<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CONTENTS</th>
<th>PAGE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>GENERAL INTRODUCTION</td>
<td>v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INTRODUCTION TO BOOKS I–II, 34</td>
<td>xxvi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BOOK I</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BOOK II</td>
<td>343</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A PARTIAL INDEX OF PROPER NAMES</td>
<td>467</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MAPS</td>
<td>at end</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
INTRODUCTION

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

With but one exception antiquity affords no further information on the life and work of Diodorus of Sicily than is to be found in his own Library of History. The exception is St. Jerome, who, in his Chronology under the Year of Abraham 1968 (= 49 B.C.), writes: "Diodorus of Sicily, a writer of Greek history, became illustrious." 1

Diodorus himself says (1. 4. 4) that the city of his birth was Agyrium in Sicily, one of the oldest settlements of the interior, which was visited even by Heracles (4. 24), whose cult was maintained by the inhabitants on a scale rivalling that of the Olympians, and this statement is rendered plausible by the importance accorded the city in his History, an importance quite out of proportion in a World History of only forty Books. 2 It is a striking coincidence that one of the only two Greek inscriptions from Agyrium (IG. XIV, 588) marked the final resting-place of a "Diodorus the son of Apollonius."

The earliest date at which Diodorus is known to

1 Diodorus Siculus Graecae scriptor historiae clarus habetur (p. 155, i, ed. Helm). This date must mark the first appearance of a portion of his History.

2 At that he is more reserved in this respect than Ephorus, who, according to Strabo (13. 3. 6), was so insistent on mentioning the city of his origin, Cyme, that he once added, "At the same time the Cymaeans were at peace."
INTRODUCTION

have been gathering material for his history is the 180th Olympiad (60/59–57/6 B.C.), in the course of which he visited Egypt (1. 44. 1). Diodorus records that while there he saw with his own eyes a mob of Egyptians demand, and apparently secure, the death of a man connected with a Roman embassy, because he had accidentally killed a cat, and this despite the fear which the Egyptians felt for the Romans, and despite the fact that "Ptolemy their king had not as yet been given the appellation of 'friend'" by the Romans (1. 83. 8). Ptolemy XI, "the Piper," had ascended the throne of the last nominally independent Hellenistic kingdom in 80 B.C., and after waiting twenty years, a period in which the Roman Senate would neither avow nor repudiate him, finally secured recognition by the Senate through the efforts of Caesar and Pompey in 59 B.C. 1 This embassy is not mentioned in the Roman sources, but the huge sum required of Ptolemy by Caesar and Pompey in exchange for this recognition must certainly have required some such a diplomatic mission, and it may be assumed that it was dispatched from Rome fairly early after January 1st, when Caesar entered upon his consulship, or at least soon after February 1st, when he first had the fasces. The date of this recognition of Ptolemy by Rome clearly shows that Diodorus was in Egypt in the year 59 B.C., the length of his visit remaining still uncertain.

1 Suetonius, Julius, 54. 3: Societates ac regna pretio dedit (sc. Caesar), ut qui uni Ploemaeo prope sex militia talentorum suo Pompeique nomine abstulerit. Ptolemy was driven from his throne by the people in 57 and restored by Gabinius in 55; op. the comments of Butler-Cary, ad loc.

viii
INTRODUCTION

Diodorus had already commenced his work as early as 56 B.C. This is evident from the passage (1. 44. 1–4) in which he lists the number of years during which Egypt was under the control of foreigners. The last aliens to rule over Egypt, he says, are the Macedonians and their dynasty who have held the land for two hundred and seventy-six years. Now since the conquest of Egypt by Alexander is put by Diodorus (17. 49) in the year 331 B.C., he must have been at work upon the composition of his Library of History at least as early as 56 B.C.

The latest contemporary event mentioned by Diodorus is a reference to the city of Tauromenium in Sicily, when he records (16. 7. 1) that "Caesar removed the citizens from their native state and the city received a Roman colony." This may have taken place in 36 B.C., or soon thereafter, since Appian, Civil Wars, 5. 109 ff. tells how the city in 36 closed its gates to Octavian, who was caught on the same day by Sextus Pompey and in the ensuing naval battle lost practically all his ships, barely escaping with his life. This disaster he could have avoided had the city received him and his forces, and the anger which he must have felt toward the city supplies the motive for the drastic punishment meted out to it. The founding of this colony

1 The significance of this evidence has, so far as I know, been overlooked by previous writers, even by O. Cuntz, De Augusto Plinii geographicorum auctore (Bonn, 1888), pp. 32 ff., who has listed most fully the references in Diodorus to contemporary events.

2 This is the date first suggested by O. Cuntz, op. cit., p. 35, accepted as "probable" by Beloch, Die Bevölkerung der griechisch-romischen Welt, p. 337, and by Schwartz, R.E., 5. 663, and fully approved by Kornemann, R.E., 4. 526.
INTRODUCTION

has been placed also in 21 B.C., the year in which, according to Cassius Dio (54. 7. 1), Augustus re-organized Sicily;¹ but it seems most improbable that such an act of angry revenge should have been delayed for fifteen years on the occasion of a mere administrative reorganization which surely could have called for nothing like this.

That Tauromenium was made a Roman colony in 36 B.C. or a little later, and that, therefore, the latest date at which Diodorus is known to have been composing or revising his history is that year or a little later, would appear to be supported by two further considerations. Diodorus informs us (1. 4. 1) that he had spent thirty years in the composition of his history, and it may justly be assumed that this period includes the travels which he made and the dangers which he met in visiting the most important sites about which he intended to write. The beginning of this period must surely be set some years before 59 B.C., when he was in Egypt, since it is only reasonable to suppose that he had been turning over his great undertaking in his mind and been reading and excerpting some authorities upon Egypt before he set out upon his travels. Furthermore, in view of the great admiration of the Roman Empire expressed by Diodorus it is difficult to believe that

Cassius Dio (49. 12. 5) states that, after the defeat of Sextus Pompey and the humbling of Lepidus in 36 B.C., Octavian did actually punish certain unspecified cities of Sicily, and among these must have been Tauromenium.

¹ This is the view of Mommsen, C.I.L., X, p. 718; Römische Forschung, 2. p. 549, n. 1, of C. Wachsmuth, Über das Geschichtswerk des Sikelioten Diodoros (Leipzig, 1892), I, p. 3, and of M. Büdinger, Die Universalhistorie im Alterthume, 114, n. 4.
he would have said that the Macedonians were the last aliens to rule over Egypt, had he been working on his History after the incorporation of Egypt in the Roman Empire in 30 B.C. And this accords with the statement of Suidas,\(^1\) that the *floruit* of Diodorus fell in the period of Augustus Caesar and before.\(^2\)

The task which Diodorus set himself was to write one of “the general histories” (*ai koumai ἱστορίαι*),\(^3\) or “the general events” (*ai koumai πράξεως*)\(^4\) (1. 4-6; 5. 1. 4); in other words, to compose a Universal, or World, History from the Creation to his day. The adjective “general” or “common” is used so much by him that it may be possible to find in its connotation the clue to his motive in taking upon himself so great a task. In the decade between 70 and 60 B.C. he had seen the entire Mediterranean shore brought under the control of Rome by Pompey—Egypt was still independent only in name, for its kings held their throne at the will of the Roman Senate—the sea swept clean of pirates, Roman supremacy extended “to the bounds

\(^1\) γέγονε (σο. Διοδότας) δὲ ἐπὶ τῶν χρόνων Ἀβγύπτου Καίσαρος καὶ ἑπάνω.

\(^2\) Although parts of his History must have appeared by 49 B.C., it is reasonable to suppose that Diodorus published it as a whole, with consequent revision, at one time, between 36 and 30 B.C. at the latest; cp. below, p. xvi, n. 1.

\(^3\) Dionysius of Halicarnassus (1. 6) uses the same words in speaking of the writings of Timaeus.

\(^4\) Cp. 1. 3. 2, when he contrasts “isolated wars waged by a single nation or a single state” with “the general events” (*ai koumai πράξεως*). The same sharp distinction appears also in 1. 4. 6, and he uses the same words to describe the *Universal History* of Ephorus (4. 1. 3).
INTRODUCTION

of the inhabited world” (1. 4. 3). If Diodorus had not witnessed the celebration of this incorporation of the Eastern world in the Roman state, he had certainly heard from others of the great triumph of Pompey in 61 B.C., in the course of which banners announced that he had subdued fourteen nations, brought back 20,000 talents to the treasury, and almost doubled the annual revenue of the state. Under the dominion of Rome the Stoic idea of a cosmopolis was on the way to becoming an actuality. All mankind was coming to form a “common” civilization, a “common” society, and Diodorus could speak of a “common life” in the sense that the whole Mediterranean world was now interested in the same things and what benefited one nation was of common value to all. If the term “Western civilization” may properly include two cultures so different, for instance, as those of the United States and Spain, it is no exaggeration to say that by 60 B.C. Syrian, Greek, Iberian and Roman had become one. The limitations of the old city state, whereby a man was a stranger in any city but the one of his origin, were gone for ever. Surely, then, the history of each one of these nations was a matter of interest to all, since the past of every people was making its distinctive contribution to this most catholic of all civilizations, and he who would gather the records of all these peoples and present them in convenient form would have “composed a treatise of the utmost value to those who are studiously inclined” (1. 3. 6). Some such considerations as these must have moved Diodorus to lay hand to such a work, and even if he was not the man fully to control the material before him, still we cannot xii
INTRODUCTION

deny him at all events the apology of Propertius (2. 10. 6):

\textit{in magnis et voluisse sat est.}

In preparation for his History Diodorus states (1. 4. 1) that with much hardship and many dangers he visited all the most important regions of Europe and Asia. There is no evidence in his work that he travelled in any other land than Egypt, where he may have ascended the Nile as far as Memphis, in connection with which city he mentions a shrine of Isis which "is pointed out to this day in the temple-area of Hephaestus" (1. 22. 2); all the other details of his account of that marvellous land could have been gathered from his literary sources. The only other place where he claims to have stayed was Rome, which furnished him in abundance the materials necessary for his study (1. 4. 2). Certainly he never went to Mesopotamia, since he places Nineveh on the Euphrates, and it is kinder to suppose that he never visited Athens than to think that the glory of the Acropolis, if he had once seen it, was not considered important enough to deserve mention.

Not only does Diodorus claim to have travelled widely in preparation for his History, but to have gained through his contact with the Romans in Sicily "considerable familiarity" (πολλη ἐμπαιρία, 1. 4. 4) with their language. In the general disparagement of Diodorus, his knowledge of Latin has not been overlooked, and he has been accused even of finding a nominative Fidenates from an ablative Fidenate.\footnote{So Christ-Schmid, \textit{Griechische Literaturgeschichte} (1920), 2. p. 403, n. 9, but without basis, as had been shown by G. Sigwart, \textit{Römische Fasten und Annalen bei Diodor} (Greisswald, 1906), pp. 5 ff.}
INTRODUCTION

Other criticisms on this score, such as that he did not know the meaning of *bellare cum aliquo,* must be held in abeyance, so long as the question whether Diodorus in his account of Roman affairs used a Latin or Greek source (or sources) is still *sub judice.* And since criticism is beginning to adopt a more reasonable attitude toward Diodorus, the better course is to trust his word that he could use the Latin language; he knew it at least well enough for his purposes.

Diodorus commenced with the mythical period and brought his History down to 59 B.C., the year of Julius Caesar's first consulship. Of the forty Books only the first five and Books XI–XX are preserved, although fragments of the other twenty-five are found in different authors, notably in Eusebius and Byzantine excerptors. According to his own plan (1. 4. 6–7), Books I–VI embraced the period before the Trojan War, the first three treating of the history of the non-Greeks, the other three, of that of the Greeks. The next eleven, Books VII–XVII, were designed to form a Universal History from the Trojan War to the death of Alexander the Great, and the last twenty-three carried the account down to the Archonship of Herodes in 60/59 B.C., i.e. to include the year 61/60 B.C. As for the years covered by his History, he makes no effort to estimate those which had elapsed before the Trojan War,

2 O. Leuze, *Die römische Jahrzählung* (Tübingen, 1909), gives the most recent detailed defence of Diodorus; *op. p.* 78, n. 107, for the exaggerated detractions by Reuss, Wachsmuth, and Schwartz.
since for that earlier period there existed no chronological table "that was trustworthy," ¹ but for the subsequent period he records that he followed the Chronology of Apollodorus of Athens ² in setting 80 years between the Trojan War (1184 B.C.) and the Return of the Heracleidae (1104 B.C.), thence 328 years to the First Olympiad (776/5 B.C.), and from the First Olympiad to the beginning of the Celtic War (60/59 B.C.), a date which Apollodorus did not reach, Diodorus counted 730 years. There can be no question about the correctness of these numbers of years, 80, 328, 730, because in the next sentence he makes the sum of them 1138; and yet 730 years after the First Olympiad is 46/5 B.C., just fifteen years later than the date at which he says his History closes. It is impossible to think that his work came down to so late a date, since his last book opened with the year 70 B.C., the latest fragment mentioning the conspiracy of Catiline in 63, and he states specifically that his History closed before the year 60/59 B.C. ³

The contents of the several Books are briefly:

Book I: The myths, kings and customs of Egypt.
Book II: History of Assyria, description of India, Scythia, Arabia, and the islands of the Ocean.

¹ In 40. 8 Diodorus says that he had no chronological table for this period, and on the basis of that passage from an excerptor, Schwartz, R-E ², s. 665, argues that he could not have used the Chronology of Castor; but Beloch, Römische Geschichte, p. 122, properly calls the attention of Schwartz to this passage and its πιστευόμενον.

² His Chronology spanned the years 1184/3 to at least 120/19 B.C.

³ For a possible explanation of this discrepancy, op. below, p. xix.
INTRODUCTION

Book III; Ethiopia, the Amazons of Africa, the inhabitants of Atlantis and the origins of the first gods.

Book IV; The principal Greek gods, the Argonauts, Theseus, the Seven against Thebes.

Book V; The islands and peoples of the West, Rhodes and Crete.

Books VI-X; Fragments, from the Trojan War to 480 b.c.

Commencing with Book XI the Library of History covers:

Book XI: Years 480–451 b.c.
Book XII: Years 450–416 b.c.
Book XIII: Years 415–405 b.c.
Book XIV: Years 404–387 b.c.
Book XV: Years 386–361 b.c.
Book XVI: Years 360–336 b.c.
Book XVII: Years 335–324 b.c.
Book XVIII: Years 323–318 b.c.
Book XIX: Years 317–311 b.c.
Book XX: Years 310–302 b.c.

To compose a history of the entire world down to his day was "an immense labour," as Diodorus says (1. 3. 6), looking back upon it,¹ because the material

¹ The Preface was certainly (cp. 1. 4. 6) revised after the whole work had been completed. Diodorus laments (40. 8) that parts of his work had reached the public before his final revision and publication as a whole, probably in 49 b.c. (see above, p. viii, n. 1). Just how seriously his words are to be taken remains a question. Might they not be a reserved suggestion to the reading public that, in order to get his final account, they should purchase the latest revision?
for it lay scattered about in so many different authors, and because the authors themselves varied so widely. Perhaps this was his way of telling his readers that what they should expect of his history is no more than a compilation of what former writers had set down. And the choice of so unusual a title, *Library of History*, is further evidence that Diodorus made no pretense of doing anything more than giving a convenient summary of events which were to be found in greater detail in many works. The allocation of this and that bit of information among the various writers whom Diodorus names has occupied the attention of many scholars. The earlier view was that Diodorus took a single author and copied him for many chapters and even Books of his history. From that extreme position criticism soon was forced to recede, and it is generally held now that while Diodorus probably leaned very strongly upon a single author for one or another section of his work, he used at the same time other writers as well. It is the feeling of the present translator that there is much more of the individuality of Diodorus in his *Library of History* than has been generally supposed, and that he picked and chose more widely and more wisely than has been allowed him by most critics.


2 A convenient summary and rebuttal of some of the earlier literature is given by L. O. Bröcker, *Moderne Quellenforscher und antike Geschichtsschreiber* (Innsbruch, 1882), pp. 83 ff.

3 I fully subscribe to the following words of Jacoby, *F. Gr. Hist.* 2, B D, p. 356: "... direkte benutzung Theopompos bei Diodor ist so wenig wahrscheinlich, wie eine Diodor-
INTRODUCTION

A brief discussion of the sources used by Diodorus is given in the Introductions to the several volumes.

One mistake of method made it almost impossible for Diodorus to write either a readable story or an accurate history. So soon as he entered the period which allowed precise dating he became an annalist, or, in other words, he endeavoured to present under one year the events which took place in Greece, Sicily, Africa and Italy, to write a synchronistic universal history. For a closely related series of incidents which covered several years this meant that he either had to break the story as many times as there were years, or crowd the events of several years into one. Moreover, he tried to synchronize the Roman consular year, which in his day commenced January 1st—and he uses this date even for the earlier period—with the Athenian archon year, which commenced about the middle of July. It should be observed to his credit that Diodorus recognized (20. 43. 7) the shortcomings of this annalistic arrangement, but he still felt that the recital of events in the order in which they were taking place gave a more truthful presentation of history.

It may be noted, in connection with this annalistic arrangement, that, although Diodorus says in his Preface to the First Book that he has brought his history down to 60/59 B.C., yet in three other places

analyse, die satz für satz Theopompos, eigene zusätze des Ephoros und solche aus Xenophon scheidet, reichlich unsicher ist,” and to the conclusion of Holm, Geschichte Siciliens, 2, p. 369, “dass Diodor nicht bloss mit der Scheere gearbeitet hat, sondern auch mit der Feder und mit dem Kopf.”

xviii
INTRODUCTION

(3. 38. 2; 5. 21. 2; 5. 22. 1) he remarks that he will speak of Britain more in detail when he gives an account of the deeds of Gaius Caesar, and that, as observed above, in the Chronology which he gives of his entire work, 1138 years from the Trojan War brings his history down to 46/45 B.C. It has been suggested by Schwartz ¹ that Diodorus found these figures in some Chronology which he had in his hands at the time. Such an assumption would indeed convict him not only of carelessness, but of plain stupidity. It seems more reasonable to suppose that, as Diodorus was engaged upon the writing of his earlier Books, he fully intended to bring his history down to include the year 46/45 B.C., which would make an excellent stopping-point. In March of 45 B.C. Caesar met and defeated at Thapsus the last army of republicans which still held the field against him. The first period of civil war was at an end. However, as Diodorus grew old and perhaps a little tired, he gave up his original plan. He stopped his account at 60/59 B.C., which year, marking the agreement reached by Caesar, Pompey and Crassus, was a definite turning-point in the history of the Roman Republic. The "1138 years" may be explained in two ways. Since some of his Books, and presumably the earlier ones, came into the hands of the public before his final revision and the publication of his History as a whole, Diodorus may himself have overlooked the need of correcting that number in the final revision. Or the earlier figures may in some way have slipped from an earlier MS. into one of the final revision.

¹ R.E², 5. 665.
INTRODUCTION

From scattered observations, which bear every mark of being from Diodorus himself and not from his sources, and from the emphasis upon certain phenomena or particular features of history, it is possible to get some idea of his views and interests. Again and again, and not alone in the Preface to the First Book, the Stoic doctrine of the utilitas of history is stressed, and nowhere does he demand that history be entertaining. Of the customs of Egypt he will mention, he tells us, only those which are especially strange and those which can be of most advantage to his readers (1. 69. 2), of its laws only those that can be of help to lovers of reading (1. 77. 1). It is obviously to this end that, as he states (11. 46. 1), he makes it his practice to increase the fame of good men by extolling them and to censure evil characters; the latter he does, for instance, at the death of Pausanias (loc. cit.), and the defeat of Leuctra offers an occasion to observe what heavy punishments await the proud and unjust, while Gelon (11. 38. 6) and Epaminondas (15. 88. 1) receive the praise which is due to noble men. More often than any extant ancient historian Diodorus stresses the view that history should instruct in the good life. With great detail (16. 61 ff.) he describes the fate which met the various leaders of the Phocians, who had dared to lay impious hands upon the treasure of Delphi, how the allied cities lost their freedom, and even how one woman who had tricked herself out with the chain of Helen ended her days as a prostitute, while another, who had put on the chain of Eriphyle, was burned to death in her home by her own son. Philip, on the other hand, because he came to the defence of the oracle, increased in
power from that day forth and finally made his country the mightiest state in Europe. The great earthquakes and inundations in the Peloponnesus of 373 B.C. were certainly due to the anger of the gods, more particularly to that of Poseidon. Admitting that the natural philosophers gave another reason, yet he thinks that they were wrong, and goes on to show what it was that angered Poseidon (15. 48). He emphasizes the qualities of the spirit, such as meekness, gentleness, kindliness, very much in the manner of Herodotus; but he thinks very little of democracy (1. 74. 7; 13. 95. 1), the natural counterpart of such a conviction being a great admiration for the strong man in history.

While characteristics such as these exclude Diodorus from a place among the abler historians of the ancient world, there is every reason to believe that he used the best sources and that he reproduced them faithfully. His First Book, which deals almost exclusively with Egypt, is the fullest literary account of the history and customs of that country after Herodotus. Books II–V cover a wide range, and because of their inclusion of much mythological material are of less value. In the period from 480 to 301 B.C., which he treats in annalistic fashion and in which his main source was the Universal History of Ephorus, his importance varies according as he is the sole continuous source, or again as he is paralleled by superior writers. To the fifty years from 480 to 430 B.C. Thucydides devotes only a little more than thirty chapters; Diodorus covers it more fully (11. 37–12. 38) and his is the only consecutive literary account for the chronology of the period. On the other hand, he is of less importance for the years
INTRODUCTION

430–362 B.C., since the history of this period is covered in the contemporary accounts of Thucydides and Xenophon. For the years 362–302 B.C. Diodorus is again the only consecutive literary account, and although the Epitome by Justin of the History of Philip by Pompeius Trogus is preserved for the earlier period, and the Anabasis of Arrian and The History of Alexander the Great by Q. Curtius Rufus, more than half of which is extant, for the years 336–323, Diodorus offers the only chronological survey of the period of Philip, and supplements the writers mentioned and contemporary sources in many matters. For the period of the Successors to Alexander, 323–302 B.C. (Books XVIII–XX), he is the chief literary authority and his history of this period assumes, therefore, an importance which it does not possess for the other years. These three Books are based mainly upon the work of Hieronymus of Cardia, an historian of outstanding ability who brought to his account both the experience gained in the service, first of Eumenes, and then of Antigonus, and an exceptional sense of the importance of the history of the period. As for Sicily, it has well been said that no history of that island could be written were it not for Diodorus, and as for Roman history, the Fasti of Diodorus are recognized in the most recent research to be by far the oldest and most trustworthy.

One merit even those critics who have dealt most severely with Diodorus accord him. Long speeches, happily used but unhappily introduced by Thucydides, Diodorus avoids, as he promises that he will do in the Preface to Book XX. With the exception of four instances he eliminates entirely that rhetorical
INTRODUCTION

device, which must have wearied even a contemporary audience. He gave great care to little details of writing, and when he errs in fact the fault is not so much his as that of his source. A kindly judgment upon such errors may be found in the words of Cicero when he acknowledges that the story was generally recognized to be incorrect that Eupolis, the poet of Old Comedy, was thrown into the sea by Alcibiades, and adds: "But surely that is no reason for sneering at Duris of Samos, who was a careful scholar, because he erred in the company of many others."  

EDITIONS AND TRANSLATIONS

The following are the more important editions:


Vincentius Opsopoeus: the first Greek edition, containing Books XVI–XX only; Basel, 1539.


Petrus Wesseling: the Greek text, and the Latin version of Rhodoman, with the critical work of former scholars; 2 vols., Amsterdam, 1746. This is the only annotated edition of Diodorus and a monument of zeal and scholarship.

1 *Ad Att. 6. 1. 18*: "*Num idcirco Duris Samius, homo in historia diligens, quod cum multis erravit, inridentur?*"
INTRODUCTION

Bipontine Edition, 11 vols., Zweibrücken and Strassburg, 1793–1807. This is the edition of Wesseling, to which were added essays by C. G. Heyne and I. N. Eyring.


The present text is based upon that of Vogel-Fischer, Leipzig (Teubner), 1888 ff., and the most important variants of the editions of Bekker and Dindorf (1866–8) have been noted; the reading which follows the colon is, unless otherwise stated, that of the textus receptus.

Translations of Diodorus have not kept pace with the intrinsic interest of his History. Worthy of mention is that into English in two volumes by G. Booth, London, 1700; another edition, in a series entitled "Corpus Historicum," is of London, 1814. The English is quaint, archon being sometimes rendered "lord high-chancellor," "high-chancellor," "chief magistrate;" the chapter divisions are quite arbitrary, and the early date, before the commentary of Wesseling, makes it of little value. The translation into German by J. F. Wurm, Stuttgart, 1827–40, is a serious work, and that of A. Wahrmund of Books I–X, Stuttgart, 1866–9, with many notes, has also been of considerable aid in the preparation of this translation. It is hoped that infelicities of xxiv
INTRODUCTION

the present translation will be viewed by scholars
with some indulgence, in consideration of the fact
that it is the first in English for more than two
hundred years.

One feature of the style of Diodorus calls for
remark. A large part of his earlier Books is in
indirect discourse, which is introduced with "they
say" or "it is said" or "history records," and the
like, or with the name of the writer he is following.
Yet at times he inserts into this reported speech
sentences of direct discourse which are presumably
original with himself. In general, an attempt has
been made to distinguish this reported speech from
the remarks of Diodorus himself; but I have not
done so if it involved any great interruption of the
flow of his narrative.

MANUSCRIPTS

A. Codex Coislinianus, of the 15th century.
B. Codex Mutinensis, of the 15th century.
C. Codex Vaticanus, of the 12th century.
D. Codex Vindobonensis 79, of the 11th century.
E. Codex Parisinus, of the 16th century.
F, G. Codices Claromontani, of the 16th century.
M. Codex Venetus, of the 15th century.
N. Codex Vindobonensis, of the 16th century.

The designations of the MSS. are those of the
Preface to the first volume of the edition of Vogel-
Fischer, to which the reader is referred for further
details on each MS. and its worth. In the critical
notes "Vulgate" designates the reading of all MSS.
except D, and "II" designates the reading of all
MSS. of the "second class," i.e. of all but A B D.

xxv
INTRODUCTION

INTRODUCTION TO BOOKS I–II, 34

After the Preface to his whole work Diodorus describes the origin of animal life, and then, "since Egypt is the country where mythology places the origin of the gods" (1. 9. 6), and since "animal life appeared first of all" (1. 10. 2) in that country, he devotes the entire First Book to the gods, kings, laws and customs of that land. His interest in religion causes him to pay more attention to that subject than to political institutions and military affairs, in marked contrast to his later Books. As for his literary sources, he is generally held to have drawn primarily upon Hecataeus of Abdera, who visited Egypt early in the 3rd century B.C., for his account of the customs of the Egyptians, upon Agatharchides of Cnidus, an historian and geographer of the 2nd century B.C., for his geographical data, and especially for the description of the Nile (cc. 32–41. 3), and upon Herodotus. He also mentions what is told by the priests of Egypt and natives of Ethiopia, and it is entirely possible that many a detail was picked up by personal observation and inquiry. By the time of his visit Greek had been the official language of the land for nearly three hundred years and was widely used in the better circles, and hence he was not in such danger of being imposed upon by guides and priests as was Herodotus.

In the opening chapters of the Second Book Diodorus moves to Asia and Assyrian affairs. Most of his material was drawn from Ctesias of Cnidus, who spent seventeen years as physician at the court of the Persian king, Artaxerxes Mnemon, returning to Greece some time after 390 B.C. Ctesias wrote a
INTRODUCTION

Persica in twenty-three Books, the first six of which dealt with Assyrian and Median history. Whether Diodorus used Ctesias directly or through a medium is still a question. He also used Cleitarchus and "certain of those who at a later time crossed into Asia with Alexander" (2. 7. 3). Incidentally, he quotes from a particular Athenaeus, otherwise unknown, and "certain other historians" (2. 20. 3) to the effect that Semiramis was nothing more than a beautiful courtesan. While there is some shadowy outline of the long history of Egypt in Book I, what Diodorus (or rather Ctesias, Cleitarchus and others) had to offer on Babylonian history is scarcely deserving of the name. It is astonishing to observe that a writer with the opportunities which Ctesias enjoyed should have been content to do little more than pass on the folk tales which constitute the "history" of the Assyrian Empire.

Into the daily widening field of the history of Egypt and Babylonia, which is the theme of this volume of Diodorus, and in which many dates change from year to year and many are still the subject of controversy among competent Orientalists, a classicist enters with extreme reluctance. It has seemed the better policy to draw upon the latest general survey of this period, The Cambridge Ancient History, for the chronology, recognizing at the same time that even the contributors to this single enterprise are not always in agreement.

1 Cp. P. Schnabel, Berossos und die babylonisch-hellenistische Literatur (Leipzig, 1923), p. 34.
THE LIBRARY OF HISTORY
OF
DIODORUS OF SICILY

BOOK I
Τάδε ἔνεστιν ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ τῶν
Διοδώρου βιβλίων

Προοίμων τῆς ολῆς πραγματείας.
Περὶ τῶν παρ’ Ἀἰγυπτίων λεγομένων περὶ τῆς τοῦ
cόσμου γενέσεως:
Περὶ τῶν θεῶν ὅσοι πόλεις ἐκτισαν καὶ Ἀἴγυπτον.
Περὶ τῶν πρῶτων γενομένων ἄνθρώπων καὶ τῶν παλαιο-
tάτων βίων.
Περὶ τῆς τῶν ἀθανάτων τιμῆς καὶ τῆς τῶν ναῶν κατα-
σκευῆς.
Περὶ τῆς τοποθεσίας τῆς κατ’ Ἀἴγυπτον χώρας καὶ τῶν
περὶ τῶν Νεῖλον ποταμῶν παραδοξολογουμένων, τῆς τῇ
τούτου πληρώσεως τὰς αἰτίας ¹ καὶ τῶν ἱστορικῶν καὶ
φιλοσοφών ἀποφάσεις.
Περὶ τῶν πρῶτων γενομένων καὶ Ἀἴγυπτον βασιλέων
καὶ τῶν κατὰ μέρος αὐτῶν πράξεων.
Περὶ κατασκευῆς τῶν πυραμίδων τῶν ἀναγραφομένων
ἐν τοῖς ἑπτὰ βασιλεῖς ἐργοῖς.
Περὶ τῶν νόμων καὶ τῶν δικαστηρίων.
Περὶ τῶν ἀφιερωμένων ξών παρ’ Ἀἰγυπτίων.
Περὶ τῶν νομίμων τῶν περὶ τούτων τετελευτηκότας παρ’
Ἀἰγυπτίως γεγομένων.
Περὶ τῶν Ἐλλήνων ὅσοι τῶν ἐπὶ παιδείᾳ ἑπαξωμένων
παραβαλόντες εἰς Ἀἴγυπτον καὶ πολλὰ τῶν χρησίμων
μαθῶντες μετήνευσαν εἰς τὴν Ἐλλάδα.

¹ Some verb is needed here, such as περιέχει, which is
found in chap. 42, from which most of this outline is
drawn.
CONTENTS OF THE FIRST BOOK
OF DIODORUS

Introduction to the entire work (chaps. 1–5).
On the accounts given by the Egyptians about the origin of the universe (chaps. 6–7).
On the gods who founded cities in Egypt.\(^1\)
On the first men and the earliest manner of life (chap. 8).
On the honour paid to the immortals and the building of the temples to them.\(^1\)
On the topography of the land of Egypt and the marvels related about the river Nile; the causes also of its flooding and the opinions thereupon of the historians and the philosophers (chaps. 30 ff.).
On the first kings of Egypt and their individual deeds (chaps. 44 ff.).
On the construction of the pyramids which are listed among the seven wonders of the world (chaps. 63 ff.).
On the laws and the courts of law (chaps. 69 ff.).
On the animals held sacred among the Egyptians (chaps. 83 ff.).
On the customs of the Egyptians touching the dead (chaps. 91 ff.).
On those Greeks, renowned for their learning, who visited Egypt and upon acquiring much useful knowledge brought it to Greece (chaps. 96 ff.).

\(^1\) There are no chapters which are especially devoted to this topic.
ΔΙΟΔΩΡΟΥ
ΤΟΥ ΣΙΚΕΛΙΩΤΟΥ
ΒΙΒΛΙΟΘΗΚΗΣ ΙΣΤΟΡΙΚΗΣ

ΒΙΒΛΙΟΣ ΠΡΩΤΗ

1. Τοῖς τὰς κοινὰς ἱστορίας πραγματευσαμένοις μεγάλας χάριτας ἀπονέμειν δίκαιον πάντας ἀνθρώπους, ὅτι τοῖς ἱδίοις πόνοις ἀφελήσαι τὸν κοινὸν βίον ἐφιλοτιμήθησαν ἀκίνδυνον γὰρ διδασκαλίαν τοῦ συμφέροντος εἰσηγησάμενοι καλλιστὴν ἐμπειρίαν διὰ τῆς πραγματείας ταύτης 2 περιποιοῦσι τοῖς ἀναγνώσκουσιν. ἡ μὲν γὰρ ἐκ τῆς πείρας ἑκάστου μάθησις μετὰ πολλῶν πόνων καὶ κινδύνων ποιεῖ τῶν χρησίμων ἔκαστα διαγωνώσκειν, καὶ διὰ τούτο τῶν ἡρώων ὁ πολυπειρότατος μετὰ μεγάλων ἀτυχημάτων πολλῶν ἀνθρώπων ἴδεν ἀστεα καὶ νόον ἔγνω· ἡ δὲ διὰ τῆς ἱστορίας περιγραμμένη σύνεσις τῶν ἀλλοτρίων ἀποτευγμάτων τε καὶ κατορθωμάτων 3 ἀπειρατον κακῶν ἔχει τὴν διδασκαλίαν. ἐπειτα πάντας ἀνθρώπους, μετέχοντας μὲν τῆς πρὸς

---

1 Here Diodorus markedly connects "universal" (κοινὰ) history with human society "as a whole" (κοινός). Cf. the Introduction, pp. xii.

2 Odysseus. The quotation is from the Odyssey 1. 3.
THE LIBRARY OF HISTORY
OF
DIODORUS OF SICILY

BOOK I

1. It is fitting that all men should ever accord
great gratitude to those writers who have composed
universal\(^1\) histories, since they have aspired to help
by their individual labours human society as a whole;
for by offering a schooling, which entails no danger,
in what is advantageous they provide their readers,
through such a presentation of events, with a most
excellent kind of experience. For although the
learning which is acquired by experience in each
separate case, with all the attendant toils and
dangers, does indeed enable a man to discern in
each instance where utility lies—and this is the
reason why the most widely experienced of our
heroes\(^2\) suffered great misfortunes before he

Of many men the cities saw and learned
Their thoughts;—
yet the understanding of the failures and successes
of other men, which is acquired by the study of
history, affords a schooling that is free from actual
experience of ills. Furthermore, it has been the
aspiration of these writers to marshal all men, who,
DIODORUS OF SICILY

ἀλλήλους συγγενείας, τόποις δὲ καὶ χρόνοις
diēstηκότας, ἐφιλοτιμήθησαν ὑπὸ μίαν καὶ τὴν
 αὐτὴν σύνταξιν ἄγαγεῖν, ὡσπέρ τινὲς ὑπουργοὶ
tῆς θείας προνοιὰς γεννηθέντες. Ἐκεῖνη τε γὰρ
τὴν τῶν ὀρωμένων ἀστρον διακόσμησιν καὶ τὰς
tῶν ἀνθρώπων φύσεις εἰς κοινὴν ἀναλογίαν συν-
θεῖσαι κυκλεῖ συνεχῶς ἀπαντᾶ τὸν αἰῶνα, τὸ
ἐπιβάλλον ἑκάστους ἐκ τῆς πεπρωμένης μερί-
ξουσα, οὐ τε τὰς κοινὰς τῆς ὁικουμένης πράξεις
καθάπερ μᾶς πόλεως ἀναγράφασθαι ἐνα λόγον
καὶ κοινῶν χρηματιστήριων τῶν συντετελεσμένων
ἀπέδειξαι τὰς εαυτῶν πραγματείας. Καλῶν γὰρ
τὸ δύνασθαι τοῖς τῶν ἄλλων ἀγνοῆσαι πρὸς
dιόρθωσιν χρῆσθαι παραδείγμασι, καὶ πρὸς τὰ
συγκυρούντα ποικίλως κατὰ τὸν βίον ἔχειν μή
χήτησιν τῶν πραττομένων, ἀλλὰ μίμησιν τῶν
epιτετευγμένων. Καὶ γὰρ τοὺς πρεσβυτάτους
ταῖς ἡλικίαις ἀπαντῆς τῶν νεωτέρων προκρίνουσιν
ἐν ταῖς συμβουλίαις διὰ τὴν ἐκ τοῦ χρόνου περι-
γεγενημένην αὐτοῖς ἐμπειρίαν ὁς τοσοῦτον ὑπερ-
έχειν συμβέβηκε τὴν ἐκ τῆς ἱστορίας μᾶθησιν
ὅσον καὶ τὸ πλῆθει τῶν πραγμάτων προτεροῦσα
αὐτὴν ἑπεγνώκαμεν. Διὸ καὶ πρὸς ἀπάσας τὰς
τοῦ βίου περιστάσεις χρησιμοτάτην ἃν τις εἶναι

5 νομίσας τὴν ταύτης ἀνάληψιν. Τοῖς μὲν γὰρ
νεωτέροις τὴν τῶν γεγορρακών περιποιεῖ σύν-
εσιν, τοῖς δὲ πρεσβυτέροις πολλαπλασιάζει τὴν
ὑπάρχουσαν ἐμπειρίαν, καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἰδιώτας

1 The reference is to the Stoic doctrine of the universal kinship of mankind.
although united one to another by their kinship,¹ are yet separated by space and time, into one and the same orderly body. And such historians have therein shown themselves to be, as it were, ministers of Divine Providence. For just as Providence, having brought the orderly arrangement of the visible stars and the natures of men together into one common relationship, continually directs their courses through all eternity, apportioning to each that which falls to it by the direction of fate, so likewise the historians, in recording the common affairs of the inhabited world as though they were those of a single state, have made of their treatises a single reckoning of past events and a common clearing-house of knowledge concerning them. For it is an excellent thing to be able to use the ignorant mistakes of others as warning examples for the correction of error, and, when we confront the varied vicissitudes of life, instead of having to investigate what is being done now, to be able to imitate the successes which have been achieved in the past. Certainly all men prefer in their counsels the oldest men to those who are younger, because of the experience which has accrued to the former through the lapse of time; but it is a fact that such experience is in so far surpassed by the understanding which is gained from history, as history excels, we know, in the multitude of facts at its disposal. For this reason one may hold that the acquisition of a knowledge of history is of the greatest utility for every conceivable circumstance of life. For it endows the young with the wisdom of the aged, while for the old it multiplies the experience which they already possess; citizens in private station it qualifies for leadership, and the
ἀξίους ἡγεμονίας κατασκευάζει, τοὺς δὲ ἡγεμόνας τῷ διὰ τῆς δόξης ἀθανασίαμο ἀποτρέπεται τοῖς κάλλιστοις τῶν ἔργων ἐπιχειρεῖν, χορὸς δὲ τοῦ· τούς μὲν στρατιώτας τοῖς μετὰ τὴν τελευτὴν ἐπαίνοις ἐτοιμοτέρους κατασκευάζει πρὸς τοὺς ὕπερ τῆς πατρίδος κινδύνους, τοὺς δὲ ποιηροὺς τῶν ἀνθρώπων ταῖς αἰλοῦοις βλασφημίαις ἀποτρέπει τῆς ἐπὶ τὴν κατὰ 

2. Καθόλου δὲ διὰ τὴν ἐκ ταύτης ἐπ’ ἀγαθῷ 

μνήμην οἱ μὲν κτίσται πόλεων γενέσθαι προεκλήθησαν, οἱ δὲ νόμους εἰσηγήσασθαι περιέχοντας τῷ κοινῷ βίῳ τὴν ἀσφάλειαν, πολλοὶ δὲ ἐπιστήμασι καὶ τέχναι ἐξευρέω ἐφιλοτιμήθησαν πρὸς εὐρεγεῖσαι τοῦ γένους τῶν ἀνθρώπων. εὖ ἀπέαντων δὲ συμπληρουμένης τῆς εὐδαιμονίας, ἀποδοτέων τῶν ἐπαίνων ὑπὸ τουτών 2 μᾶλιστ’ αἰτίᾳ, ἱστορία. ἡγητέων γὰρ εἶναι ταύτην φύλακα μὲν τῆς τῶν ἀξιολόγων ἀρετῆς, μάρτυρα δὲ τῆς τῶν φαύλων κακίας, εὐρεγεῖτιν δὲ τοῦ κοινοῦ γένους τῶν ἀνθρώπων. εἰ γὰρ ἡ τῶν ἐν ἄδου μυθολογία τῆς ὑπόθεσιν πεπλασμένην ἔχουσα πολλὰ συμβάλλεται τοῖς ἀνθρώποις πρὸς εὐσέβειαν καὶ δικαιοσύνην, πόσο μᾶλλον ὑποληπτέων τὴν προφήτης τῆς ἀληθείας ἱστορίαν, τῆς δὴς φιλοσοφίας οἷον εἰ μητρόπολιν οὕτων, ἐπισκευάζας δύνασθαι τὰ ἥθη μᾶλλον 3 πρὸς καλοκαγαθίαν; πάντες γὰρ ἀνθρώποι διὰ μᾶλλον Bekker, Vogel: omitted OF, Dindorf.

1 The Greek “metropolis,” the “home country” or “mothercity” of all the colonies which it had sent forth, was venerated by them as the source of their race and of their institutions. For the striking figure cp. the passage in Athenaeus 104 B, 8
leaders it incites, through the immortality of the glory which it confers, to undertake the noblest deeds; soldiers, again, it makes more ready to face dangers in defence of their country because of the public encomiums which they will receive after death, and wicked men it turns aside from their impulse towards evil through the everlasting opprobrium to which it will condemn them.

2. In general, then, it is because of that commemoration of goodly deeds which history accords men that some of them have been induced to become the founders of cities, that others have been led to introduce laws which encompass man's social life with security, and that many have aspired to discover new sciences and arts in order to benefit the race of men. And since complete happiness can be attained only through the combination of all these activities, the foremost meed of praise must be awarded to that which more than any other thing is the cause of them, that is, to history. For we must look upon it as constituting the guardian of the high achievements of illustrious men, the witness which testifies to the evil deeds of the wicked, and the benefactor of the entire human race. For if it be true that the myths which are related about Hades, in spite of the fact that their subject-matter is fictitious, contribute greatly to fostering piety and justice among men, how much more must we assume that history, the prophetess of truth, she who is, as it were, the mother-city of philosophy as a whole, is still more potent to equip men's characters for noble living! For all men, by reason of the frailty of our nature, where Chrysippus calls the Gastrology of Archestratus a "metropolis" of the philosophy of Epicurus.
τὴν τῆς φύσεως ἀσθένειαν βιούσι μὲν ἀκαριαῖὸν
ti μέρος τοῦ παντὸς αἰῶνος, τετελευτήκασι δὲ
πάντα τὸν ύστερον χρόνον, καὶ τοῖς μὲν ἐν τῷ
ζῆν μηδὲν ἄξιόλογον πράξασιν ἀμα ταῖς τῶν
σωμάτων τελευταῖς συναποθήκηκε καὶ τὰ ἄλλα
πάντα τὰ κατὰ τῶν βίων, τοῖς δὲ δὲ ἀρετὴν
περιποιησαμένους δόξαν αἱ πράξεις ἀπαντά τὸν
αἰῶνα μημονεύονται, διαβοῶμεν τῷ θειοτάτῳ
tῆς ἱστορίας στόματι.
4. Καλὸν δ', οἷμαι, τοὺς εὐ φρονοῦσι θυητῶν
πόνων ἀντικαταλάβασθαι τὴν ἄθανατον εὐφη-
μίαν. Ἡρακλῆς μὲν γάρ ὁμολογεῖται πάντα
tὸν γενόμενον αὐτῷ κατ' ἀνθρώπους χρόνον
ὑπομεῖναι μεγάλους καὶ συνεχῶς πόνους καὶ κιν-
dύνους ἐκουσίως, ἵνα τὸ γένος τῶν ἀνθρώπων
ἐνεργετῆσαι τύχῃ τῆς ἀθανασίας: τῶν δὲ ἄλλων
ἀγαθῶν ἀνδρῶν οἱ μὲν ἡρωίκων, οἱ δὲ ἱσοθέων
τιμῶν ἐτυχοῦν, πάντες δὲ μεγάλων ἐπαίνων
ἐξείπονται, τᾶς ἀρετᾶς αὐτῶν τῆς ἱστορίας
5 ἀπαθαινατιζώσης. τὰ μὲν γὰρ ἅλλα μημεῖα
dιαμένει χρόνον ἀλλού, ὅπὸ πολλῶν ἀναιροῦμενα
περιστάσεων, ἢ δὲ τῆς ἱστορίας δύναμις ἐπὶ
πᾶσαν τὴν οἰκουμένην διήκουσα τῶν πάντων
τάλλα λυμαινόμενον χρόνον ἔχει φύλακα τῆς
ἀιώνιον παραδόσεως τοῖς ἐπιγνωμένοις.
Συμβάλλεται δ' αὐτὴ καὶ πρὸς λόγον δύναμιν,
οὐ κάλλιον ἐτερον οὐκ ἂν τις ῥαδίως ἐφορεῖ.
6 τούτῳ γὰρ οἱ μὲν ἦν Ἑλληνες τῶν βαρβάρων, οἱ
dὲ πεπαιδευμένοι τῶν ἀπαιδευτῶν προέχουσι,
πρὸς δὲ τούτως διὰ μόνου τούτου δυνατόν ἐστιν
live but an infinitesimal portion of eternity and are dead throughout all subsequent time; and while in the case of those who in their lifetime have done nothing worthy of note, everything which has pertained to them in life also perishes when their bodies die, yet in the case of those who by their virtue have achieved fame, their deeds are remembered for evermore, since they are heralded abroad by history's voice most divine.

Now it is an excellent thing, methinks, as all men of understanding must agree, to receive in exchange for mortal labours an immortal fame. In the case of Heracles, for instance, it is generally agreed that during the whole time which he spent among men he submitted to great and continuous labours and perils willingly, in order that he might confer benefits upon the race of men and thereby gain immortality; and likewise in the case of other great and good men, some have attained to heroic honours and others to honours equal to the divine, and all have been thought to be worthy of great praise, since history immortalizes their achievements. For whereas all other memorials abide but a brief time, being continually destroyed by many vicissitudes, yet the power of history, which extends over the whole inhabited world, possesses in time, which brings ruin upon all things else, a custodian which ensures its perpetual transmission to posterity.

History also contributes to the power of speech, and a nobler thing than that may not easily be found. For it is this that makes the Greeks superior to the barbarians, and the educated to the uneducated, and, furthermore, it is by means of speech alone that one man is able to gain ascendancy over
διὰ τῶν πολλῶν περιγενέσθαι καθόλου δὲ 
φαίνεται πάν τὸ προτεθὲν τοιούτου ὅποιον ἄν 
ἡ τοῦ λέγοντος δύναμις παραστήσῃ, καὶ τοὺς 
ἀγαθοὺς ἀνδρας ἄξιους λόγου προσαγορεύομεν, 
ὡς τούτο τὸ πρωτείον τῆς ἀρετῆς περιπεποιη-
7 

μένους. εἰς πλείω δὲ μέρη τούτου διηρημένου, 
συμβαίνει τὴν μὲν ποιητικὴν τέρπειν μᾶλλον 
ὕπερ ὡφελεία, τὴν δὲ νομοθεσίαν κολάζειν, οὐ 
διδάσκειν, παραπλησίως δὲ καὶ τάλλα μέρη τὰ 
μὲν μηδὲν συμβάλλεσθαι πρὸς ἑυδαιμονίαν, τὰ 
δὲ μεμυγμένην ἔχειν τὸ συμφέροντο τὴν βλάβην, 
ἐνιαὶ δὲ κατεφεύγειν τῆς ἀληθείας, μόνην δὲ τὴν 
ἰστορίαν, συμφωνοῦντων ἐν αὐτῇ τῶν λόγων 
τοῖς ἐργοῖς, ἀπαντά τάλλα χρήσιμα τῇ γραφῇ 
8 

περιείληφέναι ὄρασθαι γὰρ αὐτὴν προτρεπο-
μένην ἐπὶ δικαιοσύνην, κατηγοροῦσαν τῶν φαύ-
λων, ἐγκωμιάζουσαν τοὺς ἀγαθούς, τὸ σύνολον 
ἐμπειρίαν μεγίστην περιποιοῦσαν τοὺς ἐντυγχά-

νουσι.

3. Διὸ καὶ θεωροῦντες ἡμεῖς δικαίας ἀποδοχῆς 
τυγχάνοντας τοὺς ταύτην πραγματευσαμένους 
προηχθημεν ἐπὶ τὸν ὅμοιον τῆς ὑποθέσεως ζῆλον. 
ἐπιστήσαντες δὲ τὸν νοῦν τοὺς πρὸ ἡμῶν συγ-

γραφεύσιν ἀπεδεξάμεθα μὲν ὡς ἐνι μᾶλιστα τὴν 
προαίρεσιν αὐτῶν, οὐ μὴν ἔξειργάσθαι πρὸς τὸ 
συμφέρον κατὰ ἁ τὸ δυνατόν τὰς πραγματάια 
2 

αὐτῶν ὑπελάβομεν, κειμένης γὰρ τοὺς ἀνα-

γινώσκοντος τῆς ὡφελείας ἐν τῷ πλείστασα καὶ 
ποικιλωτάτας περιστάσεις λαμβάνειν, οἱ πλεῖστοι 
μὲν ἐνὸς ἔθνος ἡ μᾶς πόλεως αὐτοτελεῖς 
πολέμους ἀνέγραψαν, ὀλίγοι δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν ἀρχαῖων

1 κατὰ Stephanus: καί. 
2 ἐνὸς added by Porson.
the many; and, in general, the impression made by every measure that is proposed corresponds to the power of the speaker who presents it, and we describe great and good men as "worthy of speech," 1 as though therein they had won the highest prize of excellence. And when speech is resolved into its several kinds, we find that, whereas poetry is more pleasing than profitable, and codes of law punish but do not instruct, and similarly, all the other kinds either contribute nothing to happiness or else contain a harmful element mingled with the beneficial, while some of them actually pervert the truth, history alone, since in it word and fact are in perfect agreement, embraces in its narration all the other qualities as well that are useful; for it is ever to be seen urging men to justice, denouncing those who are evil, lauding the good, laying up, in a word, for its readers a mighty store of experience.

3. Consequently we, observing that writers of history are accorded a merited approbation, were led to feel a like enthusiasm for the subject. But when we turned our attention to the historians before our time, although we approved their purpose without reservation, yet we were far from feeling that their treatises had been composed so as to contribute to human welfare as much as might have been the case. For although the profit which history affords its readers lies in its embracing a vast number and variety of circumstances, yet most writers have recorded no more than isolated wars waged by a single nation or a single state, and but few have undertaken, beginning with the earliest times and coming down

1 i.e. worthy to be the subject of speech. ἀξιόλογος is a favourite word of Diodorus in the usual meaning of "distinguished," "notable."
χρόνων ἀρξάμενοι τὰς κοινὰς πράξεις ἐπεχειρήσαν ἀναγράφειν μέχρι τῶν καθ’ αὐτοὺς καὶράν, καὶ τούτων οἱ μὲν τοὺς οἰκείους χρόνους ἐκάστους οὐ παρέξουσιν, οἱ δὲ τὰς τῶν βαρβάρων πράξεις ὑπερέβησαν, ἐτι δ’ οἱ μὲν τὰς παλαιὰς μυθολογίας διὰ τὴν δυσχέρειαν τῆς πραγματείας ἀπεδοκίμασαν, οἱ δὲ τὴν ὑπόστασιν τῆς ἐπιβολῆς οὐ συνετέλεσαν, μεσολαβηθέντες τὸν βίον ὑπὸ τῆς πεπρωμένης. τῶν δὲ τὴν ἐπιβολὴν ταύτης τῆς πραγματείας πεποιημένων οὐδεὶς προεβίβασε τὴν ἱστορίαν κατωτέρω τῶν Μακεδονίκων καὶρῶν· οἱ μὲν γὰρ εἰς τὰς Φιλίππου πράξεις, οἱ δ’ εἰς τὰς Ἀλεξάνδρου, τινὲς δ’ εἰς τοὺς διαδόχους ἢ τοὺς ἑπτάχονος κατέστρεψαν τὰς συντάξεις· πολλῶν δὲ καὶ μεγάλων τῶν μετὰ ταύτα πράξεων ἀπολελειμμένων μέχρι τοῦ καθ’ ἡμᾶς βίου τῶν ἱστοριογράφων οὐδεὶς ἐπεβάλετο αὐτὰς μᾶς συντάξεως περιγραφῇ πραγματεύσασθαι διὰ τὸ μέγεθος τῆς ὑποθέσεως. διὸ καὶ διερρυμένων 1 τῶν τε χρόνων καὶ τῶν πράξεων ἐν πλείστη πραγματείαις καὶ διαφόροις συγγραφεύσι δυσπερίληπτος ἢ τούτων ἀνάληψις γίνεται καὶ δυσμυθμόνευτος.

5 'Εξετάσαντες οὖν τὰς ἐκάστου τούτων διαθέσεις ἑκρίναμεν ὑπόθεσιν ἱστορικὴν πραγματεύσασθαι τὴν πλείστα μὲν ὡφελῆσαι δυναμένην,

---

1 Of the writers who may be said to have composed universal histories, Diodorus may have had in mind Herodotus, who had no chronological system, Anaximenes of Lampacus, who confined his Hellenica, as the title shows, to the Greeks, and Ephorus of Cyme, who omitted the mythical period and
to their own day, to record the events connected with all peoples; and of the latter, some have not attached to the several events their own proper dates, and others have passed over the deeds of barbarian peoples; and some, again, have rejected the ancient legends because of the difficulties involved in their treatment, while others have failed to complete the plan to which they had set their hand, their lives having been cut short by fate.\(^1\) And of those who have undertaken this account of all peoples not one has continued his history beyond the Macedonian period. For while some have closed their accounts with the deeds of Philip, others with those of Alexander, and some with the Diadochi or the Epigoni,\(^2\) yet, despite the number and importance of the events subsequent to these and extending even to our own lifetime which have been left neglected, no historian has essayed to treat of them within the compass of a single narrative, because of the magnitude of the undertaking. For this reason, since both the dates of the events and the events themselves lie scattered about in numerous treatises and in divers authors, the knowledge of them becomes difficult for the mind to encompass and for the memory to retain.

Consequently, after we had examined the composition of each of these authors' works, we resolved to write a history after a plan which might yield to

whose death brought his history to a close with the year 340 B.C., although he had witnessed the stirring events of the subsequent twenty years.

\(^2\) The Diadochi, or Successors, were those rulers who shortly after 323 B.C. formed separate kingdoms out of the territory conquered by Alexander. The Epigoni were the next and succeeding generations.
DIODORUS OF SICILY

έλάχιστα δὲ τοὺς ἀναγινώσκοντας ἐνοχλήσον-σαν. εἰ γὰρ τις τὰς εἰς μνήμην παραδεδομένας τοῦ σύμπαντος κόσμου πράξεις, ὡσπερ τινὸς μίας πόλεως, ἀρξάμενος ἀπὸ τῶν ἀρχαιοτάτων χρόνων ἀναγράψαι κατὰ τὸ δυνατὸν μέχρι τῶν καθ' αὐτὸν καιρῶν, πόνον μὲν ἂν πολὺν ὑπο-μείναι δήλου ὅτι, πραγματείαν ἔκαστον πεσὼν εὐχρη-στοτάτην συντάξασθαι τοῖς φιλαναγινωστοῦσιν.

7 ἐξέσται γὰρ ἐκ ταύτης ἐκαστὸν πρὸς τὴν ἱδίαν ὑπόστασιν ἑτοίμως λαμβάνειν τὸ χρήσιμον,

8 ὡσπερ ἐκ μεγάλης ἀρνομένου πηγῆς. τοῖς μὲν γὰρ ἐπιβαλλομένοις διεξεῖναι τὰς τῶν τοσούτων συγγραφέων ἱστορίας πρῶτον μὲν οὐ βάθος εὑρορήσαί τῶν εἰς τὴν χρείαν πιπτούσων βι-βλίων, ἐπειτὰ διὰ τὴν ἀνωμαλίαν καὶ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν συνταγμάτων δυσκατάληπτος γίνεται τελέως καὶ δυσέφικτος ἡ τῶν πεπραγμένων ἀνάληψις· ἢ δὲ ἐν μίας1 συντάξεως περιγραφὴ πραγματεία τὸ τῶν πράξεων εἰρήμενον ἔχουσα τὴν μὲν ἀνάγνωσιν ἑτοίμην παρέχει, τὴν δὲ ἀνάληψιν ἔχει παντελῶς εὑπαρακολουθηθέντος. καθόλου δὲ τῶν ἀλλῶν τοσούτων ὑπερέχειν ταύτην ἡγητέον ὅσοι χρησιμωτέρον ἐστὶ τὸ πᾶν τοῦ μέρους καὶ τὸ συνεχὺς τοῦ διερρημένου, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις τὸ διηκριβωμένον τοῖς χρόνοις τοῦ μηδὲ γινωσκο-μένου τίσιν ἐπράξθη καιρός.

4. Διότι ἡμεῖς ὰρώντες ταύτην τὴν ὑπόθεσιν χρησιμωτάτην μὲν σοφῶν, πολλοῦ δὲ πόνου καὶ χρόνου προσδεομένην, τριάκοντα μὲν ἔτη περὶ αὐτὴν ἐπραγματεύθημεν, μετὰ δὲ πολλῆς κακο-
its readers the greatest benefit and at the same time incommode them the least. For if a man should begin with the most ancient times and record to the best of his ability the affairs of the entire world down to his own day, so far as they have been handed down to memory, as though they were the affairs of some single city, he would obviously have to undertake an immense labour, yet he would have composed a treatise of the utmost value to those who are studiously inclined. For from such a treatise every man will be able readily to take what is of use for his special purpose, drawing as it were from a great fountain. The reason for this is that, in the first place, it is not easy for those who propose to go through the writings of so many historians to procure the books which come to be needed, and, in the second place, that, because the works vary so widely and are so numerous, the recovery of past events becomes extremely difficult of comprehension and of attainment; whereas, on the other hand, the treatise which keeps within the limits of a single narrative and contains a connected account of events facilitates the reading and contains such recovery of the past in a form that is perfectly easy to follow. In general, a history of this nature must be held to surpass all others to the same degree as the whole is more useful than the part and continuity than discontinuity, and, again, as an event whose date has been accurately determined is more useful than one of which it is not known in what period it happened.

4. And so we, appreciating that an undertaking of this nature, while most useful, would yet require much labour and time, have been engaged upon it for thirty years, and with much hardship and many
DIODORUS OF SICILY

παθείας καὶ κινδύνων ἐπήλθομεν πολλῆν τῆς τε Ἀσίας καὶ τῆς Εὐρώπης, ἵνα τῶν ἀναγκαιοτάτων καὶ πλείστων μερῶν αὐτῶπται γενηθῶμεν πολλὰ γὰρ παρὰ τὰς ἀγνοιὰς τῶν τόπων διήμαρτον οὐχ οἱ τυχόντες τῶν συγγραφέων, ἀλλὰ τινές καὶ τῶν τῇ δοξῇ πεπρωτευκότων. ἀφορμῇ δὲ πρὸς τὴν ἐπιβολὴν ταύτην ἐχρησάμεθα μάλιστα μὲν τῇ πρὸς τὴν πραγματείαν ἐπιθυμίας, δι' ἣν πάσιν ἀνθρώποις τὸ δοκοῦν ἀποροῦν εἶναι τυγχάνει συντελείας, ἔπειτα καὶ τῇ ἐν Ὄρωμη χορηγίᾳ τῶν πρὸς τὴν ὑποκειμένην ὑπόθεσιν ἀνυπόκτων. ἡ γὰρ ταύτης τῆς πόλεως ὑπεροχή, διατείνουσα τῇ δυνάμει πρὸς τὰ πέρατα τῆς οἰκουμένης, ἠτοιμοτάτας καὶ πλείστας ἡμῖν ἀφορμὰς παρέσχετο παρεπιδημήσασιν ἐν αὐτῇ πλεῖω χρόνον. ἡμεῖς γὰρ ἐξ Ἀγυρίου τῆς Ἐκελίας οὐτες, καὶ διὰ τὴν ἐπιμεῖξιν τοῖς ἐν τῇ νήσῳ πολλῆν ἐμπειρίαν τῆς Ρωμαίων διαλέκτου περιπεποιημένου, πάσας τὰς τῆς Ἡγεμονίας ταύτης πράξεις ἀκριβῶς ἀνελάβομεν ἐκ τῶν παρ' ἐκείνους ὑπομνημάτων ἐκ πολλῶν χρόνων τετηρημένων. πεποιημέθα δὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν τῆς ἱστορίας ἀπὸ τῶν μυθολογουμένων παρ' Ἐλλησὶ τε καὶ Βαρβάροις, ἐξετάσαντες τὰ παρ' ἐκάστους ἱστοροῦμενα κατὰ τοὺς ἄρχαίους χρόνους, ἐφ' ὅσον ἦμῖν δύναμις.

6 Ἐπεὶ δ' η μὲν ὑπόθεσις ἔχει τέλος, αἱ βιβλίοι δὲ μέχρι τοῦ νῦν ἀνέκδοτοι τυγχάνουσιν οὖσαί, χορηγία Hertlein: διὰ τὴν χορηγίαν.

1 On the travels undertaken by Diodorus in preparation for the writing of his history, see the Introduction, p. xiii.
dangers we have visited a large portion of both Asia and Europe that we might see with our own eyes all the most important regions\(^1\) and as many others as possible; for many errors have been committed through ignorance of the sites, not only by the common run of historians, but even by some of the highest reputation. As for the resources which have availed us in this undertaking, they have been, first and foremost, that enthusiasm for the work which enables every man to bring to completion the task which seems impossible, and, in the second place, the abundant supply which Rome affords of the materials pertaining to the proposed study. For the supremacy of this city, a supremacy so powerful that it extends to the bounds of the inhabited world, has provided us in the course of our long residence there with copious resources in the most accessible form. For since the city of our origin was Agyrium in Sicily, and by reason of our contact with the Romans in that island we had gained a wide acquaintance with their language,\(^2\) we have acquired an accurate knowledge of all the events connected with this empire from the records which have been carefully preserved among them over a long period of time. Now we have begun our history with the legends of both Greeks and barbarians, after having first investigated to the best of our ability the accounts which each people records of its earliest times.

Since my undertaking is now completed, although the volumes are as yet unpublished, I wish to pre-

\(^2\) The prevailing language in Sicily in this period was Greek. On the acquaintance of Diodorus with Latin see the Introduction, pp. xiii ff.
DIODORUS OF SICILY

βούλομαι βραχέα προδιορίσαι περὶ ὅλης τῆς πραγματείας. τῶν γὰρ βιβλίων ἡμῶν ἦσαν ἐξ μὲν αἱ πρῶται περιέχουσι τὰς πρὸ τῶν Τρωικῶν πράξεις καὶ μυθολογίας, καὶ τούτων αἱ μὲν προηγούμεναι τρεῖς τὰς βαρβαρικὰς, αἱ δ’ ἐξῆς σχεδὸν τὰς τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἀρχαιολογίας· ἐν δὲ ταῖς μετὰ ταύτας ἐνδεκα τὰς ἀπὸ τῶν Τρωικῶν κοινὰς πράξεις ἀναγεγράφαμεν ἐως τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου 7 τελευτῆς· ἐν δὲ ταῖς ἐξῆς ἐκοσιὶ καὶ τρισὶ βιβλίοις τὰς λοιπὰς ἀπάσας κατετάξαμεν μέχρι τῆς ἀρχῆς τοῦ συστάγματος πολέμου Ῥωμαίων πρὸς Κελτῶν, καθ’ ὑπὸ ἡγούμενος Γάιος Ἰουλίος Καίσαρ ὁ διὰ τὰς πράξεις προσαγορευθεὶς θεὸς κατεπλέμησε μὲν τὰ πλείστα καὶ μαχιμώτατα τῶν Κελτῶν ἠθική, προεβιβάσες δὲ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν τῆς Ῥώμης μέχρι τῶν Βρεττανίκων νῆσων τούτων δ’ αἱ πρῶται πράξεις ἐπετελέσθησαν Ὀλυμπιάδος τῆς ἕκαστῆς καὶ ὀγδοκοστῆς κατὰ τὸ πρῶτον ἐτὸς ἐπ’ ἀρχοντὸς Ἀθήνησιν Ἡρώδου.

5. Τῶν δὲ χρόνων τούτων περιειλημμένων ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ πραγματείᾳ τοὺς μὲν πρὸ τῶν Τρωικῶν οὐ διορίζομεθα βεβαιοὺς διὰ τὸ μηδὲν παράπτημα παρειληφέναι περὶ τούτων πιστευόμενον, ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν Τρωικῶν ἀκολούθως Ἀπολλοδώρῳ τῷ Ἀθηναίῳ τιθέμενον ὀγδοηκούτῳ ἐτὶ πρὸς τὴν κάθοδον τῶν Ἡρακλειδῶν, ἀπὸ δὲ ταύτης ἐπὶ τὴν πρώτην Ὀλυμπιάδα δυσὶ λειποῦτα τῶν τριακοσίων καὶ τριάκοντα, συλλογιζόμενοι τοὺς χρόνους ἀπὸ τῶν ἐν Λακεδαιμονὶ βασιλευσάντων, ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς

1 For the subjects of the several Books see the Introduction, pp. xvii.
20
sent a brief preliminary outline of the work as a whole. Our first six Books embrace the events and legends previous to the Trojan War, the first three setting forth the antiquities of the barbarians, and the next three almost exclusively those of the Greeks; 1 in the following eleven we have written a universal history of events from the Trojan War to the death of Alexander; and in the succeeding twenty-three Books we have given an orderly account of all subsequent events down to the beginning of the war between the Romans and the Celts, in the course of which the commander, Gaius Julius Caesar; who has been deified because of his deeds, subdued the most numerous and most warlike tribes of the Celts, and advanced the Roman Empire as far as the British Isles. The first events of this war occurred in the first year of the One Hundred and Eightieth Olympiad, when Herodes was archon in Athens. 2

5. As for the periods included in this work, we do not attempt to fix with any strictness the limits of those before the Trojan War, because no trustworthy chronological table covering them has come into our hands: but from the Trojan War 1184 B.C. we follow Apollodorus of Athens 3 in setting the interval from then to the Return of the Heracleidae 1104 B.C. as eighty years, from then to the First Olympiad 100 three hundred and twenty-eight years, reckoning 776 B.C. the dates by the reigns of the kings of Lacedaemon,

2 On these periods and dates, as given more fully in the following paragraph, see the Introduction, p. xv.

3 A philosopher and historian of the second century B.C. whose Chronology covered the years 1184–119 B.C. The Chronology of Castor of Rhodes, of the first century B.C., which came down to 60 B.C., and was probably also used by Diodorus after the date where Apollodorus stopped, included the period before the Trojan War.
Diodorus of Sicily

πρώτης Ὠλυμπιάδος εἰς τὴν ἄρχην τοῦ Κελτικοῦ πολέμου, ἢν τελευτὴν πεποιήμεθα τῆς ἱστορίας, ἔπτακσια καὶ τριάκοντα: ὄστε τῇ ὀλὴν πραγματείαν ἡμῶν τετταράκοντα βιβλίων ὑπὸ σαν περιέχειν ἔτη δυσὶ λείποντα τῶν χιλίων ἑκατὸν τεττάρακοντα χωρίς τῶν χρόνων τῶν περιεχόντων τὰς πρὸ τῶν Τρωικῶν πράξεις.

2 Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἀκριβῶς προδιωρισάμεθα, βουλόμενοι τούς μὲν ἀναγινώσκοντας εἰς ἐννοιαν ἀγαγείν τῆς ὀλης προθέσεως, τοὺς δὲ διασκευάζειν εἰσθότας τὰς βιβλίους ἀποτρέψαι τοῦ λυμαίνεσθαι τὰς ἀλλοτρίας πραγματείας. ἡμῖν δὲ παρ' ὀλην τὴν ἱστορίαν τὰ μὲν γραφέντα καλὸς μὴ μετεχέτω φθόνον, τὰ δὲ ἀγνοηθέντα τυγχανέτω διορθώσεως ὕπο τῶν δυνάτωτέρων.

3 Διελθηλυθότες δὲ ὑπὲρ ὑμν προηρούμεθα, τὴν ἐπαγγελλάν τῆς γραφῆς βεβαιοῦν ἐγχειρήσομεν.

6. Περὶ μὲν οὖν θεῶν τίνας ἐννοίας ἑσχον οἱ πρῶτοι καταδείξαντες τιμᾶν τὸ θεῖον, καὶ τῶν μυθολογομενῶν περὶ ἕκαστον τῶν ἄθαντων, τὰ μὲν πολλὰ συντάξασθαι παρήσομεν κατ' ἱδίαν διὰ τὸ τὴν ὑπόθεσιν ταύτην πολλοῦ λόγου προσδείξασθαι, ὅσα δ' ἂν ταῖς προκειμέναις ἱστορίαις οἰκεῖα δὲξομεν ὑπάρχειν, παραθήσομεν ἐν κεφαλαίοις, ὑμα μηδὲν τῶν ἀκοῆς ἀξίων ἐπιζητήτητα. περὶ δὲ τοῦ ἡένους τῶν ἀπαντῶν ἀνθρώ-

1 So Dindorf: περὶ τῶν μυθολογομενῶν ἕκαστον.
2 παρήσομεν Madvig: πειρασάμεθα.
3 οἰκεία Vogel: ἰδικότα.

1 In Book 40. 8 Diodorus remarks that some of his Books had been circulated before the publication of the work as a
and from the First Olympiad to the beginning of the Celtic War, which we have made the end of our history, seven hundred and thirty years; so that our whole treatise of forty Books embraces eleven hundred and thirty-eight years, exclusive of the periods which embrace the events before the Trojan War.

We have given at the outset this precise outline, since we desire to inform our readers about the project as a whole, and at the same time to deter those who are accustomed to make their books by compilation, from mutilating works of which they are not the authors. And throughout our entire history it is to be hoped that what we have done well may not be the object of envy, and that the matters wherein our knowledge is defective may receive correction at the hands of more able historians.

Now that we have set forth the plan and purpose of our undertaking we shall attempt to make good our promise of such a treatise.

6. Concerning the various conceptions of the gods formed by those who were the first to introduce the worship of the deity, and concerning the myths which are told about each of the immortals, although we shall refrain from setting forth the most part in detail, since such a procedure would require a long account, yet whatever on these subjects we may feel to be pertinent to the several parts of our proposed history we shall present in a summary fashion, that nothing which is worth hearing may be found missing. Concerning, however, every race whole. Whether they had been materially altered, as was often done by the diaskeuasts, is not known.
πώς καὶ τῶν πρακτέων ἐν τοῖς γνωριζομένοις μέρεσι τῆς οἰκουμένης, ὡς ἂν ἐνδέχεται περὶ τῶν οὗτω παλαιῶν, ἀκριβῶς ἀναγράψομεν ἀπὸ τῶν ἀρχαιοτάτων χρόνων ἀρξάμενοι. περὶ τῆς πρώτης τοῦν γενέσεως τῶν ἀνθρώπων διηταλ γεγονασιν ἀποφάσει παρὰ τοῖς νομιμωτάτοις τῶν τε φυσιολόγων καὶ τῶν ἱστορικῶν ὁ μὲν γὰρ αὐτῶν ἀγέννητον καὶ ἀφθαρτὸν ὑποστησάμενοι τὸν κόσμον, ἀπεφήμαντο καὶ τὸ γένος τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἔξο αἰῶνοι ὑπάρχειν, μηδέποτε τῆς αὐτῶν τεκνώσεως ἀρχὴν ἐσχήκησας. ὁ δὲ γεννητὸν καὶ φθαρτὸν εἶναι νομίσαντες ἐφησαν ὀμοίως ἐκέλην ὁ τὸς ἀνθρώπους τυχεῖν τῆς πρώτης γενέσεως ὄρισμένους χρόνοις.

7. Κατὰ γὰρ τὴν ἐκ ἀρχῆς τῶν ὅλων σύστασιν μίαν ἔχων ἱδέαν οὐρανὸν τε καὶ γῆν, μεμνημένης αὐτῶν τῆς φύσεως· μετὰ δὲ ταύτα διαστάσαι τῶν σωμάτων ἀπ’ ἀλλήλων, τὸν μὲν κόσμον περιλαβεῖν ἀπασάν τὴν ὀρωμένην ἐν αὐτῷ σύνταξιν, τὸν δ’ ἄερα κινήσεως τυχεῖν συνεχοῦς, καὶ τὸ μὲν πυρῶδες αὐτὸν πρὸς τοὺς μετεωροτάτους τόπους συνδραμεῖν, ἀνωφεροῦσα οὐσίας τῆς τοιαύτης φύσεως διὰ τὴν κουφότητα· ἄφ’ ἦς αἱτίας τὸν μὲν ἥλιον καὶ τὸ λοίπον πλῆθος τῶν ἀστρῶν ἐναποληφθῆναι τῇ πάσῃ δίνῃ· τὸ δὲ ἐνυώδες καὶ θολοῦν μετὰ τῆς τῶν ἕθρων συγκρίσεως ἐπὶ ταύτῃ καταστήσαμεν διὰ τὸ βάρος·

1 ἐκέλησι Rhodoman: ἐκέληνος.

1 That the universe, as well as the earth and the human race, was eternal was the view of Aristotle and the early
of men, and all events that have taken place in the
known parts of the inhabited world, we shall give
an accurate account, so far as that is possible in the
case of things that happened so long ago, beginning
with the earliest times. Now as regards the first
origin of mankind two opinions have arisen among
the best authorities both on nature and on history.
One group, which takes the position that the universe
did not come into being and will not decay, has
declared that the race of men also has existed from
eternity, there having never been a time when
men were first begotten; the other group, however,
which holds that the universe came into being and
will decay, has declared that, like it, men had their
first origin at a definite time.1

7. When in the beginning, as their account runs, the
universe was being formed, both heaven and earth were
indistinguishable in appearance, since their elements
were intermingled: then, when their bodies separated
from one another, the universe took on in all its parts
the ordered form in which it is now seen; the air
set up a continual motion, and the fiery element in
it gathered into the highest regions, since anything
of such a nature moves upward by reason of its
lightness (and it is for this reason that the sun and
the multitude of other stars became involved in the
universal whirl); while all that was mud-like and
thick and contained an admixture of moisture sank
because of its weight into one place; and as this

Peripatetics, and was defended by Theophrastus against Zeno,
the founder of the Stoic school. The arguments used by
Theophrastus are found in Philo Judaeus, De Aeternitate
Mundi, especially chaps. 23–27; cp. E. Zeller, Aristotle and the
Earlier Peripatetics (Eng. transl.), 2, pp. 380 f.
2 εἰλούμενον δ' ἐν ἐαυτῷ συνεχῶς καὶ συστρεφό-

μενον 1 ἐκ μὲν τῶν ὑγρῶν τὴν θάλασσαν, ἐκ δὲ τῶν στερεμμιωτέρων ποιήσαι τὴν γῆν πηλώδη

3 καὶ παντελῶς ἀπαλήν. ταύτην δὲ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον

τοῦ περὶ τὸν ἥλιον πυρὸς καταλάμβαντος πῆξιν

λαβεῖν, ἔπειτα διὰ τὴν θερμασίαν ἀναξιομομένης τῆς ἐπιφανείας συνοδήσαι τῶν τῶν ὑγρῶν κατὰ

πόλλους τόπους, καὶ γενέσθαι περὶ αὐτὰ σηπεδόνας

ὑμέας λεπτοῖς περιεχομένας. δὴπερ ἐν τοῖς ἔλεγε καὶ

τοὺς λιμνάζουσι τῶν τόπων ἔτη καὶ νῦν ὅψασθαι

γενόμενοι, ἐπειδὰν τῆς χώρας κατεφυγμένης ἀφ' ἥ

dιάπυρος δ' ἀπὸ γένεται, ἡ λαβῶν τὴν μεταβολήν

4 ἐκ τοῦ κατ' ὀλίγον. ζωογονουμένων δὲ τῶν ὑγρῶν

dιὰ τῆς θερμασίας τὸν εἰρημένον τρόπον τὰς μὲν

νύκτας λαμβάνειν αὐτίκα τὴν τροφὴν ἐκ τῆς πι

πτούσης ἀπὸ τοῦ περιέχοντος ὁμίχλης, τὰς δ' ἡ

μέρας ὑπὸ τοῦ καῦματος στερεοῦσθαι· τὸ δ' ἐσχατο

τῶν κυοφορομένων τὴν τελείαν αὐξήσει λαβὼν,

καὶ τῶν ὑμένων διακαυθέντων τε καὶ

περιπραγέντων, ἀναφυίην παντοδαιμόν τύπους

5 ὄβων. τοῦτον δὲ τὰ μὲν πλείστης θερμασίας

κεκοιμονηκότα πρὸς τοὺς μετέωρους τόπους ἀπελ-

θεῖν γενόμενα πτημά, τὰ δὲ γεώδους ἀντεχόμενα

συγκρίσεως ἐν τῇ τῶν ἔρπετῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων

τῶν ἐπιγείων τάξει καταριθμηθέντα, τὰ δὲ

φύσεως ύγρὰς μάλιστα μετειληφότα πρὸς τὸν

ομογενῆ τόπον συνδραμεῖν, ὅνομασθέντα πλωτά.

6 τὴν δὲ γῆν ἂεὶ μᾶλλον στερεομένην ὑπὸ τε τοῦ

περὶ τὸν ἥλιον πυρὸς καὶ τῶν πυενμάτων τὸ

teleυταίον μηκέτε δύνασθαι μηδὲν τῶν μεζόνων

1 So Vogel: καὶ συστρεφόμενον συνεχῶς Vulgate, Bekker, Dindorf.

26
continually turned about upon itself and became compressed, out of the wet it formed the sea, and out of what was firmer, the land, which was like potter's clay and entirely soft. But as the sun's fire shone upon the land, it first of all became firm, and then, since its surface was in a ferment because of the warmth, portions of the wet swelled up in masses in many places, and in these pustules covered with delicate membranes made their appearance. Such a phenomenon can be seen even yet in swamps and marshy places whenever, the ground having become cold, the air suddenly and without any gradual change becomes intensely warm. And while the wet was being impregnated with life by reason of the warmth in the manner described, by night the living things forthwith received their nourishment from the mist that fell from the enveloping air, and by day were made solid by the intense heat; and finally, when the embryos had attained their full development and the membranes had been thoroughly heated and broken open, there was produced every form of animal life.\(^1\) Of these, such as had partaken of the most warmth set off to the higher regions, having become winged, and such as retained an earthy consistency came to be numbered in the class of creeping things and of the other land animals, while those whose composition partook the most of the wet element gathered into the region congenial to them, receiving the name of water animals. And since the earth constantly grew more solid through the action of the sun's fire and of the winds, it was finally no longer able to generate any

\(^1\) Cp. chap. 10. 2.
Diodorus of Sicily

ζωογονεῖν, ἀλλ' ἐκ τῆς πρὸς ἄλληλα μίξεως ἐκαστα γεννᾶσθαι τῶν ἐμψύχων.

7 Ἑσοκ δὲ περὶ τῆς τῶν ὄλων φύσεως οὐδ’ Ἐὐριπίδης διαφωνεῖν τοῖς προειρημένοις, μαθητῆς ὁν Ἀναξαγόρου τοῦ φυσικοῦ ἐν γὰρ τῇ Μελανίπτη τίθησιν οὕτως,

ὅς οὐρανός τε γαϊά τ’ ἦν μορφὴ μία· ἐπεὶ δ’ ἔχωρισθησαν ἄλληλων δίχα, τίκτουσι πάντα κανέδωκαν εἰς φάος, δένδρη, πετηνά, θήρας, οὐς θ’ ἄλμη τρέφει, γεών τε θητῶν.

8. Καὶ περὶ μὲν τῆς πρώτης τῶν ὄλων γενέσεως τοιαῦτα παρειλήφαμεν, τοὺς δ’ εἰς ἀρχὴς γεννηθέντας τῶν ἀνθρώπων φασὶν ἐν ἀτάκτῳ καὶ θηριώδει βίῳ καθεστώτας σποράδην ἐπὶ τὰς νομᾶς ἐξιέναι, καὶ προσφέρεσθαι τῆς τε βοτάνης τῆς προσηνεστάτην καὶ τοὺς αὐτομάτους ἀπὸ τῶν δένδρων καρποὺς. καὶ πολεμουμένους μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν θηρίων ἄλληλοις βοηθεῖν ὑπὸ τοῦ συμφέροντος διδασκομένους, ἀθροιζομένους δὲ διὰ τῶν φόβων ἐπιμελώσκειν ἐκ τοῦ κατὰ μικρὸν τοὺς ἄλληλοις τύπους. τῆς φωνῆς δ’ ἀσῆμου καὶ συγκεκυμένης οὕσης ἐκ τοῦ κατ’ ὅλιγον διαρθροῦν τὰς λέξεις, καὶ πρὸς ἄλληλους τιθέντας σύμβολα περὶ ἐκάστου τῶν ὑποκειμένων γνώριμον σφίσιν αὐτοῖς ποιήσας τὴν περὶ ἀπάντων ἐρμηνείαν.

4 τοιοῦτων δὲ συστημάτων γνωρίμων καθ’ ἀπασαν τὴν οἰκουμένην, ὁμόθετων χρονικών πάντας ἐχειν τὴν

1 FrG. 488, Nauck.

G. Busolt, "Diodor's Verhältnisse z. Stoiciszmus," Jahrb. cl. Phil. 139 (1889), 297 ff., ascribes to Posidonius most of the Preface of Diodorus, but finds in this and the preceding 28
of the larger animals, but each kind of living creatures was now begotten by breeding with one another.

And apparently Euripides also, who was a pupil of Anaxagoras the natural philosopher, is not opposed to this account of the nature of the universe, for in his Melanippe he writes as follows:

'Tis thus that heav’n and earth were once one form;
But since the two were sundered each from each,
They now beget and bring to light all things,
The trees and birds, the beasts, the spawn of sea,
And race of mortals.

8. Concerning the first generation of the universe this is the account which we have received. But the first men to be born, they say, led an undisciplined and bestial life, setting out one by one to secure their sustenance and taking for their food both the tenderest herbs and the fruits of wild trees. Then, since they were attacked by the wild beasts, they came to each other’s aid, being instructed by expediency, and when gathered together in this way by reason of their fear, they gradually came to recognize their mutual characteristics. And though the sounds which they made were at first unintelligible and indistinct, yet gradually they came to give articulation to their speech, and by agreeing with one another upon symbols for each thing which presented itself to them, made known among themselves the significance which was to be attached to each term. But since groups of this kind arose over every part of the inhabited world, not all men had the

chapter Epicurean influence. The fact is that Diodorus’ philosophy, if he may be said to have had any, was highly eclectic.
DIODORUS OF SICILY

diálektou, ἐκάστων ὥς ἔτυχε συνταξάντων τὰς λέξεις; διὸ καὶ παντοὺς τὰ προπότα γενόμενα συστήματα τῶν ἀπάντων ἐθνῶν ἀρχέγονα γενέσθαι.

5 Τοὺς οὖν πρῶτους τῶν ἀνθρώπων μηδενὸς τῶν πρῶτων βίων χρησίμων εὑρημένου ἐπιπόνως διάγειν, γυμνοὺς μὲν ἐσθήτος ὄντας, οἰκήσεως δὲ καὶ πυρὸς ἀὔθεις, τροφῆς δ’ ἡμέρον παντέλῶς ἀνεννοήτους.

6 καὶ γὰρ τὴν συγκομιδὴν τῆς ἄγριας τροφῆς ἀγνοούντας μηδεμίαν τῶν καρπῶν εἰς τὰς ἐνδείας ποιεῖσθαι παράθεσιν διὸ καὶ πολλοὺς αὐτῶν ἀπόλλυσθαι κατὰ τοὺς χειμῶνας διὰ τὸ ψύχος

7 καὶ τὴν σπάνιν τῆς τροφῆς. ἐκ δὲ τοῦ 1 κατ’ ὅλον ὑπὸ τῆς πείρας διδασκομένους εἰς τὰ τὰ σπήλαια καταφεύγειν εἰς τῷ χειμῶνι καὶ τῶν καρπῶν τοὺς φυλάττεσθαι δυναμένους ἀποτίθεσθαι.

8 Θεοῦ, γνωσθέντος δὲ τοῦ πυρὸς καὶ τῶν ἀλλῶν τῶν χρησίμων κατὰ μικρὸν καὶ τὰς τέχνας εὑρεθήναι καὶ τάλλα τὰ δυνάμενα τῶν κοινῶν βίων

9 ὁφελήσας, καθόλου γὰρ πάντων τῆς χρείας αὐτῆς διδάσκαλον γενέσθαι τοῖς ἀνθρώποις, ὑφηγομένης οἰκείως τὴν ἐκάστου μάθησιν εὐφυεῖ ζωῆς καὶ συνεργοῦς ἔχοντι πρὸς ἀπαντὰ χεῖρας καὶ λόγον καὶ ψυχῆς ἀγχίνων.

10 Καὶ περὶ μὲν τῆς πρώτης γενέσεως τῶν ἀνθρώπων καὶ τοῦ παλαιότατον βίου τοῖς ῥηθείσιν ἀρκεσθησόμεθα, στοχαζόμενοι τῆς συμμετρίας. 9. Περὶ δὲ τῶν πράξεων τῶν παραδεδομένων μὲν εἰς μνήμην, γενομένων δὲ ἐν τοῖς γνωριζόμενοι τόποις τῆς οἰκουμένης, διεξείναι πειρασόμεθα.

1 τοῦ Schäfer: τοῦτον.
same language, inasmuch as every group organized the elements of its speech by mere chance. This is the explanation of the present existence of every conceivable kind of language, and, furthermore, out of these first groups to be formed came all the original nations of the world.

Now the first men, since none of the things useful for life had yet been discovered, led a wretched existence, having no clothing to cover them, knowing not the use of dwelling and fire, and also being totally ignorant of cultivated food. For since they were ignorant of the harvesting of the wild food, they laid by no store of its fruits against their needs; consequently large numbers of them perished in the winters because of the cold and the lack of food. Little by little, however, experience taught them both to take to the caves in winter and to store such fruits as could be preserved. And when they had become acquainted with fire and other useful things, the arts also and whatever else is capable of furthering man's social life were gradually discovered. Indeed, speaking generally, in all things it was necessity itself that became man's teacher, supplying in appropriate fashion instruction in every matter to a creature which was well endowed by nature and had, as its assistants for every purpose, hands and speech and sagacity of mind.

And as regards the first origin of men and their earliest manner of life we shall be satisfied with what has been said, since we would keep due proportion in our account. 9. But as regards all the events which have been handed down to memory and took place in the known regions of the inhabited world, we shall now undertake to give a full account of them.
2 Τοὺς μὲν οὖν πρῶτους ὑπάρξαντας βασιλεὺς οὔτ' αὐτοὶ λέγειν ἔχομεν οὔτε τῶν ἱστορικῶν τοῖς ἐπαγγελλομένοις εἰδέναι συγκατατιθέμεθα· ἀδύνατον γὰρ τὴν εὕρεσιν τῶν γραμμάτων οὕτως εἶναι παλαιὰν ὅστε τοὺς πρῶτους βασιλεύσιν ἡλικιώτιδα γενέσθαι· εἰ δὲ τις καὶ τὸ τοῦτο συγχωρήσαι, τὸ γε τῶν ἱστοριογράφῳ γένος παντελῶς φαίνεται νεωτέρον τῷ κοινῷ βίῳ συνεσταθήναι.

3 μένον. περὶ δὲ τῆς τοῦ γένους ἀρχαιότητος οὐ μόνον ἀμφισβητούσων Ἐλλήνων, ἀλλὰ καὶ πολλοὶ τῶν βαρβάρων, ἑαυτοὺς ἀυτόχθονας λέγοντες καὶ πρῶτος τῶν ἀπάντων ἀνθρώπων εὑρέτας γενέσθαι τῶν ἐν τῷ βίῳ χρησίμους, καὶ τὰς γενομένας παρὰ αὐτοῖς πράξεις ἐκ πλείστων χρόνων ἀναγράφει.

4 φής ἡξιώσθαι. ἤμειν δὲ περὶ μὲν τῆς ἕκαστος παλαιότητος τάκριβες καὶ τίνων προτερεῖ τὰ ἑθη τῶν ἄλλων τοῖς χρόνοις καὶ πόσοις ἔτεσιν οὖν ἂν διορισαίμεθα, τὰ δὲ λεγόμενα παρὰ ἕκαστος περὶ τῆς ἀρχαιότητος καὶ τῶν παλαιῶν πράξεων ἐν κεφαλαίοις ἀναγράφομεν, στοχαζόμενοι τῆς συμμετριάς. περὶ πρῶτων δὲ τῶν βαρβάρων διέξειμεν, οὐκ ἀρχαιοτέρους αὐτοὺς ἡγούμενοι τῶν Ἐλλήνων, καθάπερ Ἐφορος εὐρήκει, ἀλλὰ προδιελθεῖν βουλόμενοι τὰ πλεῖότα τῶν περὶ αὐτοῖς, ὅπως ἅρξαμαι τῶν παρὰ τοῖς Ἐλλησιν ἱστοριομένων μνημείαν ἐν ταῖς ἀρχαιολογίαις ἔτερογενῆ

5 πράξειν παρεμβάλλομεν. ἐπεὶ δὲ κατὰ τὴν Ἀἰγυπτίου θεῶν τε γενέσεις ὑπάρξας μυθολογοῦνται, αἱ τῶν ἀστρῶν ἀρχαιόταται παρα-
BOOK I. 9. 2–6

Now as to who were the first kings we are in no position to speak on our own authority, nor do we give assent to those historians who profess to know; for it is impossible that the discovery of writing was of so early a date as to have been contemporary with the first kings. But if a man should concede even this last point, it still seems evident that writers of history are as a class a quite recent appearance in the life of mankind. Again, with respect to the antiquity of the human race, not only do Greeks put forth their claims but many of the barbarians as well, all holding that it is they who are autochthonous and the first of all men to discover the things which are of use in life, and that it was the events in their own history which were the earliest to have been held worthy of record. So far as we are concerned, however, we shall not make the attempt to determine with precision the antiquity of each nation or what is the race whose nations are prior in point of time to the rest and by how many years, but we shall record summarily, keeping due proportion in our account, what each nation has to say concerning its antiquity and the early events in its history. The first peoples which we shall discuss will be the barbarians, not that we consider them to be earlier than the Greeks, as Ephorus has said, but because we wish to set forth most of the facts about them at the outset, in order that we may not, by beginning with the various accounts given by the Greeks, have to interpolate in the different narrations of their early history any event connected with another people. And since Egypt is the country where mythology places the origin of the gods, where the earliest observations of the stars are said to have
DIODORUS OF SICILY

tηρήσεις εὐρήσατε λέγονται, πρὸς δὲ τούτους πράξεις ἀξιόλογοι καὶ πολλαὶ μεγάλων ἀνδρῶν ἱστοροῦνται, ποιησόμεθα τῆς ἱστορίας τῆς ἀρχῆς διὰ τῶν καὶ Ἀιγύπτου πραξικέτων.

10. Φασὶ τούτων Ἀιγύπτιων κατὰ τὴν ἑξ ἀρχῆς τῶν ὀλων γένεσιν πρῶτους ἀνθρώπους γενέσθαι κατὰ τὴν Ἀιγύπτου διὰ τέ την εὐκρασίαν τῆς χώρας καὶ διὰ τὴν φύσιν τοῦ Νείλου. τούτου γὰρ πολύγονον ὄντα καὶ τὰς τροφὰς αὐτοφυεῖς παρεχόμενοι ῥαδίως ἐκτρέφειν τὰ ἥσοισαν ἔτη τῆν τε γὰρ τοῦ καλάμου ρίζαν καὶ τῶν λωτῶν, ἔτη δὲ τῶν Ἀιγύπτιων κύμασιν καὶ τὸ καλομένου κορσαίον καὶ πολλὰ τοιαύθεντα τροφὴν ἔτοιμην παρέχοντα τῷ γένεσι τῶν ἀνθρώπων. τῆς δὲ ἑξ ἀρχῆς παρ' αὐτοῖς ἥσοισαν τεκμήριον πειρώντας φέρειν τὸ καὶ νῦν ἔτη την ἐν Ἡθβαΐδι χώραν κατὰ τινὰς καίρους τοιούτους καὶ τηλικοῦτος μῆς γενναίως ὡστε τοὺς ἱδονα τὸ γενόμενον ἐκπλήττεσθαι ἐνίους γὰρ αὐτῶν οὐσίας μὲν τοῦ στῆθος καὶ τῶν ἐμπροσθῶν ποδῶν διατετυπώσαται καὶ κίνησιν λαμβάνειν, τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν τοῦ σώματος ἑκείνα ἀδιατύπωτον, μενουσίν ἔτη κατὰ φύσιν τῆς βόλου. ἐκ τούτου δὲ εἶναι φανερῶν ὅτι κατὰ τὴν ἑξ ἀρχῆς τοῦ κόσμου σύστασιν τῆς γῆς εὐκράτου καθεστώσθης μᾶλιτσ' ἄν ἐσχε τὴν γένεσιν τῶν ἀνθρώπων ή καὶ Ἀιγύπτιων χώρα: καὶ γὰρ νῦν, οὐδαμοῦ τῆς ἄλλης γῆς φυσικῆς οὐδὲν τῶν τοιούτων, ἐν μόνῃ ταύτῃ

1 These plants are more fully described in chap. 34. For the “root of the reed” cp. chap. 80, where the preparation
been made, and where, furthermore, many noteworthy deeds of great men are recorded, we shall begin our history with the events connected with Egypt.

10. Now the Egyptians have an account like this: When in the beginning the universe came into being, men first came into existence in Egypt, both because of the favourable climate of the land and because of the nature of the Nile. For this stream, since it produces much life and provides a spontaneous supply of food, easily supports whatever living things have been engendered; for both the root of the reed and the lotus, as well as the Egyptian bean and *corsaeum*, as it is called, and many other similar plants, supply the race of men with nourishment all ready for use.¹ As proof that animal life appeared first of all in their land they would offer the fact that even at the present day the soil of the Thebaid at certain times generates mice in such numbers and of such size as to astonish all who have witnessed the phenomenon; for some of them are fully formed as far as the breast and front feet and are able to move, while the rest of the body is unfomed, the clod of earth still retaining its natural character. And from this fact it is manifest that, when the world was first taking shape, the land of Egypt could better than any other have been the place where mankind came into being because of the well-tempered nature of its soil; for even at the present time, while the soil of no other country generates any such things, in it alone certain living creatures of such food is described. The *corsaeum* was the tuber of the Nile water-lily.
DIODORUS OF SICILY

θεωρείσθαι τινα τῶν ἐμψύχων παραδόξως ζωογονούμενα.

4 Καθόλου δὲ λέγουσιν, εἴτε κατὰ τὸν ἐπὶ Δευκαλίωνος γενόμενον κατακλυσμὸν ἐφθάρη τὰ πλείστα τῶν ζῴων, εἰκὸς μάλιστα διασκέδασθαι τοὺς κατὰ τὴν Ἀὔγουστον ὑπὸ τὴν μεσημβρίαν κατοικοῦντας, ὡς ἃν τῆς χώρας αὐτῶν οὐσίας ἀνόμβρον κατὰ τὸ πλείστον, εἴτε, καθάπερ τινὲς φασί, παντελοὺς γενομένης τῶν ἐμψύχων φθορᾶς ἡ γῆ πάλιν εἰς ἄρχης καὶ πᾶς ἡγεγκε τῶν ζῴων φύσεις, ὥμως καὶ κατὰ τοῦτον τὸν λόγον πρέπειν τὴν ἄρχηγον τῶν ἐμψύχων γένεσιν προσάπτειν

5 ταύτῃ τῇ χώρᾳ. τῆς γὰρ παρὰ τούς ἄλλους ἐπομβρίας τῷ παρ᾽ ἑαυτοῖς ἵναμὲν καῦματι μιγείσης εἰκὸς ἐυκρατότατον γενέσθαι τὸν ἀέρα

6 πρὸς τὴν εἰς ἄρχης τῶν πάντων ζωογονίαν. καὶ γὰρ ἐν τοῖς καθ᾽ ἡμᾶς ἔτι χρόνοις κατὰ τὴν ἔπικλυσιν Ἀὔγουστον ἐν τοῖς ὑψίμοις τῶν ὕδατων φανερῶς ὀρᾶσθαι γενομένας φύσεις

7 ἐμψύχων· ὅταν γὰρ τοῦ ποταμοῦ τὴν ἀναχώρησιν ποιομένου τὴν πρῶτην τῆς ἱλύως ὁ ἠλιος διαξηράνη, φασὶ συνιστασθαι ξύα, τινὰ μὲν εἰς τέλος ἄπτηται χρόνοις, τινὰ δὲ ἡμιπελῇ καὶ πρὸς αὐτῆς συμφυής τῇ γῇ.

11. Τοὺς δ᾽ σὺν κατ᾽ Ἀὔγουστον ἀνδρῶτας τὸ παλαιὸν γενομένους, ἀναβλέψαντας εἰς τὸν κόσμον καὶ τὴν τῶν ὅλων φύσιν καταπλαγέντας τε καὶ θαυμάσαντας, ὑπολαβεῖν εἶναι δύο θεοὺς ἀιῶνι τε καὶ πρῶτους, τὸν τὴν ἱλίον καὶ τὴν σελήνην, ὃν τὸν μὲν Ὅσιρην, τὴν δὲ Ἡσίων ὄνομα

1 εὐτόοις Vogel: εὐανθις D, εὐανθοῖς F, Bekker, Dindorf.
may be seen coming into being in a marvellous fashion.

In general, they say that if in the flood which occurred in the time of Deucalion most living things were destroyed, it is probable that the inhabitants of southern Egypt survived rather than any others, since their country is rainless for the most part; or if, as some maintain, the destruction of living things was complete and the earth then brought forth again new forms of animals, nevertheless, even on such a supposition the first genesis of living things fittingly attaches to this country. For when the moisture from the abundant rains, which fell among other peoples, was mingled with the intense heat which prevails in Egypt itself, it is reasonable to suppose that the air became very well tempered for the first generation of all living things. Indeed, even in our day during the inundations of Egypt the generation of forms of animal life can clearly be seen taking place in the pools which remain the longest; for, whenever the river has begun to recede and the sun has thoroughly dried the surface of the slime, living animals, they say, take shape, some of them fully formed, but some only half so and still actually united with the very earth.

11. Now the men of Egypt, they say, when ages ago they came into existence, as they looked up at the firmament and were struck with both awe and wonder at the nature of the universe, conceived that two gods were both eternal and first, namely, the sun and the moon, whom they called respectively Osiris and Isis, these appellations having in each

---

2 τε Vogel: omitted by Vulgate, Bekker, Dindorf.
DIODORUS OF SICILY

μάσαι, ἀπὸ τινὸς ἔτυμον τεθείσης ἐκατέρας τῆς 2 προσηγορίας ταύτης. μεθερμηνευόμενων γὰρ
tούτων εἰς τὸν Ἑλληνικὸν τῆς διαλέκτου τρόπου
eίναι τὸν μὲν Ὠσιρίν πολυόφθαλμον, εἰκότως:
pανταχῆ γὰρ ἐπιβάλλοντα τὰς ἀκτίνας ὁσπορ
ὄφθαλμοις πολλοῖς βλέπειν ἀπασαν γῆν καὶ
θάλατταν, καὶ τὸν ποιητὴν δὲ λέγειν σύμφωνα
tούτοις

ἡλιός θ’, δὲ πάντ’ ἐφορᾷ καὶ πάντ’ ἐπακούει.

3 τῶν δὲ παρ’ Ἑλλησι παλαιῶν μυθολόγων τινὲς
tῶν Ὠσιρίν Διόνυσον προσονομάζουσι καὶ
Σείριον παρονύμως. οὐν Εὐμολπὸς μὲν ἐν τοῖς
Βακχικοῖς ἔπεσε φησιν

ἀστροφαῖ Διόνυσον ἐν ἀκτίνεσσι πυρωπόν,

Ὀρφεὺς δὲ
tούνεκά μιν καλέομαι Φάνητα τε καὶ Διόνυσον.

4 φασὶ δὲ τινὲς καὶ τὸ ἐναμμα αὐτῷ τὸ τῆς νεβρίδος
ἀπὸ τῆς τῶν ἄστρων ποικιλίας περιήθηκα. τὴν
δὲ Ἡσιων μεθερμηνευόμενη εἰναι παλαιάν, τεθει-
μένης τῆς προσηγορίας ἀπὸ τῆς ἀδιδίου καὶ
παλαιᾶς γενέσεως. κέρατα δ’ αὐτῇ ἐπιτιθέασιν
ἀπὸ τοῦ ὄσσεως δὲ ἔχουσα φαῖνεται καθ’ ὅν
ἀν χρόνων ὑπάρχη μηνοεῖδης, καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς καθε-
ρωμένης αὐτῆ βοῶς παρ’ Αἰγυπτίως.

5 Τούτοις δὲ τοὺς θεοὺς υφίστανται τῶν σύμ-
pαντα κόσμου διοικεῖν τρέφοντάς τε καὶ αὐξόντας

1 "The poet" for the Greeks was Homer; the line occurs
frequently, e.g. Odyssey 12. 323.
case been based upon a certain meaning in them. For when the names are translated into Greek Osiris means "many-eyed," and properly so; for in shedding his rays in every direction he surveys with many eyes, as it were, all land and sea. And the words of the poet¹ are also in agreement with this conception when he says:

The sun, who sees all things and hears all things.

And of the ancient Greek writers of mythology some give to Osiris the name Dionysus or, with a slight change in form, Sirius. One of them, Eumolpus, in his Bacchic Hymn speaks of

Our Dionysus, shining like a star,
With fiery eye in ev'ry ray;

while Orpheus² says:

And this is why men call him Shining One
And Dionysus.

Some say that Osiris is also represented with the cloak of fawn-skin about his shoulders³ as imitating the sky spangled with the stars. As for Isis, when translated the word means "ancient," the name having been given her because her birth was from everlasting and ancient. And they put horns on her head both because of the appearance which she has to the eye when the moon is crescent-shaped, and because among the Egyptians a cow is held sacred to her.

These two gods, they hold, regulate the entire universe, giving both nourishment and increase to

¹ Fr. 237, Kern.
² That is, as Dionysus was commonly represented.
πάντα τριμερέστων ὡραίως ἀόρατοι κινήσει τὴν περίοδον ἀπαρτιζοῦσαις, τῇ τε ἐαρινῇ καὶ θερινῇ καὶ χειμερινῇ ταῦτας δὲ ἐναντιωτάτην ἀλλήλαις τὴν φύσιν ἔχουσας ἀπαρτίζειν τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν ἀρίστη συμφωνίᾳ· φύσιν δὲ συμβάλλεσθαι πλείστην εἰς τὴν τῶν ἀπάντων ζωογονίαν τῶν θεῶν τούτων τοῦ μὲν πυρόδους καὶ πνεύματος, τὴν δὲ ύγροὺ καὶ ἕρημο, κοινὴ δὲ ἀμφοτέρους ἀέρας καὶ διὰ τούτων πάντα γεννᾶσθαι καὶ 6 τρέφεσθαι. διὸ καὶ τὸ μὲν ἄπαν σῶμα τῆς τῶν ὅλων φύσεως ἐξ ἴλλου καὶ σελήνης ἀπαρτίζεσθαι, τὰ δὲ τούτων μέρη πέντε τὰ προειρημένα, τὸ τε πνεῦμα καὶ τὸ πῦρ καὶ τὸ ἕρημο, ἔτι δὲ τὸ ύγρόν καὶ τὸ τελευταίον τὸ ἀερόδες, ὡσπερ ἐπ' ἀνθρώπων κεφαλὴν καὶ χείρας καὶ πόδας καὶ τάλλα μέρη καταρθημοῦμεν, τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον τὸ σῶμα τοῦ κόσμου συγκεῖσθαι πάν ἐκ τῶν προειρημένων.

12. Τούτων δ' ἐκαστὸν θεῶν νομίζαι καὶ προσηγορίαν ἱδίαν ἐκάστῳ θείναι κατὰ τὸ οἰκεῖον τοὺς πρῶτους διαλέκτων χρησμαίνους διηθρωμένη 2 τῶν καὶ Ἄριστον ἀνθρώπων. τὸ μὲν οὖν πνεῦμα Δία προσαγορεύσαι μεθερμηνευόμενης τῆς λέξεως, ὅν αὐτὸν ὁντα τοῦ ψυχικοῦ τοῖς ἕφεσις ἐνόμισαν υπάρχειν πάντων οἰονεῖ τινα πατέρα. συμφω- νεῖν δὲ τούτων φασὶ καὶ τὸν ἐπιφανεστάτον τῶν παρ' Ἐλλησι ποιητῶν ἐπὶ τοῦ θεοῦ τούτου λέγοντα

πατὴρ ἀνδρῶν τε θεῶν τε.

3 τὸ δὲ πῦρ μεθερμηνευόμενον Ἡφαιστοῦ ὄνομάσαει, νομίσαντας μέγαν εἶναι θεῶν καὶ πολλὰ συμ-
all things by means of a system of three seasons which complete the full cycle through an unobservable movement, these being spring and summer and winter; and these seasons, though in nature most opposed to one another, complete the cycle of the year in the fullest harmony. Moreover, practically all the physical matter which is essential to the generation of all things is furnished by these gods, the sun contributing the fiery element and the spirit, the moon the wet and the dry, and both together the air; and it is through these elements that all things are engendered and nourished. And so it is out of the sun and moon that the whole physical body of the universe is made complete; and as for the five parts just named of these bodies—the spirit, the fire, the dry, as well as the wet, and, lastly, the air-like—just as in the case of a man we enumerate head and hands and feet and the other parts, so in the same way the body of the universe is composed in its entirety of these parts.

12. Each of these parts they regard as a god and to each of them the first men in Egypt to use articulate speech gave a distinct name appropriate to its nature. Now the spirit they called, as we translate their expression, Zeus, and since he was the source of the spirit of life in animals they considered him to be in a sense the father of all things. And they say that the most renowned of the Greek poets also agrees with this when he speaks of this god as

The father of men and of gods.

The fire they called Hephaestus, as it is translated, holding him to be a great god and one who con-

1 Homer; the phrase occurs in many passages.
DIODOROS OF SICILY

βάλλεσθαι πᾶσιν εἰς γένεσιν τε καὶ τελείαν
4 αὐξήσιν. τὴν δὲ γῆν ὅσπερ ἀγγεῖον τι τῶν
φυσικῶν ὑπολαμβάνοντας μητέρα προσαγορεύ-καὶ τοὺς Ἐλληνας δὲ ταύτην παραπλησίως
Δήμητραν καλεῖν, βραχύ μεταθείσης διὰ τὸν
χρόνον τῆς λέξεως· τὸ γὰρ παλαιὸν ὄνομαζεσθαι
γῆν μητέρα, καθάπερ καὶ τὸν Ὄρφεα προσμαρτυ-
ρεῖν λέγοντα.

Γῇ μήτηρ πάντων, Δημήτηρ πλοῦτοδότειρα.

5 τὸ δ’ ύγρόν ὄνομάσαι λέγουσι τοὺς παλαιοὺς
'Ωκεάνην,1 ὁ μεθερμηνευόμενον μὲν εἶναι τροφὴν
μητέρα, παρ’ εὐλογίας δὲ τῶν Ἐλλήνων Ὀκεανὸν
ὑπάρχειν ὑπειλήφθαι, περὶ οὗ καὶ τὸν ποιητὴν
λέγειν

'Οκεανὸν τε θεῶν γένεσιν καὶ μητέρα Τηθύν.

6 οἱ γὰρ Αἰγύπτιοι νομίζουσιν Ὀκεανὸν εἶναι τὸν
παρ’ αὐτοῖς ποταμὸν Νεῖλον, πρὸς οὗ καὶ τὰς
τῶν θεῶν γενέσεις ὑπάρξειν τῆς γὰρ πᾶσις
οἰκουμένης κατὰ μόνην τὴν Ἀἰγυπτίου εἶναι
πόλεις πολλάς ὑπὸ τῶν ἀρχαίων θεῶν ἐκτισμέ-
νας, οἷοι Δίος, Ἡλίου, ἕρμου, Ἀπόλλωνος,
Πανός, Εἰλειθυίας, ἀλλων πλειόνων.

7 Τὸν δὲ ἄέρα προσαγορεύσαί φασιν Ἀθηναῖον
μεθερμηνευόμενης τῆς λέξεως, καὶ Δίος θυγατέρα
νομίζαι ταύτην, καὶ παρθένον ὑποστήσασθαι
diὰ τὸ τὸ ἄθροιν εἶναι φύσει τοῦ ἄερα καὶ τὸν
ἀκρότατον ἐπέχειν τόπον τοῦ σύμπαντος κόσμου·
διὸ περὶ εκ τῆς κορυφῆς τοῦ Δίος μυθολογηθήμαι

1 Ἐκάδημος Wesseling: Ὄκεανον F, Ὄκεανον C D.
1 Frg. 302, Kern.
tributes much both to the birth and full development of all things. The earth, again, they looked upon as a kind of vessel which holds all growing things and so gave it the name "mother"; and in like manner the Greeks also call it Demeter, the word having been slightly changed in the course of time; for in olden times they called her Ge Meter (Earth Mother), to which Orpheus\(^1\) bears witness when he speaks of

Earth the Mother of all, Demeter giver of wealth.

And the wet, according to them, was called by the men of old Oceanè, which, when translated, means Fostering-mother, though some of the Greeks have taken it to be Oceanus, in connection with whom the poet\(^2\) also speaks of

Oceanus source of gods and mother Tethys.

For the Egyptians consider Oceanus to be their river Nile, on which also their gods were born; since, they say, Egypt is the only country in the whole inhabited world where there are many cities which were founded by the first gods, such as Zeus, Helius, Hermes, Apollo, Pan, Eileithyia, and many more.\(^3\)

The air, they say, they called Athena, as the name is translated, and they considered her to be the daughter of Zeus and conceived of her as a virgin, because of the fact that the air is by its nature uncorrupted and occupies the highest part of the entire universe; for the latter reason also the myth arose that she was born from the head of Zeus.

\(^2\) Tethys was the wife of Oceanus. The line is from the Iliad 14. 302.

\(^3\) By the time Diodorus visited Egypt many an old Egyptian city bore a Greek name, such as Diospolis (cp. chap. 45), Heliopolis, Hermopolis, Apollinopolis, Panopolis, and the like.
ΔΙΟΔΟΡΟΣ ΟΦ ΣΙΚΙΛΗ

8 ταύτην γενέσθαι. ἐνομίσθαι δὲ αὐτήν Τριτογένειαν ἀπὸ τοῦ τρίς μεταβάλλειν αὐτής τὴν φύσιν κατ᾽ ἐνιαυτόν, ἔαρος καὶ θέρους καὶ χειμώνος. Λέγεσθαι δὲ αὐτὴν καὶ Γλυκώπωιν, οὐχ ὅσπερ ἐνιοῦ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ὑπέλαβον, ἀπὸ τοῦ τοὺς ἀφθαλμοὺς ἔχειν γλαύκους τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ εὐθεῖς ὑπάρχειν ἄλλα ἀπὸ τοῦ τὸν ἁέρα τὴν πρόσοψιν ἔχειν ἐγγλαύκουν.

9 Φασὶ δὲ τοὺς πέντε θεοὺς τοὺς προειρημένους πᾶσαν τὴν αἰκουμένην ἐπιπορέωσθαι, φανταζομένους τοὺς ἁνθρώπους ἐν οἰρὸν ζώων μορφαῖς, ἐστὶ δὲ οτὲ εἰς ἁνθρώπων ἴδεας ἤ τινων ἄλλων μεταβαλλοντας καὶ τούτῳ μὴ μυθώδες ὑπάρχει, ἄλλα δυνάτον, εἰπερ οὕτως πρὸς ἀλήθειαν εἰσιν οἱ πάντα γεννώντες. καὶ τὸν ποιητὴν δὲ εἰς

10 Ἀλγυπτοῦν παραβαλλόντα καὶ μετασχόντα παρὰ τῶν ἱερέων τῶν τιοῦτων λόγων θεῖαι ποιῶν κατὰ τὴν ποίησιν τὸ προειρημένον ὡς γινόμενον,

καὶ τε θεοὶ ξένοισιν ὑοικότες ἀλλοδαποῖσι παντοτελεῖ τελεθοῦντες ἑπιστρωθὸσι πόλησι, ἁνθρώπων ὃβριν τε καὶ εὐνομίην ἐσορῶντες.

Περὶ μὲν οὖν τῶν ἐν οὐρανῷ θεῶν καὶ γένεσιν ἀλλοιων ἐσχηκτῶν τοσαῦτα λέγοντιν Ἀλγυπτοῦν.

13 "Ἀλλοις δὲ ἐκ τούτων ἐπιγείους γενέσθαι φασίν, ὑπάρξαντας μὲν θυτοῖς, διὰ δὲ σύνεσιν καὶ κοινὴν ἁνθρώπων ἐνεργείας τετευχότας τῆς ἀθανασίας, δὴν εἰνοῦς καὶ βασιλεῖς γεγονέναι κατὰ τὴν Ἀλγυπτοῦν. μεθερμηνευομένων δὲ αὐτῶν τινῶς μὲν ὁμονύμους ὑπάρχειν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς, τινῶς δὲ ἴδιαν ἑσχηκτέαν προσηγοριῶν, "Ḥλιὼν τε καὶ
Another name given her was Tritogenia (Thrice-born), because her nature changes three times in the course of the year, in the spring, summer, and winter. They add that she is also called Glaucopis (Blue-eyed),\(^1\) not because she has blue eyes, as some Greeks have held—a silly explanation, indeed—but because the air has a bluish cast.

These five deities, they say, visit all the inhabited world, revealing themselves to men in the form of sacred animals, and at times even appearing in the guise of men or in other shapes; nor is this a fabulous thing, but possible, if these are in very truth the gods who give life to all things. And also the poet, who visited Egypt and became acquainted with such accounts as these from the lips of the priests, in some place in his writings\(^2\) sets forth as actual fact what has been said:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{The gods, in strangers’ form from alien lands,} \\
\text{Frequent the cities of men in ev’ry guise,} \\
\text{Observing their insolence and lawful ways.}
\end{align*}
\]

Now so far as the celestial gods are concerned whose genesis is from eternity, this is the account given by the Egyptians.

13. And besides these there are other gods, they say, who were terrestrial, having once been mortals, but who, by reason of their sagacity and the good services which they rendered to all men, attained immortality, some of them having even been kings in Egypt. Their names, when translated, are in some cases the same as those of the celestial gods, while others have a distinct appellation, such as

\(^1\) This common epithet of Athena in Homer is more generally taken to mean “gleaming-eyed.”
\(^2\) *Odyssey* 17. 485-7.
Κρόνον καὶ Ἄρεαν, ἑτὶ δὲ Δία τὸν ὑπὸ τινων Ἀμμωνα προσαγορεύμενον, πρὸς δὲ τούτους Ἡραν καὶ Ἡφαιστόν, ἑτὶ δ’ Ἑστίαν καὶ τελευταῖον Ἐρμήν. καὶ πρῶτον μὲν Ἡλιον βασιλεύσαι τῶν κατ’ Ἀιγυπτίων, ὁμόνυμων ὄντα τῷ καὶ
3 οὐρανῶν ἀστρῶν. ἐνιοῦ δὲ τῶν ἱερῶν φασὶ πρῶτον Ἡφαιστόν βασιλεύσαι, πυρὸς εὐρετὴν γενόμενον καὶ διὰ τὴν εὐχρηστίαν ταύτην τυχόντα τῆς ἡγεμονίας: γενομένου γὰρ ἐν τοῖς ὅρεσι κεραυνοβόλου δένδρου καὶ τῆς πλησίον ύλης καυμένης προσελθόντα τὸν Ἡφαιστόν κατὰ τὴν χειμέριον ὄραν ἠσθήτως διαφερόντως ἐπὶ τῇ θερμασίᾳ, λήγοντος δὲ τοῦ πυρὸς οἰεὶ τῆς ύλῆς ἑπιβάλλειν, καὶ τούτῳ τῷ τρόπῳ διασπρόντα τὸ πῦρ προκαλεῖσθαι 1 τοὺς ἄλλους ἀνθρώπους
4 πρὸς τὴν εἰς αὐτοῦ γενομένην εὐχρηστίαν. μετὰ δὲ ταύτα τὸν Κρόνον ἄρξει, καὶ γῆμαντα τὴν ἀδελφὴν Ἐρεᾶν γεννήσαι κατὰ μὲν τινας τῶν μυθολογῶν Ὁσιρίν καὶ Ἰσιν, κατὰ δὲ τοὺς πλείστους Δία τε καὶ Ἡραν, οὕς δὲ ἁρέτην βασιλεύσαι τοῦ σύμπαντος κόσμου. ἐκ δὲ τούτων γενέσθαι πέντε θεοὺς, καθ’ ἑκάστην τῶν ἐπαγομένων παρ’ Ἀιγυπτίως πένθ’ ἡμερῶν ἐνός γεννηθέντος· οὐνόματα δὲ ὑπάρχαι τοῖς τεκνωθέσιν Ὁσιρίν καὶ Ἰσιν, ἑτὶ δὲ Τυφώνα καὶ
5 Ἀπόλλωνα καὶ Ἀφροδίτην καὶ τὸν μὲν Ὁσιρίν μεθερμηνεύομεν εἶναι Διόνυσον, τὴν δὲ Ἰσιν ἐγγιστά πῶς Δήμητραν. ταύτην δὲ γῆμαντα τὸν Ὁσιρίν καὶ τὴν βασιλείαν διαδεξάμενον πολλά πρᾶξαι πρὸς εὐεργεσίαν τοῦ κοινοῦ βίου.
14. Πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ παῦσαι τῆς ἀλληλοφαγίας

1 προκαλεῖσθαι Dindorf: προσκαλεῖσθαι.
Helius, Cronus, and Rhea, and also the Zeus who is called Ammon by some, and besides these Hera and Hephaestus, also Hestia, and, finally, Hermes. Helius was the first king of the Egyptians, his name being the same as that of the heavenly star. Some of the priests, however, say that Hephaestus was their first king, since he was the discoverer of fire and received the rule because of this service to mankind; for once, when a tree on the mountains had been struck by lightning and the forest near by was ablaze, Hephaestus went up to it, for it was winter-time, and greatly enjoyed the heat; as the fire died down he kept adding fuel to it, and while keeping the fire going in this way he invited the rest of mankind to enjoy the advantage which came from it. Then Cronus became the ruler, and upon marrying his sister Rhea he begat Osiris and Isis, according to some writers of mythology, but, according to the majority, Zeus and Hera, whose high achievements gave them dominion over the entire universe. From these last were sprung five gods, one born on each of the five days which the Egyptians intercalate; the names of these children were Osiris and Isis, and also Typhon, Apollo, and Aphrodite; and Osiris when translated is Dionysus, and Isis is more similar to Demeter than to any other goddess; and after Osiris married Isis and succeeded to the kingship he did many things of service to the social life of man.

14. Osiris was the first, they record, to make man-

1 That is, the sun.
2 The Egyptians used a calendar of twelve months of thirty days each, with five days intercalated at the end of the year. Cp. chap. 50.
DIODORUS OF SICILY

tο τῶν ἀνθρώπων γένος, εὐρούσης μὲν ὁ Ἰσιδος
tὸν τοῦ πυρὸν καὶ τῆς κριθῆς καρπῶν, φυό-
μενον μὲν ὡς ἔτυχε κατὰ τὴν χώραν μετὰ τῆς
Ἀλλής Βοτάνης, ἀγνοοῦμενον δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν ἀνθρώ-
πων, τοῦ δὲ Ὀσίριδος ἐπινοησαμένου καὶ τὴν
τούτων κατεργασίαν τῶν καρπῶν, ἡδεώς μετα-
θέται πάντας τὴν τροφὴν διὰ τε τὴν ἡδονήν τῆς
φύσεως τῶν εὐρεθέντων καὶ διὰ τὸ φαινεθαι
συμφέρον ὑπάρχειν ἀπέχεσθαι τῆς κατ’ ἄλληλων
2 ἁμότητος. μαρτύριον δὲ φέρουσι τῆς εὐρέσεως
τῶν εἰρημένων καρπῶν τὸ τηρούμενον παρ’
αυτοῖς ἔξ ἀρχαίων νόμιμον· ἐκ γὰρ καὶ νῦν
κατὰ τὸν θερισμὸν τοὺς πρῶτους ἀμηθέντας
στάχυς θέτας τοὺς ἀνθρώπους κόπτεσθαι πλη-
σίον τοῦ δράγματος καὶ τὴν Ἰσιν ἀνακαλεῖσθαι,
καὶ τούτῳ πράττειν τιμὴν ἀπονέμοντας τῇ θεῷ
τῶν εὐρημένων κατὰ τὸν ἔξ ἀρχῆς τῆς εὐρέσεως
3 καὶ ῥών. παρ’ ἐναὶς δὲ τῶν πολέων καὶ τοῖς
Ἰσεῖοις ἐν τῇ ποιμῇ μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων φέρεσθαι
καὶ πυθώνας πυρῶν καὶ κριθῶν, ἀπομημόνευμα
τῶν ἔξ ἀρχῆς τῆς θεῶς φιλοτέχνως εὐρεθέντων.
θεών δὲ φασὶ καὶ νόμων τὴν Ἰσιν, καθ’ οὓς
ἄλληλοιδιδόντας τοὺς ἀνθρώπους τὸ δίκαιον καὶ
τῆς ἄδεσμου βίας καὶ ὑβρεὼς παύσασθαι διὰ
4 τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς τιμωρίας φόβου· διὸ καὶ τοὺς
παλαιοὺς Ἐλλήνας τῆς Δήμητραν θεσμοφόρον
ὄνομάζειν, ὡς τῶν νόμων πρῶτον ὑπὸ ταύτης
τεθειμένων.

15. Κτίσαι δὲ φασί τοὺς περὶ τὸν Ὁσιρίῳ
πόλιν ἐν τῇ Θηβαίδι τῇ καθ’ Ἀγυπτίων ἐκα-
tόμπυλον, ἴνα ἐκεῖνος μὲν ἐπτώμυμον ποιήσαι τῆς
μητρός, τοὺς δὲ μεταγενεστέρους αὐτὴν ὄνομάζειν
48
kind give up cannibalism; for after Isis had discovered the fruit of both wheat and barley which grew wild over the land along with the other plants but was still unknown to man, and Osiris had also devised the cultivation of these fruits, all men were glad to change their food, both because of the pleasing nature of the newly-discovered grains and because it seemed to their advantage to refrain from their butchery of one another. As proof of the discovery of these fruits they offer the following ancient custom which they still observe: Even yet at harvest time the people make a dedication of the first heads of the grain to be cut, and standing beside the sheaf beat themselves and call upon Isis, by this act rendering honour to the goddess for the fruits which she discovered, at the season when she first did this. Moreover in some cities, during the Festival of Isis as well, stalks of wheat and barley are carried among the other objects in the procession, as a memorial of what the goddess so ingeniously discovered at the beginning. Isis also established laws, they say, in accordance with which the people regularly dispense justice to one another and are led to refrain through fear of punishment from illegal violence and insolence; and it is for this reason also that the early Greeks gave Demeter the name Thesmophorus,¹ acknowledging in this way that she had first established their laws.

