GOVERNMENT OF INDIA
DEPARTMENT OF ARCHAEOLOGY
CENTRAL ARCHAEOLOGICAL LIBRARY

CLASS

CALL NO. 938.03  Her-God
Vol. II

D.G.A. 79.
THE LOEB CLASSICAL LIBRARY
FOUNDED BY JAMES LOEB, LL.D.

EDITED BY
† T. E. PAGE, C.H., LITT.D.
E. CAPPS, PH.D., LL.D.
L. A. POST, M.A.
W. H. D. ROUSE, LITT.D.
E. H. WARMINGTON,
M.A., F.R.HIST.SOC.

HERODOTUS

II
CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION TO BOOKS III AND IV .......................... vii

BOOK III ......................................................... 1

BOOK IV ......................................................... 197

INDEX OF PROPER NAMES .................................... 409

MAPS:

1. The Persian Empire ........................................ At end
2. The World According to Herodotus .................. "

V
INTRODUCTION TO BOOKS III AND IV

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

suggested by moderns, this idea of an encircling river may have originated in the fact that to north, south, and east great rivers ran in the farthest lands known to Greeks: the Nile in the south (and if it could be made to run partly from west to east, so much the better for the belief that it was a boundary), the Danube in the north, the Euphrates in the east; in the west, of course, the untravelled waters outside the "Pillars of Hercules" fitted into the scheme. But whether the legend of an encircling stream had a rational basis or not, Herodotus will have none of it. The Greeks, he says, believe the world to be surrounded by the Ocean; but they cannot prove it. The thing, to him, is ridiculous; as is also the neat tripartite division of the world into three continents of equal extent. His own scheme is different. Taking the highlands of Persia as a base, he makes Asia a peninsula stretching westward, and Libya another great peninsula south-westward; northward and alongside of the two is the vast tract called Europe. This latter, in his view, is beyond comparison bigger than either Asia or Libya; its length from east to west is at least equal to the length of the other two together; and while there are at least traditions of the circumnavigation of Libya, and some knowledge of seas to the south and east of Asia, Europe stretches to the north in tracts of illimitable distance, the very absence of any tale of a northern boundary tending in itself to prove
enormous extent. The lands north and south of the Mediterranean have each its great river; and Herodotus has already in the Second Book endeavoured to show that there is a kind of correspondence between the Nile and the Danube. He, too, like the geographers with whom he disagrees, is obsessed, in the absence of knowledge, by a desire for symmetry. The Nile, he is convinced, flows for a long way across the country of the Ethiopians from west to east before it makes a bend to the north and flows thus through Egypt. So the Danube, too, rises in the far west of Europe, in the country of "Pyrene"; and as the Nile eventually turns and flows northward, so the Danube, after running for a long way eastward, makes an abrupt turn southward to flow into the Black Sea. Thus the Mediterranean countries, southern Europe and northern Africa, are made to lie within what the two rivers— their mouths being regarded as roughly "opposite" to each other, in the same longitude—make into a sort of interrupted parallelogram.

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

Critics of the Odyssey have sometimes been at
INTRODUCTION TO BOOKS III AND IV

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

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

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

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

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

Even worse difficulties would confront the enterprising critic who should attempt to deal with Darius' marchings and counter-marchings in Scythia as matter for serious investigation. Herodotus' story is, with regard to its details of time, plainly incredible; a great army could not conceivably have covered anything like the alleged distance in the alleged time. It must, apparently, be confessed that there are moments when the Father of History is supra geographiam—guilty of disregarding it when he did, as appears from other parts of the Fourth Book, know something of Scythian distances. The disregard may be explained, if not excused. Herodotus is seldom proof against the attractions of a Moral Tale. Given an unwieldy army of invaders, vis consili expers, and those invaders the natural enemies of Hellas,—and given also the known evasive tactics of Scythian warfare,—there was obviously a strong temptation to make a picturesque narrative, in which overweening power should be tricked, baffled, and eventually saved only by a hair's breadth from utter destruction at a supremely dramatic moment. So strong, we may suppose, was the temptation that Herodotus put from him considerations of time and distance, in the probably not unjustified expectation that his Greek readers or
hearers would not trouble themselves much about such details. In short, it must be confessed that Herodotus' reputation as a serious historian must rest on other foundations than his account of Darius Scythian campaign.¹

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

¹ For a detailed discussion of the various problems suggested by Book IV the reader is referred to the long and elaborate Introduction to Dr. Macan's edition of Herodotus, Books IV, V, VI.
units, appear in other passages in Herodotus as subjects of a single satrapy. What the historian gives us in Book III is simply a statistical list of Darius' revenues and the sources from which they were drawn.
HERODOTUS

BOOK III
ΗΡΩΔΟΤΟΥ ΙΣΤΟΡΙΑΙ

Γ

1. Ἑπὶ τούτων δὴ τῶν Ἀμασίν Καμβύσης ὁ Κύρος ἐστρατεύετο, ἁγών καὶ ἄλλους τῶν ἥρωτ\ ns καὶ Ἑλλήνων Ἰωνᾶς τε καὶ Αἰσιόδαρας, δι' αἰτίας τοιήματε, πέμψας Καμβύσης ἔνα Αἰγυπτίου κήρυκα αἰτεῖν Ἀμασίν θυγατέρα, αἰτεῖ δὲ ἐκ βουλῆς ἀνδρός Αἰγυπτίου, ὡς μεμφόμενος Ἀμασίν ἐπρηξε ταῦτα ὅτε μν ἐξ ἀπάντων τῶν ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ ἦττῶν ἀποσπάσας ἀπὸ γυναικὸς τε καὶ τέκνων ἐκδοτον ἐποίησε ἐς Πέρσας, ὅτε Κύρος πέμψας παρὰ Ἀμασίν αἰτεῖν ἦττῶν ὀφθαλμῶν δὲ εἶπ' ἀριστοτοῖ τῶν ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ. ταῦτα δὴ ἐπιμεμφόμενος ὁ Αἰγύπτιος ἐνήγη τῇ συμβουλῇ κελεύουν αἰτεῖν τὸν Καμβύσηα Ἀμασίν θυγατέρα, ἵνα ἡ δούς ἄνωτο ἡ μὴ δούς Καμβύση ἀπέχθανο. δὲ Ἀμασίς τῇ δυνάμῃ τῶν Περσέων ἀκόμοις καὶ ἀρωδέωιν ὑπὲρ εἰσὶν ὑπέρ ἰδίως καὶ ἐν γὰρ ἦπεσατο ὅτι οὐκ ἦσαν γυναῖκα μὴ ἔμελλε Καμβύσης ἔξειν ἄλλο ἀλλ' ὡς παλλακὴν. ταῦτα δὴ ἐκλογιζόμενος ἐποίησε τάδε. ἢν Ἀπρίεω τοῦ πρωτεροῦ Βασιλέως θυγάτηρ κάρτα μεγάλη τε καὶ εὔειδής μούνη τοῦ οἴκου λελειμμένη, οὐνομα δὲ οἱ
HERODOTUS

BOOK III

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

1 The received date is 525 B.C.
HERODOTUS

ην Νίτητις· ταύτην δὴ την παίδα ὁ Ἀμασις κοσμήσας ἐσθήτι τε καὶ χρυσῷ ἀποτέμπει ἢς Πέρσας ὡς ἐωτοῦ θυγατέρα. μετὰ δὲ χρόνου ὡς μιν ἡστάζετο πατρόθεν ὄνομάζουν, λέγει πρὸς αὐτὸν ἡ παῖς "Ὤ βασιλεῦ, διαβεβλημένος ὑπὸ Ἀμάσιοι οὐ μανθάνεις. ὃς ἐμὲ σοὶ κόσμῳ ἀσκήσας ἀπέπεμψε ὡς ἐωτοῦ θυγατέρα διδοὺς, ἐσώσαν τῇ ἀληθείᾳ Ἀπρίεω, τὸν ἕκενου ἑώτα ἐωτοῦ δεσπότεα μετ' Ἀιγυπτίων ἐπαναστάς ἐφόνευσε." τούτῳ δὴ τὸ ἔπος καὶ αὐτῇ ἡ αἰτία ἐγγενομένη ἡγαγε Καμβύςεα τὸν Κύρου μεγάλως θυμώθεντα ἐπ' Ἀιγυπτίων.

2. Οὕτω μὲν νῦν λέγουσι Πέρσαι. Αἰγυπτίωι δὲ οἰκησόνται Καμβύςεα, φάμενοι μὲν ἐκ ταύτης δὴ τῆς Ἀπρίεω θυγατρὸς γενέσθαι. Κύρου γὰρ εἶναι τὸν πέμψαντα παρὰ Ἀμασίν ἑπὶ τὴν θυγατέρα, ἀλλ' οὐ Καμβύςεα. λέγοντες δὲ ταύτα οὐκ ὁρθῶς λέγονται. οὐ μὲν οὖδὲ λέληθε αὐτοῦ (εἰ γὰρ τινές καὶ ἄλλοι, τὰ Περσέων νόμιμα ἐπιστεύονται καὶ Αἰγυπτίοι) ὅτι πρῶτα μὲν νόθον οὐ σφι νόμος ἐστὶ βασιλεύσαι γυναικί παρεώντος, αὐτὸς δὲ ὅτι Κασσανδάνη τῆς Φαρμάσσεως θυγατρὸς ἦν παῖς Καμβύςεας, ἄνδρος 'Ἄχαιμενίδης, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐκ τῆς Αἰγυπτίας. ἀλλὰ παρατάσσουσι τὸν λόγον προσποιεῖμενοι τῇ Κύρου οἰκίᾳ συγγενεῖς εἶναι.

3. Καὶ ταύτα μὲν ὡδὲ ἔχει. λέγεται δὲ καὶ ὡδὲ λόγος, ἐμὸς μὲν οὐ πιθανὸς, ὡς τῶν Περσίδων γυναικῶν ἐσελθοῦσα τὶς παρὰ τὰς Κύρου γυναῖκας, ὡς εἰδὲ τῇ Κασσανδάνῃ παρεστῶτα τέκνα εὐεὐδέα τε καὶ μεγάλα, πολλῷ ἐγράτῳ τῷ ἐπαίνῳ ὑπερθωμάζουσα, ἡ δὲ Κασσανδάνη ἐοῦσα τοῦ Κύρου γυνῆ ἐπὶ τάδε. "Τοιώνδε μὲν τοι εμὲ παῖδων μητέρα
family; Amasis decked her out with raiment and golden ornaments and sent her to the Persians as if she were his own daughter. But after a while, the king greeting her as the daughter of Amasis, the damsel said, “King, you know not how Amasis has deceived you: he decked me out with ornaments and sent me to you to pass for his own daughter; but I am in truth the daughter of his master Apries, whom he and other Egyptians rebelled against and slew.” It was these words and this reason that prevailed with Cambyses to lead him in great anger against Egypt.

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

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

είχαν Κύρος ἐν ἄτιμῇ ἔχει, τὴν δὲ ἀπ' Ἀγάμπτου ἐπικτητον ἐν τιμῇ τίθεται." τὴν μὲν ἀχθομένην τῇ Νειτήτι εἴπειν ταύτα, τῶν δὲ οἱ παιδῶν τῶν πρεσβύτερον εἴπειν Καμβύσεα "Τοιγάρ τοι ὁ μήτερ, ἐπειδὰν ἐγὼ γένομαι αὐὴρ, Ἀγάμπτον τὰ μὲν ἀνω κάτω θῆσα, τὰ δὲ κάτω ἀνω." ταύτα εἴπειν αὐτὸν ἔτεα ὡς δέκα κού γεγονότα, καὶ τὰς γυναίκας ἐν θώματι γενέσθαι· τὸν δὲ διαμνημονεύοντα οὕτω δὴ, ἐπείτε ἀνδρόθη καὶ ἔσχε τὴν βασιλὴν, ποιήσασθαι τὴν ἐπὶ Ἀγάμπτου στρατηγὴν.

4. Συνήθεικε δὲ καὶ ἄλλο τι τοιούτοις πρήγμα γενέσθαι ἐς τὴν ἐπιστράτευσιν ταύτην. ἦν τῶν ἐπικούρων Ἀμάσις ἄνηρ γένος μὲν Ἀλκαρησεὺς, οὕνωμα δὲ οἱ Φάνης, καὶ γνώμην ἰκανός καὶ τὰ πολεμικὰ ἄλκιμος. οὗτος ὁ Φάνης μεμφομένος κοῦ τι Ἀμάσι εἰδιδρήσκει πλοῖρ ἐξ Ἀγάμπτου, Βουλόμενος Καμβύση ἐθείν εἰς λόγους. οἶα δὲ ἔστατα αὐτὸν ἐν τοίσι ἐπικούροισι λόγου οὐ σμίκρου ἐπιστάμενον τε τὰ περὶ Ἀγάμπτου ἀτρεκέστατα, μεταδιώκει ὁ Ἀμασίς σπουδὴν ποιεύμενος ἔλειν, μεταδιώκει δὲ τῶν εὐνοοῦχων τὸν πιστοτὸν ἀποστείλας τριήρει κατ' αὐτὸν, δείπει μὲν ἐν Δυνὶς, ἔλον δὲ οὕκ ἀνήγαγε ἐς Ἀγάμπτου σοφὸς γὰρ μὲν περὶ ὅθεν ὁ Φάνης· καταμεθύσας γὰρ τοὺς φυλάκους ἀπαλλάσσετο ἐς Πέρσας. ὁρμημένο

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

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

5. Now the only manifest way of entry into Egypt
Αἰγυπτικός. ἀπὸ γὰρ Φοινίκης μέχρι οὐρων τῶν 
Καδύτιος πόλεως ἔστι Σύρων τῶν Παλαιστίνων 
καλεομένων ἀπὸ δὲ Καδύτιος ἐσύσης πόλεως, ὡς 
ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν, Σαρδίων οὐ πολλῷ ἐλάσσονος, ἀπὸ 
ταύτης τὰ ἐμπόρια τὰ ἐπὶ θαλάσσης μέχρι Ίηνύου 
πόλεως ἔστι τοῦ Ἀραβίου, ἀπὸ δὲ Ίηνύου αὐτὸς 
Σύρων μέχρι Σερβωνίδος λίμνης, παρ’ ἦν δὴ τὸ 
Κάσιον ὄρος τείνει ἐς θάλασσαν ἀπὸ δὲ Σερβωνίδος 
λίμνης, ἐν τῇ δὴ λόγος τοῦ Τυφώ κεκρυφθαί, 
ἀπὸ ταύτης ἦδη Αἰγυπτος. τὸ δὴ μεταξὺ Ίηνύου 
πόλεως καὶ Κάσιον τε ὄρεως καὶ τῆς Σερβωνίδος 
λίμνης, ἐον τούτο οὐκ ὄλγον χωρίον ἀλλὰ ὃσον τε 
ἐπὶ τρεῖς ἡμέρας ὁδόν, ἀνυδρων ἐστὶ δεινῶς.

6. Τὸ δὲ ὄλγοι τῶν ἐς Αἰγυπτον ναυτιλλομένων 
ἐννεώκασι, τούτο ἐρχομαι φράσων. ἐς Αἰγυπτον 
ἐκ τῆς Ἐλλάδος πάσης καὶ πρὸς ἐκ Φοινίκης 
κέραμος ἐσάγεται πλήρης οἶνου διὸ τοῦ ἔτεος 
ἐκάστου, καὶ ἐν κεράμιοι οἰνηρῶν ἄριθμῳ κεῖνον 
οὐκ ἔστι ὡς λόγος εἰπεὶν ἱδέσθαι. καὶ δὴ τε, εἴποι 
τις ἄν, ταῦτα ἀναστίμοιται; ἐγὼ καὶ τοῦτο φράσων 
ἀπὸ τῶν μὲν δήμαρχον ἐκαστον ἐκ τῆς ἐωτοῦ 
πόλεως συλλέξαντα πάντα τὸν κέραμον ἄγειν ἐς 
Μέμφιν, τοὺς δὲ ἐκ Μέμφιος ἐς ταῦτα δὴ τὰ 
ἀνυδρα τῆς Συρίης κομίζειν πλησαντας ὑδατον. 
οὕτω ὁ ἐπιφοιτεῖν κέραμος καὶ ἐξαιρεόμενος ἐν 
Αἰγυπτῳ ἐπὶ τῶν παλαιῶν κομίζεται ἐς Συρίην.

7. Οὕτω μὲν νῦν Πέρσαι εἰσὶ οἱ τὴν ἐσβολὴν 
ταύτθν παρασκευάσαντες ἐς Αἰγυπτον, κατὰ δὴ
BOOK III. 5–7

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

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

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

¹ Probably Gaza.
² Hot winds and volcanic agency were attributed by Greek mythology to Typhon, cast down from heaven by Zeus and "buried" in hot or volcanic regions. Typhon came to be identified with the Egyptian god Set; and the legend grew that he was buried in the Serbonian marsh.
8. Σέβονται δὲ Ἄραβιοι πίστις ἄνθρωπων ὀμοια
tοίς μάλιστα, ποιεύνται δὲ αὐτὰς τρόπω τοιούτω
τῶν βουλομένων τὰ πιστὰ ποιεοῦσαί ἄλλοις ἀνήρ,
ἀμφοτέρων αὐτῶν ἐν μέσῳ ἑστεῶς, λίθῳ ὅζει τὸ
ἐσω τῶν χειρῶν παρὰ τοὺς δακτύλους τοὺς μεγά-
λους ἐπιτάмων τῶν ποιεωμένων τὰς πίστις, καὶ
ἐπείτα λαβῶν ἐκ τοῦ ἴματίου ἐκατέρου κροκύδα
ἀλείφει τῷ αἵματι ἐν μέσῳ κειμένους λίθους ἐπτα-
τοῦτο δὲ ποιεόν ἐπικαλεῖ τι τῶν Διόνυσου καὶ
tὴν Οὐρανίην. ἐπιτελέσαντος δὲ τούτου ταῦτα, ὁ
τὰς πίστις ποιησάμενος τοῖς φίλοις παρεγγυὰ
tὸν ἕξιν ἡ καὶ τῶν ἄστον, ἢν πρὸς ἄστον ποιεῖ-
tαι: οἱ δὲ φίλοι καὶ αὐτοὶ τὰς πίστις δικαιεύσι
σέβονται. Διόνυσον δὲ θεῶν μοῦν καὶ τὴν
Οὐρανίην ἤγεονται εἰναι, καὶ τῶν τριῶν τὴν
κοινὴν κεῖσθαι φασὶ κατὰ περ ἀυτὸν τὸν Διό-
νυσον κεκαρῆς κεῖονται δὲ περιτρόχαλα, ὑπο-
ξυρόντες τοὺς κροτάφους. ὁνομάζουσι δὲ τὸν μὲν
Διόνυσον Ὀροτάλτ, τὴν δὲ Οὐρανίην Ἀλλιάτ.
9. Ἐπεὶ δὲν τὴν πίστιν τοῖς ἀνγέλουσι τοῖς
παρὰ Καμβύσεω ἀπηγέμονεσι ἐποίησατο ὁ Ἄρα-
βιος, ἐμπαχανάτο τοιάδε: ἀσκοῦς καμήλων πλήσας
ύδατος ἐπέσαξε ἐπὶ τὰς ζώας τῶν καμήλων πάσας,
τοῦτο δὲ ποιήσας ἠλάσε ἐς τὴν ἀνυδρον καὶ
ὑπήμενε ἐνθαῦτα τὸν Καμβύσεω στρατόν. οὗτος
μὲν ὁ πιθανότερος τῶν λόγων εἰρηταί, δεῖ δὲ καὶ
into that country, filling pots with water as I have said. But at this time there was as yet no ready supply of water; wherefore Cambyses, hearing what was said by the stranger from Halicarnassus, sent messengers to the Arabian and asked and obtained safe conduct, giving and receiving from him pledges.

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

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

---

\(^1\) According to Movers, Orotalt is "the fire of God," \(\dot{\nu}r\dot{a}h\ \dot{\iota}\), and Alilat the feminine of \(\beta\eta\lambda\lambda\), "morning star"; but a simpler interpretation is Al Ilat = the goddess.
HERODOTUS

tὸν ἃσον πιθανον, ἐπεί γε δὴ λέγεται, ῥηθήναι. ποταμὸς ἐστὶ μέγας ἐν τῇ Ἀραβίᾳ τῷ ὅνυμῳ Κόρυς, ἐκδιδοῖ δὲ οὗτος ἐς τὴν Ἐρυθρὴν καλεομένην θάλασσαν ἀπὸ τοῦτον δὴ ὅν τοῦ ποταμοῦ λέγεται τὸν βασιλέα τῶν Ἀραβίων, ῥαφάμενον τῶν ὅμοβοεῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων δερμάτων ὁχετῶν μῆκει ἔξικνεύμενον ἐς τὴν ἀνυδρον, ἀγαγεῖν διὰ δὴ τούτων τὸ ὑδρ, ἐν δὲ τῇ ἀνυδρῳ μεγάλας δεξαμενής ὀρύξασθαι, ἵνα δεκόμεναι τὸ ὑδρ σῶζοσι. οἴδος δὲ ἔστι δυνώδεκα ἠμερέων ἀπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἐς ταύτην τὴν ἀνυδρον. ἀγεῖν δὲ μιν δὲ ὁχετῶν τριῶν ἐς τριάδα χωρία.

10. Ἐν δὲ τῷ Πηλουσίῳ καλεομένῳ στόματι τοῦ Νείλου ἐστρατοπεδεύετο Ψαμμήντος ὁ Ἀμάσιος παῖς ὑπομένων Καμβύσεα. Ἀμασιν γὰρ ὦ κατέλαβε ζώντα Καμβύσης ἐλάσας ἐπὶ Αἰγύπτου, ἀλλὰ βασιλεύσας ὁ Ἀμασις τέσσερα καὶ τεσσεράκοντα ἐτεῖ ἀπέθανεν, ἐν τοίς οὐδὲν οἱ μέγα ἀνάρσιον πρίγγα συνηνείχθη ἀπὸθανὼν δὲ καὶ ταριχευθεὶς ἔταφη ἐν τῇ ταφῇ ἐν τῷ ἵρῳ, τὰς αὐτῶν οἰκοδομήσατο. ἐπὶ Ψαμμήντου δὲ τοῦ Ἀμάσιος βασιλεύσωτος Αἰγυπτίων φύσιμα Αἰγυπτίως μέγιστον δὴ ἐγένετο· ὑσθήναν γὰρ Θῆβαι αἱ Αἰγυπτίαι, οὔτε προτέρων οὐδαμά ὑσθεῖσαν οὔτε ὑστερον τὸ μέγρι ἐμεῦ, ὥς λέγουσι αὐτὸι Θῆβαιοι· οὐ γὰρ δὴ ᾧται τὰ ἀνώ τῆς Αἰγυπτοῦ τὸ παράπαν· ἀλλὰ καὶ τότε ὑσθησαν αἱ Θῆβαι ψακάδι.

11. Οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι ἐπείτε διεξελάσαντες τὴν ἀνυδρον ἱζοντο πέλας τῶν Αἰγυπτίων ὡς συμβαλεόντες, ἐνθαῦτα οἱ ἐπίκουροι οἱ τοῦ Αἰγυπτίου, εἴοντες ἄνδρες Ἑλλήνες τε καὶ Ὀρνέτες μεμφόμενοι
less credible tale also, since they tell it. There is a
great river in Arabia called Corys, issuing into the
sea called Red. From this river (it is said) the king
of the Arabians carried water by a duct of sewn ox-
hides and other hides of a length sufficient to reach
to the dry country; and he had great tanks dug in
that country to receive and keep the water. It is a
twelve days' journey from the river to that desert.
By three ducts (they say) he led the water to three
several places.

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

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

¹ In modern times there is sometimes a little rain at
Thebes (Luxor); very little and very seldom.
τῷ Φάνη διὰ στρατὸν ἔγαγε ἐπ’ Ἀιγυπτον ἀλλόθρον, μηχανῶντα πρῆγμα ἐς αὐτὸν τοιοῦδε. ἦσαν τῷ Φάνη παῖδες ἐν Αἰγυπτῳ κυνάλεκμένοι τοὺς ἀγαγόντες ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον καὶ ἐς ὅψιν τοῦ πατρὸς κρητῆρα ἐν μέσῳ ἐστησαν ἀμφοτέρων τῶν στρατοπεδῶν, μετὰ δὲ ἀγινέοντες κατὰ ἕνα ἕκαστον τῶν παιδῶν ἑσφαζον ἐς τὸν κρητῆρα διὰ πάντων δὲ διεξελθόντες τῶν παιδῶν οὕτων τε καὶ ὑδρῷ ἑσφόρεον ἐς αὐτῶν, ἐμπιόντες δὲ τοῦ αἰματος πάντες οἱ ἑπίκουροι οὕτω δὴ συνέβαλον. μάχης δὲ γενομένης καρτέρης καὶ πεσόντων ἐξ ἀμφοτέρων τῶν στρατοπεδῶν πληθεὶ τολλῶν ἑτράποντο οἱ Ἀιγυπτεῖοι.

12. Θώμα δὲ μέγα εἶδον πυθόμενος παρὰ τῶν ἐπιχωρίων τῶν γαρ ὅστεων περικεχυμένων χωρίς ἐκατέρω τῶν ἐν τῇ μάχῃ ταύτῃ πεσόντων (χωρίς μὲν γαρ τῶν Περσέων ἐκέστο τὰ ὅστεα, ὡς ἐχωρίσθη κατ’ ἄρχας, ἑτέρωθε δὲ τῶν Ἀιγυπτίων), αἱ μὲν τῶν Περσέων κεφαλαί εἰσὶ ἀσθενέσι οὕτω ὅστε, εἰ θέλεις ψήφῳ μοῦν βαλεῖν, διατετράνεις, αἱ δὲ τῶν Ἀιγυπτίων οὕτω δὴ τί ἱσχυραί, μόνις ἂν λίθο παίσας διαρρήξεις, αἰτίων δὲ τούτων τοῦτο ἐλεγον, καὶ ἐμὲ τῇ εὐπτέως ἐπείθον, οὐτὶ Ἀιγυπτίων μὲν αὐτίκα ἀπὸ παιδίων ἀρξάμενοι ξυράωνται τὰς κεφαλὰς καὶ πρὸς τὸν ἥλιον παχυνοῦσι τὸ ὅστεον. τῶν δὲ τούτων καὶ τοῦ μὴ φαλακροῦσθαι αἰτίων ἔστι. Ἀιγυπτίων γαρ ἂν τις ἑλαχίστος ἱδόιοτο φαλακροῦς πάντων ἀνθρώπων. τοῦτοι μὲν δὴ τοῦτο ἐστὶ αἰτίων ἱσχυρὰς φορεῖν τὰς κεφαλὰς, τοῖς δὲ Πέρσηι οὐτὶ ἀσθενείς φορέουσι τὰς κεφαλὰς αἰτίων τοῦτο σκηνοφέοντες ἐξ ἀρχῆς πίλους τιάρας φορεόντες. ταύτα μὲν
being wroth with him for leading a stranger army into Egypt. Phanes had left sons in Egypt; these they brought to the camp, into their father's sight, and set a great bowl between the two armies; then they brought the sons one by one and cut their throats over the bowl. When all the sons were killed, they poured into the bowl wine and water, and the foreign soldiery drank of this and thereafter gave battle. The fight waxed hard, and many of both armies fell; but at length the Egyptians were routed.

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

13. Οἱ δὲ Αἰγύπτιοι ἐκ τῆς μάχης ὡς ἔτραπαντο, ἐφευγον οὐδὲνι κόσμῳ κατειλθέντων δὲ ἐς Μέμφιν, ἐπεμπε ἀνὰ ποταμὸν Καμβύσης νέα Μυτιληναῖν κήρυκα ἁγούσαν ἄνδρα Πέρσην, ὡς ὦμολογήν προκαλεόμενος Αἰγυπτίως. οὔ δὲ ἐπεί τὴν νέα εἶδον ἐσελθοῦσαν ἐς τὴν Μέμφιν, εκχυθέντες ἄλεες ἐκ τοῦ τείχους τῆς τῇ νέα διέφθειραν καὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας κρεουργὴδον διασπάσαντες ἐφόρεον ἐς τὸ τείχος. καὶ Αἰγυπτίοι μὲν μετὰ τούτο πολιορκεύμενοι χρόνῳ παρέστησαν, οἱ δὲ προσεγέες Λίβνες δείσαντες τὰ περὶ τὴν Αἰγυπτίον γεγονότα παρέδοσαν σφέας αὐτῶν ἀμαχεῖ καὶ φόρον τε ἐτάξαντο καὶ δώρα ἑπέμπον. δὸς δὲ Κυρηναῖοι καὶ Βαρκαίοι, δείσαντες ὦμοις καὶ οἱ Λίβνες, τοιαύτα ἐποίησαν. Καμβύσης δὲ τὰ μὲν παρὰ Λιβόων ἐλθόντα δώρα φιλοφρόνως ἐδέσματο. τὰ δὲ παρὰ Κυρηναίων ἀπικόμενα μεμφθείς, ὡς ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ, ὅτι ἦν ὀλύνα. ἐπεμψαν γὰρ ἡ πεντακοσία μένες ἀργυρίων οἱ Κυρηναίοι ταῦτας δρασοῦμενος αὐτοχειρὶ διέσπειρε τῇ στρατιᾷ.

14. Ἡμέρη δὲ δεκάτη ἀπ’ ἡς παρέλαβε τὸ τείχος τὸ ἐν Μέμφι Καμβύσης, κατίσας ἐς τὸ προαίστειον ἐπὶ λύμῃ τῶν βασιλεᾶ τῶν Ἀγαλμάτων Ψαμμήτων, βασιλεύσαντα μήνας ἔξι, τούτοις κατίσας σὺν ἄλλοις Αἰγυπτίοις ἔπειρατο αὐτοῦ τῆς ψυχῆς ποιέων τοιάδε: στείλας αὐτοῦ τὴν θυγατέρα ἐσθήτε δουλής ἐξεπέμπε ἐπ’ ὕδωρ ἑκούσαν ὑδρήν, συνέπεμπε δὲ καὶ ἄλλας παρθένους ἀπολέξας ἄνδρῶν τῶν πρωτῶν, ὦμοῖως
too the skulls of those Persians at Papremis who were slain with Darius' son Achaemenes by Inaros the Libyan, and they were like the others.

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

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

ἔσταλμένας τῇ τοῦ βασιλέως. ώς δὲ βοή τε καὶ κλαυθμῷ παρήσαν αἱ παρθένοι παρὰ τοὺς πατέρας, οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι πάντες ἀντεβόων τε καὶ ἀντέκλαις ὀρῶντες τὰ τέκνα κεκακωμένα, ὡς δὲ Ψαμμήνιτος προϊόν καὶ μαθών ἔκυψε ἐς τὴν γῆν, παρελθοῦσέν ὁ δὲ τῶν ύδροφόρων, δεύτερα οἱ τὸν παίδα ἐπεμπτε μετ’ ἄλλων Αἰγυπτίων διοσ- χίλιων τὴν αὐτὴν ἠλικίαν ἐχόντων, τοὺς τε αὐχένας κύριον δεδεμένους καὶ τὰ στόματα ἐγκε- χαλισμένους· ἤγοντο δὲ τοινής τίσοντες Μυτι- ληναίων τοίσι ἐν Μέμφις ἀπολογομένους συν τῇ νησί, ταύτα γὰρ ἔδικασαν οἱ βασιλήμενοι δικασταῖ, ὑπὲρ ἄνδρος ἐκάστου δέκα Αἰγυπτίων τῶν πρῶτων ἀνταπαλλυσθαί. δὲ ἴδὼν παρεξίοντάς καὶ μα- θών τὸν παίδα ἰγνομενόν ἐπὶ θάνατον, τῶν ἄλλων Αἰγυπτίων τῶν περικατημένων αὐτῶν κλαιόντων καὶ δεινὰ ποιεύοντος, τώτῳ ἐποίησε τὸ καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ θυγατρὶ. παρεξίοντως ὁ ὃς καὶ τούτων, συνήνηκε ὡστε τῶν συμπτοτέων οἱ ἄνδρα ἀπηλλεκτήτων, ἐκπεπτωκότα ἐκ τῶν ἑόντων ἐχοντα τε αὐτῶν εἰ ὡστε πτωχὸς καὶ προσαίτεοντα τὴν στρατινήν, παρεέναι Ψαμμήνιτόν τε τῶν Ἀμάσιος καὶ τοὺς ἐν τῷ προστέτωρ καθημένους Αἰγυπτίων. δὲ Ψαμμήνιτος ὃς εἶδε, ἀνακλαύσας μέγα καὶ καλέ- σας ὀρομαστὶ τῶν ἑταίρων ἐπὶ ἑταίρων τῆς κεφαλῆς, ἦσαν ὁ ἡρώος αὐτοῦ φύλακός, οἱ τὸ ποιεύοντον πᾶν ἐξ ἑκείνου ἐπὶ ἑκάστῃ ἐξδόθη Καμβύσης ἐσημαίνουν. θωμάσας δὲ ὁ Καμβύσης τὰ ποιεύμενα, πέμψας ἅγγελον εἰρωτα αὐτῶν λέγου τάδε. “Δεσποτής σε Καμβύσης, Ψαμμήνε, εἰρωτὰ τῇ δῇ τὴν μὲν θυγατέρα ὀρεόν κεκακωμένην καὶ τὸν παίδα ἐπὶ θάνατον στείχοντα οὔτε ἀνέβωσας οὔτε ἀπε-
the families of the chief men. So when the damsels passed before their fathers crying and lamenting, all the rest answered with like cries and weeping, seeing their children's evil case; but Psammenitus, having seen with his own eyes and learnt all, bowed himself to the ground. When the water-carriers had passed by, Cambyses next made Psammenitus' son to pass him with two thousand Egyptians of like age besides, all with ropes bound round their necks and bits in their mouths; who were led forth to make atonement for those Mytileneans who had perished with their ship at Memphis; for such was the judgment of the royal judges, that every man's death be paid for by the slaying of ten noble Egyptians. When Psammenitus saw them pass by and perceived that his son was led out to die, and all the Egyptians who sat with him wept and showed their affliction, he did as he had done at the sight of his daughter. When these too had gone by, it chanced that there was one of his boon companions, a man past his prime, that had lost all his possessions, and had but what a poor man might have, and begged of the army; this man now passed before Psammenitus son of Amasis and the Egyptians who sat in the outer part of the city. When Psammenitus saw him, he broke into loud weeping, smiting his head and calling on his companion by name. Now there were men set to watch Psammenitus, who told Cambyses all that he did as each went forth. Marvelling at what the king did, Cambyses made this inquiry of him by a messenger: "Psammenitus, Cambyses my master asks of you why, seeing your daughter mishandled and your son going to his death, you neither cried
κλαυσας, τὸν δὲ πτωχὸν οὐδὲν σοὶ προσήκουντα, ὡς ἄλλων πυθοῦνται, ἐπὶ κέμας." ὅ μὲν ὅ ταῦτα ἐπειρότα, ὅ δ' ἀμείβετο τοῖς δέντε. "Ω παῖ Κύρων, τὰ μὲν οἰκῆ πό μέζω κακὰ ἢ ὡστε ἀνακλαίειν, τὸ δὲ τοῦ ἐταίρου πέμθως ἄξιον ἦν δακρύων, ὅς ἐκ πολλῶν τε καὶ εὐδαιμόνων ἐκπεσὼν ἐς πτωχητίν ἀπίκτα ἐπὶ γῆρας οὐδόν." καὶ ταῦτα ὃς ἑπενεχθέντα ὑπὸ τούτου εὐ δοκεῖν σφὶ εἰρήσθαι, ὃς [ὅ] λέγεται ὑπ' Αἰγυπτίων, δακρύων μὲν Κροῖσον (ἐτεεὐξεῖς γὰρ καὶ οὕτος ἐπιστόμενος Καμβύσης ἐπ' Αἰγυπτίων), δακρύων δὲ Περσέων τοὺς παρεύνας αὐτῷ τε Καμβύσης ἐσελθὼν οἰκτῶν τινά, καὶ αὐτῖκα κελευεῖν τὸν τέ οἱ παῖδα ἐκ τῶν ἀπολυμένων σῶζειν καὶ αὐτῶν ἐκ τοῦ προστείου ἀναστήσασας ἀγεῖν παρ' ἰωτῶν.

15. Τῶν μὲν δὴ παῖδα εὐχὸν αὐτὸν οἱ μετιώντες οὐκέτι περιέντα ἀλλὰ πρῶτον κατακοπέντα, αὐτὸν δὲ θαμμύριον ἀναστήσατε ἓνον παρὰ Καμβύσης· ἐνθα τοῦ λοιποῦ διαιτάτο ἕχων οὐδὲν βίαιον. εἰ δὲ καὶ ἣπιστήθη μὴ πολυπροφορούμενον, ἀπέλαβε ἐν Αἰγυπτίων ὡστε ἐπιτροπεύειν αὐτῆς, ἐπεὶ τιμᾶν ἐσώθας Πέρσας τῶν βασιλεῶν τοὺς παῖδας τῶν, εἰ καὶ σφέων ἀπεστέωσι, ὡμοὶ τοῖς γέ παισι αὐτῶν ἀποδιδοῦσι τὴν ἀρχήν. πολλοῖς μὲν ὑμῖν καὶ ἀλλοίσι ἐπὶ σταθμὸν ασθανασία τοὐτοὶ οὖν νενομίκασι ποιεῖσιν, εἴ δὲ καὶ τῷ τε Ἰνάρῳ παιδὶ Θανύρα, ὃς ἀπελαβεὶ τῆς οἱ ὁ πατὴρ εἰχή ἀρχήν, καὶ τῷ Ἀμυρταίον Πανσίρι καὶ ἄρα οὕτω ἀπέλαβε τῆς τοῦ πατρὸς ἀρχήν. καὶ τοῖσ Ἰνάρῳ γε καὶ Ἀμυρταίου οὖν ἀμαλοί καὶ Πέρσας κακὰ πλέον

1 Probably 'δ' below should be omitted; otherwise the sentence cannot be translated.
aloud nor wept, yet did this honour to the poor man, who (as Cambyses learns from others) is none of your kin?" So the messenger inquired. Psammenitus answered: "Son of Cyrus, my private grief was too great for weeping; but the misfortune of my companion called for tears—one that has lost wealth and good fortune and now on the threshold of old age is come to beggary." When the messenger so reported, and Cambyses and his court, it is said, found the answer good, then, as the Egyptians tell, Croesus wept (for it chanced that he too had come with Cambyses to Egypt) and so did the Persians that were there; Cambyses himself felt somewhat of pity, and forthwith he bade that Psammenitus' son be saved alive out of those that were to be slain, and that Psammenitus himself be taken from the outer part of the city and brought before him.

15. As for the son, those that went for him found that he was no longer living, but had been the first to be hewn down; but they brought Psammenitus away and led him to Cambyses; and there he lived, and no violence was done him for the rest of his life. And had he but been wise enough to mind his own business, he would have so far won back Egypt as to be governor of it; for the Persians are wont to honour king's sons; even though kings revolt from them, yet they give back to their sons the sovereign power. There are many instances showing that it is their custom so to do, and notably the giving back of his father's sovereign power to Thannyaeras son of Inaros, and also to Pausiris son of Amyrtaeus; yet none ever did the Persians more harm than Inaros
ἐργάσαντο. νῦν δὲ μηχανώμενος κακά ὁ Ψαμ-μύριτος ἔλαβε τὸν μισθὸν ἀπιστὰς γὰρ Ἀιγυπτίως ἦλθος ἐπείτε δὲ ἐπάϊστος ἐγένετο ὑπὸ Καμβύσεως, αἷμα ταύρου πιὸν ἀπέθανε παραχρῆμα. οὕτω δὴ ὑπὸ ἐστελεύτησε.

16. Καμβύσης δὲ ἐκ Μέμφιος ἀπίκετο ἐς Σάιν οὖν πόλιν, βουλόμενος ποιῆσαι τὰ δὴ καὶ ἐποίησε. ἐπείτε γὰρ ἐσῆλθε ὡς τὰ τοῦ Ἀμασίου οἰκία, αὐτίκα ἐκέλευε ἐκ τῆς ταφῆς τὸν Ἀμασίος νέκυιν ἐκφέρειν ἑξῆς ὡς δὲ ταύτα ἐπιτελεῖτα ἐγένετο, μα-στιγων ἐκέλευε καὶ τὰς τρίχας ἀποτίλλειν καὶ κεντοῦν τε καὶ τάλλα πάντα λυμαίνεσθαι. ἐπείτε δὲ καὶ ταύτα ἐκαμοῦν ποιεῖτε (ὁ γὰρ ὄνομας ἀτε τεταρχευμένος ἀντείχε τε καὶ οὐδὲν διεχέτο), ἐκέλευσε μὲν ὁ Καμβύσης κατακαύσαι, ἐντέλλο-μενος οὐκ ὀσία: Πέρσαι γὰρ θεὸν νομίζουσι εἶναι πῦρ. τὸ ὅν κατακαίεις ἐς τοὺς νεκροὺς οὐδαμῶς ἐν νόμῳ οὐδέτεροις ἔστιν. Πέρσῃς μὲν δὲ ὁ περ εἰρήται, θεὸν οὐ δίκαιον εἶναι λέγοντες νέμειν νεκρὸν ἀνθρώπον Αἰγυπτίοις δὲ νεκρόμεναι πῦρ θηρίου εἶναι ἐξισυποκομημένως, πάντα δὲ αὐτὸ κατεσθένει τὰ περὶν λάβη, πληθὲν δὲ αὐτὸ τῆς βορίας συν-ἀποθνησκεῖν τῷ κατεσθεσμοῖν. οὖκ θριόμεθα νόμος οὐδαμῶς σφι ἐστὶ τῶν νέκυων διδόναι, καὶ διὰ ταύτα ταριχεύοντες ιὰ μὴ κείμενος ὑπὸ εὐλέων καταθρωθή. οὕτω οὐδέτεροις νομιζόμενα ἐνετέλλετο ποιῆσαι ὁ Καμβύσης. ὃς μὲν οἱ Ἀι-γυπτίοι λέγουσι, οὐκ Ἀμασίς ἡν τὸ ταύτα παθῶν, ἀλλὰ ἄλλος τις τῶν Αἰγυπτίων ἦκεν τὴν αὐτὴν ἡλίκιον Ἀμασί, τῷ λυμαίνομενοι Πέρσαι ἐδοκεον Ἀμασί λυμαίνεσθαι. λέγουσι γὰρ ὡς πυθόμενος ἐκ μαντηίου ὁ Ἀμασίς τὰ περὶ ἐσωτήρων ἀποδανόντα
and Amyrtaeus. But as it was, Psammenitus plotted evil and got his reward; for he was caught raising a revolt among the Egyptians; and when this came to Cambyses' ears, Psammenitus drank bulls' blood and forthwith died. Such was his end.

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

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

2 The blood was supposed to coagulate and choke the drinker. (How and Wells, ad loc.)

23
HERODOTUS

μέλλοντα γίνεσθαι, ούτω δὴ ἀκεόμενος τὰ ἐπιφερόμενα τῶν μὲν ἄνδρωπον τούτων τῶν μαστεγωθέντα ἀποθανόντα ἐδαψε ἐπὶ τῆς θύρας ἐκτὸς τῆς ἐωτοῦ θῆκης, ἐωτοῦ δὲ ἐνετείλατο τῷ παιδὶ ἐν μυχῷ τῆς θῆκης ὡς μᾶλιστα θείναι. αἱ μὲν νῦν ἐκ τοῦ Ἀμάσιος ἐντολὰς αὐταὶ αἱ ἐς τὴν ταφήν τε καὶ τῶν ἄνδρωπον ἑχουσαι οὐ μοι δοκέομαι ἄρχην γενέσθαι, ἀλλὰς δὲ αὐτὰ Αἰγύπτιοι σεμνοῦν.

17. Μετὰ δὲ ταύτα ὁ Καμβύης ἐβουλεύσατο τριφασίας στρατηγίας, ἐπὶ τε Καρχηδονίους καὶ ἐπὶ Ἀμμονίους καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς μακροβίους Λιθίων, οἰκημένους δὲ Λιβύης ἐπὶ τῇ νοτίῳ θαλάσσῃ βουλευομένως δὲ οἱ ἐδοξε ἐπὶ μὲν Καρχηδονίους τὸν ναυτικὸν στρατὸν ἀποστέλλων, ἐπὶ δὲ Ἀμμονίους τοῦ πεζοῦ ἀποκρίναντα, ἐπὶ δὲ τοὺς Λιθίων κατοίκων πρῶτον, ὄψομένους τε τὴν ἐν τούτοις τοῖς Λιθίωι λεγομένην εἶναι ἡλίου τράπεζαν εἰ ἐστὶ ἀληθεῖς, καὶ πρὸς ταύτη τὰ ἀλλὰ κατοικομένους, δῶρα δὲ τῷ λόγῳ φέροντας τῷ βασιλεῖ αὐτῶν.

18. Ἡ δὲ τράπεζα τοῦ ἡλίου τοιοῦτος τις λέγεται εἶναι. λειμῶν ἐστὶ ἐν τῷ προστείρῃ ἐπὶ πλεοῦς κρεῶν ἐφθαν ἑπτακόσιων κροτῶν πάντων τῶν τετραπόδων, εἰς τὸν τὰς μὲν νῦκτας ἐπηθήνων τιθέναι τὰ κρέα τοὺς ἐν τέλει ἐκάστοτε ἔνωσε τῶν ἀστών, τὰς δὲ ἡμέρας δαίμων θαλεστὶ προσιόντα τῶν θυσίων. φαναι δὲ τοὺς ἐπιχωρίους ταύτα τὴν γῆν αὐτὴν ἀναδιοῦρι να ἐκάστοτε.

19. Ἡ μὲν δὴ τράπεζα τοῦ ἡλίου καλεομένη λέγεται εἶναι τοιοῦτος. Καμβύης δὲ ὁ ἐσδοξε περὶ περὶ τοὺς κατασκόπους, αὐτίκα μετεπιμπτοῦ ἐξ Ἐλεφαντίνης πόλεως τῶν Ιλθυσωβάγων ἀνδρῶν.
done to him after his death, and so to avert this doom buried this man, him that was scourged, at his death by the door within his own vault, and commanded his son that he himself should be laid in the farthest corner of the vault. I think that these commands of Amasis, respecting the burial-place and the man, were never given at all, and that the Egyptians but please themselves with a lying tale.

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

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

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

---

1 Carthaginians.  
2 cp. beginning of ch. 23.  
3 This story may be an indication of offerings made to the dead, or of a region of great fertility. In Homer the gods are fabled to feast with the Ethiopians.
τοὺς ἐπισταμένους τὴν Ἀἰδιοπίδα γλώσσαν. ἐν ὦ δὲ τούτους μετήσαν, ἐν τούτῳ ἐκελεύε ἐπὶ τὴν Καρχηδόνα πλέειν τῶν ναυτικῶν στρατῶν. Φοίνικες δὲ οὐκ ἐφασαν ποιήσειν ταῦτα ὀρκίωσι γὰρ μεγάλοιοι ἐνδεδέσθαι, καλ οὐκ ἄν ποιήσειν ὅσια ἐπὶ τοὺς παίδας τοὺς ἑωτῶν στρατευόμενοι. Φοίνικων δὲ οὐ βουλομένων οἱ λαοὶ οὐκ ἀξίωμαχοι ἐγίνοντο. Καρχηδόνιοι μὲν τοὺς δου- λοσύνην διέφυγον πρὸς Περσέων Καμβύσης γὰρ βίην οὐκ ἔδικαίοι προσφέρειν Φοίνιξι, ὥστε σφαῖρας τε αὐτοὺς ἐδεδώκεσαν Πέρσης καὶ πᾶς ἐκ Φοίνι- κων ἤρθητο ο ναυτικὸς στράτος. δόντες δὲ καὶ Κύπριοι σφαῖρας αὐτοὺς Πέρσης ἐστρατεύοντο ἐπὶ Ἀἰγυπτίον. 

20. Ἐπεῖτε δὲ τὸν Καμβύση εἰς τὴς Ἔλεφαντινῆς ἀπίκοντο οἱ Ἰχθυοφάγοι, ἐπέμπει αὐτοὺς ἐς τοὺς Αἰθίοπας ἐντελώμενοι τὰ λέγειν χρῆν καὶ δώρα φέροντας πορφύρεον τε έλιμα καὶ χρύσου στρεπτὸν περιαγξένιον καὶ ψέλια καὶ μύρον ἀλβαστρόν καὶ φοινικίσιον οἶνον κάδον. οἱ δὲ Αἰθίοπες οὐτοί, ἐς τοὺς ἀπέπεμπε ὁ Καμβύσης, λέγονταί εἶναι μέγιστοι καὶ καλλιστοί ἄνθρωποι πάντων. νόμοισι δὲ καὶ ἀλλοις χράσθαι αὐτούς κεχωρισμένοι τῶν ἄλλων ἄνθρωπων καὶ δὴ καὶ κατὰ τὴν βασιλείαν τοὐδὲ τῶν ἀν τῶν ἀστῶν κρίνωσι μέγιστον τε εἶναι καὶ κατὰ τὸ μέγαθος ἔχειν τὴν ἱσχῦν, τούτοις ἀξιοῦσι βασιλεύειν. 

21. Ἐς τούτους δὴ ὁν τοὺς ἄνδρας ὡς ἀπίκοντο οἱ Ἰχθυοφάγοι, διὸντες τὰ δώρα τὸ βασιλεῖ αὐτῶν ἔλεγον τάδε. "Βασιλεὺς ὁ Περσέων Καμ- βύσης, βουλομένων φίλος καὶ ξείνος τοι γενέσθαι, ἡμέας τε ἀπέπεμψε ἐς λόγους τοι ἐδείξαν κελεύων,
the Ethiopian language. While they were seeking these men, he bade his fleet sail against Carchedon. But the Phoenicians would not consent; for they were bound, they said, by a strict treaty, and could not righteously attack their own sons; and the Phoenicians being unwilling, the rest were of no account as fighters. Thus the Carchedonians escaped being enslaved by the Persians; for Cambyses would not use force with the Phoenicians, seeing that they had willingly surrendered to the Persians, and the whole fleet drew its strength from them. The Cyprians too had come of their own accord to aid the Persians against Egypt.

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

21. These were the men to whom the Fish-eaters came, offering gifts and delivering this message to their king: "Cambyses king of Persia, desiring to be your friend and guest, sends us with command to address ourselves to you; and he offers you such
καὶ δῶρα ταῦτά τοι δίδοι τοῖς καὶ αὐτὸς μάλιστα ἥδεται χρεὼμενος." ὁ δὲ Αἰθιόπης μαθὼν ὅτι κατόπται ἤκοιεν, λέγει πρὸς αὐτοὺς τοιάδε. "Ὅτε ὁ Περσέων βασιλεύς δῶρα ύμεῖς ἐπεμψε φέροντας προτιμῶν πόλλοι ἐμοὶ ξείνος γενέσθαι, οὔτε ὑμεῖς λέγετε ἀλήθεα (ἤκετε γὰρ κατόπται τὴς ἐμῆς ἄρχης), οὔτε ἐκεῖνοι ἀνὴρ ἔστι δίκαιοι, εἰ γὰρ ἤν δικαίος, οὔτ' ἂν ἐπεθύμησε χώρης ἄλλης ἢ τῆς ἐωτοῦ, οὔτ' ἂν ἐς δουλοσύνην ἀνθρώπους ἤγευ ὑπὸ ἔνων μηδεν ἡδίκηται. νῦν δὲ αὐτῶν τούτων τόδε διδόντες τάδε ἐπεα λέγετε. 'Βασιλεύς ὁ Αἰθιόπων συμβουλεύει τὸν Περσέων βασιλεύς, ἐπεαν οὕτω εὐπτετῶς ἐλκωσε τὰ τόξα Πέρσαι ἐόντα μεγαθεὶς τοσαῦτα, τότε ἐπ' Αἰθιόπας τοὺς μακροβίους πληθεὶ υπερβαλλόμενον στρατεύεσθαι μέχρι δὲ τοῦτο θεοί εἴδειν χάριν, οὐκ ἕπι νόον τραπουσὶ Αἰθιόπων παισὶ γἡν ἄλλην προσκτάσθαι τῇ ἐωτοῦ." 22. Ταῦτα δὲ εἴπας καὶ ἀνείς τὸ τόξον παρέδωκε τοῖς ἦκουσι. λαβὼν δὲ τὸ εἴμα τὸ πορφυρεον εἰρώτα ὁ τε εἰς καὶ ὅκως πεποιημένων· εἰπότων δὲ τῶν Ἰχθυοφάγων τὴν ἀληθείαν περὶ τῆς πορφύρης καὶ τῆς βαφῆς, δολεροὺς μὲν τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἐφ' εἰναι, δολερὰ δὲ αὐτῶν τὰ εἰματα. δεύτερα δὲ τῶν χρυσῶν εἰρώτα τὸν στρεπτὸν τῶν περιανχένιον καὶ τὰ ψελία· ἔξηγεομένων δὲ τῶν Ἰχθυοφάγων τὸν κόσμον αὐτοῦ, γελάσας ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ νομίσας εἰναι σφέα πέδας εἴπε ὡς παρ' ἐωτοῦσι εἰςί ἐς ὑπαλεωτεραί τούτεων πέδαι. τρίτων δὲ εἰρώτα τὸ μύρον· εἰπότων δὲ τῆς ποιήσιος πέρι καὶ ἀλείψιος, τῶν αὐτῶν λόγου τὸν καὶ περὶ τοῦ εἴματος εἴπε. ὡς δὲ ἐς τὸν οἴνον ἀπίκετο καὶ
gifts as he himself chiefly delights to use." But the Ethiopian, perceiving that they had come as spies, spoke thus to them: "It is not because he sets great store by my friendship that the Persian King sends you with gifts, nor do you speak the truth (for you have come to spy out my dominions), nor is your king a righteous man; for were he such, he would not have coveted any country other than his own, nor would he now try to enslave men who have done him no wrong. Now, give him this bow, and this message: 'The King of the Ethiopians counsels the King of the Persians, when the Persians can draw a bow of this greatness as easily as I do, then to bring overwhelming odds to attack the long-lived Ethiopians; but till then, to thank the gods who put it not in the minds of the sons of the Ethiopians to win more territory than they have.'"

22. So speaking he unstrung the bow and gave it to the men who had come. Then, taking the purple cloak, he asked what it was and how it was made; and when the Fish-eaters told him the truth about the purple and the way of dyeing, he said that both the men and their garments were full of guile. Next he inquired about the twisted gold necklace and the bracelets; and when the Fish-eaters told him how they were made, the king smiled, and, thinking them to be fetters, said: "We have stronger chains than these." Thirdly he inquired about the incense; and when they told him of the making and the applying of it, he made the same reply as about the cloak. But when he came to the wine and asked about the
Επύθετο αυτοῦ τὴν ποιησιν, ὑπερηφαίνει τῷ πόματι ἐπείρετο δ' τι τε σιτεύται ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ χρόνον ὁκόσον μακρότατον ἀνήρ Πέρσης ξύει. οἱ δὲ σιτέσθαι μὲν τὸν ἄρτον εἶπον, ἑξηγησάμενοι τὸν πυρὸν τὴν φύσιν, οὐδόκοντα δὲ ἔτεα ξύος πληρωμα ἀνδρὶ μακρότατον προκέεσθαι. πρὸς ταύτα ὁ Λιδίος ἐφη οὐδὲν θωμαζεῖν εἰ σιτεύμενοι κόσπρον ἔτεα οἷγα ἱδώσον; οὐδὲ γὰρ ἄν τοσαύτα δύνασθαι ξύειν σφέας, εἰ μὴ τῷ πόματι ἀνέφερον, φραζον τοῖς Ἰχθυοφάγοις τὸν οίνον τούτῳ γὰρ ἑωντος ὑπὸ Περσέων ἐσσοῦσθαι.

23. Ἀντειρομένων δὲ τῶν βασιλέα τῶν Ἰχθυοφάγων τῆς ξύος καὶ διαίτης πέρι, ἔτεα μὲν εἰς εἴκοσι καὶ ἐκατόν τοὺς πολλοὺς αὐτῶν ἀπικνέσθαι, ὑπερβάλλειν δὲ τινὰς καὶ ταύτα, σίτησιν δὲ εἶναι κρέα τε ἐφθα καὶ πόμα γάλα. θῶμα δὲ ποιευμένων τῶν κατασκόπων περὶ τῶν ἐτέων, ἐπὶ κρήνης σφι ἡγῆσασθαι, ἀπ' ἒς λουόμενοι λεπτώτεροι ἐγίνοντο, κατὰ περὶ εἰ ἐλαίου εἰς' ὀξεὶν δὲ ἀπ' αὐτῆς ὡς εἰ ἰαίν. ἀπέθενες δὲ τὸ υδρὸ τῆς κρήνης ταύτης οὕτω δὴ τὶ ἔλεγον εἰναι οἱ κατασκόποι ὡστε μηδὲν οἶον τ' εἶναι ἐπ' αὐτοῦ ἐπιπλέειν, μήτε ξύλον μήτε τῶν ὅσα ξύλον ἐστὶ ἐλαφοτερα, ἀλλὰ πάντα σφέα χωρεῖν ἐς βυσσῶν. τὸ δὲ υδρὸ τοῦτο εἰ σφι ἔστι ἀλθῆς οἰον τι λέγεται, διὰ τούτο ἄν ἐλευτὴρ τούτῳ τὰ πάντα χρεώμενοι, μακρόβιοι. ἀπὸ τῆς κρήνης δὲ ἀπαλλασσόμενον, ἀγαγεῖν σφέας ἐς δεσμωτηρίων ἀνδρῶν, ἔνθα τῶν πάντας ἐν πέδησι χρυσεῖσθι δεδέσθαι, ἐστι δὲ ἐν τούτωι τοῖς Λιδίοις πάντων ὁ χάλκος σπανιότατον καὶ τιμιώτατον. θησάμενοι δὲ καὶ τὸ δεσμωτήριον, έθείσαντο καὶ τὴν τοῦ ἕλιου λεγομένην τράπεζαν.
making of it, he was vastly pleased with the draught, and asked further what food their king ate, and what was the greatest age to which a Persian lived. They told him their king ate bread, showing him how wheat grew; and said that the full age to which a man might hope to live was eighty years. Then said the Ethiopian, it was no wonder that their lives were so short, if they ate dung\(^1\); they would never attain even to that age were it not for the strengthening power of the draught,—whereby he signified to the Fish-eaters the wine,—for in this, he said, the Persians excelled the Ethiopians.

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

\(^1\) i.e. grain produced by the manured soil.
24. Μετά δὲ ταύτην τελευταίας ἑβεχήσαντο τὰς θήκας αὐτῶν, ἃν λέγονται σκευάζεσθαι εξ ἕλου τρόπω τουφδε' ἐπεάν τὸν νεκρὸν ἱσχυνώσαι, εἰτε ο郤 κατὰ περ Ἁγιόπτιοι εἰτε ἄλλως κως, ἔμψυσαντες ἀπαντά αὐτὸν γραφὴ κοσμεοῦσι, ἐξομοιεύσαντες τὸ εἶδος ἐς τὸ δυνατόν, ἐπειτα δὲ οἱ περιστάσεις στήλην ἐξ ἕλου πεποιημένην κολίνην ἢ δὲ σφι πολλὴ καὶ ἑνεργος ὀρύσσεται. ἐν μέση δὲ τῇ στήλῃ ἔνεων διαφαίνεται ὁ νέκυς, οὔτε ὀδηγόν συνεμίαν ἄχαριν παραχώμενος οὔτε ἄλλο ἅπεικες συνεδών, καὶ ἔχει πάντα φανερὰ ὁμοίως αὐτῷ τῷ νεκύι. ἐνιαυτὸς μὲν δὲ ἠχοῦσι τὴν στήλῃν ἐν τοῖς οἰκίοισι οἱ μᾶλλον προσήκοντες, πάντων ἀπαρχόμενοι καὶ θυσίας οἱ προσάγοντες: μετὰ δὲ ταύτα ἐκκομισάντες ἰστάσι περὶ τὴν πόλιν.

25. Θεσάμενοι δὲ τὰ πάντα οἱ κατάσκοποι ἀπαλλάσσοντο ὁπίσω. ἀπαγγελλόντων δὲ ταῦτα τούτων, αὐτίκα ὁ Καμβύσης ὄργην ποιησάμενος ἐστρατεύετο ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἁθηναίοις, οὕτω παρασκευὴν σίτου συνεμίαν παραγγείλας, οὕτω λόγον ἔστω δοὺς ὅτι ἐς τὰ ἔσχατα γῆς ἐμμελείς στρατεύεσθαι οὖν δὲ ἐμμανῆς τῶν καὶ οὐ φρενής, ὡς ἦκουν τῶν Ἰχθυοφάγων, ἐστρατεύετο, Ἑλλήνων μὲν τοὺς παρευτάς αὐτοῦ τάξεως ὑπομένειν, τὸν δὲ πεζὸν πάντα ἄμα ἀγόμενος. ἐπείτε δὲ στρατεύμανος ἐγένετο ἐν Θήβῃς, ἀπέκρευσε τοῦ στρατοῦ ως πέντε μυριάδας, καὶ τούτους μὲν ἐνετέλλετο Ἀμμονίους ἐξανακατασφαίρειν τὸ χρηστηρίον τὸ τοῦ Διὸς ἐμπρήσαι, αὐτὸς δὲ τῶν λοιπῶν ἄγων στρατοῦ ἢμε ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἁθηναίοις. πρὶν δὲ τῆς ὁδοῦ τὸ πέμπτον μέρος διεληλυθέναι τὴν στρατινήν, αὐτίκα πάντα αὐτοὺς τὰ εἶχον σιτίων ἔχομενα ἐπελελοίπεε, μετὰ
24. Last after this they viewed the Ethiopian coffins; these are said to be made of alabaster, as I shall describe: they make the dead body to shrink, either as the Egyptians do or in some other way, then cover it with gypsum and paint it all as far as they may in the likeness of the living man; then they set it within a hollow pillar of alabaster, which they dig in abundance from the ground, and it is easily wrought; the body can be seen in the pillar through the alabaster, no evil stench nor aught unseemly proceeding from it, and showing clearly all its parts, as if it were the dead man himself. The nearest of kin keep the pillar in their house for a year, giving it of the firstfruits and offering it sacrifices; after which they bring the pillars out and set them round about the city.

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

de tâ συτία καὶ τὰ ύπογυγία ἐσελπὶς κατεσθιό-
μενα. εἰ μὲν νυν μαθὼν ταύτα, ὁ Καμβύς
ης ἐγνωσιμάχει καὶ ἀπῆγε ὁπίσω τῶν στρατῶν, ἐπὶ
tῇ ἀρχήθηκεν γενομένῃ ἀμαρταδί ἡν ἀν ἀνὴρ σοφοὺς
τῶν δὲ οὐδένα λόγον ποιεύμενος ἦν αἰεὶ ἐς τὸ
πρόσω. οἱ δὲ στρατιῶται ἐως μὲν τι εἰχον ἐκ τῆς
γῆς λαμβάνειν, ποιηφαγεύστες διέξωσεν, ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐς
τὴν ψάμμων ἀπίκουτο, δεινὸν ἔργον αὐτῶν τινὲς
ἐργάσαντο ἐκ δεκάδος γὰρ ἑνὰ σφέων αὐτῶν
ἀποκληρώσαντες κατέφαγον. πυθόμενος δὲ ταύτα
ὁ Καμβύς, δεῖγας τὴν ἀλληλοφαγίαν, ἀπεῖς τὸν
ἐπ᾽ Αἴθιοπας στόλον ὀπίσω ἐπορεύοντο καὶ ἀπικυκε-
tαι ἐς Θῆβας πολλοὺς ἀπολέσας τοῦ στρατοῦ,
ἐκ Θῆβαι δὲ καταβὰς ἐς Μέμφιν τοὺς Ἔλληνας
ἀπῆκε ἀρπαλέειν.

26. Ὁ μὲν ἐπ᾽ Αἴθιοπας στόλος οὕτω ἔπρηξε:
oi δ' αὐτῶν ἐπ' Ἀμμωνίως ἀποσταλέστες στρα-
tευσθαῖ, ἐπεῖτε ἀρμηθέντες ἐκ τῶν Θῆβαν ἐπο-
ρεύοντο ἔχοντες ἀγγοὺς, ἀπικόμενοι μὲν φανεροῖ
ἐστὶ ἐς 'Οασίν πόλιν, τὴν ἔχουσι μὲν Σάμων τῆς
Δισχυρίνης φυλῆς λεγόμενοι εἶναι, ἀπέχουσι δὲ
ἐπὶ τῆς ἡμέρας ὅσον ἀπὸ Θῆβαν δὶς ψάμμων
ὁνο-
mαζεται δὲ ὁ χώρος οὕτως κατὰ Ἔλληνων γλῶσσαν
Μακάρων νῆσος. εἰ μὲν δὴ τούτων τὸν χώρον
λέγεται ἀπικύκεσθαι τῶν στρατῶν, τὸ ἐνθεύτευν δὲ,
ὅτι μὴ αὐτοὶ Ἀμμωνί οἱ τούτων ἀκούσαντες,
ἀλλοι οὐδένες οὐδὲν ἔχουσι εἰπεῖν περὶ αὐτῶν
οὕτῃ γὰρ ἐς τοὺς Ἀμμωνίως ἀπίκουτο οὕτε ὁπίσω
ἐνόστησαν. λέγεται δὲ κατὰ τάδε ὑπ᾽ αὐτῶν
'Αμμωνίων ἐπειδὴ ἐκ τῆς Ὀάσιος ταύτῃς ἰέναι
dιὰ τῆς ψάμμων ἐπὶ σφέας, γενέθθαι τῷ αὑτῶν
μεταξὺ καὶ μάλιστα αὐτῶν τε καὶ τῆς Ὀάσιος,
gone they ate the beasts of burden till there was none of these left also. Now had Cambyses, when he perceived this, changed his mind and led his army back again, he had been a wise man at last after his first fault; but as it was, he went ever forward, nothing recking. While his soldiers could get anything from the earth, they kept themselves alive by eating grass; but when they came to the sandy desert, certain of them did a terrible deed, taking by lot one man out of ten and eating him. Hearing this, Cambyses feared their becoming cannibals, and so gave up his expedition against the Ethiopians and marched back to Thebes, with the loss of many of his army; from Thebes he came down to Memphis, and sent the Greeks to sail away.

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

1 Oasis means simply a planted place; Herodotus makes it a proper name. What he means here is the "Great oasis" of Khargeh, about seven days' journey from Thebes, as he says.
Αριστον αἰρεομένωσι ἀυτοίσι ἐπιπνεῦσαι νότον μέγαν τε καὶ ἔξαισιον, φορέοντα δὲ θίνας τῆς ψάμμου καταχώσαι σφέας, καὶ τρόπω τοιούτω ἀφαινηθήναι. Ἀμμώνιοι μὲν οὔτω λέγουσι γενεθαι περὶ τῆς στρατηγῆς ταύτης.

27. Ἀπιγμένου δὲ Καμβύσεως ἐς Μέμφιν ἐφάνη Αἰγυπτίοις ο Ἀτῖς, τὸν Ἑλληνες Ἐσαφον καλέσας ἐπιφανέσι δὲ τούτοις γενομένῳ αὐτίκα οἱ Αἰγυπτιοὶ έματα ἐφόρεον τὰ κάλλιστα καὶ ἥσαν ἐν θαλάσσῃ. Ιδὼν δὲ ταύτα τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους ποιεύντας ὁ Καμβύς, πάγχυ σφέας καταδόξας ἐωτοῦ κακῶς πρόξαντος χαρμόσυνα ταῦτα ποιείν, ἐκάλεε τοὺς ἐπιτρόπους τῆς Μέμφις, ἀπικομένους δὲ ἐς ὅσιν εἴρετο ὅ τι πρότερον μὲν ἐόντος αὐτοῦ ἐν Μέμφι ἐποίειν τοιούτων οὐδὲν Αἰγυπτίοι, τότε δὲ ἐπεὶ αὐτὸς παρεῖν τῆς στρατηγίας πλῆθος τε ἀποβαλὼν. οἱ δὲ ἔφραξον ὅς σφι θεὸς εἰς φανεῖς διὰ χρόνου πολλοῦ ἔωθος ἐπιφαίνεσθαι, καὶ ὡς ἐπειδὰν φανῇ τότε πάντες Αἰγυπτιοὶ κεχαρηκότες ὀρτάζοιες. ταύτα ἀκούσας ὁ Καμβύς ἐφη ψευδεθαι σφέας καὶ ὡς ψευδομένους ἤθαντο ἐξημοῦ.

28. Ἀποκτείνας δὲ τούτους δεύτερα τοὺς ἱέρεις ἐκάλεε ἐς ὅσιν λεγόμενον δὲ κατὰ ταύτα τῶν ἱέρεων, οὐ λήσειν ἐφη αὐτῶν εἰ θεὸς τις κειροθής ἀπεγνωσάς εἰς Αἰγυπτίοις, τοσαῦτα δὲ εἶπας ἀπάγειν ἐκέλευσε τὸν Ἀτῖς τοὺς ἱέρεις. οἱ μὲν δὴ μετήσαν ἄξιας. ο δὲ Ἀτίς οὔτος ὁ Ἐσαφος γίνεται μόσχος ἕκ βοώς, ἦτες οὐκετὶ οὐ τῇ γίνεται ἐς γαστέρα ἄλλον βάλλεσθαι γόνων. Αἰγυπτιοὶ δὲ λέγουσι σέλας ἐπὶ τὴν βοών ἕκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ κατίσχειν, καὶ μὲν ἕκ τούτου τίκτειν τὸν Ἀτῖν.
breakfasting a great and violent south wind arose, which buried them in the masses of sand which it bore; and so they disappeared from sight. Such is the Ammonian tale about this army.

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

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

\(^1\) cp. ii. 38.
HERODOTUS

ἐχεῖ δὲ ὁ μόσχος οὗτος ὁ Ἀπίς καλεόμενος σημῆνα τοιάδε ἐὼν μέλας, ἐπὶ μὲν τῷ μετώπῳ λευκῷ τῷ τράγῳν, ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ νότου αἰετῶν εἰκασμένον, ἐν δὲ τῇ οὐρῆ τὰς τρίχας διπλᾶς, ὑπὸ δὲ τῇ γλώσσῃ κάνθαρον.

29. Ὡς δὲ ἦγαγον τὸν Ἀπὶν οἱ ἱρέες, ὁ Καμβύσης, οἶα ἠὼν ὑπομαργότερος, σπασάμενος τὸ ἐγχειρίδιον, θέλων τύφαι τὴν γαστέρα τοῦ Ἀπίου παῖει τὸν μηρῶν γελάσας δὲ εἰπε πρὸς τοὺς ἱρέας "Ω κακαί κεφαλαί, τοιοῦτοι θεοὶ γύνονται, ἐναμοί τε καὶ σαρκώδεις καὶ ἐπαλοῦτες σιδηρίων; ἄξιοι μὲν γε Ἀιγυπτίων οὕτως γε ὁ θεός, ἀτὰρ τοι ὑμεῖς γε ὥν χαιροῦντες γέλωτα ἔµε θησαυρεῖ." ταῦτα εἰπεν ἐνετειλατο τοῖς ταύτα πρῆσασουι τοὺς μὲν ἱρέας ἀπομαστυγῶσαι, Ἀιγυπτίων δὲ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν ἀν λάβωσι ὀρτάξοντα κτείνειν, ὀρτὴ μὲν δὴ διελεύσαι τῷ Ἀιγυπτίῳ, οἱ δὲ ἱρεῖς ἐπικαλεσθε, ὁ δὲ Ἀπίς πεπληγμένος τὸν μηρὸν ἐφθινε ἐν τῷ ἱρῷ κατακείμενος. καὶ τὸν μὲν τελευτάσαντα ἐκ τοῦ τρώματος ἔθαγαν οἱ ἱρεῖς λάθρη Καμβύσεως.

30. Καμβύσης δὲ, ὡς λέγονσι Ἀιγυπτίοι, αὐτίκα διὰ τοῦτο τὸ ἀδίκημα ἐμάνης, ἐὼν οὐδὲ πρότερον φρενής. καὶ πρῶτα μὲν τῶν κακῶν ἐξεργάσατο τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς Σμέρδιον ἐστάντα πατρὸς καὶ μητρὸς τῆς αὐτῆς, τῶν ἀπεπέμψε ἐς Πέρσας φθόνοι ἐς Ἀιγυπτίου, ὅτι τὸ τόξου μοῦνος Περσών ὅσον τε ἐπὶ δύο δακτύλους εἰρύσε, τὸ παρά τοῦ Αἰθλόπος ἥνεικαν οἱ Ἰχθυοφάγοι, τῶν δὲ ἄλλων Περσῶν οὐδεὶς οἶος τε ἐγένετο. ἄποι-γυμνόν ὁν ἐς Πέρσας τοῦ Σμέρδιος ὅψεν εἰδε ὁ Καμβύσης ἐν τῷ ὑπνῳ τοιχώμεν ἐδοξεί οἱ ἄγγελον ἐλθόντα ἐκ Περσῶν ἀγγέλλειν ὡς ἐν τῷ θρόνῳ.
BOOK III. 28-30

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

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

30. By reason of this wrongful deed, as the Egyptians say, Cambyses' former want of sense turned straightway to madness. His first evil act was to make away with his full brother Smerdis, whom he had sent away from Egypt to Persia out of jealousy, because Smerdis alone could draw the bow brought from the Ethiopian by the Fish-eaters as far as two fingerbreadths; but no other Persian could draw it. Smerdis having gone to Persia, Cambyses saw in a dream a vision, whereby it seemed to him that a messenger came from Persia
τῶ βασιλικῶν ἵζομενος Σμέρδις τῇ κεφαλῇ τοῦ ὑρανοῦ πνεύσιε. πρὸς ὄν ταῦτα δείσας περὶ ἑωτοῦ μὴ μιν ἀποκτείνας ὁ ἀδελφεὺς ἄρχη, πέμπει Πηρηγάστεα ἐς Πέρσας, ὅσ ἦν οἱ ἀνήρ Περσέων πιστότατος, ἀποκτείνατα μιν. ὁ δὲ ἀναβάς ἐς Σοῦσα ἀπόκτεινα Σμέρδιν, οἷ μὲν λέγοντι ἐπ' ἀγρήν ἐξαγαγόντα, οὗ δὲ ἐς τὴν Ἐρυθρὴν θάλασσαν προαγάγοντα καταποιτῶσαι.

31. Πρῶτον μὲν δὴ λέγοντι Καμβύση τῶν κακῶν ἄρξαι τοῦτο: δεύτερα δὲ ἐξεργάσατο τὴν ἀδελφὴν ἐσπομένην οἱ ἐς Αἰγυπτόν, τῇ καὶ συνοικείς καὶ ἧνοι ἀπ' ἀμφοτέρων ἀδελφῆς. ἔγγυμε δὲ αὐτὴν ἄδειον ὀὐδαμῶς ἰαρ' ἐώθεσαν πρότερον τῇσι ἀδελφῆς συνοικείων Πέρσαις. ἤρασθη μιθῇ τῶν ἀδελφῶν Καμβύσης, καὶ ἐπείτα βουλόμενος αὐτὴν γῆμαί, ὅτι οὐκ ἐξωθότα ἐπενοῦσ' ποιήσειν, εἰρέτο κάλεσας τοὺς βασιλείους δικαστὰς εἰ τις ἐστὶ κελευον νόμος τῶν βουλόμενον ἀδελφὴν συνοικείων. οἱ δὲ βασιλεῖου δικασταὶ κεκριμένοι ἄνδρες γίνονται Περσέων, ὡς οὗ ἀποθάνωσι ή σφι παρευρεθη τι άδικον, μέγρι τοῦτον οὕτοι δὲ τοίοι Πέρσαις δικαὶ δικαζοῦσι καὶ ἐξηγηται τῶν πατρίων θεσμῶν γίνονται, καὶ πάντα ἐς τοῦτον ἀνακέσται. εἰρημένων ὁν τοῦ Καμβύσης, ὑπεκρίνουτο αὐτῷ οὕτω καὶ δίκαια καὶ άσφαλεία, φάμενοι νόμον οὐδένα ἐξευρίσκειν ὃς κελεύει ἀδελφὴν συνοικείων ἀδελφον, ἀλλον μέντοι ἐξευρηκέαν νόμον, τῷ βασιλεύοντι Περσέων ἐξείναι ποιεῖν τὸ ἁν βούληται. οὗτο οὗτο τῶ νόμον ἐλυσαν δείσαντες Καμβύσεα, ἵνα τε μὴ αὐτοὶ ἀπόλονται τῶ νόμον περιστελλόντες, παρεξεύρον ἀλλον νόμον σύμμαχον τῷ
and told him that Smerdis had sat on the royal throne with his head reaching to heaven. Fearing therefore for himself, lest his brother might slay him and so be king, he sent to Persia Prexaspes, the trustiest of his Persians, to kill Smerdis. Prexaspes went up to Susa and so did; some say that he took Smerdis out a-hunting, others that he brought him to the Red Sea and there drowned him.

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

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

2 A standing body of seven; cp. Book of Esther, i. 14.
θελοντι γαμμειν αδελφειας. τοτε μεν δη ο Καμβύσης εγιμε την ερωμενην, μετα μεντοι ου πολλον χρονον εσχε αλλην αδελφειν. τουτων δητα την νεωτερην επισπομενην οι επ Αιγυπτου κτεινει.

32. Δημι δε τω θανατω αυτης διξος δισερ περι Σμερδιος λεγεται λογος. "Ελληνες μεν λεγουσι Καμβύσεα συμβαλειν σκυμνον λεοντος σκυλακι κυνος, θεωρειν δε και την γυναικα ταυτην, νικωμενον δε το σκυλακον αδελφειν αυτου αλλου σκυλακα απορρηξαντα τον δεσμον παραγενεσθαι οι, δυο δε γενομενους ουτω δε τοις σκυλακας επικρατησι τοι σκυμνου, και τον μεν Καμβύσεα ηδεσθαι θεωμενον, την δε παρημενην δακρυςιν. Καμβύσεα δε μαθοντα τοιτο επειρεσθαι δε ο τι δακρυςι, την δε ειπειν ον ιδοεσα τον σκυλακον το αδελφει τιμωρησαντα δακρυςιν, μησθεισα τε Σμερδιος και μαθουσα ως εκεινω ουκ ειθ ο τιμωρησιν. "Ελληνες μεν δη δια τουτο το επος φασι αυτην απολεσθαι υπο Καμβύσεως, Αιγυπτιοι δε οι τραπεζα παρακατεμενων λαβουσαν θριδακα την γυναικα περιτιλαι και επανειρεθαι τον άνδρα κοτερον περιτετιλμενη η θριδαξη δασεα ειθ καλλιων, και τον οαι δασεαν, την δε ειπειν "Ταυτην μεντοι κοτε συ την θριδακα εμμησο τον Κυρου οικον απουσιως." τον δε θυμωθεντα εμπορισαι αυτην εχουση εν γαστρι, και μεν εκτρωσαι αποθανειν.

33. Ταυτα μεν εσ τους οικησους ο Καμβύσης εξεμανην, ειτε δη δια τον Ατιν ειτε και αλλως, οια πολλα έσθε ανθρωπους κακα καταλαμβανειν και γαρ τινα εκ γενεις νουσον μεγαλην λεγεται εχειν ο Καμβύσης, την ιρην ονομαζουσι τινες. ου νων
another law to justify one that desired wedlock with sisters. So for the nonce Cambyses married her of whom he was enamoured; yet presently he took another sister to wife. It was the younger of these who had come with him to Egypt, and whom he now killed.

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

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

¹ Epilepsy.
τοι ἀεικὲς οὐδὲν ἢν τοῦ σώματος νοῦσον μεγάλην νοσέωντος μηδὲ τὰς φρένας ὕγιαινειν.

34. Τάδε δὲ ἐς τοὺς ἄλλους Πέρσας ἐξεμάνη. λέγεται γὰρ εἰπεῖν αὐτοῦ πρὸς Πρηξάσπεα, τὸν ἐτίμα τε μάλιστα καὶ οἰ τὰς ἄνγελιας ἐφορεῖ σύντοι, τούτου τε ὁ παῖς οἶνοχόος ἢν τῷ Καμβύσῃ, τιμὴ δὲ καὶ αὐτὴ οὐ σμικρὴ εἰπεῖν δὲ λέγεται τάδε. "Πρηξάσπε, κοίνων με τινά νομίζουσι Πέρσαι εἶναι ἄνδρα τίνας τε λόγους περὶ ἐμὸν ποιεῖται;" τὸν δὲ εἰπεῖν "Ώ δέσποτα, τὰ μὲν ἀλλὰ πάντα μεγάλως ἐπαινέατο, τῇ δὲ φιλοινή σε φασὶ πλεόνως προσκέεσθαι." τὸν μὲν δὴ λέγειν ταῦτα περὶ Περσέων, τὸν δὲ θυμωθέντα τοιώδε αμείβεσθαι. "Νῦν ἄρα με φασὶ Πέρσαι αἷν προσκείμενον παραφρονεῖν καὶ οὐκ εἶναι νομίμονα, οὐδ’ ἄρα σφέων οἱ πρότεροι λόγοι ἤσαν ἀληθεῖς."

πρότερον γὰρ δὴ ἄρα, Περσέων οἱ συνέδρων ἐόντων καὶ Κροίσου, εἰρητο Καμβύσης κοινὸς τις δοκεῖ άνήρ εἶναι πρὸς τὸν πατέρα τελέσαι Κύρου, οἱ δὲ αμείβοντο ὡς εὶ ἀμείνων τοῦ πατρὸς· τὰ τε γὰρ ἐκείνων πάντα ἔχειν αὐτὸν καὶ προσεκτήσθαι Αἰγυπτίων τε καὶ τὴν θάλασσαν. Πέρσαι μὲν ταῦτα ἔλεγον, Κροίσος δὲ παρεοὶ τε καὶ οὐκ ἄρεσκόμενος τῇ κρίσι εἰπεῖ πρὸς τὸν Καμβύσα τάδε. "Ἐμοὶ μὲν νυν, ὦ παῖ Κύρου, οὐ δοκεῖς ὃμοιος εἶναι τῷ πατρὶ· ὦ γὰρ κἂν τὸι ἑστὶ νῦν ὁλοὶ σὲ ἐκεῖνος κατελίπετο." ἤσθη τε ταῦτα ἀκοῦσας ὁ Καμβύσης καὶ ἐπαίνεε τὴν Κροίσου κρίσιν.

35. Τούτων δὴ ὁν ἐπιμνησθέντα ὅργῃ λέγειν πρὸς τὸν Πρηξάσπεα "Σὺ νυν μάθε εἰ Λέγουσι Πέρσαι ἀληθέα εἰτε αὐτὸ λέγοντες ταῦτα παρα-
then that when his body was grievously afflicted his mind too should be diseased.

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

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

φρονέουσα εἰ μὲν γὰρ τοῦ παιδὸς τοῦ σοῦ τουδὲ ἐστεώτος ἐν τοῖς προθύροις βαλών τύχοιμι μέσης τῆς καρδίας, Πέρσαι φανεροίτες ἑγοντες οὐδέν· ἂν δὲ ἀμάρτω, φάναι Πέρσας τε λέγειν ἄληθεα καὶ με μὴ σοφρονεῖν·" ταύτα δὲ εἰπόντα καὶ διατείναντα τὸ τοξον βαλείν τὸν παίδα, πεσόντος δὲ τοῦ παιδός ἀνασχίζειν αὐτὸν κελεύειν καὶ σκέφτασθαι τὸ βλήμα· ὡς δὲ ἐν τῇ καρδίῃ εὑρεθήμην ἐνεύσατο τὸν ὦστιν, εἰπέν πρὸς τὸν πατέρα τοῦ παιδός ἑλάσαντα καὶ περικαρέα γενόμενον "Πρηξάστες, ὦς μὲν ἐγὼ τε ὑ ὑ μαίνομαι Πέρσαι τε παραφρονεύσαι, δῆλα τοι γέγονε. νῦν δὲ μοι εἰπέ, τινα εἶδες ἢ ὑπὸ πάντων ἀνθρώπων οὐτῶν ὑπόσκοπα τοξεύοντα;" Πρηξάστεα δὲ ὀρῶντα ἀνδρα ὑ φρενηρα καὶ περὶ ἐσωτῷ δεμαίνοντα εἰπέν "Δέσποτα, οὐδ' ἂν αὐτὸν ἐγὼ γε δικέω τὸν θεὸν οὐτω ἀν καλῶς βαλείν." τότε μὲν ταύτα ἐξεργάσατο, ἔπερωθή δὲ Περσέων ὑμοίων τοῖς πρῶτοι ὑπὸδεκα ἐπ' ὑ ὑ δεμιή αἰτή ἀξιοχρέω ἐλῶν ἑώντας ἐπὶ κεφαλής κατώρυθξε.

36. Ταύτα δὲ μὲν ποιεῦντα ἐδικαίωσε Κροῖσος ὁ Λυδὸς νουθετήσαι τοισὶ τοῖσι ἐπεσί. "Ω βασιλεῖ, μὴ πάντα ἡλικίᾳ καὶ θυμῷ ἐπίτραπτε, ἀλλ' ἵσχε καὶ καταλάμβανε σεμωτὸν ἁγαθὸν τι πρόονοι εἶναι, σοφὸν δὲ ἵ ἐπρομηθήν. σὺ δὲ κτείνεις μὲν ἀνδρᾶς σεμωτοῦ πολλήν ἐπ' ὑ ὑ δεμιή αἰτή ἀξιοχρέω ἐλῶν, κτείνεις δὲ παιδῶς. ἂν δὲ πολλὰ τοιαύτα ποιέης, ὥρα ὅκως μὴ σεν ἀποστήσουνται Πέρσαι. εἴμαι δὲ πατήρ σος Κύρος ἑνετέλεστο πολλὰ κελεύων σε νουθετεῖν καὶ ὑποτίθεσθαι ὁ τι ἀν εὐρίσκω ἁγαθὸν." ὁ μὲν δὲ εὐνοοῦν φαίνων συνεργεῖται ὁ ταῦτα· ὁ δ' ἀμείβετο τοισὶ δε. "Σὺ
when they so speak of me. Yonder stands your son in the porch; now if I shoot and pierce his heart, that will prove the Persians to be wrong; if I miss, then say that they are right and I out of my senses." So saying, he strung his bow and hit the boy, and bade open the fallen body and examine the wound: and the arrow being found in the heart, Cambyses laughed in great glee and said to the boy's father: "It is plain, Prexaspes, that I am in my right mind and the Persians mad; now tell me: what man in the world saw you ever that shot so true to the mark?" Prexaspes, it is said, replied (for he saw that Cambyses was mad, and he feared for his own life), "Master, I think that not even the god himself could shoot so true." Thus did Cambyses then; at another time he took twelve Persians, equal to the noblest in the land, proved them guilty of some petty offence, and buried them alive up to the neck.

36. For these acts Croesus the Lydian thought fit to take him to task, and thus addressed him: "Sire, do not ever let youth and passion have their way; put some curb and check on yourself; prudence is a good thing, forethought is wisdom. But what of you? you put to death men of your own country proved guilty of but a petty offence; ay, and you kill boys. If you do often so, look to it lest the Persians revolt from you. As for me, your father Cyrus earnestly bade me counsel you and give you such advice as I think to be good." Croesus gave him this counsel out of goodwill; but Cambyses answered: "It is very
καὶ ἔμοι τολμᾶς συμβουλεύειν, δε χρηστῶι μὲν τὴν σεωτοῦ πατρίδα ἐπετρόπευσας, εὐ δὲ τῷ πατρί τῷ ἐμῷ συνεβουλεύσας, κελεύων αὐτοῦ Ἀράξεα ποταμὸν διαβάντα ἱέναι ἐπὶ Μασσαγέτας, βουλομένων ἑκείνων διαβαίνειν ἐς τὴν ἡμετέρην, καὶ ἀπὸ μὲν σεωτοῦ ὠλεσας τῆς σεωτοῦ πατρίδος κακῶς προστάσας, ἀπὸ δὲ ὠλεσας Κύρων πειθόμενον σοὶ, ἀλλ' οὔτε χαίρων, ἐπεὶ τοι καὶ πάλαι ἐς σὲ προφάσιοι τευ ἐδεόμην ἐπιλαβέσθαι." ταῦτα δὲ εἶπας ἐλάμβανε τὸ τόξον ὡς κατατοξεύσων αὐτοῦ, Κροίσσος δὲ ἀναδραμὼν ἔθεε ἐξω. ὁ δὲ ἐπείτε τοξεύσαι οὐκ εἴχε, ἐνετείλατο τοῖς θεράπουσι λαβόνται μιν ἀποκτείναι. οἱ δὲ θεράποντες ἐπιστάμενοι τὸν τρόπον αὐτοῦ κατακρύπτουσι τὸν Κροίσον ἐπὶ τὸ ὁδόν τοῦ, ἐμὲ μεν μεταμελήσῃ τῷ Καμβύσῃ καὶ ἐπιζήτῃ τὸν Κροίσον, ο郤 ἐκφίναντες αὐτὸν δώρα λάμψονται ἰωάγρια Κροίσου, ὡς δὲ μὴ μεταμεληθῇ μὴ διὸ ποθὲ μιν, τὸτε καταχρᾶσθαι. ἐπόθησε τε δὴ ὁ Καμβύσης τὸν Κροίσον οὗ πολλῷ μετέπειται χρόνῳ ὑπερον, καὶ οἱ θεράποντες μαθοῦντες τοῦτο ἐπηγγέλλοντο αὐτῷ ὡς περιεῖ. Καμβύσης δὲ Κροίσῳ μὲν συνήδεσθαι ἐφ' ἑρείοντε, ἑκείνους μὲντοι τοὺς περιποιήσκας καὶ καταπροξεσθαι ἀλλ' ἀποκτενέειν καὶ ἐποίησε ταῦτα.

37. ὁ μὲν δὴ τοιαύτα πολλὰ ἐς Πέρσας τε καὶ τοὺς συμμάχους ἐξεμαίνετο, μὲνον ἐν Μέμφι καὶ θῆκας τε παλαιᾶς ἀνοιγόν καὶ σκεπτόμενος τοὺς νεκροὺς. ὡς δὲ δὴ καὶ ἐς τοῦ Ἡφαίστου τὸ ἱὸν ἠλθὲ καὶ πολλὰ τῷ ἀγάλματι κατεγέλασε. ἐστὶ γὰρ τοῦ Ἡφαίστου τὸ ἁγαλμα τοῖς Φείνικησι Παταίκιοις ἐμφερέστατον, τοὺς οἳ Φολνικες ἐν
well that you should dare to counsel me too; you, who governed your own country right usefully, and gave fine advice to my father—bidding him, when the Massagetae were willing to cross over into our lands, to pass the Araxes and attack them; thus you wrought your own ruin by misgoverning your country, and Cyrus's by overpersuading him. Nay, but you shall rue it; long have I waited for an occasion to deal with you.” With that Cambyses took his bow to shoot him dead; but Croesus leapt up and ran out; and Cambyses, being unable to shoot him, charged his attendants to take and kill him. They, knowing Cambyses' mood, hid Croesus; being minded, if Cambyses should repent and seek for Croesus, to reveal him and receive gifts for saving his life; but if he should not repent nor wish Croesus back, then to kill the Lydian. Not long after this Cambyses did wish Croesus back, perceiving which the attendants told him that Croesus was alive still. Cambyses said that he too was glad of it; but that they, who had saved Croesus alive, should not go scot free, but be killed; and this was done.

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

1 The Phoenician Pataïci (as the Greeks called him) was the Pthah or Patah of Egypt whom the Greeks identified with Hephaestus; always in the form of a dwarf.
ήσυ πρώρησε τῶν τριπρέων περιάγουσι, ὃς ὥσ τοῦτοι μὴ ὀπωσ, ὅδε σημανέων πυγμαίοις ἄνδρος μίμησις ἦστι. ἐσήλθε δὲ καὶ ἐς τῶν Καβείρων τὸ ἱρον, ἐς τὸ ὅπου θεωτῶν ἐστὶ ἐστίναι ἅλλον γε ἢ τὸν ἱρεά· ταῦτα δὲ τὰ ἀγάλματα καὶ ἐνέπρησε πολλὰ κατασκόιψα. ἐστὶ δὲ καὶ ταῦτα ὅμως τοὺς τοῦ Ἡφαιστον τοῦτον δὲ σφέας παίδας λέγουσι εἶναι.

38. Πανταξῆ ὅσ μοι δῆλα ἦστι διτὶ ἑμάνη μεγάλως ὁ Καμβύσης· οὗ γὰρ ἀν ἱροῖς τε καὶ νομαίοις ἐπεχείρησε καταγελαν. εἰ γὰρ τῆς προ-
θείης πᾶσι ἀνθρώποισι ἐκλέξασθαι κελεύων νόμους τοὺς καλλίστους ἐκ τῶν πάντων νόμων, διασκε-
ψάμενοι ἃν ἐλοίατο ἐκαστοι τοὺς ἑωτῶν· ὑστὸ-
νομίζοισι πολλῶν τι καλλίστους τοὺς ἑωτῶν
νόμους ἐκαστοι εἶναι. οὐκὼν οἰκός ἦστι ἅλλον γε
ἡ μανεμένον ἄνδρα γέλωτα τὰ τοιαῦτα τίθεσθαι
ὡς δὲ ὅτω νενομίκασι τὰ περὶ τοὺς νόμους πάντες ἀνθρωποι, πολλοῖς τε καὶ ἅλλοις τεκμηρίοις
πάρεστι σταθμόσασθαι, ἐν δὲ δὴ καὶ τόδε. Δαιρείος
ἐπὶ τῆς ἑωτοῦ ἀρχῆς καλέσας Ἠλλήνων τοὺς
παρεύτας εἰρέτο ἐπὶ κόσῳ ἀν χρήματι βουλοῖα
τοὺς πατέρας ἀποδηνόκοτας καταστίεσθαι· οὐ
dὲ ἐπὶ χώδεις ἐβασαν ἐρείν ἀν τοῦτο. Δαιρεῖος
dὲ μετὰ ταῦτα καλέσας Ἰνδῶν τοὺς καλεμένους
Καλλατίας, οἱ τοὺς γονέας κατεσθίουσι, εἰρέτο,
παρεύτων τῶν Ἡλλήνων καὶ δὲ ἐρμηνεύοις μανθα-
νότων τὰ λεγόμενα, ἐπὶ τῖν χρήματι δεξαίατ ἃν
τελευτότας τοὺς πατέρας κατακάιειν πυρί· οὐ
dὲ ἀμβώσαντες μέγα εὐφημεῖε μιν ἐκελευν. οὐτὸ
μὲν νυν ταῦτα νενόμισται, καὶ ὅρθῳς μοι δοκεῖ
Πίνδαρος ποιῆσαι νόμον πάντων βασιλέα φήσας
εἶναι.
prows of their triremes. I will describe it for him who has not seen these figures: it is in the likeness of a dwarf. Also he entered the temple of the Cabeiri, into which none may enter save the priest; the images here he even burnt, with bitter mockery. These also are like the images of Hephaestus, and are said to be his sons.

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

1 Apparently from Sanskrit Kāla—black.
2 nómēn ἄ πάτους βασιλεὺς θεῶν τε καὶ θεῶν: quoted in Plato's Gorgias from an otherwise unknown poem of Pindar.
39. Καμβύσεως δὲ ἐπ’ Αἰγύπτου στρατευομένου ἐποίησαντο καὶ Δακεδαιμόνιοι στρατηγῆς ἐπὶ Σάμουν τε καὶ Πολυκράτεα τὸν Αἰάκεος· ὅσον ἐσχε Σάμουν ἐπαναστάσις, καὶ τὰ μὲν πρῶτα τριχῆ δασάμενοι τὴν πόλιν . . . ¹ τούτι ἀδελφεύοντο Πάνταγρωτῷ καὶ Συλοσώντες ἔνειμε, μετὰ δὲ τῶν μὲν αὐτῶν ἀποκτείνας τὸν δὲ νεότερον Συλοσώντα ἐξελάσας ἐσχε πᾶσαν Σάμουν, σχὼν δὲ ἕξιν Ἰμαῖ τῷ Αἰγύπτου βασιλεὺς συνεδήκατο, πέμπων τε δῷρα καὶ δεκόμενος ἄλλα παρ’ ἐκείνου. ἐν χρόνῳ δὲ ὁλίγῳ αὐτίκα τοῦ Πολυκράτεος τὰ πρήγματα ηὐξετο καὶ ἤν δἐβεσμένα ἀνὰ τῇ τὴν Ἰωνίην καὶ τὴν ἄλλην Ἐλλάδα· ὅκου γὰρ ἰδύσειε στρατεύεσθαι, πάντα οἱ ἐγὼρετε εὐτυχέως. ἔκτητο δὲ πεντηκοντάρχους τὸ ἐκατόν καὶ χιλίου κοῦτος, ἐφερε δὲ καὶ ἤγε πάντας διακρίσεως οὐδένα· τῷ γὰρ φίλῳ ἕφη χαριεῖσθαι μᾶλλον ὑποδίδος τὰ ἐλαβε ή ἁρχὴν μηδε λαβών. συχνὰς μὲν δὴ τῶν νήσων ἀραιήκες, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ τῆς ἥπειρος ἀστεὰ· ἐν δὲ δὴ καὶ Λεσβίοις πανστραυνηθοῦσι βοηθείτaquas Μιλησίως ναυμαχή κρατήσας εἰλι, ὦ τὴν τάφρον περὶ τὸ τείχος τὸ ἐν Σάμῳ πᾶσαν δεδεμένοι ὄμρυξαν.

40. Καὶ καὶ ἴδη τὸν Ἐμασείν εὐτυχέως μεγάλως ὁ Πολυκράτης οὐκ ἔλανθανε, ἀλλὰ οἱ τοῦτ’ ἦν ἐπιμελεῖς. πολλῷ δὲ ἐτί πλεῖον οἱ εὐτυχεῖς γινομένης γράψας ἐς βυζάντιμον τάδε ἐπέστειλε ἐς Σάμουν. "Ἀμαςις Πολυκράτει ὅδε λέγει. ἢδε μὲν πυθάνεσθαι ἄνδρα φίλων καὶ ξείνων εὐ πρόσσουτα· ἐμοὶ δὲ σαί μεγάλαι εὐτυχεῖς οὐκ ἄρεσκουσι, τὸ θείου ἐπισταμένως ὡς ἠστι φθορέων καὶ κως βούν. ¹ σίν or ἄμα is probably omitted.
39. While Cambyses was attacking Egypt, the Lacedaemonians too made war upon Samos and Aeaces' son Polycrates. He had revolted and won Samos,¹ and first, dividing the city into three parts, gave a share in the government to his brothers Pantagnotus and Sylosos; but presently he put one of them to death, banished the younger, Sylosos, and so made himself lord of all Samos; which done, he made a treaty with Amasis king of Egypt, sending and receiving from him gifts. Very soon after this Polycrates grew to such power that he was famous in Ionia and all other Greek lands; for all his warlike enterprises prospered. An hundred fifty-oared ships he had, and a thousand archers, and he harried all men alike, making no difference; for, he said, he would get more thanks if he gave a friend back what he had taken than if he never took it at all. He had taken many of the islands, and many of the mainland cities. Among others, he conquered the Lesbians; they had brought all their force to aid the Milesians, and Polycrates worsted them in a sea-fight; it was they who, being his captives, dug all the fosse round the citadel of Samos.

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

¹ Probably in 532 B.C.
λομαι καὶ αὐτὸς καὶ τῶν ἄν κήδωμαι τὸ μὲν τι ἐντυχεῖν τῶν προηγμάτων τὸ δὲ προσπταίειν, καὶ οὕτω διαφέρειν τῶν αἰώνα ἐναλλαξ πρήσασον ἡ ἐντυχεῖν τὰ πάντα. οὐδένα γάρ κο λόγω σίδα ἀκούσας ὡστὶς ἐς τέλος οὐ κακῶς ἐτελεύτησε πρόρριζος, ἐντυχέων τὰ πάντα. σὺ νῦν ἐμοὶ πειθόμενος ποίησαν πρὸς τὰς ἐντυχίας τοιάδε φροντίσας τὸ ἀν εὑρής ἐν τοι πελέστου αξίου καὶ ἐπὶ ὦ σὺ ἀπολομένῳ μάλιστα τὴν ψυχὴν ἀληθείας, τούτῳ ἀπόβαλε οὕτω ὡς μηκετί ἦξει ἐς ἀνθρώπους ἡν τε μῆ ἐναλλάξ ἢδη τῶπο τούτου αἱ ἐντυχίαι τοι τῇ πάθησθι προσπίπτωσι, τρόπῳ τῷ ἐξ ἐμεῦ ύποκειμένῳ ἀκέον.”

41. Ταῦτα ἐπιλεξάμενοι ὁ Πολυκράτης καὶ νῦν λαβὼν ὡς οἱ εὐ πεπίθετο Ἀμασίς ἐδίζητο ἐπὶ ὦ ἀν μάλιστα τὴν ψυχὴν ἀσθεία ἀπολομένῳ τῶν κειμηλίων, διζήμενοι δὲ εὑρίσκε τόθε. ὡν οἱ σφρηγίς τὴν ἐφορεὲ χρυσόδετος, σμαράγδου μὲν λίθου ἐσώσα, ἔργον δε ἢν Θεοδώρου τοῦ Τηλέκλεως Σαμίου ἐπεὶ οὐν ταῦτην οἱ ἐδόκεε ἀποβαλεῖν, ἐποίεε τοιάδε: πενηκόντερον πληρώσας ἀνθρώπων ἐσέβη ἐς αὐτὴν, μετὰ δὲ ἀναγαγεῖν ἐκέλευε ἐς τὸ πέλαγος: ὡς δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς νήσου ἐκας ἐγένετο, περιελόμενος τὴν σφρηγίδα πάντων ὄρων τῶν συμπλών ῥίπτει ἐς τὸ πέλαγος. τούτῳ δὲ ποίησας ἀπέπλεε, ἀπικόμενος δὲ ἐς τὰ οἰκία συμφορὴ ἐχράτο.

