HERODOTUS

II
First Printed 1921.
Reprinted 1928.

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cop. 3

PRINTED IN GREAT BRITAIN
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INTRODUCTION TO BOOKS III AND IV

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

Chapters 1 to 38 deal in the main with Cambyses. They relate the Persian invasion and conquest of Egypt, Cambyses' abortive expedition against the Ethiopians, and the sacrilegious and cruel acts of the last part of his reign. The section 38-60 begins with an account of Polycrates of Samos, and his relations with Amasis of Egypt, and continues with a narrative of Polycrates' war against his banished subjects. The fact that these latter were aided not only by Spartans but by Corinthians serves to introduce the story of the domestic feuds of Periander, despot of Corinth. Chapter 61 resumes the story of Cambyses; the Magian usurpation of the Persian throne, Cambyses' death, the counterplot against and ultimate overthrow of the pseudo-Smerdis and his brother by seven Persian conspirators, and the accession of Darius—all this is narrated with much
picturesque and dramatic detail in twenty-eight chapters (61–88). Then follows a list of Darius' tributary provinces (88–97), supplemented by various unconnected details relating to Arabia and India (98–117). The next thirty-two chapters (118–149) narrate various events in the early part of Darius' reign: the fate of Polycrates of Samos; the insolence and death of his murderer Oroetes; how Democedes, a Samian physician, rose to power at the Persian court and was sent with a Persian commission to reconnoitre Greek coasts; how Polycrates' brother Syloson regained with Persian help the sovereignty of Samos. Lastly, chapters 150–160 describe the revolt and second capture of Babylon.

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

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

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

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

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

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

Critics of the Odyssey have sometimes been at
pains to distinguish its "inner" from its "outer" geography—the inner true and real, the outer a world of mere invention and fairy tale. There is no such distinction really; Greeks do not invent fairy tales; there are simply varying degrees of certitude. Greek geographical knowledge contemporaneous with the composition of the Odyssey being presumably confined within very narrow limits, the frontiers of the known are soon passed, and the poet launches out into a realm not of invention, but of reality dimly and imperfectly apprehended—a world of hearsay and travellers' tales, no doubt adorned in the Homeric poem with the colours of poetry. Homer is giving the best that he knows of current information—not greatly troubled in his notices of remote countries by inconsistencies, as when he describes Egypt once as a four or five days' sail from Crete, yet again as a country so distant that even a bird will take more than a year to reach it. Herodotus' method is as human and natural as Homer's. Starting, of course, from a very much wider extent of geographical knowledge, he passes from what he has seen to what he knows at first hand from Cyrenaean or Borysthenite evidence; thence into more distant regions, about which his informants have been told; and so on, the accuracy of his statements obviously diminishing (and not guaranteed by himself) as the distance increases, till at last in farthest north—farthest, that is, with the
possible exception of "Hyperboreans," about whom nobody knows anything—he is in the country of the griffins who guard gold and pursue the one-eyed Arimaspian; and in the south, among the men who have no heads, and whose eyes are in their breasts.

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

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

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

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

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

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

BOOK III
ΗΡΟΔΩΤΟΥ ΙΣΤΟΡΙΑΙ

Γ

1. Ἐπὶ τούτον δὴ τῶν Ἀμασίων Καμβύσης ὁ Κῦρος ἐστρατεύετο, άγων καὶ ἄλλους τῶν ἦρχε καὶ Ἑλλήνων Ἰωνίως τε καὶ Αἰσιλέας, δὲ αἰτήν τοιήνυ. πέμψας Καμβύσης ἐς Αἰγυπτίου κήρυκα αἰτεῖ "Ἀμασίων θυγατέρα, αἰτεῖ δὲ ἐκ βουλῆς ἀνδρὸς Αἰγυπτίου, ὦ μεμφόμενος Ἀμασίων ἐπρηξε ταῦτα ὅτι μου ἐξ ἀπάντων τῶν ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ ἱητρῶν ἀπο- σπάσας ἀπὸ γυναικὸς τε καὶ τέκνων ἔκδοτον ἐποίησε ἐς Πέρσας, ὅτε Κῦρος πέμψας παρὰ Ἀμασίων αἰτεῖ ἱητρῶν ὀφθαλμῶν ὦ εἰς ἀριστος τῶν ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ. ταῦτα δὴ ἐπιμεμφόμενος ὁ Αἰγύπτιος ἐνήγη τῇ συμβουλῇ κελεύων αἰτεῖν τῶν Καμβύσεα Ἀμασίων θυγατέρα, ἵνα ἦ δοὺς ἀνιῶτο ἢ μὴ δοὺς Καμβύση ἀπέχθατο. δὲ Ἀμασίς τῇ δυνάμι τῶν Περσέων ἀχθόμενος καὶ ἀρρωδέων οὐκ εἶχε ὡστε δοῦναι ὡς ἄρνησασθαι εὖ γὰρ ὑπίστατο ὅτι οὐκ ὡς γυναικά μιν ἐμελλε Καμβύσης ἐξεῖν ἀλλʼ ὡς παλλακῆν. ταῦτα δὴ ἐκλογιζόμενος ἐποίησε τάδε. ἦν Ἀπρίεω τοῦ προ- τέρου βασιλέως θυγάτηρ κάρτα μεγάλη τε καὶ εὐείδης μοῦνη τοῦ οίκου λελειμμένη, οὐνομα δὲ οἱ
1. It was against this Amasis that Cambyses led an army of his subjects, Ionian and Aeolian Greeks among them.\footnote{The received date is 525 B.C.} This was his reason: Cambyses sent a herald to Egypt asking Amasis for his daughter; and this he did by the counsel of a certain Egyptian, who devised it by reason of a grudge that he bore against Amasis, because when Cyrus sent to Amasis asking for the best eye-doctor in Egypt the king had chosen this man out of all the Egyptian physicians and sent him perforce to Persia away from his wife and children. With this grudge in mind he moved Cambyses by his counsel to ask Amasis for his daughter, that Amasis might be grieved if he gave her, or Cambyses' enemy if he refused her. So Amasis was sorely afraid of the power of Persia, and could neither give his daughter nor deny her; for he knew well that Cambyses would make her not his queen but his mistress. Reasoning thus he bethought him of a very tall and fair damsel called Nitetis, daughter of the former king Apries, and all that was left of that
HERODOTUS

$\text{ν} \text{Νέτητις} \ \text{ταύτην} \ \text{δή} \ \text{τὴν} \ \text{παίδα} \ \text{ό} \ \text{Αμασίς} \ \text{κοσμήσας} \ \text{ἔσθητι} \ \text{τε} \ \text{καὶ} \ \text{χρυσῷ} \ \text{ἀποστέμπει} \ \text{ἐς} \ \text{Πέρσας} \ \text{ὡς} \ \text{ἐωυτοῦ} \ \text{θυγατέρα.} \ \text{μετὰ} \ \text{δὲ} \ \text{χρόνου} \ \text{ὡς} \ \text{μιν} \ \text{ἡσπάζετο} \ \text{πατρόθεν} \ \text{ὄνομάξων,} \ \text{λέγει} \ \text{πρὸς} \ \text{αὐτὸν} \ \text{ἡ} \ \text{παίς} \ \text{"Ω} \ \text{Βασιλεῦ}, \ \text{διαβεβλημένος} \ \text{ὑπὸ} \ \text{Αμάσιος} \ \text{οὐ} \ \text{μανθάνεις.} \ \text{δὸς} \ \text{ἐμὲ} \ \text{σοὶ} \ \text{κόσμῳ} \ \text{ἀσκήσας} \ \text{ἀπέτεμψε} \ \text{ὡς} \ \text{ἐωυτοῦ} \ \text{θυγατέρα} \ \text{διδοὺς,} \ \text{ἐοῦσαν} \ \text{τῇ} \ \text{ἀληθείᾳ} \ \text{Απρίεω,} \ \text{τὸν} \ \text{ἐκεῖνος} \ \text{ἐόντα} \ \text{ἐωυτοῦ} \ \text{δεσπότεα} \ \text{μετ'} \ \text{Αἰγυπτίων} \ \text{ἐπαναστὰς} \ \text{ἔφόνευσε."} \ \text{τοῦτο} \ \text{δὴ} \ \text{τὸ} \ \text{ἔπος} \ \text{καὶ} \ \text{αὐτὴ} \ \text{ἡ} \ \text{αὐτὴ} \ \text{ἐγγενομένη} \ \text{ἡγαγε} \ \text{Καμβύσεα} \ \text{τὸν} \ \text{Κύρου} \ \text{μεγάλως} \ \text{θυμωθέντα} \ \text{ἐπ'} \ \text{Αἰγυπτον.}

2. \ \text{Οὐτω} \ \text{μὲν} \ \text{νυν} \ \text{λέγουσι} \ \text{Πέρσαι.} \ \text{Αἰγυπτίοι} \ \text{δὲ} \ \text{οἰκηνότταν} \ \text{Καμβύσεα,} \ \text{φάμενοι} \ \text{μὲν} \ \text{ἐκ} \ \text{ταύτης} \ \text{δὴ} \ \text{τῆς} \ \text{Απρίεω} \ \text{θυγατρὸς} \ \text{γενέσθαι.} \ \text{Κύρου} \ \text{γὰρ} \ \text{ἐῖναι} \ \text{τὸν} \ \text{πέμψαντα} \ \text{παρὰ} \ \text{Αμασίν} \ \text{ἐπὶ} \ \text{τὴν} \ \text{θυγατέρα,} \ \text{ἀλλὰ} \ \text{οὐ} \ \text{Καμβύσεα.} \ \text{Λέγοντες} \ \text{δὲ} \ \text{ταύτα} \ \text{οὐκ} \ \text{ὄρθως} \ \text{λέγουσι.} \ \text{οὐ} \ \text{μὲν} \ \text{οὐδὲ} \ \text{λέληθε} \ \text{αὐτοὺς} \ (\text{ἐὶ} \ \text{γὰρ} \ \text{τινὲς} \ \text{καὶ} \ \text{ἄλλοι,} \ \text{τὰ} \ \text{Περσέων} \ \text{νόμμα} \ \text{ἐπιστέ-} \ \text{αται} \ \text{καὶ} \ \text{Αἰγυπτίοι}) \ \text{ὅτι} \ \text{πρῶτα} \ \text{μὲν} \ \text{νόθον} \ \text{οὐ} \ \text{σφι} \ \text{νόμος} \ \text{ἐστὶ} \ \text{βασιλεύσαι} \ \text{γνησίου} \ \text{παρεόντος,} \ \text{αὐτῖς} \ \text{δὲ} \ \text{ὅτι} \ \text{Κασσανδάνης} \ \text{τῆς} \ \text{Φαρνάσπεω} \ \text{θυγατρὸς} \ \text{ἡ} \ \text{παῖς} \ \text{Καμβύσης,} \ \text{ἀνδρὸς} \ \text{Ἀχαιμενίδως,} \ \text{ἀλλὰ} \ \text{οὐκ} \ \text{ἐκ} \ \text{τῆς} \ \text{Αἰγυπτίης.} \ \text{ἀλλὰ} \ \text{παρατράπουσι} \ \text{τὸν} \ \text{λόγον} \ \text{προσποιεύμενον} \ \text{τῇ} \ \text{Κύρου} \ \text{οἰκήσει} \ \text{συγγενέες} \ \text{ἐίναι.}

3. \ \text{Καὶ} \ \text{ταύτα} \ \text{μὲν} \ \text{ὁδὲ} \ \text{ἐχεῖ.} \ \text{Λέγεται} \ \text{δὲ} \ \text{καὶ} \ \text{ὁδὲ} \ \text{λόγος,} \ \text{ἐμοὶ} \ \text{μὲν} \ \text{οὐ} \ \text{πιθανός,} \ \text{ὡς} \ \text{τῶν} \ \text{Περσίδων} \ \text{γυναικῶν} \ \text{ἐσελθοῦσά} \ \text{τις} \ \text{παρὰ} \ \text{τὰς} \ \text{Κύρου} \ \text{γυναίκας,} \ \text{ὡς} \ \text{εἰδε} \ \text{τῇ} \ \text{Κασσανδάνῃ} \ \text{παρεστῶτα} \ \text{τέκνα} \ \text{εὐειδέα} \ \text{τε} \ \text{καὶ} \ \text{μεγάλα,} \ \text{πολλῷ} \ \text{ἐγχώτῳ} \ \text{τῷ} \ \text{ἐπαίνῳ} \ \text{ὕπερθω-} \ \text{μάξουσα,} \ \text{ἡ} \ \text{δὲ} \ \text{Κασσανδάνῃ} \ \text{ἐοῦσα} \ \text{τοῦ} \ \text{Κύρου} \ \text{γυνῇ} \ \text{ἐίπε} \ \text{τάδε.} \ \text{"Τοιώνδε} \ \text{μὲν} \ \text{τοῖς} \ \text{ἐμὲ} \ \text{παίδων} \ \text{μητέρα}
family; Amasis decked her out with raiment and golden ornaments and sent her to the Persians as if she were his own daughter. But after a while, the king greeting her as the daughter of Amasis, the damsel said, “King, you know not how Amasis has deceived you: he decked me out with ornaments and sent me to you to pass for his own daughter; but I am in truth the daughter of his master Apries, whom he and other Egyptians rebelled against and slew.” It was these words and this reason that prevailed with Cambyses to lead him in great anger against Egypt.