15. Osiris, they say, founded in the Egyptian Thebaid a city with a hundred gates, which the men of his day named after his mother, though later generations called it Diospolis,² and some named it

¹ Law-giver.  
² City of Zeus.
2 Δίος πόλιν, ἐνίους δὲ Θήβας. ἀμφισβητεῖται δ' ἡ κτίσις τῆς πόλεως ταύτης οὐ μόνον παρὰ τοῖς συγγραφεύσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ παρ' αὐτοῖς τοῖς κατ' Ἀγύπτου ἱερεύσι: πολλοὶ γὰρ ἱστοροῦσιν οὐχ ὑπὸ τῶν περὶ τὸν Ὁσιρίν κτισθήναι τὰς Θήβας, ἀλλὰ πολλοὶ υἱοτερον ἐτεσιν ὑπὸ τινος βασιλέως, περὶ οὐ τὰ κατὰ μέρος ἐν τοῖς οἰκείοις χρόνοις ἀναγράφομεν. ἦδρυσασθαι δὲ καὶ ἱερὸν τῶν γονέων Διός τε καὶ Ἡρας ἰδιολογον τῷ τῇ μεγέθει καὶ τῇ λοιπῇ πολυτελείᾳ, καὶ ναοὺς χρυσοῦς δύο Διός, τὸν μὲν μείζονα τοῦ οὐρανίου, τὸν δὲ ἐλάττωνα τοῦ βεβασίλευκότος καὶ πατρὸς 4 αὐτῶν, ὅν τινες 'Ἀμμωνα καλοῦσι. κατασκευάσαι δὲ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων θεῶν τῶν προειρημένων ναοὺς χρυσούς, ὅν ἐκάστῳ τιμᾶς ἀπονεῖμαι καὶ καταστήσας τοὺς ἐπιμελομένους ἱερεῖς. προτιμάσθαι δὲ παρὰ τῷ Ὁσιρίδι καὶ τῇ Ἰσίδι τοὺς ταῖς τέχναις ἀνευρίσκοντας ἢ μεθοδεύοντάς τι τῶν 5 χρησίμων: διόπερ ἐν τῇ Θηβαίδι χαλκουργεῖσιν εὑρεθέντων καὶ χρυσείων ὑπλα τῇ κατασκευάσασθαι, δι' ὃν τὰ θηρία κτείνοντας καὶ τὴν γῆν ἐργαζομένους φιλοτίμως ἐξημερώσαι τὴν χώραν, ἀγαλματὰ τε καὶ χρυσοὺς ναοὺς κατασκευάζονται τῶν θεῶν διαπρεπέσιν.

6 Γενέσθαι δὲ καὶ φιλογέωργον τὸν Ὁσιρίν, καὶ τραφήναι μὲν τῆς εὐδαίμονος Ἀραβίας ἐν Νῦσῃ πλησίον Ἀγύπτου, Δίος ἄντα παῖδα, καὶ τὴν προσηγορίαν ἔχει παρὰ τοῖς Ἑλλησίω ἀπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ τόπου Διόνυσου ὀνομαστῇ θέντα.1 μεμνῆσθαι δὲ τῆς Νῦσης καὶ τῶν

1 ονομασθέντα Vogel: μετονομασθέντα F, Bekker, Dindorf.
Thebes. There is no agreement, however, as to when this city was founded, not only among the historians, but even among the priests of Egypt themselves; for many writers say that Thebes was not founded by Osiris, but many years later by a certain king of whom we shall give a detailed account in connection with his period. Osiris, they add, also built a temple to his parents, Zeus and Hera, which was famous both for its size and its costliness in general, and two golden chapels to Zeus, the larger one to him as god of heaven, the smaller one to him as former king and father of the Egyptians, in which rôle he is called by some Ammon. He also made golden chapels for the rest of the gods mentioned above, allotting honours to each of them and appointing priests to have charge over these. Special esteem at the court of Osiris and Isis was also accorded to those who should invent any of the arts or devise any useful process; consequently, since copper and gold mines had been discovered in the Thebaid, they fashioned implements with which they killed the wild beasts and worked the soil, and thus in eager rivalry brought the country under cultivation, and they made images of the gods and magnificent golden chapels for their worship.

Osiris, they say, was also interested in agriculture and was reared in Nysa, a city of Arabia Felix near Egypt, being a son of Zeus; and the name which he bears among the Greeks is derived both from his father and from the birthplace, since he is called Dionysus. Mention is also made of Nysa by the

1 The founder was a certain Busiris, according to chap. 45.
2 A far-fetched etymology: Dio- (from Dios, the genitive form of the nominative Zeus) and Nysus (Nysa).
ποιητήν ἐν τοῖς ὑμνοῖς, ὅτι περὶ τὴν Ἀιγύπτου
gέγονεν, ἐν οἷς λέγει

ἐστι δὲ τις Νύση, ὕπατον ὠρός ἀνθέου ὕλη,
tηλοῦ Φοινίκης, σχεδὸν Ἀιγύπτου ροάων.

8 εὕρετην δ’ αὐτὸν γενέσθαι φασὶ τῆς ἀμφέλου
περὶ τὴν Νύσαν, καὶ τὴν κατεργασίαν τοῦ ταύτης
καρποῦ προσεπινοήσαντα πρῶτον οὖν ἵππη-
σασθαι, καὶ διδάξατο τοὺς ἄλλους ἀνθρώπους τὴν
τε φυτείαν τῆς ἀμφέλου καὶ τὴν χρήσιν τοῦ
οίνου καὶ τὴν συγκομίδην αὐτοῦ καὶ τήρησιν.
9 τιμᾶσθαι δ’ ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ μάλιστα πάντων τῶν
Ἐρμήν, διαφόρῳ φύσει κεχορηγημένων πρὸς
ἐπίνοιαν τῶν δυνάμεων ὁφελῆσαι τὸν κοινὸν
βίον.

16. 'Ὅτῳ γὰρ τούτου πρῶτον μὲν τὴν τε
κοινῆν διάλεκτον διαρθρωθῆναι καὶ πολλὰ τῶν
ἀνωνύμων τυχεῖν προσηγορίας, τὴν τε εὐρεσιν
τῶν γραμμάτων γενέσθαι καὶ τὰ περὶ τὰς τῶν
θεῶν τιμᾶς καὶ θυσίας διαταχθῆναι περὶ τε
τῆς τῶν ἀστρων τάξεως καὶ περὶ τῆς τῶν
φθόγγων ἀρμονίας, καὶ φύσεως τούτου πρῶτον
gενέσθαι παρατηρητὴν, καὶ παλαιόστρας εὐρετήν
ὑπάρξαι, καὶ τῆς εὐρυθμίας καὶ τῆς περὶ τὸ σῶμα
πρε-
πούσης πλάσεως ἐπιμεληθῆναι. Λύραν τε γεν-
ρίων ποιῆσαι τρίχορδου, μιμησάμενον τὰς κατ
ἐνιαυτὸν ὀρας τρεῖς γὰρ αὐτὸν ὑποστήσασθαι
φθόγγους, ὡς καὶ βαρύν καὶ μέσουν, ὡς ὡς
μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ θέρους, βαρύν δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ χειμῶνος,
2 μέσου δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἑατοῦ καὶ τὸς Ἔλληνας
didάξατο τούτου τὰ περὶ τὴν ἐρμηνείαν, ὑπὲρ δὲν
poet in his Hymns, to the effect that it was in the vicinity of Egypt, when he says:

There is a certain Nysa, mountain high,
With forests thick, in Phoenice afar,
Close to Aegyptus' stream.

And the discovery of the vine, they say, was made by him near Nysa, and that, having further devised the proper treatment of its fruit, he was the first to drink wine and taught mankind at large the culture of the vine and the use of wine, as well as the way to harvest the grape and to store the wine. The one most highly honoured by him was Hermes, who was endowed with unusual ingenuity for devising things capable of improving the social life of man.

16. It was by Hermes, for instance, according to them, that the common language of mankind was first further articulated, and that many objects which were still nameless received an appellation, that the alphabet was invented, and that ordinances regarding the honours and offerings due to the gods were duly established; he was the first also to observe the orderly arrangement of the stars and the harmony of the musical sounds and their nature, to establish a wrestling school, and to give thought to the rhythmical movement of the human body and its proper development. He also made a lyre and gave it three strings, imitating the seasons of the year; for he adopted three tones, a high, a low, and a medium; the high from the summer, the low from the winter, and the medium from the spring. The Greeks also were taught by him how to expound (hermeneia) their thoughts, and it was for this reason

1 Homeric Hymns 1. 8-9.
'Ερμην αυτῶν ὁνομάσθαι. καθόλου δὲ τοὺς περὶ τὸν Ὁσιρῖν τούτον ἔχοντας ἱερογραμματέα ἀπαντᾷ αὐτῷ προσανακοινώσθαι καὶ μᾶλλον χρῆσθαι τῇ τούτου συμβουλίᾳ. καὶ τῆς ἐλαίας δὲ τὸ φυτὸν αὐτῶν εὑρεῖν, ἄλλῳ οὖν Ἀθηνᾶν, ὥσπερ Ἔλληνες φασί.

17. Τὸν δὲ Ὁσιρῖν λέγουσιν, ὥσπερ εὐεργετικὸν ὄντα καὶ φιλόδοξον, στρατόπεδον μέγα συντήσωσθαι, διανοούμενον ἐπελθεῖν ἀπασαν τὴν οἰκουμένην καὶ διδάξαι τὸ γένος τῶν ἀνθρώπων τὴν τῆς ἀμπέλου φυτείαν καὶ τὸν σπόρον τοῦ τε ἐπιρίνου καὶ κριθίνου καρποῦ ὑπολαμβάνειν γὰρ αὐτῶν ὅτι παύσας τῆς ἀγριότητος τοὺς ἀνθρώπους καὶ διαίτης ἡμέρου μεταλαβεῖν ποιήσας τιμῶν ἀθανάτων τεύξεται διὰ τὸ μέγεθος τῆς εὐεργεσίας. ὥσπερ δὴ καὶ γενέσθαι οὐ μόνον γὰρ τοὺς καὶ ἐκείνους τοὺς χρόνους τυχόντας τῆς δωρεᾶς ταύτης, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάντας τοὺς μετὰ ταῦτα ἐπιγενομένους διὰ τὴν ἐν ταῖς εὐερθείσαις τροφαῖς χάριτα τους εἰσηγησαμένους ὡς ἐπιφανεστάτους θεοὺς τετηρηκέναι.

3. Τὸν δὲ οὖν Ὁσιρῖν φασὶ τὰ κατὰ τὴν Δίανταν καταστήσαντα καὶ τὴν τῶν ἄλων ἱερευναίν Ἰσίδο τῇ γυναικὶ παραδόντα, ταύτη μὲν παρακατατίθησαι σύμβουλον τοῖς Ἐρμην διὰ τὸ φρονήσει τούτον διαφέρειν τῶν ἄλλων φίλων, καὶ στρατηγὸν μὲν ἀπολπεῖσαι ἀπάσης τῆς ὑπ’ αὐτὸν χώρας Ἡρακλέα γένει τε προσήκοντα καὶ θαυμαζόμενον ἐπ’ ἀνδρεία τε καὶ σώματος ῥώμη, ἐπιμελητάς δὲ τάξαι τῶν μὲν πρὸς Φοινίκην κεκλιμένους μερῶν καὶ τῶν ἐπὶ βαλάντη τῶν Βούσιριν, τῶν δὲ κατὰ τὴν Δίανταν καὶ Διηθύης
that he was given the name Hermes. In a word, Osiris, taking him for his priestly scribe, communicated with him on every matter and used his counsel above that of all others. The olive tree also, they claim, was his discovery, not Athena’s, as Greeks say.

17. Of Osiris they say that, being of a beneficent turn of mind, and eager for glory, he gathered together a great army, with the intention of visiting all the inhabited earth and teaching the race of men how to cultivate the vine and sow wheat and barley; for he supposed that if he made men give up their savagery and adopt a gentle manner of life he would receive immortal honours because of the magnitude of his benefactions. And this did in fact take place, since not only the men of his time who received this gift, but all succeeding generations as well, because of the delight which they take in the foods which were discovered, have honoured those who introduced them as gods most illustrious.

Now after Osiris had established the affairs of Egypt and turned the supreme power over to Isis his wife, they say that he placed Hermes at her side as counsellor because his prudence raised him above the king’s other friends, and as general of all the land under his sway he left Heracles, who was both his kinsman and renowned for his valour and physical strength, while as governors he appointed Busiris over those parts of Egypt which lie towards Phoenicia and border upon the sea and Antaeus over those adjoining Ethiopia and Libya; then he
ΔΙΟΔΟΡΟΣ ΟΦ ΣΙΚΙΛΙΑ

'Ανταίον, αυτὸν δ’ ἐκ τῆς Αἰγύπτου μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως ἀναζεύξας πρὸς τὴν στρατείαν, ἔχοντα μεθ’ αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸν ἀδελφόν, ὅν οἱ "Ελληνες 4 Ἀπόλλωνα καλοῦσιν. εὐρέτην δὲ καὶ τούτον ψάρι γενέσθαι τοῦ φυτοῦ τῆς δάφνης, ἵνα καὶ περιτιθέοισι τούτῳ τῷ θεῷ μᾶλλον πάντες αἰν-θρωστιν. τοῦ δὲ κατ’ αὐτὸν τὴν εὐρεσιν ἀνατιθέασιν 'Οσίριδι, καὶ καθιεροῦσιν αὐτὸν τούτῳ τῷ θεῷ, 5 καθώπερ καὶ οἱ "Ελληνες Διονύσιον. καὶ κατὰ τὴν Ἀιγυπτίων μὲν1 διάλεκτον ὀνομάζεσθαι φασι τὸν κυττάρον φυτὸν 'Οσίριδος, προκεκρίσθαι δὲ τῆς ἀμπέλου τοῦτον πρὸς τὴν ἀφίερωσιν διὰ τὸ τὴν μὲν φυλλοφρονεῖν, τὸν δὲ πάντα τὸν χρώμου ἀειθαλῆ διαμένειν· ὅπερ τοὺς παλαιοὺς καὶ ἑφ’ ἔτερων φυτῶν ἀδελφοὺς τεῖχος τειχισμένους, τῇ μὲν Ἀφροδίτῃ τῇ μυρσίνῃ, τῷ δ’ Ἀπόλλωνι τῇ δάφνῃ προσάψαντας.2

18. Τῷ δ’ οὖν Ὁσίριδι συνεστρατεύσθαι δύο λέγουσι νῦν οἱ "Ανουβίν τε καὶ Μακεδόνα, δια-φέροντας ἀνδρέας. ἀμφότερος δὲ χρήσασθαι τῶν ἐπισημοτάτων ὀπλῶν ἀπὸ τῶν εἴρων ξίφων οὐκ ἀνοι-κείων τῇ περὶ αὐτοὺς εὐτολμίᾳ τῷ μὲν γὰρ "Ανουβίν περιβέβαινοι κυνῆν, τῷ δὲ Μακεδόνα λύκου προτομήν· αὖ’ ης αἰτίας καὶ τὰ ξίδα ταύτα 2 τιμηθῆναι παρὰ τοῖς Ἀιγυπτίοις. παραλαβεῖν δ’ ἐπὶ τὴν στρατείαν καὶ τὸν Πᾶνα, διαφερόντας ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀιγυπτίων τιμώμενον τούτῳ γὰρ τοὺς ἐγχωρίους οὐ μόνον ἀγάλματα πεποιηκέναι κατὰ πᾶν ἱερόν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πόλιν ἐπισκοπῆς κατὰ τὴν Ἡσβαῖδα, καλουμένην μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν ἐγχωρίων Χεμμὼ, μεθερμηνευομένην δὲ Πανὸς πόλιν. συν-

1 μὲν Bekker, Vogel: omitted Cf, Dindorf.
himself left Egypt with his army to make his cam-
paign, taking in his company also his brother, whom
the Greeks call Apollo. And it was Apollo, they
say, who discovered the laurel, a garland of which
all men place about the head of this god above
all others. The discovery of ivy is also attributed
to Osiris by the Egyptians and made sacred to this
god, just as the Greeks also do in the case of Dionysus.
And in the Egyptian language, they say, the ivy is
called the "plant of Osiris" and for purposes of
dedication is preferred to the vine, since the latter
sheds its leaves while the former ever remains
green; the same rule, moreover, the ancients have
followed in the case of other plants also which are
perennially green, ascribing, for instance, the myrtle
to Aphrodite and the laurel to Apollo.

18. Now Osiris was accompanied on his campaign,
as the Egyptian account goes, by his two sons
Anubis and Macedon, who were distinguished for
their valour. Both of them carried the most notable
accoutrements of war, taken from certain animals
whose character was not unlike the boldness of the
men, Anubis wearing a dog's skin and Macedon
the fore-parts of a wolf; and it is for this reason
that these animals are held in honour among the
Egyptians. He also took Pan along on his campaign,
who is held in special honour by the Egyptians; for
the inhabitants of the land have not only set up
statues of him at every temple but have also named
a city after him in the Thebaid, called by the natives
Chemmo, which when translated means City of Pan.¹

¹ The god Min, being ithyphallic, was usually identified
by the Greeks with Pan; cp. Herodotus, 2. 46.

² τὴν Ἀθηνᾶ τὴν ἔλατον added F, Bekker, Dindorf.
ἔπεσθαι δὲ καὶ τῆς γεωργίας ἐμπειρίαν ἔχοντας, τῆς μὲν περὶ τὴν ἀμπελοῦ φυτείας Μάρωνα, τοῦ δὲ κατὰ τὸν σῖτον σπόρου καὶ τῆς ὀλίθης συγκο-
μίδης Τριπτόλεμον. πάντων δὲ εὐτρεπῶν γε-
νομένων τὸν Ὀσιρίν, εὐξάμενον τοὺς θεοὺς θρέψειν
tὴν κόμην μέχρι ἀν εἰς Δῃγπτοῦ ἀνακάμψῃ, τὴν
tορείαν ποιεῖσθαι δὲ Λιθιοπίας. δὴ ἢν αὐτίαν
mέχρι τῶν νεωτέρων χρόνων ἐνισχύσαι τὸ περὶ
tῆς κόμης νόμιμον παρ' Δῃγπτίοις, καὶ τοὺς
pοιομένους τὰς ἀποδημίας μέχρι τῆς εἰς οἶκον
ἀνακομίδης κομτροφεῖν.

4 Ὄντι δὲ αὐτῷ περὶ τὴν Λιθιοπίαν ἀφθηναι
λέγουσι πρὸς αὐτὸν τὸ τῶν Σατύρων γένος, οὕς
φασιν ἐπὶ τῆς ὀσφύος ἔχειν κόμας. εἰναι γὰρ
tὸν Ὀσιρίν φιλογελῶτα τε καὶ χαίροντα μουσικῆ
καὶ χαροῖς. διὸ καὶ περιάγεσθαι πλήθος μου-
σοργῶν, ἐν οἷς παρθένους ἐννέα δυναμένας ἱδεῖν
καὶ κατὰ τὰ ἄλλα πεπαιδευμένας, τὰς παρὰ
τοῖς Ἑλλησίων ὀνομαζομένας Μουσάς. τούτων δὲ
ήγεισθαι τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα λέγουσιν, ἃφ' οὖ καὶ
5 Μουσιγρέτην αὐτὸν ὀνομάσθαι. τοὺς τε Σατύρους
πρὸς ὀρχήσων καὶ μελωδίαν καὶ πάσαν ἀνεσιν
καὶ παιδιάν ὄντας εὐθέτους παραληφθῆναι πρὸς
τὴν στρατείαν. ὡς γὰρ πολεμικὸν εἶναι τὸν Ὀσιρί
οὐδὲ παρατάξεις συνιστάσθαι καὶ κινδύνους, ἀτε
παντὸς ἐξόνου ὡς θεοὺς ἀποδεχομένου διὰ τὰς
6 εὐεργεσίας. κατὰ δὲ τὴν Λιθιοπίαν διδάξαντα
τοὺς ἀνθρώπους τὰ περὶ τὴν γεωργίαν καὶ πόλεις
ἀξιολογούσι κτίσαντα καταλιπεῖν τοὺς ἐπιμελησο-
mένους τῆς χώρας καὶ φόρους πραξομένους.
19. Τούτων δὲ ὄντων περὶ ταῦτα, τὸν Νεῖλόν
φασὶ κατὰ τὴν τοῦ σειρίου ἀστρον ἐπιτολήν,
In his company were also men who were experienced in agriculture, such as Maron in the cultivation of the vine, and Triptolemus in the sowing of grain and in every step in the harvesting of it. And when all his preparations had been completed Osiris made a vow to the gods that he would let his hair grow until his return to Egypt and then made his way through Ethiopia; and this is the reason why this custom with regard to their hair was observed among the Egyptians until recent times, and why those who journeyed abroad let their hair grow until their return home.

While he was in Ethiopia, their account continues, the Satyr people were brought to him, who, they say, have hair upon their loins. For Osiris was laughter-loving and fond of music and the dance; consequently he took with him a multitude of musicians, among whom were nine maidens who could sing and were trained in the other arts, these maidens being those who among the Greeks are called the Muses; and their leader (hegetes), as the account goes, was Apollo, who was for that reason also given the name Musegetes. As for the Satyrs, they were taken along on the campaign because they were proficient in dancing and singing and every kind of relaxation and pastime; for Osiris was not warlike, nor did he have to organize pitched battles or engagements, since every people received him as a god because of his benefactions. In Ethiopia he instructed the inhabitants in agriculture and founded some notable cities, and then left behind him men to govern the country and collect the tribute.

19. While Osiris and his army were thus employed, the Nile, they say, at the time of the rising of Sirius,
DIODORUS OF SICILY

ἐν ὁ καύρῳ μάλιστα εἰσώθε πληροῦσθαι, ῥαγέντα κατακλύσαι πολλήν τῆς Αἰγύπτου, καὶ μάλιστα τούτο τὸ μέρος ἐπέλθειν οὗ Προμηθέως εἴχε τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν· διαφθαρέντων δὲ σχεδὸν ἀπάντων τῶν κατὰ ταύτην τὴν χώραν τῶν Προμηθέα διὰ τῆς λύτης κινδυνεύειν ἐκλιπεῖν τὸν βίον ἐκουσίως.

2 διὰ δὲ τὴν ὁξύτητα καὶ τὴν βίαν τοῦ κατευγχέντος ρεύματος τῶν μὲν ποταμῶν Αἰετῶν ὄνομασθήναι, τὸν δ’ Πρακλέα, μεγαλεπίζολον ὄντα καὶ τὴν ἀνδρείαν ἐξηλοκότα, τὸ τε γενόμενον ἔκρηγμα τάχεως ἐμφράζαι καὶ τὸν ποταμὸν ἐπὶ τὴν προφύταρξαν ῥύσιν ἀποστρέφαι. διὸ καὶ τῶν παρ’ Ἑλλησὶ ποιητῶν τινας εἰς μῦθον ἀγαγείν τὸ πραγμένον, ὡς Πρακλέως τὸν ἀετῶν ἀνηρηκότος τὸ τὸ τοῦ Προμηθέως ἤπαρ εἴσθητα.

3 τὸν δὲ ποταμὸν ἀρχαιότατον μὲν ὄνομα σχεῖν Ὀκεάνην, ὃς ἐστὶν ἑλληνιστὶ Ὀκεανὸς· ἐπειτα διὰ τὸ γενόμενον ἔκρηγμα φασιν Αἰετῶν ὄνομασθήναι, ὡστερον δ’ Αἰγύπτων ἀπὸ τοῦ βασιλεύσαντος τῆς χώρας προσαγορευθήναι μαρτυρεῖν δὲ καὶ τὸν ποιητὴν λέγοντα στῆσα δ’ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ ποταμῷ νέας ἀμφιελίσσας.

κατὰ γὰρ τὴν καλουμένην Θῶνιν ἐμβάλλοντος εἰς θάλασσαν τοῦ ποταμοῦ, τούτοις τῶν τόπων ἐμπόροιν εἶναι τὸ παλαιὸν τῆς Αἰγύπτου τελευταίας δὲ τυχεῖν αὐτῶν ἡς νῦν ἔχει προσηγορίας ἀπὸ τοῦ βασιλεύσαντος Νειλέως.

5 Τὸν δ’ οὖν Ὀσιρίν παραγενόμενον ἐπὶ τοὺς τῆς Ἀθηναίας ὄρους τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἔξ ἀμφιτέρων τῶν μερῶν χώμασιν ἀναλαβεῖν, ὡστε κατὰ τὴν 60
which is the season when the river is usually at flood, breaking out of its banks inundated a large section of Egypt and covered especially that part where Prometheus was governor; and since practically everything in this district was destroyed, Prometheus was so grieved that he was on the point of quitting life wilfully. Because its water sweeps down so swiftly and with such violence the river was given the name Aëtus; ¹ but Heracles, being ever intent upon great enterprises and eager for the reputation of a manly spirit, speedily stopped the flood at its breach and turned the river back into its former course. Consequently certain of the Greek poets worked the incident into a myth, to the effect that Heracles had killed the eagle which was devouring the liver of Prometheus. The river in the earliest period bore the name Oceanê, which in Greek is Oceanus; then because of this flood, they say, it was called Aëtus, and still later it was known as Aegyptus after a former king of the land. And the poet also adds his testimony to this when he writes: ²

On the river Aegyptus my curvéd ships I stayed.

For it is at Thonis, as it is called, which in early times was the trading-port of Egypt, that the river empties into the sea. Its last name and that which the river now bears it received from the former king Nileus.

Now when Osiris arrived at the borders of Ethiopia, he curbed the river by dikes on both banks, so that

¹ Eagle.
² Odyssey 14. 258.
πλήρωσεν αὐτοῦ τὴν χώραν μὴ λιμνάζειν παρὰ τὸ συμφέρον, ἀλλὰ διὰ τινῶν κατεσκευασμένων θυρῶν εἰσαφίεσθαι τὸ ἱέμα πρώτος καθ’ ὅσον ἂν ἦ χρεία. ἔπειτα ποιήσασθαι τὴν πορείαν δι’ Ἀραβίας παρὰ τὴν Ἐρυθρὰν θάλατταν ἔως ᾗ Ἰνδόν καὶ τοῦ πέρατος τῆς οἰκουμένης. κτίσαι δὲ καὶ πόλεις οὐκ ὀλίγας εἰς Ἰνδόν, εἰς αἴς καὶ Νῦσαν ὑνομάσασι, βουλώμενοι μνημείων ἀπολυτεῖν ἐκείνης καθ’ ἣν ἐτράφη κατ’ Άγυπτον. φυτεύσαι δὲ καὶ κιντόν ἐν τῇ παρ’ Ἰνδόν Νῦσῃ, καὶ διαμένειν τοῦτο τὸ φυτὸν ἐν ἐκείνῳ μόνῳ τῷ τόπῳ τῶν τε κατὰ τὴν Ἰνδικήν καὶ τὴν ὑμοροῦ χώραν.  

8 πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ἄλλα σημεῖα τῆς ἑαυτοῦ παρουσίας ἀπολελουτέναι κατ’ ἐκείνην τὴν χώραν, δι’ ὅτι προαχθέντας τοὺς μεταγενεστέρους τῶν Ἰνδῶν ἀμφισβητήσαι τοῦ θεοῦ, λέγοντας Ἰνδόν εἶναι τὸ γένος.

20. Γενέσθαι δὲ καὶ περὶ τὴν τῶν ἐλεφάντων θήραν, καὶ στήλας πανταχοῦ καταλιπτεῖν τῆς ἱδίας στρατείας. ἔπελθείν δὲ καὶ τάλλα τὰ κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν ἔθνη, καὶ περαιωθῆναι κατὰ 2 τῶν Ἑλλησποντοῦ εἰς τὴν Εὐρώπην. καὶ κατὰ μὲν τὴν Θράκην Δυκούργον τῶν βασιλέων τῶν βαρβάρων ἐναντιούμενον τοῖς ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ πραττομένους ἀποκτεῖναι, Μάρωνα δὲ γηραιὸν ἢδη καθεστώτα καταλιπτεῖν ἐπιμελητὴν τῶν ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ χώρᾳ φυτευομένων, καὶ κτίστην αὐτὸν ποιῆσαι τῆς ἐπωνύμου πόλεως, ἢν ὑνομάσαι Μαρώνειαν.

3 καὶ Μακεδόνα μὲν τῶν υἱῶν ἀπολυτεῖν βασιλέα τῆς ἀπ’ ἐκείνου προσαγορευθεῖσας Μακεδονίας, Τριπτολέμῳ δ’ ἐπιτρέψαι τὰς κατὰ τὴν Ἀττικήν γεωργίας. τέλος δὲ τὸν Ὀσιρίν πᾶσαν τὴν
at flood-time it might not form stagnant pools over the land to its detriment, but that the flood-water might be let upon the countryside, in a gentle flow as it might be needed, through gates which he had built. After this he continued his march through Arabia along the shore of the Red Sea\(^1\) as far as India and the limits of the inhabited world. He also founded not a few cities in India, one of which he named Nysa, wishing to leave there a memorial of that city in Egypt where he had been reared. He also planted ivy in the Indian Nysa, and throughout India and those countries which border upon it the plant to this day is still to be found only in this region. And many other signs of his stay he left in that country, which have led the Indians of a later time to lay claim to the god and say that he was by birth a native of India.

20. Osiris also took an interest in hunting elephants, and everywhere left behind him inscribed pillars telling of his campaign. And he visited all the other nations of Asia as well and crossed into Europe at the Hellespont. In Thrace he slew Lycùrgus, the king of the barbarians, who opposed his undertakings, and Maron, who was now old, he left there to supervise the culture of the plants which he introduced into that land and caused him to found a city to bear his name, which he called Maroneia. Macedon his son, moreover, he left as king of Macedonia, which was named after him, while to Triptolemus he assigned the care of agriculture in Attica. Finally, Osiris in this way visited all the inhabited world and

\(^1\) Not the present Red Sea, but the Persian Gulf.

\(^2\) καταλίπειν παρταχου Vulgate, Bekker, Dindorf.
οἰκουμένην ἐπελθόντα τὸν κοίνων βίων τοῖς ἡμέρας ρωτάτοις καρποῖς εὐρεγεότησαί. εἰ δὲ τις χρώμα ἥπην τὸν φυτὸν τῆς ἀμπέλου μὴ προσδέχοιτο, διδάξαι τὸ ἐκ τῆς κρίσις κατασκευαζόμενον πόμα, λειπόμενον όποιο πολὺ τῆς περὶ τὸν σῖναν εὐωδίας τε καὶ δυνάμεως. ἐπανελθόντα δὲ εἰς τὴν Ἀλγύπτου συναποκομίσα τὸν πανταχοθεν τὰ κράτιστα καὶ διὰ τὸ μέγεθος τῶν εὐρεγεσίων συμπεφωνημένην λαβεῖν παρὰ πᾶσι τὴν ἠθανασίαν καὶ τὴν ἑσήν τοῖς οὑρανίοισι τιμῆν. μετὰ δὲ ταύτῃ ἐξ ἀνθρώπων εἰς θεοὺς μεταστάντα τυχεῖν ὑπὸ Ἰσίδος καὶ Ἐρμοῦ θυσίων καὶ τῶν ἁλλων τῶν ἐπιφανεστάτων τιμῶν. τούτους δὲ καὶ τελετὰς καταδείξαντε καὶ πολλὰ μυστικῶς εἰσηγήσασθαι, μεγαλύνοντας τοῦ θεοῦ τὴν δύναμιν.

21. Τῶν δὲ ιερέων περὶ τῆς Ὀσίριδος τελευτής ἔξοχοι διὰ τοῦ χρόνου υπὸ ἂνθρώπων καὶ τοῦ θεοῦ τους πολλοὺς εἰς θεοὺς τιμῶν εἰς τοὺς πολλοὺς ἐξενεχθέναι τὸ σιωπόμενον. φασὶ γὰρ νομίμως βασιλεύνοντα τῆς Ἀλγύπτου τοῦ Ὅσιριν ὑπὸ Τυφώνος ἀναρεθέναι τάδελοῦν, βιαιοῦσα καὶ ἀσεβοῦς ὄντος ὁ διελύντα τὸ σῶμα τοῦ φανερότερτος εἰς ἐκεῖ καὶ εἰκοσιμέρη δοῦναι τῶν συνεπεθεμένων ἐκάστῳ μερίδα, βουλόμενον πάντας μετασχεῖν τοῦ μύσους, καὶ διὰ τούτου 1 νομίζοντα συναγωνιστὰς ἐξειν καὶ φύλακας τῆς βασιλείας.
advanced community life by the introduction of the fruits which are most easily cultivated. And if any country did not admit of the growing of the vine he introduced the drink prepared from barley,\(^1\) which is little inferior to wine in aroma and in strength. On his return to Egypt he brought with him the very greatest presents from every quarter and by reason of the magnitude of his benefactions received the gift of immortality with the approval of all men and honour equal to that offered to the gods of heaven. After this he passed from the midst of men into the company of the gods and received from Isis and Hermes sacrifices and every other highest honour. These also instituted rites for him and introduced many things of a mystic nature, magnifying in this way the power of the god.

21. Although the priests of Osiris had from the earliest times received the account of his death as a matter not to be divulged, in the course of years it came about that through some of their number this hidden knowledge was published to the many. This is the story as they give it: When Osiris was ruling over Egypt as its lawful king, he was murdered by his brother Typhon, a violent and impious man; Typhon then divided the body of the slain man into twenty-six pieces and gave one portion to each of the band of murderers, since he wanted all of them to share in the pollution and felt that in this way he would have in them steadfast supporters and defenders of his rule. But Isis, the sister and wife of Osiris, avenged his murder with the aid of her son Horus, and after slaying Typhon and his accomplices became queen over Egypt. The struggle

\(^1\) The Egyptian beer, called below *zythos* (chap. 34).
Diodorus of Sicily

ton potamou plhsiou tis vhn 'Antaiou komh
kaloumenh, in keisvai men lgenousin ev tw kata
tin 'Arabian merai, tin prorhgorian d' echein
ap'to tov kolasthentos ufr 'Hrakleous 'Antaiou,
5 tov kata tin 'Osiridou xikian genoimenou. tin
d' oin 'Ison pantia ta meri tov swmatos plhn
ton ai'doion anevrein. boulomenein de tin tan-
dros taphn adhelou pothisa kai t'isomenen para
pasi tois tin Lhgnptou katokouisi, syneteliasai
10 doxan toimid tinh tropo. ekastho twv meron
periplasa lgenousin auth tis tov anbropoteuidh,
paraplhion 'Osiridai tis megathos, e'w arapmatwn
6 kai kprou eiskalestamenein de kata xevia twv
i'rewv exorkisai pantas mendein diplosein tin
dathsemena autous pisteiv, kath' idian d' ekastous
epiev oti movois ekelinois paratithetai tin to
swmatos taphn, kai twv eunrheisiu unomisasa-
san parakalasia thapsantas ev tois idiow twv
soma timan ois theon ton 'Osirion, kathierwsoai
de kai twv genomenev par' autous xwvwn ev otopo
15 an bouhidwsi, kai tout' ev men twi xh timwn,
kathedep kai protetre ton 'Osirion, meta de tin
teleutha tin omia ekelain kheidias xw

7 boulomenein de tin 'Ison kai tw lusiteliai
protrfjavai tov i'reveis ep' tis proeire-
menev timas, to triton meros tin xharaia autou
20 doinai prois tov twv thevwn therapeias te kai
8 leitourgrias. tov d' i'reveis xegesta, menom
nevntas ton 'Osiridou eunrheisiod kai tin para-

1 Antaeus was a giant of Libya, the son of Poseidon
and Earth, who was slain by Heracles (op. Book 4. 17. 4).
According to one version of the story he received strength
66
between them took place on the banks of the Nile near the village now known as Antaeus, which, they say, lies on the Arabian side of the river and derives its name from that Antaeus,¹ a contemporary of Osiris, who was punished by Heracles. Now Isis recovered all the pieces of the body except the privates, and wishing that the burial-place of her husband should remain secret and yet be honoured by all the inhabitants of Egypt, she fulfilled her purpose in somewhat the following manner. Over each piece of the body, as the account goes, she fashioned out of spices and wax a human figure about the size of Osiris; then summoning the priests group by group, she required of all of them an oath that they would reveal to no one the trust which she was going to confide to them, and taking each group of them apart privately she said that she was consigning to them alone the burial of the body, and after reminding them of the benefactions of Osiris she exhorted them to bury his body in their own district and pay honours to him as to a god, and to consecrate to him also some one that they might choose of the animals native to their district, pay it while living the honours which they had formerly rendered to Osiris, and upon its death accord it the same kind of funeral as they had given to him. And since Isis wished to induce the priests to render these honours by the incentive of their own profit also, she gave them the third part of the country to defray the cost of the worship and service of the gods. And the priests, it is said, being mindful of the benefactions of Osiris and eager to please the queen whenever he touched his mother Earth and Heracles overcame him only by holding him in the air.
Diodorus of Sicily

καλούσῃ βουλομένους χαρίζεσθαι, πρὸς δὲ τούτως τῷ λυσιτελεῖ προκεληθέντας, πάντα πράξαι κατὰ τὴν 'Ισίδος ύποθήκην. διὸ καὶ μέχρι τοῦ νῦν ἐκάστους τῶν ιερέων ὑπολαμβάνειν παρ' ἐαυτὸς τεθάφθαι τὸν 'Οσιρίν, καὶ τά τε ἕξ ἀρχῆς καθιερωθέντα ξῖα τιμᾶν, καὶ τελευτησάντων αὐτῶν ἐν ταῖς ταφαῖς ἀνανεοῦσθαι τὸ τοῦ 'Οσίρεδος πένθος. τοὺς δὲ ταύρους τοὺς Ιεροὺς, τόν τε ὄνομαξόμενον 'Ατίν καὶ τόν Μνείθ, 'Οσίρεδι καθιερωθήματι, καὶ τούτους σέβεσθαι καθάπερ θεοὺς κοινῆ καταδειχθήματι πᾶσιν Ἀιγυπτίοις. 

tάντα γὰρ τὰ ξῖα τοῖς εὐροῦσι τὸν τοῦ σίτου καρπὸν συνεργῆσαι μάλιστα πρὸς τε τὸν σπόρον καὶ τὰς κοινὰς ἀπάντων ἐκ τῆς γεωργίας ὀψελείας.

22. Τὴν δὲ Ἰσίν φασί μετὰ τὴν 'Οσίρεδος τελευτησάντα ὁμόσαι μηδενὸς ἄνδρὸς ἐτὶ συνουσίαν προσδέξεσθαι, διατελέσαι δὲ τὸν λοιπὸν τοῦ βίου χρόνον βασιλεύουσαν νομιμότατα καὶ ταῖς ἐἰς τοὺς ἀρχομένους εὐεργεσίαις ἀπανταὶ ὑπερβαλλόμεναν. ὀμοίως δὲ καὶ ταύτῃ μεταστάσεαν ἐξ ἀνθρώπων τυχεῖν ἀθανάτων τιμῶν καὶ ταφῆναι κατὰ τὴν Μέμφιν, ὅπου δείκνυται μέχρι τοῦ νῦν ὁ σηκὸς, ὑπάρχων ἐν τῷ τεμένει τοῦ Πειραίου.

3 ἔνιοι δὲ φασίν οὕκ ἐν Μέμφει κεῖσθαι τὰ σώματα τούτων τῶν θεῶν, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τῶν ὄρων τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρειας καὶ τῆς Αἰγύπτου κατὰ τὴν ἐν τῷ Νείλῳ νῆσον, κειμένην μέν πρὸς ταῖς καλουμέναις Φίλαις, προσδέξεσθαι Hertlein: προσδέξασθαι.

---

1 Cp. chaps. 84 f.
2 Though the island of Philae, once "the pearl of Egypt," was a sacred place of early Egypt, the beautiful temples which
who was petitioning them, and incited as well by their own profit, did everything just as Isis had suggested. It is for this reason that even to this day each group of priests supposes that Osiris lies buried in their district, pays honours to the animals which were originally consecrated to him, and, when these die, renews in the funeral rites for them the mourning for Osiris. The consecration to Osiris, however, of the sacred bulls, which are given the names Apis and Mnevis,\(^1\) and the worship of them as gods were introduced generally among all the Egyptians, since these animals had, more than any others, rendered aid to those who discovered the fruit of the grain, in connection with both the sowing of the seed and with every agricultural labour from which mankind profits.

22. Isis, they say, after the death of Osiris took a vow never to marry another man, and passed the remainder of her life reigning over the land with complete respect for the law and surpassing all sovereigns in benefactions to her subjects. And like her husband she also, when she passed from among men, received immortal honours and was buried near Memphis, where her shrine is pointed out to this day in the temple-area of Hephaestus. According to some writers, however, the bodies of these two gods rest, not in Memphis, but on the border between Egypt and Ethiopia, on the island in the Nile which lies near the city which is called Philae,\(^2\) but is have made it so famous were constructions of the Ptolemies of the last two centuries B.C. and of the Roman emperors of the first three Christian centuries. Since the height of the Aswan dam has been increased the temples are completely submerged except during July–October.
DIODORUS OF SICILY

ἐξουσιαὶ δὲ προσηγορίαν ἀπὸ τοῦ συμβεβηκότος
4 ιεροῦ πεδίου. σημεῖα δὲ τούτου δεικνύουσιν ἐν
tῇ νήσῳ ταύτῃ διαμένοντα τὸν τε τάφον τὸν
κατεσκευασμένον Ὄσιριδι, κοινὴ τιμώμενον ὑπὸ
tὸν καὶ' Λύγυππου ἱερέως, καὶ τὰς περὶ τούτου
5 κειμένας ἔξηκοντα καὶ τριακοσίας χρῶς ταύτας
γὰρ καθ' ἐκάστην ἡμέραν γάλακτος πληροῦν
τοὺς πρὸς τούτους ταχθέντας ἱερεῖς, καὶ θρηνεῖν
6 ἀνακαλομένους τὰ τῶν θεῶν νόματα. διὰ ταύ-
tην δὲ τὴν αὐτίνα καὶ τὴν νήσου ταύτην ἄβατον
εἶναι τοῖς παροισί. 1 καὶ πάντας τοὺς τὴν
Θησαίδα κατοικούντας, ὥσπερ ἐστὶν ἀρχιοικετή
τῆς Λύγυππου, μέγιστον ὄρκου κρίνειν, ὅταν τις
τὸν Ὄσιριν τὸν ἐν Φίλαις κείμενον ὑμόση.
Τὰ μὲν οὖν ἀνευρέθητα τοῦ Ὅσιρίδος μέρη
tαφῆς ἀξιωθῆναι φασὶ τὸν εἰρημένον τρόπον, τὸ
de αἰδοῖον ὑπὸ μὲν Τυφάνους εἰς τὸν ποταμὸν
ρυθῆναι λέγουσι 2 διὰ τὸ μηδένα τῶν συνεργη-
σάντων αὐτὸ λαβεῖν βουληθῆναι, ὑπὸ δὲ τῆς Ἡσίδος
οὐδὲν ἦττον τῶν ἄλλων ἄξιωθῆναι τιμῶν ἱσοθέων
ἐν τῇ γὰρ τοῖς ἱεροῖς ἑίδωλον αὐτοῦ κατασκευά-
sαν τιμᾶν καταδείξει καὶ κατὰ τὰς τελετὰς καὶ
tὰς θυσίας τὰς τῷ θεῷ τούτῳ γινομένας ἐντιμῶτα-
tον ποιῆσαι καὶ πλείστου σεβασμοῦ τυγχάνει.
7 διὸ καὶ τοὺς Ἐλλήνας, ἐξ Λύγυππου παρειληφότας
tὰ περὶ τοὺς ἄργιασμοὺς καὶ τὰς Διονυσιακὰς
ἐρωτάς, τιμᾶν τοῦτο τὸ μόριον ἐν τῷ τοῖς μουστήριοις
καὶ ταῖς τοῦ θεοῦ τούτου τελεταῖς τε καὶ θυσίαις,
δυναμότας αὐτὸ φαλλόν.

1 τοῖς παροισί: Vogel, following nearly all the MSS. ἔλθων
2 λέγουσι deleted by Bekker, Dindorf.

70
referred to because of this burial as the Holy Field. In proof of this they point to remains which still survive on this island, both to the tomb constructed for Osiris, which is honoured in common by all the priests of Egypt, and to the three hundred and sixty libation bowls which are placed around it; for the priests appointed over these bowls fill them each day with milk, singing all the while a dirge in which they call upon the names of these gods. It is for this reason that travellers are not allowed to set foot on this island. And all the inhabitants of the Thebaid, which is the oldest portion of Egypt, hold it to be the strongest oath when a man swears "by Osiris who lieth in Philae."

Now the parts of the body of Osiris which were found were honoured with burial, they say, in the manner described above, but the privates, according to them, were thrown by Typhon into the Nile because no one of his accomplices was willing to take them. Yet Isis thought them as worthy of divine honours as the other parts, for, fashioning a likeness of them, she set it up in the temples, commanded that it be honoured, and made it the object of the highest regard and reverence in the rites and sacrifices accorded to the god. Consequently the Greeks too, inasmuch as they received from Egypt the celebrations of the orgies and the festivals connected with Dionysus, honour this member in both the mysteries and the initiatory rites and sacrifices of this god, giving it the name "phallus." ¹

¹ P. Foucart (Le Culte de Dionysos en Attique) maintained the Egyptian origin of the rites of Dionysus, but his view was strongly opposed by L. R. Farnell (The Cults of the Greek City States, 5. pp. 174 ff.).
Diodorus of Sicily

23. Εἶναι δὲ ἔτη φασὶν ἀπὸ Ὠσίριδος καὶ Ἰσιδος ἐως τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου βασίλειας τοῦ κτίσαντος ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ τὴν ἐπώνυμον αὐτοῦ πόλιν πλείω τῶν μυρίων, ὡς δὲ ἔνιοι γράφουσι, βραχὺ 2 λείποντα τῶν δισμυρίων καὶ τρισχελίων. τοὺς δὲ λέγοντας ἐν Θῆβαις τῆς Βασίλειας γεγονέναι τὸν θεὸν ἐκ Σεμέλης καὶ Διός φασὶ σχεδιάζειν. Ὁρφέα γὰρ, εἰς Αἰγύπτου παραβαλόμενα καὶ μετασχόντα τῆς τελετῆς καὶ τῶν Διονυσιακῶν μυστηρίων μεταλαβέων, 1 τοῖς δὲ 2 Καδμείως φίλου ἄντα καὶ τιμώμενον ὡς αὐτῶν μεταθείναι τοῦ θεοῦ τὴν γένεσιν ἐκείνοις χαριζομενον τοὺς δὲ ὁχλοὺς τὰ μὲν διὰ τὴν ἀγνοιαν, τὰ δὲ διὰ τὸ βουλεύσας τοῦ θεοῦ Ἔλληνα νομίζεσθαι, προσ- δέξασθαι προσφέροις τὰς τελετὰς καὶ τὰ μυσ- τήρια. ἀφορμὰς δὲ ἔχειν τῶν Ὁρφέα πρὸς τὴν μετάθεσιν τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ γενέσεως τε καὶ τελετῆς τοιαύτας.

4 Κάδμου ἐκ Θηβῶν ὄντα τῶν Αἰγύπτιων γεννη- σαί σὺν ἄλλοις τέκνοις καὶ Σεμέλην, ταύτην δὲ ὡς ὅτον δήποτε 3 φθαρέσαν ἔγκυον γενέσθαι, καὶ τεκεῖν ἐπὶ μὴν διελθόντων βρέφος τὴν ὄψιν οἴοντερ οἱ κατ' Αἰγύπτου τῶν Ὁσιρίων γεγονέναι νομίζουσι θυγογενεῖσθαι δ' ὅνικ εἰσέθεναι τὸ τοιότου, εἴτε τῶν θεῶν μὴ βουλομένων εἴτε 5 τῆς φύσεως μὴ συγχωροῦσθε. Κάδμου δ' αἰσθά- μενον τὸ γεγονός, καὶ χρησμὸν ἔχοντα διατηρεῖν τὰ τῶν πατέρων νόμιμα, χρυσωσάτω τὸ βρέφος καὶ τὰς καθηκούσας αὐτῷ ποιήσασθαι θυσίας,

1 μεταλαβέων Vogel : μεταλαβόντα AE, Bekker, Dindorf.
2 δὲ Vogel : τε D, Bekker, Dindorf.
3 So Stephanus : ὡς τοῦ δήποτε.
23. The number of years from Osiris and Isis, they say, to the reign of Alexander, who founded the city which bears his name in Egypt, is over ten thousand, but, according to other writers, a little less than twenty-three thousand. And those who say that the god \(^1\) was born of Semele and Zeus in Boeotian Thebes are, according to the priests, simply inventing the tale. For they say that Orpheus, upon visiting Egypt and participating in the initiation and mysteries of Dionysus, adopted them and as a favour to the descendants of Cadmus, since he was kindly disposed to them and received honours at their hands, transferred the birth of the god to Thebes; and the common people, partly out of ignorance and partly out of their desire to have the god thought to be a Greek, eagerly accepted his initiatory rites and mysteries. What led Orpheus to transfer the birth and rites of the god, they say, was something like this.

Cadmus, who was a citizen of Egyptian Thebes, begat several children, of whom one was Semele; she was violated by an unknown person, became pregnant, and after seven months gave birth to a child whose appearance was such as the Egyptians hold had been that of Osiris. Now such a child is not usually brought into the world alive, either because it is contrary to the will of the gods or because the law of nature does not admit of it. But when Cadmus found out what had taken place, having at the same time a reply from an oracle commanding him to observe the laws of his fathers, he both gilded the infant and paid it the appropriate sacrifices, on the ground that there had been a sort of

\(^1\) Dionysus.
ὅς ἐπιφανείας τινὸς κατ' ἀνθρώπους Ὀσίριδος
6 γεγενημένης. ἀνάψαι δὲ καὶ τὴν γένεσιν εἰς
Δία, σεμνύνοντα τὸν Ὀσίριν καὶ τῆς φθαρέσθης
τὴν διαβολὴν ἀφαιρούμενον διὸ καὶ πυρὰ τοῖς
"Ελλησιν ἐκδοθῆναι λόγον ὡς ἡ Κάμην Σεμέλη
τέτοκεν ἐκ Δίος Ὀσίριν. ἐν δὲ τοῖς ὑστερον
χρόνοις Ὀρφέα, μεγάλην ἔχοντα δόξαν παρὰ τοῖς
"Ελλησιν ἐπὶ μελῳδία καὶ τελεταῖς καὶ θεολογίαις,
ἐπιξενωθῆναι τοὺς Καδμείους καὶ διαφερόντως
7 ἐν ταῖς Ὁβῆσις τιμηθήναι. μετεσχηκότα δὲ
τῶν παρ'. Ἀιγυπτίως θεολογοουμένων μετενεγκείν
τὴν Ὀσίριδος τοῦ παλαιοῦ γένεσιν ἐπὶ τῶν
νεωτέρων χρόνων, χαρίζομεν δὲ τοῖς Καδμείοις
ἐνστησασθαί καὶ ἑτερώ τελετήν, καθ' ἣν παραδοῦναι
τοῖς μνουμένοις ἐκ Σεμέλης καὶ Δίος γεγενημέναι
toν Δίσυκον. τοὺς δ' ἀνθρώπους τὰ μὲν διὰ τὴν
ἀγνοιαν ἐξαπατώμενος, τὰ δὲ διὰ τὴν Ὀρφέως
ἀξιοπιστίαν καὶ δόξαν ἐν τοῖς τουούτοις προσ-
έχοντας, τὸ δὲ μέγιστον ἰδέας προσδεχόμενον
τὸν θεόν Ἐλληνα νομιζόμενον, καθ' ἄπερ προσερή-
8 ται, χρήσασθαι ταῖς τελεταῖς. ἑπειτα παρα-
λαβόντων τῶν μυθογράφων καὶ ποιητῶν τὸ
γένος, ἐμπεπλήθονται τὰ θεάτρα, καὶ τοῖς ἐπιγινο-
mένοις ἵσχυρὰν πίστιν καὶ ἄμετάθετον γενέσθαι.
Καθόλου δὲ φασι τοὺς Ἐλλήνας ἔξωδιάζονται
toὺς ἐπιφανεστάτους ἵρως τε καὶ θεους, ἑτὶ
δ' ἀποκιάς τὰς παρ' ἑαυτῶν.
24. Καὶ γὰρ Ἡρακλέα τὸ γένος Λιγυπτίων

1 i.e., an appearance in the flesh of a deity. Cp. Book 2, 47. 61, where it is related that Apollo visited the Hyperborians every nineteen years at the time of the vernal equinox.
epiphany of Osiris among men. The fatherhood of the child he attributed to Zeus, in this way magnifying Osiris and averting slander from his violated daughter; and this is the reason why the tale was given out among the Greeks to the effect that Semelē, the daughter of Cadmus, was the mother of Osiris by Zeus. Now at a later time Orpheus, who was held in high regard among the Greeks for his singing, initiatory rites, and instructions on things divine, was entertained as a guest by the descendants of Cadmus and accorded unusual honours in Thebes. And since he had become conversant with the teachings of the Egyptians about the gods, he transferred the birth of the ancient Osiris to more recent times, and, out of regard for the descendants of Cadmus, instituted a new initiation, in the ritual of which the initiates were given the account that Dionysus had been born of Semelē and Zeus. And the people observed these initiatory rites, partly because they were deceived through their ignorance, partly because they were attracted to them by the trustworthiness of Orpheus and his reputation in such matters, and most of all because they were glad to receive the god as a Greek, which, as has been said, is what he was considered to be. Later, after the writers of myths and poets had taken over this account of his ancestry, the theatres became filled with it and among following generations faith in the story grew stubborn and immutable.

In general, they say, the Greeks appropriate to themselves the most renowned of both Egyptian heroes and gods, and so also the colonies sent out by them.

24. Heracles, for instance, was by birth an
Diodorus of Sicily

οντα, δι’ ἄνθρειαν ἐπελθεῖν πολλὰν τῆς οἰκουμένης, καὶ τὴν ἔπλη τῆς Διβύςς θέσθαι στήλην. 2 ὑπέρ οὗ πειρώνται τάς ἀποδείξεις παρὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων λαμβάνειν. ὁμολογομένου γαρ ὄντος παρὰ πᾶσιν ὅτι τοῖς Ὀλυμπίοις θεοῖς Ἡρακλῆς συνηγωνίσατο τὸν πρὸς τοὺς γίγαντας πόλεμον, φασὶ τῇ γῇ μηδαμῶς ἀρμόττειν γεγενηκέναι τοὺς γίγαντας κατὰ τὴν ἡλικίαν ἵνα οἱ Ἑλληνες φασίν Ἡρακλέα γεγενήσθαι, γενέα πρότερον τῶν Τρωικῶν, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον, ὡς αὐτὸι λέγουσι, κατὰ τὴν ἐξ ἀρχῆς γένεσιν τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἀπ’ ἐκείνης μὲν γὰρ παρ’ Ἀγυπτίων ἐτης καταριθμεῖσθαι πλεῖον τῶν μυρίων, ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν Τρωικῶν ἐλλάττω 3 τῶν χιλίων καὶ διακοσίων. ὁμοίως δὲ τὸ τε ῥόπαλον καὶ τὴν λειτυὶ τῷ παλαιῷ πρέπειν Ἡρακλεῖ διὰ τὸ κατ’ ἐκείνους τοὺς χρόνους μήπω τῶν ὀπλῶν εὐρημένων τοὺς ἀνθρώπους τοῖς μὲν ἔλους ἀμώνεσθαι τοὺς ἀντιτατομεῖνους, ταῖς δὲ δοραῖς τῶν βηρίων σκεπαστηρίων ὀπλοῦς χρῆσθαι. καὶ Διὸς εἰς πόρον ἅματον ἀναγορεύσει, μήτρος δὲ 4 ἦς ἐστὶν οὗ φασὶ γενώσκειν. τὸν δ’ εἴ' Ἀλκμήνης γενόμενον ύστερον πλεῖσσον ἐτεινεὶν ἡ μυρίωι, Ἀλκαῖον ἐν γενηθῆς καλοῦμενον, υστερον Ἡρακλέα μετονομασθῆναι, ὅχθι ὅτι δι’ Ἡραν ἐσχε κλέος, ὡς φησιν ὁ Μάτρις, ἀλλ’ ὅτι τὴν αὐτὴν εὐηλωκὸς προαιρέσει Ἡρακλεὶ τῷ παλαιῷ τὴν ἑκείνου δόξαν ἀμα καὶ προσηγορίαν ἐκληρονόμησε.

1 The Pillars of Heracles are described in Book 4. 18. 4–7.
2 Heracles, according to Greek mythology, was a contemporary of Laomedon, the father of Priam king of Troy, and with the help of Poseidon built for him the walls of Troy.
Egyptian, who by virtue of his manly vigour visited a large part of the inhabited world and set up his pillar in Libya; \(^1\) and their proofs of this assertion they endeavour to draw from the Greeks themselves. For inasmuch as it is generally accepted that Heracles fought on the side of the Olympian gods in their war against the Giants, they say that it in no way accords with the age of the earth for the Giants to have been born in the period when, as the Greeks say, Heracles lived, which was a generation before the Trojan War,\(^2\) but rather at the time, as their own account gives it, when mankind first appeared on the earth; for from the latter time to the present the Egyptians reckon more than ten thousand years, but from the Trojan War less than twelve hundred. Likewise, both the club and the lion’s skin are appropriate to their ancient Heracles, because in those days arms had not yet been invented, and men defended themselves against their enemies with clubs of wood and used the hides of animals for defensive armour. They also designate him as the son of Zeus, but about the identity of his mother they say that they know nothing. The son of Aleméné, who was born more than ten thousand years later and was called Alcaeus \(^3\) at birth, in later life became known instead as Heracles, not because he gained glory (kleos) by the aid of Hera, as Matris says, but because, having avowed the same principles as the ancient Heracles, he inherited that one’s fame and name as well.\(^4\)

---

\(^1\) Alcaeus was the name of the grandfather of Heracles. The career of Heracles is recounted in Book 4. 9 ff.

\(^2\) The date of Matris, who was the author of an encomium upon Heracles, is unknown.
5 Συμφωνεῖν δὲ τοῖς ὑπ' ἐαυτῶν λεγομένοις καὶ τὴν παρὰ τοῖς Ἐλλησιν ἐκ πολλῶν χρόνων παραδεδομένην φήμην, ὅτι καθαρὰν τὴν γῆν τῶν θηρίων ἔποιήσει Ἡρακλῆς, ὅπερ μεθαμότειν τῷ γεγονότι σκέδαι κατὰ τοὺς Τρωικοὺς χρόνους, ὅτε τὰ πλείστα μέρη τῆς οἰκουμένης ἑξημέρωτο γεωργίας καὶ πόλεσι καὶ πλῆθος τῶν
6 κατοικούντων τὴν χώραν πανταχοῦ, μᾶλλον οὖν πρέπειν τῷ γεγονότι κατὰ τοὺς ἀρχαίους χρόνους τὴν ἡμέρωσιν τῆς χώρας, κατισχυμένων ἐπὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ὑπὸ τοῦ πλήθους τῶν θηρίων, καὶ μᾶλλον κατὰ τὴν Ἀιγυπτίαν ἴση τῆς ὑπερκειμένην χώραν μέχρι τοῦ ὑπὸ ἔρημον εἶναι ἡ
7 καὶ θηριώδης. εἰκὸς γάρ ταύτης ἡς πατρίδος προοριζόμενα τὸν Ἡρακλέα, καὶ καθαρὰν τὴν γῆν τῶν θηρίων ποιήσαντα, παραδοθῆναι τοῖς γεωργοῖς τὴν χώραν, καὶ διὰ τὴν εὐεργεσίαν τυχεῖν ἵσοθέου
8 τιμῆς. φασὶ δὲ καὶ τὸν Περσέα γεγονέναι κατ’ Ἀιγυπτίαν, καὶ τῆς Ἰσίδου τὴν γένεσιν ὑπὸ τῶν Ἐλλήνων εἰς Ἀργοὺς μεταφέρεσθαι, μυθολογούμενοι τῶν τὴν Ἰώ τῆς εἰς βοῦς τύπων μεταμορφωθεῖσαν.

25. Καθόλου δὲ πολλῆς τῆς ἐστὶ διαφωνία περὶ τούτων τῶν θεῶν. τὴν αὐτήν γὰρ οἱ μὲν Ἰσιω, οἱ δὲ Δήμητραν, οἱ Ἐσμοφόρον, οἱ δὲ Σελήνην, οἱ δὲ Ἕραν, οἱ δὲ πάσας ταῖς προσηγορίαις 2 ὄνομαξοντες. τὸν δὲ Ὅσιων οἱ μὲν Σάραπιν, οἱ δὲ Διώνυσον, οἱ δὲ Πλούτωνα, οἱ δὲ Ἀμμονα, τινὲς δὲ Δία, πολλοὶ δὲ Πάνα τὸν αὐτῶν νεομίκασι. λέγοντι δὲ τινὲς Σάραπιν εἶναι τὸν παρὰ τοῖς Ἐλλησι Πλούτωνα ὄνομαξόμενον.

1 For ἴση, Vogel reads καὶ and retains ἐδώσαν below.
2 εἶναι Dindorf: ὀδόσαι.
The account of the Egyptians agrees also with the tradition which has been handed down among the Greeks since very early times, to the effect that Heracles cleared the earth of wild beasts, a story which is in no way suitable for a man who lived in approximately the period of the Trojan War, when most parts of the inhabited world had already been reclaimed from their wild state by agriculture and cities and the multitude of men settled everywhere over the land. Accordingly this reclamation of the land suits better a man who lived in early times, when men were still held in subjection by the vast numbers of wild beasts, a state of affairs which was especially true in the case of Egypt, the upper part of which is to this day desert and infested with wild beasts. Indeed it is reasonable to suppose that the first concern of Heracles was for this country as his birthplace, and that, after he had cleared the land of wild beasts, he presented it to the peasants, and for this benefaction was accorded divine honours. And they say that Perseus also was born in Egypt, and that the origin of Isis is transferred by the Greeks to Argos in the myth which tells of that Io who was changed into a heifer.

25. In general, there is great disagreement over these gods. For the same goddess is called by some Isis, by others Demeter, by others Thesmophorus, by others Selene, by others Hera, while still others apply to her all these names. Osiris has been given the name Sarapis by some, Dionysus by others, Pluto by others, Ammon by others, Zeus by some, and many have considered Pan to be the same god; and some say that Sarapis is the god whom the Greeks call Pluto.
DIODORUS OF SICILY

Φασί δ' Αιγύπτιοι τὴν Ἡσιων φαρμάκον τε πολλῶν πρὸς ἰχθείαν εὑρέτιν γεγονόντες καὶ τῆς ἰατρικῆς ἐπιστήμης μεγάλην ἔχειν ἐμπειρίαν·
3 διὸ καὶ τυχόνσαν τῆς ἄθανασίας ἐπὶ ταῖς θεραπείαις τῶν ἀνθρώπων μάλιστα χαίρειν, καὶ κατὰ τοὺς ὑπνοὺς τοὺς ἄξιονσι διδόναι θεοθήματα, φανερῶς ἐπιδεικνυόμενη τὴν τε Ἰδίαν ἐπιφάνειαν καὶ τὸ πρὸς τοὺς δεσμένους τῶν ἀνθρώπων
4 εὐεργετικῶν. ἀποδείξεις δὲ τούτων φασὶ φέρειν ἑαυτοὺς οὐ μιθολογίας ὅμως τοὺς "Ἱλλησιαν, ἀλλὰ πράξεις ἐναργεῖς" πᾶσαν γὰρ σχεδὸν τὴν οἰκουμένην μαρτυρεῖν ἑαυτοῖς, εἰς τὰς ταύτης τιμὰς φιλοτιμομένην διὰ τὴν ἐν ταῖς θεραπείαις
5 ἐπιφάνειας. κατὰ γὰρ τοὺς ὑπνοὺς ἐφιστα- μένην διδόναι τοὺς κάμνουσι βοηθήματα πρὸς τὰς νόσους, καὶ τοὺς ὑπακούσαντας αὐτὴν παραδόξως ὑμάξεσθαι καὶ πολλοὺς μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν ἰατρῶν
diὰ τὴν δυσκολίαν τοῦ νοσήματος ἀπελπισθεντάς ὑπὸ ταύτης σώξεσθαι, συχνοὺς δὲ παντελῶς πηρωθέντας τὰς ὁράσεις ἢ τινὰ τῶν ἄλλων
merῶν τοῦ σώματος, δόταν πρὸς ταύτην τὴν θεὸν
κατάφυγοιν, εἰς τὴν προὐπάρξαν ἄποκαθί-
6 στασθαι τάξιν. εὐρείων δ' αὐτὴν καὶ τὸ τῆς ἄθανασίας φάρμακον, δι' οὗ τὸν νίδον Ἡρων, ὑπὸ τῶν Τιτάνων ἐπιβουλευθέντα καὶ νεκρῶν εὐρεθέντα καθ' ἄδατος, μη μόνον ἀναστήσας, δοῦσαν

---

1 A reference to the common practice of incubation, briefly described below. The patients spent the nights in the temple-procincts and were ministered to in their sleep by the god. An interesting picture of such an incubation is in 80
As for Isis, the Egyptians say that she was the discoverer of many health-giving drugs and was greatly versed in the science of healing; consequently, now that she has attained immortality, she finds her greatest delight in the healing of mankind and gives aid in their sleep to those who call upon her, plainly manifesting both her very presence and her beneficence towards men who ask her help. In proof of this, as they say, they advance not legends, as the Greeks do, but manifest facts; for practically the entire inhabited world is their witness, in that it eagerly contributes to the honours of Isis because she manifests herself in healings. For standing above the sick in their sleep she gives them aid for their diseases and works remarkable cures upon such as submit themselves to her; and many who have been despaired of by their physicians because of the difficult nature of their malady are restored to health by her, while numbers who have altogether lost the use of their eyes or of some other part of their body, whenever they turn for help to this goddess, are restored to their previous condition. Furthermore, she discovered also the drug which gives immortality, by means of which she not only raised from the dead her son Horus, who had been the object of plots on the part of the Titans and had been found dead under the water, giving him his

Aristophanes, *Plutus*, 659 ff., where a description is given of how the god of wealth, who because of his blindness distributes his gifts with little discrimination, is taken to the temple of Asclepius to be healed.

2 Under the influence of the Ptolemies, soon after 300 B.C., the cult of Isis began to spread over the Mediterranean, and by the time of Diodorus was in practically every city of any importance.
7 μεταλαβεῖν. δοκεῖ δὲ υστατος τῶν θεῶν οὕτως 

26. Οἱ δὲ ἱερεῖς τῶν Ἀιγυπτίων τὸν χρόνον ἀπὸ τῆς Ὑλίου βασιλείας συλλογιζόμενοι μέχρι τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου διαβάσεως εἰς τὴν Λασιαν φασίν ὑπάρχειν ἐτῶν μᾶλλον πως δισμυρίων καὶ 

3 ἠλάττω τῶν τριακοσίων. ἀπίστου δὲ οὕτως τοῦ πλῆθους τῶν ἑτῶν, ἐπιχειροῦσί τινες λέγειν ὅτι 

4 περίδονα ἄγεσθαι τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν. διὸ περὶ τῶν ἑτῶν τριακονθῆρων οὗτων οὐκ ἀδυνατον εἶναι βεβιώ 

5 ὑπὲρ ἐκατὸν ἐτής ἥν. παραπλῆσις δὲ λέγουσι 

1 δωδεκαμήνων Dindorf: δυσκαλέκα μηνῶν.
soul again, but also made him immortal. And it appears that Horus was the last of the gods to be king after his father Osiris departed from among men. Moreover, they say that the name Horus, when translated, is Apollo, and that, having been instructed by his mother Isis in both medicine and divination, he is now a benefactor of the race of men through his oracular responses and his healings.

26. The priests of the Egyptians, reckoning the time from the reign of Helius to the crossing of Alexander into Asia, say that it was in round numbers twenty-three thousand years. And, as their legends say, the most ancient of the gods ruled more than twelve hundred years and the later ones not less than three hundred. But since this great number of years surpasses belief, some men would maintain that in early times, before the movement of the sun had as yet been recognized, it was customary to reckon the year by the lunar cycle. Consequently, since the year consisted of thirty days, it was not impossible that some men lived twelve hundred years; for in our own time, when our year consists of twelve months, not a few men live over one hundred years. A similar explanation they also give regarding those who are supposed to have reigned for three hundred years; for at their time, namely, the year was composed of the four months which comprise the seasons of each year, that is, spring, summer, and winter; and it is for this reason that among some of the Greeks the years are called
kai tas kat' etos anagrapfas orographias prosagoroves theai.

6 Oi de oyn Avguptious munologion kata tina "Isidos klyian gegeonai tinis polusomatois tois upo mev twn 'Ellinov onomazomenous gignantas, utf' eauton de... 1 diakosmoumenous teratodwos eti twn ierwn kai tuptomewous upo 7 twn per twn "Osirom. Enoi mev oun autous engeveis fasiv uparxei, prosphato tis twn xwron genveseis ek tis gis yparchous, enoi de legoosi swhmatos robh dieneugkontas kai pollas praxeis epiteleseamewnos apo tov sumbe-

8 bhekontos munologhthi polusomatois. sym-

phoitei de para tois pleistois osti tois per twn Dia kai twn "Osirom theois upolemon evsthisamewo

1 Vogel suggests that a noun has dropped out here.
2 prosdeixthisai Dindorf: prosdeixthisai.

1 "Records of the seasons." This designation for yearly records was used, for instance, by the inhabitants of the island of Naxos.

84
"seasons" (horoi) and that their yearly records are
given the name "horographs." ¹

Furthermore, the Egyptians relate in their myths
that in the time of Isis there were certain creatures
of many bodies, who are called by the Greeks
Giants,² but by themselves . . ., these being the
men who are represented on their temples in mon-
strous form and as being cudgelled by Osiris. Now
some say that they were born of the earth at the
time when the genesis of living things from the
earth was still recent,³ while some hold that they
were only men of unusual physical strength who
achieved many deeds and for this reason were
described in the myths as of many bodies. But it
is generally agreed that when they stirred up war
against Zeus and Osiris they were all destroyed.

27. The Egyptians also made a law, they say,
contrary to the general custom of mankind, per-
mitting men to marry their sisters, this being due
to the success attained by Isis in this respect; for
she had married her brother Osiris, and upon his
death, having taken a vow never to marry another
man, she both avenged the murder of her husband
and reigned all her days over the land with com-
plete respect for the laws, and, in a word, became
the cause of more and greater blessings to all men
than any other. It is for these reasons, in fact, that
it was ordained that the queen should have greater

² But the Giants of Greek mythology were represented
with "huge," not "many," bodies.

³ Cp. Genesis 6. 4: "There were giants in the earth in
those days; and also after that, when the sons of God came
in unto the daughters of men, and they bare children to
them, the same became mighty men, which were of old, men
of renown."
DIODEUS OF SICILY

βασίλισσαν τοῦ βασιλέως, καὶ παρὰ τοὺς ἰδιώτας κυριεύειν τὴν γυναῖκα τάνδρος, ἐν τῇ τῆς προικὸς συγγραφῆ προσωμολογοῦτων τῶν γαμοῦτων ἄπαντα πειθαρχῆσειν τῇ γαμουμένῃ. ¹

3 Ὅνει ἀγνοῶ δὲ διότι τινὲς τῶν συγγραφέων ἀποφαίνονται τοὺς τάφους τῶν θεῶν τούτων ὑπάρχειν ἐν Νῦσῃ τῆς Ἀραβίας, ἀφ’ ὡς καὶ Νυσαίον τὸν Διώνυσον ὄνομάσθαι. εἶναι δὲ καὶ στῆλην ἐκατέρου τῶν θεῶν ἐπιγεγραμμένη τούς ἱεροῖς γράμμασιν. ἐπὶ μὲν οὖν τῆς Ἰσιδος ἐπιγεγράφθαι "Ἐγὼ Ἰσίς εἰμι ἡ βασίλισσα πάσης χώρας, ἡ παιδευθεῖσα ὑπὸ Ἑρμού, καὶ ὀσὰ ἐγὼ ἐνομοθέτησα, οὐδεὶς αὐτὰ δύναται λῦσαι. ἐγὼ

¹ Ηερο ΑΒΔΕΝ add: ταφῆναι δὲ λέγουσι τὴν Ἰσίων ἐν Μέμφει, καθ’ ἡν μέχρι τοῦ νῦν δείκνυον τὰς σηκῶν, ἐν τῷ τεμένει τοῦ Ἡραλτού. ἓναι δὲ φασὶ τὰ σάματα τῶν θεῶν τούτων [κεῖσαι κατὰ τὴν ἐν Φίλαις τοῦ Νείλου νῆσον, ἀπότερον προερήμηται μοι added by A KN which stop at this point, ΒΙ continuing] εἷς τῶν ὄρων κείσαι τῆς Ἀἰδιοτείας καὶ τῆς Ἀἰγύπτου κατὰ τὴν ἐν τῷ Νείλῳ νῆσον, τὴν κειμένην μὲν ἐπὶ ταῖς Φίλαις, ἔχουσαν δὲ τὸ προσαγορευόμενον ἀπὸ τοῦ συμβεβηκότος ἵναν πεδίων σημεῖον δὲ τοῦτο δεικνύον ἐν τῇ νῆσῳ ταῦτα διαμένοντα τὸν τε τάφον κατεσκευασμένον Ὀσιρίδι, κοιλὴ τιμώμενον ὑπὸ τῶν κατ’ Ἀἰγύπτου ἱερῶν καὶ φασὶ πελέτο ποιῆσιν κειμένας χοῦς ἐξεύρεται καὶ τρικοσταῖ ταῦτα γὰρ καθ’ ἐκάστην ἡμέραν γάλακτος πληροῦ τοὺς πρὸς τοῦτοι ταχθέντας ἱερεῖς καὶ θρησκεῖς ἀνακαλούμενοι τὰ τῶν θεῶν ὄνοματα. διὰ ταῦτα δὲ τὴν αἰτίαν καὶ τὴν νῆσον ἄπαθον εἶναι πλὴν τοῖς ἰερεῦσι, καὶ πάντας τοὺς τὴν Θηβαϊδα κατακούσας, ἥπερ ἐστιν ἀρχαιότατη τῆς Ἀἰγύπτου, μέγιστον ὄρκον κρίνειν, ὅταν τις Ὀσιρίς τὸν ἐν Φίλαις κείμενον ὄνομαν.
power and honour than the king; and that among private persons the wife should enjoy authority over her husband, the husbands agreeing in the marriage contract that they will be obedient in all things to their wives.

Now I am not unaware that some historians give the following account of Isis and Osiris: The tombs of these gods lie in Nysa in Arabia, and for this reason Dionysus is also called Nysaeus. And in that place there stands also a stele of each of the gods bearing an inscription in hieroglyphs. On the stele of Isis it runs: "I am Isis, the queen of every land, she who was instructed of Hermes, and whatsoever laws I have established, these can no man make

1 Cp. Sophocles, Oedipus at Colonus, 337 ff.:  
Their thoughts and actions all  
Are framed and modelled on Egyptian ways.  
For there the men sit at the loom indoors  
While the wives slave abroad for daily bread.  
(Tr. by Storr, in L.C.L.)

2 Here some MSS. add the following sentences (cp. critical note), which are taken almost bodily from chap. 22. 2–6: "And they say that Isis is buried in Memphis, where her tomb is pointed out to this day in the temple-area of Hephaestus. According to some writers, however, the bodies of these gods [rest in Philae on the island in the Nile, as I have already stated] rest on the border between Ethiopia and Egypt, on the island in the Nile which lies near Philae, but is referred to because of this burial as the Holy Field. In proof of this they point to the tomb which was constructed for Osiris on this island and is honoured in common by all the priests of Egypt; and they mention three hundred and sixty libation bowls which are placed around it; for the priests appointed over these bowls fill them each day with milk, singing all the while a dirge in which they call upon the names of these gods. It is for this reason that only the priests are allowed to set foot on this island. And all the inhabitants of the Thebaid, which is the oldest portion of Egypt, hold it to be the strongest oath when a man swears 'by Osiris who lieth in Philae.'"
Diodorus of Sicily

eimi ἡ τοῦ νεωτάτου Κρόνου θεοῦ θυγάτηρ πρεσβυτάτην ἔγον εἰμι γυνὴ καὶ ἀδελφὴ ὁ Ὑσίριδος βασιλέως· ἔγον εἰμι ἡ πρώτη καρπῶν ἀνθρώπων εὐρόσα· ἔγον εἰμι μήτηρ "Ὡρου τοῦ βασιλέως· ἔγον εἰμι ἡ ἐν τῷ ἄστρῳ τῷ ἐν τῷ κυνῷ ἐπιτέλλουσα· ἑμοὶ Βοῦβαστος ἡ πόλις φιλοδομῆθη. 5 χαῖρε χαῖρε Λίγυπτη ἡ θρέψασά με." ἐπί δὲ τῆς Ὑσίριδος ἐπιγεγράφθαι λέγεται "Πατήρ μὲν ἐστὶ μοι Κρόνος νεωτάτος θεῶν ἀπάντων, εἰμὶ δὲ Ὅσιρίς ὁ βασιλεὺς, ὁ στρατεύσας ἐπὶ πᾶσιν χῶραν ἔως ἐς τοὺς ἀοικήτους τόπους τῶν Ἰνδῶν καὶ τοὺς πρὸς ἄρκτον κεκλιμένους, μέχρι Ἰστροῦ ποταμοῦ πηγῶν, καὶ πάλιν ἐπὶ τὰλλα μέρη ἔως ὀκεανοῦ̆. εἰμὶ δὲ νῦν Κρόνος πρεσβυτάτος, καὶ βλαστῶς ἐκ καλοῦ τε καὶ εὐγενοῦς φῶν 1 σπέρμα συγγενέσ εὐγενήθην ἡμέρας. καὶ οὐκ ἐστὶ τούτος τῆς οἰκουμένης ἐκ ὧν ἐγὼ οὐκ ἁφύγωμαι, διὰδος 6 πᾶσιν ὧν ἐγὼ εὐρετής 2 εὐγενήμην." τοσάυτα τῶν γεγραμμένων ἐν ταῖς στήλαις φασὶ δύνασθαι ἀναγρῶμαι, τὰ δὲ ἄλλα ὄντα πλεῖω κατεφθάρθαι διὰ τῶν χρόνων. τὰ μὲν οὖν περὶ τῆς ταφῆς τῶν θεῶν τούτων διαφωνεῖται παρὰ τοῖς πλείστοις διὰ τὸ τοὺς ἱερεῖς ἐν ἀπορρήτως παρειληφότας τὴν


1 According to Pseudo-Eratosthenes (Catasterismus, 33) the star on the head of Canis Maior was called Isis as well as Sirius.
2 The Danube.
3 This may be drawn from the Orphic legends which conceived of the undeveloped universe as a mystic egg, from which came Phanes, the first principle of life. Cf. the parody of the Orphic cosmogony in Aristophanes, The Birds, 693 ff.
void. I am the eldest daughter of the youngest god Cronus; I am the wife and sister of the king Osiris; I am she who first discovered fruits for mankind; I am the mother of Horus the king; I am she who riseth in the star that is in the Constellation of the Dog;¹ by me was the city of Bubastus built. Farewell, farewell, O Egypt that nurtured me.” And on the stele of Osiris the inscription is said to run: “My father is Cronus, the youngest of all the gods, and I am Osiris the king, who campaigned over every country as far as the uninhabited regions of India and the lands to the north, even to the sources of the river Ister,² and again to the remaining parts of the world as far as Oceana. I am the eldest son of Cronus, and being sprung from a fair and noble egg³ I was begotten a seed of kindred birth to Day. There is no region of the inhabited world to which I have not come, dispensing to all men the things of which I was the discoverer.” So much of the inscriptions on the stelae can be read, they say, but the rest of the writing, which was, of greater extent, has been destroyed by time. However this may be, varying accounts of the burial of these gods are found in most writers by reason of the fact that the priests, having received the exact facts about

There was Chaos at first, and Darkness, and Night, and Tartarus vasty and dismal;
But the Earth was not there, nor the Sky, nor the Air, till at length in the bosom abyssal
Of Darkness an egg, from the whirlwind conceived,
was laid by the sable-plumed Night.
And out of that egg, as the seasons revolved,
sprung Love, the entrancing, the bright,
Love brilliant and bold with his pinions of gold,
like a whirlwind, refulgent and sparkling!

(Tr. by Rogers, in L.C.L.)
28. Οἱ δὲ οὖν Αἰγύπτιοι φασὶ καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἀποκιάς πλείστας ἐξ Αἴγυπτου κατὰ πᾶσαν διασπάρῃ τὴν οἰκουμένην. εἰς Βαβυλώνα μὲν γὰρ ἀγαγεῖν ἀποίκους Βῆλον τοῖς νομικῶσιοι Ποσειδώνος εἶναι καὶ Διβυῆς· οὖν παρὰ τὸν Ἐθυρατθηνό διασειράθη οὐκ οἷα τordial καθιστήθηκαν τούς τε ἱερείς καταστήσασθαι παραπλησίως τοὺς κατ᾽ Αἴγυπτον ἀτελεῖς καὶ πᾶσης λειτουργίας ἀπολελυμένους, οὖς Βαβυλώνιοι καλοῦσι Χαλδαῖοι, ταῖς τε παρατηρήσεις τῶν ἀστρον τούτους ποιεῖσθαι, μιμουμένους τοὺς παρ᾽ Αἰγύπτιοι ἱερεῖς καὶ φυσικοὺς, 2 ἐτὶ δὲ ἀστρολόγους. λέγουσι δὲ καὶ τοὺς περὶ τῶν Δαναῶν ὀρμηθέντας ὑμίως ἐκείθεν συνοικίσαι τὴν ἄρχαιατάτην σχέδια τῶν παρ᾽ Ἐλλησι πόλεων Ἁργος, τὸ τε τῶν Κόλχων ἐθνος ἐν τῷ Πόντῳ καὶ τὸ τῶν Ιουδαίων ἀνὰ μέσον Ἀραβίας καὶ Συρίας οἰκίσαι τινὰς ὀρμηθέντας παρ᾽ ἑαυτῶν· 3 διὸ καὶ παρὰ τοὺς γένεσι τούτοις ἐκ παλαιοῦ παραδεδομένα τὸ περιτέμνειν τοὺς γεννωμένους παιδῶς, ἐξ Αἴγυπτου μετενεγκυμένου τοῦ νομίμου. 4 καὶ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους δὲ φασὶν ἀποίκους εἶναι Σακτῶν τῶν ἐξ Αἴγυπτου, καὶ πειρατεύει τῆς οἰκειότητος ταύτης φέρειν ἀποδείξεις· παρὰ μόνον γὰρ τῶν Ἐλληνων τὴν πόλιν ἄστυ καλεῖσθαι, μετενεγκυμένης τῆς προσηγορίας ἀπὸ τοῦ παρ᾽ αὐτοῖς Ἀστεοῦ. ἔτι δὲ τὴν πολιτείαν τὴν αὐτὴν ἐσχισθείν τάξιν καὶ διαίρεσιν τῇ παρ᾽ ἕτερον: τέ.
these matters as a secret not to be divulged, are unwilling to give out the truth to the public, on the ground that perils overhang any men who disclose to the common crowd the secret knowledge about these gods.

28. Now the Egyptians say that also after these events a great number of colonies were spread from Egypt over all the inhabited world. To Babylon, for instance, colonists were led by Belus, who was held to be the son of Poseidon and Libya; and after establishing himself on the Euphrates river he appointed priests, called Chaldaeans by the Babylonians, who were exempt from taxation and free from every kind of service to the state, as are the priests of Egypt;¹ and they also make observations of the stars, following the example of the Egyptian priests, physicists, and astrologers. They say also that those who set forth with Danaus, likewise from Egypt, settled what is practically the oldest city of Greece, Argos, and that the nation of the Colchi in Pontus and that of the Jews, which lies between Arabia and Syria, were founded as colonies by certain emigrants from their country; and this is the reason why it is a long-established institution among these two peoples to circumcise their male children, the custom having been brought over from Egypt. Even the Athenians, they say, are colonists from Sais in Egypt, and they undertake to offer proofs of such a relationship; for the Athenians are the only Greeks who call their city "Asty," a name brought over from the city Asty in Egypt. Furthermore, their body politic had the same classification and division

¹ On the exemption of the priests of Egypt from taxation, op. chap. 73; on the Chaldaeans, op. Book 2. 29 f.
5 Διογντίους, εἰς τρία μέρη διανεμηθείσης καὶ πρώτην μὲν ύπάρξαι μερίδα τοὺς εὐπατρίδας καλουμένους, οὕτως ὑπήρχον ἐν παιδείᾳ μάλιστα διατετριφότες καὶ τῆς μεγίστης ἤξιωμένοι τιμῆς παραπληκόως τοῖς κατ᾿ Διογντίου οἰρεύσι. δευτέραν δὲ τάξιν γενέσθαι τὴν τῶν γεωμόρων τῶν ὀφειλόντων ὄραμα κεκτηθαι καὶ πολεμεῖν ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως ὁμοίως τοῖς κατ᾿ Διογντίου ὄνομαξιμένοις γεωργοῖς καὶ τοὺς μαχιμοὺς παρεχομένους. τελευταίαν δὲ μερίδα καταριθμηθῆναι τῆς τῶν δημοσιών τῶν τὰς Βασιλείας τέχνας μεταχειριζομένων καὶ λειτουργίας τελοῦντων τὰς ἀναγκαιοτάτας, τὸ παραπληκόων ποιοὺς τῆς τάξεως τάυτης παρ᾿ Διογντίου.

6 Γεγονόταν δὲ καὶ τῶν ἴχνων τοῖς Διογντίους παρὰ τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις τοῖς γὰρ Πέτων τῶν Πατέρων Μενισθέως τοῦ στρατεύσαντος εἰς Τρολάν φανερῶς Διογντίου υπάρχαντα τυχεὶν υστερον Ἀθηναίοι πολιτείας τε καὶ βασιλείας...

7 διέφυγος δὲ αὐτοῦ γεγονότος, τοὺς μὲν Ἀθηναίους μὴ δύνασθαι κατὰ τὴν ἱδίαν ὑπόστασιν ἀποδοῦναι περὶ τῆς φύσεως τάυτης τὰς ἀλήθεις αἰτίας, εὖ μέσῳ κειμένου πάσιν ὁτι δυνὸν πολιτείων μετασχόν, Ἑλληνικῆς καὶ βαρβάρου, διφυῆς ἐνομίσθη, τὸ μὲν ἔχων μέρος θηρίου, τὸ δὲ ἄνθρωπον.

29. Ὁμοίως δὲ τούτῳ καὶ τῶν Ἐρεχθεών λέγουσι τὸ γένος Διογντίου ὑντα βασιλεύσαι τῶν Ἀθηνῶν,

1 οὕτως Vogel: οὕτως ἑφαπτοί.

---

1 i.e. "of noble sires."
2 i.e. "holders of a share of land."

92
of the people as is found in Egypt, where the citizens have been divided into three orders: the first Athenian class consisted of the "eupatrids," as they were called, being those who were such as had received the best education and were held worthy of the highest honour, as is the case with the priests of Egypt; the second was that of the "geomoroi," who were expected to possess arms and to serve in defence of the state, like those in Egypt who are known as husbandmen and supply the warriors; and the last class was reckoned to be that of the "demiurgoi," who practise the mechanical arts and render only the most menial services to the state, this class among the Egyptians having a similar function.

Moreover, certain of the rulers of Athens were originally Egyptians, they say. Petes, for instance, the father of that Menestheus who took part in the expedition against Troy, having clearly been an Egyptian, later obtained citizenship at Athens and the kingship. . . . He was of double form, and yet the Athenians are unable from their own point of view to give the true explanation of this nature of his, although it is patent to all that it was because of his double citizenship, Greek and barbarian, that he was held to be of double form, that is, part animal and part man.

29. In the same way, they continue, Erechtheus also, who was by birth an Egyptian, became king of

3 i.e. "workers for the people."
4 Called Petes in Iliad 2. 552.
5 There is a break at this point in the text, since what follows can refer only to Cecrops, the traditional first king of Athens, whose body in the lower part was that of a serpent.
τοιαύτας τινάς φέροντες ἀποδείχεις· γενομένων γὰρ ὁμολογουμένως αὐχμῶν μεγάλων κατὰ πᾶσαν σχεδόν τὴν οἰκουμένην πλην Ἀιγύπτου διὰ τὴν ἰδιότητα τῆς χώρας, καὶ φθοράς ἐπιγευμένης τῶν τε καρπῶν καὶ πλήθους ἀνθρώπων, ἐξ Ἀιγύπτου τοῦ 'Ἐρεχθέα κομίσαι διὰ τὴν συγγένειαν σίτου πλήθος εἰς τὰς 'Αθήνας· ἄνθ' ὅπδ τοὺς εὖ παθόντας βασιλέα καταστήσαι τῶν 2 ευεργέτην. τούτον δὲ παραλαβόντα τὴν ἴγμενιὰν καταδείξαι τὰς τελετὰς τῆς Δήμητρος εἰς Ἐλευσῖν καὶ τὰ μυστήρια ποιῆσαι, μετενεγκόντα τὸ περὶ τούτων νόμιμον ἐξ Ἀιγύπτου. καὶ τῆς 1 θεοῦ δὲ παρουσίαν εἰς τὴν Ἀττικὴν γεγονοῦσαν κατὰ τούτους χρόνους παραδεδόθαι κατὰ λόγον, ὡς ἂν τῶν ἐποιύμων ταύτης καρπῶν τότε κομισθέντων εἰς τὰς 'Αθήνας, καὶ διὰ τούτο δοξαὶ πάλιν ἐξ' ἀρχῆς τὴν εὐρέσιν γεγονεῖν τοῦ σπέρ- 3 ματος, δωρησάμενης τῆς Δήμητρος. ὁμολογεῖν δὲ καὶ τοὺς 'Αθηναίους ὅτι βασιλεύοντος 'Ερεχθέως καὶ τῶν καρπῶν διὰ τὴν ἀνομβρίαν προ- πηφανομένων ἡ τῆς Δήμητρος ἐγένετο παρουσία πρὸς αὐτοὺς καὶ ἦ δωρεὰ τοῦ σίτου. πρὸς δὲ τούτους αἰ τελετὰ καὶ τὰ μυστήρια ταύτης τῆς 4 θεοῦ τότε κατεδείχθησαν ἐν Ἐλευσῖν. τὰ τε περὶ τὰς θυσίας καὶ τὰς ἀρχαιότητας ὀσαύτως ἔχειν 'Αθηναίους καὶ τοὺς Ἀιγυπτίους· τοὺς μὲν γὰρ Ἐυμολπίδας ἀπὸ τῶν κατ' Ἀἰγυπτοῦ ἱερέων μετειπνέχθαι, τοὺς δὲ Κήρυκας ἀπὸ τῶν παστο- φόρων. τὴν τε Ἰσιω μόνους τῶν Ἐλλήνων

1 καὶ τῆς B N, Bokker, Vogel: καὶ τῆς Hertlein, Dindorf.

2 The Eumolpidae ("Descendants of Eumolpus") and the
Athens, and in proof of this they offer the following considerations. Once when there was a great drought, as is generally agreed, which extended over practically all the inhabited earth except Egypt because of the peculiar character of that country, and there followed a destruction both of crops and of men in great numbers, Erechtheus, through his racial connection with Egypt, brought from there to Athens a great supply of grain, and in return those who had enjoyed this aid made their benefactor king. After he had secured the throne he instituted the initiatory rites of Demeter in Eleusis and established the mysteries, transferring their ritual from Egypt. And the tradition that an advent of the goddess into Attica also took place at that time is reasonable, since it was then that the fruits which are named after her were brought to Athens, and this is why it was thought that the discovery of the seed had been made again, as though Demeter had bestowed the gift. And the Athenians on their part agree that it was in the reign of Erechtheus, when a lack of rain had wiped out the crops, that Demeter came to them with the gift of grain. Furthermore, the initiatory rites and mysteries of this goddess were instituted in Eleusis at that time. And their sacrifices as well as their ancient ceremonies are observed by the Athenians in the same way as by the Egyptians; for the Eumolpidae were derived from the priests of Egypt and the Ceryces from the pastophoroi. They are also the only Greeks

Ceryces ("Heralds") were two noble Athenian families, in charge of the more important religious ceremonies of Attica; the pastophoroi were those Egyptian priests who carried in processions small shrines of the gods.
Diodorus of Sicily

ὅμως, καὶ ταῖς ἰδέαις, καὶ τοῖς ἡθείων ὑμοιοτάτοις. πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ἄλλα τούτων παραπλήσια λέγοντες φιλοτιμότερον ἦπερ ἀληθινότερον, ὥσ γ᾿ ἐμοὶ φαίνεται, τῆς ἀποικίας ταύτης ἁμφισβητοῦσι διὰ τὴν δόξαν τῆς πόλεως.

Καθόλου δὲ πλείστας ἀποικίας Αἰγύπτιοι φασιν ἐκφέμισαι τοὺς ἑαυτῶν προγόνους ἐπί πολλὰ μέρη τῆς οἰκουμένης διὰ τῇ υπεροχῇ τῶν βασιλεύσιμων παρ᾿ αὐτοῖς καὶ διὰ τῆν ὑπερβολὴν τῆς πολυανθρωπίας ὑπὲρ ὧν μὴτε ἀποδείξεως φερομένης μηδεμίας ἀκρίβειας μὴτε συγγραφέως ἀξιοπιστοῦ μαρτυροῦντος, οὐκ ἐκρίναμεν ὑπάρχειν τὰ λεγόμενα γραφῆς ἁξία.

Καὶ περὶ μὲν τῶν θεολογουμένων παρ᾿ Αἰγυπτίους τοσαῦτα ἤμων εἰρήσθω, στοχαζομένους τῆς συμμετρίας· περὶ δὲ τῆς χώρας καὶ τοῦ Νείλου καὶ τῶν ἀλλῶν τῶν ἁκοήν ἀξίων ἐν κεφαλαίοις ἑκαστα διεξεῖται πειρασόμεθα.

30. Ἡ γὰρ Αἰγυπτίως κεῖται μὲν μάλιστά πως κατὰ μεσσυμβρίαν, ὀχυρότητι δὲ φυσικῇ καὶ κάλλει χώρας οὐκ ὅλως δοκεῖ προεχεῖν τῶν εἰς βασιλείαν ἀφορισμένων τόπων. ἀπὸ μὲν γὰρ τῆς δύσεως ὀχύρωσεν αὐτὴν ἡ ἔρημος καὶ θηριώδης τῆς Διβυτῆς, ἐπὶ πολὺ μὲν παρεκτείνουσα, διὰ δὲ τὴν ἀνυδρίαν καὶ τὴν σπάνιν τῆς ἀπάσιμης τροφῆς ἔχουσα τὴν διέξοδον οὐ μόνον ἐπίτοπων, ἀλλὰ καὶ παντελῶς ἐπικίνδυνων· ἐκ δὲ τῶν πρὸς νότων μερῶν οἳ τε καταράκται τοῦ Νείλου καὶ τῶν ὀρῶν τὰ συνορίζοντα τούτοις· ἀπὸ γὰρ τῆς

1 T. Birt (Das antike Buchwesen, pp. 151 ff.) feels that by this phrase, which is often used by Diodorus, he referred to his
who swear by Isis, and they closely resemble the Egyptians in both their appearance and manners. By many other statements like these, spoken more out of a love for glory than with regard for the truth, as I see the matter, they claim Athens as a colony of theirs because of the fame of that city.

In general, the Egyptians say that their ancestors sent forth numerous colonies to many parts of the inhabited world, by reason of the pre-eminence of their former kings and their excessive population; but since they offer no precise proof whatsoever for these statements, and since no historian worthy of credence testifies in their support, we have not thought that their accounts merited recording.

So far as the ideas of the Egyptians about the gods are concerned, let what we have said suffice, since we are aiming at due proportion in our account, but with regard to the land, the Nile, and everything else worth hearing about we shall endeavour, in each case, to give the several facts in summary.

30. The land of Egypt stretches in a general way from north to south, and in natural strength and beauty of landscape is reputed to excel in no small degree all other regions that have been formed into kingdoms. For on the west it is fortified by the desert of Libya, which is full of wild beasts and extends along its border for a long distance, and by reason of its lack of rain and want of every kind of food makes the passage through it not only toilsome but even highly dangerous; while on the south the same protection is afforded by the cataracts of the Nile and the mountains flanking them, since from
ΔΙΟΔΟΡΟΣ Ο ΣΙΚΥΛΙΚΟΣ

Τρωγοδυτικής Και τῶν ἐσχάτων τῆς Αιλισσίας μερῶν ἐντὸς σταδίων πεντακισχιλίων καὶ πεντα-
κοσίων οὔτε πλεύσαι διὰ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ράδιον οὔτε πεζῇ πορευθῆναι μὴ τυχόντα βασιλικῆς ἢ
παντελῶς μεγάλης τινὸς χορηγίας. Τῶν δὲ πρὸς τὴν ἀνατολὴν νεόντων μερῶν τὰ μὲν ὁ ποταμὸς
ωχῦρωκε, τὰ δὲ ἔρημος περιέχει καὶ πεδία τελμα-
τῶδῃ τὰ προσαγορευόμενα Βάραβρα. Ἐστὶ γὰρ
ἀνὰ μέσον τῆς Κοίλης Συρίας καὶ τῆς Ἀλγύττου
λίμνη τῷ μὲν πλάτει στενῆ παντελῶς, τῷ δὲ
βάθει θαυμάσιος, τὸ δὲ μῆκος ἐπὶ διακοσίων
παρῆκουσα σταδίους, ἡ προσαγορεύεται μὲν
Σερβωνίς, τοὺς δὲ ἄπειροι τῶν προσπελαζόντων
ἀνελπίστους ἐπιφέρει κινδύνους. Στενοὶ γὰρ
τοῖς περίπατοις ὑπὸς καὶ ταῖνία παρατηλησοῦν,
θυσίων τε μεγάλων πάντη περικεχυμένων, ἐπει-
δὰν νότων συνεχείς πνεύσωσιν, ἐπισεῖται πλῆ-
θος ἄμμου. Αὐτὴ δὲ τῷ μὲν ύδωρ κατὰ τὴν
ἐπιφάνειαν ἄσημον ποιεῖ, τὸν δὲ τῆς λίμνης
tύπου συμφυή τῇ χέρσῳ καὶ κατὰ πᾶν ἀδιάγρω-
τον. Διὸ καὶ πολλοὶ τῶν ἀγνοούντων τὴν ἔδώ-
τητα τοῦ τόπου μετὰ στρατευμάτων ὅλων
ήφαισθησαν τὴς ὑποκειμένης ὁδοῦ διαμαρτύρτες.

ἐκ τοῦ κατ' ἄλγον πατουμένη τὴν ἐνδοσιν λαμβάνει, καὶ τοὺς ἐπιβάλλουται

1 For this form, without the λ, see Vogel I. lxxii and Kallenberg, Textkritik und Sprachgebrauch Diodors, I. 1.

2 The "Cave-dwellers" are located by Diodorus along the Red Sea as far north as the Greek port of Berenice, and are described at length in Book 3. 32 f.

98
the country of the Trogodytes and the farthest parts of Ethiopia, over a distance of five thousand five hundred stades, it is not easy to sail by the river or to journey by land, unless a man is fitted out like a king or at least on a very great scale. And as for the parts of the country facing the east, some are fortified by the river and some are embraced by a desert and a swampy flat called the Barathra. For between Coele-Syria and Egypt there lies a lake, quite narrow, but marvellously deep and some two hundred stades in length, which is called Serbonis and offers unexpected perils to those who approach it in ignorance of its nature. For since the body of the water is narrow, like a ribbon, and surrounded on all sides by great dunes, when there are constant south winds great quantities of sand are strewn over it. This sand hides the surface of the water and makes the outline of the lake continuous with the solid land and entirely indistinguishable from it. For this reason many who were unacquainted with the peculiar nature of the place have disappeared together with whole armies, when they wandered from the beaten road. For as the sand is walked upon it gives way but gradually, deceiving with a kind of malevolent cunning those

The famous Barathon, or "Pit," at Athens was a cleft west of the Hill of the Nymphs into which condemned criminals were flung.

2 Cp. Milton, Paradise Lost, 2. 502 ff.:

A gulf profound as that Serbonian bog
Betwixt Damiata and Mount Casius old,
Where armies whole have sunk.

4 An instance of the loss of part of an army is given in Book 16. 46.
ΔIoDORoUs OF sICILY

ωσπερ προνοία τινὶ πονηραὶ παρακρούεται, μέχρι ἀν ὡς τοὺν λαβώντες ὑπό νοιαν τοῦ συμβησμένου βοηθήσωσιν έαυτοῖς, οὐκ οὕσης ἐτὶ φυγῆς οὐδὲ σωτηρίας. ὁ γὰρ ὑπὸ τοῦ τέλματος καταπινώμενος οὐτὲ νήχεσθαι δύναται, παραιρομενής τῆς ἑλώς τῆς τοῦ σώματος κίνησιν, οὐτὶ ἐκβίαναι κατισχύει, μηδὲν ἔχων στερέμυοι εἰς ἐπίβασιν μεμυγμένης γὰρ τῆς ἁμμοῦ τοῖς ὑγροῖς, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τῆς ἐκατέρων φύσεως ἥλιοωμένης, συμβαίνει τὸν τόπον μήτε πορεύτων εἶναι μήτε πλωτῶν. διόπερ οἱ τοῖς μέρεσι τούτοις ἐπιβίαλλωτες φερόμενοι πρὸς τὸν Βυθὸν συνεμίαν ἀντίληψιν βοηθείας ἔχουσι, συνκαταλισθανούσης τῆς ἁμμοῦ τῆς παρὰ τὰ χείλη, τὰ μὲν οὐ προειρημένα πεδία τοιαύτην ἔχοντα τὴν φύσιν οἰκείας ἔτυχε προσηγορίας, ὀνομασθέντα Βάραθρα.

31. 'Ἡμεῖς δὲ ἐστὶν τὰ περὶ τῶν ὑπὸ τῆς χείσου τριῶν μερῶν τῶν ὀχυρώσων τὴν Ἀἰγυπτίων ηθλιθεμέν, προσθήσομεν τοῖς εἰρημένοις τὸ λεπτόμενον. ἡ τετάρτη τοῖς πλευρὰ πάσα σχεδὸν ἀλεξίμενο διαλέτην προσκλυζομένη προβέβληται πό λεγόμενον πέλαγος, ὁ τῶν μὲν παράπλοιον ἔχει μακρότατον, τῆς δ᾽ ἀπόβασιν τὴν ἐπὶ τὴν χώραν δυσπροσόμοστην ὑπὸ γὰρ Παραιτονίου τῆς Λεβύνις ἕως Ἰστινῆς τῆς ἐν τῇ Κόλιῃ Συρία, οὗτος τοῦ παρόπλου σταδίων σχεδὸν πεντακισχίλιων, οὐκ ἔστιν εὑρέθη ἀσφαλῆ λιμένα πλῆν τοῦ Φάρου. χωρίς δὲ τούτων ταινία παρὰ δάλῳ σχεδὸν τὴν Ἀἰγυπτίων παρῆκεν τοῖς ἀυπείροις

1 That part of the Mediterranean lying off Egypt.

100
who advance upon it, until, suspecting some impending mishap, they begin to help one another only when it is no longer possible to turn back or escape. For anyone who has been sucked in by the mire cannot swim, since the slime prevents all movement of the body, nor is he able to wade out, since he has no solid footing; for by reason of the mixing of the sand with the water and the consequent change in the nature of both it comes about that the place cannot be crossed either on foot or by boat. Consequently those who enter upon these regions are borne towards the depths and have nothing to grasp to give them help, since the sand along the edge slips in with them. These flats have received a name appropriate to their nature as we have described it, being called Barathra.

31. Now that we have set forth the facts about the three regions which fortify Egypt by land we shall add to them the one yet remaining. The fourth side, which is washed over its whole extent by waters which are practically harbourless, has for a defence before it the Egyptian Sea.\(^1\) The voyage along the coast of this sea is exceedingly long, and any landing is especially difficult; for from Paraetonium\(^2\) in Libya as far as Iopê\(^3\) in Coele-Syria, a voyage along the coast of some five thousand stades, there is not to be found a safe harbour except Pharos.\(^4\) And, apart from these considerations, a sandbank extends along practically the whole length of Egypt, not discernible to any

---

\(^2\) The first important city on the coast west of Alexandria.

\(^3\) Joppa.

\(^4\) The island which lies before Alexandria and gave its name to the harbour.
4 τῶν προσπλέοντων ἀθεώρητος· διότερ οί τῶν ἐκ πελάγους κύνδυνων ἐκπεφευγέναι νομίζοντες, καὶ διὰ τὴν ἀγνοίαν ἄσμενοι πρὸς τὴν γῆν κατα-
πλέοντες, ἐξαιτίας ἐποκελλάντων τῶν σκαφῶν
5 ἀνεκπίστως ναυαγοῦσιν· ἔνιοι δὲ διὰ τὴν ταπει-
νοτητα τῆς χώρας οὐ δυνάμενοι προεδρῆλα τὴν
γῆν λαυθάνονσιν ἐαυτούς ἐκπίπτοντες οἱ μὲν εἰς ἐλάδεις καὶ λιμναῖς τόπους, οἱ δὲ εἰς χώραν
ἐρημοῦ.
6 Ἡ μὲν οὖν Αἰγύπτου πανταχόθεν φυσικῶς
ἀχύρωται τὸν εἰρημένον τρόπον, τῷ δὲ σχήματι
παραμήκης ὑπὸ δισχίλιων μὲν σταδίων ἔχει τὴν
παραδαλάττιον πλευράν, εἰς μεσόγειον δὲ ἀνήκει
σχεδὸν ἐπὶ σταδίους ἕξακισχίλιους. πολυαν-
θρωπίας δὲ τὸ μὲν παλαιὸν πολὺ προέχει πάντων
τῶν γυμνοφόρων τόπων κατὰ τὴν οἰκουμένην,
καὶ καθ’ ἡμᾶς δὲ οὐδενὸς τῶν ἄλλων δοκεῖ.
7 λείπεσθαι· ἐπὶ μὲν γὰρ τῶν ἀρχαῖων χρόνων
ἕσχε κόμας ἀξιολόγους καὶ πόλεις πλείους τῶν
μυρίων καὶ ὀκτακισχίλιων, ὡς ἐν ταῖς ἱεραῖς
ἀναγραφαῖς ὀρᾶν ἐστιν καταλυμομένον, ἐπὶ δὲ
Πτολεμαίου τοῦ Δάγου πλείους τῶν τρισεκιθίων
ἡμιθησαν, ὅτι τὸ πλῆθος διαμεμενήκεν ἔως
8 τῶν καθ’ ἡμῶν χρόνων. τοῦ δὲ σύμπαντος λαοῦ
τὸ μὲν παλαιὸν φασὶ γεγονέναι περὶ ἐπτακοσίας

1 Ptolemy Lagus, general of Alexander the Great, was the founder of the line of the Ptolemies. He obtained the governor-
ship of Egypt shortly after the death of Alexander in 323 B.C.,
assumed the title of king in 305, and reigned until 283.

102
who approach without previous experience of these waters. Consequently those who think that they have escaped the peril of the sea, and in their ignorance turn with gladness towards the shore, suffer unexpected shipwreck when their vessels suddenly run aground; and now and then mariners who cannot see land in time because the country lies so low are cast ashore before they realize it, some of them on marshy and swampy places and others on a desert region.

The land of Egypt, then, is fortified on all sides by nature in the manner described, and is oblong in shape, having a coast-line of two thousand stades and extending inland about six thousand stades. In density of population it far surpassed of old all known regions of the inhabited world, and even in our own day is thought to be second to none other; for in ancient times it had over eighteen thousand important villages and cities, as can be seen entered in their sacred records, while under Ptolemy son of Lagus\(^1\) these were reckoned at over thirty thousand,\(^2\) this great number continuing down to our own time. The total population, they say, was of old about seven million and the number

\(^2\) Herodotus (2. 177) gives the number of “inhabited cities” in the time of Amasis (sixth century B.C.) as twenty thousand. The “over thirty thousand” of Diodorus may be approximately correct, when the “villages” are included, although he may be using the figures given by Theocritus (17. 82 ff.), who was born about 305 B.C. and performed a feat of metrical juggling of the number 33,333: “The cities builded therein are three hundreds and three thousands and three tens of thousands, and threees twain and nines three, and in them the lord and master of all is proud Ptolemy” (tr. Edmonds, in \textit{L.O.L.}).
μυριάδας, καὶ καθ’ ἡμᾶς δὲ οὐκ ἔλαττον εἶναι τοῦτων.\(^1\) διὸ καὶ τῶν ἀρχαίων βασιλεῖς ἱστοροῦσι κατὰ τὴν Ἀἰγυπτίαν ἔργα μεγάλα καὶ βαυμαστὰ διὰ τῆς πολυχειρίας κατασκευάσαντας ἀθάνατα τῆς ἑαυτῶν δόξης ἀπολέπειν ὑπομνήματα. ἄλλα περὶ μὲν τούτων τὰ κατὰ μέρος μικρὸν ὕστερον ἀναγράφομεν, περὶ δὲ τῆς τοῦ ποταμοῦ φύσεως καὶ τῶν κατὰ τὴν χώραν ἰδιωμάτων νῦν διεξεῖμεν.

32. 'Ο γὰρ Νείλος φέρεται μὲν ἀπὸ μεσημβρίας ἐπὶ τὴν ἀρκτον, τᾶς πηγᾶς ἔχων ἐκ τῶν ἄφρατων, οὗ κατὰ τῆς ἐσχάτης Ἀθιστίας κατὰ τὴν ἔρημον, ἀπροσίτου τῆς χώρας οὐσίας διὰ τὴν 2 τοῦ καύματος ὑπερβολὴν. μέγιστος δ’ ὅν τῶν ἀπάντων ποταμῶν καὶ πλείστην γῆν διεξοῦν καμπάς ποιεῖται μεγάλας, ποτὲ μὲν ἐπὶ τὴν ἀνατολὴν καὶ τὴν Ἄραβίαν ἑπιστρέφων, ποτὲ δ’ ἐπὶ τὴν ἔρημον καὶ τὴν Ἀιβύθην ἐκκλίνουν· φέρεται γὰρ ἀπὸ τῶν Ἀθιστοπικῶν ὅρων μέχρι τῆς εἰς τὰς ἀλατταῖς ἐκβολής στάδια μᾶλιστα πως μύρια 3 καὶ δισεκόλλα σὺν αἷς ποιεῖται καμπαίς.\(^2\) κατὰ δὲ τῶν ὑποκάτω τῶν γέφυρων συντελεῖται τοῖς ὄγκοις ἀεὶ μᾶλλον, ἀποστομενόν τοῦ ῥέματος ἐπ’ 4 ἀμφοτέρας τὰς ἥπερους. τῶν δ’ ἀποσχιζομένων μερῶν τὸ μὲν εἰς τὴν Ἀιβύθην ἐκκλίνουν ύψος

---

\(^1\) All MSS. except M read τριακοσίων, which has been deleted by every editor since Dindorf. But U. Wilecken (Griechische Ostraka aus Ägypten und Nubien, 1., pp. 489 f.) follows Ed. Meyer in feeling that τριακοσίων is a corruption and makes a strong case for τοῦτων, which I have adopted.

\(^2\) περείληφη δὲ καὶ ηὔσους ἐν αὐτῷ κατὰ μὲν τὴν Ἀθιστίαν ἄλλα τε πλεῖους καὶ μιᾶν εὐμεγέθη, τὴν ἑκοναζωμένην Μερών, ἡ

104
has remained no less down to our day.\(^1\) It is for this reason that, according to our historical accounts, the ancient kings of Egypt built great and marvellous works with the aid of so many hands and left in them immortal monuments to their glory. But these matters we shall set forth in detail a little later; now we shall tell of the nature of the river and the distinctive features of the country.

32. The Nile flows from south to north, having its sources in regions which have never been seen, since they lie in the desert at the extremity of Ethiopia in a country that cannot be approached because of the excessive heat. Being as it is the largest of all rivers as well as the one which traverses the greatest territory, it forms great windings, now turning towards the east and Arabia, now bending back towards the west and Libya; for its course from the mountains of Ethiopia to where it empties into the sea is a distance, inclusive of its windings, of some twelve thousand stades. In its lower stretches it is more and more reduced in volume, as the flow is drawn off to the two continents.\(^2\) Of the streams which thus break off from it, those which turn off into Libya are swallowed up by the

\(^1\) U. Wilcken (cp. critical note) feels that this sum for the population of Egypt about the middle of the first century B.C. is approximately correct. Josephus (Jewish War, 2. 385), writing a little more than a century later, gives the population as 7,500,000, exclusive of Alexandria. In Book 17. 52. 6 Diodorus says that the “free inhabitants” of that city numbered over 300,000.

\(^2\) The earlier Greek writers made the Nile the dividing line between the continents of Asia and Africa.
DIODORUS OF SICILY

ἀμμοὺς καταπίνεται τὸ βάθος ἐχούσης ἀπιστον, τὸ δὲ εἰς τὴν Ἀραβίαν ἐναυτίως εἰσχεύμενον εἰς τέλματα παμμεγέθη καὶ λίμνας ἐκτρέπεται μεγά- 
λας καὶ περιοικουμένας γένεσι πολλοῖς. εἰς δὲ τὴν Αἴγυπτον ἐμβάλλει τῇ μὲν δέκα σταδίων, 
τῇ δὲ ἑλαττῶν τούτων, οὐκ ἐπὶ εὐθείᾳς περίμενοι, 
ἀλλὰ καμπὰς παντολάς ποιούμενοι· ποτὲ μὲν γὰρ ἐλίττεται πρὸς τὴν ἑω, ποτὲ δὲ πρὸς τὴν 
ἐσπέραν, ἔστι δὲ οτὲ πρὸς τὴν μεσημβρίαν, εἰς 
τούτισον λαμβάνον τὴν παλίρροιαν. ὥρῃ γὰρ 
ἐξ ἐκατέρου μέρους τοῦ ποταμοῦ παρίκει, πολλὴν 
μὲν τῆς παραπτωμάτως ἐπέχοντα, διειλημμένα 
δὲ φάραγγι κατακρήμνοις ὀστεοπόροις, σῖς 
ἐμπίπτον τὸ ρέμα παλισσυεί διὰ τῆς σεβαίδος, 
καὶ πρὸς τὴν μεσημβρίαν ἐφ’ ῥανὸν τῶν 
ἐνεχθέν πάλιν ἐπὶ τὴν κατὰ φύσιν φοράν 
ἀποκαθίσταται.

7 Τηλικαύτην δὲ ἔχειν ὑπεροχὴν ἐν πάσιν ὁ 
ποταμὸς οὗτος μόνος τῶν ἄλλων ἀνευ βίας καὶ 
κυματώδους ὀρμῆς τὴν ρύσιν ποιεῖται, πλὴν ἐν 
8 τοῖς καλουμένοις καταράκταις. τότος γὰρ τῆς 
ἔστι μῆκος μὲν ὡς δέκα σταδίων, κατάντης δὲ καὶ 
κρημνῶς συγκλείμενος εἰς στενῆν ἐντομὴν, ἀπασ 
δὲ τραχύς καὶ φαραγγώδης, ἐτὶ δὲ πέτρους ἔχου 
πυκνοὺς καὶ μεγάλους ὑσικότας σκοπέλους· τοῦ 
δὲ ρέματος περὶ τούτους σχιζομένου βιαίοτερον 
καὶ πολλάκις διὰ τὰς ἐγκοπὰς ἀνακλώμενον πρὸς 
ἐναυτίαν τὴν καταφοράν συνίστανται δύναι θαυ- 
9 μαστά· πᾶς δὲ ὁ μεσαίων τόπος ὑπὸ τῆς παλιρ- 

1 κατακρήμνοις Σάρπα: καὶ κρημνῶς.
sand, which lies there to an incredible depth, while those which pour in the opposite direction into Arabia are diverted into immense fens and large marshes on whose shores dwell many peoples. But where it enters Egypt it has a width of ten stades, sometimes less, and flows, not in a straight course, but in windings of every sort; for it twists now towards the east, now towards the west, and at times even towards the south, turning entirely back upon itself. For sharp hills extend along both sides of the river, which occupy much of the land bordering upon it and are cut through by precipitous ravines, in which are narrow defiles; and when it comes to these hills the stream rushes rapidly backward through the level country, and after being borne southward over an area of considerable extent resumes once more its natural course.

Distinguished as it is in these respects above all other streams, the Nile is also the only river which makes its way without violence or onrushing waves, except at the cataracts, as they are called. This is a place which is only about ten stades in length, but has a steep descent and is shut in by precipices so as to form a narrow cleft, rugged in its entire length and ravine-like, full, moreover, of huge boulders which stand out of the water like peaks. And since the river is split about these boulders with great force and is often turned back so that it rushes in the opposite direction because of the obstacles, remarkable whirlpools are formed; the middle space, moreover, for its entire length is filled with foam

1 Herodotus (2. 32) speaks of "large marshes" on the upper course of the Nile.

2 i.e. the valley which lies between the hills.
Diodorus of Sicily

ροίας ἀφροῦ τε πληροῦται καὶ τοῖς προσιόυσι μεγάλην παρέχεται κατάπληξιν καὶ γὰρ ἡ καταφορὰ τοῦ ποταμοῦ αὕτως ἐστὶν ὄξεια καὶ

10 βίας ὡστε δοκεῖν μηδὲν βέλους διαφέρειν. κατὰ δὲ τὴν πλήρωσιν τοῦ Νείλου, τῶν σκοπόλων κατακλυζόμενων καὶ παντὸς τοῦ τραχύνοντος τόπου τῶν πληθεῖ τοῦ βεῦματος καλυπτομένου, καταπλέουσι μὲν τινες κατὰ τοῦ καταράκτου λαμβάνοντες ἐναντίον τοὺς ἀνέμους, ἀναπλεύσαι δὲ σὺνεὶς δύναται, νικῶσις τῆς τοῦ ποταμοῦ

βίας πάσαν ἐπινοιαν ἀνθρωπίνην. καταράκται μὲν οὕτω εἰς τοιοῦτοι πλεῖον, μέγιστος δ' ὁ πρὸς τοὺς μεθορίους τῆς Αἰθιοπίας τε καὶ τῆς Αἰγύπτου.

33. Περιείλθησε δ' ὁ ποταμὸς καὶ νήσους ἐν αὐτῷ, κατὰ μὲν τὴν Αἰθιοπίαν ἄλλας τε πλεῖον καὶ μίαν εὔμεγέθη, τὴν ὁνομαζόμενην Μερόην, ἐν ἦ καὶ πόλις ἐστὶν αξιόλογος ὁμόνυμος τῇ νήσῳ, κτίσαντος αὐτὴν Καμβύςου καὶ θεμένου τὴν προσηγορίαν ἀπὸ τῆς μητρὸς αὐτοῦ Μερόης.

2 ταύτην δὲ τῷ μὲν σχήματι φασίν ὑπάρχειν θυρεῷ παραπλησίαν, τῷ δὲ μεγέθει πολὺ προέχειν τῶν ἄλλων νῆσων τῶν ἐν τούτωι τοῖς τόποις: τὸ μὲν γὰρ μήκος αὐτῆς ἐστὶν λέγουσι σταδίων τρισχίλιων, τὸ δὲ πλάτος χιλίων. ἔχειν δ' αὐτὴν καὶ πόλεις οὐκ ὁλίγας, ὃν ἐπεφανεστάτην

3 ὑπάρχειν τὴν Μερόην. παρίσχει δὲ τῆς νῆσου τοῦ περικλυζόμενου πάντων τόπου ἀπὸ μὲν τῆς Λιβύης θίνας ἔχοντας ἁμοῖνος μέγεθος ἄεριον, ὧδ' ἐν τῆς Ἀραβίας κριμνοῦς κατερρωγότας. ὑπάρχειν δ' ἐν αὐτῇ καὶ μέταλλα χρυσοῦ τε καὶ ἀργυρὸν καὶ σιδήρου καὶ χαλκοῦ πρὸς δὲ τούτοις ἔχειν πλήθος ἐβένου, λίθων τε πολυτελῶν
made by the backward rush of the water, and strikes those who approach it with great terror. And, in fact, the descent of the river is so swift and violent that it appears to the eye like the very rush of an arrow. During the flood-time of the Nile, when the peaked rocks are covered and the entire rapids are hidden by the large volume of the water, some men descend the cataract when they find the winds against them,¹ but no man can make his way up it, since the force of the river overcomes every human device. Now there are still other cataracts of this nature, but the largest is the one on the border between Ethiopia and Egypt.

33. The Nile also embraces islands within its waters, of which there are many in Ethiopia and one of considerable extent called Meroë, on which there also lies a famous city bearing the same name as the island, which was founded by Cambyses and named by him after his mother Meroë. This island, they say, has the shape of a long shield and in size far surpasses the other islands in these parts; for they state that it is three thousand stades long and a thousand wide. It also contains not a few cities, the most famous of which is Meroë. Extending the entire length of the island where it is washed by the river there are, on the side towards Libya, dunec containing an infinite amount of sand, and, on the side towards Arabia, rugged cliffs. There are also to be found in it mines of gold, silver, iron, and copper, and it contains in addition much ebony and

¹ i.e. and so are able to check their speed by using the sails.
Diodorus of Sicily

4 γένη παντοδαπά. καθόλου δὲ τοσαύτας νήσους ποιεῖν τῶν ποταμῶν ὡστε τοὺς ἀκούοντας μὴ ῥαδίως πιστεύσαι χωρὶς γὰρ τῶν περικλυζο-
μένων τόπων ἐν τῷ καλουμένῳ Δέλτα τάς ἄλλας εἶναι νήσους πλείους τῶν ἔπτακοσίων, ὃν τὰς μὲν υπὸ Διδύμων ἐπαντλομένας γεωργεῖσας κέ
γχρος, τὰς δὲ πληρεῖς ὑπάρχειν ὄφεις καὶ κυνοκεφάλας καὶ ἄλλων θηρίων παντοδαπῶν, καὶ διὰ τούτο ἀπροσίτους εἶναι τοῖς ἀνθρώποις.