42. Πέμπτη δὲ ἡ ἐκτη ἡμέρη ἀπὸ τούτων τάδε οἱ συνήνεικε γενέσθαι. ἀνὴρ ἄλιεὺς λαβὼν ἵχθυν μέγαν τε καὶ καλῶν ἰχθίων μιν Πολυκράτει δώρον δοθήναι: φέρων δὴ ἐπὶ τὰς θύρας Πολυκράτει ἐφε ἐθέλειν ἐλθεῖν ἐς ὅψιν, χωρίσαντος δὲ οἱ τούτου ἐλεγε διδοὺς τῶν ἵχθυν ὡς βασιλέως, ἐγὼ
BOOK III. 40-42

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

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

42. But on the fifth or sixth day from this it so befell that a fisherman, who had taken a fine and great fish, and desired to make it a gift to Polycrates, brought it to the door and said that he wished to be seen by Polycrates. This being granted to him, he gave the fish, saying: "O King, I am a man that lives by
τόνδε ἔλαὐν οὐκ ἐδικαίωσα φέρειν ἐς ἀγορήν, καίπερ ἐὼν ἀποχειροβιότος, ἀλλά μοι ἐδόκεε σεῦ τε εἶναι ἄξιος καὶ τῆς σῆς ἀρχῆς· σοι δὴ μνήμονεν δίδωμι." ὁ δὲ Ἰάθεις τοῖς ἐπεσί ἀμείβεται τοίοις. "Κάρτα τε εὐ ἐποίησας καὶ χάρις δυσλή τῶν τε λόγων καὶ τοῦ δώρου, καὶ σε ἐπὶ δεῖπνου καλέωμεν." ὁ μὲν δὴ ἀλευς μέγα ποιεύμενος ταύτα ἦν ἐς τά οἴκια, τοὺς δὲ ἱχθύν τάμνοντες οἱ θεράπουτες εὐρίσκοντο εἰς τῇ νηδίᾳ αὐτοῦ ἑνεύοντο τὴν Πολυκράτεως σφηνίδα. ὅς δὲ εἰδὼν τε καὶ ἐλαβὼν τάγιστα, ἔφερον κεχαρικότες παρὰ τὸν Πολυκράτεα, διδόντες δὲ οἱ τὴν σφηνίδα ἔλεγον στρων τρόπῳ εὐρέθη. τοὺς δὲ ὡς ἐσῆθεθε θείον εἶναι τὸ πρῆγμα, γράφει ἐς βυβλίον πάντα τὰ ποιήσαντά μιν ὁι καταληκτική, γράφας δὲ ἐς Ἀἰγύπτου ἐπέθηκε.

43. Ἐπιλεξάμενος δὲ ὁ Ἀμασίς ἐς τὸ βυβλίον τὸ παρὰ τοῦ Πολυκράτεος ἢκον, ἔμαθε ὅτι ἐκκομίσαι τε ἀδύνατον εἰς ἀνθρώπων ἀνθρωπων ἐκ τοῦ μέλλοντος γίνεσθαι πρήγματα, καὶ ὅτι οὐκ εὑς τελευτήσειν μέλλοι Πολυκράτης εὐτυχεῶς τα πάντα, ὅσ καὶ τὰ ἀποβάλλει εὐρίσκει. πέμψας δὲ οἱ κήρυκα ἐς Σάμων διαλύσασθαι ἐφ᾽ τὴν ξεινίας. τοῦδε δὲ ἔνεκεν ταύτα ἐποίης, ἢν μὴ συντυχής δεινῆς τε καὶ μεγάλης Πολυκράτεας καταλαβοῦσας αὐτὸς ἀλήθειε τὴν ψυχὴν ὡς περὶ ξεινος ἀνδρὸς.

44. Ἔπι τούτων δὴ ὁν τοῦ Πολυκράτεας εὐτυχεόντα τα πάντα ἐστρατεύοντο Λακεδαιμόνιοι, ἐπικαλεσάμενοι τῶν μετὰ ταύτα Κυδωνίην τὴν ἐν Κρήτῃ κτισάντων Σαμίων, πέμψας δὲ κήρυκα λάβρη Σαμίων Πολυκράτης παρὰ Καμβύσεα τοῦ Κύρου συλλέγοντα στρατον ἐπ᾽ Ἀἰγύπτου, ἐδειβή ὅκως ἄν καὶ παρ᾽ ἑωτόν πέμψας ἐς Σάμων δέοντο
his calling; but when I caught this fish I thought best not to take it to market; it seemed to me worthy of you and your greatness; wherefore I bring and offer it to you." Polycrates was pleased with what the fisherman said; "You have done right well," he answered, "and I give you double thanks, for your words and for the gift; and I bid you to dinner with me." Proud of this honour, the fisherman went home; but the servants, cutting up the fish, found Polycrates' seal-ring in its belly; which having seen and taken they brought with joy to Polycrates, gave him the ring, and told him how it was found. Polycrates saw the hand of heaven in this matter; he wrote a letter and sent it to Egypt, telling all that he had done, and what had befallen him.

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

44. It was against this ever-victorious Polycrates that the Lacedaemonians now made war, being invited thereto by the Samians who afterwards founded Cydonia in Crete. Polycrates had without the knowledge of his subjects sent a herald to Cambyses, son of Cyrus, then raising an army against Egypt, to ask that Cambyses should send to Samos too and require
στρατού. Καμβύσης δὲ ἀκοῦσας τούτων προθύμως ἐπεμψε ἐς Σάμων δεόμενος Πολυκράτεος στρατὸν ναυτικὸν ἀμα πέμψας ἐσπίτω ἑπ' Ἀιγύπτων. ὁ δὲ ἐπιλέξας τῶν ἀστῶν τοὺς ὑπόπτους μᾶλιστα ἐς ἐπανάστασιν ἀπέπεμπε τεσσαράκοντα τριήμερα, ἐντελείμενος Καμβύσης ὅπισώ τούτους μὴ ἀποπέμπει. 45. Οὗ μὲν δὴ λέγουσι τοὺς ἀποπεμφθέντας Σαμίων ὑπὸ Πολυκράτεος οὐκ ἀπικέσθαι ἐς Ἀιγύπτων, ὅλ' ἐπείτε ἐγένοντο ἐν Καρπάθῳ πλέοντες, δοῦναι σφίζει λόγου, καὶ σφὶ ἀδειν τὸ προσωτέρῳ μηκέτι πλέειν· οὗ δὲ λέγουσι ἀπικομένους τε ἐς Ἀιγύπτων καὶ φυλασσομένους ἐνθεύτεν αὐτοὺς ἀποδρήναι. καταπλέοσι δὲ ἐς τὴν Σάμων Πολυκράτας νυσὶ ἀντιάσας ἐς μάχην κατέστη νικήσας δὲ ὃι κατιόντες ἀπέβησαν ἐς τὴν νήσον, περιμαχήσαντες δὲ ἐν αὐτῇ ἐσσώθησαν, καὶ οὕτω δὴ ἐπλεον ἐς Δακεδαίμονα. εἰς δὲ οὗ λέγουσι τοὺς ἀπ' Ἀιγύπτων νικήσαι Πολυκράτεα, λέγοντες ἐμὸι δοκείσιν οὐκ ὅρθως συνέβην γὰρ ἐδει σφεᾶς Δακεδαίμονίους ἐπικαλέσθαι, εἰ περ αὐτὸς ἦσαν ικανοὶ Πολυκράτεα παραστῆσαι. πρὸς δὲ τούτοις οὐδὲ λόγος αἰρέει, τῷ ἐπίκουρῳ τε μισθωτῷ καὶ τοξόταις οἰκήμοι ἦσαν πλῆθει πολλοῖ, τοῦτον ὑπὸ τῶν κατιόντων Σαμίων ἑντὸς ὁλῶν ἐσσώθην. τῶν δ' ὑπ' ἑωτίῳ ἑντῶν πολιτέων τὰ τέκνα καί τὰς γυναῖκας ὁ Πολυκράτης ἐς τοὺς νεωσοίκους συνειλήσας εἰς ἑτοίμους, ἣν ἀρὰ προδίδωσι οὗτοι πρὸς τοὺς κατιόντας, ὑποπρῆσαι αὐτοῖς τοὺς νεωσοίκους. 46. Ἐπείτε δὲ οἱ ἐξελασθέντες Σαμίων ὑπὸ Πολυκράτεος ἀπίκουσαν ἐς τὴν Σπάρτην, κατα
men from him. On this message Cambyses very readily sent to Samos, asking Polycrates to send a fleet to aid him against Egypt. Polycrates chose out those townsmen whom he most suspected of planning a rebellion against him, and sent them in forty triremes, charging Cambyses not to send the men back.

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

46. When the Samians who were expelled by Polycrates came to Sparta, they came before the
στάντες ἐπὶ τοὺς ἄρχωντας ἔλεγον πολλὰ οἶα κάρτα δεόμενοι· οἳ δὲ σφι τῇ πρώτῃ καταστάσι· υπεκρίναντο τὰ μὲν πρῶτα λεχθέντα εἰπελέηθαν, τὰ δὲ ύστατα οὐ συνιέναι. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα δεύτερα καταστάντες ἀλλο μὲν εἶπον οὐδὲν, θυλακοῦ δὲ φέροντες ἐφάσαν τὸν θυλακὸν ἀλφίτων δέοσθαί. οὗ δὲ σφι υπεκρίναντο τῷ θυλάκῳ περιεργάσθαι· βοηθεῖν δ' ὦν ἔδοξε αὐτοῖς.

47. Καὶ ἔπειτα παρασκευασάμενοι ἐστρατεύοντο Δακεδαιμόνιοι ἐπὶ Σάμου, ὡς μὲν Σάμιοι λέγουσι, εὐρεγείας ἐκτίνοντες, ὅτι σφὶ πρῶτοι αὐτοὶ νησὶ ἔβοηθησαν ἐπὶ Μεσσηνίων· ὡς δὲ Δακεδαιμόνιοι λέγουσι, οὐκ οὗτος τιμωρήσαι δευμένοις Σαμίσσι ἐστρατεύοντο ὡς πίσσαται βουλομένου τοῦ κρητηράς τῆς ἀρπαγῆς, τῶν ἤγου Κροίσσων καὶ τοῦ θώρηκος, τῶν αὐτοῖς Ἀμασίς ὁ Διογέντος βασιλεὺς ἐπέμψα εὕρον. καὶ γὰρ θώρηκα ἐλήσαντο τῷ πρῶτῳ ἐτεῖ ἡ τῶν κρητῆρας οἱ Σάμιοι, ἐόντα μὲν λίνεον καὶ ξῶν ἐνυφασμένον συχνῶν, κεκοσμημένον δὲ χρυσῷ καὶ εἰρίσατο ἀπὸ ξύλων· τῶν δὲ εἰνέκα θωμάσαι ἄξιον ἀρπεδώνῃ ἐκατῇ τοῦ θώρηκος ποιεῖ· έσούσα γὰρ λεπτὴ ἔχει ἀρπεδώνας εὖ ἐκεῖνη τριηκοσίας καὶ ἡξίκυντα, πάσας δανερᾶς· τοιούτοις ἔτεροι ἔστι καὶ τῶν ἐν Δίνδῳ ἀνέθηκε τῇ Ἀθηναίᾳ Ἀμασίς.

48. Συνεπελαβοῦντο δὲ τοῦ στρατεύματος τοῦ επὶ Σάμου ὡςτε γενέσθαι καὶ Κροίσσων προθύμων ύβρισμα γὰρ καὶ εἰς τούτους εἰχε εκ τῶν Σαμίων γενόμενον γενεγῷ πρότερον τοῦ στρατεύματος τούτου, κατὰ δὲ τῶν αὐτῶν χρόνων τοῦ κρητηρίου τῆς ἀρπαγῆς γεγονός. Κερκυραῖοι γὰρ παῖδας τριηκοσίων ἀνδρῶν τῶν πρῶτων Περίανδρος ο Κυψέλου ἐς
ruling men and made a long speech to show the greatness of their need. But the Spartans at their first sitting answered that they had forgotten the beginning of the speech and could not understand its end. After this the Samians came a second time with a sack, and said nothing but this: “The sack wants meal.” To this the Spartans replied: “Your ‘sack’ was needless”\(^1\); but they did resolve to help them.

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

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

\(^1\) It would have been enough (the Lacedaemonians meant) to say ἄλφιτον διεται, without using the word θάλασσα.
Σάρδις ἀπεπεμφή παρὰ Ἀλνάττεα ἐπὶ ἕκτομῆ προσσχόντων δὲ ἐς τὴν Σάμου τῶν ἀγώντων τοὺς παῖδας Κορινθίων, πυθόμενοι οἱ Σάμοι τὸν λόγον, ἐπὶ οἶσι ἀγοίατο ἐς Σάρδις, πρῶτα μὲν τοὺς παῖδας ἐδίδαξαν ἵνα ἀγαθοὶ Ἀρτέμιδος· μετὰ δὲ οἱ περιορώντες ἀπέλκειν τοὺς ἰκέτας ἐκ τοῦ ἱροῦ, σιτίων δὲ τῶν παῖδων ἐργόντων Κορινθίων, ἐποίησαν οἱ Σάμοι ὀρθῶν, τῇ καὶ νῦν ἔτι χρεώνται κατὰ ταύτα. μυκτὸς γὰρ ἐπιγενομένης, ὅσον χρόνον ἰκέτευν οἱ παῖδες, ἵστασαν χροὸς παρθένων τε καὶ ἡλίθων, ἰσταντες δὲ τῶν χορὸς τροκτὰ σησάμου τε καὶ μέλιτος ἐποίησαντο νόμων φέρεσθαι, ἵνα ἀρπάζοντες οἱ τῶν Κερκυραίων παῖδες ἔχοιεν τροφῆν. ἐς τούτῳ δὲ τόδε ἐγένετο, ἐς ὁ οἱ Κορινθίοι τῶν παῖδων οἱ φύλακοι οἴχοντο ἀπολύσοντες· τοὺς δὲ παῖδας ἀπήγαγον ἐς Κερκυραν οἱ Σάμοι.

49. Εἰ μέν νυν Περιάνδρου τελευτῆσαντο τοῖς Κορινθίοις φίλα ἣν πρὸς τοὺς Κερκυραίους, οἱ δὲ οὐκ ἀν συνελάβοντο τοῦ στρατεύματος τοῦ ἐπὶ Σάμου ταύτης εἶνεκεν τῆς αἰτίας. νῦν δὲ αἰεὶ ἐπείτε ἐκτισάν τὴν νῆσον εἰς ἄλληλοις διάφοροι, ἔντες ἐωυτοίσι . . . 1 τοῦτον ὁν εἶνεκεν ἀπεμνηστικάκεον τοῖς Σάμοισι οἱ Κορινθίοι.

50. Ἀπέτεμπε δὲ ἐς Σάρδις ἐπὶ ἕκτομῆ Περιάνδρος τῶν πρῶτων Κερκυραίων ἐπιλέξας τοὺς παῖδας τιμωρεύμενος· πρότεροι γὰρ οἱ Κερκυραίοι ἤρξαν ἐς αὐτῶν πρῆγμα ἀτάσθαλον ποιῆσαντες. ἐπείτη γὰρ τὴν ἐωτοῦ γυναῖκα Μέλισσαν Περίανδρος ἀπέκτεινε, συμφορὴν τοιήνδε οἱ ἄλλην

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

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

50. It was in vengeance that Periander chose the
sons of the notable Corecyraeans and sent them to
Sardis to be made eunuchs; for the Corecyraeans had
first begun the quarrel by committing a terrible crime
against him. For after killing his own wife Melissa,
Periander suffered yet another calamity besides what
συνέβη προς τῇ γεγονούσῃ γενέσθαι. ἦσάν οἱ ἐκ Μελίσσης δύο παῖδες, ἡλικίᾳ οἱ μὲν ἐπτακαίδεκα ὁ δὲ ὀκτωκαίδεκα ἔτεα γεγονός. τούτους ὁ μητροπάτωρ Προκλής ἔως Ἑπιδαύρου τύραννος μεταπεμφάμενος παρ' ἔωστον ἐφιλοφρονεῖτο, ὡς οἴκους ἣν θυγατρὸς ἐστώς τῆς ἐωτοῦ παῖδας. ἐπείτε δὲ σφέας ἀπεπέμπετο, εἰπε προτέμμων αὐτοὺς "Ἀρα ἵστε, ὃ παῖδες, ὃς ὑμεών τὴν μητέρα ἀπεκτείνει;" τούτο τὸ ἔπος ὁ μὲν πρεσβύτερος αὐτῶν ἐν οὐδεὶ λόγῳ ἐποίησατο· ὁ δὲ νεώτερος, τῷ οἴκῳ ἣν Λυκόφρων, ἠλπίησε ἀκούσας οὗτο ὡςτε ἀπικόμενος εἰς τὴν Κόρινθον ἀτε φονέα τῆς μητρὸς τῶν πατέρα ὑπὲρ προσεῖπε, διαλεγομένῳ τε οὕτε προσδιελέγετο ἰστορέοντι τε λόγῳ οὐδένα ἐδίδου. τέλος δὲ μιν περιθύμων ἔχων οἱ Περίανδρος ἐξελαύνει ἐκ τῶν οἰκίων.

51. Ἐξελάσας δὲ τούτου ἰστόρεε τῶν πρεσβύτερον τὰ σφι ὁ μητροπάτωρ διελέσθη. ὦ δὲ οἱ ἀπηγεῖστο ὡς σφέας φιλοφρόνως ἐδέξατο· ἐκείνου δὲ τοῦ ἔπος τὸ σφὶ ο Προκλής ἀποστέλλων εἰπε, ἀτε οὐ νόοι λαβών, σὺκ ἐμέμνητο. Περίανδρος δὲ οὐδεμίαν μηχανὴν ἔφη εἰναι μὴ οὐ σφι ἐκείνων ὑποθέσθαι τι, ἐλπισάρεε τε ἰστορέων· ὦ δὲ ἀναμηθής εἰπε καὶ τούτο. Περίανδρος δὲ νόοι λαβών [καὶ τούτο]1 καὶ μαλάκοις ἐνδιδόναι βουλόμενος οὐδὲν, τῇ ἐξελάσθεις ὑπ' αὐτοῦ παῖς διαιταν ἐποίεστο, ἐς τούτους πέμπων ἀγγελον ἀπηγόρευε μὴ μιν δέκεσθαι οἰκίους. ὦ δὲ ὁκος ἀπελαυνόμενος ἔλθοι ἐς ἄλλης οἰκίας, ἀπηλαύνετ άν καὶ ὑπὸ τάύτης, ἀπειλεύοις τοῦ Περίανδρον τοὺς δεξαμένους καὶ ἐξέρειν κελεύοντος· ἀπελαυνό-

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

51. Having so done he questioned the elder son, what their grandfather had said in converse to them. The boy told him that Procles had treated them kindly; but he made no mention of what he had said at parting; for he had taken no heed to it. Periander said it could not be but that Procles had given them some admonition; and he questioned his son earnestly; till the boy remembered, and told of that also. Being thus informed, Periander was resolved to show no weakness; he sent a message to those with whom his banished son was living and bade them not entertain him in their house. So the boy being driven forth and going to another house was ever rejected there too, Periander threatening all who received him and bidding them keep him
μενος δ’ ἂν ἦν ἡ εἰπ’ ἐτέρην τῶν ἑταίρων· οἱ δὲ ἂτε Περιάνδρου ἐστὶν παίδα καὶ περὶ δειμαίνοντες ὁμος ἐδέκοντο.

52. Τέλος δὲ ὁ Περιάνδρος κηρυγμα ἐποιήσατο, δι’ ἂν ἡ οἰκίας ὑποδέχεται μιν ἡ προσδιαλεγθῇ, ἵνα ἥμηρν τοῦτο τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι οὐφελέως, ὅσην ὃς ἐιπάς. πρὸς ὃν ὃς τὸ κήρυγμα ὑπάρχει τις οἱ διαλέγεσθαι οὐτε οἰκίας δέκεσθαι ἡθέλε· πρὸς δὲ οὐδὲ αὐτὸς ἐκεῖνος ἐδικαίως πειρᾶσθαι ἀπειρημένου, ἀλλὰ διακαρτερέων ἐν τρίς στόρησι ἐκλεισθέντο. τεταρτῆ δὲ ἡμέρη ἰδὼν μιν ὁ Περιάνδρος ἀλονείημι τε καὶ ἀσιτίησι συμπεπτωκότα οἰκτεῖρος ύπεις δὲ τῆς ὀργῆς ἔχει ἄσσον καὶ ἔλεγεν "Ὤ παῖ, κότερα τούτων αἱρέτωτε ἑστὶν, ταύτα τὸ νῦν ἔχων πρόσσεις, ἡ τὴν τυραννίδα καὶ τὰ ἀγαθὰ τὰ νῦν ἔγω ἔχω, ταύτα ἐστὶν τὸ πατρὸς ἐπιτήδεου παραλαμβάνειν, διʼ εἰδὼν ἐμὸς τοῖς παῖσι καὶ Κορίνθου τῆς εὐδαιμονίας βασιλεῖας ἀλήτην βλού εἴλευ, ἀντιστάτουν τε καὶ ὀργῆς χρεώμενος ἐς τὸν σε ἑκείστα ἐχρόνη, εἰ γὰρ τις συμφορὴ ἐν αὐτοῦ συμφορὴ γέγονε, εἰς ὑποψίαν ἐς ἐμὴ ἔχεις, ἐμοὶ τε αὕτη γέγονε καὶ ἐγὼ αὕτη τὸ πλεῦν μέτοχος εἰμί, ὅσῳ αὐτὸς σφεῖ ἔξεργασάμην. σὺ δὲ μαθὼν ὅσῳ φθονεῖς θαλαμήσῃ κρέασων ἐστὶν ὁ οἰκτείρεσθαί, ἀμα τὰ κόκων τὶ ἐς τοὺς τοκέας καὶ ἐς τοὺς κρέσσους τεθυμώθας, ἀπὶς ἐς τὰ οἰκία." Περιάνδρος μὲν τούτους σιδόν κατελάμβανε· ὃ δὲ ἄλλο μὲν οὐδὲν ἀκειμένος τὸν πατέρα, ἔφη δὲ μὲν ἰρήνη ἡμῖν ἀφελείων τῷ θεῷ ἐωτῷ ἐς λόγους ἀπικόμενον· μαθὼν δὲ ὁ Περιάνδρος ὁς ἀπορὸν τὸ τὸ κακὸν εἰς τοῦ παιδὸς καὶ ἀνίκητον, ἐς ὀφθαλμῶν μὲν ἀποδέμπτεται στείλας πλοῖον ἐς Κέρκυραν ἐπεκράτεε γὰρ καὶ ταύτης.
out; so he would go, when driven forth, to some other house of his friends, who, though they were afraid, did yet receive him as being Periander's son. 52. At the last Periander made a proclamation, that whosoever should receive him into their houses or address him should be held liable to a fine consecrated to Apollo, and he named the sum. In face of this proclamation none would address or receive the boy into his house; nor did the boy himself think well to try to defy the warning, but hardened his heart and lay untended in porches. After three days Periander saw him all starved and unwashed, and took pity on him: his anger being somewhat abated, he came near and said: "My son, which is the better way to choose—to follow your present way of life, or to obey your father and inherit my sovereignty and the good things which I now possess? You are my son, and a prince of wealthy Corinth; yet you have chosen the life of a vagrant, by withstanding and angrily entreating him who should least be so used by you. For if there has been any evil chance in the matter, which makes you to suspect me, 'tis on me that it has come and 'tis I that bear the greater share of it, inasmuch as the act was mine. Nay, bethink you how much better a thing it is to be envied than to be pitied, and likewise what comes of anger against parents and those that are stronger than you, and come away to my house." Thus Periander tried to win his son. But the boy only answered: "You have made yourself liable to the fine consecrated to the god by speaking to me." Then Periander saw that his son's trouble was past cure or constraint, and sent him away in a ship to Corecyra out of his sight; for Corecyra too
HERODOTUS

ἀποστείλας δὲ τούτον ὁ Περίανδρος ἐστρατεύετο ἐπὶ τὸν πενθέρον Προκλέα ὡς τῶν παρεόντων οἱ προγμάτων ἔντα αὐτώτατον, καὶ εἶλε μὲν τὴν Ἐπίδαιου, εἰτέ δὲ αὐτὸν Προκλέα καὶ ἐξώγησε.

53. Ἐπεὶ δὲ τοῦ χρόνου προβαίνωντος ὁ τε Περίανδρος παρησίκεε καὶ συνεγινώσκετο ἔσωτο οὐκέτι εἶναι δυνάτος τα πρήγματα ἐπορᾶν τε καὶ διέπειν, πέμψας ἔς τὴν Κέρκυραν ἀπεκάλεε τοῦ Δυκόφρονο τῇ τῆς τυραννίδας ἐν γὰρ δὴ τῇ προσβυτέρῳ τῶν παίδων οὐκέν ἐνώρα, ἀλλὰ οἱ κατεφαίνετο εἶναι νωθέστερος. ὁ δὲ Δυκόφρων οὖν ἀνακράσιος ἤξιωσε τὸν φέροντα τῆς ἀγγελίας. Περίανδρος δὲ περιεχόμενος τοῦ νερῶν δεύτερα ἀπέστειλε ἐπὶ αὐτοῦ τὴν ἀδελφείαν, ἐσωτερικῶς δὲ θυγατέρα, δοκεῖν μὲν μᾶλλον ταύτῃ ἄν πειθεῖσθαι. ἀπικομένης δὲ ταύτης καὶ λεγούσης "Ἡ παῖ, βουλεῖσθαι τῇ τῇ τυραννίδας ἀλλου πεσέναι καὶ τοῖς οἴκοις τοῦ πατρὸς διαφορθήσεται μᾶλλον ᾧ αὐτὸς σφαίρα ἀπελθον ἔχειν; ἀπείτη εἰς τὰ οἶκα, παῦσαι σεωτοῦ ζημίων. φιλοτιμή κτήμα σκαίον, μὴ τῷ κακῷ τὸ κακὸν ὕπ. πολλοὶ τῶν δικαίων τὰ ἐπιεικέστερα προτιθείσι, πολλοὶ δὲ ἡδῷ τὰ μητρώια διημεῖναι τὰ πατρίωι ἀπέβαλον. τυ- ραννίς χρήμα σφαλέρον, πολλοὶ δὲ αὐτῆς ἐραστάτε ἐίσι, δὲ γέρων τῇ ἡδῇ καὶ παρησίκας μὴ δώς τὰ σεωτοῦ ἀγαθὰ ἄλλοις." ἢ μὲν δὴ τὰ ἐπαγωγότατα διδαχθέοισι ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς ἔλεγε πρὸς αὐτῶν ὁ δὲ ὑποκρινόμενος ἐφθανταῖς οὐδεμιᾶ ἤξειν ἐς Κόρινθον, ἐστὶ' ἀν πυθαγόηται περιεύοντα τὸν πατέρα. ἀπαγγελάσθης δὲ ταύτης ταύτα, τὸ τρίτον Περίανδρος κήρυκα πέμπει βουλόμενος αὐτὸς μὲν ὡς Κέρκυραν ἤκειν, ἐκείνον δὲ ἐκέλευν
was subject to him; which done, he sent an army against Procles his father-in-law (deeming him to be the chief cause of his present troubles), and took Procles himself alive, besides taking Epidaurus.

53. As time went on, Periander, now grown past his prime and aware that he could no longer oversee and direct all his business, sent to Coreyra inviting Lycophron to be despot; for he saw no hope in his eldest son, who seemed to him to be slow-witted. Lycophron did not deign even to answer the messenger. Then Periander, greatly desiring that the young man should come, sent to him (as the next best way) his own daughter, the youth's sister, thinking that he would be likeliest to obey her. She came and said, "Brother, would you see the sovereignty pass to others, and our father's house despooled, rather than come hence and have it for your own? Nay, come away home and cease from punishing yourself. Pride is the possession of fools. Seek not to cure one ill by another. There be many that set reason before righteousness; and many that by zeal for their mother's cause have lost their father's possessions. Despotism is a thing hard to hold; many covet it, and our father is now old and past his prime; give not what is your estate to others." So, by her father's teaching, she used such arguments as were most likely to win Lycophron; but he answered, that he would never come to Corinth as long as he knew his father to be alive. When she brought this answer back, Periander sent a third messenger, offering to go to Coreyra himself, and
ες Κόρινθον ἀπεκόμενον διϊδοχον γίνεσθαι τής τυραννίδος. καταινέσαντος δὲ ἐπὶ τούτοις τοῦ παιδός, ὁ μὲν Περίανδρος ἐστέλλετο ἐς τὴν Κέρκυ- 
ραν, ὁ δὲ παῖς οἱ ἐς τὴν Κόρινθον. μαθόντες δὲ 
οἱ Κέρκυραιοι τούτων ἔκαστα, ἴσα μὴ σφι Περί- 
ανδρος ἡς τὴν χώρην ἀπίκηται, κτείνουσι τῶν 
νενήσκον. ἀντὶ τούτων μὲν Περίανδρος Κέρκυ- 
ραιον ἐτιμωρέσετο.

54. Δακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ στόλῳ μεγάλῳ ὡς ἀπί- 
κοντο, ἐπολιόρκεσθιν Σάμον προσβαλόντες δὲ πρὸς 
τὸ τείχος τοῦ μὲν πρὸς βαλάσσῃ ἐστεὼς ψύργου 
kατὰ τὸ προάστειον τῆς πόλεως ἐπέβησαν, μετὰ 
δὲ αὐτοῦ βοηθήσαντος Πολυκράτεος χειρὶ πολλῇ 
ἀπηλάσθησαν. κατὰ δὲ τῶν ἐπίνων ψύργου τῶν 
ἐπὶ τῆς ράχιος τοῦ ὄρεος ἐπέοντα ἐπεξήλθον οἱ 
τῆς ἐπίκουροι καὶ αὐτῶν Σάμιων συννοί, δεξάμενοι 
τοὺς Δακεδαιμόνιον ἐπὶ όλίγον χρόνον ἐφευγον 
ὄπισθω, οἱ δὲ ἐπιστόμονει ἐκτεινον.

55. Εἰ μὲν μν' οἱ παρεόντες Δακεδαιμόνιοι 
ὅμοιοι ἐγένοντο ταύτῃ τῇ ἡμέρῃ Ἀρχίη τε καὶ 
Δυκόπτη, αἱρέθη ἄν Σάμος Ἀρχίης γὰρ καὶ 
Δυκόπτης μοῦνοι συνεπεψοῦντες φεύγουσιν ἐς τὸ 
τείχος τοῦτο Σαμίων καὶ ἀποκλημαθέντες τῆς 
ὁπίσω ὅδοις ἀπέθανον ἐν τῇ πόλι τῇ Σαμίων. 

τρίτῳ 

δὲ ἀπ' Ἀρχίεω τούτοις ἄγονοτος ἄλλω τὸν Ἀρχίης τοῦ 
Σαμίων τοῦ Ἀρχίεω αὐτὸς ἐν Πιτάυρῃ συνεγένομεν 
(δήμου γὰρ τούτου ἤν), ὡς ἑισαίνων παντών μάλιστα 
ἐτίμα τε Σαμίων καὶ οἱ τῷ πατρὶ ἐφη Σάμιων 
πονομα τεθήναι, ὅτι οἱ ὁ πατὴρ Ἀρχίης ἐν Σάμῳ 
ἀριστεύεσθε ἐπελεύθησε τιμῶν δὲ Σαμίους ἐφη, 
διότι ταφήναι οἱ τῶν πάππων δημοσίη ὑπὸ 
Σαμίων.
to make Lycophron, when he came, despot in his place. The son consented to this; Periander made ready to go to Corecyra and Lycophron to go to Corinth; but when the Corecyraeans learnt of all these matters they put the young man to death, lest Periander should come to their country. It was for this that Periander desired vengeance upon them.

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

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

1 A part of the town of Sparta; Herodotus calls it by the Attic name of Ἀείμος; the Peloponnesian word would be Ἀείμαια.
56. Δακεδαίμονιοι δὲ, ὡς σφί τεσσεράκοντα ἐγερόντες ἥμερας πολιορκέουσι Σάμων ἐς τὸ πρῶσο τε οὐδὲν προεκόπτετο τῶν πρηγμάτων, ἀπαλλάσσοντο ἐς Πελοπόννησον. ὡς δὲ ὁ ματαιώτερος λόγος ὄρμηται, λέγεται Πολυκράτεα ἐπιχώριον νόμισμα κόψαντα πολλὸν μολυβδον καταχρυσώσαντα ἐδούνα σφί, τοὺς δὲ δεξαμένους οὐτοὶ δὴ ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι. ταύτην πρώτην στρατηγίαν ὡς τὴν Ἀσίην Δακεδαίμονιοι Δωρεές ἐποίησαν.

57. Οἱ δὲ ἐπὶ τὸν Πολυκράτεα στρατευσάμενοι Σαμῶν, ἐπει διὰ τῶν Δακεδαίμονιοι αὐτοὺς ἀπολιπεῖν ἐμελλόν, καὶ αὐτοὶ ἀπέπλευσαν ἐς Σίφνον, χρημάτων γὰρ ἐδέοντο, τὰ δὲ τῶν Σιφνίων πρῆγματα ἡκαμαξεῖ τούτον τὸν χρόνον, καὶ νησιωτέων μάλιστα ἐπλούτευσαν, ἀτέ ἐντυν αὐτοῖς ἐν τῇ νήσῳ χρυσίων καὶ ἀργυρῶν μετάλλων, οὕτω ὡστε ἀπὸ τῆς δεκάτης τῶν γενομένων αὐτόθεν χρημάτων θησαυρὸς ἐν Δελφοῖς ἀνάκειται δύο μια τοῖς πλουσιωτάτοισιν αὐτοῖ δὲ τὰ γενόμενα τῷ ἐνιαυτῷ ἐκάστῳ χρήματα διείνεμοντο. ὅτε ὁν ἐπωνυμίων τὸν θησαυρὸν, ἐχρεωντο τὸ χρυστηριῶν οἱ αὐτοῖς τὰ παρεόντα ἁγαθὰ οἵα τέ ἐστι πολλὸν χρόνον παραμένειν ὁ δὲ Πυθὴν ἐχρησῆ σφί τάδε.

"Ἀλλ' ὅταν ἐν Σίφνῳ πρυτανήμα τελεόεις ἀγορῇ, τότε δὴ δεῖ φράδμονος ἀνδρὸς φράσσασθαι εὔληνόν τε λοχὸν κηρυκά τ' ἐμφρόν." 

τούτῳ δὲ Σιφνίοις ἦν τότε ἡ ἀγορὴ καὶ τὸ πρυτα
νήμα Παρίῳ Λίθῳ ἑσκημένα.
56. So when the Lacedaemonians had besieged Samos for forty days with no success, they went away to Peloponnesus. There is a foolish tale abroad that Polycrates bribed them to depart by making and giving them a great number of gilt leaden coins, as a native currency. This was the first expedition to Asia made by Dorians of Lacedaemon.¹

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

“Siphnus, beware of the day when white is thy high prytaneum,
White-browed thy mart likewise; right prudent then be thy counsel;
Cometh an ambush of wood and a herald red to assail thee.”

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

¹ Not the first expedition, that is, made by any inhabitants of Laconia, Achaeanas from that country having taken part in the Trojan war.
58. Τούτων τῶν χρησμῶν οὐκ οἷοί τε ἦσαν γρώναι οὕτε τότε εὐθὺς οὕτε τῶν Σαμίων ἀπεγμένων. ἐπείτε γὰρ τάχιστα πρὸς τὴν Σίφνου προσισχον οἱ Σάμιοι, ἐπεμπον τῶν νεῶν μιᾶς πρέσβειας ἀγούσαν ἐς τὴν πόλιν. τὸ δὲ παλαιὸν ἀπασάν αἱ νέες ἦσαν μικτῆλιφες, καὶ ἦν τοῦτο τὸ Ἡ Πυθή προηγόρευε τοῖς Σιφνίοιςī, φυλάσασθαι τῶν Ἕλληνων λόχων κελεύουσα καὶ κήρυκα ἐρυθρόν. αἰτικόμενοι δὴ οἱ ἄγγελοι ἐδέοντο τῶν Σιφνίων δέκα τάλαντα σφι χρῆσαν· οὐ φασκόντων δὲ χρήσειν τῶν Σιφνίων αὐτοῖς, οἱ Σάμιοι τῶν χώρων αὐτῶν ἐπόρθεον. πυθόμενοι δὲ εὐθὺς ἦκον οἱ Σιφνίοι ὑπενεότετες καὶ συμβαλόντες αὐτοῖς ἐσσώθησαν, καὶ αὐτῶν πολλοὶ ἀπεκληρίσθησαν τοῦ ἀστείου ὕπο τῶν Σαμίων, καὶ αὐτοὺς μετὰ ταῦτα ἔκατον τάλαντα ἐπρήξαν.

59. Παρὰ δὲ Ἡρμονέων νῆσου αὐτὶ χρημάτων παρέλαβον Ὑβρέων τὴν ἐπὶ Πελοποννήσῳ καὶ αὐτὴν Τροιζηνίας παρακατέθεντο. αὐτὸι δὲ Κυδωνίης τὴν ἐν Κρήτῃ ἐκκείσαν, οὐκ ἐπὶ τοῦτο πλέοντες ἀλλὰ Ζακυνθίους ἐξελώντες ἐκ τῆς νῆσου. ἐμείναν δὲ ἐν ταύτῃ καὶ εὐδαιμόνησαν ἐπεὶ ἔτεα πέντε, ὥστε τὰ ἱδρυμαν νῦν οὐκ εἰσὶ οἱ ποιησαμεν [καὶ τὸν τῆς Δικτύνης νῆον]. έκτῷ δὲ ἔτει Λιγυρίται αὐτῶν ναυμαχίη νικήσαντες ἠνδραποδίσαντο μετὰ Κρητῶν, καὶ τῶν νεῶν καπρίους ἐχοούσειας τὰς πρώρας ἡκρωτηρίας καὶ ἀνέθεσαν ἐς τὸ ἱδρυμαν τῆς Ἀθηναίης ἐν Λιγύρῃ. ταῦτα δὲ ἐποίησαν ἔγκοτον ἐχοούσειας Σαμίωισι 1

1 Stein thinks καὶ... ῆνδε an interpolation; the temple of Dictyna was at some distance from Cydonia, and the cult was not a Greek one.
BOOK III. 58–59

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

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

1 μελτόπαρος is one of the Homeric epithets of ships.
Αὐγινήτας πρότεροι γὰρ Σάμιοι ἐπὶ Ἀμφικράτεος βασιλεύοντος ἐν Σάμῳ στρατευσάμενοι ἐπὶ Αἰγιναν μεγάλα κακὰ ἑποίησαν Αὐγινήτας καὶ ἐπαθον ὑπ’ ἐκείνων. ἦ μὲν αἰτίη αὐτῆ.

60. Ἐμῆκυνα δὲ περὶ Σαμίων μᾶλλον, ὅτι σφι τρία ἐστὶ μέγιστα ἀπάντων Ἑλλήνων ἐξερ- γασμένα, ὅρεος τε ὑψηλοῦ ἐς πεντήκοντα καὶ ἐκατον ὀργυιάς, τούτου ὀργυιμα κάτωθεν ἀρξά- μενον, ἀμφίστομον. τὸ μὲν μῆκος τοῦ ὀρύγ- ματος ἐπτὰ στάδιοι εἰσί, τὸ δὲ ὑψὸς καὶ εὐρὸς ὁκτὼ ἐκατέρων πόδες. διὰ παντὸς δὲ αὐτοῦ ἀλλο ὀργυιμα εἰκοσίπενχι βάθος ὀρώρυκται, τρίποις δὲ τὸ εὐρὸς, δι’ οὐ τὸ ὤδωρ ὁχετεύμενον διὰ τῶν σωλῆνων παραγίνεται ἐς τὴν πολιν ἁγόμενον ἀπὸ μεγάλης πηγῆς. ἀρχιτεκτῶν δὲ τοῦ ὀρύγματος τούτου ἐγένετο Μεγαρεὺς Εὐπαλίνος Ναυστρόφου. τούτο μὲν ὃ ἐν τῶν τριῶν ἐστὶ, δεύτερον δὲ περὶ λιμένα χώμα ἐν χαλάσσῃ, βάθος καὶ εἰκοσὶ ὀργυιέων μῆκος δὲ τοῦ χώματος μέξου δύο σταδίων. τρίτον δὲ σφι ἐξεργασταὶ νηὸς μέγιστος πάντων νηὸν τῶν ἁμεὶς ὑδέμεν τοῦ ἀρχιτεκτῶν πρῶτος ἐγένετο Ῥοῖκος Φιλέω ἐπιχώριος. τούτων εἰνεκεν μᾶλλον τι περὶ Σαμίων ἐμῆκυνα.

61. Καμβύσῃ δὲ τῷ Κύρου χρονίζοντι περὶ Αὐγιπτου καὶ παραφρονήσατε ἐπανιστέαται ἄνδρες Μάγοι δύο ἀδέλφεοι, τῶν τῶν ἑτερον κατα- λείποις τῶν ὁικίων μελεδονοῦν ὁ Καμβύσης. οὗτος δὲ ὃν οἱ ἐπανέστη μαθῶν τε τῶν Σμέρδιος θάνατον ὃς κρύπτοτο γενόμενος, καὶ ὢς ὁλίγοι εἰσήκαν οἱ
Amphicrates was king of Samos they had sent an army against Aegina, whereby now the Samians and now the Aeginetans had suffered great harm. Such was the cause of the feud.

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

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

¹ Remains of this work show that the tunnel was only 1100 feet long.
² The story dropped at ch. 38 is now taken up again.
Η έπιστάμενοι αυτόν Περσεών, οί δὲ πολλοὶ περιεκόντα μιν εἰδείσαν. πρὸς ταῦτα βουλεύοντας τάδε ἐπεχείρησε τοιοὶ βασιλείουσι. ἤν οἱ ἀδελφοί, τὸν εἰπά οἱ συνεπαναστήσαν, οἰκῶς μᾶλλον τὸ εἰδὸς Σμέρδι τῷ Κύρου, τὸν ὁ Καμβύςης εὑντα ἐωτοῦ ἀδελφοῦ ἀπέκτεινε· ἢν τῇ ὅμοιος εἰδὸς τῷ Σμέρδι καὶ δὴ καὶ οὖνομα τῶντο εἰχε Σμέρδιν. τούτον τὸν ἀνδρὰ ἀναγνώσας ὁ Μάγος Πατιζέωθες ὡς οἱ αὐτῶς πάντα διαπρῆξει, εἰσε ἄγων ἐς τὸν βασιλέαν θρόνον. ποιήσας δὲ τούτο κήρυκας τῇ τῇ ἀλλη διέπεμπε καὶ δὴ καὶ εἰς Αἰγυπτον προορίζοντα τῷ στρατῷ ὡς Σμέρδιος τῷ Κύρου ἀκοῦστε πένθος του λοιποῦ ἀλλ' οὐ Καμβύςης.

62. Οἱ δὲ ὃν ἀλλὰς κήρυκες προηγόρευσαν ταῦτα καὶ δὴ καὶ ὁ ἐπὶ Αἰγυπτον ταχθεῖς, εὐρίσκε γὰρ Καμβύςης καὶ τὸν στρατὸν ἑωντα τῆς Συρίης ἐν Ἀγαθάνωνι, προηγόρευε στὰς ἐς μέσον τὰ ἐντελεχένες ἡ τοῦ Μάγου. Καμβύςης δὲ ἀκούσας ταῦτα ἐκ τοῦ κήρυκος καὶ ἐπίτισας μιν ἅγεμεν ἀληθέα αὐτῶς τῇ προεδότος οἱ Πρῆσσαπεος (περιφερείνα γὰρ αὐτῶν ὡς ἀποκτενοῦντα Σμέρδιν ὁι ποιήσας ταῦτα). βλέψας ἐς τὸν Πρῆσσαπεος εἶπε Ἡ "Πρῆσσαπεος, οὐτω μοι διερήξαστο τῷ τοῖς προσέδεθη πρήγμα;" ὁ δὲ εἶπε Ἡ "Ω δέσποτα, ὡς ἐστὶ ταῦτα ἀληθέα, ὡκς κοτὲ σοὶ Σμέρδις ἀδελφοὶ σὸς ἐπανέστησε, οὐδὲ ὅκως τι ἐς ἐκεῖνον τοῦ ἀνδρὸς νεῖκος τοῦ ἐσται ἡ μέγα ἡ σμικρὸν" ἐγὼ γὰρ αὐτῶς, ποιήσας τὰ σὺ με ἐκέλευς, ἔθαψα μιν χερσὶ τῇσι ἐμεωνατου. εἰ μὲν τῶν οἱ τεθνωτες ἀνεστάσει, προσδέκεο τοι καὶ Ἀπυάγεα τῶν Μῆδων ἐπαναστήσεσθαι εἰ δὲ ἐστὶ μοι στό ὑπ οὐ τοῦ, οὐ μὴ τι τοι ἐκ γε ἐκεῖνον νεότερον ἀναβλάστη. υἱὸν ὁν
and that few persons knew of it, most of them believing him to be still alive. Therefore he thus plotted to gain the royal power: he had a brother, his partner, as I said, in rebellion; this brother was very like in appearance to Cyrus' son, Smerdis, brother of Cambyses and by him put to death; nor was he like him in appearance only, but he bore the same name also, Smerdis. Patizeithes the Magian persuaded this man that he, Patizeithes, would manage the whole business for him; he brought his brother and set him on the royal throne; which done, he sent heralds to all parts, one of whom was to go to Egypt and proclaim to the army that henceforth they must obey not Cambyses but Smerdis the son of Cyrus.

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

63. Ταῦτα εἶπαντος Πρηξάσπεος, ἦρεσε γὰρ Καμβύσης, αὐτίκα μεταδίωκτος γενόμενος ὁ κήρυξ ἦκεί ἀπυγμένοιν δὲ μιν εἰρετο ὁ Πρηξάσπης τάδε, " (){; τοῦ Κύρου ἀγγέλους, νῦν ὃν εἶπας τὴν ἀληθείαν ἀπειθι χαίρων, κοτέρα αὐτοῦ τοῦ Σμέρδιος φαινόμενος ἐσ ὑμῖν ἐνετέλλετο ταῦτα ἢ τῶν τις ἐκείνου ὑπηρε-

τεῶν." ὃ δὲ εἶπε "Εγὼ Σμέρδιον μὲν τὸν Κύρου, ἐξ ὅτεν βασιλέως Καμβύσης ἠλασε εἰς Ἀγγυπτον, οὐκ ὅπωρα ὁ δὲ μοι Μάγος τοῦ Καμβύσης ἐπι-

τροπον τῶν οἰκίων ἀπέδεξε, οὔτος ταῦτα ἐνετεί-

λάτο, φας Σμέρδιον τὸν Κύρου εἰναι τὸν ταῦτα ἐπιθέμενον εἶπαι πρὸς ύμεᾶς. ὁ μὲν δὴ σφι ἑλεγε οὐδὲν ἐπικατεψευσμένοις, Καμβύσης δὲ εἶπε "Πρηξάσπεσ, σὺ μὲν οἷα ἁνὴρ ἀγαθὸς ποιήσας τὸ κελεύμενον αἰτήν ἐκπέφευγας. ἐμοὶ δὲ τίς ἢν εἰς Περσέων ὁ ἐπανεστῶς ἐπιβατεύων τοῦ Σμέρδιος οὐνόματος;" ὃ δὲ εἶπε "Εγὼ μοι δοκεῶ συμβεῖ τὸ γεγονός τοῦτο, ὁ βασιλεὺς οἱ Μάγοι εἰσὶ τοῖς ἐπανεστῶτες, τὸν τε ἐλιπες μελεδομον τῶν οἰκίων, Πατιζείθης, καὶ τοῦτον ἀδελφόν Σμέρδιος."

64. Ἐνθαῦτα ἀκούσαντα Καμβύσεα τὸ Σμέρδιος οὖν ὡμοι ἐτύμη ἡ ἀληθεία τῶν τέλος καὶ τοῦ ἐνυπνίου δὲ εἶδοκε ἐν τῷ ὑπνῷ ἀπαγγέλλαι τινά ὡς Σμέρδιος ἱζόμενος ἐσ τῶν βασιλείων θρόνον ἴσαθε τῇ κεφαλῇ τοῦ ὑπαρξον. μαθὼν δὲ ὡς μάτην ἀπολογείκως εἰς τὸν ἀδελφόν, ἀπέκλασε Σμέρδιον ἀποκλαύσας δὲ καὶ περιημεκτῆςας τῇ
therefore this is my counsel, that we pursue after this herald and examine him, to know from whom he comes with his proclamation that we must obey Smerdis as our king."

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

64. At the name of Smerdis, Cambyses was smitten to the heart by the truth of the word and the fulfilment of his dream; for he had dreamt that a message had come to him that Smerdis had sat on the royal throne with his head reaching to heaven; and perceiving that he had killed his brother to no purpose, he wept bitterly for Smerdis. Having wept his fill, in great grief for all his mishap,
απάση συμφορῆ αναθρώσκει ἐπὶ τῶν ἵππων, ἐν νόῳ ἔχων τὴν ταχιστήν ἐς Σοῦσα στρατευεῖσθαι ἐπὶ τῶν Μάγων. καὶ οἱ ἀναθρώσκοντι ἐπὶ τῶν ἱππῶν τοῦ κολεοῦ τοῦ ξίφος ο μύκης ἀποπίπτει, γυμναθὲν δὲ τὸ ξίφος παίει τὸν μηρῶν τρωματισθείς δὲ κατὰ τοῦτο τῇ αὐτῷ πρῶτον τῶν Αἰγυπτίων θεῶν Ἀπίν ἐπιθῆμε, ὡς οἱ καρήν ἐδοξε τετύφθαι, εἰρετο ὁ Καμβύσης ὁ τῇ πόλι τοῦνμα ἐνέοι δὲ εἰπαν ὅτι Ἀγβάτανα. τῷ δὲ ἐτὶ πρῶτον ἐκέχρηστο ἐκ Βουτούς πόλιοι ἐν Ἀγβατάνοις τελευτήσει τῶν βιών. δὲ μὲν δὴ ἐν τοῖς Μηδικοῖς Ἀγβατάνοις ἐδοκεε τελευτήσεις γηραῖός, ἐν τοῖς οἱ ἦν τὰ πάντα πρῆγματα. τῷ δὲ χρηστήνου ἐν τοῖς ἐν Συρίη Ἀγβατάνοις ἔλεγε ἀρα. καὶ δὴ ὡς τότε ἐπειρόμενος ἐπύθετο τῆς πόλιος τὸ ωονμα, ὑπὸ τῆς συμφορῆς τῆς τε ἐκ τοῦ Μάγου εκπεπληγμένος καὶ τοῦ τρῶματος ἐσωφρόνησε, συλλαβών δὲ τὸ θεοπρόπου εἶπε "Ἐνθαῦτα Καμβύσεα τοῦ Κύρου ἐστὶ πεπρωμένων τελευτῶν."

65. Τότε μὲν τοσαῦτα. ἦμερρης δὲ ὑστερον ὡς εἴκοσι μεταπεμψάμενος Περσεῶν τῶν παρεόντων τοῦς λογιμωτάτους ἔλεγε σφι τάδε. "Ὤ Πέρσαι, καταλελάβηκε με, τὸ πάντων μάλιστα ἐκρυπτον πρηγμάτων, τούτο ἐστὶ ὑμέας ἐκφίναι. ἐγὼ γὰρ ἔως ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ εἴδον ὅψιν ἐν τῷ ὑπω, τὴν μηδαμα ὄφελον ἠδειν ἐδόκεον δὲ μοι ἀγγελον ἐλθόντα ἐξ οίκου ἀγγέλλειν ὡς Σμέρδος ἱζόμενος ἐς τὸν βασιλέων θρόνον ψαύσετε τῇ κεφαλῇ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ. δείσας δὲ μὴ ἀπαρεθέδω τὴν ἀρχὴν πρὸς τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ, ἐποίησα ταγύτερα ἡ σοφότερα ἐν τῇ γάρ ἀνθρωπηθή φύσι σωκ ἐνὶ ἀρα τὸ μέλλον
he leapt upon his horse, with intent to march forthwith to Susa against the Magian. As he mounted, the cap slipped off the scabbard of his sword, and the naked blade struck his thigh, wounding him in the same part where he himself had once smitten the Egyptian god Apis; and believing the blow to be mortal, Cambyses asked what was the name of the town where he was. They told him it was Agbatana. Now a prophecy had ere this come to him from Buto, that he would end his life at Agbatana; Cambyses supposed this to signify that he would die in old age at the Median Agbatana, his capital city; but as the event proved, the oracle prophesied his death at Agbatana of Syria. So when he now enquired and learnt the name of the town, the shock of his wound, and of the misfortune that came to him from the Magian, brought him to his senses; he understood the prophecy and said: "Here Cambyses son of Cyrus is doomed to die."

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

γίνεσθαι ἀποτράπειν. ἑγὼ δὲ ὁ μάταιος Πρεξάσσεα ἀποπέμπω ἐς Σοῦσα ἀποκτενέοντα Σμέρδιν. εἰσεργασθέντος δὲ κακοῦ τοσοῦτον ἅδεως διαιτώμην, οὐδαμὰ ἐπιλεξάμενος μὴ κοτὲ τίς μοι Σμέρδιος ὑπαραίρημένου ἄλλος ἐπανασταίη ἀνθρώπων. παντὸς δὲ τού μέλλοντος ἔσεσθαι ἀμαρτῶν ἄδελφος τόν ὁμοίως τε οὐδὲν δεόν γέγονα καὶ τὴς βασιλικῆς οὐδὲν ἤσον ἐστήρημαι. Σμέρδις γάρ δὴ ἦν ὁ Μάγος τὸν μοι ὁ δαίμον προέφασε ἐν τῇ ὅψε ἐπαναστήσεσθαι. τὸ μὲν δὴ ἔργον εἰςέγασταί μοι, καὶ Σμέρδιν τὸν Κύρον μηκέτι ὑμῖν ἐόντα λογίζεσθε: οἱ δὲ ὑμῖν Μάγοι κρατεύσαντι τῶν βασιλείων, τὸν τε ἐλιπον ἐπίτροπον τῶν οἰκίων καὶ ὁ ἐκεῖνον ἅδελφος Σμέρδις. τὸν μὲν νῦν μάλιστα χρὴν ἔμεν ἀικχρὰ πρὸς τῶν Μάγων πεπουθότος τιμωρείει ἐμοί, ὥστε μὲν ἀνοσία χρᾶτο συμπεδεύει ὑπὸ τῶν ἑωτοῦ οἰκητάτων τοῦτον δὲ μηκέτι ἐόντος, δεύτερα τῶν λοιπῶν ὑμῖν ὁ Πέρσαι γίνεται μοι ἀναγκαστάτων ἐντέλλεσθαι τὰ βῆλα μοι γενέσθαι τελευτῶν τῶν βιῶν καὶ δὴ ὑμῖν τάδε ἐπισκήπτω τὸι θεοὺς τῶν βασιλείων ἐπικαλέσω καὶ πᾶσι ὑμῖν καὶ μάλιστα Ἀχαμεινέδων τοῖς παρεόισιν, μὴ περιδεῖν τὴν ἤγεμονιν αὐτὶς ἐς Μῆδους περιελθοῦσαν, ἀλλ᾽ εἰτε δόλῳ ἔχουσι αὐτὴν κτησάμενοι, δόλῳ ἀπαρθῆναι ὑπὸ ὑμέων, εἰτε καὶ σθένει τεῖο κατεργασάμενοι, σθένει κατὰ τὸ καρτέρδον ἀνασώσασθαι. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ποιεῖσθι ὑμῖν γῇ τε καρπὸν ἑκφέροι καὶ γυναῖκες τε καὶ ποιμαίνει τικτουεῖ, ἐσοῦσι εἰς τὸν ἀπαντὰ χρῶνον ἐλεφθέροις· μὴ δὲ ἀνασωσάμενοι τὴν ἀρχὴν μηδ᾽ ἐπιχειρησάσι ἀνασώζειν τὰ ἐναντία τούτοις ἀρώμαι ὑμῖν γενέσθαι, καὶ πρὸς ἐτι τούτοις τὸ τέλος.
see) no human power can turn fate aside; fool that I was! I sent Pexaspes to Susa to slay Smerdis. When that great wrong was done I lived without fear, for never did I think that when Smerdis was taken out of my way another man might rise against me. So did I wholly mistake what was to be; I have slain my brother when there was no need, and lost my kingship none the less; for the rebel foretold by heaven in the vision was Smerdis the Magian. Now I have done the deed, and I would have you believe that Smerdis Cyrus' son no longer lives; you see the Magians masters of my royal estate, even him that I left steward of my house, and his brother Smerdis. So then, he that especially should have avenged the dishonour done me by the Magians lies foully slain by his nearest kinsman; and he being no longer in life, necessity constrains me, in his default, to charge you, men of Persia, with the last desire of my life. In the name of the gods of my royal house I charge all of you, but chiefly those Achaemenids that are here, not to suffer the sovereignty to fall again into Median hands; if they have won it by trickery, trick them of it again; if they have wrested it away by force, then do you by force and strength of hand recover it. And if you so do, may your land bring forth her fruits, and your women and your flocks and herds be blessed with offspring; but if you win not back the kingdom nor essay so to do, then I pray that all may go
Περσέων ἐκάστῳ ἐπιγεγένθαι οἷον ἐμοὶ ἐπιγέγεγονε." ἀμα τε εἴπας ταῦτα ὁ Καμβύσης ἀπέκλαε πᾶσαν τὴν ἑωντὸς πρῆξιν.

66. Πέρσαι δὲ ὡς τὸν βασιλέα εἶδον ἀνακλαύσαντα πάντες τὰ τε ἔσθήτος ἐγέμενα εἶχον, ταύτα κατηρείκοντο καὶ οἰμωγὴ ἄφθωνον διεχρέωντο. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ὦς ἐσφακέλισε τε τὸ ὀστέον καὶ ὁ μηρὸς τάχιστα ἐσάτη, ἀπήνεικε Καμβύσεα τὸν Κύρου, βασιλεύσαντα μὲν τὰ πάντα ἐπτὰ ἔτεα καὶ πέντε μῆνας, ἀπαίδα δὲ τὸ παράπαν ἐόντα ἔρσενος καὶ θύλεος γάνου. Περσέων δὲ τοῖς παρεσύμπαν αἰσιατίκη πολλὴ ὑπεκέχυτο τοὺς Μάγους ἔχειν τὰ πρήγματα, ἀλλ' ἡπιστέατο ἐπὶ διαβολὴ εἰπεῖν Καμβύσεα τὰ ἐπὶ περὶ τοῦ Σμέρδιος θανάτου, ἵνα ἐκπολεμωθῇ πᾶν τὸ Περσικόν, οὔτοι μὲν νῦν ἡπιστέατο Σμέρδιον τὸν Κύρου βασιλέα ἐνεστεώτα: δεινῶς γὰρ καὶ ὁ Πρηξάσπης ἔξαραν ἤν μὴ μὲν ἀποκτεῖναι Σμέρδιον, οὐ γὰρ ἦν οἱ ἀσφαλεῖς Καμβύσεως ἑτελευτηκότος φάναι τὸν Κύρου νῦν ἀποδωλεκέναι αὐτοχειρῆ.

67. 'Ὁ δὲ δὴ Μάγος τελευτησάντος Καμβύσεως ἀδεώς ἐβασίλευσε, ἐπιβαταῖοι τὸν ὀμονύμον Σμέρδιος τὸν Κύρου, μῆνας ἐπτὰ τοὺς ἐπιλοίπους Καμβύσης ἐς τὰ ὀκτὼ ἔτεα τῆς πληρώσιος· ἐν τούτῳ ἀπεδείξατο ἐς τοὺς ὑπηκόους πάντας ἐνέργειας μεγάλας, ὡστε ἀποθανοῦντος αὐτοῦ πόθον ἔχειν πάντας τοὺς ἐν τῇ Ἀσίῃ πάρεξ αὐτῶν Περσέων. διαπέμψας γὰρ ὁ Μάγος ἐς πᾶν ἔθνος τῶν ἑρευνητῶν προείπε ἀτελείας εἶναι στρατηγῆς καὶ φόρου ἐπὶ ἔτεα τρία.

68. Προείπε μὲν δὴ ταῦτα αὐτίκα ἐνιστάμενος ἐς τὴν ἀρχήν, ὅγδος δὲ μην ἐγένετο κατάδηλος.
contrariwise for you, yea, that every Persian may meet an end such as mine." With that Cambyses wept bitterly for all that had befallen him.

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

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

68. Such was his proclamation at the beginning of his reign; but in the eighth month it was revealed who
τρόπω τοιούτως. Ὅτανς ἦν Φαρνάσπεω μὲν παῖς, γενεὶ δὲ καὶ χρήμασι ὁμοιός τῷ πρῶτῳ Περσέων. οὕτως ὁ Ὅτανς πρῶτος ὑποπτεύσει τὸν Μάγον ὡς οὐκ ἔχει ὁ Κύρου Σμέρδις ἀλλὰ ὅσ περ ἤν, τῇ δὲ συμβαλόμενοι, ὅτε τε οὐκ ἔχεσαί τις τῆς ἀκροπόλις καὶ ὅτι οὐκ ἔκαλες ὡς ὅψθν ἐσωτήρ ὀυδένα τῶν λογίων Περσέων ὑποπτεύσας δὲ μὴν ἔποιες τάδε. ἐσχε αὐτοῦ Καμβύσης θυγατέρα, τῇ οὖνομα ἦν Φαιδώρῃ τὴν αὐτὴν δὴ ταύτην εἰχε τότε ὁ Μάγος καὶ ταύτη τε συνοικεῖ καὶ τῇ ἀλλη πάσης τῆς τοῦ Καμβύσου γυναιξι. τῶν πέμπων δὴ ὅλων ὁ Ὅτανς παρὰ ταύτην τὴν θυγατέρα ἐπινύθανεν μεγάλη ὁτε φλοίρωτος κοιμώτο, εἰτε μετὰ Σμέρδιος τοῦ Κύρου εἰτε μετὰ ἀλλου τευ. ἥ δὲ οἱ ἀντέρπτεμα φαμένη οὐ γινώσκεις οὔτε γὰρ τὸν Κύρου Σμέρδιν ἱδέσθαι οὐδέμια οὔτε ὅστις εἰς ὁ συνοικεῖς αὐτῇ εἰδέναι. ἐπεμπε δεύτερα ὁ Ὅτανς λέγων "Εἰ μὴ αὐτὴ Σμέρδιν τὸν Κύρου γινώσκεις, σὺ δὲ παρὰ Ἀτόσσης πυθεῖ ὅτε ὁ τοῦτο συνοικείς αὐτῇ τε ἐκείνῃ καὶ σὺ πάντως γὰρ δὴ κοί τὸν ἔσωτῆς ἀδελφον γινώσκει." 69 Ἀντιπέμπετε πρὸς ταύτα ἡ θυγάτηρ "Οὔτε Ἀτόσση δύναμαι ἐς λόγους ἐλθεῖν οὔτε ἀλλὴν οὐδέμιαν ἱδέσθαι τῶν συγκατακλίσεων γυναικών. ἐπειτε γὰρ τάχιστα οὗτος ὄνθρωπος, ὅστις κοτέ ἔστι, παρέλαβε τὴν βασιληύν, διεσπέρα ἡμέας ἀλλὴν τάξας." ἀκούντι δὲ ταύτα τῷ Ὅταν μάλλον κατεφαίνετο τῷ πρήγμα. τρίτην δὲ ἄγγελην ἐσπέμμει παρ' αὐτὴν λέγουσαν ταύτα. "Ὦ θύγατερ, δεί σε γεγονοῦσιν εἴ κινδυνον ἀναλαβέσθαι τῶν ἄν τῷ πατὴρ ὑποδύεσθαι κελεύ. εἰ γὰρ δὴ μὴ ἔστι ὁ Κύρου Σμέρδις ἀλλὰ τὸν καταδοκεῖν
he was, and this is how it was done:—There was one Otanes, son of Pharnaspes, as well-born and rich a man as any Persian. This Otanes was the first to suspect that the Magian was not Cyrus' son Smerdis but his true self; the reason was, that he never left the citadel nor summoned any notable Persian into his presence; and in his suspicion—Cambyses having married Otanes' daughter Phaedyme, whom the Magian had now wedded, with all the rest of Cambyses' wives—Otanes sent to this daughter, asking with whom she lay, Smerdis, Cyrus' son, or another. She sent back a message that she did not know; for (said she) she had never seen Cyrus' son Smerdis, nor knew who was her bedfellow. Then Otanes sent a second message, to this effect: "If you do not yourself know Cyrus' son Smerdis, then ask Atossa who is this that is her lord and yours; for surely she knows her own brother."

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

ἐγὼ, οὕτωι μὲν σοί τε συγκοιμώμενον καὶ τὸ Περσέων κράτος ἔχοντα δεῖ χαίροντα ἀπαλάσ-
σειν, ἀλλὰ δοῦναι δίκην. νῦν ὁν ποίησον τάδε:
ἐπειδὴ σοὶ συνεύδη καὶ μάθης αὐτῶν κατυπωμένον,
ἀφασον αὐτοῦ τὰ ὡτα· καὶ ἢ μὲν φαίνεται ἔχων
ὡτα, νόμιζε σεωτὴν Σμέρδι τῷ Κύρου συνοικεῖν,
ἡν δὲ μὴ ἔχων, σὺ δὲ τῷ Μάγῳ Σμέρδι." ἀντι-
πέμπει πρὸς ταῦτα ἡ Φαίδυμη φαμένη κινδυνεύσειν
μεγάλως, ἢ ποιέῃ ταῦτα· εἰ γάρ δὴ μὴ τυχάνει
τὰ ὡτα ἔχων, ἐπιλαμπτος δὲ ἀφασοῦσα ἐσται,
ἐν εἰδέναι ὠς οἰκτόσει μὲν ὑμως μέντοι ποιήσεις
ταῦτα. ἢ μὲν δὴ ὑπεδέξατο ταῦτα τῷ πατρὶ
kατεργάσεσθαι. τοῦ δὲ Μάγου τούτου τοῦ Σμέρ-
διος Κύρος ὁ Καμβύσεω ἄρχων τὰ ὡτα ἀπέταμε
ἐπ' αὐτήν δὴ τινι οὐ σμικρῆ. ἢ δὲν δὴ Φαίδυμη
αὐτὴ, ἢ τοῦ Ὀτανέω θυγάτηρ, πάντα ἐπετελέουσα
τὰ ὑπεδέξατο τῷ πατρὶ, ἐπεῖτε αὐτῆς μέρος ἐγινετο
τῆς ἀπίξιος παρὰ τοῦ Μάγου (ἐν περιτροπῇ γὰρ
δὴ αἱ γυναῖκες φοιτόνθι τοὺς Πέρσης), ἐλθοῦσα
παρ' αὐτῶν ἡδὲ, ὑποψιμένου δὲ καρτερῶς τοῦ
Μάγου ἠφάσε τὰ ὡτα. μαδοῦσα δὲ οὐ χαλέπως
ἀλλ' ἐπετεὼς οὐκ ἔχοντα τὸν ἀνδρὰ ὡτα, ὡς
ἡμέρῃ τάχιστα ἐγενόνει, πέμψασα ἐσήμην τῷ
πατρὶ τὰ γενόμενα.

70. Ὅ δὲ Ὁτάνης παραλαβὼν Ἀσπαθίνην καὶ
Γοβρύνην, Περσέων τε πρώτους ἔοντας καὶ ἐσωτήρ
ἐπιτηδευτάτους ἐς πίστιν, ἀπηγησατο πάν τὸ
πρήγμα· οἴ δὲ καὶ αὐτῶν ἀρὰ ὑπόπτευον οὔτω
tοῦτο ἔχειν, ἀνενεκαντος δὲ τοῦ Ὁτανεω τοὺς
λόγους ἐδέξαντο, καὶ ἔδοξε σφι ἐκαστοὺ ἀνδρὰ
Περσέων προσεταιρίσασθαι τούτου ὅτερ πιστεύει
μάλιστα. Ὁτάνης μὲν νῦν ἔσάγεται Ἰνταφρένεα,
another whom I suspect him to be, then he must not
go unseathed, but be punished for sharing your bed
and sitting on the throne of Persia. Now, therefore,
when he lies with you and you see that he is asleep,
do as I bid you and feel for his ears; if you see that
he has ears, then you may think that it is Smerdis son
of Cyrus who is your lord; but if he has none, it is
Smerdis the Magian." Phaedyme answered by mes-
sender that she would run very great risk by so doing;
for if it should turn out that he had no ears, and she
were caught feeling for them, he would surely make
an end of her; nevertheless she would do it. So she
promised to achieve her father's bidding. It is known
that Cyrus son of Cambyses had in his reign cut off
the ears of this Magian, Smerdis, for some grave
reason—I know not what. So Phaedyme, daughter of
Otanes, performed her promise to her father. When
it was her turn to visit the Magian (as a Persian's
wives come in regular order to their lord), she came
to his bed and felt for the Magian's ears while he
slumbered deeply; and having with no great difficulty
assured herself that he had no ears, she sent and
told this to her father as soon as it was morning.

70. Otanes then took to himself two Persians of
the highest rank whom he thought worthiest of trust,
Aspathines and Gobryas, and told them the whole
story. These, it would seem, had themselves sus-
pected that it was so; and now they readily believed
what Otanes revealed to them. They resolved that
each should take into their fellowship that Persian
whom he most trusted; Otanes brought in Inta-
Γοβρύης δὲ Μεγάβυζου, Ἀσπαδίνης δὲ 'Τδάρνεας, γεγονότων δὲ τούτων ἐξ παραγίνεται ἐς τὰ Σοῦσα Δαρείος ὁ 'Τστάςπεος ἐκ Περσέων ἦκαν τούτων γὰρ ὑπὲρ ὡς ὁ πατήρ ὑπάρχως. ἐπεὶ ὁν οὕτως ἀπίκετο, τούτι ἐξ τῶν Περσέων ἐδοξε καὶ Δαρείον προστατάρισασθαι.

71. Συνελθόντες δὲ οὕτως ἐπτα ἐδίδοσαν σφίσι πίστις καὶ λόγους. ἐπείτε δὲ ἐς Δαρείον ἀπίκετο γρώμην ἀποφαίνεσθαι, ἐλεγέ σφι τάδε. Ὁ,'Εγὼ ταῦτα ἐδόκεον μὲν αὐτὸς μοῦνοι ἐπίστασθαι, ὡς τε ὁ Μάγος εἶχ ὁ βασιλεύων καὶ Σμέρδις ὁ Κύρων τετελεύτηκε· καὶ αὐτοῦ τούτου εἶνεκεν ἦκω σπουδὴ ὡς συντήσσων ἐπὶ τῷ Μάγῳ βανατον. ἐπείτε δὲ συνήνεικε ὡστε καὶ ὑρέας εἴδεναι καὶ μὴ μοῦνον ἔμε, ποιεῖν αὐτίκα μοι δοκεῖ καὶ μὴ ὑπερβάλλεσθαι ὡς γὰρ ἄμεινον." ἐπε ρος ταῦτα ὁ 'Οτάνης ὁ 'Ομπαὶ 'Τστάςπεος, εἰς τε πατρὸς ἀγαθοῦ καὶ ἐκφαίνειν ές ημιας σεσωτόν ἐόντα τοῦ πατρὸς οὔδεν ἦσσω· τὴν μὲν τοι ἐπιχειρησιν ταῦτα τὴν μὴ οὕτω συντάχων αὐξοῖς, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τὸ σωφρονέστερον αὐτὴν λάμβανε· δεὶ γὰρ πλεῦνας γενομένους οὕτω ἐπιχειρεῖν." λέγει πρὸς ταῦτα Δαρείος ἂνδρες οἱ παρεόντες, τρόπῳ τῷ εἰρημένῳ ἐξ ὁ ὁτάνων εἰ χρήσεσθε, ἐπιστασθε ὅτι ἀπολέσσεθε κάκιστα· ἐξοίσει γὰρ τις πρὸς τὸν Μάγον, ἵδῃ περιβαλλόμενος ἐσώτερον κέρδεα. μάλιστα μὲν νῦν ὁφείλετε ἐπὶ ύμεών αὐτῶν βαλλόμενοι ποιεῖν ταῦτα· ἐπείτε δὲ ύμῖν ἀναφέρειν ἐπὶ πλεῦνας ἐδόκει καὶ ἐμὸν ὑπερέθεσθε, ἡ ποιεόμεν σήμερον ἢ ἵστε ὑμῖν ὅτι ἡ ὑπερπέση ἡ νῦν ἡμέρη, ὡς οὐκ ἄλλος φθας ἐμὲ κατιγχορος ἔσται, ἀλλὰ σφεα αὐτὸς ἐγὼ κατερέως πρὸς τὸν Μάγον."
phrenes, Gobryas brought Megabyzus and Aspathines Hydarnes; so they were six. Now came to Susa Darius son of Hystaspes, from Persia, of which his father was vice-gerent; and on his coming the six Persians resolved to make Darius too their comrade.

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

The names in the Behistun inscription (the trilingual inscription set up by Darius at Behistun, after he had crushed the revolts in his empire) are: Vindapana, Utana, Gauharouwa, Vidarna, Bagabukheia, Ardumanis; all but the last corresponding with Herodotus' list.
72. Λέγει προς ταύτα Ὄτάνης, ἐπειδὴ ὡρα ὁπερχόμενον Δαρείον, "Επείτε ἡμέας συνταχύνειν ἀναγκάζεις καὶ ὑπερβάλλεσθαι οὐκ εἶς, ἵνα ἐξηγέο αὐτὸς ὅτι ἡ τρόπῳ πάριμεν ἀς τὰ βασιλεία καὶ ἐπιχειρήσομεν αὐτοῖς· φυλακάς γὰρ δὴ διεστε- ωσας οἴδας καὶ αὐτός, εἰ μὴ ἰδὼν, ἀλλ' ἀκούσας· τὰς τέρ πρόπω περίσσομεν;" ἀμείβεται Δαρείος τοῖς ἰδεῖ. "Ὅταν, ἡ πολλὰ ἔστι τὰ λόγῳ μὲν οὐκ οία τε δηλώσαι, ἔργον δὲ ἀλλὰ δ' ἔστι τὰ λόγῳ μὲν οία τε, ἐργον δὲ οὐδέν ἀπ' αὐτῶν λαμπρον γίνεται. ὡμείς δὲ ἰστε φυλακάς τὰς κατεστεώσας οὕσας οὐδέν χαλεπὰς παρελθέν. τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ ἡμέων ἐντων τοιώνυμι οὐδείς ὁστὶς οὐ παρῆσει, τὰ μὲν καὶ καταίδεουμεν ἡμέας, τὰ δὲ κοι δειμαίνον; τοῦτο δὲ ἔχω αὐτός σκῆψιν εὐπρεπεστάτην τῇ πάριμεν, φας ἄρτι τε ἦκειν ἐκ Περσέων καὶ Βούλασθαι τι ἐπος παρὰ τοῦ πατρός σημαίνα τῷ βασιλεί. ἐνθα γὰρ τε δεὶ ψεύδος λέγεσθαι, λεγέσθω. τοῦ γὰρ αὐτοῦ γλυχόμεθα οἱ τε ψευδόμενοι καὶ οἱ τῇ ἁλθεία διαχρεώμενοι. οἱ μὲν γε ψεύδονται τότε ἐπειν τι μέλλωσι τοῖς ψεύδεσι πείσαντες κερδήσεσθαι, οἱ δ' ἁλθείζονται ἢν τῇ ἁλθείᾳ ἐπισπάσωνται κέρδος καὶ τι μάλ- λον σφὶ ἐπιτράπηται. αὐτῷ οὐ ταύτα ἀσκόντες τῶντοι περιεχόμεθα. εἰ δὲ μηδὲν κερδήσεσθαι μελλοιεν, ὁμοιών ἀν ὁ τε ἁλθείζομενος ψευδῆς εἰ ὁ ψευδόμενος ἁλθῆς. ὃς ἄν μὲν νῦν τῶν πυλουρων ἐκών παρη, αὐτῶ οἱ ἀμεινὼν ἐκ χρόνον ἔσται; ὃς δ' ἀν ἀντιβαίνειν πειρᾶται, δεικνύσθω ἐνθαῦτα ἐδών πολέμιοι, καὶ ἔπειτα ὡςκόμενοι ἐσω ἐργον ἐχώμεθα." 73. Λέγει Γοβρύθης μετὰ ταύτα "Ἀνδρες φίλοι,
72. To this Otanes replied, seeing Darius' vehemence, "Since you compel us to hasten and will brook no delay, tell us now yourself how we shall pass into the palace and assail the Magians. The place is beset all round by guards; this you know, for you have seen or heard of them; how shall we win past the guards?" "Otanes," answered Darius, "very many things can be done whereof the doing cannot be described in words; and sometimes a plan easy to make clear is yet followed by no deed of note. Right well you know that the guards who are set are easy to pass. For we being such as we are, there is none who will not grant us admittance, partly from reverence and partly too from fear; and further, I have myself the fairest pretext for entering, for I will say that I am lately come from Persia and have a message for the king from my father. Let lies be told where they are needful. All of us aim at the like end, whether we lie or speak truth; he that lies does it to win credence and so advantage by his deceit, and he that speaks truth hopes that truth will get him profit and greater trust; so we do but take different ways to the same goal. Were the hope of advantage taken away, the truth-teller were as ready to lie as the liar to speak truth. Now if any warder of the gate willingly suffer us to pass, it will be the better for him thereafter. But if any strives to withstand us let us mark him for an enemy, and so thrust ourselves in and begin our work."

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

ήμαν κότε κάλλιον παρέξει ἀνασώσασθαι τὴν ἀρχήν, ἢ εἰ γε μὴ οἷοί τε ἐσόμεθα αὐτὴν ἀναλαβείν, ἀποθανεῖν; ὅτε γε ἀρχόμεθα μὲν ἐόντες Πέρσαι ὑπὸ Μῆδον ἄνδρος Μάγου, καὶ τοῦτον ὡτα οὐκ ἔχοντος. ὃσοι τε ὅμεον Καμβύση νοςὲντι παρεγένοντο, πάντως κοι μέμνησθε τὰ ἐπέσκηψε Πέρσησι τελευτῶν τὸν βίον μὴ πειρωμένοι σανατάσθαι τὴν ἀρχήν τὸ τότε οὐκ ἐνεδεκόμεθα, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ διαβολῇ ἐδοκόμεν εἰπείν Καμβύσεα. καὶ ὅν τίθημι ψήφον πείθεσθαι Δαρείῳ καὶ μὴ διαλύσθαι εἰκ τὸν συλλόγον τούτο ἀλλ' ἢ ἐπὶ τὸν Μάγου ἱδέως." ταῦτα εἷς Πο-βρής, καὶ πάντες ταύτῃ αἴνεον.

74. Ἐν δὲ οὕτω ταῦτα ἐβουλεύοντο, ἐγινετο κατὰ συντυχή τάδε. τούσι Μάγοισι ἐδοξὲ βουλευομένοι Πρηξάσπεα φίλον προσβήσατο, ὅτε τε ἐπετώθες πρὸς Καμβύσεως ἀνάρσηα, ὃς οἱ τῶν παῖδα τοξεύσασι ἀπολωλέκει, καὶ διότι μοῦνος ἡπίστατο τῶν Σμέρδιος τοῦ Κύρου βάναυσαν αὐτο-χειρὴ μιν ἀπολέσας, πρὸς δ' ἐπὶ ἐόντα ἐν αὐῃ μεγίστῃ τὸν Πρηξάσπεα ἐν Πέρσησι. τούτων δὴ μιν εἰνεκεν καλέσαντες φίλον προσεκτῶντο πίστι τε λαβόντες καὶ ὀρκίουσι, ἢ μὲν ἐξειν παρ' ἐνυμω μηδ' ἐξώσειν μηδὲν ἀνθρώπων τὴν ἀπὸ σφέων ἀπάτην ἐς Πέρσας γεγονόταν, ὑπεσχενέμενοι τὰ πάντα οἱ μυρία δώσειν. ὑποσχομένου δὲ τοῦ Πρηξάσπεως ποιήσεω ταῦτα, ὡς ἀνέπεισαν μὲν οἱ Μάγοι, δεύτερα προσέφερον, αὐτοὶ μὲν φάμενοι Πέρσας πάντας συγκαλέειν ὕπ' τὸ βασιλῆιν τείχος, κείνον δ' ἐκέλευον ἀναβάντα ἐπὶ πύργον ἀγορεύσαι ὡς ὑπὸ τοῦ Κύρου Σμέρδιος ἀρχονται καὶ ὑπ' οὐδενὸς ἄλλου. ταῦτα δὲ οὕτω ἐνετελ-
have a better occasion to win back the kingship, or, if we cannot so do, to die? seeing that we who are Persians are ruled by a Mede, a Magian, and he a man that has no ears. Those of you that were with Cambyses in his sickness cannot but remember the curse which with his last breath he laid on the Persians if they should not essay to win back the kingship; albeit we did not then believe Cambyses, but thought that he spoke to deceive us. Now therefore my vote is that we follow Darius' plan, and not quit this council to do aught else but attack the Magian forthwith." So spoke Gobryas; and they all consented to what he said.

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

λοντο ὡς πιστοτάτου δὴθεν ἐόντος αὐτοῦ ἐν Πέρσῃ, καὶ πολλάκις ἀποδεξαμένου γνώμην ὡς περείπῃ ὁ Κύρος Σμέρδης, καὶ ἔξαρησαμένου τῶν φόνον αὐτοῦ.

75. Φαμένου δὲ καὶ ταύτα ἐτοίμων εἶναι ποιεῖν τοῦ Πρηξάσπεως, συγκαλέσαντες Πέρσας οἵ Μάγοι ἀνεβίβασαν αὐτόν ἐπὶ πύργον καὶ ἀγορεύειν ἐκέλευον. ὃ δὲ τῶν μὲν ἐκείνων προσεδέοντο αὐτοῦ, τούτων μὲν ἐκών ἐπελήθητο, ἀρξάμενος δὲ ἀπ᾿ Ἀχαιμένεως ἐγενενλόγησε τὴν πατριμνὴ τὴν Κύρου, μετὰ δὲ ὡς ἐς τούτον κατέβη τελευτῶν ἔλεγε ὅσα ἅγαθὰ Κύρος Πέρσας πεποιήκοι, διεξελθὼν δὲ ταύτα ἐξέφαυνε τὴν ἀληθείαν, φάμενος πρότερον μὲν κρύπτειν (οὐ γὰρ οἱ εἶναι ἀσφαλὲς λέγειν τὰ γενόμενα), ἐν δὲ τῷ παρεόντι ἀναγκαίην μὲν καταλαμβάνειν φαίνειν, καὶ δὴ ἔλεγεν τοὺς μὲν Κύρου Σμέρδην ὡς αὐτὸς ὑπὸ Καμβύσεω ἀναγκαζόμενος ἀποκτείνει, τοὺς Μάγους δὲ βασιλεύειν. Πέρσης δὲ πολλὰ ἐπαρηγάμενος εἰ μὴ ἀνακτησίατο ὁπίσω τὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ τοὺς Μάγους τισαίατο, ἀπῇκε ἐωτοῦ ἐπὶ κεφαλὴν φέρεσθαι ἀπὸ τοῦ πύργου κατω. Πρηξάσπης μὲν νῦν ἐὼν τὸν πάντα χρόνον ἀνήρ δόκιμος οὕτω ἐτελεύτησε.

76. Ὅδε δὴ ἐπτὰ τῶν Περσέων ὡς ἐβουλευσαντο αὐτίκα ἐπιχειρεῖειν τοὺς Μάγους καὶ μὴ ὑπερβάλλεσθαι, ἤσαν εὐξάμενοι τοῖς θεοῖς, τῶν περὶ Πρηξάσπεα πρηθεύσων εἰδότες οὐδὲν. ἐν τῇ δὴ τῇ ὁδῷ μέσῃ στειχοῦντες ἐγώνοντο καὶ τὰ περὶ Πρηξάσπεα γεγονότα ἐπυνθάνοντο. ἐνθάυτα ἐκπαύετε τῆς ὁδοῦ ἑδίδοσαν αὐτῶς σφίσει λόγους, οἱ μὲν ἀμφὶ τὸν Ὄτανην πάγχυν κελευοῦντες ὑπερβάλεσθαι μηδὲ οἰδεόντων τῶν πρηγμάτων ἐπιτί-
be the man most trusted by the Persians, and because he had oftentimes asserted that Cyrus' son Smerdis was alive, and had denied the murder.

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

76. The seven Persians, after counsel purposing to attack the Magians forthwith and delay no longer, prayed to the gods and set forth, knowing nothing of Prexaspes' part in the business. But when they had gone half way they heard the story of him; whereat they went aside from the way and consulted together, Otanes' friends being wholly for waiting and not attacking in the present ferment,
θεσθαι, οὐ δὲ ἀμφι τὸν Δαρείουν αὐτικα τε ἰέναι καὶ τὰ δεδομένα ποιεῖν μηδὲ ὑπερβάλλεσθαι. ὁθεξομένων δὲ αὐτῶν ἐφάνη ἱρήκων ἐπτὰ ζεύγεα ὡς αἰγυπτίων ζεύγεα διώκοντα καὶ τίλλοντα τε καὶ ἀμφίσσοντα. ἴδοντες δὲ ταῦτα οἱ ἐπτὰ τὴν τε Δαρείουν πάντες αἶνεον γνώμην καὶ ἔπειτα ἦσαν ἐπὶ τὰ βασιλικά τεθαρσηκότες τοῖσι ὀρμσί.

77. Ἐπιστάσθη δὲ ἐπὶ τὰς πύλας ἐγκεντο οἶον τε Δαρείῳ ἡ γνώμη ἐφέρετο καταιδεόμενοι γὰρ οἱ φύλακοι ἄνδρας τοὺς Περσέων πρῶτοις καὶ οὐδὲν τοιοῦτο ὑποπτεύοντες ἐξ αὐτῶν ἔσεθαί, παρίσαν θείῃ πορπή χρεωμένων, οὐδὲ ἐπειρώτα οὐδεὶς, ἔπειτε δὲ καὶ παρῆλθον ἐς τὴν αὐλήν, ἐνέκυψαν τοῖσι τὰς ἄγγελιας ἐσφέρουσι εὐνούχοις: οἱ σφέαις ἱστόρεον ὅ τε θέλοντες ἦκοις, καὶ ἀμα ἱστορέοντες τοῦτοι τοῖσι πυλοῦροι ἀπέλευσαν ὅτι σφέαις παρῆκαν, ἱσχύον τε βουλομένους τοὺς ἐπτὰ ἐς τὸ πρῶσον παρίσαν. οἱ δὲ διακελευθάμενοι καὶ σπασάμενοι τὰ ἐγ-χειρίδια τοῦτοι μὲν τοὺς ἱσχοντας αὐτοῦ ταύτῃ συγκειτέουσι, αὐτοὶ δὲ ἦσαν δρόμῳ ἐς τὸν ἀνδρείων.

78. Οἱ δὲ Μάγοι ἐτυχοῦν ἀμφότεροι τηρικαῦτα ἐώνες τε ἐσω καὶ τὰ ἀπὸ Πριξάσπεος γενόμενα ἐν βουλῇ ἐγχοντες. ἐπεὶ οὖν εἰδον τοὺς εὐνούχους τεθρυβημένους τε καὶ βοῶντας, ἀνὰ τε ἐδραμον πάλιν ἀμφότεροι καὶ ὡς ἐμαθον τὸ ποιεύμενον πρὸς ἄλκην ἐτράπτοντο. ὁ μὲν δὴ αὐτῶν φθάνει τὰ τόξα κατελώμενος, ὁ δὲ πρὸς τὴν αἴχμην ἐτράπετο. ἐνθαῦται δὴ συνέσχησαν ἄλλῃ λοιπῇ, τὸ μὲν δὴ τὰ τόξα ἀναλαβόντει αὐτῶν, ἐώτων τε ἄγχου τῶν πολεμιῶν καὶ προσκειμένων, ἦν
but Darius' party bidding to go forthwith and do their agreed purpose without delay. While they disputed, they saw seven pairs of hawks that chased and rent and tore two pairs of vultures; seeing which all the seven consented to Darius' opinion, and went on to the palace, heartened by the sight of the birds.

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

78. It chanced that both the Magians were within, consulting together on the outcome of Prexaspes' act. Seeing the eunuchs in confusion and hearing their cries they both sprang back: and when they saw what was afoot they set about defending themselves; one made haste to take down his bow, the other seized his spear; so the seven and the two met in fight. He that had caught up the bow found it availed him nothing, his enemies being so close and
χρηστά ουδέν· ὁ δὲ ἐτερος τῇ αἰχμῇ ἡμόντε σκι τούτο μὲν Ἀσπαθλὴν παίει ἐς τὸν μηρὸν, τούτῳ δὲ Ἰνταφρέεινα ἐς τὸν ὀφθαλμὸν· καὶ ἐστερήθη μὲν τοῦ ὀφθαλμοῦ ἐκ τοῦ τρῶματος ὁ Ἰνταφρένης, οὐ μὲντοι ἀπέθανεν γε. τῶν μὲν δὴ Μάγων οὔτερος τροματίζει τούτους· ὁ δὲ ἐτερος, ἐπείτε οἱ τὰ τοῖς οὐδέν χρηστὰ ἐγένετο, ἣν γὰρ δὴ θάλαμος ἐσέχον ἐς τὸν ἀνδρεών, ἐς τούτον καταφεύγει, θέλων αὐτοῦ προσθείναι τὰς θύρας, καὶ οἱ συνεπιπτοῦσα τῶν ἐπτὰ δύο, Δαρείος τε καὶ Γοβρύης. συμπλακέντος δὲ Γοβρύνω τῷ Μάγῳ ὁ Δαρείος ἐπεστειγεν ἦπορεε οἷα ἐν σκότει, προμηθεύομενος μὴ πλήξῃ τὸν Γοβρύνων. ὅρεος δὲ μὲν ἄργον ἐπέστειλα ὁ Γοβρύης εἰρετο ὁ τι οὐ χράται τῇ χειρί· ὁ δὲ εἶπεν "Ἐρμήθλεομενος σέο, μὴ πλήξω." Γοβρύης δὲ ἀμείβετο ""Ὠθεῖ τὸ ἔψιφος καὶ διὰ ἀμφοτέρων." Δαρείος δὲ πειθόμενος ὡσε τὸ τὸ ἐγχειρίδιον καὶ ἐτυχέ κως τοῦ Μάγου.

79. Ἀποκτείναντες δὲ τοὺς Μάγους καὶ ἀποταμώντες αὐτῶν τὰς κεφαλὰς, τοὺς μὲν τρωματίας ἐσωτέρων αὐτοῦ λείπουσι καὶ ἀδύνασθις εἶνεκαν καὶ φυλακῆς τῆς ἀκροπόλιος, οἱ δὲ πεντε ἀυτῶν ἔχουσι τῶν Μάγων τὰς κεφαλὰς ἔθεον βοῦ τε καὶ πατάγω χρεωμενοι, καὶ Πέρσας τοὺς ἄλλους ἐπεκαλέοντο ἐξηγεομενοὶ τε τὸ πρῆγμα καὶ δεικνύοντες τὰς κεφαλὰς, καὶ ἀμα ἐκτεινον πάντα τινα τῶν Μάγων τὸν ἐν πολι γινομενον. οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι μαθόντες τὸ γεγονὸς ἐκ τῶν ἐπτὰ καὶ τῶν Μάγων τὴν ἀπάτην, ἐνδικαίεναι καὶ αὕτου ἐτέρα τοιαύτα ποιεῖν, σπασάμενοι δὲ τὰ ἐγχειρίδια ἔκτεινον ὅκινν τινα Μάγου εὐφρακον· εἰ δὲ μὴ νῦς ἐπελθοῦσα ἐσχε, ἔλαπτον ἄν οὐδένα Μάγον. ταυ-
pressing him hard; but the other defended himself with his spear, smiting Aspathines in the thigh and Intaphrenes in the eye; Intaphrenes was not slain by the wound, but lost his eye. So these were wounded by one of the Magians; the other, his bow availing him nothing, fled into a chamber adjoining the men's apartment and would have shut its door. Two of the seven, Darius and Gobryas, hurled themselves into the chamber with him. Gobryas and the Magian grappling together, Darius stood perplexed by the darkness, fearing to strike Gobryas; whereat Gobryas, seeing Darius stand idle, cried to know why he did not strike; "For fear of stabbing you," quoth Darius. "Nay," said Gobryas, "thrust with your sword, though it be through both of us." So Darius thrust with his dagger, and by good luck it was the Magian that he stabbed.

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

103
την τὴν ἠμέρην θεραπεύουσι Πέρσαι κοινῇ μάλιστα τῶν ἡμερέων, καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ ὀρθῇ μεγάλῃ ἀνάγουσι, ἥ κέκληται ὑπὸ Περσέων μαγοφόνια· ἐν τῇ Μάγου οὔδένα ἔξεστι φανῆναι ἐς τὸ φῶς, ἀλλὰ κατ’ οἶκους ἔως τοὺς οἱ Μάγοι ἔχουσι τὴν ἡμέρην ταύτην.

80. Ἐπεὶ δὲ κατέστη ὁ θώρυβος καὶ ἐκτὸς πέντε ἡμερέων ἐγένετο, ἐβουλεύοντο οἱ ἐπαναστάντες τοῖς Μάγοις περὶ τῶν πάντων πρηγμάτων καὶ ἐλέγχθησαν λόγου ἀπίστοι μὲν ἐνίοις Ἐλληνων, ἐλέγχθησαν δ’ ὄν. Ὁτάν μὲν ἐκέλευε ἐς μέσον Πέρσης καταθείναι τὰ πρῆγματα, λέγουν τάδε. "Εμοὶ δοκεῖ ἕνα μὲν ἡμέραν μουναρχόν μηκέτι γενέσθαι, οὔτε γὰρ ἥδυ οὔτε ἀγαθόν· εἴδετε μὲν γὰρ τὴν Καμβέισειν ὦβριν ἐπὶ ὁσον ἐπέξηλθε, μετεσχήκατε δὲ καὶ τῆς τοῦ Μάγου ὦβριος. κὼς δ’ ἂν εἰπῇ χρήμα κατηρτιμένον μουναρχία, τῇ ἔξεστι ἀνευθύνω ποιέειν τὰ θεοῦλεται; καὶ γὰρ ἂν τὸν ἄριστον ἀνδρῶν πάντων στάντα ἐς ταύτην ἐκτὸς τῶν ἐωθότων νομιμάτων στήσετε. ἐγνώστει μὲν γὰρ οἱ ὦβρις ὑπὸ τῶν παρεόντων ἀγαθῶν, φθόνος δὲ ἀρχήθηκεν ἐμφύεται ἀνθρώπων. δύο δ’ ἔχων ταύτα ἔχει πάσαν κακότητα· τὰ μὲν γὰρ ὦβρι κεκορημένος ἔρθει πολλὰ καὶ ἀτάσθαλα, τὰ δὲ φθόνον· καίτοι ἄνδρα γε τύραννον ἄφθονον ἔδει εἶναι, ἔχοντα γε πάντα τὰ ἀγαθά. τὸ δ’ ὑπεναντίον τοῦτον ἐς τοὺς πολιτέας πέφυκε· φθονεῖ γὰρ τοῖς ἀρίστοις περιεύοντι τε καὶ ζώοντι, χαίρει δὲ τοῖς κακίστοις τῶν ἀστῶν, διαβολᾶς δὲ ἀριστος ἐνδέκεσθαι, ἀναρμοστοτάτον δὲ πάντων· ἂν τε γὰρ αὐτῶν μετρίως θωμάζῃς, ἀχθεῖ τι ὅτι οὐ κάρτα θεραπεύεται, ἂν τε θερα-
the greatest holy day that all Persians alike keep; they celebrate a great festival on it, which they call the Massacre of the Magians; while the festival lasts no Magian may come abroad, but during this day they remain in their houses.

80. When the tumult was abated, and five days had passed, the rebels against the Magians held a council on the whole state of affairs, at which words were uttered which to some Greeks seem incredible; but there is no doubt that they were spoken. Otanes was for giving the government to the whole body of the Persian people. "I hold," he said, "that we must make an end of monarchy; there is no pleasure or advantage in it. You have seen to what lengths went the insolence of Cambyses, and you have borne your share of the insolence of the Magian. What right order is there to be found in monarchy, when the ruler can do what he will, nor be held to account for it? Give this power to the best man on earth, and it would stir him to unwonted thoughts. The advantage which he holds breeds insolence, and nature makes all men jealous. This double cause is the root of all evil in him; sated with power he will do many reckless deeds, some from insolence, some from jealousy. For whereas an absolute ruler, as having all that heart can desire, should rightly be jealous of no man, yet it is contrariwise with him in his dealing with his countrymen; he is jealous of the safety of the good, and glad of the safety of the evil; and no man is so ready to believe calumny. Of all men he is the most inconsistent; accord him but just honour, and he is displeased that you make him not your first care; make him such, and he damn
πεύη τις κάρτα, άγθεται ἀτε θωπὶ. τὰ δὲ δὴ μέγιστα ἐρχομαι ἐρεών νόμαι τε κινέι πάτρια καὶ βιάται γυναικας κτείνει τε ἀκρίτους. πλήθος δὲ ἄρχων πρῶτα μὲν οὐνομα πάντων κάλλιστον ἔχει, ἰσονομία, δευτερα δὲ τούτων τῶν ὁ μούναρχος ποιεῖ οὐδέν πάλι μὲν ἄρχας ἄρχει, ὑπευθυνον δὲ ἄρχην ἔχει, βουλεύματα δὲ πάντα ἐς τὸ κοινὸν ἀναφέρει. τίθεμαι οὖν γνώμην μετέντας ἥμεας μουναρχίην τὸ πλήθος ἀέζειν· ἐν γὰρ τῷ πολλῷ ἐν τὰ πάντα.

81. Ὁ τάγης μὲν δὴ ταύτην γνώμην ἐσέφερε· Μεγάβυζος δὲ ὀλυγαρχίη ἐκέλευε ἐπιτράπειν, λέγων τάδε. "Τὰ μὲν Ὁτάν̄ης ἐπὶ τυραννίδα παύον, λελέχθω κἀκοι ταύτα, τὰ δὲ τὸ πλῆθος ἀνωγε φέρει τὸ κράτος, γνώμης τῆς ἀρίστης ἡμαρτηκε· ὁμίλου γὰρ ἄχρησιν οὐδὲν ἐστι ἄψυνετωτέρον οὐδὲ ὑβριστότέρον. καθὼς τυράννου ὑβριν φεύγονται ἄνδρας ἐς δήμου ἀκολῶστον ὑβριν πεσεῖν ἐστὶ στα招募 ἀνασχετὸν. δὲ μὲν γὰρ εἰ τι ποιεῖς, γυνάκων ποιεῖς, τῷ δὲ οὐδὲ γυνώσκειν ἐνι· κῶς γὰρ ἃν γυνώσκοι οὐτ ἐδιδάξῃ οὔτε ἐδοκῆ καλῶν οὐδὲν οἰκήον, ὁδέει τε ἔμπεσω τὰ πρήγματα ἀνεν νόου, χαμάρρῳ ποταμῷ ἐκελος; δὴ μὲν νῦν, οὐ Πέρσης κακού νοεόυσι, οὕτως κράσθων, ἡμῶις δὲ ἀνδρῶν τῶν ἀρίστων ἐπιλέξαντες ὁμιλήν τούτοις περιθέωμεν τὸ κράτος· ἐν γὰρ δὴ τούτοις καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐνεσύμεθα· ἀρίστων δὲ ἀνδρῶν οἰκὸς ἀρίστα βουλεύματα γίνεσθαι."

82. Μεγαβυζος μὲν δὴ ταύτην γνώμην ἐσέφερε·

1 MSS oû̂s oû̂s oû̂s: Stein brackets oû̂s, as giving a sense not here required. I omit it in translation.
you for a flatterer. But I have yet worse to say of him than that; he turns the laws of the land upside down, he rapes women, he puts high and low to death. But the virtue of a multitude's rule lies first in its excellent name, which signifies equality before the law; and secondly, in that it does none of the things that a monarch does. All offices are assigned by lot, and the holders are accountable for what they do therein; and the general assembly arbitrates on all counsels. Therefore I declare my opinion, that we make an end of monarchy and increase the power of the multitude, seeing that all good lies in the many."