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

3. So much for this matter. There is another tale too, which I do not believe:—that a certain Persian lady came to visit Cyrus’ wives, and greatly praised and admired the fair and tall children who stood by Cassandane. Then Cassandane, Cyrus’ wife, said, “Ay, yet though I be the mother of such children
ἔουσαν Κύρος ἐν ἀτιμίᾳ ἤχει, τὴν δὲ ἀπ’ Αἰγύπτου ἐπίκτητον ἐν τιμῇ τίθεται.” τὴν μὲν ἄχθομένην τῇ Νιτήτι εἰπεῖν ταῦτα, τῶν δὲ οἱ παῖδων τῶν πρεσβύτερον εἰπεῖν Καμβύσεα “Τοιγάρ τοι ὁ μήτερ, ἔπεαν ἐγώ γένομαι ἀνήρ, Αἰγύπτου τὰ μὲν ἀνω κάτω θήσο, τὰ δὲ κάτω ἄνω.” ταῦτα εἰπεῖν αὐτὸν ἔτεα ὡς δέκα κου γεγονότα, καὶ τὰς γναῖκας ἐν θώματι γενέσθαι τοῦ δὲ διαμνημονεύοντα οὕτω δή, ἔπειτε ἀνδρώθη καὶ ἔσχε τὴν βασιλικήν, ποιήσασθαι τὴν ἐπ’ Αἰγύπτου στρατήγην.

4. Συνήνεικε δὲ καὶ ἄλλο τι τοιόνδε πρῆγμα γενέσθαι ἐς τὴν ἐπιστράτευσιν ταύτην. ἦν τῶν ἐπικούρων Ἀμάσιος ἀνήρ γένος μὲν Ἀλκικαρνησσεύς, οὐνομα δὲ οἱ Φάνης, καὶ γνώμην ἰκανὸς καὶ τὰ πολεμικὰ ἀλκιμος. οὗτος ο’ Φάνης μεμφόμενος κού τι Ἀμάσι ἐκδιδρήσκει πλοῖο εξ Αἰγύπτου, Βουλόμενος Καμβύση ἐλθεῖν ἐς λόγους. οла δὲ ἐόντα αὐτὸν ἐν τούτι ἐπικούροις λόγου οὐ σμικροῦ ἐπιστάμενον τε τὰ περὶ Αἰγύπτου ἀτρεκέστατα, μεταδιώκει ὅ Ἀμασίς σπουδὴν ποιεύμενος ἔλειν, μεταδιώκει δὲ τῶν εὐνούχων τὸν πιστότατον ἀποστείλας πρῷρει κατ’ αὐτὸν, ὅσ αἱρεῖ μν ἐν Ἀνκίτῃ, ἔλων δὲ οὐκ ἄνηγαγε ἐς Αἰγύπτου· σοφῆ γὰρ μν περὶλῆθε ὁ Φάνης· καταμεθύσας γὰρ τοὺς φυλάκους ἀπαλλάσσετο ἐς Πέρσας. ὁρμημένω δὲ στρατεύεσθαι Καμβύση ἐπ’ Αἰγύπτου καὶ ἀπορέουτι τὴν ἔλασιν, ὅκως τὴν ἀνυδρὸν διεκπέρα, ἐπελθὼν φρύζει μὲν καὶ τὰ ἅλλα τὰ Ἀμάσιος πρήγματα, ἐξηγεῖται δὲ καὶ τὴν ἔλασιν, ὅδε παρανέων, πέμψαντα παρὰ τῶν Ἀραβίων βασιλέα δέεσθαι τὴν διέξοδον οἱ ἄσφαλεα παρασχεῖν.

5. Μούνη δὲ ταύτη εἰσὶν φανεραί ἐσβολαί ἐς
BOOK III. 3-5

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

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

5. Now the only manifest way of entry into Egypt
Αὐγυπτων. ἀπὸ γὰρ Φοινίκης μέχρι οὐρων τῶν Καδύτιος πόλιος ἐστὶ Σύρων τῶν Παλαιστίνων καλεομένων· ἀπὸ δὲ Καδύτιος έούςης πόλιος, ὡς ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ, Σαρδίων οὖ πολλῷ ἐλύσσονος, ἀπὸ ταῦτης τὰ ἐμπόρια τὰ ἐπὶ θαλάσσης μέχρι Ἰηνύσου πόλιος ἐστὶ τοῦ Ἀραβίου, ἀπὸ δὲ Ἰηνύσου αὕτης Σύρων μέχρι Σερβωνίδος λίμνης, παρ’ ἦν δὴ τὸ Κάσιον ὄρος τεῖνει ἐς θάλασσαν· ἀπὸ δὲ Σερβωνίδος λίμνης, ἐν τῇ δὴ λόγος τὸν Τυφῶ κεκρύφθαι, ἀπὸ ταῦτης ἦδη Αὐγυπτος. τὸ δὴ μεταξὺ Ἰηνύσου πόλιος καὶ Κασίου τε ὅρεος καὶ τῆς Σερβωνίδος λίμνης, ἐδὼ τοῦτο οὐκ ὀλίγου χωρίου ἄλλα ὅσον τε ἐπὶ τρεῖς ἡμέρας ὦδών, ἀνυδρον ἐστὶ δεινῶς.

6. Τὸ δὲ ὀλίγοι τῶν ἐς Αὐγυπτον ναυτιλλομένων ἐννεῶκασι, τοῦτο ἔρχομαι φράσων. ἐς Αὐγυπτον ἐκ τῆς Ἑλλάδος πάσης καὶ πρός ἐκ Φοινίκης κέραμος ἐσάγεται πλήρης οὐνου δις τοῦ ἐτεος ἐκάστου, καὶ ἐν κεράμοιν οἰνηρὸν ἀριθμῷ κεινῶν οὐκ ἐστὶ ὡς λόγῳ εἰπεῖν ἱδέωθαι. κοῦ δὴτα, εἴποι τις ἄν, ταῦτα ἀναισιμοῦται, ἐγὼ καὶ τοῦτο φράσω. δεῖ τὸν μὲν δὴμαρχον ἐκάστου ἐκ τῆς ἐσωτοῦ πόλιος συλλέξαντα πάντα τὸν κέραμον ἄγειν ἐς Μέμφιν, τοὺς δὲ ἐκ Μέμφιος ἐς ταῦτα δὴ τὰ ἄνυδρα τῆς Συρίης κομίζειν πλήσαιται ὑδάτως. οὔτω δ’ ἐπιφοιτέων κέραμος καὶ ἐξαρεόμενος ἐν Αὐγυπτῷ ἐπὶ τῶν παλαιῶν κομίζεται ἐς Συρίην.

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

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

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

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\(^1\) Probably Gaza.

\(^2\) Hot winds and volcanic agency were attributed by Greek
mythology to Typhon, cast down from heaven by Zeus and
"buried" in hot or volcanic regions. Typhon came to
be identified with the Egyptian god Set; and the legend
grew that he was buried in the Serbonian marsh.
τὰ εἰρημένα σάξαντες ὕδατι, ἐπείτε τὰ χιστὰ παρέλαβον Ἀὐγυπτον. τότε δὲ οὐκ ἔοντος κω ὕδατος ἔτοιμον, Καμβύσης πυθόμενος τοῦ Ἀλικαρνησσέος ξείνου, πέμψας παρὰ τὸν Ἄραβιον ἀγγέλους καὶ δεηθεὶς τῆς ἀσφαλείας ἔτυχε, πίστις δοὺς τε καὶ δεξάμενοι παρ’ αὐτοῦ.

8. Σέβονται δὲ Ἄραβιοι πίστις ἀνθρώπων ὅμως τοῖς μάλιστα, ποιεύσει δὲ αὐτῶς τρόπω τοὐδετῶν βουλομένων τὸ πιστὰ ποιεσθαι ἄλλος ἀνήρ, ἀμφοτέρων αὐτῶν ἐν μέσῳ ἐστεώς, λίθῳ ζεῖν τὸ ἔσω τῶν χειρῶν παρὰ τοὺς δακτύλους τοὺς μεγάλους ἐπιτίμανε τῶν ποιεμένων τὰς πίστις, καὶ ἐπειτὰ λαβὼν ἐκ τοῦ ἱματίου ἐκατέρου κροκύδα ἀλείφει τῷ αἴματι ἐν μέσῳ κείμενος λίθους ἐπτατότο δὲ ποιεῖν ἐπικαλέει τε τὸν Διόνυσον καὶ τὴν Οὐρανίην. ἐπιτελέσαντος δὲ τοῦτο ταῦτα, ὁ τὰς πίστις ποιησάμενος τοῖς φίλοις παρεγγύμενοι τῶν ξείνων ἢ καὶ τῶν ἀστόν, ἢν πρὸς ἀστόν ποιήσει ταῖς δὲ φίλοι καὶ αὐτοὶ τὰς πίστις δικαίους σέβεσθαι. Διόνυσον δὲ θεῶν μοῦνον καὶ τὴν Οὐρανίην ἢγεόνται εἶναι, καὶ τῶν τριχῶν τὴν κουρῆν κείρεσθαι φασὶ κατὰ περ αὐτὸν τῶν Διόνυσον κεκάρθαι κείρονται δὲ περιτρόχαλα, ὑποξυρόντες τοὺς κροτάφους. ὀνομάζουσι δὲ τὸν μὲν Διόνυσον 'Οροτάλτ, τὴν δὲ Οὐρανίην Ἀλιλατ.

9. Ἐπεὶ δὲν τὴν πίστιν τοῖς ἀγγέλοις τοῖς παρὰ Καμβύσεως ἀπιγραμμένοις ἐποίησατο ὁ Ἄραβιος, ἐμηχανάτο τοιαδήποτε ἀσκοὺς καμήλων πλήσας ὕδατος ἐπέσαζε ἐπὶ τὰς ξωᾶς τῶν καμήλων πάσας, τούτο δὲ ποιήσας ἠλάσε ἐς τὴν ἀνυδρον καὶ ὑπέμενε ἐνθαῦτα τὸν Καμβύσεως στρατον. οὔτος μὲν ὁ πιθανότερος τῶν λόγων εὐρηται, δεὶ δὲ καὶ
into that country, filling pots with water as I have said. But at this time there was as yet no ready supply of water; wherefore Cambyses, hearing what was said by the stranger from Halicarnassus, sent messengers to the Arabian and asked and obtained safe conduct, giving and receiving from him pledges.