5 Ὁ δὲ οὖν Νεῖλος κατὰ τὴν Αἴγυπτον εἰς πλείω μέρη σχεδόμενος ποιεῖ τὸ καλούμενον ἀπὸ τοῦ σχῆματος Δέλτα. τούτου δὲ τὰς μὲν πλευρὰς καταγράφει τὰ τελευταία τῶν ῥεμά-
των, τὴν δὲ βάσιν ἀναπληροῖ τὸ δεχόμενον

6 πέλαγος τὰς ἐκβολὰς τοῦ ποταμοῦ. ἐξῆγε δ' εἰς τὴν θάλατταν ἐπτὰ στόμασιν, ὅπως τὸ μὲν πρὸς ἐω κεκλιμένον καὶ πρόοτον καλεῖται Πηλο-

7 νισικὸν, τὸ δὲ δεύτερον Ταντικὸν, εἶτα Μενδή-

8 σιον καὶ Φατυτικὸν καὶ Σεβεννυντικὸν, εὗτο δὲ Βολβίτικων, καὶ τελευταῖον Κανωβικῶν, ἐν τινες

9 Ἡρακλεωτικῶν ὀνομάζουσιν. ἔστε δὲ καὶ ἐτερα 

στόματα χειροποίητα, περὶ ὧν οὐδὲν κατεπείγει 

γράφειν. ἐφ' ἕκαστῳ δὲ πόλει τετείχίσται διαι-

ρομένη τῷ ποταμῷ καὶ καθ' ἑκάτερον μέρος τῆς 

ἐκβολῆς ξεύγμασι καὶ φυλακαῖς εὐκαίροις διει-

κομμένη. ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ Πηλονισικοῦ στόματος 

διώδυς ἐστὶ χειροποίητος εἰς τὸν 'Αράβιον

κόλπον καὶ τὴν 'Ερυθρὰν θάλατταν. ταῦτῃ δ' 

ἐπεβάλετο πρῶτος κατασκευάζειν Νεκών ὁ 

Ψαμμητίκος, μετὰ δὲ τούτου Δαρεῖος ὁ Πέρσης, 

καὶ προκόψας τοὺς ἔργους ἔως τινὸς τὸ τελευταίου

110
every kind of precious stone. Speaking generally, the river forms so many islands that the report of them can scarcely be credited; for, apart from the regions surrounded by water in what is called the Delta, there are more than seven hundred other islands, of which some are irrigated by the Ethiopians and planted with millet, though others are so overrun by snakes and dog-faced baboons \(^1\) and other animals of every kind that human beings cannot set foot upon them.

Now where the Nile in its course through Egypt divides into several streams it forms the region which is called from its shape the Delta. The two sides of the Delta are described by the outermost branches, while its base is formed by the sea which receives the discharge from the several outlets of the river. It empties into the sea in seven mouths, of which the first, beginning at the east, is called the Pelusiac, the second the Tanitic, then the Mendesian, Phatnitic, and Sebennytic, then the Bolbitine, and finally the Canopic, which is called by some the Heracleotic. There are also other mouths, built by the hand of man, about which there is no special need to write. At each mouth is a walled city, which is divided into two parts by the river and provided on each side of the mouth with pontoon bridges and guard-houses at suitable points. From the Pelusiac mouth there is an artificial canal to the Arabian Gulf and the Red Sea. The first to undertake the construction of this was Necho the son of Psammetichus, and after him Darius the Persian made progress with the work for

\(^{1}\) These are described in Book 3. 35.
Diodorus of Sicily

10 εἶπαςεν αὐτὴν ἀσυντέλεστον· ἐδιδάχθη γὰρ ὑπὸ τινῶν ὅτι διορύξας τὸν ἵσθιμον αὐτὸς ἔσται τοῦ κατακλυσθῆναι τὴν Ἀλγυπποῦ· μετεωρότεραν γὰρ ἀπεδείκυσον ὑπάρχειν τῆς Ἀλγύππου τὴν Ἐρυ-

11θραν θάλατταν. ὕστερον δὲ ὁ δεύτερος Πτολε-

μαίος συνετέλεσεν αὐτὴν, καὶ κατὰ τὸν ἐπικαι-

ρότατον τόπον ἐμηχανήσατο τῷ φιλότεχνῳ διάφραγμα. τούτῳ δ’ ἐξήνοιγεν, ὅποτε βούλοιτο διαπλέσαι, καὶ ταχέως πάλιν συνέκλειεν, εὖ-

12στόχως ἔκλαμβανομένης τῆς χρείας. ὃ δὲ διὰ τῆς διώρυχος ταύτης ρέων ποταμὸς ὄνομάζεται μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ κατασκευάσαντος Πτολεμαίος, ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς ἐκβολῆς πάλιν ἔχει τὴν προσαγορευμένην Ἀρσινόην.

34. Τὸ δ’ οὖν Δέλτα τῆς Σικελίας τῷ σχῆματι παραπλησιοῦ ὕπάρχον τῶν μὲν πλευρῶν ἐκατέραν ἔχει σταδίων ἐπτακοσίων καὶ πεντήκοντα, τὴν δὲ βάσιν θαλάσσῃ προσκλυζομένην σταδίων χιλίων

2καὶ τριακοσίων. ἡ δὲ υψόσ αὐτὴ πολλαῖς διώρυξι χειροτοιχοῖς διείλησεν καὶ χώραν περιέχει καλλίστην τῆς Ἀλγύππου. ποταμόχω-

στος γὰρ οὐδα καὶ κατάρρυτος πόλλους καὶ παντοδαποὺς ἐκφέρει καρποὺς, τοῦ μὲν ποταμοῦ διὰ τὴν κατ’ ἐστος ἀναβασιν νεαρὰν ἴλυν ἄεὶ καταχέοντος, τῶν δ’ ἀνθρώπων ράδιως ἀπασαν ἀρδεύοντων διὰ τινὸς μηχανῆς, ἤν ἐπενόησε μὲν

1 Necho reigned from 609 to 593 B.C., Darius from 521 to 485 B.C.

2 This canal, not to be confused with the Suez Canal, left
a time but finally left it unfinished;¹ for he was informed by certain persons that if he dug through the neck of land he would be responsible for the submergence of Egypt, for they pointed out to him that the Red Sea was higher than Egypt.² At a later time the second Ptolemy completed it and in the most suitable spot constructed an ingenious kind of a lock. This he opened, whenever he wished to pass through, and quickly closed again, a contrivance which usage proved to be highly successful. The river which flows through this canal is named Ptolemy, after the builder of it, and has at its mouth the city called Arsinoë.

34. The Delta is much like Sicily in shape, and its sides are each seven hundred and fifty stades long and its base, where it is washed by the sea, thirteen hundred stades. This island is intersected by many artificial canals and includes the fairest land in Egypt. For since it is alluvial soil and well watered, it produces many crops of every kind, inasmuch as the river by its annual rise, regularly deposits on it fresh slime, and the inhabitants easily irrigate its whole area by means of a contrivance the Nile a little above Bubastis, followed the Wadi Tūmilāt to the Bitter Lakes, and then turned south, along the course of the present canal, to the Red Sea. Its construction has been placed as far back as the 19th and even the 12th Dynasty. At any rate, it was again put in operation by Darius, as is clear from the inscription on the best-preserved of the five stelae discovered: "I am a Persian. From Persia I captured Egypt. I commanded this canal to be built from the Nile, which flows in Egypt, to the Sea which comes from Persia. So was this canal built, as I had commanded, and ships passed from Egypt through this canal to Persia, as was my purpose." (translation in R. W. Rogers, History of Ancient Persia, p. 120). Remains show that it was about 150 feet wide and 16 to 17 feet deep.
DIODEORUS OF SICILY

Ἀρχιμήδης ὁ Συρακοσιος, οὐνομάζεται δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ σχῆματος κοχλίας.

3 Προειπα δὲ τοῦ Νείλου τὴν ῥύσιν ποιουμένου, καὶ γὴν πολλὴν καὶ παντοδαπὴν καταφέροντος, ἔτι δὲ κατὰ τοὺς κοίλους τόπους λιμνάζοντος,

4 ἔλη γίνεται πάμφορα. βίζαι γὰρ ἐν αὐτοῖς φύονται παντοδαπὴ τῇ γεύσει καὶ καρπῶν καὶ καυλῶν ἰδιάζουσαι φύσεις, πολλὰ συμβαλλόμεναι τοῖς ἀπόροις τῶν ἀνθρώπων καὶ τοῖς

5 ἀσθενέσι πρὸς αὐτάρκειαν. οὐ γὰρ μόνον τροφὰς παρέχονται ποικίλας καὶ πάσι τοῖς δεομένοις ἐτοίμας καὶ δαφείδες, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἀλλῶν τῶν εἰς τοῖς ἄναγκαιοι οὐκ ἀλήγα φέρουσι βοηθή-

6 ματα: λιωτὸς τε γὰρ φύεται πολὺς, ἐξοῦσι ἐκ αὐτάρκειας ἀρτοὺς οἱ κατ’ Ἀιγυπτίου δυναμένους ἐκπληροῦν τὴν φυσικὴν τοῦ σώματος ἐνδείαν, τὸ τε καβορίους δαφείδεστατον ὑπάρχον φέρει τὸν

7 καλούμενον Ἀιγυπτίου κύαμον. ἔστι δὲ καὶ δένδρων γένη πλείονα, καὶ τούτων αἱ μὲν ὁνομαζόμεναι περσαίας καὶ δαφείδες ἐχουσί διὰ γλυκύτητι, μετενεχθέντος ἐξ Ἀλβιούπιας ὑπὸ Περσῶν τοῦ φυτοῦ καθ’ ὁν καροὶ Καμβύσης

8 ἐκράτησαν ἐκείνων τῶν τόπων· τῶν δὲ συκαμίων αἱ μὲν τῶν τῶν μόρων καρπῶν φέρουσι, αἱ δὲ τῶν τοὺς σύκους ἐμφαρη, καὶ παρὰ ὀλον σχεδοὺ τῶν ἐναυτῶν αὐτοῦ φυσικῶν συμβαίνει τοὺς ἀπόρους

9 καταφυγῇ ἐτοίμην ἐχεῖν τῆς ἐνδείας. τὰ δὲ βατα καλούμενα ¹ συνάγονται μὲν κατὰ τὴν ἀποχώρησιν

---

¹ μυξάρια after καλούμενα deleted by Dindorf.

---

¹ According to the description of Vitruvius (10.6) this was a screw with spiral channels, "like those of a snail shell," which
which was invented by Archimedes of Syracuse and is called, after its shape, a screw.\textsuperscript{1}

Since the Nile has a gentle current, carries down a great quantity of all kinds of earth, and, furthermore, gathers in stagnant pools in low places, marshes are formed which abound in every kind of plant. For tubers of every flavour grow in them and fruits and vegetables which grow on stalks, of a nature peculiar to the country, supplying an abundance sufficient to render the poor and the sick among the inhabitants self-sustaining. For not only do they afford a varied diet, ready at hand and abundant for all who need it, but they also furnish not a few of the other things which contribute to the necessities of life; the lotus, for instance, grows in great profusion, and from it the Egyptians make a bread which is able to satisfy the physical needs of the body, and the ciborium, which is found in great abundance, bears what is called the “Egyptian” bean.\textsuperscript{2} There are also many kinds of trees, of which that called \textit{persea},\textsuperscript{3} which was introduced from Ethiopia by the Persians when Cambyses conquered those regions, has an unusually sweet fruit, while of the fig-mulberry\textsuperscript{4} trees one kind bears the black mulberry and another a fruit resembling the fig; and since the latter produces throughout almost the whole year, the result is that the poor have a ready source to turn to in their need. The fruit called the blackberry is picked at the time the river is turned within a wooden shaft. It was worked by man-power and did not raise the water so high as did the water-wheel.

\textsuperscript{1} The \textit{Nelumbium speciosum}; cp. Theophrastus, \textit{Enquiry into Plants}, 4. 8. 7 (tr. by Hort in \textit{L.C.L.}).

\textsuperscript{2} The \textit{Mimusops Schimperi}; cp. Theophrastus, \textit{ibid.} 4. 2. 5.

\textsuperscript{3} The \textit{Ficus Sycamorus}; cp. Theophrastus, \textit{ibid.} 6. 6. 4.
Diodorus of Sicily

τοῦ ποταμοῦ, διὰ δὲ τὴν γλυκύτητα τῆς φύσεως αὐτῶν ἐν τραγήματος μέρει καταναλίσκεται.

10 κατασκευάζουσι δὲ καὶ ἐκ τῶν κριθῶν Ἀιγυπτίων πόμα λειπόμενον οὐ πολὺ τῆς περὶ τῶν οἴνων
evodias, ὁ καλοῦσι ζύθος. χρώνται δὲ καὶ πρὸς
tὴν τῶν λύχνων καὶ ὅπως ἐπιχέοντες ἀντ᾽ ἐλαίου
tὸ ἀποθελόμενον ἐκ τινος φυτοῦ, προσαγορευό
μενον δὲ κίκι. πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ἄλλα τὰ δυνάμενα
tὰς ἀναγκαίας χρείας παρέχει οἳς ἀνθρώποις
dαριλῆς φύτευται κατὰ τὴν Ἀιγυπτίων, ὑπὲρ τῶν
μακρὸν ἂν εἶη γράφειν.

35. Ὀνίλος τρέφει πολλὰ μὲν καὶ
ἄλλα ταῖς ἱδέαις ἐξηλλαγμένα, δύο δὲ διάφορα,
tὸν τε κροκόδειλον καὶ τὸν καλούμενον ὑπτοῦ.

2 τοῦτων δ᾽ ὁ μὲν κροκόδειλος ἐξ ἐλαχίστου γίνεται
mégistos, ὡσ ἀν ἐὰν μὲν τοῦ ξίφου τούτου τίκτοντος
tοῖς χρυσοῖς παραπλησία, τοῦ δὲ γεννηθέντος

3 αὐξομένου μέχρι πιθῶν ἐκκαίδεκα. καὶ μακρό-
βιον μὲν ἐστὶν ὡς κἀτ᾽ ἀνθρώποι, γλώτταν δὲ
οὐκ ἔχει τὸ δὲ σῶμα θαυμαστῶς ὑπὸ τῆς
φύσεως ἀχύρωτα: τὸ μὲν ἄφρος αὐτοῦ πᾶν
φολιδωτὸν ἐστὶ καὶ τῇ σκληροτητὶ διάφορον,
οὐντες δ᾽ ἐξ ἀμφοτέρων τῶν μερῶν ὑπάρχουσι
πολλοί, δύο δὲ οἱ χαλιλόδοντες πολὺ τῷ μεγέθει

4 τῶν ἄλλων διαλλάττουσι. σαρκοφαγεῖ δ᾽ οὐ
μόνον ἀνθρώπος, ἄλλα καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν ἐπὶ
τῆς γῆς ξίφων τὰ προσπελάξουτα τῷ ποταμῷ.
καὶ τὰ μὲν δήματα ποιεῖ ἄδρα καὶ χαλεπά,
tοῖς δ᾽ ἀναζε δεινῶς σπαράττει, καὶ τῷ διαφεβέο
τῇς σαρκὸς παντελῶς ἀπεργᾶται δυσίατον.

5 ἐθηρεύετο δὲ-ταῦτα τὰ ζῷα τὸ μὲν παλαιὸν ὑπὸ
tῶν Ἀιγυπτίων ἀγκίστροις ἔχουσιν ἐπιδεδέλεασ-
receding and by reason of its natural sweetness is eaten as a dessert. The Egyptians also make a drink out of barley which they call *zythos*, the bouquet of which is not much inferior to that of wine. Into their lamps they pour for lighting purposes, not the oil of the olive, but a kind which is extracted from a plant and called *kiki*. Many other plants, capable of supplying men with the necessities of life, grow in Egypt in great abundance, but it would be a long task to tell about them.

35. As for animals, the Nile breeds many of peculiar form, and two which surpass the others, the crocodile and what is called the “horse.” Of these animals the crocodile grows to be the largest from the smallest beginning, since this animal lays eggs about the size of those of a goose, but after the young is hatched it grows to be as long as sixteen cubits. It is as long-lived as man, and has no tongue. The body of the animal is wondrously protected by nature; for its skin is covered all over with scales and is remarkably hard, and there are many teeth in both jaws, two being tusks, much larger than the rest. It devours the flesh not only of men but also of any land animal which approaches the river. The bites which it makes are huge and severe and it lacerates terribly with its claws, and whatever part of the flesh it tears it renders altogether difficult to heal. In early times the Egyptians used to catch these beasts with hooks baited with

---

1 Castor-oil.

2 Called by the Greeks also *hippopotamos*, “horse of the river,” and “horse of the Nile.”
Diodorus of Sicily

μένας ἴδεις σάρκας, ὡστερον δὲ ποτὲ μὲν δικτύοις
παχέσων ὄσπερει τινας ἱχθύς, ποτὲ δ' ἐμβολίοις
σειδηροῖς ἐκ τῶν ἀκάτων τυπτόμενας συνεχῶς εἰς
6 τὴν κεφαλήν. πλήθος δ' αὐτῶν ἀμφιθητῶν ἐστι
κατά τε τὸν ποταμὸν καὶ τὰς παρακειμένας
λίμνας, ὡς ἂν πολυγόνων τε ὄντων καὶ σπανίως
ὑπὸ τῶν ἄνθρωπων ἀναρρομένων τῶν μὲν
γάρ ἐγχωρίων τοῖς πλείστοις νόμιμον ἐστὶν ὡς
θεόν σέβεσθαι τοὺς κροκόδιλους, τοῖς δ' ἀλλο-
φύλοις ἀλυσιτελής ἐστιν ἡ θήρα παντελῶς, οὐκ
7 οὕσης ἐδωδίμου τῆς σαρκός. ἀλλ' ὅμως τοῦ
πλήθους τούτου φυομένοι κατὰ τόν ἄνθρωπον
ἡ φύσις κατεσκεύασε μέγα βοήθημα: ὁ γάρ
καλούμενος ἰχνεύμων, παραπλῆσιος ὃν μικρῷ
κυνὶ, περιέρχεται τὰ τῶν κροκοδιλίων ὡς συν-
τρίβων, τίκτοντος τοῦ ζῴου παρὰ τὸν ποταμὸν,
καὶ τὸ βαυμαισίατον, οὔτε κατεσθίων οὔτε
ὡφελούμενος οὔδεν διατελεῖ φυσικῆν τινα χρείαν
καὶ κατηναγκασμένην ἐνεργῶν εἰς ἄνθρωπον
ἐνεργεσίαν.

8 'Ο δὲ καλούμενος Ἰππος τῷ μεγέθει μὲν ἐστὶν
οὐκ ἐλάττων πηχῶν πέντε, τετράπους δὲ ὅν καὶ
dίχηλος παραπλησίος τοῖς βουσοῖ τοὺς χαυλιω-
δοντας ἔχει μείζους τῶν ἄγρίων ὧν, τρεῖς εἶ
ἀμφοτέρων τῶν μερῶν, ὅτα δὲ καὶ κέρκων καὶ
φωνήν ἵππου παρεμφερῆ, τὸ δ' ὅλων κύτως τοῦ
σώματος οὐκ ἀνόμων εἶλεφαντι, καὶ δέρμα
9 πάντων σχεδὸν τῶν θηρίων ἰσχυρότατον. ποτά-
μων δὲ ὑπάρχου καὶ χερσαίον τὰς μὲν ἡμέρας
ἐν τοῖς ὑδάσι ποιεῖ γυμναζόμενον κατὰ βιάθους,
tὰς δὲ νύκτας ἐπὶ τῆς χώρας κατανέμεται τὸν τε
σῖτον καὶ τὸν χόρτον, ὡστε εἰ πολύτεκνον ἦν
118
the flesh of pigs, but since then they have hunted them sometimes with heavy nets, as they catch some kinds of fish, and sometimes from their boats with iron spears which they strike repeatedly into the head. The multitude of them in the river and the adjacent marshes is beyond telling, since they are prolific and are seldom slain by the inhabitants; for it is the custom of most of the natives of Egypt to worship the crocodile as a god, while for foreigners there is no profit whatsoever in the hunting of them since their flesh is not edible. But against this multitude's increasing and menacing the inhabitants nature has devised a great help; for the animal called the *ichneumon*, which is about the size of a small dog, goes about breaking the eggs of the crocodiles, since the animal lays them on the banks of the river, and—what is most astonishing of all—without eating them or profiting in any way it continually performs a service which, in a sense, has been prescribed by nature and forced upon the animal for the benefit of men.

The animal called the "horse" is not less than five cubits high, and is four-footed and cloven-hoofed like the ox; it has tusks larger than those of the wild boar, three on each side, and ears and tail and a cry somewhat like those of the horse; but the trunk of its body, as a whole, is not unlike that of the elephant, and its skin is the toughest of almost any beast's. Being a river and land animal, it spends the day in the streams exercising in the deep water, while at night it forages about the countryside on the grain and hay, so that, if this animal were

1 έ Dindorf: γἳν.
τοῦτο τὸ ξῆρον καὶ κατ᾿ ἐνιαυτὸν ἐτίκτευ, ἐλυμαίνετ᾿ ἀν ὀλοσχερῶς τὰς γεωργίας τὰς κατ᾿ Ἀὐγυπτον. ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦτο πολυχειρία τῶν τυπτόντων τοῖς σιδηροῖς ἐμβολίαις· ὅπου γὰρ ἂν φανῇ, συνάγουσιν ἐπὶ αὐτὸ πλοία, καὶ περιστάντες κατατραμματίζουσιν ὥσπερ τιοί κοπεύσιν ἐπὶ σιδηροῖς ἀγκίστροις, εἰδ’ ἐνὶ τῶν ἐμπαγέντων ἐναπτοῦντες ἀρχὰς στυππώνας ἀφιαστεῖ, μέχρι ἂν ὅτου παραλυθῇ γενόμενον ἔξαιμον.

11 τὴν μὲν οὖν σάρκα σκληρὰν ἔχει καὶ δύσπεπτον, τῶν δ᾿ ἐντοσθεν οὐδὲν ἐδώδιμον, οὐτε σπλάγχνων οὔτε ἐγκύλιον.

36. Χωρὶς δὲ τῶν εἰρημένων θηρίων ὁ Νείλος ἔχει παντοτινὲς ἱγθύων καὶ κατὰ τὸ πλῆθος ἀπίστας· τοις γὰρ ἐγχωρίοις οὐ μόνον ἐκ τῶν προσφάτων ἀλυκομένων παρέχεται δαμιλή τὴν ἄπολαυσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πλῆθος εἰς ταριχείαν

2 ἀνύησιν ἀνέκλειπτον. καθόλου δὲ ταῖς εἰς ἀνθρώπους ἐνεργεσίας ὑπερβάλλει πάντας τοὺς κατὰ τὴν οἰκουμένην ποταμοὺς. τῆς γὰρ πληρώσεως τῆς ἀρχῆς ἀπὸ θερινῶν τροπῶν ποιούμενος αὔξεται μὲν μέχρι τῆς ἰσημερίας τῆς μετοπωρινῆς, ἐπάγων δ᾿ ἀεὶ νέαν ἤλθη βρέχει τὴν γην ὀμοίως τὴν τε ἀργὴν καὶ σπόριμον καὶ φυτευσίμον τοσοῦτον χρόνον ὅσον ἢν οἱ γεωργοῦντες τὴν

3 χώραν ἐθελήσωσι. τοῦ γὰρ ὑδατὸς πραείως φερομένου ῥαδίως ἀποτρέπουσιν αὐτὸν μικροῖς χώμαις, καὶ πάλιν ἐπάγουσιν εὐχερῶς ταῦτα

4 διαιροῦντες, ὅταν δόξη συμφέρειν. καθόλου δὲ τοσαῦτη τοῖς μὲν ἔργοις εὐκατίαν παρέχεται, τοῖς δὲ ἀνθρώπων λυσιτέλειαν, ὡστε τοὺς μὲν πλείστους τῶν γεωργῶν τοὺς ἀναξηραινομένους
prolific and reproduced each year, it would entirely destroy the farms of Egypt. But even it is caught by the united work of many men who strike it with iron spears; for whenever it appears they converge their boats upon it, and gathering about it wound it repeatedly with a kind of chisel fitted with iron barbs,¹ and then, fastening the end of a rope of tow to one of them which has become imbedded in the animal, they let it go until it dies from loss of blood. Its meat is tough and hard to digest and none of its inward parts is edible, neither the viscera² nor the intestines.

36. Beside the beasts above mentioned the Nile contains every variety of fish and in numbers beyond belief; for it supplies the natives not only with abundant subsistence from the fish freshly caught, but it also yields an unfailing multitude for salting. Speaking generally, we may say that the Nile surpasses all the rivers of the inhabited world in its benefactions to mankind. For, beginning to rise at the summer solstice, it increases in volume until the autumnal equinox, and, since it is bringing down fresh slime all the time, it soaks both the fallow land and the seed land as well as the orchard land for so long a time as the farmers may wish. For since the water comes with a gentle flow, they easily divert the river from their fields by small dams of earth, and then, by cutting these, as easily let the river in again upon the land whenever they think this to be advantageous. And in general the Nile contributes so greatly to the lightening of labour as well as to the profit of the inhabitants, that the majority of the farmers, as they

¹ i.e. a harpoon. ² i.e. the heart, liver, lungs, kidneys.
DIODORUS OF SICILY

τῆς γῆς τόποις ἐφισταμένως καὶ τὸ σπέρμα βάλλοντας ἐπάγειν τὰ βοσκήματα, καὶ τούτοις συμπαθήσαντας μετὰ τέτταρας ἡ πέντε μῆνας ἀπαντᾶν ἐπὶ τὸν θερισμόν, ἐνίοις δὲ κοῦφοις ἀρότροις ἑπαγαγόντας βραχέως τὴν ἐπιφάνειαν τῆς βεβρεγμένης χώρας σφοροὺς ἀναρεῖσθαι τῶν καρπῶν χωρὶς δαπάνης πολλῆς καὶ κακοπαθείας.

5 ὅλως γὰρ πᾶσα γεωργία παρὰ μὲν τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐθνεῖσι μετὰ μεγάλων ἀναλωμάτων καὶ ταλαιπωρίδων διοικεῖται, παρὰ δὲ Ἀγυπτίως μόνοις ἐλαχίστοις δαπανήμασι καὶ πόνοις συγκομίζεται. ἡ τε ἀμπελόφυτος ὁμοίως ἀρδευμένη δαφύλειαν

6 οὖν τοῖς ἐγχώριοις παρασκευᾶται. οἱ δὲ χερσεύειν ἐκάστοτε τῇ χώρᾳ τὴν ἐπικεκλυμένην καὶ τοῖς ποιμνίοις ἀνέντες μηλόβοτον διὰ τὸ πλήθος τῆς νομῆς δίς τεκόντα καὶ δίς ἀποκαρέντα τὰ πρόβατα καρποῦνται.

7 Τὸ δὲ φινόμενον περὶ τὴν ἀνάβασιν τοῦ Νείλου τοῖς μὲν ἰδούσι θαυμαστῶν φαίνεται, τοῖς δὲ ἀκούσασι παντελῶς ἀπιστοῦν. τῶν γὰρ ἄλλων ποταμῶν ἀπάντων περὶ τὰς θερινὰς τροπὰς ἐλαττομένων καὶ κατὰ τὸν ξήραν χρόνον τοῦ θέρους ἀεὶ μᾶλλον ταπεινομένων, οὔτος μόνος τότε τὴν ἀρχὴν λαβὼν τῆς πληρώσεως ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον αὐξάνεται καθ' ἡμέραν ὥστε τὸ τελευταῖον

8 πᾶσαν σχεδὸν ἐπικλύζειν τὴν Ἀγυπτίων. ὁσαυτῶς δὲ πάλιν ἐκ τοῦναντίου μεταβαλὼν καὶ

---

1 *omitted by F, Bekker, Dindorf.
2 μεταβαλῶν A B, Bekker, Dindorf.
begin work upon the areas of the land which are becoming dry, merely scatter their seed, turn their herds and flocks in on the fields, and after they have used these for trampling the seed in return after four or five months to harvest it; while some, applying light ploughs to the land, turn over no more than the surface of the soil after its wetting and then gather great heaps of grain without much expense or exertion. For, generally speaking, every kind of field labour among other peoples entails great expense and toil, but among the Egyptians alone is the harvest gathered in with very slight outlay of money and labour. Also the land planted with the vine, being irrigated as are the other fields, yields an abundant supply of wine to the natives. And those who allow the land, after it has been inundated, to lie uncultivated and give it over to the flocks to graze upon, are rewarded with flocks which, because of the rich pasturage, lamb twice and are twice shorn every year.\footnote{A monument of the Old Kingdom represents sheep treading in the seed (the reproduction appears in J. H. Breasted, \textit{A History of Egypt}, p. 92).}

The rise of the Nile is a phenomenon which appears wonderful enough to those who have witnessed it, but to those who have only heard of it, quite incredible. For while all other rivers begin to fall at the summer solstice and grow steadily lower and lower during the course of the following summer, this one alone begins to rise at that time and increases so greatly in volume day by day that it finally overflows practically all Egypt. And in like manner it afterwards follows precisely the opposite \footnote{Cp. the \textit{Odyssey} 4. 86.}
χρόνον καθ’ ἠμέραν ἐκ τοῦ κατ’ ὀλγον ταπεινώτατα, μέχρι ἀν εἰς τὴν προὔπάρξασαν ἀφίκηται τάξιν. καὶ τῆς μὲν χώρας οὖσας πεδιάδος, τῶν δὲ πόλεων καὶ τῶν κωμῶν, ἐτὶ δὲ τῶν ἀγροικιῶν κειμένων ἐπὶ χειροποιήτων χωμάτων, ἡ πρόσοψις ὀμοία γίνεται ταῖς Κυκλάσι τήσοις. τῶν δὲ χερσαίων θηρίων τὰ πολλὰ μὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ περιληφθέντα διαφθείρεται βαπτιζόμενα, τινὰ δὲ εἰς τοὺς μετεωροτέρους ἐκφεύγοντα τόπους διασώζεται, τὰ δὲ βασκήματα κατὰ τὸν τῆς ἀναβάσεως χρόνον ἐν ταῖς κωμαῖς καὶ ταῖς ἀγροικίαις διατρέφεται, προπαρασκευαζομένης αὐτοῖς τῆς τροφῆς. οἱ δὲ όχλοι πάντα τὸν τῆς πληρόσεως χρόνον ἀπολειμμένοι τῶν ἔργων εἰς ἀνεσίων τρέπονται, συνεχῶς ἐστιόμενοι καὶ πάντων τῶν πρὸς ἡδονὴν ἀνηκόντων ἀνεμπόδιστος ἀπολαύοντες. διὰ δὲ τὴν ἀγωνίαν τὴν ἐκ τῆς ἀναβάσεως τοῦ ποταμοῦ γνωμένην κατεσκεύασται Νείλοσκοτεῖον ὑπὸ τῶν βασιλέων ἐν τῇ Μέμφει ἐν τούτῳ δὲ τὴν ἀνάβασιν ἀκριβῶς ἐκμετροῦντες ὁ τῆς τοῦτοι διακήσιμοι ἐχοῦντες ἐξαποστέλλουσιν εἰς τὰς πόλεις ἐπιστολὰς, διασαφοῦντες πόσους πῆχες ἡ ὀδυτύλους ἀναβαθμεῖεν ὁ ποταμὸς καὶ πότε τὴν ἀρχὴν πεποίηται τῆς ἑλπίδος. διὰ δὲ τοῦ τοιοῦτον τρόπον τῆς μὲν ἀγωνίας ἀπολύεται πάς ὁ λαός, πυθόμενος τὴν τῆς αὐξήσεως εἰς τοὺς ἀναβολῆς, ὁ τὸν πλήθος τῶν ἐσομένων καρπῶν εὐθὺς ἀπαντεῖ προσεπεμβο- κασιν, ἐκ πολλῶν χρόνων τῆς παρατηρήσεως ταύτης παρὰ τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους ἀκριβῶς ἀναγεγραμμένης.
course and for an equal length of time gradually falls each day, until it has returned to its former level. And since the land is a level plain, while the cities and villages, as well as the farm-houses, lie on artificial mounds, the scene comes to resemble the Cyclades Islands.¹ The wild land animals for the larger part are cut off by the river and perish in its waters, but a few escape by fleeing to higher ground; the herds and flocks, however, are maintained at the time of the flood in the villages and farm-houses, where fodder is stored up for them in advance. The masses of the people, being relieved of their labours during the entire time of the inundation, turn to recreation, feasting all the while and enjoying without hindrance every device of pleasure. And because of the anxiety occasioned by the rise of the river the kings have constructed a Nilometer² at Memphis, where those who are charged with the administration of it accurately measure the rise and despatch messages to the cities, and inform them exactly how many cubits or fingers the river has risen and when it has commenced to fall. In this manner the entire nation, when it has learned that the river has ceased rising and begun to fall, is relieved of its anxiety, while at the same time all immediately know in advance how large the next harvest will be, since the Egyptians have kept an accurate record of their observations of this kind over a long period of terms.

¹ These are small islands, some of which "cluster" (as the name signifies) about the island of Delos.
² The Nilometer (Diodorus calls it in fact a "Niloscope") is described by Strabo (17. 1. 48) as a well on the bank of the Nile with lines on the wall to indicate the stage of the river.
37. Ἐν μέγαλης δ' ούσις ἀπορίας περὶ τῆς τοῦ ποταμοῦ πληρώσεως, ἐπικεχειρήκασι πολλοὶ τῶν τε φιλοσόφων καὶ τῶν ἱστορικῶν ἀποδιδόναι τὰς ταύτης αἰτίας, περὶ δὲν ἐν κεφαλαίοις ἑρότεμεν, ἦν μὴ ἄνεξα ποιόμεθα τὰς παρεκβάσεις μὴ τοῦ ἀγραφοῦ τὸ παρὰ πᾶσιν ἐπιζητούμενον ὑπολείποις. Ὑλος γὰρ ύπερ τῆς ἀναβάσεως τοῦ Νείλου καὶ τῶν πηγῶν, ἢτι δὲ τῆς εἰς θάλατταν ἐκβολῆς καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὑπὲρ διαφόρων παρά τούς ἄλλους ποταμοὺς, μέγιστος δὲν τῶν κατὰ τὴν οἰκουμένην, τινὲς μὲν τῶν συγγραφέων ἄπλως οὐκ ἐτόλμησαν οὐδὲν εἰπέων, καὶ περί εἰσόδους μηκύνειν ἐνίοτε περὶ χειμιρροῦ τοῦ τυχόντος, τινὲς δὲ ἐπεβαλόμενοι λέγειν περὶ τῶν ἐπιζητούμενον πολὺ τῆς ἀληθείας διήμαρτον.

3 οἱ μὲν γὰρ περὶ τὸν Ἐλλάνικον καὶ Κάδμου, ἦτι δ' Ἐκαταίον, καὶ πάντες οἱ τοιούτοι, παλαιοὶ παντάπασιν ὡντες, εἰς τὰς μνώδεις ἀποφαί-σεις ἀπέκλιναν. Ἡρόδοτος δὲ ὁ πολυπρωμών, εἰ καὶ τις ἄλλος, γεγονὼς καὶ πολλῆς ἱστορίας ἐμπειρο ἐπικεχείρηκε μὲν περὶ τούτων ἀποδίδοναι λόγον, ἠκολουθηκὼς δὲ ἀντιλεγόμεναι ὑπονοούσαι εὐρίσκεται. Ἐνοφῶν δὲ καὶ Θουκυδίδης, ἐπαινοῦμενοι κατὰ τὴν ἀλήθειαν τῶν ἱστοριῶν, ἀπέσχοντο τελέως κατὰ τὴν γραφὴν τῶν τούτων μαμ' Ἀργοπτοῦν οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Ἐφορον καὶ Θεόπομπον μάλιστα πάντων εἰς ταὐτ' ἐπιταθέντες ἤκιστα τῆς ἀληθείας ἐπέτυχον.

1 ἀποδοῦναι ΑΒΕ, Dindorf.
37. Since there is great difficulty in explaining the swelling of the river, many philosophers and historians have undertaken to set forth the causes of it; regarding this we shall speak summarily, in order that we may neither make our digression too long nor fail to record that which all men are curious to know. For on the general subject of the rise of the Nile and its sources, as well as on the manner in which it reaches the sea and the other points in which this, the largest river of the inhabited world, differs from all others, some historians have actually not ventured to say a single word, although wont now and then to expatiate at length on some winter torrent or other, while others have undertaken to speak on these points of inquiry, but have strayed far from the truth. Hellanicus and Cadmus, for instance, as well as Hecataeus and all the writers like them, belonging as they do one and all to the early school, turned to the answers offered by the myths; Herodotus, who was a curious inquirer if ever a man was, and widely acquainted with history, undertook, it is true, to give an explanation of the matter, but is now found to have followed contradictory guesses; Xenophon and Thucydides, who are praised for the accuracy of their histories, completely refrained in their writings from any mention of the regions about Egypt; and Ephorus and Theopompus, who of all writers paid most attention to these matters, hit upon the truth the least. The characteristics of the group were interest in mythology and lack of criticism. Hellanicus of Mitylene died soon after 400 B.C.; the historical character of Cadmus of Miletus (fl. sixth century B.C.) is questioned by Schmid-Stählin (Geschichte der griechischen Literatur, I, pp. 691 f.); Hecataeus of Miletus visited Egypt before 526 B.C. and died soon after 494 B.C.
Diodorus of Sicily

καὶ διεσφάλησαν οὕτωι πάντες όυ διὰ τὴν ἀμέ-δε λειαν, ἀλλὰ διὰ τὴν τῆς χώρας ἵδιοτητα. ἀπὸ γὰρ τῶν ἀρχαίων χρόνων ἕχει Πτολεμαίον τοῦ Φιλαδέλφου προσαγορευθέντος οὐχ ὅπως τινὲς τῶν Ἕλληνων ὑπερέβαλον εἰς Αἰθιοπίαν, ἀλλὰ οὔδε μέχρι τῶν ὄρων τῆς Αἰγύπτου προσανεβησαν οὕτως ἄξενα πάντα ἢν τὰ περὶ τοὺς τόπους τούτους καὶ παντελῶς ἑπικίνδυνα. τοῦ δὲ προειρημένου βασιλέως μεθ’ Ἕλληνικῆς δυνάμεως εἰς Αἰθιοπίαν πρῶτον στρατεύσαντος ἐπεγνώσθη τὰ κατὰ τὴν χώραν ταύτην ἀκριβέστερον ἀπὸ τοῦτων τῶν χρόνων.

6 Τῆς μὲν οὖν τῶν πρωτόρων συγγραφέων ἄγνοιας τοιαύτας τὰς αἰτίας συνεβή γενέσθαι: τὰς δὲ πηγὰς τοῦ Νείλου, καὶ τὸν τόπον ἐξ οὗ λαμβάνει τὴν ἀρχήν τοῦ βεῦματος, ἔστηκεν ὁμοίως ὁ ἀρχίτακτος οὗτος ταῦτα τῶν ἱστοριῶν γραφομένων οὐδέποτε εἰρήκειν οὐδ’ ἀποκαλ. ἀπεφήνατο παρὰ τῶν ἐστηκέναι

7 διαβεβαιωμένων. διὸ καὶ τοῦ πρώτου εἰς ὑπόνοιας καὶ καταστοχασμὸν πεδανὸν κατανάλωσαν, οἱ μὲν κατ’ Αἰγύπτου ἱερεῖς ἀπὸ τοῦ περιπρέποντος τὴν ὁικομένην ὁκεανοῦ φασίν αὐτὸν τὴν σύστασιν λαμβάνειν, ὑγείας μὲν οὔδεν λέγοντες, ἀπορία δὲ τὴν ἁπατήαν λύσας καὶ λόγον φέροντες εἰς πίστιν αὐτὸν ἕπι-

1 autōn Stephanus: autōn.

1 The second of the line, who reigned from 285 to 246 B.C. Following the custom of the Egyptian kings (cp. chap. 27) he married his sister Arsinoë, and upon her death (or possibly even before; cp. J. Beloch, Griechische Geschichte, IV. 2. p. 128
error on the part of all these writers was due, not to their negligence, but to the peculiar character of the country. For from earliest times until Ptolemy who was called Philadelphus,\(^1\) not only did no Greeks ever cross over into Ethiopia, but none ascended even as far as the boundaries of Egypt—to such an extent were all these regions inhospitable to foreigners and altogether dangerous; but after this king had made an expedition into Ethiopia with an army of Greeks, being the first to do so, the facts about that country from that time forth have been more accurately learned.

Such, then, were the reasons for the ignorance of the earlier historians; and as for the sources of the Nile and the region where the stream arises, not a man, down to the time of the writing of this history, has ever affirmed that he has seen them, or reported from hearsay an account received from any who have maintained that they have seen them. The question, therefore, resolves itself into a matter of guesswork and plausible conjecture; and, when, for instance, the priests of Egypt assert that the Nile has its origin in the ocean which surrounds the inhabited world, there is nothing sound in what they say, and they are merely solving one perplexity by substituting another, and advancing as proof an explanation which itself stands much in need of proof.

586. n. 1 and 1. pp. 370 f.) established a cult of himself as ruler and of his sister-wife and consort as theoi adelphoi ("Brother-Sister Gods"). The epithet philadelphos ("sister-loving") was never borne by Ptolemy II during his lifetime; to his contemporaries he was known as "Ptolemy the son of Ptolemy" (cp. E. R. Bevan, A History of Egypt under the Ptolemaic Dynasty, p. 56, and Ferguson in Cambridge Ancient History, 7., p. 17.)

\(^{1}\)
8 στεφὶς προσδεόμενον τῶν δὲ Τροχοδυτῶν οἱ μεταναστάντες ἐκ τῶν ἀνω τόπων διὰ καῦμα, προσαγορεύομεν δὲ Βόλγιοι. Λέγουσιν ἐμφάσεις τινὰς εἶναι περὶ τοὺς τόπους ἐκείνους, ἐξ ὧν ἂν τις συλλογίσατο διότι πολλῶν πτηγῶν εἰς ἑνα τόπον ἀθροιζομένων συνιστάται τὸ ρεῦμα τοῦ Νεῖλου διὸ καὶ πολυγονώτατον αὐτῶν ὑπάρχειν πάντων τῶν γνωριζομένων ποταμῶν. οἱ δὲ περιοικοῦντες τὴν νῆσον τὴν ὅνομαζομένην Μερόνην, ὡς καὶ μάλιστ’ ἀν τις συγκαταθοῦτο, τῆς μὲν κατὰ τὸ πιθανὸν εὐρησιλογίας πολὺ κεχωρισμένος, τῶν δὲ τῶν τῶν ξητομένων ἐγγίστα κειμένας, τοσοῦτον ἀπέχουσι τοῦ λέγειν τι περὶ τούτων ἀκριβῶς ὡστε καὶ τὸν ποταμὸν Ἀστάπουν προσγορεύκαςιν, ὅπερ ἐστὶ μεθερμηνεύομενον εἰς τὴν Ἑλληνῶν διάλεκτον ἐκ τοῦ σκότους ὑδαρ.

10 Οὔτοι μὲν οὖν τῷ Νεῖλῳ τῆς ἐν τοῖς τόποις ἀθεωρησίας καὶ τῆς ἰδίας ἀγνοίας οἰκείαν ἐταξιν προσηγορίαν ἤμιν δ’ ἀληθεύσατο εἶναι δοκεῖ λόγος ὁ ἰστιστῶν ἀπέχου τοῦ προσποιήματος.

11 οὐκ ἄνγος δὲ ὅτι τὴν πρὸς τὴν ἐκ τοῦ ποταμοῦ τοῦτον καὶ τὴν πρὸς ἐσπέραν Διβύκην ἄφορίζων Ἡρόδωτος ἀνατίθησι Δίβυκει τοῖς ὅνομαζομένοις Νασαμῶδες τὴν ἀκριβὴ θεωρίαν τοῦ ἱερὸν, καὶ φησιν ἐκ τινὸς λίμνης λαμβάνουτα τὴν ἀρχὴν τοῦ Νεῖλου φέρεσθαι διὰ χώρας Λιθιστικῆς ἀμυθήτου· οὐ μὴν αὐτόθεν οὐδὲ τοῖς εἰποῦσι Δίβυσιν, εἴπερ καὶ πρὸς ἂλθειαν εἰρήκασιν, οὕτε τῷ συγγραφεὶ προσεκτέον ἀναπόδεικτα λέγοντι.
BOOK I. 37. 7-11

On the other hand, those Trogodytes,\(^1\) known as the Bolgii, who migrated from the interior because of the heat, say that there are certain phenomena connected with those regions, from which a man might reason that the body of the Nile is gathered from many sources which converge upon a single place, and that this is the reason for its being the most fertile of all known rivers. But the inhabitants of the country about the island called Meroë, with whom a man would be most likely to agree, since they are far removed from the art of finding reasons in accordance with what is plausible and dwell nearest the regions under discussion, are so far from saying anything accurate about these problems that they even call the river Astapus, which means, when translated into Greek, "Water from Darkness."

This people, then, have given the Nile a name which accords with the want of any first-hand information about those regions and with their own ignorance of them; but in our opinion the explanation nearest the truth is the one which is farthest from pure assumption. I am not unaware that Herodotus,\(^2\) when distinguishing between the Libya which lies to the east and that which lies to the west of this river, attributes to the Libyans known as the Nasamones the exact observation of the stream, and says that the Nile rises in a certain lake and then flows through the land of Ethiopia for a distance beyond telling; and yet assuredly no hasty assent should be given to the statements either of Libyans, even though they may have spoken truthfully, or of the historian when what he says does not admit of proof.

\(^1\) Cp. p. 98, n. 1.  \(^2\) Book 2. 32.
38. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ περὶ τῶν πηγῶν καὶ τῆς ρύσεως αὐτοῦ διελθηθαμεν, πειρασόμεθα τὰς αἰτίας ἀποδιδόναι τῆς πληθώρεως. Θαλῆς μὲν οὖν, εἰς τῶν ἐπὶ τὰ σοφῶν ὀνομαζόμενοι, φησὶ τοὺς ἐτησίας ἀντιπυνεόντας ταῖς ἐκβολαῖς τοῦ ποταμοῦ κολύειν εἰς θάλατταν προχείσθαι τὸ ρεῖμα, καὶ διὰ τούτοι ἀυτῶν πληρούμενον ἐπικλὺζειν ταπεινὴν οὐσαν καὶ πεδιάδα τὴν Ἀλυπίαν τον. τοῦ δὲ λόγου τούτου, καλπερ εἶναι δοκοῦντος πιθανοῦ, ρίδιον ἐξελεγξαί τὸ ψεῦδος. εἰ γὰρ ἦν ἀληθὲς τὸ προερημένον, οὐ ποταμὸς πάντες ἰοί τοῖς ἐτησίας ἐναντίας τὰς ἐκβολὰς ἔχοντες ἐποιοῦντο τὴν ὁμολα ἀνάβασιν· οὐ μηδαμοῦ τῆς οἰκουμένης συμβαίνοντος ζητητέον ἐτέραν αἰτίαν ἄληθινην τῆς πληθώρεως. Ἀναβαγόρας δὲ οἱ φυσικοὶ ἀπεφήνατο τῆς ἀναβάσεως αἰτίαν εἶναι τὴν τηκομένην χιόνα κατὰ τὴν Ἁλυπίαν, ὡς καὶ ὁ ποιητὴς Εὐρυπίδης μαθητής ὅν ἤκολούθηκε· λέγει γοῦν "Νείλου λιπὼν κάλλιστον ἐκ γαίας ὤδωρ, ὅπερ ἡμαμβρότοιο πληροῦται ρόδας Ἄληθιοπίδος γῆς, ἡνίκ' ἀν τακῇ χιών.

καὶ ταύτην δὲ τὴν ἀπόφασιν οὐ πολλῆς ἀντιρρήσεως δεῖσθαι συμβέβηκε, φανερῷ πάσιν ὄντος ὅτι διὰ τὴν ὑπερβολὴν τῶν καταλόπων ἀδύνατον χιόνα πίπτειν περὶ τὴν Ἁλυπίαν· καθόλου γὰρ περὶ τοὺς τόπους τούτους οὔτε πάγος οὔτε ψύχος οὐθὲ ὀλως κεχμόνος ἐμφασισθείς γίνεται, καὶ μάλιστα περὶ τὴν ἀνάβασιν τοῦ Νείλου. εἶ δὲ τῆς καὶ

1 Thales doubtless meant by “etesian” the north-west winds which blow in summer from the Mediterranean, but
38. Now that we have discussed the sources and course of the Nile we shall endeavour to set forth the causes of its swelling. Thales, who is called one of the seven wise men, says that when the etesian winds\(^1\) blow against the mouths of the river they hinder the flow of the water into the sea, and that this is the reason why it rises and overflows Egypt, which is low and a level plain. But this explanation, plausible as it appears, may easily be shown to be false. For if what he said were true, all the rivers whose mouths face the etesian winds would rise in a similar way; but since this is the case nowhere in the inhabited world the true cause of the swelling must be sought elsewhere. Anaxagoras the physical philosopher has declared that the cause of the rising is the melting snow in Ethiopia, and the poet Euripides, a pupil of his, is in agreement with him. At least he writes:\(^2\)

He quit Nile’s waters, fairest that gush from earth,  
The Nile which, drawn from Ethiopia, land, the black  
Man’s home, flows with full flood when melts the snow.

But the fact is that this statement also requires but a brief refutation, since it is clear to everyone that the excessive heat makes it impossible that any snow should fall in Ethiopia; for, speaking generally, in those regions there is no frost or cold or any sign whatsoever of winter, and this is especially true at the time of the rising of the Nile. And even the term is not a precise one, as Diodorus shows in the following chapter.

\(^2\) Frg. 228, Nauck\(^2\).
συγχωρήσαι χιόνος εἶναι πλήθος ἐν τοῖς ὑπὲρ Ἀθηναίων τόποις, ὡμοίος ἐλέγχεται τὸ ψευδός τῆς
8 Ἀποφάσεως· πᾶς γὰρ ποταμὸς ἀπὸ χιόνος ρέων ὄμολος ὑγρός αὐρας ἀναδίδωσι ψυχράς καὶ τὸν ἀέρα παχύνει· περὶ δὲ τῶν Νείλου μόνον τῶν ποταμῶν οὕτε νέφους ὑποστάσεις ὑπάρχουσιν οὔτ' αὖραι ψυχραί γίνονται οὔθ' ὁ ἀέρ παχύ
νεται.
9 Ἡρόδοτος δὲ φησι τῶν Νείλου εἶναι μὲν φύσει τηλικούτον ἥλικος γίνεται κατὰ τὴν πλήρωσιν, ἐν δὲ τῷ χειμώνι τὸν ἥλιον κατὰ τὴν Λιβύην φερόμενον ἐπισπάσθαι πρὸς ἕαυτὸν πολλῆν ὑγρασίαν ἐκ τοῦ Νείλου, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο περὶ τοὺς καρποὺς τοῦτοις παρὰ φύσιν ἐλάττονα γίνεσθαι ξήραντο ποταμῶν τοῦ ἄρκτους άναξίηραίνειν καὶ ταπεινοῦν τοὺς τε περὶ τὴν Ἐλλάδα ποταμοὺς καὶ τοὺς κατὰ τὴν ἄλλην
10 χώραν τὴν ὀμοίως ἐκείνην κειμένην. οὔκετ' οὖν εἶναι παράδοξον τὸ γνωρίμενον περὶ τῶν Νείλου' ἐν γὰρ ἐν τοῖς καύμασιν αὔξεσθαι, κατὰ τὸν χειμῶνα δὲ ταπεινούσθαι διὰ τὴν προειρημένην αὐτίαν. ῥήτεον οὖν καὶ πρὸς τοῦτον ὅτι καθῆκον ἦν, ὡσπερ ἄπο τοῦ Νείλου τὴν ὑγρασίαν ὁ ἥλιος ἐφ' ἕαυτὸν ἐπισπάσθαι κατὰ τοὺς τοῦ χειμῶνος καρποὺς, οὕτω καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν κατὰ τὴν Λιβύην ὁντων ποταμῶν ἀναλαμβάνειν τι τῶν ὑγρῶν καὶ ταπεινοῦν τὰ φερόμενα ἰεύματα.
11 ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐδαμῶν τῆς Λιβύης οὐδὲν τοιοῦτων γνωρίμου ὑεὼρεται, περιφανῶς ὁ συγγραφεὺς ὁ σχεδίαξων ἐνυφίσκεται· καὶ γὰρ οἱ περὶ τὴν Ἐλλάδα ποταμοὶ τὴν αὔξησιν ἐν τῷ χειμῶνι
12 ἠπεί δὲ οὐδαμοῦ τῆς Λιβύης οὐδὲν τοιοῦτον γνωρίμουν θεωρεῖται, περιφανῶς ὁ συγγραφεὺς σχεδίαξων ἐνυφίσκεται· καὶ γὰρ οἱ περὶ τὴν Ἐλλάδα ποταμοὶ τὴν αὔξησιν ἐν τῷ χειμῶνι
134
if a man should admit the existence of great quantities of snow in the regions beyond Ethiopia, the falsity of the statement is still shown by this fact: every river which flows out of snow gives out cool breezes, as is generally agreed, and thickens the air about it; but the Nile is the only river about which no clouds form, and where no cool breezes rise and the air is not thickened.

Herodotus¹ says that the size of the Nile at its swelling is its natural one, but that as the sun travels over Libya in the winter it draws up to itself from the Nile a great amount of moisture, and this is the reason why at that season the river becomes smaller than its natural size; but at the beginning of summer, when the sun turns back in its course towards the north, it dries out and thus reduces the level of both the rivers of Greece and those of every other land whose geographical position is like that of Greece.² Consequently there is no occasion for surprise, he says, in the phenomenon of the Nile; for, as a matter of fact, it does not increase in volume in the hot season and then fall in the winter, for the reason just given. Now the answer to be made to this explanation also is that it would follow that, if the sun drew moisture to itself from the Nile in the winter, it would also take some moisture from all the other rivers of Libya and reduce the flow of their waters. But since nowhere in Libya is anything like this to be seen taking place, it is clear that the historian is caught inventing an explanation; for the fact is that the rivers of Greece increase in winter, not

¹ Book 2. 25.
² i.e. in the north latitude.
DIODORUS OF SICILY

ἀρκτοὺς πνεόντας ἦπερ τῆς ἐσπέρας· οὐ βορεάι
γὰρ οὐδ’ ἀπαρκτίαι μόνοι, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὁι πνεόντες
ἀπὸ θερινῆς δύσεως ἀργέσται καυσώνουσι τῆς
tῶν ἐπισίων προσηγορίας. τὸ τε λέγειν ὡς μέγιστα
συμβαίνει τῶν ὁρῶν ὑπάρχει τὰ περὶ τῆς
Αἰθιοπίας οὐ μόνον ἀναπόδεικτὸν ἐστιν, ἀλλ’
οὐδὲ τὴν πίστιν ἔχει διὰ τῆς ἐναργείας

1 συγχωρουμένης.

7 "Εφόσον δὲ καινοτάτην αὐτίαν εἰσφέρων πιθα
νολογεῖν μὲν πειράται, τῆς δ’ ἀληθείας οὐδαμῶς
ἐπιτυγχάνων θεωρεῖται. φησὶ γὰρ τὴν Ἀἴγυπτον
ἀπασάν οὕτων ποταμόχωστον καὶ χαύνη, ἐτὶ
dε κισσνώθη τὴν φύσιν, ῥαγάδας τε μεγάλας καὶ
dηνυκεῖσι ἔχειν, διὰ δὲ τούτων ἑαυτὴν ἀνα-
λαμβάνειν ὑγροῦ πλήθος, καὶ κατὰ μὲν τὴν
χειμερινὴν ὄραν συνέχειν ἐν ἑαυτῇ τούτῳ, κατὰ
dὲ τὴν θερινὴν ὡσπερ ἱδρωτάς τινας ἐξ αὐτῆς παν-
tαχόθεν ἀνέναι, καὶ διὰ τούτων πληροῦν τὸν
8 ποταμὸν, ὁ δὲ συγγραφεὺς οὕτως οὐ μόνον ἡμῖν
φαίνεται μὴ τεθεαμένος τὴν φύσιν τῶν κατὰ
tὴν Ἀἴγυπτον τόπων, ἀλλὰ μηδὲ παρὰ τῶν
εἰδώτων τὰ κατὰ τὴν χώραν ταύτην ἐπιμελῶς
9 πεπυκαμένος. πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ, εἴπερ ἐξ αὐτῆς
tῆς Ἀἴγυπτος ὁ Νεῖλος τὴν αὔξησιν ἐλάμβανεν,
οὐκ ἂν ἐν τοῖς ἀνωτέρω μέρεσιν ἐπιληροῦτο, διὰ
tε πετρόδους καὶ στερεὰς χώρας φερόμενος νῦν
dὲ πλεῖον τῶν ἐξαισχείλων σταδίων διὰ τῆς
Αἰθιοπίας πέρου τὴν πληρωσειν ἔχει πρὶν ἡ

1 ἐναργείας Wesseling: ἐναργέιας.

---

1 Two names given to north winds.
2 i.e. the north-west.
as much from the west as from the north; since Borean and Aparctian\(^1\) winds are not the only winds which are called etesian, but also the Argestean, which blow from the direction of the sun’s summer setting.\(^2\) Also the statement that by general agreement the highest mountains are those of Ethiopia is not only advanced without any proof, but it does not possess, either, the credibility which is accorded to facts established by observation.\(^3\)

Ephorus, who presents the most recent explanation, endeavours to present a plausible argument, but, as may be seen, by no means arrives at the truth. For he says that all Egypt, being alluvial soil and spongy,\(^4\) and in nature like pumice-stone, is full of large and continuous cracks, through which it takes up a great amount of water; this it retains within itself during the winter season, but in the summer season it pours this out from itself everywhere like sweat, as it were, and by means of this exudation it causes the flood of the river. But this historian, as it appears to us, has not only never personally observed the nature of the country in Egypt, but has not even inquired with any care about it of those who are acquainted with the character of this land. For in the first place, if the Nile derived its increase from Egypt itself, it would then not experience a flood in its upper stretches, where it flows through a stony and solid country; yet, as a matter of fact, it floods while flowing over a course of more than six thousand stades through

\(^{1}\) i.e. there is no evidence from witnesses that they appear to be exceedingly high.

\(^{2}\) The words mean literally “poured out by a river” and “gaping.”
10 ψάυσαι τῆς Αιγύπτου. ἔπειτ' εἰ μὲν τὸ ἰδέημα τοῦ Νείλου ταπεινότερον ἢ τῶν κατὰ τὴν ποταμόχωστον γῆν ἀραιομάτων, ἐπιστολαίους ἂν εἶναι τὰς βαγάδας συνέβαινε, καθ' ὁς ἀδύνατον ἢν διαμένειν τοσοῦτο πλῆθος ὕδατος· εἰ δ' υψηλότερον τόπον ἐπέβηκεν ὁ ποταμὸς τῶν ἀραιομάτων, ἀδύνατον ἢν ἐκ τῶν ταπεινοτέρων κοιλωμάτων εἰς τὴν υψηλότεραν ἐπιφάνειαν τῆν τῶν ὕγρων σύρρυσιν γίνεσθαι.

11 Καθόλου δὲ τὸς ἀν δυνατὸν ἠγάγασιν τοὺς ἐκ τῶν κατὰ τὴν γῆν ἀραιομάτων ἱδρῶτας τοσαύτην αὐξάσων τοῦ ποταμοῦ ποιεῖν ὧστε ὑπ' αὐτοῦ σχεδὸν πᾶσαν τὴν Αἰγύπτου ἐπικλύζεσθαι; ἀφίημι γὰρ καὶ τὸ ψεῦδος τῆς τε ποταμοχώστον γῆς καὶ τῶν ἐν τοῖς ἀραιώμασι τηρομένων ὕδατων, ἐμβανῶν δντων τῶν ἐν τούτοις ἐλέγχων. ὁ μὲν γὰρ Μάιανδρος ποταμός κατὰ τὴν 'Ασίαν πολλὴν χώραν πεποίηκε ποταμόχωστον, ἐν ἂ τῶν συμβαινόντων περὶ τὴν ἀναπλήρωσιν τοῦ Νείλου τὸ σύνολον οὐδὲν

12 θεωρεῖται γινόμενον. ὁμοίως δὲ τούτῳ περὶ μὲν τὴν 'Ακαρνανίαν ὁ καλοῦμενος 'Αχελώος ποταμός, περὶ δὲ τὴν Βοιωτίαν ὁ Κηφίσος φερόμενος ἐκ τῶν Φοκέων προσκέχωκεν οὐκ ὀλύγην χώραν, ἐφ' ὄν ἀμφότερον ἑλέγχεται φανερῶς τὸ ψεῦδος τοῦ συγγραφέως. ἀλλὰ γὰρ οὐκ ἂν τις παρ' Ἐφόρῳ ξητήσειν ἐκ παντὸς τρόπου τάκριβες, ὁρὸν αὐτοῦ ἐν πολλοῖς ὀλυγωρηκότα τῆς ἀληθείας.

40. Τῶν ὧν ἐν Μέμφι τινὸς φιλοσόφων ἐπεχειρήσαν αἰτίαν φέρειν τῆς πληρόσεως ἀνεξέλεγκτον μᾶλλον ἢ πιθανῆν, ἢ πολλοὶ συγκατατέθεινται.
Ethiopia before ever it touches Egypt. Secondly, if the stream of the Nile were, on the one hand, lower than the rifts in the alluvial soil, the cracks would then be on the surface and so great an amount of water could not possibly remain in them; and if, on the other hand, the river occupied a higher level than the rifts, there could not possibly be a flow of water from the lower hollows to the higher surface.

In general, can any man think it possible that the exudations from rifts in the ground should produce so great an increase in the waters of the river that practically all Egypt is inundated by it? For I pass over the false statements of Ephorus about the ground being alluvial and the water being stored up in the rifts, since the refutation of them is manifest. For instance, the Meander river in Asia has laid down a great amount of alluvial land, yet not a single one of the phenomena attending the flooding of the Nile is to be seen in its case. And like the Meander the river in Acarnania known as the Achelois, and the Cephisus in Boeotia, which flows out of Phocis, have built up not a little land, and in the case of both there is clear proof that the historian’s statements are erroneous. However, under no circumstances would any man look for strict accuracy in Ephorus, when he sees that in many matters he has paid little regard to the truth.

40. Certain of the wise men in Memphis have undertaken to advance an explanation of the flooding, which is incapable of disproof rather than credible, and yet it is accepted by many. They
Diodorus of Sicily

2 διαιρούμενοι γάρ τὴν γῆν εἰς τρία μέρη φασίν ὑπάρχειν ἐν μὲν τὸ κατὰ τὴν ἡμετέραν οἰκουμένην, ἄτερον δὲ τὸ τούτοις τῶν τόπων ἀντιπεπονθὸς ταῖς ὀραις, τὸ δὲ τρίτον μεταξὺ μὲν κεῖσθαι τούτοις, ὑπάρχειν δὲ διὰ καύμα ἀοίκητον.

3 εἰ μὲν οὖν ὁ Νεῖλος ἀνέβαινε κατὰ τὸν τοῦ χειμώνος καιρόν, δῆλον ἄν ὑπῆρχεν ὡς ἐκ τῆς καθ’ ἡμᾶς ζώνης λαμβάνει τὴν ἐπιρρυσίν διὰ τὸ περὶ τούτους τοὺς καιροὺς μάλιστα γίνεσθαι παρ’ ἡμῖν τὰς ἐπομεμρίας· ἐπεὶ δὲ τούναντίον περὶ τὸ θέρος πληροῦται, πιθανὸν εἶναι κατὰ τοὺς ἀντικειμένους τόπους γεννᾶσθαι τῶν χειμῶνας, καὶ τὸ πλεονάξου τῶν κατ’ ἐκείνους τοὺς τόπους ὑδάτων εἰς τὴν καθ’ ἡμᾶς οἰκουμένην

4 φέρεσθαι. διὸ καὶ πρὸς τὰς πηγάς τοῦ Νεῖλου μηδένα δύνασθαι παρελθεῖν, ὡς ἂν ἐκ τῆς ἐναντίας ζώνης διὰ τῆς ἀοικίτου φερομένου τοῦ ποταμοῦ· παρατύρειν δὲ τούτους καὶ τὴν ὑπερβολὴν τῆς γλυκύτητος τοῦ κατὰ τὸν Νεῖλον ὑδατος· διὰ γάρ τῆς κατακεκαμάκης αὐτὸν ῥέοντα καθέσθαι, καὶ διὰ τούτο γλυκύτατον εἶναι πάντων τῶν ποταμῶν, ἀπὸ φύσει τοῦ πυρώδους πάν τὸ ύδρον ἀπογλυκαίνοντος.

5 Οὖτος δ’ ὁ λόγος ἔχει μὲν τίνα 2 πρόχειρον ἀντίρρησιν, ὅτι παντελῶς ἄδυνατον εἶναι δοκεῖ ποταμὸν ἐκ τῆς ἀντικειμένης οἰκουμένης εἰς τὴν ἡμετέραν ἀναφέρεσθαι, καὶ μάλιστ’ εἰ τίς ὑπό-

1 ἀν added by Hertlein.
2 τινὰ D, Vogel: τινὰ φανερὰν καὶ other MSS., Bekker, Dindorf.

142
divide the earth into three parts, and say that one part is that which forms our inhabited world, that the second is exactly opposed to these regions in its seasons, and that the third lies between these two but is uninhabited by reason of the heat.\(^1\) Now if the Nile rose in the winter, it would be clear that it was receiving its additional waters from our zone because of the heavy rains which fall with us in that season especially; but since, on the contrary, its flood occurs in the summer, it is probable that in the regions opposite to us the winter storms are being produced and that the surplus waters of those distant regions flow into our inhabited world. And it is for this reason that no man can journey to the sources of the Nile, because the river flows from the opposite zone through the uninhabited one. A further witness to this is the excessive sweetness of the water of the Nile; for in the course of the river through the torrid zone it is tempered by the heat, and that is the reason for its being the sweetest of all rivers, inasmuch as by the law of nature that which is fiery always sweetens\(^2\) what is wet.

But this explanation admits of an obvious rebuttal, for plainly it is quite impossible for a river to flow uphill into our inhabited world from the inhabited world opposite to ours, especially if one holds to

\(^1\) i.e., they postulated a south temperate zone, corresponding to the north temperate, and separated from it by the torrid zone. The Nile, according to them, rose in the south temperate zone. They were not in fact so far astray in the matter, the White Nile rising just a little south of the equator, although the waters of the annual inundation come from the Blue Nile, which has its sources in the table-land of Abyssinia.

\(^2\) i.e., water is freshened ("sweetened") by being heated.
θοιτο σφαιροειδή την γην ύπάρχειν. καὶ γὰρ εάν τις τοῖς λόγοις κατατομήσας βιάζηται τὴν ἐνάργειαν, ἢ γε φύσις τῶν πραγμάτων ὑποδαμᾶς συγχωρήσει. καθόλου μὲν γὰρ ἀνεξέλεγκτον ἀπόφασιν εἰσηγοῦμενοι, καὶ τὴν ἄοικην χώραν μεταξύ τιθέμενοι, ταύτῃ διαφεύγεσθαι τοὺς ἀκριβεῖς ἐλέγχους νομίζουσι δίκαιον δὲ τοὺς περὶ τινῶν διαβεβαιομένους ἢ τὴν ἐνάργειαν παρέχεσθαι μαρτυροῦσαν ἢ τὰς ἀποδείξεις λαμβάνειν εἰς ἀρχής συγκεκριμένας. πῶς δὲ μόνος ὁ Νεῖλος εἰς ἐκείνης τῆς οἰκουμένης φέρεται πρὸς τοὺς καθ’ ἡμᾶς τόπους; εἰκὸς γὰρ εἰναι καὶ ἔτερους ποταμοὺς, καθάπερ καὶ παρ’ ἧμῖν.

7 ἢ τε τῆς περὶ τὸ ὑδωρ γλυκύτητος αἰτία παντελῶς ἀλογος. εἰ γὰρ καθεψώμενος ὑπὸ τῶν καυμάτων ὁ ποταμὸς ἐγλυκαίνετο, πολύγονος οὐκ ἂν ἦν ὁ οὐδὲ ποικίλας ἱχθύων καὶ θηρίων ἑδές εἰχε’ πάν γὰρ ὑδωρ ὑπὸ τῆς πυρώδους φύσεως ἀλλοιωθὲν

8 ἀλλοτριώτατον ἐστὶ ζωγονίας. διόπερ τῇ παρεισαγόμενῃ καθεψήσει τῆς φύσεως τοῦ Νεῖλου πανταπασιν ἐναντιομένης ψευδεῖς τὰς εἰρημένας αἰτίας τῆς πληρώσεως ἡγητέου.

41. Οἰνωπίδης δὲ ὁ Χίος φησί κατὰ μὲν τὴν θερινὴν ἀραι τὰ ὑδάτα κατὰ τὴν γῆν εἶναι ψυχρὰ, τοῦ δὲ χειμῶνος τοῦνατιον θερμά, καὶ τοῦτο εὐδηλὸν ἐπὶ τῶν βαθέων φρέατων γνώσθαι κατὰ μὲν γὰρ τὴν ἄκµην τοῦ χειμῶνος ήκιστα τὸ ὑδωρ ἐν αὐτοῖς ὑπάρχειν ψυχρόν, κατὰ δὲ τὰ μέγιστα καύματα ψυχρότατον εἰς αὐτῶν

1 Practically nothing more is known of Oenopides than that he was an astronomer and mathematician of the fifth century B.C.
the theory that the earth is shaped like a sphere. And indeed, if any man makes bold to do violence, by means of mere words, to facts established by observation, Nature at least will in no wise yield to him. For, in general, such men think that, by introducing a proposition incapable of being disproved and placing the uninhabited region between the two inhabited ones, they will in this way avoid all precise refutations of their argument; but the proper course for such as take a firm position on any matter is either to adduce the observed facts as evidence or to find their proofs in statements which have been agreed upon at the outset. But how can the Nile be the only river which flows from that inhabited world to our parts? For it is reasonable to suppose that other rivers as well are to be found there, just as there are many among us. Moreover, the cause which they advance for the sweetness of the water is altogether absurd. For if the river were sweetened by being tempered by the heat, it would not be so productive as it is of life, nor contain so many kinds of fishes and animals; for all water upon being changed by the fiery element is quite incapable of generating life. Therefore, since by the "tempering" process which they introduce they entirely change the real nature of the Nile, the causes which they advance for its flooding must be considered false.

41. Oenopides of Chios says that in the summer the waters under the earth are cold, but in the winter, on the contrary, warm; and that this may be clearly observed in deep wells, for in midwinter their water is least cold, while in the hottest weather
2 ὑγρὸν ἀναφέρεσθαι. διὸ καὶ τὸν Νεῖλον εὐλόγως κατὰ μὲν τὸν χειμώνα μικρὸν εἶναι καὶ συστέλλεσθαι, διὰ τὸ τὴν μὲν κατὰ γῆν θερμασίαν τὸ πολὺ τῆς ὑγρᾶς οὐσίας ἀναλίσκειν, ὁμβροῦς δὲ κατὰ τὴν Αὐγουστίνην μὴ γίνεσθαι κατὰ δὲ τὸ θέρος μηκέτερος τῆς κατὰ γῆν ἀπαναλάσσει τὴ γεωμέρην ἐν τοῖς κατὰ βάθος τόποις πληροῦσθαι τὴν κατὰ φύσιν αὐτῶν ρύσιν ἀνεμποδίστως.

3 Ῥήτεον δὲ καὶ πρὸς τούτον ὁτι πολλοὶ ποταμοὶ τῶν κατὰ τὴν Διβύην ὁμοίως μὲν κείμενοι τοῖς στόμασι, παραπλησίους δὲ τὰς ρύσεις ποιούμενοι, τὴν ἀνάβασιν οὐκ ἔχουσιν ἀνάλογον τῷ Νεῖλῳ τοῦναυτίον γὰρ ἐν μὲν τῷ χειμῶνι πληροῦμενοι, κατὰ δὲ τὸ θέρος λήγοντες ἐξέχουσι τὸ ἕσβος τοῦ πειραμένου τοὺς πιθανοὺς καταμάχεσθαι τὴν ἀλήθειαν.

4 Ἐγγίστα δὲ τῇ ἀληθείᾳ προσελήνυθεν Ἄγαθορχίδης ὁ Κνίδιος. φησὶ γὰρ κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν ἐν τοῖς κατὰ τὴν Διβύην ὁρεῖ τῆς γίνεσθαι συνεχεῖς ὁμβροὺς ἀπὸ θερμῶν τροπῶν μέχρι τῆς μέσης πωρινῆς ἰσημερίας εὐλόγως οὖν τὸν Νεῖλον ἐν μὲν τῷ χειμῶνι συστέλλεσθαι, τὴν κατὰ φύσιν ἔχοντα ρύσιν ἀπὸ μόνων τῶν πηγῶν, κατὰ δὲ τὸ θέρος διὰ τοὺς ἐκχεομένους ὁμβροὺς λαμβάνειν τὴν αὐξησίαν. εἰ δὲ τὰς αἰτίας μηδεὶς ἀποδοῦναι δύναται μέχρι τοῦ νῦν τῆς τῶν υδάτων γενέσεως, οὐ προσήκειν ἀθετεῖσθαι τὴν ἰδίαιν ἀπόφασιν πολλὰ γὰρ τὴν φύσιν ἐναντίως φέρειν, ὥστε τὰς αἰτίας οὐκ ἐφικτῶν ἀνθρώπων ἀκριβώς

4 προσήκειν Rhodomann: προσήκει.
the coldest water is drawn up from them. Consequently it is reasonable that the Nile should be small and should diminish in the winter, since the heat in the earth consumes the larger part of the moisture and there are no rains in Egypt; while in the summer, since there is no longer any consumption of the moisture down in the depths of the earth, the natural flow of the river is increased without hindrance. But the answer to be given to this explanation also is that there are many rivers in Libya, whose mouths are situated like those of the Nile and whose courses are much the same, and yet they do not rise in the same manner as the Nile; on the contrary, flooding as they do in the winter and receding in the summer, they refute the false statement of any man who tries to overcome the truth with specious arguments.

The nearest approach to the truth has been made by Agatharchides of Cnidus. His explanation is as follows: Every year continuous rains fall in the mountains of Ethiopia from the summer solstice to the autumnal equinox; and so it is entirely reasonable that the Nile should diminish in the winter when it derives its natural supply of water solely from its sources, but should increase its volume in the summer on account of the rains which pour into it. And just because no one up to this time has been able to set forth the causes of the origin of the flood waters, it is not proper, he urges, that his personal explanation be rejected; for nature presents many contradictory phenomena, the exact causes of which are beyond the power of mankind

1 Agatharchides was a historian and geographer of the second century B.C.
7 ἑξευρεῖν. μαρτυρεῖν δὲ τοῖς ὑφ’ ἐαυτοῦ λεγόμενοι καὶ τὸ γινόμενον περὶ τινὰς τῶπους τῆς Ἀσίας· πρὸς μὲν ἡς τοὺς ὄρους τῆς Σκυθίας τοὺς πρὸς τὸ Καυκάσιον ὄρος συνάπτουσι, παρελθθότος ἡδη τοῦ χαιμόνος, καθ’ ἐκαστὸν ἔτος ωφετοὺς ἐξαισίους γίνεσθαι συνεχῶς ἐπὶ πολλὰς ἡμέρας, ἐν δὲ τοῖς πρὸς βορρᾶν ἐστραμμένοις μέρεσι τῆς Ἰνδικῆς ὀρισμένοις καιροῖς καὶ χάλαζαν ἀπίστω τὸ μέγεθος καὶ τὸ πλῆθος καταράττειν, καὶ περὶ μὲν τοῦ Ἰδαστήρου ποταμοῦ ἀρχομένου θέρους συνεχεῖς ὀμβρους γίνεσθαι, κατὰ δὲ τὴν Ἀἰθιοπίαν μεθ’ ἡμέρας τινὰς ταῦτα συμβαῖνειν, καὶ ταύτην τὴν περιστάσιν κυκλομένην ἀεὶ τοὺς συνεχεῖς τῶπους χειμάζειν.

8 οὐδὲν οὖν εἶναι παράδοξον εἰ καὶ κατὰ τὴν Ἀἰθιοπίαν τὴν κειμένην ὑπὲρ Ἀγγύπτου συνεχεῖς ἐν τοῖς ὄρεσιν ὀμβροι καταράττοντες ἐν τῷ θέρει πληροῦσι τὸν ποταμὸν, ἀλλὰς τε καὶ τῆς ἐναργείας ἄντίς μαρτυρομένης ὑπὸ τῶν περὶ τοὺς τῶπους δικοῦντων βαρβάρων. εἰ δὲ τοῖς παρ’ ἡμῖν γινομένοις ἐναντίαν ἔχει τὰ λεγόμενα φύσιν, οὐ διὰ τοῦτ’ ἀπιστητέον· καὶ γὰρ τοῦ νότου παρ’ ἡμῖν μὲν εἶναι χειμέριον, περὶ δὲ τὴν Ἀἰθιοπίαν αἰθρίου ὑπάρχειν, καὶ τὰς βορείους πυναῖς περὶ μὲν τὴν Εὐρώπην εὐτόνους εἶναι, κατ’ ἐκείνην δὲ τὴν χώραν βλήχρας καὶ ἀτόνους.

9 Καὶ περὶ μὲν τῆς πληρόσεως τοῦ Νείλου, δυνάμενοι πολεικλώτερον ἀντεπεῖν πρὸς ἀπαντάς, ἀρκεσθησόμεθα τοῖς εἰρημένοις, ἵνα μὴ τὴν έξ ἄρχης ἡμῖν προκειμένην συντομίαν ὑπερβαίνωμεν. ἐπεὶ δὲ τὴν βίβλου ταύτην διὰ τὸ μέγεθος τῶν ἐνεργειῶν Wesseling: ἐνεργειῶν.
to discover. As to his own statement, he adds, testimony to its truth is furnished by what takes place in certain regions of Asia. For on the borders of Scythia which abut upon the Caucasus mountains, annually, after the winter is over, exceptionally heavy snowstorms occur over many consecutive days; in the northern parts of India at certain seasons hailstones come beating down which in size and quantity surpass belief; about the Hydaspes river continuous rains fall at the opening of summer; and in Ethiopia, likewise, the same thing occurs some days later, this climatical condition, in its regular recurrence, always causing storms in the neighbouring regions. And so, he argues, it is nothing surprising if in Ethiopia as well, which lies above Egypt, continuous rains in the mountains, beating down during the summer, swell the river, especially since the plain fact itself is witnessed to by the barbarians who inhabit those regions. And if what has been said is of a nature opposite to what occurs among us, it should not be disbelieved on that score; for the south wind, for example, with us is accompanied by stormy weather, but in Ethiopia by clear skies, and in Europe the north winds are violent, but in that land they are gentle and light.

With regard, then, to the flooding of the Nile, though we are able to answer with more varied arguments all who have offered explanations of it, we shall rest content with what has been said, in order that we may not overstep the principle of brevity which we resolved upon at the beginning. And since we have divided this Book into two parts

\[2 \text{ καὶ παντελῶς ἀσθενεῖς added by D.}\]
eis duo merh diherhakein, stochozomevoi tis sym-
metrias, tin probh merida ton istoroumenvon
autov perigrapfomen, ta de synechei ton katan-
tazomen, archein poishamevoi tin apaggellan ton
gevomevon basiléon tis Aiguptou kal ton
palaiotaton bion par Aiguptión.
because of its length, inasmuch as we are aiming at
due proportion in our account,¹ at this point we
shall close the first portion of our history, and in the
second we shall set forth the facts in the history of
Egypt which come next in order, beginning with the
account of the former kings of Egypt and of the
coldest manner of life among the Egyptians.

¹ Cp. p. 96, n. 1.
ΜΕΡΙΣ ΔΕΤΣΕΡΑ ΤΗΣ ΠΡΩΤΗΣ ΒΙΒΛΟΤ

42. Τής πρώτης τῶν Διοδώρου βιβλίων διὰ τὸ μέγεθος εἰς δύο βιβλίους διήρημενης ἡ πρώτη μὲν περιέχει προοίμιον περὶ ὅλης τῆς πραγματείας καὶ τὰ λεγόμενα παρ’ Αὐγυπτίων περὶ τῆς τῶν κόσμου γενέσεως καὶ τῆς τῶν ὅλων ἔξ’ ἀρχῆς συστάσεως, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις περὶ τῶν θεῶν, ὅσοι πόλεις ἔκτισαν καὶ’ Ἀὐγυπτον ἐποιύμους ἐαυτῶν ποιήσαντες, περὶ τε τῶν πρῶτων γενομένων ἀνθρώπων καὶ τοῦ παλαιότατον βίου, τῆς τε τῶν ἀθανάτων τιμῆς καὶ τῆς τῶν ναῶν κατασκευῆς, ἐξῆς δὲ περὶ τῆς τοποθεσίας τῆς καὶ’ Ἀὐγυπτον χώρας καὶ τῶν περὶ τὸν Νεῖλον ποταμὸν παραδοξολογούμενων, τῆς τε τούτου πληρόσεως τὰς αἰτίας καὶ τῶν ἱστορικῶν καὶ φιλοσοφῶν ἀποφάσεις, εἴτε δὲ τὰς πρὸς ἐκαστὸν τῶν συγγραφέων ἀντιρρήσεις: ἐν ταύτῃ δὲ τῇ βιβλίῳ τὰ συνεχῶ τῶν προειρήμενοι διέξομεν. ἀρχόμεθα δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν γενομένων πρῶτων καὶ’ Ἀὐγυπτον βασιλέων, καὶ τὰς κατὰ μέρος αὐτῶν πράξεις ἐκθεσόμεθα μέχρι Ἄρματίδος τοῦ βασιλέως, προεκθέμενοι κεφαλαιώδῶς τὴν ἀρχαιοτάτην ἀγωγήν τῶν κατ’ Ἀὐγυπτον.

43. Βίῳ γὰρ τὸ παλαιὸν Ἀὐγυπτίων φασὶ χρῆσθαι τὸ μὲν ἀρχαιότατον πόλιν ἐσθίοντας καὶ

---

1 This title is found in Δ.
PART TWO OF THE FIRST BOOK

42. The First Book of Diodorus being divided because of its length into two volumes, the first contains the preface to the whole treatise and the accounts given by the Egyptians of the genesis of the world and the first forming of the universe; then he tells of the gods who founded cities in Egypt and named them after themselves, of the first men and the earliest manner of life, of the honour paid to the immortals and the building of their temples to them, then of the topography of Egypt and the marvels related about the river Nile, and also of the causes of its flooding and the opinions thereupon of the historians and the philosophers as well as the refutation of each writer. In this volume we shall discuss the topics which come next in order after the foregoing. We shall begin with the first kings of Egypt and set forth their individual deeds down to King Amasis, after we have first described in summary fashion the most ancient manner of life in Egypt.

43. As for their means of living in primitive times, the Egyptians, they say, in the earliest period got

1 This sentence as it stands is almost certainly not from the hand of Diodorus. But the following words do not connect well with the end of chapter 41. In Book 17, which is also broken into two Parts, the narrative continues without any such interruption as occurs here.
τῶν ἐν τοῖς ἔλεσι γινομένων τοὺς καυλοῦς καὶ τὰς ρίζας, πείραν διὰ τῆς γεύσεως ἐκάστου λαμβάνοντας, πρῶτην δὲ καὶ μάλιστα προσευχήσασθαι τὴν ὀνομαζόμενην ἀγροσιν διὰ τὸ καὶ τῇ γλυκύτητι διάφορον εἶναι καὶ τὴν τροφὴν ἄρκουσαν 2 παρέχεσθαι τοῖς σώμασι τῶν ἀνθρώπων· καὶ γὰρ τοῖς κτῆσις ταύτην θεωρεῖσθαι προσήτη καὶ ταχὺ τοὺς ὄγκους αὐτῶν προσανατρέψειν. διὸ καὶ τῆς εὐχαριστίας τῆς περὶ τὴν βοτάνην ταύτην μνημονεύοντας τοὺς ἀνθρώπους μέχρι τοῦ νῦν, ὅταν πρὸς θεοὺς βαδίζωσι, τῇ χειρὶ ταύτης λαμβάνοντας προσευχήσασθαι· οὕτων γὰρ τὸν ἀνθρώ- πον ἔλειον καὶ λιμνώδες εἶναι ἔξων, ἀπὸ τῆς λειότητος τεκμαιρόμενοι καὶ τῆς φυσικῆς ποιό- τητος, ἐτὸς τοῦ προσδεῖσθαι τροφῆς τῆς ὑγρᾶς 3 μᾶλλον ἢ τῆς ἔξως. δευτέραν δὲ λέγοντιν ἔχειν διαγωγὴν τοὺς Ἀιγυπτίους τὴν τῶν ἱχθίων βρῶσιν, πολλὴν δαφήλειαν παρεχομένου τοῦ ποταμοῦ καὶ μάλισθ' ὅτε μετὰ τὴν ἀνάβασιν 4 ταπεινοῦμενος ἀναξηραίνοιτο. ὅμως δὲ καὶ τῶν βοσκημάτων ἐνα σαρκοφαγεῖν, καὶ ταῖς δοραῖς τῶν κατεσθιομένων ἐσθησὶ χρήσθαι, καὶ τὰς οἰκήσεις ἐκ τῶν καλάμων κατασκευάζεσθαι. ἦχυς δὲ τοῦτων διαμένειν παρὰ τοῖς νομεύσι τοῖς κατ' Ἀιγυπτίου, οὕς ἀπαντάς φασὶ μέχρι τοῦ νῦν μηδεμίαν ἀλλὰν οἰκήσιν ἢ τὴν ἐκ τῶν καλάμων ἔχειν, δοκιμάζοντας ἄρκεσθαι ταύτη. 5 πολλοὺς δὲ χρόνους τοῦτο τῷ βίῳ διεξαγαγόντας 1 τὸ τελευταῖον ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐδώδημους μεταβήναι καρποῦς, δὲν εἶναι καὶ τὸν ἐκ τοῦ λωτοῦ γινόμενον ἄρτον. καὶ τούτων τὴν εὐρεσιν οἱ μὲν 1 διεξαγαγόντας Dindorf: διεξάγοντας.
their food from herbs and the stalks and roots of the plants which grew in the marshes, making trial of each one of them by tasting it, and the first one eaten by them and the most favoured was that called Agrostis,¹ because it excelled the others in sweetness and supplied sufficient nutriment for the human body; for they observed that this plant was attractive to the cattle and quickly increased their bulk. Because of this fact the natives, in remembrance of the usefulness of this plant, to this day, when approaching the gods, hold some of it in their hands as they pray to them; for they believe that man is a creature of swamp and marsh, basing this conclusion on the smoothness of his skin and his physical constitution, as well as on the fact that he requires a wet rather than a dry diet. A second way by which the Egyptians subsisted was, they say, by the eating of fish, of which the river provided a great abundance, especially at the time when it receded after its flood and dried up.² They also ate the flesh of some of the pasturing animals, using for clothing the skins of the beasts that were eaten, and their dwellings they built out of reeds. And traces of these customs still remain among the herdsmen of Egypt, all of whom, they say, have no other dwelling up to this time than one of reeds, considering that with this they are well enough provided for. After subsisting in this manner over a long period of time they finally turned to the edible fruits of the earth, among which may be included the bread made from the lotus. The discovery of these

¹ Dog’s-tooth grass.
² This must refer to the drying-up of the pools left by the flood.
DIODORUS OF SICILY

6 οἱ δ' ἱερεῖς εὐρετὴν τῶν μὲν παυδείων καὶ τῶν τεχνῶν μυθολογοῦσι τὸν Ἑρμῆν γεγονόνων, τῶν δὲ εἰς τὸν βίον ἀναγκαίων τοῖς βασιλείσι. διὸ καὶ τὸ παλαιὸν παραδίδοσθαι τὰς βασιλείας μὴ τοῖς εὐγόνοις τῶν ἄρξάτων, ἀλλὰ τοῖς πλείστοι καὶ μέγιστα τὸ πλῆθος ἐφεργετοῦσιν, εἴτε προκαλοῦμένων τῶν ἀνθρώπων τοὺς ἐφ' ἐαυτῶν βασιλεῖσιν ἐπὶ τὴν κοινὴν ἐφεργεσίαν, εἴτε καὶ κατ' ἀλήθειαν ἐν ταῖς ἱεραις ἀναγραφαῖς οὕτω παρειληφότων.

44. Μυθολογοῦσι δ' αὐτῶν τινες τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἄρξαι τῆς Αἰγύπτιου θεοῦ καὶ ἡρωᾶς ἐτη βραχὺ λειποῦντα τῶν μυρίων καὶ οἰκτικισθίων, καὶ θεῶν ἐσχατοῦ βασιλεύσαι τὸν Ἰσίδος Ωρον ὑπ' ἀνθρώπων δέ τὴν χώραν βεβασιλεύσθαι φασιν ἐτη βραχὺ λειποῦντα τῶν πεντακισχιλίων μέχρι τῆς ἐκατοστῆς καὶ οἰγδοκοστῆς Ὀλυμπιάδος, καθ' ἐν ἑμεῖς μὲν παρεβάλομεν εἰς Αἰγύπτων, ἐβασιλεῦσα δὲ Πτολεμαῖος ὁ νεὸς Διόνυσος χρηματικῶς τίκων. τούτων δὲ τὰ μὲν πλέοντα κατασχέσθω τῆς ἄρχην ἐγχωρίως βασιλείς, ὅλιγα δὲ Λιθίοπας καὶ Πέρσας καὶ Μακεδόνας. Λιθίοπας μὲν οὖν ἄρξαι τέτταρας, οὐ κατὰ τὸ ἔξις, ἀλλ' ἐκ διαστήματος, ἐτη τὰ πάντα βραχὺ λειποῦντα τῶν ἔξι καὶ τριάκοντα. Πέρσας δ' ἡγησάσθαι Καμβέσδων τοῦ βασιλέως τοῖς ὅπλοις καταστρεφόμενον τὸ ἐθνὸς πέντε πρὸς τοῖς ἐκατον καὶ τριάκοντα ἐτεσι σὺν

1 τῶν μὲν Dindorf: μὲν τῶν.
2 ἀπὸ Μολφίδος before ἐτη deleted by Dindorf.

is attributed by some to Isis, but by others to one of their early kings called Menas. The priests, however, have the story that the discoverer of the branches of learning and of the arts was Hermes, but that it was their kings who discovered such things as are necessary for existence; and that this was the reason why the kingship in early times was bestowed, not upon the sons of their former rulers, but upon such as conferred the greatest and most numerous benefits upon the peoples, whether it be that the inhabitants in this way sought to provoke their kings to useful service for the benefit of all, or that they have in very truth received an account to this effect in their sacred writings.

44. Some of them give the story that at first gods and heroes ruled Egypt for a little less than eighteen thousand years, the last of the gods to rule being Horus, the son of Isis; and mortals have been kings over their country, they say, for a little less than five thousand years down to the One Hundred and Eightieth Olympiad, the time when we visited Egypt and the king was Ptolemy, who took the name of The New Dionysus. For most of this period the rule was held by native kings, and for a small part of it by Ethiopians, Persians, and Macedonians. Now four Ethiopians held the throne, not consecutively but with intervals between, for a little less than thirty-six years in all; and the Persians, after their king Cambyses had subdued the nation by arms, ruled for one hundred and thirty-five years, including the

2 Ptolemy XI (80-51 B.C.), better known as Aulettes ("The Piper") and as the father of the famous Cleopatra.
3 The Ethiopian Period (Twenty-fifth Dynasty), ca. 715-663 B.C.; the Persian, 525-332 B.C.; on the Macedonian, 332-30 B.C., see the Introduction, pp. ix ff.
ταῖς τῶν Ἀγρυπτῶν ἀποστάσεσιν, ἀς ἐποιήσαντο φέρειν οὐ δυνάμενοι τὴν τραχύτητα τῆς ἑπιστα-
σίας καὶ τὴν εἰς τοὺς ἐγχώριους θεοὺς ἀσέβειαν.

4 ἐσχάτους δὲ Μακεδόνας ἂρξαι καὶ τοὺς ἀπὸ Ἐπειδὴ τοὺς διακοσλούς καὶ
Μακεδόνων ἐξ ἐτη πρὸς τοὺς ἐβδομήκοντα. τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς χρόνους ἀπαντάς
ἵνα βασιλεύσασι τῆς χώρας ἐγχώριους,

διατελέσαι βασιλεύσασιν τῆς χώρας ἐγχώριοι,

ἀνδρας μὲν ἐβδομήκοντα πρὸς τοὺς τετρακοσίους,

γυναῖκας δὲ πέντε· περὶ δὲν ἄπαντων οὐ μὲν

ιερεῖς εἶχον ἀναγραφᾶς ἐν ταῖς ἱεραῖς βίβλοις

ἐκ παλαιῶν χρόνων ἀπὸ τοὺς διαδόχους παρα-

dedeoména, ὁπωσθύρας ἐκκατοὶ τῶν βασιλευ-

σάντων ἑγένετο τῷ μεγέθει καὶ ὅποιος τῇ τῇ

φύσει καὶ τὰ κατὰ τοὺς ἱδίους χρόνους ἐκάστῳ

5 πραχθέντας· ἡμῖν δὲ περὶ ἐκάστου τὰ κατὰ μέρος

μακρὸν ἃν εἶη καὶ περίεργον γράφειν, ὡς ἃν τῶν

πλείστων ἀχρήστων περευλημένων. διότι τῶν

ἀξίων ἱστορίας τὰ κυριότατα συντόμως διεξεῖναι

περισσόμεθα.

45. Μετὰ τοὺς θεοὺς τοῖνυν πρῶτοι φασὶ

βασιλεύσαι τῆς Ἀγρυπτῶν Μηνᾶν, καὶ καταδείξα

τοὺς λαοῖς θεοὺς τε σέβεσθαι καὶ θυσίας ἐπι-

telei̇n, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις παρατίθεσθαι τραπέζας

καὶ κλίνας καὶ στρωμή πολυτελεῖ χρήσθαι, καὶ

τὸ σύνολον τρυφήν καὶ πολυτελὴ βίον εἰσηγή-

2 σασθαι. διὸ καὶ πολλαῖς ύστερον γενεαῖς βασι-

λεύνοντα Τνέφαχθον τὸν Βοκχόριδος τοῦ σοφοῦ

πατέρα λέγουσιν εἰς τὴν Ἀραβίαν στρατεύσαντα,

τῶν ἐπιτηδείων αὐτοῦ διὰ τὴν ἐρημίαν καὶ

τὰς δυσχώριας ἐκλιπόντων, ἀναγκασθέναι μέν

ἡμέραν ἐνδεὰ γενόμενον χρήσασθαι διαίτη παν-

tελῶς εὐτελεῖ παρὰ τισὶ τῶν τυχόντων ἱδιωτῶν,

158
periods of revolt on the part of the Egyptians which they raised because they were unable to endure the harshness of their dominion and their lack of respect for the native gods. Last of all the Macedonians and their dynasty held rule for two hundred and seventy-six years. For the rest of the time all the kings of the land were natives, four hundred and seventy of them being men and five women. About all of them the priests had records which were regularly handed down in their sacred books to each successive priest from early times, giving the stature of each of the former kings, a description of his character, and what he had done during his reign; as for us, however, it would be a long task to write of each of them severally, and superfluous also, seeing that most of the material included is of no profit. Consequently we shall undertake to recount briefly only the most important of the facts which deserve a place in history.

45. After the gods the first king of Egypt, according to the priests, was Menas, who taught the people to worship gods and offer sacrifices, and also to supply themselves with tables and couches and to use costly bedding, and, in a word, introduced luxury and an extravagant manner of life. For this reason when, many generations later, Tnehachthus, the father of Bocchoris the wise, was king and, while on a campaign in Arabia, ran short of supplies because the country was desert and rough, we are told that he was obliged to go without food for one day and then to live on quite simple fare at the home of some ordinary folk in private station, and that he, enjoying

1 Not identified. Wiedemann conjected that he might be Tef-sucht, of the 23rd Dynasty.
δεθέντα δὲ καθ’ ὑπερβολὴν καταγνώναι τῆς 
τρυφῆς καὶ τῷ καταδείκτος τὴν πολυτέλειαν 
ἐξ ἀρχῆς βασιλεῖ καταράσθαι· οὕτω δὲ ἐγκάρδιον 
αὐτῷ τὴν μεταβολὴν γενέσθαι τὴν περὶ τὴν 
βρῶσιν καὶ πόσιν καὶ κοίτην ὡστε τὴν κατάραν 
ἀναγράψαι τοῖς ιεροῖς γράμμασιν ἐλς τὸν τοῦ 
Δίδω ναὸν ἐν Θῆβαις· δὴ δοκεῖ μάλιστα αὐτῷ 
γενέσθαι τοῦ μὴ διαμεῖνα τὴν δόξαν τοῦ 
Μηνᾶ 3 καὶ τὰς τιμὰς εἰς τοὺς ἄστερον χρόνους. 
ἐξῆς δ’ 
ἀρξαί λέγεται τοῦ προειρημένου βασιλέως τοὺς 
ἀπογόνους δύο πρὸς τοὺς πενήνταντας τοὺς ἀπαντας 
ἐτη πλεῖον τῶν χιλίων καὶ τετταράκοντα· ἐφ’ ὧν 
μηδὲν ἄξιον ἀναγραφῆς γενέσθαι.

4 Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα κατασταθέντος βασιλέως 
Βουσίριδος καὶ τῶν τούτων πάλιν ἐκγόνων ὅκτῳ, 
τὸν τελευταῖον ὀμοίωμον δύτα τῷ πρώτῳ φαί 
κτίσαι τὴν ὑπὸ μὲν τῶν 1 Αἰγυπτίων καλομέμνην 
Δίδω πόλιν τὴν μεγάλην, ὑπὸ δὲ τῶν Ἐλλήνων 
Θῆβαις. τοὺς μὲν οὖν περίβολον αὐτὸν ὑποστή 
σασθαι σταδίων ἕκατον καὶ τετταράκοντα, οἰκο 
δομήμασι δὲ μεγάλοις καὶ ναοῖς ἐκπρεπέσι καὶ 
τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀναθήμασί κοσμῆσαι θαυμαστῶν 
5 ὀμοίως δὲ καὶ τὰς τῶν ἱδιωτῶν οἰκίας, ἃς μὲν 
τετραρόφους, ὡς δὲ πενταρόφους κατασκευᾶσι, 
καὶ καθόλου τὴν πόλιν εὐθαμονεστάτην οὐ μόνον 
τῶν καὶ Αἰγυπτίον, ἄλλα καὶ τῶν ἄλλων πασῶν 
6 ποιῆσαι. διὰ δὲ τὴν ὑπερβολὴν τῆς περὶ αὐτὴν 
ἐυπορίας τε καὶ δυνάμεως εἰς πάντα τῶν τῆς 
160
the experience exceedingly, denounced luxury and
pronounced a curse on the king who had first taught
the people their extravagant way of living; and so
deepl y did he take to heart the change which had
taken place in the people's habits of eating, drinking,
and sleeping, that he inscribed his curse in hiero-
glyphs on the temple of Zeus in Thebes; and this,
in fact, appears to be the chief reason why the fame
of Menas and his honours did not persist into later
ages. And it is said that the descendants of this
king, fifty-two in number all told, ruled in unbroken
succession more than a thousand and forty years, but
that in their reigns nothing occurred that was worthy
of record.

Subsequently, when Busiris became king and his
descendants in turn, eight in number, the last of the
line, who bore the same name as the first, founded,
they say, the city which the Egyptians call Diospolis
the Great, though the Greeks call it Thebes. Now
the circuit of it he made one hundred and forty
stades, and he adorned it in marvellous fashion with
great buildings and remarkable temples and dedica-
tory monuments of every other kind; in the same
way he caused the houses of private citizens to be
constructed in some cases four stories high, in other
five, and in general made it the most prosperous city,
not only of Egypt, but of the whole world. And
since, by reason of the city's pre-eminent wealth and
power, its fame has been spread abroad to every

1 "City of Zeus," the Diospolis Magna of the Romans.
The Egyptian name by which it was most commonly known
was Nu (or No), "the city."

1 των omitted by Vulgate, Bekker, Dindorf.
φήμης διαδεδομένης ἐπιμεμνήσθαι καὶ τὸν ποιητήν αὐτῆς φασὶν ἐν ὁὶς λέγει

οὐδ’ ὡσα Θῆβας
Διγυπτίας, ὥθι πλεῖστα δόμοις ἐνὶ κτήματα κεῖται,
ἀἱ ἐκατόμπτυλοῖ εἰσὶ, διηκόσιοι δ ἐν ἐκάστην ἀνέρες ἑξοικεύσει σὺν ἵπποισιν καὶ ὅχεσιν.

7 ἔνιοι δὲ φασὶν οὐ πῦλας ἐκατὸν ἐσχηκέναι τὴν πόλιν, ἀλλὰ πολλὰ καὶ μεγάλα προπύλαια τῶν ἴερῶν, ἢ’ οὖν ἐκατόμπτυλον ἀνομάσθαι, καθαπερεὶ πολύπτυλον. δισμύρια δ’ ἀρματα πρὸς ἀλῆθειαν ἐξ αὐτῆς εἰς τοὺς πολέμους ἐκπορεύεσθαι τοὺς γὰρ ἱππόνας ἐκατὸν γεγονόνα κατὰ τὴν παραπτομαίαν τὴν ἀπὸ Μέμφεως ἄχρι Θῆβῶν τῶν κατὰ τὴν Δίβυνη, ἐκάστου δεχομένην ἀνὰ διακοσίους ἱπποὺς, ὄτι ἐπὶ τὸ τὰ θεμέλια δείκνυσθαι.

46. Οὐ μόνον δὲ τούτον τῶν βασιλέα παρειλήφαμεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ὑστερῶν ἀρξάντων πολλοὺς εἰς τὴν αὐξήσει τῆς πόλεως περιολυμήθαν. ἀναθήματι τε γὰρ πολλοῖς καὶ μεγάλοις ἀργυροῖς καὶ χρυσοῖς, ἔτε δ’ ἐλεφαντίνοις, καὶ κολοττικῶν ἀνδριάντων πλήθει, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις κατασκευαῖς μονολίθων ὑβελλίσκων μηδεμίαν τῶν ὑπὸ τῶν ἴλιων οὕτω κεκοσμήσθαι. τεττάρων γὰρ ἱερῶν κατασκευασθέντων τὸ τε κάλλος καὶ τὸ μέγεθος θαυμαστὸν 1 εἶναι τὸ παλαιότατον, τρισκαίδεκα μὲν σταδίων τὴν περίμετρον, πέντε δὲ καὶ τετταράκοντα πηχῶν τὸ ὕψος, εἰκοσι

1 θαυμαστὸν D, Vogel : θαυμαστῶν ἐν C, Bekker, Dindorf.

Iliad 9. 384-4, where Achilles replies to Odysseus, rejecting the proffer of gifts from Agamemnon.

162
region, even the poet, we are told, has mentioned it when he says:¹

Nay, not for all the wealth
Of Thebes in Egypt, where in ev’ry hall
There lieth treasure vast; a hundred are
Her gates, and warriors by each issue forth
Two hundred, each of them with car and steeds.

Some, however, tell us that it was not one hundred ‘gates’ (pulai) which the city had, but rather many great propylaea in front of its temples, and that it was from these that the title ‘hundred-gated’ was given it, that is, ‘having many gateways.’ Yet twenty thousand chariots did in truth, we are told, pass out from it to war; for there were once scattered along the river from Memphis to the Thebes which is over against Libya one hundred post-stations,² each one having accommodation for two hundred horses, whose foundations are pointed out even to this day.

46. Not only this king, we have been informed, but also many of the later rulers devoted their attention to the development of the city. For no city under the sun has ever been so adorned by votive offerings, made of silver and gold and ivory, in such number and of such size, by such a multitude of colossal statues, and, finally, by obelisks made of single blocks of stone. Of four temples erected there the oldest ³ is a source of wonder for both its beauty and size, having a circuit of thirteen stades, a height of

² Stables where relays of horses were kept. Eichstädt would reject the whole of § 7 as spurious, and the words τῶν κατὰ τὴν Διοθυν appear to be unnecessary.
³ This is undoubtedly the Great Temple of Ammon at Karnak, the most imposing of all the monuments of Egypt.
δὲ καὶ τεττάρων ποδῶν τὸ πλάτος τῶν τοίχων.
3 ἀκόλουθον δὲ τῇ μεγαλοπρεπείᾳ ταυτη καὶ τὸν ἐν αὐτῷ κόσμον τῶν ἀναθημάτων γενέσθαι, τῇ τε διαπάνθθθειματον καὶ τῇ χειρουργίᾳ
4 περιττῶς εἰργασμένον. τὰς μὲν οὖν οἴκοδομας διαμεμενηκέναι μέχρι τῶν νεωτέρων χρόνων, τῶν δὲ ἀργυροῦ καὶ χρυσοῦ καὶ τῆς δὲ ἐλέφαντος καὶ λιθείας πολυτέλειαν ὑπὸ Πέρσῶν σεσυκληθῆθαι καὶ οὐς καὶροὺς ἐνέπρησε τὰ κατ' Λύγυπτον ἱερὰ Καμβύσης. οτε δὲ φασὶ τοὺς Πέρσας μετενεγκόντας τὴν ἐυπορίαν ταυτην εἰς τὴν Λασίαν καὶ τεχνές ἐξ Αἰγύπτου παραλαβόντας κατασκεύασαι τὰ περιβόητα βασίλεια τὰ τε ἐν Περσεπόλει καὶ τὰ ἐν Σούσοις καὶ τὰ ἐν Μηδίᾳ.
5 τοσοῦτο δὲ πλῆθος χρημάτων ὑποφαίνωσι γεγονόντει τότε κατ' Αἰγύπτον ὡστε τῶν κατὰ τὴν σύλησιν ὑπολειμμάτων κατακαυθέντων τὰ συναχθέντα κατὰ μικρὸν εὐρεθήναι χρυσίου μὲν πλεῖον τῶν τριακοσίων ταλάντων, ἀργυρίου δὲ οὐκ ἐλάττω τῶν δισχιλίων καὶ τριακοσίων ταλάντων.
6 εἶναι δὲ φασὶ καὶ τάφους ἐνταῦθα τῶν ἀρχαίων βασιλεῶν θαυμαστοὺς καὶ τῶν μεταγενεστέρων τοὺς εἰς τὰ παραπλῆσια φιλοτιμούμενοι ὑπερβολὴν οὐκ ἀπολείποντας.
7 Οἱ μὲν οὖν ἱερεῖς ἐκ τῶν ἀναγραφῶν ἔφασαν εὐρίσκειν ἐπτὰ πρὸς τοὺς τετταράκοντα τάφους βασιλικοὺς· εἰς δὲ Πτολεμαίου τῶν Δάγου διαιμείναι φασὶν ἐπτακαίδεκα μόνον, ὅπῃ τὰ πολλὰ κατέθαρτο καθ' οὖς χρόνους παρεβάλλομεν ἡμεῖς εἰς ἐκεῖνον τοὺς τόπους, ἐπὶ τῆς ἑκατοστῆς
8 καὶ ὁγισθηκόστης Ὀλυμπιάδος. οὐ μόνον δ' οἱ
forty-five cubits, and walls twenty-four feet thick. In keeping with this magnificence was also the embellishment of the votive offerings within the circuit wall, marvellous for the money spent upon it and exquisitely wrought as to workmanship. Now the buildings of the temple survived down to rather recent times, but the silver and gold and costly works of ivory and rare stone were carried off by the Persians when Cambyses burned the temples of Egypt; and it was at this time, they say, that the Persians, by transferring all this wealth to Asia and taking artisans along from Egypt, constructed their famous palaces in Persepolis and Susa and throughout Media. So great was the wealth of Egypt at that period, they declare, that from the remnants left in the course of the sack and after the burning the treasure which was collected little by little was found to be worth more than three hundred talents of gold and no less than two thousand three hundred talents of silver. There are also in this city, they say, remarkable tombs of the early kings and of their successors, which leave to those who aspire to similar magnificence no opportunity to outdo them.

Now the priests said that in their records they find forty-seven tombs of kings; but down to the time of Ptolemy son of Lagus, they say, only fifteen remained, most of which had been destroyed at the time we visited those regions, in the One Hundred and Eightieth Olympiad. Not only do the priests of

1 Cambyses was in Egypt from 525 to 522 B.C. The account of his excesses against the Egyptian religion and customs, given in great detail by Herodotus (3. 16 ff.), is almost certainly much exaggerated (see Gray in The Cambridge Ancient History, 4. pp. 22–3, but cp. Hall, ibid. 3. pp. 311–12); at any rate they fall toward the end of his stay in the country.
κατ' Ἀλχιμπτον ἵστεις ἐκ τῶν ἀναγραφῶν ἱστορίαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πολλοὶ τῶν Ἐλλήνων τῶν παραβαλόντων μὲν εἰς τὰς Ὀθῆβας ἐπὶ Πτολεμαίου τοῦ Λάγου, συνταξαμένων δὲ τὰς Ἀλχιπτικὰς ἱστορίας, ὃν ἔστη καὶ Ἐκαταίως, συμφώνουσι τοῖς υφ’ ἡμῶν εἰρημένοις.

47. Ἀπὸ γὰρ τῶν πρῶτων τάφων, ἐν οἷς παραδέδοται τὰς παλλακίδας τοῦ Διὸς τεθάφθαι, δέκα σταδίων φησίν υπάρχαι βασιλέως μνήμα τοῦ προσαγορευθέντος Ὀσυμανδύου. τούτου δὲ, κατὰ μὲν τὴν εἰσόδον υπάρχειν πυλῶνα λίθου ποικίλου, τὸ μὲν μῆκος δίπλεθρον, τὸ δ’ ὕψος τετταράκοντα καὶ πέντε πηχῶν διελθόντι δ’ αὐτὸν εἰναι λίθων περιστυλοῦν τετράγωνον, ἐκάστης πλευρὰς ὄψις τεττάρων πλέθρων υπηρείθαι δ’ ἀντὶ τῶν κίονων ξίδια πηχῶν ἐκκαλεῖκα μονόλθα, τῶν τύπων εἰς τὸν ἅρχαῖον τρόπον εἰργασμένα· τὴν ὀροφὴν τε πᾶσαν ἐπὶ πλάτος δυοῦν ὄργιων υπάρχειν μονόλθου, ἀστέρας ἐν κυανῷ καταπεποκιλμένην· ἐξῆς δὲ τοῦ περιστύλου τούτου πάλιν ἔτεραν εἰσόδου καὶ πυλῶνα τὰ μὲν ἄλλα παραπλήσιον τοῦ προειρημένου, γλυφαῖς δὲ παντοίαις περιττότερον 3 εἰργασμένον· παρὰ δὲ τὴν εἰσόδου ἕνδριμαντας εἶναι τρεῖς ἔξ ἐνὸς τοὺς πάντας λίθου μέλανος 1 τοῦ Συμνίτου, καὶ τούτων ἕνα μὲν καθήμενον

1 μέλανος Hertlein: Μέμονος.

1 Hecataeus of Abdera was an historian of the early third century B.C., author of an Aigyptiaka, from which the following description (47. 1–49. 5) of the tomb of Osymandias (Müller, 166
Egypt give these facts from their records, but many also of the Greeks who visited Thebes in the time of Ptolemy son of Lagus and composed histories of Egypt, one of whom was Hecataeus, agree with what we have said.

47. Ten stades from the first tombs, he says, in which, according to tradition, are buried the concubines of Zeus, stands a monument of the king known as Osymandyas. At its entrance there is a pylon, constructed of variegated stone, two plethra in breadth and forty-five cubits high; passing through this one enters a rectangular peristyle, built of stone, four plethra long on each side; it is supported, in place of pillars, by monolithic figures sixteen cubits high, wrought in the ancient manner as to shape; and the entire ceiling, which is two fathoms wide, consists of a single stone, which is highly decorated with stars on a blue field. Beyond this peristyle there is yet another entrance and pylon, in every respect like the one mentioned before, save that it is more richly wrought with every manner of relief; beside the entrance are three statues, each of a single block of black stone from Syene, of which one, that

Fragmenta historicorum Graecorum, 2. 389–91) is drawn. What Diodorus gives here is no more than a paraphrase, not a quotation, of Hecataeus (cp. the Introduction, p. xvii).

2 This is the great sanctuary erected by Ramses II for his mortuary service and known to every visitor at Thebes as the Ramesseum. In chap. 49, where Diodorus is not following Hecataeus, he calls it specifically a "tomb." H. R. Hall (Ancient History of the Near East, p. 317) derives the name Osymandyas from User-ma-Ra (or "Uashmuariya" as the Semites wrote it), one of the royal names of Ramses.

3 These were square pillars with engaged statues of Osiris, but they were not monoliths (cp. H. R. Hall, l.c., with illustration).
Diodorus of Sicily

υπάρχειν μέγιστον πάντων τῶν κατ' Αἴγυπτον, οὔ τὸν πόδα μετρούμενον ὑπερβάλλειν τοὺς ἔπτὰ πήχεις, ἐτέρους δὲ δόο πρὸς τοὺς γόνασι, τὸν μὲν ἐκ δεξιῶν, τὸν δὲ ἐξ εὐωνύμων, θυγατρὸς καὶ μητρός, τῷ μεγέθει λειτουρμένου τοῦ προειρήμενου μένου. τὸ δὲ ἔργον τοῦτο μὴ μόνον εἶναι κατὰ τὸ μέγεθος ἀποδοχῆς ἀξίου, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῇ τέχνῃ θαυμαστοῦ καὶ τῇ τοῦ λίθου φύσει διαφέρον, ὡς ἂν ἐν τῇ κοινῷ μεγέθει μίτῃ διαφύσεις μίτῃ κηλίδος μηδεμίας θεωρουμένης. ἐπιγεγράφατο δ' ἐπ' αὐτοῦ "Βασιλεὺς βασιλέων Ὀσυμανδύας εἰμί. εἶ δὲ τις εἰδέναι βούλεται τηλίκοις εἰμὶ καὶ ποτ' κείμαι, νικάτω τι τῶν ἐμῶν ἔργων."

Εἶναι δὲ καὶ ἄλλην εἰκόνα τῆς μητρὸς αὐτοῦ καθ' αὐτὴν πηχῶν εἰκόσι μονάριον, ἔχουσαν δὲ τρεῖς βασιλείας ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς, ἃς διασημαίνειν ὅτι καὶ θυγάτηρ καὶ γυνὴ καὶ μήτηρ βασιλέως ὑπήρξε.

Metā dē tōn pυλόνα περίστυλον εἶναι τοῦ προτέρου ἀξιολογώτερον, ἐν δὲ γῆς ἀπώρχειν παντοίας θηλωσας τοῦ πόλεμον τῶν γενόμενον αὐτῷ πρὸς τοὺς ἐν τοῖς Βάκτροις ἀποστάντας· ἐστρατεύσαι πεζῶν μεν τεταράκοντα μυρίσιν, ἱππεύσαι δὲ δισμυρίοις, εἰς τέτοια μέρη διηρκείς τῆς πάσης στρατιᾶς, δὴν ἀπάντων υἱός τοῦ βασιλέως ἐσχήκεναι τὴν ἡγεμονίαν.

48. Καὶ κατὰ μὲν τῶν πρῶτον τῶν τοῖχων τοῦ βασιλεία κατεσκεύασαν πολυρκοῦντα τεῖχος ὑπὸ ποταμοῦ περιόρρυτον καὶ προκινδυνεύοντα

---

1 The estimated weight of this colossus of Ramesses II is one thousand tons.

168
is seated, is the largest of any in Egypt,¹ the foot measuring over seven cubits, while the other two at the knees of this, the one on the right and the other on the left, daughter and mother respectively, are smaller than the one first mentioned. And it is not merely for its size that this work merits approbation, but it is also marvellous by reason of its artistic quality and excellent because of the nature of the stone, since in a block of so great a size there is not a single crack or blemish to be seen. The inscription upon it runs: "King of Kings am I, Osymandyas. If anyone would know how great I am and where I lie, let him surpass one of my works." There is also another statue of his mother standing alone, a monolith twenty cubits high, and it has three diadems on its head, signifying that she was both daughter and wife and mother of a king.

Beyond the pylon, he says, there is a peristyle more remarkable than the former one; in it there are all manner of reliefs depicting the war which the king waged against those Bactrians who had revolted; against these he had made a campaign with four hundred thousand foot-soldiers and twenty thousand cavalry, the whole army having been divided into four divisions, all of which were under the command of sons of the king.²

48. On the first wall the king, he says, is represented in the act of besieging a walled city which is surrounded by a river, and of leading the attack against

² This is the campaign of Ramses II against the Hittites in 1288 B.C. and the great battle around the city of Kadesh on the upper Orontes. The battle has been fully described by J. H. Breasted, The Battle of Kadesh (Decennial Publications of the University of Chicago, 1904), who estimates the size of the army at little more than 20,000.
Diodorus of Sicily

πρὸς τινὰς ἀντιτεταγμένους μετὰ λέοντος, συν-
αγωνιζομένου τοῦ θηρίου καταπληκτικῶς ὑπὲρ
οὗ τῶν ἐξηγουμένων οἱ μὲν ἐφασαν πρὸς ἀλλήθειαν
χειροῆθη λέοντα τρεφόμενον ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως
συγκινησεῖς αὐτῷ κατὰ τὰς μάχας καὶ τροπῆς
ποιεῖν τῶν ἐναντίων διὰ τὴν ἅλκην, τινὲς δ’
ἰστόρουν ὅτι καθ’ ὑπερβολὴν ἀνδρείας οὐ καὶ
φορτικῶς ἐθαυμάζεις βουλόμενος, διὰ
τῆς τοῦ λέοντος εἴκονος τὴν διάθεσιν εαυτοῦ τῆς
1 ψυχῆς ἐσῆμαινεν. ἐν δὲ τῷ δευτέρῳ τοῖχῳ τῶν
ἀιχμαλώτων ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως ἀγομένους εἰργά-
σθαι τὰ τε αἰδοία καὶ τὰς χείρας οὐκ ἔχουσας,
δι’ ὅν δοκεῖν δηλοῦσθαι διότι ταῖς ψυχαῖς
ἀνανδροὶ καὶ κατὰ τὰς ἐν τοῖς δεινοῖς ἐνεργαίας
3 ἄχειρες ἦσαν. τὸν δὲ τρίτον ἔχειν γλυφάς
παντολείας καὶ διαπρεπέσις γραφάς, δι’ ὅν δηλοῦσθαι
βουλούσας τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ θρίαμβον ἀπὸ τοῦ
4 πολέμου καταγόμενον. κατὰ δὲ μέσον τὸν περί-
στυλον ὑπαίθριον βωμὸν ἑκοδομήσατι τοῦ καλ-
λίστου Χίθου τῇ τῆς θεομυργία διάφορον καὶ τῷ
5 μεγάλει θαυμαστὸν. κατὰ δὲ τὸν τελευταίον
τοῖχον ὑπάρχειν ἀνδριάντας καθημένους δύο μονο-
λήσους ἐπτὰ καὶ εἰκοσί πηχῶν, παρ’ οὓς εἰσόδους
τρεῖς ἐκ τοῦ περιστύλου κατεσκευάσθαι, καθ’
δ’ ὅσον ὑπάρχειν ὑπόστυλον, οὐδείον τρόπον
κατεσκευασμένον, ἐκατόρθων πλευρὰν ἐχοντα δι-
6 πλεθρον. ἐν τούτῳ δ’ εἶναι πλῆθος ἀνδριάντων

1 φορτικῶς Vogel: φορτικὸς Vulgata, Bekker, Dindorf.

This sentence is apparently not from Hecataeus. Breasted (l.c., pp. 44-5) holds that this lion is purely decorative, though the reliefs of the battle show a tame lion accompanying Ramses on the campaign.

170
opposing troops; he is accompanied by a lion, which is aiding him with terrifying effect. Of those who have explained the scene some have said that in very truth a tame lion which the king kept accompanied him in the perils of battle and put the enemy to rout by his fierce onset; but others have maintained that the king, who was exceedingly brave and desirous of praising himself in a vulgar way, was trying to portray his own bold spirit in the figure of the lion.\(^1\) On the second wall, he adds, are wrought the captives as they are being led away by the king; they are without their privates and their hands, which apparently signifies that they were effeminate in spirit and had no hands when it came to the dread business of warfare.\(^2\) The third wall carries every manner of relief and excellent paintings, which portray the king performing a sacrifice of oxen and celebrating a triumph after the war. In the centre of the peristyle there had been constructed of the most beautiful stone an altar, open to the sky, both excellent in its workmanship and marvellous because of its size. By the last wall are two monolithic seated statues, twenty-seven cubits high, beside which are set three entrances from the peristyle; and by way of these entrances one comes into a hall whose roof was supported by pillars, constructed in the style of an Odeum,\(^3\) and measuring two plethra on each side. In this hall there are many wooden statues representing parties

\(^{1}\) The reliefs of the battle show Ramses in his chariot and the severed hands of the slain, not of the captives, being cast before him (Breasted, l.c., p. 45).

\(^3\) i.e. a Music Hall, distinguished, in general, by the ancients from a theatre by its roof and supporting pillars. This is the great hypostyle hall behind the second court (cf. the Plan in Baedeker's Egypt, opp. p. 301).
ΔΙΟΔΩΡΟΣ Ο ΣΙΚΙΛΗ

έντις, διασημαίνον τούς ἀμφισβητήσεις ἕχοντας καὶ προσβλέποντας τοῖς τὰς δίκας κρίνοντι: τούτους δὲ ἐφ' ἐνὸς τῶν τοῖχων ἐγγεγλύφθαι τριάκοντα τὸν ἀριθμὸν ἄχειρας, καὶ κατὰ τὸ μέσον τὸν ἀρχιδικαστὴν, ἔχοντα τὴν Ἀλήθειαν ἐξηρτημένην ἐκ τοῦ τραχύλου καὶ τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς ἐπιμύνοντα, καὶ βιβλίων αὐτῶν παρακείμενον πλῆθος: ταῦτας δὲ τὰς εἰκόνας ἐνδείκνυσθαι διὰ τοῦ σχήματος ὅτι τοὺς μὲν δικαστὰς οὐδὲν ἔδει λαμβάνειν, τὸν ἀρχιδικαστὴν δὲ πρὸς μόνην βλέπειν τὴν ἀλήθειαν.

49. Ἔξης δ' ὑπάρχειν περίπατον οϊκῶν παντοδαπῶν πλήρη, καθ' οἷς παντοῖα γένη βρωτῶν κατεσκευάζοντα ὑδίστων. καθ' δὲ γλυφαῖς ἐνυφαίην εἶναι καὶ χρώμασιν ἐπηθυμομένον τὸν Βασιλέα, φέροντα τῷ θεῷ χρυσὸν καὶ ἄργυρον, ὥστε ἑράμβανε τῆς Αἰγύπτου κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν ἐκ τῶν ἄργυρειν καὶ χρυσεῖν μετάλλων ὑπογεγράφθαι δὲ καὶ τὸ πλῆθος, δ' εὐγεφαλαίουμενον εἰς ἄργυρίον λόγον εἶναι μνῶν τραχυλίας καὶ διακοσίας μυρίδας. Ἔξης δ' ὑπάρχειν τὴν ιερὰν βιβλιοθήκην, ἐν' ἑς ἐπιγεγράφθαι Ψυχῆς ἱερεῖον, συνεχεῖς δὲ ταύτῃ τῶν κατ' Αἰγύπτου θεῶν ἀπάντων εἰκόνας, τοῦ βασιλέως ὁμοίως δωροφοροῦντο ἢ προσήκον ἢν ἐκάστοις, καθαύπερ ἐνδεικνυμένον πρὸς τῷ Ὀσίριν καὶ τοὺς

1 tās before ἀμφισβητήσεις omitted by D, Vogel: retained by Bekker, Dindorf.
2 ἄχειρας added by Hertlein, op. Plutarch, Mor. 355 A.
3 ἐπιμύνοντα Hertlein: ἐπιμύνοντα.
4 The text is defective. Reiße conjectures γλυφάς εὐ τοῖχῳ ἵδειν εἴναι.