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

82. Such was the judgment of Megabyzus.
τρίτος δὲ Δαρείος ἀπεδείκνυτο γνώμην, λέγον μ""Ἐμοὶ δὲ τὰ μὲν εἶπε Μεγάβυζος ἐς τὸ πλῆθος ἔχοντα δοκεῖε ὁρθῶς λέξαι, τὰ δὲ ἐς ὀλυγαρχίην οὐκ ὁρθῶς. τριῶν γὰρ προκειμένων καὶ πάντων τῷ λόγῳ ἀρίστων ἑοῦτων, δήμου τε ἀρίστου καὶ ὀλυγαρχίης καὶ μουνάρχου, πολλῷ τούτῳ προέχειν λέγω. ἀνδρὸς γὰρ ἐνος τοῦ ἀρίστου οὐδὲν ἁμείνου ἀν φανεῖγε γνώμη γὰρ τοιαύτη χρεώμενος ἐπιτροπεύοι ἀν ἀμομητος τοῦ πλῆθεος, συγκεῖτο τε ἀν βουλεύματα ἐπὶ δυσμενεάς ἀνδρας οὕτω μάλιστα. ἐν δὲ ὀλυγαρχίη πολλοίσι ἂρετήν ἐπασκέουσι ἐς τὸ κοινὸν ἐχθεα ἵδια ἴσχυρα φιλεῖε ἐγγίνεσθαι αὐτὸς γὰρ ἔκαστος βουλόμενος κορυφαῖος εἶναι γνώμης τε νικῶν ἐς ἔχθεα μεγάλα ἄλληλοις ἀπικνέονται, εξ ὠν στάσιες ἐγγίνονται, ἐκ δὲ τῶν στασιών φόνος ἐκ δὲ τοῦ φόνου ἀπέβη ἐς μουναρχίη, καὶ ἐν τούτῳ διεδέξε δορφ ἐστὶ τούτῳ ἀρίστου. δήμου τε ἀδ ἄρχοντος ἀδύνατα μὴ οὐ κακότητα ἐγγίνεσθαι κακότητος τοῖνυν ἐγγινομένης ἐς τὰ κοινα ἐχθεα μὲν οὐκ ἐγγίνοται τοῖς κακοῖς, φιλιά δὲ ἴσχυραί οἱ γὰρ κακοῦντες τὰ κοινα συγκύψαντες ποιεύσοι. τοῦτο δὲ τοιοῦτο γίνεται ἐς δ ἀν προστάς τις τοῦ δήμου τοὺς τοιούτους παισθ. ἐκ δὲ αὐτῶν θωμάζεται οὕτος δὴ ύπὸ τοῦ δήμου, θωμαζόμενος δὲ ἀν ὁν ἐφὰνη μούναρχος ἑως, καὶ ἐν τούτῳ δηλοὶ καὶ οὕτος ὑπὸ μοναρχίη κράτιστον. ἐνὶ δὲ ἐπεὶ πάντα συλλαβοῦντα εἰπεῖν, κόθεν ἦμων ἡ ἐλευθερία ἐγένετο καὶ τεῦ δόντος; κότερα παρὰ τοῦ δήμου ἡ ολι-
BOOK III. 82

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

83. Γνώμαι μὲν δὴ τρεῖς αὐταὶ προσεκέατο, οἱ δὲ τέσσερες τῶν ἑπτὰ ἄνδρῶν προσέβεντο ταύτῃ. ὡς δὲ ἐσσώθη τῇ γνώμῃ ὁ Ὅτανὴς Πέρσης ἰσονομίην σπεύδων ποιήσαι, ἐλεξεὶ εἰς μέσουν αὐτοῖς τάδε. "Ἄνδρες στασιώτατι, δὴ λα σὺ ὅτε δέ ἐνα γε τινὰ ἡμέων βασιλέα γενέσθαι, ἦτοι κλήρῳ γε λαχόντα, ἡ ἐπιτρεφάντων τῷ Περσέων πληθεῖ τῶν ἀν ἑκεῖνο ἐξηταί, ἡ ἅλλῃ τινὶ μηχανῇ. ἐγὼ μὲν πυὸν ύμῶν σὺκ ἑναγονυιέμαι, οὔτε γὰρ ἄρχειν οὔτε ἄρχεσθαι ἑθέλων. ἔπι τούτῳ δὲ ὑπεξισταμαι τῆς ἁρχῆς, ἕπὶ δὲ τῶν οὐδενὸς ὑμῶν ἄρξομαι, οὔτε αὐτὸς ἐγὼ οὔτε οἱ ἀπ᾽ ἐμεδ ἀιει νυνόμενοι." τούτων εἰπότοι ταῦτα ὅς συνεχόμενοι εἰς ἐπὶ τούτοις, οὔτος μὲν δὴ σφι ύμεκ. ἐνηγωνύχετο ἀλλ᾽ ἐκ μέσου κατηχότο, καὶ νῦν αὕτη ἢ οἰκίν διατελεί μοῦνη ἑλευθέρη ἑοῦσα Περσέων καὶ ἄρχεται τοσαύτα ὡσα αὕτη θέλει, νόμους οὐκ ὑπερβαίνοντα τοὺς Περσέων.

84. Οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ τῶν ἑπτὰ ἐβουλεύοντο ὡς βασιλέα δικαιότατα στήσονται· καὶ σφι ἐδοξεὶ Ὅτανὴ μὲν καὶ τοῦτο ἀπὸ Ὅτανοις αἰεὶ γνωμένοις, ἦν ὡς ἄλλον τινὰ τῶν ἑπτὰ ἐδέη ή βασιλεία, ἐξαίρετα διδοσθαὶ ἐσθήτα τε Μηδικὴν ἐτεὸς ἐκάστου καὶ τὴν πᾶσαν δωρεὴν ἡ γίνεται ἐν Περσησι τιμιωτάτη. τούδε δὲ εἴνεκεν ἐβουλεύσαν οἱ διδοσθαὶ ταῦτα, ὡτε ἐβουλευσε τε πρῶτος τὸ πρήγμα καὶ συνέστησε αὐτοῦς. ταύτα μὲν δὴ Ὅταν ἐξαίρετα, τάδε δὲ ὡς τὸ κοινὸν ἐβουλεύσαν,
ruler? I hold therefore, that as the rule of one man gave us freedom, so that rule we should preserve; and, moreover, that we should not repeal the good laws of our fathers; that were ill done."

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

84. The rest of the seven then consulted what was the justest way of making a king; and they resolved, if another of the seven than Otanes should gain the royal power, that Otanes and his posterity should receive for themselves specially a yearly gift of Median raiment and all such presents as the Persians hold most precious. The reason of this resolve was that it was he who had first contrived the matter and assembled the conspirators. To Otanes, then, they gave this peculiar honour; but with regard to all of
παριέναι ἐς τὰ βασιλῆμα πάντα τὸν βουλόμενου τῶν ἐπτὰ ἄνευ ἐσαγγελέος, ἢν μὴ τυχαῖην εὐδοὺν μετὰ γυναικὸς βασιλεὺς, γαμέειν δὲ μὴ ἐξεῖναι ἄλλοθεν τῷ βασιλεῖ ἢ ἐκ τῶν συνεπαναστάντων. περὶ δὲ τῆς βασιλήης ἐβουλευσαν τοιοῦτον ὅτεν ἂν ὁ ἰππός ἥλιον ἐπανατέλλωντος πρῶτος φθέγξηται, ἐν τῷ προαστείῳ αὐτῶν ἐπιβεβηκότων, τοῦτον ἐχειν τὴν βασιλῆην.

85. Δαρείω δὲ ὁ ἰπποκόμος ἀνήρ σοφός, τῷ ὄνομα ἡν Οἰβάρης. πρὸς τοῦτον τὸν ἀνδρα, ἐπείτε διελύθησαν, ἐλέξε Δαρείος τάδε. "Οἱ βαρεὶς, ἠμῶν δέδοκται περὶ τῆς βασιληῆς ποιεῖν κατὰ τάδε ὅτεν ἂν ὁ ἰππὸς πρῶτος φθέγξηται ἄμα τῷ ἥλιῳ ἀνίοντε αὐτῶν ἐπαναβεβηκότων, τοῦτον ἐχειν τὴν βασιλῆην. νῦν ὡν εἴ τινα ἑχεις σοφίην, μηχανῶ ὡς ἢ ἡμεῖς σχῶμεν τούτῳ τὸ γέρας καὶ μὴ ἄλλος τις." ἀμείβεται Οἰβάρης τοῦτο. "Εἰ μὲν δὴ ὁ δέσποτα ἐν τούτῳ τοῖς ἐστὶ τῇ βασιλείᾳ εἶναι ἢ μὴ, θάρσει τοῦτον εἶνεκεν καὶ θυμῶν ἔχε ἀγαθὸν, ὡς βασιλεὺς οὐδεὶς ἄλλος πρὸ σεῦ ἔσται τοιαῦτα ἔχω φάρμακα." λέγει Δαρείος "Εἰ τοῖνυν τι τοιοῦτον ἑχεις σοφίσμα, ὥρη μηχανᾶσθαι καὶ μὴ ἀναβάλλεσθαι, ὡς τῆς ἐπισοῦσης ἡμέρης ὁ ἀγὼν ἡμῶν ἐστὶ." ἀκούσας ταῦτα ὁ Οἰβάρης ποιεῖ τοιοῦτον ὅσ ἔγνετο ἡ νύξ, τῶν θηλέων ἰππῶν μίαν, τὴν ὁ Δαρείου ἰππὸς ἐστεργε μάλιστα, ταύτην ἀγαθῶν ἐς τὸ προαστείον κατέδησε καὶ ἐπήγαγε τὸν Δαρείου ἰπποῦ, καὶ τὰ μὲν πολλὰ περιήγη ἀγχοῦ τῇ ἰππῷ ἐγχριμπτών τῇ θηλῆ, τέλος δὲ ἐπὶ ηκε ὀχεῦεται τῶν ἰππῶν.

86. "Αμὴ ἡμέρη δὲ διαφωσκούσῃ οἱ ἔξετα συνεθήκαντο παρήγαν ἐπὶ τῶν ἰππῶν. διεξελαυ-
them alike they decreed that any one of the seven should, if he so wished, enter the king's palace unannounced, save if the king were sleeping with a woman; and that it should be forbidden to the king to take a wife saving from the households of the conspirators. As concerning the making of a king, they resolved that he should be elected whose horse, when they were all mounted in the suburb of the city, should first be heard to neigh at sunrise.

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

86. At dawn of day came the six on horseback as they had agreed. As they rode out through the
νόμτων δὲ κατὰ τὸ προάστειον, ὡς κατὰ τούτο τὸ χωρίον ἐγιόντω ὡς τῆς παροιχομένης μικτὸς κατεδέδετο ἡ θῆλεα ἱππος, ἐνθαῦτα ὁ Δαρείου ἱππος προσδραμὼν ἐχρεμέτισε· ἀμα ὅ τῳ ἱππῷ τούτῳ ποίησαντι ἀστραπῆ ἔξει αἰθρίας καὶ βροντῆ ἐγένετο. ἐπιγενόμενα δὲ ταῦτα τῷ Δαρείῳ ἐτελέσσε μιν ὅσπερ ἐκ συνθέτου τευ γενόμενα· οἱ δὲ καταθρόντες ἀπὸ τῶν ἱππῶν προσεκύνεον τὸν Δαρείου.

87. Οἱ μὲν δὲ φασὶ τὸν Οἰβάρεα ταύτα μηχανήσασθαι, οἱ δὲ τοιᾶδε (καὶ γὰρ ἐπὶ ἀμφότερα λέγεται ὑπὸ Περσέων), ὡς τῆς ἱππῆς ταύτης τῶν ἀρθρῶν ἐπιψαυσας τῇ χειρὶ ἔχοι αὐτὴν κρύφας ἐν τῇ ἀναξυρίᾳ· ὡς δὲ ἂμα τῷ ἁλῷ ἀνοιγτὶ ἀπέσθαι μὲλλειν τοὺς ἱπποὺς, τὸν Οἰβάρεα τοῦτον ἐξειράντα τὴν χεῖρα πρὸς τὸν Δαρείου ἱππὸν τοὺς μυκτήρας προσενείκαι, τὸν δὲ αἰσθόμενον φριμάξασθαι τε καὶ χρεμετίσαι.

88. Δαρείος τε δὴ ὁ Τστάσπεος Βασίλεις ἀπεδέκτο, καὶ οἱ ἦσαν ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ πάντες κατήκουν πλὴν Ἀραβίων, Κύρου τε καταστρεφαμένου καὶ ὕστερον αὐτὸς Καμβύσεω. Ἀραβίωι δὲ οὔδαμα κατηκούσαν ἐπὶ δουλοσύνης Πέρσης, ἀλλὰ ξεῖνοι ἐγένοντο παρέντες Καμβύσεα ἐπὶ 'Αἰγυπτον ἀδελφοῦ τῶν γὰρ Ἀραβίων οὐκ ἄν ἑσβαλοίεν Πέρσαι ἐς Αἰγυπτον. γάμους τε τοὺς πρώτους ἐγέμησε Πέρσης ο Δαρείος, Κύρου μὲν δύο θυγατέρας 'Ατοσσάν τε καὶ 'Αρτυστώφην, τὴν μὲν 'Ατοσσαν προσυνοικίσασαν Καμβύση τε τῷ ἀδελφῷ καὶ αὐτὶς τῷ Μάγῳ, τὴν δὲ 'Αρτυστώφην παρθένου ἐτέρην δὲ Σεμέρδιος τοῦ Κύρου θυγατέρα ἐγινε, τῇ οὕνωμα ἡν Πάρμια; ἔσχε δὲ καὶ τὴν τοῦ Ὀτάνεω
suburb and came to the place where the mare had been picketed in the past night, Darius' horse trotted up to it and whinnied; and as he so did there came lightning and thunder out of a clear sky. These signs given to Darius were thought to be foreordained and made his election perfect; his companions leapt from their horses and did obeisance to him.

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

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

1 521 B.C.
HERODOTUS

θυγατέρα, ἥ τοῦ Μάγου κατάδηλον ἔποιήσε, δύναμις τε πάντα οἱ ἐπιμπλέατο. πρώτον μὲν τῶν τύπων ποιησάμενος λίθινον ἐστησε. ξύον δὲ οἱ ἐνήρ ἰππεῖς, ἐπέγραψε δὲ γράμματα λέγοντα τάδε: "Δαρείος ο Ἱστάσπεος σύν τε τοῦ ἢππου τῇ ἃρετῇ τὸ οὐνομα λέγων "καὶ Ὀἰβάρεος τοῦ ἢπποκόμου ἐκτήσατο τὴν Περσέων βασιλέην."

89. Ποιήσας δὲ ταύτα ἐν Πέρσῃ αὐχαὶ κατεστήσατο εἴκοσι, τὰς αὐτοὶ καλέουσι σατραπῆσις καταστήσας δὲ τὰς αὐχαὶ καὶ ἀρχοντας ἐπιστῆσας ἐτάξατο φόρους οἱ προσιέναι κατὰ ἑθνεά τε καὶ πρὸς τοῖς ἐθνεσι τους πλησιοχώρους προστάσσουν, καὶ ὑπερβαίνων τοὺς προσέχεσι τὰ ἐκαστέρω ἀλλοισι ἄλλα ἑθνεά νέμων. αὐχαὶ δὲ καὶ φόρων πρόσοδον τὴν ἐπέτειον κατὰ τάδε διείλε. τοῖς μὲν αὐτῶν ἀργύριον ἀπαγινέουσι εἴρητο Βαβυλωνίων σταθμὸν τάλαντον ἀπαγινέειν, τοῖς δὲ χρυσίον ἀπαγινέουσι Εὐβοίκοις. τὸ δὲ Βαβυλωνίων τάλαντον δύναται Εὐβοίδας ὀκτὼ καὶ ἕβδομήκοντα μνέας.1 ἔπι γὰρ Κύρου ἀρχοντός καὶ αὐτὶς Καμβύσεων ἦν κατεστήκος οὐδὲν φόρον πέρι, ἀλλὰ δῶρα ἀγίνεον. διὰ δὲ ταύτην τὴν ἐπίταξιν τοῦ φόρου καὶ παραπλήσια ταύτη ἄλλα λέγουσι Πέρσαι ὁς Δαρείος μὲν ἦν κάπηλος, Καμβύσης δὲ δεσπότης, Κύρος δὲ πατήρ, δὲ μὲν ὦτε ἐκάστηλεν πάντα τὰ πρήγματα, δὲ ὦτε χαλέπὼς τε ἦν καὶ ὀλίγωρος, δὲ ὦτε ὑπιός τε καὶ ἀγαθὰ σφὶ πάντα ἐμηχανήσατο.

1 The MSS. have Εὐβοῖδας ἔβδομήκοντα μνέας; but the reading given is now generally adopted. As the weight-relation of the Persian silver stater to the Persian gold stater—the unit, of which 3000 composed the talent—was 3 : 4, the
the truth about the Magian; and the whole land was full of his power. First he made and set up a carved stone, whereon was graven the figure of a horseman, with this inscription: “Darius son of Hystaspes, aided by the excellence of his horse” (here followed the horse’s name) “and of Oeabares his groom, won the kingdom of Persia.”

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

1 On the following list see the introduction to this book.

total silver or Babylonian talent equalled 1½ of the gold (or Euboic) talent. Moreover the figure 78 is confirmed by the calculation in ch. 95.
90. Ἀπὸ μὲν δὴ Ἰώνων καὶ Μαγνήτων τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ καὶ Αἰόλεων καὶ Καρδίων καὶ Δυκίων καὶ Μελεών καὶ Παμφύλων (εἰς γὰρ ἦν οἱ τεταγμένοι οὐτοί φόροι) προσῆμεν τετρακόσια τάλαντα ἀργυρίου. ὁ μὲν δὴ πρῶτος οὗτος οἱ νομοὶ κατεστήκεε, ἀπὸ δὲ Μυσῶν καὶ Δυδῶν καὶ Δασυνίων καὶ Καβαλέων καὶ Ττεννέων πεντακόσια τάλαντα δεύτερος νομὸς οὗτος. ἀπὸ δὲ Ἑλλησσονίων τῶν ἐπὶ δεξιά ἐσπλέοντι καὶ Φρυγῶν καὶ Ἐρυθρῶν τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ καὶ Παφλαγόνων καὶ Μαριανδύνων καὶ Συρίων ἐξήκοντα καὶ τριηκόσια τάλαντα ἦν φόρος νομὸς τρίτος οὗτος. ἀπὸ δὲ Κιλίκων ἵπποι τε λευκοὶ ἐξήκοντα καὶ τριήκοσιοι, ἑκάστης ἡμέρης εἰς γινόμενος, καὶ τάλαντα ἀργυρίου πεντακόσια ταῦτων δὲ πεσσέράκοντα καὶ ἐκατον ἐς τὴν φρουρέουσαν ἵππον τὴν Κιλικίαν χώρην ἀνασιμοῦτο, τὰ δὲ τριηκόσια καὶ ἐξήκοντα Δαρείῳ ἐφοίτα νομὸς τέταρτος οὗτος.

91. Ἀπὸ δὲ Ποσιδιών πόλεως, τῆς Ἀμφιλοχοῦς ὡς Ἀμφιάρεω οὔκισε ἐπ' οὐροις τοῖς Κιλίκων τοῖς καὶ Σύρων, ἀρχαίμενος ἀπὸ ταῦτα μέχρι Αἰγύπτου, πληρής τῆς Ἀραβίων (ταῦτα γὰρ ἦν ἀτελεά), πεντήκοντα καὶ τριήκοσια τάλαντα φόρος ἦν. ἔστι δὲ ἐν τῷ νομῷ τούτῳ Φοινίκη τῆς πάσα καὶ Συρίη ἡ Παλαιστίνη καλεομένη καὶ Κύπρος νομὸς πέμπτος οὗτος. ἀπὸ Αἰγύπτου δὲ καὶ Λιβύων τῶν προσεχέων Αἰγύπτω καὶ Κυρήνης τοῖς καὶ Βάρκης (ἐς γὰρ τὸν Αἰγύπτιον νομὸν αὐτὰς ἐκεκοσμεῖτο) ἐπτακόσια προσῆμεν τάλαντα, πάρεξ τοῦ ἐκ τῆς Μωρίους λίμης γινομένου ἀργυρίου, τὸ ἐγίνετο ἐκ τῶν ἰχθύων τούτου τῇ χωρίς τοῦ ἀργυρίου καὶ τοῦ [ἐπιμετρουμένου] σίτου προσῆμε.
BOOK III. 90-91

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

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

ἐπτακόσια τάλαντα: σίτου γὰρ δύο καὶ δέκα μυριάδας Περσέων τε τούσι ἐν τῷ Δενκῷ τείχει τῷ ἐν Μέμφι κατοικημένους καταμετρέουσι καὶ τούσι τούτων ἐπικούροισι. νομὸς ἐκτὸς οὗτος. Σαταγνύδαι δὲ καὶ Γανδάριοι καὶ Δαδίκαι τε καὶ Ἀπαρώτα ἐς τῶτο τεταγμένοι ἐβδομηχόντα καὶ ἐκατον τάλαντα προσέφερον νομὸς δὲ οὗτος ἐβδομος. ἀπὸ Σοῦσων δὲ καὶ τῆς Ἀλλης Κισσίων χώρης τριηκόσια νομὸς ὑγίους οὗτος.

92. Ἀπὸ Βαβυλώνος δὲ καὶ τῆς λοιπῆς Ἀσσυρίας χιλιάδα οἱ προσήμε τάλαντα ἀργυρίου καὶ παίδες ἐκτωμιαί πεντακόσιοι νομὸς εἶνατο σύνοτος. ἀπὸ δὲ Ἀγβατάνων καὶ τῆς λοιπῆς Μηδίκης καὶ Παρικανίων καὶ Ὀρθοκορυβαντίων πεντήκοντα τε καὶ τετρακόσια τάλαντα νομὸς δέκατος οὗτος. Κάσπιοι δὲ καὶ Παυσίκαι καὶ Παντίμαδοι τε καὶ Δαρεῖται ἐς τῶτο συμφέροντες διηκόσια τάλαντα ἀπαγότευν νομὸς ἐνδέκατος οὗτος.

93. Ἀπὸ Βακτριανῶν δὲ μέχρι Διγλών ἐζήτηκαν καὶ τριπλοὶ τάλαντα φόροι ἕννομὸς δύσωδεκατος οὗτος. ἀπὸ Πακτικῆς δὲ καὶ Ἀρμενίων καὶ τῶν προσεγέων μέχρι τοῦ πόντου τοῦ Εὐξείνου τετρακόσια τάλαντα νομὸς τρίτος καὶ δέκατος οὗτος. ἀπὸ δὲ Σαγαρτίων καὶ Σαραγγέων καὶ Θαμαναίων καὶ Οὐτίων καὶ Μύκων καὶ τῶν ἐν τῇ νῆσοι οἰκεῖοι τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἐρυθρῇ θαλάσσῃ, ἐν τῇ τοῖς ἀνασπάστους καλεομένους κατοικίζει βασιλεύς, ἀπὸ τούτων πάντων ἐξακόσια τάλαντα ἐγίνετο φόρος νομὸς τέταρτος καὶ δέκατος οὗτος. Σάκαι δὲ καὶ Κάσπιοι πεντήκοντα καὶ διηκόσια ἀπαγότευν τάλαντα νομὸς πέμπτος καὶ δέκατος οὗτος. Πάρθοι δὲ καὶ Χοράσμιοι καὶ Σόγδιοι τε
hundred and twenty thousand bushels of grain were also assigned to the Persians quartered at the White Citadel of Memphis and their allies. The Sattagydae, Gandarrii, Dadicae, and Aparytai paid together an hundred and seventy talents; this was the seventh province; the eighth was Susa and the rest of the Cissian country, paying three hundred talents.

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

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

---

1 The regular term for the peoples or individuals who were transplanted from the western into the eastern parts of the Persian empire; the ἀφε- implying removal from the sea to the highlands.
καὶ ἀρειοὶ τριηκώσια τάλαντα νομὸς ἐκτος καὶ δέκατος οὐτὸς.

94. Παρικάνωι δὲ καὶ Αἰθίοπες οἱ ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίης τετρακώσια τάλαντα ἀπαγίνεον νομὸς ἔβδομος καὶ δέκατος οὐτὸς. Ματιηνοίσι δὲ καὶ Σάσπειρσι καὶ Ἀλαροδίουσι διηκόσια ἐπετέτακτο τάλαντα νομὸς ὁγδοσ καὶ δέκατος οὐτός. Μόσχοισι δὲ καὶ Τιβαρηνοίσι καὶ Μάκρωσι καὶ Μοσσυνοίκοισι καὶ Μαρσί τριηκώσια τάλαντα προείρητο νομὸς εἰνατος καὶ δέκατος οὐτός. Ἰνδῶν δὲ πλῆθος τε πολλῶν πλείστον ἐστὶ πάντων τῶν ἡμεῖς ἠδημ ἀνθρώπων, καὶ φόρον ἀπαγίνεον πρὸς πάντας τοὺς ἄλλους ἐξήκοντα καὶ τριηκώσια τάλαντα ζήγματος νομὸς εἰκόσιος οὐτός.

95. Τὸ μὲν δὴ ἀργύριον τὸ Βαβυλόνιον πρὸς τὸ Ἐββοικὸν συμβαλλομένον τάλαντον γίνεται ὄγδοκοντα καὶ ὀκτακώσια καὶ εἰνακισχίλια τάλαντα, τὸ δὲ χρυσίον τρισκαίδεκακαστάσιον λογιζόμενον, τὸ ψῆγμα εὐρίσκεται ἐδών Ἐββοικῶν ταλάντων ὀγδοκοντα καὶ ἕξακοσίων καὶ τετρακισχίλιων. τούτων ἄν πάντων συντιθεμένων τὸ πλῆθος Ἐββοικὰ τάλαντα συνελέγετο ἐς τὸν ἑπέτειον φόρον Δαρείῳ μύρια καὶ τετρακισχίλια καὶ πεντακώσια καὶ ἐξήκοντα τὸ δὲ ἐτί τούτων ἔλασσον ἀπιεῖς ὦ λέγω.

96. Οὕτος Δαρείῳ προσήκε φόρος ἀπὸ τῆς τῆς Ἀσίης καὶ τῆς Αἰθίων ὀλυγαχόθεν, προϊόντος μὲντοί τοῦ χρόνου καὶ ἀπὸ νῆσων προσήκε ἄλλος φόρος καὶ τῶν ἐν τῇ Εὐρώπῃ μέχρι Θεσσαλίας

---

1 The MSS. have τεσσαράκοντα καὶ πεντακώσια καὶ εἰν. τ.1 but the alteration given here is generally accepted and is necessary in view of the total given below. The 19 tributes
BOOK III. 93-96

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

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

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

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

make up 7,600 Babylonian talents, that is, on the 3:4 relation (see ch. 89), 9,880 Euboic talents; add the Indian tribute (4,680 talents) and the total is 14,560.
οικημένων, τούτων τῶν φόρων θησαυρός Betaiλεύς τρόπος τοιοῦτος ἐς πίθους κεραμίνους τῆς κατα-
χείται, πλήσας δὲ τὸ ἄγγειο περιαρείει τὸν κέραμον ἐπεάν δὲ δεηθῇ χρημάτων, κατακόπτει τοσοῦτο ὠσον ἀν ἐκάστοτε δέχεται.

97. Αὕται μὲν ἀρχαί τε ἦσαν καὶ φόρων ἐπιτά-
ξεις. ἡ Περσίς δὲ χώρῃ μοῦνη μοι οὐκ ἔπραται δασμοφόρος· ἀτελεὰ γὰρ Πέρσαι νέμονται χώρῃν,
οἷδε δὲ φόρων μὲν οὐδένα ἐτάχθησαν φέρειν, δῶρα δὲ ἄγινεον· Αἰθιοπεῖς οἱ πρόσωροι Ἀγυπτῶν, τοὺς Καμβύσης ἐλαϊνων ἐπὶ τοὺς μακροβίους Αἰθιοπαῖς κατεστρέψατο, οὐ τε¹ περὶ τε Νύσσην τὴν ἱρὴν κατοικηνταί καὶ τῷ Διονύσῳ ἀναγόμεναι τὰς ὀρτάς;
[οὗτοι οἱ Αἰθιοπεῖς καὶ οἱ πλησίονωροι τοῦτοι σπέρματι μὲν χρέωνται τῷ αὐτῷ τῷ καὶ οἱ Καλ-
λαντίαι Ἰνδοί, οἰκήματα δὲ ἐκτηταί κατάγαμα.]² οὗτοι συναμφότεροι διὰ τρίτου ἐτεος ἄγινεον,
ἀγινέουσι δὲ καὶ τὸ μέχρι ἐμὲν, δύο χοινικας
ἀπόρου χρυσίων καὶ διηκοσίας φαλαγγας ἐβένου
καὶ πέντε παιδῶν Ἀἰθιοπαῖς καὶ ἑλέφαντων ὀδοντῶν
μεγάλους εἰκοσί. Κόλχοι δὲ τὰ ἐτάξαντο ἐς τὴν
δωρεὴν καὶ οἱ προσεχεῖς μέχρι Καυκάσιος ὄρεος
(ἐς τούτο γὰρ τὸ ὅρος ὑπὸ Περσηφῶν ἀρχεται, τὰ δὲ
πρὸς βορεῖν ἄνεμον τοῦ Καυκάσιος Περσών οὖδε
ἐτε φροντίζει), οὗτοι δὲν δῶρα τὰ ἐτάξαντο ἐτε καὶ
ἐς ἐμὲ διὰ πεντετερίδος ἄγινεον, ἐκατὸν παιδῶς

¹ of τε; MSS. οτ; Stein places a lacuna before οτ, because
the Ethiopians bordering on Egypt did not, he says, live
near Νύσσα; at the same time he suggests the easy correction
of τε, which I adopt.

² The words in brackets are probably a commentator’s
note drawn from ch. 101. The Καλλαντίαι are obviously
the Καλλαντία of ch. 38.

124
the king in this fashion: he melts it down and pours it into earthen vessels; when the vessel is full he breaks the earthenware away, and when he needs money coins as much as will serve his purpose.

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

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

2 The choenix was a measure of about the capacity of a quart.
καὶ ἐκατὸν παρθένους. Ἅραβιοι δὲ χιλία τάλαντα ἀγίνεον λιβανωτοῦ ἀνὰ πῶν ἔτος. ταῦτα μὲν οὔτοι δώρα πάρεξ τοῦ φόρου βασιλεῦ ἐκόμιζον.

98. Τὸν δὲ χρυσὸν τούτον τὸν πολλὸν οἱ Ἰνδοὶ, ἀπ’ οὗ τὸ ψῆφιμα τῷ βασιλεῖ τὸ εἰρημένον κομίζουσι, τρόπῳ τούτῳ κτώνται. ἔστι τῆς Ἰνδικῆς χώρης τὸ πρὸς ἡλιον ἀνίσχοντα ψάμμος· τῶν γὰρ ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν, τῶν καὶ πέρι ἀτρεκές τι λέγεται, πρῶτοι πρὸς ἡδὸν καὶ ἡλίου ἀνατολᾶς οἰκέουσι αὐθρώπων τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ Ἰνδοῖ. Ἰνδῶν γὰρ τὸ πρὸς τὴν ἡδὸν ἐρημία ἐστὶ διὰ τὴν ψάμμον. ἔστι δὲ πολλὰ ἑθνεά Ἰνδῶν καὶ οὐκ ὀμόφωνα σφίσι, καὶ οἱ μὲν αὐτῶν νομάδες εἰσὶ οἱ δὲ οὐ, οἱ δὲ ἐν τοῖς ἐλείοις οἰκέουσι τοῦ ποταμοῦ καὶ ἱχθυών σιτέονται ὁμοῦ, τοὺς αἱρέουσι ἐκ πλοίων καλαμίων ὄρμωμεν· καλάμῳ δὲ ἐν γόνυ πλοίον ἐκαστὸν ποιεῖται. οὐτοὶ μὲν δὴ τῶν Ἰνδῶν φορέουσι ἐσθήτα φλοίην· ἐπεάν ἐκ τοῦ ποταμοῦ φλοίων ἀμήσωσι καὶ κόψωσι, τὸ ἐνθεύτεν φορμοῦ τρόπον καταπλέξατες ὡς θώρηκα ἐνδύνουσι.

99. Ἀλλοι δὲ τῶν Ἰνδῶν πρὸς ἡδὸν οἰκέουσι τούτων νομάδες εἰσὶ κρεὸν ἐδεσταὶ ὄμων, καλέονται δὲ Παδαῖοι, νομαίοι δὲ τοιοῦτοι λέγονται χρᾶσθαι· ὅσον κάμη τῶν ἀστῶν, ἦν τε γυνὴ ἦν τε ἀνήρ, τὸν μὲν ἄνδρα ἄνδρες οἱ μάλιστα οἱ ὁμιλεύτες κτείνοντες, φάμενοι αὐτῶν τιχόμενον τῇ νοῦσῳ τὰ κρέας σφίσι· διαφθείρεσθαι ὁ δὲ ἀπαρνος ἐστὶ μὴ μὲν νοσέειν, οἱ δὲ οὐ συγγινωσκόμενοι ἀποκτείναντες κατευχέονται. ἦ δὲ ἀν γυνὴ κάμη, ὃςαντως αἱ ἐπιχρεωμέναι μάλιστα γυναῖκες ταῦτα τοιοῦ ἄνδρας ποιεύσι. τὸν γὰρ ὃς ἔστι ἡ ἀπικόμενον θύσαντες κατευχέονται· ἐς δὲ τοῦτον λόγον οὐ
BOOK III. 97-99

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

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

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

1 Not the bamboo, apparently, but the "kana," which sometimes grows to a height of 50 feet.
πολλοί τινες αὐτῶν ἀπικνέονται. πρὸ γὰρ τὸν τὸν ἐσ νοὺσον πίπτοντα πάντα κτείνουσι.

100. Ἐστέρων δὲ ἐστὶ Ἰνδῶν ὁδὸς τρόπος, οὕτε κτείνουσι οὐδέν ἐμψυχον οὕτε τι σπείρουσι οὕτε οἰκίας νομίζουσι εκτήσθαι ποιησάγουσι τε καὶ αὐτοῖς ἐστὶ ὅσον κέγχρος τὸ μέγαθος ἐν κάλυκι, αὐτόματον ἐκ τῆς γῆς γενόμενον, τὸ συλλέγοντες αὐτή τῇ κάλυκι ἔφουσι τε καὶ σιτεόνται. δὲ δ' ἂν ἐσ νούσων αὐτῶν πέσῃ, ἔλθων ἐς τὴν ἔρημον κέεται φροντίζει δὲ οὐδεὶς οὕτε ἀποδάνωτος οὕτε καμώντος.

101. Μίξις δὲ τούτων τῶν Ἰνδῶν τῶν κατέλεξα πάντων ἐμφανὶς ἐστὶ κατὰ περ τῶν προβάτων καὶ τὸ χρῶμα φορέουσι ὅμοιον πάντες καὶ παραπλήσιον Αἰδίοψι. ἥ γονὴ δὲ αὐτῶν, τὴν ἀπειλεῖ ἐς τὰς γυναῖκας, οὐ κατὰ περ τῶν ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων ἐστὶ λευκή, ἀλλὰ μέλαινα κατὰ περ τὸ χρῶμα τοιαύτην δὲ καὶ Αἰδίοπες ἀπένταυς θορήν. οὐτοὶ μὲν τῶν Ἰνδῶν ἑκαστέρω τῶν Περσῶν οἰκέουσι καὶ πρὸς νότον ἀνέμου καὶ Δαρείου βασιλέως οὔδαμα ὑπήκουσαν.

102. Ἀλλοι δὲ τῶν Ἰνδῶν Κασπατύρῳ τε πόλι καὶ τῇ Πακτυίκῃ χώρῃ εἰσὶ πρόσοψοι, πρὸς ἄρκτον τε καὶ βορῶν ἀνέμου κατακικημένοι τῶν ἄλλων Ἰνδῶν, οἱ Βακτρίοισι παραπλησίην ἔχουσι διάιταν. οὕτοι καὶ μαχημάται εἰσὶ Ἰνδῶν καὶ οἱ ἐπὶ τῶν χρυσῶν στελλόμενοι εἰσὶ οὕτοι κατὰ γὰρ τούτο ἐστὶ ἐρημία διὰ τὴν ψάμμα τό ὅ δ' ἐν τῇ ἐρημϊ ταύτῃ καὶ τῇ ψάμμῳ γίνονται μύριμες μεγάθεα ἔχουσι κυνῶν μὲν ἐλάσσονα ἀλωπέκων δὲ μέξονα εἰσὶ γὰρ αὐτῶν καὶ παρὰ βασιλέως τῷ Περσῶν ἐνθεύτευν θηρευθέντες. οὕτοι
but there are not many who come thereto, for all who fall sick are killed ere that.

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

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

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

---
\(^1\) N.E. Afghanistan. Caspatyrus (or Caspapyrus) is said to be probably Cabul.
\(^2\) It is suggested that the "ants" may have been really marmots. But even this does not seem to make the story much more probable.
Οι μύρμηκες ποιεύμενοι οίκησαν ύπο γῆν ἀναφορέουσι τὴν ψάμμον κατὰ πέρι εἰς τοῖς Ἐλλησι μύρμηκες κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον, εἰςὶ δὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ τὸ εἴδος ὁμοίότατος. ἦ δὲ ψάμμος ἡ ἀναφερομένη ἐστὶ χρυσίτις. ἐπὶ δὴ ταύτην τὴν ψάμμον στελλόνται ἐς τὴν ἐρήμων οἱ Ἰνδοὶ, ξενοξάμενος ἐκαστὸς καμήλους τρεῖς, σειρήφορον μὲν ἐκατέρωθεν ἔσσευν παρέλκειν, θῆλεαν δὲ ἐς μέσον ἐπὶ ταύτην δὴ αὐτὸς ἀναβαίνει, ἐπιτηδεύσας ὁκὼς ἀπὸ τέκνων ὡς νεωτάτων ἀποστάσας ξεύξει. αἱ γὰρ σφι κάμηλοι ὑπον ὑσσονες ἢς ταχύτητα εἰς, χωρὶς δὲ ἀγθεα δυνατώτεραι πολλὸν φέρειν.

103. Τὸ μὲν δὴ εἴδος ὁκοιὸν τι ἧκει ἡ κάμηλος, ἐπισταμένοι τοῖς Ἐλλησι οὐ συγγράφω τὸ δὲ μὴ ἐπιστεύται αὐτῆς, τούτῳ φράσῳ κάμηλος ἐν τοῖς ὁπίσθει τοιοῦτοι σκέλεσι ἧκει τέσσερα μηροὺς καὶ γούνατα τέσσερα, τὰ τε αἰδοῖα διὰ τῶν ὀπίσθων σκελέων πρὸς τὴν ὀρύχη τετραμένα.

104. Οἱ δὲ δὴ Ἰνδοὶ τρόπῳ τοιοῦτο καὶ ξεύξει τοιαύτῃ χρεώμενοι ἐλαύνουσι ἐπὶ τὸν χρυσὸν κελογραμένος ὁκὼς καμάτων τῶν θερμοτατῶν ἐόντων ἐσούται ἐν τῇ ἁρταγῇ ὑπὸ γὰρ τοῦ καμάτου ὁι μύρμηκες ἀφανές γίνονται ὑπὸ γῆν. θερμοτατός δὲ ἐστὶ ὁ ἦλιος τοῦτοι τοῖς ἀνθρῶποις τὸ ἐνθύνοι, οὐ κατὰ περ τοῖς ἀλλοτες μεσαμβρίας, ἀλλ’ ὑπερτείλας μέχρι οὐ ἁγορῆς διαλύσιος, τοῦτον δὲ τῶν χρόνων καὶ πολλὸ μᾶλλον ἡ τῇ μεσαμβρίῃ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, οὕτω ὦστ’ ἐν ὑδάτι λόγος αὐτοῦ ἑστὶ βρέχεσθαι τηνικαῦτα, μεσοῦα δὲ ἡ ἡμέρῃ σχεδὸν παραπλησίως καὶ τοὺς τε ἄλλους ἀνθρώπους καὶ τοὺς Ἰνδοὺς, ἀποκλινομένης δὲ τῆς μεσαμβρίας γίνεται σφι ὁ ἦλιος.
there. These ants make their dwellings underground, digging out the sand in the same manner as do the ants in Greece, to which they are very like in shape, and the sand which they carry forth from the holes is full of gold. It is for this sand that the Indians set forth into the desert. They harness three camels apiece, a male led camel on either side to help in draught, and a female in the middle: the man himself rides on the female, careful that when harnessed she has been taken away from as young an offspring as may be. Their camels are as swift as horses, and much better able to bear burdens beside.

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

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

105. Ἐπειώθως εἰς τὸν χώρον οἱ Ἰνδοὶ ἔχουσι δολιάν, ἐμπλήσαντες ταῦτα τῆς ψάμμου τὴν ταχύστην ἐλαύνουσι ὁπίσω· αὐτίκα γὰρ οἱ μύριμικες ὅμηρη, ὡς δὴ λέγεται ὑπὸ Περσέων, μαθοῦτες διώκουσι. εἶναι δὲ ταχυτῆτα συνέναι ἐτέρῳ ὄμοιον, οὕτω ὡστε, εἰ μὴ προλαμβάνειν τοὺς Ἰνδοὺς τῆς ὁδοῦ ἐν ὁ τοὺς μύριμηκας συλλέγεσθαι, ὁδένα ἄν σφέων ἀποσώζουσι. τοὺς μὲν νυν ἐρευνάς τῶν καμηλῶν, εἶναι γὰρ ἑσσονας θέειν τῶν θηλεών, παραλλεόσθαι ἐπελκομένους, οὐκ ὁμοὶ ἀμφότερος· τὰς δὲ θηλέας ἀναμμηνησκόμενας τῶν ἐλιπτῶν τέκνων ἐνδιδόναι μαλακον ὁδέν. τὸν μὲν δὴ πλέον τοῦ χρυσοῦ οὕτω οἱ Ἰνδοὶ κτώνται, ὡς Πέρσαι φασὶ. ἀλλος δὲ σπανιώτερος ἔστι ἐν τῇ χώρῃ ὀρυσσόμενος.

106. Αἷ δὲ ἐσχάτως κοινὶ τῆς οἰκεομένης τὰ κάλλιστα ἐλαχοῦ, κατὰ περ ἡ Ἑλλάς τᾶς ὀρᾶς πολλῶν τα κάλλιστα κεκριμένας ἔλαχε. τούτῳ μὲν γὰρ πρὸς τὴν ἡδὲ ἐσχάτῃ τῶν οἰκεομενεῶν ἡ Ἰνδικὴ ἔστι, οὐσίᾳ ὁλίγῳ πρότερον εἰρήκα· ἐν ταύτῃ τούτῳ μὲν τὰ ἑμφυχα, τετράποδα τα καὶ τὰ χεῖνα, πολλῶν μεξω ἐν τοῦτο ἀλλοις χωρίοις ἔστι, πάρεξ τῶν ἀπόδων (οὕτωι δὲ ἐσσοῦνται ὑπὸ τῶν Μηδίκων, Νησαίων δὲ καλεμένων ἀπωρίων), τούτῳ δὲ χρυσὸς ἀπλετος αὐτοθε ἐστὶ, ὁ μὲν ὀρυσσόμενος, ὃ δὲ καταφρούμενος ὑπὸ ποταμών, ὃ δὲ ὡσπερ ἐσσοῦντα ἀρπαξόμενος· τὰ δὲ οὐνόμα τὰ ἠγρία αὐτοθε φέρει καρπὸν εἰρία καλλονή τε προφέροντα καὶ ἀριστή τῶν ἀπὸ τῶν ὀίων.
India has the power of the morning sun in other lands; with its sinking the day becomes ever cooler, till at sunset it is exceeding cold.

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

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

107. Πρὸς δὲ αὐτὸ μεσομβρίας ἐσχάτη Ἀραβίνη τῶν ὁικεομενέων χωρεών ἔστι, ἐν δὲ ταύτῃ λιβανωτῷ τῶς ἐστὶ μούνη χωρεῶν πασέων φυόμενοι καὶ σμύρνη καὶ κασιὴ καὶ κινάμωμον καὶ λίθανον. ταῦτα πάντα πλὴν τῆς σμύρνης δυσπετέως κτονται οἱ Ἀράβιοι. τὸν μὲν λιβανωτὸν συλλέγουσι τὴν στύρακα θυμιώντες, τὴν ἐς Ἐλληνας Φοίνικες ἔξαγονοι ταυτὴν θυμιώντες λαμβάνουσι: τὰ γὰρ δένδρα ταῦτα τὰ λιβανωτοφόρα ὅψεις ὑπόπτεροι, μικροὶ τὰ μεγάθεα, ποικίλοι τὰ εἶδεα, φυλάσσοντες πλήθει πολλοὶ περὶ δένδρων ἐκαστῶν, οὕτως οἱ περ ἐπὶ Λεγυπτῖν ἐπιστρατεύονται, οὐδενὶ δὲ ἄλλῳ ἀπελαύνονται ἀπὸ τῶν δενδρῶν ἡ τῆς στύρακος τῷ καταπ.  

108. Λέγουσι δὲ καὶ τὸδε Ἀράβιοι, ὡς πᾶσα ἄν γῆ ἐπίμπλατο τῶν ὁφίων τούτων, εἰ μὴ γίνεσθαι καὶ αὐτοὺς οἴον τι κατὰ τὰς ἐχούσας ἡπιστάμην γίνεσθαι. καὶ καὶ τοῦ θείου ἡ προνόη, ὅσπερ καὶ οἰκός ἐστι, ἐόσος σοφῆς, ὅσα μὲν ψυχὴν τε δειλὰ καὶ ἐδώδιμα, ταῦτα μὲν πάντα πολύγυνα πεποίηκε, ὡς μὴ ἐπιλήψῃ κατεσθίομενα, ὅσα δὲ σχέτικα καὶ ἀνηρά, ὀλυγόνα. τούτο μὲν, ὅτι ὁ λαγὸς ὑπὸ παινὸς θηρεύεται θηρίον καὶ ὀρνιθὸς καὶ ἀνθρώπον, οὕτω δὴ τὶ πολύγυνον ἐστὶ· ἐπικυκάσκεται μοῦνον πάντων θηρίων, καὶ τὸ μὲν δασὺ τῶν τεκνῶν ἐν τῇ γαστρὶ τὸ δὲ ψυλόν, τὸ δὲ ἀρτὶ ἐν τῆς μήτρης πλάσκεται, τὸ δὲ ἀναιρεῖται, τούτο μὲν δὴ  

¹ δὸς μὲν γὰρ MSS.; Stein brackets γὰρ, which obviously has no place here.

134
of sheep; these trees supply the Indians with clothing.

107. Again, Arabia is the most distant to the south of all inhabited countries: and this is the only country which yields frankincense and myrrh and casia and cinnamon and gum-mastich. All these but myrrh are difficult for the Arabians to get. They gather frankincense by burning that storax1 which Phoenicians carry to Hellas; this they burn and so get the frankincense; for the spice-bearing trees are guarded by small winged snakes of varied colour, many round each tree; these are the snakes that attack Egypt. Nothing save the smoke of storax will drive them away from the trees.

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

1 A kind of gum, producing an acrid smoke when burnt, and therefore used as a disinfectant.
τοιούτο ἐστὶ· ἡ δὲ δὴ λέαινα ἐὼν ἵσχυρότατον καὶ
θρασύτατον ἀπαξ ἐν τῷ βίῳ τίκτει ἐν· τίκτουσα
γὰρ συνεκβάλλει τῷ τέκνῳ τὰς μήτρας. τὸ δὲ
αἵτιον τούτον τόδε ἐστὶ· ἐπεάν οἱ σκύμνοι ἐν τῇ
μητρὶ ἔως ἀρχηται διακινεόμενοι, ὃ δὲ ἔχων ὅνυχας
θηρίων πολλῶν πάντων ὀξυτάτους ἀμύσσει τὰς
μήτρας, αὐξόμενος τε δὴ πολλῶ μᾶλλον ἐσικνεῖται
καταγράφων πέλας τε δὴ ὁ τόκος ἐστὶ, καὶ τὸ
παράπαν λείπεται αὐτέων ἵππεις οὐδὲν.

109. Ὅς δὲ καὶ οἱ ἔχιδναι τε καὶ οἱ ἐν Ἀρα-
βίσσοις ὑπόπτεροι ὁφιες εἰ ἐγίνοντο ὅσ ἢ φύσις
αὐτοὶς ὑπάρχει, οὐκ ἂν ἦν βιώσιμα ἀνθρώποις.
νῦν δὲ ἐπεάν θορύσωται κατὰ ξέυγεα καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ
ἡ ἡρσην τῇ ἐκποίησι, ἀπιεμένου αὐτοῦ τὴν γονὴν
ἡ θῆλεα ἀπητει τῆς δειρῆς, καὶ ἐμφύσα οὐκ
ἀνεί πρὶν ἂν διαφάγη. ὁ μὲν δὴ ἡρσης ἀπο-
θυνάσκει τρόπῳ τῷ εἰρημένῳ, ἡ δὲ θῆλεα τίσιν
τοιήνδε ἀποτίνει τῷ ἡρσεῖν τῷ γονεῖ τιμωρεύοντα
ἐτε ἐν τῇ γαστρὶ ἐόντα τὰ τέκνα διεσθεῖ θή
μητέρα, διαφαγόντα δὲ τὴν νηῦν αὐτῆς οὕτω τὴν
ἐκδοσιν ποιέεται. οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι ὁφιες ἐόντες ἀν-
θρώπων οὐ δηλήμνοις τίκτουσι τι φα καὶ ἐκλε-
πουσι πολλῶν τε χρῆμα τῶν τέκνων. αἱ μὲν ἄν
ἔχιδναι κατὰ πάσαν τὴν γην εἰσὶ, οἱ δὲ ὑπό-
πτεροί ὁφιες ἀθρώπων εἰσὶ ἐν τῇ Ἀραβίη καὶ οὔ
δαμὴ ἀλλή κατὰ τοῦτο δοκεύον οὐ πολλοί εἰναι.

110. Τὸν μὲν δὴ λιβανωτὸν τούτον οὕτω
κτόντα Ἀραβίων, τὴν δὲ κασίνην ὅδε. ἐπεὰν
καταδήσωται βύρσης καὶ δέρματι ἄλλου πάν
τὸ σῶμα καὶ τὸ πρόσωπον πληρ αὐτῶν τῶν
ὀφθαλμῶν, ἔρχονται ἐπὶ τὴν κασίνην· ἡ δὲ ἐν
λίμνη φύεται οὐ βαθεῖ, περὶ δὲ αὐτῆς καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ
136
the hare, the lioness, a very strong and bold beast, bears offspring but once in her life, and then but one cub; for the uterus comes out with the cub in the act of birth. This is the reason of it:—when the cub first begins to stir in the mother, its claws, much sharper than those of any other creature, tear the uterus, and as it grows, much more does it scratch and tear, so that when the hour of birth is near seldom is any of the uterus left whole.

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

110. The Arabians get their frankincense as I have shown; for the winning of casia, when they seek it they bind oxhides and other skins over all their bodies and faces, leaving only the eyes. Casia grows in a shallow lake; round this and in it live
αὐλίξεται καὶ θηρία πτερωτά, τῇς νυκτερίσι προσείκελα μάλιστα, καὶ τέτριγυ δεινόν, καὶ ἐς ἄλκην ἄλκιμα· τὰ δεὶ ἀπαμυνομένους ἀπὸ τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν οὐτοὶ δρέπειν τὴν κασίμην.

111. Τὸ δὲ δὴ κινάμωμον ἔτι τοῦτων θωμαστότερον συλλέγουσι. ὅκου μὲν γὰρ γίνεται καὶ ἢτις μὲν γῇ ἢ τρέφουσα ἐστι, οὐκ ἔχουσι εἰπεῖν, πλὴν ὅτι λόγῳ οἰκότε χρεώμενοι ἐν τούσιδε χωρίοισι φασὶ τινὲς αὐτὸ φυσθαι ἐν τούτῳ ὁ Διὸνυσος ἐτράφη ὀρνιθὰς δὲ λέγουσι μεγάλας φορέειν ταῦτα τὰ κάρφεα τὰ ἡμεῖς ἀπὸ Φοινίκων μαθώντες κινάμωμον καλέομεν, φορέειν δὲ τὰς ὀρνιθὰς ἐς νεοσσίας προσπεπλασμένας ἐκ πηλοῦ πρὸς ἀποκρήμυσι ὀρεσί, ἐνθα πρὸσβασιν ἀνθρώπου ὑοδείμαν εἶναι. πρὸς ὅν δὴ ταύτα τοὺς Ἀραβίους σοφίζεσθαι τάδε· βοῶν τε καὶ ὅνων τῶν ἀπογυνομένων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὑποζυγίων τὰ μέλεα διαταμόντας ὡς μέγιστα κομίζειν ἐς ταῦτα τὰ χωρία, καὶ σφενθάντας ἁγχοῦ τῶν νεοσσιέων ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι ἐκάς αὐτῶν· τὰς δὲ ὀρνιθὰς καταπετομένας τὰ μέλεα τῶν ὑποζυγίων ἀναφορέειν ἐπὶ τὰς νεοσσίας, τὰς δὲ οὐ δυναμένας ἴσχεν καταρρήγυσθαι ἐπὶ γῆν, τοὺς δὲ ἐπιώντας συλλέγειν. οὔτω μὲν τὸ κινάμωμον συλλεγόμενον ἐκ τοῦτων ἀπικνεῖσθαι ἐς τὰς ἄλλας χώρας.

112. Τὸ δὲ δὴ λήδανον, τὸ καλέομεν Αράβιοι λάδανον, ἔτι τοῦτον θωμασιώτερον γίνεται· ἐν γὰρ δυσδομάτῳ γινόμενον εὐωδέστατον ἐστι· τῶν γὰρ αἰγῶν τῶν τράγων ἐν τούτῳ πώγωσι εὐρίσκεται ἐγγυμόμενον οἷον γλοίος ἀπὸ τῆς ὑλῆς. χρῆσιμον δὲ ἐς πολλὰ τῶν μύρων ἐστι, θυμώσι τε μάλιστα τούτῳ Αράβιοι.

1 καταπετομένας [αὐτῶν] Stein.
BOOK III. 110-112

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

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

112. But gum-mastich, which Greeks call ledanon and Arabians ladanon, is yet more strangely produced. Its scent is most sweet, yet nothing smells more evilly than that which produces it; for it is found in the beards of he-goats, forming in them like tree-gum. This is used in the making of many perfumes; there is nothing that the Arabians so often burn as incense.
113. Τοσαύτα μὲν θυμάτων πέρι εἰρήσθω, ἀπὸ θεῖ τῆς χώρης τῆς Ἀραβίης θεσπέσιον ὡς ἥδυ. δύο δὲ γένεα οἰών σφι ἐστὶ θῶματος ἀξία, τὰ οὐδαμόδε ἐτέρωθι ἐστὶ. τὸ μὲν αὐτῶν ἔτερον ἔχει τὰς οὐρὰς μακρὰς, τριών πηχέων οὐκ ἔλάσσονας, τὰς εἰ τις ἐπείη σφι ἐπέλκεις, ἐλκεα ἂν ἔχοιεν ἀνατριβομενέων πρὸς τῇ γῇ τῶν οὐρέων νῦν δέ ἀπας τις τῶν ποιμένων ἐπίσταται ξυλουργεῖειν ἐς τοσοῦτο ἀμαζίδας γὰρ ποιεῖντες ὑποδέουσι αὐτὰς τῇ σι οὐρήσει, ἐνός ἐκάστου κτήνος τὴν οὐρὴν ἐπὶ ἀμαζίδα ἐκάστην καταδέουσες. τὸ δὲ ἔτερον γένος τῶν οἰών τὰς οὐρὰς πλατέας φορέουσι καὶ ἐπὶ πῆχυν πλάτος.

114. Ἀποκλινομένης δὲ μεσαμβρίης παρῆκε πρὸς δύνοντα ἡλιον ἡ Ἀθηναίη χώρη ἐσχάτη τῶν οἰκεομενέων αὐτὴ δὲ χρυσὸν τε φερεῖ πόλλον καὶ ἐλέφαντας ἀμφιλαφέες καὶ δενδρεα πάντα ἄγρα καὶ ἐβενοὺ καὶ ἀνδρὰς μεγίστους καὶ καλλίστους καὶ μακροβιωτάτους.

115. Αὕτα μὲν νυν ἐν τῇ Ἄσιῃ ἐσχατιαὶ εἰσὶ καὶ ἐν τῇ Δυσί. περὶ δὲ τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἐυρώπῃ τῶν πρὸς ἐστήρην ἐσχατιεών ἐχὼ μὲν οὐκ ἀτρεκέως λέγειν οὕτω γὰρ ἐγὼν ἐνδέκομαι Ἡριδᾶνον καλέσθαι πρὸς βαρβάρων ποταμῶν ἐκδιδόντα ἐς θάλασσαν τὴν πρὸς βορέως ἀνέμου, ἀπ’ ὦν τὸ ἡλεκτρόν φοιτάν λόγος ἐστί, οὕτε νήσους οίδα Κασσιτέρίδας έσσας, ἐκ τῶν οἱ κασσιτερος ἡμῖν φοιτά. τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ ὁ Ἡριδᾶνος αὐτὸ κατηγορεῖ τὸ οὖνομα ὡς ἐστὶ Ἑλληνικόν καὶ οὐ βάρβαρον, οὕτο ποιητέω δὲ τινὸς ποιηθέν τοῦτο δὲ οὐδενὸς αὐτόπτεω γενομένου δύναμαι ἄκούσας, τοῦτο μελετών, ὅκως θάλασσα ἐστὶ τὰ ἐπέκεινα.
113. I have said enough of the spices of Arabia; airs wondrous sweet blow from that land. They have moreover two marvellous kinds of sheep, nowhere else found. One of these has tails no less than three cubits long. Were the sheep to trail these after them, they would suffer hurt by the rubbing of the tails on the ground; but as it is every shepherd there knows enough of carpentry to make little carts which they fix under the tails, binding the tail of each several sheep on its own cart. The other kind of sheep has a tail a full cubit broad.

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

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

116. Πρὸς δὲ ἄρκτου τῆς Εὐρώπης πολλῷ τῷ πλείστος χρυσὸς φαίνεται ἐών ὁκὼς μὲν γυνό-
μενος, οὐκ ἔχω οὐδὲ τούτῳ ἀτρεκέως εἴπαι, λέγεται ἀντὶ τὸ ὃ ποὺ ἐν ἀρπάζειν Ἀριμαστίους ἀν-
δρας μουραθάμους. πεῖθομαι δὲ οὐδὲ τούτῳ ὁκὼς μουραθάμους ἄνθρωποις αἱ δὲ ὄν ἐσχάται οἴκαι, περικληίσουσα τῇ ἄλλῃ ὁμοίῳ τοῦ ἄλλου. ἀνθρώποις αἱ δὲ ὄν ἐσχάται οἴκαι, περικληίσουσα τῇ ἄλλῃ ἡμέρᾳ καὶ ἑντὸς ἀπεργοῦσα, τὰ κάλλιστα δοκεόντα ἦμιν εἶναι καὶ σπανώτατα ἔχειν

117. "Εστι δὲ πεδίον ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ περικλήη-
μένον ὅρει πάντωθεν, διασφάγες δὲ τοῦ ὅρεος ἐστὶν τῶν. τοῦτο τὸ πεδίον ὄν μὲν καὶ τὸ Ἑρασμίων, ἐν οὐροὶ ὅπων Ἑρασμίων τὸν ἀντὶ καὶ Ἑρασμίων καὶ Πάρθων καὶ Αργαγγέων καὶ Ἡραμαναίων, ἐπείτε δὲ Πέρσαι ἐχοῦσι τὸ κράτος, ἐστὶ τοῦ βασιλέως. ἐκ δὴ ὧν τοῦ περι-
κληοῦς ὅρεος τοῦτον ἰερός ποταμὸς μέγας, σύνομο δὲ οἱ ἐστὶ Ἀκης. οὗτος πρότερον μὲν ἄρ-
δεσκε διαζελαμμένος πενταχῳ τοῦτον τῶν εἰρη-
μένων τὰς χώρας, διὰ διασφάγεις ἀργόμενος ἐκάστης ἐκάστοις. ἐπείτε δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ Πέρση εἰσὶ, πεπό-
θαι τοιὸν. τὰς διασφάγες τῶν ὅρεων ἐνδείμασι
ὁ βασιλεὺς πύλας ἐπὶ ἐκάστης διασφάγης ἐστήθη
ἀποκεκλημένον δὲ τοῦ ὕδατος τῆς ἐξοδου τὸ
πεδίον τὸ ἑντὸς τῶν ὅρεων πέλαγος γίνεται, ἐνδι-
δοντος μὲν τοῦ ποταμοῦ, ἐχοῦσι δὲ οὐδαμῇ
ἐξήλυσιν. οὗτοι δὲ ὅπερ ἐμπροσθε ἐώθεσαν

142
know, that our tin and amber come from the most distant parts.

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

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

¹ All this description appears to be purely imaginative. But "the idea of the chapter" (say Messrs. How and Wells) "is quite correct; the control of irrigation is in the East one of the prerogatives of government, and great sums are charged for the use of water."
χράσθαι τῷ ὑδατι, οὐκ ἔχοντες αὐτῷ χράσθαι συμφορῇ μεγάλῃ διαχρέωνται. τὸν μὲν γὰρ χειμῶνα ὑπὲρ σφὶ ὁ θεὸς ὀσπερ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀνθρώποις, τοῦ δὲ θέρεος σπειροῦτες μελίνην καὶ σήσαμον χρησκοῦνται τῷ ὑδατι. ἐπειδὰν ὡς μηδὲν σφὶ παραδίδοταν τοῦ ὑδατος, ἐλθόντες ἐς τοὺς Πέρσας αὐτοὶ τε καὶ γυναίκες, στάντες κατὰ τὰς θύρας τοῦ βασιλέως βοῶσι ὄρνυμενοι, ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς τοῖς δεομένοις αὐτῶν μάλιστα ἐντέλλεται ἀνοίγειν τὰς πύλας τὰς ἐς τὸ τοῦτο φεροῦσαν. ἐπειδὰν δὲ διάκορος ἡ γῆ σφεων γένηται πίνουσα τὸ ὅδωρ, αὐταῖς μὲν αἱ πύλαι ἀποκληίονται, ἀλλας δὲ ἐντέλλεται ἀνοίγειν ἀλλοις τοῖς δεομένοις μάλιστα τῶν λοιπῶν. ὅς δὲ ἐγὼ οἶδα ἄκουσας, χρήματα μεγάλα πρησσόμενοι ἀνοίγει πάρεξ τοῦ φόρου.

118. Ταῦτα μὲν ὅτι ἔχει σοτε. τῶν δὲ τῷ Μάγω ἐπαναστάντων ἔπτα ἄνδρῶν, ἔνα αὐτῶν Ἰουταφρένεα κατέλαβε υβρίσαντα τάδε ἀποθανεῖν αὐτίκα μετὰ τὴν ἐπανάστασιν. ἦθελες ἐς τὰ βασιλεία ἐσελθὼν χρηματίσασθαι τῷ βασιλείῳ καὶ γὰρ δὴ καὶ ὁ νόμος σωτέρι ἐγε, τοῖς ἐπαναστάσις τῷ Μάγω ἔσοδον εἶναι παρὰ βασιλέα ἀνευ-ἀγγέλου, ἡν μὴ γυναικὶ τυχάνη μεταγόμενος βασιλεὺς. σορρόν δὴ Ἰουταφρένης ἐδικαιών οὐδένα οἱ ἐσαγγείλαι, ἀλλ' ὅτι ἦν τῶν ἐπτά, ἐσιεναι ἦθελε. ὁ δὲ πυλοῦρος καὶ ὁ ἀγγελειφόρος οὐ περιώρων, φάμενοι τῶν βασιλέα γυναικὶ μέγεσθαι. ὁ δὲ Ἰουταφρένης δοκεών σφεῶν σφέων ψεύδα λέγειν ποιεῖν τοιάδε: σπασάμενος τοῦ ἀκινάκεα ἀποτάμευε αὐτῶν τὰ τε ὅτα καὶ τὰς μνα, καὶ ἀνείρας περὶ τῶν χαλινῶν τοῦ ἵππου περὶ τοὺς αὐχένας σφέων ἐδησε, καὶ ἀπῆκε.
the water can use it no longer, and are in very evil case; for whereas in winter they have the rain from heaven like other men, in summer they are in need of the water for their sown millet and sesame. So whenever no water is given to them, they come into Persia with their women, and cry and howl before the door of the king's palace, till the king commands that the river-gate which leads thither should be opened for those whose need is greatest; then, when this land has drunk its fill of water, that gate is shut, and the king bids open another for those of the rest who most require it. I have heard and know that he exacts great sums, over and above the tribute, for the opening of the gates.

118. So much for these matters. But Intaphrenes, one of the seven rebels against the Magian, was brought to his death by a deed of violence immediately after the rebellion. He desired to enter the palace and speak with the king; for this was the law, that the rebels should come into the king's presence without announcement given, if the king were not with one of his wives. Intaphrenes then claimed his right to enter unannounced, as one of the seven; but the gate-warden and the messenger forbade him, the king being, they said, with one of his wives. Intaphrenes thought they spoke falsely; drawing his scimitar he cut off their noses and ears, then strung these on his horse's bridle and bound it round the men's necks, and so let them go.
119. ὃδέ τῷ βασιλεὺς δεικνύουσι ἐως τοὺς καὶ τὴν αὐτῆς εἶπον δὲ ἢν πεποιητές εἴησαν. Δαρεῖος δὲ ἀρρωδήσας μὴ κοινῷ λόγῳ οἱ ἔξε πεποιητές ἐως ταῦτα, μεταπεμψόμενος ἐπὶ ἐκαστὸν ἀπεπειράτῳ γνώμῃ, εἰ συνεπαινοῦ εἰς τὴν πεποιημένον. ἐπεῖτε δὲ ἐξέμαθε ὡς οὐ σὺν κεῖνοι εἰς ταῦτα πεποιηκός, ἔλαβε αὐτὸν τε τῶν Ἰνταφρένεα καὶ τοὺς παῖδας αὐτοῦ καὶ τοὺς οἰκημέας πάντας, ἐπιδίας πολλὰς ἔχων μετὰ τῶν συγγενέων μιν ἐπιβουλεύειν οἱ ἐπανάστασιν, συναποκρίνετο καὶ σφέας ἔδησε τὴν ὑπὸ θανάτῳ. ἡ δὲ γυνὴ τοῦ Ἰνταφρένεος φοιτῶσα ἐπὶ τὰς θύρας τοῦ βασιλέως κλαίει πολλὰς ἄν καὶ ὀδυρεσκετο ποιεύσας δὲ αἰεὶ πώς τούτῳ τούτῳ τὸν Δαρεῖον ἐπείσε σικτειραί μιν. πέμψας δὲ ἀνγγελον ἔλεγε τάδε: ""Ω γυναι, βασιλεὺς τοι Δαρεῖος διδὸς ἕνα τῶν δεδεμένων οἰκημίων χύσασθαι τὸν βούλει ἐκ πάντων." ἡ δὲ βουλεύσαμεν ἱπτερίνετο τάδε: "Εἴ μὲν δὴ μοι διδοὶ βασιλεὺς ἐροταὶ τὴν γυνήν, αἱρεόμαι ἐκ πάντων τὸν ἀδελφόν." πυθόμενος δὲ Δαρεῖος ταῦτα καὶ θωμάσας τὸν λόγον, πέμψας ἔλεγε τάδε: ""Ω γυναι, εἰρωτάς βασιλεύς, τίνα ἐχουσα γυνώμην τὸν ἀνδρα τε καὶ τὰ τέκνα ἐγκαταλιπτοῦσα, τὸν ἀδελφον ἐκεῖν περιείμαι τοι, δὲ καὶ ἀλλοτριώτερος τοι τῶν παίδων καὶ ἔσον κεχαρισμένοι τοῦ ἀνδρός ἐστι." ἡ δ' ἀμεῖβετο τοῖσιδε. ""Ω βασιλεῦ, ἀνήρ μὲν μοι ἂν ἄλλος γένοιτο, εἰ δαίμων ἑβδομα, καὶ τέκνα ἄλλα, εἰ ταῦτα ἀποβάλωμεν πατρὸς δὲ καὶ μητρὸς οὐκέτι μεν ἐσώτερον ἀδελφοὶ ἂν ἄλλος οὐδενὶ τρόπῳ γένοιτο. ταύτῃ τῇ γυνώμῃ χρεωμένῃ ἐλεξα ταῦτα. ἐν τε δὴ ἐποιεῖ τῷ Δαρείῳ εἰπεῖν ἡ γυνη, καὶ οἱ ἀπήκε τοῦτον τὸν παρατίθετο καὶ τῶν παίδων
119. They showed themselves to the king and told him the reason why they had been so treated. Darius, fearing that this might be a conspiracy of the six, sent for each severally and questioned him, to know if they approved the deed; and being assured that they had no part in it, he seized Intaphrenes with his sons and all his household—for he much suspected that the man was plotting a rebellion with his kinsfolk—and imprisoned them with intent to put them to death. Then Intaphrenes' wife came ever and anon to the palace gates, weeping and lamenting; and at last her continual so doing moved Darius to compassion; and he sent a messenger to tell her that Darius would grant her the life of one of her imprisoned kinsfolk, whomssoever she chose. She, after counsel taken, answered that if this were the king's boon she chose the life of her brother. Darius was astonished when he heard her answer, and sent one who said to her: "Woman, the king would know for what reason you pass over your husband and your children and choose rather to save the life of your brother, who is less close to you than your children and less dear than your husband." "O King," she answered, "another husband I may get, if heaven so will, and other children, if I lose these; but my father and mother are dead, and so I can by no means get another brother; that is why I have thus spoken." Darius was pleased, and thought the reason good; he delivered to the woman him for
τόν πρεσβύτατον, ἡσθεις αὐτῇ, τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους ἀπέκτεινε πάντας. τών μὲν δὴ ἐπτά εἰς αὐτικὰ τρόπω τῷ εἰρημένῳ ἀπολώλεε.

120. Κατὰ δὲ κοι μάλιστα τὴν Καμβύσεω νοῦσου ἐγίνετο τάδε. ὕπο Κύρου κατασταθεῖς ἡν Σαρδίων ὕπαρχος 'Ὀροίτης αὐτὴ Πέρσης, οὗτος ἐπιθύμησε πρήγματος οὐκ ὁδίων οὐτε γάρ τι παθῶν οὔτε ἀκούσας μᾶταιον ἐποὺς πρὸς Πολυκράτεος τοῦ Σαμίου, οὐδὲ ἰδὼν πρῶτον, ἐπεθύμεε λαβῶν αὐτὸν ἀπολέσαι, ὡς μὲν οἱ πλεῖνες λέγουσι, διὰ τῶν ἁμαρτάνοντο τὸν τε Ὀροίτεα καὶ ἄλλον Πέρσην τὸ ὅνυμα εἶναι Μιτροβάτεα, νομοῦ ἀρχοῦντα τοῦ ἐν Δασκυλείῳ, τοῦτοις ἐκ λόγων ἐς νείκεα συμπε- σείν, κρινομένων δὲ περὶ ἀρετῆς εἰπείν τὸν Μιτρο- βάτεα τῷ Ὀροίτῃ προφίροντα "Σὺ γὰρ ἐν ἀνδρῶν λόγῳ, ὃς βασιλεῖς νήσου Σάμου πρὸς τῷ σῷ νομῷ προσκειμένην οὐ προσεκτήσαο, ὡδὲ δὴ τὰ ἔοισαν εὐπετέα χειροθέναι, τὴν τῶν τις ἐπιχωρίων πεν- τεκάδεκα ὀπλίτης ἐπαναστάς ἔσχε καὶ νῦν αὐτῆς τυραννεύει;" οἷς μὲν δὴ μιν φασὶ τοῦτο ἀκούσαντα καὶ ἀληθῶς τῷ ὅνειδε εἰπθυμῆσαι οὐκ ὅτι τὸν ἐπαντα ταῦτα τίσασθαι ὡς Πολυκράτεα πάντως ἀπολέσαι, δ’ ὄντινα κακῶς ἤκουσε.

121. Οἱ δὲ ἐλάσσονες λέγουσι πέμψαι Ὀροίτεα ἐς Σάμου κήρυκα ὅτευ δὴ χρήματος δεσμώμενον (οὐ γὰρ δ’ εἶν τούτο γε λέγεταί), καὶ τὸν Πολυ- κράτεα τυχεῖν κατακείμενον ἐν ἀνδρῶν, παρεῖναι δὲ οἱ καὶ Ἀνακρέοντα τὸν Τήιον καὶ κως εἰτ’ ἐκ προνοιῆς αὐτὸν κατηλογέοντα τὰ Ὀροίτεω πρή- γματα, εἴτε καὶ συντυχί αἱ τοιαύτη ἐπεγένετο· τὸν τε γὰρ κήρυκα τὸν Ὀροίτεω παρελθόντα.
whose life she had asked, and the eldest of her sons besides; all the rest he put to death. Thus immediately perished one of the seven.

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

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

¹ See ch. 39.
διάλεγεσθαί, καὶ τὸν Πολυκράτεα (τυχεῖν γὰρ ἀπεστραμμένον πρὸς τὸν τοιχὸν) οὔτε τι μεταστραφήναι οὔτε ὑποκρίνασθαι.

122. Αἵτια μὲν δὴ αὐταὶ διφάσια πέργονται τοῦ θανάτου τοῦ Πολυκράτεος γενέσθαι, πάρεστι δὲ πείθεσθαι ὁκοτήρῃ τις βουλεῖται αὐτῶν. ὃ δὲ ὁν 'Οροίτης ἱδόμενος ἐν Μαγνησίᾳ τῇ ὑπὲρ Μαιάνδρου ποταμοῦ οἰκήμενη ἐπεμπε Μύρσων τὸν Γύγεω ἀνδρα Λυδόν ἐς Σάμον ἀγγελινὴν φέροντα, μαθῶν τὸν Πολυκράτεος τὸν νόσον. Πολυκράτης γὰρ ἐστὶ πρῶτος τῶν ἴμμεν ἱδομεν Ἐλλήνων δὲ θαλασσοκρατεῖν ἐπενοηθή, πάρεξ Μίνωος τε τοῦ Κνωσοῦ καὶ εἰ δὴ τὸς ψυχοτινὸς τοῦτον ἠρξε τῆς θαλάσσης· τῆς δὲ ἀνθρωπηνης λεγομενης γενεις Πολυκράτης πρῶτος, ἐπιδίδας πολλας ἔχων Ἰωνής τε καὶ νῆσων ἀρβειν. μαθὼν δὲν ταῦτα μὲν διανοεύμενον ὁ 'Οροίτης πέμψας ἀγγελίην ἐλεγε τάδε. "'Οροίτης Πολυκράτει ὅδε λέγει. πυθῶμοι τίς ἐπιβουλεύειν σε πρήμασι μεγάλοισιν, καὶ χρηματὰ τοι οὐκ εἶναι κατὰ τὰ φρονίματα, σὺ νῦν οὖν ποιήσας ὀρθωσίεις μὲν σεβύτων, σώσεις δὲ καὶ ἐμὲ· ἐμοί γὰρ βασιλεὺς Καμβύςτης ἐπιβουλεύει διανίκη, καὶ μοι τὸτο ἕξαγγέλλεται σαφῆνες. σὺ νῦν ἐμὲ ἐκκομίσας αὐτὸ καὶ χρηματά, τὰ μὲν αὐτῶν αὐτὸς ἔχε, τὰ δὲ ἐμὲ ἐκ ἐκείν ἐνεκέν τε χρημάτων ἀρβεῖς ἀπάσης τῆς Ἐλλάδος. εἰ δὲ μοι ὑπιστεῖς τὰ περὶ τῶν χρημάτων, πέμψον ὅστις τοι πιστότατος τυγχάνει ἑως, τῷ ἐγω ἀποδέξω."  

123. Ταῦτα ἄκοινας Πολυκράτης ἤσθη τε καὶ ἐβουλετο· καὶ κως ἱμείρετο γὰρ χρημάτων μεγάλως, ἀποπέμπτε πρῶτα κατοφόμενον Μαιάνδριον Μαι-
entered and addressed him, Polycrates, then lying with his face to the wall, never turned nor answered him.

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

123. Hearing this, Polycrates liked the plan and consented; and, as it chanced that he had a great desire for money, he first sent one of his townsmen,
ανδρίου ἀνδρὰ τῶν ἀστῶν, δὲ οἱ ἡ γραμματιστῆς·
δὲ χρόνος οὐ πολλῷ ὑστερον τούτων τῶν κόσμου
τὸν ἐκ τοῦ ἄνδρεώνος τοῦ Πολυκράτεος. ἐόντα
ἀξιοθέτην ἀνέθηκε πάντα ἐς τὸ Ἡσαίων. ὁ δὲ
Ὀροῖτης μαθῶν τὸν κατάσκοπον ἐόντα προσδό-
κιμον ἐποίεε τοιώδε: λάρνακας ὅκτω πληρώσας
λίθων πλὴν κάρτα βραχέος τοῦ περὶ αὐτὰ τὰ
χείλεα, ἐπιπολῆς τῶν λίθων χρυσὸν ἐπέβαλε,
καταδήσας δὲ τὰς λάρνακας ἐιχὲ ἐτοίμας. ἐλθὼν
δὲ ὁ Μαιάνδριος καὶ θεσάμενος ἀπήγγελλε τῷ
Πολυκράτει.
124. ὁ δὲ πολλὰ μὲν τῶν μαντίων ἀπαγορεύ-
όντων πολλὰ δὲ τῶν φίλων ἐστελλετο αὐτόσε,
πρὸς δὲ καὶ ἱδούσης τῆς θυγατρὸς ὃς ἔνυπνιόν
τοιήνδε ἐδοκεε οἱ τὸν πατέρα ἐν τῷ ἡρι μετέωρον
ἐόντα λουσθαὶ μὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ Διός, χρίσθαῖ δὲ ὑπὸ
tοῦ ἡλίου. ταύτην ἱδούσα τὴν ὃς ἐν παιδί ἐγέ-
νετο μή ἀποδημήσαι τὸν Πολυκράτεα παρὰ τὸν
Ὀροῖτα, καὶ δὴ καὶ ἱόντος αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τὴν πεντη-
κάντερον ἐπεφημίζετο. ὁ δὲ οἱ ἡπείλησε, ἡν σῶς
ἀπονοστῆσῃ, πολλὸν μιν χρόνον παρθενεύσεσθαι.
ἡ δὲ ἱρήσατο ἐπιτελεά ταύτα γενέσθαι βουλεύσαι
γὰρ παρθενεύσεσθαι πλέοι χρόνον ἡ τοῦ πατρὸς
ἐστερήσαθαι.
125. Πολυκράτης δὲ πάσης συμβουλῆς ἀλο-
γήσας ἐπλεε παρὰ τὸν Ὀροῖτα, ἀμα ἀγομενος
ἀλλοὺς τοὺς πολλοὺς τῶν ἑταίρων, ἐν δὲ δὴ καὶ
Δημοκρίδεα τῶν Καλλιφώντος Κροτωνιήτην ἄνδρα,
ἐντὸν τα ἐόντα καὶ τὴν τέχνην ἀσκέοντα ἀριστα.
τῶν κατ' ἑωτόν. ἀπεκόμενος δὲ ἐς τὴν Μαγη-
σίην ὁ Πολυκράτης διεφθάρη κακὸς, οὗτο ἑωτοῦ
ἀξίως οὗτο τῶν ἑωτοῦ φρονημάτων ὅτε γὰρ μὴ
Maeandrius, son of Maeandrius, to look into the matter; this man was his scribe; it was he who not long afterwards dedicated in the Heraeum all the splendid adornment of the men's apartment in Polycrates' house. When Oroetes heard that an inspection was to be looked for, he filled eight chests with stones, saving only a very shallow layer at the top; then he laid gold on the surface of the stones, made the chests fast and kept them ready. Maeandrius came and saw, and brought word back to his master.

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

125. But Polycrates would listen to no counsel. He sailed to meet Oroetes, with a great retinue of followers, among whom was Democedes, son of Calliphon, a man of Crotona and the most skilful physician of his time. But no sooner had Polycrates come to Magnesia than he was foully murdered, making an end which ill beseeemed himself and his pride; for,
οἱ Συρηκοσίων γενόμενοι τύραννοι οὔδὲ εἰς τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλληνικῶν τυράννων ἁξίως ἑστὶ Πολυκράτει μεγαλοπρεπεῖν συμβληθῆναι, ἀποκτείνας δὲ μιν οὐκ ἁξίως ἀπηγήσιος Ὁροίθης ἀνεσταύρωσε τῶν δὲ οἱ ἑπομένων ὅσοι μὲν ἦσαν Σάμιοι, ἀπῆκε, κελεύων σφέας ἐωυτῷ χάριν εἰδέναι ἑώτατι ἐλευθέρους, ὅσοι δὲ ἦσαν ἕνων τε καὶ δοῦλοι τῶν ἑπομένων, ἐν ἀνδρατόθων λόγῳ ποιεόμενος εἰχε. Πολυκράτης δὲ ἀνακρεμάμενος ἐπετέλεε πᾶσαν τὴν ὅψιν τῆς θυγατρὸς ἐλούτῳ μὲν γὰρ ὑπὸ τοῦ Δίος ὕκως υἱόν, ἐχριετο δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ ἢλιου, ἀνείς αὐτὸς ἐκ τοῦ σῶματος ἰκμάδα.

126. Πολυκράτεςος μὲν δὴ οἱ πολλαὶ εὐπνῆια ἐς τοῦτο ἐτελεύτησαν τῇ οἱ Ἀμασίς ο Αἰγύπτου Βασιλεὺς προεμαυτεύσατο.1 χρόνῳ δὲ οὐ πολλῷ ύστερον καὶ Ὁροίθης Πολυκράτεας τύσις μετήλθον. μετὰ γὰρ τῶν Καμβύσεως θάνατον καὶ τῶν Μάγων τὴν Βασιληίνην μένων ἐν τῇ Σάρδιοι Ὁροίθης ὑφέλεε μὲν οὐδὲν Πέρσας ὑπὸ Μῆδων ἀπαραιρημένως τὴν ἀρχήν ο δὲ ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ ταραχῇ κατὰ μὲν ἐκτείνε Μιτροβάτεα τῶν ἐκ Δασκυλείου ὑπαρχοῦ, ὅσ οἱ ἀνείδισε τὰ ἐς Πολυκράτεα ἔχοντα, κατὰ δὲ τῶν Μιτροβάτεω τῶν παῖδα Κρανασπην, ἀνδρας ἐν Πέρσηι δοκίμους, ἀλλα τε ἔξυβρισε παντοία καὶ τὰ ἀγγελιηφόρον ἐλθόντα Δαρείου παρ’ αὐτὸν, ὅσ οὐ πρὸς ἡδονὴν οἱ ἦ παρ’ ἀγγελλόμενα, κτείνει μὲν ὅπισω κομιζόμενον, ἀνδρὰς οἱ ὑπείσας κατ’ ὅδον, ἀποκτείνας δὲ μὲν ἡφάνσε αὐτῷ ἵππῳ.

1 Stein brackets τῇ...προεμαυτεύσατο, because Amasis did not actually prophesy the details; but the words may well stand.
saving only the despots of Syracuse, there is no despot of Greek race to be compared with Polycrates for magnificence. Having killed him (in some way not fit to be told) Oroetes then crucified him; as for the Samians in his retinue he let them go, bidding them thank Oroetes for their freedom; those who were not Samians, or were servants of Polycrates’ followers, he kept for slaves. So Polycrates was hanged aloft, and thereby his daughter’s dream came true; for he was washed by Zeus when it rained, and the moisture from his body was his anointment by the sun.

126. This was the end of Polycrates’ many successes, as Amasis king of Egypt had forewarned him. But not long after, Oroetes was overtaken by the powers that avenged Polycrates. After Cambyses had died and the Magians won the kingship, Oroetes stayed in Sardis, where he in no way helped the Persians to regain the power taken from them by the Medes, but contrariwise; for in this confusion he slew two notable Persians, Mitrobates, the governor from Dascyleium, who had taunted him concerning Polycrates, and Mitrobates’ son, Cranaspes; and besides many other violent deeds, when a messenger from Darius came with a message which displeased him, he set an ambush by the way and killed that messenger on his journey homewards, and made away with the man’s body and horse.
127. Δαρείος δὲ ὡς ἔσχε τὴν ἀρχήν, ἐπεθύμεε τὸν Ὀροῖτα ἀπάσχαι πάντων τῶν ἀδικημάτων εὑνεκεί καὶ μάλιστα Μιτροβάτεω καὶ τοῦ παιδός. ἐκ μὲν δὴ τῆς ἱδέης στρατῶν ἐπὶ αὐτοῦ οὐκ ἐδόκεε πέμπειν ἀτε οἰδεόντων ἐτὶ τῶν πρηγμάτων, καὶ νεωστὶ ἔχουν τὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ τὸν Ὀροῖτα μεγάλην τὴν ἰσχυν πυθανόμενος ἔχειν τὸν χίλιοι μὲν Περσῶν ἐδορυφόρεον, ἐγέ δὲ νομοῦ τῶν τῆς Φρύγιον καὶ Λύδιον καὶ Ιωνικόν. πρὸς ταῦτα δὴ ὁ Δαρείος τἄδε ἐνηχανήσατο. συγκαλέσας Περσῶν τοὺς δοκιμωτάτους ἔλεγέ σφι τάδε. "Ὡς Πέρσαι, τίς ἂν μοι τούτῳ ὑμέων ὑποστάς ἐπιτελέσθει σοφίη καὶ μὴ βή τε καὶ ὁμίλῳ; ἐνθα γὰρ σοφίης δέει, βίς ἐργὸν οὐδεν, ὑμέων δὲ ὁ ὁ τίς μοι Ὀροῖτα ἣ ἱώντα ἀγάνοι ἢ ἀποκτένεις; δς ὤφελησε μὲν κω Πέρσας οὐδέν, κακά δὲ μεγάλα ἔφρηγε τούτῳ μὲν δυὸ ἵματι ἡστοτε, Μιτροβάτεα τε καὶ τὸν παῖδα αὐτοῦ, τοῦτο δὲ τοὺς ἀνακαλέοντας αὐτὸν καὶ περιπομένους ὑπ' ἐμεύ κτείνει, ὑβρίν οὐκ ἀνασχετὸν φαίνων. πρὶν τι ὁν μέζον ἐξεργάσασθαι μιν Πέρσας κακοὺ, καταλαμπτέως ἐστὶ ἥμιν θανάτω." 

128. Δαρείος μὲν ταῦτα ἐπειρώτα, τῷ δὲ ἀνδρὶ τριήκοντα ὑπέστησαν, αὐτὸς ἐκαστὸς ἐθέλων ποιεῖν ταῦτα. ἐρίζοντας δὲ Δαρείος κατελάμβανε κελεύων πάλλεσθαι. παλλομένων δὲ λαγχαίνει ἐκ πάντων Βαγαίων τὸν Αρτόντεως λαχῶν δὲ ὁ Βαγαίως ποιεῖ εἰς τάδε. βιβλία γραφάμενος πολλὰ καὶ περὶ πολλῶν ἔχοντα πρηγμάτων σφηνιδία σφι ἐπέβαλε τὴν Δαρείου, μετὰ δὲ ἦν ἐχον ταῦτα ἐς τὰς Σύρδις. ἀπικόμενος δὲ καὶ Ὀροῖτεο ἐς ὁφιν Ἠλθὼν, τῶν βιβλίων ἐν ἑκαστῶν περιαρεόμενος ἐδίδον τῷ
127. So when Darius became king he was minded to punish Oroetes for all his wrongdoing, and chiefly for the killing of Mitrobates and his son. But he thought it best not to send an army openly against the satrap, seeing that all was still in ferment and he himself was still new to the royal power; moreover he heard that Oroetes was very strong, having a guard of a thousand Persian spearmen and being governor of the Phrygian and Lydian and Ionian province. Resorting therefore to a device to help him, he summoned an assembly of the most notable Persians, whom he thus addressed: “Who is there among you, men of Persia, that will undertake and achieve a thing for me not with force and numbers, but by cunning? Force has no place where cunning is needful. But to the matter in hand—which of you will bring me Oroetes alive, or kill him? for he has done the Persians no good, but much harm; two of us he has slain, Mitrobates and his son; nay, and he slays my messengers who are sent to recall him; so unbearable is the insolence of his acts. Therefore we must see that death stays him from doing the Persians some yet worse evil.”

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

γραμματιστή τοῦ βασιλείαν ἐπιλέγεσθαι γραμματιστὰς δὲ βασιλείωσι οἱ πάντες ὑπαρχοῦσι ἐκουσὶν ἀποτελείταιν ἀπὸ τῶν δορυφόρων ἐδίδου τὰ βυβλία ὁ Βαγαῖος, εἰ ἐνδεξαίατο ἀπὸ ταῖς ὄροις ὁ Πέρσαι, βασιλεῖς Δαρείος ἀπαγορεύει ἡμῖν μὴ δορυφόρεων ὁ Ὀμοίεια." οἱ δὲ ἀκούσαντες τούτων μετῆκαν οἱ τάς αἰχμᾶς. ἤδη δὲ τοῦτο σφέας ὁ Βαγαῖος πειθομένους τῶν βυβλίων, ἐνθαῦτα δὴ θαρσήσας τὸ τελευταῖον τῶν βυβλίων διδοὶ τῷ γραμματιστῇ, ἐν τῷ ἐγέραττο "Βασιλεῖς Δαρείος Πέρσης τοὺς ἐν Σάρδισι ἐντελεῖται κτείνειν ὁ Ὀμοίεια." οἱ δὲ δορυφόροι ὡς ἦκουσαν ταῦτα, σπασάμενοι τῶν ἀκινήτων κτείνουσι παραντικά μιν, οὕτω δὴ ὁ Ὀμοίεια τῶν Πέρσην Πολυκράτειος τοῦ Σαμῖον τίσις μετῆλθον.

129. Ἀπεικομένων δὲ καὶ ἀνακομισθέντων τῶν Ὅροιτεω χρημάτων ἐς τὰ Σοῦσα, συνήνεικα χρόνῳ οὐ πολλῷ ὑπερον βασιλεῖα Δαρείον ἐν ἀγρῷ θηρῶν ἀποδρῶσκοντα ἀπ' ὑπαι ἐστραφθηκαί τῶν πόδα. καὶ κὼς ἰσχυροτέρως ἐστράφη ὁ γὰρ οἱ ἀστράγαλος ἐξεχώρησε ἐκ τῶν ἄρδρων. νομίζων δὲ καὶ πρότερον περὶ ἐσωτήρ Αἰγυπτίων τοὺς δοκέοντας εἶναι πρῶτους τὴν ἱπτημίαν, τούτοις ἐχόμε. οὐ δὲ στρεβλώντες καὶ βιώμενοι τῶν πόδα κακῶν μέσον ἐργαζόμενο. ἐπ' ἐπτὰ μὲν δὴ ἡμέρας καὶ ἐπτὰ νύκτας ὑπὸ τοῦ παρεόντος κακοὶ ό Δαρείος ἀγρυπνήσθη εἰςτε. τῇ δὲ δὴ ὁγδοὴ ἡμέρα ἐγνώτει οἱ φλανόως, παρακούσας τις πρότερον ἔτη ἐν Σάρδισι τοῦ Κροτωνιτέων Δημο-
BOOK III. 128-129

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

129. Oroetes' slaves and other possessions were brought to Susa. Not long after this, it happened that Darius, while hunting, twisted his foot in dismounting from his horse, so violently that the ball of the ankle joint was dislocated from its socket. Darius called in the first physicians of Egypt, whom he had till now kept near his person; who, by their forcible wrenching of the foot, did but make the hurt worse; and for seven days and nights the king could get no sleep for the pain. On the eighth day he was in very evil case; then someone, who had heard in Sardis of the skill of Democedes of Croton, told the
κύδειος τὴν τέχνην ἀγγέλλει τῷ Δαρείῳ. ὁ δὲ ἀγειν μὲν τὴν ταχύστην παρ' ἐωτοῦ ἐκέλευσε· τὸν δὲ ὡς ἐξεύρον ἐν τοῖς Ὄροιτοι ἀνδραπόδιοι σκούρος ἀπημελημένον, παρῆγγον ἐς μέσον πέδας τε ἐλκυόν τα καὶ ῥάκες ἐσθημένον.

130. Σταθέντα δὲ ἐς μέσον εἴρωτα ὁ Δαρείος τὴν τέχνην εἰ ἐπίστατο· ὁ δὲ ὡς ὕπεδέκετο, ἄρροδεον μὴ ἐωτοῦ ἐκφήμας τὸ παράπαν τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἢ ἀπεστημένος· κατεφάνη τε τῶν Δαρείου τεχνάζειν ἐπιστάμενος, καὶ τοὺς ἀγαγώντας αὐτὸν ἐκέλευεν μάστιγάς τε καὶ κέντρα παραφέρειν ἐς τὸ μέσον. ὁ δὲ ἐνθαῦτα δὴ ὅν ἐκφαίνει, φᾶς ἀπρεκέως μὲν ὅν ἐπίστασθαι, ὀμιλήσας δὲ ἤτριῳ φλαύρως ἔχειν τὴν τέχνην. μετὰ δὲ, ὡς οἱ ἐπέτρεψε, Ἑλληνικοῖς ἴμμασι χρεώμενοι καὶ ἤπιες μετὰ τὰ ἱσχυρὰ προσώπων ὑπον τὲ μνα λαγχάνειν ἐποίεε καὶ ἐν χρόνῳ ὅλην ὑγιέα μν ἀπεδέξε. οὐδαμά ἐτὶ ἐπιτίζοντα ἄρτιτους ἔσεσθαι. δορέται δὴ μν ἡ λεία ταῦτα ὁ Δαρείος πεδέων χρυσέων δυὸ διεύ- γεσθ' ὁ δὲ μν ἐπείρετο εἶ ὅν διεπάθισον τὸ κακὸν ἐπίτυδες νέμει, ὅτι μν ὑγιέα ἐποίησε. ἤσθεις δὲ τῷ ἐπεὶ ὁ Δαρείος ἀποπέμπει μιν παρὰ τὰς ἐωτοῦ γυναίκας· παράγοντες δὲ οἱ εὐνοοῦχοι ἐλε- γον πρὸς τὰς γυναίκας ὡς βασιλεῖς οὗτος εἶ ἐς τὴν ψυχήν ἀπέδωκε. ὑποτύπτουσα δὲ αὐτέων ἐκάστης φίλη τοῦ χρυσοῦ ἔς ἰθνὴν ἐδωρέστε Δημοκρίδεα οὕτω δὴ τα δαψιλεῖ δωρεῆ ὡς τοὺς ἀποπιτυντος ἀπὸ τῶν φιλεῶν στατήρας ἐπο- μενος. οἱ οἰκέτης, τῷ οὐνομα ἢν Σκίτων, ἀνελέγετο καὶ οἱ χρήμα πολλὸν τε χρυσοῦ συνελέχθη.
book of him. Darius bade Democedes be brought to him without delay. Finding the physician somewhere all unregarded and forgotten among Oroetes' slaves, they brought him forth, dragging his chains and clad in rags.

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

1 Or, that he knew how to practise his art?
131. 'Ο δὲ Δημοκριήδης οὗτος ὅδε ἐκ Κρότωνος ἀπεγεμένος Πολυκράτει ὁμίλησε· πατρὶ συνελέγετο ἐν τῇ Κρότωνι ὀργὴν χαλεπῷ· τούτον ἔπειτε οὐκ ἐδύνατο φέρειν, ἀπολίπων οὐχέτο ἦς Αἰγιαν. καταστὰς δὲ ἐς ταύτην πρώτῳ ἔτει ύπερεξῆλετο τοὺς ἅλλους ἵπτρους, ἁσκενήσας περ ἑως καὶ ἔχων οὐδὲν τῶν ὅσα περὶ τὴν τέχνην ἔστι ἐργαλεία. καὶ μιν δευτέρῳ ἔτει ταλάντων Αἰγινῆται δημοσίη μισθοῦνται, τρίτῳ δὲ ἔτει Αθηναίοι ἐκατον μνέων, τετάρτῳ δὲ ἔτει Πολυκράτης δυὸν ταλάντων. οὕτω μὲν ἀπίκετο ἐς τὴν Σάμου, καὶ ἀπὸ τούτου τοῦ ἀνδρός οὐκ ἦκιστα Κροτωνῆται ἵπτροι εὐδοκίμησαν. ἐγένετο γὰρ ὅτι τοῦτο ὅτε πρῶτοι μὲν Κροτωνῆται ἵπτροι ἐλέγοντο ἀνὰ τὴν Ἑλλάδα εἶναι, δεύτεροι δὲ Κυρηναῖοι. κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν δὲ τούτον χρόνον καὶ Ἄργειοι ἦκουν μονοκήν εἶναι Ἑλλήνων πρῶτοι.

132. Τότε δὴ ὁ Δημοκριήδης ἐν τούτω ΣΟὕσοις ἐξηθάμενος Δαρείον οὐκών τε μέγιστον εἴχε καὶ ὀμοτραπεζος βασίλει έγεγονε, πλην τε ἐνός τοῦ ἐς Ἑλλήνας ἀπιέναι πάντα τάλλα οἱ παρῆν. καὶ τοῦτο μὲν τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους ἵπτρους, οἱ βασιλέα πρότερον ἰῶτο, μέλλοντας ἀνασκολοπεύονται ὦ τι ὅπο Ἑλλήνος ἵπτρον ἐσσωθείς, τούτως βασιλέα παραιτησάμενος ἐρρύσατο τοῦτο δὲ μᾶντιν Ἡλείων Πολυκράτει ἐπισπόμενον καὶ ἀπημελημένου ἐν τούς ἀνδραπόδοις ἐρρύσατο. ἦν δὲ μέγιστον πρήγμα Δημοκριήδης παρὰ βασιλε好人.

133. Ἐν χρόνῳ δὲ ὅλῳ μετὰ ταύτα τάδε

1 Stein suspects from ἐγένετο γὰρ to πρῶτοι, but for no very cogent reason; though the mention of the Argive musicians is certainly irrelevant.
BOOK III. 131-133

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

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

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

\(^1\) The Aeginetan talent = about 82 Attic minae (60 of which composed the Attic talent).
HERODOTUS

άλλα συνήνεικε γενέσθαι. "Ἀτόσση τῇ Κύρου, μὲν θυγατρὶ Δαρείου δὲ γνωικὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ μαστοῦ ἔφυ φύαι, μετὰ δὲ ἐκραγέν ἐσεμετο πρόσω. ὅσοι μὲν ὁι χρόνον ἡν ἡλάσσον, ἢ δὲ κρύπτονσα καὶ αἰσχυνομένη ἑφραζὲ οὐδενὶ ἐπείτε δὲ ἐν κακῷ ἡν, μετεπέμψατο τὸν Δημοκίδεα καὶ οἱ ἐπέδεξε. ὃ δὲ φῶς ὑγιέα ποιήσειν ἔξορκοι μὲν ὢ καὶ οἱ ἀντιπουργῆσειν ἑκείνην τούτο τό ἀν αὐτῆς δεθήν ἐπισεσθαί δὲ οὐδενὸς τῶν ὅσα ἐς αἰσχύνην ἐστὶ φέροντα.

134. Ὅς δὲ ἀρα μὲν μετὰ ταῦτα ἱώμενος ὑγιέα ἀπεδείξε, ἐνθαῦτα δὴ διδαχθείσα ὑπὸ τοῦ Δημο-
κίδεος ἡ Ἀτόσσα προσέφερε ἐν τῇ κοίτῃ Δαρείῳ λόγον τοιώδες. "ἡ Βασιλεῦ, ἔχων δύναμιν το-
σαύτην κάτησαι, οὕτε τι ἐθνὸς προσκτώμενος οὕτε δύναμιν Πέρσης. οἰκός δὲ ἐστὶ ἀνδρὰ καὶ νέον καὶ χρημάτων μεγάλων δεσπότης φαίνεσθαι τι ἀποδεικνύμενον, ἵνα καὶ Πέρσαι ἐκμαθῶσι ὅτι ὑπ'
ἀνδρὸς ἁρχονταί. ἐπ' ἀμφότερα δὲ τοῦ συμφέρει ταῦτα ποιέειν, καὶ ἵνα σφέων Πέρσαι ἐπίστωται ἄνδρα εἶναι τὸν προσεῶτα, καὶ ἵνα τρίβωνται πολέμω μῆδε σχολὴ ἁρχοντες ἐπιβουλεύσοι τοῖς
νυν γὰρ ἂν τι καὶ ἀποδέχαι ἐργον, ἐως νέος εἰς ἡλικίαν ἀνωμένῳ γὰρ τῷ σώματι συναύξονται καὶ αἰ φρένες, γηράσκοντι δὲ συγγηράσκοντι καὶ ἐς τὰ πρήγματα πάντα ἀπαραβλύνονται." ὡς μὲν
δὴ ταῦτα ἐκ διδαχῆς ἔλεγε, ὅ δ' ἀμείβετο τοῖσιδε. "ἡ ὡς τε, πάντα ὅσα περ αὐτοῦ ἐπινοεῖν ποιήσειν ἐφήκας· ἐγὼ γὰρ βεβουλευματίζεις γέφυραν ἐκ τῆς τῆς ἡπείρου ἐς τὴν ἐτέρυν ἡπείρου ἐπὶ Σκύθας στρατεύεσθαι καὶ ταῦτα ὅλων χρόνου ἐστι τελεύμενα." λέγει Ἀτόσσα τάδε. ""Ορα

164
and Darius' wife, found a swelling growing on her breast, which broke and spread further. As long as it was but a small matter, she said nothing of it but hid it for shame; but presently growing worse, she sent for Democtedes and showed it to him. He promised to cure her, but made her to swear that she would requite him by granting whatsoever he requested of her; saying, that he would ask nothing shameful.