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

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

¹ According to Movers, Orotalt is "the fire of God," ܒܪܐܬ ܐܠ, and Alilat the feminine of ܚܠܐܠ, "morning star"; but a simpler interpretation is Al Ilat = the goddess.
τὸν ἦσον πιθανόν, ἐπεὶ γε δὴ λέγεται, ῥηθήναι. 
ποταμός ἐστι μέγας ἐν τῇ Ἀραβίᾳ τῷ οὐνόμα 
Κόρυς, ἐκκείδοι δὲ οὖντο ἐς τὴν Ἐρυθρῆν καλεό-
μένην θάλασσαν ἀπὸ τοῦτο δὴ ὑπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ 
λέγεται τὸν βασιλέα τῶν Ἀραβίων, ῥαφάμενον 
τῶν ὤμοβοεών καὶ τῶν ἄλλων δερμάτων ὁχέτων 
μήκει ἐξικνεύμενον ἐς τὴν ἀνυδρον, ἀγαγεὶ διὰ δὴ 
τοῦτων τὸ ὕδωρ, ἐν δὲ τῇ ἀνυδρῷ μεγάλας δεξα-
μενάς ὀρύξασθαι, ὅταν δὲ ἤστι δυνάμενον ἢμερέων ἀπὸ τοῦ 
ποταμοῦ ἐς ταύτην τὴν ἀνυδρόν. ἀγεὶν δὲ μιν δὲ ὁχέτῶν 
τριῶν ἐς τρίξα χωρία.

10. Ἔν δὲ τῷ Πηλουσίῳ καλεομένῳ στόματι 
τοῦ Νείλου ἐστρατοπεδεύετο Ἡσυμμύντος ὁ Ἀμά-
σιος παῖς ὑπομένων Καμβύσεα. Ἡ Ἀμασίων γὰρ ὦ 
κατέλιπε ἔσοντα Καμβύσης ἐλάσας ἐπὶ Ἀιγύπτου, 
ἀλλὰ βασιλεύσας ὁ Ἡμασίων τέσσερα καὶ τεσ-
σεράκοντα ἔτεα ἀπέθανε, ἐν τούτῳ οὐδὲν ὦ μέγα 
ἀνάρσιον πρῆγμα συνηνείχθη. ἀποθανὼν δὲ καὶ 
ταραχευθεὶς ἔταφθ ἐν τῇ γυναική ἐν τῷ ἱρῷ, τὰς 
αὐτῶν οἰκοδομήσατο. ἐπὶ Ἡσυμμύντου δὲ τοῦ 
Ἀμάσιος βασιλεύοντος Ἀιγύπτου φύσμα Ἀιγυ-
πτίους μέγιστον ἐν ἐγένετο· ὑσθησαν γὰρ Θήβαι 
αἱ Ἀιγύπτιαι, οὗτοι πρότερον οὖν ὕσθεῖσαι 
ὑπὲρ ὑστεροῦ τὸ μέχρι ἐμεῦ, ὡς λέγοντο αὐτοῖς 
Θήβαιοι· οὐ γὰρ δὲ ὑστεραῖ τὰ ἄνω τῆς Ἀιγύπτου 
τὸ παράπαν· ἀλλὰ καὶ τότε ὑσθησαν αἱ Θήβαι 
ψακάδι.

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

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

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

¹ In modern times there is sometimes a little rain at Thebes (Luxor); very little and very seldom.
τῷ Φάνη ὅτι στρατὸν ἠγαγε ἐπὶ Αἰγύπτου ἄλλο-
θροον, μηχανῶνται πρήγμα ἐς αὐτὸν τοιῶν.
ὁσαν τῷ Φάνη παῖδες ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ καταλελειμ-
μένου τοὺς ἀγαγόντες ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον καὶ ἐς
כיון τοῦ πατρὸς κρητῆρα ἐν μέσῳ ἑστησαν ἀμ-
φοτέρων τῶν στρατόπεδων, μετὰ δὲ ἀγινέοντες
κατὰ ἑνὸ ἐκαστὸν τῶν παιδῶν ἐσφαξον ἐς τὸν
κρητῆρα. διὰ πάντων δὲ διεξελθόντες τῶν παιδῶν
οίνου τε καὶ ὕδωρ ἐσεφόρεον ἐς αὐτὸν, ἐμπιόντες
δὲ τοῦ αἴματος πάντες οἱ ἐπίκουροι οὕτω δῇ
συνεβαλον. μάχης δὲ γενομένης καρτερῆς καὶ
πεσόντων εξ ἀμφοτέρων τῶν στρατόπεδων πληθεὶ
πολλῶν ἐτράπουτο οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι.

12. Θώμα δὲ μέγα έίδον πυθόμενος παρὰ τῶν
ἐπίχωρών τῶν γὰρ ὅστεών περικεχυμένων χώρις
ἐκατέρων τῶν ἐν τῇ μάχῃ ταύτῃ πεσόντων (χώρις
μὲν γὰρ τῶν Περσέων ἐκέετο τὰ ὅστεά, ὡς ἐχω-
ρίσθη κατ' ἄρχισ, ἑτέρωθι δὲ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων), αἱ
μὲν τῶν Περσέων κεφαλαῖ εἰσὶ ἀσθενεῖσ οὕτῳ
ώστε, εἰ θέλεις ψῆφῳ μοῦνη βαλεῖν, διατετρανείσ, αἱ
dὲ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων οὕτῳ δὴ τι ἱσχυραί, μόνης
ἀν λίθῳ παίσας διαρρήξειας. αἴτιον δὲ τούτῳ
τόδε ἑλεγον, καὶ ἐμὲ γ' εὐπτετέως ἐπειθον, ὅτι
Αἰγύπτιοι μὲν αὐτίκα ἀπὸ παιδῶν ἀρξάμενοι
ξυρῶνται τὰς κεφαλὰς καὶ πρὸς τὸν ἥλιον παχύ-
νεται τὸ ὅστεαν. τῶντο δὲ τούτῳ καὶ τοῦ μὴ
φαλακροῦσθαι αἴτιον ἐστὶ. Αἰγυπτίων γὰρ ἄν τις
ἐλαχίστους ἴδιοντο φαλακροὺς πάντων ἀνθρώπων.
tούτοι μὲν δὴ τούτῳ ἑστὶ αἴτιον ἱσχυρὰς φορεῖν
tὰς κεφαλὰς, τοῖς δὲ Πέρσης ὅτι ἀσθενεῖας
φορέουσι τὰς κεφαλὰς αἴτιον τόδε σκιητροφέουσι
ἐξ ἄρχισ πίλους ριάρας φορέουτες. ταῦτα μὲν
14
being wroth with him for leading a stranger army into Egypt. Phanes had left sons in Egypt; these they brought to the camp, into their father's sight, and set a great bowl between the two armies; then they brought the sons one by one and cut their throats over the bowl. When all the sons were killed, they poured into the bowl wine and water, and the foreign soldiery drank of this and thereafter gave battle. The fight waxed hard, and many of both armies fell; but at length the Egyptians were routed.

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

13. Οἱ δὲ Αἰγύπτιοι ἐκ τῆς μάχης ὡς ἐτράποντο, ἐφευγον οὐδενὶ κόσμῳ· κατειληθέντων δὲ ἐς Μέμφι, ἔπεμπτε ἀνὰ ποταμὸν Καμβύσης νέα Μυτιληναίην κηρύκα ἄγουσαν ἄνδρα Πέρσην, ἐς ὀμολογίην προκαλεόμενοι Αἰγυπτίους. οὐ δὲ ἑπείτε τὴν νέα εἶδον ἐσελθοῦσαν ἐς τὴν Μέμφι, ἐκχυθέντες ἄλεες ἐκ τοῦ τείχους τὴν τε νέα διέφθειραν καὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας κρεουργηδὸν διασπάσαντες ἐφόρεοι ἐς τὸ τείχος. καὶ Αἰγύπτιοι μὲν μετὰ τοῦτο πολιορκεύμενοι χρόνῳ παρέστησαν, οὐ δὲ προσεχέες Λίβνες δεῖσαντες τὰ περὶ τὴν Αἰγυπτον γεγονότα παρέδοσαν σφέας αὐτοὺς ἁμαχητὶ καὶ φόρον τε ἐτάξαντο καὶ δῶρα ἔπεμπτον. ὡς δὲ Κυρηναῖοι καὶ Βαρκαίοι, δείσαντες ὀμοίως καὶ οἱ Λίβνες, τοιαύτα ἐποίησαν. Καμβύσης δὲ τὰ μὲν παρὰ Λιβύων ἔλθοντα δῶρα φιλοφρόνως ἐδέξατο· τὰ δὲ παρὰ Κυρηναίων ἀπικόμενα μεμφθεῖς, ὡς ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ, ὅτι ἦν ὀλίγα· ἔπεμψαν γὰρ δὴ πεντακοσίας μνέας ἀργυρῷ οἱ Κυρηναῖοι· ταύτας δρασσόμενοι αὐτοχειρίᾳ διεσπείρε τῇ στρατηγῷ.

14. Ημέρη δὲ δεκάτη ἀπ' ἢς παρέλαβε τὸ τείχος τὸ ἐν Μέμφι Καμβύσης, κατίσας ἐς τὸ προάστειον ἐπὶ λύμη τῶν βασιλέα τῶν Αἰγυπτίων Ψαμμήνητον, βασιλεύσαντα μῆνας ἐξ, τοῦτον κατίσας σὺν ἄλλοις Αἰγυπτίοις διεπειράτο αὐτοῦ τῆς ψυχῆς ποιέων τοιάδε· στείλας αὐτοῦ τὴν θυγατέρα ἐσθήτη δουλήγη ἐξέπεμπτε ἐπ' ὕδωρ ἔχουσαν υδρήμιον, συνέπεμπε δὲ καὶ ἄλλας παρθένους ἀπολέξας ἄνδρῶν τῶν πρώτων, ὀμοίως
too the skulls of those Persians at Papremis who were slain with Darius' son Achaemenes by Inaros the Libyan, and they were like the others.

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

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

ἐσταλμένας τῇ τοῦ βασιλέος. ὡς δὲ βοη τε καὶ κλαυθμῷ παρῆσαν αἱ παρθένοι παρὰ τοὺς πατέρας, οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι πάντες ἀντεβόων τε καὶ ἀντέκλαιον ὀρόντες τὰ τέκνα κεκακωμένα, ὁ δὲ Ψαμμήνιτος προίδων καὶ μαθῶν ἐκυψε ἐς τὴν γῆν. παρελθοῦσεων δὲ τῶν ὕδροφόρων, δεύτερα οἱ τὸν παῖδα ἐπεμπε μετ' ἄλλων Αἰγυπτίων δισ-χελών τὴν αὐτὴν ἡλικίην ἔχοντων, τοὺς τε αὐχένας κάλω δεδεμένους καὶ τὰ στόματα ἐγκε-χαλινωμένους. ἤγοντο δὲ ποιήν τίσοντες Μυτι-ληναίων τοῖς ἐν Μέμφι ἀπολομένοισι σὺν τῇ νη. ταῦτα γὰρ ἐδίκασαν οἱ βασιλῆισι δικασταί, ὑπὲρ ἀνδρός ἐκάστου δέκα Αἰγυπτίων τῶν πρῶτων αὐτάπολλυσθαί. ο δὲ ἰδὼν παρεξίόντας καὶ μαθῶν τὸν παῖδα ἤγεομενον ἔπι θάνατον, τῶν ἄλλων Αἰγυπτίων τῶν περικατημένων αὐτὸν κλαιόντων καὶ δεινὰ ποιεύστων, τῶντὸ ἐποίησε τὸ καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ θυγατρί. παρελθόντων δὲ καὶ τούτων, συνήνεικε ὅστε τῶν συμποτέων οἱ ἄνδρα ἀπηλικέστεροι, ἐκπεπτωκότα ἐκ τῶν ἐοντων ἔχοντα τε οὐδὲν εἰ μὴ ὅσα πτωχός καὶ προσαίτεοντα τῇ στρατιᾷ, παρείναι Ψαμμήνιτόν τε τὸν Ἀμάσιος καὶ τοὺς ἐν τῷ προαστείῳ κατημένους Αἰγυπτίων. ο δὲ Ψαμμήνιτος ὡς εἶδε, ἀνακλαύσας μέγα καὶ καλέ-σας ὀνομαστὶ τὸν ἐταίρον ἐπιλήξατο τῇ κεφαλῇ. ἦσαν δ' ἄρα αὐτῶν φύλακοι, οἱ τὸ ποιεύμενον πὰν εἰς ἐκεῖνον ἐπὶ ἐκάστῃ ἐξόδῳ Καμβύσην ἐσήμαινον. θωμάσας δὲ ὁ Καμβύσης τὰ ποιεύμενα, πέμψας ἀγγελον εἰρώτα αὐτὸν λέγων τάδε. "Debeσtótiphs σε Καμβύσης, Ψαμμήνιτε, εἰρωτά δι' ὁ τι δὴ τὴν μὲν θυγατέρα ὅρεων κεκακωμένην καὶ τὸν παῖδα ἐπὶ θάνατον στείχοντα οὔτε ἀνέβωσας οὔτε ἀπε-
the families of the chief men. So when the damsels came before their fathers crying and lamenting, all the rest answered with like cries and weeping, seeing their children's evil case; but Psammenitus, having already seen and learnt all, bowed himself to the ground. When the water-carriers had passed by, Cambyses next made Psammenitus' son to pass him with two thousand Egyptians of like age besides, all with ropes bound round their necks and bits in their mouths; who were led forth to make atonement for those Mytilenaeans who had perished with their ship at Memphis; for such was the judgment of the royal judges, that every man's death be paid for by the slaying of ten noble Egyptians. When Psammenitus saw them pass by and perceived that his son was led out to die, and all the Egyptians who sat with him wept and showed their affliction, he did as he had done at the sight of his daughter. When these too had gone by, it chanced that there was one of his boon companions, a man past his prime, that had lost all his possessions, and had but what a poor man might have, and begged of the army; this man now passed before Psammenitus son of Amasis and the Egyptians who sat in the outer part of the city. When Psammenitus saw him, he broke into loud weeping, smiting his head and calling on his companion by name. Now there were men set to watch Psammenitus, who told Cambyses all that he did when any came into his sight. Marvelling at what the king did, Cambyses made this inquiry of him by a messenger: "Psammenitus, Cambyses my master asks of you why, seeing your daughter mishandled and your son going to his death, you neither cried