172
in litigation, whose eyes are fixed upon the judges who decide their cases; and these, in turn, are shown in relief on one of the walls, to the number of thirty and without any hands, and in their midst the chief justice, with a figure of Truth hanging from his neck and holding his eyes closed, and at his side a great number of books. And these figures show by their attitude that the judges shall receive no gift and that the chief justice shall have his eyes upon the truth alone.

49. Next to these courts, he says, is an ambulatory crowded with buildings of every kind, in which there are representations of the foods that are sweetest to the taste, of every variety. Here are to be found reliefs in which the king, adorned in colours, is represented as offering to the god the gold and silver which he received each year from the silver and gold mines of all Egypt; and an inscription below gives also the total amount, which, summed up according to its value in silver, is thirty-two million minas. Next comes the sacred library, which bears the inscription “Healing-place of the Soul,” and contiguous to this building are statues of all the gods of Egypt, to each of whom the king in like manner makes the offering appropriate to him, as though he were submitting proof before Osiris and his assessors.

---

1 A word to this effect, which is found in a description of “figures in Thebes” by Plutarch (On Isis and Osiris, 10), must almost certainly have stood in the text, to give a basis for the thought in the next sentence that the judges should not receive gifts; op. Plutarch, i.e., ὅτα ἠθερυν ἢμα τὴν δίκαιο-

σῶραν καὶ ἀνέπεμπτον ὅθαν (“showing that justice should take no gifts and should be inaccessible to influence”).

2 On this Supreme Court see chap. 75.
DIODORUS OF SICILY

κατω παρέδρους ὁτι τῶν βίων ἔξετέλεσεν εὔσεβῶν καὶ δικαιοπραγών πρὸς τε ἀνθρώπους καὶ θεούς. 4 ὁμότοιχον δὲ τῇ βιβλιοθήκῃ κατεσκευάζαι πε- 
ριτῶς οίκον εἰκοσίκλινον, ἔχοντα τοῦ τε Δίως 
καὶ τῆς Ἡρας, ἔτι δὲ τοῦ βασιλέως, εἰκώνας, 
ἐν ὃ δοκεῖν καὶ τὸ σῶμα τοῦ βασιλέως ἑντε- 
5 θάφθαι. κύκλῳ δὲ τοῦτον πλῆθος οἰκημάτων 
κατεσκευάζαι γραφὴν ἐχόντων ἐκπρεπή πάντων 
τῶν καθιερωμένων ἐν Διόνυσῳ ξώων· ἀνάβασιν 
τε δὲ αὐτῶν εἶναι πρὸς ὅλον τῶν τάφων ἢ 
διελθοῦσιν ὑπάρχειν ἐπὶ τοῦ μνήματος κύκλων 
χυσοῦν τριακοσίων καὶ ἐξήκουν καὶ πέντε 
πηχῶν τὴν περίμετρον, τὸ δὲ πάχος πτηχων. 
ἐπιγεγράφθαι δὲ καὶ διηρήθαι καθ’ ἐκαστὸν 
πῆχυν τὰς ἡμέρας τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ, παραγεγραμ- 
μένου τῶν κατὰ φύσιν γυνομένων τῶν ἀστροις 
ἀνατολῶν τε καὶ δύσεων καὶ τῶν διὰ ταύτας 
ἐπιτελωθέμενων ἐπισημασιῶν κατὰ τοὺς Διόνυ- 
σιοὺς ἀστρολόγους. τοῦτον δὲ τὸν κύκλον ὑπὸ 
Καμβύσου καὶ Περσῶν ἐφασαν σευλήσθαι καθ’ 
οὐς χρόνους ἐκράτησεν Διόνυσον.

6 Τὸν μὲν οὖν Ὄσυμανδύον τοῦ βασιλέως τάφον 
τοιοῦτον γενέσθαι φασίν, δι οὐ μόνον δοκεῖ τῇ 
kατὰ τὴν δαπάνην χρημάτων πολὺ τῶν ἄλλων 
dιενεγκεῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῇ τῶν τεχνών ἐπιπολα.

50. Οί δὲ Θηβαιοὶ φασίν ἑαυτοὺς ἀρχαιοτάτους 
εἰναι πάντων ἀνθρώπων, καὶ παρ’ ἑαυτοῖς πρῶτοις 

1 ὅλον has been suspected. Hertlein conjectured ἄκρον, 
4 τοιοῦτον οἰκημάτων κατεσκευάζαι γραφὴν ἐχόντων ἐκπρεπή πάντων τῶν ἀναβασιν 
5 θάφθαι. κύκλῳ δὲ τοῦτον πλῆθος οἰκημάτων κατεσκευάζαι γραφὴν ἐχόντων ἐκπρεπή πάντων τῶν ἀναβασιν τε δὲ αὐτῶν εἶναι πρὸς ὅλον τῶν τάφων ἢ διελθοῦσιν ὑπάρχειν ἐπὶ τοῦ μνήματος κύκλων χυσοῦν τριακοσίων καὶ ἐξήκουν καὶ πέντε πηχῶν τὴν περίμετρον, τὸ δὲ πάχος πτηχων ἐπιγεγράφθαι δὲ καὶ διηρήθαι καθ’ ἐκαστὸν πῆχυν τὰς ἡμέρας τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ, παραγεγραμμένων τῶν κατὰ φύσιν γυνομένων τῶν ἀστροις ἀνατολῶν τε καὶ δύσεων καὶ τῶν δια ταύταις ἐπιτελωθέμενων ἐπισημασιῶν κατὰ τοὺς Διόνυσιοὺς ἀστρολόγους. τοῦτον δὲ τὸν κύκλον ὑπὸ Καμβύσου καὶ Περσῶν ἐφασαν σευλήσθαι καθ’ οὐς χρόνους ἐκράτησεν Διόνυσον.

2 πάχος all editors. Capps conjectures πλάτος. 

174
in the underworld that to the end of his days he had lived a life of piety and justice towards both men and gods. Next to the library and separated from it by a party wall is an exquisitely constructed hall, which contains a table with couches for twenty and statues of Zeus and Hera as well as of the king; here, it would seem, the body of the king is also buried. In a circle about this building are many chambers which contain excellent paintings of all the animals which are held sacred in Egypt. There is an ascent leading through these chambers to the tomb as a whole. At the top of this ascent there is a circular border of gold crowning the monument, three hundred and sixty-five cubits in circumference and one cubit thick;\(^1\) upon this the days of the year are inscribed, one in each cubit of length, and by each day the risings and settings of the stars as nature ordains them and the signs indicating the effects which the Egyptian astrologers hold that they produce.\(^2\) This border, they said, had been plundered by Cambyses and the Persians when he conquered Egypt.

Such, they say, was the tomb of Osmandyas the king, which is considered far to have excelled all others, not only in the amount of money lavished upon it, but also in the ingenuity shown by the artificers.

50. The Thebans say that they are the earliest of all men and the first people among whom philosophy\(^3\)

\(^1\) In place of "one cubit thick" one should certainly expect "one cubit wide." In that case the space for the portrayal of each day would be one cubit square.

\(^2\) Here ends the account drawn, except for occasional remarks of Diodorus, from Hecataeus.

\(^3\) i.e. in the wider sense of study of knowledge.
Diodorus of Sicily

philosophian the eurythmēs atrophologian, āma kai tis χώρας autōis sunerγουσης προς to τηλαυγέστερον ὀρᾶν tais ēπτοσιαζά το καὶ δύσεις τῶν ἀστρων. ἰδίως δὲ καὶ τὰ περὶ τοὺς μήνας αὐτοῖς καὶ τοὺς ἐναιστός διατετάχθαι.1 tais γὰρ ἡμέρας οὐκ ἄγουσι κατὰ σελήνην, ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὸν ἡλίον, τριακονθημέρους μὲν τιθέμενοι τοὺς μήνας, πέντε δ' ἡμέρας καὶ τέσσαρα τοῖς δώδεκα μησινὲ ἐπάγουσι, καὶ τοῦτο τὸ τρόπῳ τὸν ἐνιαύσιον κύκλον ἀναπληροῦσιν. ἐμβολίμους δὲ μήνας οὐκ ἄγουσιν οὐδ' ἡμέρας υφαιροῦσι, καθάπερ οἱ πλείστοι τῶν Ἑλλήνων. περὶ δὲ τῶν ἐκλείψεων ἡλίου τε καὶ σελήνης ἀκριβώς ἐπεσκέφθαι δοκοῦσι, καὶ προρρήσεις περὶ τούτων ποιοῦνται, πάντα τὰ κατὰ μέρος γυνόμενα προλέγοντες ἀδιαπτῶς.

3 Tōn δὲ τούτου τοῦ βασιλέως ἀπογόνων όγδοος ὁ 2 προσαγορευθεὶς Οὔχορευς ἐκτισε πόλιν Μέμφιον, ἐπιφανεστάτην τῶν κατ' Αὔγουστον. ἐξελέγατο μὲν γὰρ τόπον ἐπικαιρότατον ἀπάσης τῆς χώρας, ὅπου σχεδόμενος ὁ Νεῖλος εἰς πλείουσα μέρη ποτεῖ τό καλούμενον ἀπὸ τοῦ σχήματος Δέλτα. διὸ καὶ συνέβη τὴν πόλιν εὐκαίρως κειμένην ἐπὶ τῶν κλείθρων εἰναι κυριεύωσαν 4 τῶν εἰς τὴν ἀνω χώραν ἀναπλεώντων. τὸ μὲν οὖν περίβολον τῆς πόλεως ἐποίησε σταδίων ἐκατόν καὶ πεντήκοντα, τὴν δ' ὀχυρότητα καὶ

1 Camusatus conjectured diatetaktai, which is adopted by Bekker, Dindorf.
2 ἀπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς after ὁ omitted by CEF.

1 The Egyptians undoubtedly knew the proper length of the year, but their year was one of 365 days and there is no 176
and the exact science of the stars were discovered, since their country enables them to observe more distinctly than others the risings and settings of the stars. Peculiar to them also is their ordering of the months and years. For they do not reckon the days by the moon, but by the sun, making their month of thirty days, and they add five and a quarter days to the twelve months and in this way fill out the cycle of the year. But they do not intercalate months or subtract days, as most of the Greeks do. They appear to have made careful observations of the eclipses both of the sun and of the moon, and predict them, foretelling without error all the events which actually occur.

Of the descendants of this king, the eighth, known as Uchoreus, founded Memphis, the most renowned city of Egypt. For he chose the most favourable spot in all the land, where the Nile divides into several branches to form the “Delta,” as it is called from its shape; and the result was that the city, excellently situated as it was at the gates of the Delta, continually controlled the commerce passing into upper Egypt. Now he gave the city a circumference of one hundred and fifty stades, and made it record of their ever officially intercalating a day every four years, as, indeed, Diodorus tells us in the next sentence (op. The Cambridge Ancient History, I. p. 168). The distinct contribution of the Egyptians to the calendar was the rejection of the lunar month and the recognition that the length of the divisions of the year should be conventional. It was this conventional month which Julius Caesar introduced into the lunar month calendar of the Romans, practically all ancient writers saying in one way or another that the idea for his calendar came from Egypt (op. J. H. Breasted, A History of Egypt, pp. 32-3).
Diodorus of Sicily

τὴν εὐχρηστίαν θαυμαστὴν, τοιῶδε τινι τρόπω
κατασκεύασας, ἰέοντος γὰρ τοῦ Νεῖλου περὶ
tὴν πόλιν καὶ κατὰ τὰς ἀναβάσεις ἐπικλύσωντος,
ἄπο μὲν τοῦ νότου προεβάλετο χώμα παμ-
mέγεθες, πρὸς μὲν τὴν πληρωσιν τοῦ ποταμοῦ
προβλήματος, πρὸς δὲ τοὺς ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς πολε-
mίους ἀκροτόλεως ἔχουν τάξιν ἐκ δὲ τῶν ἄλλων
μερῶν πανταχόθεν ὁμοίως λίμνην μεγάλην καὶ
βαθείαν, ἢ τὸ σφοδρῶν τοῦ ποταμοῦ δεχομένη
καὶ πάντα τὸν περὶ τὴν πόλιν τόπον πληροῦσα,
πλην ἢ τὸ χώμα κατασκεύαστο, θαυμαστὴν

ἐποίει τὴν ὁχυρώτητα. οὕτω δὲ καλῶς ὁ κτίσας
αὐτὴν ἐστοχάσατο τῆς τῶν τότων εὐκαιρίας ὅστε
τοὺς ἐξῆς βασιλεῖς σχεδὸν ἅπαντας καταλείποντας
τὰς Θῆβας τὰ τε βασιλεία καὶ τὴν οἰκήσιν ἐν
ταύτῃ ποιεῖσθαι. διόπερ ἀπὸ τούτων τῶν χρό-

νων ἥρατο ταπεινοῦσθαι μὲν τὰ περὶ τὰς Θῆβας,
αὔξεσθαι δὲ τὰ περὶ τὴν Μέμφιν, ἤδη Ἀλε-
ξάνδρου τοῦ βασιλεῶς. τούτου γὰρ ἐπὶ θαλάττῃ
tὴν ἐπάνυμον αὐτῷ πόλιν οἰκίσαντος οἱ κατὰ
τὸ ἐξῆς βασιλεύσαντες τῆς Ἀγάπτου πάντες

ἐφιλοτιμήθησαν εἰς τὴν ταύτης αὔξησιν. οἱ μὲν
γὰρ βασιλεῖς μεγαλοπρεπὲσιν, οἱ δὲ νεώριοις
καὶ λιμέσι, οἱ δὲ ἠτέροις ἀναβήμασι καὶ κατα-
σκευάσμασιν ἄξιολόγοις ἐπὶ τοσούτων ἐκόσμησαν
αὐτὴν ὡστε παρὰ τοῖς πλείστοις πρὸς τὴν ἅρμιν
δευτέραν ἀριθμεῖσθαι τὸν κατὰ τὴν οἰκουμένην
πόλεως. ἄλλα περὶ μὲν ταύτης τὰ κατὰ μέρος
ἐν τοῖς ἰδίοις χρόνοις ἀναγράφομεν.

51. Ὅ δὲ τὴν Μέμφιν κτίσας μετὰ τὴν τοῦ
χώματος καὶ τῆς λίμνης κατασκευήν ἀκοδόμησε
βασιλεία τῶν μὲν παρὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις οὐ λειπό-
178
remarkably strong and adapted to its purpose by works of the following nature. Since the Nile flowed around the city and covered it at the time of inundation, he threw out a huge mound of earth on the south to serve as a barrier against the swelling of the river and also as a citadel against the attacks of enemies by land; and all around the other sides he dug a large and deep lake, which, by taking up the force of the river and occupying all the space about the city except where the mound had been thrown up, gave it remarkable strength. And so happily did the founder of the city reckon upon the suitableness of the site that practically all subsequent kings left Thebes and established both their palaces and official residences here. Consequently from this time Thebes began to wane and Memphis to increase, until the time of Alexander the king; for after he had founded the city on the sea which bears his name, all the kings of Egypt after him concentrated their interest on the development of it. Some adorned it with magnificent palaces, some with docks and harbours, and others with further notable dedications and buildings, to such an extent that it is generally reckoned the first or second city of the inhabited world. But a detailed description of this city we shall set forth in the appropriate period.

51. The founder of Memphis, after constructing the mound and the lake, erected a palace, which, while not inferior to those of other nations, yet was

1 In common with all the Greek writers, Diodorus knew nothing about the chronological development of Egyptian history. The great period of Thebes was to come with the Eighteenth Dynasty, after 1600 B.C., many centuries subsequent to the founding of Memphis.

2 Alexandria is more fully described in Book 17. 52.
μενα, τῆς δὲ τῶν προβασιλευσάντων μεγα-

2 λοψυχίας καὶ φιλοκαλίας οὐχ ἄξια. οἱ γὰρ ἐγχώριοι τὴν μὲν ἐν τῷ ξῆν χρόνῳ εὐτελὴ παντελῶς εἶναι νομίζουσι, τὸν δὲ μετὰ τὴν τελευτὴν δι᾿ ἀρετὴν μηνημονευθησόμενον περὶ πλείοντο ποιοῦνται, καὶ τὰς μὲν τῶν ξώτων οἰκήσεως καταλῦσεις ὁμομάζουσιν, ὡς ὁλόγον χρόνον ἐν ταύταις οἰκούντων ἡμῶν, τοὺς δὲ τῶν τετελευτηκότων τάφοις ἀτίθας οἶκους προσαγο-

ρεύουσιν, ὡς ἐν ἄδου διατελοῦντων τῶν ἀπειρον 

αἰώνα: διόπερ τῶν μὲν κατὰ τὰς οἰκίας κατα-

σκευῶν ἦττων φροντίζουσι, περὶ δὲ τὰς ταφὰς 

ὐπερβολὴν οὐκ ἀπολεῖσθαι πιστεύομαι.

3 Τὴν δὲ προειρημένην πόλιν ὄνομασθήναι τινὲς 

φασιν ἀπὸ τῆς θυγατρὸς τοῦ κτίσαντος αὐτὴν 

βασιλέως. ταύτης δὲ μυθολογούσιν ἐρασθήναι 

τὸν ποταμὸν Νεῖλον ὁμοιωθέντα ταῦτα, καὶ 

γεννῆσαι τὸν ἐπ᾿ ἀρετὴν θαυμασθέντα παρὰ τοῖς 

ἐγχωρίοις Αἴγυπτος, ἀφ᾿ οὗ καὶ τὴν σύμπασιν 

4 χώραν τυχεῖν τῆς προσηγορίας. διαδεξάμενον 

γὰρ τούτον τὴν ἤγεμονίαν γενέσθαι βασιλέα 

φιλάνθρωπον καὶ δικαίον καὶ καθόλου σπου-

δαῖον ἐν πάσι: διὸ καὶ μεγάλης ἀποδοχῆς ἄξιοῦ-

μενον ὑπὸ πάντων διὰ τὴν εὐνοιαν τυχεῖν τῆς 

προειρημένης τιμῆς.

5 Μετὰ δὲ τῶν προειρημένων βασιλέα δῶδε 

γενεάς ὑστερον διαδεξάμενος τὴν κατ᾿ Ἀἴγυπτον 

ἡγεμονίαν Μοῖρας ἐν μὲν τῇ Μέμφει κατεσκεύασε 

τὰ βόρεια προπύλαια, τῇ μεγαλοπρεπείᾳ πολὺ 

τῶν ἄλλων ὑπερέχοντα, ἐπὶ πάνω δὲ τῆς πόλεως 

ἀπὸ δέκα σχοίνων Ἀμύνην ὁρυξε τῇ μὲν εὐχρη-

στίᾳ θαυμαστήν, τῷ δὲ μεγέθει τῶν ἔργων.
no match for the grandeur of design and love of the beautiful shown by the kings who preceded him. For the inhabitants of Egypt consider the period of this life to be of no account whatever, but place the greatest value on the time after death when they will be remembered for their virtue, and while they give the name of "lodgings" to the dwellings of the living, thus intimating that we dwell in them but a brief time, they call the tombs of the dead "eternal homes," since the dead spend endless eternity in Hades; consequently they give less thought to the furnishings of their houses, but on the manner of their burials they do not forgo any excess of zeal.

The aforementioned city was named, according to some, after the daughter of the king who founded it. They tell the story that she was loved by the river Nile, who had assumed the form of a bull, and gave birth to Egyptus, a man famous among the natives for his virtue, from whom the entire land received its name. For upon succeeding to the throne he showed himself to be a kindly king, just, and, in a word, upright in all matters; and so, since he was held by all to merit great approbation because of his goodwill, he received the honour mentioned.

Twelve generations after the king just named, Moeris succeeded to the throne of Egypt and built in Memphis itself the north propylaea, which far surpasses the others in magnificence, while ten schoeni\(^1\) above the city he excavated a lake which was remarkable for its utility and an undertaking of

\(^1\) Herodotus (2. 6) says that the _schoenus_ was an Egyptian measure, equal to sixty stades or approximately seven miles, but according to Strabo (17. 1. 24) it varied from thirty to one hundred and twenty stades. At any rate the Fayum is about sixty miles from the site of ancient Memphis.
6 ἀπειστοῦ τὴν μὲν γὰρ περίμετρον αὐτῆς φασιν ὑπάρχειν σταδίων τρισεκλών καὶ ἐξακοσίων, τὸ δὲ βάθος ἐν τοῖς πλείστοις μέρεσιν ὀργυών πεντήκοντα. ὡστε τίς οὖν ἂν ἀναλογιζόμενος τῷ μέγεθος τοῦ κατασκευάσματος εἰκότως ξητήσαι πόσαι μυριάδες ἄνδρῶν ἐν πόσαις ἐτεσὶ τούτο
7 συνετέλεσαν; τὴν δὲ χρείαν τὴν ἐκ ταύτης καὶ κοινωφελίαν τοῖς τὴν Διόγυπτον οἴκουσιν, ἐτί δὲ τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως ἐπίνοιαν, οὐκ ἂν τις ἐπαινέσει τῆς ἀληθείας ἄξιος.

Δ2. Ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ὁ μὲν Νεῖλος οὐχ ὀρισμένας ἐποιεῖτο τὰς ἀναβάσεις, ἢ δὲ χρόνα τὴν εὐκαρπίαν παρακεύσειν ἀπὸ τῆς ἐκείνου συμμετρίας, εἰς ὑποδοχὴν τοῦ πλεονάζοντος ὑδάτων ὀρμεῖ τὴν λίμνην, ὡποὺς μῆτε διὰ τὸ πλῆθος τῆς ρύσεως ἐπικλύζων ἀκάρως τὴν χώραν ἐλη καὶ λίμνας κατασκευάζῃ, μὴ ἐλάττω τοῦ συμφέροντός την πληρώσων ποιούμενος τῇ λειψυδρίᾳ τοὺς καρποὺς

2 λυμαίνηται, καὶ διώρυγα μὲν ἐκ τοῦ ποταμοῦ κατασκεύασεν εἰς τὴν λίμνην ὑγιούσκοντα μὲν σταδίων τὸ μήκος, τρίπλεθρον δὲ τὸ πλάτος· διὰ δὲ ταύτης ποτὲ μὲν δεχόμενος τῶν ποταμῶν, ποτὲ δ᾽ ἀποβρέφων, παρεῖχε τοῖς γεωργοῖς τὴν τῶν ὑδάτων εὐκαιρίαν, ἀνοιγόμενου τοῦ στόματος καὶ πάλιν κλεισμένου φιλοτέχνους καὶ πολυδαπάνους· οὖν ἔλαττω γὰρ τῶν πεντήκοντα ταλάντων δαπανᾶν ἢν ἀνάγκη τὸν ἀνοιξαι βουλόμενον ἢ κλεῖσαι τὸ προειρημένον κατασκεύασμα.

3 διαμεμένηκε δὲ ἡ λίμνη τὴν εὐχρηστίαν παρεχομένη τοῖς κατ᾽ Διόγυπτον ἐως τῶν καθ’ ἡμῖν χρόνων, καὶ τὴν προσηγορίαν ἀπὸ τοῦ κατα.
incredible magnitude.¹ For its circumference, they say, is three thousand six hundred stades and its depth in most parts fifty fathoms; what man, accordingly, in trying to estimate the magnitude of the work, would not reasonably inquire how many myriads of men labouring for how many years were required for its completion? And as for the utility of this lake and its contribution to the welfare of all the inhabitants of Egypt, as well as for the ingenuity of the king, no man may praise them highly enough to do justice to the truth.

52. For since the Nile did not rise to a fixed height each year and yet the fruitfulness of the country depended on the constancy of the flood-level, he excavated the lake to receive the excess water, in order that the river might not, by an excessive volume of flow, immoderately flood the land and form marshes and pools, nor, by failing to rise to the proper height, ruin the harvests by the lack of water. He also dug a canal, eighty stades long and three plethra wide,² from the river to the lake, and by this canal, sometimes turning the river into the lake and sometimes shutting it off again, he furnished the farmers with an opportune supply of water, opening and closing the entrance by a skilful device and yet at considerable expense; for it cost no less than fifty talents if a man wanted to open or close this work. The lake has continued to serve well the needs of the Egyptians down to our time, and bears

¹ The reference is to the great depression known as the Fayûm, into which the Nile flowed during the period of inundation. The control of this flow, as described below, was first undertaken by the Pharaohs of the Twelfth Dynasty, especially by Amenemhet III.
² i.e. about nine miles long and three hundred feet wide.
DIODORUS OF SICILY

σκευόσαντος ἦχει, καλουμένη μέχρι τοῦ νῦν
4 Μοϊρίδος λήμνη. ὁ δ' οὖν βασιλεὺς ὄρυττων
tαύτῃ κατέληπεν ἐν μέσῃ τόπον, ἐν ὃ τάφον
ἀκοδόμησε καὶ δύο πυραμίδας, τὴν μὲν ἔαυτον,
tὴν δὲ τῆς γυναικὸς, σταδιαίας τὸ ψός, ἐφ'
ἀν ἐπέστησεν εἰκόνας λιθίνας καθημένας ἐπὶ
θρόνον, νομίζων διὰ τούτων τῶν ἐργῶν ἀθάνα-
tον ἔαυτον καταλείψειν τὴν ἐπ' ἀγαθὸν μνήμην.
5 τὴν δ' ἐκ τῆς λήμνης ἀπὸ τῶν ἰχθύων γυνομένην
πρόσοδον ἔδωκε τῇ γυναικὶ πρὸς μύρα καὶ τὸν
ἄλλον καλλωπισμόν, φεροῦσας τῆς θήρας ἁργυ-
6 ρίον τάλαντον ἐκάστης ἑμέρας: εἰκοσι γὰρ καὶ
δύο γένη τῶν κατ' αὐτὴν φασιν ἰχθύων εἶναι,
καὶ τοσοῦτον αὐτῶν ἀλίσκεσθαι πλῆθος ὡστε
τῶν προσκαρτεροῦντας ταῖς ταριχείοις ὄντας
παμπληθεῖς δυσχερῶς περιγύνεσθαι τῶν ἐργῶν.
Περὶ μὲν οὖν Μοϊρίδος τοσαῦτ' ἱστοροῦσιν
Ἀγύπτιων.

53. Σεσώσων δὲ φασιν ὑστερον ἐπὶ τὰ γενεαῖς
βασιλέα γενόμενον ἐπιφανεστάτας καὶ μεγίστας
τῶν πρὸ αὐτοῦ πράξεως ἐπιτελέσασθαι. ἐπεὶ δὲ
περὶ τούτου τοῦ βασιλέως οὐ μόνον οἱ συγγρα-
φεῖς οἱ παρὰ τοῖς "Ελλησι διαπεφωνήκασι πρὸς

1 This practice is better known in the case of the Persian rulers. Villages in Syria had been given the Queen Mother "for her girdle" (cp. the English "pin-money"; Xenophon, Anabasis, 1. 4. 9), and when Themistocles was received by the Persian king after his exile from Athens three cities of Asia Minor were given him—Magnesia for bread, Lampsaecus for wine, and Mys for meat (Thucydides, 1. 138. 5). Herodotus (2. 149) gives the same figure for the income from

. 184
the name of its builder, being called to this day the Lake of Moeris. Now the king in excavating it left a spot in the centre, where he built a tomb and two pyramids, a stade in height, one for himself and the other for his wife, on the tops of which he placed stone statues seated upon thrones, thinking that by these monuments he would leave behind him an imperishable commemoration of his good deeds. The income accruing from the fish taken from the lake he gave to his wife for her unguents and general embellishment, the value of the catch amounting to a talent of silver daily;\(^1\) for there are twenty-two different kinds of fish in the lake, they say, and they are caught in such abundance that the people engaged in salting them, though exceedingly many, can scarcely keep up with their task.

Now this is the account which the Egyptians give of Moeris.

53. Sesoösis,\(^2\) they say, who became king seven generations later, performed more renowned and greater deeds than did any of his predecessors. And since, with regard to this king, not only are the Greek writers at variance with one another but also the catch, but only for the six months when the water "flows from the lake." A daily catch of the value of more than a thousand dollars and a cost of fifty times that sum for opening the locks seem highly improbable.

\(^2\) Practically all Greek and Latin writers called him Sesostris, and about him stories gathered as about no other ruler in ancient history with the exception of Alexander the Great. "In Greek times Sesostris had long since become but a legendary figure which cannot be identified with any particular king" (J. H. Breasted, A History of Egypt, p. 189). But certain facts narrated in connection with him were certainly drawn from memories of the reign of Ramses II of the Nineteenth Dynasty.
Diodorus of Sicily

ἄλληλους, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν κατ’ Ἀιγύπτου οἱ τε ἱερεῖς καὶ οἱ διὰ τῆς ὁδῆς αὐτῶν ἐγκωμιάζοντες οὐχ ὁμολογοῦμενα λέγουσιν, ἡμεῖς πειρασόμεθα τὰ πιθανότατα καὶ τοὺς ὑπάρχοντις ἔτι κατὰ τὴν χώραν σημείον τὰ μάλιστα συμφωνοῦντα 2 διελθεῖν. γεννηθέντος γὰρ τοῦ Σεσούσιος ἐποίησεν ὁ πατὴρ αὐτοῦ μεγαλοπρεπές τι καὶ βασιλικόν· τοὺς γὰρ κατὰ τὴν αὐτὴν ἡμέραν γεννηθέντας παιδάς ἐξ ὅλης τῆς Δισύπτου συναγαγὼν καὶ τροφοῦν καὶ τοὺς ἐπιμελησομένους ἐπιστήσας τὴν αὐτὴν ἁγγυῖαν καὶ παιδείαν ὑρίσετο τοῖς πᾶσιν, ὑπολαμβάνον τοὺς μάλιστα συντραφέντας καὶ τῆς αὐτῆς παρρησίας κεκοιμηκότας ἐνυπνιστατοῦς καὶ συναγουσιοῦντος ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις ἀρίστους 3 ἔσεθαίν. πάντα δὲ δαψιλῶς χορηγῆσαι διεπόνησε τοὺς παιδάς ἐν γυμνασίοις συνεχέσθη καὶ πόνοις· οὔδενι γὰρ αὐτῶν ἐξήν προσενεγκασθαί τροφὴν, εἰ μὴ πρότερον δράμαι σταδίους ἐκατὸν 4 καὶ ὄγδοῦκοντα. διὸ καὶ πάντες ἀνδρωθέντες ὑπῆρξαν ἄβληται μὲν τοῖς σώμασιν ἐυρωστοι, ἤγεμονικὸς δὲ καὶ καρτερικὸς ταῖς ψυχαῖς διὰ τὴν τῶν ἀρίστων ἐπιτηδευμάτων ἁγωγῆς.

5 Τὸ μὲν οὖν πρῶτον ὁ Σεσόουσις ἀποσταλεῖς ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς μετὰ δυνάμεως εἰς τὴν Ἀραβίαν, συντρατευμένων καὶ τῶν συντρόφων, περὶ τε τὰς θῆρας διεπονῆθη καὶ ταῖς ἀνυδρίαις καὶ σπανοσιτίαις ἐγκαρτηρήσας κατεστρέψατο τὸ ἔθνος ἀπαν τὸ τῶν Ἀράβων, ἀδούλωτον τὸν 6 πρὸ τοῦ χρόνου γεγονός· ἔπειτα εἰς τοὺς πρὸς τὴν ἐσπέραν τόπους ἀποσταλεῖς τὴν πλείστην

1 Bekker and Diindorf follow II in omitting ἐποίησεν and adding ἔπραξε after βασιλικόν.
among the Egyptians the priests and the poets who sing his praises give conflicting stories, we for our part shall endeavour to give the most probable account and that which most nearly agrees with the monuments still standing in the land. Now at the birth of Sesoösis his father did a thing worthy of a great man and a king: Gathering together from over all Egypt the male children which had been born on the same day and assigning to them nurses and guardians, he prescribed the same training and education for them all, on the theory that those who had been reared in the closest companionship and had enjoyed the same frank relationship would be most loyal and as fellow-combatants in the wars most brave. He amply provided for their every need and then trained the youths by unremitting exercises and hardships; for no one of them was allowed to have anything to eat unless he had first run one hundred and eighty stades. Consequently upon attaining to manhood they were all veritable athletes of robustness of body, and in spirit qualified for leadership and endurance because of the training which they had received in the most excellent pursuits.

First of all Sesoösis, his companions also accompanying him, was sent by his father with an army into Arabia, where he was subjected to the laborious training of hunting wild animals and, after hardening himself to the privations of thirst and hunger, conquered the entire nation of the Arabs, which had never been enslaved before his day; and then, on being sent to the regions to the west, he subdued the

1 About twenty miles.

2 Ἀράβων Wesseling: βαρβάρων.
DIODORUS OF SICILY

this Διαβύσης ὑπήκουν ἐποιήσατο, παυτελῶς νέος
7 ὑπο τὴν ἡλικίαν. τοῦ δὲ πατρὸς τελευτήσαντος
diadexámenos τὴν βασιλείαν καὶ ταῖς προκατ-
εργασθείσαις πράξεις μετεωρίσθείς, ἐπεβάλετο
8 τὴν οἰκουμένην κατακτήσασθαι. ἔνιοι δὲ λέγου-
σιν αὐτὸν ὑπὸ τῆς ἱδίας θυγατρὸς Ἀθυρτίος
παρακληθήναι πρὸς τὴν τῶν ὀλίγων δυναστείαν,
ὥς οἱ μὲν συνέστη πολὺ τῶν ἄλλων διαφέρουσαν
φασι διδάξαι τὸν πατέρα ῥαδίως ἐσομένην 1 τὴν
στρατείαν, οἱ δὲ μαυτικὴ χρομένη καὶ τὸ μέλλον
ἐσθεθαί προγινώσκουσαν ἐκ τῆς θυτικῆς καὶ
tῆς ἐγκοιμήσεως τῆς ἔν τοῖς ἱεροῖς, ἐτὶ δὲ ἐκ 2 τῶν
9 κατὰ τῶν οὗρανῶν γυνομένων σημείων. γεγρά-
φασι δὲ τινὲς καὶ διότι κατὰ τὴν γένεσιν τοῦ
Σεσοώσιος ὁ πατὴρ αὐτοῦ καθ’ ὑπνον δύσαι τὸν
"Ηφαιστόν αὐτὸ λέγειν ὅτι πάσης τῆς οἰκου-
10 μένης ὁ γεννηθεὶς παῖς κρατήσει." διὰ ταύτην
οὖν τὴν αἰτίαν τὸν μὲν πατέρα τοὺς ἡλικιώτας
tοῦ προειρημένου ἄθροίσαι καὶ βασιλικῆς ἀγω-
γῆς ἀξιώσαι, προκατασκευάζομενον εἰς τὴν τῶν
ὀλίγων ἐπίθεσιν, αὐτὸν δὲ ἀνδρωθέντα καὶ τῇ τοῦ
θεοῦ προρρήσις πιστεύομενον κατενεχθήναι πρὸς
tὴν εἰρημένην στρατείαν.

54. Πρὸς δὲ ταύτην τὴν ἐπιβολὴν πρῶτον μὲν
tὴν πρὸς αὐτὸν εὐνοιαν κατεσκεύασε πάσι τοῖς
κατ’ Ἀθυρτίον, ἠγούμενος δὲν τοὺς μὲν συστρα-
teúontas ἐτοίμως ὑπὲρ τῶν ἠγούμενων ἀπο-
θυήσκειν, τοὺς δὲ ἀπολειπόμενους ἐπὶ τῶν
πατρίδων μηδὲν νεωτερίζειν, εἰ μέλλει τὴν προαι-

1 ἵνα before ἐσομένη deleted by Dindorf.
2 δὲ ἐκ Capra: δὲ.

188
larger part of Libya, though in years still no more than a youth. And when he ascended the throne upon the death of his father, being filled with confidence by reason of his earlier exploits he undertook to conquer the inhabited earth. There are those who say that he was urged to acquire empire over the whole world by his own daughter Athyrtis, who, according to some, was far more intelligent than any of her day and showed her father that the campaign would be an easy one, while according to others she had the gift of prophecy and knew beforehand, by means both of sacrifices and the practice of sleeping in temples,¹ as well as from the signs which appear in the heavens, what would take place in the future. Some have also written that, at the birth of Sesōsis, his father had thought that Hephaestus had appeared to him in a dream and told him that the son who had been born would rule over the whole civilized world; and that for this reason, therefore, his father collected the children of the same age as his son and granted them a royal training, thus preparing them beforehand for an attack upon the whole world, and that his son, upon attaining manhood, trusting in the prediction of the god was led to undertake this campaign.

54. In preparation for this undertaking he first of all confirmed the goodwill of all the Egyptians towards himself, feeling it to be necessary, if he were to bring his plan to a successful end, that his soldiers on the campaign should be ready to die for their leaders, and that those left behind in their native

¹ The ancient practice of incubation, during which the god of the temple would grant a revelation through a dream; cp. p. 80, n. 1.
DIODORUS OF SICILY

2 ρεσιν ἐπὶ τέλος ἀξειν. διὸ καὶ πάντας ἓκ τῶν ἐνδεχομένων εὐφρηγεῖται, τοὺς μὲν χρημάτων δω- 
ρεαίς ἐκθεραπεύουν, τοὺς δὲ χώρας δόσει, τινὰς δὲ 
timōriaς ἀπολύσει, πάντας δὲ ταῖς ὀμιλίαις καὶ 
τῇ τῶν τρόπων ἐπιεικείᾳ προσήγετο: τῶν τε ἡ̄ρ 
βασιλικῶν ἐγκλημάτων ἀπαντας ἀθώους ἀφήκε 
καὶ τῶν πρὸς ἀργύριον συγκλειμένους ἀπέλυσε 
tοῦ χρέους, οὕτως πολλοῦ πλῆθους ἐν ταῖς 
3 φυλακαῖς. τὴν δὲ χώραν ἀπασαν εἶς εἰς καὶ 
τριάκοντα μέρη διελόν, ἢ καλοῦσιν Ἀγνύττιοι 
νομοὺς, ἐπέστησεν ἀπασι νομάρχας τοὺς ἐπιμε- 
λησμένους τῶν τε προσόδων τῶν βασιλικῶν καὶ 
dιοικήσοντας ἀπαντα τὰ κατὰ τὰς ἰδίας μερίδας. 
4 ἐπελέξατο δὲ καὶ τῶν ἀνδρῶν τοὺς ταῖς ῥόμαις 
diaφέρουσας καὶ συνεστήσετε στρατόπεδον ἄξιον 
tου μεγέθους τῆς ἐπιβολῆς· κατέγραψε γὰρ 
πεζῶι μὲν ἐξήκοντα μυριάδας, ἱππείς δὲ δισμυ- 
ρίους καὶ τετρακισχίλιους, ζεύγη δὲ πολεμιστήρια 
5 δισμύρια καὶ ἐπτακασχίλια. ἐπὶ δὲ τὰς κατὰ 
μέρους ἡγεμονίας τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἔταξε τοὺς 
συντρόφους, εἰνθληκότας μὲν ἕη γιὰ τοῖς πολέμοις, 
ἀρετὴν δὲ ἐξηλωκότας ἐκ παίδων, εὔμοιαν δὲ 
ἀδελφικὴν ἔχοντας πρὸς τε τῶν βασιλέων καὶ 
πρὸς ἀλλήλους, διὰ τὸν ἀρίθμον πλείους τῶν 
6 χιλίων καὶ ἐπτακοσίων. πάσι δὲ τοῖς προειρη- 
μένοις κατεκληροῦχε τὴν ἀρίστην τῆς χώρας, 
ὅπως ἔχοντες ἰκανὰς προσόδους καὶ μηδενὸς 
ἐνδείξις ὄντες ἀσκῆσι πάρο τοὺς πολέμους. 
55. Κατασκευάζας δὲ τὴν δύναμιν ἐστράτευσεν 
ἐπὶ πρῶτος Διόδυσος τοὺς πρὸς τῷ μεσημβρίᾳ 
κατοικοῦντας, καὶ καταπολεμήσας ἡμῖνκας τὸ 
ἐθνὸς φόρους τελείω ἐβέθεν καὶ χρυσὸν καὶ τῶν 
190
lands should not rise in revolt. He therefore showed kindnesses to everyone by all means at his disposal, winning over some by presents of money, others by gifts of land, and others by remission of penalties, and the entire people he attached to himself by his friendly intercourse and kindly ways; for he set free unharmed everyone who was held for some crime against the king and cancelled the obligations of those who were in prison for debt, there being a great multitude in the gaols. And dividing the entire land into thirty-six parts which the Egyptians call nomes, he set over each a nomarch, who should superintend the collection of the royal revenues and administer all the affairs of his division. He then chose out the strongest of the men and formed an army worthy of the greatness of his undertaking; for he enlisted six hundred thousand foot-soldiers, twenty-four thousand cavalry, and twenty-seven thousand war chariots. In command of the several divisions of his troops he set his companions, who were by this time inured to warfare, had striven after a reputation for valour from their youth, and cherished with a brotherly love both their king and one another, the number of them being over seventeen hundred. And upon all these commanders he bestowed allotments of the best land in Egypt, in order that, enjoying sufficient income and lacking nothing, they might sedulously practise the art of war.

55. After he had made ready his army he marched first of all against the Ethiopians who dwell south of Egypt, and after conquering them he forced that people to pay a tribute in ebony, gold and the

---

1 τούτων after καὶ deleted by Dindorf.
DIODORUS OF SICILY

2 ἑλεφάντων τοὺς ὄδόντας, ἐπειτ' εἰς μὲν τὴν Ἑρυθραῖαν θάλασσαν ἀπέστειλε στόλον νεῖν τετρακοσίων, πρῶτος τῶν ἐγχωρίοι μακρὰ σικάφη ναυπηγησάμενος, καὶ τάς τε νήσους τας ἐν τοῖς τόποις κατεκτήσατο καὶ τῆς ἡμέρας τὰ παρὰ θάλασσαν μέρη κατεστρέφατο μέχρι τῆς Ἰνδικῆς αὐτοῦ δὲ μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως πεζῶν τῆν πορείαν ποιησάμενος κατεστρέψατο πάσαν τὴν Ἀσίαν.

3 οὐ μόνον γὰρ τὴν ὑστερον ὑπ' Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ Μακεδόνος κατακτηθείσαν χώραν ἐπήλθεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τινὰ τῶν ἔθνων ὑπὲρ χείμοις οὐ παρέβαλεν εἰς τὴν χώραν. καὶ γὰρ τὸν Γάγγην ποταμὸν διέβη καὶ τὴν Ἰνδικὴν ἐπήλθε πάσαν ἑως ὀκεανοῦ καὶ τὰ τῶν Σκυθῶν ἔθνη μέχρι Γαναίδος ποταμοῦ τοῦ διορίζοντος τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀσίας· ὅτε δὴ φασὶ τῶν Ἀγανίτων τινὰς καταλειφθέντας περὶ τὴν Μαιώτιαν λίμνην συστήσασθαι τὸ τῶν

4 Κολχῶν ἔθνος. ὅτε δὲ τοῦτο τὸ γένος Ἀγανίτων κοίνοι ἑστὶν κηρύκως εἶναι τὸ περιτέμνεσθαι τοὺς ἀνθρόπους παραπλησίως τοὺς κατ' Ἀγανίτων, διαμένοντος τοῦ νομίου παρὰ τοὺς ἰππόκοις, καθάπερ καὶ παρὰ τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις.

5 Ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τὴν λαοῦ Ἀσίαν ἄπασαν ὑπήκοον ἐποιήσατο καὶ τῶν Κυκλάδων νῆσον τὰς πλείους. διακαθάρισθαι δὲ εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδαν καὶ διεξαν ἄπασαν τὴν Ἐράκην ἐκινδύνεσαν ἀποβαλέων τὴν δύναμιν διὰ σπάνιων τροφῆς καὶ 7 τῶν νυσσαρίων. διότι δὲ καὶ τῆς στρατείας ποιησάμενος ἐν τῇ Ἐράκῃ, στῆλις κατασκεύασαν ἐν τολμηστῶς τῶν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ κατακτηθέντων· αὐταὶ δὲ τὴν ἐπιγραφὴν εἶχον Διογέντοις γράμ-
tusks of elephants. Then he sent out a fleet of four hundred ships into the Red Sea,¹ being the first Egyptian to build warships, and not only took possession of the islands in those waters, but also subdued the coast of the mainland as far as India, while he himself made his way by land with his army and subdued all Asia. Not only did he, in fact, visit the territory which was afterwards won by Alexander of Macedon, but also certain peoples into whose country Alexander did not cross. For he even passed over the river Ganges and visited all of India as far as the ocean, as well as the tribes of the Scythians as far as the river Tanaïs, which divides Europe from Asia; and it was at this time, they say, that some of the Egyptians, having been left behind near the Lake Maeotis, founded the nation of the Colchi.² And the proof which they offer of the Egyptian origin of this nation is the fact that the Colchi practise circumcision even as the Egyptians do, the custom continuing among the colonists sent out from Egypt as it also did in the case of the Jews.

In the same way he brought all the rest of Asia into subjection as well as most of the Cyclades islands. And after he had crossed into Europe and was on his way through the whole length of Thrace he nearly lost his army through lack of food and the difficult nature of the land. Consequently he fixed the limits of his expedition in Thrace, and set up stelae in many parts of the regions which he had acquired; and these carried the following inscription in the Egyptian

¹ Not the present Red Sea, but the Persian Gulf.
² The Tanaïs river and the Lake Maeotis are the Don and the Sea of Azof respectively, but the country of the Colchi is generally placed in the Caucasus.
μας τοὺς ἱεροῖς λεγομένους, "Τήνδε τὴν χώραν ὁπλοῖς κατεστρέψατο τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ βασιλεὺς βασιλέων καὶ δεσπότης δεσποτῶν Σεσώσις.

8 τὴν δὲ στήλην κατασκεύασεν ἐξούσαν αἰδοῦν ἐν μὲν τοῖς μαχίμοις ἔθνεσιν ἀνδρὸς ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἀγεννεσί καὶ δειλοῖς γυναικῶς, ἀπὸ τοῦ κυριωτέρου μέρους τὴν διάθεσιν τῆς ἐκάστων ψυχῆς φανερῶν τὰτὴν τοῖς ἐπιγνομένοις ἐσεσθαι νομίζων. ἐν ἔνιοις δὲ τόποις καὶ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ κατασκεύασεν εἰκόνα λείψαν, τὸζα καὶ λόγχην ἔχοντα, τὸ μεγέθει τέταρτοι παλαισταῖς μείζονα τῶν τετ- τάρων πηχῶν, ἡλίκοις ὥν καὶ αὐτὸς ἐτύγχανεν. ΕΠΙΝΙΚΙΩΤΙΣ ΔΕ ΠΡΟΣΕΝΕΚΘΕΙΣ ἈΠΑΣΙ ΤΟΙΣ ὩΠΟΤΕΤΑΥ- ΜΕΝΟΙΣ ΚΑΙ ΣΥΝΤΕΛΕŚΑΣ ΤΗΝ ΣΤΡΑΤΕΙΑΝ ΕΝ ΕΤΕΣΙΝ ΕΥΝΕΑ, ΤΟΙΣ ΜΕΝ ἘΘΝΕΙ ΚΑΤΑ ΔΥΝΑΜΙΝ ΠΡΟΣΕΤΑΞΕ ΔΩΡΟΦΟΡΕῖΝ ΚΑΤ’ ΕΥΝΙΑΤΟΝ ΕΙΣ ΛΠΥΝΤΟΝ, ΑΥΤΟΣ ΞΙΘΡΟΙΖΑ ΑΙΧΜΑΛΩΤῶΝ ΤΕ ΚΑΙ ΤῶΝ ἈΛΛΩΝ ΛΑΦΥΡΩΝ ΠΛΗΘΟΣ ἈΝΥΠΕΡΒΛΗΤΟΝ ΕΠΑΝΗΛΘΕΝ ΕΙΣ ΤΗΝ ΠΑΤΡΙΔΑ, ΜΕΓΙΣΤΑΣ ΠΡΑΞΕΙΣ ΤΩΝ ΠΡΟ ΑΥΤΟΥ ΚΑΤΕΙΡΓΑΣΜΕΝΟΣ. ΚΑΙ ΤΑ ΜΕΝ ΙΕΡΑ ΠΑΝΤΑ ΤΑ ΚΑΤ’ ΛΠΥΝΤΟΝ ἈΝΑΘΗΜΑΣΙΝ ἈΞΙΟΛΟΓΟΙΣ ΚΑΙ ΣΧΥΛΟΙΣ ἘΚΩΝΜΗΣΕ, ΤΩΝ ΔΕ ΣΤΡΑΤΙΩΤῶΝ ΤΟΙΣ ἈΝΔΡΑΓΑΘΗ-

12 ΣΑΝΤΑΣ ΔΩΡΕΑῖΣ ΚΑΤΑ ΤΗΝ ἈΞΙΑΝ ΕΤΙΜΗΣΕ. ΚΑΘΟΛΟΥ ΔΕ ΑΠΟ ΤΑΥΤΗΣ ΤΗΣ ΣΤΡΑΤΕΙΑΣ ΟΥ ΜΟΝΟΝ Η ΣΥΝΑ- ΔΡΑΓΑΘΗΣΑΣΑ ΔΥΝΑΜΗΣ ΜΕΓΑΛΗΝ ΕΥΠΟΡΙΑΝ ΚΤΙΣΑ- ΜΕΝΗ ΤΗΝ ἘΠΑΝΟΙΩΝ ἘΠΟΙΗΣΑΣΤΟ ΛΑΜΠΡΑΝ, ΆΛΛΑ ΚΑΙ ΤΗΝ ΛΠΥΝΤΟΝ ἈΠΑΣΑΝ ΣΥΝΕΒΗ ΠΑΝΤΟΙΑΣ ΩΦΕΛΕΙΑΣ ΕΜΠΛΗΣΘΗΝΑΙ.

1 H. R. Hall (The Ancient History of the Near East*, pp. 161–2) gives a translation of a stele set up at Semneh by Senehret III of the Twelfth Dynasty, who is often identified with the Sesoösis of Diodorus, and observes that its language,
writing which is called "sacred": "This land the King of Kings and Lord of Lords, Sesoësis, subdued with his own arms." And he fashioned the stele with a representation, in case the enemy people were war-like, of the privy parts of a man, but in case they were abject and cowardly, of those of a woman, holding that the quality of the spirit of each people would be set forth most clearly to succeeding generations by the dominant member of the body.\(^1\) And in some places he also erected a stone statue of himself, armed with bow and arrows and a spear, in height four cubits and four palms, which was indeed his own stature.\(^2\) He dealt gently with all conquered peoples and, after concluding his campaign in nine years, commanded the nations to bring presents each year to Egypt according to their ability, while he himself, assembling a multitude of captives which has never been surpassed and a mass of other booty, returned to his country, having accomplished the greatest deeds of any king of Egypt to his day. All the temples of Egypt, moreover, he adorned with notable votive offerings and spoils, and honoured with gifts according to his merits every soldier who had distinguished himself for bravery. And in general, as a result of this campaign not only did the army, which had bravely shared in the deeds of the king and had gathered great wealth, make a brilliant homeward journey, but it also came to pass that all Egypt was filled to overflowing with benefits of every kind.

unique in this period for its scorn of the conquered negroes, is strikingly reminiscent of the stelae described in this passage and by Herodotus 2. 102.

\(^2\) About seven feet; cp. the bed of Og, king of Bashan (Deut. 3. 11), which was nine cubits long and four wide; "is it not in Rabbath of the children of Ammon?"
56. "Ο δὲ Σεσώσις ἀποστήσας τὰ πλήθη ἀπὸ τῶν πολεμικῶν ἔργων τοὺς μὲν συναινδραγαθήσασι συνεχόρησε τὴν ῥαστώμην καὶ τὴν ἀπόλαυσιν τῶν κατακτηθέντων ἁγαθῶν, αὐτὸς δὲ φιλόδοξος ὄν καὶ τῆς εἰς τὸν αἰώνα μνήμης ὀρεγόμενος κατεσκεύασεν ἔργα μεγάλα καὶ θαυμαστὰ ταῖς ἐπινοιαῖς καὶ ταῖς χορηγίαις, ἕαυτῷ μὲν ἀδάνατον περιποιοῦντα δόξαν, τοῖς δὲ Ἀγυπτίων τὴν εἰς ἀπαντά τὸν χρόνον ἀσφάλειαν μετὰ ῥαστώμης.

2 πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ ἀπὸ θεῶν ἀρξάμενος ὕκουσώμεθαν ἐν πάσαις ταῖς καὶ Ἀγυπτίων πόλεσιν ἱερῶν ἱεροῦ ἑαυτοῦ τοῦ μάλιστα παρ' ἕκαστοις τιμωμένου. πρὸς δὲ τὰς ἐργασίας τῶν μὲν Ἀγυπτίων οὐδένα παρέλαβε, δι' αὐτῶν δὲ τῶν αἰχμαλώτων ἀπαντά κατεσκεύασε; διόπερ ἐπὶ πάσι τοῖς ἱεροῖς ἐπέγραψεν ὥσ' οὐδεὶς ἐγχώριος εἰς αὐτὰ μεμόχθηκε.

3 λέγεται δὲ τῶν αἰχμαλώτων τοὺς ἐκ τῆς Βαβυλονίας ἀλώντας ἀποστήμενοι τοῦ βασιλέως, μὴ δυναμένοις φέρειν τὰς ἐν τοῖς ἐργοῖς ταλαιπωρίας· οὐχι καταλαβόμενους παρὰ τὸν ποταμὸν χωρίων κατερῶν διαπολεμεῖν τοῖς Ἀγυπτίων καὶ τὴν σύνεγγυς χώραν καταφθείρειν, τέλος δὲ δοθεῖσος ἀδείας αὐτοῖς κατοικήσαι τὸν τόπον, ὅτι καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς πατρίδος Βαβυλώνα προσαγόρευσαι. δι' αἰτίας δὲ παραπλησίους φασίν ὁμοίως καὶ τὴν Τροίαν τὴν ἐτεῖον οὖσαν παρὰ τὸν Νείλου τὸν μὲν γὰρ Μενέλαον ἐξ Ιλίου πλέοντα μετὰ

1 kale after ἐτεί omitted by D and Vogel, retained by Bekker and Dindorf.

1 "Few of the great temples of Egypt have not some chamber, hall, colonnade or pylon which bears his (Ramesses II)
56. Sesoösis now relieved his peoples of the labours of war and granted to the comrades who had bravely shared in his deeds a care-free life in the enjoyment of the good things which they had won, while he himself, being ambitious for glory and intent upon everlasting fame, constructed works which were great and marvellous in their conception as well as in the lavishness with which their cost was provided, winning in this way immortal glory for himself and for the Egyptians security combined with ease for all time. For beginning with the gods first, he built in each city of Egypt a temple to the god who was held in special reverence by its inhabitants. On these labours he used no Egyptians, but constructed them all by the hands of his captives alone; and for this reason he placed an inscription on every temple to the effect that no native had toiled upon it. And it is said that the captives brought from Babylonia revolted from the king, being unable to endure the hardships entailed by his works; and they, seizing a strong position on the banks of the river, maintained a warfare against the Egyptians and ravaged the neighbouring territory, but finally, on being granted an amnesty, they established a colony on the spot, which they also named Babylon after their native land. For a similar reason, they say, the city of Troy likewise, which even to this day exists on the bank of the Nile, received its name: for Menelaus, on his voyage from Ilium with a great name, in perpetuating which the king stopped at no desecration or destruction of the ancient monuments of the country.” (J. H. Breasted, History of Egypt, p. 443).

2. Strabo (17.1.34) mentions a village of this name near the pyramids.
πολλῶν αἰχμαλώτων παραβαλέσαι εἰς Ἀὐγοῦτον, τοὺς δὲ Τρῶας ἀποστάντας αὐτοὺς καταλαβέσθαι τινὰ τόπον καὶ διαπολεμῆσαι μέχρι ὅτου συγχωρθεῖσις αὐτοῖς τῆς ἀσφαλείας ἐκτίσαν πόλειν, 5 ἢν ὀμόνυμον αὐτοὺς ποιῆσαι τῇ πατρίδι. οὐκ ἀγνοῶ δὲ ὅτι περὶ τῶν εἰρημένων πόλεων Κτησίας ὁ Κυίδιος διαφόρως ἱστόρησε, φήσας τῶν μετὰ Σεμώραμίδος παραβαλόντων εἰς Ἀὐγοῦτον τίνας ἐκτικέναι ταύτας, ἀπὸ τῶν ἱδίων πατρίδων 6 θεμένους τὴν προσγορίαν. περὶ δὲ τούτων τὸ μὲν ἀληθὲς ἐκθέσθαι μετὰ ἀκριβείας οὐ ράδιον, τὸ δὲ ἀναγραφής ἀξιώσαι τὰ διαφανούμενα παρὰ τοῖς συγγραφεύσιν ἀναγκαῖον, ὅπως ἀκέραιος ἦ περὶ τῆς ἀληθείας κρίσις ἀπολείπηται τοῖς ἀναγινώσκοισιν.

57. Ὅδε οὖν Σεσόωσις χώματα πολλὰ καὶ μεγάλα κατασκευάσας τὰς πόλεις εἰς ταύτα μετοίκισεν, ὅσαι μὴ φυσικῶς τὸ ἔδαφος ἐτύγχανον ἐπηρεμένου ἑχοῦσαι, ὅπως κατὰ τὰς πληρώσεις τοῦ ποταμοῦ καταφυγᾶς ἑχοῦσιν ἀκινδύνους οὐ τε 2 ἀνδρωποι καὶ τὰ κτήνη. κατὰ πᾶσαν δὲ τὴν χώραν τὴν ἀπὸ Μέμφεως ἐπὶ θάλατταν ὄρυξεν πυκνὰς ἐκ τοῦ ποταμοῦ διώρυχας, ὡς τὰς μὲν συγκομιδὰς τῶν καρπῶν ποιῶνται συντόμως καὶ ράδιοι, ταῖς δὲ πρὸς ἄλληλοις τῶν λαῶν ἐπιμελείαι καὶ πάσι τοῖς τόποις ὑπάρχῃ ῥαστόνη καὶ πάντων τῶν πρὸς ἀπόλαυσιν πολλῆς δαφνεία τὸ δὲ μέγιστον, πρὸς τάς τῶν πολεμίων ἐφόδους χῆραν καὶ δυσεμβολοῦ ἑποίησε τὴν χώραν. 3 τὸν γὰρ πρὸ τοῦ χρόνου ἡ κρατίστη τῆς Ἀἰγύ-
number of captives, crossed over into Egypt; and
the Trojans, revolting from him, seized a certain
place and maintained a warfare until he granted
them safety and freedom, whereupon they founded
a city, to which they gave the name of their native
land. I am not unaware that regarding the cities
named above Ctesias of Cnidus has given a different
account, saying that some of those who had come
into Egypt with Semiramis founded them, calling
them after their native lands. But on such matters
as these it is not easy to set forth the precise truth,
and yet the disagreements among historians must
be considered worthy of record, in order that the
reader may be able to decide upon the truth without
prejudice.

57. Now Sesōsis threw up many great mounds
of earth and moved to them such cities as happened
to be situated on ground that was not naturally
elevated, in order that at the time of the flooding
of the river both the inhabitants and their herds
might have a safe place of retreat. And over the
entire land from Memphis to the sea he dug frequent
canals leading from the river, his purpose being that
the people might carry out the harvesting of their
crops quickly and easily, and that, through the con-
stant intercourse of the peasants with one another,
every district might enjoy both an easy livelihood
and a great abundance of all things which minister
to man's enjoyment. The greatest result of this
work, however, was that he made the country secure
and difficult of access against attacks by enemies;
for practically all the best part of Egypt, which

1 This campaign of Semiramis is described in Book 2. 14;
on Ctesias op. the Introduction, pp. xxvii f.
Diodorus of Sicily

πτοῦ πάσα σχεδὸν ἰππάσιμος οὐσα καὶ ταῖς συνωρίσιν εὐβατος ἀπ’ ἐκείνου τοῦ χρόνου διὰ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ἐκ τοῦ ποταμοῦ διαρρήκτων δυσεφδογ-4 τάτη γέγονεν. ἔτείχισε δὲ καὶ τὴν πρὸς ἀνα-
τολὰς νεόουσαν πλευρὰν τῆς Ἀιγυπτίου πρὸς τὰς ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀραβίας ἐμβολάς ἀπὸ Πηλούσιου μέχρι Ἡλλωτόλεως διὰ τῆς ἑρήμου,
τὸ μῆκος ἐπὶ στάδιοι χιλίως καὶ πεντακοσίως.
5 ἑναυπηγήσατο δὲ καὶ πλοῖον κέδρινον τὸ μὲν μῆκος πηχῶν διακοσίων καὶ ὅγδοϊκοιτα, τὴν δ’ ἐπιφάνειαν ἔχου τὴν μὲν ἔξωθεν ἐπίχρυσον, τὴν δ’ ἐνδοθεν κατηργυρωμένην καὶ τούτῳ μὲν ἀνέθηκε τῷ θεῷ τῷ μάλιστα ἐν Ὑπερασία τιμω-μένῳ, δύο τε 1 λιθίνους ὑβελίσκους ἐκ τοῦ σκληροῦ
λίθου πηχῶν τὸ ύψος ἔκκοσι πρὸς τοῖς ἔκατον,
δὲ ὅν ἐπέγραψε τὸ τε μέγεθος τῆς δυνάμεως καὶ
tὸ πλῆθος τῶν προσόδων καὶ τὸν ἀριθμὸν τῶν
cαταπολεμηθέντων ἐθνῶν· ἐν Μέμφει δ’ ἐν τῷ
τοῦ Ἡφαίστου ιερῷ μονολίθοις εἰκόνας ἐαυτοῦ
τε καὶ τῆς γυναικὸς τὸ ύψος τριάκοντα πηχῶν,
tῶν δ’ υἱῶν ἔκκοσι πηχῶν, διὰ σύμπτωμα τούνδε.
6 ἐκ τῆς μεγάλης στρατείας ἀνακάμψατος εἰς Ἀιγυπτίον τοῦ ᾿Εσοφόσιος καὶ διατρίβοντος περὶ τὸ Πηλούσιον, ἑστιῶν αὐτοῦ ὁ ἀδελφὸς μετὰ τῆς γυναικὸς καὶ τῶν τέκνων ἐπιβουλήν συνε-κτίσατο· ἀναπαυσαμένων γὰρ αὐτῶν ἀπὸ τῆς
μέθης, ἔχων καλάμου ξηροῦ πλῆθος ἐκ χρόνου
παρασκευασμένων, καὶ τούτῳ νυκτὸς τῇ σκηνῇ.
before this time had been easy of passage for horses and carts, has from that time on been very difficult for an enemy to invade by reason of the great number of canals leading from the river. He also fortified with a wall the side of Egypt which faces east, as a defence against inroads from Syria and Arabia; the wall extended through the desert from Pelusium to Heliopolis, and its length was some fifteen hundred stades. Moreover, he also built a ship of cedar wood, which was two hundred and eighty cubits long and plated on the exterior with gold and on the interior with silver. This ship he presented as a votive offering to the god who is held in special reverence in Thebes, as well as two obelisks of hard stone one hundred and twenty cubits high, upon which he inscribed the magnitude of his army, the multitude of his revenues, and the number of the peoples he had subdued; also in Memphis in the temples of Hephaestus he dedicated monolithic statues of himself and of his wife, thirty cubits high,¹ and of his sons, twenty cubits high, the occasion of their erection being as follows. When Sesoösis had returned to Egypt after his great campaign and was tarrying at Pelusium, his brother, who was entertaining Sesoösis and his wife and children, plotted against them; for when they had fallen asleep after the drinking he piled great quantities of dry rushes, which he had kept in readiness for some time, around the tent in the night and

¹ The account through here of Sesoösis closely follows that given by Herodotus 2. 102 ff. Near Memphis are two colossi of Ramses II, the larger of which was about forty-two feet high, approximately the thirty cubits of Diódorus and of Herodotus 2. 110 (Baedeker’s Egypt, p. 141).
7 περὶ δὲ τοῦ πυρὸς ἐκλάμψαντος οἱ μὲν ἐπὶ τῆς θεραπείας τοῦ βασιλέως τεταγμένου παρεβοίθουν ἂγεννῶς ἡς ἂν οἴνωμένοι, ὦ δὲ Σεσώσις ἀμφότερας τὰς χεῖρας ἀνατείνας καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς σωτηρίας τῶν τε παῖδων καὶ τῆς γυναικὸς τοὺς θεοὺς εὐξάμενος διεξέπεσε διὰ τῆς 8 φλογὸς. σωθεὶς δὲ παραδόξως τοὺς ἄλλους θεοὺς ἐτίμησεν ἀναθήμασι, καθότι προείρηται, πάντων δὲ μάλιστα τοῦ Ἡφαίστου, ὡς ὑπὸ τοῦτο τετευχῶς τῆς σωτηρίας.

58. Πολλῶν δὲ καὶ μεγάλων περὶ τῶν Σεσώσιν ὑπαρξάντων δοκεῖ μεγαλοπρεπέστατον αὐτῷ γεγονέναι τὸ συντελούμενον ἐν ταῖς ἔξοδοις περὶ 2 τοὺς ἴγεμόνας. τῶν γὰρ καταπεπολεμημένων ἔθνων οἳ τε τὰς συγκεκριμένας βασιλείας ἔχοντες καὶ τῶν ἄλλων οἳ τὰς μεγίστας ἴγεμονίας παρειληφότες ἀπήντων εἰς Ἀγυμπτοῦ ἐν τακτοὶς χρόνοις φέροντες δώρα: οὕς ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐκδεχόμενος ἐν μὲν τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐτίμα καὶ διαφερόντως προῆγεν, ὅποτε δὲ πρὸς ἵερον ἢ πόλιν προσελέγεται μέλλων, τοὺς ἦπους ἀπὸ τοῦ τεθρύπτου λύων ὑπεξεύγυνεν ἀντὶ τοῦτων κατὰ τέτταρας τοὺς τε βασιλεῖς καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἴγεμόνας, ἐνδεικνύμενος, ὡς ἤτο, πᾶσιν ὅτι τοὺς τῶν ἄλλων κρατίστους καὶ δὲ ἀρετὴν ἐπιφανεστάτους καταπολεμήσας εἰς ἁμιλλαν ἀρετῆς οὐκ ἔχει 3 τὸν δυνάμενον συγκριθῆναι. δοκεῖ δ’ οὕτως ὁ βασιλεὺς πάντας τοὺς πώποτε ἕγενομένους ἐν ἔξουσιας ὑπερβεβηκέναι ταῖς τε πολεμικαῖς πράξεσι καὶ τῷ μεγέθει καὶ τῷ πλῆθει τῶν τε ἀναθημάτων καὶ τῶν ἔργων τῶν κατεσκευασμένων κατ’ Ἀγυμπτοῦ. ἐτη δὲ τρία πρὸς τοὺς τριά-

202
set them afire. When the fire suddenly blazed up, those who had been assigned to wait upon the king came to his aid in a churlish fashion, as would men heavy with wine, but Sesōsis, raising both hands to the heavens with a prayer to the gods for the preservation of his children and wife, dashed out safe through the flames. For this unexpected escape he honoured the rest of the gods with votive offerings, as stated above, and Hephaestus most of all, on the ground that it was by his intervention that he had been saved.

58. Although many great deeds have been credited to Sesōsis, his magnificence seems best to have been shown in the treatment which he accorded to the foreign potentates when he went forth from his palace. The kings whom he had allowed to continue their rule over the peoples which he had subdued and all others who had received from him the most important positions of command would present themselves in Egypt at specified times, bringing him gifts, and the king would welcome them and in all other matters show them honour and special preferment; but whenever he intended to visit a temple or city he would remove the horses from his four-horse chariot and in their place yoke the kings and other potentates, taking them four at a time, in this way showing to all men, as he thought, that, having conquered the mightiest of other kings and those most renowned for their excellence, he now had no one who could compete with him for the prize of excellence. This king is thought to have surpassed all former rulers in power and military exploits, and also in the magnitude and number of the votive offerings and public works which he built in Egypt. And after a reign of thirty-three years
κοντα βασιλεύσας ἐκ προαιρέσεως ἐξέλυσε τὸν βίον, ὕπολιπόντων αὐτὸν τῶν ὁμμάτων· καὶ τούτο πράξας οὐ μόνον παρὰ τοῖς ἱερεύσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ παρὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις Διογντίοις ἐθαυμάσθη, δόξας τῇ μεγαλοψυχίᾳ τῶν πεπραγμένων ἀκόλουθον πεποιήσατο τὴν τοῦ βίου καταστροφὴν.

4 Ἐπὶ τοσοῦτο δὴ ἱσχύσε καὶ διέτεινε τοῖς χρόνοις ἡ δόξα τούτου τοῦ βασιλέας ὁπετε τῆς Διογντίου πολλαῖς γενεαῖς ὑστεροῦ πεσοῦσις ὑπὸ τὴν ἐξουσίαν τῶν Περσῶν, καὶ Δαρείου τοῦ Ἐξέρχου πατρὸς σπουδάσαντος ἐν Μέμφει τὴν ἱδίαν εἰκόνα στήσαε πρὸ τῆς 1 Σεσσώσιος, ὁ μὲν ἄρχηρευς ἀντείπε σκόπου προτεθέντος ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ τῶν ἱερέων, ἀποφημάμεος ὡς ὠυτώ Δαρείως ὑπερβέβηκε τὰς Σεσσώσιος πράξεις, ὁ δὲ βασιλεῦς ὑπὸ ὅπως ἠγανάκτησεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦντις ἥσθεῖς ἔτι τῇ παρρησίᾳ σπουδάσειν ἐφησεν ὅπως κατὰ μηδὲν ἐκεῖνον λειψανία βιώσας τῶν ἱσον χρόνον, καὶ παρεκάλεις συγκρίνεις τὰς ἡλικιώτιδας πράξεις τοῦτων γὰρ δικαιοτατον ἠλεγχον εἶναι τῆς ἠρετῆς.

5 Περὶ μὲν οὖν Σεσσώσιος ἀρκεσθησόμεθα τοῖς λόγοις τοῖς ῥηθεῖσιν.

59. Ὁ δ' ὦδοι αὐτοῦ διαδεξάμενος τὴν βασιλείαν καὶ τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς προσηγορίαν ἐαυτῷ περιβέμενος πράξας μὲν πολεμικὴν ἢ μνήμης ἀξίαν οὐδ' ἤτυμον συνετελέσατο, συμπτώματι 2 δὲ περιέπεσαν ἴδιαζοντι. ἔστερήθη μὲν γὰρ τῆς ὀράσεως εἴτε διὰ τὴν πρὸς τῶν πατέρα τῆς φύσεως κληωνίαν εἴδ', ὡς τόνς μυθολογούσι, διὰ τὴν εἰς τὸν ποταμὸν ἀσέβειαν, ἐν δ' χειμαζόμενος 204
he deliberately took his own life, his eyesight having failed him; and this act won for him the admiration not only of the priests of Egypt but of the other inhabitants as well, for it was thought that he had caused the end of his life to comport with the loftiness of spirit shown in his achievements.

So great became the fame of this king and so enduring through the ages that when, many generations later, Egypt fell under the power of the Persians and Darius, the father of Xerxes, was bent upon placing a statue of himself in Memphis before that of Sesoösis, the chief priest opposed it in a speech which he made in an assembly of the priests, to the effect that Darius had not yet surpassed the deeds of Sesoösis; and the king was far from being angered, but, on the contrary, being pleased at his frankness of speech, said that he would strive not to be found behind that ruler in any point when he had attained his years, and asked them to base their judgment upon the deeds of each at the same age, for that was the fairest test of their excellence.

As regards Sesoösis, then, we shall rest content with what has been said.

59. But his son, succeeding to the throne and assuming his father’s appellation, did not accomplish a single thing in war or otherwise worthy of mention, though he did have a singular experience. He lost his sight, either because he shared in his father’s bodily constitution or, as some fictitiously relate, because of his impiety towards the river, since once when caught in a storm upon it he had

1 The following folk story, with some variations, is given in Herodotus 2, 111.
pote to pheromenev reuma kathekontise. dia de tnu antuxian anagkastheis katafugiein epi tnu
tovn theon bohdeian, epi chronous ikanoous pleistais
theviais kai timai to theion exilaraskomenos oude
3 mias etuyxhane poluorlias. to dekatoi eite
manteias autoph geonomenvs timhsoi te tov theon
tovn en 'Hlioupoloi kai gynaiqos ourho vizebhai
to prosopon htei eteros peirai anadros ouk
eileve, twn mev gynaiqon atop tis idias arx
menos kai pollas ejetasas oudeian eureve adia-
thetaon plh kypouroin tinov, hyn ugeia geonomevos
egumei tas de allas xwsas en kormi tis kate-
kavseum, hyn Dignyttioi dia to sumptwma touto
4 prosoxhorphvasan ierav boelo. to dei en 'Hliou-
polei theo tas xartias apoemwv tis energe-
iasis kata tis xrysmou oboleisqous anehteke du
monolhous, to mev platos oktov, to de mekos
pichov ekaion.

60. Metavo de tovtov tis vasiliea sykhai tis
n displeiwmewn tnu arxh tis soudven epresan
anagrapheis aition. pollaias de ousteron geneias
'masias geonomenos vasilieus hrixe tis oixhov
bionteron pollous mev gar para to dikaiou
etimowrito, synxvous de tis ouxioun esteriseke,
pani de uperopikous kai kata pan uperfhavan
2 prosofereto. mekri mev oun tisoi oi pauxhontes
ekarterow, ou dunamavoi kai oudeva trepon
amynasthai tis plsoi xourntas. eite de
'Antisthnes o tov Aithiopon vasilieus estera-
teseun ep auton, tote tov misopon kairo

1 One of these obelisks still stands, of red granite of Syene
and 66 feet high. The largest obelisk in the world, that
206
hurled a spear into the rushing current. Forced by this ill fortune to turn to the gods for aid, he strove over a long period to propitiate the deity by numerous sacrifices and honours, but received no consideration. But in the tenth year, an oracular command was given to him to do honour to the god in Heliopolis and bathe his face in the urine of a woman who had never known any other man than her husband. Thereupon he began with his own wife and then made trial of many, but found not one that was chaste save a certain gardener's wife, whom he married as soon as he was recovered. All the other women he burned alive in a certain village to which the Egyptians because of this incident gave the name Holy Field; and to the god in Heliopolis, out of gratitude for his benefaction, he dedicated, in accordance with the injunction of the oracle, two monolithic obelisks, eight cubits wide and one hundred high.

60. After this king a long line of successors on the throne accomplished no deed worth recording. But Amasis, who became king many generations later, ruled the masses of the people with great harshness; many he punished unjustly, great numbers he deprived of their possessions, and towards all his conduct was without exception contemptuous and arrogant. Now for a time his victims bore up under this, being unable in any way to protect themselves against those of greater power; but when Actisanes, the king of the Ethiopians, led an army against Amasis, their hatred seized the opportunity before the Lateran, is 100 feet high; the 150 feet of Diodorus seems a little too big.

2 A. Wiedemann (Ägyptische Geschichte, p. 582, n. 1) thinks that Actisanes is no more than a double of the Ethiopian Sabaco of chap. 65.
DIODORUS OF SICILY

3 βόντος ἀπέστησαν οἱ πλεῖστοι. διότι πορθὸς αὐτοῦ χειροθέντος ἢ μὲν ἄγνυπτος ἐπεσεν ὑπὸ τὴν τῶν Αἰθιόπων βασιλείαν, ὥστε Ἀκτισάνης ἀνθρωπίνως ἐνέγκας τὴν εὐτυχίαν ἐπιείκος.

4 προσεφέρετο τοῖς υποτεταγμένοις ὁ δὲ καὶ συνετέλεσεν ἦδιν τι περὶ τοὺς ληστάς, οὕτω βανάτως τοὺς ἐνόχους οὕτε ὀλοσχερῶς ἀφεῖσ.

5 ἀτμιωρήτως συναγαγὼν γὰρ ἐξ ἦπαρος τῆς χώρας τοὺς ἐν ἐγκλήμασιν ὄντας κακουργίας, καὶ τὴν διάγωσιν αὐτῶν δικαιοτάτην ποιησάμενος, ἠθροίσεν ἀπαντὰς τοὺς καταδεκικασμένους, ἀποτεμῶν δ' αὐτῶν τοὺς μυκτήρας κατάκκεισεν ἐν τοῖς ἐχάτοις τῆς ἐρήμου, κτίσας πόλιν τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ συμπτώματος τῶν οἰκητῶν Ἄμφολολουμα προσαγορευθέσαιν.

6 Αὐτὴ δὲ κειμένῃ πρὸς τοὺς μεθορίους τῆς Ἀγάπτου καὶ Συρίας οὐ μακρὰν τοῦ παράκοντος αἰγιαλοῦ πάντων σχεδὸν τῶν πρὸς ἀνθρωπίνην.

7 ὁικεταν μικρὸτων ἔστερηται: περιέχει μὲν γὰρ αὐτὴν χώρα πλήρης ἀλμυρίδος, ἐντὸς δὲ τοῦ τείχους ὅλιγον ἔστιν ὑδωρ ἐν φρέασι, καὶ τοῦτο διεφθαρμένον καὶ παρτελῶς τῇ γεύσει πικρών.

8 κατόκισε δ' αὐτοῖς εἰς ταύτην τὴν χώραν, ὅπως μὴ τοὺς ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐπιτηδευθέντας βίους διατηροῦντες λυμαίνωνται τοὺς μηδὲν ἀδικοῦντας, μήτε κατὰ τὰς πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλους ἐπιμεξίας ἀγνοούντας.

9 μενοὶ λανθανόμενοι. ἀλλ' ὅμως ἐκριφέντες εἰς χώραν ἔρημον καὶ πάντων σχεδὸν τῶν χρησίμων ἀπορούν ἐπενόησαν βίον οἰκείον τῆς περὶ αὐτοὺς ἑνδείας, ἀναγκαζούσης τῆς φύσεως πρὸς τὴν

---

1 λαβόντος Dindorf: λαβόντες.
2 ἐρήμου D, Bekker, Vogel: ἐρήμου χώρας Vulgate, Dindorf.

208
and most of the Egyptians revolted. As a consequence, since he was easily overcome, Egypt fell under the rule of the Ethiopians. But Actisanes carried his good fortune as a man should and conducted himself in a kindly manner towards his subjects. For instance, he had his own manner of dealing with thieves, neither putting to death such as were liable to that punishment, nor letting them go with no punishment at all; for after he had gathered together out of the whole land those who were charged with some crime and had held a thoroughly fair examination of their cases, he took all who had been judged guilty, and, cutting off their noses, settled them in a colony on the edge of the desert, founding the city which was called Rhinocolura \(^1\) after the lot of its inhabitants.

This city, which lies on the border between Egypt and Syria not far from the sea-coast, is wanting in practically everything which is necessary for man’s existence; for it is surrounded by land which is full of brine, while within the walls there is but a small supply of water from wells, and this is impure and very bitter to the taste. But he settled them in this country in order that, in case they continued to practise their original manner of life, they might not prey upon innocent people, and also that they might not pass unrecognized as they mingled with the rest of mankind. And yet, despite the fact that they had been cast out into a desert country which lacked practically every useful thing, they contrived a way of living appropriate to the dearth about them, since nature forced them to devise

\(^{1}\) i.e. Nose-clipped.
10 ἀποριαν πάντα μηχανάσθαι. καλάμων γὰρ κείροντες ἐκ τῆς ῥυμόρου χώρας, καὶ ταύτην σχὶζοντες, λίνα παραμῆκη κατασκεύαζον, ταύτα δὲ παρὰ τὸν αἰγιαλὸν ἐπὶ πολλοὺς σταδίους ἵσταντες τὰς θήρας τῶν ὀρτύγων ἐποιοῦντο· φέρονται γὰρ οὗτοι κατ᾿ ἀγέλας μείζονας ἐκ τοῦ πελάγους· οὐς θηρεύοντες ἡδροίζουν πλῆθος ἰκανον εἰς διατροφήν ἑαυτοῖς.

61. Τού δὲ βασιλέως τοῦτον τελευτήσαντος ἀνεκτήσαντο τὴν ἀρχήν Ἀγυπτίων, καὶ κατέστησαν ἐγχώριον βασιλέα Μένδην, ὅν τινες Μάρρον 2 προσονομάζουσιν. οὗτος δὲ πολεμικὴν μὲν πράξιν ὑπὲρ ἤντισεν ἐπετελέσατο, τάφον δὲ αὐτῷ κατασκεύασε τὸν ὄνομαζόμενον λαβύρινθον, οὗ ὡς οὗτος κατὰ τὸ μέγεθος τῶν ἔργων θαυμαστῶν ὡς πρὸς τὴν φιλοτεχνίαν ὑσυμίμητον· ὁ γὰρ εἰσελθὼν εἰς αὐτὸν ὁδών δύναται ῥαδίως τὴν ἔξοδον εὑρεῖν, ἐὰν μὴ τύχῃ τινὸς ὀδηγοῦ παντελῶς 3 ἑμπέρου, φασὶ δὲ τινες καὶ τῶν Δαύδαλοεΐς Ἀγυπτίων παραβαλόντα καὶ θαυμάσαντα τὴν ἐν τοῖς ἐργοῖς τεχνὴν κατασκευάσας τῷ βασιλεύοντι τῆς Κρήτης Μίνων λαβύρινθον ὁμοίου τῷ κατ’ Ἀγυπτίων, ἐν ὦ γενέσθαι μυθολογοῦσι τῶν 4 λεγόμενου Μινώταυρον. ἀλλ’ ὁ μὲν κατὰ τὴν Κρήτην ἡφαῖνθη τελέως, εἴτε δυνάστου τινὸς κατασκάφαστος εἴτε τοῦ χρόνου τοῦργον λυμηναμένου· ὁ δὲ κατ’ Ἀγυπτίων ἀκέραιον τὴν ὅλην κατασκευὴν τετήρηκε μέχρι τοῦ καθ’ ἦμᾶς βίου.

62. Μετὰ δὲ τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως τοῦτον τελευτήν ἐπὶ γενεάς πέντε γενομένης ἀναρχίας τῶν ἄδοξων.
every possible means to combat their destitution. For instance, by cutting down reeds in the neighbourhood and splitting them, they made long nets, which they set up along the beach for a distance of many stades and hunted quails; for these are driven in large coveys from the open sea, and in hunting them they caught a sufficient number to provide themselves with food.

61. After the death of this king the Egyptians regained the control of their government and placed on the throne a native king, Mendes, whom some call Marrus. So far as war is concerned this ruler did not accomplish anything at all, but he did build himself a tomb known as the Labyrinth, which was not so remarkable for its size as it was impossible to imitate in respect to its ingenious design; for a man who enters it cannot easily find his way out, unless he gets a guide who is thoroughly acquainted with the structure. And some say that Daedalus, visiting Egypt and admiring the skill shown in the building, also constructed for Minos, the king of Crete, a labyrinth like the one in Egypt, in which was kept, as the myth relates, the beast called Minotaur. However, the labyrinth in Crete has entirely disappeared, whether it be that some ruler razed it to the ground or that time effaced the work, but the one in Egypt has stood intact in its entire structure down to our lifetime.

62. After the death of this king there were no rulers for five generations, and then a man of obscure

1 This building is described in chap. 66. The classical authors did not agree on the name of its builder and the Mendes or Marrus of Diodorus is otherwise entirely unknown (op. A. Wiedemann, Ägyptische Geschichte, p. 259).
DIODORUS OF SICILY

tis ἥρεθη βασιλεὺς, οὖν Ἀγνύττιοι μὲν ὀνομάζουσιν Ἐλευτηρίαν, παρὰ δὲ τοῖς "Ἐλλησσων εἶναι δοκεῖ Πρωτεὺς ὁ κατὰ τῶν Ἰλιακῶν γεγονός πόλεμον.

2 τούτου δὲ παραδεδομένου τῶν τε πνευμάτων ἔχειν ἐμπειρίαν καὶ τὴν μορφὴν μεταβάλλειν ὅτε μὲν εἰς ἱερῶν τύπους, ὅτε δὲ εἰς δένδρον ἢ πῦρ ἢ τι τῶν ἄλλων, ὁμολογούμενα τούτοις συμβαίνει καὶ τῶν ἰερεῶν λέγειν περὶ αὐτοῦ. ἐκ μὲν γὰρ τῆς μετὰ τῶν ἀστρολόγων συμβιώσεως, ἡν ἐποιεῖτο συνεχώς, ἐμπειρίαν ἔσχηκεν τῶν βασιλέων τῶν τοιούτων, ἐκ δὲ τοῦ νομίμου του παραδεδομένου τοῦ βασιλεύσι τὸ περὶ τὰς μεταβολὰς τῆς ἴδεας μυθολογηθῆναι παρὰ τοῖς "Ἑλλησσων. ἐν ἐθεὶ γὰρ εἶναι τοῖς κατ’ Ἀγνύττου δυνάστεις περιτεθείσαι περὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν λεόντων καὶ ταῦρων καὶ δρακόντων προτόματος, σημεία τῆς ἁρχῆς καὶ ποτὲ μὲν δένδρα, ποτὲ δὲ πῦρ, ἐστὶ δ’ ὅτε καὶ χυμαμάτων εὐωδῶν ἔχειν ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς ὅλη ὄλγα, καὶ διὰ τούτων ἀμα μὲν έαυτοὺς εἰς εὐπρέπειαν κοσμεῖν, ἀμα δὲ τούς ἄλλους εἰς κατάπληξιν ἀγεῖν καὶ δεσιδαιμόνω διάθεσιν.

5 Μετὰ δὲ τὴν Πρωτέως τελευτήν διαδεξάμενος την βασιλείαν οὐδεὶς Ῥέμφις διετέλεσε πάντα τὸν τοῦ ζηῆς χρόνον ἐπιμελόμενος τῶν προσόδων καὶ σφειών πανταχόθεν τῶν πλούτων, διὰ δὲ μικροψυχίαν καὶ φιλαργυρίαν ἥδους οὕτω εἰς ἀναθήματα θεῶν οὕτ’ εἰς εὐεργεσίαν ἀνθρώπων

1 Diodorus in his account of Proteus follows Herodotus (2. 112 ff.), who, it has been suggested, may have confused an Egyptian title, Prouti, with the familiar "Proteus" (cp. How and Wells, A Commentary on Herodotus, 1. p. 223). Cetes, apparently, cannot be identified with any Egyptian ruler.
origin was chosen king, whom the Egyptians call Cetes, but who among the Greeks is thought to be that Proteus 1 who lived at the time of the war about Ilium. Some tradition records that this Proteus was experienced in the knowledge of the winds and that he would change his body, sometimes into the form of different animals, sometimes into a tree or fire or something else, and it so happens that the account which the priests give of Cetes is in agreement with that tradition. For, according to the priests, from the close association which the king constantly maintained with the astrologers, he had gained experience in such matters, and from a custom which has been passed down among the kings of Egypt has arisen the myths current among the Greeks about the way Proteus changed his shape. For it was a practice among the rulers of Egypt to wear upon their heads the forepart of a lion, or bull, or snake as symbols of their rule; at times also trees or fire, and in some cases they even carried on their heads large bunches of fragrant herbs for incense, these last serving to enhance their comeliness and at the same time to fill all other men with fear and religious awe. 2

On the death of Proteus his son Remphis 3 succeeded to the throne. This ruler spent his whole life looking after the revenues and amassing riches from every source, and because of his niggardly and miserly character spent nothing either on votive offerings to the gods or on benefactions to the inhabi-

---

2 On some of these insignia cp. J. H. Breasted, History of Egypt, p. 38; the snake was the symbol of the Northern Kingdom, the sacred uraeus.

3 Ramses III, the Rhampsinitus in connection with whom Herodotus (2. 121) recounts the famous tale of the thieves.
6 οὖδὲν ἀνήλωσε. διὸ καὶ γενόμενος οὐ βασιλεὺς ἄλλο οἰκονόμος ἀγαθὸς ἀντὶ τῆς ἐπ’. ἀρετῆς ὤφη ἀπέλυε πλείστα χρῆματα τῶν πρὸ αὐτοῦ βασιλευσάντων. ἀργύρου γὰρ καὶ χρυσοῦ παραδέδοται συναγαγεῖν αὐτοῦ εἰς τετταράκοντα μυριάδας ταλάντων.

63. Τούτου δὲ τελευτήσαντος ἐπὶ γενεᾶς ἐπτὰ διεδέξατο τὴν ἀρχὴν βασιλείας ἀργοὶ παντελῶς καὶ πρὸς ἀνέσιν καὶ τρυφὴν ἀπαντὰ πράττοντες. διόπερ ἐν ταῖς ιεραῖς ἀναγραφαῖς οὐδὲν αὐτῶν ἔργον πολυτέλες οὐδὲ πράξεις ἰστορίας ἀξία παραδέδοται πλὴν ἐνὸς Νείλου, ἀφ’ οὗ συμβαίνει τὸν ποταμὸν ὀνομασθήναι Νείλος, τὸ πρὸ τοῦ καλοῦμενον Λιμυρίτον. οὕτως δὲ πλείστας εὐκαιρίων διώρυχας κατασκευάζας καὶ πολλὰ περὶ τὴν εὐχρηστίαν τοῦ Νείλου φιλοτιμήθεις αὐτοῖς κατέστη τὸν ποταμὸ ταύτης τῆς προσηγορίας.

2 'Ογδοος δὲ βασιλεὺς γενόμενος Χέμμως ὁ Μεμφίτης ἤρθε μὲν ἐνη πεντήκοντα, κατασκευάζει δὲ τὴν μεγίστην τῶν τριῶν πυραμίδων τῶν ἐν τοῖς ἐπτὰ τοῖς ἐπιφανεστάτοις ἐργοῖς ἀριθμουμένων. τὸν δὲ Νείλου πέντε πρὸς τοῖς τετταράκοντα, τὸ δὲ μεγέθει τῶν ἐργῶν καὶ τῇ κατὰ τὴν χειρουργών τέχνην θαυμαστὴν τυνα κατάπληξεν παρέχονται τοῖς θεομένοις. ἦ μὲν γὰρ μεγίστη τετράπλευρος

---

1 ἀργυρίου D, Bekker, Dindorf.
2 χρυσίου Bekker, Dindorf.
3 ὀνομασθήναι Α B D, Bekker, Vogel: ἄνωμάσθαι Vulgate, Dindorf.
4 So Reiske: τέχνην χειρουργία.
5 Τεχνήν χειρουργία.
tants. Consequently, since he had been not so much a king as only an efficient steward, in the place of a fame based upon virtue he left a treasure larger than that of any king before him; for according to tradition he amassed some four hundred thousand talents of silver and gold.

63. After Remphis died, kings succeeded to the throne for seven generations who were confirmed sluggards and devoted only to indulgence and luxury. Consequently, in the priestly records, no costly building of theirs nor any deed worthy of historical record is handed down in connection with them, except in the case of one ruler, Nileus, from whom the river came to be named the Nile, though formerly called Aegyptus. This ruler constructed a very great number of canals at opportune places and in many ways showed himself eager to increase the usefulness of the Nile, and therefore became the cause of the present appellation of the river.

The eighth king, Chemmis¹ of Memphis, ruled fifty years and constructed the largest of the three pyramids, which are numbered among the seven wonders of the world. These pyramids, which are situated on the side of Egypt which is towards Libya, are one hundred and twenty stades from Memphis and forty-five from the Nile, and by the immensity of their structures and the skill shown in their execution they fill the beholder with wonder and astonishment. For the largest is in the form of a square and

¹ Chemmis is the Cheops of Herodotus (2. 124), the Khufu of the monuments. Diodorus makes the same mistake as Herodotus in putting the pyramid-builders of the Fourth Dynasty (c. 3000 B.C.) after Ramses III of the Twentieth Dynasty (c. 1200 B.C.).
Diodorus of Sicily

οὕσα τῷ σχῆματι τὴν ἐπὶ τῆς βάσεως πλευρὰν ἐκάστην ἔχει πλέθρων ἐπτά, τὸ δ’ ύψος πλέον τῶν ἕξ πλέθρων· συναγωγὴν δ’ ἐκ τοῦ κατ’ ὅλον λαμβάνουσα μέχρι τῆς κορυφῆς ἐκάστην πλευρὰν ποιεῖ πηχῶν ἕξ. πᾶσα δὲ στερεοῦ λίθον κατασκεύασται, τὴν μὲν ἑργασίαν ἔχοντος δυσχερῆ, τὴν δὲ διαμονὴν αἰώνιον· οὐκ ἐλαττώνων γὰρ ἡ χιλίων ἕτοι, ὡς φασί, διεληλυθότων εἰς τὸν καθ’ ἡμᾶς βίον, ὡς δὲ ἐνοι γράφουσι, πλειόνων ἡ τρισχιλίων καὶ τετρακοσίων, διαμένουσι μέχρι τοῦ νῦν οἱ λίθοι τὴν ἕξ ἀρχὴς σύνθεσιν καὶ τὴν ὅλην κατασκευὴν ἁσηπτον διαφυλάττοντες.

6 λέγεται δὲ τὸν μὲν λίθον ἐκ τῆς Ἀραβίας ἀπὸ πολλοῦ διαστήματος κομισθῆναι, τὴν δὲ κατασκευὴν διὰ χωμάτων γενέσθαι, μήπω τῶν μηχανῶν εὐρημένων κατ’ ἐκείνους τοὺς χρόνους· καὶ τὸ θαυμασιώτατον, τηλικοῦτων ἔργων κατασκευασμένων καὶ τοῦ περιέχοντος τόπον παντὸς ἀμμόδους δυντὸς οὖσαν ἔχειν οὕτω τῶν χῶματος οὕτω τῆς τῶν λίθων ἡσσοτυργίας ἀπολείπεσθαι,1 ὡστε δοκεῖν μὴ κατ’ ὅλον ὑπ’ ἀνθρώπων ἑργασίας, ἀλλὰ συλλήβδην ὅσπερ ὑπὸ θεοῦ τινος τὸ κατασκεύασμα τεθήναι πᾶν εἰς τὴν περιέχουσαν ἄμμον.

8 ἐπιχειροῦσι δὲ τινες τῶν Αἰγυπτίων τερατολογεῖν ὑπὲρ τούτων, λέγοντες ὡς ἕξ ἄλοι καὶ νῖτρον τῶν χωμάτων γεγονότων ἐπαφεθεῖς ὁ ποταμὸς ἐπηξεν αὕτα καὶ παντελῶς ἡφαίνεσθε ἄνευ τῆς χερσοποιήσεως τοῦ πραγματεία. σῦ μὴν καὶ τάληθες οὕτως

1 ἀπολείπεται II, Bekker, Dindorf.
has a base length on each side of seven plethra and a height of over six plethra; it also gradually tapers to the top, where each side is six cubits long.\(^1\) The entire construction is of hard stone, which is difficult to work but lasts for ever; for though no fewer than a thousand years have elapsed, as they say, to our lifetime, or, as some writers have it, more than three thousand four hundred, the stones remain to this day still preserving their original position and the entire structure undecayed. It is said that the stone was conveyed over a great distance from Arabia\(^2\) and that the construction was effected by means of mounds, since cranes had not yet been invented at that time; and the most remarkable thing in the account is that, though the constructions were on such a great scale and the country round about them consists of nothing but sand, not a trace remains either of any mound or of the dressing of the stones, so that they do not have the appearance of being the slow handiwork of men but look like a sudden creation, as though they had been made by some god and set down bodily in the surrounding sand. Certain Egyptians would make a marvel out of these things, saying that, inasmuch as the mounds were built of salt and saltpetre, when the river was let in it melted them down and completely effaced them without the intervention of man’s hand. However, there is not a

\(^1\) Including the facing, which has now almost entirely disappeared, the Great Pyramid was originally about 768 feet broad on the base and 482 feet high.

\(^2\) The term “Arabia” also designated the region lying between the Nile and the Red Sea, as in Herodotus (2. 8) and Strabo (17. 1. 34). Apparently all the material for the Great Pyramid came from the immediate neighbourhood (op. Baedeker’s Egypt, pp. 124–5).
DIODORUS OF SICILY

έχει, διὰ δὲ τῆς πολυχειρίας τῆς τὰ χώματα βαλούσης πάλιν τὸ παῦν ἔργου εἰς τὴν προϋπάρ-
χουσαν ἀποκατεστάθη τάξιν· τριάκοντα μὲν γὰρ καὶ ἐξ μυριάδες ἀνδρῶν, ὡς φασί, ταῖς τῶν
ἐργῶν λειτουργίαις προσήδρευσαν, τὸ δὲ πάν κατασκεύασμα τέλος ἔσχε μόνιμος ἔτων εἰκοσι
διελθόντων.

64. Τελευτήσαντος δὲ τοῦ βασιλέως τούτου διεδέχατο τὴν ἄρχὴν ὁ ἄδελφος Κεφρήν καὶ ἤρξεν
ἐτη ἐξ πρὸς τοῖς πεντήκοντα· ἐνιοὶ δὲ φασιν οὐκ ἄδελφον, ἀλλ’ ὑίον παραλαβεῖν τὴν ἄρχὴν,
2 ὁνομαζόμενον Χαβρήν. συμφωνεῖται δὲ παρὰ πάσιν ὅτι ζηλώσας ὁ διαδεξάμενος τὴν τοῦ προ-
βασιλεύσαντος προαίρεσιν κατεσκεύασε τὴν δευτέραν πυραμίδα, τῇ μὲν κατὰ τὴν χειρουργίαν
tέχνην1 παραπληγιάν τῇ προειρήμενη, τῷ δὲ μεγέθει πολὺ λειτουργήν, ὡς ἄν τῆς ἐν τῇ βάσει
3 πλευρᾶς ἐκάστης οὐσίας σταδιαίας. ἐπιγέρασται δ’ ἐπὶ τῆς μείζονος τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ἀναλωθέντων
χρημάτων, ἡς εἰς λάχανα καὶ συρμαίαν τοῖς ἐργάταις μηνύεται2 διὰ τῆς γραφῆς τάλαντα
dεδαπανήσθαι πλεύρω τῶν χιλίων καὶ ἐξακοσίων.

4 ἡ δ’ ἐλάττων ἀνεπίγραφος μὲν ἐστιν, ἀνάβασιν
d’ ἔχει διὰ μῖᾶς τῶν πλευρῶν ἐγκεκολλαμμένην.
tῶν δὲ βασιλέως τῶν κατασκευασάντων αὐτᾶς
eαυτοῖς τάφους συνέβη μηδέτερον αὐτῶν ταῖς
5 πυραμίσιν ἐνταφήναι· τὰ γὰρ πλήθη διὰ τε ταλαι-
πορίαν τὴν ἐν τοῖς ἔργοις καὶ διὰ τὸ τούτος τοὺς
βασιλείς ὦμα καὶ βίαια πολλὰ πρᾶξαι δι’
ὡρῆς εἶχε τοὺς αἰτίους, καὶ τὰ σώματα ἦπειλει

1 So Reiske: τέχνην χειρουργία.
2 μηνύεται Vogel: καὶ μηνύεται C, Bekker, Diindorf.
218
word of truth in this, but the entire material for the mounds, raised as they were by the labour of many hands, was returned by the same means to the place from which it came; for three hundred and sixty thousand men, as they say, were employed on the undertaking, and the whole structure was scarcely completed in twenty years.¹

64. Upon the death of this king his brother Cephren ² succeeded to the throne and ruled fifty-six years; but some say that it was not the brother of Chemmis, but his son, named Chabryes, who took the throne. All writers, however, agree that it was the next ruler who, emulating the example of his predecessor, built the second pyramid, which was the equal of the one just mentioned in the skill displayed in its execution but far behind it in size, since its base length on each side is only a stade.³ And an inscription on the larger pyramid gives the sum of money expended on it, since the writing sets forth that on vegetables and purgatives for the workmen there were paid out over sixteen hundred talents. The smaller bears no inscription but has steps cut into one side. And though the two kings built the pyramids to serve as their tombs, in the event neither of them was buried in them; for the multitudes, because of the hardships which they had endured in the building of them and the many cruel and violent acts of these kings, were filled with anger against those who had caused their sufferings and openly threatened to tear

¹ The classic description of the building of the pyramids is in Herodotus 2. 124–5.
² The Chephren of Herodotus (2. 127), Khafre of the monuments.
³ i.e. six plethra, while the former was seven.
DIODORUS OF SICILY

διασπάσειν καὶ μεθ' ὑβρεως ἐκρίψειν ἐκ τῶν 6 τάφων. διὸ καὶ τελευτῶν ἐκάτερος ἐνετειλατο τοῖς προσήκουσιν ἐν ἁσήμῳ τόπῳ καὶ λάθρᾳ ἑάναι τὸ σῶμα.

Μετὰ δὲ τούτους ἐγένετο βασιλεὺς Μυκερίνος, δὸν τινὲς Μεγαχρίνων ὄνομάζουσιν, υῖὸς δὲ τοῦ 7 ποιήσαντος τὴν προτέραν πυραμίδα. οὕτως δὲ ἐπιβαλόμενος τρίτην κατασκευάζεται, πρότερον ἐτελεύτησε πρὶν ἢ τὸ πᾶν ἔργον λαβεῖν συντέλειαν. τῆς μὲν γὰρ βάσεως ἐκάστην πλευρὰν ὑπεστήσατο πλέθρων τριῶν, τοὺς δὲ τοῖχους ἐπὶ μὲν πεντεκαῖδεκα δόμους κατασκεύασεν ἐκ μέλανος λίθου τῷ Θηβαϊκῷ παραπλήσιον, τὸ δὲ λιοῦν ἀνεπλήρωσεν ἐκ λιθῶν ὁμοίου ταῖς ἄλλαις πυραμιδίσιν. τὸ δὲ μεγέθει λειπόμενον τούτῳ τὸ ἔργῳ τῶν προειρημένων τῇ κατὰ τὴν χειρουργίαν τέχνῃ πολὺ διαλλάττει καὶ τῇ τοῦ λίθου πολυτελείᾳ ἐπιγέγραπται δὲ κατὰ τὴν βόρειον αὐτῆς πλευρᾶν 8 μύσιν. τὸ δὲ μεγέθει λειπόμενον τούτῳ τὸ ἔργον τῶν προειρημένων τῇ κατὰ τὴν χειρουργίαν τέχνῃ πολὺ διαλλάττει καὶ τῇ τοῦ λίθου πολυτελείᾳ ἐπιγέγραπται δὲ κατὰ τὴν βόρειον αὐτῆς πλευρᾶν 9 ὁ κατασκευάσας αὐτὴν Μυκερίνος. τούτου δὲ φασι μισήσαντα τὴν τῶν προβασιλευσάντων ὁμότητα ξηλώσαι βίον ἐπτεικῇ καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἀρχομένους εὐθεργητικόν, καὶ ποιεῖν αὐτῶν συνεχῶς ἄλλα τὰ πλέον δι' ὃν ἦν μάλιστα ἐκκαλεσσάθαι τὴν τοῦ πλήθους πρὸς αὐτῶν εὐνοιαν, καὶ κατὰ τοὺς χρηματισμοὺς ἀναλίσκειν χρημάτων πλήθος, διδόντα διωρεάς τῶν ἐπτεικῶν τοῖς δοκοῦσιν ἐν ταῖς κρίσεις μὴ κατὰ τρόπον ἀπαλλάττειν.

10 Εἰς τὲ καὶ ἄλλαι τρεῖς πυραμίδες, δὸν ἐκάστη μὲν πλευρὰ πλευραῖα ὑπάρχει, τὸ δ' ὅλου ἔργου

¹ The remains, such as "massive blocks of granite, placed in position after the interment of the mummy to protect the
their bodies asunder and cast them in despite out of the tombs. Consequently each ruler when dying enjoined upon his kinsmen to bury his body secretly in an unmarked place.¹

After these rulers Mycerinus,² to whom some give the name Mencherinus, a son of the builder of the first pyramid, became king. He undertook the construction of a third pyramid, but died before the entire structure had been completed. The base length of each side he made three plethra, and for fifteen courses he built the walls of black stone ³ like that found about Thebes, but the rest of it he filled out with stone like that found in the other pyramids. In size this structure falls behind those mentioned above, but far surpasses them in the skill displayed in its execution and the great cost of the stone; and on the north side of the pyramid is an inscription stating that its builder was Mycerinus. This ruler, they say, out of indignation at the cruelty of his predecessors aspired to live an honourable life and one devoted to the welfare of his subjects; and he continually did many other things which might best help to evoke the goodwill of the people towards himself, and more especially, when he gave audiences, he spent a great amount of money, giving presents to such honest men as he thought had not fared in the courts of law as they deserved.

There are also three more pyramids, each of which is one plethrum long on each side and in general grave from robbers,” and other considerations all show that this cannot have been the case (cp. Baedeker’s Egypt, pp. 123, 126).

¹ The Menkaure of the monuments.
² The Menkaure of the monuments.
³ The lower courses of the third pyramid are of red granite, the “Ethiopian stone” of Herodotus 2. 134.

construction is like the others save in size; and these pyramids, they say, were built by the three kings named above for their wives.

It is generally agreed that these monuments far surpass all other constructions in Egypt, not only in their massiveness and cost but also in the skill displayed by their builders. And they say that the architects of the monuments are more deserving of admiration than the kings who furnished the means for their execution; for in bringing their plans to completion the former called upon their individual souls and their zeal for honour, but the latter only used the wealth which they had inherited and the grievous toil of other men. But with regard to the pyramids there is no complete agreement among either the inhabitants of the country or the historians; for according to some the kings mentioned above were their builders, according to others they were different kings; for instance, it is said that Armaces built the largest, Amosis the second, and Inaros the third. And this last pyramid, some say, is the tomb of the courtesan Rhodopis, for some of the nomarchs became her lovers, as the account goes, and out of their passion for her carried the building through to completion as a joint undertaking.

65. After the kings mentioned above Bocchoris


2 The governors of the provinces (nomes) of Egypt.

3 On Bocchoris cp. chaps. 79 and 94. His Egyptian name was Bakenranef (c. 726—c. 712 B.C.), the second of the two kings of the Twenty-fourth Dynasty (cp. The Cambridge Ancient History, 3. 276 f.).
Diodorus of Sicily

... διεδέξατο τὴν ἀρχὴν Βόκχορις, τῷ μὲν σώματι παντελῶς εὐκαταφρόνητος, ἄγχινοια δὲ πολὺ 2 διαφέρων τῶν προβασιλευσάντων. πολλαῖς δ’ ύστερον χρόνοις ἐβασιλεύσε τῆς Διγύπτου Σαβάκων, τῷ μὲν γένος δὴν Αιδίωψ, εὐσεβεία δὲ καὶ χρηστότητι πολὺ διαφέρων τῶν πρὶς αὐτοῦ. 3 τῆς μὲν οὖν ἐπιεικείας αὐτοῦ λάβοι τις ἄν τεκμήριων τὸ τῶν νομίμων προστίμων ἀραὶ τὸ μέγιστον, 4 λέγω δὲ τὴν τοῦ ξῆν στέρησιν ἀντὶ γὰρ τοῦ θανάτου τοὺς καταδικασθέντας ἡμᾶς καθένας λειτουργεῖν ταῖς πόλεσι διεδρέων, καὶ διὰ τούτων πολλὰ μὲν χώματα κατεσκεύασον, οὐκ ὅλγας δὲ διώρυχας ὀρυστεῖν εὐκαίρους. ὑπελάμβανε γὰρ τοῖς μὲν κολαζομένοις τὸ τῆς τιμωρίας ἀπότομον ἡλαστοκέναι, ταῖς δὲ πόλεσι ἀντὶ προστίμων ἀνωφελῶν μεγάλην εὐχρηστίαν περιπεποιηκέναι. 5 τὴν δὲ τῆς εὐσεβείας ὑπερβολὴν συνλογίσατο ἄν τις ἐκ τῆς κατὰ τὸν ὄνειρον φαντασίας καὶ 6 τῆς κατὰ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀποθέσεως. ἔδοξε μὲν γὰρ κατὰ τὸν ὑπὸν λέγειν αὐτῷ τὸν ἐν Θήβαις θεὸν ὅτι βασιλεύειν οὐ δυνήσεται τῆς Διγύπτου μακαρίως οὐδὲ πολὺν χρόνον, εὰν μὴ τοὺς ἱερεῖς ἀπαντῆσι πιατερῶν διὰ μέσων αὐτῶν διέλθη μετὰ τῆς θεραπείας. πολλάκις δὲ τούτου γινομένου μεταπεμφάμενος πανταχόθεν τοὺς ἱερεῖς ἐφι λυπεῖν τὸν θεὸν ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ μένου, οὐ γὰρ ἂν

---

1 θανάτων Dindorf.
2 πεποιηκέναι Vulgate, Bekker, Dindorf.

---

1 Shabako (c. 712—c. 700 B.C.), the first king of the Twenty-fifth Dynasty.

224
succeeded to the throne, a man who was altogether contemptible in personal appearance but in sagacity far surpassed all former kings. Much later Εύρυτος was ruled by Sabaco,¹ who was by birth an Ethiopian and yet in piety and uprightness far surpassed his predecessors. A proof of his goodness may be found in his abolition of the severest one of the customary penalties (I refer to the taking of life); for instead of executing the condemned he put them in chains at forced labour for the cities, and by their services constructed many dykes and dug out not a few well-placed canals; for he held that in this way he had reduced for those who were being chastised the severity of their punishment, while for the cities he had procured, in exchange for useless penalties, something of great utility. And the excessiveness of his piety may be inferred from a vision which he had in a dream and his consequent abdication of the throne. For he thought that the god of Thebes told him while he slept that he would not be able to reign over Egypt in happiness or for any great length of time, unless he should cut the bodies of all the priests in twain and accompanied by his retinue pass through the very midst of them.² And when this dream came again and again, he summoned the priests from all over the land and told them that by his presence in the country he was offending the god;

² This story is reminiscent of the belief that one may be preserved from harm by passing between the parts of a sacrificed animal; cf. Genesis, 15. 10, 17; Jeremiah, 34. 18–19, and the account in Herodotus (7. 39) of the son of Pythius, whose body was cut in two and one half set on the right side of the road and the other on the left, that the Persian army might pass between them on its way to the conquest of Greece.
DIODORUS OF SICILY

αὐτὸ τοιαύτα προστάτευεν κατὰ τῶν ὑπ'υνον. 8 ἄπειλθων όνὲν Βούλεσθαι καθαρὸς παντὸς μύσους ἀποδούναι τὸ ἐπὶ τῇ πεπρωμένῃ μᾶλλον ἡ λυτῶν τῶν κύριων καὶ μιᾶνας ἀσεβεῖ φόνῳ τῶν ἱδιον βίου ἀρχεῖν τῆς Ἀθηναίς· καὶ πέρας τοῖς ἐγχωρίοις ἀποδοὺς τὴν βασιλείαν ἐπανήλθεν εἰς τὴν Ἀθηναίαν.

68. Ἀναρχίας δὲ γενομένης κατὰ τὴν Ἀθηναίαν ἐπ᾽ ἐτη δύο, καὶ τῶν ὁχλῶν εἰς ταραχὰς καὶ φόνους ἐμφυλίως τρεπομένων, ἐποιήσαντο συνωμοσίαιν τῶν ἡγεμόνων δώδεκα· συνεδρύσαντες δὲ ἐν Μέμφει καὶ συνθῆκας γραφάμενοι περὶ τῆς πρὸς ἀλλήλους ὁμονοίας καὶ πόστεως ἀνέδειξαν ἐαυτοὺς βασιλείας. ἐπ᾽ ἐτη δὲ πεντεκαίδεκα κατὰ τοὺς ὀρκους καὶ τὰς ὁμολογίας ἀρξάντες καὶ τὴν πρὸς ἀλλήλους ὁμονοίαν διατηρήσαντες, ἐπεβάλοντο κατασκευάζοντες κοινῶν ἐαυτῶν τίφων, ἵνα καθάπερ ἐν τῇ ἐπὶ εὐνοοῦντες ἀλλήλους τῶν ἐσων ἐτύγχανον τιμῶν, όπως καὶ μετὰ τὴν τελευτην ἐν ἐνὶ τόπῳ τῶν σωμάτων κειμένων τὸ κατασκευαζόμεν μνήμα κοινῆ 3 περίεχῃ τὴν τῶν ἐνταφέντων δόξαν. εἰς ταύτην δὲ τὴν ἐπιβολὴν φιλοκαλοῦντες ἐσπευσαν ὑπερβαλέσθαι τῷ μεγέθει τῶν ἐργῶν ἀπαντάς τοὺς πρὸ αὐτῶν. ἐκλεξάμενοι γὰρ τοὺς παρὰ τὸν εἰσπλοῦν τὸν εἰς τὴν Μοίριδος 1 λίμνην ἐν τῇ Διβύῃ κατασκευάζουσαν τὸν τάφον ἐκ τῶν καλλίστων λίθων, καὶ τῷ μεν σχῆματι τετράγωνον ὑπεστήσαντο, τῷ δὲ μεγέθει σταδίαν ἐκάστην πλευράν, ταῖς δὲ γλυφαῖς καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις χειρουργηθαίς ὑπερβολὴν

1 Μοίριδος Wesseling: μύριδος.
for were that not the case such a command would not be given to him in his sleep. And so he would rather, he continued, departing pure of all defilement from the land, deliver his life to destiny than offend the Lord, stain his own life by an impious slaughter, and reign over Egypt. And in the end he returned the kingdom to the Egyptians and retired again to Ethiopia.

66. There being no head of the government in Egypt for two years, and the masses betaking themselves to tumults and the killing of one another, the twelve most important leaders formed a solemn league among themselves, and after they had met together for counsel in Memphis and had drawn up agreements setting forth their mutual goodwill and loyalty they proclaimed themselves kings. After they had reigned in accordance with their oaths and promises and had maintained their mutual concord for a period of fifteen years, they set about to construct a common tomb for themselves, their thought being that, just as in their lifetime they had cherished a cordial regard for one another and enjoyed equal honours, so also after their death their bodies would all rest in one place and the memorial which they had erected would hold in one embrace the glory of those buried within. Being full of zeal for this undertaking they eagerly strove to surpass all preceding rulers in the magnitude of their structure. For selecting a site at the entrance to Lake Moeris in Libya they constructed their tomb of the finest stone, and they made it in form a square but in magnitude a stade in length on each side; and in the carvings and, indeed, in all the workmanship they left nothing wherein

1 i.e. on the west side of the Nile.
Diodorus of Sicily

4 σοκ ἀπέλιπτον τοῖς ἐπηγωγομένοις. Εἰσελθόντες μὲν γὰρ τὸν περίβολον οἰκος ἦν περίστυλος, ἐκάστης πλευρᾶς ἐκ τετταράκοντα κιόνων ἀναπληροῦμένης, καὶ τούτου μονόλθος ἦν ὁ ὑπόθετος, φάτναις διαγεγυμμένη καὶ γραφαῖς διαφόροις πεποικιλ.

5 μένῃ. εἰχε δὲ τῆς πατρίδος τῆς ἐκάστου τῶν βασιλέων ὑπομνήματα καὶ τῶν ἱερῶν καὶ θυσίων τῶν ἐν αὐτῇ ταῖς καλλίσταις γραφαῖς φιλοτέχνως δεδημοιργημένα. καθόλου δὲ τοιαύτη τὴν πολυτελεία καὶ τηλικαύτη τῷ μεγέθει τὴν ὑπόστασιν τοῦ τάφου λέγεται ποιήσασθαι τοὺς βασιλείς, ὥστε εἰ μὴ πρὸ τοῦ συντελέσαι τὴν ἐπιβολὴν κατελύθησαν, μηδεμίαν δὲ ὑπερβολὴν ἐτέρων πρὸς κατασκευήν ἐργαν ἀπολυπεῖν.

6 Αρξάντων δὲ τούτων τῆς Ἀλγυπτοῦ πεντεκαίδεκα ἐτῶν συνέβη τὴν βασιλείαν εἰς ἑνα περιστήμην διὰ τοιαύτας αἰτίας. Ψαμμήτριος ὁ Σακηνής, εἰς ὅλων δώδεκα βασιλεῶν καὶ τῶν παρὰ θάλασσαν μερῶν κυριεύων, παρείχετο φορτία πάσι τοῖς ἐμπόροις, μάλιστα δὲ τοῖς τε Φοινίκη καὶ τοῖς

7 Ελλησ. διὰ δὲ τοιούτου τρόπου τά τε ἐκ τῆς ἱδίας χώρας λυσιτελῶς διατεθέμενος καὶ τῶν παρὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἔθνεσι φυομένων μεταλαμβάνων, οὐ μόνον εὐπορίαν εἰχε μεγάλην ἄλλα καὶ φιλίαν πρὸς ἐυθν καὶ δυνάστας. διὰ δὲ ταυτά φασι φθονήσαντας αὐτῷ τοὺς ἄλλους βασιλεῖς πόλεμον ἐξενεγκείν. εἰσοδὲ τῶν ἀρχαίων συγγραφέων μηθολογοῦσι χρησμόν γενέσθαι τοῖς ἧγε-

1 τοῦ after δὲ deleted by Dindorf.

1 This is the Labyrinth which was mentioned before in chap. 61. It was the seat of the central government, and was not built by the "twelve kings," but by Amenemhet III of the
succeeding rulers could excel them.¹ For as a man passed through the enclosing wall he found himself in a court surrounded by columns, forty on each side, and the roof of the court consisted of a single stone, which was worked into coffers² and adorned with excellent paintings. This court also contained memorials of the native district of each king and of the temples and sacrificial rites therein, artistically portrayed in most beautiful paintings. And in general, the kings are said to have made the plan of their tomb on such an expensive and enormous scale that, had they not died before the execution of their purpose, they would have left no possibility for others to surpass them, so far as the construction of monuments is concerned.

After these kings had reigned over Egypt for fifteen years it came to pass that the sovereignty devolved upon one man for the following reasons. Psammetichus of Sais, who was one of the twelve kings and in charge of the regions lying along the sea, furnished wares for all merchants and especially for the Phoenicians and the Greeks; and since in this manner he disposed of the products of his own district at a profit and exchanged them for those of other peoples, he was not only possessed of great wealth but also enjoyed friendly relations with peoples and rulers. And this was the reason, they say, why the other kings became envious and opened war against him. Some of the early historians,³ however, tell this fanciful story: The generals had


² i.e. ornamental panels were deeply recessed in the stone.
³ The account is given by Herodotus 2. 151 f.
Diodorus of Sicily

μόσιν, ὃς ἂν αὐτῶν ἐκ χαλκῆς φιάλης πρῶτος ἐν Μέμφει σπείσῃ τῷ θεῷ, κρατήσειν αὐτὸν πάσης τῆς Αἰγύπτου· τὸν δὲ Ψαμμήτηχον, ἐξενέγκαντος ἐκ τοῦ ίεροῦ τῶν ἱερέων τινὸς φιάλας ἐνδέκα ἥρμυσᾶς, περιελόμενον τῆς περικεφαλαίαν σπείσαι. ὑπιδομένους ὅν τοὺς συνάρχοντας τὸ πραξθὲν ἀποκτεῖναι μὲν αὐτὸν μὴ βουληθῆναι, φυγαδεύσας δὲ καὶ προστάξας διατρίβειν ἐν τοῖς ἐξεσι τοῖς παρὰ θάλατταν. εἶτε δὴ διὰ ταύτην τὴν αὐτὴν εἶτε διὰ τὸν φθόνον, καθὸτι προείρηται, γενομένης τῆς διαφορᾶς, ὥ μὲν Ἠς Ψαμμήτηχος ἐκ τῆς Καρίας καὶ τῆς Ίωνίας μισθοφόρους μετατρεμφώμενος ἐνίκησε παρατάξει περὶ πόλιν τῆς ὀνομαζομένης Μώμεμφιν, τῶν δὲ ἀνεταξαμένων βασιλεῶν οἱ μὲν κατὰ τὴν μάχην ἀνηρέθησαν, οἱ δὲ εἰς Λιβύην ἐκδιωχθέντες οὐκέτι περὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἰσχυσαν ἀμφισβηθῆσαι.

67. Τῆς δ' ὀλίγης βασιλείας κυριεύσας ὁ Ψαμμήτηχος τῷ μὲν ἐν Μέμφει θεῷ τὸ πρὸς ἐως προπύλαιον κατεσκεύασε καὶ τῷ ναῷ τῶν περίβολον, κολοσσοῦς ὑποστήσας ἀντὶ τῶν κιόνων δωδεκαπένθεων τοῖς δὲ μισθοφόροις χωρίς τῶν ὁμολογημένων συντάξεων δωρεάς τε ἀξιολόγους ἀπένεμε καὶ τὰ καλούμενα στρατόπεδα τόπον οἰκεῖν ἔδωκε καὶ χώραν πολλήν κατεκληρούχησε μικρὸν ἐπάνω τοῦ Πηλουσιακοῦ στόματος· οὕς ἐντεύθεν 'Ἀμασίς ὑστερον πολλοῖς ἔστει βασι-

1 Reading ἐνδέκα (iα') with Herodotus 2. 151 for the ἐνδέκα (iβ') of the MSS.; cp. E. Evers, Ein Beitrag zur Untersuchung der Quellenbenutzung bei Diodor, p. 26.
2 ὑπιδομένους Dindorf: ὑπειδομένους.
3 μὲν Vogel: μὲν γὰρ Vulgate, Bekker: μὲν ὅπως Dindorf.
received an oracle to the effect that the first one of their number to pour a libation from a bronze bowl to the god in Memphis should rule over all Egypt, and when one of the priests brought out of the temple eleven golden bowls, Psammetichus took off his helmet and poured the libation from it. Now his colleagues, although suspecting his act, were not yet ready to put him to death, but drove him instead from public life, with orders that he should spend his days in the marshes along the sea. Whether they fell out for this reason or because of the envy which, as mentioned above, they felt towards him, at any rate Psammetichus, calling mercenaries from Caria and Ionia, overcame the others in a pitched battle near the city called Momemphis, and of the kings who opposed him some were slain in the battle and some were driven out into Libya and were no longer able to dispute with him for the throne.

67. After Psammetichus had established his authority over the entire kingdom he built for the god in Memphis the east propylon and the enclosure about the temple, supporting it with colossi twelve cubits high in place of pillars; and among the mercenaries he distributed notable gifts over and above their promised pay, gave them the region called The Camps to dwell in, and apportioned to them much land in the region lying a little up the river from the Pelusiac mouth; they being subsequently removed thence by Amasis, who reigned

1 All former editors retain the reading “twelve” of the MSS.; but the parallel account in Herodotus gives the number as “eleven,” thus furnishing the occasion for the use of his helmet by Psammetichus.