134. His remedies having made her whole, Atossa at Democtedes' prompting thus addressed Darius in their chamber: "Sire, you are a mighty ruler; why sit you idle, winning neither new dominions nor new power for your Persians? If you would have them know that they have a man for their king, it is right and fitting for one of your youth and your wealth to let them see you achieving some great enterprise. Thereby will you gain a double advantage: the Persians will know that their king is truly a man; and in the stress of war they will have no leisure for conspiring against you. Now is your time for achieving great deeds, while you are still young: for as a man's mind grows with his body's growth, so as the body ages the mind too grows older and duller for all uses." Thus she spoke, being so prompted. "Lady," said Darius, "what you say I am already minded to do. I am resolved to make a bridge from this to the other continent and so lead an army against the Scythians; and in a little while we will set about accomplishing this." "See now," Atossa answered, "forbear for the nonce to attack the
νυν, ἕπτ Σκύθας μὲν τὴν πρώτην ἴναι ἔασον ἀυτὸν γὰρ, ἐπειτὰ, σὺ βουλὴ, ἔσονται τῶν σὺ δὲ μοι ἐπὶ τὴν Ἕλλαδα στρατεύεσθαι. ἐπιθυμεῖν γὰρ λόγῳ πυνθανομένη Δακαίνας τὲ μοι γενέσθαι θεραπαίνας καὶ Ἀργείας καὶ Ἀττικὰς καὶ Κορινθίας. ἔχεις δὲ ἄνδρα ἐπιτηδεύσατον ἀνδρῶν πάντων δέξα τι ἐκκατα τῆς Ἕλλαδος καὶ κατηγορήσασθαι, τοῦτον δὲ σεν τὸν πόδα ἔξισατο." ἀμείβεται Δαρείος "Ω γυναι, ἐπεὶ τούτων τοι δοκεῖσθι τῆς Ἕλλαδος ἡμέας πρῶτα ἀποπειρᾶσθαι, κατασκόπους μοι δοκεῖ Περσέων πρῶτον ἀμείνων εἶναι ὡμοῦ τούτω τῷ σὺ λέγεις πέμψαι ἐς αὐτοῦς, οἱ μαθόντες καὶ ἱδόντες ἔξαγγελέουσι ἐκατα αὐτῶν ἡμῶν καὶ ἔπειτα ἐξεπιστάμενοι ἐπὶ αὐτοὺς τρέψομαι." 135. Ταῦτα εἴπε καὶ ἁμα ἐπος τε καὶ ἔργων ἐποίεε. ἐπεῖται γὰρ τάχιστα ἡμέρη ἐπέλαμψε, καλέσας Περσέων ἀνδρας δοκίμους πεντεκαίδεκα ἐνετέλλετό σφι ἐπομένους Δημοκόηδει διεξελθεῖν τὰ παραβαλάσας τῆς Ἕλλαδος, ὡς τε μὴ διαδρήσεται σφεᾶς ὁ Δημοκόηδης, ἀλλὰ μιν πάντως ὁπίσω ἀπάξουσι. ἐνετελάμενος δὲ τούτωσιν ταῦτα, ἐντερα καλέσας αὐτὸν Δημοκόηδεα ἐδέθε καὶ αὐτὸν ὡς ἐξηγησάμενος πάσαν καὶ ἐπιδέξας τὴν Ἕλλαδα τοῖς Πέρσης ὠπίσω ἤξει ὀδρά δὲ μιν τῷ πατρὶ καὶ τοῖς ἄδελφοις ἐκέλευε πάντα τὰ ἐκείνου ἐπιτλα λαβόντα ἀγεῖν, φας ἀλλὰ οἱ πολλάπλης ἀντιδώσειν πρὸς δὲ ἐς τὰ ὁδρὰ ὀλκάδα οἱ ἐφὶ συμβαλέσσαθαι πλῆρας ἀγαθῶν παντοῖων, τὴν ἁμα οἱ πλεύσεσθαι. Δαρείος μὲν δὴ, δοκεῖνε ἐμοὶ, ἀπτ' οὐδοῖος δολεροῦ νόου ἐπαγγελλεῖτο οἱ ταῦτα. Δημοκόηδης δὲ δείσας μὴ εὗ
Seythians; you will find them whenever you so desire; nay, rather, I pray you, march against Hellas. I have heard of Laconian and Argive and Attic and Corinthian women, and would fain have them for handmaidens. There is a man by you who is fitter than any other to instruct and guide you in all matters concerning Hellas: I mean the physician who healed your foot.” “Lady,” answered Darius, “since it is your desire that we should first try conclusions with Hellas, methinks it is best that we send Persians with the man of whom you speak to spy out the land and bring us news of all that they have seen in it; thus shall I have full knowledge to help my adventure against Hellas.”

135. So said Darius, and it was no sooner said than done. For the next day at dawn he called to him fifteen notable Persians, and bade them go with Democedes and pass along the seaboard of Hellas; charging them, too, by all means to bring the physician back and not suffer him to escape. Having thus charged them he next sent for Democedes himself, and required of him that when he had shown and made clear all Hellas to the Persians, he should come back; “And take,” said he, “all your movable goods to give your father and your brethren; I will give you many times as much in return; and I will send to sail with you a ship of burden with a cargo of all things desirable.” Darius, I think, made this promise in all honesty. But Democedes feared lest the king should
ἐκπειράσθη Δαρείος, οὗτι ἐπιδραμὼν πάντα τὰ διδόμενα ἐδέκετο, ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν ἐσφυδρεύοντα κατὰ χώραν ἔφη καταλείψειν, ἵνα ὀπίσω σφέα ἀπελθῶν ἔχοι, τὴν μὲντοι ὅλκαδα, τὴν οἱ Δαρείος ἐπαγγέλλετο ἐς τὴν δωρεὴν τούτη ἀδελφεύειν, δὲκεσθαὶ ἐφη, ἐντειλάμενος δὲ καὶ τούτῳ ταύτῃ ὁ Δαρείος ἀποστέλλει αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ θάλασσαν.

136. Καταβάσται δὲ οὗτοι ἐς Φοινίκην καὶ Φοινίκης ἐς Σιδώνα πόλιν αὐτίκα μὲν τριήρεσιν δούς ἐπλήρωσαν, ἀμα δὲ αὐτῆς καὶ γαῦλον μέγαν παντοίων ἄγαθῶν· παρεσκευασμένοι δὲ πάντα ἐπέλεγον ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα, προσέχοντες δὲ αὐτής τὰ παραθάλασσια ἐθνεύτω καὶ ἀπεγράφουτο, ἐς τὸ πολλὰ αὐτής καὶ ὄνομαστὰ θεσπάμενοι ἀπίκουτο τῆς Ἰταλίνης ἐς Τάραντα. ἐνθαῦτα δὲ ἐκ ῥηστών τῆς Δημοκρίτης Αριστοφιλίδης τῶν Ταραντίνων ὁ βασιλεύς τούτο μὲν τὰ πηδάλια παρέλυσε τῶν Μηδικέων νεῶν, τούτο δὲ αὐτοὺς τοὺς Πέρσας εἰρήξε ὡς κατασκόπους δῆθεν ἑούτας. ἐν ὀς δὲ οὗτοι ταῦτα ἐπασχοῦν, ὁ Δημοκρίτης ἐς τὴν Κρότωνα ἀπικρέεται ἀπνευμένον δὲ ἡδὲ τούτῳ ἐς τὴν ἐσφυδρέα Ἄριστοφιλίδης ἐλυσε τοὺς Πέρσας, καὶ τὰ παρέλαβε τῶν νεῶν ἀπέδωκε σφί.

137. Πλέοντες δὲ ἐνθεύτεν οἱ Πέρσαι καὶ διώκοντες Δημοκρίτης ἀπικνέονταί ἐς τὴν Κρότωνα, εὑρόντες δὲ μὴν ἀγοράζοντα ἀπτοντό αὐτοῖ, τῶν δὲ Κροτωνιτῶν οἱ μὲν καταρρωθέοντες τὰ Περσικὰ πρῆγματα προϊέναι ἔτοιμοι ἦσαν, οὶ δὲ ἀντάπτοντο καὶ τοις σκυτάλοις ἐπαινοῦν τοὺς Πέρσας προϊσχομένους ἐπεα τάδε. "Ἀνδρέες Κροτωνητηται, ὀρᾶτε τὰ ποιέτετε· ἄνδρα βασιλέας
be but trying him; therefore he made no haste to accept all that was offered, but answered that he would leave his own possessions where they were, that he might have them at his return; as for the ship which Darius promised him to carry the gifts for his brethren, that he accepted. Having laid this same charge on Demoedcedes also, Darius sent all the company to the coast.

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

137. The Persians sailed from Taras and pursued Demoedcedes to Croton, where they found him in the market and were for seizing him. Some Crotoniats, who feared the Persian power, would have given him up; but others held him against the king’s men and beat them with their staves. “Nay,” said the Persians, “look well, men of Croton, what you
δρηπέτην γενόμενον ἔξαιρεσθε. κόσ ταύτα βασιλεῖ Δαρείῳ ἐκχρήσει περιβρίσθαι; κόσ ἰ ὑμῖν τὰ ποιεύμενα ἔξει καλῶς, ἢν ἀπέλησθε ἡμέας; ἐπὶ τίνα δὲ τῆς δει τοπέρην στρατευσόμεθα πόλιν; τίνα δὲ προτέρην ἀνδραποδίζεσθαι περιησόμεθα;" ταύτα λέγοντες τοὺς Κροτώνιτας ὀφκὼν ἔπειθον, ἀλλ' ἐξαιρεθέντες τε τῶν Δημοκρίδεα καὶ τὸν γαύλον τοῦ ἁμα ἡγούτο ἀπαιρθεύτες ἀτέπλεον ὁπίσω ἐς τὴν 'Ασίην, οὐδ' ἐτι ἐξήτησαν τὸ προσωτέρῳ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἀπικόμενοι ἐκμαθείν, ἐστερήμενοι τοῦ ἡγεμόνος. τοσοῦτο μὲν τοι ἐνετάλατο σφι Δημοκρίδης ἀναγορέουσι, κελεύον εἰπεῖν σφεας Δαρείῳ ὑπὲρ ἢμοισται τὴν Μίλιονος θυγατέρα Δημοκρίδης γυναῖκα. τοῦ γὰρ ἢ παλαιστεῖο Μίλιονος ἢν οὖνομα πολλὸν παρὰ βασιλεῖ' κατὰ δὲ τοῦτο μοι δοκεῖ στειρᾶται τῶν γάμον τούτον τελέσας χρήματα μεγάλα Δημοκρίδης, ἵνα φανῇ πρὸς Δαρείου ἑών καὶ ἐν τῇ ἐσωτερικῇ δόκιμος.

138. Ἀναχθέντες δὲ ἐκ τῆς Κρότωνος οἱ Πέρσαι ἐκπέπτουσι ἥδι καὶ ἦς Ἰησυχίας, καὶ σφεας δουλεύοντας ἐνδιὰ αὐτὰ Γίλλος ἀνὴρ Ταραντίνος φυγάς ῥυσάμενος ἀπήγαγε παρὰ βασιλέα Δαρείου. ἂ δὲ ἀντὶ τοῦτον ἐσομός ἢν δεῖδον τοῦτο τῇ βούλιοτο αὐτός. Γίλλος δὲ ἀιρέεται κατόδον οἱ ἐς Τάραντα γενέσθαι, προαγηγησάμενος τὴν συμφορὴν ἣν δέ μὴ συνταραξῇ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, ἢν δέ αὐτὸν στόλος μέγας πλέη ἐπὶ τὴν Ἰταλίαν, Κυδίους μούνος ἀποχράν ὁ ἐφε τοὺς κατάγοντας γίνεσθαι, δοκεόν ἀπὸ τοῦτον ἐνώτων τοῦ Ταραντίνοις φίλοιν μάλιστα τὴν κάτοδον οἱ ἔσεσθαι. Δαρείου δὲ ὑποδεξάμενος ἐπετέλεσθε.
do; you are taking from us an escaped slave of the great king; think you that King Darius will rest content under this insolence? Think you that the deed will profit you if you take him from us? Your city will then be the first that we will attack and essay to enslave." But the men of Croton paid no heed to them; so the Persians lost Democedes and the galleon that had been their consort, and sailed back for Asia, making no endeavour to visit and learn of the further parts of Hellas now that their guide was taken from them. But Democedes gave them a message as they were setting sail; they should tell Darius, he said, that Democedes was betrothed to the daughter of Milon. For Darius held the name of Milon the wrestler in great honour; and, to my thinking, the reason of Democedes' seeking this match and paying a great sum for it was to show Darius that he was a man of estimation in his own country as well as Persia.

138. The Persians then put out from Croton; but their ships were wrecked on the Iapygian coast, and they themselves made slaves in the country, until one Gillus, a banished man of Taras, released and restored them to Darius. In return for this the king offered Gillus any reward that he might desire; Gillus told the story of his misfortune, and asked above all to be restored to Taras; but, not willing that a great armament should for his cause sail to Italy and thereby he should help to trouble Hellas, it was enough, he said, that the Cnidian alone should be his escort; for he supposed that thus the Tarentines would be the readier to receive him back, the Cnidi ans being their friends. Darius kept his word,
πέμψας γάρ ἀγγελον ὡς Κνίδον κατάγειν σφέας ἐκέλευε Γίλλον ὡς Τάραντα. πειθόμενοι δὲ Δαρείως Κνίδοι Ταραντίνους οὐκὼν ἐπείθουν, βίην δὲ ἀδύνατο ἦσαν προσφέρειν. ταῦτά μὲν νῦν οὕτω ἐπρήξθης οὕτω δὲ πρῶτοι ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίῆς ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἀπίκουτο Πέρσαι, καὶ οὕτω διὰ τοιούτω πρήγμα κατάσκοποι ἔγενοντο.

139. Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Σάμου βασιλεὺς Δαρείος αἴρει, πολίων πασέων πρῶτην Ἑλληνίδων καὶ βαρβάρων, διὰ τοιὴν διὰ αὐτήν. Καμβύσεως τοῦ Κύρου στρατευμένον ἐπὶ Λιγυπτίων ἄλλοι τε συνοικοὶ ἐς τὴν Λιγυπτίων ἀπίκουτο Ἑλλήνων, οἱ μὲν, ὁς οἰκός, κατ' ἐμπόρινα στρατευόμενοι, οἱ δὲ τινες καὶ αὐτῆς τῆς χώρης θεταί· τῶν ἦν καὶ Συλοσῶν ὁ Διάκεος, Πολυκράτεος τε ἐὼν ἀδελφοῖς καὶ φιέγων ἐκ Σάμου. τούτων τῶν Συλοσῶντα κατέλαβε εὐσυχίᾳ τις τοιῇ. λαβὼν χλανίδα καὶ περιβαλόμενος πυρρὴν ἥγοραζε ὡς Ἡμετερίδων δὲ αὐτῶν Δαρείως, δομυφόρος τε ἐὼν Καμβύσεως καὶ λόγου οὐδενὸς κω μεγάλου, ἐπεθύμησε τῆς χλανίδος καὶ αὐτῆς προσελθὼν ὄνεετο. ὁ δὲ Συλοσῶν ὄρεων τῶν Δαρείων μεγάλως ἐπιθυμεῖτα τῆς χλανίδος, θαή τυχὴ χρεώμευς λέγει ἃ ἔγο ταῦτῃ πωλέω μὲν οὐδενὸς χρῆματος, δίδωμι δὲ ἄλλως, εἰ περ οὕτω δεῖ γενέσθαι πάντως τοῦ. αἰνέσας ταῦτα ὁ Δαρείος παραλαμβάνει τὸ εἶμα.

140. Ὅ μεν δὲ Συλοσῶν ἠπίστατο τοῦτο οἱ ἀπολογεῖν δι' εὐθείᾳ. ὅς δὲ τοῦ χρόνου προβαίνους Καμβύσης τε ἀπέβαλε καὶ τῷ Μαγγαίῳ ἐπανέστησαν ὁ ἐπτά καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἐπτά Δαρείος τὴν βασιλείαν ἔσχε, πυθόμεναι ὁ Συλοσῶν ὃς ἡ βασιλεία περιεληλύθοι ἐς τοῦτον τὸν ἄνδρα τῷ
and sent a messenger to the men of Cnidos, biding them bring Gillus back to Taras. They obeyed Darius; but they could not persuade the Tarentines to their will, and were not able to compel them. This is the whole story. These Persians were the first who came from Asia into Hellas; and they came to view the country for the reason aforesaid.

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

140. Syloson supposed that he had lost his cloak out of foolish good nature. But in time Cambyses died, the seven rebelled against the Magian, and of the seven Darius came to the throne; Syloson then learned that the successor to the royal power was
κοτὲ αὐτὸς ἔδωκε ἐν Ἀιγύπτῳ δεσθέντι τὸ εἴμα. ἀναβὰς δὲ ἐς τὰ Σουσά ζέστο ἐς τὰ πρόθυρα τῶν βασιλεός οἰκίων καὶ ἐφὶ Δαρείου εὐεργέτης εἰναι. ἀναγέλλει ταῦτα ἀκούσας ὁ πυλοῦρος τῷ βασιλεῖ; δὲ ἰδωμάσας λέγει πρὸς αὐτὸν “Καὶ τὶς ἐστὶ Ἕλληνοι εὐεργέτης τῷ ἐγὼ προαιδοῦμαι, νεωτὲ μὲν τὴν ἁρχὴν ἔχων; ἀναβεβήκε δ’ ἡ τῆς ἡ οὖδεις καὶ παρ’ ἦμας αὐτῶν, ἔχω δὲ χρέος εἰπεῖν οὖδὲν ἀνδρὸς.” Ἕλληνος. ὦμος δὲ αὐτὸν παράγετε ἔσω, ἵνα εἰδέω τί θέλων λέγει ταῦτα.” παρῆγε ὁ πυλοῦρος τὸν Συλοσῶντα, στάντα δὲ ἐς μέσον εἰρωτῶν οἱ ἐρμηνεῖς τὶς τε εἰά καὶ τὸ ποιήμα εὐεργέτης φησί εἷναι βασιλεός. εἰπεὶ όν ὁ Συλοσῶν πάντα τὰ περὶ τὴν χλαϊνδα γενόμενα, καὶ ὁς αὐτὸς εἰὴ κεῖνος ὁ δοῦς. ἀμείβεται πρὸς ταῦτα Δαρείος. Ἡ γενναίοτατε ἀνδρῶν, σὺ κεῖνος εἰς ὅσ ἐμοὶ οὐδεμιὰν ἔχοντι καὶ δύναμιν ἐδώκας εἰ καὶ σμικρὰ, ἀλλ’ ὅν ἱση γε ἡ χάρις ὀμοίως ὡς εἰ νῦν κοθὲν τι μέγα λάβοιμι; ἀντ’ ἀν τοιχὸν καὶ ἀργυρον ἀπλετον δίδωμι, ὡς μὴ κοτὲ τοις μεταμελήσῃ Δαρείον τὸν “Τστάσπεος εὐ ποιήσατε.” λέγει πρὸς ταῦτα ὁ Συλοσῶν. Ἕ μοι μήτε χρυσόν ὁ βασιλεῖ δήμος ἀργυρον δίδου, ἀλλ’ ἀνασωσάμενος μοι δὸς τὴν πατρίδα Σάμου, τὴν νῦν ἀδελφοῦ τοῦ ἐμοῦ Πολυκράτεος ἀποθανόντος ὑπὸ Ὄροιτεω ἐχεῖ δούλος ἥμετερος; ταύτην μοι δὸς ἄνευ τε φόνου καὶ ἕξανδροποιδίους.”

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

141. Hearing this Darius sent an army, and Otanes, one of the seven, to command it, charging him to perform all Syloson's will. So Otanes came down to the coast and made his army ready.
142. Τῆς δὲ Σάμου Μαιάνδριος ὁ Μαιάνδριον εἰχε τὸ κρατος, ἐπιτροπαίην παρὰ Πολυκράτεος λαβὼν τὴν ἄρχην τῷ δικαιοτάτῳ ἄνδρϊν Βουλομένῳ γενέσθαι οὐκ ἐξεγένετο. ἑπειδὴ γὰρ οἱ ἔξαγγελθη οἱ Πολυκράτεος βάνατος, ἐποίηε τοιάδε πρῶτα μὲν Διὸς ἔλευθερίαν βοωμὸν ἠδύνατο καὶ τέμενος περὶ αὐτὸν οὔρισε τοῦτο τὸ νῦν ἐν τῷ προαστείῳ ἐστὶ μετὰ δὲ, ὡς οἱ ἐπιποίητο, ἐκκλησίην συναγείρας πάντων τῶν ἀστῶν ἔλεξε τάδε. "Ἐμοὶ, ὡς ἦστε καὶ ὑμεῖς, σκήπτρον καὶ δύναμις πάσα ἡ Πολυκράτεος ἐπιτέρπαται, καὶ μοι παρέχει νῦν ὑμῶν ἄρχειν. ἐγὼ δὲ τὰ τῶν πέλας ἐπιπλήσσω, αὐτὸς κατὰ δύναμιν ὑμῶν ποιήσω· οὔτε γὰρ μοι Πολυκράτης ἢρεσκε δεσπόζων ἄνδρον ὑμῶν ἐωτῷ οὔτε ἄλλος ὁστες τοιαῦτα ποιεῖ. Πολυκράτης μὲν νῦν ἐξεπλήσσε μοιρὰν τὴν ἐωιτοῦ, ἐγὼ δὲ ἐς μέσον ἐν τῇ ἁρχῇ τιθεὶς ἵσομομίν ὑμᾶς πραγματεύω. τοσάδε μὲντοι δικαίως γέρεα ἐμεωντῷ γενέσθαι, ἐκ μὲν γε τῶν Πολυκράτεος χρημάτων ἐξαιρεῖτα δὲ τάλαντά μοι γενέσθαι, ἤρωσθην δὲ πρὸς τοῦτοις αἰρεύμαι αὐτῷ τε μοι καὶ τοῖς ἅπεμεν αἰεὶ γνωσμένοις τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ ἔλευθερον τῷ αὐτῶς τε ἱρὸν ἱδρυσάμην καὶ τὴν ἔλευθερίην ὑμῶν περιτίθημι." ὦ μὲν δὴ ταύτα τοῖς Σαμίοις ἐπαγγέλλετο· τῶν δὲ τῆς ἐξαναστὰς εἶπε "Ἀλλ' οὔτ' ἄξιος εἰς σύ γε ἡμῶν ἄρχειν, γεγονὼς τε κακῶς καὶ ἐων ὀλεθρῶς· ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον ὁκὼς λόγον ἔσωσε τῶν μετεχείρισας χρημάτων."

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

143. These were the words of Telesarchus, a man of note among the townsfolk. But Maeandrius, perceiving that if he let the sovereignty slip someone else would make himself despot instead, resolved
είχε μετιέναι αυτὴν, ἀλλ' ὡς ἀνεγώρησε ἐς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν, μεταπεμπόμενος ἦνα ἐκαστον ὡς ὁ ἱερὸν τῶν χρημάτων δῶσων, συνέλαβε σφέας καὶ κατέδησε. οἱ μὲν ὁ ἐδεδέατο, Μαιανδρίον δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα κατέλαβε νοῦς. ἐλπίζων δὲ μιν ἀποθανέσθαι ὁ ἀδελφεός, τῷ οἴνῳμα ἦν Δυκάρητος, ἦν εὐπτεστέρως κατάσχη τὰ ἐν τῇ Σάμῳ πρῆμιμα, κατακτείνει τοὺς δεσμώτας πάντας· οὐ γὰρ δὴ, ὡς οὐκαστί, ἐβούλουτο εἶναι ἐλεύθεροι.

144. Ἐπειδὴ δὲν ἀπίκοντο ἐς τὴν Σάμον οἱ Πέρσαι κατάγοντες Συλλοσσώντα, ὅπερ τὸς σφι χείρας ἀνταείται, ὑπόσπονδοι τε ἐφάσαν εἶναι ἕτοιμοι οἱ τοῦ Μαιανδρίου στασιώτατοι καὶ αὐτὸς Μαιανδρίος ἐκχωρήσαι ἐκ τῆς νῆσου. κατανεύσατο δὲ ἐπὶ τούτοις ΟΤάνεω καὶ σπεισαμένου, τῶν Περσέων οἱ πλείατον ἄξιοι θρόνους θέμενοι κατεναντίον τῆς ἀκροπόλιος κατέστατο.

145. Μαιανδρίῳ δὲ τῷ τυράννῳ ἦν ἀδελφεός ὑπομαργότερος, τῷ οἴνῳμα ἦν Χαρίλεως· οὗτος δὲ ὁ τὸ ἕξαμαρτῶν ἐν γοργήρῃ ἐδέδεστο, καὶ δὴ τὸτε ἐπακούσας τε τὰ πρήσσομενα καὶ διακύψας διὰ τῆς γοργύρης, ὡς εἰδὲ τοὺς Πέρσας εἰρηναίοις κατημένους, ἐβόα τε καὶ ἐφθέγων Μαιανδρίῳ θέλειν ἐθεώτις ἐς λόγους. ἐπακούσας δὲ ὁ Μαιανδρίος λύσαντας αὐτὸν ἐκέλευε ἅγειν παρ᾽ ἔσωτόν ως δὲ ἄγηθα τάχιστα, λοιπορέον τε καὶ κακίζων μιν ἀνέπειθε ἐπιθέσθαι τοῖς Πέρσησι, λέγων τοιαδέ. Ἔμε μὲν, ὁ κάκιστε ἄνδρῶν, ἔστα σεωτοῦ ἀδελφεὸς καὶ ἀδικήσαντα οὐδὲν ἄξιον δεσμοῦ δῆσος γοργύρης ἕξιώσας· ὡρέων δὲ τοὺς Πέρσας ἐκβαλλοντας τὲ σε καὶ ἀνοικον ποιεόντας οὐ τολμᾶς τίςασθαι, οὕτω δὴ τι ἔστασι εὐπτετέας χειροθήμαι.
not to give it up. Withdrawing into the citadel, he sent for each man severally, as though to render an account of the money; then he seized and bound them. So they being in prison, Maeandrius presently fell sick. His brother Lycaretus thought him like to die, and, that so he might the more easily make himself master of Samos, put all the prisoners to death. They had, it would seem, no desire for freedom.

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

145. Now Maeandrius the despot had a crazy brother named Charilaus, who lay bound in the dungeon for some offence; this man heard what was afoot, and by peering through the dungeon window saw the Persians sitting there peaceably; whereupon he cried with a loud voice that he desired to have speech with Maeandrius. His brother, hearing him, bade Charilaus be loosed and brought before him. No sooner had he been brought than he essayed with much reviling and abuse to persuade Maeandrius to attack the Persians. "Villain," he cried, "you have bound and imprisoned me, your own brother, who had done nothing to deserve it; and when you see the Persians casting you out of house and home, have you no courage to avenge yourself, though you could so easily master them? If you are yourself
ιλλ' ει τοι ςυ σφες καταρρώθηκας, ἐμοὶ δὸς τοῖς ἐπικούροις, καὶ σφες ἐγὼ τιμωρίζομαι τῆς ἐνθάδε ἀπίξους: αὐτὸν δὲ σε ἐκπέμψαι ἐκ τῆς νῆσου ἐτοίμος εἰμί.

146. Ταύτα δὲ ἔλεξε ὁ Χαρίλεως. Μαίανδριος δὲ ὑπέλαβε τὸν λόγον, ὡς μὲν ἐγὼ δοκεώ, οὐκ ἐς τοῦτο ἀφροσύνης ἀπεκόμενος ὡς δόξαι τὴν ἑωτοῦ δύναμιν περιέσεσθαι τῆς βασιλείας, ἀλλὰ φθονήσας μᾶλλον Συλοσώντι εἰ ἀπονήτι ἐμελλὲ ἀπολάμψεσθαι ἀκέραιοι τὴν πόλιν. ἐρέθίσας ὁν τοὺς Πέρσας ἤθελε ὡς ἀσθενεύσατα ποιῆσαι τὰ Σάμια πρήγματα καὶ οὔτω παραδιδόναι, εὖ ἐξεπιστάμενος ὡς παθόντες οἱ Πέρσαι κακῶς προσεπικρανέσθαι ἐμέλλον τοῖς Σαμίοις, εἰδὼς τε ἐνιαύτῳ ἀσφαλέα ἐκδοσιν ἐόσιν ἐκ τῆς νῆσου τότε ἐπεαν αὐτὸς βουληται ἐπεποίησε γὰρ οἱ κρυπτῇ διώρυξ ἐκ τῆς ἀκρόπολιος φέροντα ἐπὶ βάλασαν, αὐτὸς μὲν δὴ ὁ Μαίανδριος ἐκπλεεὶ ἐκ τῆς Σάμου τοὺς δ' ἐπικούρους πάντας ὁπλίσας ὁ Χαρίλεως, καὶ ἀναπετάσας τὰς πύλας, εξῆκε ἐπὶ τοὺς Πέρσας οὔτε προσδεκομένους τοιοῦτο οὐδὲν δοκεόντας τε δὴ πάντα συμβεβαίαν. ἐμπεσόντες δὲ οἱ ἐπίκουροι τῶν Περσῶν τοὺς διφροφορεμένους τε καὶ λόγον πλεῖστον ἑόντας εκείνοι, καὶ οὔτοι μὲν ταύτα ἐποίειν, ἢ δὲ ἄλλη στρατηγὴ ἡ Περσικὴ ἐπεβοήθει πιεζομένους δὲ οἱ ἐπίκουροι ὁπίσω κατειλήθησαν ἐς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν.

147. Ὁτάνης δὲ ὁ στρατηγὸς ἴδὼν πάθος μέγα Πέρσας πεπονθότας, ἐντολάς μὲν τὰς Δαρείδας οἱ ἀποστέλλων ἐνετέλλετο, μήτε κτέειν μηδὲνα Σαμώων μήτε ἀνδραποδίζεσθαι ἀπαθεά τε κακῶν

180
afraid of them, give me your foreign guards, and I will punish them for their coming hither; as for you, I will give you safe conduct out of the island."

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

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

ἀποδοῦναι τὴν νήσον Συλοσῶντι, τοιτέων μὲν τῶν ἐντολέων μεμνημένοις ἐπελαθήνετο, ὃ δὲ παρήγγειλε τῇ στρατιᾷ πάντα τῶν ἂν λάβωσι καὶ ἄνδρα καὶ παῖδα ὁμοίως κτείνειν. ἐνθαῦτα τῆς στρατιᾶς οὐ μὲν τὴν ἀκρόπολιν ἐπολιόρκεσαν, οὐ δὲ ἐκείνου πάντα τὸν ἐμποδούν γενόμενον ὁμοίως ἐν τῇ ἱρῷ καὶ ἐξώ ἱρὸν.

148. Μαιανδρίος δὲ ἀποδράσει ἐκ τῆς Σάμου ἐκπλέει ἐς Λακεδαίμοναν· ἀπικόμενος δὲ ἐς αὐτὴν καὶ ἀνευκάμενος τὰ ἔχων ἐξεχώρησε, ἐποίει τοιάδε· ὅκως ποτήρια ἄργυρεά τε καὶ χρύσεα προθείτο, οἱ μὲν θεράποντες αὐτοῦ ἐξέσομον αὐτά, ὃ δὲ ἀν τὸν χρόνον τούτον τὸ Κλεομένει τῷ Ἀναξαγόραδεῖ ἐν λόγοις ἐῶν, βασιλεύοντι Σπάρτης, προῆγε μιν ἐς τὰ οἰκία· ὅκως δὲ ἴδοιτο Κλεομένης τὰ ποτήρια, ἀπεθώμαξε τε καὶ ἐξεπλήσσετο· ὃ δὲ ἀν ἐκέλευεν αὐτὸν ἀποφέρεσθαι αὐτῶν ὡς βούλοιτο, τοῦτο καὶ διὸ καὶ τρὶς εἰπάντος Μαιανδρίου ὁ Κλεομένης δικαιότατος ἀνδρῶν γίνεται, ὡς λαβεῖν μὲν διδόμενα οὐκ ἐδικαίου, μαθὼν δὲ ὃς ἄλλοις ἄλλοις τῶν ἀστῶν εὐρήσεται τιμωρίν, βάς ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐφόρους ἀμεινὸν εἶναι ἐφὶ τῇ Σπάρτῃ τῶν ξείνων τὸν Σάμου ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι ἐκ τῆς Πελοποννήσου, ὡς μὴ ἀναπείσῃ ἡ αὐτὸν ἡ ἄλλον τινὰ Σπαρτητέων κακῶν γενέσθαι, οἷς δ' ὑπακούσαντες ἐξεκήρυξαν Μαιανδρίου.

149. Τὴν δὲ Σάμου [σαγγενεύσαντες] ὁ Πέρσαι παρέδοσαν Συλοσῶντι ἐρημοῦ ἐσοῦσαν ἄνδρῶν.

1 This word may be an interpolation; the process (forming a long line to sweep all before it) is described in detail in Bk. VI. 31, as if that were the first mention of it. Moreover, it is inconsistent here with ch. 147.
but deliver the island unharmed to Syloson; and he commanded his army to kill all they took, men and boys alike. Then, while some of the Persians laid siege to the citadel, the rest slew all they met, whether in temples or without.

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

149. As for Samos, the Persians swept it clear and delivered it over uninhabited to Syloson. But
Η Σάμον στρατεύματος ναυτικού οίχομένου Βαβυλώνιον ἀπέστησαν, κάρτα εὐ παρεσκευασμένοι: ἐν ὄσῳ γὰρ ὁ τε Μάγος ἦρχε καὶ οἱ ἐππά ἐπανέστησαν, ἐν τούτῳ παντὶ τῷ χρόνῳ καὶ τῇ ταραχῇ ἐς τὴν πολιορκήσαν παρεσκευάζοντο. καὶ κως ταύτα ποιεῖτε διάρκειαν. ἐπείτε δὲ ἐκ τοῦ ἐμφανὸς ἀπέστησαν, ἐποίησαν τοιόνεστι τὰς μητέρας ἐξελόντες, γυναῖκα ἐκαστὸς μίαν προσεξιαρέετο τὴν ἐβούλετο ἐκ τῶν ἐωτοῦ ὦκιὼν, τὰς δὲ λοιπὰς ἀπάσας συναγαγόντες ἀπέπνιγαν τὴν δὲ μίαν ἐκαστὸς σιτοποιοὺν ἐξαιρέετο ἀπετνεῖται δὲ αὐτός, ἵνα μὴ σφενῶ τὸν σῖτον ἀναίσμοιμος.

151. Πλοῦτες δὲ ταῦτα ὁ Δαρείος καὶ συλλέκας πᾶσαν τὴν ἔωτοῦ δύναμιν ἐστρατεύετο ἐπ' αὐτοῦ, ἐπελάσας δὲ ἑπὶ τὴν Βαβυλώνα ἐπιλύοικεν κροτίζοντας οὐδὲν τῆς πολιορκίας. ἀναβαίνοντες γὰρ ἑπὶ τοὺς προμαχῶνας τοῦ τείχους οἱ Βαβυλώνιοι κατωρχέοντο καὶ κατέσκωπον Δαρείον καὶ τὴν στρατιὰν αὐτοῦ, καὶ τὸς αὐτὸν εἰπε τούτο τὸ ἐπόσο. "Τῇ κάτησθε ὁ Πέρσαι ἐνδαύτα, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἀπαλλάσσεσθε; τότε γὰρ αἰρήσετε ἡμέας, ἐπεάν ἡμῖνοι τέκωσι." τούτῳ εἰπε τοῖς Βαβυλώνιοις οὐδαμὰ ἐλπίζων ἀν ἡμῖνοι τεκέων.

152. Ἐπτὰ δὲ μηνῶν καὶ ἐνιαυτὸς διεληλυθότος ἦδη ὁ Δαρείος τε ἡγαλλε καὶ ἡ στρατιὰ πᾶσα ὑπὸ δυνατῆ ἐοῦσα ἐλείην τοὺς Βαβυλώνιοις. καίτοι πάντα σοφίσματα καὶ πᾶσας μηχανὰς
afterwards Otanes, the Persian general, gave his aid to settle the land, being moved thereto by a dream, and a sickness which attacked his secret parts.

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

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

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

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


153. Ἐνθαῦτα εἰκοστῷ μηνὶ Ζωπύρῳ τῷ Μεγαβύζου, τούτου δὲ τῶν ἐπτὰ ἀνδρῶν ἐγένετο τὸν τὸν Μάγον κατελύσαντων, τούτῳ τῷ Μεγαβύζου παῖδι Ζωπύρῳ ἐγένετο τέρας τὸν τῶν οἰ συτοφόρων ἡμίονων μια ἔτεκε. ὡς δὲ οἱ ἐξαγγέλθη καὶ ὑπὸ ἀπιστίας αὐτῶς ὁ Ζωπυρος εἰδὲ τὸ βρέφος, ἀπείπας τοὺς ἴδοιν εἰδενι μηδὲν φράζεω τὸ γεγονὸς ἐβουλεύετο. καὶ οἱ πρὸς τὰ τοῦ Βαβυλώνιον ῥήματα, δὲ κατ᾽ ἀρχὰς ἔφησε, ἐπεὰν περ ἡμίονοι τέκωσι, τότε τὸ τείχος ἀλώσεσθαι, πρὸς ταῦτην τὴν φήμην Ζωπύρων ἐδόκεε εἰναι ἀλώσιμος ἡ Βαβυλών, σὺν ἵππῳ ἑκείνον τε εἰπεῖν καὶ ἑωτῷ τεκεῖν τὴν ἡμίονον.

154. Ὡς δὲ οἱ ἐδόκεε μόρσιμον εἰναι ἡδή τῇ Βαβυλώνι άλήσκεσθαι, προσελθὼν Δαρείον ἀπεπυθάνετο εἰ περὶ πολλοῦ κάρτα ποιεῖται τὴν Βαβυλώνα ἐλεῖν. πυθόμενος δὲ ὡς πολλοῦ τιμῆτο, ἀλλο ἐβουλεύετο, ὅκως αὐτῶς τε ἐσται ὁ ἐλων αὐτὴν καὶ ἑωτοῦ τὸ ἐργὸν ἐσται κάρτα γὰρ ἐν τοῖς Πέροις αἰ ἀγαθοεργίαι ἐς τὸ πρὸς ὑμέις θεοῦς τιμῶνται. ἄλλος μὲν τῶν οὐκ ἐφράζετο ἐργῷ δύνατος εἰναι μὲν ὑποχειρήν ποιῆσαι, εἰ δὲ ἑωτοῦ λοβήσαμεν αὐτομολήσει ἐς αὐτοῦς. ἐνθαῦτα ἐν ἔλαφῳ ποιησάμενος ἑωτοῦ λοβῆται λώβην ἀνήκεστον ἀποταμῶν γὰρ ἑωτοῦ τὴν βίνα καὶ τὰ ὅτα καὶ τὴν κόμην κακώς περικείρας καὶ μαστογόσας ἠλθε παρὰ Δαρείον.
every device against it. He essayed the stratagem whereby Cyrus took the city, and every other stratagem and device, yet with no success; for the Babylonians kept a marvellous strict watch and he could not take them.

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

154. Being then persuaded that Babylon was fated to fall, he came and inquired of Darius if he set great store by the taking of the city; and when he was assured that this was so, he next looked about for a plan whereby the city's fall should be wrought by himself alone; for good service among the Persians is much honoured, and rewarded by high preferment. He could think of no way of mastering the city but to do violence to himself and then desert to the Babylonians; so he accounted it but a little thing to mishandle himself past cure; cutting off his nose and ears, shaving his head for a disfigurement, and scourging himself, he came in this guise before Darius.
155. Δαρείος δὲ κάρτα βαρέως ἦρεικε ἵδ' ἄνδρα δοκιμώτατον λελωβημένον, ἐκ τε τοῦ θρόνου ἀναπηδήσας ἀνέβωσε τε καὶ εἰρέτο μιν ὅστις εἴη ὁ λωβήσαμεν καὶ ὃ τι ποιήσαντα. ὁ δὲ εἶπε "Οὐκ ἔστι οὗτος ὁ νήρ, δι' τῆς μή σύ, τῷ ἐστὶ δύναμις τοσαύτη ἐμὲ δὴ ὥσπερ διαθείναι: οὐδὲ τις ἁλλοτρίων ὁ βασιλεὺς τάδε ἔργασται, ἀλλ' αὐτὸς ἔγω ἐμεσωτὸν, δεινὸν τι ποιεύμενον Ἅσσυρίους Πέρσηνι καταγελάν." ὁ δ' ἀμεῖβετο "Ω σχετικῶτατε ἄνδρῶν, ἔργῳ τῷ αἰσχύστω σύνομα τὸ κάλλιστον ἔθειν, φαίς διὰ τὸν πολυρχεομένου σεωτὸν ἀνήκεστος διαθείναι. τὰ δ', ὁ μάταιε, λελωβημένου σεῦ θάσσον οἱ πολέμωι παραστήσουν; κὼς οὗκ ἐξέπλωσας τῶν φρενῶν σεωτοῦ διαφθείρας;" ὁ δὲ εἶπε "Εἰ μὲν τοῦ ὑπερετίθεα τὰ ἐμελλόν ποιήσειν, οὐκ ἃν μὲ περιείδες νῦν δ' ἐπ ἐμεσωτοῦ βαλόμενος ἐπρηξά. ἦδη ὃν ἢν μὴ τῶν σῶν δεήσῃ, αἱρέομεν Βαβυλώνα. ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ ὃς ἔχω αὐτομολῆσον ἐς τὸ τείχος καὶ φήσῃ πρὸς αὐτοῦς ὅσ ὑπὸ σεῦ τάδε ἐπαθον καὶ δοκέω, πεῖσας σφέας ταῦτα ἔχειν οὕτω, τεῦξεσθαι στρατηγής. σὺ δὲ, ἀπ' ἢν ἐν ἡμέρῃς ἐγὼ ἐσέλθω ἐς τὸ τείχος, ἀπὸ ταύτης ἐς δεκάτης ἡμέρης τῆς σεωτοῦ στρατηγῆς, τῆς οὐδεμία ἔσται ὁρῇ ἀπολυμένης, ταύτης χιλίους τάξον κατὰ ταῖς Σεμιράμιος καλεομένας πύλας: μετὰ δὲ αὐτῶς ἀπὸ τῆς δεκάτης ἐς ἐβδόμην ἄλλους μοι τάξον δισχίλιους κατὰ τὰς Νινίων καλεομένας πύλας: ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς ἐβδόμης διαλείπεις εἰκοσὶ ἡμέρας, καὶ ἐπειτὰ ἄλλους κάτισθαν ἄγαγων κατὰ τὰς Χαλδαιών καλεομένας πύλας, τετρακισχίλιους. ἔχοντων δὲ μήτε οἱ πρότεροι μηδὲν τῶν ἀμυνεύτων μήτε
The king was greatly moved at the sight of so notable a man thus mishandled. Leaping up with a cry from where he sat he asked Zopyrus who had done him this outrage and why. "There is no man," answered Zopyrus, "save yourself, who could bring me to this plight; this, O King! is the work of none other but myself; for I could not bear that Persians should be mocked by Assyrians." Darius answered, "Hard-hearted man; if you say that it is to win the city that you have maltreated yourself past cure, you do but give a fair name to a foul deed. Foolish man! think you that our enemies will yield the sooner for this violence done to you? Nay, you were clean out of your wits to destroy yourself thus." "Had I told you," said Zopyrus, "what I was minded to do, you would have forbidden it; as it is, I have considered with myself alone and done it. Now, then, matters so stand that if you but play your part Babylon is ours. I will in my present plight desert into the city, pretending to them that you have done this violence upon me; and I think that I shall persuade them that this is so, and thus gain the command of an army. Now, for your part, on the tenth day from my entering the city do you take a thousand men from that part of your army whereof you will least rue the loss, and post them before the gate called the gate of Semiramis; on the seventh day after that, post me again two thousand before the gate called the gate of the Ninevites; and when twenty days are past after that seventh, lead out four thousand more and post them before the Chaldean gate, as they call it; suffering neither these, nor the others that have come before them, to carry any
οὗτοι, πλὴν ἐγχειριδίων· τούτο δὲ ἐὰν ἔχειν. μετὰ
dὲ τὴν εἰκοστὴν ἁμέρην ἰδέως τὴν μὲν ἄλλην
στρατινὴν κελεύειν πέριξ προσβάλλειν πρὸς τὸ
τεῖχος, Πέρσας δὲ μοι τιξόν κατὰ τε τὰς Βηλίδας
καλεομένας καὶ Κισσίας πύλας. ὡς γὰρ ἐγὼ
dοκεώ, ἐμέδο μεγάλα ἔργα ἀποδεξαμένου, τὰ τὲ
ἀλλὰ ἐπιτρέψονται ἐμοὶ Βασιλέως καὶ δὴ καὶ
tῶν πυλών τὰς βαλανάγρας· τὸ δὲ ἐνθεύτεν ἐμοὶ
tε καὶ Πέρσας μελήσῃ τὰ δεῖ ποιεῖν." 156.
Ταῦτα ἐντελάμενος ἔφη τὰς πύλας,
ἐπιστρέφομεν ὡς δὴ ἄλληθεος αὐτόμολος. ὥρων-
tες δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν πύργων οί κατὰ τούτο τεταγμένοι
κατέστρεψον κἀκεῖ ἡλικίᾳ τις τὰς πύλας τῆς καὶ αὐτο-
meye τοιωτοῦ τοῦ τῶν Ἱπποτῶν· καταστάς δὲ ἐπὶ αὐτὰ
catoktikētē, φασὶ ὅτι Δαρεῖον πεπονθεῖ τὰ ἐπεπόνθησε ὑπὲρ
ἐωτοῦ, παθεῖν δὲ ταῦτα διότι ὑποθέτοις ὑπὲρ
ἐπανίστανται τὴν στρατινὴν. ἦν· ὥσπερ πῦρ
ἀναμείναντο τῆς ἀλώσιος. "Νῦν τε" ἐφη λέγων
"ἐγὼ ὑμῖν ὁ Βασιλέως ἡκὼ μέγιστον ἀγαθόν,
Δαρείῳ δὲ καὶ τῇ στρατηγῇ καὶ Πέρσας μέγιστον
κακόν οὐ γὰρ δὴ ἔμε γε ὀδὸς λοιπόν κατα-
προῖται· ἐπίσταμαι δὲ αὐτὸν πᾶσας τὰς διεξ-
οδοὺς τῶν βουλευμάτων." τοιαύτα ἐλεγε.
157. Οἱ δὲ Βασιλέως ὅρωντες ἀνδρὰ τὸν ἔν
Πέρσας δοκίμαστον μένος τε καὶ ὠτῶν ἐστερη-
mένον, μάστιξι τε καὶ ἀματὶ ἀναπεφυρμένοι,
πάγχῳ ἐλπίσαντες λέγειν μιν ἄλληθεα καὶ σφi
ἡκείν σύμμαχον, ἐπιτράπεσθαι ἐτοιμοὶ ἦσαν τῶν
weapons of war save daggers; leave them these. But immediately after the twentieth day bid the rest of your army to assault the whole circuit of the walls, and, I pray you, post the Persians before the gate of Belus and the gate called Cissian. For I think that I shall have achieved such exploits that the Babylonians will give into my charge the keys of their gates, and all else besides; and it will thenceforward be my business and the Persians' to do what is needful."

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

157. When the Babylonians saw the most honoured man in Persia with his nose and ears cut off and all bedabbled with blood from the scourging, they were fully persuaded that he spoke truth and was come to be their ally, and were ready to grant him all that he asked, which was, that he
εδέετο σφέων· εδέετο δε στρατής. ο δε ἐπείτε αὐτῶν τοῦτο παρέλαβε, ἔποιεε τὰ περ τῷ Δαρείῳ συνεθηκατον ἐξαγγαλιὼν γάρ τῇ δεκάτῃ ἥμερῃ τῆς στρατιᾶς τῶν Βασιλονίων καὶ κυκλωσάμενος τοὺς χείλιοι, τοὺς πρῶτους ἐνετείλατο Δαρείῳ τάξαι, τούτους κατεφώνευσε. μαθόντες δὲ μιν οἱ Βασιλονίωι τοῖς ἔπεσε τὰ ἔργα παρεχόμενον ὅμοια, πάντων περιχαρεῖς ἐόντες πᾶν δὴ ἔτοιμοι ἦσαν ὑπηρετεῖν. ο δὲ διαλιπὼν ἡμέρας τὰς συγκεκριμένας, αὐτὸς ἐπιλεξάμενος τῶν Βασιλονίων ἐξῆγαγε καὶ κατεφώνευσε τῶν Δαρείου στρατιωτῶν τῶν διαχείλιοι. ἴδοντες δὲ καὶ τούτο τὸ ἔργον οἱ Βασιλονίῳ πάντες Ζώπυρον εἶχον ἐν στόμασι αἰνέοντες. ο δὲ αὐτῖς διαλιπὼν τὰς συγκεκριμένας ἡμέρας ἐξῆγαγε ἐς τὸ προειρημένον, καὶ κυκλωσάμενος κατεφώνευσε τοὺς τετρακισχείλιοις. ὡς δὲ καὶ τούτο κατέργαστο, πάντα δὴ ἦν ἐν τοῖς Βασιλονίουις Ζώπυρος, καὶ στρατάρχης τε οὕτως σφι καὶ τειχοφύλαξ ἀπεδέδεκτο.

158. Προσβολὴν δὲ Δαρείου κατὰ τὰ συγκεκριμένα ποιευμένον πέριξ τὸ τεῖχος, ἐνθαυτὰ δὴ πάντα τῶν ὀδοὺν ὁ Ζώπυρος ἐξέφαινε. οἱ μὲν γὰρ Βασιλονίῳ αναβάντες ἐπὶ τὸ τεῖχος ἡμῖνον τῆς Δαρείου στρατιᾶς προσβάλλουσαν, ἦ δὲ Ζώπυρος τὰς τε Κισσάς καὶ Βηλίδας καλεομένας πύλας ἀναπετάσας ἑσθῆκε τοὺς Πέρσας ἐς τὸ τεῖχος. τῶν δὲ Βασιλονίων οἱ μὲν εἶδον τὸ ποιηθέν, αὐτοὶ μὲν ἐφευροῦν ἐς τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Βῆλος τὸ ἱρόν, οἱ δὲ οὐκ εἶδον, ἐμενοῦν ἐν τῇ ἑωτοῦ τάξι ἑκαστος, ἐς δὴ καὶ οὕτως ἐμαθοῦν προδεδομένοι.

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

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

159. Thus was Babylon the second time taken. Having mastered the Babylonians, Darius destroyed
τούτο μὲν σφέων τὸ τείχος περιέλθε καὶ τὰς πύλας πάσας ἀπέσπασε· τὸ γὰρ πρῶτον ἐλὸν Κῦρος τὴν Βαβυλώνα ἐποίησε τούτων οὐδέτερον· τούτῳ δὲ ὁ Δαρείος τῶν ἀνδρῶν τοὺς κορυφαίους μάλιστα ἐς τρισχιλίους ἀνεσκολόπισε, τοῖσι δὲ λοιποῖσι Βαβυλωνίσσι ἀπέδωκε τὴν πόλιν οἰκείους ὡς δὲ ἔξουσι γυναικές οἱ Βαβυλώνιοι ἵνα σφι γεννῇ ὑπογίνηται, τάδε Δαρείος προϊόντων ἐποίησε· τὰς γὰρ ἑωτῶν, ὡς καὶ κατ' ἀρχάς ἐδήλωται, ἀπέπνευν οἱ Βαβυλώνιοι τοῦ σιτοῦ προορέοντες· ἐπέταξε τοῖσι περιοίκοισι ἔθνεσι γυναικές ἐς Βαβυλώνα κατιστᾶναι, ὡς ἐκάστοις ἐπιτάσσον, ὡστε πέντε μουριάδων τοῦ κεφαλαίου τῶν γυναικῶν συνῆλθε· ἐκ τούτων δὲ τῶν γυναικῶν οἱ νῦν Βαβυλώνιοι γεγονασί.
their walls and reft away all their gates, neither of which things Cyrus had done at the first taking of Babylon; moreover he impaled about three thousand men that were chief among them; as for the rest, he gave them back their city to dwell in. Further, as the Babylonians, fearing for their food, had strangled their own women, as I have shown above, Darius provided that they should have wives to bear them children, by appointing that each of the neighbouring nations should send a certain tale of women to Babylon; the whole sum of the women thus collected was fifty thousand: these were the mothers of those who now inhabit the city.

160. There never was in Darius' judgment any Persian before or since who did better service than Zopyrus, save only Cyrus, with whom no Persian could compare himself. Many times Darius is said to have declared that he would rather have Zopyrus whole and not foully mishandled than twenty more Babylons. Very greatly the king honoured him; every year he sent Zopyrus such gifts as the Persians hold most precious, and suffered him to govern Babylon for all his life with no tribute to pay, giving him many other things besides. This Zopyrus was father of Megabyzus, who was general of an army in Egypt against the Athenians and their allies; and Megabyzus' son was that Zopyrus who deserted from the Persians to Athens.
BOOK IV
1. Μετὰ δὲ τὴν Βασιλέως αἱρεσιν ἐγένετο ἐπὶ Σκύθας αὐτοῦ Δαρείου ἕλασις. ἀνθεύσης γὰρ τῆς Ἀσίης ἀνδράσι καὶ χρημάτων μεγάλων συνιόντων, ἐπεθύμησε ὁ Δαρείος τίςασθαι Σκύθας, ὦτι ἐκεῖνοι πρότεροι ἐσβαλόντες ἐς τὴν Μηδικὴν καὶ νικήσαντες μάχῃ τοὺς ἀντιομένους ὑπῆρξαν ἀδικίας. τῆς γὰρ ἄνω Ἀσίης ἦρξαν, ὡς καὶ πρότερόν μοι εἴρηται, Σκύθαι ἐτεκ ἰδοὺν δέοντα τριήκοντα. Κυμμερίους γὰρ ἐπιδιώκοντες ἐσβαλόν ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην, καταπαύσαντες τῆς ἀρχῆς Μῆδους: οὗτοι γὰρ πρὶν ἡ Σκύθας ἀπικέσθαι ἦρξον τῆς Ἀσίης. τοὺς δὲ Σκύθας ἀποδημήσαντας ὦκτῳ καὶ εἰκοσὶ ἐτεκ καὶ διὰ χρόνου τοσοῦτον κατιόντας ἐς τὴν σφέτερην ἐξεδέξατο οὐκ ἐλάσσων πόρος τοῦ Μηδικοῦ, ἑβρών γὰρ ἀντιουμένην σφίσει στρατικὴν οὐκ ὀλίγην. αἱ γὰρ τῶν Σκυθέων γυναῖκες, ὥσι σφι οἱ ἀνδρεῖς ἀπῆσαν χρόνων πολλῶν, ἐφοίτεον παρὰ τοὺς δούλους.

2. Τοὺς δὲ δούλους οἱ Σκύθαι πάντας τυφλοὺς τοῦ γάλακτος εἶνεκεν τοῦ πίνουσι ποιεύντες ὡδε. 198
BOOK IV

1. After the taking of Babylon, Darius himself marched against the Scythians. For seeing that Asia abounded in men and that he gathered from it a great revenue, he became desirous of punishing the Scythians for the unprovoked wrong they had done when they invaded Media and defeated those who encountered them. For the Scythians, as I have before shown, ruled the upper country of Asia¹ for twenty-eight years; they invaded Asia in their pursuit of the Cimmerians, and made an end of the power of the Medes, who were the rulers of Asia before the coming of the Scythians. But when the Scythians had been away from their homes for eight and twenty years and returned to their country after so long a time, there awaited them another task as hard as their Median war. They found themselves encountered by a great host; for their husbands being now long away, the Scythian women consorted with their slaves.

2. Now the Scythians blind all their slaves, by reason of the milk² whereof they drink; and this is

¹ That is, the western highlands of the Persian empire.
² Herodotus means that the slaves are blinded to prevent their stealing the best of the milk. Probably the story of blind slaves arises from some Scythian name for slaves, misunderstood by the Greeks.
ἐπεδών φυσητήρας λάβωσι ὁστεῖνοι αὐλοίσι προσ-
εμφερεστάτους, τοῦτος ἐσθέντες ἐς τῶν θηλέων
 ἦππων τὰ ἄρθρα φυσώσι τοῦς στόμασι, ἀλλοι δὲ
 ἄλλων φυσώντων ἀμέλγουσι. φασὶ δὲ τούδε
 εἰνεκα τούτο ποιέειν τὰς φλέβας τε πίμπλασθαι
 φυσωμένας τῆς ἦππον καὶ τὸ οὐθαρ κατίσθαι.
 ἐπεδών δὲ ἀμέλξωσι τὸ γάλα, ἐσχέαντες ἐς ἕξιλα
 ἀγγήμα κοίλα καὶ περιστέξαντες κατὰ τὰ ἀγγήμα
 τοὺς τυφλοὺς δονέοισι τὸ γάλα, καὶ τὸ μὲν αὐτοῦ
 ἐπιστάμενον ἀπαρύσαντες ἤγείναι εἶναι τεμώ-
 τερον, τὸ δ’ υπιστάμενον ἥσσον τοῦ ἐτέρου.
 τούτων μὲν εἰνεκα ἀπαντά τὸν ἄν λάβωσι οἱ
 Σκύθαι ἐκτυφλοῦσι· οὐ γὰρ ἄροται εἰσὶ ἀλλὰ
 νομίδες.
3. Ἐκ τούτων δὴ ὃν σφι τῶν δούλων καὶ τῶν
 γυναικῶν ἐτράφη νεότης· οἱ ἐπείτε ἐμαθον τὴν
 σφετέρην γένεσιν, ἤρτοισιν αὐτοὶ κατίσθαι ἐκ
 τῶν Μήδων, καὶ πρῶτα μὲν τὴν χόρην ἀπετά-
 μουτο, τάφρον ὀρυξάμενοι εὐρέως καταστείνουσαν
 ἐκ τῶν Ταυρικῶν ὄρεων ἐς τὴν Μαιήτινα λίμνην,
 τῇ περ ἐστὶ μεγίστη μετὰ δὲ πειρωμένοις ἐσ-
 βάλλειν τοίς Σκύθῃς ἀντικατεξόμενοι ἐμάχουσιν.
 γυνομένης δὲ μάχης πολλάκις καὶ οὐ δυναμένων
 οὐδὲν πλέον ἔχειν τῶν Σκυθέων τῇ μάχῃ, εἰς
 αὐτῶν ἔλεξε τάδε. "Οἰα ποιεῦμεν, ἀνδρεῖς Σκύθαις
 δοῦλοισι τούσι ἡμετέροις μαχομένοι αὐτοί τε
 κτεινόμενοι ἐλάσσονες γυνόμεθα καὶ ἐκείνους κτει-
 νοντες ἐλασσόνων τὸ λοιπὸν ἄρξομεν. νῦν ὄν
the way of their getting it: taking pipes of bone
very like flutes, they thrust these into the secret
parts of the mares and blow into them, some blowing
and others milking. By what they say, their reason
for so doing is that the blowing makes the mare's
veins to swell and her udder to be let down. When
milking is done, they pour the milk into deep wooden
buckets, and make their slaves to stand about the
buckets and shake the milk; the surface part of it
they draw off, and this they most value; what lies
at the bottom is less esteemed. It is for this cause
that the Scythians blind all prisoners whom they
take; for they are not tillers of the soil, but wander-
ing graziers.

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

1 The Sea of Azov. It is not clear where the ῥάφος was.
Some think that Herodotus may have had in his mind the so-
called "Putrid Sea," the narrow stretch of water between
the Ararat isthmus and the Crimea. This at least corre-
sponds with the "point of greatest breadth" of the Sea of
Azov.
μοι δοκεῖ εἶναι, ἀχμαρ μὲν καὶ τὸξα μετείναι, λαβόντα δὲ ἐκαστὸν τοῦ ἵππου τὴν μάστιγα ἴναι ἀσσον αὐτῶν. μέχρι μὲν γὰρ ὧρων ἡμέας ὅπλα ἔχονται, οὶ δὲ ἐνόμιζον ὅμοιοι τε καὶ ἐξ ὁμοίων ἡμῖν εἶναι ἐπεδὲ ἴδοντα μάστιγας ἀντὶ ὀπλῶν ἔχονται, μαθόντες ὡς εἰσὶ ἡμέτεροι δούλοι καὶ συγγόνωτες τούτο, οὐκ ὑπομενέωσι."  

4. Ταύτα ἀκούσαντες οἱ Σκύθαι ἔποιεν ἐπιτελέα: οἱ δὲ ἐκπλαγέντες τῷ ἡγομένῳ τῆς μάχης τε ἐπελάθοντο καὶ ἐφευγοῦν. οὕτω οἱ Σκύθαι τῆς τε Ἀσίης ἡρξαν καὶ ἐξελασθήσαντες αὐτὶς ὑπὸ Μήδων κατήλθον τρόπῳ τοιοῦτῳ ἐς τὴν σφετέριν. τῶνδε εἰνεκα ὁ Δαρείος τίσασθαι βουλόμενος συνήγειρε ἐπ' αὐτοὺς στράτευμα.  

5. Ὡς δὲ Σκύθαι λέγουσι, νεώτατον πάντων ἐθνῶν εἶναι τὸ σφέτερον, τούτο δὲ γενέσθαι ὅτε. ἀνδρα γενέσθαι πρῶτον ἐν τῇ γῇ ταύτῃ οὐσίᾳ ἔρημῳ τῷ οὖνομα εἶναι Ταργιτάον τοῦ δὲ Ταρ- 

γιτάον τούτου τοὺς τοκέας λέγουσι εἶναι, ἐμοὶ μὲν οὐ πιστὰ λέγοντες, λέγουσι δ' ὅν, Δία τε 

καὶ Βορυσθένεος τοῦ ποταμοῦ θυγατέρα. γένεσ 

μὲν τοιοῦτον δὴ τινος γενέσθαι τοῦ Ταργιτάον, 

tούτου δὲ γενέσθαι παίδας τρεῖς, Λιπόξαίν καὶ 

Ἄρποξαίν καὶ νεώτατον Κολάξαίν. ἐπὶ τούτων 

ἀρχόντων ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ φερόμενα χρύσεα ποιή 

μάτα, ἀρτρόν τε καὶ ξυγον καὶ σάγαριν καὶ 

φιάλην, πεσεῖν ἐς τὴν Σκυθίην καὶ τῶν ἱδον 

πρῶτον τοῦ πρεσβύτατον ἀσσον ἴναι βουλόμενον 

αὐτὰ λαβεῖν, τὸν δὲ χρυσὸν ἐπιόντος καὶ στὰ 

απαλλαχθέντος δὲ τούτου προσείναι τὸν δεύτερον, 

καὶ τὸν αὐτὸς ταύτα ποιεῖν. τοὺς μὲν δὲ καί 

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

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

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

¹ The Dnieper.
τάτω ἐπελθόντες κατασβῆναι, καὶ μὲν ἐκεῖνον κομίσαι ἐς ἐσωτερικὸν καὶ τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους ἀδελ-
φεῖς πρὸς ταύτα συγγυνοῦται τὴν βασιλῆιν πάσαν παραδούντοι τῷ νεωτάτῳ.
6. Ἀπὸ μὲν δὴ Δειποξάιος γεγονέναι τοῖς τῶν Σκυθέων οὗ Λυχάται γένος καλέονται, ἀπὸ
δὲ τοῦ μέσου Ἀρποξάιος οἷος Κατιαροῦ τε καὶ
Τράσπητες καλέονται, ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ νεωτάτου αὐτῶν
tοῦ βασιλέος οἷος καλέονται Παραλάται σύμπασι
dὲ εἶναι οὐνομα Σκολότους, τοῦ βασιλέος ἐπω-
νυμίην. Σκύθας δὲ ἢ Ἐλληνες ἀνόμασαν.
7. Γεγονόναι μὲν νῦν σφέας ὁδὲ λέγουσι οἷο
Σκύθαι, ἔτεα δὲ σφίσι ἐπείτε γεγόνασι τὰ σύμ-
παντα λέγουσι εἶναι ἀπὸ τοῦ πρῶτον βασιλέος
Ταργιάταν ἐς τὴν Δαρείου διάβασιν τὴν ἐπὶ
σφέας χιλίων οὐ πλέω ἀλλὰ τοσαῦτα. τὸν δὲ
χρυσὸν τούτον τῶν ἵρων φυλάσσοντι οἱ βασιλέες
ἐς τὰ μάλιστα, καὶ θυσίζει μεγάλης ἱλασκο-
μενοὶ μετέχονται ἀνὰ πᾶν ἑτος. ὃς δὲ ἀν ἐχὼν
τὸν χρυσὸν τῶν ἱρῶν ἐν τῇ ὅρτῃ ὑπαίθριος κατα-
κομμήθη, οὗτος λέγεται ὑπὸ Σκυθέων οὐ δεινακτι-
ζειν διδοσθαῖ δὲ οἱ διὰ τοῦτο ὅσα ἐν ἤπερ ἐν
ἡμέρᾳ μὴ περιελάσῃ αὐτῶς. τῆς δὲ χώρης ἐσύσης
μεγάλης τριφασίας τὰς βασιλῆις τοῖς παισι
τοῖς ἐσωτερικοῖς καταστήσασθαι Κολάξαιν, καὶ τοι-
τεῶν μίαν ποιήσας μεγίστην, ἐν τῇ τὸν χρυσὸν
φυλάσσεσθαι. τὰ δὲ κατύπερθε πρὸς Βορέην
λέγουσι ἄνεμον τῶν ὑπεροῖκων τῆς χώρης ὅπειρα
τε εἶναι ἐπὶ προσωτέρῳ οὕτε ὅραν οὕτε διεξέναι
ὑπὸ πτερών κεχυμένων πτερῶν γὰρ καὶ τὴν γῆν
καὶ τὸν ἦρα εἶναι πλέον, καὶ ταύτα εἶναι τὰ
ἀποκληρίοντα τὴν ὅψιν.
and the burning was quenched at his approach; so he took the gold to his own house. At this his elder brothers saw how matters stood, and made over the whole royal power to the youngest.

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

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

1 The "reason" is obscure; perhaps the gift of land is a compensation for his shortness of life.
2 See ch. 31 for Herodotus' explanation.
8. Σκύθαι μὲν ὠδὲ ὑπέρ σφέων τε αὐτῶν καὶ τῆς χώρης τῆς κατύπερθε λέγουσι, Ἐλλήνων δὲ οἱ τὸν Πόντον οικεότες ὠδὲ. Ἡρακλέα ἐλαύνοντα τὰς Γηρυόνεω βοῦς ἀπεικόσια ἐς γην ταύτην ἐόσαν ἐρήμην, ἣτινα μὲν Σκύθαι νέμονται. Γηρυόνεα δὲ οἰκεέων ἔξω τοῦ Πόντου, κατοικημένων τὴν "Ελληνας λέγουσι Ἕρωθειαν νήσου την πρὸς Γαδείρους τοῦτο ἔξω Ἡρακλέων στηλέων ἐπὶ τῷ Ὁκεανῷ. τὸν δὲ Ὁκεανὸν λόγῳ μὲν λέγουσι ἀπὸ ἡλίου ἀνατολέων ἀρξάμενον γῆν περὶ πάσαν ρέειν, ἐργῳ δὲ οὐκ ἀποδεικνύσαν ἐνθεύτεν τὸν Ἡρακλέα ἀπεικόσια ἐς τὴν νῦν Σκυθίην χώρην καλεομένην, καὶ καταλαβέων γὰρ αὐτὸν ἄμεινα τε καὶ κρυμών, ἑπερυσαμένου τὴν λεωτήν κατύπνωσαι, τὰς δὲ οἱ ἱπποὺς τὰς ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀρματος νεμομένας ἐν τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ ἀφανισθῆναι θέλῃ τύχῃ.

9. Ὡς δὲ ἐγερθῆναι τὸν Ἡρακλέα, δίζησθαι, πάντα δὲ τῆς χώρης ἐπεξελθόντα τέλος ἀπεικόσια ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδαν καλεομένην γῆν ἐνθαῦτα δὲ αὐτὸν εὑρεῖν ἐν ἀντρὶ μιχαράβεν τινὰ, ἐγιδυνα διφυέα, τῆς τὰ μὲν ἄνω ἀπὸ τῶν γλυττῶν εἶναι γυναῖκος, τὰ δὲ ἐνερθέε ὀφιός. ἵδοντα δὲ καὶ θωμάσαντα ἑπειρέσθαι μιν εἰ κου ἢδε ἱπποὺς πλανωμένας τὴν δὲ φῶναι ἐσώτην ἐχεῖν καὶ οὐκ ἀποδώσειν ἐκεῖνο πρὶν τη χιτῆ τὸν δὲ Ἡρακλέα μιχθῆναι ἐπὶ τῷ μεσθῷ τουτορ. κείσθαι τῇ ὑπερβαλλέσθαι τὴν ἀπόδοσιν τῶν ἱππῶν, βουλομένην ὡς πλείστων χρόνου συνεῖναι τῷ Ἡρακλεῖ, καὶ τὸν κομισάμενον ἐβέλεω ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι τέλος δὲ ἀποδοδοῦσαι αὐτὴν εἰπείν.
8. Such is the Scythians' account of themselves and the country north of them. But the story told by the Greeks who dwell in Pontus is as follows. Heracles, driving the kine of Geryones, came to this land, which was then desert, but is now inhabited by the Scythians. Geryones dwelt westward of the Pontus,¹ being settled in the island called by the Greeks Erythea, on the shore of the Ocean near Gadira, outside the pillars of Heracles. As for the Ocean, the Greeks say that it flows from the sun's rising round the whole world, but they cannot prove that this is so. Heracles came thence to the country now called Scythia, where, meeting with wintry and frosty weather, he drew his lion's skin over him and fell asleep, and while he slept his mares, that were grazing yoked to the chariot, were marvellously spirited away.

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

¹ Very far west, Gadira being identified with Cadiz.
"Ηπειρόν μὲν δὴ ταύτας ἀπικοιμένας ἐνθάδε ἔσωσά τοι ἐγώ, σώστρα τε σὺ παρέσχες· ἐγὼ γὰρ ἐκ σεύ τρεῖς παίδας ἔχω. τούτους, ἐπεάν γένονται τρόφιμα, ὦ τι χρή ποιέειν, ἔξηγέο σὺ, εἰτὲ αὐτοῦ κατοικίζω (χώρης γὰρ τῆς δὲ ἔχω τὸ κράτος αὐτή) εἰτὲ ἀποτείμπω παρὰ σὲ." τὴν μὲν δὴ ταύτα ἐπειρωτάν, τὸν δὲ λέγουσι πρὸς ταύτα εἰπεῖν "Επεάν ἀνδρωθέντας ἴδῃ τοὺς παίδας, τάδε ποιεύσα σὺκ ἀν ἀμαρτάνοις· τὸν μὲν ἀν ὀρᾶς αὐτῶν τάδε τὸ τόξον ὁδὲ διατεινόμενον καὶ τὸ ξωστήρι τάδε κατὰ τάδε ξωνυμένον, τοῦτον μὲν τῆςδὲ τῆς χώρης οἰκήτορα ποιεῦ· ὃς δὲ ἀν τούτων τῶν ἑργῶν τῶν ἐντέλλομαι λείπηται, ἐκπεμπε ἐκ τῆς χώρης. καὶ ταύτα ποιεύσα αὐτή τε εὐφρανέαι καὶ τὰ ἐντεταλμένα ποιήσεις."  

10. Τὸν μὲν δὴ εἰρύσαντα τῶν τόξων τὸ ἔτερον (ὅπως ἐγὼ ἔδω καὶ τοὺς ἱππίας ἐδήλωσεν, ἥμαρτον, καὶ τὸν ξωστήρα προδέχατο, παραδόθηκε τὸ τόξον τε καὶ τὸν ἐκεῖνον ἔχων ἀπὸ άκρης τῆς συμβολῆς φιάλης χρυσῆν, δόντα δὲ ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι. τὴν δὲ ἐπεί οἱ γενομένοι τοὺς παῖδας ἀνδρωθήσα, τοῦτο μὲν σφι οὐνόματα θέσθαν, τὸ μὲν Ἀγαθύρσον αὐτῶν, τὸ δὲ ἐπομένω Γελώνων, Σκύθην δὲ τὸ νεοτάτω, τοῦτο δὲ τῆς ἑπιστολῆς μεμνημένων αὐτήν ποιήσαι τὰ ἐντεταλμένα. καὶ δὴ δυο μὲν οἱ τῶν παίδων, τὸν τε Ἀγαθύρσον καὶ τὸν Γελώνων, οὐκ οἶος τε γενομένος ἐξικέσται πρὸς τὸν προκείμενον ἀεθλον, οἶχεθαί ἐκ τῆς χώρης ἐκ- βιλθεύτας ὑπὸ τῆς γεναμένης, τὸν δὲ νεώτατον αὐτῶν Σκύθην ἐπιτελέσαντα καταμεῖναι ἐν τῇ χώρῃ. καὶ ἀπὸ μὲν Σκύθου τοῦ Ἡρακλέος γενέσθαι τοὺς αἰεὶ βασιλέας γενομένους Σκυθέων,
to him, "These mares came, and I kept them safe here for you, and you have paid me for keeping them, for I have three sons by you. Do you now tell me what I must do when they are grown big: shall I make them to dwell here (for I am the queen of this country), or shall I send them away to you?" Thus she inquired, and then (it is said) Heracles answered her: "When you see the boys grown to man's estate, act as I bid you and you will do rightly; whichever of them you see bending this bow thus and girding himself in this fashion with this girdle, make him a dweller in this land; but whoever fails to achieve these tasks which I command, send him away out of the country. Thus do and you will yourself have comfort, and my bidding will be done."

10. So he drew one of his bows (for till then Heracles ever bore two), and showed her the girdle, and delivered to her the bow and the girdle, that had a golden vessel on the end of its clasp; and, having given them, so departed. But she, when the sons born to her were grown men, gave them names, calling one of them Agathyrsus and the next Gelonus and the youngest Seythes; moreover, remembering the charge, she did as she was commanded. Two of her sons, Agathyrsus and Gelonus, not being able to achieve the appointed task, were cast out by their mother and left the country, but Seythes, the youngest, accomplished it and so abode in the land. From Seythes son of Heracles comes the whole line of the kings of Scythia; and it is because of the
11. Ἡστι δὲ καὶ ἄλλος λόγος ἔχων ὁδὲ, τῷ μάλιστα λεγομένῳ αὐτῶς πρόσκειμαι, Σκύθας τοὺς νομάδας οἰκέοντας ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ, πολέμων πιεσθέντας ὑπὸ Μασσαρητέων, οὐκεσθαι δια-βάντας ποταμὸν Ἀράξην ἐπὶ γην τὴν Κιμμερίαν (τὴν γὰρ νῦν νεῶνται Σκύθαι, αὕτη λέγεται τὸ παλαιὸν εἶναι Κιμμερίων), τοὺς δὲ Κιμμερίους ἐπιστομῶν Σκύθεων βουλεύεσθαι ώς στρατοῦ ἐπι-όντος μεγάλου, καὶ δὴ τὰς γνώμας σφέων κεχω-ρισμένας, ἐντόνους μὲν ἀμφοτέρας, ἀμείων δὲ τὴν τῶν βασιλέων τὴν μὲν γὰρ δὴ τοῦ δήμου φέρειν γνώμην ὡς ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι πρήγμα εἰη μηδὲ πρὸ σποδοῦ μένοντας κινδυνεύειν, τὴν δὲ τῶν βασιλέων διαμάχεσθαι περὶ τῆς χώρης τούτης ἐπιούσι. οὐκὼν δὴ ἐθέλειν πείδεσθαι οὔτε τοὺς βασιλεύσει τὸν δήμον οὕτε τῷ δήμῳ τοὺς βα-σιλέας τοὺς μὲν ὡς ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι βουλεύεσθαι ἀμαχητὶ τὴν χώρην παραδόντας τοῖς ἐπιούσι τοῖς δὲ βασιλεύσει δόξαι ἐν τῇ ἐωντῶν κείσθαι ἀποθανόντας μηδὲ συμφέρειν τῷ δήμῳ λογισμένους ὅσα τε ἀγαθὰ πεπόνθαι καὶ ὅσα φεύγονται ἐκ τῆς πατρίδος κακὰ ἐπίδοξα καταλαμβάνειν, ὡς δὲ δόξαι σφὶ ταῦτα, διαστάντας καὶ ἀριθμὸν ἱσοῦς γενομένους μάχεσθαι πρὸς ἀλλήλους. καὶ

1 This is not intelligible to me. If τῇ μητέρᾳ Σκύθην could be read, some sense might be obtained: Seythes, and he alone, contrived this (τοῦ for τὸ δῆ, "this" being the προ-κειμένος ἐσθλος) for his mother.
vessel that the Scythians carry vessels on their girdles to this day. This alone his mother contrived for Scythes. Such is the tale told by the Greek dwellers in Pontus.

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

\(^1\) Herodotus' idea of the course of this river is uncertain; ep. i. 202.
τοὺς μὲν ἀποθανόντας πάντας ὅπε ἔωστον θάψας τὸν δῆμον τῶν Κιμμερίων παρὰ ποταμὸν Τύρην (καὶ σφεῶν ἐτὶ δῆλος ἔστι ὁ τάφος), θάψαντας δὲ οὕτω τὴν ἔξοδον ἐκ τῆς χώρης ποιέσθαι. Σκύθας δὲ ἐπελθόντας λαβεῖν τὴν χώρην ἐρήμην.

12. Καὶ νῦν ἐστι μὲν ἐν τῇ Σκυθικῇ Κιμμέρια τείχεα, ἐστὶ δὲ πορθμήμα Κιμμέρια, ἐστὶ δὲ καὶ χώρη οὐνομα Κιμμέρια, ἐστὶ δὲ Βόσπορος Κιμμέριος καλεόμενος. φαίνονται δὲ οἱ Κιμμέριοι φεύγοντες ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην τοὺς Σκύθας καὶ τὴν χερσόνησον κτίσαντες, ἐν τῇ νῦν Σινώπῃ πόλις Ἑλλάς οἰκισται. φανερὸν δὲ εἰσὶ καὶ οἱ Σκύθαι διώξαντες αὐτοὺς καὶ ἐσβάλοντες ἐς γῆν τὴν Μηδικήν, ἀμαρτόντες τὴς ὁδοῦ οἱ μὲν γὰρ Κιμμέριοι αἰεὶ τὴν παρὰ θάλασσαν ἐφευγον, οἱ δὲ Σκύθαι ἐν δεξίῃ τὸν Καύκασον ἔχοντες ἐδίωκον ἐς οὐ ἐσβάλον ἐς γῆν τὴν Μηδικήν, ἐς μεσογαιαν τῆς ὁδοῦ τραφθέντες. οὕτως δὲ ἄλλος ξυνὸς Ἑλλήνων τε καὶ βαρβάρων λεγόμενος λόγος εἰρηται.

13. Ἕφη δὲ Ἀριστέης ὁ Καυστροβίον ἀνήρ Προκοινήσιος ποιέων ἔπεα, ἀπικέσθαι εἰς Ἰσαγόνας φοιβολαμπτὸς γενόμενος, Ἰσαγόνων δὲ ὑπεροικεῖν Ἀριμασπόνς ἀνήρας μονοφθάλμους, ὑπὲρ δὲ τούτων τοὺς χρυσοφύλακας γρύπας, τούτων δὲ τοὺς Τυρπορέων κατήκοντας ἐπὶ θάλασσαν. τούτως ὁν πάντας πλὴν Ἀριμασπῶν ἀρξάντων Ἀριμασπῶν, αἰεὶ τοῖς πλησιοχώροις εὐπηνίδεσθαι, καὶ ὑπὸ μὲν Ἀριμασπῶν ἐξωθέσθαι.
were all slain by their own hands; then the commonalty of the Cimmerians buried them by the river Tyras, where their tombs are still to be seen, and having buried them departed out of the land; and the country being empty, the Scythians came and took possession of it.

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

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

---

\(^1\) The name survives in "Crimea." The "Cimmerian ferry" is probably the narrow entrance of the Sea of Azov.

For some notice of geographical difficulties here and elsewhere in this Book, see the introduction to this volume.
ἐκ τῆς χώρης Ἰσσηδόνας, ὑπὸ δὲ Ἰσσηδόνων Σκύθας, Κιμμερίους δὲ οἰκείοντας ἐπὶ τῇ νοτίᾳ θαλάσσῃ ὑπὸ Σκυθέων πιεζομένους ἐκλείπειν τὴν χώρην. οὗτος οὖν οὗτος συμφέρεται περὶ τῆς χώρης ταύτης Σκύθησι.

14. Καὶ ὁ δὲν ἦν Ἄριστέης ὁ ταῦτα εἶπας, εἰρήκα, τὸν δὲ περὶ αὐτοῦ ἦκονον λόγον ἐν Προκοννήσῳ καὶ Κυζίκῳ, λέξῳ. Ἀριστέης γὰρ λέγουσι, ἐξούσια τῶν ἀστῶν οὐδενὸς γένος ὑποδεέστερον, ἐσελθόντα ἐς κναφήμι ἐν Προκοννήσῳ ἀποθανεῖν, καὶ τὸν κναφέα κατακλησάντα τὸ ἐργαστήριον οἰκεῖον αὐγελέοντα τοῦτα προσήκουσι τῷ νεκρῷ ἐσκεδασμένον δὲ ἤδη τοῦ λόγου ἀνὰ τὴν πόλιν ὡς τεθνεώς εῖν ὁ Ἀριστέης, ἐς ἀμφισβασίας τοῖς λέγουσι ἀπικνέονται ἄνδρα Κυζίκην ἦκοντα ἢ Ἀρτάκης πόλιος, φάντα συντυχεῖν τε ὡς ἴσοντι ἐπὶ Κυζίκου καὶ ἔς λόγους ἀπικέοινται. καὶ τούτων μὲν ἐντεταμένων ἀμφισβατέων, τοὺς δὲ προσήκοντας τῷ νεκρῷ ἐπὶ τὸ κναφήμι παρείναι ἐχοντας τὰ πρόσφορα ὡς ἀναφερομένους ἀνοιχθέντος δὲ τοῦ οἰκήματος οὕτη τεθνεών ὡς ξοντας φαϊνεσθαι Ἀριστέην, μετὰ δὲ ἐξομοί ήτει φανεύτα αὐτὸν ἐς Προκοννήσον ποιῆσαι τὰ ἐπει ταῦτα τὰ νῦν ὑπ᾽ Ἐλλήνων Ἀριμάσπεα καλέται, ποιῆσαντας δὲ ἀφανισθῆναι τὸ δεύτερον.

15. Ταῦτα μὲν αἱ πόλεις αὐτὰς λέγουσι, τάδε δὲ οἶδα Μεταποντίνους τοῖς ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ συγκυρίσαντα μετὰ τὴν αφάνισιν τὴν δευτέρην Ἀριστέων ἐτέσι τεσσεράκοντα καὶ διηκοσίους, ὡς ἑγὼ συμβαλλόμενος ἐν Προκοννήσῳ τε καὶ Μεταποντίῳ εὐρίσκων. Μεταποντίνου φασὶ αὐτὸν Ἀριστέην φανεύντα σφι εἰς τὴν χώρην κελεύσαι βωμὸν Ἀπόλ—
by the Arimaspians, and the Scythians by the Issedones, and the Cimmerians, dwelling by the southern sea, were hard pressed by the Scythians and left their country. Thus neither does Aristeas' story agree concerning this country with the Scythian account.

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

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

1 A Milesian colony, the port of Cyzicus.
λωνος ἱδρύσασθαι καὶ Ἀριστέω τοῦ Προκοινησίου ἐπωνυμήν ἔχοντα ἀνδρίαν παρ' αὐτὸν ἵσταναι· φάναι γὰρ σφί τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνα Ἰταλιωτῶν μοῦνοι δὴ ἀπικέσθαι ἐς τὴν χώρην, καὶ αὐτὸς οἱ ἐπεσθαί οὐ διὰ ἔως Ἀριστῆς· τότε δὲ, ὅτε ἐπετο τῷ θεῷ, εἶναι κόραξ. καὶ τὸν μὲν εἰπόντα ταύτα ἀφαιρεθῆναι, σφέας δὲ Μεταποιτῶν λέγουσι ἐς Δελφῶν πέμψαντας τὸν θεὸν ἐπιερωταίν ὁ τι τὸ φάσμα τοῦ ἀνδρόπου εἶπ. τὴν δὲ Πυθίην σφέας κελέειν πεῖθεσθαι τῷ φάσματι, πειθομένοις δὲ ἄμεινον συννοίσεσθαι. καὶ σφέας δεξιομένους ταύτα ποιῆσαι ἐπιτελέα. καὶ νῦν ἠστηκε ἀνδρίας ἐπωνυμὴν ἔχων Ἀριστέω παρ' αὐτῷ τῷ ἁγάλματι τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος, περίξ δὲ αὐτὸν δὰ φαίναι ἑστάσε: τὸ δὲ ἁγαλμα ἐν τῇ ἁγορῇ ἱδρυται. Ἀριστέω μὲν νῦν πέρι τοσαίτα εἰρησθῶ.
beside it a statue bearing the name of Aristeas the Proconnesian; for, he said, Apollo had come to their country alone of all Italiot lands, and he himself—who was now Aristeas, but then when he followed the god had been a crow—had come with him. Having said this, he vanished away. The Metapontines, so they say, sent to Delphi and inquired of the god what the vision of the man might be; and the Pythian priestess bade them obey the vision, saying that their fortune would be the better; having received which answer they did as commanded. And now there stands beside the very image of Apollo a statue bearing the name of Aristeas; a grove of bay-trees surrounds it; the image is set in the market-place. Suffice it then that I have said thus much of Aristeas.

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

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

1 Another Milesian colony, called by Greeks generally Olbia (the Fortunate) or Miletopolis; it was the most important Greek centre north of the Euxine.
οἰ Καλλιππίδαι τὰ μὲν ἄλλα κατὰ ταύτα Σκύθης ἐπασκέοσι, σῖτον δὲ καὶ σπείρουσι καὶ σιτεύονται, καὶ κρόμμα καὶ σκόροδα καὶ φακοὺς καὶ κένχρους. ὑπὲρ δὲ Ἄλαξονων οἰκέουσι Σκύθαι ἄροτρησι, οἵ ὀυκ ἐπὶ σιτήσι σπείρουσι τὸν σῖτον ἀλλ’ ἐπὶ πρῆσι. τούτων δὲ κατύπερθε οἰκέουσι Νευροὶ. Νευρῶν δὲ τὸ πρὸς βορέην ἄνεμον ἐρημοῦ ἀνθρώπων, ὅσον ἡμεῖς ἱδαμεν.

18. Ταύτα μὲν παρὰ τὸν Ἰππαίν ποταμὸν ἔστι ἐδναι πρὸς ἑσπερῆς τοῦ Βορυζήνους· ἀτὰρ διαβάντι τοῦ Βορυζήνου· ἀπὸ θαλάσσης πρῶτον μὲν ἡ Τλαίη, ἀπὸ δὲ ταύτης ἀνω ἰόντι οἰκέουσι Σκύθαι γεωργοὶ· τούτοις Ἑλληνες οἱ οἰκέουσι τοῦ τοῦ Ἱππαίν ποταμὸν καλέοσι Βορυζήνους, σφέας δὲ αὐτοὺς Ὀλβιοτολίτας. οὗτοι δὲν οἱ γεωργοὶ Σκύθαι νεμονται τὸ μὲν πρὸς τὴν ἡώ ἐπὶ τρεῖς ήμέρας ὁδὸν, κατηκοντες ἐπὶ ποταμὸν τῷ ύδωρ καταπίπτεις, τὸ δὲ πρὸς βορέην ἄνεμον πλοῦν ἀνὰ τοῦ Βορυζήνου· ἡμερέων ἐδεκα, ἡδὲ δὲ κατύπερθε τούτων ἐρημοῦ ἐστὶ ἐπὶ πολλῶν. μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἐρημοῦ Ἀνδροφάγων οἰκέουσι, ἐθνος ἐδόν ἰδιον καὶ οὐδαμῶς Σκυθικῶν. τὸ δὲ τούτων κατύπερθε ἐρημοῦ ἡδὲ ἀλθέως καὶ ἐθνος ἀνθρώπων οὐδεν, ὅσον ἡμεῖς ἱδαμεν.

19. Τὸ δὲ πρὸς τὴν ἡώ τῶν γεωργῶν τούτων Σκυθῶν, διαβάντι τοῦ Παντικάπην ποταμῶν, νομάδες ἡδὲ Σκύθαι νεμονται, οὔτε τοις σπείρονται οὐδεν οὔτε ἀροῦντες· ψιλὴ δὲ δεινορέων ἡ πάσα αὐτῇ πλὴν τῆς Τλαίης. οἱ δὲ νομάδες οὔτοι τὸ πρὸς τὴν ἡώ ἡμερέων τεσσάρων καὶ δέκα ὁδὸν νεμονται χώρῃ κατατείνουσαν ἐπὶ ποταμὸν Γέρρουν.

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

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

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

20. Across the Gerrus are those lands called

---

1 The Bug.  2 Not identified.  3 Not identified.
μενα βασιλεῖα ἦστι καὶ ἦκαθαί οἱ ἀριστοί τε καὶ πλείστοι καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους νομίζοντες Σκύθας δού-
λους σφετέρους εἶναι κατῆκουσι δὲ οὔτοι τὸ μὲν
πρὸς μεσαμβρὰν ἐς τὴν Ταυρίκην, τὸ δὲ πρὸς ἥδ
ἐπὶ τε τάφρον, τὴν δὴ οἱ ἐκ τῶν τυφλῶν γενόμενοι
ὄργανοι, καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς λίμνης τῆς Μανῆτιδος τὸ
ἐμπόριον τὸ καλέσται Κρημνῶι. τὰ δὲ αὐτῶν κατη-
kουσι ἐπὶ ποταμοῦ Τάναϊν. τὰ δὲ κατύπερθε
πρὸς βορέων ἀνέμου τῶν βασιληῶν Σκυθέων οἰκε-
ουσι Μελαγχλαίων, ἀλλο ἤθεος καὶ οὐ Σκυθικῶν.
Μελαγχλαιῶν δὲ τὸ κατύπερθε λίμναι καὶ ἔρημος
ἐστὶ ἀνθρώπων, κατόσον ἡμεῖς ἴδομεν.

21. Τάναιβ δὲ ποταμοῦ διαβάντι οὐκέτι Ἑκυ-
θικῆ, ἀλλ’ ἡ μὲν πρώτῃ τῶν λαξίων Σαυροματέων
ἐστι, οἱ ἐκ τοῦ μυχοῦ ἀρξάμενοι τῆς Μανῆτιδος
λίμνης νέμονται τὸ πρὸς βορέων ἀνέμου ἡμερέων
πεντεκαίδεκα οἶχον, πᾶσαι ἐνοῦσαι ψῆλην καὶ
ἀγρίων καὶ ἡμέρων δενδρῶν. ὑπεροικέσυσι δε
τούτων δευτέρην λάξιν ἐχοντες Βουδίνων, γῆν μεμο-
μενοι πᾶσαι δασέαν ὕλη παντοῖς.

22. Βουδίνων δὲ κατύπερθε πρὸς βορέων ἐστὶ
πρώτῃ μὲν ἔρημος ἐπ’ ἡμερέων ἐπτὰ οἶχον, μετὰ δὲ
τὴν ἐρήμον ἀποκλίνοντι μᾶλλον πρὸς ἀπηλιώτην
ἀνέμου νέμονται Θυσσαγέται, ἔθνος πολλὸν καὶ
ἰδιων χώσει δὲ ἀπὸ βήρης. συνεχεῖσι δὲ τούτοις
ἐν τοῖς αὐτοῖς τόπους κατοικημένοι εἰσί τοῖς
οὐνομα κεῖται Ἰὐρκαί, καὶ οὕτως ἀπὸ βήρης χώντες
τρόπῳ τοιῷδε λοχα ἐπὶ δενδρεύον ἀναβᾶς, τὰ δὲ
ἐστὶ πυκνὰ ἀνὰ πᾶσαν τὴν χώρην. Ἡππος δὲ
ἐκάστῳ δεδιδαγμένος ἐπὶ γαστέρα κεῖοθαι ταπει-
νότητος εἴνεκα ἐτοιμοσ ἐστὶ καὶ κύων ἑπεαν δὲ
ὑπίδῃ τὸ βηρίον ἀπὸ τού δενδρεύο, τοξεύσας ἐπι-
Royal, where are the best and most in number of the Scythians, who deem all other Scythians their slaves; their territory stretches southward to the Tauric land, and eastward to the fosse that was dug by the sons of the blind men, and on the Maeetian lake to the port called The Cliffs\(^1\); and part of it stretches to the river Tanais. Above the Royal Scythians to the north dwell the Blackcloaks, who are of another and not a Scythian stock; and beyond the Blackcloaks the land is all marshes and uninhabited by men, so far as we know.

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

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

---

\(^1\) Apparently on the west coast of the Sea of Azov; \textit{cp.} 110.
καὶ ὁ κύων ἔχεται. ὑπὲρ δὲ τούτων τὸ πρὸς τὴν ἡδὸν ἀποκλάνοντι οἰκεούσι Σκυθαὶ ἄλλοι, ἀπὸ τῶν Βασιλείων Σκυθέων ἀποστάντες καὶ οὕτω ἀπικόμενοι ἐς τούτον τὸν χώρον.

23. Μέχρι μὲν δὴ τῆς τούτων τῶν Σκυθέων χώρης ἐστὶ ἡ καταλεγθεῖσα πάσα πεδιάς τε γῆ καὶ βαθύγαιος, τὸ δ᾽ ἀπὸ τούτου λιβώδης τ᾽ ἐστὶ καὶ τρηχεά. διεξελθόντες δὲ καὶ τῆς τρηχέως χώρης πολλὰν οἰκέουσι ὑπόπερεαν ὀρέων ὕψηλῶν ἀνθρώποι λεγόμενοι εἶναι πάντες φαλακροὶ ἐκ γενετῆς γνωρίμενοι, καὶ ἔρευνες καὶ βῆλεις ὁμοίως, καὶ σιμῷ καὶ γένεια ἔχοντες μεγάλα, φωνὴν δὲ ἰδίην ἑντες, ἑσθητὶ δὲ χρεώμενοι Σκυθικῇ, ζωντες δὲ ἀπὸ δενδρῶν. ποντίκων μὲν οὖνομα τῷ δενδρῷ ἀπὸ ζώσι, μέγαθος δὲ κατὰ συκέην μάλιστα κη. καρπὸν δὲ φορέει κυάμῳ ἵσον, πυρῆνα δὲ ἔχει. τούτῳ ἐπεάν γένηται πέπον, σακκέουσι ἴματιοι, ἀπορρεεῖ δὲ ἀπ᾽ αὐτοῦ παχὺ καὶ μέλαν οὖνομα δὲ τῷ ἀπορρέοντι ἐστὶ ἀσχύ ν. τούτῳ καὶ λείχουσι καὶ γάλακτι συμμᾶγγοτες πίνουσι, καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς παχυτητος αὐτῶν τῆς τρυγος παλάθας συντιθείσι καὶ ταύτας συτέουσι. πρὸβατα γὰρ σφι οὖν πολλὰ ἔστιν οὐ γὰρ τί σπουδαίαι αἳ νομαί αὐτόθι εἰσι. ὑπὸ δενδρῶν δὲ ἐκαστος κατοικηται, τὸν μὲν χειμώνα ἐπεάν τὸ δενδρεον περικαλύψῃ πίλῳ στεγνῷ λευκῷ, τὸ δὲ θέρος ἄνευ πίλου. τούτους οὖν οἰκεῖει ἀνθρώπων. ἱροὶ γὰρ λέγονται εἶναι οὖν τι ἀρίμον ὁπλοῦ ἐκτεάται, καὶ τούτῳ μὲν τούσῃ περιοικέουσι οὕτω εἰσὶ οι τὰς διαφορὰς.
bow and mounts his horse and pursues after it, and the dog follows closely after. Beyond these and somewhat towards the east dwell Scythians again, who revolted from the Royal Scythians and so came to this country.

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

1 The fruit of the "Prunus Padus" is said to be made by the Cossacks into a drink called "atschi."
διαιρέοντες, τούτο δὲ ὃς ἂν φεύγων καταφύγῃ ἐς τούτους, ὑπ’ οὐδενὸς ἄδικεται. οὐνόμα δὲ σφι ἐστὶ Ἀργυπταῖοι.

24. Μέχρι μὲν νυν τῶν φαλακρῶν τούτων πολλῆς περιφανείας τῆς χώρης ἐστὶ καὶ τῶν ἐμπροσθεὶς ἐθνῶν καὶ γὰρ Σκυθῶν τινὲς ἀπικνέονται ἐς αυτούς, τῶν οὐ χαλεπῶν ἐστὶ πυθέσθαι καὶ Ἑλλήνων τῶν ἐκ Βορυσθένεος τε ἐμπορίου καὶ τῶν Ἀλλών Ποντικῶν ἐμπορίων Σκυθῶν δὲ οἱ ἄν ἐλθοῦν ἐς αυτούς, δὲ ἐπτα ἐρμηνεύον καὶ δὲ ἐπτα γλώσσεων διαπρήσονται.

25. Μέχρι μὲν δὴ τούτων γινώσκεται, τὸ δὲ τῶν φαλακρῶν κατυπερθε οὐδεὶς ἀτρεκῶς οἶδε φράσαι. ὁρεά γὰρ ὑψηλὰ ἀποτάμευε ἅβατα καὶ οὐδεὶς σφεα ὑπερβαίνει. οἳ δὲ φαλακροὶ οὕτοι λέγουσι, ἐμοὶ μὲν οὐ πιστὰ λέγοντε, οἰκέειν τὰ ὅρεα αἰγιπόδας ἀνδρας ὑπερβάντε δὲ τούτους ἀνθρώπους ἄλλους οἳ τὴν ἐξιμὴν κατεύθυνα. τοῦτο δὲ οὐκ ἐνδεκομαί τὴν ἀρχὴν, ἀλλὰ τὸ μὲν πρὸς ἁδὸ τῶν φαλακρῶν γινώσκεται ἀτρεκῶς ὑπὸ Ἱσσηδόνων οἰκεόμενον, τὸ μέντοι κατυπερθε πρὸς Βορέιν ἄνεμον οὐ γινώσκεται οὔτε τῶν φαλακρῶν οὔτε τῶν Ἱσσηδόνων, εἰ μὴ ὅσα αὐτῶν τούτων λεγόντων.

26. Νόμοισι δὲ Ἱσσηδόνες τοῖσιδε λέγονται χρᾶσθαι. ἐπεάν ἄνδρι ἀποθάνῃ πατήρ, οἱ προσθηκοντες πάντες προσάγουσι πρόβατα, καὶ ἐπείτα ταύτα θύσαντε καὶ κατατάμνουσι τὰ κρέα κατατάμνουσι καὶ τὸν τοῦ δεκομένου τεθνεότα γονεά, ἀναμίζαντες δὲ πάντα τὰ κρέα δαίτα προτίθενται τὴν δὲ κεφαλήν αὐτῶν ψιλώσαντες καὶ ἐκκαθηραυντες καταχυσοῦσι καὶ ἐπείτα ἄτε ἀγάλματι χρέωνται, θυσίας μεγάλας ἐπετείους ἐπιτελεόντες.
ever banished man has taken refuge with them is wronged by none. They are called Argippeans.

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

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

26. It is said to be the custom of the Issedones, that whenever a man's father dies, all the nearest of kin bring beasts of the flock, and having killed these and cut up the flesh they cut up also the dead father of their host, and set out all the flesh mingled together for a feast. As for his head, they strip it bare and cleanse and gild it, and keep it for a sacred relic, whereto they offer yearly solemn sacrifice. Every
πάις δὲ πατρὶ τούτῳ ποιεῖ, κατὰ περ" Ἐλληνες τὰ γενέσια. ἄλλως δὲ δίκαιοι καὶ οὕτωι λέγονται εἰναι, ἵσοκρατέες δὲ ὁμοίως αἱ γυναῖκες τοῖς ἄνδρασι.

27. Γινώσκονται μὲν δὴ καὶ οὕτωι, τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ τούτων τὸ κατύπερθε Ἰσοπήδονες εἰσὶ οἱ λέγοντες μουνοβάλμους ἄνθρώπους καὶ χρυσοφύλακας γρύπας εἰναι. παρὰ δὲ τούτων Ἀκυθαι παραλαβόντες λέγονσι, παρὰ δὲ Ἀκυθεῶν ἡμεῖς οἱ ἀλλοι νενομίκαμεν καὶ ὄνομαζομεν αὐτοὺς σκυθίστι Ἀρμασσόντως. ἀρμα γὰρ ἐν καλέουσι Ἀκυθαι, σποῦ δὲ ὀφθαλμοῖν.

28. Δυσχείμερος δὲ αὐτὴ ἡ καταλεχθείσα πᾶσα χώρη οὗτοι δὴ τι ἐστὶ, ἐνθα τοὺς μὲν ὂκτω τῶν μηνῶν ἀφόρητος οἷος γίνεται κρυμός, ἐν τοῖς ὕδωρ ἐκχέας πηλὼν οὐ ποιήσεις, πῦρ δὲ ἀνακαίων ποιήσεις πηλῶν 1 δὲ θάλασσα πήγνυται καὶ ὁ Βόσπορος πᾶς ὁ Κιμμέριος, καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ κρυστάλλου οἱ ἐντὸς τάφρου Ἀκυθαι κατοικημένοι στρατεύονται καὶ τὰς ἀμάξας ἐπελαύνουσι πέρην ἐς τούς Σίνδους. οὕτω μὲν δὴ τοὺς ὡκτὼ μήνας διατελέσει χειμών ἑώς, τοὺς δὲ ἐπιλοίπους τέσσερας ψυχεά αὐτοῖς ἐστί. κεχώρισται δὲ οὕτως ὁ χειμῶν τοὺς τρόπους πᾶσι τοῖς ἐν ἄλλοις χωρίοις γενομένουσι χειμώστε, ἐν τῷ τῷ μὲν ὀραίῳ οὐκ ἦν λόγου ἄξιον οὕδεν, τὸ δὲ θέρος ὑπὲρ οὐκ ἀνείπωτον θέρει τῇ ἄλλῃ γίνονται, τηρικαίται μὲν οὐ γίνονται, θέρεισὲς δὲ ἀμφιλαφέες ἢν κειμῶνος βροτὴ γένηται, ὃς τέρας νενομίσταιθωμαξέθανεν. ὃς δὲ καὶ ἦν σεισμὸς γένηται ἢν τῇ θέρεσι ἢν τῇ χειμώνος ἐν τῇ Σκυθικῇ, τέρας νενομίσται. ἢπποι δὲ ἀνεχόμενοι φέροντι τὸν χειμῶνα τούτων, ἡμίονοι

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

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

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

29. Δοκεῖ τε μοι καὶ τὸ γένος τῶν βοῶν τῷ κόλον διὰ ταῦτα οὐ φύειν κέρεα αὐτοῦ· μαρτυρεῖ δὲ μοι τῇ γνώμῃ καὶ ὶμηρον ἐποὺ ἐν Ὀδυσσείᾳ ἔχον ὅδε,

καὶ Διβύην, ὅθεν τῇ ἱρῴεις ἄφαρ κεραῖ τελεθοῦσι,

ὁρθῶς εἰρήμενοι, ἐν τούτῳ θερμοῖο ταχὺ παραγίνεσθαι τὰ κέρεα, ἐν δὲ τούτῳ ἵσχυροῖς ψύχεσθαι οὐ φύειν κέρεα ταῦτα κτήματα ἄρχην ἢ φύοντα φύειν μόνισ.

30. Ἑνθαῦτα μὲν νῦν διὰ τὰ ψύχεα γίνεται ταῦτα. ὥρμαζο δὲ (προσθήκας γὰρ ὅτι μοι ὁ λόγος ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐδίζητο) ὅτι εἰς τῇ Ἡλείᾳ πάση χώρῃ οὐ δυνέται γίνεσθαι ἡμῖνοι, οὔτε ψυχροῖ τῷ χώρῳ ἐόντος οὔτε ἄλλου φανεροῦ αἰτίου οὐδένος, φασί δὲ αὐτοῖς Ἡλεῖοι εἰς κατάρτισι τεν οὐ γίνεσθαι σφίσι ἡμῖνοι, ἀλλ' ἐπεάν προσίη ἡ ώρη κυνισκεσθαι ταῖς ἔποιοις, ἔξελανον ἐστὶ τοὺς πλησιοχώρους αὐτάς, καὶ ἔπειτα σφὶ εἰς τῇ τῶν πέλας ἐπιείοις τοὺς ὄνους, ἐς οὐ ἄν σχῶσι αἰ ἐποὶ εἰς γαστρὶ ἔπειτα δὲ ἀπελανοῦσι.

31. Περὶ δὲ τῶν πτερών τῶν Σκύθων λέγοντοι ἀνάπλεον εἶναι τοῦ ἱέρα, καὶ τούτων εἶνεκα οὐκ ὄλοι τε εἰναι οὔτε οἶδαν τὸ πρῶσο τῆς ἡπείρου οὔτε διεξεῖναι, τῇν ἐκ χωρὶ περὶ αὐτῶν γυνῶν τὰ κατ-ύπερθε ταύτης τῆς χώρης οἰεὶ νῦσται, ἐλαβοσαν δὲ τοῦ θέρεος ἡ τοῦ χειμῶνος, ὅστερ καὶ οἰκίσκο. ἢδη ὁν ὅστις ἀρχόθεν χιόνα ἄδρην πτέτουσαν

228
and asses cannot at all bear it; yet in other lands, whereas asses and mules can endure frost, horses that stand in it are frostbitten.

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

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

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

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

31. But as touching the feathers whereof the Scythians say that the air is full, insomuch that none can see or traverse the land beyond, I hold this opinion. Northward of that country snow falls continually, though less in summer than in winter, as is to be expected. Whoever has seen snow falling thickly near him knows of himself my meaning; for
εἰδὲ, οἴδε τὸ λέγων ἐοικε γὰρ Ἡ χιών πτεροῖσιν καὶ διὰ τῶν χειμώνα τούτων ἐόντα τοιούτων ἀνοικητα τὰ πρὸς βορέην ἐστὶ τῆς ἡπείρου ταύτης, τὰ ὧν πτερὰ εἰκάζοντας τὴν χιώνα τοὺς Σκύθας τε καὶ τοὺς περιοίκους δοκέω λέγειν. ταύτα μὲν νυν τὰ λέγεται μακρότατα εἰρήται.

32. 'Τπερσβορέων δὲ πέρι ἀνθρώπων οὕτε τι Σκύθαι λέγουσι οὕδεν οὕτε τινὲς ἅλλοι τῶν ταύτης αἰκημένων, εἰ μὴ ἄρα Ἰσσηδόνες. ὡς δὲ ἐγὼ δοκέω, οὐδ' οὕτω λέγουσιν οὕδεν. ἔλεγον γὰρ ἂν καὶ Σκύθαι, ὡς περὶ τῶν μουντοφθάλμων λέγουσι, ἀλλ' Ἡσιόδορος μὲν ἐστὶ περὶ 'Τπερσβορέων εἰρήμενα, ἐστὶ δὲ καὶ Ὁμήρῳ ἐν Ἑπειγόνοις, εἰ δὴ τὸ ἔόντι γε "Ὁμηρος ταύτα τὰ ἐσεα ἐποίησε.

33. Πολλῷ δὲ τι πλείστα περὶ αὐτῶν Δῆλοι λέγουσι, φάμενοι ἵρα εὐδεδεμένα ἐν καλάμη πυρῶν εξ 'Τπερσβορέων φερόμενα ἀπεκνέεσθαι ἐς Σκύθας, ἀπὸ δὲ Σκυθέων ἣδ' δεκομένως αἰεὶ τοὺς πλησιωχώρους ἐκάστους κομίζειν αὐτὰ τὸ πρὸς ἐσπέρης ἱκαστάτω ἐπὶ τῶν Ἀδρίνη, ἐνθεύτεν δὲ πρὸς μεσαμβρίην προπεμπόμενα πρῶτους Δωδώναιοις Ἑλλήνων δέκεσθαι, ἀπὸ δὲ τούτων καταβαίνειν ἐπὶ τῶν Μηλιέα κόλπων καὶ διαπορεύεσθαι ἐς Εὐβοίαν, πόλιν τε ἐς πόλιν πέμπειν μέχρι Καρυστοῦ, τὸ δ' ἀπὸ ταύτης ἐκλιπεῖν "Ἀνδρον. Καρυστίους γὰρ εἶναι τοὺς κομίζοντας ἐς Τήνου, Τηνίους δὲ ἐς Δῆλον. ἀπεκνέεσθαι μὲν νυν οὕτω
the snow is like feathers; and by reason of the winter, which is such as I have said, the parts to the north of this continent are uninhabited. I think therefore that in this tale of feathers the Scythians and their neighbours do but speak of snow in a figure. Thus then I have spoken of those parts that are said to be most distant.

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

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

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

2 This Delian story about the Hyperboreans is additional evidence of the known fact that trade routes from the earliest times linked northern with south-eastern Europe. Amber in especial was carried from the Baltic to the Aegean.
ταύτα τὰ ἵππα λέγουσι ἐς Δῆλον· πρῶτον δὲ τοὺς Ἀπεροβέρους τέμψαι φερούσας τὰ ἵππα δύο κόρας, τὰς ὀνομάξουσι Δηλιοίς εἶναι Ἀπερόχην τε καὶ Λαοδίκην ἀμα δὲ αὐτῆς ἄσφαλείς εἶνεκεν πέμψαι τοὺς Ἀπεροβέρους τῶν ἀστῶν ἀνδρᾶς πέντε πομποὺς, τούτους ὁ νῦν Περφερέες καλέονται τιμᾶς μεγάλας ἐν Δήλῳ ἐχοῦτες. ἔπει δὲ τοῖς Ἀπεροβέροις τοὺς ἀποπεμφθέντας ὡπίσω οὐκ ἀπονοστέειν, δεινὰ ποιευμένους εἰς σφέας αἰὲ καταλάμψεται ἀποστέλλοντας μὴ ἀποδέχεσθαι, οὕτω δὴ φέροντας ἐς τοὺς οὐροὺς τὰ ἵππα ἐνδεδεμένα ἐν πυρῶν καλάμη τοὺς πλησιοχώρους ἐπισκίπτειν κελεύοντας προσπέμπειν σφέα ἀπὸ ἐωτῶν ἐς ἀλλο ἔθνος. καὶ ταύτα μὲν οὕτω προπεμπόμενα ἀπικνέεσθαι λέγοντας ἐς Δήλον. οἶδα δὲ αὐτὸς τούτοις τοῖς ιροῖς τόδε ποιεύμενον προσφέρετ, τὰς Ὠρηκίας καὶ τὰς Παιονίδας γυναίκας, ἐπεινθυώσῃ τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι τῇ βασιλείᾳ, οὐκ ἀνεῦ πυρῶν καλάμης ἐχοῦσας τὰ ἵππα.

34. Καὶ ταύτα μὲν δὴ ταύτας οἶδα ποιεύσας τής δὲ παρθένιοι ταύτης τής δὲ Ἀπεροβέρους τελευτησάσθη ἐν Δήλῳ κείροντας καὶ αἱ κόραι καὶ οἱ παῖδες οἱ Δηλιών· αἱ μὲν πρὸ γάμου πλοκαμὸν ἀποταμώνειν καὶ περὶ ἀτρακτον εἰλίξασθαι ἐπὶ τὸ σήμα τιθείση (τὸ δὲ σήμα ἐστὶ ἐσὼ ἐς τὸ Ἀρτεμίσιον ἐστίντη ἀριστερῆς χειρὸς, ἐπιπέφυκε δὲ οἱ ἐλαῖνη), ὅσοι δὲ παῖδες τῶν Δηλιῶν, περὶ χλόην τινὰ εἰλίξαντες τῶν κρόκων τιθείση καὶ οὕτως ἐπὶ τὸ σήμα.

35. Αὐτὰ μὲν δὴ ταύτην τιμὴν ἐχοῦσι πρὸς τῶν Δηλιῶν οἰκητῶρων, φασὶ δὲ οἱ αὐτοὶ οὕτως καὶ τὴν Ἀργην τε καὶ τὴν Ὀμην ἐννύσας παρθέ
say) these offerings come to Delos. But on the first journey the Hyperboreans sent two maidens bearing the offerings, to whom the Delians give the names Hyperoche and Laodice, sending with them for safe conduct five men of their people as escort, those who are now called Perpherees and greatly honoured at Delos. But when the Hyperboreans found that those whom they sent never returned, they were very ill content that it should ever be their fate not to receive their messengers back; wherefore they carry the offerings, wrapt in wheat-straw, to their borders, and charge their neighbours to send them on from their own country to the next; and the offerings, it is said, come by this conveyance to Delos. I can say of my own knowledge that there is a custom like these offerings, namely, that when the Thracian and Paeonian women sacrifice to the Royal Artemis, they have wheat-straw with them while they sacrifice.

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

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

1 That is, probably, the Bearers.
νοὺς ἡς ὁ Τπερβορέων κατὰ τοὺς αὐτοὺς τούτους ἀνθρώπους πορευομένας ἀπικέσθαι ἢς Δῆλου ἐτί πρότερον Ὁπερόχης τε καὶ Διοδίκης. ταύτας μὲν νῦν τῇ Ἑλληνικῇ ἀποφεροῦσας ἀντὶ τοῦ ὁκυτόκον τῶν ἐτάξαντο φόρον ἀπικέσθαι, τὴν δὲ Ἀργην τε καὶ τὴν Ὡπὶν ἀμα αὐτοῖς θεοῖς ἀπικέσθαι λέγουσι καὶ σφι ιμάς ἀλλας δεδομένης πρὸς σφέων καὶ γὰρ ἀγείρειν σφι τὰς γυναῖκας ἐπονομαζοῦσας τὰ σύνορα ἐν τῷ ὑμνῷ τῶν σφι Ὡλὴν ἁμὴρ Δύκιος ἐποίησε, παρα δὲ σφέων μαθόντας νησίωτας τε καὶ Ἰωνας ὑμνεῖν Ὡπὶν τε καὶ Ἀργην ὁμομαζοῦντας τε καὶ ἀγείροντας (οὕτως δὲ Ὡλὴν καὶ τοὺς ἀλλους τοὺς παλαιοὺς ὑμνους ἐποίησε καὶ Δυκῆς εἶλθων τοὺς ἀειδομένους ἐν Δήλῳ), καὶ τῶν μηρίων καταγιζομένων ἐπὶ τῷ βομῷ τὴν σποδὸν ταύτην ἐπὶ τὴν θήκην τῆς Ὡπίος τε καὶ Ἀργῆς ἀναίσιμοῦσθαι ἐπιβαλλομένην. ἡ δὲ θήκη αὐτέων ἔστι ὑπισθε τοῦ Ἀρτεμίσιον, πρὸς ὧν τετραμμένην, ἀγχοτάτῳ τοῦ Κηνίου ἰστιτηρίου.

36. Καὶ ταῦτα μὲν Ὁπερορέων πέρι εἰρήσθω τὸν γὰρ περὶ Ἀδαρίου λόγον τοῦ λεγομένου εἰναι Ὁπερορέου οὐ λέγω, ἀλλ' ἡ τοῦ οὐστὸν περιεφέρε κατὰ πᾶσαν γῆν οὐδὲν σιτεόμενος. εἰ δὲ εἰσὶ ὑπερῷου τινὲς ἀνθρώποι, εἰς καὶ ὑπερνότιοι ἄλλοι. γελῶ δὲ ὅρεων γῆς περίοδους γράφοντας πολλοὺς ἧδη καὶ οὐδένα νοοεχόντως ἐξηγησάμενοι οἱ Ὁκεανὸν τῇ ἔρευντα γράφουσι πέρι τῆς γῆς ἔως κυκλοτερέα ὡς ἀπὸ τὸ ὕψος, καὶ τῆς Ἀσίης τῇ Ἐθνώπῃ ποιείτων ἔστω. ἐν ὁλίγοισι γὰρ ἐν ὁδώσῳ μέγαθος τε ἐκάστης αὐτέων καὶ οἰν τῷ ἐστὶ ἐς γραφὴν ἐκάστην.
Hyperboreans by way of the peoples aforesaid to Delos, yet earlier than the coming of Hyperoche and Laodice; these latter came to bring to Ilithyia the tribute whereunto they had bound themselves for ease of child-bearing; but Arge and Opis, they say, came with the gods themselves,¹ and received honours of their own from the Delians. For the women collected gifts for them, calling upon their names in the hymn made for them by Olen a man of Lycia; it was from Delos that the islanders and Ionians learnt to sing hymns to Opis and Arge, calling upon their names and collecting gifts (this Olen after his coming from Lycia made also the other and ancient hymns that are sung at Delos). Further they say that when the thighbones are burnt in sacrifice on the altar, the ashes of them are all used for casting on the burial-place of Opis and Arge; which burial-place is behind the temple of Artemis, looking eastwards, nearest to the refectory of the people of Ceos.

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

¹ Apollo and Artemis, probably.
37. Πέρσαι οικέουσι κατηκότατες ἐπὶ τὴν νοτιὰν θάλασσαν τὴν ‘Ερυθρῆν καλεομένην, τούτων δὲ ὑπεροικέουσι πρὸς βορέῃν ἀνεμον Μῆδοι, Μῆδων δὲ Σάσπειρες, Σασπείρων δὲ Κόλχουκας κατηκότατες ἐπὶ τὴν βορείην θάλασσαν, ἐς τὴν Φάσις ποταμός ἐκδίδοι. ταὐτα τέσσερα ἔθνεα οἰκεῖει ἐκ θαλάσσης ἐς θάλασσαν.

38. 'Ἐνθεύτευν δὲ τὸ πρὸς ἐσπέρης ἀκταὶ διφα- σιαί ἀπ' αὐτῆς κατατείνουσι ες θάλασσαν, τὰς ἐγω ἀπηγόθιοιαν ἐνθευν μὲν ἡ ἀκτὴ ἡ ἐτέρη τὰ πρὸς βορέῃν ἀπὸ Φάσιος ἀρξαμένη παρατεταί τές θάλασσαν παρὰ τε τῶν Ποντῶν καὶ τῶν Ἐλ- λησσοντον μέχρι Συγείου τοῦ Τροικοῦ τὰ δὲ πρὸς νότον ἡ αὐτὴ ἀκτὴ ἀπὸ τοῦ Μυριαν- δικοῦ κόλπου τοῦ πρὸς Φοινικῆς κείμενον τείνει τά ἐς θάλασσαν μέχρι Τροιπίου άκρης. οἰκεῖει δὲ ἐν τῇ ἀκτῇ ταύτῃ ἔθνεα ἀνθρώπων τριήμερα.

39. Ἀυτὴ μὲν νῦν ἡ ἐτέρη τῶν ἀκτέων, ἡ δὲ ἡ ἐτέρη ἀπὸ Περσέων ἀρξαμένη παρατεταί τές τὴν Ἐρυθρῆν θάλασσαν, ἢ τε Περσική καὶ ἀπὸ ταύτης ἐκδεκομένη ἡ Ἀσσυρία καὶ ἀπὸ Ἀσσυρίας ἡ Ἀράβια λήγει δὲ αὐτῇ, οὐ λήγουσα εἰ μὴ νόμος, ἐς τὸν κόλπον τῶν Ἀράβων, ἐς τὸν Δαρείος ἐκ τοῦ Νεῖλου διώρυγα ἐσίγαγε. μέχρι μὲν νῦν Φοινικῆς ἀπὸ Περσέων χώρος πλατύς καὶ πολλὸς ἐστὶ; τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ Φοινικῆς παρῆκε διὰ τῆς θαλάσσης ἡ ἀκτή αὐτῇ παρὰ τε Συρίας τῆς Παλαιστίνην καὶ Δρυμπτόν, ἐς τὴν τελευταίαν τῇ ἔθνεα ἐστὶ τρία μοῦνα.

40. Ταῦτα μὲν ἀπὸ Περσέων τὰ πρὸς ἐσπέρην τῆς Ἀσίῆς ἐχοῦτα ἐστὶ; τὰ δὲ κατυπερθεῖ Περ-
37. The land where the Persians dwell reaches to the southern sea, that sea which is called Red; beyond these to the north are the Medes, and beyond the Medes the Saspires, and beyond the Saspires the Colchians, whose country reaches to the northern sea\(^1\) into which issues the river Phasis; so these four nations dwell between the one sea and the other.

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

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

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

---

\(^1\) Here, the Black Sea; in 42 the "northern sea" is the Mediterranean.
σὲ ὑπὲρ τὴν Ἰερικήν ἡ Ἀσίνη ἐστὶ; ἡ

41. Τοιαύτη μὲν καὶ τοσαῦτη ἡ Ἀσίνη ἐστὶ; ἡ ἡ Ἐρυθρή παρῆκε θάλασσα, πρὸς βορέω δὲ ἡ Κασπίς τε θάλασσα καὶ ὁ Ἀράβης ποταμός, ἰέων πρὸς ἦλιον ἀνίσχοντα. μέχρι δὲ τῆς Ἰνδικῆς οἰκεῖται Ἀσίνη τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ ταύτης ἔρημος ἦδη τὸ πρὸς τὴν ἦδη, οὐδὲ ἐχει οὐδεὶς φράσαι οἶον δὴ τι ἔστι.

42. Θωμάζω δὲ τῶν διουρισάτων καὶ διελόν
tων Ἐρυθρῆν τε καὶ Ἀσίνην καὶ Ἐὐρώπην οὐ γὰρ σμικρὰ τὰ διαφέροντα αὐτέων ἐστὶ; μήκει μὲν γὰρ παρ’ ἀμφότερας παρῆκε ἡ Ἐυρώπη, εὐρεος δὲ περὶ οὐδὲ συμβάλλειν ἄξιον φαίνεται μοι εἶναι. Ἐρυθρῆν μὲν γὰρ δὴλοί ἔωτην ἐνώπιον περίπροτος, πλὴν ὅπου αὐτῆς πρὸς τὴν Ἀσίνην οὐρίζει, Νεκὼ τοῦ Ἀιγυπτίων βασιλέως πρῶτων τῶν ἠμεῖς ἤδην καταδέσαντος. οἱ ἐπεῖτε τὴν διόρθωσα ἐπάυσατο ὁ ὅπου τῆν ἐκ τοῦ Νείλου διέχουσαν ἐς τὸν Ἀράβην κόλπον, ἀπέπεπτον Φοίνικας ἄνδρας πλοίοις, ἐντελλόμενος ἐς τὸ ὅπις δι’ Ἱππόλεων στηλέων ἐκπλεεῖν ἔως ἐς τὴν βορηήν θάλασσαν καὶ οὕτω ἐς Αἰγυπτον ἀπεκνέσαται. ὄρμηθέντες δὲ οἱ Φοίνικες ἐκ τῆς Ἐρυθρῆς θαλάσσης ἐπλεον 1

1 [ἐνωτήν] Stein.
BOOK IV. 40-42

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

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

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

tην νοτίην θάλασσαν ὅκως δὲ γάρ νοτίο φθινό-
πωρον, προσαγόντας ἃν ἀπειρεσκον τὴν γῆν, ἵνα ἐκάστοτε τῆς Διβύης πλέοντες γνωιόατο, καὶ μέ-
νεσκον τὸν ἄμμον περίσαντες δὲ ἀν τὸν οἰκον ἐπλεον, ὡστε δύο ἑτέων διεξελθόντων τρῖτον ἑτεί-
kάμψαντες Ἡρακλέας στῆλας ἀπίκουστο ἐς Αἰ-
γυπτον. καὶ ἔλεγον ἐμοὶ μὲν οὐ πιστά, ἀλλὰ δὲ ὑπὲρ, ὥσ περιπλάουσας τὴν Διβύην τὸν ἦλιον ἐσχον ἐς τὰ δεξιά.

43. Οὕτω μὲν αὐτῇ ἐγνώσθη τὸ πρῶτον, μετὰ δὲ Καρχηδόνωι εἰσί οἱ λέγοντες ὅπει Σατάσπης
γε ὁ Τεάσπιος ἀνὴρ Ἀχαιμενίδης οὐ περιπλῶσοι
Διβύην, ἐπὶ αὐτῷ τούτῳ πεμφθείς, ἀλλὰ δεῖσαι
τὸ τε μῆχος τοῦ πλάου καὶ τὴν ἐρημίν ἀπήλθε
ὅπισω, οὐδὲ ἑπέτελεσι τὸν ἑπταξεῖ ὦ ἡ μῆτηρ
ἀθλαίον. θυγατέρα γὰρ Ζωτύρου τοῦ Μεγαβύζου
ἐβιήσατο παρθένου ἐπείτα μέλλοντος αὐτοῦ διὰ
ταύτην τὴν αὐτὴν ἀνασκολοπείσθαι ὕπο τὸ Ἐσρεῖο
βασιλέος, ἡ μήτηρ τοῦ Σατάσπεος ἐσύσα Δαρείον
ἐδελφῆς παραιτήσατο, φῶσα ὦ αὐτῇ μέξω ξημίην
ἐπιθήσει ἡ περ ἐκεῖνον Διβύην γὰρ οἱ ἀνάγκης
ἐσεσθαί περιπλάουσ, ἐς δ ο ἀν ἀπίκηαν περιπλάονς
αὐτὴν ἐς τὸν Ἀράβιον κόλπον. συγχωρήσαντος
δὲ Ἐσρεῖο ἐπὶ τούτοις, ὁ Σατάσπης ἀπικομένος
ἐς Αἰγυπτον καὶ λαβὼν νέα τε καὶ ναῦτας παρὰ
τοῦτον ἐπλεε ἐπὶ Ἡρακλέας στῆλας: διεκπλῶσας
dὲ καὶ κάμψας τὸ ἀκρωτήριον τὴς Διβύης τῷ
οὐνομα Σολόεις ἐστί, ἐπλεε πρὸς μεσαμβρήν περὶ-
sailed the southern sea; whenever autumn came they would put in and sow the land, to whatever part of Libya they might come, and there await the harvest; then, having gathered in the crop, they sailed on, so that after two years had passed, it was in the third that they rounded the Pillars of Heracles and came to Egypt. There they said (what some may believe, though I do not) that in sailing round Libya they had the sun on their right hand.\(^1\)

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

---

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

\(^2\) Probably Cape Cantin, in the latitude of Madeira.
σας δὲ θάλασσαν πολλὰν ἐν πολλοῖς μησί, ἐπεῖτε τοῦ πλεύνος αἰεὶ ἐδε, ἀποστρέψας ὁπίσω ἀπέπλεε ἐς Αἴγυπτον. ἐκ δὲ ταύτης ἀπικόμενος παρὰ βασιλεὰ Ξέρξεα ἐλεγε φᾶς τὰ προσωτάτω ἀνθρώπους μικροὺς παραπλέειν ἐσθήτει φοινικῆς διαχρωμένους, οἳ ὁκεῖ καταγοίατο τῇ νη φευγέσκον πρὸς τὰ ὀρέα λείποντες τὰς πόλιας αὐτῶι δὲ ἀδικεῖν οὐδὲν ἐστιντες, βρωτὰ δὲ μόνα ἐξ αὐτῶι λαμβάνειν. τοῦ δὲ μὴ περιπλῶσαι Διβύνη παντελῶς αὐτῶι τὸ δὲ ἐλεγε, τὸ πλοῖον τὸ πρόσω οὐ δυνατὸν ἐτι εἶναι προβαίνειν ἄλλ' εὐσχεσθαι. Ξέρξης δὲ οὐ οἱ συγγυνώσκων λέγειν ἀλθεάν τικ ἐπιτελέσαντα τὴν τῶν προκείμενον ἀεθλον ἀνεσκολοπέσθαι, τὴν ἀρχαῖν δίκην ἐπιτιμών. τοῦτον δὲ τὸν Σεσάπτεος εἰνοῦχον ἀπέδρη ἐς Σάμον, ἐπείτε ἐπὶ θεότον τάχυστα τὸν δεσπότα τετελευτηκότα, ἔχων χρώματα μεγάλα, τὰ Σάμιος ἀνήρ κατέσχε, τὸν ἐπιστάμενος τὸ οὐνόμα ἐκὼν ἐπιλήσομαι.

44. Τῆς δὲ Ἀσίης τὰ πολλὰ ὑπὸ Δαρειὼν ἐξευρέθη, ὃς Βουλύμμενος Ἰνδὸν ποταμοῦ, ὃς κροκοδεῖλος δεύτερος οὐτος ποταμὸν πάντων παρέχεται, τοῦτον τὸν ποταμὸν εἰδέναι τῇ ἐς θάλασσαν ἐκδίδων, πέμπει πλοῖσι ἄλλοις τὸ τούτῳ ἐπίστευε τὴν ἀληθείαν ἐρείνα καὶ δὴ καὶ Σκύλακα ἀνδρὰ Καρνανδέα. οἶ δὲ ὀρμηθέντες ἐκ Κασπατόρου τε πόλιος καὶ τῆς Πακτικῆς ὑγίς ἐπλεοῦν κατὰ ποταμὸν πρὸς ἦδο τε καὶ ἠλίου ἀνατολὰς ἐς θάλασσαν, διὰ θαλασσῆς δὲ πρὸς ἐσπέρνη πλεόντες θρηκοστῶ μην ἀπίκυνενται ἐς τούτον τὸν χώρον ὅθεν ὁ Αἰγυπτιῶν βασιλεὺς τοὺς Φοίνικας τοὺς πρότερον εἶπα ἀπεστείλε περιπλῶσιν Διβύνην. μετὰ
sailed southward; but when he had been many months sailing far over the sea, and ever there was more before him, he turned back and made sail for Egypt. Thence coming to Xerxes, he told in his story how when he was farthest distant he sailed by a country of little men, who wore palm-leaf raiment; these, whenever he and his men put in to land with their ship, would ever leave their towns and flee to the hills; he and his men did no wrong when they landed, and took naught from the people but what they needed for eating. As to his not sailing wholly round Libya, the reason (he said) was that the ship could move no farther, but was stayed. But Xerxes did not believe that Sataspes spoke truth, and as the task appointed was unfulfilled he impaled him, punishing him on the charge first brought against him. This Sataspes had an eunuch, who as soon as he heard of his master's death escaped to Samos, with a great store of wealth, of which a man of Samos possessed himself. I know the man's name but of set purpose forget it.

44. But as to Asia, most of it was discovered by Darius. There is a river Indus, which of all rivers comes second in producing crocodiles. Darius, desiring to know where this Indus issues into the sea, sent ships manned by Scylax, a man of Caryanda, and others in whose word he trusted; these set out from the city Caspatyrus and the Pactyic country, and sailed down the river towards the east and the sunrise till they came to the sea; and voyaging over the sea westwards, they came in the thirtieth month to that place whence the Egyptian king sent the Phoenicians afore-mentioned to sail round Libya. After
δέ τούτοις περιπλώσαντας Ἰνδοὺς τε κατεστρέψατο Δαρείος καὶ τὴν θαλάσσαν ταύτην ἐχράτο, ούτω καὶ τῆς Ἀσίης, πλὴν τὰ πρὸς Ἥλιον ἀνίσχοντα, τὰ ἄλλα ἀνέυρηται ὅμως παρεχομένη τῇ Λιβύῃ.

45. Ἡ δὲ Εὐρώπη πρὸς οὐδαμὸν φανερὴ ἐστὶ γινωσκομένη, οὕτε τὰ πρὸς Ἥλιον ἀνατέλλοντα οὕτε τὰ πρὸς βορέων, εἰ περίρρυτος εστί: μήκει δὲ γινώσκεται παρ' ἀμφότεραις παρηκούσα. οὐδὲ ἔχω συμβαλέσθαι ἐπί στεν μῆθ' εὐόνυμη γῆ οὐνόματα τριφάσια κέεται ἐπωνυμίας ἐχοντα γυναικῶν, καὶ οὐρίσματα αὐτῆς Νείλος τε ὁ Ἀἰγύπτιος ποταμὸς ἐτέθη καὶ Φάσις ὁ Κόλχος (οὗ δὲ Τάναϊν ποταμὸν τοῦ Μαυτήν καὶ πορθμεῖα τὰ Κεμέρια λέγουσι), οὐδὲ τὸν διουρισάτων τὰ οὐνόματα πυθέσθαι, καὶ ὅθεν ἐθεντό τὰς ἐπωνυμίας. ἥδη γὰρ Λιβύη μὲν ἐπὶ Λιβύης λεγεται ὑπὸ τῶν πολλῶν Ἐλλήνων ἔχειν τὸ οὖνομα γυναικῶς αὐτόχθονος, ἡ δὲ Ἀσίη ἐπὶ τῆς Προμηθέους γυναικὸς τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν. καὶ τούτου μὲν μεταλαμβάνονται τοῦ οὐνόματος Λυδοῦ, φάρμενοι ἐπὶ Ἀσίεω τοῦ Κότυνος τοῦ Μάνεω κεκλήσθαι τὴν Ἀσίην, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐπὶ τῆς Προμηθείας Ἀσίης: ἀν' ὅτε καὶ τὴν ἐν Σάρδισι φυλή κεκλήσθαι Ἀσίάδα. ἡ δὲ δὴ Εὐρώπη οὕτε εἰ περίρρυτος ἐστὶ γινώσκεται πρὸς οὐδαμὸν ἀνθρώπων, οὕτε ὁκόθεν τὸ οὖνομα ἐλαβε τούτο, οὕτε ὅστις οἱ ἦν οἱ θέμενοι φαινεται, εἰ μή ἀπὸ τῆς Τυρης φήσομεν Εὐρώπης λαβεῖν τὸ οὖνομα τῆς χώρης ἐπὶ τροπέρον δὲ ἦν ἁρα οὖνομος ἄστεροι αἱ ἕτεραι. ἀλλ' αὐτη νη ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίης τε φαινεται οὖσα καὶ οὐκ ἀπικομένη ἐς τὴν γῆν ταύτην ὅτι τῶν ὑπὸ Ἐλλήνων Εὐρώπη καλεται, ἀλλ' ὅσον
this circumnavigation Darius subdued the Indians and made use of this sea. Thus was it discovered that Asia, saving the parts towards the rising sun, was in other respects like Libya.

45. But of Europe it is plain that none have obtained knowledge of its eastern or its northern parts so as to say if it is encompassed by seas; its length is known to be enough to stretch along both Asia and Libya. Nor can I guess for what reason the earth, which is one, has three names, all of women, and why the boundary lines set for it are the Egyptian river Nile and the Colchian river Phasis (though some say that the Maeetian river Tanais and the Cimmerian Ferries¹ are boundaries); nor can I learn the names of those who divided the world, or whence they got the names which they gave. For Libya is said by most Greeks to be called after a native woman of that name, and Asia after the wife of Prometheus²; yet the Lydians claim a share in the latter name, saying that Asia was not called after Prometheus’ wife Asia, but after Asies, the son of Cotys, who was the son of Manes, and that from him the Asiad clan at Sardis also takes its name. But as for Europe, no men have any knowledge whether it be surrounded or not by seas, nor whence it took its name, nor is it clear who gave the name, unless we are to say that the land took its name from the Tyrian Europa, having been (as it would seem) till then nameless like the others. But it is plain that this woman was of Asiatic birth, and never came to this land which the Greeks now call

¹ cp. ch. 12.
² The Fire-giver celebrated by Aeschylus and Shelley; Asia is one of the principal characters in Prometheus Unbound.
HERODOTUS

ἐκ Φωινίκης ἐς Κρήτην, ἐκ Κρήτης δὲ ἐς Δυκάνιν. ταῦτα μὲν νῦν ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον εἰρήσθων τοῖσι γὰρ νομιζομένοις αὐτῶν χρησόμεθα.

46. 'Ο δὲ Πόντους ὁ Εὐξεινος, ἐπ' ὄν ἐστρατεύετο ὁ Δαρείος, χωρέων πασέων παρέχεται ἐξω τοῦ Σκυθικοῦ ἐθνεὰ ἀμαθέστατα. οὔτε γὰρ ἐθνός τῶν ἐντὸς τοῦ Πόντου οὐδὲν ἔχομεν προβαλέσθαι σοφίς πέρι οὔτε ἀνδρὰ λόγιον οἶδαμεν γενόμενον, πάρεξ τοῦ Σκυθικοῦ ἐθνεος καὶ Ἀναχάρισος. τῷ δὲ Σκυθικῷ γένει ἐν μὲν τὸ μέγιστον τῶν ἀνθρωπών προγμάτων σοφότατα πάντων ἔξευρηται τῶν ἴμει ἴδμεν, τὰ μέντοι ἄλλα οὐκ ἀγαμάκτο τὸ δὲ μέγιστον οὐτῳ σφι ἀνεύρηται ὡστε ἀποφυγεῖν τε μηδένα ἐπελθόντα ἐπὶ σφέας, μὴ βουλομένους τε ἔξευρθηναι καταλαβεῖν μηδόν τε εἰναι. τούτι γὰρ μητε ἀστεα μητε τείχεα ἢ ἑκτιμένα, ἀλλὰ φερεσικοὶ εὔνες πάντες ἔως ἰπποτόξαται, ἔστερες μὴ ἀπ' ἀρότον ἄλλα ἀπὸ κτηνῶν, οἰκήματα τε σφι ἢ ἐπὶ ξενυγέων, κώς οὐκ ἄν εἴησαν οὕτωι ἄμαχοι τε καὶ ἀποροι προσμίσην;

47. Ἐξευρήται δὲ σφι ταῦτα τῆς τε γῆς ἐνοῦσης ἐπιτηδείης καὶ τῶν ποταμῶν ἐντῶν σφι συμμάχων, ἢ τε γὰρ γῆ ἐνοῦσα πεδίας αὐτὴ ποιόδης τε καὶ εὐνόδος ἑστι, ποταμοὶ τε ἄτι αὐτής ρέουσι ὢν πολλῷ τεφ ἀριθμῶν ἐλάσσονες τῶν ἐν Δἰγκτὸν διωρύγων. ὁσοὶ δὲ ὁνομαστοὶ τε εἰσὶ αὐτῶν καὶ προσπλωτοι ἀπὸ θαλάσσης, τούτως οὐνομαίεω ¹ . . . . "Ἰστρος μὲν πεντάστομος, μετὰ δὲ Τύρης τε καὶ "Τπανις καὶ Βορυσθένης καὶ Παντικάπης καὶ Τπάκυρυς ταὶ Γέρρος καὶ Τάναϊς. ρέουσι δὲ οἶδε κατὰ τάδε. 48. Ἰστρος μὲν, ἐων μέγιστος ποταμῶν πάντων

¹ Something is omitted, εἰσὶ δὲ ἀκτὰ εἰς or the like.
Europe, but only from Phoenice to Crete and from Crete to Lycia. Thus far have I spoken of these matters, and let it suffice; we will use the names by custom established.

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

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

48. The Ister, the greatest of all rivers known to
τῶν ἡμέων ἔδειν, ἵσος αἰεὶ αὐτὸς ἐσυνέκρινε καὶ θέρεος καὶ χειμώνως, πρῶτος ἐστὶ τῷ ἀπ’ ἐσπέρης τῶν ἐν τῇ Σκυθικῇ ρέων κατὰ τοιούθεν μέγιστος γέγονεν ποταμῶν καὶ ἄλλων ἐς αὐτὸν ἐκδιδόντων εἰσὶ δὴ ὡσεὶ οἱ μέγαν αὐτὸν ποιεύσεις, διὰ μὲν γε τῆς Σκυθικῆς χώρης πέντε μὲν οἱ ρέοντες, τῶν τε Σκύθων Πώρατα καλέσαντες Ἑλληνες δὲ Πυρετοῦ, καὶ ἄλλος Τιάραντος καὶ Ἀραρός τε καὶ Νάπαρις καὶ Ὀρδησσός. ὁ μὲν πρῶτος λεγότας τῶν ποταμῶν μέγας καὶ πρὸς ἧδω ρέων ἀνακοινώσεται τῷ Ἰστρῷ τὸ ὄνωρ, ὁ δὲ δεύτερος λεγότας Τιάραντος πρὸς ἐσπέρης τε μᾶλλον καὶ ἐλασσων, ὁ δὲ Ἰστρῷ τε καὶ Ὁ νάπαρις καὶ Ὀρδησσός διὰ μέσου τούτων ἱόντες ἐσβάλλουσιν ἐστὶν Ἰστρῷ.

49. Οὕτω μὲν αὐθεντεύσεις Σκυθικῶν ποταμῶν συμπληθήσατε αὐτῶν, ἐκ δὲ Ἀγαθύρσων Μάρις ποταμὸς ρέων συμμίσχηται τῷ Ἰστρῷ, ἐκ δὲ τοῦ Λευκοῦ τῶν κορυφέων τρεῖς ἄλλοι μεγάλοι ρέοντες πρὸς βορεῖν ἄνεμον ἐσβάλλουσι ἐς αὐτῶν, Ἀτλας καὶ Λύρας καὶ Τίβεις, διὰ δὲ Ῥημικῆς καὶ Ῥημικῶν τῶν Κροβήρων ρέοντες Ἀθρύς καὶ Νότης καὶ Ἀρτάνης ἐκδιδότας ἐς τὸν Ἰστρῷ ἐκ δὲ Παιόνων καὶ ἅρις Ροδότης Κίος ποταμὸς μέσων σχίζων τῶν Λευκοῦ ἐκδιδοῦν ἐς αὐτῶν. ἔς Ἡλυμιρῶν δὲ ρέων πρὸς βορείαν ἄνεμον Ἀγγηρὸς ποταμὸς ἐσβάλλει ἐς πεδίον τῷ Τρισμαλλίκῳ καὶ ἐς ποταμὸν Βρόγγου, ὁ δὲ Βρόγγος ἐς τὸν Ἰστρῷ οὕτω ἀμφοτέρους ἱόντας μεγάλους ὁ Ἰστρὸς δέκεται. ἐκ δὲ τῆς κατύπερθε χώρης Ὀμβρικῶν Κάρπης ποταμὸς καὶ ἄλλος Ἁλπις ποταμὸς πρὸς βορείαν ἀνέμον.
us, flows with ever the same volume in summer and winter; it is the farthest westward of all the Scythian rivers, and the reason of its greatness is as follows: Many other rivers are its tributaries, but these are those that make it great, five flowing through the Scythian country: the river called by Scythians Porata and by Greeks Pyretus, and besides this the Tiarantus, the Ararus, the Naparis, and the Ordessus. The first-named of these rivers is a great stream flowing eastwards and uniting its waters with the Ister, the second, the Tiarantus, is more to the west and smaller; the Ararus, Naparis, and Ordessus flow between these two and pour their waters into the Ister.

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

1 Probably the Pruth; the modern names of the other four rivers mentioned here are matters of conjecture.
2 The Balkan range. None of the rivers in this chapter can be certainly identified; the names Καρπός and 'Αλπίς must indicate tributaries descending from the Alps.
καὶ οὗτοι ρέοντες ἐκδιδοῦσι ἐς αὐτῶν ἰᾶσθε γάρ δὴ διὰ 
πάσης τῆς Εὐρώπης ο Ἰστρος, ἀρξάμενος ἐκ Κελ-
τῶν, οἱ ἔσχατοι πρὸς ἴλιον δυσμένων μετὰ Κυνηγας 
οἰκέουσι τῶν ἐν τῇ Εὐρώπῃ ἰᾶσθων δὲ διὰ πάσης 
τῆς Εὐρώπης ἐς τὰ πλάγια τῆς Σκυθίης ἐσβάλλει.

50. Τούτων ὁν τῶν καταλεχθέντων καὶ ἄλλων 
πολλῶν συμβαλλομένων τὸ σφέτερον ὕδωρ γίνεται 
ὁ Ἰστρος ποταμὸν μέγιστος, ἐπεὶ ὕδωρ γε ἐν πρὸς 
ἐν συμβαλλεῖν ὁ Νεῖλος πληθεὶς ἀποκρατεῖ. ἐς 
γὰρ δὴ τούτων οὐτε ποταμὸς οὔτε κρήνη οὐδέμια 
ἐσοδιοῦσα ἐς πλῆθος οἱ συμβαλλοῦσι. ᾠδοὶ δὲ 
αἰεὶ ρέει ἐν τῇ θέρει καὶ χειμώνι ὁ Ἰστρος κατὰ 
τοιοῦτον τι, ὡς ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν τοῦ μὲν χειμώνος ἐστὶ 
ὀσος περ ἐστί, ὅλην τῇ μέσῳ τῆς ἑωτοῦν φύσιος 
ἀνέται γὰρ ἡ γῆ αὐτῇ τοῦ χειμῶνος πάμμα 
ὅλην, νυφτὸν δὲ πάντα χράται τοῦ ὁ δὲ θέρεος 
χίων ἡ ἐν τῷ χειμῶνι πεσοῦσα, ἐσοῦσα ἀμφιλαφῆς, 
τηκομένη πάντοθεν ἐσοδιοῦσα ἐς τὸν Ἰστροῦν. ἀυτὴ 
τῇ ἡ χιών ἐσοδιοῦσα ἐς αὐτῶν συμπληθοῦσε καὶ 
ὄμβροι πολλοὶ τε καὶ λάβροι σὺν αὐτῇ ὦν γὰρ 
ὁ τῷ θέρεος. ὅσοι δὲ πλέον ἐπὶ ἑωτοῦν ὕδωρ ὁ 
Νεῖλος ἐπέλεκται ἐν τῷ θέρει ἡ ἐν τῷ χειμῶνι, 
τοσοῦτο τὰ συμμισσόμενα τῷ Ἰστρῳ πολλα-
πλήσια ἐστὶ τοῦ θέρεος ἡ περὶ τοῦ χειμώνος. ἀντι-
θέμενα δὲ ταύτα ἀντισηχώσεις γίνεται, ὡςτε ἵσον 
μὴ αἰεὶ φαινέσθαι ἐόντα.

51. Εἰς μὲν δὴ τῶν ποταμῶν τοῦτοι Σκυθήσις ἐστι 
ὁ Ἰστρος, μετὰ δὲ τούτων Τύρης, διὸ ἀπὸ βορείω 
μὲν ἀνέμου ὄρμαται, ἀρχεῖαι δὲ ἰέων ἐκ Λίμνης 
μεγάλης ἢ σύριξιν τῆν τῇ Σκυθικῆν καὶ Νευρίδα 
γῆν. ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ στόματι αὐτοῦ κατοίκηται 
"Ελληνες οἱ Τυρίται καλέονται."

250
to issue into it; for the Ister traverses the whole of Europe, rising among the Celts who, save only the Cynetes, are the most westerly dwellers in Europe, and flowing thus clean across Europe it issues forth along the borders of Scythia.

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

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

† The Dniester.
52. Τρίτος δὲ "Τπαίνις ποταμός ὄρμαται μὲν ἐκ τῆς Σκυθικῆς, μέλει δὲ ἐκ λίμνης μεγάλης τὴν περίξ νεμονται ἵπποι ἄγριοι λευκοί· καλέται δὲ ἡ λίμνη αὐτὴ ὀρθῶς μῆτηρ 'Τπάνιος. ἐκ ταύτης ὄν ἀνατέλλων ὁ 'Τπαίνις ποταμός ρέει ἐπὶ μὲν πέντε ἡμερέων πλόον βραχὺς καὶ γλυκύς ἔστε, ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦτο πρὸς ταλάσσης τεσσάρων ἡμερέων πλόον πικρὸς δεινῶς· ἐκδιδοὶ γὰρ ἐς αὐτὸν κρήνη πικρῆ, οὕτω δὴ τι ἐνύσα πικρῆ, ἢ μεγάθει σμικρῆ ἐνύσα κυριὰ τὸν "Τπαίνιν ἐντα ποταμόν ἐν ὁλίγωσι μεγαν. ἔστι δὲ ἡ κρήνη αὐτῇ ἐν σφοιρεῖ χώρης τῆς τε ἀροτήρων Σκυθέων καὶ Ἀλαζόνων· οὐνομα δὲ τῇ κρήνη καὶ θεν ρέει τῷ χώρῳ σκυθιστὶ μὲν Ἐξαμπαίοις, κατὰ δὲ τὴν Ἐλλήνων γλώσσαι Ἰραλ ὀδοί· συνάγοντι δὲ τὰ τέρματα δ' τε Τύρης καὶ ὁ "Τπαίνις κατὰ Ἀλαζόνας, τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦτο ἀποστρέφας ἐκάτερος ρέει ἐνυφὺν τὸ μέσον.

53. Τέταρτος δὲ Βορυσθένης ποταμός, ὃς ἐστὶ τε μέγιστος μετὰ Ἰστρον τούτων καὶ πολυναρκεστάτους κατὰ γνώμας τὰς ἡμετέρας ὑπὸ μοῦνων τῶν Σκυθικῶν ποταμῶν ἄλλα καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀπαντῶν, πλὴν Νείλου τοῦ Αἰγυπτίου· τοῦτο γὰρ οὐκ οἶπ' τε ἐστὶ συμβαλεῖ ἄλλος ποταμόν τῶν δὲ λοιπῶν Βορυσθένης ἐστὶ πολυναρκεστατός, ὃς νομάσει τε καλλίστας καὶ εὐκομιδεστάτας κτήρεις παρέχεται ἱχθύας τε ἀρίστους διακριδοῦ καὶ πλείστους, πίνεσθαι τε ἠδίστος ἓστῃ, ρέει τε καθαρὸς παρὰ θολεροῦσ, σπόρος τε παρ' αὐτῶν ἄριστος γίνεται, ὁπεῖ τε, τῇ ὑπ' ἀπείρεται ἡ χώρῃ, βαθυτάτη· ἄλες τε ἐπὶ τῷ στόματι αὐτῶν αὐτόματοι πήγανται ἀπλετού· κητεά τε ἐν ἀνάκανθα, τὰ ἀντακαίους καλέουσι, παρέχεται ἐς ταρίχευς,
52. The third river is the Hypanis; this comes from Scythia, flowing out of a great lake, round which wild white horses graze. This lake is truly called the mother of the Hypanis. Here, then, the Hypanis rises; for five days’ journey its waters are shallow and still sweet; after that for four days’ journey seaward it is wondrous bitter, for a spring issues into it which is so bitter that although its volume is small its admixture taints the Hypanis, one of the few great rivers of the world. This spring is on the borderland between the farming Scythians and the Alazones; the name of it and of the place whence it flows is in Scythian Exampaeus, in the Greek tongue Sacred Ways. The Tyras and the Hypanis draw their courses near together in the Alazones’ country; after that they flow divergent, making the intervening space wider.

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

1 See ch. 17.
HERODOTUS

άλλα τε πολλὰ θωμάσαι ἄξια. μέχρι μὲν τῶν Γερρεών χώρου, ἐς τὸν τεσσεράκοντα ἥμερῶν πλάσις ἐστὶ, γεγονόσκεται ῥέων ἀπὸ βορῶν ἀνέμου, τὸ δὲ κατύπερθε δὲ ὅν ρέει ἀνθρώπων οὐδές ἔχει φράσαι· φαίνεται δὲ ρέων δὲ ἐρήμου ἐς τῶν γεωργῶν Σκυθέων τὴν χώρην οὔτοι γὰρ οἱ Σκύθαι παρ’ αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ δὲ ἄρκτο ἥμερῶν πλόον νέμονται. μοῦνον δὲ τούτου τοῦ ποταμοῦ καὶ Νεῖλον οὐκ ἔχω φράσαι τὰς πηγὰς, δοκέω δὲ, οὐδὲ οὐδεὶς Ἐλλήνων. ἀγχοῦ τε δὴ θαλάσσης ὁ Βορυσθεῖνης ῥέων γίνεται καὶ οἱ συμμίσχεται ὁ "Τπαίνις ἐς τῶν ἔλος ἐκδιδόν. τὸ δὲ μεταξὺ τῶν ποταμῶν τούτων, ἔχω ἐμβολον τῆς χώρης, Ἰππόλεως ἀκρη καλέται, ἐν δὲ αὐτῷ ἱρὸν Δήμητρος ἐνίδρυται. πέρην δὲ τοῦ ἱροῦ ἐπὶ τῷ "Τπαίνι Βορυσθεῖνει κατοίκηται.

54. Ταύτα μὲν τὰ ἀπὸ τούτων τῶν ποταμῶν, μετὰ δὲ τούτων πέμπτοσ ποταμῶν ἄλλοις, τῷ οὖνομα Παντικάπης, ρέει μὲν καὶ οὕτος ἀπὸ βορῶν τε καὶ ἐκ λίμνης, καὶ τὸ μεταξὺ τούτου τε καὶ τοῦ Βορυσθεῖνου νέμονται οἱ γεωργοὶ Σκύθαι, ἐκδιδοὶ δὲ ἐς τὴν Τλαίην, παραμεθαμενος δὲ ταύτην τῷ Βορυσθεῖνει συμμίσχεται.

55. "Εκτὸς δὲ Τπάκυρις ποταμός, δὲ ὀρμᾶται μὲν ἐκ λίμνης, διὰ μέσων δὲ τῶν νομάδων Σκυθέων ῥέων ἐκδιδοὶ κατὰ Καρκινίτων πόλιν, ἐς δεξιήν ἀπέργουν τὴν τῇ Τλαίην καὶ τὸν Ἀχιλλήιον ὄρομον καλεόμενον.

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

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

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

56. The seventh river, the Gerrhus, parts from

---

1 Perhaps in the Molotschna region, considerably east of the Dnieper. The "city of Carcine" lay at the eastern end of the Scythian sea-coast, close to the Tauric Chersonesae (Crimea). The Racecourse of Achilles was a strip of land, now broken into islands, about 80 miles long, between the Crimea and the mouth of the Dnieper.
μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ Βορυσθένεος κατὰ τοῦτο τῆς χώρης ἐς οὗ γινώσκεται οὐ Βορυσθένης ἀπέσχυσται μὲν νυν ἐκ τοῦτον τοῦ χώρου, οὖνομα δὲ ἔχει τὸ περ ὁ χώρος αὐτὸς, Γέρρος, ἰδίως δὲ ἐς θάλασσαν οὐρίζει τὴν τε τῶν νομάδων χώρην καὶ τὴν τῶν βασιλικῶν Σκυθέων, εἰκοδοῖ δὲ ἐς τὸν 'Ὑπάκυρον.

57. ὁγοῦος δὲ δὴ Τάναίς ποταμός, δι' ἰδεῖ τάνεκαθεν εἰκ λίμνης μεγάλης ορμόμενος, εἰκοδοῖ δὲ ἐς μέξω ἐτὶ λίμνην καλεομένην Μαιήτιν, ἡ οὐρίζει Σκύθας τε τοὺς βασιλικοὺς καὶ Σαυρομάτας. ἐς δὲ Τάναιν τούτων ἄλλος ποταμός ἐσβάλλει τῷ οὖνομα ἐστὶ 'Ὑπᾶς.

58. Τούτῳ μὲν δὴ ὑμομαστούσι ποταμόδισι οὕτω δι' τι οἱ Σκύθαι ἐσκεῦδαται, τούτῳ δὲ κτίνεσι η ποτή ἀναφυομένη ἐν τῇ Σκυθικῇ ἐστὶ ἐπίγχολον τάτη πασέως ποιέων τῶν ἡμείς ᾗς ἀναιγομένους δὲ τούτῳ κτίνεσι ἐστὶ σταδμώσασθαι δι' τοῦτο ὅροι ἔχει.

59. Τὰ μὲν δὴ μέγιστα οὕτω σφί εὑπορα ἐστὶ, τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ νόμαια κατὰ τάδε σφί διακέεται. θεοῦς μὲν μούνους τοῦσκεδίσκουνται, Ἰσότην μὲν μάλιστα, ἐπὶ δὲ Δία καὶ Γῆν, νομίζοντες τῆν Γῆν τοῦ Δίου εἶναι γυναῖκα, μετὰ δὲ τούτους Ἀπόλλωνα τε καὶ οὐρανίν Ἀφροδίτην καὶ Ἡρακλεά καὶ 'Αρεά. τούτους μὲν πάντες Σκύθαι νεομίκασι, οἱ δὲ καλεόμενοι βασιλικοὶ Σκύθαι καί τὸν Ποσειδέων δύονσι. ὄνομαξεται δὲ σκυθιστὶ Ἰσότη μὲν Ταβιτί, Ζεὺς δὲ ὀρθότατα κατὰ γυνώμην γε τὴν ἐμήν καλεόμενος Παπαίος, Γῆ δὲ Ἀπλ. Ἀπόλλων δὲ Γοιτόσυρος, οὐρανίν δὲ Ἀφροδίτη 'Αργύμπασα, Ποσειδέων δὲ Θαγμάσιδας. ἀγάλ
the Borysthenes at about the place which is the end of our knowledge of that river; at this place it parts, and has the same name as the place itself, Gerrhus; then in its course to the sea it divides the country of the Nomads and the country of the Royal Scythians, and issues into the Hyparcairis.

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

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

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

1 The Don.
2 Perhaps the "Syrgis" of ch. 123; it may be the modern Donetz.
3 As the "All-Father"; cp. such words as πάπας, πάπιας, etc.
ματα δὲ καὶ βωμοὺς καὶ ηθοὺς οὐ νομίζουσι ποιέων πλὴν Ἀρεί· τούτῳ δὲ νομίζουσι.

60. Θυσίη δὲ ἡ αὐτὴ πᾶσι κατέστηκε περὶ πάντα τὰ ἵπα ὁμοίως, ἔρδομένη ὄδε τὸ μὲν ἰρήνον αὐτὸ ἐμπεποδισμένον τοὺς ἐμπροσθίους πόδας ἔστηκε, ὁ δὲ θύων ὁπισθε τοῦ κτήμεος ἐστεὼς σπάσας τὴν ἀρχήν τοῦ στρόφου καταβάλλει μιστ, πίπτοντος δὲ τοῦ ἱρήνου ἐπικαλέει τὸν θεόν τῷ ἄνθρωπω, καὶ ἔπειτα βρόγχῳ περὶ ὧν ἔβαλε τὸν αὐχένα, σκυταλίδα δὲ ἐμβαλὼν περιάγει καὶ ἀποπνύγει, οὕτε πῦρ ἀνακύσας οὕτε καταρβάμενος οὕτε ἐπισπείσας ἀποπνύγει δὲ καὶ ἀποδείρας τράπεται πρὸς ἐσθησιν.

61. Τῆς δὲ γῆς τῆς Σκυθικῆς αἰὼν ἄξιόλου ἐσούσης ὃδε σφι ἐς τὴν ἐσθησιν τῶν κρεών ἐξεύρητας ἐπειδὰν ἀποδείρωσι τὰ ἱρήνα, γυμνοῦς τὰ ὀστέα τῶν κρεών, ἔπειτα ἐσβαλλοῦσι, ἦν μὲν τύχωσον ἐχοντες, ἐς λέβητας ἐπιχωρίους, μάλιστα. Δεσβίοις κρητήριοι προσεκέλεος, χωρίς ἐς τὸν τολλὸν μέξονας ἐς τούτους ἐσβαλλοῦντες ἐβόνουσι ὑποκαίοντες τὰ ὀστέα τῶν ἱρήνων. ἦν δὲ μὴ σφὶ παρῇ ὁ λέβης, οἷς ἐς τάς γαστέρας τῶν ἱρήνων ἐσβαλλοῦντες τὰ κρέας πάντα καὶ παραμίζαντες ὑδωρ ὑποκαίοντες τὰ ὀστέα τὰ δὲ αἴδεται κάλλιστα, αἱ δὲ γαστέρες χωρέωσι εὐπετέως τὰ κρέα ἐσβαλλομένα τῶν ὀστέων καὶ οὕτω βοῦσ τε ἔωτον ἐξεψει καὶ τάλλα ἱρήνα ἐωτό ἐκαστον. ἐπεάν δὲ ἐσθησί τὰ κρέας, ὁ θύων τῶν κρεών καὶ τῶν σπλάγχνων ἀπαρβάμενος ρίππει ἐς τὸ ἐμπροσθε. θύωσι δὲ καὶ τὰ ἄλλα πρόβατα καὶ ἱπποὺς μάλιστα.

62. Τοῦτο μὲν δὴ ἀλλοιοῦσι τῶν θεῶν οὕτω θύουσι.
Thagimasadas. It is their practice to make images and altars and shrines for Ares, but for no other god.

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

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

62. Such is their way of sacrificing to all other
καὶ ταῦτα τῶν κτηνέων, τῷ δὲ Ἀρεί ὁδεί. κατὰ νομοῦς ἐκάστους τῶν ἀρχέων ἐσίδρυται σφή Ἀρεὸς ἵππος τοιόνδε· φυγαύνων φάκελοι συννεύεται ὡςον τῇ ἐπὶ σταδίους τρεῖς μῆκος καὶ εὐρος, ὡςος δὲ ἐλασσον ἄνω δὲ τούτου τετράγωνον ἀπεδο λειτομα, κατὰ δὲ τὸ ἐν ἐπιβάτων. ἔτευς δὲ ἐκάστου ἀμάξας πεντήκοντα καὶ ἐκατόν ἐπινέουσι φυγαύ νων ὑπονοιεῖ γὰρ ἡ αἰέλ ὑπὸ τῶν χειμωνών. ἐπὶ τούτου δὴ τοῦ σηκοῦ ἀκινάκης σιδήρεος ἴδρυται ἀρχαίος ἐκάστωσι, καὶ τοῦτ' ἐστὶ τοῦ Ἀρεοῦ τὸ ἀγάλμα. τούτῳ δὲ τῷ ἀκινάκηθεν θυσίας ἐπετείους προσάγουσι προβάτων καὶ ὕππων, καὶ ὅλα καὶ τοῖσι ἐπὶ πλέωθεν θύνοισι ἡ τοίσι ἀλλοιοι θεόις. ὅσον ἁν τῶν πολεμίων ἑκατον, ἀπὸ τῶν ἐκατόν ἄνδρων ἄνδρα θύνουσι τρόπος ὡς τῷ αὐτῷ καὶ τὰ πρόβατα, ἀλλ' ἐτεροῖς. ἔπεαν γὰρ ὅσον ἐπισπείρασι κατὰ τῶν κεφαλέων, ἄποσφαξον δὲς ἄνθρωπους ἐς ἄγοσι καὶ ἐπιστὰ ἄνευ καντες ἀνω ἐπὶ τῶν ὁμοίων τῶν φυγαύνων καταχώ νους τὸ αἴμα τοῦ ἀκινάκου. ἀνὸς μὲν δὴ φορέοντο τοῦτο, κατὼ δὲ παρὰ τῷ ἵππῳ ποιεῖται τάδε· τῶν ἀνθρωπογενῶν ἄνδρων τοὺς δεξιους ὅμοιος πάντας ἀποταμοῦντες σὺν τῆς χερσὶν ἢ ἔτος ἡρα ἰέσι, καὶ ἔπειτα καὶ τὰ ἀλλα ἀπεργάζοντες ἱμία ἀπαλωσοῦται. χείρ δὲ τῇ ἀν πέσῃ κέεσαι, καὶ χωρίς ὁ νεκρος.

63. Ὑποίαι μὲν νυν αὐτάς σφὶ κατεστάσις. ὃς δὲ συντοι συνήσουσι, συνὴ τρέφειν ἐν τῇ χώρῃ τὸ παράπαν θέλονσιν. 64. Τὰ δ' ἐς πολεμοῦ ἔχοντα ὁδὸι σφὶ δια κέατα. ἐπεὶ τῶν πρῶτον ἄνδρα καταβάλη ἄνθρωπος.
gods and such are the beasts offered; but their sacrifices to Ares are on this wise. Every district in each of the governments has in it a structure sacred to Ares, to wit, a pile of fagots of sticks three furlongs broad and long, but of a less height, on the top of which there is a flattened four-sided surface; three of its sides are sheer, but the fourth can be ascended. In every year an hundred and fifty waggon-loads of sticks are heaped upon this; for the storms of winter ever make it sink down. On this sacred pile there is set for each people an ancient scimitar of iron, which is their image of Ares; to this scimitar they bring yearly sacrifice of sheep and goats and horses, offering to these symbols even more than they do to the other gods. Of all their enemies that they take alive, they sacrifice one man in every hundred, not according to their fashion of sacrificing sheep and goats, but differently. They pour wine on the men's heads and cut their throats over a vessel; then they carry the blood up on to the pile of sticks and pour it on the scimitar. So they carry the blood aloft, but below by the sacred pile they cut off all the slain men's right arms and hands and throw these into the air, and presently depart when they have sacrificed the rest of the victims; the arm lies where it has fallen, and the body apart from it.

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

64. As to war, these are their customs. A Scythian drinks of the blood of the first man whom he has
Σκύθης, τοῦ αἵματος ἐμπένει, διόσους δ᾽ ἂν φονεύσῃ ἐν τῇ μάχῃ, τούτων τὰς κεφαλὰς ἀποφέρει τῷ βασιλεί. ἀπενείκας μὲν γὰρ κεφαλήν τῆς ληής μεταλαμβάνετι τὴν ἄν λάβωσιν, μὴ ἐνείκας δὲ οὐ. ἀποδείραις δὲ αὐτὴν τρόπον τοιὸδε' περιταμών κύκλων περὶ τὰ ὁτα καὶ λαβόμενος τῆς κεφαλῆς ἐκσείεται, μετὰ δὲ σαρκίσας βοῦς πλευρῇ δέψει τῇ σε χερσὶ, ὀργάσας δὲ αὐτὸ ἀτε χειρόμακτρον ἐκτηται, ἐκ τῶν χαλινῶν τοῦ ἅππου τοῦ αὐτῶν ἔλαινε, ἐκ τούτου ἐξάπτει καὶ ἀγάλλεται δὴ γὰρ ἂν πλείστα δέματα χειρόμακτρα ἔχῃ, ἀνὴρ ἀρματος ὁυτὸς κέκριται. πολλοὶ δὲ αὐτῶν ἐκ τῶν ἀποδαμάτων καὶ χλαίνας ἐπεινυσθαὶ ποιεῦσιν, συρράπτοντες κατὰ περ βαίτας. πολλοὶ δὲ ἄνδρῶν ἐχθρῶν τὰς δεξιὰς χειρὰς νεκρῶν ἐόντων ἀποδείρατες αὐτοὶ ὄνυξι καλύπτρας τῶν φαρετρῶν ποιεῦνται, δέρμα δὲ ἄνθρωπον καὶ παχύ καὶ λαμπρὸν ἢν ἄρα, σχεδὸν δέματον πάντων λαμπρῶταν λευκότητα. πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ ὅλους ἄνδρας ἐκδείρατες καὶ διατείναντες ἐπὶ ξύλων ἐπ᾽ ἅππῳ περιφέρουσι.

65. Ταῦτα μὲν δὴ οὕτω σφι νεώμισται, αὐτὰς δὲ τὰς κεφαλὰς, οὕτω πάντων ἄλλα τῶν ἐχθρῶν, ποιεῦσι τάδε' ἀποπρίσας ἐκαστος ¹ πάν τὸ ἐνερβδ τῶν ὀφρῶν ἐκκαθαίρει' καὶ ἢ μὲν ἢν πείνης, δὲ ἐξωθεν ὁμοβοεῖν μοῦνην περιτείνας οὕτω χρᾶται, ἢν δὲ ἢ πλοῦσιος, τῆν μὲν ὁμοβοεῦν περιτείνει, ἐσσωθεν δὲ καταχρουσώσας οὕτω χρᾶται πυτηρίω. ποιεῦσι δὲ τοῦτο καὶ ἐκ τῶν οἰκημῶν ἢν σφι διάφοροι γένονται καὶ ἢν ἐπικρατήσῃ αὐτῷ παρά τῷ βασιλεί. ξίωνων δὲ οἱ ἐλθόντων τῶν ἁν λόγον

¹ [ἐκαστος] Stein.
overthrown. He carries to his king the heads of all whom he has slain in the battle; for he receives a share of the booty taken if he bring a head, but not otherwise. He scalps the head by making a cut round it by the ears, then grasping the scalp and shaking the head off. Then he scrapes out the flesh with the rib of an ox, and kneads the skin with his hands, and having made it supple he keeps it for a napkin, fastening it to the bridle of the horse which he himself rides, and taking pride in it; for he is judged the best man who has most scalps for napkins. Many Scythians even make garments for wear out of these scalps, sewing them together like coats of skin. Many too take off the skin, nails and all, from their dead enemies' right hands, and make thereof coverings for their quivers; it would seem that the human skin is thick and shining, of all skins, one may say, the brightest and whitest. There are many too that flay the skin from the whole body and carry it about on horseback stretched on a wooden frame.

65. The heads themselves, not of all but of their bitterest foes, they treat in this wise. Each saws off all the part beneath the eyebrows, and cleanses the rest. If he be a poor man, then he does but cover the outside with a piece of raw hide, and so makes use of it; but if he be rich, he covers the head with the raw hide, and gilds the inside of it and so uses it for a drinking-cup. Such cups a man makes also of the head of his own kinsman with whom he has been at feud, and whom he has vanquished in single combat before the king; and if guests whom he
ποιεῖται, τὰς κεφαλὰς ταύτας παραφέρει καὶ ἐπιλέγει ὡς οἱ ἔόντες οἰκήμοι πόλεμον προσετήκατο καὶ σφεὼν αὐτὸς ἐπεκράτησε, ταύτην ἀναδραγαθήνη λέγοντες.

66. "Απαξ δὲ τοῦ ἐναυτοῦ ἐκάστου ὁ νομάρχης ἐκαστὸς ἐν τῷ ἔωτοῦ νουῷ κερνὰ κρητηρὰ ὁ ὅνου, ἀπ’ οὗ πινοῦσι τῶν Σκυθέων τοῖς ἄνδρες πολέμου ἀραιημένοι ἔσον τοῖσι β’ ἀν μὴ κατεργασμένον ἡ τούτο, οὐ γεύονται τοῦ ὁ ὅνου τούτου, ἀλλ’ ἡμιωμένοι ἀποκατέται ὑπειδὸς δὲ σφι ἐστὶ μέγιστον τούτο. ὁςοι δὲ ἄν αὐτῶν καὶ κάρτα πολλοὺς ἄνδρας ἀραιηκότες ἔσοι, οὕτωι δὲ σἀνδοῦ κύλικας ἔχοντες πίνουσι ὅμοιον.

67. Μάντικες δὲ Σκυθέωι εἰσὶ πολλοὶ, οἱ μαντεύονται ράβδουσι ἰτείνησι πολλῆσι ὅδε ἔπεαν φακέλους ράβδους μεγάλους ἐνείκωνται, θέντες χαμαί διεξειλίσθουσι αὐτῶν, καὶ ἐπὶ μιᾶν ἐκαστῆσθαι τῆς τιθέταις ἡθῶν, ἀμα τε λέγοντες ταῦτα συνειλέουσι τὰς ράβδους ὁπίσω καὶ αὐτοὺς κατὰ μίαν συντιθέουσι, αὐτὴ μὲν σφι ἡ μαντικὴ πατρωθῇ ἔστι. οἱ δὲ Ἐνάρεεις αἱ ἀνδρόμονοι τὴν Ἀφροδίτην σφίζει λέγουσι μαντικὴν δούναι φιλήρης δ’ ὁ δὲ φλοῖο μαντεύονται ἐπεαν τὴν φιλήρην τρίχα σχέσι, διαπλέκων ἐν τοῖσι δικτύλοισι τοῖσι ἕωτον καὶ διαλύον τρχα.

68. Ἐπεαν δὲ βασιλεὺς ὁ Σκυθέων κάμη, μεταπέμπται τῶν μαντίων ἄνδρας τρεῖς τοὺς εὐδοκιμόντας μάλιστα, οἱ τρόπω τῷ εἰρημένῳ μαντεύονται καὶ λέγουσι οὕτωι ὡς τὸ ἐπίσταν μάλιστα τάδε, ὡς τὰς βασιλείας ἱστίας ἐπιώρκηκε δ’ καὶ δ’, λέγοντες τῶν ἀστῶν τὸν ἄν δὴ λέγωσι, τὰς δὲ βασιλείας ἱστίας νόμος Σκύθησ
honours visit him he will serve them with these heads, and show how the dead were his kinsfolk who made war upon him and were worsted by him; this they call manly valour.

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

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

68. But whenever the king of the Scythians falls sick, he sends for the three diviners most in repute, who prophesy in the aforesaid manner; and they for the most part tell him that such and such a man (naming whoever it is of the people of the country) has forsworn himself by the king's hearth; for when the Scythians will swear their mightiest oath, it is
τὰ μάλιστα ἑστὶ ὁμιλῶντα τὸτε ἐπεάν τὸν μέγιστον ὅρκον ἑθελώσι ὁμνύναι. αὐτικά δὲ διαλεξαμένοι ἀγεταὶ οὗτος τὸν ἂν ἕξε ὕψει ἐπιστροφῆς, ἀπηγμένον δὲ ἐλέγχουσι οἱ μάντεις ὡς ἐπιστροφῆς φαίνεται ἐν τῇ μαντικῇ τὰς βασιλείας ἰστιας καὶ διὰ ταῦτα ἄλγεις ὁ βασιλεὺς· ὅ δὲ ἀρνεῖται, οὐ φάμενοι ἐπιστροφῆς, καὶ δεινολογεῖται. ἀρνεομένου δὲ τούτου ὁ βασιλεὺς μεταπέμπεται ἄλλους διπλησίους μάντιας· καὶ ἢν μὲν καὶ οὕτω ἐσοφρώντες ἐστὶ τὴν μαντικὴν καταδέσσωσι ἐπιστροφῆς, τοῦ δὲ θέως τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀποτάμουσι, καὶ τὰ χρήματα αὐτοῦ διαλαξαγάνουσι οἱ πρῶτοι τῶν μαντῶν· ὅπερ δὲ ὦτε ἐπελθόντες μάντεις ἀπολύσωσι, ἄλλοι πάρεισι μάντεις καὶ μάλα ἄλλοι. ἢν ὦν ὦτε πλευνεὶ τὸν ἀνθρωπὸν ἀπολύσωσι, δέδοκται τοῖσι πρῶτοι τῶν μαντῶν αὐτοὶ ἀπόλλυσθαι.

69. Ἀπολλυσί δὴτα αὐτοὺς τρόπῳ τοιῶδε ἐπεᾶν ἄμαξαν φρυγάνων πλησιώσας καὶ ὑποζεύξωσι βοῦς, ἐμποδίσαντες τοὺς μάντιας καὶ χειρὰς ὑπὸσῳ δήσαντες καὶ στομῶσαντες κατεργύνοντο ὡς κέρατο τα φρυγανα, ὑποπρήσαντες δὲ αὐτὰ ἀπείσοι φοβήσαντες τοὺς βοῦς. τολλοὶ μὲν δὴ συγκατακαίονται τοῖσι μάντισι βοῖς, τολλοὶ δὲ περικεκαμένοι ἀποφεύγουσι, ἐπεὰν αὐτῶν ὁ ῥυμὸς κατακαυθῇ. κατακαίοντι δὲ τρόπῳ τῷ εἰρημένῳ καὶ δὲ ἄλλας αἰτίας τοὺς μάντις, ψευδομάντιας καλέοντες. τοὺς δ' ἂν ἀποκτείνῃ βασιλεὺς, τούτων οὐδὲ τοὺς παῖδας λειπεῖ, ἄλλα πάντα τὰ ἔρευνα κτείνει, τὰ δὲ θήλεα οὐκ ἄδικεις.

70. "Ὁρκια δὲ ποιεῖται Σκυθαὶ ὅδε πρὸς τοὺς ἂν ποιεῶται· ἐς κύλικα μεγαλὴν κεραμίνην οἶνον ἐγχέαντες αἷμα συμμίσγουσι τῶν τὸ ὄρκιον ταμ.
by the king's hearth that they are usually accustomed to swear. Forthwith the man whom they allege to be forsworn is seized and brought in, and when he comes the diviners accuse him, saying that their divination shows him to have forsworn himself by the king's hearth, and that this is the cause of the king's sickness; and the man vehemently denies that he is forsworn. So when he denies it the king sends for twice as many diviners: and if they too, looking into their art, prove him guilty of perjury, then straightway he is beheaded and his goods are divided among the first diviners; but if the later diviners acquit him, then other diviners come, and yet again others. If then the greater number of them acquit the man, it is decreed that the first diviners shall themselves be put to death.

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

70. As for the giving of sworn pledges to such as are to receive them, this is the Scythian fashion: they take blood from the parties to the agreement
노모ενων τυψαντες υπετατι και ἐπιταιμνητες μακαρη
σμικρων του σωματος και ἐπειτα ἀποβαψαντες
ἐγς την κυλικα ἀκινακην και ὀστους και σαγαριν
καὶ ἄκόντιον ἐπεάν δὲ ταιτα ποιησωσι κατευ-
χονται πολλα και ἐπειτα ἀποπινουσι αυτοι τε
οι το ὄρκιον ποιεύμενοι και των ἐπομενων οι
πλειστον άξιοι.

71. Ταφαὶ δε τῶν βασιλέων εν Γέρροισι εἰς
ἐς δ ο Ὁ Βορυσθένης ἔστι προσπλωτός1 ἐνθαῦτα,
ἐπεάν σφι ἀποθάνῃ ὁ βασιλεὺς, δρυγμα γῆς μέγα
ὁρύσσουσι τετράγωνον, ἐτοιμον δὲ τοίτω ποιη-
σαντες ἀναλαμβάνουσι τὸν νεκρόν, κατακεκρω-
μένον μὲν τὸ σῶμα, τὴν δὲ νηδὺν ἀνασχυσθείσαν
καὶ καθαρθείσαν, πλένῃ κυπέρου κεκομμένου καὶ
θυμιμάτος καὶ σελίνου στέρματος καὶ ἀννήσος,
συνερραμμένην ὁπλώ, καὶ κομίζουσι εν ἀμάξῃ ες
ἄλλο ἔθνος. οὶ δὲ ἂν παραδεξιωνται κομισθέντα
τὸν νεκρόν, ποιεύσε τὰ περ οἱ βασιληνοι Σκύθαι
του ὑτός ἀποτάμνουνται, τρίχας περικείρονται,
βραχίωνας περιτάμνουνται, μέτωπον καὶ ρίνα κατα-
μύσσουνται, διὰ τῆς ἀριστερῆς χειρὸς οὐστοὺς δια-
βυννονται. ἑνθεύτεν δὲ κομίζουσι εν τῇ ἀμάξῃ
του βασιλεός τον νεκρόν ες ἄλλο ἔθνος τῶν ἄρ-
χους. οἱ δὲ σφι ἐπονται ες τους πρότερους ἡλθον,
ἐπεάν δὲ πάντας περιελθοντας τὸν νεκρὸν κομίζουντες,
ἐν τε Γέρροισι ἐσχατα κατοικημένοις εἰς τῶν
ἀθνῶν τῶν ἄρχουσι καὶ ἐν τῇ ταφήσι. καὶ
ἐπειτα, ἐπεάν θέσων τὸν νεκρὸν ἐν τῇ τῆς 
θήκῃ 
ετὶ στειβάδος, παραπήξαντες αἰχμὰς ἐνθε 
καὶ ἐνθε 
τοῦ νεκροῦ ἑύλα ύπερτείνουσι καὶ ἐπειτα πεφι

1 ἐς δ—προσπλωτός is bracketed by Stein, chiefly on the
ground of inconsistency with ch. 53.
by making a little hole or cut in the body with an awl or a knife, and pour it mixed with wine into a great earthenware bowl, wherein they then dip a scimitar and arrows and an axe and a javelin; and when this is done the makers of the sworn agreement themselves, and the most honourable of their followers, drink of the blood after solemn imprecations.

71. The burial-places of the kings are in the land of the Gerrhi, which is the end of the navigation of the Borysthenes. There, whenever their king has died, the Scythians dig a great four-cornered pit in the ground; when this is ready they take up the dead man—his body enclosed in wax, his belly cut open and cleansed and filled with cut marsh-plants and frankincense, and parsley and anise seed, and sewn up again—and carry him on a waggon to another tribe. Then those that receive the dead man at his coming do the same as do the Royal Scythians; that is, they cut off a part of their ears, shave their heads, make cuts round their arms, tear their foreheads and noses, and pierce their left hands with arrows. Thence the bearers carry the king's body on the waggon to another of the tribes which they rule, and those to whom they have already come follow them; and having carried the dead man to all in turn, they are in the country of the Gerrhi, the farthest distant of all tribes under their rule, and at the place of burial. Then, having laid the dead in the tomb on a couch, they plant spears on each side of the body and lay across them wooden planks, which they then roof over with plaited oziers; in the
καταστεγάζουσι, ἐν δὲ τῇ λοιπῇ εὐρυχωρίᾳ τῆς θήκης τῶν παλλακέων τε μίαν ἀποπνίξατες ἀπό τούς καὶ τῶν οἴνοχών καὶ μάγειρων καὶ ἰπποκόμων καὶ διηκονοῦν καὶ ἀγγελιηθοῦν καὶ ἱπποὺς καὶ τῶν ἄλλων πάντων ἀπαρχὰς καὶ φιάλας χρυσέας· ἀργύρῳ δὲ οὐδὲν οὐδὲ χαλκῷ χρέωνται. ταύτα δὲ ποιήσαντες χοῦς πάντες χώμα μέγα, ἀμιλλώμενοι καὶ προθυμεόμενοι ὡς μέγιστον ποιήσατε.

72. Ἡμιτωνὸν δὲ περιφερομένου αὐτὶς ποιεῖσθι τοιοῦτος λαβόντες τῶν λοιπῶν θεραπότων τοὺς ἐπιτηδεοτάτους (οὐδὲ εἰσὶ Σκύθαι ἐγγενεῖς· αὐτοὶ γὰρ θεραπεύουσι τοὺς ἣν αὐτὸς ὁ βασιλεὺς κελεύσῃ, ἀργυρώντοι δὲ οὐκ εἰσὶ σφί θεράποτες), τοίτων οὖν τῶν διηκονῶν ἐπείν ἀποπνίξασθαι πεντήκοντα καὶ ἱπποὺς τοὺς καλλίστους πεντήκοντα, ἔξελοντες αὐτῶν τὴν κοιλίν καὶ καθῆραντες ἐμπιπλάοι ἀγώρου καὶ συρράπτουσι. ἄψιδος δὲ ἢμις ἐπὶ δύο ξύλα στήσαντες ἔπι τὸ ἐπετρι ήμις τῆς ἄψιδος ἐπὶ ἐπετρι δύο, καταπνίξαντες τρόπο τοιούτῳ πολλὰ ταύτα, ἐπειτα τῶν ἱππών κατὰ τὰ μῆκα ξύλα παχέα διελάσαντες μέχρι τῶν τραχηλῶν ἀναβιβάζουσι αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ τὰς ἄψιδας· τῶν δὲ αἱ μὲν πρότερα ἄψιδες ὑπέκουσι τοὺς ὑμοὺς τῶν ἱππῶν, αἱ δὲ ὅποις παρὰ τοὺς μηροὺς τὰς γαστέρας ὑπολαμβάνουσι σκέλεα δὲ ἀμφότερα κατακρέμαται μετέωρα. χαλινοὺς δὲ καὶ στομα ἐμβαλόντες ἐσ τοὺς ἱπποὺς κατατείνουσι, ἐς τὸ πρῶσθεν αὐτῶν καὶ ἐπείτα ἐκ πασσάλων δέουσιν τῶν δὲ ἡ νευρίσκων τῶν ἀποπεπνυμένων τῶν πεντῆκοντα ἐνα ἐκαστὸν ἀναβιβάζουσι ἐπὶ τῶν ἱππῶν, ὅδε ἀναβιβάζοντες, ἐπεάν νεκροῦ ἐκάστουν
open space which is left in the tomb they bury, after strangling, one of the king's concubines, his cup-bearer, his cook, his groom, his squire, and his messenger, besides horses, and first-fruits of all else, and golden cups; for the Scythians make no use of silver or bronze. Having done this they all build a great barrow of earth, vying zealously with one another to make this as great as may be.

72. With the completion of a year they begin a fresh practice. Taking the trustiest of the rest of the king's servants (and these are native-born Scythians, for only those serve the king whom he bids so to do, and none of the Scythians have servants bought by money) they strangle fifty of these squires and fifty of their best horses and empty and cleanse the bellies of all, fill them with chaff, and sew them up again. Then they make fast the half of a wheel to two posts, the hollow upwards, and the other half to another pair of posts, till many posts thus furnished are planted in the ground, and, presently, driving thick stakes lengthways through the horses' bodies to their necks, they lay the horses aloft on the wheels so that the wheel in front supports the horse's shoulders and the wheel behind takes the weight of the belly by the hindquarters, and the forelegs and hindlegs hang free; and putting bridles and bits in the horses' mouths they stretch the bridles to the front and make them fast with pegs. Then they take each one of the fifty strangled young men and mount him on the horse; their way of doing it is to drive an upright stake through each
παρὰ τὴν ἀκανθαν ἔξυλον ὀρθῶν διελάσσωσι μέχρι του τραχύλου, κάτωθεν δὲ ύπερέχει του ἔξυλου τούτου τὸ ἐς τὸ τόρμον πηγνύουσι του ἐτέρου ἔξυλου τοῦ διὰ τοῦ ὕππου. ἐπιστήσαντες δὲ κύκλῳ τὸ σῆμα ἰππεάς τοιούτους ἀπελαύνουσι.

73. Οὗτοι μὲν τοὺς βασιλέας θάπτουσι: τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους Σκύθας, ἐπειτὶ ἀποθάνωσι, περιάγουσι οἱ αγχοτάτω προσήκοντες κατὰ τοὺς φίλους ἐν ἀμάξησι κειμένους: τῶν δὲ ἔκαστος ὑποδεκόμενος εὐωχεῖ τοὺς ἐπομένους, καὶ τῷ νεκρῷ ἀπάντων παραπλησίως παρατίθησι ὅσα τοῖς ἀλλοίς. ἡμέρας δὲ τεσσεράκοντα οὗτοι οἱ ἰδίωται περιάγονται, ἐπειτὰ θάπτονται. θάφαντες δὲ οἱ Σκύθαι καθαίρουσι τρόπῳ τοῖς. συμπάθεοι τὰς κεφαλὰς καὶ ἐκπλήμμενοι ποιεῖσαν περὶ τὸ σῶμα τῶν: ἐπειτὰ ξύλα στῆσοντες τρία ἐς ἄλληλα κεκλιμένα, περὶ ταῦτα πῖλους εἰρινέους περιτείνουσι, συμφράζουσι δὲ ὡς μάλιστα λίθους ἐκ πυρὸς διαφανέας ἐσβάλλουσι ἑς σκάφην κειμένην ἐν μέσῳ τῶν ἔξυλων τε καὶ τῶν πίλων.

74. Ἔστι δὲ σφι κάνναβις φυμένη ἐν τῇ χώρῃ πλὴν παχύτητος καὶ μεγάθεος τῷ λίνῳ ἐμφέρεσται: ταύτη δὲ πολλῷ ὑπερφέρει ἡ κάνναβις. αὐτὴ καὶ αὐτομάτη καὶ σπειρομένη φύεται, καὶ εἰς αὐτὴς Ὀρήκες μὲν καὶ εἴματα ποιεῖται τοῖς λίνεοις ὁμοίωτα: οὔτ' ἂν, ὡστε μὴ κάρτα τρίβων εἴη αὐτῆς, διαγροθή λίνου ἡ κάνναβις ἐστί: ὅς δὲ μὴ εἴδε κω τῆν κάνναβίδα, λίνεον δοκήσει εἶναι τὸ ἔλμα.

75. Ταύτης ὄν οἱ Σκύθαι τῆς κάνναβις τὸ σπέρμα ἐπειτὶ λάβωσι, ὑποδύουσι ὑπὸ τοὺς πῖλους, καὶ ἐπειτὰ ἐπιβάλλουσι τὸ σπέρμα ἐπὶ
body passing up by the spine to the neck, and enough of the stake projects below to be fixed in a hole made in the other stake, that which passes through the horse. So having set horsemen of this fashion round about the tomb they ride away.

73. Such is their way of burying their kings. All other Scythians, when they die, are laid in wagons and carried about among their friends by their nearest of kin; each receives them and entertains the retinue hospitably, setting before the dead man about as much of the fare as he serves to the rest. All but the kings are thus borne about for forty days and then buried. After the burial the Scythians cleanse themselves as I will show: they anoint and wash their heads; as for their bodies, they set up three poles leaning together to a point and cover these over with woollen mats; then, in the place so enclosed to the best of their power, they make a pit in the centre beneath the poles and the mats and throw red-hot stones into it.

74. They have hemp growing in their country, very like flax, save that the hemp is by much the thicker and taller. This grows both of itself and also by their sowing, and of it the Thracians even make garments which are very like linen; nor could any, save he were a past master in hemp, know whether they be hempen or linen; whoever has never yet seen hemp will think the garment to be linen.

75. The Scythians then take the seed of this hemp and, creeping under the mats, they throw it
τούς διαφανέας λίθους τῷ πυρί: τὸ δὲ θυμιάται ἐπιβαλλόμενον καὶ ἀτμίδα παρέχεται τοσαύτην ὡστε Ἐλληνικὴ σύνεμια ἂν μιν πυρίνη ἀποκρατήσει. οἱ δὲ Σκυθαὶ ἀγάμενοι τῇ πυρίνῃ ὄρυξιν τοῦτο σφιγματίζονται ὑπὸ τὸ παράπαν τὸ σῶμα. οἱ δὲ γυναῖκες αὐτῶν ὑδωρ παραχέονται κατασώκουσι περὶ λίθων τρεχχον τῇς κυπαρίσσιας καὶ κέδρου καὶ λιβάνου ἠγίου, καὶ ἔπειτα τὸ κατασωκόμενον τοῦτο παχὺ ἐν τῷ καταπλάσσονται πάν τὸ σῶμα καὶ τὸ πρόσωπον καὶ ἁμα μὲν εὐωδίη σφέας ἀπὸ τοῦτον ἵσχει, ἀμα δὲ ἀπαίρεουσαι τῇ δευτέρῃ ἡμέρῃ τὴν καταπλαστὴν γίνουσαι καθαραι καὶ λαμπραί.

76. Σεινικοῖσι δὲ νομαίοισι καὶ οὕτωι φεύγοντι αἰνῶς χράοθαι, μήτε τεών ἄλλων, Ἐλληνικοῖσι δὲ καὶ ἴκοιτα, ός διεδεξαν Ἀνάχαρσις τε καὶ δεύτερα αὐτῆς Σκύλης. τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ Ἀνάχαρσις ἐπείτε γην πολλῆν θεωρῆσας καὶ ἀποδεξάμενος καὶ αὐτὴν σοφίην πολλήν ἐκομίζετο εἰς θηεα τὰ Σκυθέων, πλέον δὲ Ἐλλησποντού προσίσχει τὰς Κυζικοὺς καὶ εὑρίζει γὰρ τῇ μητρὶ τῶν θεῶν ἀναγοντας τοὺς Κυζικηνοὺς ὀρτὴν μεγαλοπρεπῶς κάρτα, εὐφαίτω τῇ μητρὶ ὁ Ἀνάχαρσις, ἢν σῶς καὶ ὑγιὴς ἀπονοστήσας ἐς ἕως, θύσειν τε κατὰ ταυτὰ κατὰ ὅρα οὕτως ποιεύσαντος καὶ πανυχίδα στήσειν. ός δὲ ἀπίκετο ἐς τὴν Σκυθήν, καταφές ἐς τὴν καλεμένην Ἰλαίνην (ἡ δὲ ἐστὶ μὲν παρὰ τῶν Ἀχιλλῆιον δρόμοι, τυγχάνει δὲ πάσα ἐνύσαι δεινῶν παυτοῖς πλέπῃ), ἐς ταὐτὴν δὴ καταδύς ὁ Ἀνάχαρσις τὴν ὀρτὴν ἐπετέλεε πάσαν τῇ θεῷ, τύμπανοι τε ἐχὼν καὶ ἐκδησάμενος ἀγάλματα. καὶ τῶν τις Σκυθέων καταφρασθεῖς
on the red-hot stones; and, being so thrown, it smoulders and sends forth so much steam that no Greek vapour-bath could surpass it. The Scythians howl in their joy at the vapour-bath. This serves them instead of bathing, for they never wash their bodies with water. But their women pound on a rough stone cypress and cedar and frankincense wood, pouring water also thereon, and with the thick stuff so pounded they anoint all their bodies and faces, whereby not only does a fragrant scent abide upon them, but when on the second day they take off the ointment their skin becomes clean and shining.

76. But as regards foreign usages, the Scythians (as others) are wondrous loth to practise those of any other country, and particularly of Hellas, as was proved in the case of Anacharsis and again also of Scyles. For when Anacharsis, having seen much of the world in his travels and given many proofs of his wisdom therein, was coming back to the Scythian country, he sailed through the Hellespont and put in at Cyzicus; where, finding the Cyzicenes celebrating the feast of the Mother of the Gods with great pomp, he vowed to this same Mother that, if he returned to his own country safe and sound, he would sacrifice to her as he saw the Cyzicenes do, and establish a nightly rite of worship. So when he came to Scythia, he hid himself in the country called Woodland (which is beside the Race of Achilles, and is all overgrown with every kind of wood); hiding himself there Anacharsis celebrated the goddess's ritual with exactness, carrying a small drum and hanging about himself images. Then some
αὐτὸν ταῦτα ποιεῖται ἐστὶ μνημειώτερον ἡ βασιλεία Σαῦλων· ὁ δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς ἀπικόμενος ὡς εἶδε τὸν Ἀνάχαρσιν ποιεῖται ταῦτα, τοξεύσας αὐτὸν ἀπέκτεινε. καὶ τῶν ἦν τις εἴρηται περὶ Ἀνάχαρσιος, οὐ φασὶ μιν Σκύλλας γυμνοκειν, διὰ τοῦτο ὅτι ἔξεδημήσε τῇ Ἑλλάδα καὶ ἰσπικοῖσι ἐθεσεὶ διεξηγήσατο. ὡς δ’ ἐγὼ ἦκουσα Ἐκένω τοῦ Ἀριαπέθεος ἐπιτρόπου, εἶναι αὐτὸν Ἰδανύρσου τοῦ Σκυθέων βασιλέως πάτρων, παῖδα δὲ εἶναι Γνώρου τοῦ Δύκου τοῦ Σπαργαπεθέος. εἰ όν ταύτης ἦν τῆς οἰκῆς ὁ Ἀνάχαρσις, ἵστω ὕπτο τοῦ ἀδέλφου ἀποθανόν· Ἰδανύρσου γὰρ ἦν παῖς Σαῦλον, Σαῦλος δὲ ἦν ὁ ἀποκτείνας Ἀνάχαρσιν.

77. Καίτοι τινὰ ἢδη ἦκουσα λόγον ἄλλον ὑπὸ Πελοποννησίων λεγόμενον, ὡς ὑπὸ τοῦ Σκυθέων βασιλέως Ἀνάχαρσις ἀποπεμφθεὶς τῆς Ἑλλάδος μαθητή̊ς γένοιτο, ὅπεσώ τε ἀπονοστήσῃς φαίνει πρὸς τὸν ἀποπέμφαντα Ἐλληνας πάντας ἀσχολούς εἰναι ἐς πᾶσαν σοφίαν πλῆν Δακεδαμονίων, τούτοις δὲ εἰναι μονονοίς σωφρόνως δούναι τε καὶ δεξαμεθαί λόγον. ἄλλῳ οὖτος μὲν ὁ λόγος ἄλλως πεπλαστὰς ὑπ’ αὐτῶν Ἐλλήνων, ὁ δ’ ὃν ἀνὴρ ὁσπερ πρῶτον εἰρέθη διεφθάρῃ.

78. Οὕτως μὲν τῶν ὅτι ἢν χρηστός διὰ ξεινικὰ τε νόμαια καὶ Ἐλληνικὰς ἀμιλητίας. πολλοῖς δὲ κάρτα ἠτεσὶ υἱερον Σκύλης ὁ Ἀριαπεθεῖς ἐπάθε παραπλήσια τοῦτο. Ἀριαπεθεῖς γὰρ τῷ Σκυθέων βασιλείᾳ γίνεται μετ’ ἄλλων παῖδων Σκύλης· ἔξ Ἰστριμῆς δὲ γυναικὸς οὗτος γίνεται καὶ οὐδαμὸς ἐγχωρίης· τὸν ἦ μήτηρ αὐτὴ γλώσσαν τῇ Ἑλλάδα καὶ γράμματα ἐδίδαξε. μετὰ δὲ χρόνῳ ὑστερον
Scythian marked him doing this and told it to the king, Saulius; who, coming himself to the place and seeing Anacharsis performing these rites, shot an arrow at him and slew him. And now the Scythians, if they are asked about Anacharsis, say they have no knowledge of him; this is because he left his country for Hellas and followed the customs of strangers. But according to what I heard from Tymnes, the deputy for Ariapithes, Anacharsis was uncle to Idanthyrsus king of Scythia, and he was the son of Gnurus, son of Lycus, son of Spargapithes. Now if Anacharsis was truly of this family, then I would have him know that he was slain by his own brother; for Idanthyrsus was the son of Saulius, and it was Saulius who slew Anacharsis.

77. It is true that I have heard another story told by the Pelponnesians; namely, that Anacharsis had been sent by the king of Scythia and had been a learner of the ways of Hellas, and after his return told the king who sent him that all Greeks were zealous for every kind of learning, save only the Lacedaemonians; but that these were the only Greeks who spoke and listened with discretion. But this is a tale vainly invented by the Greeks themselves; and be this as it may, the man was put to death as I have said.

78. Such-like, then, was the fortune that befell Anacharsis, all for his foreign usages and his companionship with Greeks; and a great many years afterwards, Seyles, son of Ariapithes, suffered a like fate. Seyles was one of the sons born to Ariapithes, king of Scythia; but his mother was of Istria, and not native-born; and she taught him to speak and read Greek.

1 In what is now the Dobrudja.
Αριαπείθης μὲν τελευτά δόλῳ υπὸ Σπαργαπείθεως τοῦ Αγαθύρσων βασιλέως, Σκύλης δὲ τὴν τε βασιλικὴν παρέλαβε καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα τοῦ πατρός, τῇ οὖν αὐτή νὰ ὁποιή ἢ ὁποιή ἀστὴ, ἐξ ἡ ἢ ὁ Ὁρικος Ἀριαπείθει παῖς. βασιλείων δὲ Σκυθῶν ὁ Σκύλης διαίτης οὐδὲμῶς ἥρεσκετο Σκυθικὴ, ἀλλὰ πολλον πρὸς τὰ Ἐλληνικὰ μᾶλλον τετραμμένος ἢ ἀπὸ παιδεύσιος τῆς ἑπεταίδευτο, ἔποιευτε τε τοιοῦτο πέτο ἁγάγοι τὴν στρατηγὴ τῆς Σκυθῶν εἰς τὸ Βορυσθενεῖτενὶ ἀστυ (οἱ δὲ Βορυσθενεῖται οὔτοι λέγουσι σφέασ αὐτοῦς εἶναι Μηλησίους), ἀυς τούτους ὁκος ἔλθοι ὁ Σκύλης, τὴν μὲν στρατηγῆν καταλιπεσκε ἐν τῷ προσατείῳ, αὐτὸς δὲ ὁκος ἔλθοι ἐς τὸ τεῖχος καὶ τὰς πύλας ἐγκλησειε, τὴν στολὴν ἀποθέμενος τὴν Σκυθικὴν λάβεσκε αὖ Ἐλληνίδα ἐσθήτα, ἔχων δὲ ἀντὶ τῆν ἡγοραζέ ὀυτὲ δορυφόρων ἐπομενών οὔτε ἄλλου οὐδενος τὰς δὲ πύλας ἐφύλασσον, μή τὶς μην Σκυθῶν ἱδοὶ ἔχουτα ταῦτη τὴν στολὴν καὶ τα τὰ ἅρα ἔχρατο διαίτη Ἐλληνικὴ καὶ θεοῖς ορὰ ἐποίευ κατὰ νόμους τοὺς Ἐλλήνων. ὅτε δὲ διατρίψειε μὴν ἡ πλέον τούτου, ἀπαλλάσσετο ἐνδὺς τὴν Σκυθικὴν στολὴν. ταῦτα ποιέσκει πολλάκις καὶ οἰκία τε ἑδείματο ἐν Βορυσθενεὶ καὶ γυναῖκα ἐγίμη ἐς αὐτὰ ἐπιχορήγην.

79. Ἐπείτε δὲ ἔδεε οἱ κακῶς γενέσθαι, ἐγινετο ἀπὸ προφάς τοιῆδε. ἐπεθύμησε Διονύσω βακχεῖρ τελεσθῆναι μέλλοντε δὲ οἱ ἐς χειρᾶς ἀγεσθαί τὴν τελετὴν ἐγένετο φάσμα μέγιστον. ἢν οἱ ἐν Βορυσθενεῖτεων τῇ πόλι ὀικὴς μεγάλης καὶ πολυτελεός περιβολῇ, τῆς καὶ ὀλίγῳ τι πρότερον τούτων μνήμην εἴχον, τὴν πέριξ λευκὸν λίθων σφίγγε τε καὶ γρύπες ἐστασαν. ἐς ταύτην ὁ θεὸς
As time passed, Ariapithes was treacherously slain by Spargapithes, king of the Agathyrsi, and Seyles inherited the kingship and his father's wife, whose name was Opoea, a Scythian woman, and she bore to Seyles a son, Oricus. So Seyles was king of Scythia; but he was in no wise content with the Scythian manner of life, and was much more inclined to Greek ways, from the bringing up which he had received; so this is what he did: having led the Scythian army to the city of the Borysthenites (who say that they are Milesians)—having, I say, come thither, he would ever leave his army in the suburb of the city, but he himself, entering within the walls and shutting the gates would doff his Scythian apparel and don a Greek dress; and in it he went among the townsmen unattended by spearmen or any others (the people guarding the gates, lest any Scythian should see him wearing this apparel), and in every way followed the Greek manner of life, and worshipped the gods according to Greek usage. Then having so spent a month or more, he put on Scythian dress and left the city. This he did often; and he built him a house in Borysthenes, and married and brought thither a wife of the people of the country.

79. But when the time came that evil should befall him, this was the cause of it: he conceived a desire to be initiated into the rites of the Bacchic Dionysus; and when he was about to begin the sacred mysteries, he saw a wondrous vision. He had in the city of the Borysthenites a spacious house, great and costly (that same house whereof I have just made mention), all surrounded by sphinxes and griffins wrought in white marble; this house was
ἐνέσκηψε βέλος. καὶ ἦ μὲν κατεκάθη πᾶσα, Σκύλης
de οὐδὲν τούτον εἶνεκα ἴσσον ἐπετέλεσε τὴν τελε
τὴν. Σκύθαι δὲ τοῦ βακχεῦειν πέρι Ἑλλησ
ονείδιζουσιν; οὐ γὰρ φασι οἶκος εἶναι θεῶν ἐξενρ
σκείν τούτον ὡστὶς μαίνεσθαι ἐνάγει ἀνθρώπους.
ἐπεῖτε δὲ ἐπελεύσθη τῷ Βακχεῖῳ ὁ Σκύλης,
διεστη
σεσευτε τῶν τῶν Βορυσθενεῖτῶν πρὸς τοὺς Σκύθας
λέγων ἦμῖν γὰρ καταγελάτε, ὦ Σκύθαι, ὅτι
βακχεύομεν καὶ ἡμέας ὁ θεὸς λαμβάνει· νῦν οὖτος
ὁ δαίμων καὶ τὸν ὑμέτερον βασιλέα λελάβηκε,
καὶ βακχεύει τε καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ μαίνεται. εἰ
δὲ μοι ἀπειστέετε, ἐπέσθε, καὶ ἦμῖν ἐγὼ δεξιω.
ἐποντὸ τῶν Σκύθων ὁ προεστῶτες, καὶ αὐτὸς
ἀναγαγὼν ὁ Βορυσθενείτης λάθρη ἐπὶ πύργον
κατείσθη. ἐπεῖτε δὲ παρχίε σὺν τῷ βιάσῳ ὁ Σκύ
λης καὶ εἶδον μιν βακχεύοντα οἱ Σκύθαι, κάρτα
συμφορὰν μεγάλην ἐποιήσαντο, ἐξελθόντες δὲ
ἐσήμαινον πάση τῇ στρατιᾷ τὰ ἱδοιεν.

80. Ὡς δὲ μετὰ ταύτα ἐξήλαινε ὁ Σκύλης ἐς
ἡθεα τὰ ἐωτοῦ, οἱ Σκύθαι προστησάμενοι τὸν
ἀδελφεόν αὐτοῦ Ὁκταμασάδην, γεγονότα ἐκ τῆς
Τήρεως θυγατρός, ἐπαινιστάτῳ τῷ Σκύλῃ. ὁ δὲ
μαθὼν τὸ γινόμενον ἐπὶ ἐωτῶ καὶ τὴν αἰτίην δὲ
ἡ ἐποιεῖτο, καταφεύγείς εἰς τὴν Ῥημίκην. πυθό
μενος δὲ ὁ Ὁκταμασάδης ταῦτα ἐστρατεύετο ἐπὶ
tὴν Ῥημίκην. ἐπεῖτε δὲ ἐπὶ τῷ Ἡστρῳ ἐγένετο,
ἡντίσαν μιν αἱ Ῥημίκες, μελλόντων δὲ αὐτῶν
συνάψειν ἐπεμψε Σιτάλκης παρὰ τὸν Ὁκταμα-
σάδην λέγων τοιάδε. „Τι δὲι ἡμέας ἀλλήλων
πειρηθῆναι; εἰς μὲν μεν τῆς ἀδελφῆς παῖς, ἐχεις
dὲ μεν ἀδελφεόν. σὺ δὲ μοι ἀπόδος τούτον, καὶ ἐγὼ
σοι τὸν σὸν Σκύλην παραδίδωμι· στρατιᾷ δὲ μητε
BOOK IV. 79-80

smitten by a thunderbolt and wholly destroyed by fire. But none the less for this did Scyles perform the rite to the end. Now the Seythians make this Bacchic revelling a reproach against the Greeks, saying that it is not reasonable to set up a god who leads men on to madness. So when Scyles had been initiated into the Bacchic rite, some one of the Borysthenites scoffed at the Seythians: "Why," said he, "you Seythians mock us for revelling and being possessed by the god; but now this deity has taken possession of your own king, so that he is revelling and is maddened by the god. If you will not believe me, follow me now and I will show him to you." The chief men among the Seythians followed him, and the Borysthenite brought them up secretly and set them on a tower; whence presently, when Scyles passed by with his company of worshippers, they saw him among the revellers; whereat being greatly moved, they left the city and told the whole army what they had seen.

