃ τὸ παράπαν θέλουσι.

64. Τὰ δ' ἐς πόλεμον ἔχοντα ᾧδέ σφι διακέεται· ἐπεὰν τὸν πρῶτον ἄνδρα καταβάλλῃ ἀνὴρ

gods and such are the beasts offered; but their sacrifices to Ares are on this wise. Every district in each of the governments has in it a building sacred to Ares, to wit, a pile of fagots of sticks three furlongs broad and long, but of a less height, on the top of which there is a flattened four-sided surface; three of its sides are sheer, but the fourth can be ascended. In every year an hundred and fifty waggon-loads of sticks are heaped upon this; for the storms of winter ever make it sink down. On this pile there is set for each people an ancient scimitar of iron, which is their image of Ares; to this scimitar they bring yearly sacrifice of sheep and goats and horses, offering to these symbols even more than they do to the other gods. Of all their enemies that they take alive, they sacrifice one man in every hundred, not according to their fashion of sacrificing sheep and goats, but differently. They pour wine on the men's heads and cut their throats over a vessel; then they carry the blood up on to the pile of sticks and pour it on the scimitar. So they carry the blood aloft, but below by the sacred building they cut off the slain men's right arms and hands and throw these into the air, and presently depart when they have sacrificed the rest of the victims; the arm lies where it has fallen, and the body apart from it.

63. These then are their established fashions of sacrifice; but of swine these Scythians make no offerings; nor are they willing for the most part to rear them in their country.

64. As to war, these are their customs. A Scythian drinks of the blood of the first man whom he has



Σκύθης, τοῦ αἵματος ἐμπίνει, ὅσους δ' ἂν φονεύσῃ ἐν τῇ μάχῃ, τούτων τὰς κεφαλὰς ἀποφέρει τῷ βασιλεί. ἀπενείκας μὲν γὰρ κεφαλὴν τῆς λήϊης μεταλαμβάνει τὴν ἂν λάβωσι, μὴ ἐνείκας δὲ οὐ. ἀποδερίζει δὲ αὐτὴν τρόπῳ τοιῷδε· περιταμὼν κύκλῳ περὶ τὰ ὦτα καὶ λαβόμενος τῆς κεφαλῆς ἐκσείζει, μετὰ δὲ σαρκίσας βοὸς πλευρῇ δέψει τῇσι χερσί, ὀργάσας δὲ αὐτὸ ἅτε χειρόμακτρον ἔκτεται, ἐκ δὲ τῶν χαλινῶν τοῦ ἵππου τὸν αὐτὸς ἐλαύνει, ἐκ τούτου ἐξάπτει καὶ ἀγάλλεται· ὃς γὰρ ἂν πλεῖστα δέρματα χειρόμακτρα ἔχῃ, ἀνὴρ ἄριστος οὗτος κέκριται. πολλοὶ δὲ αὐτῶν ἐκ τῶν ἀποδαρμάτων καὶ χλαίνας ἐπείνυσθαι ποιεῦσι, συρράπτουντες κατὰ περ βαίτας. πολλοὶ δὲ ἀνδρῶν ἐχθρῶν τὰς δεξιὰς χεῖρας νεκρῶν ἐόντων ἀποδείραντες αὐτοῖσι ὄνυξι καλύπτρας τῶν φαρετρέων ποιεῦνται. δέρμα δὲ ἀνθρώπου καὶ παχὺ καὶ λαμπρὸν ἦν ἄρα, σχεδὸν δερμάτων πάντων λαμπρότατον λευκότητι. πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ ὅλους ἄνδρας ἐκδεύραντες καὶ διατείναντες ἐπὶ ξύλων ἐπ' ἵππων περιφέρουσι.

65. Ταῦτα μὲν δὴ οὕτω σφι νενόμισται, αὐτὰς δὲ τὰς κεφαλὰς, οὔτι πάντων ἀλλὰ τῶν ἐχθίστων, ποιεῦσι τάδε· ἀποπρίσας ἕκαστος<sup>1</sup> πᾶν τὸ ἐνερθε τῶν ὀφρύων ἐκκαθαίρει· καὶ ἦν μὲν ἦ πένης, ὃ δὲ ἔξωθεν ὠμοβοέην μούνην περιτείνας οὕτω χρᾶται, ἦν δὲ ἦ πλούσιος, τὴν μὲν ὠμοβοέην περιτείνει, ἔσωθεν δὲ καταχρυσώσας οὕτω χρᾶται ποτηρίῳ. ποιεῦσι δὲ τοῦτο καὶ ἐκ τῶν οἰκήϊων ἦν σφι διάφοροι γένωνται καὶ ἦν ἐπικρατήσῃ αὐτοῦ παρὰ τῷ βασιλεί. ξείνων δὲ οἱ ἐλθόντων τῶν ἂν λόγον

<sup>1</sup> [ἕκαστος] Stein.

overthrown. He carries to his king the heads of all whom he has slain in the battle; for he receives a share of the booty taken if he bring a head, but not otherwise. He scalps the head by making a cut round it by the ears, then grasping the scalp and shaking the head out. Then he scrapes out the flesh with the rib of an ox, and kneads the skin with his hands, and having made it supple he keeps it for a napkin, fastening it to the bridle of the horse which he himself rides, and taking pride in it; for he is judged the best man who has most scalps for napkins. Many Scythians even make garments for wear out of these scalps, sewing them together like coats of skin. Many too take off the skin, nails and all, from their dead enemies' hands, and make thereof coverings for their quivers; it would seem that the human skin is thick and shining, of all skins, one may say, the brightest and whitest. There are many too that flay the skin from the whole body and carry it about on horseback stretched on a wooden frame.

65. The heads themselves, not of all but of their bitterest foes, they treat in this wise. Each saws off all the part beneath the eyebrows, and cleanses the rest. If he be a poor man, then he does but cover the outside with a piece of raw hide, and so makes use of it; but if he be rich, he covers the head with the raw hide, and gilds the inside of it and so uses it for a drinking-cup. Such cups a man makes also of the head of his own kinsman with whom he has been at feud, and whom he has worsted in a suit before the king; and if guests whom he honours visit

ποιέηται, τὰς κεφαλὰς ταύτας παραφέρει καὶ ἐπιλέγει ὡς οἱ ἑόντες οἰκῆιοι πόλεμον προσεθή-  
καντο καὶ σφεων αὐτὸς ἐπεκράτησε, ταύτην  
ἀνδραγαθίην λέγοντες.

66. "Απαξ δὲ τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ ἑκάστου ὁ νομάρχης  
ἕκαστος ἐν τῷ ἔωυτοῦ νομῷ κερνᾷ κρητῆρα οἴνου,  
ἀπ' οὗ πίνουσι τῶν Σκυθέων τοῖσι ἂν ἄνδρες  
πολέμιοι ἀραιρημένοι ἔωσι· τοῖσι δ' ἂν μὴ κατερ-  
γασμένον ἢ τοῦτο, οὐ γεύονται τοῦ οἴνου τούτου,  
ἀλλ' ἡτιμωμένοι ἀποκατέαται· ὄνειδος δέ σφι ἐστὶ  
μέγιστον τοῦτο. ὅσοι δὲ ἂν αὐτῶν καὶ κάρτα  
πολλοὺς ἄνδρας ἀραιρηκότες ἔωσι, οὗτοι δὲ  
σύνδυο κύλικας ἔχοντες πίνουσι ὁμοῦ.

67. Μάντιες δὲ Σκυθέων εἰσὶ πολλοί, οἳ μαν-  
τεύονται ῥάβδοισι ἰτεῖνῃσι πολλῇσι ᾧδε· ἐπεὰν  
φακέλους ῥάβδων μεγάλους ἐνείκωνται, θέντες  
χαμαὶ διεξειλίσσουσι αὐτούς, καὶ ἐπὶ μίαν ἐκά-  
στην ῥάβδον τιθέντες θεσπίζουσι, ἅμα τε λέγοντες  
ταῦτα συνειλέουσι τὰς ῥάβδους ὀπίσω καὶ αὖτις  
κατὰ μίαν συντιθεῖσι. αὕτη μὲν σφι ἡ μαντικὴ  
πατρωίη ἐστὶ. οἳ δὲ Ἐνάρεες οἳ ἀνδρόγυννοι τὴν  
Ἀφροδίτην σφίσι λέγουσι μαντικὴν δοῦναι· φι-  
λύρης δ' ὦν φλοιῷ μαντεύονται· ἐπεὰν τὴν  
φιλύρην τρίχα σχίσῃ, διαπλέκων ἐν τοῖσι δακτύ-  
λοισι τοῖσι ἔωυτοῦ καὶ διαλύων χρᾶ.

68. Ἐπεὰν δὲ βασιλεὺς ὁ Σκυθέων κάμῃ,  
μεταπέμπεται τῶν μαντίων ἄνδρας τρεῖς τοὺς  
εὐδοκιμέοντας μάλιστα, οἳ τρόπῳ τῷ εἰρημένῳ  
μαντεύονται· καὶ λέγουσι οὗτοι ὡς τὸ ἐπίπαν  
μάλιστα τάδε, ὡς τὰς βασιλῆϊας ἰστίας ἐπιώρ-  
κηκε ὃς καὶ ὅς, λέγοντες τῶν ἀστῶν τὸν ἂν δὴ  
λέγωσι. τὰς δὲ βασιλῆϊας ἰστίας νόμος Σκύθησι

## BOOK IV. 65-68

him he will serve them with these heads, and show how the dead were his kinsfolk who made war upon him and were worsted by him; this they call manly valour.

66. Moreover once in every year each governor of a province brews a bowl of wine in his own province, whereof those Scythians drink who have slain enemies; those who have not achieved this taste not this wine but sit apart dishonoured; and this they count a very great disgrace; but as many as have slain not one but many enemies, they have each two cups and so drink of them both.

67. There are among the Scythians many diviners, who divine by means of many willow wands as I will show. They bring great bundles of wands, which they lay on the ground and unfasten, and utter their divinations laying one rod on another; and while they yet speak they gather up the rods once more and lay them together one by one; this manner of divination is hereditary among them. The Enareis, who are epicene, say that Aphrodite gave them the art of divination, which they practise by means of lime-tree bark. They cut this bark into three portions, and prophesy while they plait and unplait these in their fingers.

68. But whenever the king of the Scythians falls sick, he sends for the three diviners most in repute, who prophesy in the aforesaid manner; and they for the most part tell him that such and such a man (naming whoever it is of the people of the country) has forsworn himself by the king's hearth; for when the Scythians will swear their mightiest oath, it is

τὰ μάλιστα ἐστὶ ὀμνύναι τότε ἐπεὰν τὸν μέγιστον ὄρκον ἐθέλωσι ὀμνύναι. αὐτίκα δὲ διαλελαμμένος ἄγεται οὗτος τὸν ἂν δὴ φῶσι ἐπιορκῆσαι, ἀπιγμένον δὲ ἐλέγχουσι οἱ μάντιες ὡς ἐπιορκήσας φαίνεται ἐν τῇ μαντικῇ τὰς βασιληίας ἰστίας καὶ διὰ ταῦτα ἀλγέει ὁ βασιλεὺς· ὃ δὲ ἀρνέεται, οὐ φάμενος ἐπιορκῆσαι, καὶ δεινολογέεται. ἀρνεομένου δὲ τούτου ὁ βασιλεὺς μεταπέμπεται ἄλλους διπλησίους μάντιας· καὶ ἦν μὲν καὶ οὗτοι ἐσορῶντες ἐς τὴν μαντικὴν καταδήσωσι ἐπιορκῆσαι, τοῦ δὲ ἰθέως τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀποτάμνουσι, καὶ τὰ χρήματα αὐτοῦ διαλαγχάνουσι οἱ πρῶτοι τῶν μαντίων· ἦν δὲ οἱ ἐπελθόντες μάντιες ἀπολύσωσι, ἄλλοι πάρεισι μάντιες καὶ μάλα ἄλλοι. ἦν ὦν οἱ πλευνες τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἀπολύσωσι, δέδοκται τοῖσι πρῶτοισι τῶν μαντίων αὐτοῖσι ἀπόλλυσθαι.

69. Ἀπολλῦσι δῆτα αὐτοὺς τρόπῳ τοιῷδε· ἐπεὰν ἄμαξαν φρυγάνων πλήσωσι καὶ ὑποζεύξωσι βούς, ἐμποδίσαντες τοὺς μάντιας καὶ χεῖρας ὀπίσω δῆσαντες καὶ στομώσαντες κατεργνῦσι ἐς μέσα τὰ φρύγανα. ὑποπρήσαντες δὲ αὐτὰ ἀπιεῖσι φοβήσαντες τοὺς βούς. πολλοὶ μὲν δὴ συγκατακαίονται τοῖσι μάντισι βόες, πολλοὶ δὲ περικεκαυμένοι ἀποφεύγουσι, ἐπεὰν αὐτῶν ὁ ῥυμὸς κατακαυθῇ. κατακαίουσι δὲ τρόπῳ τῷ εἰρημένῳ καὶ δι' ἄλλας αἰτίας τοὺς μάντιας, ψευδομάντιας καλέοντες. τοὺς δ' ἂν ἀποκτείνῃ βασιλεὺς, τούτων οὐδὲ τοὺς παῖδας λείπει, ἀλλὰ πάντα τὰ ἔρσενα κτείνει, τὰ δὲ θήλεα οὐκ ἰδικέει.

70. Ὅρκια δὲ ποιεῦνται Σκύθαι ὧδε πρὸς τοὺς ἂν ποιέωνται· ἐς κύλिका μεγάλην κεραμίνην οἶνον ἐγχεάντες αἷμα συμμίσγουσι τῶν τὸ ὄρκιον ταμ-

by the king's hearth that their custom is to swear most solemnly. Forthwith the man whom they allege to be forsworn is seized and brought in, and when he comes the diviners accuse him, saying that their divination shows him to have forsworn himself by the king's hearth, and that this is the cause of the king's sickness; and the man vehemently denies that he is forsworn. So when he denies it the king sends for twice as many diviners: and if they too, looking into their art, prove him guilty of perjury, then straightway he is beheaded and his goods are divided among the first diviners; but if the later diviners acquit him, then other diviners come, and yet again others. If then the greater number of them acquit the man, it is decreed that the first diviners shall themselves be put to death.

69. And this is the manner of their death. Men yoke oxen to a waggon laden with sticks and make the diviners fast amid these, fettering their legs and binding their hands behind them and gagging them; then they set fire to the sticks and drive the oxen away, affrighting them. Often the oxen are burnt to death with the diviners, and often the pole of their waggon is burnt through and the oxen escape with a scorching. They burn their diviners for other reasons, too, in the manner aforesaid, calling them false prophets. When the king puts a man to death, neither does he leave the sons alive, but kills all the males of the family; to the females he does no hurt.

70. As for the giving of sworn pledges to such as are to receive them, this is the Scythian fashion: they take blood from the parties to the agreement



νομένων, τύψαντες ὑπέατι ἢ ἐπιταμόντες μαχαίρῃ σμικρὸν τοῦ σώματος, καὶ ἔπειτα ἀποβάψαντες ἐς τὴν κύλικα ἀκινάκην καὶ ὀιστοὺς καὶ σάγαριν καὶ ἀκόντιον· ἐπεὰν δὲ ταῦτα ποιήσωσι, κατεύχονται πολλὰ καὶ ἔπειτα ἀποπίνουσι αὐτοὶ τε οἱ τὸ ὄρκιον ποιεύμενοι καὶ τῶν ἐπομένων οἱ πλείστου ἄξιοι.

71. Ταφαὶ δὲ τῶν βασιλέων ἐν Γέρροισι εἰσὶ ἐς δ' ὁ Βορυσθένης ἐστὶ προσπλωτός.<sup>1</sup> ἐνθαῦτα, ἐπεὰν σφί ἀποθάνῃ ὁ βασιλεύς, ὄρυγμα γῆς μέγα ὀρύσσουσι τετράγωνον, ἔτοιμον δὲ τοῦτο ποιήσαντες ἀναλαμβάνουσι τὸν νεκρόν, κατακεκρωμένον μὲν τὸ σῶμα, τὴν δὲ νηδὺν ἀνασχισθεῖσαν καὶ καθαρθεῖσαν, πλέην κυπέρου κεκομμένου καὶ θυμιάματος καὶ σελίνου σπέρματος καὶ ἀννήσου, συνερραμμένην ὀπίσω, καὶ κομίζουσι ἐν ἀμάξῃ ἐς ἄλλο ἔθνος. οἱ δὲ ἂν παραδέξωνται κομισθέντα τὸν νεκρόν, ποιεῦσι τά περ οἱ βασιλήιοι Σκύθαι· τοῦ ὠτὸς ἀποτάμνονται, τρίχας περικείμεναι, βραχίονας περιτάμνονται, μέτωπον καὶ ῥίνα κατὰ μύσσονται, διὰ τῆς ἀριστερῆς χειρὸς ὀιστοὺς διαβνέονται. ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ κομίζουσι ἐν τῇ ἀμάξῃ τοῦ βασιλέως τὸν νέκυν ἐς ἄλλο ἔθνος τῶν ἄρχουσι· οἱ δὲ σφί ἔπονται ἐς τοὺς πρότερον ἦλθον. ἐπεὰν δὲ πάντας περιέλθωσι τὸν νέκυν κομίζοντες, ἔν τε Γέρροισι ἔσχατα κατοικημένοισι εἰσὶ τῶν ἐθνέων τῶν ἄρχουσι καὶ ἐν τῇσι ταφῇσι. καὶ ἔπειτα, ἐπεὰν θέωσι τὸν νέκυν ἐν τῇσι θήκησι ἐπὶ στιβίδος, παραπήξαντες αἰχμὰς ἔνθεν καὶ ἔνθεν τοῦ νεκροῦ ξύλα ὑπερτείνουσι καὶ ἔπειτα ῥίψι

<sup>1</sup> ἐς δ' — προσπλωτός is bracketed by Stein, chiefly on the ground of inconsistency with ch. 53.

by making a little hole or cut in the body with an awl or a knife, and pour it mixed with wine into a great earthenware cup, wherein they then dip a scimitar and arrows and an axe and a javelin; and when this is done the makers of the sworn agreement themselves, and the most honourable of their followers, drink of the blood after solemn imprecations.

71. The burial-places of the kings are in the land of the Gerrhi, which is the end of the navigation of the Borysthenes. There, whenever their king has died, the Scythians dig a great four-cornered pit in the ground; when this is ready they take up the dead man—his body enclosed in wax, his belly cut open and cleansed and filled with cut marsh-plants and frankincense and parsley and anise seed, and sewn up again—and carry him on a waggon to another tribe. **Then those that receive the dead man at his coming do the same as do the Royal Scythians; that is, they cut off a part of their ears, shave their heads, make cuts round their arms, tear their foreheads and noses, and pierce their left hands with arrows.** Thence the bearers carry the king's body on the waggon to another of the tribes which they rule, and those to whom they have already come follow them; and having carried the dead man to all in turn, they are in the country of the Gerrhi, the farthest distant of all tribes under their rule, and at the place of burial. Then, having laid the dead in the tomb on a couch, they plant spears all round the body and lay across them wooden planks, which they then roof over with hides; in the

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καταστεγάζουσι, ἐν δὲ τῇ λοιπῇ εὐρυχωρίῃ τῆς θήκης τῶν παλλακέων τε μίαν ἀποπνίξαντες θάπτουσι καὶ τὸν οἶνοχόον καὶ μάγειρον καὶ ἵπποκόμον καὶ διήκονον καὶ ἀγγελιηφόρον καὶ ἵππους καὶ τῶν ἄλλων πάντων ἀπαρχὰς καὶ φιάλας χρυσέας· ἀργύρῳ δὲ οὐδὲν οὐδὲ χαλκῷ χρέωνται. ταῦτα δὲ ποιήσαντες χοῦσι πάντες χῶμα μέγα, ἀμιλλώμενοι καὶ προθυμεόμενοι ὡς μέγιστον ποιῆσαι.

72. Ἐνιαυτοῦ δὲ περιφερομένου αὐτὶς ποιεῦσι τοιόνδε· λαβόντες τῶν λοιπῶν θεραπόντων τοὺς ἐπιτηδεοτάτους (οἳ δὲ εἰσὶ Σκύθαι ἐγγενέες· οὗτοι γὰρ θεραπεύουσι τοὺς ἂν αὐτὸς ὁ βασιλεὺς κελεύσῃ, ἀργυρώνητοι δὲ οὐκ εἰσὶ σφί θεράποντες), τούτων ὧν τῶν διηκόνων ἐπεὰν ἀποπνίξωσι πεντήκοντα καὶ ἵππους τοὺς καλλίστους πεντήκοντα, ἐξελόντες αὐτῶν τὴν κοιλίην καὶ καθήραντες ἐμπιπλᾷσι ἀχύρων καὶ συρράπτουσι. ἀψίδος δὲ ἥμισυ ἐπὶ δύο ξύλα στήσαντες ὕπτιον καὶ τὸ ἕτερον ἥμισυ τῆς ἀψίδος ἐπ' ἕτερα δύο, καταπήξαντες τρόπῳ τοιούτῳ πολλὰ ταῦτα, ἔπειτα τῶν ἵππων κατὰ τὰ μήκεα ξύλα παχέα διελάσαντες μέχρι τῶν τραχήλων ἀναβιβάζουσι αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ τὰς ἀψίδας· τῶν δὲ αἱ μὲν πρότεραι ἀψίδες ὑπέχουσι τοὺς ὦμους τῶν ἵππων, αἱ δὲ ὀπισθε παρὰ τοὺς μηροὺς τὰς γαστέρας ὑπολαμβάνουσι· σκέλεα δὲ ἀμφοτέρα κατακρέμαται μετέωρα. χαλινοὺς δὲ καὶ στόμια ἐμβαλόντες ἐς τοὺς ἵππους κατατείνουσι ἐς τὸ πρόσθε αὐτῶν καὶ ἔπειτα ἐκ πασσάλων δέουσι. τῶν δὲ δὴ νεηνίσκων τῶν ἀποπεπνιγμένων τῶν πεντήκοντα ἕνα ἕκαστον ἀναβιβάζουσι ἐπὶ τὸν ἵππον, ὧδε ἀναβιβάζοντες, ἐπεὰν νεκροῦ ἐκάστου

## BOOK IV. 71-72

open space which is left in the tomb they bury, after strangling, one of the king's concubines, his cup-bearer, his cook, his groom, his squire, and his messenger, besides horses, and first-fruits of all else, and golden cups; for the Scythians make no use of silver or bronze. Having done this they all build a great barrow of earth, vying zealously with one another to make this as great as may be.

72. With the completion of a year they begin a fresh practice. Taking the trustiest of the rest of the king's servants (and these are native-born Scythians, for only those serve the king whom he bids so to do, and none of the Scythians have servants bought by money) they strangle fifty of these squires and fifty of their best horses and empty and cleanse the bellies of all and fill them with chaff. Then they make fast the half of a wheel to two posts, so that it hangs down, and the other half to another pair of posts, till many posts thus furnished are planted in the ground, and, presently, driving thick stakes lengthways through the horses' bodies to their necks, they lay the horses aloft on the wheels so that the wheel in front supports the horse's shoulders and the wheel behind takes the weight of the belly by the hindquarters, and the forelegs and hindlegs hang free; and putting bridles and bits in the horses' mouths they stretch the bridles to the front and make them fast with pegs. Then they take each one of the fifty strangled young men and mount him on the horse; their way of doing it is to drive an upright stake through each

παρὰ τὴν ἄκανθαν ξύλον ὀρθὸν διελάσωσι μέχρι τοῦ τραχήλου· κάτωθεν δὲ ὑπερέχει τοῦ ξύλου τούτου τὸ ἐς τὸρμον πηγνύουσι τοῦ ἑτέρου ξύλου τοῦ διὰ τοῦ ἵππου. ἐπιστήσαντες δὲ κύκλῳ τὸ σῆμα ἱππέας τοιούτους ἀπελαύνουσι.

73. Οὕτω μὲν τοὺς βασιλέας θάπτουσι· τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους Σκύθας, ἐπεὰν ἀποθάνωσι, περιάγουσι οἱ ἀγχοτάτω προσήκοντες κατὰ τοὺς φίλους ἐν ἀμάξῃσι κειμένους· τῶν δὲ ἕκαστος ὑποδεκόμενος εὐώχρει τοὺς ἐπομένους, καὶ τῷ νεκρῷ ἀπάντων παραπλησίως παρατίθησι ὅσα τοῖσι ἄλλοισι. ἡμέρας δὲ τεσσεράκοντα οὕτω οἱ ἰδιῶται περιάγονται, ἔπειτα θάπτονται. θάψαντες δὲ οἱ Σκύθαι καθαίρονται τρόπῳ τοιῷδε. σμησάμενοι τὰς κεφαλὰς καὶ ἐκπλυνάμενοι ποιεῦσι περὶ τὸ σῶμα τάδε· ἐπεὰν ξύλα στήσωσι τρία ἐς ἄλληλα κεκλιμένα, περὶ ταῦτα πῖλους εἰρινέους περιτείνουσι, συμφράξαντες δὲ ὡς μάλιστα λίθους ἐκ πυρὸς διαφανέας ἐσβάλλουσι ἐς σκάφην κειμένην ἐν μέσῳ τῶν ξύλων τε καὶ τῶν πέλων.

74. Ἔστι δὲ σφι κάνναβις φυομένη ἐν τῇ χώρῃ πλὴν παχύτητος καὶ μεγάλθους τῷ λίνῳ ἐμφερεστάτη· ταύτῃ δὲ πολλῷ ὑπερφέρει ἢ κάνναβις. αὕτη καὶ αὐτομάτη καὶ σπειρομένη φύεται, καὶ ἐξ αὐτῆς Θρήικες μὲν καὶ εἴματα ποιεῦνται τοῖσι λινέοισι ὁμοιώτατα· οὐδ' ἄν, ὅστις μὴ κάρτα τρίβων εἴη αὐτῆς, διαγνοίῃ λίνου ἢ καννάβιος ἐστί· ὃς δὲ μὴ εἰδὲ κω τὴν κανναβίδα, λίνεον δοκήσει εἶναι τὸ εἶμα.

75. Ταύτης ὦν οἱ Σκύθαι τῆς καννάβιος τὸ σπέρμα ἐπεὰν λάβωσι, ὑποδύνουσι ὑπὸ τοὺς πῖλους, καὶ ἔπειτα ἐπιβάλλουσι τὸ σπέρμα ἐπὶ

## BOOK IV. 72-75

body passing up by the spine to the neck, and enough of the stake projects below to be fixed in a hole made in the other stake, that which passes through the horse. So having set horsemen of this fashion round about the tomb they ride away.

73. Such is their way of burying their kings. All other Scythians, when they die, are laid in waggons and carried about among their friends by their nearest of kin; each receives them and entertains the retinue hospitably, setting before the dead man about as much of the fare as he serves to the rest. All but the kings are thus borne about for forty days and then buried. After the burial the Scythians cleanse themselves as I will show: they anoint and wash their heads; as for their bodies, they set up three poles leaning together to a point and cover these over with woollen rugs; then, in the place so enclosed to the best of their power, they make a pit in the centre beneath the poles and the rugs and throw red-hot stones into it.

74. They have hemp growing in their country, very like flax, save that the hemp is by much the thicker and taller. This grows both of itself and also by their sowing, and of it the Thracians even make garments which are very like linen; nor could any, save he were a past master in hemp, know whether they be hempen or linen; whoever has never yet seen hemp will think the garment to be linen.

75. The Scythians then take the seed of this hemp and, creeping under the rugs, they throw it



τοὺς διαφανέας λίθους τῷ πυρί· τὸ δὲ θυμιᾶται ἐπιβαλλόμενον καὶ ἀτμίδα παρέχεται τοσαύτην ὥστε Ἑλληνικὴ οὐδεμία ἂν μιν πυρίῃ ἀποκρατήσκει. οἱ δὲ Σκύθαι ἀγάμενοι τῇ πυρίῃ ὠρύονται. τοῦτό σφι αἰτὶ λουτροῦ ἐστὶ· οὐ γὰρ δὴ λούονται ὕδατι τὸ παράπαν τὸ σῶμα. αἱ δὲ γυναῖκες αὐτῶν ὕδωρ παραχέουσai κατασώχουσι περὶ λίθον τρηχὺν τῆς κυπαρίσσου καὶ κέδρου καὶ λιβάνου ξύλου, καὶ ἔπειτα τὸ κατασώχόμενον τοῦτο παχὺ ἐὼν καταπλάσσονται πᾶν τὸ σῶμα καὶ τὸ πρόσωπον· καὶ ἅμα μὲν εὐωδίῃ σφέας ἀπὸ τούτου ἴσχει, ἅμα δὲ ἀπαιρέουσai τῇ δευτέρῃ ἡμέρῃ τὴν καταπλαστὺν γίνονται καθαράι καὶ λαμπραί.

76. Ξεινικοῖσι δὲ νομαίοισι καὶ οὗτοι φεύγουσι αἰνῶς χρᾶσθαι, μήτε τεῶν ἄλλων, Ἑλληνικοῖσι δὲ καὶ ἥκιστα, ὥς διέδεξαν Ἀνάχαρσις τε καὶ δεύτερα αὐτὶς Σκύλης. τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ Ἀνάχαρσις ἐπείτε γῆν πολλὴν θεωρήσας καὶ ἀποδεξάμενος κατ' αὐτὴν σοφίην πολλὴν ἐκομίζετο ἐς ἡθεα τὰ Σκυθέων, πλέων δι' Ἑλλησπόντου προσίσχει ἐς Κύζικον· καὶ εὔρε γὰρ τῇ μητρὶ τῶν θεῶν ἀνάγοντας τοὺς Κυζικηνοὺς ὀρτὴν μεγαλοπρεπέως κάρτα, εὔξατο τῇ μητρὶ ὃ Ἀνάχαρσις, ἣν σῶς καὶ ὑγιὲς ἀπονοστήσῃ ἐς ἐωυτοῦ, θύσειν τε κατὰ ταῦτα κατὰ ὥρα τοὺς Κυζικηνοὺς ποιεῦντας καὶ παννυχίδα στήσειν. ὥς δὲ ἀπρίκετο ἐς τὴν Σκυθικὴν, καταδὺς ἐς τὴν καλεομένην Ὑλαίην (ἣ δ' ἐστὶ μὲν παρὰ τὸν Ἀχιλλήϊον δρόμον, τυγχάνει δὲ πᾶσα ἐοῦσα δειδρέων παντοίων πλέῃ), ἐς ταύτην δὴ καταδὺς ὃ Ἀνάχαρσις τὴν ὀρτὴν ἐπετέλεε πᾶσαν τῇ θεῷ, τύμπανόν τε ἔχων καὶ ἐκδησάμενος ἀγάλματα. καὶ τῶν τις Σκυθέων καταφρασθεὶς

on the red-hot stones; and, being so thrown, it smoulders and sends forth so much steam that no Greek vapour-bath could surpass it. The Scythians howl in joy for the vapour-bath. This serves them instead of bathing, for scarce ever do they wash their bodies with water. But their women grind with a rough stone cypress and cedar and frankincense wood, pouring water also thereon, and with the thick stuff so ground they anoint all their bodies and faces, whereby not only does a fragrant scent abide upon them, but when on the second day they take off the ointment their skin becomes clean and shining.

76. But as regards foreign usages, the Scythians (as others) are wondrous loth to practise those of any other country, and of Hellas in especial, as was proved in the case of Anacharsis and again also of Scyles. For when Anacharsis, having seen much of the world in his travels and given many proofs of his wisdom therein, was coming back to the Scythian country, he sailed through the Hellespont and put in at Cyzicus; where, finding the Cyzicenes celebrating the feast of the Mother of the Gods with great pomp, he vowed to this same Mother that, if he returned to his own country safe and sound, he would sacrifice to her as he saw the Cyzicenes do, and establish a nightly rite of worship. So when he came to Scythia, he hid himself in the country called Woodland (which is beside the Race of Achilles, and is all overgrown with every kind of wood); hiding himself there Anacharsis celebrated the goddess's ritual with exactness, carrying a cymbal and hanging about himself images. Then some

αὐτὸν ταῦτα ποιεῦντα ἐσήμηνε τῷ βασιλεί Σαυλίῳ· ὁ δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς ἀπικόμενος ὡς εἶδε τὸν Ἀνάχαρσιν ποιεῦντα ταῦτα, τοξεύσας αὐτὸν ἀπέκτεινε. καὶ νῦν ἦν τις εἴρηται περὶ Ἀναχάρσιος, οὐ φασὶ μιν Σκύθαι γινώσκειν, διὰ τοῦτο ὅτι ἐξεδήμησέ τε ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα καὶ ξεινικοῖσι ἔθεσι διεχρήσατο. ὡς δ' ἐγὼ ἤκουσα Τύμνεω τοῦ Ἀριαπίεθεος ἐπιτρόπου, εἶναι αὐτὸν Ἰδανθύρσου τοῦ Σκυθέων βασιλέος πύτρων, παῖδα δὲ εἶναι Γνούρου τοῦ Λύκου τοῦ Σπαργαπίεθεος. εἰ ὦν ταύτης ἦν τῆς οἰκῆς ὁ Ἀνάχαρσις, ἴστω ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀδελφεοῦ ἀποθανών· Ἰδάνθυρσος γὰρ ἦν παῖς Σαυλίου, Σαύλιος δὲ ἦν ὁ ἀποκτείνας Ἀνάχαρσιν.

77. Καίτοι τινὰ ἤδη ἤκουσα λόγον ἄλλον ὑπὸ Πελοποννησίων λεγόμενον, ὡς ὑπὸ τοῦ Σκυθέων βασιλέος Ἀνάχαρσις ἀποπεμφθεὶς τῆς Ἑλλάδος μαθητῆς γένοιτο, ὀπίσω τε ἀπονουστήσας φαίη πρὸς τὸν ἀποπέμψαντα Ἕλληνας πάντας ἀσχόλους εἶναι ἐς πᾶσαν σοφίην πλὴν Λακεδαιμονίων, τούτοισι δὲ εἶναι μούνοισι σωφρόνως δοῦναί τε καὶ δέξασθαι λόγον. ἀλλ' οὗτος μὲν ὁ λόγος ἄλλως πέπλασται ὑπ' αὐτῶν Ἑλλήνων, ὁ δ' ὦν ἀνὴρ ὥσπερ πρότερον εἰρέθη διεφθάρη.

78. Οὗτος μὲν νυν οὕτω δὴ ἔπρηξε διὰ ξεινικά τε νόμαια καὶ Ἑλληνικὰς ὁμιλίας. πολλοῖσι δὲ κάρτα ἔτεσι ὕστερον Σκύλης ὁ Ἀριαπίεθεος ἔπαθε παραπλήσια τούτῳ. Ἀριαπίεθεϊ γὰρ τῷ Σκυθέων βασιλεί γίνεται μετ' ἄλλων παίδων Σκύλης· ἐξ Ἰστριηνῆς δὲ γυναικὸς οὗτος γίνεται καὶ οὐδαμῶς ἐγχωρίης· τὸν ἢ μήτηρ αὕτη γλῶσσάν τε Ἑλλάδα καὶ γράμματα ἐδίδαξε. μετὰ δὲ χρόνῳ ὕστερον

Scythian marked him doing this and told it to the king, Saulius ; who, coming himself to the place and seeing Anacharsis performing these rites, shot an arrow at him and slew him. And now the Scythians, if they are asked about Anacharsis, say they have no knowledge of him ; this is because he left his country for Hellas and followed the customs of strangers. But according to what I heard from Tymnes, the deputy for Ariapithes, Anacharsis was uncle to Idanthysus king of Scythia, and he was the son of Gnurus, son of Lycus, son of Spargapithes. Now if Anacharsis was truly of this family, then I would have him know that he was slain by his own brother ; for Idanthysus was the son of Saulius, and it was Saulius who slew Anacharsis.

77. It is true that I have heard another story told by the Pelponnesians ; namely, that Anacharsis had been sent by the king of Scythia and had been a learner of the ways of Hellas, and after his return told the king who sent him that all Greeks were zealous for every kind of learning, save only the Lacedaemonians ; but that these were the only Greeks who spoke and listened with discretion. But this is a tale vainly invented by the Greeks themselves ; and be this as it may, the man was put to death as I have said.

78. Such-like, then, was the fortune that befell Anacharsis, all for his foreign usages and his companionship with Greeks ; and a great many years afterwards, Scyles, son of Ariapithes, suffered a like fate. Scyles was one of the sons born to Ariapithes, king of Scythia ; but his mother was of Istria,<sup>1</sup> and not native-born ; and she taught him to speak and read Greek.

<sup>1</sup> In what is now the Dobrudja.

Ἀριαπίθης μὲν τελευτᾷ δόλῳ ὑπὸ Σπαργαπίθεος τοῦ Ἀγαθύρσων βασιλέος, Σκύλης δὲ τὴν τε βασιληίην παρέλαβε καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα τοῦ πατρός, τῇ οὖνομα ἦν Ὀποίη· ἦν δὲ αὕτη ἡ Ὀποίη ἀστή, ἐξ ἧς ἦν Ὀρικος Ἀριαπίθει παῖς. βασιλεύων δὲ Σκυθέων ὁ Σκύλης διαίτη οὐδαμῶς ἡρέσκετο Σκυθικῇ, ἀλλὰ πολλὸν πρὸς τὰ Ἑλληνικὰ μάλλον τετραμμένος ἦν ἀπὸ παιδεύσιος τῆς ἐπεπαίδευτο, ἐποίεε τε τοιοῦτο· εὖτε ἀγάγοι τὴν στρατιὴν τὴν Σκυθέων εἰς τὸ Βορυσθενεϊτέων ἄστνυ (οἱ δὲ Βορυσθενεῖται οὗτοι λέγουσι σφέας αὐτοὺς εἶναι Μιλησίους), εἰς τούτους ὅκως ἔλθοι ὁ Σκύλης, τὴν μὲν στρατιὴν καταλίπεσκε ἐν τῷ προαστείῳ, αὐτὸς δὲ ὅκως ἔλθοι εἰς τὸ τεῖχος καὶ τὰς πύλας ἐγκληίσειε, τὴν στολὴν ἀποθέμενος τὴν Σκυθικὴν λάβεσκε ἂν Ἑλληνίδα ἐσθῆτα, ἔχων δ' ἂν ταύτην ἡγόραζε οὔτε δορυφόρων ἐπομένων οὔτε ἄλλου οὐδενός· τὰς δὲ πύλας ἐφύλασσοι, μή τις μιν Σκυθέων ἴδοι ἔχοντα ταύτην τὴν στολὴν· καὶ τὰ τε ἄλλα ἐχρᾶτο διαίτη Ἑλληνικῇ καὶ θεοῖσι ἱρὰ ἐποίεε κατὰ νόμους τοὺς Ἑλλήνων. ὅτε δὲ διατρίψει μῆνα ἢ πλεον τούτου, ἀπαλλάσσετο ἐνδὺς τὴν Σκυθικὴν στολὴν. ταῦτα ποίεσκε πολλάκις καὶ οἰκία τε ἐδείματο ἐν Βορυσθενεῖ καὶ γυναῖκα ἔγημε εἰς αὐτὰ ἐπιχωρίην.

79. Ἐπεῖτε δὲ ἔδεε οἱ κακῶς γενέσθαι, ἐγίνετο ἀπὸ προφάσιος τοιῆσδε. ἐπεθύμησε Διονύσω Βακχείῳ τελεσθῆναι· μέλλοντι δέ οἱ εἰς χεῖρας ἄγεσθαι τὴν τελετὴν ἐγένετο φάσμα μέγιστον. ἦν οἱ ἐν Βορυσθενεϊτέων τῇ πόλι οἰκίης μεγάλης καὶ πολυτελέος περιβολή, τῆς καὶ ὀλίγω τι πρότερον τούτων μνήμην εἶχον, τὴν πέριξ λευκοῦ λίθου σφίγγες τε καὶ γρυῖπες ἔστασαν· εἰς ταύτην ὁ θεὸς

As time passed, Ariapithes was treacherously slain by Spargapithes, king of the Agathyrsi, and Scyles inherited the kingship and his father's wife, whose name was Opoea, a Scythian woman, and she bore to Scyles a son, Oricus. So Scyles was king of Scythia; but he was in no wise content with the Scythian manner of life, and was much more inclined to Greek ways, from the bringing up which he had received; so this is what he did: having led the Scythian army to the city of the Borysthenites (who say that they are Milesians)—having, I say, come thither, he would ever leave his army in the suburb of the city, but he himself, entering within the walls and shutting the gates would doff his Scythian apparel and don a Greek dress; and in it he went among the townsmen unattended by spearmen or any others (the people guarding the gates, lest any Scythian should see him wearing this apparel), and in every way followed the Greek manner of life, and worshipped the gods according to Greek usage. Then having so spent a month or more, he put on Scythian dress and left the city. This he did often; and he built him a house in Borysthenes, and married and brought thither a wife of the people of the country.