2 Here are meant square pillars with an attached statue in front; cp. p. 167, n. 3.
2 λεύσας ἀνέστησε καὶ κατώκισεν εἰς Μέμφιν. διὰ δὲ τῶν μισθοφόρων κατωρθωκῶς τὴν βασιλείαν ὁ Ψαμμήτηχος τούτως τὸ λοιπὸν μάλιστ’ ἐνεπιστευεῖ τὰ κατὰ τὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ διετέλεσε ἦσος
3 τροφῶν μεγάλας δυνάμεις. στρατεύσαντος δ’ εἰς τὴν Σύριαν αὐτοῦ καὶ κατὰ τὰς παρατάξεις τοὺς μὲν μισθοφόρους προτιμῶντος καὶ τάττουσος εἰς τὰ δεξία μέρη, τοὺς δ’ ἐγχωρίους ἀτιμότερον ἀγοντος καὶ τὸν εὐώνυμον τόπον ἀπονέμοντος τῆς φάλαγγος, οἱ μὲν Ἀλγύπτιοι διὰ τὴν ὦβριν παροξυσθέντες καὶ γενόμενοι τὸ πλῆθος πλείους τῶν ἔκοσι μυριάδων ἀπέστησαν καὶ προῆγον ἐπ’ Ἁθηναίας, κεκρικότες ἵδιαν χώραν ἔαντοις
4 κατακτάσθαι ο’ δὲ βασιλεὺς τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἐπεμερίσθη τινας τῶν ἡγεμόνων τοὺς ἀπολογησόμενους ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀτιμίας, ὡς δ’ οὐ προσεῖχον αὐτοῖς, αὐτὸς μετὰ τῶν φίλων ἐδίωξε πλοίοις.
5 προσαχώντων δ’ αὐτῶν παρὰ τὸν Νεῖλον καὶ τοὺς ὄρους ὑπερβαλλόντων τῆς Ἀλγύπτου, ἐθεῖτο μετανοοῦσαι καὶ τῶν τε ἱερῶν καὶ τῶν πατρίδων, ἐτι
6 δὲ καὶ гυναικῶν καὶ τέκνων ὑπεμίμνησεν. οἱ δ’ ἁμα πάντες ἀναβοσάλαντες καὶ τοῖς κοινοῖς τὰς ἀσπίδας πατάξαντες ἐφασαν, ἐως ἂν κυριεύωσι τῶν ὄπλων, ῥαδίως ἐυρήσειν πατρίδας ἀναστελλόμενοι δὲ τοὺς χιτῶνας καὶ τὰ γεννητικὰ μέρη ¹ τοῦ σώματος δείξαντες οṙτε γυναικῶν οὔτε τέκνων ἀπορᾶσθε ἐφασαν ταῦτ’ ἔχοντες.
7 τοιαύτη δὲ μεγαλοψυχία χρησάμενοι καὶ κατα-

¹ μόρια G, Bekker, Dindorf.

¹ A similar account is in Herodotus (2. 154), who locates (2. 30) the Camps more precisely at Daphnae, the modern
232
many years later, and settled by him in Memphis. And since Psammetichus had established his rule with the aid of the mercenaries, he henceforth entrusted these before others with the administration of his empire and regularly maintained large mercenary forces. Once in connection with a campaign in Syria, when he was giving the mercenaries a more honourable place in his order of battle by putting them on the right wing and showing the native troops less honour by assigning them the position on the left wing of the phalanx, the Egyptians, angered by this slight and being over two hundred thousand strong, revolted and set out for Ethiopia, having determined to win for themselves a country of their own. The king at first sent some of his generals to make excuse for the dishonour done to them, but since no heed was paid to these he set out in person after them by boat, accompanied by his friends. And when they still continued their march along the Nile and were about to cross the boundary of Egypt, he besought them to change their purpose and reminded them of their temples, their homeland, and of their wives and children. But they, all crying aloud and striking their spears against their shields, declared that so long as they had weapons in their hands they would easily find homelands; and lifting their garments and pointing to their genitals they said that so long as they had those they would never be in want either of wives or of children. After such a display of high courage and of utter disdain for

Tell Defenneh on the Pelusiac arm of the Nile, now a canal. The mercenaries were thus strategically placed at the Syrian entrance into Egypt.
DIODORUS OF SICILY

φρονόσαντες τῶν παρὰ τοὺς ἄλλους μεγίστων εἶναι δοκοῦντων, κατελάβοντο μὲν τῆς Αἰθιοπίας τὴν κρατίστην, κατακληρονομόσαντες δὲ πολλὴν χώραν ἐν ταύτῃ κατοίκησαν.

8 Ὅ δ' Ὡμμήντεχος ἔπε μὲν τούτοις οὐ μετρίως ἐλυπήθη, τὰ δὲ κατὰ τὴν Ἀγυπτίαν διατάξας καὶ τῶν προσόδων ἐπιμελόμενος πρὸς τε Ἀθηναίοις καὶ τινὰς τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων συμμαχίαν ἐποιήσατε. εὐνρηγέτει δὲ καὶ τῶν ἥχων τοὺς ἐθελοντὴν ¹ εἰς τὴν Ἀγυπτίαν ἀποδημοῦντας, καὶ φιλέλλην δὲν διαφερόντως τοὺς νῦν τῇ Ἑλληνικῇ ἐδίδαξε παιδεῖαν καθόλου δὲ πρῶτος τῶν κατ' Ἀγυπτίαν βασιλέων ἀνέφηκε τοὺς ἄλλους ἔθεσε τὰ κατὰ τὴν ἅλην ² χῶραν ἐμπορία καὶ πολλὴν ἀσφάλειαν τοῖς καταπλέουσιν ἥχοις παρείχετο. οἱ μὲν γὰρ πρὸ τοῦτον δυναστεύσαντες ἅβατον ἐποίουν τοῖς ἥχοις τὴν Ἀγυπτίαν, τοὺς μὲν φονεύοντες, τοὺς δὲ καταδουλούμενους τῶν καταπλέοντων. καὶ γὰρ ἡ περὶ τῶν Βουσιρίων ἀσέβεια διὰ τήν τῶν ἐγχώριων ἄξεσιν διεβοήθη παρὰ τοῖς Ἑλλησίων, οὐκ οὔσια μὲν πρὸς ἄλληθειαν, διὰ δὲ τὴν ὑπερβολὴν τῆς ἄνομίας εἰς μύθον πλάσμα καταχωρισθέασα.

88. Μετὰ δὲ Ἡμμήντεχον ὅστερον τέταρτον γενεάις Ἀπρίης ἐβασίλευσεν ἐκ της δυσὶ πλείω τῶν ἐκοσιον. στρατεύσας δὲ δυνάμεσιν ἁδραῖς πεζαῖς τε καὶ ναυτικαῖς ἐπὶ Κύπρον καὶ Φοινίκην,

¹ έθελοντήν Kölker: έθελοντι.
² Reiske would delete ἅλην, as is done by Bekker and Dindorf, or read ἅλην.

¹ This story of the Deserters is given by Herodotus (2.30), but in less detail.

234
what among other men is regarded as of the greatest
consequence, they seized the best part of Ethiopia,
and after apportioning much land among themselves
they made their home there.¹

Although Psammetichus was greatly grieved over
these things, he put in order the affairs of Egypt,
looked after the royal revenues, and then formed
alliances with both Athens and certain other Greek
states. He also regularly treated with kindness any
foreigners who sojourned in Egypt of their own free
will, and was so great an admirer of the Hellenes that
he gave his sons a Greek education; and, speaking
generally, he was the first Egyptian king to open to
other nations the trading-places throughout the rest²
of Egypt and to offer a large measure of security to
strangers from across the seas. For his predecessors
in power had consistently closed Egypt to strangers,
either killing or enslaving any who touched its shores.
Indeed, it was because of the objection to strangers
on the part of the people that the impiety of Busiris
became a byword among the Greeks, although this
impiety was not actually such as it was described,
but was made into a fictitious myth because of the
exceptional disrespect of the Egyptians for ordinary
customs.

68. Four generations after Psammetichus, Apries 538-526
was king for twenty-two years. He made a cam-
paign with strong land and sea forces against Cyprus

² This reading of the MSS., which has disturbed some
editors, may properly be retained. It is understood from the
beginning of the chapter that Psammetichus could allow
foreigners to trade only in the regions of which he was governor.
Upon becoming king he extends that privilege over "the rest"
of Egypt.
Diodorus of Sicily

Σιδώνια μὲν κατὰ κράτος εἶλε, ταῦτα δὲ ἄλλας ταῦτα ἐν τῇ Φοινίκῃ πόλεις καταστηλήσαμεν προσηγαγόντες ἐνίκησε δὲ καὶ ναυμαχία μεγάλη Φοινίκας τε καὶ Κυπρίους, καὶ λαφύρων ἄθροίσας πλῆθος

2 ἐπανῆλθεν εἰς Αἰγύπτον. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα δύναμιν πέμψας ἄδραν τῶν ὀμοεθνῶν ἐπὶ Κυρήνην καὶ Βάρκην, καὶ τὸ πλεῖστον αὐτῆς ἀποβαλὼν, ἀλλοτρίους ἐσχε τοὺς διασωθέντας· ὑπολαβόντες γὰρ αὐτὸν ἐπὶ ἀπωλεία συντάξαι τὴν στρατείαν, ὅπως ἀσφαλέστερον ἀρχὴ τῶν λοιπῶν Αἰγύπτιων,

3 ἀπέστησαν. ἀποσταλεὶς δὲ πρὸς τούτος ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως Ἀμασίας, ἀνὴρ ἐμφανὴς Αἰγύπτιος, τῶν μὲν ῥηθέντων ἕπ' αὐτοῦ πρὸς ὀμόνοιαν ἡμέλησε, τοῦναντίον δὲ ἐκεῖνους προτρεψάμενος εἰς ἀλλοτρίότητα συναπέστη καὶ βασιλεύς αὐτὸς

4 ἤρθη. μετ' οὖν πολὺν δὲ χρόνον καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἐγχωρίων ἀπάντων συνεπιθεμένων, ὁ βασιλεύς διαπορούμενος ἡμαγκάσθῃ καταφυγεῖν ἐπὶ τοὺς

5 μισοθοφόρους, ὡς τὰς εἰς τρισμυρίους. γενομένης οὖν παρατάξεως περὶ τὴν Μάρειαν κόμην, καὶ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων τῇ μάχῃ κρατησάντων, ὃ μὲν Ἀπρίλης ξωγρηθεὶς ἀνήχθη καὶ στραγγαλισθεὶς ἐτελεύτησεν, Ἀμασίς δὲ διατάξας τὰ κατὰ τὴν βασιλείαν ὡς ποτ' ἐδοξεῖν αὐτῷ συμφέρειν, ἦρχε νομίμων τῶν Αἰγυπτίων καὶ μεγάλης ἐτύγχανεν

6 ἀποδοχῆς. κατεστρέψατο δὲ καὶ τὰς ἐν Κύπρῳ πόλεις καὶ πολλὰ τῶν ἱερῶν ἐκόσμησεν ἀναθηματίσεις ἀξιολόγους. βασιλεύσας δ' ἐτή πέντε

1 Bekker and Dindorf, following Wesseling, read ῥηθέντων and retain ἐντολὰς of the MSS. after ὀμόνοιαν; Vogel, following Eichstädt, retains ῥηθέντων of the MSS. and deletes ἐντολὰς.

236
and Phoenicia, took Sidon by storm, and so terrified the other cities of Phoenicia that he secured their submission; he also defeated the Phoenicians and Cyprians in a great sea-battle and returned to Egypt with much booty. After this he sent a strong native force against Cyrenê and Barcê and, when the larger part of it was lost, the survivors became estranged from him; for they felt that he had organized the expedition with a view to its destruction in order that his rule over the rest of the Egyptians might be more secure, and so they revolted. The man sent by the king to treat with them, one Amasis, a prominent Egyptian, paid no attention to the orders given him to effect a reconciliation, but, on the contrary, increased their estrangement, joined their revolt, and was himself chosen king.¹ When a little later all the rest of the native Egyptians also went over to Amasis, the king was in such straits that he was forced to flee for safety to the mercenaries, who numbered some thirty thousand men. A pitched battle accordingly took place near the village of Maria and the Egyptians prevailed in the struggle; Apries fell alive into the hands of the enemy and was strangled to death, and Amasis, arranging the affairs of the kingdom in whatever manner seemed to him best, ruled over the Egyptians in accordance with the laws and was held in great favour. He also reduced the cities of Cyprus and adorned many temples with noteworthy votive offerings. After a reign of fifty-five years he ended

¹ Amasis (Ahmose II of the Twenty-sixth Dynasty) reigned 509—526–5 B.C., the first three years of his reign coinciding with the last three years of Apries.

² στραγγαλισθείς Dindorf: στραγγαλίσθεις.
πρὸς τοὺς πεντήκοντα κατέστρεψε τῶν βίων καθ’ ὄν χρόνον Καμβύσης ὁ τῶν Περσῶν βασιλεὺς ἔστρατευσεν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀγίυττον, κατὰ τὸ τρίτον ἔτος τῆς ἕξιςκοστῆς καὶ τρίτης Ὀλυμπιάδος, ἦν ἐνίκα στάδιον Παρμενίδης Καμαρίναῖος.

69. Ἡπείρ δὲ τὰς τῶν ἐν Ἀγίυττῳ βασιλεῶν πράξεις ἀπὸ τῶν ἀρχαιωτῶν χρόνων διεληλύθαμεν ἀρκοῦντος μέχρι τῆς Ἀμάσιδος τελευτῆς, τὰς λοιπὰς ἀναγράφομεν ἐν τοῖς οἶκείοις χρόνοις.

2 περὶ δὲ τῶν νομίμων τῶν κατ’ Ἀγίυττον νῦν διεξεῖμεν ἐν κεφαλαίοις τὰ τε παραδοξῶτα καὶ τὰ μάλιστα ὀφελήσαι δυνάμεα τοὺς ἀναγνώσκοντας. πολλὰ γὰρ τῶν παλαιῶν θῶν τῶν γενομένων παρ’ Ἀγίυττοις οὐ μόνον παρὰ τοῖς ἐγχορίοις ἀποδοχῆς ἐτυχεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ παρὰ τοῖς.

3 Ἐλλησὶν οὐ μετρίως ἐθαυμασθῇ διότερ οἱ μέγιστοι τῶν ἐν παιδείᾳ δοξασθέντων ἐφιλοτημήθησαν εἰς Ἀγίυττον παραβαλεῖν, ἵνα μετασχωσι τῶν τε νόμων καὶ τῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων ὡς

4 ἀξιολόγων ἀντῶν. καίπερ γὰρ τῆς χώρας τὸ παλαιὸν δυσεπιβάτου τοῖς ἐξονομιήσας διὰ τὰς προειρημένας αἰτίας, ὡμοὶ ἔσπευσαν εἰς αὐτὴν παραβαλεῖν τῶν μὲν ἀρχαιωτῶν Ὅρφεός καὶ ὁ ποιητὴς Ὀμηρος, τῶν δὲ μεταγενεστέρων ἄλλοι τε πλείους καὶ Πυθαγόρας ὁ ᾿Σάμιος, ἔτι δὲ

5 Σόλων ὁ νομοθέτης. λέγουσι τοῖνυν Ἀγίυττιοι παρ’ αὐτοῖς τὴν τε τῶν γραμμάτων εὑρέσιν γενέσθαι καὶ τὴν τῶν ἀστρων παρατήρησιν, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις τὰ τε κατὰ τὴν γεωμετρίαν θεωρηματα καὶ τῶν τεχνῶν τὰς πλείστας εὑρεθήναι,

6 νόμους τε, τοὺς ἀρίστους τεθῆναι. καὶ τούτων μεγάλην ἀπόδειξιν φασιν εἶναι τὸ τῆς Ἀγίυττον

238
his days at the time when Cambyses, the king of the Persians, attacked Egypt, in the third year of the Sixty-third Olympiad, that in which Parmenides of Camarina won the "stadion."  

69. Now that we have discussed sufficiently the deeds of the kings of Egypt from the very earliest times down to the death of Amasis, we shall record the other events in their proper chronological setting; but at this point we shall give a summary account of the customs of Egypt, both those which are especially strange and those which can be of most value to our readers. For many of the customs that obtained in ancient days among the Egyptians have not only been accepted by the present inhabitants but have aroused no little admiration among the Greeks; and for that reason those men who have won the greatest repute in intellectual things have been eager to visit Egypt in order to acquaint themselves with its laws and institutions, which they considered to be worthy of note. For despite the fact that for the reasons mentioned above strangers found it difficult in early times to enter the country, it was nevertheless eagerly visited by Orpheus and the poet Homer in the earliest times and in later times by many others, such as Pythagoras of Samos and Solon the lawgiver. Now it is maintained by the Egyptians that it was they who first discovered writing and the observation of the stars, who also discovered the basic principles of geometry and most of the arts, and established the best laws. And the best proof of all this, they say, lies in the fact that Egypt for more than four

---

1 The famous foot-race at Olympia, 606½ feet long.  
2 Cp. for Orpheus, chap. 23, for Homer, chap. 10, for Pythagoras and Solon, chap. 98.
πλείω τῶν ἐπτακοσίων καὶ τετρακισχιλίων ἐτῶν βασιλεύσαν τοὺς πλείους έγγενείς καὶ τὴν χώραν ἐυδαιμονεστάτην ὑπάρξῃ τῆς ἀπάσης οἰκουμενής· ταύτα γὰρ οὐκ ἂν ποτὲ γενέσθαι μὴ οὔ τῶν ἀνθρώπων χρωμένων κρατίστους έθεσι καὶ νόμοις καὶ τοῖς κατὰ πᾶσαν παιδείαν ἐπιτηδεύ·

7 μασίν. ὦσα μὲν οὖν Ἡρόδοτος καὶ τινὲς τῶν τὰς Ἀιγυπτίων πράξεις συνταξαμένων ἐσχεδιάκασιν, ἐκουσίως προκρίναντες τῆς ἀληθείας τὸ παραδοξολογεῖν καὶ μόθοις πλάττειν ψυχαγωγίας ἐνεκα, παρήσομεν, αὐτὰ δὲ τὰ παρὰ τοὺς ἰερεύσι τοῖς κατ’ Ἀιγυπτόν ἐν ταῖς ἀναγραφαῖς γεγραμμένα φιλοτιμῶς ἐξητακότες ἐκθεσόμεθα.

70. Πρῶτον μὲν τοῖς καὶ οἱ Βασιλεῖς αὐτῶν βλών εἰρχον οὖν οἴμοις τοῖς ἄλλοις τοῖς ἐν μοναρχίας ἐξουσίαις οὕσι καὶ πάντα πράττουσι κατὰ τὴν ἑαυτῶν προαίρεσιν ἀνυπευθύνως, ἀλλ’ ἦν ἄπαντα τεταγμένα νόμοις ἑπιταγαί, οὐ μόνον τὰ περὶ τοὺς χρηματισμούς, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ περὶ τὴν καθ’

2 ἡμέραν ἰδιαγωγὴν καὶ διαίταν. περὶ μὲν γὰρ τὴν θεραπείαν αὐτῶν οὐδείς ἦν οὐτ’ ἀργυρώνητος οὐτ’ οἰκουμενής δούλος, ἀλλὰ τῶν ἐπιφανεστάτων ἱερέων νῦν πάντες, ὑπὲρ εἰκοσι μὲν ἔτη γεγονότες, πεπαθεμένοι δὲ κάλλιστα τῶν ὀμοειδών, ἵνα τοὺς ἐπιμελησόμενος τοῦ σώματος καὶ πᾶσαν ἡμέραν καὶ νύκτα προσεδρύνοντας ὁ Βασιλεὺς ἔχων ἀριστούς μηδὲν ἐπιτηδείαν φαύλων οὐδείς γὰρ ἐπὶ πλέον κακίας προβαίνει δυνάστῃ, ἐὰν μὴ τοὺς ὑπηρετήσοντας ἔχῃ ταῖς ἐπιθυμίαις.

3 διατεταγμέναι δ’ ἦσαν αἱ τε τῆς ἡμέρας καὶ τῆς

240
thousand seven hundred years was ruled over by kings of whom the majority were native Egyptians, and that the land was the most prosperous of the whole inhabited world; for these things could never have been true of any people which did not enjoy most excellent customs and laws and the institutions which promote culture of every kind. Now as for the stories invented by Herodotus and certain writers on Egyptian affairs, who deliberately preferred to the truth the telling of marvellous tales and the invention of myths for the delectation of their readers, these we shall omit, and we shall set forth only what appears in the written records of the priests of Egypt and has passed our careful scrutiny.

70. In the first place, then, the life which the kings of the Egyptians lived was not like that of other men who enjoy autocratic power and do in all matters exactly as they please without being held to account, but all their acts were regulated by prescriptions set forth in laws, not only their administrative acts, but also those that had to do with the way in which they spent their time from day to day, and with the food which they ate. In the matter of their servants, for instance, not one was a slave, such as had been acquired by purchase or born in the home, but all were sons of the most distinguished priests, over twenty years old and the best educated of their fellow-countrymen, in order that the king, by virtue of his having the noblest men to care for his person and to attend him throughout both day and night, might follow no low practices; for no ruler advances far along the road of evil unless he has those about him who will minister to his passions. And the hours of both the day and night were laid out according to a
νυκτὸς ὠραῖ, καθ’ ἃς ἐκ παντὸς τρόπου καθῆκον ἢν τὸν βασιλέα πράττειν τὸ συντεταγμένον, οὐ
tὸ δεδογμένον ἑαυτῷ. ἔσθεν μὲν γὰρ ἐγερθέντα
λαβεῖν αὐτὸν ἐδεί πρὸς τὸν τὰς πανταχόθεν ἀπε-
stαλμένας ἐπιστολάς, ὥσα δύνηται πάντα κατὰ
tρόπον χρηματίζειν καὶ πράττειν, εἰδὼς ἀκριβῶς
ἐκαστα τῶν κατὰ τὴν βασιλείαν συντελουμένων
ἐπείτα λουσάμενον καὶ τοῖς τῆς ἀρχῆς συσσή-
μοις μετ’ ἐσθήτος λαμπράς κοσμῆσαντα τὸ σῶμα
θύσαι τοὺς θεοῖς.

5 Ἡ τε βωμῷ προσαχθέντων τῶν θυμάτων ἔδως ἢν
tὸν ἀρχιερέα στάντα πλησίον τοῦ βασιλέως
evχεσθαι μεγάλη τῇ φωνῇ, περιεστότος τοῦ
πλῆθους τῶν Ἀγνωτῶν, δούναι τὴν τε ύγίειαν
καὶ τάλλα ἀγαθὰ πάντα τῷ βασιλεῖ διατηροῦντι
6 τὰ πρὸς τοὺς ὑποτεταγμένους δίκαια. ἀνθομολο-
gείσθαι δ’ ἢν ἀναγκαίον καὶ τὰς κατὰ μέρος
ἀρετὰς αὐτοῦ, λέγοντα διότι πρὸς τὸν θεοῦς
eὐσεβῶς καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἡμερώτατα
diάκειται ἐγκρατίζῃ τῇ γάρ ἐστὶ καὶ δίκαιος καὶ
megαλόφυγος, ἐτί δ’ ἀγενοῦς καὶ μεταδοτικὸς
tῶν ἀγαθῶν καὶ καθόλου πάσης ἐπιθυμίας κρείτ-
tων, καὶ τὰς μὲν τιμωρίας ἐλάττους τῆς ἄξιας
ἐπιτιθεῖς τοῖς ἀμαρτήμασι, τὰς ἀν χάριτας
μείζους τῆς ἐνεργείας ἀποδίδους τοῖς ἐνεργητή-
7 σας. πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ἀλλὰ παραπλήσια τούτοις
dιελθῶν ὁ κατευχόμενος τὸ τελευταῖον ὑπὲρ τῶν
ἀγνουμένων ἄραν ἐποιεῖτο, τὸν μὲν βασιλέα τῶν
ἐγκλημάτων ἐξαιροῦμενος, εἰς δὲ τοὺς ὑπηρε-
tοῦντας καὶ διδάξαντας τὰ φαύλα καὶ τὴν βλάβην
8 καὶ τὴν τιμωρίαν ἄξιῶν ἀποσκῆψαι. ταῦτα δ’
ἐπραττεν ἀμα μὲν εἰς δεησιδαιμονίαν καὶ θεοφιλὴν
242
plan, and at the specified hours it was absolutely required of the king that he should do what the laws stipulated and not what he thought best. For instance, in the morning, as soon as he was awake, he first of all had to receive the letters which had been sent from all sides, the purpose being that he might be able to despatch all administrative business and perform every act properly, being thus accurately informed about everything that was being done throughout his kingdom. Then, after he had bathed and bedecked his body with rich garments and the insignia of his office, he had to sacrifice to the gods.

When the victims had been brought to the altar it was the custom for the high priest to stand near the king, with the common people of Egypt gathered around, and pray in a loud voice that health and all the other good things of life be given the king if he maintains justice towards his subjects. And an open confession had also to be made of each and every virtue of the king, the priest saying that towards the gods he was piously disposed and towards men most kindly; for he was self-controlled and just and magnanimous, truthful, and generous with his possessions, and, in a word, superior to every desire, and that he punished crimes less severely than they deserved and rendered to his benefactors a gratitude exceeding the benefaction. And after reciting much more in a similar vein he concluded his prayer with a curse concerning things done in error, exempting the king from all blame therefor and asking that both the evil consequences and the punishment should fall upon those who served him and had taught him evil things. All this he would do, partly to lead the king to fear

243
βίον τὸν βασιλέα προτρεπόμενος, ἀμα δὲ καὶ κατὰ τρόπον ζῆν ἐθίζων οὐ διὰ πικρὰς νουθετήσεως, ἀλλὰ δὲ ἐπαίνων κεχαρισμένων καὶ πρὸς ἀρετὴν μάλιστ' ἀνηκόντων. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα τοῦ βασιλέως ἱεροσκοπησμένου μόσχῳ καὶ καλλιεργήσαντος, ὁ μὲν ἱερογραμματεύς παρανεγινοσκέ τινας συμβουλίας συμφεροῦσας καὶ πράξεις ἐκ τῶν ἱερῶν βιβλίων τῶν ἐπιφανεστάτων ἄνδρῶν, ὅπως ὁ τῶν ἀλων ἡ γεμονίαν ἔχων τὰς καλλίστας προαιρέσεις τῇ διανοίᾳ θεωρήσας ὑπὸ πρὸς τὴν τεταγμένην τῶν κατὰ μέρος τρέπεται διοίκησιν. οὐ γὰρ μόνον τοῦ χρηματίζειν ἢ κρίνειν ἢν καίρος ὀρισμένος, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦ περιπατῆσαι καὶ λούσασθαι καὶ κοιμηθῆναι μετὰ τῆς γυναικὸς καὶ καθόλου τῶν κατὰ τὸν βίον πραττομένων ἀπάντων. τροφαίας δ᾿ ἔθος ὃν αὐτοῖς ἀπαλαίς ¹ χρῆσθαι, κρέα μὲν μόσχων καὶ χηνῶν μόνων ² προσφερομένους, οἶνον δὲ τακτὸν τί μέτρου πίνοντας μὴ δυνάμενον πλημμυρίζον ἢ μέθην περιποίησαι. καθόλου δὲ τὰ περὶ τὴν διάνταν οὖτως ὑπήρχε συμμέτρως διατεταγμένα ὡστε δοκεῖν μὴ νομοθέτην, ἀλλὰ τὸν ἁριστὸν τῶν ἰατρῶν συντεταχέναι τῆς ύγιείας στοχαζόμενον.

71. Παραδόξου δ᾿ εἶναι δοκοῦντος τοῦ μὴ πάσαν ἔχειν ἐξουσίαν τὸν βασιλέα τῆς καθημέραν τροφῆς, πολλοὶ θαυμασιώτεροι ἢν τὸ μήτε δικάζειν μήτε χρηματίζειν τὸ τυχόν αὐτοῖς ἐξεῖναι, μηδὲ τιμωρήσασθαι μηδένα διὰ ύβριν ἢ διὰ θυμὸν ἢ τίνα ἄλλην αὐτίαν ἄδικον, ἀλλὰ

¹ ἀπαλαίς Vegel (cp. chap. 84. 5): ἀπαλαὶ II, Bekker, Dindorf.
the gods and live a life pleasing to them, and partly to accustom him to a proper manner of conduct, not by sharp admonitions, but through praises that were agreeable and most conducive to virtue. After this, when the king had performed the divination from the entrails of a calf and had found the omens good, the sacred scribe read before the assemblage from out of the sacred books some of the edifying counsels and deeds of their most distinguished men, in order that he who held the supreme leadership should first contemplate in his mind the most excellent general principles and then turn to the prescribed administration of the several functions. For there was a set time not only for his holding audiences or rendering judgments, but even for his taking a walk, bathing, and sleeping with his wife, and, in a word, for every act of his life. And it was the custom for the kings to partake of delicate food, eating no other meat than veal and duck, and drinking only a prescribed amount of wine, which was not enough to make them unreasonably surfeited or drunken. And, speaking generally, their whole diet was ordered with such continence that it had the appearance of having been drawn up, not by a lawgiver, but by the most skilled of their physicians, with only their health in view.

71. Strange as it may appear that the king did not have the entire control of his daily fare, far more remarkable still was the fact that kings were not allowed to render any legal decision or transact any business at random or to punish anyone through malice or in anger or for any other unjust reason,
καθάπερ οἱ περὶ ἐκάστων κείμενοι νόμοι προσ-
2 ἐταττον. ταύτα δὲ κατὰ τὸ ἔθος πράττοντες 
οὐχ ὅπως ἡγανάκτουν ἢ προσέκοπτον ταῖς 
ψυχαῖς, ἀλλὰ τούτων ἠγουντο ἐαυτοὺς ἔτι 
3 βίον μακαριώτατον τοὺς μὲν γὰρ ἄλλους ἀνθρώ-
ποὺς ἐνόμιζον ἀλογίστώς τοῖς φυσικοῖς πάθεσι 
χαριζομένους πολλὰ πράττειν τῶν φερέων 
βλάβας ἢ κινδύνους, καὶ πολλάκις ἐνίοντο εἰδότας 
ὅτι μέλλουσιν ἀμαρτάνειν μηδὲν ἢτον πράττειν 
τὰ φαύλα κατηχομένους ὑπὲ ἐρωτοῦ ἢ μίσους 
ἢ τινος ἐτέρου πάθους, ἐαυτοὺς δὲ ἐξηλωκότας 
βίον τὸν ὑπὸ τῶν φρονιμωτάτων ἀνδρῶν προκεκρ-
4 μένον ἐλαχίστοις περιπέπτειν ἀγνοῆμασι. τοὐ-
αυτὴ δὲ χρωμένων τῶν βασιλέων δικαιοσύνη 
πρὸς τοὺς ὑποτεταγμένους, τὰ πλῆθη ταῖς εἰς 
τοὺς ἡγομένους εὐνοίας πᾶσαν συγγενικὴν 
φιλοσοφίαν ὑπερβάλλετο: οὐ γὰρ μόνον τὸ 
σύστημα τῶν ἱερέων, ἀλλὰ καὶ συλλήβδην 
ἀπαντείς οἱ κατ’ ἄγνωστον οὐχ οὕτω γυναῖκῶν 
καὶ τέκνων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν ὑπαρχόντων 
ἀυτοῖς ἄγαθῶν ἐφρόντιζον· ὡς τῆς τῶν βασιλέων 
5 ἀσφαλείας. τοιγαροῦν πλείστον μὲν χρόνον τῶν 
μημονευμένων βασιλέων πολιτικὴν κατάστασιν 
ἐτήρησαν, εὐδαιμονέστατον δὲ βίον ἔχουσας διε-
τέλεσαν, ἐστὶς ἔμεινεν ἢ προειρήμενή τῶν νόμων 
σύνταξις, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις ἔθνων τε πλείστον 
ἐπεκράτησαν καὶ μεγίστοις πλούς ἔσχον, καὶ 
τὰς μὲν χώρας ἔργοις καὶ κατασκευάσμασιν 
ἀνυπερβλήτοις, τὰς δὲ πόλεις ἀναθήμασι πολυ-
τελέσι καὶ παντοῖς ἐκόσμησαν.

72. Καὶ τὰ μετὰ τὴν τελευτήν δὲ γινόμενα

---

1 ψυχαῖς MSS., Vogel: τυχαῖς Dindorf.
but only in accordance with the established laws relative to each offence. And in following the dictates of custom in these matters, so far were they from being indignant or taking offence in their souls, that, on the contrary, they actually held that they led a most happy life; for they believed that all other men, in thoughtlessly following their natural passions, commit many acts which bring them injuries and perils, and that oftentimes some who realize that they are about to commit a sin nevertheless do base acts when overpowered by love or hatred or some other passion, while they, on the other hand, by virtue of their having cultivated a manner of life which had been chosen before all others by the most prudent of all men, fell into the fewest mistakes. And since the kings followed so righteous a course in dealing with their subjects, the people manifested a goodwill towards their rulers which surpassed even the affection they had for their own kinsmen; for not only the order of the priests but, in short, all the inhabitants of Egypt were less concerned for their wives and children and their other cherished possessions than for the safety of their kings. Consequently, during most of the time covered by the reigns of the kings of whom we have a record, they maintained an orderly civil government and continued to enjoy a most felicitous life, so long as the system of laws described was in force; and, more than that, they conquered more nations and achieved greater wealth than any other people, and adorned their lands with monuments and buildings never to be surpassed, and their cities with costly dedications of every description.

72. Again, the Egyptian ceremonies which fol.
τῶν βασιλέων παρὰ τοῖς Αἰγυπτίοις οὐ μικρὰν ἀπὸδείξει εἰχὲ τῆς τοῦ πλῆθους εὐνοίας εἰς τοὺς ἡγουμένους· εἰς ἀνεπαίσθητον γὰρ χῶραν ἡ τιμὴ τιθεμένη μαρτυρίαν ἀνόθεντον περιεῖχε τῆς ἁληθείας. ὅποτε γὰρ ἐκλείποι τις τοῦ βιοῦ τῶν βασιλέων, πάντες οι κατὰ τὴν Αἰγυπτίων κοινὸν ἀνηρούντο πένθος, καὶ τὰς μὲν ἔσθήτας κατερρήτυντο, τὰ δὲ ιερὰ συνέκλειον καὶ τὰς θυσίας ἐπείχον καὶ τὰς ἐορτὰς οὐκ ἦγον ἐφ᾽ ἡμέρας ἐβδομήκοντα καὶ δύο καταπεπλασμένοι δὲ τᾶς κεφαλᾶς πηλῷ καὶ περιεξωσμένοι σιδώνας υποκάτω τῶν μαστῶν ὄμοιοι ἄνδρες καὶ γυναικεῖς περιήγαν ἄθροισθέντες κατὰ διακοσίως ἡ τριακοσίως, καὶ τῶν μὲν θρήνοιν ἐν ῥυθμῷ μετ᾽ ὧδῆς ποιοῦμενοι διὸ τῆς ἡμέρας ἐτίμων ἐγκωμίους, ἀνακαλούμενοι τὴν ἀρετὴν τοῦ τετελευτηκότος, τροφὴν δ᾽ οὔτε τὴν ἀπὸ τῶν ἐμφύχων οὔτε τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ πυροῦ προσεφέροντο, τοῦ τε οἴνου καὶ πάσης 3 πολυτελείας ἀπείχοντο. οὐδεὶς δ᾽ ἄν οὔτε λουτροῖς οὔτ᾽ ἀλείμμασιν οὔτε στρωμαίς προείλετο χρῆσθαι, οὐ μὴν οὔδε πρὸς τὰ ἀφροδίσια προσελθεῖν ἄν ἐτολμήσῃν, ἀλλὰ καθάπερ ἠγαπητοῦ τέκνου τελευτησαντός ἔκαστος περιώδυνος γινόμενος 4 ἐπένθει τὰς εἰρημένας ἡμέρας. ἐν δὲ τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ τὰ πρὸς ταφὴν λαμπρῶς παρεσκέυασμένους, καὶ τῇ τελευταίᾳ τῶν ἡμερῶν βέντες τὴν τὸ σῶμα ἐχούσαν λάρνακα πρὸ τῆς εἰς τὸν τάφον εἰσὸδου, προετίθεσαν κατὰ νόμου τῷ τετελευτηκότι κρατήριον τῶν ἐν τῷ βίῳ πραξθέντων. δοθείσης δὲ ἐξουσίας τῷ βουλομένῳ κατηγορεῖν, οἱ μὲν ίερεῖς ἐνεκομίαζον ἔκαστα τῶν καλῶς αὐτῷ πραξθέντων διεξιότες, αἱ δὲ πρὸς 248
lowed upon the death of a king afforded no small proof of the goodwill of the people towards their rulers; for the fact that the honour which they paid was to one who was insensible of it constituted an authentic testimony to its sincerity. For when any king died all the inhabitants of Egypt united in mourning for him, rending their garments, closing the temples, stopping the sacrifices, and celebrating no festivals for seventy-two days; and plastering their heads with mud and wrapping strips of linen cloth below their breasts, women as well as men went about in groups of two or three hundred, and twice each day, reciting the dirge in a rhythmic chant, they sang the praises of the deceased, recalling his virtues; nor would they eat the flesh of any living thing or food prepared from wheat, and they abstained from wine and luxury of any sort. And no one would ever have seen fit to make use of baths or unguents or soft bedding, nay more, would not even have dared to indulge in sexual pleasures, but every Egyptian grieved and mourned during those seventy-two days as if it were his own beloved child that had died. But during this interval they had made splendid preparations for the burial, and on the last day, placing the coffin containing the body before the entrance to the tomb, they set up, as custom prescribed, a tribunal to sit in judgment upon the deeds done by the deceased during his life. And when permission had been given to anyone who so wished to lay complaint against him, the priests praised all his noble deeds one after another, and

\[1\text{ e\i\times Bekker, Vogel: \hat{\phi}ρε\i\times A B, Dindorf.}\]

\[249\]
DIODORUS OF SICILY

tṁ ἐκφοράν συνηγμέναι μυριάδες τ ὧν ὀχλὼν ἀκούουσαι συνεπεφήμουν, εἰ τṽχοι καλῶς βεβί-
6 ὠκός, εἰ δὲ μὴ, τουναντίον ἐθορύβουν. καὶ
πολλοὶ τῶν βασιλέων διὰ τὴν τοῦ πλῆθους ἐναντίωσιν ἀπεστερήθησαν τῇς ἑμφανοὺς καὶ
νομίμων ταφῆς. διὸ καὶ συνέβαινε τοὺς τὴν
βασιλείαν διαδεχομένους μὴ μόνον διὰ τὰς ἄρτι
ῥηθεῖσας αἰτίας δικαιοπραγεῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ διὰ τὸν
φόβον τῆς μετὰ τὴν τελευτήν ἑσομένης ὑβρεῖς
τε τοῦ σώματος καὶ βλασφημίας εἰς ἀπαντᾷ τὸν
αἰώνα.

Τῶν μὲν όν περὶ τοὺς ἀρχαῖους βασιλεῖς
νομίμων τὰ μέγιστα ταῦτα ἔστιν.

73. Τῆς Ἀθηναίων δὲ πάσης εἰς πλείον μέρη
dιηρημένης, ὅπως ἐκαστοῦ κατὰ τὴν Ἑλληνικὴν
dιάλεκτον ὄνομαζεται νομός, ἐφ᾽ ἐκάστῳ τετακταί
νομάρχης ὁ τὴν ἀπάντων ἐχὼν ἐπιμέλειαν τε καὶ
2 φροντίδα. τῆς δὲ χώρας ἀπάσης εἰς τρία μέρη
dιηρημένης τὴν μὲν πρῶτην ἔχει μερίδα τὸ σύ-
στημα τῶν ἱερῶν, μεγάλης ἐντροπῆς τυχάνου
παρὰ τοὺς ἐνχωρίους διὰ τε τὴν εἰς τοὺς θεοὺς
ἐπιμέλειαν καὶ διὰ τὸ πλεῖστην σύνεσιν τοὺς
3 ἀνδρῶν τούτων ἐκ παιδείας εἰσφέρεσθαι. ἐκ δὲ
τούτων τῶν προσόδων τὰς τε θυαίας ἀπάσης τὰς
κατ᾽ Ἀθηναίων συντελοῦσι καὶ τοὺς ὑπηρέτας
tρέφουσι καὶ ταῖς ἱδίαις χρείαις χορηγοῦσιν
οὔτε γὰρ τῶν θεῶν τιμᾶς ὑμῶν δεῖν ἀλλὰ τε,
ἀλλ᾽ ὑπὸ τε τῶν αὐτῶν ἤδε καὶ παραπλησίως

1 Two instances of this are given in chap. 64.
2 The Harris Papyrus of the twelfth century B.C. gives the
only definite figures of the vast holdings of the temples.
They owned at that time about two per cent. of the population

250
the common people who had gathered in myriads to the funeral, listening to them, shouted their approval if the king had led a worthy life, but if he had not, they raised a clamour of protest. And in fact many kings have been deprived of the public burial customarily accorded them because of the opposition of the people; the result was, consequently, that the successive kings practised justice, not merely for the reasons just mentioned, but also because of their fear of the despite which would be shown their body after death and of eternal obloquy.

Of the customs, then, touching the early kings these are the most important.

73. And since Egypt as a whole is divided into several parts which in Greek are called nomes, over each of these a nomarch is appointed who is charged with both the oversight and care of all its affairs. Furthermore, the entire country is divided into three parts, the first of which is held by the order of the priests, which is accorded the greatest veneration by the inhabitants both because these men have charge of the worship of the gods and because by virtue of their education they bring to bear a higher intelligence than others. With the income from these holdings of land they perform all the sacrifices throughout Egypt, maintain their assistants, and minister to their own needs; for it has always been held that the honours paid to the gods should never be changed, but should ever be performed by the same men and in the same manner, and some fifteen per cent. of the land, not to mention property of other nature, and their power materially increased in the succeeding centuries.
συντελείσθαι, οὔτε τοὺς πάντων προβουλευομένους
4 ἐνδεεῖς εἶναι τῶν ἀναγκαίων. καθόλου γὰρ περὶ
tῶν μεγίστων οὖτοι προβουλεύομενοι συνδιατρί-
bουσι τῷ βασιλείᾳ, τῶν μὲν συνεργοῖ, τῶν δὲ
eἰσηγηταί καὶ διδάσκαλοι γιαμένειοι, καὶ διὰ μὲν
tῆς ἀστρολογίας καὶ τῆς ἱεροσκοπίας τὰ μέλ-
lουτα προσημαίνοντες, ἐκ δὲ τῶν ἐν ταῖς ἱεραῖς
βίβλοις ἀναγεγραμμένον πράξεων τὰς ἀφελήσαι
5 δυναμένας παραναγινώσκοντες. οὐ γὰρ, ὡστερ
παρὰ τοῖς Ἑλλησίων, εἰς ἀνὴρ ἢ μία γυνὴ τὴν
ἱερωσύνην παρείληφεν, ἄλλα πολλοὶ περὶ τὰς
τῶν θεῶν θυσίας καὶ τιμὰς διατρίβουσι, καὶ τοὺς
ἐκγόνους τὴν ὀμοίαν τοῦ βίου προαιρεσιν παραδι-
dόσαν. εἰσὶ δὲ οὕτω πάντων τε ἄτελείς καὶ δει-
tερεύοντες μετὰ τῶν βασιλείᾳ ταῖς τε δόξαις καὶ
ταῖς ἐξοισίαις.
6 Τὴν δὲ δευτέραν μοῖραν οἱ βασιλεῖς παρείλη-
φασιν εἰς προσόδους, ἀφ' ὧν εἰς τε τοὺς πολέ-
mους χορηγοῦσι καὶ τὴν περὶ αὐτοῦς λαμπρότητα
dιαφυλάττουσι, καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἀνδραγαθόσαντας
dωρεάις κατὰ τὴν ἄξιαν τιμῶσι, τοὺς δὲ ἴδιώτας
dιὰ τὴν ἐκ τούτων εὐπορίαν ὁ βασιλεὺς ταῖς
eἰσφοραῖς.
7 Τὴν δὲ μερίδα τὴν τελευταίαν ἔχουσιν οἱ
μάχιμοι καλούμενοι καὶ πρὸς τὰς λειτουργίας
tὰς εἰς τὴν στρατείαν ὑπακούοντες, ἵν' ὁι κινδυ-
νεύοντες εὐνοῦστατοι τῇ χώρᾳ διὰ τὴν κλη-
ρουχίαν ὄντες προθύμως ἐπιδέχονται τὰ συμβαί-
8 νοῦτα κατὰ τοὺς πολέμους δεινά. ἄτοπον γὰρ
ἂν τὴν μὲν τῶν ἀπάντων σωτηρίαν τούτως
ἐπιτρέπειν, ὑπὲρ οὗ δὲ ἀγανιοῦνται μηδὲν αὐτοῖς
ὑπάρχειν κατὰ τὴν χώραν σπουδῆς ἀξίων τὸ δὲ
252
and that those who deliberate on behalf of all should not lack the necessities of life. For, speaking generally, the priests are the first to deliberate upon the most important matters and are always at the king's side, sometimes as his assistants, sometimes to propose measures and give instructions, and they also, by their knowledge of astrology and of divination, forecast future events, and read to the king, out of the record of acts preserved in their sacred books, those which can be of assistance. For it is not the case with the Egyptians as it is with the Greeks, that a single man or a single woman takes over the priesthood, but many are engaged in the sacrifices and honours paid the gods and pass on to their descendants the same rule of life. They also pay no taxes of any kind, and in repute and in power are second after the king.

The second part of the country has been taken over by the kings for their revenues, out of which they pay the cost of their wars, support the splendour of their court, and reward with fitting gifts any who have distinguished themselves; and they do not swamp the private citizens by taxation, since their income from these revenues gives them a great plenty.

The last part is held by the warriors, as they are called, who are subject to call for all military duties, the purpose being that those who hazard their lives may be most loyal to the country because of such allotment of land and thus may eagerly face the perils of war. For it would be absurd to entrust the safety of the entire nation to these men and yet have them possess in the country no property to fight for valuable enough to arouse their ardour.
δεύτερη συντάγματα τῆς πολιτείας τρία, τὸ τῶν νομέων καὶ τὸ τῶν γεωργῶν, ἔτη δὲ τῶν τεχνιτῶν. οἱ μὲν οὖν γεωργοὶ μικροὶ τινος τὴν καρποφόρον γῆν τὴν παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ τῶν ἱερέων καὶ τῶν μαχίμων μισθούμενοι διατελοῦσι τὸν πάντα χρόνον περὶ τὴν ἑργασίαν ὑπὲρ τῆς χώρας. οἱ λέγοντες δὲ συντρεφόμενοι ταῖς γεωργικαῖς ἐπιμελείαις πολὺ προέχουσι τῶν παρὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἔθνεσι γεωργῶν.

2 ταῖς ἐμπειρίαις καὶ γὰρ τὴν τῆς γῆς φύσιν καὶ τὴν τῶν ὑδάτων ἐπίρρυσιν, ἔτη δὲ τούς καιροὺς τοῦ τε σπόρου καὶ τοῦ θερμοῦ καὶ τῆς ἁλλᾶς τῶν καρπῶν συγκομιδῆς ἀκριβῶς ταῖς πάντων γινῶσκουσι, τὰ μὲν ἐκ τῆς τῶν προγόνων παρατηρήσεως μαθοῦσας, τὰ δ᾽ ἐκ τῆς ἱδίας.

3 πείρας διδαχθέντες. οἱ δ᾽ αὐτὸς λόγος ἔστι καὶ περὶ τῶν νομέων, οἱ τῶν τῶν θρεμμάτων ἐπιμέλειαι ἐκ πατέρων ὡστερ κληρονομίας νόμων παραλαμβάνοντες ἐν βίῳ κτηνοτρόφῳ διατελοῦσι

4 πάντα τὸν τοῦ ζῆν χρόνου, καὶ πολλὰ μὲν παρὰ τῶν προγόνων πρὸς θεραπείαν καὶ διατροφὴν ἀρίστην τῶν βοσκομένων παρειλήφασιν, οὐκ ἄλλα.

1 κατασκευάσειν Stephanus: κατασκευάζειν.
But the most important consideration is the fact that, if they are well-to-do, they will readily beget children and thus so increase the population that the country will not need to call in any mercenary troops. And since their calling, like that of the priests, is hereditary, the warriors are incited to bravery by the distinguished records of their fathers and, inasmuch as they become zealous students of warfare from their boyhood up, they turn out to be invincible by reason of their daring and skill.¹

74. There are three other classes of free citizens, namely, the herdsman, the husbandmen, and the artisans. Now the husbandmen rent on moderate terms the arable land held by the king and the priests and the warriors, and spend their entire time in tilling the soil; and since from very infancy they are brought up in connection with the various tasks of farming, they are far more experienced in such matters than the husbandmen of any other nation; for of all mankind they acquire the most exact knowledge of the nature of the soil, the use of water in irrigation, the times of sowing and reaping, and the harvesting of the crops in general, some details of which they have learned from the observations of their ancestors and others in the school of their own experience. And what has been said applies equally well to the herdsmen, who receive the care of animals from their fathers as if by a law of inheritance, and follow a pastoral life all the days of their existence. They have received, it is true, much from their ancestors relative to the best care and feeding of grazing animals, but to this they add not a little

¹ The fullest account of this warrior casto is in Herodotus 2 164 ff.
δ' αὐτοὶ διὰ τὸν εἰς ταῦτα ξῆλον προσευρήσκοντες, καὶ τὸ θαυμασιώτατον, διὰ τὴν ὑπερβολὴν τῆς εἰς ταῦτα σπουδής οἳ τὸ ὀρυζοστρόφοι καὶ οἱ χρυσοβοσκοὶ χωρὶς τῆς παρὰ τοὺς ἄλλους ἀνθρώπους ἐκ φύσεως συντελουμένης γενέσεως τῶν εἰρημένων ξῆλον αὐτοὶ διὰ τῆς ἱδίας φίλοτεχνίας ἀμύθητον πλῆθος ὀρνέων ἀθροίζουσιν·
5 οὐ γάρ ἐπιφάνειας διὰ τῶν ὀρνίθων, ἀλλ' αὐτοὶ παραδόξως χειρουργοῦντες τῇ συνέσει καὶ φίλοτεχνίᾳ τῆς φυσικῆς ἐνεργείας οὐκ ἀπολείπονται.
6 Ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ τὰς τέχνας ἱδεῖν ἔστι παρὰ τοὺς Ἀἰγυπτίους μάλιστα διαπεποιημένας καὶ πρὸς τὸ καθῆκον τέλος διηκριβωμένας· παρὰ μόνοις γὰρ τούτοις οἱ δημιουργοὶ πάντες οὕτ' ἐργασίας ἀλλησ οὔτε πολιτικῆς τάξεως μεταλαμβάνειν ἐδῶνται πλῆθυ τῆς ἐκ τῶν νόμων ὀρισμένης καὶ παρὰ τῶν γονέων παραδεδομένης, ὡστε μίας διδασκάλου φθόνον μήτε πολιτικοὶς περισπασμοὺς μήτ' ἀλλο μιθὲν ἐμποδίζειν
7 αὐτῶν τὴν εἰς ταῦτα σπουδήν. παρὰ μὲν γὰρ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἱδεῖν ἔστι τοὺς τεχνίτας περὶ πολλὰ τῇ διανοίᾳ περισπομένους καὶ διὰ τὴν πλεονεξία μή μένοντας τὸ παράπαν ἐπὶ τῆς ἱδίας ἐργασίας· οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἐφάπτονται γεωργίας, οἱ δ' ἐμπορίας κοινωνοῦσιν, οἱ δὲ δυσὶν ἥ τριῶν τεχνῶν ἀντέχονται, πλεῖστοι δ' ἐν ταῖς δημοκρατουμέναις πόλεσιν εἰς τὰς ἐκκλησίας συντρέχουσες τὴν μὲν πολιτείαν λυμαίνονται, τὸ δὲ 256
by reason of their own interest in such matters; and the most astonishing fact is that, by reason of their unusual application to such matters, the men who have charge of poultry and geese, in addition to producing them in the natural way known to all mankind, raise them by their own hands, by virtue of a skill peculiar to them, in numbers beyond telling; for they do not use the birds for hatching the eggs, but, in effecting this themselves artificially by their own wit and skill in an astounding manner, they are not surpassed by the operations of nature.\footnote{According to Aristotle (\textit{Historia Animalium}, 6. 2) this artificial hatching was effected by burying the eggs in dung.}

Furthermore, one may see that the crafts also among the Egyptians are very diligently cultivated and brought to their proper development; for they are the only people where all the craftsmen are forbidden to follow any other occupation or belong to any other class of citizens than those stipulated by the laws and handed down to them from their parents, the result being that neither ill-will towards a teacher nor political distractions nor any other thing interferes with their interest in their work. For whereas among all other peoples it can be observed that the artisans are distracted in mind by many things, and through the desire to advance themselves do not stick exclusively to their own occupation; for some try their hands at agriculture, some dabble in trade, and some cling to two or three crafts, and in states having a democratic form of government vast numbers of them, trooping to the meetings of the Assembly, ruin the work of the government, while they make a profit for themselves at the expense of
Diodorus of Sicily

λυσιτελεῖς περιποιοῦνται παρὰ τῶν μισθοδο-
τούντων παρὰ δὲ τοῖς Ἀγυπτίοις, εἴ τις τῶν
tεχνῶν μετάσχοι τῆς πολιτείας ἢ τέχνης
πλείους ἐργάζοτο, μεγάλαις περιπτέτει τιμω-
ρίαις.

8 Τὴν μὲν οὖν διαίρεσιν τῆς πολιτείας καὶ τὴν
τῆς ίδιας τάξεως ἐπιμέλειαν διὰ προγόνων τοιαῦ-
την ἔσχον οἱ τὸ παλαιόν τὴν Ἀγυπτίων κατοι-
κοῦντες.

75. Περὶ δὲ τὰς κρίσεις οὓς τὴν τυχοῦσαν
ἐποιοῦντο σπουδὴν, ἥγοιμενοι ταῖς ἐν τοῖς δικα-
στηρίοις ἀποφάσεις μεγίστην ῥοπῆν τῷ κοινῷ
δὲ βίῳ φέρειν πρὸς ἀμφότερα. δῆλον γὰρ ἦν ὅτι
tῶν μὲν παρανομοῦντων κολαζομένων, τῶν δὲ
ἀδικουμένων βοηθείας τυγχάνοντων, ἀρίστῃ διόρ-
θωσις ἦσται τῶν ἀμαρτημάτων· εἰ δὲ ὁ φόβος
ὁ μισόμενος ἐκ τῶν κρίσεων τοῖς παρανομοῦσιν
ἀνατρέποντο χρήμασιν ἢ χάρισιν, ἐσομένην

3 εἰρήνην τοῦ κοινοῦ βίου σύγχυσιν. διόπερ ἐκ
τῶν ἐπιφανεστάτων πόλεων τοὺς ἀρίστους
ἄνδρας ἀποδεκώντες δικαστὰς κοινοὺς οὓς
ἀπετυγχανον τῆς προαιρέσεως. εἴ Ηλίων γὰρ
πόλεως καὶ Θηβῶν καὶ Μέμφεως δέκα δικαστὰς
εἰς ἑκάστης προέκρινον καὶ τοῦτο τὸ συνέδριον
οὐκ ἔδοκεν λείπεσθαι τῶν Ἀθηνῶν Ἀρεστάγι-
τῶν ἢ τῶν παρὰ Δακεδαιμονίωις γεροντῶν.

4 εἰπεῖ δὲ συνέλθουσιν οἱ τριάκοντα, ἐπέκρινον
ἐξ ἑαυτῶν ἐνα τῶν ἀριστῶν, καὶ τούτων μὲν
ἀρχιδικαστὴν καθίστατο, εἰς δὲ τὸ τούτου τότεν

1 Speaking as an aristocrat, Diodorus is criticising the democracies of Greece, Athens in all probability being especially in his mind, where the citizens, according to him, leave
258
others who pay them their wage, yet among the Egyptians if any artisan should take part in public affairs or pursue several crafts he is severely punished.

Such, then, were the divisions of the citizens, maintained by the early inhabitants of Egypt, and their devotion to their own class which they inherited from their ancestors.

75. In their administration of justice the Egyptians also showed no merely casual interest, holding that the decisions of the courts exercise the greatest influence upon community life, and this in each of their two aspects. For it was evident to them that if the offenders against the law should be punished and the injured parties should be afforded succour there would be an ideal correction of wrongdoing; but if, on the other hand, the fear which wrongdoers have of the judgments of the courts should be brought to naught by bribery or favour, they saw that the break-up of community life would follow. Consequently, by appointing the best men from the most important cities as judges over the whole land they did not fall short of the end which they had in mind. For from Heliopolis and Thebes and Memphis they used to choose ten judges from each, and this court was regarded as in no way inferior to that composed of the Areopagites at Athens or of the Elders at Sparta. And when the thirty assembled they chose the best one of their number and made him chief justice, and in his stead the city sent their tasks to participate in the affairs of the state, apparently being paid by their employers while thus engaged and receiving an additional compensation from the state.

2 The bodies were known as the Council of the Areopagus and the Gerousia respectively; the latter is described in Book 17. 104.
ἀπέστελλεν ἡ πόλις ἔτερον δικαστήν. συντάξεις
de τῶν ἀναγκαίων παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως τοῖς μὲν
dικασταῖς ἴκανοι πρὸς διατροφὴν ἔχοντο,
5 τὸ δ' ἀρχιδικαστή πολλαπλάσιοι. ἔφορει δ' ὄντος περὶ
tῶν τράχηλον ἐκ χρυσῆς ἀλώσεως
ἡρτημένου ζῴδιον τῶν πολυτέλων λίθων, ὑπο
προσηγόρευον Ἀλήθειαν. τῶν δ' ἀμφιβητήσεων
ἀρχοντο ἐπειδὰν 1 τῆς τῆς Ἀλήθειας εἰκόνα ὁ
6 ἀρχιδικαστὴς πρόσθετο. τῶν δὲ πάντων νόμων εἰς
βιβλίοις ὅκτω γεγραμμένων, καὶ τούτων
παρακειμένων τοῖς δικασταῖς, ἔθος ἢ τοὺς μὲν
cατήγορον γράψαι καθ' ἐν δὲν ἑνεκάλει καὶ πῶς
γέγονε καὶ τὴν ἀξίαν τοῦ ἀδικήματος ἡ τῆς
βλάβης, τῶν ἀπολογούμενον δὲ λαβόντα τὸ
χρηματισθέν ὑπὸ τῶν ἀντιδίκων ἀντιγράψαι
πρὸς ἐκαστὸν ὡς οὐκ ἔπραξεν ἢ πράξας οὐκ
ἡδίκησεν ἢ ἀδικήσας ἐλάττωνος ζημίας ἁξίος ἂν
7 τυχεῖν. ἔπειτα νόμων ἢ τὸν κατήγορον ἀντι-
γράψαι καὶ πάλιν τὸν ἀπολογούμενον ἀντιθέταναι.
ἀμφοτέρων δὲ τῶν ἀντιδίκων τὰ γεγραμμένα διὸ
toῖς δικασταῖς δόντων, τὸ τημικαύτ' ἐδεῖ τοὺς
μὲν τριάκοντα τὰς γρώμας ἐν ἀλλήλοις ἀποφαί-
νεσθαι, τὸν ἀρχιδικαστὴν δὲ τὸ ζῴδιον τῆς
Ἀλήθειας προστίθεσθαι τῇ ἐτέρᾳ τῶν ἀμφιβη-
τήσεων.

76. Τούτῳ δὲ τῷ τρόπῳ τὰς κρίσεις πάσας
συντελεῖν τοὺς Ἀλγυπτίους, νομίζοντας ἐκ μὲν
τού λέγειν τοὺς συνηγόρους πολλὰ τοὺς δικαίους
ἐπισκοτήσειν καὶ γὰρ τὰς τέχνας τῶν ῥητόρων
καὶ τὴν τῆς ύποκρίσεως γοητείαν καὶ τὰ τῶν

1 ἐπειδή Bekker, Dindorf.
another judge. Allowances to provide for their needs were supplied by the king, to the judges sufficient for their maintenance, and many times as much to the chief justice. The latter regularly wore suspended from his neck by a golden chain a small image made of precious stones, which they called Truth; the hearings of the pleas commenced whenever the chief justice put on the image of Truth. The entire body of the laws was written down in eight volumes which lay before the judges, and the custom was that the accuser should present in writing the particulars of his complaint, namely, the charge, how the thing happened, and the amount of injury or damage done, whereupon the defendant would take the document submitted by his opponents in the suit and reply in writing to each charge, to the effect either that he did not commit the deed, or, if he did, that he was not guilty of wrongdoing, or, if he was guilty of wrongdoing, that he should receive a lighter penalty. After that, the law required that the accuser should reply to this in writing and that the defendant should offer a rebuttal. And after both parties had twice presented their statements in writing to the judges, it was the duty of the thirty at once to declare their opinions among themselves and of the chief justice to place the image of Truth upon one or the other of the two pleas which had been presented.

76. This was the manner, as their account goes, in which the Egyptians conducted all court proceedings, since they believed that if the advocates were allowed to speak they would greatly cloud the justice of a case; for they knew that the clever devices of orators, the cunning witchery of their
κινδυνευόντων δύκραυ γολλούς προτρέπεσθαι
παρορέν τὸ τῶν νόμων ἀπότομων καὶ τὴν τῆς
2 ἀληθείας ἀκρίβειαι θεωρεῖσθαι γοῦν τοὺς ἔπαινομένους ἐν τῷ κρίνειν πολλάκις ἢ δὲ ἀπάτην ἢ
diὰ ψυχαγωγίαν ἢ διὰ τὸ πρὸς τὸν ἔλεον
πάθος συνεκφερομένους τῇ δυνάμει τῶν συνηγο-
ροῦντων ἐκ δὲ τοῦ γράφειν τὰ δίκαια τοὺς
ἀντιδίκους ξύνοντο τὰς κρίσεις ἀκρίβειαι ἔσεσθαι,
3 γυμνῶν τῶν πραγμάτων θεωρουμένων. οὔτω
γὰρ ἡμῶν μᾶλπτα μήτε τοὺς ἐνφυεῖς τῶν βραδυ-
τέρων πλευνεκτῆσειν μήτε τοὺς ἐνθοληκότας τῶν
ἀπειρῶν μήτε τοὺς ψεύστας καὶ τολμηροὺς τῶν
φιλαλήθων καὶ κατεσταλμένων τοῖς ἡθέσιν,
pάντας δὲ ἐπὶ ἑσθις τεύξεσθαι τῶν δικαίων,
ἰκανὸν χρόνον ἐκ τῶν νόμων λαμβανόντων τῶν
μὲν ἀντιδίκων ἔξετάσαι τὰ παρ᾽ ἀλλήλων, τῶν
dὲ δικαστῶν συγκρίναι τὰ παρ᾽ ἀμφοτέρων.
77. Ἐπεὶ δὲ τῆς νομοθεσίας ἐμνήσθημεν, οὐκ
ἀνοίκησιν εἶναι τῆς ὑποκειμένης ἱστορίας νομί-
ζομεν ἐκδέσθαι τῶν νόμων ὅσοι παρὰ τοῖς
Ἀθηναίοις παλαιότητι διήνεγκαν ἢ παρηλλαγ-
μένην τάξιν ἔσχον ἢ τὸ σύνολον ὄφελεῖαν τοῖς
2 φιλαναγρωστοῦσι δύνανται παρασχέσθαι. πρῶ-
tον μὲν οὖν κατὰ τῶν ἐπιόρκων θάνατος ἢ παρ᾽
aὐτοῖς τὸ πρόστιμον, ὡς δύο τὰ μέγιστα ποιοῦν-
tων ἀνομήματα, θεοὺς τε ἀσέβοντων καὶ τὴν

2 ἂν after γὰρ deleted by Dindorf.
delivery, and the tears of the accused would influence many to overlook the severity of the laws and the strictness of truth; at any rate they were aware that men who are highly respected as judges are often carried away by the eloquence of the advocates, either because they are deceived, or because they are won over by the speaker’s charm, or because the emotion of pity has been aroused in them;¹ but by having the parties to a suit present their pleas in writing, it was their opinion that the judgments would be strict, only the bare facts being taken into account. For in that case there would be the least chance that gifted speakers would have an advantage over the slower, or the well-practised over the inexperienced, or the audacious liars over those who were truth-loving and restrained in character, but all would get their just dues on an equal footing, since by the provision of the laws ample time is taken, on the one hand by the disputants for the examination of the arguments of the other side, and, on the other hand, by the judges for the comparison of the allegations of both parties.

77. Since we have spoken of their legislation, we feel that it will not be foreign to the plan of our history to present such laws of the Egyptians as were especially old or took on an extraordinary form, or, in general, can be of help to lovers of reading. Now in the first place, their penalty for perjurers was death, on the ground that such men are guilty of the two greatest transgressions—being impious towards the gods and overthrowing the

¹ It is interesting to observe that the Egyptians are supposed to be familiar with the weaknesses of the Attic courts.
μεγίστην τῶν παρ’, ἀνθρώπους πίστιν ἀνατρε-3 πόντων. ἔπειτα εἰ τις ἐν ὅδῷ κατὰ τὴν χώραν ἱδίων φονεύόμενον ἀνθρώπον ἢ τὸ καθόλου βίαιον τι πάσχοντα μὴ ρύσατο δύνατος ὁ ῥ, θανάτῳ περιπετείων ὡφειλεν’ εἰ δὲ πρὸς ἀλήθειαν διὰ τὸ ἀδύνατον μὴ κατασχύσαι βοηθήσαι, μηνύσαι γε πάντως ὡφειλε τοὺς ληστὰς καὶ ἐπεξίεναι τὴν παρανομίαν τὸν δὲ ταύτα μὴ πράξαντα κατὰ τὸν νόμον ἔδει μαστιγοῦσαι τεταγμένας πληγάς καὶ πάσης εἰργασθαι τροφῆς ἐπὶ τρεῖς ἡμέρας.

4 οἱ δὲ ψευδῶς τινῶν κατηγορήσαντες ὡφειλοὺν τούτο παθεῖν ὃ τοὺς συνοφαντηθεῖσαν ἐτέκτοντες πρῶτοι, εἶπερ ἔνυχον καταδικασθέντες.

5 προσέτεκτο δὲ καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς Δινυπτίοις ἀπογράφασιν πρὸς τοὺς ἀρχιοντας ἀπὸ τινῶν ἐκαστος πορίζεται τὸν βίον, καὶ τὸν ἐν τούτοις ψευσάμενον ἢ πόρον ἀδικον ἐπιτελοῦντα θανάτω περιπλέπτειν ἤν ἀναγκαῖον. λέγεται δὲ τούτον τῶν νόμων ὑπὸ Σόλωνος παραβαλόντος εἰς

6 Δινυπτόν εἰς τὰς Ἀθηνας μετενεχθῆναι. εἰ δὲ τες ἐκουσίας ἀποκτείνας τὸν ἐλεύθερον ἢ τὸν δοῦλον, ἀποθνησκεῖν τούτον οἱ νόμοι προσέτατον, ἀμα μὲν βουλόμενοι μὴ ταῖς διαφοραῖς τῆς τύχης, ἀλλὰ ταῖς τῶν πράξεων ἐπιβολαίς εἰργασθαι πάντας ἀπὸ τῶν φαιλῶν, ἀμα δὲ διὰ τῆς τῶν δοῦλων φορτίδος ἑβίζουτες τοὺς ἀνθρώπους πολὺ μᾶλλον εἰς τοὺς ἐλευθέρους μηδὲν ὅλως ἔξαμαρτάνειν.

1 Cp. Euripides, Medea, 412-13: θεῶν ἡ οὐκέτι πίστις ἁφαρε ("a pledge given in the name of the gods no longer stands firm").
2 Cp. Herodotus, 2, 177: μηδὲ ἀποφαινόντα διαλήπν χόνη ("unless he proved that he had a just way of life").
264
mightiest pledge known among men.\(^1\) Again, if a
man, walking on a road in Egypt, saw a person
being killed or, in a word, suffering any kind of
violence and did not come to his aid if able to do
so, he had to die; and if he was truly prevented
from aiding the person because of inability, he was
in any case required to lodge information against
the bandits and to bring an action against their
lawless act; and in case he failed to do this as the
law required, it was required that he be scourged
with a fixed number of stripes and be deprived of
every kind of food for three days. Those who brought
false accusations against others had to suffer the
penalty that would have been meted out to the
accused persons had they been adjudged guilty.
All Egyptians were also severally required to submit
to the magistrates a written declaration of the sources
of their livelihood, and any man making a false declara-
tion or gaining an unlawful means of livelihood\(^2\) had
to pay the death penalty. And it is said that Solon,
after his visit to Egypt, brought this law to Athens.\(^3\)
If anyone intentionally killed a free man or a slave
the laws enjoined that he be put to death; for they,
in the first place, wished that it should not be through
the accidental differences in men’s condition in life
but through the principles governing their actions
that all men should be restrained from evil deeds,
and, on the other hand, they sought to accustom
mankind, through such consideration for slaves, to
refrain all the more from committing any offence
whatever against freemen.

\(^1\) Herodotus (2. 177) makes the same statement, but
Plutarch (Solon, 31), on the authority of Theophrastus,
attributes a similar law, not to Solon, but to Peisistratus.

\(^2\) Not to Solon, but to Peisistratus.
Καὶ κατὰ μὲν τῶν γονέων τῶν ἀποκτεινόντων τὰ τέκνα θάνατον μὲν ὦρισαν, ἡμέρας δὲ τρεῖς καὶ νύκτας ἵσας συνεχῶς ἦν ἀναγκαῖον περιειληφότας τὸν νεκρὸν ὑπομένειν φυλακῆς παρεδρευούσης δημοσίας· οὐ γὰρ δίκαιον ὑπελήφθη τὸ τοῦ βίου στερίσκειν τοὺς τὸν βίον τοῖς παισὶ δεδωκότας, νουθετήσει δὲ μᾶλλον λύπην ἐχούσῃ καὶ μεταμέλειαν ἀποτρέπειν τῶν τοιούτων ἐγχειρημάτων· κατὰ δὲ τῶν τέκνων τῶν γονεῖς φονευσάντων τιμωρίαν ἐξηλαμμενῆν ἐθηκαν· ἔδει γὰρ τούς καταδικασθέντας ἐπὶ τούτοις καλάμως ἤξεσθαι δακτυλιαὶ μέρη τοῦ σώματος κατατμηθέντας ἐπ' ἀκάνθαις κατακαίεσθαι ἡμών τῶν ἐν άνθρώποις ἀδικημάτων κρίνοντες τὸ βιαῖος τὸ ζην ἀφαιρεῖσθαι τῶν τὴν ζωὴν αὐτοῖς δεδωκότων, τῶν δὲ γυναικῶν τῶν καταδικασθείσων θανάτῳ τὰς ἐγκύους μὴ θανατούσθαι πρὶν ἄν τέκνωσι. καὶ τοῦτο τὸ νόμιμον πολλοὶ καὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων κατέδειξαν, ἡγούμενοι παντελῶς ἅδικον εἶναι τὸ μηδὲν ἀδικήσαν τῷ ἀδικήσαντι τῆς αὐτῆς μετέχειν τιμωρίας, καὶ παρανομήματος ἐνὸς γενομένου παρὰ δυνῶν λαμβάνειν τὸ πρόστιμον, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις κατὰ προαίρεσιν ποιηθῶν συντελεσθέντος τοῦ ἀδικήματος τὸ μηδεμίαν πως σύνεσιν ἔχον ὑπὸ τὴν ὁμοίαν ἁγείν κόλασιν, τὸ δὲ πάντων μέγιστον, ὅτι ταῖς κυστίσεις ἴδια τῆς αὐτῆς ἐπευγεμένης οὐδαμῶς προσήκει τὸ κοινὸν πατρὸς καὶ μητρὸς τέκνον ἀναιρεῖσθαι ἐπὶ ἔσθις γὰρ ἂν τις φαύλους διαλάβῃ κρίτας τοὺς τὰ τὸν ἐνοχὸν τῷ φόνῳ σώζοντας καὶ τοὺς τὸ μηδὲν ὅλως ἀδικήσαν συναναίροιντας.
In the case of parents who had slain their children, though the laws did not prescribe death, yet the offenders had to hold the dead body in their arms for three successive days and nights, under the surveillance of a state guard; for it was not considered just to deprive of life those who had given life to their children, but rather by a warning which brought with it pain and repentance to turn them from such deeds. But for children who had killed their parents they reserved an extraordinary punishment; for it was required that those found guilty of this crime should have pieces of flesh about the size of a finger cut out of their bodies with sharp reeds and then be put on a bed of thorns and burned alive; for they held that to take by violence the life of those who had given them life was the greatest crime possible to man. Pregnant women who had been condemned to death were not executed until they had been delivered. The same law has also been enacted by many Greek states, since they held it entirely unjust that the innocent should suffer the same punishment as the guilty, that a penalty should be exacted of two for only one transgression, and, further, that, since the crime had been actuated by an evil intention, a being as yet without intelligence should receive the same correction, and, what is the most important consideration, that in view of the fact that the guilt had been laid at the door of the pregnant mother it was by no means proper that the child, who belongs to the father as well as to the mother, should be despatched; for a man may properly consider judges who spare the life of a murderer to be no worse than other judges who destroy that which is guilty of no crime whatsoever.
Τῶν μὲν οὖν φονικῶν νόμων οἱ μάλιστα δοκούντες ἐπιτετεύχθαι τοιούτοι τινες ἦσαν.

78. Τῶν δὲ ἄλλων ὁ μὲν περὶ τῶν πολέμων κείμενος κατὰ τῶν τῆς τάξεως λιπόντων ἢ τὸ παραγγελθέν ὑπὸ τῶν ἡγεμόνων μὴ ποιοῦντων ἐτάττε πρόστιμον οὐ θάνατον, ἀλλὰ τὴν ἐσχάτην ἢ τὰς ἀτιμίας, εἰς τὴν προύπαρξαν παρρησίαν ἀποκαλίστα, ἀμα μὲν τοῦ νομοθέτου δεινοτέραν τιμωρίαν ποιοῦντος τὴν ἀτιμίαν ἢ τὴν θάνατον, ἢμι τὸ μέγιστον τῶν κακῶν ἐθίση πάντας κρίνειν τὴν αἰσχύνην, ἀμα δὲ τοὺς μὲν θανατοθέντας ἥγειτο μηδὲν ὄφελήσειτο τὸν κοινὸν βίον, τοὺς δὲ ἀτιμωθέντας ἀγαθῶν πολλῶν αἰτίους ἐσεθαί διὰ τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν τῆς παρρησίας.

3 καὶ τῶν μὲν τὰ ἀπόρρητα τοῖς πολεμίοις ἀπαγγειλάντων ἐπέταττεν ὁ νόμος ἐκτέμνεσθαι τὴν γλώτταν, τῶν δὲ τὸ νόμισμα παρακοπτόντων ἢ μέτρα καὶ σταθμὰ παραποιούντων ἢ παραγγειλάντων τὰς σφραγίδας, ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν γραμματέων τῶν ψευδεῖς χρηματισμοῦς γραφοῦντων ἢ ἀφαιροῦντων τι τῶν ἐγγεγραμμένων, καὶ τῶν τὰς ψευδεῖς συγγραφὰς ἐπιφερόντων, ἀμφοτέρας ἐκέλευσεν ἀποκόπτεσθαι τὰς χεῖρας, ὅπως οἷς ἔκαστος μέρει τοῦ σώματος παρενόμησεν, εἰς ταῦτα κολαξόμενος αὐτὸς μὲν μέχρι τελευτῆς ἀνίατον ἔχῃ τὴν συμφοράν, τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους διὰ τῆς ἱδίας τιμωρίας νουθετῶν ἀποτρέπῃ τῶν ὀμοίων τι πράττειν.

1 The significance of this word, which summed up as well as any the ideal of Greek freedom and of the Athenian democracy, cannot be included in a single phrase. It im-
268
BOOK I. 77. 11-78. 3

Now of the laws dealing with murder these are those which are thought to have been the most successful.

78. Among their other laws one, which concerned military affairs, made the punishment of deserters or of any who disobeyed the command of their leaders, not death, but the uttermost disgrace; but if later on such men wiped out their disgrace by a display of manly courage, they were restored to their former freedom of speech. Thus the lawgiver at the same time made disgrace a more terrible punishment than death, in order to accustom all the people to consider dishonour the greatest of evils, and he also believed that, while dead men would never be of value to society, men who had been disgraced would do many a good deed through their desire to regain freedom of speech. In the case of those who had disclosed military secrets to the enemy the law prescribed that their tongues should be cut out, while in the case of counterfeiters or falsifiers of measures and weights or imitators of seals, and of official scribes who made false entries or erased items, and of any who adduced false documents, it ordered that both their hands should be cut off, to the end that the offender, being punished in respect of those members of his body that were the instruments of his wrongdoing, should himself keep until death his irreparable misfortune, and at the same time, by serving as a warning example to others, should turn them from the commission of similar offences.

plied that a man was as good as any other, that he could hold up his head among his fellows. "Position of self-respect and equality" is approximately what it means in this sentence and the following.

269
4 Πικροί δὲ καὶ περὶ τῶν γυναικῶν νόμου παρ’ αὐτοίς ὑπῆρχον, τοῦ μὲν γὰρ βιασμένου γυναῖκα ἐλευθέραν προσέταξαν ἀποκόπτεσθαι τὰ αἰδοία, νομίζαντες τὸν τοιούτον μηδὲ πράξει παραγόμω τρία τὰ μέγιστα τῶν κακῶν ἐνηργή-κέναι, τὴν ὑβρίν καὶ τὴν φθορὰν καὶ τὴν τῶν τέκνων σύγχυσιν εἰ δὲ τις πείσας μοιχεύσαι, τὸν μὲν άνδρα ῥάβδοις χυλίας πληγάς λαμβάνειν ἐκέλευσον, τῆς δὲ γυναικὸς τὴν ρίνα κολοβοῦσθαι, ὑπολαμβάνοντες δεῖν τὴς πρὸς ἀσυγχώρητον ἀκρασίαν καλλωπιζομένην ἀφαιρεθῆναι τὰ μά-λιστα κοσμοῦντα τὴν εὐπρέπειαν.

79. Τούς δὲ περὶ τῶν συμβολαίων νόμους Βοκχόριδος εἶναι φασὶ. προστάττουσι δὲ τούς μὲν ἀσύγγραφα δανεισαμένους, ἀν μὴ φάσκωσιν υφείλειν, ὁμόσαντας ἀπολύσεσθαι τοῦ δανείου, πρῶτον μὲν ὅπως ἐν μεγάλῳ τιθέμενοι τοὺς ὁρκοὺς 2 δεισιδαιμονοῦν προδήλου γὰρ οὗτος ὅτι τῷ πολλάκις ὁμόσαντες συμβήσεται τὴν πίστιν ἀποβαλεῖν, ἢν τῆς εὐχρηστίας μὴ στερηθῇ, περὶ πλείστου πᾶς τίς τεξεῖς τὸ μὴ καταντᾶν ἐπὶ τὸν ὁρκον ἔπειθ’ ὑπελάμβανεν ὁ νομοθέτης τὴν ὅλην πίστιν ἐν τῇ καλοκάγαθῳ ποιῆσας προτρέψεσθαι πάντας σπουδαίους εἶναι τοὺς ἤθεσιν, ἢν μὴ πίστεως ἀνάξιοι διαβληθῶσιν: πρὸς δὲ τούτοις ἄδικον ἐκρίνετο εἶναι τοὺς χωρίς ὁρκοῦ πιστευόμενοι περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν συμβολαίων ὁμόσαντας μὴ τυγχάνειν πίστεωσ. τοὺς δὲ μετὰ συγγραφῆς δανεισαντας

1 ξεῖ Cobet: ξεῖ.

2 Cp. chap. 65.
Severe also were their laws touching women. For if a man had violated a free married woman, they stipulated that he be emasculated, considering that such a person by a single unlawful act had been guilty of the three greatest crimes, assault, abduction, and confusion of offspring; but if a man committed adultery with the woman's consent, the laws ordered that the man should receive a thousand blows with the rod, and that the woman should have her nose cut off, on the ground that a woman who tricks herself out with an eye to forbidden licence should be deprived of that which contributes most to a woman's comeliness.

79. Their laws governing contracts they attribute to Bocchoris. These prescribe that men who had borrowed money without signing a bond, if they denied the indebtedness, might take an oath to that effect and be cleared of the obligation. The purpose was, in the first place, that men might stand in awe of the gods by attributing great importance to oaths, for, since it is manifest that the man who has repeatedly taken such an oath will in the end lose the confidence which others had in him, everyone will consider it a matter of the utmost concern not to have recourse to the oath lest he forfeit his credit. In the second place, the lawgiver assumed that by basing confidence entirely upon a man's sense of honour he would incite all men to be virtuous in character, in order that they might not be talked about as being unworthy of confidence; and, furthermore, he held it to be unjust that men who had been trusted with a loan without an oath should not be trusted when they gave their oath regarding the same transaction. And whoever lent money along
ἐκώλυε διὰ τοῦ τόκου τὸ κεφάλαιον πλέον ποιεῖν ἢ διπλάσιον.

3 Τῶν δὲ οὐφειλόντων τὴν ἐκπραξίν τῶν δανείων ἐκ τῆς οὐσίας μόνον ἐποιήσατο, τὸ δὲ σῶμα κατ᾽ οὐδένα τρόπον εἶχεν ὑπάρχειν ἀγώγιμον, ἡγούμενος δὲι ν εἶναι τὰς μὲν κτήσεις τῶν ἐργασαμένων ἢ παρὰ κυρίου τιμὸς ἐν δωρεᾶς λαβόντων, τὰ δὲ σώματα τῶν πόλεων, ἵνα τὰς καθηκούσας λειτουργίας ἔχουσιν αἱ πόλεις καὶ κατὰ πόλεμον καὶ κατ᾽ εἰρήμνιν ἄτοπον γὰρ τὸ 1 στρατιώτην εἰς τὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος προϊόντα κάυδυνυν, εἰ τύχοι, πρὸς δάνειον ὑπὲρ τοῦ πιστεύσαντος ἀπαγορεύει, καὶ τῆς τῶν ἱδιωτῶν πλεονεξίας ἐνεκα

4 καινοῦνειν τὴν κοινὴν ἀπάντων σωτηρίαν. δοκεῖ δὲ καὶ τούτων τῶν νόμων ὁ Σόλων εἰς τὰς Ἀθήνας μετενεγκεῖν, ὃν ὁνόμασε σεἰσάχθειν, ἀπολύσας τοὺς πολίτας ἀπαντας τῶν ἐπὶ τοῖς σώμασι πεπλευμένων δανείων. μέμφονται δὲ τινες ὡς ἀλόγως τοῖς πλείστοις τῶν παρὰ τοῖς Ἕλλησι νομοθετῶν, οίτινες ὡς ὅπλα μὲν καὶ ἄροτρον καὶ ἄλλα τῶν ἀναγκαιοτάτων ἐκώλυσαν ἐνέχυρα λαμβάνεσθαι πρὸς δάνειον, τοὺς δὲ τούτους χρησομένους συνεχόμεθαν ἀγωγίμους εἶναι.

5 στευμένων δανείων. 80. Ἡ τήρησε δὲ καὶ περὶ τῶν κλεπτῶν νόμος παρ᾽ Ἀλυττίους ἱδιωτάτος. ἐκελευε γὰρ τοὺς μὲν 2 boulowmenous ἔχειν ταύτην τὴν ἐργασίαν

---

1 τὸ Bekker: τῶν.
2 μὲν Dindorf: μὴ D, omitted by all other MSS.

---

1 The famous Seisachtheia ("shaking off of burdens") of Solon in 594 B.C. declared void existing pledges in land,
with a written bond was forbidden to do more than double the principal from the interest.

In the case of debtors the lawgiver ruled that the repayment of loans could be exacted only from a man’s estate, and under no condition did he allow the debtor’s person to be subject to seizure, holding that whereas property should belong to those who had amassed it or had received it from some earlier holder by way of a gift, the bodies of citizens should belong to the state, to the end that the state might avail itself of the services which its citizens owed it, in times of both war and peace. For it would be absurd, he felt, that a soldier, at the moment perhaps when he was setting forth to fight for his fatherland, should be haled to prison by his creditor for an unpaid loan, and that the greed of private citizens should in this way endanger the safety of all. And it appears that Solon took this law also to Athens, calling it a “disburdenment,” when he absolved all the citizens of the loans, secured by their persons, which they owed. But certain individuals find fault, and not without reason, with the majority of the Greek lawgivers, who forbade the taking of weapons and ploughs and other quite indispensable things as security for loans, but nevertheless allowed the men who would use these implements to be subject to imprisonment.

80. The Egyptian law dealing with thieves was also a very peculiar one. For it bade any who chose to follow this occupation to enter their names with granted freedom to all men enslaved for debt, and probably cancelled all debts which involved any form of personal servitude, by these measures effecting the complete freedom of all debt slaves or debt serfs in Attica (op. Adcock in The Cambridge Ancient History, 4. p. 37 f.).
ἀπογράφεσθαι πρὸς τὸν ἀρχιφωρα, καὶ τὸ κλαπὲν ὀμολογοῦσα ἀναφέρειν παραχρῆμα πρὸς ἐκείνουν, τοὺς δὲ ἀπολέσαντας παραπλησίως ἀπογράφειν αὐτῷ καθ’ ἐκαστὸν τῶν ἀπολωλότων, προστεθέντας τὸν τε τόπον καὶ τὴν ἥμεραν καὶ τὴν 2 ὥραν καθ’ ἦν ἀπώλεσεν.¹ τούτῳ δὲ τῷ τρόπῳ πάντων ἐτοίμως εὐρισκομένων, ἔδει τὸν ἀπολέσαντα τὸ τέταρτον μέρος τῆς ἀξίας δόντα κτήσασθαι τὰ ἑαυτοῦ μόνα. ἀδυνάτου γὰρ ὅντος τοῦ πάντας ἀποστήσαι τῆς κλοπῆς εὑρεῖ πόρον ὁ νομοθέτης δὲ οὗ τῶν τὸ ἀπολομένου σωθήσεται μικρῶν διδομένων λύτρων.

3 Γαμοῦσι δὲ παρ’ Αιγυπτίων οἱ μὲν ἱερεῖς μίαν, τῶν δὲ ἄλλων διὰς ἀν ἔκαστος προαιρῆται, καὶ τὰ γεννώμενα πάντα τρέφουσιν ἐξ ἀνάγκης ένεκα τῆς πολυανθρωπίας, ὥσ ταύτης μέγιστα συμβαλλομένης πρὸς εὐδαιμονίαν χώρας τε καὶ πόλεως, νόθον δ’ οὐδένα τῶν γεννηθέντων νομίζουσιν, οὐδ’ ἂν εξ ἀργυρωπήτου μητρὸς γεννηθή.

4 καθόλου γὰρ ὑπειλήφασι τὸν πατέρα μόνον αὐτίου εἶναι τῆς γενέσεως, τῇ δὲ μητέρᾳ τροφήν καὶ χώραν παρέχεσθαι τῷ βρέφει, καὶ τῶν δενδρον ἄρρενα μὲν καλοῦσι τὰ καρποφόρα, θήλεα δὲ τὰ μη φέροντα τοὺς καρποὺς, έναντίως τοῖς

5 Ἔλλησι τρέφουσι δὲ τὰ παιδία μετά τινος εὐχερείας ἀδαπάνου καὶ παντελῶς ἀπίστουν ἐψήματα γὰρ αὐτοῖς χορηγοῦσιν ἐκ τινος μετ’

¹ ἀπώλεσεν Δ Β Δ, Vogel: ἀπώλεσαν Bekker, Dindorf, ἀτέθαλε Π.
the Chief of the Thieves and by agreement to bring to him immediately the stolen articles, while any who had been robbed filed with him in like manner a list of all the missing articles, stating the place, the day, and the hour of the loss. And since by this method all lost articles were readily found, the owner who had lost anything had only to pay one-fourth of its value in order to recover just what belonged to him. For as it was impossible to keep all mankind from stealing, the lawgiver devised a scheme whereby every article lost would be recovered upon payment of a small ransom.

In accordance with the marriage-customs of the Egyptians the priests have but one wife, but any other man takes as many as he may determine;¹ and the Egyptians are required to raise all their children in order to increase the population,² on the ground that large numbers are the greatest factor in increasing the prosperity of both country and cities. Nor do they hold any child a bastard, even though he was born of a slave mother; for they have taken the general position that the father is the sole author of procreation and that the mother only supplies the fetus with nourishment and a place to live, and they call the trees which bear fruit "male" and those which do not "female," exactly opposite to the Greek usage. They feed their children in a sort of happy-go-lucky fashion that in its inexpensiveness quite surpasses belief; for they serve them with stews

¹ According to Herodotus (2. 92) monogamy was the prevailing custom, but he was certainly in error so far as the wealthier classes were concerned.
² i.e. the exposure of children, which was still practised among some Greeks in Diodorus' day, was forbidden.
DIODORUS OF SICILY

εὐτελείας ἐτοίμου¹ γινόμενα, καὶ τῶν ἐκ τῆς βυβλοῦ πυθμένων τοὺς δυναμένους εἰς τὸ πῦρ ἐγκρύβεσθαι, καὶ τῶν ρίζῶν καὶ τῶν καυλῶν τῶν ἐλείων τὰ μὲν ὁμά, τὰ δ' ἐγκυντες, τὰ δ' ὀπτώντες, 6 διδόσων. ἀνυποδήτων δὲ καὶ γυμνῶν τῶν πλεί-
στων τρεφομένων διὰ τὴν εὐκρασίαν τῶν τόπων, τὴν πάσαν δαπάνην οἱ γονεῖς, ἀχρὶ δὲ εἰς ἡλικίαν ἔλθῃ τὸ τέκνον, οὐ πλεῖον ποιοῦσι δραχμῶν εἰκοσι.
δι' ὁς αὐτίας μάλιστα τὴν Λέγουσν συμβαίνει πολυανθρωπία διαφέρειν, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο πλείστας ἔχειν μεγάλων ἔργων κατασκευάς.

81. Παιδεύοντι δὲ τοὺς νῦν οἱ μὲν ἱερεῖς
γράμματα διττά, τά τε ἱερὰ καλούμενα καὶ τὰ
κοινοτέραν ἔχοντα τὴν μάθησιν. γεωμετρίαι δὲ
2 καὶ τὴν ἀριθμητικὴν ἐπὶ πλέον ἐκπονούσιν. ὁ
μὲν γὰρ ποταμὸς κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν ποικίλως μετα-
σχηματίζων τὴν χώραν πολλὰς καὶ παντοτικὰς
ἀμφισβητήσεις ποιεῖ περὶ τῶν ὅρων τοῖς γειτνιῶσι,
ταῦτας δ' οὐ ράδιον ἀκριβῶς ἔξελεγξαί μὴ γεω-
μέτρου τὴν ἀλήθειαν ἐκ τῆς ἐμπειρίας μεθοδεύ-
3 σαντος. ή δ' ἀριθμητικὴ πρὸς τε τᾶς κατὰ τὸν
βίον οἰκονομίας αὐτοῖς χρησιμεύει καὶ πρὸς τὰ
γεωμετρίας θεωρήματα, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις οὐκ ὅλιγα
συμβάλλεται καὶ τοῖς τὰ περὶ τὴν ἀστρολογίαν
4 ἐκπονούσιν. ἐπιμέλειας ² γὰρ, εἰ καὶ παρὰ τισιν

¹ μετ' εὐτελείας ἐτοίμου Capps: εὐτελείας ἐτοίμης.
² ἐπιμέλειας Dindorf: ἐπιμελῆς.

¹ There were, in fact, three kinds of Egyptian writing, (1) the hieroglyphic, (2) the hieratic, and (3) the demotic, the last 276
made of any stuff that is ready to hand and cheap, and give them such stalks of the byblos plant as can be roasted in the coals, and the roots and stems of marsh plants, either raw or boiled or baked. And since most of the children are reared without shoes or clothing because of the mildness of the climate of the country, the entire expense incurred by the parents of a child until it comes to maturity is not more than twenty drachmas. These are the leading reasons why Egypt has such an extraordinarily large population, and it is because of this fact that she possesses a vast number of great monuments.

81. In the education of their sons the priests teach them two kinds of writing, that which is called "sacred" and that which is used in the more general instruction. Geometry and arithmetic are given special attention. For the river, by changing the face of the country each year in manifold ways, gives rise to many and varied disputes between neighbours over their boundary lines, and these disputes cannot be easily tested out with any exactness unless a geometer works out the truth scientifically by the application of his experience. And arithmetic is serviceable with reference to the business affairs connected with making a living and also in applying the principles of geometry, and likewise is of no small assistance to students of astrology as well.

For the positions and arrangements of the stars as being that in general use in the time of Diodorus. In common with Herodotus (2. 36), Diodorus fails to distinguish between the first and second.

2 Here "geometry" is used in its original meaning, "measurement of the earth," and "geometer" below means "surveyor."
δάλλοις, καὶ παρ’ Αἰγυπτίων παρατηρήσεως τυγχάνουσιν αἱ τῶν άστρων τάξεις τε καὶ κινήσεις.
καὶ τὰς μὲν 1 περὶ ἐκάστων ἀναγραφὰς ἐξ ἐτῶν ἀπίστων τῷ πλήθει φυλάττουσιν, ἐκ παλαιῶν χρόνων ἐξηλωμένης παρ’ αὐτοῖς τῆς περὶ ταῦτα σπουδῆς, τὰς δὲ 2 τῶν πλανήτων ἀστέρων κινήσεις καὶ περιόδους καὶ στηριγμοὺς, ἔτι δὲ τὰς ἐκάστους δυνάμεις πρὸς τὰς τῶν ζώνων γενέσεις, τίνων εἰς ἣν ἄγαθῶν ἢ κακῶν ἀπεργαστικαὶ, φιλοτιμῶτα 5 παρατηρήσκας. καὶ πολλάκις μὲν τοις ἀνθρώποις τῶν αὐτοῖς μελλόντων ἀπαντήσεως κατὰ τῶν βίων προλέγοντες ἐπιτυγχάνουσιν, οὐκ ὀλγάκις δὲ καρπῶν φθορὰς ἡ τούναγτιον πολυκαρπίας, ἐτὶ δὲ νόσους κοινὰς ἀνθρώποις ἡ βοσκήμασιν ἐσομένας προσημαίνουσι, σεισμοὺς τε καὶ κατακλυσμοὺς καὶ κομητῶν ἀστέρων ἐπιτολάς καὶ πάντα τὰ τοῖς πολλοῖς ἀδύνατον ἔχειν δοκοῦντα τὴν ἐπίγυωσιν, ἐκ πολλοῦ χρόνου 3 παρατηρήσεως γεγενημένης, προγνώσκουσι. φασὶ δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἐν Βαβυλῶνι Χαλδαίους, ἀποίκους Ἁγιουτίων οὖν, τὴν δόξαν ἔχειν τὴν περὶ τῆς ἀστρολογίας παρὰ τῶν ἱερέων μαθόντας τῶν Ἁγιουτίων.

7. Τὸ δ’ ἄλλο πλήθος τῶν Ἁγιουτίων εἰς παίδων μαθάνει παρὰ τῶν πατέρων ἡ συγγενῶν τὰς περὶ ἐκάστου βίων ἐπιτηδεύσεις, καθάπερ προερήκαμεν γράμματα δ’ ἐπὶ ὀλγοῦ διδάσκουσιν 4 οὐχ ἄπαντες, ἀλλ’ ὁ τὰς τέχνας μεταχειρίζομενοι μάλιστα. παλαίστραν δὲ καὶ μονιστικὴν

1 μὲν omitted by F, Bekker, Dindorf.
2 δὲ Vogel: τε.
3 πολλοῦ χρόνου Bekker, Vogel: πολυχρονίου F, Dindorf.
well as their motions have always been the subject of careful observation among the Egyptians, if anywhere in the world; they have preserved to this day the records concerning each of these stars over an incredible number of years, this subject of study having been zealously preserved among them from ancient times, and they have also observed with the utmost avidity the motions and orbits and stoppings of the planets, as well as the influences of each one on the generation of all living things—the good or the evil effects, namely, of which they are the cause. And while they are often successful in predicting to men the events which are going to befall them in the course of their lives, not infrequently they foretell destructions of the crops or, on the other hand, abundant yields, and pestilences that are to attack men or beasts, and as a result of their long observations they have prior knowledge of earthquakes and floods, of the risings of the comets, and of all things which the ordinary man looks upon as beyond all finding out. And according to them the Chaldaeans of Babylon, being colonists from Egypt, enjoy the fame which they have for their astrology because they learned that science from the priests of Egypt.

As to the general mass of the Egyptians, they are instructed from their childhood by their fathers or kinsmen in the practices proper to each manner of life as previously described by us;¹ but as for reading and writing, the Egyptians at large give their children only a superficial instruction in them, and not all do this, but for the most part only those who are engaged in the crafts. In wrestling and music,

¹ Cp. chaps. 43, 70, 74.

⁴ διδάσκονται Reiske, Bekker, Dindorf.
Diodorus of Sicily

οὐ νόμμων ἐστὶ παρ' αὐτοῖς μανθάνειν· ὑπολαμβάνουσι γὰρ ἐκ μὲν τῶν καθ' ἡμέραν ἐν τῇ πάλαιστρᾳ γυμνασίων τούς νέους σὺν υγίειαν ἔξειν, ἀλλὰ βάρμην ὄλυγοχρόνιον καὶ παντελῶς ἐπικίνδυνον, τὴν δὲ μουσικὴν νομίζουσιν οὐ μόνον ἄχρηστον ὑπάρχειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ βλαβερὰν, ὡς ἕκβηλυνον τὰς τῶν ἀκούοντων ψυχὰς.

82. Τὰς δὲ νόσους προκαταλαμβάνομεν θεραπεύουσι τὰ σώματα κλυσμοῖς καὶ υγιείαις καὶ ἐμέτοις, ἐνίοτε μὲν καθ' ἐκάστην ἡμέραν, ἐνίοτε δὲ τρεῖς ἢ τέταρτα ἡμέρας διαλείποντες. 2 ἕτερ' γὰρ πάσης τροφῆς ἀναδοθείσης τὸ πλέον εἶναι περιττόν, ἀφ' οὗ γεννᾶσθαι τὰς νόσους· ὅστε τὴν προειρημένην θεραπείαν ἀναιροῦσαν τἀ ἄρχας τῆς νόσου μάλιστ' ἄν παρασκευάσαι 3 τὴν υγίειαν. κατὰ δὲ τὰς στρατείας καὶ τὰς ἑπὶ τῆς χώρας ἐκδημίας θεραπεύουσαν πάντες οὐδένα μισθὸν ἴδια διδόντες· οἱ γὰρ ἱατροὶ τὰς μὲν τροφὰς ἢ τοῦ κοινοῦ λαμβάνουσιν, τὰς δὲ θεραπείας προσάγοντες κατὰ νόμον ἐγγραφοῦν, ὕπο τὸν Πολλῶν καὶ δεδοξασμένοιν Ιατρῶν ἄρχας συγγεγραμμένον. καὶ τοῖς ἐκ τῆς ἱερᾶς βίβλου νόμοις ἀναγινωσκομένοις ἀκολουθήσαντες ἀδυνατήσωσι σώσαι τὸν κάμνοντα, ἀδιόθιοι παντὸς ἐγκλήματος ἀπολύονται, ἔτι δὲ τι παρὰ τὰ γεγραμμένα ποιήσωσι, θανάτου κρίσιν ὑπομένουσιν, ἡγουμένου τοῦ νομοθέτου τῆς ἢ πολλῶν χρόνων παρατετηρημένης θεραπείας καὶ συντε-

1 ἀν' αЃτερ ἃς deleted by Hertlein.
2 ἑτερ omitted by F. Bekker, Dindorf.
3 ὕπο Dindorf: ἀντί.
however, it is not customary among them to receive any instruction at all; for they hold that from the daily exercises in wrestling their young men will gain, not health, but a vigour that is only temporary and in fact quite dangerous, while they consider music to be not only useless but even harmful, since it makes the spirits of the listeners effeminate.

82. In order to prevent sicknesses they look after the health of their bodies by means of drenches, fastings, and emetics, sometimes every day and sometimes at intervals of three or four days. For they say that the larger part of the food taken into the body is superfluous and that it is from this superfluous part that diseases are engendered; consequently the treatment just mentioned, by removing the beginnings of disease, would be most likely to produce health. On their military campaigns and their journeys in the country they all receive treatment without the payment of any private fee; for the physicians draw their support from public funds and administer their treatments in accordance with a written law which was composed in ancient times by many famous physicians. If they follow the rules of this law as they read them in the sacred book and yet are unable to save their patient, they are absolved from any charge and go unpunished; but if they go contrary to the law’s prescriptions in any respect, they must submit to a trial with death as the penalty, the lawgiver holding that but few physicians would ever show themselves wiser than the mode of treatment which had been closely followed for a long

---

1 Diodorus is contrasting the Egyptian attitude toward these subjects with the emphasis laid upon them in Greek education.

2 Cp. Herodotus 2. 77.
παγμένης ὑπὸ τῶν ἀρίστων τεχνιτῶν ὅλγους ἀν γενέσθαι συνετοπέρουσ.

83. Περὶ δὲ τῶν ἀφερωμένων ζῴων κατ' Ἀἰγυπτον εἰκότως φαίνεται πολλοὶ παράδοξον τὸ γινόμενον καὶ ζητήσεως ἄξιον. σέβονται γὰρ ἐνια τῶν ζῴων Ἀἰγύπτιοι καθ' ὑπερβολὴν οὐ ζῶντα μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τελευτῆσαντα, οἶον αἰλουρόγυα καὶ τοὺς ἰχνεύμονας καὶ κύνας, ἐτὶ δ' ἵερακας καὶ τὰς καλουμένας παρ' αὐτοῖς ἔβευς, πρὸς δὲ τούτως τοὺς τε λύκους καὶ τοὺς κροκοδίλους καὶ ἐτερα τοιαύτα πλεῖον, περὶ δὲν τὰς αἰτίας ἀποδίδοναι πειρασόμεθα, βραχέα πρότερον ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν διελθόντες.

2 Πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ ἕκαστῳ γενεῖ τῶν σεβασμῷ τυχανόντων ζῷων ἀφεροῦται χώρα φέρουσα προσοδὸν ἀρκούσαν εἰς ἐπιμέλειαν καὶ τροφὴν αὐτῶν ποιοῦνται δὲ καὶ θεοὶ τισι εὐχας ὑπὲρ τῶν παιδῶν οἱ κατ' Ἀἰγυπτον τῶν ἐκ τῆς νόσου σωθέντων. ξυρῆσαντες γὰρ τὰς τρίχας καὶ πρὸς ἀργυρίον ἡ χρυσίον στήσαντες διδόσας τὸ νομίμα τοῖς ἐπιμελομένοις τῶν προειρημένων

3 ζῴων. οἱ δὲ τοῖς μὲν ἱερατεύσας καὶ προσκαλούμενοι μεγάλη τῇ φωνῇ πετομένους ἀναρρίπτουσιν, μέχρι ἄν δεξιῶνται, τοῖς δ' αἰλουροῖς καὶ τοῖς ἰχνεύμοις καταθρύπτουτες τοὺς ἀρτους εἰς γάλα καὶ ποτηρύηται παρατιθέασιν ἢ τῶν ἰχθύων τῶν ἐκ τοῦ Νείλου καταθρύπτουτες ὀμός στιξόμενος ὡσαυτός δὲ καὶ τῶν Ἀλλῶν ζῴων ἕκαστῳ γενεῖ τὸν ἀρμόζουσαν τροφῆν χορῆ-4 γούς. τὰς δὲ γινομένας περὶ ταῦτα λειτουργίας οὐχ οἶον ἐκκλίνουσιν ἢ τοῖς ὀχλοῖς γενέσθαι.
period and had been originally prescribed by the ablest practitioners.

83. As regards the consecration of animals in Egypt, the practice naturally appears to many to be extraordinary and worthy of investigation. For the Egyptians venerate certain animals exceedingly, not only during their lifetime but even after their death, such as cats, ichneumons and dogs, and, again, hawks and the birds which they call "ibis," as well as wolves and crocodiles and a number of other animals of that kind, and the reasons for such worship we shall undertake to set forth, after we have first spoken briefly about the animals themselves.

In the first place, for each kind of animal that is accorded this worship there has been consecrated a portion of land which returns a revenue sufficient for their care and sustenance; moreover, the Egyptians make vows to certain gods on behalf of their children who have been delivered from an illness, in which case they shave off their hair and weigh it against silver or gold, and then give the money to the attendants of the animals mentioned. These cut up flesh for the hawks and calling them with a loud cry toss it up to them, as they swoop by, until they catch it, while for the cats and ichneumons they break up bread into milk and calling them with a clucking sound set it before them, or else they cut up fish caught in the Nile and feed the flesh to them raw; and in like manner each of the other kinds of animals is provided with the appropriate food. And as for the various services which these animals require, the Egyptians not only do not try to avoid them or feel

1 The famous discussion of the cats of Egypt is in Herodotus, 2. 66–7.
καταφανείς ἐπαισχύνονται, τούναντίον δ' ὡς περὶ τὰς μεγάστας τῶν θεῶν ομόμενοι τιμᾶς σεμνύνονται καὶ μετὰ σημείων ἱδίων περιέρχονται τὰς πόλεις καὶ τὴν χώραν. πόρρωθεν δ' ὄντες φανεροὶ τῶν θεῶν ἐχουσὶ τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν, ὑπὸ τῶν ἀπαντῶντος 2 προσκυνοῦνται καὶ τιμῶνται.

5 "Ὅταν δ' ἀποθάνῃ τι τῶν εἰρημένων, συνδόνι κατακαλύφαντες καὶ μετ' οἰμωγῆς τὰ στήθη καταπληξάμενοι φέρουσιν εἰς τὰς παριγγείας· ἔπειτα θεραπευθέντων αὐτῶν κεδρία καὶ τοῖς δυναμένοις εὐωδίαις παρέχεσθαι καὶ πολυχρόνιον τοῦ σώματος τήρησιν θάπτοντος ἐν ἑραίσς θήκαις.

6 ὅς δ' ἀν τούτων τι τῶν ζωῶν ἐκών διαφθείρῃ, θανάτῳ περιπίπτει, πλὴν ἐὰν αἰλουρον ἢ τὴν ἵσιν ἀποκτείνῃ τάφυ δὲ ἔως ταύτα, ἐὰν τε ἐκών ἐὰν τε ἀκων ἀποκτείνῃ, πάντως θανάτῳ περιπίπτει, τῶν ὄχλων συντρεχόντων καὶ τῶν πράξαντι δεινότατα διατιθέντων, καὶ τούτ' ἐνίοτε πραττόντων ἁνευ κρίσεως. διὰ δ' τὸν ἐπὶ τούτους φόβουν ὦ θεασάμενοι τεθνηκός τι τούτων τῶν ζωνυποστάντες μακρὰν βοῶσιν ὄθυρομενοι τε καὶ μαρτυρόμενοι κατειλήφθαι αὐτὸ 3 τετελευτήκος.

7 οὖτω δ' ἐν ταῖς τῶν ὄχλων ψυχαῖς ἐντετήκεν ἢ πρὸς τὰ ζῷα τάφυ δεισιδαιμονία καὶ τοῖς πάθεσιν ἀμεταβέτως ἐκαστὸς διάκειται πρὸς τὴν τούτων τιμῆν, ὅστε καὶ καθ' ὑπὸ χρόνου Πτολεμαῖος μὲν ὁ βασίλευς ὑπὸ Ρωμαίων οὖτος

---

1 ὁς περὶ Dindorf: ὤς περὶ els.
2 ἀπαντῶντος Wesseling: ἀπάντων.
3 κατειλήφθαι τὸ Vulgate; Vogel deletes τὸ. Reiske conjectured αὐτὸ and is followed by Bekker and Dindorf,

284
ashamed to be seen by the crowds as they perform them, but on the contrary, in the belief that they are engaged in the most serious rites of divine worship, they assume airs of importance, and wearing special insignia make the rounds of the cities and the countryside. And since it can be seen from afar in the service of what animals they are engaged, all who meet them fall down before them and render them honour.

When one of these animals dies they wrap it in fine linen and then, wailing and beating their breasts, carry it off to be embalmed; and after it has been treated with cedar oil and such spices as have the quality of imparting a pleasant odour and of preserving the body for a long time,¹ they lay it away in a consecrated tomb. And whoever intentionally kills one of these animals is put to death, unless it be a cat or an ibis that he kills; but if he kills one of these, whether intentionally or unintentionally, he is certainly put to death, for the common people gather in crowds and deal with the perpetrator most cruelly, sometimes doing this without waiting for a trial. And because of their fear of such a punishment any who have caught sight of one of these animals lying dead withdraw to a great distance and shout with lamentations and protestations that they found the animal already dead. So deeply implanted also in the hearts of the common people is their superstitious regard for these animals and so unalterable are the emotions cherished by every man regarding the honour due to them that once, at the time when Ptolemy their king had not as yet been given by the

¹ According to Herodotus (2. 87) this was a less expensive method of embalming.
προσηγόρευτο φίλος, οί δ’ ὄχλοι πᾶσαι εἰσεφέροντο στουδὴν ἐκθεραπεύουντες τοὺς παρεπιδημούντας τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰταλίας καὶ σπεύδοντες μηδεμίαν ἀφορμὴν ἐγκλῆματος ἢ πολέμου δούναι διὰ τὸν φόβον, ἀποκτείναντος Ρωμαίου τινὸς αἴλουρον, καὶ τοῦ πλῆθους συνδραμόντος ἐπὶ τὴν οἰκίαν τοῦ πράξαντος, οὖθ’ οἱ πεμφθέντες ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως ἄρχοντες ἐπὶ τὴν παράτησιν οὐθ’ ὁ κοινὸς ἀπὸ τῆς Ῥώμης φόβος ἵσχυσεν ἐξελέσθαι τῆς τιμωρίας τῶν ἄνθρωπον, καίπερ ἀκονίσας τοῦτο πεπραχότα. καὶ τοῦτ' οὐκ ἐξ ἀκοῖς ἡμεῖς ἰστοροῦμεν, ἀλλ’ αὐτοὶ κατὰ τὴν γεγενημένην ἡμῖν ἐπιδημίαν κατ’ Ἀγυπτον ἐσφάλματε.

84. Ἀπίστων δὲ φαινομένων πολλοῖς τῶν εἰρημένων καὶ μύθων παραπλησίων πολλῷ παραδοξότερα φανήσεται τὰ μετὰ ταῦτα ῥηθησόμενα. λιμῷ γὰρ ποτὲ πιέζομένων τῶν κατ’ Ἀγυπτον φασι πολλοὺς ἀλλήλων μὲν ἄφασθαι διὰ τὴν ἐνδειαν, τῶν δ’ ἀφιερωμένων ξύών τὸ παράπαν μηδ’ αὐτίαν σχεῖν μηδενά προσενεψαί νέχθαι. ἀλλὰ μὴν γε καὶ καθ’ ἴνα ἢν οἰκίαιν εὐρεθῇ κύων τετελευτηκός, ἔστωται πάντες οἱ κατ’ οίκον ὄντες ὅλον τὸ σῶμα καὶ πολυοῦνται πένθος, καὶ τὸ τούτον θαυμασιώτερον, ἐὰν οίνους ἢ σίτος ἢ τι τῶν πρὸς τὸν βίον ἀναγκαῖον τυγχάνῃ κείμενον ἐν τοῖς οἰκῆμασιν οὐ τὸ ξῆρ ἐξέλπε τι τῶν θηρίων, ὅπερ ἢν ἐτὶ χρήσασθαι πρὸς οὐδὲν αὐτοῖς ὑπομείναι. καὶ ἐν ἀλλή χώρᾳ πον στρατευόμενοι τύχωσι, λυτρούμενοι τοὺς αἰλουροὺς καὶ τοὺς ἑρακές κατάγουσιν εἰς Ἀγυπτόν καὶ τοῦτο πράττουσιν ἐνίοτε τῶν 286
Romans the appellation of "friend" and the people were exercising all zeal in courting the favour of the embassy from Italy which was then visiting Egypt and, in their fear, were intent upon giving no cause for complaint or war, when one of the Romans killed a cat and the multitude rushed in a crowd to his house, neither the officials sent by the king to beg the man off nor the fear of Rome which all the people felt were enough to save the man from punishment, even though his act had been an accident. And this incident we relate, not from hearsay, but we saw it with our own eyes on the occasion of the visit we made to Egypt.

84. But if what has been said seems to many incredible and like a fanciful tale, what is to follow will appear far more extraordinary. Once, they say, when the inhabitants of Egypt were being hard pressed by a famine, many in their need laid hands upon their fellows, yet not a single man was even accused of having partaken of the sacred animals. Furthermore, whenever a dog is found dead in any house, every inmate of it shaves his entire body and goes into mourning, and what is more astonishing than this, if any wine or grain or any other thing necessary to life happens to be stored in the building where one of these animals has expired, they would never think of using it thereafter for any purpose. And if they happen to be making a military expedition in another country, they ransom the captive cats and hawks and bring them back to Egypt, and this they do sometimes even when their supply of money

1 On the date of this incident, cp. the Introduction, p. viii.
4 ἐφοδίων αὐτοῦ ὑπολεπόντων. τὰ δὲ γινόμενα περὶ τὸν Ἀπιῶν τὸν ἐν Μέμφει καὶ τὸν Μνεύων τὸν ἐν Ἡλιούπόλει καὶ τὰ περὶ τὸν τράγον τὸν ἐν Μένδητι, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις τὸν κροκόδειλον τὸν κατὰ τὴν Μοίριδος λέμην καὶ τὸν λέοντα τὸν τρεφόμενον ἐν τῇ καλουμένῃ Λεόντων πόλει, καὶ πολλὰ τοιαῦτα ἔτερα, διηγήσασθαι μὲν εὐχερές, ἀπαγγείλαντα δὲ πιστευθῆναι παρὰ τοῖς μὴν τεθεαμένοις δύσκολον. ταῦτα γὰρ ἐν ἱεροῖς μὲν περιβόλοις τρέφεται, θεραπεύοντι δὲ αὐτὰ πολλὰ τῶν ἀξιολόγων ἀνδρῶν τροφάς διδόντες τὰς πολυτελεστάτας. σεμίδαλιν γὰρ ἢ χόνδρων ἔφοντες ἐν γάλακτι καὶ πέμματα παντοδαπὰ μελιτὶ φυρώντες, καὶ κρέα χίνεια τὰ μὲν ἔφοντες, τὰ δὲ ὄπτωντες ἀνεκλείπτως χορηγοῦσι, τοῖς δὲ ὁμοφάγοις πολλὰ τῶν ὅρνεων θηρεύοντες παραβάλλουσι, καὶ τὸ καθόλου μεγάλην εἰσφέρονται

6 σπουδὴν εἰς τὴν πολυτέλειαν τῆς τροφῆς. λουτρός τε ἡλιαροίς χρώμενοι καὶ μύροις τοῖς κρατίστοις ἀλείφοντες καὶ παντοδαπὰς εὐωδίας θυμώντες οὐ διαλείπουσι, στραμνάς τε τὰς πολυτελεστάς καὶ κόσμων εὐπρεπῆ χορηγοῦσι, καὶ τῶν συνουσίων ὅπως τυγχάνῃ κατὰ φύσιν φροντίδα ποιοῦνται τὴν μεγίστην, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις ὁμοφύλους θηλείας ἐκάστῳ τῶν ζῴων τὰς εὐειδεστάτας συντρέφουσι, ἃς παλλακίδας προσαγορεῦουσι καὶ θεραπεύουσι ταῖς μεγίσταις

7 δαπάναις καὶ λειτουργίαις. ἐὰν δὲ τελευτησῇ τι, πενθοῦσι μὲν ἵσα τοῖς ἀγαπητῶν τέκνων στερομένοις, θάπτουσι δὲ οὗ κατὰ τὴν ἑαυτῶν ὑπαμμ, ἀλλὰ πολὺ τὴν ἄξιαν τῆς ἑαυτῶν

1 zu Dindorf: τις.
for the journey is running short. As for the ceremonies connected with the Apis of Memphis, the Mnevis of Heliopolis and the goat of Mendes, as well as with the crocodile of the Lake of Moeris, the lion kept in the City of Lions (Leontopolis), as it is called, and many other ceremonies like them, they could easily be described, but the writer would scarcely be believed by any who had not actually witnessed them. For these animals are kept in sacred enclosures and are cared for by many men of distinction who offer them the most expensive fare; for they provide, with unfailing regularity, the finest wheaten flour or wheat-groats seethed in milk, every kind of sweetmeat made with honey, and the meat of ducks, either boiled or baked, while for the carnivorous animals birds are caught and thrown to them in abundance, and, in general, great care is given that they have an expensive fare. They are continually bathing the animals in warm water, anointing them with the most precious ointments, and burning before them every kind of fragrant incense; they furnish them with the most expensive coverlets and with splendid jewellery, and exercise the greatest care that they shall enjoy sexual intercourse according to the demands of nature; furthermore, with every animal they keep the most beautiful females of the same genus, which they call his concubines and attend to at the cost of heavy expense and assiduous service. When any animal dies they mourn for it as deeply as do those who have lost a beloved child, and bury it in a manner not in keeping with their ability but

1 The bulls Apis and Mnevis are described in the following chapter.
8 αὐθίας ὑπερβάλλοντες. μετὰ γὰρ τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου τελευτήν, Πτολεμαίου τοῦ Δάγου παρελθοῦσας ἁρτι τὴν Δαμνίου, ἔτυχεν εἰς Μέμφει τελευτήσας δὴ Ἀπίς γῆρα: δὲ τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν ἔχων αὐτοῦ τῆς ἁτομασμένης χορηγίαν, οὕσαν πάνω πολλὴν, εἰς ταφὴν ἀπασχὼν ἐδαπάνησε καὶ παρὰ τοῦ Πτολεμαίου πεντήκοντα ἀργυρίου τάλαντα προσδεναίσατο. καὶ καθ᾿ ἡμᾶς δὲ τινες τῶν τὰ ξύλα ταῦτα τρεφόντων εἰσὶ τὰς ταφὰς αὐτῶν οὐκ ἔλαττον τῶν ἐκατὸν τάλαντων διδαπανήκασιν.

85. Προσβεβουν δὲ τοῖς εἰρημένοις τὰ λειπόμενα τῶν γνωμένων περὶ τὸν ἱερὸν τάφον τῶν ὄνομαζόμενον Ἀπίων. ὅταν γὰρ τελευτήσας ταφῆ μεγαλοπρεπῶς, ξητοῦσιν οἱ περὶ ταῦτα ιτείς ιερεῖς μόσχον ἔχουσα κατὰ τὸ σῶμα παράσημα 2 τὰ παραπλήσια τῷ προοπάρξαντι; ὅταν δ᾿ εὑρεθῇ, τὰ μὲν πλῆθη τοῦ πενθοῦς ἀπολύσεται, τὸν δ᾿ ἰερέων οἷς ἐστὶν ἐπιμελεῖς ἄγουσι τῶν μόσχων; τὸ μὲν πρῶτον εἰς Νεῖλον τόλμην, ἐν ἦ τρέφουσιν αὐτὸν ἐν ἦμέρας τετταράκοντα, ἔπειτ᾿ εἰς θαλαμηγὸν ναῦν οἴκημα κεχουσμενόν ἔχουσαν ἐμβιβάσαντες ὡς θεοὶ ἀνάγουσιν εἰς 3 Μέμφιν εἰς τὸ τοῦ Ἡφαίστου τέμενος. ἐν δὲ ταῖς προερημέναις τετταράκονθ' ἡμέραις μόνον ὁρῶσιν αὐτῶν αἱ γυναῖκες κατὰ πρόσωπον ἱστάμεναι καὶ δεικνύοσιν ἀνασυρόμεναι τὰ ἐαυτῶν γεννητικὰ μόρια, τὸν δ᾿ ἀλλον χρόνον ἄπαντα κεκαλυμμένον ἔστιν εἰς οὕνει αὐτὸς ἔρχεσθαι 4 τούτῳ τῷ θεῷ. τῆς δὲ τοῦ θοὸς τοῦτον τιμής αὐτίαν ἐνιοῦζεν λέγοντες ὅτι τελευτήσαντος Ὀσίριδος εἰς τούτων ἡ ψυχή μετέστη, καὶ διὰ 290
going far beyond the value of their estates. For instance, after the death of Alexander and just subsequently to the taking over of Egypt by Ptolemy the son of Lagus, it happened that the Apis in Memphis died of old age; and the man who was charged with the care of him spent on his burial not only the whole of the very large sum which had been provided for the animal's maintenance, but also borrowed in addition fifty talents\(^1\) of silver from Ptolemy. And even in our own day some of the keepers of these animals have spent on their burial not less than one hundred talents.

85. There should be added to what has been said what still remains to be told concerning the ceremonies connected with the sacred bull called Apis. After he has died and has received a magnificent burial, the priests who are charged with this duty seek out a young bull which has on its body markings similar to those of its predecessor; and when it has been found the people cease their mourning and the priests who have the care of it first take the young bull to Nilopolis, where it is kept forty days, and then, putting it on a state barge fitted out with a gilded cabin, conduct it as a god to the sanctuary of Hephaestus at Memphis. During these forty days only women may look at it; these stand facing it and pulling up their garments show their genitals, but henceforth they are forever prevented from coming into the presence of this god. Some explain the origin of the honour accorded this bull in this way, saying that at the death of Osiris his soul passed into this

\(^1\) The intrinsic value of a talent was about one thousand dollars or two hundred and fifty pounds sterling.
Diodorus of Sicily

tauta diateleis mekri tov vun aiei kata tais anadeixeis autovn mbediastamene pro tovz meta-
5 yneuesterous. Einoi de legouni telleutiasantos
Thetairidos upo Tufonos ta meli sunagagousan
tin 'Iswin eis bovon xuline embalein bousina
peribeblimenen, kai dia tovto kai tin polin
oynomasthai Boustrin. polla de kai alla
muholologousi per ito 'Apidos, uper oin makroin
ygoymphia ta 1 kai' ekastov diezinenai.

86. Panata de theamastia kai meizou pistewos
epiteleontes ois kai 'Agyntou eis ta timomena
zora pollsan aporion paragekontai tois tas aitias
2 tovtovn yezovsin. ois mev ouv iereis autovn apor-
hrton ti dogma peri tovtovn exousin, o proeirei-
kamen en tois theolologusinou upi auton, ois
de pollloi tov 'Agyntwv treis aitias tauntas apo-
didousin, fun tin mev protin xubhni pantelwos
3 kai tis archaikes aplotonitos oikeivan. fasiv gar
tous ekeiarcheis geonomeinous theous, dlygous ointas
kai katarchumeneus upo tov plhous kai tis
anomias tov vynov thn thronov, omois xopwv tis
xwv, kai dia tov toiovtov tropou diaforgein tin
omopita kai biav autovn ysteron de tov kata
ton kousmon pantoon krateiasanta, kai tois aitiois
tis ekeiarches sotrhias xarin apodidontas, afies-

1 t'h Hertlein: to.

1 The Apis Bull was considered the "living soul of Osiris" and, according to Plutarch (On Isis and Osiris, 43), was begotten, not by a bull, but by a "generative ray of light, which streamed from the moon and rested upon a cow when she was in heat." Apis was a black bull with a white blaze

292
animal, and therefore up to this day has always passed into its successors at the times of the manifestation of Osiris; but some say that when Osiris died at the hands of Typhon Isis collected the members of his body and put them in an ox (bous), made of wood covered over with fine linen, and because of this the city was called Bousiris. Many other stories are told about the Apis, but we feel that it would be a long task to recount all the details regarding them.

86. Since all the practices of the Egyptians in their worship of animals are astonishing and beyond belief, they occasion much difficulty for those who would seek out their origins and causes. Now their priests have on this subject a teaching which may not be divulged, as we have already stated in connection with their accounts of the gods; but the majority of the Egyptians give the following three causes, the first of which belongs entirely to the realm of fable and is in keeping with the simplicity of primitive times. They say, namely, that the gods who came into existence in the beginning, being few in number and overpowered by the multitude and the lawlessness of earth-born men, took on the forms of certain animals, and in this way saved themselves from the savagery and violence of mankind; but afterwards, when they had established their power over all things in the universe, out of gratitude to the animals which had been responsible for their salvation at the outset,

upon his forehead; the appearance of a new Apis Bull was regarded as a new manifestation of Osiris upon earth (cp. E. A. W. Budge, Osiris and the Egyptian Resurrection, 1. pp. 60, 397 ff.).