15. Τὸν μὲν ὅτι παῖδα εὐροὶ αὐτοῦ οἱ μετιόντες οὐκέτι περεόντα ἄλλα πρῶ: ον κατακοπέντα, αὐτοῦ δὲ Ψαμμήνυτον ἀναστήσατε ἦγον παρὰ Καμ- βύσαι: ἐνθα τοῦ λοιποῦ διαιτάτο ἐχὼν οὐδὲν βίαιον. εἰ δὲ καὶ ἡπιοτήθη μὴ πολυπρηγμονέειν, ἀπέλαβε ἀν’ Ἀγνυπτοῦν ὡσ’ ἐπιτροπεύειν αὐτῆς, ἐπεὶ τιμᾶν ἐώθαι Πέρσαι τῶν βασιλέων τοὺς παῖδας: τῶν, εἰ καὶ σφέων ἀπεστέωσι, ὡμον τοῖς γε παισὶ αὐτῶν ἀποδιδοῦσι τὴν ἀρχήν. πολλοὶ δὲ νῦν καὶ ἄλλοις οὕστε σταθμὸς ασθαὶ ὁτι τούτο οὕτω νενομίκασι ποιεῖν, ἐν δὲ καὶ τῷ τε Ἰνάρῳ παῖδι Ἁθανύρα, ὃς ἀπέλαβε τὴν ὁ ὁ πατὴρ εἴχε ἀρχήν, καὶ τῷ Ἀμυρταίον Πανοίρι: καὶ γὰρ οὕτως ἀπέ- λαβε τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς ἀρχήν. καίτοι Ἰνάρῳ γε καὶ Ἀμυρταίου οὐδαμοὶ καὶ Πέρσας κακὰ πλέω

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

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

έργασαντο. νῦν δὲ μηχανῶμενος κακὰ ὁ Ψαμ-
μῆνιτος ἐλαβε τὸν μισθὸν· ἀπιστᾶς γὰρ Αἴγυπ-
tῖους ἦλω· ἔπειτε δὲ ἑπάμιστος ἐγένετο ὑπὸ Καμ-
βύσεω, αἴμα ταύρου πιὸν ὑπέθανε παραχρῆμα. ὦτω δὴ οὗτος ἐτελεύτησε.

16. Καμβύσης δὲ ἐκ Μέμφιος ἀπίκετο ἐς Σάιν
πόλιν, βουλόμενος ποιῆσαι τὰ δὴ καὶ ἐποίησε.
ἔπειτε γὰρ ἐσῆλθε ἐς ταῦτα Ἀμάσιος οἶκια, ἀυτῖκα ἐκέλευσε ἐκ τῆς ταφῆς τῶν Ἀμάσιος νέκνων
ἐκφέρειν ἔξω. ὡς δὲ ταύτα ἐπιτελέα ἐγένετο, μα-
στιγοῦν ἐκέλευε καὶ τὰς τρίχας ἀποτίλλειν καὶ
κεντοῦν τε καὶ τάλλα πάντα λυμαίνεσθαι. ἔπειτε
dὲ καὶ ταύτα ἐκαμὸν ποιεῦντες (ὁ γὰρ δὴ νεκρὸς
ἐπὶ τεταρχευμένος ἀντεῖχε τε καὶ οὐδὲν διεχέτο),
ἐκέλευσε μιν ὁ Καμβύσης κατακαύσαι, ἐντελλό-
μενος οὐκ ὅσια. Πέρσαι γὰρ θεοὺς νομίζουσι εἶναι
πῦρ. τὸ δὲν κατακαίειν γε τοὺς νεκροὺς οὐδαμῶς
ἐν νόμῳ οὐδετέροισι ἐστί, Πέρσησι μὲν δὶ ὁ περ
εἰρηται, θεὸν οὐ δίκαιον εἶναι λέγοντες νέμειν
νεκρὸν ἄνθρωπον. Αἴγυπτῖοι δὲ νενόμισται πῦρ
θηρόν εἶναι ἐμψυχον, πάντα δὲ αὐτὸ κατεσθίειν
tὰ περ ἃν λάβῃ, πληθὲν δὲ αὐτὸ τῆς βορῆς συν-
αποθνῄσκειν τῷ κατεσθομένῳ. οὐκών θηρίουσι
νόμος οὐδαμῶς σφὶ ἐστὶ τὸν νέκνων διδόναι, καὶ
dιὰ ταύτα ταριχεύσουσι, ἵνα μὴ κεῖμενος ὑπὸ
evλέων καταβρωθῇ. οὐτω οὐδετέροισι νομισόμενα
ἐνετέλλετο ποιεῖν ὁ Καμβύσης. ὡς μὲντοι Αἰ-
γυπτῖοι λέγουσι, οὐκ Ἀμάσις ἤν ὁ ταύτα παθὼν,
ἀλλὰ ἄλλος τὸς τῶν Αἴγυπτῶν ἔχων τὴν αὐτὴν
ἡλικίαν Ἀμάσι, τῷ λυμαίνομενοι Πέρσαι ἐδόκεον
Ἀμάσι λυμαίνεσθαι. λέγουσι γὰρ ὡς πυθόμενος
ἐκ μαντηίου ὁ Ἀμάσις τὰ περὶ ἐωτὸν ἀποθανόντα

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

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

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

2 The blood was supposed to coagulate and choke the drinker. (How and Wells, ad loc.)
μέλλοντα γίνεσθαι, οὕτω δὴ ἀκεόμενος τὰ ἐπιφερόμενα τὸν μὲν ἀνθρωπον τούτον τὸν μαστιγωθέντα ἀποδιδομένα ἔθαψε ἐπὶ τῇ στῇ θύρῃ ἐντὸς τῆς ἑωυτοῦ θήκης, ἑωυτὸν δὲ ἐνετείλατο τῷ παϊδὶ ἐν μυχῷ τῆς θήκης ὡς μάλιστα θείναι. αἱ μὲν τινὶ ἐκ τοῦ Ἀμάσιος ἐντόλαι αὐταί αἱ ἐς τὴν ταφὴν τε καὶ τὸν ἀνθρωπὸν ἐχούσαι οὐ μοι δοκεόνσι ἄρχῃν γενέσθαι, ἀλλὰς δ' αὐτὰ Αἰγύπτιοι σεμνοῦν.

17. Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ὁ Καμβύσης ἐβουλεύσατο τριφασίας στρατηγίας, ἐπὶ τε Καρχηδόνιος καὶ ἐπὶ Ἀμμωνίους καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς μακροβίους Αἰθίοπας, οἰκημένους δὲ Αἰβύθιος ἐπὶ τῇ νοτίῃ θαλάσσῃ βουλευομένῳ δὲ οἱ ἐδοξεὶ ἐπὶ μὲν Καρχηδόνιος τὸν ναυτικὸν στρατὸν ἀποστέλλειν, ἐπὶ δὲ Ἀμμωνίους τοῦ πεζοῦ ἀποκρίναντα, ἐπὶ δὲ τοὺς Αἰθίοπας κατόπτας πρῶτον, ὄψομένους τε τὴν ἐν τούτοις τοῖς Αἰθίοψι λεγομένην εἶναι ἥλιον τράπεζαν εἰ ἐστὶ ἀληθέως, καὶ πρὸς ταύτης τὰ ἄλλα κατοψομένους, δῶρα δὲ τῷ λόγῳ φέροντας τὸ δασὶλεῖ αὐτῶν.

18. Ἡ δὲ τράπεζα τοῦ ἥλιου τοιῇδε τις λέγεται εἶναι, λειμῶν ἐστὶ ἐν τῷ προαστεῖῳ ἐπίπλεος κρεών ἐφθῶν πάντων τῶν τετραπόδων, ἐς τὸν τὰς μὲν νύκτας ἐπιτηδεύοντας τιθέναι τὰ κρέα τοὺς ἐν τέλει ἐκάστοτε ἐόντας τῶν ἀστῶν, τὰς δὲ ἡμέρας δαίνυσθαι προσίστατο τοῦ βουλόμενου. φάναι δὲ τοὺς ἐπιχωρίους ταῦτα τὴν γην αὐτὴν ἀναδιδόναι ἐκάστοτε.

19. Ἡ μὲν δὴ τράπεζα τοῦ ἥλιου καλεομένη λέγεται εἶναι τοιῇδε. Καμβύση δὲ ὡς ἐδοξεὶ πέμπειν τοὺς κατασκόπους, αὐτίκα μετεπέμπετο ἐξ Ἐλεφαντίνης πόλιος τῶν Ἰχθυοφάγων ἀνδρῶν
done to him after his death, and so to avert this
doom buried this man, him that was scourged, at his
death by the door within his own vault, and com-
mmanded his son that he himself should be laid in
the farthest corner of the vault. I think that these
commands of Amasis, respecting the burial-place and
the man, were never given at all, and that the
Egyptians but please themselves with a lying tale.

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

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

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

1 Carthaginians. 2 cp. beginning of ch. 23.
3 This story may be an indication of offerings made to the
dead, or of a region of great fertility. In Homer the gods
are fabled to feast with the Ethiopians.
τούς ἐπισταμένους τὴν Ἀιθιοπίδα γλῶσσαν. ἐν ὦ δὲ τούτους μετήσαν, ἐν τούτῳ ἐκέλευε ἐπὶ τὴν Καρχηδόνα πλέειν τῶν ναυτικῶν στρατῶν. Φοινίκες δὲ οὐκ ἐφάσαν ποιήσειν ταύτα· ὁρκίοις γὰρ μεγάλοις ἐνδεδέσθαι, καὶ οὐκ ἂν ποιεῖσθαι ὅσια ἐπὶ τοὺς παῖδας τοὺς ἐωτῶν στρατεύομενοι. Φοινίκων δὲ οὐ βουλομένων οἱ λοιποὶ οὐκ ἀξιόμαχοι ἐγίνοντο. Καρχηδόνιοι μὲν ὑπὸ ὁυτῶ δούλοισύνην διέφυγον πρὸς Περσέων. Καμβύσης γὰρ βίην οὐκ ἐδικαίων προσφέρειν Φοινίξι, ὅτι σφέας τε αὐτοῦς ἐδεδώκεσαν Πέρσησι καὶ πᾶς ἐκ Φοινίκων ἥρτητο ὁ ναυτικὸς στρατός. δόντες δὲ καὶ Κύπριοι σφέας αὐτοὺς Πέρσησι ἐστρατεύοντο ἐπὶ Ἀγγυστον.