80. After this Scyles rode away to his own place; but the Seythians rebelled against him, setting up for their king his brother Octamasades, son of the daughter of Teres. Scyles, learning how they dealt with him and the reason of their so doing, fled into Thrace; and when Octamasades heard this he led his army thither. But when he was beside the Ister, the Thracians barred his way; and when the armies were like to join battle Sitalces sent this message to Octamasades: "Wherefore should we essay each other's strength? You are my sister's son, and you have with you my brother; do you give him back to me, and I give up your Scyles to you; and let
HERODOTUS

σὺ κινδυνεύσῃς μήτ' εγώ." ταῦτα οἱ πέμψας ὁ Σιτάλκης ἐπεκηρυκευέτο δὴν γὰρ παρὰ τῷ Ὀκταμασάδῃ ἀδελφῷ Σιτάλκεῳ πεφευγεῖς. ὃ δὲ Ὀκταμασάδης κατανεῖ ταῦτα, έκδον δὲ τὸν ἕως τοῦ μήτρα Σιτάλκη ἐλαβε τὸν ἀδελφὸν Σκύλην. καὶ Σιτάλκης μὲν παραλαβὼν τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἀπήγετο, Σκύλεω δὲ Ὀκταμασάδης αὐτοῦ ταύτη ἀπέταμε τὴν κεφαλὴν, οὐτὸ μὲν περιστέλλουσι τὰ σφέτερα νόμαι σκύδαι, τούτι δὲ παρακτώμενοι ξεινικοῖς νόμοις τοιαύτα ἐπτίμημα διδοῦσι.

81. Πλήθος δὲ τὸ Σκυθέων οὐκ οἶος τὰς ἐγενόμην ἄντρεκέως πυθέσθαι, ἀλλὰ διαφόρους λόγους περὶ τοῦ ἄριθμοῦ ἥκονον καὶ ἡς κάρτα πολλοῖς εἶναι σφέας καὶ ὅλοις ὅς Σκύδας εἶναι. τοσοῦτο μέντοι ἀπεθανὼν μοι ἐς ὅψιν. ἔστι μεταξὺ Βορυσθένεος τις ποταμοῦ καὶ Ἡπανίου χώρος, οὔνομα δὲ οἱ ἐστὶ Ἐξαμπαῖοι τοῦ καὶ ὅλοι περὶ τοὺς πρῶτους ἑκάστῳ ἑίχον, φάμενος ἐν αὐτῷ κρήνῃ ὕδατος πικροὶ εἶναι, ἢς ὁ ὅσαι ἀπορρέων τῶν Ἡπανίων ἀποτόμοι ποιεῖν. ἐν τούτῳ τῷ χώρῳ κέεται χαλκήν, μεγαθεί καὶ ἐξαπλίσατο τοῦ ἐπὶ στόματι τοῦ Πόντου κρήτης, τῶν Παυσανίας ο Ἡθελομβρότου ἀνέβηκε. ὃς δὲ μὴ εἰδέ καὶ τούτον, ὁδὲ δηλώσων ἐξακοσίων ἀμφορεάς, εὐπέτεως χωρεῖ τὸ ἐν Σκύθων χαλκήν, πάχος δὲ τὸ Σκυθικὸν τούτου χαλκήν ἐστὶ δακτύλων ἐξ τούτῳ ὅσιον ὅθεν ὅτι ἐπιχώρῳ ἀπὸ ἀρδών γενέσθαι. Ὑβουλήσαντο γὰρ τὸς σφέτερον βασιλεὰ, τοῦ ὅνομα εἶναι Ἀριάνταν, τοῦτον εἰδέναι τὸ πλήθος τὸ Σκυθέων κελεύει μιν πάντας Σκύδας ἀρῖδιν ἐκα-
neither of us endanger our armies." Such was the offer sent to him by Sitalces; for Sitalces' brother had fled from him and was with Octamasades. The Scythian agreed to this, and received his brother Scyles, giving up his own uncle to Sitalces. Sitalces then took his brother and carried him away, but Octamasades beheaded Scyles on the spot. So closely do the Scythians guard their usages, and such penalties do they lay on those who add foreign customs to their own.

81. How many the Scythians are I was not able to learn with exactness, but the accounts which I heard concerning the number did not tally, some saying that they are very many, and some that they are but few, so far as they are true Scythians. But thus much they made me to see for myself:—There is a region between the rivers Borysthenes and Hypanis, the name of which is Exampaeus; this is the land whereof I lately made mention when I said that there is a spring of salt water in it, the water from which makes the Hypanis unfit to drink. In this region stands a bronze vessel, as much as six times greater than the cauldron dedicated by Pausanias son of Cleombrotus at the entrance of the Pontus. To any who has not yet seen this latter I will thus make my meaning plain: the Scythian bronze vessel easily contains five thousand and four hundred gallons, and it is of six fingers' thickness. This vessel (so said the people of the country) was made out of arrowheads. For their king, whose name was Ariantas, desiring to know the numbers of the Scythians, commanded every Scythian to bring him the point

1 Pausanias, the victor of Platea, set up this cauldron in 477 B.C. to commemorate the taking of Byzantium.
HERODOTUS

στον μίαν ἀπὸ τοῦ οἴστου ¹ κομίσαι, ὡς δ’ ἂν μὴ κομίσῃ, βάνατον ἀπεῖλε. κομισθήναι τε ἐκ χρήμα πολλῶν ἀρδίων καὶ οἱ δόξαι ἐξ αὐτῶν μνημοσύνων ποιῆσαι λιπέσθαι, ἐκ τοιτέων δὴ μιν τὸ χαλκίου ποιῆσαι τοῦτο καὶ ἀναθεῖναι ἐς τὸν Ἐξαμπαίον τούτον. ταῦτα δὲ περὶ τοῦ πλήθους τοῦ Σκυθέων ἤκουσα.

82. Θωμάσια δὲ ἡ χώρη αὐτῇ οὐκ ἔχει, χωρὶς ἡ ὁτί ποταμὸς τε πολλὸς μεγίστους καὶ ἀριθμὸν πλείστους. τὸ δὲ ἀποθεωμάσαι ἄξιον καὶ πάρεξ τῶν ποταμῶν καὶ τοῦ μεγάθεος τοῦ πεδίου παρέχεται, εἰρήσται. ἰχνὸς Ἡρακλέους φαίνοντι εἰς πτερῆ ἐνεύον, τὸ ἐοίκε μὲν βήματε ἀνδρῶς, ἐστι δὲ τὸ μεγάθος δύσης, παρὰ τὸν Τύρην ποταμὸν. τοῦτο μὲν νυν τοιοῦτο ἐστὶ, ἀναβισομαι δὲ ἐς τὸν κατ’ ἄρχας ἡμα λέξων λόγον.

83. Παρασκευαζομένου Δαρείου ἐπὶ τοὺς Σκύθας καὶ ἐπιστεύσαντος ἀγγέλων ἐπιτάξοντας τοῖς μὲν πεῖον στρατόν, τοῖς δὲ νέας παρέχειν, τοῖς δὲ ἑξεγγυσθαί τὸν Θρηκίκον Βόσπορον, Ἀρτάβανος ὁ Τστάσπεος, ἀδελφός ἐνῳ Δαρείου, ἐχθρίζε ὁ μηδαμῶς αὐτὸν στρατήνῃ ἐπὶ Σκύθας ποιεῖσθαι, καταλέγων τῶν Σκυθέων τὴν ἀπορίαν. ἀλλ’ οὗ γὰρ ἐπειδῆ συμβουλεύοντι χρηστά, δὲ μὲν ἐπέπαυτο, δὲ δὲ, ἐπειδῆ οἱ τὰ ἀπαντα παρεσκεύαστο, ἔξηλανε τὸν στρατὸν ἐκ Ὀυσών.

84. Ἐνθάτα τῶν Περσῶν Οἰόβαζος ἐδείη Δαρείου τριῶν ἑοντών οἱ παῖδες καὶ πάντων στρατευομένων ἐνα αὐτῷ καταλειψθῆναι. ὡς δὲ

¹ [ἀνδρὶ θύστερ] Stein.

284
from an arrow, threatening all who should not so do with death. So a vast number of arrow-heads was brought, and he resolved to make and leave a memorial out of them; and he made of these this bronze vessel, and set it up in this country Xanthipaeus. Thus much I heard concerning the number of the Scythians.

82. As for marvels, there are none in the land, save that it has rivers by far the greatest and the most numerous in the world; and over and above the rivers and the great extent of the plains there is one most wondrous thing for me to tell of: they show a footprint of Heracles by the river Tyras stamped on rock, like the mark of a man’s foot, but two cubits in length. Having so described this I will now return to the story which I began to relate.¹

83. While Darius was making preparations² against the Scythians, and sending messengers to charge some to furnish an army and some to furnish ships, and others again to bridge the Thracian Bosporus, Artabanus, son of Hystaspes and Darius’ brother, desired of him by no means to make an expedition against the Scythians, telling him how hard that people were to deal withal. But when he could not move the king for all his good counsel, Artabanus ceased to advise, and Darius, all his preparations being now made, led his army from Susa.

84. Then Oebazus a Persian, who had three sons, all with the army, entreated Darius that one might be left behind. “Nay,” said the king, “you

¹ In ch. 1.
² The date of Darius’ expedition is uncertain. Grote thinks it probable that it took place before 514 B.C.
HERODOTUS

ἐφη ὡς φίλων ἐόντι καὶ μετρίων δειμένων πάντας
touis παιδάς καταλείψειν. ὃ μὲν ἡ Όιοβάζος
περιχαρῆ ἦν, ἐλπίζων τοὺς νίεας στρατηγῆς
ἀπολελύσαι: ὃ δὲ ἐκέλευσε τοὺς ἐπὶ τούτων
ἐπεστεώτας ἀποκτείναι πάντας τοὺς Όιοβάζου
παιδάς.

85. Καὶ οὕτωι μὲν ἀποσφαγέντες, αὐτοῦ ταύτη
ἐλεύποντο: Δαρείος δὲ ἐπείτε πορευόμενος ἐκ
Σούσων ἀπίκητο τῆς Καλχηδονίης ἐπὶ τὸν Βόσ-
πορον ἦν τὸ<ε�ενκτό ἡ γέφυρα, ἐνθάδεν εἴσοδος ἐσ
νέα ἐπλεε ἐπὶ τὰς Κυανεάς καλεμένας, τὰς προ-
τέρον πλαγκτας Ἐλλήνες φασὶ εἶναι, εξ’ υμενοις δὲ
ἐπὶ ρήος ἔθησετο τὸν Πόντου ἐόντα ἀξιοθέντων.
πελαγεόν γὰρ ἀπάντων πέφυκε θυμαστίωτας:
tοῦ τὸ μὲν μήκος στάδιον εἰσὶ ἐκατόν καὶ χίλιοι
καὶ μύριοι, τὸ δὲ εὐρος, τῇ εὐρύτατος αὐτοῦ ἔωςτο,
στάδιοι τρικόσιοι καὶ τρισχίλιοι. τούτων τὸν
πελάγους τὸ στόμα ἐστὶ εὐρός τέσσερες στάδιοι:
μήκος δὲ του στόματος ο αὐχην, τὸ δὴ Βόσπορος
κεκληται, κατ’ ο δὴ ἐξενκτὸ ἡ γέφυρα, ἐστὶ
σταδίους εἴκοσι καὶ ἐκατόν ἐστί. τείνει δὲ ἐς τὴν
Προποντίδα ὁ Βόσπορος· η δὲ Προποντίδος εὔσκα
εὑρος μὲν στάδιων πεντακοσίων, μήκος δὲ τετρα-
κοσίων καὶ χιλιών, καταδίδοι ἐς τὸν Ἐλλήσποντον
ἐόντα στεινώτητα μὲν ἐπτὰ σταδίους, μήκος δὲ
tετρακοσίους. ἐκδιδοὶ δὲ ὁ Ἐλλήσποντος ἐς
χάσμα πελάγεος τὸ δὴ Αἰγαίον καλεῖται.

86. Μεμέτρηται δὲ ταύτα ὧδε. νὴν ἐπὶπαν

1 Rocks (the "Wandering" or "Clashing" Rocks of Greek legend) off the northern end of the Bosphorus.
2 Herodotus is wrong. The Black Sea is 720 miles long
are my friend, and your desire is but reasonable; I will leave all your sons." Oeobazus rejoiced greatly, supposing that his sons were released from service; but Darius bade those whose business it was to put all Oeobazus' sons to death.

85. So their throats were cut, and they were all left there; but Darius, when in his march from Susa he came to that place in the territory of Calchedon where the Bosphorus was bridged, took ship and sailed to the Dark Rocks¹ (as they are called) which the Greeks say did formerly move upon the waters; there he sat on a headland and viewed the Pontus, a marvellous sight. For it is of all seas the most wonderful. Its length is eleven thousand one hundred furlongs, and its breadth, at the place where it is widest, three thousand three hundred.² The channel at the entrance of this sea is four furlongs broad; and in length, the narrow neck of the channel called Bosphorus, across which the bridge was thrown, is as much as an hundred and twenty furlongs. The Bosphorus reaches as far as to the Propontis; and the Propontis is five hundred furlongs wide and fourteen hundred long; its outlet is the Hellespont, which is no wider than seven furlongs, and four hundred in length. The Hellespont issues into a gulf of the sea which we call Aegaean.

86. These measurements have been made after (about 6280 stades), and, at the point of Herodotus' measurement, about 270 miles broad; its greatest breadth is 380 miles. His estimates for the Propontis and Hellespont are also in excess, though not by much; the Bosphorus is a little longer than he says, but its breadth is correctly given.
HERODOTUS

μάλιστα κη κατανύει εν μακρομερίᾳ ὅργιες ἐπτακισμυρίαις, νυκτὸς δὲ ἐξακισμυρίαις. ἤδη ὅπως ἐς μὲν Φάσιν ἀπὸ τοῦ στόματος (τοῦτο γὰρ ἔστι τοῦ Πόντου μακρότατον) ἱμερέων ἐννέα πλοῖος ἐστὶ καὶ νυκτῶν ὄκτων αὐταὶ ἐνδεκα μυριάδες καὶ ἐκατόν ὄργιον γίνονται, ἐκ δὲ τῶν ὄργιεων τούτων στάδιοι ἐκατόν καὶ χίλιοι καὶ μύριοι εἰσὶ. ἐς δὲ Θεμισκύρην τὴν ἐπὶ Θερμόδοντι ποταμῷ ἐκ τῆς Σινδικῆς (κατὰ τοῦτο γὰρ ἔστι τοῦ Πόντου εὐρύτατον) τριῶν τε ἱμερέων καὶ δύο νυκτῶν πλοῖοι· αὐταὶ δὲ τρεῖς μυριάδες καὶ τριήκοντα ὄργιον γίνονται, στάδιοι δὲ τριήκοσιοι καὶ τρισχίλιοι. ὁ μὲν νῦν Πόντος οὗτος καὶ Βόσπορος τε καὶ Ἑλλησποντος οὗτος τέ μοι μεμετρέαται καὶ κατὰ τὰ εὑρήμενα πεφύκασι, παρέχεται δὲ καὶ λίμνην ὁ Πόντος οὗτος ἐκδίδοοσαν ἐς αὐτὸν ὡς πολλῷ τεῷ ἐλάσσῳ ἐσωτερικα, ἡ Μαιήτις τε καλέεται καὶ μήτηρ τοῦ Πόντου.

87. Ὅ δὲ Δαρείος ὡς ἔθεσσατο τῶν Πόντων, ἐπλεε ὡς ἐπὶ τὴν γέφυραν, τῆς ἀρχιτέκτων ἐγένετο Μανδροκλῆς Σάμιος· θεσάμενος δὲ καὶ τῶν Βόσπορον στῆλας ἐστησε δύο ἐπ' αὐτοῦ λίθου λευκοῦ, ἐνταῦθα γράμματα ἔς μὲν τὴν Ἀσσύρια ἐς δὲ τὴν Ἑλληνικά, ἐθνεα πάντα ὑπάστα ἂν περ ἤγε· ἄγε δὲ πάντα τῶν ἥρχε. τούτων μυριάδες ἐξηραμήθησαν, χωρὶς τοῦ ναυτικοῦ, ἐβδομήκοντα σὺν ἐπιπεδεί, νεές δὲ ἐξακοσίαι συνελέχθησαν. τήσι μὲν νῦν στήλησε ταύτῃ Βυζάντιοι κομίσαντες ἐς τὴν πόλιν ὑστερον τούτων ἐχρήσαντο πρὸς τὸν

288
this manner: a ship will for the most part accomplish seventy thousand fathoms in a long day's voyage, and sixty thousand by night. This being granted, seeing that from the Pontus' mouth to the Phasis (which is the greatest length of the sea) it is a voyage of nine days and eight nights, the length of it will be eleven hundred and ten thousand fathoms, which make eleven thousand one hundred furlongs. From the Sindic region to Themiscura on the river Thermodon (for here is the greatest width of the Pontus) it is a voyage of three days and two nights, that is of three hundred and thirty thousand fathoms, or three thousand three hundred furlongs. Thus have I measured this Pontus and the Bosporus and Hellespont, and they are such as I have said. Moreover, there is seen a lake issuing into the Pontus and not much smaller than the sea itself; it is called the Maeetian lake, and the mother of the Pontus.

87. Having viewed the Pontus, Darius sailed back to the bridge, of which Mandrocles of Samos was the chief builder; and when he had viewed the Bosporus also, he set up by it two pillars of white marble, engraving on the one in Assyrian and on the other in Greek characters the names of all the nations that were in his army; in which were all the nations subject to him. The full tale of these, over and above the fleet, was seven hundred thousand men, reckoning therewith horsemen, and the number of ships that mustered was six hundred. These pillars were afterwards carried by the Byzantines into their city and there used to build the altar of Orthosian ¹

¹ A deity worshipped especially at Sparta; the meaning of the epithet is uncertain.
βομόν τῆς Ὄρθωσιν Ἀρτέμιδος, χωρὶς ἕνος λίθου οὗτος δὲ κατελεύθη παρὰ τοῦ Διονύσου τοῦ νηὸν ἐν Βυζάντιῳ, γραμμάτων Ἀσσυρίων πλέος. τοῦ δὲ Βοσπόρου ο χώρος τῶν ἔξευξε βασιλεὺς Δαρείος, ως ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ συμβαλλόμενο, μέσον ἑστὶ Βυζάντιον τε καὶ τοῦ ἐπὶ στόματι ἱροῦ.

88. Δαρείος δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα ἦσθεὶς τῇ σχεδίᾳ τοῦ ἀρχιτέκτονα αὐτῆς Μανδροκλέα τοῦ Σάμιον ἐδωρήσατο πᾶσι δέκα· ἀπ' ὅν δὴ Μανδροκλέης ἀπαρχὴν ἔρχε γραψάμενος πᾶσαν τὴν ξεύξιν τοῦ Βοσπόρου καὶ βασιλέα τὸ Δαρείον ἐν προεδρίᾳ κατίμενον καὶ τοῦ στρατὸν αὐτοῦ διαβάλοντα ταῦτα γραψάμενος ἀνέβηκε ἐς τὸ Ἡραίον, ἐπιγραφας τάδε.

Βοσπόρον ἰχθυόντα γεφυρώσας ἀνέβηκε
Μανδροκλέης Ἡρῆ μνημόσυνον σχεδίας,
αὐτῷ μὲν στέφανον περιθείς, Σάμιοι δὲ κύδος.
Δαρείου βασιλέως ἐκτελέσας κατὰ νοῦν.

89. Ταῦτα μὲν νυν τοῦ ξεύξιον τῆς γέφυραν μνημόσυνα ἐγένετο; Δαρείος δὲ διωρησάμενος Μανδροκλέα διέβασε εἰς τὴν Εὐρώπην, τοῖς Ἰωσ ἐπαγγείλας πλέειν ἐς τὸν Πόντον μέχρι Ἰστρον ποταμοῦ, ἐπειδ' ἐς αὐτὰ ἐπικολύται ἐς τὸν Ἰστρον, ἐνθαῦτα αὐτὸν περιμενεῖν ξενισπύτας τού ποταμοῦ. τὸ γὰρ ἡ ναυτικὸν ἵγγον Ἰωνίων τε καὶ Αἰολίων καὶ Ἐλλησπόντιοι, ὁ μὲν ἡ ναυτικὸς στρατὸς Κυνέας διεκπλάσας ἐπλεε ἰδὺ τοῦ Ἰστρον, ἀναπλώσας δὲ ἀνὰ ποταμόν δυὸν ἁμερέων πλόου ἀπὸ θαλάσσης, τοῦ ποταμοῦ τῶν αὐχένα, ἐκ τοῦ
Artemis, save for one column covered with Assyrian writing that was left beside the temple of Dionysus at Byzantium. Now if my reckoning be true, the place where king Darius bridged the Bosporus was midway between Byzantium and the temple at the entrance of the sea.

88. After this, Darius, being well content with his bridge of boats, made to Mandrocles the Samian a gift of ten of every kind;¹ wherefrom Mandrocles took the firstfruits and therewith had a picture made showing the whole bridge of the Bosporus, and Darius sitting aloft on his throne and his army crossing; this he set up in the temple of Here, with this inscription:

"This Picture Mandrocles to Here gives,
Whereby for ever his Achievement lives;
A Bridge of Boats o'er Bos'rus' fishful Flood
He built; Darius saw, and judg'd it good;
Thus for himself won Mandrocles a Crown,
And for his isle of Samos high Renown."

89. This then was done to preserve the name of the builder of the bridge. Darius, having rewarded Mandrocles, crossed over to Europe; he had bidden the Ionians to sail into the Pontus as far as the river Ister, and when they should come thither to wait for him there, bridging the river meanwhile; for the fleet was led by Ionians and Aeolians and men of the Hellespont. So the fleet passed between the Dark Rocks and made sail straight for the Ister, and, having gone a two days' voyage up the river from the sea, set about bridging the narrow channel

¹ Apparently a proverbial expression for great abundance; cp. a similar phrase in ix. 81.
σχίζεται τὰ στόματα τοῦ Ἰστροῦ, ἐξεύγυνε. Δαρείος δὲ ὡς διέβη τὸν Βόσπορον κατὰ τὴν σχέδιην, ἐπορεύετο διὰ τῆς Ἑρμήκης, ἀπικόμενος δὲ ἐπὶ Τεάρου ποταμοῦ τὰς πηγὰς ἑστρατοπεδεύσατο ἦμέρας τρεῖς.

90. Ὅ δὲ Τεάρος λέγεται ὑπὸ τῶν περιοίκων εἶναι ποταμὸν ἀρίστος τὰ τα ἄλλα τὰ ἐς ἄκεσιν φέροντα καὶ δὴ καὶ ἀνδράσι καὶ ἐποιοῦσι ψώρην ἀκέσασθαι. εἰσὶ δὲ αὐτοῦ αἱ πηγαὶ δυὸν δέουσαι τεσσεράκοντα, ἐκ πέτρης τῆς αὐτῆς ἱέουσαι, καὶ αἱ μὲν αὐτέων εἰσὶ ψυχραὶ αἱ δὲ θερμαί. ὡδὸς δ' ἐπ' αὐτᾶς ἔστη ἵνα ἔξ Ηραίου τοῦ πόλιος τῆς παρὰ Περίνθῳ καὶ ἐξ Ἀπολλωνίας τῆς ἐπὶ τῷ Ἑβραίῳ πόντῳ, δυὸν ἵμερέων ἐκατέρθη. εἰκισθεὶς δὲ ὁ Τεάρος οὕτως ἐς τὸν Κοντάδεσδον ποταμόν, ὁ δὲ Κοντάδεσδος ἐς τὸν Ἀγριάνην, ὁ δὲ Ἀγριάνης ἐς τὸν Ἐβρόν, ὁ δὲ ἐς θάλασσαν τῆς παρ' Ἀϊνῷ πόλι.

91. Ἐπὶ τοῦτον δὲν τοῦν ποταμὸν ἀπικόμενος ὁ Δαρείος ὡς ἑστρατοπεδεύσατο, ἴσθεις τῷ ποταμῷ στήλην ἔστησε καὶ ἐνθαῦτα, γράμματα ἐγγράφας λέγοντα τάδε. "Τεάρου ποταμοῦ κεφαλὴ ὕδωρ ἀριστόν τε καὶ κάλλιστον παρέχονται πάντων ποταμῶν καὶ ἐπ' αὐτᾶς ἀπίκετο ἐλαύνων ἐπὶ Σκύθας στρατον ἀνήρ ἀριστός τε καὶ κάλλιστος πάντων ἀνθρώπων, Δαρείος ὁ Ὅρησσαῖος, Περσέως τε καὶ πᾶσης τῆς ἡπείρου βασιλεύς." τοῦτα δὲ ἐνθαῦτα ἐγγράφη.

92. Δαρείος δὲ ἐνθεύτευν ὄρμηθεις ἀπίκετο ἐπὶ ἄλλον ποταμὸν τῷ οὐνομα 'Αρτησκός ἐστὶ, δε διὰ Ὀδυσσάν ἰέει. ἐπὶ τοῦτον δὴ τοῦν ποταμὸν ἀπικόμενος ἐπολύνον τοῖον ἀποδέξας χωρίον τῇ
of the river where its divers mouths part asunder. But Darius, having passed over the Bosporus on the bridge of ships, journeyed through Thrace to the sources of the river Tearus, where he encamped for three days.

90. The Tearus is said in the country round to be the best of all rivers for all purposes of healing, but especially for the healing of the scab in men and horses. Its springs are thirty-eight in number, some cold and some hot, all flowing from the same rock. There are two roads to the place, one from the town of Heraeum near to Perinthus, one from Apollonia on the Euxine sea; each is a two days' journey. This Tearus is a tributary of the river Contadesdus, and that of the Agrianes, and that again of the Hebrus, which issues into the sea near the city of Aenus.

91. Having then come to this river and there encamped, Darius was pleased with the sight of it, and set up yet another pillar there, graven with this inscription, "From the sources of the river Tearus flows the best and fairest of all river waters; hither came, leading his army against the Scythians, the best and fairest of all men, even Darius son of Hystaspes and king of Persia and all the mainland." Such was the inscription.

92. Thence Darius set forth and came to another river called Artescus, which flows through the country of the Odrysae; whither having come, he marked a place for the army to see, and bade every
στρατηγὴ ἐκέλευε πάντα ἄνδρα λίθον ἕνα παρεξήγησαν τιθέναι ἐς τὸ ἀποδεδεχμένον τοῦτο χωρίον. ὥς δὲ ταῦτα ἡ στρατηγὴ ἐπετέλεσε, ἐνθαῦτα κολωνοὺς μεγάλους τῶν λίθων καταλιπὼν ἀπῆλαινε τὴν στρατηγὴν.

93. Πρὶν δὲ ἀπικέσθαι ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰστρον, πρῶτος αἱρείει Γέτας τούς ἀθανατίζοντας. οἱ μὲν γὰρ τὸν Σαλμωνίδησον ἔχοντες Θρηκεῖς καὶ ὑπὲρ Ἀπολλωνίης τε καὶ Μεσαμβρίης πόλιος οἰκημένου, καλεῦμενοι δὲ Κυρμιάναι καὶ Νεψαίοι, ἀμαχητί σφέας αὐτοὺς παρέδοσαν Δαρείω, οἱ δὲ Γέται πρὸς ἀγνωστικὴν τραπέζην αὐτὸν ἐδονλόθησαν, Θρηκεῖων ἔνοτες ἀνδρικῶτατοι καὶ δικαιοτάτοι.

94. Ἀθανατίζοντες δὲ τόνδε τὸν τρόπον σὺντε ἀποθησικεῖς ἔωντος νομίζουσι οἶον τὸν ἀπολύμενον παρὰ Σάλμοξιν δαίμονα· οἱ δὲ αὐτῶν τὸν αὐτὸν τοῦτον ὄνομάζουσι Πεξελεξίν· ὑπὸ πεντετηρίδος τὸν πάλον λαχώντα αἰεὶ σφέας αὐτῶν ἀποπέμπουσι ἀγγελου παρὰ τὸν Σάλμοξιν, ἐντελλόμενοι τῶν ἀν ἐκάστοτε δέωνται, πέμπουσι δὲ ὅπερ οἱ μὲν αὐτῶν ταχθέντες ἀκόντια τρία ἔχουσι, ἀλλοι δὲ διαλαβόντες τοῦ ἀποπεμπομένου παρὰ τὸν Σάλμοξιν τὰς χείρας καὶ τῶν πόδας, ἀνακινησάντες αὐτὸν μετεώρον ῥέπτοντε ἐς τὰς λόγχας. ἦν μὲν δὴ ἀποθάνη ἀναπαρεῖς, τούτοι δὲ ἠλεοι ὁ θεος δοκεῖ εἰναι· ἦν δὲ μὴ ἀποθάνη, αἰτιῶνται αὐτὸν τὸν ἀγγελον, φάμενοι μὲν ἄνδρα κακὸν εἶναι, αἰτησάμενοι δὲ τοῦτον ἄλλου ἀποπεμποῦσι· ἐντελλονται δὲ ἐτι χώντι. οὕτωι οἱ αὐτοὶ Θρηκεῖς καὶ πρὸς βροντῆν τε καὶ ἀστραπῆν τοξεύοντες
man as he passed by lay one stone in this place which he had shown. His army having so done, he made and left great hillocks of the stones and led his army away.

93. But before he came to the Ister, he first subdued the Getae, who pretend to be immortal. The Thracians of Salmymessus and of the country above the towns of Apollonia and Mesambria, who are called Cyrmianae and Nipsaec, surrendered themselves unresisting to Darius; but the Getae, who are the bravest and most law-abiding of all Thracians, resisted with obstinacy, and were enslaved forthwith.

94. As to their claim to be immortal, this is how they show it: they believe that they do not die, but that he who perishes goes to the god Salmois, or Gebeleizis, as some of them call him. Once in every five years they choose by lot one of their people and send him as a messenger to Salmois, charged to tell of their needs; and this is their manner of sending: Three lances are held by men thereto appointed; others seize the messenger to Salmois by his hands and feet, and swing and hurl him aloft on to the spear-points. If he be killed by the cast, they believe that the god regards them with favour; but if he be not killed, they blame the messenger himself, deeming him a bad man, and send another messenger in place of him whom they blame. It is while the man yet lives that they charge him with the message. Moreover when there is thunder and lightning these same
HERODOTUS

ἀνω πρὸς τὸν οὐρανὸν ἀπειλέοντο τῷ θεῷ, οὔτεν ἀλλον θεὸν νομίζοντες εἶναι εἰ μὴ τὸν σφέτερον.

95. Ἡ τ᾽ ὑπό τῶν Ἐλληνῶν ὡς δὲ ἐγὼ πυθαγόρη τοῖς Ἐλληνοῖς καὶ Πόντων, τῶν Σάλμοβίν τούτων ἐόστα ἄνθρωπον δουλεύσαι ἐν Σάμῳ, δουλεύσαι δὲ Πυθαγόρη τῷ Μνησάρχου, ἐνθεύτεν δὲ αὐτὸν γενόμενον ἐλεύθερον χρήματα κτῆσασθαι μεγάλα, κτησάμενον δὲ ἀπελθεῖν εἰς τὴν ἔως τῶν ἔως τῶν Ὄρηκῶν καὶ ὑπαφρονετέρων, τῶν Σάλμοβίν τούτων ἐπιστάμενον διαίταν τῇ Ίάδα καὶ ἤθεα ἐναδίδασκεν ὅτε οὔτε αὐτὸς οὔτε οἱ συμποίται αὐτοῦ οὔτε οἱ ἐκ τούτων ἠγίστησαν ἀποθανόντοι, ἀλλ᾽ ἤξουσί εἰς χῶρον τοῦτον ὡς αἰεὶ περευόντες ἤξουσι τὰ πάντα ἁγαθά. ἐν οἷς δὲ ἐποίει τὰ καταλεγόμενα καὶ ἔλεγε ταύτα, ἐν τούτῳ κατὰγαίον ὁικήμα ἐποιεῖτο. ὡς δὲ οἱ παντελεῖς ἐξε τὸ ὁικήμα, ἐκ μὲν τῶν Ὄρηκών ἠγίστησα, καταβαίνοντες δὲ κατόν εἰς τὸ κατάγαιον ὁικήμα διαίτατο ἐπ᾽ ἐπεῖ τρία: οὐ δὲ μιν ἐποίεί τε καὶ ἐπενθεύσας ως τεθνέωτα. τεταῦρον δὲ ἔτει ἐφάνη τοῖς Ὄρηξι, καὶ οὕτω πεθανὺ σφι ἐγένετο τὰ ἔλεγε ὁ Σάλμοβις. ταύτα δὲ τοῖς Ὅρηκοις.
Thracians shoot arrows skyward as a threat to the god, believing in no other god but their own.

95. For myself, I have been told by the Greeks who dwell beside the Hellespont and Pontus that this Salmoxis was a man who was once a slave in Samos, his master being Pythagoras son of Mnesarchus; presently, after being freed and gaining great wealth, he returned to his own country. Now the Thracians were a meanly-living and simple-witted folk, but this Salmoxis knew Ionian usages and a fuller way of life than the Thracian; for he had consorted with Greeks, and moreover with one of the greatest Greek teachers, Pythagoras; wherefore he made himself a hall, where he entertained and feasted the chief among his countrymen, and taught them that neither he nor his guests nor any of their descendants should ever die, but that they should go to a place where they would live for ever and have all good things. While he was doing as I have said and teaching this doctrine, he was all the while making him an underground chamber. When this was finished, he vanished from the sight of the Thracians, and descended into the underground chamber, where he lived for three years, the Thracians wishing him back and mourning him for dead; then in the fourth year he appeared to the Thracians, and thus they came to believe what Salmoxis had told them. Such is the Greek story about him.

96. For myself, I neither disbelieve nor fully believe the tale about Salmoxis and his underground chamber; but I think that he lived many years before Pythagoras; and whether there was a man called
HERODOTUS

ἔγένετο τις Σάλμοξις ἄνθρωπος, εἰτ' ἐστὶ δαίμων τις Γέτρησι αὐτὸς ἐπιχώριος, χαιρέτω.

97. Οὗτοι μὲν δὴ τρόπω τοιοῦτῳ χρεώμενοι ὡς ἐχειρώθησαν ὑπὸ Περσέων, εἴποντο τῷ ἄλλῳ στρατῷ. Δαρείος δὲ ὅς ἀπίκετο καὶ ὁ πεζὸς ἀμφοτέρων στρατὸς ἐπὶ τὸν Ίστρον, ἐνθαῦτα διαβάντων πάντων Δαρείος ἐκέλευσε τοὺς τε Ἰωάνας τὴν σχεδὸν λύσαντας ἐπεσθαί κατ' ἡπείρου ἐσωτέρω καὶ τῶν ἐκ τῶν νεόν στρατῶν. μελλόντων δὲ τῶν Ἰώνων λύειν καὶ ποιεῖν τὰ κελευόμενα, Κάκης ὁ Ἐρξάνδρος στρατηγὸς ἔδων Μυτιληναίοις ὤλεξε Δαρείῳ τάδε, πυθόμενος πρὸτερον εἰ οἱ φίλοι εἰς ἓν νόμον ἀποδέκεσθαι παρὰ τοῦ βουλομένου ἀποδείκνυσθαι. "Ω βασιλέε, ἐπὶ οὗ ἢρ ἐμὲς στρατεύεσθαι τῆς ὅτε ἄρημομένον φανήσεται οὐδὲν οὕτε πόλις οἰκεομένη σύ των ἱέφυραν ταύτην ἐκατὰ χώρην ἐστάναι, φυλάκους αὐτῆς λιπῶν τούτως ὄπερ μὲν ἔξευξαν. καὶ ἂν τε κατὰ νόμον πρήξωμεν εὐρόντες Σκύθας, ἐστὶ ἄποδος ἡμῖν, ἢν τε καὶ μὴ σφαίρας εὔρειν δυνάμεθα, ἢ γε ἄποδος ἡμῖν ἀσφαλής, οὔ γάρ ἐδεισά καὶ μὴ ἐσωθέσωμεν ὑπὸ Σκύθων μάχῃ, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον μὴ σὺ δυνάμενοι σφαίρας εὐρεῖν πάθωμεν τὶ ἄλογον. καὶ τάδε λέγειν φαίη τις ἂν με ἐμεωτού εἰνεκεν, ὡς καταμένων ἐγὼ δὲ γνώμην μὲν τὴν εὐρισκον ἠρίστην σοι, βασιλέε, ἐς μέσον φέρω, αὐτὸς μὲν τούτο ἐξομαί τοι καὶ οὐκ ἄν λειψθείν," κάρτα τε ἦσθη τῇ γνώμῃ Δαρείου καὶ μιν ἀμειβόμενο τοῦσιδε. "Ἐείνε Δέσβιε, σωθέντος ἔμευ ὀπίσω ὑς οἶκον τοῦ ἐμοῦ ἐπιφάνηθη μοι πάντως, ἴνα σε ἀντὶ χρηστῆς συμβουλῆς χρηστοτικά ἐργοῖσι ἀμείβομαι." 98. Ταῦτα δὲ εἶπας καὶ ἀπάγας ἀματά ἐξή-
BOOK IV. 96–98

Salmoxis, or this be a name among the Getae for a god of their country, I have done with him.

97. Such were the ways of the Getae, who were now subdued by the Persians and followed their army. When Darius and the land army with him had come to the Ister, and all had crossed, he bade the Ionians break the bridge and follow him in his march across the mainland, together with the men of the fleet. So the Ionians were preparing to break the bridge and do Darius' behest; but Cöes son of Erxander, the general of the Mytileneaeans, having first enquired if Darius were willing to receive counsel from any man desiring to give it, said, "Seeing, O king! that you are about to march against a country where you will find neither tilled lands nor inhabited cities, do you now suffer this bridge to stand where it is, leaving those who made it to be its guards. Thus, if we find the Scythians and accomplish our will, we have a way of return; and even if we find them not, yet at least our way back is safe; for my fear has never yet been lest we be overcome by the Scythians in the field, but rather lest we should not be able to find them, and so wander astray to our hurt. Now perchance it may be said that I speak thus for my own sake, because I desire to remain behind; but it is not so; I do but declare before all that counsel which I judge best for you, and as for myself I would not be left here but will follow you." With this counsel Darius was greatly pleased, and he answered Cöes thus: "My good Lesbian, fail not to show yourself to me when I return safe to my house, that so I may make you a good return for your good advice."

98. Having thus spoken, he tied sixty knots in a
κοντά ἐν ἴμαντι, καλέσας ἐς λόγους τοὺς Ἰωνῶν τυράννους ἐλεγε τάδε. "Ἄνδρες Ἰωνεῖς, ἡ μὲν πρότερον γνώμη ἀποδεχθείσα ἐς τὴν γέφυραν μετείσθω μοι, ἔχοντες δὲ τὸν ἴμαντα τόυδε ποιεῖτε τάδε· ἐπειδ' ἐμὲ ἴδοτε τάχιστα πορεύομενον ἐπὶ Σκύθας, ἀπὸ τούτου ἄρξομενοι τὸν χρόνον λύετε ἅμα ἐν ἐκάστης ἡμέρῃ· ἢ δὲ ἐν τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ μὴ παρέω ἅλλα διεξέλθωσι ὑμῶν αἱ ἡμέραι τῶν ἀμμάτων, ἀποπλέετε ἐς τὴν ὑμετέρην αὐτῶν. μέχρι δὲ τούτου, ἐπείτε ὑπό μετέδοξη, φυλάσσετε τὴν σχεδίαν, πάσαν προθυμίαν σωτηρίας τε καὶ φυλακῆς παρεχόμενοι. ταῦτα δὲ ποιοῦντες ἐμοὶ μεγάλως χαριείσθε." Δαρείος μὲν ταῦτα εἴπας ἐς τὸ πρῶτο ἐπείγετο.

99. Τῇ δὲ Σκυθικῇ γῆς ἢ Ἄρμηκῃ τὸ ἐς θάλασσαν προκείται· κόλπον δὲ ἀγομένου τῆς γῆς ταύτης, ἡ Σκυθικὴ τε ἐκδέκεται καὶ ὁ Ἰστρος ἐκοιδοὶ ἐς αὐτήν, πρὸς οὐρανὸν ἄνεμον τὸ στῶμα τετραμμένον. τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ Ἰστρον ἐρχόμαι σημανέων τὸ πρὸς θάλασσαν αὐτῆς τῆς Σκυθικῆς χώρης ἐς μέτρησιν. ἀπὸ Ἰστρον αὐτὴ ἡ ἢ ἢ ἀρχαῖν Σκυθίη ἐστί, πρὸς μεσαμβρίαν τε καὶ νοτοῦ ἄνεμον κειμένη, μέχρι πόλιος Καρκινίτιδος καλεομένης. τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ ταύτης τῆς μὲν ἐπὶ θάλασσαν τὴν αὐτὴν φέρουσαν, ἐδύσαν ὅρειν τὰ χώραν καὶ προκειμένην τὸ ἐς Πόντου, νέμεται τὸ Ταυρικὸν ἔδνος μέχρι χερσονήσου τῆς τροχέης καλεομένης. αὐτὴ δὲ ἐς θάλασσαν τὴν πρὸς ἀπηλώτην ἄνεμον κατήκει. ἔστι γὰρ τῆς Σκυθικῆς τὰ δύο μέρεα τῶν οὐρανῶν ἐς θάλασσαν φέροντα, τὴν τε πρὸς μεσαμβρίαν καὶ τὴν πρὸς τὴν ἥδω, κατὰ περὶ τῆς Ἀττικῆς χώρης καὶ παραπλήσια
thong, and calling the despots of the Ionians to an audience he said to them: "Ionians, I renounce the opinion which I before declared concerning the bridge; do you now take this thong and do as I command you. Begin to reckon from the day when you shall see me march away against the Seythians, and loose one knot each day; and if the days marked by the knots have all passed and I have not returned ere then, take ship for your own homes. But till then, seeing that my counsel is thus changed, I bid you guard the bridge, using all zeal to save and defend it. This do, and you will render me a most acceptable service." Having thus spoken, Darius made haste to march further.

99. Thrace runs farther out into the sea than Seythia; and where a bay is formed in its coast, Seythia begins, and the mouth of the Ister, which faces to the south-east, is in that country. Now I will describe the coast of the true Seythia from the Ister, and give its measurements. At the Ister begins the ancient Seythian land, which lies facing the south and the south wind, as far as the city called Carcinitis. Beyond this place, the country fronting the same sea is hilly and projects into the Pontus; it is inhabited by the Tauric nation as far as what is called the Rough Peninsula; and this ends in the eastern sea.\(^1\) For the sea to the south and the sea to the east are two of the four boundary lines of Seythia, even as the seas are boundaries of Attica; and

\(^1\) Here = the Sea of Aττικη.
ταύτη καὶ οἱ Ταύροι νέμονται τῆς Σκυθικῆς, ὡς 
εἰ τῆς Ἀττικῆς ἀλλο ἔθνος καὶ μὴ Ἀθηναίοι 
νεμοίατο τῶν γονῶν τῶν Σουνιακῶν, μᾶλλον ἐκ τῶν 
πόντον τὴν ἀκρὴν ἀνέχοντα, τῶν ἀπὸ Θαρικοῦ 
μέχρι Ἀναφλύστου δήμου λέγω δὲ ὡς εἶναι ταῦ-
τα σμικρά μεγάλοις συμβάλλειν τοιοῦτον ἡ 
Ταυρικὴ ἔστι. ὃς δὲ τῆς Ἀττικῆς ταῦτα μὴ 
παραπέπλωκε, έγὼ δὲ ἄλλως δηλώσω· ὡς εἰ τῆς 
Ἰησυγήνης ἀλλο ἔθνος καὶ μὴ Ἰησυγήνης ἀρξάμενοι 
ἐκ Βρεντεσίου λιμένος ἀποταμοῖον μέχρι Τά-
ρατος καὶ νεμοίατο τὴν ἀκρὴν. δύο δὲ λέγων 
tαύτα πολλὰ λέγω παρόμοια, τοῖσι ἄλλοισι ἐςικε 
ἡ Ταυρική.

100. Τὸ δ' ἀπὸ τῆς Ταυρικῆς ἦδη Σκύθαι τὰ 
kατύπερθε τῶν Ταύρων καὶ τὰ πρὸς θαλάσσης 
tῆς ἡοίης νέμονται, τού τε Βοστάρον τοῦ Κιμ-
μερίου τὰ πρὸς ἐσπέρης καὶ τῆς λίμνης τῆς Μαμῖ-
tίδος μέχρι Τανάιδος ποταμοῦ, δ' ἐκδιδοῖ ἐς μυχῶν 
tῆς λίμνης ταύτης. ἦδη ὃν ἀπὸ μὲν Ἰστρου 
tα κατύπερθε ἐς τὴν μεσόγαιαν φέροντα ἀποκληίεται 
ἡ Σκυθικὴ ὑπὸ πρῶτων Ἀγαθύρσων, μετὰ δὲ 
Νευρῶν, ἐπειτα δὲ Ἀνδροφίγων, τελευταῖοι δὲ 
Μελαγχλαίνων.

101. Ἐστι ὃν τῆς Σκυθικῆς ὡς ἐσύσης τετα-
ραγώνου, τῶν δύο μερεῶν κατηκότων ἐς θάλασσαν, 
pάντη ἵσον τὸ τε ἐς τὴν μεσόγαιαν φέρον καὶ τὸ 
παρὰ τὴν θάλασσαν. ἀπὸ γὰρ Ἰστρου ἐπὶ Βορυ-

1 τὴν ἀκρὴν is bracketed by Stein, ἀνέχεσθαι being generally (in the required sense) intransitive.
the Tauri dwelling as they do in a part of Scythia which is like Attica, it is as though some other people, not Attic, were to inhabit the heights of Sunium from Thoricus to the township of Anaphlystus, did Sunium but jut farther out into the sea. I say this in so far as one may compare small things with great. Such a land is the Taurie country. But those who have not coasted along that part of Attica may understand from this other way of showing: it is as though in Iapygia some other people, not Iapygian, were to dwell on the promontory within a line drawn from the harbour of Brentesium to Taras. Of these two countries I speak, but there are many others of a like kind which Tauris resembles. 1

100. Beyond the Taurie country the Scythians begin, dwelling north of the Tauri and beside the eastern sea, westward of the Cimmerian Bosporus and the Maeetian lake, as far as the river Tanais, which issues into the end of that lake. Now it has been seen that on its northern and inland side, which runs from the Ister, Scythia is bounded first by the Agathyrsi, next by the ńeurii, next by the Man-eaters, and last by the Black-cloaks.

101. Scythia, then, being a four-sided country, wherefof two sides are sea-board, the frontiers running inland and those that are by the sea make it a perfect square; for it is a ten days’ journey from the

---

1 All this is no more than to say that the Tauri live on a promontory (the Tauric Chersonese), which is like the south-eastern promontory of Attica (Sunium) or the “heel” of Italy, i.e. the country east of a line drawn between the modern Brindisi and Taranto. The only difference is, says Herodotus, that the Tauri inhabit a part of Scythia yet are not Scythians, while the inhabitants of the Attic and Italian promontories are of the same stock as their neighbours.
σβένεα δέκα ἡμερέων ὁδὸς, ἀπὸ Βορυσθένεως τε ἐπὶ τὴν λίμνην τὴν Μαυθιν ἑτερέων δέκα· καὶ τὸ ἀπὸ βαλάσσης ἐς μεσογαίαν ἐς τοὺς Μελαγχαϊνοὺς τοὺς καταπερθὲ Σκυθέων οἰκημένους εἴκοσι ἡμερέων ὁδὸς. ἡ δὲ ὁδὸς ἡ ἡμερησία ἀνὰ διηκόσια στάδια συμβεβληται μοι. οὕτω ἄν εἰη τῆς Σκυθικῆς τὰ ἐπικάρσια τετρακισχίλιων σταδίων καὶ τὰ ὀρθια τὰ ἐς τὴν μεσογαίαν φέροντα ἑτέρων τοιοῦτων σταδίων. ἡ μὲν γὰρ γῆ αὐτὴ ἐστι μέγαθος τοσαυτή.

102. Οἱ δὲ Σκύθαι δώντες σφίξει λόγον ὡς οὐκ οἰοὶ τε εἰς τὸν Δαρείου στρατὸν ἱθυμαχή διώσασθαι μοῦνοι, ἐπεμπον ἐς τοὺς πλησιοχώρους ἀγγέλους· τῶν δὲ καὶ δὴ οἱ βασιλεῖς συνελθόντες ἐβουλεύοντο ὡς στρατοῦ ἐπελαύνουτος μεγάλου. ἢσαν δὲ οἱ συνελθόντες βασιλεῖς Ταύρων καὶ Ἀγαθύρσων καὶ Νευρὼν καὶ Ἀνδροφάγων καὶ Μελαγχαϊνῶν καὶ Γελωνῶν καὶ Βουδίων καὶ Σαυροματέων.

103. Τούτων Ταύρων μὲν νόμοις τοιούτῳ χρέωνται: θύουσι μὲν τῇ Παρθένῳ τοὺς τε ναυνγοὺς καὶ τοὺς ἂν λάβωσι Ἐλλήνων ἐπαναχθέντες τρόποι τοιοῦτοι καταρρίζομενοι ῥοπάλῳ παῖονι τὴν κεφαλὴν. οἱ μὲν δὴ λέγουσι ὡς τὸ σώμα ἀπὸ τοῦ κρημνοῦ ὀθέουσι κάτω (ἐπὶ γὰρ κρημνοῦ ἱδρυμα τὸ ἵππο), τὴν δὲ κεφαλὴν ἀνασταυροῦσι: οἱ δὲ κατὰ μὲν τὴν κεφαλὴν ὀμολογοῦσι, τὸ μέντοι σώμα οὐκ ὠθεῖσθαι ἀπὸ τοῦ κρημνοῦ λέγουσι ἀλλὰ γῆ κρύπτεσθαι. τὴν δὲ δαίμονα ταύτην τῇ θύουσι λέγουσι αὐτοὶ Ταύρωι Ηφιγένειαν τὴν Ἀγαμέμνονος εἶναι. πολεμίους δὲ ἄνδρας τοὺς ἀν χειρῶσωνται ποιεῖσθι τάδε· ἀποταμῶν ἕκα-
Ister to the Borysthenes, and the same from the Borysthenes to the Maeotian lake; and it is a twenty days' journey from the sea inland to the country of the Black-cloaks who dwell north of Seythia. Now as I reckon a day's journey at two hundred furlongs, the cross-measurement of Seythia would be a distance of four thousand furlongs, and the line drawn straight up inland the same. Such then is the extent of this land.

102. The Seythians, reckoning that they were not able by themselves to repel Darius' army in open warfare, sent messengers to their neighbours, whose kings had already met and were taking counsel, as knowing that a great army was marching against them. Those that had so met were the kings of the Tauri, Agathyrsi, Neuri, Manecaters, Black-cloaks, Geroni, Budini, and Sauromatae.

103. Among these, the Tauri have the following customs: all ship-wrecked men, and any Greeks whom they take in their sea-raiding, they sacrifice to the Virgin goddess¹ as I will show: after the first rites of sacrifice, they smite the victim on the head with a club; according to some, they then throw down the body from the cliff whereon their temple stands, and place the head on a pole; others agree with this as to the head, but say that the body is buried, not thrown down from the cliff. This deity to whom they sacrifice is said by the Tauri themselves to be Agamemnon's daughter Iphigenia. As for the enemies whom they overcome, each man cuts off

¹ A deity locally worshipped, identified by the Greeks with Artemis.
στος¹ κεφαλήν ἀποφέρεται ἐς τὰ ὅικια, ἔπειτα ἐπὶ ξύλου μεγάλου ἀναπείρας ἵστα ὑπὲρ τῆς ὅικις ὑπερέχουσαν πολλῶν, μάλιστα δὲ ὑπὲρ τῆς κατασκο-δόκης. φασὶ δὲ τούτων φυλάκους τῆς ὅικις πάσης ὑπεραιωρεῖσθαι. ἥσι δὲ ἀπὸ ληψὶς τε καὶ πολέμου.

104. Ἀγάθυρσοι δὲ ἄβροταῖοι ἀνδρῶν εἰσὶ καὶ χρυσοφόροι τὰ μάλιστα, ἐπίκοιν δὲ τῶν γυναῖ-κῶν τὴν μίξιν ποιεῖται, ἵνα κατάγησι τε ἀλλήλων ἔσται καὶ ὅικησι εὑρίσκει πάντες μῆτε φθόνοι μῆτε ἐχθεὶ χρεώνται ἐς ἀλλήλους. τὰ δὲ ἅλλα νομαία Ὁρμήξει προσκεκωρίκασι.

105. Νευρός δὲ νόμοις μὲν χρεώνται Σκυθι-κοῦσι, γενεὶ δὲ μὴ πρότερον σφαῖς τῆς Δαρείου στρατηλασίης κατέλαβε ἐκλιπείων τὴν χώρην πά-σαν ὑπὸ ὁφίων ὄφιας γάρ σφει πολλῶς μὲν ἡ χώρη ἄνεφαίνε, οἱ δὲ πλεῖνες ἀνωθὲν σφί ἐκ τῶν ἐρήμων ἐπέπεσον, ἐς δὲ πιεζόμενοι οἰκήσαν μετὰ Βουδίων τὴν ἐνυτῶν ἐκλιπόντες. κινοῦνενσι δὲ οἱ ἀνθρώποι οὕτω γάρτες εἰναι. λέγονται γὰρ ὑπὸ Σκυθέων καὶ Ἑλλήνων τῶν ἐν τῇ Σκυθικῇ κατοικημένων ὡς ἔτεος ἐκάστου ἀπαξ τῶν Νευρῶν ἐκαστος λύκος γίνεται ἡμέρας ὀλύγας καὶ αὐτὸς ὁπίῳ ἐς τότῳ κατίσταται, ἐμὲ μὲν νυν ταῦτα λέγοντες οὐ πείθουσι, λέγουσι δὲ οὐδέν ἤσον, καὶ ὁμώοι δὲ λέγοντες.

106. Ἀνδροφάγοι δὲ ἀγριότατα πάντων ἀν-θρώπων ἔχονσι θησα, οὕτε δίκην νομίζοντες οὐτε νόμῳ οὐδεν χρεώμενοι νομάδες δὲ εἰσὶ, ἐσθίωσι τε φορέουσι τῇ Σκυθικῇ ὁμοιῇ, γλώσσαι δὲ ἓδην, ἀνδροφαγεύσι δὲ μοῦνοι τούτων.

¹ [ἔκαστοι] Stein.
his enemy's head and carries it away to his house, where he places it on a tall pole and sets it standing high above the dwelling, above the smoke-vent for the most part. These heads, they say, are set aloft to guard the whole house. The Tauri live by plundering and war.

104. The Agathyrsi live more delicately than all other men, and are greatly given to wearing gold. Their intercourse with women is promiscuous, that they may be brothers and that as they are all kinsfolk to each other they may neither envy nor hate their fellows. In the rest of their customs they are like to the Thracians.

105. The Neuri follow Scythian usages; but one generation before the coming of Darius' army it fell out that they were driven from their country by snakes; for their land brought forth great numbers of these, and yet more came down upon them out of the desert on the north, till at last the Neuri were so hard pressed that they left their own country and dwelt among the Budini. It may be that they are wizards; for the Scythians, and the Greeks settled in Scythia, say that once a year every one of the Neuri is turned into a wolf, and after remaining so for a few days returns again to his former shape. For myself, I cannot believe this tale; but they tell it nevertheless, yea, and swear to its truth.

106. The Man-eaters are of all men the most savage in their manner of life; they know no justice and obey no law. They are nomads, wearing a dress like the Scythian, but speaking a language of their own; they are the only people of all these that eat men.
107. Μελάγχλαινοι δὲ εἴματα μὲν μέλανα φορέουσιν πάντες, ἐπ’ ὄν καὶ τὰς ἐπωνυμίας ἔχουσιν, νόμοις δὲ Σκυθικοίσι τρεώνται.

108. Βούδινοι δὲ ἔθνος ἔων μέγα καὶ πολλὸν γλυκὸν τε πᾶν ἱσχυρὸς ἄστε καὶ τυρρών. πόλις δὲ ἐν αὐτοῖς πεποιθοῦσα ξυλίνη, οὐνόμα δὲ τῇ πόλει ἐστὶ Γελωνὸς τοῦ δὲ τείχεος μέγαθος κάλλος ἐκαστὸν τριήκοντα στάδιων ἐστὶ, ὑψηλόν δὲ καὶ πᾶν ξυλίνον, καὶ αἱ οἰκίαι αὐτῶν ξυλίναι καὶ τὰ ἱρά. ἐστὶ γὰρ δὴ αὐτοῦ Ελληνικὸν θεὸν ἴρα Ἐλληνικὸς κατεσκευασμένα ἀγάλμασι τε καὶ βωμοῖς καὶ νησίες ξυλίνοις, καὶ τῷ Διονύσῳ τριετήριδας ἀνάγουσι καὶ βαγχεῦουσι. εἰσὶ γὰρ οἱ Γελωνοὶ τὸ ἄργαλον "Ελληνες, ἐκ τῶν δὲ ἐμπορίων ἑξανάστατες οἰκησαν ἐν τούτῳ Βούδινοι καὶ γλώσσῃ τὰ μὲν Σκυθικῆ τὰ δὲ Ἐλληνικῆ χρέωνται. Βούδινοι δὲ οὖ τῇ αὐτῇ γλώσσῃ χρέωνται καὶ Γελωνοὶ, οὐδὲ διαίτα ἡ αὐτῇ.

109. Οἱ μὲν γὰρ Βούδινοι ἐόντες αὐτόχθονες νομάδες τε εἰσὶ καὶ φθειροτραγέουσι μόνοι τῶν ταύτη, Γελωνοὶ δὲ γῆς τε ἐργάται καὶ σιτοφάγαι καὶ κηποῦς ἐκτημένοι, οὔδεν τὴν ἱδέαν ὁμοίοι οὖνδὲ τὸ χρώμα. ὥστε μέντοι Ελληνῶν καλέονται καὶ οἱ Βούδινοι Γελωνοὶ, οὐκ ὅρθως καλεόμενοι. ἦ δὲ χώρῃ σφέων πᾶσα ἐστὶ δασεά ὑποκεισθεὶς ἐν δὲ τῇ ἱδέ τῇ πλείστῃ ἐστὶ λίμνῃ μεγάλῃ τε καὶ πολλῇ καὶ ἔλος καὶ κάλαμος περὶ αὐτὴν. ἐν δὲ ταύτῃ ἐνύδρεις άλίσκονται καὶ κάστορες καὶ ἄλλα θηρία τετραγωνικὰ πρόσωπα, τῶν τὰ δέρμα τε παρὰ τὰς σινώνας παραρράστεται, καὶ οἱ ὅρχεῖς αὐτοῖς εἰσὶ χρήσιμοι ές ὀστερέων ἀκέσιν.

110. Σαυροματέων δὲ πέρι ὧδε λέγεται. ὅτε
107. The Black-cloaks all wear black raiment, whence they take their name; their usages are Scythian.

108. The Budini are a great and numerous nation; the eyes of all of them are very bright, and they are ruddy. They have a city built of wood, called Gelonus. The wall of it is thirty furlongs in length on each side of the city; this wall is high and all of wood; and their houses are wooden, and their temples; for there are among them temples of Greek gods, furnished in Greek fashion with images and altars and shrines of wood; and they honour Dionysus every two years with festivals and revels. For the Geloni are by their origin Greeks, who left their trading ports to settle among the Budini; and they speak a language half Greek and half Scythian. But the Budini speak not the same language as the Geloni, nor is their manner of life the same.

109. The Budini are native to the soil; they are nomads, and the only people in these parts that eat fir-cones; the Geloni are tillers of the soil, eating grain and possessing gardens; they are wholly unlike the Budini in form and in complexion. Yet the Greeks call the Budini too Geloni; but this is wrong. All their country is thickly wooded with every kind of tree; in the depth of the forests there is a great and wide lake and marsh surrounded by reeds; otters are caught in it, and beavers, besides certain square-faced creatures whose skins serve for the trimming of mantles, and their testicles are used by the people to heal sicknesses of the womb.

110. The history of the Sauromatae is as I will
'Ελληνες Άμαζός εμαχέσαντο (τάς δὲ Άμαζόνας καλέουσι Σκύθαι Οἰόρπατα, δύναται δὲ τὸ οὖνομα τούτο κατὰ Ἐλλάδα γλῶσσαν ἀνδροκτόνον οὖν ἡ ἐκ τοῦ καλεόσι άνδρα, τὸ δὲ πατά κτείνειν), τὸτε λόγος τούς Ἑλλήνας νικήσαντας τῇ ἑπτὰ Θερμώ−
δοντι μάχη ἀποπλέειν ἄγοντας τρισὶ πλοίοις τῶν Ἀμαζόνων οὐσας ἐνυνεάτο ξωγρίσαι, τὰς δὲ ἐν τῷ πελάγει ἐπιθεμένας ἐκκόψαι τοὺς ἀνδρας.
πλοῖα δὲ οὐ γυνώσκειν οὗτας οὖδὲ πηδαλίοις χράσθαι οὔδὲ ἵστιοις οὖδε εἰρεθῇ. ἂλλα ἔπει ἐξίκοψαν τοὺς ἀνδρας ἐφέρωντο κατὰ κύμα καὶ ἀνέμου, καὶ ἀπικήνονται τῆς λίμνης τῆς Μαϊήτιδος ἐπὶ Κρηνοὺς. οἱ δὲ Κρηνοὶ εἰσὶ γῆς τῆς Σκυθεῶν τῶν ἔλευθερων. ἐνθαῦτα ἀποβάσαι ὑπὸ τῶν πλοίων ἀπὸ Άμαζόνως ὀδοπόρεον ἐς τὴν οἰ−
kεμένην. ἐνυχύσασι δὲ πρῶτο ἴπποφορῖσι τούτῳ διήρπασαν, καὶ ἐπὶ τούτων ἰππαξόμεναι ἐληίζοντο τὰ τῶν Σκυθεῶν.

111. Οἱ δὲ Σκύθαι οὖν εἰχόν συμβαλέσαν τὸ πρῆγμα: οὔτε γὰρ φωνὴν οὔτε ἐσθῆτα οὔτε τὸ ἔθνος ἐγνώσκον, ἂλλα ἐν θώματε ἦσαν ὁκοθεν ἐλθοίς, ἐδόκεον δὲ αὐτάς εἶναι ἀνδρας τὴν αὐτὴν Ἑλλαστήν ἐχοῖς, μάχην τε ἐν πρὸς αὐτὰς ἐποι−
εύστο. ἐκ δὲ τῆς μάχης τῶν νεκρῶν ἐκράτησαν οἱ Σκύθαι, καὶ οὔτω ἐγνωρασμέναι εὐφαίνας ἑλθαίκας. Βου−
λευμένοις δὲ αὐτοῦσι ἐδοξε εὐείναι μὲν οὖνει 

τρόπῳ ἔτι αὐτάς, ἔως τῶν νεωτάτων ὄποι−
πέμψαι ἐς αὐτάς, πλῆθος εἰκάσαντας ὅσαι περὶ 
ἐκείναι ἦσαν, τούτως δὲ στρατοπεδεύσαντες πλη−
σίον ἐκείνων καὶ ποιεῖν τὰ περὶ ἄν καὶ ἐκείνω 

ποιέσιν ἦν δὲ αὐτοὺς διόκεσι, μάχεσθαι μὲν μὴ, ὑποβεύειν δὲ ἐπεῖν δὲ παύσωνται, ἐλθόντας.
now show. When the Greeks warred with the Amazons (whom the Scythians call Oiorpata, a name signifying in our tongue killers of men, for in Scythian a man is oior, and to kill is pata) the story runs that after their victory on the Thermodon they sailed away carrying in three ships as many Amazons as they had been able to take alive; and out at sea the Amazons set upon the crews and slew them. But they knew nothing of ships, nor how to use rudder or sail or oar; and the men having been slain they were borne at the mercy of waves and winds, till they came to the Cliffs by the Maeotian lake; this place is in the country of the free Scythians. There the Amazons landed, and set forth on their journey to the inhabited country, and seized the first troop of horses they met, and mounted on them they RAIDED the Scythian lands.

111. The Scythians could not understand the matter; for they knew not the women's speech nor their dress nor their nation, but wondered whence they had come, and supposed them to be men all of the same age; and they met the Amazons in battle. The end of the fight was that the Scythians got possession of the dead, and so came to know that their foes were women. Wherefore taking counsel they resolved by no means to slay them as heretofore, but to send to them their youngest men, of a number answering (as they guessed) to the number of the women. They bade these youths encamp near to the Amazons and to imitate all that they did; if the women pursued them, then not to fight, but to flee; and when the pursuit ceased, to
αὕτης πλησίον στρατοπεδεύεσθαι. ταῦτα ἐβούλευσαντο οἱ Σκύθαι βουλόμενοι εἵς αὐτῶν παῖδας ἐκγενήσεσθαι. ἀποπεμφθέντες δὲ οἱ νευρίσκοι ἐποίευν τὰ ἑντεταλμένα.

112. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐμαθὼν αὐτοὺς αἱ 'Αμαζόνες ἐπ' οὐδεμὴ δηλήσει ἀπιγμένους, ἔων χαίρειν προσεχώρεον δὲ πλησιαστέρω τὸ στρατόπεδον τῷ στρατοπέδῳ ἐπ' ἡμέρῃ ἐκάστῃ. εἶχον δὲ οὗδὲν οὐδ' οἱ νευρίσκοι, ὥστερ αἱ 'Αμαζόνες, εἰ μὴ τὰ ὀπλα καὶ τοὺς ἵππους, ἀλλὰ ξύλῳ ἔζωσεν τὴν αὐτὴν ἑκείνην, θηρεύοντες τε καὶ λημόμενοι.

113. Ἐποίευν δὲ αἱ 'Αμαζόνες ἐς τὴν μεσαβρίην τοιούτην ἐγώνυτο σποράδες κατὰ μίαν τε καὶ ὅσῃ, πρὸς ὅπ' ἀλληλέως ἐς εὐμαρείην ἀποσκιδαμεναί. μαθόντες δὲ καὶ οἱ Σκύθαι ἐποίευν τὼντο τούτο. καὶ τις μονωθεισέως των αὐτῶν ἐνεχρίμπτετο, καὶ ἡ 'Αμαζώνη σὺν ἀπωθέτο ἄλλα περιείς ἁρώσασθαι, καὶ φωνήσας μὲν σὺν εἰχε, οὐ γὰρ συνίεσαν ἀλλήλων, τῇ δὲ χειρὶ ἐφραίζε ἐς τὴν ὑστεραίην ἐλθεῖν ἐς τὸ τὸ χωρίον καὶ ἐπερον ἄγειν, σημαίνουσα δὺν γενέσθαι, καὶ αὐτή ἐτέρην ἀξεῖν. ὁ δὲ νευρίσκος, ἐπεὶ ἀπῆλθε, ἐλέξε ταῦτα πρὸς τοὺς λοιποὺς; τῇ δὲ δευτεραίη ἡθε ς ἐς τὸ χωρίον αὐτῶς τε οὕς καὶ ἐπερον ήγε, καὶ τὴν Ἀμαζώνα εὑρε νευρίσκην αὐτὴν υπομένουσαν. οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ νευρίσκοι ὡς ἐπύθουστο ταῦτα, καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐκτιλώσαντο τὰς λοιπὰς τῶν Ἀμαζώνων.

114. Μετὰ δὲ συμμίσαντες τὰ στρατόπεδα οἴκεον ὁμοί, γυναικα ἐχθν ἐκαστος ταύτην τῇ τὸ πρῶτον συνεμίχθη, τῇ δὲ φωνῇ τὴν μὲν τῶν γυναικῶν οἱ ἄνδρες σὺν ἐδυνεῖτο μαθεῖν, τῇ δὲ
come and encamp near to them. This was the plan of the Scythians, for they desired that children should be born of the women. The young men, being sent, did as they were charged.

112. When the Amazons perceived that the youths meant them no harm, they let them be; but every day the two camps drew nearer to each other. Now the young men, like the Amazons, had nothing but their arms and their horses, and lived as did the women, by hunting and plunder.

113. At midday the Amazons would scatter and go singly or in pairs away from each other, roaming thus apart for greater comfort. The Scythians marked this and did likewise; and as the women wandered alone, a young man laid hold of one of them, and the woman made no resistance but suffered him to do his will; and since they understood not each other's speech and she could not speak to him, she signed with the hand that he should come on the next day to the same place bringing another youth with him (showing by signs that there should be two), and she would bring another woman with her. The youth went away and told his comrades; and the next day he came himself with another to the place, where he found the Amazon and another with her awaiting him. When the rest of the young men learnt of this, they had intercourse with the rest of the Amazons.

114. Presently they joined their camps and dwelt together, each man having for his wife the woman with whom he had had intercourse at first. Now the men could not learn the women's language, but the
τῶν ἀνδρῶν αἱ γυναῖκες συνέλαβον. ἔπει δὲ συνήκαν ἄλληλοι, ἔλεξαν πρὸς τὰς Ἀμαξόνας τάδε οἱ ἀνδρεῖς. "Ἡμῶν εἰς μὲν τοκεῖς, εἰςὶ δὲ κτήσεις, νῦν ὁν μηκέτι πλείων χρόνον ξοῆν τοιήνυ έχωμεν, ἀλλ' ἀπελάθοντες εἰς τὸ πλῆθος ἔκατομμεθα. γυναίκας δὲ ἐξομεν ύμέας καὶ οὐδαμὰς ἄλλας," οἱ δὲ πρὸς ταῦτα ἔλεγαν τάδε. "Ἡμεῖς οὖν ἀν δυναίμεθα οἰκεῖες μετὰ τοῦ ὑμετέρων γυναικῶν ὦ γὰρ τὰ αὐτὰ νόμαι ἡμῖν τε κακείνης ἐστι. ἡμεῖς μὲν τοξεύομεν τε καὶ ἀκοντίζομεν καὶ ἵππαξομεθα, ἐργὰ δὲ γυναικῆς οὐκ ἐμάθομεν. οἱ δὲ ὑμετέραι γυναίκες τούτων μὲν οὐδὲν τῶν ἡμείς κατελέξαμεν ποιεύσα, ἐργὰ δὲ γυναικῆς ἐργάζομαι μενοῦσαι ἐν τῆς ἀμάξησι, οὔτ' ἐπὶ θήρην ιόνται οὔτε ἀλλη οὐδαμή. οὐκ ἂν δὲ δυναίμεθα ἐκείνης συμφέρεσθαι. ἀλλ' εἰ βούλεσθε γυναίκας ἐχεῖν ἡμέας καὶ δοκεῖς εἶναι δίκαιοι, ἐλθόντες παρὰ τοὺς τοκεὰς ἀπολάχετε τῶν κτηματῶν τὸ μέρος, καὶ ἐπείτα ἐλθόντες οἰκέωμεν ἐπὶ ἡμέων αὐτῶν." ἐπείθοντε καὶ ἐποίησαν ταῦτα οἱ νεπύσκοι.

115. Ἐπείτε δὲ ἀπολαχόντες τῶν κτηματῶν τὸ ἐπιβάλλον ἱλθον ὀπίσω παρὰ τὰς Ἀμαξόνας, ἔλεξαν αἱ γυναῖκες πρὸς αὐτοὺς τάδε. "Ἡμέας ἐχει φόβος τε καὶ δεός ὅκως χρή οἰκείειν ἐν τῷδε τῷ χώρῳ, τοῦτο μὲν ὑμέας ἀποστερησάς πατέρων, τοῦτο δὲ γῆν τὴν υμετέρην δηλησιμένας πολλά. ἀλλ' ἐπείτε ἀξιούντε ἡμέας γυναίκας ἐχειν, τάδε οἰκείετε ἡμα ήμῖν' φέρετε ἐξαναστέωμεν ἐκ τῆς γῆς τῆς δὲ καὶ περίσσαντες Τάναιν ποταμῶν ὀικέωμεν."

116. Ἐπείθοντε καὶ ταῦτα οἱ νεπύσκοι, δια-
women mastered the speech of the men; and when they understood each other, the men said to the Amazons, "We have parents and possessions; now therefore let us no longer live as we do, but return to our people and consort with them; and we will still have you, and no others, for our wives." To this the women replied: "Nay, we could not dwell with your women; for we and they have not the same customs. We shoot with the bow and throw the javelin and ride, but the crafts of women we have never learned; and your women do none of the things whereof we speak, but abide in their waggon working at women's crafts, and never go abroad a-hunting or for aught else. We and they therefore could never agree. Nay, if you desire to keep us for wives and to have the name of just men, go to your parents and let them give you the allotted share of their possessions, and after that let us go and dwell by ourselves." The young men agreed and did this.

115. So when they had been given the allotted share of possessions which fell to them, and returned to the Amazons, the women said to them: "We are in fear and dread, to think how we should dwell in this country; seeing that not only have we be-reaved you of your parents, but we have done much hurt to your land. Nay, since you think right to have us for wives, let us all together, we and you, remove out of this country and dwell across the river Tanais."

116. To this too the youths consented; and crossing
βάντες δὲ τοῦ Τάναιν ὀδοπόρεσον πρὸς ἡλιον ἀνίσχοντα τριῶν μὲν ἡμερέων ἀπὸ τοῦ Τάναιδος ὀδοῦ, τριῶν δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς λίμνης τῆς Μαντίδος πρὸς βορείην ἀνέμον. ἀπικόμενοι δὲ ἐς τούτον τὸν χώρον ἐν τῷ νῦν κατοικηταί, οἰκησαν τούτων, καὶ διαίτη ἀπὸ τούτου χρεωνταί τῇ παλαιᾷ τῶν Ἑναυροματέων αἱ γυναίκες, καὶ ἐπὶ θῆρην ἐπὶ ἐπιπων ἐκθοιτῶσαι ἀμα τοῖς ἀνδράσι καὶ χωρίς τῶν ἀνδρῶν, καὶ ἐς πόλεμον φοιτῶσαι καὶ στολὴν τὴν αὐτήν τοῦτοι ἀνδράσι φορέοισαι.

117. Φωνῇ δὲ οἱ Ἑναυρομάτα τοιούτους Σκυθικῆς, σολοκίζοντες αὐτῇ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀργαίου, ἐπεὶ οὐ χρηστῶς ἐξεμαθὸν αὐτὴν αἱ Ἀμαζόνες, τὰ περὶ γὰρ δε ὡδε σφι διακεῖται: οὐ γαμεῖται παρθένοις οὐδεμία πρὶν ἀν τῶν πολεμών ἄνδρα ἀποκτείνῃ αἱ δὲ τινὲς αὐτῶν καὶ τελευτώσει γηραιαί πρὶν γῆμασθαι, οὐ δυνάμεναι τὸν νόμον εκπλῆσαι.

118. Ἐπὶ τούτων ὑν τῶν καταλεχθέντων ἐθνῶν τῶν Βασελέως ἀληθῶς ἀπικόμενοι τῶν Σκυθών οἱ ἀγγέλοι ἐλέγον ἐκδιδάσκοντες ως ᾧ Πέρσης, ἐπειδὴ ὁ τὰ ἐν τῇ ἡπειρῳ τῇ ἔτερῃ πάντα κατέστραπται, γέφυραν ξεύζας ἐπὶ τῷ αἰχμαίῳ τοῦ Βοσπόρου διαβεβήκε ἐς τὴν ἡπειρον, διαβῆς δὲ καὶ καταστρεφόμενος Ὀρμῆκας ἑγερυολ ποταμὸν Ἰστρον, βουλόμενος καὶ τάδε πάντα ὑπ' ἐωντὸ ποιήσασθαι. "Ὑμεῖς ὁν μηδενὶ τρόπῳ ἐκ τοῦ μέσου κατήμενοι περιοδητε ἡμέας διαφθαρέντας, ἀλλὰ τῶν νομιστες ἀντιμαξομεν τὸν ἐπινοντα, οὐκοι ποιήσετε τάτα; ὑμεῖς μὲν πιέζομεν ἐκ ἐκλεῖψομεν τὴν χώρῃ ἡ μενοντες ὀμολογή χρησομεθα, τί γὰρ πάθωμεν μὴ βουλομένων ὑμέων τιμωρεῖν; ὑμῶν δὲ οὕδεν ἐπὶ τούτῳ ἔσται ἐλα
the Tanais they went a three days' journey from the river eastwards; and a three days' journey from the Maeetian lake northwards; and when they came to the region in which they now dwell, they made their abode there. Ever since then the women of the Sauromatae have followed their ancient usage; they ride a-hunting with their men or without them; they go to war, and wear the same dress as the men.

117. The language of the Sauromatae is Scythian, but not spoken in its ancient purity, seeing that the Amazons never rightly learnt it. In regard to marriage, it is the custom that no virgin weds till she has slain a man of the enemy; and some of them grow old and die unmarried, because they cannot fulfil the law.

118. The kings then of these aforesaid nations being assembled, the Scythian messengers came and laid all exactly before them, telling how the Persian, now that the whole of the other continent was subject to him, had crossed over to their continent by a bridge thrown across the gut of the Bosporus, and how having crossed it and subdued the Thracians he was now bridging the Ister, that he might make all that region subject like the others to himself. "Do you, then," said they, "by no means sit apart and suffer us to be destroyed; rather let us unite and encounter this invader. If you will not do this, then shall we either be driven perforce out of our country, or abide and make terms. For what is to become of us if you will not aid us? And thereafter it will be no
φρότερον ἢκει γὰρ ὁ Πέρσης οὐδὲν τι μᾶλλον ἐπ’ ἡμέας ἢ οὔ καὶ ἐπ’ ὑμέας, οὐδὲ οἱ καταχρήσεις ἡμέας καταστρεφαμένου ὑμέων ἀπέχεσθαι. μέγα δὲ ὑμῖν λόγων τῶνδε μαρτύριον ἔρεομεν. εἰ γὰρ ἐπ’ ἡμέας μοῦνος ἐστρατηλάτευ τὸν Πέρσης τίσασθαι τῆς πρόσθε δουλοσύνης βουλόμενος, χρὴν αὐτοῦ πάντων τῶν ἄλλων ἀπεχώμενον ἔναι οὕτω ἐπὶ τὴν ἡμετέρην, καὶ ἂν ἐδῆλον πᾶσι ὡς ἐπὶ Σκύθας ἑλαύνει καὶ οὐκ ἐπὶ τοὺς ἄλλους. νῦν δὲ ἐστὶ τάχιστα διέβη ές τὴνδε τὴν ἡπειρον, τοὺς αἰεὶ ἐμποδῶν γυνομένων ἡμεροῦται πάντας: τοὺς τε ὑπ’ ἄλλους ἔχει υπ’ ἐωυτῷ Ὁρήκας καὶ ὁ ὁ καὶ τούς ἡμῖν ἔοντας πλησιοχωρῶς Γέτας.”

119. Ταῦτα Σκυθέων ἐπαγγελλομένων ἐβουλεύοντο οἱ βασιλέες οἱ ἀπὸ τῶν ἠθέων ἠκούσας, καὶ σφεων ἐσχίσθησαν αἱ γυναῖκες: οἱ μὲν γὰρ Γελώνος καὶ οἱ Βουθίνος καὶ οἱ Σαυρομάτις κατὰ τῶν γενόμενοι ὑπεδέκοντο Σκύθησις τιμωρήσειν, οὶ δὲ Ἀγάθυρσος καὶ Νευρὸς καὶ Ἀνδροφάγος καὶ οἱ τῶν Μελαγχλαίνων καὶ Ταύρων τάδε Σκύθης ὑπεκρίναντο. “Εἰ μὲν μὴ υμεῖς ἔστατοι πρὸς ταῦτα αἰκίζομεν Πέρσας καὶ ἄρχαντες πολέμου, τούτων ἔστομεν τῶν υἱῶν δέξεσθε λέγειν τε ἂν ἐφαίνεσθε ἡμῖν ὑμᾶς, καὶ υμεῖς ἐπακούσας τῶν τῶν νῦν ἀπρήσμον. νῦν δὲ υμεῖς τε ἐς τὴν ἑκείνων ἐσβαλόντες γῆρι ἄνευ ἡμέων ἐπεκριτέετε Περσῶν διὸν χρόνον ὑμῖν ὁ θεὸς παρεβίου, καὶ ἑκεῖνοι, ἐπεὶ σφεας ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ ἐγείρει, τὴν ἀμωμὸν ὑμῖν ἀποδιδοὺσι. υμεῖς δὲ οὕτε τι τότε ἑκιστήσασθε τοὺς ἀνδρας τούτους οὐδὲν οὕτε νῦν πρὸς πειρήσουμεθα ἄδικείες. ἢν μὲντοι ἐπὶ καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν ἡμετέρην ἀρρη τε ἄδικείων,
light matter for you yourselves; for the Persian is come to attack you no whit less than us, nor when he has subdued us will he be content to leave you alone. We can give you full proof of what we say: were it we alone against whom the Persian is marching, to be avenged on us for our former enslaving of his country, it is certain that he would leave others alone and make straight for us, thus making it plain to all that Scythia and no other country is his goal. But now, from the day of his crossing over to this continent, he has been ever taming all that come in his way, and he holds in subjection, not only the rest of Thrace, but also our neighbours the Getae."

119. Such being the message of the Scythians, the kings who had come from their nations took counsel, and their opinions were divided. The kings of the Geloni and the Budini and the Sauromatae made common cause and promised to help the Scythians; but the kings of the Agathyrsi and Neuri and Man-eaters and Black-cloaks and Tauri made this answer to the messengers: "Had it not been you who did unprovoked wrong to the Persians and so began the war, this request that you proffer would seem to us right, and we would consent and act jointly with you. But now, you and not we invaded their land and held it for such time as the god permitted; and the Persians, urged on by the same god, are but re-quiring you in like manner. But we did these men no wrong in that former time, nor will we essay to harm them now unprovoked; nathless if the Persian come against our land too and do the first act of
καὶ ἥμεις οὐ πεισόμεθα,1 μέχρι δὲ τοῦτο ἴδωμεν, μενόμεν παρ’ ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς ἥκειν ὡς ὅρκον δικόνεμεν οὐκ ἐπ’ ἥμεας Πέρσας ἀλλ’ ἐπὶ τοὺς αἰτίους τῆς ἀδικίας γενομένους.”

120. Ταῦτα ὡς ἀπενεχθέντα ἐπύθοντο οἱ Σκύθαι, ἐβουλεύοντο ἱθμαχῆν μὲν μηδεμίαν ποιεόθαι εκ τοῦ ἐμφανεὸς, ὡτε δὴ σφι οὐτοὶ γε σύμμαχοι οὐ προσεγίνοντο, ὑπεξίόντες δὲ καὶ ὑπεξελαύνοντες τὰ φρέατα τὰ παρεξίονες αὐτοὶ καὶ τὰς κρήνας συγχοῦν, τὴν ποίην τε ἐκ τῆς γῆς ἐκτρίβειν, διὸν σφέας διελόντες. καὶ πρὸς μὲν τὴν μιᾶν τῶν μοιρῶν, τῆς ἐβασίλευε Σκύθαις, προσχωρεῖν Σαυρομάτας· τούτους μὲν δὴ ὑπάγειν, ἢν ἐπὶ τοῦτο τράπηται ὁ Πέρσης, ἵνα Τανάδος ποταμὸν παρὰ τὴν Μαἰητὶν λίμνην ὑποφεύγοντας, ἀπελαύνοντός τε τὸν Πέρσου ἐπιόντας διώκειν. αὕτη μὲν σφι μία ἡν μοιρὰ τῆς βασιλείας, τεταγμένη ταῦτη τὴν ὁδὸν ἢ περ ἐνηταγμενα τὰς δὲ δύο τῶν βασιλείων, τὴν τε μεγάλην τῆς ἦρχε Ἰδάνθυρος καὶ τὴν τρίτην τῆς ἐβασίλευε Τάξακης, συνελθοῦσας ἐς τόνυ καὶ Γελώνων τε καὶ Βουδίνων προσγενομέον, ἡμέρης καὶ τούτους ὡς προέχοντας τῶν Περσέων ὑπεξάγειν, ὑπίοντας τε καὶ ποιεόντας τὰ βεβουλεμένα. πρωτὰ μὲν νων ὑπάγειν σφέας ἵνα τῶν χωρίων τῶν ἀπειταμένων τὴν σφετέρην συμμαχήν, ἵνα καὶ τούτους ἐκπολεμώσωσι· εἰ γὰρ μὴ ἐκόντες γε ὑπέδυσαν τὸν πόλεμον τῶν πρὸς Πέρσας, ἀλλ’ ἀέκοντας ἐκπολεμώσειν μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο ὑποστρέφειν ἐς τὴν σφετέρην καὶ ἐπιχειρεῖν, ἢν δὴ βουλευομένουις δοκέτη.
wrong, then we two will not consent to it; but till we see that, we will abide where we are by ourselves. For in our judgment the Persians are attacking not us but those at whose door the offence lies."

120. This answer being brought back and made known to the Scythians, they resolved not to meet their enemy in the open field, seeing that they could not get the allies that they sought, but rather to withdraw and drive off their herds, choking the wells and springs on their way and destroying the grass from the earth; and they divided themselves into two companies. It was their will that to one of their divisions, over which Scopasias was king, the Sauromatae should be added; this host should, if the Persian marched that way, retire before him and draw off towards the river Tanais, by the Maeetian lake, and if the Persian turned to depart then they should attack and pursue him. This was one of the divisions of the royal people, and it was appointed to follow the way aforesaid; their two other divisions, namely, the greater whereof the ruler was Idanthyrus, and the third whose king was Taxakis, were to unite, and taking to them also the Geloni and Budini, to draw off like the others at the Persian approach, ever keeping one day's march in front of the enemy, avoiding a meeting and doing what had been resolved. First, then, they must retreat in a straight course towards the countries which refused their alliance, so that these too might be compelled to fight; for if they would not of their own accord enter the lists against the Persians, they must be driven to war willy-nilly; and after that, the host must turn back to its own country, and attack the enemy, if in debate this should seem good.
121. Ταύτα οί Σκύθαι βουλευσάμενοι ύπηντιάζον την Δαρείου στρατιωτά, προδρόμους ἀποστείλαντες τῶν ἵππεων τοὺς ἀρίστους, τὰς δὲ ἁμάξας ἐν τῇ ἱππίᾳ διαετάτο τὰ τέκνα καὶ αἱ γυναῖκες πάσας καὶ τὰ πρόβατα πάντα, πλὴν ὁσα σφι ἐσ φοβήν ἰκανὰ ἂν τοσαῦτα ὑπολιπόμενοι, τὰ ἄλλα ἁμα τῇ ἱμάχησι προέπεμψαν, ἐντειλάμενοι αἰεὶ τοῖς βορέω ἐλαύνειν.

122. Ταύτα μὲν δὴ προεκομιζότων τῶν δὲ Σκυθέων οἱ προδρόμοι ός εὐρόν τοὺς Πέρσας ὅσον τε τριῶν ἡμερῶν ὁδὸν ἀπέχοντας ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἰστροῦ, οὐτοὶ μὲν τούτους εὐρόντες, ἡμέρης ὁδὸ ἀπεχοντες, ἐστραταπεδεύοντο τὰ ἐκ τῆς γῆς φυσικα λειτουργεῖ. οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι ός εὐδοκοῦσαν τῶν Σκυθέων τὴν ἵππον, ἐπήμενα κατὰ στίβον αἰεὶ ἑπαγόμενον καὶ ἐπειτα (πρὸς γὰρ τὴν μίαν τῶν μοιρῶν ἓθεσαν) οἱ Πέρσαι ἐδίωκον πρὸς ἄρ οτε καὶ ἦν Τανάδος διαβάζοντων δὲ τούτων τῶν Τάναιν ποταμῶν οἱ Πέρσαι ἐπιδιαβάζοντες ἐδίωκον, ἐς ὑ τῶν Σαυροματέων τὴν χώραν διεξελθόντες ἀπέκομεν ἑς τὴν τῶν Βουδίνων.

123. "Οσον μὲν δὴ χρόνον οἱ Πέρσαι ἦμεν διὰ τῆς Σκυθικῆς καὶ τῆς Σαυρομάτιδος χώρης, οἱ δὲ εἰχον οὐδέν συνεσθαι ἧτο τῆς χώρης ἑως χέρσου ἐπείτε δὲ ἐς τὴν τῶν Βουδίνων χώρην ἐσέβαλλαν, ἐνθαῦτα δὴ ἐντυχόντες τῷ ξυλίνῳ τείχει, ἐκκελοπότον τῶν Βουδίνων καὶ κεκενομένου τοῦ τείχους πάντων, ἐνέπρησαν αὐτὸ, τούτῳ δὲ ποιήσαντες ἐποντο αἰεὶ τὸ πρόσω κατὰ στίβον, ἢ δὲ διεξελθόντες ταύτην ἐς τὴν ἐρμην ἀπίκουντο. ἡ δὲ ἐρμην αὐτὴ ὑπὸ οὐδαμῶν νεμέται ἀνδρῶν, κέεται δὲ ὑπὲρ τῆς Βουδίνων χώρης ἐσύσα πλήθος.
121. Being resolved on this plan, the Scythians sent an advance guard of the best of their horsemen to meet Darius' army. As for the waggons in which their children and wives lived, all these they sent forward, charged to drive ever northward; and with the waggons they sent all their flocks, keeping none back save such as were sufficient for their food.

122. This convoy being first sent on its way, the advance guard of the Scythians found the Persians about a three days' march distant from the Ister; and having found them they encamped a day's march ahead of the enemy and set about clearing the land of all growing things. When the Persians saw the Scythian cavalry appearing, they marched on in its tracks, the horsemen ever withdrawing before them; and then, making for the one Scythian division, the Persians held on in pursuit towards the east and the river Tanais; which when the horsemen had crossed the Persians crossed also, and pursued till they had marched through the land of the Sauromatae to the land of the Budini.

123. As long as the Persians were traversing the Scythian and Sauromatie territory there was nothing for them to harm, as the land was dry and barren. But when they entered the country of the Budini, they found themselves before the wooden-walled town; the Budini had deserted it and left nothing therein, and the Persians burnt the town. Then going still forward in the horsemen's tracks they passed through this country into the desert, which is inhabited by no men; it lies to the north of the Budini and its
124. 'Εσπει ὁ Δαρείος ἦλθε ἐς τὴν ἐρῆμον, παυσάμενος τοῦ δρόμου ἱδρυσε τὴν στρατιὰν ἐπὶ ποταμῷ Ὁλοφ. τούτο δὲ ποιήσας ὅκτω τείχεα ἔτειχε μεγάλα, ἵσον ἀπ' ἀλλήλων ἀπέχοντα, σταδίους ὡς ἔξηκοντα μαλιστά κη τῶν ἐτί ἐς ἐμὲ τὰ ἑρείπια σοὰ ἤν. ἐν ὦ δὲ ὁὐτὸς πρὸς ταῦτα ἐτράπετο, οἱ διωκόμενοι Σκύθαι περιέλθοντες τὰ κατύπερδε ὑπέστρεφον ἐς τὴν Σκυθικὴν. ἄφαν- σθέντων δὲ τούτων τὸ παράταν, ὡς ὀὐκέτι έφαυ- τάζοντο σφι, οὐτω δὴ ὁ Δαρείος τείχεα μὲν ἐκεῖνα ἡμέρα ἐστήκε, αὐτὸς δὲ ὑποστρέψας ἔμε πρὸς ἐσπέρην, δοκέων τούτους τε πάντας τοὺς Σκύθας εἶναι καὶ πρὸς ἐσπέρην σφέας φεύγειν.

125. 'Ελαύνων δὲ τὴν ταχίστην τὸν στρατὸν ὡς ἐς τὴν Σκυθικὴν ἀπίκετο, ἐνέκυψε αμφότερος τῆς μοίρας τῶν Σκυθῶν, ἐνυχὺς δὲ ἐδώκε οὐκεφέρωτας ἡμέρας ὥδ. καὶ οὐ γὰρ ἀνέλει ἐπιῶν ὁ Δαρείος, οἱ Σκύθαι κατὰ τὰ Βεβουλευ- μένα ὑπέφευγον ἐς τῶν ἀπειπαμένων τὴν σφετέ- ρην συμμαχίαν, πρώτην δὲ ἐς τῶν Μελαγγλαίων τὴν γῆν. ὅσ δὲ ἐσβαλόντες τούτους ἑταράζαν οἱ τε Σκύθαι καὶ οἱ Πέρσαι, κατηγέοντο οἱ Σκύθαι ἐς τῶν Ἀνδροφάγων τοὺς κωροὺς ταραχθέντων δὲ καὶ τούτων ὑπήγον ἐπὶ τὴν Νευρίδα· ταρασσο- μένων δὲ καὶ τούτων ἢσαν ὑποφεύγοντες οἱ Σκύθαι ἐς τοὺς Ἀγαθύρσους. Ἀγαθύρσους δὲ ὀρέουτες καὶ τοὺς ὀμούρους φεύγοντας ὑπὸ Σκυ-
breadth is a seven days' march. Beyond this desert dwell the Thyssagetae; four great rivers flow from their country through the land of the Maecetians, and issue into the lake called the Maecetian; their names are Lycus, Oarus, Tanais, Syrgis.

124. When Darius came into the desert, he halted in his race and encamped on the river Oarus, where he built eight great forts, all at an equal distance of about sixty furlongs from each other, the ruins of which were standing even in my lifetime. While he was busied with these, the Scythians whom he pursued fetched a compass northwards and turned back into Scythia. When they had altogether vanished and were no longer within the Persians' sight, Darius then left those forts but half finished, and he too turned about and marched westward, thinking that those Scythians were the whole army, and that they were fleeing towards the west.

125. But when he came by forced marches into Scythia, he met the two divisions of the Scythians, and pursued them, they keeping ever a day's march away from him; and because he would not cease from pursuing them, the Scythians, according to the plan they had made, fled before him to the countries of those who had refused their alliance, and first to the land of the Black-cloaks. Into their land the Scythians and Persians burst, troubling their peace; and thence the Scythians led the Persians into the country of the Man-eaters, troubling them too; whence they drew off with a like effect into the country of the Neuri, and troubling them also, fled to the Agathyrsi. But these, seeing their very neighbours fleeing panic-stricken at the Scythians' approach,
θέων καὶ τεταραγμένους, πρὶν ἡ σφι ἐμβαλεῖν τοὺς Ἀκύθας πέμψαντες κήρυκα ἀπηγόρευοι Σκύθησι μὴ ἐπεβαίνειν τῶν σφετέρων οὐρών, προλέγουσέ ὡς εἰ πειρήσονται ἐς βαλοῦντες, σφιστὶ πρῶτα διαμαχήσονται. Ἀγάθυρσοι μὲν προεπιπαντεὶς ταῦτα ἐβοήθεσον ἐπὶ τοὺς οὐροὺς, ἐρύκειν ἐν νῷ ἔχοντες τοὺς ἐπίοντας: Μελάγχλαινοι δὲ καὶ Ἀνδροφάγοι καὶ Νευροὶ ἐς βαλοῦντων τῶν Περσέων ἀμα Σκύθησι οὔτε πρὸς ἀλκην ἐτράπουντο ἐπιλαθόμενοι τε τῆς ἀπειλῆς ἐφευγον αἰεὶ τὸ πρὸς Βορέων ἐς τὴν ἔρημον τεταραγμένοι. οἱ δὲ Σκυθαί οὖς μὲν τοὺς Ἀγαθύρσους οὐκέτι ἀπειπανταὶ ἀπεκύνουτο, οἱ δὲ ἐκ τῆς Νευρίδος χώρης ἐς τὴν σφετέρην κατηγεότοι τοῖς Πέρσησι.

126. Ὡς δὲ πολλὸν τοῦτο ἐγίνετο καὶ οὐκ ἐπαύετο, τέμψας Δαρείος ἰππέα παρὰ τὸν Σκυθέων βασιλέα Ίδάνθυρσον ἔλεγε τάδε. "Δαιμόνιοι ἀνδρῶν, τί φεύγεις αἰεὶ, ἐξεόν τι τῶν ἐπετρα ποιέειν; εἰ μὲν γὰρ ἀξίωρχος δοκεῖς εἶναι σεωτῷ τοῖς ἐμοίσι πρήγμασι ἀντιώθηναι, σὺ δὲ στὰς τε καὶ παυσάμενος πλάνης μάχεσθαι; εἰ δὲ συγγινωσκεῖς εἶναι ἃ ποιεῖς, σὺ δὲ καὶ οὐτὸ παυσάμενος τῷ ὁρίῳ δεσπότη τῷ σῷ δώρα φέρων γῆν τε καὶ ὑδωρ ἐλθὲ ἐς λόγους."

127. Πρὸς ταῦτα ὁ Σκυθέων βασιλεὺς Ἰδάνθυρσος λέγει τάδε. "Οὕτω τὸ ἐμὸν ἔχει, ὦ Πέρσα. ἐγὼ οὖν ἐν ταύτῃ καὶ ἀνθρώπων δεῖσας ἐφυγον ὁμεῖς πρὸτερον οὔτε νῦν σὲ φεύγων, οὐδὲ τι νεωτέρον εἰμι ποιίσας νῦν ἢ καὶ ἐν εἰρήνη ἑοθέα ποιέσθην. ὦ τι δὲ οὐκ αὐτίκα μάχομαι τοῖ, ἐγὼ καὶ τούτῳ σημανέω. ἡμῶν οὔτε ἄστεα οὔτε γῆ πεφυτευμένη ἐστὶ, τῶν πέρι δείσαντες μὴ ἀλῶ ἢ
before the Scythians could break into their land sent a herald to forbid them to set foot on their borders, warning the Scythians that if they essayed to break through they must first fight with the Agathyrsi. With this warning they mustered on their borders, with intent to stay the invaders. But the Black-cloaks and Man-eaters and Neuri, when the Persians and the Scythians broke into their lands, made no resistance, but forgot their threats and fled panic-stricken ever northward into the desert. The Scythians, being warned off by the Agathyrsi, made no second attempt on that country, but led the Persians from the lands of the Neuri into Scythia.

126. All this continuing long, and there being no end to it, Darius sent a horseman to Idanthyrus the Scythian king, with this message: "Sir, these are strange doings. Why will you ever flee? You can choose which of two things you will do; if you deem yourself strong enough to withstand my power, wander no further, but stand and fight; but if you know yourself to be the weaker, then make an end of this running to and fro, and come to terms with your master, sending him gifts of earth and water."

127. To this Idanthyrus the Scythian king made answer: "It is thus with me, Persian: I have never fled for fear of any man, nor do I now flee from you; this that I have done is no new thing or other than my practice in peace. But as to the reason why I do not straightway fight with you, this too I will tell you. For we Scythians have no towns or planted lands, that we might meet you the sooner
καὶ ταχύτερον ἄν ὑμῖν συμμέσγοιμεν ἐς μάχην. εἴ δὲ δεὼν πάντως ἐς τοῦτο κατὰ τάχος ἀπικνεῖσθαι, τυγχάνουσι ὑμῖν ἐόντες τάφοι πατρώιοι' φέρετε, τούτους ἀνευρόντες συγκέχειν πειράσθε αὐτούς, καὶ γνώσεσθε τότε εἰτε ὑμῖν μαχησόμεθα περὶ τῶν τάφων εἶτε καὶ οὐ μαχησόμεθα. πρότερον δὲ, ἢ μὴ ἡμέας λόγος αἱρεῖ, οὐ συμμίσομεν τοι. ἂμφε μὲν μάχη τοσαῦτα εἰρήσθω, δεσπότας δὲ ἐμοὺς ἐγὼ Δία τε νομίζω τὸν ἔμον πρόγονον καὶ Ἰστῖν ποιήσων Σκυθέων βασιλείαν μούνος εἶναι. σοὶ δὲ ἀντὶ μὲν δόρων γῆς τε καὶ ὑδατος δώρα πέμψω τοιαῦτα ολὰ σοὶ πρέπει ἔλθειν, ἀντὶ δὲ τοῦ ὅτι δεσπότης ἔφησας εἶναι ἐμὸς, κλαίειν λέγω." τοῦτο ἐστὶ ἡ ἀπὸ Σκυθέων ῥήσις.¹

128. Ο μὲν δὴ κήρυξ οἰχώκεε ἀγγέλεων ταῦτα Δαρείων, οἱ δὲ Σκυθέων βασιλείας ἀκούσαντες τῆς ὀνομασίας τὸ οὐνόμα ὅργης ἐπιλήσθεναν. τῆς μὲν δὴ μετὰ Σαυρωματέων μοῦραν ταχθεισαν, τῆς ἡρχε Σκώμπασις, πέμπτους Ἰωσὶ κελεύοντες ἐς οἰκιάς ἀπίκεσθαι, τούτοις οἱ τὸν Ἰστρον ἐξευγμένον ἐφρούρεον· αὐτῶν δὲ τοῖς ὑπολειπομένοις ἐδοξεῖ πλανᾶν μὲν μηκέτι Πέρσας, σίτα δὲ ἐκάστοτε ἀναφεύγόμενοι εἰπτίθεσθαι. νομοῖσιν δὲν σίτα ἀναφεύγομενος τῶν Δαρείου ἐποίειν τὰ βεβουλευμένα. ἡ μὲν δὴ ἦππος τῆς ἦππος αἰεὶ ἑπάτεσκε ἡ τῶν Σκυθέων, οἱ δὲ τῶν Περσέων ἦπτοται φεύγοντες ἐσπεριπτον ἐς τὸν πεζὸν, ὁ δὲ πεζὸς ἀν ἐπεκούρεε· οἱ δὲ Σκύθαι ἐσαράξαντες τῆς ἦππου ὑπεστρεφον τὸν πεζόν φοβεομενοι. ἐποιεύοντο δὲ καὶ τὰς νύκτας παραπλησίας προσβολὰς οἱ Σκύθαι.

¹ This sentence is bracketed by Stein, but there seems to be no conclusive reason for rejecting it.
in battle, fearing lest the one be taken or the other be wasted. But if nothing will serve you but fighting straightway, we have the graves of our fathers; come, find these and essay to destroy them; then shall you know whether we will fight you for those graves or no. Till then we will not join battle unless we think good. Thus much I say of fighting; for my masters, I hold them to be Zeus my forefather and Hestia queen of the Scythians, and none other. Gifts I will send you, not earth and water, but such as you should rightly receive; and for your boast that you are my master, take my malison for it." Such is the proverbial "Scythian speech."

128. So the herald went to carry this message to Darius; but the Scythian kings were full of anger when they heard the name of slavery. They sent then the division of the Scythians to which the Sauromatae were attached, and which was led by Scopasis, to speak with those Ionians who guarded the bridge over the Ister; as for those of the Scythians who were left behind, it was resolved that they should no longer lead the Persians astray, but attack them whenever they were foraging for provision. So they watched for the time when Darius' men were foraging, and did according to their plan. The Scythian horse ever routed the Persian horse, and the Persian horsemen falling back in flight on their footmen, the foot would come to their aid; and the Scythians, once they had driven in the horse, turned about for fear of the foot. The Scythians attacked in this fashion by night as well as by day.
129. Τὸ δὲ τοῖσι Πέρσησι τε ἦν σύμμαχον καὶ τοῖσι Σκύθησι ἀντίξοιον ἐπιτιθεμένοις τῷ Δαρείῳ στρατοπέδῳ, θώμα μέγιστον ἔρεω, τῶν τε ὅνων ἡ φωνὴ καὶ τῶν ἡμίωνον τῷ εἴδος. οὔτε γὰρ ὅνων οὔτε ὅμιοιον γῆ ἡ Σκυθικὴ φέρει, ὡς καὶ προτέρῳ μοι ὀδηγοίσα, οὐδὲ ἐστὶ ἐν τῇ Σκυθικῇ πασῇ χώρῃ τὸ παράπαν οὔτε ὅνος οὔτε ἡμίονος διὰ τὰ ψυχεῖα. ὑβρίζοντες ὅν οἱ ὅνοι ἐτάρασσον τὴν ἱππὸν τῶν Σκυθῶν, πολλάκις δὲ ἐπελαυνόντοιν ἐπὶ τούς Πέρσας μεταξὺ ὅκως ἀκούσιειν οἱ ἱπποὶ τῶν ὅνων τῆς φωνῆς, ἐτάρασσότοι τῇ ὑποστρεφόμενοι καὶ ἐν θωματὶ ἐσκοῦν, ὥρθα ἵσταντες τὰ ὡτα, ἀτε οὔτε ἀκούσιαντες προτέρου φωνῆς τοιαύτης οὔτε ἱδόντες τῷ εἴδος.

130. Ταῦτα μὲν νυν ἐπὶ σμικρὸν τῷ ἐφεροντο τοῦ πολέμου. οἱ δὲ Σκύθαι ὅκως τοὺς Πέρσας ἱδοιειν τεθροβημένους, ἢν παραμένοιειν τε ἐπὶ πλάω χρόνον ἐν τῇ Σκυθικῇ καὶ παραμῖνοντες ἀνισφατο τῶν πάντων ἐπιδεινεῖς ὑόντες, ἔποιεσαν τοῖς ὅκως τῶν προβάτων τῶν σφετέρων αὐτῶν καταλίποιειν μετὰ τῶν νομέων, αὐτοὶ ἀν ὑπεξηλαυνοῦ ἐς ἄλλον χῶρον οἱ δὲ ἀν Πέρσαι ἐπελθόντες λάβεσκον τὰ πρόβατα καὶ λαβόντες ἐπηεύροντο ἐν τῷ πεποιημένῳ.

131. Πολλάκις δὲ τοιοῦτον γυνομένου, τέλος Δαρείος τε ἐν ἀπορίσει εἰχετο, καὶ οἱ Σκυθεῖσι βασιλεῖσι μαθόντες τούτο ἐπεημον κήρυκα δῶρα Δαρείῳ φέροντα ὁριθά τε καὶ μῦν καὶ βάτραχον καὶ ὀίστους πέντε. Πέρσαι δὲ τῶν φέροντα τὰ δῶρα ἐπειρώτεον τῶν νόον τῶν δισμένων ὃ δὲ οὐδὲν ἔφη οἱ ἐπεστάλθαι ἄλλο ή δόντα τὴν ταχιστὴν ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι: αὐτοὺς δὲ τοὺς Πέρσας
129. Most strange it is to relate, but what aided the Persians and thwarted the Scythians in their attacks on Darius' army was the braying of the asses and the appearance of the mules. For, as I have before shown, Scythia bears no asses or mules; nor is there in the whole of Scythia any ass or mule, by reason of the cold. Therefore the asses, when they brayed loudly, alarmed the Scythian horses; and often, when they were in the act of charging the Persians, if the horses heard the asses bray they would turn back in affright or stand astonished with ears erect, never having heard a like noise or seen a like creature.

130. The Persians gained thus very little in the war, for when the Scythians saw that the Persians were shaken, they formed a plan whereby they might remain longer in Scythia and so remaining might be distressed by lack of all things needful: they would leave some of their flocks behind with the shepherds, themselves moving away to another place; and the Persians would come and take the sheep, and be uplifted by this achievement.

131. This having often happened, Darius was in a quandary, and when they perceived this, the Scythian kings sent a herald bringing Darius the gift of a bird, a mouse, a frog, and five arrows. The Persians asked the bringer of these gifts what they might mean; but he said that no charge had been laid on him save to give the gifts and then depart with all speed; let
ἐκέλευε, εἰ σοφοὶ εἰσί, γνώναι τὸ θέλει τὰ δόρα λέγειν.

132. Ταῦτα ἀκούσαντες οἱ Πέρσαι ἐβουλεύοντο. Δαρείου μὲν νῦν ἡ γνώμη ἢν Σκύθως ἐσωτήρ διδόναι σφέας τε αὐτοὺς καὶ γῆν τε καὶ ὕδωρ, εἰκάζον τῆς, ὡς μῦς μὲν ἐν γῇ γίνεται καρπὸν τὸν αὐτὸν ἀνθρώπῳ αἰτεόμενος, βάτραχος δὲ ἐν ὕδατι, ὅρις δὲ μιλιστὰ ἔοικε ἢππω, τοὺς δὲ ὅστοις ὅσ τὴν ἐωτοῦ ἄλκην παραδίδουσι. αὕτη μὲν Δαρείῳ ἀπεδέδεκτο ἡ γνώμη. συνεστήκηκε δὲ ταῦτῃ τῇ γνώμῃ ἡ Γοβρυε, τῶν ἀνδρῶν τῶν ἐπτὰ ἐνός τῶν τὸν Μάγον κατελόντων, εἰκάζοντος τὰ δόρα λέγειν "Ἡν μὴ ὅρισθε γενόμενοι ἀναπτήσθε ἐς τῶν ὑπαρχόν, ὃ Πέρσαι, ἢ μῦς γενόμενοι κατὰ τῆς γῆς καταδύστη, ἡ βάτραχος γενόμενοι ἐς τὰς λίμνας ἐσπηδήσητε, οὐκ ἀπονοστήσετε ὅπισώ ὑπὸ τῶνδε τῶν τοξευμάτων βαλλόμενοι."

133. Πέρσαι μὲν ὅτι τὰ δόρα εἰκάζον. ἢ δὲ Σκυθέων μία μοῖρα ἡ ταχθείσα πρότερον μὲν παρὰ τὴν Μαίητιν λίμνην φρουρεῖν, τότε δὲ ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰστρόν Ἰωσὶ ἐς λόγους ἐλθεῖν, ὃς ἀπίκετο ἐπὶ τὴν γέφυραν, ἐλεγε τιδε. "Ἀνδρεὶς Ἰωνε, ἐλευθερῆν ἦκομεν ὡμῶν φέροντες, ἦν πέρ γε ἐδέλπη ὡς αὐτοῖς. πυνθανόμεθα γὰρ Δαρείου ἐντελλασθαί ὡμῖν ἐξήκοντα ἡμέρας μοῦνας φρουρήσαντας τὴν γέφυραν, αὐτοῦ μὴ παραγενομένου εἰς τοῦτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ, ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι ἐς τὴν ὑμετέρην. νῦν ὅτι ὡμῖς τάδε ποιεῖσθε ἐκτὸς μὲν ἔσεσθε πρὸς ἐκείνου αἰτίας, ἐκτὸς δὲ πρὸς ἡμέως τὰς προκειμένας ἡμέρας παραμέναντες τὸ ἀπὸ τοῦτο ἀπαλλάσσεσθε." οὕτωι μὲν νῦν ὑποδεξαμένων Ἰωνῶν ποιήσεις ταῦτα ὅπισώ τὴν ταχίστην ἐπείγοντο.
the Persians (he said), if they were clever enough, discover the signification of the presents.

132. The Persians hearing and taking counsel, Darius' judgment was that the Scythians were surrendering to him themselves and their earth and their water; for he reasoned that a mouse is a creature found in the earth and eating the same produce as men, and a frog is a creature of the water and a bird most like to a horse; and the arrows (said he) signified that the Scythians surrendered their fighting power. This was the opinion declared by Darius; but the opinion of Gobryas, one of the seven who had slain the Magian, was contrary to it. He reasoned that the meaning of the gifts was, "Unless you become birds Persians, and fly up into the sky, or mice and hide you in the earth, or frogs and leap into the lakes, you will be shot by these arrows and never return home."

133. Thus the Persians reasoned concerning the gifts. But when the first division of the Scythians came to the bridge—that division which had first been appointed to stand on guard by the Maeotian lake and had now been sent to the Ister to speak with the Ionians—they said, "Ionians, we are come to bring you freedom, if you will but listen to us. We learn that Darius has charged you to guard the bridge for sixty days only, and if he comes not within that time then to go away to your homes. Now therefore do that whereby you will be guiltless in his eyes as in ours: abide here for the days appointed, and after that depart." So the Ionians promised to do this, and the Scythians made their way back with all speed.
134. Πέρσης δὲ μετὰ τὰ δῶρα ἐλθόντα Δαρείῳ ἀντετάχθησαν οἱ ὑπολειφθέντες Σκύθαι πεῖζό καὶ ὑποσκέισι ὡς συμβαλέοντες. τεταγμένοισι δὲ τούσι Σκύθαις λαγὸς ἐς τὸ μέσον διήνυτ' τῶν δὲ ὡς ἔκαστοι ώρων τὸν λαγὸν ἐδίωκον. ταραχθέντων δὲ τῶν Σκυθέων καὶ βοῆς χρεωμένων, εἰρέτο ὁ Δαρείος τῶν ἀντιπολεμίων τῶν βορύβων πυθόμενος δὲ σφέας τὸν λαγὸν διώκοντας, εἰπε ἀρα πρὸς τοὺς περ ἐόθευε καὶ τὰ ἄλλα λέγειν ὡς ὦν ὁμόρρης ἡμέων πολλὰ καταφρονεῖ συ, καὶ μοι νῦν φαίνεται Γοβρύης εἰπει περὶ τῶν Σκυθικῶν δώρων ὁρθῶς. ὡς ὦν νῦν ἦδη δοκεόντων καὶ αὐτῷ μοι ἤχειν, βουλῆς ἀγαθῆς δεῖ, ὡς ἀσφαλέως ἡ κομιδὴ ἦμιν ἔσται τὸ ὀπίσω." πρὸς τά ταύτα Γοβρύης εἰπε ἦδη ὁ μακεδόν μεν καὶ λόγῳ ἡπιστάμην τοῦτων τῶν ἀνδρῶν τὴν ἀπορίαν, ἐλθὼν δὲ μᾶλλον ἐξέμαθον, ὅρεων αὐτῶν ἐμπαιζόντας ἠμῷν. νῦν ὄν μοι δοκεῖτι, ἐπειδὴ τάχιστα νῦν ἐπέλθη, ἐκκαύσαντας τὰ πυρὰ ὡς ἐφώμεν καὶ ἅλλοτε ποιεῖν, τῶν στρατιωτῶν τοὺς ἀσθενεστάτους εἰς τὰς ταλαιπωρίας ἐξαπατήσαντας καὶ τοὺς ὅνους πάντας καταδήσαντας ὑπαλλάσσεσθαι, πρὶν ἡ καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰστρὸν ἱδοῦσι Σκύθας λύσοντας τὴν γέφυραν, ἡ καὶ τὶ Ἰωσὶ δόξηι τὸ ἡμέας ὅιον τε ἔσται ἐξεργάσασθαι." 135. Γοβρύης μὲν ταύτα σφυρούλευε. μετὰ δὲ νῦν τε ἐγίνετο καὶ Δαρείος ἐχράτω τῇ ὅμωμῃ ταύτῃ τοὺς μὲν καρατηρίους τῶν ἀνδρῶν καὶ τῶν ἤν ἐλάχιστος ἀπολλυμένων λόγος, καὶ τοὺς ὅνους πάντας καταδήσας κατέληπε αὐτοῦ ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ. κατέληπε δὲ τοὺς τε ὅνους καὶ τοὺς ἀσθενείας τῆς στρατιῆς τῶνδε εἰνεκεν, ἵνα οἱ μὲν ὅνοι
134. But after the sending of the gifts to Darius, the Scythians who had remained there came out with foot and horse and offered battle to the Persians. But when the Scythian ranks were arrayed, a hare ran out between the armies; and every Scythian that saw it gave chase. So there was confusion and shouting among the Scythians; Darius asked what the enemy meant by this clamour; and when he heard that they were chasing the hare, then said he (it would seem) to those wherewith he was ever wont to speak, "These fellows hold us in deep contempt; and I think now that Gobryas' saying concerning the Scythian gifts was true. Seeing therefore that my own judgment of the matter is like his, we need to take sage counsel, whereby we shall have a safe return out of the country." To this said Gobryas: "Sire, reason alone wellnigh showed me how hard it would be to deal with these Scythians; but when I came I was made the better aware of it, seeing that they do but make a sport of us. Now therefore my counsel is, that at nightfall we kindle our camp-fires according to our wont at other times, that we deceive those in our army who are least strong to bear hardship, and tether here all our asses, and so ourselves depart, before the Scythians can march straight to the Ister to break the bridge, or the Ionians take some resolve whereby we may well be ruined."

135. This was Gobryas' advice, and at nightfall Darius followed it. He left there in the camp the men who were worn out, and those whose loss imported least to him, and all the asses too tethered. The reason of his leaving the asses, and the infirm among his soldiers, was, as regarding the asses, that they
HERODOTUS

βοην παρέχονταί· οἱ δὲ ἄνθρωποι ἀσθενείσης μὲν εἶνεκεν κατελείποντο, προφάσιος δὲ τῆς δὲ ὅλαδίη, ὡς αὐτὸς μὲν σὺν τῷ καθαρῷ τοῦ στρατοῦ ἐπιθησεθαί μελλον τοῦς Σκύθρησι, οὕτως δὲ τὸ στρατόπεδον τότεν τῶν χρόνων ῥυσίατο. ταῦτα τοῖς ὑπολειμμένοις ὑποθέμενος ὁ Δαρείος καὶ πυρὰ ἐκκαύσας τὴν ταχίστην ἐπείγετο ἐπὶ τὸν ᾗστρων. οἱ δὲ ὄνοι ἐρημωθέντες τοῦ ὀμίλου οὕτω δὴ μᾶλλον πολλῷ ἔσαν τῆς φωνῆς· ἀκούσαντες δὲ οἱ Σκύθαι τῶν ὄνων πάγχῳ κατὰ χώρην ἡλπίζον τοὺς Πέρσας εἰναι.

136. Ἡμέρης δὲ γενομένης γνώντες οἱ ὑπολειφθέντες ὡς προδεομένοι εἰέν ὑπὸ Δαρείου, χειρᾶς τε προετείνοντο τοῦσι Σκύθρησι καὶ ἔλεγον τὰ κατήκοντα· οἱ δὲ ὃς ἦκουσαν ταῦτα τὴν ταχίστην συστραφέντες, αἱ τε δύο μοίραι τῶν Σκυθέων καὶ ἡ μία καὶ Σαυροματᾶς καὶ Βούδινοι καὶ Γέλωνοι, ἐξεκόλου οὗς Πέρσας ἱθο τοῦ ᾗστρων. ἀτε δὲ τοῦ Περσικοῦ μὲν τοῦ πολλοῦ ἐοντος πεζοῦ στρατοῦ καὶ τὰς ὅδοις οὐκ ἐπισταμένου, ὡστε οἱ τετμημενεὶς τῶν ὀδών, τοῦ δὲ Σκυθικοῦ ἑπτοκεφαλεῖς καὶ τὰ σύντομα τῆς ὀδοῦ ἐπισταμένου, ἀμαρτότες ἀλλήλων, ἐφῆθαν πολλῷ οἱ Σκύθαι τοὺς Πέρσας ἐπὶ τὴν ἱεροφνίαν ἀπικόμενοι. μαθόντες δὲ τοὺς Πέρσας οὐκ ἀπιγμένους ἔλεγον πρὸς τοὺς "Ἰωνας ἔοντας ἐν τῇσι νησίς "Ἀνδρες Ἰωνας, αἱ τε ἡμέραι ὑμῖν τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ διαίχνηται καὶ οὐ ποιεῖτε δίκαια ἐπὶ παραμένουσε. ἀλλὰ ἐπεὶ πρότερον δειμαίνουτες ἐμένετε, νῦν λύσαντες τὸν πόρον τὴν ταχίστην ἀπίτε χαίροντες ἔλευθεροι, θεοῦσι τε καὶ Σκύθρησι εἰδοτες χάριν. τοὺ δὲ πρότερον ἔοντα ύμέων δεσπότην ἡμεῖς παραστήσαμεθα.
might bray; as to the men, they were left by reason
of their infirmity, but his pretext was, forsooth, that
they should guard the camp while he attacked the
Scythians with the sound part of his army. Giving
this charge to those who were left behind, and light-
ing camp-fires, Darius made all speed to reach the
Ister. When the asses found themselves deserted
by the multitude, they brayed much the louder
for that; and the Scythians by hearing them were
fully persuaded that the Persians were still in the
same place.

136. But when day dawned the men left behind
perceived that Darius had played them false, and they
held out their hands to the Scythians and explained
their position; who, when they heard, gathered their
power with all speed, both the two divisions of
their host and the one division that was with the
Sauromatae and Budini and Geloni, and made
straight for the Ister in pursuit of the Persians. But
seeing that the Persian army was for the most part
of footmen and knew not the roads (these not being
marked), whereas the Scythians were horsemen and
knew the short cuts, they kept wide of each other,
and the Scythians came to the bridge much before
the Persians. There, perceiving that the Persians
were not yet come, they said to the Ionians, who
were in their ships, "Now, Ionians, the numbered
days are past and you do wrongly to remain still
here. Nay—for it is fear which has ere now kept
you from departing—now break the bridge with all
speed and go your ways in freedom and happiness,
thanking the gods and the Scythians. As for him
that was once your master, we will leave him in such
οὕτω ὦστε ἐπὶ μηδαμόνας ἐτί ἀνθρώπους αὐτόν στρατευσάσθαι.

137. Πρὸς ταύτα Ἰωνης ἐβουλεύοντο. Μιλτιάδεω μὲν τοῦ Ἀθηναίου, στρατηγέοντος καὶ τυραννεύοντος Χερσουνησίτεων τῶν ἐν Ἐλλησπόντῳ, ἦν γυμνὴ πείθεσθαι Σκύθῃ καὶ ἑλευθερῶν Ἰωνίης. Ἰστιαίου δὲ τοῦ Μιλησίων ἐναντίη ταύτη, λέγοντος ὡς ὅοιν μὲν διὰ Δαρείου ἐκαστὸς αὐτῶν τυραννεύει πόλιος; τῆς Δαρείου δὲ δυνάμιος καταρεθήσης οὕτε αὐτός Μιλησίων οἶός τε ἔσεσθαι ἄρχειν οὔτε ἀλλον οὐδένα οὐδαμῶν βουλήσθαι γὰρ ἐκάστην τῶν πολείων δημοκρατεῖσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ τυραννεύσθαι. Ἰστιαίου δὲ γυμνήν ταύτην ἀποδεικνυμένον αὐτίκα πάντες ἦσαν τετραμμένοι πρὸς ταύτην τὴν γυμνήν, πρὸ τοῦ τὴν Μιλτιάδεω αἰρεόμενοι.

138. Ἡσαν δὲ οὕτωι οἱ διαφέροντες τε τὴν ψήφον καὶ εἴουτοι λόγου πρὸς βασιλέως, Ἐλλησποντίων μὲν τυραννοι Δάφνις τε Ἀβυδηνὸς καὶ Ἰπποκλεὼς Δαμψακηνὸς καὶ Ἡρόφαντος Παρηνός καὶ Μητρόδωρος Προκοπηνίσιος καὶ Ἀρισταγόρης Κυζικηνὸς καὶ Ἀριστων Βυζάντιος. οὕτοι μὲν ἦσαν οἱ εἰς Ἐλλησπόντου, ἀπ᾽ Ἰωνίης δὲ Ἐφράστης τε Χῖος καὶ Αἰακῆς Σάμιος καὶ Λασσάμας Φωκαῖου καὶ Ἰστιαίος Μιλησίος, τοῦ ἡν γυμνή ἡ προκειμένη ἐναντίη τῇ Μιλτιάδεῳ. Διολεώς δὲ παρῆκ λόγιμος μοῦνος Ἀρισταγόρης Κυμαιός.

139. Οὕτω δὲν ἔπειτε τὴν Ἰστιαίοις αἰρέοντο γυμνῆς, ἐδοξῆ σφὶ πρὸς ταύτῃ τάδε ἔργα τε καὶ ἔπειν προσθείναι, τῆς μὲν γεφυρῆς λῦειν τὰ κατὰ τοὺς Σκύθας ἐόντα, λῦειν δὲ ὅσον τόξευμα ἐξίκνε-
plight that never again will he lead his army against any nation."

137. Thereupon the Ionians held a council. Miltiades the Athenian, general and despot of the Chersonesites of the Hellespont, gave counsel that they should do as the Scythians said and set Ionia free. But Histiaeus of Miletus held a contrary opinion. "Now," said he, "it is by help of Darius that each of us is sovereign of his city; if Darius' power be overthrown, we shall no longer be able to rule, neither I in Miletus nor any of you elsewhere; for all the cities will choose democracy rather than despotism." When Histiaeus declared this opinion, all of them straightway inclined to it, albeit they had first sided with Miltiades.

138. Those standing high in Darius' favour who gave their vote were Daphnis of Abydos, Hippocles of Lampsacus, Herophantus of Parium, Metrodorus of Proconnesus, Aristogoras of Cyzicus, Ariston of Byzantium, all from the Hellespont and despots of cities there; and from Ionia, Strattis of Chios, Aiaxes of Samos, Laodamas of Phocaea, and Histiaeus of Miletus who opposed the plan of Miltiades. As for the Aeolians, their only notable man present was Aristogoras of Cymae.

139. These then chose to follow Histiaeus' counsel, and resolved to make it good by act and word: to break as much of the bridge as reached a bowshot from the Scythian bank, that so they might
ηται, ἢν καὶ ποιεῖν τι δοκέωσι ποιεύντες μηδὲν καὶ οἱ Σκύθαι μὴ πειράσατε ζωμένοι καὶ βουλόμενοι διαβήματος τῶν Ἰστρῶν κατὰ τὴν γέφυραν, εἰπεῖν τε λύοντας τῆς γεφύρης τὸ ἐς τὴν Σκυθικήν ἔχων ὡς πάντα ποίησον καὶ Σκύθαις ἐστὶ έν ἡδονῇ. ταύτα μὲν προσέβηκαν τῇ γνώμῃ μετὰ δὲ ἐκ πάντων ὑπεκρίνατο Ἰστιαίος τάδε λέγων. "Ἀνδρές Σκύθαι, χρηστὰ ἢκετε φέροντες καὶ ἔς καιρὸν ἐπείγεσθε· καὶ τὰ τε ἀπ' ὡμέων ἡμῖν χρηστῶς ὀδούται καὶ τὰ ἀπ' ἡμέων ἐς ὡμέας ἐπιτηδεῶς ὑπηρετέσθαι. ὣς γὰρ ὅρατε, καὶ λύομεν τὸν πόρον καὶ προβαμένην πάσαν ἔξομεν θέλοντες εἰναι ἐλεύθεροι. ἐν ω δὲ ἡμεῖς τάδε λύομεν, ὡμέας καιρός ἐστε δίξησθαι ἐκείνους, εὐφόρους δὲ ὑπὲρ τε ἡμέων καὶ ὡμέων αὐτῶν τίσασθαι οὔτω ὡς κείνους πρέπει."  

140. Σκύθαι μὲν τὸ δεύτερον Ἰωσί πιστεύσαντες λέγειν ἀληθεὰ ὑπέστρεφον ἐπὶ ξήτησιν τῶν Πέρσων, καὶ ἡμάρτανον πάσης τῆς ἐκείνων διεξόδου. αἰτίοι δὲ τούτων αὐτοὶ οἱ Σκύθαι ἐγενοντο, τὰς νομὰς τῶν ἱππῶν τὰς ταύτης διαφθηραντες καὶ τὰ ύδατα συχώσαντες. εἰ γὰρ ταύτα μὴ ἐποίησαν, παρεῖχε αὖ σφι, εἰ ἐβουλοντο, εὐπετέως ἐξευρεῖν τους Πέρσας. νῦν δὲ τὰ σφι ἐδοκεῖ αἱρετὰ βεβουλεύσθαι, κατὰ ταύτα ἐσφαλμαί. Σκύθαι μὲν νῦν τῆς σφετέρης χώρης τή χιλὸς τε τοὺς ἱπποισὶ καὶ ύδατα ἤν, ταύτη διεξόντες ἐδίξηντο τοὺς ἀντιπολεμίους, δοκεόντες καὶ ἐκείνους διὰ τοιούτων τῆς ἀπόδρασιν ποιεσθαι οἱ δὲ δὴ Πέρσαι τὸν πρότερον ἐσωτήρον γενόμενον στίβου, τούτων φυλάσσοντες ἠσαν, καὶ οὕτω μόνης εὐρον τὸν πόρον. οία δὲ νυκτὸς τε
seem to do somewhat when in truth they did nothing, and that the Scythians might not essay to force a passage across the Ister by the bridge; and to say while they broke the portion of the bridge on the Scythian side, that they would do all that the Scythians desired. This resolve they added to their decision; and presently Histiaeus answered for them all, and said, "You have brought us good advice, Scythians, and your zeal is well timed; you do your part in guiding us aright and we do ours in serving your ends as need requires; for as you see, we are breaking the passage, and will use all diligence, so much do we desire our freedom. But while we break this bridge, now is the time for you to seek out the Persians, and when you have found them to take such vengeance on our and your behalf as they deserve."

140. So the Scythians trusted the Ionians' word once more, and turned back to seek the Persians; but they mistook the whole way whereby their enemies returned. For this the Scythians themselves were to blame, inasmuch as they had destroyed the horses' grazing-grounds in that region and choked the wells. Had they not so done, they could readily have found the Persians if they would. But as it was, that part of their plan which they had thought the best was the very cause of their ill-success. So the Scythians went searching for their enemies through the parts of their own country where there was provender for horses and water, supposing that they too were aiming at such places in their flight; but the Persians ever kept to their own former tracks, and so with much ado they found the passage of the river. But inasmuch as they
ἀπικόμενοι καὶ λειμαίνει τής γεφύρης ἐντυχόντες, ἐς πᾶσαν ἀρρωδίην ἀπίκουσι, μὴ σφαξαὶ Ἰωνείς ἔσασι ἀγολελοῦστες.

141. Ἡν δὲ περὶ Δαρείου ἄνηρ Αἰγύπτιος φονεῖν μέγιστον ἀνθρώπων τούτων τὸν ἄνδρα καταστάντα ἐπὶ τοῦ χείλεος τοῦ Ἰστροῦ ἐκέλευε Δαρείος καλέων Ἰστιαίον Μιλήσιον. δὲ μὲν δὴ ἐποίει ταῦτα, Ἰστιαῖος δὲ ἐπακούσας τῷ πρῶτῳ κελεύσας τὰς τε νέας ἀπάσας παρεῖχε διαπορθμεῖν τὴν στρατινὴν καὶ τὴν γέφυραν ἐξευξῆ.

142. Πέρσαι μὲν ὁδὸν ἐκφεύγουσι. Σκύθαι δὲ διεξήμενοι καὶ τὸ δευτέρον ἦμαρτον τῶν Περσῶν, καὶ τοῦτο μὲν ὡς ἐσώτερος Ἰωνας ἠλευθέρους κακίστους τε καὶ ἀνανδροτάτους κρίνοντο εἶναι ἀπάντων ἀνδρῶπων, τοῦτο δὲ, ὡς δούλων ἐσόντων τὸν λόγον ποιεῖμενος, ἀνδράποδα φιλοδέσποτα φασὶ εἶναι καὶ ἄδροτα. ταῦτα μὲν δὴ Σκύθησι ἢ Ἰωνας ἀπέρρισται.

143. Δαρείος δὲ διὰ τῆς Ἐρήμης πορευόμενος ἀπίκετο ἐς Σηστοῖς τῆς Χερσονήσου· ἐνθεύτες δὲ αὐτὸς μὲν διέβη τῇς νυμῆς ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην, λείπει δὲ στρατηγὸν ἐν τῇ Εὐρώπῃ Μεγαβαζοῦ ἄνδρα Πέρσην τῷ Δαρείος κοτὲ ἐδώκε γέρας, τοιοῦτε εἰπάς ἐν Πέρσηι ἐποιήσας ἄρμημενον Δαρείου ῥοιας τρώγειν, ὡς ἀνοίξη τάχιστα τὴν πρώτην τῶν ροιέων, εἰρέτο αὐτὸν ὁ ἀδελφεὺς ὁ Ἀρτάβανος, τι βουλίοιτ' ἀν οἱ τοσοῦτο πλῆθος γενέσθαι ὅσοι ἐν τῇ ροῖς κόκκως. Δαρείος δὲ εἴπε Μεγαβαζοῖς ἃν οἱ τοσοῦτος ἄριθμος γενέσθαι βουλέσθαι μάλλον ἢ τὴν Ἐλλάδα ὑπηκοον. ἐν μὲν δὴ Πέρσηι ταῦτα μὲν εἰπας ἑτίμα, τότε δὲ αὐτὸν

342
came to it at night and found the bridge broken, they were in great terror lest the Ionians had abandoned them.

141. There was with Darius an Egyptian, whose voice was the loudest in the world; Darius bade this man stand on the Ister bank and call to Histiaeus the Milesian. This the Egyptian did; Histiaeus heard and obeyed the first shout, and sent all the ships to ferry the army over, and made the bridge anew.

142. Thus the Persians escaped. The Scythians sought the Persians, but missed them again. Their judgment of the Ionians is that if they are regarded as free men they are the basest cravens in the world; but if they are to be reckoned as slaves, none would love their masters more, or less desire to escape. Thus have the Scythians taunted the Ionians.

143. Darius marched through Thrace to Sestos on the Chersonesus; thence he crossed over with his ships to Asia, leaving as his general in Europe Megabazus, a Persian, to whom he once did honour by saying among Persians what I here set down. Darius was about to eat pomegranates; and no sooner had he opened the first of them than his brother Artabanus asked him of what thing he would wish to have as many as there were seeds in his pomegranate; whereupon Darius said, that he would rather have that number of men like Megabazus than make all Hellas subject to him. By thus speaking among Persians the king did honour to Megabazus; and
144. Οὕτως δὲ ὁ Μεγάβαζος εἶπας τῶδε τὸ ἐπος ἐλπίτε τὸ ἀθάνατον μνήμην πρὸς Ἑλλησποντίων. γενόμενος γὰρ ἐν Βυζαντίῳ ἐπύθετο ἐπτακαίδεκα ἐτεσι πρῶτον Καλχηδονίους κτίσατας τὴν χώρην Βυζαντίων, πυθόμενος δὲ ἐφὶ Καλχηδονίους τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον τυγχάνειν ἐόντας τυφλοὺς· οὐ γὰρ ἄν τὸν καλλίονος παρεόντος κτῖσειν χώρον τὸν αἰσχύνα ἐλέσθαι, εἰ μὴ ἦσαν τυφλοὶ. οὕτως δὴ ὁν τὸτε ὁ Μεγάβαζος στρατηγὸς λειψθεὶς ἐν τῇ χώρῃ Ἑλλησποντίων τοὺς μὴ μηδέζωντας κατεστρέφετο.

145. Οὕτως μὲν γὰρ ταῦτα ἐπηρησε, τὸν αὐτὸν δὲ τοῦτον χρόνον ἐγένετο ἐπὶ Λιβύην ἄλλος στρατηγὸς μέγας στόλος, διὰ προφασίν τὴν ἐγώ ἀπηγήσομαι προδιηγησάμενος πρῶτον τάδε, τῶν ἐκ τῆς 'Αργοῦς ἐπιβατέων παῖδων παῖδες ἐξελασθέντες ὑπὸ Πελασγῶν τῶν ἐκ Βραυρώνος λησσαμένων τὰς Ἀθηναίων γυναικας, ὑπὸ τοῦτων ἐξελασθέντες ἐκ Ἰήμνου οὐχοῦντο πλέοντες ἐς Λακεδαιμόνα, ἵςομενοι δὲ ἐν τῷ Τηνύγετῷ πῦρ ἄνέκαιων. Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ ἱδοντες ἀγγελον ἐπεμπὶν πεντάμενοι τίνες τε καὶ οκάθεν εἰσὶ· οὗ δὲ τῷ ἀγγέλῳ εἰρωτώντι ἔλεγον ὡς εἰσάν ἡνὶ Μινυαῖ, παῖδες δὲ εἰσὶν τῶν ἐν τῇ 'Αργοῖ πλεοῦτων ἡρώων, προσχόντες δὲ τούτους ἐς Αήμνου φυτεύσαι σφεᾶς. οὐ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἀκηκοότες τὸν λόγον τῆς γενεῆς τῶν Μινυεῶν, πέμψαντες τὸ δεύτερον εἰρωτῖν τῇ θελοῦντες ἦκοινεν το τῇ τῆς χώρης καὶ πῦρ αἴθοιεν. οὐ δὲ ἔφασαν ὑπὸ Πελασγῶν ἐκβληθέντες ἦκειν ἐς τοὺς πατέρας· δικαιότατον
now he left him behind as his general, at the head of eighty thousand of his army.

144. This Megabazus is for ever remembered by the people of the Hellespont for his saying—when, being at Byzantium, he was told that the people of Calchedon had founded their town seventeen years before the Byzantines had founded theirs—that the Calchedonians must at that time have been blind; for had they not been so, they would never have chosen the meancer site for their city when they might have had the fairer. This Megabazus, being now left as general in the country, subdued all the people of the Hellespont who did not take the side of the Persians.

145. Thus Megabazus did. About this time a great armament was sent against Libya also, for a reason which I will show after this story which I will now relate. The descendants of the crew of the Argo had been driven out by those Pelasgians who carried off the Athenian women from Brauron; being driven out of Lemnos by these, they sailed away to Lacedaemon, and there encamped on Taygetum and kindled a fire. Seeing this, the Lacedaemonians sent a messenger to enquire who they were and whence they came. They answered the messenger that they were Minyae, descendants of the heroes who had sailed in the Argo, and had put in at Lemnos and there begotten their race. Hearing the story of the lineage of the Minyae, the Lacedaemonians sent a second time and asked to what end they had come into Laconia and kindled a fire. They replied, that being expelled by the Pelasgians they had come to the land of their fathers,
γὰρ εἶναι οὗτοι τοῦτο γένεσθαι: δέεσθαι δε οικεῖων ἀμα τοῦτοι μοιράν τε τιμέων μετέχοντες καὶ τῆς γῆς ἀπολαχόντες. Λακεδαιμονίοισι δὲ ἐδέκεσθαι τοὺς Μινώας ἐπ᾽ οἷοι θέλουσι αὐτοῖ. μάλιστα δὲ ἐνῆγε σφέας ὡστε ποιεῖν ταῦτα τῶν Τυνδαιδέων ἡ ναυτιλία ἐν τῇ Ἀργοῖ. δεξάμενοι δὲ τοὺς Μινώας γῆς τε μετέδοσαν καὶ ἐς φυλᾶς διεδάσαντο. οὐ δὲ αὐτίκα μὲν γάμους ἔγημαν, τὰς δὲ ἐκ Λήμνου ἡγοῦντο ἐξέδοσαν ἀλλοισι.

146. Χρόνου δὲ οὐ πολλοῦ διεξελθόντος αὐτίκα οἱ Μινώαι ἐξύβρισαν, τῆς τε βασιληῆς μεταίτειντες καὶ ἅλλα ποιεῖσθε οὐκ ὅσια. τούτῳ δὲν οἱ Λακεδαιμονίοι έδοξε αὐτοὺς ἀποκτεῖναι, συλ-
λαβόντες δὲ σφέας κατέβαζον ἐς ἕρκτην. κτε-
νοῦσι δὲ τοὺς ἄν κτείνωσι Λακεδαιμόνιοι νυκτός, μετ᾽ ἠμέρην δὲ οὐδένα. ἐπεὶ δὲν ἔμελλον σφέας καταχρίσασθαι, παρατήσαντο αἱ γυναῖκες τῶν Μινώων, ἐσοῦσι ἄσταὶ τε καὶ τῶν πρῶτων Σπαρ-
τιτέων θυγατέρες, ἐσελθείν τε ἐς τὴν ἔρκτην καὶ ἐς λόγους ἐλθεῖν ἐκάστη τῷ ἐσωτῆρι ἀνδρὶ. οὐ δὲ σφέας παρῆκαν, οὐδένα δόλον δοκεόντες εἰς αὐτέως ἐσεθαί. αἱ δὲ ἐπεῖτε ἐσήλθον, ποιέουσι τοιάδε: πᾶσαι τὴν εἶχον ἐσθήτα παραδοοῦσαι τοῖς ἀν-
δράσι αὐταὶ τὴν τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἔλαβον, οὐ δὲ Μινώαι ἐνδούντες τὴν γυναικην ἐσθήτα ἀτε γυναίκες εξήσαν ἐξω, ἔκφυγόντες ἃ δὲ τρόπῳ τοιούτῳ ἤζοντο αὐτίς ἔς τὸ Τήβημετον.

147. Τὸν δὲ αὐτὸν τοῦτον χρόνον Θήρας ὁ
as (they said) was most just; and for their desire, it was that they might dwell with their father's people, sharing in their rights and receiving allotted parcels of land. It pleased the Lacedaemonians to receive the Minyae on the terms which their guests desired; the chief cause of their so consenting was that the Tyndaridae had been in the ship's company of the Argo; so they received the Minyae and gave them of their land and divided them among their own tribes. The Minyae forthwith wedded wives, and gave in marriage to others the women they had brought from Lemnos.

146. But in no long time these Minyae waxed over-proud, demanding an equal right to the kingship, and doing other impious things; wherefore the Lacedaemonians resolved to slay them, and they seized and cast them into prison. (When the Lacedaemonians kill, they do it by night, never by day.) Now when they were about to kill the prisoners, the wives of the Minyae, who were native to the country, daughters of the chief among the Spartans, entreated leave to enter the prison and have speech each with her husband; the Lacedaemonians granted this, not suspecting that the women would deal craftily with them. But when the wives came into the prison, they gave to their husbands all their own garments, and themselves put on the men's dress; so the Minyae donned the female dress and so passed out in the guise of women, and having thus escaped once more encamped on Taygetum.

147. Now about this same time Theras (who was

1 As descendants of the Argonauts, who were Minyae of Thessaly, living near the Pagasaean gulf.
2 Castor and Polydeuces.
Αὐτεσίωνος τοῦ Τισαμενοῦ τοῦ Θερσάνδρου τοῦ Πολυνείκεος ἐστελλὲ ἐς ἀποικίην ἐκ Λακεδαίμονος. ὡς δὲ ὁ Θήρας οὕτος, γένος ἔως Καδμεῖος, τῆς μητρὸς ἄδελφεος τοῦ Αριστοδήμου παῖς, Εὐρυσθένει καὶ Προκλέει. ἐγώνων δὲ ἔτι τῶν παίδων τούτων νηπίων ἐπιτροπαῖν εἶχε ὁ Θήρας τὴν ἐν Σπάρτῃ βασιληίνην. αὐξηθέντων δὲ τῶν ἄδελφιδέων καὶ παραλαβόντων τὴν ἀρχήν, οὕτω δὴ ὁ Θήρας δεισὸν ποιεύμενοι ἀρχεῖ θαυματουργῶς ἐν τῇ Λακεδαίμονι ἀλλ' ἀποπλεύσεσθαι ἐς τοὺς συγγενεῖς. ἦσαν δὲ ἐν τῇ τῶν Θήρης καλεομένη νήσῳ, πρότερον δὲ Καλλίστην τῇ αὐτῇ ταύτῃ, ἀπόγονοι Μεμβλάρου τοῦ Ποικίλος ἁνδρὸς Ψυκίκου. Κάδμως γὰρ ὁ Ἀγήνωρος Εὐρώπην διζήμενος προσέχει ἐς τὴν τὴν Θήρης καλεομένην προσχοίνει δὲ εἰς ὅτι ἡ χώρις ἤρεσε, εἰς καὶ ἄλλως ἠθέλησε ποιῆσαι τοῦτο: κατάλειπε γὰρ ἐν τῇ νήσῳ ταύτῃ ἄλλους τε τῶν Ψυκίκων καὶ δὴ καὶ τῶν ἐστίν τοὺς συγγενεῶν Μεμβλάρων. οὗτοι ἐνέμοντο τὴν Καλλίστην καλεομένην ἐπὶ γενεάς, πρὶν ἡ Θήραν ἐλθεῖν ἐκ Λακεδαίμονος, ὅκτω ἁνδρῶν. 148. Ἐπὶ τούτων δὴ ὡς ὁ Θήρας λεῖων ἔως ἀπὸ τῶν φυλεῶν ἐστελλέ, συνοικήσως τούτοις καὶ σύναιμος ἔξελὼν αὐτοῦ καὶ ἄλλα κάρτα ὀικηεῦμενος. ἐπεῖτε δὲ καὶ οἱ Μινώαι ἐκδράντες ἐκ τῆς ἑρκτῆς ἤκουτο ἐς τὸ Θήγετον, τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων θριασινῷν σφέας ὑπολλυναὶ παραίτεται ὁ Θήρας, ὅκως μὴ ϕόνον γένηται, αὐτός τε ὑπεδέκτο σφέας ἔξειν ἐκ τῆς χώρης. συγχωρησάντων δὲ τῇ γνώμῃ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων, τρίσει τριήκοντέρους ἐς τοὺς Μεμβλάρου ἀπογόνους

348
a descendant of Polynices, through Thersander, Tisamenus, and Autesion) was preparing to lead out colonists from Lacedaemon. This Theras was of the lineage of Cadmus and an uncle on the mother's side of Aristodemus' sons Eurysthenes and Procles; and while these boys were yet children he held the royal power of Sparta as regent; but when his nephews grew up and became kings, then Theras could not brook to be a subject when he had had a taste of supreme power, and said he would abide no longer in Lacedaemon but sail away to his kinsfolk. There were in the island now called Thera, but then Calliste, descendants of Membliarius the son of Poeciles, a Phoenician; for Cadmus son of Agenor, in his search for Europa, had put in at the place now called Thera; and having put in, either because the land pleased him, or because for some other reason he desired so to do, he left in this island, among other Phoenicians, his own kinsman Membliarius. These dwelt in the island Calliste for eight generations before Theras came from Lacedaemon.

148. It was these whom Theras was preparing to join, taking with him a company of people from the tribes; it was his intent to settle among the folk of Calliste, and not to drive them out but to claim them as verily his own people. So when the Minyae escaped out of prison and encamped on Taïgetum, and the Lacedaemonians were taking counsel to put them to death, Theras entreated for their lives, that there might be no killing, promising himself to lead them out of the country. The Lacedaemonians consenting to this, Theras sailed with three thirty-oared ships to join the descendants of Membliarius, taking with him
επλώσε, ούτε πάντας ἀγών τοὺς Μινύας ἀλλ' ὀλέγους τινάς. οἱ γὰρ πλεύνες αὐτῶν ἐτράπουντο ἐς τοὺς Παροιμασάς καὶ Καῦκωνας, τούτων δὲ ἐξελάσαντες ἐκ τῆς χώρης σφέας αὐτοὺς ἐξ μοῖρας διείλειν, καὶ ἐπειτα ἐκτίσαν πόλιας τάσδε ἐν αὐτοῖς, Λέπησθεν Μάκισσον Φρίξας Πύργου Ἐπιον Νοῦδιον, τούτων δὲ τὰς πλεύνας ἐπ᾽ ἐμέο Ἡλεῖοι ἐπόρθησαν. τῇ δὲ νῆσῳ ἐπὶ τοῦ οἰκιστέω Θήρα ἡ ἐπονυμίη ἐγένετο.

149. Ο δὲ παίς οὐ γὰρ ἔφη οἱ συμπλεύσεσθαι, τουγαρόν ἔφη αὐτῶν καταλεῖψειν ὅπως ἐν λύκουσι. ἐπὶ τοῦ ἐπεος τούτου οὕνομα τῷ νεφύσκῳ τοῦ Οἰόλυκος ἐγένετο, καὶ κως τὸ οὕνομα τοῦτο ἐπεκράτησε. Οἰόλυκον δὲ γίνεται Δίγειος, ἐπὶ οὐ Διγεῖδαι καλέονται φυλή μεγάλη ἐν Σπάρτῃ. τοῖς δὲ ἐν τῇ φυλῇ ταύτῃ ἀνδράσι οὐ γὰρ ὑπέμειναν τὰ τέκνα, ἱδρύσατο ἐκ θεοπροσιών Ερυμῶν τῶν Λαίου τε καὶ Οἰδιπόδεων ἱρών· καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο ὑπέμειναν. τὸν τούτο και ἐν Θήρῃ τοῖς ἀπὸ τῶν ἀνδρῶν τοῦτον γεγονόσι.

150. Μέχρι μὲν νυν τούτου τοῦ λόγου Λακεδαιμόνιοι Θηραίουσι κατὰ ταύτα λέγουσι, τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ τούτου μοῦνοι Θηραίοι ὡδε γενέσθαι λέγουσι. Γρύνον ο Λισανίου ἐὼν Θήρα τοῦτον ἀπόγονος καὶ βασιλεύον Θήρης τῆς νῆσου ἀπίκετο ἐς Δελφοὺς, ἀγών ἀπὸ τῆς πόλιος ἑκατομβήν εἰποντο δὲ οἱ καὶ ἄλλοι τῶν πολιτεῶν καὶ δὴ καὶ Βάττος

1 Something is obviously lost, σωβής δὲ or the like.

---

1 These six towns were in the western Peloponnese, in Triphylia, a district between Elis and Messenia.

2 Literally “sheep-wolf.”
not all the Minyæ but a few only; for the greater part of them made their way to the lands of the Paroreatae and Canecones, whom having driven out of the country they divided themselves into six companies and founded in the land they had won the cities of Lepreum, Macistus, Phrixæ, Pyrgus, Epium, Nudium;¹ most of which were in my time taken and sacked by the Eleans. As for the island Calliste, it was called Thera after its colonist.

149. But as Theras' son would not sail with him, his father therefore said that he would leave him behind as a sheep among wolves; after which saying the stripling got the nickname of Oeolyæus,² and it so fell out that this became his customary name. He had a son born to him, Aegæus, from whom the Aegidae, a great Spartan clan, take their name. The men of this clan, finding that none of their children lived, set up, by the instruction of an oracle, a temple of the avenging spirits of Laius and Oedipus,³ after which the children lived. Thus it fared also with the children of the Aegidae at Thera.

150. Thus far in my story the Lacedaemonian and Theraean records agree; for the rest we have only the word of the Theraeans. Grinnæus son of Aesanius, king of Thera, a descendant of this same Theras, came to Delphi bringing an hecatomb from his city; there came with him, among others of his

¹ Oedipus, son of Laius king of Thebes and his wife Jocasta, was exposed in infancy, but rescued and carried away to a far country. Returning in manhood, ignorant of his lineage, he killed his father and married his mother; after which the truth was revealed to him, too late. The story is first told by Homer, and is the subject of the Oedipus Tyrannus of Sophocles.
ο Πολυμνήστος, εώς γένος Ευφημίδης τῶν Μυκήνων. χρεωμένω δὲ τῷ Γρίπνῳ τῷ βασιλεί τῶν Ἡπεραίων περὶ ἀλλών χρὰ ἥ Πυθή κτίζειν ἐν Διβύνῃ πόλιν. ὃ δὲ ἀμείβετο λέγων “Ἐγὼ μὲν ὁνάξ προσβύτερός τε ἢδη εἰμί καὶ βαρύς ἀείρεσθαι· σὺ δὲ τινὰ τῶν νεωτέρων κέλευ ταύτα ποιεῖν.” ἀμα τε ἐλεγε ταύτα καὶ ἐδείκνυε ἐς τὸν Βιττόν. τοτε μὲν τοσαῦτα. μετά δὲ ἀπελθόντες ἀλογίην εἶχον τοῦ χρηστηρίου, οὐτε Διβύνην εἰδότες ὅκου γῆς εἶποι ὡστε τολμώντες ἐς ἀφανεῖς χρῆμα ἀποστέλλειν ἀποικίην.

151. Ἐπτα δὲ ἐτέων μετὰ ταύτα ὕκ ὑπὶ τὴν Ῥήην, ἐν τοίς τὰ δένδρα πάντα σφι τὰ ἐν τῇ νήσῳ πλην ἐνὸς ἐξανάνθη. χρεωμένοις δὲ τοῖς Ἡπεραίοις προέφερε ἡ Πυθή τὴν ἐς Διβύνην ἀποικίην. ἐπείτε δὲ κακοὺ ὀυδὲν ἦν σφι μήχος, πέμπωσι ἐς Κρήτην ἀγγέλους διζημένους εἰς τὰς Κρητῶν ἡ μετοίκων ἀπεγείωσι εἰς ἐς Διβύνην. περιπλανώμενοι δὲ αὐτὴν σφιοὶ ἀπίκουντο καὶ ἐς Ἰτανον τῶν, ἐν ταύτῃ δὲ συμμίσχουσι ἀνδρὶ πορφυρίῳ τῷ οὐνομα ἂν ὄρος, δις ἐφὸ ὑπὸ ἀνέμου ἀπενειχθεὶς ἀπικέσθαι ἐς Διβύνην καὶ Διβύνης ἐς Πλατέαν νήσου. μισθῷ δὲ τούτων πείσαντες ἦγον ἐς Θήρην, ἐκ δὲ Θήρης ἐπλέουν κατάσκοποι ἀνδρὲς τὰ πρῶτα σύ πολλοὶ κατηγοροῦσιν ὑπὸ τοῦ ὄρους ἂν ὄρος ταύτῃ ἐς τὴν Πλατέαν, τῶν μὲν ὄρους ἠπείποισι, στίς καταλιπότες ὅσων δὴ μηνῶν, αὐτοὶ δὲ ἐπλέουν τὴν ταχεῖστην ἀπαγγελέουσι θηραίοις περὶ τῆς νήσου.

152. Ἀποδημεῶν δὲ τούτων πλέον χρόνον τοῦ συγκειμένου τῶν ὄρων ἐπέλειπε τὰ πάντα.
people, Battus son of Polymnestus, a descendant of Euphemus of the Minyan clan. When Grinnus king of Thera inquired of the oracle concerning other matters, the priestess' answer was that he should found a city in Libya. "Nay, Lord," answered Grinnus, "I am grown old and heavy to stir; do thou lay this command on some one of these younger men," pointing as he spoke to Battus. No more was then said. But when they had departed, they neglected to obey the oracle, seeing that they knew not where Libya was, and feared to send a colony out to an uncertain goal.

151. Then for seven years after this there was no rain in Thera; all their trees in the island save one were withered. The Theraeans inquired again at Delphi, and the priestess made mention of the colony they should send to Libya. So since there was no remedy for their ills, they sent messengers to Crete to seek out any Cretan or sojourner there who had travelled to Libya. These, in their journeys about the island, came to the town of Itanus, where they met a fisher of murex called Corobius, who told them that he had once been driven out of his course by winds to Libya, to an island there called Platea.1 This man they hired to come with them to Thera; thence but a few men were first sent on shipboard to spy out the land, who, being guided by Corobius to the aforesaid island Platea, left him there with provision for some months, and themselves sailed back with all speed to Thera to bring news of the island.

152. But when they had been away for longer than the agreed time, and Corobius had no provision

1 The island now called Bomba, east of Cyrene.
μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα νησὶς Σαμίη, τῆς ναύκληρος ἤν Κωλαῖος, πλέουσα ἐπὶ Αἰγύπτου ἀπημείχθη ἐς τὴν Πλατέαν ταύτην πυθόμενοι δὲ οἱ Σάμιοι παρὰ τοῦ Κορώβιου τὸν πάντα λόγον, συνία οἱ ἐνιαυτοῦ καταλείπουσι. αὐτοὶ δὲ ἀναχθέντες ἐκ τῆς νῆσου καὶ γλυχόμενοι Αἰγύπτου ἐπλεοῦν, ἀποφερόμενοι ἀπηλιώτη ἄνεμω καὶ οὐ γὰρ ἀνείε τὸ πνεῦμα, Ἡρακλεάς στῆλας διεκπερήσαντες ἀπίκοντο ἐς Ταρτησσόν, θείη πομπῇ χρεώμενοι. τὸ δὲ εἰμπόριον τοῦτο ἢν ἀκηρατον τούτων τῶν χρῶν, ὅστε ἀπονοστήσαντες οὕτως ὅπως μέγιστα δὴ Ἑλληνῶν πάντων τῶν ἡμέως ἀπρεκείην ἱδεὶν ἐκ φορτίων ἐκέρδησαν, μετὰ γε Σωστρατον τὸν Δασδάμαντος Αἰγυπτίνην τούτω γὰρ οὕκ οὐδὲ τε ἐστὶ ἐρίσαι ἄλλων. οἱ δὲ Σάμιοι τὴν δεκάτην τῶν ἐπικερδῶν ἐξελόντες ἐξ τάλαντα ἐποιήσαντο χαλκίιον κρητῆρος Ἀργολικοῦ τρόπουν πέριξ δὲ αὐτοῦ γρυπῶν κεφαλαῖο πρόκροσοι εἰσὶ καὶ ἀνέθηκαν ἐς τὸ Ἡραίον, ὑποστήσαντες αὐτῷ τρεῖς χαλκέους κολοσσοὺς ἐπταπήχεας τοῖς γραύσι εἰρηκείσμενοι. Κυρηνάιοις δὲ καὶ Ἡραίοισι ἐς Σαμίους ἀπὸ τούτων τοῦ ἔργου πρῶτα φιλίαι μεγάλαι συνεκρήθησαν.

153. Οἱ δὲ Ἡραίοι ἐπείτε τοῦ Κορώβιου λιπόντες ἐν τῇ νῆσῳ ἀπίκοντο ἐς τὴν Ἡρημήν, ἀπῆγγελλον δὲ σφε εἰ ἡ νῆσος ἐπὶ Λιβύη ἐκτισμένη. Ἡραίοιοι δὲ ἔαδε ἀδελφεῖον τε ἂπ' ἀδελφεῖον πέμπειν πάλιν λαγχάγευτα καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν χωρῶν ἑπάντων ἐπτὰ ἐόντων ἄνδρας, εἶναι δὲ σφέων καὶ ἡγεμόνα καὶ Βασιλεὰ Βαστίου, οὕτω δὲ στέλλουσι δύο πεντηκοντάρους ἐς τὴν Πλατέαν.

154. Ταῦτα δὲ Ἡραίοι λέγουσι, τὰ δ' ἐπίλοιπα
left, a Samian ship sailing for Egypt, whereof the captain was Colaeus, was driven out of her course to Platea, where the Samians heard the whole story from Corobius and left him provision for a year; they then put out to sea from the island and would have voyaged to Egypt, but an easterly wind drove them from their course, and ceased not till they had passed through the Pillars of Heracles and came (by heaven's providence) to Tartessus. Now this was at that time a virgin\(^1\) port; wherefore the Samians brought back from it so great a profit on their wares as no Greeks ever did of whom we have any exact knowledge, save only Sostratus of Aegina, son of Laodamas; with him none could vie. The Samians took six talents, the tenth part of their profit, and made therewith a bronze vessel, like an Argolic cauldron, with griffins' heads projecting from the rim all round; this they set up in their temple of Here, supporting it with three colossal kneeling figures of bronze, each seven cubits high. This that the Samians had done was the beginning of a close friendship between them and the men of Cyrene and Thera.

153. As for the Theraeans, when they came to Thera after leaving Corobius on the island, they brought word that they had founded a settlement on an island off Libya. The Theraeans resolved to send out men from their seven regions, taking by lot one of every pair of brothers, and making Battus leader and king of all. Then they manned two fifty-oared ships and sent them to Platea.

154. This is what the Theraeans say; and now

\(^1\) That is, as yet unvisited by Greeks. It was at or near the mouth of the Guadalquivir; cp. I. 163.
τοῦ λόγου συμφέρονται ἡδὴ Θεραῖοι Κυρηναῖοι. Κυρηναῖοι γὰρ τὰ περὶ Βάττων οὐδαμῶς ὁμολογεύοντε Θεραῖοι· λέγουσι γὰρ οὕτω. ἐστὶ τῆς Κρήτης Ὀαξὸς πόλει, ἐν τῇ ἐγένετο Ἐτέαρχος βασιλεὺς, ὃς ἐπὶ θυγατρὶ ἀμήτορι τῇ οὖνομα ἡν Φρονίμη, ἐπὶ ταυτή ἐγιμε ἄλλην γυναῖκα. ἦ δὲ ἐπεσελθοῦσα ἑδικαῖον καὶ τῷ ἔργῳ εἶναι μητρικὴ τῇ Φρονίμῃ, παρέχουσα τε κακά καὶ πάν ἐπ' αὐτῇ μηχανωμένη, καὶ τέλος μαχολούην ἐπενείκασί οἱ πείθει τὸν ἀνδρὰ ταῦτα ἔχειν οὕτω. ὃ δὲ ἀναγνωσθεὶς ὑπὸ τῆς γυναικὸς ἔργων οὐκ ὅσιον ἐμιχανῶτο ἐπὶ τῇ θυγατρὶ. ἦν γὰρ δὴ Θεμίσων ἀνὴρ Θεραῖος ἐμπρόσ τῇ Ὀαξῷ τοῦτον ὁ Ἐτέαρχος παραλαβὼν ἐπὶ ξείνια ἔξορκαι ἦ μὲν οἱ διηκονήσεως ὃ τι ἄν ἐσθήθη, ἐπεῖτε δὴ ἔξορκωσε, ὅταν οἱ παραδίδοι τὴν ἐσυντόν θυγατέρα καὶ ταυτήν ἐκέλευε καταποτῶσαι ἀπαγαγώντα. ὃ δὲ Θεμίσων περιημεκτῆς τῇ ἀπάτῃ τοῦ ὅρκου καὶ διαλύσαμεν τὴν ξεινία ἐποίει εἰς ἐκεῖ: παραλαβὼν τὴν παῖδα ἀπέπλεε· ὡς δὲ ἐγίνετο ἐν τῷ πελάγη, ἀποστεύμενος τὴν ἐξορκωσιν τοῦ Ἐτέαρχου, σχοινίοις αὐτὴν διαδήσας κατίκες ἐς τὸ πελάγος, ἀναστάσες δὲ ἀπίκετο ἐς τὴν Ὀηρήν.

155. Εὐθείτεν δὲ τὴν Φρονίμην παραλαβὼν Πολύμνηστος, ἐὼν τῶν Θεραίων ἀνὴρ δόκιμος, ἐπαλλακτεύτῳ. Χρόνου δὲ περιόντος ἐξεγένετο οἱ παῖς ἱσχύμων καὶ τραυλὸς, τῷ οὖνομα ἐτέθη Βάττως, ὃς Θεραῖος τε καὶ Κυρηναῖος λέγοντι, ὃς μέντοι ἐγὼ δοκεῖ, ἀλλο τε. Βάττως δὲ μετωνο-
begins the part in which the Theraean and Cyrenaean stories agree, but not till now, for the Cyrenaecans tell a wholly different tale of Battus, which is this. There is a town in Crete called Oaxus, of which one Etearchus became ruler. He had a motherless daughter called Phronime, but he must needs marry another wife too. When the second wife came into his house, she thought fit to be in very deed a stepmother to Phronime, ill-treating her and devising all evil against her; at last she accused the girl of lewdness, and persuaded her husband that the charge was true. So Etearchus was overpersuaded by his wife and devised a great sin against his daughter. There was at Oaxus a Theraean trader, one Themison; Etearchus made this man his guest and friend, and took an oath of him that he would do him whatever service he desired; which done, he gave the man his own daughter, bidding him take her away and throw her into the sea. But Themison was very angry at being so tricked with the oath and renounced his friendship with Etearchus; presently he took the girl and sailed away, and that he might duly fulfil the oath that he had sworn to Etearchus, when he was on the high seas he bound her about with ropes and let her down into the sea and drew her up again, and presently came to Thera.

155. There Polymnestus, a notable Theraean, took Phronime and made her his concubine. In time there was born to him a son of weak and stammering speech, to whom he gave the name Battus,¹ as the Theraeans and Cyrenaecans say; but to my thinking the boy was given some other name, and changed it

¹ That is, the Stammerer.
μάσθη, ἐπείτε ἐς Λιβύην ἀπίκετο, ἀπὸ τοῦ χρηστηρίου τοῦ γενομένου ἐν Δελφοῖς αὐτῷ καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς τιμῆς τῆς ἐσχε τῆς ἐπωνυμίας ποιεύμενος. Λίβυες γὰρ βασιλέα βάττον καλέουσι, καὶ τούτῳ εἰνεκα δοκεώ θεσπίζουσαν τὴν Πυθίνην καλέσαι μου Λιβυκὴ γλώσσῃ, εἰδώλιαν γὰς βασιλεὺς ἔσται ἐν Λιβύῃ. ἐπείτε γὰρ ἡμιρώθη σοῦτος, ἦλθε ἐς Δελφοὺς περὶ τῆς φωνῆς· ἐπειρωτῶντι δὲ οἱ χρὰ ἡ Πυθίνη τάδε.

Βάττο, ἐπὶ φωνῆ ἠλθεῖ· ἀναξ ἰ δὲ σε Φοῖβος Ἀπόλλων ἐς Λιβύην πέμπτε μηλοτρόφον οἰκιστήρα,

ὁσπερ εἰ εἴτοι Ἐλλάδι γλώσσῃ χρεωμένη "Ὤ βασιλεῦ, ἐπὶ φωνῆ ἠλθεῖ." δ' ἀμείβετο τοίσιδε. "Ὤναξ, ἐγὼ μὲν ἠλθὼν παρὰ σὲ χρησομενος περὶ τῆς φωνῆς, σὺ δὲ μοι ἄλλα ἀδύνατα χράς, κελεύων Λιβύην ἀποικίζειν τῷ δυνάμι, κοίνη χειρὴ." ταῦτα λέγων οὐκ ἔπειθε ἄλλα οἱ χράων ὡς δὲ κατὰ ταῦτα ἐθέσπιζε οἱ καὶ πρότερον, οἶχετο μεταξύ ἀπολιπτῶν ὁ Βάττος ἐς τὴν Θήρην.

156. Μετὰ δὲ αὐτῷ τε τούτῳ καὶ τοῖσι ἄλλοις Θηραίοις συνεφέρετο παλεγκότως· ἀγνοεῖτες δὲ τὰς συμφορὰς οἱ Θηραῖοι ἐπέμπουν ἐς Δελφοὺς περὶ τῶν παρεώντων καθὼς ἢ δὲ Πυθίνῃ σφι ἐχοῦσε συγκτίζουσι Βάττῳ Κυρήνῃ τῆς Λιβύης ἀμείνων πρήξειν, ἀπέστελλον μετὰ ταῦτα τοὺς Βάττον οἱ Θηραῖοι δύο πεντηκοντάροις. πλώσαντες δὲ ἐς τὴν Λιβύην οὕτως, οὐ γὰρ εἰχον δ' τι
to Battus on his coming to Libya, taking this new name by reason of the oracle given to him at Delphi and the honourable office which he received. For the Libyan word for king is "battus," and this (methinks) is why the Pythian priestess called him so in her prophecy, using a Libyan name because she knew that he was to be king in Libya. For when he came to man's estate, he went to Delphi to enquire concerning his voice; and the priestess in answer gave him this oracle:

"Battus, thou askest a voice; but the King, ev'n Phoebus Apollo,
Sends thee to found thee a home in Libya, the country of sheepfolds,"

even as though she said to him, using our word, "O King, thou askest a voice." But he made answer: "Lord, I came to thee to enquire concerning my speech; but thy answer is of other matters, things impossible of performance; thou biddest me plant a colony in Libya; where shall I get me the power or might of hand for it?" Thus spoke Battus, but the god not being won to give him another oracle and ever answering as before, he departed while the priestess yet spake, and went away to Thera.

156. But afterwards matters went untowardly with Battus and the rest of the Theraeans; and when, knowing not the cause of their misfortunes, they sent to Delphi to enquire concerning their present ills, the priestess declared that they would fare better if they aided Battus to plant a colony at Cyrene in Libya. Then the Theraeans sent Battus with two fifty-oared ships; these sailed to Libya, but presently
ποιέωσι ἄλλοι, ὁπίσω ἀπαλλάσσοντο ἐκ τὴν Θη-ρην. οὶ δὲ Θηραιοὶ καταγομένους ἔβαλλον καὶ οὐκ ἔων τῇ γῇ προσίχειν, ἀλλ' ὁπίσω πλῶειν ἐκέλευον. οὐ δὲ ἀναγκαζόμενοι ὁπίσω ἀπέπλεον καὶ ἐκτίσαν νήσον ἐπὶ Διβύη κειμένην, τῇ οὔνομα, ὡς καὶ πρότερου εἰρήθη, ἔστι Πλατέα. λέγεται δὲ ἕση εἶναι ἡ νῆσος τῇ νῦν Κυρηναίων πόλι.

157. Ταύτην οἰκεῖοντες δύο ἔτεα, οὐδὲν γάρ σφι χρηστὸν συνεφέρετο, ἐνα αὐτῶν καταλιπόντες οἱ λοιποὶ πάντες ἀπέπλεον ἐς Δελφοὺς, ἀπικόμενοι δὲ ἐπὶ τὸ χρηστήριον ἐχρέωντο, φάμενοι οἰκείοις τῆς Λιβύης καὶ οὐδὲν ἄμεινον πρήσοσειν οἰκεῖοις. ὃ δὲ Πυθίη σφὶ πρὸς ταύτα χρῆ τάδε.

αἱ τῷ ἑμεῖς Λιβύην μηλοτρόφον σώδας ἄμεινον, μη ἔλθων ἐλθόντως, ἀγαν ἀγαμαί σοφὴν σεῦ.

ἀκούσαντες δὲ τούτων οἱ ἀμβλ. τὸν Βάττον ἀπέ-πλωσιν ὁπίσω. οὐ γάρ δὴ σφεὰς ἀπίει ὁ θεὸς τῆς ἀποκήρης, πρὶν δὴ ἀπίκουνται ἐς αὐτὴν Διβύην. ἀπικόμενοι δὲ ἐς τὴν νήσου καὶ ἄναλαβόντες τὸν ἐμπος, ἐκτίσαν αὐτῆς τῆς Διβύης χώρον ἀντίον τῆς νήσου τῷ οὐνόμα ἤν "Αζίρις" τὸν νάπαι τῇ κάλλιστα ἐπί ἀμφότερα συγκληίσοι καὶ ποτα-μὸς τὰ ἐπὶ θάτερα παραρρέει.

158. Τούτων οἰκεῖων τὸν χώρον δὲ ἔτεα, ἐβδομοὶ δὲ σφεὰς ἔτει παραιτησάμενοι οἱ Λίβυες ὡς ἐς ἄμεινον χώρον ἄξουσι, ἀνέγινωσιν ἐκλεπεῖν. ἦγον δὲ σφεὰς ενθεύτειν οἱ Λίβυες ἀναστήσαντες πρὸς ἐσπέρην, καὶ τὸν κάλλιστὸν τῶν χώρων ἱνα διεξήντες οἱ "Ελληνες μὴ ἱδοιεν, συμμετρησά-μενοι τῷ ὀρνή τῆς ἡμέρης νυκτὸς παρήγον. ἔστι
not knowing what else to do returned back to Thera. There the Theraeans shot at them as they came to land and would not suffer the ship to put in, bidding them sail back; which under stress of necessity they did, and planted a colony in an island off the Libyan coast called (as I have said already) Platea. This island is said to be as big as the city of Cyrene is now.

157. Here they dwelt for two years; but as all went wrong with them, leaving there one of themselves the rest voyaged to Delphi, and on their coming enquired of the oracle, and said that they were dwelling in Libya, but that they were none the better off for that. Then the priestess gave them this reply:

"I have seen Libya's pastures: thine eyes have never beheld them.

Knowest them better than I? then wondrous indeed is thy wisdom."

Hearing this, Battus and his men sailed back again; for the god would not suffer them to do aught short of colonising Libya itself; and having come to the island and taken again him whom they had left there, they made a settlement at a place in Libya itself, over against the island which was called Aziris. This is a place enclosed on both sides by the fairest of groves, and a river flows by one side of it.

158. Here they dwelt for six years; but in the seventh the Libyans persuaded them by entreaty to leave the place, saying that they would lead them to a better; and they brought the Greeks from Aziris and led them westwards, so reckoning the hours of daylight that they led the Greeks by night past the fairest place in their country, called Iراسa, 361
HERODOTUS

dε τῷ χώρῳ τούτῳ σύνομα Ἰρασα. ἀγαγόντες δὲ σφέας ἐπὶ κρήνην λευχομένην εἶναι Ἀπόλλωνος εἶπαν "Ἄνδρες Ἑλλήνες, εὐθαῦτα ὑμῖν ἐπιτήδεον οἰκεῖν εὐθαῦτα γὰρ ὁ οὐρανὸς τέτρηται."

159. Ἐπὶ μὲν νυν Βάττον τε τοῦ οἰκιστέω τῆς ζώης, ἀρξάντος ἐπὶ τεσσαράκοντα ἑτεα, καὶ τοῦ παιδὸς αὐτοῦ Ἄρκεσίλεω ἀρξάντος ἐκκαίδεκα ἑτεα, οἶκεον οἱ Κυρηναῖοι ἑώτες τοσοῦτοι ὅσοι ἁρχὴν ἐς τὴν ἀποκλήν ἐστάλησαν. ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ τρίτου, Βάττου τοῦ εὐδαίμονος καλεομένου, Ἐλλήνας πάντας ὀρμήσε χρῆσασα ἡ Πυθίη πλέειν συνοικίσοντας Κυρηναῖοις Λιβύνην ἑπεκαλέοντο γὰρ οἱ Κυρηναῖοι ἐπὶ γῆς ἀναδασμὸν ἔχοντες δὲ ὄψε ἔχοντα.

ὅς δὲ κεῖν ἐς Λιβύνην πολυνήρατον ὑστερον ἐλθή γὰς ἀναδαιμονείς, μετὰ οὐ ποικα φαμὶ μελήσειν.

συλλεχθέντος δὲ ὀμίλου πολλοῦ ἐς τὴν Κυρήνην, περιταιμόνεοι γῆν πολλὴν οἱ περίοικοι Λιβύες καὶ ὁ Βασιλείς αὐτῶν τῷ σύνομα ἤ τ᾽ Άδικράν, οἷα τῆς τε χώρης στερισκόμενοι καὶ περιυβριζόμενοι ὑπὸ τῶν Κυρηναίων, πέμψαντες ὡς Λιγυπτοῦν ἔδοσαν σφέας αὐτῶς Ἀπρίμ τῷ Λιγυπτοῦν βασιλεῖ. ὃ δὲ συλλέξας στρατὸν Λιγυπτίων πολλὸν ἐπεμψε ἐπὶ τὴν Κυρήνην, οἱ δὲ Κυρηναῖοι ἐκστρατευσάμενοι ἐς Ἰρασα χώρον καὶ ἐπὶ κρήνην Θέστην συνέβαλον τε τοίς Λιγυπτίοις καὶ ἐνίκησαν τῇ συμβολῇ, ἀτε γὰρ οὐ πεπειρημένοι πρῶτον οἱ Λιγυπτίοι Ἑλλήνων καὶ παραχρεώμενοι διεφθάρ-
llest the Greeks should see it in their passage. Then they brought the Greeks to what is called the Fountain of Apollo, and said to them: "Here, ye Greeks, it befits you to dwell; for here is a hole in the sky." 1

159. Now in the time of Battus the founder of the colony, who ruled for forty years, and of his son Arcesilaus who ruled for sixteen, the dwellers in Cyrene were no more in number than when they had first gone forth to the colony. But in the time of the third ruler, that Battus who was called the Fortunate, the Pythian priestess admonished all Greeks by an oracle to cross the sea and dwell in Libya with the Cyrenaeans; for the Cyrenaeans invited them, promising a distribution of land; and this was the oracle:

"Whoso delayeth to go till the fields be fully divided
To the fair Libyan land, that man shall surely repent it."

So a great multitude gathered together at Cyrene, and cut off great tracts of land from the territory of the neighbouring Libyans. Then these with their king, whose name was Adieran, being robbed of their lands and violently entreated by the Cyrenaeans, sent to Egypt and put themselves in the hands of Apries, the king of that country. Apries mustered a great host of Egyptians and sent it against Cyrene; the Cyrenaeans marched out to the place Irasa and the spring Thestes, and there battled with the Egyptians and overcame them; for the Egyptians had as yet had no experience of Greeks, and

1 That is, there is abundance of rain.
Ηςαν ούτω οὕστε ὀλίγοι τινὲς αὐτῶν ἀπενόστησαν ἐς Αἰγυπτον. ἀντὶ τούτων Αἰγυπτιοι καὶ ταῦτα ἑπιμεμφόμενοι Ἀπρίη ἀπέστησαν ἀπ᾽ αὐτοῦ.

160. Τούτου δὲ τοῦ Βάττου παῖς γίνεται Ἀρκεσίλεως δὴ βασιλεύσας πρῶτα τοῖς ἐφευρο ἀδελφοὶ ἐστασίας, ἐς δὲ μιν οὕτωι ἀπολιπόντες οἴχοντο ἐς ἀλλον χώρον τῆς Διβύης καὶ ἐπὶ ἐντόν βαλόμενοι ἐκτισαν πόλιν ταύτην ἢ τότε καὶ νῦν Βάρκη καλεῖται. κτίζοντες δὲ ἀμα αὐτὴν ἀπιστάσια ἀπὸ τῶν Κυρηναιων τοὺς Δίβνας. μετὰ δὲ Ἀρκεσίλεως ἐς τοὺς ὑποδεχαμένους τε τῶν Διβύων καὶ ἀποστάντας τοὺς αὐτοὺς τούτους ἐστρατεύετο. οἱ δὲ Δίβνες δείσαντες αὐτῶν οἴχοντο φεύγωντες πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλους τῶν Διβύων. ὁ δὲ Ἀρκεσίλεως εἰπετο φεύγοντες, ἐς οὐκ ἐν δεύκων τῇ τῆς Διβύης ἐγίνετο ἐπιδιώκων καὶ ἔδοξε τοῖς Δίβναις ἐπιθέσθαι οἱ συμβαλόντες δὲ ἐνίκησαν τοὺς Κυρηναιους τοσότῳ ὡστε ἐπτακυσχίλλους ὀπλίτας Κυρηναιων ἐνθαῦτα πεσεῖν. μετὰ δὲ τὸ τρόμα τούτου Ἀρκεσίλεως μὲν κάμποντα τε καὶ φάρμακον πεποκότα ὁ ἀδελφὸς Ἀλιάργος ἀποπνίγει, Ἀλιάρχον δὲ ἡ γυνὴ ἢ Ἀρκεσίλεω δόλῳ κτείνει, τὴν οὐνομα ἠν Ἤμιζων.

161. Διεθυοτο δὲ τὴν βασιλην τοῦ Ἀρκεσίλεω ὁ παῖς Βάττος, χωλὸς τε ἐνκαὶ οὐκ ἄρτι ποὺς. οἱ δὲ Κυρηναιοὶ πρὸς τὴν καταλαβοῦσαν συμφορὴν ἐπεμποῦν ἐς Δελφοὺς ἐπειρησομένους διόνυς τρόπον καταστησάμενοι κάλλιστα ἀν οἰκεῖον. ἤ δὲ Πυθίη ἐκέλευε ἐκ Μαρτινῆς τῆς Ἀρκάδων καταρτιστήρα ἀγαγέσθαι. αἰτεῖν ὁν οἱ Κυρηναιοῖ, καὶ οἱ Μαρτινῖες ἔδοσαν ἀνδρὰ τῶν ἀστῶν δοκιμώτατον, τῷ οὕνῳ ἡν Δημώναξ.
despised their enemy; whereby they were so utterly destroyed that few of them returned to Egypt. For this mishap, and because they blamed Apries for it, the Egyptians revolted from him.¹

160. This Battus had a son Arecesilaus; he at his first coming to reign quarrelled with his own brothers, till they left him and went away to another place in Libya, where they founded a city for themselves, which was then and is now called Barce; and while they were founding it, they persuaded the Libyans to revolt from the Cyrenaeans. Then Arecesilaus came with an army into the country of the Libyans who had received his brothers and had also revolted; and these fled in fear of him to the eastern Libyans. Arecesilaus followed their flight until he came in his pursuit to Leucon in Libya, where the Libyans resolved to attack him; they joined battle and so wholly overcame the Cyrenaeans that seven thousand Cyrenaean men-at-arms were there slain. After this disaster Arecesilaus, being sick and having drunk medicine, was strangled by his brother Haliarchus; Haliarchus was craftily slain by Arecesilaus' wife Eryxo.

161. Arecesilaus' kingship passed to his son Battus, who was lame and infirm on his feet. The Cyrenaeans, in the affliction that had befallen them, sent to Delphi to enquire what ordering of their state should best give them prosperity; the priestess bade them bring a peacemaker from Mantinea in Arcadia. The Cyrenaeans then sending their request, the Mantineans gave them their most esteemed townsman, whose

¹ In 570 B.C.; cp. ii. 161.
οὗτος ὁν ὑφήρ ἀπικόμενος ἐς τὴν Κυρήνην καὶ μαθὼν ἑκαστὰ τὸῦτο μὲν τριφύλους ἐποίησε σφέας, τῆς διαθείς. Ἐπειταῖος μὲν καὶ τῶν περιοίκων μίαν μοίραν ἐποίησε, ἂλλην δὲ Πελοποννησίων καὶ Κρήτων, τρίτην δὲ νησιωτέων πάντων. τοῦτο δὲ τῷ βασιλεὶ Βάττῳ τεμένεα ἐξελὼν καὶ ἰρωσύνας, τὰ ἄλλα πάντα τὰ πρῶτον εἰχον οἱ βασιλεῖς ἐς μέσον τῶν θημών ἐβήκε. 

162. Ἐπὶ μὲν δὴ τοῦτο τοῦ Βάττου οὗτος διετέλεε ἑώντα, ἔπι δὲ τοῦ τούτου παιδὸς Ἀρκεσίλεως πολλή ταραξῇ περὶ τῶν τιμέων ἐγένετο. Ἀρκεσίλεως γὰρ ὁ Βάττου τε τοῦ χωλοῦ καὶ Φερετίμης οἷς ἐφὶ ἀνέξεσθαι κατὰ τὰ ὁ Μαντινεύς Δημόναξ ἐταξε, ἄλλα ἀπαίτε τὰ τῶν προγόνων γέρεα. ἐνθεύτεν στασιάζων ἐσσωθῇ καὶ ἔφυγε ἐς Σάμων, ἣ δὲ μήτηρ οἱ ἑς Σαλαμίνα τῆς Κύπρου ἔφυγε. τῆς δὲ Σαλαμίνοις τούτων τὸν χρόνον ἐπεκράτησεν Εὔέλθων, ὁς τὸ ἐν Δελφοῖς θυμιτήριον ἐνοῦ ἔβοθέτου ἀνέθηκε, τὸ ἐν τῷ Κορινθίων θησαυρὸν κέεται. ἀπικομένη δὲ παρὰ τούτων ἡ Φερετίμη ἐβέθετο στρατηγῆς ἡ κατάξει σφέας ἐς τὴν Κυρήνην. ὁ δὲ Εὔέλθων παῖν μᾶλλον ἠ στρατηγησι νο ἐδίδων, ἣ δὲ λαμβάνουσα τὸ διδόμενον καλὸν μὲν ἐφὶ καὶ τοῦτο εἶται, κάλλιον δὲ ἐκεῖνο, τὸ δοῦναι ὅ ὁ δεομένη στρατηγῆς. τοῦτο ἐπὶ παντὶ γὰρ τῷ διδομένῳ ἐλεγε, τελευταῖον οἱ ἐξέπεμψε δόρων ὁ Εὔέλθων ἀτρακτὸν χρύσου καὶ ἱλακάτην, προσὴν δὲ καὶ εἴριον ἐπειπάσης δὲ αὐτὶς τῆς Φερετίμης τὸντὸ ἑπος, ὁ Εὔέλθων ἐφῆ τοιούτουσι γυναίκας δωρεάσας ἅλλο ὁ στρατηγῆς. 

163. Ὁ δὲ Ἀρκεσίλεως τούτων τὸν χρόνον ἐδω
name was Demonax. When this man came to Cyrene and learnt all, he divided the people into three tribes; of which divisions the Theraeans and dispossessed Libyans were one, the Peloponnesians and Cretans the second, and all the islanders the third; moreover he set apart certain domains and priesthoods for their king Battus, but gave all the rest, which had belonged to the kings, to be now held by the people in common.

162. During the life of this Battus aforesaid these ordinances held good, but in the time of his son Arcesilaus there arose much contention concerning the king's rights. Arcesilaus, son of the same Battus and Pheretimo, would not abide by the ordinances of Demonax, but demanded back the prerogative of his forefathers, and made himself head of a faction; but he was worsted and banished to Samos, and his mother fled to Salamis in Cyprus. Now Salamis at this time was ruled by Evelthon, who dedicated that marvellous censer at Delphi which stands in the treasury of the Corinthians. To him Pheretimo came, asking him for an army which should bring her and her son back to Cyrene; but Evelthon being willing to give her all else, only not an army, when she took what he gave her she said that this was well, but it were better to give her an army at her request. This she would still say, whatever was the gift; at the last Evelthon sent her a golden spindle and distaff, and wool therewith; and Pheretimo uttering the same words as before, he answered that these, and not armies, were gifts for women.

163. Meanwhile Arcesilaus was in Samos, gather-

1 According to the principle of division customary in a Dorian city state.
ἐν Σάμω συνήγειρε πάντα ἄνδρα ἐπὶ γῆς ἀνάδασμον συλλεγομένου δὲ στρατοῦ πολλοῦ, ἐστάλη ἐς Δελφοὺς Ἀρκεσίλεως χρησόμενος τῷ χρηστηρίῳ περὶ κατόδου. ἢ δὲ Πυθήν οἱ χρὰ τάδε. "Επὶ μὲν τέσσερας Βάττους καὶ Ἀρκεσίλεως τέσσερας, ὀκτὼ ἄνδρῶν γενεάς, διδοὶ υἱῶν Δοξίης βασιλεύειν Κυρήνης, πλέον μέντοι τούτοι οὖν δὲ πειρᾶσθαι παραινέει. σὺ μέντοι ἤσυχος εἶναι κατελθὼν εἰς τὴν σεωτοῦ. ἢν δὲ τὴν κάμινον εὕρης πλέον ἄμφορεών, μὴ ἐξοπτήσῃς τοὺς ἄμφορεάς ἀλλ' ἀπόπεμπε κατ' οἴρον εἰ δὲ ἐξοπτήσῃς τὴν κάμινον, μὴ ἐσέλθης εἰς τὴν ἄμφιρρυτον εἰ δὲ μὴ ἀποθανεῖαι καὶ αὐτὸς καὶ ταύρος ὁ καλλιστεύων." ταύτα ἢ Πυθήν Ἀρκεσίλεως χρὰ.

164. "Ο δὲ παραλαβὼν τοὺς ἐκ τῆς Σάμου κατήλθε ἐς τὴν Κυρήνην, καὶ ἐπικρατήσας τῶν πρηγμάτων τοῦ μαντήματι όυκ ἐμέμνητο, ἀλλ' ὅπως τοὺς ἀντιστασίως τείνει τῆς ἐσωτοῦ φυγῆς, τὸν δὲ οὐ μέν τὸ παράπαν ἐκ τῆς χώρης ἄπαλλάσσοτο, τοὺς δὲ τινὰς χειρωςάμενος ἢ Ἀρκεσίλεως ἢ Κύπρον ἀπέστειλε ἐπὶ διαφθορᾶς. τούτοις μὲν νῦν Κυδίοι ἀπευνείγοντας πρὸς τὴν σφατέρνη ἐρρύσαυτο καὶ ἢ Ὀμήρην ἀπέστειλον ἔτεροις δὲ τινὰς τῶν Κυρηναίων ἐς πύργον μεγάν Ἀγλωμάχου καταφυγόντας ἰδιωτικῶν ὑλῆς περινήσας ὡ Ἀρκεσίλεως ἐνέπρησε. μαθὼν δὲ ἐπὶ ἐξεργασμένος τὸ μαντήματι ἐν τούτῳ, ὅτι μὴν ἡ Πυθήν οὐκ ἐὰν εὐρόντα ἐν τῇ καμίνῳ τοὺς ἄμφορεάς ἐξοπτήσαι, ἐργεῖτο ἐκὼς τῆς τῶν Κυρηναίων πόλεως, δειμαίνων τὲ τὸν κεχρησμένον θάνατον καὶ δοκέων ἄμφιρρυτον τὴν Κυρήνην εἶναι. εἰχὲ δὲ γυναῖκα

1 Omit τὴν κάμινον as gloss: M. J. E. Powell.
ing all men that he could and promising them a new division of land; and while a great army was thus mustering, he made a journey to Delphi, to enquire of the oracle concerning his return. The priestess gave him this answer: "For the lives of four named Battus and four named Arcesilaus, to wit, for eight generations of men, Loxias grants to your house the kingship of Cyrene; more than this he counsels you not so much as to essay. But thou, return to thy country and dwell there in peace. But if thou findest the oven full of earthen pots, bake not the pots, but let them go unscathed. And if thou bakest them in the oven, go not into the sea-girt place; for if thou dost, then shalt thou thyself be slain, and the bull too that is fairest of the herd." This was the oracle given by the priestess to Arcesilaus.

164. But he with the men from Samos returned to Cyrene, whereof having made himself master he forgot the oracle, and demanded justice upon his enemies for his banishment. Some of these departed altogether out of the country; others Arcesilaus seized and sent away to Cyprus to be there slain. These were carried out of their course to Cnidus, where the Cnidians saved them and sent them to Thera. Others of the Cyrenaeans fled for refuge into a great tower that belonged to one Aglomachus, a private man, and Arcesilaus piled wood round it and burnt them there. Then, perceiving too late that this was the purport of the Delphic oracle which forbade him to bake the pots if he found them in the oven, he refrained of set purpose from going into the city of the Cyrenaeans, fearing the death prophesied and supposing the sea-girt place to be
συγγενεά ἐωτού, θυγατέρα δὲ τῶν Βαρκαίων τοῦ Βασιλέως, τῷ οὖνομα ᾧν 'Αλάξειρ: παρὰ τούτου ἀπικνέεται, καὶ μὲν Βαρκαίω τε ἄνδρες καὶ τῶν ἐκ Κυρήνης φυγών τινὲς καταμαθόντες ἀγοράζοντα κτείνουσι, πρὸς δὲ καὶ τὸν πενθερὸν αὐτοῦ 'Αλάξειρα. Ἀρκεσίλεως μὲν νῦν εἴτε ἐκὼν εἴτε ἀέκων ἀμαρτῶν τοῦ χρησμοῦ ἐξέπλησε μοίραν τὴν ἐωτοῦ.

165. Ἡ δὲ μήτηρ Ψεφετίμη, ἦσσος μὲν ὁ Ἀρκεσίλεως ἐν τῇ Βάρκη διαστάτα ἐξεργασμένος ἐωτοῦ κακόν, ἦ δὲ εἰσε ἀυτῇ τοῦ παιδὸς τὰ γέρεα ἐν Κυρήνη καὶ τάλλα νεμομένη καὶ ἐν βουλῇ παρίζουσα· ἐπεὶ δέ ἐμαθε ἐν τῇ Βάρκη ὑποβανόντα οἱ τὸν παιδα, φευγοῦσα οἰχώκεε ἐς Αἴγυπτον. ἦσαν γὰρ οἱ ἐκ τοῦ Ἀρκεσίλεων ἐνεργεσίαι ἐς Καμβύσεα τὸν Κύρον πεποιημέναι· οὕτως γὰρ ἦν ὁ Ἀρκεσίλεως ὃς Κυρήνην Καμβύση ἐδωκε καὶ φόρον ἐτάξατο, ἀπικομένη δὲ ἐς τὴν Αἴγυπτον ἦ Ψεφετίμη Ἀρνάνδεω ἴκετις ἰζετο, τιμωρησαί ἐωτῇ κελεύουσα, προϊσχομένη πρόφασιν ὡς διὰ τὸν μηδύσομον ὅ παϊς οἱ τεθνηκε.

166. Ὁ δὲ Ἅρωνάνδης ἦν οὕτος τῆς Αἴγυπτου ὑπαρχός ὑπὸ Καμβύσεως κατεστως, ὃς ἐστὲρρ χρόνῳ τούτων παρασύμβους Δαρείως διεφθάρη, πυθόμενος γὰρ καὶ ἰδὼν Δαρείων ἐπιθυμεόντα μιμοσύνων ἐωτοῦ λιπέσθαι τούτῳ τὸ μὴ ἄλλῳ εἰς Βασιλεία κατεργασμένοιν, ἐμέμετο τούτων, ἐς οὐ ἔλαβε τῶν μαθῶν. Δαρείως μὲν γὰρ χρυσῶν καθαρώτατον ἀπεψήσας ἐς τὸ δωσιάτοτον νομίσμα ἐκόψατο, Ἅρωνάνδης δὲ ἄρχων Αἴγυπτου ἄργυρίων τῶντο τούτῳ τούτῳ ἐποιεῖ, καὶ νῦν ἐστὶ ἄργυρίον καθαρώτατον τὸ Ἅρωνάνδηκον. μαθῶν δὲ μὲν

370
Cyrene. Now his wife was his own kinswoman, daughter of Alazir king of the Barcaeans, and Arcesilaus betook himself to Alazir; but men of Barce and certain of the exiles from Cyrene were aware of him and slew him as he walked in the town, and Alazir his father-in-law likewise. So Arcesilaus whether with or without intent missed the meaning of the oracle and fulfilled his destiny.

165. As long as Arcesilaus, after working his own destruction, was living at Barce, his mother Pheretimè held her son's prerogative at Cyrene, where she administered all his business and sat with others in council. But when she learnt of her son's death at Barce, she made her escape away to Egypt, trusting to the good service which Arcesilaus had done Cambyses the son of Cyrus; for this was the Arcesilaus who gave Cyrene to Cambyses and agreed to pay tribute. So on her coming to Egypt Pheretimè made supplication to Aryandes, demanding that he should avenge her, on the plea that her son had been killed for allying himself with the Medes.

166. This Aryandes had been appointed by Cambyses viceroy of Egypt; at a later day he was put to death for making himself equal to Darius. For learning and seeing that Darius desired to leave such a memorial of himself as no king had ever wrought, Aryandes imitated him, till he got his reward; for Darius had coined money out of gold refined to an extreme purity,¹ and Aryandes, then ruling Egypt, made a like silver coinage; and now there is no silver money so pure as is the Aryandic. But when

¹ The gold coins called ἄρτεμις are said to contain only 3 per cent. of alloy.
Δαρείος ταύτα ποιεῦντα, αίτην οἱ ἄλλην ἐπενείκασας ὡς οἱ ἐπανίστατο, ἀπέκτεινε.

167. Τότε δὲ οὕτως ὁ Ἀρνάνδης κατοικτεῖρας Φερετίμην διδοὺ αὐτῇ στρατὸν τὸν ἐξ Ἀιγύπτου ἀπαντᾶ καὶ τὸν πεζὸν καὶ τὸν ναυτικὸν στρατηγὸν δὲ τοῦ μὲν πεζοῦ Ἀμασίον ἀπέδεξε ἄνδρα Μαράφιον, τοῦ δὲ ναυτικοῦ Βάδρην ἔοντα Πασαργάδην γένος. πρὶν δὲ ἡ ἀποστείλαι τὴν στρατιὰν, ὁ Ἀρνάνδης πέμψας ἐς τὴν Βιρκηνήν κήρυκα ἐπινώθανε τὸς εἰς ὁ Ἀρκεσίλεων ἀποκτείνας, οἱ δὲ Βαρκαιοὶ αὐτοὶ ὑπεδέκοντο πάντες τοὺς γὰρ καὶ κακὰ πάσχειν ὑπ’ αὐτῶν. πυθόμενος δὲ ταύτα ὁ Ἀρνάνδης οὕτω δὴ τὴν στρατιὰν ἀπέστειλε ἀμα τῆς Φερετίμης, αὐτῇ μὲν παρὰ δυσεχία μιᾷ στόλῳ ἐγένετο, ἀπεπέμπετο δὲ ἡ στρατιὰ, ὡς ἔμοι δοκεῖμεν, ἐπὶ Λίβυης καταστροφῇ. Λίβυων γὰρ δὴ ἔθενε πολλὰ καὶ παντοῖα ἔστι, καὶ τὰ μὲν αὐτῶν ὅλιγα βασιλέως ἢν ὑπήκοα, τὰ δὲ πλέον ἐφροντίζει Δαρείος ὁ οὐδέν.

168. Οἰκέουσι δὲ κατὰ τάδε Λίβυες. ἀπὸ Αἰγύπτου ἀρξάμενοι πρῶτοι Ἁδυρμαχίδαι Λίβυων κατοίκηται, οἱ νόμωσι μὲν τὰ πλέον Αἰγυπτιοῦσι χρέωσιται, ἐσθίατα δὲ φορέοντο οὐν περὶ οἱ ἄλλοι Λίβυες. αἱ δὲ γυναῖκες αὐτῶν ψέλιον περὶ ἐκατέρθῃ ἡς κυμάεων φορέοντο χάλκεον τὰς κεφαλὰς δὲ κομῶσαι, τοὺς φθείρας ἐπεαὶ λάβωσι τοὺς ἐσωτής ἐκάστη ἀντιδακνεὶ καὶ οὕτω ῥίπτει, οὗτοι δὲ μοῦνοι Λίβυων τοῦτο ἐργάζονται, καὶ τῷ βασιλέϊ μοῦνοι τὰς παρθενοὺς μελλούσας συνοίκεις ἐπιδεικύουσι· ἢ δὲ ἄν τῷ βασιλεὶ ἀρεστή γένηται, ὑπὸ τοῦτο διαπαρθενεύεται. παρηκουσι

1 [Δαρείου] Stein.
Darius heard that Aryandes was so doing, he put him to death, not on this plea but as a rebel.

167. At this time Aryandes, of whom I speak, took pity on Pheretime and gave her all the Egyptian land and sea forces, appointing Amasis, a Maraphian, general of the army, and Badres of the tribe of the Pasargadae admiral of the fleet. But before despatching the host Aryandes sent a herald to Barce to enquire who it was who had killed Arcesilaus. The Barcaeans answered that it was the deed of the whole city, for the many wrongs that Arcesilaus had done them; which when he heard, Aryandes then sent his armament with Pheretime. This was the alleged pretext; but, as I myself think, the armament was sent to subdue Libya. For the Libyan tribes are many and of divers kinds, and though a few of them were the king's subjects the greater part cared nothing for Darius.

168. Now as concerning the lands inhabited by Libyans, the Adyrmachidae are the people that dwell nearest to Egypt; they follow Egyptian usages for the most part, but wear a dress like that of other Libyans. Their women wear bronze torques on both legs; their hair is long; they catch each her own lice, then bite and throw them away. They are the only Libyans that do this, and that show the king all virgins that are to be wedded; the king takes the virginity of whichever of these pleases
δὲ οὕτωι οἱ Ἄδυρμαχίδαι ἀπ' Αἰγύπτου μέχρι
λιμένος τῷ οὐνομα Πλυνὸς ἔστι.

169. Τούτων δὲ ἔχονται Γιλιγάμαι, νεμόμενοι
τὸ πρὸς ἐσπέρην χώρην1 μέχρι Ἀφροδισιάδος
νήσου. ἐν δὲ τῷ μεταξὺ τούτου χώρῳ ἢ τε
Πλατέα νῆσος ἐπικείεται, τὴν ἐκτισαν οἱ Κυρη
ναιοί, καὶ ἐν τῇ ἡπείρῳ Μενέλαος λιμήν ἐστὶ καὶ
Ἄξιρες, τὴν οἰ Κυρηναιοὶ οἰκεο, καὶ τὸ σίλφιον
ἀρχεῖα ἀπὸ τούτου παρῆκεν δὲ ἀπὸ Πλατέης
νῆσου μέχρι τοῦ στόματος τῆς Σύρτος τὸ σίλφιον.
νόμοισι δὲ χρέωνται οὕτωι παραπλησίοις τοῖς
ἐτέροις.

170. Γιλιγαμέων δὲ ἔχονται τὸ πρὸς ἐσπέρης
Ἄσβυσται οὕτωι ὑπὲρ Κυρῆνης οἰκέουσι. ἐπὶ
θάλασσαν δὲ οὐ κατηκοῦσι Ἀσβύσται τὸ γὰρ
παρὰ θάλασσαν Κυρηναιοὶ νέμονται. τεθρυπ-
ποβόται δὲ οὐκ ἤκιστα ἄλλα μάλιστα Λιβύων
ἐσί, νόμοις δὲ τοὺς πλεύνας μιμέονται ἐπιτηδεύ-
ουσι τοῖς Κυρηναῖοι.

171. Ἀσβυστέων δὲ ἔχονται τὸ πρὸς ἐσπέρης
Αὐσχίσοι οὕτωι ὑπὲρ Βάρκης οἰκέουσι, κατή-
kontes ἐπὶ θάλασσαν κατ' Εὐσπερίδας. Ἀὐσχι-
sέων δὲ κατὰ μέσον τῆς χώρης οἰκέουσι Βάκαλες,
ὅλων έθνος, κατηκοντες ἐπὶ θάλασσαν κατὰ
Ταύρεια πόλει τῆς Βαρκαίης νόμοις δὲ τοὺς
ἀυτοῖς χρέωνται τοῖς καὶ οἱ ὑπὲρ Κυρῆνης.

172. Αὐσχισέων δὲ τούτων τὸ πρὸς ἐσπέρης
ἔχονται Νασαμώνες, έθνος ἐὼν πολλόν, οἱ τὸ
θέρος καταλείποντες ἐπὶ τῇ θαλάσσῃ τὰ πρόβατα
ἀναβάινοντες ἐς Λύγιλα χώρον ὑπομεινοῦτες τοῦς
φοίνικας; οἱ δὲ πολλοὶ καὶ ἀμφιλαφέες πεφύκασιν,
πάντες ἐόντες καρποφόρου. τοὺς δὲ ἀπτελέσουν

374
him. These Adyrmachidae reach from Egypt to the harbour called Plonus.

169. Next to them are the Giligamae, who inhabit the country to the west as far as the island Aphrodisias; ere this is reached the island Platea, which the Cyrenaeans colonised, lies off the coast, and on the mainland is the haven called Menelaus, and that Aziris which was a settlement of the Cyrenaeans. Here begins the country of silphium, which reaches from the island Platea to the entrance of the Syrtis. This people is like the others in its usages.

170. The next people westward of the Giligamae are the Asbystae, who dwell inland of Cyrene, not coming down to the sea-coast; for that is Cyrenaean territory. These are drivers of four-horse chariots to a greater extent than any other Libyans; it is their practice to imitate most of the Cyrenaean usages.

171. Next westward of the Asbystae are the Auschisae, dwelling inland of Barce, and touching the sea-coast at Euhesperidae. About the middle of the land of the Auschisae dwells the little tribe of the Bacaes, whose territory comes down to the sea at Tauchira, a town in the Barcaean country; their usages are the same as those of the dwellers inland of Cyrene.

172. Next westward of these Auschisae is the populous country of the Nasamones, who in summer leave their flocks by the sea and go up to the land called Augila to gather dates from the palm-trees which grow there in great abundance, and all bear fruit. They hunt locusts, which when taken they

\[1 \text{ γῶρν} \] Stein.
\[2 \text{ Ἑκάρος} \] Stein.
Επειών θηρεύσατι, αυὶναντες πρὸς τὸν ἱλιον κατα-
λέουσι καὶ ἐπείτα ἐπὶ γαλά ἐπιπάσσαντες πέ-
νουσι. φυναῖκας δὲ νομίζουσι πολλὰς ἔχειν ἐκαστὸς ἐπίκοινον αὐτῶν τὴν μίξην ποιεῖνται ἀνάφω παραπλησίῳ τῷ καὶ Μασαγέται ἐπειὼν ικτίων προστήσωνται, μέγισται. πρῶτον δὲ γαμένους Νασαμῶνος ἄνδρος νόμος ἐστὶ τὴν νύμφην νυκτὶ τῇ πρώτῃ διὰ πάντων διέξελθειν τῶν δαιτυμόνων μισομένην: τῶν δὲ ὡς ἐκαστὸς οἱ μιχθῆ, διδοὶ δόρων τὸ ἀν ἔχῃ φερόμενον ἐξ οἴκου. ὁρκίσας δὲ καὶ μαντικὴ χρέωνται τούτους ὁμολογοῦν μὲν τοὺς παρὰ σφίς ἄνδρας δικαστά-
τους καὶ ἀρίστους λεγομένους γενέσθαι, τούτους, τῶν τύμβων ἀπόφεονοι μαντεύονται δὲ ἐπὶ τῶν προγόνων φοιτέοντες τὰ σήματα, καὶ κατευξά-
μενοι ἐπικατακοιμώνται τὸ δ’ ἂν ἢδε ἐν τῇ ὁψὶ ἐνυπνιον, τούτω χρᾶται. πίστις δὲ τοιήσοδε χρέωνται: ἐκ τῆς χειρὸς διδοὶ πιεῖν καὶ αὐτὸς ἐκ τῆς τοῦ ἐτέρου πίνειν ἂν δὲ μη ἔχωσι ύγρὸν μηδέν, οἱ δὲ τῆς χαμάθεν σποδοῦ λαβοῦντες λέιχουσι.

173. Νασαμῶν δὲ προσόμομουρι εἰσὶ Ψύλλων, οὕτως ἔξαπολώλασθι τρόπῳ τοιῶθε: ο νότος σφι πνεῦν ἀνέμως τὰ ἔλυτρα τῶν ὑδάτων ἔχημη, ἢ δὲ χώρη σφι ἀπάσα εἰς ούοσ τῆς Σύρτους ἡν ἀνύδρος; οἱ δὲ βουλευσάμενοι κοινῷ λόγῳ ἐστρα-
τεύοντο ἐπὶ τῶν νότων (λέγω δὲ ταῦτα τὰ λέγουσι Λίβνες), καὶ ἔπειτε ἐγίνοντο ἐν τῇ ψάμμοι, πνεῦ-
σας ὁ νότος κατέχωσε σφέας. ἔξαπολομένων δὲ τούτων ἔχουσι τὴν χώρην οἱ Νασαμῶνες.

174. Τούτων δὲ κατύπερθε πρὸς νότον ἀνέμων ἐν τῇ θηριάδει οἰκέουσι Γαράμαντες, οἱ πάντα ἄνθρωπον φεύγουσι καὶ πάντως ὀμιλήν, καὶ οὕτε

376
dry in the sun, and after grinding sprinkle them into milk and so drink it. It is their custom for every man to have many wives; their intercourse with women is promiscuous, in like manner as among the Massagetae; a staff is planted before the dwelling and then they have intercourse. When a man of the Nasamones first weds, on the first night the bride must by custom lie with each of the whole company in turn; and each man after intercourse gives her whatever gift he has brought from his house. As for their manner of swearing and divination, they lay their hands on the graves of the men reputed to have been the most just and good among them, and by these men they swear; their practice of divination is to go to the tombs of their ancestors, where after making prayers they lie down to sleep, and take whatever dreams come to them for oracles. They give and receive pledges by drinking each from the hand of the other party; and if they have nothing liquid they take of the dust of the earth and lick it up.

173. On the borders of the Nasamones is the country of the Psylli, who perished in this wise: the force of the south wind dried up their water-tanks, and all their country, lying within the region of the Syrtis, was waterless. Taking counsel together they marched southward (I tell the story as it is told by the Libyans), and when they came into the sandy desert a strong south wind buried them. So they perished utterly, and the Nasamones have their country.

174. Inland of these to the southward the Garamantes dwell in the wild beasts' country. They shun the sight and fellowship of men, and have no
δὴ ἐκτέταται ἀρίθμον οὐδὲν οὐτέ ἀμύνεσθαι ἐπιστέταται.

175. Οὕτω μὲν δὴ κατύπερθε οἰκέουσι Νασαμώνων· τὸ δὲ παρὰ τὴν θάλασσαν ἔχοντα τὸ πρὸς ἐσπέρης Μάκαι, οἱ λόφους κείρονται, τὸ μὲν μέσον τῶν τριχῶν ἀνιέντες αὐξεσθαι, τὰ δὲ ἐνθὲν καὶ ἐνθὲν κείροντες ἐν χροῖ, ἐς δὲ τὸν πόλεμον στροφῶν καταγαιῶν δορᾶς φορέουσι προβληματα. διὰ δὲ αὐτῶν Κίνυς ποταμὸς ῥέων ἐκ λόφου καλευμένου Χαρίτων ἐς θάλασσαν ἐκδίδοι, ὁ δὲ λόφος οὗτος ὁ Χαρίτων δασὺς ἔδρει ἐστὶ, ἐνὸς τῆς ἄλλης τῆς προκαταλεχθείσης Λιβύης ψηλῆς ἀπὸ θαλάσσης ἐς ἐς αὐτὸν στάδιοι διηκοσίων εἰσὶ.

176. Μακέων δὲ τούτων ἔχομενοι Γινδάνες εἰσί, τῶν αἱ γυναικὲς περισσοῦρα δερμάτων πολλά ἐκάστη φορεῖ κατὰ τοιοῦτο τι, ὡς λέγεται καὶ ἀνά ἐκαστὸν μικρεύτα περισσοῦριον περιδεῖται ὃ δὲ ἀν πλείοτα ἐχθρ, αὐτὴ ἀρίστη δεδοκται εἶναι ὡς ὑπὸ πλεῖστων ἀνδρῶν φιληθείσα.

177. Ἀκτὴν δὲ προέχουσαν ἐς τὸν πόντον τούτων τῶν Γινδάνων νέμονται Δωτοφάγοι, οἱ τῶν καρπῶν μοῦν τοῦ λωτού τρώγοντες ἔσσουσι. ὁ δὲ τοῦ λωτοῦ καρπὸς ἐστὶ μέγαθος ὡς τοῖς σχίνοις, ἡλικοῦτα δὲ τοῦ φοίνικος τῷ καρπῷ προσείκελος. ποιεῖται δὲ ἐκ τοῦ καρποῦ τούτου οἱ Δωτοφάγοι καὶ οἶνον.

178. Δωτοφάγων δὲ τὸ παρὰ θάλασσαν ἔχοντα Μάγλυνες, τὸ λωτὸ μὲν καὶ οὕτωι χρεωμένοι, ἀτὰρ ἦσσον γε τῶν πρότερον λέκβεντων, κατηκουσί δὲ ἐπὶ ποταμῶν μέγαν τῷ οὖνομα Τρίτων

378
weapons of war, nor know how to defend themselves.

175. These dwell inland of the Nasamones; the neighbouring seaboard to the west is the country of the Macae, who shave their hair to a crest, leaving that on the top of their heads to grow and shaving clean off what is on either side; they carry in war bucklers made of ostrich skins. The river Cinyps flows into their sea through their country from a hill called the Hill of the Graces. This hill is thickly wooded, while the rest of Libya whereof I have spoken is bare of trees; it is two hundred furlongs distant from the sea.

176. Next to these Macae are the Gindanes, where every woman wears many leathern anklets, because (so it is said) she puts on an anklet for every man with whom she has had intercourse; and she who wears most is reputed the best, because she has been loved by most men.

177. There is a headland jutting out to sea from the land of the Gindanes; on it dwell the Lotus-eaters, whose only fare is the lotus. The lotus fruit is of the bigness of a mastich-berry; it has a sweet taste like the fruit of a date-palm; the lotus-eaters not only eat it but make wine of it.

178. Next to these along the coast are the Machlyes, who also use the lotus, but less than the people aforesaid. Their country reaches to a great river

---

1 The fruit of the Rhamnus Lotus, which grows in this part of Africa, is said to be eatable, but not so delicious as to justify its Homeric epithet "honey-sweet."
HERODOTUS

ἐστὶ· ἐκδιδοὶ δὲ οὗτος ἐς λίμνην μεγάλην Τριτωνίδα· ἐν δὲ αὐτῇ νῆσος ἐν τῇ οὖνομα Φλά. ταύτην δὲ τὴν νῆσον Δακεδαιμονίωσι φασὶ λόγον εἶναι κτίσαι.

179. "Εστί δὲ καὶ ὅδε λόγος λεγόμενος. Ἡ Ἡσσονα, ἔπειτε οἱ ἐξεργάσθη ὑπὸ τῷ Πηλίῳ ἢ Ἀργῷ, ἐσθέμενον ἐς αὐτὴν ἄλλην τῇ ἐκατόμβην καὶ δὴ καὶ τρίποδα χάλκεον περιπλῶειν Πελοπόννησον, βουλομένων ἐς Δελφοὺς ἀπεκέσθαι. καὶ μιν, ὡς πλέοντα γενέσθαι κατὰ Μαλέην, ὕπολαβεῖν ἀνεμον βορέῃ καὶ ἀποφέρειν πρὸς τὴν Διβύῃν· πρὶν δὲ κατιδέσθαι γῆν, ἐν τοῖς βραχέσι γενέσθαι λίμνης τής Τριτωνίδος. καὶ οἱ ἀπορέοντι τὴν ἐξεργαγην λόγον ἐστὶν φανῆναι Τρίτωνα καὶ κελευεῖν τὸν Ἡσσονα ἐωτῷ δοῦναι τὸν τρίποδα, φάμενον σφί καὶ τὸν πόρον δέξειν καὶ ἀπήμονας ἀποστελέειν. πειθομένου δὲ τοῦ Ἡσσονος, οὕτω δὴ τὸν τὸ διεκπλοῦν τῶν βραχέων δεικνύει τὸν Τριτωνά σφί καὶ τὸν τρίποδα θείων τῇ ἐωτιτῷ ἱρῷ, ἐπίθεσινότα τῇ τῷ τρίποδι καὶ τοίς σῦν Ἡσσονι σημείεται τῶν παντα λόγων, ὡς ἐπεὶ τὸν τρίποδα κομιστητα τῶν ἐκγόνων τις τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἀργῷ συμπλεόντων, τότε ἐκατὸν πόλις ὄλκησαι περὶ τῆς Τριτωνίδας λίμνης Ἑλληνίδας πάσαν εἶναι ἀνάγκην. ταύτα ἀκούσαντας τοὺς ἐπιχωρίοις τῶν Διβύων κρύψα τοῦ τρίποδα.

180. Τούτων δὲ ἠχονται τῶν Μαχλῶν Αὐσίες· οὗτοι δὲ καὶ οἱ Μάχλες περί τὴν Τριτωνίδα λίμνην οἰκέουσι, τὸ μέσον δὲ σφὶ οὐρίζει ὁ Τρίτων. καὶ οἱ μὲν Μάχλες τὰ ὀπίσω κομβοῦτα τῆς κεφαλῆς, οἱ δὲ Αὐσίες τὰ ἐμπροσθε. ὅρτη δὲ ἐναντίον Ἀθηναῖη ἀπὶ παρθένοι αὐτῶν δίχα
BOOK IV. 178–180

called Triton,¹ which issues into the great Tritonian lake, wherein is an island called Phla. It is said that the Lacedaemonians were bidden by an oracle to plant a settlement on this island.

179. The following story is also told:—Jason (it is said) when the Argo had been built at the foot of Pelion, put therein besides a hecatomb a bronze tripod, and set forth to sail round Peloponnesus, that he might come to Delphi. But when in his course he was off Malea, a north wind caught and carried him away to Libya; and before he could spy land he came into the shallows of the Tritonian lake. There, while yet he could find no way out, Triton (so goes the story) appeared to him and bade Jason give him the tripod, promising so to show the shipmen the channel and send them on their way unharmed. Jason did his bidding, and Triton then showed them the passage out of the shallows and set the tripod in his own temple; but first he prophesied over it, declaring the whole matter to Jason's comrades: to wit, that when any descendant of the Argo's crew should take away the tripod, then needs must a hundred Greek cities be founded on the shores of the Tritonian lake. Hearing this (it is said) the Libyan people of the country hid the tripod.

180. Next to these Machlyes are the Auseans; these and the Machlyes, divided by the Triton, dwell on the shores of the Tritonian lake. The Machlyes wear the hair of their heads long behind, the Auseans in front. They make a yearly

¹ The "Triton" legend may arise from the Argonauts' finding a river which reminded them of their own river Triton in Bceotia, and at the same time identifying the local goddess (cp. 180) with Athena, one of whose epithets was Τριτώνεια (whatever that means).
διαστάσει μάχοντας ἀπὸ Ἀλλήλας λίθοις τε καὶ ἕξυλοις, τῷ αὐθνυμεῖ θεῷ λέγουσα τὰ πάτρια ἀποτελεῖν, τὴν Ἀθηναίην καλέομεν. τὰς δὲ ἀποδυναμοῦσας τῶν παρθένων ἐκ τῶν τρωμάτων ψευδοπαρθένων καλέομαι. πρὶν δὲ ἀνεῖω διὰ μᾶχας, τάδε ποιεῖσι κοινῇ παρθένῳ τὴν καλλίστους ἡκάστοτε κοσμήσασθαι κυρέως τὴν Κορινθίην καὶ πανοπλίη Ἑλληνική καὶ ἐπ’ ἀρμα ἀναβιβάσασθαι περιάγουσι τὴν λίμνην κύκλῳ. οὕτως δὲ τὸ πάλαι ἐκόσμησα τὰς παρθένους πρὶν ἡ σφι Οὐληνας παροικισθῆραι, σὺν ἔχω εἰπέω, διόκεοι δὲ ὁ Αἰγυπτίοις ὀπλοῖς κοσμέωσαν αὐτὰς· ἀπὸ γὰρ Αἰγύπτου καὶ τὴν ἀστίδα καὶ τὸ κράνος φημὶ ἀπίγυμαι ἐς τοὺς Οὐληνας. τὴν δὲ Ἀθηναίην φασί Ποσειδώνος εἶναι θυγατέρα καὶ τῆς Τριτωνίδος λίμνης, καὶ μιν μεμφθεῖσιν τῷ πατρί δοῦναι ἑωτὴν τῷ Διί, τοὺς δὲ Δία ἐωτοῦ μιν ποιήσασθαι θυγατέρα. ταῦτα μὲν λέγουσι, μεῖζον δὲ ἐπίκουον τῶν γυναικῶν ποιεότας, οὕτε συνοικίσασθες κτητοῦτοι τε μισγόμενοι. ἐπεάν δὲ γυναῖκι τὸ παιδίον ἀδρόν γένεται, συμφοιτῶσι ἐς τοῦτο οἱ ἄνδρες τρίτου μηνός, καὶ τῷ ἄν οἰκή τῶν ἀνδρῶν τὸ παιδίον, τοῦτο παῖς νομίζεται.

181. Οὗτοι μὲν οἱ παραβαλάσσοι τῶν νομάδων Λιβύων εἰρέαται, ὑπὲρ δὲ τοῦτων ἐς μεσόγηαι ἢ θηριώδης ἑστὶ Λιβύη, ὑπὲρ δὲ τῆς θηριώδεος ὀφρύν ψάμμης κατήκει παρατείνουσα ἀπὸ Θη-βέων τῶν Αἰγυπτίων ἐπ’ Ἡρακλέας στῆλας. ἐν

1 Herodotus' description is true in so far as it points to the undoubted fact of a caravan route from Egypt to N.W. Africa; the starting-point of which, however, should be Memphis and not Thebes. But his distances between identi-
festival to Athene, whereat their maidens are parted into two bands and fight each other with stones and staves, thus (as they say) honouring after the manner of their ancestors that native goddess whom we call Athene. Maidens that die of their wounds are called false virgins. Before the girls are set fighting, the whole people choose ever the fairest maiden, and equip her with a Corinthian helmet and Greek panoply, to be then mounted on a chariot and drawn all along the lake shore. With what armour they equipped their maidens before Greeks came to dwell near them, I cannot say; but I suppose the armour to have been Egyptian; for I hold that the Greeks got their shield and helmet from Egypt. As for Athene, they say that she was daughter of Poseidon and the Tritonian lake, and that, being for some cause wroth with her father, she gave herself to Zeus, who made her his own daughter. Such is their tale. The intercourse of men and women there is promiscuous; they do not cohabit but have intercourse like cattle. When a woman’s child is well grown, within three months thereafter the men assemble, and the child is adjudged to be that man’s to whom it is most like.

181. I have now told of all the nomad Libyans that dwell on the sea-coast. Farther inland than these is that Libyan country which is haunted by wild beasts, and beyond this wild beasts’ land there runs a ridge of sand that stretches from Thebes of Egypt to the Pillars of Heracles. At intervals of about ten

fiable places are nearly always incorrect; the whole description will not bear criticism. The reader is referred to the editions of Rawlinson, Macan, and How and Wells for detailed discussion of difficulties.
δὲ τῇ ὀφρύῃ ταύτῃ μάλιστα διὰ δέκα ἡμέρεων ὁδοῦ ἄλος ἐστὶ τρύφεα κατὰ χόνδρους μεγάλους ἐν κολωνοῖς, καὶ ἐν κορυφῇς ἐκάστου τοῦ κολωνοῦ ἀνακοντίζει ἐκ μέσου τοῦ ἄλος ὕδωρ ψυχρὸν καὶ γλυκύ, περὶ δὲ αὐτῶν ἀνθρωποί οἰκέουσι ἐσχάτως πρὸς τῆς ἐρήμου καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς θηριώδεος, πρῶτοι μὲν ἀπὸ Θηβέων διὰ δέκα ἡμέρεων ὁδοῦ Ἀμμώνιοι, ἐχοντες τῷ ἱρῷ ἀπὸ τοῦ Θηβαίους Διὸς· καὶ γὰρ τὸ ἓν Θήβης, ὡς καὶ πρῶτον εἰρηταὶ μοι, κρυσσόποστον τοῦ Διὸς τὸ γαλαμμα ἐστὶ. τυγχάνει δὲ καὶ ἄλλο σφι ὕδωρ κρηναίων ἐνοῦ, τὸ τὸν μὲν ὄρθρον γίνεται χλιαρόν, ἀγωρίς δὲ πληθυνόσης ψυχρότεροι, μεσαμβρή τε ἐστὶ καὶ τὸ κάρτα γίνεται ψυχρόν· την καύστα δὲ ἀρδούσε τοὺς κήπους· ἀποκλινομένης δὲ τῆς ἡμέρης ὑπὲται τοῦ ψυχροῦ, ἐς οὐ δυνατεῖ τε ὁ ἡλιος καὶ τὸ ὕδωρ γίνεται χλαρόν· ἐπὶ δὲ μᾶλλον ἢν ἐς τὸ θερμὸν ἐς μέσας νύκτας πελάζει, την καύστα δὲ ἡ ἐν αμβολάδῃ παρέχομεν τε μέσαι νύκτες καὶ ψύχεται μέχρι ἐς ἑώς· ἐπικλησιν δὲ αὐτὴ ἡ κρύνη καλέται ἢλιον.

182. Μετὰ δὲ Ἀμμώνιοις διὰ τῆς ὀφρύς τῆς ψάμμου δὲ ἀλλεών δέκα ἡμέρεων ὁδοῦ κολωνός τε ἄλος ἐστὶ ὅμοιος τῷ Ἀμμώνιος καὶ ὕδωρ, καὶ ἀνθρωποὶ περὶ αὐτῶν οἰκέουσι· τῷ δὲ χωρῷ τούτῳ οὐνομα Αὔγιλα ἐστὶ. ἐς τούτων τοῦ χώρου οἱ Νασαμῶνες ὑπορεύειντες τοὺς φοίνικας φοιτῶσι.

183. Ἀπὸ δὲ Αὔγιλων διὰ δέκα ἡμέρεων ἀλλεών ὁδοῦ ἐτεροῦς ἄλος κολωνός καὶ ὕδωρ καὶ φοίνικες καρποφόρους πολλοῖς, κατὰ περ καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἑτέροις· καὶ ἀνθρωποὶ οἰκέουσι ἐν αὐτῷ

1 [τῆ] Stein; and the article certainly makes the grammar difficult.
days' journey along this ridge there are masses of great lumps of salt in hillocks; on the top of every hillock a fountain of cold sweet water shoots up from the midst of the salt; men dwell round it who are farthest away towards the desert and inland from the wild beasts' country. The first on the journey from Thebes, ten days distant from that place, are the Ammonians, who follow the worship of the Zeus of Thebes; for, as I have before said, the image of Zeus at Thebes has the head of a ram. They have another spring of water besides, which is warm at dawn, and colder at market-time, and very cold at noon; and it is then that they water their gardens; as the day declines the coldness abates, till at sunset the water grows warm. It becomes ever hotter and hotter till midnight, and then it boils and bubbles; after midnight it becomes ever cooler till dawn. This spring is called the spring of the sun.

182. At a distance of ten days' journey again from the Ammonians along the sandy ridge, there is a hillock of salt like that of the Ammonians, and springs of water, where men dwell; this place is called Augila; it is to this that the Nasamones are wont to come to gather palm-fruit.

183. After ten days' journey again from Augila there is yet another hillock of salt and springs of water and many fruit-bearing palms, as at the other places;
τοίσι οὖνομα Γαράμαντες ἦστι, ἔθνος μέγα ἱσχυρός, οἱ ἔπι τὸν ἄλα γῆν ἐπιφορέουτες οὕτω σπείρουσι. αὐτομῶτατον δ' ἦστι ἐς τοὺς Δωτο-φάγους, ἐκ τῶν τραίκοντα ἡμερέων ἐς αὐτοὺς ὁδὸς ἦστι· ἐν τοῖσι καὶ οἱ ὀπισθονόμοι βόες γίνονται· ὀπισθονόμοι δὲ διὰ τὸ τόδε εἰσί. τὰ κέρα τὸ ἐξούσι θετικοῦ τά ἐμπροσθε· διὰ τὸ τὸν ὄμοσ ἀναχω-ρεοντες νέμονται· ἐς γὰρ τὸ ἐμπροσθε σύν οἷς οἴοι τε εἰσὶ προεμβαλλόντων ἐς τὴν γῆν τῶν κερεων. ἄλλο δὲ οὐδεὶς διαφέρουσι τῶν ἄλλων βοῶν ὅτι μὴ τούτο καὶ τὸ δέρμα ἐς παγκότια τε καὶ τρίψιν. οἱ Γαράμαντες δὴ οὕτως τοὺς τρωγλούσας Αἰθίο-πας θηρεύουσι τοῖσι τεθρίπποισι· οἱ γὰρ τρω- γλούσαι Αἰθίοπες πόδας τάχιστοι ἀνθρώπων πάντων εἰσὶ τῶν ἡμείς πέρι λόγους ἀποφερομένους ἀκούσμεν. σετένονται δὲ οἱ τρωγλούσαι ὅφις καὶ σαύρους καὶ τὰς τοιαύτα τῶν ἐρπητών γλῶσσαν δὲ οὐδεμίη ἄλλῃ παρομοίῃ νεομίκαςι, ἄλλα τετρίγασι κατὰ περὶ αἱ νυκτερίδες.

184. Ἀπὸ δὲ Γαραμάντων δεὶ ἄλλων δέκα ἡμερέων ὄδοι ἄλλος ἄλος τε κολονώς καὶ ύδωρ, καὶ ἀνθρώποι περὶ αὐτῶν οἰκεύοντες τοὺσ οὖνομα ἦστι· Ἀτάραντες, οἱ αὐνόμωμοι εἰσὶ μοῦνοι ἀν- θρώπων τῶν ἡμείς ἰδίων· ἀλέσι μὲν γὰρ σφί ἦστι Ἀτάραντες οὖνομα, ἐνὶ δὲ ἐκάστῳ αὐτῶν οὖνομα οὐδεὶς κέεται. οὗτοι τοῦ ἡλίου ὑπερβάλλοντι κατα- νόονται καὶ πρὸς τούτους πάντα τὰ αἰσχρὰ λοιποὺς, ὅτι σφέας καίων ἐπιτρήβει, αὐτούς τε τοὺς ἀνθρώπους καὶ τὴν χώρην αὐτῶν. μετὰ δὲ δὲ ἄλλων δεκα ἡμερέων ἄλλος κολονῶς ἄλος καὶ ύδωρ, καὶ ἀνθρώποι περὶ αὐτῶν οἰκεύοντες. ἐχεται δὲ τοῦ ἄλος τούτου ὅρος τῷ οὖνομα ἦστι

386
men dwell there called Garamantes, an exceeding great nation, who sow in earth which they have laid on the salt. Hence is the shortest way to the Lotus-eaters' country, thirty days' journey distant. Among the Garamantes are the oxen that go backward as they graze; whereof the reason is that their horns curve forward; therefore they walk backward in their grazing, not being able to go forward, seeing that the horns would project into the ground. In all else they are like other oxen, save that their hide is thicker, and harder to the touch. These Garamantes go in their four-horse chariots chasing the cave-dwelling Ethiopians: for the Ethiopian cave-dwellers are swifter of foot than any men of whom tales are brought to us. They live on snakes, and lizards, and such-like creeping things. Their speech is like none other in the world; it is like the squeaking of bats.

184. After another ten days' journey from the Garamantes there is again a salt hillock and water; men dwell there called Atarantes. These are the only men known to us who have no names; for the whole people are called Atarantes, but no man has a name of his own. These when the sun is exceeding high curse and most foully revile him, for that his burning heat afflicts their people and their land. After another ten days' journey there is again a hillock of salt, and water, and men dwelling there. Near to this salt is a mountain called Atlas, the shape
"Ατλας, ἔστι δὲ στεινὸν καὶ κυκλοτερές πάντη, ὑψηλὸν δὲ οὐτῶ δὴ τῷ λέγεται ὡς τὰς κορυφὰς αὐτοῦ οὐκ οἷά τε εἶναι ἰδέσθαι: οὐδέκοτε γὰρ αὐτὰς ἀπολείπειν νέφεα οὔτε θέρεος οὔτε χειμωνός, τοῦτο τὸν κίονα τοῦ οὐρανοῦ λέγουσι οἱ ἐπεχώριοι εἶναι. ἐπὶ τοῦτον τοῦ όρεος οἱ ἄνθρωποι οὖν ἐπώνυμοι ἐγένοντο καλέονται γὰρ δὴ "Ατλάντες. λέγονται δὲ οὔτε ἐμψυχον οὐδὲν συνέσθαι οὔτε ἐνύπνια ὀρᾶν.

185. Μέχρι μὲν δὴ τῶν "Ατλάντων τούτων ἔχω τὰ οὐνόματα τῶν ἐν τῇ ὁφρύῃ κατοικημένων καταλέξαι, τὸ δ᾽ ἀπὸ τούτων οὐκέτι. διήκει δ᾽ οὖν ἡ ὁφρύς μέχρι Ἡρακλέων στηλέων καὶ τὸ ἐξω τούτων. ἔστι δὲ ἀλὸς τε μεταλλὸν ἐν αὐτῇ διὰ δέκα ἡμερῶν ὁδόν καὶ ἄνθρωποι οἰκέοντες. τὰ δὲ οἰκία τούτοις πάσι ἐκ τῶν ἁλίνων χόνδρων οἰκοδομέωται. ταῦτα γὰρ ἡδὴ τῆς Διβύης ἀνομβρα ἔστι: οὐ γὰρ ἁν ἡδυνεῖτο μένειν οἱ τοίχοι έντες ἁλίνοι, εἰ δὲ ἐν αὐτῷ καὶ λευκὸς καὶ πορφυρός τὸ ἐπίδος ὀρύσσεται. ὑπὲρ δὲ τῆς ὁφρύς τοῦ πρὸς νότον καὶ ἐς μεσογαίαν τῆς Διβύης ἐρήμος καὶ ἀνυδρος καὶ ἄθηρος καὶ ἀνομβρος καὶ ἄξυλος ἔστι ἡ χώρη, καὶ ἰκμάδος ἔστι ἐν αὐτῇ οὐδέν.

186. Οὗτος μὲν μέχρι τῆς Τριτονίδος λήμνης ἀπὶ Λιγύπτων νομάδες εἰσὶ κρεοφάγοι τε καὶ γαλακτοπόται Δίβυες, καὶ θηλέων τε βοῶν οὕτω γενόμενοι, διότι περ οὔδε Λιγύπτιοι, καὶ οὐ τρέφοντες. βοῶν μὲν νυν θηλέων οὖδ' αἱ Κυρηναῖοι γυναῖκες δικαιεύοις πατέεσθαι διὰ τὴν ἐν Λιγύπτω Ἁσίων, ἀλλὰ καὶ νηστήσας αὐτῇ καὶ
whereof is slender and a complete circle; and it is said to be so high that its summits cannot be seen, for cloud is ever upon them winter and summer. The people of the country call it the pillar of heaven. These men have got their name, which is Atlantes, from this mountain. It is said that they eat no living creature, and see no dreams in their sleep.

185. I know and can tell the names of all the peoples that dwell on the ridge as far as the Atlantes, but no farther than that. But this I know, that the ridge reaches as far as the Pillars of Heracles and beyond them. There is a mine of salt on it every ten days' journey, and men dwell there. Their houses are all built of the blocks of salt; for even these are parts of Libya where no rain falls; for the walls, being of salt, could not stand firm if there were rain. The salt there is both white and purple. Beyond this ridge the southern and inland parts of Libya are desert and waterless; no wild beasts are there, nor rain, nor forests; this region is wholly without moisture.

186. Thus from Egypt to the Tritonian lake, the Libyans are nomads that eat meat and drink milk; for the same reason as the Egyptians too profess, they will not touch the flesh of cows; and they rear no swine. The women of Cyrene too deem it wrong to eat cows' flesh, because of the Isis of Egypt; nay, they even honour her with fasts and
HORTODOTUS

όρτας ἐπιτελέοντος· αἱ δὲ τῶν Βαρκαίων γυναῖκες οὖν ὑπὸ πρὸς τὴν βουσί γεύονται.

187. Ταῦτα μὲν δὴ οὕτω ἔχει. τὸ δὲ πρὸς ἐσπέρησι τῆς Τριτώνίδος λίμνης οὐκέτι νομάδες εἰσὶ, Λίβνες οὖν νόμοισι τοισὶ αὐτοῖσι χρεώμενοι, οὖν κατὰ τὰ παιδία ποιεύτες οἶον τι καὶ οἱ νομάδες εὖθασι ποιεῖν. οἱ γὰρ δὲ τῶν Λίβνων ν μάδες, εἰ μὲν πάντες, οὐκ ἔχω ἄντρεκέως τούτῳ εἰπεῖν, ποιεύσι δὲ αὐτῶν συχνὸν τοιάδε τῶν παιδίων τῶν σφετέρων, ἐπεὰν τετραέτεα γένηται, οἰστη προβατῶν καϊούσι τᾶς ἔν τῆς κορυφῇς φλέξας, μετεξέπεροι δὲ αὐτὸν τᾶς ἔν τῷ κροτά-
φοισί, τούθε εἰνεκα ὡς μὴ σφεάς ἐσ τῶν πάντα χρόνου καταρρέουν φλέγμα ἐκ τῆς κεφαλῆς δηλέ-

188. Θυσία τὸ τοῖς νομάσι εἰσὶ αἴδεν ἐπεαν τοῦ ὄρτος ἀπάρξουσι τοῦ κτήνεος, ῥυτίκουσι ὑπὲρ τῶν δύσων, τοῦτο δὲ ποιήσαντες ἀποστρέ-

φουσι τῶν αὐχένων αὐτοῦθν σύνουσι δὴ ἥλιο καὶ σελήνη μοῦνοι, τούτοισι μὲν τῶν πάντων Λί-


HERODOTUS

βνες σύνουσι, ἀτὰρ οἱ περὶ τὴν Τριτώνιδα λίμνην νέμονται τῇ Ἀθηναίην μάλιστα, μετὰ δὲ τῷ Τρι-

tων Καὶ τῷ Ποσείδωνι.

189. Τὴν δὲ ἄρα έσθήτα καὶ τὰς αἰγίδας τῶν ἀγαλμάτων τῆς Ἀθηναίης ἐκ τῶν Λίβνωσέων
festivals; and the Barcaean women refuse to eat swine too as well as cows.

187. Thus it is with this region. But westward of the Tritonian lake the Libyans are not nomads; they follow not the same usages, nor treat their children as the nomads are wont to do. For the practice of many Libyan nomads (I cannot with exactness say whether it be the practice of all) is to take their children when four years old, and with grease of sheep's wool to burn the veins of their scalps or sometimes of their temples, that so the children may be never afterwards afflicted by phlegm running down from the head. They say that this makes their children most healthy. In truth no men known to us are so healthy as the Libyans; whether it be by reason of this practice, I cannot with exactness say; but most healthy they certainly are. When the children smart from the pain of the burning the Libyans have found a remedy, which is, to heal them by moistening with goats' urine. This is what the Libyans themselves say.

188. The nomads' manner of sacrificing is to cut a piece from the victim's ear for first-fruits and throw it over the house; which done they turn back the victim's neck. They sacrifice to no gods save the sun and moon; that is, this is the practice of the whole nation; but the dwellers by the Tritonian lake sacrifice to Athene chiefly, and next to Triton and Poseidon.

189. It would seem that the robe and aegis of the images of Athene were copied by the Greeks from the Libyan women; for save that the dress of Libyan
ἐποίησαντο οἱ "Ελληνες· πλὴν γὰρ ἢ ὅτι σκυτάνη ἢ ἔσθης τῶν Λιβυσσέων ἐστὶ καὶ οἱ θύσανοι οἱ ἐκ τῶν αἰγίδων αὐτῆς ὄψεις εἰσὶ ἄλλα ἰμάντινως, τὰ γε ἄλλα πάντα κατὰ τῶν ἐσταλται. καὶ δὴ καὶ τὸ οὖνομα κατηγορεῖ ὅτι ἐκ Λιβύης ἦκε ἡ στολή τῶν Παλλαδίων· αἰγέας γὰρ περιβάλλονται ψιλὰς περὶ τὴν ἔσθητα θυσανωτάς αἱ Λίβυσσαι κεχρεμένας ἐρευνθὲν, ἐκ δὲ τῶν αἰγίδων τούτων αἰγίδας οἱ "Ελληνες μετανόμασαν. δοκεῖ δὲ ἐμοργε καὶ ὅλολυγη ἐν ἱροῖσι ἐνθαῦτα πρῶτον γενέσθαι κάρτα γὰρ ταύτη χρέωνται καλῶς αἱ Λίβυσσαι. καὶ τέσσερα ἵππους συζευγνώναι παρὰ Λιβύων οἱ "Ελληνες μεμαθήκασι.

190. Θάπτοντι δὲ τοὺς ἀποθνήσκοντας οἱ νομάδες κατὰ περ ὁ "Ελληνες, πλὴν Νασαμώνων οὕτω δὲ κατημένους θάπτοντι, φυλάσσοντες, ἐπεάν ἀπὶ τὴν ψυχὴν, ὅκασ μὴν κατίσουσι μηδὲ ὕπτιος ἀποθανεῖται. οἰκήματα δὲ σύμπηκτα ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἐνεργοῖς περὶ σχοίνους ἐστὶ, καὶ ταύτα περιφοριτά. νόμοις μὲν τοιούτοις οὕτω χρέωνται.

191. Τὸ δὲ πρὸς ἐσπέρης τοῦ Τριτώνος ποταμοῦ Λυσέων ἐχονται ἀρτοτήρες ἤδη Λίβυες καὶ οἰκίας νυμφώντες ἱκτήσθαι, τοῖς οὖνομα κεῖται Μάξες· οὐ τὰ ἐπὶ δεξιὰ τῶν κεφαλέων κομώσει, τὰ δὲ ἐπὶ ἀριστέρα κείρουσι, τὸ δὲ σῶμα χριόνται μίλτω. φασὶ δὲ οὕτω εἶναι τῶν ἐκ Τροῖτης ἀνδρῶν. ἦ δὲ

1 The aegis is the conventional buckler of Pallas, which later was represented as a breast-plate. Probably the conservatism of religious art retained for the warrior goddess the goatskin buckler which was one of the earliest forms of human armour.
women is leathern, and that the tassels of their goatskin corselets are not snakes but made of thongs of hide, in all else their equipment is the same. Nay, the very name bewrays that the raiment of the statues of Pallas has come from Libya; for Libyan women wear hairless tasselled goatskins over their dress, coloured with madder, and the Greeks have changed the name of these goatskins into their "aegis." 1 Further, to my thinking the ceremonial chant 2 first took its rise in Libya: for the women of that country chant very tunefully. And it is from the Libyans that the Greeks have learnt to drive four-horse chariots.

190. The dead are buried by the nomads in Greek fashion, save by the Nasamones. These bury their dead sitting, being careful to make the dying man sit when he gives up the ghost, and not die lying supine. Their dwellings are compact of asphodel-stalks 3 twined about reeds; they can be carried hither and thither. Such are the Libyan usages.

191. Westward of the river Triton and next to the Aecans begins the country of Libyans who till the soil and possess houses; they are called Maxyes; they wear their hair long on the right side of their heads and shave the left, and they paint their bodies with vermillion. These claim descent from the men who came from Troy. Their country, and the rest

1 The ἄλαυγη (says Dr. Macan) was proper to the worship of Athene; a cry of triumph or exultation, perhaps of Eastern origin and connected with the Semitic Hallelu (which survives in Hallelu-jah).
2 Asphodel is a long-stalked plant. The name has acquired picturesque associations; but Homer's "asphodel meadow" is in the unhappy realm of the dead, and is intended clearly to indicate a place of rank weeds.
χώρη αὕτη τε καὶ ἡ λοιπὴ τῆς Λιβύης ἢ πρὸς ἐσπέρην πολλὰ θηριωδεστέρη τε καὶ δασυτέρη ἔστι τῆς τῶν νομάδων χώρης. ἡ μὲν γὰρ ὅπρος τὴν ἡδὸ τῆς Λιβύης, τὴν οἱ νομάδες νέμουσι, ἔστι ταπεινή τε καὶ ψαμμώδης μέχρι τοῦ Τρίτωνος ποταμοῦ, ἡ δὲ ἀπὸ τούτο τὸ πρὸς ἐσπέρην ἢ τῶν ἀροτήρων ὑφειὴ τε κάρτα καὶ δάσεα καὶ θηριώδης· καὶ γὰρ οἱ ὄφεις οἱ ὑπερμεγάθες καὶ οἱ λεύοντες κατὰ τούτους εἰσὶ καὶ οἱ ἐλέφαντες τε καὶ ἄρκτοι καὶ ἄσπίδες τε καὶ ὅνοι οἱ τὰ κέρα ἐχοντες καὶ οἱ κυνοκέφαλοι καὶ οἱ ἀκέφαλοι οἱ ἐν τοῖς στήθεσι τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς ἐχουσε, ὡς δὴ λέγονται ὑπὸ Λιβύων, καὶ οἱ ἄγριοι ἄνδρες καὶ γυναίκες ἄγριαι, καὶ ἀλλὰ πληθεὶ πολλὰ θηρία ἀκατάφευστα.

102. Κατὰ τοὺς νομάδας δὲ ἔστι τούτων οὐδὲν, ἀλλ’ ἀλλὰ τοιάδε, πῦναργοι καὶ ξορκάδες καὶ θαυμάλες καὶ ὅνοι, οὐκ οἱ τὰ κέρα ἐχοντες ἀλλ’ ἀλλοι ἄποτοι (οὐ γὰρ δὴ πίνουσι), καὶ ὄρνες, τῶν τὰ κέρα τοίσι φοίνιξι οἱ πῆχες ποιεύται (μέγαθος δε τὸ θηρίον τούτο κατὰ βοῶν ἔστι), καὶ βασισάρια καὶ τιναῖ καὶ υστριχες καὶ κρισὶ ἄγριοι καὶ δίκτυες καὶ θῶες καὶ πᾶνθρες καὶ βόρνες, καὶ κροκόδειλοι ὅσοι τε τριπῆχες χερσαίοι, τῆς οὖ ζαύρρησε εἴμφερστατοι, καὶ στρουβοὶ κατάγαιοι, καὶ ὄφεις μικροί, κέρας ἐν ἐκαστος ἐχοντες· ταύτα τε δὴ αὐτόθι ἐστὶ θηρία καὶ τὰ περ τῇ ἀλλῃ, πλὴν ἐλάφων τε καὶ ύνος ἄγριον· ἔλαφος δὲ καὶ ὅς ἄγριος ἐν Λιβύῃ πάμπαν οὐκ ἔστι. μνών δὲ γένεα τριξά αὐτόθι ἐστὶ· οὐ μὲν δύποδες καλέουσαι, οὐ δὲ ἐγερίες (τὸ δὲ οὕνωμα τούτο ἔστι μὲν Λιβυστικὸν, δύναται δὲ κατ’ Ἑλλάδα γλώσσαν
of the western part of Libya is much fuller of wild beasts and more wooded than the country of the nomads. For the eastern region of Libya, which the nomads inhabit, is low-lying and sandy as far as the river Triton; but the land westward of this, where dwell the tillers of the soil, is exceeding mountainous and wooded and full of wild beasts. In that country are the huge snakes and the lions, and the elephants and bears and asps, the horned asses, the dog-headed men and the headless that have their eyes in their breasts, as the Libyans say, and the wild men and women, besides many other creatures not fabulous.

192. But in the nomads' country there are none of these; yet there are others, white-rumped antelopes, gazelles, hartebeest, asses, not the horned asses, but those that are called "undrinking" (for indeed they never drink), the oryx, the horns whereof are made into the sides of a lyre, foxes, hyenas, porcupines, wild rams, the dictys, jackals, panthers, the borys, land crocodiles three cubits long, most like to lizards, and ostriches and little one-horned serpents; all these beasts are there besides those that are elsewhere too, save only deer and wild boar; of these two kinds there are none at all in Libya. There are in this country three kinds of mice, the two-footed, the "zegeriês" (this is a Libyan word, signifying in our language hills),

1 The dictys and borys are not identifiable. (But there is a small African deer called the Dik-dik.)

2 Clearly, the jerboa.
HERODOTUS

βουνοḥ, οὗ δὲ ἐχινέες. εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ γαλαὶ ἐν τῷ σιλφῶ τινώς μεν ἡ θηρία ἢ τῶν νομάδων Λιβύων γῆ ἤχει, ὡσον ἡμέες ἱστορεόντες ἐπὶ μακρότατον οἷοι τε ἐγενομέθα εὖ ἐξικέβαζαι.

193. Μαξύων δὲ Λιβύων Ζαύνκες ἔχονται, τοῖς αἱ γυναῖκες ἴναιεύσι τὰ ἀρματα ἐς τῶν πόλεμον.

194. Τοῦτων δὲ Γύξαντες ἔχονται, ἐν τοῖς μελιτοῦ σελήνων μὲν μελίσσων κατεργίζονται, πολλῷ δὲ ἐτε πλέον λέγεται δημοσεργοῦς ἄνδρας ποιεῖν, μιλτοῦσι δὲ ἐν πάντες οὕτω καὶ πιθηκοφαγόνοις οὐ δὲ σφι ἄφθονοι ὅσοι ἐν τοῖς ὁρεσί γίνονται.

195. Κατὰ τοῦτοι δὲ λέγουσι Καρχηδόνων κεῖσθαι νῆσον τῇ οὐνωμα εἶναι Κύρανιν, μήκος μὲν διηκοσίων σταδίων, πλάτος δὲ στεινῆ, διαβατόν ἐκ τῆς ἦπείρου, ἐξαιτεῖν τε μεστήν καὶ ἀμπέλων. λίμνη δὲ ἐν αὐτῇ εἶναι, ἐκ τῆς αἱ παρθένοι τῶν ἐπιχορίων πτεροίσι ὀρυγίῳς κερυκέμνοις πίσσῃ ἐκ τῆς ἱλίου κῆφισμα ἀναφέρουσι χρυσοῦ. ταῦτα εἰ μὲν ἐστὶ ἄλθέως οὐκ οἴδα, τὰ δὲ λέγεται γράφων εἰή δὲ ἐν πάν, ὅκου καὶ ἐν Ζακύνθῳ ἐκ λίμνης καὶ ὑδάτος πίσσαν ἀναφερομένην αὐτὸς ἐγὼ ὄρων. εἰσὶ μὲν καὶ πλευνεῖς αἱ λίμναι αὐτόθι, ἡ δὲ ὁν μεγίστη αὐτέων ἐβδομη κοντα ποῖῶν πάντη, βάθος δὲ διόργυγος ἐστὶ· ἐς ταύτην κοντὸν κατείσθη ἐπ᾽ ἀκρο τυρσίν προσδησάντες καὶ ἐπείτα ἀναφέρουσι τῇ μυρσίν πίσσαν, ὥμοι μὲν ἑξοῦσαν ἀσφάλτου, τὰ δὲ ἄλλα τῆς Πιερικῆς πίσσης ἀμείνω. ἔσχενωσι δὲ ἐς λάκκον ὀρφυγμένον ἀγχοῦ τῆς λίμνης· ἐπειδὰν δὲ

396
and the bristly-haired, as they are called. There are also weasels found in the silphium, very like to the weasels of Tartessus. So many are the wild creatures of the nomads' country, as far as by our utmost enquiry we have been able to learn.

193. Next to the Maxyes of Libya are the Zauokes, whose women drive their chariots to war.

194. Next to these are the Gyzantes, where much honey is made by bees, and much more yet (so it is said) by craftsmen. It is certain that they all paint themselves with vermillion and eat apes, which do greatly abound in their mountains.

195. Off their coast (say the Carchedonians) there lies an island called Cyrauis, two hundred furlongs long and narrow across; there is a passage to it from the mainland; it is full of olives and vines. It is said that there is a lake in this island wherefrom the maidens of the country draw up gold-dust out of the mud with feathers smeared with pitch. I know not if this be truly so; I write but what is said. Yet all things are possible; for I myself saw pitch drawn from the water of a pool in Zacynthus. The pools there are many; the greatest of them is seventy feet long and broad, and two fathoms deep. Into this they drop a pole with a myrtle branch made fast to its end, and bring up pitch on the myrtle, smelling like asphalt, and for the rest better than the pitch of Pieria. Then they pour it into a pit that they have dug near the pool; and when

\[1\text{cp. vii. 31, where men are said to make honey out of wheat and tamarisk.}\]
HERODOTUS

άθροίσωσί συχνήν, οὔτω εσ τούς ἀμφορέας ἐκ τοῦ λάκκου καταχέουσι. δε τι δ' ἂν ἑσπέρη ἐσ τὴν λίμνην, υπὸ γῆν ἵνα ἀναφαίνεται ἐν τῇ θαλάσσῃ. ἢ δὲ ἀπέχει ὑπὸ τέσσερα στάδια ἀπὸ τῆς λίμνης. οὔτω ὅν καὶ τὰ ἀπὸ τῆς νῆσου τῆς ἐπὶ Διβύης κειμένης οἰκότα ἐστὶ ἀληθεῖη.

196. Δέχοντι δὲ καὶ τάδε Καρχηδόνιοι. εἶναι τῆς Διβύης χώρων τε καὶ ἀνθρώπους ἤξον Ἡρακλέων στηλέων κατοικημένους· ἐς τοὺς ἐπεαν ἄπικοινται καὶ ἐξέλονται τὰ φορτία, βέντες αὐτὰ ἑπεξῆς παρὰ τὴν κυματώγην, ἐσβάντες ἐς τὰ πλοῖα τούφειν καπνόν. τοὺς δ' ἐπιχωρίουσι ἰδομένους τοὺν καπνὸν ἕναι ἐπὶ τὴν θάλασσαν καὶ ἑπείτα ἀντὶ τῶν φορτίων χρυσὸν τιθέναι καὶ ἐξαναχωρεῖν πρὸς ἀπὸ τῶν φορτίων. τοὺς δὲ Καρχηδόνιοι εἰσβάντας σκέπτεσθαι, καὶ ἢν μὲν φαίνεται σφι ἄξιος ὁ χρυσὸς τῶν φορτίων, ἀνελόμενοι ἀπαλλάσσονται, ἢν δὲ μὴ ἄξιος, ἐσβάντες ὁπίσω ἐς τὰ πλοῖα κατέτατον· οἱ δὲ προσελθόντες ἄλλον πρὸς ὅν ἔθηκαν χρυσὸν, ἐς οὐ ἄν πείθωσιν. ἀδικέειν δὲ οὐδετέρους· οὔτε γὰρ αὐτοὺς τοῦ χρυσοῦ ἀπέτε- σθαι πρὸς ἀν σφι ἀπιστῶθη τῇ ἄξιη τῶν φορτίων, οὔτ' ἐκεῖνος τῶν φορτίων ἀπέτεσθαι πρότερον ἢ αὐτὸ τὸ χρυσὸν λάβωσίν.

197. Οὕτω μὲν εἰς τοὺς ἡμεῖς ἔχομεν Διβυνων ὀνομάζαι, καὶ τούτων οἱ πολλοὶ βασιλέως τοῦ Μηδών οὗτε τι νῦν οὕτε τότε ἐφροτιζον οὐδεν. τοσόνδε δὲ ἔτι ἐχο εἰπεῖν περὶ τῆς χώρης ταύτης, ὅτι τέσσερα ἐθνεα νέμεται αὐτὴν καὶ οὐ πλέω τούτων, ὅσον ἡμεῖς ἰδμεν, καὶ τὰ μὲν δύο αὐτο- χθόνων τῶν ἐθνῶν τὰ δὲ δύο οὐ, Διβυνες μὲν καὶ Αἱβιοπες αὐτοχθονες, οἱ μὲν τὰ πρὸς βορέω οὐ δὲ
much is collected there, they fill their vessels from the pit. Whatever thing falls into the pool is carried under ground and appears again in the sea, which is about four furlongs distant from the pool. Thus, then, the story coming from the island off the Libyan coast is like the truth.

196. Another story too is told by the Carchedonians. There is a place in Libya, they say, where men dwell beyond the Pillars of Heracles; to this they come and unload their cargo; then having laid it orderly along the beach they go aboard their ships and light a smoking fire. The people of the country see the smoke, and coming to the sea they lay down gold to pay for the cargo and withdraw away from the wares. Then the Carchedonians disembark and examine the gold; if it seems to them a fair price for their cargo, they take it and go their ways; but if not, they go aboard again and wait, and the people come back and add more gold till the shipmen are satisfied. Herein neither party (it is said) defrauds the other; the Carchedonians do not lay hands on the gold till it matches the value of their cargo, nor do the people touch the cargo till the shipmen have taken the gold.

197. These are all the Libyans whom we can name, and of their kings the most part cared nothing for the king of the Medes at the time of which I write, nor do they care for him now. I have thus much further to say of this country: four nations and no more, as far as our knowledge serves, inhabit it, whereof two are aboriginal and two are not; the Libyans in the north and the Ethiopians in the
τὰ πρὸς νότου τῆς Διβύης οἰκέοντες, Φοίνικες δὲ καὶ Ἑλληνες ἔπηλυδες.

198. Δοκεῖ δὲ μοι οὕτω ἄρετὴν εἶναι τις ἡ Διβύη σποῦδαίνῃ ὡστε ἡ Ἀσίη ἡ Ἑυρώπη παραβληθῆναι, πλὴν Κίνυπος μοῦνς· τὸ γὰρ δὴ αὐτὸ ὑπ' ἐμοί τῆς κρατοῦ ἑκέρευεν οὐδὲ εὐκερεί τῇ ἄλλῃ Διβύη. μελάγγαιος τε γὰρ ἐστὶ καὶ ἐπιφόρος πίδαξ, καὶ οὔτε αὐχμοῦσι δρομιδρομοὶ οὐδὲν οὔτε ὑμβρόν πλέω πιούσα δεδηληταὶ νεκρὰ γὰρ ὁ παύτα τῆς Διβύης. τῶν δὲ ἐκφορῶν τοῦ καρποῦ παύτα μέτρα τῇ Βαβύλωνι γη κατισταῖ. ἀγαθὴ δὲ γη καὶ τὴν Εὐσεβίται νεκροὶ ἐπικοστὰ, ἐπὲ οὔσα αὐτὴ ἐνυτῆς ἀριστα ἐνείκη, ἐκφερεῖ, ἡ δὲ ἐν τῇ Κίνυπτι ἐπὶ τρηκόσια.

199. Ἐχει δὲ καὶ ἡ Κυριναία χώρη, ὑψηλοτάτη ταύτης τῆς Διβύης τῆς οἱ νομάδες νεκροὶ, τρεῖς ὄρας ἐν ἐνυτὴ ἀξίας θῶματος. πρῶτα μὲν γὰρ τὰ παραβαλασσία τῶν καρπῶν ὀργῶν ἀμάσθαι τε καὶ τρουγάθαι· τούτων τε δὴ συγκεκομοσμένων τὰ ὕπέρ τῶν θαλασσιδῶν χώρων, τὰ μέσα ὀργῶν συγκομίζεσθαι, τὰ βουνοὺς καλέοντες συγκομιστῶ τοῦτοι οὐκ ἐνυτῆς καρπῶς καὶ ὁ ἐν τῇ κατυπερτάτη τῆς γῆς πεπαίνεται τε καὶ ὀργῶ, ὡστε ἐκκεπτοῖ τε καὶ καταβέβρωται ὁ πρῶτος καρπὸς καὶ ὁ τελευταῖος συμπαραγίνεται. οὔτω ἐπὶ ὅκτω οὐκις Κυριναίοις ὁπώς ἐπέχει. ταύτα μὲν νυν ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον εἰρήσθω.

200. Οἱ δὲ Φερετίμης τιμωροὶ Πέρσαι ἐπείτε ἐκ τῆς Διγύππου σταλέοντες ὑπὸ Ἀρνάνδεω ἀπὶ κατο ἐς τὴν Βάρκην, ἐπολιορκεόν τὴν πόλιν
south of Libya are aboriginal, the Phoenicians and Greeks are later settlers.

198. To my thinking, there is in no part of Libya any great excellence whereby it should be compared to Asia or Europe, save only in the region which is called by the same name as its river, Cinyps. But this region is a match for the most fertile cornlands in the world, nor is it at all like to the rest of Libya. For the soil is black and well watered by springs, and has no fear of drought, nor is it harmed by drinking excessive showers (there is rain in this part of Libya). Its yield of corn is of the same measure as in the land of Babylon. The land inhabited by the Euhesperitae is also good; it yields at the most an hundredfold; but the land of the Cinyps region yields three hundredfold.

199. The country of Cyrene, which is the highest part of that Libya which the nomads inhabit, has the marvellous boon of three harvest seasons. First on the sea-coast the fruits of the earth are ripe for reaping and plucking: when these are gathered, the middle region above the coast, that which they call the Hills, is ripe for gathering: and no sooner is this yield of the middle country gathered than the highest-lying crops are mellow and ripe, so that the latest fruits of the earth are coming in when the earliest are already spent by way of food and drink. Thus the Cyrenaeans have a harvest lasting eight months. Of these matters, then, enough.

200. Now when the Persians sent by Aryandes from Egypt to avenge Pheretime came to Barce, they laid siege to the city, demanding the surrender of

1 The story broken off in ch. 167 is resumed.
Άρκεσίλεω τῶν δὲ πάν γὰρ ἦν τὸ πλῆθος μεταίτιον, οὐκ ἔδεκυντο τοὺς λόγους. Ἔνθαίτα δὴ ἐπολιόρκεσαν τὴν Βάρκην ἐπὶ μῆνας ἐννέα, ὀρύσσοντες τὲ ὀρύγματα ὑπόγαια φέροντα ἕσε τὸ τείχος καὶ προσβολὰς καρπερὰς ποιεῖμενοι. τὰ μὲν γὰρ ὀρύγματα ἀνὴρ χαλκεῖς ἀνεύρε ἑπιχαλκῷ ἀσπίδι, ὅπε ἐπιφρασθεὶς περιφέρων αὐτὴν ἐντὸς τοῦ τείχους προσίσχε πρὸ τὸ δαπέδου τῆς πόλεως. τὰ μὲν δὴ ἄλλα ἐσκε κωφὰ πρὸς τὰ προσίσχε, κατὰ δὲ τὰ ὀρυσσόμενα ἤχεσκε ὁ χαλκὸς τῆς ἀσπίδος. ἀντιούσσοντες δὲ ἀν ταύτη οἱ Βαρκαίοι ἐκτείνων τῶν Περσέων τούς νεκρυχεύοντας. τούτῳ μὲν δὴ οὕτω ἐξευρέθη, τὰς δὲ προσβολὰς ἀπεκρούσε τοῖς Βαρκαίοι.

201. Χρόνον δὲ δὴ πολλῶν τριβομένων καὶ πιπτόντων ἀμφοτέρων πολλῶν καὶ οὐκ ἠσσον τῶν Περσέων, Ἀμασις, ὁ στρατηγὸς τοῦ πεζοῦ μηχανᾶται τοιάδε. μαθῶν τοὺς Βαρκαίους ὡς κατὰ μὲν τὸ ἱσχυρὸν οὐκ αἴρετοι εἰπὲν, δόλῳ δὲ αἴρετοι, ποιεῖ τοιάδε νυκτὸς τάφρην ὄρυξας εὑρέαν ἐπέτεινε ξύλα ἀσβενέα ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς, κατυπερθε δὲ ἐπιπολής τῶν ξύλων χοῦν γῆς ἐπεφόρησε ποιέων τῇ ἀλλῃ γῇ ἱσόπεδου. ἀμα ἡμέρῃ δὲ ἐσ ὀργοὺς προεκάλεσε τοὺς Βαρκαίους· οὶ δὲ ἀσπαστῶς ὑπήκουσαν, ἐς δὲ ἐκδε ὀμολογία χρήσαται. τὴν δὲ ὀμολογίαν ἐποιεῖτο τοιῷδε τινὰ, ἐπὶ τῆς κρυπτῆς τάφρον τάμνοντες ὅρκια, ἐστὶν ἢ γῆ αὐτὴ οὕτω ἔχει, μένειν τὸ ὅρκιον κατὰ χώρην, καὶ Βαρκαίους τὸ ὑποτελεῖν φάναι ἄξια βασιλεῖ καὶ Πέρσας μηδὲν ἄλλο νεοχμοῦν κατὰ Βαρκαίους. μετὰ δὲ τὸ ὅρκιον Βαρκαίοι
those who were guilty of the slaying of Arcesilaus: but the Barcaeans, whose whole people were accessory to the deed, would not consent. Then the Persians besieged Barce for nine months, digging underground passages leading to the walls, and making violent assaults. As for the mines, a smith discovered them by the means of a brazen shield, and this is how he found them: carrying the shield round the inner side of the walls he smote it against the ground of the city; all other places where he smote it returned but a dull sound, but where the mines were the bronze of the shield rang clear. Here the Barcaeans made a countermine and slew those Persians who were digging the earth. Thus the mines were discovered, and the assaults were beaten off by the townsmen.

201. When much time was spent and ever many on both sides (not less of the Persians than of their foes) were slain, Amasis the general of the land army devised a plot, as knowing that Barce could not be taken by force but might be taken by guile: he dug by night a wide trench and laid frail planks across it, which he then covered over with a layer of earth level with the ground about it. Then when day came he invited the Barcaeans to confer with him, and they readily consented; at last all agreed to conditions of peace. This was done thus: standing on the hidden trench, they gave and took a sworn assurance that their treaty should hold good while the ground where they stood was unchanged; the Barcaeans should promise to pay a due sum to the king, and the Persians should do the Barcaeans no hurt. When the sworn agreement was made, the townsmen, trusting in it and opening all their
μὲν πιστεύσαντες τούτοις αὐτοῖς τε ἔξησαν ἐκ τοῦ ἄστεος καὶ τῶν πολεμίων ἔως παριέναι ἐς τὸ τεῖχος τῶν Βουλόμενων, τὰς πέσας πύλας ἀνοίγαντες· οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι καταρρίζαντες τὴν κρυπτὴν γέφυραν ἔθεον ἐς ὑπὸ τὸ τεῖχος. κατέρρηξαν δὲ τοῦτο εἶνεκα τὴν ἐποίησαν γέφυραν, ἵνα ἐμπεδοκέοις, ταμόντες τοῖς Βαρκαίοις χρόνον μένειν αἰεὶ τὸ ὅρκιον ὅσον ἦν ἡ γῆ μένη κατὰ τότε ἐχεῖ καταρρῆσας ἐς οὐκέτι ἐμενε τὸ ὅρκιον κατὰ χώρην.

202. Τοὺς μὲν νῦν αἰτιωτάτους τῶν Βαρκαίων ἡ Φερετίμη, ἐπείτε οἱ ἐκ τῶν Περσῶν παρεδόθησαν, ἀνεσκολοπίσσε κύκλῳ τοῦ τείχους, τῶν δὲ σφιγνακίων τοὺς μαζων ἀποταμοῦσα περιέστειξε καὶ τούτοις τοῦ τείχους αὐτῶν ἔκελεν καὶ εἶπε τοὺς Πέρσας πλὴν ὅσοι αὐτῶν ἦσαν Βαττίδαι τοῖς Βαρκαίοις λήμνη ἔκελεν ἡ Φερετίμη.

203. Τοὺς ὅν δὲ λατρεύει τῶν Βαρκαίων οἱ Πέρσαι ἀνδραποδισάμενοι ἀπήσαν ὅπισω καὶ ἐπείτε ἐπὶ τῇ Κυρηναίῳ πόλι ἐπέστησαν, οἱ Κυρηναῖοι λογίων τι ἀποσεῖσθαι διεξῆκαν αὐτῶν διὰ τοῦ ἄστεος. διεξεύσθης δὲ τῆς στρατιᾶς Βάδρης μὲν ὁ τοῦ ναυτικοῦ στρατοῦ στρατηγὸς ἐκεῖνος αἱρεῖν τὴν πόλιν Ἀμασίς δὲ ὁ τοῦ πεζοῦ οὐκ ἐξ ἐπὶ Βάρκης γάρ ἀποσταλὴν χωρὶς Ἐλληνίδα πόλιν· ἐς εἰ διεξελθοῦσι καὶ ἀιροῦνται ἐπὶ Δίος Δυκαίου ἅχθων μετεμελήσει σφι οὐ σχούσι τῇ Κυρηνῳ, καὶ ἐπειρῶντο τὸ δεύτερον παριέναι ἐς αὐτὴν· οἱ δὲ Κυρηναῖοι οὐ περιώρων τούτο ἐπὶ Πέρσης οὐδενὸς μαχομένου φόβος ἐνε-
gates, themselves came out of the city, and suffered all their enemies who so desired to enter within the walls; but the Persians broke down the hidden bridge and ran into the city. They broke down the bridge that they had made, that so they might keep the oath which they had sworn to the Barcaeans, namely, that this treaty should hold good for as long as the ground remained as it was; but if they broke the bridge the treaty held good no longer.

202. Pheretime took the most guilty of the Barcaeans, when they were delivered to her by the Persians, and set them impaled round the top of the wall; she cut off the breasts of their women and planted them round the wall in like manner. As for the remnant of the Barcaeans, she bade the Persians take them as their booty, save as many as were of the house of Battus and not accessory to the murder; to these she committed the governance of the city.

203. The Persians thus enslaved the rest of the Barcaeans, and departed homewards. When they appeared before the city of Cyrene, the Cyrenaeans suffered them to pass through their city, that a certain oracle might be fulfilled. As the army was passing through, Badres the admiral of the fleet was for taking the city, but Amasis the general of the land army would not consent, saying that he had been sent against Bace and no other Greek city; at last they passed through Cyrene and encamped on the hill of Lycaean Zeus; there they repented of not having taken the city, and essayed to enter it again, but the Cyrenaeans would not suffer them. Then, though none attacked them, fear fell upon the Persians, and they
πεσε, ἀποδραμόντες τε ὅσον τε ἔξηκοντα σταδία ἦκοντο· ἱδρυθέντες δὲ τῷ στρατοπέδῳ ταύτη ἦλθε παρὰ Ἀρμάνδεω ἄγγελος ἀποκαλέων αὐτούς. οἳ δὲ Πέρσαι Κυρηναῖοι διεθέντες ἐποδία σφί δοῦναι ἔτυχον, λαβόντες δὲ ταύτα ἀπαλλάσσοντο ἐς τὴν Ἀγγυπτον. παραλαβόντες δὲ τὸ ἐνθεύτεν αὐτοὺς Λίβυες τῆς τε ἐσθήτως ἐνεκα καὶ τῆς σκευῆς τοὺς ὑπολειπομένους αὐτῶν καὶ ἐπελκομένους ἐφόνευον, ἐς δὲ τὴν Ἀγγυπτον ἀπίκοντο.

204. Οὗτος ὁ Περσέων στράτος τῆς Λιβύης ἐκαστάτω ἐς Εὐεσπερίδας ἦλθε. τοὺς δὲ ἕνδρα- ποδίσαντο τῶν Βαρκαίων, τούτους δὲ ἐκ τῆς Ἀγγυπτοῦ ἀνασπάστους ἐποίησαν παρὰ βασιλεά, βασιλεὺς δὲ σφί Δαρείος ἔδωκε τῆς Βακτρίνης χώρης κόμην ἐγκατοικήσας. οὐ δὲ τῇ κόμῃ ταύτῃ οὐνομα ἔθεντο Βάρκην, ἡ περ ἐτι καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ ἢν οἰκεομένη ἐν γῇ τῇ Βακτρίῃ.

205. Οὐ μὲν οὖν ἡ Φερετίμη ἐν τὴν ζῷην κατε- πλεξε. ὦς γὰρ δὴ τάχιστα ἐκ τῆς Λιβύης τισα- μένη τοὺς Βαρκαίους ἀπενόστησε ἐς τὴν Ἀγγυπτον, ἀπέδανε κακῶς· ξῶσα γὰρ εὐλέων ἔξεσε, ὡς ἀρα ἀνθρώπους αἰ λίπην ἰαχυραὶ τιμωρίας πρὸς θεῶν ἐπίφθονοι γίνονται· ἐκ μὲν δὴ Φερετίμης τῆς Βάττου τοιαύτη τε καὶ τοσαύτη τιμωρίᾳ ἐγένετο ἐς Βαρκαίους.
fled to a place sixty furlongs distant and there en
camped; and presently while they were there a
messenger from Aryandes came to the camp bidding
them return. The Persians asked and obtained of
the Cyrenaeans provisions for their march, having
received which they departed, to go to Egypt; but
after that they fell into the hands of the Libyans,
who slew the laggards and stragglers of the host for
the sake of their garments and possessions; till at
last they came to Egypt.

204. This Persian armament advanced as far as
Euhesperidae in Libya and no farther. As for the
Barcaeans whom they had taken for slaves, they
carried them from Egypt into banishment and
brought them to the king, and Darius gave them
a town of Bactria to dwell in. They gave this town
the name Barce, and it remained an inhabited place
in Bactria till my own lifetime.

205. But Pheretime fared ill too, and made no
good ending of her life. For immediately after she
had revenged herself on the Barcaeans and returned
to Egypt, she died a foul death; her living body
festered and bred worms: so wroth, it would seem,
are the gods with over-violent human vengeance.
Such, and so great, was the vengeance which
Pheretime daughter of Battus wrought upon the
people of Barce.
INDEX OF PROPER NAMES
INDEX OF PROPER NAMES

Abaris, lv. 36
Aces, ili. 117
Achaemenes, ili. 12
Achaemenidae, ili. 65
Achilles' Race, lv. 55, 76
Adleran, lv. 159
Adrias, iv. 33
Adyrimachidae, lv. 103
Aenes (1), ili. 39
— (2), lv. 138
Aegean, iv. 85
Aegus, lv. 149
Aegidae, iv. 149
Aegina, ili. 50, 131
Aegish, ili. 92
Aegyptus, ili. 1-16 et passim
Aenus, lv. 90
Aenodia, ili. 1, 90 ; lv. 89, 138
Aessanias, lv. 150
Aeschryonian tribe, ili. 26
Aethiopis, ili. 17, 19, 21, 23, 30, 94, 97; lv. 101, 197
Agathyrsi, lv. 49, 100, 102, 103, 123
Agathyrsus, lv. 10
Agbatana (1), ili. 64, 92
— (2), ili. 62, 64
Aegon, lv. 147
Aglonachus, lv. 164
Agricance, lv. 90
Alarod, ili. 94
Alaxir, lv. 164
Alazones, lv. 17, 52
Alliat, ili. 8
Alips, lv. 49
Amasis (1), ili. 1, 4, 10, 14, 16, 40-43, 47, 128
— (2), lv. 167, 201, 203
Amazones, lv. 110-117
Ammonit, ili. 25-26; lv. 181
Amphinarnus, ili. 91
Amphictates, ili. 59
Amphilochus, ili. 91

AMYRTAEUS, ili. 15
Anacharsis, lv. 46, 76, 77
Anacreon, ili. 121
Anaphlystus, lv. 99
Androphagi, lv. 18, 100, 102, 106, 119, 125
Andros, lv. 33
Angrus, lv. 49
Aparytae, ili. 91
Aphrodias, lv. 169
Aphrodite, ili. 8; lv. 59, 67
Apia, lv. 59
Apis, ili. 27-29, 33, 64
Apollo, ili. 52; lv. 15, 59, 155, 163
Appollonia, lv. 90, 93
Apries, ili. 1; lv. 150
Arabia, ili. 4, 8, 9, 88, 91, 97, 107, 112; lv. 39, 42
Aramus, lv. 48
Araxes, ili. 36; lv. 11, 40
Arcadia, lv. 161
Areselust (1), lv. 159
— (2), lv. 160
— (3), lv. 162, 164, 165, 167, 200
Archias, ili. 55
Ares, lv. 59, 62
Arge, lv. 35
Argimpass, lv. 59, 67
Argippae, lv. 25
Argo, lv. 145, 179
Argos, ili. 151; lv. 152
Ariantatus, lv. 81
Ariaphthora, lv. 76, 78
Arit, ili. 93
Aristias, ili. 110; lv. 13-27
Aristagoras (1), lv. 133
— (2), lv. 138
Ariston, lv. 13-15
Aristodemos, lv. 147
Ariston, lv. 138
Aristophilides, ili. 136
Armenia, ili. 93
INDEX OF PROPER NAMES

Arpoxals, lv. 5, 6
Artabanus, lv. 83, 143
Artace, lv. 14
Artanes, lv. 49
Artemisia, lv. 33, 87
Artensa, lv. 45
Artesus, lv. 92
Artona, iii. 128
Arystea, iii. 88
Arystone, iii. 88
Aryston, lv. 166, 167, 200, 203
Asbytatan, lv. 170
Asia (continent), passim: (wife of Prometheus), lv. 45
Asies, lv. 45
Aspathines, iii. 70, 78
Assyria, iii. 92, 155; lv. 30, 87
Astyages, iii. 62
Athene, iii. 59; lv. 180, 189
Athyr, lv. 49
Atal, lv. 49, 184
Atossa, iii. 63, 88, 133, 134
Attica, iii. 134
Auchatae, lv. 6
Auriga, lv. 172, 182
Auras, lv. 49
Aushtrae, lv. 171
Auster, lv. 180, 191
Austrias, lv. 147
Azira, lv. 157, 169
Babylon, iii. 89, 95, 150-159; lv. 108
Bactria, iii. 92, 102; lv. 204
Badres, lv. 167, 204
Baghmas, iii. 128
Barea (1), iii. 15, 91; lv. 164, 167, 171, 200-204
— (2), lv. 204
Battias, lv. 202
Battus (1), lv. 150, 155, 159
— (2), lv. 159
— (3), lv. 161, 205
Borysthenes (river), lv. 5, 18, 24, 45, 47, 53-56, 81, 101
— (town), lv. 17, 18, 53, 74, 78
Bosporus (Cimmerian), lv. 12, 28, 100
— (Thracian), lv. 83, 85, 86, 118
Brauron, lv. 145
Brenes, lv. 99
Brongus, lv. 49
Budini, lv. 21, 108
Byzantium, lv. 87, 144
Cabiri, iii. 57
Cadamus, lv. 147
Cadytias, iii. 5
Calasirius, lv. 180
Calchdon, lv. 85, 144
Caltamias, iii. 97
Calhatius, iii. 38
Caltipidae, lv. 17
Callis, lv. 147
Cambyse, passim ap. iii.
Carchedon, lv. 17, 19; lv. 43, 195
Carcinia, lv. 55, 99
Carla, iii. 11, 90
Carpathia, lv. 45
Carps, lv. 49
Carystus, lv. 53
Castan (mountain), iii. 5
Caspayr, iii. 102; lv. 44
Caspian, iii. 92, 93; lv. 40
Cassandana, iii. 2
Cassiterides, iii. 115
Catari, lv. 6
Caucasus, iii. 97; lv. 12
Caecones, lv. 148
Caystrobius, lv. 13
Celtia, lv. 49
Charrakes, iii. 145
Chersonens, (1), lv. 99
— (2), lv. 143
Chorasmia, iii. 93, 117
Cilicia, iii. 90
Cimmeria, lv. 1, 11, 12, 45, 100
Cinyas, lv. 175, 198
Cissil, iii. 91, 155
Clus, lv. 49
Cleombrotus, lv. 81
Clemenea, iii. 148
Colius, iii. 138; lv. 164
Cossus, iii. 122
Coche, lv. 37
Coles, lv. 152
Cohn, lv. 5, 7
Colchis, iii. 97; lv. 37, 40
Cotades, lv. 90
Corinth, lv. 48, 49, 52, 134; lv. 162, 180
Corobius, lv. 151
Corys, iii. 9
Cotys, lv. 45
Cranaspes, iii. 126
Crete, iii. 44, 50; lv. 45, 151, 154, 161
Crobyz, lv. 49
Croesus, iii. 14, 34, 36, 47
Croton, iii. 131, 136, 137
INDEX OF PROPER NAMES

Cydonius, iv. 44, 59
Cyrene, iv. 49
Cyprus, iv. 19, 91; iv. 162, 164
Cyprus, iv. 195
Cyrene, iii. 12, 91, 131; iv. 154-165, 169, 186, 203
Cyrmianae, iv. 93
Cyprus, passim ap. ii.
Cyricus, iv. 14, 76

Dadi consultations, iii. 91
Daphnis, iv. 138
Darita, iv. 92
Darius, passim
Dascyleium, iii. 120, 126
Delos, iv. 33, 35
Delphi, iv. 57; iv. 15, 150, 156, 161-163, 179
Demodoces, iii. 125, 129, 137
Demonax, iv. 161
Dionysius, iv. 59
Dionysus, iii. 8, 97, 111; iv. 70, 87, 108
Dorian, iii. 56

Elephantine, iii. 19, 20
Elis, iii. 132; iv. 30, 148
Epaphus, iii. 27, 28
Epidauros, iii. 50, 52
Epium, iv. 148
Erinyes, iv. 149
Eryx, iv. 197
Eryxander, iv. 97
Erythea, iv. 8
Eryx, iv. 160
Etearchus, iv. 154
Euboea, iii. 89; iv. 33
Euthenion, iv. 162
Euseberides, iv. 171, 204
Eusebius, iv. 198
Euelpinus, iii. 60
Euphemides, iv. 150
Europa, iii. 96, 115; iv. 36, 42, 45, 49, 89, 143, 198
Eufratides, iv. 147
Euxine, iii. 93; iv. 8, 10, 38, 46, 81, 85-87, 89, 95, 99
Exampaeus, iv. 52, 81

Cadmus, iv. 8
Gardar, iii. 91
Garamantes, iv. 174, 183
Gebeleisz, iv. 94
Gelonus (1), iv. 10
Gerrhi (2), iv. 102, 108, 119, 196
Gerych, iv. 53, 71

Geryon, iv. 8
Getae, iv. 93, 94, 96, 118
Gilligamas, iv. 169
Gordion, iii. 133
Gordion, iv. 176
Gnurus, iv. 76
Gohryas, iii. 70, 73, 78; iv. 132, 134
Goitoconus, iv. 59
Grimnus, iv. 160
Gyges, iii. 122
Gyzante, iv. 194

Hæmus, iv. 49
Hebrus, iv. 90
Hellas (and Hellenes), passim
Hellespont, iv. 38, 76, 85, 89, 90, 95, 137, 144
Hephaestus, ii. 37
Heracles, iv. 8-10, 59, 82
Heracleum, iv. 90
Hermion, iii. 59
Heraorion, iv. 138
Hesiodus, iv. 32
Hippocles, iv. 138
Hippolaus, iv. 53
Histia, iv. 59, 127
Histaia, iv. 137, 133, 141
Homéron, iv. 29, 32
Hydarnes, iii. 70
Hydra, iii. 59
Hydrae, iv. 9
Hydramma, iv. 9, 54, 55, 76
Hynarcys, iv. 47, 53
Hypercos, iv. 17, 18, 47, 52, 81
Hyperboreas, iv. 13, 32, 35, 35, 36
Hyperborea, iv. 33-35
Hyrcani, iii. 117
Hyrcias, iv. 57
Hystaspes, iii. 70, 140; iv. 83, 91
Hyetanese, iii. 99
Iapygia, iii. 138; iv. 99
Iason, iv. 179
Idanthrus, iv. 76, 120, 127
Ienysus, iii. 5
Ilithyia, iv. 35
Ilyria, iv. 49
Inaros, iii. 12, 15
India, iii. 38, 94-106; iv. 40, 44
Indus, iv. 44
Intaphrones, iii. 70, 78, 118, 119
Ionians, iii. 39, 90, 122, 127; iv. 35, 89, 95, 97, 128, 133-140, 142
Iphigenia, iv. 103
Irasa, iv. 158
# INDEX OF PROPER NAMES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Page References</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ias, iv. 186</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Issedones, iv. 13, 26, 32</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Istrus, iv. 47-51, 53, 80, 89, 93, 97-101, 118, 122, 133-136</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Italia, iii. 135, 138; iv. 16</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Itanus, iv. 151</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ilyceus, iv. 22</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lacedaemon, iii. 39, 54-56; iv. 147-149</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Laius, iv. 149</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Laodamas (1), iv. 138</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>— (2), iv. 152</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Laodice, iv. 33, 35</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lasonil, iii. 90</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Learchus, iv. 160</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lemnus, iv. 145</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lepreum, iv. 148</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lesbos, iii. 39; iv. 97</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lescun, iv. 160</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Libya, iii. 17, 96, 115 et passim ap. iv.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lipoxale, iv. 5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lophagy, iv. 177, 183</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lexias, iv. 163</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lycearctus, iii. 143</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lydus, iii. 4, 90; iv. 35, 45</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lycolophon, iii. 50, 53</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lykos (river), iv. 123</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>— (grandfather of Anacharsis), iv. 76</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lydia, iii. 90, 127; iv. 45</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Macae, iv. 175</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Machlyes, iv. 178, 180</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Macistus, iv. 148</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Macrones, iii. 94</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manandrus, iii. 123, 142-148</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manstadius, iii. 122</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maeceatae, iv. 123</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maeetes (river), iv. 45</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maecean lake, iv. 57, 101, 129</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Magi, iii. 61-60, 88, 118, 126, 140, 150, 153; iv. 132</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Magnesia, iii. 122</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Magnetes, iii. 90</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mandrocles, iv. 87, 88</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manes, iv. 45</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mantinea, iv. 101</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maraphil, iv. 167</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mares, iii. 94</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mariandyni, iii. 90</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maria, iv. 49</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Massagetae, iii. 36; iv. 11, 172</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Matieni, iii. 94</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maxyes, iv. 191</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medians, iii. 65, 126; iv. 4, 37, 40</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Megabyzus (1), iii. 163, 160; iv. 43</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>— (2), iii. 70, 81</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>— (3), iii. 160</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Melanchlaen, iv. 20, 102, 107, 119, 125</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Melissa, iii. 50</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Membliaros, iv. 147</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Melelaus, iv. 140</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Melampria, iv. 93</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Metrodors, iv. 138</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Milo, iii. 137</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Milliades, iv. 137</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Milyae, iii. 90</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Minos, iii. 122</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Minyaeus, iv. 145-150</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mitrobetae, iii. 120, 126, 127</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mnesarchus, iv. 95</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moecia, iii. 91</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moschis, iii. 94</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mosynosech, iii. 94</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Myct, iii. 93</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Myriandr gulf, iv. 38</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Myrtnael, iv. 140</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Myrsus, iii. 122</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Myrsia, iii. 90</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mytilene, iii. 13, 14; iv. 97</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Naparus, iv. 48</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nasamon, iv. 172, 190</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Naustrophus, iii. 60</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Necos, iv. 42</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neuri, iv. 17, 51, 100, 102, 105, 110, 125</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nilus, iii. 10; iv. 39, 42, 45, 50, 53</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ninos, iii. 155</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nipsea, iv. 93</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nissa, iii. 106</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nitteis, iii. 1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Noéa, iv. 49</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nusium, iv. 148</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nysa, iii. 97</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oarus, iv. 123</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oasae, iii. 26</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oaxus, iv. 154</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Octamaenas, iv. 30</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Odryas, iv. 92</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oenares, iii. 85</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oedipus, iv. 149</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Osobaris, iv. 84</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oeolycus, iv. 149</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Olibopolis, iv. 18</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Olen, iv. 35</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### INDEX OF PROPER NAMES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Page Numbers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Opls, lv. 55</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Opeoa, iv. 73</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ordessus, lv. 48</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oricus, lv. 75</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oreotes, iii. 129-129, 140</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Orotalt, iii. 8</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Orthocorybantii, ill. 92</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Otanes, ill. 67-72, 76, 80, 83, 141, 144, 147, 149</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pactyes, iii. 93, 102 ; lv. 44</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Padaei, ill. 99</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Palaeon, ill. 5, 91 ; lv. 39</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Panphylia, lv. 90</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pagnostus, ill. 39</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Panticapae, lv. 18, 47, 54</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pantimathi, ill. 92</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Papaeus, iv. 59</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paphlagones, ill. 90</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paralatae, iv. 6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paricanii, ill. 92</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paroys, ill. 88</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paroacetae, iv. 148</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parthia, ill. 93, 117</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Patacl, ill. 37</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Patizithi, ill. 61</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pausanias, iv. 81</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pausicae, ill. 92</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paonitra, ill. 15</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pelion, iv. 179</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pelium, ill. 10</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perander, ill. 48, 50, 53</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perinthus, lv. 90</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perae, passim</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phaedyme, ill. 68, 69</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phanes, ill. 4, 11</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pharnaspes, ill. 2, 38</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phasis, iv. 37, 38, 45, 86</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pherecleme, lv. 162, 165, 167, 200, 202, 205</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Philea, ill. 60</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phila, iv. 178</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phoenicia, ill. 5, 19, 37, 107, 111, 136 ; lv. 39, 42, 44, 147</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phrixae, iv. 148</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phronime, iv. 154</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phrygia, ill. 90</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pindar, ill. 38</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pitane, iii. 56</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Platea, iv. 151-153, 156, 159</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plynus, lv. 168</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pocel, iv. 147</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Polycrates, ill. 39-46, 54, 56, 120-126, 128, 131, 130-142</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Polymnestus, lv. 150, 155</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Polynices, lv. 147</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Porata, iv. 48</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poseidium, ill. 91</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poseidon, lv. 50, 180, 188</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prexaspe, ill. 30, 33, 60, 74-76, 78</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Procles (1), lv. 147</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>— (2), ill. 50-52</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Proconnesus, iv. 14</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Promethes, iv. 45</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Propontis, iv. 85</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Psamenitus, ill. 10, 13, 15</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pylli, lv. 173</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pyrtes, lv. 48</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pyrgus, iv. 148</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pythagoras (1), lv. 95</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>— (2), lv. 95</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rhodope, iv. 49</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rhoeus, ill. 60</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sace, ill. 93</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sagartii, ill. 93</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sais, ill. 16</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Salamis, lv. 162</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Salmois, iv. 94-96</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Salmydessus, lv. 99</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Samos, ill. 39 et passim</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saragae, ill. 93, 117</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sardis, ill. 5, 48, 120, 128 ; lv. 45</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saspirae, ill. 94 ; lv. 97, 40</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sataxes, iv. 43</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sattagdadi, ill. 91</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saulius, iv. 76</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sauromatae, lv. 21, 57, 102, 110, 116-122, 128, 136</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sciton, ill. 130</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scolethi, lv. 6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scoepasia, lv. 120, 128</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scylax, iv. 44</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scylas, iv. 76, 78-80</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scythia, passim ap. iv.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Serbonian marsh, ill. 5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sestus, lv. 143</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sidon, ill. 136</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sigus, lv. 35</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sind, lv. 28, 86</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sinope, lv. 12</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spiritus, ill. 57, 58</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sitalces, lv. 80</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Smerdis (1), ill. 30, 65-69, 71, 74, 88</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>— (2), ill. 61-60, 85</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sogdii, ill. 69</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scolcis, iv. 43</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sostratus, lv. 152</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spargapithes, iv. 73</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
# INDEX OF PROPER NAMES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Pages</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Strattis</td>
<td>lv. 128</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Susa</td>
<td>iii. 30, 64, 70, 129, 131, 140; iv. 89, 91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sylaon</td>
<td>iii. 39, 139, 141–149</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Syria</td>
<td>iv. 123</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Antioch</td>
<td>iii. 5, 91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tabiti</td>
<td>lv. 59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tanais</td>
<td>iv. 20, 45, 47, 100, 115, 120; 122</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taras</td>
<td>iii. 138; lv. 99</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Targitaius</td>
<td>lv. 5, 7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tartessus</td>
<td>lv. 152, 192</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tauri</td>
<td>lv. 3, 20, 29, 103, 119</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taxacis</td>
<td>lv. 129</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taygetus</td>
<td>lv. 145, 148</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tearus</td>
<td>lv. 90, 91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teaspes</td>
<td>lv. 43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Telecles</td>
<td>iii. 42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Telesarchus</td>
<td>iii. 143</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tenus</td>
<td>lv. 33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teres</td>
<td>lv. 80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thagimaadesas</td>
<td>lv. 59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thamanael</td>
<td>iii. 93, 117</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thannyras</td>
<td>iii. 15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thebes</td>
<td>(in Egypt), iii. 10, 25; lv. 181</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Themiscyra</td>
<td>lv. 86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Themison</td>
<td>lv. 154</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Theodorus</td>
<td>iii. 41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thera</td>
<td>lv. 147, 148, 150, 156, 164</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Theras</td>
<td>lv. 147, 148</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thermodon</td>
<td>lv. 86, 110</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thersandrus</td>
<td>lv. 147</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Theste</td>
<td>lv. 159</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thoricus</td>
<td>lv. 99</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thrace</td>
<td>iii. 90; lv. 49, 74, 80, 89; 93, 99, 104, 118, 143</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thysagetas</td>
<td>lv. 22, 123</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tiarantus</td>
<td>lv. 48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tibareni</td>
<td>iii. 94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tiberis</td>
<td>lv. 49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tisamenus</td>
<td>lv. 147</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Traspias</td>
<td>lv. 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Triballii</td>
<td>lv. 49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Triopium</td>
<td>lv. 38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Triton</td>
<td>(and Tritonian), lv. 178, 179; 186–188, 191</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Troezen</td>
<td>iii. 59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Troglodytæ</td>
<td>lv. 183</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Troy</td>
<td>lv. 191</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tyana</td>
<td>lv. 76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tyndaridae</td>
<td>lv. 145</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Typhon</td>
<td>iii. 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tyras</td>
<td>lv. 11, 47, 51, 82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zacynthus</td>
<td>iii. 59; lv. 195</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zaneus</td>
<td>lv. 193</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zens</td>
<td>iii. 124, 142, 158; lv. 5, 59; 127, 180</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zopyrus</td>
<td>iii. 153–158, 160; lv. 42</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
THE LOEB CLASSICAL LIBRARY

VOLUMES ALREADY PUBLISHED

Latin Authors

Ammianus Marcellinus. Translated by J. C. Rolfe. 3 Vols. (Vols. I. and II. 2nd Imp. revised.)


Ausonius. H. G. Evelyn White. 2 Vols. (Vol. II. 2nd Imp.)

Bede. J. E. King. 2 Vols.


Caesar: Civil Wars. A. G. Peckitt. (4th Imp.)

Caesar: Gallic War. H. J. Edwards. (9th Imp.)

Cato and Varro: De Re Rustica. H. B. Ash and W. D. Hooper. (2nd Imp.)

Catullus. F. W. Cornish; Tibullus. J. B. Postgate; and Pervigilium Veneris. J. W. Mackail. (12th Imp.)

Celsus: De Medicina. W. G. Spencer. 3 Vols. (Vol. I. 3rd Imp. revised.)

 Cicero: Brutus, and Orator. G. L. Hendrickson and H. M. Hubbell. (2nd Imp.)

 Cicero: De Finibus. H. Rackham. (3rd Imp. revised.)

 Cicero: De Inventione, etc. H. M. Hubbell.

 Cicero: De Natura Deorum and Academica. H. Rackham.

 Cicero: De Officiis. Walter Miller. (4th Imp.)

 Cicero: De Oratore. 2 Vols. E. W. Sutton and H. Rackham. (2nd Imp.)

 Cicero: De Republica and De Legibus. Clinton W. Keyes. (3rd Imp.)

 Cicero: De Senectute, De Amicitia, De Divinatione. W. A. Falconer. (5th Imp.)

 Cicero: In Catilinam, Pro Flacco, Pro Murena, Pro Sulla. Louis E. Lord. (2nd Imp. revised.)


 Cicero: Letters to His Friends. W. Glynn Williams. 3 Vols. (Vols. I. and II. 2nd Imp. revised.)

 Cicero: Philippius. W. C. A. Ker. (2nd Imp. revised.)

1
Cicero: Pro Caeca, Pro Lege Manilla, Pro Cluentio, Pro Rahnio. H. Grose Hodge. (2nd Imp.)
Cicero: Pro Quintio, Pro Roscio Ammiano, Pro Roscio Comedo, Contra Rullum. J. H. Frew. (2nd Imp.)
Cicero: Tusculan Disputations. J. E. King. (3rd Imp.)
Claudian. M. Platnauer. 2 Vols.
Florus, E. S. Forster, and Cornelius Nepos. J. C. Rolfe. (2nd Imp.)
Frontinus: Stratagems and Aqueducts. C. E. Bennett and M. B. McElwain. (2nd Imp.)
Fronto: Correspondence. C. R. Haines. 2 Vols.
Gellius. J. C. Rolfe. 3 Vols. (Vol. I. and II. 2nd Imp.)
Horace: Odes and Epodes. C. E. Bennett. (13th Imp. revised.)
Horace: Satires, Epistles, Ars Poetica. H. R. Fairclough. (6th Imp. revised.)
Juvenal and Persius. G. G. Ramsay. (7th Imp.)
Lucan. J. D. Duff. (2nd Imp.)
Lucretius. W. H. D. Rouse. (6th Imp. revised.)
Minor Latin Poets: from Publilius Syrus to Rutilius Namatianus, including Gratius, Calpurnius Siculus, Nemesianus, Avianus, and others with "Aetna" and the "Phoenix." J. Wight Duff and Arnold M. Duff. (2nd Imp.)
Ovid: The Art of Love and Other Poems. J. H. Mozley. (3rd Imp.)
Ovid: Fasti. Sir James G. Frazer. (2nd Imp.)
Ovid: Heroides and Amores. Grant Showerman. (4th Imp.)
Ovid: Metamorphoses. F. J. Miller. 2 Vols. (Vol. I. 9th Imp., Vol. II. 7th Imp.)
Ovid: Tristia and Ex Ponto. A. L. Wheeler. (2nd Imp.)
Petronius, M. Hevsteke; Seneca: Apocolocyntosis. W. H. D. Rouse. (7th Imp. revised.)
Plautus. Paul Nixon. 5 Vols. (Vol. I. 5th Imp. and II., III. 4th Imp.)
PLINY: LETTERS. Meimoth's Translation revised by W. M. L. Hutchinson. 2 Vols. (5th Imp.)
PROPONTIUS. H. E. Butler. (5th Imp.)
QUINTILIUS. H. E. Butler. 4 Vols. (2nd Imp.)
SALLUST. J. C. Rolfe. (3rd Imp. revised.)
SCHRITTORES HISTORIAE AUGUSTAE. D. Magie. 3 Vols. (Vol. I. 2nd Imp. revised.)
SENECA: APOCOLOCYSTOSIS. C. Petronius.
SENECA: EPISTULARUM MORALIBUS. R. M. Gummere. 3 Vols. (Vol. I. 3rd Imp., Vols. II. and III. 2nd Imp., revised.)
SENECA: MORAL ESSAYS. J. W. Basore. 3 Vols. (Vol. II. 3rd Imp., Vol. III. 2nd Imp. revised.)
SILVUS ITALICUS. J. D. Duff. 2 Vols. (Vol. I. 2nd Imp., Vol. II. 3rd Imp.)
STATIUS. J. H. Mozley. 2 Vols.
SUETONIUS. J. C. Rolfe. 2 Vols. (Vol. I. 7th Imp., Vol. II. 6th Imp. revised.)
TACITUS: DIALOGUS. Sir Wm. Peterson. AGRICOLA and GERMANIA, Maurice Hutton. (6th Imp.)
TERENCE. John Sargeaunt. 2 Vols. (6th Imp.)
MINUCIUS FELIX. G. H. Rendall.
VALENIUS FLACCUX. J. H. Mozley. (2nd Imp. revised.)
VARRO: DE Lingua Latina. R. G. Kent. 2 Vols. (2nd Imp.)
VELLEIUS PATERCUCLUS and RES Gestae Divi Augusti. F. W. Shipley.
VIRGIL. H. R. Fairclough. 2 Vols. (Vol. I. 17th Imp., Vol. II. 13th Imp. revised.)
Greek Authors

Achilles Tatius. S. Gaselee. (2nd Imp.)

Anneaas Tacticus. Asclepiodotus and Onasander. The Illinois Greek Club. (2nd Imp.)

Aeschines. C. D. Adams. (2nd Imp.)

Aeschylus. H. Weir Smyth. 2 Vols. (Vol. I. 5th Imp., Vol. II. 4th Imp.)


Apollodorus. Sir James G. Frazer. 2 Vols. (2nd Imp.)

Apollonius Rhodius. R. C. Seaton. (4th Imp.)

The Apostolic Fathers. Kirzopp Lake. 2 Vols. (7th Imp.)


Aristotle: Athenian Constitution, Eudemian Ethics, Vices and Virtues. H. Rackham. (2nd Imp.)


Aristotle: Nicomachean Ethics. H. Rackham. (5th Imp. revised.)

Aristotle: Oeconomica and Magna Moralia. G. C. Armstrong; (with Metaphysics, Vol. II.). (2nd Imp.)


Aristotle: Parts of Animals. A. L. Peck; Motion and Progression of Animals. E. S. Forster. (2nd Imp. revised.)


Aristotle: Poetics and Longinus. W. Hamilton Fyle; Demetrius on Style. W. Rhys Roberts. (3rd Imp. revised.)

Aristotle: Politics. H. Rackham. (4th Imp. revised.)

ARISTOTLE: RHETORICA AD ALEXANDRUM (with PROBLEMS, Vol. II.). H. Rackham.
ARRIAN: HISTORY OF ALEXANDER and INDICA. Rev. E. Iliffe Robson. 2 Vols. (2nd Imp.)
ATHENAEUS: DEIPNOSOPHISTAE. C. B. Gulick. 7 Vols. (Vols. I., V., and VI. 2nd Imp.)
ST. BASIL: LETTERS. R. J. De佛ferari. 4 Vols. (Vols. I., II. and IV. 2nd Imp.)
CALLIMACHUS and LYCOPHRON. A. W. Mair; ARATUS. G. R. Mair. (2nd Imp.)
CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA. Rev. G. W. Butterworth. (2nd Imp.)
COLLUTHUS. Cf. OPPIAN.
DAPHNIS AND CHLOE. Thornley's Translation revised by J. M. Edmonds; and PARTHENIUS. S. Gaselee. (3rd Imp.)
DEMOSTHENES I: OLYNTHIACI, PHIWORKS and MINOR ORATIONS. L.—XVII. and XX. J. H. Vince.
DEMOSTHENES II: DE CORONA and DE FALSA LEGATIONE. C. A. Vince and J. H. Vince. (2nd Imp. revised.)
DEMOSTHENES III: MEIDIAS, ANDROTONION, ARISTOCRATITIS, TIMOCRATITIS and ARISTOCHTONON, I. and II. J. H. Vince.
DEMOSTHENES IV.—VI: PRIVATE ORATIONS and IN NEAERAM. A. T. Murray. (Vol. I. 2nd Imp.)
DEMOSTHENES VII: FUNERAL SPEECH, EROTIC ESSAY, EXORDIA and LETTERS. N. W. and N. J. DeWitt.
DIO CASSIUS: ROMAN HISTORY. E. Cary. 9 Vols. (Vols. I. and II. 2nd Imp.)
DIOGENES LARRITUS. R. D. Hicks. 2 Vols. (Vol. I. 4th Imp., Vol. II. 3rd Imp.)
DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS: ROMAN ANTIQUITIES. Spelman’s translation revised by E. Cary. 7 Vols. Vols. I.—VI. (Vol. IV. 2nd Imp.)
EPICTETUS. W. A. Oldfather. 2 Vols. (Vol. I. and II. 2nd Imp.)
GALEN: ON THE NATURAL FACULTIES. A. J. Brock. (3rd Imp.)
GREEK ELEGY AND LAMBUS with the ANACHRONI. J. M. Edmonds. 2 Vols. (Vol. I. 2nd Imp.)
THE GREEK BUOULIC POETS (THUCRITUS, DION, MOSCHUS). J. M. Edmonds. (7th Imp. revised.)
GREEK MATHEMATICAL WORKS. Ivor Thomas. 2 Vols. (2nd Imp.)

HERODES. Cf. THEOPHRASTUS: CHARACTERS.


HESIOD AND THE HOMERIC HYMNS. H. G. Evelyn White. (7th Imp. revised and enlarged.)


HOMER: ILIAD. A. T. Murray. 2 Vols. (6th Imp.)

HOMER: ODYSSEY. A. T. Murray. 2 Vols. (7th Imp.)

ISAIUS. E. W. Forster. (2nd Imp.)

ISOCRATES. George Norlin and Lukas Van Hook. 3 Vols.

ST. JOHN DAMASCENE: BARLAAM AND IOSAPH. Rev. G. R. Woodward and Harold Mattingly. (2nd Imp. revised.)


JULIAN. Wilmer Cave Wright. 3 Vols. (Vol. I. 2nd Imp., Vol. II. 3rd Imp.)


LYCOPOHON. Cf. CALLIMACHUS.


LYSIAS. W. R. M. Lamb. (2nd Imp.)

MANETHO. W. G. Waddell: PTOLEMY: TETRABRIBLOS. F. E. Robbins. (2nd Imp.)

MARCUS AURELIUS. C. R. Haines. (3rd Imp. revised.)

MENANDER. F. G. Allinson. (2nd Imp. revised.)


NONNOS. W. H. D. Rouse. 3 Vols. (Vol. III. 2nd Imp.)

OPFIAN, COLLUTHUS, TRYFIDONORUS. A. W. Mair.


PARTHENIUS. Cf. DAPHNIS AND CHLOR.


PHILOSTRATUS: IMAGINES; CALLISTRATUS: DESCRIPTIONS. A. Fairbanks.

PHILOSTRATUS AND EUNAPIUS: LIVES OF THE SOPHISTS. Wilmer Cave Wright. (2nd Imp.)
PINDAR. Sir J. E. Sandys. (7th Imp. revised.)
PLATO : CRATYLUS, Parmenides, GREATER HIPPIAS, LESSER HIPPIAS. H. N. Fowler. (2nd Imp.)
PLATO : EUHYPERNO, APOLLOGIA, Crito, PHARO, PHARES. H. N. Fowler. (9th Imp.)
PLATO : LACHES, PROTAGORAS, MENO, EUHYPERNOUS. W. R. M. Lamb. (2nd Imp. revised.)
PLATO : LAWS. Rev. R. G. Bury. 2 Vols. (2nd Imp.)
PLATO : LYSIS, SYMPOSIUM, GORGIAS. W. R. M. Lamb. (4th Imp. revised.)
PLATO : REPUBLIC. Paul Shorey. 2 Vols. (Vol. I. 4th Imp., Vol. II. 3rd Imp.)
PLATO : STATESMAN, PHILEBUS. H. N. Fowler; Ion. W. R. M. Lamb. (3rd Imp.)
PLATO : THEAETETUS and SOPHIST. H. N. Fowler. (3rd Imp.)
PLATO : TIMAUS, CRITIAS, CLITOPHON, MENENQUENUS, EPISTULAE. Rev. R. G. Bury. (2nd Imp.)
POLYBIUS. W. R. Paton. 6 Vols.
PTOLEMY : TETRABIBLOS. Cf. MANETHO.
QUINTUS SMYNAEUS. A. S. Way. Verse trans. (2nd Imp.)
SEXTUS EMPIRICUS. Rev. R. G. Bury. 4 Vols. (Vol. III. 2nd Imp.)
STRAHO : GEOGRAPHY. Horace L. Jones. 8 Vols. (Vols. I. 3rd Imp., Vols. II., V., VI., and VIII. 2nd Imp.)
THEOPHRASTUS : CHARACTERS. J. M. Edmonds; HERODES, etc. A. D. Knox. (2nd Imp.)
THEOPHRASTUS : ENQUIRY INTO PLANTS. Sir Arthur Hort, Bart. 2 Vols. (2nd Imp.)
THUCYDIDES. C. F. Smith. 4 Vols. (Vol. I. 3rd Imp., Vols. II., III., and IV. 2nd Imp. revised.)
TRYPHODORUS. Cf. OFFIAN.
XENOPHON : CYCLOPAEDIA. Walter Miller. 2 Vols. (3rd Imp.)
XENOPHON : HELLENICA, ANABASIS, APOLLOGIA, and SYMPOSIUM. C. L. Brownson and O. J. Todd. 3 Vols. (Vols. I. and III. 3rd Imp., Vol. II. 4th Imp.)
XENOPHON : MEMORABILIA and OECOMOGENUS. E. C. Marchant. (2nd Imp.)
XENOPHON : SCRIPTA MINORA. E. C. Marchant. (2nd Imp.)
IN PREPARATION

Greek Authors

Aristotle: De Mundo, etc. D. Furley and E. M. Forster.
Plotinus.

Latin Authors

St. Augustine: City of God.
Phaedrus. Ben E. Perry.

DESCRIPTIVE PROSPECTUS ON APPLICATION

London - - - WILLIAM HEINEMANN LTD
Cambridge, Mass. - - HARVARD UNIVERSITY PRESS
THE PERSIAN EMPIRE

Scale

100 220 330 550 1100
0 200 400 600 800 Miles

The 20 Satrapies are numbered thus VIII.
CATALOGUED.