79. But when the time came that evil should befall him, this was the cause of it: he conceived a desire to be initiated into the rites of the Bacchic Dionysus; and when he was about to begin the sacred mysteries, he saw a wondrous vision. He had in the city of the Borysthenites a spacious house, great and costly (that same house whereof I have just made mention), all surrounded by sphinxes and griffins wrought in white stone; this house was



ἐνέσκηψε βέλος. καὶ ἡ μὲν κατεκίη πᾶσα, Σκύλης δὲ οὐδὲν τούτου εἵνεκα ἦσσαν ἐπετέλεσε τὴν τελετήν. Σκύθαι δὲ τοῦ βακχεύειν πέρι "Ἑλλησι οὐνειδίζουσιν· οὐ γὰρ φασὶ οἶκός εἶναι θεὸν ἐξευρίσκειν τοῦτον ὅστις μαίνεσθαι ἐνάγει ἀνθρώπους. ἐπεῖτε δὲ ἐτελέσθη τῷ Βακχείῳ ὁ Σκύλης, διεπρήστευσε τῶν τις Βορυσθενεΐτέων πρὸς τοὺς Σκύθας λέγων "Ἡμῖν γὰρ καταγελάτε, ὦ Σκύθαι, ὅτι βακχεύομεν καὶ ἡμέας ὁ θεὸς λαμβάνει· νῦν οὗτος ὁ daίμων καὶ τὸν ὑμέτερον βασιλέα λελάβηκε, καὶ βακχεύει τε καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ μαίνεται. εἰ δέ μοι ἀπιστέετε, ἔπεσθε, καὶ ὑμῖν ἐγὼ δέξω." εἶποντο τῶν Σκύθεων οἱ προεστέωτες, καὶ αὐτοὺς ἀναγαγὼν ὁ Βορυσθενεΐτης λάθρῃ ἐπὶ πύργον κατεῖσε. ἐπεῖτε δὲ παρήιε σὺν τῷ θιάσῳ ὁ Σκύλης καὶ εἰδὼν μιν βακχεύοντα οἱ Σκύθαι, κάρτα συμφορὴν μεγάλην ἐποίησαντο, ἐξελθόντες δὲ ἐσήμαινον πάσῃ τῇ στρατιῇ τὰ ἴδιοιεν.

80. Ὡς δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα ἐξήλανε ὁ Σκύλης εἰς ἡθεα τὰ ἐωυτοῦ, οἱ Σκύθαι προστησάμενοι τὸν ἀδελφεὸν αὐτοῦ Ὀκταμασάδην, γεγονότα ἐκ τῆς Τήρεω θυγατρὸς, ἐπανιστέατο τῷ Σκύλῃ. ὁ δὲ μαθὼν τὸ γινόμενον ἐπ' ἐωυτῷ καὶ τὴν αἰτίην δι' ἣν ἐποιέετο, καταφεύγει εἰς τὴν Θρηίκην. πυθόμενος δὲ ὁ Ὀκταμασάδης ταῦτα ἐστρατεύετο ἐπὶ τὴν Θρηίκην. ἐπεῖτε δὲ ἐπὶ τῷ Ἰστρῷ ἐγένετο, ἡντίασάν μιν οἱ Θρήικες, μελλόντων δὲ αὐτῶν συνάψειν ἔπεμψε Σιτάλκης παρὰ τὸν Ὀκταμασάδην λέγων τοιαύδε. "Τί δεῖ ἡμέας ἀλλήλων πειρηθῆναι; εἰς μὲν μεν τῆς ἀδελφεῆς παῖς, ἔχεις δέ μεν ἀδελφεόν. σὺ δέ μοι ἀπόδος τοῦτον, καὶ ἐγὼ σοὶ τὸν σὸν Σκύλην παραδίδωμι· στρατιῇ δὲ μήτε

smitten by a thunderbolt and wholly destroyed by fire. But none the less for this did Scyles perform the rite to the end. Now the Scythians make this Bacchic revelling a reproach against the Greeks, saying that it is not reasonable to set up a god who leads men on to madness. So when Scyles had been initiated into the Bacchic rite, some one of the Borysthenites scoffed at the Scythians: "Why," said he, "you Scythians mock us for revelling and being possessed by the god; but now this deity has taken possession of your own king, so that he is revelling and is maddened by the god. If you will not believe me, follow me now and I will show him to you." The chief men among the Scythians followed him, and the Borysthenite brought them up secretly and set them on a tower; whence presently, when Scyles passed by with his company of worshippers, they saw him among the revellers; whereat being greatly moved, they left the city and told the whole army what they had seen.

80. After this Scyles rode away to his own place; but the Scythians rebelled against him, setting up for their king his brother Octamasades, son of the daughter of Teres. Scyles, learning how they dealt with him and the reason of their so doing, fled into Thrace; and when Octamasades heard this he led his army thither. But when he was beside the Ister, the Thracians barred his way; and when the armies were like to join battle Sitalces sent this message to Octamasades: "Wherefore should we essay each other's strength? You are my sister's son, and you have with you my brother; do you give him back to me, and I give up your Scyles to you; and let

σὺ κινδυνεύσης μήτ' ἐγώ." ταῦτά οἱ πέμψας ὁ Σιτάλκης ἐπεκηρυκεύετο· ἦν γὰρ παρὰ τῷ Ὀκταμασάδῃ ἀδελφεὸς Σιτάλκεω πεφευγώς. ὁ δὲ Ὀκταμασάδης καταινέει ταῦτα, ἐκδούς δὲ τὸν ἐωυτοῦ μῆτρωα Σιτάλκῃ ἔλαβε τὸν ἀδελφεὸν Σκύλην. καὶ Σιτάλκης μὲν παραλαβὼν τὸν ἀδελφεὸν ἀπήγετο, Σκύλεω δὲ Ὀκταμασάδης αὐτοῦ ταύτῃ ἀπέταμε τὴν κεφαλὴν. οὕτω μὲν περιστέλλουσι τὰ σφέτερα νόμαια Σκύθαι, τοῖσι δὲ παρακτωμένοισι ξεινικοὺς νόμους τοιαῦτα ἐπιτίμια διδοῦσι.

81. Πλήθος δὲ τὸ Σκυθέων οὐκ οἶός τε ἐγενόμην ἀτρεκέως πυθέσθαι, ἀλλὰ διαφόρους λόγους περὶ τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ ἤκουον· καὶ γὰρ κάρτα πολλοὺς εἶναι σφέας καὶ ὀλίγους ὡς Σκύθας εἶναι. τοσόνδε μέντοι ἀπέφαινόν μοι ἐς ὄψιν. ἔστι μεταξὺ Βορυσθένεός τε ποταμοῦ καὶ Ὑπάνιος χῶρος, οὖνομα δέ οἱ ἐστὶ Ἐξαμπαῖος· τοῦ καὶ ὀλίγῳ τι πρότερον τούτων μνήμην εἶχον, φάμενος ἐν αὐτῷ κρήνην ὕδατος πικροῦ εἶναι, ἀπ' ἧς τὸ ὕδωρ ἀπορρέον τὸν Ὑπανιν ἄποτον ποιεῖν. ἐν τούτῳ τῷ χώρῳ κέεται χαλκήιον, μεγάθει καὶ ἑξαπλήσιον τοῦ ἐπὶ στόματι τοῦ Πόντου κρητῆρος, τὸν Πausanias ὁ Κλεομβρότου ἀνέθηκε. ὃς δὲ μὴ εἶδέ κω τοῦτον, ὧδε δηλώσω· ἑξακοσίους ἀμφορέας εὐπετέως χωρέει τὸ ἐν Σκύθησι χαλκήιον, πάχος δὲ τὸ Σκυθικὸν τοῦτο χαλκήιον ἐστὶ δακτύλων ἑξ. τοῦτο ὦν ἔλεγον οἱ ἐπιχώριοι ἀπὸ ἀρδίων γενέσθαι. βουλόμενον γὰρ τὸν σφέτερον βασιλέα, τῷ οὖνομα εἶναι Ἀριάνταν, τοῦτον εἰδέναι τὸ πλήθος τὸ Σκυθέων κελεύειν μιν πάντα Σκύθας ἄρδιον ἑκα-

neither of us endanger our armies." Such was the offer sent to him by Sitalces; for Sitalces' brother had fled from him and was with Octamasades. The Scythian agreed to this, and received his brother Scyles, giving up his own uncle to Sitalces. Sitalces then took his brother and carried him away, but Octamasades beheaded Scyles on the spot. So closely do the Scythians guard their usages, and such penalties do they lay on those who add foreign customs to their own.

81. How many the Scythians are I was not able to learn with exactness, but the accounts which I heard concerning the number did not tally, some saying that they are very many, and some that they are but few, counted as Scythians. But thus much they made me to see for myself:—There is a region between the rivers Borysthenes and Hypanis, the name of which is Exampaeus; this is the land whereof I lately made mention when I said that there is a spring of salt water in it, the water from which makes the Hypanis unfit to drink. In this region stands a bronze vessel, as much as six times greater than the cauldron dedicated by Pausanias son of Cleombrotus at the entrance of the Pontus.<sup>1</sup> To any who has not yet seen this latter I will thus make my meaning plain: the Scythian bronze vessel easily contains five thousand and four hundred gallons, and it is of six fingers' thickness. This vessel (so said the people of the country) was made out of arrow-heads. For their king, whose name was Ariantas, desiring to know the numbers of the Scythians, commanded every Scythian to bring him the point

<sup>1</sup> Pausanias, the victor of Plataea, set up this cauldron in 477 B.C. to commemorate the taking of Byzantium.

στον μίαν ἀπὸ τοῦ ὀιστοῦ<sup>1</sup> κομίσαι· ὃς δ' ἂν μὴ κομίσῃ, θάνατον ἀπείλῃ. κομισθῆναί τε δὴ χρῆμα πολλὸν ἀρδίων καὶ οἱ δόξαι ἐξ αὐτέων μνημόσυνον ποιήσαντι λιπέσθαι. ἐκ τουτέων δὴ μιν τὸ χαλκήιον ποιῆσαι τοῦτο καὶ ἀναθεῖναι ἐς τὸν Ἑξαμπαῖον τοῦτον. ταῦτα δὲ περὶ τοῦ πλήθεος τοῦ Σκυθέων ἤκουον.

82. Θωμάσια δὲ ἡ χώρα αὕτη οὐκ ἔχει, χωρὶς ἢ ὅτι ποταμούς τε πολλῶ μεγίστους καὶ ἀριθμὸν πλείστους. τὸ δὲ ἀποθωμάσαι ἄξιον καὶ πάρεξ τῶν ποταμῶν καὶ τοῦ μεγάλτεος τοῦ πεδίου παρέχεται, εἰρήσεται· ἵχνος Ἑρακλέος φαίνουσι ἐν πέτρῃ ἐνεόν, τὸ ἔοικε μὲν βήματι ἀνδρός, ἔστι δὲ τὸ μέγαθος δίπηχυ, παρὰ τὸν Τύρην ποταμόν. τοῦτο μὲν νυν τοιοῦτο ἐστί, ἀναβήσομαι δὲ ἐς τὸν κατ' ἀρχὰς ἡμεῖς λέξων λόγον.

83. Παρασκευαζομένου Δαρείου ἐπὶ τοὺς Σκύθας καὶ ἐπιπέμποντος ἀγγέλους ἐπιτάξοντας τοῖσι μὲν πεζὸν στρατόν, τοῖσι δὲ νέας παρέχειν, τοῖσι δὲ ζεύγνυσθαι τὸν Θρηίκιον Βόσπορον, Ἀρτάβαιος ὁ Ὑστάσπεος, ἀδελφεὸς ἐὼν Δαρείου, ἐχρήριζε μηδαμῶς αὐτὸν στρατηγὴν ἐπὶ Σκύθας ποιέεσθαι, καταλέγων τῶν Σκυθέων τὴν ἀπορίην. ἀλλ' οὐ γὰρ ἔπειθε συμβουλευόν οἱ χρηστά, ὃ μὲν ἐπέπαυτο, ὃ δέ, ἐπειδὴ οἱ τὰ ἅπαντα παρεσκεύαστο, ἐξήλαυνε τὸν στρατὸν ἐκ Σούσων.

84. Ἐνθαῦτα τῶν Περσέων Οἰόβαζος ἐδεήθη Δαρείου τριῶν ἐόντων οἱ παίδων καὶ πάντων στρατευομένων ἕνα αὐτῷ καταλειφθῆναι. ὃ δὲ

<sup>1</sup> [ἀπὸ τοῦ ὀιστοῦ] Stein.

## BOOK IV. 81-84

from an arrow, threatening all who should not so do with death. So a vast number of arrow-heads was brought, and he resolved to make and leave a memorial out of them; and he made of these this bronze vessel, and set it up in this country Exam-paeus. Thus much I heard concerning the number of the Scythians.

82. As for marvels, there are none in the land, save that it has rivers by far the greatest and the most numerous in the world; and over and above the rivers and the great extent of the plains there is one most wondrous thing for me to tell of: they show a footprint of Heracles by the river Tyras stamped on rock, like the mark of a man's foot, but two cubits in length. Having so described this I will now return to the story which I began to relate.<sup>1</sup>

83. While Darius was making preparations<sup>2</sup> against the Scythians, and sending messengers to charge some to furnish an army and some to furnish ships, and others again to bridge the Thracian Bosphorus, Artabanus, son of Hystaspes and Darius' brother, desired of him by no means to make an expedition against the Scythians, telling him how hard that people were to deal withal. But when he could not move the king for all his good counsel, Artabanus ceased to advise, and Darius, all his preparations being now made, led his army from Susa.

84. Then Oeobazus a Persian, who had three sons, all with the army, entreated Darius that one might be left behind. "Nay," said the king, "you

<sup>1</sup> In ch. 1.

<sup>2</sup> The date of Darius' expedition is uncertain. Grote thinks it probable that it took place before 514 B.C.



## HERODOTUS

ἔφη ὡς φίλῳ ἔοντι καὶ μετρίῳ δεομένῳ πάντας τοὺς παῖδας καταλείψειν. ὁ μὲν δὴ Οἰόβαζος περιχαρὴς ἦν, ἐλπίζων τοὺς υἱέας στρατηίης ἀπολελύσθαι· ὁ δὲ ἐκέλευσε τοὺς ἐπὶ τούτων ἐπεστεῶτας ἀποκτεῖναι πάντας τοὺς Οἰοβάζου παῖδας.

85. Καὶ οὗτοι μὲν ἀποσφαγέντες αὐτοῦ ταύτη ἐλείποντο· Δαρεῖος δὲ ἐπείτε πορευόμενος ἐκ Σούσων ἀπῆκετο τῆς Καλχηδονίης ἐπὶ τὸν Βόσπορον ἵνα ἔξευκτο ἢ γέφυρα, ἐνθεῦτεν ἐσβὰς ἐς νέα ἔπλεε ἐπὶ τὰς Κυανέας καλευμένας, τὰς πρότερον πλαγκτὰς Ἑλληνες φασὶ εἶναι, ἐζόμενος δὲ ἐπὶ ῥίῳ ἐθηεῖτο τὸν Πόντον ἔοντα ἀξιόθēτον. πελαγέων γὰρ ἀπάντων πέφυκε θωμασιώτατος· τοῦ τὸ μὲν μῆκος στάδιοι εἰσὶ ἑκατὸν καὶ χίλιοι καὶ μύριοι, τὸ δὲ εὖρος, τῇ εὐρύτατος αὐτὸς ἐωυτοῦ, στάδιοι τριηκόσιοι καὶ τρισχίλιοι. τούτου τοῦ πελάγεος τὸ στόμα ἐστὶ εὖρος τέσσερες στάδιοι· μῆκος δὲ τοῦ στόματος, ὁ αὐχὴν, τὸ δὴ Βόσπορος κέκληται, κατ' ὃ δὴ ἔξευκτο ἢ γέφυρα, ἐπὶ σταδίους εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατὸν ἐστι. τείνει δ' ἐς τὴν Προποντίδα ὁ Βόσπορος· ἢ δὲ Προποντὶς ἐοῦσα εὖρος μὲν σταδίων πεντακοσίων, μῆκος δὲ τετρακοσίων καὶ χιλίων, καταδιδοῖ ἐς τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον ἔοντα στεινότηα μὲν ἐπτὰ σταδίους, μῆκος δὲ τετρακοσίους. ἐκδιδοῖ δὲ ὁ Ἑλλήσποντος ἐς χάσμα πελάγεος τὸ δὴ Αἰγαῖον καλέεται.

86. Μεμέτρηται δὲ ταῦτα ὧδε. νηὺς ἐπίπαν

<sup>1</sup> Rocks (the "Wandering" or "Clashing" Rocks of Greek legend) off the northern end of the Bosphorus.

<sup>2</sup> Herodotus is wrong. The Black Sea is 720 miles long

BOOK IV. 84-86

are my friend, and your desire is but reasonable ; I will leave all your sons." Oeobazus rejoiced greatly, supposing that his sons were released from service ; but Darius bade those whose business it was to put all Oeobazus' sons to death.

85. So their throats were cut, and they were all left there ; but Darius, when in his march from Susa he came to that place in the territory of Calchedon where the Bosphorus was bridged, took ship and sailed to the Dark Rocks<sup>1</sup> (as they are called) which the Greeks say did formerly move upon the waters ; there he sat on a headland and viewed the Pontus, a marvellous sight. For it is of all seas the most wonderful. Its length is eleven thousand one hundred furlongs, and its breadth, at the place where it is widest, three thousand three hundred.<sup>2</sup> The channel at the entrance of this sea is four furlongs broad ; and the length of the channel, the narrow neck called Bosphorus, across which the bridge was thrown, is as much as an hundred and twenty furlongs. The Bosphorus reaches as far as to the Propontis ; and the Propontis is five hundred furlongs wide and fourteen hundred long ; its outlet is the Hellespont, which is no wider than seven furlongs, and four hundred in length. The Hellespont issues into a gulf of the sea which we call Aegæan.

86. These measurements have been made after

(about 6280 stades), and, at the point of Herodotus' measurement, about 270 miles broad ; its greatest breadth is 380 miles. His estimates for the Propontis and Hellespont are also in excess, though not by much ; the Bosphorus is a little longer than he says, but its breadth is correctly given.

μάλιστα κη κατανύει ἐν μακρημερίῃ ὀργυιὰς ἑπτακισμυρίας, νυκτὸς δὲ ἑξακισμυρίας. ἤδη ὦν ἐς μὲν Φᾶσιν ἀπὸ τοῦ στόματος (τοῦτο γὰρ ἐστὶ τοῦ Πόντου μακρότατον) ἡμερέων ἐννέα πλόος ἐστὶ καὶ νυκτῶν ὀκτώ· αὗται ἑνδεκα μυριάδες καὶ ἑκατὸν ὀργυιέων γίνονται, ἐκ δὲ τῶν ὀργυιέων τουτέων στάδιοι ἑκατὸν καὶ χίλιοι καὶ μύριοι εἰσί. ἐς δὲ Θεμισκύρην τὴν ἐπὶ Θερμώδοντι ποταμῷ ἐκ τῆς Σινδικῆς (κατὰ τοῦτο γὰρ ἐστὶ τοῦ Πόντου εὐρύτατον) τριῶν τε ἡμερέων καὶ δύο νυκτῶν πλόος· αὗται δὲ τρεῖς μυριάδες καὶ τριήκοντα ὀργυιέων γίνονται, στάδιοι δὲ τριηκόσιοι καὶ τρισχίλιοι. ὁ μὲν νυν Πόντος οὗτος καὶ Βόσπορος τε καὶ Ἑλλήσποντος οὕτω τέ μοι μεμετρέαται καὶ κατὰ τὰ εἰρημένα πεφύκασι, παρέχεται δὲ καὶ λίμνην ὁ Πόντος οὗτος ἐκδιδούσαν ἐς αὐτὸν οὐ πολλῷ τεῷ ἐλάσσῳ ἑωυτοῦ, ἣ Μαιήτις τε καλέεται καὶ μήτηρ τοῦ Πόντου.

87. Ὁ δὲ Δαρεῖος ὡς ἐβείσατο τὸν Πόντον, ἔπλεε ὀπίσω ἐπὶ τὴν γέφυραν, τῆς ἀρχιτέκτων ἐγένετο Μανδροκλέης Σάμιος· θεησάμενος δὲ καὶ τὸν Βόσπορον στήλας ἔστησε δύο ἐπ' αὐτοῦ λίθου λευκοῦ, ἐνταμὼν γράμματα ἐς μὲν τὴν Ἀσσύρια ἐς δὲ τὴν Ἑλληνικά, ἔθνεα πάντα ὅσα περ ἦγε· ἦγε δὲ πάντα τῶν ἦρχε. τούτων μυριάδες ἑξηριθμήθησαν, χωρὶς τοῦ ναυτικοῦ, ἐβδομήκοντα σὺν ἱππεῦσι, νέες δὲ ἑξακόσiai συνελέχθησαν. τῇσι μὲν νυν στήλῃσι ταύτῃσι Βυζάντιοι κομίσαντες ἐς τὴν πόλιν ὕστερον τούτων ἐχρήσαντο πρὸς τὸν

this manner: a ship will for the most part accomplish seventy thousand fathoms in a long day's voyage, and sixty thousand by night. This being granted, seeing that from the Pontus' mouth to the Phasis (which is the greatest length of the sea) it is a voyage of seven days and eight nights, the length of it will be an hundred and ten thousand and one hundred fathoms, which make eleven thousand one hundred furlongs. From the Sindic region to Themiscura on the river Thermodon (for here is the greatest width of the Pontus) it is a voyage of two days and three nights, that is of thirty thousand and thirty fathoms, or three thousand and thirty furlongs. Thus have I measured this Pontus and the Bosphorus and Hellespont, and they are such as I have said. Moreover there is seen a lake issuing into the Pontus and not much smaller than the sea itself; it is called the Maeetian lake, and the mother of the Pontus.

87. Having viewed the Pontus, Darius sailed back to the bridge, of which Mandrocles of Samos was the chief builder; and when he had viewed the Bosphorus also, he set up by it two pillars of white stone, engraving on the one in Assyrian and on the other in Greek characters the names of all the nations that were in his army; in which were all the nations subject to him. The full tale of these, over and above the fleet, was seven hundred thousand men, reckoning therewith horsemen, and the number of ships that mustered was six hundred. These pillars were afterwards carried by the Byzantines into their city and there used to build the altar of Orthosian<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> A deity worshipped especially at Sparta; the meaning of the epithet is uncertain.

## HERODOTUS

βωμὸν τῆς Ὀρθωσίης Ἀρτέμιδος, χωρὶς ἐνὸς λίθου· οὗτος δὲ κατελείφθη παρὰ τοῦ Διονύσου τὸν νηὸν ἐν Βυζαντίῳ, γραμμάτων Ἀσσυρίων πλέος. τοῦ δὲ Βοσπόρου ὁ χῶρος τὸν ἔξευξε βασιλεὺς Δαρεῖος, ὥς ἐμοὶ δοκέει συμβαλλομένῳ, μέσον ἐστὶ Βυζαντίου τε καὶ τοῦ ἐπὶ στόματι ἱροῦ.

88. Δαρεῖος δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα ἡσθεὶς τῇ σχεδίῃ τὸν ἀρχιτέκτονα αὐτῆς Μανδροκλέα τὸν Σάμιον ἐδωρήσατο πᾶσι δέκα· ἀπ' ὧν δὴ Μανδροκλέης ἀπαρχὴν ζῶα γραψάμενος πᾶσαν τὴν ζεύξιν τοῦ Βοσπόρου καὶ βασιλέα τε Δαρεῖον ἐν προεδρίῃ κατήμενον καὶ τὸν στρατὸν αὐτοῦ διαβαίνοντα ταῦτα γραψάμενος ἀνέθηκε ἐς τὸ Ἡραῖον, ἐπιγράψας τάδε.

Βόσπορον ἰχθυόεντα γεφυρώσας ἀνέθηκε  
Μανδροκλέης Ἡρῇ μνημόσυνον σχεδίσας,  
αὐτῷ μὲν στέφανον περιθείς, Σαμίοισι δὲ κύδος,  
Δαρείου βασιλέος ἐκτελέσας κατὰ νοῦν.

89. Ταῦτα μὲν νυν τοῦ ζεύξαντος τὴν γέφυραν μνημόσυνα ἐγένετο· Δαρεῖος δὲ δωρησάμενος Μανδροκλέα διέβαινε ἐς τὴν Εὐρώπην, τοῖσι Ἴωσι παραγγείλας πλέειν ἐς τὸν Πόντον μέχρι Ἰστρου ποταμοῦ, ἐπεὰν δὲ ἀπίκωνται ἐς τὸν Ἰστρον, ἐνθαῦτα αὐτὸν περιμένειν ζευγνύντας τὸν ποταμόν. τὸ γὰρ δὴ ναυτικὸν ἦγον Ἴωνές τε καὶ Αἰολέες καὶ Ἑλλησπόντιοι. ὁ μὲν δὴ ναυτικὸς στρατὸς Κυανέας διεκπλώσας ἔπλεε ἰθὺ τοῦ Ἰστρου, ἀναπλώσας δὲ ἀνὰ ποταμόν δυὼν ἡμερέων πλόον ἀπὸ θαλάσσης, τοῦ ποταμοῦ τὸν αὐχένα, ἐκ τοῦ

Artemis, save for one column covered with Assyrian writing that was left beside the temple of Dionysus at Byzantium. Now if my reckoning be true, the place where king Darius bridged the Bosphorus was midway between Byzantium and the temple at the entrance of the sea.

88. After this, Darius, being well content with his bridge of boats, made to Mandrocles the Samian a gift of ten of every kind;<sup>1</sup> wherefrom Mandrocles took the firstfruits and therewith had a picture made showing the whole bridge of the Bosphorus, and Darius sitting aloft on his throne and his army crossing; this he set up in the temple of Here, with this inscription:

“This Picture Mandrocles to Here gives,  
Whereby for ever his Achievement lives;  
A Bridge of Boats o’er *Bosp’rus*’ fishful Flood  
He built; Darius saw, and judg’d it good;  
Thus for himself won Mandrocles a Crown,  
And for his isle of *Samos* high Renown.”

89. This then was done to preserve the name of the builder of the bridge. Darius, having rewarded Mandrocles, crossed over to Europe; he had bidden the Ionians to sail into the Pontus as far as the river Ister, and when they should come thither to wait for him there, bridging the river meanwhile; for the fleet was led by Ionians and Aeolians and men of the Hellespont. So the fleet passed between the Dark Rocks and made sail straight for the Ister, and, having gone a two days’ voyage up the river from the sea, set about bridging the narrow channel

<sup>1</sup> Apparently a proverbial expression for great abundance; *cp.* a similar phrase in ix. 81.



σχίζεται τὰ στόματα τοῦ Ἰστρου, ἐξεύγνυε. Δαρεῖος δὲ ὡς διέβη τὸν Βόσπορον κατὰ τὴν σχεδίνην, ἐπορεύετο διὰ τῆς Θρηίκης, ἀπικόμενος δὲ ἐπὶ Τέαρου ποταμοῦ τὰς πηγὰς ἐστρατοπεδεύσατο ἡμέρας τρεῖς.

90. Ὁ δὲ Τέαρος λέγεται ὑπὸ τῶν περιοίκων εἶναι ποταμῶν ἄριστος τά τε ἄλλα τὰ ἐς ἅκεσιν φέροντα καὶ δὴ καὶ ἀνδράσι καὶ ἵπποισι ψώρην ἀκέσασθαι. εἰσὶ δὲ αὐτοῦ αἱ πηγαὶ δυὼν δέουσαι τεσσεράκοντα, ἐκ πέτρης τῆς αὐτῆς ῥέουσαι, καὶ αἱ μὲν αὐτέων εἰσὶ ψυχραὶ αἱ δὲ θερμαί. ὁδὸς δ' ἐπ' αὐτάς ἐστι ἴση ἐξ Ἡραίου τε πόλιος τῆς παρὰ Περίνθῳ καὶ ἐξ Ἀπολλωνίης τῆς ἐν τῷ Εὐξείνῳ πόντῳ, δυὼν ἡμερέων ἑκατέρῃ. ἐκδιδοῖ δὲ ὁ Τέαρος οὗτος ἐς τὸν Κοντάδεσδον ποταμόν, ὁ δὲ Κοντάδεσδος ἐς τὸν Ἀγριάνην, ὁ δὲ Ἀγριάνης ἐς τὸν Ἑβρον, ὁ δὲ ἐς θάλασσαν τὴν παρ' Αἰνῷ πόλιν.

91. Ἐπὶ τοῦτον ὦν τὸν ποταμόν ἀπικόμενος ὁ Δαρεῖος ὡς ἐστρατοπεδεύσατο, ἡσθεὶς τῷ ποταμῷ στήλην ἕστησε καὶ ἐνθαῦτα, γράμματα ἐγγράψας λέγοντα τάδε. “Τέαρου ποταμοῦ κεφαλαὶ ὕδωρ ἄριστόν τε καὶ κάλλιστον παρέχονται πάντων ποταμῶν· καὶ ἐπ' αὐτὰς ἀπίκετο ἐλαύνων ἐπὶ Σκύθας στρατὸν ἀνὴρ ἄριστός τε καὶ κάλλιστος πάντων ἀνθρώπων, Δαρεῖος ὁ Ὑστάσπερος, Περσέων τε καὶ πάσης τῆς ἡπείρου βασιλεύς.” ταῦτα δὲ ἐνθαῦτα ἐγράφη.

92. Δαρεῖος δὲ ἐνθεῦτεν ὁρμηθεὶς ἀπίκετο ἐπ' ἄλλον ποταμόν τῷ ὄνομα Ἀρτησκός ἐστι, ὃς διὰ Ὀδρυσέων ῥέει. ἐπὶ τοῦτον δὴ τὸν ποταμόν ἀπικόμενος ἐποίησε τοιόνδε· ἀποδέξας χωρίον τῇ

of the river where its divers mouths part asunder. But Darius, having passed over the Bosphorus on the bridge of ships, journeyed through Thrace to the sources of the river Tearus, where he encamped for three days.

90. The Tearus is said in the country round to be the best of all rivers for all purposes of healing, but especially for the healing of the scab in men and horses. Its springs are thirty-eight in number, some cold and some hot, all flowing from the same rock. There are two roads to the place, one from the town of Heraeum near to Perinthus, one from Apollonia on the Euxine sea; each is a two days' journey. This Tearus is a tributary of the river Contadesdus, and that of the Agrianes, and that again of the Hebrus, which issues into the sea near the city of Aenus.

91. Having then come to this river and there encamped, Darius was pleased with the sight of it, and set up yet another pillar there, graven with this inscription, "From the sources of the river Tearus flows the best and fairest of all river waters; hither came, leading his army against the Scythians, the best and fairest of all men, even Darius son of Hystaspes and king of Persia and all the mainland." Such was the inscription.

92. Thence Darius set forth and came to another river called Artescus, which flows through the country of the Odrysae; whither having come, he marked a place for the army to see, and bade every

στρατιῇ ἐκέλευε πάντα ἄνδρα λίθον ἓνα παρεξιόντα τιθέναι ἐς τὸ ἀποδεδεγμένον τοῦτο χωρίον. ὥς δὲ ταῦτα ἡ στρατιὴ ἐπετέλεσε, ἐνθαῦτα κολωνοὺς μεγάλους τῶν λίθων καταλιπὼν ἀπήλαυνε τὴν στρατιήν.

93. Πρὶν δὲ ἀπικέσθαι ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰστρον, πρώτους αἰρέει Γέτας τοὺς ἀθανατίζοντας. οἱ μὲν γὰρ τὸν Σαλμυδησὸν ἔχοντες Θρήικες καὶ ὑπὲρ Ἀπολλωνίης τε καὶ Μεσαμβρίης πόλιος οἰκημένοι, καλούμενοι δὲ Κυρμιῖναι καὶ Νιφαῖοι, ἀμαχητὶ σφέας αὐτοὺς παρέδοσαν Δαρείῳ· οἱ δὲ Γέταις πρὸς ἀγνωμοσύνην τραπόμενοι αὐτίκα ἐδουλώθησαν, Θρηίκων ἔοντες ἀνδρηιότατοι καὶ δικαιοτάτοι.

94. Ἀθανατίζουσι δὲ τόνδε τὸν τρόπον· οὔτε ἀποθνήσκειν ἐωυτοὺς νομίζουσι ἰέναι τε τὸν ἀπολλύμενον παρὰ Σάλμοξιν δαίμονα· οἱ δὲ αὐτῶν τὸν αὐτὸν τοῦτον ὀνομάζουσι Γεβελείζιν· διὰ πεντετηρίδος τε τὸν πάλῳ λαχόντα αἰεὶ σφέων αὐτῶν ἀποπέμπουσι ἄγγελον παρὰ τὸν Σάλμοξιν, ἐντελλόμενοι τῶν ἂν ἐκάστοτε δέωνται, πέμπουσι δὲ ὧδε· οἱ μὲν αὐτῶν ταχθέντες ἀκόντια τρία ἔχουσι, ἄλλοι δὲ διαλαβόντες τοῦ ἀποπεμπομένου παρὰ τὸν Σάλμοξιν τὰς χεῖρας καὶ τοὺς πόδας, ἀνακινήσαντες αὐτὸν μετέωρον ρίπτουσι ἐς τὰς λόγχας. ἦν μὲν δὴ ἀποθάνη ἀναπαρεῖς, τοῖσι δὲ ἴλεος ὁ θεὸς δοκέει εἶναι· ἦν δὲ μὴ ἀποθάνη, αἰτιῶνται αὐτὸν τὸν ἄγγελον, φάμενοί μιν ἄνδρα κακὸν εἶναι, αἰτιησάμενοι δὲ τοῦτον ἄλλον ἀποπέμπουσι· ἐντέλλονται δὲ ἔτι ζῶντι. οὗτοι οἱ αὐτοὶ Θρήικες καὶ πρὸς βροντήν τε καὶ ἀστραπὴν τοξεύοντες

man as he passed by lay one stone in this place which he had shown. His army having so done, he made and left great hillocks of the stones and led his army away.

93. But before he came to the Ister, he first subdued the Getae, who pretend to be immortal. The Thracians of Salmydessus and of the country above the towns of Apollonia and Mesambria, who are called Cyrmianae and Nipsaei, surrendered themselves unresisting to Darius; but the Getae, who are the bravest and most law-abiding of all Thracians, resisted with obstinacy, and were enslaved forthwith.

94. As to their claim to be immortal, this is how they show it: they believe that they do not die, but that he who perishes goes to the god Salmoxis, or Gebeleizis, as some of them call him. Once in every five years they choose by lot one of their people and send him as a messenger to Salmoxis, charged to tell of their needs; and this is their manner of sending: Three lances are held by men thereto appointed; others seize the messenger to Salmoxis by his hands and feet, and swing and hurl him aloft on to the spear-points. If he be killed by the cast, they believe that the god regards them with favour; but if he be not killed, they blame the messenger himself, deeming him a bad man, and send another messenger in place of him whom they blame. It is while the man yet lives that they charge him with the message. Moreover when there is thunder and lightning these same

ἄνω πρὸς τὸν οὐρανὸν ἀπειλέουσι τῷ θεῷ, οὐδένα ἄλλον θεὸν νομίζοντες εἶναι εἰ μὴ τὸν σφέτερον.

95. Ὡς δὲ ἐγὼ πυνθάνομαι τῶν τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον οἰκεόντων Ἑλλήνων καὶ Πόντον, τὸν Σάλμοξιν τοῦτον ἔοντα ἄνθρωπον δουλεῦσαι ἐν Σάμῳ, δουλεῦσαι δὲ Πυθαγόρῃ τῷ Μνησάρχου, ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ αὐτὸν γενόμενον ἐλεύθερον χρήματα κτήσασθαι μεγάλα, κτησάμενον δὲ ἀπελθεῖν ἐς τὴν ἐωυτοῦ. ἅτε δὲ κακοβίων τε ἔοντων τῶν Θρηίκων καὶ ὑπαφρονεστέρων, τὸν Σάλμοξιν τοῦτον ἐπιστάμενον δίαίτῃν τε Ἰάδα καὶ ἦθεα βαθύτερα ἢ κατὰ Θρήικας, οἷα Ἑλλησί τε ὁμιλήσαντα καὶ Ἑλλήνων οὐ τῷ ἀσθενεστάτῳ σοφιστῇ Πυθαγόρῃ, κατασκευάσασθαι ἀνδρεῶνα, ἐς τὸν πανδοκεύοντα τῶν ἀστῶν τοὺς πρώτους καὶ εὐωχέοντα ἀναδιδάσκειν ὥς οὔτε αὐτὸς οὔτε οἱ συμπόται αὐτοῦ οὔτε οἱ ἐκ τούτων αἰεὶ γινόμενοι ἀποθανέονται, ἀλλ' ἥξουσιν ἐς χῶρον τοῦτον ἵνα αἰεὶ περιέοντες ἔξουσιν τὰ πάντα ἀγαθὰ. ἐν ᾧ δὲ ἐποίεε τὰ καταλεχθέντα καὶ ἔλεγε ταῦτα, ἐν τούτῳ κατάγαιον οἶκημα ἐποιέετο. ὥς δὲ οἱ παντελέως εἶχε τὸ οἶκημα, ἐκ μὲν τῶν Θρηίκων ἠφανίσθη, καταβὰς δὲ κάτω ἐς τὸ κατάγαιον οἶκημα διαιτᾶτο ἐπ' ἕτεα τρία· οἱ δὲ μιν ἐπόθεον τε καὶ ἐπένθεον ὥς τεθνεῶτα. τετάρτῳ δὲ ἔτεϊ ἐφάνη τοῖσι Θρήξι, καὶ οὕτω πιθανά σφι ἐγένετο τὰ ἔλεγε ὁ Σάλμοξις. ταῦτα φασὶ μιν ποιῆσαι.

96. Ἐγὼ δὲ περὶ μὲν τούτου καὶ τοῦ καταγαίου οἰκήματος οὔτε ἀπιστέω οὔτε ὦν πιστεύω τι λήν, δοκέω δὲ πολλοῖσι ἕτεσι πρότερον τὸν Σάλμοξιν τοῦτον γενέσθαι Πυθαγόρεω. εἴτε δὲ

Thracians shoot arrows skyward as a threat to the god, believing in no other god but their own.

95. For myself, I have been told by the Greeks who dwell beside the Hellespont and Pontus that this Salmoxis was a man who was once a slave in Samos, his master being Pythagoras son of Mnesarchus; presently, after being freed and gaining great wealth, he returned to his own country. Now the Thracians were a meanly-living and simple-witted folk, but this Salmoxis knew Ionian usages and a fuller way of life than the Thracian; for he had consorted with Greeks, and moreover with one of the greatest Greek teachers, Pythagoras; wherefore he made himself a hall, where he entertained and feasted the chief among his countrymen, and taught them that neither he nor his guests nor any of their descendants should ever die, but that they should go to a place where they would live for ever and have all good things. While he was doing as I have said and teaching this doctrine, he was all the while making him an underground chamber. When this was finished, he vanished from the sight of the Thracians, and descended into the underground chamber, where he lived for three years, the Thracians wishing him back and mourning him for dead; then in the fourth year he appeared to the Thracians, and thus they came to believe what Salmoxis had told them. Such is the Greek story about him.

96. For myself, I neither disbelieve nor fully believe the tale about Salmoxis and his underground chamber; but I think that he lived many years before Pythagoras; and whether there was a man called



## HERODOTUS

ἐγένετό τις Σάλμοξις ἄνθρωπος, εἴτ' ἐστὶ δαίμων  
τις Γέτησι οὗτος ἐπιχώριος, χαιρέτω.

97. Οὗτοι μὲν δὴ τρόπῳ τοιούτῳ χρεώμενοι ὡς  
ἐχειρώθησαν ὑπὸ Περσέων, εἶποντο τῷ ἄλλῳ  
στρατῷ. Δαρεῖος δὲ ὡς ἀπίκετο καὶ ὁ πεζὸς ἅμ'  
αὐτῷ στρατὸς ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰστρον, ἐνθαῦτα διαβάντων  
πάντων Δαρεῖος ἐκέλευσε τοὺς τε Ἴωνας τὴν  
σχεδὴν λύσαντας ἔπεσθαι κατ' ἡπειρον ἐνωτῷ  
καὶ τὸν ἐκ τῶν νεῶν στρατόν. μελλόντων δὲ τῶν  
Ἰώνων λύειν καὶ ποιέειν τὰ κελευόμενα, Κῶης ὁ  
Ἐρξάνδρου στρατηγὸς ἐὼν Μυτιληναίων ἔλεξε  
Δαρεῖω τάδε, πυθόμενος πρότερον εἰ οἱ φίλον εἴη  
γνώμην ἀποδέκεσθαι παρὰ τοῦ βουλομένου ἀπο-  
δείκνυσθαι. “ὦ βασιλεῦ, ἐπὶ γῆν γὰρ μέλλεις  
στρατεύεσθαι τῆς οὔτε ἀρηρομένου φανήσεται  
οὐδὲν οὔτε πόλις οἰκεομένη· σύ νυν γέφυραν ταύ-  
την ἔα κατὰ χώρην ἐστάναι, φυλάκους αὐτῆς  
λιπὼν τούτους οἵπερ μιν ἔξευξαν. καὶ ἦν τε κατὰ  
νόον πρήξωμεν εὐρόντες Σκύθας, ἔστι ἄποδος ἡμῖν,  
ἦν τε καὶ μή σφεας εὐρεῖν δυνώμεθα, ἢ γε ἄποδος  
ἡμῖν ἀσφαλής· οὐ γὰρ ἔδειςά κω μὴ ἐσσωθέωμεν  
ὑπὸ Σκυθέων μάχῃ, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον μὴ οὐ δυνά-  
μενοι σφέας εὐρεῖν πάθωμέν τι ἀλώμενοι. καὶ  
τάδε λέγειν φαίη τις ἂν με ἐμεωυτοῦ εἵνεκεν, ὡς  
καταμένω· ἐγὼ δὲ γνώμην μὲν τὴν εὕρισκον ἀρί-  
στην σοί, βασιλεῦ, ἐς μέσον φέρω, αὐτὸς μέντοι  
ἔψομαί τοι καὶ οὐκ ἂν λειφθείην.” κάρτα τε  
ἦσθη τῇ γνώμῃ Δαρεῖος καὶ μιν ἀμείψατο τοῖσιδε.  
“Ξεῖνε Λέσβιε, σωθέντος ἐμεῦ ὀπίσω ἐς οἶκον τὸν  
ἐμὸν ἐπιφάνηθί μοι πάντως, ἵνα σε ἀντὶ χρηστῆς  
συμβουλῆς χρηστοῖσι ἔργοισι ἀμείψωμαι.”

98. Ταῦτα δὲ εἶπας καὶ ἀπάψας ἄμματα ἐξή-

## BOOK IV. 96-98

Salmoxis, or this be a name among the Getae for a god of their country, I have done with him.

97. Such were the ways of the Getae, who were now subdued by the Persians and followed their army. When Darius and the land army with him had come to the Ister, and all had crossed, he bade the Ionians break the bridge and follow him and the men of the fleet in their march across the mainland. So the Ionians were preparing to break the bridge and do Darius' behest; but Cöes son of Erxander, the general of the Mytilenaeans, having first enquired if Darius were willing to receive counsel from any man desiring to give it, said, "Seeing, O king! that you are about to march against a country where you will find neither tilled lands nor inhabited cities, do you now suffer this bridge to stand where it is, leaving those who made it to be its guards. Thus, if we find the Scythians and accomplish our will, we have a way of return; and even if we find them not, yet at least our way back is safe; for my fear has never yet been lest we be overcome by the Scythians in the field, but rather lest we should not be able to find them, and so wander astray to our hurt. Now perchance it may be said that I speak thus for my own sake, because I desire to remain behind; but it is not so; I do but declare before all that counsel which I judge best, and for myself would not be left here but will follow you." With this counsel Darius was greatly pleased, and he answered Cöes thus; "My good Lesbian, fail not to show yourself to me when I return safe to my house, that so I may make you a good return for your good advice."

98. Having thus spoken, he tied sixty knots in a

κοντα ἐν ἱμάντι, καλέσας ἐς λόγους τοὺς Ἴώνων τυράννους ἔλεγε τάδε. “Ἄνδρες Ἴωνες, ἡ μὲν πρότερον γνώμη ἀποδεχθεῖσα ἐς τὴν γέφυραν μετείσθω μοι, ἔχοντες δὲ τὸν ἱμάντα τόνδε ποιέετε τάδε· ἐπεὰν ἐμὲ ἴδητε τάχιστα πορευόμενον ἐπὶ Σκύθας, ἀπὸ τούτου ἀρξάμενοι τοῦ χρόνου λύετε ἄμμα ἐν ἐκάστης ἡμέρης· ἣν δὲ ἐν τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ μὴ παρέω ἀλλὰ διεξέλθωσι ὑμῖν αἱ ἡμέραι τῶν ἁμμάτων, ἀποπλέετε ἐς τὴν ὑμετέραν αὐτῶν. μέχρι δὲ τούτου, ἐπεῖτε οὕτω μετέδοξε, φυλάσσετε τὴν σχεδὴν, πᾶσαν προθυμίην σωτηρίας τε καὶ φυλακῆς παρεχόμενοι. ταῦτα δὲ ποιεῦντες ἐμοὶ μεγάλως χαριεῖσθε.” Δαρεῖος μὲν ταῦτα εἶπας ἐς τὸ πρόσω ἐπείγετο.

99. Τῆς δὲ Σκυθικῆς γῆς ἡ Θρηίκη τὸ ἐς θάλασσαν πρόκειται· κόλπου δὲ ἀγομένου τῆς γῆς ταύτης, ἡ Σκυθική τε ἐκδέκεται καὶ ὁ Ἴστρος ἐκδίδοι ἐς αὐτήν, πρὸς εὖρον ἄνεμον τὸ στόμα τετραμμένος. τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ Ἰστροῦ ἔρχομαι σημανέων τὸ πρὸς θάλασσαν αὐτῆς τῆς Σκυθικῆς χώρας ἐς μέτρησιν. ἀπὸ Ἰστροῦ αὕτη ἤδη ἡ ἀρχαίη Σκυθίη ἐστί, πρὸς μεσαμβρίην τε καὶ νότον ἄνεμον κειμένη, μέχρι πόλιος Καρκινίτιδος καλεομένης. τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ ταύτης τὴν μὲν ἐπὶ θάλασσαν τὴν αὐτὴν φέρουσαν, εὐρύν τε ὀρεινὴν τε χώραν καὶ προκειμένην τὸ ἐς Πόντον, νέμεται τὸ Ταυρικὸν ἔθνος μέχρι χερσονήσου τῆς τρηχέας καλεομένης· αὕτη δὲ ἐς θάλασσαν τὴν πρὸς ἀπηλιώτην ἄνεμον κατήκει. ἔστι γὰρ τῆς Σκυθικῆς τὰ δύο μέρη τῶν οὖρων ἐς θάλασσαν φέροντα, τὴν τε πρὸς μεσαμβρίην καὶ τὴν πρὸς τὴν ἡῶ, κατὰ περ τῆς Ἀττικῆς χώρας· καὶ παραπλήσια

thong, and calling the despots of the Ionians to an audience he said to them: "Ionians, I renounce the opinion which I before declared concerning the bridge; do you now take this thong and do as I command you. Begin to reckon from the day when you shall see me march away against the Scythians, and loose one knot each day: and if the days marked by the knots have all passed and I have not returned ere then, take ship for your own homes. But till then, seeing that my counsel is thus changed, I bid you guard the bridge, using all zeal to save and defend it. This do, and you will render me a most acceptable service." Having thus spoken, Darius made haste to march further.

99. Thrace runs farther out into the sea than Scythia; and where a bay is formed in its coast, Scythia begins, and the mouth of the Ister, which faces to the south-east, is in that country. Now I will describe the coast of the true Scythia from the Ister, and give its measurements. At the Ister begins the ancient Scythian land, which lies facing the south and the south wind, as far as the city called Carcinitis. Beyond this place, the country fronting the same sea is hilly and projects into the Pontus; it is inhabited by the Tauric nation as far as what is called the Rough Peninsula; and this ends in the eastern sea.<sup>1</sup> For the sea to the south and the sea to the east are two of the four boundary lines of Scythia, even as the seas are boundaries of Attica; and

<sup>1</sup> Here = the Sea of Azov.

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ταύτη καὶ οἱ Ταῦροι νέμονται τῆς Σκυθικῆς, ὡς εἰ τῆς Ἀττικῆς ἄλλο ἔθνος καὶ μὴ Ἀθηναῖοι νεμοίατο τὸν γουνὸν τὸν Σουνιακόν, μᾶλλον ἐς τὸν πόντον τὴν ἄκρην<sup>1</sup> ἀνέχοντα, τὸν ἀπὸ Θορικοῦ μέχρι Ἀναφλύστου δήμον· λέγω δὲ ὡς εἶναι ταῦτα σμικρὰ μεγάλοισι συμβάλλειν· τοιοῦτον ἡ Ταυρικὴ ἐστὶ. ὅς δὲ τῆς Ἀττικῆς ταῦτα μὴ παραπέπλωκε, ἐγὼ δὲ ἄλλως δηλώσω· ὡς εἰ τῆς Ἰηπυγίης ἄλλο ἔθνος καὶ μὴ Ἰήπυγες ἀρξάμενοι ἐκ Βρεντεσίου λιμένος ἀποταμοίατο μέχρι Τάραντος καὶ νεμοίατο τὴν ἄκρην. δύο δὲ λέγων ταῦτα πολλὰ λέγω παρόμοια, τοῖσι ἄλλοισι ἔοικε ἡ Ταυρικὴ.

100. Τὸ δ' ἀπὸ τῆς Ταυρικῆς ἤδη Σκύθαι τὰ κατύπερθε τῶν Ταύρων καὶ τὰ πρὸς θαλάσσης τῆς ἡοίης νέμονται, τοῦ τε Βοσπόρου τοῦ Κιμμερίου τὰ πρὸς ἐσπέρης καὶ τῆς λίμνης τῆς Μαιήτιδος μέχρι Τανάιδος ποταμοῦ, ὅς ἐκδιδοῖ ἐς μυχὸν τῆς λίμνης ταύτης. ἤδη ὦν ἀπὸ μὲν Ἰστροῦ τὰ κατύπερθε ἐς τὴν μεσόγαιαν φέροντα ἀποκληίεται ἡ Σκυθικὴ ὑπὸ πρῶτων Ἀγαθύρσων, μετὰ δὲ Νευρῶν, ἔπειτα δὲ Ἀνδροφάγων, τελευταίων δὲ Μελαγχλαίνων.

101. Ἔστι ὦν τῆς Σκυθικῆς ὡς εἰρήνης τετραγώνου, τῶν δύο μερέων κατηκόντων ἐς θάλασσαν, πάντῃ ἴσον τό τε ἐς τὴν μεσόγαιαν φέρον καὶ τὸ παρὰ τὴν θάλασσαν. ἀπὸ γὰρ Ἰστροῦ ἐπὶ Βορυ-

<sup>1</sup> τὴν ἄκρην is bracketed by Stein, ἀνέχειν being generally (in the required sense) intransitive.

the Tauri dwelling as they do in a part of Scythia which is like Attica, it is as though some other people, not Attic, were to inhabit the heights of Sunium from Thoricus to the township of Anaphlystus, did Sunium but jut farther out into the sea. I say this in so far as one may compare small things with great. Such a land is the Tauric country. But those who have not coasted along that part of Attica may understand from this other way of showing: it is as though in Iapygia some other people, not Iapygian, were to dwell on the promontory within a line drawn from the harbour of Brentesium to Taras. Of these two countries I speak, but there are many others of a like kind which Tauris resembles.<sup>1</sup>

100. Beyond the Tauric country the Scythians begin, dwelling north of the Tauri and beside the eastern sea, westward of the Cimmerian Bosphorus and the Maeetian lake, as far as the river Tanais, which issues into the end of that lake. Now it has been seen that on its northern and inland side, which runs from the Ister, Scythia is bounded first by the Agathyrsi, next by the Neuri, next by the Man-eaters, and last by the Black-cloaks.

101. Scythia, then, being a four-sided country, whereof two sides are sea-board, the frontiers running inland and those that are by the sea make it a perfect square; for it is a ten days' journey from the

<sup>1</sup> All this is no more than to say that the Tauri live on a promontory (the Tauric Chersonese), which is like the south-eastern promontory of Attica (Sunium) or the "heel" of Italy, *i.e.* the country east of a line drawn between the modern Brindisi and Taranto. The only difference is, says Herodotus, that the Tauri inhabit a part of Scythia yet are not Scythians, while the inhabitants of the Attic and Italian promontories are of the same stock as their neighbours.



σθένεα δέκα ἡμερέων ὁδός, ἀπὸ Βορυσθένεος τε ἐπὶ τὴν λίμνην τὴν Μαιῆτιν ἑτερέων δέκα· καὶ τὸ ἀπὸ θαλάσσης ἐς μεσόγαιαν ἐς τοὺς Μελαγχλαίλους τοὺς κατύπερθε Σκυθέων οἰκημένους εἴκοσι ἡμερέων ὁδός. ἢ δὲ ὁδὸς ἢ ἡμερησίῃ ἀνὰ διηκόσια στάδια συμβέβληταί μοι. οὕτω ἂν εἴη τῆς Σκυθικῆς τὰ ἐπικάρσια τετρακισχιλίων σταδίων καὶ τὰ ὄρθια τὰ ἐς τὴν μεσόγαιαν φέροντα ἑτέρων τοσούτων σταδίων. ἢ μὲν νυν γῆ αὕτη ἐστὶ μέγαθος τοσαύτη.

102. Οἱ δὲ Σκύθαι δόντες σφίσι λόγον ὥς οὐκ οἰοί τε εἰσὶ τὸν Δαρείου στρατὸν ἰθυμαχίῃ διώσασθαι μῦνοι, ἔπεμπον ἐς τοὺς πλησιοχώρους ἀγγέλους· τῶν δὲ καὶ δὴ οἱ βασιλέες συνελθόντες ἐβουλευόντο ὥς στρατοῦ ἐπελαύνοντος μεγάλου. ἦσαν δὲ οἱ συνελθόντες βασιλέες Ταύρων καὶ Ἀγαθύρσων καὶ Νευρῶν καὶ Ἀνδροφάγων καὶ Μελαγχλαίων καὶ Γελωνῶν καὶ Βουδίνων καὶ Σαυροματέων.

103. Τούτων Ταῦροι μὲν νόμοισι τοιοῖσιδε χρέωνται· θύουσι μὲν τῇ Παρθένῳ τοὺς τε ναυηγούς καὶ τοὺς ἂν λάβωσι Ἑλλήνων ἐπαναχθέντες τρόπῳ τοιῷδε· καταρξάμενοι ῥοπάλῳ παίουσι τὴν κεφαλὴν. οἱ μὲν δὴ λέγουσι ὥς τὸ σῶμα ἀπὸ τοῦ κρημνοῦ ὠθέουσι κάτω (ἐπὶ γὰρ κρημνοῦ ἵδρυται τὸ ἱρόν), τὴν δὲ κεφαλὴν ἀνασταυροῦσι· οἱ δὲ κατὰ μὲν τὴν κεφαλὴν ὁμολογέουσι, τὸ μέντοι σῶμα οὐκ ὠθέεσθαι ἀπὸ τοῦ κρημνοῦ λέγουσι ἀλλὰ γῇ κρύπτεσθαι. τὴν δὲ δαίμονα ταύτην τῇ θύουσι λέγουσι αὐτοὶ Ταῦροι Ἰφιγένειαν τὴν Ἀγαμέμνονος εἶναι. πολεμίους δὲ ἄνδρας τοὺς ἂν χειρώσωνται ποιεῦσι τάδε· ἀποταμῶν ἕκα-

Ister to the Borysthenes, and the same from the Borysthenes to the Maeetian lake; and it is a twenty days' journey from the sea inland to the country of the Black-cloaks who dwell north of Scythia. Now as I reckon a day's journey at two hundred furlongs, the cross-measurement of Scythia would be a distance of four thousand furlongs, and the line drawn straight up inland the same. Such then is the extent of this land.

102. The Scythians, reckoning that they were not able by themselves to repel Darius' army in open warfare, sent messengers to their neighbours, whose kings had already met and were taking counsel, as knowing that a great army was marching against them. Those that had so met were the kings of the Tauri, Agathyrsi, Neuri, Man-eaters, Black-cloaks, Geloni, Budini, and Sauro-matae.

103. Among these, the Tauri have the following customs: all ship-wrecked men, and any Greeks whom they take in their sea-raiding, they sacrifice to the Virgin goddess<sup>1</sup> as I will show: after the first rites of sacrifice, they smite the victim on the head with a club; according to some, they then throw down the body from the cliff whereon their temple stands, and impale the head; others agree with this as to the head, but say that the body is buried, not thrown down from the cliff. This deity to whom they sacrifice is said by the Tauri themselves to be Agamemnon's daughter Iphigenia. As for the enemies whom they overcome, each man cuts off

<sup>1</sup> A deity locally worshipped, identified by the Greeks with Artemis.

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στος<sup>1</sup> κεφαλὴν ἀποφέρεται ἐς τὰ οἰκία, ἔπειτα ἐπὶ ξύλου μεγάλου ἀναπείρας ἰστᾶ ὑπὲρ τῆς οἰκίης ὑπερέχουσιν πολλόν, μάλιστα δὲ ὑπὲρ τῆς καπνοδόκης. φασὶ δὲ τούτους φυλάκους τῆς οἰκίης πάσης ὑπεραιωρέεσθαι. ζῶσι δὲ ἀπὸ ληΐης τε καὶ πολέμου.

104. Ἀγάθυρσοι δὲ ἀβρότατοι ἀνδρῶν εἰσι καὶ χρυσοφόροι τὰ μάλιστα, ἐπικοινωνοῦν δὲ τῶν γυναικῶν τὴν μίξιν ποιεῦνται, ἵνα κασίγνητοί τε ἀλλήλων ἕωσι καὶ οἰκήιοι ἔοντες πάντες μήτε φθόνῳ μήτε ἔχθει χρέωνται ἐς ἀλλήλους. τὰ δὲ ἄλλα νόμαϊα Θρήξι προσκεχωρήκασιν.

105. Νευροὶ δὲ νόμοισι μὲν χρέωνται Σκυθικοῖσι, γενεῇ δὲ μὴ πρότερον σφέας τῆς Δαρείου στρατηλασίας κατέλαβε ἐκλιπεῖν τὴν χώραν πᾶσαν ὑπὸ ὀφίων· ὄφιας γὰρ σφι πολλοὺς μὲν ἡ χώρα ἀνέβαινε, οἱ δὲ πλεῦνες ἀνωθέν σφι ἐκ τῶν ἐρήμων ἐπέπεσον, ἐς ὃ πιεζόμενοι οἴκησαν μετὰ Βουδίνων τὴν ἐωυτῶν ἐκλιπόντες. κινδυνεύουσι δὲ οἱ ἄνθρωποι οὗτοι γόητες εἶναι. λέγονται γὰρ ὑπὸ Σκυθέων καὶ Ἑλλήνων τῶν ἐν τῇ Σκυθικῇ κατοικημένων ὡς ἕτερος ἐκάστου ἅπαξ τῶν Νευρῶν ἕκαστος λύκος γίνεται ἡμέρας ὀλίγας καὶ αὐτὸς ὀπίσω ἐς τὸ αὐτὸ κατίσται. ἐμὲ μὲν νυν ταῦτα λέγοντες οὐ πείθουσι, λέγουσι δὲ οὐδὲν ἥσσον, καὶ ὁμῶς δὲ λέγοντες.

106. Ἀνδροφάγοι δὲ ἀγριώτατα πάντων ἀνθρώπων ἔχουσι ἡθεα, οὔτε δίκην νομίζοντες οὔτε νόμῳ οὐδενὶ χρεώμενοι· νομάδες δὲ εἰσὶ, ἐσθιῆτά τε φορέουσι τῇ Σκυθικῇ ὁμοίην, γλῶσσαν δὲ ἰδίην, ἀνδροφαγέουσι δὲ μῦνοι τούτων.

<sup>1</sup> [ἕκαστος] Stein.

## BOOK IV. 103-106

his enemy's head and carries it away to his house, where he impales it on a tall pole and sets it standing high above the dwelling, above the smoke-vent for the most part. These heads, they say, are set aloft to guard the whole house. The Tauri live by plundering and war.

104. The Agathyrsi live more delicately than all other men, and are greatly given to wearing gold. Their intercourse with women is promiscuous, that so they may be brothers and kinsfolk to each other and thus neither envy nor hate their fellows. In the rest of their customs they are like to the Thracians.

105. The Neuri follow Scythian usages; but one generation before the coming of Darius' army it fell out that they were driven from their country by snakes; for their land brought forth great numbers of these, and yet more came down upon them out of the desert, till at last the Neuri were so hard pressed that they left their own country and dwelt among the Budini. It may be that they are wizards; for the Scythians, and the Greeks settled in Scythia, say that once a year every one of the Neuri is turned into a wolf, and after remaining so for a few days returns again to his former shape. For myself, I cannot believe this tale; but they tell it nevertheless, yea, and swear to its truth.

106. The Man-eaters are of all men the most savage in their manner of life; they know no justice and obey no law. They are nomads, wearing a dress like the Scythian, but speaking a language of their own; they are the only people of all these that eat men.

107. Μελάγχλαινοι δὲ εἴματα μὲν μέλανα φορέουσι πάντες, ἐπ' ὧν καὶ τὰς ἐπωνυμίας ἔχουσι, νόμοισι δὲ Σκυθικοῖσι χρέωνται.

108. Βουδῖνοι δὲ ἔθνος ἐὼν μέγα καὶ πολλὸν γλαυκὸν τε πᾶν ἰσχυρῶς ἐστὶ καὶ πυρρὸν. πόλις δὲ ἐν αὐτοῖσι πεπόλισται ξυλίνη, οὖνομα δὲ τῇ πόλι ἐστὶ Γελωνός· τοῦ δὲ τείχεος μέγαθος κῶλον ἕκαστον τριήκοντα σταδίων ἐστί, ὑψηλὸν δὲ καὶ πᾶν ξύλινον, καὶ αἱ οἰκίαι αὐτῶν ξύλιναι καὶ τὰ ἱρά. ἐστὶ γὰρ δὴ αὐτόθι Ἑλληνικῶν θεῶν ἱρά Ἑλληνικῶς κατεσκευασμένα ἀγάλμασί τε καὶ βωμοῖσι καὶ νηοῖσι ξυλίνοισι, καὶ τῷ Διονύσῳ τριετηρίδας ἀνάγουσι καὶ βακχεύουσι. εἰσὶ γὰρ οἱ Γελωνοὶ τὸ ἀρχαῖον Ἑλληνες, ἐκ τῶν δὲ ἐμπορίων ἐξαναστάντες οἴκησαν ἐν τοῖσι Βουδίνοισι· καὶ γλώσση τὰ μὲν Σκυθικῇ τὰ δὲ Ἑλληνικῇ χρέωνται. Βουδῖνοι δὲ οὐ τῇ αὐτῇ γλώσση χρέωνται καὶ Γελωνοί, οὐδὲ δίαίτα ἢ αὐτῇ.

109. Οἱ μὲν γὰρ Βουδῖνοι ἐόντες αὐτόχθονες νομάδες τε εἰσὶ καὶ φθειροτραγέουσι μῦνοι τῶν ταύτη, Γελωνοὶ δὲ γῆς τε ἐργάται καὶ σιτοφάγοι καὶ κήπους ἐκτημένοι, οὐδὲν τὴν ἰδέην ὅμοιοι οὐδὲ τὸ χρῶμα. ὑπὸ μέντοι Ἑλλήνων καλέονται καὶ οἱ Βουδῖνοι Γελωνοί, οὐκ ὀρθῶς καλεόμενοι. ἡ δὲ χώρα σφέων πᾶσα ἐστὶ δασέα ἰδῆσι παντοίησι· ἐν δὲ τῇ ἰδῇ τῇ πλείεστη ἐστὶ λίμνη μεγάλη τε καὶ πολλή καὶ ἔλος καὶ κάλαμος περὶ αὐτήν. ἐν δὲ ταύτῃ ἐνύδριες ἀλίσκονται καὶ κάστορες καὶ ἄλλα θηρία τετραγωνοπρόσωπα, τῶν τὰ δέρματα παρὰ τὰς σισύρνας παραρράπτεται, καὶ οἱ ὄρχεις αὐτοῖσι εἰσὶ χρήσιμοι ἐς ὑστερέων ἄκεσιν.

110. Σαυροματέων δὲ πέρι ὧδε λέγεται. ὅτε

## BOOK IV. 107-110

107. The Black-cloaks all wear black raiment, whence they take their name; their usages are Scythian.

108. The Budini are a great and numerous nation; the eyes of all of them are very bright, and they are ruddy. They have a city built of wood, called Gelonus. The wall of it is thirty furlongs in length on each side of the city; this wall is high and all of wood; and their houses are wooden, and their temples; for there are among them temples of Greek gods, furnished in Greek fashion with images and altars and shrines; and they honour Dionysus every three years with festivals and revels. For the Geloni are by their origin Greeks, who left their trading ports to settle among the Budini; and they speak a language half Greek and half Scythian. But the Budini speak not the same language as the Geloni, nor is their manner of life the same.

109. The Budini are native to the soil; they are nomads, and the only people in these parts that eat fir-cones; the Geloni are tillers of the soil, eating grain and possessing gardens; they are wholly unlike the Budini in form and in complexion. Yet the Greeks call the Budini too Geloni; but this is wrong. All their country is thickly wooded with every kind of tree; in the depth of the forests there is a great and wide lake and marsh surrounded by reeds; otters are caught in it, and beavers, besides certain square-faced creatures whose skins serve for the trimming of mantles, and their testicles are used by the people to heal hysteric sicknesses.

110. The history of the Sauromatae is as I will



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Ἕλληνες Ἀμαζόσι ἐμάχεσαντο (τὰς δὲ Ἀμαζόνας καλέουσι Σκύθαι Οἰόρπατα, δύναται δὲ τὸ οὔνομα τοῦτο κατὰ Ἑλλάδα γλῶσσαν ἀνδροκτόνοι· οἶορ γὰρ καλέουσι ἄνδρα, τὸ δὲ πατὰ κτείνειν), τότε λόγος τοὺς Ἕλληνας νικήσαντας τῇ ἐπὶ Θερμῶδοντι μάχῃ ἀποπλέειν ἄγοντας τρισὶ πλοίοισι τῶν Ἀμαζόνων ὅσας ἐδυνέατο ζωγρῆσαι, τὰς δ' ἐν τῷ πελάγει ἐπιθεμένας ἐκκόψαι τοὺς ἄνδρας. πλοῖα δὲ οὐ γινώσκειν αὐτὰς οὐδὲ πηδαλίοισι χρᾶσθαι οὐδὲ ἰστίοισι οὐδὲ εἰρεσίῃ· ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ ἐξέκοψαν τοὺς ἄνδρας ἐφέροντο κατὰ κύμα καὶ ἄνεμον, καὶ ἀπικνέονται τῆς λίμνης τῆς Μαιήτιδος ἐπὶ Κρημνούς· οἱ δὲ Κρημνοὶ εἰσὶ γῆς τῆς Σκυθέων τῶν ἐλευθέρων. ἐνθαῦτα ἀποβᾶσαι ἀπὸ τῶν πλοίων αἱ Ἀμαζόνες ὁδοιπόρουσιν εἰς τὴν οἰκεομένην. ἐντυχοῦσαι δὲ πρώτῳ ἵπποφορβίῳ τοῦτο διήρπασαν, καὶ ἐπὶ τούτων ἵππαζόμεναι ἐληγίζοντο τὰ τῶν Σκυθέων.

111. Οἱ δὲ Σκύθαι οὐκ εἶχον συμβαλέσθαι τὸ πρῆγμα· οὔτε γὰρ φωνὴν οὔτε ἐσθῆτα οὔτε τὸ ἔθνος ἐγίνωσκον, ἀλλ' ἐν θώματι ἦσαν ὁκόθεν ἔλθοιεν, ἐδόκεον δ' αὐτὰς εἶναι ἄνδρας τὴν αὐτὴν ἡλικίην ἔχοντας, μάχην τε δὴ πρὸς αὐτὰς ἐποιεῦντο. ἐκ δὲ τῆς μάχης τῶν νεκρῶν ἐκράτησαν οἱ Σκύθαι, καὶ οὕτω ἔγνωσαν εἰσὺς γυναῖκας. βουλευομένοισι ὦν αὐτοῖσι ἔδοξε κτείνειν μὲν οὐδενὶ τρόπῳ ἔτι αὐτάς, ἐωυτῶν δὲ τοὺς νεωτάτους ἀποπέμψαι εἰς αὐτάς, πλῆθος εἰκάσαντας ὅσαι περ ἐκείναι ἦσαν, τούτους δὲ στρατοπεδεύεσθαι πλησίον ἐκεινέων καὶ ποιέειν τὰ περ ἂν καὶ ἐκείναι ποιέωσι· ἣν δὲ αὐτοὺς διώκωσι, μάχεσθαι μὲν μή, ὑποφεύγειν δέ· ἐπεὰν δὲ παύσωνται, ἐλθόντας

## BOOK IV. 110-111

now show. When the Greeks warred with the Amazons (whom the Scythians call Oiorpata, a name signifying in our tongue killers of men, for in Scythian a man is *oior*, and to kill is *pata*) after their victory on the Thermodon they sailed away carrying in three ships as many Amazons as they had been able to take alive; and out at sea the Amazons set upon the crews and threw them overboard. But they knew nothing of ships, nor how to use rudder or sail or oar; and the men being thrown overboard they were borne at the mercy of waves and winds, till they came to the Cliffs by the Maeetian lake; this place is in the country of the free Scythians. There the Amazons landed, and set forth on their journey to the inhabited country. But at the beginning of their journey they found a place where horses were reared; and carrying these horses away they raided the Scythian lands on horseback.

111. The Scythians could not understand the matter; for they knew not the women's speech nor their dress nor their nation, but wondered whence they had come, and supposed them to be men all of the same age; and they met the Amazons in battle. The end of the fight was, that the Scythians got possession of the dead, and so came to know that their foes were women. Wherefore taking counsel they resolved by no means to slay them as heretofore, but to send to them their youngest men, of a number answering (as they guessed) to the number of the women. They bade these youths encamp near to the Amazons and to imitate all that they did; if the women pursued them, then not to fight, but to flee; and when the pursuit ceased, to

αὐτὶς πλησίον στρατοπεδεύεσθαι. ταῦτα ἐβουλεύσαντο οἱ Σκύθαι βουλόμενοι ἐξ αὐτέων παῖδας ἐκγενήσεσθαι. ἀποπεμφθέντες δὲ οἱ νεηνίσκοι ἐποίουν τὰ ἐντεταλμένα.

112. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἔμαθον αὐτοὺς αἱ Ἀμαζόνες ἐπ' οὐδεμιῇ δηλήσι ἀπιγμένους, ἔων χαίρειν· προσεχώρεον δὲ πλησιαιτέρω τὸ στρατόπεδον τῷ στρατοπέδῳ ἐπ' ἡμέρῃ ἐκάστη. εἶχον δὲ οὐδὲν οὐδ' οἱ νεηνίσκοι, ὥσπερ αἱ Ἀμαζόνες, εἰ μὴ τὰ ὄπλα καὶ τοὺς ἵππους, ἀλλὰ ζῶν ἐζων τὴν αὐτὴν ἐκείνησι, θηρεύοντές τε καὶ ληιζόμενοι.

113. Ἐποίουν δὲ αἱ Ἀμαζόνες ἐς τὴν μεσαμβρίην τοιόνδε· ἐγίνοντο σποράδες κατὰ μίαν τε καὶ δύο, πρόσω δὴ ἀπ' ἀλληλέων ἐς εὐμαρείην ἀποσκιδνάμεναι. μαθόντες δὲ καὶ οἱ Σκύθαι ἐποίουν τὸν αὐτὸ τοῦτο. καὶ τις μουνωθεισέων τινὶ αὐτέων ἐνεχρίμπτετο, καὶ ἡ Ἀμαζὼν οὐκ ἀπώθεετο ἀλλὰ περιεῖδε χρήσασθαι. καὶ φωνῆσαι μὲν οὐκ εἶχε, οὐ γὰρ συνίεσαν ἀλλήλων, τῇ δὲ χειρὶ ἔφραζε ἐς τὴν ὑστεραίην ἐλθεῖν ἐς τὸ αὐτὸ χωρίον καὶ ἕτερον ἄγειν, σημαίνουσα δύο γενέσθαι, καὶ αὐτὴ ἐτέρην ἄξειν. ὁ δὲ νεηνίσκος, ἐπεὶ ἀπῆλθε, ἔλεξε ταῦτα πρὸς τοὺς λοιπούς· τῇ δὲ δευτεραίῃ ἦλθε ἐς τὸ χωρίον αὐτός τε οὗτος καὶ ἕτερον ἦγε, καὶ τὴν Ἀμαζόνα εὗρε δευτέρην αὐτὴν ὑπομένουσαν. οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ νεηνίσκοι ὡς ἐπύθοντο ταῦτα, καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐκτιλώσαντο τὰς λοιπὰς τῶν Ἀμαζόνων.

114. Μετὰ δὲ συμμίζαντες τὰ στρατόπεδα οἴκεον ὁμοῦ, γυναῖκα ἔχων ἕκαστος ταύτην τῇ τὸ πρῶτον συνεμίχθη. τὴν δὲ φωνὴν τὴν μὲν τῶν γυναικῶν οἱ ἄνδρες οὐκ ἐδυνάετο μαθεῖν, τὴν δὲ

## BOOK IV. 111-114

come and encamp near to them. This was the plan of the Scythians, for they desired that children should be born of the women. The young men, being sent, did as they were charged.

112. When the Amazons perceived that the youths meant them no harm, they let them be ; but every day the two camps drew nearer to each other. Now the young men, like the Amazons, had nothing but their arms and their horses, and lived as did the women, by hunting and plunder.

113. At midday the Amazons would scatter and go singly or in pairs away from each other, roaming thus apart for greater comfort. The Scythians marked this and did likewise ; and as the women wandered alone, a young man laid hold of one of them, and the woman made no resistance but suffered him to do his will ; and since they understood not each other's speech and she could not speak to him, she signed with the hand that he should come on the next day to the same place bringing another youth with him (showing by signs that there should be two), and she would bring another woman with her. The youth went away and told his comrades ; and the next day he came himself with another to the place, where he found the Amazon and another with her awaiting him. When the rest of the young men learnt of this, they had intercourse with the rest of the Amazons.

114. Presently they joined their camps and dwelt together, each man having for his wife the woman with whom he had had intercourse at first. Now the men could not learn the women's language, but the

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τῶν ἀνδρῶν αἱ γυναῖκες συνέλαβον. ἐπεὶ δὲ συνῆκαν ἀλλήλων, ἔλεξαν πρὸς τὰς Ἀμαζόνας τάδε οἱ ἄνδρες. “Ἡμῖν εἰσὶ μὲν τοκέες, εἰσὶ δὲ κτήσιες· νῦν ὧν μηκέτι πλεῦνα χρόνον ζόην τοιήνδε ἔχωμεν, ἀλλ’ ἀπελθόντες εἰς τὸ πλῆθος διαιτώμεθα. γυναῖκας δὲ ἔχομεν ὑμέας καὶ οὐδαμὰς ἄλλας.” αἱ δὲ πρὸς ταῦτα ἔλεξαν τάδε. “Ἡμεῖς οὐκ ἂν δυναίμεθα οἰκέειν μετὰ τῶν ὑμετερέων γυναικῶν· οὐ γὰρ τὰ αὐτὰ νόμια ἡμῖν τε καὶ κείνησι ἐστί. ἡμεῖς μὲν τοξεύομεν τε καὶ ἀκοντίζομεν καὶ ἵππαζόμεθα, ἔργα δὲ γυναικῆα οὐκ ἐμάθομεν· αἱ δὲ ὑμέτεραι γυναῖκες τούτων μὲν οὐδὲν τῶν ἡμεῖς κατελέξαμεν ποιεῦσι, ἔργα δὲ γυναικῆα ἐργάζονται μένουσαι ἐν τῇσι ἀμάξῃσι, οὐτ’ ἐπὶ θήρην ἰοῦσαι οὔτε ἄλλη οὐδαμῇ. οὐκ ἂν ὧν δυναίμεθα ἐκείνησι συμφέρεσθαι. ἀλλ’ εἰ βούλεσθε γυναῖκας ἔχειν ἡμέας καὶ δοκέειν εἶναι δίκαιοι, ἐλθόντες παρὰ τοὺς τοκέας ἀπολάχετε τῶν κτημάτων τὸ μέρος, καὶ ἔπειτα ἐλθόντες οἰκέωμεν ἐπὶ ἡμέων αὐτῶν.” ἐπεῖθοντο καὶ ἐποίησαν ταῦτα οἱ νεηνίσκοι.

115. Ἐπεῖτε δὲ ἀπολαχόντες τῶν κτημάτων τὸ ἐπιβάλλον ἦλθον ὀπίσω παρὰ τὰς Ἀμαζόνας, ἔλεξαν αἱ γυναῖκες πρὸς αὐτοὺς τάδε. “Ἡμέας ἔχει φόβος τε καὶ δέος ὅπως χρή οἰκέειν ἐν τῷδε τῷ χώρῳ, τοῦτο μὲν ὑμέας ἀποστερησάσας πατέρων, τοῦτο δὲ γῆν τὴν ὑμετέρεην δηλησαμένας πολλά. ἀλλ’ ἐπεῖτε ἀξιούτε ἡμέας γυναῖκας ἔχειν, τάδε ποιεέτε ἅμα ἡμῖν· φέρετε ἐξαναστέωμεν ἐκ τῆς γῆς τῆσδε καὶ περήσαντες Τάναϊν ποταμὸν οἰκέωμεν.”

116. Ἐπεῖθοντο καὶ ταῦτα οἱ νεηνίσκοι, δια-

## BOOK IV. 114-116

women mastered the speech of the men ; and when they understood each other, the men said to the Amazons, " We have parents and possessions ; now therefore let us no longer live as we do, but return to the multitude of our people and consort with them ; and we will still have you, and no others, for our wives." To this the women replied : " Nay, we could not dwell with your women ; for we and they have not the same customs. We shoot with the bow and throw the javelin and ride, but the crafts of women we have never learned ; and your women do none of the things whereof we speak, but abide in their waggons working at women's crafts, and never go abroad a-hunting or for aught else. We and they therefore could never agree. Nay, if you desire to keep us for wives and to have the name of just men, go to your parents and let them give you the allotted share of their possessions, and after that let us go and dwell by ourselves." The young men agreed and did this.

115. So when they had been given the allotted share of possessions which fell to them, and returned to the Amazons, the women said to them : " We are in fear and dread, to think how we should dwell in this country ; seeing that not only have we bereaved you of your parents, but we have done much hurt to your land. Nay, since you think right to have us for wives, let us all together, we and you, remove out of this country and dwell across the river Tanais."

116. To this too the youths consented ; and crossing



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βάντες δὲ τὸν Τάναϊν ὁδοιπόρεον πρὸς ἥλιον ἀνίσχοντα τριῶν μὲν ἡμερέων ἀπὸ τοῦ Ταναΐδος ὁδόν, τριῶν δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς λίμνης τῆς Μαιήτιδος πρὸς βορέην ἄνεμον. ἀπικόμενοι δὲ ἐς τοῦτον τὸν χῶρον ἐν τῷ νῦν κατοίκηνται, οἴκησαν τοῦτον. καὶ διαίτη ἀπὸ τούτου χρέωνται τῇ παλαιῇ τῶν Σαυροματέων αἱ γυναῖκες, καὶ ἐπὶ θήρην ἐπ' ἵππων ἐκφοιτῶσαι ἅμα τοῖσι ἀνδράσι καὶ χωρὶς τῶν ἀνδρῶν, καὶ ἐς πόλεμον φοιτῶσαι καὶ στολὴν τὴν αὐτὴν τοῖσι ἀνδράσι φορέουσαι.

117. Φωνῇ δὲ οἱ Σαυρομάται νομίζουσι Σκυθικῇ, σολοικίζοντες αὐτῇ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀρχαίου, ἐπεὶ οὐ χρηστῶς ἐξέμαθον αὐτὴν αἱ Ἀμαζόνες. τὰ περὶ γάμων δὲ ὧδέ σφι διακέεται· οὐ γαμέεται παρθένος οὐδεμία πρὶν ἂν τῶν πολεμίων ἄνδρα ἀποκτείνῃ· αἱ δὲ τινὲς αὐτέων καὶ τελευτῶσι γηραιαὶ πρὶν γήμασθαι, οὐ δυνάμεναι τὸν νόμον ἐκπλήσαι.

118. Ἐπὶ τούτων ὧν τῶν καταλεχθέντων ἐθνέων τοὺς βασιλέας ἀλισμένους ἀπικόμενοι τῶν Σκυθέων οἱ ἄγγελοι ἔλεγον ἐκδιδάσκοντες ὥς ὁ Πέρσης, ἐπειδὴ οἱ τὰ ἐν τῇ ἡπείρῳ τῇ ἐτέρῃ πάντα κατέστραπται, γέφυραν ζεύξας ἐπὶ τῷ αὐχένι τοῦ Βοσπόρου διαβέβηκε ἐς τήνδε τὴν ἡπειρον, διαβὰς δὲ καὶ καταστρεψάμενος Θρήικας γεφυροῖ ποταμὸν Ἴστρον, βουλόμενος καὶ τάδε πάντα ὑπ' ἐωυτῷ ποιήσασθαι. “Ὑμεῖς ὦν μηδεὶν τρόπῳ ἐκ τοῦ μέσου κατήμενοι περιίδητε ἡμέας διαφθαρέντας, ἀλλὰ τῷτὸ νοήσαντες ἀντιάζωμεν τὸν ἐπιόντα. οὐκὼν ποιήσετε ταῦτα· ἡμεῖς μὲν πιεζόμενοι ἢ ἐκλείψομεν τὴν χώραν ἢ μένοντες ὁμολογίῃ χρησόμεθα. τί γὰρ πάθωμεν μὴ βουλομένων ὑμέων τιμωρέειν; ὑμῖν δὲ οὐδὲν ἐπὶ τούτῳ ἔσται ἔλα-

## BOOK IV. 116-118

the Tanais they went a three days' journey from the river eastwards, and a three days' journey from the Maeetian lake northwards; and when they came to the region in which they now dwell, they made their abode there. Ever since then the women of the Sauromatae have followed their ancient usage; they ride a-hunting with their men or without them; they go to war, and wear the same dress as the men.

117. The language of the Sauromatae is Scythian, but not spoken in its ancient purity, seeing that the Amazons never rightly learnt it. In regard to marriage, it is the custom that no virgin weds till she has slain a man of the enemy; and some of them grow old and die unmarried, because they cannot fulfil the law.

118. The kings then of these aforesaid nations being assembled, the Scythian messengers came and laid all exactly before them, telling how the Persian, now that the whole of the other continent was subject to him, had crossed over to their continent by a bridge thrown across the gut of the Bosphorus, and how having crossed it and subdued the Thracians he was now bridging the Ister, that he might make all that region subject like the others to himself. "Do you, then," said they, "by no means sit apart and suffer us to be destroyed; rather let us unite and encounter this invader. If you will not do this, then shall we either be driven perforce out of our country, or abide and make terms. For what is to become of us if you will not aid us? And thereafter it will be no

φρότερον· ἥκει γὰρ ὁ Πέρσης οὐδέν τι μᾶλλον ἐπ' ἡμέας ἢ οὐ καὶ ἐπ' ὑμέας, οὐδέ οἱ καταχρήσει ἡμέας καταστρεψαμένῳ ὑμέων ἀπέχεσθαι. μέγα δὲ ὑμῖν λόγων τῶνδε μαρτύριον ἐρέομεν. εἰ γὰρ ἐπ' ἡμέας μούρους ἐστρατηλάτεις ὁ Πέρσης τίσασθαι τῆς πρόσθε δουλοσύνης βουλόμενος, χρῆν αὐτὸν πάντων τῶν ἄλλων ἀπεχόμενον ἵεναι οὕτω ἐπὶ τὴν ἡμετέραν, καὶ ἂν ἐδήλου πᾶσι ὥς ἐπὶ Σκύθας ἐλαύνει καὶ οὐκ ἐπὶ τοὺς ἄλλους. νῦν δὲ ἐπεῖτε τάχιστα διέβη ἐς τήνδε τὴν ἡπειρον, τοὺς αἰεὶ ἐμποδῶν γινομένους ἡμεροῦται πάντα· τοὺς τε δὴ ἄλλους ἔχει ὑπ' ἐωυτῷ Θρήικας καὶ δὴ καὶ τοὺς ἡμῖν ἐόντας πλησιοχώρους Γέτας.”

119. Ταῦτα Σκυθέων ἐπαγγελλομένων ἐβουλεύοντο οἱ βασιλεῖς οἱ ἀπὸ τῶν ἐθνέων ἦκοντες, καὶ σφεων ἐσχίσθησαν αἱ γνώμαι· ὁ μὲν γὰρ Γελωνὸς καὶ ὁ Βουδῖνος καὶ ὁ Σαυρομάτης κατὰ τῶντὸ γενόμενοι ὑπεδέκοντο Σκύθησι τιμωρήσειν, ὁ δὲ Ἀγάθυρσος καὶ Νευρὸς καὶ Ἀνδροφάγος καὶ οἱ τῶν Μελαγχλαίνων καὶ Ταύρων τάδε Σκύθησι ὑπεκρίναντο. “Εἰ μὲν μὴ ὑμεῖς ἔατε οἱ πρότεροι ἀδικήσαντες Πέρσας καὶ ἄρξαντες πολέμου, τούτων δεόμενοι τῶν νῦν δέεσθε λέγειν τε ἂν ἐφαίνεσθε ἡμῖν ὀρθά, καὶ ἡμεῖς ὑπακούσαντες τῶντὸ ἂν ὑμῖν ἐπρήσσομεν. νῦν δὲ ὑμεῖς τε ἐς τὴν ἐκείνων ἐσβαλόντες γῆν ἄνευ ἡμέων ἐπεκρατέετε Περσέων ὅσον χρόνον ὑμῖν ὁ θεὸς παρεδίδου, καὶ ἐκεῖνοι, ἐπεὶ σφεας ὡυτὸς θεὸς ἐγείρει, τὴν ὁμοίην ὑμῖν ἀποδιδούσι. ἡμεῖς δὲ οὔτε τι τότε ἡδίκησαμεν τοὺς ἄνδρας τούτους οὐδὲν οὔτε νῦν πρότεροι πειρησόμεθα ἀδικεῖν. ἦν μέντοι ἐπὶ καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν ἡμετέραν ἄρξῃ τε ἀδικέων,

light matter for you yourselves; for the Persian is come to attack you no whit less than us, nor when he has subdued us will he be content to leave you alone. We can give you full proof of what we say: were it we alone against whom the Persian is marching, to be avenged on us for our former enslaving of his country, it is certain that he would leave others alone and make straight for us, thus making it plain to all that Scythia and no other country is his goal. But now, from the day of his crossing over to this continent, he has been ever taming all that come in his way, and he holds in subjection, not only the rest of Thrace, but also our neighbours the Getae."

119. Such being the message of the Scythians, the kings who had come from their nations took counsel, and their opinions were divided. The kings of the Geloni and the Budini and the Sauromatae made common cause and promised to help the Scythians; but the kings of the Agathyrsi and Neuri and Man-eaters and Black-cloaks and Tauri made this answer to the messengers: "Had it not been you who did unprovoked wrong to the Persians and so began the war, this request that you proffer would seem to us right, and we would consent and act jointly with you. But now, you and not we invaded their land and held it for such time as the god permitted; and the Persians, urged on by the same god, are but requiting you in like manner. But we did these men no wrong in that former time, nor will we essay to harm them now unprovoked; natheless if the Persian come against our land too and do the first act of

καὶ ἡμεῖς οὐ πεισόμεθα,<sup>1</sup> μέχρι δὲ τοῦτο ἴδωμεν, μενέομεν παρ' ἡμῖν αὐτοῖσι· ἥκειν γὰρ δοκέομεν οὐκ ἐπ' ἡμέας Πέρσας ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τοὺς αἰτίους τῆς ἀδικίης γενομένους.”

120. Ταῦτα ὥς ἀπενειχθέντα ἐπύθοντο οἱ Σκύθαι, ἐβουλεύοντο ἰθυμαχίην μὲν μηδεμίαν ποιεέσθαι ἐκ τοῦ ἐμφανέος, ὅτε δὴ σφι οὐτοί γε σύμμαχοι οὐ προσεγίνοντο, ὑπεξιόντες δὲ καὶ ὑπεξελαύνοντες τὰ φρέατα τὰ παρεξίοιεν αὐτοὶ καὶ τὰς κρήνας συγχοῦν, τὴν ποίην τε ἐκ τῆς γῆς ἐκτρίβειν, διχοῦ σφέας διελόντες. καὶ πρὸς μὲν τὴν μίαν τῶν μοιρέων, τῆς ἐβασίλευε Σκώπασις, προσχωρέειν Σαυρομάτας· τούτους μὲν δὴ ὑπάγειν, ἣν ἐπὶ τοῦτο τράπηται ὁ Πέρσης, ἰθὺ Τανάιδος ποταμοῦ παρὰ τὴν Μαιῆτιν λίμνην ὑποφεύγοντας, ἀπελαύνοντός τε τοῦ Πέρσεω ἐπιόντας διώκειν. αὕτη μὲν σφι μία ἦν μοῖρα τῆς βασιληίης, τεταγμένη ταύτην τὴν ὁδὸν ἣ περ εἴρηται· τὰς δὲ δύο τῶν βασιληίων, τὴν τε μεγάλην τῆς ἡρχε Ἰδάνθурсος καὶ τὴν τρίτην τῆς ἐβασίλευε Τάξακις, συνελθούσας ἐς τῷτὸ καὶ Γελωνῶν τε καὶ Βουδίνων προσγενομένων, ἡμέρης καὶ τούτους ὁδῶ προέχοντας τῶν Περσέων ὑπεξάγειν, ὑπιόντας τε καὶ ποιεῦντας τὰ βεβουλευμένα. πρῶτα μὲν νυν ὑπάγειν σφέας ἰθὺ τῶν χωρέων τῶν ἀπειπαμένων τὴν σφετέρην συμμαχίην, ἵνα καὶ τούτους ἐκπολεμώσωσι· εἰ γὰρ μὴ ἐκόντες γε ὑπέδυσαν τὸν πόλεμον τὸν πρὸς Πέρσας, ἀλλ' ἀέκοντας ἐκπολεμώσειν· μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο ὑποστρέφειν ἐς τὴν σφετέρην καὶ ἐπιχειρέειν, ἣν δὴ βουλευομένοισι δοκέη.

<sup>1</sup> πεισόμεθα MSS.; Stein prefers κεισόμεθα, “lie inactive.”



wrong, then we two will not consent to it; but till we see that, we will abide where we are by ourselves. For in our judgment the Persians are attacking not us but those at whose door the offence lies."

120. This answer being brought back and made known to the Scythians, they resolved not to meet their enemy in the open field, seeing that they could not get the allies that they sought, but rather to withdraw and drive off their herds, choking the wells and springs on their way and rooting up the grass from the earth; and they divided themselves into two companies. It was their will that to one of their divisions, over which Scopasis was king, the Sauromatae should be added; this host should, if the Persian marched that way, retire before him and draw off towards the river Tanais, by the Maeetian lake, and if the Persian turned to depart then they should attack and pursue him. This was one of the divisions of the royal people, and it was appointed to follow the way aforesaid; their two other divisions, namely, the greater whereof the ruler was Idanthysus, and the third whose king was Taxakis, were to unite, and taking to them also the Geloni and Budini, to draw off like the others at the Persian approach, ever keeping one day's march in front of the enemy, avoiding a meeting and doing what had been resolved. First, then, they must retreat in a straight course towards the countries which refused their alliance, so that these too might be compelled to fight; for if they would not of their own accord enter the lists against the Persians, they must be driven to war willy-nilly; and after that, the host must turn back to its own country, and attack the enemy, if in debate this should seem good.



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121. Ταῦτα οἱ Σκύθαι βουλευσάμενοι ὑπηντίαζον τὴν Δαρείου στρατιήν, προδρόμους ἀποστείλαντες τῶν ἱππέων τοὺς ἀρίστους. τὰς δὲ ἀμάξας ἐν τῇσί σφι διαιτᾶτο τὰ τέκνα καὶ αἱ γυναῖκες πάσας καὶ τὰ πρόβατα πάντα, πλὴν ὅσα σφι ἐς φορβὴν ἱκανὰ ἦν τοσαῦτα ὑπολιπόμενοι, τὰ ἄλλα ἅμα τῇσι ἀμάξῃσι προέπεμψαν, ἐντειλάμενοι αἰεὶ τὸ πρὸς βορέῳ ἐλαύνειν.

122. Ταῦτα μὲν δὴ προεκομίζετο· τῶν δὲ Σκυθῶν οἱ πρόδρομοι ὡς εὗρον τοὺς Πέρσας ὅσον τε τριῶν ἡμερέων ὁδὸν ἀπέχοντας ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἰστρου, οὗτοι μὲν τούτους εὐρόντες, ἡμέρης ὁδῷ προέχοντες, ἐστρατοπεδεύοντο τὰ ἐκ τῆς γῆς φυόμενα λεαίνοντες. οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι ὡς εἶδον ἐπιφανεῖσαν τῶν Σκυθῶν τὴν ἵππον, ἐπήισαν κατὰ στίβον αἰεὶ ὑπαγόντων· καὶ ἔπειτα (πρὸς γὰρ τὴν μίαν τῶν μοιρέων ἴθυσαν) οἱ Πέρσαι ἐδίωκον πρὸς ἡῷ τε καὶ ἰθὺ Ταναΐδος· διαβάντων δὲ τούτων τὸν Ταναῖν ποταμὸν οἱ Πέρσαι ἐπιδιαβάντες ἐδίωκον, ἐς ὃ τῶν Σαυροματέων τὴν χώραν διεξελθόντες ἀπίκοντο ἐς τὴν τῶν Βουδίνων.

123. Ὅσον μὲν δὴ χρόνον οἱ Πέρσαι ἦσαν διὰ τῆς Σκυθικῆς καὶ τῆς Σαυρομάτιδος χώρας, οἱ δὲ εἶχον οὐδὲν σίνεσθαι ἅτε τῆς χώρας ἐούσης χέρσου· ἐπεῖτε δὲ ἐς τὴν τῶν Βουδίνων χώραν ἐσέβαλλον, ἐνθαῦτα δὴ ἐντυχόντες τῷ ξυλίνῳ τείχεϊ, ἐκλελοιπότων τῶν Βουδίνων καὶ κεκευμένου τοῦ τείχεος πάντων, ἐνέπρησαν αὐτό. τοῦτο δὲ ποιήσαντες εἶποντο αἰεὶ τὸ πρόσω κατὰ στίβον, ἐς ὃ διεξελθόντες ταύτην ἐς τὴν ἔρημον ἀπίκοντο. ἡ δὲ ἔρημος αὕτη ὑπὸ οὐδαμῶν νέμεται ἀνδρῶν, κέεται δὲ ὑπὲρ τῆς Βουδίνων χώρας ἐοῦσα πλήθος

121. Being resolved on this plan, the Scythians sent an advance guard of the best of their horsemen to meet Darius' army. As for the waggons in which their children and wives lived, all these they sent forward, charged to drive ever northward; and with the waggons they sent all their flocks, keeping none back save such as were sufficient for their food.

122. This convoy being first sent on its way, the advance guard of the Scythians found the Persians about a three days' march distant from the Ister; and having found them they encamped a day's march ahead of the enemy and set about clearing the land of all growing things. When the Persians saw the Scythian cavalry appearing, they marched on in its tracks, the horsemen ever withdrawing before them; and then, making for the one Scythian division, the Persians held on in pursuit towards the east and the river Tanais; which when the horsemen had crossed the Persians crossed also, and pursued till they had marched through the land of the Sauromatae to the land of the Budini.

123. As long as the Persians were traversing the Scythian and Sauromatic territory there was nothing for them to harm, as the land was dry and barren. But when they entered the country of the Budini, they found themselves before the wooden-walled town; the Budini had deserted it and left nothing therein, and the Persians burnt the town. Then going still forward in the horsemen's tracks they passed through this country into the desert, which is inhabited by no men; it lies to the north of the Budini and its

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ἐπὶ τὰ ἡμερέων ὁδοῦ. ὑπὲρ δὲ τῆς ἐρήμου Θυσσαγέται οἰκέουσι, ποταμοὶ δὲ ἐξ αὐτῶν τέσσερες μεγάλοι ῥέοντες διὰ Μαιητέων ἐκδιδοῦσι ἐς τὴν λίμνην τὴν καλεομένην Μαιῆτιν, τοῖσι οὐνόματα κέεται τάδε, Λύκος Ὁαρος Τάναϊς Σύργις.

124. Ἐπεὶ ὦν ὁ Δαρεῖος ἦλθε ἐς τὴν ἔρημον, πανσάμενος τοῦ δρόμου ἴδρυνε τὴν στρατιὴν ἐπὶ ποταμῷ Ὀάρῳ. τοῦτο δὲ ποιήσας ὀκτὼ τείχεα ἐτείχεε μεγάλα, ἴσον ἀπ' ἀλλήλων ἀπέχοντα, σταδίους ὡς ἐξήκοντα μάλιστά κη· τῶν ἔτι ἐς ἐμὲ τὰ ἐρείπια σοὰ ἦν. ἐν ᾧ δὲ οὗτος πρὸς ταῦτα ἐτράπετο, οἱ διωκόμενοι Σκύθαι περιελθόντες τὰ κατύπερθε ὑπέστρεφον ἐς τὴν Σκυθικὴν. ἀφανισθέντων δὲ τούτων τὸ παράπαν, ὡς οὐκέτι ἐφάνταζοντο σφι, οὕτω δὴ ὁ Δαρεῖος τείχεα μὲν ἐκεῖνα ἡμίεργα μετήκε, αὐτὸς δὲ ὑποστρέψας ἦε πρὸς ἐσπέρην, δοκέων τούτους τε πάντας τοὺς Σκύθας εἶναι καὶ πρὸς ἐσπέρην σφέας φεύγειν.

125. Ἐλαύνων δὲ τὴν ταχίστην τὸν στρατὸν ὡς ἐς τὴν Σκυθικὴν ἀπίκητο, ἐνέκυρσε ἀμφοτέρησι τῇσι μοίρησι τῶν Σκυθῶν, ἐντυχὼν δὲ ἐδίωκε ὑπεκφέροντας ἡμέρης ὁδῷ. καὶ οὐ γὰρ ἀνίει ἐπιὼν ὁ Δαρεῖος, οἱ Σκύθαι κατὰ τὰ βεβουλευμένα ὑπέφευγον ἐς τῶν ἀπειπαμένων τὴν σφετέρην συμμαχίην, πρώτην δὲ ἐς τῶν Μελαγχλαίνων τὴν γῆν. ὡς δὲ ἐσβαλόντες τούτους ἐτάραξαν οἱ τε Σκύθαι καὶ οἱ Πέρσαι, κατηγέοντο οἱ Σκύθαι ἐς τῶν Ἀνδροφάγων τοὺς χώρους· ταραχθέντων δὲ καὶ τούτων ὑπῆγον ἐπὶ τὴν Νευρίδα· ταρασσομένων δὲ καὶ τούτων ἦισαν ὑποφεύγοντες οἱ Σκύθαι ἐς τοὺς Ἀγαθύρσους. Ἀγαθύρσοι δὲ ὀρέοντες καὶ τοὺς ὁμούρους φεύγοντας ὑπὸ Σκυ-

## BOOK IV. 123-125

breadth is a seven days' march. Beyond this desert dwell the Thyssagetæ; four great rivers flow from their country through the land of the Mæetians, and issue into the lake called the Mæetian; their names are Lycus, Oarus, Tanais, Syrgis.

124. When Darius came into the desert, he halted in his race and encamped on the river Oarus, where he built eight great forts, all at an equal distance of about sixty furlongs from each other, the ruins of which were standing even in my lifetime. While he was busied with these, the Scythians whom he pursued fetched a compass northwards and turned back into Scythia. When they had altogether vanished and were no longer within the Persians' sight, Darius then left those forts but half finished, and he too turned about and marched westward, thinking that those Scythians were the whole army, and that they were fleeing towards the west.

125. But when he came by forced marches into Scythia, he met both the divisions of the Scythians, and pursued them, they keeping ever a day's march away from him; and because he would not cease from pursuing them, the Scythians, according to the plan they had made, fled before him to the countries of those who had refused their alliance, and first to the land of the Black-cloaks. Into their land the Scythians and Persians burst, troubling their peace; and thence the Scythians led the Persians into the country of the Man-eaters, troubling them too; whence they drew off with a like effect into the country of the Neuri, and troubling them also, fled to the Agathyrsi. But these, seeing their very neighbours fleeing panic-stricken at the Scythians' approach,

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θέων καὶ τεταραγμένους, πρὶν ἢ σφι ἐμβαλεῖν τοὺς Σκύθας πέμψαντες κήρυκα ἀπηγόρευοι Σκύθησι μὴ ἐπιβαίνειν τῶν σφετέρων οὖρων, προλέγοντες ὡς εἰ πειρήσονται ἐσβαλόντες, σφίσι πρῶτα διαμαχήσονται. Ἀγάθυρσοι μὲν προείπαντες ταῦτα ἐβοήθειον ἐπὶ τοὺς οὖρους, ἐρύκειν ἐν νόῳ ἔχοντες τοὺς ἐπιόντας· Μελάγχλαινοι δὲ καὶ Ἀνδροφάγοι καὶ Νευροὶ ἐσβαλόντων τῶν Περσέων ἅμα Σκύθησι οὔτε πρὸς ἀλκὴν ἐτράποντο ἐπιλαθόμενοί τε τῆς ἀπειλῆς ἔφευγον αἰεὶ τὸ πρὸς βορέῳ ἐς τὴν ἔρημον τεταραγμένοι. οἱ δὲ Σκύθαι ἐς μὲν τοὺς Ἀγαθύρσους οὐκέτι ἀπείπαντας ἀπικνέοντο, οἱ δὲ ἐκ τῆς Νευρίδος χώρας ἐς τὴν σφετέρην κατηγέοντο τοῖσι Πέρσῃσι.

126. Ὡς δὲ πολλὸν τοῦτο ἐγένετο καὶ οὐκ ἐπαύετο, πέμψας Δαρείος ἱππέα παρὰ τὸν Σκυθέων βασιλέα Ἰδάνθυρσον ἔλεγε τάδε. “Δαιμόνιε ἀνδρῶν, τί φεύγεις αἰεὶ, ἐξεόν τοι τῶνδε τὰ ἕτερα ποιεῖν; εἰ μὲν γὰρ ἀξιόχρεος δοκέεις εἶναι σεωυτῷ τοῖσι ἐμοῖσι πρήγμασι ἀντιωθῆναι, σὺ δὲ στάς τε καὶ παυσάμενος πλάνης μάχεσθαι· εἰ δὲ συγγινώσκειαι εἶναι ἡσσω, σὺ δὲ καὶ οὕτω παυσάμενος τοῦ δρόμου δεσπότη τῷ σῷ δῶρα φέρων γῆν τε καὶ ὕδωρ ἐλθὲ ἐς λόγους.”

127. Πρὸς ταῦτα ὁ Σκυθέων βασιλεὺς Ἰδάνθυρσος λέγει τάδε. “Οὕτω τὸ ἐμὸν ἔχει, ὦ Πέρσα. ἐγὼ οὐδένα κω ἀνθρώπων δείσας ἔφυγον οὔτε πρότερον οὔτε νῦν σὲ φεύγω, οὐδέ τι νεώτερον εἰμὶ ποιήσας νῦν ἢ καὶ ἐν εἰρήνῃ ἐώθεα ποιεῖν. ὅ τι δὲ οὐκ αὐτίκα μάχομαί τοι, ἐγὼ καὶ τοῦτο σημανέω. ἡμῖν οὔτε ἄστεα οὔτε γῆ πεφυτευμένη ἐστί, τῶν πέρι δείσαντες μὴ ἀλῶ ἢ

before the Scythians could break into their land sent a herald to forbid them to set foot on their borders, warning the Scythians that if they essayed to break through they must first fight with the Agathyrsi. With this warning they mustered on their borders, with intent to stay the invaders. But the Black-cloaks and Man-eaters and Neuri, when the Persians and the Scythians broke into their lands, made no resistance, but forgot their threats and fled panic-stricken ever northward into the desert. The Scythians, being warned off by the Agathyrsi, made no second attempt on that country, but led the Persians from the lands of the Neuri into Scythia.

126. All this continuing long, and there being no end to it, Darius sent a horseman to Idanthysus the Scythian king, with this message: "Sir, these are strange doings. Why will you ever flee? You can choose which of two things you will do: if you deem yourself strong enough to withstand my power, wander no further, but stand and fight; but if you know yourself to be the weaker, then make an end of this running to and fro, and come to terms with your master, sending him gifts of earth and water."

127. To this Idanthysus the Scythian king made answer: "Know this of me, Persian, that I have never fled for fear of any man, nor do I now flee from you; this that I have done is no new thing or other than my practice in peace. But as to the reason why I do not straightway fight with you, this too I will tell you. For we Scythians have no towns or planted lands, that we might meet you the sooner



καρῇ ταχύτερον ἂν ὑμῖν συμμίσγοιμεν ἐς μάχην. εἰ δὲ δέοι πάντως ἐς τοῦτο κατὰ τάχος ἀπικνέεσθαι, τυγχάνουσιν ἡμῖν ἔοντες τάφοι πατρώιοι· φέρετε, τούτους ἀνευρόντες συγχέειν πειράσθε αὐτούς, καὶ γνῶσεσθε τότε εἴτε ὑμῖν μαχησόμεθα περὶ τῶν τάφων εἴτε καὶ οὐ μαχησόμεθα. πρότερον δέ, ἢν μὴ ἡμέας λόγος αἰρέῃ, οὐ συμμίζομέντοι. ἀμφὶ μὲν μάχῃ τοσαῦτα εἰρήσθω, δεσπότης δὲ ἐμούς ἐγὼ Δία τε νομίζω τὸν ἐμὸν πρόγονον καὶ Ἰστίην τὴν Σκυθέων βασίλειαν μούνοὺς εἶναι. σοὶ δὲ ἀντὶ μὲν δώρων γῆς τε καὶ ὕδατος δῶρα πέμψω τοιαῦτα οἷα σοὶ πρέπει ἔλθειν, ἀντὶ δὲ τοῦ ὅτι δεσπότης ἔφησας εἶναι ἐμός, κλαίειν λέγω.” τοῦτο ἐστὶ ἢ ἀπὸ Σκυθέων ῥήσις.<sup>1</sup>

128. Ὁ μὲν δὴ κῆρυξ οἰχώκεε ἀγγελέων ταῦτα Δαρείῳ, οἱ δὲ Σκυθέων βασιλέες ἀκούσαντες τῆς δουλοσύνης τὸ οὖνομα ὀργῆς ἐπλήσθησαν. τὴν μὲν δὴ μετὰ Σαυροματέων μοῖραν ταχθεῖσαν, τῆς ἦρχε Σκώπασις, πέμπουσιν Ἰῶσι κελεύοντες ἐς λόγους ἀπικέσθαι, τούτοις οἱ τὸν Ἰστρον ἐξευγμένον ἐφρούρεον· αὐτῶν δὲ τοῖσι ὑπολειπομένοις ἔδοξε πλανᾶν μὲν μηκέτι Πέρσας, σῖτα δὲ ἐκάστοτε ἀναιρεομένοις ἐπιτίθεσθαι. νωμῶντες ὦν σῖτα ἀναιρεομένους τοὺς Δαρείου ἐποίουν τὰ βεβουλευμένα. ἡ μὲν δὴ ἵππος τὴν ἵππον αἰεὶ τράπεσκε ἢ τῶν Σκυθέων, οἱ δὲ τῶν Περσέων ἱππῶται φεύγοντες ἐσέπιπτον ἐς τὸν πεζόν, ὁ δὲ πεζὸς ἂν ἐπεκούρεε· οἱ δὲ Σκύθαι ἐσαράξαντες τὴν ἵππον ὑπέστρεφον τὸν πεζὸν φεβούμενοι. ἐποιέοντο δὲ καὶ τὰς νύκτας παραπλησίας προσβολὰς οἱ Σκύθαι.

<sup>1</sup> This sentence is bracketed by Stein, but there seems to be no conclusive reason for rejecting it.

## BOOK IV. 127-128

in battle, fearing lest the one be taken or the other be wasted. But if nothing will serve you but fighting straightway, we have the graves of our fathers; come, find these and essay to destroy them; then shall you know whether we will fight you for those graves or no. Till then we will not join battle unless we think good. Thus much I say of fighting; for my masters, I hold them to be Zeus my forefather and Hestia queen of the Scythians, and none other. Gifts I will send you, not earth and water, but such as you should rightly receive; and for your boast that you are my master, take my malison for it." This was the speech returned by the Scythians.

128. So the herald went to carry this message to Darius; but the Scythian kings were full of anger when they heard the name of slavery. They sent then the division of Scythians and Sauromatae, which was led by Scopasis, to speak with those Ionians who guarded the bridge over the Ister; as for those of the Scythians who were left behind, it was resolved that they should no longer lead the Persians astray, but attack them whenever they were foraging for provision. So they watched for the time when Darius' men were foraging, and did according to their plan. The Scythian horse ever routed the Persian horse, and the Persian horsemen falling back in flight on their footmen, the foot would come to their aid; and the Scythians, once they had driven in the horse, turned about for fear of the foot. The Scythians attacked in this fashion by night as well as by day.

129. Τὸ δὲ τοῖσι Πέρσησί τε ἦν σύμμαχον καὶ τοῖσι Σκύθησι ἀντίξοον ἐπιτιθεμένοισι τῷ Δαρείου στρατοπέδῳ, θῶμα μέγιστον ἐρέω, τῶν τε ὄνων ἢ φωνὴ καὶ τῶν ἡμίονων τὸ εἶδος. οὔτε γὰρ ὄνον οὔτε ἡμίονον γῇ ἢ Σκυθικῇ φέρει, ὥς καὶ πρότερόν μοι δεδήλωται, οὔδὲ ἔστι ἐν τῇ Σκυθικῇ πάσῃ χώρῃ τὸ παράπαν οὔτε ὄνος οὔτε ἡμίονος διὰ τὰ ψύχεα. ὑβρίζοντες ὦν οἱ ὄνοι ἐτάρασσον τὴν ἵππον τῶν Σκυθέων. πολλάκις δὲ ἐπελαυνόντων ἐπὶ τοὺς Πέρσας μεταξὺ ὅκως ἀκούσειαν οἱ ἵπποι τῶν ὄνων τῆς φωνῆς, ἐταράσσοντό τε ὑποστρεφόμενοι καὶ ἐν θώματι ἔσκον, ὀρθὰ ἰστάντες τὰ ὦτα, ἅτε οὔτε ἀκούσαντες πρότερον φωνῆς τοιαύτης οὔτε ἰδόντες τὸ εἶδος.

130. Ταῦτα μὲν νυν ἐπὶ σμικρόν τι ἐφέροντο τοῦ πολέμου. οἱ δὲ Σκύθαι ὅκως τοὺς Πέρσας ἴδοιεν τεθορυβημένους, ἵνα παραμένοιέν τε ἐπὶ πλέω χρόνον ἐν τῇ Σκυθικῇ καὶ παραμένοντες ἀνιῶατο τῶν πάντων ἐπιδευέες ἔοντες, ἐποίεον τοιάδε· ὅκως τῶν προβάτων τῶν σφετέρων αὐτῶν καταλίποιν μετὰ τῶν νομέων, αὐτοὶ ἂν ὑπεξήλανον ἐς ἄλλον χῶρον· οἱ δὲ ἂν Πέρσαι ἐπελθόντες λάβεσκον τὰ πρόβατα καὶ λαβόντες ἐπηείροντο ἂν τῷ πεπονημένῳ.

131. Πολλάκις δὲ τοιούτου γινομένου, τέλος Δαρεῖός τε ἐν ἀπορίῃσι εἶχετο, καὶ οἱ Σκυθέων βασιλεῖς μαθόντες τοῦτο ἐπεμπον κήρυκα δῶρα Δαρείῳ φέροντα ὀρνιθά τε καὶ μῦν καὶ βάτραχον καὶ οἰστοὺς πέντε. Πέρσαι δὲ τὸν φέροντα τὰ δῶρα ἐπειρώτεον τὸν νόον τῶν διδομένων· ὃ δὲ οὐδὲν ἔφη οἱ ἐπεστάλλαι ἄλλο ἢ δόντα τὴν ταχίστην ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι· αὐτοὺς δὲ τοὺς Πέρσας

129. Most strange it is to relate, but what aided the Persians and thwarted the Scythians in their attacks on Darius' army was the braying of the asses and the appearance of the mules. For, as I have before shown, Scythia bears no asses or mules; nor is there in the most of Scythia any ass or mule, by reason of the cold. Therefore the asses, when they waxed wanton, alarmed the Scythian horses; and often, when they were in the act of charging the Persians, if the horses heard the asses bray they would turn back in affright or stand astonished with ears erect, never having heard a like noise or seen a like creature.

130. This then played some small part in the war. When the Scythians saw that the Persians were shaken, they formed a plan whereby they might remain longer in Scythia and so remaining might be distressed by lack of all things needful: they would leave some of their flocks behind with the shepherds, themselves moving away to another place; and the Persians would come and take the sheep, and be uplifted by this achievement.

131. This having often happened, Darius was in a quandary; which when they perceived, the Scythian kings sent a herald bringing Darius the gift of a bird, a mouse, a frog, and five arrows. The Persians asked the bringer of these gifts what they might mean; but he said that no charge had been laid on him save to give the gifts and then depart with all speed; let

ἐκέλευε, εἰ σοφοί εἰσι, γινῶναι τὸ θέλει τὰ δῶρα λέγειν.

132. Ταῦτα ἀκούσαντες οἱ Πέρσαι ἐβουλεύοντο. Δαρείου μὲν νυν ἡ γνώμη ἦν Σκύθας ἐωυτῷ διδόναι σφέας τε αὐτοὺς καὶ γῆν τε καὶ ὕδωρ, εἰκάζων τῇδε, ὡς μὲν ἐν γῇ γίεται καρπὸν τὸν αὐτὸν ἀνθρώπῳ σιτεόμενος, βάτραχος δὲ ἐν ὕδατι, ὄρνις δὲ μάλιστα ἔοικε ἵππῳ, τοὺς δὲ οἰστοὺς ὡς τὴν ἐωυτῶν ἀλκὴν παραδιδούσι. αὕτη μὲν Δαρείῳ ἀπεδέδεκτο ἡ γνώμη. συνεστήκεε δὲ ταύτῃ τῇ γνώμῃ ἡ Γοβρύεω, τῶν ἀνδρῶν τῶν ἐπτά ἐνὸς τῶν τὸν Μάγον κατελόντων, εἰκάζοντος τὰ δῶρα λέγειν “Ἦν μὴ ὄρνιθες γενόμενοι ἀναπτῆσθε ἐς τὸν οὐρανόν, ὦ Πέρσαι, ἢ μύες γενόμενοι κατὰ τῆς γῆς καταδύητε, ἢ βάτραχοι γενόμενοι ἐς τὰς λίμνας ἐσπηδήσητε, οὐκ ἀπονοστήσετε ὀπίσω ὑπὸ τῶνδε τῶν τοξευμάτων βαλλόμενοι.”

133. Πέρσαι μὲν δὴ τὰ δῶρα εἴκαζον. ἡ δὲ Σκυθέων μία μοῖρα ἡ ταχθεῖσα πρότερον μὲν παρὰ τὴν Μαιῆτιν λίμνην φρουρέειν, τότε δὲ ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰστρὸν Ἰωσι ἐς λόγους ἐλθεῖν, ὡς ἀπῖκετο ἐπὶ τὴν γέφυραν, ἔλεγε τάδε. “Ἄνδρες Ἴωνες, ἐλευθερίην ἤκομεν ὑμῖν φέροντες, ἣν πέρ γε ἐθέλητε ἐσακούειν. πυνθανόμεθα γὰρ Δαρεῖον ἐντείλασθαι ὑμῖν ἐξήκοντα ἡμέρας μούνας φρουρήσαντας τὴν γέφυραν, αὐτοῦ μὴ παραγενομένου ἐν τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ, ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι ἐς τὴν ὑμετέρεην. νῦν ὦν ὑμεῖς τάδε ποιεῦντες ἐκτὸς μὲν ἔσεσθε πρὸς ἐκείνου αἰτίας, ἐκτὸς δὲ πρὸς ἡμέων· τὰς προκειμένας ἡμέρας παραμείναντες τὸ ἀπὸ τούτου ἀπαλλάσσεσθε.” οὗτοι μὲν νυν ὑποδεξαμένων Ἰώνων ποιήσειν ταῦτα ὀπίσω τὴν ταχίστην ἐπείγοντο.

the Persians (he said), if they were clever enough, discover the signification of the presents.

132. The Persians hearing and taking counsel, Darius' judgment was that the Scythians were surrendering to him themselves and their earth and their water; for he reasoned that a mouse is a creature found in the earth and eating the same produce as men, and a frog is a creature of the water, and a bird most like to a horse; and the arrows (said he) signified that the Scythians surrendered their weapon of battle. This was the opinion declared by Darius; but the opinion of Gobryas, one of the seven who had slain the Magian, was contrary to it. He reasoned that the meaning of the gifts was, "Unless you become birds, Persians, and fly up into the sky, or mice and hide you in the earth, or frogs and leap into the lakes, you will be shot by these arrows and never return home."

133. Thus the Persians reasoned concerning the gifts. But when the first division of the Scythians came to the bridge—that division which had first been appointed to stand on guard by the Maeetian lake and had now been sent to the Ister to speak with the Ionians—they said, "Ionians, we are come to bring you freedom, if you will but listen to us. We learn that Darius has charged you to guard the bridge for sixty days only, and if he comes not within that time then to go away to your homes. Now therefore do that whereby you will be guiltless in his eyes as in ours: abide here for the days appointed, and after that depart." So the Ionians promised to do this, and the Scythians made their way back with all speed.



134. Πέρσῃσι δὲ μετὰ τὰ δῶρα ἐλθόντα Δαρεῖω ἀντετάχθησαν οἱ ὑπολειφθέντες Σκύθαι πεζῶ καὶ ἵπποισι ὡς συμβαλέοντες. τεταγμένοισι δὲ τοῖσι Σκύθησι λαγὸς ἐς τὸ μέσον διήιξε· τῶν δὲ ὡς ἕκαστοι ὥρων τὸν λαγὸν ἐδίωκον. ταραχθέντων δὲ τῶν Σκυθέων καὶ βοῇ χρεωμένων, εἶρετο ὁ Δαρεῖος τῶν ἀντιπολεμίων τὸν θόρυβον· πυθόμενος δὲ σφέας τὸν λαγὸν διώκοντας, εἶπε ἄρα πρὸς τοὺς περ ἐώθεε καὶ τὰ ἄλλα λέγειν “Οὗτοι ὦνδρες ἡμέων πολλὸν καταφρονέουσιν, καὶ μοι νῦν φαίνεται Γοβρύης εἶπαι περὶ τῶν Σκυθικῶν δώρων ὀρθῶς. ὡς ὦν οὕτω ἤδη δοκεόντων καὶ αὐτῷ μοι ἔχειν, βουλῆς ἀγαθῆς δεῖ, ὅπως ἀσφαλέως ἡ κομιδὴ ἡμῖν ἔσται τὸ ὀπίσω.” πρὸς ταῦτα Γοβρύης εἶπε “ὦ βασιλεῦ, ἐγὼ σχεδὸν μὲν καὶ λόγῳ ἡπιστάμην τούτων τῶν ἀνδρῶν τὴν ἀπορίην, ἐλθὼν δὲ μᾶλλον ἐξέμαθον, ὁρέων αὐτοὺς ἐμπαίζοντας ἡμῖν. νῦν ὦν μοι δοκεί, ἐπεὰν τάχιστα νύξ ἐπέλθῃ, ἐκκαύσαντας τὰ πυρὰ ὡς ἐώθαμεν καὶ ἄλλοτε ποιεῖν, τῶν στρατιωτέων τοὺς ἀσθενεστάτους ἐς τὰς ταλαιπωρίας ἐξαπατήσαντας καὶ τοὺς ὄνους πάντας καταδήσαντας ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι, πρὶν ἢ καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰστρον ἰθῦσαι Σκύθας λύσοντας τὴν γέφυραν, ἢ καὶ τι Ἰωσι δόξαι τὸ ἡμέας οἶόν τε ἔσται ἐξεργάσασθαι.”

135. Γοβρύης μὲν ταῦτα συνεβούλευε. μετὰ δὲ νύξ τε ἐγίνετο καὶ Δαρεῖος ἐχρᾶτο τῇ γνώμῃ ταύτῃ· τοὺς μὲν καματηροὺς τῶν ἀνδρῶν καὶ τῶν ἦν ἐλάχιστος ἀπολλυμένων λόγος, καὶ τοὺς ὄνους πάντας καταδήσας κατέλιπε αὐτοῦ ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ. κατέλιπε δὲ τοὺς τε ὄνους καὶ τοὺς ἀσθενέας τῆς στρατιῆς τῶνδε εἵνεκεν, ἵνα οἱ μὲν ὄνοι

134. But after the sending of the gifts to Darius, the Scythians who had remained there came out with foot and horse and offered battle to the Persians. But when the Scythian ranks were arrayed, a hare ran out between the armies; and every Scythian that saw it gave chase. So there was confusion and shouting among the Scythians; Darius asked what the enemy meant by this clamour; and when he heard that they were chasing the hare, then said he (it would seem) to those wherewith he was ever wont to speak, "These fellows hold us in deep contempt; and I think now that Gobryas' saying concerning the Scythian gifts was true. Seeing therefore that my own judgment of the matter is like his, we need to take sage counsel, whereby we shall have a safe return out of the country." To this said Gobryas: "Sire, reason showed me well enough how hard it would be to deal with these Scythians; and when I came I was made the better aware of it, seeing that they do but make a sport of us. Now therefore my counsel is, that at nightfall we kindle our camp-fires according to our wont, that we deceive those in our army who are least strong to bear hardship, and tether here all our asses, and so ourselves depart, before the Scythians can march straight to the Ister to break the bridge, or the Ionians take some resolve whereby we may well be ruined."

135. This was Gobryas' advice, and at nightfall Darius followed it. He left there in the camp the men who were weary, and those whose loss imported least to him, and all the asses too tethered. The reason of his leaving the asses, and the infirm among his soldiers, was, as regarding the asses, that they

βοὴν παρέχωνται· οἱ δὲ ἄνθρωποι ἀσθενεΐης μὲν εἵνεκεν κατελείποντο, προφάσιος δὲ τῆσδε δηλαδὴ, ὥς αὐτὸς μὲν σὺν τῷ καθαρῷ τοῦ στρατοῦ ἐπιθήσασθαι μέλλοι τοῖσι Σκύθησι, οὗτοι δὲ τὸ στρατόπεδον τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον ῥυοίατο. ταῦτα τοῖσι ὑπολειμμένοισι ὑποθέμενος ὁ Δαρεΐος καὶ πυρὰ ἐκκαύσας τὴν ταχίστην ἐπείγετο ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰστρον. οἱ δὲ ὄνοι ἐρημωθέντες τοῦ ὀμίλου οὕτω δὴ μᾶλλον πολλῶ ἴεσαν τῆς φωνῆς· ἀκούσαντες δὲ οἱ Σκύθαι τῶν ὄνων πάγχυ κατὰ χώραν ἤλπιζον τοὺς Πέρσας εἶναι.

136. Ἡμέρης δὲ γενομένης γνόντες οἱ ὑπολειφθέντες ὡς προδεδομένοι εἶεν ὑπὸ Δαρείου, χεῖράς τε προετείνοντο τοῖσι Σκύθησι καὶ ἔλεγον τὰ κατήκοντα· οἱ δὲ ὡς ἤκουσαν ταῦτα τὴν ταχίστην συστραφέντες, αἱ τε δύο μοῖραι τῶν Σκυθῶν καὶ ἡ μία καὶ Σαυρομάται καὶ Βουδῖνοι καὶ Γελωνοί, ἐδίωκον τοὺς Πέρσας ἰθὺ τοῦ Ἰστροῦ. ἅτε δὲ τοῦ Περσικοῦ μὲν τοῦ πολλοῦ ἐόντος πεζοῦ στρατοῦ καὶ τὰς ὁδοὺς οὐκ ἐπισταμένον, ὥστε οὐ τετμημενέων τῶν ὁδῶν, τοῦ δὲ Σκυθικοῦ ἱππότεω καὶ τὰ σύντομα τῆς ὁδοῦ ἐπισταμένον, ἀμαρτόντες ἀλλήλων, ἔφθησαν πολλῶ οἱ Σκύθαι τοὺς Πέρσας ἐπὶ τὴν γέφυραν ἀπικόμενοι. μαθόντες δὲ τοὺς Πέρσας οὐκ ἂν ἀπιγμένους ἔλεγον πρὸς τοὺς Ἴωνας ἐόντας ἐν τῇσι νηυσὶ “Ἄνδρες Ἴωνες, αἱ τε ἡμέραι ὑμῖν τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ διοίχονται καὶ οὐ ποίετε δίκαια ἔτι παραμένοντες. ἀλλ’ ἐπεὶ πρότερον δειμαίνοντες ἐμένετε, νῦν λύσαντες τὸν πόρον τὴν ταχίστην ἅπιτε χαίροντες ἐλεύθεροι, θεοῖσί τε καὶ Σκύθησι εἰδότες χάριν. τὸν δὲ πρότερον ἐόντα ὑμέων δεσπότην ἡμεῖς παραστησόμεθα

might bray; as to the men, they were left by reason of their infirmity, but his pretext was, forsooth, that they should guard the camp while he attacked the Scythians with the sound part of his army. Giving this charge to those who were left behind, and lighting camp-fires, Darius made all speed to reach the Ister. When the asses found themselves deserted by the multitude, they brayed much the louder for that; and the Scythians by hearing them were fully persuaded that the Persians were still in the same place.

136. But when day dawned the men left behind perceived that Darius had played them false, and they held out their hands to the Scythians and told them the truth; who, when they heard, gathered their power with all speed, both the two divisions of their host and the one division that was with the Sauromatae and Budini and Geloni, and made straight for the Ister in pursuit of the Persians. But seeing that the Persian army was for the most part of footmen and knew not the roads (these not being marked), whereas the Scythians were horsemen and knew the short cuts, they kept wide of each other, and the Scythians came to the bridge much before the Persians. There, perceiving that the Persians were not yet come, they said to the Ionians, who were in their ships, "Now, Ionians, the numbered days are past and you do wrongly to remain still here. Nay—for it is fear which has ere now kept you from departing—now break the bridge with all speed and go your ways in freedom and happiness, thanking the gods and the Scythians. As for him that was once your master, we will leave him in such

οὕτω ὥστε ἐπὶ μηδαμὸς ἔτι ἀνθρώπους αὐτὸν στρατεύσασθαι.”

137. Πρὸς ταῦτα Ἴωνες ἐβουλεύοντο. Μιλτιάδεω μὲν τοῦ Ἀθηναίου, στρατηγέοντος καὶ τυραννεύοντος Χερσονησιτέων τῶν ἐν Ἑλλησπόντῳ, ἣν γνώμη πείθεσθαι Σκύθησι καὶ ἐλευθεροῦν Ἴωνίνην, Ἰστιαίου δὲ τοῦ Μιλησίου ἐναντίη ταύτῃ, λέγοντος ὡς νῦν μὲν διὰ Δαρείου ἕκαστος αὐτῶν τυραιννέει πόλιος· τῆς Δαρείου δὲ δυνάμιος καταιρεθείσης οὔτε αὐτὸς Μιλησίων οἶός τε ἔσσεσθαι ἄρχειν οὔτε ἄλλον οὐδένα οὐδαμῶν· βουλήσεσθαι γὰρ ἐκάστην τῶν πολιῶν δημοκρατέεσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ τυραννεύεσθαι. Ἰστιαίου δὲ γνώμην ταύτην ἀποδεικνυμένου αὐτίκα πάντες ἦσαν τετραμμένοι πρὸς ταύτην τὴν γνώμην, πρότερον τὴν Μιλτιάδεω αἰρεόμενοι.

138. Ἦσαν δὲ οὗτοι οἱ διαφέροντές τε τὴν ψῆφον καὶ ἑόντες λόγου πρὸς βασιλέος, Ἑλλησποντίων μὲν τύραννοι Δάφνις τε Ἀβυδηνὸς καὶ Ἴπποκλος Λαμψακηνὸς καὶ Ἡρόφαντος Παρινὸς καὶ Μητρόδωρος Προκοννήσιος καὶ Ἀρισταγόρης Κυζικηνὸς καὶ Ἀρίστων Βυζάντιος. οὗτοι μὲν ἦσαν οἱ ἐξ Ἑλλησπόντου, ἀπ’ Ἰωνίης δὲ Στράττις τε Χίος καὶ Αἰάκης Σάμιος καὶ Λαοδάμας Φωκαεὺς καὶ Ἰστιαῖος Μιλήσιος, τοῦ ἣν γνώμη ἢ προκειμένη ἐναντίη τῇ Μιλτιάδεω. Αἰολέων δὲ παρὴν λόγιμος μῦθος Ἀρισταγόρης Κυμαῖος.

139. Οὗτοι ὦν ἐπέιτε τὴν Ἰστιαίου αἰρέοντο γνώμην, ἔδοξέ σφι πρὸς ταύτῃ τάδε ἔργα τε καὶ ἔπεα προσθεῖναι, τῆς μὲν γεφύρης λύειν τὰ κατὰ τοὺς Σκύθας ἑόντα, λύειν δὲ ὅσον τόξευμα ἐξικνέ-

plight that never again will he lead his army against any nation."

137. Thereupon the Ionians held a council. Miltiades the Athenian, general and despot of the Chersonesites of the Hellespont, gave counsel that they should do as the Scythians said and set Ionia free. But Histiaeus of Miletus held a contrary opinion. "Now," said he, "it is by help of Darius that each of us is sovereign of his city; if Darius' power be overthrown, we shall no longer be able to rule, neither I in Miletus nor any of you elsewhere; for all the cities will choose democracy rather than despotism." When Histiaeus declared this opinion, all of them straightway inclined to it, albeit they had first sided with Miltiades.

138. Those standing high in Darius' favour who gave their vote were Daphnis of Abydos, Hippoclus of Lampsacus, Herophantus of Parium, Metrodorus of Proconnesus, Aristagoras of Cyzicus, Ariston of Byzantium, all from the Hellespont and despots of cities there; and from Ionia, Strattis of Chios, Aiaces of Samos, Laodamas of Phocaea, and Histiaeus of Miletus who opposed the plan of Miltiades. As for the Aeolians, their only notable man present was Aristagoras of Cymae.

139. These then chose to follow Histiaeus' counsel, and resolved to make it good by act and word: to break as much of the bridge as reached a bowshot from the Scythian bank, that so they might



εται, ἵνα καὶ ποιέειν τι δοκέωσι ποιεῦντες μηδὲν καὶ οἱ Σκύθαι μὴ πειρώατο βιώμενοι καὶ βουλόμενοι διαβῆναι τὸν Ἰστρον κατὰ τὴν γέφυραν, εἰπεῖν τε λύοντας τῆς γεφύρης τὸ ἐς τὴν Σκυθικὴν ἔχον ὥς πάντα ποιήσουσι τὰ Σκύθησι ἐστὶ ἐν ἡδονῇ. ταῦτα μὲν προσέθηκαν τῇ γνώμῃ· μετὰ δὲ ἐκ πάντων ὑπεκρίνατο Ἰστιαῖος τάδε λέγων. “Ἄνδρες Σκύθαι, χρηστὰ ἤκετε φέροντες καὶ ἐς καιρὸν ἐπέιγεσθε· καὶ τά τε ἀπ’ ὑμέων ἡμῖν χρηστῶς ὁδοῦται καὶ τὰ ἀπ’ ἡμέων ἐς ὑμέας ἐπιτηδέως ὑπηρετέεται. ὥς γὰρ ὁράτε, καὶ λύομεν τὸν πόρον καὶ προθυμίην πᾶσαν ἔξομεν θέλοντες εἶναι ἐλεύθεροι. ἐν ᾧ δὲ ἡμεῖς τάδε λύομεν, ὑμέας καιρὸς ἐστὶ δίξησθαι ἐκείνους, εὐρόντας δὲ ὑπὲρ τε ἡμέων καὶ ὑμέων αὐτῶν τίσασθαι οὕτω ὥς κείνους πρέπει.”

140. Σκύθαι μὲν τὸ δεύτερον Ἰωσι πιστεύσαντες λέγειν ἀληθέα ὑπέστρεφον ἐπὶ ζήτησιν τῶν Περσέων, καὶ ἡμάρτανον πάσης τῆς ἐκείνων διεξόδου. αἴτιοι δὲ τούτου αὐτοὶ οἱ Σκύθαι ἐγένοντο, τὰς νομὰς τῶν ἵππων τὰς ταύτη διαφθείραντες καὶ τὰ ὕδατα συγχώσαντες. εἰ γὰρ ταῦτα μὴ ἐποίησαν, παρείχε ἄν σφι, εἰ ἐβούλουντο, εὐπετέως ἐξευρεῖν τοὺς Πέρσας. νῦν δὲ τά σφι ἐδόκεε ἄριστα βεβουλευσθαι, κατὰ ταῦτα ἐσφάλησαν. Σκύθαι μὲν νυν τῆς σφετέρης χώρας τῇ χιλὸς τε τοῖσι ἵπποισι καὶ ὕδατα ἦν, ταύτη διεξιόντες ἐδίξηντο τοὺς ἀντιπολεμίους, δοκέοντες καὶ ἐκείνους διὰ τοιούτων τὴν ἀπόδρῃσιν ποιέεσθαι· οἱ δὲ δὴ Πέρσαι τὸν πρότερον ἐωυτῶν γενόμενον στίβον, τοῦτον φυλάσσοντες ἦισαν, καὶ οὕτω μόγις εὗρον τὸν πόρον. οἷα δὲ νυκτός τε

seem to do somewhat when in truth they did nothing, and that the Scythians might not essay to force a passage across the Ister by the bridge; and to say while they broke the portion of the bridge on the Scythian side, that they would do all that the Scythians desired. This resolve they added to their decision; and presently Histiaeus answered for them all, and said, "You have brought us good, Scythians, and your zeal is well timed; you do your part in guiding us aright and we do ours in serving your ends as need requires; for as you see, we are breaking the passage, and will use all diligence, so much do we desire our freedom. But while we break this bridge, now is the time for you to seek out the Persians, and when you have found them to take such vengeance on our and your behalf as they deserve."

140. So the Scythians trusted the Ionians' word once more, and turned back to seek the Persians; but they mistook the whole way whereby their enemies passed. For this the Scythians themselves were to blame, inasmuch as they had destroyed the horses' grazing-grounds in that region and choked the wells. Had they not so done, they could readily have found the Persians if they would. But as it was, that part of their plan which they had thought the best was the very cause of their ill-success. So the Scythians went searching for their enemies through the parts of their own country where there was provender for horses and water, supposing that they too were aiming at such places in their flight; but the Persians ever kept to their own former tracks, and so with much ado they found the passage of the river. But inasmuch as they

ἀπικόμενοι καὶ λελυμένης τῆς γεφύρης ἐντυχόντες, ἐς πᾶσαν ἄρρωδίην ἀπίκοντο μή σφεας οἱ Ἴωνες ἕωσι ἀπολελοιπότες.

141. Ἦν δὲ περὶ Δαρεῖον ἀνὴρ Αἰγύπτιος φωνέων μέγιστον ἀνθρώπων· τοῦτον τὸν ἄνδρα καταστάντα ἐπὶ τοῦ χείλεος τοῦ Ἰστρου ἐκέλευε Δαρεῖος καλέειν Ἰστιαῖον Μιλήσιον. ὃ μὲν δὴ ἐποίεε ταῦτα, Ἰστιαῖος δὲ ἐπακούσας τῷ πρώτῳ κελεύσματι τὰς τε νέας ἀπάσας παρεῖχε διαπορθμεύειν τὴν στρατιὴν καὶ τὴν γέφυραν ἕξευξε.

142. Πέρσαι μὲν ὧν οὕτω ἐκφεύγουσι. Σκύθαι δὲ διζήμενοι καὶ τὸ δεύτερον ἡμαρτον τῶν Περσέων, καὶ τοῦτο μὲν ὡς εἶοντας Ἴωνας ἐλευθέρους κακίστους τε καὶ ἀνανδροτάτους κρίνουσι εἶναι ἀπάντων ἀνθρώπων, τοῦτο δέ, ὡς δούλων εἶναι τὸν λόγον ποιούμενοι, ἀνδράποδα φιλοδέσποτα φασὶ εἶναι καὶ ἄδρηστα. ταῦτα μὲν δὴ Σκύθησι ἐς Ἴωνας ἀπέρριπται.

143. Δαρεῖος δὲ διὰ τῆς Θρηίκης πορευόμενος ἀπίκητο ἐς Σηστόν τῆς Χερσονήσου· ἐνθεύτεν δὲ αὐτὸς μὲν διέβη τῇσι νηυσὶ ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην, λείπει δὲ στρατηγὸν ἐν τῇ Εὐρώπῃ Μεγάβαζον ἄνδρα Πέρσην· τῷ Δαρεῖος κοτὲ ἔδωκε γέρας, τοιόνδε εἶπας ἐν Πέρσησι ἔπος. ὀρμημένου Δαρείου ῥοιὰς τρώγειν, ὡς ἀνοιξε τάχιστα τὴν πρώτην τῶν ῥοιῶν, εἶρετο αὐτὸν ὁ ἀδελφεὸς Ἀρτάβανος ὃ τι βούλοιτ' ἂν οἱ τοσοῦτο πλήθος γενέσθαι ὅσοι ἐν τῇ ῥοιῇ κόκκοι· Δαρεῖος δὲ εἶπε Μεγαβάζους ἂν οἱ τοσοῦτους ἀριθμὸν γενέσθαι βούλεσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ τὴν Ἑλλάδα ὑπήκοον. ἐν μὲν δὴ Πέρσησι ταῦτά μιν εἶπας ἐτίμα, τότε δὲ αὐτὸν

came to it at night and found the bridge broken, they were in great terror lest the Ionians had abandoned them.

141. There was with Darius an Egyptian, whose voice was the loudest in the world; Darius bade this man stand on the Ister bank and call to Histiaeus the Milesian. This the Egyptian did; Histiaeus heard and obeyed the first shout, and sent all the ships to ferry the army over, and made the bridge anew.

142. Thus the Persians escaped. The Scythians sought the Persians, but missed them again. Their judgment of the Ionians is that if they are free men they are the basest cravens in the world; but if they are to be reckoned as slaves, none would love their masters more, or less desire to escape. Thus have the Scythians taunted the Ionians.

143. Darius marched through Thrace to Sestos on the Chersonesus; thence he crossed over with his ships to Asia, leaving as his general in Europe Megabazus, a Persian, to whom he once did honour by saying among Persians what I here set down. Darius was about to eat pomegranates; and no sooner had he opened the first of them than his brother Artabanus asked him of what thing he would wish to have as many as there were seeds in his pomegranate; whereupon Darius said, that he would rather have that number of men like Megabazus than make all Hellas subject to him. By thus speaking among Persians the king did honour to Megabazus; and

ὑπελιπε στρατηγὸν ἔχοντα τῆς στρατιῆς τῆς ἑωυτοῦ ὀκτὼ μυριάδας.

144. Οὗτος δὲ ὁ Μεγάβαζος εἶπας τόδε τὸ ἔπος ἐλίπετο ἀθάνατον μνήμην πρὸς Ἑλλησποντίων. γενόμενος γὰρ ἐν Βυζαντίῳ ἐπύθετο ἑπτακαίδεκα ἔτεσι πρότερον Καλχηδονίους κτίσαντας τὴν χώραν Βυζαντίων, πυθόμενος δὲ ἔφη Καλχηδονίους τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον τυγχάνειν ἑόντας τυφλοῦς· οὐ γὰρ ἂν τοῦ καλλίουτος παρεόντος κτίζειν χώραν τὸν αἰσχίονα ἐλέσθαι, εἰ μὴ ἦσαν τυφλοί. οὗτος δὴ ὦν τότε ὁ Μεγάβαζος στρατηγὸς λειφθεὶς ἐν τῇ χώρῃ Ἑλλησποντίων τοὺς μὴ μηδίζοντας κατεστρέφετο.

145. Οὗτος μὲν νυν ταῦτα ἔπρησσε. τὸν αὐτὸν δὲ τοῦτον χρόνον ἐγίνετο ἐπὶ Λιβύην ἄλλος στρατιῆς μέγας στόλος, διὰ πρόφασιν τὴν ἐγὼ ἀπηγήσομαι προδιηγησάμενος πρότερον τάδε. τῶν ἐκ τῆς Ἀργοῦς ἐπιβατέων παίδων παῖδες ἐξελασθέντες ὑπὸ Πελασγῶν τῶν ἐκ Βραυρῶνος ληισαμένων τὰς Ἀθηναίων γυναῖκας, ὑπὸ τούτων ἐξελασθέντες ἐκ Δήμνου οἴχοντο πλείοντες ἐς Λακεδαιμόνα, ἰζόμενοι δὲ ἐν τῷ Τηϋγέτῳ πῦρ ἀνέκαιον. Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ ἰδόντες ἄγγελον ἔπεμπον πευσόμενοι τίνες τε καὶ ὁκόθεν εἰσὶ· οἱ δὲ τῷ ἀγγέλῳ εἰρωτῶντι ἔλεγον ὥς εἶησαν μὲν Μινύαι, παῖδες δὲ εἶεν τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἀργοῖ πλεόντων ἡρώων, προσσχόντας δὲ τούτους ἐς Δήμνον φυτεῦσαι σφέας. οἱ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἀκηκοότες τὸν λόγον τῆς γενεῆς τῶν Μινυέων, πέμψαντες τὸ δεύτερον εἰρώτων τί θέλοντες ἤκοιέν τε ἐς τὴν χώραν καὶ πῦρ αἴθιοιεν. οἱ δὲ ἔφασαν ὑπὸ Πελασγῶν ἐκβληθεντες ἦκειν ἐς τοὺς πατέρας· δικαιοτάτον

now he left him behind as his general, at the head of eighty thousand of his army.

144. This Megabazus is for ever remembered by the people of the Hellespont for his saying—when, being at Byzantium, he was told that the people of Calchedon had founded their town seventeen years before the Byzantines had founded theirs—that the Calchedonians must at that time have been blind; for had they not been so, they would never have chosen the meaner site for their city when they might have had the fairer. This Megabazus, being now left as general in the country, subdued all the people of the Hellespont who did not take the side of the Persians.

145. Thus Megabazus did. About this time a great armament was sent against Libya also, for a reason which I will show after this story which I will now relate. The descendants of the crew of the Argo had been driven out by those Pelasgians who carried off the Athenian women from Brauron; being driven out of Lemnos by these, they sailed away to Lacedaemon, and there encamped on Taygetum and kindled a fire. Seeing this, the Lacedaemonians sent a messenger to enquire who they were and whence they came. They answered the messenger that they were Minyae, descendants of the heroes who had sailed in the Argo, and had put in at Lemnos and there begotten their race. Hearing the story of the lineage of the Minyae, the Lacedaemonians sent a second time and asked to what end they had come into Laconia and kindled a fire. They replied, that being expelled by the Pelasgians they had come to the land of their fathers,



γὰρ εἶναι οὕτω τοῦτο γίνεσθαι· δέεσθαι δὲ οἰκέειν ἅμα τούτοισι μοῖράν τε τιμέων μετέχοντες καὶ τῆς γῆς ἀπολαχόντες. Λακεδαιμονίοισι δὲ ἔαδε δέκεσθαι τοὺς Μινύας ἐπ' οἷσι θέλουσι αὐτοί. μάλιστα δὲ ἐνήγε σφέας ὥστε ποίειν ταῦτα τῶν Τυνδαριδέων ἢ ναυτιλὴν ἐν τῇ Ἀργοῖ. δεξάμενοι δὲ τοὺς Μινύας γῆς τε μετέδοσαν καὶ ἐς φυλὰς διεδάσαντο. οἱ δὲ αὐτίκα μὲν γάμους ἔγνημαν, τὰς δὲ ἐκ Δήμνου ἤγοντο ἐξέδοσαν ἄλλοισι.

146. Χρόνου δὲ οὐ πολλοῦ διεξελθόντος αὐτίκα οἱ Μινύαι ἐξύβρισαν, τῆς τε βασιληΐης μεταιτέοντες καὶ ἄλλα ποιέοντες οὐκ ὅσια. τοῖσι ὦν Λακεδαιμονίοισι ἔδοξε αὐτοὺς ἀποκτείνειν, συλλαβόντες δὲ σφέας κατέβαλον ἐς ἐρκτήν. κτείνουσι δὲ τοὺς ἂν κτείνωσι Λακεδαιμόνιοι νυκτός, μετ' ἡμέρην δὲ οὐδένα. ἐπεὶ ὦν ἔμελλον σφέας καταχρήσασθαι, παραιτήσαντο αἱ γυναῖκες τῶν Μιννέων, εἶναι αἰσάται τε καὶ τῶν πρώτων Σπαρτιητέων θυγατέρες, ἐσελθεῖν τε ἐς τὴν ἐρκτήν καὶ ἐς λόγους ἐλθεῖν ἐκάστη τῷ ἐωυτῆς ἀνδρί. οἱ δὲ σφέας παρήκαν, οὐδένα δόλον δοκέοντες ἐξ αὐτέων ἔσεσθαι. αἱ δὲ ἐπεῖτε ἐσηλθον, ποιέουσι τοιάδε· πᾶσαν τὴν εἶχον ἐσθῆτα παραδοῦσαι τοῖσι ἀνδράσι αὐταὶ τὴν τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἔλαβον, οἱ δὲ Μινύαι ἐνδύντες τὴν γυναικῆν ἐσθῆτα ἅτε γυναῖκες ἐξήσαν ἔξω, ἐκφυγόντες δὲ τρόπῳ τοιούτῳ ἵζοντο αὐτὶς ἐς τὸ Τηϋῆγον.

147. Τὸν δὲ αὐτὸν τοῦτον χρόνον Θήρας ὁ

as (they said) was most just; and for their desire, it was that they might dwell with their father's people, sharing in their rights and receiving allotted parcels of land. It pleased the Lacedaemonians to receive the Minyae<sup>1</sup> on the terms which their guests desired; the chief cause of their so consenting was that the Tyndaridae<sup>2</sup> had been in the ship's company of the Argo; so they received the Minyae and gave them of their land and divided them among their own tribes. The Minyae forthwith wedded wives, and gave in marriage to others the women they had brought from Lemnos.

146. But in no long time these Minyae waxed over-proud, demanding an equal right to the kingship, and doing other things unlawful; wherefore the Lacedaemonians resolved to slay them, and they seized and cast them into prison. (When the Lacedaemonians kill, they do it by night, never by day.) Now when they were about to kill the prisoners, the wives of the Minyae, who were native to the country, daughters of the chief among the Spartans, entreated leave to enter the prison and have speech each with her husband; the Lacedaemonians granted this, supposing that the women would deal honestly with them. But when the wives came into the prison, they gave to their husbands all their own garments, and themselves put on the men's dress; so the Minyae donned the female dress and so passed out in the guise of women, and having thus escaped once more encamped on Taygetum.

147. Now about this same time Theras (who was

<sup>1</sup> As descendants of the Argonauts, who were Minyae of Thessaly, living near the Pagasaeon gulf.

<sup>2</sup> Castor and Polydeuces.

Αὐτεσίωνος τοῦ Τισαμενοῦ τοῦ Θερσάνδρου τοῦ  
 Πολυνείκεος ἔστελλε ἐς ἀποικίην ἐκ Λακεδαί-  
 μονος. ἦν δὲ ὁ Θήρας οὗτος, γένος ἐὼν Καδμεῖος,  
 τῆς μητρὸς ἀδελφεὸς τοῖσι Ἀριστοδήμου παισὶ  
 Εὐρυσθένει καὶ Προκλεί. ἐόντων δὲ ἔτι τῶν  
 παίδων τούτων νηπίων ἐπιτροπαίην εἶχε ὁ Θήρας  
 τὴν ἐν Σπάρτῃ βασιληίην. αὐξηθέντων δὲ τῶν  
 ἀδελφιδέων καὶ παραλαβόντων τὴν ἀρχήν, οὕτω  
 δὴ ὁ Θήρας δεινὸν ποιούμενος ἄρχεσθαι ὑπ' ἄλ-  
 λων ἐπεῖτε ἐγεύσατο ἀρχῆς, οὐκ ἔφη μένειν ἐν τῇ  
 Λακεδαίμονι ἀλλ' ἀποπλεύσεσθαι ἐς τοὺς συγ-  
 γενεάς. ἦσαν δὲ ἐν τῇ νῦν Θήρῃ καλεομένη  
 νήσῳ, πρότερον δὲ Καλλίστῃ τῇ αὐτῇ ταύτῃ,  
 ἀπόγονοι Μεμβλιάρου τοῦ Ποικίλεω ἀνδρὸς Φοί-  
 νικος. Κάδμος γὰρ ὁ Ἀγήνορος Εὐρώπην διζή-  
 μενος προσέσχε ἐς τὴν νῦν Θήρην καλεομένην·  
 προσσχόντι δὲ εἶτε δὴ οἱ ἢ χώρα ἤρεσε, εἶτε καὶ  
 ἄλλως ἠθέλησε ποιῆσαι τοῦτο· καταλείπει γὰρ  
 ἐν τῇ νήσῳ ταύτῃ ἄλλους τε τῶν Φοινίκων καὶ δὴ  
 καὶ τῶν ἐωυτοῦ συγγενέων Μεμβλίारον. οὗτοι  
 ἐνέμοντο τὴν Καλλίστην καλεομένην ἐπὶ γενεάς,  
 πρὶν ἢ Θήραν ἐλθεῖν ἐκ Λακεδαίμονος, ὀκτὼ ἀνδρῶν.

148. Ἐπὶ τούτους δὴ ὦν ὁ Θήρας λεὼν ἔχων  
 ἀπὸ τῶν φυλέων ἔστελλε, συνοικήσων τούτοισι  
 καὶ οὐδαμῶς ἐξελὼν αὐτοὺς ἀλλὰ κάρτα οἰκηιέ-  
 μενος. ἐπεῖτε δὲ καὶ οἱ Μινύαι ἐκδράντες ἐκ τῆς  
 ἐρκτῆς ἴζοντο ἐς τὸ Τηϋῆγετον, τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων  
 βουλευομένων σφέας ἀπολλύναι παραιτέεται ὁ  
 Θήρας, ὅπως μήτε φόνος γένηται, αὐτός τε ὑπε-  
 δέκετο σφέας ἐξάξειν ἐκ τῆς χώρας. συγχω-  
 ρησάντων δὲ τῇ γνώμῃ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων, τρισὶ  
 τριηκοντέροισι ἐς τοὺς Μεμβλιάρου ἀπογόνους

a descendant of Polynices, through Thersander, Tisamenus, and Autesion) was preparing to lead out colonists from Lacedaemon. This Theras was of the lineage of Cadmus and an uncle on the mother's side of Aristodemus' sons Eurysthenes and Procles; and while these boys were yet children he held the royal power of Sparta as regent; but when his nephews grew up and became kings, then Theras could not brook to be a subject when he had had a taste of supreme power, and said he would abide no longer in Lacedaemon but sail away to his kinsfolk. There were in the island now called Thera, but then Calliste, descendants of Membliarus the son of Poeciles, a Phoenician; for Cadmus son of Agenor, in his search for Europa, had put in at the place now called Thera; and having put in, either because the land pleased him, or because for some other reason he desired so to do, he left in this island, among other Phoenicians, his own kinsman Membliarus. These dwelt in the island Calliste for eight generations before Theras came from Lacedaemon.

148. It was these whom Theras was preparing to join, taking with him a company of people from the tribes; it was his intent to settle among the folk of Calliste, and not to drive them out but to claim them as verily his own people. So when the Minyae escaped out of prison and encamped on Taygetum, and the Lacedaemonians were taking counsel to put them to death, Theras entreated for their lives, that there might be no killing, promising himself to lead them out of the country. The Lacedaemonians consenting to this, Theras sailed with three fifty-oared ships to join the descendants of Membliarus, taking with him

ἔπλωσε, οὐτι πάντας ἄγων τοὺς Μινύας ἀλλ' ὀλίγους τινάς. οἱ γὰρ πλεῦνες αὐτῶν ἐτράποντο ἐς τοὺς Παρωρεάτας καὶ Καύκωνας, τούτους δὲ ἐξελάσαντες ἐκ τῆς χώρας σφέας αὐτοὺς ἐξ μοίρας διεῖλον, καὶ ἔπειτα ἔκτισαν πόλιος τάσδε ἐν αὐτοῖσι, Λέπρεον Μάκιστον Φρίξας Πύργον Ἐπιον Νούδιον. τουτέων δὲ τὰς πλεῦνας ἐπ' ἐμέο Ἡλεῖοι ἐπόρθησαν. τῇ δὲ νήσῳ ἐπὶ τοῦ οἰκιστέω Θήρα ἢ ἐπωνυμῇ ἐγένετο.

149. Ὁ δὲ παῖς οὐ γὰρ ἔφη οἱ συμπλεύσεσθαι, τοιγαρῶν ἔφη αὐτὸν καταλείψειν ὅιν ἐν λύκοισι. ἐπὶ τοῦ ἔπεος τούτου οὔνομα τῷ νεηνίσκῳ τούτῳ Οἰόλυκος ἐγένετο, καὶ κως τὸ οὔνομα τοῦτο ἐπεκράτησε. Οἰολύκου δὲ γίνεται Αἰγεύς, ἐπ' οὗ Αἰγεῖδαι καλέονται φυλὴ μεγάλη ἐν Σπάρτῃ. τοῖσι δὲ ἐν τῇ φυλῇ ταύτῃ ἀνδράσι οὐ γὰρ ὑπέμειναν τὰ τέκνα, ἰδρύσαντο ἐκ θεοπροπίου Ἐρινύων τῶν Λαΐου τε καὶ Οἰδιπόδεω ἱρόν· καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο ὑπέμειναν<sup>1</sup> . . . τὸν τοῦτο καὶ ἐν Θήρῃ τοῖσι ἀπὸ τῶν ἀνδρῶν τούτων γεγονόσι.

150. Μέχρι μὲν νυν τούτου τοῦ λόγου Λακεδαιμόνιοι Θηραίοισι κατὰ ταῦτὰ λέγουσι, τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ τούτου μῦνοι Θηραῖοι ὧδε γενέσθαι λέγουσι. Γρίννος ὁ Αἰσανίου ἐὼν Θήρα τούτου ἀπόγονος καὶ βασιλεύων Θήρης τῆς νήσου ἀπῆκετο ἐς Δελφούς, ἄγων ἀπὸ τῆς πόλιος ἐκατόμβην· εἶποντο δὲ οἱ καὶ ἄλλοι τῶν πολιητέων καὶ δὴ καὶ Βάττος

<sup>1</sup> Something is obviously lost, συνέβη δέ or the like.

<sup>1</sup> These six towns were in the western Peloponnese, in Triphylia, a district between Elis and Messenia.

<sup>2</sup> Literally "sheep-wolf."

not all the Minyae but a few only; for the greater part of them made their way to the lands of the Paroreatae and Caucones, whom having driven out of the country they divided themselves into six companies and founded in the land they had won the cities of Lepreum, Macistus, Phrixae, Pyrgus, Epium, Nudium;<sup>1</sup> most of which were in my time taken and sacked by the Eleans. As for the island Calliste, it was called Thera after its colonist.

149. But as Theras' son would not sail with him, his father therefore said that he would leave him behind as a sheep among wolves; after which saying the stripling got the nickname of Oeolycus,<sup>2</sup> and it so fell out that this became his customary name. He had a son born to him, Aegeus, from whom the Aegidae, a great Spartan clan, take their name. The men of this clan, finding that none of their children lived, set up, by the instruction of an oracle, a temple of the avenging spirits of Laius and Oedipus,<sup>3</sup> after which the children lived. Thus it fared also with the children of the Aegidae at Thera.

150. Thus far in my story the Lacedaemonian and Theraean records agree; for the rest we have only the word of the Theraeans. Grinnus son of Aesanius, king of Thera, a descendant of this same Theras, came to Delphi bringing an hecatomb from his city; there came with him, among others of his

<sup>3</sup> Oedipus, son of Laius king of Thebes and his wife Iocasta, was exposed in infancy, but rescued and carried away to a far country. Returning in manhood, ignorant of his lineage, he killed his father and married his mother; after which the truth was revealed to him, too late. The story is first told by Homer, and is the subject of the *Oedipus Tyrannus* of Sophocles.



ὁ Πολυμνήστου, ἐὼν γένος Εὐφημίδης τῶν Μινυέων. χρεωμένῳ δὲ τῷ Γρίνῳ τῷ βασιλεί τῶν Θηραίων περὶ ἄλλων χρᾶ ἡ Πυθίη κτίζειν ἐν Λιβύῃ πόλιν. ὃ δὲ ἀμείβετο λέγων “Ἐγὼ μὲν ὄναξ πρεσβύτερός τε ἤδη εἰμὶ καὶ βαρὺς αἰέρεσθαι· σὺ δὲ τινὰ τῶνδε τῶν νεωτέρων κέλευε ταῦτα ποιεῖν.” ἅμα τε ἔλεγε ταῦτα καὶ ἐδείκνυε ἐς τὸν Βάττον. τότε μὲν τοσαῦτα. μετὰ δὲ ἀπελθόντες ἀλογίην εἶχον τοῦ χρηστηρίου, οὔτε Λιβύην εἰδότες ὅκου γῆς εἴη οὔτε τολμῶντες ἐς ἀφανὲς χρῆμα ἀποστέλλειν ἀποικίην.

151. Ἑπτὰ δὲ ἑτέων μετὰ ταῦτα οὐκ ὕε τὴν Θήρην, ἐν τοῖσι τὰ δένδρεα πάντα σφι τὰ ἐν τῇ νήσῳ πλὴν ἐνὸς ἐξαυάνθη. χρεωμένοισι δὲ τοῖσι Θηραίοισι προέφερε ἡ Πυθίη τὴν ἐς Λιβύην ἀποικίην. ἐπεῖτε δὲ κακοῦ οὐδὲν ἦν σφι μῆχος, πέμπουσι ἐς Κρήτην ἀγγέλους διζημένους εἴ τις Κρητῶν ἢ μετοίκων ἀπιγμένος εἴη ἐς Λιβύην. περιπλανώμενοι δὲ αὐτὴν οὔτοι ἀπίκοντο καὶ ἐς Ἴτανον πόλιν, ἐν ταύτῃ δὲ συμμίσγουσι ἄνδρὶ πορφυρέϊ τῷ οὔνομα ἦν Κορώβιος, ὃς ἔφη ὑπ’ ἀνέμων ἀπενειχθεὶς ἀπικέσθαι ἐς Λιβύην καὶ Λιβύης ἐς Πλατείαν νῆσον. μισθῷ δὲ τοῦτον πείσαντες ἦγον ἐς Θήρην, ἐκ δὲ Θήρης ἔπλεον κατάσκοποι ἄνδρες τὰ πρῶτα οὐ πολλοί· κατηγησαμένου δὲ τοῦ Κορωβίου ἐς τὴν νῆσον ταύτην δὴ τὴν Πλατείαν, τὸν μὲν Κορώβιον λείπουσι, σιτία καταλιπόντες ὅσων δὴ μηνῶν, αὐτοὶ δὲ ἔπλεον τὴν ταχίστην ἀπαγγελέοντες Θηραίοισι περὶ τῆς νήσου.

152. Ἀποδημεόντων δὲ τούτων πλέω χρόνον τοῦ συγκειμένου τὸν Κορώβιον ἐπέλιπε τὰ πάντα.

people, Battus son of Polymnestus, a descendant of Euphemus of the Minyan clan. When Grinnus king of Thera inquired of the oracle concerning other matters, the priestess' answer was that he should found a city in Libya. "Nay, Lord," answered Grinnus, "I am grown old and heavy to stir; do thou lay this command on some one of these younger men," pointing as he spoke to Battus. No more was then said. But when they had departed, they neglected to obey the oracle, seeing that they knew not where Libya was, and feared to send a colony out to an uncertain goal.

151. Then for seven years after this there was no rain in Thera; all their trees in the island save one were withered. The Theraeans inquired again at Delphi, and the priestess made mention of the colony they should send to Libya. So since there was no remedy for their ills, they sent messengers to Crete to seek out any Cretan or sojourner there who had travelled to Libya. These, in their journeys about the island, came to the town of Itanus, where they met a trader in purple called Corobius, who told them that he had once been driven out of his course by winds to Libya, to an island there called Platea.<sup>1</sup> This man they hired to come with them to Thera; thence but a few men were first sent on shipboard to spy out the land, who, being guided by Corobius to the aforesaid island Platea, left him there with provision for I know not how many months, and themselves sailed back with all speed to Thera to bring news of the island.

152. But when they had been away for longer than the agreed time, and Corobius had no provision

<sup>1</sup> The island now called Bomba, east of Cyrene.

μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα νηὺς Σαμίη, τῆς ναύκληρος ἦν Κωλαῖος, πλέουσα ἐπ' Αἰγύπτου ἀπηνείχθη ἐς τὴν Πλατείαν ταύτην· πυθόμενοι δὲ οἱ Σάμιοι παρὰ τοῦ Κορωβίου τὸν πάντα λόγον, σιτία οἱ ἐνιαυτοῦ καταλείπουσι. αὐτοὶ δὲ ἀναχθέντες ἐκ τῆς νήσου καὶ γλιχόμενοι Αἰγύπτου ἔπλεον, ἀποφερόμενοι ἀπηλιώτῃ ἀνέμῳ· καὶ οὐ γὰρ ἀνίει τὸ πνεῦμα, Ἡρακλέας στήλας διεκπερήσαντες ἀπίκοντο ἐς Ταρτησσόν, θείῃ πομπῇ χρεώμενοι. τὸ δὲ ἐμπόριον τοῦτο ἦν ἀκήρατον τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον, ὥστε ἀπονοστήσαντες οὗτοι ὀπίσω μέγιστα δὴ Ἑλλήνων πάντων τῶν ἡμεῖς ἀτρεκείην ἴδμεν ἐκ φορτίων ἐκέρδησαν, μετὰ γε Σώστρατον τὸν Λαοδάμαντος Αἰγινήτην· τούτῳ γὰρ οὐκ οἶά τε ἐστὶ ἐρίσαι ἄλλον. οἱ δὲ Σάμιοι τὴν δεκάτην τῶν ἐπικερδίων ἐξελόντες ἐξ τάλαντα ἐποίησαντο χαλκήιον κρητῆρος Ἀργολικοῦ τρόπον· πέριξ δὲ αὐτοῦ γρυπῶν κεφαλαὶ πρόκροσσοι εἰσὶ· καὶ ἀνέθηκαν ἐς τὸ Ἡραῖον, ὑποστήσαντες αὐτῷ τρεῖς χαλκέους κολοσσούς ἐπταπήχεας τοῖσι γούνασι ἐρηρεισμένους. Κυρηναίοισι δὲ καὶ Θηραίοισι ἐς Σαμίους ἀπὸ τούτου τοῦ ἔργου πρῶτα φιλῖαι μεγάλαι συνεκρήθησαν.

153. Οἱ δὲ Θηραῖοι ἐπέιτε τὸν Κορώβιον λιπόντες ἐν τῇ νήσῳ ἀπίκοντο ἐς τὴν Θήρην, ἀπήγγελλον ὥς σφι εἴη νῆσος ἐπὶ Λιβύῃ ἐκτισμένη. Θηραίοισι δὲ ἔαδε ἀδελφεόν τε ἀπ' ἀδελφεοῦ πέμπειν πάλῳ λαγχάνοντα καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν χώρων ἀπάντων ἐπτά ἐόντων ἀνδρας, εἶναι δὲ σφέων καὶ ἡγεμόνα καὶ βασιλέα Βάττον. οὕτω δὲ στέλλουσι δύο πεντηκοντέρους ἐς τὴν Πλατείαν.

154. Ταῦτα δὲ Θηραῖοι λέγουσι, τὰ δ' ἐπίλοιπα

left, a Samian ship sailing for Egypt, whereof the captain was Colaeus, was driven out of her course to Platea, where the Samians heard the whole story from Corobius and left him provision for a year; they then put out to sea from the island and would have voyaged to Egypt, but an easterly wind drove them from their course, and ceased not till they had passed through the Pillars of Heracles and came (by heaven's providence) to Tartessus. Now this was at that time a virgin<sup>1</sup> port; wherefore the Samians brought back from it so great a profit on their wares as no Greeks ever did of whom we have any exact knowledge, save only Sostratus of Aegina, son of Laodamas; with him none could vie. The Samians took six talents, the tenth part of their profit, and made therewith a bronze vessel, like an Argolic cauldron, with griffins' heads projecting from the rim all round; this they set up in their temple of Here, supporting it with three colossal kneeling figures of bronze, each seven cubits high. This that the Samians had done was the beginning of a close friendship between them and the men of Cyrene and Thera.

153. As for the Theraeans, when they came to Thera after leaving Corobius on the island, they brought word that they had founded a settlement on an island off Libya. The Theraeans resolved to send out men from their seven regions, taking by lot one of every pair of brothers, and making Battus leader and king of all. Then they manned two fifty-oared ships and sent them to Platea.

154. This is what the Theraeans say; and now

<sup>1</sup> That is, as yet unvisited by Greeks. It was at or near the mouth of the Guadalquivir; *cp.* l. 163.

τοῦ λόγου συμφέρονται ἤδη Θηραῖοι Κυρηναίοισι. Κυρηναῖοι γὰρ τὰ περὶ Βάττον οὐδαμῶς ὁμολογέουσι Θηραίοισι· λέγουσι γὰρ οὕτω. ἔστι τῆς Κρήτης Ὀαξὸς πόλις, ἐν τῇ ἐγένετο Ἐτέαρχος βασιλεύς, ὃς ἐπὶ θυγατρὶ ἀμήτορι τῇ οὖνομα ἦν Φρονίμη, ἐπὶ ταύτῃ ἔγημε ἄλλην γυναῖκα. ἡ δὲ ἐπεσελθοῦσα ἐδικαίου καὶ τῷ ἔργῳ εἶναι μητρυιῇ τῇ Φρονίμῃ, παρέχουσά τε κακὰ καὶ πᾶν ἐπ' αὐτῇ μηχανωμένη, καὶ τέλος μαχλοσύνην ἐπενείκασά οἱ πείθει τὸν ἄνδρα ταῦτα ἔχειν οὕτω. ὁ δὲ ἀναγνωσθεὶς ὑπὸ τῆς γυναικὸς ἔργον οὐκ ὅσιον ἐμηχανᾶτο ἐπὶ τῇ θυγατρὶ. ἦν γὰρ δὴ Θεμίσων ἀνὴρ Θηραῖος ἔμπορος ἐν τῇ Ὀαξῷ· τοῦτον ὁ Ἐτέαρχος παραλαβὼν ἐπὶ ξείνια ἐξορκοῖ ἡ μὲν οἱ δικονήσειν ὅ τι ἂν δεσθῇ. ἐπεῖτε δὲ ἐξώρκωσε, ἀγαγὼν οἱ παραδιδοῖ τὴν ἑωυτοῦ θυγατέρα καὶ ταύτην ἐκέλευε καταποντῶσαι ἀπαγαγόντα. ὁ δὲ Θεμίσων περιημεκτήσας τῇ ἀπάτῃ τοῦ ὄρκου καὶ διαλυσάμενος τὴν ξεινίην ἐποίεε τοιάδε· παραλαβὼν τὴν παῖδα ἀπέπλεε· ὥς δὲ ἐγίνετο ἐν τῷ πελάγει, ἀποσιεύμενος τὴν ἐξόρκωσιν τοῦ Ἐτεάρχου, σχοινίοισι αὐτὴν διαδήσας κατήκε ἐς τὸ πέλαγος, ἀνασπάσας δὲ ἀπίκητο ἐς τὴν Θήρην.

155. Ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ τὴν Φρονίμην παραλαβὼν Πολύμνηστος, ἐὼν τῶν Θηραίων ἀνὴρ δόκιμος, ἐπαλλακεύετο. χρόνου δὲ περιμόντος ἐξεγένετό οἱ παῖς ἰσχόφωνος καὶ τραυλός, τῷ οὖνομα ἐτέθη Βάττος, ὥς Θηραῖοί τε καὶ Κυρηναῖοι λέγουσι, ὥς μέντοι ἐγὼ δοκέω, ἄλλο τι· Βάττος δὲ μετωνο-



begins the part in which the Theraean and Cyrenaean stories agree, but not till now, for the Cyrenaean tell a wholly different tale of Battus, which is this. There is a town in Crete called Oaxus, of which one Etearchus became ruler. He had a motherless daughter called Phronime, but he must needs marry another wife too. When the second wife came into his house, she thought fit to be in very deed a stepmother to Phronime, ill-treating her and devising all evil against her; at last she accused the girl of lewdness, and persuaded her husband that the charge was true. So Etearchus was overpersuaded by his wife and devised a great sin against his daughter. There was at Oaxus a Theraean trader, one Themison; Etearchus made this man his guest and friend, and took an oath of him that he would do him whatever service he desired; which done, he gave the man his own daughter, bidding him take her away and throw her into the sea. But Themison was very angry at being so tricked with the oath and renounced his friendship with Etearchus; presently he took the girl and sailed away, and that he might duly fulfil the oath that he had sworn to Etearchus, when he was on the high seas he bound her about with ropes and let her down into the sea and drew her up again, and presently came to Thera.

155. There Polymnestus, a notable Theraean, took Phronime and made her his concubine. In time there was born to him a son of weak and stammering speech, to whom he gave the name Battus,<sup>1</sup> as the Theraeans and Cyrenaean say; but to my thinking the boy was given some other name, and changed it

<sup>1</sup> That is, the Stammerer.



μάσθη, ἐπεῖτε ἐς Λιβύην ἀπῖκετο, ἀπό τε τοῦ χρηστηρίου τοῦ γενομένου ἐν Δελφοῖσι αὐτῷ καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς τιμῆς τὴν ἔσχε τὴν ἐπωνυμίην ποιέμενος. Λίβυες γὰρ βασιλέα βάττον καλέουσι, καὶ τούτου εἵνεκα δοκέω θεσπίζουσιν τὴν Πυθίην καλέσαι μιν Λιβυκῇ γλώσση, εἰδυῖαν ὡς βασιλεὺς ἔσται ἐν Λιβύῃ. ἐπεῖτε γὰρ ἠνδρώθη οὗτος, ἦλθε ἐς Δελφούς περὶ τῆς φωνῆς· ἐπειρωτῶντι δέ οἱ χρᾶ ἡ Πυθίη τάδε.

Βάττ', ἐπὶ φωνὴν ἦλθες· ἄναξ δέ σε Φοῖβος  
 Ἀπόλλων  
 ἐς Λιβύην πέμπει μηλοτρόφον οἰκιστήρα,

ὥσπερ εἰ εἴποι Ἑλλάδι γλώσση χρεωμένη “ὦ βασιλεῦ, ἐπὶ φωνὴν ἦλθες.” ὃ δ' ἀμείβετο τοῖσιδε. “ὦναξ, ἐγὼ μὲν ἦλθον παρὰ σέ χρησάμενος περὶ τῆς φωνῆς, σὺ δέ μοι ἄλλα ἀδύνατα χρᾶς, κελεύων Λιβύην ἀποικίζειν τέῳ δυνάμι, κοίῃ χειρί;” ταῦτα λέγων οὐκὶ ἔπειθε ἄλλα οἱ χρᾶν· ὥς δὲ κατὰ ταῦτα ἐθέσπιζέ οἱ καὶ πρότερον, οἷχετο μεταξὺ ἀπολιπὼν ὁ Βάττος ἐς τὴν Θήρην.

156. Μετὰ δὲ αὐτῷ τε τούτῳ καὶ τοῖσι ἄλλοισι Θηραίοισι συνεφέρετο παλιγκότως· ἀγνοεῦντες δὲ τὰς συμφορὰς οἱ Θηραῖοι ἔπεμπον ἐς Δελφούς περὶ τῶν παρεόντων κακῶν. ἡ δὲ Πυθίη σφί ἔχρησε συγκτίζουσι Βάττῳ Κυρήνην τῆς Λιβύης ἄμεινον πρήξειν. ἀπέστελλον μετὰ ταῦτα τὸν Βάττον οἱ Θηραῖοι δύο πεντηκοντέροισι. πλώσαντες δὲ ἐς τὴν Λιβύην οὗτοι, οὐ γὰρ εἶχον ὅ τι

to Battus on his coming to Libya, taking this new name by reason of the oracle uttered at Delphi and the honourable office which he received. For the Libyan word for king is "battus," and this (methinks) is why the Pythian priestess called him so in her prophecy, using a Libyan name because she knew that he was to be king in Libya. For when he came to man's estate, he went to Delphi to enquire concerning his voice; and the priestess in answer gave him this oracle:

"Battus, thou askest a voice; but the King, ev'n  
Phoebus Apollo,  
Sends thee to make thee a home in Libya, the  
country of sheepfolds,"

even as though she said to him, using our word, "O King, thou askest a voice." But he made answer: "Lord, I came to thee to enquire concerning my speech; but thy answer is of other matters, things impossible of performance; thou biddest me plant a colony in Libya; where shall I get me the power or might of hand for it?" Thus spoke Battus, but the god not being won to give him another oracle and ever answering as before, he departed while the priestess yet spake, and went away to Thera.

156. But afterwards matters went untowardly with Battus and the rest of the Theraeans; and when, knowing not the cause of their misfortunes, they sent to Delphi to enquire concerning their present ills, the priestess declared that they would fare better if they aided Battus to plant a colony at Cyrene in Libya. Then the Theraeans sent Battus with two fifty-oared ships; these sailed to Libya, but presently

ποιέωσι ἄλλο, ὁπίσω ἀπαλλάσσονται ἐς τὴν Θήρην. οἱ δὲ Θηραῖοι καταγομένους ἔβαλλον καὶ οὐκ ἔων τῇ γῇ προσίσχειν, ἀλλ' ὁπίσω πλώειν ἐκέλευον. οἱ δὲ ἀναγκαζόμενοι ὁπίσω ἀπέπλεον καὶ ἔκτισαν νῆσον ἐπὶ Λιβύῃ κειμένην, τῇ οὖνομα, ὥς καὶ πρότερον εἰρέθη, ἐστὶ Πλατέα. λέγεται δὲ ἴση εἶναι ἢ νῆσος τῇ νῦν Κυρηναίων πόλι.

157. Ταύτην οἰκέοντες δύο ἔτεα, οὐδὲν γάρ σφι χρηστὸν συνεφέρετο, ἓνα αὐτῶν καταλιπόντες οἱ λοιποὶ πάντες ἀπέπλεον ἐς Δελφούς, ἀπικόμενοι δὲ ἐπὶ τὸ χρηστήριον ἐχρέωντο, φάμενοι οἰκέειν τε τὴν Λιβύην καὶ οὐδὲν ἄμεινον πρήσσειν οἰκεῦντες. ἢ δὲ Πυθίῃ σφι πρὸς ταῦτα χρᾶτάδε.

αἰ τὸ ἐμεῦ Λιβύην μηλοτρόφον οἶδας ἄμεινον,  
μὴ ἐλθὼν ἐλθόντος, ἄγαν ἄγαμαι σοφίην σεῦ.

ἀκούσαντες δὲ τούτων οἱ ἀμφὶ τὸν Βάττον ἀπέπλων ὁπίσω· οὐ γὰρ δὴ σφεας ἀπίει ὁ θεὸς τῆς ἀποικίης, πρὶν δὴ ἀπίκωνται ἐς αὐτὴν Λιβύην. ἀπικόμενοι δὲ ἐς τὴν νῆσον καὶ ἀναλαμβάνοντες τὸν ἔλιπον, ἔκτισαν αὐτῆς τῆς Λιβύης χώρον ἀντίον τῆς νήσου τῷ οὖνομα ἦν Ἀζιρις· τὸν νάπαι τε κάλλισται ἐπ' ἀμφοτέρα συγκληίουσι καὶ ποταμὸς τὰ ἐπὶ θάτερα παραρρέει.

158. Τοῦτον οἶκεον τὸν χώρον ἐξ ἔτεα, ἐβδόμῳ δὲ σφέας ἔτεϊ παραιτησάμενοι οἱ Λίβυες ὥς ἐς ἀμείνονα χώρον ἄξουσιν, ἀνέγνωσαν ἐκλιπεῖν. ἦγον δὲ σφέας ἐνθεῦτεν οἱ Λίβυες ἀναστήσαντες πρὸς ἐσπέρην, καὶ τὸν κάλλιστον τῶν χώρων ἵνα διεξιόντες οἱ Ἕλληνες μὴ ἴδοιεν, συμμετρησάμενοι τὴν ὥρην τῆς ἡμέρης νυκτὸς παρήγον. ἐστὶ

not knowing what else to do returned back to Thera. — There the Theraeans shot at them as they came to land and would not suffer the ship to put in, bidding them sail back; which under stress of necessity they did, and planted a colony in an island off the Libyan coast called (as I have said already) Platea. This island is said to be as big as the city of Cyrene is now.

157. Here they dwelt for two years; but as all went wrong with them, leaving there one of themselves the rest voyaged to Delphi, and on their coming enquired of the oracle, and said that they were dwelling in Libya, but that they were none the better off for that. Then the priestess gave them this reply :

“I have seen Libya’s pastures: thine eyes have never beheld them.

Knowest them better than I? then wondrous indeed is thy wisdom.”

Hearing this, Battus and his men sailed back again; for the god would not suffer them to do aught short of colonising Libya itself; and having come to the island and taken again him whom they had left there, they made a settlement at a place in Libya itself, over against the island which was called Aziris. This is a place enclosed on both sides by the fairest of groves, and a river flows by one side of it.

158. Here they dwelt for six years; but in the seventh the Libyans persuaded them by entreaty to leave the place, saying that they would lead them to a better; and they brought the Greeks from Aziris and led them westwards, so reckoning the hours of daylight that they led the Greeks by night past the fairest place in their country, called Irasa,

δὲ τῷ χώρῳ τούτῳ οὖνομα Ἰρασα. ἀγαγόντες δὲ σφέας ἐπὶ κρήνην λεγομένην εἶναι Ἀπόλλωνος εἶπαν “Ἄνδρες Ἕλληνες, ἐνθαῦτα ὑμῖν ἐπιτήδεον οἰκέειν· ἐνθαῦτα γὰρ ὁ οὐρανὸς τέτρηται.”

159. Ἐπὶ μὲν νυν Βάττου τε τοῦ οἰκιστέω τῆς ζόης, ἄρξαντος ἐπὶ τεσσεράκοντα ἔτα, καὶ τοῦ παιδὸς αὐτοῦ Ἀρκεσίλεω ἄρξαντος ἑκκαίδεκα ἔτα, οἶκεον οἱ Κυρηναῖοι ἑόντες τοσοῦτοι ὅσοι ἀρχὴν ἐς τὴν ἀποικίην ἐστάλησαν. ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ τρίτου, Βάττου τοῦ εὐδαίμονος καλεομένου, Ἕλληνας πάντας ὥρμησε χρήσασα ἡ Πυθίη πλέειν συνοικήσοντας Κυρηναίοισι Λιβύην· ἐπεκαλέοντο γὰρ οἱ Κυρηναῖοι ἐπὶ γῆς ἀναδασμῷ· ἔχρησε δὲ ᾧδε ἔχοντα.

ὃς δέ κεν ἐς Λιβύην πολυήρατον ὕστερον ἔλθῃ  
γᾶς ἀναδαιομένης, μετὰ οἷ ποκα φαμὶ μελήσειν.

συλλεχθέντος δὲ ὁμίλου πολλοῦ ἐς τὴν Κυρήνην, περιταμνόμενοι γῆν πολλὴν οἱ περίοικοι Λίβυες καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς αὐτῶν τῷ οὖνομα ἦν Ἀδικράν, οἷα τῆς τε χώρας στερισκόμενοι καὶ περιυβριζόμενοι ὑπὸ τῶν Κυρηναίων, πέμψαντες ἐς Αἴγυπτον ἔδωσαν σφέας αὐτοὺς Ἀπρίῃ τῷ Αἰγύπτου βασιλεί. ὃ δὲ συλλέξας στρατὸν Αἰγυπτίων πολλὸν ἔπεμψε ἐπὶ τὴν Κυρήνην. οἱ δὲ Κυρηναῖοι ἐκστρατεύσαντες ἐς Ἰρασα χῶρον καὶ ἐπὶ κρήνην Θέστην συνέβαλόν τε τοῖσι Αἰγυπτίοισι καὶ ἐνίκησαν τῇ συμβολῇ. ἅτε γὰρ οὐ πεπειρημένοι πρότερον οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι Ἑλλήνων καὶ παραχρεώμενοι διεφθάρ-

lest the Greeks should see it in their passage. Then they brought the Greeks to what is called the Fountain of Apollo, and said to them: "Here, ye Greeks, it befits you to dwell; for here is a hole in the sky."<sup>1</sup>

159. Now in the time of Battus the founder of the colony, who ruled for forty years, and of his son Arcesilaus who ruled for seventeen, the dwellers in Cyrene were no more in number than when they had first gone forth to the colony. But in the time of the third ruler, that Battus who was called the Fortunate, the Pythian priestess admonished all Greeks by an oracle to cross the sea and dwell in Libya with the Cyrenaeans; for the Cyrenaeans invited them, promising a new division of lands; and this was the oracle:

"Whoso delayeth to go till the fields be fully divided

Unto the Libyan land, that man shall surely repent it."

So a great multitude gathered together at Cyrene, and cut off great tracts of land from the territory of the neighbouring Libyans. Then these with their king, whose name was Adicran, being robbed of their lands and violently entreated by the Cyrenaeans, sent to Egypt and put themselves in the hands of Apries, the king of that country. Apries mustered a great host of Egyptians and sent it against Cyrene; the Cyrenaeans marched out to the place Irasa and the spring Thestes, and there battled with the Egyptians and overcame them; for the Egyptians had as yet no knowledge of Greeks, and

<sup>1</sup> That is, there is abundance of rain.



ησαν οὕτω ὥστε ὀλίγοι τινὲς αὐτῶν ἀπενόστησαν ἐς Αἴγυπτον. ἀντὶ τούτων Αἰγύπτιοι καὶ ταῦτα ἐπιμεμφόμενοι Ἀπρίῃ ἀπέστησαν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ.

160. Τούτου δὲ τοῦ Βάττου παῖς γίνεται Ἀρκεσίλεως· ὃς βασιλεύσας πρῶτα τοῖσι ἐωυτοῦ ἀδελφεοῖσι ἐστασίασε, ἐς ὃ μιν οὗτοι ἀπολιπόντες οἴχοντο ἐς ἄλλον χῶρον τῆς Λιβύης καὶ ἐπ' ἐωυτῶν βαλόμενοι ἔκτισαν πόλιν ταύτην ἣ τότε καὶ νῦν Βάρκη καλεῖται· κτίζοντες δὲ ἅμα αὐτὴν ἀπιστᾶσι ἀπὸ τῶν Κυρηναίων τοὺς Λίβυας. μετὰ δὲ Ἀρκεσίλεως ἐς τοὺς ὑποδεξαμένους τε τῶν Λιβύων καὶ ἀποστάντας τοὺς αὐτοὺς τούτους ἐστρατεύετο· οἱ δὲ Λίβυες δείσαντες αὐτὸν οἴχοντο φεύγοντες πρὸς τοὺς ἡοίους τῶν Λιβύων. ὁ δὲ Ἀρκεσίλεως εἶπετο φεύγουσι, ἐς οὗ ἐν Λεύκωνί τε τῆς Λιβύης ἐγίνετο ἐπιδιώκων καὶ ἔδοξε τοῖσι Λίβυσι ἐπιθέσθαι οἱ. συμβαλόντες δὲ ἐνίκησαν τοὺς Κυρηναίους τοσοῦτο ὥστε ἑπτακισχιλίους ὀπλίτας Κυρηναίων ἐνθαῦτα πεσεῖν. μετὰ δὲ τὸ τρῶμα τοῦτο Ἀρκεσίλεων μὲν κάμνοντά τε καὶ φάρμακον πεπωκότα ὁ ἀδελφεὸς Ἀλίάρχος ἀποπνίγει, Ἀλίάρχον δὲ ἢ γυνὴ ἢ Ἀρκεσίλεω δόλῳ κτείνει, τῇ οὐνομα ἦν Ἐρυξώ.

161. Διεδέξατο δὲ τὴν βασιληίην τοῦ Ἀρκεσίλεω ὁ παῖς Βάττος, χωλὸς τε ἐὼν καὶ οὐκ ἀρτίπους. οἱ δὲ Κυρηναῖοι πρὸς τὴν καταλαβοῦσαν συμφορὴν ἔπεμπον ἐς Δελφοὺς ἐπειρησομένους ὄντινα τρόπον καταστησάμενοι κάλλιστα ἂν οἰκέοιεν. ἡ δὲ Πυθίη ἐκέλευε ἐκ Μαντινέης τῆς Ἀρκάδων καταρτιστῆρα ἀγαγέσθαι. αἵτεον ὦν οἱ Κυρηναῖοι, καὶ οἱ Μαντινέες ἔδοσαν ἄνδρα τῶν ἀστῶν δοκιμώτατον, τῷ οὐνομα ἦν Δημῶναξ.

despised their enemy; whereby they were so utterly destroyed that few of them returned to Egypt. For this mishap, and because they blamed Apries for it, the Egyptians revolted from him.<sup>1</sup>

160. This Battus had a son Arcesilaus; he at his first coming to reign quarrelled with his own brothers, till they left him and went away to another place in Libya, where they founded a city for themselves, which was then and is now called Barce; and while they were founding it, they persuaded the Libyans to revolt from the Cyrenaeans. Then Arcesilaus came with an army into the country of the Libyans who had received his brothers and had also revolted; and these fled in fear of him to the eastern Libyans. Arcesilaus followed their flight until he came in his pursuit to Leucon in Libya, where the Libyans resolved to attack him; they joined battle and so wholly overcame the Cyrenaeans that seven thousand Cyrenaean men-at-arms were there slain. After this disaster Arcesilaus, being sick and having drunk medicine, was strangled by his brother Haliarchus; Haliarchus was craftily slain by Arcesilaus' wife Eryxo.

161. Arcesilaus' kingship passed to his son Battus, who was lame and infirm on his feet. The Cyrenaeans, in their affliction, sent to Delphi to enquire what ordering of their state should best give them prosperity; the priestess bade them bring a peacemaker from Mantinea in Arcadia. The Cyrenaeans then sending their request, the Mantineans gave them their most esteemed townsman, whose

In 570 B.C.; *cp.* ii. 161.

οὗτος ὦν ὠνήρ ἀπικόμενος ἐς τὴν Κυρήνην καὶ μαθὼν ἕκαστα τοῦτο μὲν τριφύλους ἐποίησε σφέας, τῇδε διαθείς· Θηραίων μὲν καὶ τῶν περιόικων μίαν μοῖραν ἐποίησε, ἄλλην δὲ Πελοποννησίων καὶ Κρητῶν, τρίτην δὲ νησιωτέων πάντων. τοῦτο δὲ τῷ βασιλεί Βάττῳ τεμένεα ἐξελὼν καὶ ἱρωσύνας, τὰ ἄλλα πάντα τὰ πρότερον εἶχον οἱ βασιλέες ἐς μέσον τῷ δήμῳ ἔθηκε.

162. Ἐπὶ μὲν δὴ τούτου τοῦ Βάττου οὕτω διετέλεε εἶντα, ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ τούτου παιδὸς Ἀρκεσίλεω πολλὴ ταραχὴ περὶ τῶν τιμέων ἐγένετο. Ἀρκεσίλεως γὰρ ὁ Βάττου τε τοῦ χωλοῦ καὶ Φερετίμης οὐκ ἔφη ἀνέξεσθαι κατὰ τὰ ὁ Μαντινεὺς Δημῶναξ ἔταξε, ἀλλὰ ἀπαίτεε τὰ τῶν προγόνων γέρεα. ἐνθεῦτεν στασιάζων ἐσώθη καὶ ἔφυγε ἐς Σάμον, ἣ δὲ μήτηρ οἱ ἐς Σαλαμίνα τῆς Κύπρου ἔφυγε. τῆς δὲ Σαλαμῖνος τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον ἐπεκράτεε Εὐέλθων, ὃς τὸ ἐν Δελφοῖσι θυμητήριον ἐὼν ἀξιοθέητον ἀνέθηκε, τὸ ἐν τῷ Κορινθίων θησαυρῷ κέεται. ἀπικομένη δὲ παρὰ τοῦτον ἡ Φερετίμη ἐδέετο στρατιῆς ἢ κατὰξει σφέας ἐς τὴν Κυρήνην. ὁ δὲ Εὐέλθων πᾶν μᾶλλον ἢ στρατιήν οἱ ἐδίδου· ἢ δὲ λαμβάνουσα τὸ διδόμενον καλὸν μὲν ἔφη καὶ τοῦτο εἶναι, κάλλιον δὲ ἐκείνο, τὸ δοῦναί οἱ δεομένην στρατιήν. τοῦτο ἐπὶ παντὶ γὰρ τῷ διδομένῳ ἔλεγε, τελευταῖόν οἱ ἐξέπεμψε δῶρον ὁ Εὐέλθων ἄτρακτον χρύσειον καὶ ἡλακάτην, προσῆν δὲ καὶ εἴριον· ἐπειπάσης δὲ αὐτὶς τῆς Φερετίμης τὠνυτὸ ἔπος, ὁ Εὐέλθων ἔφη τοιούτοις γυναικάς δωρεῖσθαι ἀλλ' οὐ στρατιῇ.

163. Ὁ δὲ Ἀρκεσίλεως τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον ἐὼν

name was Demonax. When this man came to Cyrene and learnt all, he divided the people into three tribes;<sup>1</sup> of which divisions the Theraeans and dispossessed Libyans were one, the Peloponnesians and Cretans the second, and all the islanders the third; moreover he set apart certain domains and priest-hoods for their king Battus, but gave all the rest, which had belonged to the kings, to be now held by the people in common.

162. During the life of this Battus aforesaid these ordinances held good, but in the time of his son Arcesilaus there arose much contention concerning the king's rights. Arcesilaus, son of the lame Battus and Pheretime, would not abide by the ordinances of Demonax, but demanded back the prerogative of his forefathers, and made himself head of a faction; but he was worsted and banished to Samos, and his mother fled to Salamis in Cyprus. Now Salamis at this time was ruled by Evelthon, who dedicated that marvellous censer at Delphi which stands in the treasury of the Corinthians. To him Pheretime came, asking him for an army which should bring her and her son back to Cyrene; but Evelthon being willing to give her all else, only not an army, when she took what he gave her she said that this was well, but it were better to give her an army at her request. This she would still say, whatever was the gift; at the last Evelthon sent her a golden spindle and distaff, and wool therewith; and Pheretime uttering the same words as before, he answered that these, and not armies, were gifts for women.

163. Meanwhile Arcesilaus was in Samos, gather-

<sup>1</sup> According to the principle of division customary in a Dorian city state.

ἐν Σάμῳ συνήγειρε πάντα ἄνδρα ἐπὶ γῆς ἀναδασμῷ· συλλεγομένου δὲ στρατοῦ πολλοῦ, ἐστάλη ἐς Δελφοὺς Ἀρκεσίλεως χρησόμενος τῷ χρηστηρίῳ περὶ κατόδου. ἡ δὲ Πυθίη οἱ χρᾶ τάδε. “Ἐπὶ μὲν τέσσερας Βάττους καὶ Ἀρκεσίλεως τέσσερας, ὀκτὼ ἀνδρῶν γενεάς, διδοῖ ὑμῖν Λοξίης βασιλεύειν Κυρήνης, πλέον μέντοι τούτου οὐδὲ πειρᾶσθαι παραινέει. σὺ μέντοι ἥσυχος εἶναι κατελθὼν ἐς τὴν σεωυτοῦ. ἦν δὲ τὴν κάμινον εὖρης πλήην ἀμφορέων, μὴ ἐξοπτήσης τοὺς ἀμφορέας ἀλλ’ ἀπόπεμπε κατ’ οὖρον· εἰ δὲ ἐξοπτήσης τὴν κάμινον, μὴ ἐσέλθης ἐς τὴν ἀμφίρρυτον· εἰ δὲ μὴ ἀποθανεῖαι καὶ αὐτὸς καὶ ταῦρος ὁ καλλιστεύων.” ταῦτα ἡ Πυθίη Ἀρκεσίλεω χρᾶ.

164. “Ὁ δὲ παραλαβὼν τοὺς ἐκ τῆς Σάμου κατῆλθε ἐς τὴν Κυρήνην, καὶ ἐπικρατήσας τῶν πρηγμάτων τοῦ μαντηίου οὐκ ἐμέμνητο, ἀλλὰ δίκας τοὺς ἀντιστασιώτας αἵτεε τῆς ἐωυτοῦ φυγῆς. τῶν δὲ οἱ μὲν τὸ παράπαν ἐκ τῆς χώρας ἀπαλλάσσοντο, τοὺς δὲ τινὰς χειρωσάμενος ὁ Ἀρκεσίλεως ἐς Κύπρον ἀπέστειλε ἐπὶ διαφθορῇ. τούτους μὲν νυν Κυίδιοι ἀπενειχθέντας πρὸς τὴν σφετέρην ἐρρύσαντο καὶ ἐς Θήρην ἀπέστειλαν· ἐτέρους δὲ τινὰς τῶν Κυρηναίων ἐς πύργον μέγαν Ἀγλωμάχου καταφυγόντας ἰδιωτικὸν ὕλην περινήσας ὁ Ἀρκεσίλεως ἐνέπρησε. μαθὼν δὲ ἐπ’ ἐξεργασμένοισι τὸ μαντήιον ἐδὼν τοῦτο, ὅτι μιν ἡ Πυθίη οὐκ ἔα εὐρόντα ἐν τῇ καμίνῳ τοὺς ἀμφορέας ἐξοπτῆσαι, ἔργετο ἐκὼν τῆς τῶν Κυρηναίων πόλιος, δειμαίνων τε τὸν κεχρησμένον θάνατον καὶ δοκέων ἀμφίρρυτον τὴν Κυρήνην εἶναι. εἶχε δὲ γυναῖκα

ing all men that he could and promising them a new division of land; and while a great army was thus mustering, he made a journey to Delphi, to enquire of the oracle concerning his return. The priestess gave him this answer: "For the lives of four named Battus and four named Arcesilaus, to wit, for eight generations of men, Loxias grants to your house the kingship of Cyrene; more than this he counsels you not so much as to essay. But thou, return to thy country and dwell there in peace. But if thou findest the oven full of earthen pots, bake not the pots, but let them go unscathed. And if thou bakest them in the oven, go not into the sea-girt place; for if thou dost, then shalt thou thyself be slain, and the bull too that is fairest of the herd." This was the oracle given by the priestess to Arcesilaus.

164. But he with the men from Samos returned to Cyrene, whereof having made himself master he forgot the oracle, and demanded justice upon his enemies for his banishment. Some of these departed altogether out of the country; others Arcesilaus seized and sent away to Cyprus to be there slain. These were carried out of their course to Cnidus, where the Cnidians saved them and sent them to Thera. Others of the Cyrenaeans fled for refuge into a great tower that belonged to one Aglomachus, a private man, and Arcesilaus piled wood round it and burnt them there. Then, perceiving too late that this was the purport of the Delphic oracle which forbade him to bake the pots if he found them in the oven, he refrained of set purpose from going into the city of the Cyrenaeans, fearing the death prophesied and supposing the sea-girt place to be



συγγενέα ἑωυτοῦ, θυγατέρα δὲ τῶν Βαρκαίων τοῦ βασιλέως, τῷ οὐνομα ἦν Ἀλάζειρ· παρὰ τοῦτον ἀπικνέεται, καὶ μιν Βαρκαῖοί τε ἄνδρες καὶ τῶν ἐκ Κυρήνης φυγάδων τινὲς καταμαθόντες ἀγοράζοντα κτείνουσι, πρὸς δὲ καὶ τὸν πενθερὸν αὐτοῦ Ἀλάζειρα. Ἀρκεσίλεως μὲν νυν εἴτε ἐκὼν εἴτε ἀέκων ἁμαρτῶν τοῦ χρησμοῦ ἐξέπλησε μοῖραν τὴν ἑωυτοῦ.

165. Ἡ δὲ μήτηρ Φερετίμη, ἕως μὲν ὁ Ἀρκεσίλεως ἐν τῇ Βάρκῃ διαιτᾶτο ἐξεργασμένος ἑωυτῷ κακόν, ἣ δὲ εἶχε αὐτὴ τοῦ παιδὸς τὰ γέρεα ἐν Κυρήνῃ καὶ τᾶλλα νεμομένη καὶ ἐν βουλῇ παρίζουσα· ἐπεῖτε δὲ ἔμαθε ἐν τῇ Βάρκῃ ἀποθανόντα οἱ τὸν παῖδα, φεύγουσα οἰχώκεε ἐς Αἴγυπτον. ἦσαν γάρ οἱ ἐκ τοῦ Ἀρκεσίλεω εὐεργεσίαι ἐς Καμβύσεα τὸν Κύρου πεποιημέναι· οὗτος γὰρ ἦν ὁ Ἀρκεσίλεως ὃς Κυρήνην Καμβύσῃ ἔδωκε καὶ φόρον ἐτάξατο. ἀπικομένη δὲ ἐς τὴν Αἴγυπτον ἡ Φερετίμη Ἀρυάνδεω ἰκέτις ἵζετο, τιμωρῆσαι ἑωυτῇ κελεύουσα, προῖσχομένη πρόφασιν ὥς διὰ τὸν μηδισμὸν ὁ παῖς οἱ τέθνηκε.

166. Ὁ δὲ Ἀρυάνδης ἦν οὗτος τῆς Αἰγύπτου ὑπαρχος ὑπὸ Καμβύσειω κατεστεῶς, ὃς ὑστέρω χρόνῳ τούτων παρισούμενος Δαρείῳ διεφθάρη. πυθόμενος γὰρ καὶ ἰδὼν Δαρεῖον ἐπιθυμέοντα μνημόσυνον ἑωυτοῦ λιπέσθαι τοῦτο τὸ μὴ ἄλλω εἶη βασιλείῃ κατεργασμένον, ἐμιμέετο τοῦτον, ἐς οὗ ἔλαβε τὸν μισθόν. Δαρεῖος μὲν γὰρ χρυσίον καθαρώτατον ἀπεψήσας ἐς τὸ δυνατώτατον νόμισμα ἐκόψατο, Ἀρυάνδης δὲ ἄρχων Αἰγύπτου ἀργύριον τῷντὸ τοῦτο ἐποίηε, καὶ νῦν ἐστὶ ἀργύριον καθαρώτατον τὸ Αρνανδικόν. μαθὼν δὲ μιν

Cyrene. Now his wife was his own kinswoman, daughter of Alazir king of the Barcaeans, and Arcesilaus betook himself to Alazir; but men of Barce and certain of the exiles from Cyrene were aware of him and slew him as he walked in the town, and Alazir his father-in-law likewise. So Arcesilaus whether with or without intent missed the meaning of the oracle and fulfilled his destiny.

165. As long as Arcesilaus, after working his own destruction, was living at Barce, his mother Pheretime held her son's prerogative at Cyrene, where she administered all his business and sat with others in council. But when she learnt of her son's death at Barce, she made her escape away to Egypt, trusting to the good service which Arcesilaus had done Cambyses the son of Cyrus; for this was the Arcesilaus who gave Cyrene to Cambyses and agreed to pay tribute. So on her coming to Egypt Pheretime made supplication to Aryandes, demanding that he should avenge her, on the plea that her son had been killed for allying himself with the Medes.

166. This Aryandes had been appointed by Cambyses viceroy of Egypt; at a later day he was put to death for making himself equal to Darius. For learning and seeing that Darius desired to leave such a memorial of himself as no king had ever wrought, Aryandes imitated him, till he got his reward; **for Darius had coined money out of gold refined to an extreme purity**,<sup>1</sup> and Aryandes, then ruling Egypt, made a like silver coinage; and now there is no silver money so pure as is the Aryandic. But when

<sup>1</sup> The gold coins called *δαρεικοί* are said to contain only 3 per cent. of alloy.

Δαρείος ταῦτα ποιεῦντα, αἰτίην οἱ ἄλλην ἐπενεί-  
κας ὥς οἱ ἐπανίστατο, ἀπέκτεινε.

167. Τότε δὲ οὗτος ὁ Ἀρυάνδης κατοικτείρας  
Φερετίμην διδοῖ αὐτῇ στρατὸν τὸν ἐξ Αἰγύπτου  
ἅπαντα καὶ τὸν πεζὸν καὶ τὸν ναυτικόν· στρατη-  
γὸν δὲ τοῦ μὲν πεζοῦ Ἀμασιν ἀπέδεξε ἄνδρα  
Μαράφιον, τοῦ δὲ ναυτικοῦ Βάδρην ἑόντα Πασαρ-  
γάδην γένος. πρὶν δὲ ἢ ἀποστεῖλαι τὴν στρατιήν,  
ὁ Ἀρυάνδης πέμψας ἐς τὴν Βάρκην κήρυκα ἐπυν-  
θάνετο τίς εἴη ὁ Ἀρκεσίλεων ἀποκτείνας. οἱ δὲ  
Βαρκαῖοι αὐτοὶ ὑπεδέκοντο πάντες· πολλά τε γὰρ  
καὶ κακὰ πάσχειν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ. πυθόμενος δὲ ταῦ-  
τα ὁ Ἀρυάνδης οὕτω δὴ τὴν στρατιήν ἀπέστειλε  
ἅμα τῇ Φερετίμῃ. αὕτη μὲν νυν αἰτίη πρόσχημα  
τοῦ στόλου ἐγένετο, ἀπεπέμπετο δὲ ἡ στρατιή,  
ὥς ἐμοὶ δοκέειν, ἐπὶ Λιβύης καταστροφῇ. Λιβύων  
γὰρ δὴ ἔθνεα πολλὰ καὶ παντοῖα ἐστί, καὶ τὰ  
μὲν αὐτῶν ὀλίγα βασιλέος ἦν ὑπήκοα, τὰ δὲ πλέω  
ἐφρόντιζε Δαρείου<sup>1</sup> οὐδέν.

168. Οἰκέουσι δὲ κατὰ τάδε Λίβυες. ἀπ'  
Αἰγύπτου ἀρξάμενοι πρῶτοι Ἀδυρμαχίδαι Λιβύ-  
ων κατοίκηνται, οἱ νόμοισι μὲν τὰ πλέω Αἰγυπτί-  
οισι χρέωνται, ἐσθῆτα δὲ φορέουσι οἷον περ οἱ  
ἄλλοι Λίβυες. αἱ δὲ γυναῖκες αὐτῶν ψέλιον περὶ  
ἐκατέρῃ τῶν κνημέων φορέουσι χάλκεον· τὰς  
κεφαλὰς δὲ κομῶσαι, τοὺς φθειρας ἐπεὰν λάβωσι  
τοὺς ἐωυτῆς ἐκάστη ἀντιδάκνει καὶ οὕτω ῥίπτει.  
οὗτοι δὲ μῦνοι Λιβύων τοῦτο ἐργάζονται, καὶ τῷ  
βασιλεί μῦνοι τὰς παρθένους μελλούσας συνοι-  
κέειν ἐπιδεικνύουσιν· ἡ δὲ ἂν τῷ βασιλεί ἀρεστὴ  
γένηται, ὑπὸ τούτου διαπαρθενεύεται. παρήκουσι

<sup>1</sup> [Δαρείου] Stein.

Darius heard that Aryandes was so doing, he put him to death, not on this plea but as a rebel.

167. At this time Aryandes, of whom I speak, took pity on Pheretime and gave her all the Egyptian land and sea forces, appointing Amasis, a Maraphian, general of the army, and Badres of the tribe of the Pasargadae admiral of the fleet. But before despatching the host Aryandes sent a herald to Barce to enquire who it was who had killed Arcesilaus. The Barcaeans answered that it was the deed of the whole city, for the many wrongs that Arcesilaus had done them; which when he heard, Aryandes then sent his armament with Pheretime. This was the alleged pretext; but, as I myself think, the armament was sent to subdue Libya. For the Libyan tribes are many and of divers kinds, and though a few of them were the king's subjects the greater part cared nothing for Darius.

168. Now as concerning the lands inhabited by Libyans, the Adyrmachidae are the people that dwell nearest to Egypt; they follow Egyptian usages for the most part, but wear a dress like that of other Libyans. Their women wear bronze torques on both legs; their hair is long; they catch each her own lice, then bite and throw them away. They are the only Libyans that do this, and that show the king all virgins that are to be wedded; the king takes the virginity of whichever of these pleases

δὲ οὗτοι οἱ Ἀδυρμαχίδαι ἀπ' Αἰγύπτου μέχρι λιμένος τῷ ὄννομα Πλυνός ἐστι.

169. Τούτων δὲ ἔχονται Γιλιγάμαι, νεμόμενοι τὸ πρὸς ἐσπέρην χώραν<sup>1</sup> μέχρι Ἀφροδισιάδος νήσου. ἐν δὲ τῷ μεταξὺ τούτου χώρῳ<sup>2</sup> ἢ τε Πλατέα νήσος ἐπικέεται, τὴν ἔκτισαν οἱ Κυρηναῖοι, καὶ ἐν τῇ ἡπείρῳ Μενέλαος λιμὴν ἐστι καὶ Ἀξιρις, τὴν οἱ Κυρηναῖοι οἴκεον, καὶ τὸ σίλφιον ἄρχεται ἀπὸ τούτου· παρήκει δὲ ἀπὸ Πλατέης νήσου μέχρι τοῦ στόματος τῆς Σύρτιος τὸ σίλφιον. νόμοισι δὲ χρέωνται οὗτοι παραπλησίοισι τοῖσι ἐτέροισι.

170. Γιλιγαμέων δὲ ἔχονται τὸ πρὸς ἐσπέρης Ἀσβύσται· οὗτοι ὑπὲρ Κυρήνης οἰκέουσι. ἐπὶ θάλασσαν δὲ οὐ κατήκουσι Ἀσβύσται· τὸ γὰρ παρὰ θάλασσαν Κυρηναῖοι νέμονται. τεθριπποβάται δὲ οὐκ ἦκιστα ἀλλὰ μάλιστα Λιβύων εἰσί, νόμους δὲ τοὺς πλεῦνας μιμέεσθαι ἐπιτηδεύουσι τοὺς Κυρηναίων.

171. Ἀσβυστέων δὲ ἔχονται τὸ πρὸς ἐσπέρης Αὐσχίσαι· οὗτοι ὑπὲρ Βάρκης οἰκέουσι, κατήκοντες ἐπὶ θάλασσαν κατ' Εὐεσπερίδας. Αὐσχισέων δὲ κατὰ μέσον τῆς χώρας οἰκέουσι Βάκαλες, ὀλίγον ἔθνος, κατήκοντες ἐπὶ θάλασσαν κατὰ Ταύχειρα πόλιν τῆς Βαρκαίης· νόμοισι δὲ τοῖσι αὐτοῖσι χρέωνται τοῖσι καὶ οἱ ὑπὲρ Κυρήνης.

172. Αὐσχισέων δὲ τούτων τὸ πρὸς ἐσπέρης ἔχονται Νασαμῶνες, ἔθνος ἐὼν πολλόν, οἱ τὸ θέρος καταλείποντες ἐπὶ τῇ θαλάσῃ τὰ πρόβατα ἀναβαίνουνσι ἐς Αὔγिला χώραν ὅπως ἐϋντες τοὺς φοίνικας· οἱ δὲ πολλοὶ καὶ ἀμφιλαφές πεφύκασι, πάντες ἐόντες καρποφόροι. τοὺς δὲ ἀπτελέβους

him. These Adyrmachidae reach from Egypt to the harbour called Plynus.

169. Next to them are the Giligamae, who inhabit the country to the west as far as the island Aphrodisias; ere this is reached the island Platea lies off the coast, and on the mainland is the haven called Menelaus, and that Aziris which was a settlement of the Cyrenaeans. Here begins the country of silphium, which reaches from the island Platea to the entrance of the Syrtis. This people is like the others in its usages.

170. The next people westward of the Giligamae are the Asbystae, who dwell inland of Cyrene, not coming down to the sea-coast; for that is Cyrenaean territory. These are drivers of four-horse chariots not less but more than any other Libyans; it is their practice to imitate most of the Cyrenaean usages.

171. Next westward of the Asbystae are the Auschisae, dwelling inland of Barce, and touching the sea-coast at Euhesperidae. About the middle of the land of the Auschisae dwells the little tribe of the Bacales, whose territory comes down to the sea at Tauchira, a town in the Barcaean country; their usages are the same as those of the dwellers inland of Cyrene.

172. Next westward of these Auschisae is the populous country of the Nasamones, who in summer leave their flocks by the sea and go up to the land called Augila to gather dates from the palm-trees which grow there in great abundance, and all bear fruit. They hunt locusts, which when taken they

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<sup>1</sup> [χώραν] Stein.

<sup>2</sup> [χώρα] Stein.



ἐπεὰν θηρεύσωσι, αὐήναντες πρὸς τὸν ἥλιον καταλέουσι καὶ ἔπειτα ἐπὶ γάλα ἐπιπάσσοντες πίνουσι. γυναῖκας δὲ νομίζοντες πολλὰς ἔχειν ἕκαστος ἐπὶκοινον αὐτέων τὴν μίξιν ποιεῦνται τρόπῳ παραπλησίῳ τῷ καὶ Μασσαγέται· ἐπεὰν σκίπωνα προστήσωνται, μίσγονται. πρῶτον δὲ γαμέοντος Νασαμῶνος ἀνδρὸς νόμος ἐστὶ τὴν νύμφην νυκτὶ τῇ πρώτῃ διὰ πάντων διεξελθεῖν τῶν δαιτυμόνων μισγομένην· τῶν δὲ ὡς ἕκαστός οἱ μιχθῇ, διδοῖ δῶρον τὸ ἂν ἔχῃ φερόμενος ἐξ οἴκου. ὀρκίοισι δὲ καὶ μαντικῇ χρέωνται τοιῇδε· ὁμνύουσι μὲν τοὺς παρὰ σφίσιν ἄνδρας δικαιοτάτους καὶ ἀρίστους λεγομένους γενέσθαι, τούτους, τῶν τύμβων ἀπτόμενοι· μαντεύονται δὲ ἐπὶ τῶν προγόνων φοιτέοντες τὰ σήματα, καὶ κατευξάμενοι ἐπικατακοιμῶνται· τὸ δ' ἂν ἴδῃ ἐν τῇ ὄψι ἐνύπνιον, τούτῳ χρᾶται. πίστισι δὲ τοιῇσιδε χρέωνται· ἐκ τῆς χειρὸς διδοῖ πιεῖν καὶ αὐτὸς ἐκ τῆς τοῦ ἐτέρου πίνει· ἦν δὲ μὴ ἔχῃσι ὑγρὸν μηδέν, οἱ δὲ τῆς χαμᾶθεν σποδοῦ λαβόντες λείχουσι.

173. Νασαμῶσι δὲ προσόμουροι εἰσὶ Ψύλλοι. οὗτοι ἑξαπολώλασι τρόπῳ τοιῷδε· ὁ νότος σφί πνέων ἄνεμος τὰ ἔλυτρα τῶν ὑδάτων ἐξηύηνε, ἡ δὲ χώρα σφί ἅπασα ἐντὸς ἐοῦσα τῆς Σύρτιος ἦν ἄνυδρος· οἱ δὲ βουλευσάμενοι κοινῶ λόγῳ ἐστρατεύοντο ἐπὶ τὸν νότον (λέγω δὲ ταῦτα τὰ λέγουσι Λίβυες), καὶ ἐπείτε ἐγίνοντο ἐν τῇ ψάμμῳ, πνεύσας ὁ νότος κατέχωσε σφέας. ἑξαπολομένων δὲ τούτων ἔχουσι τὴν χώραν οἱ Νασαμῶνες.

174. Τούτων δὲ κατύπερθε πρὸς νότον ἄνεμον ἐν τῇ θηριάδεϊ οἰκέουσι Γαράμαντες, οἱ πάντα ἄνθρωπον φεύγουσι καὶ παντὸς ὁμιλίην, καὶ οὔτε

dry in the sun, and after grinding sprinkle them into milk and so drink it. It is their custom for every man to have many wives; their intercourse with women is promiscuous, in like manner as among the Massagetæ; a staff is planted before the dwelling and then they have intercourse. When a man of the Nasamones first weds, on the first night the bride must by custom lie with each of the whole company in turn; and each man after intercourse gives her whatever gift he has brought from his house. As for their manner of swearing and divination, they lay their hands on the graves of the men reputed most just and good among them, and by these men they swear; their practice of divination is to go to the tombs of their ancestors, where after making prayers they lie down to sleep, and take whatever dreams come to them for oracles. They give and receive pledges by drinking each from the hand of the other party; and if they have nothing liquid they take of the dust of the earth and lick it up.

173. On the borders of the Nasamones is the country of the Psylli, who perished in this wise: the force of the south wind dried up their water-tanks, and all their country, lying within the region of the Syrtis, was waterless. Taking counsel together they marched southward (I tell the story as it is told by the Libyans), and when they came into the sandy desert a strong south wind buried them. So they perished utterly, and the Nasamones have their country.

174. Inland of these to the southward the Garamantes dwell in the wild beasts' country. They shun the sight and fellowship of men, and have no

ὄπλον ἐκτέαται ἀρήιον οὐδὲν οὔτε ἀμύνεσθαι ἐπιστέαται.

175. Οὗτοι μὲν δὴ κατύπερθε οἰκέουσι Νασαμώνων· τὸ δὲ παρὰ τὴν θάλασσαν ἔχονται τὸ πρὸς ἐσπέρης Μάκαι, οἱ λόφους κείρονται, τὸ μὲν μέσον τῶν τριχῶν ἀνιέντες αὔξεσθαι, τὰ δὲ ἔνθεν καὶ ἔνθεν κείροντες ἐν χροῖ, ἐς δὲ τὸν πόλεμον στρουθῶν καταγαίῳν δορὰς φορέουσι προβλήματα. διὰ δὲ αὐτῶν Κῖνυψ ποταμὸς ῥέων ἐκ λόφου καλευμένου Χαρίτων ἐς θάλασσαν ἐκδιδού. ὁ δὲ λόφος οὗτος ὁ Χαρίτων δασὺς ἴδῃσι ἐστί, εὐούσης τῆς ἄλλης τῆς προκαταλεχθείσης Λιβύης ψιλῆς· ἀπὸ θαλάσσης δὲ ἐς αὐτὸν στάδιοι διηκόσιοι εἰσί.

176. Μακέων δὲ τούτων ἐχόμενοι Γινδᾶνες εἰσί, τῶν αἱ γυναῖκες περισφύρια δερμάτων πολλὰ ἐκάστη φορέει κατὰ τοιόνδε τι, ὥς λέγεται· κατ' ἄνδρα ἕκαστον μιχθέντα περισφύριον περιδέεται· ἡ δὲ ἂν πλείστα ἔχῃ, αὕτη ἀρίστη δέδοκται εἶναι ὥς ὑπὸ πλείστων ἀνδρῶν φιληθεῖσα.

177. Ἀκτὴν δὲ προέχουσαν ἐς τὸν πόντον τούτων τῶν Γινδάνων νέμονται Λωτοφάγοι, οἱ τὸν καρπὸν μούνον τοῦ λωτοῦ τρώγοντες ζώουσι. ὁ δὲ τοῦ λωτοῦ καρπὸς ἐστὶ μέγαθος ὅσον τε τῆς σχίνου, γλυκύτητα δὲ τοῦ φοίνικος τῷ καρπῷ προσείκελος. ποιεῦνται δὲ ἐκ τοῦ καρποῦ τούτου οἱ Λωτοφάγοι καὶ οἶνον.

178. Λωτοφάγων δὲ τὸ παρὰ θάλασσαν ἔχονται Μάχλυνες, τῷ λωτῷ μὲν καὶ οὗτοι χρεώμενοι, ἀτὰρ ἡσρόν γε τῶν πρότερον λεχθέντων, κατήκουσι δὲ ἐπὶ ποταμὸν μέγαν τῷ ὀνόματι Τρίτων

weapons of war, nor know how to defend themselves.

175. These dwell inland of the Nasamones; the neighbouring seaboard to the west is the country of the Macae, who shave their hair to a crest, leaving that on the top of their heads to grow and shaving clean off what is on either side; they carry in war bucklers made of ostrich skins. The river Cinyps flows into their sea through their country from a hill called the Hill of the Graces. This hill is thickly wooded, while the rest of Libya whereof I have spoken is bare of trees; it is two hundred furlongs distant from the sea.

176. Next to these Macae are the Gindanes, where every woman wears many leathern anklets, because (so it is said) she puts on an anklet for every man with whom she has had intercourse; and she who wears most is reputed the best, because she has been loved by most men.

177. There is a headland jutting out to sea from the land of the Gindanes; on it dwell the Lotus-eaters, whose only fare is the lotus.<sup>1</sup> The lotus fruit is of the bigness of a mastich-berry: it has a sweet taste like the fruit of a date-palm; the lotus-eaters not only eat it but make wine of it.

178. Next to these along the coast are the Machlyes, who also use the lotus, but less than the people aforesaid. Their country reaches to a great river

<sup>1</sup> The fruit of the *Rhamnus Lotus*, which grows in this part of Africa, is said to be eatable, but not so delicious as to justify its Homeric epithet "honey-sweet."

ἐστί· ἐκδιδοῖ δὲ οὗτος ἐς λίμνην μεγάλην Τριτωνίδα· ἐν δὲ αὐτῇ νῆσος ἔνι τῇ οὔνομα Φλά· ταύτην δὲ τὴν νῆσον Λακεδαιμονίοισι φασὶ λόγιον εἶναι κτίσαι.

179. Ἔστι δὲ καὶ ὁδε λόγος λεγόμενος. Ἴησωνα, ἐπεῖτε οἱ ἐξεργάσθη ὑπὸ τῷ Πηλίῳ ἢ Ἀργῷ, ἐσθέμενον ἐς αὐτὴν ἄλλην τε ἐκατόμβην καὶ δὴ καὶ τρίποδα χάλκεον περιπλῶειν Πελοπόννησον, βουλόμενον ἐς Δελφοὺς ἀπικέσθαι. καί μιν, ὡς πλέοντα γενέσθαι κατὰ Μαλέην, ὑπολαβεῖν ἄνεμον βορέην καὶ ἀποφέρειν πρὸς τὴν Λιβύην· πρὶν δὲ κατιδέσθαι γῆν, ἐν τοῖσι βράχεσι γενέσθαι λίμνης τῆς Τριτωνίδος. καὶ οἱ ἀπορέοντι τὴν ἐξαγωγὴν λόγος ἐστὶ φανῆναι Τρίτωνα καὶ κελεύειν τὸν Ἴησωνα ἑωυτῷ δοῦναι τὸν τρίποδα, φάμενόν σφι καὶ τὸν πόρον δέξειν καὶ ἀπήμονας ἀποστελέειν. πειθομένου δὲ τοῦ Ἴησονος, οὕτω δὴ τὸν τε διέκπλοον τῶν βραχέων δεικνύναι τὸν Τρίτωνα σφι καὶ τὸν τρίποδα θεῖναι ἐν τῷ ἑωυτοῦ ἱρῷ, ἐπιθεσπίσαντά τε τῷ τρίποδι καὶ τοῖσι σὺν Ἴησωνι σημῆναντα τὸν πάντα λόγον, ὡς ἐπεὰν τὸν τρίποδα κομίσηται τῶν ἐκγόνων τις τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἀργοῖ συμπλεόντων, τότε ἑκατὸν πόλιας οἰκῆσαι περὶ τὴν Τριτωνίδα λίμνην Ἑλληνίδας πᾶσαν εἶναι ἀνάγκην. ταῦτα ἀκούσαντας τοὺς ἐπιχωρίους τῶν Λιβύων κρύψαι τὸν τρίποδα.

180. Τούτων δὲ ἔχονται τῶν Μαχλύων Αὐσέες· οὗτοι δὲ καὶ οἱ Μάχλυες πέριξ τὴν Τριτωνίδα λίμνην οἰκέουσι, τὸ μέσον δὲ σφι οὐρίζει ὁ Τρίτων. καὶ οἱ μὲν Μάχλυες τὰ ὀπίσω κομῶσι τῆς κεφαλῆς, οἱ δὲ Αὐσέες τὰ ἔμπροσθε. ὁρτῇ δὲ ἐνιαυσίῃ Ἀθηναίης αἱ παρθέναι αὐτῶν δίχα

called Triton,<sup>1</sup> which issues into the great Tritonian lake, wherein is an island called Phla. It is said that the Lacedaemonians were bidden by an oracle to plant a settlement on this island.

179. The following story is also told :—Jason (it is said) when the Argo had been built at the foot of Pelion, put therein besides a hecatomb a bronze tripod, and set forth to sail round Peloponnesus, that he might come to Delphi. But when in his course he was off Malea, a north wind caught and carried him away to Libya; and before he could spy land he came into the shallows of the Tritonian lake. There, while yet he could find no way out, Triton (so goes the story) appeared to him and bade Jason give him the tripod, promising so to show the shipmen the channel and send them on their way unharmed. Jason did his bidding, and Triton then showed them the passage out of the shallows and set the tripod in his own temple; but first he prophesied over it, declaring the whole matter to Jason's comrades: to wit, that when any descendant of the Argo's crew should take away the tripod, then needs must a hundred Greek cities be founded on the shores of the Tritonian lake. Hearing this (it is said) the Libyan people of the country hid the tripod.

180. Next to these Machlyes are the Ausees; these and the Machlyes, divided by the Triton, dwell on the shores of the Tritonian lake. The Machlyes wear the hair of their heads long behind, the Ausees in front. They make a yearly festival to Athene,

<sup>1</sup> The "Triton" legend may arise from the Argonauts' finding a river which reminded them of their own river Triton in Boeotia, and at the same time identifying the local goddess (*cp.* 180) with Athene, one of whose epithets was *Τριτογένηια* (whatever that means).



διαστᾶσαι μάχονται πρὸς ἀλλήλας λίθοισί τε καὶ ξύλοισι, τῷ αὐθιγενεὶ θεῷ λέγουσαι τὰ πάτρια ἀποτελέειν, τὴν Ἀθηναίην καλέομεν. τὰς δὲ ἀποθνησκούσας τῶν παρθένων ἐκ τῶν τρωμάτων ψευδοπαρθένους καλέουσι. πρὶν δὲ ἀνείναι αὐτὰς μάχεσθαι, τάδε ποιεῦσι κοινῇ· παρθένον τὴν καλλιστεύουσαν ἐκάστοτε κοσμήσαντες κυνέη τε Κορινθίῃ καὶ πανοπλίῃ Ἑλληνικῇ καὶ ἐπ' ἄρμα ἀναβιβάσαντες περιάγουσι τὴν λίμνην κύκλῳ. ὁτέοισι δὲ τὸ πάλαι ἐκόσμεον τὰς παρθένους πρὶν ἢ σφι Ἑλληνας παροικισθῆναι, οὐκ ἔχω εἰπεῖν, δοκέω δ' ὦν Αἰγυπτίοισι ὅπλοισι κοσμέεσθαι αὐτάς· ἀπὸ γὰρ Αἰγύπτου καὶ τὴν ἀσπίδα καὶ τὸ κράνος φημὶ ἀπῖχθαι ἐς τοὺς Ἑλληνας. τὴν δὲ Ἀθηναίην φασὶ Ποσειδέωνος εἶναι θυγατέρα καὶ τῆς Τριτωνίδος λίμνης, καὶ μιν μεμφθεῖσάν τι τῷ πατρὶ δοῦναι ἑωυτὴν τῷ Δίῳ, τὸν δὲ Δία ἑωυτοῦ μιν ποιήσασθαι θυγατέρα. ταῦτα μὲν λέγουσι, μῖξις δὲ ἐπικοινωνοῦν τῶν γυναικῶν ποιεῖνται, οὔτε συνοικέοντες κτηνηδόν τε μισγόμενοι. ἐπεὰν δὲ γυναικὶ τὸ παιδίον ἀδρὸν γένηται, συμφοιτῶσι ἐς τῶντ' οἱ ἄνδρες τρίτου μηνός, καὶ τῷ ἂν οἴκῃ τῶν ἀνδρῶν τὸ παιδίον, τούτου παῖς νομίζεται.

181. Οὗτοι μὲν οἱ παραθαλάσσιοι τῶν νομάδων Λιβύων εἰρέαται, ὑπὲρ δὲ τούτων ἐς μεσόγαιαν ἡ θηριώδης ἐστὶ Λιβύη, ὑπὲρ δὲ τῆς θηριώδεος ὀφρύη ψάμμης κατήκει παρατείνουσα ἀπὸ Θηβέων τῶν Αἰγυπτιέων ἐπ' Ἡρακλέας στήλας. ἐν

<sup>1</sup> Herodotus' description is true in so far as it points to the undoubted fact of a caravan route from Egypt to N.W. Africa; the starting-point of which, however, should be Memphis and not Thebes. But his distances between identi-

whereat their maidens are parted into two bands and fight each other with stones and staves, thus (as they say) honouring after their people's manner that native goddess whom we call Athene. Maidens that die of their wounds are called false virgins. Before the girls are set fighting, the whole people choose ever the fairest maiden, and equip her with a Corinthian helmet and Greek panoply, to be then mounted on a chariot and drawn all along the lake shore. With what armour they equipped their maidens before Greeks came to dwell near them, I cannot say; but I suppose the armour to have been Egyptian; for I hold that the Greeks got their shield and helmet from Egypt. As for Athene, they say that she was daughter of Poseidon and the Tritonian lake, and that, being for some cause wroth with her father, she gave herself to Zeus, who made her his own daughter. Such is their tale. The intercourse of men and women there is promiscuous; they do not cohabit but have intercourse like cattle. When a woman's child is well grown, within three months thereafter the men assemble, and the child is adjudged to be that man's to whom it is most like.

181. I have now told of all the nomad Libyans that dwell on the sea-coast. Farther inland than these is that Libyan country which is haunted by wild beasts, and beyond this wild beasts' land there runs a ridge of sand that stretches from Thebes of Egypt to the Pillars of Heracles.<sup>1</sup> After about a ten

fiable places are nearly always incorrect; the whole description will not bear criticism. The reader is referred to the editions of Rawlinson, Macan, and How and Wells for detailed discussion of difficulties.

δὲ τῇ ὀφρύῃ ταύτῃ μάλιστα διὰ δέκα ἡμερέων ὁδοῦ ἄλός ἐστι τρύφεια κατὰ χόνδρους μεγάλους ἐν κολωνοῖσι, καὶ ἐν κορυφῇσι ἐκάστου τοῦ κολωνοῦ ἀνακοντίζει ἐκ μέσου τοῦ ἄλός ὕδωρ ψυχρόν καὶ γλυκύ, περὶ δὲ αὐτὸν ἄνθρωποι οἰκέουσι ἔσχατοι πρὸς τῆς ἐρήμου καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς θηριώδεος, πρῶτοι μὲν ἀπὸ Θηβέων διὰ δέκα ἡμερέων ὁδοῦ Ἀμμώνιοι, ἔχοντες τὸ ἶρον ἀπὸ τοῦ Θηβαιέος Διός· καὶ γὰρ τὸ<sup>1</sup> ἐν Θήβῃσι, ὡς καὶ πρότερον εἴρηται μοι, κριοπρόσωπον τοῦ Διὸς τῷ γαλμα ἐστί. τυγχάνει δὲ καὶ ἄλλο σφι ὕδωρ κρηναῖον ἓόν, τὸ τὸν μὲν ὄρθρον γίνεται χλιαρόν, ἀγορῆς δὲ πληθυσύσης ψυχρότερον, μεσαμβρίῃ τε ἐστί καὶ τὸ κάρτα γίνεται ψυχρόν· τηνικαῦτα δὲ ἄρδουσι τοὺς κήπους· ἀποκλινομένης δὲ τῆς ἡμέρης ὑπίεται τοῦ ψυχροῦ, ἐς οὗ δύεται τε ὁ ἥλιος καὶ τὸ ὕδωρ γίνεται χλιαρόν· ἐπὶ δὲ μᾶλλον ἰὸν ἐς τὸ θερμὸν ἐς μέσας νύκτας πελάζει, τηνικαῦτα δὲ ζέει ἀμβολάδην· παρέρχονται τε μέσαι νύκτες καὶ ψύχεται μέχρι ἐς ἡῶ. ἐπὶ κλησιν δὲ αὕτη ἢ κρήνη καλέεται ἡλίου.

182. Μετὰ δὲ Ἀμμωνίους διὰ τῆς ὀφρύης τῆς ψάμμου δι' ἀλλέων δέκα ἡμερέων ὁδοῦ κολωνός τε ἄλός ἐστι ὅμοιος τῷ Ἀμμωνίῳ καὶ ὕδωρ, καὶ ἄνθρωποι περὶ αὐτὸν οἰκέουσι· τῷ δὲ χώρῳ τούτῳ οὖνομα Αὐγίλα ἐστί. ἐς τοῦτον τὸν χώρον οἱ Νασαμῶνες ὀπωριεῦντες τοὺς φοίνικας φοιτῶσι.

183. Ἀπὸ δὲ Αὐγίλων διὰ δέκα ἡμερέων ἀλλέων ὁδοῦ ἕτερος ἄλός κολωνός καὶ ὕδωρ καὶ φοίνικες καρποφόροι πολλοί, κατὰ περ καὶ ἐν τοῖσι ἐτέροισι· καὶ ἄνθρωποι οἰκέουσι ἐν αὐτῷ

<sup>1</sup> [τὸ] Stein; and the article certainly makes the grammar difficult.

days' journey along this ridge there are masses of great lumps of salt in hillocks; on the top of every hillock a fountain of cold sweet water shoots up from the midst of the salt; men dwell round it who are farthest away towards the desert and inland from the wild beasts' country. The first on the journey from Thebes, ten days distant from that place, are the Ammonians, who follow the worship of the Zeus of Thebes; for, as I have before said, the image of Zeus at Thebes has the head of a ram. They have another spring of water besides, which is warm at dawn, and colder at market-time, and very cold at noon; and it is then that they water their gardens; as the day declines the coldness abates, till at sunset the water grows warm. **It becomes ever hotter and hotter till midnight, and then it boils and bubbles; after midnight it becomes ever cooler till dawn. This spring is called the spring of the sun.**

182. At a distance of ten days' journey again from the Ammonians along the sandy ridge, there is a hillock of salt like that of the Ammonians, and springs of water, where men dwell; this place is called Augila; it is to this that the Nasamones are wont to come to gather palm-fruit.

183. After ten days' journey again from Augila there is yet another hillock of salt and springs of water and many fruit-bearing palms, as at the other places;

τοῖσι οὖνομα Γαράμαντες ἐστί, ἔθνος μέγα ἰσχυρῶς, οἷ ἐπὶ τὸν ἄλλα γῆν ἐπιφορέοντες οὕτω σπείρουσι. συντομώτατον δ' ἐστὶ ἐς τοὺς Λωτοφάγους, ἐκ τῶν τριήκοντα ἡμερέων ἐς αὐτοὺς ὁδός ἐστι· ἐν τοῖσι καὶ οἱ ὀπισθονόμοι βόες γίνονται· ὀπισθονόμοι δὲ διὰ τόδε εἰσὶ. τὰ κέρα ἔχουσι κεκυφότα ἐς τὸ ἔμπροσθε· διὰ τοῦτο ὀπίσω ἀναχωρέοντες νέμονται· ἐς γὰρ τὸ ἔμπροσθε οὐκ οἰοί τε εἰσὶ προεμβαλλόντων ἐς τὴν γῆν τῶν κερέων. ἄλλο δὲ οὐδὲν διαφέρουσι τῶν ἄλλων βοῶν ὅτι μὴ τοῦτο καὶ τὸ δέρμα ἐς παχύτητά τε καὶ τρίψιν. οἱ Γαράμαντες δὴ οὗτοι τοὺς τρωγλοδύτας Αἰθίοπας θηρεύουσι τοῖσι τεθρίπποισι· οἱ γὰρ τρωγλοδύται Αἰθίοπες πόδας τάχιστοι ἀνθρώπων πάντων εἰσὶ τῶν ἡμεῖς πέρι λόγους ἀποφερομένους ἀκούομεν. σιτέονται δὲ οἱ τρωγλοδύται ὄφεις καὶ σαύρους καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα τῶν ἐρπετῶν· γλῶσσαν δὲ οὐδεμιῇ ἄλλῃ παρομοίῃν νενομίκασι, ἀλλὰ τετρίγασιν κατὰ περ αἱ νυκτερίδες.

184. Ἀπὸ δὲ Γαραμάντων δι' ἀλλέων δέκα ἡμερέων ὁδοῦ ἄλλος ἄλός τε κολωνὸς καὶ ὕδωρ, καὶ ἄνθρωποι περὶ αὐτὸν οἰκέουσι τοῖσι οὖνομα ἐστὶ Ἀτάραντες, οἷ ἀνώνυμοι εἰσὶ μῦθοι ἀνθρώπων τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν· ἀλέσι μὲν γὰρ σφι ἐστὶ Ἀτάραντες οὖνομα, ἐνὶ δὲ ἐκάστῳ αὐτῶν οὖνομα οὐδὲν κέεται. οὗτοι τῷ ἡλίῳ ὑπερβάλλοντι καταρῶνται καὶ πρὸς τούτοις πάντα τὰ αἰσχυρὰ λαιδορέονται, ὅτι σφέας καίων ἐπιτρίβει, αὐτοὺς τε τοὺς ἀνθρώπους καὶ τὴν χώραν αὐτῶν. μετὰ δὲ δι' ἀλλέων δέκα ἡμερέων ἄλλος κολωνὸς ἄλός καὶ ὕδωρ, καὶ ἄνθρωποι περὶ αὐτὸν οἰκέουσι. ἔχεται δὲ τοῦ ἀλὸς τούτου ὄρος τῷ οὖνομα ἐστὶ

men dwell there called Garamantes, an exceeding great nation, who sow in earth which they have laid on the salt. Hence is the shortest way to the Lotus-eaters' country, thirty days' journey distant. Among the Garamantes are the oxen that go backward as they graze; whereof the reason is that their horns curve forward; therefore they walk backward in their grazing, not being able to go forward, seeing that the horns would project into the ground. In all else they are like other oxen, save that their hide is thicker, and different to the touch. These Garamantes go in their four-horse chariots chasing the cave-dwelling Ethiopians: for the Ethiopian cave-dwellers are swifter of foot than any men of whom tales are brought to us. They live on snakes, and lizards, and such-like creeping things. Their speech is like none other in the world; it is like the squeaking of bats.

184. After another ten days' journey from the Garamantes there is again a salt hillock and water; men dwell there called Atarantes. These are the only men known to us who have no names; for the whole people are called Atarantes, but no man has a name of his own. These when the sun is exceeding hot curse and most foully revile him, for that his burning heat afflicts their people and their land. After another ten days' journey there is again a hillock of salt, and water, and men dwelling there. Near to this salt is a mountain called Atlas, the shape



Ἄτλας, ἔστι δὲ στεινὸν καὶ κυκλοτερές πάντη, ὑψηλὸν δὲ οὕτω δὴ τι λέγεται ὥς τὰς κορυφὰς αὐτοῦ οὐκ οἶά τε εἶναι ἰδέσθαι· οὐδέποτε γὰρ αὐτὰς ἀπολείπειν νέφεα οὔτε θέρεος οὔτε χειμῶνος. τοῦτο τὸν κίονα τοῦ οὐρανοῦ λέγουσι οἱ ἐπιχώριοι εἶναι. ἐπὶ τούτου τοῦ ὄρεος οἱ ἄνθρωποι οὗτοι ἐπώνυμοι ἐγένοντο· καλέονται γὰρ δὴ Ἄτλαντες. λέγονται δὲ οὔτε ἔμψυχον οὐδὲν σιτέεσθαι οὔτε ἐνύπνια ὄραν.

185. Μέχρι μὲν δὴ τῶν Ἀτλάντων τούτων ἔχω τὰ οὐνόματα τῶν ἐν τῇ ὀφρύνῃ κατοικημένων καταλέξει, τὸ δ' ἀπὸ τούτων οὐκέτι. διήκει δ' ὦν ἡ ὀφρὺν μέχρι Ἡρακλέων στηλέων καὶ τὸ ἔξω τουτέων. ἔστι δὲ ἄλός τε μέταλλον ἐν αὐτῇ διὰ δέκα ἡμερέων ὁδοῦ καὶ ἄνθρωποι οἰκέοντες. τὰ δὲ οἰκία τούτοισι πᾶσι ἐκ τῶν ἀλίνων χόνδρων οἰκοδομέαται. ταῦτα γὰρ ἤδη τῆς Λιβύης ἄνομβρα ἐστί· οὐ γὰρ ἂν ἡδυνέατο μένειν οἱ τοῖχοι ἐόντες ἄλινοι, εἰ ὕε. ὁ δὲ ἄλς αὐτόθι καὶ λευκὸς καὶ πορφύρεος τὸ εἶδος ὀρύσσεται. ὑπὲρ δὲ τῆς ὀφρύνῃς τὸ πρὸς νότου καὶ ἐς μεσόγαιαν τῆς Λιβύης ἔρημος καὶ ἄνυδρος καὶ ἄθηρος καὶ ἄνομβρος καὶ ἄξυλος ἐστὶ ἡ χώρα, καὶ ἰκμάδος ἐστὶ ἐν αὐτῇ οὐδέν.

186. Οὕτω μὲν μέχρι τῆς Τριτωνίδος λίμνης ἀπ' Αἰγύπτου νομάδες εἰσὶ κρεοφάγοι τε καὶ γαλακτοπόται Λίβυες, καὶ θηλέων τε βοῶν οὗτι γευόμενοι, διότι περ οὐδὲ Αἰγύπτιοι, καὶ ὕς οὐ τρέφοντες. βοῶν μὲν νυν θηλέων οὐδ' αἱ Κυρηναίων γυναῖκες δικαιοῦσι πατέεσθαι διὰ τὴν ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ Ἴσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ νηστησίας αὐτῇ καὶ

whereof is slender and a complete circle ; and it is said to be so high that its summits cannot be seen, for cloud is ever upon them winter and summer. The people of the country call it the pillar of heaven. These men have got their name, which is Atlantes, from this mountain. It is said that they eat no living creature, and see no dreams in their sleep.

185. I know and can tell the names of all the peoples that dwell on the ridge as far as the Atlantes, but no farther than that. But this I know, that the ridge reaches as far as the Pillars of Heracles and beyond them. There is a mine of salt on it a ten days' journey distant from the Atlantes, and men dwell there. Their houses are all built of the blocks of salt ; here begins the part of Libya where no rain falls ; for the walls, being of salt, could not stand firm if there were rain. The salt which is dug from this mine is both white and purple. Beyond this ridge the southern and inland parts of Libya are desert and waterless ; no wild beasts are there, nor rain, nor forests ; this region is wholly without moisture.

186. Thus from Egypt to the Tritonian lake, the Libyans are nomads that eat meat and drink milk ; for the same reason as the Egyptians too profess, they will not touch the flesh of cows ; and they rear no swine. The women of Cyrene too deem it wrong to eat cows' flesh, because of the Isis of Egypt ; nay, they even honour her with fasts and

ὀρτὰς ἐπιτελέουσι· αἱ δὲ τῶν Βαρκαίων γυναῖκες οὐδὲ ὕων πρὸς τῇσι βουσὶ γεύονται.

187. Ταῦτα μὲν δὴ οὕτω ἔχει. τὸ δὲ πρὸς ἐσπέρης τῆς Τριτωνίδος λίμνης οὐκέτι νομάδες εἰσὶ Λίβυες οὐδὲ νόμοισι τοῖσι αὐτοῖσι χρεώμενοι, οὐδὲ κατὰ τὰ παῖδιά ποιεῦντες οἷόν τι καὶ οἱ νομάδες ἐώθασι ποιεῖν. οἱ γὰρ δὴ τῶν Λιβύων νομάδες, εἰ μὲν πάντες, οὐκ ἔχω ἀτρεκέως τοῦτο εἰπεῖν, ποιεῦσι δὲ αὐτῶν συχνοὶ τοιάδε· τῶν παιδίων τῶν σφετέρων, ἐπεὰν τετραέτεα γένηται, οἷσπη προβάτων καίουσι τὰς ἐν τῇσι κορυφῇσι φλέβας, μετεξέτεροι δὲ αὐτῶν τὰς ἐν τοῖσι κροτάφοισι, τοῦδε εἵνεκα ὥς μή σφεας ἐς τὸν πάντα χρόνον καταρρέον φλέγμα ἐκ τῆς κεφαλῆς δηλέηται. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο σφέας λέγουσι εἶναι ὑγιηροτάτους· εἰσὶ γὰρ ὥς ἀληθέως οἱ Λίβυες ἀνθρώπων πάντων ὑγιηρότατοι τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν, εἰ μὲν διὰ τοῦτο, οὐκ ἔχω ἀτρεκέως εἰπεῖν, ὑγιηρότατοι δ' ὦν εἰσὶ. ἦν δὲ καίουσι τὰ παῖδιά σπασμὸς ἐπιγένηται, ἐξεύρηται σφι ἄκος· τράγου γὰρ οὖρον σπείσαντες ρύονται σφέα. λέγω δὲ τὰ λέγουσι αὐτοὶ Λίβυες.

188. Θυσίαι δὲ τοῖσι νομάσι εἰσὶ αἶδε· ἐπεὰν τοῦ ὠτὸς ἀπάρξωνται τοῦ κτήνεος, ριπτεύουσι ὑπὲρ τὸν δόμον, τοῦτο δὲ ποιήσαντες ἀποστρέφουσι τὸν αὐχένα αὐτοῦ· θύουσι δὲ ἡλίῳ καὶ σελήνῃ μούνοισι. τούτοις μὲν νυν πάντες Λίβυες θύουσι, ἀτὰρ οἱ περὶ τὴν Τριτωνίδα λίμνην νέμοντες τῇ Ἀθηναίῃ μάλιστα, μετὰ δὲ τῷ Τρίτωνι καὶ τῷ Ποσειδέωνι.

189. Τὴν δὲ ἄρα ἐσθήτα καὶ τὰς αἰγίδας τῶν ἀγαλμάτων τῆς Ἀθηναίης ἐκ τῶν Λιβυσσέων

## BOOK IV. 186-189

festivals; and the Barcean women refuse to eat swine too as well as cows.

187. Thus it is with this region. But westward of the Tritonian lake the Libyans are not nomads; they follow not the same usages, nor treat their children as the nomads are wont to do. For the practice of many Libyan nomads (I cannot with exactness say whether it be the practice of all) is to take their children when four years old, and with grease of sheep's wool to burn the veins of their scalps or sometimes of their temples, that so the children may be never afterwards afflicted by phlegm running down from the head. They say that this makes their children most healthy. In truth no men known to us are so healthy as the Libyans; whether it be by reason of this practice, I cannot with exactness say; but most healthy they certainly are. When the children smart from the pain of the burning the Libyans have found a remedy, which is, to heal them by moistening with goats' urine. This is what the Libyans themselves say.

188. The nomads' manner of sacrificing is to cut a piece from the victim's ear for first-fruits and throw it over the house; which done they wring the victim's neck. They sacrifice to no gods save the sun and moon; that is, this is the practice of the whole nation; but the dwellers by the Tritonian lake sacrifice to Athene chiefly, and next to Triton and Poseidon.

189. It would seem that the robe and aegis of the images of Athene were copied by the Greeks from

ἐποιήσαντο οἱ Ἕλληνες· πλὴν γὰρ ἢ ὅτι σκυτίνη ἢ ἐσθῆς τῶν Λιβυσσέων ἐστὶ καὶ οἱ θύσανοι οἱ ἐκ τῶν αἰγίδων αὐτῇσι οὐκ ὄφεις εἰσὶ ἀλλὰ ἰμάντινοι, τὰ γε ἄλλα πάντα κατὰ τῷτὸ ἐσταλται. καὶ δὴ καὶ τὸ οὖνομα κατηγορεῖ ὅτι ἐκ Λιβύης ἦκει ἢ στολὴ τῶν Παλλαδίων· αἰγέας γὰρ περιβάλλονται ψιλὰς περὶ τὴν ἐσθῆτα θυσανωτὰς αἱ Λίβυσσαι κεχριμένας ἐρευθεδάνῳ, ἐκ δὲ τῶν αἰγέων τουτέων αἰγίδας οἱ Ἕλληνες μετωνόμασαν. δοκέει δ' ἔμοιγε καὶ ὀλολυγὴ ἐν ἱροῖσι ἐνθαῦτα πρῶτον γενέσθαι· κάρτα γὰρ ταύτῃ χρέωνται καλῶς αἱ Λίβυσσαι. καὶ τέσσερας ἵππους συζευγύναι παρὰ Λιβύων οἱ Ἕλληνες μεμαθήκασι.

190. Θάπτουσι δὲ τοὺς ἀποθνήσκοντας οἱ νομάδες κατὰ περ οἱ Ἕλληνες, πλὴν Νασαμώνων· οὗτοι δὲ κατημένους θάπτουσι, φυλάσσουντες, ἐπεὰν ἀπιῇ τὴν ψυχὴν, ὅπως μιν κατίσουσι μηδὲ ὕπτιος ἀποθανέεται. οἰκήματα δὲ σύμπηκτα ἐξ ἀνθερίκων ἐνείρμένων περὶ σχοίνους ἐστί, καὶ ταῦτα περιφορητά. νόμοισι μὲν τοιούτοις οὗτοι χρέωνται.

191. Τὸ δὲ πρὸς ἐσπέρης τοῦ Τρίτωνος ποταμοῦ Αὐσέων ἔχονται ἀροτῆρες ἤδη Λίβυες καὶ οἰκίας νομίζοντες ἐκτῆσθαι, τοῖσι οὖνομα κέεται Μάξυες· οἱ τὰ ἐπὶ δεξιὰ τῶν κεφαλέων κομόωσι, τὰ δ' ἐπ' ἀριστερὰ κείρουσι, τὸ δὲ σῶμα χρίονται μίλτῳ. φασὶ δὲ οὗτοι εἶναι τῶν ἐκ Τροίης ἀνδρῶν. ἢ δὲ

<sup>1</sup> The aegis is the conventional buckler of Pallas. Probably the conservatism of religious art retained for the warrior goddess the goatskin buckler which was one of the earliest forms of human armour.

<sup>2</sup> The ὀλολυγὴ (says Dr. Macan) was proper to the worship

the Libyan women; for save that the dress of Libyan women is leathern, and that the tassels of their goat-skin bucklers are not snakes but made of thongs of hide, in all else their equipment is the same. Nay, the very name bewrays that the raiment of the statues of Pallas has come from Libya; for Libyan women wear hairless tasselled goatskins over their dress, coloured with madder, and the Greeks have changed the name of these into their "aegis."<sup>1</sup> Further, to my thinking the ceremonial chant<sup>2</sup> first took its rise in Libya: for the women of that country chant very tunefully. And it is from the Libyans that the Greeks have learnt to drive four-horse chariots.

190. The dead are buried by the nomads in Greek fashion, save by the Nasamones. These bury their dead sitting, being careful to make the dying man sit when he gives up the ghost, and not die lying supine. Their dwellings are compact of asphodel-stalks<sup>3</sup> twined about reeds; they can be carried hither and thither. Such are the Libyan usages.

191. Westward of the river Triton and next to the Ausees begins the country of Libyans who till the soil and possess houses; they are called Maxyes; they wear their hair long on the right side of their heads and shave the left, and they paint their bodies with vermilion. These claim descent from the men who came from Troy. Their country, and the rest

of Athene; a cry of triumph or exultation, perhaps of Eastern origin and connected with the Semitic Hallelu (which survives in Hallelu-jah).

<sup>3</sup> Asphodel is a long-stalked plant. The name has acquired picturesque associations; but Homer's "asphodel meadow" is in the unhappy realm of the dead, and is intended clearly to indicate a place of rank weeds.



χώρη αὕτη τε καὶ ἡ λοιπὴ τῆς Λιβύης ἡ πρὸς ἐσπέρην πολλῶ θηριωδεστέρα τε καὶ δασυτέρα ἐστὶ τῆς τῶν νομάδων χώρας. ἡ μὲν γὰρ δὴ πρὸς τὴν ἡῶ τῆς Λιβύης, τὴν οἱ νομάδες νέμουσι, ἐστὶ ταπεινὴ τε καὶ ψαμμώδης μέχρι τοῦ Τρίτωνος ποταμοῦ, ἡ δὲ ἀπὸ τούτου τὸ πρὸς ἐσπέρην ἡ τῶν ἀροτήρων ὀρεινὴ τε κάρτα καὶ δασέα καὶ θηριώδης· καὶ γὰρ οἱ ὄφιοι οἱ ὑπερμεγάθεις καὶ οἱ λέοντες κατὰ τούτους εἰσὶ καὶ οἱ ἐλέφαντές τε καὶ ἄρκτοι καὶ ἀσπίδες τε καὶ ὄνοι οἱ τὰ κέρα ἔχοντες καὶ οἱ κυνοκέφαλοι καὶ οἱ ἀκέφαλοι οἱ ἐν τοῖσι στήθεσι τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς ἔχοντες, ὥς δὴ λέγονταί γε ὑπὸ Λιβύων, καὶ οἱ ἄγριοι ἄνδρες καὶ γυναῖκες ἄγριαί, καὶ ἄλλα πλήθει πολλὰ θηρία ἀκατάψευστα.

192. Κατὰ τοὺς νομάδας δὲ ἐστὶ τούτων οὐδέν, ἀλλ' ἄλλα τοιάδε, πύγαργοι καὶ ζορκάδες καὶ βουβάλιες καὶ ὄνοι, οὐκ οἱ τὰ κέρα ἔχοντες ἀλλ' ἄλλοι ἄποτοι (οὐ γὰρ δὴ πίνουσι), καὶ ὄρνεις, τῶν τὰ κέρα τοῖσι φοίνιξι οἱ πήχες ποιεῦνται (μέγαθος δὲ τὸ θηρίον τοῦτο κατὰ βούν ἐστι), καὶ βασσάρια καὶ ὕαιναί καὶ ὕστριχες καὶ κριοὶ ἄγριοι καὶ δίκτυες καὶ θῶες καὶ πάνθηρες καὶ βόρνεις, καὶ κροκόδειλοι ὅσον τε τριπήχες χερσαῖοι, τῇσι σαύρησι ἐμφερέστατοι, καὶ στρουθοὶ κατάγαιοι, καὶ ὄφιοι μικροί, κέρας ἐν ἑκάστος ἔχοντες· ταῦτά τε δὴ αὐτόθι ἐστὶ θηρία καὶ τὰ περ τῇ ἄλλῃ, πλὴν ἐλάφου τε καὶ ὕος ἀγρίου· ἐλάφος δὲ καὶ ὕς ἄγριος ἐν Λιβύῃ πάμπαν οὐκ ἔστι. μυῶν δὲ γένεα τριζὰ αὐτόθι ἐστί· οἱ μὲν δίποδες καλέονται, οἱ δὲ ζεγέριες (τὸ δὲ οὖνομα τοῦτο ἐστὶ μὲν Λιβυστικόν, δύναται δὲ κατ' Ἑλλάδα γλῶσσαι

of the western part of Libya, is much fuller of wild beasts and more wooded than the country of the nomads. For the eastern region of Libya, which the nomads inhabit, is low-lying and sandy as far as the river Triton; but the land westward of this, where dwell the tillers of the soil, is exceeding hilly and wooded and full of wild beasts. In that country are the huge snakes, and the elephants and bears and asps, the horned asses, the dog-headed men and the headless that have their eyes in their breasts, as the Libyans say, and the wild men and women, besides many other creatures not fabulous.

192. But in the nomads' country there are none of these; yet there are others, gazelles of divers kinds, asses, not the horned asses, but those that are called undrinking (for indeed they never drink), antelopes of the bigness of an ox, the horns whereof are made into the sides of a lyre, foxes, hyenas, porcupines, wild rams, the dictys and the borys,<sup>1</sup> jackals and panthers, land crocodiles three cubits long, most like to lizards, and ostriches and little one-horned serpents; all these beasts are there besides those that are elsewhere too, save only deer and wild swine; of these two kinds there are none at all in Libya. There are in this country three kinds of mice, the two-footed,<sup>2</sup> the "zegeries" (this is a Libyan word, signifying in our language hills),

<sup>1</sup> The dictys and borys are not identifiable. (But there is a small African deer called the Dik-dik.)

<sup>2</sup> Clearly, the jerboa.

βουνοί), οὐ δὲ ἐχινέες. εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ γαλαῖ ἐν τῷ σιλφίῳ γινόμεναι τῇσι Ταρτησσίησι ὁμοιόταται. τοσαῦτα μὲν νυν θηρία ἢ τῶν νομάδων Λιβύων γῆ ἔχει, ὅσον ἡμεῖς ἱστορέοντες ἐπὶ μακρότατον οἰοί τε ἐγενόμεθα ἐξικέσθαι.

193. Μαξύων δὲ Λιβύων Ζαύηκες ἔχονται, τοῖσι αἱ γυναῖκες ἡνιοχεῦσι τὰ ἄρματα ἐς τὸν πόλεμον.

194. Τούτων δὲ Γύζαντες ἔχονται, ἐν τοῖσι μέλι πολλὸν μὲν μέλισσαι κατεργάζονται, πολλῷ δ' ἔτι πλεον λέγεται δημιοεργούς ἄνδρας ποιεῖν. μιλτοῦνται δ' ὧν πάντες οὔτοι καὶ πιθηκοφαγέουσιν· οὐ δέ σφι ἄφθονοι ὅσοι ἐν τοῖσι ὄρεσι γίνονται.

195. Κατὰ τούτους δὲ λέγουσι Καρχηδόνιοι κεῖσθαι νῆσον τῇ οὖνομα εἶναι Κύραυν, μῆκος μὲν διηκοσίῳν σταδίῳν, πλάτος δὲ στερινήν, διαβατὸν ἐκ τῆς ἡπείρου, ἐλαιέων τε μεστήν καὶ ἀμπέλων. λίμνην δὲ ἐν αὐτῇ εἶναι, ἐκ τῆς αἰ παρθένοι τῶν ἐπιχωρίων πτεροῖσι ὀρνίθων κεχριμένοισι πίσσῃ ἐκ τῆς ἰλῦος ψῆγμα ἀναφέρουσι χρυσοῦ. ταῦτα εἰ μὲν ἔστι ἀληθέως οὐκ οἶδα, τὰ δὲ λέγεται γράφω· εἴη δ' ἂν πᾶν, ὅκου καὶ ἐν Ζακύνθῳ ἐκ λίμνης καὶ ὕδατος πίσσαν ἀναφερομένην αὐτὸς ἐγὼ ὥρων. εἰσὶ μὲν καὶ πλεῦνες αἱ λίμναι αὐτόθι, ἡ δ' ὧν μεγίστη αὐτέων ἐβδομήκοντα ποδῶν πάντῃ, βάθος δὲ διόργυιος ἐστί· ἐς ταύτην κοντὸν κατιεῖσι ἐπ' ἄκρῳ μυρσίνην προσδήσαντες καὶ ἔπειτα ἀναφέρουσι τῇ μυρσίνῃ πίσσαν, ὁδμὴν μὲν ἔχουσαν ἀσφάλτου, τὰ δ' ἄλλα τῆς Πιερικῆς πίσσης ἀμείνω. ἐσχέουσι δὲ ἐς λάκκον ὀρωρυγμένον ἀγχοῦ τῆς λίμνης· ἐπεὰν δὲ

and the hairy, as they are called. There are also weasels found in the silphium, very like to the weasels of Tartessus. So many are the wild creatures of the nomads' country, as far as by our utmost enquiry we have been able to learn.

193. Next to the Maxyes of Libya are the Zaukes, whose women drive their chariots to war.

194. Next to these are the Gyzantes, where much honey is made by bees, and much more yet (so it is said) by craftsmen.<sup>1</sup> It is certain that they all paint themselves with vermilion and eat apes, which do greatly abound in their mountains.

195. Off their coast (say the Carchedonians) there lies an island called Cyrauis, two hundred furlongs long and narrow across; there is a passage to it from the mainland; it is full of olives and vines. It is said that there is a lake in this island wherefrom the maidens of the country draw up gold-dust out of the mud with feathers smeared with pitch. I know not if this be truly so; I write but what is said. Yet all things are possible; for I myself saw pitch drawn from the water of a pool in Zacynthus. The pools there are many; the greatest of them is seventy feet long and broad, and two fathoms deep. Into this they drop a pole with a myrtle branch made fast to its end, and bring up pitch on the myrtle, smelling like asphalt, and for the rest better than the pitch of Pieria. Then they pour it into a pit that they have dug near the pool; and when

<sup>1</sup> *cp.* vii. 31, where men are said to make honey out of wheat and tamarisk.

ἀθροίσωσι συχνήν, οὕτω ἐς τοὺς ἀμφορέας ἐκ τοῦ λάκκου καταχέουσι. ὃ τι δ' αὖ ἐσπέσῃ ἐς τὴν λίμνην, ὑπὸ γῆν ἰὸν ἀναφαίνεται ἐν τῇ θαλάσῃ· ἢ δὲ ἀπέχει ὡς τέσσερα στάδια ἀπὸ τῆς λίμνης. οὕτω ὦν καὶ τὰ ἀπὸ τῆς νήσου τῆς ἐπὶ Λιβύῃ κειμένης οἰκότα ἐστὶ ἀληθείη.

196. Λέγουσι δὲ καὶ τάδε Καρχηδόνιοι. εἶναι τῆς Λιβύης χώρόν τε καὶ ἀνθρώπους ἕξω Ἑρακλέων στηλέων κατοικημένους· ἐς τοὺς ἐπεὰν ἀπίκωνται καὶ ἐξέλωνται τὰ φορτία, θέντες αὐτὰ ἐπεξῆς παρὰ τὴν κυματώγην, ἐσβάντες ἐς τὰ πλοῖα τύφειν καπνόν. τοὺς δ' ἐπιχωρίους ἰδομένους τὸν καπνὸν ἰέναι ἐπὶ τὴν θάλασσαν καὶ ἔπειτα ἀντὶ τῶν φορτίων χρυσὸν τιθέναι καὶ ἐξαναχωρεῖν πρόσω ἀπὸ τῶν φορτίων. τοὺς δὲ Καρχηδονίους ἐκβάντας σκέπτεσθαι, καὶ ἦν μὲν φαίνεται σφι ἄξιος ὁ χρυσὸς τῶν φορτίων, ἀνελόμενοι ἀπαλλάσσονται, ἦν δὲ μὴ ἄξιος, ἐσβάντες ὀπίσω ἐς τὰ πλοῖα κατέαται· οἱ δὲ προσελθόντες ἄλλον πρὸς ὦν ἔθηκαν χρυσόν, ἐς οὗ αὖ πείθωσι. ἀδικεῖν δὲ οὐδετέρους· οὔτε γὰρ αὐτοὺς τοῦ χρυσοῦ ἄπτεσθαι πρὶν ἂν σφι ἀπισωθῇ τῇ ἀξίῃ τῶν φορτίων, οὔτ' ἐκείνους τῶν φορτίων ἄπτεσθαι πρότερον ἢ αὐτοὶ τὸ χρυσίον λάβωσι.

197. Οὗτοι μὲν εἰσὶ τοὺς ἡμεῖς ἔχομεν Λιβυων ὀνομάσαι, καὶ τούτων οἱ πολλοὶ βασιλέος τοῦ Μήδων οὔτε τι νῦν οὔτε τότε ἐφρο·τιζον οὐδέν. τοσόνδε δὲ ἔτι ἔχω εἰπεῖν περὶ τῆς χώρας ταύτης, ὅτι τέσσερα ἔθνηα νέμεται αὐτὴν καὶ οὐ πλέω τούτων, ὅσον ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν, καὶ τὰ μὲν δύο αὐτόχθονα τῶν ἐθνέων τὰ δὲ δύο οὗ, Λίβυες μὲν καὶ Λιθίοπες αὐτόχθονες, οἱ μὲν τὰ πρὸς βορέῳ οἱ δὲ

much is collected there, they fill their vessels from the pit. Whatever thing falls into the pool is carried under ground and appears again in the sea, which is about four furlongs distant from the pool. Thus, then, the story coming from the island off the Libyan coast is like the truth.

196. Another story too is told by the Carchedonians. There is a place, they say, where men dwell beyond the Pillars of Heracles; to this they come and unload their cargo; then having laid it orderly by the waterline they go aboard their ships and light a smoking fire. The people of the country see the smoke, and coming to the sea they lay down gold to pay for the cargo and withdraw away from the wares. Then the Carchedonians disembark and examine the gold; if it seems to them a fair price for their cargo, they take it and go their ways; but if not, they go aboard again and wait, and the people come back and add more gold till the shipmen are satisfied. Herein neither party (it is said) defrauds the other; the Carchedonians do not lay hands on the gold till it matches the value of their cargo, nor do the people touch the cargo till the shipmen have taken the gold.

197. These are all the Libyans whom we can name, and of their kings the most part cared nothing for the king of the Medes at the time of which I write, nor do they care for him now. I have thus much further to say of this country: four nations and no more, as far as our knowledge serves, inhabit it, whereof two are aboriginal and two are not; the Libyans in the north and the Ethiopians in the



τὰ πρὸς νότου τῆς Λιβύης οἰκέοντες, Φοίνικες δὲ καὶ Ἕλληνες ἐπήλυδες.

198. Δοκέει δέ μοι οὐδ' ἀρετὴν εἶναί τις ἡ Λιβύη σπουδαίῃ ὥστε ἢ Ἀσίῃ ἢ Εὐρώπῃ παραβληθῆναι, πλὴν Κίνυπος μούνης· τὸ γὰρ δὴ αὐτὸ οὖνομα ἡ γῆ τῷ ποταμῷ ἔχει. αὕτη δὲ ὁμοίῃ τῇ ἀρίστη γέων Δήμητρος καρπὸν ἐκφέρειν οὐδὲ ἔοικε οὐδὲν τῇ ἄλλῃ Λιβύῃ. μελάγγαιός τε γὰρ ἐστὶ καὶ ἔπυδρος πίδαξι, καὶ οὔτε ἀνχμοῦ φροντίζουσα οὐδὲν οὔτε ὄμβρον πλέω πιοῦσα δεδήληται· ὕεται γὰρ δὴ ταῦτα τῆς Λιβύης. τῶν δὲ ἐκφορίων τοῦ καρποῦ ταῦτ' ἀμέτρα τῇ Βαβυλωνίῃ γῇ κατίσταται. ἀγαθὴ δὲ γῆ καὶ τὴν Εὐεσπερίται νέμονται· ἐπ' ἑκατοστὰ γάρ, ἐπεὰν αὕτῃ ἐωυτῆς ἄριστα ἐνείκη, ἐκφέρει, ἢ δὲ ἐν τῇ Κίνυπι ἐπὶ τρικόσια.

199. Ἐχει δὲ καὶ ἡ Κυρηναίη χώρα, ἐοῦσα ὑψηλοτάτῃ ταύτης τῆς Λιβύης τὴν οἱ νομάδες νέμονται, τρεῖς ὥρας ἐν ἐωυτῇ ἀξίας θώματος. πρῶτα μὲν γὰρ τὰ παραθαλάσσια τῶν καρπῶν ὀργὰ ἀμᾶσθαί τε καὶ τρυγᾶσθαι· τούτων τε δὴ συγκεκομισμένων τὰ ὑπὲρ τῶν θαλασσιδίων χώρων τὰ μέσα ὀργὰ συγκομίζεσθαι, τὰ βουνοὺς καλέουσι συγκεκόμισται τε οὗτος ὁ μέσος καρπὸς καὶ ὁ ἐν τῇ κατυπερτάτῃ τῆς γῆς πεπαίνεται τε καὶ ὀργᾷ, ὥστε ἐκπέποταί τε καὶ καταβέβρωται ὁ πρῶτος καρπὸς καὶ ὁ τελευταῖος συμπαραγίνεται. οὕτω ἐπ' ὀκτὼ μῆνας Κυρηναίους ὁπώρα ἐπέχει. ταῦτα μὲν νυν ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον εἰρήσθω.

200. Οἱ δὲ Φερετίμης τιμωροὶ Πέρσαι ἐπεῖτε ἐκ τῆς Αἰγύπτου σταλέντες ὑπὸ Ἀρυάνδεω ἀπίκατο ἐς τὴν Βάρκην, ἐπολιόρκεον τὴν πόλιν

south of Libya are aboriginal, the Phoenicians and Greeks are later settlers.

198. To my thinking, there is in no part of Libya any great excellence whereby it should be compared to Asia or Europe, save only in the region which is called by the same name as its river, Cinyps. But this region is a match for the most fertile cornlands in the world, nor is it at all like to the rest of Libya. For the soil is black and well watered by springs, and has no fear of drought, nor is it harmed by drinking excessive showers (there is rain in this part of Libya). Its yield of corn is of the same measure as in the land of Babylon. The land inhabited by the Euhesperitæ is also good; it yields at the most an hundredfold; but the land of the Cinyps region yields three hundredfold.

199. The country of Cyrene, which is the highest part of that Libya which the nomads inhabit, has the marvellous boon of three harvest seasons. First on the sea-coast the fruits of the earth are ripe for reaping and plucking: when these are gathered, the middle region above the coast, that which they call the Hills, is ripe for gathering: and no sooner is this yield of the middle country gathered than the highest-lying crops are mellow and ripe, so that the latest fruits of the earth are coming in when the earliest are already spent by way of food and drink. Thus the Cyrenæans have a harvest lasting eight months. Of these matters, then, enough.

200. Now when the Persians sent by Aryandes from Egypt to avenge Pheretime came to Barce,<sup>1</sup> they laid siege to the city, demanding the surrender of

<sup>1</sup> The story broken off in ch. 167 is resumed.

ἐπαγγελλόμενοι ἐκδιδόναι τοὺς αἰτίους τοῦ φόνου τοῦ Ἀρκεσίλειω· τῶν δὲ πᾶν γὰρ ἦν τὸ πλῆθος μεταίτιον, οὐκ ἐδέκοντο τοὺς λόγους. ἐνθαῦτα δὴ ἐπολιόρκεον τὴν Βάρκην ἐπὶ μῆνας ἐννέα, ὀρύσσοντές τε ὀρύγματα ὑπόγαια φέροντα ἐς τὸ τεῖχος καὶ προσβολὰς καρτερὰς ποιεύμενοι. τὰ μὲν νυν ὀρύγματα ἀνὴρ χαλκεὺς ἀνεῦρε ἐπιχάλκῳ ἀσπίδι, ὧδε ἐπιφρασθεῖς· περιφέρων αὐτὴν ἐντὸς τοῦ τείχεος προσίσχε πρὸς τὸ δάπεδον τῆς πόλιος. τὰ μὲν δὴ ἄλλα ἔσκε κωφὰ πρὸς τὰ προσίσχε, κατὰ δὲ τὰ ὀρυσσόμενα ἠχέεσκε ὁ χαλκὸς τῆς ἀσπίδος. ἀντορύσσοντες δ' ἂν ταύτῃ οἱ Βαρκαῖοι ἔκτεινον τῶν Περσέων τοὺς γεωρυχέοντας. τοῦτο μὲν δὴ οὕτω ἐξευρέθη, τὰς δὲ προσβολὰς ἀπεκρούοντο οἱ Βαρκαῖοι.

201. Χρόνον δὲ δὴ πολλὸν τριβομένων καὶ πιπτόντων ἀμφοτέρων πολλῶν καὶ οὐκ ἦσσαν τῶν Περσέων, Ἀμασις ὁ στρατηγὸς τοῦ πεζοῦ μηχανᾶται τοιάδε. μαθὼν τοὺς Βαρκαίους ὡς κατὰ μὲν τὸ ἰσχυρὸν οὐκ αἵρετοὶ εἶεν, δόλῳ δὲ αἵρετοί, ποιεῖ τοιάδε· νυκτὸς τάφρην ὀρύξας εὐρέαν ἐπέτεινε ξύλα ἀσθενέα ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς, κατύπερθε δὲ ἐπιπολῆς τῶν ξύλων χοῦν γῆς ἐπεφόρησε ποιέων τῇ ἄλλῃ γῇ ἰσόπεδον. ἅμα ἡμέρῃ δὲ ἐς λόγους προεκαλέετο τοὺς Βαρκαίους· οἱ δὲ ἀσπαστῶς ὑπήκουσαν, ἐς ὃ σφι ἔαδε ὁμολογίῃ χρῆσασθαι. τὴν δὲ ὁμολογίην ἐποιεῦντο τοιήνδε τινά, ἐπὶ τῆς κρυπτῆς τάφρου τάμιοντες ὄρκια, ἔστ' ἂν ἡ γῇ αὕτη οὕτω ἔχῃ, μένειν τὸ ὄρκιον κατὰ χώραν, καὶ Βαρκαίους τε ὑποτελέειν φάναι ἀξίην βασιλείᾳ καὶ Πέρσας μηδὲν ἄλλο νεοχμοῦν κατὰ Βαρκαίους. μετὰ δὲ τὸ ὄρκιον Βαρκαῖοι

those who were guilty of the slaying of Arcesilaus : but the Barcaeans, whose whole people were accessory to the deed, would not consent. Then the Persians besieged Barce for nine months, digging underground passages leading to the walls, and making violent assaults. As for the mines, a smith discovered them by the means of a shield coated with bronze, and this is how he found them : carrying the shield round the inner side of the walls he smote it against the ground of the city ; all other places where he smote it returned but a dull sound, but where the mines were the bronze of the shield rang clear. Here the Barcaeans made a countermine and slew those Persians who were digging the earth. Thus the mines were discovered, and the assaults were beaten off by the townsmen.

201. When much time was spent and ever many on both sides (but of the Persians more) were slain, Amasis the general of the land army devised a plot, as knowing that Barce could not be taken by force but might be taken by guile : he dug by night a wide trench and laid frail planks across it, which he then covered over with a layer of earth level with the ground about it. Then when day came he invited the Barcaeans to confer with him, and they readily consented ; at last all agreed to conditions of peace. This was done thus : standing on the hidden trench, they gave and took a sworn assurance that their treaty should hold good while the ground where they stood was unchanged ; the Barcaeans should promise to pay a due sum to the king, and the Persians should do the Barcaeans no hurt. When the sworn agreement was made, the towns-

μὲν πιστεύσαντες τούτοισι αὐτοὶ τε ἐξήσαν ἐκ τοῦ ἄστεος καὶ τῶν πολεμίων ἔων παριέναι ἐς τὸ τεῖχος τὸν βουλόμενον, τὰς πάσας πύλας ἀνοίξαντες· οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι καταρρήξαντες τὴν κρυπτήν γέφυραν ἔθεον ἔσω ἐς τὸ τεῖχος· κατέρρηξαν δὲ τοῦδε εἵνεκα τὴν ἐποίησαν γέφυραν, ἵνα ἐμπεδορkéοιεν, ταμώντες τοῖσι Βαρκαίοισι χρόνον μένειν αἰεὶ τὸ ὄρκιον ὅσον ἂν ἡ γῆ μένη κατὰ τότε εἶχε· καταρρήξασι δὲ οὐκέτι ἔμενε τὸ ὄρκιον κατὰ χώραν.

202. Τοὺς μὲν νυν αἰτιωτάτους τῶν Βαρκαίων ἡ Φερετίμη, ἐπεῖτε οἱ ἐκ τῶν Περσέων παρεδόθησαν, ἀνεσκολόπισε κύκλῳ τοῦ τεύχεος, τῶν δὲ σφί γυναικῶν τοὺς μαζοὺς ἀποταμοῦσα περιέστιξε καὶ τούτοισι τὸ τεῖχος· τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς τῶν Βαρκαίων λήϊν ἐκέλευε θέσθαι τοὺς Πέρσας, πλὴν ὅσοι αὐτῶν ἦσαν Βαττιάδαι τε καὶ τοῦ φόνου οὐ μεταίτιοι· τούτοισι δὲ τὴν πόλιν ἐπέτρεψε ἡ Φερετίμη.

203. Τοὺς ὧν δὴ λοιποὺς τῶν Βαρκαίων οἱ Πέρσαι ἀνδραποδισάμενοι ἀπήϊσαν ὀπίσω· καὶ ἐπεῖτε ἐπὶ τῇ Κυρηναίων πόλει ἐπέστησαν, οἱ Κυρηναῖοι λόγιόν τι ἀποσιεύμενοι διεξῆκαν αὐτοὺς διὰ τοῦ ἄστεος. διεξιούσης δὲ τῆς στρατιῆς Βάδρης μὲν ὁ τοῦ ναυτικοῦ στρατοῦ στρατηγὸς ἐκέλευε αἰρέειν τὴν πόλιν, Ἄμασις δὲ ὁ τοῦ πεζοῦ οὐκ ἔα· ἐπὶ Βάρκην γὰρ ἀποσταλῆναι μούνην Ἑλληνίδα πόλιν· ἐς ἧ διεξελθοῦσι καὶ ἰζομένοισι ἐπὶ Διὸς Λυκαίου ὄχθον μετεμέλησέ σφι οὐ σχοῦσι τὴν Κυρήνην. καὶ ἐπειρώντο τὸ δεύτερον παριέναι ἐς αὐτήν· οἱ δὲ Κυρηναῖοι οὐ περιώρων. τοῖσι δὲ Πέρσησι οὐδενὸς μαχομένου φόβος ἐνέ-

men, trusting in it and opening all their gates, themselves came out of the city, and suffered all their enemies who so desired to enter within the walls : but the Persians broke down the hidden bridge and ran into the city. They broke down the bridge that they had made, that so they might keep the oath which they had sworn to the Barcaeans, namely, that this treaty should hold good for as long as the ground remained as it was ; but if they broke the bridge the treaty held good no longer.

202. Pheretime took the most guilty of the Barcaeans, when they were delivered to her by the Persians, and set them impaled round the top of the wall ; she cut off the breasts of their women and planted them round the wall in like manner. As for the remnant of the Barcaeans, she bade the Persians take them as their booty, save as many as were of the house of Battus and not accessory to the murder ; to these she committed the governance of the city.

203. The Persians thus enslaved the rest of the Barcaeans, and departed homewards. When they halted at Cyrene, the Cyrenaeans suffered them to pass through their city, that a certain oracle might be fulfilled. As the army was passing through, Badres the admiral of the fleet was for taking the city, but Amasis the general of the land army would not consent, saying that he had been sent against Barce and no other Greek city ; at last they passed through Cyrene and encamped on the hill of Lycaean Zeus ; there they repented of not having taken the city, and essayed to enter it again, but the Cyrenaeans would not suffer them. Then, though none attacked them, fear fell upon the Persians, and they



πεσε, ἀποδραμόντες τε ὅσον τε ἐξήκοντα σταδια ἴζοντο· ἰδρυθέντι δὲ τῷ στρατοπέδῳ ταύτη ἦλθε παρὰ Ἀρυάνδεω ἄγγελος ἀποκαλέων αὐτούς. οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι Κυρηναίων δεηθέντες ἐπόδιά σφι δοῦναι ἔτυχον, λαβόντες δὲ ταῦτα ἀπαλλάσσοντο ἐς τὴν Αἴγυπτον. παραλαβόντες δὲ τὸ ἐνθεῦτεν αὐτοὺς Λίβυες τῆς τε ἐσθήτος εἵνεκα καὶ τῆς σκευῆς τοὺς ὑπολειπομένους αὐτῶν καὶ ἐπελκομένους ἐφόνευσον, ἐς δ' ἐς τὴν Αἴγυπτον ἀπίκοντο.

204. Οὗτος ὁ Περσέων στρατὸς τῆς Λιβύης ἐκαστάτῳ ἐς Εὐεσπερίδας ἦλθε. τοὺς δὲ ἡνδραποδίσαντο τῶν Βαρκαίων, τούτους δὲ ἐκ τῆς Αἰγύπτου ἀνασπιάστους ἐποίησαν παρὰ βασιλέα, βασιλεὺς δέ σφι Δαρεῖος ἔδωκε τῆς Βακτρίας χώρας κώμην ἐγκατοικῆσαι. οἱ δὲ τῇ κώμῃ ταύτῃ οὖνομα ἔθεντο Βάρκην, ἥ περ ἔτι καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ ἦν οἰκεομένη ἐν γῇ τῇ Βακτρίῃ.

205. Οὐ μὲν οὐδὲ ἡ Φερετίμη εὖ τὴν ζόην κατέπλεξε. ὥς γὰρ δὴ τάχιστα ἐκ τῆς Λιβύης τισαμένη τοὺς Βαρκαίους ἀπενόστησε ἐς τὴν Αἴγυπτον, ἀπέθανε κακῶς· ζῶσα γὰρ εὐλέων ἐξέξεσε, ὥς ἄρα ἀνθρώποισι αἱ λίην ἰσχυραὶ τιμωρίαι πρὸς θεῶν ἐπίφθονοι γίνονται· ἐκ μὲν δὴ Φερετίμης τῆς Βάττου τοιαύτη τε καὶ τοσαύτη τιμωρίη ἐγένετο ἐς Βαρκαίους.

fled to a place sixty furlongs distant and there encamped; and presently while they were there a messenger from Aryandes came to the camp bidding them return. The Persians asked and obtained of the Cyrenaeans provisions for their march, having received which they departed, to go to Egypt; but after that they fell into the hands of the Libyans, who slew the laggards and stragglers of the host for the sake of their garments and possessions; till at last they came to Egypt.

204. This Persian armament advanced as far as Euhesperidae in Libya and no farther. As for the Barcaeans whom they had taken for slaves, they carried them from Egypt into banishment and brought them to the king, and Darius gave them a town of Bactria to dwell in. They gave this town the name Barce, and it remained an inhabited place in Bactria till my own lifetime.

205. But Pheretime fared ill too, and made no good ending of her life. For immediately after she had revenged herself on the Barcaeans and returned to Egypt, she died a foul death; her living body festered and bred worms: so wroth, it would seem, are the gods with over-violent human vengeance. Such, and so great, was the vengeance which Pheretime daughter of Battus wrought upon the people of Barce.



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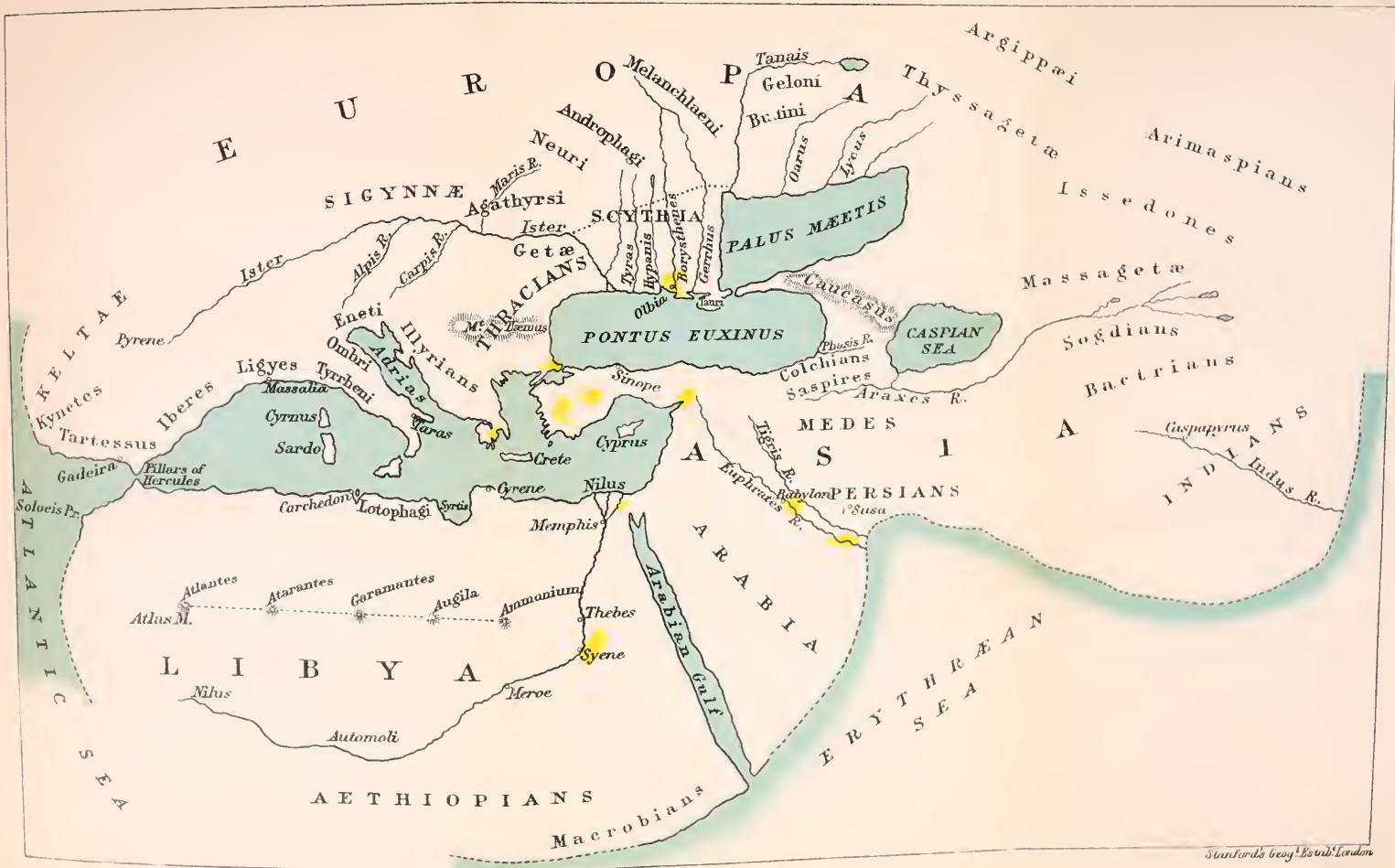
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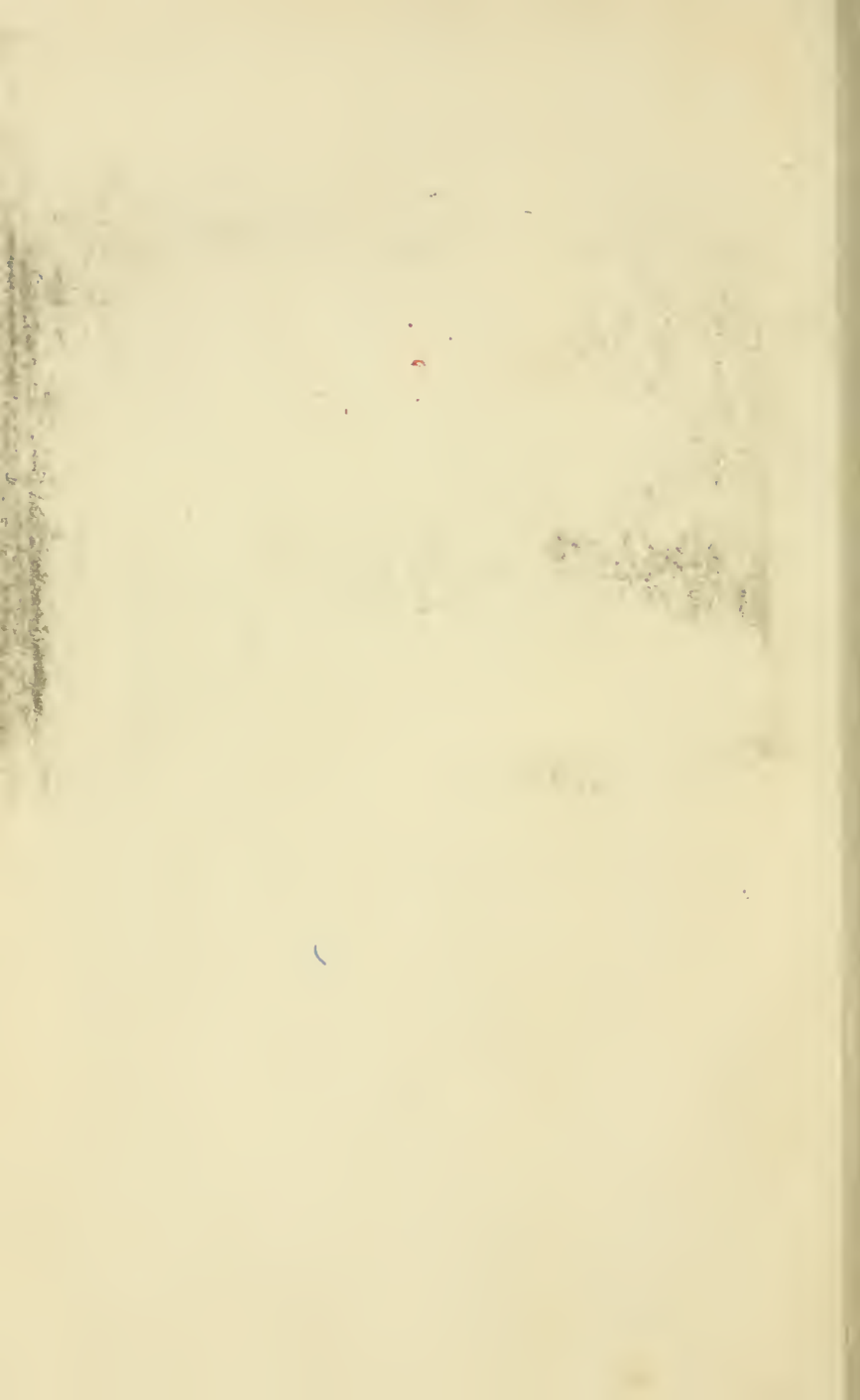




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