2 In chap. 21. 3 i.e. the Giants.
Diodorus of Sicily

ρώσαν τὰς φύσεις αὐτῶν οἷς ἀφωμολόθησαν, καὶ καταδείξας τοὺς ἀνθρώπους τὸ τρέφειν μὲν ζῴα τα πολυτελῶς, θάπτειν δὲ τελευτήσαντα.

4. Δευτέρων δὲ λέγουσιν αἰτίαν, ὅτι τὸ παλαιὸν οἶ καὶ Αἴγυπτον διὰ τὴν ἀταξίαν τὴν ἑν τῷ στρατόπεδῳ πολλάς μάχαις ὑπὸ τῶν πλησιοχώρων ἡττηθέντες ἐπενόησαν σύνθημα φορεῖν ἐπὶ τῶν ταχμάτων. φασίν οὖν κατασκευάσαντας εἰκόνας τῶν ζῴων ἀ νῦν τιμώσει, καὶ πήξαντες ἐπὶ σαυνίων, φορεῖν τοὺς ἡγεμόνας, καὶ διὰ τούτου τοῦ τρόπου ἡγορίζειν ἔκαστον ἢ εἰ ἐν συντάξεωι μεγάλα δὲ συμβαλλομένης αὐτοῖς τῆς διὰ τούτων εὐταξίας πρὸς τὴν νίκην, δόξαι τῆς σωτηρίας αἰτία γεγονέναι τὰ ζῷα χάριν οὖν αὐτοῖς τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἀποδοῦναι βουλομένους εἰς ἔθος κατατάξαι τῶν εἰκασθέντων τὸτε μηδὲν κτάνειν, ἀλλὰ σεβομένους ἀπονέμειν τὴν προερμήμενην ἐπιμέλειαν καὶ τιμῆν.

87. Τρίτην δὲ αἰτίαν φέρουσι τῆς ἀμφισβητήσεως τῶν ζῴων τὴν χρείαν, ἢν ἔκαστον αὐτῶν προσφέρεται πρὸς τὴν ὁφέλειαν τοῦ κοινοῦ βίου καὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων. τὴν μὲν γὰρ θηλειαν βοῶν ἐργάτας τίκτειν καὶ τὴν ἐλαφρὰν τῆς γῆς ἄροιν, τὰ δὲ πρόβατα διὰ μὲν τίκτειν καὶ τοῖς ἔριοις τὴν σκέπην ἅμα καὶ τὴν εὐσχημοσύνην περιποιεῖν, τὸ δὲ γάλακτι καὶ τῷ τυρῳ τροφᾶς παρέχεσθαι προσημεῖς ἅμα καὶ δαμφύλεις. τὸν δὲ κύνα πρὸς τε τὰς θήρας εἶναι χρήσιμως καὶ πρὸς τὴν φυλακήν διόπερ τὸν θεοῦ τὸν παρ' αὐτοῖς καλούμενον Ἄνουβίων παρεισάγουσι καὶ εἶναι κεφαλήν, ἐμφαίνοντες ὅτι σωματοφύλαξ
they made sacred those kinds whose form they had assumed, and instructed mankind to maintain them in a costly fashion while living and to bury them at death.

The second cause which they give is this—that the early Egyptians, after having been defeated by their neighbours in many battles because of the lack of order in their army, conceived the idea of carrying standards before the several divisions. Consequently, they say, the commanders fashioned figures of the animals which they now worship and carried them fixed on lances, and by this device every man knew where his place was in the array. And since the good order resulting therefrom greatly contributed to victory, they thought that the animals had been responsible for their deliverance; and so the people, wishing to show their gratitude to them, established the custom of not killing any one of the animals whose likeness had been fashioned at that time, but of rendering to them, as objects of worship, the care and honour which we have previously described.

87. The third cause which they adduce in connection with the dispute in question is the service which each one of these animals renders for the benefit of community life and of mankind. The cow, for example, bears workers and ploughs the lighter soil; the sheep lamb twice in the year and provide by their wool both protection for the body and its decorous covering, while by their milk and cheese they furnish food that is both appetizing and abundant. Again, the dog is useful both for the hunt and for man's protection, and this is why they represent the god whom they call Anubis with a dog's head, showing

1 i.e. oxen.
3 ἢν τῶν περὶ τὸν Ὅσιριν καὶ τὴν Ἰσιν. ἦν οὖν δὲ φασὶ τῆς Ἰσιδος προηγουμένους τοὺς κύνας καθ' ὑπὸ καίρων ἐξήτει τὸν Ὅσιριν, τὰ τε θηρία καὶ τοὺς ἀπαντῶντας ἀπείροις, ἔτι δ' εὐνοϊκῶς δικαιομένους συζητεῖν ὧρωνεύοις. διὸ καὶ τοῖς Ἰσιδοῖς προπορεύεσθαι τοὺς κύνας κατὰ τὴν πομπὴν, τῶν καταδείκτων τοῦτο τὸ νόμον
4 σημαινόντων τὴν παλαιὰν τοῦ ξύλου χάριν. καὶ τὸν μὲν αἰλουρον πρὸς τὰς ἀσπίδας θανάσιμα δακτυλῴας εὐθετον ὑπάρχειν καὶ τὰ λαθα δάκητα τῶν ἑρπετῶν, τὸν δ' ἵγνεύμονα τῶν κροκοδείλων παρατηροῦντα τοὺς γόνους τὰ καταληφθέντα τῶν φώνων συντρίβειν, καὶ ταῦτ' ἐπιμελῶς καὶ ψιλο-
5 τίμως ἐνεργείν μιθήν ὑφελούμενον. τούτῳ δ' εἰ μὴ συνέβαινε ἡγεσθαι, διὰ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν γεν-

νωμένων θηρίων ἄβατον ἄν γενέσθαι τὸν ποταμὸν. ἀπόλλυσθαι δὲ καὶ τοὺς κροκοδείλους αὐτοὺς ὑπὸ τοῦ προειρημένου ξύλου παραδόξως καὶ παντελῶς ἀπιστουμένη μεθόδως τοὺς γὰρ ἰγνεύ-

μονας κυλιμένους ἐν τῷ πτηλῷ χασκόντων αὐτῶν καθ' ὑπὸ τῆς κεραυνοῦ καθεύδως εἰσπηδὰν διὰ τοῦ στόματος εἰς μέσον τὸ σώματος επεί τὰ συντόμως τὴν κοιλίαν διαφαγόντας αὐτοὺς μὲν ἀκινδύνως ἐξειναι, τοὺς δὲ τούτο παθῶντας
6 νεκροὺς ποιεῖν παραχρήμα. τῶν δ' ὀρνέων τὴν μὲν ἵππων χρησίμην ὑπάρχειν πρὸς τε τοὺς ὀφείς καὶ τὰς ἀκρίδας καὶ τὰς κάμπτας, τῶν δ' ἱερακα πρὸς τοὺς σκορπίους καὶ κεράστας καὶ τὰ μικρὰ τῶν δακέτων θηρίων τὰ μάλιστα τοὺς ἀνθρώ-
7 πους ἀναροῦντα. ἦν οὖν δὲ λέγουσιν τιμᾶσθαι τὸν ξύλου τοῦτο διὰ τὸ τοὺς μάντεις οἰκώνοις τοῖς ἱεραξὶ χρωμένους προλέγειν τὰ μέλλοντα τοῖς 296
in this way that he was the bodyguard of Osiris and Isis. There are some, however, who explain that dogs guided Isis during her search for Osiris and protected her from wild beasts and wayfarers, and that they helped her in her search, because of the affection they bore for her, by baying; and this is the reason why at the Festival of Isis the procession is led by dogs, those who introduced the rite showing forth in this way the kindly service rendered by this animal of old. The cat is likewise useful against asps with their deadly bite and the other reptiles that sting, while the ichneumon keeps a look-out for the newly-laid seed of the crocodile and crushes the eggs left by the female, doing this carefully and zealously even though it receives no benefit from the act. Were this not done, the river would have become impassable because of the multitude of beasts that would be born. And the crocodiles themselves are also killed by this animal in an astonishing and quite incredible manner; for the ichneumons roll themselves over and over in the mud, and when the crocodiles go to sleep on the land with their mouths open they jump down their mouths into the centre of their body; then, rapidly gnawing through the bowels, they get out unscathed themselves and at the same time kill their victims instantly.¹ And of the sacred birds the ibis is useful as a protector against the snakes, the locusts, and the caterpillars, and the hawk against the scorpions, horned serpents, and the small animals of noxious bite which cause the greatest destruction of men. But some maintain that the hawk is honoured because it is used as a bird of omen by the soothsayers in predicting to the

¹ Strabo (17. 1. 39) gives much the same account.
8 Αἰγυπτίοις. τινὲς δὲ φασιν ἐν τοίς ἀρχαῖοις χρόνοις ἱέρακα βιβλίων ἐνεγκεῖν εἰς θῆβας τοῖς ἱερεύσι φοινικῷ ράμματι περειλλημένον, ἔχουν γεγραμμένας τὰς τῶν θεῶν θεραπείας τε καὶ τιμᾶς: διὸ καὶ τοὺς ἱερογραμματεῖς φορεῖν φοινικῷ ράμματι καὶ πτερόν ἱέρακος ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς. τὸν δὲ ἀντὸν Θῆβαίου τιμῶσι διὰ τὸ βασιλικὸν εἶναι δοκεῖν τούτο τὸ ζῷον καὶ τοῦ Δίου ἀξιόν.

88. Τὸν δὲ τράγον ὑπεθέωσαν, καθάπερ καὶ παρὰ τοῖς "Ελλησι τετεμήσθαι λέγουσι τῶν Πρίαπου, διὰ τὸ γεννητικὸν μόριον" τὸ μὲν γὰρ ζῷον εἶναι τοῦτο κατωφερέστατον πρὸς τὰς συνουσίας, τὸ δὲ μόριον τοῦ σῶματος τὸ τῆς γενέσεως αἰτίων τιμᾶσθαι προσηκόντως, ὡς ἄν υπάρχον ἀρχέγονον τῆς τῶν ζῴων φύσεως. καθόλου δὲ τὸ αἰδοῦν οὐκ Αἰγυπτίους μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων οὐκ ὅλως καθιερωκέναι κατὰ τὰς τελετάς, ὡς αἰτίων τῆς τῶν ζῴων γενέσεως, τοὺς τὰς οἰείς τοὺς παραλάβοντας τὰς πατρικὰς ἱερωσύνας κατ᾽ Ἀἰγυπτον τοῦτον τῶν θεῶν πρῶτον μνεῖσθαι. καὶ τοὺς Δίους δὲ καὶ τοὺς Σατύρους φασίν ἵνακα τῆς αὐτῆς αἰτίας τιμᾶσθαι παρ᾽ ἀνθρώποις. διὰ καὶ τὰς εἰκόνας αὐτῶν ἀνατιθέναι τοὺς πλείστους ἐν τοῖς ιεροῖς ἐντεταμένας καὶ τῇ τοῦ τράγου φύσει παραπλησίᾳ: τὸ γὰρ ζῷον τοῦτο παραδεδομέναι πρὸς τὰς συνουσίας υπάρχειν ἐνεργέστατον ἐκείνοις ὑπὸ διὰ ταύτης τῆς ἐμφάσεως χάριν ἀποδιδόναι περὶ τῆς πολύτεκνης τῆς ἑαυτῶν.

1 διὰ Vogel: διάτερ Vulgate, Bekker, Dindorf.
2 ἐκείνοις Bekker, Vogel: ἐκείνοις Vulgate, Dindorf.

298
Egyptians events which are to come. Others, however, say that in primitive times a hawk brought to the priests in Thebes a book wrapped about with a purple band, which contained written directions concerning the worship of the gods and the honours due to them; and it is, for this reason, they add, that the sacred scribes wear on their heads a purple band and the wing of a hawk. The eagle also is honoured by the Thebans because it is believed to be a royal animal and worthy of Zeus.

88. They have deified the goat, just as the Greeks are said to have honoured Priapus, because of the generative member; for this animal has a very great propensity for copulation, and it is fitting that honour be shown to that member of the body which is the cause of generation, being, as it were, the primal author of all animal life. And, in general, not only the Egyptians but not a few other peoples as well have in the rites they observe treated the male member as sacred, on the ground that it is the cause of the generation of all creatures; and the priests in Egypt who have inherited their priestly offices from their fathers are initiated first into the mysteries of this god. And both the Panes and the Satyrs, they say, are worshipped by men for the same reason; and this is why most peoples set up in their sacred places statues of them showing the phallus erect and resembling a goat's in nature, since according to tradition this animal is most efficient in copulation; consequently, by representing these creatures in such fashion, the dedicants are returning thanks to them for their own numerous offspring.

1 Priapus is discussed in Book 4. 6.
4 Τοὺς δὲ ταύρους τοὺς ἱεροῖς, λέγω δὲ τὸν τε Ἀπειν καὶ τὸν Μνείων, τιμᾶσθαι παραπλησίως τοῖς θεοῖς, Ὁσίριδος καταδείξαντος, ἀμα μὲν διὰ τὴν τῆς γεωργίας χρείαν, ἀμα δὲ καὶ διὰ τὸ τῶν εὐρόντων τοὺς καρποὺς τὴν δόξαν ταῖς τούτων ἐργασίαις παραδόσιμον γεγονέναι τοῖς μεταγενεστέροις εἰς ἄπαντα τὸν αἰῶνα. τοὺς δὲ πυρροὺς βοῦς συγχωρηθῆναι θύειν διὰ τὸ δοκεῖν τοιοῦτον τῷ χρώματι γεγονέναι Τυφώνα τὸν ἐπιβουλεύσαντα μὲν Ὁσίριδι, τυχόντα δὲ τιμω-δίς ὑπὸ τῆς Ἰσιδοῦς διὰ τὸν ταύδρος φῶνον. καὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων δὲ τοὺς ὀμοχρωμάτους τῷ Τυφώνι τῷ παλαιῷ ύπὸ τῶν βασιλέων φασὶ θύεσθαι πρὸς τῷ τάφῳ τοῦ Ὁσίριδος· τῶν μὲν οὖν Ἀγγυπτίων ὁλίγους τινὰς εὑρίσκεσθαι πυρροὺς, τῶν δὲ ξένων τοὺς πλείους· διὸ καὶ περὶ τῆς Βουσιρίδος ἐκκατονίας παρὰ τοῖς Ἐλλησιων ἔνσχυσαι τὸν μύθον, οὐ τοῦ βασιλέως ὄνομαξι-μένου Βουσιρίδος, ἀλλὰ τοῦ Ὁσίριδος τάφου ταύτην ἔχοντος τὴν προσηγορίαν κατὰ τὴν τῶν ἐγχωρίων διάλεκτον.

6 Τοὺς δὲ λύκους τιμᾶσθαι λέγοντοι διὰ τὴν πρὸς τοὺς κύνας τῆς φύσεως ὂμοιότητας. βραχὺ γαρ διαλάττονται αὐτοὺς ταῖς φύσεις ταῖς ἐπιμελεῖαις ἐμοκονεῖν ἐξ ἀλλήλων. φέρουσι δὲ Ἀγγυπτίοι καὶ ἄλλην αἰτίαν τῆς τοῦ ξίφου τούτου τιμής μυθικωτέραν τῷ γὰρ παλαιῶν φασὶ ἑτὶς Ἰσιδοῦς μετὰ τοῦ παιδὸς Ὠμου μελλοῦσης

1 τῷ Vogel: τού B, Bekker, Dindorf.
The sacred bulls—I refer to the Apis and the Mnevis—are honoured like the gods, as Osiris commanded, both because of their use in farming and also because the fame of those who discovered the fruits of the earth is handed down by the labours of these animals to succeeding generations for all time. Red oxen, however, may be sacrificed, because it is thought that this was the colour of Typhon, who plotted against Osiris and was then punished by Isis for the death of her husband. Men also, if they were of the same colour as Typhon, were sacrificed, they say, in ancient times by the kings at the tomb of Osiris; however, only a few Egyptians are now found red in colour, but the majority of such are non-Egyptians, and this is why the story spread among the Greeks of the slaying of foreigners by Busiris, although Busiris was not the name of the king but of the tomb of Osiris, which is called that in the language of the land.\footnote{Herodotus (2. 45) denies the existence of human sacrifices and there was probably none in his day. But the sacrifice of captives is attested by the monuments of the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Dynasties, and J. G. Frazer (The Golden Bough, 2. pp. 254 ff.) finds in this account of Diodorus and a similar story given by Plutarch (On Isis and Osiris, 73), on the authority of Manetho, evidence for the annual sacrifice of a red-haired man to prevent the failure of the crops.}
Διαγωνίζεσθαι πρὸς Τυφώνα παραγενέσθαι βοηθῶν ἐξ ἄδου τὸν Ὄσιριν τῷ τέκνῳ καὶ τῇ γυναικί λύκῳ τὴν ὄψιν ὁμοιωθέντα· ἀναρεθέντος οὖν τοῦ Τυφώνος τοὺς κρατήσαντας καταδείξαι τιμῶν τὸ ξύον οὗ τῆς ὁψεως ἐπιφανείης τὸ νυκτὶ 7 ἐπηκολούθησεν. ἦνοι δὲ λέγουσι, τῶν Ἀθηναίων στρατευσάντων ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀὔγουστον, ἅθροισθέοις παραπληθεὶς ἄγελας λύκων ἐκδιώχθαι τοὺς ἐπελθόντας ἐκ τῆς χώρας ύπὲρ πόλιν τῆς ὄνυμαξομένην Ἐλεφαντίνην διδ καὶ τὸν τε νομὸν ἑκείνον Δυκαπολέτην ὄνυμασθήμαι καὶ τὰ ζώα τὰ προειρημένα τυχεῖν τῆς τιμῆς.

89. Δείπτεται δ' ἡμῖν εἰπεῖν περὶ τῆς τῶν κροκοδείλων ἀποθεώσεως, ὑπὲρ ἡς οἱ πλεῖστοι διαποροῦσι πάσι τῶν θηρίων τοῦτων σαρκοφαγοῦντων τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἐνομοθετήθη τιμῶν ἦσα 2 θεοῖς τοὺς τὰ δευτέρα ταῖς διατιθέντας. φασίν οὖν τῆς χώρας τῆς ὁχυρώτητα παρέχεσθαι μὴ μόνον τῶν ποταμῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πολὺ μᾶλλον τοὺς ἐν αὐτῷ κροκοδείλοις· διὸ καὶ τοὺς ληστὰς τοὺς τε ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀραβίας καὶ Διβύης μὴ τοιμῶν διανύχεσθαι τὸν Νείλον, φοβουμένους τὸ πλῆθος τῶν θηρίων· τούτῳ δ' οὐκ ἂν ποτε γενέσθαι πολεμουμένων τῶν ξών καὶ διὰ τῶν σαγινευόντων 3 ἀρδήν ἀναρεθέντων. ἐστὶ δὲ καὶ ἄλλος λόγος ἱστορούμενος περὶ τῶν θηρίων τούτων. φασὶ γὰρ τινὲς τῶν ἀρχαίων τινὰ βασιλέως, τῶν προσαγορευόμενοι Μηῖᾶν, διωκόμενοι ὑπὸ τῶν ἰδίων κυνῶν καταφυγεῖν εἰς τὴν Μοῖριδος καλομενήν λίμνην, ἑπειθ' ὑπὸ κροκοδείλου παραδόξως ἀνα-

1 τε deleted by Wesseling and all subsequent editors; retained by Vogel.
Horus, was about to commence her struggle with Typhon, Osiris came from Hades to help his son and his wife, having taken on the guise of a wolf; and so, upon the death of Typhon, his conquerors commanded men to honour the animal upon whose appearance victory followed. But some say that once, when the Ethiopians had marched against Egypt, a great number of bands of wolves (*lykoi*) gathered together and drove the invaders out of the country, pursuing them beyond the city named Elephantine; and therefore that nome was given the name Lycopolite and these animals were granted the honour in question.

89. It remains for us to speak of the deification of crocodiles, a subject regarding which most men are entirely at a loss to explain how, when these beasts eat the flesh of men, it ever became the law to honour like the gods creatures of the most revolting habits. Their reply is, that the security of the country is ensured, not only by the river, but to a much greater degree by the crocodiles in it; that for this reason the robbers that infest both Arabia and Libya do not dare to swim across the Nile, because they fear the beasts, whose number is very great; and that this would never have been the case if war were continually being waged against the animals and they had been utterly destroyed by hunters dragging the river with nets. But still another account is given of these beasts. For some say that once one of the early kings whose name was Menas, being pursued by his own dogs, came in his flight to the Lake of Moeris, as it is called, where, strange as it may seem, a crocodile took him on his

---

1 i.e. "of the City of the Wolves."
DIODORUS OF SICILY

ληφθέντα εἰς τὸ πέραν ἀπενεχθῆναι. τῆς δὲ σωτηρίας χάριν ἀποδιδόναι βουλόμενον τῷ ζῷῳ πόλιν κτίσαι πλησίον ὄνομάσαντα Κροκόδειλων καταδείξαι δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἐγχωρίοις ὡς θεοὺς τιμῶν ταύτα τὰ ξούν καὶ τὴν λίμνην αὐτοῖς εἰς τροφὴν ἀναθείναι ἐνταῦθα δὲ καὶ τὸν τάφον ἐαυτῷ κατασκευάσαι πυραμίδα τετράπλευρον ἑπιστησάτα, καὶ τὸν θαυμαζόμενον παρὰ πολλοῖς λαβύρινθον οἰκοδομήσαι.

4. Παραπλησία δὲ καὶ περὶ τῶν ἄλλων λέγουσιν, ὑπὲρ δὲν τὰ καθ' ἐκαστὸν μακρὸν ἢν εἰς γράφειν, ὅτι γὰρ τῆς ὁφελείας ἐνεκα τῆς εἰς τοὺς βίους οὖτως ἑαυτοὺς εἰδίκασα, φανερῶν εἶναι πάσιν ἐκ τοῦ πολλά τῶν ἐδωδίμων παρ' αὐτοῖς ἐνίοις μὴ προσφέρεσθαι. τινὰς μὲν γὰρ φακῶν, τινὰς δὲ κυνῶν, ἐνίοις δὲ τυρών ἢ κρομμύων ἢ τινῶν ἄλλων βρωμάτων τὸ παράπαν μὴ γεύσασαι, πολλῶν ὑπαρχόντων κατὰ τὴν Αὐγουστίου, δῆλον ποιοῦντας διὸτι διδακτέοι ἐστὶν ἑαυτοῦς τῶν χρησίμων ἀπέχεσθαι, καὶ διὸτι πάντων πάντα εὐθιόντων οὐδὲν ἄν ἐξήρκεσε τῶν ἀναλισκο-μένων. καὶ ἐτέρας δ' αἰτίας φέροντες τινὲς φασὶν ἐπὶ τῶν παλαιῶν βασιλέων πολλάκις ἀφισταμένου τοῦ πλῆθους καὶ συμφρονοῦντος κατὰ τῶν ἡγουμένων, τῶν βασιλέων τινὰ συνέστη διαφέροντα διελέσθαι μὲν τὴν χώραν εἰς πλέον μέρη, καθ' ἐκαστὸν δ' αὐτῶν καταδείξαι τοῖς ἐγχωρίοις σέβεσθαι τι ξόουν ἢ τροφῆς τινὸς μὴ γενέσθαι, ὅπως ἐκάστων τὸ μὲν παρ' αὐτοῖς

1 πάσιν Vogel: φασὶν Vulgate, Bekker, Dindorf.
2 ἑαυτοῦς Vogel: αὐτοῦς Vulgate, Bekker, Dindorf.

1 In chap. 61 the builder of the Labyrinth is Mendes.
back and carried him to the other side. Wishing to show his gratitude to the beast for saving him, he founded a city near the place and named it City of the Crocodiles; and he commanded the natives of the region to worship these animals as gods and dedicated the lake to them for their sustenance; and in that place he also constructed his own tomb, erecting a pyramid with four sides, and built the Labyrinth which is admired by many.¹

A similar diversity of customs exists, according to their accounts, with regard to everything else, but it would be a long task to set forth the details concerning them.² That they have adopted these customs for themselves because of the advantage accruing therefrom to their life is clear to all from the fact that there are those among them who will not touch many particular kinds of food. Some, for instance, abstain entirely from lentils, others from beans, and some from cheese or onions or certain other foods, there being many kinds of food in Egypt, showing in this way that men must be taught to deny themselves things that are useful, and that if all ate of everything the supply of no article of consumption would hold out. But some adduce other causes and say that, since under the early kings the multitude were often revolting and conspiring against their rulers, one of the kings who was especially wise divided the land into a number of parts and commanded the inhabitants of each to revere a certain animal or else not to eat a certain food, his thought being that, with each group of

¹ Herodotus (2. 35) sums up this matter by saying that the Egyptians "have made themselves customs and laws contrary to those of all other men."
DIODORUS OF SICILY

timómenon seboménon, tôn dè parà toús álllous áfieroménon katafrosoúnontos, meidéote ómouñoi-
6 saí dynamotaí pánutes òi kat' Aígypton. kai
totót ék tôn ápotelesmátov fanevdóv einai-
pántas gár toús plhsoioudous prós álllous
diaférēsthai, prosoikóptontas taìs eis tà proeirh-
ména paránomiai.

90. Férōusi dè kai tines toiautēn aitíain tís
tón xóon áfieróseos, sánagoménon gár en
árchh tón ántrwπωn ék tòu thēriάdous bión, tò
mén préton álllhlous katanthléin kai polēmēn,
αì tòu pléon dynáménon tòu ásbevnésteron kat-
stigúntos. metà dè taúta tòus tì ròmμh leipto-
méνous úpò toû sumfferōntos didachéntas áθrói-
ξesthai kai poîhstai sêmeiou éaautoi ék tò
ússteron kathierwβéntovn xóon prós dè toúto tò
sêmeion tòv òe deidiótovn suπtrachónvnon, óuk
eúkatafroßntovn tòv òe epítetbeménon gínwsshai. tò
2 süstíma: tò d' autò kai tòv állloun pioiównov
diastríμai mev tã plhðh kattà suπtímatà, tò dè
xóon tò tìs ùsfaléias ekástois genvménon aútovn
timón tuchéin isothéoun, òs tã mégiost eúhrγetikòs
dìster akhri tòn vûn xroíov tòv tòv Aígyptiów
èbhn diesthkonía tìmàv tòv par' éaautoi éx árchh
òv xóov kathierwbéntov.

Katholov dè fasí tòv Aígyptiów úpér tòv
állous ántrwπou eúχarístov diákeísthai pròs
páv tò énnergioù, nómiōntas meγísthn épη-
kouría einai tò bíw tòv ùmoibh tìs pròs tòv
ènnergías xármutos. dèλlov gár einai dióstè pántes
people revering what was honoured among themselves but despising what was sacred to all the rest, all the inhabitants of Egypt would never be able to be of one mind. And this purpose, they declare, is clear from the results; for every group of people is at odds with its neighbours, being offended at their violations of the customs mentioned above.

90. Some advance some such reason as the following for their deification of the animals. When men, they say, first ceased living like the beasts and gathered into groups, at the outset they kept devouring each other and warring among themselves, the more powerful ever prevailing over the weaker; but later those who were deficient in strength, taught by expediency, grouped together and took for the device upon their standard one of the animals which was later made sacred; then, when those who were from time to time in fear flocked to this symbol, an organized body was formed which was not to be despised by any who attacked it. And when everybody else did the same thing, the whole people came to be divided into organized bodies, and in the case of each the animal which had been responsible for its safety was accorded honours like those belonging to the gods, as having rendered to them the greatest service possible; and this is why to this day the several groups of the Egyptians differ from each other in that each group honours the animals which it originally made sacred.

In general, they say, the Egyptians surpass all other peoples in showing gratitude for every benefaction, since they hold that the return of gratitude to benefactors is a very great resource in life; for it is clear that all men will want to bestow their
Diodorus of Sicily

πρὸς εὐεργεσίαιν ὁμιλήσουσι τούτων μάλιστα παρ' ὃς ἀν ὅρωσι κάλλιστα θησαυρισθησομένας τὰς 3 χάριτας. διὰ δὲ τὰς αὐτὰς αἰτίας δοκοῦσιν Ἀλγυπτίοι τοὺς ἐαυτῶν βασιλείας προσκυνεῖν τε καὶ τιμᾶν ὡς πρὸς ἀληθείαν ἄντως θεοῦ, ἀμα μὲν οὐκ ἀνεῖ δαιμονίου τινὸς προνοεῖς νομίζοντες αὐτοὺς τετευχέναι τῆς τῶν ὅλων ἐξουσίας, ἀμα δὲ τοὺς βουλομένους τε καὶ δυναμένους τὰ μέγιστ' εὐεργετεῖν ἦγούμενοι θείας μετέχειν φύσεως.

4 Περὶ μὲν οὖν τῶν ἀφιερωμένων ζύων εἰ καὶ τεπλεονάκαμεν, ἀλλ' οὖν ἔγε τὰ μάλιστα θαυμαζόμενα τῶν παρ' Ἀλγυπτίοις νόμιμα διευκρίνηκαμεν.

91. Οὖν ἤκιστα δ' ἂν τις πυθόμενος τὰ περὶ τοὺς τετελευτηκότας νόμιμα τῶν Ἀλγυπτίων θαυμάσαι τῇ ἀδιότητα τῶν ἔθων. ὅταν γὰρ τις ἀποθάνῃ παρ' αὐτοῖς, οἱ μὲν συγγενεῖς καὶ φίλοι πάντες καταπλαττόμενοι πηλῶ τὰς κεφαλὰς περιέρχονται τὴν πόλιν θρηνούντες, ἐσωτερικῶς τὰ καί τύχη τὸ σώμα. οὐ μὴν οὖν λοιπῶν οὔτε οἶνου οὔτε τῆς ἁλλης τροφῆς ἀξιολόγου μεταλαμβανομένους, οὔτε ἐσθῆτας λαμπρὰς περιβάλλονται.

2 τῶν δὲ ταφῶν τρεῖς ὑπάρχουσι τάξεις, ἦ τε πολυτελεστάτη καὶ μέση καὶ τάπευστάτη. κατὰ μὲν οὖν τὴν πρώτην ἀναλίπκεσθαι φασιν ἄργυριον τάλαντον, κατὰ δὲ τὴν δευτέραν μᾶς εἴκοσι, κατὰ δὲ τὴν ἐστάτην παντελῶς ὀλίγον τι 3 δαπάνημα γίνεσθαι λέγουσιν. οἳ μὲν οὖν τὰ σῶματα θεραπεύουσι εἰς τεχνώτατον, τὴν ἐπιστήμην ταύτην εἰς γένους παρειληφότες οὗτοι δὲ γεφυρὶ ἐκάστου τῶν εἰς τὰς ταφὰς δαπανομένων τοῖς οἰκείοις τῶν τελευτησάντων προσενέγκαντες

308
benefactions preferably upon those who they see will most honourably treasure up the favours they bestow. And it is apparently on these grounds that the Egyptians prostrate themselves before their kings and honour them as being in very truth gods, holding, on the one hand, that it was not without the influence of some divine providence that these men have attained to the supreme power, and feeling, also, that such as have the will and the strength to confer the greatest benefactions share in the divine nature.

Now if we have dwelt over-long on the topic of the sacred animals, we have at least thoroughly considered those customs of the Egyptians that men most marvel at.

91. But not least will a man marvel at the peculiarity of the customs of the Egyptians when he learns of their usages with respect to the dead. For whenever anyone dies among them, all his relatives and friends, plastering their heads with mud, roam about the city lamenting, until the body receives burial. Nay more, during that time they indulge in neither baths, nor wine, nor in any other food worth mentioning, nor do they put on bright clothing. There are three classes of burial, the most expensive, the medium, and the most humble. And if the first is used the cost, they say, is a talent of silver, if the second, twenty minae, and if the last, the expense is, they say, very little indeed. Now the men who treat the bodies are skilled artisans who have received this professional knowledge as a family tradition; and these lay before the relatives of the deceased a price-list of every item connected with
DIODORUS OF SICILY

έπερωτώσι τίνα τρόπον βούλονται τήν θεραπείαν
γένεσθαι τοῦ σώματος, διομολογησάμενοι δὲ
περὶ πάντων καὶ τῶν νεκρῶν παραλαβόντες, τοῖς
tetagonménos ἐπὶ τῆς κατειθυσίμην ἐπιμελείαν
to σῶμα παραδιδόσι. καὶ πρῶτος μὲν ὁ γραμ-
ματεύς λεγόμενος τεθέντος χαμαί τοῦ σώματος
ἐπὶ τῆς λαγώνα περιγράφει τῆς εὐώνυμου ὅσον
dei diatemein ἐπείτα δὲ ὁ λεγόμενος παρασχίστης
λίθον ἔχων Αἰθιοπικὸν καὶ διατεμών ὡς ὁ 1 νόμος
κελεύει τὴν σάρκα, παραχρήμα φεύγει δρόμῳ,
diakóntων τῶν συμπαρόντων καὶ λίθους βαλλόν-
tων, ἐτὶ δὲ καταρωμένων καὶ καθαπερεῖ τὸ μύος
εἰς ἑκείνων τρεπόντων ὑπολαβάζουσι γὰρ μιση-
tῶν εἶναι πάντα τὸν ὀμοφύλο σώματι βίαν προσ-
φέροντα καὶ τραύματα ποιοῦντα καὶ καθόλου τι
κακὸν ἀπεργαζόμενον.

5 Οἱ ταριχευταὶ δὲ καλοῦμενοι πάσης μὲν τιμῆς
καὶ πολυωρίας ἀξιοῦνται, τοὺς τε ἑρεύσι συνόντες
καὶ τὰς εἰς ἱερὰν εἰσόδους ἠκολούθῳς δὲ καθαροῖ
ποιοῦνται πρὸς δὲ τὴν θεραπείαν τοῦ παρασχίσ-
μένου σώματος ἀθροισθέντων αὐτῶν εἰς καθήσῃ
tὴν χείρα διὰ τῆς τοῦ νεκροῦ τομῆς εἰς τὸν
θώρακα καὶ πάντα ἔξαιρει 2 χωρὶς νεφρῶν καὶ
καρδίας, ἐτέρος δὲ καθαίρει τῶν ἐγκοιλίων ἐκα-
στὸν κλύζων οἴου φοινικεῖα καὶ θυμιάμασι.

6 καθόλου δὲ πᾶν τὸ σῶμα τὸ μὲν πρῶτον κεδρία

1 ἀς ὁ Vogel: δὲa Vulgate, Bekker, Dindorf.
2 ἔξαιρεi Dindorf: ἔξαιρεi.

Lit. "one who rips up lengthwise," i.e. opens by slitting
2 The same name is given this knife in Herodotos, 2. 86,
whose description of embalming, although not so detailed as

310
the burial, and ask them in what manner they wish the body to be treated. When an agreement has been reached on every detail and they have taken the body, they turn it over to men who have been assigned to the service and have become inured to it. The first is the scribe, as he is called, who, when the body has been laid on the ground, circumscribes on the left flank the extent of the incision; then the one called the slitter\textsuperscript{1} cuts the flesh, as the law commands, with an Ethiopian stone\textsuperscript{2} and at once takes to flight on the run, while those present set out after him, pelting him with stones, heaping curses on him, and trying, as it were, to turn the profanation on his head; for in their eyes everyone is an object of general hatred who applies violence to the body of a man of the same tribe or wounds him or, in general, does him any harm.

The men called embalmers, however, are considered worthy of every honour and consideration, associating with the priests and even coming and going in the temples without hindrance, as being undefiled. When they have gathered to treat the body after it has been slit open, one of them thrusts his hand through the opening in the corpse into the trunk and extracts everything but the kidneys and heart, and another one cleanses each of the viscera, washing them in palm wine and spices. And in general, they carefully dress the whole body for over

that of Diodorus, supplements it in many respects. It was probably of obsidian or flint, such as are frequently found in graves with mummies. For the use of such primitive implements in ancient religious ceremonies, op. \textit{Joshua}, 5. 3: “Make thee knives of flint and \textit{circumcise again} the children of Israel a second time.”
καὶ τισιν ἄλλοις ἐπιμελείας ἀξιούσιν ἐφ’ ἤμέρας πλείους τῶν τριάκοντα, ἔπειτα σμύρνη καὶ κινα-μώμῳ καὶ τοῖς δυναμένοις μὴ μόνον πολυχρόνιον τήρησιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν εὐωδίαν παρέχεσθαι· ἐρατεύσαντες δὲ παραδιδόσαι τοῖς συγγενέσι τοῦ τετελευτηκότος οὕτως ἐκαστὸν τῶν τοῦ σώματος μελῶν ἀκέραιον τετηρημένον ὡστε καὶ τὰς ἐπὶ τοῖς βλεφάροις καὶ ταῖς ὀφρύσι τρίχας διαμένειν καὶ τὴν ὀλὴν πρόσωπων τοῦ σώματος ἀπαράλλακτον εἶναι καὶ τὸν τῆς μορφῆς τύπων γυνωρίζεσθαι· διὸ καὶ πολλοὶ τῶν Λίγυ-πτίων ἐν οἰκήμασι πιθυτελέσι φυλάττοντες τὰ σώματα τῶν προγόνων, καὶ ὅσοι ὀρῶσι τοὺς γενεάς πολλαῖς τῆς ἑαυτῶν γενέσεως προτετελευ-τηκότας, ὡστε ἐκαστὸν τὰ ἐπὶ μεγέθει καὶ τὰς περιοχὰς τῶν σωμάτων, ἔτι δὲ τοὺς τῆς ὀψεως χαρακτήρας ὀρωμένους παράδοξου ψυχαγωγίαν παρέχεσθαι καθάπερ συμβεβιωκότας τοῖς θεω-μένοις.

92. Τού δὲ μέλλοντος θάππεσθαι σώματος οἱ συγγενεῖς προλέγουσι τὴν ἤμεραν τῆς ταφῆς τοῖς τε δικασταῖς καὶ τοῖς συγγενεσί, ἐτι δὲ φίλοις τοῦ τετελευτηκότος, καὶ διαβεβαιοῦνται ὦ τι διαβαίνειν μέλλει τῇ τῆς λίμνης, λέγοντες τούνομα τοῦ μετήλλαχότος. ἔπειτα παραγενο-μένων δικαστῶν δυοὶ πλείόνων τῶν τετταράκοντα, καὶ καθισάντων ἐπὶ τινός ἠμικυκλίου κατεσκευασμένου πέραν τῆς λίμνης, ἢ μὲν βάρις καθέλκεται, κατεσκευασμένη πρότερον ὑπὸ τῶν

1 τήρησιν Wesseling: τηρήσειν D, τηρεῖν Π.  
2 δὲ Vogel: omitted by Vulgate, Bekker, Dindorf.  
3 θεωμένοις Dindorf: θεωρουμένοι.  
312
thirty days, first with cedar oil and certain other preparations, and then with myrrh, cinnamon, and such spices as have the faculty not only of preserving it for a long time but also of giving it a fragrant odour. And after treating the body they return it to the relatives of the deceased, every member of it having been so preserved intact that even the hair on the eyelids and brows remains, the entire appearance of the body is unchanged, and the cast of its shape is recognizable. This explains why many Egyptians keep the bodies of their ancestors in costly chambers and gaze face to face upon those who died many generations before their own birth, so that, as they look upon the stature and proportions and the features of the countenance of each, they experience a strange enjoyment, as though they had lived with those on whom they gaze.

92. When the body is ready to be buried the family announces the day of interment to the judges and to the relatives and friends of the deceased, and solemnly affirms that he who has just passed away—giving his name—"is about to cross the lake." Then, when the judges, forty-two in number, have assembled and have taken seats in a hemicycle which has been built across the lake, the baris 2 is launched, which has been prepared in advance by men espe-

---

1 These judges correspond to the forty-two judges or assessors before each of whom the dead man must declare in the next world that he had not committed a certain sin (Book of the Dead, Chap. CXXV).
2 The name given the scows used on the Nile and described in Herodotus 2. 98.
Diodorus of Sicily

ταύτην ἐχόντων τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν, ἐφέστηκε δὲ ταύτη ὁ πορθμεύς, διὸ Αἰγυπτιοῦ κατὰ τὴν ἱδίαν 3 διάλεκτον ὁνομάζουσι χάρωνα. διὸ καὶ φασιν Ὄρφεα τὸ παλαιὸν εἰς Αἰγυπτον παραβαλόντα καὶ θεασάμενον τούτο τὸ νόμμον, μυθοποιεῖται τὰ καθ’ ἄδου, τὰ μὲν μιμησάμενον, τὰ δ’ αὐτὸν ἱδία πλασάμενον ὑπὲρ¹ οὐ τὰ κατὰ μέρος 4 μικρὸν ὑστέρον ἀναγράψομεν. οὐ μὴν ἄλλα τῆς βάρεως εἰς τὴν λίμνην καθελκυσθείσης, πρὶν ἢ τὴν λάρμακα τὴν τῶν νεκρῶν ἔχουσαν εἰς αὐτὴν τίθεσθαι, τῷ βουλομένῳ κατηγορεῖν ὁ νόμος ἐξουσίαν διδόσιν. ἐάν μὲν οὖν τις παρελθὼν ἐγκαλέσῃ καὶ δείξῃ βεβιωκότα κακῶς, οἱ μὲν κριταί τὰς γνώμας πᾶσιν² ἀποφαίνονται, τὸ δὲ σώμα εἰργεῖται τῆς εὐθυσμένης ταφῆς· ἐάν δ’ ὁ ἐγκαλέσας δόξῃ μὴ δικαίως κατηγορεῖν, μεγάλους 5 περιπάττει προστίμοις. ὅταν δὲ μηδεὶς ὑπακούσῃ κατήγορος ἢ παρελθὼν γνωσθῇ συκοφάντης ὑπάρχειν, οἱ μὲν συγγενεῖς ἀποθέμενοι τὸ πένθος ἐγκαμάξουσι τὸν τετελευτήκότα, καὶ περὶ μὲν τοῦ γένους οὐδὲν λέγουσιν, ὅσπερ παρὰ τοῖς Ἐλλησιων, ὑπολαμβάνοντες ἀπαντᾶς ὁμοίως εὐγενεῖς εἰναὶ τοὺς κατ’ Ἀἰγυπτον, τὴν δ’ ἐκ παιδὸς ἀγωγὴν καὶ παιδείαν διελθόντες, πάλιν ἀνδρὸς γεγονότος τὴν εὐσέβειαν καὶ δικαιοσύνην, ἐτί δὲ τὴν ἐγκράτειαν καὶ τὰς ἄλλας ἁρέτας αὐτοῦ διεξέρχονται, καὶ παρακαλοῦσι τοὺς κατὸς θεοὺς δέξασθαι σύνοικον τοῖς εὐσεβεῖς· τὸ δὲ πλήθος ἐπευφημεῖ καὶ ἀποσεμνύνει τὴν δόξαν τοῦ τετε-
cially engaged in that service, and which is in the charge of the boatman whom the Egyptians in their language call charon.¹ For this reason they insist that Orpheus, having visited Egypt in ancient times and witnessed this custom, merely invented his account of Hades, in part reproducing this practice and in part inventing on his own account; but this point we shall discuss more fully a little later.² At any rate, after the baris has been launched into the lake but before the coffin containing the body is set in it, the law gives permission to anyone who wishes to arraign the dead person. Now if anyone presents himself and makes a charge, and shows that the dead man had led an evil life, the judges announce the decision to all and the body is denied the customary burial; but if it shall appear that the accuser has made an unjust charge he is severely punished. When no accuser appears or the one who presents himself is discovered to be a slanderer, the relatives put their mourning aside and laud the deceased. And of his ancestry, indeed, they say nothing, as the Greeks do, since they hold that all Egyptians are equally well born, but after recounting his training and education from childhood, they describe his righteousness and justice after he attained to manhood, also his self-control and his other virtues, and call upon the gods of the lower world to receive him into the company of the righteous; and the multitude shouts its assent and extols the glory of the deceased, as of

¹ Professor J. A. Wilson, of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, kindly writes me: "There is no evidence to support the statement of Diodorus that the Egyptians called the underworld ferryman, or any boatman, connected with death, Charon."
² Cp. chap. 96.
ΔΙΟΔΟΡΟΣ ΟΥ ΣΙΚΙΛΗ

λευνηκότος, ὃς τὸν αἰῶνα διατρίβειν μέλλοντος ἡμετέρῳ ἢ ἀδυνατῷ τῶν εὐσεβῶν. τὸ δὲ σῶμα τιθέασιν οἱ μὲν ἰδίους ἔχοντες τάφους ἐν ταῖς ἀποδεδειγμέναις θήκαις, οἷς δ' οὐκ ὑπάρχουσι τάφοις κτήσεις, καὶ οὖν οἰκισμα ποιοῦσι κατὰ τὴν ἱδίαν οἰκίαν, καὶ πρὸς τὸν ἀσφαλέστατον τῶν τοιχῶν ὀρθὴν ἱστάσιν τὴν λάρνακα. καὶ τοὺς κωλυομένους δὲ διὰ τὰς κατηγορίας ἢ πρὸς δάνειον ὑποθήκας θάπτεσθαι τιθέασι κατὰ τὴν ἱδίαν οἰκίαν· οὐς ὑστερον ἐνίοτε παῖδων παίδες εὐπορήσαντες καὶ τῶν τε συμβολαίων καὶ τῶν ἐγκλημάτων ἀπολύσαντες μεγαλοπρεποῦς ταφῆς ἀξίουσι.

93. Σεμνότατον δὲ διείληπται παρ' Ἀιγυπτίως τὸ τοὺς γονεῖς ἢ τοὺς προγόνους φανήναι περιττό- τερον τετιμηκότας εἰς τὴν αἰώνιον οἰκησιν μετα- στάσιας. νόμιμων δ' ἐστὶ παρ' αὐτῶς καὶ τὸ διδόναι τὰ σώματα τῶν τετελευτηκότων γονέων εἰς ὑποθήκην δανείου· τοῖς δὲ μὴ λυσαμένους ὑνείδος τε τὸ μέγιστον ἀκολουθεῖ καὶ μετὰ τὴν 2 τετελευτή τις στέρησις ταφῆς. θαυμάσατ' δ' ἂν τις προσηκόντως τοὺς ταῦτα διατάζαντας, ὅτι τὴν ἐπιείκειαν καὶ τὴν σπουδαιότητα τῶν ἠθῶν οὕκ ἐκ τῆς τῶν ζωτῶν ὀμμίας μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς τῶν τετελευτηκότων ταφῆς καὶ θεραπείας ἐφ' ὡςον ἢν ἑνδεχόμενον τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἐνοικειόμεν
3 ἐφιλοτιμήσαν. οἱ μὲν γὰρ Ἑλληνες μόθοις πεπλασμένοι καὶ φήμαις διαβεβλημέναις τὴν περὶ τοῦτων πίστιν παρέδωκαν, τὴν τε τῶν εὐσεβῶν τιμῆν καὶ τὴν τῶν πονηρῶν τιμωρίαν, τουγαροῦν οὕς οἷον ἱσχύει δύναται ταῦτα προτρέψασθαι τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἐπὶ τῶν ἀριστότον 316
one who is about to spend eternity in Hades among the righteous. Those who have private sepulchres lay the body in a vault reserved for it, but those who possess none construct a new chamber in their own home, and stand the coffin upright against the firmest wall. Any also who are forbidden burial because of the accusations brought against them or because their bodies have been made security for a loan they lay away in their own homes; and it sometimes happens that their sons' sons, when they have become prosperous and paid off the debt or cleared them of the charges, give them later a magnificent funeral.

93. It is a most sacred duty, in the eyes of the Egyptians, that they should be seen to honour their parents or ancestors all the more after they have passed to their eternal home. Another custom of theirs is to put up the bodies of their deceased parents as security for a loan; and failure to repay such debts is attended with the deepest disgrace as well as with deprivation of burial at death. And a person may well admire the men who established these customs, because they strove to inculcate in the inhabitants, so far as was possible, virtuousness and excellence of character, by means not only of their converse with the living but also of their burial and affectionate care of the dead. For the Greeks have handed down their beliefs in such matters—in the honour paid to the righteous and the punishment of the wicked—by means of fanciful tales and discredited legends; consequently these accounts not only cannot avail to spur their people εὖ to the best

1 παρεδώκαν Vogel: παραδεδώκασι B, Bekker, Dindorf.
βίοιν, ἀλλὰ τούτων ὑπὸ τῶν φαύλων χλευα-
ζόμενα πολλῆς καταφρονήσεως τυχαῖνοντος·
4 παρὰ δὲ τοῖς Ἀλυστίους οὐ μυθώδους, ἀλλὰ ὅρατῆς τοῖς μὲν πονηροῖς τῆς κολάσεως, τοῖς δὲ ἁγαθοῖς τῆς τιμῆς οὐσίας, καθ' ἐκάστην ἠμέραν ἀμφότεροι τῶν ἑαυτοῖς προσηκούντων ὑπομμη-
σκονταί, καὶ διὰ τούτου τοῦ τρόπου ἡ μεγίστη καὶ συμφορωτάτη διάρθωσις γίνεται τῶν ἠθῶν. κρατίστοις δ', οἷοι, τῶν νόμων ἠγητέων οὐκ ἕξ ἄν εὐπορωτάτους, ἀλλ' ἕξ ἄν ἐπιεικεστάτους τοὺς ἴθεσι καὶ πολιτικώτατους συμβιβάσεται γενέσθαι τοὺς ἀνδρώπους.

94. ᾿Ῥητέον δ' ἡμῖν καὶ περὶ τῶν γεγομένων
νομοθετῶν κατ' Ἀλυστίου τῶν οὕτως ἐξηλ-
λαγμένα καὶ παράδοξα νόμιμα καταδεικτῶν. μετὰ γὰρ τὴν παλαιὰν τοῦ κατ' Ἀλυστίου βίον κατάστασιν, τὴν μυθολογισμένην γεγονέναι ἐπὶ τε τῶν ἠθῶν καὶ τῶν ἡρώων, πεισάς φασίν πρῶτον ἑγγράφτως νόμοις χρήσασθαι τὰ πλῆθη τοῦ Μνεύμα, ἀνδρα καὶ τῇ ψυχῇ μέγαν καὶ τῷ βίῳ κοινότατον τῶν μημονευμένων. προσ-
ποιηθήναι δ' αὐτῷ τῶν ῾Ερμήν δεδωκέναι τούτους, ὡς μεγάλων ἁγαθῶν αἰτίους ἐσομένους, καθάπερ παρ᾽ ῾Ελλησι ποιήσας φασίν ἐν μὲν τῇ Κρήτῃ Μίνωα, παρὰ δὲ Δακεδαιμονίου Δυκοῦργον, τὸν μὲν παρὰ Διός, τὸν δὲ παρ᾽ ᾿Απόλλωνος φήσαντα
2 τούτους παρειληφέναι. καὶ παρ᾽ έτεροις δὲ πλεοῦσιν έθνεσι παραδέδοται τούτῳ τὸ γένος τῆς ἐπινοίας ὑπάρξαι καὶ πολλῶν ἁγαθῶν αἰτίουn

1 ᾿H Bekker, Vogel: omitted by Vulgate and Dindorf.

318
BOOK I. 93. 3—94. 2

life, but, on the contrary, being scoffed at by worthless men, are received with contempt. But among the Egyptians, since these matters do not belong to the realm of myth but men see with their own eyes that punishment is meted out to the wicked and honour to the good, every day of their lives both the wicked and the good are reminded of their obligations and in this way the greatest and most profitable amendment of men's characters is effected. And the best laws, in my opinion, must be held to be, not those by which men become most prosperous, but those by which they become most virtuous in character and best fitted for citizenship.

94. We must speak also of the lawgivers who have arisen in Egypt and who instituted customs unusual and strange. After the establishment of settled life in Egypt in early times, which took place, according to the mythical account, in the period of the gods and heroes, the first, they say, to persuade the multitudes to use written laws was Mneves, a man not only great of soul but also in his life the most public-spirited of all lawgivers whose names are recorded. According to the tradition he claimed that Hermes had given the laws to him, with the assurance that they would be the cause of great blessings, just as among the Greeks, they say, Minos did in Crete and Lycurgus among the Lacedaemonians, the former saying that he received his laws from Zeus and the latter his from Apollo. Also among several other peoples tradition says that this kind of a device was used and was the cause of much good to such as

1 Apparently Mneves is only a variant of the name Menas of chaps. 43 and 45 (op. A. Wiedemann, Ägyptische Geschichte, p. 163, n. 1).
DIODORUS OF SICILY

gενόσθαι τοῖς πεισθεῖσιν παρὰ μὲν γὰρ τοῖς Ἀριμνοῖς Ζαθραύστην ἱστοροῦσι τὸν ἀγαθὸν δαίμονα προσποιήσασθαι τοὺς νόμους αὐτῶ ἐπιδόναι, παρὰ δὲ τοῖς ὀνομαζομένοις Γέταις τοῖς ἀπαθανατίζουσι Ζάλμοξιν ὡσαύτως τὴν κοινὴν Ἑστίαν, παρὰ δὲ τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις Μωσήν τὸν Ἰαω ἑπίκαλούμενον θεόν, εἰτε θαυμαστὴν καὶ θείαν ὅλως ἐνοικεν εἰναι κρίναντας τὴν μέλλουσαν ὀφελήσειν ἀνθρώπων πλήθος, εἰτε καὶ πρὸς τὴν ὑπεροχήν καὶ δύναμιν τῶν εὐρείων λεγομένων τοὺς νόμους ἀποβλέψαντα τὸν ὄχλον μᾶλλον ὑπακούσεσθαι διαλαβόντας.

3 Δεύτερον δὲ νομοθέτην Ἀγυπτίων φασὶ γενέσθαι Σάσυχω, ἀνδρὰ συνεῖς διαφέροντα. τοῦτον δὲ πρὸς τοὺς ὑπάρχουσι νόμους ἄλλα τε προσθείναι καὶ τὰ περί τὴν τῶν θεῶν τιμῆν ἐπιμελέστατα διατάξαι, εὐρετήν δὲ καὶ γεωμετρίας γενέσθαι καὶ τὴν περὶ τῶν ἀστρων θεωρίαν τε καὶ παρατήρησιν διδάξαι τοὺς ἐγχωρίους.

4 τρίτον δὲ λέγουσι Σεσώσιν τὸν βασιλέα μὴ μόνον τὰς πολεμικὰς πράξεις ἐπιφανεστάτας κατεργάσασθαι καὶ τὰς ἐν τῷ Αὐγούστῳ, ἄλλα καὶ περὶ τὰ μάχιμον ἐθνὸς νομοθεσίαν συστήσασθαι, καὶ τὰ ἀκόλουθα τὰ περὶ τὴν στρατείαν σύμφωνα διακοσμῆσαι. τέταρτον δὲ νομοθέτην φασὶ γενέσθαι Βόκχοριν τὸν βασιλέα, σοφὸν

1 This form of the name is much nearer to the old Iranian form, Zarathustra, than the later corruption Zoroaster.

2 Herodotus (4. 93 ff.) gives more details about Zalmoxis, or Gebeleizis, as he also calls him, and the Getae “who pretend to be immortal.” Strabo (7. 3. 5) calls him Zamoëlix and makes him a former slave of Pythagoras, a story already known to Herodotus and rejected by him.

320
believed it. Thus it is recorded that among the Arians Zathraustes\(^1\) claimed that the Good Spirit gave him his laws, among the people known as the Getae who represent themselves to be immortal Zalmoxis\(^2\) asserted the same of their common goddess Hestia, and among the Jews Moyses referred his laws to the god who is invoked as Iao.\(^3\) They all did this either because they believed that a conception which would help humanity was marvellous and wholly divine, or because they held that the common crowd would be more likely to obey the laws if their gaze were directed towards the majesty and power of those to whom their laws were ascribed.

A second lawgiver, according to the Egyptians, was Sasychis,\(^4\) a man of unusual understanding. He made sundry additions to the existing laws and, in particular, laid down with the greatest precision the rites to be used in honouring the gods, and he was the inventor of geometry and taught his countrymen both to speculate about the stars and to observe them. A third one, they tell us, was the king Sesoüsis,\(^5\) who not only performed the most renowned deeds in war of any king of Egypt but also organized the rules governing the warrior class\(^6\) and, in conformity with these, set in order all the regulations that have to do with military campaigns. A fourth lawgiver, they say, was the king Bocchoris,\(^7\) a wise

\(^1\) This pronunciation seems to reflect a Hebrew form Yahu; cp. Psalms 68. 4: "His name is Jah."
\(^2\) Sasychis is the Asychis of Herodotus (2. 136), identified with Shepseskaf of the Fourth Dynasty by H. R. Hall, Ancient History of the Near East, p. 127.
\(^3\) Cp. chaps. 53 ff.
\(^4\) Cp. chap. 73.
\(^5\) Mentioned before in chaps. 45, 65, 79.

\(^321\)
τινα καὶ πανοργιὰς διαφέροντα. τούτον οὖν διατάξαι τὰ περὶ τοὺς βασίλεις ἀπαντᾷ καὶ τὰ περὶ τῶν συμβολαίων ἕξακριβώσαι γενέσθαι δ’ αὐτὸν καὶ περὶ τὰς κρίσεις οὕτω συνετὸν ὄστε πολλὰ τῶν ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ διαγνωσθέντων διὰ τὴν περιπτώσεως μνημονεύσει βέβαια μέχρι τῶν καθ’ ἡμᾶς χρόνων. λέγουσι δ’ αὐτὸν ὑπάρξαι τῷ μὲν σώματι παντελῶς ἅπασθενῆ, τῷ δὲ τρόπῳ πάντων φιλοχρηματότατον.

95. Μετὰ δὲ τούτον προσελθέντες λέγουσι τοῖς νόμοις Ἀμασίν τὸν βασιλέα, δυν ἵστοροῦσι τὰ περὶ τοὺς νομάρχας διατάξαι καὶ τὰ περὶ τὴν σύμπασαν οἰκονομίαν τῆς Αἰγύπτου. παραδεδοται δὲ συνετὸς τε γεγονόντα καὶ ὑπερβολὴν καὶ τὸν τρόπον ἐπιείκεσι καὶ δίκαιον· ὅν ἑνεκα καὶ τοὺς Ἀιγυπτίους αὐτῷ περιτεθεικέναι τὴν 2 ἁρχῆν οὐκ ὅτι γένους βασιλικοῦ. φασὶ δὲ καὶ τοὺς Ἡλείους, σπουδάζοντας περὶ τὸν Ὀλυμπικὸν μὲν ἁγῶνα, πρεσβευτὰς ἀποστείλατε πρὸς αὐτὸν ἑρωτήσαντας πῶς ἄν γένοιτο δικαιότατος τὸν δ’ εἰσπείν, εάν μὲν ἤδη Ἡλείος ἁγωνίζεται. 3 Πολυκράτους δὲ τού Σαμίου δυνάστου συντεθείμενον πρὸς αὐτὸν φίλιαν, καὶ βιαίος προσφερομένον τοὺς τε πολίτας καὶ τοὺς εἰς Σάμον καταπλέουσι δένουσι, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον λέγεται πρεσβευτὰς ἀποστείλαντα παρακαλεῖν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὴν μετριότητα· οὐ δὲ προσέχοντος δ’ αὐτοῦ τοῖς λόγοις ἐπιστολήν γράψῃ τὴν φιλίαν καὶ τὴν ἕναν τὴν πρὸς αὐτὸν διαλυμένου· οὐ γὰρ βούλεσθαι λυπηθῆναι συντόμως ἑαυτῶν, ἀκριβῶς

1 Ὁλυμπικὸν Vogel: Ὁλυμπιακὸν C, Bekker, Dindorf.

322
sort of a man and conspicuous for his craftiness. He
drew up all the regulations which governed the kings
and gave precision to the laws on contracts; and so
wise was he in his judicial decisions as well, that
many of his judgments are remembered for their
excellence even to our day. And they add that he
was very weak in body, and that by disposition he
was the most avaricious of all their kings.

95. After Bocchoris, they say, their king Amasis gave attention to the laws, who, according to their accounts, drew up the rules governing the nomarchs and the entire administration of Egypt. And tradition describes him as exceedingly wise and in disposition virtuous and just, for which reasons the Egyptians invested him with the kingship, although he was not of the royal line. They say also that the citizens of Elis, when they were giving their attention to the Olympic Games, sent an embassy to him to ask how they could be conducted with the greatest fairness, and that he replied, "Provided no man of Elis participates." And though Polycrates, the ruler of the Samians, had been on terms of friendship with him, when he began oppressing both citizens and such foreigners as put in at Samos, it is said that Amasis at first sent an embassy to him and urged him to moderation; and when no attention was paid to this, he wrote a letter in which he broke up the relations of friendship and hospitality that had existed between them; for he did not wish, as he said, to be plunged into grief in a short while, knowing right

1 Cp. chap. 68. The story of the embassy of Eleans is given more fully in Herodotus (2. 160), where, however, the Egyptian king consulted is called Psammis.
Diodorus of Sicily

εἰδότα διότι ¹ πλησίον ἐστὶν αὐτῷ τὸ κακῶς παθεῖν οὕτω προεστηκότι τῆς τυραννίδος. θαυμασθήναι δ' αὐτῶν φασί παρά τοῖς Ἔλλησι διὰ τε τὴν ἐπιείκειαν καὶ διὰ τὸ τῷ Πολυκράτει ταχέως ἀποβηθήναι τὰ βηθέντα.

4 Ἔκειτο δὲ λέγεται τὸν Ἑρέμον πατέρα Δαρεῖον τοῖς νόμοις ἐπιστήναι τοῖς τῶν Ἀλυσιτῶν μυσήσαντα γὰρ τὴν παρανομίαν τὴν εἰς τὰ κατ' Ἀγυπτὸν ἱερὰ γενομένην ὑπὸ Καμβύσου τοῦ προβασιλεύσαντος ξηλῶσαι βίον ἐπιείκη καὶ 5 φιλόθεουν. ὀμιλήσαι μὲν γὰρ αὐτοῖς ² τοῖς ἱερεῦσι τοῖς ἐν Ἀγυπτῷ καὶ μεταλαβεῖν αὐτὸν τῆς τε θεολογίας ³ καὶ τῶν ἐν ταῖς ἱεραῖς βιβλίοις ἀναγεγραμμένων πράξεων· ἐκ δὲ τούτων ἱστορήσαντα τὴν τε μεγαλοψυχίαν τῶν ἀρχαίων βασιλέων καὶ τὴν εἰς τοὺς ἀρχομένους εὐνοιαν μιμήσασθαι τὸν ⁴ ἐκείνον βίον, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τηλικαύτης τυχεῖν τιμῆς ὅσθ' ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀλυσιτῶν ξώντα μὲν θεοῦ προσαγορεύσεσθαι ⁵ μόνον τῶν ἀπάντων βασιλέων, τελευτήσαντα δὲ τιμῶν τυχεῖν ἵσων τοῖς τὸ παλαιὸν νομιμώτατα βασιλεύσασι κατ' Ἀγυπτὸν.

6 Τὴν μὲν οὖν κοινὴν νομοθεσίαν συντελεσθήναι φασιν ὑπὸ τῶν εἰρημένων ἀνδρῶν, καὶ δόξης τυχεῖν τῆς διαδεδομένης παρὰ τοῖς Ἀλλοις· ἐν δὲ τοῖς ὑστερον χρόνοις πολλὰ τῶν καλῶς ἔχειν δοκοῦντων νομίμων φασί κινηθήναι, Μακεδόνων ἐπικρατησάντων καὶ καταλυσάντων εἰς τέλος τὴν βασιλείαν τῶν ἐγχωρίων.

¹ διότι Vogel: διό Vulgate, Bekker, Dindorf.
² αὐτοῖς Vogel: αὐτὸν Vulgate, Bekker, Dindorf.
³ αὐτῶν after θεολογίας added by C, Bekker, Dindorf.
well as he did that misfortune is near at hand for the ruler who maintains a tyranny in such fashion. And he was admired, they say, among the Greeks both because of his virtuous character and because his words to Polycrates were speedily fulfilled.

A sixth man to concern himself with the laws of the Egyptians, it is said, was Darius the father of Xerxes; for he was incensed at the lawlessness which his predecessor, Cambyses, had shown in his treatment of the sanctuaries of Egypt, and aspired to live a life of virtue and of piety towards the gods. Indeed he associated with the priests of Egypt themselves, and took part with them in the study of theology and of the events recorded in their sacred books; and when he learned from these books about the greatness of soul of the ancient kings and about their goodwill towards their subjects he imitated their manner of life. For this reason he was the object of such great honour that he alone of all the kings was addressed as a god by the Egyptians in his lifetime, while at his death he was accorded equal honours with the ancient kings of Egypt who had ruled in strictest accord with the laws.

The system, then, of law used throughout the land was the work, they say, of the men just named, and gained a renown that spread among other peoples everywhere; but in later times, they say, many institutions which were regarded as good were changed, after the Macedonians had conquered and destroyed once and for all the kingship of the native line.

4 τῶν Reiske: τῶν.
6 προσαγορευόμεναι Bekker, Vogel: προσαγορευόμεναι II, Dindorf.
96. Τούτων δ’ ἡμῶν διευκρινημένων ρήτεον δοσι τῶν παρ’ Ἑλλησί δεδοξασμένων ἐπὶ συνέσει καὶ παιδείᾳ παρέβαλον εἰς Αὐγούστου ἐν τοῖς ἀρχαίοις χρόνοις, ἵνα τῶν ἑναίθα νομίμων καὶ τῆς παιδείας μετάσχωσιν. οἱ γὰρ ἱερεῖς τῶν Ἀυγούστων ἰστοροῦσιν ἐκ τῶν ἀναγραφῶν τῶν ἐν ταῖς ἱεραίς βιβλίοις παραβαλείν πρὸς ἑαυτούς τὸ παλαιὸν Ὄρφεα τε καὶ Μουσαίον καὶ Μελάμποδα καὶ Δαίδαλον, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις Ὁμήρον τε τὸν ποιητὴν καὶ Δαυκοῦργον τὸν Ἱππαρτίτην, ἔτι δὲ Σόλωνα τὸν Ἀθηναίον καὶ Πλάτωνα τὸν φιλόσοφον, ἐλθέων δὲ καὶ Πυθαγόραν τὸν Σάμιον καὶ τὸν μαθηματικὸν Εὔδοξον, ἔτι δὲ Δημόκριτον τὸν Ἀβδηρίτην καὶ Οἰνοπίδην τὸν Χίον. πάντων δὲ τούτων σημεῖα δεικνύονται τῶν μὲν εἰκόνας, τῶν δὲ τόπων ἡ κατασκευασμάτων ὁμοιόμοιος προσθήκης, ἐκ τῆς ἑκάστῳ ξυλωθείσης παιδείας ἀποδείξεις φέροντο, συνιστάντες εἷς Αὐγούστου μετεννημέχναι πάντα δι’ ὧν παρὰ τοῖς Ἑλλησίων ἐθαυμασθησαν.

4 Ὅρφεα μὲν γὰρ τῶν μυστικῶν τελετῶν τὰ πλείστα καὶ τὰ περὶ τὴν ἐαυτοῦ πλάνην ὀργιαζόμενα καὶ τὴν τῶν ἐν ἄδων μυθοποιών ἀπενεγκασθαί. τὴν μὲν γὰρ Ὅσιοδος τελετήν τῇ Διονύσου τῷ ἀυτῷ εἶναι, τὴν δὲ τῆς Ἡσίωδος τῇ τῆς Δημητρος ὁμοιοτάτην ὑπάρχει, τῶν ὄνομάτων μόνων 3 ἐνηλλαγμένων τὰς ἐν τῶν ἀσεβῶν ἐν ἄδων τιμωρίας καὶ τοὺς τῶν εὐσεβῶν λειμώναι καὶ τὰς παρὰ τοὺς πολλοὺς εἰδωλο-

1 τῆς Vogel: omitted Vulgate, Bekker, Dindorf.
2 ἑαυτοὺς Vogel: ἀυτοὺς Vulgate, Bekker, Dindorf.
3 μόνων Vogel: μόνων Vulgate, Bekker, Dindorf.

326
96. But now that we have examined these matters, we must enumerate what Greeks, who have won fame for their wisdom and learning, visited Egypt in ancient times, in order to become acquainted with its customs and learning. For the priests of Egypt recount from the records of their sacred books that they were visited in early times by Orpheus, Musaeus, Melampus, and Daedalus, also by the poet Homer and Lycurgus of Sparta, later by Solon of Athens and the philosopher Plato, and that there also came Pythagoras of Samos and the mathematician Eudoxus,¹ as well as Democritus of Abdera and Oenopides² of Chios. As evidence for the visits of all these men they point in some cases to their statues and in others to places or buildings³ which bear their names, and they offer proofs from the branch of learning which each one of these men pursued, arguing that all the things for which they were admired among the Greeks were transferred from Egypt.

Orpheus, for instance, brought from Egypt most of his mystic ceremonies, the orgiastic rites that accompanied his wanderings, and his fabulous account of his experiences in Hades. For the rite of Osiris is the same as that of Dionysus and that of Isis very similar to that of Demeter, the names alone having been interchanged; and the punishments in Hades of the unrighteous, the Fields of the Righteous, and the fantastic conceptions, current among the

¹ The famous astronomer, geographer, and mathematician of Cnidus, pupil of Plato. His stay in Egypt is well attested.
³ For instance, according to Strabo (17. 1. 29), in Heliopolis were pointed out the houses where Plato and Eudoxus had stopped.
ΔΙΟΔΟΡΟΣ ΟΦ ΣΙΚΗΛΗ

ποιάς ἀναπεπλασμένας παρεισαγαγείν μιμησά-
μενον τὰ γυνόμενα περὶ τὰς ταφὰς τὰς κατ'
6 Διογέντον. τῶν μὲν γὰρ ψυχοπομποῦ Εἰρμῆν
κατὰ τὰ παλαιὰν νόμιμον παρὰ Διογέντοις ἁνα-
γαγόντα τὸ τοῦ Ἀσίδος σῶμα μέχρι τινὸς παρα-
διδόναι τῷ περικεμένῳ τὴν τοῦ Κερβέρου προτο-
μήν. τοῦ δὲ Ὀρφέως τούτῳ καταδείξαντος παρὰ
τοὺς Ἐλληστὶ τὸν Ὀμηρον ἀκολούθως τούτῳ
θείναι κατὰ τὴν ποίησιν

'Ερμῆς δὲ ψυχὰς Κυλλήνιους ἔξεκαλείτο
ἀνδρῶν μυστήριων, ἔχε δὲ ῥάβδον μετὰ χερσίν.
εἶτα πάλιν ὑποβάντα λέγειν

πάρ δὲ ὦσιν Ὁκεανοῦ τε ῥοάς καὶ Δευκάδα
πέτρην,

ἡδὲ παρ' Ἡλλίου πύλας καὶ δῆμου Ὀινέρων
ήσαν: αἷσα δ' ἴκοντο κατ' ἀσφοδελῶν λειμῶν,
ἐνθα τε ναίοντες ψυχὰι, εἴδολα καμάντων.

7 Ὁκεανὸς μὲν οὖν καλεῖν τὸν ποταμὸν διὰ τὸ
toῦς Διογέντοις κατὰ τὴν ἱδίαν διάλεκτον
'Οκεανοῦ λέγειν τῶν Ἡλίου, Ἡλίου δὲ πύλας
τὴν πόλιν τὴν τῶν Ἡλιοπολίτων, λειμῶν δὲ
ὄνομάζειν,1 τὴν μυθολογομόρφην οἰκίσκοι τῶν
μετηλλαχτῶν, τὸν παρὰ τὴν λίμνην τόπον τὴν
καλομένην μὲν Ἀχερουσίαν, πλησίον δὲ οὕσαν
tῆς Μέμφεως, ὁποῖον περὶ αὐτὴν λειμῶνων καλ-
λίστων, ἔλους καὶ λωτῶν καὶ καλάμων. ἀκο-
λούθως δὲ εἰρήσθαι καὶ τὸ κατοικεῖν τοὺς
tελευτήσαντας ἐν τούτοις τοῖς τόποις διὰ τὸ
tὰς τῶν Διογέντοις ταφὰς τὰς πλείστας καὶ
ἀμείας ἔνταθα γίνεσθαι, διαπορθμευομένων

1 δ' ὀνομάζειν Eichstadt: δὲ νομίζειν.

328
many, which are figments of the imagination—all these were introduced by Orpheus in imitation of the Egyptian funeral customs. Hermes, for instance, the Conductor of Souls, according to the ancient Egyptian custom, brings up the body of the Apis to a certain point and then gives it over to one who wears the mask of Cerberus. And after Orpheus had introduced this notion among the Greeks, Homer 1 followed it when he wrote:

Cyllenian Hermes then did summon forth
The suitors' souls, holding his wand in hand.

And again a little further 2 on he says:

They passed Oceanus' streams, the Gleaming Rock,
The Portals of the Sun, the Land of Dreams;
And now they reached the Meadow of Asphodel,
Where dwell the Souls, the shades of men outworn.

Now he calls the river "Oceanus" 3 because in their language the Egyptians speak of the Nile as Oceanus; the "Portals of the Sun" (Heliopylai) is his name for the city of Heliopolis; and "Meadows," the mythical dwelling of the dead, is his term for the place near the lake which is called Acherousia, which is near Memphis, and around it are fairest meadows, of a marsh-land and lotus and reeds. The same explanation also serves for the statement that the dwelling of the dead is in these regions, since the most and the largest tombs of the Egyptians are situated there, the

1 Odyssey 24. 1-2. 2 Ibid. 11-14. 3 As a matter of fact the only name for the Nile in Homer 2 is Aigyptos.
mēn tōn nekrōn diá tē tou pοtαμοῦ kai tῆς Ἀχερόνειας λήμνης, tīdēmēnōn dē tōn σωμάτων eis tās ēntai̇da kei̇mēnas thē̇kas.

8  Συμφωνεῖν dē kai tállα tā para tou̇s "Ελλησι καθ' ἀδού μυθολογούμενα tōs ētī γνώ̃nomēnōs kai̇ Aὐγῡπτων το̐i mēn γᾱρ διάκομιξον tā σώματα πλοίον βαρίν kαλέ̇σθαι, τō δ' ἐ̄πιβα̣θρον1 tō̂ pορθμε̃i̇ dīd̓οσθαι, kαλομένων
9 kατά tīn ἐγχώριον διάλεκτον χάρων. εἰναι dē λέγουσι̇ πλη̄σιόν τω̐n τόπωn το̐tωn καὶ̇ σκοτίας Ἔκα̃της ἱερον καὶ̇ πύλας κακοντοῦ kai̇ Δήθης διειλῑπμένας ὁλκόισ ὁχέ̄σιων. ὑπάρχειν
dē kai̇ ἄλλας πύλας Ἀληθείας, καὶ̇ πλη̄σιόν
to̐tω̐n εἰδολὸ̄ν ἀκέφαλον εστά̇ναι Δίκης.

97. Πολλὰ dē kai̇ tōn̄ ἄλλων τῶn μεμυθο̌ν̄νων διαμένειν παρ’ Aὐγῡπτων, διατη̄ρουμένης ēti tīs̗ προσηγορίας καὶ̇ tīs̗ ēn tō̐̄ 2 πράττειν ενεργεία̇ς. ēn mēn γᾱρ Ἀκανθόν̄ πόλει̇, πέραν τοῡ̄ Νείλου κατά tīn̄ Διβύ̄ν̄ ἀπ’̃ στα̃d̃iων ἐκατόν καὶ̇ εἰκοσι̇ tīs̗ Μέμφεο̄ς, πόθον εἶναι̇ τετρημέ̑νον, ēi̇s dī τῶν̄ ἱερέων̄ ἐξηκοντα̃ καὶ̇ τριακοσίους καθ’̃ ἐκά̃στην ἦ̃μεραν ̃δ̅ώ̃ρ̃ φέ̂ρει̇n
3 ēi̇s αὐτὸν̄ ἐκ το̐u̇ Νείλου̇ tīn̄ dē περί το̐n̄ "Οκνον̄ 2 μυθοπλα̃μαν̄ δείκνυ̃θαι̇ πλη̄σιο̃ν κατά tīn̄ πανή̃γυ̌ρ̃̄ πῡν̄̄ συντελομέ̑νη̇, Πλέ̃κκυ̃τος μὲ̄ν ἐνὸ̃ς ἀνδρό̃ς̃ ἀρχή̇n σχοῑνιῶν̄ μακράν̄, πολλῶn̄ d’̃ ἐ̄k tōn̄

1 νόμισμα τῶν ἄβαλλων after ἐπιβαθρον deletor by Schäfer.
2 "Οκνον Stephanus: ἀνον.

1 Cp. chap. 92; baris is also a Greek word for boat.
2 The bronze bands would resemble the rays of the "Portals of the Sun," in the passage from Homer cited above.
dead being ferried across both the river and Lake Acherousia and their bodies laid in the vaults situated there.

The other myths about Hades, current among the Greeks, also agree with the customs which are practised even now in Egypt. For the boat which receives the bodies is called baris, and the passenger's fee is given to the boatman, who in the Egyptian tongue is called charon. And near these regions, they say, are also the "Shades," which is a temple of Hecate, and "portals" of Cocytus and Lethe, which are covered at intervals with bands of bronze. There are, moreover, other portals, namely, those of Truth, and near them stands a headless statue of Justice.

97. Many other things as well, of which mythology tells, are still to be found among the Egyptians, the name being still preserved and the customs actually being practised. In the city of Acanthi, for instance, across the Nile in the direction of Libya one hundred and twenty stades from Memphis, there is a perforated jar to which three hundred and sixty priests, one each day, bring water from the Nile; and not far from there the actual performance of the myth of Oenus is to be seen in one of their festivals, where a single man is weaving at one end of a long

3 The Greek word may mean "statue" and "shade," the latter meaning occurring in the last line of the passage above from Homer.

4 This is a reference to the fifty daughters of Danaus, who after death were condemned to the endless labour of pouring water into vessels with holes.

5 Oenus was another figure of the Greek underworld who was represented as continually labouring at the weaving of a rope which was devoured by an unseen ass behind him as rapidly as it was woven.
DIODORUS OF SICILY

4 ὁπέσω λυόντων τὸ πλεκόμενον. Μελάμποδα δὲ φασὶ μετενεγκεῖν ἐξ Ἀγνύττου τὰ Διονύσῳ νομιζόμενα τελείσθαι παρὰ τοῖς Ἕλλησι καὶ τὰ περὶ Κρόνου μυθολογούμενα καὶ τὰ περὶ τῆς Τιτανομαχίας καὶ τὸ σύνολον τὴν περὶ τὰ πάθη τῶν θεῶν ἱστορίαν. τὸν δὲ Δαίδαλον λέγουσιν ἀπομμήσασθαι τὴν τοῦ λαβυρίνθου πλοίην τοῦ διαμένοντος μὲν μέχρι τοῦ νῦν καρφοῦ, οἰκοδομηθέντος δὲ, ὡς μὲν τινὲς φασιν, ὑπὸ Μενίδητος, ὡς δ’ ἦνοι λέγουσιν, ὑπὸ Μάρρου τοῦ βασιλέως, πολλοῖς ἔτεσι πρότερον τῆς Μίνω βασιλείας.

5 τὸν τε ρυθμὸν τῶν ἀρχαίων κατ’ Αγνύττον ἀνδράματον τὸν αὐτὸν εἶναι τοὺς ὑπὸ Δαίδαλου κατασκευασθέντα παρὰ τοῖς Ἕλλησι. τὸ δὲ κάλλιστον πρὸπολοῦν ἐν Μέμφει τοῦ Ἱφαιστείου Δαίδαλον ἀρχιτεκτονῆσαι, καὶ θαυμασθέντα τυχεῖν εἰκόνος ἔυληνς κατὰ τὸ προειρημένον ἱερὸν ταῖς ιδίαις χερσὶ δεδημουργημένης, πέρας δὲ διὰ τὴν εὐφυίαν ἀξιώθεντα μεγάλης δόξης καὶ πολλὰ προσεξευρότα τυχεῖν ἵσοθέον τιμῶν κατὰ γὰρ μίαν τῶν πρὸς τῇ Μέμφει νῆσον ἐτὶ καὶ νῦν ἱερὸν εἶναι Δαίδαλου τιμῶμενον ὑπὸ τῶν ἐγχώριων.

6 Τῆς δ’ Ὀμήρου παρουσίας ἄλλα τε σημεῖα φέρουσι καὶ μάλιστα τὴν τῆς Ἑλενής γενομένην παρὰ Μενελάῳ Τηλεμάχου φαρμακείαι καὶ λήθην τῶν συμβεβηκότων κακῶν. τὸ γὰρ νηπευθὲς φάρμακον, ὁ λαβεῖν φησίν ὁ ποιητὴς τὴν Ἑλενήν ἐκ τῶν Ἀγνύττων Ὀθήβων παρὰ Πολυ-

1 Cp. chap. 61.
2 i.e. "quieting pain." Cp. Odyssey 4. 220–21: αὖθις ἐρ ἐς δὲνον βάλε φάρμακον, ἐνθεν ἐπινον, νηπευθὲς τ’ ἄχολον τε,
rope and many others beyond him are unravelling it. Melampus also, they say, brought from Egypt the rites which the Greeks celebrate in the name of Dionysus, the myths about Cronus and the War with the Titans, and, in a word, the account of the things which happened to the gods. Daedalus, they relate, copied the maze of the Labyrinth which stands to our day and was built, according to some, by Mendes, but according to others, by king Marrus, many years before the reign of Minos. And the proportions of the ancient statues of Egypt are the same as in those made by Daedalus among the Greeks. The very beautiful propylon of the temple of Hephaestus in Memphis was also built by Daedalus, who became an object of admiration and was granted a statue of himself in wood, which was made by his own hands and set up in this temple; furthermore, he was accorded great fame because of his genius and, after making many discoveries, was granted divine honours; for on one of the islands off Memphis there stands even to this day a temple of Daedalus, which is honoured by the people of that region.

And as proof of the presence of Homer in Egypt they adduce various pieces of evidence, and especially the healing drink which brings forgetfulness of all past evils, which was given by Helen to Telemachus in the home of Menelaus. For it is manifest that the poet had acquired exact knowledge of the "nepenthic" drug which he says Helen brought from Egyptian Thebes, given her by Polydamna the

κακώς ἐπιλήθου ἀπάντων. "Straightway she cast into the wine of which they were drinking a drug to quiet all pain and strife, and bring forgetfulness of every ill" (tr. Murray in L.C.L.).
δάμνης τῆς Ὁδώνος γυναικὸς, ἀκριβῶς ἐξητακῶς
φαίνεται· ἵνα γὰρ καὶ νῦν τὰς ἐν ταύτῃ γυναικάς
τῇ προειρημένῃ δυνάμει χρῆσθαι λέγουσι, καὶ
παρὰ μοναὶς ταῖς Διωσπολίτισιν ἐκ παλαιῶν
χρόνων ὄργῆς καὶ λύπης φάρμακον εὐρήσθαι
μαχαίρα ῥα ὦ Δήμας καὶ Δῖος πόλιν τὴν αὐτήν
ὑπάρχειν. τὴν τε Ἀφροδίτην ὄνομαξεσθαι
παρὰ τοῖς ἐγχώριοις χρυσῆν ἐκ παλαιᾶς παρα-
δόσεως, καὶ πεδίον εἶναι καλοῦμενον χρυσῆν
Ἀφροδίτης περὶ τὴν ὄνομαξομένην Μέμεμφιν.
9 τά τε περὶ τοῦ Δία καὶ τὴν Ἡραν μυθολογοῦ-
μενα περὶ τῆς συνουσίας καὶ τὴν εἰς Ἀἰθιοπίαν
ἐκδημιάν ἐκεῖθεν αὐτὸν μετενεγκεῖν κατ᾽ ἑνιαυτῶν
γὰρ παρὰ τοῖς Ἀιγύπτιοι τὸν νεόν τοῦ Δίὸς
περαιούσθαι τὸν ποταμὸν εἰς τὴν Δεσύνην, καὶ
μὲθ᾽ ἥμερας τινάς πάλιν ἐπιστρέφειν, ὡς ἐς
Αἰθιοπίας τοῦ θεοῦ παρόντος· τὴν τε συνουσίαν
τῶν θεῶν τούτων, εἰς ταῖς πανηγυρίσει τῶν ναῶν
ἀνακομμαζόμενων ἀμφοτέρων εἰς ὥρας ἄνθεσι
παντοῖοι ὑπὸ τῶν ἱερεῶν κατεστρωμένον.

98. Καὶ Λυκούργον δὲ καὶ Πλάτωνα καὶ Σόλωνα
πολλὰ τῶν εἰς Ἀιγύπτιον νομίμων εἰς τὰς ἐαυτῶν
2 κατατάξας νομοθεσίας. Πυθαγόραν τε τὰ κατά
τῶν ἱερὸν λόγον καὶ τὰ κατὰ γεωμετρίαν θεωρήματα
καὶ τὰ περὶ τοὺς ἀριθμοὺς, ἐτι δὲ τὴν εἰς πᾶν
ξύον τῆς ψυχῆς μεταβολήν μαθεῖν παρ᾽ Ἀγνω-
3 πτών. ἅπασαν δὲ καὶ Δημόκριτον παρ᾽
αὐτοῖς ἦτι διατρίψας πέντε καὶ πολλὰ διδα-
χῆναι τῶν κατὰ τὴν ἀστρολογίαν. τὸν τε
Οἰνοπίδην ὤμοίως συνδιατριβάντα τοῖς ἱερεῦσι

1 A reference to the epithet constantly used by Homer to
describe Aphrodite.
wife of Thon; for, they allege, even to this day the women of this city use this powerful remedy, and in ancient times, they say, a drug to cure anger and sorrow was discovered exclusively among the women of Diospolis; but Thebes and Diospolis, they add, are the same city. Again, Aphrodite is called "golden"¹ by the natives in accordance with an old tradition, and near the city which is called Momemphis there is a plain "of golden Aphrodite." Likewise, the myths which are related about the dalliance of Zeus and Hera and of their journey to Ethiopia he also got from Egypt; for each year among the Egyptians the shrine of Zeus is carried across the river into Libya and then brought back some days later, as if the god were arriving from Ethiopia; and as for the dalliance of these deities, in their festal gatherings the priests carry the shrines of both to an elevation that has been strewn with flowers of every description.²

98. Lycurgus also and Plato and Solon, they say, incorporated many Egyptian customs into their own legislation. And Pythagoras learned from Egyptians his teachings about the gods, his geometrical propositions and theory of numbers, as well as the transmigration of the soul into every living thing. Democritus³ also, as they assert, spent five years among them and was instructed in many matters relating to astrology. Oenopides likewise passed some time

² The Homeric passage which Diodorus has in mind is in the 14th Book of the Iliad (ll. 346 ff.): "The son of Kronos clasped his consort in his arms. And beneath them the divine earth sent forth fresh new grass, and dewy lotus, and croesus, and hyacinth, thick and soft ..." (tr. Lang, Leaf, Myers).

³ Democritus of Abdera, the distinguished scientist of the fifth century B.C., author of the "atomic" theory.
Diodorus of Sicily

καὶ ἀστρολόγοις μαθεῖν ἄλλα τε καὶ μάλιστα τὸν Ἡλιακὸν κύκλον ὡς λοξὴν μὲν ἔχει τὴν πορείαν, ἐναντίαν δὲ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀστροις τὴν
4 φοράν ποιεῖται. παραπλησίως δὲ καὶ τὸν Ἐὐδοξὸν ἀστρολογῆσαντα παρ’ αὐτοῖς καὶ πολλά τῶν χρησίμων εἰς τοὺς Ἔλληνας ἐκδόντα τυχεῖν ἀξιολόγου δόξης.

5 Τῶν τε ἀγαλματοποιῶν τῶν παλαιῶν τοὺς μάλιστα διωνομασμένους διατετριφέναι παρ’ αὐτοῖς Τηλεκλέα καὶ Θεόδωρον, τοὺς ’’Ροῖκον μὲν ύιόν, κατασκευάσαντας δὲ τοὺς Σαμίοις τὸ
6 τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος τοῦ Πυθίου ξόανον. τοῦ γὰρ ἀγάλματος ἐν Σάμῳ μὲν ὑπὸ Τηλεκλέους ἱστορεῖται τὸ ἱμασυ δημιουργηθῆναι, κατὰ δὲ τὴν Ἐφεσοῦ ὑπὸ τάδελφον Θεοδώρου τὸ ἐτερον μέρος συντελεσθῆναι συντεθέντα δὲ πρὸς ἀλληλα τὰ μέρη συμφωνεῖν οὕτως ὡστε δοκεῖν υφ’ ἔνδε τὸ πᾶν ἔργον συντετελέσθαι.1 τοῦτο

1 ἔργον συντετελέσθαι Vogel: σῶμα κατασκευάσθαι OF, Bekker, Dindorf.

1 Oenopides of Chios was a mathematician and astronomer of the fifth century B.C. According to this statement he observed the obliquity of the ecliptic, which we now know to be about 23½°. The fact that the sun’s motion on the celestial sphere is slower than that of the stars causes an apparently retrograde movement of the sun relative to the stars.

2 Doubtless the cult statue.

3 The following sentences are perplexing. The translator is comforted by the knowledge that they have vexed others who are more experienced both in Egyptian art and in Greek. This passage has been discussed last by Heinrich Schäfer (Von ägyptischer Kunst³, Leipzig, 1930, pp. 350–51), and the remarks and translation of so distinguished an authority on Egyptian art deserve to be cited, and in the original.

336
with the priests and astrologers and learned among other things about the orbit of the sun, that it has an oblique course and moves in a direction opposite to that of the other stars. \(^1\) Like the others, Eudoxus studied astrology with them and acquired a notable fame for the great amount of useful knowledge which he disseminated among the Greeks.

Also of the ancient sculptors the most renowned sojourned among them, namely, Telecles and Theodorus, the sons of Rhoeceus, who executed for the people of Samos the wooden \(^2\) statue of the Pythian Apollo. For one half of the statue, as the account is given, was worked by Telecles in Samos, and the other half was finished by his brother Theodorus at Ephesus; and when the two parts were brought together they fitted so perfectly that the whole work had the appearance of having been done by one man. This \(^3\)

\[\text{"Ich würde die Stelle aus Diodor dem Sizilier (um 50 v. Chr.), die nicht so einfach ist wie sie scheint, am liebsten nur griechisch abdrucken, aber damit wäre dem Leser nicht gediend; ich muss zeigen, wie ich sie auffasse. W. Schubart und U.v. Wilamowitz bin ich dafür dankbar, dass sie, denen der ägyptische Sachverhalt nicht so klar vor Augen steht, mich an einigen Stellen davor bewahrt haben, ihn in Diodors Worte hineinzudeuten. Ein Trost in meiner Verlegenheit ist mir gewesen, dass v. Wilamowitz mir schrieb, 'Die Übersetzung der Diodorstelle ist in der Tat knifflisch, da er seine Vorlage, Heraklit [a slip of the pen for "Hecataeus"—Tr.] von Abdara (um 300 v. Chr.), verschwommen wiedergibt und überhaupt ein so miserabler Skribent ist.' Ich wage folgende freie Übersetzung:}

\[\text{"... Dieses Werkverfahren (nämlich Statuen aus einzeln gefertigten Hälften zusammenzusetzen) soll bei den Hellenen nirgends in Gebrauch sein, dagegen bei den Ägyptern meistens angewendet werden. (Nur dort sei es denkbar.) Bei ihnen nämlich bestimmte man den symmetrischen Bau der Statuen nicht nach der freien Entscheidung des Auges, wie bei der...} \]
Diodorus of Sicily

dē tō γένος τής ἐργασίας παρὰ μὲν τοῖς "Ἐλλησι μηδαμῶς ἐπιτηδεύεσθαι, παρὰ δὲ τοῖς Ἀιγυπτίοις μάλιστα συντελεῖσθαι. παρ’ ἐκείνους ἡγάρ οὐκ ἀπὸ τῆς κατὰ τὴν ὄρασιν φαντασίας τὴν συμμετρίαν τῶν ἀγαλμάτων κρίνεσθαι, καθάπερ παρὰ τοῖς "Ἐλλησιν, ἄλλ’ ἐπειδὰν τοὺς λόθους κατακλίνωσι 1 καὶ μερίσαντες κατεργάσωνται, τὸ τημικαῦτα τὸ ἀνάλογον ἀπὸ τῶν ἔλαχιστων ἔπτ τὰ μέγιστα λαμβάνεσθαι: τοῦ γὰρ παντὸς σώματος τὴν κατασκευὴν εἰς ἐν καὶ ἐκκοσίμη μέρη καὶ προσέτε τέταρτον διαιρουμένους τὴν ὀλὴν ἀποδιδόναι συμμετρίαν τοῦ ξύλου. διόπερ ὅταν περὶ τοῦ μεγέθους οἱ τεχνῖται πρὸς ἅλληλοις σύνθωνται, χωρισθέντες ἀπ’ ἅλληλων σύμφωνα κατασκευάζουσι τὰ μεγέθη τῶν ἔργων οὕτως ἀκριβῶς ὥστε ἐκπλήξει παρέχειν τὴν ὕδωρτα τῆς πραγματείας αὐτῶν. τὸ δ’ ἐν τῇ Σάμῳ ἔδανον συμφώνως τῇ τῶν Ἀιγυπτίων φιλοτεχνίᾳ κατὰ τὴν κορυφὴν 2 διχοτομούμενον διορίζειν

1 κατακλίνωσι: Bekker, Vogel: Dindorf conjectured κατα-
ξάνωσι.
2 κορυφὴν Rhodomann: ἀροφήν.

Hellenen, sondern, nachdem man die Blöcke hingelagert und gesondert zugerichtet habe, hielten sich die Arbeiter dann, jeder innerhalb seiner Hälfte, aber auch in bezug auf die andere, an dieselben Verhältnisse von den kleinsten bis zu den grössten Teilen. Sie zerlegten nämlich die Höhe des ganzen Körpers in einundzwanzig und ein Viertel Teile, und erreichten so den symmetrischen Aufbau der Menschengestalt. Hätten sich also die (beiden) Bildhauer einmal über die Grösse (der Statue) geeinigt, so stimmten sie, selbst von einander getrennt, die Einzelmasse ihrer Werkteile so genau zueinander, dass man ganz verblüfft sei über dieses ihr eigentümliches Verfahren.

So bestehet das Kultbild in Samos, etc.”

1 No explanation of the “twenty-one and one-fourth”

338
method of working is practised nowhere among the Greeks, but is followed generally among the Egyptians. For with them the symmetrical proportions of the statues are not fixed in accordance with the appearance they present to the artist's eye, as is done among the Greeks, but as soon as they lay out the stones and, after apportioning them, are ready to work on them, at that stage they take the proportions, from the smallest parts to the largest; for, dividing the structure of the entire body into twenty-one parts and one-fourth \(^1\) in addition, they express in this way the complete figure in its symmetrical proportions. Consequently, so soon as the artisans agree as to the size of the statue, they separate and proceed to turn out the various sizes assigned to them, in such a way that they correspond, and they do it so accurately that the peculiarity of their system excites amazement.\(^2\) And the wooden statue in Samos, in conformity with the ingenious method of the Egyptians, was cut into two parts from the top of the head down to the private parts

parts has been found in any modern writer. W. Deonna (Dédale ou la Statue de la Grèce Archaique, 2 vols., Paris, 1930) translates this sentence, and then adds (1. p. 229): "Mais l'étude de l'art égyptien révèle que celui-ci a connu, comme tout autre art, des proportions très variables, tantôt courtes, tantôt élancées, suivant les temps, et souvent à même époque, et qu'il n'est pas possible de fixer un canon précis."

\(^2\) Since the Egyptian artist had no idea of perspective, each part of a figure, or each member of a group, was portrayed as if seen from directly in front. Therefore the first training of an artist consisted in the making of the separate members of the body, which accounts for the many heads, hands, legs, feet, which come from the Egyptian schools of art. Schäfer (l.c., p. 316, cp. p. 389) suggests that this practice may have given Diodorus the idea that the Egyptians made their statues out of previously prepared blocks of stone.
τοῦ ξύλου τὸ μέσον μέχρι τῶν αἰδοίων, ἴσαξον ὁμοίως ἐαυτῷ πάντοθεν· εἶναι δ' αὐτὸ λέγουσι κατὰ τὸ πλείστον παρεμφερές τοῖς Ἀιγυπτίοις, ὡς ἄν τὰς μὲν χεῖρας ἔχουν παρατεταμένας, τὰ δὲ σκέλη διαβεβηκότα.

10 Περὶ μὲν οὖν τῶν κατ' Ἀιγυπτίων ἰστοροημένων καὶ μνήμης ἄξιων ἄρκει τὰ ῥηθέντα· ἡμεῖς δὲ κατὰ τὴν ἐν ἀρχῇ τῆς βίβλου πρόθεσιν τὰς ἐξῆς πράξεις καὶ μυθολογίας ἐν τῇ μετὰ ταύτην διεξείμεν, ἀρχὴν ποιησάμενοι τὰ κατὰ τὴν Ἁσίαν τοῖς Ἀσσυρίοις πραχθέντα.
and the statue was divided in the middle, each part exactly matching the other at every point. And they say that this statue is for the most part rather similar to those of Egypt, as having the arms stretched stiffly down the sides and the legs separated in a stride.

Now regarding Egypt, the events which history records and the things that deserve to be mentioned, this account is sufficient; and we shall present in the next Book, in keeping with our profession at the beginning of this Book, the events and legendary accounts next in order, beginning with the part played by the Assyrians in Asia.
BOOK II
Τάδε ἐνεστών ἐν τῇ δεύτερᾳ τῶν
Διοδώρου βιβλίων

Περὶ Νίνου τοῦ πρῶτον βασιλεύσαντος κατὰ τὴν 'Ασίαν καὶ τῶν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ πραγμένων.
Περὶ τῆς Σεμιράμιδος γενέσεως καὶ τῆς περὶ αὐτὴν αὐξήσεως.
'Ως Νίνος ὁ βασιλεὺς ἔγινε τὴν Σεμιράμιδα διὰ τὴν ἀρετὴν αὐτῆς.
'Ως Σεμιράμις τελευτήσαντος Νίνου διαδεξαμένη τὴν βασιλείαν πολλὰς καὶ μεγάλας πράξεις ἐπετελέσατο.
Κτίσεις Βαβυλώνος καὶ τῆς κατ' αὐτὴν κατασκευὴ τῆς αὐτοῦ.

Περὶ τοῦ κρεμαστοῦ λεγομένου κήπου καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν κατὰ τὴν Βαβυλώνιαν παραδόξων.
Στρατεύματα Σεμιράμιδος εἰς Αχαμπίτων καὶ Αληθοπών, ἔτη δὲ τῆς Ἕλλην.

Περὶ τῶν ἀρχαγών ταύτης τῶν βασιλευσάντων κατὰ τὴν 'Ασίαν καὶ τῆς κατ' αὐτοὺς τροφῆς τε καὶ ῥᾳδυμίας.
'Ως ἐσχάτος Σαρδανάπαλλος ὁ βασιλεὺς διὰ τροφῆν ἀπέβαλε τὴν ἀρχὴν ὑπὸ Ἀρβάκου τοῦ Μήδου.
Περὶ τῶν Χαλδαίων καὶ τῆς παρατηρήσεως τῶν ἀστρῶν.

Περὶ τῶν βασιλέων τῶν κατὰ τὴν Μηδίαν καὶ τῆς περὶ τούτων διαφωνίας παρὰ τοὺς ἱστοριογράφους.
Περὶ τοποθεσίας τῆς Ἕλλην καὶ τῶν κατὰ τὴν χώραν φυσικῶν καὶ τῶν παρ' Ἕλληνοις νομίμων.

1 ἀπαγγελία omitted by D, Vogel.
2 καὶ after ταύτης deleted by Dindorf.
CONTENTS OF THE SECOND BOOK OF DIODORUS

On Ninus, the first king in Asia, and his deeds (chaps. 1–3).
On the birth of Semiramis and her rise (chaps. 4–5).
How King Ninus married Semiramis because of her outstanding ability (chap. 6).
How Semiramis, ascending the throne on the death of Ninus, accomplished many great deeds (chap. 7).
The founding of Babylon and an account of its building (chaps. 7–9).
On the hanging garden, as it is called, and the other astonishing things in Babylonia (chaps. 10–13).
The campaign of Semiramis against Egypt, Ethiopia, and India (chaps. 14–20).
On her descendants who were kings in Asia and their luxury and sluggishness (chaps. 21–22).
How Sardanapallus, the last king, because of his luxuriousness lost his throne to Arbaces the Mede (chaps. 23–28).
On the Chaldacans and their observation of the stars (chaps. 29–31).
On the kings of Media and the disagreement of historians upon them (chaps. 32–34).
On the topography of India and the products of the land, and on the customs of the Indians (chaps. 35–42).
Περὶ Σκυθῶν καὶ Ἀμαζόνων καὶ Ἡπερβορέων.
Περὶ τῆς Ἀραβίας καὶ τῶν κατ’ αὐτὴν φυσικῶν καὶ
μυθολογικῶν.
Περὶ τῶν νῆσων τῶν ἐν τῇ μεσημβρίᾳ κατὰ τὸν ὠκεανὸν
εὐφρενῶν.
CONTENTS OF THE SECOND BOOK

On the Scythians, Amazons, and Hyperboreans (chaps. 43–47).
On Arabia, and the products of the land and its legends (chaps. 48–54).
On the islands which have been discovered to the south in the ocean (chaps. 55–60).
ΒΙΒΛΟΣ ΔΕΥΤΕΡΑ

1. Ἡ μὲν πρὸ ταύτης βιβλίος τῆς ὅλης συντάξεως οὖσα πρώτη περιέχει τὰς κατὰ Λύγυπτον πράξεις· ἐν αἷς ὑπάρχει τὰ τε περὶ τῶν θεῶν παρὰ Λύγυπτίοις μυθολογούμενα καὶ περὶ τῆς τοῦ Νείλου φύσεως καὶ τάλλα τὰ περὶ τοῦ ποταμοῦ τούτου παραδοξολογούμενα, πρὸς δὲ τούτους περὶ τε τῆς κατὰ Λύγυπτον χώρας καὶ τῶν ἀρχαίων βασιλέων τὰ ύψι ἐκάστου πραξάντων. ἐξῆς δὲ κατετάχθησαν αἱ κατασκευαὶ τῶν πυραμίδων τῶν ἀναγραφομένων ἐν τοῖς ἐπτὰ θαυμαζομένοις ἐργοῖς. ἔπειτα διηλθομεν περὶ τῶν νόμων καὶ τῶν δικαστηρίων, ἐτὶ δὲ τῶν ἀφιερωμένων ζώων παρὰ Λύγυπτίοις τὰ θαυμαζόμενα, πρὸς δὲ τούτους τὰ περὶ τῶν τετελευτηκότων νόμων, καὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ὁσοι τῶν ἐπὶ παιδείας θαυμαζομένων παραβαλόντες εἰς Λύγυπτον καὶ πολλὰ τῶν χρησίμων μαθόντες μετήνεγκαν εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα.

3 ἐν ταύτῃ δ’ ἀναγράφομεν τὰς κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν γενομένας πράξεις ἐν τοῖς ἀρχαίοις χρόνοις, τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀπὸ τῆς τῶν Ἀσσυρίων ἡγεμονίας ποιησάμενοι.

4. Τὸ παλαιὸν τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν ὑπήρχον ἐγχώριοι βασιλεῖς, διὸν οὔτε πράξεις ἐπίσημος οὔτε ὅνομα μηνομοῦσαται. πρῶτος δὲ τῶν εἰς ἱστορίαν καὶ μνήμην παραδεδομένων ἡμῶν Νίνως ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν Ἀσσυρίων μεγάλας πράξεις ἐπετελέσατο· 348
BOOK II

The preceding Book, being the first of the whole work, embraces the facts which concern Egypt, among which are included both the myths related by the Egyptians about their gods and about the nature of the Nile, and the other marvels which are told about this river, as well as a description of the land of Egypt and the acts of each of their ancient kings. Next in order came the structures known as the pyramids, which are listed among the seven wonders of the world. After that we discussed such matters connected with the laws and the courts of law, and also with the animals which are considered sacred among the Egyptians, as excite admiration and wonder, also their customs with respect to the dead, and then named such Greeks as were noted for their learning, who, upon visiting Egypt and being instructed in many useful things, thereupon transferred them to Greece. And in this present Book we shall set forth the events which took place in Asia in the ancient period, beginning with the time when the Assyrians were the dominant power.

In the earliest age, then, the kings of Asia were native-born, and in connection with them no memory is preserved of either a notable deed or a personal name. The first to be handed down by tradition to history and memory for us as one who achieved great deeds is Ninus, king of the Assyrians, and of him

---

1 Ἐπείτα Bekker, Vogel: Ἐπείτα δὲ D, Dindorf.
Diodorus of Sicily

περὶ οὗ τὰ κατὰ μέρος ἀναγράφειν πειρασόμεθα. γενόμενος γὰρ φύσει πολεμικὸς καὶ ξηλωτὴς τῆς ἀρετῆς καθότι λειποντὸς τῶν νέων τοὺς κράτιστους γυμνάσας δὲ αὐτοὺς πλεῖονα χρόνου συνήθεις ἐποίησε πάση κακοπαθεία καὶ πολεμικοῖς κιν- δύνοις. συντησάμενος οὖν στρατόπεδον ἀξίωλον συμμαχίαν ἐποίησε τοῖς Ἀρμενίοις τῶν Βασιλείᾳ τῆς Ἀραβίας, ἦ καὶ ἐκεῖνος τοῦς χρόνους ἑδόκει πλήθειν ἄλκιμοις ἀνδρῶν. ἐστὶ δὲ καὶ καθόλου τούτῳ τὸ ἔθνος φιλελεύθερον καὶ κατ' οὐδένα τρόπον προσδεχόμενον ἐπηλυν ἡγεμόνα. διόπερ οὐθ' οἱ τῶν Περσῶν βασιλεῖς ύπερον οὐθ' οἱ τῶν Μακεδόνων, καὶ πλείστου ἱσχύσαντες, ἡδυνήθησαν τούτῳ τὸ ἔθνος κατα-

6 δούλωσασθαι. καθόλου γὰρ ἡ Ἀραβία δυσπολέ- μητος ἦστι ξενικαῖς δυνάμεις διὰ τὸ τὴν μὲν ἔρημον αὐτῆς εἶναι, τὴν δὲ ἀνδρὸν καὶ διειλημ- μένην φρέασι κεκρυμμένοις καὶ μόνοις τοῖς

7 ἐγχωρίους γυμνιζομένους. ο ὅσιον τῶν Ἀσσυρίων βασιλεὺς Νίνος τὸν δυναστεύοντα τῶν Ἀράβων παραλαβὼν ἐστράτευσε μετὰ πολλῆς δυνάμεως ἐπὶ Βαβυλωνίους κατοικοῦντας ὁμορον χώραν κατ' ἐκεῖνος δὲ τοὺς χρόνους η μὲν υἱὸν οὐσα Βαβυ- λῶν οὐχ ἤν ἐκτισμένη, κατὰ δὲ τὴν Βαβυλωνίαν ὑπῆρχον ἄλλαι πόλεις ἁξιόλογοι ῥαδίως δὲ χειρωσαμένους τοὺς ἐγχωρίους διὰ τὸ τῶν ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις κινδύνων ἀπείρως ἔχειν, τούτως μὲν ἔταξε τελεῖν κατ' ἐναυτὸν ὀρισμένους φόρους, τὸν δὲ βασιλέα τῶν καταπολεμηθέντων λαβὼν

8 μετὰ τῶν τέκνων αὐχμάλωτον ἀπεκτείνει. μετὰ δὲ ταύτα πολλοῖς πλήθεσιν εἰς τὴν Ἀρμενίαν ἐμ- βαλὼν καὶ τινὰς τῶν πόλεων ἀναστάτους ποιήσας 350
we shall now endeavour to give a detailed account. For being by nature a warlike man and emulous of valour, he supplied the strongest of the young men with arms, and by training them for a considerable time he accustomed them to every hardship and all the dangers of war. And when now he had collected a notable army, he formed an alliance with Ariaeus, the king of Arabia, a country which in those times seems to have abounded in brave men. Now, in general, this nation is one which loves freedom and under no circumstances submits to a foreign ruler; consequently neither the kings of the Persians at a later time nor those of the Macedonians, though the most powerful of their day, were ever able to enslave this nation. For Arabia is, in general, a difficult country for a foreign army to campaign in, part of it being desert and part of it waterless and supplied at intervals with wells which are hidden and known only to the natives.\footnote{Arabia and its peoples are more fully described in chaps. 48 ff.} Ninus, however, the king of the Assyrians, taking along the ruler of the Arabians as an ally, made a campaign with a great army against the Babylonians whose country bordered upon his—in those times the present city of Babylon had not yet been founded, but there were other notable cities in Babylonia—and after easily subduing the inhabitants of that region because of their inexperience in the dangers of war, he laid upon them the yearly payment of fixed tributes, but the king of the conquered, whom he took captive along with his children, he put to death. Then, invading Armenia in great force and laying waste some of its cities, he struck terror
καταπλήξατο τούς ἐγχωρίους. διότερ ὁ βασιλεὺς αὐτῶν Βαρκίνης, ὁ ὅρων αὐτῶν οὐκ ἄξιόμαχον ὄντα, μετὰ πολλῶν δώρων ἀπήντησε καὶ πάν ἐφησε 9 ποιήσειν τὸ προστατόμενον. ὁ δὲ Νίνως μεγαλοψύχως αὐτῷ χρησάμενος τῆς τῆς Ἀρμενίας συνεχώρησεν ἀρχεῖν καὶ φίλον ὄντα πέμπειν στρατιάν καὶ τὴν χορηγίαν τῷ σφετέρῳ στρατοπέδῳ. δεῖ δὲ μᾶλλον αὐξόμενος ἐστράτευσεν εἰς τὴν Μηδίαν, ὁ δὲ ταύτης βασιλεὺς Φάρνως παρατάξαμενος ἄξιολογῷ δυνάμει καὶ λειψθεῖς, τῶν τε στρατιωτῶν τοὺς πλείους 1 ἀπέβαλε καὶ αὐτὸς μετὰ τέκνων ἐπτα καὶ γυναικὸς αἰχμάλωτος ληφθεὶς ἀνέσταιρόθη.

2. Οὕτω δὲ τῶν πραγμάτων τῷ Νίνῳ προχοροῦντων δεινῆ ἐπιθυμίαν ἐσχε τοῦ καταστρέψασθαι τὴν Ἀσίαν ἀπασάν τὴν ἑντὸς Τανάκιδος καὶ Νείλου· ὡς ἐπίπταν γὰρ τοῖς εὐτυχοῦσιν ἢ τῶν πραγμάτων εὐροια ē τὴν τοῦ πλείους ἐπιθυμίαν παρίστησιν. διότερ τῆς μὲν Μηδίας σατράπην ἐνα τῶν περὶ αὐτῶν φίλων κατέστησεν, αὐτὸς δὲ ἐπήει τὰ κατά τὴν Ἀσίαν ἔδυν καταστρέφομενος, καὶ χρόνον ἑπτακαιδεκαστὴ καταναλώσας πλὴν 'Ινδῶν καὶ Βακτριανῶν 2 τῶν ἄλλων ἀπάντων κύριος ἐγένετο. τὰς μὲν οὖν καὶ ἐκατὰ μάχας ἡ τῶν ἄριστων ἀπάντων τῶν καταπολεμηθέντων οὐδεὶς τῶν συγγραφέων ἀνέγραφη, τὰ δὲ ἐπισημότατα τῶν ἑνῶν ἀκολούθως Κτησία τῷ Κνεδίῳ πειρασόμεθα συντόμως ἐπιδραμεῖν.

3. Καταστρέψατο μὲν γὰρ τῆς παραθαλασσίου

1 πλείους Voge: πλείστους Vulgate, Bekker, Dindorf.
into the inhabitants; consequently their king Barzanes, realizing that he was no match for him in battle, met him with many presents and announced that he would obey his every command. But Ninus treated him with great magnanimity, and agreed that he should not only continue to rule over Armenia but should also, as his friend, furnish a contingent and supplies for the Assyrian army. And as his power continually increased, he made a campaign against Media. And the king of this country, Pharnus, meeting him in battle with a formidable force, was defeated, and he both lost the larger part of his soldiers, and himself, being taken captive along with his seven sons and wife, was crucified.

2. Since the undertakings of Ninus were prospering in this way, he was seized with a powerful desire to subdue all of Asia that lies between the Tanaïs and the Nile; for, as a general thing, when men enjoy good fortune, the steady current of their success prompts in them the desire for more. Consequently he made one of his friends satrap of Media, while he himself set about the task of subduing the nations of Asia, and within a period of seventeen years he became master of them all except the Indians and Bactrians. Now no historian has recorded the battles with each nation or the number of all the peoples conquered, but we shall undertake to run over briefly the most important nations, as given in the account of Ctesias of Cnidus.1

Of the lands which lie on the sea and of the others

1 The Don.
2 On Ctesias see the Introduction, pp. xxvi–xxvii.
καὶ τῆς συνεχοῦς χώρας τὴν τε Ἀἰγυπτίου καὶ Ἰούνικην, ἔτι δὲ Κολύην Συρίαν καὶ Κηλίκιαν καὶ Παμφυλίαν καὶ Δυσκίαν, πρὸς δὲ ταῦτας τὴν τε Καρίαν καὶ Φρυγίαν καὶ Δυσίαν, προσηγάγετο δὲ τὴν τε Τρῳάδα καὶ τὴν ἑρ' Ἐλληστόντος Φρυγίαν καὶ Προποντίδα καὶ Βιθυνίαν καὶ Καπη- παδοκίαν καὶ τὰ κατὰ τὸν Πόντον ἔθνη βάρβαρα κατοικοῦντα μέχρι Τανάϊδον, ἐκυρίευσε δὲ τῆς τε Καδουσίαν χώρας καὶ Ταπύρων, ἔτι δ' Τρκαϊών καὶ Δραγγών, πρὸς δὲ τούτων Δερβίκων καὶ Καρμανίων καὶ Χωρομναϊών, ἔτι δὲ Βορκανίων καὶ Παρθναϊών, ἔπηλθε δὲ καὶ τὴν Περσίδα καὶ τὴν Σουσιανήν καὶ τὴν καλου- μένην Κασπιανήν, ἐφ' ἵνα εἰσιν εἰσβολαὶ στεναὶ παντελῶς, διὸ καὶ προσαγορεύονται Κάστιαι 4 πόλεις. πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ἀλλὰ τῶν ἐλαττῶν ἐθνῶν προσηγάγετο, περὶ δὲν μακρὸν ἄν εἴη λέγειν. τῆς δὲ Βακτριανῆς οὐσίας δυσεισβόλου καὶ πλῆθη μαχίμων ἀνδρῶν ἐχοῦσης, ἐπειδὴ πολλὰ πονήσας ἀπρακτος ἐγένετο, τὸν μὲν πρὸς Βακτριανοὺς πόλειμον εἰς ἔτερον ἀνεβάλετο καιρόν, τάς δὲ δυνάμεις ἀναγγαγὼν εἰς τὴν Ἀσσυρίαν ἔσελέξατο τὸν ἐθνὸν εἰς πόλεως μεγάλης κτίσεως.

8. Ἐπεφανεστάτας γὰρ πράξεις τῶν πρὸ αὐτοῦ κατειργασμένος ἔσπευδε τηλικαύτην κτίσαι τὸ μέγεθος πόλιν ὡστε µη µόνον αὐτὴν εἶναι µεγί- στην τῶν τότε οὐσῶν κατὰ πᾶσαν τὴν οἰκουµένην, ἀλλὰ µηδὲ τῶν µεταγενεστέρων ἐτερον ἐπιβαλό- 2 µενον ῥάδιος ἄν υπερθέσθαι. τῶν µὲν οὖν τῶν Ἀράβων βασιλέας τιµήσας δόροις καὶ λαφύροις µεγαλοπρεπέσιν ἀπέλυσε µετὰ τῆς ἱδίαις στρατιάς 354
which border on these, Ninus subdued Egypt and Phoenicia, then Coele-Syria, Cilicia, Pamphylia, and Lycia, and also Caria, Phrygia, and Lydia; moreover, he brought under his sway the Troad, Phrygia on the Hellespont, Propontis, Bithynia, Cappadocia, and all the barbarian nations who inhabit the shores of the Pontus as far as the Tanaís; he also made himself lord of the lands of the Cadusii, Tapyri, Hyrcanii, Drangi, of the Derbici, Carmanii, Choromnaei, and of the Borcanii, and Parthyaei; and he invaded both Persis and Susiana and Caspiana, as it is called, which is entered by exceedingly narrow passes, known for that reason as the Caspian Gates. Many other lesser nations he also brought under his rule, about whom it would be a long task to speak. But since Bactriana was difficult to invade and contained multitudes of warlike men, after much toil and labour in vain he deferred to a later time the war against the Bactriani, and leading his forces back into Assyria selected a place excellently situated for the founding of a great city.

3. For having accomplished deeds more notable than those of any king before him, he was eager to found a city of such magnitude, that not only would it be the largest of any which then existed in the whole inhabited world, but also that no other ruler of a later time should, if he undertook such a task, find it easy to surpass him. Accordingly, after honouring the king of the Arabians with gifts and rich spoils from his wars, he dismissed him and his contingent to

---

1 καὶ Μυσίαν after Φπυίαν, omitted by Τ, is deleted by Kallenberger, Textkritik und Sprachgebrauch Düdorfs, 1. 4.
Diodorus of Sicily

els την οικείαν, αυτὸς δὲ τὰς πανταχόθεν δυνάμεις καὶ παρασκευάς πάντων τῶν ἑπτανήσων ἀθροίσας παρὰ τὸν Εὐφράτην ποταμὸν ἐκτίσε πόλιν εὐ
tετειχισμένην, ἐτερόμικες αὐτῆς ὑποστηγὰμένος τὸ σχῆμα. εἰχὲ δὲ τῶν μὲν μακροτέρων πλευρῶν ἐκατέραυ ἡ πόλις ἐκατόν καὶ πεντήκοντα σταδίων,

3 τῶν δὲ βραχυτέρων ἐνενήκοντα. διὸ καὶ τὸν σύμπαντος περιβόλου συστάθεντος ἐκ σταδίων τετρακοσίων καὶ ὑγιόκοντα τῆς ἑλπίδος οὐ διεσέφωθη τηλικάυτην γὰρ πόλιν οὐδεὶς ὑστερον ἐκτίσε κατὰ τε τὸ μέγεθος τοῦ περιβόλου καὶ τὴν περὶ τὸ τεῖχος μεγαλοπρέπειαν. τὸ μὲν γὰρ ὕψος εἰχὲ τὸ τεῖχος ποδῶν ἐκατόν, τὸ δὲ πλατός τρισὶν ἀρμασίν ἢπάσιμων ἢν οἱ δὲ σύμπαντες πύργοι τὸν μὲν ἀριθμὸν ἤσαν χλίου καὶ πεντά-

κόσιοι, τὸ δ’ ὕψος εἰχον ποδῶν διακοσίων.

4 κατάκισε δ’ εἰς αὐτήν τῶν μὲν Ἀσσυρίων τοὺς πλείστους καὶ δυνατώτατοὺς, ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν ἅλλων ἐθνῶν τοὺς Βαουλομένους. καὶ τὴν μὲν πόλιν ὁνόμασεν ἂφ’ ἑαυτοῦ Νίνων, τοῖς δὲ κατοικισθεῖσι πολλὴν τῆς ὑμώρου χώρας προσώρισεν.

4. Ἐπεὶ δὲ μετὰ τὴν κτίσιν ταύτην ὁ Νίνως ἐστράτευσεν ἐπὶ τὴν Βακτριανῆν, ἐν ἡ Σεμίραμιν ἐγέμισε τὴν ἑπιφανεστάτην ἀπασῶν τῶν γυναικῶν ὅν παρειλήφαμεν, ἰανυκαίδιον ἐστὶ περὶ αὐτῆς προεπείν πῶς ἐκ ταπεινῆς τύχης εἰς τηλικὰύτην προῆχθη δόξαν.

1 The city of Nineveh, which lay on the cast bank of the Tigris, not on the Euphrates. Strabo (16. 1. 3) says that it was "much greater" than Babylon, whose circuit, as given below (7. 3), was 360 stades.

2 It is believed with reason that behind the mythical figure of Semiramis, made famous by Greek and Roman legend,
BOOK II. 3. 2-4. 1

return to their own country and then, gathering his forces from every quarter and all the necessary material, he founded on the Euphrates river a city\(^1\) which was well fortified with walls, giving it the form of a rectangle. The longer sides of the city were each one hundred and fifty stades in length, and the shorter ninety. And so, since the total circuit comprised four hundred and eighty stades, he was not disappointed in his hope, since a city its equal, in respect to either the length of its circuit or the magnificence of its walls, was never founded by any man after his time. For the wall had a height of one hundred feet and its width was sufficient for three chariots abreast to drive upon; and the sum total of its towers was one thousand five hundred, and their height was two hundred feet. He settled in it both Assyrians, who constituted the majority of the population and had the greatest power, and any who wished to come from all other nations. And to the city he gave his own name, Ninus, and he included within the territory of its colonists a large part of the neighbouring country.

4. Since after the founding of this city Ninus made a campaign against Bactriana, where he married Semiramis,\(^2\) the most renowned of all women of whom we have any record, it is necessary first of all to tell how she rose from a lowly fortune to such fame.