20. Ἐπείτη δὲ τῷ Καμβύσῃ ἐκ τῆς Ἑλεφαν-τίνης ἀπίκοντο οἱ Ἰχθυοφάγοι, ἐπεμπὲ αὐτοὺς ἐς τοὺς Ἀιθιοπᾶς ἐντειλάμενος τὰ λέγειν χρῆν, καὶ δῶρα φέροντας πορφύρεον τε εἴμα καὶ χρύσεον στρεπτὸν περιαυχέιον καὶ θέλια καὶ μῦρον ἀλάβαστρον καὶ φοινικήν οἶνον κάδου. οἱ δὲ Ἀιθιόπες οὕτω, ἐς τούς ἀπέπεμπε ὁ Καμβύσης, λέγοντας ἐναὶ μέγιστοι καὶ κάλλιστοι ἀνθρώπων πάντων. νόμοισι δὲ καὶ ἀλλοις χράσθαι αὐτοὺς κεχωρισμένοις τῶν ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων καὶ ὅτι καὶ κατὰ τὴν βασιλικὴν τουλώδει τοῦ ἄν τῶν ἁστῶν κρίνωσι μέγιστον τε εἶναι καὶ κατὰ τὸ μέγαθος ἔχειν τὴν ἰσχὺν, τοῦτον ἀξιόθυσι βασιλεύειν.

21. Ἐς τούτους δὴ ὅτι ὅν τοὺς ἀνδρὰς ὡς ἀπίκοντο οἱ Ἰχθυοφάγοι, διδόντες τὰ δῶρα τῷ βασιλεὶ αὐτῶν ἐλεγον τάδε. "Βασιλεὺς ὁ Περσέων Καμ-βύσης, βουλόμενος φίλος καὶ ξεινός τοι γενέσθαι, ἥμεας τε ἀπέπεμψε ἐς λόγους τοι ἐλθεῖν κελεύων,
the Ethiopian language. While they were seeking these men, he bade his fleet sail against Carchedon. But the Phoenicians would not consent; for they were bound, they said, by a strict treaty, and could not righteously attack their own sons; and the Phoenicians being unwilling, the rest were of no account as fighters. Thus the Carchedonians escaped being enslaved by the Persians; for Cambyses would not use force with the Phoenicians, seeing that they had willingly given their help to the Persians, and the whole fleet drew its strength from them. The Cyprians too had come of their own accord to aid the Persians against Egypt.

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

21. These were the men to whom the Fish-eaters came, offering gifts and delivering this message to their king: "Cambyses king of Persia, desiring to be your friend and guest, sends us with command to address ourselves to you; and he offers you such
καὶ δῶρα ταῦτα τοι καὶ αὐτὸς μάλιστα ἦδεται χρεώμενος." ὦ δὲ Αἰθίοπας μαθὼν ὅτι κατόπται ἥκουεν, λέγει πρὸς αὐτοὺς τοιάδε. "Οὔτε ὁ Περσέων βασιλεὺς δῶρα ὑμέας ἐπεμψε φέροντας προτιμῶν πολλοῦ ἐμοὶ ξείνον γενέσθαι, οὐτὲ ὑμεῖς λέγετε ἀληθεία (ἡκετε γὰρ κατόπται τῆς ἐμῆς ἀρχῆς), οὔτε ἔκεινος ἀνήρ ἐστι δίκαιος. εἰ γὰρ ἦν δίκαιος, οὔτ' ἂν ἐπεθύμησε χώρης ἀλλης ἢ τῆς ἑωτοῦ, οὔτ' ἂν ἐς δουλούσῃν ἀνθρώπους ἦγε ὑπ' ὅν μηδὲν ἦδίκηται. νῦν δὲ αὐτῶ τὸξον τόδε διδόντες τάδε ἐπεα λέγετε. 'Βασιλεὺς ὁ Αἰθίοπων συμβουλεύει τῷ Περσέων βασιλεί, ἐπειδὰν οὖν ἐυπτετῶς ἐλκώσι τὰ τὸξα Πέρσαι ἐόντα μεγάδει τοσαῦτα, τότε ἐπ' Αἰθίους τοὺς μακροβίους πλήθει ὑπερβαλλόμενον στρατεύεσθαι: μέχρι δὲ τούτου θεοίσι εἰδέναι χάριν, οὐ οὔκ ἐπὶ νόον τράπουσι Αἰθίοπων παισὶ γῆν ἀλλην προσκἐτασθαὶ τῇ ἑωτοῦ." 

22. Ταῦτα δὲ εἴπας καὶ ἀνείς τὸ τόξον παρέδωκε τοις ἥκουσι. λαβὼν δὲ τὸ εἴμα τὸ πορφύρεον εἰρῶτα ὁ τι εἶναι καὶ ὅκως πεποιημέναιν εἰπόντων δὲ τῶν Ἰχθυοφάγων τὴν ἀληθείαν περι τῆς πορφύρης καὶ τῆς βαφῆς, δολεροὺς μὲν τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἐφι εἶναι, δολερὰ δὲ αὐτῶν τὰ εἴματα. δεύτερα δὲ τὸν χρυσὸν εἰρῶτα τῶν στρετῶν τὸν περιαυχέων καὶ τὰ φέλια· ἐξηγεομένων δὲ τῶν Ἰχθυοφάγων τὸν κόσμον αὐτοῦ, γελάσας ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ νομίζας εἶναι σφέα πέδας εἴπε ώς παρ' ἑωτουτοίς εἰσὶ ρωμαλεώτεραι τοις εἴμασιν. τρίτον δὲ εἰρῶτα τὸ μῦρον· εἰπόντων δὲ τῆς ποιήσιος πέρι καὶ ἀλείψιος, τὸν αὐτὸν λόγον τὸν καὶ περὶ τοῦ εἴματος εἴπῃ. ώς δὲ ἐς τὸν οἴνον ἀπίκετο καὶ
gifts as he himself chiefly delights to use.” But the Ethiopian, perceiving that they had come as spies, spoke thus to them: “It is not because he sets great store by my friendship that the Persian King sends you with gifts, nor do you speak the truth (for you have come to spy out my dominions), nor is your king a righteous man; for were he such, he would not have coveted any country other than his own, nor would he now try to enslave men who have done him no wrong. Now, give him this bow, and this message: ‘The King of the Ethiopians counsels the King of the Persians, when the Persians can draw a bow of this greatness as easily as I do, then to bring overwhelming odds to attack the long-lived Ethiopians; but till then, to thank the gods who put it not in the minds of the sons of the Ethiopians to win more territory than they have.’”

22. So speaking he unstrung the bow and gave it to the men who had come. Then, taking the purple cloak, he asked what it was and how it was made; and when the Fish-eaters told him the truth about the purple and the way of dyeing, he said that both the men and their garments were full of guile. Next he inquired about the twisted gold necklace and the bracelets; and when the Fish-eaters told him how they were made, the king smiled, and, thinking them to be fetters, said: “We have stronger chains than these.” Thirdly he inquired about the incense; and when they told him of the making and the applying of it, he made the same reply as about the cloak. But when he came to the wine and asked about the
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ἐπώθετο αὐτοῦ τὴν ποίησιν, ὑπερήσθεις τῷ πόματι ἐπείρετο ὃ τι τε σινέεται ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ χρόνον ὁκόσον μακρότατον ἀνήρ Πέρσης ζώει. οὐ δὲ σινέσθαι μὲν τὸν ἀρτον ἐπον, ἐξηγησάμενοι τῶν πυρῶν τὴν φύσιν, ὑγδώκοντα δὲ ἔτεα ζώης πληρωμα ἄνδρὶ μακρότατον προκέεσθαι. πρὸς ταῦτα ὁ Αἰθίοψ ἐφη οὐδεὶς θωμάζειν εἰ σινέσθαι κόπρου ἔτεα ὅλγα ζώουσιν οὐδὲ γὰρ ἀν τοσάῦτα δύνασθαι ζώειν σφέας, εἰ μὴ τὸ πόματι ἀνέβερον, φράζων τοῖς ἱ'χθυοφάγουσι τὸν οἶνον τοῦτο γὰρ ἐσώτους ὑπὸ Περσέων ἐσοῦσθαι.

23. Ἀντειρομένων δὲ τὸν βασιλέα τῶν Ἰχθυοφάγων τῆς ζώης καὶ διαίτης πέρι, ἔτεα μὲν ἐς εἰκοσι καὶ ἐκατὸν τοὺς πολλοὺς αὐτῶν ἀπικνεσθαὶ, ὑπερβάλλειν δὲ τινὰς καὶ ταῦτα, σίτησιν δὲ εἶναι κρέα τε ἐφθα καὶ πόμα γάλα. θῶμα δὲ ποιευμένων τῶν κατασκόπων περὶ τῶν ἐτεῶν, ἐπὶ κρήνης σφι ἡγήσασθαι, ἀπ' ἣς λοιμομενοι λυπαρωτεροὶ ἐγῖνοντο, κατὰ περ εἰ ἐλαῖον εὐηθυς εἶξειν δὲ ἀπ' αὐτῆς ὠς εἰ λῶν. ἀσθενέες δὲ τὸ ὕδωρ τῆς κρήνης ταύτης οὕτω δὴ τὶ ἐλεγον εἶναι οἱ κατασκοποὶ ὥστε μηδὲν οἶον τ' εἶναι ἐπι αὐτοῦ ἐπιπλέειν, μὴτε ξύλον µῆτε δῦνον ἐστὶ ἐλαφρότερα, ἀλλὰ πάντα σφέα χωρεῖν ἐς βυσσόν. τὸ δὲ ὕδωρ τοῦτο εἰ σφι ἐστὶ ἀληθέως οἶον τι λέγεται, διὰ τοῦτο ἂν εἶεν, τοῦτῳ τὰ πάντα χρεώμενοι, μακροβίοι. ἀπὸ τῆς κρήνης δὲ ἀπαλλασσόμενων, ἀγαγεὶν σφέας ἐς δεσμωτήριον ἀνδρῶν, ἐνθα τοὺς πάντας ἐν πέδησι χρυσέσχη δεδέσθαι. ἐστὶ δὲ ἐν τούτοις τοῖσι Αἰθίοψι πάντων ὁ χαλκὸς σπανιωτάτων καὶ τιμωτάτων. θεσάμενοι δὲ καὶ τὸ δεσμωτήριον, ἐθείσαντο καὶ τὴν τοῦ ἤλιου λεγομένην τράπεζαν.
making of it, he was vastly pleased with the draught, and asked further what food their king ate, and what was the greatest age to which a Persian lived. They told him their king ate bread, showing him how wheat grew; and said that the full age to which a man might hope to live was eighty years. Then said the Ethiopian, it was no wonder that their lives were so short, if they ate dung\(^1\); they would never attain even to that age were it not for the strengthening power of the draught,—whereby he signified to the Fish-eaters the wine,—for in this, he said, the Persians excelled the Ethiopians.

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

\(^1\) i.e. grain produced by the manured soil.
24. Μετὰ δὲ ταύτην τελευταίας ἔθεσαντο τὰς θήκας αὐτῶν, αἱ λέγονται σκευάζοντας ἐξ ὑέλου τρόπῳ τοιῷδε: ἔπεαν τὸν νεκρὸν ἱσχυμασάν, εἶτε δὴ κατὰ περ Ἀιγύπτιοι εἶτε ἄλλως καὶ, γυναῖκες ἀπαντῶ ὑπέρ τοῦ νυμφεῖου κοσμεύουσι, ἐξομοίουσι τὸ εἴδος ἐς τὸ δύνατον, ἔπειτα δὲ ὁι περιστάσας στήλην ἐξ υέλου πεποιημένην κοίλην· ἢ δὲ σφί πολλῇ καὶ ἑνεργῷς ὀρύσσεται. ἐν μέσῃ δὲ τῇ στήλῃ ἐνεών διαφαίνεται ὁ νέκυς, οὕτε ὁδυμήν οὐδεμίαν ἄχαριν παρεχόμενος οὕτε ἄλλο ἀεικές οὐδένι, καὶ ἔχει πάντα φανερὰ ὁμοίως αὐτῷ τῷ νέκυι. ἔνιαυτὸν μὲν δὴ ἐχουσὶ τὴν στήλην ἐν τοῖς οἰκίοισι οἱ μάλιστα προσηκούντες, πάντων ἀπαρχόμενοι καὶ θυσίας οἱ προσάγοντες· μετὰ δὲ ταύτα ἐκκομίσαντες ἠστάσει περὶ τὴν πόλιν.

25. Θεσάμενοι δὲ τὰ πάντα οἱ κατάσκοποι ἀπαλλάσσοντο ὑπόσω. ἀπαγγελλόμενον δὲ ταύτα τούτων, αὐτίκα οἱ Καμβύς οἱ δραγῆν ποιησάμενοι ἐστρατεύετο ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἀἰθίοπας, οὕτε παρασκευὴν σίτου οὐδεμίαν παραγγείλας, οὕτε λόγου ἐωτῷ δοὺς ὦτε ἐς τὰ ἔσχατα γῆς ἐμελλε στρατεύεσθαι· οἰα δὲ ἐμμανῆς τε ἐὼν καὶ οὐ φρενύρης, ὁς ἦκουν τῶν Ἰχθυοφάγων, ἐστρατεύετο, Ἐλλήνων μὲν τοὺς παρεόμενα αὐτοῦ τὰξας ὑπομένειν, τὸν δὲ πεζὸν πάντα ἀμα ἄγομενος. ἐπείτε δὲ στρατευόμενος ἐγένετο ἐν Θῆβῃς, ἀπέκρινε τοῦ στρατοῦ ὅς πέντε μυριάδας, καὶ τούτοισι μὲν ἐνετέλλετο Άμμωνίους ἐξανδραποδισάμενους τὸ χρηστήριον τὸ τοῦ Διὸς ἐμπρήσας, αὐτὸς δὲ τὸν λοιπὸν ἄγων στρατοῦ ἦς ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἀἰθίοπας. πρὶν δὲ τῆς ὀδοῦ τὸ πέμπτον μέρος διελήλυθέναι τῇ στρατιᾷ, αὐτίκα πάντα αὐτοὺς τὰ εἴχον σιτίων ἐχόμενα ἐπελευσόμεθα, μετὰ
24. Last after this they viewed the Ethiopian coffins; these are said to be made of porcelain, as I shall describe: they make the dead body to shrink, either as the Egyptians do or in some other way, then cover it with gypsum and paint it all as far as they may in the likeness of the living man; then they set it within a hollow pillar of porcelain, which they dig in abundance from the ground, and it is easily wrought; the body can be seen in the pillar through the porcelain, no evil stench nor aught unseemly proceeding from it, and showing clearly all its parts, as if it were the dead man himself. The nearest of kin keep the pillar in their house for a year, giving it of the firstfruits and offering it sacrifices; after which they bring the pillars out and set them round about the city.

25. Having viewed all, the spies departed back again. When they reported all this, Cambyses was angry, and marched forthwith against the Ethiopians, neither giving command for any provision of food nor considering that he was about to lead his army to the ends of the earth; and being not in his right mind but mad, he marched at once on hearing from the Fish-eaters, setting the Greeks who were with him to await him where they were, and taking with him all his land army. When he came in his march to Thebes, he parted about fifty thousand men from his army, and charged them to enslave the Ammonians and burn the oracle of Zeus; and he himself went on towards Ethiopia with the rest of his host. But before his army had accomplished the fifth part of their journey they had come to an end of all there was in the way of provision, and after the food was
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dè tā sītīa kai tā ὑποζύγια ἐπέλυπτε κατεσθιό-
μενα. εἰ μὲν νῦν μαθῶν ταῦτα ὁ Καμβύης
ἐγνωσιμάχες καὶ ἀπῆγγε ὁπίσω τῶν στρατῶν, ἐπὶ
τῇ ἄρκηθεν γενομένη ἀμαρτάδι ἢν ἄν ἀνὴρ σοφός:

νῦν δὲ οὐδένα λόγον ποιεύμενος ἦν ἕως τὸ

πρόσω. οἱ δὲ στρατιῶται ἔσω μὲν τι εἴχον ἐκ τῆς
γῆς λαμβάνειν, ποιηφαγέωντες διέξων, ἔπει δὲ ἐς

τὴν ψάμμον ἀπίκοντο, δεινὸν ἔργον αὐτῶν τινὲς

ἐργάσαντο. ἐκ δεκάδος γὰρ ἕνα σφέων αὐτῶν

ἀποκληρώσαντες κατέφαγον. πυθόμενος δὲ ταῦτα

ὁ Καμβύης, δεύσας τὴν ἀληθοφαγίην, ἀπεῖς τὸν

ἐπ’ Ἀλθίοπας στόλον ὁπίσω ἐπορεύετο καὶ ἀπικυνέ-

tαι ἐς Θηβαῖς πολλοὺς ἀπολέσας τοῦ στρατὸν;

ἐκ Θηβέων δὲ καταβὰς ἐς Μέμφιν τους Ἐλλήνας

ἀπῆκε ἀποπλέειν.

26. Ὁ μὲν ἐπ’ Ἀλθίοπας στόλος ὦτω ἑπρηξε::

οἱ δ’ αὐτῶν ἐπ’ Ἀμμωνίους ἀποσταλέσθητε στρα-

tεύσασθαι, ἔπειτε ὀρμηθέντες ἐκ τῶν Θηβέων ἐπο-

ρεύοντο ἐχοῦτε ἀγωγοὺς, ἀπεκόμενοι μὲν φανερὸν

εἰσὶ ἐς Ὀασιν πόλιν, τὴν ἐκουσὶ· ἐμὸν Σάμιοι τῆς

Αἰσχρωνιῆς φυλῆς λεγόμενοι εἶναι, ἀπέχουσι δὲ

ἐπτά ἡμερῶν ὁδὸν ἀπὸ Θηβάν διὰ ψάμμον, ὀνο-

μαζέται δὲ ὁ χώρος οὕτως κατὰ Ἐλλήνων γλώσσαν

Μακάρων νῦσος. ἐς μὲν δὴ τούτων τοῦ χώρον

λέγεται ἀπικέσθαι τὸν στρατόν, τὸ ἐνθέτευν δὲ,

ὅτι μὴ αὐτῷ Ἀμμωνίοι καὶ οἱ τούτων ἀκούσαντες,

ἀλλοι οὐδένες οὐδὲν ἐχουσί εἰπεῖν περὶ αὐτῶν

οὔτε γὰρ ἐς τοὺς Ἀμμωνίους ἀπίκοντο οὕτε ὁπίσω

ἐνόστησαν. λέγεται δὲ κατὰ τάδε ὑπ’ αὐτῶν

Ἀμμωνίων ἐπειδὴ ἔκ τῆς Ὀασίος ταύτης ἕναι
diα τῆς ψάμμου ἐπὶ σφέας, γενέσθαι τε αὐτῶς

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

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

1 Oasis means simply a planted place; Herodotus makes it a proper name. What he means here is the “Great oasis” of Khargeh, about seven days’ journey from Thebes, as he says.
Άριστον αἱρεομένοις αὐτοῖς ἐπιπνεύσαι νότον μέγαν τε καὶ ἔξαίσιον, φορέωτα δὲ θίνας τῆς ψάμμου καταχώσαι σφέας, καὶ τρόπῳ τοιούτῳ ἀφαινθήναι. Αἱ μμὼνιοι μὲν οὕτω λέγουσι γενέσθαι περὶ τῆς στρατιῆς ταύτης.

27. Ἀπογιμένου δὲ Καμβύσεως ἔς Μέμφιν ἐφάνη Αἰγυπτίοισι ὁ Ἀπις, τὸν Ἐλληνα Ἑσαφον καλέοντος ἐπιφαίνεος δὲ τούτου γενομένου αὐτίκα οἱ Αἰγυπτίοι ἐἵματα ἐφόρεον τὰ κάλλιστα καὶ ἦσαν ἐν θαλήσι. ἵδον δὲ ταῦτα τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους ποιεόντας ὁ Καμβύσης, πάγχυ σφέας καταδόξας ἐωσοῦ κακῶς πρήξαντος χαρμόσυναι ταῦτα ποιεῖν, ἐκάλεε τοὺς ἐπιτρόπους τῆς Μέμφιος, ἀπικομένους δὲ ἐς ὤψιν εὔρετο ὁ τι πρῶτον μὲν ἐόντος αὐτοῦ ἐν Μέμφι ἐποίειν τοιοῦτον οὐδὲν Αἰγυπτίου, τότε δὲ ἐπεὶ αὐτὸς παρεῖν τῆς στρατιῆς πλῆθος τι ἀποβαλὼν. οὐ δὲ ἐφραζόν ὡς σφὶ θεὸς εἰη γανεὶς διὰ χρόνου πολλοῦ ἑωθῶς ἐπιφαῖνεται, καὶ ὡς ἐπελευ φαυὴ τότε πάντες Αἰγυπτίοι κεχαρῆκότες ὀρτάζοιεν. ταῦτα ἀκούσας ὁ Καμβύσης ἐφη ψεύδεσθαι σφέας καὶ ὡς ψευδομένους θανάτῳ ἐξήιμοι.

28. Ἀποκτείνας δὲ τούτους δεύτερα τοὺς ἱρέας ἐκάλεε ἐς ὤψιν λεγόντων δὲ κατὰ ταῦτα τῶν ἱρέων, οὐ λύσειν ἐφη αὐτὸν εἰ θεὸς τις χειροῆθης ἀπιγμένος εἰη Αἰγυπτίοις. τοσαῦτα δὲ εἰπᾶς ἀπάγειν ἐκέλευε τὸν ὁ Ἀπις τοὺς ἱρέας. οὐ μὲν δὴ μετῆισαν ἄξονες. ὁ δὲ ὁ Ἀπις οὕτος ὁ Ἑσαφος γίνεται μόσχος ἐκ βοὸς, ἡτὶς οὐκέτι οὐὴ τε γίνεται ἐς μαστέρα ἄλλου βάλλεσθαι γόνοι. Αἰγυπτίοι δὲ λέγουσι σέλας ἐπὶ τὴν βοῦν ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ κατίσχειν, καὶ μιν ἐκ τούτου τίκτειν τὸν ὁ Ἀπις.
breakfasting a great and violent south wind arose, which buried them in the masses of sand which it bore; and so they disappeared from sight. Such is the Ammonian tale about this army.

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

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

\(^1\) cp. ii. 38.
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29. Ὄς δὲ ἐγγαγον τὸν Ἀτιν οἱ ἱρέες, ὁ Καμβύ-
σης, οἷς ἔδω ὑπομαργότερος, σπασάμενος τὸ ἐγχει-
ρίδιον, θέλων τύψαι τὴν γαστέρα τοῦ Ἀτιος παῖει
τὸν μηρόν: γελάσας δὲ εἶπε πρὸς τοὺς ἱρέας ὁ Ἡ-
κακὰ κεφάλαί, ποιοὺτοι θεοὶ γίνονται, ἐναιμοὶ τε καὶ
σαρκώδεις καὶ ἐπιαίστους σιδηρίων; ἄξιοι μὲν
γε Αἰγυπτίων οὔτος γε ὁ θεὸς, ἀτὰρ τοι ὑμεῖς γε
οὐ χαίροντες γέλωτα ἐμὲ θήσεσθε ὁ ταῦτα εἶπας
ἐνετείλατο τοῖς ταῦτα πρήσουντι τοὺς μὲν ἱρέας
ἀπομαστίγωσαι, Αἰγυπτίων δὲ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν
ἀν λάβωσι ορτάξοντα κτείνειν. ὅρτη μὲν ὑ πεῖ ἴο
λυτο Αἰγυπτίους, οἱ δὲ ἱρέες ἔδικαιεύτω, ὁ δὲ
Ἀτις πεπληγμένος τὸν μηρὸν ἐφθίνει ἐν τῷ ἱρῷ
κατακείμενος. καὶ τὸν μὲν τελευτήσαντα ἐκ τοῦ
τρώματος ἔθαψαν οἱ ἱρέες λάθρη Καμβύσεω.

30. Καμβύσης δὲ, ὡς λέγουσι Αἰγύπτιοι,
αὐτίκα διὰ τοῦτο τὸ ἀδίκημα ἐμάνη, ἐὼν οὐδὲ
πρὸτερον φρενῆρης. καὶ πρόδα μὲν τῶν κακῶν
ἐξεργάσατο τόν ἠδελφόν Σμέρδιν ἐντα πατρὸς
καὶ μητρὸς τῆς αὐτῆς, τὸν ἀπεπεμψε ἐς Πέρσας
φθόνῳ ἐς Αἰγύπτου, ὅτι τὸ τόξον μοῦνος
Περσέων ὅσον τε ἐπὶ δύο δακτύλους εὑρύσε, τὸ
παρὰ τοῦ Ἀιθιόπος ἤμεικαν οἱ Ἰχθυοφάγοι, τῶν
dὲ ἄλλων Περσέων οὐδεὶς οἶδα τε ἐγένετο. ἀπο-
χομένων ὅν ἐς Πέρσας τοῦ Σμέρδιος ὁ ποι ἐιδὲ ὁ
Καμβύσης ἐν τῷ ύπνῷ τοιὴν ἐδοξή ὀἱ ἄγγελον
ἐλθόντα ἐκ Περσέων ἄγγελλειν ὡς ἐν τῷ θρόνῳ

38
Apis. The marks of this calf called Apis are these: he is black, and has on his forehead a three-cornered white spot, and the likeness of an eagle on his back; the hairs of the tail are double, and there is a knot under the tongue.

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

30. By reason of this wrongful deed, as the Egyptians say, Cambyses' former want of sense turned straightway to madness. His first evil act was to make away with his full brother Smerdis, whom he had sent away from Egypt to Persia out of jealousy, because Smerdis alone could draw the bow brought from the Ethiopian by the Fish-eaters as far as two fingerbreadths; but no other Persian could draw it. Smerdis having gone to Persia, Cambyses saw in a dream a vision, whereby it seemed to him that a messenger came from Persia
τῷ Βασιλικῷ ἵζομενος Σμέρδις τῇ κεφαλῇ τοῦ ούρανοῦ ψαύσειε. πρὸς ὁν ταῦτα δείσας περὶ ἐωντοῦ μὴ μὴν ἀποκτείνας ο ἄδελφεός ἀρχή, πέμπει Πρηξάπεα ἐς Πέρσας, ὡς ὁ οἱ ἀνὴρ Περσέων πιστότατος, ἀποκτείνουται μὴν. ὦ δὲ ἀναβᾶς ἐς Σοῦσα ἀπεκτείνει Σμέρδις, οἱ μὲν λέγονσι ἐπ' ἄγρην ἔξαγαγόντα, οἱ δὲ ἐς τὴν Ἔρυθρὴν θάλασσαν προ- αγαγόντα καταποντῶσαι.

31. Πρῶτον μὲν δὴ λέγονσι Καμβύση τῶν κακῶν ἄρξαι τοῦτο. δεύτερα δὲ ἐξεργάσατο τὴν ἄδελφον ἐσπομένην οἱ ὡς Ἀἰγυπτοῦ, τῇ καὶ συνοίκει καὶ ὡς οἱ ἀπ' ἄμφοτέρων ἄδελφες, ἐγνημὲν δὲ αὐτὴν ὁδε- ούδαμῶς γὰρ ἐώθεσαν πρότερον τῇ σύ ἄδελφης μετα- συνοικεῖειν Πέρσαι. ἤρασθή μῆς τῶν ἄδελφῶν Καμβύσης, καὶ ἔπειτα βουλόμενος αὐτὴν γῆμαι, ὅτι οὐκ ἐωθότα ἐπενώει ποιήσειν, εἴρετο καλέσας τοὺς βασιλείας δικαστὰς εἰ τὶς ἑστὶ κελεύων νόμος τῶν βουλόμενον ἄδελφης συνοικεῖειν. οἱ δὲ βασιλείαι δικασταὶ κεκριμένοι ἀνδρεῖς γίνονται Περσέων, ἐς οὐ ἀποθάνωσι η σφὶ παρευρεθῆ τι ἀδίκον, μέχρι τοῦτο. οὕτω δὲ τοῦτο Πέρσης μία δικαίαν δικάξουσι καὶ ἐξηγηταὶ τῶν πατρίων θεσμῶν γίνονται, καὶ πάντα ἐς τοῦτο ἄνακεται. ἐφο- μένου οὖν τοῦ Καμβύσης, ὑπεκρίνως αὐτῷ ὁ πατέρας τοῦ καὶ δίκαια καὶ ἀσφαλεῖα, φάμενοι νόμον οὐδένα ἐξενίσκεσιν ὅς κελεύει ἄδελφης συνοικεῖειν ἄδελ- φεον, ἄλλον μὲν οὖν ἐξευρηκέναι νόμον, τῷ βασιλεύ- οντι Περσέων ἐξείναι ποιεῖν τὸ ἄν βουληθαι. οὕτω οὐτε τὸν νόμον ἔλυσαν δείσαντες Καμβύσεα, ἵνα τε μὴ αὐτοὶ ἀπόλονται τὸν νόμον περιστελ- λοντες, παρεξεύρον ἄλλον νόμον σύμμαχον τῷ
and told him that Smerdis had sat on the royal throne with his head reaching to heaven. Fearing therefore for himself, lest his brother might slay him and so be king, he sent to Persia Prexaspes, the trustiest of his Persians, to kill Smerdis. Prexaspes went up to Susa and so did; some say that he took Smerdis out a-hunting, others that he brought him to the Red Sea and there drowned him.

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

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

2 A standing body of seven; cp. Book of Esther, i. 14.
θέλοντι γαμέειν ἀδελφεῖς. τότε μὲν δὴ ὁ Καμβύσης ἐγκατεὶ ἀυτὸν καὶ ἐτοιμάσατο πολλὰν χρόνον ἐσχε ἀλλήν ἀδελφήν. τούτων δὲ διὰ τὴν νεωτέρην ἔπιστομενήν οἱ ἐπὶ Αἰγύπτου κτείνει.

32. Ἀμφὶ δὲ τῷ θανάτῳ αὐτῆς διέδος ὅσπερ περὶ Σμέρδιος λέγεται λόγος. Ἑλληνες μὲν λέγουσι Καμβύσεα συμβαλεῖν σκύμμον λέοντος σκύλακι κυνός, θεωρείειν δὲ καὶ τὴν γυναίκα ταύτην, νικώμενον δὲ τοῦ σκύλακος ἀδελφεῖν αὐτοῦ ἄλλον σκύλακα ἀπορρήξαντα τὸν δεσμὸν παραγενέσθαι οἱ, δύο δὲ γενομένους οὕτω δὴ τοὺς σκύλακας ἐπικρατήσας τοῦ σκύμμον. καὶ τῶν μὲν Καμβύσεα ἔδειασθαι θεώμενοι, τὴν δὲ παρημένην δακρύειν. Καμβύσεα δὲ μαθόντα τοῦτο ἐπειρέσθαι δι’ ὀ τι δακρύει, τὴν δὲ εἰπείν ὡς ἱδοῦσα τὸν σκύλακα τῷ ἀδελφῇ τιμωρήσαντα δακρύειε, μνησθείσα τε Σμέρδιος καὶ μαθοῦσα ὡς ἐκείνῳ ὁνομαῖς εἰς ὁ τιμωρήσων. Ἐλληνες μὲν δὴ διὰ τοῦτο τὸ ἔτος ψεύτι αὐτὴν ἀπολέσθαι ὑπὸ Καμβύσεως, Αἰγύπτιοι δὲ ὡς τραπέζῃ παρακατημένων λαβοῦσαν θρίαδα τὴν γυναίκα περιτίλαι καὶ ἐπανειρέσθαι τοῖς ἄνδρα κότεροι περιτετιλμένη ἡ θρίαδα δ’ ἤ δασέα εἰς καλλίων, καὶ τὸν φάναι δασέαν, τὴν δ’ εἰπεῖν “Ταύτῃ μὲντοι κοτὲ σὺ τὴν θρίαδα ἐμμήσαι τὸν Κύρου ὁικὸν ἀποψιλώσας.” τὸν δὲ θυμωθέντα ἐμπιστῆσαι αὐτῇ ἔχουσῃ ἐν γαστρί, καὶ μν ἐκτρώσασαν ἀποθανεῖν.

33. Ταῦτα μὲν ἐς τοὺς οἰκήσους ὁ Καμβύσης ἔξεμαν, εἶτε δὴ διὰ τὸν Ἀπιν εἶτε καὶ ἄλλως, οἷα πολλὰ ἐσθή ἀνθρώπους κακὰ καταλαμβάνειν καὶ γὰρ τινὰ ἐκ γενεῆς νοῦσον μεγάλην λέγεται ἐχειν ὁ Καμβύσης, τὴν ἱρὴν ὄνομάζουσι τινὲς. οὐ γάρν
another law to justify one that desired wedlock with sisters. So for the nonce Cambyses married her of whom he was enamoured; yet presently he took another sister to wife. It was the younger of these who had come with him to Egypt, and whom he now killed.

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

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

¹ Epilepsy.
τοι ἄεικες οὖδὲν ἕν τοὺς σώματος νοῦσον μεγάλην νοσέοντος μηδὲ τὰς φρένας υμαίνειν.

34. Τάδε δ' ες τοὺς ἄλλους Πέρσας ἐξεμάνη. λέγεται γὰρ εἴπειν αυτὸν πρὸς Πρηξάσπεα, τὸν ἐτίμα τε μάλιστα καὶ οἱ τὰς ἀγγελίας ἐφόρεε οὖτος, τοῦτον τε ὁ παῖς οὐνοχὸς ἦν τῷ Καμβύσῃ, τιμὴ δὲ καὶ αὐτὴ οὐ σμικρὴ εἴπειν δὲ λέγεται τάδε. "Πρηξάσπε, κοιοῦ με τινὰ νομίζουσι Πέρσαι εἶναι ἄνδρα τίνας τε λόγους περὶ ἐμέο ποιεύναι;" τὸν δὲ εἴπειν "'Ω δέσποτα, τὰ μὲν ἄλλα πάντα μεγάλως ἐπαινέαι, τῇ δὲ φιλοινίᾳ σε φασὶ πλέονως προσκέεσθαι." τὸν μὲν δὴ λέγειν ταῦτα περὶ Περσέων, τὸν δὲ θυμωθέντα τοιάδε ἀμείβεσθαι. "Νῦν ἀρα με φασὶ Πέρσαι οὖν προσκείμενον παραφορνείειν καὶ οὐκ εἶναι νοημονα: οὖδ' ἂρα σφέων οἱ πρότεροι λόγοι ήσαν ἀληθεῖς." πρότερον γὰρ δὴ ἂρα, Περσέων οἱ συνέδρων ἐόντων καὶ Κροίσου, εἴρετο Καμβύσης κοιός τις δοκέοι ἄνηρ εἶναι πρὸς τὸν πατέρα τελέσαι Κὺρον, οἷ τὲ ἀμείβοντο ὡς ἐή ἀμείνων τοῦ πατρός· τὰ τε γὰρ ἐκείνου πάντα ἔχειν αὐτὸν καὶ προσεκτήσθαι Αὔγουπτὸν τὸν καὶ τὴν θάλασσαν. Πέρσαι μὲν ταῦτα ἔλεγον, Κροῖσος δὲ παρεὼν τε καὶ οὐκ ἀρεσκόμενος τῇ κρίσι εἴπε πρὸς τὸν Καμβύσεα τάδε. "Εμοὶ μὲν νυν, ὦ παῖ Κὺρον, οὐ δοκεῖς ὦμοιος εἶναι τῷ πατρὶ· οὐ γὰρ κὼ τοι ἐστὶ νῦδς ἐδω σὲ ἐκείνος κατελίπεσο." ἦσθη τε ταῦτα ἀκούσας ὃ Καμβύσης καὶ ἐπαίνεε τὴν Κροίσου κρίσιν.

35. Τούτων δὴ ὄν ἐπιμνησθέντα ὀργῆ λέγειν πρὸς τὸν Πρηξάσπεα "Σύ νυν μάθει εἰ λέγουσι Πέρσαι ἀληθέα εὔτε αὐτοὶ λέγοντες ταῦτα παρα-
then that when his body was grievously afflicted his mind too should be diseased.

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

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

36. For these acts Croesus the Lydian thought fit to take him to task, and thus addressed him: “Sire, do not ever let youth and passion have their way; put some curb and check on yourself; prudence is a good thing, forethought is wisdom. But what of you? you put to death men of your own country proved guilty of but a petty offence; ay, and you kill boys. If you do often so, look to it lest the Persians revolt from you. As for me, your father Cyrus earnestly bade me counsel you and give you such advice as I think to be good.” Croesus gave him this counsel out of goodwill; but Cambyses answered: “It is very
καὶ ἐμὸι τολμᾶς συμβουλεύειν, ὅσ χρηστῶς μὲν τὴν σεωτοῦ πατρίδα ἐπετρόπευσας, εὐ δὲ τῷ πατρὶ τῷ ἐμῷ συνεβούλευσας, κελεύων αὐτοῦ Ἀράξεα ποταμὸν διαβάντα ἴηναι ἐπὶ Μασσαγέτας, βουλομένων ἐκεῖνων διαβαίνειν ἐς τὴν ἱμετέρην, καὶ ἀπὸ μὲν σεωτοῦ ὠλέσας τῆς σεωτοῦ πατρίδος κακῶς προστάς, ἀπὸ δὲ ὠλέσας Κῦρων πειθόμενον σοί, ἀλλ’ οὕτι χαίρων, ἑπεί τοι καὶ πάλαι ἐς σὲ προφασίος τευ ἐδεόμην ἐπιλαβέσθαι.” ταῦτα δὲ εἶπας ἐλάμβανε τὸ τόξον ὡς κατατοξεύσων αὐτῶν, Κροῖσος δὲ ἀναδραμὼν ἐδεε ἐξω. ὁ δὲ ἐπείτε τοξεύσαι οὐκ εἶχε, ἐνετείλατο τοῖσι θεράπουσι λαβόντας μιν ἀποκτείναι. οἱ δὲ θεράποντες ἐπιστάμενοι τὸν τρόπον αὐτῶν κατακρύπτουσι τὸν Κροῖσον ἐπὶ τῶδε τῷ λόγῳ ὡστε, εἰ μὲν μεταμελήσῃ τῷ Καμβύσῃ καὶ ἐπιξητῇ τὸν Κροῖσον, οἱ δὲ ἐκφύναντες αὐτὸν ἰδώρα λάμψονται ξώγραια Κροῖσον, ἣν δὲ μὴ μεταμέληται μηδὲ ποθέν μιν, τότε καταχράσθαι. ἐπόθησε τε δὴ ὁ Καμβύσης τὸν Κροῖσον οὐ πολλῷ μετέπειτα χρόνῳ ὑστερον, καὶ οἱ θεράποντες μαθόντες τότῳ ἐπηγγέλλοντο αὐτῷ ὡς περιείη. Καμβύσης δὲ Κροῖσῳ μὲν συνήδεσθαι ἐφι περιεύντι, ἐκείνους μέντοι τοὺς περιποιήσαντας οὐ καταπροξίζεσθαι ἀλλ’ ἀποκτενέειν καὶ ἐποίησε ταῦτα.

37. Ἡ μὲν δὴ τοιαῦτα πολλὰ ἐς Πέρσας τε καὶ τοὺς συμμάχους ἔξεμαινετο, μένων ἐν Μέμφι καὶ θήκας τε παλαιᾶς ἀνοίγων καὶ σκεπτόμενος τοὺς νεκροὺς. ὡς δὲ δὴ καὶ ἐς τὸν Ἡφαίστου τὸ ἱρὸν ἤλθε καὶ πολλὰ τῷ ἀγάλματι κατεγέλασε. ἦστι γὰρ τοῦ Ἡφαίστου τῶ γαλμα τοῖσι Φοινικησι ταῖς Ἐμφερέστατον, τοὺς οὶ Φοινικες ἐν
well that you should dare to counsel me too; you, who governed your own country right usefully, and gave fine advice to my father—bidding him, when the Massagetae were willing to cross over into our lands, to pass the Araxes and attack them; thus you wrought your own ruin by misgoverning your country, and Cyrus's by overpersuading him. Nay, but you shall rue it; long have I waited for a pretext to deal with you." With that Cambyses took his bow to shoot him dead; but Croesus leapt up and ran out; and Cambyses, being unable to shoot him, charged his attendants to take and kill him. They, knowing Cambyses' mood, hid Croesus; being minded, if Cambyses should repent and seek for Croesus, to reveal him and receive gifts for saving his life; but if he should not repent nor wish Croesus back, then to kill the Lydian. Not long after this Cambyses did wish Croesus back, perceiving which the attendants told him that Croesus was alive. Cambyses said that he too was glad of it; but that they, who had saved Croesus alive, should not go scot free, but be killed; and this was done.

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

¹ The Phoenician Παταϊκος (as the Greeks called him) was the Ptah or Patah of Egypt whom the Greeks identified with Hephaestus; always in the form of a dwarf.
τῆς πρώτης τῶν τριπλέων περιάγουσι. ἤς δὲ
tούτους μὴ ὁπωτε, ὥδε σημανέων πυγμαίων ἀνδρὸς
μέρης ἐστίν. ἔσηλθε δὲ καὶ ἐς τῶν Καβείρων τὸ
ἱὸν, ἐς τὸ οὗ θεμίτου ἐστὶ εἰσίναι ἄλλου γε ἥ
tὸν ἵρεα· ταῦτα δὲ τὰ ἀγάλματα καὶ ἐνέπρησε πολλὰ
catatagonías. ἔστι δὲ καὶ ταῦτα ὁμοία τοῖς τού
'Hφαίστου· τούτου δὲ σφέας παίδας λέγουσι εἶναι.

38. Πανταχ' ὧν μοι δῆλα ἔστι ὅτι ἐμάνη
μεγάλως ὁ Καμβύσης· οὐ γὰρ ἂν ἱροῖσί τε καὶ
νομαίοις ἐπεχείρησε καταγελάν. εἰ γὰρ τις προ-
θείη πάσι ἄνθρώποις ἐκλέγασθαι κελεύων νόμους
toûs kalλίστους ἐκ τῶν πάντων νόμων, διασκε-
ψάμενοι ἃν ἐλοίατο ἐκαστοὶ τοὺς ἐωτών· οὔτω
νομίζουσι πολλῶν τι καλλίστους τοὺς ἐωτῶν
νόμους ἐκαστοὶ εἶναι. οὔκων οἱκὸς ἐστὶ ἄλλον γε
ἡ μανύμενον ἀνδρα γέλωτα τὰ τοιαῦτα τίθεσθαι·
ὡς δὲ οὔτω νεομίκασι τὰ περὶ τοὺς νόμους πάντες
ἄνθρωποι, πολλοῖς τε καὶ ἀλλοίσι τεκμηρίοισι
πάρεστι σταθμώσασθαι, ἐν δὲ δὴ καὶ τῶδε. Δαρείος
ἐπὶ τῆς ἐωτοῦ ἀρχής καλέσας Ἐλλήνων τοὺς
παρεύοντας εἰρετο ἐπὶ κόσῳ ἂν χρήματι βουλοίατο
τοὺς πατέρας ἀποθνήσκοντας καταστείσθαι· οἱ
δὲ ἐπ᾿ οὔδεν ἐφασαν ἔρθειν ἂν τοῦτο. Δαρείος
dὲ μετὰ ταῦτα καλέσας Ἰνδῶν τοὺς καλεσμένους
Καλλατίας, οἱ τοὺς γονέας κατεσθίουσι, εἰρετο,
pareúonton ton Ἐλλήνων καὶ δὲ ἐρμηνεύοις μανθα-
νόντων τὰ λεγόμενα, ἐπὶ τῶν χρήματι δεξαίατ' ἂν
teleutównonta toûs patéras katalakáiein πυρή· οἱ δὲ
ἀμβώσαντες μέγα εὐφημεῖν μιν ἐκέλευνον. οὔτω
μὲν νυν ταῦτα νεόμισται, καὶ ὅρθως μοι δοκεῖ
Πίνδαρος ποιῆσαι νόμον πάντων βασιλέα φήσας
eînai.
prows of their triremes. I will describe it for him who has not seen these figures: it is in the likeness of a dwarf. Also he entered the temple of the Cabeiri, into which none may enter save the priest; the images here he even burnt, with bitter mockery. These also are like the images of Hephaestus, and are said to be his sons.

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

¹ Apparently from Sanskrit Kāla=black.
² νόμος ὅ πάντων βασιλεὺς θνατῶν τε καὶ ἄθανάτων; quoted in Plato’s Gorgias from an otherwise unknown poem of Pindar.
39. Καμβύσεω δὲ ἐπ’ Αἴγυπτον στρατευομένου ἐποίησαντο καὶ Δακεδαμόνιοι στρατηγήν ἔπι Σάμον τε καὶ Πολυκράτεα τὸν Αἰάκεος· δὲ ἐσχε Σάμον ἐπαναστάς, καὶ τὰ μὲν πρῶτα τριχῆ δασάμενος τὴν πόλιν . ¹ τοῖς ἀδελφεῖσι Πανταγνώτῳ καὶ Συλοσώτη ἔνειμε, μετὰ δὲ τὸν μὲν αὐτῶν ἀποκτείνας τὸν δὲ νεώτερον Συλοσώτα ἐξελάσας ἐσχε πᾶσαν Σάμον, σχὼν δὲ ξειφὴν Ἀμάσι τῷ Αἴγυπτον βασιλεῖ συνεθήκατο, πέμπων τε δῶρα καὶ δεκάμενος ἄλλα παρ’ ἐκείνου. ἐν χρόνῳ δὲ ὁλίγῳ αὐτίκα τοῦ Πολυκράτεος τὰ πρήγματα ἴδεστο καὶ ἦν βεβωμένα ἀνὰ τε τὴν Ἰωνίαν καὶ τὴν Ἀλλήν· Ἐλλάδα· ὁκου γὰρ ἱδύσειε στρατεύεσθαι, πάντα οἱ ἐχόμεθεν εὐτυχεός. ἐκτητὸ δὲ πεντηκοντέρους τε ἑκατὸν καὶ χίλιους τοξότας, ἐφέρε δὲ καὶ ἦγε πάντας διακρίνων οὐδένα· τῷ γὰρ φίλῳ ἐφ’ χαριείσθαι μᾶλλον ἀποδίδοις τὰ ἐλαβὲ ἤ ἄρχην μηδὲ λαβὼν. συχνὰς μὲν δὴ τῶν νῆσων ἀραιρίκες, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ τῆς ἥπειρος ἀστεὰ· ἐν δὲ καὶ Δεσβίοις πανστρατίῃ βοηθεύοντας Μιλησίοις ναυμαχία κρατῆσας εἰλε, οἱ τὴν τάφρον περὶ τὸ τεῖχος τὸ ἐν Σάμῳ πᾶσαν δεδεμένοι ὄρυξαν.

40. Καὶ κως τὸν Ἀμασίν εὐτυχεῶν μεγάλως ὁ Πολυκράτης οὐκ ἠλάνθανε, ἄλλα οἱ τοῦτ’ ἦν ἐπιμελέσ. πολλῷ δὲ ἐτ’ πλεῦνος οἱ εὐτυχικής γινομένης γράψας ἐσ βυβλίων τάδε ἐπέστειλε ἐς Σάμον. ὁ Ἀμασίς Πολυκράτει ὃδε λέγει. ἢδυ μὲν πυθανεσθαι ἄνδρα φίλον καὶ ξείνον εὔ πρήσσοντα· ἐμοὶ δὲ αἱ σαι μεγάλαι εὐτυχίαι οὐκ ἄρεσκον, τὸ θείον ἐπισταμένω ὡς ἐστὶ φθονερόν· καὶ κως βού-

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

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

1 Probably in 532 B.C.
λομαί καὶ αὐτῶς καὶ τῶν ἄν κηδώματι τὸ μέν τι εὐτυχέειν τῶν πρηγμάτων τὸ δὲ προσπταίειν, καὶ οὕτω διαφέρειν τὸν αἰῶνα ἐναλλὰξ πρήσσον ἢ εὐτυχέειν τὰ πάντα. οὐδένα γὰρ κω λόγῳ οἶδα ἀκούσας ὡστὶς ἐς τέλος οὐ κακῶς ἐτελεύτησε πρόρριζος, εὐτυχέων τὰ πάντα. σὺ νῦν ἐμοὶ πειθόμενος ποίησον πρὸς τὰς εὐτυχίας τοιάδε: φροντίσας τὸ ἄν εὐρής ἔον τοι πλεