HERODOTUS

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GENERAL INTRODUCTION

A

It is impossible to give certain and undisputed dates for the lifetime of Herodotus. But if we are to believe Aulus Gellius, he was born in 484 B.C.; and the internal evidence of his History proves that he was alive during some part of the Peloponnesian war, as he alludes to incidents which occurred in its earlier years. He may therefore be safely said to have been a contemporary of the two great wars which respectively founded and ended the brief and brilliant pre-eminence of Athens in Hellas. He belongs in the fullest sense to the "great" period of Greek history.

Herodotus was (it is agreed on all hands) a native of Halicarnassus in Caria; and if his birth fell in 484, he was born a subject of the Great King. His early life was spent, apparently, in his native town, or possibly in the island of Samos, of which he shows an intimate knowledge. Tradition asserts that after a visit to Samos he "returned to Halicarnassus and expelled the tyrant" (Lygdamis); "but when later he saw himself disliked by his countrymen, he went as a volunteer to Thurium, when it was being colonised"
by the Athenians. There he died and lies buried in the market-place."¹ This is supported by good evidence, and there seems to be no reason for doubting it. It is also stated that he visited Athens and there recited some part of his history; this may have happened, as alleged, about the year 445. It is evident from his constant allusions to Athens that he knew it well, and must have lived there.

So much may be reasonably taken as certain. Beyond it we know very little; there is a large field for conjecture, and scholars have not hesitated to expatiate in it. If Herodotus was banished from Halicarnassus for political reasons, it is probable that he was a man of some standing in his birth-place. The unquestioned fact that he travelled far makes it likely that he was well-to-do. But his history, full as it is to the brim of evidences of travel, is never (except in an occasional phrase, "I have myself seen," and the like) autobiographical; and we know nothing, from any actual statement of the historian's own, of the date of his various visits to the countries which he describes. Probably they were spread over a considerable part of his life. All that can be said is that he must have visited Egypt after 460 B.C., and may have been before that date in Scythia. Nothing else can be asserted; we only know that at some time or other Herodotus travelled not only in Greece and the Aegean, of which he obviously has personal knowledge, but also in a large part of what we call

¹ Suidas.
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the Near East. He saw with his own eyes much of Asia Minor; Egypt, as far south as Assuan; Cyrene and the country round it; Syria, and eastern lands perhaps as far as Mesopotamia; and the northern coast of the Black Sea. Within these limits, πολλῶν ἄνθρωπων ἴδεν ἀστεὰ καὶ νόον ἐγνώ. But as the dates of his travels are unknown, so is their intention. Did he travel to collect materials for his history, its scheme being already formed? or was that history the outcome of the traveller's experiences? We only know that Herodotus' wanderings and the nine books of his narrative are mutually interwoven.

His professed object is, as he states it in the first sentence of his first book, to write the history of the Graeco-Persian war. But in order to do this he must first describe the rise of the Persian empire, to which the chapters on Lydia and the story of Croesus are introductory. When he comes in due time to relate the Persian invasion of Egypt, this is the cue for a description and history of the Nile valley, occupying the whole of the second book; and the story of Darius' subsequent expedition against Scythia leads naturally to a long digression on the geography and customs of that country. The narrative in the later books, dealing with the actual Persian invasion of Greece, is naturally less broken; but till then at least it is interrupted by constant episodes and digressions, here a chapter, there a whole book; it is the historian's practice, as he himself says, to introduce προσθήκας, additions, whenever anything even
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remotely connected with the matter in hand occurs to him as likely to interest the reader. The net result is really a history of the Near East, and a good deal besides; a summary of popular knowledge or belief respecting recent events and the world as known more or less to the Greeks; which eventually, after branching out into countless digressions and divagations, centres in the crowning narrative of Marathon, Thermopylae, Salamis, Plataea. Tortuously, but never tediously, Herodotus' history moves to this goal. For all his discursiveness, he does not lack unity. "He is the first," it has been said, "to construct a long and elaborate narrative, in which many parts are combined in due subordination and arrangement to make one great whole."\(^1\)

That a narrative so comprehensive in its nature—dealing with so great a variety of subjects, and drawn from sources so miscellaneous—should contain much which cannot be regarded as serious history, is only to be expected. It is impossible to generalise; where popular belief and ascertained fact, hearsay and ocular evidence are blended, "the historical value of the matter found in Herodotus' work varies not merely from volume to volume, or from book to book, but from paragraph to paragraph, from sentence to sentence, from line to line. Every separate story, every individual statement is to be tried on its own merits."\(^2\) Many critics have not taken the trouble

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1 How and Wells' Commentary on Herodotus.
2 R. W. Macan, Herodotus IV-VI.
to exercise this discrimination; it was for a long time the fashion to dismiss the Father of History as a garrulous raconteur, hoping to deceive his readers as easily as he himself was deceived by his informants. This "parcel of lies" type of criticism may now, fortunately, be considered extinct. Modern research, which began by discrediting Herodotus, has with fuller knowledge come to far different conclusions. It should be now (says Dr. Macan) "universally recognised that the most stringent application of historical and critical methods to the text of Herodotus leaves the work irreremovably and irreplaceably at the head of European prose literature, whether in its scientific or in its artistic character." He has been blamed for a "garrulity" which gives currency to much which is alleged to be beneath the dignity of history. But most scholars must now agree that even from the historical standpoint the world would have lost much of infinite value had Herodotus been more reticent; his "garrulity" is often proved to point the way to right conclusions.

Obviously, the condition of human beliefs and opinions falls within the field of history. Where Herodotus plainly and demonstrably errs, he is often of supreme interest as indicating contemporary thought, which he not only summarises but criticises as well. His geography and his meteorology are representative of a stage of thought. He has not arrived at truth (naturally!) but he is consistent with a current opinion which is nearer to truth than earlier con-
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ceptions of the world. It is true that the sun's course is not affected, as Herodotus believes it to be, by the wind. It is also true that the Danube does not rise in the Pyrenees, and that the course of the upper Nile is not from west to east. But no one in his time knew better. He reflects and discusses contemporary opinion; he rejects earlier and more primitive ideas. It may be counted to him for righteousness that if he knows much less than Strabo, at least he knows a great deal more than Homer.

Always and everywhere, Herodotus gives us the best that is accessible to him; and it is one of his great merits as a historian that he does not give it uncritically. Scanty justice, till lately, has been done him in this matter; in reality, his manner of retailing what has been told him shows anything but credulity. Definite acceptance is much rarer than plain expressions of disbelief in what he has heard; "they say, but I do not believe it" is a very frequent introduction. This attitude is shown by the grammatical construction of the narrative—a construction which translation cannot always reproduce without awkwardness, and which is sometimes therefore overlooked altogether; the fact remains that much of the story is cast in the mould of reported speech, showing that the writer is not stating that so-and-so is a fact but only that it has been told him; and the oratio obliqua is maintained throughout the narrative.

1 But the Bahr al Ghazal, a large branch of the Nile, does flow approximately W. to E.; and he may have meant this.
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Herodotus deliberately professes that this is his method; ἐγὼ ὁφείλω λέγειν τὰ λεγόμενα, πιθοεύθεια γε μὴν παντάπασιν οὐκ ὁφείλω (Bk. vii.); τοιοῦτ' μὲν νων ὑπ' Διγυπτίων λεγομένους χράσθω δικαίω τὰ τοιαύτα πιθανά ἐστι ἐμὸι δὲ παρὰ πάντα τὸν λόγον ὑποκέιται ὅτι τὰ λεγόμενα ὑπ' ἐκάστων ἀκοῇ γράφω (ii. 123); "I know not what the truth may be, I tell the tale as 'twas told to me." In view of these plain statements, to attack Herodotus for foolish credulity is nothing less than disingenuous.

Some harm, moreover, has been done to Herodotus' reputation by the tendency of modern languages to alter the meaning of derived words. Herodotus repeats μῦθος. Now a μῦθος is simply a tale, with no implication of falsity; it may just as well be true as not. But when we say that Herodotus repeats myths, that is an altogether different matter; myth and mythical carry the implication of falsehood; and Herodotus is branded as a dupe or a liar, who cannot be taken seriously as an authority for anything.

Herodotus' reputation for untrustworthiness arises, in fact, from his professed method of giving a hearing to every opinion. This has been of great service to those who early and late have accused him of deliberate and perhaps interested falsification of historical fact. These attacks began with Plutarch; they have been more than once renewed in modern times by critics desirous of a name for originality and independence. None of them can be regarded as of any serious importance. They leave Herodotus' credit
untouched, for the simple reason that they are hardly ever based on solid evidence. Plutarch's treatise on Herodotus' "malignity" only establishes his own. Modern critics, who maintain that Herodotus' praise and blame is unjustly distributed, have seldom any witness to appeal to save the historian himself; and failing necessary support ab extra, they can only assert the a priori improbability that an historian who is inaccurate in one narrative should be accurate in another. It is quite possible that the heroes of the history were not so heroic and the villains not so villainous as the historian paints them; but we have no evidence as to the private life of Cyrus or Cambyses beyond what the historian himself has given us. Nor is there any justification for deprecating the services of Athens to Greece because the eulogist of Athens happened to believe that the Danube rises in the Pyrenees, and that the sun's course is affected by the wind.

It cannot be denied that Herodotus invites criticism. Plainly enough, a great deal of the evidence on which he relies must be more substantial than simple hearsay. He has undoubtedly learnt much from documents engraved or written. To take one instance, the long and detailed catalogue of the nations included in the Persian empire and the amounts of tribute paid by each must rest on some documentary authority. But he will not support his credit by producing his proofs—at least, he does so seldom; for the most part, his fontes are included
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under "what he has heard"; he may have seen this, he may have read that, but it is all set down as hearsay and no more. There could be no better way of opening the door to suspicious critics. Further, some of the qualities which constitute the charm of his narrative make him suspect to those who ask only from history that it should be a plain statement of what did actually happen. Herodotus is pre-eminently biographical; personal passion and desire is the guiding motive of events; they are attributed to individual action more than to the force of circumstance. Debatable situations are described in terms of an actual debate between named champions of this or that policy,—as in Euripides, nay, as even in the comparatively matter-of-fact narrative of Thucydides. Nor is it only the human individual will which decides; it is the super-human above all. The fortunes of individuals and communities are presented to us as they appear to a Greek who sees in human life "a sphere for the realisation of Divine Judgments."¹ To ὅτε is always working; whether as "Nemesis" to balance good and evil fortune, and correct overweening pride and excessive prosperity by corresponding calamity, or as eternal justice to punish actual wrongdoing. Such beliefs, common to all ages, find especial prominence in the history of Herodotus, as they do in Greek tragedy. The stories of Croesus, Polycrates, Cambyses, the fall of Troy—all are illustrations of a

¹ Macan, op. cit.
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divine ordering of human affairs; indeed the central subject of the story—the débâcle of the vast Persian expedition against Hellas—exemplifies the maxim that 'βρις ει πολλῶν ὑπερπληθύ μάταν | ἀκρότατων εἰσαναβᾶσ' | ἀπότομων ἀρουσεν εἰς ἀνάγκαν. History thus written is a means to moral edification; and Herodotus may not be above the suspicion of twisting the record of events so as to inculcate a moral lesson. Such predispositions make history more dramatic and more interesting; but those may be excused who hold that they militate against strict accuracy.

The dialect in which Herodotus writes is Ionic, the oldest literary dialect of Greece; but he also makes use of many words and forms which are commonly associated with the literature of Attica. When therefore Dionysius of Halicarnassus calls him ὅς Ἰάδος ἀριστος κανών, this must refer rather to his pre-eminence as an Ionian stylist than to the "purity" of his dialect; which in fact is rightly described as μεμιγμένη and ποικίλη. Perhaps Herodotus' language was affected by his residence at Athens. But Ionic and "Old Attic" appear to have been so nearly akin that it is difficult to draw a clear line of division between them. From whatever sources drawn, his diction is pervaded by an indefinable but unmistakably archaic quality which constitutes not the least of a translator's difficulties.

1 Sophocles, Oedipus Tyrannus, 874-7.
2 Hermogenes, ἐπὶ ἱδεῶν

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Among comparatively recent books the following will be of especial value to the reader of Herodotus: J. W. Blakesley's edition (text and notes); H. Stein (text and German notes); G. Rawlinson's History of Herodotus (translation, notes, and copious appendix); R. W. Macan's Herodotus IV–VI and VII–IX (text and notes); W. W. How and J. Wells' Commentary on Herodotus (notes and appendix); Hude's Clarendon Press edition (text and apparatus criticus); Grote's and Bury's Histories of Greece.

The text of Herodotus rests mainly on the authority of nine MSS., of which a "Laurentianus" and a "Romanus" of the tenth and eleventh centuries respectively are considered the best. The merits of all the nine MSS. and the problems which they present to an editor are fully discussed in Hude's preface to the Clarendon Press edition. The text which I have followed is that of Stein; in the few passages of any importance where I have thought fit to follow any other authority, the fact is noted. In the spelling of names I have not attempted to be consistent. I use the familiar transliteration of ξ and ω, and write "Croesus" and "Cyrus," not "Kroisos" and "Kuros," only retaining terminations in ω where they are familiar and traditional. Where place-names have a well-known English form, not widely different from the Greek, I have kept to that; for instance, "Athens" and "Thebes," not
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"Athenae" and "Thebae"; but I write "Carchedon" and "Taras," not "Carthage" and "Tarentum." This is (I trust) a reasonable, though undeniably inconsistent, method. The scheme of the present series does not contemplate a commentary; only the briefest notes, therefore, have been added to this translation, and only where the "general reader" may be supposed to stand in urgent need of a word of explanation.
INTRODUCTION TO BOOKS I AND II

It was by their conquest of Lydia that the Persians were first brought into contact with the Greeks. Hence it is necessary to Herodotus' plan to trace the history of the line of Lydian kings which ended with Croesus; this, with many attendant digressions, occupies chapters 1-44 of Book I. On the same principle, the history of the Medes and Persians, and the early life of Cyrus himself, must be narrated (ch. 45-140). Then follows the story of Cyrus' dealings with the Greeks of Asia Minor (ch. 140-177). The rest of the book is concerned with the wars of Cyrus against the Assyrians and the Massagetae; a descriptive digression on Babylonian civilisation naturally forms a part of this section.

Cyrus, killed in battle by the Massagetae, was succeeded by his son Cambyses; and Cambyses, soon after the beginning of his reign, resolved to attack Egypt. This resolve gives the cue for Herodotus' memorable digression on the history and customs of that country.

The second book falls into two parts. The first
is the portrayal of the Nile valley and its inhabitants (ch. 1-98); the second gives a history of the Egyptian kings. The whole book—a strange medley of description and conjecture, history and fable—has, in so far as it is descriptive of present things, the supreme merit of a collection of pictures drawn by an eyewitness. Herodotus' travels seem to have been mostly in Lower Egypt. But he knows also the upper valley of the Nile, and apparently has travelled as far as Assuan; his record, apart from the charm of the narrative, has an enduring interest as the earliest and for many centuries the only literary source of our knowledge of the country.

But a clear distinction must be drawn between the descriptive and the historical chapters.

It is not likely that Herodotus is inaccurate in describing what he has seen. But, for his Egyptian chronicles, he has had to rely on what was told him, certainly through the medium of interpreters and probably in many cases by informants whose own knowledge was limited and inexact. Here, as usual, he safeguards himself against the charge of uncritical credulity by showing that he repeats the tale as told to him without guaranteeing its truth. It is very clear, however, that the impressions of history given to him are exceedingly misleading, at least for the long period before the twenty-sixth or Saite dynasty. His chronicle is full of errors of nomenclature and chronological sequence, and is made to cover far too long a period of time. Our knowledge of the early
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The rulers of Egypt rests, firstly, on evidence supplied by Egyptian monuments; secondly, on what remains to us (though in an epitomised and imperfect form) of the chronicle of Manetho, an Egyptian priest who in the third century B.C. compiled a list of the kings of his country. Herodotus is repeatedly at variance with both these sources of information. In a brief introduction it is impossible to multiply proofs, or even to summarise the difficulties which beset students of these abstruse matters; it is enough to remember that "for Egyptian history in the strict sense chapters 99 to 146 are valueless." ¹ These deal with the dynasties preceding 663 B.C., and covering in fact some 2700 years. Herodotus gives them a far longer duration; apparently he was shown a list of Egyptian rulers, and calculated the united lengths of their reigns by assuming one generation, or thirty years, for each king. So rough-and-ready a method of calculation could lead to no true conclusion; and it is wholly invalidated by the undoubted fact that many of the reigns named in the list were contemporaneous.

¹ How and Wells, op. cit.; the reader is referred to their Commentary for a discussion of these matters.
1. Ηροδότου Ἀλικαρνησσέως ἱστορίης ἀπὸ ἔξι ἔτει, όσα μῆτε τὰ γενόμενα ἐξ ἀνθρώπων τοῦ χρόνου ἐξήγητα γένηται, μῆτε ἔργα μεγάλα τε καὶ θωμαστά, τὰ μὲν Ἔλλησι τὰ δὲ Βαρβάροις ἀποδεχθέντα, ἀκλεᾶ γένηται, τα τε ἄλλα καὶ δι’ ἥν αἰτίην ἐπολέμησαν ἄλληλοις.

Περσέων μὲν νῦν οἱ λόγοι Φοίνικας αἰτίους φασὶ γενέσθαι τῆς διαφορᾶς. τούτους γὰρ ἀπὸ τῆς Ἐρυθρῆς καλεμένης θαλάσσης ἀπικομένους ἐπὶ τῆν τῆς θάλασσα, καὶ οἰκήσαντας τοῦτον τὸν χώρον τὸν καὶ νῦν οἰκέουσι, αὐτικὰ ναυτιλίας μακράς ἐπιβιβάζεται, ἀπαγνώστως δὲ φορτία Λιγυπτία τε καὶ Ἀσσύρια τῇ τε ἄλλῃ ἐσαπικνεσθαι καὶ δὴ καὶ ἐς Ἀργος. τὸ δὲ Ἀργος τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον προείχε ἀπασὶ τῶν ἐν τῇ νῦν Ἔλλαδι καλεμένης χώρῃ. ἀπικομένους δὲ τοὺς Φοίνικας ἐς δὴ τὸ Ἀργος τοῦτο διατίθεσθαι τὸν φόρτον. πέμπτη δὲ ἡ ἐκτη ἡμέρη ἀπὸ ἡς ἀπίκουντο, ἐξευπολημένων σφι σχεδὸν πάντων, ἐλθὼν ἐπὶ τὴν θάλασσαν γυναῖκας ἄλλας τε πολλὰς καὶ δὴ καὶ τοῦ βασιλέως βυγατέρα τὸ δὲ οἱ οὖνομα εἶναι, κατὰ τῶν τὸ καὶ Ἔλληνες λέγουσι, Ἰοὺν τὴν
HERODOTUS

BOOK I

1. What Herodotus the Halicarnassian has learnt by inquiry is here set forth: in order that so the memory of the past may not be blotted out from among men by time, and that great and marvellous deeds done by Greeks and foreigners and especially the reason why they warred against each other may not lack renown.

The Persian learned men say that the Phoenicians were the cause of the feud. These (they say) came to our seas from the sea which is called Red,1 and having settled in the country which they still occupy, at once began to make long voyages. Among other places to which they carried Egyptian and Assyrian merchandise, they came to Argos, which was about that time preeminent in every way among the people of what is now called Hellas. The Phoenicians then came, as I say, to Argos, and set out their cargo. On the fifth or sixth day from their coming, their wares being now well-nigh all sold, there came to the sea shore among many other women the king's daughter, whose name (according to Persians and Greeks alike) was Io, the daughter of Inachus. They

1 Not the modern Red Sea, but the Persian Gulf and adjacent waters.
'Ινάχου ταύτας στάσας κατὰ πρώμην τῆς νεοῦ, ὕμνεσθαι τῶν φορτίων τῶν σφι ἦν θυμὸς μάλιστα· καὶ τοὺς Φοινίκας διακελευσάμενοι ὀρμήσαι ἐπὶ αὐτάς. τὰς μὲν δὴ πλεύνας τῶν γυναικῶν ἀποφυγεῖν, τὴν δὲ Ἰούν σὺν Ἀλλησὶ ἄρπασθήναι, ἐσβαλομένους δὲ ἐς τὴν νεά οἴχεσθαι ἀποπλέοντας ἐπὶ Αἰγύπτου.

2. Οὕτω μὲν Ἰούν ἐς Αἰγύπτου ἄπικεσθαι λέγουσι Πέρσαι, οὐκ ὡς Ἄρρηνες, καὶ τῶν ἀδικημάτων πρῶτον τούτο ἀρξαί. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Ἑλλήνων τινὰς (οὐ γὰρ ἔχουσι τούνομα ἀπηγήσασθαι) φασὶ τῆς Φοινίκης ἐς Τύρον προσχόντας ἄρπάσαι τοῦ βασιλείου τῆς θυγατέρας Εὐρώπης. εἰςαν δὲ ἀν οὗτοι Κρήτες, ταῦτα μὲν δὴ ἵσα πρὸς ἵσα σφι γενέσθαι, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Ἑλλήνας αἰτίους τῆς δευτέρης ἁδικίας γενέσθαι: καταπλώσαντας γὰρ μακρὴ ἦλ ἐς Λιαν τῆι τῆι Κολχίδα καὶ ἐπὶ Φάσιν ποταμὸν, ἐνδεύτε, διαπρηξάμενους καὶ τάλλα τῶν εἶνεκεν ἀπίκατο, ἄρπάσαι τοῦ βασιλείου τῆς θυγατέρας Μηδεινῆς. πέμψαντα δὲ τῶν Κολχῶν βασιλεὰ ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα κήρυκα αἴτειν τε δίκας τῆς ἄρπαγῆς καὶ ἀπαίτειν τῆν θυγατέρα. τοὺς δὲ ὑποκρίνασθαι ὡς οὐδὲ εἴκειν Ἰοὺς τῆς Ἀργείας ἐδοσάν σφι δίκας τῆς ἄρπαγῆς: οὐδὲ ὅν αὐτοὶ δώσειν ἐκεῖνοι.

3. Δευτέρη δὲ λέγουσι γενέθ ἐπὶ ταῦτα Ἀλέξανδρον τὸν Πριάμου, ἀκυκοῦτα ταῦτα, ἐθελήσαι οἶ ἐκ τῆς Ἑλλάδος δὲ ἄρπαγῆς γενέσθαι γυναίκα, ἐπιστάμενον πάντως ὅτι οὐ δὼσει δίκας: οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐκεῖνος διδόναι. οὕτω δὲ ἄρπασαντος αὐτοῦ Ἐλένην, τοῖς Ἑλληνὶ δύο ἀρραβώνων των περιβόλων της Κυκλάδος.
stood about the stern of the ship; and while they bargained for such wares as they fancied, the Phoenicians heartened each other to the deed, and rushed to take them. Most of the women escaped: Io with others was carried off; the men cast her into the ship and made sail away for Egypt.

2. This, say the Persians (but not the Greeks), was how Io came to Egypt, and this, according to them, was the first wrong that was done. Next, according to their tale, certain Greeks (they cannot tell who) landed at Tyre in Phoenice and carried off the king’s daughter Europe. These Greeks must, I suppose, have been Cretans. So far, then, the account between them stood balanced. But after this (say they) it was the Greeks who were guilty of the second wrong. They sailed in a long ship to Aea of the Colchians and the river Phasis\(^1\); and when they had done the rest of the business for which they came, they carried off the king’s daughter Medea. When the Colchian king sent a herald to demand reparation for the robbery, and restitution of his daughter, the Greeks replied that as they had been refused reparation for the abduction of the Argive Io, neither would they make any to the Colchians.

3. Then (so the story runs) in the second generation after this Alexandrus son of Priam, having heard this tale, was minded to win himself a wife out of Hellas by ravishment; for he was well persuaded that, as the Greeks had made no reparation, so neither would he. So he carried off Helen. The Greeks first resolved to send messengers demanding

\(^1\) This is the legendary cruise of the Argonauts.
τὸν πέμψαντας ἀγγέλους ἀπαίτειν τε Ἑλένης καὶ δίκας τῆς ἁρπαγής αὐτέως, τοὺς δὲ, προϊσχομένους ταῦτα, προφέρειν φιλὶ Μηδείης τῷ ἁρπαγῷ, ὅσον οὐ δόντες αὐτὸι δίκας οὐδὲ ἐκδόντες ἀπαίτεοντων βουλοίατο φιλὶ παρ’ ἄλλων δίκας γίνεσθαι.

4. Μέχρι μὲν ὁν τοῦτον ἁρπαγὰς μοῦνας εἶναι παρ’ ἀλλήλων, τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦτον Ἑλληνας ὁ μεγάλως αὐτίους γενέσθαι προτέρους γὰρ ἀρξαί στρατευεσθαι ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην ἡ σφέας ἐς τὴν Ἑυρώπην, τὸ μὲν νῦν ἁρπαζέων γυναικῶν ἀνδρῶν ὑδίκων νομίζειν ἐργον εἶναι, τὸ δὲ ἁρπασθεισέων σφοδρὴν ποιήσασθαι τιμωρεῖν ἀνισίωτων, τὸ δὲ μηδεμίαν ὥρην ἕχειν ἁρπασθεισέων σφοδρῶν δὴλα γὰρ ὅτι, ἐὰν μὴ αὐταὶ ἐβουλοῦντο, οὐκ ἄν ἦπαξοντο. σφέας μὲν δὴ τοὺς ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίης λέγοντι Πέρσαι ἁρπαζομενέων τῶν γυναικῶν λόγου οὐδένα ποιήσασθαι, Ἑλληνας δὲ Δακεδαίμονίς εἶνεκεν γυναικῶς στόλον μέγαν συναγείραι καὶ ἐπειτα ἐλθοῦτας ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην τὴν Πρίαμον δύναμιν κατελεῖν. ἀπὸ τοῦτον αἰεὶ ἠγήσασθαι τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν σφίσι εἶναι πολέμουν, τὴν γὰρ Ἀσίην καὶ τὰ ἐνοικίωντα ἀθναὶ βάρβαραι1 οἰκημέναι οἱ Πέρσαι, τὴν δὲ Ἑυρώπην καὶ τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν ἠγησθῆναι κεχωρίσθαι.

5. Ὅστω μὲν Πέρσαι λέγοντος γενέσθαι, καὶ διὰ τὴν Ἰλίου ἀλωσιν εὐρίσκουσι σφίσι ἐστὶν τὴν ἁρχὴν τῆς ἐχθρίης τῆς ἐς τοὺς Ἑλλήνας. περὶ δὲ τῆς Ἰλίου οὐκ ὁμολογεῖσι Πέρσῃς ὀστὸς Φοινικῆς οὐ γὰρ ἅρπαγῆς σφέας χρησαμένους λέγουσι ἀγαγείν αὐτὴν ἐς Αἰγυπτον, ἀλλ’ ὃς ἐν τῷ

1 Ἰθέα [βάρβαρα] Stein.
that Helen should be restored and atonement made for the rape; but when this proposal was made, the Trojans pleaded the rape of Medea, and reminded the Greeks that they asked reparation of others, yet had made none themselves, nor given up the plunder at request.

4. Thus far it was a matter of mere robbery on both sides. But after this (the Persians say) the Greeks were greatly to blame; for they invaded Asia before the Persians attacked Europe. "We think," say they, "that it is wrong to carry women off: but to be zealous to avenge the rape is foolish: wise men take no account of such things: for plainly the women would never have been carried away, had not they themselves wished it. We of Asia regarded the rape of our women not at all; but the Greeks, all for the sake of a Lacedaemonian woman, mustered a great host, came to Asia, and destroyed the power of Priam. Ever since then we have regarded Greeks as our enemies." The Persians claim Asia for their own, and the foreign nations that dwell in it; Europe and the Greek race they hold to be separate from them.

5. Such is the Persian account of the matter: in their opinion, it was the taking of Troy which began their feud with the Greeks. But the Phoenicians do not tell the same story about Io as the Persians. They say that they did not carry her off to Egypt by force: she had intercourse in Argos with the captain
Αργείει ἐμίσγετο τῷ ναυκλήψῳ τῆς νεός· ἐπελὶ δ’ ἐμαθεὶ ἐγκυνος ἐσώσα, αἰδεομένη τοὺς τοκεάς οὕτω δὴ ἐθέλουτήν αὐτήν τοῦσι Φοίνιξι συνεκπλῶσαι, ὡς ἂν μὴ κατάδηλος γένηται.

Ταῦτα μέν νυν Πέρσαι τε καὶ Φοίνικες λέγοντες· ἐγὼ δὲ περὶ μέν τούτων οὐκ ἑρχομαι ἐρέων ὡς οὔτω η ἄλλως κως ταῦτα ἐγένετο, τὸν δὲ οἴδα αὐτὸς πρῶτον ὑπάρξαντα ἀδίκων ἔργων ἐσ τοὺς "Ελλήνας, τούτων σημῆνας προβήσομαι ἐς τὸ πρόσω τοῦ λόγου, ὁμοίως σμικρὰ καὶ μεγάλα ἀστεὰ ἀνθρώπων ἐπεξών. τὰ γὰρ τὸ πάλαι μεγάλα ἦν, τὰ πολλὰ σμικρὰ αὐτῶν γέγονε· τὰ δὲ ἐπὶ ἐμεθ ἦν μεγάλα, πρότερον ἦν σμικρά. τὴν ἀνθρωπῆν ὑπὸ ἑπιστάμενον εὐδαιμονίην ὑδαμά ἐν τῶντὶ μένουσαν, ἐπιμνῆσομαι ἀμφοτέρων ὁμοίως.

6. Κροῖσος ἦν Δυσὶς μὲν γένος, παῖς δὲ Ἀλυ-άττεως, τύραννος δὲ ὑβνέων τῶν ἑντὸς Ἀλυς ποταμοῦ, δς ρέον ἀπὸ μεσαμβρῆς μεταξὺ Συρίων τε καὶ Παφλαγῶν ἔζηει πρὸς βορέων ἀνεμοῦ ἐς τὸν Εὔξεινον καλομένον πόντων. οὕτω δ’ Κροῖσος βαρβάρων πρῶτος τῶν ἧμεις ἰδομεν τοὺς μὲν κατεστρέφατο Ἕλλήνων ἐς φόρου ἀπαγωγήν, τοὺς δὲ φίλους προσεποιήσατο. καταστρέψατο μὲν Ἰωνᾶς τε καὶ Αλολέας καὶ Δωριέας τοὺς ἐν τῇ Ἀσίῃ, φίλους δὲ προσεποιήσατο Λακεδαι-μονίους. πρὸ δὲ τῆς Κροῖσου ἄρχης πάντες Ἕλληνες ἤσαν ἐλεύθεροι· τὸ γὰρ Κιμμέριων στράτευμα τὸ ἐπὶ τὴν Ἰωνίην ἀπικόμενον Κροῖσον ἐὼν πρεσβύτερον οὐ καταστροφὴ ἐγένετο τῶν πολιῶν ἂλλ᾽ ἐξ ἐπιδρομῆς ἁρπαγῆ.

7. Ἡ δὲ ὑγεμονίη οὗτω πριῆλθε, ἐςοῦσα Ἡρα-
of the ship; then, perceiving herself to be with child, she was ashamed that her parents should know it, and so, lest they should discover her condition, she sailed away with the Phoenicians of her own accord.

These are the stories of the Persians and the Phoenicians. For my own part, I will not say that this or that story is true, but I will name him whom I myself know to have done unprovoked wrong to the Greeks, and so go forward with my history, and speak of small and great cities alike. For many states that were once great have now become small; and those that were great in my time were small formerly. Knowing therefore that human prosperity never continues in one stay, I will make mention alike of both kinds.

6. Croesus was by birth a Lydian, son of Alyattes, and monarch of all the nations west of the river Halys, which flows from the south between Syria and Paphlagonia, and issues northward into the sea called Euxinus. This Croesus was as far as we know the first foreigner who subdued Greeks and took tribute of them, and won the friendship of others,—the former being the Ionians, the Aeolians, and the Dorians of Asia, and the latter the Lacedaemonians. Before the reign of Croesus all Greeks were free: for the Cimmerian host which invaded Ionia before his time did not subdue the cities but rather raided and robbed them.

7. Now the sovereign power, which belonged to...
κλειδεών, ἐς τὸ γένος τὸ Κροίσου, καλεομένου δὲ Μερμυνάδος. ἦν Κανδαύλης, τὸν οἱ Ἑλληνες Μυρσίλον ὄνωμάζουσι, τῦραννος Σαρδίων, ἀπόγονος δὲ Ἀλκαίου τοῦ Ἡρακλέους. Ἀγρων μὲν γάρ ὁ Νίυος τοῦ Βῆλου τοῦ Ἀλκαίου πρῶτος Ἡρακλειδεῶν βασιλεύς ἐγένετο Σαρδίων, Κανδαύλης δὲ ὁ Μύρσος ὑστατος. οἱ δὲ πρότερον Ἀγρωνος βασιλεύσαντες ταύτης τῆς χώρης ἦσαν ἀπόγονοι Λυδοῦ τοῦ Ἀτωνος, ἀπ' ὅτεν ὁ δήμος Λύδιος ἐκλίθη ὁ πᾶς οὗτος, πρότερον Μηίων καλεόμενος. παρὰ τούτων Ἡρακλείδαι ἐπιτραφθέντες ἐσχόν τὴν ἀρχήν ἐκ θεσπροπίου, ἐκ δούλης τε τῆς Ιαρδάνου γεγονότες καὶ Ἡρακλέος, ἀρξαντες μὲν ἐπὶ δύο τε καὶ εἴκοσι γενεάς ἀνδρῶν ἔτεα πέντε τε καὶ πεντακόσια, παῖς παρὰ πατρὸς ἐκδεκόμενος τὴν ἀρχήν, μέχρι Κανδαύλεω τοῦ Μύρσου.

8. Οὗτος δὴ ὁ Κανδαύλης ἦρασθη τῆς ἐωντοῦ γυναικός, ἐρασθεὶς δὲ ἐνόμιζε οἱ εἶναι γυναῖκα πολλῶν πατέων καλλίστην. ὥστε δὲ ταῦτα νομίζων, ἦν γάρ οἱ τῶν αἰχμοφόρων Γύγης ὁ Δασκύλου ἀρεσκομένοις μάλιστα, τούτοι τῷ Γύγη καὶ τὰ σπουδαιότερα τῶν πρηγμάτων ὑπερετῆδετο ὁ Κανδαύλης καὶ δὴ καὶ τὸ εἴδος τῆς γυναικὸς ὑπερεπαίνεους. χρόνου δὲ οὐ πολλοῦ διελθόντος (χρῆν γὰρ Κανδαύλη γενέσθαι κακῶς) ἔλεγε πρὸς τὸν Γύγην τοιάδε. "Γύγη, οὐ γὰρ σε δοκεώ πείθεσθαι μοι λέγοντι περὶ τοῦ εἴδος τῆς γυναικὸς (ὅτα γὰρ τυγχάνει ἀνθρώποις ἐόντα ἀπιστότερα ὀφθαλμῶν), ποίει ὅκως ἐκεῖνην θεῆσαι γυμνῆν. " δὲ ἁμβώσας εἶπε "δέσποτα, τίνα λέγεις λόγον οὐκ ὑγιέα, κελεύων με δέσποι-
the descendants of Heracles,¹ fell to the family of Croesus—the Mermnadae as they were called—in the following way. Candaules, whom the Greeks call Myrsilus, was the ruler of Sardis; he was descended from Alcaeus, son of Heracles; Agron, son of Ninus, son of Belus, son of Alcaeus, was the first Heraclid king of Sardis, and Candaules, son of Myrsus, was the last. The kings of this country before Agron were descendants of Lydus, son of Atys, from whom all this Lydian district took its name; before that it was called the land of the Meii. From these the Heraclidæ, descendants of Heracles ¹ and a female slave of Iardanus, received the sovereignty and held it in charge, by reason of an oracle; and they ruled for two and twenty generations, or 505 years, son succeeding father, down to Candaules, son of Myrsus.

8. This Candaules, then, fell in love with his own wife, so much that he supposed her to be by far the fairest woman in the world; and being persuaded of this, he raved of her beauty to Gyges, son of Daseylus, who was his favourite among his bodyguard; for it was to Gyges that he entrusted all his weightiest secrets. Then after a little while Candaules, being doomed to ill-fortune, spoke thus to Gyges: "I think, Gyges, that you do not believe what I tell you of the beauty of my wife; men trust their ears less than their eyes; do you, then, so contrive that you may see her naked." Gyges exclaimed loudly at this. "Master," said he, "what a pestilent command is this that you lay upon me! that I should see her who

¹ Descendants of Heracles seems to mean descended from the Asiatic sungod Identified with Heracles by the Greeks.
ναν τὴν ἐμὴν θεσσαθαί γυμνὴν; ἀμα δὲ κεδυον ἐκδυομένῳ συνεκάυται καὶ τὴν αἰδῶ γυνήν. πάλαι δὲ τὰ καλὰ ἀνθρώποις ἔξευρηται, ἐκ τῶν μανθάνων δει: ἐν τοιῷ δὲ τὸς ἦστε, σκοπεῖς τιμὰς τὰ ἐνυτοῦ. ἐγὼ δὲ πείδομαι ἐκείνην εἶναι πασέων γυμνικῶν καλλίστην, καὶ σεό δεόμαι μὴ δεδεθαί ἄνομων."

9. "Ο μὲν δὴ λέγων τοιαῦτα ἀπεμάχετο, ἀρρωδέων μή τί οἱ εξ αὐτῶν γένηται κακόν, δ' ἀμεῖ-βετο τοῖσιδε. "θάρσε, Γύγη, καὶ μη φοβεῖς μήτε ἐμὲ, ὥς σέο πειραμενός 1 λέγω λόγον τόνδε, μήτε γυναίκα τὴν ἐμὴν, μὴ τί τοι εξ αὐτῆς γένηται βλάβος. ἀρχὴν γὰρ ἐγὼ μηχανήσομαι οὕτω ὀστῶ μηδὲ μαθέων μιν ὀφθεὶσαν ὑπὸ σεῦ. ἐγὼ γὰρ σὲ ἐς τὸ δίκημα ἐν τῷ κοιμώμεθα ὁπίσθε τῆς ἀνοιγμῆνης θύρης στήσω. μετὰ δ' ἐμὲ ἐσελθόντα παρέσται καὶ ἡ γυνὴ ἡ ἐμὴ ἐς κοίτων. κεῖται δὲ ἀγχοῦ τῆς ἐσόδον θρόνον· ἐπὶ τούτων τῶν ἰματίων κατὰ ἐν ἐκαστὸν ἐκδύουσα θήσει, καὶ κατ' ἡσυχίαν πολλὴν παρέξει τοις θεσσαθάι, ἐπεάν δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ θρόνου στείχῃ ἐπὶ τὴν ἐυνήν κατὰ νότον τε αὐτῆς γεννη, σοι μελέτω τὸ ἐνδεύτειν ὅκως μὴ σε ὅψεται ἰοντα διὰ θυρέων."

10. "Ο μὲν δὴ ὁς οὐκ ἑσύνατο διαφυγεῖ. ἢν ἔτοιμος' ὦ δὲ Κανδαύλης, ἐπεὶ ἐδόκεε ὧρη τῆς κοίτης εἶναι, ἤγαγε τὸν Γύγεα ἐς τὸ δίκημα, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα αὐτίκα παρήν καὶ ἡ γυνή, ἐσελθοῦσαν δὲ καὶ τιθείαν τὰ ἐιματα ἐθηετο ὁ Γύγης. ὡς δὲ κατὰ νότον ἐγένετο ἰούσης τῆς γυμνικῆς ἐς τὴν κοίτην, ὑπεκύουσε ἑχώρες ἐξω, καὶ τῇ γυνῇ ἐπορᾶ μὴν ἐξιόντα. μαθοῦσα δὲ τὸ ποιηθέν ἐκ τοῦ

1 πειραμενὸς Stein.
is my mistress naked! with the stripping off of her tunic a woman is stripped of the honour due to her. Men have long ago made wise rules for our learning; one of these is, that we, and none other, should see what is our own. As for me, I fully believe that your queen is the fairest of all women; ask not lawless acts of me, I entreat you.”

9. Thus speaking Gyges sought to turn the king’s purpose, for he feared lest some ill to himself should come of it: but this was Candaules’ answer: “Take courage, Gyges: fear not that I say this to put you to the proof, nor that my wife will do you any harm. I will so contrive the whole business that she shall never know that you have seen her. I will bring you into the chamber where she and I lie and set you behind the open door; and after I have entered, my wife too will come to her bed. There is a chair set near the entrance of the room: on this she will lay each part of her raiment as she takes it off, and you will be able to gaze upon her at your leisure. Then, when she goes from the chair to the bed, turning her back upon you, do you look to it that she does not see you going out through the doorway.”

10. As Gyges could not escape, he consented. Candaules, when he judged it to be bed time, brought Gyges into the chamber, his wife presently followed, and when she had come in and was laying aside her garments Gyges beheld her; and when she turned her back upon him, going to her bed, he slipped privily from the room. The woman saw him as he passed out, and perceived what her husband had done. But shamed though she was she never cried
HERODOTUS

άνδρος ούτε ἀνέβωσε αἰσχυνθείσα ούτε ἐδόξε μαθεῖν, ἐν νῷ ἔχοσα τίς εἰσῆκαί τοῖν Κανδαύλεα. παρὰ γὰρ τοῖς Λυδοῖσι, σχέδον δὲ καὶ παρὰ τοῖς ἄλλοισι βαρβάροισι καὶ ἄνδρα ὀφθήναι γυμνὸν ἐς αἰσχύνην μεγάλην φέρει.

11. Τότε μὲν ὁ δὲ οὔτω οὔδεν δηλῶσασα ἰσυχίην εἶχεν· ὡς δὲ ἡμέρη τάχιστα ἐγεύοντα, τῶν οἰκετέων τοὺς μάλιστα ὡρα πιστοὺς ἔοντας ἐωτῆ, ἐτοίμους ποιησάμενη ἐκάλεε τοὺν Γύγεα. δὲ οὔδεν δοκέων αὐτὴν τῶν πρηγμέντων ἐπίστασθαι ἥλθε καλέωμεν. ἐσύβετε γὰρ καὶ πρόσθε, ὅκως ἡ βασίλεια καλέοι, φοιτάν. ὡς δὲ ὁ Γύγης ἀπίκετο, ἔλεγεν ἡ γυμνή τάδε. "ὡν τοῖς διόντοις ὀδοῖς παρεουσέων Γύγη δίδομι αἴρεσιν, ὡκότερνι βούλεαι τραπέζαι. ὡς δὲ Κανδαύλεα ἁποκτείνας ἐμέ τε καὶ τὴν βασιλείαν ἔχε τὴν Λυδῶν, ἡ αὐτὸν σε αὐτίκα οὕτω ἀποθνήσκειν δεῖ, ὡς ἂν μη πάντα πειθόμενος Κανδαύλη τοῦ λοιποῦ ἰδῆς τὰ μή σε δεῖ. ἀλλὰ ἦτοι κέινον γε τὸν ταύτα βουλεύουσαντα δεῖ ἀπόλλυσθαι, ἡ σὲ τὸν ἐμὲ γυμνὴν θεσαμένον καὶ ποιησάντα αὐτὰ νομίζομεν."

ο δὲ Γύγης τέως μὲν ἀπεθώραξε τὰ λεγόμενα, μετὰ δὲ ἵκετες μὴ μιὰν ἀναγκαία ἐνδέειν διακρίναι τοιαύτην αἴρεσιν, οὐκ οὖν ἢ ἐπείθε, ἀλλ' ὡρα ἀναγκαίην ἀληθεῶς προκειμένην ἢ τὸν δεσπότηα ἀπολλυσαι ἢ αὐτὸν ὑπὸ ἄλλων ἀπόλλυσθαι αἰρέται αὐτὸς περιέχειν, ἐπειρώτα ὁ δὲ λέγων τάδε. "ἐπεί μὲ ἀναγκάζεις δεσπότεαι τὸν ἐμὸν κτείνειν οὐκ ἔθελοντα, φέρε ἀκοῦσω τέω καὶ τρόπω ἐπιχειρήσομεν αὐτῷ." ἦ δὲ ὑπολαβόσα ἐφη "ἐκ τοῦ αὐτοῦ μὲν χωρίου ἡ ὁμή ἐσται οἴθεν περ καὶ ἐκεῖνος ἐμὲ ἐπεδέξατο γύμνην, ὑπνωμένῳ δὲ ἡ ἐπιχειρήσεις ἐσται."
out nor let it be seen that she had perceived aught, for she had it in mind to punish Candaules; seeing that among the Lydians and most of the foreign peoples it is held great shame that even a man should be seen naked.

11. For the nonce she made no sign and held her peace. But as soon as it was day, she assured herself of those of her household whom she perceived to be most faithful to her, and called Gyges: who, supposing that she knew nothing of what had been done, came at call; for he had always been wont to attend the queen whenever she bade him. So when he came, the lady thus addressed him: "Now, Gyges, you have two roads before you; choose which you will follow. You must either kill Candaules and take me for your own and the throne of Lydia, or yourself be killed now without more ado; that will prevent you from obeying all Candaules' commands in the future and seeing what you should not see. One of you must die: either he, the contriver of this plot, or you, who have outraged all usage by looking on me unclad." At this Gyges stood awhile astonished: presently he entreated her not to compel him to such a choice; but when he could not move her, and saw that dire necessity was in very truth upon him either to kill his master or himself be killed by others, he chose his own life. Then he asked the queen to tell him, since she forced him against his will to slay his master, how they were to attack the king: and she replied, "You shall come at him from the same place whence he made you see me naked; attack him in his sleep."
12. Ὡς δὲ ἠρτυσαν τὴν ἐπιβουλῆν, νυκτὸς γενομένης (οὐ γὰρ ἐμετίτεο ὁ Γύγης, οὐδὲ οἱ ἢν ἀπαλλαγῆς οὐδὲμία, ἀλλ’ ἐδε ἐτυχεν ἂν τῶν ἄλλων τῇ γυναικί, καὶ μιν ἐκείνη, ἐγχειρίδιον δοῦσα, κατακρύπτει ὑπὸ τὴν αὐτὴν θύρην. καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἀναπαυόμενον Κανδαύλεω ὑπεκείσας τε καὶ ἀποκτείνας αὐτὸν ἔσχε καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα καὶ τὴν βασιλην Γύγης τοῦ καὶ Ἀρχίλοχος ο Πάριος κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον γενόμενον ἐν ἰάμβη φιλίμετρῳ ἐπεμνήσθη. 1

13. Ἐσχε δὲ τὴν βασιλην καὶ ἐκρατύνθη ἐκ τοῦ ἐν Δελφοῖς χρηστηρίου. ὡς γὰρ δὴ οἱ Λυδοὶ δεινῶν ἐποιεύτο τὸ Κανδαύλεω πάθος καὶ ἐν ὀπλοῖς ἦσαν, συνεβηκέν τε τῷ πόλει ταῦτα καὶ οἱ λυκοὶ Λυδοὶ, ἡ μὲν τὸ χρηστηρίου ἀνέλχα μιν βασιλέα εἰναὶ Λυδῶν, τὸν δὲ βασιλεύειν, ἦν δὲ μῆ, ἀποδοῦναι ὁπίσω ἐς Ἦρακλείδας τὴν ἄρχην. ἀνείλε τε δὴ τὸ χρηστηρίου καὶ ἐβασίλευσεν ὁ Νότος Γύγης. τοσοῦτο μὲντοι εἰσε ἡ Πυθία, ὡς Ἦρακλείδησι τίσις ἦσει ἐς τὸν πέμπτον ἀπόγονον Γύγεως. τούτου τοῦ ἔπεοι Λυδοὶ τε καὶ οἱ βασιλείας αὐτῶν ἱλόν ὀυδένα ἐποιεύτο, τριτὶ δὴ ἐπετελέσθη.

14. Τὴν μὲν δὴ τυραννίδα ὁ Σέπχων οἱ Μερμνάδαι τοὺς Ἦρακλείδας ἀπελόμενοι, Γύγης δὲ τυραννεύσας ἀπεπερφυε ἀνατήματα ἐς Δελφοὺς οὐκ ὀλίγα, ἀλλ’ ὅσα μὲν ἀργύρου ἀνατήματα, ἐστὶ οἱ πλείστα ἐν Δελφοῖς, πάρεξ δὲ τοῦ ἀργύρου χρυσὸν ἀπλετον ἀνέβηκε ἄλλον τε καὶ

1 Stein brackets the words τοῦ καὶ—ἐπεμνήσθη as superfluous and therefore probably spurious.
• 12. So when they had made ready this plot, and night had fallen, Gyges followed the lady into the chamber (for he could not get free or by any means escape, but either he or Candaules must die), and she gave him a dagger and hid him behind the same door; and presently he stole out and slew Candaules as he slept, and thus made himself master of the king's wife and sovereignty. He is mentioned in the iambic verses of Archilochus of Parus who lived about the same time.

13. So he took possession of the sovereign power, and was confirmed therein by the Delphic oracle. For when the Lydians were much angered by the fate of Candaules, and took up arms, the faction of Gyges and the rest of the people came to an agreement that if the oracle should ordain him to be king of the Lydians, then he should reign: but if not, then he should render back the kingship to the Heraclidae. The oracle did so ordain: and Gyges thus became king. Howbeit the Pythian priestess declared that the Heraclidae should have vengeance on Gyges' posterity in the fifth generation: an utterance of which the Lydians and their kings took no account, till it was fulfilled.

14. Thus did the Mermnadae rob the Heraclidae of the sovereignty and take it for themselves. Having gained it, Gyges sent not a few offerings to Delphi: there are very many silver offerings of his there: and besides the silver, he dedicated great store of
τοῦ μάλιστα μνήμην ἔξιον ἔχειν ἐστὶ, κρητῆρες οἱ ἁρδυμοὶ ἐξ χρύσου ανακέαται. ἐστάσει δὲ οὕτω ἐν τῷ Κορυνθίων θησαυρῷ, σταθμὸν ἔχουσες τριή-κοντα τάλαντα· ἀλλὴ δὲ λόγῳ χρωμένῳ οὐ Κορυνθίων τοῦ δημοσίου ἐστὶ ἐις θησαυρὸς, ἀλλὰ Κυρή-λου τοῦ Ἡθίους, οὕτως δὲ ὁ Γύγης πρῶτος βαρ-βάρων τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν ἐς Δελφοὺς ἀνέθηκε ἀναθήματα μετὰ Μίδην τοῦ Γορδίου Φιληχθος βασιλέα. ἀνέθηκε γὰρ δὴ καὶ Μίδης τοῦ βασι-λέως θρόνον ἐς τῶν προκατίκων ἑδίκαζε, ἔωντα ἄξιοθέτητον· κεῖται δὲ ὁ θρόνος οὕτως ἐνθα περ οἱ του Ῥύγεως κρητῆρες. ὁ δὲ χρυσός οὕτως καὶ ὁ ἄργυρος τοῦ Ῥύγης ἀνέθηκε, ὡπὸ Δελφῶν καλεῖται Γυνάδας ἐπὶ τοῦ ἀναθέτους ἐπωνυμίαν.

15. Ἐσέβαλε μὲν νυν στρατηγὴ καὶ οὕτως ἐπέητε ἢρξε ἐς τῇ Μίλητον καὶ ἐς Σμύρνην, καὶ Κολοφώνος τὸ ἄστυ ἐδίε. ἀλλ' οὐδὲν γὰρ μέγα ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἄλλο ἔργον ἐγένετο βασιλεύσαντος ὑδῶν δεόντα τεσσεράκοντα ἔτεα, τούτων μὲν παρήσῳμεν τοσαύτα ἐπιμνησθέντες, ὁ Ἀρδυς δὲ τοῦ Γύγεω μετὰ Γύγην βασιλεύσαντος μνήμην ποιήσωμε. οὐτὸς δὲ Προηνέας τε ἐδίε ἐς Μίλητον τε ἐσέβαλε, ἐπὶ τού- του τε τυραννεύοντος Σαρδῶν Κιμμερίου ἐς ἥθεων ὑπὸ Σκυθέων τῶν νομάδων ἐξαναστάτητος ἀπίκυκτο ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην καὶ Σάρδις πλήν τῆς ἀκρόπολιος εἶτον.

16. Ὁ Ἀρδυς δὲ βασιλεύσαντος ἐνὸς δεόντα πεν- τήκοντα ἐπείτε ἐξεδέξατο Σαδναττος ὁ ὁ Ἀρδυς, καὶ ἐβασίλευσε ἐπεί τῶν δυνάμεων, Σαδναττεω δὲ Ἀλκατ- 
της. οὐτος δὲ Κυμάρης τε τῶν Δημόκεων ἀπολένθη 
σήμερις καὶ Μήδοις, Κιμμερίους τε εἰς τῆς Ἀσί ἐξι 
ντεῖθα, Σμύρνην τε τὴν ἀπὸ Κολοφώνος
gold: among which six golden bowls are the offerings chiefly worthy of record. These weigh 30 talents\(^1\) and stand in the treasury\(^2\) of the Corinthians: though in very truth it is the treasury not of the Corinthian people but of Cypselus son of Eecion. This Gyges then was the first foreigner (of our knowledge) who placed offerings at Delphi after the king of Phrygia, Midas son of Gordius. For Midas too made an offering, to wit, the royal seat whereon he sat to give judgment, and a marvellous seat it is; it is set in the same place as the bowls of Gyges. This gold and the silver offered by Gyges is called by the Delphians "Gygian" after its dedicator.

15. As soon as Gyges came to the throne, he too, like others, led an army into the lands of Miletus and Smyrna; and he took the city of Colophon. But he did nothing else great in his reign of thirty-eight years; I will therefore say no more of him, and will speak rather of Ardys the son of Gyges, who succeeded him. He took Priene and invaded the country of Miletus; and it was while he was monarch of Sardis that the Cimmerians, driven from their homes by the nomad Scythians, came into Asia, and took Sardis, all but the citadel.

16. Ardys reigned for forty-nine years, and was succeeded by his son Sadyattes, who reigned for twelve years; and after Sadyattes came Alyattes, who waged war against Deioces’ descendant Cyaxares and the Medes, drove the Cimmerians out of Asia, took Smyrna (which was a colony from Colophon),

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\(^{1}\) The "Attic" talent had a weight of about 58 lbs. avoir-dupois, the "Aeginetan" of about 82.

\(^{2}\) Many Greek states had special "treasuries" allotted to them in the temple precincts at Delphi, in which their offerings were deposited.
κτισθείσαν εἶλε, ἐς Κλαζαμενᾶς τε ἐσεβάλε. ἀπὸ μὲν τῶν τούτων οὐκ ὡς ἦθελε ἀπῆλλαξε, ἀλλὰ προσπταίσας μεγάλως ἀλλὰ δὲ ἔργα ἀπεδέξατο ἔως ἐν τῇ ἀρχῇ ἧξιαπηγητότατα τάδε.

17. Ἐπολέμησε Μιλησίωι, παραδεξάμενος τὸν πόλεμον παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς. ἐπελαύνων γὰρ ἐπολιορκεῖ τὴν Μιλησίων τρόπῳ τοιοῦτῳ· ὅκως μὲν εἰς ἐν τῇ γῇ καρπὸς ὕδρος, τιμικαύτα ἐσεβάλλε τὴν στρατιὰν ἐστρατεύετο δὲ ὑπὸ συρίγγων τε καὶ πυκτίδων καὶ αὐλοῦ γυναικίου τε καὶ ἀνδρῶν. ὡς δὲ ἐς τὴν Μιλησίων ἀπίκοιτο, ὀικήματα μὲν τὰ ἐπὶ τῶν ἀγρῶν οὔτε κατεβάλλε οὔτε ἐνεπίμπηρο οὔτε θύρας ἀπέσπα, ἐὰν καὶ καὶ χώραν ἐστάναι· ὃ δὲ τὰ τε δενδρα καὶ τὸν καρπὸν τὸν ἐν τῇ γῇ ὁκως διαφθείρει, ἀπαλασσότοι ὁπίσω. τῆς γὰρ βαλασθῆς οἱ Μιλησίωι ἐπεκράτειον, ὡστε ἐπέδρος μὴ εἶναι ἔργον τῇ στρατιᾷ, τὰς δὲ οἰκίας οὐ κατεβάλλε ὁ Λυδὸς τὸν τε ἐνεκε, ὁκως ἔχοιεν ἐνθεύτεν ὁμώμενοι τὴν γὴν σπείρειν τε καὶ ἐργάζεσθαι οἱ Μιλησίωι, αὐτὸς δὲ ἐκεῖνων ἐργαζομένων ὁχι τι καὶ σίνεσθαι ἐσβάλλων.

18. Ταῦτα ποιεῖν ἐπολέμεθα ἑτεα ἐνδεκα, ἐν τοῖς τρώματι μεγάλα διφάσια Μιλησίων ἐγένετο, ἐν τῇ Διμενηρίῳ χώρῃ τῆς σφετέρης μαχεσαμένων καὶ ἐν Μαιάνδρου πεδίῳ. τὰ μὲν νῦν εἶ ἑτεα τῶν ἐνδεκα Σαδνάττης ὁ Ἀρδυς ἐτι Λυδῶν ἡρχε, ὁ καὶ ἐσβάλλων τιμικαύτα ἐς τὴν Μιλησίων τὴν στρατιὰν. Σαδνάττης οὗτος γὰρ καὶ ὁ τὸν πόλεμον ἡν συνάψας· τὰ δὲ πέντε τῶν ἑτέων τὰ ἐπομενα τοῖς ἑξ Ἀλυάττης ὁ Σαδναττεω ἐπολέμεθα, ὃς παραδεξάμενος, ὡς καὶ πρῶτον μοι δεδήλωται, παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς τὸν πόλεμον προσεῖχε ἐντετα-
and invaded the lands of Clazomenae. But here he came off not at all as he wished, but with great disaster. Of other deeds done by him in his reign these were most notable:

17. He continued the war against the Milesians which his father had begun. This was the manner in which he attacked and laid siege to Miletus: he sent his invading army, marching to the sound of pipes and harps and flutes bass and treble, when the crops in the land were ripe: and whenever he came to the Milesian territory, the country dwellings he neither demolished nor burnt nor tore off their doors, but let them stand unharmed; but the trees and the crops of the land he destroyed, and so returned whence he came; for as the Milesians had command of the sea, it was of no avail for his army to besiege their city. The reason why the Lydian did not destroy the houses was this—that the Milesians might have homes whence to plant and cultivate their land, and that there might be the fruit of their toil for his invading army to lay waste.

18. In this manner he waged war for eleven years, and in these years two great disasters befell the Milesians, one at the battle of Limeneion in their own territory, and the other in the valley of the Maeander. For six of these eleven years Sadyattes son of Ardys was still ruler of Lydia, and he it was who invaded the lands of Miletus, for it was he who had begun the war; for the following five the war was waged by Sadyattes' son Alyattes, who, as I have before shown, inherited the war from his father and carried
μένως. τοσὶ δὲ Μιλήσιοις οὐδαμοὶ Ι'άνων τὸν πόλεμον τοῦτον συνεπελάφρυνον ὁτὲ μὴ Χίοι μοῦνοι. οὕτω δὲ πρὸς ὁμοίως ἀνταποδιδόντες ἐτειμώρεον· καὶ γὰρ δὴ πρῶτον οἱ Μιλῆσιοι τοσὶ Χίοις τὸν πρὸς Ἑρωθραίων πόλεμον συνδεόνεικαν.

19. Τῷ δὲ δυνωσκάτῳ ἔτει ηλίου ἐμπεπραμένου ὑπὸ τῆς στρατιῆς συνηηείχθη τὸ τοιοῦτο γενέσθαι πρήγμα· ὡς ἄφθη τἄχιστα τὸ λήσιον, ἀνέμωρ βιώμενον ἄφατο υπὸ Ἀθηναίων ἐπικλήσεω Ἀσσανίας, ἀφθεῖς δὲ ὁ νῦν κατεκαύθη, καὶ τὸ παρατικὰ μὲν λόγος οὐδεὶς ἐγένετο, μετὰ δὲ τῆς στρατιῆς ἀπικομένης ἐς Σάρδης ἐνώσησε ὁ Ἀλυάτης. μακροτέρῃς δὲ οἱ γειμομένης τῆς νοῦσου πέμπτες ἐς Δελφοὺς θεοπρόςους, εἶτε δὴ συμβουλεύσαντός τεν, εἶτε καὶ αὐτῷ ἔδοξε περνᾶντα τῶν θεῶν ἐπειρέσθαι περὶ τῆς νοῦσου. τοσὶ δὲ η ἱπειρός ἀπικομένως ἐς Δελφοὺς ὡς ἐφε χρῆσειν πρὶν ἢ τὸν νησὶ τῆς Αθηναίας ἀνορθώσωσι, τὸν ἐνέπρησαν χώρης τῆς Μιλήσιας ἐν Ἀσσανίᾳ.

20. Δελφῶν οἶδα ἐγὼ οὔτω ἀκούσας γενέσθαι· Μιλήσιοι δὲ τάδε προστεθείσι τούτοις, Περίανδρον τὸν Κυψέλου ένοῦ τα Ὀρασυβούλῳ τῷ τότε Μιλήτου τυχανεύσωντι ἐξείνιν ἐς τὰ μάλιστα, πυθόμενον τῷ χρηστήριον τῷ τῷ Ἀλυάτη γενόμενον, περναντα ἄγγελον κατειπεί, ὅκως ἀν τῷ προειδοὺς πρὸς τῷ παρεόν βουλεύσαι.

21. Μιλήσιοι μὲν νυν οὔτω λέγουσι γενέσθαι. Ἀλυάτης δὲ, ὡς οἱ ταῦτα ἐξαγγέλθη, αὐτικά ἐπεμπε κήρυκα ἐς Μιλήτου βουλόμενος σπουδὰς ποιήσασθαι Ὀρασυβούλῳ τε καὶ Μιλήσιοις χρόνον ὅσον ἀν τῷ νησὶν οἰκοδομῆρ. ο μὲν δὴ
it on vigorously. None of the Ionians helped to lighten this war for the Milesians, except only the Chians: these lent their aid for a like service done to themselves; for the Milesians had formerly helped the Chians in their war against the Erythraeans.

19. In the twelfth year, when the Lydian army was burning the crops, it so happened that the fire set to the crops and blown by a strong wind caught the temple of Athene called Athene of Assesos: and the temple was burnt to the ground. For the nonce no account was taken of this. But presently after the army had returned to Sardis Alyattes fell sick; and, his sickness lasting longer than it should, he sent to Delphi to inquire of the oracle, either by someone's counsel or by his own wish to question the god about his sickness: but when the messengers came to Delphi the Pythian priestess would not reply to them before they should restore the temple of Athene at Assesos in the Milesian territory, which they had burnt.

20. Thus far I know the truth, for the Delphians told me. The Milesians add to the story, that Periander son of Cypselus, being a close friend of Thrasybulus who then was sovereign of Miletus, learnt what reply the oracle had given to Alyattes and sent a despatch to tell Thrasybulus, so that thereby his friend should be forewarned and make his plans accordingly.

21. Such is the Milesian story. Then, when the Delphic reply was brought to Alyattes, straightway he sent a herald to Miletus, offering to make a truce with Thrasybulus and the Milesians during his building of the temple. So the envoy went to

1 A small town or village near Miletus.
ἀπόστολος ἐς τὴν Μιλησίαν ἦν, Ὑσασύβουλος δὲ σαφέως προπεπτυσμένος πάντα λόγον, καὶ εἰδὼς τὰ Ἀλυστής μέλλον ποιήσειν, μηχανᾶται τοιάδε: ὅσος ἦν ἐν τῷ ἄστει σίτος καὶ ἑωτοῦ καὶ ἰδιωτικός, τούτον πάντα συγκομίσας ἐς τὴν ἀγορήν προεῖπε Μιλησίοις, ἔπεαν αὐτὸς σημαίας, τότε πένειν τε πάντας καὶ κόμω χράσθαι ἐς ἀλλήλους.

22. Ταύτα δὲ ἐποίει τε καὶ προηγορεύει Ὑσασύβουλος τῶνδε εἴνεκεν, ὡκος ἂν δὴ ὁ κήρυξ ὁ Σαρδηνός ἱδὼν τε σωρὸν μέγαν σίτου κεχυμένον καὶ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἐν εὐπαθείᾳ ἔσωτας ἀγγείλῃ Ἀλυστής· τὰ δὴ καὶ ἐγένετο. ὡς γὰρ δὴ ἱδὼν τε ἐκεῖνα ὁ κήρυξ καὶ εἴπας πρὸς Ὑσασύβουλον τοῦ Λυδοῦ τὰς ἐντολὰς ἀπῆλθε ἐς τὰς Σάρδις, ὡς ἐγὼ πυθάνομαι, δι’ οὗ δέδοι ἐγένετο ἡ διάλλαγη. Ἐλπίζον γὰρ ὁ Ἀλυστής σιτοδείπην τε εἶναι ἴσχυρὴν ἐν τῇ Μιλησίᾳ καὶ τὸν λεῶν τετρυπήθη εἰς τὸ ἐσοχατον κακοῦ, ἥκουν τοῦ κῆρυκος νοστήσαντος ἐκ τῆς Μιλησίας τοὺς ἐναυτούς λόγους ἢ ὡς αὐτὸς κατεδόκεε. μετὰ δὲ ἡ τε διάλλαγη σφι ἐγένετο ἐπὶ ὁ τε ξείωνς ἀλλήλους εἶναι καὶ συμμάχους, καὶ δύο τε ἀντὶ ἐνὸς νησοῦ τῇ Ἀθηναίᾳ οἰκοδόμησε ὁ Ἀλυστής ἐν τῇ Ἀσσυρίᾳ, αὐτὸς τέ ἐκ τῆς νοῦσου ἀνέστη. κατὰ μὲν τὸν πρὸς Μιλησίους τε καὶ Ὑσασύβουλον πόλεμον Ἀλυστῆς ὡδὲ ἐσχάγε.

23. Περιανδρός δὲ ἦν Κυψέλου παῖς, ὡς τὸ Ὑσασύβουλο τὸ χρυστήριον μηνύσας ἐτυράννευε δὲ ὁ Περιανδρός Κορίνθου τῷ δὲ λέγουσι Κορίνθιοι (ομολογεύοντι δὲ σφι, Δέσβιοι) ἐν τῷ βιῶν θώμα μέγιστον παραστήραι, Ἀρίστας τὸν Μηθυμναίον ἐπὶ δελφίνος ἐξενεχθέντα ἐπὶ Ταῖναρον,
Miletus. But Thrasybulus, being exactly forewarned of the whole matter, and knowing what Alyattes meant to do, devised the following plan: he brought together into the market place all the food in the city, from private stores and his own, and bade the men of Miletus all drink and revel together when he should give the word.

22. The intent of his so doing and commanding was, that when the herald from Sardis saw a great heap of food piled up, and the citizens making merry, he might bring word of it to Alyattes; and so it befell. The herald saw all this, gave Thrasybulus the message he was charged by the Lydian to deliver, and returned to Sardis; and this, as far as I can learn, was the single reason of the reconciliation. For Alyattes had supposed that there was great scarcity in Miletus and that the people were reduced to the last extremity of misery; but now on his herald's return from the town he heard an account contrary to his expectations; so presently the Lydians and Milesians ended the war and agreed to be friends and allies, and Alyattes built not one but two temples of Athene at Assesos, and recovered of his sickness. Such is the story of Alyattes' war against Thrasybulus and the Milesians.

23. Periander, who disclosed the oracle's answer to Thrasybulus, was the son of Cypselus, and sovereign lord of Corinth. As the Corinthians and Lesbians agree in relating, there happened to him a thing which was the most marvellous in his life, namely, the landing of Arion of Methymna on Taenarus, borne thither by a dolphin. 'This Arion was
'Εόντα κιθαρώδου τῶν τότε ἑόντων οὐδενός δεύτερον, καὶ διδύραμβου πρῶτον ἄνθρωπον τῶν ἡμεῖς ἰδίως ποιήσαντα τε καὶ ὀνομάσαντα καὶ διδάξαντα ἐν Κορίνθῳ.

24. Τούτων τοῦ Ἄριονα λέγομεν, τοῦ πολλῶν τοῦ χρόνου διατρέβοντα παρὰ Περιάνδρῳ ἐπίθυμον μὴσαι πλῶσαι ἐς Ἰταλίνην τε καὶ Σικελίνην, ἐργασάμενον δὲ χρήματα μεγάλα θελήσαν ὁπίσω ἐς Κορίνθου ἀπικέσθαι. ὀρμάσθαι μὲν νυν ἐκ Τάραντος, πιστεύοντα δὲ οὐδαμοσίες μᾶλλον ἡ Κορινθία σωτηρόν μηκετίσασθαι πλούον ἄνδρων Κορινθίων. τοὺς δὲ ἐν τῷ πελάγει ἐπιβουλεύει τὸν Ἄριονα ἐκβαλόντας ἐχειν τὰ χρήματα. τὸν δὲ συνεντα τούτῳ λισσεθαι, χρήματα μὲν σφι προιέντα, ψυχὴν δὲ παρατεῦμεν. οὔκως δὴ πειθεῖν αὐτῶν τούτοις, ἀλλὰ κελεῦειν τοὺς πορθμέας ἡ αὐτῶν διαχράσθαι μιν, ὡς ἁν ταφής ἐν γη τύχῃ, ἡ ἐκπηδαῖ ἐς τὴν βάλασσαν τὴν ταχύτητα ἀπειληθέντα ὑπ' Ἰόνιας ἐς ἀπορίην παραμίλισαν, ἐπειδὴ σφι οὔτω δοκέοι, περιμένων αὐτῶν ἐν τῇ σκεύη πάση στάντα ἐν τοῖς ἐδωλίοις ἀέισαν ἀέισαι δὲ ὑπεδέκετο ἐωτὸν κατεργάσασθαι. καὶ τοῖς ἐσελθεῖν γὰρ ἡδονὴν εἰ μέλλοιει ἀκούσασθαι τοῦ Ἀρίστου ἄνθρωπων αὐτοῦ, ἀναχωρήσατε ἐκ τῆς πρώμης ἐς μέσην νέα. τὸν δὲ ἐνδυόμεν τῇ σκεύῃ καὶ λαβόντα τὴν κιβάρην, στάντα ἐν τοῖς ἐδωλίοις διεξελθεῖν νόμων τοῦ ὄρθιου, τελευτῶντος δὲ τοῦ νόμου βίψαι μιν ἐς τὴν βάλασσαν ἐσωτὸν ὡς εἰχε σὺν τῇ σκεύῃ πάση. καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἀποπλεοῦν ἐς Κορίνθον, τὸν δὲ δελφῖνα λέγομεν ὑπολαβόντα ἐξενεῖκα ἐπὶ Τάλναρον. ἀποβάντα
lyre-player second to none in that age; he was the first man, as far as we know, to compose and name the dithyramb which he afterwards taught at Corinth.

24. Thus then, the story runs: for the most part he lived at the court of Periander; then he formed the plan of voyaging to Italy and Sicily, whence, after earning much money, he was minded to return to Corinth. Having especial trust in men of that city, he hired a Corinthian ship to carry him from Taras. But when they were out at sea, the crew plotted to cast Arion overboard and take his money. Discovering the plot, he earnestly entreated them, offering them all his money if they would but spare his life; but the sailors would not listen to him; he must, they said, either kill himself and so receive burial on land, or straightway cast himself into the sea. In this extremity Arion besought them, seeing that such was their will, that they would suffer him to stand on the poop with all his singing robes about him and sing; and after his song, so he promised, he would make away with himself. The men, well pleased at the thought of hearing the best singer in the world, drew away from the stern amidships; Arion, putting on all his adornment and taking his lyre, stood up on the poop and sang the "Shrill Strain," and at its close threw himself without more ado into the sea, clad in his robes. So the crew sailed away to Corinth; but a dolphin (so the story goes) took Arion on his back and bore him to Taenarum. There he

1 The dithyramb was a kind of dance-music particularly associated with the cult of Dionysus.
2 Tarentum.
3 The ἄριστος ρώμος was a high-pitched (and apparently very well-known) song or hymn in honour of Apollo.
δὲ αὐτὸν χωρεῖν ἐς Κορινθον σὺν τῇ σκέυῃ, καὶ ἀπικόμενον ἀπηγέεσθαι πάντως τὸ γέγονός. Περὶ
αὐτῶν δὲ ὑπὸ ἀπιστίας Ἀρίωνα μὲν ἐν φυλακῇ
ἐχειν οὐδαμὴ μετέντα, ἀνάκως δὲ ἐχεὶν τῶν
πορθμέων. ὡς δὲ ἀρὰ παρεῖναι αὐτοὺς, κλη-
θέντας ἱστορέεσθαι εἰ τι λέγοιον περὶ Ἄριωνος.
φαμένων δὲ ἐκείνων ὡς εἶν τε σῶς περὶ Ἰταλήν
καὶ μιν εὗ πρῆσοντα λίποιεν ἐν Τάραντι, ἐπι-
φανῆναι σφί τοῦ Ἀρίωνα δισπέρ ἔχων ἑξεπήδησεν.
καὶ τοὺς ἐκπλαγέντας οὐκ ἔχειν ἔτι ἐλεγχομένους
ἀρνεόεσθαι. ταῦτα μὲν νῦν Κορίνθιοι τε καὶ
Δέσβιοι λέγονσιν, καὶ Ἄριωνος ἐστὶ ἀνάθημα
γάλκεου οὕτῳ μέγα ἐπὶ Ταὐνάρῳ, ἐπὶ δελφίνως
ἐπεων ἀνθρώποι.

25. Ἀλνάττης δὲ ο Ἀλύς τῶν πρὸς Μιλήσιας
πόλεμον διενείκας μετέχειτα τελευτᾶ, βασιλεύσας
ἐτεκα ἐπτα καὶ πεντήκοντα. ἀνέθηκε δὲ ἐκφυγῶν
τὴν νοῦσον δεύτερος οὕτος τῆς οἰκίας ταύτης ἐς
Δέλφοις κρητήρα τε ἀργύρεου μέγαν καὶ ὑποκρη-
τρίδιοι σιδήρου κολλητῶν, θῆς αξίου διὰ πάν-
των τῶν ἐν Δελφοῖς ἀναθημάτων, Πλακεοῦ τοῦ
Χίου πούκα, δια μοὸν διὰ πάντων ἀνδρῶν
σιδήρου κολλησιν ἐξεύρε.

26. Τελευτήσαντος δὲ Ἀλνάττεω ἑξεδέξατο
τὴν βασιλεύην Κροίδος ὁ Ἀλνάττεω, ἐτέων ἐὼν
ἡλικίαν πέντε καὶ τριήκοντα· δια δὴ Ἑλληνῶν
πρωτοῦ εἶπεθήκατο Ἐφεσίοισι. ἦνθα δὴ οἱ
Ἐφεσιοὶ πολιορκεόμενοι ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ ἀνέδεσαν τὴν
πόλιν τῆ Ἀρτέμιδα, ἐξάγαντες ἐκ τοῦ ηθοῦ
σχοινίον ἔς το τεῖχος. ἔστι δὲ μεταξὺ τῆς τε
παλαιῆς πόλεως, ἦ τοτε ἐπιορκέσετο, καὶ τοῦ
ηθοῦ ἐπὶ στάδιοι. πρωτοῦς οὖν δὴ τούτοις
28
landed, went to Corinth in his singing robes, and when he came told all that had befallen him. Periander, not believing the tale, put him in close ward and kept careful watch for the coming of the sailors. When they came they were called and questioned, what news they brought of Arion, and they replied that he was safe in the parts of Italy, and that they had left him sound and well at Taras: when, behold, they were confronted with Arion, just as he was when he leapt from the ship; whereat they were amazed, and could no more deny what was proved against them. Such is the story told by the Corinthians and Lesbians. There is moreover a little bronze monument to Arion on Taenarum, the figure of a man riding upon a dolphin.

25. So Alyattes the Lydian, having finished his war with the Milesians, died after a reign of fifty-seven years. He was the second of his family to make an offering to Delphi—and this was a thank-offering for his recovery—of a great silver bowl on a stand of welded iron. This is the most notable among all the offerings at Delphi, and is the work of Glaucus the Chian, the only man of that age who discovered how to weld iron.

26. After the death of Alyattes Croesus his son came to the throne, being then thirty-five years of age. The first Greeks whom he attacked were the Ephesians. These, being besieged by him, dedicated their city to Artemis; this they did by attaching a rope to the city wall from the temple of the goddess, standing seven furlongs away from the ancient city, which was then being besieged. These

1 Croesus' reign began in 560 B.C., probably.
έπεχείρησε ο Κροίσος, μετά δὲ ἐν μέρει ἑκάστοις Ἰῶνοις τε καὶ Διολέων, ἀλλοις ἄλλας αἰτίας ἐπιφέρων, τῶν μὲν ἐδύνατο μέξονας παρευρίσκειν, μέξονα ἑπατισμένον, τούτα δὲ αὐτῶν καὶ φαύλα ἐπιφέρων.

27. Ὁς δὲ ἄρα οἱ ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ Ἐλληνες κατεστράφησαν ἐς φοροὺς ἀπαγωγῆς, τὸ ἐνθευτεν ἐπενύετο νέας ποιησάμενος ἐπιχειρεῖν τοῖς νησιώτησι, ἐόντων δὲ οἱ πάντων ἐτοίμων ἐς τὴν ναυπηγίαν, οἱ μὲν Βίαντα λέγοντο τὸν Πρινέα ἀπικόμενον ἐς Σάρδις, οἱ δὲ Πιττακὸν τὸν Μυτιληναίον, εἰρομένου Κροίσου εἶ τι εἰς νεώτερον περὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, εἰπόντα τἀδε χαταπαύσας τὴν ναυπηγίαν ὁ Βασιλεὺς, νησιώται ἰππὸν συνωνεόντας μυρίων, ἐς Σάρδις τε καὶ ἐπὶ σὲ ἐν νῷ ἔχοντας στρατεύεσθαι." Κροίσον δὲ ἐλπίσαντα λέγειν ἐκεῖνον ἀληθεὰ εἰπεὶν "Αἱ γὰρ τοῦτο θεοὶ ποιήσειαν ἐπὶ νόσον νησιώτησι, ἐλθεῖν ἐπὶ Λυδίων παῖδας σὺν ἰπποῖσιν." τὸν δὲ ὑπολαβόντα φάναι ὁ Βασιλεὺς, προθύμως μοι ψαίνει εὐξασθαί νησιώτας ἰππευμένους λαβεῖν ἐν ἥπειρῳ, οἰκότα ἐλπίζων. νησιώτας δὲ τὸ δοκεῖς εὐχεσθαι ἀλλως ἢ, ἐπείτε τάχιστα ἐπιθυμοῦσι σὲ μέλλοντα ἐπὶ σφίσι ναυπηγίσθαι νέας, λαβεῖν ἀρώμενοι Λυδοὺς ἐν θαλάσσῃ, ὡς ὡρὰς τῶν ἐν τῇ ἥπειρῷ οἰκημένων Ἐλλήνων πίσωνται σὲ τοὺς σὺ διαλώσας ἔχεις;" κάρτα τε ἱσθήναι Κροίσον τῷ ἐπιλόγῳ καὶ οἱ, προσφυγῶς γὰρ δὸξαι λέγειν, πειθόμενου παύσασθαι τῇ ναυπηγίᾳ. καὶ οὕτω τοῖς τὰς νήσους οἰκημένους Ἰωσί ξεινίην συνεδήκατο.

28. Χρόνου δὲ ἐπιγινομένου καὶ κατεστραμ-
were the first whom Croesus attacked; afterwards he made war on the Ionian and Aeolian cities in turn, each on its separate indictment: he found graver charges where he could, but sometimes alleged very paltry grounds of offence.

27. Then, when he had subdued and made tributary to himself all the Asiatic Greeks of the mainland, he planned to build ships and attack the islanders; but when his preparations for shipbuilding were ready, either Bias of Priene or Pittacus of Mytilene (the story is told of both) came to Sardis, and being asked by Croesus for news about Hellas, put an end to the shipbuilding by giving the following answer: "King, the islanders are buying ten thousand horse, with intent to march against you to Sardis." Croesus, thinking that he spoke the truth, said: "Would that the gods may put it in the minds of the island men to come on horseback against the sons of the Lydians!" Then the other answered and said: "King, I see that you earnestly pray that you may catch the islanders riding horses on the mainland, and what you expect is but natural. And the islanders, now they have heard that you are building ships to attack them therewith, think you that they pray for aught else than that they may catch Lydians on the seas, and thereby be avenged on you for having enslaved the Greeks who dwell on the mainland?" Croesus was well pleased with this conclusion, for it seemed to him that the man spoke but reasonably; so he took the advice and built no more ships. Thus it came about that he made friends of the Ionian islanders.

28. As time went on, Croesus subdued well-nigh
μένων σχεδὸν πάντων τῶν ἐντὸς "Αλυσος ποταμοῦ" οἰκημένων· πλὴν ἄρα Καλίκων καὶ Δυκίων τοῦς ἄλλους πάντας ὑπ' ἑωτῶς εἶχε καταστρεφόμενος ὁ Κροίσος. εἰσὶ δὲ οἶδε, Λυδοὶ, Φρύγες, Μυσόι, Μαριανδυνοὶ, Χάλυβες, Παφλαγόνες, Ὀρήκες οἱ Θυμοὶ τε καὶ Βιδυνοὶ, Κάρες, Ἰωνεὶς, Δωρίες, Αἰολές, Πάμφυλοι ἡ κατεστραμμένων δὲ τούτων καὶ προσεπικτωμένου Κροίσου Λυδοῖς, 29. ἀπικνέονται ἐς Σάρδις ἀκμαζούσας πλούτῳ ἄλλοι τε οἱ πάντες ἐκ τῆς Ἑλλάδος σοφίσται, οἱ τούτων τοῦ χρόνου ἐτύγχανον ἑώτες, ὡς ἑκαστός αὐτῶν ἀπεκνέοιτο, καὶ ὅταν Σόλων ἀνήρ Ἀθηναῖος, ὃς Ἀθηναῖοι νόμων κελεύσαι ποιήσαι ἀπεδήμησε ἐτεα δέκα, κατὰ θεωρίην πρόφασιν ἐκπλώσας, ὡς δὴ μὴ τινὰ τῶν νόμων ἀναγκαζῇ λύσαι τῶν ἐθετο. αὐτοὶ γὰρ οὐκ οἶοὶ τε ἦσαν αὐτὸ ποιῆσαι Ἀθηναίοις ὀρκίοις γὰρ μεγαλοισὶ κατείχοντο δέκα ἐτεα χρῆσονται νόμοισι τοὺς ἃν σφὶ Σόλων θήται.

30. Αὐτῶν δὴ ὅπε τούτων καὶ τῆς θεωρίης ἐκδημήσας ὁ Σόλων εἶνεκεν ἐς Αἴγυπτον ἀπίκετο παρὰ Ἀμασιν καὶ δὴ καὶ ἐς Σάρδις παρὰ Κροίσου, ἀπικόμενος δὲ ἐξεινίζετο ἐν τοῖς βασιληοίς ὑπὸ τοῦ Κροίσου· μετὰ δὲ ἡμέρῃ τρίτη ἡ τετάρτῃ κελεύσαντος Κροίσου τὸν Σόλωνα θεράποντες περήγουν κατὰ τοὺς θησαυροὺς, καὶ ἐπεδείκνυσαν πάντα ἑώτα μεγάλα τε καὶ ὀλίβια. θεσαμένον δὲ μὲν τὰ πάντα καὶ σκεψάμενον ὡς οἱ κατὰ καίρον ἦν, εἴρετο ὁ Κροίσος τάδε. "Ὡς ἱσίῳ Ἀθηναίε, παρ' ἡμᾶς γὰρ περὶ σέο λόγος ἀπήκται

1 εἰσι... Πάμφυλοι and καὶ... Λυδοῖς bracketed by Stein.
all the nations west of the Halys and held them in subjection, except only the Cilicians and Lycians: the rest, Lydians, Phrygians, Mysians, Mariandynians, Chalybes, Paphlagonians, Thymians and Bithynians (who are Thracians), Carians, Ionians, Dorians, Aeolians, Pamphylians, were subdued and became subjects of Croesus like the Lydians; and Sardis was at the height of its wealth. 29. There came to the city all the teachers from Hellas who then lived, in this or that manner; and among them came Solon of Athens: he, having made laws for the Athenians at their request, left his home for ten years and set out on a voyage to see the world, as he said. This he did, lest he should be compelled to repeal any of the laws he had made, since the Athenians themselves could not repeal them, for they were bound by solemn oaths to abide for ten years by such laws as Solon should make.

30. For this reason, and to see the world, Solon left Athens and visited Amasis in Egypt and Croesus at Sardis: and when he had come, Croesus entertained him in his palace. Now on the third or fourth day after his coming Croesus bade his servants lead Solon round among his treasures, and they showed him all that was there, the greatness and the prosperous state of it; and when he had seen and considered all, Croesus when occasion served thus questioned him: "Our Athenian guest, we have heard much of
πολλὸς καὶ σοφίς εἶνεκεν ἡς σῆς καὶ πλάνης, ὡς φιλοσοφέων γὰρ πολλὴν θεωρίης εἶνεκεν ἐπε- λημμαθας· τῶν ἄνω ἑπειρέσθαι με ἱμερος ἐπιλθῆσε σε εἰ τινα ἥδη πάντων εἴδες ὀλβιότατον. ὃ μὲν ἑλπίζον εἶναι ἀνθρώπων ὀλβιώτατος τάτα ἑπειρώτα πόλιν δὲ συνί οὐδεν ὑποθωπεύσας ἀλλατο βοών ἔντει χρησάμενος λέγει " Ἡ βασιλεύς, Τέλλον Ἀθηναίων. ἀποθωμάς δε Κροίσος τὸ λεγθὲν εἰρετο ἐπιστρεφέως " Κοὶ λῃ ἱερεις τέλλον εἶναι ὀλβιώτατον; ὃ δὲ εἰπὲ "Τέλλον τοῦτο μὲν τῆς πόλιος εὐ ἡκουσθε παῖδες ἦσαν καλοὶ τε κάναθοι, καὶ σφι εἴδε ἀπασι τέκνα ἐγενὸμενα καὶ πάντα παραμείνατα τοῦτο δὲ του βίου εὐ ἡκοντε, ὅσ τὰ παρ ἦμιν, τελευτη του βίου λαμπροτάτη ἐπεγενετο· γενομένης ἡρ Ἀθηναίοις μάγχης πρὸς τοὺς ἀστυγείτους ἐν Ἐλευσίνη, βοσθήσας καὶ τροπὴν ποιήσας τῶν πολεμίον ἀπέδανε κάλλιστα, καὶ μὲν Ἀθηναίοι δημοσίη τε ἐθαναν αὐτῶν τῇ περ ἐπεσε καὶ ἐτίμησαν μεγάλως. 31 ὃς δὲ τὰ κατὰ τὸν Τέλλον προετρέφατο ὁ Σόλων τὸν Κροίσον εἰπας πολλα τε καὶ ὀλβια, ἑπειρώτα πίνα δεύτεροο μετ' ἐκείνον ἴδοι, δοκεων πάγυν δευτερεία γὼν οἰκειοθ. ὃ δ' εἰπὲ "Κλέοβιν τε καὶ Βίτωνα. τοῦτοι γάρ ζεύσι γένος Αργείοις βίος τε ἁρκεόν ὑπήν, καὶ πρὸς τοῦτο ῥώμη σώματος τοῦτο ἀδελφόροι τε ἁμφότεροι ὄμοιος ἦσαν, καὶ δὴ καὶ λέγεται οὔδὲ ὁ λόγος. εὐος όρτης τῇ "Ηρη τούσι Αργείοις ἐδεε πάντως τὴν μητέρα αὐτῶν ζεύγει κομισθήναι ἐς τὸ ἱρὸν, οἱ δὲ σφι βοες ἐκ του ἄγραυν ὑπο παρεγι- νοντο εν ἄρη ἐκκλησίαν δὲ τῇ ὄρῃ οἱ νευματι στὶς Ἄρεα εἶνεκα.
you, by reason of your wisdom and your wanderings, how that you have travelled far to seek knowledge and to see the world. Now therefore I am fain to ask you, if you have ever seen a man more blest than all his fellows.” So Croesus inquired, supposing himself to be blest beyond all men. But Solon spoke the truth without flattery: “Such an one, O King,” he said, “I have seen—Tellus of Athens.” Croesus wondered at this, and sharply asked Solon “How do you judge Tellus to be most blest?” Solon replied: “Tellus’ city was prosperous, and he was the father of noble sons, and he saw children born to all of them and their state well established; moreover, having then as much wealth as a man may among us, he crowned his life with a most glorious death: for in a battle between the Athenians and their neighbours at Eleusis he attacked and routed the enemy and most nobly there died; and the Athenians gave him public burial where he fell and paid him great honour.”

31. Now when Solon had roused the curiosity of Croesus by recounting the many ways in which Tellus was blest, the king further asked him whom he placed second after Tellus, thinking that assuredly the second prize at least would be his. Solon answered: “Cleobis and Biton. These were Argives, and besides sufficient wealth they had such strength of body as I will show. Both were prizewinners; and this story too is related of them. There was a festival of Here toward among the Argives, and their mother must by all means be drawn to the temple by a yoke of oxen. But the oxen did not come in time from the fields; so the young men, being thus thwarted by lack of time, put themselves
χρυσάνθες αὐτοὶ ὑπὸ τὴν ξεύγηλην ἐκλεικοὺ τὴν ἄμαξαν, ἐπὶ τῆς ἄμαξης δὲ σφί ὥχετο ἡ μήτηρ: σταδίους δὲ πέντε καὶ τεσσεράκοντα διακομησάντες ἀπίκουντο ἐς τὸ ἱρὸν. ταύτα δὲ σφί ποίησασι καὶ ὀφθείσι ὑπὸ τῆς πανηγύριος τελευτῇ τοῦ βίου ἀρίστη ἐπεγένετο, διέδεξε τε ἐν τούτοις ὁ θεὸς ὡς ἁμεινὸν εἰ ἁνθρώποι τεθνάναι μάλλον ἡ ζώειν. Ἀργείοι μὲν γὰρ περιστάντες ἐμακαρίζουν τῶν νευρίων τὴν ρώμην, αἱ δὲ Ἀργείαι τὴν μητέρα αὐτῶν, οἰον τέκνων ἐκύρησε ἡ δὲ μήτηρ περιχαρῆς ἑοῦσα τῷ τῇ ἔργῳ καὶ τῇ φήμῃ, στάσα ἄντιον τοῦ ἀγάλματος εὐχετο Κλεόβι τε καὶ Βίτωμι τοῖς ἐωτήν τε κέντοις, οἱ μὲν ἐτίμησαν μεγάλως, τὴν θεὸν δουνά το ἁνθρώπῳ τυχεῖν ἄριστον ἐστὶ. μετὰ ταύτην δὲ τὴν εὐχὴν ὡς ἐθυσαν τε καὶ εὐοχὴσαν, κατακομμήθεντες εὐν αὐτῷ τῷ ἱρῷ οἱ νευρίαι οὐκέτι ἀνέστησαν ἀλλὰ ἐν τελεῖ τούτῳ ἐσχόντο. Ἀργείοι δὲ σφέων εἰκόνας ποιησάμενοι ἀνέθεσαν ἐς Δελφοὺς ὡς ἄριστῶν γενομένων.

32. Σόλων μὲν ὁ ἐυδαίμονις δευτερεία ἐνεμε τούτοις, Κροίσος δὲ σπερχθεὶς εἰπε "Ὡ ξείνη Ἀθηναίε, ἥ δ' ἡμετέρη ἐυδαίμονία ὦτω τοι ἀπέρριπται εσ τὸ μὴ δὲν οὐδὲ ἰδιωτῶν ἁνδρῶν ἄξιοις ἡμέας ἐποίησας;" ὁ δὲ ἀπε "Ὡ Κροίσε, ἐπιστάμενον με τὸ θεῖον πᾶν ἐνον φθονορον τε καὶ ταραχόδες ἐπειροτᾶς ἁνθρωπιῶν πρηγμάτων πέρι. ἐν γὰρ τῷ μακρῷ χρόνῳ πολλὰ μὲν ἐστὶ ἰδεῖν τὰ μὴ τις ἔθελε, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ παθεῖν. ἐς γὰρ ἐβδομήκοντα ἐτεα οὗρον τῆς ξόης ἁνθρώπῳ προτίθημι. οὕτως ἐκόντες ἐναιστὸ ἐβδομήκοντα παρέχονται ἡμέρας διηκοσίας καὶ πεντακισχιλίας καὶ δισμυρίας, ἐμβολίμου μὴν ὑ γενομένου. εἰ
to the yoke and drew the carriage with their mother sitting thereon: for five and forty furlongs they drew it till they came to the temple. Having done this, and been seen by the assembly, they made a most excellent end of their lives, and the god showed by these men how that it was better for a man to die than to live. For the men of Argos came round and gave the youths joy of their strength, and so likewise did the women to their mother, for the excellence of her sons. She then in her joy at what was done and said, came before the image of the goddess and prayed that her sons Cleobis and Biton, who had done such great honour to the goddess, should be given the best boon that a man may receive. After the prayer the young men sacrificed and ate of the feast; then they lay down to sleep in the temple itself and never rose up more, but here ended their lives. Then the Argives made and set up at Delphi images of them because of their excellence."

32. So Solon gave to Cleobis and Biton the second prize of happiness. But Croesus said in anger, "Guest from Athens! is our prosperity, then, held by you so worthless that you match us not even with common men?" "Croesus," said Solon, "you ask me concerning the lot of man; well I know how jealous is Heaven and how it loves to trouble us. In a man's length of days he may see and suffer many things that he much mislikes. For I set the limit of man's life at seventy years; in these seventy are days twenty-five thousand and two hundred, if we count not the intercalary month."1 But if every

1 The "intercalary" month is a month periodically inserted to make the series of solar and calendar years eventually correspond. But Herodotus' reckoning here would make the average length of a year 375 days.
HERODOTUS

de de étheleisai toúteron tón étewon mánni makro-
teron génovai, Ína de aí órrei sůmbaínwosu
paragwónmenai ɛs tó déon, múnhes méν parà tά
évdoimekonta ēta tó émβólimo có ýmionta tímik-
konta pênte, hμérai de ēk tów múnów toútw chlía
pentíkonta. touteów tón ἀpasseów hμeréw tón
ēs tά évdoimekonta ēta, ɛouséwν pentíkonta
cal diákosiéw kal ɛzakiaschiléw kai diámufréw,
η ētérh aúteów tý ētérh hμérh tó parápaun ouδé
ômoun prósagei príghma, ouτον ón Krouse páv
ēstl ánthropous smφoróh. ɛmòl de ἕν kai ploutéewn
mēga fainew ɛn kai bαsileús pòllwv einaí ánthró-
powν ēkíwv de tó éireó mé, ouκw sé ēgό léγo,
priν telleunikanta kalów tón aλía tůúwma,
ou γάρ tì tó méga plouσios mállkon tóv ēstí
hμérh ɛxontos ólβiosteros ēstí, eί μη tά tύχη ēpíspou
pánta kalá ɛxonta ew telleunikanta tóv bión.
pòllwv méν γάρ ξάπloutei ɛnthropowv áνόλβiowv
eisí, pòllwv de metríwos ɛxontes bíōu ēutuxées. ɛ
mέν de méga plouσios áνόλβiow de δυνósí prοéchei
tóv ēutuxéwos móvnwv, ouτos de tóv plouσión kai
áνόλβion pòlloiði ɛn tóv ɛpíthymión ēktelésai kai
átin megalh prôspesòsuan ēneikwv dūwatoτeres,
δé tòisidè prôchéi ēkíwv átīn méν kai ēpí-
thymión ouκ ómoiow dunameí ēkíwv ēneikwv, tânta
de h ēutuxhí oí āpérükèi, āpìros de ēstí, ἀνουσος,
ἀπαθής kaków, ēutpai, evnìdè. eί de pròs
tòouto ɛtį telleunikata tóv bión ew, ouτos ēkeínos
tóv su xhìtēwv, ó δλβiow keklhstai āxìos ēstí:
prîn ἅ ɛn telleunikata, ētuxèwv, ἐμδè kalèew kω
δλβiow ālλ ēutuxéa. tâ pánta méν wnu tânta
second year be lengthened by a month so that the seasons and the calendar may rightly accord, then the intercalary months are five and thirty, over and above the seventy years: and the days of these months are one thousand and fifty; so then all the days together of the seventy years are seen to be twenty-six thousand two hundred and fifty; and one may well say that no one of all these days is like another in that which it brings. Thus then, Croesus, the whole of man is but chance. Now if I am to speak of you, I say that I see you very rich and the king of many men. But I cannot yet answer your question, before I hear that you have ended your life well. For he who is very rich is not more blest than he who has but enough for the day, unless fortune so attend him that he ends his life well, having all good things about him. Many men of great wealth are unblest, and many that have no great substance are fortunate. Now the very rich man who is yet unblest has but two advantages over the fortunate man, but the fortunate man has many advantages over the rich but unblest: for this latter is the stronger to accomplish his desire and to bear the stroke of great calamity; but these are the advantages of the fortunate man, that though he be not so strong as the other to deal with calamity and desire, yet these are kept far from him by his good fortune, and he is free from deformity, sickness, and all evil, and happy in his children and his comeliness. If then such a man besides all this shall also end his life well, then he is the man whom you seek, and is worthy to be called blest; but we must wait till he be dead, and call him not yet blest, but fortunate. Now
συλλαβεῖν ἄνθρωπον ἑοῦται ἀδύνατον ἔστι, ὅσπερ χώρη συνεμία καταρκεῖ Πάντα ἐνυτῇ παρέχουσα, ἀλλὰ ἄλλο μὲν ἔχει ἐτέρου δὲ ἐπιδέσται ἤ δὲ ἄν τὰ πλεῖστα ἐχθ., αὐτὴ ἀρίστη. ὅσι δὲ καὶ ἄνθρωπον σῶμα ἑν συνεκάτοις ἐστὶ· τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἐχεῖ, ἄλλου δὲ ἐνδεῖς ἕστι· ὃς δ' ἄν αὐτῶν πλεῖστα ἐχών διατελέσει καὶ ἐπείτα τελευτήσῃ εὐχάριστως τῶν βίων, οὕτως παρ' ἐμοὶ τὸ οὖνομα τούτο ἀδῆβε δίκαιος ἐστι· φέρεσθαι. σκοπεῦν δὲ χρῆ παντὸς χρήματος τὴν τελευτήν, κῇ ἀποβηθήσεται· πολλοὶ γὰρ δὴ ὑποδέξασθαι ὁλβοῦ ὁ θεὸς προφρίζους ἀνέτρεψε." 

33. Ταύτα λέγων τῷ Κροίσῳ οὗ κως ὦτε ἐχαρίζετο, οὕτε λόγου μιν ποιησάμενος οὐδενὸς ἀποτέλεσθαι, κάρτα δόξας ἀμαθέα εἶναι, ὅς τὰ παρεῖσθαι ἄγαθὰ μετεῖς τὴν τελευτὴν παντὸς χρήματος ὁρῶν ἐκέλευε.

34. Μετὰ δὲ Σόλωνα οἶχόμενον ἔλαβε ἐκ θεοῦ νέμεσις μεγάλη Κροίσου, ὡς εἰκάσας, ὅτι ἐνομισέ ἐνυτὶς εἶναι ἄνθρωπων ἀπάντων ὀλβιώτατον. αὐτίκα δὲ οἱ εὐδοκεῖτε ἐπέστη ὅνειρος, διὸ οἱ τὴν ἀληθείαν ἐφαίνε τῶν μελλόντων γενέσθαι κακῶν κατὰ τὸν παῖδα. ἦςαν δὲ τῷ Κροίσῳ δύο παιδεῖ, τῶν οὔτερος μὲν διέφθαρτο, ἢ ἂν δὴ κωφός, ὃ δὲ ἐτέρος τῶν ἠλικών μακρὸ τὰ πάντα πρῶτος οὖνομα δὲ οἱ ὕμ Ἀτοῦ. τοῦτον δὴ ἄλλο τὸν "Ἀτοῦ σημαίνει τῷ Κροίσῳ ὁ ὅνειρος, ὡς ἀπολεῖε μιν αἰχμὴ σιδηρῆ βληθήναι. ο δ' ἐπείτε ἐξηγεῖ σφί σοι ἐνυτὶς λόγον ἐδοκε, καταρρώθησας τὸν ὅνειρον ἂγεται μὲν τῷ παιδὶ γυναίκα, ἐσθότα δὲ στρατηγεῖεις μὲν τῶν Λυκίων οὐδαμὴ ἐπὶ ἐπὶ τοιοῦτο πρῆγμα ἐξέπεμπε· ἀκόντια δὲ καὶ δοράτια καὶ τὰ
no one (who is but man) can have all these good things together, just as no land is altogether self-sufficing in what it produces: one thing it has, another it lacks, and the best land is that which has most; so too no single person is sufficient for himself: one thing he has, another he lacks; but whoever continues in the possession of most things, and at last makes a gracious end of his life, such a man, O King, I deem worthy of this title. We must look to the conclusion of every matter, and see how it shall end, for there are many to whom heaven has given a vision of blessedness, and yet afterwards brought them to utter ruin."

33. So spoke Solon: Croesus therefore gave him no largess, but sent him away as a man of no account, for he thought that man to be very foolish who disregarded present prosperity and bade him look rather to the end of every matter.

34. But after Solon's departure, the divine anger fell heavily on Croesus: as I guess, because he supposed himself to be blest beyond all other men. Presently, as he slept, he was visited by a dream, which foretold truly to him the evil which should befall his son. He had two sons, one of whom was wholly undone, for he was deaf and dumb, but the other, whose name was Atys, was in every way far pre-eminent over all of his years. The dream then showed to Croesus that Atys should be smitten and killed by a spear of iron. So Croesus, when he woke and considered the dream with himself, was greatly affrighted by it; and first he made a marriage for his son, and moreover, whereas Atys was wont to lead the Lydian armies, Croesus now would not suffer him to go out on any such enterprise, while
τοιαύτα πάντα τοῖς χρέωνται ἐς πόλεμον ἀνθρώπων, ἐκ τῶν ἀνδρεών ἐκκομίσας ἐς τοὺς θαλάμους συνένση, μὴ τί οἱ κρεμάμενοι τῷ παιδὶ ἐμπέσῃ.

35. Ἐξοντι ᾧτε οἱ ἐν χερσὶ τοῦ παιδὸς τὸν γάμον, ἀπικυνεῖται ἐς τὰς Σάρδις ἀνήρ συμφορῆς ἐχόμενος καὶ οὐ καθαρὸς χείρας, ἕως Φρύξ μὲν γένεθη, γένεος δὲ τοῦ βασιλῆου. παρελθὼν δὲ οὗτος ἐς τὰ Κροῖσον οἰκία κατὰ νόμους τοὺς ἐπιχωρίους καθαρσίου ἐδέετο κυρήσαι, Κροῖσος δὲ μὲν ἐκάθηρε. ἔστε δὲ παραπλησία ἡ καθαρσίς τοῖς Λυδοῖσι καὶ τοῖς Ἕλλησι, ἐπείτη δὲ τὰ νομιζόμενα ἐποίησε ὁ Κροῖσος, ἐπυνθάνετο ὁκόθεν τε καὶ τῆς εἰς, λέγων τάδε: "ὢνθρωπε, τίς τε ἐνω καὶ κόθεν τῆς Φρυγίνης ἡκὼν ἐπίστιος μοι ἐγένει; τίνα τε ἀνδρῶν ἢ γυναικῶν ἐφόνευσας," ο ὁ δὲ ἀμείβετο "ὢν βασιλεῦ, Γορδίων μὲν τοῦ Μίδεω εἰμὶ παῖς, οὐομάζομαι δὲ Ἀδρηστος, φονεύσας δὲ ἀδελφον ἐμεωτοῦ ἀέκων πάρειμι ἐξελημαένος τε ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ ἐστερημένος πάντων." Κροῖσος δὲ μὲν ἀμείβετο τοῖσιδε: "Ἀνδρῶν τε φιλῶν τυχάνεις ἐγγόμο δὲ καὶ ἐληλυθας ἐς φίλους, ἐνθα ἀμηχανήσεις χρήματος οὔδενος μένων ἐν ἡμετέρῳ, συμφορῆν τε ταῦτην ὡς κουφότατα φέρων κερδανέεις πλείστων." 36. "Ὁ μὲν δὴ δίαιταν εἰχε ἐν Κροῖσον. ἐν δὲ τῷ αὐτῷ χρόνῳ τούτῳ ἐν τῷ Μυσῷ Ὀλυμπίῳ ὕστερον ἡμέρα γίνεται μέγα; ὅρμωμενος δὲ οὗτος ἐκ τοῦ ὀρείου τούτου τὰ τῶν Μυσῶν ἔργα διαφθείρεσθε. πολλάκις δὲ οἱ Μυσοὶ ἐπὶ αὐτῶν ἐξελθόντες

1 Ἐχοντι Στιν.
he took the javelins and spears and all such instruments of war from the men's apartments and piled them up in his storehouse, lest any of them should fall upon his son from where it hung.

35. Now while Croesus was busied about the marriage of his son, there came to Sardis a Phrygian of the royal house, in great distress and with hands unclean. This man came to Croesus' house, and entreated that he might be purified after the custom of the country; so Croesus purified him (the Lydians use the same manner of purification as do the Greeks), and when he had done all according to usage, he inquired of the Phrygian whence he came and who he was: "Friend," said he, "who are you, and from what place in Phrygia do you come to be my suppliant? and what man or woman have you slain?" "O King," the man answered, "I am the son of Gordias the son of Midas, and my name is Adrastus; by no will of mine, I slew my brother, and hither I am come, banished by my father and bereft of all." Croesus answered, "All of your family are my friends, and to friends you have come, among whom you shall lack nothing but abide in my house. And for your misfortune, bear it as lightly as may be and you will be the more profited."

36. So Adrastus lived in Croesus' house. About this same time there appeared on the Mysian Olympus a great monster of a boar, who would issue out from that mountain and ravage the fields of the Mysians. Often had the Mysians gone out against

1 Or, perhaps, "in the women's quarters."
ΗΡΟΔΟΤΟΣ


Τυχεῖται λογάδας καὶ τὸ κυνηγέσιον πάν συμπέμψας, καὶ διακελεύομαι τοὺς δυο εἶναι ὡς προβουλεύομαι συνεξελεύ̣ ἕρως τὸν θηρίον ἐκ τῆς χώρης."

37. Ταύτα ἀµείνατο ὑποχρεοµένων δὲ τούτων τῶν Μυσῶν, ἐπεζήτεται ὁ τοῦ Κροῖσου παῖς ἀκηρικός τῶν ἔδεντοι οἱ Μυσοί. οὐ φαµένου δὲ τοῦ Κροῖσου τὸν γε παῖδα σφί συµπέµησεν, λέγει πρὸς αὐτὸν ὁ νευρικὸς τάδε. "Ὤ πάτερ, τὰ καλλιστα προτερον κοταί καὶ γενναίοτατα ἢµῖν ἤµῖν ἐν τῇ πολεµίων καὶ ἐν ἀγγαίας φιλοτέντας ἐνδοδοκιµένα νῦν δὲ ἀµφοτέρων ἀπὸκλησάς ἐξείς, οὕτε τινὰ δειλίνας τινὰ παρεκάκοιτον ὡτε ἀθυμήν ἐν τῇ τέωσι ἐστὶ καὶ ἐστὶν ἀγορην ἔκειν προτετύγχασα, καὶ ὁ τοις τοῖς πολληθητέρον δόξω εἶναι, καὶ τοῖς τῇ νεογάμης ἡμικείς, καὶ δε ἱκεῖν ὀψει ἄνδρῃ συνοικείς, ἐρὲ ὂν τῇ µὴν ἔναι ἐπὶ τῇ βήρης, ή λογία ἀνάπεισον ὅκως µοι ἀμείνως ἔστι ταύτα ὡτε ποιεόμενα."
him: but they never did him any harm and rather were themselves hurt thereby. At last they sent messengers to Croesus, with this message: "King, a great monster of a boar has appeared in the land, who destroys our fields; for all our attempts, we cannot kill him; now therefore, we beseech you, send with us your son, and chosen young men and dogs, that we may rid the country of him." Such was their entreaty, but Croesus remembered the prophecy of his dream and thus answered them: "Say no more about my son: I will not send him with you; he is newly married, and that is his present business. But I will send chosen men of the Lydians, and all the hunt, and I will bid those who go to use all zeal in aiding you to rid the country of this beast."

37. So he replied, and the Mysians were satisfied with this. But the son of Croesus now came in, who had heard the request of the Mysians; and when Croesus refused to send his son with them, "Father," said the young man, "it was formerly held fairest and noblest that we princes should go constantly to war and the chase and win thereby renown; but now you have barred me from both of these, not for any sign that you have seen in me of a coward or craven spirit. With what face can I thus show myself whenever I go to and from the market-place? What will the men of the city think of me, and what my newwedded wife? With what manner of man will she think that she dwells? Nay, do you either let me go to this hunt, or show me by reason good that what you are doing is best for me."
38. 'Αμείβεται Κροίσος τοίσιδε. "Ω παί, ούτε δειλήν ούτε ἄλλο οὐδέν ἀχαρί παριδών τοι ποιέω ταύτα, ἄλλα μοι ὄψις οὐείρον ἐν τῷ ὑπνῷ ἐπιστάσα εὑρὶ σὲ ὁλογρόνιον ἐσεσθαι, ὅπο γὰρ αἰχμῆς σιδηρέως ἀπολεέσθαι. πρὸς οὖν τὴν ὄψιν ταύτην τὸν τε γάμον τοῦ τοῦτον ἔσπευσα καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ παραλαμβανόμενα οὐκ ἀποτέλσω, φυλακὴν ἔχων, εἰ κὼς δυναίμην ἐπὶ τῆς ἐμῆς σε ξόος διακλέψατο. εἰς γὰρ μοι μοῦνος τυγχάνεις ἐὼν παῖς τὸν γὰρ ἐτερον διεφθαρμένον τὴν ἀκοήν οὐκ εἶναι μοι λογίζωμαι."

39. 'Αμείβεται ο νεκρῆς τοίσιδε. "Συγγνώμη μὲν ὁ πάτερ τοι, ἵδοντι γε ὄψιν τοιαύτην, περὶ ἐμὲ φυλακῆν ἔχειν τὸ δὲ οὐ μανθάνεις ἄλλα λέληθε σὲ τὸ ὄνειρον, ἐμὲ τῷ δίκαιῳ ἐστὶ φράξειν. φης τοι τὸ ὄνειρον ὑπὸ αἰχμῆς σιδηρέως φάναι ἐμὲ τελευτήσειν τὸς δὲ κοίμας μὲν εἰςι χεῖρες, κοινὴ δὲ αἰχμῆ σιδηρέως τὴν σὐ φοβεᾶτο; εἰ μὲν γὰρ ὑπὸ ο ὄδοντος τοι εἰπε τελευτήσειν μὲ, ἡ ἄλλον τεν ὅ τι τούτω ἐοικε, χρῆν δὴ σὲ ποιεῖν τὰ ποιεῖς· νῦν δὲ ὑπὸ αἰχμῆς. ἐπεῖτε ὃν οὐ πρὸς ἄνδρας ἥμιν γίνεται ἡ μάχη, μέτες με."  

40. 'Αμείβεται Κροίσος "'Ω παί, ἔστι τῇ μὲ νικᾶς γρῶμην ἀποφαίνων περὶ τοῦ ἐνυπνίου. ὅσ' ἄν νεικημένος ὑπὸ σέος μεταγινώσκω, μετημή τε σὲ ἰέναι ἐπὶ τὴν ἀγρήν."

41. Εἴπας δὲ ταύτα ὁ Κροίσος μεταπέμπεται τοῖν Φρύγα "Αδρηστὸν, ἀπικομένῳ δὲ σὲ λέγει τάδε. "Αδρηστε, ἐγὼ σε συμφορὴ πεπληγμένον ἀχάρι, τὴν τοι ὅνειδίζω, ἐκάθηρα καὶ οἰκίουσι υποδεξάμενος ἔχω, παρέχων πάσαν δαπάνη. νῦν ὃν (οφείλεις γὰρ ἐμοὶ προποιήσαντος χρηστὰ ἐς
38. "My son," answered Croesus, "if I do this, it is not that I have seen cowardice or aught unseemly in you; no, but the vision of a dream stood over me in my sleep, and told me that your life should be short, for you should be slain by a spear of iron. It is for that vision that I was careful to make your marriage, and send you on no enterprise that I have in hand, but keep guard over you, so that haply I may trick death of you through my lifetime. You are my only son: for that other, since his hearing is lost to him, I count no son of mine."

39. "Father," the youth replied, "none can blame you for keeping guard over me, when you have seen such a vision; but it is my right to show you this which you do not perceive, and wherein you mistake the meaning of the dream. You say that the dream told you that I should be killed by a spear of iron; but has a boar hands? Has it that iron spear which you dread? Had the dream said I should be slain by a tusk or some other thing belonging to a boar, you had been right in acting as you act; but no, it was to be a spear. Therefore, since it is not against men that we are to fight, suffer me to go."

40. Croesus answered, "My son, your judgment concerning the dream does somewhat overpersuade me; and being so convinced by you I change my purpose and permit you to go to the chase."

41. Having said this, Croesus sent for Adrastus the Phrygian and when he came thus addressed him: "Adrastus, when you were smitten by grievous misfortune, for which I blame you not, it was I who cleansed you, and received and still keep you in my house, defraying all your charges. Now therefore (as you owe me a return of good service for the benefits
σὲ χρηστοτισὶ μὲ ἀμείβεσθαι) φύλακα παιδός σὲ τοῦ ἑμοῦ χρησίων γενέσθαι ἐς ἀγρην ἀρμωμένου, μὴ τινὲς κατ’ ὄδον κλώπες κακοῦργου ἐπὶ δηλήσει φανέρωσι ύμιν. πρὸς δὲ τοῦτῳ καὶ σὲ τοῖς χρεόν ἑστὶ ἱέναι ἐνθα ἀπολαμπρυνεῖν τοῖς ἐργοῖς πατρῴων τε γὰρ τοῦ ἑστὶ καὶ προσέπτει ρώμη ὑπάρχει.

42. Ἀμείβεται ο Ἀδρηστός ὁ Ω βασιλεὺς, ἅλλος μὲν ἐγὼγε ἄν οὐκ ἦδον ἀεὶ οὐκ ἀνοίγε· οὔτε γὰρ συμφορὴ τοῖς κεχρημένοις ὁικὸς ἑστὶ ἐς ὁμῆλικας εὐ πρήσωστος λέναι, οὔτε τὸ βούλεσθαι πάρα, πολλαχῇ τε ἂν ἵσχυον ἐμευτόν. νῦν δὲ, ἔπειτε σὺ σπεύδεις καὶ δεῖ τοις χαρίζεσθαι (οὐκὲ γὰρ σὲ ἀμείβεσθαι χρηστοῖς), ποιεῖν εἰμὶ ἑτοίμος τάΰτα, παιδά τε σοῦ, τὸν διακελεύειοι φυλάσσειν, ἀπήμονα τοῦ φυλάσσωντος εἶνεκεν προσόνο τοι ἀπονοστησεῖν.

43. Τοιούτοις ἔπειτε σοῦ ἀμείβαστο κροίστον, ἦσαν μὲτὰ τάΰτα ἐξηρτυμένοι λογιάς τε νεκρήσθει καὶ κυσί. ἀπικόμενοι δὲ ἐς τοὺς Ὀλυμπούς τὸ όρος ἐξήτευαν τὸ θερίον, εὐρότες δὲ καὶ περιστάτας αὐτὸ κύκλῳ ἐσηκόντιζον. ἔνθα δὴ ὁ ξεινὸς, οὗτος δὴ ὁ καθαρθεῖς τὸν φόνον, καλεόμενος δὲ Ἀδρηστός, ἀκοινοῦ τοῦ ὑπὸ τοῦ μὲν ἀμαρτάναι, τυγχάνει δὲ τοῦ κροίσου παιδός. ὃ μὲν δὴ βλήθης τῇ αἰχμῇ ἐξέπλυσε τοῦ ὀνείρου τὴν φήμην, ἐδει δὲ τοῖς ἀγγελέων τῷ κροίσῳ τῷ γεγονός, ἀπικόμενος δὲ ἐς τὰς Σάρδας τὴν τε μάχην καὶ τὸν τοῦ παιδὸς μόρον ἐσήμηνε αἱ.

44. ὁ δὲ κροίσος τῷ βανάτῳ τοῦ παιδὸς συνταραγμένος μᾶλλον τε ἑδειγμολογεῖτο ὅτι μιν ἀπέκτεινε τὸν αὐτοῦ φόνον ἐκάθηρε· περιημεκτέων
which I have done you) I ask you to watch over my son as he goes out to the chase. See to it that no ruffian robbers meet you on the way, to do you harm. Moreover it is but right that you too should go where you can win renown by your deeds. That is fitting for your father's son; and you are strong enough withal."

42. "O King," Adrastus answered, "had it been otherwise, I would not have gone forth on this enterprise. One so unfortunate as I should not consort with the prosperous among his peers; nor have I the wish so to do, and for many reasons I would have held back. But now, since you so desire and I must do your pleasure (owing you as I do a requital of good service), I am ready to obey you in this; and for your son, in so far as I can protect him, look for his coming back unharmed."

43. So when Adrastus had thus answered Croesus they went out presently equipped with a company of chosen young men and dogs. When they had come to Mount Olympus they hunted for the beast, and having found him they made a ring and threw their spears at him: then the guest called Adrastus, the man who had been cleansed of the deed of blood, missed the boar with his spear and hit the son of Croesus. So Atys was smitten by the spear and fulfilled the utterance of the dream. One ran to bring Croesus word of what had been done, and came to Sardis, where he told the king of the fight and the manner of his son's end.

44. Croesus, distraught by the death of his son, cried out the more vehemently because the slayer was one whom he himself had cleansed of a bloody
δὲ τῇ συμφορῇ δεινῶς ἐκάλεσε μὲν Δία καθάρσιον μαρτυρόμενος τὰ ὑπὸ τοῦ ξείνου πεπονθῶς εἰη ἐκάλεσε δὲ ἐπίστιον τε καὶ ἐταίρημα, τὸν αὐτὸν τοῦτον ὄνομάζων θεόν, τὸν μὲν ἐπίστιον καλέων, διότι δὴ οἰκίσσει ὑποδεξάμενος τὸν ξείνου φονέα τοῦ παιδὸς Ἠλάνθανε βόσκων, τὸν δὲ ἐταίρημα, ὡς φύλακα συμπέμψας αὐτὸν εὐρήκου πολεμιώτατον.

45. Παρῆσαν δὲ μετὰ τούτο οἱ Αὐδοὶ φέροντες τὸν νεκρὸν, ὅπισθε δὲ εἰπετό οἱ ὁ φονεύς. στὰς δὲ οὗτος πρὸ τοῦ νεκροῦ παρεδίδου ἔως τὸν Κροίσον προτείνων τὰς χεῖρας, ἐπικατασφάξας μιν κελεύων τῷ νεκρῷ, λέγων τὸν τε προτέρημα ἔως τὸν συμφορῆν, καὶ ὡς ἐπὶ ἐκείνῃ τὸν καθήμαντα ἀπολωλεκὼς εἰη, οὐδὲ οἱ εἰη βιωσίμου. Κροίσος δὲ τούτων ἀκούσας τὸν τοὺς Ἀδρηστοὺς κατοικτείρει, καὶ περὶ ἐν δὲ κακῷ οἰκήως τοσοῦτο καὶ λέγει πρὸς αὐτὸν ὡς Ἐχω ἡ ξείνη παρὰ σεύ πᾶσαν τὴν ὁδήγησιν ἐπειδὴ σεωτοῦ καταδικάζεις τὸν τάνατον. εἰς δὲ οὗ μου τοῦ τοῦ κακοῦ αἰτίος, εἰ μὴ ὅσον ἔκακος ἔξεργάσασαι, ἀλλὰ θεών κοῦ τις, ὅσοι καὶ πάλαι προσήμαινε τὰ μέλλοντα ἔσεσθαι. Κροίσος μὲν ὑπὸ τὸ σὺν ἐθάντες ὡς οἰκής ἡ τῶν ἐωτοῦ παίδα. "Ἀδρηστος δὲ οἱ Γορδίεω ποὺ Μίδεω, οὗτος δὴ οἱ φονεύς μὲν τῶν ἐωτοῦ ἀδελφεὺς γενόμενοι φονεύς δὲ τῶν καθήματος, ἐπεῖτε ἑσύχη τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐγένετο περὶ τὸ σήμα, συγγινωσκόμενοι ἀνθρώπων εἶναι τῶν αὐτῶς ὑδεις βαρυσυμφόρωτατος, ἐπικατασφάζει τῷ τύμβῳ ἐωτοῦ.

46. Κροίσος δὲ ἐπὶ δῦο ἔστεα ἐν πένθει μεγάλῳ
BOOK I. 44-46

... and in his great and terrible grief at this mischance he called on Zeus by three names—Zeus the Purifier, Zeus of the Hearth, Zeus of Comrades: the first, because he would have the god know what evil his guest had wrought him; the second, because he had received the guest into his house and thus unwittingly entertained the slayer of his son; and the third, because he had found his worst foe in the man whom he sent as a protector.

45. Soon came the Lydians, bearing the dead corpse, with the slayer following after. He then came and stood before the body and gave himself wholly into Croesus' power, holding out his hands and praying the king to slay him where he stood by the dead man: "Remember," he said, "my former mischance, and see how besides that I have undone him who purified me; indeed, it is not fit that I should live." On hearing this Croesus, though his own sorrow was so great, took pity on Adrastus and said to him, "Friend, I have from you all that justice asks, since you deem yourself worthy of death. But it is not you that I hold the cause of this evil, save in so far as you were the unwilling doer of it: rather it is the work of a god, the same who told me long ago what was to be." So Croesus buried his own son in such manner as was fitting. But Adrastus, son of Gordias who was son of Midas, this Adrastus, the slayer of his own brother and of the man who purified him, when the tomb was undisturbed by the presence of men, slew himself there by the sepulchre, seeing now clearly that he was the most ill-fated wretch of all men whom he knew.

46. Croesus, after the loss of his son, sat in deep
κατήστη τοῦ παιδός ἐστερημένος. μετὰ δὲ ἡ Ἀστυάγεος τοῦ Κυσάρεως ἠγεμονίᾳ κατατρεθείσα ὑπὸ Κύρου τοῦ Καμβύσεω καὶ τὰ τῶν Περσῶν πρήγματα αὐξανόμενα πένθεος μὲν Κροίσοις ἀπε-παινε, ἐνέβησε δὲ ἐς φροντίδα, εἰ καὶ δύνατο, πρὸν μεγάλους γενέσθαι τοὺς Πέρσας, καταλαβεῖν αὐτῶν αὐξανομένην τὴν δύναμιν. μετὰ ὁν τὴν διάνοιαν τάυτην αὐτικά ἀπεπειράτο τῶν μαντηίων τῶν τε ἐν Ἔλληνι καὶ τοῦ ἐν Λιβύη, διαπέμψας ἄλλους ἄλλης, τοὺς μὲν ἐς Δελφοὺς ῥέναι, τοὺς δὲ ἐς Ἀβας τὰς Φωκέων, τους δὲ ἐς Δωδώνην. οἱ δὲ τίνες ἐπέμποντο παρὰ τε Ἀμφιάρεως καὶ παρὰ Τροφώνιον, οἱ δὲ τῆς Μιλήσης ἐς Βραγχίδας. τάυτα μὲν νυν τὰ Ἐλληνικὰ μαντήα ἐς τὰ ἀπεπεμφθαι μαντεύσαμενος Κροίσος. Λιβύης δὲ παρὰ Ἀμμώνα ἀπέ- στελλε ἄλλους χρησμένους. διεπεμπε δὲ πειρώ- μενος τῶν μαντηίων ὃ τι φρονέσειν, ὡσ εἰ φρονέοντα τὴν ἄλθειν εὐρεθέιν, ἐπείρηται σφέα δεύτερα πέμπτων εἰ ἐπισειρέοι ἐπὶ Πέρσας στρατεύεσθαι.

47. Ἐπιειδάμενος δὲ τοῖς Λυδοῖς τάδε ἀπέ- πεμπε ἐς τὴν διάπειραν τῶν χρηστηρίων, ἀπ’ ἄν ἡμέρας ὄρμησεις ἐκ Σαρδίων, ἀπὸ ταύτης ἡμερολογείοντας τῶν λοιπῶν χρώνων ἐκατοστὴ ἡμέρα χρᾶσθαι τοῖς χρηστηρίοις, ἐπειρωτῶντας ὦ τι ποιών τυχόνοι οἱ Λυδοὶ Βασίλευς Κροίσος ὁ Ἀλκάττεως. ἀσσά δ’ ἂν ἐκαστα τῶν χρηστηρίων θεσπίση, συγγραφαμένους ἀναφέρειν παρ’ ἐωτόν, ὦ τι μὲν νυν τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν χρηστηρίων ἐθέσπισε, οὐ λέγειται πρὸς οὐδαμῶν ἐν δὲ Δελφοῖς ὡς ἐσήλθον τάχιστα ἐς τὸ μέγαρον οἱ Λυδοὶ χρησο- μενοί τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ ἐπειρωτῶν τὸ ἐντεταλμένον, ἡ Πυθίη ἐν ἐξαμετρῷ τοῦφ λέγει τάδε.
sorrow for two years. After this time, the destruction by Cyrus son of Cambyses of the sovereignty of Astyages son of Cyaxares, and the growth of the power of the Persians, caused him to cease from his mourning; and he resolved, if he could, to forestall the increase of the Persian power before they grew to greatness. Having thus determined, he straightway made trial of the Greek and Libyan oracles, sending messengers separately to Delphi, to Abae in Phocia, and to Dodona, while others again were despatched to Amphiaras and Trophonius,¹ and others to Branchidae in the Milesian country. These are the Greek oracles to which Croesus sent for divination: and he bade others go to inquire of Ammon in Libya. His intent in sending was to test the knowledge of the oracles, so that, if they should be found to know the truth, he might send again and ask if he should take in hand an expedition against the Persians.

47. And when he sent to make trial of these shrines he gave the Lydians this charge: they were to keep count of the time from the day of their leaving Sardis, and on the hundredth day inquire of the oracles what Croesus, king of Lydia, son of Alyattes, was then doing; then they were to write down whatever were the oracular answers and bring them back to him. Now none relate what answer was given by the rest of the oracles. But at Delphi, no sooner had the Lydians entered the hall to inquire of the god and asked the question with which they were charged, than the Pythian priestess uttered the following hexameter verses:

¹ That is, to the oracular shrines of these legendary heroes.
Οἶδα δ' ἐγὼ ψάμμου τ' ἄριστον καὶ μέτρα θαλάσσης,
καὶ κωφὸν συνήμι, καὶ οὕς φωνεῦντος ἄκουὼν.
οὕμὴ μ' ἐσ φρένας ἦλθε κραταιρίνου χελώνης
ἐφομένης ἐν χαλκῷ ἂν ἄρνεοισι κρεσσεῖν,
ἡ χαλκὸς μὲν ὑπέστρωται, χαλκὸν δ' ἐπιέσται.

48. Ταύτα οἱ Λυδοὶ θεσπισάσης τῆς Πυθίης
συνηραψάμενοι οὖχοντο ἀπιόντες ἐς τὰς Σάρδις.
ὡς δὲ καὶ ἄλλοι οἱ περιπεμφθέντες παρῆσαν
φεροῦτε τοὺς χρησμοὺς, ἐνθάυτα ὁ Κροίσσος
ἐκαστὰ ἀναπτύσσων ἐπώρα τῶν συγγραμμάτων.
τῶν μὲν δὴ οὐδὲν προσιετο μὴν δὲ ὡς τὸ ἐκ
Δελφῶν ἤκουσε, αὐτίκα προσεύχετο τε καὶ προσ-
edέξατο, νομίζας μοῦνον εἶναι μαυτίον τὸ ἐν
Δελφοῖς, ὅτι οἱ ἔξευρήκες τὰ αὐτὸς ἐποίησε.
ἐπεῖτε γὰρ δὴ διεπεμψε παρὰ τὰ χρηστήρια τοὺς
θεοπρόπους, φυλάξας τὴν κυρίην τῶν ἡμερῶν
ἐμηχανᾶτο τοιάδε: ἐπινοήσας τὰ ἢν ἀμηχανὸν
ἔξευρείν τε καὶ ἐπιφράσασθαι, χελώνην καὶ ἀρνα
κατακόψας ὁμὸν ἤςε αὐτὸς ἐν λέβητι χαλκέῳ,
χάλκεον ἐπίθημα ἐπιθεῖς.

49. Τὰ μὲν δὴ ἐκ Δελφῶν οὕτω τῷ Κροίσῳ
ἐχρήσθη κατὰ δὲ τὴν Ἀμφίαρεω τοῦ μαυτήν
ὑπόκρισιν, οὐκ ἔχω εἰπεῖν ὅ τι τοίς Λυδοῖς
ἐχρήσε ποιήσασι περὶ τὸ ἰρὸν τὰ νομίζομεν (οὐ
γὰρ ὁμ οὐδὲ τοῦτο λέγεται), ἄλλο γε ἢ ὅτι καὶ
τοῦτο ἐνόμισε μαυτήν ἀψευδῆς ἐκτήσθαι.
Grains of sand I reckon and measure the spaces of ocean,
Hear when dumb men speak, and mark the speech of the silent.
What is it now that I smell? 'tis a tortoise mightily armoured
Sodden in vessel of bronze, with a lamb's flesh mingled together:
Bronze thereunder is laid and a mantle of bronze is upon it."

48. Having written down this inspired utterance of the Pythian priestess, the Lydians went away back to Sardis. When the others as well who had been sent to divers places came bringing their oracles, Croesus then unfolded and surveyed all the writings. Some of them in no wise satisfied him. But when he heard the Delphian message, he acknowledged it with worship and welcome, considering that Delphi was the only true place of divination, because it had discovered what he himself had done. For after sending his envoys to the oracles, he bethought him of a device which no conjecture could discover, and carried it out on the appointed day: namely, he cut up a tortoise and a lamb, and then himself boiled them in a caldron of bronze covered with a lid of the same.

49. Such then was the answer from Delphi delivered to Croesus. As to the reply which the Lydians received from the oracle of Amphaiaraus when they had followed the due custom of the temple, I cannot say what it was, for nothing is recorded of it, saving that Croesus held that from this oracle too he had obtained a true answer.
50. Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα θυσίας μεγάλης τῶν ἐν Δελφοῖς θεῶν ἰδίσκετο: κτήνεα τε γαρ τὰ θύσιμα πάντα τρισάχλια ἐθύσε, κλίνας τε ἐπιχρύσους καὶ ἐπαργύρους καὶ φιάλας χρυσέας καὶ εἴματα πορφυρέα καὶ κιβώνας, νήσας πυρήνι μεγάλην, κατέκαιε, ἐλπίζων τὸν θεὸν μᾶλλον τι τούτοις ἀνακτήσεσθαι: Λυδοίσι τε πᾶσι προείπε θέειν πάντα τινὰ αὐτῶν τούτῳ ὅ τι ἔχοι ἐκαστὸς. ὡς δὲ ἐκ τῆς θυσίας ἐγένετο, καταχείμενος χρυσὸν ἀπλετον ἡμιπλίνθια ἐξ αὐτοῦ ἐξῆλαυσε, ἐπὶ μὲν τὰ μακροτερα ποιέων ἔξαπαλαίστα, ἐπὶ δὲ τὰ βραχύτερα τριπάλαιστα, ὑψὸς δὲ παλαιστιαία. ἀριθμὸν δὲ ἐπτακαίδεκα καὶ ἐκατόν, καὶ τούτων ἀπέφθου χρυσὸν τέσσερα, τρίτων ἡμιτάλαντων ἐκαστὸν ἔλκουτα, τὰ δὲ ἄλλα ἡμιπλίνθια λευκοῦ χρυσοῦ, σταθμὸν διτάλαντα. ἐποίετο δὲ καὶ λέοντος εἰκόνα χρυσὸν ἀπέφθου ἐλκουσαν σταθμὸν τάλαντα δέκα. οὕτος ο λέων, ἐπείτε κατεκαίετο ὁ ἐν Δελφοίσι νησός, κατέπεσε ἀπὸ τῶν ἡμιπλινθίων (ἐπὶ γὰρ τούτοις ἱδρυτο), καὶ νῦν κεῖται ἐν τῷ Κορυθῶν θησαυρῷ, ἐλκων σταθμὸν ἐβδομον ἡμιτάλαντον ἀπετάκη γὰρ αὐτοῦ τέταρτον ἡμιτάλαντον.

51. Ἐπιτελέσας δὲ ὁ Κροῖςος ταῦτα ἀπέπεμπε ἐς Δελφοὺς, καὶ τάδε ἄλλα ἄμα τοίς, κρητῆρας δύο μεγάθει μεγάλους, χρύσεως καὶ ἀργυρέους, τῶν ὁ μὲν χρύσεως ἐκεῖτο ἐπὶ δεξιά ἐσιόντες ἐς τῶν νησίων, ὁ δὲ ἀργυρέος ἐπὶ ἀριστερά. μετεκινήθησαν δὲ καὶ οὕτοι ὑπὸ τῶν νησίων κατακαίνοι, καὶ ὁ μὲν χρύσεος κεῖται ἐν τῷ Κλαξομενίων θησαυρῷ, ἐλκων σταθμὸν εἰνατον ἡμιτάλαντον καὶ ἐτε δυνδέκα μένειν, ὁ δὲ ἀργυρέος ἐπὶ τοῦ προνυμίου τῆς
50. After this, he strove to win the favour of the Delphian god with great sacrifices. He offered up three thousand beasts from each kind fit for sacrifice, and he burnt on a great pyre couches covered with gold and silver, golden goblets, and purple cloaks and tunics; by these means he hoped the better to win the aid of the god, to whom he also commanded that every Lydian should sacrifice what he could. When the sacrifice was over, he melted down a vast store of gold and made of it ingots of which the longer sides were of six and the shorter of three palms' length, and the height was one palm. These were an hundred and seventeen in number. Four of them were of refined gold, each weighing two talents and a half; the rest were of gold with silver alloy, each of two talents' weight. He bade also to be made a figure of a lion of refined gold, weighing ten talents. When the temple of Delphi was burnt, this lion fell from the ingots which were the base whereon it stood; and now it lies in the treasury of the Corinthians, but weighs only six talents and a half, for the fire melted away three and a half talents.

51. When these offerings were fully made, Croesus sent them to Delphi, with other gifts besides, namely, two very great bowls, one of gold and one of silver. The golden bowl stood to the right, the silvery to the left, of the temple entrance. These too were removed about the time of the temple's burning, and now the golden bowl, which weighs eight talents and a half, and twelve minae,

1 μωδ = about 15 oz. Troy weight.
γωνίας, χωρέων ἀμφορέας ἐξακοσίους ἐπικύρναται γὰρ ἀπὸ Δελφῶν θεοφανίως. φασὶ δὲ μὲν Δελφὸς Θεσσαλῶν τοῦ Σαμῖου ἔργον εἶναι, καὶ ἐγὼ δοκῶ ὅτι γὰρ τὸ συντηγὸν φαίνεται μοι ἔργον εἶναι. καὶ πίθους τε ἀργυρέους τέσσερας ἀπέπεμψε, οἱ ἐν τῷ Κορινθίων θησαυρῷ ἐστάσις, καὶ περιρραντήρια δύο ἀνέθηκε, χρύσεων τε καὶ ἀργυρέως, τῶν τὸ χρυσέα ἐπιγέφραται Δακεδαιμονίων φαμένων εἶναι ἀνάθημα, οὐκ ὅρθως λέγοντες ἔστι γὰρ καὶ τοῦτο Κροίσου, ἐπέγραψε δὲ τῶν τις Δελφῶν Δακεδαιμονίωις βουλόμενος χαρίζεσθαι, τοὺς ἐπιστάμενος τὸ οὐνομα οὐκ ἐπιμνησμαί. ἀλλά ὁ μὲν πάς, δὲ οὐ τῆς χειρός ἥτις τὸ θόσο, Δακεδαιμονίων ἐστὶ, οὐ μέντοι τῶν γε περιρραντηρίων οὔδέτερον, ἀλλὰ τα ἀναθήματα οὐκ ἑπίσημα πολλὰ ἀπέπεμψε ἀμα τούτοις ὁ Κροίσος, καὶ χειματα ἀργυρων κυκλοτερέα, καὶ δὴ καὶ γυναικὸς εἰδωλον χρύσεον τριπτήν, τὸ Δελφὸς τῆς ἀρτοκόπου τῆς Κροίσου εἰκόνα λέγοντες εἶναι. πρὸς δὲ καὶ τῆς ἐσούτω γυναικὸς τὰ ἀπὸ τῆς δειρῆς ἀνέθηκε ὁ Κροίσος καὶ τὰς ζώνας.

52. Ταῦτα μὲν ἐς Δελφῶν ἀπέπεμψε, τῷ δὲ Ἀμφιάρεως, πυθόμενος αὐτοῦ τὴν τε ἀρετὴν καὶ τὴν πάθην, ἀνέθηκε σάκος τε χρυσεον πάν ὀμοίως καὶ αἰχμὴν στερεὴν πᾶσαν χρυσῆν, τὸ ξυστόν τῇ σι ὁλεχθεὶ ἐνο ύμοῖο χρύσεον, τὰ ἔτη καὶ ἀμφοτέρα ἐς ἐμῆ τὴν κείμενα εν Θηβαίη καὶ Θηβάνοι εν τῷ νηῆ τοῦ Ἡσίηνον Ἀπόλλωνος.

53. Τούτω δὲ ἀγείνει μέλλουσι τῶν Λυδῶν ταῦτα τὰ δῶρα ἐς τὸ ἑρρέλλετο ὁ Κροίσος ἐπιειρωτάν τὰ χρηστήρια εἰ στρατεύτησε ἐπὶ Πέρας Κροίσος καὶ εἰ τινα στρατὸν ἀνδρῶν προσθέσετο φίλον,
bowl holds six hundred nine-gallon measures: for the Delphians use it for a mixing-bowl at the feast of the Divine Appearance. It is said by the Delphians to be the work of Theodorus of Samos, and I believe them, for it seems to me to be of no common workmanship. Moreover, Croesus sent four silver casks, which stand in the treasury of the Corinthians, and dedicated two sprinkling-vessels, one of gold, one of silver. The golden vessel bears the inscription "Given by the Lacedaemonians," who claim it as their offering. 'But they are wrong, for this, too, is Croesus' gift.' The inscription was made by a certain Delphian, whose name I know but will not reveal, out of his desire to please the Lacedaemonians. The figure of a boy, through whose hand the water runs, is indeed a Lacedaemonian gift; but they did not give either of the sprinkling-vessels. Along with these Croesus sent, besides many other offerings of no great mark, certain round basins of silver, and a golden female figure three cubits high, which the Delphians assert to be the statue of the woman who was Croesus' baker. Moreover he dedicated his own wife's necklaces and girdles.

52. Such were the gifts which he sent to Delphi. To Amphiaras, having learnt of his valour and his fate, he dedicated a shield made entirely of gold and a spear all of solid gold, point and shaft alike. Both of these lay till my time at Thebes, in the Theban temple of Ismenian Apollo.

53. The Lydians who were to bring these gifts to the temples were charged by Croesus to inquire of the oracles, "Shall Croesus send an army against the Persians: and shall he take to himself any allied

1 The Theophania was a festival at Delphi, at which the statues of gods were shown.
ὁς δὲ ἀπικόμενοι ἐς τὰ ἀπεπέμφθησαν οἱ Λυδοὶ ἀνέθεσαν τὰ ἀναθήματα, ἐχρέωστο τοίσι χρηστηρίοις λέγοντες "Κροίσος ὁ Λυδῶν τε καὶ ἄλλων ἐθνῶν βασιλεύς, νομίσας τάδε μαντήμα εἶναι μοῦνα ἐν ἀνδρώποις, ὑμῖν τε ἄξια δῶρα ἔδωκε τῶν ἐξευρημάτων, καὶ νῦν ὑμέας ἐπειρωτά εἰ στρατεύῃται ἐπὶ Πέρσας καὶ εἰ τινὰ στρατὸν ἀνδρῶν προσβέειτο σύμμαχον." οὐ μὲν ταῦτα ἐπειρώτων, τῶν δὲ μαντημῶν ἀμφοτέρων ἐς τόντο αἱ γνώμαι συνεδραμοῦν, προλέγουσαι Κροίσῳ, ἢν στρατεύῃται ἐπὶ Πέρσας, μεγάλην ἄρχην μιν καταλύσειν τοὺς δὲ Ἑλλήνων δυνατωτάτους συνεβούλευον οἱ ἐξευρόντα φίλους προσβέθαναι.

54. Ἐπείτη δὲ ἀνενεχθέντα τὰ θεσπρώπια ἐπώθετο ὁ Κροίσος, ύπερήσθη τε τοῖσι χρηστηρίοις, πάγχυ τε ἐλπίσας καταλύσειν τὴν Κύρου βασιληίν, πέμψας αὐτὸν ἐς Πυθῶν Δελφοῦς δωρεάν ἐπονομασμένον, γενόμενον χυμοῦν. Δελφοὶ δὲ ἀντὶ τούτων ἔδοσαν Κροίσῳ καὶ Λυδοῖς προμαντήματι καὶ ἀτελείαν καὶ προεδρίαν, καὶ ἔξειναι τῷ θουλομένῳ αὐτῶν γίνεσθαι Δελφοῦς ἐς τὸν αἰεὶ χρόνον.

55. Δωρησάμενοι δὲ τοὺς Δελφοὺς ὁ Κροίσος ἐχρηστηριαζότο τὸ τρίτον ἑπείτη γὰρ ὅτι παρελάβε τοῦ μαντημοῦ ἀληθείαν, ἐνεφορεῖτο αὐτοῦ. ἐπειρώτα δὲ τάδε χρηστηριαζόμενος, εἰ οἱ πολυ-
host?" When the Lydians came to the places whither they were sent, they made present of the offerings, and inquired of the oracles, in these words: "Croesus, king of Lydia and other nations, seeing that he deems that here are the only true places of divination among men, endows you with such gifts as your wisdom merits. And now he would ask you, if he shall send an army against the Persians, and if he shall take to himself any allied host." Such was their inquiry; and the judgment given to Croesus by each of the two oracles was the same, to wit, that if he should send an army against the Persians he would destroy a great empire. And they counselled him to discover the mightiest of the Greeks and make them his friends.

54. When the divine answers had been brought back and Croesus learnt of them, he was greatly pleased with the oracles. So, being fully persuaded that he would destroy the kingdom of Cyrus, he sent once again to Pytho and endowed the Delphians with two gold staters¹ apiece, according to his knowledge of their number. The Delphians, in return, gave Croesus and all Lydians the right of first consulting the oracle, freedom from all charges, the chief seats at festivals, and perpetual right of Delphian citizenship to whosoever should wish.

55. Then Croesus after his gifts to the Delphians made a third inquiry of the oracle, for he would use it to the full, having received true answers from it; and the question which he asked in his inquest was whether his sovereignty should be of long

¹ The stater was the common gold coin of the Greek world. The value of Croesus' stater was probably about twenty-three shillings of our money.
χρόνιος ἦσται ἡ μουναρχία. ἢ δὲ Πυθῆν οἱ χρή τάδε.

'Ἀλλ' ὅταν ἠμίωνος βασιλεὺς Μήδοις γένηται, καὶ τότε, Δυνῆ ποδαβρέ, πολυψήφιδα παρ' Ἕρμον
φεύγειν μηδὲ μένειν μηδ' αἰδείσθαι κακὸς εἶναι.

56. Τούτως ἐλθοῦσι τοὺς ἔπεσε ὁ Κροίσος πολλὸν τι μάλιστα πάντων ἡσθήθη, ἔπιξόν ἠμίωνον ὀυδαμὰ ἀντ' ἀνδρὸς βασιλεύσειν Μῆδων, οὐδ' ἂν αὐτὸς οὐδὲ οἱ ἐξ αὐτοῦ παύσεσθαι κοτὲ τῆς ἄρχης. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἐφρόντιζε ἰστορέων τοὺς ἀν Ἑλλή
νων δυνατωτάτους ἐόντας προσκτήσαιτο φίλους, ἰστορέων δὲ εὐρισκεὶ Δακεδαμονίους καὶ Ἀθη-
ναίους προέχοντας τοὺς μὲν τοῦ Δωρίκου γένεος τοὺς δὲ τοῦ Ἰωνίκου. ταῦτα γὰρ ἦν τὰ προκεκρι-
μένα, ἐόντα τὸ ἄρχαιον τὸ μὲν Πελαγικὸν τὸ δὲ Ἑλληνικὸν ἔθνος. καὶ τὸ μὲν οὐδαμὴ καὶ ἐξεχώ-
ρησε, τὸ δὲ πολυπλάνητον κάρτα. ἐπὶ μὲν γὰρ ἰενόλων βασιλέως οἰκείς τῇ τῆς Φθιῶτιν, ἐπὶ δὲ Δώρου τοῦ Ἑλληνος τῆς ὑπὸ τῆς Ὀσσαν τε καὶ τῶν Ὀλυμπον κόρην, καλεομένην δὲ Ὑστι-
αιῶτιν ἐκ δὲ τῆς Ὑστιαιώτιδος ὡς ἔξανέστη ὑπὸ Καμεῖων, οἰκείς ἐν Πίνδῳ Μακεδόνα καλεομένον
ἐνθεύτεν δὲ αὕτης ἐς τὴν Δρυσπίδα μετέβη, καὶ ἐκ τῆς Δρυσπίδος οὔτω ἐς Πελοπόννησον ἐλθὼν Δω-
νικόν ἐκλήθη.
duration. To this the Pythian priestess answered as follows:

"Lydian, beware of the day when a mule is lord of the Medians:
Then with thy delicate feet by the stone-strewn channel of Hermus
Flee for thy life, nor abide, nor blush for the name of a craven."

56. When he heard these verses Croesus was pleased with them above all, for he thought that a mule would never be king of the Medians in place of a man, and so that he and his posterity would never lose his empire. Then he sought very carefully to discover who were the mightiest of the Greeks whom he should make his friends. He found by inquiry that the chief peoples were the Lacedaemonians among those of Doric, and the Athenaeans among those of Ionic stock. These races, Ionian and Dorian, were the foremost in ancient time, the first a Pelasgian and the second an Hellenic people. The Pelasgian stock has never yet left its habitation, the Hellenic has wandered often and afar. For in the days of king Deucalion it inhabited the land of Phthia, then in the time of Dorus son of Hellen the country called Histiaeaean, under Ossa and Olympus; driven by the Cadmeans from this Histiaeaean country it settled about Pindus in the parts called Macednian; thence again it migrated to Dryopia, and at last came from Dryopia into Peloponnessus, where it took the name of Dorian.

1 Deucalion and Pyrrha were the survivors of the Deluge as known to Greek legend.
2 The localities mentioned in the story of the migration into the Peloponnesse are all in northern Greece.
57. "Ηντινα δὲ γλώσσαν ἔσαν οἱ Πελασγοί, οὐκ ἔχω ἀτρεκέως εἰπεῖν. εἰ δὲ χρεόν ἐστι τεκμαιρόμενον λέγειν τοῖς νῦν ἔτι ένθαμε Πελασ-γῶν τῶν ὑπὲρ Υπαρχον Ἐρησίων ἔτη τάλαν οἴκεόν-των, οἱ ὁμοροι κοτε ἤσαν τοῖς νῦν Δωριεύσι καλεομένοις (οἴκεον δὲ την κατά γην τὴν νῦν Ὀσαλίωτιν καλεομένην), καὶ τῶν Πλακίτης τε καὶ Σκυλάκης Πελασγῶν οἰκησάντων εν Ἐλλη-πόντῳ, οἱ σύνοικοι ἐγένοντο Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ ὥσ πάλιν Πελασγικα ἐποντα πολίσσαμα τὸ σύνομα μετέβαλε· εἰ τούτοις τεκμαιρόμενον δεῖ λέγειν, ἦσαν οἱ Πελασγοί βάρβαροι γλώσσαν ἱέντες. εἰ τοίνυν ἦν καὶ πάν τοιοῦτο τὸ Πελασγικόν, τὸ Ἀττικόν ἐθνος ἐν Πελασγικὸν ἀμα τῇ μεταβολῇ τῇ ἐς Ἐλληνας καὶ τὴν γλώσσαν μετέμεθε. καὶ γὰρ δὴ οὔτε οἱ Κρήτες, οἱ Πελασγικοὶ ἀμα τῇ μεταβολῇ τῇ ἐς ἔλληνας καὶ τὴν γλώσσαν μετέμεθα. καὶ γὰρ δὴ οὔτε οἱ Κρήτες, οἱ Δυσκόλωται οὐδαμοί τῶν νῦ-ν σφέας περιοικέωντων εἰσὶ ὁμόγλωσσοι οὔτε οἱ Πλακηροί, σφίσε δὲ ὁμόγλωσσοι· δηλοῦσι τὸ στὶ 

58. Τὸ δὲ Ἐλληνικὸν γλώσση μὲν ἐπείτε ἐγένετο αἰεὶ κοτε τῇ αὐτῇ διαχράται, ὥς ἐμοὶ καταφαί- 

59. Τούτων δὴ ὅν τῶν ἐθνῶν τὸ μὲν Ἀττικὸν κατεχόμενὸν τε καὶ διεσπασμένον ἐπινιθάνετο ὁ
57. What language the Pelasgians spoke I cannot accurately say. But if one may judge by those that still remain of the Pelasgians who dwell above the Tyrrheni in the city of Creston—who were once neighbours of the people now called Dories, and at that time inhabited the country which now is called Thessalian—and of the Pelasgians who inhabited Placia and Scylace on the Hellespont, who came to dwell among the Athenians, and by other towns too which were once Pelasgian and afterwards took a different name:—if (I say) one may judge by these, the Pelasgians spoke a language which was not Greek. If then all the Pelasgian stock so spoke, then the Attic nation, being of Pelasgian blood, must have changed its language too at the time when it became part of the Hellenes. For the people of Creston and Placia have a language of their own in common, which is not the language of their neighbours; and it is plain that they still preserve the fashion of speech which they brought with them in their migration into the places where they dwell.

58. But the Hellenic stock, as to me seems clear, has ever used the same language since its beginning; yet being, when separated from the Pelasgians, but few in number, they have grown from a small beginning to comprise a multitude of nations, chiefly because the Pelasgians and many other foreign peoples united themselves with them. Before that, as I think, the Pelasgic stock nowhere increased greatly in number while it was of foreign speech.

59. Now, of these two peoples, Croesus learned that the Attic was held in subjection and divided

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1 If these are the Etruscans, then Creston may = Cortona: but the whole matter is doubtful.
Κραίσος ὑπὸ Πεισιστράτου τοῦ Ἰπποκράτεος τοῦ τὸν χρόνον τυραννεύοντος Ἀθηναίων. Ἰπποκράτει γὰρ ἔοιμε Ἰδιώτης καὶ θεωρέομαι τὰ Ὀλύμπια τέρας ἐγένετο μέγα· θύσαντος γὰρ αὐτοῦ τὰ ἱρὰ οἱ λέβητες ἐπεστῶτες καὶ κρεών τε ἐόντες ἐμπλεοὶ καὶ ὕδατος ἀνεύ πυρὸς ἔξεσαν καὶ ὑπερέβαλον. Χίλων δὲ ὁ Δακεδαιμόνιος παρατυχὼν καὶ θεησάμενος τὸ τέρας συνεβούλευε Ἰπποκράτει πρῶτα μὲν γυναῖκα μὴ ἀγεσθαι τέκνοποιον ἐς τὰ οἰκία, εἰ δὲ τυγχάνει ἔχων, δεύτερα τὴν γυναῖκα ἐκπέμπειν, καὶ εἰ τίς ἦν τυγχάνει ἔων παῖς, τοῦτον ἀπείπασθαι. οὐκὼν ταῦτα παραίσαυτος Χίλωνος πείθεσθαι δέλειν τὸν Ἰπποκράτεα· γενέσθαι οἱ μετὰ ταῦτα τὸν Πεισιστράτον τοῦτον, ὡς στασιάζοντων τῶν παράλων καὶ τῶν ἐκ τοῦ πεδίου Ἀθηναίων, καὶ τῶν μὲν προστεῶτος Μεγακλέους τοῦ Ἀλκμέωνος, τῶν δὲ ἐκ τοῦ πεδίου Δυκοῦργου Ἀριστολαίδεω, καταφρονήσας τὴν τυραννίδα ἄγερσα τρίτην στάσιν τυλίγον τρίτην καὶ τῷ λόγῳ τῶν ὑπερακρίων προστάσιον μηχανᾶται τοιῷδε. τρωματίδας ἐσωτόν τε καὶ ἡμιόνων ἡλάτε ἐς τὴν ἀγορὴν τὸ ξεύγος ὡς ἐκπεφυγός τους ἐχθροὺς, οἱ μὲν ἐλαύνοντα ἐς ἄγρον ἡδελπὶς ἀπολέσαν δῆθεν, ἐδεέτο τε τοῦ δήμου φυλακῆς τινος πρὸς αὐτὸν κυρῆσαι, προτέρου εὐδοκιμήσας ἐν τῇ πρὸς Μεγαρᾶς γενομένη στρατηγήσῃ, Νήσαιν τε ἐλὼν καὶ ἄλλα ἀποδεξάμενος μεγάλα ἔργα. ο ὁ δήμος ῥ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐξαπατηθεῖς ἐδωκε ὡς τῶν ἀστῶν καταλέξας ἀνδρὰς τούτους οἱ πολυφόροι μὲν οὐκ ἐγένοντο Πεισιστράτου, κορυνηφόροι δὲ Χίλων γὰρ κορύνας ἔχοντες εἴποντο οἱ ὅπισθε. συνεπαναστάντες δὲ
into factions by Pisistratus son of Hippocrates, who at that time was sovereign over the Athenians. This Hippocrates was but a private man when a great marvel happened to him as he was at Olympia to see the games: when he had offered the sacrifice, the vessels, standing there full of meat and water, boiled without fire till they overflowed. Chilon the Lacedaemonian, who chanced to be there and saw this marvel, counselled Hippocrates not to take into his house a childbearing wife, if so might be: but if he had one already, then at least to send her away, and if he had a son, to disown him. Hippocrates refused to follow the counsel of Chilon, and presently there was born to him this Pisistratus aforesaid. In course of time there was a feud between the Athenians of the coast under Megacles son of Alcmeon and the Athenians of the plain under Lycurgus son of Aristolaides. Pisistratus then, having an eye to the sovereign power, raised up a third faction. He collected partisans and pretended to champion the hillmen; and this was his plan. Wounding himself and his mules, he drove his carriage into the market place with a tale that he had escaped from his enemies, who would have slain him (so he said) as he was driving into the country. So he besought the people that he might have a guard from them: and indeed he had won himself reputation in his command of the army against the Megarians, when he had taken Nisaea and performed other great exploits. Thus deceived, the Athenian people gave him a chosen guard of citizens, of whom Pisistratus made not spearmen but clubmen: for the retinue that followed him bore wooden clubs. These
ούτω ἄμα Πεισιστράτῳ ἔσχον τὴν ἀκρόπολιν. Εὐθα δὴ ο Πεισιστράτος ἦρχε Ἀθηναίων, οὔτε τιμᾶς τὰς ἐσώσας συνταράξας οὔτε θέσμα μεταλάξας, ἐπὶ τε τοῦ ἐκατεστώσι ἕνεμε τὴν πόλιν κοσμέων καλῶς τε καὶ εὖ.

60. Μετὰ δὲ οὐ πολλον χρόνον τῶντο φρονήσαντες οἱ τοῦ Μεγακλέος στασιῶν καὶ οἱ τοῦ Δυκοῦργου ἐξελαύνουσί μην. οὔτω μὲν Πεισιστράτῳ ἐσχέ τὸ πρῶτον Ἀθηναίων, καὶ τὴν τυραννίδα οὐκώ καρτα ἐρριζωμένην ἔχον ἀπέβαλε. οἱ δὲ ἐξελάσαντες Πεισιστράτων αὕτως ἔκ νέης ἐπ᾽ ἄλληλοις ἐστασίασαν. περιελαυνόμενοι δὲ τῇ στάσι τοῦ Μεγακλήης ἐπεκηρυκεύετο Πεισιστράτω, εἰ βούλιοτο οἱ τὴν θυγατέρα ἔχειν γυναίκα ἕπι τῇ τυραννίδῃ. ἐνδεξαμένου δὲ τῶν λόγον καὶ ὁμολογήσαντος ἐπὶ τοῦ τούτου Πεισιστράτου, μηχανότων δὴ ἔπι τῇ κατόρθω πρήγμα εὐθέστατον, ὦς ἐγὼ ἐφημίκω, μακρῷ, ἐπεὶ γα ἀπεκρίθη ἐκ παλαιτέρω του βαρβάρου ἔδνος τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν ἐν καὶ δεξιώτερον καὶ εὐθείας ἡλιθίον ἀπηλλαγμένον μᾶλλον, εἰ καὶ ποτὲ γε οὕτως ἐν Ἀθηναίοις τοῦτοι πρῶτοις λεγομένοις εἶναι Ἑλλήνων σοφῆν μηχανόται τοιᾷδε. ἐν τῷ δήμῳ τῷ Παιανεί τὴν γηνὴ τῇ οὖν ἡμεθα ἡν Φύη, μέγαθος ἀπὸ τοῦ τεσσάρων πηχέων ἀπολείπουσα τρεῖς δακτύλους καὶ ἀλλὰς ἐυειδῆς ταύτην τὴν γυναίκα σκευάσαντες πανωπλή, ές ἀρμα ἐσβιβάσαντες καὶ προδέξαντες σχήμα οἷον τα ἐμελλε εὔπρεπεστατον φανέσθαι ἔχουσα, ἡλαυνών ές το ἀστυ, προδρομοὺς κηρυκας προπέμψαντες οἱ τὰ ἐντεταλμένα ἡγόρευνον ἀπικόμενοι ές το ἀστυ, λέγοντες τοιᾷδε τω Ἡθηναίοι, δέκεσθε ἄγαθό νόροι Πεισιστρατος, τῶν
with Pisistratus rose and took the Acropolis; and Pisistratus ruled the Athenians, disturbing in no way the order of offices nor changing the laws, but governing the city according to its established constitution and ordering all things fairly and well.

60. But after no long time the faction of Megacles and Lycurgus made common cause and drove him out. Thus did Pisistratus first win Athens, and thus did he lose his sovereignty, which was not yet firmly rooted. Presently his enemies who had driven him out began once more to be at feud together. Megacles then, being buffeted about by faction, sent a message to Pisistratus offering him his daughter to wife and the sovereign power besides. This offer being accepted by Pisistratus, who agreed on these terms with Megacles, they devised a plan to bring Pisistratus back, which, to my mind, was so exceeding foolish that it is strange (seeing that from old times the Hellenic has ever been distinguished from the foreign stock by its greater cleverness and its freedom from silly foolishness) that these men should devise such a plan to deceive Athenians, said to be the cun-tingest of the Greeks. There was in the Paeanian deme a woman called Phya, three fingers short of four cubits in stature, and for the rest fair to look upon. This woman they equipped in full armour, and put her in a chariot, giving her all such appurtenances as would make the seemliest show, and so drove into the city; heralds ran before them, and when they came into the town made proclamation as they were charged, bidding the Athenians "to give a hearty welcome to Pisistratus, whom Athene

1 Local division of Attica.
αὐτῇ ἠ 'Ἀθηναίης τιμήσασα ἀνθρώπων μᾶλιστα κατάγει ἐς τὴν ἐωτῆς ἀκρόπολιν." οὐ μὲν ὁ
tαῦτα διαφοιτέοντες ἔλεγον ἀυτίκα δὲ ἐς τοὺς
dήμους φάτες ἀπίκετο ὡς 'Ἀθηναίης Πεισίστρατον
catatigei, καὶ οἱ ἐν τῷ ἄστει πειθόμενοι τὴν γυναῖκα
εἶναι αὐτὴν τὴν θεοῦ προσεύχουσό τε τὴν ἀν-
θρωπον καὶ ἐδέκοντο Πεισίστρατον.

61. Ἀπολαβὼν δὲ τὴν τυραννίδα τρόπῳ τῷ
eἰρημένῳ ὁ Πεισίστρατος κατὰ τὴν ὀμολογίαν τὴν
πρὸς Μεγακλέα γενομένην γαμεῖ τοῦ Μεγακλέος
τὴν θυγατέρα. οὐ δὲ παῖδων τέ οἱ ὕπαρχόντων
νεηρῶν καὶ λεγομένων ἑραγέων εἶναι τῶν Ἀλκ-
μενιδέων, οὐ βουλόμενος οἱ γενέσθαι ἐκ τῆς
νεογάμου γυναίκος τέκνα ἐμφυγετό οἱ οὓς κατὰ
νόμον. τὰ μὲν γὰρ πρῶτα ἐκρυπτεῖ ταῦτα ἡ γυνὴ,
μετὰ δὲ ἐπε ἱστορεύσῃ ἐπεὶ καὶ οὐ φράζει τῇ
ἐωτῆς μητρί, ἥ δὲ τῷ ἀνδρί. ὀργῇ δὲ ὡς εἰχε
καταλλάσσετο τὴν ἐχθρὴν τοῖς στασινῶτης,
μαθὼν δὲ ο Πεισίστρατος τὰ ποιεύμενα ἐπὶ ἐωτῶ
ἀπαλλάσσετο ἐκ τῆς χώρης τὸ παράπαν, ἀπικο-
μενος δὲ ἐσ 'Ερέτριαν ἐβουλεύετο ἀμα τοῖς παισί.
Ἰππίεω δὲ γνώμης νικήσαντος ἀνακτᾶσθαι ὅπισω
τὴν τυραννίδα, ἐνθαῦτα ἡγείρον δωτίνας ἐκ τῶν
πολίων αἰτινές σφὶ προαιδέουτο κοῦ τι. πολλῶν
δὲ μεγάλα παρασχόντων χρήματα, Ἐπιβαίοι ὑπερε-
βάλοντο τῇ ὁσί τῶν χρημάτων. μετὰ δὲ, οὐ
πολλῷ λογῷ εἰπέων, χρωνος διέφυ καὶ πάντα σφὶ
ἐξήρτιτο ἐς τὴν κάτοδον καὶ γὰρ Ἀργείων μισ-
θωτοι ἀπίκετο ἐκ Πελοποννήσου καὶ Ναξῖος σφὶ
ἀνὴρ ἀπγμένος ἐθέλουτης, τῷ οὖνομα τῷ Δυσ-
δαμίς, προθυμίην πλείστην παρείχετο, κομίσας
καὶ χρήματα καὶ ἄνδρας.
herself honoured beyond all men and was bringing back to her own citadel." So the heralds went about and spoke thus: immediately it was reported in the demes that Athene was bringing Pisistratus back, and the townsfolk, persuaded that the woman was indeed the goddess, worshipped this human creature and welcomed Pisistratus.

61. Having won back his sovereignty in the manner which I have shown, Pisistratus married Megacles' daughter according to his agreement with Megacles. But as he had already young sons, and the Alcmeonid family were said to be under a curse, he had no wish that his newly wed wife should bear him children, and therefore had wrongful intercourse with her. At first the woman hid the matter: presently she told her mother (whether being asked or not, I know not) and the mother told her husband. Megacles was very angry that Pisistratus should do him dishonour; and in his wrath he made up his quarrel with the other faction. Pisistratus, learning what was afoot, went by himself altogether away from the country, and came to Eretria, where he took counsel with his sons. The counsel of Hippias prevailing, that they should recover the sovereignty, they set to collecting gifts from all cities which owed them some requital. Many of these gave great sums, the Thebans more than any, and in course of time, not to make a long story, all was ready for their return: for they brought Argive mercenaries from Peloponnesus, and there came also of his own free will a man of Naxos called Lygdamis, who was most zealous in their cause and brought them money and men.
62. Ἐξ Ἕρετρίας δὲ ὀρμηθέντες διὰ ἐνδεκάτων ἵκεος ἀπίκουσαν ὅπισώ, καὶ πρῶτον τῆς Ἀττικῆς ἴσχυσε Μαραθώνα. ἐν δὲ τούτῳ τῷ χώρῳ σφι στρατοπεδευομένουι σὲ τῇ ἑκ τοῦ ἀστεος σταςιῶται ἀπίκουσαν ἄλλοι τα έκ τῶν δήμων προσέρρουσι, τούτι ή τυραννίς πρὸ ἐλευθερίας ἢν ἀσπαστήτουροι. οὐτοὶ μὲν δὴ συνηλίζουσιν, Ἄθηναίων δὲ οἱ ἐκ τοῦ ἀστεος, ἔως μὲν Πεισίστρατος τὰ χρῆματα ἤγειρε, καὶ μετανυτις ὡς ἐσχε Μαραθώνα, λόγον σύνδεα εἶχον ἔπειτε δὲ ἐπιθυμον ἐκ τοῦ Μαραθώνος αὐτῶν προέρεσθαι ἐπὶ τὸ ἅστυ, οὕτω δὴ βοηθεον ἐπὶ αὐτῶν, καὶ αὐτοὶ τε πανστρατή ἦσαν ἐπὶ τοὺς κατιόντας, καὶ οἱ ἀμφὶ Πεισίστρατος, ὡς ὀρμηθέντες ἐκ Μαραθώνος ἠσαν ἐπὶ τὸ ἅστυ, ἐς τότε συνιόντες ἀπικνέονται ἐπὶ Παλληνίδος Ἀθηναίης ἴρον, καὶ ἀντία ἐδέντο ἡ ὅπλα. ἐνθαῦτα θείῃ πομηθή χρεώμενος παρίσταται Πεισίστρατος Ἀμφίλυτος ὁ Ἀκαρνάν χρησμολόγος ἄνηρ, ὅς οἱ προσιων χρῆ ἐν ἐξαμέτρῳ τόνῳ τάδε λέγων:

"Ἐρριπταὶ δὲ ὁ βύλος, τὸ δὲ δίκτυον ἐκπεπέτασται, θύνοι δὲ οἰκήσουσι σεληναίης διὰ νυκτός."

63. "Ὁ μὲν δὴ οἱ ἐνθεάζον χρῆ τάδε, Πεισίστρατος δὲ συλλαβὼν τῷ χρηστήριῳ καὶ φὰς δέκεσθαι τὸ χρηστηθὲν ἐπίνης την στρατινήν. Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ οἱ ἐκ τοῦ ἀστεος πρὸς ἀριστον τετραμένοι ἦσαν δὴ τηνικαύτα, καὶ μετὰ τὸ ἀριστον μετεξέτεροι αὐτῶν οἱ μὲν πρὸς κυβίοις οἱ δὲ πρὸς ὑπνον. οἱ δὲ ἀμφὶ Πεισίστρατον ἐπεσοῦσας τοὺς Ἀθηναίους τράπουσιν. φευγόντων δὲ τούτων θουλὴν ἐνθαῦτα σοφωτάτην Πεισίστρατος ἐπιτε-
62. So after ten years they set out from Eretria and returned home. The first place in Attica which they took and held was Marathon; and while encamped there they were joined by their partisans from the city, and by others who flockéd to them from the country demes—men who loved the rule of one more than freedom. These, then, assembled; but the Athenians in the city, who, while Pisistratus was collecting money and afterwards when he had taken Marathon, made no account of it, did now, when they learnt that he was marching from Marathon against Athens, set out to attack him. They came out with all their force to meet the returning exiles. Pisistratus' men, in their march from Marathon towards the city, encountered the enemy when they had reached the temple of Pallenian Athene, and encamped face to face with them. There (by the providence of heaven) Pisistratus met Amphilytus the Acarnanian, a diviner, who came to him and prophesied as follows in hexameter verses:

"Now hath the cast been thrown and the net of the fisher is outspread:
All in the moonlight clear shall the tunny-fish come for the taking."

63. So spoke Amphilytus, being inspired; Pisistratus understood him, and, saying that he received the prophecy, led his army against the enemy. The Athenians of the city had at this time gone to their breakfast, and after breakfast some betook themselves to dicing and some to sleep: they were attacked by Pisistratus' men and put to flight. So they fled, and Pisistratus devised a very subtle plan to keep
χνάται, δ'κως μήτε ἀλισθείεν ἔτι οἱ 'Αθηναῖοι διεσκέδασμένοι τε εἰεν' ἀναβάσας τοὺς παῖδας ἐπὶ ἐπενθ οὗ προέτεμπε, οἳ δὲ καταλαμβάνοντες τοὺς φεύγοντας ἔλεγον τὰ ἐντεταλμένα ὑπὸ Πεισιστράτου, θαρσεῖν τε κελεύοντες καὶ ἀπιέναι ἔκαστον ἐπὶ τὰ ἐωυτοῖ. 

64. Πειθομένως δὲ τῶν 'Αθηναίων, οὕτω δὴ Πεισιστράτος τὸ τρίτον σχῆν 'Αθήνας ἐρρίζωσε τὴν τυρρανίδα ἐπικουροίσι τε πολλοίσι καὶ χρημάτων συνόδοισι, τῶν μὲν αὐτόθεν τῶν δὲ ἀπὸ Στρυμόνος ποταμοῦ συνιόντων, ὁμήρους τε τῶν παραμεινόντων 'Αθηναίων καὶ μὴ αὐτίκα φυγοῦντων παῖδας λαβὼν καὶ καταστήσας ἐς Νάξον (καὶ γὰρ ταύτην ὁ Πεισιστράτος κατεστρέψατο πολέμῳ καὶ ἐπέτρεψε Δυναύμα), πρὸς τε ἐτί τούτοις τὴν νῆσον Δήλου καθήκας ἐκ τῶν λογίων, καθήκας δὲ ὁδὸν ἐπὶ ὅσον ἐποψίς τοῦ ἱπτο ἐκεῖ, ἐκ τούτου τοῦ χώρου παντὸς ἐξορύξας τοὺς νεκροὺς μετεφόρεε ἐς ἄλλον χώρον τῆς Δήλου καὶ Πεισιστράτος μὲν ἐντεράννευ 'Αθηνέων, 'Αθηναίων δὲ οŀ μὲν ἐν τῇ μάχῃ ἐπεττόκεσαν, οἷ δὲ αὐτῶν μετ' Ἀλκεμεωιδεῶν ἐφευγόν ἐκ τῆς οἰκίης. 

65. Τοὺς μὲν ὅλων 'Αθηναίων τοιαύτα τὸν χρόνον τοῦτον ἐπινυθόντο ὁ Κροίσος κατέχοντα, τοὺς δὲ Δακεδαιμονίους ἐκ κακῶν τε μεγάλων πεφυγότας καὶ έόντας ἤδη τῷ πολέμῳ κατυπερτέρους Τεγεητέων, ἐπὶ γὰρ Λέοντος βάσιλεύντος καὶ Ἡγασικλέος ἐν Σπάρτῃ τοὺς ἄλλους πολέμους εὑρισκόντες οἱ Δακεδαιμόνιοι πρὸς Τεγεητᾶς μούνους προσέπτανον. τὸ δὲ ἐτὶ πρότερον τούτων καὶ κακομομώτατοι ἤσαν σχεδὸν πάντων Ἑλλήνων κατὰ τε σφέας αὐτῶν καὶ ξείνους ἀπρόσμε-
them scattered and prevent their assembling again: he mounted his sons and bade them ride forward: they overtook the fugitives and spoke to them as they were charged by Pisistratus, bidding them take heart and depart each man to his home.

64. This the Athenians did; and by this means Pisistratus gained Athens for the third time, where, that his sovereignty might be well rooted, he made himself a strong guard and collected revenue both from Athens and from the district of the river Strymon, and took as hostages the sons of the Athenians who remained and did not at once leave the city, and placed these in Naxos. (He had conquered Naxos too and given it in charge to Lygdamis.) Moreover, he purified the island of Delos according to the bidding of the oracles, and this is how he did it: he removed all the dead that were buried in ground within sight of the temple and carried them to another part of Delos. So Pisistratus was sovereign of Athens: and as for the Athenians, some had fallen in the battle, and some, with the Alcmeonids, were exiles from their native land.

65. Croesus learnt, then, that such at this time was the plight of the Athenians: the Lacedaemonians, as he heard, had escaped from great calamities, and had by this time got the upper hand of the men of Tegea in their war; for in the kingship of Leon and Hegesicles at Sparta, the Lacedaemonians were victorious in their other wars, but against Tegea alone they met with no success. And not only so, but before this they were the worst governed of well nigh all the Greeks, having little intercourse among themselves or with strangers.
κτοί μετέβαλον δὲ ὁδὲ ἐσε εὐνομίην. Δυκούργου
tῶν Ἡπαρτητέων δοκίμου ἀνδρὸς ἐλθόντος ἐστὶ
τὰ ἁρχητήρια, ὅστε ἐστὶ ἐστὸ μεγαρὸν, εὐθὺς ἢ Πυθὴ λέγει τάδε.

"Ἡκαίς ὁ Δυκόοργη ἔμοι ποτὶ πίονα νηὸν
Ζηνὶ φιλὸς καὶ πάσιν Ὄλυμπια δώματ' ἔχουσιν.
δίζω ἢ σε θεοῖν μαντεύοσομαὶ ἢ ἀνθρωποῖν.
ἂλλ᾽ ἐτί καὶ μᾶλλον θεοῖν ἐλπιοῦμαι, ὁ Δυκόοργη."
Thus then they changed their laws for the better:—
Lycurgus, a notable Spartan, visited the oracle at
Delphi, and when he entered the temple hall,
straightway the priestess gave him this response:

"Dear to Zeus thou hast come to my well-stored
temple, Lycurgus,
Dear to Zeus and to all who dwell in the courts of
Olympus.
Art thou a man or a god? "Tis a god I deem thee,
Lycurgus."

Some say that the priestess moreover declared to
him the whole governance of Sparta which is now
established; but the Lacedaemonians themselves
relate that it was from Crete that Lycurgus brought
these changes, he being then guardian of Leobotes
his nephew, king of Sparta. As soon as he became
guardian he changed all the laws of the country and
was careful that none should transgress his ordi-
nances, and afterwards it was Lycurgus who estab-
lished all that related to war, the sworn companies,
and the bands of thirty, and the common meals:
and besides these, the ephors, and the council of
elders.

66. So they changed their bad laws for good ones,
and when Lycurgus died they built him a shrine
and now greatly revere him. Then, since their land
was good and their men were many, very soon they
began to flourish and prosper. Nor were they
satisfied to remain at peace: but being assured that
they were stronger than the Arcadians, they inquired
of the oracle at Delphi, with their minds set on the
whole of Arcadia. The Pythian priestess gave them
this reply:
"'Αρκαδίην μ' αίτείς: μέγα μ' αίτείς; οὐ τοι δῶσω, πολλοὶ ἐν 'Αρκαδίῃ βαλανηφάγοι ἄνδρες ἔσσω, οἶ δὲ ἄποκαλύσουσιν. ἐγὼ δὲ τοι ὡς μεγαρωδῶς τοι 'Τεγέην ποσσίκροτον ὀρχήσασθαι καὶ καλὸν πεδίον σχοίνῳ διαμετρῆσασθαί."

tάυτα ὡς ἀπενειχθέντα ἦκουσαν οἱ Λακεδαίμονες. Ἀρκάδων μὲν τῶν ἄλλων ἀπείχοντο, οὐ δὲ πέδας φερόμενοι ἐπὶ 'Τεγέητας ἐστρατεύοντο, χρησμῷ κιβδήλῳ πίσυνοι, ὡς δὲ ἔξανδραποδιούμενοι τοὺς 'Τεγέητας. ἐσοφθέντες δὲ τῇ συμβολῇ, ὡσι αὐτῶν ἐξωγρήθησαν, πέδας τε ἔχοντες τὰς ἐφερόντο αὐτοὶ καὶ σχοίνῳ διαμετρησάμενοι τὸ πεδίον τοῦ 'Τεγεητέων ἐργάζοντο. αἱ δὲ πέδαι αὐταὶ ἐν τῇ ἑδεδάγατο έτι καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ ἦσαν σῶας ἐν Ἔγειρα περὶ τοῦ νηὸν τῆς Ἄλεης Ἀθηναίης κρεμάμεναι.

67. Κατὰ μὲν δὴ τὸν πρῶτον πόλεμον συνεχέως αἰεὶ κακῶς ἀέθλεον πρὸς τοὺς 'Τεγέητας, κατὰ δὲ τὸν κατὰ Κροίσον χρόνον καὶ τὴν Ἀναξανδρίδεω τε καὶ Ἀρσιτώνος βασιληῆν ἐν Ῥακεδαίμον ὕδη οἱ Σπαρτιτὶς κατυπέρτεροι τῷ πολέμῳ ἐγεγόνεσαν, τρόπῳ τοιῷδε γενόμενοι. ἔπειδὴ αἰεὶ τὸ πολέμῳ ἐσσοῦντο ὑπὸ 'Τεγεητέων, πέμφαντες θεσπρόστους καὶ Δελφοὺς ἐπειρώτατον τίνα ἄν θεῶν ὦλασάμενοι κατύπερθε τῷ πολέμῳ 'Τεγεητέων γενόμαι. ἢ δὲ Πυθίᾳ σφι ἔχομαι τὰ Ὀρέστεω τοῦ Ἀγαμέμνονος ὀστέα ἐπαγαγομένους. ὡς δὲ
"Askest Arcadia from me? 'Tis a boon too great for the giving.
Many Arcadians there are, stout heroes, eaters of acorns,—
These shall hinder thee sore. Yet 'tis not I that begrudge thee:
Lands Tégeæan I'll give thee, to smite with feet in the dancing,
Also the fertile plain with line I'll give thee to measure."

When this was brought back to the ears of the Lacedaemonians, they let the rest of the Arcadians be, and marched against the men of Tegea carrying fetters with them; for they trusted in the quibbling oracle and thought they would enslave the Tegeans. But they were worsted in the encounter, and those of them who were taken captive were made to till the Tegean plain, wearing the fetters which they themselves had brought and measuring the land with a line.† These fetters, in which they were bound, were still in my time kept safe at Tegea, where they were hung round the temple of Athene Alea.

67. In the former war, then, the Lacedaemonians were unceasingly defeated in their contest with Tegea; but in the time of Croesus, and the kingship of Anaxandrides and Ariston at Sparta, the Spartans had now gained the upper hand; and this is how it came about. Being always worsted by the Tegeatae, they sent inquirers to Delphi and asked what god they should propitiate so as to gain the mastery over Tegea in war. The Pythian priestess declared that they must bring home the bones of Orestes son of Agamemnon. Being unable to discover Orestes'†

† That is, mapping the land out for cultivation.
HERODOTUS

ἀνευρέθην οὐκ οἶοι τε ἐγίνοντο τὴν θήκην τοῦ Ὄρεστος, ἐπεμπόν αὐτὸς τὴν ἐς θεῖον ἐπειρησομένους τὸν χώρον ἐν τῷ κέοιτο Ὅρεστης. εἰρωτώσι δὲ ταῦτα τούτω θεοπρόποιοι λέγει η Πυθιὴ τάδε.

"Εστι τις Ἀρκαδίης Τεγέη λευρό ἐν χώρῳ, ἐνθ' ἀνεμοὶ πνεύονται δύο κρατερῆς ὑπ' ἀνάγκης, καὶ τύπος ἀντίτυπος, καὶ πήμ' ἐπὶ πήματε κεῖται.

ἐνθ' Ἀγαμεμνονίδην κατέχει φυσίζουσα αἰα, τὸν σὺ κομοσάμενος Τεγέης ἐπιτάρροθος ἔσογ."}

ὡς δὲ καὶ ταῦτα ἥκουσαν οἱ Δακεδαιμόνιοι, ἀπείριον τῇ ἐξευρέσιοι οὐδὲν ἠλάσσον, πάντα διέζημενοι, ἐς οὐ δὴ Λίχης τῶν ἀγαθοεργῶν καλεμένων Σπαρτητέων ἀνεύρε. οἱ δὲ ἀγαθοεργοὶ εἰσὶ τῶν ἀστών, ἐξίοντες ἐκ τῶν ἱππέων αἰεί οἱ πρεσβύτατοι, πέντε ἔτεος ἐκάστου τοὺς δεῖ τούτον τὸν ἐμιαντόν, τὸν ἀν ἐξίσου ἐκ τῶν ἱππέων, Σπαρτητέων τῷ κοινῷ διαπεμπομένους μὴ ἐλινύειν ἄλλως ἄλλη.

68. Τούτων ὁν τῶν ἀνδρῶν Λίχης ἄνεύρε ἐν Τεγέῃ καὶ συντυχίᾳ χρησάμενος καὶ σοφίας. εὔσης γὰρ τούτων τῶν χρόνων ἐπιμεῖξις πρὸς τοὺς Τεγεήτας, ἐλθὼν ἐς χαλκίδιον ἔθηιτο σίδηρον ἐξελαυνόμενον, καὶ ἐν θώματι ἥν ὅρεων τὸ ποιεόμενον. μαθὼν δὲ μιν ὁ χαλκεὺς ἀποθωμάζοντα εἰπε παυσάμενος τοῦ ἄργου "Ἅ κοι ἂν, ἄν ξείνε Λάκων, εἶ περ εἴδες τὸ περ ἔγω, κάρτα ἂν ἑω—
tomb, they sent their messengers again to the god to ask of the place where Orestes lay: and the priestess said in answer to their question:

"There is a place, Tegeē, in the level plain of Arcadia,
Where by stark stress driven twain winds are ever a-blowing,
Shock makes answer to shock, and anguish is laid upon anguish.
There in the nourishing earth Agamemnon's son lieth buried:
Bring him, and so thou shalt be the lord of the land of thy foemen."

When the Lacedaemonians heard this too, they were no nearer finding what they sought, though they made search everywhere, till at last Lichas, one of the Spartans who are called Benefactors, discovered it. These Benefactors are the Spartan citizens who pass out of the ranks of the knights, the five oldest in each year; for the year in which they pass out from the knights they are sent on divers errands by the Spartan state, and must use all dispatch.

68. Lichas, then, one of these men, by good luck and cleverness found the tomb at Tegea. At that time there was free intercourse with Tegea; so, entering a smithy, he watched the forging of iron and marvelled at the work which he saw. When the smith perceived that he was much astonished, he ceased from working, and said, "Laconian, you wonder at the working of iron, but had you seen what

\(^{1}\) ἔσθι θεὸν, explained as = ἔσθι ἐς θεὸν δῶρ. ἔσθι ἐς θεὸν (= the inspired one; after ἐπιστευομαι) would be an easy correction. But all MSS. have ἐς θεὸν.
μαζες, οτον νυν ουτω τυχχανεις θωμα ποιειμενος την εργασιην του σιδηρου. εγω γαρ ειν τηδε θελων τη αιλη φρεαρ ποιησασθαι, υρυσσων επετυχουν σοφη επταπτιχιει: υπο δε απιστης μη μεν γενεσθαι μηδαμα μεξωνας ανθρωπους των νυν ανοιξα αυτην και ειδον τον νεκρον μηκει ισον εοντα τη σοφη μετρησας δε συνεχωσα οπισω."

δε μεν δη οι ελεγε τα περ οπωπε, δε ευνωσας τα λεγομενα συνεβαλλετο τον 'Ορεστεα κατα το θεοπροπιον τουτον ειναι, τηδε σμβαλλομενος του χαλκους δυο ορεων φυσας τους ανεμους ευρισκε εοντας, τον δε άκμονα και την σφυραν τον τε τυπον και τον αντιτυπον, τον δε εξελανομενου στοιχου το πημα επι πηματι κειμενον, κατα τοιονδε τι εικαζων, ως επι κακω ανθρωπου στοιχεος ανευρητα. σμβαλλομενος δε ταυτα και απελθων ες Σπαρτην εφραξε Δακεδαιμονιοις παν το πρηγμα. οι δε εκ λογου πλαστοι επενεικανεις οι αιτην εδιωξαν. δε απικομενος ες Τεγεην και φραξων την εωστου γυμφορην προς τον χαλκαν εμισθουτο παρ' ουκ εκδιοντος την αιλην χρονον δε ως ανεγυρτο, ένοικισθη, ανορυξας δε τον ταφον και τα οστεα συλλεξας οιχευτο φερον ες Σπαρτην. και απο τουτου τον χρονου, οκως πειρατου αλληλων, πολλοι κατυπερτερου το τολεμων εγινοτοι οι Δακεδαιμονιοι· ηδη δε σφι και η πολλη της Πελοποννησου ην κατεστραμμενη.

69. Ταυτα δη οι παντα πυθανομενοι ο Κροιςος επεμπε ες Σπαρτην άγγελοις δωρα τε φεροντας και δεησομενος συμμαχης, εντειλαμενος τε τα λεγειν χρονιν. οι δε ελθοντες ελεγον "Επεμψε ημεας Κροιςος ο Λυδος τε και άλλων εθνων
I have seen you would have indeed had somewhat to marvel at. For I was making me a well in this courtyard, when in my digging I chanced upon a coffin seven cubits long. As I could not believe that there had ever been men taller than those of our time, I opened the coffin, and found within it the corpse as long as itself; I measured it, and buried it in earth again.” So the smith told what he had seen; Lichas marked what he said, and argued from the oracle that this must be Orestes, reasoning that the Smith’s two bellows which he saw were the winds, the anvil and hammer the shock and counter-shock, and the forged iron the anguish laid upon anguish. What led him so to guess was that the discovery of iron has been to men’s hurt. Thus he reasoned, and returning to Sparta told all the matter to the Lacedaemonians. They made pretence of bringing a charge against him and banishing him; so he went to Tegea, where he told the smith of his misfortune, and tried to hire the courtyard from him. The smith would not consent, but at last Lichas over-persuaded him, and taking up his abode there, opened the tomb and collected the bones and went away with them to Sparta. Ever after this time the Lacedaemonians got much the better of the men of Tegea in all their battles; and they had already subdued the greater part of the Peloponnesus.

69. Croesus, then, being made aware of all this sent messengers to Sparta with gifts, to ask an alliance in words with which he charged them. They came, and said: “Croesus, King of Lydia and other
βασιλεύς, λέγων τάδε. Ὡ Λακεδαίμονιοι, χρήσαντος τοῦ θεοῦ τῶν Ἑλλήνων προσβέσθαι, ὑμέας γὰρ πυθαύνομαι προεστάναι τῆς Ἑλλάδος, ὑμέας ὅν κατὰ τὸ χρηστήριον προσκαλέσμαι φίλος τε θέλων γενέσθαι καὶ σύμμαχος ἄνευ τε δόλου καὶ ἀπάτης." Κροίσος μὲν δὴ ταῦτα δι᾽ ἀγγέλων ἐπεκηρυκεύετο, Λακεδαίμονιοι δὲ ἀκηκόοτες καὶ αὐτοὶ τὸ θεοπρότειον τὸ Κροίσῳ γενόμενον ἤσθησάν τε τῇ ἀπίξι τῶν Λυδῶν καὶ ἐποιήσαντο ὅρκια ξεινῆς πέρι καὶ συμμαχίας· καὶ γὰρ τινὲς αὐτοὺς εὐεργεσίαι εἰχον ἐκ Κροίσου πρότερον ἐπὶ γεγονὼν. πέμψαντες γὰρ οἱ Λακεδαίμονιοι εἰς Σάρδις χρυσὸν ἦνεντο, ἐς ἀγαλμα Βουλόμενοι χρῆσασθαι τοῦτο τὸ νῦν τῆς Δακωνικῆς ἐν Θόρνακε ἔδραν "Ἀπόλλωνος· Κροίσος δὲ σφε ὄνεομενοι ἐδώκει δατίνην.

70. Τούτων τε ὧν εἶνεκεν οἱ Λακεδαίμονιοι τὴν συμμαχίαν ἐδέξαντο, καὶ ὅτι ἐκ πάντων σφέας προκρίνας Ἑλλήνων αἱρέτο φίλος. καὶ τοῦτο μὲν αὐτοὶ ἦσαν ἐτοιμοὶ ἐπαγγείλαντι, τοῦτο δὲ ποιησάμενοι κρητήρα χάλκεον ξιφίδιον τε ἔξωθεν πλήσαντες περὶ τὸ χεῖλος καὶ μεγάθει τριηκοσίων ἀμφορέας χαρέοντα τηγον, δὼρον Βουλόμενοι ἀντιδόναι Κροίσῳ. οὗτος ο δριτὴ σφι ἀπίκετο ἐς Σάρδις δὴ αἰτίας διαφασίας λεγομένας τάσδε· οἱ μὲν Λακεδαίμονιοι λέγουσι ὡς ἐπείτε ἄγόμενος ἐς τὰς Σάρδις ὁ κρητήρ εἶνεν τατὰ τῆς Σάμης, πυθόμενοι Σάμιοι ἀπελοίατο αὐτὸν νυσί μακρῆς ἐπιπλώσαντες· αὐτοὶ δὲ Σάμιοι λέγουσι ὡς ἐπείτε ὀστερήσαν οἱ ἄγνοτες τῶν Λακεδαίμονίων τὸν κρητήρα, ἐπηυδάνουτο δὲ Σάρδις τε καὶ Κροίσον ἠλωκέναι, ἀπέδουντο τὸν κρητήρα ἐν Σάμῳ, ἴδιώτας
nations, has sent us with this message: 'Lacedaemonians! the god has declared that I should make the Greek my friend; now, therefore, as I learn that you are the leaders of Hellas, I do so invite you, as the oracle bids; I would fain be your friend and ally, without deceit or guile.'" Thus Croesus proposed by the mouth of his messengers: and the Lacedaemonians, who had already heard of the oracle given to Croesus, welcomed the coming of the Lydians and swore to be his friends and allies; and indeed they were bound by certain benefits which they had before received from the king. For the Lacedaemonians had sent to Sardis to buy gold, with intent to use it for the statue of Apollo which now stands on Thorax\(^1\) in Laconia; and Croesus, when they would buy it, made a free gift of it to them.

70. For this cause, and because he had chosen them as his friends before all other Greeks, the Lacedaemonians accepted the alliance. So they declared themselves ready to serve him when he should require, and moreover they made a bowl of bronze, graven outside round the rim with figures, and large enough to hold twenty-seven hundred gallons, and brought it with the intent to make a gift of requital to Croesus. This bowl never came to Sardis, and for this two reasons are given: the Lacedaemonians say that when the bowl was near Samos on its way to Sardis, the Samians descended upon them in warships and carried it off; but the Samians themselves say that the Lacedaemonians who were bringing the bowl, being too late, and learning that Sardis and Croesus were taken, sold it in Samos to certain private

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\(^1\) A mountain north-east of Sparta, overlooking the Eurotas valley.
Δε άνδρας πριμένους ἀναθείναι μιν ἐς τὸ Ἡραίων, τάχα δὲ ἂν καὶ οἱ ἀποδόμενοι λέγοιεν ἀπικόμενοι ἐς Σπάρτην ὡς ἀπαιρεθείσαν ὑπὸ Σαμίων. κατὰ μὲν νυν τὸν κρητήρα οὕτω ἔσχε.

71. Κροίσος δὲ ἄμαρτῶν τοῦ χρησμοῦ ἔποιετο στρατηγὴν ἐς Καππαδοκίαν, ἐλπίσας καταρρήσειν Κυρίων τε καὶ τὴν Περσέων δύναμιν. παρασκευα-ζομένου δὲ Κροίσου στρατεύεσθαι ἐπὶ Πέρσας, τῶν τις Λυδῶν νομιζόμενος καὶ πρόσθε εἶναι σοφός, ἀπὸ δὲ ταύτης τῆς γνώμης καὶ τὸ κάρτα ὑπόμα εἰς Λυδοῖς ἔχων, συνεβούλευε δρόμον τάδε· οὐνόμα ὁ Ἴν Σάνδανις. "Ο βασιλεῦ, ἐπ᾽ άνδρας τοιούτως στρατεύεσθαι παρασκευάζει, ὁὶ σκυτίνας μὲν ἀναξιοῦσας σκυτίνην δὲ τὴν ἀλλήν ἐσβήτα φορέουσι, σιτεύονται δὲ οὐκ ὅσα ἔθελονοι ἀλλ᾽ ὅσα ἔχουσι, χώρῃν ἔχοντες τρηχείαν. πρὸς δὲ οὐκ οἰνῷ διαχρεώνται ἀλλὰ ὑδροποτέουσι, οὐ σύκα δὲ ἔχουσι τρώγειν, οὐκ ἀλλὸ ἀγαθῶν οὐδέν. τούτῳ μὲν δὴ, εἰ νικήσεις, τὶ σφέας ἀπαιρήσεις, τοῖς γε μὴ ἔστι μηδέν; τούτῳ δὲ, ἢ νικηθῆς, μάθε ὅσα ἀγαθὰ ἀποβαλέεις· γεννᾶμενοι γὰρ τῶν ἡμετέρων ἀγαθῶν περιέξονται οὐδὲ ἀπώστοι ἐσονται. ἐγὼ μὲν νυν θεοὶς ἔχον χάριν, οἱ οὐκ ἐπὶ νόον ποιέουσι Πέρσης· στρατεύεσθαι ἐπὶ Λυδοῖς. ταῦτα λέγων οὐκ ἐπείθε τοῖς Κροῖσον. Πέρσης γὰρ, πρὶν Λυδοὺς καταστρέψασθαι, ἦν ὀψεῖ ἀβρων οὕτε ἀγαθῶν οὐδέν.

72. Οἱ δὲ Καππαδόκαι ὑπὸ Ἑλλήνων Σύριων ὄνομάζονται· ἢσαν δὲ οἱ Σύριοι οὕτω τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἡ Πέρσας ἀρξαί Μηδῶν κατήκουν, τότε δὲ Κυρίων. ο γάρ οὐρος ἢν τῆς τε Μηδικῆς ἀρχῆς
men, who set it up in the the temple of Here. And it may be that the sellers of the bowl, when they returned to Sparta, said that they had been robbed of it by the Samians. Such are the tales about the bowl.

71. Croesus, mistaking the meaning of the oracle, invaded Cappadocia, thinking to destroy Cyrus and the Persian power. But while he was preparing to march against the Persians, a certain Lydian, who was already held to be a wise man, and from the advice which he now gave won great renown among the Lydians, thus counselled him (his name was Sandanis): "O King, you are making ready to march against men who wear breeches of leather and their other garments of the same, and whose fare is not what they desire but what they have; for their land is stony. Further they use no wine, but are water-drinkers, nor have they figs to eat, nor aught else that is good. Now if you conquer them, of what will you deprive them, seeing that they have nothing? But if on the other hand you are conquered, then see how many good things you will lose; for once they have tasted of our blessings they will cling so close to them that nothing will thrust them away. For myself, then, I thank the gods that they do not put it in the hearts of the Persians to march against the Lydians." Thus spoke Sandanis; for the Persians, before they subdued the Lydians, had no luxury and no comforts; but he did not move Croesus.

72. Now the Cappadocians are called by the Greeks Syrians, and these Syrians before the Persian rule were subjects of the Medes, and, at this time, of Cyrus. For the boundary of the Median
καὶ τὴς Αὐδικῆς ὁ "Ἀλυς ποταμος, δὲ μὲν ἐξ Ἀρμενίου ὅρρεος διὰ Κιλίκων, μετὰ δὲ Ματιηνοὺς μὲν ἐν δεξιᾷ ἔχει πέρου, ἐκ δὲ τοῦ ἐκείρου Φρύγαν καὶ ρεῖς βορείων ἀνέμων ἔνθεν μὲν Συρίους Καππαδόκας ἀπέργει, ἐξ εὐνομίῳ δὲ Παφλαγόνας. οὕτω ὁ "Ἀλυς ποταμός ἀποτάμησε σχεδὸν πάντα τῆς Ἀσίης τὰ κάτω ἐκ θαλάσσης τῆς ἀκτῶν Κύπρου ἐς τὸν Εὐξεινόν πόντον. ἔστι δὲ αὐτῆς ὁ πάντα τῆς χώρης ταύτης ἀπάσης μῆκος ὁδὸν εὐξόντω ἀνδρὶ πέντε ἡμέραι αὐαἰσιμωνῦται.

73. Ἐστρατεύετο δὲ ὁ Κροίσος ἐπὶ τὴν Καππαδοκίην τούδε εἰνεκα, καὶ γῆς ἰμέρῳ προσκτήσασθαι πρὸς τὴν ἑωτοῦ μοίραν βουλόμενος, καὶ μάλιστα τὸ χρηστηρίῳ πίσυνος ἕων καὶ τίσασθαι βέλων ὑπὲρ Ἀστυαγεος Κύρου. Ἀστυάγεα γὰρ τὸν Κυναξάρεω, ἐόντα Κροίσον μὲν γαμβρὸν Μῆδων ἔστω καὶ βασιλέα, Κύρος ὁ Καμβύσεω καταστρεφόμενος εἶχε, γενόμενον γαμβρὸν Κροίσῳ ὁδε. Σκυθέων πολλῶν πολλῶν εἰδή ἀνδρῶν στασιάσασα ὑπεξῆλθε εἰς γῆν τὴν Μηδικῆν ἐτυφάννετο δὲ τὸν χρόνον τοῦτον Μῆδων Κυναξάρης ὁ Φραορτέω τὸν Δηνόκεω, ὅς τοὺς Σκύθας τούτους τὸ μὲν πρῶτον περιεῖπε εὔ ὡς ἐόντας ἰκετᾶς ὅστε δὲ περὶ πολλοῦ πολεομένους αὐτοὺς, παῖδας σφι παρέδωκε τὴν γλῶσσαν τε ἐκμαθεῖν καὶ τὴν τέχνην τῶν τόξων. χρόνου δὲ γενομένου, καὶ αἰεὶ φοιτεόντων τῶν Σκυθέων ἕπι ἀγρυν καὶ αἰεὶ τε φερόντων, καὶ κοτε συνήνεικε ἐλειν σφεας μήδεν νοστήσαντας δὲ αὐτοὺς κεινὴσι

1 τῆς Ἀσίης τὰ κάτω means here and elsewhere in Hdt. the western part of Asia, west of the Halys (Kizil Irmak). The
and Lydian empires was the river Halys; which flows from the Armenian mountains first through Cilicia and afterwards between the Matieni on the right and the Phrygians on the other hand; then passing these and flowing still northwards it separates the Cappadocian Syrians on the right from the Paphlagonians on the left. Thus the Halys river cuts off wellnigh the whole of the lower part of Asia, from the Cyprian to the Euxine sea. Here is the narrowest neck of all this land; the length of the journey across is five days, for a man going unburdened.¹

73. The reasons of Croesus’ expedition against Cappadocia were these: he desired to gain territory in addition to his own share, and (these were the chief causes) he trusted the oracle, and wished to avenge Astyages on Cyrus; for Cyrus, son of Cambyses, had subdued Astyages and held him in subjection. Now Astyages, king of Media, son of Cyaxares, was Croesus’ brother-in-law: and this is how he came to be so. A tribe of wandering Scythians separated itself from the rest, and escaped into Median territory. This was then ruled by Cyaxares, son of Phraortes, son of Deioces. Cyaxares at first treated the Scythians kindly, as being suppliants for his mercy; and as he held them in high regard he entrusted boys to their charge to be taught their language and the craft of archery. As time went on, it chanced that the Scythians, who were wont to go hunting and ever to bring something back, once had taken nothing, and when they returned width from sea to sea of the ἄγχας is obviously much underestimated by Hdt., as also by later writers; the actual distance at the narrowest part is about 280 miles as the crow flies; much more than a five days’ march.
χερσός ὁ Κυαξάρης (ην γὰρ, ὡς διέδεξε, ὄργην ἄκρος) τρηχέως κάρτα περιέστε άεικείη. οἱ δὲ ταύτα πρὸς Κυαξάρω παθόντες, ὡστε ἀνάξια σφέων αὐτῶν πεπονθότες, ἐβούλευσαν τῶν παρὰ σφίσι διδασκομένων παίδων ἕνα κατακόψαι, σκευάζαντες δὲ αὐτὸν ὅσπερ ἐώθεσαν καὶ τὰ θηρία σκευάζειν, Κυαξάρη δούναι φέροντες ὡς ἀγρὴν δὴθεν, δόντες δὲ τὴν ταχίστην κομίζεσθαι παρὰ Ἁλυάττεα τὸν Σαδνάττεων ἐς Σάρδις. ταῦτα καὶ ἐγένετο· καὶ γὰρ Κυαξάρης καὶ οἱ παρεόντες δαιτυμόνες τῶν κρεῶν τούτων ἑπάσαντο, καὶ οἱ Σκύθαι ταῦτα ποιήσαντες Ἀλυάττεων ἰκέται ἐγένετο.

74. Μετὰ δὲ ταύτα, οὐ γὰρ δὴ ὁ Ἁλυάττης ἐξεδίδον τοὺς Σκύθας ἐξαιτεόντες Κυαξάρη, πόλεμος τοῖς Λυδοῖς καὶ τοῖς Μῆδοις ἐγεγόνει ἕπετε πέντε, ἐν τοῖς πολλάκις μὲν οἱ Μῆδοι τοὺς Λυδοὺς ἐνίκησαν, πολλάκις δὲ οἱ Λυδοὶ τοὺς Μῆδους, ἐν δὲ καὶ νυκτομαχίνων τινὰ ἐποίησαντο· διαφέρουσι δὲ σφί ἐπὶ ἤση τῶν πόλεμον τὸ ἐκτὸ εἰτει συμβολῆς γενομένης συνήνικε ὡστε τὴς μάχης συνετέσσαρι τῆς ἡμέρην ἐξαπίνης νῦκτα γενέσθαι. τὴν δὲ μεταλαγήν ταυτὴν τῆς ἡμέρης Ἡλίθος ὁ Μιλήσιος τοῖς Ἰωσὶ προηγορεύετε ἐσεσθαι, οὐρον προθέμενον ἐνιαυτὸν τούτων ἐν τῷ δὴ καὶ ἐγένετο ἡ μεταβολή. οἱ δὲ Λυδοὶ τε καὶ οἱ Μῆδοι ἐπείπε εἴδον νῦκτα ἀντὶ ἡμέρης γενομένη, τῆς μάχης τε ἐπαύσαντο καὶ μᾶλλον τι ἐσπευσαν καὶ ἀμφότεροι εἰρήνην ἐσωτοῦσι γενέσθαι.

1 All evidence, historical and astronomical, fixes the date of this eclipse as May 28, 585 B.C. There was another eclipse of the sun in Alyattes' reign, on Sept. 30, 610; but it appears
empty-handed, Cyaxares (being, as hereby appeared, prone to anger) treated them very roughly and despitefully. The Scythians, deeming themselves wronged by the usage they had from Cyaxares, plotted to take one of the boys who were their pupils and cut him in pieces, then, dressing the flesh as they were wont to dress the animals which they killed, to bring and give it to Cyaxares as if it were the spoils of the chase; and after that, to make their way with all speed to Alyattes son of Sadyattes at Sardis. All this they did. Cyaxares and the guests who feasted with him ate of the boy’s flesh, and the Scythians, having done as they planned, fled to Alyattes for protection.

74. After this, seeing that Alyattes would not give up the Scythians to Cyaxares at his demand, there was war between the Lydians and the Medes for five years; each won many victories over the other, and once they fought a battle by night. They were still warring with equal success, when it chanced, at an encounter which happened in the sixth year, that during the battle the day was suddenly turned to night. Thales of Miletus had foretold this loss of daylight to the Ionians, fixing it within the year in which the change did indeed happen. So when the Lydians and Medes saw the day turned to night they ceased from fighting, and both were the more zealous to make that this latter was not total in Asia Minor; and Pliny’s mention of the phenomenon places it in the 170th year from the foundation of Rome. Thales died at an advanced age in 548 B.C.
οἱ δὲ συμβεβάσαντες αὐτοὺς ἦσαν οἴδε, Συνέννεσίς τε ὁ Κίλιξ καὶ Λαβύνητος ὁ Βαβυλώνιος. οὕτω σφὶ καὶ τὸ ὁρκιὸν οἱ σπεύδαντες γενέσθαι ἦσαν καὶ γάμων ἐπαλλαγὴν ἐποίησαν. Ἀλυάττε πάντα ἡγῆν ἄρα ἐγνώσαν δοῦναι τὴν θυγατέρα Ἀριέρων Ἀστύαγε ὁ Κναξάρω παιδί· ἀνεν γὰρ ἀναγκαῖης ἰσχυρῆς συμβάσεως ἰσχύρα ὁκ ἐθέλουσι συμμένειν. ὁρκιὰ δὲ ποιέται ταύτα τὰ ἔθνεα τά πέρ τε Ἔλληνες, καὶ πρὸς τούτους, ἐπεάν τοὺς βραχίωνας ἐπιτάμωνται ἐς τὴν ὁμοχροϊνήν, τὸ αἷμα ἀναλείχουσι ἀλλήλων.

75. Τοῦτον δὴ ὅτι τὸν Ἀστυάγεα Κύρος ἐόντα ἐσωτερικὸν μητροπάτορα καταστρεφόμενος ἐσχε δὲ αἰτίην τὴν ἑγό ἐν τοῖς ὁπίσω λόγοισι σημανεῖ τὰ Κροῖσος ἐπιμερόμενος τῷ Κύρῳ ἐσ τὲ τὰ χρηστήρια ἐπεμπότε ἑ φραστευῇται ἐπὶ Πέρσας, καὶ δὴ καὶ ἀπικομένου χρησμοῦ κιβδήλου, ἐπισίσας πρὸς ἐσωτερικὸν τὸν χρησμόν εἰναι, ἐστρατευότε ἐς τὴν Περσὲων μοῖραν. ὡς δὲ ἀπίκετο ἐπὶ τῶν Ἀλνυ ποταμῶν ὁ Κροῖσος, τὸ ἐνθεότευν, ὡς μὲν ἐγὼ λέγω, κατὰ τὰς ἐσούσας γεφύρας διεβίβασε τὸν στρατόν, ὡς δὲ ὁ πολλὸς λόγος Ἑλλήνων, Θαλῆς οἱ οἱ Μιλήσιοι διεβίβασε. ἀπορεόντος γὰρ Κροῖσον ὅκως οἱ διαβηθεῖται τὸν ποταμὸν ὁ στρατός (οὐ γὰρ δὴ εἰναι κω τούτων τῶν χρόνων τὰς γεφύρας ταύτας) λέγεται παρεῶντα τὸν Θαλῆν ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ ποιήσαι αὐτῷ τὸν ποταμὸν ἐς ἀριστερῆς χειρὸς ἐρεών ὁ στρατοῦ καὶ ἐκ δεξιῆς ῥέοντα, ποιήσαι δὲ ὀδε. ἀνωθεν τοῦ στρατοπεδεύου ἀρχαίμενον διώρυγα βαθέαν ἀρύσσειν, ἁγοντα μηνοεῖδε, ὅκως ἀν τῷ στρατοπεδεύου ιδρυμένου κατὰ νότου λάβοι, ταύτῃ κατὰ τὴν διώρυγα
peace. Those who reconciled them were Syennesis the Cilician and Labynetus the Babylonian; they it was who brought it about that there should be a sworn agreement and an exchange of wedlock between them: they adjudged that Alyattes should give his daughter Aryenis to Astyages, son of Cyaxares; for without a strong bond agreements will not keep their strength. These nations make sworn compacts as do the Greeks; moreover, they cut the skin of their arms and lick each other's blood.

75. This Astyages then was Cyrus' mother's father, and was by him subdued and held subject for the reason which I shall presently declare. Having this cause of quarrel with Cyrus, Croesus sent to ask the oracles if he should march against the Persians; and when a quibbling answer came he thought it to be favourable to him, and so led his army to the Persian territory. When he came to the river Halys, he transported his army across it,—by the bridges, as I hold, which then were there; but the general belief of the Greeks is that the army was carried across by Thales of Miletus. This is the story: As the bridges aforesaid did not then yet exist, Croesus knew not how his army should pass the river: then Thales, being in the encampment, made the river, which flowed on the left hand, flow also on the right of the army in the following way. Starting from a point on the river higher up than the camp, he dug a deep semicircular trench, so that the stream, turned from its ancient course, should flow in the trench to the rear of the
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ἐκ τῶν ἀρχαίων ἰδέαροιν, καὶ αὐτὶς παραμειβόμενοι τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐστὶ τὰ ἀρχαῖα ἐσβάλλεις· ὅστε ἔπειτε καὶ ἐσχύσθη τάχιστα ὁ ποταμός, ἀμφότερη διαβάτος ἐγένετο. οἴ δὲ καὶ τὸ παράπαν λέγουσι καὶ τὸ ἀρχαῖον ἰδέαρον ἀποξηραθήναι, ἀλλὰ τούτῳ μὲν ὦ προσίσματι κώς γὰρ ὅπισώ πορευόμεναι διέβησαν αὐτοῖς;

76. Κροίσος δὲ ἔπειτε διαβάς σὺν τῷ στρατῷ ἀπίκετο τῆς Καππαδοκίας ἐς τὴν Πτερίην καλέομένην (ὃ δὲ Πτερίη ἐστὶ τῇ χώρῃ ταύτῃ τὸ 1 ἵσχυρότατον, κατὰ Σινώπην πόλιν τὴν ἐν Εὐβείᾳ ποντῷ μάλιστα κη κείμενην), ἐνθαῦτα ἐστρατοπεδεύεστε φθείρων τῶν Συρίων τοὺς κλήρους καὶ εἰλεὶ μὲν τῶν Πτερίων τὴν πόλιν καὶ ἱνδραπόδισατο, εἰλεὶ δὲ τὰς περιοχὰς αὐτῆς πᾶσας, Συρίους τε οὐδὲν ἔφευ φαί τις ἀναστάτους ἐποίησε. Κύρος δὲ ἀγείρασ τῶν ἐσωτερικῶν στρατῶν καὶ παραλαβὼν τοὺς μεταξὺ οἰκέουτας πάντας ἤμισυ τὸ Κροίσω. πρὶν δὲ ἔξελαυνεν ὄρμησαι τῶν στρατῶν, πέμψας κήρυκας ἐς τὸν Ἰωνᾶς ἔπειρατο σφέας ἀπὸ τὸ Κροίσων ἀπιστᾶναι. Ἰωνᾶς μὲν νόν ὦκ ἐπείθουσιν. Κύρος δὲ ὡς ἀπίκετο καὶ ἀντεστρατοπεδεύσατο Κροίσῳ, ἐνθαῦτα ἐν τῇ Πτερίη χώρῃ ἐπειρώθη κατὰ τὸ ἵσχυρὸν ἄλλην. μάχης δὲ καρτερῆς γενομένης καὶ πεσοῦντων ἀμφότερων πολλῶν, τέλος οὐδέτεροι νικήσαντες διέστησαν νυκτὸς ἐπελθοῦσης. καὶ τὰ μὲν στρατοπεδα ἀμφότερα οὕτω ἡγινίσατο.

77. Κροίσος δὲ μεμφθεὶς κατὰ τὸ πλῆθος τὸ ἐσωτερικὸ στρατεύμα (ἢ γὰρ οἱ συμβαλλόν στρατός πολλῶν ἐλάσσων ἢ ὁ Κύρος), τούτῳ μεμφθεὶς, ὡς

1 [τὸ] Stein.
camp, and, again passing it, should issue into its former bed, so that, as soon as the river was thus divided into two, both channels could be forded. Some even say that the ancient channel was altogether dried up. But I do not believe this; for how then did they pass the river when they were returning?

76. Croesus then passing over with his army came to the part of Cappadocia called Pteria (it is the strongest part of this country and lies nearest to the city of Sinope on the Euxine sea), where he encamped, and laid waste the farms of the Syrians; and he took and enslaved the city of the Pterians, and took also all the places about it, and drove the Syrians from their homes, though they had done him no harm. Cyrus, mustering his army, and gathering to him all those who dwelt upon his way, went to meet Croesus. But before beginning his march he sent heralds to the Ionians to try to draw them away from Croesus. The Ionians would not be persuaded; but when Cyrus had come, and encamped face to face with Croesus, the armies made trial of each other’s strength with might and main in the Pterian country. The battle was stubborn; many on both sides fell, and when they were parted at nightfall neither had the advantage. With such fortune did the two armies contend.

77. Croesus was not content with the number of his force, for his army which had fought was by far smaller than that of Cyrus; therefore, seeing that on

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τῇ υστεραίῃ οὐκ ἐπειράτο ἐπὶδὸν ὁ Κύρος, ἀπη-λαυνε ἐς τὰς Σάρδις, ἐν νῷ ἔχων παρακαλέσας μὲν Αιγυπτίον κατὰ τὸ ὄρκιον (ἐποιήσατο γὰρ καὶ πρὸς "Ἀμασίων βασιλεύοντα Αἰγύπτου συμ- μαχίην πρὸτερον ἢ περ πρὸς Δακεδαμονίωνις), μεταπεμψάμενος δὲ καὶ Βαβυλωνίους (καὶ γὰρ πρὸς τούτους αὐτῷ ἐπεποίητο συμμαχίη, ἐτυράν- νεν δὲ τὸν χρόνον τοῦτον τῶν Βαβυλωνίων Δαβύνητος), ἐπαγγείλας δὲ καὶ Δακεδαμονίωις παρεῖναι ἐς χρόνον ῥητῶν, ἄλλας τε δὴ τούτους καὶ τὴν ἑωτοῦ συλλέξας στρατευὴν ἐνέσωτο, τὸν χειμῶνα παρεῖς, ἀμα τῷ ἐαρε στρατεύειν ἐπὶ τοὺς Πέρσας. καὶ ὃ μὲν τάντα φρονέων, ὡς ἀπίκετο ἐς τὰς Σάρδις, ἐπεμπέ κήρυκας κατὰ τὰς συμ- μαχίας προερέοντας ἐς πέμπτον μήνα συλλέγεσθαι ἐς Σάρδις· τὸν δὲ παρεόντα καὶ μαχεσάμενον στρατὸν Πέρσης, ὃς ἦν αὐτοῦ ἕξωκικός, πάντα ἀπεις διεσκέδασε οὐδαμὰ ἐλπίδας μὴ κοτε ἀρα ἀγανυσάμενος οὐτω παραπλησίως Κύρος ἐλάσῃ ἐπὶ Σάρδις.

78. Τάντα ἐπιλεγομένῳ Κροῖσῳ τὸ προάστειον πᾶν ὅψιν ἐνεπλήσθη· φανέντων δὲ αὐτῶν, οἱ ἱπποι μετιέντες τὰς νομὰς νέμεσθαι φοιτέοντες κατισθεῖον. ἤδοντι δὲ τοῦτο Κροῖσῳ, ὄσπερ καὶ ἦν, ἔδοξε τέρας εἶναι αὐτίκα δὲ ἐπεμπὲ θεσπρό- πους ἐς τῶν ἐξηγητέων Τελμησσέων. ἀπικομέ- νοις δὲ τοῖς θεσπρόποισι καὶ μαθοῦσι πρὸς Τελ- μησσέων τὸ θέλει σημαίνειν τὸ τέρας, οὐκ ἐξεγε- νετο Κροῖσῳ ἀπαγγείλαι· πρὶν γὰρ ἡ ὀπίσω 96
the day after the battle Cyrus essayed no second attack, he marched away to Sardis, intending to invite help from the Egyptians in fulfilment of their pledge (for before making an alliance with the Lacedaemonians he had made one also with Amasis king of Egypt), and to send for the Babylonians also (for with these too he had made an alliance, Labynetus being at this time their sovereign), and to summon the Lacedaemonians to join him at a fixed time. It was in his mind to muster all these forces and assemble his own army, then to wait till the winter was over and march against the Persians at the beginning of spring. With such intent, as soon as he returned to Sardis, he sent heralds to all his allies, summoning them to assemble at Sardis in five months' time; and as for the soldiers whom he had with him, who had fought with the Persians, all of them who were not of his nation he disbanded, never thinking that after so equal an issue of the contest Cyrus would march against Sardis.

78. Thus Croesus reasoned. Meantime it chanced that snakes began to swarm in the outer part of the city; and when they appeared the horses would ever leave their accustomed pasture and devour them. When Croesus saw this he thought it to be a portent, and so it was. Forthwith he sent to the abodes of the Telmessian interpreters, to inquire concerning it; but though his messengers came and learnt from the Telmessians what the portent should signify, they could never bring back word to Croesus, for he was

1 These were a caste of priests of Apollo at Telmessus or Telmessus in Lycia. τῶν ἔγγαρτῶν Τελμαστῶν is contrary to Greek usage, ἔγγαρτος, being a substantive; Stein suggests that the true reading may be Τελμαστῶν τῶν ἔγγαρτων.
σφέας ἀναπλώσαι ἐς τὰς Σάρδις ἥλω ὁ Κροίσος. Τελευτασσέες μέντοι τάδε ἐγνωσάν, στρατὸν ἀλλόθροον προσδόκιμον εἶναι Κροίσφο ἐπὶ τὴν χώρην, ἀπικόμενον δὲ τούτον καταστρέφεσθαι τοὺς ἐπιχωρίους, λέγοντες ὅψιν εἶναι γῆς παίδα, ἵππον δὲ πολέμιον τε καὶ ἐπιθλῦδα. Τελευτασσέες μὲν γὰρ ταῦτα ὑπεκρίναντο Κροίσῳ ἢδη ἡλωκότε, οὐδὲν καὶ εἰδότες τῶν ἢν περὶ Σάρδις τε καὶ αὐτὸν Κροίσον.

79. Κύρος δὲ αὐτήκα ἀπελαύνωτος Κροίσον μετὰ τὴν μάχην τὴν γενομένην ἐν τῇ Πετρίᾳ, μαθὼν ός ἀπελάσας μέλλοι Κροίσος διασκεδάζεσθαι τὸν στρατὸν, βουλεύομενος εὐρισκεῖ πρὸς τί πρῆμιμα οἱ εἰναι ἐλαιύειν ὡς δύναιτο τάχιστα ἐπὶ τὰς Σάρδις, πρὶν ἤ τὸ δεύτερον ἀλισθήναι τῶν Λυδῶν τὴν δύναμιν. ὡς δὲ οἱ ταῦτα ἔδοξε, καὶ ἐποίηκε κατὰ τάχος· ἐλάσας γὰρ τὸν στρατὸν ἐς τὴν Λυδίην αὐτὸς ἀγγέλος Κροίσῳ εὐλυθέε. ἔνθαυτα Κροίσος ἐς ἀπορίην πολλὴν ἀπυγμένος, ὡς οἱ παρὰ δόξαν ἔσχε τὰ πρῆμιμα ἢ ὡς αὐτὸς κατεδόκεε, ὅμως τοὺς Λυδοὺς ἐξῆγε ἔς μάχην. ἢν δὲ τούτον τὸν χρόνον ἔδωκεν οὖν ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ ὑπὲρ ἀνδριμωτερον τοῦ Λυδίου. ἢ δὲ μάχη σφέων ἢν ἀπ’ ἅπαν, δόρατα τε εὐφρεον μεγάλα, καὶ αὐτὸι ἤσαν ἐπευέσθαι ἀγαθοὶ.

80. Ἐσ τὸ πεδίον δὲ συνελθότων τούτο τὸ πρὸ τοῦ ἀστεοῦ ἑστὶ τοῦ Σαρδηνοῦ, ἑνώ μέγα τε καὶ ψελόν (διὰ δὲ αὐτοῦ ποταμοὶ βροῦτες καὶ ἄλλοι καὶ ὁ Ἑλλος συγκρητύσι ἐς τὸν μέγαστον, καλομενον δὲ Ἐρμύον, ὡς εἰς ὅρεος ἱροῦ μητρὸς Διευμήνης ἑων ἐκδιδοὶ ἐς θάλασσαν κατὰ Φοικαῖν πόλιν), ἔνθαυτα ὁ Κύρος ὡς εἰδε τοὺς Λυδοὺς ἐς
a prisoner before they could make their voyage back to Sardis. Howbeit, this was the judgment of the Telmessians—that Croesus must expect a foreign army to attack his country, and that when it came it would subdue the dwellers in the land: for the snake, they said, was the child of the earth, but the horse was a foe and a foreigner. Such was the answer which the Telmessians gave Croesus, knowing as yet nothing of the fate of Sardis and the king himself; but when they gave it Croesus was already taken.

79. When Croesus marched away after the battle in the Pterian country, Cyrus, learning that Croesus had gone with intent to disband his army, took counsel and perceived thereby that it was his business to march with all speed against Sardis, before the power of the Lydians could again be assembled. So he resolved and so he did speedily; he marched his army into Lydia and so himself came to bring the news of it to Croesus. All had turned out contrariwise to Croesus' expectation, and he was in a great quandary; nevertheless, he led out the Lydians to battle. Now at this time there was no nation in Asia more valiant or warlike than the Lydian. It was their custom to fight on horseback, carrying long spears, and they were skilled in the management of horses.

80. So the armies met in the plain, wide and bare, which is before the city of Sardis: the Hyllus and other rivers flow across it and rush violently together into the greatest of them, which is called Hermus (this flows from the mountain sacred to the Mother Dindyme[n]e[1] and issues into the sea near the city of Phocaia). Here when Cyrus saw the Lydians arraying

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[1] Identified with the Phrygian and Lydian goddess Cybela.
μάχην τασσομένους, καταρρωθήσας τὴν ἢππον ἐποίησε Ἀρτάγουν ὑποθεμένου ἀνδρὸς Μῆδου τοίνυν ὅσαι τῷ στρατῷ τῷ ἐσωτερικῷ εἰποντό σιτοφόροι τε καὶ σκευοφόροι κἀμήλοι, ταύτας πάσας ἀλλὰς καὶ ἄπελθὼν τὰ ἀχθεα ἄνδρας ἐπὶ αὐτὰς ἀνέβησε ἵππαδα στολὴν ἐνεστάλμενοι, σκευάσας δὲ αὐτοὺς προσέταξε τής ἀλλῆς στρατιᾶς προιέναι πρὸς τὴν Κροίσου ἢππον, τῇ δὲ καμηλῷ ἔπεσθαὶ τῶν πεζῶν στρατὸν ἐκέλευσε, ὅπισθε δὲ τοῦ πεζοῦ ἔπταξε τὴν πᾶσαν ἢππον. ὡς δὲ οἱ πάντες διετέταχατο, παραίνεσε τῶν μὲν ἄλλων Λυδῶν μὴ φειδομένους κτείνειν πάντα τὸν ἐμποδοῦν γινώμενον, Κροίσον δὲ αὐτὸν μὴ κτείνειν, μηδὲ ἦν συλλαμβανόμενος ἀμύνηται, ταῦτα μὲν παραίνεσε, τὰς δὲ καμήλους ἔτακε ἄντι τῆς ἢππον τῶν δὲ εἰνέκεν κάμηλον ἢππος φοβεῖται, καὶ οὐκ ἀνέχεται οὔτε τὴν ἴδειν αὐτοῦ ὀρέων οὔτε τὴν ὀδυμὴν ὀσφραίνομενος. αὐτοῦ δὴ ὁν τούτῳ εἰνέκεν ἐσεσώρυσε, ἴνα τῷ Κροίσῳ ἄχριστον ἦ τὸ ἢππικόν, τῷ δὲ τι καὶ ἐπείχε ἔνλαμψεσθαι ὁ Λυδὸς. ὡς δὲ καὶ συνήσαν ές τὴν μάχην, ἐνθαῦτα ὡς ὀσφραντο τάχυστα τῶν καμηλῶν οἱ ἢπποι καὶ εἶδον αὐτάς, ὄπισθεν ἀνέστρεφον, διεσφαράτῳ τῷ Κροίσῳ ἡ ἑλπίς. οὐ μέντοι οἱ γε Λυδοὶ τὸ ἐνθεύτεν δείλοι ἦσαν, ἀλλ' ὡς ἔμαθον τὸ γινώμενον, ἀποθορύπετε ἅπα τῶν ἢππών πεζοὶ τοῖς Πέρσησι συνέβαλλον. χρόνῳ δὲ πεσόντων ἀμφότεροι πολλῶν ἐτράποντο οἱ Λυδοὶ, κατελήθευτες δὲ γε τὸ τεῖχος ἐπολιορκεύοντο ὕπο τῶν Περσῶν.

81. Τοῖς μὲν δὴ κατεστήκεε πολιορκηθῆ. Κροίσος δὲ δοκεών οἱ χρόνον ἐπὶ μακρὸν ἔσεσθαι τὴν
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their battle, he was afraid of their horse, and therefore did as I will show by the counsel of one Harpagus, a Mede. Assembling all the camels that followed his army bearing food and baggage, he took off their burdens and set men upon them equipped like cavalrymen; having so equipped them he ordered them to advance before his army against Croesus' horse; he charged the infantry to follow the camels, and set all his horse behind the infantry. When they were all arrayed, he commanded them to kill all other Lydians who came in their way, and spare none, but not to kill Croesus himself, even if he should defend himself against capture. Such was his command. The reason of his posting the camels to face the cavalry was this: horses fear camels and can endure neither the sight nor the smell of them; this then was the intent of his device, that Croesus' cavalry, on which the Lydian relied for the winning of some glory, might be of no use. So when battle was joined, as soon as the horses smelt and saw the camels they turned to flight, and all Croesus' hope was lost. Nevertheless the Lydians were no cowards; when they saw what was happening they leaped from their horses and fought the Persians on foot. Many of both armies fell; at length the Lydians were routed and driven within their city wall, where they were besieged by the Persians.

81. So then they were beleaguered. But Croesus, supposing that the siege would last a long time, sent
πολυρκην ἔπεμπε ἐκ τοῦ τείχεος ἀλλοις ἀγγέ-
lους ἐς τὰς συμμαχίας: οἱ μὲν γὰρ πρῶτοι
dιεπέμποντο ἐς πέμπτον μῆνα προερέοντες συλ-
lέγεσθαι ἐς Σάρδες, τούτοις δὲ ἔξεπεμπε τὴν
tαχίστην δέεσθαι βοηθεῖν ὡς πολυρκησμένου
Κροίσου.

82. Ἐς τε δὴ ὁν τὰς ἄλλας ἔπεμπε συμμαχίας
καὶ δὴ καὶ Ἕλληνας Δακεδαλίμωνα. τοῖσι δὲ καὶ αὐτοῖσιν
tοῖσι Σαμπαρτιήσι κατ' αὐτὸν τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον
συνεπεπτωκεί ἐρις εὐσα απὸ τοῦ Ἀργεῖους περὶ
χώρου καλεομένου Θυρείκης τὰς ἡγὰρ Θυρεάς ταὐ-
tας ἐσύσας τῆς Ἀργολίδος μοίρης ἀποταμώμενοι
ἐσχον οἱ Δακεδαλίμωνες. ἤν δὲ καὶ ἡ μέχρι Μα-
λέων ἡ πρὸς ἑσπέριν Ἀργείων, ἢ τε ἐν τῇ ἦπερῳ
χώρῃ καὶ η Κυθηρίη νήσος καὶ αἱ λυκαί τῶν
νῆσων. βοηθησάντων δὲ Ἀργείων τῇ σφετέρῃ
ἀποταμωμένη, ἐνθαῦτα συνέβησαν ἐς λόγους
συνελθόντες ὡστε τριθυσίοις ἑκάτερους μαχέ-
σαθαι, ὅκατεροι δ᾿ ἄν περιγέμνονται, τούτων εἶναι
τὸν χώρου τὸ δὲ πλῆθος τοῦ στρατοῦ ἀπαλλάσ-
σεθαι ἑκάτερον ἐς τὴν ἑωτοῦ μηδὲ παραμένειν
ἀγωνιζομένων, τῶν δὲ εἰνεκεν ἵνα μὴ παρεύρουν
τῶν στρατοπέδων ὁρίστες οἱ ἑτεροὶ ἐσσομένους
τοὺς σφετέρους ἐπαμώνουν. συνθεῖμενοι ταῦτα
ἀπαλλάσσοντο, λογαίδες δὲ ἑκάτερων ὑπολει-
φθεῖν τοὺς συνέβαλον. μαχομένων δὲ σφέων καὶ
γινομένων ἐσσομένων ὑπελείποντο ἐς ἀνδρῶν
ἐξαικοσίων τρεῖς, Ἀργείων μὲν Ἀλκήνωρ τε
καὶ Χρόμιος, Δακεδαλίμων δὲ Ὀθρυνάδης ὑπε-
λειφθηκαί δὲ οὕτω νυκτὸς ἐπελθοῦσης. οἱ μὲν
δὴ διὸ τῶν Ἀργείων ὡς νεκροὶ τοῖς ἔθεοι ἐς
τὸ Ἀργος, ὁ δὲ τῶν Δακεδαλίμων Ὀθρυνάδης

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messengers again from the city to his allies; whereas the former envoys had been sent to summon them to muster at Sardis in five months' time, these were to announce that Croesus was besieged and to entreat help with all speed.

82. So he sent to the Lacedaemonians as well as the rest of the allies. Now at this very time the Spartans themselves had a feud on hand with the Argives, in respect of the country called Thyrea; for this was a part of the Argive territory which the Lacedaemonians had cut off and occupied. (All the land towards the west, as far as Malea, belonged then to the Argives, and not the mainland only, but the island of Cythera and the other islands.) The Argives came out to save their territory from being cut off; then after debate the two armies agreed that three hundred of each side should fight, and whichever party won should possess the land. The rest of each army was to go away to its own country and not be present at the battle; for it was feared that if the armies remained on the field, the men of either party would render help to their comrades if they saw them losing. Having thus agreed, the armies drew off, and picked men of each side were left and fought. Neither could gain advantage in the battle; at last, of six hundred there were left only three, Alcenor and Chromios of the Argives, Othyades of the Lacedaemonians: these three were left alive at nightfall. Then the two Argives, deeming themselves victors, ran to Argos; but Othyades, the Lacedaemonian,
σκυλέυσας τούς. Ἀργείων νεκροὺς καὶ προσφορήσας τὰ ὀπλα πρὸς τὸ ἐωτοῦ στρατόπεδον ἐν τῇ τάξι ἐλήκη ἐωτῶν. ἦμερή δὲ δευτέρῃ παρήσαν πυθαγούμενοι ἀμφότεροι. τῶν μὲν δὴ αὐτοὶ ἐκά
tεροι ἐφασαν νικᾶν, λέγοντες οἱ μὲν ὡς ἐωτῶν πλείων περιγεγομένη, οἱ δὲ τοὺς μὲν ἀποφαίνοντες 
πεφευγότας, τὸν δὲ σφέτερον παραμείναντα καὶ σκυλέυσαντα τοὺς ἐκείνους νεκροὺς· τέλος δὲ 
ἐκ τῆς ἐρίδος συμπεσόντες ἐμάχοντο, πεσόντων δὲ καὶ ἀμφότεροι πολλῶν ἐνίκων Λακεδαιμόνιοι.
Ἀργείων μὲν νυν ἀπὸ τούτου τοῦ χρώμου κατα
κείραμεν τὰς κεφαλὰς, πρότερον ἐπάναγκες 
κομῶντες, ἐποιήσαντο νόμον τε καὶ κατάρνη μὴ 
πρότερον θρέψειν κόμην Ἀργείων μηδένα, μη
der τὰς γυναικὰς σφί χρυσοφορήσειν, πρὶν θυρέας 
ἀνασώσωνται. Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ τὰ ἑνάτα τοῦ 
τῶν έθεντο νόμον ὡς γὰρ κομῶντες πρὸ τοῦ 
τοῦ τούτου κομῶν. τὸν δὲ ἔνα λέγουσι τὸν περι
λειβθέντα τῶν τρικοσίων Ὀδρυάδην, αἰσχυνο
μενον ἀπονοστέειν ἐς Σπάρτην τῶν οἴ συλλοχι
τέων δειφθαρμένων, αὐτοῦ μὲν ἐν τῇ Ἐθερέος 
καταχρήσασθαι ἐωτοῦ.

83. Τοιούτων δὲ τοῖς Σπαρτιήτρις ἐνεστεῖτο πρηγμάτων ήκε ὁ Σαρδήνος κύριος δεόμενος Κροίασι
βοηθεῖν πολιορκεσμένοι. οἱ δὲ ὠμοσ, ἐπείτε ἐπύσων τοῦ κύριος, ὀρμεάτο βοηθεῖν. 
καὶ σφὶ ἡδον παρεκκενασμένοι καὶ νέων ἐωυτῶν ἐτοίμων ἦλθε ἄλλη ἀγγελία, ὡς ἡλώκοι το τεῖχος 
tῶν Λυδῶν καὶ ἔχοιτο Κροίας χωρηθεῖσ. οὐτοὶ 
δὴ οὗτοι μὲν συμφορὰν ποιησάμενοι μεγάλη

84. Σάρδης δὲ ἤλωσαν ὡδε. ἐπειδῆ τεσσερεσ-
spoiled the Argive dead, bore the armour to his own army's camp and remained in his place. On the next day both armies came to learn the issue. For a while both claimed the victory, the Argives pleading that more of their men had survived, the Lacedaemonians showing that the Argives had fled, while their man had stood his ground and despoiled the enemy dead. At last the dispute so ended that they joined battle and fought; many of both sides fell, but the Lacedaemonians had the victory. Ever after this the Argives, who before had worn their hair long by fixed custom, shaved their heads, and made a law, with a curse added thereto, that no Argive should grow his hair, and no Argive woman should wear gold, till they should recover Thyreae; and the Lacedaemonians made a contrary law, that ever after they should wear their hair long; for till now they had not so worn it. Othryades, the one survivor of the three hundred, was ashamed, it is said, to return to Sparta after all the men of his company had been slain, and killed himself on the spot at Thyreae.

83. All this had befallen the Spartans when the Sardian herald came to entreat their help for Croesus, now besieged; yet for all that, when they heard the herald they prepared to send help; but when they were already equipped and their ships ready, there came a second message which told that the fortress of the Lydians was taken and Croesus held a prisoner. Then indeed, though greatly grieved, they ceased from their enterprise.

84. Now this is how Sardis was taken. When
καιδεκάτη ἐγένετο ἡμέρη πολιορκεομένῳ Κροίσῳ. Κύρος τῇ στρατιᾷ τῇ ἐως τοῦ διαπέμψεις ἵππεας προείπε τῷ πρῶτῳ ἐπιβάντι τοῦ τείχους δῶρα δώσειν. μετὰ δὲ τούτῳ περιηγαμένης τῆς στρατιᾶς ὡς οὖ προεχόμενε, ἐνθαῦτα τῶν ἄλλων πεπαυμένων ἄνηρ Μάρδος ἐπειράτο προσβαίνων, τῷ σύνομῳ ἡ Ἰταλιάδης, κατὰ τούτῳ τῆς ἀκροπόλιος τῇ οὔδεις ἐτετακτό φύλακος· οὐ γὰρ ἦν δεινὸν κατὰ τούτῳ μὴ ἄλφο κοτέ. ἄποτομος τε γὰρ ἐστὶ ταύτῃ ἡ ἀκροπόλις καὶ ἀμαχὸς· τῇ οὐδὲ Μήλης ὁ πρῶτερον βασιλεὺς Σαρδίων μοῦνη οὐ περιήγεικε τῶν λέοντα τὸν οί ἡ παλλακὴ ἐτεκε. Τελευσόντων δικασάντων ὡς περιενεκτέντοις τοῦ λέοντος τὸ τείχος ἐσονταί Σάρδιες ἀναλωτοι. ὁ δὲ Μήλης κατὰ τὸ ἄλλο τείχος περιενεκταὶ, τῇ ἡ ἐπίμαχον τὸ χωρίον τῆς ἀκροπόλιος, κατηλόγησε τούτῳ ὡς οὖν ἀμαχὸν τε καὶ ἀπότομον· ἐστὶ δὲ πρὸς τοῦ Τμώλου τετραμμένον τῆς πόλιος. ὁ ὡν δὴ Ἰταλιάδης οὖτος ὁ Μάρδος ἰδὼν τῇ προτεραίᾳ τῶν τινα Λυδῶν κατὰ τοῦτο τῆς ἀκροπόλιος καταβάντα ἐπὶ κυνέῳ ἀνωθεν κατακυλισθείσαι καὶ ἀνελόμενοι, ἐφράσθη καὶ ἐς θυμὸν ἐβάλετο· τότε δὲ δὴ αὐτὸς τε ἀναβεβήκε καὶ κατ' αὐτὸν ἄλλοι Περσέων ἀνεβαίνων προσβάντων δὲ συγχων οὖτος δὴ Σάρδιες τε ἠλώκεσαν καὶ πᾶν τὸ ἀστυ ἐπορθέτο. 85. Κατ' αὐτὸν δὲ Κροίσῳ τάδε ἐγίνετο. ἢν οἱ πάις; τοῦ καὶ πρῶτον ἐπεμνήσθην, τὰ μὲν ἄλλα ἐπιεικῆς, ἀφωνος δὲ. ἐν τῇ ὅν παρελθοῦσιν εἰστοι ὁ Κροίσος τὸ πᾶν ἐς αὐτὸν ἐπεποιήκεε, ἄλλα τε ἐπιφραζόμενος, καὶ δὴ καὶ ἐς Δελφοὺς

1 τὸ χωρίῳ is bracketed by Stein.
Croesus had been besieged for fourteen days, Cyrus sent horsemen about in his army to promise rewards to him who should first mount the wall. After this the army made an assault, but with no success. Then, all the rest being at a stand, a certain Mardian \(^1\) called Hyroeades essayed to mount by a part of the citadel where no guard had been set; for here the height on which the citadel stood was sheer and hardly to be assaulted, and none feared that it could be taken by an attack made here. This was the only place where Meles the former king of Sardis had not carried the lion which his concubine had borne him, the Telmessians having declared that if this lion were carried round the walls Sardis could never be taken. Meles then carried the lion round the rest of the wall of the acropolis where it could be assaulted, but neglected this place, because the height was sheer and defied attack. \(^\ast\) It is on the side of the city which faces towards Tmolus. So then it chanced that on the day before this Mardian, Hyroeades, had seen one of the Lydians descend by this part of the citadel after a helmet that had fallen down, and fetch it; he took note of this and considered it, and now he himself climbed up, and other Persians after him. Many ascended, and thus was Sardis taken and all the city like to be sacked.

85. I will now tell what befell Croesus himself. He had a son, of whom I have already spoken, a likely youth enough save that he was dumb. Now in his past days of prosperity Croesus had done all that he could for his son; and besides resorting to other plans he had sent to Delphi to inquire of the

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\(^{1}\) The Mardi were a nomad Persian tribe.
ΠΕΡΙ ΑΥΤΟΥ ΕΠΕΠΟΜΦΕΕ ΧΡΗΣΟΜΕΝΟΥΣ. Η ΔΕ ΠΥΘΗ
ΟΙ ΕΙΠΕ ΤΑΙΔΕ.

ΛΥΔΗ ΓΕΝΟΣ, ΠΟΛΛΩΝ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ, ΜΕΓΑ ΒΙΤΠΙΕ
ΚΡΟΥΣΗ,
ΜΗ ΒΟΥΛΟΝ ΠΟΛΙΕΥΚΤΟΝ ΗΝ ΑΝΑ ΔΩΜΑΤΙ ΑΚΟΙΝΕΙΝ
ΠΑΙΔΟΣ ΦΘΕΡΓΟΜΕΝΟΥ, ΤΟ ΔΕ ΣΟΙ ΠΟΛΥ ΛΩΙΝ
ΑΜΦΙΣ
ΕΜΜΕΝΑΙ ΑΥΤΗΝ ΕΙΑΡ ΕΝ ΗΜΑΤΙ ΠΡΩΤΟΝ ΑΝΟΛΒΩ.
ΑΛΙΣΚΟΜΕΝΟΥ ΔΗ ΤΟΥ ΤΕΙΧΕΟΣ, ΗΜΕ ΓΑΡ ΤΩΝ ΤΩΝ
ΠΕΡΣΕΩΝ ΑΛΛΟΓΡΩΦΑΣ ΚΡΟΙΟΥΝ ΩΣ ΑΠΟΚΤΕΝΕΩΝ,
ΚΡΟΙΟΥΣ ΜΕΝ ΥΝΗΝ ΟΡΕΩΝ ΕΠΙΟΝΤΑ ΥΠΟ ΤΗΣ ΠΑΡΕΟΥΣΗΣ
ΣΥΜΦΟΡΗΣ ΠΑΡΗΜΕΛΙΚΕΕ, ΟΥΔΕ ΤΙ ΟΙ ΔΙΕΦΕΡΕ ΠΛΗΡΗΣΤΙ
ΑΠΟΘΑΝΕΙΝ, Ο ΔΕ ΠΑΙΣ ΟΙΤΟΣ Ο ΑΦΩΝΟΣ ΩΣ ΕΙΔΕ
ΕΠΙΟΝΤΑ ΤΟΝ ΠΕΡΣΗΝ, ΥΠΟ ΔΕΟΥΣ ΤΕ ΚΑΙ ΚΑΚΟΙ ΕΡΡΗΣΕ
ΦΩΝΗΝ, ΕΙΠΕ ΔΕ "ΩΝΘΡΩΠΕ, ΜΗ ΚΤΕΙΝΕ ΚΡΟΙΟΥΝ.
ΟΙΤΟΣ ΜΕΝ ΔΗ ΤΟΤΟ ΠΡΩΤΟΝ ΕΦΘΕΓΧΑΤΟ, ΜΕΤΑ ΔΕ
ΤΟΤΟ ΗΘΗ ΕΦΩΝΕ ΤΟΝ ΠΑΝΤΑ ΧΡΩΝΟΝ ΤΗΣ ΖΩΗΣ.
86. ΟΙ ΔΕ ΠΕΡΣΑΙ ΤΑΣ ΤΕ ΔΗ ΣΑΡΔΙΣ ΕΣΧΟΥΝ ΚΑΙ
ΑΥΤΟΝ ΚΡΟΙΟΥΝ ΕΞΩΓΡΗΣΑΝ, ΑΡΘΑΝΤΑ ΕΤΕΑ ΤΕΣΣΕΡΕΣ
ΚΑΙΔΕΚΑ ΚΑΙ ΤΕΣΣΕΡΕΣΚΑΙΔΕΚΑ ΗΜΕΡΑΣ ΠΟΛΙΟΡΚΗΘΕΝΤΑ,
ΚΑΤΑ ΤΟ ΧΡΗΣΤΗΡΙΟΝ ΤΕ ΚΑΤΑΠΑΥΣΑΝΤΑ ΤΗΝ
ΕΩΤΟΥ ΜΕΓΑΛΗΝ ΑΡΧΗΝ, ΛΑΒΟΝΤΕΣ ΔΕ ΑΥΤΟΝ ΟΙ
ΠΕΡΣΑΙ ΗΓΑΝΟΝ ΠΑΡΑ ΚΥΡΟΥ. ΔΕ ΣΥΝΝΗΣΑΣ
ΠΥΡΗΝ ΜΕΓΑΛΗΝ ΑΝΕΒΙΒΑΣΕ ΕΠΙ ΑΥΤΗΝ ΤΟΝ ΚΡΟΙΟΥΝ
ΤΕ ΕΝ ΠΕΔΡΟΙΝ ΔΕΘΕΜΕΝΟΝ ΚΑΙ ΔΙΣ ΕΠΤΑ ΛΥΔΩΝ ΠΑΡ
ΑΥΤΟΝ ΠΑΙΔΑΣ, ΕΝ ΒΟΥΛΗΝ ΕΙΤΕ ΔΗ ΑΚΡΩΘΗΝ
ΤΑΤΑ ΚΑΤΑΓΙΜΕΩΝ ΘΕΩΝ ΟΤΕΦ ΔΗ, ΕΙΤΕ ΚΑΙ ΕΥΧΗΝ
ΕΠΙΤΕΛΕΙΣΑΙ ΘΕΛΩΝ, ΕΙΤΕ ΚΑΙ ΠΥΘΩΜΕΝΟΣ ΤΟΝ ΚΡΟΙΟΥΝ
ΕΙΝΑΙ ΘΕΟΣΕΙΑ ΤΟΥΔΕ ΕΙΝΕΚΕΝ ΑΝΕΒΙΒΑΣΕ ΕΠΙ ΤΗΝ
ΠΥΡΗΝ, ΒΟΥΛΗΜΕΝΟΣ ΕΙΔΕΝΑΙ ΕΙ ΤΙΣ ΜΗΝ ΔΑΜΙΟΝΟΝ
ΡΥΣΕΤΑΙ ΤΟΥ ΜΗ ΖΩΝΤΑ ΚΑΤΑΚΑΥΔΗΝΑΙ. ΤΟΝ ΜΕΝ ΔΗ
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oracle concerning him. The Pythian priestess thus answered him:

"Lydian, of many the lord, thou know'st not the boon that thou askest.
Wish not nor pray that the voice of thy son may be heard in the palace;
Better it were for thee that dumb he abide as aforetime;
Luckless that day shall be when first thou hearest him speaking."

So at the taking of the fortress a certain Persian, not knowing who Croesus was, came at him with intent to kill him. Croesus saw him coming, but by stress of misfortune he was past caring, and would as soon be smitten to death as not; but this dumb son, seeing the Persian coming, in his fear and his grief broke into speech and cried, "Man, do not kill Croesus!" This was the first word he uttered; and after that for all the days of his life he had power of speech.

85. So the Persians took Sardis and made Croesus himself prisoner, he having reigned fourteen years and been besieged fourteen days; and, as the oracle foretold, brought his own great empire to an end. Having then taken him they led him to Cyrus. Cyrus had a great pyre built, on which he set Croesus, bound in chains, and twice seven Lydian boys beside him: either his intent was to sacrifice these firstfruits to some one of his gods, or he desired to fulfil a vow, or it may be that, learning that Croesus was a god-fearing man, he set him for this cause on the pyre, because he would fain know if any deity would save him from being burnt alive. It is related
ποιεῖν ταῦτα τῷ δὲ Κροίσῳ ἐστεώτι ἐπὶ τῆς πυρᾶς ἐσελθεῖν, καὶ περ ἐν κακῷ ἐστὶν τοσοῦτο, τὸ τοῦ Σόλωνος ὡς ὦς εἴη σὺν θεῷ εἰρήμενον, τὸ μηδένα εἶναι τῶν ζωσῶν ὀλβίων, ὡς δὲ ἀρα μὴν προστήμαι τούτῳ, ἀνενεκάμενον τε καὶ ἀνα-
στενάξαντα ἐκ πολλῆς ἡσυχίας ἐς τρις ὀνομάζαι "Σόλων." καὶ τὸν Κύρον ἀκούσαντα κελεύσαι τοὺς ἔρμηνεας ἐπειρέσθαι τὸν Κροίσον τίνα τούτων ἐπικαλέστι, καὶ τοὺς προσελθόντας ἐπειρωτᾶν. Κροίσον δὲ τέως μὲν σιγὴν ἔχειν εἰρωτώμενον, μετὰ δὲ ὅς ἡγακάζετο, εἰπεῖν "Τῶν ἂν ἐγὼ πάσιν τυράννοισι προετίμησα μεγάλων χρημάτων ἐς λόγους ἐλθεῖν," ὥς δὲ σφὶ ἄσημα ἐφραζέ, πάλιν ἐπειρώτων τὰ λεγόμενα. Ἀπαρέντων δὲ αὐτῶν καὶ ὅχλον παρεχόντων, ἔλεγε δὴ ὅς ἠλθε ἀρχὴν ὁ Σόλων ἐὼν Ἀθηναῖος, καὶ θεοσάμενος πάντα τὸν ἐωτοῦ ὀλβίων ἀποβλαυρίσεις ὀδί δὴ εἶπας, ὡς τε αὐτῷ πάντα ἀποβεβήκου τῇ περ ἐκείνος εἶπε, οὐδὲν τι μᾶλλον ἐς ἐωτοῦ λέγον ἢ οὐκ ἐς ἀπαν τὸ ἀνθρώπων καὶ μάλιστα τοὺς παρὰ σφίσαι αὐτοῖς ὀλβίων δοκέοντας εἶναι. τὸν μὲν Κροίσον ταῦτα ἀπηγείοντα, τῆς δὲ πυρῆς ἡδή ἀμμένης καίεσθαι τὰ περίεργα, καὶ τὸν Κύρον ἀκού-
σαντα τῶν ἐρμηνεῶν τὰ Κροίσος ἐπε, μεταγινόντα τε καὶ ἐνοχάσαντα ὅτι καὶ αὐτὸς ἄνθρωπος ἐὼν ἄλλον ἄνθρωπον, γενόμενον ἐωτοῦ εὐδαιμονίᾳ οὐκ ἐλάσσω, ζῶντα πυρὶ διδοῖς, πρὸς τε τοῦτοι δεῖσαντα τὴν τίσιν καὶ ἐπιλεξάμενον ὡς οὐδὲν εἴη τῶν ἐν ἀνθρώπων ἀσφαλείᾳ ἔχον, κελεύειν σβεννύσαι τὴν ταχίστην τὸ καιόμενον πῦρ καὶ

1 πῦρ is bracketed by Stein.
then that he did this; but Croesus, as he stood
on the pyre, remembered even in his evil plight
how divinely inspired was that saying of Solon, that
no living man was blest. When this came to his
mind, having till now spoken no word, he sighed
deeply and groaned, and thrice uttered the name of
Solon. Cyrus heard it, and bade his interpreters
ask Croesus who was this on whom he called; they
came near and asked him; Croesus at first would say
nothing in answer, but presently, being compelled, he
said, "It is one with whom I would have given much
wealth that all sovereigns should hold converse."
This was a dark saying to them, and again they
questioned him of the words which he spoke. As they
were instant, and troubled him, he told them then how
Solon, an Athenian, had first come, and how he had
seen all his royal state and made light of it (saying
thus and thus), and how all had happened to Croesus
as Solon said, though he spoke with less regard to
Croesus than to mankind in general and chiefly those
who deemed themselves blest. While Croesus thus
told his story, the pyre had already been kindled and
the outer parts of it were burning. Then Cyrus,
when he heard from the interpreters what Croesus
said, repented of his purpose. He bethought him
that he, being also a man, was burning alive another
man who had once been as fortunate as himself;
moreover, he feared the retribution, and it came to his
mind that there was no stability in human affairs;
wherefore he gave command to quench the burning
καταβιβάζειν Κροίσον τε καὶ τοὺς μετὰ Κροίσουν, καὶ τοὺς πειρωμένους οὐ δύνασθαι ἐτὶ τοῦ πυρὸς ἐπικρατῆσαι.

87. Ἐνθαῦτα λέγεται ὑπὸ Αὐδὸν Κροίσον μαθόντα τὴν Κύρου μετάγνωσιν, ὡς ὅρα πάντα μὲν ἄνδρα σβεννύντα τὸ πῦρ, δυναμένους δὲ οὐκέτι καταλαβεῖν, ἐπιβώσασθαι τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα ἐπικαλεόμενον, εἰ τί οἱ κεχαρισμένοι εὖ αὐτοῦ ἐδωρήθη, παραστήματι καὶ ῥύσασθαι αὐτὸν ἐκ τοῦ παρεόντος κακοῦ, τὸν μὲν δακρύσως ἐπικαλέσθαι τὸν θεόν, ἐκ δὲ αἰθρίης τε καὶ νηνεμίης συνδραμεῖν ἐξαπίνης νέφεα καὶ χειμώνα τε καταρραγῆσαι καὶ ὑπαι ὑδατι λαβροτάτῳ, καταβησθήναι τῇ πυρῆν, οὕτω δὴ μαθόντα τὸν Κύρου ὡς εἰ ὁ Κροίσος καὶ θεοφιλὴς καὶ ἀνὴρ ἀγαθός, καταβιβασάντα αὐτὸν ἀπὸ τῆς πυρῆς εἰρέσθαι τάδε. "Κροίσε, τίς σε ἀνθρώπων ἀνέγνωσε ἐπὶ γην τὴν ἐμὴν στρατευσμένων πολέμου ἀντὶ φίλου ἐμοὶ καταστήματι;" ὁ δὲ εἶπε "Ὤ βασιλεῦ, ἐγὼ ταῦτα ἔπρηξε τῇ σῇ μὲν εὐδαιμονίῃ, τῇ ἐμεωτοῦ δὲ κακοδαιμονίῃ, αἰτίας δὲ τούτων ἐγένετο ὁ Ἐλλήνων θεός ἑπαείρας ἐμὲ στρατεύσθαι. οὖν δεὶς γὰρ οὕτω ἀνόητος ἐστὶ σῶτος πόλεμον πρὸ εἰρήμης αἰρεῖται· ἐν μὲν γὰρ τῇ οἱ παίδες τοὺς πατέρας θύπτουσι, ἐν δὲ τῷ οἱ πατέρες τοὺς παίδες. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα δαίμοσι κοι φίλον ἡν οὕτω γενέσθαι."

88. "Ὁ μὲν ταῦτα ἔλεγε, Κύρος δὲ αὐτὸν λύσας κατείσθε τε ἐνγύς ἐωντοῦ καὶ κάρτα ἐν πολλῇ προμηθῇ εἰρχε, ἀπεθωμαζέ τε ὅρεων καὶ αὐτὸς καὶ οἱ περὶ ἐκείνων ἐοντες πάντες. ὁ δὲ συννοιὴ ἐχόμενος ἤσων οὐ μετὰ δὲ ἔπιστραφεῖς τε καὶ
fire with all speed and bring Croesus and those with him down from the pyre. But his servants could not for all their endeavour now master the fire.

87. Then (so the Lydians relate), when Croesus was aware of Cyrus’ repentance and saw all men striving to quench the fire but no longer able to check it, he cried aloud to Apollo, praying that if the god had ever been pleased with any gift of his offering he would now come to his aid and save him from present destruction. Thus with weeping he invoked the god: and suddenly in a clear and windless sky clouds gathered and a storm burst and there was a most violent rain, so that the pyre was quenched. Then indeed Cyrus perceived that Croesus was a good man and one beloved of the gods; and bringing him down from the pyre, he questioned him, saying, “What man persuaded you, Croesus, to attack my country with an army, and be my enemy instead of my friend?” “O King,” said Croesus, “it was I who did it, and brought thereby good fortune to you and ill to myself: but the cause of all was the god of the Greeks, in that he encouraged me to send my army. No man is so foolish as to desire war more than peace: for in peace sons bury their fathers, but in war fathers bury their sons. But I must believe that heaven willed all this so to be.”

88. So said Croesus. Then Cyrus loosed him and set him near to himself and took much thought for him, and both he and all that were with him were astonished when they looked upon Croesus. He for his part was silent, deep in thought. Presently he
ιδόμενος τοὺς Πέρσας τὸ τῶν Λυδῶν ἀστυ κεραίζουτας εἶπε Ἡ\ Ω̣ βασιλεὺ, κάτερον λέγειν πρὸς σὲ τὰ νοεών τυχάνω η σεγάν ἐν τῷ παρεύμεντι χρῆ; Κύρος δὲ μὴν θαρσεύοντα ἑκέλευε λέγειν ὁ τι βουλοίτο. ο δὲ αὐτὸν εἰρώτα λέγων "Οὕτως ὁ πολλὸς ὦ μῖλος τί ταῦτα πολλῇ σπουδῇ ἐργάζεται;᾽ ο δὲ εἶπε "Πόλιν τε τὴν σὴν διαρπάζει καὶ χρήματα τὰ σὰ διαφορέει." Κροίσου δὲ ἀμείβετο "Οὕτε πόλιν τὴν ἐμὴν οὔτε χρήματα τὰ ἐμὰ διαρπάζεις οὐδὲν ἕαρ ἐμοὶ ἐτὶ τοὐτῶν μέτα ἀλλὰ φέροντι τε καὶ ἀγονοὶ τὰ σὰ."

89. Κύρος δὲ ἐπιμελεῖς ἐγένετο τὰ Κροίσου εἶπε: μεταστηθόμενος δὲ τοὺς ἄλλους, εἰρέτο Κροίσου ὃ τι οἱ ἐνορφή ἐν τοῖς ποιευμένοις. ο δὲ εἶπε ὡς ἐπείτε με θεοὶ ἐδοκάσαν δουλόν σοι, δικαίω, εἰ τι ἐνορφόν πλέον, σημαίνειν σοί. Πέρσαι φύσιν ἐόντες ὑβρισταὶ εἰς ἀχρήματα, ἣν ὃν σὺ τοῦτον περίδος διαρπάζατας καὶ κατασχῶντας χρήματα μεγάλα, τάδε τοι ἐξ αὐτῶν ἐπίδοξα γενέσθαι ὃς ἄν αὐτῶν πλείστα κατάσχῃ, τοῦτον προσδέσθαι τοι ἐπαναστηθόμενον. ὃν ὁμιλήσῃ οὐδὲ, εἰ τοι ἀρέσκει τὰ ἐγὼ λέγων κάτισον τῶν δορυφόρων ἐπὶ πάσης τῆς πύλης φυλάκους, οὐ λεγόντων πρὸς τοὺς ἐκφέροντας τὰ χρήματα ἀπαρεόμενοι ὡς σφέα ἀναγκαῖος ἔχει δεκατευθεῖν τῷ Δί. καὶ σὺ τε σφι ὁυκ ἀπεξήθεσαι βίη ἀπαρεόμενος τὰ χρήματα, καὶ ἐκεῖνοι συγγνώμενς ποιεῖν σε δίκαια ἐκόντες προσῆσονς;"

90. Ταῦτα ἀκούων ὁ Κύρος ὑπερήφαντο, ὡς οἱ ἐδοκεῖ εἰς ὑποτίθεσθαι αὐνέσας δὲ πολλά, καὶ ἐντειλάμενος τούτῃ δορυφόροις τὰ Κροίσου ὑπεθήκατο ἐπιτελεῖν, εἴπε πρὸς Κροίσου τάδε.
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turned and said (for he saw the Persians sacking the city of the Lydians), "O King, am I to say to you now what is in my mind, or keep silence?" Cyrus bidding him to say boldly what he would, Croesus asked, "Yonder multitude, what is this wherein they are so busily engaged?" "They are plundering," said Cyrus, "your city and carrying off your possessions." "Nay," Croesus answered, "not my city, nor my possessions; for I have no longer any share of all this; it is your wealth that they are ravishing."

89. Cyrus thought upon what Croesus said, and bidding the rest withdraw he asked Croesus what fault he saw in what was being done. "Since the gods," replied the Lydian, "have given me to be your slave, it is right that if I have any clearer sight of wrong done I should declare it to you. The Persians are violent men by nature, and poor withal; if then you suffer them to seize and hold great possessions, you may expect that he who has won most will rise in revolt against you. Now therefore do this, if what I say finds favour with you. Set men of your guard to watch all the gates; let them take the spoil from those who are carrying it out, and say that it must be paid as tithe to Zeus. Thus shall you not be hated by them for taking their wealth by force, and they for their part will acknowledge that you act justly, and will give up the spoil willingly."

90. When Cyrus heard this he was exceedingly pleased, for he deemed the counsel good; and praising him greatly, and bidding his guards to act as Croesus
"Κροίσε, ἀναρτημένον σεὔ ἀνδρός βασιλέως χρηστὰ ἔργα καὶ ἔπεα ποιεῖν, αἰτέω δόσιν ἦντινα βούλεαι τοι γενέσθαι παραντικά." ὦ δέ εἰπε "Ο θέσποτα, ἐάσας με χαριεὶ μάλιστα τὸν θεὸν τῶν Ἐλλήνων, τὸν ἑγὼ ἐτίμησα θεῶν μάλιστα, ἐπειρέσθαι πέμψαντα τάσδε τὰς πέδας, εἰ ἔξα- πατάν τοὺς εἰ ποιεύοντας νόμος ἐστὶ οί." Κύρος δὲ εἶρετο ὃ τι οἱ τοῦτο ἑπηγορεῖν παρατέτοι. Κροίσος δὲ οἱ ἑπαλλολλήγησε πάσαν τὴν ἑωτοῦ διάνοιαν καὶ τῶν χρηστηρίων τῶν ὑποκρίσιας καὶ μάλιστα τὰ ἀναθήματα, καὶ ὃς ἑπαρθεὶς τῷ μαντήρῳ ἑστρατεύσατο ἐπὶ Πέρσας. λέγων δὲ ταῦτα κατέβανε αὐτὲς παρατεύμενος ἑπειναί οἱ τῷ θεῷ τοῦτο ὀνειδίσαι. Κύρος δὲ γελάσας εἰπε "Καὶ τοῦτον τεύξεαι παρ’ ἑμέν, Κροίσε, καὶ ἄλλου παντὸς τοῦ ἀν ἑκάστοτε δή." ὡσ δὲ ταῦτα ἦκουσε ὁ Κροίσος, πέμπων τῶν Λυδίων ἐς Δελφοὺς ἐνετελέτο τιθέντας τὰς πέδας ἐπὶ τοῦ νηῶν τῶν οὐδὸν εἰρωτάν εἰ ὦ τι ἑπαισχύνεται τοῖσι μαντήριοι ἐπαείρας Κροίσον στρατεύεσθαι ἐπὶ Πέρσας ὡς καταπαύσοντα τὴν Κύρου δύναμιν, ἀπ’ ἡς οἱ ἄκρωθινα τοιαῦτα γενέσθαι, δεικνύντας τὰς πέδας ταῦτα τε ἑπειρωτάν, καὶ εἰ ἀχαρισ- τοις νόμος εἶναι τοῖς Ἐλληνικοῖς θεοῖς.

91. Ἀπικομένοις δὲ τοῖσι Λυδοῖσι καὶ λέγουσι τὰ ἐντεταλμένα τὴν Πυθίην λέγεται εἰπεῖν τάδε. "Τὴν πεπρωμένην μοιρὰν ἀδύνατα ἐστὶ ἀποφυγεῖν καὶ θεῷ. Κροίσος δὲ πέμπτον γονέως ἁμαρτάδα ἐξέπλησε, ὡς ἐὼν δορυφόρος Ἡρακλειδέων, δόλῳ γυναικῆς ἐπιστόμενος ἐφόνευσε τὸν δεσπότην καὶ ἐσχε τὴν ἀκείνου τειμὴν οὐδὲν οἱ προσήκουσαν, προθυμομένου δὲ Λοξίου ὅκως ἄν κατὰ τοὺς
had counselled, he said: "Croesus, now that you, a king, are resolved to act and to speak aright, ask me now for whatever boon you desire forthwith." "Master," said Croesus, "you will best please me if you suffer me to send these my chains to that god of the Greeks whom I chiefly honoured, and to ask him if it be his custom to deceive those who serve him well." Cyrus then asking him what charge he brought against the god that he made this request, Croesus repeated to him the tale of all his own intent, and the answers of the oracles, and more especially his offerings, and how it was the oracle that had heartened him to attack the Persians; and so saying he once more instantly entreated that he might be suffered to reproach the god for this. At this Cyrus smiled, and replied, "This I will grant you, Croesus, and what other boon soever you may at any time ask me." When Croesus heard this, he sent men of the Lydians to Delphi, charging them to lay his chains on the threshold of the temple, and to ask if the god were not ashamed that he had persuaded Croesus to attack the Persians, telling him that he would destroy Cyrus' power; of which power (they should say, showing the chains) these were the first-fruits. Thus they should inquire; and further, if it were the manner of the Greek gods to be thankless.

91. When the Lydians came, and spoke as they were charged, the priestess (it is said) thus replied: "None may escape his destined lot, not even a god. Croesus hath paid for the sin of his ancestor of the fifth generation: who, being of the guard of the Heraclidæ, was led by the guile of a woman to slay his master, and took to himself the royal state of that master, whereunto he had no right. And it was the desire of Loxias that the evil hap of Sardis should
παῖδας τοῦ Κροίσου γέννητο τὸ Σαρδίων πάθος καὶ μὴ κατ’ αὐτὸν Κροίσου, οὐκ οἶον τε ἐγκύντο
παραγαγεῖν μοῖρας. ὃσον δὲ ἐνέδωκαν αὐτὰ, ἦν σε τε καὶ ἑχαρίσατο οὐ τρία γὰρ ἔτεα ἐπανεβάλετο τῆς Σαρδίων ἄλωσιν, καὶ τοῦτο ἐπιστάσθω Κροίσος ὡς ὑστερον τούτι ἔτεσι τοῦτοις ἄλοις τῆς πετρωμένης. δεύτερα δὲ τούτων καιομένων αὐτῷ ἐπήρκεσε. κατὰ δὲ τὸ μαντήμα τὸ γενόμενον οὐκ ὀρθῶς Κροίσος μεμφεται. προηγόρευε γὰρ οἱ Δοξίης, ἣν στρατευται ἐπὶ Πέρσας, μεγάλην ἀρχὴν αὐτῶν καταλύσειν. τὸν δὲ πρὸς ταύτα χρὴν εὑ μέλλοντα βουλεύεσθαι ἐπειρήσθαι πέμψαντα κότερα τὴν ἐωτοῦ ἡ τῆν Κύρου λέγου ἀρχὴν. οὐ συλλάβων δὲ τὸ ῥηθὲν οὐδ᾽ ἐπανειρομενος ἐσωτὸν αὐτίων ἀποφαινότων τοῦ καὶ τὸ τελευταίον χρηστηριαζομένῳ εἴπε Δοξίης περὶ ἡμόνων, οὔτε τοῦτο συνελάβε. ἦν γὰρ οἱ ὁ Κύρος οὗτος ἡμόνοις ἐκ γὰρ ὑδόν ὀνκ ὀμοθενέων ἐγενοῦς, μητρὸς ἀμείνονος, πάτρῳ δὲ ὑποδεεστέρου ἡ μὲν γὰρ ἡ Μηδίας καὶ Ἀστυάγεος θυγάτηρ τοῦ Μήδων Βασιλέως, ὁ δὲ Πέρσης τε ἡ καὶ ἄρχο-
μενος ὑπ᾽ ἐκείνους καὶ ἐνερθεὶ ἕων τοῦτο ἄπασι δεσποτὴ ἡ ἐωτοῦ συνοικε. ταύτα μὲν ἡ
Πυθίῃ ὑπεκρίνατο τούτῳ Λυδόσει, οἱ δὲ ἀνήμε-
καν ἐς Σάρδις καὶ ἀπηγγείλαν Κροίσον. δὲ ἀκούσας συνέγρω ἐωτοῦ εἶναι τὴν ἀμαρτάδα καὶ ὅ τοῦ θεοῦ. κατὰ μὲν δὴ τὴν Κροίσου τε ἀρχὴν καὶ Ἰωνίας τὴν πρώτην καταστροφὴν ἐσχε οὔτω.

92. Κροίσον δὲ ἐστὶ ἀλλὰ ἀναθημάτα ἐν τῇ Ἐλλαδὶ πολλά καὶ οὗ τὰ εἰρημένα μοῖνα. ἐν μὲν
fall in the lifetime of Croesus' sons, not his own, but he could not turn the Fates from their purpose; yet did he accomplish his will and favour Croesus in so far as they would yield to him: for he delayed the taking of Sardis for three years, and this let Croesus know, that though he be now taken it is by so many years later than the destined hour. And further, Loxias saved Croesus from the burning. But as to the oracle that was given him, Croesus doth not right to complain concerning it. For Loxias declared to him that if he should lead an army against the Persians he would destroy a great empire. Therefore it behoved him, if he would take right counsel, to send and ask whether the god spoke of Croesus' or of Cyrus' empire. But he understood not that which was spoken, nor made further inquiry: wherefore now let him blame himself. Nay, when he asked that last question of the oracle and Loxias gave him that answer concerning the mule, even that Croesus understood not. For that mule was in truth Cyrus; who was the son of two persons not of the same nation, of whom the mother was the nobler and the father of lesser estate; for she was a Median, daughter of Astyages king of the Medians: but he was a Persian and under the rule of the Medians, and was wedded, albeit in all regards lower than she, to one that should be his sovereign lady." Such was the answer of the priestess to the Lydians; they carried it to Sardis and told it to Croesus; and when he heard it, he confessed that the sin was not the god's, but his own. And this is the story of Croesus' rule, and of the first overthrow of Ionia.

92. Now there are many offerings of Croesus in Hellas, and not only those whereof I have spoken.
γάρ Ὡθήσετι τῇσι Βοιωτῶν τρίτους χρύσεως, τῶν ἀνέθηκε τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι τῷ Ἰσμηνίῳ, ἐν δὲ Ἐφέσῳ ἀι τε βόσι αἱ χρύσεις καὶ τῶν κιόνων ἀι πολλαί, ἐν δὲ Προνῆς τῆς ἐν Δελφοῖσι ἁσπίς χρυσῆ μεγάλη. ταύτα μὲν καὶ ἔτι ἐς ἐμὲ ἦν περιεύντα, τὰ δὲ ἔξαπόλωλε τῶν ἀναθημάτων τὰ δὲ ἐν Βραγχίδρῳ τῇσι Μιλησίων ἀναθημάτα Κροίσῳ, ὥς ἐγὼ πιστάνομαι, ἵσα τε σταθμὸν καὶ ὁμοία τούσι ἐν Δελφοῖσι 1... τὰ μὲν νυν ἐς τε Δελφοὺς καὶ ἐς τοῦ Ἀμφιάρεως ἀνέθηκε οἰκῆμα τε ἐσόντα καὶ τῶν πατριῶν χρημάτων ἀπαρχῆν τὰ δὲ ἄλλα ἀναθημάτα ἐξ ἀνδρὸς ἐγένετο οὐσίας ἐχθροῦ, ὡς οἱ πρὶν ἡ βασιλεύσα ἀντιστασίωτης καταστήκηκε, συσπευδῶν Πανταλέων γενέσθαι τὴν Λυδῶν ἀρχήν. ὁ δὲ Πανταλέων ἦν Ἀλνάττεως μὲν παῖς, Κροίσου δὲ ἀδελφός οὐκ ὁμομήτριος. Κροίσος μὲν γάρ ἐκ Καείρης ἦν γυναικὸς Ἀλνάττη, Πανταλέων δὲ ἐξ Ιάδος. ἐπεὶ οἱ δὸντος τοῦ πατρὸς ἐκράτησε τῆς ἀρχῆς ὁ Κροίσος, τῶν ἀνθρώπων τῶν ἀντιπρήσσοντα ἐπὶ κνάφου ἐλκου διέφθειρε, τὴν δὲ οὐσίαν αὐτοῦ ἔτι πρῶτον καταρώσας τότε τρόπῳ τῷ εἰρημένῳ ἀνέθηκε ἐς τὰ εἰρηταί. καὶ περὶ μὲν ἀναθημάτων τοσαύτα εἰρησθῶ. 93. Θώματα δὲ γῇ ἦν Λυδίη ἐς συγγραφὴν οὐ μᾶλα ἔχει, οἷα τε καὶ ἀλλὰ χώρη, πάρεξ τοῦ ἐκ τοῦ Τιμώλου καταφερομένου ψῆφιματος. ἐν δὲ ἔργον πολλὸν μέγιστον παρέχεται χωρὶς τῶν τε Αἰγυπτίων ἔργων καὶ τῶν Βαβυλωνίων ἔστι αὐτῷ Ἀλνάττεω τοῦ Κροίσου πατρὸς σήμα, τοῦ

1 The sentence is incomplete, lacking a predicate.
There is a golden tripod at Thebes in Boeotia, which he dedicated to Apollo of Ismenus; at Ephesus there are the oxen of gold and the greater part of the pillars; and in the temple of Proneia at Delphi, a golden shield. All these yet remained till my lifetime; but some other of the offerings have perished. And the offerings of Croesus at Branchidae of the Milesians, as I have heard, are equal in weight and like to those at Delphi. Those which he dedicated at Delphi and the shrine of Amphiaraus were his own, the firstfruits of the wealth inherited from his father; the rest came from the estate of an enemy who had headed a faction against Croesus before he became king, and conspired to win the throne of Lydia for Pantaleon. This Pantaleon was a son of Alyattes, and half-brother of Croesus: Croesus was Alyattes' son by a Carian and Pantaleon by an Ionian mother. So when Croesus gained the sovereignty by his father's gift, he put the man who had conspired against him to death by drawing him across a carding-comb, and first confiscated his estate, then dedicated it as and where I have said. This is all that I shall say of Croesus' offerings.

93. There are not in Lydia many marvellous things for me to tell of, if it be compared with other countries, except the gold dust that comes down from Tmolus. But there is one building to be seen there which is more notable than any, saving those of Egypt and Babylon. There is in Lydia the tomb of Alyattes the father of Croesus, the base

1 The temple at Ephesus was founded probably in Alyattes' reign, and not completed till the period of the Graeco-Persian War.
2 The temple of Athene Proneia (= before the shrine) was situated outside the temple of Apollo.
Η κρητικής μὲν ἔστὶ λίθων μεγάλων, τὸ δὲ ἄλλο σήμα χῶμα γῆς. ἐξεργάσαντο δὲ μὲν οἱ ἀγοραίοι ἄνθρωποι καὶ οἱ χειρώνακτες καὶ αἱ ἐνεργαζόμεναι παιδίσκαι. οὐροὶ δὲ πέντε ἐόντες ἔτι καὶ ἐς ἔμε ἡσαν ἔπὶ τοῦ σήματος ἀνω, καὶ σφὶ γράμματα ἐνεκεκόλαπτο τὰ ἐκαστοὶ ἐξεργάσαντο, καὶ ἐφαινομένου τὸ τῶν παιδισκέων ἔργον ἐν μέγιστον. τὸν γὰρ ὁ Ἀυθῶν δήμου οἱ θυγατέρες πορνεύονται πᾶσαι, συλλέγονται σφὶς φερνάς, ἐς δὲ ἂν συνοικῆσωσι τὸ τοῦτο ποιεόωσι αὐτὸ ἐκδιδοῦσι δὲ αὐτὰ ἐστὶ ταῖς. ἡ μὲν δὴ περίοδος τοῦ σήματος εἰσὶ στάδιοι ἐς καὶ δύο πλέθρα, τὸ δὲ εὔρος ἐστὶ πλέθρα τρία καὶ δέκα. Λαμψι δὲ ἔχεται τοῦ σήματος μεγάλη, τὴν λέγουσι Ἀυθῶν ἀείων ἐναι καλεῖται δὲ αὕτη Γυγαίη. τούτῳ μὲν δὴ τοιούτῳ ἐστὶ.

94. Αὐθῶ δὲ νόμοις μὲν παραπλησίοισι χρεώνται καὶ Ἕλληνες, χωρὶς ἢ ὅτι τὰ θήλεα τέκνα καταπορνεύονται, πρῶτοι δὲ ἄνθρωποι τῶν ἡμείς ἱδομεν νόμωσα χρυσοῦ καὶ ἀργύρου κοψάμενοι ἐξρήσαντο, πρῶτοι δὲ καὶ κάπηλοι ἐγένοντο. φασὶ δὲ αὐτοὶ Ἀυθῶ καὶ τὰς παιγνίας τὰς νῦν σφίς τε καὶ Ἕλλησι κατεστέωσας ἑωτῶν ἐξευρημα γενέσθαι ἣνα δὲ ταύτας τε ἐξευρηθήναι παρὰ σφίς λέγουσι καὶ Τυρσηνήν ἀποικίσαι, ὅπερ περὶ αὐτῶν λέγοντες ἐπὶ Ἀντως τοῦ Μάνεων ἤσεις σινοδεῖς ἵσχυρῆς ἀνά τὴν Λυδίαν πάσαν γενέσθαι, καὶ τοὺς Λυδοὺς τέως μὲν διάγενα λιπαρέντως, μετὰ δὲ ὡς οὐ παύεσθαι, ἄκεα δίξηθαι, ἀλλον δὲ ἄλλο ἐπιμηκανάθηκαν αὐτῶν. ἐξευρηθήναι δὴ ὅντο τοῦτο καὶ τῶν κύβων καὶ τῶν ἀστραγάλων καὶ τῆς σφαίρης καὶ τῶν ἀλλῶν
whereof is made of great stones and the rest of it of mounded earth. It was built by the men of the market and the artificers and the prostitutes. There remained till my time five corner-stones set on the top of the tomb, and on these was graven the record of the work done by each kind: and measurement showed that the prostitutes' share of the work was the greatest. All the daughters of the common people of Lydia ply the trade of prostitutes, to collect dowries, till they can get themselves husbands; and they offer themselves in marriage. Now this tomb has a circumference of six furlongs and a third, and its breadth is above two furlongs; and there is a great lake hard by the tomb, which, say the Lydians, is fed by ever-flowing springs; it is called the Gygaean lake. Such then is this tomb.

94. The customs of the Lydians are like those of the Greeks, save that they make prostitutes of their female children. They were the first men (known to us) who coined and used gold and silver currency; and they were the first to sell by retail. And, according to what they themselves say, the pastimes now in use among them and the Greeks were invented by the Lydians: these, they say, were invented among them at the time when they colonised Tyrrhenia. This is their story: In the reign of Atys son of Manes there was great scarcity of food in all Lydia. For a while the Lydians bore this with what patience they could; presently, when there was no abatement of the famine, they sought for remedies, and divers plans were devised by divers men. Then it was that they invented the games of dice and knuckle-bones and
πασέων παγγιζεών τά είδεα, πλήν πεσσόν τούτων γάρ ὅν τήν ἐξεύρεσιν οὔκ ᾨκησιςντα Λυδοῖς. ποιείειν δέ ὁδό προς τοῦ λεμών ἐξευρόντας, τήν μὲν ἑτέρην τῶν ἡμερῶν παῖζεν πᾶσαν, ἦν δὴ μὴ ζητείειν σιτία, τήν δὲ ἑτέρην σιτεοθαί πανομένους τῶν παγγιζεών. τοιοῦτο τρόπῳ διάγειν ἐτ' ἐτεα δυνών δέοντα εἰκοσι. ἐπείτε δὲ οὗκ ἀνίεναι τὸ κακοὺ ἀλλ' ἐτί ἐτί μᾶλλον βιάζεσθαι, οὕτω δὴ τὸν βασιλέα αὐτῶν δύο μοίρας διελάνετα Λυδῶν πάντων κληρώσας τὴν μὲν ἐπὶ μονή τὴν δὲ ἐπὶ ἔξοδον ἐκ τῆς χώρης, καὶ ἐπὶ μὲν τῇ μένειν αὐτοῦ λαγχανοῦσῃ τῶν μοιρῶν ἐωτοῦ τὸν βασιλέα προστάσας εἰς δὲ τῇ ἀπαλλασσομένῃ τῶν ἐωτοῦ παιδα, τῷ οὖνομα εἰναι Τυρσηνῶν. λαχώντας δὲ αὐτῶν τοὺς ἑτέρους ἔξεναι ἐκ τῆς χώρης καταβάναι ἐς Σμύρνην καὶ μηχανήσασθαι πλοῦν, ἐς τὰ ἐσθεμένους τὰ πάντα ὡς σφι ἥν χρηστὰ ἐπιπλοα, ἀποπλέειν κατὰ βιοῦ ὑπὸ τοῦ καὶ γῆς ζητησιων, ἐς δὲ ἐθνεα πολλὰ παραμείναμένους ἀπικέσθαι εἰς Ὀμβρικοῦς, ἐνθα σφέας ἐνιορύσασθαι πόλιας καὶ οἰκεῖειν τὸ μέχρι τοῦδε. ἀντὶ δὲ Λυδῶν μετονομασθῆναι αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ τοῦ βασιλέος τοῦ παιδὸς, ὃς σφέας ἀνήγαγε, ἐπὶ τούτῳ τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν ποιεμένους ὀνομασθῆναι Τυρσηνοὺς.

Λυδοὶ μὲν δὴ ὑπὸ Πέρσας ἐθεδούλωστο.

95. Ἐπιδέχεσται δὲ δὴ τὸ ἔνθευτεν ἡμῖν ὁ λόγος τῶν τό με Κύρων ὅστις ἔων τὴν Κροίσσον ἀρχὴν κατέλθε, καὶ τοὺς Πέρσας ὅτερ τρόπῳ ἠγῆσαντο τῆς Ἀσίας. ὡς δὲν Περσέων μετεξέτεροι λέγουσιν, οἱ μὴ βουλόμενοι σεμνοῦν τὰ περὶ Κύρου ἀλλὰ τῶν ἐωτα λέγεων λόγον, κατὰ ταῦτα γράψω.
ball, and all other forms of pastime except only draughts, which the Lydians do not claim to have discovered. Then, using their discovery to lighten the famine, they would play for the whole of every other day, that they might not have to seek for food, and the next day they ceased from their play and ate. This was their manner of life for eighteen years. But the famine did not cease to plague them, and rather afflicted them yet more grievously. At last their king divided the people into two portions, and made them draw lots, so that the one part should remain and the other leave the country; he himself was to be the head of those who drew the lot to remain there, and his son, whose name was Tyrrhenus, of those who departed. Then one part of them, having drawn the lot, left the country and came down to Smyrna and built ships, whereon they set all their goods that could be carried on shipboard, and sailed away to seek a livelihood and a country; till at last, after sojourning with many nations in turn, they came to the Ombrici,¹ where they founded cities and have dwelt ever since. They no longer called themselves Lydians, but Tyrrhenians, after the name of the king's son who had led them thither.

The Lydians, then, were enslaved by the Persians.

95. But it is next the business of my history to inquire who this Cyrus was who brought down the power of Croesus, and how the Persians came to be rulers of Asia. I mean then to be guided in what I write by some of the Persians who desire not to make a fine tale of the story of Cyrus but to tell

¹ In northern and central Italy; the Umbria of Roman history perpetuates the name.
ἐπιστάμενος περὶ Κύρου καὶ τριφασίας ἄλλας λόγων οδοὺς φῆμαι.

Ἄσσυρίων ἄρχόντων τῆς ἄνω Ἀσίας ἐπ’ ἔτεα εἴκοσι καὶ πεντακόσια, πρῶτοι ἀπ’ αὐτῶν Μήδων ἤξαντο ἀπίστασθαι, καὶ κως οὗτοι περὶ τῆς ἐλευθερίης μαχεσάμενοι τοίοι Ἀσσυρίοις ἐγένοντο ἄνδρες ἀγαθοί, καὶ ἀπωσάμενοι τὴν δουλοσύνην ἐλευθερώθησαν. μετὰ δὲ τούτους καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ἔθνεα ἐποίει τῶντο τοίοι Μήδωισι.

96. Ἐόρτων δὲ αὐτονόμων πάντων ἀνὰ τὴν ἡπειρόν, ὡς αὐτὶς ἐς τυραννίδα περιήλθον, ἀνὴρ ἐν τούτι Μήδωισι ἐγένετο σοφὸς τῷ οὖνομα τὴν Δημόκης, παῖς δ’ ἦν Φραώρτεων. οὗτος ὁ Δημόκης ἔρασθεις τυραννίδος ἐποίει τοῖς, κατοικημένοι τῶν Μήδων κατὰ κώμας, ἐν τῇ ἐσωτερικῇ ἐν καὶ πρῶτον δόκιμος καὶ μᾶλλον τι καὶ προθυμότερον δικαιοσύνην ἐπιθέμενος ἤσκετε καὶ ταύτα μέντοι ἐποίει, ἐπιστάμενος ὅτι τῷ δικαίῳ τῷ ἀδίκου πολεμοῦς ἠστί. οἱ δ’ ἐκ τῆς αὐτῆς κώμης Μήδων ὀρῶντες αὐτοῦ τῶν τρόπων διακατήθην μὲν ἑωτῶν αἱρέσαντο. δ’ ἐδὲ δὴ, οί μυκόμενοι ἀρχὴν, ιθὺς τε καὶ δικαίος ἦν, ποιεόντες ταύτα ἐπαινοῦν εἰπες οὐκ ὅλην πρὸς τῶν πολιτέων, οὗτος ὡς τὸ πυθανόμενοι οἱ ἐν τῇ ἀλλη ἁκούσαν κάμιρος ὡς Δημόκης εἰς ἀνὴρ μοῦνος κατὰ τὸ ὅρθρον δικάζων, πρῶτερον περισπότετες ἀδίκοισι γνώμης, τότε ἔπειτε ἠκούσαν ἁσμενοὶ ἐρωτῶν παρὰ τῶν Δημόκεων καὶ αὐτοὶ δικασόμενοι, τέλος δὲ οὐδενὶ ἀλλο ἐπετράποντο.

97. Πλεύνος δὲ αἰεὶ γινομένου τοῦ ἐπιφοίτητον, οἰα πυθανομένων τὰς δίκας ἀποβαίνειν
the truth, though there are no less than three other accounts of Cyrus which I could give.

When the Assyrians had ruled Upper Asia for five hundred and twenty years\(^1\) their subjects began to revolt from them: first of all, the Medes. These, it would seem, proved their valour in fighting for freedom against the Assyrians; they cast off their slavery and won freedom. Afterwards the other subject nations too did the same as the Medes.

96. All of those on the mainland were now free men; but they came once more to be ruled by monarchs as I will now relate. There was among the Medians a clever man called Deioces; he was the son of Phraortes. Deioces was enamoured of sovereignty, and thus he set about gaining it. Being already a notable man in his own township (one of the many townships into which Media was parcelled), he began to profess and practise justice more constantly and zealously than ever, and this he did although there was much lawlessness in all the land of Media, and though he knew that injustice is ever the foe of justice. Then the Medes of the same township, seeing his dealings, chose him to be their judge, and he (for he coveted sovereign power) was honest and just. By so acting he won no small praise from his fellow townsmen, insomuch that when the men of the other townships learned that Deioces alone gave righteous judgments (they having before suffered from unjust decisions) they, then, on hearing this, came often and gladly to plead before Deioces; and at last they would submit to no arbitrament but his.

97. The number of those who came grew ever greater, for they heard that each case ended as

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\(^1\) From 1229 to 709 B.C., as Deioces' reign began in 709.
κατὰ τὸ ἐόν, γνώς ὁ Δημόκης ἐς ἑωτὸν πάν ἀνακείμενον οὕτε κατίζειν ἐτὶ ἤθελε ἐνθα περ πρότερον προκατίζων ἐδίκαξε, οὕτ' ἐφ' ὁδικάν ἐτὶ ὁ γὰρ οἱ λυσιτελέειν τῶν ἑωτοῦ ἐξημελικότα τοις πέλας δι' ἡμέρης δικάξειν. ἐνοῦσης ὁν ἀρπαγὴς καὶ ἀνομίας ἐτὶ πολλῶν μᾶλλον ἀνὰ τὰς κόμας ἡ πρότερον ἦν, συνελέξθησαν οἱ Μῆδοι ἐς τῶν κατηκόπτων. ὥς δ' ἐγὼ δοκεῖ, μάλιστα ἐλεγον οἱ τοῦ Δημόκεω φίλοι ὡς ὁ γὰρ δὴ τρόπῳ τῷ παρεοίτι χρεώμενοι δυνατοὶ εἰμέν οἰκείοι τὴν χώρην, φέροι στήσομεν ἡμῶν αὐτῶν βασιλέα· καὶ οὕτω ἢ τε χώρη εὐνομῆσται καὶ αὐτοὶ πρὸς ἐργα τρεψόμεθα, οὐδὲ ὑπ' ἀνομίας ἀνάστατοι ἐσόμεθα." ταύτα κη λέγοντες πείδουσι ἑωτοὺς βασιλεύσεισθαι.

98. Αὐτίκα δὲ προβάλλομένων ὁντινα στη- σονται βασιλέα, ὁ Δημόκης ἤ πολλὸς ὑπὸ παντὸς ἄνδρος καὶ προβαλλόμενοι καὶ αἰνεόμενος, ἃς ὁ τοῦτον καταινωσί βασιλέα σφίζει εἰναι. ὁ δ' ἐκέλευε αὐτοὺς οἰκία τε ἐωτῇ ἀξίᾳ τῆς βασιληῆς οἰκοδομήσαι καὶ κρατῆσαι αὐτῶν δορυφόρους. ποιεῖσθαι δὴ ταύτα οἱ Μῆδοι οἰκοδομῆσοι τε γὰρ αὐτῷ οἰκία μεγάλα τε καὶ ἱσχυρά, ἵνα αὐτοῖς ἐφρασε τῆς χώρης, καὶ δορυφόρους αὐτῷ ἐπι- τράπουσι ἐκ παντῶν Μῆδων καταλέξασθαι. ὁ δὲ ὡς ἐσχε τῆν ἀρχήν, τοὺς Μῆδους ἡμάκασε ἐντόλισμα ποιήσασθαι καὶ τοῦτο περιστῆλλον τῶν ἄλλων ἡσσοῦ ἐπιμέλεσθαι. πειθομένων δὲ καὶ ταύτα τῶν Μῆδων οἰκοδομῆσε τείχεα μεγάλα τε καὶ καρτερὰ ταύτα τὰ νῦν Ἀγαθάτανα κέ- κληται, ἑτερον ἑτέρῳ κύκλῳ ἐνεστεώτα. μεμή-
accorded with the truth. Then Deioces, seeing that all was now entrusted to him, would not sit in his former seat of judgment, and said he would give no more decisions; for it was of no advantage to him (he said) to leave his own business and spend all the day judging the cases of his neighbours. This caused robbery and lawlessness to increase greatly in the townships; and the Medes gathering together conferred about their present affairs, and said (here, as I suppose, the chief speakers were Deioces' friends), "Since we cannot with our present manner of life dwell peacefully in the country, come, let us set up a king for ourselves; thus will the country be well governed, and we ourselves shall betake ourselves to our business, and cease to be undone by lawlessness." By such words they persuaded themselves to be ruled by a king.

98. The question was forthwith propounded: Whom should they make king? Then every man was loud in putting Deioces forward and praising Deioces, till they agreed that he should be their king. He bade them build him houses worthy of his royal power, and arm him with a bodyguard: the Medes did so; they built him great and strong houses at what places soever in the country he showed them, and suffered him to choose a bodyguard out of all their people. But having obtained the power, he constrained the Medes to make him one stronghold and to fortify this more strongly than all the rest. This too the Medes did for him: so he built the great and mighty circles of walls within walls which are now called Agbatana.1 This fortress is so planned that each

1 Modern Hamadān, probably: but see Rawlinson's note.
χάνηται δὲ οὖτω τούτῳ τὸ τείχος ὡστε ὁ ἄτερος τοῦ ἐτέρου κύκλος τοὺς προμαχεῖσθαι μοῦνοις ἐστι υψηλότερος. τὸ μὲν κοῦ τι καὶ τὸ χωρίον συμμαχεῖται κολωνοῦ ἐώς ὡστε τοιοῦτο εἰναι, τὸ δὲ καὶ μᾶλλον τι ἐπετηθεύθη. κύκλων δ' ἐόντων τῶν συναπάντων ἐπτά, ἐν δὴ τῷ τελευταῖῳ τὰ βασιλεία ἐνεστὶ καὶ οἱ θησαυροί. τὸ δ' αὐτῶν μέγιστον ἐστὶ τείχος κατὰ τῶν Ἀθηρεῶν κύκλων μᾶλιστα κη τὸ μέγαθος. τοῦ μὲν δὴ πρῶτου κύκλου οἱ προμαχεῖσθαι εἰσὶ λευκοὶ, τοῦ δὲ δευτεροῦ μέλαις, τρίτου δὲ κύκλου φωινίκεοι, τετάρτου δὲ κυάνεοι, πέμπτου δὲ σανδαράκινοι. οὖτω τῶν πέντε κύκλων οἱ προμαχεῖσθαι ἠρθισμένοι εἰσὶ φαρμάκια: δὴ δὲ οἱ τελευταίοι εἰσὶ δὲ καταργυρωμένοι οἱ δὲ κατακεχρυσωμένοι ἐχοι τοὺς προμαχεῶνας.

99. Ταῦτα μὲν δὴ ὁ Δημόκης ἐσωτήρ τε ἐπεικεῖται καὶ περὶ τὰ ἐωτότων οἰκία, τοῦ δὲ ἄλλου δήμου πέριξ ἐκέλευε τὸ τείχος οἰκεῖειν. οἰκοδομηθέντων δὲ πάντων κόσμου τόνδε Δημόκης πρῶτος ἐστὶ ὁ καταστησάμενος, μήτε ἐστίν παρὰ βασιλεά μηδένα, δι' ἀγνέλων δὲ πάντων χρᾶσθαι, ὀρᾶσθαι τε βασιλεά ὑπὸ μηδενός, πρὸς τούτοις ἐτίγελαν τε καὶ ἀντίον πτύειν καὶ ἀπασί εἶναι τοῦτο γε αἰσχρόν. ταῦτα δὲ περὶ ἄειτων ἐσέμνυν τῶνδε εἶνεκεν, ὡκος ἀν μὴ ὀρῶντες οἱ ὁμήλικες, ἐόντες σύντροφοί τε ἐκεῖνω καὶ οἰκίας οὐ φλαυροτέρης οὐδὲ ἐστὶ ἀνδραγαθίην λειτομένου, λυπεοίατο καὶ ἐπιβουλευόσι, ἀλλ' ἄτεροίς σφὶ δοκεῖοι εἶναι μὴ ὀρόσι.
circle of walls is higher than the next outer circle by no more than the height of its battlements; to which end the site itself, being on a hill in the plain, somewhat helps, but chiefly it was accomplished by art. There are seven circles in all; within the innermost circle are the king's dwellings and the treasuries; and the longest wall is about the length of the wall that surrounds the city of Athens. The battlements of the first circle are white, of the second black, of the third circle purple, of the fourth blue, and of the fifth orange: thus the battlements of five circles are painted with colours; and the battlements of the last two circles are coated, these with silver and those with gold.

99. Deioches built these walls for himself and around his own palace; the people were to dwell without the wall. And when all was built, it was Deioches first who established the rule that no one should come into the presence of the king, but all should be dealt with by the means of messengers; that the king should be seen by no man; and moreover that it should be in particular a disgrace for any to laugh or to spit in his presence. He was careful to hedge himself with all this state in order that the men of his own age (who had been bred up with him and were as nobly born as he and his equals in manly excellence), instead of seeing him and being thereby vexed and haply moved to plot against him, might by reason of not seeing him deem him to be changed from what he had been.

100. Having ordered all these matters and strongly armed himself with sovereign power, he was a hard

1 About eight miles, according to a scholiast's note on Thucyd. ii. 13; but this is disputed.

2 Or, perhaps, different from themselves.
χαλεπός· καὶ τὰς τε δίκας γράφοντες ἐσὼ παρ' ἐκεῖνον ἐσπέρμεσκον, καὶ ἐκεῖνος διακρίνων τὰς ἐσφερομένας ἐκπέμπεσκε. ταύτα μὲν κατὰ τὰς δίκας ἔποιες, τάδε δὲ ἄλλα ἐκεκοσμεῖτο οἱ· εἰ τινα πυνθάνοιτο ὑβρίζοντα, τούτον ὁκὼς μεταπέμψας κατ' ἀξίην ἕκαστον ἀδικήματος ἐδικαίων, καὶ οἱ κατάσκοποι τε καὶ κατήκουν ἤσαν ἀνὰ πάσαιν τὴν χώρην τῆς ἴρχε.

101. Δημόκης μὲν ὑπὸ τὸ Μηδικὸν ἔθνος συνέστρεψε μοῦνον καὶ τούτου ἢρξε· ἐστι δὲ Μηδῶν τοσάδε γένεα, Βοῦσαι Παρητακηνοὶ Στρούχατες Ἀριζάντοι Βούδιοι Μάγοι. γένεα μὲν δὴ Μηδῶν ἐστὶ τοσάδε.

102. Δημόκεω δὲ παῖς γίνεται Φραόρτης, ὁς τελευτήσαντος Δημόκεω, βασιλεύσαντος τρία καὶ πεντήκοντα ἔτεα, παρεδέχατο τὴν ἄρχην, παραδεξάμενος δὲ οὐκ ἀπεχραῖτο μοῦνων Μηδῶν ἄρχειν, ἀλλὰ στρατευσάμενος ἐπὶ τοὺς Πέρσας πρῶτοι τε τούτοις ἐπεθήκατο καὶ πρῶτοις Μηδῶν ὑπηκόουσιν ἐπαίδευσε. μετὰ δὲ ἔχων δύο ταῦτα ἔθνεα καὶ ἀμφότερα ἱσχυρὰ, κατεστρέφετο τὴν Ἀσίην ἀπὸ ἅλλου ἐπὶ ἅλλο ἰῶν ἔθνος, ἐς οἱ στρατευσάμενοι ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἀσσυρίους καὶ Ἀσσυρίων τούτους οἱ Νίνων ἔχον καὶ ἥρχον πρότερον πάντων, τότε δὲ ἤσαν μεμονωμένοι μὲν συμμάχοι ἀτε ἀπεστεῶν, ἀλλὰς μέντοι ἐστῶτον εὐ ἄκοντες, ἐπὶ τούτους δὴ στρατευσάμενοι ὁ Φραόρτης αὐτὸς τε διεθνίζει, ἄρξας δύο καὶ εἴκοσι ἔτεα, καὶ ὁ στρατὸς αὐτοῦ ὁ πολλὸς.

103. Φραόρτεω δὲ τελευτήσαντος ἐξεδέξατο Κναξάρης ὁ Φραόρτεω τοῦ Δημόκεω παῖς. οὗτος λέγεται πολλὸν ἐτί γενέσθαι ἀλκιμῶτερος τῶν

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man in the observance of justice. They would write down their pleas and send them in to him; then would he adjudge upon what was brought him and send his judgments out. This was his manner of deciding cases at law, and he took order too about other matters; for when he heard that a man was doing violence he would send for him and punish him as befitted each offence: and he had spies and eavesdroppers everywhere in his dominions.

101. Deioces, then, united the Median nation, and no other, and ruled it. The Median tribes are these—the Busae, the Paretaeci, the Struchates, the Arizanti, the Budii, the Magi: so many are their tribes.

102. Deioces had a son, Phraortes, who inherited the throne at Deioces' death after a reign of fifty-three years. Having so inherited, he was not content to rule the Medes alone: marching against the Persians, he attacked them first, and they were the first whom he made subject to the Medes. Then, with these two strong nations at his back, he subdued one nation of Asia after another, till he marched against the Assyrians, to wit, those of the Assyrians who held Ninus. These had formerly been rulers of all; but now their allies had dropped from them and they were left alone, yet in themselves a prosperous people: marching then against these Assyrians, Phraortes himself and the greater part of his army perished, after he had reigned twenty-two years.

103. At his death he was succeeded by his son Cyaxares. He is said to have been a much greater

1 Deioces died in 656 B.C.
προγόνων, καί πρωτός τε ἐλόγισε κατὰ τέλεα τους ἐν τῇ Ἀσίῃ καὶ πρωτός διέταξε χωρίς ἐκάστους εἶναι, τους τε αἰχμοφόρους καὶ τοὺς τοξοφόρους καὶ τοὺς ἵππεας· πρὸ τοῦ δὲ ἀναμίξῃ ἢν πάντα ὁμοίως ἀναπεφυμένα· οὕτως οἱ τοῦτοι Λυδοῖσι ἔστι μαχεσάμενος ὅτε νῦν ἡ ἡμέρη ἐγένετο σφὶ μαχομένοις, καὶ ὁ τῆς Ἀλνος ποταμοῦ ἀνω Ἀσίῃ πᾶσαν συστήσας ἔωσεν. συλλέξας δὲ τοὺς ὑπ᾽ ἐωτῷ ἄρχομένους πάντας ἐστρατεύετο ἐπὶ τήν Νίκον, τιμωρεών τε τῷ πατρὶ καὶ τῆν πόλιν ταύτην θέλων ἐξελεύν. καὶ οἱ, ὅσοι συμβαλόν εὐκίσει τοὺς Ἀσσυρίους, περικατημένοι τῆς Νίκον ἐπῆλθεν Σκυθέων στρατὸς μέγας, ἤγε δὲ αὐτοὺς βασιλεὺς ὁ Σκυθέων Μαδύης Προτοθέω παῖς· οἱ ἐσεβαλοῦν μὲν ἐς τὴν Ἀσίῃ Κιμμερίους ἐκβάλοντες ἐκ τῆς Εὐρώπης, τούτοις δὲ ἐπισπόμενοι φεύγουσι οὕτω ἐς τὴν Μηδικὴν χώρῃν ἀπίκουτο.

104. Ἔστι δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς λίμνης τῆς Μαιήτιδος ἐπὶ Φᾶσιν ποταμοὺς καὶ ἡς Κόλχους τριήκοντα ἡμερῶν εὐξώνοις ὁδὸς, ἐκ δὲ τῆς Κολχίδος οὐ πολλῶν ὑπερβῆναι ἐς τὴν Μηδικήν, ἀλλὰ ἐν τῷ διὰ μέσου ἔθνος αὐτῶν ἑστὶ, Σάσπειρες, τούτο δὲ παραμείβομενοι εἶναι ἐν τῇ Μηδικῇ. οὐ μέντοι οἱ γε Σκύθαι ταύτῃ ἐσέβαλον, ἀλλὰ τὴν καταπέρδε ὁδὸν πολλῶν μακροτέρην ἐκτραπόμενοι, ἐν δεξίῃ ἔχοντες τὸ Καυκάσιον ὄρος. ἐνθαῦτα οἱ μὲν Μηδοὶ συμβαλόντες τοῖς Σκύθησι καὶ ἐσωθέντες τῇ μάχῃ τῆς ἀρχῆς κατελύθησαν, οἱ δὲ Σκύθαι τὴν Ἀσίῃ πᾶσαν ἐπέσχον.
warrior than his fathers: it was he who first arrayed the men of Asia in companies and set each kind in bands apart, the spearmen and the archers and the horsemen: before this they were all blended alike confusedly together. This was the king who fought against the Lydians when the day was turned to night in the battle, and who united under his dominion all Asia that is beyond the river Halys. Collecting all his subjects, he marched against Ninus, wishing to avenge his father and to destroy the city. He defeated the Assyrians in battle; but while he was besieging their city there came down upon him a great army of Scythians, led by their king Madyes son of Protothyes. These had invaded Asia after they had driven the Cimmerians out of Europe; pursuing them in their flight the Scythians came to the Median country.¹

104. It is thirty days' journey for an unburdened man from the Maeetian lake² to the river Phasis and the land of the Colchi; from the Colchi it is an easy matter to cross into Media: there is but one nation between, the Saspires; to pass these is to be in Media. Nevertheless it was not by this way that the Scythians entered; they turned aside and came by the upper and much longer road, having on their right the Caucasian mountains. There the Medes met the Scythians, who worsted them in battle and deprived them of their rule, and made themselves masters of all Asia.

¹ This is the same story as that related in the early chapters of Book IV. The Scythians, apparently, marched eastwards along the northern slope of the Caucasus, turning south between the end of the range and the Caspian. But Herodotus' geography in this story is difficult to follow.—The "Saspures" are in Armenia.

² The Maeetian lake is the Sea of Azov.
105. Ἐνθέετεν δὲ ἦσαν ἐπ’ Αἰγύπτου καὶ ἔπειτε ἐγένοντο ἐν τῇ Παλαιστίνῃ Συρίᾳ, Ψαμμίτης σφέας Αἰγύπτου βασιλεὺς ἀντιάσας δυναστὶ τε καὶ λιτῆσι ἀποτράπευσε τὸ προσωτέρῳ μὴ πορεύεσθαι. οἳ δὲ ἔπειτε ἀναχροσεῖτε ὑπὸ σφέα ἐγένοντο τῆς Συρίας ἐν Ἀσκάλωνι πόλι, τῶν πλεύρων Σκυθέων παρεξελθόντων ἀσινέων, ὕλῳ τινὲς αὐτῶν ὑπολειφθέντες ἐσύλησαν τῆς οὐρανίης Ἀφροδίτης τὸ ἱέρον. ἔστι δὲ τούτῳ τὸ ἱέρον, ὡς ἐγὼ πυρθανόμενος εὐρίσκω, πάντων ἀρχαιότατον ἱέρων ὡς ταύτης τῆς θεοῦ καὶ γὰρ τὸ ἐν Κύπρῳ ἱέρον ἐνθέετεν ἐγένετο, ὡς αὐτοῖς Κύπριοι λέγουσι καὶ τὸ ἐν Κυθηροῖς Φοινίκες εἰσὶ οἱ ἱδρυσάμενοι ἐκ ταύτης τῆς Συρίας ἑοὺς. τοῖς δὲ τῶν Σκυθέων συλήσασι τὸ ἱέρον τὸ ἐν Ἀσκάλωνι καὶ τοῖς τούτων αἰεὶ ἐγγένοις ἐνέσκηψε ὁ θεὸς θίελαι νοῦσον ὡς τε ἀμα λέγουσι τε οἱ Σκύθαι διὰ τοῦτο σφέας νοσέειν, καὶ ὡς ἤγεν παρὰ ἐστονείι τούτοις ἀπικυνεμένους ἐς τὴν Σκυθικὴν χώρην ὡς διακέεται τοὺς καλέουσι Εὐάρεας οἱ Σκύθαι.

106. Ἐπὶ μὲν νυν ὡκτὸ καὶ ἔκκοστε ἔτεα ἡρχον τῆς Ἀσίης οἱ Σκύθαι, καὶ τὰ πάντα σφὶ υπὸ τὸ ὑβρίς καὶ ὀλγωρίς ἀνάστατα ἡν̄ χωρίς μὲν γὰρ φόρον ἐπηρήθοσιν παρ’ ἐκάστων τὸν ἐκάστοις ἐπέβαλλον, χωρίς δὲ τὸ φόρον ἠρπαζον περιελαύνοντες τούτο ὁ τι ἐχοιεν ἐκάστοι. καὶ τούτων μὲν τῶν πλεύνας Κυαξάρης τε καὶ Μηδοὶ ἕξεινσαντες καὶ καταμεθύσαντες κατεφόνεσαν, καὶ οὕτω ἄνευσαντο τὴν ἀρχὴν Μηδοὶ καὶ ἐπεκράτεον τῶν περ καὶ πρότερον, καὶ τὴν τε Νίνον
105. Thence they marched against Egypt: and when they were in the part of Syria called Palestine, Psammetichus king of Egypt met them and persuaded them with gifts and prayers to come no further. So they turned back, and when they came on their way to the city of Ascalon in Syria, most of the Scythians passed by and did no harm, but a few remained behind and plundered the temple of Heavenly Aphrodite. This temple, as I learn from what I hear, is the oldest of all the temples of the goddess, for the temple in Cyprus was founded from it, as the Cyprians themselves say: and the temple on Cythera was founded by Phoenicians from this same land of Syria. But the Scythians who pillaged the temple, and all their descendants after them, were afflicted by the goddess with the "female" sickness: insomuch that the Scythians say that this is the cause of their disease, and that those who come to Scythia can see there the plight of the men whom they call "Enareis." 2

106. The Scythians, then, ruled Asia for twenty-eight years: and all the land was wasted by reason of their violence and their pride, for, besides that they exacted from each the tribute which was laid upon him, they rode about the land carrying off all men’s possessions. The greater number of them were entertained and made drunk and then slain by Cyaxares and the Medes: so thus the Medes won back their empire and all that they had formerly possessed; and they

1 The great goddess (Mother of Heaven and Earth) worshipped by Eastern nations under various names—Mylitta in Assyria, Astarte in Phoenicia: called Heavenly Aphrodite, or simply the Heavenly One, by Greeks.

2 The derivation of this word is uncertain; it is agreed that the disease was a loss of virility. In iv. 67 ἄνδραγαρος. 
εἴλον (ὡς δὲ εἴλον, ἐν ἑτέροις λόγοις δηλώσω) καὶ τοὺς Ἀσσυρίους ὑποχειρίους ἐποίησαντο πλην τῆς Βαβυλωνίης μοῖρης.

107. Μετὰ δὲ ταύτα Κυαξάρης μὲν, βασιλεύσας τεσσεράκοντα ἔτεα σὺν τοῖς Σκύθαις ἠρξαν, τελευτᾶ, ἐκδέκεται δὲ Ἀστυάγης Κυαξάρεω παῖς τῆς βασιλείας.

Καὶ οἱ ἐγένετο θυγάτηρ τῇ οὐνομᾷ ἔδετο Μανδάνη τῇ ἐδόκεε Ἀστυάγης ἐν τῷ ὑπνῷ σύρρησα τοσσότου ὅστε πλήσαι μὲν τὴν ἐωτοῦ πόλιν, ἐπικατακλύσαι δὲ καὶ τὴν Ἀσίην πᾶσαν. ὑπερτέμενος δὲ τῶν Μάγων τοῖς ὑνειροπόλοις τῷ ἐνύπνιον, ἐφοβήθη παρ' αὐτῶν αὕτα ἔκαστα μαθῶν. μετὰ δὲ τὴν Μανδάνην ταύτην ἔοισαν ὣς ἀνδρός φιλαίρη Μῆδου μὲν τῶν ἐωτοῦ ἄξιων οὐδεὶ διὸς γυναίκα, δεδοικὼς τῇ οὐν ἡμὲν δὲ Πέρση διδοὶ τῷ οὐνομα ἡν Καμβύσης, τὸν εὐρίσκει οἰκῆς μὲν ἐοῦτα ἀγαθῆς τρόπου ἐδὲ ἴσσυχον, πολλῷ ἐνερήθη ἄγων αὐτῶν μέσον ἀνδρός Μῆδου.

108. Συνοικεύουσι δὲ τῷ Καμβύσῃ τῆς Μανδάνης, ὁ Ἀστυάγης τῷ πρώτῳ ἔτει εἰδὲ ἄλλην ὁγιν, ἐδόκεε δὲ οἱ ἐκ τῶν αἰδῶν τῆς θυγατρὸς ταύτης φιλαίρει ἀμπελοῦ, τὴν ἐδὲ ἀμπελοῦ ἔπισχει τῇ Ἀσίην πᾶσαν. ἦδον δὲ τούτῳ καὶ ὑπερτέμενος τοῖς ὑνειροπόλοις, μετεπέμψατο ἐκ τῶν Περσῶν τῇ θυγατέρᾳ ἐπίτεκα ἐοῦσαν, ἀπικομένη δὲ ἐφυλάσσει βουλόμενος τῷ γενόμενοι ἐξ αὐτῆς διαφθειρᾶς. ἐκ γὰρ οἱ τῆς ὁγινοὶ οἱ τῶν Μάγων ὑνειροπόλοι ἐσήμαινον ὅτι μέλλου ὁ τῆς θυγατρὸς αὐτοῦ γόνος βασιλεύσει ἀντὶ ἐκείνου. ταύτα δὴ ὅτι φυλασσόμενος ὁ Ἀστυάγης, ὡς ἐγένετο ὁ Κύρος, καλέσας "Αρπαγον ἀνδρὰ οἰκῆιν.
took Ninus (in what manner I will show in a later part of my history), and brought all Assyria except the province of Babylon under their rule.

107. Afterwards Cyaxares died after a reign of forty years (among which I count the years of the Scythian domination): and his son Astyages reigned in his stead.

Astyages had a daughter, whom he called Mandane: concerning whom he had a dream, that enough water flowed from her to fill his city and overflow all Asia. He imparted this vision to those of the Magi who interpreted dreams, and when he heard what they told him he was terrified: and presently, Mandane being now of marriageable age, he feared the vision too much to give her to any Median worthy to mate with his family, but wedded her to a Persian called Cambyses, a man whom he knew to be well born and of a quiet temper: for Astyages held Cambyses to be much lower than a Mede of middle estate.

108. But in the first year of Mandane's marriage to Cambyses Astyages saw a second vision. He dreamt that there grew from his daughter a vine, which covered the whole of Asia. Having seen this vision, and imparted it to the interpreters of dreams, he sent to the Persians for his daughter, then near her time, and when she came kept her guarded, desiring to kill whatever child she might bear: for the interpreters declared that the meaning of his dream was that his daughter's offspring should rule in his place. Wishing to prevent this, Astyages on the birth of Cyrus summoned to him a man of his household called Harpagus, who was his
καὶ πιστότατον τε Μήδων καὶ πάντων ἐπίτροπον
tῶν ἔωτος, ἔλεγε οἱ τοιόδε. "Ἅρπαγη, πρήγμα
τὸ ἀν τοι προσθέω, μηδαμῶς παραχρήσῃ, μηδὲ
ἐμὲ τε παραβάλη καὶ ἄλλους ἐλόμενος ἐξ ὑστέρης
σοι αὐτῷ περιπέσῃς· λάβε τὸν Μανδάνη ἔτεκε
παῖδα, φέρων δὲ ἐς σεωτοῦ ἀπόκτεινον, μετὰ δὲ
θάγον τρόπω ὅτερ αὐτὸς Βοῦλεια." δὴ ἀμεῖβεται
"Ὡς Βασίλειο, οὔτε ἄλλοτε καὶ παρεῖδες
ἀνδρὶ τῶδε ἄχαρι οὐδὲν, φυλασσόμεθα δὲ ἐς σὲ
καὶ ἐς τὸν μετεπείτα χρωμον μηδὲν ἐξαμαρτεῖν,
ἀλλ' εἰ τοι φίλον τούτῳ οὖτω γένεσθαι, χρὴ δὴ τὸ
γε ἐμὸν ὑπηρετέσθαι ἐπὶ τηθείτως.

109. Τούτωσι ἀμειψάμενος ὁ "Αρπαγη, ὡς οἱ
παρεδόθη τὸ παιδίον κεκοσμημένου τὴν ἐπὶ
θανάτῳ, ἴσα κλαίων ἐς τὰ σίκια· παρελθὼν δὲ
ἐφραζὲ τὴ ἐωτοῦ γηναικὶ τὸν παῖτα 'Αστυάγεος
ρηθέντα λόγον. ἢ δὲ πρὸς αὐτὸν λέγει "Νῦν ὅτι
σοὶ ἐν νῷ ἔστι ποιέειν;" δὴ ἀμεῖβεται "Οὐ τῇ
ἐνετέλεστο 'Αστυάγης, οὐδ' εἰ παραφρονήσει τε
καὶ μανέται κάκιον ἢ νῦν μαίνεται, οὐ οἱ ὕγων
προσθήσομαι τῇ γνώμῃ οὐδὲ ἐς φόνων τοιοῦτον
ὑπηρετῆσομαι. πολλῶν δὲ εἶνεκα οὐ φονεύσομεν
καὶ ὅτι αὐτῷ μοι συγγενεῖς ἐστὶ ὁ παῖς, καὶ ὅτι
'Αστυάγης μὲν ἐστὶ γέρων καὶ ἀπαὶς ἔρεσεν
γόνον· εἰ δ' ἐθελήσῃ τοῦτον τελευτήσαντος ἐς
tὴν θυγατέρα ταύτην ἀναβῆναι ἡ τυραννίς, τῆς
νῦν τῶν νῦν κτείνει δὲ ἔμεν, ἀλλο τι ἡ λείπεται
tὸ ἐνθεύτευ ἐμοὶ κινδύνων οἱ μέγιστοι; ἀλλὰ τοῦ
μὲν ἁσφαλέος εἶνεκα ἐμοὶ δεῖ τοῦτον τελευτάν τὸν
παιδα, δεὶ μέντοι τῶν τινα 'Αστυάγεος αὐτοῦ
φονεά γενέσθαι καὶ μὴ τῶν ἐμῶν."
faithfullest servant among the Medes and was steward of all his possessions: then he said, "Do not mishandle this command of mine, Harpagus, nor forsake me for the service of others, lest hereafter it be the worse for yourself. Take the boy whom Mandane has borne, and carry him to your house and kill him: and then bury him in what manner you yourself will." "King," Harpagus answered, "never yet have you seen me do aught unpleasing to you; and I will ever be careful not to offend against you. But if it is your will that this should so be done, then it behoves that for my part I render you fitting service."

109. Thus answered Harpagus. The child was then given to him, adorned for its death, and he went to his house weeping. When he came in he told his wife all the command given him by Astyages. "Now, therefore," said she to him, "what purpose you to do?" "Not," he answered, "to obey Astyages' behest, no, not though he lose his wits and be more frantic than now he is: even so I myself will not serve his purpose, nor be his instrument for such a murder. There are many reasons why I will not kill the child: he is akin to myself, and further, Astyages is old, and has no male issue: now if after his death the sovereignty passes to this daughter of his, whose son he is now using me to slay, what is left for me but the greatest of all dangers? Nay, for my safety I must see that the boy dies, but the deed must be done by some one of Astyages' own men and not of mine."
110. Ταῦτα εἶπε καὶ αὐτίκα ἄγγελον ἐπεμπε ἐπὶ τῶν Βουκόλων τῶν Ἀστυάγεως τῶν ἡπίστατο νομάς τε ἐπιτηδευτάτας νέμοντα καὶ ὅρεα θηριω- δέστατας τῷ οὐνόμα ἡν Μιτραδάτης, συνοίκεε δὲ ἐωντοῦ συνδούλη, οὐνόμα δὲ τῇ γυναικί ἡν τῇ συνοίκεε Κυνὸς κατά τὴν Ἐλλήνων ἔλοσσαν, κατὰ δὲ τὴν Μηδικὴν Σπακίων τὴν γὰρ κύνα καλέουσι σπάκα Μῆδοι. αἱ δὲ ὑπότρεια εἰσὶ τῶν ὅρεων, ἔνθα τὰς νομάς τῶν βοῶν εἶχε οὔτος δὴ οἱ Βουκόλοις, πρὸς βορέω τε ἀνέμου τῶν Ἀγβατάνων καὶ πρὸς τοῦ πόντου τοῦ Εὐξείων ταύτῃ μὲν γὰρ ἡ Μηδικὴ χώρῃ πρὸς Σασπείρων ὀρεινὴ ἐστὶν κάρτα καὶ υψηλὴ τε καὶ ἵδησι συνηρεφῆς, ἡ δὲ ἀλλὴ Μηδικὴ χώρῃ ἐστὶν πᾶσα ἀπεδος. ἐπει δὲν οἱ Βουκόλοις σπούδη πολλὴ καλεόμενος ἀπίκετο, ἐλενε ο Ἀρπαγος τάδε. "Κελευε σὲ Αστυάγης τὸ παιδίον τὸνο λαβόντα θείων ἐς τὸ ἐρημότατον τῶν ὅρεων, ὅκους ἀν τάχιστα διαφθαρείς καὶ τάδε τοι ἐκέλευσε εἰπεῖν, ἂν μὴ ἀποκτείνῃς αὐτὸ ἀλλὰ τεϊφ τρόπω περιποίησε, οὐκ ἐπήρῳ τῷ κακίστῳ σε διαχρῆσθαι. ἐποράν δὲ ἐκκείμενον τέταγμαι ἐγὼ."

111. Ταῦτα ἀκούσας ὁ Βουκόλος καὶ ἀναλαβὼν τὸ παιδίον ἢμε τὴν αὐτὴν ὁπίσω ὅδον καὶ ἀπε- κριέται ἐς τὴν ἑπαυλίν. τῷ δ’ ἁρᾳ καὶ αὐτῷ ἡ γυνή, ἐπίτεξ ἐσύσα πᾶσαν ἱμέρην, τότε κως κατὰ δαίμονα τίκτει οἰχομένον τοῦ Βουκόλου ἐς πόλιν. ἦσαν δὲ ἐν φροντίδι ἀμφότεροι ἀλλῆλων πέρι, ὁ μὲν τοῦ τόκου τῆς γυναικὸς ἀρρώδεων, ἡ δ’ γυνὴ ὁ τε οὖκ ἐωθός ὁ Ἀρπαγος μεταπέμψατο αὐτῆς τὸν ἄνδρα. ἐπειτε δὲ ἀπονοστήσας ἐπέστη, ολὰ ἔξ ἄελπτον ιδοῦσα ἡ γυνὴ εἰρετο προτέρη ὁ τε μν
110. So saying, he sent forthwith a messenger to that one of Astyages' cowherds whom he knew to pasture his herds in the likeliest places and where the mountains were most haunted of wild beasts. The man's name was Mitradates, and his wife was a slave like him; her name was in the Greek language Cyno, in the Median Spako: for "spax" is the Median name for a dog. The foothills of the mountains where this cowherd pastured his kine are to the north of Agbatana, towards the Euxine sea; for the rest of Media is everywhere a level plain, but here, on the side of the Saspires,1 the land is very high and mountainous and covered with woods. So when the cowherd came with all speed at the summons, Harpagus said: "Astyages bids you take this child and lay it in the most desolate part of the mountains, that it may thus perish as soon as may be. And he bids me say, that if you kill not the child, but in any way save it alive, you shall die a terrible death: and it is I who am ordered to see it exposed."

111. Hearing this, the cowherd took up the child and returned by the same way and came to his stead-ing. Now it chanced that his wife too had been expecting her time every day, and providence so ordained that she was brought to bed while her man was away in the city. Each of them was anxious for the other, the husband being afraid about his wife's travail, and the wife because she knew not why Harpagus had so unwontedly sent for her husband. So when he returned and came before her, she was startled by the unexpected sight and asked him before

1 In the north-western part of Media: modern Azerbaijan.
οὕτω προθύμως Ἀρπαγός μετεπέμψατο. ὦ δὲ εἶπε ὡς ὡριμαί, εἰδὼν τε ἐς πόλιν ἐλθὼν καὶ ἤκουσα τὸ μῆτε ὁδῖν ὁφελοῦ μῆτε κοτὲ γενέσθαι ἐς δεσπότας τοὺς ἡμετέρους. οἷκος μὲν πᾶς Ἀρπάγον κλαυθμῷ κατείχετο, ἐγὼ δὲ ἐκπλαγεῖς ἡμιέσω. ὡς δὲ τάχιστα ἐσῆλθον, ὀρέων παιδίων προκείμενον ἀσταῖρον τε καὶ κραυγαλωμένου, κεκοσμημένου χρυσῷ τε καὶ ἐσθῆτι ποικίλη. Ἀρπαγός δὲ ὡς εἴδε με, ἐκέλευε τὴν ταχίστην ἀναλαβώντα τὸ παιδίων οἰκεσθαι φέρων τε καὶ θείαιν ἐνθαθηρωδεστατοῦ εἰς τῶν ὀρέων, φας Ἀστυάγεα εἶναι τὸν ταῦτα ἐπιθέμενον μου, πόλλ᾽ ἀπειλήσας εἰ μὴ σφεα ποιήσαμι, καὶ ἐγὼ ἀναλαβὼν ἔφερον. δοκέων τῶν τινος οἰκετέων εἶναι: οὐ γὰρ ἂν κοτὲ κατέδοξα ἐνθὲν γε ἡν. ἔθαμβεσθε δὲ ὀρέων χρυσῷ τε καὶ εἴμαιε κεκοσμήμενον, πρὸς δὲ καὶ κλαυθμὸν κατεστεάτα ἐμφανέα ἐν Ἀρπάγου, καὶ πρόκατε δὴ κατ᾽ ὁδὸν πυνθαίνομαι τὸν πάντα λόγον θεραποντος, ὅσ ἐμὲ προπέμπων ἐξο πόλιος ἐνεχείροντο τὸ βρέφος, ὡς ἀρα Μανδάνης τε εἰς παῖς τῆς Ἀστυάγεος θυγατρός καὶ Καμβύσεως τοῦ Κύρου, καὶ μν Ἀστυάγης ἐντέλλεται ἀποκτεῖναι, νῦν τε ὄδε ἐστὶ.”

112. Ἄμα δὲ ταῦτα ἔλεγε ὁ Βουκόλος καὶ ἐκκαλύφες ἀπεδείκυε. ἥ δὲ ὡς εἴδε τὸ παιδίων μέγα τε καὶ εὐειδὲς ἐόν, δακρύσασα καὶ λαβομένη τῶν γουνάτων τοῦ ἀνδρός ἐχρήμισε μηδεμῆ τέχνη ἐκθείναι μι. Ο δὲ οὐκ ἔφη οίος τ᾽ εἶναι ἀλλος αὐτὰ ποιόντος ἐπιφοιτήσειν γὰρ κατασκόπους ἐξ Ἀρπάγου ἐπονομένους, ἀπολέεσθαι τε κάκιστα ἢν μὴ σφεα ποιήσῃ. ὡς δὲ οὐκ ἐπεύθυν ἄρα τῶν ἀνδρά, δεύτερα λέγει ἡ γυνὴ τάδε. ὡς ἔπει τοίνυν
he could speak why Harpagus had so instantly summoned him. "Wife," he said, "when I came to the city, I saw and heard what I would I had never seen, and what I would had never happened to our masters. All the house of Harpagus was full of weeping; and I was astonished, and entered in; and immediately I saw a child laid there struggling and crying, decked out with gold and many-coloured raiment. And when Harpagus saw me, he bade me take the child with all speed and bear it away and lay it where there are most wild beasts in the mountains: it was Astyages, he said, who laid this command on me, and Harpagus threatened me grievously if I did not do his will. So I took up the child and bore him away, supposing him to be the child of someone in the household; for I could never have guessed whose he was. But I was amazed at seeing him decked with gold and raiment, and at hearing moreover the manifest sound of weeping in the house of Harpagus. Very soon on the way I heard all the story from a servant who brought me out of the city and gave the child into my charge: to wit, that it was the son of Mandane the king's daughter and Cambyses the son of Cyrus, and that Astyages bade him slay the child. And now, here is the child."

112. And with that the cowherd uncovered it and showed it. But when the woman saw how fine and fair the child was, she fell a-weeping and laid hold of the man's knees and entreated him by no means to expose him. But the husband said he could do no other; for, he said, there would be comings of spies from Harpagus to see what was done, and he must die a terrible death if he did not obey. So then being unable to move her husband, the woman said next: "Since I cannot move you from your
ού δύναμαι σε πείθειν μη ἐκθείναι, σὺ δὲ ὦδε ποιήσον, εἰ δὴ πάσα ἀνάγκη ὀφθῆναι ἐκκείμενον. τέτοια γὰρ καὶ έγὼ, τέτοια δὲ τεθνεός. τούτῳ μὲν φέρων πρόθεσι, τὸν δὲ τῆς Ἀστυάγεως θυγατρὸς παίδα ὡς ἕξημένων ἐόντα τρέφομεν. καὶ οὕτω οὐτε σὺ ἀλώσεαι ἀδικεών τοὺς δεσπότας οὕτε ἡμῖν κακῶς βεβουλευμένα ἔσται; ὦ τε γὰρ τεθνεός βασιλῆς ταφῆς κυρίσει καὶ ὁ περεών οὐκ ἀπολέει τὴν ψυχὴν."  

113. Κάρτα τε ἔδοξε τῷ βουκόλω πρὸς τὰ παρεόντα εὐ λέγειν ἡ γυνὴ, καὶ αὐτίκα ἑποίεε ταύτα: τὸν μὲν ἐφερε θανατώσων παίδα, τοῦτον μὲν παραδιδό τῇ ἑωτοῦ γυναικί, τὸν δὲ ἑωτοῦ ἐόντα νεκρὸν λαβὼν ἐθήκε ἐς τὸ ἀγγεῖον ἐν τῷ ἐφερε τὸν ἐτερον κοσμήσας δὲ τὸ κόσμῳ παντὶ τού ἐτέρου παιδός, φέρων ἐς τὸ ἐρμητατον τῶν ὀρέων τιθεὶ. ὡς δὲ τρίτη ἡμέρῃ τῷ παιδίῳ ἐκείμενῳ ἐγένετο, ἴμε ἐς πόλιν ὁ βουκόλος, τῶν τινα προβοσκίων φύλακον αὐτοῦ καταλιπὼν, ἔθεσε δὲ ἐς τοῦ "Ἀρπάγου ἀποδεικνύειν ἐφ᾽ ἐτοίμος εἶναι τοῦ παιδίου τὸν γέννω. πέμψεις δὲ ὁ "Ἀρπαγος τῶν ἑωτοῦ δορυφόρων τοὺς πιστοτάτους εἶδε τε διὰ τούτων καὶ ἔθαψε τοῦ βουκόλου τὸ παιδίον, καὶ τὸ μὲν ἐτεθάπτο, τὸν δὲ ύστερον τούτων Κῦρον ὀνομασθεῖνα παραλαθοῦσα ἐτρεφε ἡ γυνὴ τοῦ βουκόλου, οὐνομα ἀλλο κοῦ τι καὶ οὐ Κῦρον θεμένη.  

114. Καί ὅτε ἦν δεκαέτης ὁ παῖς, πρήγμα ἐς αὐτῶν τοιόνδε γενόμενον ἐξέφηνε μν. ἐπαιζε ἐν τῇ κόμη ταύτη ἐν τῇ ἤσαν καὶ αἱ βουκολίαι αὐται, ἐπαιζε δὲ μετ᾽ ἄλλων ἡλίκων ἐν ὀδῷ. καὶ οἱ παίδες παίζοντες ἐδοξοῦ ἑωτοῦ βασιλέα
purpose to expose, then do you do this, if needs must
that a child be seen exposed. Know that I too have
borne a child, but it was dead; take it now and lay
it out, but, for the child of the daughter of Astyages,
let us rear it as it were our own; so shall you escape
punishment for offending against our masters, and we
shall have taken no evil counsel. For the child that is
dead will have royal burial, and he that is alive will
not lose his life."

113. Thinking that his wife counselled him ex-
ceeding well in his present strait, the cowherd
straightway did as she said. He gave his wife
the child whom he had brought to kill him, and
his own dead child he put into the chest wherein
he carried the other, and decked it with all the
other child's adornment and laid it out in the most
desolate part of the mountains. Then on the third
day after the laying out of the child, the cowherd
left one of his herdsmen to guard it and went to the
city, where he came to Harpagus' house and said he
was ready to show the child's dead body. Harpagus
sent the most trusty of his bodyguard, and these
saw for him and buried the cowherd's child. So it
was buried: and the cowherd's wife took and reared
the boy who was afterwards named Cyrus; but she
gave him not that but some other name.

114. Now when the boy was ten years old, it was
revealed in some such wise as this who he was.
He was playing in the village where these herds-
men's quarters were: there he was playing in the
road with others of his age. The boys in their
εἶναι τούτον δὴ τὸν τοῦ βουκόλου ἐπίκλησιν παῖδα. ὃ δὲ αὐτῶν διέταξε τοὺς μὲν οἰκίας οἰκοδομεῖν, τοὺς δὲ δορυφόρους εἶναι, τὸν δὲ κου τινὰ αὐτῶν ὀφθαλμὸν βασιλέος εἶναι, τῷ δὲ τῷ τὰς ἀγγελίας φέρειν ἔδιδον γέρας, ὡς ἐκάστῳ ἔργον προστάσσων. εἰς δὴ τούτων τῶν παιδών συμπαίζων, ἔσχων Ἀρτεμιβάρεως παῖς ἀνδρὸς δοκεῖ 

μου ἐν Μήδοσι, οὐ γὰρ δὴ ἐποίησε τὸ προσταχθὲν ἐκ τοῦ Κύρου, ἐκέλευε αὐτῶν τοὺς ἀλλοὺς παιδὰς διαλαβεῖν, πειθομένων δὲ τῶν 

παιδῶν ὁ Κύρος τὸν παιδὰ τρηχέως κάρτα περίεσπε μαστυγέων. δὴ δὲ ἐπείτε μετέδῃ τὰ 

χίστα, ὃς γε δὴ ἀνάξια ἐσωτερικοί παιδῶν, μᾶλλον τὶ περιημέκτεε, κατελθὼν δὲ ἐς πόλιν πρὸς τὸν πατέρα ἀποκτίζετο τῶν υπὸ Κύρου ἠθησθε, 

λέγων δὲ οὐ Κύρου (οὐ γὰρ κω ἢν τούτῳ τοῦνομα), ἀλλὰ πρὸς τοῦ βουκόλου τοῦ Ἀστυάγεος παιδὸς, 

ὁ δὲ Ἀρτεμιβάρης ὀργῇ ὡς εἰχε ἐλθὼν παρὰ τοῦ 

Ἀστυάγεα καὶ ἀμα ἀγόμενος τοῦ παιδὰ ἀνάρσια πρήγαμα ἐφὶ πεποιθεῖα, λέγων "Ω Βασιλέω, 

ὑπὸ τοῦ σοῦ δούλου, βουκόλου δὲ παιδὸς ὡδὲ 

περιβρισμεθα," δεικνύον τοῦ παιδὸς τοὺς ὦμους. 

115. Ἀκούσας δὲ καὶ ἰδὼν Ἀστυάγης, θέλων 

τιμωρῆσαι τῷ παιδὶ τιμῆς τῆς Ἀρτεμιβάρεως 

eἰνεκα, μετεπέμπετο τὸν τε βουκόλο καὶ τὸν 

παῖδα. ἐπείτε δὲ παρῆσαν ἀμφότεροι, ἔλεγα 

πρὸς τὸν Κύρον ὁ Ἀστυάγης ἐφὶ "Σὺ δὴ ἐὼν 

tοῦδε τοιοῦτον ἐόντος παῖς ἐτόλμησας τὸν 

tοῦδε παιδὰ ἐόντος πρώτου παρ᾽ ἐμοὶ ἀεικείᾳ 

τοιῇδε περισπεῖν;" ὃ δὲ ἀμείβετο ὡδὲ. "Ω 

δεσποτα, ἐγὼ 

tαύτα τούτον ἐποίησα σὺν δίκῃ. οἱ γὰρ 

καὶ τὰς κώμης παιδὲς, τῶν καὶ ὅδε ἢν, παίζοντες 

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play chose for their king that one who passed for the son of the cowherd. Then he set them severally to their tasks, some to the building of houses, some to be his bodyguard, one (as I suppose) to be the King's Eye; to another he gave the right of bringing him messages; to each he gave his proper work. Now one of these boys who played with him was son to Artembares, a notable Median; as he did not obey the command Cyrus gave him, Cyrus bade the other boys seize him, and when they did so he dealt very roughly with the boy and scourged him. As soon as he was loosed, very angry at the wrong done him, he went down to his father in the city and complained of what he had met with at the hands of the son of Astyages' cowherd,—not calling him Cyrus, for that name had not yet been given. Artembares went with his anger fresh upon him to Astyages, bringing his son and telling of the cruel usage he had had: "O King," said he, "see the outrage done to us by the son of your slave, the son of a cowherd!" and with that he showed his son's shoulders.

115. When Astyages heard and saw, he was ready to avenge the boy in justice to Artembares' rank: so he sent for the cowherd and his son. When they were both present, Astyages said, fixing his eyes on Cyrus, "Is it you, then, the son of such a father, who have dared to deal so despitefully with the son of the greatest of my courtiers?" "Nay, master," answered Cyrus, "what I did to him I did with justice. The boys of the village, of whom he was one, chose me
σφέων αὐτῶν ἐστήσαντο βασιλέας ἐδόκεον γάρ σφι εἰναι ἐς τοῦτο ἐπιτηδεύτατος. οἱ μὲν νυν ἀλλοι παιδεῖς τὰ ἐπιτασσόμενα ἐπετέλεσαν, οὕτως δὲ ἀνηκούστεε τε καὶ λόγον εἶχε οὐδένα, ἐς ὅ ἐλαβε τὴν δίκην. εἰ δὲν δὴ τοῦτο εἶνεκα ἄξιος τεν κακοῦ εἰμί, ὅδε τοι πάρειμι."

116. Ταύτα λέγοντος τοῦ παιδὸς τῶν Ἀστυάγεαι ἐσήμε ἀνάγνωσις αὐτῶν, καὶ οἶ ὅ τε χαρακτήρ τοῦ προσώπου προσφέρεσθαι ἐδόκεε ἐς ἑωυτὸν καὶ ἡ ὑπόκρισις διευθεωρεῖ ἐιναι, ὅ τε χρόνος τῆς ἐκθέσεως τῇ ηλικίᾳ τοῦ παιδὸς ἐδόκεε συμβαίνειν. ἐκπλαγεῖε δὲ τούτοις ἐπὶ χρόνου ἀφθονος ἦν, μόνης δὲ δὴ κατε ἀνενειχθεὶς εἰπε, δέλων ἐκπέμφηκα τὸν Ἀρτεμβάρα, ἦν τὸν Βουκόλου μοῦναν λαβὼν βασιλίσσην, "Ἀρτέμβαρας, ἐγὼ ταύτα ποιήσω ὅστε σὲ καὶ τὸν παιδὰ τὸν σὸν μηδὲν ἐπιμέμφηται." τὸν μὲν δὴ Ἀρτεμβάρα πέμπει, τὸν δὲ Κύρου ἦγον ἐσώ οἱ θερμόποιες κελεύσαντος τοῦ Ἀστυάγειος, ἐπεὶ δὲ υπελέλειπτο ὁ Βουκόλος μοῦνος μαυνόθεν, τάδε αὐτὸν εἰρετο ὁ Ἀστυάγης, κόθεν λάβοι τὸν παιδὰ καὶ τὶς εἰς ὅ παραδοὺς. δὲ δὲ ἐς ἑωυτὸν τε ἐφῆ γεγονέναι καὶ τὴν τεκούσαν αὐτὸν εἶναι ἐς ταρ' ἑωτῷ. Ἀστυάγης δὲ μοι ὁικε ἐν Βουλευσθαὶ ἐφῆ ἐπιθυμεότα ἐς ἀνάγκας μεγάλας ἀπικνεότα, ἀμα τε λέγων ταύτα ἐσήμαινε τοῖς δορυφόροις λαμβάνειν αὐτῶν. δὲ ἀγόμενος ἐς τὰς ἀνάγκας οὕτω δὴ ἐφαίνε τὸν ἐωτὰ λόγον' ἀρχόμενος δὲ ἀπ' ἄρχῃς διεξῆμε τῇ ἀληθείᾳ χρεώμενος, καὶ κατεβαίνει ἐς λιτὰς τα καὶ συγγρύμα ἑωτῷ κελεύων ἔχειν αὐτῶν.

117. Ἀστυάγης δὲ τοῦ μὲν Βουκόλου τὴν ἀληθείαν ἐκφήμαντος λόγον ἢδη καὶ ἐλάσσω ἐποιεῖτο,
in their play to be their king: for they thought me
the fittest to rule. The other boys then did as I
bid them: but this one was disobedient and cared
nothing for me, till he got his deserts. So now if I
deserve punishment for this, here am I to take it."

116. While he spoke, it seemed to Astyages that
he recognised Cyrus; the fashion of the boy's
countenance was like (he thought) to his own, and
his manner of answering was freer than customary:
and the time of the exposure seemed to agree with
Cyrus' age. Being thereby astonished, he sat awhile
silent; but when at last with difficulty he could
collect his wits, he said (for he desired to rid him-
self of Artembares and question the cowherd with
none present), "I will so act, Artembares, that you
and your son shall have no cause of complaint."
So he sent Artembares away, and the servants led
Cyrus within at Astyages' bidding. Then, the cowherd
being left quite alone, Astyages asked him whence he
had got the boy and from whose hands. The cowherd
answered that Cyrus was his own son and that the
mother was still in his house. "You are ill advised,"
said Astyages, "desiring, as you do, to find yourself in
a desperate strait," — and with that he made a sign to
the guard to seize him. Then under stress of necessity
the cowherd declared to him all the story, telling all
truly as it had happened from the beginning: and
at the last he prayed and entreated that the king
would pardon him.

117. When the truth had been so declared Asty-
ages took thereafter less account of the cowherd, but
'Αρπάγος δὲ καὶ μεγάλως μεμφόμενος καλέειν αὐτὸν τοὺς δορυφόρους ἐκείνες. ὡς δὲ ὦ παρήν ὁ 'Αρπάγος, εἰρετὸ μὲν ὁ Ἀστυάγης "'Αρπάγε, τέφω δὴ μόρῳ τὸν παιδὰ κατεχρῆσαι τὸν τοιο παρέδωκα ἐκ θυγατρὸς γεγονότα τῆς ἐμῆς;" ὃς δὲ Ἀρπάγος ὡς εἰδὲ τὸν βουκόλον ἐνδον ἐόντα, οὐ τραπεται ἐπὶ ψευδέα ὄδον, ἦν μὴ ἐλεγχόμενος ἀλίσκηται, ἀλλὰ λέγει τάδε. "'Ο βασιλεὺς, ἐπεῖτε παρέλαβον τὸ παιδίον, ἐβούλευον σκοπέων ὁκὼς σοὶ τε ποιήσω κατὰ νόσον, καὶ ἐγὼ πρὸς σὲ γινόμενος ἀναμάρτητος μὴ ἐθυγατρί τῇ σῇ μήτε αὐτῷ σοὶ εἰγὶν αὐθέντης. ποιεῖς δὴ ὅδε καλέασας τὸν βουκόλον τόνδε παραδίδωμι τὸ παιδίον, φᾶς σὲ τε εἰναι τὸν κελεύωντα ἀποκτείναι αὐτῷ. καὶ λέγων τούτῳ γε ὀούκ ἐψευδόμην σὺ γὰρ ἐνετέλλεο ὑφ᾽ων. παραδίδωμι μὲν τῶν τάδε κατὰ τάδε ἐνετέλλαμεν, θεῖαί μὲν εἰς ἔρημον ὅρος καὶ παραμένοντα φυλάσσειν ἄχρι αὐτῆς τελευτησῆς, ἀπειλήσας παντοῖα τόδε ἐν μὴ τάδε ἐπιτελέα ποιήσῃς. ἐπείτε δὲ ποιήσαντος τοῦτο τὰ κελεύμενα ἐτελεύτησε τὸ παιδίον, πέμψας τῶν εὐνούχων τοὺς πιστοτάτους καὶ εἶδον ὅῃ ἐκεῖνων καὶ ἔβαγά μὲν. οὕτω ἐσχε ὁ βασιλεὺς περὶ τοῦ πρήγματος τοῦτοῦ, καὶ τοιοῦτῳ μόρῳ ἔχρησατο ὁ παῖς." 118.'Αρπάγος μὲν δὴ τὸν ἱδὺν ἐφαίνει λόγου· Ἀστυάγης δὲ κρύπτουν τὸν οἱ ἐνείχε χόλον διὰ τὸ γεγονός, πρῶτα μὲν, κατὰ περ ἡκουσε αὐτοῦ πρὸς τοῦ βουκόλον τὸ πρῆγμα, πάλιν ἀπηγεῖτο τῷ 'Αρπάγῳ, μετὰ δὲ ὦς οἱ ἐπαλιλλόγητο, κατέβαινε λέγων ὡς πέριεστι τοῦ παῖς καὶ τὸ γεγονός ἐχει καλῶς. "Τῷ τὲ γὰρ πεποιημένῳ ἐφ᾽ ἡλεγὼν "ἐς τὸν παιδὸν τοῦτον ἐκαμνὸν μεγάλως, καὶ θυγατρὶ
he was very wroth with Harpagus and bade the guards summon him. Harpagus came, and Astyages asked him, "Harpagus, in what manner did you kill the boy, my daughter's son, whom I gave you?" Harpagus saw the cowherd in the house, and did not take the way of falsehood, lest he should be caught and confuted: "O King," he said, "when I took the boy, I thought and considered how I should do you pleasure, and not offend against you, yet not be held a murderer by your daughter or yourself. This then I did: I called to me yonder cowherd, and gave over the child to him, telling him that it was you who gave the command to kill it. And that was the truth; for such was your command. But I gave the child with the charge that the cowherd should lay it on a desolate mountainside, and wait there and watch till it be dead; and I threatened him with all punishments if he did not accomplish this. Then, when he had done what he was bid, and the child was dead, I sent the trustiest of my eunuchs and by them I saw and buried the body. This, O king, is the tale of the matter, and such was the end of the boy."

118. So Harpagus spoke the plain truth. Astyages hid the anger that he had against him for what had been done, and first he related the story again to Harpagus as he had heard it from the cowherd, then, after so repeating it, he made an end by saying that the boy was alive and good had come of it all. "For," so he said in his speech, "I was greatly afflicted by what had been done to this boy, and it weighed
119. Ἅρπαγος μὲν ὡς ἦκουσε ταῦτα, προσκυνήσας καὶ μεγάλα ποιησάμενος ὅτι τε ή ἠμαρτᾶς εἰς δέν ἐγερώνει καὶ ὄτι ἐπὶ τύχης χρηστήσατο ἐπὶ δείπνου ἐκέκλιτο, ὡς τὰ οἰκία. ἐσελθὼν δὲ τὴν ταχιστὴν, ἣν γάρ ὦ παῖς εἰς μοῦνος ἔστεα τρία καὶ δέκα καὶ μάλιστα γεγονός, τούτων ἐκπέμπει ίέναι τε κελεύων ἐς Ἀστυάγεος καὶ ποιέειν ὃ τι ἂν ἐκείνους κελεύη, αὐτὸς δὲ περιχαρῆς ἐὼν φραζεῖ τῇ γυναικὶ τὰ συγκυρήσαντα. Ἀστυάγεος δὲ, ὡς οἱ ἀπίκετο ὦ Ἅρπαγον παῖς, σφάξας αὐτὸν καὶ κατὰ μέλεα διελὼν τὰ μὲν ὀπτησε τὰ δὲ ἤψησε τῶν κρεῶν, εὑρυκα δὲ ποιησάμενος εἴχε ἐτοιμα. ἐπείτε δὲ τῆς ὁρῆς ἀνωμένης τοῦ δείπνου παρῆσαν οἱ τε ἄλλοι δαίτιμόνες καὶ ὦ Ἅρπαγος, τοῖσι μὲν ἀλλοισι καὶ αὐτῷ Ἀστυάγει παρετιθέατο τράπεζαι ἐπιπλεαι μηλέων κρεῶν, Ἅρπαγον δὲ τοῦ παιδὸς τοῦ ἑωτοῦ, πλὴν κεφαλῆς τε καὶ ἄκρων χειρῶν τε καὶ ποδῶν, τὰλλα πάντα ταῦτα δὲ χωρὶς ἐκείτο ἐπὶ κανέω κατακεκαλυμμένα. ὡς δὲ τῷ Ἅρπαγῳ ἐδόκεε ἄλλη ἔχειν τῆς βορῆς, Ἀστυάγεις εἰρέτο μὲν εἰ ἤσθει τῇ θοίνη. φαμέων δὲ Ἅρπαγον καὶ κάρτα ἱσθήναι, παρέφερον τοῦτο προσέκειτο τὴν κεφαλὴν τοῦ παιδὸς κατακεκαλυμμένην καὶ τὰς χεῖρας καὶ τοὺς πόδας, Ἅρπαγον δὲ ἐκέλευον προσπιάντες ἀποκαλύπτειν τε καὶ λαβεῖν τὸ βουλεταί αὐτῶν.

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heavily on me that I was estranged from my daughter. Now, therefore, in this lucky turn of fortune, send your own son to the boy who is newly come, and come hither to dine with me, for I am about to make sacrifice for the safety of my grandson to the gods to whom this honour is due."

119. When Harpagus heard this he did obeisance and went to his home, greatly pleased to find that his offence had served the needful end and that he was invited to dinner in honour of this fortunate day. Coming in, he bade his only son, a boy of about thirteen years of age, to go to Astyages' palace and do whatever the king commanded, and in his great joy he told his wife all that had happened. But when Harpagus' son came, Astyages cut his throat and tearing him limb from limb roasted some and boiled some of the flesh, and the work being finished kept all in readiness. So when it came to the hour for dinner and Harpagus was present among the rest of the guests, dishes of sheeps' flesh were set before Astyages and the others, but Harpagus was served with the flesh of his own son, all but the head and hands and feet, which lay apart covered up in a basket. And when Harpagus seemed to have eaten his fill, Astyages asked him, "Are you pleased with your meal, Harpagus?" "Exceeding well pleased," Harpagus answered. Then those whose business it was brought him in the covered basket the head and hands and feet of his son, and they stood before Harpagus and bade him uncover and take of them what he would. Harpagus did so;
πειθόμενος δὲ ὁ Ἀρσαγός καὶ ἀποκαλύπτων ὁμαὶ
tου παιδός τα λείμματα, ἰδὼν δὲ οὕτε ἐξεπλάγη
ἐντὸς τε ἐωυτοῦ γίνεται. εἰρετο δὲ αὐτὸν ὁ
Ἀστυάγης εἰ γινώσκοι ὅτεν θηρίον κρέα βε-
βρὼκόλ. ὁ δὲ καὶ γινώσκειν ἑφη καὶ ἀρεστοῦ
εἶναι πάν τὸ ἀν βασιλεὺς ἔρη. τούτοις δὲ
ἀμειψάμενος καὶ ἀναλαβὼν τὰ λεπτὰ τῶν κρεῶν
ἡμὲς ἐς τὰ οἰκία, ἐνθεύτευν δὲ ἔμελλε, ὡς ἐγὼ δοκεῖο,
ἄλλας θάψειν τὰ πάντα.

120. Ἀρσαγό μὲν Ἀστυάγης δίκην ταύτην
ἐπέδηκε, Κύρου δὲ πέρι βουλεύσων ἐκάλεσε τοὺς
αὐτοὺς τῶν Μάγων οἱ τὸ ἐνυπνίον οἱ ταύτη
ἐκριναν. ἀπικομένους δὲ εἰρετο ὁ Ἀστυάγης τῇ
ἐκρινάν οἱ τὴν ὁψίν, οἱ δὲ κατὰ ταύτα εἴπαν,
λέγοντες ὡς βασιλεύσαι χρῆν τὸν παῖδα, εἰ ἐπέ-
ζωσε καὶ μὴ ἀπέθανε πρὸτερον. ὃ δὲ ἀμείβεται
αὐτοὺς τούσιδε. "Εστι τε ὁ παῖς καὶ περίεστι,
καὶ μιν ἐπ' ἀγροῦ διαιτῶμενοι οἱ ἐκ τῆς κόμης
παιδες ἐστήσαντο βασιλέα. ὃ δὲ πάντα ὡσα περ
οὶ ἀληθεὶς λόγοι βασιλεῖς ἐτελέσωσε ποιήσας· καὶ
γὰρ δορυφόρους καὶ θυρωροὺς καὶ ἀγγελισμοὺς
καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ πάντα διατάξας ἥρχε. καὶ ὦν ἐς
τί ὑμῖν ταύτα φαίνεται φέρειν;" εἴπαν οἱ Μάγοι
"Εἰ μὲν περίεστι τε καὶ ἐβασίλευσε ὁ παῖς μὴ ἐκ
προνοίας τινός, θάρσει τε τούτων εἶνεκα καὶ θυμὸν
ἐχε ἀγαθῶν· οὐ γάρ ἐτι τὸ δεύτερον ἄρχει. παρὰ
σικρὰ γὰρ καὶ τῶν λογίων ἡμῖν ἕνια κεχόρηκη,
καὶ τὰ γε τῶν ὑπεράτων ἐχόμενα τελέως ἐς
ἀσθενὲς ἐρχεται." ἀμείβεται ὁ Ἀστυάγης τούσιδε.
"Καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ Μάγος ταύτη πλείστος ἄργωμε
εἰμί, βασιλέας ὁνομασθέντος τοῦ παιδός ἕξη-
κειν τε τῶν ὑπεράτων καὶ μοι τῶν παιδα τούτων
he uncovered and saw what was left of his son: this he saw, but he mastered himself and was not dismayed. Astyages asked him, "Know you what beast's flesh you have eaten?" "Yea," he said, "I know, and all that the king does is pleasing to me." With that answer he took the rest of the flesh and went to his house, purposing then, as I suppose, to collect and bury all.

120. Thus did Astyages punish Harpagus. But, to aid him to resolve about Cyrus, he called to him the same Magians who had interpreted his dream as I have said: and when they came Astyages asked them how they had interpreted his vision. They answered as before, and said that the boy must have been made king had he lived and not died first. Then said Astyages, "The boy is saved and alive, and when he was living in the country the boys of his village made him king, and he did duly all that is done by true kings: for he assigned to each severally the places of bodyguards and sentinels and messengers and all else, and so ruled. And to what, think you, does this tend?" "If the boy is alive," said the Magians, "and has been made king without foreknowledge, then fear not for aught that he can do but keep a good heart: he will not be made king a second time. Know that even in our prophecies it is often but a small thing that has been foretold, and the perfect fulfilment of the dream is but a trifling matter." "I too, ye Magians," said Astyages, "am much of your mind—that the dream came true when the boy was called king, and that I
εἶναι δεινὸν ἐτὶ σύνθετον. ὅμως μὲν γέ τοι συμβουλεύσατε μοι εὐ περισσευόμενον τὰ μέλλει ἀσφαλέστατα εἶναι οίκειο τῇ ἐμῷ καὶ ὑμῖν." εἶπαν πρὸς ταῦτα οἱ Μάγοι "Ω βασιλεῦ, καὶ αὐτοῖς ἦμιν περὶ πολλοῦ ἐστὶ κατορθοῦσαι ἠρχὴν τὴν σήν. καίνως μὲν γὰρ ἀλλοτριωῦτα ἐστὶν παῖδα τοῦτον περιοῦσα ἐόντα Πέρσην, καὶ ημεῖς ἔστωτε Μήδοι δουλούμεθα τα καὶ λόγον σύνδεσθος γινόμεθα πρὸς Περσῶν, ἐόντες ξείνους σέο ὁ ἐνεστείκτος βασιλεύς, ἐόντες πολιτείας, καὶ άρχουμεν τὸ μέρος καὶ τιμὰς πρὸς σέο μεγάλας ἔχομεν. οὔτω ὦν παῖτως ἦμιν σέο καὶ τῆς σῆς ἀρχῆς προσπέτεο ἕστι. καὶ νῦν εἰ φοβερὸν τι ἐνωρᾶμεν, πᾶν ἄν σοι προεφράζωμεν. νῦν δὲ ἀποσκήψαντο τοῦ ἐνυπνίου ἐς φαύλον, αὐτοὶ τε βαρσέομεν καὶ σοι ἐτερα τουταῦτα παρακελεύομεθα, τὸν δὲ παῖδα τοῦτον ἐξ ὀφθαλμῶν ἀποπεμψάι ἐς Πέρσας τε καὶ τοὺς γειναμένους."

121. 'Ακούσας ταῦτα ὁ 'Αστυάγης ἐχάρη τε καὶ καλέσας τὸν Κύρον ἐλεύθερον τᾶς τάδε. "Ω παῖ, σὲ γὰρ ἔγω δι' ὄψιν ὀνειρού ὡς τελευτή γίδικεον, τῇ σεσωμόντι δὲ μοίρῃ περείς: νῦν ὁν ἰδίων  rápρον ἐς Πέρσας, πομποῦς δὲ ἔγω ἀμα πέμψω. ἐλθὼν δὲ ἐκεῖ πατέρα τε καὶ μητέρα εὐρήσεις ὡς κατὰ Μιντράδατην τε τῶν βουκόλων καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ."

122. Ταῦτα εἶπας ὁ 'Αστυάγης ἀποπέμπτες τὸν Κύρον. νοστήσαντα δὲ μὴν ἐς τοῦ Καμβύσεως τὰ οἰκία ἐδέξαντο οἱ γεινάμενοι, καὶ δεξάμενοι ὡς ἐποδοτο, μεγάλως ἀσπάζοντο οἷα ὅ ἐπιστάμενοι αὐτίκα τότε τελευτήσαι, ἱστορεῖν τε ὁτερ τρόπῳ περιγένετο. ὁ δὲ σφε ἐλεύθερος, φάς πρὸ τοῦ μὲν οὐκ
have no more to fear from him. Nevertheless consider well and advise me what shall be safest both for my house and for you." The Magians said, "King, we too are much concerned that your sovereignty should stand: for in the other case it goes away from your nation to this boy who is a Persian, and so we Medes are enslaved and deemed of no account by the Persians, being as we are of another blood, but while you are established king, who are our countryman, we have our share of power, and great honour is paid us by you. Thus, then, it behoves us by all means to take thought for you and your sovereignty. And at the present time if we saw any danger we would declare all to you: but now the dream has had but a trifling end, and we ourselves have confidence and counsel you to be like-minded. As for this boy, send him away from your sight to the Persians and to his parents."

121. Hearing this, Astyages was glad, and calling Cyrus, "My lad," he said, "I did you wrong by reason of the vision I had in a dream, that meant naught, but by your own destiny you still live; now therefore, get you to the Persians, and good luck go with you; I will send those that shall guide you. When you are there you shall find a father and mother of other estate than Mitradates the cowherd and his wife."

122. So said Astyages and sent Cyrus away. When he returned to Cambyses' house, his parents received him there, and learning who he was they welcomed him heartily, for they had supposed that long ago he had straightway been killed, and they asked him how his life had been saved. Then he told them, and said that till now he had known
εἰδέναι ἀλλ' ἣμαρτηκέναι πλείστον, κατ’ οὐν δὲ πυθέσθαι πᾶσαν τὴν ἑωτοῦ πάθην· ἐπίστασθαι μὲν γὰρ ὡς βουκόλου τοῦ Ἀστυάγεος εἶχα παῖς, ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς κεῖσθαι ὀδοῦ τῶν πάντα λόγον τῶν πομηπῶν πυθέσθαι. τραφήναι δὲ ἔλεγε ὑπὸ τῆς τοῦ βουκόλου γυναικὸς, ἣν τε ταύτην αἰνεῖν διὰ παντός, ἣν τε οἱ ἐν τῷ λόγῳ τὰ πάντα ἡ Κυρώ. οἱ δὲ τοκεῖς παραλαβόντες τὸ σύνομα τούτο, ἵνα θειστέρως δοκῇ τοῖς Πέρσησι περειέναι σφι ὁ παῖς, κατέβαλον φάτιν ὡς ἐκκείμενον Κύρου κύων ἐξέπρεφε.

123. Ἐνθεύτω μὲν ἡ φάτις αὕτη κεχώρηκε. Κύρω δὲ ἀνδρευμένῳ καὶ ἐόντι τῶν ἡλικων ἀνθρησ-
τατῷ καὶ προσφιλεστάτῳ προσέκειτο ὁ "Ἀρπαγος δῶρα πέμπων, τίσασθαι "Ἀστυάγεα ἐπιθυμεῖν· ἀπ' ἐωτοῦ γὰρ ἐόντος ιδιωτῶν οὐκ ἐνώρα τιμωρηθήν ἐσομένην ἐς "Ἀστυάγεα, Κύρω δὲ ὅρεων ἐπιτρε-
φόμενον ἐποιεῖτο σύμμαχον, τὰς πάθας τὰς Κύρου τῆς ἐωτοῦ ὁμοιόμενος. πρὸ δὲ ἔτι τούτου τάδε
οἱ κατέργαστο ἐόντος τοῦ Ἀστυάγεος πικροῦ ἐς
τοὺς Μήδους, συμμίσγων ἐνὶ ἐκάστῳ ὁ "Ἀρπαγος τῶν πρῶτων Μήδων ἀνέπειθε ός χρή Κύρου προ-
στησαμένου Ἀστυάγεα παύσαι τῆς βασιληῆς, κατηγόρασεν δὲ οἱ τούτου καὶ ἐόντως ἐτίμημον, οὕτω δὴ τῷ Κύρῳ διατιμομένῳ ἐν Πέρσησι Βουλό-
μενος Ἀρπαγος δηλώσαι τὴν ἑωτοῦ γνώμην ἀλλος μὲν οὐδαμῶς εἴχε ἀπεῖς τῶν ὀδῶν φυλασσο-
μενών, ὁ δὲ ἐπιτεχνάται τοιοῦτον· λαγὸν μηχανη-
σάμενος, καὶ ἀνασχίας τούτων τὴν γαστέρα καὶ
οὐδὲν ἀποτίλας, ὡς δὲ εἶχε οὕτω εὔσεβηκε βυβλίῳ,
γράφας τά οἱ ἐδόκεε· ἀπορρύψας δὲ τῷ λαγῷ
tὴν γαστέρα, καὶ δικτυα δοὺς ἀπε θηρευτὴ τῶν
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nothing but been greatly deceived, but that on the
way he had heard all the story of his misfortune;
for he had thought, he said, that Astyages' cowherd
was his father, but in his journey from the city his
escort had told him all the tale. And he had been
reared, he said, by the cowherd's wife, and he was
full of her praises, and in his tale he was ever
speaking of Cyno. Hearing this name, his parents
set about a story that Cyrus when exposed was
suckled by a bitch, thinking thereby to make the
story of his saving seem the more marvellous to the
Persians.

123. This then was the beginning of that legend.
But as Cyrus grew to man's estate, being the
manliest and best loved of his peers, Harpagus
courted him and sent him gifts, wishing to be
avenged on Astyages; for he saw no hope of a
private man like himself punishing Astyages, but
as he saw Cyrus growing up he sought to make him
an ally, for he likened Cyrus' misfortune to his own.
He had already brought matters so far that—since
Astyages dealt harshly with the Medians—he
consorted with each of the chief Medians and
persuaded them to make Cyrus their leader and
depose Astyages. So much being ready and done,
Harpagus desired to make known his intent to
Cyrus, then dwelling among the Persians; but the
roads were guarded, and he had no plan for sending
a message but this—he artfully slit the belly of a
hare, and then leaving it as it was without further
harm he put into it a paper on which he wrote what
he thought fit. Then he sewed up the hare's belly,
and sent it to Persia by the trustiest of his servants,
οἰκετέων τῷ πιστοτάτῳ, ἀπέστελλε ἐς τούς Πέρσας, ἐνεπλαμένως οἱ ἀπὸ γλώσσης ἰδιότα τῶν λαγῶν Κύρω ἐπειπεῖν αὐτοχειρίῃ μιν διελεῖν καὶ μηδένα οἱ ταῦτα ποιεῖντι παρέσχει.

124. Ταύτα τε δὴ ὃν ἐπιτελεῖτο ἐγίνετο καὶ ὁ Κύρως παραλαβὼν τῶν λαγῶν ἀνέσχυσεν εὐρὼν δὲ ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ βυβλίῳ ἐνεὼν λαβὼν ἐπελέγετο, τὰ δὲ γράμματα ἔλεγεν τάδε. "Ὡς παί Καμβόσεω, σῇ γὰρ θεοὶ ἐπορώνοι οὔ γὰρ ἀν κοτὲ ἐς τοσοῦτο τύχης ἀπίκευαν ὑπὸ μοῦ Ἀστυάγεα τὸν σεωτοῦ φονεα τίσαι. κατὰ μὲν γὰρ τὴν τούτου προθυμίαν τέθηκας, τὸ δὲ κατὰ θεοὺς τε καὶ ἐμὲ περίεις τὰ σὲ καὶ πάλαι δοκεῖ πάντα ἐκμεμαθηκέναι, σέος τε αὐτοῦ πέρι ὡς ἐπρήκη, καὶ ολὴ ἐγὼ ὑπὸ Ἀστυάγεος πέπονθα, ὅτι σε ὑπὸ ἀπεκένθαι ἅλλα ἐδοκα τῷ βουκόλῳ. σὺ μὲν, ἢν βούλῃ ἐμοὶ πείθεσθαι, τῆς περ Ἀστυάγης ἀρχη χώρης, ταύτης ἀπάσης ἀρξεις. Πέρσας γὰρ ἀναπείσας ἀπίστασθαι στρατηγάτων ἐπὶ Μῆδοις καὶ ἢν ὑπὸ Ἀστυάγεος ἀποδεχθέω στρατηγὸς ἀντία σεῦ, ἐστὶ τοι τὰ σὺ βούλεις, ἢν τε τῶν τις δοκίμων ἄλλος Μῆδων πρῶτοι γὰρ οὐτοὶ ἀποστάντες ἅπ' ἐκείνου καὶ γενόμενοι πρὸς σέ Ἀστυάγεα καταφέρων πειρησονται. ὡς ὃν ἐτοίμου τοῦ γε ἐνθάδε ἔντος, ποιει ταύτα καὶ ποιεῖς κατὰ τάχος."

125. Ἀκούσας ταύτα ὁ Κύρως ἐφρώνησε ὅτερ τρόπῳ σοφωτάτῳ Πέρσας ἀναπείσει ἀπίστασθαι, φροντίζων δὲ εὐρίσκεται ταύτα καριώτατα εἶναι ἐποίες δὴ ταύτα. γράψας ἐς βυβλίον τὰ ἐβούλετο, ἀληθὲν τῶν Περσέων ἐποίησατο, μετὰ δὲ ἀναπτύξας τὸ βυβλίον καὶ ἐπιλεγόμενος ἐφη Ἀστυάγεα μιὴν στρατηγῶν Περσέων ἀποδεικνύναι. "Νῦν τε," ἐφη
giving him nets to carry as if he were a huntsman. The messenger was charged to give Cyrus the hare and bid him by word of mouth cut it open with his own hands, none other being present.

124. All this was done. Cyrus took the hare and slit it and read the paper which was in it; the writing was as follows: "Son of Cambyses, seeing that the gods watch over you (for else you had not so prospered) do you now avenge yourself on Astyages, your murderer; for according to his intent you are dead; it is by the gods' doing, and mine, that you live. Methinks you have long ago heard the story of what was done concerning yourself and how Astyages entreated me because I slew you not but gave you to the cowherd. If then you will be counselled by me, you shall rule all the country which is now ruled by Astyages. Persuade the Persians to rebel, and lead their army against the Medes; then you have your desire, whether I be appointed to command the army against you or some other notable man among the Medians; for they will of themselves revolt from Astyages and join you and endeavour to pull him down. Seeing then that all here is ready, do as I say and do it quickly."

125. When Cyrus heard this, he considered how most cunningly he might persuade the Persians to revolt; and this he thought most apt to the occasion, and this he did: writing what he would on a paper, he gathered an assembly of the Persians, and then unfolded the paper and declared that therein Astyages appointed him leader of the Persian armies. "Now,"
λέγων, "ο Πέρσαι, προαγορεύω ύμιν παρείναι έκαστον έχοντα δρέπανον." Κύρος μεν ταύτα προηγούμενε. ἦστι δὲ Περσέων συχνὰ γένεα, καὶ τὰ μὲν αὐτῶν ο Κύρος συνάλλοις καὶ ἀνέπεισε ἀπίστοτας ἀπὸ Μῆδων. ἦστι δὲ τάδε, ἦξ ὅν ὅλλοι πάντες ἀρτέαται Πέρσαι, Πασαργάδαι Μαράφιοι Μάσπιοι. ποὺ τῶν Πασαργάδαι εἰσὶ ἀριστοῖ, ἐν τούτῳ καὶ Ἀχαμενίδαι εἰσὶ φρήτηρ, ἐνθέν οἱ βασιλεῖς οἱ Περσείδαι γεγόνασι. ἄλλοι δὲ Πέρσαι εἰσὶ οἶδε, Πανθιαλαῖοι Δηρουσιαῖοι Γερμάνιοι. οὕτωι μὲν πάντες ἀροτῆρες εἰσὶ, οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι νομάδες, Δάοι Μάρδοι Δροπικοὶ Σαγμάρτιοι.

126. Ὀς δὲ παρῆσαν ἀπαντεῖς ἔχοντες τὸ προειρήμενον, ἐνθαῦτα ὁ Κύρος, ὡς γὰρ τις χώρας τής Περσικῆς ἀκανθώδης ὅσον τε ἐπὶ ὀκτακαίδεκα στάδιοι ή ἐκιόστη πάντῃ, τούτων σφί τῶν χώρων προεῖπε ἐξημερώσατε ἐν ἡμέρῃ. ἐπιτελεσάντων δὲ τῶν Περσέων τὸν προκείμενον ἀθληταῖ, δεῦτερὰ σφί προεῖπε ἐσ τὴν ὑστεραίην παρείναι λευκομένους. ἐν δὲ τούτῳ τά τε αἰτολία καὶ τάς ποίμνας καὶ τὰ βουκόλια ὁ Κύρος πάντα τοὺ πατρὸς συναλίσας ἐς τῶν ἔθυσε καὶ παρεσκευάς ὡς δεξόμενος τῶν Περσέων στρατῶν, πρὸς δὲ οἰνῷ τε καὶ κινεῖσθα ὡς ἐπιτηδευτάσθαι. ἀπικομένους δὲ τῇ ὑστεραίῃ τοῦς Πέρσας κατακλίνασ ἐς λειμῶνα εὐώχεε. ἐπείτη δὲ ἀπὸ δεύτερν ἦσαν, ἐὑρετο σφέας ὁ Κύρος κότερα τά τῇ προτεραίῃ εἰχὼν ἡ τὰ παρεῖτα σφί εἶπη αἰρετῶτερα. οἱ δὲ ἔφασαν πολλὰν εἶναι αὐτῶν τὸ μέσον τῆς μὲν γὰρ προτέρην ἡμέρην πάντα σφί κακὰ ἔχειν, τὴν δὲ τότε παρεύσαν πάντα ἀγαθά. παραλαβὼν δὲ τούτο τὸ ἔπος ὁ Κύρος παρεγύμνου τοῦ πάντα
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said he in his speech, "I bid you all, men of Persia, to come each of you with a sickle." (There are many tribes in Persia: those of them whom Cyrus assembled and persuaded to revolt from the Medes were the Pasargadae, the Maraphii, and the Maspii. On these hang all the other Persians. The chief tribe is that of the Pasargadae; to them belongs the clan of the Achaemenidae, the royal house of Persia. The other Persian tribes are the Panthialaei, the Derusiaei, and the Germanii, all tillers of the soil, and the Dai, the Mardi, the Dropici, the Sagartii, all wandering herdsmen.)

126. So when they all came with sickles as commanded, Cyrus bade them clear and make serviceable in one day a certain thorny tract of Persia, of eighteen or twenty furlongs each way in extent. The Persians accomplished the appointed task; Cyrus then commanded them to wash themselves and come on the next day; and meanwhile, gathering together his father's goats and sheep and oxen in one place, he slew and prepared them as a feast for the Persian host, providing also wine and all foods that were most suitable. When the Persians came on the next day he made them sit and feast in a meadow. After dinner he asked them which pleased them best, their task of yesterday or their present state. They answered that the difference was great: all yesterday they had had nought but evil, to-day nought but good. Then taking their word from their mouths Cyrus laid
λόγου, λέγων ""Ανδρες Πέρσαι, οὕτω ύμιν ἔχει, βουλομένοις μὲν ἐμέο πείθεσθαι ἥστε τάδε τε καὶ ἄλλα μυρία ἀγαθά, οὐδὲνα πόνον δουλοπρεπέα ἔχουσι, μὴ βουλομένοις δὲ ἐμέο πείθεσθαι εἰσὶ ύμῶν πόνοι τῷ χήιοι παραπληκτοί ἀναρίθμητοι. νῦν ὄν ἐμέο πειθόμενοι γίνεσθε ἐλεύθεροι. αὐτὸς τε γὰρ δοκεῖ θείῃ τῷ χήιῃ γεγονοὶς τάδε ἐς χείρας ἅγεσθαι, καὶ ὑμέας ἴγημαι ἀνδράς Μήδων εἰναι οὐ φαυλοτέρους οὔτε τάλλα οὔτε τὰ πολέμια. ὡς ὄν ἐχόντων ὧδε, ἀπίστασθε ἄπ' Ἀστυνάγεος τῇν ταχύστην."

127. Πέρσαι μὲν νῦν προστάτεω ἐπιλαβόμενοι ἀσμενοὶ ἐλευθεροῦντο, καὶ πάλαι δεινῶν ποιεύμενοι ὑπὸ Μήδων ἅρχεσθαι. 'Ἀστυνάγης δὲ ὡς ἐπόθετο Κύρον ταῦτα πρίσσοντα, πέμψας ἁγγελον ἐκάλεε αὐτῶν. ὅ δὲ Κύρος ἐκέλευ τὸν ἁγγελον ἄπαργέλλειν ὅτι πρῶτον ἦσοι παρ' ἐκεῖνον ἡ 'Ἀστυνάγης αὐτὸς βουλήσεται. ἀκούσας δὲ ταῦτα ὁ 'Ἀστυνάγης Μήδους τε ὀπλισε πάντας, καὶ στρατηγον αὐτῶν ὡστε θεοβλαβῆς ἔων ὁ Ἀρ-παγὸν ἀπέδεξε, λήθην ποιεύμενος τά μιν ἔόργεε. ὡς δὲ οἱ Μήδοι στρατευσάμενοι τοῖς Πέρσηςι συνέμεαγον, οἱ μὲν τινὲς αὐτῶν ἐμάχοντο, ὡσοι μὴ τοῦ λόγου μετέσχον, οἱ δὲ αὐτομόλεον πρὸς τοὺς Πέρσας, οἱ δὲ πλείστοι ἐθελοκάκεον τε καὶ ἔφεγον.

128. Διαλυθέντος δὲ τοῦ Μήδικος στρατεύματος αἰσχρῶς, ὡς ἐπόθετο τάχιστα ὁ 'Ἀστυνάγης, ἐφ' ἀπειλέων τῷ Κύρῳ ""Ἀλλ' οὐδ' ὃς Κύρος γε χαίρησει." τοσαῦτα εἶπα πρῶτον μὲν τῶν Μάγων τοὺς ὀνειροτόλους, οἱ μὲν ἀνέγρωσαν μετέίην τῶν Κύρου, τούτους ἀνεσκολόπισε, μετὰ δὲ ὀπλισε 166
bare all his purpose, and said: "This is your case, men of Persia: obey me and you shall have these good things and ten thousand others besides with no toil and slavery; but if you will not obey me you will have labours unnumbered, like to your toil of yesterday. Now, therefore, do as I bid you, and win your freedom. For I think that I myself was born by a marvellous providence to take this work in hand; and I deem you full as good men as the Medes in war and in all else. All this is true; wherefore now revolt from Astyages with all speed!"

127. The Persians had long been ill content that the Medes should rule them, and now having got them a champion they were glad to win their freedom. But when Astyages heard that Cyrus was at this business, he sent a messenger to summon him; Cyrus bade the messenger bring back word that Astyages would see him sooner than he desired. Hearing this, Astyages armed all his Medians, and was so infatuated that he forgot what he had done to Harpagus, and appointed him to command the army. So no sooner had the Medes marched out and joined battle with the Persians than some of them deserted to the enemy, but most of them of set purpose played the coward and fled; those only fought who had not shared Harpagus' counsels.

128. Thus the Median army was foully scattered. Astyages, hearing this, sent a threatening message to Cyrus, "that even so he should not go unpunished"; and with that he took the Magians who interpreted dreams and had persuaded him to let Cyrus go free, and impaled them; then he armed
τοὺς ὑπολειφθέντας ἐν τῷ ἄστει τῶν Μηδών, νέους τε καὶ πρεσβύτας ἄνδρας. ἔξαγαγὼν δὲ τούτους καὶ συμβαλὼν τούτι Πέρσην ἐσωθῆ, καὶ αὐτὸς τε Ἀστυάγης ἔξωχρήθη καὶ τοὺς ἔξηγαγε τῶν Μηδών ἀπέβαλε.

129. Ἔστι δὲ αἴχμαλωτῳ τῷ Ἀστυάγει προστάσις ὁ Ἀρπαγὸς κατέχαιρε τε καὶ κατεκερτώμεε, καὶ ἄλλα λέγων ἐς αὐτοῦ θυμαλγεία ἔπεα, καὶ δὴ καὶ εἰρετό μιν πρὸς τὸ ἐωτὸ ν δειπνον, τὸ μὲν ἐκείνος σαρξί τοῦ παιδὸς ἐθολώπησε, τὸ τι ἐν ἢ ἐκείνου δουλοσύνη ἀντὶ τῆς βασιλείας. δὲ μὲν προσείδων ἀντέρετο εἰ ἐωτοῦ ποιεῖται τὸ Κύρου ἔργον. Ἀρπαγὸς δὲ ἔφη, αὐτὸς γὰρ γράφαι, τὸ πρῆγμα ἐωτοῦ δὴ δικαίως εἶναι. Ἀστυάγης δὲ μὲν ἀπέφαινε τῷ λόγῳ σκαίιτατόν τε καὶ ἀδικώ-τατον ἐόντα πάντων ἀνθρώπων, σκαίιτατον μὲν γε, εἰ παρευν αὐτῷ βασιλέα γενέσθαι, εἰ δὴ δὴ ἐωτοῦ γε ἐπρήξῃ τὰ παρεόπτα, ἀλλο περιεβείκε τὸ κράτος; ἀδικώτατον δὲ, ὅτι τοῦ δείπνου εἶνεκεν Μηδῶν κατεδουλώσε. εἰ γὰρ δὴ δεῖν πάντως περιβείναι ἀλλὸ τῇ τῆς βασιλείας καὶ μὴ αὐτῶν ἐχειν, δικαιότερον εἶναι Μηδῶν τε ἀνθρώπων δούλους ἄντι δεσποτέων ἐγενόντας, Πέρσας δὲ δούλους ἐόντας τὸ πρὶν Μηδῶν νῦν ἐγενόντας δεσπότας.

130. Ἀστυάγης μὲν νῦν βασιλεύσας ἐπʼ ἑτα πέντε καὶ τριήκοντα οὕτω τῆς βασιλείας κατα- παύσθη, Μηδωὶ δὲ ὑπέκυψαν Πέρσησι διὰ τὴν τούτου πικρότητα, ἀρξάντες τῆς ἀνω Ἀλνο μοταμοῦ Ἀσίης ἐπʼ ἑτα τριήκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν δυῶν δέοντα, πάρεξ ἢ ὁ δεῖν οἱ Σκύδαι ἦρχον.
the Medes who were left in the city, the youths and old men. Leading these out, and encountering the Persians, he was worsted: Astyages himself was taken prisoner, and lost the Median army which he led.

129. He being then a captive, Harpagus came and exulted over him and taunted him, and with much other bitter mockery he brought to mind his banquet, when Astyages had fed Harpagus on his son's flesh, and asked Astyages what it was to be a slave after having been a king. Fixing his gaze on Harpagus, Astyages asked, "Think you that this, which Cyrus has done, is your work?" "It was I," said the other, "who wrote the letter; the accomplishment of the work is justly mine." "Then," said Astyages, "you stand confessed the most foolish and most unjust man on earth; most foolish, in giving another the throne which you might have had for yourself, if the present business be indeed your doing; most unjust, in enslaving the Medes by reason of that banquet. For if at all hazards another and not yourself must possess the royal power, then in justice some Mede should enjoy it, not a Persian: but now you have made the Medes, who did you no harm, slaves instead of masters and the Persians, who were the slaves, are now the masters of the Medes."

130. Thus Astyages was deposed from his sovereignty after a reign of thirty-five years: and the Medians were made to bow down before the Persians by reason of Astyages' cruelty. They had ruled all Asia beyond the Halys for one hundred and twenty-eight years, from which must be taken the time when the Scythians held sway. At a later

1 687 to 559 B.C. The Scythians ruled 634-606 B.C.

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131. Πέρσας δὲ οἶδα νόμοις τοιούτους χρεωμένους, ἀγάλματα μὲν καὶ νησίδες καὶ βωμοὺς οὐκ ἐν νόμω ποιεύμενοι ἱδρύεσθαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ποιεύσαι μορίνην ἐπιφέροντες, ὡς μὲν ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν, γιὰ τὸ ἄνθρωπον ἐνόμισαν τοὺς θεοὺς κατὰ περὶ τῇ Ἐλληνες εἶναι: ὥς δὲ νομίζονας Διὰ μὲν ἐπὶ τὰ ψυχλότατα τῶν ὀρέων ἀναβάλλοντες τυφώνας ἔρθειν, τὸν κύκλον πάντα τοῦ ὑπέρονος Δία καλέοντες. θύουσι δὲ ἥλιον τε καὶ σελήνην καὶ γῆ καὶ πυρ καὶ ὕδατι καὶ ἀνέμους. τοὺς τι δὲ τὸν θύουσι μονούσι αἰχμήδειν, ἐπιμεμαθήκας δὲ καὶ τῇ ὸυραίει θύειν, παρὰ τῇ Ἀσσυρία μαθόντες καὶ Ἀραβίων. καλέοντες δὲ Ἀσσυρίων τὴν Ἀφροδίτην Μύλιττα, Ἀραβίων δὲ Ἀλιλάτ, Πέρσας δὲ Μίτραν.

132. Θυσίν δὲ τοῖς Πέρσαις περὶ τῶν εἰρήμενος θεοὺς ἤδε κατέστηκεν οὕτε βωμοὺς ποιεύντας οὐτὲ πυρ ἀνακαίουσι μέλλοντες θύειν, οὐ σπούδὴ χρεώνται, οὐκὶ αὐλῶν, οὐκι στέμμασι, οὐκι σύλησιν τῶν δὲ ὡς ἐκάστω θύειν θέλη, ἐς χρόνον
time they repented of what they now did, and rebelled against Darius; but they were defeated in battle and brought back into subjection. But now, in Astyages’ time, Cyrus and the Persians rose in revolt against the Medes, and from this time ruled Asia. As for Astyages, Cyrus did him no further harm, and kept him in his own house till Astyages died.

This is the story of the birth and upbringing of Cyrus, and thus he became king; and afterwards, as I have already related, he subdued Croesus in punishment for the unprovoked wrong done him; and after this victory he became sovereign of all Asia.

131. As to the usages of the Persians, I know them to be these. It is not their custom to make and set up statues and temples and altars, but those who make such they deem foolish, as I suppose, because they never believed the gods, as do the Greeks, to be in the likeness of men; but they call the whole circle of heaven Zeus, and to him they offer sacrifice on the highest peaks of the mountains; they sacrifice also to the sun and moon and earth and fire and water and winds. These are the only gods to whom they have ever sacrificed from the beginning; they have learnt later, to sacrifice to the “heavenly” Aphrodite, from the Assyrians and Arabians. She is called by the Assyrians Mylitta, by the Arabians Alilat, by the Persians Mitra.

132. And this is their fashion of sacrifice to the aforesaid gods: when about to sacrifice they neither build altars nor kindle fire, they use no libations, nor music, nor fillets, nor barley meal; but to whomsoever of the gods a man will sacrifice, he leads the

1 In 520 B.C.; the event is recorded in a cuneiform inscription.
2 See note on ch. 105.
καθαροὺς ἄγαγὼν τὸ κτῆνος καλέει τὸν θεόν, ἐστεφανομένος τὸν τιμάραν μυρσίνη μάλιστα. ἐστι μὲν ὃς τῷ θύυντο ίδιος μουνως οὐ οἱ ἐγκύνεται ἀράσθαι ἄγαθα, ὅ δὲ τοίσι πάσι Πέρσηι κατεύχεται εὖ γίνεσθαι καὶ τῷ βασιλείς· ἐν γὰρ δὴ τούσι ἀπασὶ Πέρσηι καὶ αὐτὸς γίνεται. ἐπεάν δὲ διαμιστύλας κατὰ μέλεα τὸ ιρήνον ἐξῆσθη τὰ κρέα, ὑποπάσας ποιην ὡς ἀπαλωτάτην, μάλιστα δὲ τὸ τρίφυλλον, ἐπὶ ταύτης ἐθηκε ὅπ πάντα τὰ κρέα. διὰθέντος δὲ αὐτοῦ Μάγος ἀνήρ παρεστῶς ἐπαείδει θεογόνην, οἷν δὴ ἐκεῖνοι λέγουσι εἶναι τὴν ἐπαοιδὴν· ἀνευ γὰρ δὴ Μάγου οὐ σφι νόμος ἔστι θυσίας ποιέσθαι. ἐπισχῶν δὲ ὀλίγων χρόνων ἀποφέρεται ὁ θύσας τὰ κρέα καὶ χράται ὁ τι μιν λόγος αἵρεί. 133. Ἡμέρῃ δὲ ἀπασείδος μάλιστα ἐκείνην τιμὰν νομίζουσι τῇ ἐκαστὸς ἐγένετο. ἐν ταύτῃ δὲ πλέω δαίτα τῶν ἄλλων δικαίωσι προτίθεσθαι· ἐν τῇ οἱ εὐδαίμονες αὐτῶν βοῦν καὶ ἅππον καὶ κάμηλον καὶ δύον προτιθέομαι δλοὺς ὀπτοὺς ἐν καμίνοις, οἱ δὲ πέντες αὐτῶν τὰ λεπτά τῶν προβάτων προτιθέομαι. σώτους δὲ ὀλίγους χρέωσται, ἐπιφορέμασι δὲ πολλοὶ καὶ οὐκ ἄλεσι· καὶ διὰ τούτο φασὶ Πέρσαι τοὺς Ἐλλήνας σιτεομένους πεινῶντας παύσεσθαι, ὅτι σφι ἄπο δειπνὸν παραφιλεῖται οἷς ἕξεθη λόγον ἄξιον· εἰ δὲ τι παραφέροιτο, ἐσθιόντας ἀν οὐ παύσεσθαι· οἶνος δὲ κάρτα προσκένεται, καὶ σφι οὐκ ἐμέσαι ἐξεστι, οὐκ ὑφήσαται αὐτῶν ἄλλον. ταύτα μὲν νῦν οὕτω φύλασσεται, μεθυπόκόμου δὲ ἐσθίασι βουλεύεσθαι τὰ σπουδαιότατα τῶν πρηγμάτων· τὸ δ' ἀν ᾠδη σφι βουλευομένους, τούτο τῇ ἰστεραίῃ νήφουσι
beast to an open space and then calls on the god, himself wearing a wreath on his cap, of myrtle for choice. To pray for blessings for himself alone is not lawful for the sacrificer; rather he prays that it may be well with the king and all the Persians; for he reckons himself among them. He then cuts the victim limb from limb into portions, and having boiled the flesh spreads the softest grass, trefoil by choice, and places all of it on this. When he has so disposed it a Magian comes near and chants over it the song of the birth of the gods, as the Persian tradition relates it; for no sacrifice can be offered without a Magian. Then after a little while the sacrificer carries away the flesh and uses it as he pleases.

133. The day which every man most honours is his own birthday. On this he thinks it right to serve a more abundant meal than on other days; before the rich are set oxen or horses or camels or asses, roasted whole in ovens; the poorer serve up the lesser kinds of cattle. Their courses are few, the dainties that follow are many and not all served together. This is why the Persians say of the Greeks, that they rise from table still hungry, because not much dessert is set before them: were this too given to the Greek (say the Persians) he would never cease eating. They are greatly given to wine; none may vomit or make water in another's presence. This then is prohibited among them. Moreover it is their custom to deliberate about the gravest matters when they are drunk; and what they approve in their counsels is proposed to them the next day by the master of the house where they deliberate, when they are now sober.
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προτιθέι ο στέγαρχος, ἐν τούτῳ ἄν ἐστε τους Βουλευταί, καὶ ἂν μὲν ἄδη καὶ νήφουσι, ἥρεωνται αὐτῷ, ἢν δὲ μὴ ἄδη, μετείχει. τὰ δ’ ἄν νήφουσε προ-

βουλευόμενοι, μεθυσκόμενοι ἐπιδιαγινώσκονσι.

134. Ἐνυπνάντωνς δὲ ἀλλήλους εἰς τῆς ὁδοίς, τῷ δὲ ἄν τις διαγνώστη εἰς ὁμοίοι εἰς ὁι συν-

υπνάντωνς ἀντὶ γὰρ τοῦ προσαγορεύειν ἀλλή-

λους φιλέοντες τοῖς στόμασιν ἢν δὲ οὐτέρος ὑποδέεστερος ὄλγωρ, τὰς παρεῖς φιλέονται ἢν δὲ πολλῷ οὐτέρος ἀγενέστερος, προσπίπτοι προσκυνεῖ τὸν ἔτερον. τιμῶσι δὲ έκ πάντων τούς ἀγχιστὰ ἐστών οἰκέονται μετά γε ἐστών, δεύτερα δὲ τοὺς δεύτερους μετά δὲ κατὰ λόγουν προβαίνοντες τιμῶσι ήκιστά δὲ τούς ἐστων ἐκαστάτῳ οἰκημένους εἰς τιμὴ ἄγουνται, νομίζοντες ἐστών εἰσαι ἀνθρώπους μακρῷ τὰ πάντα ἀρίσ-

τους, τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους κατὰ λόγον tῆς ἀρετῆς ἀντέχεσθαι, τοὺς δὲ ἐκαστάτῳ οἰκέονται ἀπό ἐστών κακίστους εἰναι. ἐπὶ δὲ Μῆδων ἀρχό-

των καὶ ἤρχε τὰ ἐθνείς ἀλλήλων, συναπάντων μὲν Μῆδοι καὶ τῶν ἀγχιστά οἰκεόντων σφίς, οὕτω δὲ καὶ τῶν ὁμούρων, ὅι δὲ μᾶλα τῶν ἔχο-

μένων, κατὰ τῶν αὐτῶν δὴ λόγον καὶ οἱ Πέρσαι τιμῶσιν, προεβαινε γὰρ δὴ τὸ ἐθνοῦς ἄρχον τε καὶ ἐπιτροπεῖν.

135. Ξενικά δὲ νόμαις Πέρσαι προσίερεται ἀνδρῶν μάλωτα. καὶ γὰρ δὴ τῆς Μηδικής ἐσθήται

νομίζοντες τῆς ἐστών εἰναι καλλίων φορέουσι, καὶ ἐς τοὺς πολέμους τοὺς Ἀγαμπτίους θῷρηκας-

καὶ εὐπαθεῖας τε παντοδαπᾶς πυρβανόμενοι ἐπι-

1 κατὰ λόγον [τῆς λέγομενής] Stein.
and if being sober they still approve it, they act thereon, but if not, they cast it aside. And when they have taken counsel about a matter when sober, they decide upon it when they are drunk.

134. When one man meets another in the way, it is easy to see if the two are equals; for then without speaking they kiss each other on the lips; if the difference in rank be but little, it is the cheek that is kissed; if it be great, the humbler bows down and does obeisance to the other. They honour most of all those who dwell nearest them, next those who are next farthest removed, and so going ever onwards they assign honour by this rule; those who dwell farthest off they hold least honourable of all; for they deem themselves to be in all regards by far the best of all men, the rest to have but a proportionate claim to merit, till those who dwell farthest away have least merit of all. Under the rule of the Medes one tribe would even govern another; the Medes held sway over all alike and specially over those who dwelt nearest to themselves; these ruled their neighbours, and the neighbours again those who came next to them, on the same plan whereby the Persians assign honour; for according as the Median nation advanced its dominion farther from home, such was the measure of its rule and suzerainty.\(^1\)

135. But of all men the Persians most welcome foreign customs. They wear the Median dress, deeming it more beautiful than their own, and the Egyptian cuirass in war. Their luxurious practices

\(^1\) This appears to mean, that the farther off a subject nation is, the less direct is the control exercised by the Medes; on the same principle as that which makes the Persians hold their subjects in less and less estimation in proportion to their distance from the seat of empire.
τηδεύουσι, καὶ δὴ καὶ ἀπ’ Ἑλλήνων μαθόντες παισὶ μισχονται. γαμέουσι δὲ ἐκαστος αὐτῶν πολλὰς μὲν κουρίδιας γυναίκας, πολλῷ δ’ ἐτὶ πλείναις παλλακάς κτώνται.

136. Ἀνδραγαθίη δὲ αὕτη ἀποδέεκται, μετὰ τὸ μάγεσθαι εἶναι ἀγαθόν, ὅς ἀν πολλοὺς ἀποδέξῃ παιδάς· τὸ δὲ τοὺς πλείστους ἀποδεικνύντι δώρα ἐκπέμπει βασιλεὺς ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος. τὸ πολλὸν δ’ ἤγεται ἱσχυρὸν εἶναι. παιδεύουσι δὲ τοὺς παιδὰς ἀπὸ πενταέτεσι ἁρξάμενοι μέχρι εἰκοσάετεσ τρία μοῦνα, ὑπενείν καὶ τοξεύειν καὶ ἀληθίζεσθαι. πρὶν δὲ ἡ πενταέτης γένηται, οὐκ ἀπικνύεται ἐς ὅψιν τὸ πατρί, ἀλλὰ παρὰ τῆς γυναικός δίαιταν ἔχει. τούτο δὲ εἰνεκα τούτῳ οὕτω ποιεῖται, ἵνα ἴη ἀποθάνῃ τρεφόμενοις, μηδεμίαν ἄσην τὸ πατρί προσβάλῃ.

137. Διόνω μὲν νυν τόνδε τὸν νόμον, αἰνέω δὲ καὶ τόνδε, τὸ μὴ μῆς αἰτής εἴνεκα μήτε αὐτῶν τὸν βασιλέα μηδένα φονεύειν, μήτε τῶν ἄλλων Περσέων μηδένα τῶν ἑωτοῦ οἰκετέων ἐπὶ μὴ αἰτή ανήκεστον πάθος ἔρθειν ἀλλὰ λογισάμενος ἢν εὐρίσκῃ πλέω τε καὶ μέξι τὰ ἀδίκηματα ἐόντα τῶν ὑπουργημάτων, οὕτω τὸ θυμὸ χρώται. ἀποκτεῖναι δὲ οὐδένα καὶ λέγουσι τὸν ἑωτὸν πατέρα οὐδὲ μητέρα, ἀλλὰ ὀκόσα ἦδη τοιαῦτα ἐγένετο, πάσαν ανάγκην φασὶ ἀναξιτεύομενα ταῦτα ἀνευρεθήναι ἤτοι ὑποβολμαία ἐόντα ἡ μοιχίδια· οὐ γὰρ δὴ φασὶ οἰκὸς εἶναι τὸν γε ἀληθέως τοκέα ὑπὸ τοῦ ἑωτοῦ παιδός ἀποθήσκειν.

138. Ἀσσα δὲ σφι ποιεῖν οὐκ ἔξεστι, ταῦτα οὐδὲ λέγειν ἔξεστι. αἰσχύστον δὲ αὐτοῦσι τὸ γευτεσθαί νεκρόμεσται, δεύτερα δὲ τὸ ὁφείλειν χρέος,
are of all kinds, and all borrowed; the Greeks taught them unnatural vices. Every Persian marries many lawful wives, and keeps still more concubines.

136. After valour in battle it is most reckoned as manly merit to show the greatest number of sons: the king sends gifts yearly to him who can show most. Numbers, they hold, are strength. They educate their boys from five to twenty years old, and teach them three things only, riding and archery and truth-telling. A boy is not seen by his father before he is five years old, but lives with the women: the reason of this is that, if the boy should die in the time of his rearing, the father may suffer no dolour.

137. This is a law which I praise; and it is a praiseworthy law too which suffers not the king himself to slay any man for one offence, nor any other Persian for one offence to do incurable hurt to one of his servants. Not till reckoning shows that the offender's wrongful acts are more and greater than his services may a man give vent to his anger. They say that none has ever yet killed his father or mother; when suchlike deeds have been done, it cannot be but that on inquest made the doer is shown to be a child falsely substituted or born of a concubine; for it is not to be believed (say they) that a son should kill his true parent.

138. Moreover of what they may not do neither may they speak. They hold lying to be foulest of all and next to that debt; for which they have
πολλῶν μὲν καὶ ἄλλων εἴνεκα, μάλιστα δὲ ἀναγκαίην φασὶ εἶναι τὸν ὀφείλοντα καὶ τὴν ψεύδος λέγειν. ὃς ἂν δὲ τῶν ἄστον ἱέρπην ἢ λεύκην ἔχῃ, ἐς πόλιν οὖτος οὐ κατέρχεται οὐδὲ συμμίσθῃ τούτῃ ἄλλοις Πέρσηις φασὶ δὲ μὲν ἐς τὸν ἦλιον ἀμαρτόντα τε ταῦτα ἔχειν. Ξείνων δὲ πάντα τὸν λαμβανόμενον ὑπὸ τούτων πόλλοι ἐξελαύνουσι ἐκ τῆς χώρης, καὶ τὰς λευκὰς περιστερὰς, τὴν αὐτὴν αἰτίαν ἐπιφέροντες. ἐς ποταμὸν δὲ οὔτε ἐνουρέουσι οὔτε ἐμπύτουσι, οὐ χείρας ἐναπονίζονται, οὐδὲ ἄλλον οὐδένα περιορώσεται, ἀλλὰ σέβονται ποταμοῦ μάλιστα.

139. Καὶ τὸδε ἄλλο σφι ὅδε συμπεπτωκε γίνεσθαι, τὸ Πέρσας μὲν αὐτοὺς λέηθε, ἡμέας μὲν τοῖς οὐ τὰ οὐνόματα σφι ἐόντα ὅμοια τοῖς σῶμασι καὶ τῇ μεγαλοπρεπείᾳ τελευτώσι πάντα ἐς τῶν γράμμα, τὸ Δωρίες μὲν σαν καλέουσι, Ἰωνες δὲ σίγμα· ἐς τούτο διέχέμενος εἰρήσεις τελευτῶν τῶν Περσῶν τὰ οὐνόματα, οὐ τὰ μὲν τὰ δ’ οὐ, ἀλλὰ πάντα ὅμοιος.

140. Ταῦτα μὲν ἀτρεκέως ἔχω περὶ αὐτῶν εἰδῶς εἰπεῖν τάδε μὲν τοῖς ὡς κρυπτόμενα λέγεται καὶ οὐ σαφῆνεσι περὶ τοῦ ἀποθανόντος, ὡς οὐ πρότερον βάπτεται ἄνδρος Πέρσεως ὁ νέκυς πρὸν ἂν ὑπ’ ὀρμίδος ἤ κυνὸς ἐλκυσθῇ. Μᾶγους μὲν γὰρ ἀτρεκέως οἶδα ταῦτα ποιεόντας· ἐμφανέως γὰρ δὴ ποιεύσει, κατακηρώσαντες δὲ ὅν τὸν νέκυν Πέρσαις γῆ κρύπτουσι. Μᾶγοι δὲ κεχωρίδαται πολλῶν τῶν τε ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων καὶ τῶν ἐν Ἀγώντω ἱρέων. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἀγνεύουσι ἐμψύχους μηδὲν κτείνειν, εἰ μὴ ὅσα θύουσι· οἱ δὲ δὴ Μᾶγοι αὐτοχειρῆ πάντα πλήν κυνὸς καὶ ἀνθρώπου κτείνουσι, καὶ
many other reasons, but this in especial, that the debtor must needs (so they say) speak some falsehood. The citizen who has leprosy or the white sickness may not come into a town or consort with other Persians. They say that he is so afflicted because he has sinned in some wise against the sun. Many drive every stranger, who takes such a disease, out of the country; and so they do to white doves, for the reason aforesaid. Rivers they chiefly reverence; they will neither make water nor spit nor wash their hands therein, nor suffer anyone so to do.

139. There is another thing which always happens among them; we have noted it though the Persians have not: their names, which agree with the nature of their persons and their nobility, all end in the same letter, that which the Doriens call san, and the Ionians sigma; you shall find, if you search, that not some but all Persian names alike end in this letter.

140. So much I can say of them of my own certain knowledge. But there are other matters concerning the dead which are secretly and obscurely told—how the dead bodies of Persians are not buried before they have been mangled by bird or dog. That this is the way of the Magians I know for a certainty; for they do not conceal the practice. But this is certain, that before the Persians bury the body in earth they embalm it in wax. These Magians are much unlike to the priests of Egypt, as to all other men: for the priests count it sacrilege to kill aught that lives, save what they sacrifice; but the Magians kill with their own hands every creature, save only dogs

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ἀγώνισμα μέγα τούτο ποιεύνται, κτείνοντες ὅμοιοις μύρμηκας τε καὶ ὀφις καὶ τάλλα έρπετα καὶ πετεινά. καὶ ἀμβρι μὲν τῷ νόμῳ τούτῳ ἐχέτω ὦς καὶ ἄρχην ἐνομίση, ἀνειμι δὲ ἐπὶ τῶν πρότερον λόγων.

141. "Ἰωσεὶ δὲ καὶ Αἰσίλεες, ὡς οἱ Λυδοὶ τάχιστα κατεστράφατο ὑπὸ Περσέων, ἐπεμποῦν ἀγγέλους ἐς Σάρδις παρὰ Κύρου, ἐθέλοντες ἐπὶ τοὺς αὐτούς εἰναι τοὺς καὶ Κροίσῳ ἦσαν κατήκουι. δὲ ἀκόουσα αὐτῶν τὰ προϊσχοντο ἐλεεῖ ἐπὶ λόγων, ἀνδρὰ φάς αὐλητήν ἴδοντα ἰχθὺς εἰς τῆς θαλάσσης αὐλέειν, δοκέοντα σφέας ἐξελύσσετο ἐς γῆν, ὡς δὲ φευσθῆναι τῆς ἐλπίδος, λαβεῖν ἀμφιβληστρον καὶ περιβαλεῖν τε πλῆθος πολλόν τῶν ἰχθύων καὶ ἐξειρύσσεται, ἴδοντα δὲ παλλομένους εἴπειν ἄρα αὐτῶν πρὸς τοὺς ἰχθύς "Παύεσθέ μοι ὅρχεόμενοι, ἐπεὶ οὐδ’ ἐμέο αὐλέοντος ἐβέλεσε ἐκβαίνειν ὅρχεόμενοι." Κύρος μὲν τούτων τῶν λόγων τοῖς: "Ἰωσι καὶ τοῖς Αἰσίλεεσς τούνδε εἰνεκα ἐλεεῖ, ὡς δὴ οἱ Ἰωνεὶς πρότερον αὐτοῦ Κύρου δεσθέντος δὲ ἀγγέλους ἀπίστασθαι σφέας ἀπὸ Κροίσου ὦκ ἐπείδοντο, τότε δὲ κατεργασμένων τῶν προγμάτων ἦσαν ἐτοιμοὶ πείθεσθαι Κύρῳ. δὲ μὲν δὴ ὠργῇ ἐχόμενος ἐλεγεί σφι τάδε: "Ἰωσι δὲ ὦς ἦκουσαν τούτων ἀνενιχθέντων ἐς τὰς πόλιας, τεῖχεά τε περιεβάλοντο ἐκαστοι καὶ συνελέγουν ἐς Πανιώνιον οἱ ἄλλοι, πλὴν Μιλησίων' πρὸς μοῦνος γὰρ τούτων ὄρκιον Κύρος ἐποίησατο ἐπὶ οἰσἰ περ οὐ Λυδος. τοῖσι δὲ λοιποῖσι "Ἰωσι ἐδοξε κοινὸ λόγον πέμπτειν ἀγγέλους ἐς Σπάρτην ἐνεσομένους Ἰωσι τιμωρεῖειν."
and men; they kill all alike, ants and snakes, creeping and flying things, and take much pride therein. Leaving this custom to be such as it has been from the first, I return now to my former story.

141. As soon as the Lydians had been subdued by the Persians, the Ionians and Aeolians sent messengers to Cyrus, offering to be his subjects on the same terms as those which they had under Croesus. Having heard what they proposed, Cyrus told them a story. Once, he said, there was a flute-player who saw fishes in the sea and played upon his flute, thinking that so they would come out on to the land. Being disappointed of his hope, he took a net and gathered in and drew out a great multitude of the fishes; and seeing them leaping, "You had best," said he, "cease from your dancing now; you would not come out and dance then, when I played to you." The reason why Cyrus told the story to the Ionians and Aeolians was that the Ionians, who were ready to obey him when the victory was won, had before refused when he sent a message asking them to revolt from Croesus. So he answered them in his anger. But when the message came to the Ionians in their cities, they fortified themselves severally with walls, and assembled in the Panionion, all except the Milesians, with whom alone Cyrus had made a treaty on the same terms as that which they had with the Lydians. The rest of the Ionians resolved to send envoys in the name of them all to Sparta, to ask help for the Ionians.

Lit. "let matters stand concerning this custom as it was first instituted": i.e., apparently, "let us be content with knowing that this custom is as it has been from its origin."

See ch. 148.
142. Οἱ δὲ Ἰωνεῖς οὕτως, τῶν καὶ τὸ Παντώνιον ἐστὶ, τοῦ μὲν οὐρανοῦ καὶ τῶν ὀρέων ἐν τῷ καλ-
λίστῳ ἐστὶν ἢ τὸν ιδρυσάμενοι πόλεις πάντων ἀνθρώπων τῶν ἡμέρας οὗτοι ἢ μὲν ἐν 
τῇ χωρίᾳ τῷ τούτῳ ποιεῖ τῇ Ἰονίη οὐτε τὰ κάτω οὔτε τὰ πρὸς τὴν ἡμέραν οὔτε τὰ πρὸς τὴν ἐσπέραν, 
τὰ μὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ θυστέρου τέλη τοῦ ψυχροῦ τε καὶ ψυχής πειζόμενα, 
τὰ δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ θερμοῦ τε καὶ αἰχμώδεσι. γλῶσ-
σαν δὲ οὐ τὴν αὐτὴν οὕτως νευμικαί, ἀλλά τρό-
πους τέσσερας παραγωγῶν. Μήλητος μὲν αὐτῶν πρώτῃ κέεται πόλεως πρὸς μεσαμβρίνην, 
μετὰ δὲ Μυκῆς τε καὶ Πριήνης, αὐταῖ μὲν ἐν τῇ Ἀργο-
τίσι κατοικημέναι κατὰ ταύτα διαλέγομεναι σφίσι, αἰδε 
ἐν τῇ Λυδίᾳ, Ὁφέσος Κολοφόνι Λέβηδος Τέως 
Κλαζομεναῖ Φόκαια: αὐταὶ δὲ αἱ πόλεις τῆς ἐπὶ 
πρότερυν λεχθένσι σφιχέως κατὰ γλώσσαν 
οὔδέν, σφίσι δὲ ὁμοφωνέσσι. έτι δὲ τρεῖς ὑπο-
λοιπός Ἰάδες πόλεως, τῶν αἱ δύο μὲν νῆσους οἰκέ-
αται, Σάμων τε καὶ Χίου, ἡ δὲ μία ἐν τῇ ἡπείρῳ 
ιδρύται, Ἑρυθράι. Χίοι μὲν νυν καὶ Ἑρυθραῖοι 
κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸ διαλέγονται, Σάμων δὲ ἐπ’ ἐνωτῶν 
μονοί. οὕτως χαρακτῆρες γλώσσης τέσσερες 
γίνονται.

143. Τούτων δὴ ὅλων τῶν Ἰωνῶν οἱ Μιλήσιοι μὲν 
ἔδε σκέφη τοῦ φόβου, ὄρκιον ποιησάμενοι, 
τοιοῦτοί δὲ αὐτῶν νησιώτητοι ἦσαν ἐν 
τὸν δεινὸν οὔδεν' οὔτε γιὰρ Φοίνικες ἦσαν καὶ 
Περσέων κατήκουσι οὔτε 
αὐτοὶ οἱ Πέρσαι ναυβάται. ἀπεσχίσθησαν 
τῶν ἄλλων Ἰωνῶν οὕτως κατ’ ἄλλο μὲν οὔδεν, 
ἰσθείοι δὲ ἐόντος τοῦ παντὸς τὸτε Ἐλληνικοῦ

1 οὔτε τὰ πρὸς... ἐσπέρημεν bracketed by Stein.
BOOK I. 142-143

142. Now these Ionians, who possessed the Panionion, had set their cities in places more favoured by skies and seasons than any country known to us. For neither to the north of them nor to the south nor to the east nor to the west does the land accomplish the same effect as Ionia, being afflicted here by the cold and wet, there by the heat and drought. They use not all the same speech but four different dialects. Miletus lies farthest south among them, and next to it come Myus and Priene; these are settlements in Caria, and they use a common language; Ephesus, Colophon, Lebedos, Teos, Clazomenae, Phocaea, all of them being in Lydia, have a language in common which is wholly different from the speech of the three cities aforementioned. There are yet three Ionian cities, two of them situate on the islands of Samos and Chios, and one, Erythrae, on the mainland; the Chians and Erythraeans speak alike, but the Samians have a language which is their own and none other's. It is thus seen that there are four fashions of speech.

143. Among these Ionians, the Milesians were sheltered from the danger (for they had made a treaty), and the islanders among them had nothing to fear; for the Phoenicians were not yet subjects of the Persians, nor were the Persians themselves shipmen. But they of Asia were cut off from the rest of the Ionians in no other way save as I shall show. The whole Hellenic race was then but small,
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γένεσι, πολλοὶ δὴ ἦν ἀσθενέστατον τῶν ἔθνεων τὸ Ἰωνικὸν καὶ λόγον ἐλαχίστον ὅτε γὰρ μὴ Ἀθήναι, ἦν οὐδὲν ἄλλο πόλισμα λόγιμον. οἱ μὲν νῦν ἄλλοι Ἰωνεῖς καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἔφυγον τὸ ὀνόμα, οὐ ψυχομένοι Ἰωνεῖς κεκληθοῦσαί· ἄλλα καὶ νῦν φαίνεται μοι οἱ πολλοὶ αὐτῶν ἐπαισχύνεσθαι τῷ ὀνόματι· αἱ δὲ δυνάμει πόλεις αὐτὰ τῷ τε ὀνόματι ἤγάλλοντο καὶ ἵππον ἱδρύσαντο ἐπὶ σφέων αὐτέων, τῷ ὀνόμα ἔθεντο Πανιώνιον, ἐβουλεύσαντο δὲ αὐτῶν μεταδοῦναι μηδαμοῖς ἄλλοι Ἰωνεῖς (οὐδὲ ἐδείχθησαν δὲ οὐδαμοὶ μετασχεῖν ὅτι μὴ Σμυρναῖοι). 144. κατὰ περ ὁ ἐκ τῆς πενταπόλεως νῦν χώρης Δωρίας, προτέρον δὲ ἐξαπόλυσε ἡ αὐτῆς ταύτης καλεομένης, φυλάσσονται ὁμολογοῦσαν ἐσθενήσαντο τῶν προσφέροντων Δωρίων ἔστὶ τοῦ Ἰωνικοῦ ἱπποῦ, ἄλλα καὶ σφέων αὐτῶν τοὺς περί τοῦ ἱπποῦ ἀνομήσαντο εὐζηλήσαντο τῆς μετοχῆς· ἐν γὰρ τῷ ἄγωνι τοῦ Ἰωνικοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος ἐτυθεσαν τὸ πάλαι τρίποδας χαλκέους τούς νικῶσι, καὶ τούτους χρῆν τοὺς λαμβάνοντας ἐκ τοῦ ἱπποῦ μὴ ἐκφέρειν ἀλλ’ αὐτῶν ἀνατιθέναι τῷ θεῷ. ἀνὴρ ὁν Ἀλικαρνησσεός, τῷ ὀνόμα ἦν Ἀγασικλῆς, μικήτης τῶν νόμων κατηλόγησε, φέρων δὲ πρὸς τὰ ἐωτοῦ ὁμια προσεπασχάλευον τῶν τρίποδα. διὰ ταύτην τὴν αὐτήν αἱ πέντε πόλεις, Δίνδους καὶ Ἰῆλυσός τε καὶ Κάμειρος καὶ Κός τε καὶ Κυίδος ἐξεκλήσαν τῆς μετοχῆς τὴν ἐκτήν πόλειν Ἀλικαρνησσίαν. τούτωσι μὲν νῦν οὕτω ταύτην τὴν ξημέρην ἐπέθηκαν.

145. Δυνάμει δὲ μοι δοκεόμενοι πόλεις ποιήσασθαι οἱ Ἰωνεῖς καὶ οὐκ ἐθελήσαι πλεῦνας ἐσθενήσαν τοῦτο εἰνεκα, ὅτε καὶ ὁτε ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ.
and the least of all its parts, and the least regarded, was the Ionian stock; for saving Athens it had no considerable city. Now the Athenians and the rest would not be called Ionians, but spurned the name; nay, even now the greater number of them seem to me to be ashamed of it; but the twelve cities aforesaid gloried in this name, and founded a holy place for themselves which they called the Panionion, and agreed among them to allow no other Ionians to use it (nor indeed did any save the men of Smyrna ask to be admitted); 144. even as the Dorians of what is now the country of the "Five Cities"—the same being formerly called the country of the "Six Cities"—forbid the admitting of any of the neighbouring Dorians to the Triopian temple, nay, they barred from sharing the use of it even those of their own body who had broken the temple law. For long ago in the games in honour of Triopian Apollo they offered certain bronze tripods to the victors; and those who won these must not carry them away from the temple but dedicate them there to the god. Now a man of Halicarnassus called Agasicles, being a winner, disregarded this law, and carrying the tripod away nailed it to the wall of his own house. For this offence the five cities, Lindus, Ialysus, Camirus, Cos, and Cnidus, forbade the sixth city, Halicarnassus, to share in the use of the temple. Such was the penalty imposed on the Halicarnassians.

145. As for the Ionians, the reason why they made twelve cities and would admit no more was in my judgment this, that there were twelve divisions of
οίκεον, δυώδεκα ἕως αὐτῶν μέρεα, κατὰ περ ἴνν Ἀχαιῶν τῶν ἐξελασάντων Ἰωνᾶς δυώδεκα ἔστι μέρεα, Πελλήνη μὲν γε πρῶτη πρὸς Σικυώνοις, μετὰ δὲ Αἰγείρα καὶ Αἰγαί, ἐν τῇ Κράδις ποταμὸς ἀείναος ἔστι, ἀπ' ὅτεν ὁ ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ ποταμὸς τὸ οὐνόμα ἔσχε, καὶ Βούρα καὶ Ἐλίκη, ἐς τὴν κατέφυγον Ἰωνές ὑπὸ Ἀχαιῶν μάχη ἐσσωθήνετε, καὶ Αἰγινοὶ καὶ Ῥύπες καὶ Πατρέες καὶ Φαρέες καὶ Ὀλευνός, ἐν τῷ Πειρος ποταμὸς μέγας ἔστι, καὶ Δύμη καὶ Τριταιές, οἳ μοῦνοι τούτων μεσόγαιοι οἰκέουσι. ταύτα δυώδεκα μέρεα ἴνν Ἀχαιῶν ἔστι καὶ τότε γε Ἰωνῶν ἦν.

146. Τούτων δὴ εἶνεκα καὶ οἳ Ἰωνες δυώδεκα πόλιας ἐποιήσαντο ἐπεὶ ὅσ γέ τι μᾶλλον οὕτω Ἰωνες εἰσὶ τῶν ἄλλων Ἰωνῶν ἡ κάλλιον τι γεγονάσι, μωρή πόλις λέγειν τῶν Ἀλεαντής μὲν ἐκ Ἑβονης εἰσί οὐκ ἐλαχίστη μοῦρα, τοῦτο Ἰωνής μετὰ οὐδὲ τοῦ οὐνόματος οὐδέν, Μινώᾳ δὲ Ὀργο-μενοὶ σφί ἀναμεμίχαται καὶ Καλλικεῖοι καὶ Δρύ-οπες καὶ Φωκεῖς ἀποδάσμιοι καὶ Μολοσσοὶ καὶ Ἀρκάδες Πελασγοί καὶ Δωρεάν Ἐπιδαιώριοι, ἀλλὰ τε ἐθνα πολλὰ ἀναμεμίχαται· οὐ δὲ αὐτῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ πρωτανητοῦ τοῦ Ἀθηναϊῶν ὀρμηθέντες καὶ νομίζοντες γενναῖοτατοι εἰναι Ἰωνων, οὔτω τοῦ οὐ γυναῖκας ἡγάγοντο ἐς τὴν ἀποκινήθη ἀλλὰ Καλι-ρας ἐσχον, τῶν ἐφόνευσαν τοὺς γυναῖκας. διὰ τού-τον δὲ τῶν φόνων αἱ γυναῖκες αὐταὶ νόμον θέμεναι σφίς αὐτής ὅρκως ἐπήλασαν καὶ παρέδωσαν τῆς πυγματάς, μή κοτε ὀμοσιτητοι τοῦ ἀνδρα-σι μηδε οὐνόματι βῶσαι τῶν ἐσοντὶς ἀνδρά, τοῦτο εἶνεκα διτ ἐφόνευσαν σφίς τοὺς πάτερας καὶ
them when they dwelt in Peloponnesus, just as there are twelve divisions of the Achaeans who drove the Ionians out, Pellene nearest to Sicyon, then Aegira and Aegae, where is the never-failing river Crathis, from which the river in Italy took its name; Bura and Helice, whither the Ionians fled when they were worsted in battle by the Achaeans; Aegion, Rhype, Patrae, Phareae, and Olenus, where is the great river Pirus; Dyme and Tritaeae, the only inland city of all these; these were the twelve divisions of the Ionians, as they are now of the Achaeans.

146. For this reason the Ionians too made twelve cities, and for no other; for it were but foolishness to say that these are more truly Ionian or better born than the other Ionians; seeing that not the least part of them are Abantes from Euboea, who are not Ionians even in name, and that there are mingled with them Minyans of Orchomenus, Cadmeans, Dryopians, Phocian seceders from their nation, Molossians, Pelasgian Arcadians, Dorians of Epidaurus, and many other tribes; and as for those who came from the very town hall of Athens and deem themselves the best born of the Ionians, these did not bring wives with them to their settlements, but married Carian women whose parents they had put to death. For this slaughter, these women made a custom and bound themselves by oath (and enjoined the same on their daughters) that none would sit at meat with her husband nor call him by his name, because the men had married
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άνδρας καὶ παῖδας καὶ ἔπειτα ταύτα ποιῆσαντες αὐτήσι συνοίκεον.

147. Ταύτα δὲ ἦν γινόμενα ἐν Μιλήτῳ. βασιλεᾶς δὲ ἐστήσαντο οἱ μὲν αὐτῶν Λυκίους ἀπὸ Γλαύκου τοῦ Ἰππολόχου γεγονότας, οἼ δὲ Καῦκωνος Πυλίους ἀπὸ Κόρου τοῦ Μελάνθου, οἵ δὲ καὶ συναμφότεροι. ἀλλὰ γὰρ περιέχονται τῶν οὐνόματος μᾶλλον τι τῶν ἄλλων Ἰωνῶν, ἐστῶσαν δὴ καὶ οἱ καθαρῶς γεγονότες Ἰωνες. εἰς δὲ πάντες Ἰωνες ὁσοὶ Ἀθηναῖοι γεγονασθεὶκαὶ Ἀπατούρια ἄγουσι ὀρτῆν· ἄγουσι δὲ πάντες πλὴν Ἐφεσίων καὶ Κολοφονίων· οὐτοὶ γὰρ μοῦνοι Ἰωνῶν οὐκ ἄγουσι Ἀπατούρια, καὶ οὐτοὶ κατὰ φόνον τινὰ σκήψιν.

148. Τὸ δὲ Πανιώνιον ἐστὶ τῆς Μυκάλης χώρος ἰρὸς πρὸς ἄρκτον τετραμμένος, κοινῆ ἕξαραιρημένος ὑπὸ Ἰωνῶν Ποσειδέων Ἑλληνίδων. ἓ δὲ Μυκάλη ἐστὶ τῆς ἤπειρος ἀκρὴ πρὸς ξέφυρον ἀνεμον κατήκουσα Σάμῳ καταντίον, ἐς τὴν συλλεγόμενον ἀπὸ τῶν πολίων Ἰωνες ἀγεσκὸν ὀρτῆν τῇ ἑδεντο οὐνομα Πανιώνια. [πεπόνθασι δὲ οὕτω μοῦναι αἱ Ἰωνῶν ὀρταὶ τούτο, ἀλλὰ καὶ Ἑλληνῶν πάντων ὀμοίως πᾶσαι ἐς τῶν ὄρων τρίχρομα τελευτῶσι, κατὰ περ τῶν Περσῶν τὰ οὐνόματα.] ¹

149. Αυτὰ μὲν αἱ Ἰάδες πόλεις εἰσὶ, αἴδε δὲ αἱ Αἰολίδες, Κύμη Ἡ Φρικώνις καλεομένη, Λήρισι, Νέον τεῖχος, Τήμνος, Κίλλα, Νότιον,

¹ The bracketed words are clearly out of place. Probably they are a marginal note with reference to some commentator's assertion that the a-ending of names of festivals was specially Ionic.
them after slaying their fathers and husbands and sons.

147. This happened at Miletus. And for kings some of them chose Lycian descendants of Glauceus son of Hippolochus, and some Caucones of Pylus, descendants of Codrus son of Melanthus, and some both. Yet seeing that they set more store by the name than the rest of the Iōnians, let it be granted that those of pure birth are Iōnians; and all are Iōnians who are of Athenian descent and keep the feast Apaturia. All do so keep it, saving the men of Ephesus and Colophon; these are the only Iōnians who do not keep it, and these by reason, they say, of a certain deed of blood.

148. The Panionion is a sacred ground in Mycale, facing the north; it was set apart for Poseidon of Helicon by the joint will of the Iōnians. Mycale is a western promontory of the mainland opposite to Samos; the Iōnians were wont to assemble there from their cities and keep the festival to which they gave the name of Panionia. [The names of all the Greek festivals, not the Iōnian alone, end alike in the same letter, just as do the names of the Persians.]

149. I have now told of the Iōnian cities. The Aeolic cities are these:—Cyme (called "Phriconian"),2 Lerisae, "the New Fort," Temnos, Cilla,

1 A festival celebrated at Athens and most Iōnian cities by the members of each "phratry" or clan, lasting three days; on the last day grown-up youths were formally admitted as members of the phratry. The festival was held in the month Pyanepsis (late October and early November).

2 Perhaps so called from a mountain in Aeolis, Phricion, near which the Aeolians had been settled before their migration to Asia.
Αἰγιρόςσα, Πιτάνη, Αἰγαίαι, Μύρια, Γρύνεια. αὐταὶ ἑνδέκα Διολέων πόλεις αἰ ἀρχαῖα: μία γὰρ σφέων παρελύθη Σμύρνη ὑπὸ Ἰώνων ἥσαν γὰρ καὶ αὐταὶ δυῶδεκα αἱ ἐν τῇ ἡπείρῳ. οὕτωι δὲ οἱ Διολέως χώρην μὲν ἔτυχον κτίσαντες ἀμείω Ἰώνων, ὥρεων δὲ ἦκουσαν οὐκ ὁμολογοῦν.

150. Σμύρνη δὲ ὀδε ἀπεβάλει Διολέας. Κολοφονίων ἀνδρας στάσι εσσωθέντας καὶ ἐκπεσόντας ἐκ τῆς πατρίδος ὑπεδέξαντο. κατὰ δὲ οἱ φυγάδες τῶν Κολοφονίων φυλάξαντες τοὺς Σμύρναιοις ὀρτην ἐξε τείχεος ποιεόμενους Διονύσω, τὰς πύλας ἀποκλήσαντες ἔσχον τὴν πόλιν. βοηθησάντων δὲ πάντων Διολέων, ὁμολογὴ ἐχρήσαντο τὰ ἐπιπλα ἀποδότων τῶν Ἰώνων ἐκλεπτεῖν Σμύρνην Διολέας. ποιησάντων δὲ ταῦτα Σμυρναιων ἐπιδιεύλοντο σφέας αἱ ἑνδέκα πόλεις καὶ ἐποίησαντο σφέων αὐτέων πολιτάσ.

151. Αὐταὶ μὲν νυν αἱ ἡπειρώτιδες Διολίδες πόλεις, ἔξω τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἰδῇ οἰκημένων κεχωρίδαται γὰρ αὐταί. αἱ δὲ τὰς νῆσους ἔχουσαι πέντε μὲν πόλεις τὴν Λέσβον νέμονται (τὴν γὰρ ἐκτηρ ἐν τῇ Λέσβῳ οἰκημένην Ἀρίσβαν ἁμαρτίαν Μηθυμναίοι ἑόντας ὄμαιμον), ἐν Τενέδῳ δὲ μία οἴκηται πόλις, καὶ ἐν τῇ Ἐκατόν νῆσοις καλεομένη ἀλλη μία. λεσβοίου μὲν νυν καὶ Τενεδίους, κατὰ περ Ἰώνων τοιοὶ τὰς νῆσους ἔχουσαι, ἦν δεινῶν οὐδέν τῆς δὲ λοιπῆς πόλις ἐδε κοινῆ Ἰωσι ἐπεσθαὶ τῇ ἄν οὕτω ἐξηγεώται.
BOOK I. 149-151

Notium, Aegiroessa, Pitana, Aegaeae, Myrina, Grynea.¹ These are the ancient Aeolian cities, eleven in number; these, too, the mainland cities, were once twelve; but one of them, Smyrna, was taken away by the Ionians. These Aeolians had settled where the land was better than the Ionian territory, but the climate was not so good.

150. Now this is how the Aeolians lost Smyrna. Certain men of Colophon, worsted in civil strife and banished from their country, had been received by them into the town. These Colophonian exiles waited for the time when the men of Smyrna were holding a festival to Dionysus outside the walls; they then shut the gates and so won the city. Then all the Aeolians came to recover it; and an agreement was made, whereby the Aeolians should receive back their movable goods from the Ionians, and quit the city. This being done, the other eleven cities divided the Smyrnaeans among themselves and made them citizens of their own.

151. These then are the Aeolian cities of the mainland, besides those that are situate on Ida, and are separate. Among those on the islands, five divide Lesbos among them (there was a sixth on Lesobs, Arisba, but its people were enslaved by their kinsfolk of Methymna); there is one on Tenedos, and one again in the "Hundred isles" ² as they are called. The men of Lesbos and Tenedos, then, like the Ionian islanders, had nothing to fear. The rest of the cities took counsel together and resolved to follow whither the Ionians should lead.

¹ These places lie between Smyrna and Pergamum, on or near the coast. But Aegiroessa has not been exactly identified.
² A group of small islands between Lesbos and the mainland.
152. Ὡς δὲ ἀπίκουτο ἕ σ τὴν Σπάρτην τῶν Ἰόνων καὶ Αἰσιλέων οἱ ἄγγελοι (κατὰ γὰρ δὴ τάχος ἦν ταῦτα προσσόμενα), ἐξουσίον πρὸ πάντων λέγειν τὸν Φωκαέα, τῷ οὖνομα ἦν Πύθερμος. δὲ δὲ πορφυρέων τοι ἐνα μα περιβαλόμενος, ὡς ἂν πυρενομένου πλεῖστοι συνελθοῦσιν Σπαρτητέως, καὶ καταστὰς ἔλεγε πολλὰ τιμωρεῖς ἐσωτοὺς χρηζον. Δακεδαίμονι δὲ οὐ κως ἐσήκουν, ἀλλ' ἀπέδοξε σφι μὴ τιμωρεῖς Ἰωσί. οὐ μὲν δὴ ἀπαλλάσσοντο, Δακέδαμοι δὲ ἀπωσάμενοι τῶν Ἰόνων τοὺς ἄγγελους δώμοις ἀπέστειλαν πεντηκόνταρα ἄνδρας, ὡς μὲν ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ, κατασκόπους τῶν τε Κύρου πραγμάτων καὶ Ἰωνίας. ἀπικόμενοι δὲ οὕτως ἐς Φώκαιαν ἐπέμπους ἦς Σάρδεις σφέων αὐτῶν τῶν δοκιμεῖτον, τῷ οὖνομα ἦν Λακρίνης, ἀπερέουνα Κύρου Δακεδαίμονίων ῥήσειν, γῆς τῆς Ἐλλάδος μηδεμίαν πόλιν συναμωρείν, ὡς αὐτῶν οὐ περιοψωμένων.

153. Ταῦτα εἰπόντος τοῦ κήρυκος, λέγεται Κύρον ἐπειράσθαι τοὺς παρεόντας οἱ Ἑλληνῖκοι πλήθως ταῦτα ἐντεῦθεν ἀνθρώπωι Δακεδαίμονι καὶ κόσοι πληθος ταῦτα ἐντούτῳ προαγορεύουσιν· πυρινομένου δὲ μεν εἰπεῖν πρὸς τὸν κήρυκα τῶν Σπαρτητήτων "Οὐκ ἐδείξα καὶ ἄνδρας τοσοῦτος, τοιεῖς ἐστὶ χώρας ἐν μέσῃ τῇ πόλι ἀποδεδεγμένος ἐς τῶν συλλεγομένους ἀλλήλους ὁμώνυμες ἐξαπατῶσι τοῖς, ἡν ἐγὼ ὑγιαίνω, οὐ τὰ Ἰόνων πάθεα ἐσται ἐλλεσχα ἀλλὰ τὰ οἰκία. ταῦτα ἐς τοὺς πάντας Ἑλληνας ἀπέρριψε ὁ Κύρος τὰ ἐπειρατές, ὅτι ἄγγορας στηρίζομεν οὐν τε καὶ πρήση χρέωνται αὐτοὶ γάρ οἱ Πέρσαι ἄγορης οὐδὲν ἐόθαν χρᾶσθαι, οὐδὲ σφὶ ἐστὶ τὸ παράπαν ἄγορη. μετὰ ταῦτα ἐπιτρέψας
152. So when the envoys of the Ionians and Aeolians came to Sparta (for this was set afoot with all speed) they chose the Phocaean, whose name was Pythermos, to speak for all. He then put on a purple cloak, that as many Spartans as possible might assemble to hear him, and stood up and made a long speech asking aid for his people. But the Lacedaemonians would not listen to him and refused to aid the Ionians. So the Ionians departed; but the Lacedaemonians, though they had rejected their envoys, did nevertheless send men in a ship of fifty oars to see (as I suppose) how it fared with Cyrus and Ionia. These, coming to Phocaea, sent Lacines, who was the most esteemed among them, to Sardis, to repeat there to Cyrus a proclamation of the Lacedaemonians, that he must harm no city on Greek territory; else the Lacedaemonians would punish him.

153. When the herald had so spoken, Cyrus (it is said) asked the Greeks that were present who and how many in number were these Lacedaemonians who made him this declaration. When he was told, he said to the Spartan herald, "I never yet feared men who have a place set apart in the midst of their city where they perjure themselves and deceive each other. These, if I keep my health, shall have their own mishaps to talk of, not those of the Ionians." This threat he uttered against the whole Greek nation, because they have market-places and buy and sell there; for the Persians themselves use no market-places, nor have they such at all. Presently,
τὰς μὲν Σάρδις Ταβάλοφ ἀνδρὶ Πέρσῃ, τὸν δὲ χρυσὸν τὸν τε Κροίσον καὶ τὸν τῶν ἄλλων Λυδῶν Πακτῦη ἀνδρὶ Λυδῷ κομίζειν, ἀπῆλαυνε αὐτὸς ἐς Ἀγβᾶτανα, Κροίσον τε ἀμα ἁγόμενος καὶ τοὺς Ἰωνας ἐν οὐδὲν λόγῳ ποιησάμενος τὴν πρώτην εἶναι. ἦ τε γὰρ Βαβυλῶν οἱ ἢ ἐμπόδιοι καὶ τὸ Βάκτριον ἔθνος καὶ Σάκαι τε καὶ Αἰγύπτιοι, ἐπὶ οὖς ἐπείχε τὸ στρατηλατεύον αὐτὸς, ἐπὶ δὲ Ἰωνας ἄλλον πέμπειν στρατηγὸν.

154. Ὡς δὲ ἀπῆλαυε ὁ Κύρος ἐκ τῶν Σαρδίων, τοὺς Λυδοὺς ἀπέστησε ὁ Πακτῦης ἀπὸ τε Ταβάλοφ καὶ Κύρου, καταβάς δὲ ἐπὶ θάλασσαν, ἀτε τὸν χρυσὸν ἔχων πάντα τὸν ἐκ τῶν Σαρδίων, ἐπικούρος τε ἐμισθοῦτο καὶ τοὺς ἐπιθαλασσίους ἀνθρώπους ἐπείδη σὺν ἑωτῷ στρατεύεσθαί. ἔλασας δὲ ἐπὶ τὰς Σάρδις ἐπολύρκεε Ταβάλοφ ἀπεργομένον ἐν τῇ ἀκροπόλι.

155. Πυθόμενος δὲ κατ’ ὁδὸν ταῦτα ὁ Κύρος εἶπε πρὸς Κροίσον τάδε. "Κροίσε, τί ἐσται τέλος τῶν γνωμομένων τούτων ἐμοί; οὐ παύσωται Λυδῷ, ὡς οἶκασι, πρήγματα παρέχοντες καὶ αὐτοὶ ἕχοντες. Φροντὶζω μὴ ἀριστον ἢ ἐξανδραποδίσασθαι σφέας, ὅμως γὰρ μοι νῦν ἐγενόμενο πεποιηκέναι ὡς εἰ τῆς πατέρα ἀποκεινας τῶν παίδων αὐτοῦ φείσατο. ὡς δὲ καὶ ἐγὼ Λυδῷ τὸν μὲν πλέον τι ἢ πατέρα ἐόντα σὲ λαβὼν ἄγω, αὐτοῖς δὲ Λυδskirts τὴν πόλιν παρέδωκα, καὶ ἐπειτὰ θωμάζω εἰ μοι ἀπεστάσει." ὃ μὲν ὅτι τὰ περ ἐνυκτὶ ἐλεγε, ὃ δ’ ἀμείβετο τούσιδε, δείσας μὴ ἀναστάτους ποιήσῃ τὰς Σάρδις. "Ο Βασίλειε, τὰ μὲν οἰκότα εἰρήκας, σὺ μὲν οἶκα τὸν θυμὸν χρεό, μὴ τὸ πολὺ ἄρχαίνην ἐξαναστήσῃς ἀναμάρ-
entrusting Sardis to a Persian called Tabalus, and charging Pactyes, a Lydian, to take charge of the gold of Croesus and the Lydians, he himself marched away to Agbatana, taking with him Croesus, and at first making no account of the Ionians. For he had Babylon on his hands and the Bactrian nation and the Sace and Egyptians; he was minded to lead an army himself against these and to send another commander against the Ionians.

154. But no sooner had Cyrus marched away from Sardis than Pactyes made the Lydians to revolt from Tabalus and Cyrus; and he went down to the sea, where, as he had all the gold of Sardis, he hired soldiers and persuaded the men of the coast to join his army. Then marching to Sardis he penned Tabalus in the citadel and besieged him there.

155. When Cyrus had news of this on his journey, he said to Croesus, "What end am I to make, Croesus, of this business? it seems that the Lydians will never cease making trouble for me and for themselves. It is in my mind that it may be best to make slaves of them; for now methinks I have done like one that should slay the father and spare the children. So likewise I have taken with me you who were more than a father to the Lydians, and handed the city over to the Lydians themselves; and then forsooth I marvel that they revolt!" So Cyrus uttered his thought; but Croesus feared that he would destroy Sardis, and thus answered him: "O King, what you say is but reasonable. Yet do not ever yield to anger, nor destroy an ancient city that is guiltless both of
τητον ἑούσαν καὶ τῶν πρῶτον καὶ τῶν ὑπὲρ ἑστεώτων. τὰ μὲν γὰρ πρῶτον ἐγὼ τε ἐπρηξα καὶ ἐγὼ κεφαλὴ ἀναμάξας φέρω τὰ δὲ νῦν παρέοντα Πακτῆς γὰρ ἐστι ὁ ἀδικέων, τῷ σὺ ἐπέτρεψας Σάρδις, οὗτος δότω τοι δίκην. Ἀνδοίη δὲ συγγρῶμην ἔχων τάδε αὐτοῖς ἐπιτάξαν, ὥς μὴ ἀποστέωσι μὴτε δεινοὶ τοῖς ἐωσὶ· ἀπεπε μὲν σφι πέμψας ὅπλα ἄρμα μή ἐκτήσθαι, κέλευν δὲ σφέας κιθὼν ἡς τε ὑποδύνειι τοῖς εἰμασι καὶ κοθόρνους ὑποδέεσθαι, πρόειπε δ’ αὐτοῖς κιθαρίζειν τε καὶ ψάλλειν καὶ καπηλεύοιι παιδεύοιι τοὺς παιδας. καὶ ταχέως σφέας ὃ βασιλεὺς θυμαίας ἀντ’ ἄνδρων ὤφει τοις γεγονότας, διότι οὐδὲν δεινοὶ τοῖς ἐσονται μή ἀποστέωσι.”

156. Κροίσσος μὲν δὴ ταύτα οἱ ὑπετίθετο, αἱρετῶτερα ταύτα εὐρίσκειν Λυδοῖς ἡ ἀνδραποδισθέντας προθῆκαι σφέας, ἐπιστάμενος ὅτι ἂν μὴ ἀξιόχρεον πρόφασιν προτείνῃ, οὐκ ἀναπείσετε μὲν μεταβουλεύσασθαι, ἀρρωδεὸν δὲ μὴ καὶ ὑπερτοῦν κοτὲ οἱ Λυδοὶ, ὥς τὸ παρεῦρ ὑπεκδράμωσι, ἀποσταῦτες ἀπὸ τῶν Περσέων ἀπόλουνται. Κύρος δὲ ἡσθεὶς τῇ ὑποθήκη καὶ ὑπεί τῆς ὁργῆς ἐφ’ οἱ πείθεσθαι καλέσας δὲ Μαζάρεα ἀνδρὰς Μήδουν, ταύτα τέ οἱ ἐνετείλατο προοπείης Λυδοῖς τὰ ὁ Κροίσσος ὑπετίθετο, καὶ πρὸς ἐξανδραποδίσασθαι τοὺς ἄλλους πάντας οἱ μετὰ Λυδῶν ἐπὶ Σάρδις ἐστρατεύοις, αὐτὸν δὲ Πακτήν πάντως ζῶντα ἀγαγεῖν παρ’ ἐωτόν.

157. “Ὁ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα ἐκ τῆς ὁδοῦ ἐντειλάμενος ἀπῆλαυνε ἐς Ἡθεα τὰ Περσέων, Πακτῆς δὲ πυθόμενος ἄγχου εἶναι στρατών ἐπ’ ἐωτόν ἰόντα δείσας ὀιχετο πεύγων ἐς Κύμην. Μαζάρης δὲ ὁ
the former and of the latter offence. For the beginning was my work, and on my head is the penalty; but it is Pactyes, in whose charge you left Sardis, who does this present wrong; let him therefore be punished. But let the Lydians be pardoned; and lay on them this command, that they may not revolt or be dangerous to you; send, I say, and forbid them to possess weapons of war, and command them to wear tunics under their cloaks and buskins on their feet, and to teach their sons lyre-playing and song and dance and huckstering. Then, O king, you will soon see them turned to women instead of men; and thus you need not fear lest they revolt.”

156. Such counsel Croesus gave Cyrus, because he thought this was better for the Lydians than to be sold as slaves; he knew that without some reasonable plea he could not change the king's purpose, and feared that even if the Lydians should now escape they might afterwards revolt and be destroyed by the Persians. Cyrus was pleased by this counsel; he abated his anger and said he would follow Croesus' advice. Then calling Mazares, a Mede, he charged him to give the Lydians the commands which Croesus advised; further, to enslave all the others who had joined the Lydians in attacking Sardis; and as for Pactyes himself, to bring him by whatever means into his presence alive.

157. Having given these commands on his journey, he marched away into the Persian country. But Pactyes, learning that an army sent against him was drawing near, was affrighted and fled to Cyme.
Μήδεσ ἐλάσας ἐπὶ τὰς Σάρδις τοῦ Κύρου στρατοῦ μοίραν ὅσην δὴ κοτὲ ἔχων, ὥς οὐκ εὑρε ἔτι έόντας τοὺς ἀμφὶ Πακτῆν ἐν Σάρδισι, πρῶτα μὲν τοὺς Λυδοὺς ἡναγκασὼ τὰς Κύρου ἐντολὰς ἐπιτελέειν, ἐκ τούτου δὲ κελευσμοσύνης Λυδοὶ τὴν πάσαν δίαιταν τῆς ζωῆς μετέβαλον. Μαξάρης δὲ μετὰ τούτο ἐπέμπει ἐς τὴν Κύμην ἀγγέλους ἐκδίδοναι κελευνῶν Πακτῆν. οἱ δὲ Κυμαίοι ἐγνώσαν συμβουλής πέρι ἐς θεὸν ἀνοίσα τὸν ἐν Βραχχίδρῃν ἦν γὰρ αὐτόθι μαντήιον ἐκ παλαιοῦ ἰδρυμένον, τῷ Ἰωνίσ τε πάντες καὶ Ἀιολέες ἐώθεσαν χράσθαι. ὁ δὲ χώρος οὗτος ἔστι τῆς Μελησίης ὑπὸ Πανόρμου λιμένος.

158. Πέμψαντες δ' οἱ Κυμαίοι εἰς τοὺς Βραχχίδας θεοπρόποις εἰρὼτευν περὶ Πακτῆν ὀκοῆν τι ποιέουτες θεοῖς μέλλοιεν χαριεῖσθαι. ἐπειρωτώσι δὲ σφὶ ταύτα χρηστόριον ἐγένετο ἐκδίδοναι Πακτῆν Πέρσης. ταύτα δὲ ὡς ἀπενειχθέντα ἤκουσαν οἱ Κυμαίοι, ὁρμέατο ἐκδίδοναι ὁρμημένον δὲ ταύτῃ τοῦ πλῆθεος, Ἀριστόδικος ὁ Ἡρακλείδεω ἀνὴρ τῶν ἀστῶν ἔων δόκιμος ἐσχῆ μὴ ποιήσα ταύτα Κυμαίους, ἀπιστέων τε τῷ χρησμῷ καὶ δοκέων τὸν θεοπρόποις οὐ λέγειν ἄλληδεο, ἐς δὲ τὸ δεύτερον περὶ Πακτῆων ἐπειρησόμενοι ἦσαν ἄλλοι θεοπρόποι, τῶν καὶ Ἀριστόδικος ἦν.

159. Ἀπικομένων δὲ ἐς Βραχχίδας ἐχρηστηρίαξε τοῦ πάντων Ἀριστόδικος ἐπειρωτῶν τάδε. "ὢναξι, ἤλθε παρ' ἡμέας ἱκέτης Πακτῆς ὁ Λυδός, φεύγων βάνατον βίαίον πρὸς Περσῶν οἱ δὲ μην ἔξαιτέονται, προεῖκα Κυμαίους κελεύοντες. ἡμεῖς δὲ δειμαίνοντες τὴν Περσῶν δύναμιν τὴν ἱκέτην
BOOK I. 157-159

Mazares the Mede, when he came to Sardis with whatever part he had of Cyrus' army and found Paetyes' followers no longer there, first of all compelled the Lydians to carry out Cyrus' commands; and by his order they changed their whole manner of life. After this, he sent messengers to Cyme demanding that Paetyes be given up. The Cymaeans resolved to make the god at Branchidae their judge as to what counsel they should take; for there was there an ancient place of divination, which all the Ionians and Aeolians were wont to consult; the place is in the land of Miletus, above the harbour of Panormus.

158. The men of Cyme then sent to Branchidae to inquire of the shrine what they should do in the matter of Paetyes that should be most pleasing to the gods; and the oracle replied that they must give Paetyes up to the Persians. When this answer came back to them, they set about giving him up. But while the greater part were for doing this, Aristodicus son of Heraclides, a notable man among the citizens, stayed the men of Cyme from this deed; for he disbelieved the oracle and thought that those who had inquired of the god spoke untruly; till at last a second band of inquirers was sent to inquire concerning Paetyes, among whom was Aristodicus.

159. When they came to Branchidae Aristodicus speaking for all put this question to the oracle: "O King, Paetyes the Lydian hath fled to us for refuge to save him from a violent death at the hands of the Persians; and they demand him of us, bidding the men of Cyme to give him up. But we, for all that we fear the Persian power, have not made bold
Ες τόδε ου τετολμηκαμεν εκδιδοναι, πριν αν το
απο σευ ημιν δελωθη άτρεκεως οκοτερα ποι-
εωμεν. θ μεν ταυτα επειρωτα, θ δ' αυτως των
αυτων σφι χρησμου εφαινε, κελευων εκδιδοναι
Πακτυν Περσης. προς ταυτα ο 'Αριστοδικος
εκ προνοης εποιει ταδε περιων των νηον κυκλω
εξαιρεε τους στρουθους και άλλα όσα ην νεφοσ-
συμενα ορνιθων γενεα εν τω νηο. ποιεοντος δε
αυτου ταυτα λεγεται φωνην εκ του αδυντον γε-
νεθαι φερουσαν μεν προς των 'Αριστοδικον,
λεγουσαν δε ταδε " Ανοσιωτατε ανθρωπων, τι
ταδε τολμας ποιειν; τους ικετας μου εκ του νηο
κεραιες;" 'Αριστοδικον δε ουκ απορησατα προς
ταυτα ειπειν " Ωναξ, αυτως μεν ουτω τουτι ικετησι
βοηθεις, Κυμαιους δε κελευεις τον ικετην εκδι-
δοναι;" τον δε αυτης αμελησαθαι τοισιδε "Ναι
κελευω, ινα γε ασεβησατες θαυσον απολησθε, ως
μη το λοιπον περι ικετεων εκδοσιον ελθητε επτα
το χρηστηριον."

160. Ταυτα νως απενεχθεντα ήκουσαν οι Κυ-
mαιοι, ου βουλαμενοι ουτε εκδοντες απολεσθαι
ουτε παρ εινοται έχοντες πολιορκεσθαι, εκπερ-
pουσι αυτων ες Μυτιληνην. οι δε Μυτιληναιοι
επισημωντος του Μαξαρεος αγγελιας εκδιδοναι
tον Πακτυν παρασκευαζοντο επι μισθο όσω δη
ου γαρ εξω τοτο γε ειπειν άτρεκεως ου γαρ
ετελεωθη. Κυμαιοι γαρ ώς εμαθων ταυτα πρησ-
σουμενα εκ των Μυτιληναιων, πεμφαντες πλοιον ες
Δεσβον εκκομιζουσι Πακτυν ες Χηων. ειδευτεν
δε εξ ιον 'Αθηναις πολιουχου αποσπασθεις υπο
Χηων εξεδοθη, εξεδοσαν δε οι Χηοι επι το 'Αταρνει
μισθοι του δε 'Αταρνεος τοτου εστι χορος
to give up this our suppliant, until thy will be clearly made known to us, whether we shall do this or not." Thus Aristodicus questioned; and the god gave again the same answer, that Pactyes should be delivered up to the Persians. With that Aristodicus did as he had already purposed; he went round about the temple, and stole away the sparrows and all other families of nesting birds that were in it. But while he so did, a voice (they say) came out of the inner shrine calling to Aristodicus, and saying, "Thou wickedest of men, wherefore darest thou do this? wilt thou rob my temple of those that take refuge with me?" Then Aristodicus had his answer ready: "O King," said he, "wilt thou thus save thine own suppliants, yet bid the men of Cyme deliver up theirs?" But the god made answer, "Yea, I do bid them, that ye may the sooner perish for your impiety, and never again come to inquire of my oracle concerning the giving up of them that seek refuge with you."

160. When this answer was brought to the hearing of the Cymaeans they sent Pactyes away to Mytilene; for they desired neither to perish for delivering him up nor to be besieged for keeping him with them. Then Mazares sent a message to Mytilene demanding the surrender of Pactyes, and the Mytilenaeans prepared to give him, for a price; I cannot say with exactness how much it was, for the bargain was never fulfilled; for when the Cymaeans learnt that the Mytilenaeans had this in hand, they sent a ship to Lesbos and brought Pactyes away to Chios. Thence he was dragged out of the temple of City-guarding Athene and delivered up by the Chians, they receiving in return Atarneus, which is a district
tῆς Μυσίνης, Δέσβου ἀντίος. Πακτύην μὲν νῦν 
παραδεξάμενοι οἱ Πέρσαι ἔχουν εἰς φυλακῆ, 
θέ- 
λοντες Κύρω ἀποδέξαι. ἦν δὲ χρόνος οὗτος οὐκ ὁλίγος γινόμενος, ὅτε Χίων οὔδεις ἐκ τοῦ Ἀταρνέος 
τοῦτον οὔτε οὐλὰς κρυθέων πρόχυσιν ἐποίεστο 
θεῶν οὔδενι οὔτε πέμματα ἐπέσσετο καρποῦ τοῦ 
ἐνθεοῦτεν, ἀπείκετο τε τῶν πάντων ἱρῶν τὰ 
πάντα ἐκ τῆς χώρης ταύτης γινόμενα.

161. Χίοι μὲν νῦν Πακτύην ἐξέδοσαν Μαζάρης 
δὲ μετὰ ταύτα ἐστρατεύετο ἐπὶ τοὺς συμπολιορ-
κήσαντας Τάβαλον, καὶ τοῦτο μὲν Πρηνέας ἐξή-
δραποδίσατο, τοῦτο δὲ Μαιάνδρου πεδίοιν πᾶν 
ἐπέδραμε ληήν ποιεύμενος τὸ στρατό, Μαγ-
νησίν τε ὀσάτως. μετὰ δὲ ταύτα αὐτίκα 
νοῦσον τελευτᾷ.

162. Ἀποθανόντος δὲ τούτου, Ἀρσαγός κατέβη 
διάδοχος τῆς στρατηγίας, γένος καὶ αὐτὸς ἐὼν 
Μῆδος, τὸν ὁ Μῆδων βασιλεὺς Ἀστυάνγης ἀνόμῳ 
τραπέζῃ ἔδαισε, ὁ τῷ Κύρῳ τὴν βασιληνίν συν-
kατεργασάμενος. οὕτος ὁμήρι τότε ὑπὸ Κύρου 
στρατηγός ἀποδεχθεὶς ὡς ἀπίκετο ἐς τὴν Ἰωνίην, 
αἱρεὶ τὰς πόλιας χώμασιν ὁκὼς γὰρ τειχήρεας 
ποιήσεις, τὸ ἐνθεοῦτεν χώματα χῶν ἑρὸς 
τὰ τείχηα ἐπόρθεε.

163. Πρῶτη δὲ Φωκαίρ Ἰωνίης ἐπεχελησε. 
οἱ δὲ Φωκαίες οὕτοι ναυτιλίσαν μακρῆς 
πρῶτοι Ἑλλήνων ἐχρήσαντο, καὶ τὸν τε Ἀδρίν 
καὶ τὴν Τυρσενίναι καὶ τὴν Ἰβηρίναι καὶ τὸν 
Ταρτησσόν οὕτοι εἰσὶ οἱ καταδέξαντες ἐναύτι-
λοιπον δὲ οὐ στρογγυλῆς νυσὶ ἀλλὰ πεντηκο-
tέροις. ἀπικομενοὶ δὲ ἐς τὸν Ταρτησσόν προσ-
φιλεῖς ἐγένοντο τῷ βασιλεῖ τῶν Ταρτησσῶν.
in Mysia over against Lesbos. The Persians thus received Pactyes and kept him guarded, that they might show him to Cyrus; and for a long time no Chian would offer sacrifice of barley meal from this land of Atarneus to any god, or make sacrificial cakes of what grew there; nothing that came from that country might be used for any sacred rite.

161. Pactyes being then delivered up by the Chians, Mazares presently led his army against those who had helped to besiege Tabalus, and he enslaved the people of Priene, and overran the plain of the Maeandrus, giving it up to his army to pillage, and Magnesia likewise. Immediately after this he died of a sickness.

162. After his death Harpagus came down to succeed him in his command, a Median like Mazares; this is that Harpagus who was entertained by Astyages the Median king at that unnatural feast, and who helped to win the kingship for Cyrus. This man was now made general by Cyrus. When he came to Ionia, he took the cities by building mounds; he would drive the men within their walls and then build mounds against the walls and so take the cities.

163. Phocaea was the first Ionian town that he assailed. These Phocaeans were the earliest of the Greeks to make long sea-voyages: it was they who discovered the Adriatic Sea, and Tyrrhenia, and Iberia, and Tartessus,¹ not sailing in round freightships but in fifty-oared vessels. When they came to Tartessus they made friends with the king of the

¹ The lower valley of the Guadalquivir. Later Tartessus was identified with Gades (Cadiz), which Herodotus (iv. 8) calls Gadira.
τὸ ὀνόμα μὲν ἢν Ἀργανθώνιος, ἐτυράννευσε δὲ Ταρτησσοῦ ὁγδώκοντα ἔτεα, ἐβίωσε δὲ πάντα εἰκοσὶ καὶ ἑκάτων. τούτῳ δὴ τῷ ἀνδρὶ προσ-φιλέες οἱ Φωκαίες οὕτω δὴ τι ἐγένοντο ὡς τὰ μὲν πρῶτα σφέας ἐκλιπόντας Ἰονίην ἐκέλευε τῆς ἐωτοῦ χώρης οἰκήσαι ὥστε βουλοῦνται μετὰ δὲ, ὡς τούτῳ γε οὐκ ἐπειθε τοὺς Φωκαίες, ὃ δὲ πυθόμενος τῶν Μῆδων παρ' αὐτῶν ὡς αὐξοίτω, ἐδίδου σφὶ χρήματα τείχος περιβαλέσθαι τὴν πόλιν, ἐδίδου δὲ ἀφείδεως· καὶ γὰρ καὶ ἡ περιοδος τοῦ τείχους οὐκ οἶλοςι στάδιοι εἰσὶ, τοῦτο δὲ πάν ἄλθον μεγάλων καὶ εὐ συναρμοσμένων.

164. Τὸ μὲν δὴ τείχος τοῦτο Φωκαιεύσι τρόπῳ τοιῷδε ἐξεποιήθη. ὃ δὲ Ἀρταγός ὡς ἐπήλασε τὴν στρατινὴν, ἐπολιόρκησε αὐτοὺς, προηγόμενος ἐπεα ὡς οἱ καταχρᾶ αἱ βουλοῦνται Φωκαίες προμα-γεώνα ἕνα μοῦνον τοῦ τείχος ἐρείψαι καὶ οἶκημα εἰς κατερώσαι. οἱ δὲ Φωκαίες περιμεκτέοντες τῇ δουλοσύνῃ ἐφασαν θέλειν βουλεύσασθαι ἡμέρην μιᾶν καὶ ἐπειτα ὑποκρινεσθαι· ἐν ο δὲ βουλεύονται αὐτοὶ, ἀπαγαγεῖν ἐκεῖνον ἐκέλευον τὴν στρατινὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχους. ὃ δὲ Ἀρταγός ἐφ' εἰδέναι μὲν εὐ τὰ ἐκεῖνοι μέλλοντι ποιέων, ὅμως δὲ σφὶ παριέναι βουλεύσασθαι, ἐν ὃ ὁ ἦν ὃ Ἀρταγός ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχους ἀπήγαγε τὴν στρα-τινὴν, οἱ Φωκαίες ἐν τούτῳ καταστάσασθαι τὰς πεντηκοντέρους, ἐσθέμενοι τέκνα καὶ γυναικας καὶ ἐπιπλα πάντα, πρὸς δὲ καὶ τὰ ἀγάλματα τὰ ἐκ τῶν ἱρών καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ἀναθήματα, χωρίς ὃ τι χαλκὸς ἢ λίθος ἢ γραφὴ ἢν, τα δὲ ἄλλα πάντα ἐσθέντες καὶ αὐτοὶ ἔσβαντες ἐπέλευον ἐπὶ Χίου. τὴν δὲ Φωκαιήν ἐρημωθεύσαν ἄνδρῶν ἔσχοι οἱ Πέρσαι.
Tartessians, whose name was Arganthonius; he ruled Tartessus for eighty years and lived an hundred and twenty. The Phocaeans so won this man's friendship that he first entreated them to leave Ionia and settle in his country where they would; and then, when he could not persuade them to that, and learnt from them how the Median power was increasing, he gave them money to build a wall round their city therewith. Without stint he gave it; for the circuit of the wall is of many furlongs, and all this is made of great stones well fitted together.

164. In such a manner was the Phocaeans' wall fully made. Harpagus marched against the city and besieged it, but he made overtures, and said that it would suffice him if the Phocaeans would demolish one bastion of the wall and dedicate one house. But the Phocaeans, very wroth at the thought of slavery, said they desired to take counsel for one day, and then they would answer; but while they were consulting, Harpagus must, they said, withdraw his army from the walls. Harpagus said that he knew well what they purposed to do, but that nevertheless he would suffer them to take counsel. So while Harpagus withdrew his army from the walls, the Phocaeans launched their fifty-oared ships, placed in them their children and women and all movable goods, besides the statues from the temples and all things therein dedicated save bronze or stonework or painting, and then themselves embarked and set sail for Chios; and the Persians took Phocaea, thus left uninhabited.

1 A common Greek tradition, apparently; Anacreon (Fr. 8) says "I would not... rule Tartessus for an hundred and fifty years."
165. Οἱ δὲ Φωκαίες, ἐπείτε σφὶ Χίοι τὰς νήσους τὰς Οἶνουσσας καλεομένας οὐκ ἐβούλοντο ὁμευμένοις πωλεῖν, δειμαίνοντες μὴ αἱ μὲν ἐμ- πόριον γένωνται, ἢ δὲ αὐτῶν νῆσος ἀποκλημέθη τοῦτο εἶνεκα, πρὸς ταῦτα οἱ Φωκαίες ἐστέλλοντο ἐς Κύρνου ἐν γὰρ τῇ Κύρνῳ εἰκοσι ἐτεσι πρό- τερον τούτων ἐκ θεοπροπίου ἀνεστήσαντο πόλιν, τῇ οὐνομα ἡν Ἀλαλή. Ἀργανθόνιος δὲ την- καῦτα ἢδη τετελευτήκεε. στελλόμενοι δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν Κύρνου, πρῶτα καταπλεύσαντες ἐς τὴν Φωκαίην κατεφόνευσαν τῶν Περσέων τὴν φυλακὴν, ἦ ἐφρούρει παραδεξαμένη παρὰ Ἀρπάγον τὴν πόλιν. μετὰ δὲ, ὡς τοῦτο σφὶ ἐξέργαστο, ἐποιή- σαντο ἵσχυρας κατάρας τῇ ὑπολειπομένῳ ἑωτῶν τοῦ στόλου, πρὸς δὲ ταύτῃ καὶ μύδρον σιδήρου κατεπόντωσαν καὶ ὠμοσαν μὴ πρὶν ἐς Φωκαίην ἤξευν πρὶν ἡ τῶν μύδρον τούτων ἀναφαίνηκα. στελλομένων δὲ αὐτῶν ἑπὶ τὴν Κύρνου, ὑπερη- μίσας τῶν ἀστῶν ἔλαβε πόδος τε καὶ οἴκτος τῆς πόλιος καὶ τῶν ἱθέων τῆς χώρης, ψευδόρκιοι δὲ γενόμενοι ἀπέπλεσαν ὅπισώ ἐς τὴν Φωκαίην. οἱ δὲ αὐτῶν τὸ ὀρκιον ἐφύλασσον, ἀερθέντες ἐκ τῶν Οἶνουσσάων ἔπλεον.

166. Ἐπείτε δὲ ἐς τὴν Κύρνου ἀπίκοντο, οἰκεον κοινῇ μετὰ τῶν πρότερον ἀπικομένων ἐπὶ ἐπανεπείτε, καὶ ἱμᾶ ἐνιδρύσαντο. καὶ ἤγον γὰρ δὴ καὶ ἐφερον τοὺς περιοίκους ἀπαντας, στρατευ- οῦται ὅποι ἐπὶ αὐτῶν κοινῷ λόγῳ χρησάμενοι Τυρσηνοὶ καὶ Καρχηδόνοι, νησί ἐκάτεροι ἐξή- κοντα. οἱ δὲ Φωκαίες πληρώσαντες καὶ αὐτοὶ τὰ πλοία, ἐόντα ἀριθμὸν ἔξηκοντα, ἀντιαξον ἐς τὸ Σαρδόνιον καλεόμενον πέλαγος. συμμισ-
165. The Phocaeans would have bought of the Chians the islands called Oenussae; but the Chians would not sell them, because they feared that the islands would become a market and so their own island be cut off from its trade: so the Phocaeans made ready to sail to Cynrus, where at the command of an oracle they had twenty years before this built a city called Alalia. Arganthonius was by this time dead. While making ready for their voyage, they first sailed to Phocaea, where they slew the Persian guard to whom Harpagus had entrusted the defence of the city; and this being done, they called down mighty curses on whosoever of themselves should stay behind when the rest sailed. Not only so, but they sank in the sea a mass of iron, and swore never to return to Phocaea before the iron should again appear. But while they prepared to voyage to Cynrus, more than half of the citizens were taken with a longing and a pitiful sorrow for the city and the life of their land, and they broke their oath and sailed back to Phocaea. Those of them who kept the oath set out to sea from the Oenussae.

166. And when they came to Cynrus they dwelt there for five years as one body with those who had first come, and they founded temples there. But they harried and plundered all their neighbours: wherefore the Tyrrhenians and Carchedonians made common cause against them, and sailed to attack them each with sixty ships. The Phocaeans also manned their ships, sixty in number, and met the enemy in the sea called Sardonian. They joined

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1 Between Chios and the mainland.
2 Corsica.
γόντων δὲ τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ Καδμείη τις νίκη τοῦ Φωκαιέως ἐγένετο: αἱ μὲν γὰρ τεσσεράκοντα σφὶ νές διεφθάρησαν, αἱ δὲ εἶκοσι αἰ περιεύθυναν ἦσαν ἄχρηστοι: ἀπεστράφατο γὰρ τοὺς ἐμβόλους. καταπλώσαντες δὲ ἐσ τὴν Ἀλαλὴν ἀνέλαβον τὰ τέκνα καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας καὶ τὴν ἀλλήν κτῆσιν ὅσην οἰκὶ τε ἐγίνοντο αἱ νέες σφὶ ἄγιε βελτείται ἀπέτενται τὴν Κύρνου ἐπλευν ἐσ 'Ρήγιον.

167. Τῶν δὲ διαφθαρεισέων νεῶν τοὺς ἄνδρας οἳ τῇ Καρχηδόνιοι καὶ οἳ Τυρσηνοὶ [διελαχον, τῶν δὲ Τυρσηνῶν οἳ Ἀγυλλαῖοι] ἔλαχον τε αὐτῶν πολλὰ πλεῖστος καὶ τοῦτος ἐξαγαγόντες κατέλευσαν, μετὰ δὲ Ἀγυλλαῖοι σαντα τὰ παριόντα τῶν χωρῶν, ἐν τῷ οἳ Φωκαίες καταλευσθέντες ἐκέατο, ἐγίνετο διάστροφα καὶ ἐμπήρα καὶ ἀπόπληκτα, ὁμοίως πρόβατα καὶ ύποξύγια καὶ ἀνθρωποί. οἱ δὲ Ἀγυλλαῖοι ἐς Δελφοὺς ἔπεμπον βουλόμενοι ἀκέσασθαι τὴν ἀμαρτάδα. ἦ δὲ Πυθή σφέας ἐκέλευσε ποιεῖν τὰ καὶ νῦν οἱ Ἀγυλλαῖοι ἔτε ἐπιτελέουσι: καὶ γὰρ ἐναγιζουσί σφὶ μεγάλως καὶ ἁγῶνα γυμνικον καὶ ἱππικον ἐπιστάσι. καὶ οὗτοι μὲν τῶν Φωκαίων τοιούτῳ μόρῳ διεχρήσαντο, οἱ δὲ αὐτῶν ἐς τὸ 'Ρήγιον καταφυγόντες ἐνεδότεν ὀρμώμενοι ἐκτήσεντο πόλιν γῆς τῆς Οἰνωτῆς ταύτῃ ἦττς νῦν 'Τελὴ καλέσαι ἐκτισαν δὲ ταύτῃ πρὸς ἄνδρας Ποσειδώνιες τοιοῦτες ὡς τὸν Κύρνου σφὶ ἡ Πυθή ἔχρησε κτίσαι ἡρων έοντα, ἀλλ' οὗ τὴν νήσουν.

1 The words in brackets are Stein's conjecture; the MSS. have nothing between Τυρσηνῶν and ἔλαχον.
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battle, and the Phocaeans won, yet it was but a Cadmean victory; for they lost forty of their ships, and the twenty that remained were useless, their rams being twisted awry. Then sailing to Alalia they took on board their children and women and all of their possessions that their ships could hold, and leaving Cynus they sailed to Rhegium.

167. As for the crews of the destroyed ships, the Carchedonians and Tyrrhenians drew lots for them: and by far the greater share of them falling to the Tyrrhenian city of Agylla, the Agyllaenans led them out and stoned them to death. But after this all from Agylla, whether sheep or beasts of burden or men, that passed the place where the stoned Phocaeans lay, became distorted and crippled and palsied. The Agyllaenans sent to Delphi, desiring to heal their offence; and the Pythian priestess bade them do what the people of Agylla to this day perform: for they pay great honours to the Phocaeans, with religious rites and games, and horse-races. Such was the end of this portion of the Phocaeans. Those of them who fled to Rhegium set out from thence and gained possession of that Oenotrian city which is now called Hyele; this they founded because they learnt from a man of Posidonia that when the Pythian priestess spoke of founding a settlement and of Cynus, it was the hero that she signified and not the island.

1 Polynices and Eteoeles, sons of Oedipus and descendants of Cadmus, fought for the possession of Thebes and killed each other. Hence a Cadmean victory means one where victor and vanquished suffer alike.
2 Later Caere in Etruria.
3 Oenotria corresponds to Southern Italy (the Lucania and Bruttium of Roman history).
4 Later Elea (Velia).
168. Φωκαίης μὲν νυν πέρι τῆς ἐν Ἰωνίῃ οὕτω ἐσχε, παραπλήσια δὲ τούτως καὶ Τήμιοι ἐποίησαν. ἔπειτε γὰρ σφέων ἐλέ ἁρματι τὸ τεῖχος Ἀρπαγος, ἐσβάντες πάντες ἐς τὰ πλοῖα οὗντο πλέωντες ἐπὶ τῆς Ὄρηκης, καὶ ἐνθάντα ἐκτισαν πόλιν Ἀβδῆρα, τὴν πρότερος τούτων Κλαζομένιος Τιμήσιος κτίσας οὐκ ἀπόνητο, ἀλλ’ ὑπὸ Ὄρηκων ἑξελασθεὶς τιμᾶς νῦν ὑπὸ Τήμων τῶν ἐν Ἀβδῆροις ὡς ἤρως ἔχει.

169. Οὕτως μὲν νυν Ἰώνων μοῦνοι τὴν δουλοσύνην οὕκ ἀνεχόμενοι ἑξέλιπον τὰς πατρίδας· οἱ δ’ ἄλλοι Ἰωνίες πλὴν Μιλήσιων διὰ μάχης μὲν ἀπίκοντα Ἀρπαγος κατὰ περ οἱ ἐκλεπτόντες, καὶ ἀνδρεὶς ἐγένοντο ἀγαθοὶ περὶ τῆς ἑωτοῦ ἐκαστος μαχόμενοι, ἐσσωθέντες δὲ καὶ ἀλόντες ἔμενον κατὰ χώρην ἐκαστοι καὶ τὰ ἐπιτασσόμενα ἐπετελεόν. Μιλήσιοι δὲ, ὡς καὶ πρότερον μοι εἴρηται, αὐτὸς Κυρίων ὅρκιον ποιησάμενοι ἡσυχίαν ἡγον. οὕτω δὴ τὸ δεύτερον Ἰωνίῃ ἐδεδουλωτο. ὡς δὲ τοὺς ἐν τῇ ἡπείρῳ Ἰωνίας ἐλειρόσατο Ἀρπαγος, οἱ τὰς νῆσους ἑχοντες Ἰωνίες καταρραδήσαντες ταῦτα σφέας αὐτούς ἔδοσαν Κυρίω.

170. Κεκακωμένων δὲ Ἰωνῶν καὶ συλλεγομένων οὖθεν ἤσσου εἰς τὸ Πανώνιον, πυθοῦμαι γνώμην Βίαντα ἄνδρα Πριηνέα ἀποδείκθη Ιωσι χρησιμωτάτην, τῇ εἰ ἐπείθοντα, παρεῖχε ἂν σφέ εὐδαιμονεῖν Ἐλλήνων μάλιστα· δὲ ἐκέλευε κοινῷ στόλῳ Ἰωνικὸς ἅρθεντας πλείων ἐς Σαρδῶ καὶ ἐπείτα πόλιν μίαν κτίζειν πάντων Ἰωνῶν, καὶ οὕτω ἀπαλλαχθέντας σφέας δουλοσύνης εὐδαιμονήσεως, νῆσών τε ἀπασέων μεγίστην νεμομένους καὶ ἀρχοντάς ἄλλων· μένουσι δὲ σφέ ἐν τῇ
168. Thus, then, it fared with the Ionian Phocaea. The Teians did in like manner with the Phocaeans: when Harpagus had taken their walled city by building a mound, they all embarked on shipboard and sailed away for Thrace. There they founded a city, Abdera, which before this had been founded by Timesius of Clazomenae; yet he got no good of it, but was driven out by the Thracians. This Timesius is now honoured as a hero by the Teians of Abdera.

169. These were the only Ionians who, being unable to endure slavery, left their native lands. The rest of the Ionians, except the Milesians, though they faced Harpagus in battle as did the exiles, and bore themselves gallantly, each fighting for his own country, yet, when they were worsted and their cities taken, remained each where he was and did as they were commanded. The Milesians, as I have already said, made a treaty with Cyrus himself and struck no blow. Thus was Ionia for the second time enslaved: and when Harpagus had conquered the Ionians of the mainland, the Ionians of the islands, fearing the same fate, surrendered themselves to Cyrus.

170. When the Ionians, despite their evil plight, did nevertheless assemble at the Panionion, Bias of Priene, as I have heard, gave them very useful advice, which had they followed they might have been the most prosperous of all Greeks: for he counselled them to put out to sea and sail all together to Sardo and then found one city for all Ionians: thus, possessing the greatest island in the world and bearing rule over others, they would be rid of slavery and win prosperity; but if they stayed in Ionia he could see (he
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'Ἰωνίην οὖς ἐφή ἐνορᾷν ἐλευθερίην ἔτι ἐσομένην. αὐτὴ μὲν Βίαντος τοῦ Πριηνέως γυνὴν ἔπλε διε-
θαρμένοις 'Ἰωσὶ γενομένῃ, χριστῇ δὲ καὶ πρὶν ἡ διαφθαρῆναι 'Ἰωνίην Θάλεω ἀνδρὸς Μιλήσιου ἐγένετο, τὸ ἀνέκαθεν γένος ἑόντος Φοίνικος, ὁς ἐκέλευς ἐν βουλευτηρίῳ Ἰωνας ἐκτήσθαι, τὸ δὲ
ἐίναι ἐν Τέρῳ (Τέρῳ γὰρ μέσον εἶναι Ἰωνῆς), τὰς
dὲ ἄλλας πόλιας οἰκεομένας μηδὲν ἥσσον νομί-
ζεσθαι κατὰ περὶ περὶ δὴ δῆμοι εἶνεν' οὕτωι μὲν δὴ σφι
γνώμας τοιάσδε ἀπεδέξαντο.

171. "Ἀρσάγος δὲ καταστρεψάμενος Ἰωνίην ἔποιετο στρατηγὴν ἐπὶ Κάρας καὶ Καυνίους καὶ
Δυκίους, ἀμα ἀγόμενος καὶ Ἰωνας καὶ Αἰολέας.
εἰς δὲ τῶν Κάρας μὲν ἀπιγμένου ἐς τὴν ἴππειρον
ἐκ τῶν νήσους, τὸ γὰρ παλαιὸν ἔοντες Μίνως κατη-
κοῦν καὶ καλεομένου Δέλεγες εἶχον τὰς νῆσους,
φόρον μὲν οὐδένα ὑποτελεύτες, δόσοι καὶ ἐγὼ
δυνάτος εἰμι ἐπὶ μακρότατον εξικέσθαι ἀκοὴν
ὁς τοῖς Μίνως δέοιτο, ἐπλήρουν οί τὰς νέας. ἀτε
δὴ Μίνω τε καταστραμμένοι γῆν πολλῆν καὶ εὐ-
τυχέοντος τῷ πολέμῳ, τὸ Καρικὸν ἔνθος λογι-
μωτατον τῶν ἔθενων ἀπάντων κατὰ τούτον ἀμα
τὸν χρόνον μακρὸ μάλιστα. καὶ σφὶ τριξα
ἔξευρήματα ἐγένετο, τοίοι ὁ 'Ελληνες ἐχρήσαντο
καὶ γὰρ ἐπὶ τὰ κράνεα λόφους ἐπιδέεσθαι Κάρας
εἰς οἱ καταδέξαντες καὶ ἐπὶ τὰς ἀσπίδας τὰ
σημία ποιεῖσθαι, καὶ ὅχανα ἀσπίζει οὕτως εἰς οἱ
ποιησάμενοι πρῶτοι τέως δὲ ἀνεν ὅχανων ἐφόρεον
τὰς ἀσπίδας τάντες οἱ περ ἐσθεσαν ἀσπίζει χρά-
ζοντες, τελαμῶσι σκυτίνοις οἰκίσωντες, περὶ τοίοι
αὐχέσει τε καὶ τοῖσι ἀριστεροὶσι οἴμοισι περικεὶ-
said) no hope of freedom for them. Such was the
counsel which Bias of Priene gave after the destruc-
tion of the Ionians; and good also was that given
before the destruction by Thales of Miletus, a
Phoenician by descent; he would have had the Ionians
make one common place of counsel, which should be
in Teos, for that was the centre of Ionia; and the
state of the other cities should be held to be no other
than if they were but townships. Thus Bias and
Thales advised.

171. Harpagus, after subduing Ionia, made an
expedition against the Carians, Caunians, and Lycians,
taking with him Ionians and Aeolians. Now among
these the Carians were a people who had come to the
mainland from the islands; for in old time they were
islanders, called Leleges and under the rule of Minos,
not (as far as I can learn by hearsay) paying him
tribute, but manning ships for him when he needed
them. Seeing then that Minos had subdued much
territory to himself and was victorious in war, this
made the Carians too at that time to be very far
the most regarded of all nations. Three things
they invented in which they were followed by the
Greeks: it was the Carians who first taught the
wearing of crests on their helmets and devices on
their shields, and who first made for their shields
holders; till then all who used shields carried
them without these holders, and guided them
with leathern baldrics which they slung round
μενοί. μετὰ δὲ τούς Κάρας χρόνῳ ύπερον πολλῷ
Δωρίες τε καὶ Ἰωνεῖς ἔξανέστησαν ἐκ τῶν νήσων,
καὶ οὔτω ἐς τὴν ἥπειρον ἀπίκουτο. κατὰ μὲν δὴ
Κάρας οὔτω Κρήτες λέγουσι γενέσθαι οὺ μέντοι
αὐτοὶ γε ὀμολογέουσι τοῦτοι οἱ Κάρες, ἀλλὰ
νομίζουσι αὐτοὶ ἑώτους εἶναι αὐτόχθονας ἥπει-
ρῶτας, καὶ τῷ οὐνόματι τὸ αὐτὸ αἰεὶ διαχρεμέ-
νους τῷ πέρ νῦν. ἀποδεικνύσθη δὲ ἐν Μυλάσσοις
Διὸς Καρίου ἱρὸν ἄρχαιον, τοῦ Μυσοῦι μὲν καὶ
Αὐδοῖς μέτεστι ὡς κασιγνήτουσι έούσι τοῖς
Καρσὶ τὸν γὰρ Λυδὸν καὶ τὸν Μυσὸν λέγουσι
εἶναι Κάρος ἀδελφεοὺς. τοῦτοι μὲν δὴ μέτεστι,
ὅσοι δὲ ἔντες ἄλλου ἔθνους ὀμογλωσσοὶ τοῦτοι
Καρσί ἐγέροντο, τοῦτοι δὲ ὅπερ μέτα.

172. Ὅ δὲ Καύνοι αὐτόχθονες δοκεῖν ἐμοὶ
eἰσι, αὐτοὶ μέντοι ἐκ Κρήτης φασὶ εἶναι. προσ-
κεχαρῆκασι δὲ γιλώσαν μὲν πρὸς τὸ Καρικὸν
ἔθνος, ἢ οἱ Κάρες πρὸς τὸ Καυνικόν (τοῦτῳ γὰρ
οὐκ ἔχω ἄτρεκέως διακρίναι), νόμοισι δὲ χρέωνται
κεχαρισμένοις πολλῶν τῶν τῇ ἄλλῳ ἀνθρώπων
καὶ Καρῶν. τοῖς γὰρ κάλλιστον ἐστὶ κατ'
ηλικίᾳ ταῖς καὶ φιλοτήτῃ εἰλαδὸν συγγίνεσθαι ἐς
τόσον, καὶ ἀνδράς καὶ γυναῖξι καὶ παισὶ. ἵδρυ-
θέντων δὲ σφὶ ἱρῶν ξεινικῶν, μετέπειτα ὡς σφὶ
ἀπέδοξε, ἐδοξε δὲ τοῖς πατρίοις μοῦνον χράσθαι
θεοῖς, ἐνυώντες τὰ ὅπλα ἀπαντεῖς Καύνοι ἢβηδόν,
tύπτωντες δόρας τὸν ἥρα, μέχρι οὐρων τῶν
Καλυδικῶν εἴποντο, καὶ ἔφασαν ἐκβάλλειν τοὺς
ξεινικοὺς θεοὺς.

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the neck and over the left shoulder. Then, a long time afterwards, the Carians were driven from the islands by Dorians and Ionians and so came to the mainland. This is the Cretan story about the Carians; but they themselves do not consent to it, but hold that they are aboriginal dwellers on the mainland and ever bore the name which they bear now; and they point to an ancient shrine of Carian Zeus at Mylasa, whereto Mysians and Lydians, as brethren of the Carians (for Lydus and Mysus, they say, were brothers of Car), are admitted, but none of any other nation, though they learned to speak the same language as the Carians.

172. The Caunians, to my mind, are aborigines of the soil; but they themselves say that they came from Crete. Their speech has grown like to the Carian, or the Carian to theirs (for that I cannot clearly determine), but in their customs they are widely severed from the Carians, as from all other men. Their chief pleasure is to assemble for drinking-bouts in such companies as accord with their ages and friendships—men, women, and children. Certain foreign rites of worship were established among them; but presently when they were otherwise minded, and would worship only the gods of their fathers, all Caunian men of full age put on their armour and went together as far as the boundaries of Calynda, smiting the air with their spears and saying that they were casting out the stranger gods.

1 This is the management of the Homeric “man-covering” shield, as shown in the Iliad. The shield is not carried on the arm, but hangs by a belt which passes over the left shoulder and under the right arm-pit; by a pull on the τελαμόν it can be shifted so as to protect breast or back.
173. Καὶ οὗτοι μὲν τρόποις τοιούτοις χρέωνται, οἱ δὲ Λύκιοι ἐκ Κρήτης τῶρχαιον γεγόνασιν (τὴν γὰρ Κρήτην εἰχον τὸ παλαιὸν πᾶσαν βάρβαροι). διενεχθέντων δὲ ἐν Κρήτῃ περὶ τῆς βασιλείης τῶν Εὐρώπης παῖδων Σαρπηδόνος τε καὶ Μίνω, ὡς ἐπεκράτησε τῇ στάσι Μίνως, ἐξηλασεν αὐτῶν τε Σαρπηδόνα καὶ τοὺς στασιώτας αὐτοῦ, οἱ δὲ ἀπωσθέντες ἀπίκουσιν τῆς Ἀσίης εἰς ἥν τὴν Μιλνάδα. τὴν γὰρ νῦν Λύκιοι νέμονται, αὕτη τὸ παλαιὸν ἦν Μιλνάς, οἱ δὲ Μιλναῖ τότε Σόλυμοι ἐκαλέοντο. ἦς μὲν δὴ αὐτῶν Σαρπηδόνων ἦρξε, οἱ δὲ ἐκαλέοντο τὸ πέρ τε ἦνεκαντο ὑπὸ καὶ νῦν ἔτη καλέονται ὑπὸ τῶν περιοικῶν οἱ Λύκιοι, Τερμῖλας ὡς δὲ ἐξ Ἀθηναίων Λύκος οἱ Πανδίνοι, ἐξελασθεὶς καὶ οὕτως ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ Αἰγέως, ἀπίκετο ἐς τοὺς Τερμῖλας παρὰ Σαρπηδόνα, οὗτο δὴ κατὰ τοῦ Λύκου τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν Λύκιοι ἂν ἥρουν ἐκλήθησαν. νόμισε δὲ τὰ μὲν Κρητικοῖς τὰ δὲ Καρηκοῖσι χρέωνται. δὲν δὲ τὸ τὸν νεομίκασι καὶ συμφέρονται ἂνθρώπων καλέονται ἀπὸ τῶν μητέρων ἐωτοὺς καὶ οὐκέ ἀπὸ τῶν πατέρων εἴρομένου δὲ ἐτέρου τῶν πλησίων τῆς εἰς, καταλέξευε ἐωτὸν μητρόδεθεν καὶ τῆς μητρὸς ἀνανεμεῖται τάς μητέρας. καὶ ἡ μὲν γε γυνὴ ἡ ἄστη δουλὴ συνοικίης, γενναία τὰ τέκνα νεομίςται ἦν δὲ ἄνηρ ἀστός καὶ ὁ πρῶτος αὐτῶν γυναῖκα ἥξιν τῇ παλλακῆς ἐχει, ἀτιμα τὰ τέκνα γίνεται.

174. Οἱ μὲν νῦν Κάρεσ οὐδέν λαμπρὸν ἐργον ἀποδεξάμενοι ἐδουλώθησαν ὑπὸ Ἀρτάγον, οὗτε αὐτοὶ οἱ Κάρες ἀποδεξάμενοι οὐδέν, οὗτε ὡστε Ἑλλήνων ταύτη τῆς χώρην οἰκέουσι. οἰκέουσι.
173. Such are their fashions. The Lycians were of Crete in ancient times (for of old none that dwelt in Crete were Greek). Now there was a dispute in Crete about the royal power between Sarpedon and Minos, sons of Europe; Minos prevailed in this division and drove out Sarpedon and his partisans; who, being thrust out, came to the Milyan land in Asia. What is now possessed by the Lycians was of old Milyan, and the Milyans were then called Solymi. For a while Sarpedon ruled them, and the people were called Termilae, which was the name that they had brought with them and that is still given to the Lycians by their neighbours; but after the coming from Athens of Lycus son of Pandion—another exile, another exile, banished by his brother Aegeus—to join Sarpedon in the land of the Termilae, they came in time to be called Lycians after Lycus. Their customs are in part Cretan and in part Carian. But they have one which is their own and shared by no other men; they take their names not from their fathers but from their mothers; and when one is asked by his neighbour who he is, he will say that he is the son of such a mother, and recount the mothers of his mother. Nay, if a woman of full rights marry a slave, her children are deemed pure-born; and if a true-born Lycian man take a stranger wife or concubine, the children are dishonoured, though he be the first in the land.

174. Neither then the Carians nor any Greeks who dwell in this country did any deed of note before they were all enslaved by Harpagus. Among
δὲ καὶ ἄλλοι καὶ Λακεδαιμονίων ἀποικοὶ Κυνίδιοι.

οἱ τῆς χώρης τῆς σφέτερης τετραμμένης ἐς πόλιν, τὸ δὴ Τριόπιον καλέσται, ἀργυρέως δὲ ἐκ τῆς Χερσονήσου τῆς Βυζαντίας, ευώσης τε πάσης τῆς Κυνίδεως πλὴν ὄλγης περιρρόου (τὰ μὲν γὰρ αὐτῆς πρὸς βορέων ἀνεμον ὁ Κεραμείκος κόλπος ἀπέργει, τὰ δὲ πρὸς νότον ἢ κατὰ Σύμην τε καὶ Ὀδονθάλασσα), τὸ δ’ ὅδ’ ὄλγον τούτο, ἐν δὲ τούτῳ τε ἐπὶ πέντε στάδια, ὀρυσσον οἱ Κυνίδιοι ἐν ὧσο "Ἀρπαγος τὴν Ἰωνίην κατεστρέφετο, βουλόμενοι νῆσον τὴν χώρην ποιῆσαι.  ἐντὸς δὲ πάσας σφέ έγενετο τῇ γαρ ἡ Κυνίδη χώρη ἐς τὴν ἡπειρον τελευτά, ταυτῆ ὁ ἰσθμός ἐστὶ τῶν ὀρυσ.

σον. καὶ δὴ πολλὴ χειρὶ ἐργαζόμενων τῶν Κυν

ίδων, μᾶλλον γὰρ τι καὶ θεότερον ἐφαίνοντο τιτρώσκεσθαι οἱ ἐργαζόμενοι τοῦ οἰκότος τὰ τε ἀλλα τοῦ σώματος καὶ μάλιστα τὰ περὶ τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς θραυσμένης τῆς πέτρης, ἐπεμπον ἐς Δελφοὺς θεοπρόπους ἐπειρησομένους τὸ ἀντίξοον.  ἡ δὲ Πυθή σφι, ὡς αὐτοὶ Κυνίδιοι λέγουσι, χρῆ ἐν τριμέτρῳ τὸν ὅτι τάδε.

Ἰσθμὸν δὲ μὴ πυργοῦτε μηδ’ ὀρύσσετε.

 Zeus γὰρ κ’ ἐθηκε νῆσον, εἰ κ’ ἐβούλετο.

Κυνίδιοι μὲν ταύτα τῆς Πυθῆς χρησάσης τοῦ τε ὀρύγματος ἐπαύσαντο καὶ Ἀρτάγων ἐπίωντι σὺν τῷ στρατῷ ἀμαχητί σφέας αὐτοῦ παρέδοσαν.

175. Ἡσαν δὲ Πηδασέες οἰκέοντες ὑπὲρ Ἀλικαρνησσὸς μεσόγαιαν τοῦτο δικός τι μέλλοι ἀνεπιτήδεου ἐσεσθαι, αὐτοῖς τε καὶ τούτοι περιϊκοῖς, ἡ ἱρεία τῆς Ἀθηναίης πώγωνα μέγαν ἰσχε. τρίς σφι τούτο ἐγένετο. οὕτω τῶν περὶ Καρήν

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those who inhabit it are certain Cnidians, colonists from Lacedaemon. Their country (it is called the Triopion) lies between the sea and that part of the peninsula which belongs to Bubassus, and all but a little part of the Cnidian territory is sea-girt; for it is bounded on the north by the gulf of Ceramicus, and on the south by the sea off Syme and Rhodes. Now while Harpagus was conquering Ionia, the Cnidians dug a trench across this little space, which is about five furlongs wide, in order that so their country might be an island. So they brought it all within the entrenchment; for the frontier between the Cnidian country and the mainland is on the isthmus across which they dug. Many of them were at this work; and seeing that the workers were more often hurt and less naturally than ordinary, some in other parts, but most in the eyes, by the breaking of stones, the Cnidians sent envoys to Delphi to inquire what it was that so hindered them. Then, as they themselves say, the priestess gave them this answer in iambic verse:

"Nor wall nor dig across your isthmus; long ago
Your land had been an isle, if Zeus had willed it so."

At this answer from the priestess the Cnidians ceased from their digging, and when Harpagus came against them with his army they surrendered to him without resistance.

175. There were also certain folk of Pedasa, dwelling inland of Halicarnassus; when any misfortune was coming upon them or their neighbours, the priestess of Athene grew a great beard. This had happened to them thrice. These were the only
άνδρῶν μοῦνοι τε ἀντέσχον χρόνον Ἄρπαγο καὶ πρόγματα παρέσχουν πλείστα, ὅρος τεχνίσαντες τῷ οὖνομα ἐστὶ Διός.

176. Πηδασεῖς μὲν νῦν χρόνῳ ἐξαιρέθησαν Δύκιοι δὲ, ὡς ἐς τὸ Ξάνθιον πέδιον ἠλασε οἱ Ἀρταγός τῶν στρατῶν, ἐπεξιόντες καὶ μαχόμενοι ὁλίγοι πρὸς πολλοὺς ἀρετὰς ἀπεδείκνυτο, ἐσσωθὲντες δὲ καὶ κατειληθὲντες ἐς τὸ ἄστυ συνήλισαν ἐς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν τὰς τε γυναικὰς καὶ τὰ τέκνα καὶ τὰ χρήματα καὶ τοὺς οἰκεῖς, καὶ ἔπειτα ὑπῆραν τὴν ἀκρόπολιν πάσαν ταύτην καίεσθαι, ταύτα δὲ ποιήσαντες καὶ συνυμόσαντες ὅρκους δεινοὺς, ἐπεξελθόντες ἀπέθανον πάντες Ξάνθιοι μαχόμενοι. τῶν δὲ νῦν Δυκίων φαμέων Ξάνθιων εἶναι οἱ πολλοὶ, πλὴν ὁγδόκοντα ἱστίεων, εἰσὶ ἐπιτυχὲς: αἱ δὲ ὁγδόκοντα ἱστίαι αὐτὰ ἐτυχὼν τημικαύτα ἑκδημέουσα καὶ οὕτω περιεγένετο. τὴν μὲν δὲ Ξάνθιον οὕτω ἔσχε ὁ Ἐρταγός, παραπλησίως δὲ καὶ τὴν Καύνου ἔσχε καὶ γὰρ οἱ Καύνιοι τοὺς Δυκίους ἐμμιμήσαντο τὰ πλέω.

177. Τὰ μὲν νῦν κατὸ τῆς Ἀσίης Ἀρταγός ἀνάστατα ἔποιες, τὰ δὲ ἄνω αὐτῆς αὐτός Κύρος, πάν ἐθνός καταστρεφόμενος καὶ οὐδὲν παριεῖς. τὰ μὲν νῦν αὐτῶν πλέω παρήσομεν τὰ δὲ οἱ παρέσχε τε πόνον πλείστον καὶ ἄξιαπηγητότατα ἐστὶ, τούτων ἐπιμήσομαι.

178. Κύρος ἐπείτε τὰ πάντα τῆς ἡπείρου ὑποχείρια ἐποιήσατο, Ἀσσυρίοις ἐπιτίθετο. τῆς δὲ Ἀσσυρίας ἐστὶ μὲν κοι καὶ ἄλλα πολύσματα μεγάλα πολλά, τὸ δὲ ὁνομαστότατον καὶ ἱσχυρότατον καὶ ένθα σφι Νίνου ἀναστάτου ἱερομεῖνης τὰ βασιλεία κατεστήκεε, ἦν Βαβυλῶν, ἐσύσα

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men near Caria who held out for long against Harpagus, and they gave him the most trouble; they fortified a hill called Lide.

176. The Pedasian stronghold being at length taken, and Harpagus having led his army into the plain of Xanthus, the Lycians came out to meet him, and did valorous deeds in their battle against odds; but being worsted and driven into the city they gathered into the citadel their wives and children and goods and servants, and then set the whole citadel on fire. Then they swore each other great oaths, and sallying out they fell fighting, all the men of Xanthus. Of the Xanthians who claim now to be Lycians the greater number—all saving eighty households—are of foreign descent; these eighty families as it chanced were at that time away from the city, and thus they survived. Thus Harpagus gained Xanthus, and Caunus too in somewhat like manner, the Caunians following for the most part the example of the Lycians.

177. Harpagus then made havoc of lower Asia; in the upper country Cyrus himself subdued every nation, leaving none untouched. Of the greater part of these I will say nothing, but will speak only of those which gave Cyrus most trouble and are worthiest to be described.

178. When Cyrus had brought all the mainland under his sway, he attacked the Assyrians. There are in Assyria many other great cities; but the most famous and the strongest was Babylon, where the royal dwelling had been set after the destruction of Ninus.¹ Babylon was a city such as I will now

¹ 606 B.C. Ninus = Nineveh.
τοιαύτη δή τις πόλις. κέκται εις πεδίῳ μεγάλῳ,
μέγαθος εὐώσα μέτωπον ἐκαστον ἐκκοσί καὶ ἔκατο
σταδίων, ἐνύσῃς τετραγώνου· οὗτοι στάδιοι τῆς
περιόδου τῆς πόλιος γίνονται συνάπαντες ὀνδῷ
κοντα καὶ τετρακόσιοι. τὸ μὲν νῦν μέγαθος
τοσοῦτον ἐστὶ τοῦ ἄστεος τοῦ Βασιλισσίου, ἐκ-
κόσμητο δὲ ὡς οὐδὲν ἄλλο πόλισμα τῶν ἡμεῖς
ἵμεν. τάφρος μὲν πρῶτα μιν βαθέα τε καὶ εὐρέα
καὶ πλῆθ ύδατος περιθέει, μετὰ δὲ τεῖχος πεντή-
κοντα μὲν πηχέων βασιληνίων ἔων τὸ εὑρος, ύψος
dὲ διηκοσίων πηχέων· ὁ δὲ βασιλῆς πῆχυς τοῦ
μετρίου ἐστὶ πηχέως μέξων τρισὶ δακτύλους.

179. Δεί δὴ με πρὸς τούτοις ἐτὶ φράσαι ἢνα
τε ἐκ τῆς τάφρου ἡ γῆ ἀνασεμώθη, καὶ τὸ τεῖχος
ὀντινα τρόπον ἔργαστο. ὁρύσσοντες ἀμα τὴν
τάφρον ἐπλώθευον τὴν γῆν τὴν ἐκ τοῦ ὁρύγατος
ἐκφερομένη, ἐλκύσαντες δὲ πλύθους ἰκανάς
ὡπτησαν αὐτας ἐν καμάνιοις; μετὰ δὲ τέλματε
χρεώμενοι ἁσφάλτω θερμῆ καὶ διὰ τριήκοντα
dόμων πλύθους ταρσους καλάμων διαστοιβά-
ξοντες, ἔδειμαν πρῶτα μὲν τῆς τάφρου τὰ χείλεα,
δεύτερα δὲ αὐτὸ τὸ τεῖχος τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον.
ἐπάνω δὲ τοῦ τείχους παρὰ τὰ ἐσχατα οἰκήματα
μονοκολα ἔδειμαν, τετραμμένα ἐς ἁλληλα· τὸ
μέσον δὲ τῶν οἰκήματον ἔλιπον τεθριπτῷ περίε-
λασιν. πῦλαι δὲ ἐνεστάσαι πέρεξ τοῦ τείχους
ἐκατόν, χάλκεαι πᾶσαι, καὶ σταβμια τε καὶ
ὑπέρθυρα ὑσαύτως. ἐστὶ δὲ ἅλλη πόλις ἀπέ-
χουσα ὠκτὼ ἡμερῶν ὀδῶν ἀπὸ Βασιλισσίους· Ἦς
οὐνομα αὐτὴ· ἐνθα ἐστὶ ποταμὸς οὐ μέγας· Ἦς
καὶ τὸ ποταμὸ τὸ οὖνομα· ἐσβάλλει δὲ οὕτος ἐς
τὸν Εὐφρήτην ποταμὸν τὸ βέθρον. οὕτος ὁν
describe. It lies in a great plain, and is in shape a square, each side an hundred and twenty furlongs in length; thus four hundred and eighty furlongs make the complete circuit of the city. Such is the size of the city of Babylon; and it was planned like no other city whereof we know. Round it runs first a fosse deep and wide and full of water, and then a wall of fifty royal cubits' thickness and two hundred cubits' height. The royal cubit is greater by three fingers' breadth than the common cubit.¹

179. Further, I must show where the earth was used as it was taken from the fosse and in what manner the wall was wrought. As they dug the fosse, they made bricks of the earth which was carried out of the place they dug, and when they had moulded bricks enough they baked them in ovens; then using hot bitumen for cement and interposing layers of wattled reeds at every thirtyeth course of bricks, they built first the border of the fosse and then the wall itself in the same fashion. On the top, along the edges of the wall, they built houses of a single chamber, facing each other, with space enough between for the driving of a four-horse chariot. There are an hundred gates in the circle of the wall, all of bronze, with posts and lintels of the same. There is another city, called Is,² eight days' journey from Babylon, where is a little river, also named Is, a tributary stream of the river Euphrates; from the

¹ Common cubit, 18½ inches; royal, 20½.
² The modern Hit or Ait, where the Euphrates enters the alluvial plain.
ο Ἰσ ποταμὸς ἀμα τῷ ὑδατε θρόμβους ἀσφάλτου ἀναδίδοι πολλοὺς, ἐνεθεὶ ἡ ἀσφαλτος εἰς τὸ ἐν Βαβυλῶνι τεῖχος ἐκομίσθη.

180. Ἐπετείχιστο μὲν γὰρ οἱ Βαβυλῶν τρόπω τοιῷδε, ἐστὶ δὲ δυὸ φάρσεα τῆς πόλιος. τὸ γὰρ μέσον αὐτῆς ποταμὸς διέργει, τῷ οὖν μέρῳ ἐστὶ Ἐὔφρητος· ἔρει δὲ ἐξ Ἀρμενίων, ἐὼν μέγας καὶ βαθὺς καὶ ταχύς· ἔτει ἀν ὁ ἅπας ἐς τὴν Ἑρυθρὴν θάλασσαν, τὸ δὲ τῆς τεῖχος ἐκατέρω τοὺς ἄγιοις εἰς τὸν ποταμὸν ἐλθάται· τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦτον αἱ ἐπικαμπάλα παρὰ χεῖλος ἐκατέρω τοῦ ποταμοῦ αἰμασίῃ πλάθνου ὁπετὼν παρατείνει. τὸ δὲ ἀστυ αὐτῷ, ἐὼν πλῆρες οἰκίεων τριωρόφῳ καὶ τετρωρόφῳ, κατατέμνεται τὰς ὁδοὺς θέας τὰς τῆς ἀλλας καὶ τὰς ἐπικαρσίας τὰς ἐπὶ τῶν ποταμῶν ἐχοῦσας. κατὰ δὲ ἔκαστην ὁδὸν εἰς τῇ αἰμασίᾳ τῇ παρὰ τῶν ποταμῶν πυλίδες ἐπῆσαν, ὅσιμεν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἱεραίς, τοσαύτης ἄριστοι ἦσαν δὲ καὶ αὐταὶ χάλκεαι1 . . . φέρονται [καὶ αὐταὶ] ἐς αὐτοῦ τῶν ποταμῶν.

181. Τούτο μὲν δὴ τὸ τεῖχος θώρης ἐστὶ, ἐτερον δὲ ἐσωθεὶν τεῖχος περιβείει, οὐ πολλοῦ τεω ἀσθενεῖς τεορου τοῦ ἐτερον τεῖχεος, στεινοτερον δὲ. ἐν δὲ φάρσει ἐκατέρω τῆς πόλιος ἐπετείχιστο ἐν μέσῳ ἐν τῷ μὲν τὰ βασιλεία περιβόλῳ μεγάλῳ τε καὶ ισχυρῷ, ἐν δὲ τῷ ἐτέρῳ Διός Βῆλου ἢ πον χαλκού πυλον, καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ ἑτε τούτο ἐν, δύο σταδίων πάντη, ἐν τετράγωνου. ἐν μέσῳ δὲ τοῦ ἢ ἐτέρῳ πύργος στερεὸς οἰκοδομηται, σταδίου καὶ τοῦ μίκος καὶ τοῦ εὐρος, καὶ ἑπτά τούτω τῷ πύργῳ ἄλλος

1 Stein supposes that there was here a mention of steps leading to the river, and that καὶ αὐταὶ is needless and spurious.
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source of this river is rise with the water many gouts of bitumen; and from thence the bitumen was brought for the wall of Babylon.

180. Thus then was this wall built; the city is divided into two parts; for it is cut in half by a river named Euphrates, a wide, deep, and swift river, flowing from Armenia and issuing into the Red Sea. The ends of the wall, then, on either side are built quite down to the river; here they turn, and hence a fence of baked bricks runs along each bank of the stream. The city itself is full of houses three and four stories high; and the ways which traverse it—those that run crosswise towards the river, and the rest—are all straight. Further, at the end of each road there was a gate in the riverside fence, one gate for each alley; these gates also were of bronze, and these too opened on the river.

181. These walls are the city's outer armour; within them there is another encircling wall, well-nigh as strong as the other, but narrower. In the midst of one division of the city stands the royal palace, surrounded by a high and strong wall; and in the midst of the other is still to this day the sacred enclosure of Zeus Belus,¹ a square of two furlongs each way, with gates of bronze. In the centre of this enclosure a solid tower has been built, of one furlong's length and breadth; a second tower rises

¹ Bel or Baal, the greatest of Assyrian gods.

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πύργος ἐπιβέβηκε, καὶ ἔτερος μᾶλα ἐπὶ τούτῳ, μέχρι οὗ ὁκτὼ πύργων. ἀνάβασις δὲ ἐς αὐτοὺς ἐξωθεὶ κύκλῳ περὶ πάντας τοὺς πύργους ἔχουσα πεποίηται. μεσοῦντι δὲ καὶ τῆς ἀνάβασιος ἐστὶν καταγωγή τε καὶ θόκοι ἀμφαιστήριοι, ἐν τούτῳ κατίζοντες ἀμφαίονται οἱ ἀναβαίνοντες. ἐν δὲ τῷ τελευταίῳ πύργῳ νῆσος ἔπεστι μέγας: ὥς ἐν τῷ νησί κλίνῃ μεγάλὴ κέεται εἰς ἐστρωμένη, καὶ οἱ τράπεζα παρακεῖται χρυσῆ. ἀγαλμα δὲ οὐκ ἐν υἱόν ἀυτὸθε ἐνιδρυμένον, οὐδὲ νύκτα οὔδες ἐναυλίζεται ἀνδρῶπων ὅτι μὴ γυνὴ μοῦνη τῶν ἐπιχωρίων, τὴν ἄν ὁ θεὸς ἔληται ἐκ πασέων, ὡς λέγουσι οἱ Χαλδαῖοι ἔοντες ἱρεῖς τοῦτο τοῦ θεοῦ.

182. Φασὶ δὲ οἱ αὐτοὶ οὖν, ἐμοὶ μὲν οὖ πιστὰ λέγοντες, τὸν θεοῦ αὐτοῦ φοιτῶν τε ἐς τὸν οἶκον καὶ ἀμπαίεσθαι ἔπι τῆς κλίνης, κατὰ περ ἐν Θήβαις τῆς Αἰγυπτίσσι κατὰ τὸν αὐτοῦ τρόπον, ὡς λέγοντι οἱ Αἰγυπτιοὶ καὶ γὰρ δὴ ἐκεῖθε κοιμάται ἐν τῷ τοῦ Δίος τοῦ Θηβαίεως γυνῆ, ἀμφότεροι δὲ αὐτοὶ λέγονται ἀνδρῶν οὐδαμῶν ἐς ὅμιλην φοιτῶν· καὶ κατὰ περ ἐν Πατάροις τῆς Δυκίνης ἡ πρώμαντι τοῦ θεοῦ, ἐπεὰν γένηται ὡς γὰρ ὁν αἰεὶ ἔστι χρηστήριον αὐτοῦ: ἐπεὰν δὲ γένηται τὸτε ὁν συγκατακλητείται τόσον νύκτας ἐσοὶ ἐν τῷ νησί.

183. Ἡστὶ δὲ τοῦ ἐν Βαβυλώνι ἱρῳ καὶ ἄλλως κατοι γνός, ἐνθα ἀγαλμα μέγα τοῦ Δίος ἐν κατήμενον χρύσει, καὶ οἱ τράπεζα μεγάλη παρακεῖται χρυσῆ, καὶ τὸ βάθρον οἱ καὶ ὁ θρόνος χρύσεος ἐστὶ καὶ ὁ ποιεῖν οἱ Χαλδαῖοι, ταλαντῶν ἄκτακοσίων χρυσίον πεποίηται ταῦτα. ἐξο
from this, and from it yet another, till at last there are eight. The way up to them mounts spirally outside all the towers; about halfway in the ascent is a halting place, with seats for repose, where those who ascend sit down and rest. In the last tower there is a great shrine; and in it a great and well-covered couch is laid, and a golden table set hard by. But no image has been set up in the shrine, nor does any human creature lie therein for the night, except one native woman, chosen from all women by the god, as say the Chaldaeans, who are priests of this god.

182. These same Chaldaeans say (but I do not believe them) that the god himself is wont to visit the shrine and rest upon the couch, even as in Thebes of Egypt, as the Egyptians say (for there too a woman sleeps in the temple of Theban Zeus,¹ and neither the Egyptian nor the Babylonian woman, it is said, has intercourse with men), and as it is likewise with the prophetess of the god² at Patara in Lycia, whenever she be appointed; for there is not always a place of divination there; but when she is appointed she is shut up in the temple during the night.

183. In the Babylonian temple there is another shrine below, where is a great golden image of Zeus, sitting at a great golden table, and the footstool and the chair are also of gold; the gold of the whole was said by the Chaldeans to be of eight hundred talents' weight.

¹ Amon-Api (Greek Ἄμον-Απι); cp. ii. 42. ² Apollo.
δὲ τοῦ νησὶ βωμὸς ἦστε χρύσεος, ἦστι δὲ καὶ ἄλλος βωμὸς μέγας, ἐπ᾽ οὓν θυεται τὰ τέλεα τῶν προβάτων· ἐπὶ γὰρ τοῦ χρυσέου βωμοῦ οὐκ ἤξεστι θύειν ὅτι μὴ γαλαθημα μοῦνα, ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ μέξονος βωμοῦ καὶ καταγιζουσι λιβανωτοῦ χίλια τάλαντα ἐτεος ἐκάστου οἱ Χαλδαῖοι τὸτε ἐπέαυν τὴν ὀρτὴν ἁγιωτὸ τῷ θεῷ τούτῳ. ἦν δὲ εἰς τὸν τεμενεῖ τούτῳ ἐτε τὸν χρόνον ἐκείνου καὶ ἀνδρίας δύοδέκα πηχέων χρύσεως στερεός· ἐγὼ μὲν μου οὐκ εἴδον, τὰ δὲ λέγεται ὑπὸ Χαλδαίων, ταῦτα λέγω. τούτῳ τῷ ἀνδριάντι Δαρείος μὲν ὁ Ὀστασπεος ἐπιβουλεύσας οὐκ ἐτόλμησε λαβεῖν, Ἐρέξης δὲ ὁ Δαρείου ἠλαβε καὶ τὸν ἱρέα ἀπέκτεινε ἀπαγορευοντα μὴ κινεῖν τὸν ἀνδριάντα. τὸ μὲν δὴ ἱρὸν τούτο οὕτω κεκόσμηται, ἐστὶ δὲ καὶ ἱδία ἀναθήματα πολλά.

184. Τῆς δὲ Βασιλείως ταύτης πολλοὶ μὲν κοι καὶ ἄλλοι ἐγένοντο βασιλεῖες, τῶν ἐν τούτῳ Ἀσσυρίους λόγοις μνήμην ποιήσουμεν, οἱ τὰ τείχεα τε ἐπεκόσμησαν καὶ τὰ ἱρά, καὶ δὴ καὶ γυναίκες δύο. ἦ μὲν πρότερον ἀρχασα, τῆς ὑπ᾽ ἰστερον γενεσιν πέντε πρότερον γενομένη, τῷ οἴνῳ τὴν Σεμίραμις, αὐτὴ μὲν ἀπεδέξατο χώματα ἀνὰ τὸ πεδίον ἐντα ἀξιοθέτα: πρότερον δὲ ἐώθηε ὁ ποταμός ἀνὰ τὸ πεδίον πάν πελαγίζειν.

185. Ἡ δὲ δὴ δεύτερον γενομένη ταύτης βασιλείας, τῇ οἴνῳ τὴν Νίνωκρις, αὐτὴ δὲ συνεττότηρ γενομένῃ τῆς πρότερον ἀρξάσης τούτῳ μὲν μνημοσύνα ἐλίπετο τά ἐγώ ἀπηγησομαι, τούτῳ δὲ τὴν Μήδῳν ὀρῶσα ἀρχὴν μεγάλην περὶ καὶ οὐκ ἄτρεμοςουσαν, ἀλλὰ ἄλλα τε ἀραιημένα ἄστει αὐτοῖς, ἐν δὲ δὴ καὶ τὴν Νίνων, προεφυλάξατο ὡσα ἑδύ-
Outside of the temple is a golden altar. There is also another great altar, whereon are sacrificed the full-grown of the flocks; only sucklings may be sacrificed on the golden altar, but on the greater altar the Chaldeans even offer a thousand talents' weight of frankincense yearly, when they keep the festival of this god; and in the days of Cyrus there was still in this sacred demesne a statue of solid gold twelve cubits high. I myself have not seen it, but I tell what is told by the Chaldeans. Darius son of Hystaspes purposed to take this statue but dared not; Xerxes his son took it, and slew the priest who warned him not to move the statue. Such is the adornment of this temple, and there are many private offerings besides.

184. Now among the many rulers of this city of Babylon (of whom I shall make mention in my Assyrian history), who finished the building of the walls and the temples, there were two that were women. The first of these lived five generations earlier than the second, and her name was Semiramis: it was she who built dykes on the plain, a notable work; before that the whole plain was wont to be flooded by the river.

185. The second queen, whose name was Nitocris, was a wiser woman than the first. She left such monuments as I shall record; and moreover, seeing that the rulers of Media were powerful and unresting, insomuch that Ninus itself among other cities had fallen before them, she took such care as she could
νατο μάλιστα. πρῶτα μὲν τὸν Εὐφρήτην ποταμὸν ῥέουτα πρὸτερον ἰδὺν, διὸ σφι διὰ τῆς πόλιος μέσης ῥεει, τούτον ἄνωθεν διώριζας ὀρύξασα οὔτω δὴ τῇ ἐποίησε σκολιὸν ὡστε δὴ τρίς ἐς τῶν τινα κομέων τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἀσσυρίᾳ ἀπικνέεται ῥέων; τῇ δὲ κόμῃ οὖνομα ἕστι, ἐς τὴν ἀπικνέεται ὁ Εὐφρήτης, Ἀρδερικκα. καὶ τυπὸν ἐὰν κομίζωται ἀπὸ τῆς τῇ θαλάσσης ἐς Βαβυλῶνα, καταπλεόντες τὸν Εὐφρήτην ποταμὸν τρίς τε ἐς τὴν αὐτὴν τάφτην κωμὴν παραγίνονται καὶ ἐν τρισὶ ἡμέρῃ, τοῦτο μὲν δὴ τοιοῦτον ἐποίησε, χώμα δὲ παρέχωσε παρὰ ἐκάτερον τοῦ ποταμοῦ τὸ χειλὸς ἄξιον θώματος μέγαθος καὶ ὄψος ὅσον τι ἔστι. κατύπερθε δὲ πολλῷ Βαβυλῶνος ὄρυσσε ἐλυτρον λίμνη, ὀλίγον τι παρατείνουσα ἀπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ, βάθος μὲν ἐς τὸ ὕδωρ αἰεὶ ὄρυσσουσα, ἐντρω ἐς τὸ περίμετρον αὐτοῦ ποιεύσα ἐκχαίρεται καὶ τετρακοσίων σταδίων τὸν δὲ ὄρυσσόμενον χών ἐκ τοῦτο τοῦ ὄρυγματος ἀναισίμων παρὰ τὰ χεῖλα τοῦ ποταμοῦ παραγέουσα. ἐπείτε δὲ οἱ ὀρῷκτοι, λίθους ἀγαγομένη κρηπίδα κύκλῳ περὶ αὐτὴν ἤλλασε. ἐποίηει δὲ ἀμφότερα ταύτα, τὸν τε ποταμὸν σκολιὸν καὶ τὸ ὄρυγμα πᾶν ἔλος, ὅς δὲ τὸ ποταμὸς βραδύτερος εἶπεν περὶ καμπάς πολλὰς ἀγρύμενος, καὶ οἱ πλοῦτι ἐστὶ σκολιοὶ ἐς τὴν Βαβυλῶνα, ἐκ τέ τῶν πλῶν ἐκδέχεται περίοδος τῆς λίμνης μακρὰ. κατὰ τούτο δὲ ἐργάζετο τῆς χώρης τῇ ἂν τε ἐσβολαὶ ἤσαν καὶ τὰ σύντομα τῆς ἐκ Μηδεῶν ὁδοῦ, ἵνα μή ἐπιμυγνυμένοις οἱ Μηδοὶ ἐκμαυνθάνουσαν αὐτὴς τὰ πρῆγματα.

186. Ταῦτα μὲν δὴ ἐκ βάθεος περιεβάλετο, τοιῇδε δὲ ἐξ αὐτῶν παρενήθηκεν ἐποιήσατο. τῆς
for her protection. First she dealt with the river Euphrates, which flows through the middle of her city; this had before been straight; but by digging canals higher up she made the river so crooked that its course now passes thrice by one of the Assyrian villages; the village which is so approached by the Euphrates is called Ardericca. And now those who travel from our seas to Babylon must as they float down the Euphrates spend three days in coming thrice to the same village. Such was this work; and she built an embankment along either shore of the river, marvellous for its greatness and height. Then a long way above Babylon she dug the basin of a lake, a little way aside from the river, digging always deep enough to find water, and making the circuit of the lake a distance of four hundred and twenty furlongs; all that was dug out of the basin she used to embank either edge of the river; and when she had it all dug, she brought stones and made therewith a coping all round the basin. Her purpose in making the river to wind and turning the basin into a marsh was this—that the current might be slower by reason of the many windings that broke its force, and that the passages to Babylon might be crooked, and that next after them should come also the long circuit of the lake. All this work was done in that part of the country where are the passes and the shortest road from Media, that the Medes might not mix with her people and learn of her affairs.

186. So she made the deep river her protection; and from this work grew another which she added to
πόλιος ἐνούσης δύο φαρσέων, τοῦ δὲ ποταμοῦ μέσου ἐχοντος, ἔπι τῶν πρότερον βασιλέων ὅκως τις ἐθέλει ἐκ τοῦ ἑτέρου φάρσεος ἐς τούτορ διαβῆναι, χρῆν πλοῖον διαβαίνειν, καὶ ἢν, ὡς ἐγὼ δοκεῖω, ὑληρῶν τούτο. αὐτὴ δὲ καὶ τούτῳ προεῖδε. ἐπείτε γὰρ ὄρυσσε τῷ ἐλυτρῷ τῆς λίμνης, μιθρᾶσισσον τόδε ἀλλο ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἔργον ἔλυσε τιμαῖντο ἡδύνευσι περιμήκεσα, ὡς δὲ οἱ Ἰῃσαὶ οἱ λίθοι ἔτοιμοι καὶ τὸ χωρίον ὀρῶρυκτο, ἐκτρέψαται τοῦ ποταμοῦ τῷ ἐνεμέρτῳ πάν ἐς τῷ ὄρυσσε χωρίον, ἐν ὧν ἐπιμελητὸς τούτῳ, ἐν τούτῳ ἀπεξηρασμένου τοῦ ἄρχαιον ἐνεμέρτῳ τούτῳ μὲν τὰ χείλεα τοῦ ποταμοῦ κατὰ τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὰς καταβάσιας τὰς ἐκ τῶν πυλίδων ἐς τὸν ποταμὸν φερούσας ἀνοικοδόμησε πλύθοισα ὀπτῆσε κατὰ τοῦ αὐτοῦ λόγου τῷ τείχει, τούτῳ δὲ κατὰ μέσην κοίλησι τὴν πόλιν τοῖς λίθοις τοὺς ἀφράζους οἰκοδόμεε γέφυραν, δέονσα τοὺς λίθους σιδηρῷ τε καὶ μολύβδῳ. ἐπιτείνεσκε δὲ ἐπʼ αὐτῆν, ὅκως μὲν ἡμέρῃ γήνοιτο, ξύλα τετράγωνα, ἐπʼ ὁν τὴν διάβασιν ἐποιεῖντο οἱ Βασιλεῖοι: τὰς δὲ νύκτας τὰ ξύλα ταῦτα ἀπαρέσκον τοῦδε εἶνεκα, ἦν μὴ διαφορτεύσεις τὰς νύκτας κλέπτοιεν παρ’ ἄλλην. ὡς δὲ τὸ τε ὀρυχθὲν λίμνη πλήρης ἐγεγώνει ὑπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ καὶ τὰ περὶ τὴν γέφυραν ἐκεκόμητο, τὸν Εὐρυῆτην ποταμὸν ἐς τὰ ἄρχαια ἐνεμέρτῃ ἐς τῆς λίμνης ἔξηγαγε, καὶ οὕτω τὸ ὀρυχθὲν ἔλος γενόμενον ἐς δεόν ἐδόκεε γεγονὸν καὶ τοῖς πολλητοῖς γέφυρᾳ ἢ κατεσκευασμένην.

187. Ἡ δ’ αὐτή βασιλεία καὶ ἀπάτην τοιῆδε τινὰ ἐμηχανησατο: ὑπὲρ τῶν μάλιστα λεωφόρων πυλέων τοῦ ἀστεοῦς τάφων ἐσωτηρίαν κατε-
it. Her city was divided into two portions by the river which flowed through the centre. Whenever in the days of the former rulers one would pass over from one part to the other, he must cross in a boat; and this, as I suppose, was troublesome. But the queen provided also for this; when the digging of the basin of the lake was done, she made another monument of her reign out of this same work. She had very long blocks of stone hewn; and when these were ready and the place was dug, she turned the course of the river wholly into it, and while it was filling, the former channel being now dry, she bricked with baked bricks, like those of the wall, the borders of the river in the city and the descents from the gates leading down to the river; also about the middle of the city she built a bridge with the stones which had been dug up, binding them together with iron and lead. She laid across it square-hewn logs each morning, whereon the Babylonians crossed; but these logs were taken away for the night, lest folk should be ever crossing over and stealing from each other. Then, when the basin she had made for a lake was filled by the river and the bridge was finished, Nitocris brought the Euphrates back to its former channel out of the lake; thus she had served her purpose, as she thought, by making a swamp of the basin, and her citizens had a bridge ready for them.

187. There was a trick, moreover, which this same queen contrived. She had a tomb made for herself and set high over the very gate of that entrance of
σκευάσατο μετέωρον ἐπιτολής αὐτέων τῶν πυλέων, ἐνεκόλαψε δὲ ἐς τὸν τάφον γράμματα λέγοντα τάδε. "Τῶν τις ἐμεῦ ὑστερον γινομένων Βαβυλώνως βασιλέων ἢ σπανίσθη χρημάτων, ἀνοίξας τὸν τάφον λαβέτω ὁκόσα βουλεταί χρηματα: μὴ μέντοι γε μὴ σπανίσας ἤ ἄλλως ἀνοίξῃ· οὐ γὰρ ἀμείωνο" οὗτος ὁ τάφος ἢ ἀκίνητος μέχρι οὐ ἐς Δαρείου περείλθη ἡ βασιλεία· Δαρείῳ δὲ καὶ δεινῷ ἐδόκεε εἶναι τῆς πύλης ταύτης μηδὲν χρᾶσθαι, καὶ χρημάτων κείμενοι καὶ αὐτῶν τῶν γραμμάτων ἐπίκαλεομένων, μὴ οὐ λαβεῖν αὐτὰ· τῆς δὲ πύλης ταύτης οὐδὲν ἔχρατο τούδε εἶνεκα, ὅτι ὑπὸ κεφαλὴς οἱ ἐγίνετο ὁ νεκρὸς διεξελαίφοντο. ἀνοίξας δὲ τὸν τάφον εὐρέ χρήματα μὲν οὖ, τὸν δὲ νεκρὸν καὶ γράμματα λέγοντα τάδε· "Εἰ μὴ ἀπληστὸς τε ἐς χρημάτων καὶ αἰσχροκερδῆς, οὐκ ἀν νεκρῶν θήκας ἀνέφγες." αὕτη μὲν νῦν ἡ βασιλεία τοιαύτη τις λέγεται γενέσθαι.

188. Ὡ δὲ δὴ Κύρος ἐπὶ ταύτης τῆς γυναικὸς τὸν παίδα ἔστρατεύετο, ἔχοντά τε τοῦ πατρὸς τοῦ ἐωτοῦ τούνομα Δαβύνητον καὶ τὴν Ἀσσυρίων ἀρχὴν. στρατεύεται δὲ δὴ βασιλεὺς ὁ μέγας καὶ σιτίοισι εὑ ἐσκευασμένοις ἐξ οίκου καὶ προβατοῖσι, καὶ δὴ καὶ υδὼρ ἀπὸ τοῦ Χοάσπεω ποταμοῦ ἀμα ἄγεται τοῦ παρὰ Σοῦσα ρέουτος, τοῦ μοῦνον πῖνει βασιλεὺς καὶ ἄλλον οὐδενὸς ποταμοῦ. τοῦτον δὲ τοῦ Χοάσπεω τοῦ ὑδατος ἀπεκληριμένου πολλαὶ κάρτα ἀμαξαὶ τετράκυκλοι ἡμίφρει κομμοῦσαι ἐν ἀγγηρίους ἀργυρεύουσι ἔπονται, ὅτι ἄν ἐλαυνῇ ἐκάστοτε.

189. Ἐπείτε δὲ ὁ Κύρος πορευόμενος ἐπὶ τὴν
the city which was most used, with a writing graven on the tomb, which was this: "If any king of Babylon in future time lack money, let him open this tomb and take whatsoever money he desires: but let him not open it except he lack; for it will be the worse for him." This tomb remained untouched till the kingship fell to Darius. He thought it a very strange thing that he should never use this gate, nor take the money when it lay there and the writing itself invited him to the deed. The cause of his not using the gate was that the dead body must be over his head as he passed through. Having opened the tomb, he found there no money, but only the dead body, with this writing: "Wert thou not insatiate of wealth and basely desirous of gain, thou hadst not opened the coffins of the dead." Such a woman, it is recorded, was this queen.

188. Cyrus, then, marched against Nitocris' son, who inherited the name of his father Labynetus and the sovereignty of Assyria. Now when the Great King marches he goes well provided with food and flocks from home; and water from the Choaspes which flows past Susa is carried with him, whereof alone, and of none other, the king drinks. This water of the Choaspes is boiled, and very many four wheeled waggons drawn by mules carry it in silver vessels, following the king whithersoever he goes at any time.

189. When Cyrus on his way to Babylon came

1 Modern Kerkha.
Βαβυλώνα ἐγένετο ἐπὶ Γύνδη ποταμῷ, τοῦ αἱ μὲν πηγαὶ ἐν Ματηνοῖς ὀρέσι, ἰεὶ δὲ διὰ Δαρδανέων, ἐκδιδοὶ δὲ ἐς ἔτερον ποταμὸν Τήγην, ὁ δὲ παρὰ Ὀμπιν πολὺν ῥέον ἐς τὴν Ἐρυθρὴν θάλασσαν ἐκδιδοῖ, τούτον δὴ τὸν Γύνδην ποταμὸν ὡς διαβαινεῖν ἐπειράτο ὁ Κύρος ἑώτα νησιοπέρητον, ἐνθαυτά τινὸς τῆς ἱδρυμας ἐπορεύετο ὁ ὤμος εἰς τὸν ποταμὸν διαβαινεῖν ἐπειράτο, ὁ δὲ μην συμφέρεις ὑποβρύχιον οἰχώκεε φέρων. κάρτα τε δὴ ἐχαλέπαινε τὸν ποταμῷ ὁ Κύρος τούτῳ υβρίσαντι, καὶ οἱ ἐπηπείλησε οὗτο δὴ μην ἀσθενεῖα ποιήσειν ὡστε τοῦ λοιποῦ καὶ χνουκάς μην εὑπτεώς τὸ γόνον οὐ βρεχοῦσας διαβήσεσθαι, μετά δὲ τὴν ἀπειλη τοῦ ἐπὶ Βαβυλώνα στρατευσιν διάρρευ τὴν στρατηγίν δίχα, διελω καὶ κατέεινε σχοινοτενέας ὑποδέξασα διώρυχας ὀγδὼκοντα καὶ ἐκατον παρε ἐκάτερον τὸ χεῖλος τοῦ Γύνδεω τετραμμένας πάντα τρόπου, διατάξας δὲ τὸν στρατὸ ὁρύσσεις ἐκέλευε. οἶα δὲ ὀμίλου πολλοῦ ἐργαζομένου ἦνετο μὲν τὸ ἔργον, ὃμως μέντοι τὴν θερείν πᾶσαν αὐτοῦ ταύτη διετρίψαν ἐργαζόμενοι.

190. Ὡς δὲ τὸν Γύνδην ποταμὸν ἐτίσατο Κύρος ἐς τρικοσίας καὶ ἐξῆκοντα διώρυχας μην διαλαβὼν, καὶ τὸ δεύτερον ἔαρ ὑπέλαμψε, οὗτο δὴ ἤλαυνε ἐπὶ τὴν Βαβυλώνα. οἵ δὲ Βαβυλώνιοι ἐκστρατευσάμενοι ἔμενον αὐτῶν, ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐγένετο ἐλαύνων ἀγχοῦ τῆς πόλεως, συνεβαλὸν τε οἱ Βαβυλώνιοι καὶ ἐσσωθέντες τῇ μάχῃ κατειλήθησαν ἐς τὸ ἀστυ. οἶα δὲ ἐξεπιστάμενοι ἐτὶ πρῶτευ τὸν Κύρον οὐκ ἀπεμίζοντα, ἀλλὰ ὀρέοντες αὐτῶν παντὶ ἐδείξε ομοίως ἐπιχειρότα, 236
to the river Gyndes,¹ which rises in the mountains of the Matieni and flows through the Dardanean country into another river, the Tigris, which again passes the city of Opis and issues into the Red Sea—when Cyrus, I say, essayed to cross the Gyndes, it being there navigable, one of his sacred white horses dashed recklessly into the river that he might win through it, but the stream whelmed him and swept him under and away. At this violent deed of the river Cyrus was very wroth, and he threatened it that he would make it so weak that women should ever after cross it easily without wetting their knees. Having so threatened he ceased from his march against Babylon, and dividing his army into two parts he drew lines planning out a hundred and eighty canals running every way from either bank of the Gyndes; then he arrayed his army along the lines and bade them dig. Since a great multitude was at the work it went with all speed; yet they spent the whole summer there before it was finished.

190. Then at the opening of the second spring, when Cyrus had punished the Gyndes by parting it among the three hundred and sixty canals, he marched at last against Babylon. The Babylonians sallied out and awaited him; and when in his march he came near to their city, they joined battle, but they were worsted and driven within the city. There, because they knew already that Cyrus was no man of peace, and saw that he attacked all nations alike, they had

¹ Modern Diala.
προεσάξαντο σεισία ἐτέων κάρτα πολλῶν. ἐνθαῦτα οὕτωι μὲν λόγον εἰχον τῆς πολιορκίας οὐδένα, Κύρος δὲ ἀπορήσας ἐνείχετο, ἀτε χρόνου τε ἐγγινομένου συχνοῦ ἀνωτέρω τε οὐδὲν τῶν πρηγμάτων προκοπτομένων.

191. Ἐπεὶ δὴ ὅν ἄλλος οἱ ἀπορέοντι ὑπεθήκατο, εἶτε καὶ αὐτὸς ἐμαθὲ τὸ ποιητέον οἱ ἦν, ἐποίεε δὴ τοιῶν. τάξις τὴν στρατιήν ἀπασαν ἐξ ἐμβολῆς τοῦ ποταμοῦ, τῇ ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἐσβάλλει, καὶ ὀπισθεὶς αὐτὸς τῆς πόλεος τάξις ἐτέρους, τῇ ἐξεῖ ἐκ τῆς πόλεος ὁ ποταμὸς, προεῖπε τῷ στρατῷ, ὅταν διαβατόν τὸ ῥέθρον ἰδοντις γενόμενον, ἐσεῖαν ταῦτη ἐς τὴν πόλιν. οὕτω τε δὴ τάξις καὶ κατὰ ταῦτα παραϊνέσας ἀπῆλανε αὐτὸς σὺν τῷ ἀχρησὶ τοῦ στρατοῦ. ἀπικόμενος δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν λίμνην, τὰ περ ἡ τῶν Βαβυλωνίων βασίλεια ἐποίησε κατὰ τῆς ποταμοῦ καὶ κατὰ τὴν λίμνην, ἐποίεε καὶ ὁ Κύρος ἐτερα τοιαύτα τὸ γὰρ ποταμὸν διώρυχι ἐσαγαγὼν ἐς τὴν λίμνην ἐστὶν ἑλος, τὸ ἀρχαῖον ῥέθρον διαβατὸν εἶναι ἐποίησε, ὑπονοοῦσαντος τοῦ ποταμοῦ. γενομένου δὲ τούτου τοιούτου, οἱ Πέρσαι οἱ περ ἐτετάχατο ἐπὶ αὐτῷ τούτῳ κατὰ τὸ ῥέθρον τοῦ Εὐφρίτου ποταμοῦ ὑπονοοῦτος ἀνδρὶ ως ἐς μέσον μηρὸν μάλιστα κατὰ τοῦτο ἐς τὴν Βαβυλώνα. εἰ μὲν νῦν προετούσοντο ἦ ἐμαθον οἱ Βαβυλώνιοι τὸ ἐκ τοῦ Κύρου ποιεύμενον, οἱ δ᾿ ἀν περιδόντες τοὺς Πέρσας ἐσελθείν ἐς τὴν πόλιν διέθηραν ἀν κάκιστα κατακλησαντες γὰρ ἀν πᾶσας τὰς ἐς τῶν ποταμὸν πυλίδας ἐχοῦσας καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐπὶ τὰς αἰμασίας ἀναβάντες τὰς παρὰ τὰ χείλεα τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἐληλαμένας, ἔλα-

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BOOK I. 190-191

stored provision enough for very many years; so now they cared nothing for the siege; and Cyrus knew not what to do, being so long delayed and gaining no advantage.

191. Whether, then, someone advised him in his difficulty, or he perceived for himself what to do, I know not, but this he did: he posted his army at the place where the river enters the city, and another part of it where the stream issues from the city, and bade his men enter the city by the channel of the Euphrates when they should see it to be fordable. Having so arrayed them and given this command, he himself marched away with those of his army who could not fight; and when he came to the lake, Cyrus dealt with it and with the river just as had the Babylonian queen: drawing off the river by a canal into the lake, which was till now a marsh, he made the stream to sink till its former channel could be forded. When this happened, the Persians who were posted with this intent made their way into Babylon by the channel of the Euphrates, which had now sunk about to the height of the middle of a man's thigh. Now if the Babylonians had known beforehand or learnt what Cyrus was planning, they would have suffered the Persians to enter the city and brought them to a miserable end; for then they would have shut all the gates that opened on the river and themselves mounted up on to the walls that ran along the river
βον ἃν σφέας ὡς ἐν κύρτη, νῦν δὲ ἐξ ἀπροσδοκήτου σφί παρέστησαν οἱ Πέρσαι. ὑπὸ δὲ μεγάθεος τῆς πόλιος, ὡς λέγεται ὑπὸ τῶν ταύτη οἰκημένων, τῶν περὶ τὰ ἐσχάτα τῆς πόλιος έαλωκότων τοὺς τὸ μέσον οἰκέουτας τῶν Βαβυλωνίων ὑμαθάνειν έαλωκότας, ἀλλὰ τυχεῖν γάρ σφί ἐσούσαν ὀρτήν, χορεύειν τε τούτων τὸν χρόνον καὶ ἐν εὐπαθείᾳ εἶναι, ἐς ὅ δέ καὶ τὸ κάρτα ἐπύθοντο.

192. Καὶ Βαβυλων μὲν οὐτω τοτε πρῶτον ἀραίητο. τὴν δὲ δύναμιν τῶν Βαβυλωνίων πολυοῖτο μὲν καὶ ἀλλοις δηλώσω ὡσ τις ἐστὶ, ἐν δὲ δὴ καὶ τῶδε. βασιλεύς τῷ μεγάλῳ ἐς τροφὴν αὐτοῦ τε καὶ τῆς στρατείης διαραίηται, πάρεξ τοῦ φόρου, γῇ πᾶσα δόσης ἀρχεῖν δυνάμει ὃν μηνῶν ἐνυτὸν ἐς τὸν ένιαυτὸ τουσ τέσσερας μίνας τρέφει μιν ἡ Βαβυλωνίη χώρη, τοὺς δὲ οκτὼ τῶν μηνῶν ἡ λοιπὴ πᾶσα Ἀσία. οὕτω τριτὴν ἡ Ἀσσυρίη χώρη τῇ δυνάμῃ τῆς Ἀλλῆς Ἀσίας. καὶ ἡ ἀρχὴ τῆς χώρας ταύτης, τὴν οἱ Πέρσαι σατραπὴν καλέουσι, ἐστὶ ἀπασέων τῶν ἀρχέων πολλῶν τε κρατίστη, ὡκου Ἑριτανάξημι τῷ Ἀρταβάζου ἐκ βασιλέων ἔχοντες τὸν νομὸν τούτον ἀργυρίῳ μὲν προσήη ἐκάστης ἡμέρης ἀρτάβη μεστή. ἢ δὲ ἀρτάβη, μέτρου ἐνῶ Περσικῶν, χωρεῖ μενίμιον Ἀττικῶν πλέοι χοϊνίξε τρισὶ Ἀττικῆσι. ἣπποι δὲ οἱ αὐτῶν ἦσαν ἰδίη, πάρεξ τῶν πολεμιστηρίων, οἱ μὲν ἀναβαίνοντες τὰς θηλέας ἀκτακόσιοι, αἱ δὲ βαινομέναι ἐξακισχίλιαι καὶ μύριαν ἀνέβαινε γὰρ ἐκαστος τῶν ἔρσεων τούτων εἰκοσὶ ἐπτάους. κυνὸν δὲ Ἰνδικῶν τοσοῦτο
banks, and so caught their enemies as in a trap. But as it was, the Persians were upon them unawares, and by reason of the great size of the city—so say those who dwell there—those in the outer parts of it were overcome, yet the dwellers in the middle part knew nothing of it; all this time they were dancing and making merry at a festival which chanced to be toward, till they learnt the truth but too well.

192. Thus was Babylon then for the first time taken. There are many proofs of the wealth of Babylon, but this in especial. All the land ruled by the great King is parcelled out for the provisioning of himself and his army, besides that it pays tribute: now the territory of Babylon feeds him for four out of the twelve months in the year, the whole of the rest of Asia providing for the other eight. Thus the wealth of Assyria is one third of the whole wealth of Asia. The governorship, which the Persians call "satrapy," of this land is by far the greatest of all the governorships; seeing that the daily revenue of Tritantaechmes son of Artabazus, governing this province by the king's will, was an artaba full of silver (the artaba is a Persian measure, containing more by three Attic choenixes than an Attic medimnus),¹ and besides war chargers he had in his stables eight hundred stallions, and sixteen thousand brood mares, each stallion serving twenty mares. Moreover he kept so great a number of Indian dogs

¹ The Attic medimnus = about 12 gallons; it contained 48 χολεία. 241
HERODOTUS

δὴ τι πλήθος ἔτρεφετο ὡστε τέσσερες τῶν ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ κόμαι μεγάλαι, τῶν ἄλλων ἐνούσαι ἀτελεῖς, τοῖς κυρὶ προσπεταίησατο σιτία παρέχειν. τοι-αὕτα μὲν τῷ ἄρχοντι τῆς Βαβυλωνίου ὑπῆρχε ἐώτη.

193. Ἡ δὲ γῆ τῶν 'Ασσυρίων ἦταν μὲν ὀλύγη, καὶ τὸ ἐκτρέφον τὴν ρίζαν τοῦ σίτου ἐστὶ τῶν αἰρόμενον μέντοι ἐκ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἀδρύνεται τε τὸ λῆχον καὶ παραγίνεται ὁ σίτος, οὐ κατὰ περ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ αὐτοῦ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἀναβαίνοντός ἐστὶ ἄρούρας, ἀλλὰ χερσὶ τε καὶ κηλωνθίσαι αἵρομενος. ἡ γὰρ Βαβυλωνία χώρῃ πᾶσα, κατὰ περ ἡ Αἰγυπτία, κατατέτμηται ἐς διώρυγας καὶ ἡ μεγίστη τῶν διωρύγων ἐστὶ νησιέρειτα, πρὸς ἕλιον τετραμμεῖται τὸν χειμερινὸν, ἐσέχει δὲ ἐς ἄλλου ποταμοῦ ἐκ τοῦ Εὐφρητεωὺς, ἐς τὸν Τίγρην, παρ' ὅν Νίνος πόλις οἶκητο. ἔστι δὲ χωρέων αὐτη πασέων μακρῷ ἀρίστῃ τῶν ἡμέων ἱδρῶν Δῆμητρος καρπὸν ἐκφερεῖν. . .1 τὰ γὰρ ἄλλα δένδρα οὕδε πειράται ἄρχην φέρειν, οὔτε συκέη, οὔτε ἀμπελοῦ οὔτε ἐλαιίν. τῶν δὲ τῆς Δῆμητρος καρπὸν οὐδὲ ἀγαθὴ ἐκφερεῖν ἐστὶ ὡστε ἐς ἡμι-κόσια μὲν τὸ παράπαν ὑποδιοῦ, ἐπειδὰν δὲ ἀρίστα αὐτὴ ἔωτῆς ἐνείκῃ, ἐπὶ τρικόσια ἐκφερεῖ. τὰ δὲ φύλλα αὐτοῦ τῶν τῷ πυρὸν καὶ τῶν κριθῶν τὸ πλάτος γίνεται τεσσέρων εὐπετείως δακτύλων. ἐκ δὲ κέγχροι καὶ σηγάμου ὅσον τὶ δένδρον μέγα-θος γίνεται, ἔξεπιστάμενος μυῆμην οὐ ποιήσομαι, εὐ εἰδὼς ὅτι τοῖς μη ἀπεγιμένοις ἐς τὴν Βαβυ-λωνίαν χώρην καὶ τὰ εἰρημένα καρπῶν ἐχόμενα

1 Stein marks a lacuna after this word, the meaning of τὰ ἄλλα δένδρα not being quite clear.
that four great villages of the plain were appointed to provide food for the dogs and eased from all other burdens. Such were the riches of the governor of Babylon.

193. There is but little rain in Assyria. It is this which nourishes the roots of the corn; but it is irrigation from the river that ripens the crop and brings the grain to fulness: it is not as in Egypt, where the river itself rises and floods the fields: in Assyria they are watered by hand and by swinging beams. For the whole land of Babylon, like Egypt, is cut across by canals. The greatest of these is navigable: it runs towards where the sun rises in winter, from the Euphrates to another river, the Tigris, by which stood the city of Ninus. This land is of all known to us by far the most fertile in corn. Trees it does not even essay to grow, fig, vine, or olive, but its corn is so abundant that it yields for the most part two hundred fold, and even three hundred fold when the harvest is best. The blades of the wheat and barley there are easily four fingers broad; and for millet and sesame, I will not say, though it is known to me, to what a height they grow; for I am well aware that even what I have said respecting corn is wholly disbelieved by those who have never visited

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1 That is, by the "shadoof," a familiar object to travellers on the Nile; a lever with a bucket attached, revolving on a post.
Έστι Ἀπάντων θόμα μέγιστόν μοι ἐστὶν τὸν ταύτην μετὰ γε αὐτὴν τὴν πόλιν, ἐρχομαι φράσων: τὰ πλοῖα αὐτοίς ἐστὶν τὰ κατὰ τὸν ποταμὸν πορεύομενα ἐς τὴν Βαβυλώνα, ἔστω αὐτό τὸ κυκλοτερέα, πάντα σκύτινα. ἐπεάν γὰρ ἐν τοῖς Ἀρμενίοις τοῖς κατύπερθε Ασσυρίων οἰκημένους νομέας ἰτέςς ταμόμενοι ποιήσωνται, περιτείνουσι τούτοις διόρθωσι στεγαστρίδος ἐξωθεὶν ἐδάφεος τρόπον, οὕτω πρώτην ἀποκρίνοντες οὕτω πρώην συνάγοντες, ἄλλα ἀστίδος τρόπον κυκλοτερέα ποιήσαντες καὶ καλάμης πλήσαντες πάν τὸ πλοῖον τοῦτο ἀπείσαι κατὰ τὸν ποταμὸν φέρεσθαι, φορτίων πλήσαντες: μάλιστα δὲ βίκους φοινικίους κατάγουσι οἶνον πλέουσι. θίνεται δὲ ὅπω τε δύο πλῆκτρων καὶ δύο ἀνδρῶν ὑπὸ ἑπταντῶν, καὶ δὲ μὲν ἐσω ἐλκεὶ τὸ πλῆκτρον δὲ ἐξω ὠθεῖ. ποιεῖται δὲ καὶ κάρτα μεγάλα ταύτα τὰ πλοῖα καὶ ἐλάσσω: τὰ δὲ μεγίστα αὐτῶν καὶ πεντακισχιλίων ταλάντων γόμον ἔχει. ἐν ἑκάστῳ δὲ πλοίῳ ὅνος ἵως ἐνεστὶ, ἐν δὲ τοῖς μέξοι
BOOK I. 193-194

Babylonia. They use no oil save what they make from sesame.¹ There are palm trees there growing all over the plain, most of them yielding fruit, from which food is made and wine and honey. The Assyrians tend these like figs, and chiefly in this respect, that they tie the fruit of the palm called male by the Greeks to the date-bearing palm, that so the gall-fly may enter the dates and cause them to ripen, and that the fruit of the palm may not fall; for the male palms, like unripe figs, have gall-flies in their fruit.

194. I will now show what seems to me to be the most marvellous thing in the country, next to the city itself. Their boats which ply on the river and go to Babylon are all of skins, and round. They make these in Armenia, higher up the stream than Assyria. First they cut frames of willow, then they stretch hides over these for a covering, making as it were a hold; they neither broaden the stern nor narrow the prow, but the boat is round, like a shield. They then fill it with reeds and send it floating down the river with a cargo; and it is for the most part palm wood casks of wine that they carry down. Two men standing upright steer the boat, each with a paddle, one drawing it to him, the other thrusting it from him. These boats are of all sizes, some small, some very great; the greatest of them are even of five thousand talents² burden. There is a live ass in each boat, or

¹ Sesame-oil or "Benne-oil" is still in common use in the East.
² The Attic talent = about 58 lbs. avoirdupois; the Aeginetan = about 82.
πλεύνες. ἐπεὰν δὲν ἀπίκωνται πλέοντες ἐς τὴν Βαβυλώνα καὶ διαδέωνται τὸν φόρτον, νομέας μὲν τοῦ πλοίου καὶ τὴν καλὰμην πᾶσαν ἀπ' ὅν ἐκήρυξαν, τὰς δὲ διφθέρας ἐπισάξαντες ἐπὶ τοὺς ὄνως ἀπελαύνουσι ἔς τοὺς Ἀρμενίους. ἀνὰ τὸν ποταμὸν γὰρ δὴ οὐκ οἰά τε ἐστὶ πλέειν οὐδὲν τρόπῳ ὑπὸ τάχεος τοῦ ποταμοῦ διὰ γὰρ ταύτα καὶ οὐκ ἐκ ξύλων ποιεῖται τὰ πλοία ἀλλ' ἐκ διφθέρεων. ἐπεὰν δὲ τοὺς ὄνως ἐλαύνουσι ἀπὶ κωντα ὅπτισον ἔς τοὺς Ἀρμενίους, ἀλλὰ τρόπῳ τὸ αὐτὸ ποιεῖται πλοία.

195. Τὰ μὲν δὴ πλοία αὐτοῖσι ἐστὶ τοιαῦτα: ἐσθήτῃ δὲ τοιῇδε χρέωνται, κιθώνι ποδνεκέτι λινέω, καὶ ἐπὶ τούτον ἄλλον εἰρίνεον κιθώνι ἐπενδύνει καὶ χλανίδιον λευκὸν περιβαλλόμενος, ὑποδήματα ἔχον ἐπιχώρια, παραπλήσια τῇς Βοιωτίσις ἐμβάσι. κομώντες δὲ τὰς κεφαλὰς μίστης αναδέουν, μεμυρισμένοι πάν τὸ σῶμα. σφρηγίδα δὲ ἐκάστος ἔχει καὶ σκήπτρον χειροποίητον ἐπ' ἐκάστῳ δὲ σκήπτρῳ ἐπεστὶ πεποιημένον ἡ μῆλον ἡ ρόδον ἡ κρίνον ἡ αἰέτος ἡ ἄλλο τι· ἀνευ γὰρ ἐπισήμου οὗ σφί νόμος ἐστὶ ἔχειν σκήπτρον.

196. Αὕτη μὲν δὴ σφί ἄρτισις περὶ τὸ σῶμα ἐστὶ· νομοὶ δὲ αὐτοῖσι ὅδε κατεστάσι, ὁ μὲν σοφότατος ὅδε κατὰ γνώμην τὴν ἡμετέρην, τῷ καὶ Ἰλλυρίων Ἐπετοὺς πυθάνομαι χρᾶσθαι, κατὰ κώμας ἐκάστας ἀπὰξ τοῦ ἔτεος ἐκάστου ἐποίεστο τάδε· ὥς ἂν αἰ παρθένοι γενοία ὑμῶν ὀραία, ταύτας ὅκως συναγάγοιεσ τῶς, ἐς ἐν χορίον ἐσάγαγον ἀλέας, πέριξ δὲ αὐτὰς ἴστατο ὁμιλος ἀνδρῶν, ἀνιστάς δὲ κατὰ μίαν ἐκάστην
more than one in the larger. So when they have floated down to Babylon and disposed of their cargo, they sell the framework of the boat and all the reeds; the hides are set on the backs of asses, which are then driven back to Armenia, for it is not by any means possible to go up stream by water, by reason of the swiftness of the current; it is for this reason that they make their boats of hides and not of wood. When they have driven their asses back into Armenia they make more boats in the same way.

195. Such then are their boats. For clothing, they wear a linen tunic, reaching to the feet; over this the Babylonian puts on another tunic, of wool, and wraps himself in a white mantle; he wears the shoes of his country, which are like Boeotian sandals. Their hair is worn long, and covered by caps; the whole body is perfumed. Every man has a seal and a carven staff, and on every staff is some image, such as that of an apple or a rose or a lily or an eagle: no one carries a staff without a device.

196. Such is the equipment of their persons. I will now speak of their established customs. The wisest of these, in my judgment, is one which as I have heard is also a custom of the Eneti in Illyria. It is this: once a year in every village all the maidens as they came to marriageable age were collected and brought together into one place, with a crowd of men standing round. Then a crier would display and offer them for sale one by one, first
κήρυξ πολέσκε, πρώτα μὲν τὴν εὐειδεστάτην ἐκ πασεὼν μετὰ δὲ, ὅκως αὐτὴ εὐροῦσα πολλῶν χρυσίων πρηθείη, ἀλλὰν ἀν ἐκήρυσσε ἢ μετ᾿ ἐκείνην ἔσκε εὐειδεστάτη ἐπωλέοντο δὲ ἐπὶ συνοικίσαι. ὡςοι μὲν ἰδὶ ἔσκον εὐδαίμονες τῶν Βαβυλωνίων ἐπίγαμοι, ἔπερβάλλοντες ἀλλήλους ἐξωνέοντο τάς καλλιστευούσας ὡςοι δὲ τοῦ δήμου ἔσκον ἐπίγαμοι, οὕτω δὲ εἶδος μὲν οὐδὲν ἔδοεν χρηστοῦ, οὗ δ᾽ ἂν χρήματά τε καὶ αἰσχύνας παρθένους ἠλάμβανον. ὃς γὰρ δὴ διεξέλθοι ὁ κήρυξ πολέων τὰς εὐειδεστάτας τῶν παρθένων, ἀνίστη ἂν τὴν ἀμορφεστάτην, ἢ εἰ τες αὐτέων ἐμπηρος εἰ, καὶ ταύτην ἂν ἐκήρυσσε, δοσίς θέλοι ἐλάχιστον χρυσίων λαβὼν συνοικεῖειν αὐτῇ, ἐς δὲ τῷ τὸ ἐλάχιστον ὑπισταμένῳ προσέκειτο. τὸ δὲ ἂν χρυσίον ἐγίνετο ἀπὸ τῶν εὐειδεών παρθένων καὶ οὕτω αἰ εὐμορφοι τὰς ἀμόρφους καὶ ἐμπηροὺς ἐξεδίδοσαν. ἐκδοῦναι δὲ τὴν ἐωτοῦ θυγατέρα ὑτεφ βούλοιτο ἐκαστὸς οὐκ ἔχειν, οὐδὲ ἄνευ ἐγ. γυνητῶν ἀπάγεσθαι τὴν παρθένον προάμενων, ἀλλ᾽ ἐγγυνητάς χρήν καταστήσαντα ἢ μὲν συνοικήσειν αὐτῇ, οὕτω ἀπάγεσθαι. εἰ δὲ µὴ συμφερότατο, ἀποφέρειν τὸ χρυσίον ἕκειτο νόμος. ἔχειν δὲ καὶ ἔξ ἄλλης ἐκβόλοντα κόμης τοῦ βουλόμενον ὑνε- εσθαί. ὁ µὲν νων καλλιστος νόμος οὕτως σφι ἢ, οὐ µέντοι νῦν γε διατελεῖ εὖν, ἀλλὰ δὲ τὸ ἐξευρή- κασινεωστὶ γενέσθαι [ίνα µὴ ἀδίκιοις αὐτὰς µηδ. εἰς έτέραν πόλιν ἄγωνται]. ἔπειτε γὰρ ἀλόντες ἑκακώθησαν καὶ οἰκοφθορήθησαν, πάς τις τοῦ δή- µου βίον σπανίζων καταπορνεύει τὰ θῆλεα τέκνα.

1 The words in brackets do not seem to be relevant here; they might more naturally come after οὕτω ἰπάγεσθαι above.
the fairest of all; and then when she had fetched a great price he put up for sale the next comeliest, selling all the maidens as lawful wives. Rich men of Assyria who desired to marry would outbid each other for the fairest; the commonalty, who desired to marry and cared nothing for beauty, could take the ill-favoured damsels and money therewith; for when the crier had sold all the comeliest, he would put up her that was least beautiful, or crippled, and offer her to whosoever would take her to wife for the least sum, till she fell to him who promised to accept least; the money came from the sale of the comely damsels, and so they paid the dowry of the ill-favoured and the cripples. But a man might not give his daughter in marriage to whosoever he would, nor might he that bought the girl take her away without giving security that he would indeed make her his wife. And if the two could not agree, it was a law that the money be returned. Men might also come from other villages to buy if they so desired. This then was their best custom; but it does not continue at this time; they have invented a new one lately [that the woman might not be wronged or taken to another city]; since the conquest of Babylon made them afflicted and poor, everyone of the commonalty that lacks a livelihood makes prostitutes of his daughters.
197. Δεύτερος δὲ σοφὴ ὁδὲ ἄλλος σφι νόμος κατέστηκε: τοὺς κάμινοντας ἐσ τῆν ἀγορὴν ἐκφορέουσιν οὐ γὰρ δὴ χρέωνται ἀποροίσα. προσίστατε ἂν πρὸς τὸν κάμινοντα συμβουλέουσιν περὶ τῆς νοῦσον, εἰ τις καὶ αὐτὸς τοιοῦτο ἐπάθαι ὅκοιν ἂν ἔχῃ ὁ κάμινον ἡ ἄλλον εἴδε παθόντα, ταῦτα προσίστατε συμβουλέουσιν καὶ παραίνουσι ἄσσα αὐτὸς πολίσας ἐξέψυγῃ ὁμοίη νοῦσον ἡ ἄλλον εἴδε ἐκφυγόντα. συγῇ δὲ παρεξέλθειν τὸν κα-
μινοντα οὐ σφι ἔξεστι, πρὶν ἂν ἐπείρηται ἥντινα νοῦσον ἔχει.

198. Ταφαί δὲ σφι ἐν μέλιτι, θρήνοι δὲ παρα-
πλήσιοι τοίοι ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ. ὦσκως δ’ ἂν μικρὴ γυναίκη τῇ ἐωτῷ ἀνήρ Βαβυλώνιος, περὶ θυμι-
ήμα καταγίζομεν έξει, ἐτέρωθε δὲ ἡ γυνὴ τὸν τὸν τοῦτο ποιεῖ, ὑρθοῦ τὸ γενομένου λοῦνται καὶ ἀμφότεροι: ἄγγεος γὰρ οὐκ ἀνθέος ἄφονται πρὶν ἂν λοῦσωνται. ταῦτα δὲ ταῦτα καὶ 'Αράβιοι ποιεῦοι.

199. ὦ δὲ δὴ ἀδικιστὸς τῶν νόμων ἐστὶ τοῖς Βαβυλώνιοι όδε δὲ πᾶσιν γυναίκα ἐπιχώρητη ἰσόμετην ἐσ ἢ ἐρὶ Ἀφροδίτης ἀπαξ ἐν τῇ ζῷῃ μικρήν ἄνδρι ζείνῳ. πολλαὶ δὲ καὶ οὐκ ἄξιεύ-
μεναι ἀναμισγεσθαί τῆι ἄλλησι, οὐ πλοῦτο ὑπερφροέουσαι, ἐπὶ ξενγέων ἐν καμάρῃς ἐλά-
σασαι πρὸς τὸ ἢ ἠτᾶς ἵπερ ἀπειρεῖ ἵπερ σφι ὀπισθε ἐπετα πολλή. αἱ δὲ πλεύνες ποιεῦοι ὠδὲ;
ἐν τεμένει Ἀφροδίτης κατέαται στέφανον περὶ τῆι κεφαλῆι ἠχοῦσαι θώμωτις πολλαὶ γυναι-
κες; αἱ μὲν γὰρ προσέρχονται, αἱ δὲ ἀπέρχονται.

1 Three fifteenth century MSS. omit the whole of this chapter.
197. I come now to the next wisest of their customs: having no use for physicians, they carry the sick into the market-place; then those who have been afflicted themselves by the same ill as the sick man's, or seen others in like case, come near and advise him about his disease and comfort him, telling him by what means they have themselves recovered of it or seen others so recover. None may pass by the sick man without speaking and asking what is his sickness.

198. The dead are embalmed in honey for burial, and their dirges are like to the dirges of Egypt. Whenever a Babylonian has had intercourse with his wife, they both sit before a burnt offering of incense, and at dawn they wash themselves; they will touch no vessel before this is done. This is the custom also in Arabia.

199. The foulest Babylonian custom is that which compels every woman of the land once in her life to sit in the temple of Aphrodite and have intercourse with some stranger. Many women who are rich and proud and disdain to consort with the rest, drive to the temple in covered carriages drawn by teams, and there stand with a great retinue of attendants. But most sit down in the sacred plot of Aphrodite, with crowns of cord on their heads; there is a great multitude of women coming and going; passages marked by line run every way through the crowd, by which the stranger men pass and make their choice.
σχοινοτενέες δὲ διεξοδοι πάντα τρόπων οὖν ἔχουσι διὰ τῶν γυναικῶν, δι’ ὧν οἱ ξεῖνοι διεξο-ντες ἐκλεγονται ἐνθα ἐπεαν ἦσται γυνή, οὐ πρωτερον ἀπαλλάσσεται ἐς τὰ οἰκία ἢ τίς οἱ ξεῖνων ἀργύριων ἐμβαλῶν ἐς τὰ γούνατα μιχθὴ ἔξω τοῦ ἱροῦ ἐμβαλόντα δὲ δεῖ εἰπεῖν τοσοῦτον "Επικαλέω τοι τὴν θεον Μύλιττα." Μύλιττα δὲ καλέουσι τὴν 'Αφροδίτην 'Ασσύριοι. τὸ δὲ ἀργύ-ριον μεγάθος ἐστὶ ὅσον ὄν εἶ ὡς ἔτι ἀπώσιηται ὡς ἔτι ἡ βέμις ἐστὶ γίνεται ἐς ἵνα ἐρωτώ τοῦ ἱροῦ τὸ ἀργύριον. τὸ δὲ πρῶτῳ ἐμβαλόντι ἐπεται οὐδὲ ἀποδοκιμά ὀυδένα. ἐπειδ’ ἐδεική, ἀποσιωσι-μένη τῇ θεῷ ἀπαλλάσσεται ἐς τὰ οἰκία, καὶ τόπῳ τούτῳ οὐκ ὁμως μέγας τί οἱ δώσεις ὡς μιν λαμ-ψεις. οὐσι μὲν νυν εἰδεῖς τοι ἐπαμένει εἰς καὶ μεγάθεος, ταχύ ἀπαλλάσσονται, οὐσι δὲ ἀμορφοι αὐτῶν εἰς, χρόνον πολλόν προσμείνοντο οὐ δυνάμεναι τὸν νόμον ἐκπλήσσαι καὶ γάρ τριε-τεα καὶ τετραέται μετεξετεραι χρόνου μένουσι. ἐνιαχὴ δὲ καὶ τῆς Κύπρου ἐστὶ παραπλήσιος τούτῳ νόμοις.

200. Νόμοι μὲν δὴ τούτι Βαβυλωνίουσι οὕτωι κατεστάσις εἰς δὲ αὐτῶν πατριάι τρεῖς αἱ οὐδὲν ἄλλο σιτέονται εἰ μὴ ἵκθυς μοῦνον, τοὺς ἐπείτε ἄν θηρεύσαντες αὐηνωσι πρὸς ἥλιον, ποιεῖσι τάδε ἐσβάλλουσι εἰς ὅλοιζ καὶ λεήμαντες ὑπέροις σώσι διὰ σινδόνος, καὶ δὲ μὲν ἄν βούληται αὐτῶν ἀτε μάζαν μαζάμενος ἔχει, δὲ ἀρτοῦ τρόπον ὀπτηθας.

201. 'Ως δὲ τῷ Κύρῳ καὶ τούτῳ τὸ ἔθνος κατέρ-γαστο, ἐπεθύμησε Μασσαγέτας ὑπ’ ἐωτω τοιη-σασθαι. τὸ δὲ ἔθνος τούτο καὶ μέγα λέγεται
When a woman has once taken her place there she goes not away to her home before some stranger has cast money into her lap and had intercourse with her outside the temple; but while he casts the money, he must say, "I demand thee in the name of Mylitta" (that is the Assyrian name for Aphrodite). It matters not what be the sum of the money; the woman will never refuse, for that were a sin, the money being by this act made sacred. So she follows the first man who casts it and rejects none. After their intercourse she has made herself holy in the goddess's sight and goes away to her home; and thereafter there is no bribe however great that will get her. So then the women that are fair and tall are soon free to depart, but the uncomely have long to wait because they cannot fulfil the law; for some of them remain for three years, or four. There is a custom like to this in some parts of Cyprus.

200. These are established customs among the Babylonians. Moreover, there are in the country three tribes that eat nothing but fish, which they catch and dry in the sun; then after casting them into a mortar they bray them with pestles and strain all through linen. Then whoever so desires kneads as it were a cake of it and eats it; others bake it like bread.

201. When Cyrus had conquered this nation also, he desired to subdue the Massagetae. These are
εἶναι καὶ ἄλκεμον, οἰκημένον δὲ πρὸς ὕδω τε καὶ ἕλάσσων ἀνατολάς, πέρην τοῦ Ἀράξεως ποταμοῦ, ἀντίον δὲ Ισσηδόνων ἀνδρῶν, εἰοὶ δὲ οἰτίνες καὶ Σκυθικών λέγουσι τοῦτο τὸ ἔθνος εἶναι.

202. Ὅ δὲ Ἀράξης λέγεται καὶ μέξων καὶ ἐλάσσων εἶναι τοῦ Ἰστροῦ νήσους δὲ ἐν αὐτῷ δέσβῳ μεγάθεα παραπλησίας συχνάς φασὶ εἶναι, εν δὲ αὐτὴσι ἀνθρώποις οἱ σιτεύονται μὲν ἐκ τὸ θέρος ὀρύσσοντες παντοίας καρποὺς δὲ ἄπο δενδρῶν ἐξευρημένους σφι ἐς φορβὴν κατατίθεσθαι φραίους, καὶ τούτων σιτεύεται τὴν χειμρωνίην. ἀλλα δὲ σφι ἐξευρηθένται δενδρεῖ καρποὺς τοιούτῳ τινάς φέροντα, τοὺς ἐπείτε ἀν ἐς τούτῳ συνέλθωσι κατὰ εἰλας καὶ πῦρ ἀνακαύσωσι κύκλῳ περιξομένους ἐπιβάλλειν ἐπὶ τὸ πῦρ, όσφραινομένους δὲ καταγιζομένου τοῦ καρποῦ τοῦ ἐπιβαλλομένου μεθύσκεσθαι τῇ ὁμῇ κατὰ περ Βῆληνας τῷ οἴνῳ, πλεύνοις δὲ ἐπιβαλλομένου τοῦ καρποῦ μᾶλλον μεθύσκεσθαι, ἐς δὲ ὀρχισίν περ ἀνίστασθαι καὶ ἐς ἁοίδην ἀπικνέομαι, τούτων μὲν αὐτὴ λέγεται διαίτα εἶναι, Ὅ δὲ Ἀράξης ποταμὸς ρέει μὲν ἐκ Ματηνῶν, οὐθὲν περ ὁ Γύνης τῶν ἐς τὰς ὄψιν τὰς ἐξήκοντά τε καὶ τρικοσίας διέλαβε ὁ Κύρος, στόμασι δὲ ἐξερεύνηται τεσσεράκοντα, τῶν τὰ πάντα πλὴν ἐνός ἐς ἐλέα τε καὶ τενάγεα ἐκδίδοι declaration ἐν τούτῳ ἀνθρώπους κατοικηθεῖσα λέγουσι ἱχθύς ὁμοῖος σιτεομένους, ἐσβήνε δὲ νομίζοντας ἱχθύα ἕκεων δέρμασι, τὸ δὲ ἐν τῶν στομάτων τοῦ Ἀράξεως ρέει διὰ καθαροῦ ἐς τὴν Κασπίην θάλασσαν.

203. Ἡ δὲ Κασπίη θάλασσα ἐστὶ ἐπ’ ἐσωτηρία, οὐ συμμισσούσα τῇ ἐτέρῃ θαλάσσῃ. τὴν μὲν ὁμ Protection
said to be a great people and a mighty, dwelling towards the east and the sunrise, beyond the Araxes and over against the Issedones; and some say that they are a Scythian people.

202. The Araxes is by some said to be greater and by some less than the Ister. It is reported that there are many islands in it as big as Lesbos, and men thereon who in summer live on roots of all kinds that they dig up, and in winter on fruit that they get from trees and store when it is ripe for food; and they know (it is said) of trees which have a fruit whereof this is the effect: assembling in companies and kindling a fire, the people sit round it and throw the fruit into the flames, then the smell of it as it burns makes them drunk as the Greeks are with wine, and more and more drunk as more fruit is thrown on the fire, till at last they rise up to dance and even sing. Such is said to be their way of life. The Araxes flows from the country of the Matieni—as does the Gyndes, which Cyrus divided into the three hundred and sixty channels—and empties itself through forty mouths, whereof all except one issue into bogs and swamps, where men are said to live whose food is raw fish, and their customary dress sealskins. The one remaining stream of the Araxes flows in a clear channel into the Caspian sea.

203. This is a sea by itself, not joined to the other sea. For that whereon the Greeks sail, and the sea

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1 The Araxes of this chapter appears to be, from the description of its course, the modern Aras. But the Araxes of ch. 205, separating Cyrus' kingdom from the Massagetae, must be either the Oxus (Jihon) or Jaxartes (Sihon), both of which now flow into the Aral Sea. For a full discussion of the question the reader is referred to Essay IX. in the Appendix to Book I. of Rawlinson's Herodotus.
"Εκλήτες ναυτίλλονται πάσα καὶ ή ἐξω στηλέων θάλασσα η Ἀτλαντική καλεομένη καὶ η Ἐρυμβρή μία ἐσοῦσα τυγχάνει· η δὲ Κασπίη ἐστὶ ἐτέρη ἐπ' ἐωτῆς, ἐσοῦσα μῆκος μὲν πλοῦσι εἰρεσίᾳ χρεωμένω πεντεκαΐδεκα ἁμερέων, εὔρος δὲ, τῇ εὑρυτάτῃ ἐστὶ αὐτῇ ἐωτῆς, ὀκτὼ ἁμερέων, καὶ τὰ μὲν πρὸς τὴν ἐσπέρην φέροντα τῆς θαλάσσης ταύτης ὁ Καύκασος παρατείνει, ἐνὸς ὅρεων καὶ πλείθει μέγιστον καὶ μεγάθει υψηλότατον. Ἐθνα δὲ ἄνθρωποι πολλὰ καὶ παντοία ἐν ἐωτῷ ἔχει ὁ Καύκασος, τὰ πολλὰ πάντα ἀπ' ἅλης ἀγρίης ζύωντα· ἐν τούτῳ καὶ δέντρα φύλλα τοιχίσθησιν ἰδέθης παρεχόμενα εἶναι λέγεται, τὰ τρίβοντας τοι καὶ παραμάσασθαι ὑδωρ ξώα ἐωτοῦσσι εἰς τὴν ἐσθήτα ἐγγράφειν τὰ δὲ ξώα οὐκ ἐκπλύνεσθαι, ἀλλὰ συγκαταγράσκειν τὸ ἄλλο εἰρή κατὰ περ ἐνυφανθέντα ἄρχην. μίζω δὲ τούτων τῶν ἄνθρωπων εἶναι ἐμφανέα κατὰ περ τούς προβάτους.

204. Τὰ μὲν δὴ πρὸς ἐσπέρην τῆς θαλάσσης ταύτης τῆς Κασπίης καλεομένης ὁ Καύκασος ἀπέργει, τὰ δὲ πρὸς ἧδον τε καὶ ἰλιοῦ ἀνατέλλοντα πεδίον ἐκδεκεται πλῆθος ἀπειρον ἐς ἀποψιν. τοῦ ὁποίου τούτου τοῦ μεγάλου οὐκ ἐλαχίστην μοῖραν μετέχουσι οἱ Μασσαγέται, ἐπ' οὓς ὁ Κύρος ἔσχε προθυμίαν στρατεύσασθαι. πολλὰ τε γὰρ μιν καὶ μεγάλα τὰ ἑπαεροῦτα καὶ ἑποτρύνοντα ἦν, πρῶτον μὲν ἡ γένεσις, τὸ δοκειν πλέον τι εἶναι ἄνθρωπον, δευτερα δὲ ἡ εὐτυχία ἢ κατὰ τούς πολέμους γενομένη ὅτι γὰρ ἴδουσε στρατεύσασθαι Κύρος, ἀμήχανον ἦν ἐκεῖνο τὸ ἔθνος διαφυγεῖν.

205. Ὅ τὲ τοῦ ἄνθροπος ἀποθανόντος γυνὴ τῶν
beyond the pillars of Heracles, which they call Atlantic, and the Red Sea, are all one; but the Caspian is separate and by itself. Its length is what a ship rowed by oars can traverse in fifteen days, and its breadth, where it is broadest, is an eight days' journey. Along its western shore stretches the range of Caucasus, which has more and higher mountains than any other range. Many and all manner of nations dwell in the Caucasus, and the most of them live on the fruits of the wild wood. Here, it is said, are trees growing leaves that men crush and mix with water and use for the painting of figures on their clothing; these figures cannot be washed out, but last as long as the wool, as if they had been woven into it from the first. Men and women here (they say) have intercourse openly, like beasts of the flock.

204. This sea called Caspian is hemmed in to the west by the Caucasus: towards the east and the sunrise there stretches from its shores a boundless plain as far as sight can reach. The greater part of this wide plain is the country of the Massagetae, against whom Cyrus was eager to lead his army. For there were many reasons of weight that heartened and encouraged him so to do: first, his birth, whereby he seemed to be something more than mortal man, and next, his victories in his wars; for no nation that Cyrus undertook to attack could escape from him.

205. Now at this time the Massagetae were ruled
Μασσαγετέων βασίλεια. Τόμυρις οί ἢν οὖνομα, ταῦτα πέμπων ὁ Κύρος ἐμνάτο τῷ λόγῳ θέλων γυναικὴ ἢ ἔχειν. ἢ δὲ Τόμυρις συνεισά οὐκ αὐτὴν μιν μνόμενον ἀλλὰ τὴν Μασσαγετέων βασιληίν, ἀπείπατο τὸν πρόσδον. Κύρος δὲ μετὰ τούτο, ὅσοι δὲλώ οὐ προεχώρει, ἐλάσας ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀράξεα ἐποιεῖτο ἐκ τοῦ ἐμφανέος ἐπὶ τούς Μασσαγέτας στρατηγίαν, γεφύρας τε ξενυμίου ἐπὶ τοῦ ποταμοῦ διάβασιν τῷ στρατῷ, καὶ πύργους ἐπὶ πλοίων τῶν διαπορθμευόντων τὸν ποταμὸν ἀκοδομέομενος.

206. Ἐχοντι δὲ οἱ τούτῳ τὸν πόλιν πέμψασα ἢ Τόμυρις κήρυκα ἔλευς τάδε. "Ω βασιλεύ Μη-δών, παύσας σπεύδων τὰ σπεύδεις· οὐ γὰρ ἀν εἰδείης εἰ τοι ἐς καιρὸν ἐσταῖ ταῦτα τελεόμενα· παυσά- μενος δὲ βασίλευς τῶν σεωτοῦ, καὶ ἡμέας ἀνέχειν ὁρῶν ἀρχοντας τῶν περ ἄρχομεν. οὐκών ἐθελήσεις ὑποθήκησι τῆςδε χράσθαι, ἀλλὰ πάντως μᾶλλον ἡ δὲ ἵσυχις εἶναι· σὺ δὲ εἰ μεγάλως προθυμεῖς Μασσαγετέων περιηθήναι, φέρε μόχθον μὲν τὸν ἐχεῖς ξενυμίς τὸν ποταμὸν ἀπες, σὺ δὲ ἡμέων ἀναχωρήσαντων ἀπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ τριῶν ἡμερῶν ὄδὸν διάβαινε ἐς τὴν ἠμετέρην· εἰ δὲ ἡμέας βου- λεῖσθαι ἐσθεδασθαι μᾶλλον ἐς τὴν ἠμετέρην, σὺ τῶντὸ τοῦτο ποιεῖς." ταύτα δὲ ἀκούσας ὁ Κύρος συνεκάλεσε Περσέων τοὺς πρῶτον, συναγείρας δὲ τούτους ἐς μέσον σφε προείδει τὸ πρόγμα, ἡμβουλεύμενος ὁκότερα ποιεῖ. τῶν δὲ κατὰ τῶντὸ αἱ γνώμαι συνεξεπεπτον κελεύνοντων ἐσθε- κεσθαί Τόμυριν τε καὶ τὸν στρατὸν αὐτῆς ἐς τὴν χώρην.
by a queen, called Tomyris, whose husband was dead. Cyrus sent a message with a pretence of wooing her for his wife, but Tomyris would have none of this advance, well understanding that he wooed not her but the kingdom of the Massagetae. So when guile availed him nothing Cyrus marched to the Araxes and openly prepared to attack the Massagetae; he bridged the river that his army might cross, and built towers on the pontoons that should carry his men over.

206. But while he was at this work Tomyris sent a herald to him with this message: "Cease, king of the Medes, from that on which you are intent; for you cannot know if the completion of this work will be for your advantage. Cease, and be king of your own country; and be patient to see us ruling those whom we rule. But if you will not take this counsel, and will do all rather than remain at peace, then if you so greatly desire to essay the strength of the Massagetae, do you quit your present labour of bridging the river, and suffer us to draw off three days' journey from the Araxes; and when that is done, cross into our country. Or if you desire rather to receive us into your country, do you then yourself withdraw as I have said." Hearing this, Cyrus assembled the chief among the Persians and laid the matter before them, asking them to advise him which he should do. They all spoke to the same purpose, urging him to suffer Tomyris and her army to enter his country.
207. Παρεών δὲ καὶ μεμφόμενος τὴν γνώμην ταύτην Κροίσος ὁ Λυδός ἀπεδείκνυτο ἐναντίον τῇ προκειμένῃ γνώμῃ, λέγων τάδε. "Ὡς βασιλεὺς, εἶπον μὲν καὶ πρότερον τοι ὅτι ἐπεὶ με Ζεὺς ἐδωκέ τοι, τὸ ἀν ὀρὼ σφάλμα ἕον οἰκον ὑφ᾽ ὁμ, κατὰ δύναμιν ἀποτρέψειν τὰ δὲ μοι παθήματα ἐόντα ἀγάριτα μαθήματα γέγονε. εἰ μὲν ἀθάνατος δοκεῖς εἶναι καὶ στρατης τοιαύτης ἄρχειν, οὐδὲν ἡν εἰ η ἀργόμα γνώμας ἐμὲ σοὶ ἀποφαίνεσθαι εἴ δ᾽ ἔγνωκας ὅτι ἄνθρωπος καὶ σὺ εἰς καὶ ἐτέρων τοιῶν ἄρχεις, ἑκεῖνο πρῶτον μᾶθε, ὡς κύκλος τῶν ἄνθρωπων ἐστὶ πρήγματος, περιφερόμενος δὲ οὐκ εἰς αἰεὶ τούς αὐτούς εὐτυχεῖς. ἔνδη ὅλον ἔχω γνώμην περὶ τοῦ προκειμένου πρήγματος τὰ ἐμπαλιν ἡ ὁστοι. εἰ γὰρ εθελήσωμεν ἐσδέξασθαι τοὺς τολμώνους τὴν χώρην, διε τοι ἐν αὐτῷ κίνδυνος ἐνυ ἔσσωθε εἰς μεν προσαπολύεις πᾶσαι τὴν ἄρχην. δῆλα γὰρ ὅτι νικώντες Μασσαγέται οὖ τὸ ὀπίσω φεύγονται ἀλλ᾽ ἐπὶ ἄρχας τὰς σὰς ἐλώσι, νικῶν δὲ οὐ νικᾶς τοσοῦτον ὅσον εἴ διαβάστας ἐς τὴν ἐκείνων, νικῶν Μασσαγέτας, ἐποίοι φεύγουσι. τῶντο γὰρ ἀντιθὴς ἐκείνων, ὅτι νικήσας τοὺς ἀντιομένους ἔλας ἰδο τῆς ἄρχης τῆς Τομύρου. χωρίς τε τοῦ ἀπηγμένου αἰσχρὸν καὶ οὐκ ἀνασχέτων Κυρίων γε τῶν Καμβύσεων γυναικὶ εἰςαντα ὑποχωρήσας τῆς χώρης. νῦν δὲν οὐκ δοκεῖς διαβάσαις προελθεῖν ὅσον ἔν ἐκείνων ὑπεξίωσι, ἐνθεύτευς δὲ τᾶδε ποιεῖτας πειράζοσθαι ἐκείνων περιγενέσθαι. ὡς γὰρ ἐγὼ πυθαθαίνομαι, Μασσαγέται εἰσὶ ἀγαθῶν τε Περσικῶν ἀπειροι καὶ καλῶν μεγάλων ἀπαθεῖς. τούτουι
207. But Croesus the Lydian, who was present, was displeased by their counsel and spoke against it. "Sire," said he, "you have ere now heard from me that since Zeus has given me to you I will to the best of my power turn aside whatever mischance I see threatening your house. And disaster has been my teacher. Now if you deem yourself and the army that you lead to be immortal, it is not for me to give you advice; but if you know that you and those whom you rule are but men, then I must first teach you this; men's fortunes are on a wheel, which in its turning suffers not the same man to prosper for ever. Then, if that be true, I am not of the same mind on the business in hand as these your other counsellors. This is the danger if we agree to suffer the enemy to enter your country: if you lose the battle you lose your empire also, for it is plain that if the Massagetae win they will not retreat back but will march against your provinces. And if you conquer them it is a lesser victory than if you crossed into their country and routed the Massagetae and pursued them; for I balance your chances against theirs, and suppose that when you have worsted your adversaries you will march for the seat of Tomyris' power. And besides what I have shown, it were a thing shameful and not to be borne that Cyrus the son of Cambyses should yield and give ground before a woman. Now therefore it is in my mind that we should cross and go forward as far as they go back, and that then we should endeavour to overcome them by doing as I shall show. As I learn, the Massagetae have no experience of the good things of Persia, nor have they ever fared well in respect of what is greatly desirable. For these men, therefore,
ων τοις ἀνδράσι τῶν προβάτων ἀφειδέως πολλά κατακόψαντας καὶ σκεύασάντας προθείναι ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ τῷ ἡμετέρῳ δαίτα, πρὸς δὲ καὶ κρητῆρας ἀφειδέως οἴνον ἀκρήτου καὶ σιτία παντοίᾳ ποιήσαντας δὲ ταύτα, ὑπολιπομένους τῆς στρατιάς τὸ φλαυρότατον, τοὺς λοιποὺς αὐτὸς ἔξαναχωρεῖν ἐπὶ τῶν ποταμῶν. ἤν γὰρ ἐγὼ γνώμης μὴ ἀμαρτω, κείνου ἰδόμενοι ἁγαθὰ πολλὰ τρέφονται τε πρὸς αὐτὰ καὶ ἡμῖν τὸ ἐνθέυτεν λειπεται ἀπόδεξις ἐργῶν μεγάλων.

208. Γνώμαι μὲν αὐτὰς συνεστασάν τῷ Κύρος δὲ μετεῖς τὴν προτέρην γνώμην τὴν Κροίσου δὲ ἐλόμενος, προηγόρευε Τομύρη ἐξαναχωρείν ὡς αὐτοῦ διαβησομένου ἐπὶ ἐκεῖνην. ἤ μὲν δὴ ἐξανα-
χώρει κατὰ ὑπέσχητο πρῶτα Κύρος δὲ Κροίσου ἐς τὰς χεῖρας ἐσθεῖς τῷ ἐνυπτῷ παιδὶ Καμβύση, τῷ περὶ τὴν βασιλείαν ἐδιδοὺ, καὶ πολλὰ ἐτελεῖ-
λάμενοι οἱ τιμᾶν τε αὐτὸν καὶ εὐ ποιεῖν, ἢ ἢ διάβασις ἢ ἐπὶ Μασσαγέτας μὴ ὀρθοθῇ, ταῦτα ἐντελέμενοι καὶ ἀποστείλας τοῦτος ἐς Πέρσας, αὐτὸς διέβανε τῶν ποταμῶν καὶ ὁ στρατὸς αὐτοῦ.

209. Ἐπείτε δὲ ἐπεραιώθη τῶν Ἀράξεα, νυκτὸς ἐπελθοῦσις εἰδε ὅσιν εὐδῶν ἐν τῶν Μασσαγετῶν τῇ χώρῃ τοιῇ ἐδύκεε ο Κύρος ἐν τῷ ὕπνῳ ὅραν τῶν Ττατάπεος παιδῶν τῶν πρεσβύτατον ἔχουν ἐπὶ τῶν ὄμων πτέρυγας καὶ τοῦτον τῇ μὲν τῇ Ἀσίην τῇ δὲ τῇ Εὐρώπῃ ἐπισκιάζειν. Ῥττασπεὶ δὲ τῷ Ἀρσάμεος ἐοίτε ἀνδρὶ Ἀχαιενίδη ἢ τῶν παιδών Δαρείος πρεσβύτατος, ἔως τὸτε ἥλικιν ἐς εἰκοσὶ κού μᾶλιτα ἔστα, καὶ ὦτος κατελέειπτο ἐν Πέρσας οὐ γὰρ εἰχὲ καὶ ἥλικην στρατευέσθαι. ἐπεὶ ὄν δὴ ἐξηγήσθη ὁ Κύρος,
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I counsel you to cut up the flesh of many of your sheep and goats into portions unstintingly, and to cook it and serve it as a feast in our camp, providing many bowls of unmixed wine withal and all manner of food. Then let your army withdraw to the river again, leaving behind that part of it which is of least account. For if I err not in my judgment, when the Massagetae see so many good things they will betake them to feasting thereon; and it will be for us then to achieve mighty deeds.”

208. So these opinions contended; and Cyrus set aside his former plan and chose that of Croesus; wherefore he bade Tomyris draw her army off, for he would cross (he said) and attack her; so she withdrew as she had promised before. Then he gave Croesus to the care of his own son Cambyses, to whom he purposed to leave his sovereignty, charging Cambyses to honour Croesus and entreat him well, if the crossing of the river against the Massagetae should not prosper. With this charge he sent the two back to Persia, and crossed the river, he and his army.

209. Then, being now across the Araxes, he dreamt at night while sleeping in the country of the Massagetae, that he saw the eldest of the sons of Hystaspes wearing wings on his shoulders, the one wing overshadowing Asia and the other Europe. (Hystaspes son of Arsames was an Achaemenid, and Darius was the eldest of his sons, being then about twenty years old; this Darius had been left behind in Persia, being not yet of an age to follow the army.) So when
Εἶδον λόγον ἐωυτῶ περὶ τῆς ὀψιος. ὡς δὲ οἱ ἐδόκεε μεγάλη εἶναι ἡ ὀψις, καλέσας Τστάσπεα καὶ ἀπολαβῶν μαίνου εἶπε ἑν "Τστάσπες, παῖς σος ἐπιβουλεύων ἐμοί τε καὶ τῇ ἐμῇ ἀρχῇ ἐδλωκε. ὡς δὲ ταῦτα ἀτρεκέως σίδα, ἐγὼ σημανέω ἐμεῦ θεοὶ κήδονται καὶ μοι πάντα προδεικνύοντα τὰ ἐπιφερόμενα. ἦδη ὁν ἐν τῇ παροικεμένῃ νυκτὶ εὐδῶν εἶδον τῶν σῶν παῖδων τῶν πρεσβύτατων ἔχοντα ἐπὶ τῶν ὦμων πτέρυγας καὶ τούτων τῇ μὲν τὴν Ἀσίην τῇ δὲ τὴν Εὐρώπην ἐπισκιάζειν. οὐκών ἐστὶ μηχανὴ ἀπὸ τῆς ὀψιος ταύτης οὐδεμία τὸ μὴ ἐκεῖνον ἐπιβουλεύειν ἐμοί· σύ νῦν τὴν ταχύτητι πορεύον ὁπίσω ἐς Πέρσας καὶ ποιεῖ ὄκιως, ἐπεάν ἐγὼ τάδε καταστρεφόμενος ἐλθὼν ἐκεῖ, ὡς μοι καταστήσεις τῶν παῖδα ἐς ἐλεγχον."

210. Κύρους μὲν δοκέων οἱ Δαρεῖον ἐπιβουλεύειν ἐλεγε τάδε· τὸ δὲ ὁ δαίμων προεφαίνε ὡς αὐτὸς μὲν τελευτήσειν αὐτοῦ ταύτη μέλλοι, ἢ δὲ βασιλείη αὐτοῦ περιχωρεῖλ ἐς Δαρεῖον. ἀμείβεται ὡς ὁ Ὁστάσπης τοῖς τις. "Ο Βασιλεὺς, μὴ εἰς ἀνὴρ Πέρσης γεγονὼς ὅστε τοι ἐπιβουλεύσειε, εἰ δὲ ἐστί, ἀπόλοιπο ὡς τάχιστα· ὃς ἀντὶ μὲν δούλων ἐποίησας ἐλευθέρως Πέρσας εἰναι, ἀντὶ δὲ ἀρχηγος ὑπ' ἄλλοιν ἀρχεῖν ἀπάντητον. εἰ δὲ τοῖς ὄψις ἀπαγγέλλει παίδα τῶν ἐμῶν νεώτερα βουλεύειν περὶ σέο, εἰγὼ τοι παραδίδωμι χρᾶσθαι αὐτῷ τούτῳ ὁ δὲ σὺ βουλέαι."

211. Ἐστάσπης μὲν τούτοις ἀμειψάμενος καὶ διαβὰς τὸν Ἀράξεα ἑς ἐς Πέρσας φυλάξων Κύρου τὸν παῖδα Δαρείον, Κύρος δὲ προελθὼν ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀράξεω ἡμέρης ὁδὸν ἐποίεε κατὰ τὰς Κρυίςου ὑποθήκας, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Κύρου τε
Cyrus awoke he considered his vision, and because it seemed to him to be of great import, he sent for Hystaspes and said to him privately, "I find, Hystaspes, that your son is guilty of plotting against me and my sovereignty; and I will tell you how I know this for a certainty. I am a man for whom the gods take thought, and show me beforehand all that is coming. Now this being so, I have seen in a dream in the past night your eldest son with wings on his shoulders, overshadowing Asia with the one and Europe with the other; wherefore it is from this vision most certain that he is plotting against me. Do you therefore go with all speed back to Persia, and so act that when I come thither after subduing this country you shall bring your son before me to be questioned of this."

210. So spoke Cyrus, thinking that Darius was plotting against him; but in truth heaven was showing him that he himself was to die in the land where he was, and Darius to inherit his kingdom. So then Hystaspes answered him thus:—"Sire, the gods forbid that any Persian born should plot against you! but if such there be, may he speedily perish; for you have made the Persians freemen instead of slaves and rulers of all instead of subjects. But if your vision does indeed tell that my son is planning aught to your hurt, take him; he is yours to use as pleases you."

211. Having so answered, Hystaspes returned across the Araxes to Persia to watch Darius for Cyrus; and Cyrus, going forward a day's journey from the Araxes, did according to Croesus' advice. After this Cyrus and the sound part of the Persian
καὶ Περσέων τοῦ καθαροῦ στρατοῦ ἀπελάσαντος ὁπίσω ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀράξεα, λειψθέντος δὲ τοῦ ἀχρησία, ἐπελθόνσα τῶν Μασσαγετέων τριτημορίς τοῦ στρατοῦ τούς τε λειψθέντας τῆς Κύρου στρατεύσεις ἐφόνευε ἀλέξομένους καὶ τὴν προκειμένην ἴδιωτες δαίτα, ὡς ἐχειρώσαντο τοὺς ἐναντίους, κλιθέντες ἐδαίνωτο, πληρωθέντες δὲ φορήσει καὶ οἴνου ἕυδον. οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι ἐπελθόντες πολλοὺς μὲν σφέόν ἐφόνευσαν, πολλῷ δὲ ἔτι πλεύνας ἐξόγρησαν καὶ ἀλλοὺς καὶ τὸν τῆς βασιλείας Τομύριος παιδαστρατηγέσαν τα Μασσαγετέων, τῷ οὖνομα τῷ Σπάργαπίσης.

212. "Ἡ δὲ πυθομένη τὰ τε περὶ τὴν στρατιὰν γεγονότα καὶ τὰ περὶ τὸν παιδα, πέμπτουσα κήρυκα παρὰ Κύρου ἔλεγε τάδε. "Ἀπληστε αἵματος Κύρε, μηδὲν ἐπαερήσῃς τὸ γεγονότα τώδε πρίγματι, εἰ ἀμπελίνῳ καρπῷ, τῷ περ αὐτοῦ ἐμπυπλάμων μαίνεσθε οὕτω ὧστε κατιόντος τοῦ οἴνου ἐς τὸ σώμα ἐπαναπλέειν ὅμιν ἐπει κακά, τοιοῦτο φαρμάκῳ δολώσας ἐκράτησας παιδὸς τοῦ ἐμοῦ, ἀλλ’ οὐ μάχη κατὰ τὸ καρτερόν. τῶν ὄν μεν εὐ παραινεσθῆς ὑπόλαβε τὸν λόγον ἀποδοῦσα μοι τὸν παιδὰ ἀπιθανὲς ἐκ τῆς χώρης υξίμως, Μασσαγετέων τριτημορίδι τοῦ στρατοῦ κατυβρίζας. εἰ δὲ ταῦτα οὐ ποιήσεις, ἢλιον ἐπόμυνι τοὶ τῶν Μασσαγετέων δεσπότην, ἢ μὲν σε ἐγὼ καὶ ἀπληστὸν ἑόντα αἵματος κορέσω."  

213. Κύρος μὲν ἔπεσαν οὐδένα τούτων ἀνενεχθέντων ἐποιεῖτο λόγον: ὁ δὲ τῆς βασιλείας Τομύριος παῖς Σπάργαπίσης, ὃς μιν ὃ τε οἴνος αὐτής καὶ ἐμαθε ἢν ἢν κακοῦ, δεθεὶς Κύρου εκ τῶν δεσμῶν λυθῆναι ἔτυχε, ὡς δὲ ἐλύθη τε
army marched away back to the Araxes, leaving behind those that were useless; whereupon a third part of the host of the Massagetae attacked those of the army who were left behind and slew them despite resistance; then, seeing the banquet spread, when they had overcome their enemies they sat down and feasted, and after they had taken their fill of food and wine they fell asleep. Then the Persians came upon them and slew many and took many more alive, among whom was the son of Tomyris the queen, Spargapises by name, the leader of the Massagetae.

212. When Tomyris heard what had befallen her army and her son, she sent a herald to Cyrus with this message:—"Bloodthirsty Cyrus, be not uplifted by this that you have done; it is no matter for pride if the fruit of the vine—that fruit whereof you Persians drink even to madness, so that the wine passing into your bodies makes evil words to rise in a flood to your lips—has served you as a drug to master my son withal, by guile and not in fair fight. Now therefore take this word of good counsel from me: give me back my son and depart unpunished from this country; it is enough that you have done despite to a third part of the host of the Massagetae. But if you will not do this, then I swear by the sun, the lord of the Massagetae, that for all you are so insatiate of blood, I will give you your fill thereof."

213. This message was brought to Cyrus, who cared nothing for it. But Spargapises, the son of the queen Tomyris, when his drunkenness left him and he knew his evil plight, entreated Cyrus that he might be loosed from his bonds; and this was granted
τάχιστα καὶ τῶν χειρῶν ἐκράτησε, διεργάζεται ἐωτόν.

214. Καὶ δὴ οὗτος μὲν τρόπῳ τοιοῦτῳ τελευτᾷ. Τὸμυρὶς δὲ, ὡς οἱ Κύρος οὐκ ἐσήκουσε, συνλέξασα πᾶσαν τὴν ἐωτής δύναμιν συνέβαλε Κύρω, ταύτην τὴν μάχην, ὥσα ἡ βαρθάρων ἀνδρῶν μάχαι ἐγένοντο, κρίνω ἰσχυρότάτην γενέσθαι, καὶ δὴ καὶ πυνθάνομαι οὗτοι τούτοι γενόμενοι. πρῶτα μὲν γὰρ λέγεται αὐτούς διαστάντας ἐς ἄλληλους τοξεύειν, μετὰ δὲ ὡς σφὶ τὰ βέλεα ἔξετετοξευτὸ, συμπεσόντας τῇς αἰχμής τε καὶ τοίς ἐγχειροδίοις συνέχεσθαι. χρόνου τε δὴ ἐπὶ πολλοῦ συνεστάναι μαχομένους καὶ οὐδέτεροις ἐθέλειν φεύγαιν τέλος δὲ οἱ Μασσαγεταὶ περιεγένουσιν. ἦ τε δὴ πολλὴ τῆς Περσικῆς στρατηγῆς αὐτοῦ ταύτης διεφθαρῆ καὶ δὴ καὶ αὐτὸς Κύρος τελευτᾷ, βασιλεύσας τὰ πάντα ἐνὸς δέοντα τριήκοντα ἔτεα. ἀσκὸν δὲ πλήσασα αἷματος ἀνθρωποτῆνος Τὸμυρὶς ἐδίξητο ἐν τοίς τεθνεῶσί τῶν Περσῶν τὸν Κύρον νέκνων, ὡς δὲ εὐρεῖ, ἐναπηκτε αὐτοῦ τὴν κεφάλην ἐς τὸν ἀσκὸν, λυμαινομένη δὲ τὸ νεκρῷ ἐπέλεγεν τάδε: "Σὺ μὲν ἐμὲ ἵνωταν τε καὶ νικῶς σε μάχη ἀπώλεσας, παῦδα τὸν ἔμοι ἔλων δόλων σε ὑπ' ἐγὼ, κατὰ περ ἥπειλης, αἷματος κορεσίω." τα μὲν δὴ κατὰ τὴν Κύρου τελευτῆν τοῦ βίου, πολλῶν λόγων λεγομένων, ὅπε μοι ὁ πιθανότατος εἴρηται.

215. Μασσαγεταὶ δὲ ἐσθήτα τε ὁμοῖῃ τῇ Σκυθικῇ φορέος καὶ διαμανθὲν ήχουσι, ἰππόται δὲ εἰσὶ καὶ ἀνιπποὶ (ἀμφιτέρως γὰρ μετέχουσι) καὶ τοξόται τε καὶ αἰχμοφόροις, σαγνοῖς νομίζουσις ἐχεῖν. χρυσῷ δὲ καὶ χαλκῷ τὰ πάντα χρέωνται;
him; but no sooner was he loosed and had the use of his hands, than he made away with himself.

214. Such was the end of Spargapises. Tomyris, when Cyrus would not listen to her, collected all her power and joined battle with him. This fight I judge to have been the stubbornest of all fights that were ever fought by men that were not Greek; and indeed I have learnt that this was so. For first (it is said) they shot at each other from a distance with arrows; presently, their arrows being all shot away, they rushed upon each other and fought at grips with their spears and their daggers; and for a long time they battled foot to foot and neither would give ground; but at last the Massagetae had the mastery. There perished the greater part of the Persian army, and there fell Cyrus himself, having reigned thirty years in all save one. Tomyris filled a skin with human blood, and sought for Cyrus' body among the Persian dead; when she found it, she put his head into the skin, and spoke these words of insult to the dead man: "Though I live and conquer thee, thou hast undone me, overcoming my son by guile; but even as I threatened, so will I do, and give thee thy fill of blood." Many stories are related of Cyrus' death; this, that I have told, is the worthiest of credence.

215. These Massagetae are like the Scythians in their dress and manner of life. They are both horsemen and footmen (having some of each kind), and spearmen and bowmen; and it is their custom to carry battle-axes. They ever use gold and bronze;
όσα μὲν γὰρ ἐς αἴχμας καὶ ἄρδες καὶ σαγάρις, χαλκῷ τὰ πάντα χρέωνται, ὅσα δὲ περὶ κεφαλὴς καὶ ξωστήρας καὶ μασχάλιστήρας, χρυσὺ κοσμεόνται. διὸ δ' αὐτῶς τῶν ὑπ' ὅν τὰ μὲν περὶ τὰ στέρνα χαλκέους θώρηκας περιβάλλουσι, τὰ δὲ περὶ τοὺς χαλινοὺς καὶ στόμια καὶ φάλαρα χρυσῷ. σιδῆρῳ δὲ οὐδ' ἀργύρῳ χρέονται οὐδὲν οὔδε γὰρ οὔδὲ σφὶ ἐστὶ ἐν τῇ χώρῃ, ὁ δὲ χρυσὸς καὶ ὁ χάλκος ἀπλετος.

216. Νόμοισι δὲ χρέονται τοιοίτοις. γυναῖκα μὲν γαμεῖν ἐκαστός, ταύτης δὲ ἐπικοινα χρέονται τὸ γὰρ Σκύθας φασὶ Ἔλληνες ποιεῖν, οὐ Σκύθαι εἰσὶ οἱ ποιεόντες ἀλλὰ Μασσαγέται τῆς γὰρ ἐπιθυμηθείς γυναικός Μασσαγέτης ἀνήρ, τὸν φαρετρέων ἀποκρεμάσας πρὸ τῆς ἀμάξης μίσης μαχηται ἀδέως. οὕρος δὲ ἡλικίας σφὶ πρόκειται ἀλλὸς μὲν οὖθεν ἐτεύχων γενήται κάρτα, οἱ προσήκοντες οἱ πάντες συνελθόντες θύνοσί μιν καὶ ἀλλὰ πρὸβατα ἀμα αὐτῷ, ἐψήσαντες δὲ τὰ κρέα κατευχέονται. ταύτα μὲν τὰ ὀλβιώτατα σφὶ νενόμισται, τὸν δὲ νοῦσῳ τελευτήσαντα οὐ κατασίτεονται ἀλλὰ γὰρ κρύπτοσύνε, συμφορὴν ποιεῦμεν οὐκ ἰκέτο ἐς τὸ τυθήναι. σπείρουσι δὲ οὐδὲν, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ κτηνῶν ξώονσί καὶ ἰχθυῶν, οἱ δὲ αὐθονοὶ σφὶ οὐκ ὄραξιν ποταμοῦ παραγίνονται γαλακτοπότα τὸ εἰσὶ. θεῶν δὲ μοῦνον ἡλιοὶ σέβονται, τὸ θύοντες ὑπόνους. νόος δὲ οὕτως τῆς θυσίας τῶν θεῶν τῷ ταχύτερῷ πάντων τῶν θυσίων τὸ τάχιστον δατείονται.
all their spear-points and arrow-heads and battle-axes are of bronze, and gold is the adornment of their headgear and belts and girdles. They treat their horses in like manner, arming their forehands with bronze breastplates and putting gold on reins, bits, and cheekplates. But iron and silver they never use; for there is none at all in their country, but gold and bronze abounds.

216. Now, for their customs: each man marries a wife, but the wives are common to all. The Greeks say this is a Scythian custom; it is not so, but a custom of the Massagetae. There, when a man desires a woman, he hangs his quiver before her waggon, and has intercourse with her, none hindering. Though they set no certain term to life, yet when a man is very old all his kin meet together and kill him, with beasts of the flock besides, then boil the flesh and feast on it. This is held to be the happiest death; when a man dies of a sickness they do not eat him, but bury him in the earth, and lament that he would not live to be killed. They never sow; their fare is their live-stock and the fish which they have in abundance from the Araxes. Their drink is milk. The sun is the only god whom they worship; to him they sacrifice horses; the reason of it is that he is the swiftest of the gods and therefore they give him the swiftest of mortal things.
BOOK II
1. Τελευτησαντος δὲ Κύρου παρέλαβε τὴν 
βασιλείαν Καμβώσης, Κύρου ἐδώ παῖς καὶ Κασ-
σανδάνης τῆς Φαρμάσπεω θυγατρός, τῆς προαπο-
θανούσης Κύρος αὐτὸς τε μέγα πένθος ἐποιήσατο 
καὶ τοις ἄλλοις προειπε πάσι τῶν ἦρχε πένθος 
ποιέσθαι. ταύτης δὴ τῆς γυναικὸς ἐδώ παῖς καὶ 
Κύρου Καμβώσης Ἰωνας μὲν καὶ Λιολέας ὁς δοῦ-
λους πατρώιοις ἐστάς ἐνόμιζε, ἐπὶ δὲ Αἰγυπτίον 
ἐποιεῖτο στρατηλασίην ἄλλους τε παραλαβῶν 
τῶν ἦρχε καὶ δὴ καὶ Ἑλληνῶν τῶν ἐπεκράτει.

2. Οἱ δὲ Αἰγύπτιοι, πρὶν μὲν ἡ Ψαμμήτιχον 
σφέων βασιλεύσαι, ἐνόμιζον ἑωτοὺς πρῶτους 
γενέσθαι πάντων ἀνθρώπων· ἐπειδὴ δὲ Ψα-
μήτιχος βασιλεύσας ἠθέλησε εἰδέναι οἰτίνες γενο-
ιατο πρῶτοι, ἀπὸ τοῦτον νομίζοντει Φρύγας 
προτέρους γενέσθαι ἑωτῶν, τῶν δὲ ἄλλων 
ἑωτοὺς. Ψαμμήτιχος δὲ ὡς οὐκ ἔδυνατο πνευ-
θανόμενος πόρον υδέναι τοῦτον ἀνευρέω, οὶ γενοῖατο 
πρῶτοι ἀνθρώπων, ἔπετεχνᾶται τοιοῦτε. παιδία 
δύο νεογάνα ἀνθρώπων τῶν ἐπιτυχοῦσαι δίδοσι 
ποιμένι τρέφειν ἐσ τὰ ποιμενα τροφήν τινα τούμενα, 
ἐντελάμενος μηδένα ἀντίον αὐτῶν μηδεμίαν φωνήν 
ἴναι, ἐν στέρην δὲ ἔρημη ἐπ' ἑωτῶν κέεσθαι αὐτά, 
καὶ τὴν ὥρην ἔπαγγελείν σφί άγγας, πλήσαντα 
δὲ γάλακτος τάλλα διαπρῆσεσθαι· ταῦτα δὲ 
ἐποιεῖ τε καὶ ἑνετέλλετο Ψαμμήτιχος θέλων ἀκοῦ-
BOOK II

1. After the death of Cyrus Cambyses inherited his throne. He was the son of Cyrus and Cassandra, daughter of Pharnaspes, for whom, when she died before him, Cyrus himself mourned deeply and bade all his subjects mourn also. Cambyses was the son of this woman and Cyrus. He considered the Ionians and Aeolians as slaves inherited from his father, and prepared an expedition against Egypt, taking with him, with others subject to him, some of the Greeks over whom he held sway.

2. Now before Psammetichus became king of Egypt, the Egyptians deemed themselves to be the oldest nation on earth. But ever since he desired to learn, on becoming king, what nation was oldest, they have considered that, though they came before all other nations, the Phrygians are older still. Psammetichus, being nowise able to discover by inquiry what men had first come into being, devised a plan whereby he took two newborn children of common men and gave them to a shepherd to bring up among his flocks. He gave charge that none should speak any word in their hearing; they were to lie by themselves in a lonely hut, and in due season the shepherd was to bring goats and give the children their milk and do all else needful. Psammetichus did this, and gave this charge, because he desired to hear what speech

1 In 664 B.C., probably.
σαι τῶν παιδίων, ἀπαλλαχθέντων τῶν ἀσήμων καυχημάτων, ἤντινα φωνὴν ῥήξουσι προτὴριν τὰ περὶ ὅν καὶ ἐγένετο. ὥς γὰρ διέτης χρόνος ἐγείρονε ταύτα τῷ ποιμένι πρῆσσοντε, ἀνοίγοντι τὴν βύρην καὶ ἐσιοντε τὰ παιδιὰ ἀμφότερα προσπίπτοντα βεκός ἐφώνεον, ὁρέγοντα τὰς χειρας. τὰ μὲν δὴ πρῶτα ἀκούσας ἤσυχος ἢν ὁ ποιμήν ὅς δὲ πολλάκις φοιτεοντε καὶ ἐπιμελομένων πολλῶν ἦν τούτο τὸ ἔπος, οὕτω δὴ σημῆνας τῷ δεσπότῃ ἤγαγε τὰ παιδιὰ κελεύοντας ἐς ὧν ἦν τὴν ἐκείνου. ἀκούσας δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ Ψαμμήτηχος ἐπυνθάνετο σεία τῶν ἀνδρῶν βεκός τε καλέος, πυθανόμενος δὲ εὐρίσκει Φρύγας καλέοντας τὸν ἄρτον. οὕτω συνεχώρησαν Ἀιγυπτιοὶ καὶ τοῖοτο σταθμησάμενοι πρῆγματι τῶν Φρύγας πρεσβυτέρους εἶναι ἐστί τῶν. ὁδὲ μὲν γενέσθαι τῶν ἑρέων τοῦ Ἡφαίστου τοῦ ἐν Μέμφι ἤκουσαν. "Εὖληνες δὲ λέγουσι ἅλλα τε μάταια πολλὰ καὶ ὁς γυναικῶν τὰς γλώσσας ὁ Ψαμμήτηχος ἐκταμὼν τὴν διάιταν οὕτω ἐποίησατο τῶν παιδἰων παρὰ ταύτης τῇ γυναιξί. 

3. Κατὰ μὲν δὴ τὴν τροφὴν τῶν παιδιῶν τοσαῦτα ἔλεγον, ἤκουσα δὲ καὶ ἅλλα ἐν Μέμφι ἐλθὼν ἐς λόγους τοῖς ἱρεύσι τοῦ Ἡφαίστου. καὶ δὴ καὶ ὡς Θήβας τε καὶ ὡς Ἡλίου πόλιν αὐτῶν τούτων εἶνεκα ἐπικόπην, ἔθελον εἰδέναι εἰ συμβῆσονται τοῖς λόγοις τοῖς ἐν Μέμφι; οἱ γὰρ Ἡλιοπολίται λέγονται Ἀιγυπτίων εἶναι λογισμῶτας. τὰ μὲν νυν θεῖα τῶν ἀπηγημάτων οἰα ἤκουσαν οὐκ εἰμὶ πρόθυμος ἔξηγεσθαι, ἔξω ὡς τὰ οἰνόματα αὐτῶν μοῦνοι, νομίζων πάντας
would first break from the children, when they were past the age of indistinct babbling. And he had his wish; for when the shepherd had done as he was bidden for two years, one day as he opened the door and entered both the children ran to him stretching out their hands and calling "Bekos." When he first heard this he said nothing of it; but coming often and taking careful note, he was ever hearing this same word, till at last he told the matter to his master, and on command brought the children into the king's presence. Psammetichus heard them himself, and inquired to what language this word Bekos might belong; he found it to be a Phrygian word signifying bread. Reasoning from this fact the Egyptians confessed that the Phrygians were older than they. This is the story which I heard from the priests of Hephaestus' temple at Memphis; the Greeks relate (among many foolish tales) that Psammetichus made the children to be reared by women whose tongues he had cut out.

3. Besides this story of the rearing of the children, I heard also other things at Memphis, in converse with the priests of Hephaestus; and I visited Thebes too and Heliopolis for this very purpose, because I desired to know if the people of those places would tell me the same tale as the priests at Memphis; for the people of Heliopolis are said to be the most learned of the Egyptians. Now, for the stories which I heard about the gods, I am not desirous to relate them, saving only the names of the deities; for I

1 Identified by the Greeks with the Egyptian Ptah.
ἀνθρώπους ἵσου περὶ αὐτῶν ἐπίστασθαι· τὰ δὲ ἀν ἐπιμυνησθέω αὐτῶν, ὑπὸ τοῦ λόγου ἐξαναγκαζόμενος ἐπιμυνησθήσομαι.

4. "Οσα δὲ ἀνθρωπία πρήγματα, ὥστε ἔλεγον ὀμολογεύοντες σφίσι, πρῶτον Αἰγυπτίους ἀνθρώπων ἀπάντων ἔξευρεῖν τὸν ἐναυτὸν, δυσδεκα μέρεα δαςαμένους τῶν ὥρεων ἐς αὐτὸν· ταῦτα δὲ ἔξευρεῖν ἐκ τῶν ἁςτέρων ἔλεγον ἄγονυς δὲ τοσῷδε σοφότερον Ἐλλήνων, ἐμοὶ δοκεέων, ὅσῳ Ἐλλήνες μὲν διὰ τρίτου ἐτεος ἐμβόλιον ἐπεμβάλλουσι τῶν ὥρεων ἐνεκεν, Ἀιγυπτίοι δὲ τριήκοντῃμέρους ἄγοντες τοὺς δυσδεκα μήνας ἐπάγονυς ἀνὰ τὰν ἐτος πέντε ἡμέρας πάρεξ τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ, καὶ σφι ὁ κύκλος τῶν ὥρεων ἐς τοῦτο περιοῦν παραγίνεται. δυσδεκά τε θεον ἐπωνυμίας ἔλεγον πρῶτος Αἰγυπτίους νομίσας καὶ Ἐλλήνας παρὰ σφέων ἀναλαβείν, βομβοὺς τε καὶ ἀγαλματα καὶ νηφών θεότη σπονδαὶ πρῶτος καὶ ἡμα τούς ἐγκλυοῖς. καὶ τοῦτον μὲν νων τὰ πλέω ἐργο ἐθύλον οὕτω γενόμενα. βασιλεύσας δὲ πρῶτον Αἰγυπτίους ἐλεγον Μίνα: ἐπὶ τοῦτον, πλὴν τοῦ Ὁθαϊκοῦ νομοῦ, πάσαν Αἰγυπτίον εἴχε ἐλος, καὶ αὐτῆς εἶναι οὐδὲν ὑπερέχον τῶν νῦν ἐνερθε λήμνης τῆς Μοῖρος ἐντυν, ἀν ἁνάπλοος ἦπτα ἀλάσσας ἐπὶ ἦμερεῖς ἐπτα ἠμέρεῖς ἐστι ἀνὰ τῶν ποταμῶν.

5. Καὶ εὖ μοι ἐδόκεον λεγεῖν περὶ τῆς χώρης· δῆλα γὰρ δῆ καὶ μὴ προακούσαντι ἰδόντε δὲ, ὅστις γε σύνεσιν ἔχει, ότι Αἰγυπτος, ἐς τὴν Ἐλλήνες

1 There is much obscurity about the "Twelve Gods." This only appears to be clear, that eight (or nine) gods form the first order of the Egyptian hierarchy, and that there are
hold that no man knows about the gods more than another; and I will say no more about them than what I am constrained to say by the course of my history.

4. But as regarding human affairs, this was the account in which they all agreed: the Egyptians, they said, were the first men who reckoned by years and made the year to consist of twelve divisions of the seasons. They discovered this from the stars (so they said). And their reckoning is, to my mind, a juster one than that of the Greeks; for the Greeks add an intercalary month every other year, so that the seasons may agree; but the Egyptians, reckoning thirty days to each of the twelve months, add five days in every year over and above the number, and so the completed circle of seasons is made to agree with the calendar. Further, the Egyptians (said they) first used the appellations of twelve gods (which the Greeks afterwards borrowed from them); and it was they who first assigned to the several gods their altars and images and temples, and first carved figures on stone. They showed me most of this by plain proof. The first human king of Egypt, they said, was Min. In his time all Egypt save the Thebaic province was a marsh: all the country that we now see was then covered by water, north of the lake Moeris, which lake is seven days' journey up the river from the sea.

5. And I think that their account of the country was true. For even though a man has not before been told it he can at once see, if he have sense, that that Egypt to which the Greeks sail is land acquired twelve of the second rank. See ch. 43, and Rawlinson's essay (ch. 3 in his Appendix to Book II.).

1 The southern part of Upper Egypt.
2 In the modern Fayyum, west of the Nile.
ναυτίλλονταί, ἐστὶ Αἰγύπτιοισι ἐπίκτητός τε γῆ καὶ δῶρον τοῦ ποταμοῦ, καὶ τὰ κατύπερθε ἐτὶ τῆς λίμνης ταύτης μέχρι τριών ἡμερέων πλόου, τῆς πέρι ἐκείνοις ὀυδὲν ἐτὶ ταῦταν ἐλεγοῦν, ἐστὶ δὲ ἐτερον τοιόνδε. Αἰγύπτιον γὰρ φύσις ἐστὶ τῆς χώρης τοιῇδε, πρῶτα μὲν προσπλέων ἐτὶ καὶ ἡμέρης δρόμου ἄπεχον ἀπὸ γῆς, κατεὶς καταπειρητήρηι πηλὸν τε ἀνοίσεις καὶ ἐν ἐνδεκα ὀργυηὸ δεσθεὶ. τούτῳ μὲν ἐπὶ τοσοῦτο δῆλον πρόχυσιν τῆς γῆς ἑούσαν.

6. Αὐτὶς δὲ αὐτῆς ἐστὶ Αἰγύπτιον μήκος τὸ παρὰ θάλασσαν ἐξήκοντα σχοῖνοι, κατὰ ἡμεῖς διαιρέομεν εἰναι Αἰγύπτιον ἀπὸ τοῦ Πλυθωνίτεων κόλπου μέχρι Σερβωνίδος λίμνης, παρ’ ἦν τὸ Κάσιον ὄρος τείνει ταύτης ὅν ἀπὸ οἱ ἐξήκοντα σχοῖνοι εἰσὶ. ὅσοι μὲν γὰρ γεωπείναι εἰσὶ ἀνθρώπων, ὀργυηὸι μεμετρήκασι τὴν χώρην, ὅσοι δὲ ἰσόν γεωπείναι, σταδίοις, οἱ δὲ πολλὴν ἔχουσι, παρασάγγησι, οἱ δὲ ἀφθονον λίην, σχοῖνοις. δύναται δὲ ὁ παρασάγγης τριήκοντα στάδια, ὅ δὲ σχοῖνοι, μέτρου ἐν Αἰγύπτιον, ἐξήκοντα στάδια.

7. Οὖν ἄν εἴησαν Αἰγύπτιον στάδιοι ἔκακοι καὶ τρισχίλιοι τὸ παρὰ θάλασσαν. ἐνθέθεν μὲν καὶ μέχρι Ἡλίου πόλιος ἐς τὴν μεσόγαιαν ἐστὶ εὐρέα Αἰγύπτιον, ἐόσα πάσα ὑπήρ τε καὶ ἐνυδρος1 καὶ ἰλίς. ἐστὶ δὲ ὀδὸς ἐς Ἡλίου πόλιν ἀπὸ θαλάσσης ἄνω ἱοῦτα παραπλησία τὸ μῆκος τῇ ἐς Ἀθηνάς ὄρο τῇ ἀπὸ τῶν δυόδεκα θεών του ἑκμοῦ φεροὺσα ἔς τε Πίναν καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν νηὸν τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Ολυμπίου. σμικρὸν τε τὸ διά-

1 All MSS. have ἐνυδρος, which is a strange epithet for the Delta. Modern editors read ἐνυθρος or ἐνυθρος.
by the Egyptians, given them by the river—not only
the lower country but even all the land to three days' voyage above the aforesaid lake, which is of the same
nature as the other, though the priests added not this to what they said. For this is the nature of the
land of Egypt: firstly, when you approach to it from
the sea and are yet a day's run from land, if you then
let down a sounding line you will bring up mud and
find a depth of eleven fathoms. This shows that the
deposit from the land reaches thus far.

6. Further, the length of the seacoast of Egypt itself is sixty "schoeni," 1 that is of Egypt as we judge
it to be, reaching from the Plinthinete gulf to the
Serbonian marsh, which is under the Casian mountain;
between these there is this length of sixty schoeni.
Men that have scanty land measure by fathoms;
those that have more, by furlongs; those that have
much land, by parasangs; and those who have great
abundance of it, by schoeni. The parasang is of
thirty furlongs' length, and the schoenus, which is
an Egyptian measure, is of sixty.

7. By this reckoning then the seaboard of Egypt
will be three thousand and six hundred furlongs in
length. Inland from the sea as far as Heliopolis
Egypt is a wide land, all flat and watery and marshy.
From the sea up to Heliopolis it is a journey about
as long as the way from the altar of the twelve gods
at Athens to the temple of Olympian Zeus at Pisa.
If a reckoning be made there will be seen to be but

1 Literally "ropes."
φορον εύροι τις ἂν λογιζόμενος τῶν ὀδῶν τούτων τὸ μὴ ἦσας μήκος εἶναι, οὐ πλέον πεντεκαίδεκα σταδίων· ἤ μὲν γὰρ ἐς Πίσαν ἐξ Ἀθηναίων κατα- δεῖ πεντεκαίδεκα σταδίων μή εἶναι πεντακοσίων καὶ χιλίων, ἢ δὲ ἐς Ἑλίου τόλην ἀπὸ βαλάσσης πληροὶ ἐς τῶν ἀριθμοὺ τούτων.

8. Ἀπὸ δὲ Ἑλίου πόλιος ἄνω ἱοντε στεινή ἐστι Ἀγνυττος. τῇ μὲν γὰρ τῆς Ἀραβίης ὀρὸς παρα- τέταται, φέρον ἀπ᾽ ἀρκτοῦ πρὸς μεσαμβρίην τε καὶ νότον, αἰεὶ ἄνω τεῖνον ἐς τὴν Ἐρυθρὴν καλεο- μένην βάλασσαν· ἐν τῇ δὲ λιθοτομίαν ἐνεισί αἱ τὰς πυραμίδας κατατμηθεῖσαί τὰς ἐν Μέμφι. ταῦτη μὲν λίγουν ἀνακάμπτει εἰς τὰ εἰρήνη τὸ ὄρος· τῇ δὲ αὐτὸ ἔως τοῦ ἐστὶ μακρότατον, ὡς ἐγὼ ἐπινευθανόμην, δύο μηνῶν αὐτὸ εἶναι τῆς ὁδοῦ ἀπὸ ἑόρα πρὸς ἐσπέρην, τὰ δὲ πρὸς τὴν ἠδω λαβανωτο- φόρα αὐτῶ τὰ τέρματα εἶναι. τούτῳ μὲν νῦν τὸ ὄρος τοιοῦτο εἰστὶ, τὸ δὲ πρὸς Λιβύης τῆς Ἀγνυττον ὄρος ἄλλο πέτρινων τείνει, ἐν τῷ αἱ πυραμίδες ἐνεισί, ψάμμῳ κατειλμένοιν, κατὰ τὸν αὐτῶν τρόπον καὶ τοῦ Ἀραβίου τὰ πρὸς μεσαμβρίην φέροντα. τὸ ὡν δὴ ἀπὸ Ἑλίου πόλιος ὅνετε πολλῶν χωρίων ὡς εἶναι Ἀγνυττον, ἄλλα δὲν τῇ ἡμερῶν τετε- σέρων καὶ δέκα 1 ἀναπλών ἐστὶ στεινὴ Ἀγνυττος, ἐνοῦσα τῶν ὄρεων τῶν εἰρήμενων τὸ μεταξὺ πεδίας μὲν γῆ, σταδίον δὲ μάλιστα ἐδάκεον μοι εἶναι, τῇ στεινότατον ἐστὶ, διηκοσίων οὐ πλέουσι ἐκ τοῦ Ἀραβίου ὄρεως ἐς τὸ Λιβυκὸν καλεόμενον. τὸ δὲ ἐνθεῦτεν αὐτὸς εὑρέα Ἀγνυττος ἐστὶ. πέφυκε μὲν νῦν ἡ χώρη αὐτῇ οὕτω.

1 The MSS. have τεσσάρων; but this is inconsistent with ch. 9. The addition of καὶ δέκα makes the figures agree, roughly.
a little difference of length, not more than fifteen furlongs, between these two journeys; for the journey from Athens to Pisa is fifteen furlongs short of fifteen hundred, which is the tale of furlongs between the sea and Heliopolis.

8. Beyond and above Heliopolis Egypt is a narrow land. For it is bounded on the one side by the mountains of Arabia, which bear from the north to the south, ever stretching southward towards the sea called the Red Sea. In these mountains are the quarries that were hewn out for the making of the pyramids at Memphis. This way then the mountains turn, and end in the places of which I have spoken; their greatest breadth from east to west, as I learnt, is a two months' journey, and their easternmost boundaries yield frankincense. Such are these mountains. On the side of Libya Egypt is bounded by another range of rocky mountains, wherein are the pyramids; this is all covered with sand, and it runs in the same direction as those Arabian hills that bear southward. Beyond Heliopolis there is no great distance, that is, in Egypt;¹ the narrow land has but a length of fourteen days' journey up the river. Between the mountain ranges aforesaid the land is level, and where the plain is narrowest it seemed to me that there were no more than two hundred furlongs between the Arabian mountains and those that are called Libyan. Beyond this Egypt is a wide land again. Such is the nature of this country.

¹ οὐτε Ἰνή Aἰγύπτου; so much of the Nile valley being outside Egypt. But it is possible that the words may mean "no great distance, for Egypt," i.e. no great distance relatively to the size of the country.
9. Ἀπὸ δὲ Ἡλίων πόλιος ἐς Θήβας ἐστὶ ἀνάπλοος ἐννέα ἡμερέων, στάδιοι δὲ τῆς οδοῦ ἐξῆκοντα καὶ ὀκτακόσιῳ καὶ τετρακισχίλιοι, σχόλιοι ἕνος καὶ ὁγδώκοιτα ἑώρων. οὕτωι συντιθεμένοι οἱ στάδιοι Αἰγύπτου τὸ μὲν παρὰ ἀλάσσαν ἡδὴ μοι καὶ πρῶτον ἐκεῖλωταν ὁτι εξακοσίων τε ἐστὶ στάδιων καὶ τρισχιλίων, ὅσον δὲ τι ἀπὸ βαλάσσης ἐς μεσόγαιαν μέχρι Θηβέων ἐστὶ, σημανῶν στάδιοι γὰρ εἰσὶ εἰκοσι καὶ ἐκατὸν καὶ ἐξακισχίλιοι. τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ Θηβέων ἐς Ἑλεφαντίνην καλεομένην πόλιν στάδιοι χίλιοι καὶ ὀκτακόσιοι εἰσὶ.

10. Ταύτης δὲν τῆς χώρης τῆς εἰρημένης ἡ πολλή, κατὰ περὶ οἱ ἱρεῖς ἐλεγούν, ἐδόκεε καὶ αὐτὸς μοι εἶναι ἐπὶκτητὸς Αἰγυπτίους. τῶν γὰρ ᾨρων τῶν εἰρημένων τῶν ὑπὲρ Μέμφι τόλμων κείμενων τὸ μεταξὺ ἐραίνετο μοι εἶναι κοτέ κόλπος θαλάσσης, ὥστε γε τὰ περὶ Ἡλίων καὶ Τευθρανίνης καὶ Ἐφεσοῦ τε καὶ Μαιάνδρου πεδίου, ὡς γε εἶναι σμικρά ταῦτα μεγάλοις συμβαλλόντων τῶν γὰρ ταῦτα τὰ χωρία προσχωσάντων ποταμῶν ἐν τῶν στομάτων τοῦ Νείλου, ἐντούς πενταστόμου, οὗ δεις αὐτῶν πλήθεος περὶ ἕξιον συμβαλλούσα εἰσὶ. εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ ἄλλοι ποταμοί, οὐ κατὰ τὸν Νείλον ἐντούς μεγάθεα, οἵτινες ἤργα ἀποδεξάμενοι μεγάλα εἰσὶ· τῶν ἐγὼ φράσαι ἐχὼ ὄνοματα καὶ ἄλλοι καὶ οὐκ ἦκεστα Ἀχελῶν, ὡς βρέων δὲ Ἀκαρνανίς καὶ ἐξεῖς ἐς θάλασσαν τῶν Ἕλληνων νῆσων τὰς ἴμισέας ἡδη ἡπειρον πεποίηκε.

11. Ἑστὶ δὲ τῆς Ἀραβίης χώρης, Αἰγύπτου δὲ οὐ πρόσω, κόλπος θαλάσσης ἐς ἐκ τῆς
9. From Heliopolis to Thebes it is nine days' journey by river, and the distance is four thousand eight hundred and sixty furlongs, or eighty-one schoeni. This then is a full statement of all the furlongs in Egypt: the seaboard is three thousand six hundred furlongs long; and I will now declare the distance inland from the sea to Thebes: it is six thousand one hundred and twenty furlongs. And between Thebes and the city called Elephantine there are eighteen hundred furlongs.

10. The greater portion, then, of this country whereof I have spoken was (as the priests told me, and I myself formed the same judgment) land acquired by the Egyptians; all that lies between the ranges of mountains above Memphis to which I have referred seemed to me to have been once a gulf of the sea, just as the country about Ilion and Teuthrana and Ephesus and the plain of the Maeander, to compare these small things with great. For of the rivers that brought down the stuff to make these lands there is none worthy to be compared for greatness with one of the mouths of the Nile; and the Nile has five mouths. There are also other rivers, not so great as the Nile, that have wrought great effects; I could declare their names, but chief among them is Achelous, which, flowing through Acarnania and issuing into the sea, has already made half of the Echinades islands to be mainland.

11. Now in Arabia, not far from Egypt, there is a gulf of the sea entering in from the sea called Red,\(^1\)

\(^1\) The "sea called Red," it will be remembered, is the sea south and east of Arabia: the gulf entering in from it is our Red Sea. Suppose the Delta to have been once a gulf too, then there would have been two gulfs, both running up into Egypt, their heads not far from each other.
Ερυθρής καλεομένης θαλάσσης, μακρὸς οὕτω δὴ τι καὶ στεινὸς ὡς ἔρχομαι φράσων μῆκος μὲν πλόου ἁρξαμένῳ ἐκ μυχοῦ διεκπλώσαι ἡς τὴν εὐρέαν θαλάσσην ἡμέραι ἀναίσμονται τεσσερά-
κοντα εἰρετή χρεωμένον εὔρος δὲ, τῇ εὐρύτατος ἐστὶ ὁ κόλπος, ἡμισὺ ἡμέρης πλόου. ῥηχὴ δ' ἐν αὐτῷ καὶ ἀμπωτες ἀνὰ πᾶσαν ἡμέρην γίνεται. ἔτερον τοιοῦτον κόλπον καὶ τὴν Ἀἰγυπτίων δοκέω γενέσθαι κοτέ, τῶν μὲν ἐκ τῆς Βορηίης θαλάσσης κόλπον ἐσέχοντα ἐπὶ Αἰθιοπίης, τὸν δὲ 'Αράβιον, τὸν ἔρχομαι λέξων, ἐκ τῆς νοτίης φέροντα ἐπὶ Συρίης, σχεδὸν μὲν ἀλλήλοις συντεταίροντας τοὺς μυχοὺς, ὀλίγον δὲ τὶ παραλάσσοντας τῆς χώρης. εἰ δ' ὄν ἔθελῆσαι ἐκτέρνητο τὸ ἰέθρον ὁ Ἕνις ἐς τοῦτον τὸν 'Αράβιον κόλπον, τὴ μιν κολύει προντὸς τοῦτον ἐκχωσθῆναι εὐτὸς ἐς δισ-
μυρίων ἐτέων; ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ ἐλπομαί γε καὶ μυρίων ἐντὸς χωσθῆναι αὐτὶ καὶ γε ὑπὲρ τοῦ προανασισμῶμεν ἥρων πρότερον ἡ ἑμὲ γενέσθαι νῦκ ἂν χωσθείη κόλπος καὶ πολλῷ μέξαν ἐπὶ τοῦτο ὑπὸ τοσοῦτον τε ποταμοῦ καὶ οὕτω ἐργατικῷ;

12. Τὰ περὶ Ἀἰγυπτῶν οὖν καὶ τοῖς λέγουσι αὐτὰ πειθομαί καὶ αὐτοὺς οὕτω κάρτα δοκείν εἴναι, ἢδον τε τὴν Ἀἰγυπτών προκειμένην τῆς ἐχομένης γῆς κογχυλία τε φαινόμενα ἐπὶ τοίς ὀρεσὶ καὶ ἀλμήν ἐπανθεύονται, ὡστε καὶ τὰς πυραμίδας δηλέσθαι, καὶ ψάμμων μόνων Αἰγύπτου ὁρος τοῦτο τὸ ὑπὲρ Μέμφιος ἔχον, πρὸς δὲ τῇ χώρῃ οὔτε τῇ 'Αραβίη προσούρῳ ἐσύρῃ τὴν Ἀἰγυπτίων προσεικέλην οὔτε τῇ Διβήθ, οὐ μὲν οὐδὲ τῇ Συρίη (τῆς γὰρ 'Αραβίης τὰ παρὰ θάλασσαν
of which the length and narrowness is such as I shall show: for length, it is a forty days' voyage for a ship rowed by oars from its inner end out to the wide sea; and for breadth, it is half a day's voyage at the widest. Every day the tide ebbs and flows therein. I hold that where now is Egypt there was once another such gulf; one entered from the northern sea towards Aethiopia, and the other, the Arabian gulf of which I will speak, bore from the south towards Syria; the ends of these gulfs pierced into the country near to each other, and but a little space of land divided them. Now if the Nile choose to turn his waters into this Arabian gulf, what hinders that it be not silted up by his stream in twenty thousand years? nay, I think that ten thousand would suffice for it. Is it then to be believed that in the ages before my birth a gulf even much greater than this could not be silted up by a river so great and so busy?

12. Therefore, as to Egypt, I believe those who so speak, and I am myself fully so persuaded; for I have seen that Egypt projects into the sea beyond the neighbouring land, and shells are plain to view on the mountains and things are coated with salt (insomuch that the very pyramids are wasted thereby), and the only sandy mountain in Egypt is that which is above Memphis; moreover, Egypt is like neither to the neighbouring land of Arabia, nor to Libya, no, nor to Syria (for the seaboard of Arabia
Σύρω νέμονται), ἀλλὰ μελάγγαιων τε καὶ καταρρηγυμένην, ὡστε έσονεν ἑλύν τε καὶ πρόχυσιν ἐξ Αἰθιοτικής κατευθυνμένην ὑπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ, την δὲ Διβύνην ἔδει τὸν ἐρυθρότερν τε γην καὶ ὑποψαμμοτερήν, την δὲ Ἀραβίνην τε καὶ Συρίην ἀργυλωδεστέρν τε καὶ ὑπόπτερνον έσονεν.

13. Ἐλεγον δὲ καὶ τὸδε μοι μέγα τεκμήριον περὶ τῆς χώρης ταύτης οἱ ιρεῖς, ὡς ἐπὶ Μοίριος βασιλέος, ὅκως ἔλθον οἱ ποταμός ἐπὶ ὅκτω πήχεας τὸ ἐλάχιστον, ἀρδευε Αἰγυπτίων τὴν ἑκείνη Μέμφιος καὶ Μοίρι οὐκ ἦν έτεα εἰνακόσια τετελευτηκότι ὅτε τῶν ιρέων ταύτα ἐγώ ἠκουσον. νῦν δὲ εἰ μὴ ἐπ’ ἐκκαίδεκα ἡ πεντεκαίδεκα πήχεας ἀναβῆ τὸ ἐλάχιστον οἱ ποταμοί, οὐκ ὑπερβαίνει εἰς τὴν χώρῃν. δοκεοντι τέ μοι Αἰγυπτίων οἱ ἑνερθὲ λίμνης τῆς Μοίριος οἴκοντες τὰ τε ἀλλα χωρία καὶ τὸ καλεόμενον Δέλτα, ἦν οὕτως ἡ χώρη αὐτὴ κατὰ λόγον ἐπίδιδο ἐς ὑψὸς καὶ τὸ ὅμοιον ἀποδιδό ἐς αὐξησιν,1 μὴ κατακλύζοντος αὐτὴν τοῦ Νείλου πείσεσθαι τῶν πάντα χρόνον τῶν ἐπιλοιπον Αἰγύπτιων τὸ κοτὲ αὐτοὶ Ἑλληνας ἔφασαν πείσεσθαι. πυθόμενοι γὰρ ἡς ἴτα νὰ πᾶσα ἡ χώρη τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἂλλ’ οὐ ποταμοίς ἀρδευε τὰ πέρι ἡ σφετέρη, ἔφασαν Ἑλληνας ψευσθέντας κοτὲ ἐλπίδος μεγάλης κακῶς πεινήσειν. τὸ δὲ ἐπος τούτο ἐθέλει λέγειν ὡς, εἰ μὴ ἐθελήσει σφί οὔειν ὁ θεὸς ἄλλα αὐχμὸ διαχράσθαι, λιμῷ ὅ ᾧ Ἑλληνες αἰρεθήσονται οὐ γὰρ δὴ σφί ἐτοι ὑδατος οὐδεμία ἄλλη ἀποστροφή ὅτε μὴ ἐκ τοῦ Δίως μούνον.

1 Stein brackets καὶ... αὐξησιν.
is inhabited by Syrians); it is a land of black and crumbling earth, as if it were alluvial deposit carried down the river from Aethiopia; but we know that the soil of Libya is redder and somewhat sandy, and Arabia and Syria are lands rather of clay and stones.

13. This too that the priests told me concerning Egypt is a strong proof; when Moeris was king, if the river rose as much as eight cubits, it watered all Egypt below Memphis. Moeris was not yet nine hundred years dead when I heard this from the priests. But now, if the river rise not at the least to sixteen or fifteen cubits, the land is not flooded. And, to my thinking, the Egyptians who dwell lower down the river than the lake Moeris, and chiefly those who inhabit what is called the Delta—these, if thus this land of theirs rises in such proportion and likewise increases in extent, will (the Nile no longer flooding it) be ever after in the same plight which they themselves once said would be the case of the Greeks; for learning that all the Greek land is watered by rain, and not, like theirs, by river, they said that some day the Greeks would be disappointed of their high hopes, and miserably starve: signifying thereby that should it be heaven's will to send the Greeks no rain and afflict them with drought, famine must come upon them, as receiving all this water from Zeus and having no other resource.

1 Supposing this statement to be true, Moeris must have been king much more than 900 years before Hdt.; 900 years being much too short a period for a rise of eight cubits in the height of the Nile valley.
14. Καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ἔσ Ἐλλήνας Αἰγυπτίοις ὁρθῶς ἔχοντα εἰρηταὶ φέρε ἐκ νῦν καὶ αὐτοῖς Αἰγυπτίοις ὡς ἔχει φράσων ἐσι σφὶ θέλοι, ὡς καὶ πρότερον εἰπὼν, ἡ χώρη ἡ ἐνερθεί Μέμφιος (ἀυτὴ γὰρ ἐστὶ ἡ αὐξανομένη) κατὰ λόγου τοῦ παροικομένου χρόνου ἐσ ὑψὸς αὐξάνεσθαι, ἀλλὰ τὴν ταύτην οἰκέοντες Αἰγυπτίων πεινήσουσι; εἰ μὴτε γε ὦσται σφὶ ἡ χώρη μῆτε ὁ ποταμὸς οἶος τὸ ἔσται ἐκ τὰς ἁρώρας ὑπερβαίνειν. ἡ γὰρ ὅ ἐκ νῦν γε ὄντω αὐτοντότατα καρπὴν κομίζονται ἐκ γῆς τῶν τε ἁλλῶν ἀνθρώπων πάντων καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν Αἰγυπτίων τοῖς ὑπὸ ἁρώρας ἀναρρηγώντες αὐλακας ἔχουσι πάνως οὔτε σκαλλοῦντες οὔτε ἄλλο ἐργαζόμενοι οὐδὲν τῶν οὔτοι ἁλλοί ἀνθρώποι πέρι λήμων πονέουσι, ἀλλ' ἐπεάν σφὶ ὁ ποταμὸς αὐτομάτου ἐπελθὼν ἀργὴ τὰς ἁρώρας, ἁργᾶς δὲ ἀπολίπησιν ὅπϊσω τὸ σπείρας ἐκαστὸς τὴν ἐγωντο ἁρώραν ἐσβάλλει ἐς αὐτὴν ὅ ποτε ἐπεάν καὶ κατα- πατήσῃ τῆς ὕστο τὸ σπέρμα, ἁμητίν τὸ ἀπὸ τοῦτο μενεί, ἀποδιώκησας δὲ τῆς ὅσι τὸν οὕτω κομίζεται.

15. Εἰ δὲν βουλόμεθα γνώμησι τῆς Ἰωνίων χρᾶσθαι τὰ περὶ Αἰγυπτοῦ, οἱ φασὶ τὸ Δέλτα μούνου εἶναι Αἰγυπτοῦ, ἀπὸ Περσέως καλεομένης σκοπής λέγοντες τὸ παρὰ βάλασαν εἶναι αὐτῆς. μέχρι ταρκηίων τῶν Πελούσιων, τῇ δὲ τεσσεράκοντα εἰσὶ σχοῖνοι, τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ βαλάσης λεγόντων ἐς μεσόγαιαν τείνειν αὐτὴν μέχρι Κερκασώρου πόλιοι, κατ' ὅν σχίζεται ο Νείλος ἐς τὰς Πελούσιος ρέων καὶ ἐς Καίροβον, τὰ δὲ ἄλλα λεγόντων τῆς Αἰγυπτοῦ τὰ μὲν Διβύς τὰ δὲ Ἀραβίης εἶναι, ἀποδεικνύοιμεν ἄν τοῦτο τῷ
BOOK II. 14-15

14. And this saying of the Egyptians about the Greeks was true enough. But now let me show what is the case of the Egyptians themselves: if (as I have already said) the country below Memphis—for it is this which rises—should increase in height in the same degree as formerly, will not the Egyptians who dwell in it go hungry, there being no rain in their country and the river being unable to inundate their fields? Now, indeed, there are no men, neither in the rest of Egypt, nor in the whole world, who gain from the soil with so little labour; they have not the toil of breaking up the land with the plough, nor of hoeing, nor of any other work which other men do to get them a crop; the river rises of itself, waters the fields, and then sinks back again; thereupon each man sows his field and sends swine into it to tread down the seed, and waits for the harvest; then he makes the swine to thresh his grain, and so garners it.

15. Now if we agree with the opinion of the Ionians, namely that nothing but the Delta is Egypt, whereof the seaboard reaches, according to them, from what is called the watchtower of Perseus, forty schoeni to the salting factories of Pelusium, while inland it stretches as far as the city of Cercasorus,¹ where the Nile divides and flows thence to Pelusium and Canobus (all the rest of Egypt being, they say, partly Libya and partly Arabia): if

¹ At the southern point of the Delta, where the two main channels of the Nile divide, not far below Cairo.
Λόγῳ χρεώμενοι Αιγύπτιοι οὐκ ἐσύσταν προ- 
τερον χάριν. ἦδη γάρ σφί τό γε Δέλτα, ὡς 
αὐτοὶ λέγουσι Αἰγύπτιοι καὶ ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ, ἐστὶ 
κατάρρυτόν τε καὶ νεωστὶ ός λόγῳ εἰπεῖν 
ἀναπεφημός· εἰ τοίνυν σφι χώρη γε μηδεμια 
ὑπῆρχε, τί περιεργάζοντο δοκέοντες πρῶτοι ἀν- 
θρώπων γεγονέναι; οὐδὲ ἔδει σφεῖς ἐς διάπειρα 
τῶν παιδίων ίέναι, τίνα γλῶσσαν πρῶτην ἀπή- 
σουσι· ἀλλ' οὔτε Αἰγύπτιοι δοκέω ἀμα τό 
Δέλτα τό ὑπὸ Ἰώνων καλεομένῳ γενέσθαι αἰεὶ 
τε εἶναι ἐξ οὐ ἀνθρώπων γένεος ἑγένετο, προϊούσης 
δὲ τῆς χώρης πολλοὺς μὲν τοὺς ὑπολειπομένους 
αὐτῶν γενέσθαι πολλοὺς δὲ τοὺς ὑποκαταβαί- 
νοντας. τό δ' ὡν πάλαι αἱ Θῆβαι Αἰγύπτου 
ἐκαλέστο, τῆς τὸ περιμετρὸν στάδιον εἰσὶ εἰκοσ 
καὶ ἐκατὸν καὶ ἕξακισχίλιοι.

16. Εἰ ὡν ἡμεῖς ὅρθως περὶ αὐτῶν γινώσκομεν, 
Ἰωνές οὐκ εὖ φρονέουσι περὶ Αἰγύπτου· εἰ δὲ 
ὁρθή ἔστι ἡ γνώμη τῶν Ἰώνων, Ἐλληνας τε καὶ 
αὐτοὺς Ἰωνᾶς ἀποδείκνυμι οὐκ ἐπισταμένους 
λογιζέσθαι, οἱ φασὶ τρία μόρια εἶναι γῆν πᾶσαν, 
Εὐρώπην τε καὶ Ἀσίην καὶ Διβύην. τέταρτον 
γὰρ δὴ σφεῖς δὲ προσλογίζεσθαι Αἰγύπτου τὸ 
Δέλτα, εἰ μήτε γε ἐστὶ τῆς Ἀσίης μήτε τῆς 
Διβύης· οὐ γὰρ δὴ ὁ Νεῖλος γε ἐστὶ κατὰ τοῦτο 
τῶν λόγων ὅ τιν Ἰωνῆς ὑμίχων τῆς Διβύης, τοῦ 
Δέλτα δὲ τοῦτο κατὰ τὸ ὑζὺ περιφρήγχυναι ὁ 
Νεῖλος, ὅστε ἐν τῷ μεταξὺ Ἀσίης τε καὶ Διβύης 
γίνοιτ' ᾗν. 

17. Καὶ τὴν μὲν Ἰώνων γνώμην ἀπίστευτη ἡμεῖς 
δὲ ὡδὲ καὶ περὶ τοῦτον λέγομεν, Αἰγύπτου μὲν 
πᾶσαν εἶναι ταὐτήν τὴν ὑπ' Αἰγύπτιων οἰκεομέ-
we follow this account, we can show that there was once no country for the Egyptians; for we have seen that (as the Egyptians themselves say, and as I myself judge) the Delta is alluvial land and but lately (so to say) come into being. Then if there was once no country for them, it was but a useless thought that they were the oldest nation on earth, and they needed not to make that trial to see what language the children would first utter. I hold rather that the Egyptians did not come into being with the making of that which Ionians call the Delta: they ever existed since men were first made; and as the land grew in extent many of them spread down over it, and many stayed behind. Be that as it may, the Theban province, a land of six thousand one hundred and twenty furlongs in circuit, was of old called Egypt.

16. If then our judgment of this be right, the Ionians are in error concerning Egypt; but if their opinion be right, then it is plain that they and the rest of the Greeks cannot reckon truly, when they divide the whole earth into three parts, Europe, Asia, and Libya; they must add to these yet a fourth part, the Delta of Egypt, if it belong neither to Asia nor to Libya; for by their showing the Nile is not the river that separates Asia and Libya; the Nile divides at the extreme angle of this Delta, so that this land must be between Asia and Libya.

17. Nay, we put the Ionians' opinion aside; and our own judgment concerning the matter is this: Egypt is all that country which is inhabited by
νην κατὰ περ Κηλίκην τὴν ὑπὸ Κηλίκων καὶ Ἀσσυρίνην τὴν ὑπὸ Ἀσσυρίων, οὐρισμα δὲ Ἀσίη καὶ Διβύη οἶδαμεν οὕδεν ἔων ὁρθὸ λόγῳ εἰ μὴ τοὺς Ἀγγυπτίων οὕρους. εἰ δὲ τῷ ὑπὸ Ἑλληνῶν νεομισμένῳ χρησόμεθα, νομισοῦμεν Ἀγγυπτόν πάσαν ἀρξαμένην ἀπὸ Καταδούπων τε καὶ Ἐλεφαντίνης πόλιος δύχα διαρέεσθαι καὶ ἀμφοτέρων τῶν ἐπωνυμίων ἔχεσθαι. τὰ μὲν ἡρὰ αὐτῆς εἴναι τῆς Διβύης τὰ δὲ τῆς Ἀσίης. οἱ γὰρ δὴ Νείλος ἀρξαμένος ἐκ τῶν Καταδούπων ρήει μέσην Ἀγγυπτὸν σχίζων ἐς θάλασσαν. μέχρι μὲν τῶν Κερκασώρου πόλιος ρήει εἰς ἑσὼν ὁ Νείλος, τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ ταύτης τῆς πόλιος σχίζεται τριφασίας ὁδοὺς. καὶ ἦ μὲν πρὸς ἧνον τράπεται, τὸ καλέται Πηλούσιον στόμα, ὥ δὲ ἐτέρῃ τῶν ὁδῶν πρὸς ἑσπέρην ἔχει τοῦτο δὲ Κανωβικὸν στόμα κεκληται. ὥ δὲ ἦθεα τῶν ὁδῶν τῷ Νείλῳ ἐστὶ ηὔες ἀνωθεν φερόμενος ἐς τὸ ὀξὺ τοῦ Δέλτα ἀπικνεῖται, τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ τούτου σχίζων μέσον τὸ Δέλτα ἐς θάλασσαν ἔχει, οὕτε ἑλαγίστην μοῦραν τοῦ ὑδάτως παρεχόμενος ταύτην οὕτε ἡκιστα ὀνομαστήν τὸ καλέται Σεβεννυτικὸν στόμα. ἐστὶ δὲ καὶ ἐτερα δυφάσια στόματα ἀπὸ τοῦ Σεβεννυτικοῦ ἀποσχισθέντα, φέροντα ἐς θάλασσαν τοὺς οὐρώματα κέεται τάδε, τῷ μὲν Σαϊτικῶν αὐτῶν τῷ δὲ Μενδήσιον. τὸ δὲ Βολβίτινων στόμα καὶ τὸ Βουκολικὸν οὐκ ἰθαγενέα στόματα ἐστὶ ἀλλ' ὀρυκτά.

18. Μαρτυρεῖ δὲ μοι τῇ γνώμῃ, ὦτε τοσαύτη ἐστὶ Ἀγγυπτὸς ὅσην τινὰ ἐγὼ ἀποδείκνυμι τῷ λόγῳ, καὶ τὸ Ἀμμωνος χρηστήριον γενόμενον τὸ ἐγὼ τῆς ἐμεωτοῦ γνώμης ὑστερον περὶ Ἀγγυπτοῦ ἐπιθύμην. οὐ γὰρ δὴ ἐκ Μαρέης τε πόλιος
Egyptians, even as Cilicia and Assyria are the countries inhabited by Cilicians and Assyrians severally; and we know of no frontier (rightly so called) below Asia and Libya save only the borders of the Egyptians. But if we follow the belief of the Greeks, we shall consider all Egypt, down from the Cataracts and the city Elephantine, to be divided into two parts, and to claim both the names, the one part belonging to Libya and the other to Asia. For the Nile, beginning from the Cataracts, divides Egypt into two parts as it flows to the sea. Now as far as the city Cercasorus the Nile flows in one channel, but after that it parts into three. One of these, which is called the Pelusian mouth, flows eastwards; the second flows westwards, and is called the Canobic mouth. But the direct channel of the Nile, when the river in its downward course reaches the sharp point of the Delta, flows thereafter clean through the middle of the Delta into the sea; in this is seen the greatest and most famous part of its waters, and it is called the Sebennytic mouth. There are also two channels which separate themselves from the Sebennytic and so flow into the sea, by name the Saftic and the Mendesian. The Bolbitine and Bucolie mouths are not natural but dug channels.

18. My opinion, that the extent of Egypt is such as my argument shows, is attested by the answer which (my judgment being already formed) I heard to have been given concerning Egypt by the oracle of Ammon. The men of the cities of Marea and

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1 On the island opposite Syene (Assuan).
καὶ Ἀτίος, οἰκεόντες Αἰγύπτου τὰ πρόσουρα Διβύη, αὐτοὶ τε δοκεόντες εἶναι Δίβυες καὶ οὐκ Αἰγύπτιοι καὶ ἄχρομον τῇ περὶ τὰ ἱρὰ θρησκήν, Βουλόμενοι θηλέων βοῶν μὴ ἔργεσθαι, ἐπεμήναν ἐς Ἀμμονα φάμενοι οὐδὲν σφίσει τε καὶ Αἰγυπτίοις κοινὸν εἶναι οἰκείως τε γὰρ ἐξω τοῦ Δέλτα καὶ οὐδὲν ὁμολογέων αὐτοῦ σφίσει τε πάντων σφίσει ἐξεῖναι γεόσθαι. ὁ δὲ θεὸς σφεας οὐκ ἔα ποιεῖν ταῦτα, φᾶς Αἰγυπτοῦ εἶναι ταύτην τὴν ὁ Νείλος ἐπὶον ἄρδει, καὶ Αἰγυπτίους εἶναι τούτους οἱ ἐνερβὴ Ἐλεφαντίνης πόλιος οἰκεόντες ἀπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ τοῦτο πίνουσι. οὐτὼ σφι ταῦτα ἔχρησθη.

19. Ἐπέρχεται δὲ ὁ Νείλος, ἐπεαν πληθυνὴ, οὐ μοῦνον τὸ Δέλτα ἄλλα καὶ τοῦ Διβύκου τε λεγομένου χωρίου εἶναι καὶ τοῦ Ἀραβίου ἐναχῇ καὶ ἐπὶ δύο ἡμερέων ἐκατέρωθι ὄδον, καὶ πλέον ἐπὶ τούτου καὶ ἔλασσον. τοῦ ποταμοῦ δὲ φύσιος πέρι οὔτε τι τῶν ἱρέων οὔτε ἄλλου οὐδένος παραλαβεῖν ἐδυνάσθην. πρόθυμος δὲ ἔα τάδε παρ' αὐτῶν πυθείη, ὁ τι κατέρχεται μὲν ὁ Νείλος πληθύων ἀπὸ τροπέων τῶν θερινέων ἄρξάμενος ἐπὶ ἐκατὸν ἡμέρας, πελάσας δὲ ἐς τὸν ἀριθμὸν τούτου τῶν ἡμερέων ὀπίσω ἀπέρχεται ἀπολείπον τὸ ἱερὸν, ὡστε βραχὺς τὸν χειμῶνα ἀπαντα διατελεῖ ἐὼν μέχρι οὗ αὐτὸς τροπέων τῶν θερινέων. τούτων ὁν πέρι οὐδενὸς οὐδέν οἶος τε ἐγενόμην παραλαβεῖν παρὰ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων, ἰστορεών αὐτοὺς ἤπτων δύναμιν ἔχει ὁ Νείλος τὰ ἐμπαλιν πεφυκέναι τῶν ἄλλων ποταμῶν ταῦτα τε ὑπὸ τὰ λελεγμένα Βουλόμενος εἰδέναι ἰστόρεον καὶ ὁ τε αὑράς ἀποπυκνοῦσας μοῦνοι ποταμῶν πάντων οὐ παρέχεται.
Apis, in the part of Egypt bordering on Libya, thinking themselves to be not Egyptians but Libyans, and misliking the observance of the religious law which forbade them to eat cows' flesh, sent to Ammon saying that they had no part or lot with Egypt: for they dwelt (said they) outside the Delta and did not consent to the ways of its people, and they wished to be suffered to eat of all foods. But the god forbade them: all the land, he said, watered by the Nile in its course was Egypt, and all who dwelt lower down than the city Elephantine and drank of that river's water were Egyptians. Such was the oracle given to them.

19. When the Nile is in flood, it overflows not only the Delta but also the lands called Libyan and Arabian, in places as far as two days' journey from either bank, and sometimes more than this, sometimes less. Concerning its nature, neither from the priests nor from any others could I learn anything. Yet I was zealous to hear from them why it is that the Nile comes down with a rising flood for an hundred days from the summer solstice, and when this tale of days is complete sinks again with a diminishing stream, so that the river is low for the whole winter till the summer solstice again. Concerning this matter none of the Egyptians could tell me anything, when I asked them what power the Nile has to be contrary in nature to all other rivers. Of the matters aforesaid I wished to know, and asked; also why no airs blow from it as from every other stream.¹

¹ Not from the river itself, perhaps; but there is a regular current of air blowing up the valley.
20. Ἀλλὰ Ἐλλήνων μὲν τινὲς ἐπίσημοι βουλόμενοι γενόσθαι σοφίην ἐλέειν περὶ τοῦ ὑδατος τοῦτον τριφασίας ὀδούς· τῶν τὰς μὲν δύο τῶν ὀδῶν οὖν ἄξιον μην ἄνοιξθήναι εἰ μή ὅσον σημᾶναι βουλόμενος μοῦν ὑδόν τῶν ἡ ἐτέρη μὲν λέγει τοὺς ἐτησίας ἀνέμους εἰναι αἰτίους πληθεῖσι τῶν ποταμῶν, κολυώντας ἐς θάλασσαν ἐκρείειν τὸν Νεῖλον. πολλάκις δὲ ἐτησίαι μὲν οὐκὼν ἐπενευσάν, οὐ δὲ Νείλος τοῦτο ἐργάζεται. πρὸς δὲ, εἰ ἐτησίαι αἰτίων ἒσαν, χρὴν καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ποταμοὺς ὁσοὶ τοῦτο ἐτησίως ἀντίλαμψαν ἄμεσοι πάσχειν καὶ κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ τῷ Νείλῳ, καὶ μᾶλλον ἐτὶ τοσοῦτο ὅσον ἔλασσον ἑντετείκετα τὰ ἐρεύματα παρέχονται. εἰς δὲ πολλοὶ μὲν ἐν τῇ Συρίᾳ ποταμοὶ πολλοὶ δὲ ἐν τῇ Διβύῃ, ο全力以 πάντω ἑντετείκειν οἴον τι καὶ ὁ Νείλος.

21. Ἡ δὲ ἐτέρη ἀνεπιστημονεστέρη μὲν ἐστὶ τῆς λεξιγμένης, λόγῳ δὲ εἰπεῖν θωμασιωτέρη ἡ λέγει ἀπὸ τοῦ Ὁκεανοῦ ἑρεύτα αὐτῶν ταῖτα μηχανᾶσθαι, τὸν δὲ Ὁκεανὸν γῆν περὶ πᾶσαν ῥεῖν.

22. Ἡ δὲ τρίτη τῶν ὀδῶν πολλῶν ἐπικεκίστατη ἐφοῦσα μάλεστα ἐφευρται. λέγει γὰρ δὴ οὕτως αὐτῇ οὐδέν, φαμένη τὸν Νείλον ῥεείν ἀπὸ τηκομένης χιόνος· δὲ ρέει μὲν ἐκ Διβύης διὰ μέσων Λιθίων, ἐκδίδοι δὲ ἐς Λεγυπτον. κῶς ὁν δὴ ῥῆν ἀν ἀπὸ χιόνους, ἀπὸ τῶν θερμοτάτων ῥέως ἐς τὰ ψυχρότερα τὰ πολλὰ ἐστὶ; ἀνδρὶ γε λογίζεσθαι τοιοῦτων πέρι οὕρ τε ἐόντος, ὡς οὐδὲ οἰκὸς ἀπὸ χιόνους μὲν ρέειν, πρῶτον μὲν καὶ μέγιστον μαρτύριον οἱ ἀνεμοὶ παρέχονται πνεύμονες ἀπὸ τῶν
20. But some of the Greeks, wishing to be notable for cleverness, put forward three opinions about this river; of which there are two that I would not even mention, save to show only what they are. One of these will have it that the etesian winds are the cause of the rivers being in flood, because they hinder the Nile from flowing out into the sea. But there are many times when the etesian winds do not blow, yet the Nile does the same as before. And further, if the etesian winds were the cause, then the other rivers which flow contrary to those winds should be affected in like manner even as is the Nile, and all the more, inasmuch as being smaller they have a weaker current. Yet there are many rivers in Syria and in Libya, which are nowise in the same case as the Nile.

21. The second opinion is less grounded on knowledge than that afore-mentioned, though it is more marvellous to the ear: by it, the river effects what it does because it flows from the Ocean, which flows round all the world.

22. The third opinion is the most plausible by far, yet is of all the most in error. It has no more truth in it than the others. According to this, the Nile flows from where snows melt; but it flows from Libya through the midst of Ethiopia, and issues out into Egypt; how then can it flow from snow, seeing that it comes from the hottest places to lands that are for the most part colder? nay, a man who can reason about such matters will find his chief proof, that there is no likelihood of the river’s flowing from snow, in this—that the winds blowing from Libya and

1 The regular N.W. winds which blow in summer from the Mediterranean.
κωρέων τοισδαν θερμοί· δεύτερον δὲ δι’ ἄνομβροι 
ἡ χώρη καὶ ἀκρύσταλλος διατελέσει ἔσσα, ἐπὶ δὲ 
χίνων πεσούση πᾶσα ἀνάγκη ἐστὶ ύπατε ἐν πέντε 
ημέρρῃσι, ὡστε, εἰ ἐχιώνιζε, ὅτε ἀν ταῦτα τὰ 
χωρία τρίτα δὲ οἱ ἀνθρώποι ὑπὸ τοῦ καύματος 
μέλανες ἔσοντες. ἰκτίνοι δὲ καὶ χελιδόνες δι’ ἐτεὸς 
ἔσοντες οὐκ ἀπολείπουσι, γέρανοι δὲ φεύγουσι τὸν 
χειμώνα τῶν ἐν τῇ Σκυθίκῃ χώρῃ γινόμενον φοι- 
tῶσι ἐς χείμασθην ἐς τοὺς τοποὺς τούτους. εἰ 
τοῖνυν ἐχιώνιζε καὶ ὅσον ἀν ταῦτα τὴν χώρην δι’ 
ἕς τε ἐρεί καὶ ἐκ τῆς ἀρχής θέου ο Ἡσίωος, ἕν 
ἀν τούτων οὐδέν, ὡς ἡ ἀνάγκη ἐλέγχει.

23. 'Ο δὲ περὶ τοῦ Ὀκεανοῦ λέγεις ἐς ἄφανες τῶν 
μύθων ἀνεφείκας οὐκ ἔχει ἐλεγχον, ὥστε τινὰ 
ἐγγονο διὸ ταῦτα ποταμῶν Ὀκεανοῦ ἐστά, Ὁμηρὸν δὲ 
ἥ τινα τῶν πρῶτων γενόμενον ποιητέων δοκεῖ 
τὸ οὐνομα εὐροῦτα ἐς ποιήσαι ἑσενείκασθαι.

24. Εἰ δὲ δεῖ μεμψάμενον γρώμας τὰς προ- 
κειμένας αὐτὸν περὶ τῶν ἄφανες γρώμην ἀποδέ- 
ξασθαι, φράσω δι’ ὅ τι μοι δοκεῖ, πληθυνθῶσθαι ὁ 
Νείλος τοῦ θέρειος· τὴν χειμερινὴν ὄρην ἀπε- 
λαυνόμενος ὁ Ἡλιός ἐκ τῆς ἀρχαίς διεξόδου ὑπὸ 
tῶν χειμώνων ἔρχεται τῆς Λιβύης τὰ ἀνώ. ὡς 
μὲν ὕπὼ ἐν ἐλαχίστῳ δηλῶσαι, πᾶν εἰρηται· τῆς 
γὰρ ἀν ἀγχοτάτω τῇ χώρῃς οὖτος ὁ θεὸς καὶ 
kατὰ ἠντίνα, ταῦτα οὐκ ἵππην τὸ ὑδάτω 
καλὰ μάλιστα καὶ τα ἐγχώρια ῥεύματα μαραίνεσθαι 
tῶν ποταμῶν.

25. Ὑς δὲ ἐν πλεον ἄρομ δηλῶσαι, ὥδε ἔχει, 
dieξιῶν τῆς Λιβύης τὰ ἀνώ ἡ Ἡλιός τάδε ποιεῖν · 
ἀτε διὰ παντὸς τοῦ χρόνου αἰθρίου τε ἐσοντος τοῦ
Ethiopia are hot. And the second proof is, that the country is ever without rain and frost; but after snow has fallen there must needs be rain within five days; so that were there snow there would be rain in these lands. And the third proof is, that the men of the country are black by reason of the heat. Moreover, kites and swallows live there all the year round, and cranes, flying from the wintry weather of Seythia, come every year to these places to winter there. Now, were there but the least fall of snow in this country through which the Nile flows and whence it rises, none of these things would happen, as necessity proves.

23. The opinion about the Ocean is grounded in obscurity and needs no disproof; for I know of no river of Ocean; and I suppose that Homer or some older poet invented this name and brought it into his poetry.

24. If, having condemned the opinions proposed, I must now set forth what I myself think about these obscure matters, I will show what I suppose to be the cause of the Nile being in flood in the summer. During the winter the sun is driven by the storms from his customary course and passes over the inland parts of Libya. Now to make the shortest conclusion, that is all that need be said; for to whatever country this god is nearest, or over it, it is to be thought that that land is the thirstiest and that the rivers in it are diminished.

25. But stated at greater length, the truth is as I shall show. In his passage over the inland parts of Libya—the air being ever clear in that region, the

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1 It does not seem to be known what authority there is for this assertion.
Τὸν κατὰ ταῦτα τὰ χωρία καὶ ἀλεεινής τῆς χώρης ἐσόφης καὶ ἀνέμων ψυχρῶν, διεξεῖν τοιεὶς οἰκών περ καὶ τὸ βέρος ἐωθε ποιεῖν ἱών τὸ μέσον τοῦ ὑδάτου. Ἐλκεῖ γάρ ἐπὶ ὑσυατὸν τὸ ὕδωρ, ἐλκύσας δὲ ἀπωθεῖ ἐς τὰ ἀνὸ χωρία, ὑπολαμβάνουσε δὲ ὁ ἄνεμοι καὶ διασκεδάζουσε ἄκουσι καὶ εἰσὶ οἰκώτως οἱ ἀπὸ ταύτας τῆς χώρης πινόμενες, ὁ τε νότος καὶ ὁ λίμψ, ἀνέμων πολλὸν τῶν πάντων ὑπαίτατο. δοκεῖ δὲ μοι οὖν ἐπὶ τὸ ὕδωρ τὸ ἐπίτευσεν ἐκάστοτε ἀποτείμπεσθαι τοῦ Νείλου ὁ Ἡλιος, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑπολείπεσθαι περὶ ἑωτοῦ. πρηνυμένιον δὲ τοῦ χειμώνος ἀπέρχεται ὁ Ἡλιος ἓς μέσον τοῦ ὑδάτου ὑπόσα, καὶ τὸ ἐνθέτεν ἢδη ὁμοίως ἀπὸ πάντων ἐλκεῖ τῶν ποταμῶν. τέως δὲ οἱ μεν όμβριον ὑδάτως συμμετοχήσεσθαι πολλοῦ αὐτοῦ, ἀπὸ ὑμένους τῆς χώρης καὶ κεχαράδρωμενες, ἐρέσουσι μεγάλοι τοῦ δὲ βέρεος τῶν τῶν όμβρων ἐπιπλεώστων αὐτοῦ καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἡλίου ἐλκύκομενοι ἀσθενεῖς εἰσί. δὲ Ὁ Ἡλιος ἐώς ἀνομμπρος, ἐλκύκομενος δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἡλίου μοῦνος ποταμῶν τοῦτον τῶν χρόνων, οἰκώτως αὐτὸς ἑωτοῦ ἐρεί πολλῷ ὑποδεεστέρος ἢ τοῦ βέρεος τὸτε μὲν γάρ μετὰ πάντων τῶν ὑδάτων ἢσον ἔλκεται, τῶν δὲ χειμώνα μοῦνον πιέζεται.

26. Οὕτω τῶν Ἡλίων νεώμικα τοῦτον αἰτίου εἶναι. αὐτίς δὲ ὁ αὐτὸς ὅτι καὶ τὴν ἑμᾶς καὶ τὸν ἥρα ἐπὶ τοῦ ταύτη εἶναι, διακαίρων τὴν διέξοδον ἑωτοῦ· ὅτι ἡ Ἡλία τὰς Ἀθήνας τὰ ἀνὸ βέρος αἰεὶ κατέχει. εἰ δὲ ἡ στάσις ἥλλακτο τῶν ώρέων, καὶ τοῦ ὑδάτου τῇ μὲν νῦν ὁ βορεῖς τε καὶ ὁ χειμών ἐστάσις, ταύτη μὲν τοῦ νότου ἢ τῇ στάσις καὶ τῆς μεσαμβρίας, τῇ δὲ ὁ νότος νῦν.
land warm and the winds cool—the sun does what he was wont to do in the summer in passing through the middle of the heaven: he draws the water to himself, and having so drawn it, expels it away to the inland regions, and the winds catch it and scatter and dissolve it; and, as is to be supposed, those that blow from that country, the south and the south-west, are the most rainy of all winds. Yet I think that the sun never lets go all the water that he yearly draws up from the Nile, but keeps some back near to himself. Then as the winter becomes milder, the sun returns back to the middle of the heaven, and after that he draws from all rivers alike. Meantime the other rivers are swollen to high flood by the much water from the sky that falls into them, because the country is rained upon and cut into gullies; but in the summer they are low, lacking the rain and being drawn up too by the sun. But the Nile being fed by no rain, and being the only river in winter drawn up by the sun, at this time falls far short of the height that he had in summer; which is but natural; for in summer all other waters too and not his alone are attracted to the sun, but in the winter it is he alone who is afflicted.

26. I am persuaded therefore that the sun is the cause of these matters. The dryness of the air in these parts is also caused by the sun, to my thinking, because he burns his passage through it; so it is that it is always summer in the inland part of Libya. But were the stations of the seasons changed, so that the south wind and the summer had their station where now the north wind and winter are set, and the north wind was where the south wind is
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27. Τῆς αὐρής δὲ πέρι, ὅτι οὐκ ἀποπνεεῖ, τήνδε ἔχω γνώμην, ὡς κάρτα ἀπὸ θερμέων χορέων οὐκ οἰκός ἔστι οὐδὲν ἀποπνεεῖν, αὔρη δὲ ἀπὸ ψυχροῦ τινος φιλέει πνεεῖν.

28. Ταύτα μὲν νυν ἔστω ὡς ἔστι τε καὶ ὡς ἀρχὴν ἐγένετο· τοῦ δὲ Νείλου τὰς πηγὰς οὔτε Αἰγυπτίων οὔτε Δεξιῶν οὔτε Ἑλλήνων τῶν ἐμοὶ ἀπικομένων ἐς λόγους οὐδὲς ὑπέσχετο εἰδέναι, εἰ μὴ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ ἐν Σάυ πόλιν ὁ γραμματίστης τῶν ἱρῶν χρημάτων τῆς Ἀθηναίης. οὔτος δ᾽ ἐμούγχνε παίζειν ἐδόκεε φάμενος εἰδέναι ἀτρέκεσθαι· ἔλεγε δὲ ὁδε, εἶναι δύο ὀρεα ἐς ὅξυ τὰς κορυφὰς ἀπηγμένα, μεταξὺ Συήνης τε πόλιος κείμενα τῆς Ἐθβαίδος καὶ Ἐλεφαντίνης, οὐνόματα δὲ εἶναι τοίσι ὀρείσι τοῦ μὲν Κρόθοι τῷ ἀπὸ τοῦ Νείλου ἐνύπας ἄβυσσους ἐκ τοῦ μέσου τῶν ὀρέων τούτων μείναι, καὶ τὸ μὲν ἡμικότοιο τοῦ ὑδάτος ἐπὶ Αἰγύπτου ῥεεῖν καὶ πρὸς Βορέην ἀνεμον, τὸ δὲ ἄτερον ἡμικότοι ἐπὶ Αἴδιοπην τε καὶ νότου. ὡς δὲ ἄβυσσοι εἰσὶ αἱ πηγαί, ἐς διάπεραν ἐφη τούτων Ψαμμήτηχον Αἰγύπτου Βασιλέα ἀπικέσθαι πολλέων γὰρ αὐτῶν χιλιάδων ῥηγμῶν πλεξάμενον κάλου κατείναι ταύτῃ καὶ οὐκ ἐξικέσθαι ἐς βυσσών. οὕτω μὲν ὃν ὁ γραμματίστης, εἰ ἄρα ταύτα γνώμενα ἔλεγε, ἀπεφαίνε, ὡς ἔμε κατανοεῖειν, διώς

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now,—if this were so, the sun when driven from mid-heaven by the winter and the north wind would pass over the inland parts of Europe as he now passes over Libya, and I think that in his passage over all Europe he would work the same effect on the Ister as he now does on the Nile.

27. And for the reason why no air blows from the river, this is my opinion: it is not natural that any air blow from very hot places; airs ever come from that which is very cold.

28. Be these matters, then, as they are and as they were made to be in the beginning. But as to the sources of the Nile, none that conversed with me, neither Egyptian, nor Libyan, nor Greek, professed to know them, except only the recorder of the sacred treasures of Athene in the Egyptian city of Sais. He, I thought, jested with me when he said that he had exact knowledge; but this was his story:—Between the city of Syene in the Thebaid and Elephantine there are two hills with sharp peaks, the one called Crophi and the other Mophi. The springs of the Nile, which are unfathomèd, rise between these hills; and half the water flows towards Egypt northwards, the other half southwards towards Ethiopia. That this source cannot be fathomed, Psammetichus king of Egypt proved by experiment: for he had a rope woven of many a thousand fathoms' length and let down into the spring, but he could not reach to the bottom. Thus, then, if the recorder spoke truth, he showed, as I think, that here are
τινὰς ταύτη ἐνοσαὶ ἵσχυρὰς καὶ παλιρροήν, σιὰ δὲ ἐμβάλλοντος τοῦ ὕδατος τοίσι ὀργεῖ, μὴ δύνασθαι κατιεμένην καταπειρητήριν ἐς βυσσὸν ἴναι.

29. Ἀλλοι δὲ οὐδενός οὐδὲν ἐδύναμην πυθέσθαι, ἀλλὰ τοσοῦτο μὲν ἄλλο ἐπὶ μακρότατον ἐπιθομὴν, μέχρι μὲν Ἐλεφαντῖνης πόλιος αὐτόπτης ἐλθὼν, τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ τούτου ἀκοῇ ἡδη ἱστορέων. ἀπὸ Ἐλεφαντῖνης πόλιος ἀνω ἴοντι ἀναντες ἔστι χωρίον ταύτη ὡν δὲ τὸ πλοῖον διαδρόσαντα ἀμφοτέρωθεν κατὰ περ βοῦν πορεύεσθαι ἡν δὲ ἀπορραγῇ τὸ πλοῖον οἴχεται μερόμενοι ὑπὸ ἰσχύος τοῦ ῥόου. τὸ δὲ χωρίον τούτο ἐστι ἐπὶ ἡμέρας τέσσερας πλοῖος, σκολιοὶ δὲ ταύτη κατὰ περὶ τοῦ Μαίανδρος ἐστὶν ο Νεῖλος, σκολιοὶ δὲ νυκτὸς εἰσὶν οὔτε τοὺς δὲ τούτῳ τῷ ἀπὸ πολὺ διεκπλῶσαι. καὶ ἐπειτα ἀπίστει ἐς πεδίον λειὼν, ἐν τῷ νῆσον περιγρεῖν ο Νεῖλος. Ταχυμυσίον οὖνομα αὐτὴ ἢστι. οἰκέουσι δὲ τὰ ἀπὸ Ἐλεφαντῖνης ἀνω Αἰθιοπες ἡδὴ καὶ τῆς νῆσου τὸ ἤμισυ, τὸ δὲ ἤμισυ Δισύπτιου ἔχεται δὲ τῆς νῆσου λίμνη μεγάλη, τὴν πέριξ νομάδες Ἀἰθιοπες νέμονται τὴν διεκπλοῖσας ἐς τοῦ Νείλου τὸ ἐπεθρον ἦς εἰς, τὸ ἐς τὴν λίμνην ταύτην ἐκδίδοι. καὶ ἐπειτα ἀποβὰς παῦρα τὸν ποταμὸν ὀδοιπορίας ποιήσαι ἡμέρων τεσσεράκοντα. σκόπελοι τε γὰρ ἐν τῷ Νείλῳ δίνεις ἀνέχουσι καὶ χοιράδες πολλὰ εἰσὶ, δι’ ὧν οὐκ οὐτὶ τα ἐστὶ πλέειν. διεξελθῶν δὲ ἐν τῇ τεσσεράκοντα ἡμέρῃ τούτῳ τῷ χωρίῳ, αὐτὶς ἐς ἑτέρον πλοῖον ἐσβάς δυνάμενα ἡμέρας πλεύσειν, καὶ ἑπειτα ἦς εἰς πόλιν μεγάλην τῇ οὖνομα ἢστὶ Μερόν. λέγεται δὲ αὐτὴ ἡ πόλις εἶναι μητρόπολις τῶν ἄλλων.
strong eddies and an upward flow of water, and the rushing of the stream against the hills makes the sounding-line when let down unable to reach the bottom.

29. From no other man could I learn anything. But this much I learnt by the farthest inquiry that I could make, by my own travel and sight as far as the city of Elephantine, and beyond that by question and hearsay:—Beyond Elephantine, as one travels inland, the land rises. Here one must pass with the boat roped on both sides as men harness an ox; and if the rope break, the boat is carried away by the strength of the current. This part of the river is a four days' journey by boat, and the Nile here is winding like the Maeander; a length of twelve schoeni must be passed in the aforesaid fashion. After that you will come to a level plain, where there is an island in the Nile, called Tachompso. Above Elephantine the country now begins to be inhabited by Ethiopians, and half the people of the island are Ethiopians and half Egyptians. Near to the island is a great lake, on the shores of which dwell nomad Ethiopians. Having crossed this, you will come to the stream of the Nile, which issues into this lake. Then you will disembark and journey along the river bank for forty days; for there are sharp projecting rocks in the Nile and many reefs, through which no boat can pass. Having traversed this part in forty days as I have said, you will take boat again and so travel for twelve days till you come to a great city called Meroe, which is said to be the capital of all Ethiopia. The
Αιθιόπων. οί δ' ἐν ταύτῃ Δία θεῶν καὶ Διόνυσου μούσιος σέβονται, τούτους τε μεγάλους τιμῶσι, καὶ σφὶ μαντήματι Δίος κατέστηκε στρατεύονται δὲ ἐπεάν σφεῖας ὁ θεὸς ούτος κελεύῃ διὰ θεσπισμά-
των, καὶ τῇ ἀν κελεύῃ, ἐκείσε.

30. Ἀπὸ δὲ ταύτης τῆς πόλεως πλέων ἐν ἱσοιρ χρώνῳ ἄλλῳ ἦζεις ἐς τοὺς αὐτομόλους ἐν ὁσφὶ περ ἐς Ἐλεφαντίνης ἠλθες ἐς τὴν μητρόπολιν τὴν Ἀιθιόπων. τοῦτο δὲ αὐτομόλους τούτους οὐνόμα ἐστὶ Ἀσμάχ, δύναται δὲ τοῦτο τὸ ἐπος κατὰ τὴν Ἐλλῆνων γλώσσαν οἱ ἐς ἀριστερῆς χειρὸς παρ-
ιστάμενοι βασιλεῖ. ἀπέστησαν δὲ αὐτοὶ τέσσε-
ρες καὶ ἐκόσι μυριάδες Ἀιγυπτίων τῶν μαχίμων ἐς τοὺς Αιθιόπας τούτους δὲ αἰτίην τοῦτον ἐπὶ ὕπερ Ἡμηνίαν 

3 The Greek equivalents for Amun and Osiris.
3 Herodotus' account of the Nile in this chapter is for the most part vague and untrustworthy. He is right as to the
people of the place worship no other gods but Zeus and Dionysus; these they greatly honour, and they have a place of divination sacred to Zeus; they send out armies whenever and whithersoever this god by oracle commands them.

30. From this city you will make a journey by water of equal distance with that by which you came from Elephantine to the capital city of Ethiopia, and you will come to the land of the Deserters. These Deserters are called Asmach, which signifies, in our language, those who stand on the left hand of the king. These once, to the number of two hundred and forty thousand Egyptians of fighting age, revolted and joined themselves to the Ethiopians. The reason was this:—In the reign of Psammetichus there were garrisons posted at Elephantine on the side of Ethiopia, at Daphnae of Pelusium on the side of Arabia and Assyria, and at Marea on the side of Libya. And still in my time the Persians hold these posts as they were held in the days of Psammetichus; there are Persian guards at Elephantine and at Daphnae. Now the Egyptians had been on guard for three years, and none came to relieve them; so taking counsel and making common cause, they revolted from Psammetichus and went to Ethiopia. Psammetichus heard of it and pursued after them; and when he overtook them he besought them with many words not to desert the gods of their fathers and their children and wives. Then one of them, so the story goes, said, pointing to his manly part, current above Elephantine, as those who have made the passage between the Assuan Dam and Assuan will realise. But the conditions have of course been entirely altered by the construction of the dam.
εἰπεῖν, ἕνθα ἂν τοῦτο ἦ, ἐσεσθαί αὐτοῖς ἐνθαῦτα καὶ τέκνα καὶ γυναῖκας. οὗτοι ἐπείτε ἐς Ἀθηναῖον ἄποκοντο, διδοῦσι σφέας αὐτοὺς τῷ ᾿Αθηναίον βασιλεί, ὁ δὲ σφέας τόδε ἀντιδερεῖται ἡσάνι διάφοροι τινὲς γεγονότες τῶν ᾿Αθηναίων τούτων ἐκέλευε ἐξελόντας τὴν ἐκείνων ἡπὶ οἰκείᾳ. τοῦτων δὲ ἐσοικισθέντων ἐς τοὺς ᾿Αθηναίας ἡμερώτεροι γεγονασι ᾿Αθηναίες, ἦθεα μαθόντες Αἰγύπτια.

31. Μέχρι μὲν νῦν τεσσέρων μηνῶν πλοῦν καὶ ὁδὸν γενόσκεταί ο ῾Νεῖλος πάρεξ τοῦ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ ρεύματος τοσοῦτοι γὰρ συμβαλλομένῳ μὴνες εὐρίσκονται ἀναισιμομονεοὶ ἐξ Ἑλεφαντίνης πορευομένῳ ἐς τοὺς αὐτομόλους τούτους, ἰδεύει δὲ ἀπὸ ἐστίρης τα καὶ ἡλίου δυσμένων, τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ τούτῳ οὐδεὶς ἔχει σαφὲος φράσας: ἐρήμως γὰρ ἐστὶ ἡ χώρη αὐτῇ ὑπὸ καῦματος.

32. Ἀλλὰ τάδε μὲν ἦκουσα ἀνδρῶν Κυρήναιῶν φαμένων ἐλθεῖν τε ἐπὶ τὸ ᾿Αμμωνιοὺς χρηστήριον καὶ ἀπικεάσθαι ἐς λόγους ᾿Ετεαρχῦ τῷ ᾿Αμμωνιών βασιλεί, καὶ κως ἐκ λόγων ἄλλων ἀπικεάσθαι ἐς λέσχην περὶ τοῦ ῾Νεῖλου, ὡς οὐδεὶς αὐτὸν οίδε τὰς πηγὰς, καὶ τὸν ᾿Ετεαρχον φᾶναι ἐλθεῖν κατο παρ’ αὐτὸν Νασαμῶνας ἀνδρας. τὸ δὲ ἔθνος τοῦτο ἐστὶ μὲν ᾿Αἰθιοκαὶ, νέμεται δὲ τὴν Σύρτιν τε καὶ τὴν πρὸς ἢ νή χώρην τῆς Σύρτιος οὐκ ἐπὶ πολλῶν ἀπεκομένων δὲ τοὺς Νασαμῶνας καὶ εἰρωτομεῦνως εἰ τε ἐχουσι πλέον λέγειν περὶ τῶν ἐρήμων τῆς Διβύης, φᾶναι παρὰ σφίστι γενέσθαι ἀνδρῶν δύναστων παίδας ὑβριστάς, τοὺς ἄλλα τε μηχανᾶσθαι ἀνδροθέντας περισσὰ καὶ δὴ καὶ ἀποκληρώσαι πείτε ἐσωτήρων ὁφομένως τὰ ἐρῆμα τῆς Τυριπῆς, καὶ εἰ τι πλέον ἴδοιεν τῶν τὰ μακρότατα ἱδομένων.
that wherever this should be they would have wives and children. So they came to Ethiopia, and gave themselves up to the king of the country; who, to make them a gift in return, bade them dispossess certain Ethiopians with whom he was at feud, and occupy their land. These Ethiopians then learnt Egyptian customs and have become milder-mannered by intermixture with the Egyptians.

31. For as far as a distance of four months’ travel, then, by land and water, there is knowledge of the Nile, besides the part of it that is in Egypt. So many months, as reckoning shows, lasts the journey from Elephantine to the country of the Deserters aforesaid. The river flows from the west and the sun’s setting. Beyond this none has clear knowledge to declare; for all that country is desert, by reason of heat.

32. But this I heard from certain men of Cyrene, who told me that they had gone to the oracle of Ammon, and there conversed with Etearchus king of the Ammonians, and that from other matters of discourse they came to speak of the Nile, how no one knows the source of it. Then Etearchus told them that once he had been visited by certain Nasamonians. These are a Libyan people, inhabiting the country of the Syrtis and the country a little way to the east of the Syrtis. When these Nasamonians on their coming were questioned if they brought any news concerning the Libyan desert, they told Etearchus that there had been among them certain sons of their chief men, proud and violent youths, who, when they came to man’s estate, besides planning other wild adventures, had chosen by lot five of their company to visit the deserts of Libya, and see what they might beyond the utmost range of travellers. It must be known
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tής γὰρ Λιβύης τὰ μὲν κατὰ τὴν βορηγὴν θάλασ-
σαν ἀπ’ Αἰγύπτου ἀρξάμενοι μέχρι Σολόμουτος
ἀκρῆς, ἡ τελευτά τῆς Λιβύης, παρῆκουσι παρὰ
πάσαν Δίβυνες καὶ Λιβύων ἔθνεα πολλά, πλὴν
όσον Ἐλληνες καὶ Φοίνικες ἔχουσι τὰ δὲ ὑπὲρ
θαλάσσης τε καὶ τῶν ἐπὶ θάλασσαν κατηκότων
ἀνθρώπων, τὰ κατύπερθε θηριώδης ἐστὶ ἡ Διβύη;
tὰ δὲ κατύπερθε τῆς θηριώδεος ψάμμος τε ἐστὶ καὶ
ἀνυδρος δεινῶς καὶ ἔρημος πάντων. εἶπαι δὲν τοὺς
νεκρας ἀποπεμπομένους ὑπὸ τῶν ἥλικων, ὑδαί
tε καὶ στίοις εὐ ἐξηρτυμένους, ἵνα τὰ πρῶτα
μὲν διὰ τῆς οἰκειομενῆς, ταύτην δὲ διεξελθόντας εἰς
τὴν θηριώδεα ἀπικέσθαι, ἐκ δὲ ταύτης τὴν ἔρημον
dιεξείναι, τὴν ὁδὸν ποιευμένου πρὸς ξέφυρον ἀνε-
μον, διεσχέθοντας δὲ χώρον πολλὸν ψαμμώδεα
καὶ ἐν πολλῇ ἡμέρῃ ἱμέρησι ὅτε δὲν πεζώρα ή
πεδίῳ πεφυκότα, καὶ σφαι προσεχόντας ἀπαν-
θαυτοῦ επεέντων ἐπὶ τῶν δενδρέων καρποῦ, ἀπα-
μένοισι δὲ σφι ἐπεθεῖν ἀνδρας μικροὺς, μετρίων
ἐλάσσονας ἀνδρῶν, λαβόντας δὲ ἄγειν σφεῖς
φωνῆς δὲ οὐτε τι τῆς ἐκείνων τοὺς Νασαμώνας
γινώσκειν οὔτε τοὺς ἁγιάζας τῶν Νασαμώνων
ἄγειν τε ὅτε αὐτοὺς ὅτε ἔλεον μεγάστων, καὶ διεξελ-
thόντας ταῦτα ἀπικέσθαι ἐς πολὺν ἐν τῇ πάντας
εἶναι τοῖς ἁγιάζας τὸ μέγαθος ἵππους, χρώμα δὲ
μέλανας. παρὰ δὲ τῆς πόλεως ῥήμαν ποταμον μέγαν,
rεεν δὲ ἀπὸ ἐσπέρης αὐτὸν πρὸς ἥλιον ἀνατε-
lοντα, φαίνεσθαι δὲ ἐν αὐτῷ κροκοδείλους.

33. Ὁ μὲν δὲ τοῦ Ἀμμωνίου Ἐστεάρχου λόγος
ἐς τούτῳ μοι δεδηλώσω, πλὴν ὑπὲρ ἀπονοστηροῦτε
ἐφάσκε τοὺς Νασαμώνας, ὡς οἱ Κυρηναῖοι ἔλεγον,
καὶ ἐς τοὺς σύμμαχοντο ἀνθρώπους, ὑγιῆς εἶναι

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that all the northern seacoast of Libya—from Egypt as far as the promontory of Soloeis, which is the end of Libya—is inhabited through its whole length by Libyans, many tribes of them, except the part held by Greeks and Phoenicians; the region of Libya above the sea and the men of the seacoast is infested by wild beasts; and farther inland than the wild-beast country all is sand, exceeding waterless and wholly desert. This then was the story told by the young men:

When they left their companions, being well supplied with water and provisions, they journeyed first through the inhabited country, and having passed this they came to the region of wild beasts. After this, they travelled over the desert, towards the west, and crossed a wide sandy region, till after many days they saw trees growing in a plain; when they came to these and were plucking the fruit of the trees, they were met by little men of stature smaller than common, who took them and led them away. The Nasamonians did not know these men's language nor did the escort know the language of the Nasamonians. The men led them across great marshes, which having crossed they came to a city where all the people were of like stature with the escort, and black. A great river ran past this city, from the west towards the rising sun; crocodiles could be seen in it.

33. This is enough to say concerning the story told by Etearchus the Ammonian; except that he said that the Nasamonians returned—as the men of Cyrene told me—and that the people to whose
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ἀπαντάς. τὸν δὲ δὴ ποταμὸν τούτου τὸν παραπέρευστα καὶ Ἐπέαρχος συνεβάλλετο εἶναι Νείλου, καὶ δὴ καὶ ὁ λόγος οὗτος αἴρεε. ἐρεί γὰρ ἐκ Λιβύης ὁ Νείλος καὶ μέσην τάμνων Λιβύης, καὶ ὦς ἐγὼ συμβάλλωμαι τοῦτο ἐμφανέστα τὰ μὴ γινομένα τεκμαιρόμενος, τῷ Ἰστρῳ ἐκ τῶν ἱσων μέτρων ὀρμᾶται. Ἡστρος τε γὰρ ποταμὸς ἀρξάμενος ἐκ Κελτῶν καὶ Πυρήνης πόλιος ἑρεί μέσην σχίζων τὴν Ἑὐρώπην· οἱ δὲ Κελτοὶ εἰσὶ ἐξω Ἰρακλεών στηλέων, ὅμοιοι δὲ Κυπριανίσκοι, οἱ ἐσχάτοι πρὸς δυσμένων οἰκεύοντες τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἑὐρώπῃ κατοικημένων τελευτὰ ὑπὸ τῷ Ἡστρος ἐς ἤλασσαν ρέων τὴν τοῦ Ἑβείνου πόλιν διὰ πάσης Ἑὐρώπης, τῇ Ἡστρίνῃ οἱ Μελησίων οἰκεύσι Αἰγονικοί.

34. Ὅ μὲν δὴ Ἡστρος, ἑρεί γὰρ δὲ οἰκεύμενης, πρὸς πολλῶν γινώσκεται, περὶ δὲ τῶν τοῦ Νείλου πηγῶν σύνεργος ἔχει λέγειν· ἀοίκητος τε γὰρ καὶ ἔρημος ἑστὶ ἡ Λιβύη δὲ ἡς ἑρεί. περὶ δὲ τοῦ ἐρεύματος αὐτοῦ, ἐπὶ ὅσον μακρότατον ἰστορεύσατο ἡν ἐξικέσθαι, εἴρηται· ἐκδόοι δὲ ἐς Αἰγυπτοῦ, ἢ δέ Αἰγυπτοῦ τῆς ὀρείνης Κελλικός ἐμφανίστα ἐκ τῆς Αἰγυπτί ἐκατότερον ἐνδείκνυτο δὲ ἐς Σινώπην τὴν ἐν τῷ Ἑβείνω πόλιν πέντε ἡμερῶν ἰδέα ὀδὸς εὐζώνων ἀνδρῶν. ἡ δὲ Σινώπη τῷ Ἡστρῳ ἐκδίδοντες ἐς ἤλασσαν ἀντίον κέεσται. οὔτω τῶν Νείλου δοκεῖ διὰ πάσης τῆς Λιβύης διεξόντα ἐξισούσθαι τῷ Ἡστρῳ.

35. Νείλου μὲν νυν περὶ τοσοῦτα εἴρησθω ἐρχομαι δὲ περὶ Αἰγυπτίου μηκυνείων τῶν λόγων, ὅτι πλείοτα θωράσια ἔχει ἡ ἡ ἀλή πᾶσα χώρη καὶ

1 ἐκ τῶν ἱσων μέτρων is an obscure expression. What Hdt. appears to mean is, that as the Nile (according to him)
country they came were all wizards; as to the river that ran past the city, Etearchus guessed it to be the Nile; and that is but reasonable. For the Nile flows from Libya, and right through the midst of that country; and as I guess, reasoning as to things unknown from visible signs, it takes its rise from the same measure of distance as the Ister. That river flows from the land of the Celtae and the city of Pyrene through the very midst of Europe; now the Celtae dwell beyond the pillars of Heracles, being neighbours of the Cynesii, who are the westernmost of all nations inhabiting Europe. The Ister, then, flows clean across Europe and ends its course in the Euxine sea, at Istria, which is inhabited by Milesian colonists.

34. As it flows through inhabited country, its course is known to many; but none can speak of the source of the Nile; for Libya, through which it runs, is uninhabited and desert. Concerning its course I have told all that I could learn by inquiry; and it issues into Egypt. Now Egypt lies about opposite to the mountainous part of Cilicia; whence it is a straight five days’ journey for an unburdened man to Sinope on the Euxine; and Sinope lies over against the place where the Ister falls into the sea. Thus I suppose the course of the Nile in its passage through Libya to be like the course of the Ister.

35. It is sufficient to say thus much concerning the Nile. But concerning Egypt I will now speak at length, because nowhere are there so many marvellous things, nor in the whole world beside are there to flows first from W. to E. and then turns northward, so the Danube flows first from W. to E. and then (as he says) from N. to S.; and so the rivers in a manner correspond; one crosses Africa, the other Europe.
ἐργά λόγου μέξω παρέχεται πρὸς πᾶσαν χώρην.

tούτων εἶνεκα πλέω περὶ αὐτῆς εἰρήσεται.

Ἀγνύπτιοι ἀμα τῷ ὑπάρχον τῷ κατὰ σφέας ἐόντι ἐτεροίῳ καὶ τῷ ποταμῷ φύσιν ἀλλοίῳν παρεχο-

μένῳ ἢ οἱ ἀλλοὶ ποταμοί, τὰ πολλὰ πάντα ἐμπαλὶν τοῖς ἀλλοίῳν ἀνθρώποις ἐστήσαντο ἥδεα τε καὶ

νόμους ἐν τοῖς αἰὲν ἁγναῖς ἀγοράζουσι καὶ

κατηλεύουσι, οἱ δὲ ἀνδρείς κατ᾽ οἶκους ἐόντες ἤφαινουσιν ἤφαινουσι δὲ οἱ μὲν ἀλλοὶ ἄνω τὴν

κρόκην ὁδέοντες, Αἰγυπτίοι δὲ κἀτ᾽. τὰ ἄξθεα

οἱ μὲν ἄνδρεσ ἀπὶ τῶν κεφαλέων φορέουσι, αἱ δὲ

ἁγναῖς ἀπὶ τῶν ὁμοιων. ὑφεύουσιν αἱ μὲν ἁγναῖς

ὄρθαὶ, οἱ δὲ ἄνδρεσ καθήμενοι. εὐμαρείη ἁρέων

ἐν τοῖς οἴκουσι, ἑσθάνουσι δὲ ἔξω ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ ὁδοῖς

ἐπιλέγοντες ὡς τὰ μὲν αἰσχρὰ ἀναγκαία δὲ ἐν ἀπο-

κρύφῳ ἐστὶ ποιεῖν ἄρεον, τὰ δὲ μὴ αἰσχρὰ ἀνα-

φαντόν. Ἰράται γυνὴ μὲν οὐδεμία οὔτε ἐρφενος

θεοῦ οὔτε θηλές, ἄνδρεσ δὲ πάντων τε καὶ πα-

σεων. τρέφειν τοὺς τοκέως τοῖς μὲν παισὶ οὐδε-

μία ἀνάγκη μὴ βουλομένουσι, τῇ δὲ θυγατράς

πᾶσα ἀνάγκη καὶ μὴ βουλομένησι.

36. Οἱ ἱρεῖς τῶν θεῶν τῇ μὲν ἄλλῃ κοιμέουσι, ἐν

Αἰγύπτῳ δὲ ἔφρωνται. τοῖς ἀλλοίοις ἀνθρώποισι

νόμος αμα κηδεὶ κεκάρθαι τὰς κεφαλὰς τοὺς μα-

λιστα ἰκνέται, Αἰγύπτιοι δὲ υπὸ τοὺς θανάτους

ἀνείσι τὰς τρίχας αὐξεθαί τὰς τὲ ἐν τῇ κεφαλῇ

καὶ τῷ γενείῳ, τέως ἐξυρημένου. τοῖς μὲν ἁλλοίοις

ἀνθρώποις χωρὶς θηρίων ἡ δίατα ἀποκέραται,

Αἰγυπτίοις δὲ ὅμοιον θηρίοις ἡ δίατα ἔστι. ἀπὸ

πυρῶν καὶ κρίθεων ἀλλοι ξώοις, Αἰγυπτίων δὲ

τῷ ποιεμένῳ ἀπὸ τούτων τὴν ζόην οὐκεδός μέ-

γιστον ἔστι, ἀλλὰ ἀπὸ ὀλυρέων ποιεμέναι σιτία,

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be seen so many works of unspeakable greatness; therefore I shall say the more concerning Egypt.

As the Egyptians have a climate peculiar to themselves, and their river is different in its nature from all other rivers, so have they made all their customs and laws of a kind contrary for the most part to those of all other men. Among them, the women buy and sell, the men abide at home and weave; and whereas in weaving all others push the woof upwards, the Egyptians push it downwards. Men carry burdens on their heads, women on their shoulders. Women make water standing, men sitting. They relieve nature indoors, and eat out of doors in the streets, giving the reason, that things unseemly but necessary should be done in secret, things not unseemly should be done openly. No woman is dedicated to the service of any god or goddess; men are dedicated to all deities male or female. Sons are not compelled against their will to support their parents, but daughters must do so though they be unwilling.

36. Everywhere else, priests of the gods wear their hair long; in Egypt they are shaven. With all other men, in mourning for the dead those most nearly concerned have their heads shaven; Egyptians are shaven at other times, but after a death they let their hair and beard grow. The Egyptians are the only people who keep their animals with them in the house. Whereas all others live on wheat and barley, it is the greatest disgrace for an Egyptian so to live; they make food from a coarse grain which some call
τὰς ξείας μετεξέτεροι καλέουσι. φυρώσι τὸ μὲν σταῖς τοῦσι ποσι, τὸν δὲ πηλοῦ τῇς χεραί, καὶ τὴν κόπρον ἀναιρέουται. τὰ αἰδοῖα ὁλλοι μὲν ἐσώσι ὡς ἐγένοντο, πλὴν ὅσοι ἀπὸ τούτων ἐμαθον, Διηγύπτιοι δὲ περιτάμνονται. εἴματα τῶν μὲν ἀνδρῶν ἑκαστὸς ἔχει δύο, τῶν δὲ γυναικῶν ἐν ἑκάστη. τῶν ἱστίων τοὺς κρίκους καὶ τοὺς κάλους οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι ἐξωθεὶς προσδεόμενη, Διηγύπτιοι δὲ ἐσώθεις. ἡράμματα γράφουσι καὶ λογίζονται ψηφοῖς "Ελληνας μὲν ἀπὸ τῶν ἄριστερῶν ἐπὶ τὰ δεξιὰ φέροντες τὴν χείρα, Διηγύπτιοι δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν δεξιῶν ἐπὶ τὰ ἄριστερα' καὶ ποιεῖτες ταῦτα αὐτοὶ μὲν φασι ἐπὶ δεξιὰ ποιεῖν, "Ελληνας δὲ ἐπὶ ἀριστερὰ. διαφαίνει δὲ γράμματι χρέωνται, καὶ τὰ μὲν αὐτῶν ἱρὰ τὰ δὲ δημοτικὰ καλέεται.

37. Θεοσεβεῖς δὲ περισσῶς ἔστε τις μᾶλλα πάντων ἀνθρώπων νόμοι τοιοί εἰς χρέωνται. ἐκ χαλκῶν ποτηρίων πίνουσι, διασμώντες ἄνα πάσαν ἡμέρην, οὐκ ὃ μὲν ὃ ὃ οὖ, ἀλλὰ πάντες. εἴματα δὲ λίνεα φορέουσι αἰεὶ νεόπλυτα, ἑπτήθεντες τοῦτο μᾶλλον, τὰ τε αἰδοῖα περιτάμνονται καθαρεύθησις εἶνεκείς; προτειμώντες καθαροῖς εἶναι εὔπρεπέστεροι. οἱ δὲ ἱρεῖς ξυρόνται πάν τοῦ σώμα διὰ τρίτης ἡμέρης, ἵνα μήτε θείριν μήτε ἄλλο μυσίαν μηδὲν ἐγγίζωσιν σὺν θεοῦς. ἐσθῆτα δὲ φορέουσι οἱ ἱρεῖς λινέαν μούνην καὶ υποδήματα βύβλινα. ἄλλην δὲ σφι ἐσθῆτα οὐκ ἔστει λαβεῖν οὐδὲ υποδήματα ἄλλα. λοῦνται δὲ διὰ τῆς ἡμέρης ἕκαστης ψυχῆς καὶ διὰ ἐκάστης νυκτὸς, ἄλλας τε θρησκείας, ἐπιτελεύοντες μυρίας ὡς εἰπεῖν λόγοι. πάσχουσι δὲ καὶ ἀγαθά οὐκ ὁλίγα· οὔτε τι ἡμῶν.
spelt. They knead dough with their feet, and gather mud and dung with their hands. The Egyptians and those who have learnt it from them are the only people who practise circumcision. Every man has two garments, every woman only one. The rings and sheets of sails are made fast elsewhere outside the boat, but inside it in Egypt. The Greeks write and calculate by moving the hand from left to right; the Egyptians do contrariwise; yet they say that their way of writing is towards the right, and the Greek way towards the left. They use two kinds of writing; one is called sacred, the other common.  

37. They are beyond measure religious, more than any other nation; and these are among their customs:—They drink from cups of bronze, which they cleanse out daily; this is done not by some but by all. They are especially careful ever to wear newly-washed linen raiment. They practise circumcision for cleanliness' sake; for they set cleanliness above seemliness. Their priests shave the whole body every other day, that no lice or aught else that is foul may infest them in their service of the gods. The priests wear a single linen garment and sandals of papyrus*: they may take no other kind of clothing or footwear. Twice a day and twice every night they wash in cold water. Their religious observances are, one may say, innumerable. But also they receive many benefits: they neither consume nor spend aught of

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1 Three kinds, really: hieroglyphic, hieratic (derived from hieroglyphic), and demotic, a simplified form of hieratic. See Rawlinson's essay, ch. 5, in his Appendix to Book II.

2 On this plant, see ch. 92.
τῶν οἰκήμων τρίβουσι οὔτε δαπανώνται, ἀλλὰ καὶ
σιτία σφι ἐστὶ ἵρα πεσσόμενα, καὶ κρεῶν βοῶν
καὶ χινέων πλῆθος τι ἐκάστῳ γίνεται πολλῶν
ημέρῃς ἐκάστης, διδοται δὲ σφι καὶ οἶνος ἀμπε-
λινος· ἵχθυων δὲ οὐ σφι ἔξεστι πάσασθαι.
κυάμους δὲ οὔτε τι μάλα σπεῖρουσι Αἰγύπτιοι
ἐν τῇ χώρῃ, τοὺς τε γινομένους οὔτε τρόγγυσι
οὔτε ἐφοντες πατέονται, οἱ δὲ δὴ ἱρεῖς οὐδὲ
ὄρεοντες ἀνέχονται, νομίζοντες οὐ καθαρὸν εἶναι
μὲν ὁσπρίων. ἰράται δὲ οὐκ εἰς ἐκάστου τῶν θεῶν
ἀλλὰ πολλοί, τῶν εἰς ἐστὶ ἄρχιερεύς· ἐπεάν δὲ
τις ἀποδαμῇ, τοῦτον ο παῖς ἀντικατιστάται.

38. Τοὺς δὲ βοῦς τοὺς ἑρεσμοὺς του Ἐπάφου
εἶναι νομίζουσι, καὶ τούτων εἶναι δοκιμάζουσι
αὐτοὺς οὐδὲ τρίχα ἢν καὶ μίαν ἵδηται ἐπεσύνας
μελαίναν, οὐ καθαρὸν εἶναι νομίζει. δίηται δὲ
ταῦτα ἐπὶ τούτῳ τεταγμένος τῶν τις ἱρέων καὶ
ὀρθοῦ ἐστεῶτος τοῦ κτήνεος καὶ ὑπτίου, καὶ τὴν
γλῶσσαν ἐξειρύσσας, εἰ καθαρὴ τῶν προκειμένων
σημείων, τὰ ἐγὼ ἐν ἀλλῳ λόγῳ ἐρέω· κατορὰ δὲ
καὶ τὰς τρίχας τῆς σύρης εἰ κατὰ φύσιν ἔχει
περικύμαια. ἢν δὲ τούτων πάντων ἡ καθαρος,
σημαίνεται βύβλων περὶ τὰ κέραα εἰλίσσων καὶ
ἔπειτα γῆν σημαντρίδα ἐπιπλάσας ἐπιβάλλει τὸν
δακτύλιον, καὶ οὕτω ἀπάγουσι. ἀσήμαντον δὲ
θύσαντε βάνατος ἡ ζημία ἐπικείεται. δοκιμάζοντε
μὲν νυν τὸ κτήνος τρόπῳ τοιῷδε, θυσία δὲ σφι ἦδε
κατέστηκε.

39. Ἀγαγόντες τὸ σεσθήμασμένον κτήνος πρὸς
τοῦ θῶμον ὅκου ἄνθυσι, πῦρ ἀνακαίουσι, ἔπειτα
δὲ ἐπ' αὐτοῦ οἶνον κατὰ τοῦ ἱρείου ἐπισπείραστε
καὶ ἐπικαλέσαντες τὸν θεόν σφαζοῦσι, σφα-
their own; sacred food is cooked for them, to each man is brought every day flesh of beeves and geese in great abundance, and wine of grapes too is given to them. They may not eat fish. The Egyptians sow no beans in their country; if any grow, they will not eat them either raw or cooked; the priests cannot endure even to see them, considering beans an unclean kind of pulse. Many (not one alone) are dedicated to the service of each god. One of these is the high priest; and when a high priest dies his son succeeds to his office.

38. They hold that bulls belong to Epaphus,¹ and therefore test them thus to see if there be as much as one black hair on them; if there be, the bull is deemed not pure; one of the priests, appointed to this task, examines the beast, making it to stand and to lie, and drawing out its tongue, to know whether it bear none of the stated signs which I shall declare hereafter.² He looks also to the hairs of the tail, to see if they grow naturally. If it be pure in all these respects, the priest marks it by wrapping papyrus round the horns, then smears it with sealing-earth and stamps it with his ring; and after this they lead the bull away. But the penalty is death for sacrificing a bull that the priest has not marked. Such is the manner of proving the beast; I will now show how it is sacrificed.

39. Having brought the marked beast to the altar where the sacrifice is to be, they kindle a fire; then they pour wine on the altar over the victim and call upon the god; then they cut its throat, and

¹ Epaphus is the Greek form of Apis or Hapi, the bull-god of Memphis; for bulls of Mair's Oppian (L.C.L.) Cyn. II. 86, note.
² iii. 28.
ξαντες δὲ ἀποτάμωσεν τὴν κεφαλήν. σῶμα μὲν δὴ τοῦ κτήνους δείρουσι, κεφαλὴ δὲ κείνη πολλακαταρρησμένους φέρουσι, τοῖσι μὲν ἂν ἡ ἄγορη καὶ Ἔλληνες σφί ἔωσι ἐπιδήμου ἐμποροί, οἱ δὲ φέρουτες ἐκ τῆς ἄγορης ἄνω ἐδοντο, τοῖσι δὲ ἂν μὴ παρέωσι Ἔλληνες, οἱ δὲ ἐκβάλλουσι ἐκ τοῦ ποταμοῦ καταρρόται δὲ τάδε λέγοντες τῆς κεφαλῆς, εἰ τε μέλλοι ἢ σφίσα τοῦ τύχου ἡ Ἀιγύπτιος τῇ συναπάσῃ κακὰν γενέσθαι, ἐς κεφαλῆς ταύτην τραπέσθαι. κατὰ μὲν τινας κεφαλάς τῶν θυμομένων κτηνεῶν καὶ τὴν ἐπιστεισιν τοῦ οἰνου πάντες Ἀιγύπτιοι νόμοις τοῖσι αὐτοῖσι χρέωνται ὁμοίως ἐς πάντα τὰ ἱρά, καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦτο τοῦ νόμου οὐδὲ ἄλλον ὀυδενὸς ἐμψύχου κεφαλῆς γενέσθαι Ἀιγυπτίων οὐδείς.

40. Ὅ δὲ δὴ ἐξαίρεσιν τῶν ἱρῶν καὶ ἡ καύσις ἄλλη περὶ ἄλλο ἱρὸν σφι κατέστηκε τὴν δ' ἂν μεγιστήν τε δαίμονα ἤγηρται εἶναι καὶ μεγίστην οἱ ὀρθὴν ἀνάγουσι, ταύτην ἔρχομαι ἐρέων . . . ἐπεάν ἀποδείρωσι τὸν βοῦν, κατευθυμομένοι κοιλίην μὲν κεφαλῆν πάσαν ἐξ ἂν ἐλέον, σπλάγχνα δὲ αὐτοῦ λειποῦσι ἐν τῷ σώματι καὶ τὴν πυμηλήν, σκέλεα δὲ ἀποτάμωσι καὶ τὴν ἀσφύν ἄκρην καὶ τοὺς ὀμοὺς τε καὶ τὸν τράχηλον. ταῦτα δὲ ποιήσαντες τὸ ἄλλο σῶμα τοῦ βοῶς πιστάσκαν ἄρτων καθαρῶν καὶ μέλησι καὶ ἀσταφίδος καὶ σύκων καὶ λιβανωτοῦ καὶ σμύρνης καὶ τῶν ἄλλων θυσιμάτων, πλήσαντες δὲ τοῦτον καταγίζουσι, ἐλαίου ἄφθονου καταχέοντες προνηστεύσαντες δὲ θύουσι, καιομένων δὲ τῶν ἱρῶν

1 There is an obvious lacuna; probably the name of the goddess (Isis) was given here.
having so done they sever the head from the body. They flay the carcase of the victim, then invoke many curses on its head and carry the same away. Where there is a market, and Greek traders in the place, the head is taken to the market and sold; where there are no Greeks, it is thrown into the river. The imprecation which they utter over the heads is, that whatever ill threatens themselves, who sacrifice, or the whole of Egypt, may fall upon that head. In respect of the heads of sacrificed beasts and the libation of wine, the practice of all Egyptians is the same in all sacrifices; and from this ordinance no Egyptian will taste of the head of anything that had life.

40. But in regard to the disembowelling and burning of the victims, there is a different way for each sacrifice. I will now, however, speak of that goddess whom they deem the greatest, and in whose honour they keep highest festival. The ox being flayed, after prayer made as aforesaid they take out the whole stomach, leaving the entrails in the carcase and the fat, and cut off the legs, the end of the loin, the shoulders, and the neck. Having done this, they fill what remains of the carcase of the ox with pure bread, honey, raisins, figs, frankincense, myrrh, and other kinds of incense, and then burn it, pouring much oil on it. They fast before the sacrifice, and while it is burning they all make lamentation; and when their
τύπτονται πάντες, επειδὴ δὲ ἀποτύφωνται, δαίτα προτίθενται τὰ ἐλπίδιον τῶν ἱρών.

41. Τοὺς μὲν νυν καθαροὺς βοῶς τοὺς ἔρσενας καὶ τοὺς μόσχους οἱ πάντες Αἰγύπτιοι θύουσι, τὰς δὲ θηλέας οὐ σφι ἔξεστι θύειν, ἀλλὰ ἵνα εἰς τὴς Ἰσίους τὸ γὰρ τῆς Ἰσίου ἀγαλμα ἑοῦ γυναικῆιν βούκερων ἔστι κατὰ περὶ Ἕλληνες τὴν Ἰοὺν γράφουσι, καὶ τὰς βοῦς τὰς θηλέας Αἰγύπτιοι πάντες ὁμοίως σέβονται προβάτων πάντων μάλιστα μακρῷ. τῶν εἰνεκα ούτε ἄνηρ Αἰγύπτιος οὔτε γυνὴ ἄνδρα Ἕλληνα φιλῆσει ἀν τῷ στόματι, οὐδὲ μαχαίρη ἄνδρος Ἕλληνος χρῆσται οὐδὲ ὀρθολοίς οὐδὲ λέβητι, οὐδὲ κρέως καθαροῦ βοῶς διατετμημένου Ἕλληνικῇ μαχαίρῃ γεύσεται. θάπτουσι δὲ τοὺς ἀποθυμήσκοντας βοῦς τρόπον τὼν ἄνδρας μὲν θηλέας ἐς τὸν ποταμὸν ἀπείσθη, τοὺς δὲ ἔρσενας κατορύσσουσι ἐκάστοι ἐν τοῖς προστείοις, τὸ κέρας τὸ ἔτερον ἢ καὶ ἀμφότερα ὑπερέχουσα σημηνίον εἰνεκεῖν ἐπείδαις οὐκ ἔστοι μὲν ἐν τῷ Δέλτα, περίμετρον δὲ αὐτῆς εἰςι σχοῖνοι ἐννέα. ἐν ταύτῃ ὁν τῇ Προσωπίτιδι νῆσῳ ἔνεσθαι μὲν καὶ ἄλλαι πόλις συνυπαργόνει, ἐκ τῆς δὲ αἱ βάρις παραγίνονται ἀναρτήμους τὰ ὅστεα τῶν βοῶν, οὕνεμα τῇ πόλις Ἀτάρβηχις, ἐν ὁ αὐτῇ Ἀφροδίτης ἵνα ἑίπνον ἱδρύται. ἐκ ταύτης τῆς πόλεως πλανῶνται πολλοὶ ἄλλοι ἐς ἄλλας πόλεις, ἀναρτήμους δὲ ἄ ὅστεα ἀπαγούσι καὶ ἐπάπτουσι ἐς ἐνα χώρον πάντες. κατὰ ταύτα δὲ τοῖς βουσὶ καὶ τάλλα κτήνεα θάπτουσι ἀποθυμήσκοντα καὶ γὰρ περὶ
lamentation is over, they set out a meal of what is left of the victim.

41. All Egyptians sacrifice unblemished bulls and bull-calves; they may not sacrifice cows; these are sacred to Isis. For the images of Isis are in woman's form, horned like an ox, as the Greeks picture Io, and cows are held by far the most sacred of all beasts of the herd by all Egyptians alike. For this reason no Egyptian man or woman will kiss a Greek man, or use a knife, or a spit, or a caldron belonging to a Greek, or taste the flesh of an unblemished ox that has been cut up with a Greek knife. Oxen that die are dealt with in the following way:—Cows are cast into the river, bulls are buried by each city in its suburbs, with one or both horns uncovered for a sign: then, when the carcase is decomposed, and the time appointed is at hand, a boat comes to each city from the island called Prosopitis, an island in the Delta, of nine schoeni in circuit. There are many other towns in Prosopitis; that one from which come the boats to gather the bones of the bulls is called Atarbechis; there stands in it a temple of Aphrodite of great sanctity. From this town many go about, some to one town and some to another, and dig up the bones, which they then carry away and all bury in one place. As they bury the oxen, so they do with all other beasts at death. Such is their ordinance

1 No doubt from Athor or Hathor, under which name Isis was often worshipped.
ταύτα οὕτω σφι νευρομοθέτηται κτείνουσι γὰρ δὴ σοῦδε ταύτα.

42. Ὅσοι μὲν δὴ Δίος Θηβαῖος ἵδρυνται ἵνα ἥ νομοῦ τοῦ Θηβαίου εἰσί, οὕτωι μὲν νυν πάντες οἴων ἀπεχόμενοι αἰγὰς θύουσι. Θεοὺς γὰρ δὴ οὗ τῶν αὐτῶν ἀπαντεῖς ὡμοίως Διήγησις σέβονται, πλην Ἡσίος τε καὶ Ὀσίρις, τὸν δὴ Διόνυσον εἶναι λέγουσι τούτους δὲ ὡμοίως ἀπαντεῖς σέβονται. οὐσί δὲ τοῦ Μένδητος ἐκτητεῖται ἵνα νομοῦ τοῦ Μενδησίου εἰσί, οὕτωι δὲ αἰγῶν ἀπεχομένοι διὰ θύουσι. Θηβαῖοι μὲν νυν καὶ οὐσὶ διὰ τούτων οἴων ἀπεχόνται, διὰ τάδε λέγουσι τὸν νόμον τόνδε σφισὶ τεθήναι. Ἡρακλέα δὲ λέγουσι τόν Δία, καὶ τὸν οὗκ ἐθέλειν ὑφῆναι ὑπὸ αὐτοῦ τέλος δὲ, ἐπειτε λιπαρέειν τὸν Ἡρακλέα, τάδε τὸν Δία ἡμενήσασθαι κριον ἐκείραντα προσκέχεσθαι τε τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀποταμόντα τοῦ κριοῦ καὶ ἐνδύντα τὸ νάκος οὕτω οἱ ἐωτὺς ἐπιτεῖται. ἀπὸ τούτου κριοπρόσωπον τοῦ Δίως τῶγαλμα ποιεῖσθαι Διήγησις, ἀπὸ δὲ Διήγησις Ἀμμώνιοι, ἐόντες Διήγησις τε καὶ Αἰθίοπων ἁποικοὶ καὶ φωνὴν μετὰ ἀμφότερον νομίζωντες δοκεῖν δὲ μοι, καὶ τὸ οὐνόμα Ἀμμώνιοι ἀπὸ τοῦτο σφίσα τὴν ἐπωνυμὴν ἐπισημάναντο. Ἀμμών γὰρ Διήγησις καλέονται τὸν Δία. τοὺς δὲ κριοὺς οὐθύουσι Θηβαῖοι, ἀλλ’ εἰσὶ σφι ἱροὶ διὰ τοῦτο. μὴ δὲ ἡμέρῃ τοῦ ἐναυτοῦ, ἐν ὡρτῇ τοῦ Δίως, κριοῦ ἐνα κατακόψαντες καὶ ἀποδείραντες κατὰ τό νῦν ἐνδύουσι τῶγαλμα τοῦ Δίως, καὶ ἐπειτε ἄλλο

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respecting these also; for they, too, may not be killed.

42. All that have among them a temple of Zeus of Thebes, or are of the Theban province, sacrifice goats but will not touch sheep. For no gods are worshipped in common by the whole of Egypt save only Isis and Osiris, whom they say to be Dionysus; these are worshipped by all alike. Those who have a temple of Mendes¹ or are of the Mendesian province sacrifice sheep, but will not touch goats. The Thebans, and those who by the Theban example will not touch sheep give the following reason for their ordinance: Heracles ² (they say) would by all means look upon Zeus, and Zeus would not be seen by him. At last, being earnestly entreated by Heracles, Zeus contrived a device, whereby he showed himself displaying the head and wearing the fleece of a ram which he had flayed and beheaded. It is from this that the Egyptian images of Zeus have a ram's head; and in this the Egyptians are imitated by the Ammonians, who are colonists from Egypt and Ethiopia and speak a language compounded of the tongues of both countries. It was from this, I think, that the Ammonians got their name too; for Amun is the Egyptian name for Zeus. The Thebans, then, hold rams sacred for this reason, and do not sacrifice them. But on one day in the year, at the festival of Zeus, they cut in pieces and flay a single ram and put the fleece on the image of Zeus, as in the story; then

¹ Mendes, Greek form of Binded, a town in the Delta where Osiris was worshipped in the form of a ram, according to monuments. Here Mendes apparently = Osiris.
² The Greeks identified with Heracles an Egyptian god Shu (called at Thebes Chonsu-Neferhotep, Ἀγαθοδακλὶς).
άγαλμα Ἡρακλέος προσάγουσι πρὸς αὐτό. ταῦτα δὲ ποιήσαντες τύπτονται οἱ περὶ τὸ ἱρὸν ἀπαντεῖ τὸν κριὸν καὶ ἐπειτα ἐν ἱρῇ θηκῇ βάπτουσι αὐτὸν.

43. Ἡρακλέος δὲ πέρι τῶν τῶν λόγων ήκουσα, ὅτι εἰ ἰδ ἰδνὸ δικαιοθεὸν τοῦ ἔτερου δὲ πέρι Ἡρακλέος, τῶν Ἕλληνες οὐδασε, οὐδαμῇ Αἰγύπτου ἐδυνάσθην ἀκοῦσαι. καὶ μὴν ὅτι γε ὁ παρ᾽ Ἕλληνων ἔλαβον τὸ οὐνόμα Αἰγύπτιοι τοῦ Ἡρακλέος, ἀλλὰ Ἕλληνες μᾶλλον παρ᾽ Αἰγυπτίων καὶ Ἕλληνων οὔτοι οἱ θέμενοι τὸ Ἀμφιτρύωνος γόνον τούνομα Ἡρακλέα, πολλά μοι καὶ ἄλλα τεκμήρια ἕστι τούτῳ οὕτῳ ἔχειν, ἐν δὲ καὶ τόδε, ὅτι τοῦ Ἡρακλέος τούτου οἱ γονεῖς ἀνθρώποι ἦσαν Ἀμφιτρύων καὶ Ἀλκιμήνη γεγονότες τὸ ἄνέκαθεν ἄτι Αἰγύπτου, καὶ διότι Αἰγύπτιοί οὔτε Ποσειδέωνος οὔτε Διοσκουρῶν τὰ οὐνόματα φασὶ εἴδειναι, οὐδὲ σφί θεόν οὔτοι ἐν τοῖς ἀλλοίῳθεοίς ἀποδεδέχαται. καὶ μὴν εἰ γε παρ᾽ Ἕλληνων ἔλαβον οὐνόμα τῖνα δαίμονος, τούτων οὐκ ἦκιστα ἄλλα μάλιστα ἐμελλόν μνήμην ἔχειν, εἰ περὶ καὶ τότε ναυτιλήσι ἐχασέντο καὶ ἦσαν Ἕλληνων τινὲς ναυτίλουι, ὡς ἐλπομαί τε καὶ ἐμὶ γνώμῃ αἰρέων ὅστε τούτων ἀν καὶ μᾶλλον τῶν θεῶν τὰ οὐνόματα ἐξεπιστέατο Αἰγύπτιοι ἦ τοῦ Ἡρακλέος. ἀλλὰ της ἄρχαίος ἐστὶ θεός Αἰγυπτίωσι Ἡρακλέος· ὅστε δὲ αὐτὸι λέγουσι, ἐται ἐστὶ ἐπτακισχίλια καὶ μέρια ἐς Ἀμασίν βασιλεύσαντα, ἐπεὶτε ἐκ τῶν ὁκτὼ θεῶν οἱ δυνάκει θεοῖ ἐγενόντο τῶν Ἡρακλέα ἐνα νομίζουσι.

44. Καὶ θέλων δὲ τούτων πέρι σαφὲς τε εἰδέναι εἰς ὅν οἶνον τε ἦν, ἐπλευσα καὶ ἐς Τύρων τῆς
they bring an image of Heracles near to it. Having done this, all that are about the temple mourn for the ram, and presently bury it in a sacred coffer.

43. Concerning Heracles, I heard it said that he was one of the twelve gods. But I could nowhere in Egypt hear anything concerning the other Heracles, whom the Greeks know. I have indeed many proofs that the name of Heracles did not come from Hellas to Egypt, but from Egypt to Hellas (and in Hellas to those Greeks who gave the name Heracles to the son of Amphitryon); and this is the chief among them—that Amphitryon and Alcmene, the parents of this Heracles, were both by descent Egyptian; and that the Egyptians deny knowledge of the names of Poseidon and the Dioscuri, nor are these gods reckoned among the gods of Egypt. Yet had they got the name of any deity from the Greeks, it was these more than any that they were like to remember, if indeed they were already making sea voyages and the Greeks too had seafaring men, as I suppose and judge; so that the names of these gods would have been even better known to the Egyptians than the name of Heracles. Nay, Heracles is a very ancient god in Egypt; as the Egyptians themselves say, the change of the eight gods to the twelve, of whom they deem Heracles one, was made seventeen thousand years before the reign of Amasis.

44. Moreover, wishing to get clear knowledge of this matter whence it was possible so to do, I took

1 As grandchildren of Perseus, for whose Egyptian origin see 91.
Φοινίκης, πυθανόμενος αὐτόθι εἶναι ἵνω Ἡρακλέος ἄγιον, καὶ ἐδόν πλουσίως κατασκευασμένον ἄλλουσι τε πολλοῖσι ἀναθήμασι, καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ ἦσαν στῆλαι δύο, ἢ μὲν χρυσοῦ ἀπέφθου, ἢ δὲ σμαράγδου λίθον λάμποντος τὰς νύκτας μέγαθος. ἐξ λόγους δὲ ἐλθὼν τοῦτο ἑρεύς τοῦ θεοῦ εἰρύμην ὀκόσος χρώνος εἰ ἦ ὑπ' ὅση τὸ ἱερὰν ἱδρυταί. εὐροῦ δὲ οὐδὲ τούτους τοῦτος "Ελλησι συμφερομένους" ἔφασαν γὰρ ἀμὰ Τύρων οἰκίζομένη καὶ τὸ ἱερὸν τοῦ θεοῦ ἱδρυθήναι, εἰναι δὲ ἐτεά ἀπ' οὐκείον ἱερόν οἰκέουσι τριήκοσια καὶ δισχίλια. ἐδου δὲ ἐν τῇ Τύρῳ καὶ ἄλλῳ ἵνω Ἡρακλέους ἐπινυμήν ἐχοντος Ὀσίον εἶναι ἀπεκόμην δὲ καὶ ἐς Θάσου, εἰ τῇ εὐροῦ ἵνω Ἡρακλέος ὑπὸ Φοινίκων ἱδρυμένων, οὕτως ἔφυγεν ὑπελάχονται ῥασοῦ ἐκκοπαν καὶ ταῦτα καὶ πέντε γενεῖς ἀνδρῶν πρότερα ἑστὶ ἡ τῶν Ἀρμιτρόπους Ἡρακλεά ἐν τῇ Ἐλλὰδι γενέσθαι. τὰ μὲν νῦν ἱστοριέναι δὴν θαφέως παλαιῶν θεῶν Ἡρακλεά ἐσταν, καὶ δοκεόμην δὲ μοι οὕτω ὀρθῶσα τα Ἑλλήνων ποιεῖν, οὐ δὲ Ἡρακλεία ἱδρυσάμενοι ἐκτιμάται, καὶ τῷ μὲν ὡς ἀδανάτῳ Ὀλυμπίῳ δὲ ἐπινυμήν δύονσι, τῷ δὲ ἐτέρῳ ὃς ἦροι ἔναψιοι.

45. Δέχομαι δὲ πολλὰ καὶ ἄλα ἀνεπισκέπτοις οἱ Ἔλληνες, εὐθὺς δὲ αὐτῶν καὶ ὡς ἀυτῶν ἔστι σφί τοῦ περὶ τοῦ Ἡρακλεια λέγοσι, ὡς αὐτῶν ἀπικόμων ἐς Ἀγιπτίον στέφανοι οἱ Ἀἰγύπτιοι ὑπὸ πομπῆς ἐξήγον ὡς θύσισε τῷ Διὶ τῶν δὲ τέως μὲν ἔσχοιν ἔχειν, ἐπεὶ δὲ αὐτῶν πρὸς τῷ βωμῷ

1 The Tyrian god Melkart.
ship to Tyre in Phoenice, where I heard that there was a very holy temple of Heracles. There I saw it, richly equipped with many other offerings, besides that in it there were two pillars, one of refined gold, one of emerald, a great pillar that shone in the night-time; and in converse with the priests I asked how long it was since their temple was built. I found that neither did their account tally with the belief of the Greeks; for they said that the temple of the god was founded when Tyre first became a city, and that was two thousand three hundred years since. At Tyre I saw yet another temple of that Heracles called the Thasian. Then I went to Thasos, too, where I found a temple of Heracles built by the Phoenicians, who made a settlement there when they voyaged in search of Europe; now they did so as much as five generations before the birth in Hellas of Heracles the son of Amphitryon. Therefore, what I have discovered by inquiry plainly shows that Heracles is an ancient god. And further: those Greeks, I think, are most in the right, who have established and practise two worships of Heracles, sacrificing to one Heracles as to an immortal, and calling him the Olympian, but to the other bringing offerings as to a dead hero.²

45. But among the many ill-considered tales told by the Greeks, this is a very foolish story which they relate about Heracles—how when he came to Egypt the Egyptians crowned him and led him out in a procession to sacrifice him to Zeus; and for a while (they say) he followed quietly, but when they began

² There is a dual Heracles in the Odyssey, xi. 601 seqqu. An ἐβασιλεύῃ of him is seen in the world of the dead; but "he himself" is an immortal among the gods of heaven.
κατάρχοντο, ἐς ἄλκην τραπόμενον πάντας σφέας καταφονεύσαι. ἕμοι μὲν νῦν δοκεόμενι ταῦτα λέγοντες τῆς Ἀιγυπτίων φύσιος καὶ τῶν νόμων πάμπαν ἀπείρως ἔχειν οἱ "Ἑλληνες" τούτοις γὰρ οὐδὲ κτήμεα ὅσιη θύειν ἐστὶ χωρίς ὑών καὶ ἐρσέων βοῶν καὶ μόσχων, ὅσοι ἂν καθαροὶ ἦσαν, καὶ χηνοῦν, κόσι ὄντοι ἀνθρώπους θύωσιν; ἔτι δὲ ἐνα ἐόντα τὸν Ἡρακλέα καὶ ἐτε ἀνθρώπου, ὡς δὴ φασί, κόσι φύσιν ἔχει πολλὰς μυριάδας φονεύσαι; καὶ περὶ μὲν τούτων τοσαῦτα ἤμιν εἶπομεν καὶ παρὰ τῶν θεῶν καὶ παρὰ τῶν ἥρωων εὐμενεῖ η΅ν.

46. Τάς δὲ δὴ αἰγᾶς καὶ τοὺς τράγους τῶν ἐνεκά οὐ θύων Αιγυπτίων οἱ εἰρημένοι τῶν Πάνα τῶν ὄκτω θεῶν λογίζονται εἶναι οἱ Μενοθείαι, τούς δὲ ὄκτω θεοὺς τούτους προτέρους τῶν δυῶδεκα θεῶν φασὶ γενέσθαι, γράφουσι τῇ δὲ καὶ γλύφοσι οἱ ζωγράφοι καὶ οἱ ἀγαλματοποιοὶ τοῦ Πανὸς τῶγαλμα κατά περὶ Ἐλλήνες αἰγοπρόσωπον καὶ τραγοσκελέα, οὕτω τοιοῦτον νομίζοντες εἶναι μὲν ἄλλα ὦμοιον τοῖς ἄλλοις θεοῖς ὅτεν δὲ εἴνεκα τοιοῦτον γράφουσι αὐτὸν, οὗ μοι ἂν ήδιν ἔστι λέγειν. σέβονται δὲ πάντας τοὺς αἰγᾶς οἱ Μενόθειαι, καὶ μᾶλλον τοὺς ἔρημας τῶν θηλεών, καὶ τούτων οἱ αἰτόλοι τιμᾶς μέχριν ἔχουσι· ἐκ δὲ τούτων ἔνα μάλιστα, ὅσις ἔπειν ἀποθάνη, πένθος μέγα παντὶ τῷ Μενοθείῳ νομῷ τίθεται. καλέσται δὲ ὁ τε πράγος καὶ ὁ Πάν Αιγυπτιστὶ Μενόθης. ἐγενέτο δὲ ἐν τῷ νομῷ τούτῳ ἐπ' ἐμεῦ τοῦτο τὸ τέρας· γυναικὶ τράγος ἐμύγγετο ἀναφανδὸν. τοῦτο ἐς ἐπίδεξιν ἀνθρώπων ἀπίκετο.

47. Τὸν δὲ Αιγύπτιον μιαρὸν ἤγγιται θηρίου εἶναι, καὶ τοῦτο μὲν ἦν τῆς ψάυσης αὐτῶν παρὰν.
the first rites of sacrifice upon him at the altar, he resisted and slew them all. Now it seems to me that by this story the Greeks show themselves wholly ignorant of the character and customs of the Egyptians; for how should they sacrifice men, who are forbidden to sacrifice even the lower animals, save only swine and bulls and bull-calves, if they be unblemished, and geese? Moreover, Heracles being alone, and still but a man, as they say, how is it natural that he should slay a countless multitude? So much I say of this matter; may no god or hero be displeased with me therefor!

46. This is the reason why the Egyptians of whom I have spoken sacrifice no goats, male or female: the Mendesians reckon Pan among the eight gods, who, they say, were before the twelve gods. Now in their painting and sculpture the image of Pan is made as among the Greeks with the head and the legs of a goat; not that he is deemed to be in truth such, or unlike to other gods; but why they so present him I have no wish to say. The Mendesians hold all goats sacred, the male even more than the female, and goatherds are held in especial honour: one he-goat is most sacred of all; when he dies it is ordained that there should be great mourning in all the Mendesian province. In the Egyptian language Mendes is the name both for the he-goat and for Pan. In my lifetime a monstrous thing happened in this province, a woman having open intercourse with a he-goat. This came to be publicly known.

47. Swine are held by the Egyptians to be unclean beasts. Firstly, if an Egyptian touch a hog in
ιός, αυτοίς τοῖσι ιματίοις ἀπ' ὁν ἐβαψε ἕως τόν βας ἐς τὸν ποταμὸν τοῦτο δὲ οἱ συβωταὶ ὑπότες Λιγυπτιοί ἐγγενεῖς ἔς ἱδέν τῶν ἐν Λιγυπτῷ ἐσέρχονται μοῦνοι πάντων, οὕτω σφὶ ἐκδίδοσθαι οὕδεις θυγατέρα ἐθέλει οὐδ' ἀγεσθαί ἐξ αὐτῶν, ἀλλ' ἐκδίδοταῖ τῇ οἱ συβωταὶ καὶ ἀγονταί ἐξ ἀλλήλων. τοῖς μὲν πυὸν ἀλλοισὶ θεοῖς θύετο σοὶ οὐ δικαίεναι Λιγυπτιοὶ, Σελήνη δὲ καὶ Διονύσιος μοῦνοισι τοῦ αὐτῶν χρόνου, τῇ αὐτῇ πανσελήνῳ, τοὺς ὡς θύσαντες πατέονται τῶν κρεών. διότι δὲ τούς ύς ἐν μὲν τῇ ἄλλῃ ὀρτήσῃ ἀπεστυγνή- κασι ἐν δὲ ταύτῃ θύοντες, ἐστὶ μὲν λόγος περὶ αὐτῶν ὑπ' Λιγυπτίων λεγόμενοι, ἐμοὶ μὲντοι ἐπισταμένοι οὐκ εὐπρεπεστερος ἐστὶ λέγονται. θυσίᾳ δὲ ἤδε τῶν ύστερ τῇ Σελήνῃ ποιεῖται ἐπει' ἄλλῳ θύσῃ, τῆν οὐρήν ἄκρην καὶ τὸν σπλήνα καὶ τὸν ἐπίπλοον συνθεῖς ὁμοῖοι κατ' ὅν ἐκαλυφτε χάσῃ τοῦ κτήνεος τῇ πιμελῇ τῇ περὶ τῆν νηδών γυνομένη, καὶ ἐπεῖτα καταγίζει πυρί: τα δὲ ἄλλα κρέα σιτέονται ἐν τῇ πανσελήνῳ ἐν τῇ ἄν τὰ ἱκραθυσώσει, ὣς ἄλλῃ δὲ ἡμέρῃ οὐκ ἀν ἐτὶ γευσαίατο. οἱ δὲ πέντες αὐτῶν ὑπ' ἀσθενείας βίου σταινώς πλάσαντες υς καὶ ὀπτήσαντες ταῦτας θύσωσιν.

48. Τῷ δὲ Διονύσῳ τῇς ὀρτής τῇ δορτής χοίρυν πρὸ τῶν θυρέων σφάξας ἐκατός διδοὶ ἀπο- φέρεσθαι τῶν χοίρων αὐτῷ τῷ ἀποδομένῳ τῶν συβωτέων. τῇ δὲ ἄλλῃ ἀνάγουσι ορτήν τῷ Διονύσῳ οἱ Λιγυπτιοὶ πλήθος χορῶν κατὰ ταύτα σχεδον πάντα "Ελληνεία: ἄντι δὲ φαλλῶν ἀλλὰ σφὶ ἐστὶ ἐξευρημένα, ὅσον τε πηχυαί αὐτάματα νευρόπαστα, τα περιφερέσσαι κατὰ κώμας γυ- ναίκες, νεὺον τὸ αἰδοίον, οὐ πολλὸς τερπ ἐλασσον
passing by, he goes to the river and dips himself in it, clothed as he is; and secondly, swineherds, native born Egyptians though they be, are alone of all men forbidden to enter any Egyptian temple; nor will any give a swineherd his daughter in marriage, nor take a wife from their women; but swineherds intermarry among themselves. Nor do the Egyptians think right to sacrifice swine to any god save the Moon and Dionysus; to these they sacrifice their swine at the same time, in the same season of full moon; then they eat of the flesh. The Egyptians have an account of the reason why they sacrifice swine at this festival, yet abominate them at others; I know it, but it is not fitting that I should relate it. But this is how they sacrifice swine to the Moon: the sacrificer lays the end of the tail and the spleen and the caul together and covers them up with all the fat that he finds about the belly, then burns all with fire; as for the rest of the flesh, they eat it at the time of full moon when they sacrifice the victim; but they will not taste it on any other day. Poor men, having but slender means, mould swine of dough, which they then bake and sacrifice.

48. To Dionysus, on the evening of his festival, everyone offers a porker which he kills before his door and then gives to the swineherd himself who has sold it, for him to take away. The rest of the festival of Dionysus is ordered by the Egyptians much as it is by the Greeks, except for the dances; but in place of the phallus they have invented the use of puppets a cubit long moved by strings, which are carried about the villages by women, the male member moving and near as big as the rest of the...
49. Ἡδὲ ὁν δοκεῖ μοι Μελάμπτος ὁ Ἀμυθέωνος τῆς θυσίας ταύτης οὐκ εἶναι ἄδαχς ἀλλ' ἐμπειρὸς. Ἐλλησι γὰρ δὴ Μελάμπτους ἐστί ὁ ἐξηγησάμενος τοῦ Διόνυσου τὸ τε οὐνομα καὶ τὴν θυσίαν καὶ τὴν πομπὴν τοῦ φαλλοῦ ἀτρεκέως μὲν ὁ πάντα συλλαβῶν τὸν λόγον ἔφηνε, ἄλλ' οἱ ἐπιγενόμενοι τούτω σοφισταὶ μεζόνης ἐξέφηναν τὸν δ' ὁν φαλλὸν τῷ Διόνυσῳ πεμπόμενον Μελάμπτος ἐστι ὁ κατηγοροῦς, καὶ ἀπὸ τούτου μαθόντες ποιεῦσι τὰ ποιεῖς Ἔλλησι. ἔγω μὲν νῦν φημὶ Μελάμπτοδα γενόμενον ἄνδρα σοφὸν μαντικὴν τε ἐσωτῆρα συντήσας καὶ πυθόμενον ἀπ' Ἀιγύπτου ἄλλα τε πολλὰ ἐσηγησάσθαι Ἔλλησι καὶ τὰ περὶ τοῦ Διόνυσου, ὅλγα αὐτῶν παραλλάξαντα. οὐ γὰρ δὴ συμπεσεῖν γε φήσω τα τε ἐν Ἀιγύπτῳ ποιεύμενα τῷ θεῷ καὶ τὰ ἐν τοῖς Ἔλλησι' ὁμότροπα γὰρ ἀν ὑπὸ τοῖς Ἔλλησι καὶ οὐ ἄνωτέροις ἐσηγημένα. οὐ μὲν οὐδὲ φήσω διὸς Ἀιγύπτου καὶ Ἐλλήνων ἐλάβων ἡ τοῦτο ἡ ἄλλα κοῦ τι νόμασιν. πυθέσθαι δὲ μοι δοκεῖ μάλιστα Μελάμπτος τὰ περὶ τοῦ Διόνυσου παρὰ Κάδμου τε τοῦ Τυρίου καὶ τῶν σὺν αὐτῷ ἐκ Φοινίκης ἀτικομένων ἐς τὴν νῦν Βοιωτίαν καλεομένην χώρην.

50. Σχεδὸν δὲ καὶ πάντων τα τοῦν ὑμετά τῶν θεῶν ἐξ Ἀιγύπτου ἔληλυθε ἐς τὴν Ἐλλάδα. διότι μὲν γὰρ ἐκ τῶν βαρβάρων ἦκε, πυθανόμενος οὖν ευρίσκω ἐνδοκεὶ ὅν μάλιστα ἀπ' Ἀιγύπτου ἀπέχθατε. δι' ὅτι γὰρ δὴ ἡ Ποσειδέωνος καὶ Διος-
body; a flute-player goes before, the women follow after, singing of Dionysus. There is a sacred legend which gives the reason for the appearance and motions of these puppets.

49. Now, this being so, it seems to me that Melampus son of Amytheon was not ignorant but had attained knowledge of this sacrifice. For it was Melampus who taught the Greeks the name of Dionysus, and the way of sacrificing to him, and the phallic procession; I would not in strictness say that he showed them completely the whole matter, for the later teachers added somewhat to his showing; but it was from him that the Greeks learnt to bear the phallus along in honour of Dionysus, and they got their present practice from his teaching. I think, then, that Melampus showed himself a clever man, in that he had acquired the prophetic art, and in his teaching of the worship of Dionysus, besides much else, came from Egypt with but slight change; for I will not admit that it is a chance agreement between the Egyptian ritual of Dionysus and the Greek; for were that so, the Greek ritual would be of a Greek nature and not but lately introduced. Nor yet will I hold that the Egyptians took either this or any other custom from the Greeks. But I believe that Melampus learnt the worship of Dionysus chiefly from Cadmus of Tyre and those who came with Cadmus from Phoenice to the land now called Boeotia.

50. Indeed, wellnigh all the names of the gods came to Hellas from Egypt. For I am assured by inquiry that they have come from foreign parts, and I believe that they came chiefly from Egypt. Except the names of Poseidon and the Dioscuri, as I have
κούρων, ὡς καὶ πρότερον μοι ταύτα εἰρήται, καὶ Ἡρης καὶ Ἰστίης καὶ Θεμιώς καὶ Χαρίτων καὶ Νηρηίδων, τῶν ἄλλων θεῶν Αἰγυπτίωσι αἰεὶ κοτε τὰ οὖνόματα ἐστὶ ἐν τῇ χώρῃ. λέγω δὲ τὰ λέγουσι αὐτοῖ Αἰγύπτιοι. τῶν δὲ οὖ φασι θεῶν γιγώσκειν τὰ οὖνόματα, οὕτως δὲ μοι δοκεόυσι ύπὸ Πελασγῶν ὀνομασθήμει, πλὴν Ποσειδέωνος· τούτων δὲ τῶν θεῶν παρὰ Αἰβών ἐπύθοντο· οὐδαμοί γὰρ ἃπ’ ἀρχῆς Ποσειδέωνος οὖνομα ἐκτηται εἰ μὴ Αἴβως καὶ τιμῶσι τὸν θεόν τούτων αἰεὶ. νομίζουσι δ’ ὅν Αἰγύπτιοι οὐδ’ ἤρωσι οὐδὲν.

51. Ταύτα μὲν νῦν καὶ ἄλλα πρὸς τούτοις, τὰ ἑγὼ φράσομεν, Ἑλληνες ἂν’ Ἀιγυπτίων νεομίκασι τού δὲ Ἔρμεὼ τὰ ἀγάλματα ὅρθα ἔχειν τὰ αἴδοια ποιεῖτες οὐκ ἂν’ Ἀιγυπτίων μεμαθήκασι, ἄλλ’ ἁπ’ Πελασγῶν πρῶτοι μὲν Ἑλληνῶν ἀπαντῶν Ἀθηναῖοι παραλαβόντες, παρὰ δὲ τούτων ὅλλοι. Ἀθηναῖοι γὰρ ἡ διὸν τηνικαύτα ἐσ Ἑλληνας τελέουσι Πελασγοὶ σύνοικοι ἐγένοντο ἐν τῇ χώρῃ, ὅθεν περ καὶ Ἑλληνες ἐρξαντο νομισθήμει. ὅστις δὲ τὰ Καβείρων ὄργα, μεμυνθαί, τὰ Σαμοθρῆκες ἐπιτελέουσι παραλαβόντες παρὰ Πελασγῶν, οὕτως ὁμήρο iδε τὸ λέγω· τὴν γὰρ Σαμοθρῆκην οἶκεν πρότερον Πελασγοὶ οὕτως οἱ περ Ἀθηναίοι σύνοικοι ἐγένοντο, καὶ παρὰ τούτων Σαμοθρῆκες τὰ ὄργα παραλαμβάνουσι. ὅρθα δὲ ἔχειν τὰ αἴδοια τὰγάλματα του Ἐρμέω Ἀθηναίοι πρῶτοι Ἑλλήνων μαθόντες παρὰ Πελασγῶν ἐποιήσαντο οἱ δὲ Πελασγοὶ ἰρόν τινα λόγον περὶ αὐτοῦ ἔλεξαν, τὰ ἐν τούτῳ ἐν Σαμοθρῆκη μυστηρίους δεδήλωται.

52. Ἐθνὸν δὲ πάντα πρότερον οἱ Πελασγοὶ θεοί ἐπευχόμεθα, ὡς ἑγὼ ἐν Δωδώνη οἶδα ἀκοῦ-
already said, and Here, and Hestia, and Themis, and the Graces and the Nereids, the names of all the gods have ever existed in Egypt. I say but what the Egyptians themselves say. The gods whose names they say they do not know were, as I think, named by the Pelasgians, save only Poseidon, of whom they learnt the knowledge from the Libyans. Alone of all nations the Libyans have had among them the name of Poseidon from the first, and they have ever honoured this god. The Egyptians, however, are not accustomed to pay any honours to heroes.

51. These customs then and others besides, which I shall show, were taken by the Greeks from the Egyptians. It was not so with the ithyphallic images of Hermes; the making of these came from the Pelasgians, from whom the Athenians were the first of all Greeks to take it, and then handed it on to others. For the Athenians were then already counted as Greeks when the Pelasgians came to dwell in the land with them, and thereby began to be considered as Greeks. Whoever has been initiated into the rites of the Cabeiri, which the Samothracians learnt from the Pelasgians and now practice, he understands what my meaning is. Samothrace was formerly inhabited by those Pelasgians who came to dwell among the Athenians, and it is from them that the Samothracians take their rites. The Athenians, then, were the first Greeks to make ithyphallic images of Hermes, and this they did because the Pelasgians taught them. The Pelasgians told a certain sacred tale about this, which is set forth in the Samothracian mysteries.

52. Formerly, in all their sacrifices, the Pelasgians called upon gods (this I know, for I was told at
σας, ἐπωνυμήν δὲ οὐδ' ονόμα ἐποιεῖντο οὐδὲν αὐτῶν· οὐ γὰρ ἀκηκόεσαν καί. θεοὺς δὲ προσωνόμασαν σφέας ἀπὸ τοῦ τοιούτου, ὅτι κόσμῳ θέντες τὰ πάντα πρήγματα καὶ πάσας νομᾶς εἶχον. ἔπετα δὲ χρόνου πολλοῦ διεξελθόντος ἐπίθυμον ἐκ τῆς Αἰγυπτοῦ ἀπικόμενα τὰ οὐνόματα τῶν θεῶν τῶν ἄλλων, Διονύσου δὲ ύστερον πολλὸ ἐπίθυμον, καὶ μετὰ χρόνου ἐχρηστηριάζοντο περὶ τῶν οὐνομάτων ἐν Δωδώνη· τὸ γὰρ δὴ μαντήτων τοῦτο νεόμισται ἀρχαιότατον τῶν ἐν Ἕλληνι χρηστηρίων εἶναι, καὶ ἐν τῶν χρόνων τούτων μοῦν. ἔπει δὲν ἐχρηστηριάζοντο ἐν τῇ Δωδώνῃ οἱ Πελασγοὶ εἰ ἀνέλουνται τὰ οὐνόματα τὰ ἀπὸ τῶν βαρβάρων ἤκουτα, ἀνείλε τὸ μαντήτων χρᾶσθαι. ἀπὸ μὲν δὴ τοῦτο τοῦ χρόνου ἔθουν τοῖς οὐνόμαις τῶν θεῶν χρεώμενοι παρὰ δὲ Πελασγῶν Ἕλληνες ἐξεδέξαντο ὕστερον.

53. "Εἴθεν δὲ ἐγένοιτο ἐκαστὸς τῶν θεῶν, εἰτε αἰεὶ ἦσαν πάντες, ὅκοιοι τῇ τεινές τὰ εἰδεῖα, οὐκ ἡπιστέατο μέχρι ὡς πρώθην τε καὶ χρῆς ὡς εἰπεῖν λόγῳ. Ἡσίοδον γὰρ καί ὁ Ομηρον ἤλικὴν τετρακοσίην ἐτέσι δοκέων μεν προσβυτέρους γενέσθαι καὶ οὐ πλέον· οὕτως δὲ εἰσὶ οἱ ποιησάμενοι θεογονίαν Ἕλληνες καὶ τοῖς θεοῖς τὰς ἐπωνυμίας δόντες καὶ τιμᾶς τε καὶ τένως διελόντες καὶ εἴδεα αὐτῶν σημηναντες. οἱ δὲ πρῶτον ποιηταῖ τεκνομένοι τούτων τῶν ἀνδρῶν γενέσθαι ύστερον, ἐμονε δοκέειν, ἐγένοιτο. τοῦτον τὰ μὲν πρῶτα αἰ Δωδώνιδες ἱρείας λέγουσι, τὰ δὲ ύστερα τὰ ἐν Ἡσίοδόν τε καί ὁ Ομηρον ἐγνοτα ἐγω λέγω.

54. Χρηστηρίων δὲ πέρι τοῦ τε ἐν Ἕλληνες καὶ
Dodona) without giving name or appellation to any; for they had not as yet heard of such. They called them gods because all things and the due assignment thereof were by them set in order. Then, after a long while, they learnt the names first of the rest of the gods, which came to them from Egypt, and, much later, the name of Dionysus; and presently they inquired of the oracle at Dodona concerning the names; for this place of divination is held to be the most ancient in Hellas, and at that time it was the only one. When the Pelasgians, then, inquired at Dodona if they should adopt the names that had come from foreign parts, the oracle bade them use the names. From that time onwards they used the names of the gods in their sacrifices; and the Greeks received these later from the Pelasgians.

53. But whence each of the gods came into being, or whether they had all for ever existed, and what outward forms they had, the Greeks knew not till (so to say) a very little while ago; for I suppose that the time of Hesiod and Homer was not more than four hundred years before my own; and these are they who taught the Greeks of the descent of the gods, and gave to all their several names, and honours, and arts, and declared their outward forms. But those poets who are said to be older than Hesiod and Homer were, to my thinking, of later birth. The earlier part of all this is what the priestesses of Dodona tell; the later, that which concerns Hesiod and Homer, is what I myself say.

54. But as concerning the oracles in Hellas, and

1 On the supposition that θεός meant "a disposer," connected with θεαμός, τιθέμεν, etc.
τοῦ ἐν Ἰσβύρ τόνδε Αἰγύπτιοι λόγον λέγουσιν. ἐφασαν οἱ ἱρεῖς τοῦ Ἐθναίας Αἰός δύο γυναικές ἱρεῖα ἐκ Θηβέων ἐξαγαθήσαν ὑπὸ Φοινίκων, καὶ τὴν μὲν αὐτέων πυθέσθαι ἐσ Ἰσβύρην προθείζων τὴν δὲ ἐς τοὺς Ἑλληνας ταύτας δὲ τὰς γυναικές εἶναι τὰς ἱδρυσκέμενας τὰ μαντήμα πρῶτας ἐν τοῖς εἰρημένοις ἐθνείς. εἰρομένου δὲ μεν ὁκόκεον οὕτω ἀπρεκέος ἐπιστάμενοι λέγουσιν, ἐφασαν πρὸς ταύτα ξητήσιν μεγάλην ἀπὸ σφέων γενέσθαι τῶν γυναικῶν τούτων, καὶ ἀνευρεῖν μὲν σφέας οὗ δυνατοὶ γενέσθαι, πυθέσθαι δὲ ὑπεροῦ ταύτα περὶ αὐτέων τὰ περὶ ἔλεγον.

55. Ταύτα μὲν νῦν τῶν ἐν Θῆβαις ἱρεῶν ἤκουσον, τάδε δὲ Δωδώναιων φασὶ αἱ προμάντεις δύο πελειάδας μελαίνας ἐκ Θῆβεων τῶν Ἀιγυπτιῶν ἀναπταμένας τὴν μὲν αὐτέων ἐς Ἰσβύρην τὴν δὲ παρὰ σφέας ἀπικέσθαι, ἠμίσθην δὲ μεν ἐπὶ φηγοῦν αὐτάξασθαι φωνῇ ἀνθρωπηθῇ ὡς χρεών εἰς μαντήμα αὐτόθι Δίος γενέσθαι, καὶ αὐτοὺς ὑπολαβεῖν θείον εἶναι τὸ ἐπαγγελλόμενον αὐτοῖς, καὶ σφέας ἐκ τούτου ποιῆσαι. τὴν δὲ ἐς τοὺς Ἰσβύναις οἰκομένην πελειάδα λέγουσι "Ἀμμωνος χρηστήριον κελεύσαι τοὺς Ἰσβύνας ποιέειν" ἐστὶ δὲ καὶ τοῦτο Δίος. Δωδώναιων δὲ αἱ ἱρεῖαι, τῶν τῇ πρεσβυτάτῃ οὖν ήν Προμενεία, τῇ δὲ μετὰ ταύτην Τιμαρέτη, τῇ δὲ νεωτάτῃ Νικάνδρη, ἔλεγον ταύτα συνωμολογεῖν δὲ σφί καὶ οἱ ἀλλοὶ Δωδώναιοι οἱ περὶ τὸ ἱρόν.

56. Ἐγὼ δὲ ἔχω περὶ αὐτῶν γνώμην τίμηδε' εἰ ἀληθέως οἱ Φοινικεῖς ἐξήγαγον τὰς Ιρας γυναῖκας καὶ τὴν μὲν αὐτέων ἐς Ἰσβύρην τὴν δὲ ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἀπεδοντο, δοκεῖ μοι ἡ γνώμη αὕτη τῆς
that one which is in Libya, this is the account given by the Egyptians. The priests of Zeus of Thebes told me that two priestesses had been carried away from Thebes by Phoenicians; one of them (so, they said, they had learnt) was taken away and sold in Libya, and the other in Hellas; these women, they said, were the first founders of places of divination in the countries aforesaid. When I asked them how it was that they could speak with so certain knowledge, they said in reply that their people had sought diligently for these women, and had never been able to find them, but had learnt later the tale which was now told to me.

55. That, then, I heard from the Theban priests; and what follows, is told by the prophetesses of Dodona: to wit, that two black doves had come flying from Thebes in Egypt, one to Libya and one to Dodona; this last settled on an oak tree, and uttered there human speech, declaring that there must be there a place of divination from Zeus; the people of Dodona understood that the message was divine, and therefore they established the oracular shrine. The dove which came to Libya bade the Libyans (so they say) to make an oracle of Ammon; this also is sacred to Zeus. Such was the tale told by the Dodonaean priestesses, of whom the eldest was Promeneia and the next in age Timarete, and the youngest Nicandra; and the rest of the servants of the temple at Dodona likewise held it true.

56. But this is my own belief about it. If the Phoenicians did in truth carry away the sacred women and sell one in Libya and one in Hellas, then to my thinking the part of what is now Hellas, but
νῦν Ἔλλαδος, πρότερον δὲ Πελασγίης καλεμένης τῆς αὐτῆς ταύτης, πρηθήμας ἐς Θεσπρωτοὺς, ἐπειτα δουλεύσονσα αὐτόθι ἱδρύσασθαι ὑπὸ φηγῷ πεφυκνῆρ ἵρον Δίος, ὡσπερ ἦν οἰκὸς ἀμφιπολευσάν- σαν ἐν Θήβῃ καὶ ἵρον Δίος, ἐνθα ἀπίκετο, ἐνθαῦτα μνήμην αὐτοῦ ἔχειν ἐκ δὲ τούτων χρηστίριων κατηγήσατο, ἐπεῖτε συνέλαβε τὴν Ἔλλάδα γλώσ- σαν· φάναι δὲ οἱ ἀδελφεῖς ἐν Δείβῃ πεπρήσθησαν ὑπὸ τῶν αὐτῶν Φοινίκων ὑπ’ ὧν καὶ αὐτὴ ἐπρῆβη.

57. Πελειάδες δὲ μοι δοκεόμενοι κληθήμας πρὸς Δωδωναίων ἐπὶ τοῦδε αἱ γυναῖκες, διότι βάρβαροι ἦσαν, ἐδόκεων δὲ σφι ὁμοίως ὁρισει φθέγγεσθαι· μετὰ δὲ χρόνον τὴν πελειάδα ἀνθρωπην ἰωή αὐθάξασθαι λέγουσι, ἐπεῖτε συνετὰ σφι γύπα ἡ γυνὴ ἐως δὲ ἐβαρβάριζε, ὁρυθὸς τρόπον ἐδοκεῖ σφι φθέγγεσθαι, ἐπεὶ τέφο ἀν τρόπῳ πελείας τοι ἀνθρωπην ἰωή φθεγξαίτο; μέλαιναν δὲ λέ- γοντες εἶναι τὴν πελειάδα σημαίνουσι ὑπὸ Διγυ- πτίης ἡ γυνὴ ἦν.

58. Ἡ δὲ μαντήῃ ἡ τε ἐν Θήβῃς τῆς Δίγυ- πτίης καὶ ἐν Δωδώνῃ παραπλήσιαι ἀλλήλησι τυγχάνουσι εὑσάσι. ἦστι δὲ καὶ τῶν ἵρων ἡ μαν- τικὴ ἀπ’ Διγύπτου ἀπειμένη. πανηγύρις δὲ ἀρα καὶ πομπῆς καὶ προσαγωγὰς πρῶτοι ἀνθρώπων Διγύπτου εἰσὶ οἱ ποιησάμενοι, καὶ παρὰ τούτων Ἐλληνες μεμαθήκασι. τεκμήριον δὲ μοι τούτων τόδε, αἱ μὲν γὰρ φαίνονται ἐκ πολλοῦ τευ χρόνου ποιεῦμεναι, αἱ δὲ Ἐλληνικαὶ νεωτὲ ἐποιήθησαν.

59. Πανηγυρίζουσι δὲ Διγύπτους ὁυκ ἀπαξ τού
was formerly called Pelasgia, where this last was sold, was Thesprotia; and presently, being there in slavery, she established a shrine of Zeus under an oak that was growing there; for it was reasonable that as she had been a handmaid of the temple of Zeus at Thebes she should remember that temple in the land to which she had come. After this she taught divination, as soon as she understood the Greek language; and she said that her sister had been sold in Libya by the same Phoenicians who sold her.

57. I suppose that these women were called "doves" by the people of Dodona because they spoke a strange language, and the people thought it like the cries of birds; presently the woman spoke what they could understand, and that is why they say that the dove uttered human speech; as long as she spoke in her foreign language, they thought her voice was like the voice of a bird. For how could a dove utter the speech of men? The tale that the dove was black signifies that the woman was Egyptian.¹

58. The fashions of divination at Thebes of Egypt and Dodona are like to one another; moreover the practice of divining from the sacrificed victim has also come from Egypt. It would seem too that the Egyptians were the first people to establish solemn assemblies, and processions, and services; the Greeks learnt all this from them. I hold this proved, because the Egyptian ceremonies are manifestly very ancient, and the Greek are of late origin.

59. The Egyptians hold solemn assemblies not

¹ Perhaps Herodotus' explanation is right. But the name "doves" may be purely symbolic; thus priestesses of Demeter and Artemis were sometimes called Bees.
ηνιαυτοῦ, πανηγύρις δὲ συχνάς, μάλιστα μὲν καὶ
προθυμότατα ἐς Βούβαστιν πόλιν τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι,
δεύτερα δὲ ἐς Βουσιρίων πόλιν τῇ Ἰσιόν τῷ
γὰρ δὴ τῇ πόλις ἐστὶ μέγιστον Ἰσιος ἰρόν, ἱδρυταὶ
dὲ ἡ πόλις αὐτὴ τῆς Αιγύπτου ἐν μέσῳ τῷ Δέλτα.
Ἰσις δὲ ἐστὶ κατὰ τὴν Ἑλλήνων γνώσαν 
Δημη-
tηρ. τρίτα δὲ ἐς Σάιν πόλιν τῇ Ἀθηναίη πανηγυ-
ρίζουσι, τέταρτα δὲ ἐς Ἰλίου πόλιν τῷ Ἡλίῳ,
πέμπτα δὲ ἐς Βουτούν πόλιν τῇ Λητοῖ, ἐκτα δὲ ἐς
Πάπρημιν πόλιν τῷ Ἀρεί.
60. Ἐς μὲν νῦν Βούβαστιν πόλιν ἐπεαν κομί-
ζονται, ποιεῦσι τοιάδε. πλέουσι τε γὰρ δὴ ἁμα
ἀνδρες γυναιξὶ καὶ πολλοὺς τι πλήθος ἐκατέρων ἐν
ἐκάστῃ βάριν. αἱ μὲν τινὲς τῶν γυναικῶν κρόταλα
ἐχουσαι κροταλίζουσιν, οἴ δὲ αὔλεουσι κατὰ πάντα
τοῦ πλόου, αἱ δὲ λουπαῖ γυναίκες καὶ ἀνδρες
ἀείδουσι καὶ τάς χεῖρας κροτέουσιν. ἐπεῑν δὲ πλέο-
ντες κατὰ τινὰ πόλιν ἀλλήν γένοσιν, ἐγχριμ-
ψαντες τὴν βάριν τῇ γῇ ποιεῦσι τοιάδε. αἱ μὲν
τινὲς τῶν γυναικῶν ποιεῦσι τὰ περ εἰρήκα, αἱ δὲ
πωθάζουσι βοῶσιν τὰς ἐν τῇ πόλι ταύτη γυναίκας,
αἱ δὲ ὀρχέουσι, αἱ δὲ ἀνασύρουσι ἀνυστάμεναι.
ταῦτα παρὰ πᾶσαν πόλιν παραποταμίην ποιεῦσιν ἐπεῑν
dὲ ἄπικονται ἐς τὴν Βούβαστιν, ὀρτάζουσιν
cεικάλας ἀνάγοντες θυσίας, καὶ οἶνος ἀμπέλινος
ἀναισμοῦται πλέον ἐν τῇ ὀρτῇ ταύτῃ ἐν τῷ
ἀπαντὶ ἐναυτῷ τῷ ἐπιλοίπῳ. συμφωνῶσι δὲ, ὅ τι ἄνηρ καὶ γυνὴ ἐστὶ πλὴν παιδίων, καὶ ἐς
ἐμφάνωσονται μυριάδας, ὡς οἱ ἐπιχώροι λέγουσι.
61. Ταῦτα μὲν δὴ ταύτῃ ποιεῖται, ἐν δὲ Βουσιρὶ
πόλιν ὡς ἀνάγουσι τῇ Ἰσιῷ τὴν ὀρτὴν, εἰρηταὶ προ-
τερὸν μοι τύπτονται μὲν γὰρ δὴ μετὰ τὴν θυσίαν
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once in the year, but often. The chiefest of these and the most zealously celebrated is at the town of Bubastis in honour of Artemis, and the next is that in honour of Isis at Busiris. This town is in the middle of the Egyptian Delta, and there is in it a very great temple of Isis, who is in the Greek language, Demeter. The third greatest festival is at Sais in honour of Athene; the fourth is the festival of the sun at Heliopolis, the fifth of Leto at Buto, and the sixth of Ares at Papremis.

60. When the people are on their way to Bubastis they go by river, men and women together, a great number of each in every boat. Some of the women make a noise with rattles, others play flutes all the way, while the rest of the women, and the men, sing and clap their hands. As they journey by river to Bubastis, whenever they come near any other town they bring their boat near the bank; then some of the women do as I have said, while some shout mockery of the women of the town; others dance, and others stand up and expose their persons. This they do whenever they come beside any riverside town. But when they have reached Bubastis, they make a festival with great sacrifices, and more wine is drunk at this feast than in the whole year beside. Men and women (but not children) are wont to assemble there to the number of seven hundred thousand, as the people of the place say.

61. Such is their practice there; I have already told how they keep the feast of Isis at Busiris. There, after the sacrifice, all the men and women

1 Bubastis in the Delta, the "city of Pasht," where the cat-headed goddess Pasht (identified by Herodotus with Artemis) was worshipped.
πάντες καὶ πᾶσαι, μυριάδες κάρτα πολλαὶ ἀνθρώπων τῶν δὲ τύπτονται, οὐ μοι ὅσιον ἑστὶ λέγειν. ὅσιον δὲ Καρὼν εἰσὶ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ οἰκέοντες, οὐτοὶ δὲ τοσοῦτοῖ έτει πλέω ποιεῖν τούτων ὅσῳ καὶ τὰ μέτωπα κόπτονται μαχαίρῃ, καὶ τοῦτο εἰσὶ δήλοι ὅτι εἰσὶ ξεῖνοι καὶ οὐκ Αἰγύπτιοι.

62. 'Εσ Σάιν δὲ πόλιν ἐπεάν συλλεχθώσι, τῆς θυσίας ἐν τῇ νυκτὶ λύχνα καίουσι πάντες πολλά ὑπαιθρία περὶ τὰ δόματα κύκλω ὅτα δὲ λύχνα ἐστὶ έμβαφια ἐμπλεα ἅλος καὶ ἐλαίων, ἐπιπολής δὲ ἐπεστεί αὐτὸ τὸ ἐλλύχων, καὶ τούτῳ καίεται παννύχων, καὶ τῇ ὀρθῇ οὐνομα κέεται λυχνοκαίη. οὐ δ' ἂν μὴ ἔλθωσι τῶν Αἰγύπτων ἐς τὴν παννύχων ταύτην, φυλάσσοντες τὴν νύκτα τῆς θυσίας καίουσι καὶ αὐτοὶ πάντες τὰ λύχνα, καὶ οὕτω οὐκ ἔν Σαίν μοῦνη καίεται ἁλλὰ καὶ ἀνὰ πᾶσαν Αἰγύπτων. ο湓 δὲ εἴνεκα φῶς ἔλαχε καὶ τιμήν ἢ νῦξ αὐτῇ, ἔστι ἱρὸς περὶ αὐτοῦ λόγος λεγόμενος.

63. 'Εσ δὲ Ἡλίον τε πόλει καὶ Βουτούνθι θυσίας μοῦνας ἐπιτελέουσα φοιτέοντες. ἐν δὲ Παπρήμθι θυσίας μὲν καὶ ἵρα κατὰ περ καὶ τῇ ἀληθείᾳ ποιεῖν: εὑτ' ἂν δὲ γίνηται καταφερής ὁ Ἡλίος, ὅλγοι μὲν τινὲς τῶν ἱρῶν περὶ τῶν ἵλαμα πεπονέαται, οἱ δὲ πολλοὶ αὐτῶν ἤλων κορύνας ἔχουσι ἐστάσις τοῦ ἱροῦ ἐν τῇ ἐσόδῳ, ἅλλοι τε εὐχωλας ἐπιτελέουσι ταῖον ἔχουσιν ἅλων ἄνδρῶν, ἐκαστοὶ ἔχουσιν ξύλα καὶ οὕτω, ἐπὶ τὰ ἔτερα ἄλλοις ἐστάσις. τὸ δὲ ἄγαλμα ἕως ἐν νηῷ μικρῷ ἤλων καταχρυσωμένῳ προεκκύκλωσε τῇ προτεραιᾷ χτὶς ἀλλο οἰκήμα ἱρὸν. οἱ μὲν δὴ ὅλγοι οἱ περὶ τῶν ἵλαμα λελειμμένοι ἔλκουσι τετράκυκλον ἠμαζαν ἄγουσαν τὸν νηῷ τε καὶ τὸ ἐν τῷ νηῷ ἐνεών ἄγαλμα, οὐ δὲ οὐκ ἔστιν 348.
lament, in countless numbers; but it were profane for me to say who it is for whom they lament. Carian dwellers in Egypt do even more than this, for they cut their foreheads with knives; showing thereby, that they are not Egyptians but strangers.

62. When they assemble at Sais, on the night of the sacrifice, they all keep lamps burning in the open air round about their houses. These lamps are saucers full of salt and oil, the wick floating thereon, and burning all night. This is called the Feast of Lamps. Egyptians who do not come to this assemblage are careful on the night of sacrifice to keep their own lamps burning, and so they are alight not only at Sais but throughout all Egypt. A sacred tale is told showing why this night is thus lit up and honoured.

63. When the people go to Heliopolis and Buto they offer sacrifice only. At Papremis sacrifice is offered and rites performed as elsewhere; but when the sun is sinking, while a few of the priests are left to busy themselves with the image, the greater number of them beset the entrance of the temple, with clubs of wood in their hands; they are confronted by more than a thousand men, all performing vows and all carrying wooden clubs like the rest. The image of the god, in a little wooden gilt casket, is carried on the day before this from the temple to another sacred chamber. The few who are left with the image draw a four-wheeled cart carrying it in its casket; the other priests stand in the temple porch and prevent its
ἐν τοῖς προπολάλοις ἐστεῶτες ἐσίεναι, οἱ δὲ εὐχωλιμαῖοι τιμωρεῖτε τὸ θεῖο παῖουσι αὐτοὺς ἀλεξομένους. ἐνθαῦτα μάχη ξύλοις καρτερῇ γίνεται κεφαλὰς τε συναρασσοῦνται, καὶ ὅς ἐγὼ δοκέω πολλοὶ καὶ ἀποθνῄσκουσι ἐκ τῶν τρωμάτων ὦ μέντοι ὦ γε Αἰγύπτιοι ἐφασαν ἀποθνῄσκειν οὐδένα. τὴν δὲ πανήγυριν ταύτην ἐκ τοῦδε νομίσασθαι φασὶ οἱ ἐπιχώριοι: οἰκεῖειν ἐν τῷ ἱρῷ τούτῳ τοῦ Ἀρεος τὴν μητέρα, καὶ τὸν Ἀρεα ἀποτροφοῦν γενοµένου ἐλθεῖν ἐξανδρωµένων ἐθέλοντα τῇ μητρὶ συμμίξαι, καὶ τοὺς προπόλους τῆς μητρός, οία οὐκ ὀπωρότας αὐτὸν πρότερον, οὐ περιορᾶν παριέναι ἀλλὰ ἀπερύκειν, τὸν δὲ ἐς ἄλλης πόλιος ἀγαθόµενον ἄνθρωπος τοὺς τῆς προπόλους τρηχεῶς περιστεῖν καὶ ἐσελθεῖν παρὰ τὴν μητέρα. ἀπὸ τοῦτον τῷ Ἀρεί ταύτην τὴν πληγὴν ἐν τῇ ὀρτῇ νεκομικέναι φασὶ.

64. Καὶ τὸ μὴ μισγεσθαὶ γυναιξὶ ἐν ἵρῳις μηδὲ ἄλοντους ἀπὸ γυναικῶν ἐς ἱρὰ ἐσιεναι οὕτω εἰς οἱ πρῶτοι θρησκεύσαντες. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἄλλοι σχέδον πάντες ἄνθρωποι, πλὴν Αἰγυπτίων καὶ Ἐλλήνων, μισθοῦνται ἐν ἵρῳις καὶ ἀπὸ γυναικῶν ἀνιστάμενοι ἄλοντοι ἑσέρχονται ἐς ἱρὸν, νοµίζουσι ἄνθρωπος εἶναι κατὰ περὶ τὰ ἄλλα κτήνεα· καὶ γὰρ τὰ ἄλλα κτήνεα ὅραν καὶ ὄρνθων γένεα ὦχενόµενα ἐν τῇ τοῖς νησίστι τῶν θεών καὶ ἐν τοῖς τεμένεσι· εἰ ὦν εἶναι τῷ θεῷ τούτῳ μὴ φίλου, οὐκ ἂν οὐδὲ τὰ κτήνεα ποιεῖν. οὕτω µὲν νυν τοιαῦτα ἐπιλέγουσι διεξέσθε ὡς ὥστε ἄρεστα· Αἰγύπτιοι δὲ θρησκεύσαντες περισσῶς τά τε ἄλλα περὶ τά ἱρὰ καὶ δὴ καὶ τάδε.

65. Ἐσφαῖ ἂ Αἰγύπτιος ὁμοροι τῇ Διβύῃ ὦ
entrance; the votaries take the part of the god, and smite the priests, who resist. There is hard fighting with clubs, and heads are broken, and as I think (though the Egyptians told me no life was lost), many die of their wounds. The assemblage, say the people of the country, took its rise thus:—The mother of Ares dwelt in this temple; Ares had been reared away from her, and when he grew to manhood came to hold converse with his mother; but as her attendants, never having seen him before, kept him off and would not suffer him to pass, Ares brought men from another town, roughly handled the attendants, and gained access to his mother. From this, they say, arose this custom of a battle of blows at the festival in honour of Ares.  

64. Further, it was the Egyptians who first made it a matter of religious observance not to have intercourse with women in temples, nor enter a temple after such intercourse without washing. Nearly all other men are less careful in this matter than are the Egyptians and Greeks, and hold a man to be like any other animal; for beasts and birds (they say) are seen to mate both in the temples and the sacred precincts; now were this displeasing to the god neither would the beasts do so. This is the reason given by others for practices which I for my part mislike; but the Egyptians in this and in all other matters are exceeding strict against desecration of their temples.

65. Though Egypt has Libya on its borders, it is

1 It is uncertain what Egyptian deity Herodotus identifies with Ares. In a Greek papyrus, "Ares" is the equivalent for the Egyptian Anhur, a god, apparently, not clearly differentiated from "Shu" or "Heracles."
μάλα θηριώδης ἦστι· τὰ δὲ έόντα σφῖ ἀπαντα ἰρά νεκόμισται, καὶ τὰ μὲν σύντροφα αὐτοῖς τοῖς ἄνθρωποισι, τὰ δὲ οὐ. τῶν δὲ εἰνεκεν ἀνέπται τὰ θηρία ἵρα εἰ λέγομι, καταβαίνῃ ἀν τῷ λόγῳ ἐς τὰ θεῖα πρήγματα, τὰ ἐγὼ φεύγω μάλιστα ἀπηγέεσθαι· τὰ δὲ καὶ εἰρήκα αὐτῶν ἐπιψιρίσας, ἀναγκαίη καταλαμβανόμενοι εἰπον. νόμος δὲ ἐστὶν περὶ τῶν θηρίων ὅδε ἔχων μελεδωνοί ἀποδεδέχεται τῆς τροφῆς χωρὶς ἐκάστων καὶ ἔρσεως καὶ θήλεως τῶν Δινυπτίων, τῶν παῖς παρὰ πατρός εκδεκται τὴν τιμήν. οὐ δὲ ἐν τῇ θέσει ἐκαστοὶ εὐχας τάςδε σφὶ ἀποτελέσουσι· εὐχίς μεν τῷ θεῖν τοῦ ἀν ἢ τὸ θηρίον, ἦρωντες τῶν παιδίων ἡ πάσαν τὴν κεφαλὴν ἢ τὸ ἡμιον ἢ τὸ τρίτων μέρος τῆς κεφαλῆς, ἱστάσα σταθμῷ πρὸς ἄργυρον τάς τρίχας· τὸ δὲ ἐλκύσθη, τούτῳ τῇ μελεδονῷ τῶν θηρίων διδοῖ, ἢ δὲ ἀντὶ αὐτοῦ τάμνουςα ἱχθὺς παρέχει βορῆν τοῖς θηρίοις. τροφή μὲν ὁ δὴ αὐτοῦ τοιαύτη ἀποδεδέχεται· τὸ δὲ ἀν τῆς τῶν θηρίων τούτων ἀποκτείνῃ, ἢ μὲν ἐκῶν, θάνατος ἢ ζημία, ἢ δὲ ἀέκων, ἀποτίνει ζημίαν τὴν ἄν οἱ ἱρεῖς τάξωνται. ὃς δὲ ἀν ἴδων ἢ ἰρήκα ἀποκτείνῃ, ἤ τε ἐκῶν ἢ τε ἀέκων, τεθνάναι ἀνάγκη.

66. Πολλῶν δὲ ἐόντων ὁμοτρόφων τοῖς ἄνθρωποι θηρίων πολλῷ ἂν ἔτει πλέων ἐγίνετο, εἰ μὴ κατελάμβανε τοὺς αἰελούριους τοιάδε· ἐπεάν τεκωσί αἱ θήλειαι, οὐκέτι φοιτεύοντο παρὰ τούς ἔρσεναν· οἱ δὲ δεξίμενοι μέσησαντοι αὐτῆς, οὐκ ἔχουσι· πρὸς ὁν τὰυτα σοφίζονται τάδε ἀρπάζοντες ἀπὸ τῶν θηλεών καὶ ὑπαιρεόμενοι τὰ τέκνα κτείνουσι, κτείναντες μέντοι οὐ πατέονται· αἳ

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not a country of many animals. All of them are held sacred; some of these are part of men's households and some not; but were I to declare the reason why they are dedicated, I should be brought to speak of matters of divinity, of which I am especially unwilling to treat; I have never touched upon such save where necessity has compelled me. But I will now show how it is customary to deal with the animals. Men and women are appointed guardians to provide nourishment for each kind severally; a son inherits this office from his father. Townsmen in each place, when they pay their vows, make prayer to the god to whom the animal is dedicated, shaving the whole or the half or the third part of their children's heads, and weighing the hair in a balance against a sum of silver; then whatever be the weight in silver of the hair is given to the female guardian of the creatures, who buys fish with it, cuts them up and feeds them therewith. Thus is food provided for them. Whoever kills one of these creatures with intention is punished with death; if he kill by mischance he pays whatever penalty the priests appoint. Whoever kills an ibis or a hawk, with intention or without, must die for it.

66. There are many household animals; and there would be many more, were it not for what happens to the cats. When the females have kittened they will not consort with the males; and these seek them but cannot get their will of them; so their device is to steal and carry off and kill the kittens (but they do not eat what they have killed). The mothers,
δὲ στερισκόμεναι τῶν τέκνων, ἄλλων δὲ ἐπὶθυμέουσαι, οὕτω δὴ ἀπικνέονται παρὰ τοὺς ἔρσενας φιλότεκνον γὰρ τὸ θηρίον. πυρκαίης δὲ γενομένης θεία πρήγματα καταλαμβάνει τοὺς αἰέλουρους· οἱ μὲν γὰρ Λιγυπτῖοι διαστάντες φυλακᾶς ἔχουσί τῶν αἰέλουρων, ἀμελήσαντες σβεννύναι τὸ καιόμενον, οἱ δὲ αἰέλουροι διαδύνοντες καὶ υπερηφανοίς περιμένουν εἰς τὸ πῦρ, ταῦτα δὲ γενόμενα πένθεια μεγάλα τοὺς Λιγυπτίους καταλαμβάνει. ἐν οὖτεισι δὲ ἀν οἰκίοις αἰέλουρος ἀποθανάν ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτομάτου, οἱ ἐνοικίοντες πάντες ξυρώνται τὰς ὀφράς μοῦνας, παρ' οὗτοι δ' ἂν κυών, πάν τὸ σῶμα καὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν. 67. Ἀπάγουται δὲ οἱ αἰέλουροι ἀποθανοῦσιν ἐς ὅραις στέγασιν, ἐνθα δάπτονται ταραχευόμεναι, ἐν Βουβαστὶ πόλις· τὰς δὲ κύλις ἐν τῇ ἐωυτῶν ἐκαστοῖς πόλει δάπτονται ἐν ἱρήσι θηκησί. ὅσο δὲ αὐτῶς τῆς κυσί οἱ ἡχεινταὶ δάπτονται· τὰς δὲ μυγαλαῖς καὶ τοὺς ἱρήκας ἀπάγουσιν ἐς Βουτοῦν πόλιν, τὰς δὲ ἱβίσι ἐς ᾽Ερμέω πόλιν. τὰς δὲ ἀρκετοὺς εὐώσιας σπανίας καὶ τοὺς λύκους οὐ πολλῷ τεφ ἐὼντας ἀλοπέκων μέξονας αὐτοῦ δάπτοντι τῇ ἀν εὐρεθέως κείμενοι. 68. Τῶν δὲ κροκοδίλων φύσις ἐστὶ τοιμή. τοὺς χειμεριστάτους μήνας τέσσερας ἐσθελεί σύνεν, ἐόν δὲ τετράποντα χερσαίον καὶ λυμαίον ἐστὶ τίκτει μὲν γὰρ οἷα ἐν τῇ καὶ ἐκλέπει, καὶ τὸ πολλὸν τῆς ἡμέρης διατρίβει ἐν τῷ ἔρημῳ, τὴν δὲ νύκτα πάσαν ἐν τῷ ποταμῷ· θερμότερον γὰρ δὴ ἐστὶ τὸ ὕδωρ τῆς τε αἰθρίης καὶ τῆς δροσοῦ. πάντων δὲ τῶν ἤμερῶν ἰδίες ὑπνωτών τούτω ἐξ ἐλαχίστου μέγιστον γίνονται· τὰ μὲν γὰρ οἷα χελώνιον οὐ πολλῷ μέξονα τίκτει, καὶ ὁ νεοσσός κατὰ λόγον.
deprived of their young and desiring to have more will then consort with the males; for they are creatures that love offspring. And when a fire breaks out very strange things happen to the cats. The Egyptians stand round in a broken line, thinking more of the cats than of quenching the burning; but the cats slip through or leap over the men and spring into the fire. When this happens, there is great mourning in Egypt. Dwellers in a house where a cat has died a natural death shave their eyebrows and no more; where a dog has so died, the head and the whole body are shaven.

67. Dead cats are taken away into sacred buildings, where they are embalmed and buried, in the town of Bubastis; bitches are buried in sacred coffins by the townsmen, in their several towns; and the like is done with ichneumons. Shrewmice and hawks are taken away to Buto, ibises to the city of Hermes. There are but few bears, and the wolves are little bigger than foxes; both these are buried wherever they are found lying.

68. I will now show what kind of creature is the crocodile. For the four winter months it eats nothing. It has four feet, and lives both on land and in the water, for it lays eggs and hatches them out on land, and it passes the greater part of the day on dry ground, and the night in the river, the water being warmer than the air and dew. No mortal creature known to us grows from so small a beginning to such greatness; for its eggs are not much bigger than goose eggs, and the young crocodile is of a bigness answering
τοῦ φοῦ γίνεται, αὐξανόμενος δὲ γίνεται καὶ ἐστὶ ἐπτακαίδεκα πῆχεας καὶ μέζων ἐτὶ. ἔχει δὲ ὀφθαλμοὺς μὲν υός, ὀδόντας δὲ μεγάλους καὶ χαλικιώτας κατὰ λόγον τοῦ σώματος. γῆλοσησαν δὲ μούνον θηρίων οὐκ ἔφυσε, οὐδὲ κινεῖ τὴν κάτω γνάθον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦτο μούνον θηρίων τὴν ἂνω γνάθον προσάγει τῇ κάτω. ἔχει δὲ καὶ ὅρνυχας καρτεροὺς καὶ δέρμα λεπίδωτον ἀρρηκτὸν ἐπὶ τοῦ νότου. τυφλὸν δὲ ἐν ύδατι, ἐν δὲ τῇ αἰθρίᾳ ὀξυδερκέστατον. ἀντε δὴ ὅν ἐν ἔδαμι διαίται ποιεύμενον, τὸ στόμα ἐνδοθεὶ φοοεὶ πάν μεστὸν βδέλλων. τὰ μὲν δὴ ἀλλὰ ὄρνεα καὶ θηρία φεύγει μιν, ὁ δὲ τροχίλος εἰρημαίον οἱ ἐστὶ ἀντε ὀφελεομενος πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐπεάν γὰρ ἐστὶν ἡμῖν ἐκβῆ ἐκ τοῦ ὑδατος ὁ κροκόδειλος καὶ ἐπείτη χάνῃ (ἐωθὲ ὡρὰ τοῦτο ὡς ἐπίπαιν ποιεύει πρὸς τὸν ξέφυρον), ἐνθαῦτα ὁ τροχίλος ἐσθίων ἐστὶ τὸ στόμα αὐτοῦ καταπίνει τὰς βδέλλας. δὲ ὀφελεομενος ἤδηται καὶ οὐδὲν σήμεται τὸν τροχίλον.

69. Τοίσι μὲν δὴ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων ἱροὶ εἰσὶ οἱ κροκόδειλοι, τοίσι δὲ οὐ, ἀλλ᾽ ἀντε πολεμίους περιέπουσιν οἱ δὲ περὶ τε Θῆβας καὶ τὴν Μοῖρος λίμνην οἰκεύεται καὶ κάρτα ἤγηνται αὐτοὺς εἶναι ἱροὺς· ἐκ πάντων δὲ ἐνα ἐκάτεροι τρέφουσι κροκόδειλον δεδιαγμένον εἶναι χειροθεία, ἀρτήματα τε λίθων χυτὰ καὶ χρύσαα ὡς ὁ ὅτα ἐνθέντες καὶ ἀμφιδέας περὶ τοὺς ἐμπροσθίους πόδας, καὶ σιτία ἀποτακτὰ διδόντε καὶ ἱρία, καὶ περιέπουσιν ὡς κάλλιστα ἄντωντες ἀποθανόντας δὲ θάπτουσι ταριχεύοντες ἐν ἱρίσιν θήκησιν. οἱ δὲ περὶ Ἐλεφαυτίνην πόλιν οἰκεύεται καὶ ἐσθίουσι αὐτοὺς οὐκ ἤγεομενοὶ ἱροὶ εἰσι. καλέονται δὲ ὁ κροκόδειλοι
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therefo, but it grows to a length of seventeen cubits and more. It has eyes like pigs' eyes, and great teeth and tusks answering to the bigness of its body. It is the only animal that has no tongue. Nor does it move the lower jaw. It is the only creature that brings the upper jaw down upon the lower. It has also strong claws, and a scaly impene-
trable hide on its back. It is blind in the water, but
very keen of sight in the air. Since it lives in the
water, its mouth is all full within of leeches. All birds
and beasts flee from it, except only the sandpiper,1
with which it is at peace, because this bird does the
crocodile a service; for whenever the crocodile comes
ashore out of the water and then opens its mouth
(and this it does for the most part to catch the west
wind), the sandpiper goes into its mouth and eats
the leeches; the crocodile is pleased by this service
and does the sandpiper no harm.

69. Some of the Egyptians hold crocodiles sacred,
others do not so, but treat them as enemies. The
dwellers about Thebes and the lake Moeris deem
them to be very sacred. There, in every place one
crocodile is kept, trained to be tame; they put orna-
ments of glass and gold on its ears and bracelets on
its forefeet, provide for it special food and offerings,
and give the creatures the best of treatment while
they live; after death the crocodiles are embalmed
and buried in sacred coffins. But about Elephantine
they are not held sacred, and are even eaten. The
Egyptians do not call them crocodiles, but champsae,

1 Egyptian spur-winged lapwing (Hoplopterus armatus).
άλλα χάμψαν κροκοδείλους δὲ Ἰωνες ὄνομασαν, εἰκάζοντες αὐτῶν τὰ εἶδεα τοὺς παρὰ σφίσει γενομένους κροκοδείλους τοῖς ἐν τῇ σε αἰμασθίσι.

70. Ἀγραί δὲ σφέων πολλαὶ κατεστάσαν καὶ παντοῦ ὅποι ὀν ἐμοιγε δοκεῖι ἀξιωτάτη ἀπηγήσιος εἶναι, ταύτην γράφω. ἐπεάν νῦτον ὑὸς ἐλεάσῃ περὶ ἀγκιστρον, μετει ἐς μέσον τῶν ποταμῶν, αὐτὸς δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ χείλεσ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἔχων δελφακα ξωῆς ταύτην τύπτει. ἐπακούσας δὲ τῆς φωνῆς ὁ κροκοδείλος ἦται κατὰ τὴν φωνὴν, ἐντυγχανὸν δὲ τῷ νῦτῷ καταπίνειν οὐ δὲ ἐλκουσί. ἐπεάν δὲ ἐξελκυσθῇ ἐς γην, πρῶτον ἀπάντων ὁ θηρευτὴς πηλῶ κατ’ ὦν ἐπλασε αὐτοῦ τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν τοῦτο ἐς ποιήσας κάρτα εὐπετέως τὰ λοιπὰ χειροῦνται, μὴ ποιήσας δὲ τοῦτο σὺν τῶν.

71. Οἱ δὲ ἵπποι οἱ ποτάμοι νομῶ ἐς τὸν Πατρημάτη ἱροὶ εἰσί, τοῖς δὲ ἄλλοις Ἀἰγυπτίοις οὐκ ἱροί. φύσιν δὲ παρέχονται ἰδέαις τοιήδε θεραποῦν ἐστὶ, δίχηλου, ὄπλαι βοῶς, σιμῶν, λωφήν ἔχων ἵππον, χαυλιόδοντας φαινον, οὐρὰν ἵππον καὶ φωνὴν, μεγαθὸς ὁ ὁ τε βοῶς ὁ μεγιστος τὸ δέρμα δ’ αὐτοῦ ὡτοὶ δὴ τι παχῦ ἐστὶ ὡστε αὐτὸν γενομένου ἐς ἔστα ποιέσθαι ἀκόντια ἐς αὐτοῦ.

72. Γίνονται δὲ καὶ ἐνδύρεις ἐν τῷ ποταμῷ, τῶν ἰρῶν ἡγηνται εἶναι. νομίζοντι δὲ καὶ τῶν ἰχθύων τῶν καλεύμενον λεπίδωτον ἰρὸν εἶναι καὶ τὴν ἐγχελύν, ἱροὺς δὲ τούτους τοῦ Νείλου φασὶ εἶναι, καὶ τῶν ὀρνίθων τοὺς χθενάλωπεν.

73. Ἐστὶ δὲ καὶ ἄλλοις ὀρνίθις ἱροῖς, τῷ οὕναμα φοῖνιξ, ἐγὼ μὲν μιν οὐκ εἰδον εἰ μὴ ὁ σὸν γραφῆ καὶ γὰρ δὴ καὶ σπάνιος ἐπιφοιτᾶ σφί, δὲ ἐτέων,
The Ionians called them crocodiles, from their likeness to the lizards which they have in their walls.  

70. There are many and various ways of crocodile hunting; I will write only of that one way which I think most worthy of mention:—The hunter baits a hook with a chine of pork, and lets it float into the midst of the river; he himself stays on the bank with a young live pig, which he beats. Hearing the cries of the pig, the crocodile goes after the sound, and meets the chine, which it swallows; then the hunters pull the line. When the crocodile is drawn ashore, first of all the hunter smears its eyes over with mud; when this is done the quarry is very easily mastered, which, without that, is no light matter.

71. River horses are sacred in the province of Papremis, but not elsewhere in Egypt. For their outward form, they are four-footed, with cloven hoofs like oxen; their noses are blunt; they are maned like horses, with tusks showing, and have a horse's tail and a horse's neigh; their bigness is that of the biggest oxen. Their hide is so thick that when it is dried spearshafts are made of it.

72. Otters also are found in the river, which the Egyptians deem sacred; and they hold sacred that fish too which is called the scale-fish, and the eel. These, and the fox-goose among birds, are said to be sacred to the god of the Nile.

73. Another bird also is sacred; it is called the phoenix. I myself have never seen it, but only pictures of it; for the bird comes but seldom into Egypt,

1 ἐρεχθέαλος is Ionic for a lizard; the commoner word is σαῦρα or σαῦρος. χάμψα is the Egyptian "em-suh," a name which survives in the Arabic "timsah," i.e. em-suh with the feminine article prefixed.

2 Or "Nile-goose." The Egyptian goose (Chenalopex Aegyptica).
ὁς Ἡλιοπόλειται λέγουσιν, πεντακοσίων φοιτῶν ἔτη τότε φασὶ ἐπεάν οἱ ἀποθάνη ὁ πατὴρ. ἔστι δὲ, ἐὰν τῇ γραφῇ παρόμοιος, τοσοῦτος καὶ τούτους ταῦτα μὲν αὐτοῦ χρυσόκομα τῶν πτερῶν ταῦτα ἐρυθρὰ ἐστὶν ἀληθῶς. τούτων δὲ λέγουσίν μηγανάσθαι τάδε, ἐμοὶ μὲν οὕτω πιστὰ λέγοντες: ἐξ Ἀραβίας ὥρμω-μενον ἐστὶ τὸ ἱρὸν τοῦ Ἡλίου κομίζειν τὸν πατέρα ἐν σμύρνῃ ἐμπλάσοντα καὶ δάπτειν ἐν τοῦ Ἡλίου τοῦ ἱροῦ, κομίζειν δὲ οὕτω πρῶτον τῆς σμύρνης ὡς πλάσσειν ὅσον τε δυνατός ἰστιν φέρειν, μετὰ δὲ πειράσθαι αὐτὸ φορέοντα, ἐπεάν δὲ ἀποπνεύρῃ, οὕτω δὴ κοιλμαίνα τὸ φῶν τῶν πατέρα ἐς αὐτὸ ἐντιθέναι, σμύρνη δὲ ἀλλὰ ἐμπλάσειν τοῦτο κατ' ὂ τι τοῦ φῶν ἐκκοιλίμας ἐνέθηκε τὸν πατέρα-ἐσκειμένου δὲ τοῦ πατρὸς γίνεσθαι τοῦτο βάρος ἐμπλάσαντα δὲ κομίζειν μὲν ἐπ' Ἀγούστου ἐς τοῦ Ἡλίου τοῦ ἱροῦ, τάυτα μὲν τούτων τὸν ὅριον λέγουσι ποιεῖσιν.

74. Ἐστι δὲ περὶ Θῆβας ἱροὶ ὄψις, ἀνθρώπων οὐδαμῶν δηλήμονες, οὐ μεγαλεί ἐσόντες μικροὶ δύο κέρα τοιοῦτο ἐντιθέσθαι τῆς ἱερᾶς τῆς κεφαλῆς τοῦτος δύο τοῦτο ἱερό τοῦ Διὸς τοῦτος γὰρ σφέας τοῦ θεοῦ φασὶ εἶναι ἱροὺς.

75. Ἐστι δὲ χώρος τῆς Ἀραβίας κατὰ Βούτων πόλει μάλιστα ἐς κεῖμενος, καὶ ἐς τούτο τὸ χωρίον ἥλθον πυρθησμόνεος περὶ τῶν πτερῶν ὁφίων ἀπικόνεμος δὲ εἰδὸν ὅστεα ὁφίων καὶ ἀκάνθας πληθεὶς μὲν ἀδύνατα ἀπηγηγησαί, σωροὶ δὲ ἦσαν ἀκάνθων καὶ μεγάλοι καὶ ὑποδέστεροι καὶ ἐλάσσονος ὅτι ἦσιν πολλοὶ δὲ ἦσαν οὕτως. ἔστι δὲ ὁ χώρος οὕτως, ἐν τῷ αἰ ἀκάνθαι κατακεχυμαται.
once in five hundred years, as the people of Heliopolis say. It is said that the phoenix comes when his father dies. If the picture truly shows his size and appearance, his plumage is partly golden but mostly red. He is most like an eagle in shape and bigness. The Egyptians tell a tale of this bird's devices which I do not believe. He comes, they say, from Arabia bringing his father to the Sun's temple enclosed in myrrh, and there buries him. His manner of bringing is this: first he moulds an egg of myrrh as heavy as he can carry, and when he has proved its weight by lifting it he then hollows out the egg and puts his father in it, covering over with more myrrh the hollow in which the body lies; so the egg being with his father in it of the same weight as before, the phoenix, after enclosing him, carries him to the temple of the Sun in Egypt. Such is the tale of what is done by this bird.

74. Near Thebes there are sacred snakes, harmless to men, small in size and bearing two horns on the top of their heads. These, when they die, are buried in the temple of Zeus, to whom they are said to be sacred.

75. Not far from the town of Buto, there is a place in Arabia to which I went to learn about the winged serpents. When I came thither, I saw innumerable bones and backbones of serpents; many heaps of backbones there were, great and small and smaller still. This place, where lay the backbones
τοιόσοδε τις, ἐσβολή ἐξ ὀρέων στεινῶν ἐς πεδίων μέγα, τὸ δὲ πεδίον τοῦτο συνάπτει τῷ Αἰγυπτίῳ πεδίῳ. Λόγος δὲ ἐστὶ ἀμα τῷ ἔρωμ πτερωτοὺς ὁφίς ἐκ τῆς 'Ἀραβίς πέτεσθαι ἐπὶ Αἰγυπτου, τὰς δὲ ἰβίς τὰς ὀρνιθὰς ἀπαντώσας ἐς τὴν ἐσβολὴν ταῦτης τῆς χώρης οὐ παριέναι τοὺς ὁφίς ἀλλὰ κατακτέειν. καὶ τὴν ἰβίν διὰ τοῦτο τὸ ἔργον τετειμῆσθαι λέγουσι Ἀραβιοί μεγάλος πρὸς Αἰγυπτίων ὀμολογεύουσι δὲ καὶ Αἰγυπτιοί διὰ ταύτα τιμῶν τὰς ὀρνιθὰς ταῦτας.

76. Εἰδος δὲ τῆς μὲν ἰβίος τὸδε: μέλαινα δεινῶς πάσα, σκέλεα δὲ φορεῖε γεράνου, πρόσωπον δὲ ἐς τὰ μάλιστα ἐπιγρυπτοῦ, μέγαθος ὡςον κρέξ, τῶν μὲν ὅτι μελανεύον τῶν μαχομενεύ̄ν πρὸς τοὺς ὁφίς ἦδε ἰδέης, τῶν δ’ ἐν ποσὶ μᾶλλον εἰλευμενέων τοῖς ἀνθρώποις (δικαίο γὰρ δὴ εἰσὶ ἰβίες) ψιλὴ τὴν κεφαλὴν καὶ τὴν θείρην πᾶσαν, λευκή πτεροῖσι πλὴν κεφαλῆς καὶ αὐχένος καὶ ἀκρέων τῶν πτερόνων καὶ τοῦ πυγαμοῦ ἀκρου (ταύτα δὲ τὰ εἶπον πάντα μέλαινα ἐστὶ δεινῶς), σκέλεα δὲ καὶ πρόσωπον ἐμφέρης τῇ ἐτέρῃ. τοῦ δὲ ὄφιος ἡ μορφὴ οἱ̄ν̄ περ τῶν ὑδρῶν, πτίλα δὲ οὐ πτερώτα φορεῖ ἀλλὰ τοῖς τῆς νυκτερίδος πτεροῖσι μᾶλιστα κη ἐμφέρεστατα.

Τοσαύτα μὲν θηρίων πέρι ἱρῶν εἰρήσθω. 77. Αὐτῶν δὲ δὴ Αἰγυπτίων οἱ μὲν περὶ τὴν σπειρομένην Αἰγυπτον οἰκέουσι, μνῆμην ἀνθρώπων πάντων ἐπασκέπτετε μάλιστα λογιστάται εἰςι μακρὸ τῶν ἐγὼ ἐς διάπειραν ἀπίκομην, τρόπων δὲ δένσε τοὐδὲ διαχρέωνται συρμαίζουσι τρεῖς ἀμέρας, ἐπεξής μηνὸς ἓκαστον, ἐμέτοισι θηρῶμενοι τὴν ἤγειν καὶ κλύσμασι, νομίζοντες ὕπο τῶν τρε
scattered, is where a narrow mountain pass opens into a great plain, which is joined to the plain of Egypt. Winged serpents are said to fly at the beginning of spring, from Arabia, making for Egypt; but the ibis birds encounter the invaders in this pass and kill them. The Arabians say that the ibis is greatly honoured by the Egyptians for this service, and the Egyptians give the same reason for honouring these birds.

76. Now this is the appearance of the ibis. It is all deep black, with legs like a crane's, and a beak strongly hooked; its size is that of a landrail. Such is the outward form of the ibis which fights with the serpents. Those that most consort with men (for the ibis is of two kinds) have all the head and neck bare of feathers; their plumage is white, save the head and neck and the tips of wings and tail (these being deep black); the legs and beak of the bird are like those of the other ibis. The serpents are like water-snakes. Their wings are not feathered but most like the wings of a bat.

I have now said enough concerning creatures that are sacred.

77. Among the Egyptians themselves, those who dwell in the cultivated country are the most careful of all men to preserve the memory of the past, and none whom I have questioned have so many chronicles. I will now speak of the manner of life which they use. For three following days in every month they purge themselves, pursuing after health by means of emetics and drenches; for they think

\[1\text{ Geronticus Calvus and Ibis Aethiopica.}\]
HÉRODÒTUS

φόντων σετίων πάσας τὰς νοῦσους τοὺς ἀνθρώποις γίνεσθαι. εἰσὶ μὲν γὰρ καὶ ἄλλως Αἰγύπτιων μετὰ Δήμας υγιεστάτατοι πάντων ἀνθρώπων τῶν ὀρέων δοκεέων ἐμοὶ εἶνεκα, ὅτι οὐ μεταλλάσσομαι αἱ ὄρας· ἐν γὰρ τῇσι μεταβολῆς τούτη ἀνθρώποις αἱ νοῦσοι μάλιστα γίνονται τῶν τε ἄλλων πάντων καὶ δὴ καὶ τῶν ὀρέων μάλιστα. ἀρτοφαγεύουσι δὲ ἐκ τῶν ὀλυρεων ποιεύμενα ἄρτους, τοὺς ἐκείνους κυλλήστες ὀνομάζουσι. οἷνω δὲ ἐκ κριθέων πεποιημένων διαχρεώνται· οὐ γὰρ σφι εἰσὶν ἐν τῇ χώρῃ ἀμπελοὶ. ἰχθύων δὲ τοὺς μὲν πρὸς ἴλινοι αὐθηματεῖς ὠμοῦς σιτεύονται, τοὺς δὲ ἐξ ἀλμης τεταρχευμένους. ὁρνίθων δὲ τοὺς τε ὀρτυγασ καὶ τᾶς νήσας καὶ τὰ μικρὰ τῶν ὁρνίθων ὑμᾶ σιτεύονται προταρχεύσαντες. τὰ δὲ ἄλλα ὡσα ἡ ὁρνίθων ἡ ἰχθύων σφι ἐκτὶ ἐχόμενα, χωρίς ἡ ὀκύσοι σφι ἰροὶ ἀποδεδέχαται, τοὺς λοιποὺς ὀπτοὺς καὶ ἐφθοὺς σιτεύονται.

78. Ἐν δὲ τῇσι συνονοίᾳ τοῖσι εὐδαιμοσι αὐτῶν, ἐπεάυν ἀπὸ δεῖπνου γένονται, περιφέρει ἀνὴρ νεκρόν ἐν σορὸς ξύλινον πεποιημένον, μεμιμημένον ἐς τὰ μάλιστα καὶ γραφῆ καὶ ἔργω, μέγαθος ὅσον τε πηχυμίαν ἡ διπηχνίων, δεικνύς δὲ ἐκάστῳ τῶν συμποτεών λέγει "Ες τοὺτον ὀρέων πινε τε καὶ τέρτευς· ἐσεῖά γὰρ ἀποθανὼν τοιούτος." ταῦτα μὲν παρὰ τὰ συμπόσια ποιεύσαι.

79. Παραλογιστὶ δὲ χρεώμενοι νόμοισι ἄλλον οὐδένα ἐπικτῶνται. τοῖσι ἄλλα τε ἐπάξια ἐςτὶ νόμιμα, καὶ δὴ καὶ ἀεισμα ἐν ἐστὶ, Λίνος, δ' ὅσπερ ἐν τε Φοινίκη ἀοίδιμος ἐςτὶ καὶ ἐν Κύπρῳ καὶ ἄλλῃ, κατὰ

1 MSS. πάντη πηχυμίων; Stein brackets οὖν, "a cubit's length every way" being unintelligible here.
it is from the food which they eat that all sicknesses come to men. Even without this, the Egyptians are the healthiest of all men, next to the Libyans; the reason of which to my thinking is that the climate in all seasons is the same; for change is the great cause of men's falling sick, more especially changes of seasons. They eat bread, making loaves which they call "cyllestis" 1 of coarse grain. For wine, they use a drink made of barley; for they have no vines in their country. They eat fish uncooked, either dried in the sun or preserved with brine. Quails and ducks and small birds are salted and eaten raw; all other kinds of birds, as well as fish (except those that the Egyptians hold sacred) are eaten roast and boiled.

78. At rich men's banquets, after dinner a man carries round a wooden image of a corpse in a coffin, painted and carved in exact imitation, a cubit or two cubits long. This he shows to each of the company, saying "Drink and make merry, but look on this; for such shalt thou be when thou art dead." Such is the custom at their drinking-bouts.

79. They keep the ordinances of their fathers, and add none others to them. Among other notable customs of theirs is this, that they have one song, the Linus-song, 2 which is sung in Phoenice and Cyprus

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1 Loaves twisted to a point, apparently.
2 This is the hymn for a slain youth (said to typify the departure of early summer), Thammuz, Atys, Hylas, or Lianus; the Semitic refrain "ai lenu, "alas for us," becomes the Greek at'ap[O], from which comes the name Linus.
μέντοι ἐθνεα σύνομα ἔχει, συμφέρεται δὲ ὁμοίος εἶναι τῶν οἱ Ἐλληνες Λίνων οὐσομαζόντες ἀειδούσι, ὡστε πολλὰ μὲν καὶ ἄλλα ἀποθεμάζειν με τῶν περὶ Ἀιγυπτίων ἐντὶς, ἐν δὲ δὴ καὶ τῶν Λίνων ὁκόθεν ἔλαβον τὸ σύνομα φαίνονται δὲ ἅνει κότο τούτων ἀειδούσι. ἦστι δὲ Ἀιγυπτιστὶ ο Λίνως καλεύμενος Μανερῶς. ἐφασίν δὲ μὲν Αιγυπτίωι τοῦ πρώτου βασιλεύσαντος Αιγυπτίων παῖδα μονογενέα γενέσθαι, ἀποθανόντα δὲ αὐτῶν ἄνων θρήνουσι τούτους ὑπὸ Αιγυπτίων τιμηθῆναι, καὶ αὐτοί γὰρ τα ταύτην πρώτην καὶ μονήν σφίς γενέσθαι.

80. Συμφέρονται δὲ καὶ τὸδε ἄλλο Αιγυπτίωι Ἐλλήνων μονογενεῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις οἱ νεώτεροι αὐτῶν τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις συντυγχαίνοντες εἰκονιζόντα τῆς ὁδοῦ καὶ ἐκτράπονται καὶ ἐπιούσι εἰς ἔδρας ὑπαντούσαι, τὸδε μέντοι ἄλλοις Ἐλλήνων οὐδαμοίς συμφέρονται ἀντὶ τοῦ προσαγορεύματι ἄλληλους ἐν τῇς ὁδοῖς προσκυνέσθαι κατενέντας μέγη τοῦ γούνατος τῆς χείρα.

81. Ἐνδεδύκασε δὲ κινδώνας λινεῶς περὶ τὰ σκέληνα θυσανωτοὺς, τοὺς καλέονται καλασίριας ἐπὶ τούτοις δὲ εἰρίνεα εἴματα λευκά ἐπαναβλητὸς φορέοντι. οὐ μέντοι ἐς γε τὰ ἱρὰ ἐσφέρεται εἰρίνεα οὐδὲ συγκατάθεται σφι οὐ γὰρ ὅσιον. ὁμολογεύοι δὲ ταύτα τοῖς Ὀρφικοῖς καλεομένοις καὶ Βακχικοῖς, ἐνοῦσι δὲ Αιγυπτίοις καὶ Πυθαγορείοις οὐδὲ γὰρ τούτων τῶν ὄργων μετεχοῦσα ὅσιον ἐστὶν εἰρινεύοις εἴμασι θαφθῆναι. ἦστι δὲ σερὶ αὐτῶν ἰρὸς λόγος λεγομένος.

82. Καὶ τάδε ἄλλα Αιγυπτίοις ἄστι ἐξευρημένα, μεὶς τε καὶ ἡμέρη ἕκαστη θεῶν ὅτεν ἔστιν, 366
and elsewhere; each nation has a name of its own for this, but it is the same song that the Greeks sing, and call Linus; wherefore it is to me one of the many strange things in Egypt, whence the Egyptians got the name. Plainly they have ever sung this song; the name for Linus in Egyptian is Maneros. The Egyptians told me that Maneros was the only son of their first king, who died untimely, and this dirge was sung by the Egyptians in his honour; and this, they said, was their earliest and their only chant.

80. There is a custom too which no Greeks save the Lacedaemonians have in common with the Egyptians:—younger men, when they meet their elders, turn aside and give place to them in the way, and rise from their seats when an older man approaches. But they have another custom which is nowhere known in Greece: passers-by do not address each other, but salute by lowering the hand to the knee.

81. They wear linen tunics with fringes hanging about the legs, called "calasiris," and loose white woollen mantles over these. But nothing of wool is brought into temples, or buried with them; that is forbidden. In this they follow the same rule as the ritual called Orphic and Bacchic, but which is in truth Egyptian and Pythagorean; for neither may those initiated into these rites be buried in woollen wrappings. There is a sacred legend about this.

82. I pass to other inventions of the Egyptians. They assign each month and each day to some god;

1 Maneros, probably from the refrain ma-a-hru, "come back to us."
καὶ τῇ ἑκαστῷς ἡμέρῃ γενόμενος ὀτέοις ἐγκυρῆσαι καὶ ὁκινῷς τελευτήσει καὶ ὁκινός τις ἔσται. καὶ τούτως τῶν Ἑλλήνων οἱ ἐν ποιήσῃ γενόμενοι ἔχρησαντο, τέρατα τε πλέον σφί ἀνέφηται ἡ τούτῳ ἀλλοις ἀπασὶ ἀνθρώποις· γενομένου γὰρ τέρατος φυλάσσοσι γραφομένου τῶποβαινον, καὶ ἢν κοτέ ὑστερον παραπλήσιον τοῦτῳ γένηται, κατὰ τὸντο νομίζοσι ἀποβῆσεθαί.

83. Μαντικὴ δὲ αὐτοῖς ὅδε διακέσαται ἀνθρώ-
πων μὲν οὐδεὶς προσεκέσται ἡ τέχνη, τῶν δὲ θεῶν μετεξετέρουσι· καὶ γὰρ Ἡρακλέους μαντίμου αὐτόθι ἐστὶ καὶ Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ Ἀθηναίης καὶ Ἀρτέμιδος καὶ Ἄρεως καὶ Δίος, καὶ τὸ γε μάλιστα ἐν τῇ ἁγιᾷ ἀγονίᾳ πάντων τῶν μαντιῶν, Δητοῦς ἐν Βοοτί πόλει ἐστὶ· οὐ μέντοι αὐτὲς μαντήσαται σφί κατὰ τὸντο ἐστάσι, ἀλλὰ διάφοροι εἰσί·

84. Ἡ δὲ νησικὴ κατὰ τάδε σφί δεδασται·
μῆς νοῦσον ἑκαστὸς νησίδος ἐστί καὶ οὐ πλέονον.
πάντα δὲ νησιῶν ἐστὶ πλέον· οὐ γὰρ ὁφθαλμῶν
νησῶν κατεστάσι, οὐ δὲ κεφαλῆς, οὐ δὲ ὕδατων, οὐ
dὲ τῶν κατὰ νῆπι, οὐ δὲ τῶν ἀφανέων νοῦσων·

85. Ὄρηνοι δὲ καὶ ταφαὶ σφεων εἰσὶ αἴδε· τοις ἄν ἀπογέννηται ἐκ τῶν οἰκίων ἀνθρώπως τού τις καὶ λόγος ἢ, τὸ ὑδὸν γένους πᾶν τὸ ἐκ τῶν οἰκίων τούτων κατ' ὄν ἐπιλάσατο τήν κεφαλήν πηλῶ ἢ, καὶ τὸ πρόσωπον, κατεῖτα ἐν τοίς οἰκίαις λι-
ποῦσα τὸν νεκρὸν αὐτὰ ἄν τὴν πόλιν στραφώ-
μεναι τῶν νεκρῶν, καὶ φαίνουσα τῶν
μαζώσε, σὺν δὲ σφί αἱ προσήκουσαι πᾶσαι, ἔτερω-
θεν δὲ οἱ ἄνδρες, τῶν τῶν ἐπεξώμενοι καὶ οὕτω.
ἐπεαν δὲ ταῦτα ποιήσωσι, οὕτω ἐς τήν ταρίχευσιν
κομίζουσι.
they can tell what fortune and what end and what disposition a man shall have according to the day of his birth. This has given material to Greeks who deal in poetry. They have made themselves more omens than all other nations together; when an ominous thing happens they take note of the outcome and write it down; and if something of a like kind happen again they think it will have a like result.

83. As to the art of divination among them, it belongs to some of the gods, but to no one among men; there are in their country oracles of Heracles, Apollo, Athene, Artemis, Ares, and Zeus, and (which is the most honoured of all) of Leto in the town of Buto. Nevertheless they have diverse ways of divination, not one only.

84. The practice of medicine is so divided among them, that each physician is a healer of one disease and no more. All the country is full of physicians, some of the eye, some of the teeth, some of what pertains to the belly, and some of the hidden diseases.

85. They mourn and bury the dead as I will show. Whenever a man of note is lost to his house by death, all the womenkind of the house daub their faces or heads with mud; then, with all the women of their kin, they leave the corpse in the house, and roam about the city lamenting, with their garments girt round them and their breasts showing; and the men too lament in their place, with garments girt likewise. When this is done, they take the dead body to be embalmed.
86. Είσ' δὲ οὖτ' αὐτῷ τούτῳ κατέαται καὶ τέχνην ἔχουσι ταύτην, οὔτως, ἐπεαν σφί κομισθῇ νεκρός, δεικνύουσι τοῖσι κομίσασι παραδείγματα νεκρῶν ξύλων, τῇ γραφῇ μεμιμημένα. καὶ τὴν μὲν σπουδαιότατην αὐτών φασί εἶναι τὸν οὐκ ὅσιον ποιεῖμαι τὸ οὐνομα ἐπὶ τοιοῦτο πρήγματι ὑποθέτομαι τε ταύτης καὶ εὐτελεστήρης τὴν δὲ τρίτην εὐτελεστάτην φράσαντες δὲ πυνθάνονται παρ' αὐτῶν κατὰ ἤμινα βούλονταί σφί σκευασθῆναι τὸν νεκρόν. οὐ μὲν δὴ ἐκποδῶν μισθῷ ὁμολογήσαντες ἀπαλλάσσονται, οὐ δὲ ὑπολειπόμενοι ἐν οἰκήμασι ὅτε τὰ σπουδαιότατα ταρίχευσιν. πρῶτα μὲν σκολιῶ σιδήρω διὰ τῶν μυξουτήρων ἔξαγοσι τῶν ἐγκέφαλον, τὰ μὲν αὐτοῦ οὕτω ἐξαγόντες, τὰ δὲ ἐγχείοντες φάμακα μετὰ δὲ λίθῳ λιθιστικῷ ἐξεὶ παρασχίσαντες παρὰ τὴν λαπάρην ἔξω ἐπὶ τὴν κοιλήν πᾶσαν, ἐκκαθήραντες δὲ αὐτὴν καὶ διηνε- σάντες οἴνῳ φοινικῆρα αὐτὸς διηθέοντος θυμήμασι τετριμμένοις. ἐπείτα τὴν νηήν σμύρνης ἀκηράτου τετριμμένης καὶ κασίθη καὶ τῶν ἀλλων θυμάτων, πλὴν λεβάνωτον, πλήσαντες συρράπτουσι ὁπίσω. ταῦτα δὲ ποιησάντες ταρίχευον: λίτρῳ κρύσα- τες ἡμέρας ἐβδομήκοντα: πλεύνας δὲ τουτέων οὐκ ἔξεστι ταριχέων. ἐπειδ᾽ δὲ παρέλθωσιν οἱ ἐβδο- μήκοντα, λουσάντες τὸν νεκρὸν κατειλίσσουσι πάν ἀυτοῦ τὸ σῶμα σινδόνος βυζσίγης τελαμόνιο κατα- τετμημένοις, ὑποχρώντες τὸ κόμμω, τῷ δὲ ἀκτὶ κόλλης τὰ πολλὰ ἥρωνται Αἰγύπτεως. εἴθετεν δὲ παραδεξάμενοι μὲν οἱ προσήκοντες ποιεῦνται ξύλων τούτων ἀνθρωποειδεῖα, ποιησάμενοι δὲ

1 MSS. appear to show indications of a lacuna here.
86. There are men whose whole business this is and who have this special craft. These, when a dead body is brought to them, show the bringers wooden models of corpses, painted in exact imitation; the most perfect manner of embalming belongs, they say, to One whose name it were profane for me to speak in treating of such matters; the second way, which they show, is less perfect than the first, and cheaper, and the third is the least costly of all. Having shown these, they ask the bringers of the body in which fashion they desire to have it prepared. The bearers, having agreed in a price, go their ways, and the workmen, left behind in their place, embalm the body. If they do this in the most perfect way, they first draw out part of the brain through the nostrils with an iron hook, and inject certain drugs into the rest. Then, making a cut near the flank with a sharp knife of Ethiopian stone, they take out all the intestines, and clean the belly, rinsing it with palm wine and bruised spices; and presently, filling the belly with pure ground myrrh and casia and any other spices, save only frankincense, they sew up the anus. Having done this, they conceal the body for seventy days, embalmed in saltpetre; no longer time is allowed for the embalming; and when the seventy days are past they wash the body and wrap the whole of it in bandages of fine linen cloth, anointed with gum, which the Egyptians mostly use instead of glue; which done, they give back the dead man to his friends. These make a hollow wooden figure like a man, in
ἐσεργύση τὸν νεκρὸν, καὶ κατακλήσαντες οὕτω θησαυρίζουσι εἰς οἰκήματι θηκαίῳ, ἱστάντες ὀρθὸν πρὸς τοῖχον.

87. Οὕτω μὲν τούς τὰ πολυτελέστατα σκευάζουσι νεκροὺς, τοὺς δὲ τὰ μέσα βουλομένους τὴν ὑπὸ πολυτελείαν φεύγοντας σκευάζουσι ὀδὴ εἴπεται τοὺς κλυστήρας πλησίων τοῦ ἀπὸ κέδρου ἀλείφατος γυνομένου, ἐν ὧν ἔπλησαν τὸν νεκρὸν τῆς κοιλῆς, οὕτε ἀναταμίωτες αὐτοῦ οὕτε ἐξελώντες τὴν υδάην, κατὰ δὲ τὴν ἔδραν ἑσθῆσαντες καὶ ἐπελαβόντες τὸ κλύσμα τῆς ὁπίσω ὅδου ταριχεύοντος τὰς προκειμένας ἡμέρας, τῇ δὲ τελευταίᾳ ἐξεἰσίοις ἕκ τῆς κοιλῆς τῆς κεδρίνης τὴν ἑσθῆσαν πρότερον.

ἡ δὲ ἔχει τοσαῦτην ὁμολογὴν ὡστε ἀμὴ ἐντυχὶ τὴν υδάην καὶ τὰ σπλάγχνα κατατετηκότα ἐξάγει τὰς ἐς σάρκας τὸ λίθρον κατατήκηε, καὶ δὲ λείπεται τοῦ νεκροῦ τὸ δέρμα μοῦνον καὶ τὰ ὀστέα, ἔπειτα δὲ ταῦτα ποιησόμεθα, ἀπ' ὧν ἔδωκαν οὕτω τῶν νεκρῶν, οὕδεν ἔτι προγγυματευθέντες.

88. Ἡ δὲ τρίτη ταριχεύουσι ἐστὶ ήδε, ἢ τούς χρήσατος ἀσθενετέρους σκευάζει συμμαίρει διηθησάντες τὴν κοιλῆς ταριχεύοντος τὰς ἕβδομηκοντα ἡμέρας καὶ ἔπειτα ἀπ' ἑώραν ἐδωκαν ἀποφέρεσθαι.

89. Τὰς δὲ γυναικὰς τῶν ἐπιφανέων ἀνδρῶν, ἔπειτα τελευτήσωσι, εὖ παραντικα διεδοῦσι ταριχεύουσι, οὐδὲ ὅσιαι ἅν ἔως εὐειδεῖς κάρτας καὶ λόγου πλεῖνοις γυναικίς· ἀλλ' ἔπειτα τρισαία ἦ τεταρταίαι γένονται, οὕτω παραδίδουσι τοὺς ταριχεύουσι. τοῦτο δὲ ποιεῖσθαί οὕτω τοὺδε εἶνεκεν, ἢν μὴ σφι οἱ ταριχευταί μίσησωσι τῆς γυναικείας ἐλαμβάνοι γὰρ τινὰ φασί μισγομένον νεκρὸν προσφάτωρ γυναικός, κατειπεῖ δὲ τῶν ὁμότεχνον.
which they enclose the corpse, shut it up, and preserve it safe in a coffin-chamber, placed erect against a wall.

87. This is how they prepare the dead who have wished for the most costly fashion; those whose wish was for the middle and less costly way are prepared in another fashion. The embalmers charge their syringes with cedar oil and therewith fill the belly of the dead man, making no cut, nor removing the intestines, but injecting the drench through the anus and checking it from returning; then they embalm the body for the appointed days; on the last day they let the oil which they poured in pass out again. It has so great power that it brings away the inner parts and intestines all dissolved; the flesh is eaten away by the saltpetre, and in the end nothing is left of the body but skin and bone. Then the embalmers give back the dead body with no more ado.

88. When they use the third manner of embalming, which is the preparation of the poorer dead, they cleanse the belly with a purge, embalm the body for the seventy days and then give it back to be taken away.

89. Wives of notable men, and women of great beauty and reputation, are not at once given over to the embalmers, but only after they have been dead for three or four days; this is done, that the embalmers may not have carnal intercourse with them. For it is said that one was found having intercourse with a woman newly dead, and was denounced by his fellow-workman.

1 τοὺς τὰ πολυτέλεστα, ἡς βουλαμένους.
90. "Όσ δ' ἂν ἡ αὐτῶν Ἀιγυπτίων ἢ ξείνων ὁμοίως ὑπὸ κροκοδείλου ὀρπασθεῖς ἢ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ ποταμοῦ· φαίνεται τεθνεὼς, κατ' ἡν ἂν τόλμην ἐξενεχθῆ, τούτους πάσα ἀνάγκη ἐστὶ ταριχεύσαντας αὐτὸν καὶ περιστελλόμενος ὡς κάλλιστα θάψας ἐν ἱρήθη θηκήσοι· οὐδὲ ψάνασιν ἔξεσι τοῦ ἄλλου οὐδένα οὗτο τῶν προσηκόντων οὔτε τῶν φίλων, ἀλλὰ μιν αἱ ἱρέες αὐτοῦ τοῦ Νείλου ἀτε πλέον τι ἡ ἀνθρώπων νεκρῶν χειραπτάζοντες βάπτουσι.

91. Ἐλληνικοίσι δὲ νομαίοισι φεύγοντι χρᾶσθαι, τοῦ δὲ σύμπαν εἰπείν, μηδὲ ἄλλων μηδαμά μηδαμῶν ἀνθρώπων νομαίοισι. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἄλλοι Αἰγυπτιοὶ οὐτω τούτῳ φυλάσσουσι, ἐστι δὲ Χέμμις πόλεις μεγάλη νομοῦ τοῦ Θηβαϊκοῦ ἐγγύς Νέης πόλεως· ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ πόλι ἐστὶ Περσέως τοῦ Δανάης ἱρὸν τετράγωνον, πέριξ δὲ αὐτοῦ φοινικεῖς περυκασι. τα δὲ πρόπυλα τοῦ ἱροῦ λίθων ἐστὶ κάρτα μεγάλα· ἐπὶ δὲ αὐτοῖς ἀνδριάντες δύο ἐστάσις λιθίνου μεγάλοι. ἐν δὲ τῷ περιβεβλημένῳ τούτῳ νήσῳ τε ἐνι καὶ ἄγαλμα ἐν αὐτῷ ἐνύστηκε τοῦ Περσέως. οὕτω τι περμαίνει θέγουσι τοῦ Περσεία πολλάκις μὲν ἀνὰ τὴν γῆν φαίνεσθαι σφι πολλάκις δὲ ἐσω τοῦ ἱροῦ, σανδάλιοι τε αὐτοῦ πεφορμημένοι εὐρίσκεσθαι εὑν τὸ μέγαθος δίπηχυ, τὸ ἔπεαν φαινή, εὑρηνεῖν ἅπασαν Αἰγυπτίων. ταῦτα μὲν λέγουσι, ποιεῦσι δὲ τάδε Ἐλληνικά τῷ Περσείῳ ἀγώνα γυμνικὸν τιθεῖται διὰ πάσης ἀγωνίας ἑχοντα, παρέχοντες ἀθλον κτίνεα καὶ χλαίνας καὶ δέρματα, εἴρομένου δὲ μεν ὅ τι σφι μοῦνοις ἕωθεν ὁ Περσεὺς ἐπιφαίνεσθαι καὶ ὁ τι κεχώριδαται Αἰγυπτίων τῶν ἄλλων ἀγώνα γυμνικὸν τιθέντες,
90. When anyone, be he Egyptian or stranger, is known to have been carried off by a crocodile or drowned by the river itself, such an one must by all means be embalmed and tended as fairly as may be and buried in a sacred coffin by the townsmen of the place where he is cast up; nor may any of his kinsfolk or his friends touch him, but his body is deemed something more than human, and is handled and buried by the priests of the Nile themselves.

91. The Egyptians shun the use of Greek customs, and (to speak generally) the customs of any other men whatever. Yet, though the rest are careful of this, there is a great city called Chemmis, in the Theban province, near the New City; in this city is a square temple of Perseus son of Danae, in a grove of palm trees. The colonnade before this temple is of stone, very great; and there stand at the entrance two great stone statues. In this outer court there is a shrine with an image of Perseus standing in it. The people of this Chemmis say that Perseus is often seen up and down this land, and often within the temple, and that the sandal he wears is found, and it is two cubits long; when that is seen, all Egypt prospers. This is what they say; and their doings in honour of Perseus are Greek, in that they celebrate games comprising every form of contest, and offer animals and cloaks and skins as prizes. When I asked why Perseus appeared to them alone, and why, unlike all other Egyptians, they celebrate games,
ἐφασαν τὸν Περσέα ἐκ τῆς ἐωτῶν πόλιος γεγο-
νέας. τὸν γὰρ Δαναὸν καὶ τὸν Δυνκέα ἔοντας
Χεμίτας ἐκπλώσαι ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα, ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ-
των γενειολογόντες κατέβαινον ἐς τὸν Περσέα.
ἀπεκομένου δὲ αὐτῶν ἐς Αἰγύπτιον κατ’ αὐτὶν τὴν
καὶ Ἑλληνὶς λέγουσι, οἴσοντα ἐκ Διβύης τῆς Γορ-
γιοῦς κεφαλῆς, ἔφασαν ἐλθεῖν καὶ παρὰ σφέας
καὶ ἀναγέναι τοὺς συγγενεὰς πάντας ἐκμεμαθη-
κότα δὲ μην ἀπικέσθαι ἐς Αἰγύπτιον τὸ τῆς Χέμ-
μος οὖνομα, πεπυσμένου παρὰ τῆς μητρός. ἀγώνα
δὲ ὁ γυμνικὸν αὐτοῦ κελεύσαντος ἐπιτελέειν.

92. Ταῦτα μὲν πάντα οἱ κατύπερθε τῶν ἑλέων
οἴκεοντες Αἰγύπτιοι νομίζουσι: οἱ δὲ δὴ ἐν τοῖς
ἐλεοῖς κατοικήμενοι τούσι μὲν αὐτοὶ νόμοις
χρέωνται τούσι καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι Αἰγύπτιοι, καὶ τὰ
ἀλλὰ καὶ γυναικὶ μὴ ἔκαστος αὐτῶν συνοικεῖ εἰ
κατὰ περ Ἑλληνὶς, ἀτὰρ πρὸς εὐτελεῖν τῶν
σιτίων τάδε σφὶ ἄλλα ἔξερχεται. ἐπειὰν πλῆρης
γένηται ὁ ποταμὸς καὶ τὰ πεδία πελαγίση, φύεται
ἐν τῷ ύδατι κρίνεα πολλά, τὰ Αἰγύπτιοι καλέουσι
λωτὸν ταῦτ' ἐπεῖν δρέψωσι αὐνάνουσι πρὸς ἤλιον
καὶ ἑπεῖτα τὸ ἐκ μέσου τοῦ λωτοῦ, τῇ μῆκων ἐων
ἐμφερές, πτῖσαντες ποιεῖται εὐ, αὐτῶν ἄρτους
ὀπτοὺς πυρί. ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἡ βίζα τοῦ λωτοῦ τοῦτοῦ
ἰδωδὶμ καὶ ἐγγυήσει ἐπιείκεις, ἐων στρογγύλοι,
μέγαθος κατὰ μῆλον. ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἄλλα κρίνεα
ῥόδουσι ἐμφερέα, ἐν τῷ ποταμῷ γινόμενα καὶ
ταῦτα, ἐξ ὕδων ὁ καρπὸς ἐν ἀλλή κάλυκα παραφυ-
μένη ἐκ τῆς βίζης γίνεται, κηρίῳ σφηκῶν ἵδεν
ὁμοίωταν ἐν τούτῳ τρωκτὰ ὅσον τε πυρῆν ἑλαῖος
ἐγγίνεται συχνά, τρώγεται δὲ καὶ ἀπαλὰ ταῦτα
καὶ αὖ. τὴν δὲ βύβλον τὴν ἑπέτειον γινομένην

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they told me that Perseus was by lineage of their city; for Danaus and Lyceus, who voyaged to Greece, were of Chemmis; and they traced descent from these down to Perseus. They told too how when he came to Egypt for the reason alleged also by the Greeks—namely, to bring the Gorgon's head from Libya—he came to Chemmis too and recognised all his kin; and how before he came to Egypt he had heard the name of Chemmis from his mother. It was at his bidding, said they, that they celebrated the games.

92. All these are the customs of Egyptians who dwell above the marsh country. Those who inhabit the marshes have the same customs as the rest, both in other respects, and in that each man has one wife, as in Greece. They have, besides, devised means to make their food less costly. When the river is in flood and overflows the plains, many lilies, which the Egyptians call lotus, grow in the water. They pluck these and dry them in the sun, then they crush the poppy-like centre of the plant and bake loaves of it. The root also of this lotus is eatable, and of a sweetish taste; it is round, and of the bigness of an apple. Other lilies also grow in the river, which are like roses; the fruit of these is found in a calyx springing from the root by a separate stalk, and is most like to a comb made by wasps; this produces many eatable seeds as big as an olive-stone, which are eaten both fresh and dried. They use also the byblus which
ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀναστάσωσι ἐκ τῶν ἑλέσθω, τὰ μὲν ἂν αὐτῆς ἀποτάμωντες ἐσε ἄλλο τι τράπωσι, τὸ δὲ κάτω λεκεῖμμενον ὅσον τε ἐπὶ πῆχυν τρώγουσι καὶ πωλέουσι. οὐ δὲ ἄν καὶ κάρτα βουλοῦνται χρηστῇ τῇ βύβλῳ χρᾶσθαι, ἐν κλιβάνῳ διαφανεῖ πυξάντες οὖν τρώγουσι. οὐ δὲ τινὲς αὐτῶν ξῶσι ἀπὸ τῶν ἴχθυων μούνοι, τοὺς ἐπεὶ ἀβίωσι καὶ ἐξέλωσι τὴν κοιλίην, αὐαίνουσι πρὸς ἦλιον καὶ ἐπεὶ τὰ σφῶν ἔντας συτέντας.

93. Οἱ δὲ ἴχθυες οἱ ἀγαλαίοι ἐν μὲν τοῖσι ποταμοῖς οὐ μάλα γίνονται, τρεφόμενοι δὲ ἐν τῇ βυβλίῳ λίμνης τοιάδε ποιοῦσι. ἐπείναι σφαιρας ἐσεῖν ὀλόστρος κυνίσκεσθαι, ἀγαλλιόν ἐκπλώοσι ἐς θάλασσαν ἠγέονται δὲ οἱ ἔρευνες ἀπορραίνοντες τοῦ θρόου, αἱ δὲ ἐπομενεῖ ἀνακάπτουσι καὶ ἐς αὐτοῦ κυνισκοῦνται. ἐπεῖνα δὲ πλῆρες γένονται ἐν τῇ θαλάσσῃ, ἀναπλώουσι ὀπίσω ἐς θέα τὰ ἐρέπτων ἐκαστοι, ἠγέοιται μέντοι γε οὐκέτι οἱ αὐτοί, ἀλλὰ τῶν θηλέων ὑμέναι ἤ ἱγμομνή ἤγεύμεναι δὲ ἀγαλλιόν ποιοῦσι οὐν περ ἐποίειν οἱ ἔρευνες τῶν γαρ φῶν ἀπορραίνουσι κατ' ὀλίγους τῶν κέγχρων, οἱ δὲ ἔρευνες καταπίνουσι ἐπόμενοι. εἰς δὲ οἱ κέγχροι οὕτως ἰχθύες, ἐκ δὲ τῶν περιγυμνών καὶ μὴ καταπινομένων κέγχρων οἱ τρεφομένοι ἰχθύες γίνονται. οἱ δ' ἂν αὐτῶν ἀλώσι ἐκπλώοντες ἐς θάλασσαν, φαίνονται τετριμμένοι τὰ ἐπ' ἀριστερὰ τῶν κεφαλῶν, οἱ δ' ἂν ὁπίσω ἀναπλώοντες, τὰ ἐπὶ δεξίᾳ τετρίφθαι, πάσχοντι δὲ ταῦτα διὰ τοῦτο ἐχομένοις τῆς γῆς ἐπ' ἀριστερὰ καταπλώοντο ἐς θάλασσαν, καὶ ἀναπλώοντες ὀπίσω τῆς αὐτῆς.

1 Stein brackets καὶ πωλέουσι, as being inappropriate; it should perhaps come after τράπωσι above.
grows annually; it is plucked from the marshes, the top of it cut off and turned to other ends, and the lower part, about a cubit's length, eaten or sold. Those who wish to use the byblus at its very best bake it before eating in a redhot oven. Some live on fish alone. They catch the fish, take out the intestines, then dry them in the sun and eat them dried.

93. Fish that go in shoals do not often come to birth in the river; they are reared in the lakes, and this is the way with them: when the desire of spawning comes on them, they swim out to sea in shoals, the males leading, and throwing out their seed, while the females come after and swallow it and so conceive. When the females have become pregnant in the sea, then all the fish swim back to their homes; but now it is the females and not the males who lead the way, going before in a shoal, and (like the males) throwing off ever and anon a few of their eggs (which are like millet-seeds), which the males devour as they follow. These millet-seeds, or eggs, are fish. It is from the surviving eggs, which are not devoured, that the fish which grow come to the birth. Those fish that are caught while swimming seawards show bruises on the left side of their heads; those that are caught returning, on the right side. This happens to them because as they swim seawards they keep close to the left bank, and hold
Αντέχονται, ἐγχριμπτόμενοι καὶ ψαίνοντες ὡς μάλιστα, ἵνα δὴ μὴ ἀμάρτοιευ τῆς ὦδος διὰ τοῦ ρόσου. ἔπεαν δὲ πληθύνεσθαι ἀρχηταί οἱ Νεῖλος, τὰ τε κοίλα τῆς γῆς καὶ τὰ τέλματα τὰ παρὰ τοῦ ποταμοῦ πρῶτα ἀρχεται πιμπλάσθαι διηθέοντος τοῦ ὦδατος ἐκ τοῦ ποταμοῦ· καὶ αὕτη τε πλέα γίνεται ταῦτα καὶ παραχρῆμα ἰχθύων σμικρῶν πιμπλαται πάντα. καθὼς δὲ οικὸς αὐτοὺς γίνεσθαι, ἔγω μοι δοκεῖ να κατανοεῖν τούτο τοῦ προτέρου ἔπεαν ἀπολίπῃ ὁ Νεῖλος, οἱ ἰχθύες ἀντεκόντες φία ἐσ τὴν ἐλθὶν ἁμα τὸ ἐσχάτω ὦδατι ἀπαλλάσσονται· ἔπεαν δὲ περιέλθοντος τοῦ χρόνου πάλιν ἐπέλθη τὸ ὑδατ, ἐκ τῶν φῶν τούτων παραυτίκα γίνονται οἱ ἰχθύες οὕτω. 94. Καὶ περὶ μὲν τοὺς ἰχθύας οὕτω ἔχει. ἀλείφατι δὲ χρέωνται Αἰγυπτίων οἱ περὶ τὰ ἔλεα οἰκέοντες ἀπὸ τῶν σικλικυτριῶν τοῦ καρποῦ, τὸ καλεῦσαι μὲν Αἰγύπτιοι κίκι, ποιεῦσι δὲ ὕδε. παρὰ τὰ χείλεα τῶν τε ποταμῶν καὶ τῶν λιμνῶν σπείρουσι τὰ σικλικύτρια ταῦτα, τὰ ἐν "Ελλησι αὐτοματὰ ἄριστα φύεται· ταῦτα εὺς τῇ Αἰγύπτῳ σπειρόμενα καρπὸν φέρει πολλὰ μὲν δυσώδεα δὲ τούτον ἔπεαν συλλέχονται, οἱ μὲν κούπαντες ἀπιποῦσι, οἱ δὲ καὶ φρυγανίες ἀπέφουσι, καὶ τὸ ἀπορρέων ἀπ' αὐτοῦ συγκομίζονται. ἐστὶ δὲ πῶν καὶ οὐδὲν ἔσοσιν τοῦ ἕλαιον τὸ λύχνῳ προσηνές, ὄμην δὲ βαρέαν παρέχεται. 95. Πρὸς δὲ τοὺς κώνωτας ἀφθόνους ἕντα τάδε σφι ἐστὶ μεμηχανήμενα. τοὺς μὲν τὰ ἀνὸ τῶν ἑλέων οἰκέονται οἱ πῦργοι ἀφελεύοσι, ἐς τοὺς ἀναβαίνοντες κυμάων τοῖς γαρ κώνωτες ὑπὸ τῶν ἀνέμων οὐκ οἷοί τε εἰσὶν ἤψοι πέτεσθαι. τοῖς
to the same bank also in their return, grazing it and touching it as much as they may, I suppose lest the current should make them miss their course. When the Nile begins to rise, hollow and marshy places near the river are the first to begin to fill, the water trickling through from the river, and as soon as they are flooded they are suddenly full of little fishes. Whence it is like that these come into being I believe that I can guess. When the Nile falls, the fish have spawned into the mud before they leave it with the last of the water; and as the time comes round, and in the next year the flood comes again, this spawn at once gives birth to these fishes.

94. So much then for the fishes. The Egyptians who live about the marshes use an oil drawn from the castor-berry, which they call kiki. They sow this plant on the banks of the rivers and lakes; it grows wild in Hellas; in Egypt it produces abundant but ill-smelling fruit, which is gathered, and either bruised and pressed, or boiled after roasting, and the liquid that comes from it collected. This is thick and as useful as oil for lamps, and gives off a strong smell.

95. Gnats are abundant; this is how the Egyptians protect themselves against them: those who dwell higher up than the marshy country are well served by the towers whither they ascend to sleep, for the winds prevent the gnats from flying aloft; those
δὲ περὶ τὰ ἐλεα οἰκέουσι τάδε ἀντὶ τῶν πύργων ἄλλα μεμηχάνηται. πᾶς ἀνήρ αὐτῶν ἀμφίβληστρον ἐκτηται, τῷ τῆς μὲν ἡμέρης ἱξθὺς ἀγρεύει, τὴν δὲ νύκτα τάδε ἀυτῷ χράται· ἐν τῇ ἀναπάντει κοίτῃ, περὶ ταύτην ἱστησι τὸ ἀμφίβληστρον καὶ ἔπειτα ἐνδὺς ὑπ' αὐτὸ κατεύθει. οἱ δὲ κωνωπεῖς, ἢν μὲν ἐν ἰματίῳ ἐνειλιξάμενος εὐδῆ ἡ σιωδάν, διὰ τούτων δάκνουσι, διὰ δὲ τοῦ δικτύου οὔδὲ πειρόμεναι ἀρχήν.

96. Τὰ δὲ δὴ πλοῖα σφί, τοῖς φορτηγέουσι, ἔστι ἐκ τῆς ἀκάνθης ποιεῖμενα, τῆς ἡ μορφή μὲν ἐστὶ όρμωστάτη τῷ Κυρήναιῳ λωτό, τὸ δὲ δικρυνόν κόμμα ἐστὶ. ἐκ ταύτης ὡν τῆς ἀκάνθης κοφάμενοι ξύλα ὡσον τε διπήχει αἰμαθητοῦ συνιδεῖσι ναυπηγεύουσι τρόπον τοιόνυν· περὶ γόμφους πυκνοὺς καὶ μακροὺς περιέχουσα τὰ διπήχεα ξύλα· ἔπειν δὲ τῷ τρόπῳ τούτῳ ναυπηγήσωσι, ζωῆς ἐπιπολῆς τείνουσι αὐτῶν· νομεύει δὲ οὐδὲν χρεώνται· ἐσοδεῦ δὲ ταῖς ἀρμονίας ἐν ὧν ἐπάκτωσαν τῇ βύβλῳ. πηδάλιον δὲ ἐν ποιεῖται, καὶ τοῦτο διὰ τῆς τρόπους διαβίωται. ἵστῳ δὲ ἀκαρβυνῷ χρεώνται, ἱστοῖσι δὲ βυβλώνουσι. ταῦτα τὰ πλοῖα ἀνὰ μὲν τὸν ποταμὸν οὐ δύναται πλέειν, ἢ μὴ λαμπρὸς ἀνεμός ἐπέχῃ, ἐκ γῆς δὲ παρέλκεται, κατὰ ρόνου δὲ κομίζεται οὐδὲ· ἐστὶ ἐκ μυρίκης πεποιημένης θύρη, κατερραμμένη ῥίζης καλάμων, καὶ λίθος τετρημένος διτάλαντος μᾶλστα κη στάθμων τούτων τῆς μὲν θύρης δεδεμένην κάλω ἐμπροσθε τοῦ πλοίου ἀπει ἐπιφέρεται, τὸν δὲ λίθον ἄλλω κάλω ὀπίσθε. ἢ μὲν δὴ θύρη τοῦ ρόου ἐμπίπτοντος χωρεῖες ταχέως καὶ ἐλκεὶ τὴν βάριν (τοῦτο γὰρ δὴ οὖνομα ἐστὶ

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living about the marshes have a different device, instead of the towers. Every man of them has a net, with which he catches fish by day, and for the night he sets it round the bed where he rests, then creeps under it and so sleeps. If he sleep wrapped in a garment or cloth, the gnats bite through it; but through the net they do not even try at all to bite.

96. The boats in which they carry cargo are made of the acacia, which is in form most like to the lotus of Cyrene, and its sap is gum. Of this tree they cut logs of two cubits length and lay them like courses of bricks, and build the boat by making these two-cubit logs fast to long and close-set stakes; and having so built they set crossbeams athwart and on the logs. They use no ribs. They caulk the seams within with byblus. There is one rudder, passing through a hole in the boat's keel. The mast is of acacia-wood and the sails of byblus. These boats cannot move upstream unless a brisk breeze continue; they are towed from the bank; but downstream they are thus managed: they have a raft made of tamarisk wood, fastened together with matting of reeds, and a pierced stone of about two talents' weight; the raft is let go to float down ahead of the boat, made fast to it by a rope, and the stone is made fast also by a rope to the after part of the boat. So, driven by the current, the raft floats swiftly and tows the "baris" (which is the name of

1 The "Mimosa Nilotica," still used for boat-building in Egypt.
2 That is, like bricks laid not one directly over another but with the joints alternating:
τοίς πλοίοις τούτοις), δὲ λίθος ὅπισθε ἐπελκόμενος καὶ ἔως ἐν βυσσῷ καταβύνει τὸν πλόον. ἦστι δὲ σφι τὰ πλοῖα ταῦτα πλήθει πολλά, καὶ ἄγει ἕνα πολλάς χιλιάδας ταλάντων.

97. Ἐπειδ' ἔπελθε ὁ Νεῖλος τὴν χώρην, αἱ πόλεις μοῦνα φαίνονται ὑπερέχουσαι, μάλιστα κη ἐμφερέες τῇ ἐν τῷ Αἰγαίῳ πόντῳ νῆσοις: τὰ μὲν γὰρ ἄλλα τῆς Ἀιγύπτου πέλαγος γίνεται, αἱ δὲ πόλεις μοῦνα ὑπερέχουσαι πορθμεύονται ὅν, ἔπειν τοῦτο γένηται, οὐκέτι κατὰ τὰ ρέεθρα τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἄλλα διὰ μέσου τοῦ πεδίου. ἐς μὲν γε Μέμφιν ἐκ Ναυκράτιος ἀναπλώνων παρ' αὐτὰς τὰς πυραμίδας γίνεται ὁ πλόος· ἦστι δὲ οὔδ' οὕτως, ἄλλα παρὰ τὸ ὅξυ τοῦ Δελτα καὶ παρὰ Κερκά- σσωρον πόλιν; ἐς δὲ Ναυκρατίν ἀπὸ θαλάσσης καὶ Κανώβου διὰ πεδίου πλέων ἧς εἰς κατ' Ἀνθυλλάν τε πόλιν καὶ τὴν Ἀρχάνδρου καλεμένην.

98. Τούτων δὲ ἡ μὲν Ἀνθυλλα ἐνύσα λογίμη πόλις ἐς ὑποδήματα ἐξαίρετος δίδοται τοῦ αἰεὶ βασιλεύοντος Αἰγύπτου τῇ γνώμῃ (τοῦτο δὲ γίνεται ἐξ ὅσου ὑπὸ Πέρσης ἐστὶ Αἰγύπτως), ἡ δὲ ἐτέρη πόλις δοκεῖ μοι τὸ οὖνομα ἔχει τοῦ Δαναοῦ γαμβρῷ Ἀρχάνδρου τοῦ Φθίου τοῦ Ἀχαιοῦ καλέται γὰρ ὅτι Ἀρχάνδρου πόλις. εἰ ὅ' ἄν καὶ ἄλλος τις Ἀρχάνδρος, οὐ μέντοι γε Αἰγύπτιον τὸ οὖνομα.

99. Μέχρι μὲν τούτου ὄψης τε ἐμῇ καὶ γρώμῃ καὶ ἱστορία ταῦτα λέγουσα ἐστὶ, τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀιγυπτίως ἠρχομαι λόγους ἐρέων κατὰ τὰ ἥκονον προσέσται δὲ ἀυτοῖς τι καὶ τῆς ἐμῆς ὄψιος. Μίνα τοῦ πρῶτον βασιλεύσαντα Αἰγύπτου οἱ
these boats,) and the stone dragging behind on the river bottom keeps the boat's course straight. There are many of these boats; some are of many thousand talents' burden.

97. When the Nile overflows the land, the towns alone are seen high and dry above the water, very like to the islands in the Aegean sea. These alone stand out, the rest of Egypt being a sheet of water. So when this happens folk are ferried not, as is their wont, in the course of the stream, but clean over the plain. From Naucratis indeed to Memphis the boat going upwards passes close by the pyramids themselves;¹ the usual course is not this, but by the Delta's point and the town Cercasorus: but your voyage from the sea and Canobus to Naucratis will take you over the plain near the town of Anthylla and that which is called Archandrus' town.

98. Anthylla is a town of some name, and is specially assigned to the consort of the reigning king of Egypt, for the provision of her shoes. This has been done since Egypt has been under Persian dominion. The other town, I think, is named after Archandrus son of Phthisus the Achaean, and son-in-law of Danaus; for it is called Archandrus' town. It may be that there was another Archandrus; but the name is not Egyptian.

99. Thus far all I have said is the outcome of my own sight and judgment and inquiry. Henceforth I will record Egyptian chronicles, according to that which I have heard, adding thereto somewhat of what I myself have seen. The priests told me that Min was the first king of Egypt, and that first he

¹ The meaning of these words is not clear. Some think that they mean "though here the course is not so" and that perhaps δεώσας has been lost after ὅπρος.
ΗΡΟΔΟΤΟΣ

ιρέες ἐλεγον τοῦτο μὲν ἀπογεφυρώσαι τὴν Μέμφιν. τὸν γὰρ ποταμὸν πάντα ῥεειν παρὰ τὸ ὄρος τὸ ψάμμινον πρὸς Λιβύην, τὸν δὲ Μίνα ἄνωθεν, ὅσον τε ἔκατον σταδίους ἀπὸ Μέμφιος, τὸν πρὸς μεσαμβρίας ἁγκώνα προσχώσαντα τὸ μὲν ἀρχαίον ῥέθρον ἀποξηρώναι, τὸν δὲ ποταμὸν ὁχετεύσαι τὸ μέσον τῶν ὄρεων ῥεειν. ἔτι δὲ καὶ νῦν ὑπὸ Περσέων ὁ ἁγκώνιον οὐτὸς τοῦ Νείλου ὡς ἀπεργμένοις ῥέῃ ἐν φυλακῆς μεγάλης ἔχεται, φρασσόμενος ἀνὰ πᾶν ἑτος. εἰ γὰρ ἐθελήσῃ βῆςας ὑπερβήναι ὁ ποταμὸς ταύτη, κῶδυνος πάση Μέμφι κατακλυσθήναι ἐστί. ὡς δὲ τῷ Μίνῳ τοῦτῳ τῷ πρωτῷ γενομένῳ βασιλεὶ χέρσων γεγονέναι τὸ ἀπεργμένου, τοῦτο μὲν ἐν αὐτῷ πόλιν κτίσαι ταύτῃ ἑτεῖ νῦν Μέμφις καλέται: ἐστι γὰρ καὶ ἡ Μέμφις ἐν τῷ στεινῷ τῆς Αἰγύπτου ἔξωθεν δὲ αὐτῆς περιορύζαι λίμνην ἐκ τοῦ ποταμοῦ πρὸς βορέῃ τε καὶ πρὸς ἐσπέρην (τὸ γὰρ πρὸς τὴν ἥδων αὐτοῦ ὁ Νείλου ἀπέργει), τοῦτο δὲ τοῦ Ἡφαίστου τὸ ἱρὸν ἱδρύσασθαι ἐν αὐτῇ, ἐν μέγα τε καὶ ἄξιαπηγέτατον.

100. Μετὰ δὲ τούτου κατέλεγον οἱ ἱρέες ἐκ βυζλοῦ ἄλλων βασιλέων τρικοσίων καὶ τριήκοντα ὀνόματα. ἐν τοσαύτης δὲ γενέβησι ἄνθρώπων ὑκτωκαίδεκα μὲν Αἰθίοπες ἦσαν, μία δὲ γυνὴ ἐπιχωρίη, οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι ἄνδρες Αἰγύπτιοι. τῇ δὲ γυναικὶ ὀνόμα ἦν, ἢτις ἐβασίλευσε, τὸ περὶ τῇ Βαβυλωνίᾳ. Νίτωκρις τὴν ἐλεγον τιμωρεύσαν ἀδελφεῖ, τὸν Αἰγυπτίο βασιλεύοντα σφέων ἀπεκτείναν, ἀποκτείναν τε οὐτοὶ ἐκεῖνοι ἀπέδωσαν τὴν βασιλην, τοῦτῳ τιμωρεύσαν πολλοὺς Αἰγυπτίων.
BOOK II. 99-100

separated Memphis from the Nile by a dam. All the river had flowed close under the sandy mountains on the Libyan side, but Min made the southern bend of it which begins about an hundred furlongs above Memphis, by damming the stream; thereby he dried up the ancient course, and carried the river by a channel so that it flowed midway between the hills. And to this day the Persians keep careful guard over this bend of the river, strengthening its dam every year, that it may keep the current in; for were the Nile to burst his dykes and overflow here, all Memphis were in danger of drowning. Then, when this first king Min had made what he thus cut off to be dry land, he first founded in it that city which is now called Memphis—for even Memphis lies in the narrow part of Egypt—and outside of it he dug a lake to its north and west, from the river (the Nile itself being the eastern boundary of the place); and secondly, he built in it the great and most noteworthy temple of Hephaestus.

100. After him came three hundred and thirty kings, whose names the priests recited from a papyrus roll. In all these many generations there were eighteen Ethiopian kings, and one queen, native to the country; the rest were all Egyptian men. The name of the queen was the same as that of the Babylonian princess, Nitocris. She, to avenge her brother (he was king of Egypt and was slain by his subjects, who then gave Nitocris the sovereignty) put
diapherei dòla. poihshaménh gár mìn oikíma perimikhes úponaiou kai on ó wò fó wò, kai de álla mìxhianásthai kalésasasq dé mìn Aigúptiou tous málisq metaitpous tou phíonou ñídean pollous ístínaq, dainuménoi de èpeínaq toq potamou di' aulínon kruptou megáloq. taúthq mìn pèri to-
saúta éléganq, plhn òti aúthq mìn, òs toúto ñxérqastio, rízíse ès oikíma spodouq pléouq, òkqis ètimòntq gíntaq.

101. Tòv dé álloq baxíleów ou gár éléganq oudeímán érgoní apódexi và oudevn éinaq lampro-
tptq, plhn èwos tou eòxhátou aúthq Móbrisq:
tóutou dé apódexasthai mhymísona toq Êfhalastou
ta próq boréiò anemón tetraména proptílaia,
limínw te órubqai, tís ò periódos òson èstì
stadión ñsteron dhílásq, puramídas te èn aúth
oikodonnq, tòvq tou megalèqos pèri ómou aúthq tì
limíqw épimnísomai:
tóutou mìn tosaúta apó-
dexasthai, tòvq dé álloq oudevn oudevn.

102. Paraemfámevos ònq toútoq tou èpì toú-
toiq qinoménon baxíleów, tòq ouñoq mou Sunó-
stiq, toútoq mnímnq poíshsoumai:
tóq éléganq oí
íreés qrióton mìn plóiqouq makroíq qromvènta
èk touq 'Araotlou kólpouq touq parà tòn
'Erwthq
thálásqan katoikhménoq katasqtréfasqai, ès ò
pleonqta mìn prós wò apikéqasthai ès thálásqan oukète
plóttq ñpò braxéwq. ènthetq èn òs qpopo
apiketo ès Aigúptou, kata tòvq íreésq tònq fátiq,
pollh qstratíq tòw q1
lábboq ñlauqne dià tònq
qpeírou, pànè thq ènqoq tò èmpodhóq katasqtréfoemqns.

1 A word is omitted, perhaps ἧρχερ; τῶν ἧρχερ = of his subjects.
many of the Egyptians to death by guile. She built
a spacious underground chamber; then, with the
pretense of handselling it, but with far other intent
in her mind, she gave a great feast, inviting to it
those Egyptians whom she knew to have been most
centered in her brother's murder; and while they
feasted she let the river in upon them by a great
and secret channel. This was all that the priests
told of her, save that also when she had done this
she cast herself into a chamber full of hot ashes,
thereby to escape vengeance.

101. But of the other kings they related no
achievement or deed of great note, save of Moeris,
who was the last of them. This Moeris was remem-
bered as having built the northern forecourt of the
temple of Hephaestus, and dug a lake, of as many
furlongs in circuit as I shall later show; and built
there pyramids also, the size of which I will mention
when I speak of the lake. All this was Moeris' work, they said; of none of the rest had they any-
thing to record.

102. Passing over these, therefore, I will now
speak of the king who came after them, Sesostris.1
This king, said the priests, set out with a fleet of long
ships 2 from the Arabian Gulf and subdued all the
dwellers by the Red Sea, till as he sailed on he came
to a sea which was too shallow for his vessels. After
returning thence back to Egypt, he gathered a great
army (according to the story of the priests) and
marched over the mainland, subduing every nation to

1 Rameses II., called by the Greeks Sesostris; said to
have ruled in the fourteenth century B.C.
2 Ships of war.
ότεοισι μὲν νυν αὐτῶν ἀλκίμοιοι ἐνετύγχανε καὶ
dεινῶς γλυχομένοισι περὶ τῆς ἐλευθερίας, τούτοιοι
μὲν στῆλας ἐνίστη ἐς τὰς χώρας διὰ γραμμάτων
λεγοῦσας τὸ τε ἐωτοῦ οὖνομα καὶ τῆς πάτρης,
καὶ ὡς δυνάμι τῇ ἐωτοῦ κατεστρέφατο σφέας:
ὅτεοι δὲ ἀμαχητὶ καὶ εὐπετέως παρέλαβε τὰς
πόλιας, τούτοιοι δὲ ἐνέγραφε ἐν τῇ στῆλησι
κατὰ ταύτα καὶ τοῖς ἀνδρισίοις τῶν ἐθνῶν γε-
νομένοις, καὶ δὴ καὶ αἰδοῖα γυναικὸς προσ-
ἐνέγραφε, δῆλα βουλόμενος ποιέειν ὡς εἶχαν
ἀναλκίδες.

103. Ταύτα δὲ ποιέων διεξῆμε τῆν ἡπειρον, ἐς
δὲ ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίης ἐς τὴν Ἑυρώπην διαβὰς τοὺς τε
Σκύθας κατεστρέψατο καὶ τοὺς Ῥώμηκας. ἐς τοὐ-
τοις δὲ μοι δοκείς καὶ προσώπατα ἀπικέσθαι ὁ
Ἀιγύπτιος στράτος· ὡς μὲν γὰρ τῇ τοὺτον χόρῃ
φαίνονται σταθεῖσι στῇ στῆλῃ, τὸ δὲ προσωτέρῳ
τούτων οὐκέτι.

104. Φαίνονται μὲν γὰρ ἐόντες ὁι Κόλχοι, Αἰ-
γύπτιοι, νοῆσας δὲ πρῶτον αὐτῶν ἡ ἀκούσας
ἀλλῶν λέγω, ὡς δὲ μοι ἐν φροντίδι ἐγένετο,
εἰρόμην ἀμφοτέρους, καὶ μᾶλλον ὁι Κόλχοι ἐμε-
μένατο τῶν Ἀιγύπτων ἢ ὁι Αἰγύπτιοι τῶν
Κόλχων· νομίζεις δὲ ἐφασαν ὁι Αἰγύπτιοι τῆς
Σεσώστριος στρατηγῆς εἶναι τῶν Κόλχως. αὐτὸς
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which he came. When those that he met were valiant men and strove hard for freedom, he set up pillars in their land whereon the inscription showed his own name and his country’s, and how he had overcome them with his own power; but when the cities had made no resistance and been easily taken, then he put an inscription on the pillars even as he had done where the nations were brave; but he drew also on them the privy parts of a woman, wishing to show clearly that the people were cowardly.

103. Thus doing he marched over the country till he had passed over from Asia to Europe and subdued the Scythians and Thracians. Thus far and no farther, I think, the Egyptian army went; for the pillars can be seen standing in their country, but in none beyond it. Thence he turned about and went back homewards; and when he came to the Phasis river, it may be (for I cannot speak with exact knowledge) that King Sesostiris divided off some part of his army and left it there to dwell in the country, or it may be that some of his soldiers grew weary of his wanderings, and stayed by the Phasis.

104. For it is plain to see that the Colchians are Egyptians; and this that I say I myself noted before I heard it from others. When I began to think on this matter, I inquired of both peoples; and the Colchians remembered the Egyptians better than the Egyptians remembered the Colchians; the Egyptians said that they held the Colchians to be part of Sesostiris’ army. I myself guessed it to be
δὲ εἶκασά τηδε, καὶ ὃτι μελάγχορος εἰσὶ καὶ οὐλότριχες. καὶ τούτῳ μὲν ἐς οὐδὲν ἀνήκει: εἰςὶ γὰρ καὶ ἔτεροι τοιοῦτοι· ἀλλὰ τοῖς ἄλλα μᾶλλον, ὅτι μοῦνοι πάντων ἀνθρώπων Κόλχων καὶ Αἰγύπτιων καὶ Αἰθιόπες περιτάμουνται ἀπ' ἀρχῆς τὰ αἰδοία. Φοίνικες δὲ καὶ Σύροι οἱ ἐν τῇ Παλαιστίνῃ καὶ αὐτοὶ ὁμολογεύονσι παρ' Αἰγύπτιων μεμαθηκέναι, Σύροι δὲ οἱ περὶ Θερμώδοντα καὶ Παρθένιον ποταμὸν καὶ Μάκρωνες οἱ τούτοισι ἀστυνείτονες ἔοντες ἀπὸ Κόλχων φασὶ νεοστὶ μεμαθηκέναι. οὕτως γὰρ εἰς οἱ περιταμουμένου ἀνθρώπων μοῦνοι, καὶ οὕτως Αἰγύπτιοι φαίνονται ποιεύοντες κατὰ ταύτα. αὐτῶν δὲ Αἰγύπτιων καὶ Αἰθιόπων οὐκ ἔχοι εἰπεὶν ὁκότεροι παρὰ τῶν ἔτερων ἐξέμαθον ἀρχαῖον γὰρ δὴ τι φαίνεται ἐώς. ὡς δὲ ἐπιμισθόμενοι Αἰγύπτων ἐξέμαθον, μέγα μοι καὶ τὸ δε τεκμήριον γίνεται. Φοίνικοις ὁκόσοι τῇ 'Ελλάδι ἐπιμισθιόνται, οὐκέτι Αἰγύπτιοι, μιμεύονται κατὰ τὰ αἰδοία, ἀλλὰ τῶν ἐπιμισθιούμενων οὐ περιτάμουνται τὰ αἰδοία.

105. Φέρε νῦν καὶ ἄλλο εἰπων περὶ τῶν Κόλχων, ὡς Αἰγύπτιοις προσφερέες εἰςί· λίνον μοῦνοι οὕτως τε καὶ Αἰγύπτιοι εργάζονται κατὰ ταύτα, καὶ ἡ ξῷ πᾶσα καὶ ἡ γλῶσσα ἑµφερής ἐστὶ ἀλλήλοις. λίνον δὲ τὸ μὲν Κολχικὸν ὑπὸ Ἐλλήνων Σαρδωνίκων κέκληται, τὸ μὲντοι ἀπ' Αἰγύπτου ἀπικνεύμενον καλεῖται Αἰγύπτιον.

106. Αἱ δὲ στῆλαι τὰς ἱστα κατὰ τὰς χώρας ὁ Αἰγύπτου βασιλεὺς Σέσωστρις, αἱ μὲν πλεύρες
so, partly because they are dark-skinned and woolly-haired; though that indeed goes for nothing, seeing that other peoples, too, are such; but my better proof was that the Colchians and Egyptians and Ethiopians are the only nations that have from the first practised circumcision. The Phoenicians and the Syrians of Palestine acknowledge of themselves that they learnt the custom from the Egyptians, and the Syrians of the valleys of the Thermodon and the Parthenius, as well as their neighbours the Ma-crones, say that they learnt it lately from the Colchians. These are the only nations that circumscribe, and it is seen that they do even as the Egyptians. But as to the Egyptians and Ethiopians themselves, I cannot say which nation learnt it from the other; for it is manifestly a very ancient custom. That the others learnt it from intercourse with Egypt I hold to be clearly proved by this—that Phoenicians who hold intercourse with Hellas cease to imitate the Egyptians in this matter and do not circumscribe their children.

105. Nay, and let me speak of another matter in which the Colchians are like to the Egyptians: they and the Egyptians alone work linen, and have the same way, a way peculiar to themselves, of working it; and they are alike in all their manner of life, and in their speech. Linen has two names: the Colchian kind is called by the Greeks Sardonian;¹ that which comes from Egypt is called Egyptian.

106. As to the pillars which Sesostris, king of Egypt, set up in the countries, most of them are no

¹ There seems to be no reason for connecting Colchian linen with Sardinia (as Ἑλληνικὰ would imply). The Colchian word may have had a similar sound.
οὐκέτι φαίνονται περιεύθυναί, ἐν δὲ τῇ Παλαιστίνῃ Συρίᾳ αὐτὸς ὄρων ἐσόμασα καὶ τὰ γράμματα τὰ εἰρημένα ἔνεοντα καὶ γυναικὸς αἴδοια. εἰς δὲ καὶ περὶ Ἰωνίην δύο τύποι ἐν πέτρῃς ἔγκεκριμένοι τούτον τοῦ ἀνδρός, τῇ τε ἐκ τῆς Ἐφεσίας ἐς Φωκαίαν ἔρχονται καὶ τῇ ἐκ Σαρδίων ἐς Σμύρνην. ἐκατέρωθι δὲ ἄνηρ ἔγγεγυμπται μέγας πέρπτης σπιθαμῆς, τῇ μὲν δεξιᾷ χειρὶ ἔχον αἰχμὴν τῇ δὲ ἀριστερῇ τόξο, καὶ τὴν ἁλλὰ σκεῦην ὀσσατώς· καὶ γὰρ Αἰγυπτίων καὶ Αἰθιοπίδα ἔχει· ἐκ δὲ τοῦ ὠμον ἐς τόν ἔτερον ὠμον διὰ τῶν στήθων γράμματα ἐρα Ἀιγυπτία διῆκεν ἐγκεκριμένα, λέγοντα τάδε· "Ἐγὼ τότε τὴν χώρην ὄμοιοι τοῖς ἐμοίς ἐκτησάμην." ὡστὶς δὲ καὶ ὁκόθεν ἔστι, ἐνθαῦτα μὲν οὐ δηλοῖ, ἐτέρωθι δὲ διδηλώκε· τὰ δὴ καὶ μετεξέ· τεροι τῶν θεσαμένων Μέμνονος εἰκόνα εἰκάζουσι μοι εἶναι, πολλοὺς τῆς ἁλθείας ἀπολελειμμένους.

107. Τούτων δὴ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων Σέσωστριν, ἀναχρέοντα καὶ ἀνάγοντα πολλοὺς ἀνθρώπους τῶν ἐθνῶν τῶν τὰς χώρας κατεστρέψατο, ἔλεγον οὐδὲς, ἐπείτη ἐγώντο ἀνακομίζομεν ἐν Δάφνῃ τῆς Πηλούσιρας, τοῦ αἰσχροῦ εὐκτυφος, τὸ ἐπετρεφε ο Σέσωστρις τῶν Αἰγυπτίων, τούτων ἐπὶ ξείνη αὐτὸν καλέσαντα καὶ πρὸς αὐτῷ τῶν παῖδων περιφηκαί ἐξώθεν τῆς οἰκίας οὐ η περιφη· σαντα καὶ ὑποπρῆσαι. τῶν δὲ ὡς μαθεῖν τούτῳ, αὐτίκα συμβουλεύσαθαι τῇ γυναικίς καὶ γὰρ δὴ καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα αὐτὸν ἄμα ἀγεσθαί τὴν δὲ οἱ συμβουλεύσαντα τῶν παῖδων ἑσταῖ ἐς τοὺς δύο ἐπὶ τὴν πυρὴν ἐκτείναντα γεφυρώσαν τὸ κακό· μενον, αὐτοῦς δὲ ἐπὶ ἐκεῖνον ἐπιβιαίνοντας ἔκσω· χεσθαί. ταῦτα ποιήσαι τὸν Σέσωστριν, καὶ δύο
longer to be seen. But I myself saw them in the Palestine part of Syria, with the writing aforesaid and the women’s privy parts upon them. Also there are in Ionia two figures of this man carven in rock, one on the road from Ephesus to Phocæa, and the other on that from Sardis to Smyrna. In both places there is a man of a height of four cubits and a half cut in relief, with a spear in his right hand and a bow in his left, and the rest of his equipment answering thereto; for it is both Egyptian and Ethiopian; and right across the breast from one shoulder to the other there is carven a writing in the Egyptian sacred character, saying: “I myself won this land with the might of my shoulders.” There is nothing here to show who he is and whence he comes, but it is shown elsewhere. Some of those who have seen these figures guess them to be Memnon, but they are far indeed from the truth.

107. Now when this Egyptian Sesostris (so said the priests), being on his way homewards and bringing many men of the nations whose countries he had subdued, had come in his return to Daphnae of Pelusium, his brother, to whom he had given Egypt in charge, invited him and his sons to a banquet and then piled wood round the house and set it on fire. When Sesostris was aware of this, he took counsel at once with his wife, whom (it was said) he was bringing with him; and she counselled him to lay two of his six sons on the fire and to make a bridge over the burning whereby they might pass over the bodies of the two and escape. This Sesostris did;

3 Two such figures have been discovered in the pass of Karabel, near the old road from Ephesus to Smyrna. They are not, however, Egyptian in appearance.
μὲν τῶν παιδῶν κατακαθήμαι τρόπῳ τοιούτῳ, τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς ἀποσωθῆναι ἀμα τῷ πατρί.

108. Νοστήσας δὲ ἡ Σέσωστρις ἐς τὴν Αἰγυπτίων καὶ τιςάμενος τὸν ἀδελφοῖν, τῷ μὲν ὁμίλῳ τὸν ἐπηγάγετο τῶν τὰς χώρας κατεστρέψατο, τοῦτῳ μὲν τάδε ἐχρήσατο τοὺς τέ οἱ λίθους τοὺς ἐπὶ τούτου τοῦ βασιλέως κομισθέντας ἐς τοῦ Ἡφαι- στοῦ τὸ ἱρὸν, ἔστωσα μεγάθει περιμήκειας, οὐτοὶ ἦσαν οἱ ἐκύσιντες, καὶ τὰς διώρυγας τὰς τῶν ἐσύσας ἐν Αἰγυπτίῳ πᾶσας οὗτοι ἀναγκαζόμενοι ὥρυσαν, ἐποίειν τε οὐκ ἐκόρτες Αἰγυπτίῳ, τὸ πρὶν ἐσύσαν ἰππατήμα καὶ ἀμαξευμένην πᾶσαν, ἐνδεὰ τούτων. ἀπὸ γὰρ τούτου τοῦ χρόνου Αἰ- γυπτίων ἐσύσα πεδίας πᾶσα ἀνυππος καὶ ἀναμα- ξευτος γέγονε αἰτία δὲ τούτων αἱ διώρυγας γεγόνασι ἐσύσα πολλαὶ καὶ παντοῦ τοὺς πρόπος ἐκούσαι. κατέταμε δὲ τούδε εἰνεκα τὴν χώρην ὁ βασιλεύς ὅσοι τῶν Αἰγυπτίων μὴ ἐπὶ τῷ πο- ταμῷ ἐκτῆτο τὰς πόλεις ἀλλ' ἀναμέσους, οὕτω, ὅκως τε ἀπόκει ποταμός, σπανίζουτε ύδατων πλατυτεροὶ ἐχρέωςτο τούτο πόμασι, ἐκ φρεάτων χρεώμενοι.

109. Τούτων μὲν δὴ εἰνεκα κατετμήθη ἡ Αἰ- γυπτίως. κατανείμαι δὲ τὴν χώρην Αἰγυπτίως ἄπασι τούτο ἐλεγον τῶν βασιλέως, κλήρον ἰσον ἐκάστῳ τετράγωνον διδόντα, καὶ ἀπὸ τούτου τᾶς προσόδους ποιήσασθαι, ἐπιτάξαντα ἀποφορὴν ἐπιτελέσιν κατ' ἐνιαυτόν. εἰ δὲ τινὸς τοῦ κλήρου ὁ ποταμός τι παρέλυτο, ἑλθὼν ἀν πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐσήμαινε τὸ γεγενημένον, ὁ δὲ ἐπεμπε τοὺς ἐπι- σκεφθομένους καὶ ἀναμετρήσοντας ὅσω ἐλάσσων ὁ χῶρος γέγονε, ὅκως τού λοιποῦ κατὰ λόγον 396.
two of his sons were thus burnt, but the rest were saved alive with their father.

108. Having returned to Egypt, and taken vengeance on his brother, Sesostris found work, as I shall show, for the multitude which he brought with him from the countries which he had subdued. It was these who dragged the great and long blocks of stone which were brought in this king's reign to the temple of Hephaestus; and it was they who were compelled to dig all the canals which are now in Egypt, and thus, albeit with no such intent, made what was before a land of horses and carts to be now without either. For from this time Egypt, albeit a level land, could use no horses or carts, by reason of the canals being so many and going every way. The reason why the king thus intersected the country was this: those Egyptians whose towns were not on the Nile but inland from it lacked water whenever the flood left their land, and drank only brackish water from wells.

109. For this cause Egypt was intersected. This king moreover (so they said) divided the country among all the Egyptians by giving each an equal square parcel of land, and made this his source of revenue, appointing the payment of a yearly tax. And any man who was robbed by the river of a part of his land would come to Sesostris and declare what had befallen him; then the king would send men to look into it and measure the space by which the land was diminished, so that thereafter it should
Η θεταγμένης ἀποφορῆς τελευτ. δοκεῖ δὲ μοι ἐνθεύτευν γεωμετρίη εὐρεθείσα ἐς τὴν Ἔλλαδα ἐπανελθεῖν. πόλον μὲν γὰρ καὶ γνώμονα καὶ τὰ δυνάμεις μέρεα τῆς ἡμέρης παρὰ Βασιλείων ἔμαθον οἱ Ἔλληνες.

110. Βασιλεὺς μὲν δὴ οὗτος μοῦνος Αἰγύπτιος Ἀιθιοπίης ἦρε, μνημόσυνα δὲ ἐλίπετο πρὸ τοῦ Ἡφαιστείου ἀνδριάντας λιθίνους, δύο μὲν τρικοντα πηχέων, ἐσωτέρα τῇ ἡγεμόνε, τοὺς δὲ παιδας ἑόρτας τέσσερας εἰκοσι πηχέων ἐκαστῶν τῶν δὴ ὁ ἱερεὺς τοῦ Ἡφαιστου χρῶνω μετέπειτα πολλῆς Δαρείου τῶν Πέρσων οἱ περιεῖδε ἠσταντα ἐμπροσθείς ἀνδριάντα, φᾶς οὗ οἱ πεποιήθαι ἔργα ὁλὰ περὶ Σεσώστρι τῷ Αἰγύπτῳ. Σεσώστριν μὲν γὰρ ἀλλὰ τε καταστρέψασθαι ἐθνα οὐκ ἑλάσσω ἐκείνου καὶ δὴ καὶ Σκύθας, Δαρείου δὲ οὗ δυνασθήναι Σκύθας ἔλειν οὕκεσον δίκαιον εἶναι ἠστάναι ἐμπροσθεῖς τῶν ἐκείνου ἀναθημάτων μὴ οὐκ ὑπερβαλλόμενον τούτο ἔργοις. Δαρείου μὲν νων λέγοντι πρὸς τάτα συγγνώμην ποιήσασθαι.

111. Σεσώστριος δὲ τελευτήσαντος ἐκδέξασθαι ἔλεγον τὴν βασιλέη τῶν παϊδα αὐτῶν Φερὸν, τοὺς ἀποδέξασθαι μὲν οὐδὲμιαν στρατηγῆς, συνενεχθήναι δὲ οὐτοῖς γενέσθαι διὰ τούτοις πρήγμα, τοῦ ποταμοῦ κατελθόντος μέγιστα δὴ τοῦ ἐπὶ ὀκτωκάδεκα πήχεας, ὡς ὑπερβάλε τὰς ἀρούρας, πνεύματος ἐμπεσόντος νυμφής ὁ ποταμός ἐγενετο. τὸν δὲ βασιλέα λέγοντι τούτων ἀτασθαλῆς χρησάμενον, λαβόντα αἱμήν βαλεῖν ἐς μέσας τὰς δίνας τοῦ ποταμοῦ, μετὰ δὲ αὐτίκα καμότα αὐτῶν τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς τυφλωθῆναι. δέκα μὲν δὴ
pay in proportion to the tax originally imposed. From this, to my thinking, the Greeks learnt the art of measuring land; the sun-clock and the sundial, and the twelve divisions of the day, came to Hellas not from Egypt but from Babylonia.

110. Sesostris was the only Egyptian king who also ruled Ethiopia. To commemorate his name, he set before the temple of Hephaestus two stone statues of himself and his wife, each thirty cubits high, and statues of his four sons, each of twenty cubits. Long afterwards Darius the Persian would have set up his statue before these; but the priest of Hephaestus forbade him, saying that he had achieved nothing equal to the deeds of Sesostris the Egyptian; for Sesostris (he said) had subdued the Scythians, besides as many other nations as Darius had conquered, and Darius had not been able to overcome the Scythians; therefore it was not just that Darius should set his statue before the statues of Sesostris, whose achievements he had not equalled. Darius, it is said, let the priest have his way.

111. When Sesostris died, he was succeeded in the kingship (so said the priests) by his son Pheros. This king made no wars; and it happened that he became blind, for the following reason: the Nile came down in a flood such as never was before, rising to a height of eighteen cubits, and the water which overflowed the fields was roughened by a strong wind; then, it is said, the king was so infatuated that he took a spear and hurled it into the midst of the river eddies. Straightway after this he suffered from a disease of the eyes, and became blind. When he had been blind for ten years, an

1 Manetho's list shows no such name. It is probably not a name but a title, Pharaoh.
ΗΡΩΔΟΤΟΣ

'έτεια εἶναι μιν τυφλῶν, ἐνδεκάτῳ δὲ ἐτεί ἀπικέσθαι οἱ μαντήιοι ἐκ Βουτοὺς πόλιος ὡς ἔζηκει τέ οἱ ὁ χρόνος τῆς ξημίας καὶ ἀναβλέψει γυναικὸς υἱῶφ νεψάμενος τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς, ἦτις παρὰ τὸν ἑωτής ἄνδρα μοῦνον πεφοιτήκε, ἄλλων ἄνδρῶν ἔστο ἄπειρος. καὶ τὸν πρῶτης τῆς ἑωτοῦ γυναικὸς πειράσθαι, μετά δὲ, ὡς ὁκ ἀνέβλεπε, ἐπεξῆς πασέων πειράσθαι ἀναβλέψαντα δὲ συναγαγεῖς τάς γυναικάς τῶν ἑπειρῆθη, πλῆν ἢ τῆς τῷ υἱῷ νεψάμενος ἀνέβλεψε, ἐς μίαν πόλιν, ἢ νῦν καλεῖται Ἐρυθήρ βῶλος: ἐς ταύτην συναλίσαντα ὑποπρῆσαν πάσας σὺν αὐτῷ τῇ πόλις τῆς δὲ νεψάμενος τῷ υἱῷ ἀνέβλεψε, ταύτην δὲ ἐσχε αὐτός γυναίκα. ἀναθήματα δὲ ἀποφυγὼν τὴν πάθην τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν ἀλλὰ τε ἄνα τὰ ἵππα πάντα τὰ λόγια ἀνέθηκε καὶ τοῦ γε λόγου μάλιστα ἄξιον ἐστὶ ἔχειν, ἐς τοῦ Ἡλίου τὸ ἱρὸν ἀξιοθέτα ἀνέθηκε ἔργα, ὁβελοὺς δύο λιθίνους, ἐξ ἐνὸς ἐνότα ἐκάτερον λίθου, μήκος μὲν ἐκάτερον πηχέων ἐκεινό, ἐνρός δὲ ὑκτὸ πηχέων.

112. Τούτω δὲ ἐκδεξασθαι τὴν βασιλεύσῃ ἐλέγον ἄνδρα Μεμφίτην, τῷ κατὰ τὴν Ἑλλῆνων γλώσσαν ὀνομα Πρωτέα εἶναι τοῦ νῦν τέμενος ἐστὶ ἐν Μέμφι κάρτα καλὸν τε καὶ εὗ ἐσκευασμένον, τοῦ Ἡφαιστείου πρὸς νότον ἄνεμον κειμένον. περιοικέουσι δὲ τὸ τέμενος τούτο Φοίνικες Τύριοι, καλέται δὲ ὁ χώρος οὗτος ὡς συνάπτας Τυρίων στρατόπεδον. ἐστὶ δὲ ἐν τῷ τεμένει τοῦ Πρωτέος ἱρὸν τὸ καλέται ξείνης ἀφροδίτης συμβάλλομαι δὲ τούτο τῷ ἱρῷ εἶναι ξείνης τῆς Τυνδάρεω, καὶ τὸν λόγον ἀκηκοῦσς ὡς διαίτηθη Ἐλένη παρὰ Πρωτεί, καὶ ἰδιαὶ καὶ ὅτι ξείνης ἀφρο-
oracle from the city of Buto declared to him that the time of his punishment was drawing to an end, and that he should regain his sight by washing his eyes with the issue of a woman who had never had intercourse with any man but her own husband. Pheros made trial with his own wife first, and as he still remained blind, with all women, one after another. When he at last recovered sight, he took all the women of whom he had made trial, save only her who had made him to see again, and gathered them into one town, that which is now called "Red Clay"; where having collected them together he burnt them and the town; but the woman by whose means he had recovered sight he took to wife. Among the many offerings which he dedicated in all the noteworthy temples for his deliverance from blindness, most worthy of mention are the two marvellous stone obelisks which he set up in the temple of the Sun. Each of these is made of a single block, and is an hundred cubits high and eight cubits thick.

112. Pheros was succeeded (they said) by a man of Memphis, whose name in the Greek language was Proteus. This Proteus has a fair and well-adorned temple precinct at Memphis, lying to the south of the temple of Hephaestus. Round the precinct dwell Phoenicians of Tyre, and the whole place is called the Camp of the Tyrians. There is in the precinct of Proteus a temple entitled the temple of the Stranger Aphrodite; this I guess to be a temple of Helen, daughter of Tyndareus, partly because I have heard the story of Helen's abiding with Proteus, and partly because it bears the name of
δίτης ἐπιώνυμον ἐστὶ ὁσα γὰρ ἀλλα Ἀφροδίτης ἵρα ἐστὶ, οὐδαμῶς ξείνης ἐπικαλέεται.

113. Ἕλεγον δὲ μοι οἱ ἱρέες ἱστορέοντι τὰ περὶ Ἐλένην γενέσθαι ὧδε. Ἀλέξανδρον ἀρπάσαντα Ἐλένην ἐκ Σπάρτης ἀποτελείν ἐς τὴν ἐωτοῦν· καὶ μιν, ὡς ἐγένετο ἐν τῷ Λιγαῖῳ, ἐξωσται ἀνεμοί ἐκβάλλουσι ἐς τὸ Ἀἰγύπτιον πέλαγος. ἐνθεύτερ δὲ, οὐ γὰρ ἀνείε τὰ πνεύματα, ἀπικνέεται ἐς Ἀἰγύπτου καὶ Ἀἰγύπτου ἐς τὸ νῦν Κανοβικοῦ καλεύμενον στόμα τοῦ Νείλου καὶ ἐς Ταρσείας. ἵν δὲ εἶ ἡ τῆς ἡμῶς τὸ καὶ νῦν ἐστὶ Ἡρακλεος ἰρόν, ἐς τὸ ἢν καταφυγών οἰκέτης ὅτεν ὁν ἄνθρωπον ἐπιβαλήται στίγματα ἵρα, ἐωτοῦν διδοὺς τῷ θεῷ, ὡς ἐξεστὶ τοῦτον ἄψασθαι. ὁ νόμος οὗτος διατελεῖ εἴων ὁμοίως μέχρι ἐμεῖ τῷ ἀπὸ ἀρχῆς τοῦ ὁν δὴ Ἀλέξανδρον ἀπιστεῖται θεράπυτοις τυθὸμενοι τὸν περὶ τὸ ἢρόν ἐχοῦτα νόμον, ἰκέται δὲ ἵζόμενοι τοῦ θεοῦ κατηγόρους τοῦ Ἀλέξανδρου, βουλόμενοι βλάπτειν αὐτοῦ, πάντα λόγον ἐξηγεύ- μενοι ὡς εἶχε περὶ τὴν Ἐλένην τε καὶ τὴν ἐς Μενέλεων ἀδικίαν κατηγόρους δὲ ταῦτα πρὸς τε τοὺς ἱρέας καὶ τὸν τοῦ στόματος τοῦτον φύλακον, τῷ ὀνομα ἦν Θώνις.

114. Ἀκούσας δὲ τούτων ὁ Ὁδώνις πέμπει τὴν ταχιστὴν ἐς Μέμφιν παρὰ Πρωτέα ἀγγελίαν λέγοντας τάδε. Ἔγει ξείνος ἱένος μεν Τεῦκρος, ἐργον δὲ ἀνόσιον ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι ἐξηγεσίμενος ξείνου γὰρ τοῦ ἐωτοῦ ἐξαπατήσας τὴν γυναῖκα αὐτῆς τε ταύτῃ ἄγων ἦκε καὶ πολλὰ κάρτα χρήματα, ὑπὸ ἀνέμων ἐς γην ταύτῃ ἀπενειχθεὶς, κότερα δὴ τούτων ἐδομὲν ἀσινέα ἐκπλέειν ἢ.
the Stranger Aphrodite; for no other of Aphrodite's temples is called by that name.

113. When I enquired of the priests, they told me that this was the story of Helen:—After carrying off Helen from Sparta, Alexandrus sailed away for his own country; violent winds caught him in the Aegean, and drove him into the Egyptian sea; whence (the wind not abating) he came to Egypt, to the mouth of the Nile called the Canopic mouth, and to the Salting-places. Now there was on the coast (and still is) a temple of Heracles; where if a servant of any man take refuge and be branded with certain sacred marks in token that he delivers himself to the god, such an one may not be touched. This law continues to-day the same as it has ever been from the first. Hearing of the temple law, certain of Alexandrus' servants separated themselves from him, threw themselves on the mercy of the god, and brought an accusation against Alexandrus with intent to harm him, telling all the story of Helen and the wrong done to Menelaus. They laid this accusation before the priests and the warden of the Nile mouth, whose name was Thonis.

114. When Thonis heard it, he sent this message with all speed to Proteus at Memphis: "There has come hither a Teucerian stranger who has done great wrong in Hellas. He has deceived his host and robbed him of his wife, and brought her hither driven to your country by the wind, with very great store of wealth besides. Shall we suffer him to sail away unharmed, or take away from him that which
απελώμεθα τὰ ἔχων ἦλθε;" ἀντιπέμπει πρὸς ταῦτα ὁ Πρωτέας λέγοντα τάδε. "Ἀνδρα τούτον, ὅστις κοτὲ ἐστὶ ἀνόσια ἐργασμένος ἥγειν τὸν ἔως τοῦ, συναλάβοντες ἀπάγετε παρ' ἐμέ, ἵνα εἰδέω ὁ τι κοτὲ καὶ λέξει."  

115. Ἀκούσας δὲ ταῦτα ὁ Θόως συναλαμβάνει τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον καὶ τὰς νέας αὐτοῦ κατίσχει, μετὰ δὲ αὐτὸν τοῦ τούτον ἀνήγαγε ἐς Μέμφιν καὶ τὴν Ἑλενήν τε καὶ τὰ χρήματα, πρὸς δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἱκέτας. ἀνακομμήθησαν δὲ πάντων, εἰρώτα τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον ο ὁ Πρωτέας τὸς εἶπ καὶ ὁκόθεν πλέοι. ὃ δὲ οἱ καὶ τὸ γένος κατέλεξε καὶ τῆς πάτρης εἰπε τὸ οὖνομα, καὶ δὴ καὶ τὸν πλόον ἀπειρήσατο ὁκόθεν πλέοι. μετὰ δὲ ο ὁ Πρωτεὺς εἰρώτα αὐτὸν ὁκόθεν τὴν Ἑλενήν λάβοι πλανωμένου δὲ τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου ἐν τῷ λόγῳ καὶ οὐ λέγοντος τῆς ἀληθείας, ἦλεγχον οὶ γενόμενοι ἱκέται, ἔβηγαίον οἱ πάντα λόγον τοῦ ἀδικήματος. τέλος δὲ δὴ σφι λόγον τὸν δὲ ἐκφαίνει ο Πρωτεὺς, λέγον οτι ἵν 'Εγὼ εἰ μὴ περὶ πολλοῦ ἠγείρειν μηδένα ἥγειν κτείνεις, ὅσοι ὑπ' ἀνέμων ἤδη ἀπολαμφθέντες ἠλθον ἐς χώρην τῆς ἐμῆς, ἐγὼ ἄν σε ύπέρ τοῦ Ἑλλήνας ἐπισάμην, ὅσοι καὶ κακίστη ἀνδρῶν, ἥγειν τοῦ τυχῶν ἔρχον ἀνοσίωταν ἐργάζασθαι παρά τοῦ σεωτοῦ ἥγειν τῆς γυναίκα ἦλθες. καὶ μᾶλα ταῦτα τοῖς οὐκ ἤρκεσε, ἀλλ' ἀναπτερώσας αὐτὴν οὐχεὶ ἔχων ἀκκλέψας, καὶ οὐδὲ ταῦτα τοῖς μοῦνα ἤρκεσε, ἀλλ' καὶ οἰκία τοῦ ἥγειν κεραίας ἤρκεσι. νῦν δὲν ἐπειδὴ περὶ πολλοῦ ἤγιον μὴ ἥγειν κτείνεις, γυναίκα μὲν ταῦτη καὶ τὰ χρήματα σύ τοι προήσω ἀπαγορεύει, ἀλλ' αὐτὰ ἐγὼ τοῦ Ἑλλῆν ἥγειν φυλάξω, ἐς δ' ἄν αὐτὸς ἑλθὼν ἥγειν ἀπαγαγορεύεθαι
he has brought?" Proteus sent back this message: "Whoever be this man who has done a wrong to his own host, seize him and bring him to me, that I may know what he will say."

115. Hearing this, Thonis seized Alexandrus and held his ships there, and presently brought him with Helen and all the wealth, and the suppliants therewith, to Memphis. All having come thither, Proteus asked Alexandrus who he was and whence he sailed; Alexandrus told him of his lineage and the name of his country, and of his voyage, whence he sailed. Then Proteus asked him whence he had taken Helen; Alexandrus made no straightforward or truthful answer; but the men who had taken refuge with the temple disproved his tale, and related the whole story of the wrongful act. When all was said, Proteus thus gave sentence:—"Were I not careful to slay no stranger who has ever been caught by the wind and driven to my coasts, I would have avenged that Greek upon you; seeing that, O basest of men! you have done foul wrong to him who hospitably entreated you, and have entered in to the wife of your own host. Nay, and this did not suffice you; you made her to fly with you and stole her away. Nor was even this enough, but you have come hither with the plunder of your host's house. Now, therefore, since I am careful to slay no stranger, I will not suffer you to take away this woman and these possessions; I will keep them for the Greek stranger, till such time as he shall himself come to
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 bénéficι αυτον δε σε καλ τοις σους συμπλους τριων ήμερων προαγορευο εκ της εμης γης ες άλλην τινα μετορμιζεσθαι, ει δε μη, άτε πολεμους περιεψεσθαι."

116. Ἐλενης μεν ταυτην ἀπιξεν παρα Προτέα ἐλεγον οἱ ἱρεις γενέσθαι δοκεει δε μοι και ὂς ὁμηρος τον λόγον τούτον πυθέσθαι ἀλλ' ου γαρ ὠμοιως εσ την ἐποτοιην εὑρπεπης ην την έτερη συ περ ἐχρήσατο, εκων μετηκε αυτον, δηλωσας ως και τοιτουν επισταιτο τον λόγον δηλον δε κατα [γαρ]^1 ἐποιησε εν Ἰλιαδι (και ουδαμη άλλη ανεπόδιε εφωτι) πλάνην την Ἀλεξάνδρου, ως απηνειχθη αγων Ἐλενην τη τε δη άλλη πλαξομενος και ως εσ Σιδωνα της Φοινικης απικετο. ἐπιμεμνηται δε αυτου εν Διομήδεις άριστηνι λέγει δε τα ἐπεα ὅδε.

Ενθ' εσαν οι πεπλω οι παμποικιοι, έργα γυναικων Σιδωνίων, τας αυτος Ἀλεξανδρος θεωειδης ήγαγε Σιδωνιηθεν, επιτλως ειρεα ποντον, την οδον ην Ἐλενην περ ανήγαγεν ευπατέρειαν.

ἐπιμεμνήται δὲ καὶ ἐν Ὄδυσσείῃ ἐν τοιοιδε τοισι ἐπεσι.

Τοια Διως θυγατηρ εχε φάρμακα μητιοεντα, ἐσθλα, τα οι Πολυδαμνα πορεν Θωνος παρακοτις
Αἰγυπτία, τη πλειοντα φερει ζείδωρος άρονρα φάρμακα, πολλα μεν ἐσθλα μεμυγμένα, πολλα δε λυγρα.

1 κατα = καθα, "according as." γαρ is out of place here.
take them away; but as for you and the companions of your voyage, I warn you to depart from my country elsewhither within three days, else I will deal with you as with enemies."

116. This, by what the priests told me, was the manner of Helen's coming to Proteus. And, to my thinking, Homer too knew this story; but seeing that it suited not so well with epic poetry as the tale of which he made use, he rejected it of set purpose, showing withal that he knew it. This is plain, from the passage in the Iliad (and nowhere else does he return to the story) where he relates the wanderings of Alexandrus, and shows how he with Helen was carried out of his course, among other places, to Sidon in Phoenice. This is in the story of the Feats of Diomedes, where the verses run as follows:

There were the robes in his house, inwrought with manifold colours,
Work of the women of Sidon, whom godlike Paris aforetime
Brought from their eastern town, o'er wide seas voyaging thither,
E'en when he won from her home fair Helen, the daughter of princes.¹

He makes mention of it in the Odyssey also:
Suchlike drugs of grace, for a healing cunningly mingled,
Once in the land of Nile had the wife of Thon, Polydamna,
Giv'n to the daughter of Zeus; for there of the country's abundance,
Potent to heal or to harm, are herbs full many engendered:²

καὶ τάδε ἔτερα πρὸς Τηλέμαχον Μενέλεως λέγει.

Αἰγύπτω μὲν ἔτι δεύροθεοὶ μεμαὐτὰ νέεσθαι ἔσχον, ἔπει οὐ σφιν ἔρεξα τεληέσσας ἐκατόμβας. 

ἐν τούτῳι τοῖς ἔπει δηλοὶ ὅτι ἡπίστατο τὴν ἐς Αἴγυπτον Ἀλεξάνδρου πλαίην ὀμοφυρεῖ γὰρ ἡ Συρίη Αἴγυπτῳ, οἱ δὲ Φοίνικες, τῶν ἔστὶ ἡ Σιδών, ἐν τῇ Συρίη οἰκέουσι.

117. Κατὰ ταῦτα δὲ τὰ ἔπεα καὶ τόδε τὸ χωρίον οὐκ ἦκε στα ἀλλὰ μάλλοστα δηλοὶ ὅτι οὐκ Ὁμήρος τὰ Κυπρία ἔπεα ἔστὶ ἀλλ' ἄλλου τινός. ἐν μὲν γὰρ τοῖς Κυπρίοισι εἰρήται ὡς τριτάδιος ἐκ Σπάρτης Ἀλεξάνδρος ἀπίκετο ἐς τὸ Ἰλιον ἄγων Ἐλένην, εἰναί τε πνεύματε χρησάμενος καὶ θαλάσση λείη ἐν δὲ Ἰλιάδε λέγει ὡς ἐπλάξετο ἄγων αὐτὴν.

118. Ὁμήρος μὲν νῦν καὶ τὰ Κυπρία ἔπεα χαίρετο. εἰρομένου δὲ μὲν τοὺς ἱρέας εἰ μᾶταιν λόγον λέγουσι οἱ Ἐλλήνες τὰ περὶ Ἰλιον γενέσθαι ἢ σφι, ἔφασαν πρὸς ταῦτα τάδε, ἰστορήσας φάμενοι εἰδέναι παρ' αὐτὸν Μενέλεως. ἔλθην μὲν γὰρ μετὰ τὴν Ἐλένης ἀρπαγῆν ἐς τὴν Τενκρίδα γῆν Ἐλλήνων στρατιν τελλῆν βοηθοῦσαν Μενέλεως, ἐκβάσαν δὲ ἐς γην καὶ ὕδρυεσαν τὴν στρατινὸν πέμπευς ἐς τὸ Ἰλιον ἄγγελος, σὺν δὲ σφι λέναι καὶ αὐτὸν Μενέλεως τοὺς δ' ἐπείτε ἐσελθεῖν ἐς τὸ τεῖχος, ἀπαίτειν Ἐλένην τε καὶ τὰ χρήματα τὰ οἴοχε νεκράς Ἀλεξάνδρος, τῶν τε ἀδίκημάτων δίκας αἰτείν τοὺς δὲ Τεν-

1 Stein brackets ἐπιβαλλείθα... ἐκατόμβας, because (as he says) the quotations from the Odyssey have nothing to do with the story of Alexandrus.
and again Menelaus says to Telemachus:

Eager was I to return, but the gods fast held me in
Egypt,
Wroth that I honoured them not nor offered a sacri-
ifice duly.¹

In these verses the poet shows that he knew of
Alexandrus' wanderings to Egypt; for Syria borders
on Egypt, and the Phoenicians, to whom Sidon
belongs, dwell in Syria.

117. These verses and this passage prove most
clearly that the Cyprian poems are by the hand not
of Homer but of another. For the Cyprian poems
relate that Alexandrus reached Ilion with Helen
in three days from Sparta, having a fair wind and a
smooth sea; but according to the Iliad he wandered
from his course in bringing her.

118. Enough, then, of Homer and the Cyprian
poems. But when I asked the priests whether the
Greek account of the Trojan business were vain or
true, they gave me the following answer, saying that
they had inquired and knew what Menelaus himself
had said:—After the rape of Helen, a great host of
Greeks came to the Teuerian land on Menelaus'
behalf. Having there disembarked and encamped,
they sent to Ilion messengers, of whom Menelaus
himself was one. These, on coming within the city
walls, demanded restitution of Helen and the possess-
ions which Alexandrus had stolen from Menelaus and
carried off, and reparation besides for the wrong
done; but the Teucrians then and ever afterwards

¹ Od. iv. 351, 2
κρούς τὸν αὐτὸν λόγον λέγειν τότε καὶ μετέπειτα, καὶ ὁμοῦντας καὶ ἄνωμοτι, μὴ μὲν ἔχειν Ἕλενην μηδὲ τὰ ἐπικαλεύμενα χρήματα, ἀλλ' εἶναι αὐτὰ πάντα ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ, καὶ οὐκ ἂν δικαίως αὐτοὶ δίκας ὑπέχειν τῶν Πρωτεύς ὁ Αἰγύπτιος Βασίλειος ἔχει. οἱ δὲ "Ἐλληνες καταγελάσθαι δοκεόντες ὑπ' αὐτῶν οὗτω δὴ ἐπολιόρκεον, ἐς οῖ εξείλου ἔλοσι δὲ τὸ τέχος ὡς οὐκ ἐφαίνετο η Ἕλενη, ἀλλ' τῶν αὐτῶν λόγον τῷ προτέρῳ ἐπιυπνόντο, οὗτο δὴ πιστεύσαντες τῷ λόγῳ τῷ πρώτῳ οἱ "Ἐλληνες αὐτῶν Μενέλεων ἀποστέλλουσι παρά Πρωτέα.

119. Ἀπικόμενος δὲ ὁ Μενέλεως ἐς τὴν Αἰγύπτον καὶ ἀναπλώσας ἐς τὴν Μέμφιν, εἶπας τὴν ἀληθεῖν τῶν προγμάτων, καὶ ξεινόν ἤντησε μεγάλων καὶ Ἕλενην ἀπαθέα κακῶν ἀπέλαβε, προς δὲ καὶ τὰ ἐωτοῦ χρήματα πάντα. τυχὼν γένοις τούτων ἐγένετο Μενέλεως ἄνηρ ἄδικος ἐς Αἰγύπτιους, ἀποπλέειν γὰρ ὀρμημένον αὐτῶν ἰσχυον ἀπλοῦσι ἐπειδὴ δὲ τούτῳ ἐπὶ πολλῶν τοιούτων ἢ, ἐπιτεχνάται πρήγμα οὐκ ὅσιον λαβὼν γὰρ δύο παιδία ἄνδρῶν ἐπιχείρων ἐντομα σφέα ἐποίησε. μετὰ δὲ ὡς ἐπαιστος ἐγένετο τούτῳ ἐργασμένος, μισοῦσας τε καὶ διωκόμενος οὐχετο φεύγων σήμερον ἐπὶ Διβύης· το ἐνθεύτευν δὲ ὅκου ἐπὶ ἐτράπετο οὖς ἐξον εἰπέων Αἰγύπτιοι. τούτων δὲ τὰ μὲν ἱστορίησι ἐφασαν ἐπιτασθαί, τὰ δὲ παρ' ἐωτοῦσι γενόμενα ἄτρεκεώς ἐπιστάμενοι λέγειν.

120. Ταῦτα μὲν Αἰγύπτιων οἱ ἱρέες ἔλεγον ἐγὼ δὲ τῷ λόγῳ τῷ περὶ Ἕλενης λεχθέντι καὶ αὐτὸς προστίθημει, τάδε ἐπιλεγόμενος, εἰ ἢ Ἕλενη ἐν
declared, with oaths and without, that neither Helen nor the goods claimed were with them, she and they being in Egypt; nor could they (so they said) justly make reparation for what was in the hands of the Egyptian king Proteus. But the Greeks thought that the Trojans mocked them, and therewith besieged the city, till they took it; and it was not till they took the fortress and found no Helen there, and heard the same declaration as before, that they gave credence to the Trojans' first word and so sent Menelaus himself to Proteus.

119. Menelaus then came to Egypt and went up the river to Memphis; there, telling the whole truth of what had happened, he was very hospitably entertained and received back Helen unharmed and all his possessions withal. Yet, albeit so well treated, Menelaus did the Egyptians a wrong. For when he would have sailed away he was stayed by stress of weather; and this hindrance continuing for long, he devised and did a forbidden deed, taking two children of the land and sacrificing them. When it was known that he had so done, the people hated and pursued him, and he fled away with his ships to Libya; and whither he thence betook himself the Egyptians could not say. The priests told me that they had learnt some of this tale by inquiry, but that they spoke with exact knowledge of what had happened in their own country.

120. So much was told me by the Egyptian priests. For myself, I believe their story about Helen: for I reason thus—that had Helen been in Ilion, then
'Ιλίω, ἀποδοθῆμαι ἂν αὐτὴν τοῖς Ἑλλησὶ ἦτοι ἑκοτός γε ἡ ἀέκοτος Ἀλέξανδρου. οὐ γὰρ δὴ ὦτῳ γε φρενοβλαβής ἦν ὁ Πρίαμος οὐδὲ οἱ ἄλλοι οἱ προσήκοντες αὐτῷ, ὡστε τοῖς σφετέροις σώμαι καὶ τοῖς τέκνοις καὶ τῇ πόλι κινδυνεύειν ἐβουλόντο, ὡκως Ἀλέξανδρος ᾿Ελένη συνοικεῖ. εἰ δὲ τοι καὶ ἐν τοῖς πρώτοις χρόνοις ταῦτα ἐγίνο-σκον, ἐπεὶ πολλοὶ μὲν τῶν ἄλλων Τρώων, οὐκ ἄνθρωποι τοῖς Ἑλλησι, ἀπολλυντο, αὐτοῦ δὲ Πρίαμον οὐκ ἔστι οὗ οὐ δύο ἡ τρεῖς ἡ καὶ ἔτη πλέον τῶν παῖδων μάχης γινομένης ἀπεθνησκον, εἰ χρή τι τοῖς ἐποποιοῖς χρόνωμεν λέγειν, τούτων δὲ τοιούτων συμβαινόντων ἐγὼ μὲν ἑλπιμαι, εἰ καὶ αὐτὸς Πρίαμος συνοικε ᾿Ελένη, ἀποδοῦναι ἂν αὐτὴν τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς, μέλλοντα γε δὴ τῶν πα-ρεόντων κακῶν ἀπαλλαγῆσθαι. οὐ μὲν οὖν ἡ βασιλικὴ ἐς Ἀλέξανδρον περιήλθε, ὡστε γέρων τοῖς Πρίαμοι ἐντὸς ἐπὶ ἐκεῖνο τὰ πρήγματα εἶναι, ἀλλὰ ἐκτὸς καὶ πρεσβύτερος καὶ ἄνηρ ἐκεῖνον μᾶλλον ἔδω ἐμελλε αὐτὴν Πρίαμοι ἀποθανόντως παραλάμψησθαι, τὸν οὐ προσῆκε ἀδίκεοντι τῷ ἀδελφῷ ἐπιτράπειν, καὶ ταῦτα μεγάλων κακῶν δια ἄυτῶν συμβαινόντων ἑιδή τε αὐτῶ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις πᾶσι Τρώσι. ἀλλ’ οὐ γὰρ εἰχον ᾿Ελένην ἀποδοῦναι, οὐδὲ λέγουσι αὐτοῖς τὴν ἀλήθειαν ἐπίστευοι οἱ ᾿Ελληνες, ὡς μὲν ἐγὼ γνώμην ἀποφαίνομαι, τοῦ δαμιουργοῦ παρασκενζοῦντος, ὡκως πανωλθέρη ἀπολόμενοι καταφανεῖ τοῦτο τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ποιήσωσι, ὡς τῶν μεγάλων ἀδικη-μάτων μεγάλαι εἰς οἱ καὶ αἱ τιμωρίαι παρὰ τῶν θεῶν. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν τῇ ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ εἰρηται.

121. Πρωτέος δὲ ἐκδέξασθαι τὴν βασιλικὴν
with or without the will of Alexandrus she would have been given back to the Greeks. For surely neither was Priam so mad, nor those nearest to him, as to consent to risk their own persons and their children and their city, that Alexandrus might have Helen to wife. Even be it granted that they were so minded in the first days, yet when not only many of the Trojans were slain in fighting against the Greeks, but Priam himself lost by death two or three or even more of his sons in every battle (if the poets are to be trusted), in this turn of affairs, had Helen been Priam's own wife, I cannot but think (for myself) that he would have restored her to the Greeks, if by so doing he could escape from the present evil plight. Nay, nor was Alexandrus next heir to the kingship, whereby he might have been the real ruler, Priam being old; it was Hector, an older and a more valiant man than Alexandrus, who was like to receive the royal power at Priam's death; and it was none of Hector's business to consent to his brother's wrong-doing, least of all when that brother was the cause of great calamity to Hector himself and the whole of Troy beside. But matters fell out as they did because the Trojans had not Helen there to give back, yet though they spoke the truth the Greeks would not believe them; for, as I am convinced and declare, the powers above ordained that the utter destruction of Troy should prove in the sight of all men that the gods do greatly punish great wrong-doing. This is my own belief and thus I declare it.

121. The next to reign after Proteus (they said)
'Ραμψίνιτον ἔλεγον, ὃς μημόσυνα ἐλπετο τὰ προπύλαια τὰ πρὸς ἐσπέρην τετραμμένα τοῦ ᾿Ηφαίστεων, ἀντίως δὲ τῶν προπύλαιων ἐστησε ἀνδριάντας δύο, ἐόντας τὸ μέγαθος πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι πηχέων, τῶν Ἀιγύπτιοι τὸν μὲν πρὸς βορέω ἐστεώτα καλέουσι θέρος, τὸν δὲ πρὸς νότον χειμώνα· καὶ τὸν μὲν καλέουσι θέρος, τοὺτον μὲν προσκυνεύοντι τε καὶ εὐ ποιέουσι, τὸν δὲ χειμώνα καλέομενον τὰ ἐμπαλιν τούτων ἔρδουσι. πλούτων δὲ τούτω τῷ βασιλεία γενέσθαι ἀργυρού μέγαν, τὸν οὐδένα τῶν ύστερων ἐπιτραφεύσων βασιλέων δύνασθαι ὑπερβαλέσθαι οὐδ’ ἐγχύσελθειν. βουλόμενοι δὲ αὐτῶν ἐν ἀσφαλείᾳ τὰ χρήματα θησαυρίζειν οἰκοδομέσθαι οἰκήμα λίθων, τοῦ τῶν τοίχων ἐνα ἐς τὸ ἔξω μέρος τῆς οἰκήματος ἐχειν. τὸν δὲ ἐργαζόμενον ἐπιβουλεύοντα τάδε μηχανάσθαι· τῶν λίθων παρασκευάσασθαι ἕνα ἐξαιρετὸν εἶναι ἐκ τοῦ τοίχου ῥημίως καὶ ὑπὸ δύο ἀνδρῶν καὶ ὑπὸ ἑνός. ὡς δὲ ἐπετελέσθη τὸ οἰκήμα, τὸν μὲν βασιλέα θησαυρίσαστι τὰ χρήματα ἐν αὐτῶ· χρόνου δὲ περιομένος τὸν οἰκοδόμον περὶ τελευτὴν τοῦ βίου ἑόντα ἀνακάλεσθαι τοὺς παῖδας (εἶναι γὰρ αὐτῶν δύο), τούτων δὲ ἀπηγησάσθαι ὡς ἐκείνων προσφῶν, δικῶς βίου ἄφθονον ἔχωσι, τεχνάσατο οἰκοδομέων τὸν θησαυρὸν τοῦ βασιλέως· σαφέως δὲ αὐτοῖς πάντα ἔξηγησάμενον τὰ περὶ τὴν ἐξαίρεσιν τοῦ λίθου δοῦναι τὰ μέτρα αὐτῶν, λέγοντα ὡς ταῦτα διαφυλάσσοντες ταμία τῶν βασιλέως χρημάτων ἐσονται. καὶ τὸν μὲν τελευτήσαι τὸν βίον, τοὺς δὲ παῖδας οὐκ ἐς μακρὴν ἐργον ἐχεσθαι, ἐπελθόντας δὲ ἐπὶ τὰ βασιλεία νυκτὸς καὶ τὸν λίθον ἐπὶ τὸν οἰκοδο-
was Rhampsinitus. The memorial of his name left by him was the western forecourt of the temple of Hephaestus; before this he set two statues of twenty-five cubits' height; the northernmost of these is called by the Egyptians Summer, and the southernmost Winter; that one which they call Summer they worship and entreat well, but do contrariwise to the statue called Winter. This king (they told me) had great wealth of silver, so great that none of the later-born kings could surpass or nearly match it. That he might store his treasure safely, he made to be built a stone chamber, one of its walls abutting on the outer side of his palace. But the builder of it craftily contrived that one stone should be so placed as to be easily removed by two men or even by one. So when the chamber was finished, the king stored his treasure in it. But as time went on, the builder, being now near his end, called to him his two sons and told them how he had provided an ample livelihood for them by the art with which he had built the king's treasure-house; he made them clearly to understand concerning the removal of the stone, and gave the measurements which would find it; saying that if they kept these in mind they would be stewards of the king's riches. So when he was dead, his sons set to work with no long delay; coming to the palace by night, they easily found and
μῆματι ἀνευρόντας ῥηδίως μεταχειρίσασθαι καὶ τῶν χρημάτων πολλὰ ἐξενείκασθαι. ὡς δὲ τυχεῖν τὸν βασιλέα ἀνοίξαντα τὸ οἴκημα, θωμάσαι ἰδοῦτα τῶν χρημάτων καταδεῖ τὰ ἀγγύμια, οὐκ ἔχειν δὲ ὄντων ἐπαντιᾶται, τῶν τε σμηνατρῶν ἐόντων σῶν καὶ τοῦ οἰκήματος κεκλημένου. ὡς δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ δίς καὶ τρῖς ἀνοίξαντι αἰεὶ ἐλάσσω φαίνεσθαι τὰ χρηματα (τοὺς γὰρ κλέπτας οὐκ ἀνιέναι κεραιούντας), ποιησά τι μᾶς πάγας προστάξαι ἐρμῆσασθαι καὶ ταύτας περὶ τὰ ἁγγύμα ἐν τοιαὶ τὰ χρηματα ἐνήν στῆσαι. τῶν δὲ φωρῶν ὀσπερ ἐν τῷ πρὸ τοῦ χρόνῳ ἐλθόντων καὶ ἐσὸντος τοῦ ἑτέρου αὐτῶν, ἐπεὶ πρὸς τὸ ἄγγος προσήθηκε, ἢδεις τῇ πάγῃ ἐνέχεσθαι. ὡς δὲ γρῶναι αὐτῶν ἐν οἷῳ ἔστιν, ἢδεις καλέειν τὸν ἀδέλφευν καὶ ἀγοῦν αὐτῷ τὰ παρεόντα, καὶ κελεύειν τὴν ταχιστὴν ἐσὸντα ἀποταμεῖν αὐτῶν τῇ κεφαλῇ, ὅκισι μὴ αὐτῶς ὑβείς καὶ γυνωρισθῆς ὅς εἴη προσαπολέσῃ κάλείνουν. τῷ δὲ δόξαι εὐλέγειν, καὶ ποιῆσαι μῖν πεισθέντα ταύτα, καὶ καταρμόσαντα τὸν ἀθῶν ἀπιέων ἐπὶ οἰκούν, φέροντα τῇ κεφαλῇ τοῦ ἀδέλφου. ὡς δὲ ἰμέρῃ ἐγένετο, ἐσελθόντα τὸν βασιλέα ἐς τὸ οἴκημα ἐκπεπλήχθαι ὄρωντα τὸ σῶμα τοῦ φωρὸς ἐν τῇ πάγῃ ἀνευ τῆς κεφαλῆς ἐόν, τὸ δὲ οἰκήμα ἀσινεῖς καὶ οὔτε ἐσοδὸν οἴτε ἐκδύσῃ συνδεμίαν ἔχον. ἀπορεύμενον δὲ μιᾷ τάξιν ποιῆσαι τοῦ φωρὸς τὸν νέκυν κατὰ τοῦ τείχους κατακρεμάσαι, φυλάκους δὲ αὐτοῦ καταστήσαντα ἐντελείσαθαι σφι, τὸν ἀν ἰδοῦνα ἀποκλαύσαντα η κατοικτισάμενον, συλλαβόντας ἄγειν πρὸς ἑωτὸν.

Ἀνακρεμαμένον δὲ τοῦ νέκυος τῆς μητέρας δείνω ό φέρειν, λόγοις δὲ πρὸς τὸν περιεσκότα παίδα.
handled the stone in the building, and took away much of the treasure. When the king opened the building, he was amazed to see the vessels lacking their full tale of treasure; yet he knew not whom to accuse, seeing that the seals were unbroken and the chamber fast shut. But when at the second and third opening of the chamber he saw the treasure grown ever less (for the thieves ceased not from plundering), he bid traps to be made and set about the vessels in which his riches lay. The thieves came as they had done before, and one of them crept in; when he came near the vessel, at once he was caught and held in the trap. Seeing his evil plight, he straightway called to his brother, and, showing him how matters stood, "Creep in quickly," said he, "and cut off my head, lest I be seen and recognised and so bring you too to ruin." The brother consented and did this, thinking the counsel good. Then he set the stone in place again, and went away home, carrying his brother's head. When it was morning the king came to the chamber, and was amazed to see the thief's headless body in the trap, yet the chamber unbroken, with no way of passing in or out; and he knew not what to do. But presently he hung the thief's dead body on the outer wall, and set guards over it, charging them to seize and bring before him whomsoever they should see weeping or making lamentation.

But the thief's mother, when the body had been so hung, was greatly moved: she talked with
ποιευμένην προστάσειν αὐτῷ ὅτερ τρόπος δύναται μηχανάσθαι ὅκως τὸ σώμα τοῦ ἀδελφεῖ καταλύσας κομιέ· εἰ δὲ τούτων ἀμελήσει, διαπειλέειν αὐτὴν ὡς ἔλθοισα πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα μηνύσει αὐτὸν ἔχοντα τὰ χρήματα. ὡς δὲ χαλεπῶς ἐλαμβάνετο ἡ μήτηρ τοῦ περιεύοντος παιδὸς καὶ πολλὰ πρὸς αὐτὴν λέγων οὐκ ἔπειθε, ἐπιτεχνησάσθαι τοιάδε μὲν ὅνος κατασκευασάμενον καὶ ἀσκοῦσι πλήσαντα οἶνον ἐπιθεῖναι ἐπὶ τῶν ὅνων καὶ ἔπειτα ἐλαύνειν αὐτοὺς· ὡς δὲ κατὰ τοὺς φυλάσσοντας ἡ τὸν κρεμάμενον νέκιν, ἐπισπάσαντα τῶν ἁσκῶν δύο ἡ τρεῖς παδεώνας αὐτοῦ λύειν ἀπαμένουσι· ὡς δὲ ἔρρη ὁ οἶνος, τὴν κεφαλὴν μὲν κόπτεσθαι μεγάλα βοῶντα ὡς οὐκ ἔχοντα πρὸς ὅκιοιν τῶν ὅνων πρῶτον τράπηται, τοὺς δὲ φυλάκους ὡς ἦδειν πολλὸν ῥέοντα τῶν οἰνῶν, συντρέχειν ἐς τὴν ὄδον ἀγρῆμα ἔχονται, καὶ τὸν ἐκκεχυμένον οἰνὸν συγκομίζειν ἐν κέρδει ποιευμένος· τὸν δὲ διαλοιδορέεσθαι πᾶσι όργην προσποιεύμενον, παραμυθεμένων δὲ αὐτὸν τῶν φυλάκων χρόνω πρήσυνθαι προσποιεύσθαι καὶ ὑπίσθαι τῆς ὀργῆς, τέλος δὲ ἐξελάσαι αὐτὸν τοὺς ὅνους ἐκ τῆς ὀδοῦ καὶ κατασκευάζειν. ὡς δὲ λόγους τε πλέον ἐργάζεσθαι καὶ τινα καὶ σκόψας μιν καὶ ἐς γέλωτα προαγαγέσθαι, ἐπιδούναι αὐτοῦσι τῶν ἁσκῶν ἐνα· τοὺς δὲ αὐτῶν ὅσπερ εἶχον κατακλιθέντας πίνειν διανοεῦσθαι, καὶ ἐκεῖνον παραλμαβάνειν καὶ κελεύειν μετ' ἐωστῶν μείναντα συμπίνειν τὸν δὲ πεισθῆναι τε δὴ καὶ καταμεῖναι. ὡς δὲ μιν παρὰ τὴν πόσιν φιλοφρόνος ἥσσαξοντο, ἐπιδούναι αὐτοῦσι καὶ ἅλλον τῶν ἁσκῶν· ἐπιστεῖ δὲ τῷ ποτῷ χρησαμένους τοὺς φυλάκους ὑπερμε
her surviving son, and bade him contrive by whatever means to loose and bring her his brother’s body, threatening that if he would not obey her she would go to the king and lay an information that he had the treasure. So when she bitterly reproached him and for all he said he could not overpersuade her, the brother devised a plot: he got his asses and loaded them with skins full of wine and then drove them before him till he came near those who guarded the hanging body; then he pulled at the feet of two or three of the skins and loosed their fastenings; and the wine so running out, he cried aloud and beat his head like one that knew not which of his asses he should deal with first. The guards, seeing the wine running freely, all took vessels and ran into the highway, where they caught the spilt wine, and thought themselves lucky; the man pretended to be angry and reviled each and all of them; but the guards speaking peaceably to him, he presently made as if he were comforted and appeased, till at last he drove his asses aside from the highway and put his gear in order. So the guards and he fell into talk, and one of them jesting with him, so that there was laughter, he gave them one of the skins: whereupon without more ado they sat down and began to drink, making him one of their company and bidding him stay and drink with them; and he consented and stayed. They drank to him merrily, and he gave them yet another of the skins, till the guards grew very drunk with the abundance of
HERODOTUS

δυσθῆναι καὶ κρατηθέντας ὑπὸ τοῦ ὑπνοῦ αὐτοῦ ἐνθα περ ἐπεινόν κατακομμηθῆναι. τὸν δὲ, ὡς πρὸς ἦν τῆς νυκτὸς, τὸ τε σῶμα τοῦ ἄδελφου καταλῦσαι καὶ τῶν φυλάκων ἐπὶ λύμη πάντων ξυρῆσαι τὰς δεξιὰς παρηδὰς, ἐπιθέντα δὲ τὸν νέκυν ἐπὶ τοὺς ὄνους ἀπελαύνειν ἐπὶ οἴκου, ἐπιτελέσαντα τῇ μνητὶ τὰ προσταχθέντα.

Τὸν δὲ βασιλέα, ὡς αὐτῷ ἀπηγγέλθη τοῦ φωρος ὁ νέκυς ἐκκεκλεμένος, δεινὰ ποιεῖν· πάντως δὲ βουλόμενον εὑρεθῆναι ὅστις κοτὲ εἰς ὁ ταῦτα μηχανόμενος, ποιήσαι μν τάδε, ἐμοὶ μὲν οὐ πιστά· τὴν θυγατέρα τὴν ἑωτοῦ κατίσαι ἐπὶ οἰκήματος, ἐντειλάμενον πάντας τε ὁμοίως προσδέκεσθαι, ἀναγκάζειν λέγειν αὐτῇ ὅ τι δὴ ἐν τῷ βίῳ ἔργασται αὐτῷ σοφώτατον καὶ ἀνοσιώτατον ὡς δὴ ἄν ἀπηγγῆσηται τὰ περὶ τὸν φῶρα γεγενημένα, τούτου συλλαμβάνειν καὶ μὴ ἀπιέναι ἔξω. ὡς δὲ τὴν παῖδα ποιεῖν τὰ ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς προσταχθέντα, τὸν φῶρα πυθόμενον τῶν εἰνεκα ταῦτα ἐπρήσετο, βουλθέντα πολυτροπία τοῦ βασιλέος περιγενέσθαι ποιεῖν τάδε· νεκρῷ προσφάτου ἀποταμώντα ἐν τῷ ὅμω τὴν σειρὰ ἱέναι αὐτῶν ἑχοντα αὐτὴν ὑπὸ τῷ ἰματίῳ. ὥστε ὀποτὰ τὸν βασιλέα τὴν θυγατέρα καὶ εἰρωτόμενον τὰ περ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι, ἀπηγγήσασθαι ὡς ἀνοσιώτατον μὲν εἰς ἐργασμένος ὅτι τοῦ ἄδελφου ἐν τῷ θησαυρῷ τοῦ βασιλέος ὑπὸ πάγης ἀλόντος ἀποτάμος τὴν κεφαλὴν, σοφώτατον δὲ ὅτι τῶν φυλάκων καταμεθύσας καταλύσει τοῦ ἄδελφου κρεμάμενον τῶν νέκυν. τὴν δὲ ὡς ἥκουσε ἀπεσθαί αὐτοῦ. τὸν δὲ φῶρα ἐν τῷ σκότει προτείνει αὐτῇ τοῦ νεκροῦ

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liquor, and at last being overmastered by sleep lay down in the place where they had been drinking. When the night was far spent, the thief cut down his brother's body and then (first shaving all the guard's right cheeks by way of insult) laid it on his asses and drove them home, having so fulfilled his mother's commands for her.

When the king was told of the stealing away of the dead thief's body he was very angry, and resolved by all means to find who it was that had plotted the deed. So he bade his daughter (such is the story, but I myself do not believe it) to sit in a certain room and receive alike all who came; before she had intercourse with any, she should compel him to tell her what was the cleverest trick and the greatest crime of his life; then if any told her the story of the thief she must seize him and not suffer him to pass out. The girl did as her father bade her. The thief, learning the purpose of the king's act, was minded to get the better of him by ready cunning. He therefore cut off the arm of a man newly dead at the shoulder, and went to the king's daughter, carrying it under his cloak, and when asked the same question as the rest, he told her that his greatest crime was the cutting off of his brother's head when the brother was caught in a trap in the king's treasury, and his cleverest trick the release of his brother's hanging body by making the guards drunk. Hearing this, the princess would have laid hands on him, but the thief in
ΗΡΟΔΟΤΟΣ

τὴν χεῖρα, τὴν δὲ ἐπιλαβομένην ἔχειν, νομίζοντες αὐτὸν ἑκείνου τῆς χειρὸς ἀντέχεσθαι. τὸν δὲ φῶρα προέμενον αὐτῇ οἴχεσθαι διὰ θυρέων φεύγοντα.

'Ως δὲ καὶ ταύτα ἐς τὸν βασιλέα ἀνηρείχθη, ἐκπεπλήχθαι μὲν ἐπὶ τῇ πολυφροσύνῃ τε καὶ τόλμῃ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου, τέλος δὲ διαπέμπτοντα ἐς πᾶσας τὰς πόλις ἐπαγγέλλεσθαι ἀδείην ἡ δι-
δόντα καὶ μεγάλα ὑποδεκομένων ἐλθόντι ἐς ὅψιν τὴν ἑωτοῦ. τὸν δὲ φῶρα πιστεύοντα ἐλθεῖν πρὸς αὐτὸν, Ῥαμψινίτου δὲ μεγάλως θωμάσαι, καὶ οἱ τὴν θυγατέρα ταύτην συνοικίσας ὡς πλείον ἐστισαμένων ἀνθρώπων. Ἀιγυπτίων μὲν γὰρ τῶν ἄλλων προκερισθαί, ἑκείνου δὲ Αἰγυπτίων.

122. Μετὰ δὲ ταύτα ἠλέγον τοῦτον τὸν βασιλέα ἧς καταβήναι κατὰ ἐς τὸν οἷον Ἑλληνεὶς 'Αιδην νομίζοντες εἶναι, καὶ κεῖνος συγκυβευέν τῇ Δήμητρι, καὶ τὰ μὲν υἱῶν αὐτῆς τὰ δὲ ἐσούσθαι ὑπ' αὐτῆς, καὶ μιν πάλιν ἀπικέσθαι δῶρον ἔχοντα παρ' αὐτῆς χειρόμακτρον χρύσουν. ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς Ῥαμψινίτου καταβάσιος, ὡς πάλιν ἀπίκετο, ὡρίν ὡς ἀνάγειν Αἰγυπτίων ἔφασαν: τὴν καὶ ἕγω οἴδα ἐπὶ καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ ἐπιτελεύτας αὐτοὺς, οὐ μέντοι ἔμε διὰ ταύτα ὀρτάζουσι ἐγὼ λέγειν. φαρὸς δὲ αὐτὴμεροῦς ἐξυφήναντες οἱ ίρες κατ' ὅσιν ἐδήσαν ἐνὸς ἐωτοῦ μιτρῆ τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς, ἀγαγότες δὲ μιν ἔχοντα τὸ φάρος ἐς ὁδὸν φέρουσαν ἐς ἴρον Δήμητρος αὐτοὶ ἀπαλλάσσονται ὀπίσω: τὸν δὲ ίρέα τοῦτον καταδεδεμένον τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς λέγοντι ὑπὸ δύο λύκων ἀγεσθαι ἐς τὸ ἴρον τῆς Δήμητρος ἀπέχον τῆς πόλιος εἴκοσι σταδίους, καὶ αὐτὸς ὀπίσω ἐκ τοῦ ἴρος ἀπάγειν μιν τὸν τοὺς λύκους ἐς τῶν χωρίν.
the darkness giving her the dead man's arm, she seized that, thinking that she was grasping the arm of the thief, who, having given it to her, made his escape by way of the door.

When this also came to the king's ears, he was astonished at the man's ingenuity and daring, and in the end, he sent a proclamation to every town, promising the thief impunity and a great reward if he would come into the king's presence. The thief trusted the king and came before him; Rhampsinitus admired him greatly and gave him his daughter to wife for his surpassing cleverness, for as the Egyptians (said he) excelled all others in craft, so did he excel the Egyptians.

122. After this (said the priests) this king went down alive to the place which the Greeks call Hades; there he played dice with Demeter, and after both winning and losing he returned back with a gift from her of a golden napkin. From this descent of Rhampsinitus the Egyptians were said by the priests to have kept a festival after his return, which to my own knowledge they celebrate to this day, but whether it be for that cause I cannot say. On the day of this festival the priests weave a cloth and bind it for a headgear on the eyes of one among themselves, whom they then lead, wearing the cloth, into a road that goes to the temple of Demeter; they themselves return back, but this priest with his eyes bandaged is guided (say they) by two wolves¹ to Demeter's temple, a distance of twenty furlongs from the city, and led back again from the temple by the wolves to the same place.

¹ Jackals appear on Egyptian monuments, symbolising Anubis, the guide of the dead.
123. Τοίς μὲν νυν ὑπ’ Αἰγυπτίων λεγομένωι χράσθω ὅτερ τὰ τοιαύτα πιθανά ἔστι ἑμοὶ δὲ παρὰ πάντα τὸν λόγον ὑπόκειται ὅτι τὰ λεγόμενα ὑπ’ ἐκάστων άκοῇ γράφω. ἀρχηγεῖτε ἔνδε τῶν κατ’ Ἀιγυπτίων λέγουσι Δήμητρα καὶ Διόνυσον, πρῶτοι δὲ καὶ τόνδε τὸν λόγον Ἀιγυπτίωι εἰσὶ οἱ εἰπόντες, ὡς ἀνθρώπων ψυχή ἄθανατος ἔστι, τοῦ σώματος δὲ καταφθίνοντος ἐς ἄλλο ξύλον ἀιεῖ γενόμενον ἐσσύεται, ἔπειν δὲ πάντα περιέλθη τὰ χερσαία καὶ τὰ θαλάσσια καὶ τὰ πετεινά, αὐτῖς ἐς ἀνθρώπου σώμα γενόμενον ἐσσύεται, τὴν περὶ λυσιν δὲ αὐτῆς γίνεσθαι ἐν τρισχίλιοις ἔτεσιν, τοῦτο τὸ λόγον εἰσὶ οἱ Ἑλλήνων ἑχρίσαντο, οὐ μὲν πρότερον οὐ δὲ ὑστερον, ὡς ἰδίω ἐωτῦν ἐόντες τῶν ἑγὼ εἰδὼς τὰ σωμάτα ὑπ’ γράφῳ.

124. Μέχρι μὲν νυν Ραμφηνίτου βασιλέως εἶναι ἐν Αἰγυπτῷ πᾶσαν εὐνομίαν ἔλεγον καὶ εὐθυνεῖν Ἀιγυπτίων μεγάλας, μετά δὲ τούτων βασιλεύσαντα σφέων Χέσπα ἐς πᾶσαν κακότητα ἐλάσαι. κατακλήσαντα γὰρ μην πάντα τὰ ἵπτρα μὲν σφέας δυσιέως τοιτέων ἀπέργαθα, μετά δὲ ἐργα- ξθαὶ ἐωτᾶ ἐκλεύειν πάντας Αἰγυπτίους. τοῖς μὲν δὴ ἀποδεδέξαθα ἐκ τῶν λιθομέων τῶν ἐν τῷ Ἀραβίῳ ὄρει, ἐκ τοιτέων ἔλκειν λίθους μέχρι τοῦ Νεῖλου διαπεριοδεύετον, δὲ τὸν τομαῖον πλοῦσιν τοὺς λίθους ἐτεροῖς ἐπητάς ἐκδιεύευσθαι καὶ πρὸς τὸ Διβυκοῦ καλεύμενον ὄρος, πρὸς τοῦτο ἔλκειν. ἐργαζότας δὲ κατὰ δέκα μυριάδας ἀνθρώπων ἁνεῖ τὴν τρίμυθην ἐκάστην. χρόνον δὲ ἐργαποθαὶ τριβομένῳ τῷ λεῷ δέκα έτεῖα μὲν τῆς ὀδοῦ κατ’ ἃν εἰλκον τοὺς λίθους, τὴν ἔδειμαν ἔργου ἐνοι πολλῆ τεφ ἔλασσον τῆς πυραμίδος, ὡς ἑμοὶ
BOOK II. 123–124

123. These Egyptian stories are for the use of whosoever believes such tales: for myself, it is my rule throughout this history that I record whatever is told me as I have heard it.

It is believed in Egypt that the rulers of the lower world are Demeter and Dionysus. Moreover, the Egyptians were the first to teach that the human soul is immortal, and at the death of the body enters into some other living thing then coming to birth; and after passing through all creatures of land, sea, and air (which cycle it completes in three thousand years) it enters once more into a human body at birth. Some of the Greeks, early and late, have used this doctrine as if it were their own; I know their names, but do not here record them.

124. Till the time of Rhampsinitus Egypt (so the priests told me) was in all ways well governed and greatly prospered, but Cheops, who was the next king, brought the people to utter misery. For first he shut up all the temples, so that none could sacrifice there; and next, he compelled all the Egyptians to work for him, appointing to some to drag stones from the quarries in the Arabian mountains to the Nile: and the stones being carried across the river in boats, others were charged to receive and drag them to the mountains called Libyan. They worked in gangs of a hundred thousand men, each gang for three months. For ten years the people were afflicted in making the road whereon the stones were dragged, the making of which road was to my thinking a task but a little lighter than the building of the pyramid.

1 Isis and Osiris.
2 The "Great Pyramid."
δοκεῖν τῇς μὲν γὰρ μήκος εἰσὶ πέντε στάδιοι, εὐρὸς δὲ δέκα ὀργυαὶ, ὕψος δὲ, τῇ ὑψηλότατῃ ἐστὶ αὐτῇ ἐωτῆς, ὀκτὼ ὀργυαὶ, λῖθου δὲ ἔστοι καὶ ἔστων ἐγγεγελυμένων ταύτης τε ὅτι τὰ δέκα ἔτεε γενέσθαι καὶ τῶν ἐπὶ τοῦ λόφου ἐπὶ οὖ ἐστὰσι αἱ πυραμίδες, τῶν ὕψοις οἰκειμένων, τὰς ἐποιεῖτο θῆκας ἐσωτῆρ ἐν νησίω, διώρυγα τοῦ Νείλου ἑσαγαγών. τῇ δὲ πυραμίδι αὐτῇ χρόνον γενέσθαι εἰκοσὶ ἐτεα ποιευμένη. τῆς ἐστὶ βαλανικὴ μετωπον ἐκαστον ὀκτὼ πλέθρα ἐσωτήρ τετράγωνον καὶ ὕψος ἵσου, λίθου δὲ ἔστοι τέ καὶ ἁρμοσμένοι τὰ μᾶλλα σὲ οὐδέστω τῶν λίθων τριήκοντα ποδῶν ἑλάσσων.

125. Ἐποιήσθη δὲ ἠδὲ αὐτῇ ἡ πυραμίς: ἀναβαθμῶν τρόπον, τὰς μετεξέτεροι κρόσσας οἱ δὲ βωμίδας ὑομάξουσιν, τοιαύτην τὸ πρώτον ἐπείτε ἐποίησαν αὐτήν, ἤειρον τοὺς ἔπιλοιποὺς λίθους μηχανῆς ξύλων βραχέων πεποιημένης, χαμάθεν μὲν ἐπὶ τὸν πρώτον στοιχὼν τῶν ἀναβαθμῶν ἀείροντες· οἴκως δὲ ἀνίοι ὁ λίθος ἐπὶ αὐτῶν, ἐς ἐτερὴν μηχανήν ἐπιθέτο ἐστεδῶσαν ἐπὶ τοῦ πρῶτον στοιχὼν, ἀπὸ τοῦτον δὲ ἐπὶ τῶν δεύτερον ἐλήκτο στοιχὼν ἐπὶ ἄλλης μηχανῆς· ὅσοι γὰρ δὴ στοιχοὶ ἦσαν τῶν ἀναβαθμῶν, τοσοῦτοι καὶ μηχαναὶ ἦσαν, εἰτε καὶ τὴν αὐτὴν μηχανήν ἐσώσαν μιᾶν τε καὶ εὐθάστακτον μετεφόρεσιν ἐπὶ στοιχὸν ἐκαστον, οἴκως τοῦ λίθου ἐξέλοιεν λέλεχθω γὰρ ἡμῶν ἐπὶ ἀμφότερα, κατὰ περ λέγεται. ἔλεξεν ἐξετερήθη ὅτι ἀνώτατα αὐτῆς πρῶτα, μετὰ δὲ τὰ ἐχθέμα τούτων ἐξεποίησεν, τελευταῖα δὲ αὐτῆς τὰ ἐπίγαια καὶ τὰ κατωτάτα ἐξεποίησαν. σασημαντεὶ δὲ διὰ γραμμάτων Αἰγυπτίων ἐν τῇ πυρα
for the road is five furlongs long, and ten fathoms broad, and raised at its highest to a height of eight fathoms, and it is all of stone polished and carven with figures. The ten years aforesaid went to the making of this road and of the underground chambers on the hill whereon the pyramids stand; these the king meant to be burial-places for himself, and encompassed them with water, bringing in a channel from the Nile. The pyramid itself was twenty years in the making. Its base is square, each side eight hundred feet long, and its height is the same; the whole is of stone polished and most exactly fitted; there is no block of less than thirty feet in length.

125. This pyramid was made like a stairway with tiers, or steps. When this, its first form, was completed, the workmen used levers made of short wooden logs to raise the rest of the stones; they heaved up the blocks from the ground on to the first tier of steps; when the stone had been so raised it was set on another lever that stood on the first tier, and a lever again drew it up from this tier to the next. It may be that there was a new lever on each tier of the steps, or perhaps there was but one lever, and that easily lifted, which they carried up to each tier in turn, when they had taken out the stone; I leave this uncertain, both ways being told me. But this is certain, that the upper part of the pyramid was the first finished off, then the next below it, and last of all the base and the lowest part. There are writings on the pyramid

1 That is, the stones which were to fill up the angles of the steps, and make the side of the pyramid a smooth inclined plane. The pyramids built by Cheops, Chephren, and Mycerinus respectively are the pyramids of Gizeh, near Cairo.

2 Or, "in."
μίδι ὁσα ἐς τε συμμαίναν καὶ κρόμμαν καὶ σκόροδα ἀνασιμόθη τοιαὶ ἐργαζόμενοισι· καὶ ὡς ἐμὲ ἐν μεμήνθαι τὰ ὁ ἐρμηνεύς μοι ἐπιλεγόμενος τὰ γράμματα ἔφη, ἐξακόσια καὶ χίλια τάλαντα ἀργυρίου τετελέσθαι. εἰ δ' ἐστὶ οὖτω ἔχοντα ταύτα, κόσα οἰκὸς ἄλλα δεδαπανήσθαι ἐστὶ ἔς τε σίδηρον τῷ ἐργαζόντο καὶ σιτία καὶ ἐσθήτα τοῖς ἐργαζόμενοις, ὁκότε χρόνον μὲν οἰκοδόμευν τὰ ἔργα τὸν εἰρημένον, ἀλλον δὲ, ὡς ἐγὼ δοκεῖο, ἐν τῷ τούς λίθους ἔταμνον καὶ ἤγαν καὶ τὸ ὑπὸ γῆν ὀργυμα ἐργαζόντο, οὐκ ὀλίγον χρόνον.

126. Ἐς τούτῳ δὲ ἐλθεῖν Χέσπα κακότητος ὡστε χρημάτων δεόμενον τὴν θυγατέρα τὴν ἐωτοῦ κατίσαντα ἐπὶ οἰκήματος προστάζει πρήσσεσθαι ἀργυρίου ὀκόσον δὴ τῷ οὐ γὰρ δὴ τοῦτο γε ἔλεγον. τὴν δὲ τὰ τε ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς ταχθέντα πρήσσεσθαι, ἰδίῃ δὲ καὶ αὐτὴν διανοήσει μνημήνιον καταλιπέσθαι, καὶ τοῦ ἐσίοντος πρὸς αὐτὴν ἐκάστου δέσθαι ὅκως ἀν αὐτὴ ἓνα λίθον ἐν τοῖς ἐργασίᾳ διωρέσοι, ἐκ τούτων δὲ τῶν λίθων ἐφασαν τὴν πυραμίδα οἰκοδομηθῆναι τὴν ἐν μέσῳ τῶν τριῶν ἐστηκίναι, ἐμπροσθε τῆς μεγάλης πυραμίδος, τῆς ἐστὶ τὸ κώλου ἐκαστὸν ὅλων καὶ ἡμίσεως πλέθρου.

127. Βασιλεύσας δὲ τῶν Χέσπα τούτων Ἀγάπτηιον ἔλεγον πεντήκοντα ἑτεα, τελευτήσαντος δὲ τούτων ἐκδεξασθαί τὴν βασιλην τῶν ἀδελφῶν αὐτῶν Χεφῆνα· καὶ τούτων δὲ τῷ αὐτῶ τρόπῳ διαχράσθαι τῷ ἑτερῳ τὰ τε ἄλλα καὶ πυραμίδα ποιῆσαι, ἐς μὲν τὰ ἑκεῖνον μέτρα οὐκ ἀνήκουσαν ταύτα γὰρ ὅν καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐμετρήσαμεν· (οὔτε γὰρ ὑπὲστι οἰκήματα ὑπὸ γῆν, οὔτε ἐκ τοῦ Νείλου.
in Egyptian characters showing how much was spent on purges and onions and garlic for the workmen; and so far as I well remember, the interpreter when he read me the writing said that sixteen hundred talents of silver had been paid. Now if that is so, how much must needs have been expended on the iron with which they worked, and the workmen's food and clothing? seeing that the time aforesaid was spent in building, and the hewing and carrying of the stone and the digging out of the underground parts was, as I suppose, a business of long duration.

126. And so evil a man was Cheops that for lack of money he made his own daughter to sit in a chamber and exact payment (how much, I know not; for they did not tell me this). She, they say, doing her father's bidding, was minded to leave some memorial of her own, and demanded of everyone who sought intercourse with her that he should give one stone to set in her work; and of these stones was built the pyramid that stands midst of the three, over against the great pyramid; each side of it measures one hundred and fifty feet.

127. Cheops reigned (so the Egyptians said) for fifty years; at his death he was succeeded by his brother Chephren, who bore himself in all respects like Cheops. Chephren also built a pyramid, of a less size than his brother's. I have myself measured it. It has no underground chambers, nor is it entered
διώρυξ οὐκ εἰς αὐτὴν ὁσπέρ ἐς τὴν ἔτερην ρέουσα·
ὅτε οἰκοδομημένον δὲ αὐλῶνος ἑσούντων περιπρέπει,
ἐν τῇ αὐτῶν λέγουσι κεῖσθαι Χέοτα', ὑποδείμας
δὲ τοῦ πρῶτου ὅμων Χίδου Αἰθιοπικοῦ ποικίλου,
τεσσεράκοντα πόδας ὑποβάς τῆς ἔτερης τῶντό μέ-
γαθος, ἐχομένη τῆς μεγάλης οἰκοδόμησε. ἐστάσι
dὲ ἐπὶ λόφου τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἁμφότεραι, μάλιστα ἐς
ἐκατὸν πόδας ύψηλον. βασιλεύσαι δὲ ἐλεγον
Χεφρήνα ἐς καὶ πεντήκοντα ἑτεα.
128. Ταῦτα ἐς τε καὶ ἐκατὸν λογίζονται ἑτεα,
ἐν τοῖς Αἰγυπτίοις τε πᾶσαν εἶναι κακότητα
cαὶ τὰ ἱρὰ χρόνον τοσοῦτον κατακλησθέντα ὅκ
ἀνατεθήναι. τούτους ὑπὸ μίσεος οὐ κάρτα θέλουσι
Ἀγυπτίων ὄνομαζεθ, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰς πυραμίδας
cαλέουσι μοιμένος Φιλίτιος, ὅς τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον
ἐνεμε κτήνεα κατὰ ταῦτα τὰ χωρία.
129. Μετὰ δὲ τοῦτον βασιλεύσαι Αἰγυπτίων
Μυκερίνον ἐλεγον Χέοτος παῖδα· τῷ τὰ μὲν τοῦ
πατρὸς ἔργα ἀπαδεῖν, τὸν δὲ τὰ τε ἱρὰ ἀνοίξαι
καὶ τὸν λεών τετρυμένον ἐς τὸ ἐσγατόν κακοῦ
ἀνεῖναι πρὸς ἔργα τε καὶ θυσίας, δικαῖς δὲ σφι
πάντων βασιλείων δικαιώτατα κρίνειν, κατὰ τοῦτο
μὲν νῦν τὸ ἔργον ἀπάντων ὅσοι ἤδη βασιλεῖς
ἐγένοντο Αἰγυπτίων αἰνεύοντι μάλιστα τοῦτον. τὰ
tε ἀλλὰ γάρ μὲν κρίνειν εὑ, καὶ δὴ καὶ τῷ ἐπιμε-
φομένῳ ἐκ τῆς δίκης παρ' ἑωτοῦ διδότα ἀλλὰ
ἀποπιμπλάναι αὐτοῦ τὸν θυμόν. ἔοντε δὲ ἡπίῳ τῷ
Μυκερίνῳ κατὰ τους πολίτας καὶ ταῦτα ἐπιτη-
dεύοντε πρῶτον κακῶν ἄρξαι τὴν θυγατέρα ἀπο-
θανοῦσαι αὐτοῦ, τὴν μοῦνον οἱ εἶναι εὖ τοὺς
οἰκίοις τέκνον. τὸν δὲ ὑπεραληθεύσαντα τε τῷ
like the other by a canal from the Nile, but the river comes in through a built passage and encircles an island, in which, they say, Cheops himself lies. This pyramid was built of the same bigness as the other, save that it falls forty feet short of it in height; it stands near to the great pyramid; the lowest layer of it is of variegated Ethiopian stone. Both of them stand on the same ridge, which is about an hundred feet high. Chephren, they said, reigned for fifty-six years.

128. Thus they reckon that for a hundred and six years Egypt was in great misery and the temples so long shut were never opened. So much do the people hate the memory of these two kings that they do not greatly wish to name them, and call the pyramids after the shepherd Philitis, who then pastured his flocks in this place.¹

129. The next king of Egypt, they said, was Cheops' son Mycerinus. He, being displeased with his father's doings, opened the temples and suffered the people, now ground down to the depth of misery, to go to their business and their sacrifices; and he was the justest judge among all the kings. It is on this account that he is praised beyond all the rulers of Egypt; for not only were his judgments just, but if any were not contented with the sentence Mycerinus would give such an one a present out of his own estate to satisfy him for his loss. Such was his practice, and so he ruled his people with clemency, yet calamities befel him, of which the first was the death of his daughter, the only child of his household. Greatly grieving

¹ This is the form which Hdt. gives to the story of the rule of the "shepherd" (Hyksos) in Lower Egypt, perhaps from 2100 to 1600 B.C.
περιεπτώκεε πρήγματι, καὶ Βουλόμενον περισ-
σώτερόν τι τῶν ἄλλων θάψαι τὴν θυγατέρα,
ποιήσασθαι βοῦν ξυλίνην κοίλην, καὶ ἔπειτα
καταχρυσώσαμετά μιν ταύτην ἑσώ ἐν αὐτῇ θάψαι
tαύτην δῆ τὴν ἀποθανοῦσαν θυγατέρα.

130. Αὕτη ὅν ἡ βοῦς γῆ οὐκ ἐκρύβθη, ἀλλ' ἐτι
καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ ἦν φανερή, ἐν Σάι μὲν πόλι ἐσοῦσα,
κειμένη δὲ ἐν τοῖς βασιληοίσι ἐν οἰκήματε ἱσκη-
μένοις θυμήματα δὲ παρ' αὕτῃ παιτοῖα κατα-
γίζουσι ἀνὰ πᾶσαν ἡμέρην, νῦκτα δὲ ἐκάστην
πάνυνχος λύχνος παρακαίτεαι. ἄγχοι δὲ τῆς
βοῦς ταύτης ἐν ἄλλω οἰκήματε εἰκόνες τῶν παλ-
λακέων τῶν Μυκερίνου ἐστάσι, ὡς ἔλεγον οἱ ἐν
Σάι πόλι ἱρέες. ἔστάσι μὲν γὰρ ξυλίναι κολοσσοί,
ἐστάσαι ἀριθμὸν ὡς εἰκοσὶ μάλιστα κη, γημναί
ἐργασίαν αἰτίνες μὲντοι εἰσί, οὐκ ἕχω εἰπεῖν
πλῆν ἡ τὰ λεγόμενα.

131. Οἱ δὲ τινὲς λέγουσι περὶ τῆς βοῦς ταύτης
καὶ τῶν κολοσσῶν τούδε τῶν λόγων, ὡς Μυκερίνος
ἡράσθη τῆς ἐσωτεροθῃ θυγατρός καὶ ἔπειτα ἐμίγη οἱ
ἀεικόνας μετὰ δὲ λέγουσι ὡς ἡ παῖς ἀπηγξατο
ὑπὸ ἄχεος, δὲ μὲν ἔβαψε ἐν τῇ βοί ταύτη, ἡ δὲ
μήτηρ αὐτῆς τῶν ἀμφίπολων τῶν προδοσεόν
τὴν θυγατέρα τῷ πατρὶ ἀπέταμε τὰς χειρας, καὶ
νῦν τὰς εἰκόνας αὐτῶν εἶναι πεπουθιάς τὰ περ
αἰ ᾧαί ἐπαθοῦν. ταύτα δὲ λέγουσι φλυπρέοντες,
ὡς ἔγου δοκέω, τὰ τὰ ἀλλὰ καὶ δὴ καὶ τὰ περὶ τὰς
χειρας τῶν κολοσσῶν ταύτας γὰρ ὅν καὶ ἥμεῖς
όρωμεν ὅτι ὑπὸ χρόνον τὰς χειρας ἀποβεβλη-
κασί, αἰ ἐν ποσὶ αὐτῶν ἐφαίνοντο ἐσοῦσαι ἐτί καὶ
ἐς ἐμὲ.

132. Ἡ δὲ βοῦς τὰ μὲν ἄλλα κατακέκρυπται
over this misfortune, he desired to give her a burial something more excellent than ordinary; he made therefore a hollow cow's image of gilded wood and placed therein the body of his dead daughter.

130. This cow was not buried in the earth but was to be seen even in my time, in the town of Sais, where it lay in an adorned chamber of the palace; incense of all kinds is offered daily before it, and a lamp burns by it all through every night. There is another chamber near to this image, where stand the statues of Mycerinus' concubines, as the priests of Sais told me; and indeed there are about twenty colossal wooden figures there, made like naked women, but I have only the priests' word to show who they are.

131. Some have a story about the cow and the statues, how Mycerinus conceived a passion for his own daughter and did her soul wrong, and she strangled herself for grief: then he buried her, they say, in this image of a cow; the girl's mother cut off the hands of the attendants who had betrayed the daughter to her father, so that now (it is said) their statues are in the plight to which the living women were brought. But this I believe to be a foolish tale, especially as respects the hands of the figures. As we ourselves saw, it is time which has made the hands to drop away; they were to be seen even in my day lying on the ground before the statues.

132. As for the cow, it is covered with a purple
HERODOTUS

φοινικέω εἴματι, τὸν αὐχένα δὲ καὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν
φαίνει κεχρυσωμένα παχές κάρτα χρυσῆ, μεταξὺ
dὲ τῶν κερέων ὁ τοῦ ἡλίου κύκλος μεμιμημένος
ἐπεστὶ χρύσεος. ἐστὶ δὲ ἡ βούς οὐκ ὀρθή ἀλλ
ἐν γούνασι κειμένη, μέγαθος δὲ ὁσὴ περὶ μεγάλη
βοῦς ξωὴ. ἐκφέρεται δὲ ἐκ τοῦ οἰκήματος ἀνὰ
πάντα ἔτεα, ἐπειν τύπτωνται Λιγυπτιοὶ τὸν οὐκ
ὄνομοκόμουν θεὸν ὑπ’ ἐμεῖ ἐπὶ τοιοῦτο πρήγματι,
tοῦτε δὲ καὶ τὴν βοῦν ἐκφέρουσί εἰς τὸ φῶς: φασὶ
γὰρ αὐτὴν δεσθῆναι τοῦ πατρὸς Μυκερίνου ἀπο-
θυνήσκουσαν ἐν τῷ ἐνιαυτῷ ἄπαξ μὲν τὸν ἡλίον
κατιδεῖν.

133. Μετὰ δὲ τῆς θυγατρὸς τὸ πάθος δεύτερα
tοῦτο τῷ βασιλεῖ τάδε γενέσθαι· ἐλθεῖν οἱ
μαντήιοι εἰς Βουνοὺς πόλιος ὡς μέλλοι ἐξ ἔτεα
μοῦνον βιοὺς τῷ ἐξοδῷ τελευτήσειν. τὸν δὲ
δεινὸν ποιησάμενον πέμψαι εἰς τὸ μαντήιον τῷ
θεῷ οὐνδίσμα, ἀντιμεμφόμενον ὅτι ὁ μὲν αὐτὸν
πατὴρ καὶ πατρός, ἀποκλησάντες τὰ ἱρὰ καὶ
θεῶν οὐ μεμυμένοι ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους
φθείρουτε, ἐβίωσαν χρόνων ἐπὶ πολλῶν, αὐτὸς
δὲ εὐσεβὴς ἐὼν μέλλοι ταχέως οὕτω τελευτήσειν.
ἐκ δὲ τοῦ χρυστηρίου αὐτὸ δεύτερα ἐλθεῖν
λέγουτα τοῦτον εἰνεκα καὶ συνταχύσειν αὐτὸν
τὸν βλοῦν οὐ γὰρ ποιῆσαι μὲν τὸ χρεόν ἢ
ποιεῖν δὲν γὰρ Λιγυπτοὺς κακοῦσθαι ἐπὶ ἔτεα
πεντήκοντα τε καὶ ἐκατὸν, καὶ τὸς μὲν δύο τοὺς
πρὸ ἐκάινον γενωμένους βασιλέας μαθεῖν τοῦτο,
κεῖνον δὲ οὐ. ταῦτα ἀκούσαντα τὸν Μυκερίνου,
ὡς κατακεκριμένων ἥδη ἀν γούτων, λύχνα ποιη-
σάμενον πολλά, οἷος γάρ νῦν ἦν, ἀνάψαντα

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robe, and shows only the head and neck, which are encrusted with a very thick layer of gold. Between its horns it bears the golden figure of the sun's orb. It does not stand, but kneels; its stature is that of a live cow of great size. This image is carried out of the chamber once in every year, whenever the Egyptians make lamentation for the god whom I name not in speaking of these matters; it is then that the cow is brought out into the light, for Mycerinus' daughter, they say, entreated him at her death that she might see the sun once a year.¹

133. After the grievous death of his daughter, it next happened to Mycerinus that an oracle was sent to him from the city of Buto, declaring that he had but six years to live and must die in the seventh. The king deemed this unjust, and sent back to the oracle a message of reproach, blaming the god: why must he die so soon who was pious, whereas his father and his uncle had lived long, who shut up the temples, and regarded not the gods, and destroyed men? But a second utterance from the place of divination declared to him that his good deeds were the very cause of shortening his life; for he had done what was contrary to fate; Egypt should have been afflicted for an hundred and fifty years, whereof the two kings before him had been aware, but not Mycerinus. Hearing this, he knew that his doom was fixed. Therefore he caused many lamps to be made, and would light these at nightfall and drink and make

¹ The cow-worship is no doubt the cult of Isis, honoured at Sais under the name Nit.
αὐτὰ πίνειν τε καὶ εὐπαθέων, οὔτε ἡμέρης οὔτε νυκτός ἀνιέντα, ἐς τε τὰ ἔλεα καὶ τὰ ἅλσεα πλανόμενον καὶ ἵνα πυθάνοιτο εἰναι ἐνηβητήρια ἐπιτηδεύτατα. ταύτα δὲ ἐμηχανάτο θέλων τὸ μαντήμον ψευδόμενον ἀποδέξαι, ἵνα οἱ δυνάμεικα ἐτεα ἀντὶ ἐξ ἐτέων γένηται, αἱ νύκτες ἡμέραι ποιεῖμεναι.

134. Πυραμίδα δὲ οὕτοις ἀπελίπετο πολλῶν ἑλάσσω τοῦ πατρός, εἰκοσι ποδῶν καταδέουσαν κώλων ἐκαστὸν τριῶν πλέθρων, εὑσῆς τετραγώνου, λίθου δὲ ἐς τὸ ἡμαυ Αἰθιοπικοῦ· τὴν δὴ μετεξέτεροι φασὶ Ἑλλήνων Ῥοδώπιος ἑταίρης γυναικὸς εἶναι, οὐκ ὀρθῶς λέγοντες· οὐδὲ ὅτι οὐδὲ εἰδότες, μοι φαίνονται λέγειν ὅτι ὅτι ἡ Ῥοδώπις· οὐ γὰρ ἂν οἱ πυραμίδα ἀνέδεσαν ποιήσασθαι τοιαύτην, ἐς τὴν ταλάντων χειλῶδες ἀναρίθμητοι ὡς λόγῳ εἶπεν ἀναισμόωνται· πρὸς δὲ ὅτι κατὰ Αμασίγ βασίλευσαν ἡν ἁκμάζουσα Ῥοδώπις, ἀλλ’ οὐ κατὰ τούτον. ἔτεσι γὰρ κάρτα πολλῶν ὑπερον τούτων τῶν βασιλέων τῶν τάς πυραμίδας τάντας ἡν λεπομένων Ῥοδώπις, γεγενή μὲν ἀπὸ Ἐρημίκης, δούλη δὲ ἡν Ἰάδμονος τοῦ Ἡφαιστοπόλειος ἀνδρὸς Σαμίου, σύνδουλος δὲ Αἰσώπου τοῦ λογοποιοῦ. καὶ γὰρ οὕτως Ἰάδμονος ἐγένετο, ὡς διέδεξε τῇδε οὐκ ἡκιστα· ἐπείτε γὰρ πολλὰς κηρυσσότων Δελφῶν ἐκ θεοπροπίων ὁς βούλοιτο ποιήν τῆς Αἰσώπου ψυχῆς ἀνελέσθαι, ἀλλος μὲν οὐδεὶς ἐφάνη, Ἰάδμονος δὲ παιδὸς παῖς ἀλλος Ἰάδμον ἀνείλετο. οὕτω καὶ Αἰσώπος Ἰάδμονος ἐγένετο.

135. Ῥοδώπις δὲ ἐς Αἰγυπτοῦ ἀπίκετο Ξάνθεω τοῦ Σαμίου κομίσαντος, ἀπικομένη δὲ κατ’ ἐργασίν.
merry; by day or night he never ceased from reveling, roaming to the marsh country and the groves and wherever he heard of the likeliest places of pleasure. Thus he planned, that by turning night into day he might make his six years into twelve and so prove the oracle false.

134. This king too left a pyramid, but far smaller than his father's; its sides form a square whereof each side is two hundred and eighty feet in length; as far as the half of its height it is of Ethiopian stone. Some Greeks say that it was built by Rhodopis, the courtesan, but they are in error; indeed it is clear to me that when they say this they do not know who Rhodopis was, else they would never have credited her with the building of a pyramid whereon what I may call an uncountable sum of talents must have been expended. And it is a further proof of their error that Rhodopis flourished in the reign of Amasis, not of Mycerinus, and thus very many years after these kings who built the pyramids. She was a Thracian by birth, slave to Iadmon, son of Hephaestopolis, a Samian, and fellow-slave of Aesopus the story-writer. For he also was owned by Iadmon; of which the chiefest proof is that when the Delphians, obeying an oracle, issued many proclamations inviting whosoever would to claim the penalty for the killing of Aesopus, none would undertake it but only another Iadmon, grandson of the first. Thus was Aesopus too shown to be the slave of Iadmon.

135. Rhodopis was brought to Egypt by Xánthes of Samos, and on her coming was for a great sum of
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δὲ λόθη χρημάτων μεγάλων ὑπὸ ἀνδρὸς Μυτιληναίου Χαράξου τοῦ Σκαμανδριώτου παιδὸς, ἀδελφοῦ δὲ Σαπφοῦς τῆς μουσώτου. οὐτὼ δὲ ἡ Ροδώπης ἐλευθερώθη, καὶ κατέμεινε τε ἐν Ἀιγύπτῳ καὶ κάρτα ἑπαφρόδιτος γενομένη μεγάλα ἐκτῆσατο χρήματα ώς ἄν εἶναι Ροδώπη, ἀτὰρ οὐκ ὡς γε ἐς πυραμίδᾳ τοιαύτῃν ἔξικεσθαι. τῆς γὰρ τὴν δεκάτην τῶν χρημάτων ἴδεσθαί ἐστὶ ἐτὶ καὶ ἐς τὸδε παυτὶ τὸ βουλομένῳ, οὐδὲν δὲι μεγάλα οὐ χρήματα ἀναθείναι. ἐπεθύμησε γὰρ Ροδώπης μπομμίον ἔωυτῆς ἐν τῇ Ἐλλάδι καταλιπέσθαι, ποίημα ποιησμένη τούτῳ τῷ μὴ τυχαίνοι ἄλλῳ ἔξευρημένον καὶ ἀνακείμενον ἐν ἱρῷ, τούτῳ ἀναθείναι ἐς Δελφοὺς μπομμόσυνον ἔωυτῆς. τῆς ὡς δεκάτης τῶν χρημάτων ποιησμένη ὀβελοῦς βουτόρους πολλοὺς σιδηρέους, ὅσον ἐνεχθεὶ ἡ δεκάτη ἵ, ἀπέπεμπε ἐς Δελφοὺς· οὐ καὶ νῦν ἔτει συμμεταῖς τῇ αὐτῇ τοῖοι τῶν Χίου ἀνέδεσαν, ἀντίον δὲ αὐτῷ τοῦ νηπίου. φιλέουσι δὲ καὶ νῦν τῇ Ναυκράτῃ ἑπαφρόδιτοι γίνεσθαι οἱ ἐταῖραι. τούτῳ μὲν γὰρ αὐτῇ, τῆς πέρι λέγεται ὅδε ὁ λόγος, οὕτω δὴ τῇ κλεινῇ ἐγένετο ὡς καὶ τοῖς πάντες Ἕλληνες Ὁρὸπιος τὸ σύνομα ἐξεμαθῶν τοῦτῳ δὲ ὑστερον ταύτης, τῇ σύνομῳ Ἰωνία Ἀρχαῖα, ἀοίδιμος ἀνὰ τὶ τὴν Ἐλλάδα ἐγένετο, ἦσον δὲ τῆς ἑτέρης περιλεξχέντως. Ἱαράξος δὲ ὡς λυσάμενος Ὁρὸπιος ἀπενύστησε ἐς Μυτιληνὴν, ἐν μέλει Σαπφοῦ πολλὰ κατεκτήσατο μὲν.

136. Ὁρὸπιος μὲν τὸν πέρι πεπαυμαί, μετὰ δὲ Μυκερίνου γενέσθαι Ἀιγύπτου βασιλέα ἐλεγον οἱ ἱέτε Ἀσυρίαν, τὸν τὰ πρὸς ἥλιον ἀνίσχοντα ποιῆσαι τῷ Ἡφαίστῳ προπύλαια, ἐόντα πολλῷ

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money freed for the practice of her calling by Charaxus of Mytilene, son of Scamandronymus and brother of Sappho the poetess. Thus Rhodopis was set free and abode in Egypt, where, her charms becoming well known, she grew wealthy enough for a lady of her profession, but not for the building of such a pyramid. Seeing that to this day anyone who wishes may know what was the tenth part of her possessions, she cannot be credited with great wealth. For Rhodopis desired to leave a memorial of herself in Greece, by having something made which no one else had contrived and dedicated in a temple and presenting this at Delphi to preserve her memory; so she spent the tenth part of her substance on the making of a great number of iron ox-spits, as many as the tithe would pay for, and sent them to Delphi; these lie in a heap to this day, behind the altar set up by the Chians and in front of the shrine itself. It seems that the courtesans of Naukratis ever have the art of pleasing, for the woman of whom this story is told became so famous that all Greeks knew the name of Rhodopis, and in later days one Archidice was the theme of song throughout Greece, albeit less spoken of than the other. Charaxus, after giving Rhodopis her freedom, returned to Mytilene and was bitterly attacked by Sappho in one of her poems.

136. Enough has been said of Rhodopis. After Mycerinus, said the priests, Asuchis became king of Egypt. He built the eastern outer court of Hephaestus' temple; this is by much the tairest and
τε κάλλιστα καὶ πολλῷ μέγιστα: ἔχει μὲν γὰρ καὶ τὰ πάντα προσπύλαια τύπους τε ἐγγεγειλμένους καὶ ἄλλην ὅψιν οἰκοδομημάτων μυρίν, ἐκείνα δὲ καὶ μακρὸ μάλιστα. ἔτι τούτοι βασιλεύοντος ἔλεγον, ἀμβίνης έσούσης πολλῆς χρημάτων, γενέσθαινόμοι τιναίσι, ἀποδεκινύντα ἐνεχυρον τοῦ πατρὸς τὸν νέκυν οὐτῳ λαμβάνειν τὸ χρεός· προσεθήναι δὲ ἔτι τούτῳ τῷ νόμῳ τόνδε, τὸν διδόντα τὸ χρέος καὶ ἀπάσης κρατεῖν τῆς τοῦ λαμβάνοντος θήκης, τῷ δὲ ὑποτιθέντω τούτῳ τὸ ἐνεχυρον τῆνδε ἐπείναι ξημίνη μὴ βουλομένῳ ἀποδοῦναι τὸ χρέος, μήτε αὐτῷ ἐκείνῳ τελευτήσαντει εἶναι ταφῆς κυρίεσθαι μήτ' ἐν ἐκείνῳ τῷ πατραίῳ τάφῳ μήτ' ἐν ἄλλῳ μηδενί, μήτε ἄλλῳ μηδένα τῶν ἔως του ἀπωγενομένου θάψαι. ὑπερβαλέσθαι δὲ βουλόμενον τούτων τοῦ βασιλέα τοὺς πρότερον ἔως του βασιλέας γενομένοις Ἀιγύπτων μνημόσυνον πυραμίδα λιπέσθαι ἐκ πλίνθων ποιήσαντα, ἐν τῇ γράμματα ἐν λίθῳ ἐγκεκολαμμένα τάδε λέγοντα ἑστὶ. ὥς μὲ κατονοσθής πρὸς τὰς λιθίνας πυραμίδας· προέχω γὰρ αὐτόν τοσοῦτον ὅσον ὁ Ζεὺς τῶν ἄλλων θεῶν. κοντῷ γὰρ ὑποτυπτοῦστε ἐς Λήμνην, δὲ τι πρόσχοκτο τὸν πηλόν τῷ κοντῷ, τοῦτο συλλέγοντες πλίθους εἰρύσαν καὶ μὲ τρόπῳ τοιοῦτο ἐξεποίησαν.

137. Τούτων μὲν τοσαῦτα ἀποδέξασθαι. μετὰ δὲ τούτων βασιλεύσαι ἄνδρα τυφλὸν ἐξ Ἀνυσίων πόλιος, τῷ σύνομα "Ἀνυσίν εἶναι. ἔτι τούτων βασιλεύοντος ἐλάσαι επ' Ἀιγύπτων κειρὶ πολλῆς Αἰθιοπᾶς τε καὶ Σαβακῶν τῶν Αἰθιόπων βασιλέων. τὸν μὲν δὴ τυφλὸν τούτων οἴχεσθαι φεύγοντα ἐς γὰ ἐλεα, τὸν δὲ Αἰθιοπαβασιλεύειν Αἰγύπτων.
largest of all the courts, for while all have carven figures and innumerable graces of architecture, this court has far more than any. In this king’s reign as they told me, money in Egypt passed not readily from hand to hand; wherefore a law was made that a man might borrow on the security of his father’s dead body; and the law provided also, that the lender should have a lien on the whole burial-vault of the borrower, and that the penalty for the giver of this security, should he fail to repay the debt, should be that he might neither himself be buried at death nor bury any deceased of his kin either in that tomb of his fathers nor in any other. Moreover, being desirous of excelling all who ruled Egypt before him, this king left a pyramid of brick to commemorate his name, on which is this writing, cut on a stone:—“Deem me not less than the pyramids of stone; for I am as much more excellent than they as Zeus is than the other gods; for they struck a pole down into a marsh and collected what mud clave to the pole; therewith they made bricks, and thus was I built.”

137. These were the acts of Asuchis. After him reigned a blind man called Anysis, of the town of that name. In his reign Egypt was invaded by Sabacos king of Ethiopia and a great army of Ethiopians. The blind man fleeing away into the marshes, the Ethiopians ruled Egypt for fifty years. It is

1 In Manetho’s list three Ethiopian kings form the twenty-fifth dynasty, Sabacon, Sebichos, and Taracos (the Tirhaka of the Old Testament).
ἐπ' ἐτεα πεντήκοντα, ἐν τοῖς αὐτὸν τάδε ἀποδέξασθαι· ὅκως τῶν τις Αἰγυπτίων ἄμαρτοι τι, κτείνειν μὲν αὐτῶν οὐδένα ἐθέλειν, τὸν δὲ κατὰ μέγαθος τοῦ ἀδικήματος ἐκάστῳ δικάζειν ἐπιτάσσοντα χώματα χοῦν πρὸς τῇ ἐωτῶν πόλι, οὔθεν ἐκατός Ὠ ἐν τῶν ἀδικεόντων, καὶ οὕτω ἔτι αἱ πόλεις ἐγένοντο ὑψηλότεραι· τὸ μὲν γὰρ πρῶτον ἔχωσθαν ὑπὸ τῶν ταῖς διώρυγας ὀρυζώνων ἐπὶ Σεσώστριος Βασιλέως, δεύτερα δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ Αιδίοπος καὶ κάρτα ὑψηλαὶ ἐγένοντο. ὕψηλων δὲ καὶ ἐτερέων γενομενέων ἐν τῇ Αἰγυπτίῳ πολίῳ, ὡς ἔμοι δοκεῖ, μαλιστα ἡ ἐν Βούβαστι πόλις ἐξεγόσθη, ἐν τῇ καὶ ἐρων ἐστὶν Βούβαστιος ἀξιαπηγητότατον μέγω μὲν γὰρ ἄλλα καὶ πολυδαπανώτερα ἐστὶ ἵππη, ἑσόπερ δὲ ἰδέσθαι οὐδὲν τούτου μάλλον. ἡ δὲ Βούβαστις κατὰ Ἑλλάδα γυλῶσαν ἐστὶν Ἀρτεμίς. 138. Τὸ δ' ἐρων αὐτῆς ὡδε ἔχει. πλὴν τῆς ἐσόδου τὸ ἄλλο νῆσος ἐστὶν· ἐκ γὰρ τοῦ Νεύλου διώρυγας ἐσέχουσι οὐ συμμισγοῦσαι ἀλλήλης, ἀλλ' ἄχρι τῆς ἐσόδου τοῦ ἑρων ἐκατέρθη ἐσέχει, η μὲν τῇ περιρρέουσα ἢ δὲ τῇ, εὔρος ἔσοβα ἐκατέρθη ἐκατὸν πόδων, δένδρεσι κατάςκιος. τὰ δὲ προπύλαια υψιοὺς μὲν δέκα ὀργυείων ἐστί, τῶποις δὲ ἐξαπήχεις ἐσκενάδατι αξίοις λόγου. ἐν δὲ ἐν μέσῃ τῇ πόλι τὸ ἐρων κατοράται πάντωθεν περιμένων· ἀτε γὰρ τῆς πόλεως μὲν ἐκκεχωσμένης υψοῦ, τοῦ δ' ἐρων οὐ κεκινημένον ὡς ἄρχηθεν ἐποιήθη, ἐσοπτῶν ἐστίν. περιθέει δὲ αὐτὸ αἷμασθη ἔργωγλυμμένη τῶποις, ἐστὶ δὲ ἐσωθαν ἀλον οἰδρέων μεγίζων πεπυτεμένων περὶ ὑπὸν μέγαν, ἐν τῷ δ' ὑγαλμα ἐνε' εὔρος δὲ καὶ μήκος τοῦ ἐρων πάντη σταδίου ἐστίν. κατὰ
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recorded in the history of his reign that he would never put to death any Egyptian wrongdoer, but sentenced all, according to the greatness of their offence, to raise embankments in the town of which each was a native. Thus the towns came to stand yet higher than before; for having been first built on embankments made by the diggers of the canals in the reign of Sesostris, they were yet further raised in the reign of the Ethiopian. Other Egyptian towns, to my thinking, were so dealt with, but the level of Bubastis was raised more than any. In this town there is a temple of Bubastis, and it is a building most worthy of note. Other temples are greater and more costly, but none pleasanter to the eye than this. Bubastis is, in the Greek language, Artemis.

138. I will now show the form of her temple: save for the entrance, it stands on an island; two separate channels approach it from the Nile, and after coming up to the entry of the temple, they run round it on opposite sides; each of them is an hundred feet wide, and overshadowed by trees. The outer court has a height of ten fathoms, and is adorned with notable figures six cubits high. The temple is in the midst of the city, the whole circuit of which commands a view down into it; for the city's level has been raised, but that of the temple has been left as it was from the first, so that it can be seen into from without. A stone wall, carven with figures, runs round it; within is a grove of very tall trees growing round a great shrine, wherein is the image of the goddess; the temple is a square, each side measuring a furlong.

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μὲν δὴ τὴν ἑσοδον ἐστραμένη ἐστὶ ὁδὸς λίθου ἐπὶ σταδίους τρεῖς μαλιστά κη, διὰ τῆς ἀγορῆς φέρουσα ἐς τὸ πρὸς ἡδν., εὐρος δὲ ὡς τεσσαρών πλέθρων· τῇ δὲ καὶ τῇ τῆς ὀδοῦ δενδρεα οὐρανοτήθηκεν πέφυκε· φέρει δὲ ἐς Ἑρμέω ἱρόν. τὸ μὲν δὴ ἱρόν τοῦτο οὐτω ἔχει.

139. Τέλος δὲ τῆς ἀπαλλαγῆς τοῦ Αἰθιοπος ὁδὲ ἔλεγον γενέσθαι· ὅψιν ἐν τῷ ὑπνῷ τοιημὸν ἴδοντα αὐτὸν οἰχεσθαι φεύγοντα· ἐδόκεε οἱ ἀνδρα ἑπιστάντα συμβουλεύειν τοὺς ἱρέας τοὺς ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ συλλέγαντα πάντας μέσους διαταμεῖν· ἴδοντα δὲ τὴν ὁψιν ταύτην λέγειν αὐτὸν ὡς πρόφασιν οἱ δοκεῖοι ταύτην τοὺς θεοὺς προδεικνύοντα· ἕνα ἀσεβήσας περὶ τὰ ἱρὰ κακὸν τῷ πρὸς θεῶν ἡ πρὸς ἀνθρώπων λάβοι· οὐκοι ποιήσειν ταῦτα, ἀλλὰ γὰρ οἱ ἔξεληλυθέναι τῶν χρυσῶν, οἰκόσων κεχρησθαί ἄρξαντα Αἰγύπτου ἐκχωρήσειν. ἐν γὰρ τῇ Αἰθιοπίᾳ ἐόρντι αὐτῷ τὰ μαντήμα, τούτοις χρεώνται Αἰθιοπεῖς, ἀνείλε ὡς δέοι αὐτὸν Αἰγύπτου βασιλεύσαι ἐτεα πεντήκοντα. ὡς ὁν ὁ χρόνος οὕτως ἔξη καὶ αὐτὸν ἡ ὁψις τοῦ ἐνυπνίου ἐπετάρασσε, ἐκώς ἀπαλλάσσετο ἐκ τῆς Αἰγύπτου ὁ Σαβακῶς.

140. 'Ως δὲ ἀρα οἰχεσθαι τοῦ Αἰθιοπα ἐξ Αἰγύπτου, αὐτες τῶν τυφλῶν ἄρχειν ἐκ τῶν ἑλέων ἀπικόμενον, ἐνθα πεντήκοντα ἐτεα νῆσου χώσας σπόδῳ τε καὶ γῆς οἰκε. ὡς γὰρ οἱ φοιτῶν σίτων ἁγοντας Αἰγυπτίων, ὡς ἐκάστοισιν προστετάχθαι, συνῇ τοῦ Αἰθιοπος, ἐς τὴν δωρεὴν κελεύειν σφέας καὶ σποδὸν κομίζειν. ταύτην τὴν νῆσου οὐδεὶς πρότερον ἐδυνάσθη Ἀμμαρταίον ἐξευρέων, ἀλλὰ ἐτεα ἐπὶ πλέω φη ἐπτακοσία οὐκ οἰοί τε ἃσιν
A road, paved with stone, of about three furlongs' length leads to the entrance, running eastward through the market place, towards the temple of Hermes; this road is about four hundred feet wide, and bordered by trees reaching to heaven. Such is this temple.

139. Now the departure of the Ethiopian (they said) was accomplished on this wise. He fled away from the country, having seen in a dream one who stood over him and counselled him to gather together all the priests in Egypt and cut them in sunder. Having seen this vision, he said that he supposed it to be a manifestation sent to him by the gods, that he might commit sacrilege and so be punished by gods or men; he would not (he said) act so, but otherwise, for the time foretold for his rule over Egypt, after which he was to depart, was now fulfilled: for when he was still in Ethiopia the oracles which are inquired of by the people of that country declared to him that he was fated to reign fifty years over Egypt. Seeing that this time was now completed and that he was troubled by what he saw in his dream, Sabacos departed from Egypt of his own accord.

140. The Ethiopian having left Egypt, the blind man (it is said) was king once more, returning from the marshes, where he had dwelt fifty years on an island which he built of ashes and earth; for the Egyptians, who were severally charged to bring him food without the Ethiopian's knowledge, were hidden by the king to bring ashes whenever they came, as their gift. This island was never discovered before the time of Amyrtaeus; all the kings before him sought it in vain.
αὐτὴν ἀνευρέιν οἱ πρῶτοι γενόμενοι βασιλέες Ἀμυρταίων, οὔνομα δὲ ταύτῃ τῇ νήσῳ Ἑλβῶ, μέγαθος δ' ἦστι πάντη δέκα σταδίων.

141. Μετὰ δὲ τούτων βασιλεύσαι τὸν ἱρέα τοῦ Ἡφαιστοῦ, τῷ οὖνομα εἶναι Σεθῶν τὸν ἐν ἀλογίσει ἔχειν παραχρησάμενον τῶν μαχιμῶν Ἀγυπτίων ὡς οὐδέν δεσμομενον αὐτῶν, ἀλλὰ τε ὃθεν ἄτιμα ποιεῖται ἐς αὐτοὺς, καὶ σφεῖς ἀπελέσθαι τὰς ἀροῦρας· τοιοὶ ἔπε τῶν πρῶτοι βασιλεῶν δεδομέναι ἐξαιρέτους ἐκάστῳ δυνάμει ἀροῦρας.

μετὰ δὲ ἐπ' Ἀγυπτῶν ἐλαύνειν στρατῶν μέγαν Σαναγάριβον βασιλέα Ἀραβῶν τε καὶ Ἀσσυρίων οὖκων ὅθεν ἐθέλειν τοὺς μαχιμους τῶν Ἀγυπτίων βοηθεῖν. τὸν δ' ἱρέα ἐς ἀποριέν ἀπελημένον ἐσελθόντα ἐς τὸ μέγαρον πρὸς τὸν γαλμα ἀποδύρεσθαι οία κεινυνεῖ παθεῖν. ὅλοφύρομεν δ' ἄρα μιν ἐπελθεῖν ὑπνον, καὶ οἱ δόξαι ἐν τῇ ὁθεν ἐπιστάντα τούς θεοὺς θαρσόνειν ὡς οὐδέν πείσεται ἄχαρι ἀντιαξῶν τὸν 'Αραβῶν στρατον' αὐτῶν γὰρ οἱ πέμψεις τιμωροῦσι. τούτους δὲ μιν πίσυνον τούς ἐνπνεύσι, παραλαβόντα Ἀγυπτίων τοὺς βουλομένους οἱ ἐπεσθαι, στρατοπεδεύσασθαι ἐν Πηλοσίων ταύτῃ γὰρ εἰσὶ αἱ ἐσβολαι· ἐπεσθαι δὲ οἱ τῶν μαχιμῶν μὲν οὐδένα ἀνδρῶν, κατηλουσι δὲ καὶ χειρωνακτας καὶ ἀγοραίους ἀνθρώπους. ἐνθαῦτα ἀπικομένοις 1 τοῦτο ἐναντίοις αὐτοῖς ἐπιχυθεῖται νυκτός μὲς ἀρουραίους κατὰ μὲν φαγεῖν τοὺς φαρετρεύωνας αὐτῶν κατὰ δὲ τὰ τόξα, πρὸς δὲ τῶν ἄσπιδων τὰ ὀχανα, ὡστε τῇ ὑστεραιᾳ.

1 Stein reads ἀπικομένους, and supposes a lacuna after ἐναντίοις; ἀπικομένοις has the best authority.
for more than seven hundred years. The name of it is Elbo, and it is ten furlongs long and of an equal breadth.

141. The next king was the priest of Hephaestus, whose name was Sethos. He despised and took no account of the warrior Egyptians, thinking he would never need them; besides otherwise dishonouring them, he took away the chosen lands which had been given to them, twelve fields to each man, in the reign of former kings. So presently came king Sanacharib\(^1\) against Egypt, with a great host of Arabians and Assyrians; and the warrior Egyptians would not march against him. The priest, in this quandary, went into the temple shrine and there bewailed to the god’s image the peril which threatened him. In his lamentation he fell asleep, and dreamt that he saw the god standing over him and bidding him take courage, for he should suffer no ill by encountering the host of Arabia: "Myself," said the god, "will send you champions." So he trusted the vision, and encamped at Pelusium with such Egyptians as would follow him, for here is the road into Egypt; and none of the warriors would go with him, but only hucksters and artificers and traders. Their enemies too came thither, and one night a multitude of fieldmice\(^2\) swarmed over the Assyrian camp and devoured their quivers and their bows and the handles of their shields likewise, inso-

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1 Sennacherib’s attack on Hezekiah of Judaea was made on his march to Egypt.—II Kings, xviii.

2 This is Hdt.’s version of the Jewish story of the pestilence which destroyed the Assyrian army before Jerusalem. Mice are a Greek symbol of pestilence; it is Apollo Smintheus (the mouse god) who sends and then stays the plague in Homer, II. i. It has long been known that rats are carriers of the plague.
HERODOTUS

Φευγόντων σφέων γυμνών πεσείν πολλούς. καὶ νῦν οὕτως ὁ βασιλέας ἐστηκε ἐν τῷ ἱρῷ τοῦ Ἡφαῖστου λίθων, ἔχων ἐπὶ τῆς χειρὸς μῦν, λέγων διὰ γραμμάτων τάδε: "Ες ἐμὲ τις ὄρεων εὐσεβής ἔστω.

142. Ἔσ μὲν τοσούτερο τοῦ λόγου Αἰγύπτιοι τε καὶ οἱ ἱέρες ἔλεγον, ἀποδεικνύντες ἀπὸ τοῦ πρῶτου βασιλέας ἐς τοῦ Ἡφαίστου τῶν ἱέρων τούτων τῶν τελευταίων βασιλεύσαντα μίαν τε καὶ τεσσεράκοντα καὶ τριηκοσίων γενεάς ἀνθρώπων γενομένας, καὶ ἐν ταῦτῃ ἄρχιερείᾳ καὶ βασιλείᾳ ἐκατέρω τοσούτως γενομένους. καίτοι τριηκοσίαι μὲν ἄνδρῶν γενεὰς δυνάμεναι μύρια ἔτεα· γενεάς γάρ τρεῖς ἄνδρῶν ἐκατόν ἔτεα ἐστὶ· μῆς δὲ καὶ τεσσεράκοντα ἐτε τῶν ἐπιλειπέντες γενεέων, αἱ ἐπίσημαι τῆς τριηκοσίης, ἐστὶ τεσσεράκοντα καὶ τριηκοσία καὶ χίλια ἔτεα. οὕτω ἐν μυρίοις τε έκτεσι καὶ χιλίοις καὶ τριηκοσίοις τε καὶ τεσσεράκοντα ἔλεγον θεῶν ἀνθρωποειδέα οὐδένα γενέσθαι· οὐ μέντοι οὐδὲ πρότερον οὐδὲ ύστερον ἐν τούτῳ ὑπολοίποις Αἰγύπτιοι βασιλεύσει γενομένοις ἔλεγον οὐδὲν τοιούτο. ἐν τούτων τούτω τῶν χρῶν τετράκις ἔλεγον ἐξ ἱδέων τῶν ἠλών ἀνατελλοντες· ἐνθα τὰ ὄντα τούτα τοῦ πολεμου σφιγνόμενα, οὕτω τὰ ἀμφί νοῦςον οὕτω τὰ κατὰ τοὺς βανάτους.

143. Πρότερον δὲ Ἐκαταίρω τοῦ λογοποιοῦ ἐν Θήβῃς γενελογησάντι ταῖς ἔως τοῦτον καὶ ἀναδησάντι τῆς πατρίδος ἐς ἐκκαίδεκατον θεῶν ἐποίησαν
much that they fled the next day unarmed and many fell. And at this day a stone statue of the Egyptian king stands in Hephaestus' temple, with a mouse in his hand, and an inscription to this effect: "Look on me, and fear the gods."

142. Thus far went the record given me by the Egyptians and their priests; and they showed me that the time from the first king to that priest of Hephaestus, who was the last, covered three hundred and forty-one generations of men, and that in this time such also had been the number of their kings, and of their high priests. Now three hundred generations make up ten thousand years, three generations being equal to a century. And over and above the three hundred the remaining forty-one cover thirteen hundred and forty years. Thus the whole sum is eleven thousand three hundred and forty years; in all which time (they said) they had had no king who was a god in human form, nor had there been any such thing either before or after those years among the rest of the kings of Egypt. Four times in this period (so they told me) the sun rose contrary to his wont; twice he rose where he now sets, and twice he set where now he rises; yet Egypt at these times underwent no change, neither in the produce of the river and the land, nor in the matter of sickness and death.

143. Hecataeus\(^1\) the historian was once at Thebes, where he made for himself a genealogy which connected him by lineage with a god in the sixteenth

\(^1\) Hecataeus died soon after the Persian war.
οι ἱερεῖς τοῦ Διός οὗν τι καὶ ἐμοὶ οὐ γενεθλογήσαντες ἐμεισθότες ἐστὶ τὸ μέγαρον ἕως ἑών μέγα ἐξηρίθμης ἔκεινθυςτες κολοσσοὺς ἦμισσσά δοσούσι περ ἐκπον ἄρχιερευός ἕνα ἐκαστός αὐτῶθι ἵστα ἐπὶ τῆς ἐντυτοῦ ζῆς ἐκόνα ἐστοι ἀριθμεῖτε ὃν καὶ ἔκεινθυςτες οἱ ἱερεῖς ἐμοὶ ἀπεδείκνυε σαν παῖδα πατρὸς ἐστοι ἐκαστόν ἐστα, ἐκ τοῦ ἀγχιστά ἀποθανόντος τῆς οἰκώνος δια μαίνεσιν, ἔως οὐ ἀπεδεῖξαν ἀπάσας αὐτας. Ἐκαταίρω δὲ γενεθλογήσαντες ἐστοι καὶ ἀναδύσατε ἐς ἐκκατάκατον ἔσω ἀντεγεθλογήσαν ἐπὶ τῇ ἀριθμήσει, οὐ δεκάραντοι παρ' αὐτῶθι ἀπὸ θεοῦ γενέσθαι αὐθρωπον ἀντεγεθλογήσαν δὲ ὅσος, φάμενοι ἐστα τῶν κολοσσῶν περιων ἐκ περιών γεγονέναι, ὡς οἱ πεντε καὶ τεσσαρίκοι τοις ἵκαστοι καὶ τρικασίας ἀπεδεῖξαν κολοσσοὺς περιων ἐκ περιών ἐκομαξίμενον, καὶ οὐτε οἱ θεοὶ οὕτε ἤρωι ἀνέκδησαν αὐτούς. περιώμεν δὴ ἐστὶ κατὰ Ἐλλάδα γλώσσαν καλὸς καγάθος.

144. Ἡδὴ ὅν τῶν αἰεικόνες ἦσαν, τοιοῦτοι ἀπεδείκνυε σφέας πάντας ἐστα, θεῶν δὲ πολλῶν ἀπαλλαγμένων, τὸ δὲ πρότερον τῶν ἀνδρῶν τούτων θεῶν ἐστὶς ὑπὸ τούτοις ἐν Αἰγυπτῷ ἀρχυσαν, οὐκ ἐστα ἀμα τούτος ἀνδρώποις, καὶ τούτων αἰεὶ ἐν τοῖς κράτεστως ἐστὶς θεσμοῦ δὲ αὐτῇ βασιλεύσαι Ὀμον τὸν Ὁσίριος παῖδα, τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα Ἐλληνας ὑμομάζουσι τούτων καταπαύσαντα Τυφώνα βασιλεύσαι ὑστατον Αἰγυπτου. Ὁσίρις δὲ ἐστὶ Διόνυσος κατὰ Ἐλλάδα γλώσσαν.

1 Whether we read ἐπομαξίμενον (with Stein) or περιωμένον (with the MSS.) the words do not accord with the construction of the sentence.
generation. But the priests did for him what they did for me (who had not traced my own lineage). They brought me into the great inner court of the temple and showed me there wooden figures which they counted up to the number they had already given, for every high priest sets there in his lifetime a statue of himself; counting and pointing to these, the priests showed me that each inherited from his father; they went through the whole tale of figures, back to the earliest from that of him who had lateliest died. Thus when Hecataeus had traced his descent and claimed that his sixteenth forefather was a god, the priests too traced a line of descent according to the method of their counting; for they would not be persuaded by him that a man could be descended from a god; they traced descent through the whole line of three hundred and forty-five figures, not connecting it with any ancestral god or hero, but declaring each figure to be a "Piromis" the son of a "Piromis," that is, in the Greek language, one who is in all respects a good man.

144. Thus they showed that all whose statues stood there had been good men, but wholly unlike gods. Before these men, they said, the rulers of Egypt were gods, but none had been contemporary with the human priests. Of these gods one or other had in succession been supreme; the last of them to rule the country was Osiris' son Horus, called by the Greeks Apollo; he deposed Typhon,¹ and was the last divine king of Egypt. Osiris is, in the Greek language, Dionysus.

¹ Typhon is the Egyptian Set, the god of destruction.
145. 'Εν "Ελλησι μὲν νυν νεώτατοι τῶν θεῶν νομίζονται εἰναι Ἡρακλέης τε καὶ Διόνυσος καὶ Πάν, παρ' Ἀιγυπτίοις δὲ Πάν μὲν ἀρχαιότατος καὶ τῶν ὄκτω τῶν πρώτων λεγομένων θεῶν, Ἡρακλέης δὲ τῶν δευτέρων τῶν δυώδεκα λεγομένων εἶναι, Διόνυσος δὲ τῶν τρίτων, οὗ ἐκ τῶν δυώδεκα θεῶν ἐγένοντο. Ἡρακλέη μὲν δὴ ὅσα αὐτὸι Ἀι- γυπτίοι φασὶ εἶναι ἐτεα ἐς "Ἀμασίν βασιλέα, δεδηλωταὶ μοι πρόσθε. Πανὶ δὲ ἐτε τοῦτον πλέονα λέγεται εἶναι, Διονύσῳ δὲ ἐλάχιστα τοῦτον, καὶ τούτῳ πεντακισχίλια καὶ μύρια λογίζονται εἶναι ἐς "Ἀμασίν βασιλέα. καὶ ταύτα Ἀιγυπτίοι ἀπρέ- κέως φασὶ ἐπίστασθαι, αἰεὶ τε λογιζόμενοι καὶ αἰεὶ ἀπογραφόμενοι τὰ ἔτεα. Διονύσῳ μὲν νυν τῷ Ἐκ Σεμέλης τῆς Κάδμου λεγομένῳ γενέσθαι κατὰ ἑξακόσια ἔτεα καὶ χίλια μάλιστα ἐστὶ ἐς ἔμε, Ἡρακλέῃ δὲ τῷ Ἀλκμήνης κατὰ εἰνακόσια ἐτεα. Πανὶ δὲ τῷ Ἐκ Πηνελόπης (ἐκ ταύτης γὰρ καὶ Ἐρμέῳ λέγεται γενέσθαι ὑπὸ Ἐλλήνων ὁ Πάν) ἐλάσσω ἔτεα ἐστὶ τῶν Θρωκῶν, κατὰ ὀκτακόσια μάλιστα ἐς ἔμε.

146. Τούτων ὧν ἀμφοτέρων πάρεστι χράσθαι τοὺς τις πειστέα λεγομένωι μᾶλλον ἐμοὶ δ’ ὅν ἡ περὶ αὐτῶν ἡμῶι ἀποδέδεκται. εἰ μὲν γὰρ φανεροὶ τα ἐγένοντο καὶ κατεγράσαν καὶ οὕτως ἐν τῇ Ἔλλαδί, κατὰ περὶ Ἡρακλέης ὁ ἐξ Ἀμφι- τρύων θεῶν, καὶ δῆ καὶ Διόνυσος ὁ ἐκ Σεμέλης καὶ Πάν ὁ ἐκ Πηνελόπης γενόμενοι, ἐφ’ ἂν τις καὶ τούτως ἄλλους ἀνδρας γενόμενους ἐχειν τα ἐκείνων οὐνόματα τῶν προγεγομένων θεῶν, νῦν δὲ Διόνυσον τε λέγουσι οἱ "Ελληνες ὡς αὐτίκα γενόμενον ἐς τὸν μηρὸν ἐνερράψατο Ζεὺς καὶ
145. Among the Greeks, Heracles, Dionysus, and Pan are held to be the youngest of the gods. But in Egypt Pan is the most ancient of these and is one of the eight gods who are said to be the first of all, Heracles belongs to the second dynasty (that of the so-called twelve gods), and Dionysus to the third, which came after the twelve. How many years there were between Heracles and the reign of Amasis, I have already shown; Pan is said to be earlier still; the years between Dionysus and Amasis are the fewest, and they are reckoned by the Egyptians at fifteen thousand. Of all this the Egyptians claim to have certain knowledge, seeing that they had always reckoned the years and chronicled them in writing. Now the Dionysus who was called the son of Semele, daughter of Cadmus, was about sixteen hundred years before my time, and Heracles son of Alemene about nine hundred years; and Pan the son of Penelope (for according to the Greeks Penelope and Hermes were the parents of Pan) was about eight hundred years before me, and thus of a later date than the Trojan war.

146. With regard to these two, Pan and Dionysus, a man may follow whatsoever story he deems most credible; but I here declare my own opinion concerning them:—Had Dionysus son of Semele and Pan son of Penelope been made manifest in Hellas and lived there to old age, like Heracles the son of Amphi-tryon, it might have been said that they too (like Heracles) were but men, named after the older Pan and Dionysus, the gods of antiquity; but as it is, the Greek story has it that no sooner was Dionysus born than Zeus sewed him up in his thigh and carried

\[1\] The Egyptian Khem.
Ηνεικη ἐς Νῦσαν τὴν ὑπὲρ Αἰγύπτου ἐσώσαν ἐν τῇ Αἰθιοπίᾳ, καὶ Παῦλος γε πέρι οὐκ ἔχουσι εἰπεῖν ὅκῃ ἐτράπετο γενόμενος. δήλα μοι δὲν γέγονε ὅτι ὑστερον ἐπώθοντο οἱ Ἑλληνες τούτων τὰ οὐνόματα ἢ τὰ τῶν ἄλλων θεῶν· ἀπ’ οὐ δὲ ἐπώθοντο χρόνον, ἀπὸ τούτου γενεθλογέουσι αὐτῶν τὴν γένεσιν.

147. Ταῦτα μὲν πρὸς αὐτοῖς Ἀιγύπτιοι λέγουσι· ὅσα δὲ οἱ τῶν ἄλλων άληθρωποὶ καὶ Ἀιγύπτιοι λέγουσι ὁμολογείτως τοῖς ἄλλοικα κατὰ ταῦτα τὴν χώρην γενέσθαι, ταῦτ ἵδη φράσω· προσέσται δὲ τι αὐτοίσι καὶ τῆς ἐμῆς ὁμοιοῦ.

'Ἐλευθερωθέντες Αἰγύπτιοι μετὰ τὸν ιρέα τοῦ Ἡφαιστοῦ βασιλεύσαντα, οὐδένα γὰρ χρόνον οὐκ ἔπεσαν ἂνευ βασιλέως διαφεύγατο, ἐστήσαντο δυσδεκα βασιλέας, δυσδεκα μαράς δασάμευναι Αἰγύπτων πάσαν. οὕτως ἐπιγαμίας ποιήσαμεν ᾧ βασιλεύσει τοῦτοι τίχον γενόμενοι, μήτὲ καταρεέσθαι ἀλλήλους μήτε πλέον τι δίχησθαι ἔχειν τὸν ἐτέρον τοῦ ἐτέρου, εἶναι τε ψίλους τὰ μάλιστα, τῶν δὲ εἶνεκα τοὺς νόμους τούτους ἐποιοέντο, ἵσχυσας περιστελλοῦσας, ἐκέχρηστο σφι κατ’ ἀρχὰς αὐτικὰ ἐνσταμένου εἰς τὰς τυραννίδας τοῦ καλκέρ φιάλη σπείραντα αὐτῶν ἐν τῷ ἱρῷ τοῦ Ἡφαιστοῦ, τοῦτον ἀπάσης βασιλεύσειν Αἰγύπτου· εἰς γὰρ δὴ τὰ πάντα ἐρᾶ συνελέγοντο.

148. Καὶ δὴ σφι μνημόσυνα ἐδοξέ ψεύδθαι κοινῆ, δόξαν δὲ σφί ἐποιήσαντο λαβυρίνθου, διόγον ὑπὲρ τῆς λίμνης τῆς Μοῖρας κατὰ Κροκόδειλον καλεσμένην πόλιν μάλιστα κη κείμενον· τῶν ἐγὼ ἵδη εἴδον λόγον μέξων εἰ γὰρ τις τὰ ἐξ Ἑλλήνων τείχεα τε καὶ ἔργων ἀπόδειξιν συλλογίσατο,
him away to Nysa in Ethiopia beyond Egypt; and as for Pan, the Greeks know not what became of him after his birth. It is therefore plain to me that the Greeks learnt the names of these two gods later than the names of all the others, and trace the birth of both to the time when they gained the knowledge.

147. Thus far I have recorded what the Egyptians themselves say. I will now relate what is recorded alike by Egyptians and foreigners to have happened in that land, and I will add thereto something of what I myself have seen.

After the reign of the priest of Hephaestus the Egyptians were made free. But they could never live without a king, so they divided Egypt into twelve portions and set up twelve kings. These kings intermarried, and agreed to be close friends, undertaking not to depose one another nor to seek to possess one more than another. The reason of this agreement, which they zealously guarded, was this: at their very first establishment in their several lordships an oracle was given them that that one of them who poured a libation from a bronze vessel in the temple of Hephaestus (where, as in all the temples, it was their wont to assemble) should be king of all Egypt.

148. Moreover they resolved to preserve the memory of their names by some joint enterprise; and having so resolved they made a labyrinth,¹ a little way beyond the lake Moeris and near the place called the City of Crocodiles. I have myself seen it, and indeed no words can tell its wonders; ² were all that Greeks have builded and wrought added together

¹ This "labyrinth" was a horseshoe-shaped group of buildings, supposed to have been near the pyramid of Hawâra (Sayce).
² I take ἐκατον as εἴδη, with λόγου μέζων.
ΗΕΡΟΔΟΤΟΣ

ἐλάσσονος πόνου τε ἀν καὶ δαπάνης φανεῖν ἐόντα τοῦ λαβύρινθου τούτου. καὶ τοι ἄξιολογός γε καὶ ὁ ἐν Ἑφέσῳ ἔστι νησὶς καὶ ὁ ἐν Σάμῳ. ἦσαν μὲν νυν καὶ αἱ πυραμίδες λόγου μέξονες, καὶ πολλῶν ἐκάστη αὐτέων. Ἐλληνικῶν ἔργων καὶ μεγάλων ἀνταξιόν, ὁ δὲ ὁ λαβύρινθος καὶ τὰς πυραμίδας ὑπερβάλλει: τοῦ [γὰρ] ἀνώδεκα μὲν εἰσὶ αὐτὰι καταστηγοί, ἀντίπυλοι ἀλληλης, ἐξ μὲν πρὸς βορέως ἦξι δὲ πρὸς νότον τετραμέναι, συνεχεῖς τοῖχος δὲ ἐξοθέν ὁ αὐτὸς σφαις περιέργει. οἰκήματα δ’ ἐνεστὶ δυτιλα, τὰ μὲν ὑπόγαια τὰ δὲ μετέωρα ἐπ’ ἐκεῖνοι, τρισχλία ἄριθμον, πεντακοσίων καὶ χιλίων ἐκάστης. τὰ μὲν νυν μετέωρα τῶν οἰκημάτων αὐτοὶ τε ὀρῶμεν διεξόντες καὶ αὐτοὶ θεσάμενοι λέγομεν, τὰ δὲ αὐτῶν ὑπόγαια λόγοις ἐπισυνθαμοῦμεθα. οἱ γὰρ ἐπεστῶτες τῶν Ἀλυπτίων δεικνύοντες αὐτὰ σύναμος ἡθελοῦν, φάμενοι θήκας αὐτοῖς εἶναι τῶν τε ἀρχὴν τῶν λαβύρινθον τοῦτον οἰκοδομησάμενον βασιλέως καὶ τῶν ἱρῶν κροκοδέλων. οὕτω τῶν μὲν κατο περὶ οἰκημάτων ἀκοὴ παραλαβόμενε λέγομεν, τὰ δὲ ἀνω μέξονα ἀνθρωπην ἔργων αὐτοῖς ὀρῶμεν αἱ τε γὰρ διεξόδια διὰ τῶν στεγῶν καὶ οἱ ἐλεγμοὶ διὰ τῶν αὐλών ἐπότες ποικιλότατοι θώμα μυρίων παρέίχοντο ἐξ αὐλῆς τε ἐς τὰ οἰκήματα διεξούσι καὶ ἐκ τῶν οἰκημάτων ἐς παστάδας, ἐς στέγας τε ἀλλὰς ἐκ τῶν παστάδων καὶ ἐς αὐλὰς ἀλλὰς ἐκ τῶν οἰκημάτων. ὁροφή δὲ πάντων τούτων λιθίνη κατὰ περ’ οἱ τοῖχοι, οἱ δὲ τοίχοι τύπων ἐγγεγλυμμένων πλεοῖν.

1 γὰρ is bracketed, τοῖ as a relative being in accordance with Herodotus’ practice.
the whole would be seen to be a matter of less labour and cost than was this labyrinth, albeit the temples at Ephesus and Samos are noteworthy buildings. Though the pyramids were greater than words can tell, and each one of them a match for many great monuments built by Greeks, this maze surpasses even the pyramids. It has twelve roofed courts, with doors over against each other: six face the north and six the south, in two continuous lines, all within one outer wall. There are also double sets of chambers, three thousand altogether, fifteen hundred above and the same number under ground. We ourselves viewed those that are above ground, and speak of what we have seen; of the underground chambers we were only told; the Egyptian wardens would by no means show them, these being, they said, the burial vaults of the kings who first built this labyrinth, and of the sacred crocodiles. Thus we can only speak from hearsay of the lower chambers; the upper we saw for ourselves, and they are creations greater than human. The outlets of the chambers and the mazy passages hither and thither through the courts were an unending marvel to us as we passed from court to apartment and from apartment to colonnade, from colonnades again to more chambers and then into yet more courts. Over all this is a roof, made of stone like the walls, and the walls are covered with carven figures, and every
αὐλῇ δὲ ἐκάστη περίστυλος λίθου λευκοῦ ἄρμοσ-
μένου τὰ μάλιστα. τῆς δὲ γωνίας τελευτῶντος
τοῦ λαβυρίνθου ἔχεται πυραμίδες τεσσαρακοντό-
γυνιος, εν τῇ ἕξις μεγάλα ἐγγεγέντηται ὁδὸς δὲ ἐς
αὐτὴν ὑπὸ γῆν πεποιηται.

149. Τοῦ δὲ λαβυρίνθου τοῦτον ἔόντος τοιούτου
θόμαι ἐτι μέζον παρέχεται ἡ Μοῖρος καλομέγη
λίμνη, παρ' Ἡν ὁ λαβυρίνθος οὕτως οἰκοδομη-
ταί. τῆς τὸ περίμετρον τῆς περιόδου εἰσὶ στάδιοι
ἐξακόσιοι καὶ τρισεκάδιοι, σχοῖνων ἐξήκοντα ἕον-
των, ἵσοι καὶ αὐτῆς Ἁγίοτον τὸ παρὰ θάλασσαν,
κεῖται δὲ μακρὰ ἡ λίμνη πρὸς βορέως τε καὶ νότων,
ἐούσα βάθος, τῇ βαθυτάτῃ αὐτῇ ἑωτῆς, πεντη-
κοντόργυνος. ὅτι δὲ χειροποίητος ἔστι καὶ ὅμως,
αὐτῇ δηλοῖ: ἐν γὰρ μέσῃ τῇ λίμνῃ μάλιστα κη
ἔστάσι δύο πυραμίδες, τοῖς ὑδάτοις ὑπὲρεγγυούμε
πεντήκοντα ὄργυνας ἐκατέρθη, καὶ τό κατ' ὑδάτοις
οἰκοδομηταὶ ἔτερον τοσούτων, καὶ ἐπ' ἀμφοτέρως
ἐπεστὶ κολοσσὸς λίθων κατήμενος ἐν θρόνο
οὕτω αἰ μὲν πυραμίδες εἰσὶ ἐκατὸν ὄργυνον, αἰ δὲ
ἐκατὸν ὄργυναι δίκαιαι εἰσὶ στάδιον ἐξάπλεθρὸν,
ἐξαπέδου της ὄργυνης μετροεμένης καὶ τετρα-
πήχεος, τῶν πολλῶν μὲν τετραπαλαίστων ἔσων,
τοῦ δὲ πήχεος ἕξαπαλαίστου. τὸ δὲ ὑδωρ τὸ ἐν
τῇ λίμνῃ αὐθγενεῖς μὲν οὐκ ἔστι (ἀνυδρος γὰρ
ὅτι δεινῶς ἔστι ἡ ταύτη), ἐκ τοῦ Νεῖλου δὲ κατὰ
dιώρυχα ἐσθήκαται, καὶ ἐξ μὲν μῆνας ἐσω ἔτει
ἐν τῇ λίμνῃ, ἐξ δὲ μῆνας ἐξω ἐς τὸν Νεῖλον αὐτίς·
cαὶ ἐπεὶ καὶ ἐκρεῖσ ἐξω, ἡ δὲ τότε τοὺς ἐξ ἡμᾶς
ἐς τὸ βασιλείαν καταβάλλει ἐπὶ ἡμέρη ἐκάστην
τάλαντον ἀργυρίου ἐκ τῶν ἱχθυῶν, ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐσθὴ
tὸ ὑδωρ ἐς αὐτὴν, εἰκοσι μίνεας.
court is set round with pillars of white stone most exactly fitted together. Hard by the corner where the labyrinth ends there stands a pyramid forty fathoms high, whereon great figures are carved. A passage has been made into this underground.

149. Such is this labyrinth; and yet more marvellous is the lake Moeris, by which it stands. This lake has a circuit of three thousand six hundred furlongs, or sixty schoeni, which is as much as the whole seaboard of Egypt. Its length is from north to south; the deepest part has a depth of fifty fathoms. That it has been dug out and made by men's hands the lake shows for itself; for almost in the middle of it stand two pyramids, so built that fifty fathoms of each are below and fifty above the water; atop of each is a colossal stone figure seated on a throne. Thus these pyramids are a hundred fathoms high; and a hundred fathoms equal a furlong of six hundred feet, the fathom measuring six feet or four cubits, the foot four spans and the cubit six spans. The water of the lake is not natural (for the country here is exceeding waterless) but brought by a channel from the Nile; six months it flows into the lake, and six back into the river. For the six months that it flows from the lake, the daily take of fish brings a silver talent into the royal treasury, and twenty minae for each day of the flow into the lake.
150. Ἑλεγον δὲ οἱ ἐπιγώριοι καὶ ὡς ἐς τὴν Σύρτων τὴν ἐς Διβύς ἐκδιδοὶ ἡ λίμνη αὕτη ὑπὸ γῆς, τετραμμένη τὸ πρὸς ἐσπέρνη ἐς τὴν μεσογαιαν παρὰ τὸ ὄρος τὸ ὑπὲρ Μέμφιος. ἐπείτε δὲ τοῦ ὄρυγματος τούτου οὐκ ὄρων τῶν χοῦν οὐδαμοῦ ἐόντα, ἐπιμελεῖς γὰρ δή μοι ἢν, εἰρήμην τοὺς ἀγχιστα σκύτους τῆς λίμνης ὅκου εἶλ ὁ χοῦς ὁ ᾧρυχθεῖς. οἱ δὲ ἐφρασάν μοι ἵνα ἐξεφορήθη, καὶ εὑπητεύως ἐπείθον. ἱδεα γὰρ λόγος καὶ ἐν Νίνω τῇ 'Ασσυριῶν πόλει γενόμενον ἔτερον τοιούτου. τὰ γὰρ Σαρδαναπάλλου τοῦ Νίνου βασιλέως ἐόντα μεγάλα χρήματα καὶ φύλασσόμενα ἐν θησαυροῖς καταγαίωσι ἐσπευσάν κλώπες ἐκφορήσαι. εἰ δὴ ὅπω τῶν σφετέρων οἰκίαν ἀρξάμενοι οἱ κλώπες ὑπὸ γῆς σταθμεύοντες ἐγα τῇ βασιλείᾳ οἰκία ὀρυσ- σοῦν, τὸν δὲ χοῦ τὸν ἐκφορέμενον εἰς τὸ ὄρυγ- ματος, ὅκως γένοιτο νῦν, εἰς τὸν Τήρης ποταμὸν παραρρέουντα τὴν Νίνων ἐξεφορεῖν, ἐς ὁ κατεργά- σαντο δὲ τι εἶβολοιτο. τοιούτων ἔτερον ἡκουσάποι καὶ κατὰ τὸ τῆς ἐν Λιγυπτῳ λίμνης ὀρυγμα γενέσθαι, πλὴν οὐ νυκτὸς ἀλλὰ μετ' ἡμέρην ποιεύμενον ὀρύσσοντας γὰρ τὸν χοῦ τοὺς Λιγυπτίους ἐς τὸν Νεῖλον φορεῖν, ὁ δὲ υπολαμβάνων ἐμελλε δια- χέειν. ἡ μὲν τοις λίμνῃ αὕτη οὕτω λέγεται ὀρυκτήρα

151. Τῶν δὲ διώδεκα βασιλέων δικαιοσύνης ἧρω- μενῶν, ἀνὰ χρόνον ὡς ἔθυσαν ἐν τῷ ἱρῷ τοῦ Ἡφαίστου, τῇ ἔστατῇ τῆς ὅρτης, μελλόντων καταστρείεσθαι, ὁ ἀρχιερευς ἐξηγείκε σφυ φίαλας χρυσάς, τῇ περ ἐσθεσαν σπένδειν, ἀμαρτων τοῦ ἄριθμον, ἐνδεκα διώδεκα ἐσώσι. ἐνθαῦτα ὡς οὖν εἴχε φιάλην ὁ ἐσχατος ἐστεὸς αὐτῶν. Ψαμ-
150. Further, the people of the country said that this lake issues by an underground stream into the Libyan Syrtis, and stretches inland towards the west along the mountains that are above Memphis. I could not anywhere see the earth taken from the digging of this lake, and this giving me matter for thought, I asked those who dwelt nearest to the lake where the stuff was that had been dug out. They told me whither it had been carried, and I readily believed them, for I had heard of a like thing happening in the Assyrian city of Ninus. Sardanapalus king of Ninus had great wealth, which he kept in an underground treasury. Certain thieves were minded to carry it off; they reckoned their course and dug an underground way from their own house to the palace, carrying the earth taken out of the dug passage at night to the Tigris, which runs past Ninus, till at length they accomplished their desire. This, I was told, had happened when the Egyptian lake was dug, save only that the work went on not by night but by day. The Egyptians bore the earth dug out by them to the Nile, to be caught and scattered (as was to be thought) by the river. Thus is this lake said to have been dug.

151. Now the twelve kings dealt justly; and as time went on they came to sacrifice in Hephaestus' temple. On the last day of the feast, they being about to pour libations, the high priest brought out the golden vessels which they commonly used for this; but he counted wrongly and gave the twelve only eleven. So he who stood last of them, Psammetichus, got no vessel; wherefore taking off his
ΗΡΟΔΟΤΟΣ

μήτιχος, περιελάμενος τὴν κυνέην ἐοῦσαν χαλκὲσυν ὑπέσχε τε καὶ ἐσπευδέ. κυνέας δὲ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι ἀπαντεῖς ἐφόρεον τε βασιλείας καὶ ἐτύγχανον τὸτε ἐχοντες. Ψαμμήτιχος μὲν νυν οὐδὲν δολερὸ πέρι χρεώμενος ὑπέσχε τὴν κυνέην· οὐ δὲ ἐν φρειν λαβόντες τὸ τε ποιήθεν ἐκ Ψαμμήτιχου καὶ τὸ χρηστήριον, ὅτι ἐκέχρηστο σφὶ τὸν χαλκὲσυν σπειράςαντα αὐτὸν φιάλῃ τοῦτον βασιλεὰ ἔσεσθαι μοῦνον Ἀιγύπτου, ἀναμνησθέντας τοῦ χρυσοῦ κτεῖναι μὲν οὐκ ἐδικαίωσαν Ψαμμήτιχον, ὡς ἀνεύρισκον βασανίζοντες ἐξ οὐδεμῆς προοιμης αὐτὸν ποιήςαντα, ἐς δὲ τὰ ἔλεα ἐδοξῆ σφὶ διώξαυςε ψιλώσαντας τὰ πλείστα τῆς δυνάμεως, ἐκ δὲ τῶν ἔλεων ὄρμωμενον μὴ ἐπιμίσθησθαι τῇ ἄλλῃ Ἀιγύπτῳ.

152. Τὸν δὲ Ψαμμήτιχον τοῦτον πρότερον φεύγοντα τῶν Ἀθηναίων Σαβάκων, ὥς οἱ τὸν πατέρα Νεκὼν ἀπέκτεινε, τοῦτον φεύγοντα τὸτε ἐς Συρίην, ὡς ἀπαλλάξῃ ἐκ τῆς δόξης τοῦ ὅνων ὁ Ἀḫίλος, κατήγαγον Ἀιγυπτίων οὕτως ὥς ἐκ νομοῦ τοῦ Σαλτεω εἰσί. μετὰ δὲ βασιλεύοντα τὸ δεύτερον πρὸς τῶν ἔνδεκα βασιλέων καταλαμβάνει μιν διὰ τὴν κυνὲην φεύγειν ἐς τὰ ἔλεα. ἐπιστάμενος δὲν ὡς περιβορισμένοις εἰς πρὸς αὐτῶν, ἐπενεόες τίσασθαί τοὺς διώξαντας. πέμψαντι δὲ οἱ ἐς Βουτών πολίν ἐς τὸ χρηστήριον τῆς Λητοῦς, ἔνθα δὴ Ἀιγυπτίοις ἐστί μαντίμων ἀψευδήστατον, ἢλθε χρησμὸς ὡς τίς τίς ἦσει ἀπὸ θαλάσσης χαλκὲσων ἄνδρῶν ἐπιφανέντων, καὶ τὸ μὲν δὴ ἀπιστὴ μεγάλη ὑπεκέχυτο χαλκὲσων οἱ ἄνδρας ἦσει ἐπικοίρους. χρυσὸν δὲ οὐ πολλὸ διελθὼντος ἀναγκαία κατέλαβε Ἰωνᾶς τε καὶ Κάρας ἄνδρας κατὰ ληθὴ ἐκπλῶσαντας ἀπενεχθὴναὶ ἐς Ἀιγύπτου.
bronze helmet he held it out and poured the libation with it. All the other kings too were wont to wear helmets, and were then helmed; it was not in guile, then, that Psammetichus held out his headgear; but the rest marked Psammetichus' deed, and remembered the oracle which promised the sovereignty of all Egypt to whosoever should pour libation from a vessel of bronze; wherefore, though they deemed Psammetichus not to deserve death (for they proved him and found that he had acted without intent), they resolved to strip him of the most of his power and chase him away into the marshes, and that he was not to concern himself with the rest of Egypt.

152. This Psammetichus had formerly been in Syria, whither he had fled from Sabacos the Ethiopian, who killed his father Necos; then, when the Ethiopian departed by reason of what he saw in a dream, the Egyptians of the province of Sais brought him back from Syria; and now Psammetichus was for the second time king, when it happened to him to be driven away into the marshes by the eleven kings by reason of the matter of the helmet. Therefore he held himself to have been outrageously dealt with by them and had a mind to be avenged on those who had expelled him, and he sent to inquire of the oracle of Leto in the town of Buto, which is the most infallible in Egypt; the oracle answered that he should have vengeance when he saw men of bronze coming from the sea. Psammetichus secretly disbelieved that men of bronze would come to aid him. But after no long time, certain Ionians and Carians, voyaging for plunder, were forced to put in on the coast of Egypt, where they disembarked in
153. Κρατήσας δὲ Αιγύπτιου πάσης ο Ψαμμήτιχος ἐποίησε τῷ Ἡφαίστῳ προπύλαια ἐν Μέμφι τὰ πρὸς νοτὸν ἄνεμον τετραμένα, αὐλήν τε τῷ Ἀπί, ἐν τῇ τρέφεται ἐπεάν φανῇ ὁ Ἀπίς, οἰκοδομήσει ἐναντίον τῶν προπύλαιων, πᾶσαν τε περιστύλων ἑοῦσαν καὶ τῶν πλέυν ἀντί δὲ κιόνων ὑπεστάσει κολοσσοὶ δυσδεκαπήχες τῇ αὐλῇ. ὃ δὲ Ἀπίς κατὰ τὴν Ἑλληνών γλῶσσαν ἐστὶ Ἑσαφος.

154. Τοίοι δὲ Ἰωσί καὶ τοῖς Καροί τοῖς συγκατεργασάμενοι αὐτῷ ο Ψαμμήτιχος δίδωσε χώρους ἐνοικίσας ἀντίους ἀλλήλων, τοῦ Νείλου τὸ μέσον ἔχοντος, τοίς οὐνόματα ἐτέθη Στρατόπεδα τούτοις τε δή σφι τοὺς χώρους δίδωσι καὶ τὰ ἄλλα τὰ ὑπέσχετο πάντα ἀπέδωκε, καὶ δὴ καὶ παίδας παρέβαλε αὐτοῖς Αιγυπτίους τὴν Ἔλλαδα γλώσσαν ἐκδιδάσκεσθαι. ἀπὸ δὲ τούτων ἐκμαθών τῷ γλώσσαν οἱ νῦν ἐρμηνεύει ἐν Αιγύπτῳ γεγόνασι. οἱ δὲ Ἰωνές τε καὶ οἱ Κάρες τούτους τους χώρους οἰκήσαν χρόνου ἐπὶ πολλῶν εἰσὶ δὲ οὕτως οἱ χώροι πρὸς βαλάσσης ὁλίγον ἐνερεῖ Βουβάστιος πόλιος, ἐπὶ τῷ Πηλουσίῳ.
their mail of bronze; and an Egyptian came into the
marsh country and brought news to Psammetichus
(for he had never before seen mailed men) that men
of bronze were come from the sea and were foraging
in the plain. Psammetichus saw in this the fulfil-
ment of the oracle; he made friends with the
Ionians and Carians, and promised them great re-
wards if they would join him, and having won them,
with the aid of such Egyptians as consented and
these allies he deposed the eleven kings.

153. Having made himself master of all Egypt,
he made the southern outercourt of Hephaestus'
temple at Memphis, and built over against this a
court for Apis, where Apis is kept and fed whenever
he appears; this court has an inner colonnade all
round it and many carved figures; the roof is held
up by great statues twelve cubits high for pillars.
Apis is in the Greek language Epaphus.

154. The Ionians and Carians who had helped
him to conquer were given by Psammetichus places
to dwell in called The Camps, opposite to each other
on either side of the Nile; and besides this he paid
them all that he had promised. Moreover he put
Egyptian boys in their hands to be taught the Greek
tongue; these, learning Greek, were the ancestors
of the Egyptian interpreters. The Ionians and
Carians dwelt a long time in these places, which are
near the sea, on the arm of the Nile called the
Pelusian, a little way below the town of Bubastis.
καλεομένων στόματι τοῦ Νείλου. τούτους μὲν δὴ χρόνῳ ύστερον βασιλεὺς Ἀμασίς ἐξαναστήσας ἐνθεύτε πατολκίσε ἐς Μέμφιν, φυλακὴν ἑωτοῦ ποιεύμενος πρὸς Αἰγυπτίων. τούτων δὲ οἰκισθέντων ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ, οἱ ἔλληνες οὕτω ἐπιμεθέγαμον τούτοις τὰ περὶ Αἰγυπτίων γινόμενα ἀπὸ Ψαμμήττιχος βασιλέως ἀρξάμενοι πάντα καὶ τὰ ύστερον ἐπιστάμεθα ἀτρεκέως· πρῶτοι γὰρ οὗτοι ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ ἀλλογλωσσοὶ κατοικισθῆσαν. εἶ ὡς δὲ ἐξανέστησαν χώρων, ἐν τούτοις δὲ οἳ τῇ ὅλκῃ τῶν νεῶν καὶ τὰ ἔρειπια τῶν οἰκημάτων τὸ μέχρι ἐμεύ ἦσαν.

155. Ψαμμήττιχος μὲν νῦν οὕτω ἐσχε Αἰγυπτίων. τοῦ δὲ χρηστηρίου τοῦ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ πολλά ἐπεμνῆσθην ἤδη, καὶ δὴ λόγον περὶ αὐτοῦ ὡς ἡ τοῦ οὕτος ποιήσομαι. τὸ γὰρ χρηστηρίου τούτο τὸ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ ἐστὶ μὲν Λητοῦς ἴρων, ἐν πολί δὲ μεγάλῃ ἱδρυμένου κατὰ τὸ Σεβενοντικοῦ καλεομένου στόμα τοῦ Νείλου, ἀναπλέοντι ἀπὸ θάλασσης ἀνω. οὖν μοι δὲ τῇ πόλει ταύτῃ ὅκου τὸ χρηστηρίου ἐστὶ Βούτω, ὡς καὶ πρῶτον ἀνθρωπομασται μοι. ἵρων δὲ ἔστι ἐν τῇ Βούτω ταύτῃ Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ Ἀρτέμιδος, καὶ ὅ γε νῦσ σῆς Λητοῦς, ἐν τῷ δὴ τὸ χρηστηρίου ἐνι, αὐτὸς τε τυγχάνει ἔως μέγας καὶ τὰ προπύλαια ἔχει ἐς υψὸς δέκα ὀργυείων. τὸ δὲ μοι τῶν φανερῶν ἢ χωμα μέγιστον παρεχόμενον, φράσω· ἐστι ἐν τῷ τεμενεῖ τούτῳ Λητοῦς νῦσ ἐξ ἐνος λίθου πεποιημένος ἐς τὸ υψὸς καὶ ἐς μήκος καὶ τοῖχος ἐκαστος τούτους ἵσος τεσσεράκοντα πηχέων τούτων ἐκαστον ἐστι, τὸ δὲ καταστέγασμα τῆς ὀροφῆς ἄλλος ἐπίκειται λίθος, ἔχων τὴν παρωροφίδα τετράπηχαν.

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Long afterwards, king Amasis removed them thence and settled them at Memphis, to be his guard against the Egyptians. It comes of our intercourse with these settlers in Egypt (who were the first men of alien speech to settle in that country) that we Greeks have exact knowledge of the history of Egypt from the reign of Psammetichus onwards. There still remained till my time, in the places whence the Ionians and Carians were removed, the landing engines\(^1\) of their ships and the ruins of their houses.

155. This is the story of Psammetichus' conquest of Egypt. I have often made mention of the Egyptian oracle, and I will now treat fully of it, for this it deserves. This Egyptian oracle is in a temple sacred to Leto, and is situated in a great city by the Sebennytic arm of the Nile, on the way up from the sea. The name of the city where is this oracle is Buto; I have already named it. In Buto there is a temple of Apollo and Artemis. The shrine of Leto in which is the oracle is itself very great, and its outer court is ten fathoms high. But I will now tell of what was the most marvellous among things visible there: in this precinct is the shrine of Leto, whereof the height and length of the walls is all made of a single stone slab; each wall has an equal length and height, namely, forty cubits. Another slab makes the surface of the roof, the cornice of which is four cubits broad.

\(^1\) Probably captains for hauling the ships ashore.
156. Οὔτω μὲν νυν ὁ νησὸς τῶν φανερῶν μοι τῶν περὶ τούτο τὸ ἱρὸν ἐστὶ θωμαστότατον, τῶν δὲ δευτέρων νῆσος ἡ Χέμμως καλεμένη· ἐστὶ μὲν ἐν λίμνη βαθῆ καὶ πλατές κειμένη παρὰ τὸ ἐν Βουτοῖ ἱρὸν, λέγεται δὲ ὑπ' Αἰγυπτίων εἶναι αὐτὴ ἡ νῆσος πλωτή. αὐτὸς μὲν ἔγωγε οὔτε πλέουσαν οὔτε κινηθείσαν εἶδον, τεθητα δὲ ἀκούων εἰ νῆσος ἀληθέως ἐστὶ πλωτή, ἐν δὲ ὑπ' αὐτῇ ταύτῃ νῆσος τε Ἀπόλλωνος μέγας ἐεὶ καὶ βομβόι τριφάσιοι ἐνδύονται, ἐμπέφυκασι δὲ ἐν αὐτῇ φοίνικες συγκοι καὶ ἄλλα δένδρα καὶ καρπofόρα καὶ ἄφορα πολλά. λόγου δὲ τόνδε ἐπιλέγοντες οἱ Αἰγυπτίοι φασὶ εἶναι αὐτήν πλωτήν, ὡς ἐν τῇ νῆσῳ ταύτῃ οὐκ ἔουσα πρῶτον πλωτὴν ἄπτω, ἔουσα τῶν οἰκῶν τεθῶν τῶν πρῶτων γενομένων, οἰκέουσα δὲ ἐν Βουτοῖ πόλι, ἵνα δ' εἰ τὸ χρηστήριον τοῦτο ἐστί, Ἀπόλλωνα παρ' Ἰσιος παρακαταθήκην δεξαμένη διέσωσε κατακρύψασα ἐν τῇ νῆσῳ πλωτῇ λεγομένῃ νῆσῳ, ὅτε τὸ πάν διζήμενον ο Τυφών ἐπήλθε, θέλων έξευρείν του Ἡσίορος τοῦ παιδά, Ἀπόλλωνα δὲ καὶ Ἀρτεμιν Διονύσου καὶ Ἰσιος λέγουσι εἶναι παιδάς, Δητών δὲ τροφον αὐτοῖσι καὶ σώτερας γενεσθαι. Αἰγυπτιστι δὲ Ἀπόλλων μὲν Ὀρος, Δήμητρι δὲ Ἰσιος, Ἀρτεμίς δὲ Βούβαστις. ἐκ τούτου δὲ τοῦ λόγου καὶ ουδενὸς ἄλλου Λισχύλος ο Ἐυφορίωνος ἤμπασε τὸ ἐγώ φράσω, μονος δ' ποιητῶν τῶν προγενομένων ἐποίησε γὰρ Ἀρτεμίν εἶναι θυγατέρα Δήμητρος. τὴν δὲ νῆσον διὰ τούτο γενεσθαι πλωτήν, ταύτα μὲν οὕτω λέγουσι.

157. Ψαμμήτιγος δὲ ἐμαθίευσε Αἰγύπτου τέσσερα καὶ πεντήκοντα ἑτέα, τῶν τὰ ἐνὸς δέοντα

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156. Thus then the shrine is the most marvellous of all things that I saw in this temple; but of things of lesser note, the most wondrous is the island called Chemmis. This lies in a deep and wide lake near to the temple at Buto, and the Egyptians say that it floats. For myself I never saw it float, nor move at all, and I thought it a marvellous tale, that an island should truly float. However that be, there is a great shrine of Apollo thereon, and three altars stand there; many palm trees grow in the island, and other trees too, some yielding fruit and some not. The story told by the Egyptians to show why the island moves is this: when Typhon came seeking through the world for the son of Osiris, Leto, being one of the eight earliest gods, and dwelling in Buto where this oracle of hers is, received Apollo in charge from Isis and hid him for safety in this island which was before immovable but is now said to float. Apollo and Artemis were (they say) children of Dionysus and Isis, and Leto was made their nurse and preserver; in Egyptian, Apollo is Horus, Demeter Isis, Artemis Bubastis. It was from this and no other legend that Aeschylus son of Euphorion stole an imagination, which is in no other poet, that Artemis was the daughter of Demeter. For the aforesaid reason (say the Egyptians) the island was made to float. Such is the tale.

157. Psammetichus ruled Egypt for fifty-four years; for twenty-nine of these he sat before Azotus,
τριήκοντα ή Αξωτον τής Συρίης μεγάλην πόλιν προσκατήμενος ἐπολιόρκεε, ἡ δὲ ἐξείλε. αὐτῇ δὲ ἡ Αξωτος ἀπασέων πολίων ἐπὶ πλεῖστον χρόνον πολιορκεομένη αὐτέσχε τῶν ἡμεῖς ἔδεμεν.

158. Ψαμμητίχον δὲ Νεκώς παῖς ἐγένετο καὶ ἐβασιλεύσει Αἰγυπτίου, δι’ τὴν διώρυχα ἐπεχείρησε πρῶτος τῇ ἐς τὴν Ἐρυθρὴν θάλασσαν φεροῦσα, τὴν Δαρείου ὁ Πέρσης δεύτερα διώρυξεν τὴς μῆκος ἐστὶ πλόος ἡμέραι τέσσερες, εὔρος δὲ ὀρύχηθη ὡστε τριήμερα δύο πλέειν ὁμοῦ ἐλαστρευμένας. ἤκεταὶ δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ Νεκών τῷ υδῷ ἐς αὐτὴν ἤκεται δὲ κατυπερθε ὁ λόγῳ Βουβάστιου πόλιος παρὰ Πάτομοι τὴν Ἄραβιν πόλιν, ἐσέχει δὲ ἐς τὴν Ἐρυθρὴν θάλασσαν. ὁρώρυκται δὲ πρῶτον μεν τοῦ πεδίου τοῦ Αἰγυπτίου τὰ πρὸς Ἄραβιν ἔχοντα ἤκεται δὲ κατυπερθε τοῦ πεδίου τὸ κατὰ Μέμφιν τείνον ὄρος, ἐν τῷ αἱ πολύνομαι ἐνείσι τοῦ ὅν ὅρεος τοῦτο παρὰ τὴν ὑπωρέψῃ ἤκεται ἡ διώρυξις ἁπτ ἐσπέρης μακρὴ πρὸς τὴν ἡδῖ, καὶ ἐπείτα τείνει ἐς διασφάγας, φεροῦσα ἀπὸ τοῦ ὅρεος πρὸς μεσαμβρίαν τε καὶ νότων ἁμέλου ἐς τῶν κολπῶν τὸν Ἀράβιον. τῇ δὲ ἐλαχίστων ἐστὶ καὶ συντομώτατον ἐκ τῆς Βορνηῆς θαλάσσης ὑπερβῆναι ἐς τὴν νοτίην καὶ Ἐρυθρῆν τὴν αὐτήν ταυτὴν καλεομένην, ἀπὸ τοῦ Κασίου ὄρεος τοῦ οὐριζόντος Αἰγυπτίου τε καὶ Συρίην, ἀπὸ τοῦτο εἰς στάδιον ἀπαρτὶ χίλιοι ἐς τῶν Ἀράβιον κολπῶν. τοῦτο μὲν τὸ συντομώτατον, ἡ δὲ διώρυξις πολλὰ μακροτέρη, ὅσῳ σκολιωτέρη ἐστὶ τῇ ἐπὶ Νεκώ Βασιλέως ὑποστοῦσε τοῦ Ἐρυθρίου ἀπὸ ὁλοκληρώθηκε. Νεκώς μὲν νυν μεταξὺ ὁρυσσοῦ εἰπαύσατο μαντήιον ἐμποδίου γενομένου τοιούτου.
a great city in Syria, and besieged it till he took it. Azotus held out against a siege longer than any city of which I have heard.

158. Psammetichus had a son Necos, who became king of Egypt. It was he who began the making of the canal into the Red Sea,¹ which was finished by Darius the Persian. This is four days' voyage in length, and it was dug wide enough for two triremes to move in it rowed abreast. It is fed by the Nile, and is carried from a little above Bubastis by the Arabian town of Patumus; it issues into the Red Sea. The beginning of the digging was in the part of the Egyptian plain which is nearest to Arabia; the mountains that extend to Memphis (in which mountains are the stone quarries) come close to this plain; the canal is led along the lower slope of these mountains in a long reach from west to east; passing then into a ravine it bears southward out of the hill country towards the Arabian Gulf. Now the shortest and most direct passage from the northern to the southern or Red Sea is from the Casian promontory, which is the boundary between Egypt and Syria, to the Arabian Gulf, and this is a distance of one thousand furlongs, neither more nor less; this is the most direct way, but the canal is by much longer, inasmuch as it is more crooked. In Necos' reign a hundred and twenty thousand Egyptians perished in the digging of it. During the course of excavations, Necos ceased from the work, being stayed by a prophetic

¹ This canal ran from near Tel Basta (Bubastis) apparently to Suez. Inscriptions recording Darius' construction of it have been found in the neighbourhood.
τῷ βαρβάρῳ αὐτῶν προεργάζεσθαι. βαρβάρους δὲ πάντας οἱ Ἀιγύπτιοι καλέουσι τοὺς μὴ σφίσι ὀμογλώσσους.

159. Παυσάμενον δὲ τὴς διώρυχος ὁ Νεκὼς ἐτράπετο πρὸς στρατηγὸς, καὶ τριήρεις αὐτὲς ἐπὶ τῇ βορηγῇ θαλάσσῃ ἐποιήθησαν, αὐτὶ δ' ἐν τῷ Ἀραβίω κόλπῳ ἐπὶ τῇ Ἐρυθρᾷ θαλάσσῃ, τῶν ἔτι οἱ ὅλοι ἐπίδηλοι. καὶ ταύτης τε ἔχρατο ἐν τῷ δεόντε καὶ Σύροις πεζῷ ὁ Νεκὼς συμβαλὼν ἐν Μαγδώλῳ ἐνίκησε, μετὰ δὲ τὴν μάχην Κάδυτων πόλιν τῆς Συρίας ἔσωσαν μεγάλην ἐδε. ἐν τῇ δὲ ἐσθήτῃ ἑτυχε ταύτα κατεργασάμενοι, ἀνέθηκε τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι πέμψας ἐς Βραγχίδας τᾶς Μελησίων. μετὰ δὲ, ἐκκαίδεκα ἔτεα τὰ πάντα ἀρξάς, τελευτᾷ. τῷ παιδὶ Ψάμμῳ παραδοῦσι τὴν ἀρχήν.

160. Ἐπὶ τούτων δὴ τῶν Ψάμμων βασιλεύσαντα Ἀιγύπτιον ἀπίκωντο Ἡλείων ἀγγελοῖ, αὐχέοντες δικαίοτατα καὶ κάλλιστα τιθέναι τὸν ἐν Ὀλυμπίῃ ἄγωνα πάντων ἀνθρώπων, καὶ δοκέοντες παρὰ ταύτα οὐδ' ἀν τῶν σοφωτάτων ἀνθρώπων Ἀιγυπτίων οὐδὲν ἐπεξευρέως ὡς δὲ ἀπικόμενοι ἐς τὴν Ἀιγύπτον οἱ Ἡλείοι ἔλεγον τῶν εἶνεκά ἀπίκωντο, ἐνθαῦτα ὁ βασιλεὺς οὗτος συγκαλεῖται Ἀιγυπτίων τῶν λεγομένων εἶναι σοφωτάτους. συνελθόντες δὲ οἱ Ἀιγύπτιοι ἐπινιστάμενοι τῶν Ἡλείων λεγόντων ἀπαντα τὰ κατηκεί σφέας πολεμεῖν περὶ τῶν ἄγωνα ἀπηγησάμενοι δὲ τὰ πάντα ἐφασαν ἱκείν ἐπιμαθησόμενοι εἰ τι ἔχοις. Αἰγύπτιοι τούτων δικαιότερον ἐπεξευρέως, οἱ δὲ βουλευσάμενοι ἐπειρώτων τοὺς Ἡλείους εἰ σφι ὁ πολέμηται ἐναγωνίζονται. οἱ δὲ ἐφασαν καὶ σφέων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Ἐλλήνων ὁμοίως τῷ βουλομένῳ ἐξείναι.
utterance that he was toiling beforehand for the barbarian. The Egyptians call all men of other languages barbarians.

159. Necos then ceased from making the canal and engaged rather in warlike preparation; some of his ships of war were built on the northern sea, and some in the Arabian Gulf, by the Red Sea coast: the landing-engines of these are still to be seen. He used these ships at need, and with his land army met and defeated the Syrians at Magdolus,¹ taking the great Syrian city of Cadytis ² after the battle. He sent to Branchidae of Miletus and dedicated there to Apollo the garments in which he won these victories. Presently he died after a reign of sixteen years, and his son Psammis reigned in his stead.

160. While this Psammis was king of Egypt he was visited by ambassadors from Elis, the Eleans boasting that they had ordered the Olympic games with all the justice and fairness in the world, and claiming that even the Egyptians, albeit the wisest of all men, could not better it. When the Eleans came to Egypt and told the purpose of their coming, Psammis summoned an assembly of those who were said to be the wisest men in Egypt. These assembled, and inquired of the Eleans, who told them of the rules of the games which they must obey, and, having declared these, said they had come that if the Egyptians could invent any juster way they might learn this too. The Egyptians consulted together, and then asked the Eleans if their own townsmen took part in the contests. The Eleans answered that this was so: all Greeks from Elis or elsewhere

¹ Magdolus appears to be the Migdol of O.T.
² Gaza.
Ἡροδοτός

ἀγωνίζεσθαι. οἳ δὲ Αἰγύπτιοι ἐφασαν σφέας οὔτω τιθέντας παντὸς τοῦ δικαίου ἡμαρτηκέναι. οὐδεμᾶν γὰρ εἶναι μηχανὴν ὅκως οὐ τῷ ἀστῷ ἀγωνιζομένῳ προσθήσονται, ἀδικεόντες τὸν ξεῖνων. ἀλλ' εἰ δὴ Βουλονται δικαίως τιθέναι καὶ τούτων εἰνεκα ἀπίκοιατο ἐς Αἰγυπτου, ξείνωσι ἀγωνιζότω ἐκελευον τὸν ἀγώνα τιθέναι, Ἡλείων δὲ μηδὲν εἰναι ἀγωνίζεσθαι. ταῦτα μὲν Αἰγύπτιοι Ἡλείοις ὑπεδήκαντο.

161. Ψάμμιος δὲ ἔξ ἔτεα μοῦνον βασιλεύσαντος Αἰγύπτου καὶ στρατευσάμενον ἔς Λιθιοτὴν καὶ μεταντικα τελευτήσαντος ἐξεδέζατο Ἄπριῆς ὁ Ψάμμιος. δὲ μετὰ Ψαμμήτιχον τὸν ἔωστον προπάτορα ἐγένετο εὐδαιμονέστατος τῶν πρῶτοι βασιλέων, ἐπ' ἔτεα πέντε καὶ εἰκοσι ἄρξας, ἐν τοῖς ἐπὶ τὰ Σιδῶνα στρατῶν ἡλασε καὶ ἐναυμάκησε τῷ Τυρίῳ. ἐπεὶ δὲ οἱ ἔδεε κακῶς γενέσθαι, ἐγίνετο ἀπὸ προφάσιος τὴν ἑγὸ μεξώνως μὲν ἐν τοῖς Λιβυκοῖς λόγους ἀπηγήγησομαι, μετρίως δ' ἐν τῷ παρεστάνῃ. ἀποπέμψας γὰρ στρατεύμα τὸ Ἀπρίῆς ἐπὶ Κυρηναίοις μεγαλωστὶ προσέπταισε, Αἰγύπτιοι δὲ ταῦτα ἐπιμεμφόμενοι ἀπέστησαν ἀπ' αὐτῶν, δοκεόντες τὸν Ἀπρίῆν ἐκ προνοίας αὐτοὺς ἀποπέμψαι ἐς φαινόμενον κακόν, ἰνα δὴ σφέων φθορὴ γένηται, αὐτὸς δὲ τῶν λοιπῶν Αἰγυπτίων ἀσφαλέστερον ἄρχων. ταύτα δὲ δεινὰ ποιεύμενοι οὔτοι τε οἱ ἀπονοστήσαντες καὶ οἱ τῶν ἀπολυμένων φίλοι ἀπέστησαν ἐκ τῆς ἱδέης.

162. Πυθόμενος δὲ Ἀπρίῆς ταῦτα πέμπει ἐπ' αὐτὸς Ἀμασίων καταπαύσοντα λόγους. δ' δὲ ἐπείτε ἀπικόμενος κατελάβανε τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους
might contend. Then the Egyptians said that this rule was wholly wide of justice: "For," said they, "it cannot be but that you will favour your own townsmen in the contest and deal unfairly by a stranger. Nay, if you will indeed make just rules and have therefore come to Egypt, you should admit only strangers to the contest, and not Eleans." Such was the counsel of the Egyptians to the Eleans.

161. Psammis reigned over Egypt for six years only; he invaded Ethiopia, and immediately thereafter died, and Apries¹ his son reigned in his stead. He was more fortunate than any former king (save only his great-grandfather Psammetichus) during his rule of twenty-five years, in which he sent an army against Sidon and did battle by sea with the king of Tyre. But when it was fated that ill should befall him, the cause of it was one that I will now deal with briefly, and at greater length in the Libyan part of this history. Apries sent a great host against Cyrene and suffered a great defeat. The Egyptians blamed him for this and rebelled against him; for they thought that Apries had knowingly sent his men to their doom, that by their so perishing he might be the safer in his rule over the rest of the Egyptians. Bitterly angered by this, those who returned home and the friends of the slain openly revolted.

162. Hearing of this, Apries sent Amasis to them to persuade them from their purpose. When Amasis came up with the Egyptians he exhorted them to

¹ Apries is the Hophra of O.T.; he reigned from 589 to 570 B.C., apparently. But the statement that he attacked Tyre and Sidon is inconsistent with Jewish history (Jerem. xxvii., Ezek. xvii.).
ταύτα μὴ ποιεῖν, λέγοντος αὐτοῦ τῶν τις Ἀι-

υπτίων ὅπως στὰς περιέθηκε οἱ κυνέην, καὶ

περιτιθείς ἐφη ἐπὶ βασιλικῇ περιτιθεῖν. καὶ τῷ

οὗ κως ἀεκούσιον ἐγίνετο τὸ ποιεύμενον, ὡς διε-

δείκνυε. ἔπειτε γὰρ ἐστήσαυτο μιν βασιλέα τῶν

Αἰγυπτίων οἱ ἀπεστεώτες, παρεσκευάζετο ὡς ἔλον

ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀπρίην. πυθόμενος δὲ ταύτα ὁ Ἀπρίης

ἐπεμπε ἐπ' Ἀμασίν ἀνδρὰ δόκιμων τῶν περὶ

ἐσωτερικῶν Ἀιγυπτίων, τῷ σύνομα ἧν Πατάρβημις,

ἐντειλάμενος αὐτῷ ζῴου 'Ἀμασίν ἄγαγείν παρ' ἐσωτέρι,

ὡς δὲ ἀπικόμενος τὸν Ἀμασίν ἐκάλες ὁ Πατάρβημις,

ὁ Ἀμασίς, ἐτυχε γὰρ ἐπ' ἱππον κατήμενος,

ἐπεῖρας ἀπεματάσσε, καὶ τούτῳ μὲν ἐκέλευ 

Ἀπρίη ἀπάγειν. ὅμοι δὲ αὐτῶν ἀξιόν τὸν Πατάρβημιν 

βασιλέας μεταπεμπομένου ἴναι πρὸς αὐτὸν: τὸν δὲ αὐτῶν ὑποκρίνεσθαι ως ταύτα 

πάλαι παρεσκευάζετο ποιεῖν, καὶ αὐτῶν ὡς μέρος 

ψεῦσθαι Ἀπρίην παρέσεσθαι γὰρ καὶ αὐτῶς καὶ 

Ἄλλος ἄμειν. τὸν δὲ Πατάρβημιν ἐκ τῶν 

λεγομένων οὐκ ἄγνοειν τὴν διάνοιαν, καὶ παρα-

σκευακόμενον ὄρωντα σπουδὴ ἀπείναι, βουλόμενον 

τὴν ταχύτητι βασιλεί δηλώσαι τὰ προσόμενα. 

ὡς δὲ ἀπικέδαι αὐτῶν πρὸς τὸν Ἀπρίην οὐκ 

ἀγοντα τὸν Ἀμασίν, οὐδένα λόγον αὐτῷ δόντα ἀλλὰ 

περιθύμως ἔχοντα περιταμείν προστάξαι 

αὐτοῦ τα τι τε ὡτα καὶ τὴν ῥίνα. ιδόμενοι δ' οἱ 

λοιποὶ τῶν Ἀιγυπτίων, οἱ ἔτι τὰ ἐκείνου ἐφρόνεον, 

ἀνάρα τὸν δοκιμῶταν ἐσωτῆν �いまίν ἀείχρος 

λόγη διακείμενον, οὐδένα δὴ χρόνον ἐπισχοντε 

ἀπυστέατο πρὸς τοὺς ἑτέρους καὶ ἐδίδοσαν σφέας 

αὐτοὺς Ἀμασί. 

163. Πυθόμενος δὲ καὶ ταύτα ὁ Ἀπρίης ὅπλιζε
desist from what they did; but while he spoke an Egyptian came behind him and put a helmet on his head, saying it was the token of royalty. And Amasis showed that this was not displeasing to him, for being made king by the rebel Egyptians he prepared to march against Apries. When Apries heard of it, he sent against Amasis an esteemed Egyptian named Patarbemis, one of his own court, charging him to take the rebel alive and bring him into his presence. Patarbemis came, and summoned Amasis, who lifted his leg with an unseemly gesture (being then on horseback) and bade the messenger take that token back to Apries. But when Patarbemis was nevertheless instant that Amasis should obey the king’s summons and go to him—such is the story—Amasis answered that he had long been making ready to do this, and Apries should be well satisfied with him: "For I will come myself," quoth he, "and bring others with me." Hearing this, Patarbemis could not mistake Amasis’ purpose; he saw his preparations and made haste to depart, that he might with all speed make known to the king what was afoot. When Apries saw him return without Amasis he gave him no chance to speak, but in his rage and fury bade cut off Patarbemis’ ears and nose. The rest of the Egyptians, who still favoured his cause, seeing the foul despite thus done to the man who was most esteemed among them, changed sides without more ado and delivered themselves over to Amasis.

163. This news too being brought to Apries, he
τοὺς ἑπικούρους καὶ ἠλαυνε ἐπὶ τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους· εἴχε δὲ περὶ ἐωτὸν Καράς τε καὶ Ἰωνας ἀνδρὰς ἑπικούρους θρισμυρίους· ἦν δὲ οἱ τὰ βασιλεία ἐν Σαί τόλμη, μεγάλα εὖντα καὶ ἀξιοθέντα. καὶ οἱ τε περὶ τὸν Ἀπρίην ἐπὶ τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους ἠσαν καὶ οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἀμασίν ἐπὶ τοὺς ξείνους· ἐν τε δὴ Μωμέμφι πόλι ἐγένοντο ἀμφότεροι καὶ πειρήσεθαι ἐμελλον ἀλλήλων.

164. Ἐστὶ δὲ Αἰγυπτίων ἐπτὰ γένεα, καὶ τούτων οἱ μὲν ιρέες οἱ δὲ μάχιμοι κεκλεάται, οἱ δὲ βούκολοι οἱ δὲ συβώται, οἱ δὲ κάπηλοι, οἱ δὲ ἐρμήνες, οἱ δὲ κυβερνήται. γένεα μὲν Αἰγυπτίων τοσαῦτα ἐστὶ, οὐνόματα δὲ σφι κέεται ἀπὸ τῶν τεχνῶν. οἱ δὲ μάχιμοι αὐτῶν καλέονται μὲν Καλασίριος τε καὶ Ἐρμοτυβίς, ἐκ νομῶν δὲ τῶνδε εἰσὶν: κατὰ γὰρ δὴ νομῶν Αἰγυπτος ἀπάσα διαραίηται.

165. Ἐρμοτυβίων μὲν οἴδε εἰσὶ νομοί, Βουστίνης, Σαίνης, Χεμωίτης, Πατριμίτης, νήσος ἡ Προσωπὴς καλομένη, Ναθω τὸ ἡμισυ. ἐκ μὲν τούτων τῶν νομῶν Ἐρμοτυβίας εἰσί, γενὸμενοι, ὅτε ἐπὶ πλείστους ἐγένοντο, ἐκαῖδεκα μυριάδες. καὶ τούτων βασιλείας οὐδεὶς δεδήκε τοῦδεν, ἀλλὰ ἀνέωνται οἱ τοῦ μάχιμον.

166. Καλασιρίων δὲ οἴδε ἀλλοι νομοί εἰσὶ, Θηβαῖος, Βουββαστίτης, Ἀφβιτής, Τανίτης, Μενδήςιος, Σεβεννύτης, Ἀθριβίτης, Φαρβαδίτης, Θμουτής, Ὀνουφίτης, Ἀνύτιος, Μνεκεφότις· οὗτος ο νομὸς ἐν νήσῳ οἰκείῳ ἀντίον Βουββαστίος πόλιος. οὗτοι δὲ οἱ νομοὶ Καλασιρίων εἰσὶ, γενόμενοι, ὅτε ἐπὶ πλείστους ἐγένοντο, πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι μυριάδες ἀνδρῶν. οὐδὲ τούτοις ἔξεστι
armed his guard and marched against the Egyptians; he had a bodyguard of Carians and Ionians, thirty thousand of them, and his royal dwelling was in the city of Sais, a great and marvellous palace. Apries' men marched against the Egyptians, and so did Amasis' men against the strangers; so they came both to Momemphis, where it was their purpose to prove each other’s quality.

164. The Egyptians are divided into seven classes, severally entitled priests, warriors, cowherds, swineherds, hucksters, interpreters, and pilots. So many classes there are, each named after its vocation. The warriors are divided into Kalasiries and Hermotubies, and they belong to the following provinces (for all divisions in Egypt are made according to provinces).

165. The Hermotubies are of the provinces of Busiris, Sais, Chemmis, and Papremis, the island called Prosopitis, and half of Natho—all of these; their number, at its greatest, attained to a hundred and sixty thousand. None of these has learnt any common trade; they are free to follow arms alone.

166. The Kalasiries for their part are of the provinces of Thebes, Bubastis, Aphthis, Tanis, Mendes, Sebennys, Athribis, Pharbaithis, *Thmuis, Onuphis, Anytis, Myecphoris (this last is in an island over against the city of Bubastis)—all these; their number, at its greatest, attained to two hundred and fifty thousand men. These too may practise
τέχνην ἐπασκῆσαι οὐδεμίαν, ἀλλὰ τὰ ἐς πόλεμον ἐπασκέουσι μοῦνα, παῖς παρὰ πατρὸς ἐκδεκόμενος.

167. Εἰ μὲν νῦν καὶ τοῦτο παρ’ Ἁγιοπτίων μεμαθήκας οἱ "Ελληνες, οὐκ ἔχω ἄτρεκέως κρίναι, ὁρέων καὶ Θρήκας καὶ Σκύθας καὶ Πέρσας καὶ Δυδοὺς καὶ σχέδου πάντας τοὺς βαρβάρους ἀποτιμοτέρους τῶν ἀλλῶν ἤγημένους πολιτείων τοὺς τὰς τέχνας μανθάνοντας καὶ τοὺς ἐκγόνους τούτων, τοὺς δὲ ἀπαλλαγμένους τῶν χειρωναξίων γενναίους νομιζομένους εἶναι, καὶ μάλιστα τοὺς ἐς τὸν πόλεμον ἀνειμένους μεμαθήκας δ’ ὧν τοῦτο πάντες οἱ "Ελληνες καὶ μάλιστα Δακεδαίμονες.

168. Γέρεα δὲ σφὶ ἦν τάδε ἐξαραιρημένα μοῦνοι πολλοὶ Ἁγιοπτίων πάρεξ τῶν ἱρέων, ἄροους ἐξαιρετοὶ δυνάμεις ἐκάστῳ ἄτελεῖς. ἢ δὲ ἄρουρα ἐκατόν πηχέων ἐς τὸν Ἁγιοπτίων πάντη, ὦ δὲ Ἁγιοπτίων πηχύς τυγχάνει ἵνα τὸν τῷ Σαμίων, τάῦτα μὲν δὴ τούτῳ ἀπασί ἦν ἐξαραιρημένα, τάδε δὲ ἐν περιτροπῇ ἐκατοῦντο καὶ οὐδαμὰ ἦντοι. Καλασιρίων χίλιοι καὶ Ἂρμοτυβίων ἐδορυφόροι ἐνιαυτὸν ἐκατοῦ τὸν βασιλέα· τοῦτοι δὲ ἦν τάδε πάρεξ τῶν ἄρουρων ἄλλα ἐδίδοτο ἐπ’ ἡμέρῃ ἐκάστῃ, ὅποιν σιτόν σταθμὸς πέντε μὲν ἐκάστῳ, κρέων βοέων δύο μὲν, οἷον τέσσερες ἀρυστηρεῖς· τάῦτα τούτοι αἰεὶ δορυφόρουσι ἐδίδοτο.

169. Ἐπείτη δὲ συνίστες ὑπ’ ἀράπιῆς ἀγῶν τοὺς ἐπικούρους καὶ ὀ Ἀμασίς πάντας Ἁγιοπτίους ἀπίκορον ἄς Μώμεμφιν πόλιν, συνεβαλόν καὶ ἐμαχέσαντο μὲν εὗροι ἕξενοι, πληθεὶ δὲ πολλῷ ὅλαςσον ἐόντες κατὰ τοῦτο ἐσσώθησαν. Ἀπρίεω δὲ
no trade but only war, which is their hereditary calling.

167. Now whether this separation, like other customs, has come to Greece from Egypt, I cannot exactly judge. I know that in Thrace and Scythia and Persia and Lydia and nearly all foreign countries those who learn trades and their descendants are held in less esteem than the rest of the people, and those who have nothing to do with artisans' work, especially men who are free to practise the art of war, are highly honoured. Thus much is certain, that this opinion, which is held by all Greeks and chiefly by the Lacedaemonians, is of foreign origin. It is in Corinth that artisans are held in least contempt.

168. The warriors were the only Egyptians, except the priests, who had special privileges: for each of them there was set apart an untaxed plot of twelve acres. This acre is a square of a hundred Egyptian cubits each way, the Egyptian cubit being equal to the Samian. These lands were set apart for all; it was never the same men who cultivated them, but each in turn.\(^1\) A thousand Kalasiries and as many Hermotubies were the king's annual bodyguard. These men, besides their lands, received each a daily provision of five minae's weight of roast grain, two minae of beef, and four cups of wine. These were the gifts received by each bodyguard.

169. When Apries with his guards and Amasis with the whole force of Egyptians came to the town of Momemphis, they joined battle; and though the foreigners fought well, they were by much the fewer, and therefore were worsted. Apries, they say,

\(^1\) That is, each twelve-acre plot was cultivated by a new occupier every year.
λέγεται εἶναι ἣδε διάνοια, μηδ' ἀν θεόν μιν μηδένα δύνασθαι παύσαι τῆς βασιλικῆς· οὐτως ἀσφαλέως ἐωτῷ ἱδρύσαι ἐδοκεῖ. καὶ δὴ τότε συμβαλῶν ἐσόντη καὶ ζωγρηθεὶς ἀπήχθη ἐς Σάιν τόλιν, ἐς τα ἐωτοῦ ὅπια πρότερον ἐστά, τότε δὲ Ἄμασιος ἦδη βασιλῆς. ἔνθαυτα δὲ τέως μὲν ἔτρεφο εὗ τοῖς βασιλῆιοισι, καὶ μιν Ἄμασις εὐθειότερος τέλος δὲ μεμφομένων Αἰγυπτίων ὡς οὐ ποιεῖ οὐκ οὔτα τρέφον τὸν σφίσι τε καὶ ἐωτῷ ἐχθιστον, οὐτω δὴ παραδίδοι τὸν Ἀπρίεν τοῖς Αἰγυπτίοισι. οὐ δὲ μιν ἀπετυχαν καὶ ἐστιν ἐθαγαν ἐν τῇ πατρώης ταφῆς· αἱ δὲ εἰσὶ ἐν τῷ ἱρῷ τῆς Ἀθήναις, ἀγχοτάτῳ τοῦ μεγάρου, ἐσιώτι οἰστερῆς χειρός. ἔθαγαν δὲ Σαίτας πάντας τοὺς ἐκ νομοῦ τούτου γενομένους βασιλέας ἐσω εὗ τῷ ἱρῷ. καὶ γὰρ τὸ τοῦ Ἄμασιος σῆμα ἐκαστέρῳ μὲν ἐςτὶ τοῦ μεγάρου ἡ το τοῦ Ἀπρίεω καὶ τῶν τούτων προπατόρων, ἔστι μέντα καὶ τοῦτο ἐν τῇ αὐλῆ τοῦ ἱροῦ, παστάς λιθίνη μεγάλῃ καὶ ἡσκημένῃ στυλοίς τε φοίνικας τὰ δείδρεα μεμοιρημένοι καὶ τῇ ἄληθι δαπάνῃ ἐσῳ δὲ ἐν τῇ παστάδι διὰ περιόματα ἐστήκε, ἐν δὲ τοῖς περιώματι ἡ θήκη ἐςτὶ.

170. Εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ αἱ ταφαὶ τοῦ οὗ τῶν ποιεύματοι τούτων πρὸ τῆς Αθηναίης τῆς ἱστορίας, ὁποίας οὐκ ἐκ τῆς ἱστορίας τῆς Ἥλληνος ἐγένετο τοῦ νησίου, παντὸς τοῦ τῆς Ἀθηναίης εὐγένειας τοῖχον. καὶ ἐν τῷ τεμενεῖ ὀβελοὶ ἐστάσις μεγάλοι λίθινοι, λίμνη τε ἐςτὶ ἐχομένη λιθίνη κρητιδο περιόματα καὶ ἔργασμένη καὶ ἑργασμένη εὖ κύκλῳ καὶ μέγασι, ὡς ἐμοὶ ἐδοκεῖ, ὡς περ ἡ ἐν Δήλῳ ἡ τροχειδῆς καλεομένη.
supposed that not even a god could depose him from his throne; so firmly he thought he was established; and now being worsted in battle and taken captive he was brought to Sais, to the royal dwelling which belonged once to him but now to Amasis. There he was sustained for a while in the palace, and well entreated by Amasis. But presently the Egyptians complained that there was no justice in allowing one who was their own and their king's bitterest enemy to live; whereupon Amasis gave Apries up to them, and they strangled him and then buried him in the burial-place of his fathers. This is in the temple of Athene, very near to the sanctuary, on the left of the entrance. The people of Sais buried within the temple precinct all kings who were natives of their province. The tomb of Amasis is farther from the sanctuary than the tomb of Apries and his ancestors; yet it also is within the temple court; it is a great colonnade of stone, richly adorned, the pillars whereof are wrought in the form of palm trees. In this colonnade are two portals, and the place where the coffin lies is within their doors.

170. There is also at Sais the burial-place of him whose name I deem it forbidden to utter in speaking of such a matter; it is in the temple of Athene, behind and close to the whole length of the wall of the shrine. Moreover great stone obelisks stand in the precinct; and there is a lake hard by, adorned with a stone margin and wrought to a complete circle; it is, as it seemed to me, of the bigness of the lake at Delos which they call the Round Pond.
171. Ἐν δὲ τῇ λίμνῃ ταύτῃ τὰ δείκτηλα τῶν παθέων αὐτοῦ νυκτὸς ποιεύσι, τὰ καλέουσι μισήρια Αἰγύπτιοι. περὶ μὲν νων τούτων εἴδοτι μοι ἐπὶ πλέον ὡς ἐκαστὰ αὐτῶν ἔχει, εὑστόμα κείσθω, καὶ τῆς Δήμητρος τελετῆς πέρι, τὴν οἰ "Ελληνες θεσμοφορία καλέουσι, καὶ ταύτῃς μοι πέρι εὐστομα κείσθω, πλὴν ὅσιν αὐτὴς ὁσία ἔστι λέγειν: αἱ Δαναοῦ θυγατέρες ἤσαν αἱ τὴν τελετὴν ταύτην ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ ἔξαγαγοῦσαι καὶ διδάξασαι τὰς Πελασγιώτιδας γυναίκας. μετὰ δὲ ἐξαναστάσεις πάσης Πελοποννήσου ὑπὸ Δωρίων ἐξαπόλετο ἡ τελετὴ, οἱ δὲ ὑπολειφθέντες Πελοποννησίων καὶ οὐκ ἐξαναστάντες Ἀρκάδες διέσωζον αὐτὴν μοῦνοι.

172. Ἀπρίεω δὲ ὁ δὲ καταρακτημένου ἐβασίλευσε Ἀμασις, νομοῦ μὲν Σαίτων ἕως, ἐκ τῆς δὲ ἡν πόλιος, οὐνομά οἱ ἐστὶ Σιοῦφ. τὰ μὲν δὴ πρῶτα κατώνυμο τὸν Ἀμασίῳ Αἰγύπτιοι καὶ ἐν οὐδεμιᾷ μοίρῃ μεγάλῃ ἤγουν ἀτε δὴ δημότην τὸ πρῶτον ἐόντα καὶ οἰκίης οὐκ ἐπιφανέος· μετὰ δὲ σοφῆς αὐτοῦ ὁ Ἀμασίς, οὐκ ἀγνωστὴν μαρία, ἐν δὲ καὶ ποδανιππῆς χρόσεος, ἐν τῷ αὐτὸς τὲ ὁ Ἀμασίς καὶ οἱ διαιτιμόνες οἱ πάντες τοῦς πόδας ἐκαστὸν ἑναπενίζοντο· τούτων κατ' ὁν κόψας ἀγαλμα δαίμονος εἰς αὐτοῦ ἐποίησατο, καὶ ἱδρυσε τῆς πόλιος ὅκον ἢν ἐπιτηδεύσατον· οἱ δὲ Αἰγύπτιοι φοιτέωσε πρὸς τὸν γαλμα ἐσέβοντο μεγάλως. μαθὼν δὲ ὁ Ἀμασίς τὸ ἐκ τῶν ἀστῶν ποιεύμενον, συγκαλέσας Αἰγύπτιον ἐξέφηνε φᾶς ἐκ τοῦ ποδανιππῆρος τὸν γαλμα γεγο-
171. On this lake they enact by night the story of the god’s sufferings, a rite which the Egyptians call the Mysteries. I could speak more exactly of these matters, for I know the truth, but I will hold my peace; nor will I say aught concerning that rite of Demeter which the Greeks call Thesmophoria, saving such part of it as I am not forbidden to mention. It was the daughters of Danaus who brought this rite out of Egypt and taught it to the Pelasgian women; afterwards, when the people of Peloponnesus were driven out by the Dorians, it was lost, except in so far as it was preserved by the Arcadians alone, the Peloponnesian nation that was not driven out but left in its home.

172. Apries being thus deposed, Amasis became king; he was of a town called Siuph in the province of Sais. Now at first he was contemned and held in but little regard by the Egyptians, as having been but a common man and of no high family; but presently he won them to him by being cunning and not arrogant. He had among his countless treasures a golden foot-bath, in which he and all those who feasted with him were ever wont to wash their feet. This he broke in pieces and made thereof a god’s image, which he set in the most fitting place in the city; and the Egyptians came ever and anon to this image and held it in great reverence. When Amasis knew what the townsmen did, he called the Egyptians together and told them that the image had been made out of the foot-bath; once (said he)

1 A festival celebrated by Athenian women in autumn.
νέναι, ἐς τὸν πρῶτον μὲν τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους ἐνεμέειν τε καὶ ἐνοπρεῖεν καὶ πόδας ἐναποιεῖσθαι, τότε δὲ μεγάλως σέβεσθαι. ἦδη δὲν ἐφη λέγων ὁμοίως αὐτὸς τῷ ποδανπτῆρι πεποργεύει· εἰ γὰρ πρῶτον εἶναι δημότης, ἀλλ' ἐν τῷ παρεώντι εἶναι αὐτῶν βασιλεὺς· καὶ τιμᾶν τε καὶ προμηθέεσθαι ἐσωτερικόν ἐκέλευε.

173. Τοιούτῳ μὲν τρόπῳ προσηγάγετο τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους ὡστε δικαιοῦν δουλεύειν, ἐχράτω δὲ καταστάσει προηγμάτων τοιῆδε· τὸ μὲν ὀρθρὸν μέχρι ὅτεν πληθοῦσις ἀγορῆς προθύμως ἔπρησσε τὰ προσφερόμενα πρήγματα, τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ τούτου ἐπινε τε καὶ κατέσκωπτε τοὺς συμπότας καὶ ἦν μᾶταις τε καὶ παιγνιῶν. ἀχθεσθέντες δὲ τοιοῦτοι οἱ φίλοι αὐτοῦ ἐνοπθέον αὐτῶν τοιάδε λέγοντες. "Ω βασιλεῦ, οὐκ ὀρθῶς σεωτοῦ προϊστηκας, ἐς τὸ ἁγαν φαύλον προάγων σεωτῶν. σὲ γὰρ ἔχρην ἐν θρόνῳ σεμνῷ σεμνῶν θυσκέοντα δι’ ἡμέρῃς πρήσσειν τὰ πρήγματα, καὶ οὕτω Αἰγυπτίοι τ’ ἂν ἡπιστέατο ὡς ὑπ’ ἀνδρὸς μεγάλου ἀρχονταί, καὶ ἄμεινον σὺ ἄν ἰκους. νῦν δὲ ποιεῖς συνδαμῶς βασιλικά." ὁ δ’ ἀμείβετο τοῦσιδε αὐτοῖς. "Τὰ τόζα οἱ εκτιμένοι, ἐπεάν μὲν δεῶνται χράσθαι, ἐντανύουσι· εἰ γὰρ δὴ τῶν πάντα χρώνου ἐντεταμένα εἰς, ἐκραγεί ἂν, ὡστε ἐς τὸ δεόν σὺν ἄν ἐχοιεν αὐτοῖς χράσθαι. οὕτω δὲ καὶ ἀνθρώπων κατάστασις· εἰ ἐθέλοι κατεσπονδάσθαι αἰεὶ μηδὲ ἐς παιγνίνη τὸ μέρος ἐσωτερικὸν ἀνιέναι, λάθοι ἂν ἦτοι μανεῖς ὅτ’ ὑπ’ ἀποπληκτος γενόμενος· τὰ ἐν τῷ ἐπιστάμενος μέρος ἐκατέρφο νέμω. ταῦτα μὲν τοὺς φίλους ἀμείβατο.

174. Λέγεται δὲ ὁ Ἀμασις, καὶ ὡς ἦν ἰδιώτης.
his subjects had washed their feet in it and put it to yet viler uses; now they greatly revered it. "So now" (quoth he to them) "it has fared with me as with the foot-bath; once I was a common man, now I am your king; it is your duty to honour me and hold me in regard."

173. In this manner he won the Egyptians to consent to be his slaves; and this is how he ordered his affairs: in the morning, till the filling of the market place, he wrought zealously at such business as came before him; the rest of the day he spent in drinking and jesting with his boon companions in idle and sportive mood. But this displeased his friends, who thus admonished him: "O King, you are ill guided so to demean yourself. We would have you sit aloft on a throne of pride all day doing your business; thus would the Egyptians know that they have a great man for their ruler, and you would have the better name among them; but now your behaviour is nowise royal." "Nay," Amasis answered them, "men that have bows bend them at need only; were bows kept for ever bent they would break, and so would be of no avail when they were needed. Such too is the nature of men. Were they to be ever at serious work nor permit themselves a fair share of sport they would go mad or silly ere they knew it; I am well aware of that, and give each of the two its turn." Such was his answer to his friends.

174. It is said that before Amasis was a king he
ὁς φιλοπότης ἦν καὶ φιλοσκόμμων καὶ οὐδαμὸς κατεσπουδασμένος ἀνήρ. οἰκος δὲ μιν ἐπιλείποι πίνοντα τε καὶ ἐνπαθεοντα τὰ ἐπιτίθεα, κλέπτεσθε ἀν περιῶν· οἱ δ' ἂν μιν φάμενοι ἔχειν τὰ σφέτερα χρήματα ἀρνεύμενον ἄγεσκον ἐπὶ μαντήιοιο, οἰκον ἐκάστοις εύη. πολλὰ μὲν δὴ καὶ ἢλίσκετο ὑπὸ τῶν μαντηίων, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ἀπέφευγεν. ἐπείτε δὲ καὶ ἐβασίλευσε, ἐποίησε τοιάδε· ὅσοι μὲν αὐτὸν τῶν θεῶν ἁπέλυσαν μὴ φῶρα εἶναι, τούτων μὲν τῶν ἱρῶν οὔτε ἐπεμέλετο οὔτε ἐσ ἐπισκευὴν ἐδίδου οὐδέν, οὐδὲ φοιτέων ἔθεε ὡς οὐδενὸς ἑούσι αξίοις ψευδέα τε μαντήια ἐκτημένοις· ὅσοι δὲ μιν κατέδραν φῶρα εἶναι, τούτων δὲ ὡς ἀληθείων θεῶν ἐόντων καὶ ἄψυχεια μαντήια παρεχομένων τὰ μάλιστα ἐπεμέλετο.

175. Καὶ τούτο μὲν ἐν Σάι τῇ Ἀθηναίᾳ προπολαίᾳ θωμάσια οία ἐξεποίησε, πολλῶν πάντων ὑπερβαλόμενος τῷ τῇ ψυγεί καὶ τῷ μεγάθει, ὅσων τε τῷ μέγαθος λίθων ἐστὶ καὶ οἰκοῖς τεῦθαν· τούτῳ δὲ κολοσσοῦς μεγάλους καὶ ἀνδρόσφιγγας περιμήκεις ἀνέθηκε, λίθους τε ἅλλους ἐσ ἐπισκευὴν ὑπερφυέας τῷ μέγαθος ἐκόμισε. ἦγαγε τὸ δὲ τούτων τούς μὲν ἐκ τῶν κατὰ Μέμψιν ἐνοικέων λιθοτομεόν, τούς δὲ ὑπερμεγάθεας ἐς Ἐλεφαντίνης πόλιος πλοῦν καὶ εἰκοσί ήμερέων ἀπεχοῦσας ἀπὸ Σάιος. τὸ δὲ οὐκ ἢκιστα αὐτῶν ἄλλα μάλιστα θωμάζω, ἐστὶ τάδε· οἰκῆμα μουνόλιθον ἐκόμισε ἐς Ἐλεφαντίνης πόλιος, καὶ τούτο ἐκόμιζον μὲν ἐπ'
was a man nowise serious-minded but much given to drinking and jesting; and when his drinking and merrymaking brought him to penury, he would wander around and steal from one and another. Then those others, when he denied the charge that he had taken their possessions, would bring him to whatever place of divination was nearest them; and the oracles often declared him guilty and often acquitted him. When he became king, he took no care of the shrines of the gods who had acquitted him of theft, nor gave them aught for maintenance, nor made it his practice to sacrifice there, for he deemed them to be worthless and their oracles to be false; but he tended with all care the gods who had declared his guilt, holding them to be gods in very truth and their oracles infallible.

175. Amasis made a marvellous outer court for the temple of Athene at Saïs, surpassing, in height and grandeur, and in the size and splendour of the stones, all who had erected such buildings; moreover, he set up huge images and vast man-headed sphinxes, and brought enormous blocks of stone besides for the building. Some of these he brought from the stone quarries of Memphis; those of greatest size came from the city Elephantine, distant twenty days' journey by river from Saïs. But let me now tell of what I hold the most marvellous of his works. He brought from Elephantine a shrine made of one single block of stone; three years it

1 Apparently, Nit; also identified with Demeter (132, note).
2 Visitors to Karnak will remember the double row of sphinxes leading to the temple.
3 The island opposite Assuan; the Assuan quarries have always been famous.
GREEK

ἐτεα τριά, διυχλιοι δὲ οἱ προσετετάχατο ἀνδρεῖς ἀγωγεῖς, καὶ οὗτοι ἄπαντες ἦσαν κυβερνήται. τῆς δὲ στέγης ταύτης τὸ μὲν μῆκος ἦστε ἐστὶ εἰς τε καὶ εἰκοσι πῆχες, εὐρος δὲ τεσσερεσκαίδεκα, ὕψος δὲ ὀκτώ. ταύτα μὲν τὰ μέτρα ἦσθεν τῆς στέγης τῆς μονοκλήθου ἐστὶ, ἀτὰρ ἔσωθεν τὸ μῆκος ὀκτωκαιδεκὰ πηχέων καὶ πυγόνους . . . 1 τὸ δὲ ὕψος πέντε πηχέων ἐστὶ. αὐτὴ τοῦ ἱρὸν κέεται παρὰ τὴν ἐσοδον. ἐσο γὰρ μὲν ἐς τὸ ἱρὸν φασὶ τῶνδε εἴνεκα οὐκ ἔσελκυσαι τῶν ἀρχιτέκτων αὐτῆς ἐκκομένης τῆς στέγης ἀναστενάζαι, οἷα τε χρόνον ἐγκεφαλότος στολοῦ καὶ ἀχθομενοῦ τῷ ἔργῳ, τού δὲ Ἀμασίν ἑνθύμων ποιησάμενον οὐκ ἐάν ἔτι προσωτέρω ἐλκύσαι. ἦδη δὲ τινὲς λέγουσι ὡς ἀνθρώποις διεφθάρη ὑπ’ αὐτῆς τῶν τις αὐτὴν μοιχεύντων, καὶ ἀπὸ τούτου οὐκ ἔσελκυσθήναι.

176. Ἀνέθηκε δὲ καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἀλλοις ἱροῖσι ὁ Ἀμασίς πάσι τοῖς ἐλλογίμοισι ἔργα τὸ μέγαθος ἀξιοθέντα, ἐν δὲ καὶ ἐν Μέμφι τὸν ὑπτίον κείμενον κολοσσὸν τοῦ Ἡφαίστειον ἐμπροσθε, τοῦ πόδες πέντε καὶ ἐβδομήκοντα εἰσὶ τὸ μῆκος· ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ αὐτῷ βάθρῳ ἐστάσει τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἐντός λίθον δύο κολοσσοί, εἰκοσι ποδῶν τὸ μέγαθος ἐων ἑκάτερος, ὁ μὲν ἐνθέν ὁ δὲ ἐνθέν τοῦ μεγάλου. ἐστὶ δὲ λίθινος ἐτερος τοσοῦτος καὶ ἐν Σαι, κείμενος κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον τῷ ἐν Μέμφι. τῇ Ἰσι τε τῷ ἐν Μέμφι ἱρῷ ὁ Ἀμασίς ἐστι ὁ ἕξουσιοκομησάς, ἐων μέγα τε καὶ ἀξιοθεμπότατον.

177. Ἔπι' Ἀμάσιος δὲ βασιλεός λέγεται Αἴγυπτος μάλιστα δὴ τότε εὐδαιμονίσας καὶ τὰ ἀπὸ τοῦ

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1 This lacuna is in one MS. filled by the words τὸ δὲ ἐφροτ διώδεκα πηχέων.
was in the bringing, and two thousand men were charged with the carriage of it, pilots all of them. This chamber measures in outer length twenty-one cubits, in breadth fourteen, in height eight. These are the outer measurements of the chamber which is made of one block; its inner length is of eighteen cubits and four-fifths of a cubit, and its height of five cubits. It lies by the entrance of the temple; the reason why it was not dragged within into the temple was (so they say), that while it was being drawn the chief builder groaned aloud for the much time spent and his weariness of the work, and Amasis taking this to heart would not suffer it to be drawn further. Some again say that a man, one of them that heaved up the shrine, was crushed by it, and therefore it was not dragged within.

176. Moreover Amasis dedicated, besides monuments of marvellous size in all the other temples of note, the huge image that lies supine before Hephaestus' temple at Memphis; this image is seventy-five feet in length; there stand on the same base, on either side of the great image, two huge statues hewn from the same block, each of them twenty feet high. There is at Sais another stone figure of like bigness, lying as lies the figure at Memphis. It was Amasis, too, who built the great and most marvellous temple of Isis at Memphis.

177. It is said that in the reign of Amasis Egypt attained to its greatest prosperity, in respect of what
ποταμοῦ τῆς χώρης γενόμενα καὶ τὰ ἀπὸ τῆς χώρης τοῖς ἀνθρώποις, καὶ πόλεις ἐν αὐτῇ γενέσθαι τὰς ἀπάσας τὸτε δισμυρίας τὰς οἰκειομένας. νόμον τε Ἀιγυπτίων τούτω "Ἀμασίς ἐστὶ ο καταστήσας, ἀποδεικνύει ἕτεος ἐκάστου τῷ νομάρχῃ πάντα τινὰ Ἀιγυπτίων δὲν βιοῦται, μὴ δὲ ποιεῖν ταῦτα μηδὲ ἀποφαίνοντα δικαίως λόγῳ ἰδύνεσθαι θανάτῳ. Σολων δὲ ὁ Ἀθηναῖος λαβὼν ἐξ Ἀιγυπτίων τούτων τῶν νόμων Ἀθηναίοις ἔθετο, τῷ ἔκεινοι ἐς αἰεὶ χρέωνται ἔοιτε ἀμώμῳ νόμῳ.

178. Φιλέλλην δὲ γενόμενος ὁ Ἀμασίς ἀλλὰ τε ἐς Ἐλλήνων μετεξετέρους ἀπεδέξατο, καὶ δὴ καὶ τοῖς ἀπεκκεφεύθησας ἐς Ἀιγυπτίων ἐδώκει Ναυκράτην πόλιν ἐνοικῆσαι τοῖς δὲ μὴ βουλομένους αὐτῶν οἰκεῖοι, αὐτοὺς δὲ ναυτιλλομένους ἐδώκει χώρους ἐνδύσασθαι βωμοὺς καὶ τεμένα τεοῦσι. τὸ μὲν νυν μέγιστον αὐτῶν τέμενος, καὶ ὅνομαστότατον ἐν καὶ χρησιμῶτατον, καλεύμενον δὲ Ἐλλήνων, αἰιδὲ αἱ πόλεις εἰς αἱ ἰδρυμέναι κοινῆς Ἰόνων μὲν Χίου καὶ Τέως καὶ Φώκαια καὶ Κλαδομεναί Δωριέων δὲ Ρόδος καὶ Κυίδος καὶ Ἀλκαρμηνσός καὶ Φάσηλις, Αἰολέων δὲ ἡ Μυτιληναίων μοῦνη, τοντέων μὲν ἐστὶ τούτῳ τὸ τέμενος, καὶ προστάτας τοῦ ἐμπορίου αὐτοῦ αἱ πόλεις εἰς αἱ παρέχουσα, δοσαὶ δὲ ἀλλὰ πόλεις μεταποιεῖται, ὅδεν σφι μετεδὸ μεταποιεῖται. χορὶς δὲ Ἀιγυπτίας ἐπὶ ἐωτῶν ἰδρύμαστο τέμενος Δίως, καὶ ἀλλο Σάμιοι Ἡρᾶς καὶ Μιλήσιοι Ἀπόλλωνος.

179. Ἡν δὲ τὸ παλαιὸν μοῦνη Ναυκρατις ἐμπόριον καὶ ἀλλο συνεῖν Ἀιγυπτίων εἰ δὲ τις ἐς τῶν τι ἀλλο στομάτων του Ὀλυμπίου ἀπίκοιτο, χρῆν

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the river did for the land and the land for its people; and that the whole sum of inhabited cities in the country was twenty thousand. It was Amasis also who made the law that every Egyptian should yearly declare his means of livelihood to the ruler of his province, and, failing so to do or to prove that he had a just way of life, be punished with death. Solon the Athenian got this law from Egypt and established it among his people; may they ever keep it! for it is a perfect law.

178. Amasis became a lover of the Greeks, and besides other services which he did to some of them he gave those who came to Egypt the city of Naukratis to dwell in, and to those who voyaged to the country without desire to settle there he gave lands where they might set altars and make holy places for their gods. Of these the greatest and most famous and most visited precinct is that which is called the Hellenion, founded jointly by the Ionian cities of Chios, Teos, Phocaea, and Clazomenae, the Dorian cities of Rhodes, Cnidus, Halicarnassus, and Phaselis, and one Aeolian city, Mytilene. It is to these that the precinct belongs, and these are they that appoint wardens of the port; if any others claim rights therein they lay claim to that wherein they have no part or lot. The Aeginetans made a precinct of their own, sacred to Zeus; and so did the Samians for Here and the Milesians for Apollo.

179. Naukratis was in old time the only trading port in Egypt. Whosoever came to any other mouth of the Nile must swear that he had not come of his
ομόσαι μὴ μὲν ἐκόντα ἐλθεῖν, ἀπομόσαντα δὲ τῇ νη ἀυτῇ πλέειν ἐς τὸ Κανωβίκον· ἡ εἰ μὴ γε σιὰ τε εἰ ὶ πρὸς ἀνέμους ἀντίους πλέειν, τὰ φορτία ἔδεε περιάγειν ἐν βάρισι περὶ τὸ Δέλτα, μέχρι οὗ ἀπίκοιτο ἐς Ναύκρατιν. οὐτω μὲν δῇ Ναύκρατις ἑτείμητο.

180. Ἀμφικτυόνων δὲ μισθωσάντων τὸν ἐν Δελ-
φοίσι νῦν ἑντα νη ἑνοῦ τριηχοσίαν ταλάντων ἐξεργά-
σασθαί (ὅ γὰρ πρότερον ἐὼν αὐτόθι αὐτόματος κατεκάψατο), τοὺς Δελφοὺς δὴ ἐπέβαλλε τεταρτη-
μάριον τοῦ μισθώματος παρασχεῖν. πλανώμενοι δὲ οἱ Δελφοὶ περὶ τὰς πόλις ἐδωτήσαον, ποιεῖστε δὲ τούτῳ οὐκ ἐλάχιστον ἐξ Αἰγύπτου ἥνεκαντο: Ἀμασίς μὲν γὰρ σφί ἐδωκε χίλια στυπτηρίδης ταλάντα, οἱ δὲ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ οἰκέουστες Ἕλληνες εἴκοσι μνάες.

181. Κυρηναῖοι δὲ Ἀμασις βιλότητα τε καὶ συμμαχίαν συνεθήκατο, ἐδικαίωσε δὲ καὶ γῆμαι αὐτόθεν, εἰτ’ ἐπιθυμήσας Ἕλληνιδος γυναικὸς εἰτε καὶ ἄλλων βιλότητος Κυρηναίων εἶνεκα: γαμεῖε δὲ ὅν οἱ μὲν λέγουσι Βάττον οἱ δ’ Ἀρκεσίλεως θυγατέρα, οἱ δὲ Κριτοβοῦλου ἀνδρὸς τῶν ἀστῶν δοκίμου, τῇ οὖν μὴν Ἀδίκη καταίπην ἐπείτε συγκλί-
νοιτο ὡς Ἀμασίς, μίσγεσθαι οὐκ οἴος τε ἐγίνετο, τῆς δὲ ἀλληρί γυναιξὶ ἐχράτο. ἐπείτε δὲ πολλοὺν τοῦτο ἐγίνετο, εἰπε ὡς Ἀμασίς πρὸς τὴν Δαδίκην ταὐτὴν καλεμένην, "Ω γυναι, κατὰ με ἑφάρμαξας, καὶ ἔστι τοι οὐδεμία μηχανή μη οὐκ ἀπολωλεῖαι κάκιστα γυναικῶν πασέων." ἡ δὲ Δαδίκη, ἐπείτε οἱ ἀρνευμένη οὐδέν ἐγίνετο προῖτερος ὡς Ἀμασίς, εὐχεταῖ ἐν τῷ νόῳ τῇ Ἀφροδίτῃ, ἡν οἱ ὑπ’ ἑκείνην

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own will, and having so sworn must then take his ship and sail to the Canobic mouth; or, if he could not sail against contrary winds, he must carry his cargo in barges round the Delta till he came to Naucratis. In such honour was Naucratis held.

180. When the Amphietyons had contracted for three hundred talents the work of finishing the temple that now stands at Delphi (that which was formerly there having been burnt by pure mischance), it fell to the Delphians to provide a fourth part of the cost. They went about from city to city collecting gifts, and in this business they got most from Egypt; for Amasis gave them a thousand talents' weight of astringent earth,¹ and the Greek dwellers in Egypt twenty minae.

181. Amasis made friends and allies of the people of Cyrene. Moreover he thought fit to take himself a wife from thence; whether it was that he desired a Greek woman, or that he had other cause for winning the friendship of Cyrene, I know not; but he married one Ladice, said to be the daughter of Battus by some, of Arcesilaus by others, and by others again of Critobulus, an esteemed citizen of the place. But it so fell out that Ladice was the only woman with whom Amasis could not have intercourse; and this continuing, Amasis said to this Ladice, "Woman, you have cast a spell on me, and most assuredly you shall come to the most terrible end of all women." So, the king's anger not abating for all her denial, Ladice vowed in her heart to

¹ Alum, apparently.
τὴν νύκτα μιγάζοντα τὸ "Ἀμασις, τούτο γὰρ οἱ κακοὶ εἶναι μῆχος, ἀγαλματία οἱ ἀποπέμψεων ἐστὶν. Κυρήνη, μετά δὲ τὴν εὐχήν αὐτικά οἱ ἐμίχθη ὁ "Ἀμασις, καὶ τὸ ἑκβάτον ἦδη, ὅκωτε ἔλθοι Ἀμασις πρὸς αὐτήν, ἐμίσητο, καὶ κάρτα μιν ἐστέρξε μετὰ τοῦτο. ἦ δὲ Λαδικη ἀπέδωκε τὴν εὐχήν τῆς θείᾳ, ποιησάμενο γὰρ ἁγαλμα ἀπέπεμψε ἐς Κυρήνην, τὸ ἐτεὶ καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ τὴν σοῦν, ἕξω τετραμμένον τοῦ Κυρηναίων ἀστεοὺς. ταῦτα τὴν Λαδικην, ὡς ἐπεκράτησε Καμβύσης Αιγύπτου καὶ ἐπιθέτο αὐτῆς ὅτις εἶν, ἀπεπεμψε ἀσινέα ἐς Κυρήνην.

182. Ἀνέθηκε δὲ καὶ ἀναδήματα ὁ "Ἀμασις ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα, τοῦτο μὲν ἐς Κυρήνην ἁγαλμα ἐπίχρυσον Ἀθηναιών καὶ εἰκόνα ἐνωτοῦ γραφῆς εἰκασμένην, τοῦτο δὲ τῆς ἐν Δίνδοι Ἀθηναιᾶ ὄνομα τοῦ ἁγαλματο λίθου καὶ θώρηκα λίθου ἀξιοθέντος, τοῦτο δὲ ἐς Σάμων τῇ Ὡρη εἰκόνας ἐνωτοῦ δισεσθίας ξυλίνας, αἰ ἐν τῷ νησὶ τῷ μεγάλῳ ἱδρυματο ἐπὶ καὶ τὸ μέχρι ἐμεῖς, ὅπισθε τῶν θυρέων. ἐς μὲν νυν Σάμου ἀνέθηκε κατὰ ξεινίαν τὴν ἐνωτοῦ τε καὶ Πολυκράτεος τοῦ Αλάκεως, ἐς δὲ Δίνδοις ἥθης μὲν ὀδυμικῆς εἴνεκεν, ὅτε δὲ τοῦ ἱδρυματο τὸ ἐν Δίνδοι τῆς Ἀθηναιῆς λέγεται τὰς Δαναοῦς θυγατέρας ἱδρύσασθαι προσχούσας, ὅτε ἀπεδίδησαν τους Αἰγύπτου παιδάς. ταῦτα μὲν ἀνέθηκε ὁ "Ἀμασις, εἰλεὶ δὲ Κύπρου πρῶτος ἀνθρώπων καὶ κατεστρέφατο ἐς φόρου ἀπαγωγήν.
Aphrodite that she would send the goddess a statue to Cyrene if Amasis had intercourse with her that night; for that would remedy the evil; and thereafter all went well, and Amasis loved his wife much. Ladice paid her vow to the goddess; she had an image made and sent it to Cyrene, where it stood safe till my time, facing outwards from the city. Cambyses, when he had conquered Egypt and learnt who Ladice was, sent her away to Cyrene unharmed.

182. Moreover Amasis dedicated offerings in Hellas. He gave to Cyrene a gilt image of Athene and a painted picture of himself, to Athene of Lindus two stone images and a marvellous linen breast-plate, and to Here in Samos two wooden statues of himself, which stood yet in my time behind the doors in the great shrine. The offerings in Samos were dedicated by reason of the friendship between Amasis and Polycrates\(^1\) son of Aeaces; what he gave to Lindus was for no friendship with any man, but because it is said that the temple of Athene in Lindus was founded by the daughters of Danaus, when they landed there in their flight from the sons of Egyptus. Such were Amasis' offerings. Moreover he was the first conqueror of Cyprus, which he made tributary to himself.

\(^1\) Polycrates' rule began probably in 532 B.C. For the friendship between him and Amasia, see iii. 39.
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