"a sort of Assyrian Catherine II, distinguished equally in war and for sensuality" (How and Wells, A Commentary on Herodotus, 1. p. 143), lies the historical Sammu-ramat, who was queen-regent in the opening years of the reign of her son Adad-nirari III, 811-782 B.C. About her in the course of the centuries gathered many attributes of the Babylonian goddess Ishtar; her son greatly extended the Assyrian power (see The Cambridge Ancient History, 3. pp. 27 ff., 183-4).
2 Ἐγραμμένη θεοῦ ἐνθρεμένη προσκόπασαν τῇ προειρημένῃ θεᾶ δεινῶν ἐμβαλεῖν ἑρωτα νεανίσκου τινὸς τῶν θυντῶν οὐκ ἁυδίον τῇ δὲ Δερκετοῦν μυγείσαν τῷ Σύρῳ γεννησάται μὲν θυγατέρα, κατασχυνθείσαι δὲ ἐπὶ τοὺς ὑμαρτημένους τοῖς μὲν νεανίσκον ἀφανίσαι, τὸ δὲ παιδίον εἰς τινὰς ἐρήμων καὶ πετρώδεις τόπους ἐκθείναι· ἐντῷ δὲ διὰ τὴν αἰσχύνην καὶ λύπην ρύψασαν εἰς τὴν λίμνην μετασχηματισθῆσαι τὸν τοῦ σώματος τύπον εἰς ἠχόνων διὸ καὶ τοὺς Σύρους μέχρι τοῦ νῦν ἀπέχεσθαι τούτων τοῦ ζῶου καὶ τιμῶν τοὺς

3 τινὰς αὐτίας, μυθολογοῦσιν οἱ λογιστατοὶ τῶν ἀγχωρίων τὴν Ἀφροδίτην προσκόπασαν τῇ προειρημένῃ θεᾶ δεινῶν ἐμβαλεῖν ἑρωτα νεανίσκου τινὸς τῶν θυντῶν οὐκ ἁυδίον τῇ δὲ Δερκετοῦν μυγείσαν τῷ Σύρῳ γεννησάται μὲν θυγατέρα, κατασχυνθείσαι δὲ ἐπὶ τοὺς ὑμαρτημένους τοῖς μὲν νεανίσκον ἀφανίσαι, τὸ δὲ παιδίον εἰς τινὰς ἐρήμων καὶ πετρώδεις τόπους ἐκθείναι· ἐντῷ δὲ διὰ τὴν αἰσχύνην καὶ λύπην ρύψασαν εἰς τὴν λίμνην μετασχηματισθῆσαι τὸν τοῦ σώματος τύπον εἰς ἠχόνων διὸ καὶ τοὺς Σύρους μέχρι τοῦ νῦν ἀπέχεσθαι τούτων τοῦ ζῶου καὶ τιμῶν τοὺς

4 ἠχόνων ὡς θεοῦς, περὶ δὲ τὸν τόπον ὅπου τὸ βρέφος ἐξετέθη πλήθους περιστερῶν ἐννεοτεῦντος παραδόκους καὶ δαιμονίως ὑπὸ τούτων τὸ παιδίον διατρέφεσθαι· τὰς μὲν γὰρ ταῖς πτέρυξι περιεχοῦσας τὸ σῶμα τοῦ βρέφους παινταχθέν θάλπαντε, τὰς δὲ ἐκ τῶν σύνεγγυς ἐπαιλείσαν, ὅποτε τηρήσειαν τοὺς τε βουκόλους καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους νομεῖς ἀπόντας, ἐν τῷ στόματι φεροῦσα γάλα διατρέφειν παρασταξούσας ἀνά

1 So Rhodomann : ἐκθείναι ἐν οἷς πολλοῖς πλήθους περιστερῶν ἐννεοτεῦντος εἰμιθότος παραδόκους τροφῆς καὶ σοιτῆσαι τυχεῖν τὸ βρέφος ("where a great multitude of doves were wont to have their nests and where the babe came upon nourishment and safety in an astounding manner"). Almost the very same words are repeated in the following sentence.
BOOK II. 4. 2-4

Now there is in Syria a city known as Ascalon, and not far from it a large and deep lake, full of fish. On its shore is a precinct of a famous goddess whom the Syrians call Derceto; and this goddess has the head of a woman but all the rest of her body is that of a fish, the reason being something like this. The story as given by the most learned of the inhabitants of the region is as follows: Aphrodite, being offended with this goddess, inspired in her a violent passion for a certain handsome youth among her votaries; and Derceto gave herself to the Syrian and bore a daughter, but then, filled with shame of her sinful deed, she killed the youth and exposed the child in a rocky desert region, while as for herself, from shame and grief she threw herself into the lake and was changed as to the form of her body into a fish; and it is for this reason that the Syrians to this day abstain from this animal and honour their fish as gods.

But about the region where the babe was exposed a great multitude of doves had their nests, and by them the child was nurtured in an astounding and miraculous manner; for some of the doves kept the body of the babe warm on all sides by covering it with their wings, while others, when they observed that the cowherds and the other keepers were absent from the nearby steadings, brought milk therefrom in their beaks and fed the babe by putting it drop

1 Another name for the Phoenician Astarte. Herodotus (1. 105) calls the goddess of Ascalon the "Heavenly Aphrodite."

2 ἀπόρρας Ursinus, Vogel: omitted ACDFG; ἀπόρρας all other MSS., Bekker, Dindorf.
5 μέσον τῶν χειλῶν. ἐνιαυσίον δὲ τοῦ παιδίου γενομένου καὶ στερεωτέρας τροφής προσδεομένου, τὰς περιστερὰς ἀποκυμίζομαι ἀπὸ τῶν τυρών παρέχεσθαι τροφήν ἀρκοῦσαν. τοὺς δὲ νομεῖς ἐπανύοντας καὶ θεωροῦντας περιβεβρωμένους τοὺς τυρῶν θαυμάσαι τὸ παράδοξον παρατηρήσαντας οὖν καὶ μαθόντας τὴν αἰτίαν
6 εὑρεῖν τὸ βρέφος, διαφέρου τῷ κάλλει. εὐθὺς οὖν αὐτὸ κομίσαντας εἰς τὴν ἑπαύλιν δωρήσασθαι τῷ προεστηκότι τῶν βασίλεικῶν κτηνῶν, ὅνομα Σίμμακα καὶ τοῦτον ἀτεκνοῦν ὡντα τὸ παιδίον τρέφειν ὡς θυγατρικόν μετὰ πάσης ἐπιμελείας, ὅνομα θέμενον Σεμίραμιν, ὅπερ ἔστε κατὰ τὴν τῶν Σύρων διάλεκτον παρανομαζόμενον ἀπὸ τῶν περιστέρων, ὡς ἀπ’ ἑκείνων τῶν Χρόνων οἱ κατὰ Συρίαν ἀπαντῶν διετέλεσαν ὡς θεάς τιμῶντες.

5. Τὰ μὲν ὅντα κατὰ τὴν γένεσιν τῆς Σεμιράμιδος μυθολογούμενα σχεδὸν ταῦτ’ ἔστων. ἦδη δ’ αὐτῆς ἥλικιαν ἑχούσης γάμου καὶ τῷ κάλλει πολὺ τὰς ἄλλας παρθένους διαφερούσης, ἀπεστάλη παρὰ βασιλέως ὑπαρχος ἐπισκεψόμενος τὰ βασιλικὰ κτήνη. αὐτὸς δ’ ἐκαλεῖτο μὲν 'Ομηρος, πρῶτος δ’ ἢν τῶν ἐκ τοῦ βασιλικοῦ συνεδρίου καὶ τῆς Συρίας ἀπάσης ἀποδεδειγμένος ὑπαρχος. δὲς καταλύσας παρὰ τῷ Σίμμα καὶ θεωρήσας τὴν Σεμίραμιν ἐθηρεύθη τῷ κάλλει. διὸ καὶ του Σίμμα καταδεικθεὶς αὐτῷ δοῦναι τὴν παρθένον ἐκ γάμου ἐννομούν, ἀπήγαγεν αὐτὴν εἰς Νίνον, καὶ ὄλλας ἐγέννησε δύο παιδίας, 'Ταπάτην καὶ 'Ταλαστήν. τῆς δὲ Σεμιράμιδος ἑχούσης καὶ τάλλα ἀκόλουθα τῇ περὶ τὴν ὦσιν ἐν προτείᾳ, συνέβαιν τὸν ἀνδρα τελέος ὑπ’ αὐτῆς δεδουλώσθαι, 360
by drop between its lips. And when the child was a
year old and in need of more solid nourishment,
the doves, pecking off bits from the cheeses, supplied
it with sufficient nourishment. Now when the keepers
returned and saw that the cheeses had been nibbled
about the edges, they were astonished at the strange
happening; they accordingly kept a look-out, and
on discovering the cause found the infant, which
was of surpassing beauty. At once, then, bringing
it to their steadings they turned it over to the keeper
of the royal herds, whose name was Simmas; and
Simmas, being childless, gave every care to the rear-
ing of the girl, as his own daughter, and called her
Semiramis, a name slightly altered from the word
which, in the language of the Syrians, means
“doves,” birds which since that time all the
inhabitants of Syria have continued to honour as
goddesses.

5. Such, then, is in substance the story that is told
about the birth of Semiramis. And when she had
already come to the age of marriage and far surpassed
all the other maidens in beauty, an officer was sent
from the king’s court to inspect the royal herds;
his name was Onnes, and he stood first among the
members of the king’s council and had been appointed
governor over all Syria. He stopped with Simmas,
and on seeing Semiramis was captivated by her
beauty; consequently he earnestly entreated Simmas
to give him the maiden in lawful marriage and took
her off to Ninus, where he married her and begat
two sons, Hyapates and Hydaspes. And since the
other qualities of Semiramis were in keeping with
the beauty of her countenance, it turned out that
her husband became completely enslaved by her.
καὶ μηδὲν ἀνευ τῆς ἐκείνης γνώμης πράττοντα κατευθυνεῖν εἰς πάση.

3 Καθ' ὑπὸ δὲν ἔνοχον ὁ βασιλεὺς, ἐπειδὴ τὰ περὶ τὴν κτίσιν τῆς ὁμονύμου πόλεως συνετέλεσε, στρατεύειν ἐπὶ Βακτριανοῦς ἐπεξερήσειν. εἰδὼς δὲ τὰ τε πλήθη καὶ τὴν ἄλλην τῶν ἄνδρῶν, ἔτι δὲ τὴν χώραν ἔχουσαν πολλοὺς τύπους ἀπροσίτους διὰ τὴν ὑγρότητα, κατέλεξεν ἐπὶ ἀπάντου τῶν ὑπὸ αὐτὸν ἐθνῶν στρατιωτῶν πλήθος· ἐπεὶ γὰρ τῆς πρὸτεροῦσας στρατεύσεως ἀποτελείν ήν, ἐσπευδάρα πολλαπλασίων παραγενεῖν·

4 σανώντει πρὸς τὴν Βακτριανήν. συναχθείσης δὲ τῆς στρατιάς πανταχόθεν ἦρμηνευθήσαν, ὡς Κτησίας ἐν ταῖς ἱστορίαις ἀναγέγραφε, πεζῶν μὲν ἐκατόν ἐβδομήκοντα μυριάδες, ἵππων δὲ μιᾶ πλείον τῶν εἰκοσὶ μυριάδων, ἅρματα δὲ δρεπανηφόρα μικρὸν ἀπολείποντα τῶν μυρίων ἐξακοσίων.

5 Ὑπετὶ μὲν οὖν ἀπιστοῦ τοῖς αὐτόθεν ἀκούσασι τὸ πλῆθος τῆς στρατιάς, οὐ μὴν ἠδύνατον γε φανήσεται τοῖς ἀναθεωροῦσι τὸ τῆς Ἀσίας μέγεθος καὶ τὰ πλῆθη τῶν κατοικούντων αὐτὴν ἑθῶν. εἰ γὰρ τοῖς ἀφεῖς τὴν ἐπὶ Σκύθαις Δαρείου στρατεύαν μετὰ ὕγαθον κατὰ μυριάδος καὶ τὴν Ἱέρβου διάβασιν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα τοῖς ἀναριθμητοῖς πλῆθεσι, τὰς ἔχθες εἰ καὶ πραξῆν συντελεύθεαι πράξεις ἐπὶ τῆς Εὐρώπης σκέψαι τοῖς τοῖς περιτιθῇν ἄνθρωποι πρῶτον ἀν ἀπαξίλλον ὁ Διονύσιος ἐκ μιᾶς τῆς τῶν

6 τάχινον ἀν πιστοῦν ἐγκύησαι τὸ ῥήθην. κατὰ μὲν οὖν τὴν Σικελίαν ὁ Διονύσιος ἐκ μιᾶς τῆς τῶν

1 ἔξθες Vogel: χθές Vulgate, Bekker, Diddorf.
and since he would do nothing without her advice he prospered in everything.

It was at just this time that the king, now that he had completed the founding of the city which bore his name, undertook his campaign against the Bactrians. And since he was well aware of the great number and the valour of these men, and realized that the country had many places which because of their strength could not be approached by an enemy, he enrolled a great host of soldiers from all the nations under his sway; for as he had come off badly in his earlier campaign, he was resolved on appearing before Bactriana with a force many times as large as theirs. Accordingly, after the army had been assembled from every source, it numbered, as Ctesias has stated in his history, one million seven hundred thousand foot-soldiers, two hundred and ten thousand cavalry, and slightly less than ten thousand six hundred scythe-bearing chariots.

Now at first hearing the great size of the army is incredible, but it will not seem at all impossible to any who consider the great extent of Asia and the vast numbers of the peoples who inhabit it. For if a man, disregarding the campaign of Darius against the Scythians with eight hundred thousand men and the crossing made by Xerxes against Greece with a host beyond number, should consider the events which have taken place in Europe only yesterday or the day before, he would the more quickly come to regard the statement as credible. In Sicily, for instance, Dionysius led forth on his

1 Herodotus (4. 87) makes the number 700,000, exclusive of the fleet.
2 Cp. Book 11. 3.
Diodorus of Sicily

Συρακοσίων πόλεως ἐξήγαγεν ἐπὶ τὰς στρατεύσις πεζῶν μὲν δώδεκα μυριάδας, ἵππεις δὲ μυρίους καὶ δισχίλιους, ναῦς δὲ μακρὰς ἐξ ἐνὸς λιμένος τετρακοσίας, ὃν ἦσαν ἐκεῖ καὶ τετρῆς καὶ πεντῆς ἑπταρχίας. Ὡς μαίοι δὲ μικρὸν πρὸ τῶν Ἀμφαλίκων καιρῶν, προσορμόμενοι τὸ μέγεθος τοῦ πολέμου, κατέγραψαν τοὺς κατὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἐπιτηδείους εἰς 1 στρατεύσις πολίτας τε καὶ συμμάχους, ὅπως ὁ σύμπας ἀριθμὸς μικρὸν ἀπέλλυτε τῶν ἐκατὸν μυριάδων· καὶ τῇ ἑκατοντάραπτῷ τῆς Ἰταλίας ὅλην ύπε ἐν τῆς συγκρίνει τυράννων ἐν ἔθνος τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν. ταῦτα μὲν ὅπως ἠμὶν εἰρήσθω πρὸς τοὺς ἐκ τῆς υἱόν περὶ τὰς πόλεις ὅπως ἐρημίας τεκμιρομένως τῆς παλαιᾶς τῶν ἐθνῶν πολυπολιτικῶν.

6. Ὅ δ’ οὖν Νίκων μετὰ τασαύτης δυνάμεως στρατεύσις εἰς τὴν Βακτριανῆν ἠμαγκαζότο, δυσεισβόλων τῶν τόπων καὶ στενῶν ὑποτῶν, κατὰ 2 μέρος ἄγεω δὴ τῆς δύναμιν. ἡ γὰρ Βακτριανὴ χώρα πολλαίς καὶ μεγάλαις ὁικουμένη πόλεσι μίαν μὲν ἔχειν ἐπιφανεστάτην, ἐν ἐκατοκεφάλαιαν εἰσὶ καὶ τὰ βασίλεια· αὐτὰς δ’ ἐκαλεῖτο μὲν Βάκτρα, μεγέθει δὲ καὶ τῇ κατὰ τὴν ἀκρόπολιν ὀχυρωτῆτι πολὺ πασῶν διέφερε. βασιλεύοντων δ’ αὐτῆς Ὁξύρτῃς κατέγραψεν ἀπαντάς τοὺς ἐν

1 τῆν after eis omitted by CD and deleted by Vogel: retained by Bekker, Dindorf.

1 Diodorus assumes that his readers are familiar with the fact that the vessel constituting the body of this fleet was the trireme, the standard warship of the period of Dionysius (fourth century B.C.); the quadrirremes and quinquarremes were the next two larger classes. The complement of the trireme was 364
campaigns from the single city of the Syracusans one hundred and twenty thousand foot-soldiers and twelve thousand cavalry, and from a single harbour four hundred warships, some of which were quadriremes and quinqueremes;¹ and the Romans, a little before the time of Hannibal, foreseeing the magnitude of the war, enrolled all the men in Italy who were fit for military service, both citizens and allies, and the total sum of them fell only a little short of one million; and yet as regards the number of inhabitants a man would not compare all Italy with a single one of the nations of Asia.² Let these facts, then, be a sufficient reply on our part to those who try to estimate the populations of the nations of Asia in ancient times on the strength of inferences drawn from the desolation which at the present time prevails in its cities.

6. Now Ninus in his campaign against Bactriana with so large a force was compelled, because access to the country was difficult and the passes were narrow, to advance his army in divisions. For the country of Bactriana, though there were many large cities for the people to dwell in, had one which was the most famous, this being the city containing the royal palace; it was called Bactra, and in size and in the strength of its acropolis was by far the first of them all. The king of the country, Oxyartes, had at least 200 men, which makes a minimum for the fleet of 80,000 rowers and marines. The larger vessels would, of course, carry larger crews. According to Polybius (1. 26) the quinqueremes of the Romans in the third century B.C. carried 300 rowers and 120 marines.

¹ Polybius (2. 24. 16) estimates the total number of Romans and allies capable of bearing arms at this time (c. 225 B.C.) as 700,000 foot-soldiers and 70,000 cavalry.
ΔΙΟΔΟΡΟΣ Ο ΣΙΚΙΛΙΚΟΣ

3 θησαυ εις τεταράκοντα μυριάδας. ἀναλαβὼν οὖν τὴν δύναμιν καὶ τοῖς πολεμίοις ἀπαντήσας περὶ τὰς εἰσβολάς, εἰάσε μέχος τῆς τοῦ Νίνου στρατιᾶς εἰσβαλεῖν ἐπεὶ δὲ ἔδοξεν ἰκανόν ἀποβεβηκέναι τῶν πολεμίων πλήθος εἰς τὸ πεδίον, ἐξέταξε τὴν ἴδιαν δύναμιν. γενομένης δὲ μάχης ἱσχυρᾶς οἱ Βακτριανοὶ τοὺς Ἀσσυρίους τρεφόμενοι καὶ τὸν διωγμὸν μέχρι τῶν ὑπερκειμένων ὁρῶν ποιησάμενοι διέφθειραν τῶν πολεμίων εἰς

4 δέκα μυριάδας. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα πάσης τῆς δυνάμεως εἰσβαλούσης, κρατοῦμενοι τοῖς πλήθεσι κατὰ πόλεις ἀπεχώρησαν, ἐκαστοὶ ταῖς ἴδιαις πατρίσι βοηθήσαντες. τὰς μὲν οὖν ἄλλας ὁ Νίνος ἐχειρώσατο ῥαδίως, τὰ δὲ Βάκτρα διὰ τε τὴν ἀρχήτητα καὶ τὴν ἐν αὐτῇ παρασκευὴν ἤδυνατε κατὰ κράτος ἔλειον.

5 Πολυχρονίου δὲ τῆς πολιορκίας γινομένης, ἡ τῶν Σεμιράμιδος ἀνήρ, ἐρωτικός ἦσσων πρὸς τὴν γυναίκα καὶ συστρατευόμενος τῷ βασίλει, μετεπέμφατο τὴν ἀνθρώπον. ἡ δὲ συνέσει καὶ τόλμη καὶ τῶν ἄλλως τοὺς πρὸς ἐπιφάνειαν συντείνουσι κεχορηγημένη καιρὸν ἐλάβεν ἐπιδείκασθαι τὴν

6 ἴδιαν ἄρετήν. πρῶτον μὲν οὖν πολλῷ, ἡμερῶν ὁδὸν μέλλουσα διαπορεύεσθαι στολὴν ἐπραγματεύσατο δεὶ ἢς οὐκ ἦν διαγρώνα τῶν περιβεβηκένων πότερον ἀνήρ ἔστιν ἡ γυνή. αὐτῇ δέ ἦν εὔχρηστος αὐτῇ πρὸς τε τὰς ἐν τοῖς καύμαιν ὁδοιπορίας, εἰς τὸ διατηρῆσαι τοῦ τοῦ σώματος χρῶτα, καὶ πρὸς τὰς ἐν τῷ πράττειν ὁ βούλοιτο χρείας, εὐκίνητος ὑσσα καὶ νεανική.

ἀ1 γενομένης Gemistus: γενομένης.
enrolled all the men of military age, and they had been gathered to the number of four hundred thousand. So taking this force with him and meeting the enemy at the passes, he allowed a division of the army of Ninus to enter the country; and when he thought that a sufficient number of the enemy had debouched into the plain he drew out his own forces in battle-order. A fierce struggle then ensued in which the Bactrians put the Assyrians to flight, and pursuing them as far as the mountains which overlooked the field, killed about one hundred thousand of the enemy. But later, when the whole Assyrian force entered their country, the Bactrians, overpowered by the multitude of them, withdrew city by city, each group intending to defend its own homeland. And so Ninus easily subdued all the other cities, but Bactra, because of its strength and the equipment for war which it contained, he was unable to take by storm.

But when the siege was proving a long affair the husband of Semiramis, who was enamoured of his wife and was making the campaign with the king, sent for the woman. And she, endowed as she was with understanding, daring, and all the other qualities which contribute to distinction, seized the opportunity to display her native ability. First of all, then, since she was about to set out upon a journey of many days, she devised a garb which made it impossible to distinguish whether the wearer of it was a man or a woman. This dress was well adapted to her needs, as regards both her travelling in the heat, for protecting the colour of her skin, and her convenience in doing whatever she might wish to do, since it was quite pliable and suitable to a young person, and,
καὶ τὸ σύνολον τοσαῦτα τῆς ἐπὶ τῇ ἄρτη χάρις ὁσθ' ὑστεραῖ Μήδους ἦγησαμένους τῆς Ἀσίας φορεῖν τὴν Σεμιράμιδος στολήν, καὶ μετὰ ταῦθ' ὡμοίως Πέρσας, παραγενομένη δ' εἰς τὴν Βακτρια-νὴν καὶ κατασκευαζῇν τὰ περὶ τὴν πολυορκίαν, ἑώρα κατὰ μὲν τὰ πεδία καὶ τοὺς εὐεφόδους τῶν τόπων προσβολάς γινομένας, πρὸς δὲ τὴν ἀκρό-πολιν οὐδένα προσίστοντα διὰ τὴν ὁχυρότητα, καὶ τοὺς ἔνδον ἀπολελουτότας τὰς ἐνταῦθα φυλακὰς καὶ παραβοθοῦντας τοὺς ἐπὶ τῶν κατω τειχῶν κυιδυνεύουσι. διόπερ παραλαβοῦσα τῶν στρατιω- 
τῶν τοὺς πετροβατεῖν εἰσθότας, καὶ μετὰ τούτων διὰ τινος χαλεπῆς φάραγγος προσαναβᾶσα, κατ- 
ελάβετο μέρος τῆς ἀκροπόλεως καὶ τοὺς πολυορ-
κούσι τὸ κατὰ τὸ πεδίον τείχος ἐσήμηνεν. οὐ 
δ' ἔνδον ἐπὶ τῇ καταλήψει τῆς ἀκρας καταπλα-
γέντες ἕξελιπον τὰ τείχη καὶ τὴν σωτηρίαν ἀπέγνωσαν.

Τούτου δὲ τὸν τρόπον ἀλούσης τῆς πόλεως ὁ βασιλεὺς θαυμάζας τὴν ἀρετὴν τῆς γυναικὸς τὸ μὲν πρῶτον μεγάλαις δωρεαῖς αὐτὴν ἐτίμησε, μετὰ δὲ ταύτα διὰ τὸ κάλλος τῆς ἀνθρώπου σχῶν ἔρωτικός ἐπεχείρησε τὸν ἀνδρὰ πείθειν ἐκούσιος αὐτῷ παραχωρῆσαι, ἐπαγγειλάμενος ἄντι ταύτης τῆς χάριτος αὐτῷ συνοικίαις τὴν ὅσιαν θυγατέρα

Σωσάνην. δυσχερῶς δ' αὐτοῦ φέροντο, ἡπει- 
λήσεις ἐκκόψειν τὰς ὀράσεις μὴ προχεῖρως ὑπη- 
ρετοῦντο τοὺς προστάγμασιν. ο ἐδ' Ὅμηρος ἄμα

---

1 The Median dress was distinguished from that of the Greeks by its covering for the head, a long coat with sleeves

365
in a word, was so attractive that in later times the Medes, who were then dominant in Asia, always wore the garb of Semiramis, as did the Persians after them. Now when Semiramis arrived in Bactriana and observed the progress of the siege, she noted that it was on the plains and at positions which were easily assailed that attacks were being made, but that no one ever assaulted the acropolis because of its strong position, and that its defenders had left their posts there and were coming to the aid of those who were hard pressed on the walls below. Consequently, taking with her such soldiers as were accustomed to clambering up rocky heights, and making her way with them up through a certain difficult ravine, she seized a part of the acropolis and gave a signal to those who were besieging the wall down in the plain. Thereupon the defenders of the city, struck with terror at the seizure of the height, left the walls and abandoned all hope of saving themselves.

When the city had been taken in this way, the king, marvelling at the ability of the woman, at first honoured her with great gifts, and later, becoming infatuated with her because of her beauty, tried to persuade her husband to yield her to him of his own accord, offering in return for this favour to give him his own daughter Susanh to wife. But when the man took his offer with ill grace, Ninus threatened to put out his eyes unless he at once acceded to his commands. And Onnes, partly out of fear of the extending to the hands, trousers, and boots. Strabo (11. 13. 9) expressed the contempt generally felt for it by the Greeks when, in observing that the Persians adopted this garb, he adds that "they submitted to wear feminine robes instead of going naked or lightly clad, and to cover their bodies all over with clothes."
DIODORUS OF SICILY

μὲν τὰς τοῦ βασιλέως ἀπειλὰς δείσας, ἀμα δὲ διὰ τὸν ἐρωτα περιπεσὼν λύττη τινὶ καὶ μανία, βρόχουν εαυτῷ περιθεῖς ἀνεκρέμασε. Σεμιράμις μὲν οὖν διὰ τοιαύτας αἰτίας εἰς βασιλεικὸν ἦλθε πρόσχημα.

7. Ο δὲ Νίνος τοὺς τε ἐν Βάκτροις παρέλαβε θησαυροὺς, ἐχοντας πολὺν ἄργυρον τε καὶ χρυσὸν, καὶ τὰ κατὰ τὴν Βακτρανήν κατα-στήσας ἀπέλυσε τὰς δυνάμεις. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα γεννήσας ἐκ Σεμιράμιδος υἱὸν Νιώναν ἔτελεύτησε, τὴν γυναίκα ἀπολύσαν βασίλευσαν. τὸν δὲ Νίνον ἡ Σεμιράμις ἐθαψεν ἐν τοῖς βασιλείοις, καὶ κατεσκεύασεν ἐπ' αὐτῷ χώρα παμμέγεθες, οὔ τὸ μὲν ύψος ἤν ἐνυέα σταδίων, τὸ δ' εὗρος, ὡς 2 ψηλὸς Κτήσιας, δέκα. διὸ καὶ τῆς πόλεως παρὰ τὸν Βυθράτην ἐν πεδίῳ κειμένης ἀπὸ πολλῶν σταδίων ἐφαίνετο τὸ χώρα καθαπερὶ τις ἀκρό-πολις· ὧν καὶ μέχρι τοῦ νῦν φασί διαμένει, καίπερ τῆς Νίνου κατεσκαμμένης ύπὸ Μήδων, ὅτε κατέλυσαν τὴν Ἀσσυρίαν βασιλείαν.

Ἡ δὲ Σεμιράμις, οὕτα φύσει μεγαλεπίβολος καὶ φιλοτιμομενή τῇ δόξῃ τοῦ βεβασιλευκότα πρὸ αὐτῆς ὑπερβήσαται, πόλιν μὲν ἐπεβάλετο κτίσειν ἐν τῇ Βαβυλωνίᾳ, ἐπελεξαμένη δὲ τοὺς παυταχόθεν ἀρχιτέκτονας καὶ τεχνίτας, ἐτὶ δὲ τὴν ἄλλην χορηγίαν παρασκευασμένη, συν-ήγαγεν ἐξ ἀπάσης τῆς βασιλείας πρὸς τὴν τῶν ἔργων συντελεῖαν ἀνδρῶν μυριάδας διακοσίας.

1 In 612 B.C.
2 The following picture of Babylon serves to show the impression which this great city, whose "circuit was that more
king's threats and partly out of his passion for his wife, fell into a kind of frenzy and madness, put a rope about his neck, and hanged himself. Such, then, were the circumstances whereby Semiramis attained the position of queen.

7. Ninus secured the treasures of Bactra, which contained a great amount of both gold and silver, and after settling the affairs of Bactriana disbanded his forces. After this he begat by Semiramis a son Ninyas, and then died, leaving his wife as queen. Semiramis buried Ninus in the precinct of the palace and erected over his tomb a very large mound, nine stades high and ten wide, as Ctesias says. Consequently, since the city lay on a plain along the Euphrates, the mound was visible for a distance of many stades, like an acropolis; and this mound stands, they say, even to this day, though Ninus was razed to the ground by the Medes when they destroyed the empire of the Assyrians.¹

Semiramis, whose nature made her eager for great exploits and ambitious to surpass the fame of her predecessor on the throne, set her mind upon founding a city in Babylonia, and after securing the architects of all the world and skilled artisans and making all the other necessary preparations, she gathered together from her entire kingdom two million men to complete the work.² Taking the

of a nation than of a city " (Aristotle, Politics, 3. 3. 5), made upon the Greeks. The older city was badly damaged by the sack of Sennacherib (c. 689 B.C.). The same ruler, however, commenced the work of rebuilding it, a task which was continued by successive kings of Assyria. The Chaldaean Nebuchadrezzar (605-562 B.C.) further embellished it, making it the most magnificent city of Asia, and it is his city which was known to the classical writers.
Diodorus of Sicily

3 ἀπολαβοῦσα δὲ τὸν Ὑφράτην ποταμὸν εἰς μέσον περιεβάλετο τεῖχος τῇ πόλει σταδίων ἐξήκοντα καὶ τριακοσίων, διειλιμμένου πῦργοις πυκνοῖς καὶ μεγάλοις, οἷς φησὶ Κητσίας ὁ Κνίδιος, ὡς ἐν Κλείταρχος καὶ τῶν ὅστερον μετὶ Ἀλεξάνδρου διαβάντων εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν τινὲς ἀνέγραψαν, τριακοσίων ἐξήκοντα πέντε σταδίων καὶ προστεθέασιν ὅτι τῶν ἵππων ἔμερον εἰς τῶν ἐναυῶν υ ὑψών ἐφιλοτεμήθη τὸν ἴππον ἄριβον

4 τῶν σταδίων ὑποστήσασθαι. ὡς δὲ τοῖς ἐναυῶν πῦργοις ἐκθαλατούν ἐνδησαμένη τεῖχος κατεσκεύασε τὸ μὲν ύψος, ὡς μὲν Κητσίας φησί, πεντήκοντα ὁργιών, ὡς ὅ ἐνοικιών ἐστιν τῶν ἔθεσαν ἐγραφαί, πειχῶν πεντήκοντα, τὸ δὲ πλάτος πλέον ἢ δυσὶν ἄρμασιν ἱππάσμιον πῦργον δὲ τῶν μὲν ἄριβον διακοσίων καὶ πεντήκοντα, τὸ δὲ ύψος καὶ πλάτος ἐξ ἀναλογίαν τῷ βάρει τῶν

5 κατὰ τὸ τεῖχος ἔργων. οὐ χρὴ δὲ θαυμάζειν ἐν τῇ τηλικούτου τὸ μέγεθος τοῦ περιβόλου καθεστῶτος ὁλίγους πῦργους κατεσκεύασεν· ὅπῃ πολὺν γὰρ τόπον τῆς πολεούς ἔλεσι περιεχομένης, κατὰ τοῦτον τοῦ τόπου οὐκ ἔδοξεν αὐτὴ πῦργους ὁικοδομεῖν, τῆς ψυχεὼς τῶν ἐλῶν ἰκανῆς παρεχομένης ὑδρότητα. ἀνὰ μέσον δὲ τῶν οἰκιών καὶ τῶν τεῖχων ὅδος πάντη κατελεύπτο διπλεθρος.

1 So Eichstädt, who deletes after μεγάλοις: "And such was the massiveness of the works that the width of the walls was sufficient to allow six chariots to drive abreast upon it, and their height was unbelievable to those who only hear of it."

2 Jacoby, F. Gr. Hist., s.v. Kleitarchos, frg. 10. adds ὁργιῶν after ύψος and adopts the reading of ΑΒΔ and 372̅
Euphrates river into the centre she threw about the city a wall with great towers set at frequent intervals, the wall being three hundred and sixty stades in circumference, as Ctesias of Cnidus says, but according to the account of Cleitarchus and certain of those who at a later time crossed into Asia with Alexander, three hundred and sixty-five stades; and these latter add that it was her desire to make the number of stades the same as the days in the year. Making baked bricks fast in bitumen she built a wall with a height, as Ctesias says, of fifty fathoms, but, as some later writers have recorded, of fifty cubits, and wide enough for more than two chariots abreast to drive upon; and the towers numbered two hundred and fifty, their height and width corresponding to the massive scale of the wall. Now it need occasion no wonder that, considering the great length of the circuit wall, Semiramis constructed a small number of towers; for since over a long distance the city was surrounded by swamps, she decided not to build towers along that space, the swamps offering a sufficient natural defence. And all along between the dwellings and the walls a road was left two plethra wide.

\[1\] About forty miles.
\[2\] Herodotus (1. 178) makes the circuit of the walls 480 stades, Strabo (16. 1. 5) 385, although this number has been generally taken by editors to be an error of the MSS. for 365, thus bringing him into agreement with Cleitarchus and Quintus Curtius 5. 4.
\[3\] i.e. either 300 feet high or 75 feet high. Herodotus, i.e., gives the height as 200 "royal cubits" (c. 335 feet).

Τzetzes, Chil. 9. 560: τὸ δ’ ὑψὸς ὄργισάν ἔχοντα, ὡς δ’ ἐνὶ τῶν νεώτερων φασὶ, πηχῶν ἔχοντα ("their height being sixty fathoms, but, as some later writers say, sixty cubits").
8. Πρὸς δὲ τὴν δεξίτητα τῆς τούτων οἰκοδομίας ἐκάστῳ τῶν φίλων στάδιον διεμέτρησε, δοῦσα τὴν ικανὴν εἰς τούτο χορηγίαν καὶ διακελευσμένη τέλος ἐπιθείναι τοῖς ἐργοῖς ἐν 2 ἐνιαυτῷ. διὸν ποιησάντων τὸ προσταγθὲν μετὰ πολλῆς σπουδῆς, τούτων μὲν ἀπεδέξατο τὴν φιλοτιμίαν, αὐτῇ δὲ κατὰ τὸ στενῶτατον μέρος τοῦ ποταμοῦ γέφυραν σταδίων πέντε τὸ μῆκος κατεσκεύασεν, εἰς βυθὸν φιλοτεχνῶς καθείσα τούς κίονας, οἱ διεστήκεσαν ἀπ' ἀλλήλων πόδας ὀκτάκολα. τοὺς δὲ συνεργοῦσαν γίνεσθαι τὸ ρημαῖον σιδηροῦ διελάμβανε, καὶ τὰς τούτων ἀρμονίας ἐπιλήσατο μόλυβδον ἐντήκουσα. τοῖς δὲ κίοσι πρὸ τῶν τὸ ἱερὰ δεχομένων πλευρῶν γαίας προκάτεσκεύασεν ἐχούσας τὴν ἀπορροήν περιφέρῃ καὶ συνδεδεμένην κατ' ὅλιγον ἔως τοῦ κατὰ τὸν κίονα πλάτους, ὅτως αἱ μὲν περὶ τὰς γαίας δεξίτητες τέμνωσι τὴν καταφορὰν τοῦ βεύματος, αἱ δὲ περιφέρειαι τῇ τούτου βίᾳ συνεϊκουσαι πρατύνωσι τὴν σφοδρότητα τοῦ 3 ποταμοῦ. ἣ μὲν οὖν γέφυρα, κεδρίναις καὶ κυπαριττίναις δοκοῖς, ἔτι δὲ φοινίκων στελέχεσι υπερμεγέθεσι κατεστεγασμένη καὶ τριάκοντα ποδῶν οὕσα τὸ πλάτος, οὐδενὸς ἐδόκει τῶν Σιμιράμιδος ἐργῶν τῇ φιλοτεχνίᾳ λείπεσθαι. εἴς ἐκατέρ οὖδὲ μέρους τοῦ ποταμοῦ κρητίδα

1 Some of the piers of this "most ancient stone bridge of which we have any record" have been discovered. They are twenty-one metres long, nine wide, and are placed nine metres

374
. 8. In order to expedite the building of these constructions she apportioned a stade to each of her friends, furnishing sufficient material for their task and directing them to complete their work within a year. And when they had finished these assignments with great speed she gratefully accepted their zeal, but she took for herself the construction of a bridge ¹ five stades long at the narrowest point of the river, skilfully sinking the piers, which stood twelve feet apart, into its bed. And the stones, which were set firmly together, she bonded with iron cramps, and the joints of the cramps ² she filled by pouring in lead. Again, before the piers on the side which would receive the current she constructed cutwaters whose sides were rounded to turn off the water and which gradually diminished to the width of the pier, in order that the sharp points of the cutwaters might divide the impetus of the stream, while the rounded sides, yielding to its force, might soften the violence of the river. ³ This bridge, then, floored as it was with beams of cedar and cypress and with palm logs of exceptional size and having a width of thirty feet, is considered to have been inferior in technical skill to none of the works of Semiramis. And on each side of the river she built an expensive apart. An inscription of Nebuchadrezzar ascribes this bridge to his father Nabopolassar (R. Koldewey, The Excavations at Babylon (Eng. transl.), pp. 197-99).

² Or "of the stones" (so Liddell-Scott-Jones). But the use of cramps and dowels, sunk into the stones and made fast by pouring in molten lead, was the accepted bonding method in the classic period of Greek architecture, and dove-tailed wooden cramps laid in bitumen have been found in Babylon (Koldewey, l.c., p. 177).

³ The sides of the piers, as remains show, were convex at the north ends and then sharply receded to a point.
πολυτελὴ κατεσκεύασε παραπλησίων κατὰ τὸ πλάτος τοῦ τείχεσιν ἐπὶ σταδίους ἐκατὸν ἕξηκοντα.

Ωκαδόμησε δὲ καὶ βασιλεία διπλὰ παρ’ αὐτὸν τὸν ποταμὸν ἐξ ἐκατέρου μέρους τῆς γεφύρας, ἐξ ὧν ἅμι1 ἔμελλε τὴν τε πόλιν ἀπασαν καταπτευσεῖν2 καὶ καθαπερεὶ τὰς κλεῖς ἐξεῖν τῶν ἐπικαιριστῶν τῆς πόλεως τόπων. τοῦ δ’ Εὐφράτου διὰ μέσης τῆς Βαβυλώνος ρέουτος καὶ πρὸς μεσημβρίαν καταφερομένου, τῶν βασιλείων τὰ μὲν πρὸς ἀνατολὴν ἔνευε, τὰ δὲ πρὸς δύσιν, ἀμφότερα δὲ πολυτελῶς κατεσκεύαστο. τοῦ μὲν γὰρ3 πρὸς ἐσπέραν κεφαλάριον μέρους ἐποίησε τὸν πρῶτον περίβολον ἐξήκοντα σταδίων, ύψηλοι καὶ πολυτελέσι τείχεσιν ὁχυρωμένου, εξ ὑπόπτης πλίθου. ἔτερον δ’ ἐντὸς τοῦτον κυκλοστερὴν κατεσκεύασε, καθ’ ὑπὸν ἐν ὁμοίας ἐν ταῖς πλίνθους διετετύπωτο θηρία παυτοδαπὰ τῇ τῶν χρωμάτων φιλοτεχνία τὴν ἅλθειαν ἀπομομούμενα. οὗτος δ’ ὁ περίβολος ἦν τὸ μὲν μῆκος σταδίων τετταράκοντα, τὸ δὲ πλάτος ἐπὶ τριακοσίας4 πλίνθους, τὸ δ’ ύψος, ὡς Κτεσίας φησίν, ὄργυμων πεντήκοντα τῶν δὲ πύργων ὑπῆρχε τὸ ύψος ὄργυμων ἐβδομῆκοντα. 6 κατεσκεύασε δὲ καὶ τρίτον εὐδοτέρον περίβολον, ὅς περιεῖχεν ἀκρόπολιν, ἦς ἡ μὲν περίμετρος ἦν σταδίων ἐκκοσι, τὸ δὲ ύψος5 καὶ πλάτος τῆς οἰκοδομίας ὑπεραίρου τοῦ μέσου τείχους τῆν

1 μὲν after ἅμι deleted by Dindorf.
2 καταπτευσεῖν Dindorf: καταπτεύειν.
3 εἰς τὸ after γὰρ deleted by Dindorf.
4 τριακοσία Dindorf: τριακοσίους.
5 ύψος Wurm: μῆκος.
quay\(^1\) of about the same width as the walls and one hundred and sixty stades long.

Semiramis also built two palaces on the very banks of the river, one at each end of the bridge, her intention being that from them she might be able both to look down over the entire city and to hold the keys, as it were, to its most important sections. And since the Euphrates river passed through the centre of Babylon and flowed in a southerly direction, one palace faced the rising and the other the setting sun, and both had been constructed on a lavish scale. For in the case of the one which faced west she made the length of its first or outer circuit wall sixty stades, fortifying it with lofty walls, which had been built at great cost and were of burned brick. And within this she built a second, circular in form,\(^2\) in the bricks of which, before they were baked, wild animals of every kind had been engraved, and by the ingenious use of colours these figures reproduced the actual appearance of the animals themselves; this circuit wall had a length of forty stades, a width of three hundred bricks, and a height, as Ctesias says, of fifty fathoms; the height of the towers, however, was seventy fathoms. And she built within these two yet a third circuit wall, which enclosed an acropolis whose circumference was twenty stades in length, but the height and width of the structure surpassed the dimensions of the middle circuit wall.

\(^1\) Cp. Herodotus I. 180.

\(^2\) Koldewey (\textit{i.e.}, p. 130) holds that the Greek word may not be translated "circular," preferring "annular, enclosed in itself, not open on one side, like the outer peribolos," his reason being that a "circular peribolos is found nowhere in Babylon."
κατασκευήν. ἐνήσαν δ' ἐν τε τοῖς πύργοις καὶ
tεῖχεςι ζῶνα παντοδαπὰ φιλοτέχνως τοῖς τε
χρώμασι καὶ τοῖς τῶν τύπων ἀπομιμήμασι
κατεσκευασμένα: τὸ δ' ὅλον ἐπετοίητο κυνήγιον
παντολον θηρίων ὑπάρχον πλήρες, ὅπως δὲν τὰ
μεγεθή πλέον ἢ πηχῶν τεττάρων. κατεσκευάστο
d' ἐν αὐτοῖς καὶ ἢ Σεμίραμις ἄφ' ἵππου
pάρδαλιν ἀκονικόουσα, καὶ πλησίων αὐτῆς ὁ
ἀνήρ Νίνος παῖων ἢ κειρὸς λέοντα λόγχη.
7 ἐπέστησε δὲ καὶ πύλας τριτώς, ὅ ἐν ὑπήρχον
diittai 2 χαλκαὶ διὰ μηχανῆς ἀνοιγόμεναι.

Ταύτα μὲν ὄντα βασίλεια καὶ τὸ μεγέθει
cαὶ ταῖς κατασκευαῖς πολὺ προεῖχε τῶν ὄπων
ἐπὶ θάτερα μέρη τοῦ ποταμοῦ. ἐξείνα γὰρ εἰπέ
τὸν μὲν περίβολον τοῦ τείχους τρικοντα στα-
dίων ἐξ ὑπῆς πλήθου, ἀντὶ δὲ τῆς περὶ τὰ ζῶνα
φιλοτεχνίας χαλκᾶς εἰκόνας Νίνον καὶ Σεμ
ράμδος καὶ τῶν ὑπάρχων, ἔτσι δὲ Διός, ὅπως
καὶ Καλούσιον Βῆλον ἐνήσαν δὲ καὶ παρα-
tάξεις καὶ κυνήγια παντοδαπὰ, ποικίλην ψυχα-
γωγῶν παρεγόμενα τοῖς θεωμένοις.

9. Μετὰ δὲ ταύτα τῆς Βασιλείας ἐκλεξα
μένη τὸν ταπεινώτατον τόπον ἐποίησε δεξαμε
νήν τετράγωνον, ὡς ἢν ἐκάστη πλευρὰ σταδίων
tριακοσίων, ἐξ ὑπῆς πλήθου καὶ ἀσφάλτου
κατεσκευασμένη καὶ τὸ βάθος ἐχοῦσαν ποδῶν

1 φ' after τριτῶς deleted by Dindorf.
2 diittal Wurm: diittai.

1 Koldowey (l.c., pp. 129-31) identifies this palace with what
he calls the Persian Building, and finds traces of the three
circuit walls (periboloi). It is a striking coincidence that
among the fragments of glazed bricks depicting a chase of
378°
On both the towers and the walls there were again animals of every kind, ingeniously executed by the use of colours as well as by the realistic imitation of the several types; and the whole had been made to represent a hunt, complete in every detail, of all sorts of wild animals, and their size was more than four cubits. Among the animals, moreover, Semiramis had also been portrayed, on horseback and in the act of hurling a javelin at a leopard, and nearby was her husband Ninus, in the act of thrusting his spear into a lion at close quarters. In this wall she also set triple gates, two of which were of bronze and were opened by a mechanical device.

Now this palace far surpassed in both size and details of execution the one on the other bank of the river. For the circuit wall of the latter, made of burned brick, was only thirty stades long, and instead of the ingenious portrayal of animals it had bronze statues of Ninus and Semiramis and their officers, and one also of Zeus, whom the Babylonians call Belus; and on it were also portrayed both battle-scenes and hunts of every kind, which filled those who gazed thereon with varied emotions of pleasure.

9. After this Semiramis picked out the lowest spot in Babylonia and built a square reservoir, which was three hundred stades long on each side; it was constructed of baked brick and bitumen, and had a wild animals there was found only one human face, that of a woman in white enamel. "We can scarcely doubt, therefore," he says, "that Diodorus was describing the enamels of the Persian building, and that the white face of a woman is the same that Ctesias recognized as a portrait of Semiramis."

2 "Zeus Belus" was the name by which the Babylonian, Bel-Marduk was known among the Greeks.
Diodorus of Sicily

2 τριάκοντα καὶ πέντε. εἰς ταῦτην δ’ ἀποστρέψασα τὸν ποταμὸν κατεσκεύασεν ἐκ τῶν ἐπὶ τάδε βασιλείων εἰς θάτερα διώρυχα· ἐξ ὤπτῆς δὲ πλὴνθου συνοικοδομήσασα τὰς καμάρας ἐξ ἑκατέρων μέρους ἀσφάλτῳ κατέχρισεν ἤψημένη, μέχρι οὗ τὸ πάχος τοῦ χρίσματος ἐποίησεν τηχῶν τεττάρων. τῆς δὲ διώρυχος ύπήρχοι οἱ μὲν τοῖχοι τὸ πλάτος ἐπὶ πλὴνθους εἰκοσι, τὸ δ’ υψός χωρίς τῆς καμφθείσης ψαλίδος ποδῶν δώδεκα, τὸ δὲ πλάτος ποδῶν πεντεκαίδεκα. ἐν ἡμέραις δ’ ἐπὶ τὰ κατασκευασθείσης αὐτῆς ἀποκατέστησε τὸν ποταμὸν ἐπὶ τὴν προὐπάρχουσαν ρύσιν, ὡστε τοῦ ῥεύματος ἐπάνω τῆς διώρυχος φερομένου δύνασθαι τὴν Σεμίραμιν ἐκ τῶν πέραν βασιλείων ἐπὶ θάτερα διαπορεύεσθαι μὴ διαβαίνονσα τὸν ποταμὸν. ἐπέστησε δὲ καὶ πύλας τῇ διώρυχῃ χαλκᾶς ἐφ’ ἑκάτερον μέρος, αἱ διέμειναι μέχρι τῆς 2 Περσῶν βασιλείας.

4. Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἐν μέσῃ τῇ πόλει κατεσκεύασεν ἱερὸν Δίων, ὅπεν καλοῦσιν οἱ Βαβυλώνιοι, καθάτερ εἰρήκαμεν, Βηλον. περὶ τούτου δὲ τῶν συγγραφέων διαφωνοῦντων, καὶ τοῦ κατασκευάζοντος διὰ τῶν χρόνων καταπετασκότος, οὐκ ἔστιν ἀποφήμασθαι τάκριβες. ὁμολογεῖται δ’ ὑψηλῶν γεγενήθαι καθ’ ὑπερβολὴν, καὶ τῶν Χαλδαίων ἐν αὐτῷ τὰς τῶν ἀστρῶν πεποίησθαι παρατηρήσεις, ἀκριβῶς θεωρούμενοι τῶν τ’ ἀνατολῶν καὶ δύσεων διὰ τὸ τὸν κατασκευάζοντός συματος ὑψος. τῆς δ’ ὀλίσ οἰκοδομίας ἐξ ἀσφαλ-
depth of thirty-five feet. Then, diverting the river into it, she built an underground passage-way from one palace to the other; and making it of burned brick, she coated the vaulted chambers on both sides with hot bitumen until she had made the thickness of this coating four cubits. The side walls of the passage-way were twenty bricks thick and twelve feet high, exclusive of the barrel-vault, and the width of the passage-way was fifteen feet. And after this construction had been finished in only seven days she let the river back again into its old channel, and so, since the stream flowed above the passage-way, Semiramis was able to go across from one palace to the other without passing over the river. At each end of the passage-way she also set bronze gates which stood until the time of the Persian rule.

After this she built in the centre of the city a temple of Zeus whom, as we have said, the Babylonians call Belus. Now since with regard to this temple the historians are at variance, and since time has caused the structure to fall in ruins, it is impossible to give the exact facts concerning it. But all agree that it was exceedingly high, and that in it the Chaldaeans made their observations of the stars, whose risings and settings could be accurately observed by reason of the height of the structure. Now the entire building was ingeniously constructed at great expense

1 What follows is a description of the great ziggurat, or stage-tower, of E-temen-ana-ki, the “foundation stone of heaven and earth.” According to Herodotus (1. 181) it had eight stories, but E. Unger (Babylon (1931), pp. 191 ff.) finds evidence for only seven (op. the Reconstruction, p. 283). The height of this great structure was nearly 300 feet, and in the course of time there gathered about it the Hebrew myth of the Tower of Babel (op. The Cambridge Ancient History, I, pp. 503 ff.).
Diodorus of Sicily

tou kai πλήθου πεφιλοτεχνημένης πολυτελῶς, ἐπὶ άκρας τῆς ἀναβάσεως τρία κατασκευάσειν ἀγάλματα χρυσᾶ σφυρῆλατα, Διὸς, Ἡρας, Ἄρεας. τούτων δὲ τὸ μὲν τοῦ Δίως ἐστηκός ἢν καὶ διαβεβηκός, ὑπάρχου δὲ ποδῶν τετταράκοντα τὸ μήκος σταθμὸν εἶχε χιλίων ταλάντων Βαβυλώνων: τὸ δὲ τῆς Ὁρέως ἐπὶ δύσφρον καθήμενον χρυσοῦ τὸν ἵσον σταθμὸν εἶχε τῷ προειρημένῳ ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν γονάτων αὐτῆς εἰστήκεσαν λεόντες δύο, καὶ πλησίων ὀφεὶς ὑπερμεγέθεις ἀργυροί, τριάκοντα ταλάντων ἐκαστὸς ἔχων τὸ βάρος. τὸ δὲ τῆς Ἡρας ἐστηκός ἢν ἀγαλμα, σταθμὸν ἔχου ταλάντων ὀκτακοσίων, καὶ τῇ μὲν δεξίᾳ χειρὶ κατεἰχε τῆς κεφαλῆς ὀφειν, τῇ δὲ ἄριστερᾷ σκηπτρον λιθοκόλλητον. τούτοις δὲ πᾶσι κοινῇ παρέκειτο τράπεζα χρυσῆ σφυρῆλατος, τὸ μὲν μήκος ποδῶν τετταράκοντα, τὸ δὲ εὐρος πεντεκάιδεκα, σταθμὸν ἔχουσα ταλάντων πεντακοσίων. ἐπὶ δὲ ταύτης ἐπέκειτο δύο καρχῆσια, σταθμὸν ἔχοντα τριάκοντα ταλάντων.

7 ἦσαν δὲ καὶ θυματήρια τὸν μὲν ἄρισθον ἱσα, τὸν δὲ σταθμὸν ἐκάτερον ταλάντων τριακοσίων. ὑπήρχον δὲ καὶ κρατῆρες χρυσοὶ τρεῖς, ὅπως ὅ μὲν τοῦ Δίως εἶλκε ταλάντα Βαβυλώνα χίλια καὶ διακόσια, τὸν δὲ ἄλλον ἐκάτερον εξακόσια.

8 ἀλλὰ ταύτα μὲν οἱ τῶν Περσῶν βασιλεῖς ὑστερον ἐσύλησαν· τῶν δὲ βασιλείων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων κατασκευασμάτων ὁ χρόνος τὰ μὲν ὀλοσχέρως ἤφανε, τὰ δὲ ἐλυμήνατο· καὶ γὰρ αὐτῆς τῆς Βαβυλώνος μὲν βραχύ τι μέρος οἰκεῖται, τὸ δὲ πλείστου ἐντὸς τείχους νεωργεῖται.

10. Ἡράχρη δὲ καὶ ὁ κρεμαστὸς καλούμενος

382
of bitumen and brick, and at the top of the ascent Semiramis set up three statues of hammered gold, of Zeus, Hera, and Rhea. Of these statues that of Zeus represented him erect and striding forward, and, being forty feet high, weighed a thousand Babylonian talents; that of Rhea showed her seated on a golden throne and was of the same weight as that of Zeus; and at her knees stood two lions, while near by were huge serpents of silver, each one weighing thirty talents. The statue of Hera was also standing, weighing eight hundred talents, and in her right hand she held a snake by the head and in her left a sceptre studded with precious stones. A table for all three statues, made of hammered gold, stood before them, forty feet long, fifteen wide, and weighing five hundred talents. Upon it rested two drinking-cups, weighing thirty talents. And there were censers as well, also two in number but weighing each three hundred talents, and also three gold mixing bowls, of which the one belonging to Zeus weighed twelve hundred Babylonian talents and the other two six hundred each. But all these were later carried off as spoil by the kings of the Persians, while as for the palaces and the other buildings, time has either entirely effaced them or left them in ruins; and in fact of Babylon itself but a small part is inhabited at this time, and most of the area within its walls is given over to agriculture.

10. There was also, beside the acropolis, the Hang-

1 Babylon was taken by the Persians in 539 B.C.
κήπος παρά τὴν άκρόπολιν, οὐ̑ Σεμιράμιδος, ἀλλά τινος ὑστερον Σύρου βασιλέως κατασκευά
c santos χάριν γνωσικος παλλακῆς ταύτην γάρ
φασιν οὐσαν τὸ γένους Περσίδα καὶ τοὺς ἐν τοῖς
ὁρεις λειμῶνας ἐπιξηγοῦσαν ἀξιωσαὶ τὸν βασιλέα
μιμήσασθαι διὰ τῆς τὸν ψυχομείου φιλοτεχνίας
2 τῆς τῆς Περσίδος χώρας ἱδιότητα. ἡς οἱ
παράδεισος τῆς μὲν πλευράν ἐκάστην παρεκ-
tεύνοις εἰς τέταρα πλέθρα, τὴν δὲ πρόσβασιν
ὁρεινῷ καὶ τὰς οἰκοδομίας ἄλλας εὖ ἄλλως ἔχουν,
3 ὡστε τὴν πρόσψυχιν εἶναι φθειροεἰδῆ. ὡς
de ταῖς κατασκευασμέναις ἀναβάσεσιν οἰκοδομητὸ
c σύρμησι, ἀπαν μὲν ὑποδεχόμεναι τὸ τοῦ φυτομε-
γείου βάρος, ἀλλήλων δέ ἐκ τοῦ κατ' ὅλων ἦν
μικρὰν ὑπερέχουσαι κατὰ τὴν πρόσβασιν. ἡ δ' ἀνωτάτῳ σύρμησι
ὀπισθάνουσα πεντήκοντα πηχῶν τῷ
ὑψῷ εἰχεν ἐπ' αὐτῇ τοῦ παραδείσου τὴν ἀνω-
tάτην ἐπιφανείαν συνεξισομένην τὸν περιβόλῳ
4 τῶν ἐπαλέξων. ἐπειθ' οἱ μὲν τοῖχοι πολυεπί
c κατασκευασμένοι τὸ πάχος εἶχον ποδῶν εἴκοσι
δύο, τῶν δὲ διεξόδων ἐκάστη τὸ πλάτος δέκα.
tὰς δ' ὄροφας κατεστέγαζον λίθιναι δοκοί, τὸ μὲν
μήκος σὺν ταῖς ἐπιβολαῖς ἔχουσα ποδῶν ἐκκαί-
5 δεκα, τὸ δ' πλάτος τεττάρων. τὸ δ' ἔπι ταῖς
dοκοῖς ὄροφων πρώτων μὲν εἶχον ὑπεστρώμενον
κάλαμον μετὰ πολλῆς ἀσφάλτου, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα
πλάτος ὑποκύπτει καὶ ἐπικαταστᾶ ἐν γύψῳ ἐστὶ,
τρίτην δ' ἐπιβολὴν ἐδέχετο 2 μολιβάς στέγας πρὸς τὸ
μὴ δικαίωσαι κατὰ βάθος τῆς ἐκ τοῦ χώματος

1 ἔφ' αὐτῇ Bekker, Dindorf.
2 ἐδέχετο Vogel: ἐπεδέχετο C, Bekker, Dindorf.

384
ing Garden, as it is called, which was built, not by Semiramis, but by a later Syrian king to please one of his concubines; for she, they say, being a Persian by race and longing for the meadows of her mountains, asked the king to imitate, through the artifice of a planted garden, the distinctive landscape of Persia.¹ The park ² extended four plethra on each side, and since the approach to the garden sloped like a hillside and the several parts of the structure rose from one another tier on tier, the appearance of the whole resembled that of a theatre. When the ascending terraces had been built, there had been constructed beneath them galleries which carried the entire weight of the planted garden and rose little by little one above the other along the approach; and the uppermost gallery, which was fifty cubits high, bore the highest surface of the park, which was made level with the circuit wall of the battlements of the city. Furthermore, the walls, which had been constructed at great expense, were twenty-two feet thick, while the passage-way between each two walls was ten feet wide. The roofs of the galleries were covered over with beams of stone sixteen feet long, inclusive of the overlap, and four feet wide. The roof above these beams had first a layer of reeds laid in great quantities of bitumen, over this two courses of baked brick bonded by cement, and as a third layer a covering of lead, to the end that the moisture from the soil might not penetrate beneath. On all this again earth had been

¹ The “Hanging Gardens” were built by the Chaldacan Nebuchadrezzar (605–562 B.C.) for his wife Amyibia, a Median princess.

² Paraideisos, “park,” a word borrowed from the Persian, meant no more than a wooded enclosure.
Βάθος, ἀρκοῦν 1 ταῖς τῶν μεγίστων δένδρων ρίζαις; τὸ δ’ ἐδαφὸς ἔξωμαλσαμένον πλήρες ὅν παντοδαπῶν δένδρων τῶν δυναμένων κατά τε τὸ μέγεθος καὶ τὴν ἄλλην χάριν τοὺς θεωμένους 6 ψυχαγωγήσαι. αἱ δὲ σύριγγες τὰ φῶτα δεχόμεναι ταῖς δι’ ἄλληλων ὑπεροχαῖς πολλὰς καὶ παντοδαπὰς εἶχον διαίτας βασιλικὰς; μία δ’, ἣν ἔκ τῆς ἀνωτάτης ἐπιφανείας διατομᾶς ἐχοῦσα καὶ πρὸς τὰς ἐπαντλήσεις τῶν ὕδατων ὄργανα, δι’ ὅν ἀνεσπάτο πλήθος ὕδατος ἐκ τοῦ ποταμοῦ, μηδενὸς τῶν ἔξωθεν τὸ γιώμενον συνιδεῖν δυναμένου. οὕτως μὲν οὖν ὁ παράδεισος, ὡς προείποι, ὑστερον κατεσκευάσθη.

11. 'Η δὲ Σεμίραμις ἐκτισε καὶ ἄλλας πόλεις παρὰ τῶν ποταμῶν τῶν τε Εὐφράτην καὶ τῶν Τίγριν, ἐν αἷς ἑμπόρα κατεσκεύασε τοὺς φορτίας διακομίζουσιν ἐκ τῆς Μηδίας καὶ Παρατακτικῆς καὶ πάσης τῆς σύνεγγυς χώρας. μετὰ γὰρ τῶν Νεῖλον καὶ Γάγγην ὅτες ἐπισημότατοι σχεδὸν τῶν κατὰ τὴν 'Ασίαν ποταμῶν Εὐφράτης καὶ Τίγρις τάς μὲν πηγὰς ἔχουσιν ἐκ τῶν 'Αρμενίων ὅρων, διεστῆκασι δὲ ἅπ’ ἄλληλων 2 σταδίους δισχίλιοι καὶ πεντακοσίους ἐνεχθέντες δὲ διὰ Μηδίας καὶ Παρατακτικῆς ἐμβάλλουσιν εἰς τὴν Μεσοποταμίαν, ἦν ἀπολαμβάνοντες εἰς

1 ἀρκοῦν Gemistus: ἀρκοῦν ἐν.

1 Koldewey (ἐκ., pp. 91–100) would identify a vaulted building in a corner of Nebuchadrezzar’s palace with this "hanging garden." Certain considerations speak strongly 386
piled to a depth sufficient for the roots of the largest trees; and the ground, when levelled off, was thickly planted with trees of every kind that, by their great size or any other charm, could give pleasure to the beholder. And since the galleries, each projecting beyond another, all received the light, they contained many royal lodgings of every description; and there was one gallery which contained openings leading from the topmost surface and machines for supplying the garden with water, the machines raising the water in great abundance from the river, although no one outside could see it being done. Now this park, as I have said, was a later construction.

11. Semiramis founded other cities also along the Euphrates and Tigris rivers, in which she established trading-places for the merchants who brought goods from Media, Paraetacene, and all the neighbouring region. For the Euphrates and Tigris, the most notable, one may say, of all the rivers of Asia after the Nile and Ganges, have their sources in the mountains of Armenia and are two thousand five hundred stades apart at their origin, and after flowing through Media and Paraetacene they enter Mesopotamia, which they enclose between them, thus for this: (1) hewn stone, rarely found elsewhere in Babylon, was used in its construction; (2) the walls, especially the central ones, are unusually thick, as if to bear some heavy burden; (3) the presence of a well, unique among the many found in the ruins of the city, which consists of three adjoining shafts, the two outer and oblong ones presumably being used for an endless chain of buckets, and the central and square shaft serving as an inspection-chamber. L. W. King (A History of Babylon, pp. 46–50) recognizes the force of these arguments, but is inclined “to hope for a more convincing site for the gardens.” E. Unger (Babylon, pp. 216 ff.) accepts the identification of Koldewey.
μέσον αὐτοί διαστήσαν τῇ χώρᾳ ταυτής τῆς προσηγορίας· μετὰ δὲ ταυτά τὴν Βαβυλωνίαν διελθόντες ἔν τῇ Ἐρυθρᾷν ἐξερεύνονται θάλατ-8
tan. μεγάλοι δ᾽ ὄντες καὶ συχνῷ χώραν δια-
poreúmēnous pollalás ἀφορμᾶς παρέχονται τοῖς ἐμπορικῆ ἐρωμένους ἔργασία· διὸ καὶ συμβαίνει
τοὺς παραποταμίους τόπους πλῆρεις ὑπάρχειν ἐμπορίων εὐδαιμόνων καὶ μεγάλα συμβαλλομένων
πρὸς τὴν τῆς Βαβυλωνίας ἐπιφάνειαν.
4 Ἡ δὲ Σεμίραμις ἐκ τῶν Ἀρμενίων ὄρων λίθον ἔτεμε τὸ μὲν μῆκος ποδῶν ἐκατον καὶ τριά-
dὲ κοντά, τὸ δὲ πλάτος καὶ πάχος εἴκοσι καὶ
πέντε τούτων δὲ πολλοῖς πλῆθεις ξενιῶν ὀρεικῶν τε καὶ βοεικῶν καταγαγοῦσα πρὸς τὸν
ποταμὸν ἐπεβίβασεν ἐπὶ τῆν σχεδίαν· ἐπὶ ταύτης
dὲ παρακομίσασα 2 κατὰ τὸν ῥεύματος μέχρι τῆς
Βαβυλωνίας ἔστησεν αὐτοῦ παρὰ τὴν ἐπισημο-
tάτην ὄδον, παράδοξον θέαμα τοῖς παριστῶσιν ὃν
tines ὑνομάζουσιν ἀπὸ τοῦ σχήματος ὀβελίσκον,
ὅν ἐν τοῖς ἐπὶ τοῖς κατονομαζομένοις ἔργοις
καταρρίθμουσι.
12. Πολλῶν δὲ καὶ παραδόξων ὄντων θεαμά-
tων κατὰ τὴν Βαβυλωνίαν οὐχ ἦκεστα θαναι-
ζεται καὶ τὸ πλῆθος τῆς ἐν αὐτῇ γεννωμένης
ἀσφάλτου· τοσοῦτον γὰρ ἐστὶν ὡστε μὴ μόνον
ταῖς τοσαύταις καὶ τηλικαύταις οἰκοδομίαις
diαρκείν, ἀλλὰ καὶ συλλεγόμενον τῶν λαῶν ἐπὶ
τῶν τόπων ἀφειδῶς ἀρύσθαι καὶ ἕπραίνοντα

1 διελθόντες Genistus: διελθόντες.
2 παρακομίσασα Vogel: κατακομίσασα II, Bekker, Din-
dorf.
giving this name to the country. After this they pass through Babylonia and empty into the Red Sea. Moreover, since they are great streams and traverse a spacious territory they offer many advantages to men who follow a merchant trade; and it is due to this fact that the regions along their banks are filled with prosperous trading-places which contribute greatly to the fame of Babylonia.

Semiramis quarried out a stone from the mountains of Armenia which was one hundred and thirty feet long and twenty-five feet wide and thick; and this she hauled by means of many multitudes of yokes of mules and oxen to the river and there loaded it on a raft, on which she brought it down the stream to Babylonia; she then set it up beside the most famous street, an astonishing sight to all who passed by. And this stone is called by some an obelisk from its shape, and they number it among the seven wonders of the world.

12. Although the sights to be seen in Babylonia are many and singular, not the least wonderful is the enormous amount of bitumen which the country produces; so great is the supply of this that it not only suffices for their buildings, which are numerous and large, but the common people also, gathering at the place, draw it out without any restriction, and

---

1 Meaning the "region between the rivers." Neither of the rivers touches either Media or Paroetacenê, which lies between Media and Persis.

2 i.e. the Persian Gulf. For Diodorus, as for Herodotus (ep. 1. 1), the "Red Sea" was all the water south of Asia. Our "Red Sea" is the "Arabian Gulf" of Diodorus (ep. 1. 33. 8).

3 Obelisk is a diminutive of abelos ("a spit").

4 According to Herodotus (1. 179) the place was eight days' journey from Babylon at the source of the river Iš, which was a tributary of the Euphrates.
καί εἰς τοὺς ἁγίους ἄνω τοῦ πλήθος ἀνθρώπων καθάπερ ἐκ τινος πνεύματος οἱ ἄνθρωποι διαμένει τὸ πλήρωμα. ἦστι δὲ καὶ πλησίου τῆς πηγῆς ταῦτης ἄνάδοσις τῷ μὲν μεγαλύτεροι βραχεία, δύναμιν δὲ θαυμάσιον ἔχουσα. προβάλλει γὰρ ἁμόν θεία καὶ βαρύν, ὁ τὸ προσελθὼν ζῆσον ᾠπαν ἀποδυνάσκει, περιπλέπτων ὑείμα ται καὶ παραδόξου τελευτῆς πνεύματος γὰρ κατοχῆς χρόνον ὑπομείναν διαφθείρεται, καθάπερ καυλομομίης τῆς τοῦ πνεύματος ἔκφρασαν ὑπὸ τῆς προσπέσεως ταῖς ἀναπνοαῖς δυνάμεως· εὐθὺς δὲ διώκει καὶ πηγάρτατο τὸ σῶμα, μάλιστα τὸν περὶ τοῦ πνεύμανα τόπους, ἦστι δὲ καὶ πέραν τοῦ ποταμοῦ λίμνη στερεῶν ἐχουσα τὸν περὶ αὐτὴν τύπου, εἰς ἥν ὅταν τις ἐμβηχὲς τῶν ἀπελώνων ὀλόγον μὲν ἡγεῖται χρόνου, προϊόν ἰ δὲ εἰς τὸ ἁμόν καθάπερ ὑπὸ τινος βίας κατασπάται· ἑαυτῷ δὲ βοηθῶν καὶ πάλιν ἀναστρέψαι προαιροῦμενος ἀντέχει μὲν τῆς ἐκβάσεως, ἀντιστρωμένος δὲ ὑπὸ τινος ἔοικε· καὶ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἀποκερώται τοὺς πόδας, εἰτα τὰ σκέλη μέχρι τῆς ὀσφύος, τὸ δὲ τελευταίον ὅλου τὸ σῶμα νάρκη κρατηθείς φέρεται πρὸς βυθὸν, καὶ μετ' ὀλόγον τετελευτηκὸς ἀναβάλλεται. Περὶ μὲν οὖν τοῦ ἐν τῇ Βαβυλωνίᾳ θαυμαζομένων ἄρκειτω τὰ ῥηθέντα.

13. Ἡ δὲ Ἑσείραμι ἐπειδὴ τοῖς ἐργοῖς ἀπεθηκε πέρας, ἀνέζευξεν ἐπὶ Μηδίας μετὰ πολλῆς δυνάμεως· καταντήσασα δὲ πρὸς ὅρος τὸ καλούμενον

1 προβάλλει Vogel: προσβάλλει Vulgate, Bekker, Dindorf.
2 τόπον Reiske: τόπον.
BOOK II. 12. 1–13. 1

drying it burn it in place of wood. And countless as is the multitude of men who draw it out, the amount remains undiminished, as if derived from some immense source. Moreover, near this source there is a vent-hole, of no great size but of remarkable potency. For it emits a heavy sulphurous vapour which brings death to all living creatures that approach it, and they meet with an end swift and strange; for after being subjected for a time to a retention of the breath they are killed, as though the expulsion of the breath were being prevented by the force which has attacked the processes of respiration; and immediately the body swells and blows up, particularly in the region about the lungs. And there is also across the river a lake whose edge offers solid footing, and if any man, unacquainted with it, enters it he swims for a short time, but as he advances towards the centre he is dragged down as though by a certain force; and when he begins to help himself and makes up his mind to turn back to shore again, though he struggles to extricate himself, it appears as if he were being hauled back by something else; and he becomes benumbed, first in his feet, then in his legs as far as the groin, and finally, overcome by numbness in his whole body, he is carried to the bottom, and a little later is cast up dead.

Now concerning the wonders of Babylonia let what has been said suffice.

13. After Semiramis had made an end of her building operations she set forth in the direction of Media with a great force. And when she had arrived at ·

391
Βαγίστανον πλησίον αυτοῦ κατεστρατοπέδευσε, καὶ κατεσκεύασε παράδεισον, ὡς τὴν μὲν περί-
μετρον ἡν δώδεκα στάδιων, ἐν πεδίῳ δὲ κείμενος
εἰχε πηγὴν μεγάλην, ἐξ ἣς ἀρδεύεται συνέβαινε
2 τὸ φυτουργεῖον. τὸ δὲ Βαγίστανον ὄρος ἔστι
μὲν ἰερὸν Δίας, ἐκ δὲ τοῦ παρὰ τὸν παράδεισον
μέρους ἀποτομάδας ἔχει πέτρας εἰς υγρὸς ἀνατε-
νυόσας ἐπτακαίδεκα στάδιων. οὗ τὸ κατώτατον
μέρος καταξύσασα τὴν ἰδίαν ἐνεχάραξεν εἰκόνα,
δορυφόρους αὐτῇ παραστήσασα ἐκατον. ἐπὶ
ἐγραφεὶ δὲ καὶ Συρίων γράμμασιν εἰς τὴν πέτραν
ὅτι Σεμώραμις τοὺς σάγμασι τοὺς τῶν ἀκολου-
θοῦντων ὑποζυγίων ἀπὸ τοῦ πεδίου χώσασα τῶν
προερημένου κρημνὸν διὰ τοῦτον εἰς τὴν ἄκρω-
ριαν προσανέβη.
3 Ἐντεύθεν δ’ ἀναξέφασα καὶ παραγενομένη
πρὸς Χαύνα τοῦ τῆς Μηδίας κατευόσαν ἐν
τῶν μετεώρων πεδίῳ πέτραν τῷ τε ύψει καὶ τῷ
μεγέθει καταπληκτικήν. ἐνταῦθ’ οὖν ἔτερον
παράδεισον ὑπερμεγέθη κατασκεύασεν, ἐν μέσῳ
τῆς πέτρας ἀπολαβοῦσα, καθ’ ἣν οὐκοδομήματα
πολυτελῆ πρὸς τρυφὴν ἔποιήσεν, ἐξ ὅν τά τε
κατὰ τὸν παράδεισον ἑπεθεώρησε φυτουργεῖα καὶ
πᾶσαν τὴν στρατιάν παρεμβεβληκών ἐν τῷ
4 πεδίῳ. ἐν τούτῳ δὲ τῷ τόπῳ συνχῦον ἐνδιατρί-
ψασα χρόνον καὶ πάντων τῶν εἰς τρυφὴν ἀνηκού-
των ἀπολαύσασα, γῆκει μὲν νομίμως οὐκ ἡθέλη-

1 This is the earliest mention of the modern Behistun, near
the "Gate of Asia" on the old highway between Babylon
and Ecbatana, Diodorus preserving the original form of the
name Bagistana, "place of the Gods" or "of God." The great
inscription, which became the Rosetta Stone of cuneiform, was
392.
the mountain known as Bagistanus, she encamped near it and laid out a park, which had a circumference of twelve stades and, being situated in the plain, contained a great spring by means of which her plantings could be irrigated. The Bagistanus mountain is sacred to Zeus and on the side facing the park has sheer cliffs which rise to a height of seventeen stades. The lowest part of these she smoothed off and engraved thereon a likeness of herself with a hundred spearmen at her side. And she also put this inscription on the cliff in Syrian letters: "Semiramis, with the pack-saddles of the beasts of burden in her army, built up a mound from the plain and thereby climbed this precipice, even to its very ridge."

Setting forth from that place and arriving at the city of Chauon in Media, she noticed on a certain high plateau a rock both of striking height and mass. Accordingly, she laid out there another park of great size, putting the rock in the middle of it, and on the rock she erected, to satisfy her taste for luxury, some very costly buildings from which she used to look down both upon her plantings in the park and on the whole army encamped on the plain. In this place she passed a long time and enjoyed to the full every device that contributed to luxury; she was unwilling, however, to contract a lawful marriage, being afraid placed there about 516 B.C. to recount the defeat by Darius of the rebellion which broke out in the reign of Cambyses. It stands about five hundred feet above the ground and the magnificent sculptures represent the rebellious satraps, two attendants of the king, and Darius making the gesture of adoration before the sacred symbol of Ahuramazda. See L. W. King and R. C. Thompson, The Inscription of Darius the Great at Behistun.

\[ ^2 \text{i.e. Assyrian.} \]
σεν, εὐλαβομένη μήποτε στερηθῇ τῆς ἄρχής, ἐπιλεγομένη δὲ τῶν στρατιωτῶν τοὺς εὐπρεπεῖς διαφέροντας τούτους ἐμόσγετο, καὶ πάντας τοὺς αὐτῆς πλησιάσαντας ὠφάνιζε.

5 Μετὰ δὲ ταύτα ἔπει 'Εκβατάνων τὴν πορείαν ποιησμένη παρεγένετο πρὸς ὅρος τὸ Ζαρκαῖον καλούμενον· τοῦτο δὲ ἐπὶ πολλοὺς παρῆκαν σταδίους καὶ πλῆρες ὅν κρημνῶν καὶ φαράγγων μακρὰν εἶχε τὴν περίοδον. Ἐφιλοτιμεῖτο σύν ἀμα μὲν μικριέον ἀδάνατον ἑαυτῆς ἀπολύπειν, ἀμα δὲ σύντομον ποιήσασθαι τὴν ὀδόν· διότι τοὺς τε κρημνοὺς κατακόψασα καὶ τοὺς καλλίους τόπους χώσασα σύντομον καὶ πολυτελῆ κατασκεύασαν ὀδὸν, ἢ μέχρι τοῦ νῦν Σεμιράμιδος

6 καλεῖται. παραγεννηθεῖσα δ' εἰς 'Εκβατάνα, πόλιν ἐν πεδίῳ κείμενην, κατασκεύασεν εὖν αὐτῇ πολυτελῆ βασίλεια καὶ τὴν ἄλλην ἐπιμέλειαν ἐποίησατο τοῦ τόπου περιττοτέραν. Ἀνύδρου γὰρ οὖσης τῆς πόλεως καὶ μηδαμοῦ σύνεγγυς ὑπαρχοῦσης πηγῆς, ἐποίησεν αὐτὴν πάσαν κατάρρυτον, ἐπαγαγοῦσα πλείστον καὶ κάλλιστον ὑδωρ μετὰ πολλῆς κακοπαθείας τε καὶ

7 δαπάνης. τὸν γὰρ Ἐκβατάνων ὡς δώδεκα σταδίους ἀπέχει ἐστὶν ὄρος δὲ καλεῖται μὲν Ὁρόντης, τῇ δὲ τραχύτητι καὶ τῷ πρὸς ὑψὸς ἀνατείνωντε μεγέθει διάφορον, ὡς ἂν τὴν πρόσβασιν ἔχων ὀρθίου ἔως τῆς ἀκροτείας σταδίων εἶκοσι πέντε. ἐκ θατέρων δὲ μέρους οὐσίας λίμνης μεγάλης εἰς ποταμὸν ἐκβαλλοῦσης, διέσωσε τὸ προειρημένον

8 ὄρος κατὰ τὴν βίαν. ἢν δ' ἢ διώρυξ τὸ μὲν πλάτος ποδῶν πεντεκαίδεκα, τὸ δ' ὑψὸς τετταράκοντα. δε' τῆς ἐπαγαγοῦσα τὸν ἐκ τῆς λίμνης 394
that she might be deprived of her supreme position, but choosing out the most handsome of the soldiers she consorted with them and then made away with all who had lain with her.

After this she advanced in the direction of Ecbatana and arrived at the mountain called Zarcaeus; and since this extended many stades and was full of cliffs and chasms it rendered the journey round a long one. And so she became ambitious both to leave an immortal monument of herself and at the same time to shorten her way; consequently she cut through the cliffs, filled up the low places, and thus at great expense built a short road, which to this day is called the road of Semiramis. Upon arriving at Ecbatana, a city which lies on the plain, she built in it an expensive palace and in every other way gave rather exceptional attention to the region. For since the city had no water supply and there was no spring in its vicinity, she made the whole of it well watered by bringing to it with much hardship and expense an abundance of the purest water. For at a distance from Ecbatana of about twelve stades is a mountain, which is called Orontes and is unusual for its ruggedness and enormous height, since the ascent, straight to its summit, is twenty-five stades. And since a great lake, which emptied into a river, lay on the other side, she made a cutting through the base of this mountain. The tunnel was fifteen feet wide and forty feet high; and through it she brought in the river.

1 The Zagros range.
DIODORUS OF SICILY

ποταμὸν ἐπιλήρωσε τὴν πόλιν ὕδατος. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἐποίησεν ἐν τῇ Μηδίᾳ.

14. Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἐπῆλθε τὴν τε Περσίδα καὶ τὴν ἀλλὴν χώραν ἀπασαν ἦς ἔπηρχε κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν. πανταχοῦ δὲ τὰ μὲν ὄρη καὶ τὰς ἀπορρόφυσις πέτρας διακόπτουσα κατεσκεύασεν ὁδοὺς πολυτελεῖς, ἐν δὲ τοῖς πεδίοις ἐποίει χώματα, ποτὲ μὲν τάφους κατασκευάζουσα τοὺς τελευτάσιον τῶν ἡγεμόνων, ποτὲ δὲ πόλεις ἐν τοῖς ἀναστήμασι κατοικίζουσα. εἰώθει δὲ καὶ κατὰ τὰς στρατοπεδείας μικρὰ χώματα κατασκευάζειν, ἐφ᾽ ὅν καθιστᾶσα τὴν ἱδίαν σκηνὴν ἀπασαν κατώπτευε τὴν παρεμβολήν· διὸ καὶ πολλὰ κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν μέχρι τοῦ ἐπὶ διαμένει τῶν ὑπ’ ἐκείνης κατασκευασθέντων καὶ καλεῖται Σεμιράμιδος ἔρημα.

3 Διερχόμενοι τῆς τέχνης τῶν Πάσαν ἐπῆλθε καὶ τῆς Διβύδης τὰ πλείστα καταστρεφομένη παρήλθεν εἰς Ἀμμώνα, χρησμόμενη τῷ θεῷ περὶ τῆς ἱδίας τελευτῆς. λέγεται δ’ αὐτῇ γενέσθαι λόγιον ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἀφανισθήσεθαι καὶ κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν παρ’ ἐνίοις τῶν ἐθνῶν ἀθανάτου τεύχεσθαι τμῆς· ὁπερ ἔσεσθαι καθ’ ὅν οὐκ ἔχειν· ὁ μὲν χρόνον ὧδ’ αὐτῆς Ἐνύας ἐπιβουλεύσῃ. ἀπὸ δὲ τούτων γενομένη τῆς Αἰθιοπίας ἔπηλθε τὰ πλείστα καταστρεφομένη καὶ τὰ κατὰ τὴν χώραν θεωμένη παράδοξα. εἶναι γὰρ ἐν αὐτῇ φασὶ λίμνην τετράγωνον, τὴν μὲν περίμετρον ἔχουσαν ποδών ὡς ἐκατον ἔξικον, τὸ δ’ υδρὸς τῇ μὲν χρόνος παραπλησίως κυνηβάρει, τὴν δ’ οὐσίαν καθ’ ὑπερβολὴν ἠδείαν, οὐκ ἀνόμοιον οὖν παλαιῷ·

1 This is obviously an attempt to explain the many mounds which dotted the landscape of this region in the time of 396
which flowed from the lake, and filled the city with water. Now this is what she did in Media.

14. After this she visited Persis and every other country over which she ruled throughout Asia. Everywhere she cut through the mountains and the precipitous cliffs and constructed expensive roads, while on the plains she made mounds, sometimes constructing them as tombs for those of her generals who died, and sometimes founding cities on their tops. And it was also her custom, whenever she made camp, to build little mounds, upon which setting her tent she could look down upon all the encampment. As a consequence many of the works she built throughout Asia remain to this day and are called Works of Semiramis.1

After this she visited all Egypt, and after subduing most of Libya she went also to the oracle of Ammon ² to inquire of the god regarding her own end. And the account runs that the answer was given her that she would disappear from among men and receive undying honour among some of the peoples of Asia, and that this would take place when her son Ninyas should conspire against her. Then upon her return from these regions she visited most of Ethiopia, subduing it as she went and inspecting the wonders of the land. For in that country, they say, there is a lake, square in form, with a perimeter of some hundred and sixty feet, and its water is like cinnabar in colour and the odour of it is exceeding sweet, not unlike that of

Diodorus as well as to-day and are the remains of ancient dwelling sites.

² The shrine of Zeus-Ammon in the Oasis of Siwah, which is described in Book 17. 50, in connection with the celebrated visit to it of Alexander.
Diodorus of Sicily

δύναμιν δ’ ἔχειν παράδοξον· τὸν γὰρ πιόντα φασίν εἰς μακάν ἐμπίπτειν καὶ πάνθ’ ἃ πρότερον διέλαθεν ἀμαρτήσας ἐαυτοῦ κατηγορεῖν. τοῖς µὲν οὖν ταύτα λέγουσιν οὐκ ἂν τις ῥάδως συγκατάθυτοι.

15. Ταφάς δὲ τῶν τελευτησάντων άδίως ὑδάτος ὑδότων εἰς καὶ τὴν Ἁθηναίαν ποιοῦντας ταριχεύσαντες γὰρ τὰ σῶματα καὶ περιχέαντες αὐτοῖς πολλὴν ὑέλον ἵστασιν ἐπὶ στῆλης, ὡστε τοὺς παριόντες φαίνεσθαι διὰ τῆς ὑέλου τοῦ τοῦ τετελευτηκότος σῶμα, καθάπερ Ἁρόδωτος εἰρήκε. Κτησίας δὲ ὁ Κυνίδιος ἀποφαινόμενος τοῦτον σχεδίαζε, αὐτὸς φησὶ τὸ μὲν σῶμα ταριχεύσας, τὴν µὲντοι γε γήλου μὴ περιχεῖσθαι γυμνοῖς τοῖς σῶμασιν κατακαυθήσεσθαι γὰρ ταῦτα καὶ λυμανθέντα τελέος τὴν ομοίότητα µὴ δυνῆσθαι διατηρεῖ. διὸ καὶ χρυσὴν εἰκόνα κατασκευάζεσθαι κοίλην, εἰς ἑν ἐντεθέντος τοῦ νεκροῦ περὶ τὴν εἰκόνα κείσθαι τῆς νεροῦ τοῦ δὲ κατασκευάσματος τεθέντος ἐπὶ τὸν τάφον διὰ τῆς ὑέλου φαίνεται τὸν χρυσὸν ἄφωμοιµένον τοῦ τετελευτηκότῳ τούτως µὲν οὖν πλούσιοι αὐτῶν ὁπτὸς διάπεσθαι φησὶ, τοὺς δὲ ἐλάττων τοις καταλιπότας οὐσίας ἀργυρὰς τυχαῖν εἰκόνος, τοὺς δὲ πένητας κεραμίνης τὴν δὲ ὑέλον πάσιν ἐξαρκεῖν. διὰ τὸ πλείστην γεννᾶσθαι

1 Ἰδίως Bekker, Vogel; Ἰδίως Dindorf.

1 Herodotus (3. 24) says nothing of the sort. According to him the body is shrunk and covered with gypsum, which is painted in such a way as to make it resemble a living man; then "they set it within a hollow pillar of hydai." It is difficult to understand how some translators and commentators take this word to mean "porcelain," for Herodotus goes on.

398
old wine; moreover, it has a remarkable power; for whoever has drunk of it, they say, falls into a frenzy and accuses himself of every sin which he had formerly committed in secret. However, a man may not readily agree with those who tell such things.

15. In the burial of their dead the inhabitants of Ethiopia follow customs peculiar to themselves; for after they have embalmed the body and have poured a heavy coat of glass over it they stand it on a pillar, so that the body of the dead man is visible through the glass to those who pass by. This is the statement of Herodotus. But Ctesias of Cnidos, declaring that Herodotus is inventing a tale, gives for his part this account. The body is indeed embalmed, but glass is not poured about the naked bodies, for they would be burned and so completely disfigured that they could no longer preserve their likeness. For this reason they fashion a hollow statue of gold and when the corpse has been put into this they pour the glass over the statue, and the figure, prepared in this way, is then placed at the tomb, and the gold, fashioned as it is to resemble the deceased, is seen through the glass. Now the rich among them are buried in this wise, he says, but those who leave a smaller estate receive a silver statue, and the poor one made of earthenware; as for the glass, there is enough of it for everyone,

to say that "it is quarried by them in abundance and is easy to work." In Herodotus' day it probably meant some transparent stone, perhaps alabaster (cp. M. L. Trowbridge, Philological Studies in Ancient Glass (University of Illinois Studies in Language and Literature, 1928), pp. 23 ff.); but by the time of Diodorus kyelos was the term used for "glass." Strabo (17. 2. 3) agrees with Diodorus in saying that in one manner of burial the Ethiopians "poured glass over" the bodies of the dead.

• 399
κατὰ τὴν Ἀιδιοπιάν καὶ τελέως παρὰ τοῖς
5 ἐγχωρίοις ἐπιπολάζειν. περὶ δὲ τῶν νομίμων
τῶν παρὰ τοῖς Αἰθλούσι καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν γινο-
μένων ἐν τῇ τούτων χώρᾳ τὰ κυριώτατα καὶ
μνήμης ἁξία μικρὸν ὑστερον ἀναγράφομεν, ὅταν
καὶ τὰς παλαιὰς αὐτῶν πράξεως καὶ μυθολογίας
διεξαίμεν."}

16. Ἡ δὲ Σεμίραμις καταστήσασα τά τε κατὰ
τὴν Ἀιδιοπιάν καὶ τὴν Αὐγυπτίων ἐπανήλθε μετὰ
τῆς δυνάμεως εἰς Βάκτρα τῆς Ἀσίας. ἔχουσα δὲ
δυνάμεις μεγάλας καὶ πολυχρόνου εἱρήμην ἁγοῦσα
φιλοστίμοις ἐσχε πρᾶξιν τι λαμπρὸν κατὰ πόλε-
2 μον. πυθανομένη δὲ τὸ τῶν Ἰνδών ἔθνος
μέγαστον εἰναί τῶν κατὰ τὴν οἰκουμένην καὶ
πλαίστην τε καὶ καλλίστην χώραν νεμέσθαι,
διενοεῖτο στρατεύειν εἰς τὴν Ἰνδικήν, ἣς ἐβασί-
λευ μὲν Ἱσταβραβάτῃς κατʼ ἐκείνους τοὺς
χρόνους, στρατιωτῶν δὲ ἐλεχθὲν ἀναρίθμητον
πλῆθος ὑπήρχον δ’ αὐτῷ καὶ ἐλέφαντες πολλοὶ
καθ᾽ ὑπερβολὴν λαμπρῶς κεκοσμημένοι τοῖς εἰς
3 τὸν πόλεμον καταπληκτικοῖς. ἡ γὰρ Ἰνδικὴ
χώρα διάφορος οὖσα τὸ κάλλει καὶ πολλοὶς
διειλημμένη ποταμοῖς ἀρδεῦσαι τε πολλαχοῦ καὶ
δυτικάς καθ᾽ ἐκαστοῦ εἰμαιτὸν ἐκφέρει καρποὺς.
διὸ καὶ τῶν πρὸς τὸ ζῆν ἐπιτηδείων τοσοῦτον
ἐχει πλῆθος ὡστε διὰ παντὸς ἀφθονον ἀπόλαυσιν
τοῖς ἐγχωρίοις παρέχεσθαι. λέγεται δὲ μηδεποτὲ
καὶ αὐτὴν γεγονέναι σιτοδείαν ἢ φθορὰν καρπῶν
4 διὰ τὴν εὐκρασίαν τῶν τόπων. ἐχεὶ δὲ καὶ τῶν
ἔλεφάντων ἀπίστου πλῆθος, οὐ ταῖς τε ἀλκαῖς
καὶ ταῖς τοῦ σώματος ῥώμαις πολυ προέχουσι
τῶν ἐν τῇ-Διβύθῃ γινομένων, ὅμοιως δὲ χρυσόν,
400·
since it occurs in great abundance in Ethiopia and is quite current among the inhabitants. With regard to the customs prevailing among the Ethiopians and the other features of their country we shall a little later set forth those that are the most important and deserving of record, at which time we shall also recount their early deeds and their mythology.¹

16. But after Semiramis had put in order the affairs of Ethiopia and Egypt she returned with her force to Bactra in Asia. And since she had great forces and had been at peace for some time she became eager to achieve some brilliant exploit in war. And when she was informed that the Indian nation was the largest one in the world and likewise possessed both the most extensive and the fairest country, she purposed to make a campaign into India.² Stabrobates at that time was king of the country and had a multitude of soldiers without number; and many elephants were also at his disposal, fitted out in an exceedingly splendid fashion with such things as would strike terror in war. For India is a land of unusual beauty, and since it is traversed by many rivers it is supplied with water over its whole area and yields two harvests each year; consequently it has such an abundance of the necessities of life that at all times it favours its inhabitants with a bounteous enjoyment of them. And it is said that because of the favourable climate in those parts the country has never experienced a famine or a destruction of crops. It also has an unbelievable multitude of elephants, which both in courage and in strength of body far surpass those of

¹ This is done in Book 3. 5 ff.
² This campaign was doubted already by the ancient writers; op. Strabo 15. 1. 5 ff.
Diodorus of Sicily

άργυρον, σίδηρον, χαλκόν πρὸς δὲ τούτοις λίθων παντοτίων καὶ πολυτελῶν ἐστὶν ἐν αὐτῇ πλήθος, ἐτὶ δὲ τῶν ἄλλων ἀπάντων σχέδιον τῶν πρὸς τρυφήν καὶ πλοῖτων διατεινόντων.

Τῷ πέρ ὁν τὰ κατὰ μέρος ᾧ Σεμίραμις ἀκούσασα προήχθη μηδὲν προαδικηθεῖσα τὸν πρὸς Ἰνδοὺς ὃ ἐξενεγκεῖν πόλεμον. ὁρῶσα δὲ αὐτὴν μεγάλων καὶ ὑπερβολῆν προσδεομένην δυνάμεων, ἐξ- ἐπεμψεν ἀγγέλους εἰς ἀπάσας τᾶς σατραπείας, διακελευσάμεν τοῖς ἐπάρχοις καταγράφειν τῶν νέων τοὺς ἀρίστους, δοῦσα τὸν ἄριθμὸν κατὰ τὰ μεγέθη τῶν ἠθῶν προσέταξε δὲ πᾶσι κατασκευάζειν κακῶν πανοπλίας καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀπασὶ λαμπρῶς παραγώγεσθαι κεκοσμημένοιν

6 μετὰ τρίτου ἐτος εἰς Βάκτρα, μετεπέμψατο δὲ καὶ ναυπηγοὺς ἐκ τε Φοινίκης καὶ Συρίας καὶ Κύπρου καὶ τῆς ἄλλης τῆς παραθαλάσσιος χώρας, οἷς ἄφθονον ὕλην μεταγαγόντα διεκδεύσατο.

7 κατασκευάζειν ποτάμια πλοία διαιρετά. ὁ γὰρ Ἰνδὸς ποταμός, μέγιστος ὥς τῶν περὶ τούς τότους καὶ τὴν βασιλείαν αὐτῆς ὀρίζων, πολλῶν προσ- εδεύτο πλοίοι πρὸς τε τὴν διάβασιν καὶ πρὸς τὸ τοὺς Ἰνδοὺς ἀπὸ τούτων ἀμύνασθαι. περὶ δὲ τῶν ποταμῶν οὐκ οὔσῃ ὕλης ἀναγκαῖον ἢν ἔκ τῆς Βακτριανῆς πεζῆ παρακομίζεσθαι τὰ πλοῖα.

8 Ὅσον οὖν ἡ Σεμίραμις ἐπανεῖ τῇ ἐξ ἐλεφάντων χρείας πολὺ λειτουργήν, ἐπενοήσατο 2 κατασκευάζειν εἴδωλα 3 τούτων τῶν ξών, ἐπι- ξουσα καταπλήξεσθαι τοὺς Ἰνδοὺς διὰ τὸ νομίζειν

1 σατραπείας Dindorf: σατραπείας.
2 τι after ἐπενοήσατο deleted by Hertlein.

402
Libya, and likewise gold, silver, iron, and copper; furthermore, within its borders are to be found great quantities of precious stones of every kind and of practically all other things which contribute to luxury and wealth.¹

When Semiramis had received a detailed account of these facts she was led to begin her war against the Indians, although she had been done no injury by them. And realizing that she needed an exceedingly great force in addition to what she had she despatched messengers to all the satrapies, commanding the governors to enrol the bravest of the young men and setting their quota in accordance with the size of each nation; and she further ordered them all to make new suits of armour and to be at hand, brilliantly equipped in every other respect, at Bactra on the third year thereafter. She also summoned shipwrights from Phoenicia, Syria, Cyprus, and the rest of the lands along the sea, and shipping thither an abundance of timber she ordered them to build river boats which could be taken to pieces. For the Indus river, by reason of its being the largest in that region and the boundary of her kingdom, required many boats, some for the passage across and others from which to defend the former from the Indians; and since there was no timber near the river the boats had to be brought from Bactriana by land.

Observing that she was greatly inferior because of her lack of elephants, Semiramis conceived the plan of making dummies like these animals, in the hope that the Indians would be struck with terror because

¹ India is more fully described in chaps. 35 ff.

² eiland Vogel: idima.
Diodorus of Sicily

αυτοὺς μηδ' εἶναι τὸ σύνολον ἐλέφαντας ἐκτὸς τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ἰνδικὴν. ἐπιλέξασα δὲ βοῶν μελάνων τριάκοντα μυριάδις τὰ μὲν κρέα τοῖς τεχνίταις καὶ τοῖς πρὸς τὴν τῶν κατασκευασμάτων ὑπηρεσίαις τεταγμένοις διένεμε, τὰς δὲ βύρσας συρράπτουσα καὶ χόρτον πληροῦσα κατεσκεύασεν εἰδωλα, κατὰ πάν ἀπομιμουμένη τὴν τῶν ξώων τούτων φύσιν. ἐκαστὸν δὲ τούτων εἶχεν ἐντὸς ἀνδρά τῶν ἐπιμελητῶν καὶ κάμηλον, ύφ᾽ οὗ φερομένου φαντασίαν τοῖς πορρωθέν ὀρόσιν ἀληθινοῖ θηρίων παρεῖχετο.

οὶ δὲ ταῦτα κατασκευάζοντες αὐτῇ τεχνίται προσεκαρτέρουν τοῖς ἑργοῖς ὑπὶ των περιβόλων περιφοικισμένω καὶ πύλας ἔχοντι τηρούμενας ἐπιμελῆς, ὥστε μηδένα μήτε τῶν ἔσωθεν εξεῖναι τεχνίτων μήτε τῶν ἔξωθεν εἰσιέναι πρὸς αὐτοὺς: τούτο δ' ἐποίησαν, ὡς μηδεῖς τῶν ἔξωθεν ἵπτὶ τὸ γινόμενον μηδὲ διαπέσῃ φήμη πρὸς Ἰνδοὺς περὶ τούτων.

17. Ἐπεὶ δ' αὐτῷ τε νήσει καὶ τὰ θηρία κατασκευάσθησαν ἐν τοῖς δυσὶν ἔτεσι, τῷ τρίτῳ μετεπέμψατο τὰς πανταχόθεν δυνάμεις εἰς τὴν Βακτριανὴν. τὸ δὲ πλῆθος τῆς ἀδροισθείσης στρατιᾶς ἴν, ὡς Κτησίας ὁ Κύδιος ἀνέγραψε, πεζῶν μὲν τριακόσια μυριάδες, ἵππων δὲ εἴκοσι

2 μυριάδες, ἀρμάτων δὲ δέκα μυριάδες. ὑπήρχον δὲ καὶ ἄνδρες ἐπὶ καμήλων χοιρύμενοι, μαχαίρας τετραπήκχεις ἔχοντες, τῶν ἀριθμὸν ἐσσο τοῖς ἄρμασι. νάυς δὲ ποταμίας κατασκευάσας διαπετὰς δισχελίας, ἀς παρασκευάζατο καμήλων τὰς πεζῆ παρακομιζούσας τὰ σκάφη. ἐφόροιν

1 εἴκοσι Vogel: πεντήκοντα C, Bekker, Dindorf.
of their belief that no elephants ever existed at all apart from those found in India. Accordingly she chose out three hundred thousand black oxen and distributed their meat among her artisans and the men who had been assigned to the task of making the figures, but the hides she sewed together and stuffed with straw, and thus made dummies, copying in every detail the natural appearance of these animals. Each dummy had within it a man to take care of it and a camel and, when it was moved by the latter, to those who saw it from a distance it looked like an actual animal. And the artisans who were engaged in making these dummies for her worked at their task in a certain court which had been surrounded by a wall and had gates which were carefully guarded, so that no worker within could pass out and no one from outside could come in to them. This she did in order that no one from the outside might see what was taking place and that no report about the dummies might escape to the Indians.

17. When the boats and the beasts had been prepared in the two allotted years, on the third she summoned her forces from everywhere to Bactriana. And the multitude of the army which was assembled, as Ctesias of Cnidus has recorded, was three million foot-soldiers, two hundred thousand cavalry, and one hundred thousand chariots. There were also men mounted on camels, carrying swords four cubits long, as many in number as the chariots. And river boats which could be taken apart she built to the number of two thousand, and she had collected camels to carry the vessels overland. Camels also bore the dummies
Diodorus of Sicily

dὲ καὶ τὰ τῶν ἐλεφάντων εἴδωλα κάμηλοι, καθότι προείρηται. πρὸς δ᾽ αὐτὰς τοὺς ὑπ' αὐτοὺς αἱ οἰκονομίαι εὐπόρων τοῦ μὴ
3 φοβεῖσθαι τὴν ἀγριότητα τῶν θηρίων. τὸ παραπλήσιον δὲ πολλοῖς ἔτεσιν ὑστερου ἐπράξει Περσεὺς ὁ τῶν Μακεδόνων βασιλεὺς, ὅτε πρὸς Ῥωμαίους ἔμελλε διακειμενεῖν ἔχοντας ἐκ Διβύης ἐλεφαντας. ἀλλ᾽ οὐτ᾽ ἑκεῖνοι ἡρῴην ἐνεγκεῖν εἰς τὸν πόλεμον συνέβη τὴν περὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα σπουδὴν καὶ φιλοτεχνίαν ὡστε Σεμιράμιδα περὶ ὁν ἀκριβέστερον ὁ προϊόν λόγος δηλώσει.

4 Ὅ, ὅ δὲ τῶν Ἰνδῶν βασιλεὺς Σταβροβάτης πυμ-θανόμενος τὰ τε μεγέθη τῶν ὁνομαζομένων 1 δυνά-μεων καὶ τὴν ὑπερβολὴν τῆς εἰς τὸν πόλεμον παρασκευῆς, ἐσπευδότας καὶ ἀπασίαν ὑπερθέσθαι τὴν
5 Σεμιράμιδα. καὶ πρῶτον μὲν ἐκ τοῦ καλάμου καταςκεύασε πλοία ποτάμια τετρακισχίλια. ἢ γὰρ Ἰνδικὴ παρὰ τε τοὺς ποταμοὺς καὶ τοὺς ἐλάδες τῶν τότους φέρει καλάμου πλῆθος, οὗ τὸ πάχος ὅπως ἀν διδῶ ἀνθρώπος περιλάβων λέγεται δὲ καὶ τὰς ἐκ τούτων κατασκευαζομένων ναυς διαφόρους κατὰ τὴν χρέιαν ὑπάρχειν, οὕτως
6 ἀσφεττὸ ταύτης τῆς ὦλης. ποιησάμενος δὲ καὶ τῆς τῶν ὄπλων κατασκευῆς 2 πολλά ἑπιμέλειαι καὶ πάσαν ἐπελθὼν τὴν Ἰνδικὴν ἡθούσε δύναμιν πολὺ μείζονα τῆς Σεμιράμιδι συναχθείσης.

1 ὁνομαζομένων Vogel: ἐτοιμαζομένων F, Bekker, Dindorf.
2 κατασκευῆς Vogel: παρασκευῆς Π, Bekker, Dindorf.

1 i.e. the elephants.
2 In the Third Macedonian War, 171–167 B.C., Polyænus (4. 20) says that Perseus constructed wooden dummies of 406
of the elephants, as has been mentioned; and the soldiers, by bringing their horses up to these camels, accustomed them not to fear the savage nature of the beasts. A similar thing was also done many years later by Perseus, the king of the Macedonians, before his decisive conflict with the Romans who had elephants from Libya. But neither in his case did it turn out that the zeal and ingenuity displayed in such matters had any effect on the conflict, nor in that of Semiramis, as will be shown more precisely in our further account.

When Stabrobates, the king of the Indians, heard of the immensity of the forces mentioned and of the exceedingly great preparations which had been made for the war, he was anxious to surpass Semiramis in every respect. First of all, then, he made four thousand river boats out of reeds; for along its rivers and marshy places India produces a great abundance of reeds, so large in diameter that a man cannot easily put his arms about them; and it is said, furthermore, that ships built of these are exceedingly serviceable, since this wood does not rot. Moreover, he gave great care to the preparation of his arms and by visiting all India gathered a far greater force than that which had been collected by Semiramis. Further, elephants, and that a man within them imitated their trumpeting. The horses of the Macedonians were led up to these and thus accustomed to the appearance and trumpeting of the Roman elephants. Zonaras (9. 22) adds that the dummies were also smeared with an ointment "to give them a dreadful odour."

3 In Book 17. 90. 5 Diodorus describes trees of India which four men can scarcely get their arms about, and Strabo (15. 1. 56), on the authority of Megasthenes, speaks of reeds some of which are three cubits and others six in diameter.
DIODORUS OF SICILY

7 ποιησάμενος δὲ καὶ τῶν ἀγρίων ἐλεφάντων θήραν καὶ πολλαπλασιάσας τοὺς προὔπαρχοντας, ἐκοσμήσεν ἄπαντας τούς εἰς τὸν πόλεμον καταπλη-

8 κτικοῖς λαμπρῶς διὸ καὶ συνέβαινε κατὰ τὴν ἔφοδον αὐτῶν διὰ τὸ πλῆθος καὶ τὴν ἐπὶ τῶν θωρακίων κατασκευὴν ἀνυπόστατον ἀνθρωπίνη

φύσει φαίνεσθαι τὴν ἐπιφάνειαν.

18. Ἐπεὶ δὲ αὐτῷ πάντα τὰ πρὸς τὸν πόλε-

μον κατεσκευάστο, πρὸς τὴν Σεμίραμιν καθ' ὅδον ὀνόμασεν ἀπέστειλεν ἄγγελους, ἐγκαλῶν ὃτι προ-

κατάργησαν τὸν πόλεμον μηδὲν ἀδικηθεῖσα-

πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ἀρρητα κατ' αὐτὴς ὡς ἐταίρας βλασφημήσας διὰ τῶν γραμμάτων καὶ θεοῦ ἐπιμαρτυράμενος, ἦπειλει καταπολεμήσας αὐτὴν

2 σταυρῷ προσηλώσειν. ἢ δὲ Σεμίραμις ἀνα-

γνώσα τὴν ἐπιστολὴν καὶ καταγελάσασα τῶν γεγραμμένων, διὰ τῶν ἔργων ἔφησε τὸν Ἰνδὸν πειράσεσθαι τῆς περὶ αὐτὴν ἄρετῆς. ἐπεὶ δὲ προαιρούσα μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰνδὸν ποταμὸν παρεγενήθη, κατέλαβε τὰ τῶν πολεμίων

3 πλοία πρὸς μάχην ἔτοιμα. διὸπερ καὶ αὐτὴ καταρτίσασα ταχέως τὰς ναῦς καὶ πληρόσασα τῶν κρατίστων ἐπιβατῶν συνεστήσατο κατὰ τῶν ποταμῶν ναυμαχίαν, συμφιλιστημούμενον καὶ τῶν παρεμβεβληκότων παρὰ τὸ ρεῖθρον πεζῶν.

4 ἐπὶ πολὺν δὲ χρόνον τοῦ κινδύνου παρατείνοντος καὶ προθύμως ἐκατέρων ἀγωνισάμενον, τὸ τελευ-

ταῖον ἢ Σεμίραμις ἐνίκησε καὶ διέφθειρε τῶν πλοίων περὶ χίλια, συνέλαβε δὲ αὐξιμαλώτους

5 οὐκ ὀλίγους. ἐπαρθείσα δὲ τῇ νίκῃ τὰς ἐν τῷ

1 ta added by Gemistus.
thervmore, holding a hunt of the wild elephants and multiplying many times the number already at his disposal, he fitted them all out splendidly with such things as would strike terror in war; and the consequence was that when they advanced to the attack the multitude of them as well as the towers upon their backs made them appear like a thing beyond the power of human nature to withstand.

18. When he had made all his preparations for the war he despatched messengers to Semiramis, who was already on the road, accusing her of being the aggressor in the war although she had been injured in no respect; then, in the course of his letter, after saying many slanderous things against her as being a strumpet and calling upon the gods as witnesses, he threatened her with crucifixion when he had defeated her. Semiramis, however, on reading his letter dismissed his statements with laughter and remarked, “It will be in deeds that the Indian will make trial of my valour.” And when her advance brought her with her force to the Indus river she found the boats of the enemy ready for battle. Consequently she on her side, hastily putting together her boats and manning them with her best marines, joined battle on the river, while the foot-soldiers which were drawn up along the banks also participated eagerly in the contest. The struggle raged for a long time and both sides fought spiritedly, but finally Semiramis was victorious and destroyed about a thousand of the boats, taking also not a few men prisoners. Elated now by her victory, she reduced to

\[i.e.\ and\ not\ in\ words.\]

\[\]
ποταμῷ νῆσους καὶ πόλεις ἐξηνδραποδίσατο, καὶ συνήγαγαι αἰχμαλώτων σωμάτων ὑπὲρ τὰς δέκα μυριάδας.

Μετὰ δὲ ταῦθ’ ὁ μὲν τῶν Ἰνδῶν βασιλεὺς ἀπήγαγε τὴν δύναμιν ἄπο τοῦ ποταμοῦ, προσποιούμενος μὲν ἀναχωρεῖν διὰ φόβον, τῇ δ’ ἀληθείᾳ βουλόμενος τοὺς πολέμους προτρέπωσιν διαβῆναι τὸν ποταμὸν. ἦ δὲ Σεμίραμις, κατὰ νῦν αὐτῇ τῶν πραγμάτων προχωροῦντων, ἐξευθείᾳ τὸν ποταμὸν κατασκευάσασα πολυτελῆ καὶ μεγάλῃ γέφυρᾳ, δὲ γὰρ ἄπασαν διακομίσασα τὴν δύναμιν ἐπὶ μὲν τοῦ ξεύγματος φυλακῆς κατέλιπεν ἄνδρῶν ἑξακισμυρίων, τῇ δ’ ἀλλῃ στρατιᾷ προῆγεν ἐπιδιόκουσα τοὺς Ἰνδοὺς, προηγομένων τῶν εἰδώλων, ὅπως οἱ τῶν πολεμίων κατάσκοποι τῷ βασιλεῖ ἀπαγγέλῃο

7 λῶσι τὸ πλῆθος τῶν παρ’ αὐτῇ θηρίων. οὐ διεσεύσθη δὲ κατὰ γε τούτῳ τῷ ἐπὶ τὸν ὑΠίδος, ἀλλὰ τῶν ἐπὶ κατασκοπὴν ἐκπεμφθέντων τοῖς Ἰνδοῖς ἀπαγγελλόντων τὸ πλῆθος τῶν παρὰ τοὺς πολεμίους ἑλεφάντων, ἀπαντεῖς διηποροῦντο πάθεν αὐτῇ συνακολούθει τουσοῦτο πλῆθος θη-

8 ρίων. οὐ μὴν ἔμεινέ γε τὸ ἴς δος πλεῖων χρόνον κρυπτόμενον τῶν γὰρ παρὰ τῇ Σεμίραμίδι στρατευομένων τινὲς κατελήφθησαν νυκτὸς ἐν τῇ στρατοπεδείᾳ ῥᾳθυμοῦντες τὰ περὶ τὰς φυλακὰς φοβηθέντες δὲ τὴν ἑπακολουθοῦσαν τιμωρίαν ἡμοῦμόλησαν πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους καὶ τὴν κατὰ τοὺς ἑλεφάντας πλάνην ἀπηγγείλαιν. ἐφ’ οἷς θαρρήσας ὁ τῶν Ἰνδῶν βασιλεὺς καὶ τῇ δυνάμει διαγγείλας τὰ περὶ τῶν εἰδώλων, ἐπέστρεψεν ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἄσσυρίους διατάξας τὴν δύναμιν.
slavery the islands in the river and the cities on them and gathered in more than one hundred thousand captives.

After these events the king of the Indians withdrew his force from the river, giving the appearance of retreating in fear but actually with the intention of enticing the enemy to cross the river. Thereupon Semiramis, now that her undertakings were prospering as she wished, spanned the river with a costly and large bridge, by means of which she got all her forces across; and then she left sixty thousand men to guard the pontoon bridge, while with the rest of her army she advanced in pursuit of the Indians, the dummy elephants leading the way in order that the enemy’s spies might report to the king, the multitude of these animals in her army. Nor was she deceived in this hope; on the contrary, when those who had been despatched to spy her out reported to the Indians the multitude of elephants among the enemy, they were all at a loss to discover from where such a multitude of beasts as accompanied her could have come. However, the deception did not remain a secret for long; for some of Semiramis’ troops were caught neglecting their night watches in the camp, and these, in fear of the consequent punishment, deserted to the enemy and pointed out to them their mistake regarding the nature of the elephants. Encouraged by this information, the king of the Indians, after informing his army about the dummies, set his forces in array and turned about to face the Assyrians.
19. Τὸ δ’ αὐτὸ καὶ τῆς Σεμιράμιδος ἐπιτελεύσης, ὡς ἤγγισαν ἄλληλοις τὰ στρατόπεδα, Σταβροβάτης ὁ τῶν Ἰππῶν βασιλεὺς προαπέστειλε πολὺ πρὸ τῆς φάλαγγος τοὺς ἱππεῖς μετὰ 2 τῶν ἄρμάτων, δεξαμένης δὲ τῆς βασιλείας εὐράστως τὴν ἔφοδον τῶν ἱππῶν, καὶ τῶν κατασκευασμένων ἐλεφάντων πρὸ τῆς φάλαγγος ἐν ἵπποις διαστήμασι τεταγμένων, συνέβαινε 3 πτύρεσθαι τοὺς τῶν Ἰππῶν ἱπποὺς. τὰ γὰρ εἴδωλα πόρρωθεν μὲν ὠμοίαν εἶχε τὴν πρόσοψιν τοὺς ἀληθινοὺς θηρίους, οἷς συνόδοις ὤντες οἱ τῶν Ἰππῶν ἱπποὺ τεθαρρηκότως προσέπησεν τοῖς δ’ ἐγκύησαι ἢ τε ὁσμὴ προσέβαλλεν ἀυσνήθης καὶ τάλλα διαφορὰν ἔχοντα πάντα παμμεγέθη τοὺς ἱπποὺς ὁδοχερῶς συνετάρατο. διὸ καὶ τῶν Ἰππῶν οἱ μὲν ἐπὶ τὴν ἑκείνην ἐπιπτοῦν, οἱ δὲ τῶν ζῴων ἀπειθοῦντο τοῖς χαλκοῖς ὡς ἑτύγχανεν ἐις τοὺς πολέμιους ἐξεπιπτοῦν μετὰ τῶν 4 κομμάτων αὐτοῦ ἱπποὺ. ἡ δὲ Σεμιράμις μετὰ στρατιωτῶν ἐπιλέκτων μαχομένη καὶ τῷ προτερήματι δεξιῶς χρησαμένη τοὺς Ἰνδοὺς ἐτρέφοιτο. ὥν φυγόντων πρὸς τὴν φάλαγγα Σταβροβάτης ὁ βασιλεὺς οὐ καταπλαγεῖς ἐπῆγαγε τὰς τῶν πεζῶν τάξεις, προηγομένων τῶν ἐλεφάντων, αὐτὸς δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ δεξιοῦ κέρατος τεταγμένου καὶ τὴν μάχην ἐπὶ τοῦ κρατίστου θηρίου ποιούμενος ἐπῆγαγε καταπληκτικῶς ἐπὶ τὴν βασιλείαν κατ’ αὐτὸν τυχικῶς τεταγμένην. 5 τὸ δ’ αὐτὸ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἐλεφάντων ποιησάντων ἡ μετὰ τῆς Σεμιράμιδος δύναμις βραχὺν ὑπέστη χρόνον τὴν τῶν θηρίων ἐφοδοὺ τὰ γὰρ ἔξω διάφορα ταῖς ἁλκαίσ ὄντα καὶ ταῖς ἱδίαις 412
19. Semiramis likewise marshalled her forces, and as the two armies neared each other Stabrobates, the king of the Indians, despatched his cavalry and chariots far in advance of the main body. But the queen stoutly withstood the attack of the cavalry, and since the elephants which she had fabricated had been stationed at equal intervals in front of the main body of troops, it came about that the horses of the Indians shied at them. For whereas at a distance the dummies looked like the actual animals with which the horses of the Indians were acquainted and therefore charged upon them boldly enough, yet on nearer contact the odour which reached the horses was unfamiliar, and then the other differences, which taken all together were very great, threw them into utter confusion. Consequently some of the Indians were thrown to the ground, while others, since their horses would not obey the rein, were carried with their mounts pell-mell into the midst of the enemy. Then Semiramis, who was in the battle with a select band of soldiers, made skilful use of her advantage and put the Indians to flight. But although these fled towards the battle-line, King Stabrobates, undismayed, advanced the ranks of his foot-soldiers, keeping the elephants in front, while he himself, taking his position on the right wing and fighting from the most powerful of the beasts, charged in terrifying fashion upon the queen, whom chance had placed opposite him. And since the rest of the elephants followed his example, the army of Semiramis withstood but a short time the attack of the beasts; for the animals, by virtue of their extraordinary courage and the confidence which they felt

---

1 ἐτύχανον Vogel; ἐτύχανον ABG, Bekker, Dindorf.
ΔΙΟΔΟΡΟΣ ΟΙΣ ΣΙΚΙΛΙΟΣ

6 ρόμαις πεποιθότα πάντα τόν υφιστάμενον

ραδίως ἀνήρει. διόσπερ πολὺς καὶ παντὸς ἐγίνετο φῶς, τῶν μὲν ὑπὸ τοὺς πόδας ὑποπτῶν, τῶν δὲ τοῖς ὀδοὺσιν ἀνασχηζομένων, ἐνίων δὲ ταῖς προβοσκίσιν ἀναρριπτομένων, συνχόν δὲ πλήθους νεκρῶν σφρηνομένου καὶ τοῦ κινδύνου τοῖς ὀρῴσι δεινῶν ἐκπληξιν καὶ φόβου παριστάντος, οὕδεις ἔτι μένειν ἐπὶ τῆς τάξεως ἐπολύμα.

7 Ἐποίησε τοῦ πλήθους παντὸς οἰ βασιλεὺς τῶν Ἰουδῶν ἐπὶ αὐτὴν ἐβιβαζότο τὴν Σεμύραμιν. καὶ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἐπὶ ἐκείνην τοξεύσαν ἐτυχεῖ τοῦ βραχύνον, ἔπειτ' ἀκούτισαν διήλασε διὰ τοῦ νότου τῆς βασιλίσσης, πλαγίας ἐνεχθεῖσα τῆς πληγῆς, διόσπερ οὖθεν παθοῦσα δεινὸν ἡ Σεμύραμις ταχέως ἀφίππευσε, πολὺ λειπομένου κατὰ τὸ τάχος τοῦ διόκοτός θηρίου. πάντων δὲ φευγόντων ἐπὶ τὴν σχεδίαν, τοσοῦτον πλήθους εἰς ἔνα καὶ στενὸν βιαζομένου τόπον οἱ μὲν τῆς βασιλίσσης ὑπὲρ ἀλλήλων ἀπέθνησκον συμπατούμενοι καὶ φυρόμενοι παρὰ φύσιν ἀναμμένον ὑπείσ τε καὶ Πεοί, τῶν δὲ Ἰουδῶν ἐπικειμένων ὁμοί ἐγίνετο βίαιος ἐπὶ τῆς γεφύρας διὰ τὸν φόβον, ὅστε πολλοὺς ἐξωθομένους ἐφ' ἐκάτερα μέρη τῆς γεφύρας ἐμπτὲτειν εἰς τὸν ποταμόν.

8 ἡ δὲ Σεμύραμις, ἐπειδὴ τὸ πλείστον μέρος τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς μάχης διασώζομεν διὰ τὸν ποταμὸν ἐτυχε τῆς ἀσφαλείας, ἀπέκοψε τοὺς συνεχοντας δέσμους τῆς γέφυρας ὃν λυθέτων ἢ μὲν σχεδία κατὰ πολλὰ, διαιρεθείσα μέρη καὶ συχνοὺς ἐφ' ἐαυτῆς ἔχουσα τῶν διωκόντων Ἰουδῶν ὑπὸ τῆς τοῦ ρεύματος σφοδρότητος ὡς ἐτυχε κατηνέχθη, 414
in their power, easily destroyed everyone who tried to withstand them. Consequently there was a great slaughter, which was effected in various ways, some being trampled beneath their feet, others ripped up by their tusks, and a number tossed into the air by their trunks. And since a great multitude of corpses lay piled one upon the other and the danger aroused terrible consternation and fear in those who witnessed the sight, not a man had the courage to hold his position any longer.

Now when the entire multitude turned in flight the king of the Indians pressed his attack upon Semiramis herself. And first he let fly an arrow and struck her on the arm, and then with his javelin he pierced the back of the queen, but only with a glancing blow; and since for this reason Semiramis was not seriously injured she rode swiftly away, the pursuing beast being much inferior in speed. But since all were fleeing to the pontoon bridge and so great a multitude was forcing its way into a single narrow space, some of the queen's soldiers perished by being trampled upon by one another and by cavalry and foot-soldiers being thrown together in unnatural confusion, and when the Indians pressed hard upon them a violent crowding took place on the bridge because of their terror, so that many were pushed to either side of the bridge and fell into the river. As for Semiramis, when the largest part of the survivors of the battle had found safety by putting the river behind them, she cut the fastenings which held the bridge together; and when these were loosened the pontoon bridge, having been broken apart at many points and bearing great numbers of the pursuing Indians, was carried down in haphazard fashion by the violence of the current
καὶ πολλοὺς μὲν τῶν Ἰνδῶν διέφθειρε, τῇ δὲ Σεμίραμιδι πολλὴν ἀσφάλειαν παρεσκέυασε, κωλύσασα τὴν τῶν πολεμίων ἐπὶ αὐτὴν διάβασιν. μετὰ δὲ ταῦθ' ὁ μὲν τῶν Ἰνδῶν βασιλεὺς, διο-
σημῶν αὐτῷ γενομένων καὶ τῶν μάντεων ἀπο-
φαινομένων σημαίνεσθαι τὸν ποταμὸν μὴ δια-
βαίνειν, ἤσυχιάν ἔσχεν, ἢ δὲ Σεμίραμις ἀλλαγὴν
ποιησαμένη τῶν αἰχμαλώτων ἐπανήλθεν εἰς Βάκτρα, δῦο μέρη τῆς δυνάμεως ἀποβεβληκών.

20. Μετὰ δὲ τινα χρόνου ὑπὸ Νινώνα τοῦ νιὸ
δὲ εὐνοῦχον τως ἐπιβουλευθέον, καὶ τὸ παρ',
"Ἀμμωνος λόγιον ἀναγενσαμένη, τὸν ἐπιβουλευ-
σαντα κακὸν οὐδὲν εἰργάσατο, τοῦνατίον δὲ τὴν
βασιλείαν αὐτῷ παραδόσασα καὶ τοῖς ὑπάρχοις
ἀκούειν ἐκεῖνον προστάξασα, ταχέως ἐσφαρισθεὶς
ἐαυτῆν, ὡς εἰς θεοὺς κατὰ τὸν χρησμὸν μετα-
στηθομένη, ἔστω δὲ μυθολογοῦντες φασών αὐτὴν
γενέσθαι περιστεράν, καὶ πολλῶν ὅρνεών εἰς
τὴν οἰκίαν καταπετασθέντων μετ' ἐκείνων ἐκκε-
τασθήναι δῦο καὶ τοὺς Ἀσσυρίους τὴν περι-
στεράν τιμῶν ὡς θεούς, ἀπαθανάτιζοντας τὴν
Σεμίραμιν, αὐτὴ μὲν οὖν βασιλεύσασα τῆς
Ἄσιας ἀπάσης πλὴν Ἰνδῶν ἐτελεύτησε τῶν
προειρημένων τρόπων, βιώσασα μὲν ἐτη ἐξήκοντα
dῦο, βασιλεύσασα δὲ δῦο πρὸς τοὺς τετταράκοντα.

3 Κτῆσιάς μὲν οὖν ὁ Κνίδιος περὶ Σεμίραμιδος
tοιαῦθ' ἱστορήκειν Ἀθήναιος δὲ καὶ τινα τῶν
ἀλλων συγγραφέων φασών αὐτὴν ἑταίραν γε-
γονέναι εὐπρεπῆ, καὶ διὰ τὸ κάλλος ἑρωτικὸς

4 ἔχειν αὐτῆς τὴν βασιλεία τῶν Ἀσσυρίων. τὸ
μὲν οὖν πρῶτον μετρίας αὐτὴν ἀποδοχῆς 

τυγχάνων ἐν τοῖς βασιλείοις, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα 

γνησίαν 416.
BOOK II. 19. 9–20. 4

and caused the death of many of the Indians, but for Semiramis it was the means of complete safety, the enemy now being prevented from crossing over against her. After these events the king of the Indians remained inactive, since heavenly omens appeared to him which his seers interpreted to mean that he must not cross the river, and Semiramis, after exchanging prisoners, made her way back to Bactra with the loss of two-thirds of her force.

20. Some time later her son Ninias conspired against her through the agency of a certain eunuch; and remembering the prophecy given her by Ammon,¹ she did not punish the conspirator, but, on the contrary, after turning the kingdom over to him and commanding the governors to obey him, she at once disappeared, as if she were going to be translated to the gods as the oracle had predicted. Some, making a myth of it, say that she turned into a dove and flew off in the company of many birds which alighted on her dwelling, and this, they say, is the reason why the Assyrians worship the dove as a god, thus deifying Semiramis. Be that as it may, this woman, after having been queen over all Asia with the exception of India, passed away in the manner mentioned above, having lived sixty-two years and having reigned forty-two.

Such, then, is the account that Ctesias of Cnidus has given about Semiramis; but Athenaeus² and certain other historians say that she was a comely courtesan and because of her beauty was loved by the king of the Assyrians. Now at first she was accorded only a moderate acceptance in the palace, but later, when

² Nothing is known about this Athenaeus.
DIODORUS OF SICILY

ἀναγρευθείσαν γυναίκα πείσα τὸν βασιλέα πένθ’ ἡμέρας αὐτῇ παραχωρήσαι τῆς βασιλείας. 5 τὴν δὲ Σεμιράμιν ἀναλαβοῦσαν τὸ τε σκῆπτρον καὶ τὴν βασιλείαν στολὴν κατὰ μὲν τὴν πρώτην ἡμέραν εὐωχίαν ποιήσαι καὶ μεγαλοπρεπῆ δείπνα, ἐν οἷς τῶν τῶν δυνάμεων ἡγεμόνας καὶ πάντας τοὺς ἐπιφανεστάτους πείσαι συμπράττειν ἑαυτῇ: τῇ δ’ ἵστεραία τοῦ τε πλήθους καὶ τῶν ἄξιον ὀξύτατων ἀνδρῶν ὡς βασιλεύσαν θεραπευόντων τὸν μὲν ἄνδρα καταβαλεῖν εἰς τὴν εἰρκτὴν, αὐτὴν δὲ φύσει μεγαλεπίβολον οὐσαν καὶ τολμηρὰν κατασχεῖν τὴν ἀρχήν, καὶ μέχρι γῆρως βασιλεύσασαν πόλλα καὶ μεγάλα κατεργάσασθαι. περὶ μὲν οὖν τῶν κατὰ 1 Σεμιράμιν τοιαύτας ἀντιλογίας εἶναι συμβαίνει παρὰ τοῖς συγγραφεῖσι.

21. Μετὰ δὲ τὸν ταύτης θάνατον Νινώς ὁ Νίνος καὶ Σεμιράμιδος νῦς παραλαβῶν τὴν ἀρχὴν ἤρχεττ εἰρηνικῶς, τὸ φιλοσόλεμον καὶ κεκυκλωμένον τῆς μητρὸς οὐδάμως ξηλόσας. 2 πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ ἐν τοῖς βασιλείοις τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον διέτριβεν, ὡσ’ οὖν εὐδόξος ὀρόμενος πλὴν τῶν παλλακίδων καὶ τῶν περὶ αὐτῶν ευνοῦχων, ἐξῆλθε δὲ τροφήν καὶ βαθμίαν καὶ τὸ μηδετέο παραπαθεῖν μηδὲ μεριμνάν, ὑπολαμβάνων βασιλείας εὐδαίμονος εἶναι τέλος τὸ πάσας χρῆσθαι 3 ταῖς ἠδοναῖς ἀνεπικολύτως. πρὸς δὲ τὴν ἀσφάλειαν τῆς ἀρχῆς καὶ τῶν κατὰ τῶν ἄρχομένων

1 Vogel follows D in omitting τὴν after κατὰ.

1 The following legend contains a reference to the Babylonian Sacaca, which was almost certainly a New Year’s festival. A 418
she had been proclaimed a lawful wife, she persuaded the king to yield the royal prerogatives to her for a period of five days. And Semiramis, upon receiving the sceptre and the regal garb, on the first day held high festival and gave a magnificent banquet, at which she persuaded the commanders of the military forces and all the greatest dignitaries to co-operate with her; and on the second day, while the people and the most notable citizens were paying her their respects as queen, she arrested her husband and put him in prison; and since she was by nature a woman of great designs and bold as well, she seized the throne and remaining queen until old age accomplished many great things. Such, then, are the conflicting accounts which may be found in the historians regarding the career of Semiramis.

21. After her death Ninyas, the son of Ninus and Semiramis, succeeded to the throne and had a peaceful reign, since he in no wise emulated his mother's fondness for war and her adventurous spirit. For in the first place, he spent all his time in the palace, seen by no one but his concubines and the eunuchs who attended him, and devoted his life to luxury and idleness and the consistent avoidance of any suffering or anxiety, holding the end and aim of a happy reign to be the enjoyment of every kind of pleasure without restraint. Moreover, having in view the safety of his crown and the fear prominent feature of this was the killing of a criminal who had been permitted for five days to wear the king's robes, to sit on his throne, to issue decrees, and even to consort with his concubines, and who, after this brief tenure of office, was scourged and executed. Cp. J. G. Frazer, The Golden Bough, Pt. III, The Dying God, pp. 113-17.
γενόμενον φόβου κατ’ ἐνιαυτὸν μετεπέμπτεο στρατιωτῶν ἀριθμὸν ὥρισμένου καὶ στρατηγοῦν
4 ἀπὸ ἔθνους ἐκάστου, καὶ τὸ μὲν ἐκ πάντων ἀθροισθέν τράτευμα ἐκτὸς τῆς πόλεως συνείχεν, ἐκάστου τῶν ἔθνων τῶν εὐνοῦστατον τῶν περὶ αὐτὸν ἀποδεικνύον ἡγεμόνα; τοῦ δ᾿ ἐνιαυτόο διελθόντος μετεπέμπτεο πάλιν ἀπὸ τῶν ἔθνων τοὺς ἵσους στρατιώτας, καὶ τοὺς προτέρους ἀπέ-
5 λυεν εἰς τὰς πατρίδας. οὐ δυνητομένου συνέβαινε τοὺς ὑπὸ τὴν βασιλείαν τεταγμένους ἀπαν-
τας 1 καταπετλῆξαν, θεωροῦντας αἰὲ μεγάλας δυνάμεις ἐν ὑπαίθρῳ στρατοπεδευμένας καὶ τοῖς ἀφισταμένοις ἢ μή πειθαρχοῦσιν ἐτῶν ὁδον
6 τιμωρίαν. τὰς δὲ κατ’ ἐνιαυτὸν ἅλλογας τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἐπενόησαν, ἵνα πρὶν ἡ καλὸς γνωσ-
θήναι τοὺς στρατηγοὺς καὶ τοὺς ἅλλους ἀπαντας ὑπ’ ἅλληλων, ἐκαστος εἰς τὴν ἰδίαν διαχωρίζηται πατρίδας δὲ γὰρ πολὺς χρόνον τῆς στρατείας ἐμπερίας τοῖς κατὰ τὸν πόλεμον καὶ φρόνημα τοῖς ἡγεμόνις περιτίθησι, καὶ τὸ πλείστον ὑφομᾶς παρέχεται μεγάλας πρὸς ἀπόστασιν καὶ συνω-
7 μοίαν κατὰ τῶν ἡγομένων. τὸ δὲ μηδ’ ὡς ἐνὸς τῶν ἐξωθεν θεωρείσθαι τῆς μὲν περὶ αὐτῶν τροφῆς ἄγνοιαν παρείχετο πάσι, καθὼς ὁ δὲ ἂν ἀρατον διὰ τὸν φόβον ἐκαστος τῶν ὑπὸ ἐνὸς ἀνθρώπος ἐκαστος διὰ τὸν φόβον ἐκαστος τῶν ἐνὸς ἀποδείξας καὶ ταλάντα πάντα διατάξαι ὅσ ποτ’ ἐδοξεῖν αὐτῷ συμφέρειν, τὸν τοῦ δὲ κατεμείνεν ἐν τῇ Νίψῳ.
8 Παραπλησίως δὲ τούτω καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ βασιλεῖς,

1 ἀπαντᾶς: Vogel: πάντας Vulgate, Bekker, Dindorf.
he felt with reference to his subjects, he used to summon each year a fixed number of soldiers and a general from each nation and to keep the army, which had been gathered in this way from all his subject peoples, outside his capital, appointing as commander of each nation one of the most trustworthy men in his service; and at the end of the year he would summon from his peoples a second equal number of soldiers and dismiss the former to their countries. The result of this device was that all those subject to his rule were filled with awe, seeing at all times a great host encamped in the open and punishment ready to fall on any who rebelled or would not yield obedience. This annual change of the soldiers was devised by him in order that, before the generals and all the other commanders of the army should become well acquainted with each other, every man of them would have been separated from the rest and have gone back to his own country; for long service in the field both gives the commanders experience in the arts of war and fills them with arrogance, and, above all, it offers great opportunities for rebellion and for plotting against their rulers. And the fact that he was seen by no one outside the palace made everyone ignorant of the luxury of his manner of life, and through their fear of him, as of an unseen god, each man dared not show disrespect of him even in word. So by appointing generals, satraps, financial officers, and judges for each nation and arranging all other matters as he felt at any time to be to his advantage, he remained for his lifetime in the city of Ninus.

The rest of the kings also followed his example, son
1 Names of kings of Assyria are now known from as early as ca. 2500 B.C.

2 The earliest Greek tradition knew the Ethiopians as "the farthest of men," who dwelt on the stream Oceanus. Hero-
BOOK II. 21. 8-22. 3

succeeding father upon the throne, and reigned for thirty generations down to Sardanapallus; for it was under this ruler that the Empire of the Assyrians fell to the Medes, after it had lasted more than 612 B.C. thirteen hundred years,¹ as Ctesias of Cnidus says in his Second Book.

22. There is no special need of giving all the names of the kings and the number of years which each of them reigned because nothing was done by them which merits mentioning. For the only event which has been recorded is the despatch by the Assyrians to the Trojans of an allied force, which was under the command of Memnon the son of Tithonus. For when Teutamus, they say, was ruler of Asia, being the twentieth in succession from Ninyas the son of Semiramis, the Greeks made an expedition against Troy with Agamemnon, at a time when the Assyrians had controlled Asia for more than a thousand years. And Priam, who was king of the Troad and a vassal of the king of the Assyrians, being hard pressed by the war, sent an embassy to the king requesting aid; and Teutamus despatched ten thousand Ethiopians and a like number of the men of Susiana along with two hundred chariots, having appointed as general Memnon the son of Tithonus.² Now Tithonus, who

dotus (7. 70) speaks of "the Ethiopians of the East," probably meaning the Assyrians. Plato (Laws 685 c) also mentions help sent to Priam by the Assyrians. The account here has more of the appearance of genuine history than that in Book 4. 75, where Diodorus reverts to mythology in presenting Tithonus as the son of Laomédon and brother of Priam, and having him travel to the east "as far as Ethiopia," where he begot Memnon by Dawn. When tradition began to place the Homeric Ethiopians in Libya, Memnon came to be associated with Thebes in Egypt.
Diodorus of Sicily

μὲν Τιθωνόν, κατ’ ἐκείνους τοὺς χρόνους τῆς Περσίδος ὄντα στρατηγὸς, ἐνδοκιμεῖν παρὰ τῷ βασιλεῖ μάλιστα τῶν καθεσταμένων ἐπάρχον, τὸν δὲ Μέμνους τὴν ἡλικίαν ἀκμάζοντα διαφέρειν ἀνδρεῖα τε καὶ ψυχῆς λαμπρότητι. οἰκοδομήσαι δὲ αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τῆς ἀκρας τὰ ἐν Σοῦσοις βασιλεία τὰ διαμέιναντα μέχρι τῆς Περσῶν ἡγεμονίας, κληθέντα δὲ ἀπ’ ἐκείνου Μεμνώνεια: κατασκευάσαι δὲ καὶ διὰ τῆς χώρας λεωφόρον ὄδον τὴν μέχρι τῶν νῦν χρόνων ὀνομάζομένην Μεμνώνειαν. ἀμ- φισβητούσι δὲ καὶ οἱ περὶ τὴν Ἀλγυπτῶν Ἀθηναῖς, λέγουσι ἐν ἐκείνοις τοῖς τόποις γεγονέναι τὸν ἀνδρα τούτον, καὶ βασιλεία ταλαιά δεικνύονσιν, ἃ μέχρι τοῦ νῦν ὀνομάζοντοι φασὶ Μεμνώνεια.

οὔ μην ἄλλα τοῖς Τρωσί λέγεται βοηθῆσαι τὸν Μέμνους μετὰ δισμυρίων μὲν πεζῶν, ἀρμάτων δὲ διακοσίων· ὃν θαυμασθήναι τε δι’ ἀνδρείας καὶ πολλοὺς ἀνελεῖν ἐν ταῖς μάχαις τῶν Ἐλλήνων, τὸ δὲ τελευταῖον ὡς Θεταλῶν ἐνεδρευθέντα κατασφαγήν· τοῦ δὲ σώματος τοῦς Ἀλγυπτῶς ἐγκρατεῖς γενομένους κατακαύσαί τε τὸν νεκρὸν καὶ τὰ ὀστά πρὸς Τιθωνὸν ἀποκομίσαι. περὶ μὲν οὖν Μέμνους τοιαύτην ἐν ταῖς βασιλείαις ἀναγραφαίς ἑστορεῖσθαι φασὶν οἱ βάρβαροι.

23. Σαρδανάπαλλος δὲ, τριακοστὸς μὲν ὃν ἀπὸ Νίνου τοῦ συντήσαμένου τὴν ἡγεμονίαν, ἔσχατος δὲ γενόμενος Ἀσσυρῶν βασιλεῖς, ὑπερή- ρεν ἀπαντάς τοὺς πρὸ αὐτοῦ τρυφῆ καὶ ῥαθυμία. χωρὶς γὰρ τοῦ μηδ’ ὑφ’ ἐνὸς τῶν ἐξωθηκὸν ὀρασθαῖ βίον ἔζησε γηγακός, καὶ διαιτώμενος μὲν μετὰ

1 The following account of the dissolute Sardanapallus is not borne out by the documents, nor indeed by Diodorus himself.
was at that time general of Persis, was the most highly esteemed of the governors at the king's court, and Memnon, who was in the bloom of manhood, was distinguished both for his bravery and for his nobility of spirit. He also built the palace in the upper city of Susa which stood until the time of the Persian Empire and was called after him Memnonian; moreover, he constructed through the country a public highway which bears the name Memnonian to this time. But the Ethiopians who border upon Egypt dispute this, maintaining that this man was a native of their country, and they point out an ancient palace which to this day, they say, bears the name Memnonian. At any rate, the account runs that Memnon went to the aid of the Trojans with twenty thousand foot-soldiers and two hundred chariots; and he was admired for his bravery and slew many Greeks in the fighting, but was finally ambushed by the Thessalians and slain; whereupon the Ethiopians recovered his body, burned the corpse, and took the bones back to Tithonus. Such is the account concerning Memnon that is given in the royal records, according to what the barbarians say.

23. Sardanapallus, the thirtieth in succession from Ninus, who founded the empire, and the last king of the Assyrians, outdid all his predecessors in luxury and sluggishness. For not to mention the fact that he was not seen by any man residing outside the palace, he lived the life of a woman, and spending his days

(op. chaps. 25 ff.). Sin-shar-ishkun, the last king of Assyria, was a worthy descendant of his vigorous predecessors on the Assyrian throne, and defended a dying empire with energy. Cp. The Cambridge Ancient History, 3. pp. 128 ff., 296 f.
DIODORUS OF SICILY

tōn pαλλακίδων, πορφύραν δὲ καὶ τὰ μαλακώ-
tata τῶν ἔριων ταλασιουργῶν, στολὴν μὲν
γυναικείαν ἐνεδεδύκει, τὸ δὲ πρόσωπον καὶ πάν
τὸ σῶμα ψυμβόλως καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις τοῖς τῶν
έταιρῶν ἐπιτηδεύμασιν ἀπαλώτερον πάσης γυ-
2 ναικὸς τρυφερὰς κατεσκεύαστο. Ἐπετήθευσε δὲ
καὶ τὴν φωνὴν ἔχειν γυναικόδη καὶ κατὰ τοὺς
πότους ὁμονοῦν ποτῶν καὶ βρωτῶν τῶν δυνα-
μένων μᾶλιστα τὰς ἱδρυνὰς παρέχεσθαι συνεχῶς
ἀπολαύειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰς ἀφροδισιακὰς τέρψεις
μεταδίωκειν ἀνδρὸς ἀμα καὶ γυναικὸς. ἔχρητο
γὰρ ταῖς ἐπὶ ἀμφότερα συνουσίαις ἀνέδην, τῆς
ἐκ τῆς πράξεως αἰσχύνης σύνεν διὸς φροντίζων.
3 ἐπὶ τοσοῦτο δὲ προηχθεὶ τρυφής καὶ τῆς αἰσχίστης
ἡδονῆς καὶ ἄκρασίας ὡς τ’ ἐπικῆδειον εἰς αὐτὸν
ποιήσας καὶ παραγγείλας τοῖς διαδόχοις τῆς
ἀρχῆς μετὰ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ τελευτὴν ἐπὶ τὸν τάφον
ἐπιμαράγας τὸ συγγραφεῖν μὲν ὑπ’ ἐκείνου βαρβαρι-
κῶς, μεθερμηνευθῆνε δὲ ὑστερον ὑπὸ τίνος” Εὐληνος,
eν εἰδῶς ὅτι θυητὸς ἐφισ, σὸν θυμὸν ἄεξε1
tερπόμενος θαλίσχοι· βανόντι σοι ἀντὶς ὀνήσεις.
καὶ γὰρ ἑγὼ σποδὸς εἰμι, Νίνου μεγάλης
βασιλείας,
tαυτ’ ἐχω ὡς σ’ ἐφαγὼ καὶ ἐφύβρισα καὶ μετ’
ἔρωτος
tέρπυ’ ἐπάθων, τὰ δὲ πολλὰ καὶ ὀλβια κεῖνα
λέειτταί.2
4 τοιοῦτος δ’ ὅν τὸν τρόπον ὁ μόνον αὐτὸς
αἰσχρὸς κατέστρεψε τὸν βλοῦ, ἄλλα καὶ τὴν
1 ἄεξε Tzetzes, Chiliaeds, III. 453, who preserves the first
three lines of the poetry: δέξαι Δ, δέξαι Β.
426 -
in the company of his concubines and spinning purple garments and working the softest of wool, he had assumed the feminine garb and so covered his face and indeed his entire body with whitening cosmetics and the other unguents used by courtisans, that he rendered it more delicate than that of any luxury-loving woman. He also took care to make even his voice to be like a woman’s, and at his carousals not only to indulge regularly in those drinks and viands which could offer the greatest pleasure, but also to pursue the delights of love with men as well as with women; for he practised sexual indulgence of both kinds without restraint, showing not the least concern for the disgrace attending such conduct. To such an excess did he go of luxury and of the most shameless sensual pleasure and intemperance, that he composed a funeral dirge for himself and commanded his successors upon the throne to inscribe it upon his tomb after his death; it was composed by him in a foreign language but was afterwards translated by a Greek as follows:

Knowing full well that thou wert mortal born,
Thy heart lift up, take thy delight in feasts;
When dead no pleasure more is thine. Thus I,
Who once o’er mighty Ninus ruled, am naught
But dust. Yet these are mine which gave me joy
In life—the food I ate, my wantonness,
And love’s delights. But all those other things
Men deem felicities are left behind.

Because he was a man of this character, not only did he end his own life in a disgraceful manner, but he

---

2 ἀληθείᾳ in Athenaeus 336a.
ΔΙΟΔΟΡΟΣ Ο ΣΙΚΥΛΙΚΟΣ

'Ασσυρίων ἤγεμονίαν ἡρήν ἀνέτρεψε, πολυ-
χρονιστάτην γενομένην τῶν μνημονευομένων.

24. Ἀρβάκης γάρ τις, Μῆδος μὲν τὸ γένος,
ἀνδρεία δὲ καὶ ψυχής λαμπρότητι διαφέρων,
ἐστρατηγεῖ Μῆδων τῶν κατ᾽ ἐναυῶν ἐκπεμπο-
μένων εἰς τὴν Νίον. κατὰ δὲ τὴν στρατείαν
γενόμενος συνήθης τῷ στρατηγῷ τῶν Βαβυ-
λωνίων, ὡς ἐκείνου παρεκκλήθη καταλύσαι τὴν
2 τῶν 'Ασσυρίων ἤγεμονίαν. ἤν δὲ οὕτως ὄνομα
μὲν Βέλεσυς, τῶν δὲ ἱερέων ἐπισημότατος, οὗς
Βαβυλώνιοι καλοῦσι Χαλδαίους. ἐμπειρίᾳ οὖν
ἐχων μεγίστην ἀστρολογίαν τε καὶ μαντικῆς
προέλεγε τοῖς πολλοῖς τὸ ἀποβησόμενον ἀδια-
πτώτως: διὸ καὶ θαυμαζόμενος ἐπὶ τοῦτοι τῷ
στρατηγῷ τῶν Μῆδων ὡς ἐντὸς προεῖπεν ὅτι
πάντως αὐτῶν δὲι βασιλεύσαι πάσης τῆς χώρας
3 ἡ ἄρχει Σαρδανάπαλλος. ὁ δὲ Ἀρβάκης ἐπαι-
νέσας τὸν ἄνδρα, τούτῳ μὲν ἐπηγγείλατο δώσειν
στρατείαν τῆς Βαβυλωνίας, τῆς πράξεως ἐπὶ
tέλος ἐλθούσης, αὐτῶς δὲ καθαπερεῖ τίνος θεοῦ
φωνῆ μετεωρίσθει τοῦ τε ἤγεμός τῶν άλλων
ἐθνῶν συνίστατο καὶ πρὸς τὰς ἐστιάσεις καὶ
κοινὰς ὁμιλίας ἐκεννώς ἀπαντάς παρελάμβανε,
4 φιλίαν κατασκευάζων1 πρὸς ἐκαστὸν. ἐφίλοτε-
μήθη δὲ καὶ τὸν βασιλέα κατ᾽ ὄψιν ἰδεῖν καὶ
tὸν τοῦτον βίον ὅλον κατασκέψασθαι. διότερ
δοὺς τινὶ τῶν εὐνοούχων χρυσῆν φιάλην εἰσήχθη

1 κατασκευάζων Gemistus: ἐγκατασκευάζων.
caused the total destruction of the Assyrian Empire, which had endured longer than any other known to history.

24. The facts are these:¹ A certain Arbaces, a Mede by race, and conspicuous for his bravery and nobility of spirit, was the general of the contingent of Medes which was sent each year to Ninus. And having made the acquaintance during this service of the general of the Babylonians, he was urged by him to overthrow the empire of the Assyrians. Now this man's name was Belesys, and he was the most distinguished of those priests whom the Babylonians call Chaldacaus. And since as a consequence he had the fullest experience of astrology and divination, he was wont to foretell the future unerringly to the people in general; therefore, being greatly admired for this gift, he also predicted to the general of the Medes, who was his friend, that it was certainly fated for him to be king over all the territory which was then held by Sardanapalus. Arbaces, commending the man, promised to give him the satrapy of Babylonia when the affair should be consummated, and for his part, like a man elated by a message from some god, both entered into a league with the commanders of the other nations and assiduously invited them all to banquets and social gatherings, establishing thereby a friendship with each of them. He was resolved also to see the king face to face and to observe his whole manner of life. Consequently he gave one of the eunuchs a golden

¹ The kernel of truth in the account which follows lies in the fact that Nineveh fell before the combined attacks of the Median Cyaxares and the Chaldaean Nabopolassar.
πρὸς τῶν Σαρδανάπαλλου, καὶ τὴν τε τρυφὴν αὐτοῦ καὶ τῶν γυναικῶν τῶν ἔπιτηδευμάτων ζήλου ἀκριβῶς κατανόησας κατεφρόνησε μὲν τοῦ βασιλέως ὡς οὐδενὸς αξίου, προῆρθη δὲ πολὺ μᾶλλον ἀντέχεσθαι τῶν δοθεισῶν ἀλήθειῶν ύπὸ τοῦ Χαλδαίου. τέλος δὲ συνωμοσίαν ἐποιήσατο πρὸς τῶν Βέλεσιν, ὡςτε αὐτοῦ μὲν Μίθους ἀποστήσας καὶ Πέρσας, ἐκεῖνον δὲ πείσαι Βαβυ-
λωνίους κοινωνῆσαι τῆς πράξεως καὶ τῶν τῶν Ἀράβων ἡγεμόνα φίλου ὡντα προσλαβέσθαι πρὸς τὴν τῶν ὄλων ἐπίθεσιν.

6 ὡς δὲ ὁ ἐνιαύσιος τῆς στρατείας διεληλύθη χρόνος, διαδοχῆς δ’ ἐτέρας ἐθνούσης ἀπελύθησαν οἱ πρότεροι κατὰ τὸ ἔθος εἰς τὰς πατρίδας, ἐνταῦθα ὁ Ἀρβάκης ἔπεισε τοὺς μὲν Μίθους ἐπιθέσαι τῇ βασιλείᾳ, Πέρσας δὲ ἐπ’ ἐλευθερία κοινωνῆσαι τῆς συνωμοσίας.1 παραπλησίως δὲ καὶ ὁ Βέλεσι τοὺς τε Βαβυλωνίους ἔπεισεν ἀντέχεσθαι τῆς ἐλευθερίας, καὶ προσβεύσας εἰς Ἀραβίαν παρεστήσατο τὸν ἡγούμενον τῶν ἐγχωρίων, ὡντα φίλου αὐτοῦ καὶ ἔνω, μετασχέιν τῆς ἐπιθέσεως. τοῦ δὲ ἐνιαύσιον χρόνον διελ-
θότος πάντες οὕτως στρατιωτῶν συν-
αγαγότες ἥκον πανδημεῖ πρὸς τὴν Νίνον, τὸ μὲν λόγῳ διαδοχῆ ἄγοντες, ὡς ἦν σύνθεσις, τῇ δὲ ἀληθείᾳ καταλύσοντες τὴν τῶν Ἀσσυρίων ἡγεμονίαν. ἀνθρωπισθέντων οὖν τῶν προειρημένων τεταράμων ἔθνων εἰς ἑνά τόπον, ὁ μὲν σύμπας αὐτῶν ἀριθμὸς ὑπήρχεν εἰς τεταράκοντα μυ-

1 συνωμοσίας Dindorf: ἡγεμονίας.

1 Cp. chap. 21.
bowl as a present and gained admittance to Sardana- 
pallus; and when he had observed at close hand both 
his luxuriousness and his love of effeminate pursuits 
and practices, he despised the king as worthy of no 
consideration and was led all the more to cling to the 
hopes which had been held out to him by the Chal- 
dacan. And the conclusion of the matter was that he 
formed a conspiracy with Belesys, whereby he should 
himself move the Medes and Persians to revolt while 
the latter should persuade the Babylonians to join the 
undertaking and should secure the help of the com-
mander of the Arabs, who was his friend, for the 
attempt to secure the supreme control.

When the year's time of their service in the king's 
army had passed and, another force having arrived 
to replace them, the relieved men had been dis-
missed as usual to their homes, thereupon Arbaces 
persuaded the Medes to attack the Assyrian kingdom 
and the Persians to join in the conspiracy, on the 
condition of receiving their freedom. Belesys too 
in similar fashion both persuaded the Babylonians 
to strike for their freedom, and sending an embassy 
to Arabia, won over the commander of the people 
of that country, a friend of his who exchanged 
hospitality with him, to join in the attack. And 
after a year's time all these leaders gathered a multi-
tude of soldiers and came with all their forces to 
Ninus, ostensibly bringing up replacements, as was 
the custom, but in fact with the intention of destroy-
ing the empire of the Assyrians. Now when these 
four nations had gathered into one place the whole 
number of them amounted to four hundred thousand

\[\text{i.e. from the Assyrians.}\]
DIDODORUS OF SICILY

25. Σαρδανάπαλλος δὲ γνοὺς τὴν ἀπόστασιν εὐθὺς ἔξηγαγεν ἐπὶ αὐτοὺς τὰς ἀπὸ τῶν ἄλλων ἑβυδῶν δυνάμεις. καὶ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον γενομένης ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ παρατάξεως ἑλείφθησαν οἱ τὴν ἀπόστασιν ποιησάμενοι, καὶ πολλοῖς ἀποβαλόντες συνεδώχθησαν εἰς ὅρος ἀπέχον τῇ Νίνου.

2 σταδίους ἐβδομήκοντα· μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα πάλιν καταβάντων αὐτῶν εἰς τὸ πεδίον καὶ πρὸς μάχην παρασκευαζόμενων, ὁ μὲν Σαρδανάπαλλος ἀντιτάξας τὴν ἱδίαν στρατιὰν προαπεστειλε πρὸς τὸ τῶν πολεμίων στρατόπεδον τοὺς κηρύξοντας διὸ τὶ Σαρδανάπαλλος τοῖς μὲν ἀνέλυσιν Ἀρβάκην τὸν Μηδίδον δῶσει χρυσίον διακόσια τάλαντα, τοῖς δὲ ξύντα παραδοῦσιν χρήματα μὲν δωρῆσεται διὰ τοσάῦτα, τῆς δὲ Μηδίδας.

3 ὑπάρχον καταστῆσει. παραπλησίως δὲ ἐπηγεύλατο δῶσειν δωρεάς τοῖς Βελεσιν τὸν Βαβυλόνιον ἀνέλυσιν ἡ ξωγρήσασιν. οὐδενὸς δὲ προσέχοντος τοῖς κηρύγμασι, συνῆψε μάχην, καὶ πολλοῖς μὲν ἐφόνεσε τῶν ἀποστατῶν, τὸ δὲ ἄλλο πλῆθος συνεδώξασιν εἰς τὴν ἐν τοῖς ὅρεσι παρεμβολὴν.

4 Οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Ἀρβάκην διὰ τὰς ἦττας ἀθυμοῦντες συνήγαγον τῶν φίλων συνέδριον καὶ 5 προέθηκαν βουλήν τῷ δέοι πράττειν. οἱ πλείστοι μὲν ὁμίῳ ἐφάσαν δεῖν εἰς τὰς πατρίδας ἀπίεναι καὶ τόποις ἄχυροις καταλαμβάνεσθαι καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν εἰς τὸν πόλεμον χρησίμων

1 ἑπαρχον Vogel: ἑπαρχον Vulgate, Bekker, Dindorf.
men, and when they had assembled into one camp they took counsel together concerning the best plan to pursue.

25. As for Sardanapallus, so soon as he became aware of the revolt, he led forth against the rebels the contingents which had come from the rest of the nations. And at first, when battle was joined on the plain, those who were making the revolt were defeated, and after heavy losses were pursued to a mountain which was seventy stades distant from Nimus; but afterwards, when they came down again into the plain and were preparing for battle, Sardanapallus marshalled his army against them and despatched heralds to the camp of the enemy to make this proclamation: "Sardanapallus will give two hundred talents of gold to anyone who slays Arbaces the Mede, and will make a present of twice that amount to anyone who delivers him up alive and will also appoint him governor over Media." Likewise he promised to reward any who would either slay Belesys the Babylonian or take him alive. But since no man paid any attention to the proclamation, he joined battle, slew many of the rebels, and pursued the remainder of the multitude into their encampment in the mountains.

Arbaces, having lost heart because of these defeats, now convened a meeting of his friends and called upon them to consider what should be done. Now the majority said that they should retire to their respective countries, seize strong positions, and so far as possible prepare there whatever else would be

---

2 For παρακλησις Gemistus, followed by Bekker and Dindorf, conjectured παρακλησις.
τὴν ἐνδεχομένην παρασκευὴν ποιεῖσθαι: Βέλεσσι ὁ Βαβυλώνιος, φήσας τοὺς θεους αὐτοῖς σημαίνειν μετὰ πόνου καὶ κακοπαθείας ἐπὶ τέλος ἄξειν τὴν προαίρεσιν, καὶ τάλλα παρακλῆσαι ἐνδεχομένως, ἔπεισεν ἀπαντᾶς ὑπομένειν

6 τοὺς κινδύνους. γενομένης οὖν τρίτης παράταξις πάλιν ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐνίκησε, καὶ τής τε παρεμβολῆς τῶν ἀποστατῶν ἐκυρίευσε καὶ τοὺς ἠττηθέντας ἐδώκει μέχρι τῶν ὄρων τῆς Βαβυλωνίας: συνέβη δὲ καὶ τὸν Ἰρτύκην αὐτὸν λαμπρότατα κινδυνεύσαντα καὶ πολλοὺς ἀνελόντα

7 τῶν Ἀσσυρίων γενέσθαι τραυματίαν. τηλικοῦ τῶν ὁ ἐλαττωμάτων κατὰ τὸ συνεχὲς γινομένων τοῖς ἀφεστηκόσιν, οἱ τὰς ἡγεμονίας ἐχοντες ἀπελπίσαντες περὶ τῆς νίκης παρεσκευάζοντο διαχωριζοῦσαν πρὸς τοὺς οἰκείους

8 ἔκαστοι τότεν. ὁ δὲ Βέλεσσι ἐν ὑπαίθρῳ τὴν ἁρκτα δηηρυπηκὼς καὶ περὶ τὴν τῶν ἀστρον παρατήρησιν φιλοτιμηθεῖς, ἔφησε τοῖς ἀναπτυκόσι τὰ πράγματα, ἀν πειθή ἡμέρας ἀναμένον, αὐτομάτην ἥξειν βοήθειαν καὶ μεταβολὴν ἔσεσθαι τῶν ὀλού παμμεγέθη εἰς τοὺς άντικυρίας ταῦτα γὰρ ὀρᾶν διὰ τῆς τῶν ἀστρον ἐμπειρίας προσημαίνοντας αὐτοῖς τοὺς θεοὺς. καὶ παρεκάλει ταῦτας τὰς ἡμέρας μείνας πείραν λαβεῖν τῆς ἱδίας τέχνης καὶ τῆς τῶν θεῶν ἐνεργείας.

26. Μετακληθέντων οὖν πάντων πάλιν καὶ τῶν ἀριστότον χρόνον ἀναμεινᾶντων, ἴκε τῆς ἀπαγγέλλων διότι δύναμις ἐκ τῆς Ἐκετριανῆς ἀπεσταλμένη τῷ βασιλεῖ πλησίον ἔστι πορευο-2 μένῃ κατὰ σπουδήν, ἐδοξέεν οὖν τοῖς περὶ τῶν Ἰρτύκην, ἀπαντῆσαι τοῖς στρατηγοῖς τὴν
useful for the war; but Belesys the Babylonian, by maintaining that the gods were promising them by signs that with labours and hardship they would bring their enterprise to a successful end, and encouraging them in every other way as much as he could, persuaded them all to remain to face further perils. So there was a third battle, and again the king was victorious, captured the camp of the rebels, and pursued the defeated foe as far as the boundaries of Babylonia; and it also happened that Arbaces himself, who had fought most brilliantly and had slain many Assyrians, was wounded. And now that the rebels had suffered defeats so decisive following one upon the other, their commanders, abandoning all hope of victory, were preparing to disperse each to his own country. But Belesys, who had passed a sleepless night in the open and had devoted himself to the observation of the stars, said to those who had lost hope in their cause, "If you will wait five days help will come of its own accord, and there will be a mighty change to the opposite in the whole situation; for from my long study of the stars I see the gods foretelling this to us." And he appealed to them to wait that many days and test his own skill and the good will of the gods.

26. So after they had all been called back and had waited the stipulated time, there came a messenger with the news that a force which had been despatched from Bactriana to the king was near at hand, advancing with all speed. Arbaces, accordingly, decided to go to meet their generals by the shortest route,
taχέστης ἀναλαβόντας τῶν στρατιωτῶν τοὺς κρατίστους καὶ μᾶλλον εὐξώνους, ὅπως, ἄν μὴ διὰ τῶν λόγων τοὺς Βακτριανοὺς δύνωνται πείσαι συναποστήματι, τοῖς ὁπλοῖς βιάζονται μετα-3 σχεῖν τῶν αὐτῶν ἐλπίδων. τέλος ὁ μὲν ἐλευθερίαν ἀσμένος ὑπακουσάντων τῷ μὲν πρῶ-τον τῶν ἰγμένων, ἑπετα καὶ τῆς ὅλης δυνάμεως, πάντες ἐν ταύτῳ κατεστράτοπέδευσαν.

4 Ὅτε δὴ συνέβη τῶν βασιλέων τῶν Ἀσσυρίων τὴν μὲν ἀπόστασιν τῶν Βακτριανῶν ἀγνοοῦντα, ταῦτα δὲ προγεγενήμενα εὐημερίας μετεωρισθέντα, τραπήναι πρὸς ἀνεσίων, καὶ τοῖς στρατιώ-5 ταις διαδόνωσαν πρὸς εὐωχίαν ἔρειδα καὶ πλήθους ὁμού τῆς ἀλλὰς ἐπιτηδείων. διότερ τῆς δυνάμεως ἀπάσης ἐστιωμένης, οἶ περὶ τῶν Ἀρβάκην παρά τινων αὐτομόλων πυθόμενον τὴν ἐν τῇ παρεμβολῇ τῶν πολεμίων ῥαθυμίαν καὶ μέθην, νυκτὸς ἀπροσδοκητῶς τὴν ἐπίθεσιν ἐποιή-6 σαντ. προσπεσόντες δὲ συντεταγμένοι μὲν ἀσυντάκτως, ἢτοι μὲν ἀπαρασκεύοις, τῆς τε παρεμβολῆς ἑκράτησιν καὶ τῶν στρατιωτῶν πολλοὺς ἀνελόντες τοὺς ἀλλοὺς μέχρι τῆς πό-7 λεως κατεδώκαν. μετά δὲ ταύτα ὁ μὲν βασιλεὺς Γαλαίμενην τῶν ἄδελφον τῆς γυναικὸς ἀποδείξας στρατηγόν, αὐτὸς τὰ κατὰ τήν πόλιν ἐπιμέ-8 λευαν ἐποιεῖτο· οἱ δὲ ἀποστάται κατὰ τὸ πεδίον ὑπὸ τῆς πόλεως παρατάξαμενοι δυσὶ μάχαις ἐνίκησαν τοὺς Ἀσσυρίους, καὶ τὸν τε Γαλαι-9 μένην ἀνείλων καὶ τῶν ἀντιταξιμένων τοὺς μὲν ἐν τῇ φυγῇ κατέσφαξαν, τοὺς δὲ ἀποκλεισθέντας τῆς εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἐπανόδου καὶ συναναγκα-10 σθέντας ἐστοὺς ῥηπτεῖν εἰς τὸν Ἑὐφράτην

436
taking along the best and most agile of his troops, so that, in case they should be unable to persuade the Bactrians by arguments to join in the revolt, they might resort to arms to force them to share with them in the same hopes. But the outcome was that the new-comers gladly listened to the call to freedom, first the commanders and then the entire force, and they all encamped in the same place.

It happened at this very time that the king of the Assyrians, who was unaware of the defection of the Bactrians and had become elated over his past successes, turned to indulgence and divided among his soldiers for a feast animals and great quantities of both wine and all other provisions. Consequently, since the whole army was carousing, Arbaces, learning from some deserters of the relaxation and drunkenness in the camp of the enemy, made his attack upon it unexpectedly in the night. And as it was an assault of organized men upon disorganized and of ready men upon unprepared, they won possession of the camp, and after slaying many of the soldiers pursued the rest of them as far as the city. After this the king named for the chief command Galae- menes, his wife's brother, and gave his own attention to the affairs within the city. But the rebels, drawing up their forces in the plain before the city, overcame the Assyrians in two battles, and they not only slew Galaeemenes, but of the opposing forces they cut down some in their flight, while others, who had been shut out from entering the city and forced to leap into

---

1 For τέλει δε Vogel proposes τούτων δε or δε, unless, as he suggests, there is a large lacuna.
7 ποταμῶν πλὴν ὅλους ἀπαντάς ἀνείλλων. τοσοῦτο δὲ πλῆθος ἢ τῶν φονευθέντων ὡστε τὸ φερόμενον ῥεῦμα κραδέν αἵματι τὴν χρώαν ἐφ’ ἰκανον τότον μεταβαλεῖν. ἔπειτα τού βασιλέως συγκλεισθέντος εἰς πολυρκίαν πολλά τῶν ἐθνῶν ἀφίστατο, ἐκάστου πρὸς τὴν ἑλευθερίαν αὐτομολεύντος.

8 Ὅ δ’ Σαρδανάπαλλος ὁρῶν τὴν ὅλην βασιλείαν ἐν τοῖς μεγίστοις οὐδὰν κινδύνουσι, τοὺς μὲν νῦν τρεῖς ὑνταὶ καὶ θυγατέρας δύο μετὰ πολλῶν χρημάτων εἰς Παφλαγονίαν ἀπέστειλε πρὸς Κότταυ τῶν ἑπαρχῶν, ὅταν τῶν ἀρχομένων εὐνοούστατον, αὐτὸς δὲ βιβλιαφόρους ἀποστέλλας πρὸς ἀπαντάς τοὺς ὑπ’ αὐτὸν τεταγμένους μετεπέμπετο δυνάμεις καὶ τὰ πρὸς τὴν πολυρκίαν παρεσκευάζετο. ἦν δ’ αὐτῷ λόγιον παραδεδομένου ἐκ προγόνων ὅτι τὴν Νίνων οὔδες ἔλει κατὰ κράτος, ἐὰν μὴ πρότερον ὁ ποταμὸς τῇ πόλει γεννηται πολέμων. ὑπολαμβάνων οὖν τοῦτο μηδέποτε ἑσεσθαι, ταῖς ἐλπίσι πιστεύει, διανοούμενος ὑπομένειν τὴν πολυρκίαν καὶ τὰ παρὰ τῶν ὑποτεταγμένων ἀποσταλησόμενα στρατότεθεν προσδέχεσθαι.

27. Οἱ δ’ ἀποστάται τοὺς προτερήμασιν ἐπαρβέντες προσέκειντο μὲν τῇ πολυρκίᾳ, διὰ δὲ τὴν ὀχυρότητα τῶν τειχῶν οὐδέν ἦδυναντε θλάψαι τοὺς ἐν τῇ πόλει: πετροβόλοι γὰρ ἢ χελώναι χωστρίδες ἢ κριοὶ πρὸς ἀνατροπὴν μεμηχανώμενοι τειχῶν οὐποι κατ’ ἐκείνους τοὺς καίρους

1 ὑποτεταγμένων Vogel: ἐπάρχων A B D, Bekker, Dindorf.
2 προσδέχεσθαι Vogel: προσεδέχετο Vulgate, Bekker, Dindorf.

438
the Euphrates river, they destroyed almost to a man. So great was the multitude of the slain that the water of the stream, mingled with the blood, was changed in colour over a considerable distance. Furthermore, now that the king was shut up in the city and besieged there, many of the nations revolted, going over in each case to the side of liberty.

Sardanapallus, realizing that his entire kingdom was in the greatest danger, sent his three sons and two daughters together with much of his treasure to Paphlagonia to the governor Cotta, who was the most loyal of his subjects, while he himself, dispatching letter-carriers to all his subjects, summoned forces and made preparations for the siege. Now there was a prophecy which had come down to him from his ancestors: "No enemy will ever take Ninus by storm unless the river shall first become the city’s enemy.” Assuming, therefore, that this would never be, he held out in hope, his thought being to endure the siege and await the troops which would be sent from his subjects.

27. The rebels, elated at their successes, pressed the siege, but because of the strength of the walls they were unable to do any harm to the men in the city; for neither engines for throwing stones, nor shelters for sappers,¹ nor battering-rams devised to overthrow walls had as yet been invented at that time. More-

¹ The χελάναι ("tortoises"; cp. the Roman testudo) χωστρίδες were strong moveable sheds or roofs, under whose protection sappers and miners could work. In Book 20. 91. 8 they are contrasted with sheds which carried battering-rams (χελάναι κριοφόροι).


Diodorus of Sicily

28.  Ἐνθὰ δὴ τοῦ βασιλέως τοῖς συναγωγισμένοις στρατηγοῖς δωρεάς τε διαδόνος κατὰ τὴν ἀξίαν καὶ σατράπας ἑθὼν καθιστάντος, προσελθὼν αὐτῷ Βέλεσις ὁ Βασιλίκιος, ὁ προσεπών ὅτι βασιλέως ἐσται τῆς Ἀσίας, τῆς τε εὐεργεσίας.
over, the inhabitants of the city had a great abundance of all provisions, since the king had taken thought on that score. Consequently the siege dragged on, and for two years they pressed their attack, making assaults on the walls and preventing the inhabitants of the city from going out into the country; but in the third year, after there had been heavy and continuous rains, it came to pass that the Euphrates, running very full, both inundated a portion of the city and broke down the walls for a distance of twenty stades. At this the king, believing that the oracle had been fulfilled and that the river had plainly become the city's enemy, abandoned hope of saving himself. And in order that he might not fall into the hands of the enemy, he built an enormous pyre in his palace, heaped upon it all his gold and silver as well as every article of the royal wardrobe, and then, shutting his concubines and eunuchs in the room which had been built in the middle of the pyre, he consigned both them and himself and his palace to the flames. The rebels, on learning of the death of Sardanapallus, took the city by forcing an entrance where the wall had fallen, and clothing Arbaces in the royal garb saluted him as king and put in his hands the supreme authority.

28. Thereupon, after the new king had distributed among the generals who had aided him in the struggle gifts corresponding to their several deserts, and as he was appointing satraps over the nations, Belesys the Babylonian, who had foretold to Arbaces that he would be king of Asia, coming to him, reminded him

1 Diodorus greatly abridged the description of this pyre by Ctesias, since Athenaeus (12. 38), who derived his account of it also from Ctesias, gives many more details concerning it.
2 δοῦναι, καθάπερ ἐξ ἀρχῆς ὑπέσχετο. ἀπεφαι-
νετο δὲ καὶ κατὰ τοὺς κινδύνους ἑαυτὸν εὐχὴν
πεποιήσθαι τῷ Βήλῳ Σαρδαναπάλλου κρατη-
θέντος καὶ τῶν 1 βασιλεῶν ἐμπυρισθέντων ἀπο-
κουμείν τὴν σποδὸν τὴν ἐκ τούτων εἰς Βαβυ-
λῶνα, καὶ πλησίον τοῦ τεμένους τοῦ θεοῦ καί
τοῦ ποταμοῦ καταθέμενον χῶμα κατασκευάσειν
τὸ παρεξόμενον τοὺς κατὰ τὸν Εὐφράτην πλέο-
σιν ἀθάνατον ὑπόμνημα τοῦ καταλύσατος τὴν
3 Ἀσσυρίων, ἀρχῆν. τούτῳ δὲ ἤτειτο πυθόμενος
των εὐνοοῦχον τὰ περὶ τὸν ἄργυρον καὶ χρυσόν,
ὅν διαδράντα καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν αὐτομολύσατα
4 κατέκρυψεν. ὁ δὲ Ἀρβάκης τούτων οὐδὲν εἰδὼς
διὰ τὸ πάντας τοὺς ἐν τοῖς βασιλείοις συγκατα-
καύναι τῷ βασιλεῖ, τὴν τε σποδὸν ἀποκομίσαι
καὶ τὴν Βαβυλῶνα ἔχειν ἀτέλη συνεχόρησεν.
εἰδὼς οὖν Βέλους θλίπτει παραστησάμενος μετά
tῆς σποδοῦ τὸ πλείστον τοῦ τε ἄργυρου καὶ τοῦ
χρυσοῦ συντόμως ἀπέστειλεν εἰς Βαβυλῶνα· ὁ
δὲ βασιλεὺς, μηνυθείσης αὐτῷ τῆς πράξεως
ἀυτοφόρου,2 δικασταὶ ἀπέδειξε τοὺς συναγωνι-
5 σαμένους στρατηγοὺς. τοῦ πράξαντος δὲ ὁμολο-
γοῦντος ἀδικεῖν, τὸ μὲν δικαστήριον αὐτοῦ θάνα-
τον κατέγνω, δὲ βασιλεὺς, μεγαλύψυχος ὃν
καὶ τὴν ἁρχὴν τῆς ἡγεμονίας βουλόμενος ἐπιεικὴ
παρέχεσθαι, τῶν τε κινδύνων ἀπέλυσε τὸν
Βέλους καὶ τὸν ἀποκεκομισμένον ἄργυρον καὶ
χρυσὸν ἔχειν συνεχόρησεν ὁμολογεῖ δὲ καὶ τὴν
ἐξ ἀρχῆς δοθεῖσαν ἐξουσίαν τῆς Βαβυλῶνος

1 ΄έλλων after τῶν added by Vulgate, Bekker, Dindorf.
of his good services, and asked that he be given the governorship of Babylon, as had been promised at the outset. He also explained that when their cause was endangered he had made a vow to Belus that, if Sardanapallus were defeated and his palace went up in flames, he would bring its ashes to Babylon, and depositing them near the river and the sacred precinct of the god he would construct a mound which, for all who sailed down the Euphrates, would stand as an eternal memorial of the man who had overthrown the rule of the Assyrians. This request he made because he had learned from a certain eunuch, who had made his escape and come to Belesys and was kept hidden by him, of the facts regarding the silver and gold. Now since Arbaces knew nothing of this, by reason of the fact that all the inmates of the palace had been burned along with the king, he allowed him both to carry the ashes away and to hold Babylon without the payment of tribute. Thereupon Belesys procured boats and at once sent off to Babylon along with the ashes practically all the silver and gold; and the king, having been informed of the act which Belesys had been caught perpetrating, appointed as judges the generals who had served with him in the war. And when the accused acknowledged his guilt, the court sentenced him to death, but the king, being a magnanimous man and wishing to make his rule at the outset known for clemency, both freed Belesys from the danger threatening him and allowed him to keep the silver and gold which he had carried off; likewise, he did not even take from him the governorship over Babylon which had originally

\[2\alpha\nu\tauοφάρου\text{ Rhodoman}: \alpha\nu\tauοφάρου\]
DIODORUS OF SICILY

οὐκ ἀφείλετο, φήσας μείζονας εἶναι τὰς ἐξ αὐτοῦ προγεγενημένας ἐνεργείαις τῶν ὑστερον ἄδικη-6 μάτων. διαβοηθείωσας δὲ τῆς ἐπιεικείας οὐ τὴν τυχοῦσαν εὐνοιαν ἀμα1 καὶ δόξαν παρὰ τῶν ἑθικῶν ἀπηνέγκατο, πάντων κρινόντων ἄξιον εἶναι τῆς βασιλείας τῶν οὕτω προσενεχθέντα τοῖς 7 ἀδικήσασιν. ὁ δ' οὖν Ἀρβάκης τοῖς κατὰ τὴν πόλιν ἐπιεικῶς προσενεχθεὶς αὐτοὺς μὲν κατὰ κώμας διώκισε, τὰς ἰδιὰς κτήσεις ἐκάστους ἀποδοῦσι, τὴν δὲ πόλιν εἰς ἐδαφὸς κατέσκαψεν. ἐπειτα τῶν τε ἀργυροῦ καὶ χρυσοῦ τῶν ἐκ τῆς πυρᾶς ὑπολειφθέντα πολλῶν ὅντα ταλάντων ἀπεκόμισε τῆς Μηδᾶς εἰς Ἐκβάτανα.

8 Ἡ μὲν οὖν ἡγεμονία τῶν Ἀσσυρίων ὑπὸ Νίουν διαμείνασα τριάκοντα μὲν γενεάς, ἤτη δὲ πλεῖον τῶν χιλίων καὶ τριάκοσίων, ὑπὸ Μηδῶν κατελύθη τὸν προειρήμενον τρόπον.

29. Ἡμῶν δ' οὖν ἀνάρμοστον εἶναι δοκεῖ περὶ τῶν ἐν Βαβυλώνι Χαλδαίων καὶ τῆς ἀρχαιότητος αὐτῶν βραχεὰ διελθεῖν, ἡμι μηδὲν παραλείπωμεν 2 τῶν ἄξιων μνήμης. Χαλδαίοι τοινεκ τῶν ἀρχαιο-τάτων όντες Βαβυλωνίων τῇ μὲν διαιρέσει τῆς πολιτείας παραπλησίαν ἔχουσι τάξιν τοῖς κατ' Ἀχγυπτον ἱερεύσῃ πρὸς γὰρ τῇ θεραπείᾳ τῶν θεῶν τεταγμένοι πάντα τῶν τοῦ ξην χρόνων φιλοσοφοῦσι, μεγάστην δόξαν ἔχουσι εἰς ἀστρο-λογίαν. ἀντέχουσι δ' ἐπὶ πολὺ καὶ μαντικῆς, ποιούμενοι προορίσεις περὶ τῶν μελλόντων, καὶ τῶν μὲν καθαρμοῖς, τῶν δὲ θυσίαις, τῶν δ' ἄλλως τισὶν ἐπιφάνειαν ἀποτροπὰς κακῶν καὶ 3 τελειώσεις ἀγαθῶν πειράνται πορίζειν. ἐμπειρίαν

1 ἀμα Dindorf; ἄλλα.
been given to him, saying that his former services were greater than his subsequent misdeeds. When this act of clemency was noised about, he won no ordinary loyalty on the part of his subjects as well as renown among the nations, all judging that a man who had conducted himself in this wise towards wrongdoers was worthy of the kingship. Arbaces, however, showing clemency towards the inhabitants of the city, settled them in villages and returned to each man his personal possessions, but the city he levelled to the ground. Then the silver and gold, amounting to many talents, which had been left in the pyre, he collected and took off to Ecbatana in Media.

So the empire of the Assyrians, which had endured from the time of Ninus through thirty generations, for more than one thousand three hundred years, was destroyed by the Medes in the manner described above.

29. But to us it seems not inappropriate to speak briefly of the Chaldacans of Babylon and of their antiquity, that we may omit nothing which is worthy of record. Now the Chaldaeans, belonging as they do to the most ancient inhabitants of Babylonia, have about the same position among the divisions of the state as that occupied by the priests of Egypt; for being assigned to the service of the gods they spend their entire life in study, their greatest renown being in the field of astrology. But they occupy themselves largely with soothsaying as well, making predictions about future events, and in some cases by purifications, in others by sacrifices, and in others by some other charms they attempt to effect the averting of evil things and the fulfilment of the good. They are
Diodorus of Sicily

δ’ ἔχουσι καὶ τῆς διὰ τῶν οἰωνῶν μαντικῆς, ἐνυπνίων τε καὶ τεράτων ἐξηγήσεις ἀποφαίνονται. οὐκ ἀσώφως δὲ ποιοῦνται καὶ τὰ περὶ τὴν ἱεροσκοπίαν ἄκρως ἐπιτυγχάνειν νομίζοντες. 1

Τὴν δὲ τούτων μάθησιν ἀπάντων οὐχ ὁμοίαν ποιοῦνται τοῖς τὰ τοιαύτ᾽ ἐπειθεῖσθον τῶν Ἑλλήνων. παρὰ μὲν γὰρ τοῖς Χαλδαίοις ἐκ γένους ἢ τούτων φιλοσοφία παραδεδομένη, καὶ παῖς παρὰ πατρὸς διαδέχεται, τῶν ἄλλων λειτουργίων πασῶν ἀπολελυμένος. διὸ καὶ γονεῖς ἔχοντες διδασκάλους ἀμα μὲν ἄθόνως ἀπαίτα μαθήματι, ἀμα δὲ τοῖς παραγγελλομένοις προσέχουσι πιστεύοντες βεβαιότερον. ἔπειτε εὐθὺς ἐκ παιδῶν συντρεφόμενοι τοῖς μαθήμασι μεγάλην ἔξων περιποιοῦνται διὰ τὸ τῆς ἡλικίας εὐθίδεατον καὶ διὰ τὸ πλῆθος τοῦ προσκαρτερουμένου χρόνου.

5 Παρὰ δὲ τοῖς Ἐλληνσιν ὁ πολλοὶς ἀπαρασκεύως 2 προσέδων ὅψι ποτὲ τῆς φιλοσοφίας ἀπτεται, καὶ μέχρι τινὸς φιλοσοφοῦντας ὑπῆλθε περισσαθείς ὑπὸ βιωτικῆς χρείας. ὁλόγοι δὲ τινες ἐπὶ φιλοσοφίαν ἀποδύνησεν προτετείλητον μαθήματι, καὶ κυνωπεύουσας ἀνεμελήσεις ἐπὶ τῶν μεγίστων δογμάτων καὶ τοῖς πρὸ τῶν αὐτῶν οὐκ ἀκολουθοῦντες. τοιγαροῦν οἱ μὲν βάρβαροι διαμέρεσθεν ἐπὶ τῶν αὐτῶν ἐν ἡμίφαιος ἐκαστά λαμβάνονσιν, οἱ δὲ Ἑλληνες τοῦ

1 νομίζοντες D, Vogel: Bekker and Dindorf follow the Vulgate in reading νομίζονται, and think that some words have been lost after ἀσώφως δὲ.
2 πολλοὶς ἀπαρασκεύως Vogel: πολῶς ἀπαρασκεύοι.
also skilled in soothsaying by the flight of birds, and they give out interpretations of both dreams and portents. They also show marked ability in making divinations from the observation of the entrails of animals, deeming that in this branch they are eminently successful.

The training which they receive in all these matters is not the same as that of the Greeks who follow such practices. For among the Chaldacans the scientific study of these subjects is passed down in the family, and son takes it over from father, being relieved of all other services in the state. Since, therefore, they have their parents for teachers, they not only are taught everything ungrudgingly but also at the same time they give heed to the precepts of their teachers with a more unwavering trust. Furthermore, since they are bred in these teachings from childhood up, they attain a great skill in them, both because of the case with which youth is taught and because of the great amount of time which is devoted to this study.

Among the Greeks, on the contrary, the student who takes up a large number of subjects without preparation turns to the higher studies only quite late, and then, after labouring upon them to some extent, gives them up, being distracted by the necessity of earning a livelihood; and but a few here and there really strip for the higher studies and continue in the pursuit of them as a profit-making business, and these are always trying to make innovations in connection with the most important doctrines instead of following in the path of their predecessors. The result of this is that the barbarians, by sticking to the same things always, keep a firm hold on every detail, while the Greeks, on
κατὰ τὴν ἑργολαβίαν κέρδος στοχαζόμενοι καὶ νὰς αἱρέσεις κτίζοντι, καὶ περὶ τῶν μεγίστων θεορημάτων ἀλλήλοις ἀντιδοξάστες διεχονοῦν ποιοῦσι τοὺς μιανάντως καὶ τὰς ψυχὰς αὐτῶν πλανᾶσθαι, τὸν πάντα βίων ἐν αἰώρα γινομένας ἡμᾶς καὶ μηδὲν ὅλως πιστεύοι νεκρώμενας βεβαιῶσι. τὰς γοῦν ἐπιφανεστάτας αἱρέσεις τῶν φιλοσόφων εἰ τις ἀκριβῶς ἐξετάζοι, πλείστον ὅσον εὐρήσει διαφερούσας ἀλλήλων καὶ περὶ τῶν μεγίστων δοξῶν ἐναντία δοξαζόμενας.

30. Οἱ δὲ οὖν Χαλδαίοι τὴν μὲν τοῦ κόσμου φύσιν ἀνίδιον φασίν εἶναι καὶ μήτε ἐξ ἀρχῆς γένεσιν ἐσχηκέναι μὴθ' ὑστερον φθορὰν ἐπιδέξεσθαι, τὴν δὲ τῶν ὅλων τάξιν τε καὶ διακοσμήσιν θεία τινὶ προνοίᾳ γεγονέναι, καὶ νῦν ἐκάστα τῶν ἐν οὐρανῷ γινομένων οὐχ ὡς ἐτυγχανὸν οὐδ' αὐτομάτως ἀλλ' ὀρισμένη τινι καὶ βεβαιῶς
2 κεκυρωμένη θεῶν κρίσει συντελεῖσθαι. τῶν δ' ἀστρων πολυχρόνους παρατηρήσεις πεποιημένου, καὶ τὰς ἐκάστου κινήσεις τε καὶ δυνάμεις ἀκριβεστάτα πάντων ἀνθρώπων ἐπεγνωκότες, πολλὰ τῶν μελλόντων συμβαίνειν προλέγουσι τοῖς
3 ἀνθρώποις. μεγίστην δ' ἡ φασίν εἶναι θεωρίαιν καὶ δύναμιν περὶ τοὺς πέντε ἄστέρας τοὺς πλάνητας καλομένους, οὕς ἐκείνωι κοινῆ μὲν ἐρμηνεῖς ὑμνάζουσιν, ἵδια δὲ τὸν ὑπὸ τῶν Ἐλλήνων Κρόνου ὄνομαζόμενον, ἐπιφανεστάτου δὲ καὶ πλείστα καὶ

1 γινομένας Corœæs: γενομένασ.
2 δὲ Dindorf: τε.

1 i.e. to mankind of the will of the gods, as explained below.
2 Saturn.
the other hand, aiming at the profit to be made out of the business, keep founding new schools and, wrangling with each other over the most important matters of speculation, bring it about that their pupils hold conflicting views, and that their minds, vacillating throughout their lives and unable to believe anything at all with firm conviction, simply wander in confusion. It is at any rate true that, if a man were to examine carefully the most famous schools of the philosophers, he would find them differing from one another to the uttermost degree and maintaining opposite opinions regarding the most fundamental tenets.

30. Now, as the Chaldæans say, the world is by its nature eternal, and neither had a first beginning nor will at a later time suffer destruction; furthermore, both the disposition and the orderly arrangement of the universe have come about by virtue of a divine providence, and to-day whatever takes place in the heavens is in every instance brought to pass, not at haphazard nor by virtue of any spontaneous action, but by some fixed and firmly determined divine decision. And since they have observed the stars over a long period of time and have noted both the movements and the influences of each of them with greater precision than any other men, they foretell to mankind many things that will take place in the future. But above all in importance, they say, is the study of the influence of the five stars known as planets, which they call "Interpreters"¹ when speaking of them as a group, but if referring to them singly, the one named Cronus² by the Greeks, which is the most conspicuous and presages more events and such as are of greater importance than the others,
DIODORUS OF SICILY

μέγιστα προσημαίνοντα, καλούσιν 'Ηλίου· τούς δὲ ἄλλους τέτταρας ὁμώς τοὺς παρ᾽ ἕμιν ἀστρο-
λόγους ὁμομάζουσιν, 'Ἄρεος, Ἀφροδίτης, Ἐρμοῦ, 4 Δίος. διὰ τούτῳ δ᾽ αὐτοὺς ἐρμηνεῖς καλούσιν,
ὅτε τῶν ἄλλων ἀστέρων ἀπλανῶν ὄντων καὶ
tεταγμένη πορεία μίαν περιφορὰν ἐχόντων ὅτα
μόνοι πορεῖαν ἱδίαν ποιούμενοι τὰ μέλλοντα
γίνεσθαι δεικνύοσιν, ἐρμηνεύοντες τοὺς ἀνθρώ-
ποὺς τὴν τῶν θεῶν ἔννοιαν. 1 τὰ μὲν γὰρ διὰ τῆς
ἀνατολῆς, τὰ δὲ διὰ τῆς δύσεως, τινὰ δὲ διὰ τῆς
χρόνας προσημαίνειν φασὶν αὐτοὺς τοῖς προσέχειν
5 ἀκριβῶς βουλθεῖσιν: ποτὲ μὲν γὰρ πνευμάτων
μεγέθη δηλοῦν αὐτοὺς, ποτὲ δὲ ὁμορρα ἢ καμα-
των ὑπερβολάς, ἐστὶ δὲ ὅτε κομητῶν ἀστέρων
ἐπιτολάς, ἐτί δὲ ἡλίου τε καὶ σελήνης ἐκλεῖσθεις,
καὶ σεισμούς, καὶ τὸ σύνολον πάσας τὰς ἕκ τοῦ
περιέχοντος ἡγεμονίας περιστάσεις ὡφελίμους
tε καὶ βλαχερὰς οὐ μόνοι ἔθνεσιν ἢ 2 τόποις,
ἀλλὰ καὶ βασιλεύσι καὶ τοῖς τυχοῦσιν ὁδώταί
c.6 'Τὸ δὲ τὴν τούτων φορὰν λέγουσι τετάχθαι
τριακοντα ἀστέρας, οὗς προσαγορεύουσι βου-
λαίος θεοὺς· τούτων δὲ τοὺς μὲν ἡμίσεις τοὺς
ὑπὸ την τότων ἐφορᾶν, τοὺς δὲ ἡμίσεις τοὺς 3
ὑπὸ τὴν τήν, τὰ καὶ ἀνθρώπουσ ἐπισκοποῦσιν
ἀμα καὶ τὰ κατὰ τὸν συμβαίνοντα: διὰ
dὲ ἡμερῶν δέκα πέμπεσθαι τῶν μὲν ἄνω πρός
tοὺς κάτω καθάτερ ἄγγελον ἔνα τῶν ἀστέρων,

1 ἔννοιαν Dindorf: εὐθεῖαν.
2 ἡ Vogel, following CDF; καὶ Bekker and Dindorf,
following the other MSS.
3 τοὺς added by Reiske.

1 Mars, Venus, Mercury, Jupiter.

450
they call the star of Helius, whereas the other four they designate as the stars of Ares, Aphrodite, Hermes, and Zeus,\(^1\) as do our astrologers. The reason why they call them “Interpreters” is that whereas all the other stars are fixed and follow a single circuit in a regular course, these alone, by virtue of following each its own course, point out future events, thus interpreting to mankind the design of the gods. For sometimes by their risings, sometimes by their settings, and again by their colour, the Chaldaeans say, they give signs of coming events to such as are willing to observe them closely; for at one time they show forth mighty storms of winds, at another excessive rains or heat, at times the appearance of comets, also eclipses of both sun and moon, and earthquakes, and in a word all the conditions which owe their origin to the atmosphere and work both benefits and harm, not only to whole peoples or regions, but also to kings and to persons of private station.

Under the course in which these planets move are situated, according to them, thirty stars,\(^2\) which they designate as “counselling gods”; of these one half oversee the regions above the earth and the other half those beneath the earth, having under their purview the affairs of mankind and likewise those of the heavens; and every ten days one of the stars above is sent as a messenger, so to speak, to the stars

\(^1\) According to Bouché-Leclercq, \emph{L'Astrologie Grecque}, p. 43, n. 4, Diodorus has confused here two distinct systems, that of the thirty-six stars known as decans, which Babylonian astrology designated as rulers of ten degrees in each zodiac, and that of the thirty stars which the Egyptians believed to be gods, each of whom presided over one of the thirty days of the month.
τῶν δ' ὑπὸ γῆς πρὸς τοὺς ἀνω πάλιν ὁμοίως ἐνα, καὶ ταύτην ἔχειν αὐτοὺς φορὰν ὁρισμένην καὶ 7 περιόδῳ κεκυρωμένην αἰωνίω. τῶν θεῶν δὲ τούτων κυρίους εἶναι φασὶ δώδεκα τὸν ἀριθμὸν, ὃν ἐκάστῳ μῆκα καὶ τῶν δώδεκα λεγομένων ξυσίων ἐν προσνέμουσι. διὰ δὲ τούτων φασὶ ποιεῖσθαι τὴν πορείαν τὸν τε ἦλιον καὶ τὴν σελήνην καὶ πέντε τοὺς πλανήτας ἀστέρας, τοῦ μὲν ἦλιον τὸν ἱδίον κύκλον ἐν ἐναντίῳ τελοῦντος, τῆς δὲ σελήνης ἐν μηλὶ τὴν ἱδίαν περίοδον διαπορευομένης.

31. Τῶν δὲ πλανήτων ἱδίων ἐκαστὸν ἐχεῖν δρόμον καὶ διηλθαμένως καὶ ποικίλως χρήσθαι τοὺς τάχεις καὶ τῆς τῶν χρόνων διαρέσει. πλείστα δὲ πρὸς τὰς γενέσεις τῶν ἀνθρώπων συμβάλλειν διὰ τούτους τοὺς ἀστέρας ἀγαθὰ τε καὶ κακά· διὰ δὲ τῆς τούτων φύσεως τε καὶ θεωρίας μᾶλλον γινώσκειν τα συμβαίνοντα τοῖς ἀνθρώ-2 ποις, πεποίησθαι δὲ φασὶ προβρίσεις ἄλλοις τε βασιλεύσιν οὐκ ὀλύνοις καὶ τῷ καταπολεμή-σαντι Δαρείου Ἀλεξάνδρῳ καὶ τοῖς μετὰ ταύτα βασιλεύσασιν Ἀντιγόνοι τε καὶ Τελευκῷ τῷ Νικίτῳ, ἐν ἀπασι δὲ τοῖς ῥηθεῖσι εὐστοχη-κέναι δοκοῦσι· ὑπὲρ δὲν ἢμεῖς τὸ κατὰ μέρος 3 ἐν οἰκειοτέροις ἀναγράφομεν καιροῖς. προλέγομε εἰς καὶ τοῖς ἰδιώταις τὰ μέλλοντα συμβαί-νειν οὕτως εὐστόχως ὡστε τοὺς πειραθέντας θαυμᾶζειν τὸ γενόμενον καὶ μεῖξον ἢ κατ' ἀνθρώ-πον ἡγεῖσθαι.

4. Μετὰ δὲ τῶν ξυσικάκων κύκλον εἰκοσὶ καὶ 1 ἱδίων ἐκαστὸν Vogel: ἐκαστὸν ἱδίω Vulgate, Bekker, Dindorf.

452
below, and again in like manner one of the stars below the earth to those above, and this movement of theirs is fixed and determined by means of an orbit which is unchanging for ever. Twelve of these gods, they say, hold chief authority, and to each of these the Chaldaeans assign a month and one of the signs of the zodiac, as they are called. And through the midst of these signs, they say, both the sun and moon and the five planets make their course, the sun completing his cycle in a year and the moon traversing her circuit in a month.

31. Each of the planets, according to them, has its own particular course, and its velocities and periods of time are subject to change and variation. These stars it is which exert the greatest influence for both good and evil upon the nativity of men; and it is chiefly from the nature of these planets and the study of them that they know what is in store for mankind. And they have made predictions, they say, not only to numerous other kings, but also to Alexander, who defeated Darius, and to Antigonus and Seleucus Nicator who afterwards became kings, and in all their prophecies they are thought to have hit the truth. But of these things we shall write in detail on a more appropriate occasion. Moreover, they also foretell to men in private station what will befall them, and with such accuracy that those who have made trial of them marvel at the feat and believe that it transcends the power of man.

Beyond the circle of the zodiac they designate

---

1 For prophecies to Alexander cp. Book 17. 112, and to Antigonus, Book 19. 55.

2 ἄμεις Vogel: omitted by Vulgate, Bokker, Dindorf.
DIODORUS OF SICILY

tέτταρας ἀφορίζουσιν ἀστέρας, ὅν τοὺς μὲν ἡμίσεις ἐν τοῖς βορείοις μέρεσι, τοὺς δὲ ἡμίσεις ἐν τοῖς νοτίοις τετάχθαι φασί, καὶ τούτων τοὺς μὲν ὀραμένους τῶν ζωντινῶν εἶναι καταριθμοῦσι, τοὺς δὲ ἀφανεῖς τοῖς τετελευτηκόσι προσωρίζονται νομίζουσι, οὓς δικαστάς τῶν ὁλων προσαγο-5 ρεύσουσιν. ὑπὸ πάντα δὲ τὰ προειρημένα τὴν σελήνην φέρεσθαι λέγουσιν, ἔγγιστα μὲν τῆς γῆς οὖσαν διὰ τὴν βαρύτητα, διαπορευμένην δὲ ἐν ἐλαχιστῷ χρόνῳ τὸν ἐαυτῆς δρόμον, οὐ διὰ τὴν ὀξύτητα τῆς φορᾶς, ἀλλὰ διὰ τὴν βραχύτητα 6 τοῦ κύκλου. ὧτι δὲ τὸ φῶς ἀλλότριον ἔχει καὶ διότι τὰς ἐκλείψεις ποιεῖται διὰ τὸ σκίασμα τῆς γῆς παραπλήσια λέγουσι τοῖς Ἐλλησι. περὶ δὲ τῆς κατὰ τὸν ἢμιον ἐκλείψεως ἀσθενεστάτας ἀποδείξεως φέροντες οὐ τολμᾶσι προλέγειν οὐδὲ ἀκριβῶς ὑπὲρ ταύτης περιγράφειν 1 τοὺς χρόνους.

7 περὶ δὲ τῆς γῆς ἰδιωτάτας ἀποφάσεως ποιοῦνται, λέγοντες ὑπάρχειν αὐτὴν σκαφοειδή καὶ κοίλην, καὶ πολλὰς καὶ πιθανὰς ἀποδείξεις εὑροῦσιν περὶ τέ ταύτης καὶ περὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν κατὰ τὸν κόσμον. ὑπὲρ ὅτι τὰ κατὰ μέρος διεξέναι τῆς ὑποκειμένης ἱστορίας ἀλλότριον εἶναι νομί-8 μεν. τούτο μὲν τοιοῦ γε διαβεβαιώσατ' ἃν τις προσηκόντως ὅτι Χαλδαῖοι μεγάσθην ἔξιν ἐν ἀστρολογίᾳ τῶν ἀπάντων ἀνθρώπων ἔχουσί καὶ διότι πλείστην ἐπιμέλειαν ἐποιήσαντο ταύτης 9 τῆς θεωρίας. περὶ δὲ τῶν πλήθους τῶν ἑτῶν, ἐν ὰιδιοι τὴν θεωρίαν τῶν κατὰ τὸν κόσμον τε-ποιήσαι τὸ σύστημα τῶν Χαλδαίων, οὐκ ἂν τις ὀφθαλμὸς πιστεύουσιν ἑτῶν γὰρ ἔπτα καὶ τετταρά-κουτα μυριάδας καὶ τρεῖς ἐπὶ ταύταις χιλιάδας 454
twenty-four other stars, of which one half, they say, are situated in the northern parts and one half in the southern, and of these those which are visible they assign to the world of the living, while those which are invisible they regard as being adjacent to the dead, and so they call them "Judges of the Universe." And under all the stars hitherto mentioned the moon, according to them, takes her way, being nearest the earth because of her weight and completing her course in a very brief period of time, not by reason of her great velocity, but because her orbit is so short. They also agree with the Greeks in saying that her light is reflected and that her eclipses are due to the shadow of the earth. Regarding the eclipse of the sun, however, they offer the weakest kind of explanation, and do not presume to predict it or to define the times of its occurrence with any precision. Again, in connection with the earth they make assertions entirely peculiar to themselves, saying that it is shaped like a boat and hollow, and they offer many plausible arguments about both the earth and all other bodies in the firmament, a full discussion of which we feel would be alien to our history. This point, however, a man may fittingly maintain, that the Chaldæans have of all men the greatest grasp of astrology, and that they have bestowed the greatest diligence upon the study of it. But as to the number of years which, according to their statements, the order of the Chaldæans has spent on the study of the bodies of the universe, a man can scarcely believe them; for they reckon that, down to

\[1 \text{ περιγράφειν Wesseling : παραγράφειν.}\]
DIODORUS OF SICILY

10 Kai perì mēn Xαλδαίων ἀρκεσθησόμεθα τοῖς ῥηθείσιν, ἵνα μὴ μακρότερον ἀποτλαμβάνεθα τῆς οἰκείας ἱστορίας: perì δὲ τῆς Ἀσσυρίων βασιλείας ὡς ὑπὸ Μῆδων κατελύθη προειρηκότες ἐπάνοιμον δὲν ἐξέβημεν.

32. Ἡδὲ δὲ διαφωνοῦσιν οἱ παλαιότατοι τῶν συγγραφέων περὶ τῆς μεγίστης τῶν Μῆδων ἡγεμονίας, οἰκεῖον εἶναι διαλαμβάνομεν τοῖς φιλαλήθοις τὰς πράξεις ἱστορεῖν βουλομένους τὴν διαφορὰν τῶν ἱστοριογράφων παρ’ ἄλληλα 2 θείαι. Ἡρόδωτος δὲν οὖν κατὰ Ξέρξειν γεγονὼς τοῖς χρόνοις φησιν Ἀσσυρίων ἑτη πεντακόσια πρότερον τῆς Ἀσίας ἀρξαντας ὑπὸ Μῆδων καταλυθόμεναι, ἐπειτὰ βασιλέα μὲν μηδένα γενέσθαι τὸν ἀμφισβητήσωντα τῶν ἄλλων ἐπὶ πολλὰς γενέας, τὰς δὲ πόλεις καθ’ ἑαυτὰς ταττομένας διοικεῖσθαι δημοκρατικῶς· τὸ δὲ τελευταῖον πολλῶν ἔτων διελθοῦντων αἱρεθήναι βασιλεία παρὰ τοῖς Μῆδοις ἀνδρα δικαιοσύνη διάφορον, 3 οὖν μα Κυαξάρην. τούτων δὲ πρώτων ἐπιχειρήσαι προσάγεσθαι τοὺς πλησιοχώρους, καὶ τοῖς Μῆδοις ἄρχηγον γενέσθαι τῆς τῶν ἄλλων ἡγεμονίας· ἐπειτὰ τοὺς ἐκγόνους αἰεὶ προσκατακτομένους πολλῆς τῆς ὁμόρου χώρας αὐξῆσαι τὴν βασιλείαν μέχρι Ἀστυάγους τοῦ καταπολεμηθέντος

1 King of Persia, 486–464 B.C.; Herodotus was born in the decade 490–80 B.C. The passage is Herodotus 1.95 ff., where, however, the years are given as five hundred and twenty.
Alexander's crossing over into Asia, it has been four 334 B.c., hundred and seventy-three thousand years, since they began in early times to make their observations of the stars.

So far as the Chaldaeans are concerned we shall be satisfied with what has been said, that we may not wander too far from the matter proper to our history; and now that we have given an account of the destruction of the kingdom of the Assyrians by the Medes we shall return to the point at which we digressed.

32. Since the earliest writers of history are at variance concerning the mighty empire of the Medes, we feel that it is incumbent upon those who would write the history of events with a love for truth to set forth side by side the different accounts of the historians. Now Herodotus, who lived in the time of Xerxes,\(^1\) gives this account: After the Assyrians had ruled Asia for five hundred years they were conquered by the Medes, and thereafter no king arose 613 B.c. for many generations to lay claim to supreme power, but the city-states, enjoying a regimen of their own, were administered in a democratic fashion; finally, however, after many years a man distinguished for his justice, named Cyaxares,\(^2\) was chosen king among the Medes. He was the first to try to attach to himself the neighbouring peoples and became for the Medes the founder of their universal empire; and after him his descendants extended the kingdom by continually adding a great deal of the adjoining country, until the reign of Astyages who was conquered by Cyrus and

\(^2\) Herodotus mentions three kings, Deioces, Phraortes, and Cyaxares, before Astyages. The Cyaxares mentioned here by Diodorus is really the Deioces of Herodotus 1. 96 ff., but Diodorus, in Book 8. 16, mentions a Deioces, "the king of the Medes."
DIODORUS OF SICILY

υπὸ Κύρου καὶ Περσῶν. περὶ δὲν νῦν ἡμεῖς τὰ κεφάλαια προειρηκότες τὰ κατὰ μέρος ύστερον ἀκριβῶς ἀναγράψομεν, ἐπειδὰν ἐπὶ τοὺς οἰκείους χρόνους ἐπιβάλωμεν· κατὰ γὰρ τὸ δεύτερον ἔτος τῆς ἑπτακαίδεκάτης Ὀλυμπιάδος ἰχθύθη βασιλεὺς ὑπὸ Μηδῶν Κυνάρης καὶ Ηρόδοτον.

4. Κτησίας δὲ ὁ Κυνίδιος τοῖς μὲν χρόνοις ύπήρξε κατὰ τὴν Ἰλυκοῦ στρατεύειαν ἐπὶ Ἀρταξέρξην τὸν ἀδελφόν, γενόμενος δὲ αἰχμάλωτος, καὶ διὰ τὴν ἰατρικὴν ἐπιστήμην ἀναληφθέεις ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως, ἐπικαίδεκα ἦτη διετέλεσε τιμώμενος ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ. οὕτως οὖν φησίν ἐκ τῶν βασιλείων διφθερῶν, ἐν αἷς οἱ Πέρσαι τὰς παλαιὰς πράξεις κατὰ τινὰ νόμον εἰχόν συντεταγμένας, πολυπραγμονήσας τὰ καθ᾽ ἕκαστον καὶ συνταξάμενος ἡ τὴν

5 ἱστορίαν εἰς τοὺς Ἑλληνας ἐξευγκεῖτι. φησίν οὖν μετὰ τὴν κατάλυσιν τῆς Ἀσσυρίων ἡγεμονίας Μηδῶν προστίθηται τῆς Ἀσίας Ἀρβακαν βασιλεύοντος τὸν Σαρδανάπαλλον καταπολεμήσαντος, καθὸ τι προείρηται· τούτου δὲ ἀρξάντως ἦτη δυσὶ λεῖποντα τῶν τριάκοντα διαδέξασθαι τὴν βασιλείαν τὸν νῦν Μαυδάκην, δυν ἄρξαι τῆς Ἀσίας ἦτη πεντήκοντα. μετὰ δὲ τούτων τριάκοντα μὲν ἦτη βασιλεύσαι Σώσαρμον, πεντήκοντα δὲ Ἀρτύκαν, δύο δὲ πρὸς τὸν εὑκοσι τὸν προσαγορεύομεν Ἀρβιάνην, τετταράκοντα δὲ Ἀρταίων.

33. Ἐπὶ δὲ τούτου συντίθημαι μέγαν πόλεμον

1 συνταξάμενος (Gemistus: συνταξάμενον.)

the Persians. We have for the present given only the most important of these events in summary and shall later give a detailed account of them one by one when we come to the periods in which they fall; for it was in the second year of the Seventeenth Olympiad, according to Herodotus, that Cyaxares was chosen king by the Medes.

Ctesias of Caidus, on the other hand, lived during the time when Cyrus made his expedition against Artaxerxes his brother, and having been made prisoner and then retained by Artaxerxes because of his medical knowledge, he enjoyed a position of honour with him for seventeen years. Now Ctesias says that from the royal records, in which the Persians in accordance with a certain law of theirs kept an account of their ancient affairs, he carefully investigated the facts about each king, and when he had composed his history he published it to the Greeks. This, then, is his account: After the destruction of the Assyrian Empire the Medes were the chief power in Asia under their king Arbaces, who conquered Sardanapallus, as has been told before. And when he had reigned twenty-eight years his son Maudaces succeeded to the throne and reigned over Asia fifty years. After him Sosarmus ruled for thirty years, Artycas for fifty, the king known as Arbianes for twenty-two, and Artaeus for forty years.

33. During the reign of Artaeus a great war broke occurred in 549 B.C. (cf. The Cambridge Ancient History, 4. p. 7) and not, as formerly held, in 550.

2 Cyrus the Younger, the story of whose struggle with his brother for the throne is told in the Anabasis of Xenophon.

3 According to Plutarch (Artaxerxes, 11 ff.), Ctesias was already in the king's retinue at the time.

4 Cp. chaps. 23 ff.
τοῖς Ῥήγοις πρὸς Καδούσιον διὰ τοιαύτας αἰτίας. Παρασώνηθην τὸν Πέρσην, θαυμαζόμενον ἐπὶ ἄνδρεῖς καὶ συνέσεις καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις ἀρεταισὶς, φίλου τε ὑπάρξαι τῷ βασιλεὶ καὶ μέγιστου ἱσχύσαι τῶν μετεχόντων τοῦ βασιλικοῦ συνεδρίου. τοῦτον δ' ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως ἐν τῷ κρίσει λυπηθέντα φυγεῖν μετὰ πεζῶν μὲν τρισχιλίων, ἵππεων δὲ χιλίων εἰς Καδούσιον, πάρ' οἷς ἦν ἐκδεδομένος τὴν ἰδίαν ἀδελφὴν τῷ μάλιστα δυναστεύοντε κατὰ τούτους τούς τόπους. γενόμενον δ' ἀποστάτην καὶ πείραζαν τὸ σύμπαν ἔθνος ἀντέχεσθαι τῆς ἐλευθερίας, αἵρεθάν μεριστήθηκαν στρατηγὸν διὰ τὴν ἄνδρειαν. ἐπείτε πυροβολόμενον ἀθροιζόμενην ἑπ' αὐτὸν μεγάλην δύναμιν, καθοπλήπτει τοὺς Καδούσιους πανδημεῖ, καὶ καταστρατοπεδεύει πρὸς ταῖς εἰς τὴν χώραν εἰσβολαίς ἔχοντα τοὺς σύμπαντας 4 οὐκ ἐκάλατον εἰκοσι μυριάδων. τοῦ δὲ βασιλέως οἵτινες στρατεύοντος ἐπ' αὐτὸν μυριάδων ὑγιούντων μάχῃ κρατήσαντα καὶ πλείους μὲν τῶν πεντακισμισθίων ἄνελεν, τὴν δ' ἄλλην δύναμιν ἐκβάλειν ἐκ τῆς Καδούσιων χώρας. διὸ καὶ παρὰ τοῖς ἐγχώριοις θαυμαζόμενον αἵρεθάν τε βασιλέα καὶ τὴν Μηδίαν συνεχῶς λεηπτάειν καὶ 5 πάντα τόπον κατασθέερειν. μεγάλης δὲ δόξης τυχόντα, καὶ γʰρά μέλλοντα καταστρέφει τῶν βιῶν, ἀραν θέχαν παραστησάμενον τὸν διαδεχόμενον τὴν ἀρχήν, ὅπως μηδέποτε διάλυσονται τὴν ἔχθραν Καδούσιοι πρὸς Μῆδους· εἰ δὲ σύνθοιτο ὁμολογίας, ἐξώλεις γενέσθαι τοὺς τε ἀπὸ τού ἡγέων αὐτοῦ καὶ Καδούσιος ἁπαντάς. διὰ δὴ ταύτας τὰς αἰτίας ἀεὶ πολεμικὸς ἐσχηκέναι Καδούσιος πρὸς Μῆδους, καὶ μηδέποτε τοῖς 460
out between the Medes and the Cadusii, for the following reasons. Parsondes, a Persian, a man renowned for his valour and intelligence and every other virtue, was both a friend of the king's and the most influential of the members of the royal council. Feeling himself aggrieved by the king in a certain decision, he fled with three thousand foot-soldiers and a thousand horsemen to the Cadusii, to one of whom, the most influential man in those parts, he had given his sister in marriage. And now that he had become a rebel, he persuaded the entire people to vindicate their freedom and was chosen general because of his valour. Then, learning that a great force was being gathered against him, he armed the whole nation of the Cadusii and pitched his camp before the passes leading into the country, having a force of no less than two hundred thousand men all told. And although the king Artaeus advanced against him with eight hundred thousand soldiers, Parsondes defeated him in battle and slew more than fifty thousand of his followers, and drove the rest of the army out of the country of the Cadusii. And for this exploit he was so admired by the people of the land that he was chosen king, and he plundered Media without ceasing and laid waste every district of the country. And after he had attained great fame and was about to die of old age, he called to his side his successor to the throne and required of him an oath that the Cadusii should never put an end to their enmity towards the Medes, adding that, if peace were ever made with them, it meant the destruction of his line and of the whole race of the Cadusii. These, then, were the reasons why the Cadusii were always inveterate enemies of the Medes, and had never been
διοδώρος οίκοις γεγονόται, μέχρι
οὗ Κύρος εἰς Πέρσας μετέστησε τὴν ἡγεμονίαν.

34. Τῶν δὲ Μήδων βασιλεύσαι μετὰ τὴν
Ἀρταῖον τελευτῆν Ἀρτύνην μὲν ἔτη δύο πρὸς
τοὺς εἴκοσι, Ἀστιβάραν δὲ τετταράκοντα. ἔπει
δὲ τούτων Πάρθων ἀποστάντας Μήδων Σάκαις

2 τὴν τε χώραν καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐγχειρίσασι διόπερ
συστάντος πολέμου τοῖς Σάκαις πρὸς Μήδους
ἐπὶ ἔτη πλεῖον γενέσθαι τε μάχας σὺν ὀλίγας
καὶ συνιχνῷ παρὰ ἀμφοτέροις ἀναιρεθέντων τὸ
teleutaiou eirhynou autōs ἔπει τοὺς συνθέσθαι;
Πάρθων μὲν υπὸ Μήδους τετάρχαι, τῶν δὲ
προὐπαρχόντων ἐκατέρως κυριεύσαντας ψίλους
εἶναι καὶ συμμάχους ἀλλήλοις εἰς τὸν ἀπαντα
χρόνον.

3 Βασιλεύσαi δὲ τοῖς των Σακῶν γυναίκα τὰ
κατὰ πόλεμον ἐξηλοκυιάν καὶ τόλμη τε καὶ
πράξει πολὺ διαφέρουσαν τῶν ἐν Σάκαις γυναι-
κῶν, ὅμως Ζαρίναν, καθόλου μὲν οὖν τὸ ἔθνος
τοῦτο γυναικᾶς ἀλλίμους ἔχειν καὶ κοινωνοῦσας
τοῖς ἀνδράσι τῶν ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις κυνδύνων,
ταύτην δὲ λέγει τῷ τε κάλλει γενέσθαι πασῶν
ἐκπρεπεστάτην καὶ ταῖς ἐπιβολαῖς καὶ τοῖς
κατὰ μέρος ἐγχειρήμασι θαυμαστὴν. τῶν μὲν
γάρ πλησιοχώρων βαρβάρων τοὺς ἐπηρμένους
τῶν θράσει καὶ καταδυνουμένους τὸ ἔθνος τῶν
Σακῶν καταπολεμήσαι, τῆς δὲ χώρας πολλῆν
ἐξημερώσαι, καὶ πόλεως οὐκ ὀλίγας κτίσαι, καὶ
τὸ σύνολον εὐδαιμονεστέρον τῶν βίων τῶν ὁμο-
5 εθνῶν τοιῆσαι. διὸ καὶ τοῖς ἐγχωρίους μετά

1 ἐκπρεπεστάτην D, Vogel: ἐπιπρεπεστάτην Vulgate, Bokker,
Dindorf.

462
subjected to the Median kings up to the time when Cyrus transferred the Empire of the Medes to the Persians.

34. After the death of Artaeus, Ctesias continues, Artynes ruled over the Medes for twenty-two years, and Astibaras for forty. During the reign of the latter the Parthians revolted from the Medes and entrusted both their country and their city to the hands of the Sacae. This led to a war between the Sacae and the Medes, which lasted many years, and after no small number of battles and the loss of many lives on both sides, they finally agreed to peace on the following terms, that the Parthians should be subject to the Medes, but that both peoples should retain their former possessions and be friends and allies for ever.

At that time the Sacae were ruled by a woman named Zarina, who was devoted to warfare and was in daring and efficiency by far the foremost of the women of the Sacae. Now this people, in general, have courageous women who share with their husbands the dangers of war, but she, it is said, was the most conspicuous of them all for her beauty and remarkable as well in respect to both her designs and whatever she undertook. For she subdued such of the neighbouring barbarian peoples as had become proud because of their boldness and were trying to enslave the people of the Sacae, and into much of her own realm she introduced civilized life, founded not a few cities, and, in a word, made the life of her people happier. Consequently her countrymen after her
Diodorus of Sicily

τὴν τελευτὴν αὐτῆς χάριν ἀποδείδοντας τῶν εὐεργεσιῶν καὶ τῆς ἀρετῆς μνημονεύοντας τάφον ὁικοδομῆσαι πολὺ τῶν ὄντων παρ’ αὐτοῖς ὑπερέχοντα: ὑποστηρισμένους γὰρ πυραμίδα τρίγωνον τρεῖς μὲν σταδίων ἐκάστην πλευρὰν αὐτῆς κατασκεύασαι τὸ μῆκος, τὸ δ’ ὕψος σταδίων, εἰς ὃ ἡ συνηγμένης τῆς κορυφῆς ἐπιεισήκουσαι τὸ τάφον καὶ χρυσὴν εἰκόνα κολοσσικὴν, καὶ τιμᾶς ἱρωικὰς ἀπονείμασι, καὶ τάλλα πάντα μεγαλοπρεπέστερα ποιεῖν τῶν τοὺς προγόνους αὐτῆς συγχωρηθέντων.

6 Ἀστιβάρα δὲ τοῦ βασιλέως τῶν Μῆδων ἐν Ἐκβατάνωι ἡγέρα τελευτήσαντος τὴν ἀρχὴν Ἀσπάνδαν τὸν υἱὸν διαδέχοντα, τὸν ὑπὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων Ἀστυάγην καλοῦμενον. τούτου δ’ ὑπὸ Κῦρον τοῦ Πέρσου καταπολεμηθέντος μεταπεσεῖν τὴν βασιλείαν εἰς Πέρσας, περὶ ὧν ἡμεῖς τὰ κατὰ μέρος ἐν τοῖς ἱδίοις χρόνοις ἀκριβῶς ἀναγράφομεν.

7 Περὶ μὲν οὖν τῆς Ἀσσυρίων καὶ Μῆδων βασιλείας καὶ τῆς τῶν συγγραφέων διαφορικὰς ἱκανῶς εἰρήκομεν νομίζομεν· περὶ δὲ τῆς Ἰνδικῆς καὶ τῶν ἐν αὐτῇ μυθολογομένων ἐν μέρει διέξειμεν.
death, in gratitude for her benefactions and in remembrance of her virtues, built her a tomb which was far the largest of any in their land; for they erected a triangular pyramid, making the length of each side three stades and the height one stade, and bringing it to a point at the top; and on the tomb they also placed a colossal gilded statue of her and accorded her the honours belonging to heroes, and all the other honours they bestowed upon her were more magnificent than those which had fallen to the lot of her ancestors.

When, Ctesias continues, Astibaras, the king of the Medes, died of old age in Ebatana, his son Aspandas, whom the Greeks call Astyages, succeeded to the throne. And when he had been defeated by Cyrus the Persian, the kingdom passed to the Persians. Of them we shall give a detailed and exact account at the proper time.¹

Concerning the kingdoms of the Assyrians and of the Medes, and concerning the disagreement in the accounts of the historians, we consider that enough has been said; now we shall discuss India and then, in turn, recount the legends of that land.

¹ This was in the Ninth Book.
A PARTIAL INDEX OF PROPER NAMES

ACHELOÜS, 141
Acharosia, 329 f.
Achaeans, 207 f.
Aegyptus, 53, 61 (bis), 215
Aetia, 61
Agamemnon, 423
Agatharchides, 147 f.
Agryria, 19
Alexander, 77
Alexandria, 179
Alexandria, the Great, 15, 21, 83, 179, 193, 201, 455, 457
Alexandria, 179
Amasis, 207, 231 f., 237 f., 323 f.
Amnon, 47, 51, 103 f.
Ammon, oracle, 397, 417
Amoseis, 223
Anaxagoras, 29, 133, 137
Antaeus, giant, 67
Antaeus, governor of Egypt, 55
Antaeus, village, 67
Antigonus, 453
Aquila, 27, 295 f.
Aphrodisias, 47, 57, 336, 359, 451
Apis, 60, 289 ff.
Apollo, 47, 57, 60, 83, 337 ff.
Apollodorus, 21
Apries, 235 f.
Arabia, 63, 187, 351
Arabia Felix, 61
Arbaces, 429 passim, 459
Arbjanis, 469
Archimedes, 115
Arcephas, 299
Are, 461
Arga, 79, 91
Arnaeus, 361
Armaeus, 223

Armenia, 351 f.
Arsinoe, 113
Artaxerxes, 459
Arycamedus, 459
Aryaeus, 459
Atravelus, 463
Ascalon, 369
Aspendos, 465
Assyria, 349 passim
Assyrian empire, 423, 429 ff., 445
Assyrians, 131
Astiba, 463, 465
Asylus, 91
Asyluses, 457 f., 465
Athens, 43, 45, 55
Athenaeus, 417 f.
Athenea, 91 passim
Athrytis, 189
Attica, 63
Babylon, in Egypt, 197
Babylon, in Mesopotamia, 91, 351, 371 ff., 383
Babylonia, 387 passim
Bactra, 365 ff., 401, 403, 417
Bactriana, 363 ff.
Bactrians, 169, 353 f., 363 ff.
Bagistanus, 393
Barathra, 99 f.
Baróce, 237
Barzanes, 353
Belesys, 439 passim
Belus, 91
Bitbýnia, 355
Bocchoris, 159, 224 f., 271, 321
Bolgii, 131
Borzis, 355
Borsippa, 263

1 A complete Index will appear in the last volume.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Page Numbers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Abubastis</td>
<td>89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abuliris, governor of Egypt</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abulis, king of Egypt</td>
<td>161, 235, 301</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cadmus, Egyptian</td>
<td>73f.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cadmus, Greek writer</td>
<td>127</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cadussi</td>
<td>455f.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cambyses</td>
<td>109, 116, 157, 165, 175, 235, 326</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canis Major</td>
<td>89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Caria</td>
<td>251, 355</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carmanili</td>
<td>355</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Casopis Gates</td>
<td>355</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Caucasus Mountains</td>
<td>149</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cecrops</td>
<td>93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Delphi</td>
<td>21 (66)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ephesos</td>
<td>141</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ephesos</td>
<td>219f.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cerberus</td>
<td>329</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cercyces</td>
<td>95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cotes</td>
<td>215</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chaldacans</td>
<td>91, 279, 445 passim</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Charon</td>
<td>315, 331</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chion</td>
<td>303</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chemnus</td>
<td>215</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chemno</td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Choromnai</td>
<td>355</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cleitarchus</td>
<td>373</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coityos</td>
<td>381</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coele-Syria</td>
<td>99, 101, 355</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colchis</td>
<td>91, 103</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cotta</td>
<td>439</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Crocodilopolis</td>
<td>305</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cronus</td>
<td>47, 89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oceas</td>
<td>199, 363, 363f., 371, 373</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ogyges</td>
<td>457f.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cyclades</td>
<td>125, 193</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cyrus</td>
<td>463</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cyrene</td>
<td>257</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cyrus, the Great</td>
<td>111f., 205, 235, 363</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daedalus</td>
<td>211, 297, 333</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Danaus</td>
<td>91, 331</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Darius, the Great</td>
<td>111f., 205, 325, 363</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Darius Codomannus</td>
<td>455</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Delta</td>
<td>101, 113f.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Demeter</td>
<td>43, 47, 49, 95, 327</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Demetrius</td>
<td>93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Democritus</td>
<td>437f., 455, 457</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Derbetic</td>
<td>355</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deroccato</td>
<td>389</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deucalion</td>
<td>87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dionysius</td>
<td>363f.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dionysus</td>
<td>39, 51, 71, 73f., 87, 327f.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Diospolis</td>
<td>88 Thebes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dreus</td>
<td>355</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ecbatana</td>
<td>395f.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Egipt</td>
<td>33-341 passim</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Egyptus (the Nile)</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Egyptus, king of Egypt</td>
<td>151</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eleusis</td>
<td>95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elysus</td>
<td>323</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ephesos</td>
<td>33, 127, 139f.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Erechtheus</td>
<td>93, 95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ethipna, 61, 109f., 116, 133 passim, 191f., 397f.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ethipna (of Assyria)</td>
<td>423</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rudoxus</td>
<td>327, 337</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rumolphusae</td>
<td>95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rumolphus</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rapatrius</td>
<td>93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Buphrates</td>
<td>387f.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Keripides</td>
<td>29, 133, 137</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Galene</td>
<td>437</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gangas</td>
<td>193</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G€u Metor</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Geomorci</td>
<td>93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gerousia</td>
<td>269</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Glaucozis</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hades</td>
<td>9, 317f.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hecateus</td>
<td>167</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hecato</td>
<td>351</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Helen, of Troy</td>
<td>333f.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Helios, king and god</td>
<td>47, 83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Helius</td>
<td>451</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Helius, name of planet</td>
<td>451</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hellenicus</td>
<td>127</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hesiodus</td>
<td>41f., 47, 69, 189, 201</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iera</td>
<td>47, 335, 383</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hercules</td>
<td>11, 55, 61, 67, 75, 77, 79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hermes</td>
<td>47, 53, 55, 157, 451, 329</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hercules, name of planet</td>
<td>461</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Herodotus</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Herodotus</td>
<td>127, 131, 156f., 241, 399, 457f.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hestia</td>
<td>47, 321</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Homer</td>
<td>5, 39, 41, 43, 45, 61, 163, 239, 397, 399, 333 passim</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Horus</td>
<td>65, 81, 83, 167</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hyapatas</td>
<td>361</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hydaspe, river</td>
<td>149</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hydaspe, son of Semiramis</td>
<td>361</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hyrcania</td>
<td>355</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
INDEX

Ino, 321
Ilum, 197, 213
Inaros, 293
India, 63, 149, 401 passim
Indus, 403, 415 f.
Io, 79
Ionia, 231
Iopet, 101
Isa, 37-61 passim, 69-89 passim, 167 f., 297, 301
Isis, name of star, 89
Isis, 89

Julius Caesar, 21

Lacedaemon, 21
Leontopodium, 289
Lethe, 331
Lithyra, 151 passim, 180, 397
Libya, mother of Belus, 91
Lycurgus, king of Thrace, 63
Lycurgus, Spartan lawgiver, 319, 327, 335

Macedon, 57, 63
Mauria, 237
Mara, 69, 63
Marus, 211, 333
Matria, 77
Mausolus, 459
Meander, 141
Melampus, 327, 333
Memnon, 425 f.
Memphis, 60, 125, 177 passim, 231, 269, 294, 333
Memoas, 157, 159 f., 303 f.
Menechmeram. See Mycerinus
Menes, city of Egypt, 280
Menes, king of Egypt, 211, 333
Menelaus, 107 f.
Menestheus, 93
Meroe, city, 100, 131
Meroe, island, 169
Meroe, mother of Cambyses, 109
Minoa, 211, 319
Minotaur, 211
Mnemon, 319 f.
Mnemosyne, 60, 289 ff.
Moeris, king of Egypt, 181 ff.
Moeris, Lake of, 181 ff., 227, 289, 303 f.
Mopsaemphys, 231, 335
Moses (Moses), 321
Muses, 327
Museges, 69

Muses, 59
Mycerinus, 221

Nabonassar, 131
Necho, 111
Nile, 61, 105-143 passim
Nileus, 215
Nilometer, 125
Nipolypis, 201
Nineveh, 357, 371, 427, 433 passim
Ninus, city. See Nineveh
Ninus, king of Assyria, 349-371 passim, 379
Ninus, 371, 397, 417, 419 f.
Nyn, in Arabia Felix, 61 f., 87
Nyus, in India, 63
Nyssacus, 87

Ocean, 32, 61
Oceanus, 43, 329
Oceus, 231
Oenopion, 145 f., 327, 335 f.
Oenomen, 361, 367, 369 f.
Orantes, 306
Orpheus, 39, 43, 73 f., 230, 315, 327 f.
Osiris, 37 f., 47-87 passim, 291 f., 297, 303
Oxymanyses, 167, 169, 175
Oxyartes, 322 f.

Pan, 57, 299
Parnassus, 387
Parnassus, 101
Parnassus, 461 f.
Parthian, 463
Parthian, 355
Pelusium, 201
Persepolis, 105
Persians, 79
Persians, king of Macedon, 407
Persis, 355, 397
Petas, 93
Pharnaces, 322
Pharos, 101
Philae, 69 f.
Philip, 411
Philip, of Macedon, 15
Plato, 337, 335
Pluto, 79
Polycrates, 323 f.
Polydamas, 333 f.
"Portolals of the Sun," 329
Poseidon, 91
Priam, 423
Priapus, 299
INDEX

Prometheus, 61
Proteus, 213
Pyramntichus, 111, 229 ff.
Ptolemy, canal, 113
Ptolemy Anletes, 157
Ptolemy Lagus, 103, 168, 167, 291
Ptolemy Philadelphus, 113, 129
Pythagoras, 230, 397, 335

Red Sea, 115, 193
Rhemphis, 218 f.
Rhea, 47, 383
Rhincolaura, 209
Rhodopis, 223
Rhoccus, 337
Rome, 18, 285

Sabaco, 235 f.
Saece, 403
Sais, 61
Sarapis, 78
Sardanapallus, 423, 429-445 passim, 469
Sasychia, 291
Satyrus, 59, 299
Seleneus Nicator, 465
Semeli, 73 f.
Semiramis, 189, 399-419 passim
Sertobis, 99 f.
Sesoceus, 185-205 passim, 321
Simnas, 361
Sirius, name of Osiris, 39
Sirius, star, 50
Solon, 239, 266, 273, 327, 335
Somnun, 369
Sosarmus, 469
Stabrobates, 401-417 passim
Susa, 165, 425

Tanaous (Doric), 193, 353, 355
Tapyri, 365
Telecles, 337 ff.
Telemachus, 333 f.
Teutamnus, 423
Thealos, 261
Thebaid, 55, 49, 51, 57
Thebes, 49, 51, 73, 161 passim, 269
Theodoras, 337 f.
Theopompus, 127
Theseus, 49, 79
Thonis, 61
Thucydides, 127
Tigris, 387 f.
Titans, 81, 233
Tithonus, 423 f.
Tnephechthus, 169 f.
Triptolemus, 59, 62
Tritegeneda, 45
Troydyes, 59, 131
Trojan War, 21 (6th), 23, 77 (6th), 79, 423 ff.
Trojans, 423 f.
Troy, 197
Typhon, 47, 65, 71, 301 passim

Uchorous, 177

Xenophon, 127
Xerxes, 205, 363, 457

Zalmoxis, 321
Zarceus, 395
Zarina, 463 f.
Zamhaku, 321
Zeus, 41, 47, 75, 335, 393
Zeus, planet, 461
Zeus Bulus, 379, 381, 383
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.)
ST. AUGUSTINE, CONFESSIONS OF. W. Watts (1631). 2 Vols. (5th Imp.)
ST. AUGUSTINE, SELECT LETTERS. J. H. Baxter.
AUSONIUS. H. G. Evelyn White. 2 Vols.
BEDE. J. E. King. 2 Vols.
CAESAR: CIVIL WARS. A. G. Peskett. (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 PERVERSILVUM VENERIS. J. W. Mackail. (11th Imp.)
CELSUS: DE MEDICINA. W. G. Spencer. 3 Vols. (Vol. I. 2nd 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 NATURA DEORUM AND ACADEMICA. H. Rackham.
CICERO: DE OFFICIIS. Walter Miller. (4th Imp.)
CICERO: DE REPUBLICA AND DE LEGIBUS. Clinton W. Keyes. (2nd Imp.)
CICERO: DE SENECTUTE, DE AMICITIA, DE DIVINATIONE. W. A. Falconer. (4th Imp.)
CICERO: IN CATILINAM, PRO FLACC; 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: PHILIPPICS. W. C. A. Ker. (2nd Imp. revised.)

CICERO: PRO ARCHIA, POST REDITUM, DE DOMO, DE HARUSPICUM RESPONIS, PRO PLANCIO. N. H. Watts. (2nd Imp.)

CICERO: PRO CAECINA, PRO LEGE MANILIA, PRO CLUENTIO, PRO RABIRIO. H. Grose Hodge. (2nd Imp.)

CICERO: PRO MILONE, IN PISONEM, PRO SCAURO, PRO FONTEIO, PRO RABIRIO POSTUMO, PRO MARCELLO, PRO LIGARIO, PRO REGE DEIOTARO. N. H. Watts.

CICERO: PRO QUINCTIO, PRO ROSCIO AMERINO, PRO ROSCIO COMOEDO, CONTRA RULLUM. J. H. Freese. (2nd Imp. revised.)

CICERO: TUSCANUL DISPUTATIONS. J. E. King. (2nd Imp.)


CLAUDIAN. M. Platnauer. 2 Vols.


FLORUS. E. S. Forster, and CORNELIUS NIPPOS. J. C. Rolfe.

FRONTINUS: STRATEGEMS AND AQUEDUCTS. C. E. Bennett and M. B. McElwain.

FRONTO: CORRESPONDENCE. C. R. Haines. 2 Vols.

GELLIUS. J. C. Rolfe. 3 Vols. (Vol. I. 2nd Imp.)

HORACE: ODES AND EPODES. C. E. Bennett. (12th Imp. revised.)

HORACE: SATIRES, EPISTLES, ARS POETICA. H. R. Fairclough. (6th Imp. revised.)

JEROME: SELECTED LETTERS. F. A. Wright.

JUVENAL AND PERSIUS. G. G. Ramsay. (6th Imp.)


LUCAN. J. D. Duff. (2nd Imp.)

LUCRETIUS. W. H. D. Rouse. (5th Imp. revised.)

MARTIAL. W. C. A. Ker. 2 Vols. (Vol. I. 4th Imp., Vol. II. 3rd Imp. revised.)

MINOR LATIN POETS: from Publius Syrus to Rutilius Namatianus, including Grattius, Calpurnius Siculus, Nemessianus, Avianus, and others with "Actna" and the "Phoenix." J. Wight Duff and Arnold M. Duff. (2nd Imp.)

OVID: THE ART OF LOVE AND OTHER POEMS. J. H. Mozley. (2nd Imp.)

OVID: FASTI. Sir James G. Frazer.

OVID: HEROIDES AND AMORES. Grant Showerman. (3rd Imp.)
OVID: METAMORPHOSES. F. J. Miller. 2 Vols. (Vol. I. 8th Imp., Vol. II. 6th Imp.)
OVID: TRISTIA AND EX PONTO. A. L. Wheeler. (2nd Imp.)
PERSIUS. Cf. JUVENAL.
PETRONIUS. M. Heseltine; SENECA: APOCOLOCYNTOSIS. W. H. D. Rouse. (7th Imp. revised.)
PLAUTUS. Paul Nixon. 5 Vols. (Vols. I. and II. 4th Imp., Vol. III. 3rd Imp.)
PLINY: LETTERS. Melmoth’s Translation revised by W. M. L. Hutchinson. 2 Vols. (Vol. I. 5th Imp., Vol. II. 4th Imp.)
PROPERTIUS. H. E. Butler. (5th Imp.)
QUINTILIAN. H. E. Butler. 4 Vols. (2nd Imp.)
SALLUST. J. C. Rolfe. (2nd Imp. revised.)
SCRIPTORES HISTORIAE AUGUSTAE. D. Magie. 3 Vols. (Vol. I. 2nd Imp. revised.)
SENECA: APOCOLOCYNTOSIS. Cf. PETRONIUS.
SENECA: EPISTULAE MORALES. R. M. Gummeere. 3 Vols. (Vol. I. 3rd Imp., Vols. II. and III. 2nd Imp. revised.)
SENECA: MORAL ESSAYS. J. W. Basore. 3 Vols. (Vols. II. and III. 2nd Imp. revised.)
SILIUS ITALICUS. J. D. Duff. 2 Vols. (Vol. II. 2nd Imp.)
STATIUS. J. H. Mozley. 2 Vols.
SUETONIUS. J. C. Rolfe. 2 Vols. (Vol. I. 6th Imp., Vol. II. 5th Imp. revised.)
TACITUS: DIALOGUS. Sir Wm. Peterson. AGRICOLA AND GERMANIA. Maurice Hutton. (5th Imp.)
TÉRÈNCE. John Sargeaunt. 2 Vols. (Vol. I. 6th Imp., Vol. II. 5th Imp.)
VALERIUS FLACCUS. J. H. Mozley. (2nd Imp. revised.)
VARRO: DE LINGUA LATINA. R. G. Kent. 2 Vols.
VELLEIUS PATERCULUS AND RES GESTAE DIVI AUGUSTI. F. W. Shipley.
VIRGIL. H. R. Fairclough. 2 Vols. (Vol. I. 16th Imp., Vol. II. 12th Imp. revised.)
VITRUVIUS; DE ARCHITECTURA. F. Granger. 2 Vols. (Vol. I. 2nd Imp.)
Greek Authors

ACHILLES TATIUS. S. Gaselee.
AENEAS TACTICUS, ASCLEPIODOTUS AND ONASANDER. The Illinois Greek Club.
AESCHINES. C. D. Adams.
AESCHYLUS. H. Weir Smyth. 2 Vols. (Vol. I. 5th Imp., Vol. II. 4th Imp.)
ANDOCIDES, ANTIPHON. Cf. MINOR ATTIC ORATORS.
APOLLODORUS. Sir James G. Frazer. 2 Vols. (2nd Imp.)
APOLLONIUS RHODIUS. R. C. Seaton. (4th Imp.)
The APOSTOLIC FATHERS. Kirsoop Lake. 2 Vols. (Vol. I. 6th Imp., Vol. II. 5th Imp.)
APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY. Horace White. 4 Vols. (Vol. I. 3rd Imp., Vols. II., III. and IV. 2nd Imp.)
ARATUS. Cf. CALLIMACHUS.
ARISTOPHANES. Benjamin Bickley Rogers. 3 Vols. Verse trans. (4th Imp.)
ARISTOTLE: ART OF RHETORIC. J. H. Freese. (2nd Imp.)
ARISTOTLE: ATHENIAN CONSTITUTION, EUDEMIAN ETHICS, VICES AND VIRTUES. H. Rackham. (2nd Imp.)
ARISTOTLE: GENERATION OF ANIMALS. A. L. Peck.
ARISTOTLE: METAPHYSICS. H. Tredennick. 2 Vols. (2nd Imp.)
ARISTOTLE: NICOMACHEAN ETHICS. H. Rackham. (4th Imp. revised.)
ARISTOTLE: OECONOMICA AND MAGNA MORALIA. G. C. Armstrong; (with Metaphysics, Vol. II.). (2nd Imp.)
ARISTOTLE: ON THE HEAVENS. W. K. C. Guthrie. (2nd Imp. revised.)
ARISTOTLE: ON THE SOUL, PARVA NATURALIA, ON BREATH. W. S. Hett. (2nd Imp. revised.)
ARISTOTLE: PARTS OF ANIMALS. A. L. Peck; MOTION AND PROGRESSION OF ANIMALS. E. S. Forster. (2nd Imp. revised.)
ARISTOTLE: PHYSICS. Rev. P. Wicksteed and F. M. Cornford. 2 Vols. (Vol. II. 2nd Imp.)
ARISTOTLE: POETICS AND LONGINUS. W. Hamilton Fyfe; DEMETRIUS ON STYLE. W. Rhys Roberts. (3rd Imp. revised.)
ARISTOTLE: POLITICS. H. Rackham. (3rd Imp. revised.)
ARISTOTLE: PROBLEMS. W. S. Hett. 2 Vols.
ARISTOTLE: RHETORICA AD ALEXANDRUM (with PROBLEMS, Vol. II.). H. Rackham.
ARRIAN: HISTORY OF ALEXANDER AND INDICA. Rev. E. Iliffe Robson. 2 Vols. (Vol. I. 2nd Imp.)

ATHENAEUS: DEIPNOSOPHISTAE. C. B. Gulick. 7 Vols. (Vols. V. and VI. 2nd Imp.)

ST. BASIL: LETTERS. R. J. Deferrari. 4 Vols.

CALLIMACHUS AND LYCOPHRON. A. W. Mair; ARATUS. G. R. Mair.

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: MEIDIAS, ANDROTON, ARISTOCRATES, TIMOCRATES AND ARISTOGITON, I. AND II. Translated by J. H. Vince.


DEMOSTHENES: PRIVATE ORATIONS. A. T. Murray. 3 Vols. (Vol. I. 2nd Imp.)

DIO CASSIUS: ROMAN HISTORY. E. Cary. 9 Vols. (Vol. I. and II. 2nd Imp.)


DIODORUS LAERTIUS. R. D. Hicks. 2 Vols. (Vol. I. 3rd Imp., Vol. II. 2nd Imp.)

DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS: ROMAN ANTIQUITIES. Spelman's translation revised by E. Cary. 7 Vols. Vols. I.-V.

EPICHTETUS. W. A. Oldfather. 2 Vols. (Vol. I. 2nd Imp.)


EUSEBIUS: ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY. Kirssopp Lake and J. E. L. Oulton. 2 Vols. (Vol. II. 3rd Imp.)

GALEN: ON THE NATURAL FACULTIES. A. J. Brock. (2nd Imp.)


GREEK MATHEMATICAL WORKS. Ivor Thomas. 2 Vols.

HERODES. Cf. THEOPHRASTUS: CHARACTERS.

HERODOTUS. A. D. Godley. 4 Vols. (Vol. I. 4th Imp., Vols. II.-IV. 3rd Imp.)

HESIOD AND THE HOMERIC HYMNS. H. G. Evelyn White. (6th Imp. revised and enlarged.)
HIPPOCRATES AND THE FRAGMENTS OF HERACLEITUS.
W. H. S. Jones and E. T. Withington. 4 Vols. (2nd Imp.)
HOMER: ILLIAD. A. T. Murray. 2 Vols. (5th Imp.)
HOMER: ODYSSEY. A. T. Murray. 2 Vols. (6th Imp.)
ISAEUS. E. W. Forster. (2nd Imp.)
ISOCRATES. George Norlin. 3 Vols.
ST. JOHN DAMASCENE: BARLAAM AND IOASAPH.
Rev. G. R. Woodward and Harold Mattingly. (2nd Imp. revised.)
JOSEPHUS. H. St. J. Thackeray and Ralph Marcus. 9 Vols.
Vols. I.–VII. (Vol. V. 2nd Imp.)
JULIAN. Wilmer Cave Wright. 3 Vols. (Vols. I. and II.
2nd Imp.)
and II. 3rd Imp.)
LYCOPHRON. Cf. CALLIMACHUS.
LYRA GRAECA. J. M. Edmonds. 3 Vols. (Vol. I. and
III. 3rd Imp., Vol. II. 2nd Ed. revised and enlarged.
LYSIAS. W. R. M. Lamb. (2nd Imp.)
MANETHO. W. G. Waddell: PTOLEMY: TETRABIBLOS,
F. E. Robbins.
MARCUS AURELIUS. C. R. Haines. (3rd Imp. revised.)
MENANDER. F. G. Allinson. (2nd Imp. revised.)
MINOR ATTIC ORATORS (ANTIPIION, ANDOCIDES,
DEMADES, DEINARCHUS, HYPERELIDES). K. J. Maid-
NONNOS. W. H. D. Rouse. 3 Vols. (Vol. III. 2nd Imp.)
OPPIAN, COLLUTHUS, TRYPHIODORUS. A. W. Mair.
PAPYRI. NON-LITERARY SELECTIONS. A. S. Hunt and
C. C. Edgar. 2 Vols. LITERARY SELECTIONS. Vol. I.
(Poetry). D. L. Page. (2nd Imp.)
PARTHENIUS. Cf. DAPHNIS AND CHLOE.
PAUSANIAS: DESCRIPTION OF GREECE. W. H. S.
Jones. 5 Vols. and Companion Vol. (Vols. I. and III. 2nd
Imp.)
Whitaker. Vols. VI.–IX.; F. H. Colson. (Vol. IV. 2nd
Imp.)
PHILOSTRATUS: THE LIFE OF APOLLONIUS OF
TYANA. F. C. Conybeare. 2 Vols. (Vol. I. 3rd Imp.,
Vol. II. 2nd Imp.)
PHILOSTRATUS; IMAGINES; CALLISTRATUS: DE-
SCRIPTIONS. A. Fairbanks.
PHILOSTRATUS AND EUNAPIUS: LIVES OF THE
SOPHISTS. Wilmer Cave Wright.
PINDAR. Sir J. E. Sandys. (6th Imp. revised.)
PLATO: CHARMIDES, ALCIBIADES, HIPPARCUS,
The LOVERS, THEAGES, MINOS AND EPINOMIS.
W. R. M. Lamb.
PLATO: CRATYLUS, PARMENIDES, GREATER HIP-
PIAS, LESSER HIPPIAS. H. N. Fowler. (3rd Imp.)
.6
PLATO: EUTHYPHRO, APOLOGY, CRITO, PHAEDO, PHAEDRUS. H. N. Fowler. (9th Imp.)
PLATO: LACHES, PROTAGORAS, MENO, EUTHYDE-MUS. W. R. M. Lamb. (2nd Imp. revised.)
PLATO: LAWS. Rev. R. G. Bury. 2 Vols. (2nd Imp.)
PLATO: LYSIS, SYMPOSIUM, GÖRGIAS. W. R. M. Lamb. (3rd Imp. revised.)
PLATO: STATESMAN, PHILEBUS. H. N. Fowler; ION. W. R. M. Lamb. (3rd Imp.)
PLATO: THEAETETUS AND SOPHIST. H. N. Fowler. (3rd Imp.)
PLATO: TIMAEUS, CRITIAS, CLITOPHO, MENEXENUS, EPISTULAE. Rev. R. G. Bury. (2nd Imp.)
PLUTARCH: THE PARALLEL LIVES. B. Perrin. 11 Vols. (Vols. I., II., III., VI., VII., and XI. 2nd Imp.)
POLYBIUS. W. R. Paton. 6 Vols.
PTOLEMY: TETRABIBLOS. Cf. MANETHO.
QUINTUS SMYRNAEUS. A. S. Way. Verse trans. (2nd Imp.)
SEXTUS EMPIRICUS. Rev. R. G. Bury. 4 Vols. (Vol. I. 2nd Imp.)
STRABO: GEOGRAPHY. Horace L. Jones. 8 Vols. (Vols. I., V. 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.
THUCYDIDES. C. F. Smith. 4 Vols. (Vol. I. 3rd Imp., Vols. II., III. and IV. 2nd Imp. revised.)
TRYPHIODORUS. Cf. OPPIAN.
XENOPHON: CYRopaEDIA. Walter Miller. 2 Vols. (Vol. I. 2nd Imp., Vol. II. 3rd Imp.)
XENOPHON: MEMORABILIA AND OECONOMICUS. E. C. Marchant. (2nd Imp.)
XENOPHON: SCRIPTA MINORA. E. C. Marchant. (2nd Imp.)
IN PREPARATION

Greek Authors

ALCIPHRON. A. R. Benner and F. Fobes.
ARISTOTLE: METEOROLOGICA. H. P. Lee.
DEMOSTHENES: EPISTLES, etc. N. W. and N. J. De Witt.

Latin Authors

[CICERO]: AD HERENNIUM. H. Caplan.
CICERO: DE INVENTIONE, etc. H. M. Hubbell.
CICERO: PRO SESTIO, IN VATINIUM, PRO CAELIO,
DE PROVINCIIS CONSULARIBUS, PRO BALBO. J. H.
Freese and R. Gardner.
QUINTUS CURTIUS: HISTORY OF ALEXANDER. J. C.
Rolle.
PRUDENTIUS. J. H. Thomson.

DESCRIPTIVE PROSPECTUS ON APPLICATION

London
Cambridge, Mass

WILLIAM HEINEMANN LTD
HARVARD UNIVERSITY PRESS
Author—Diodorus.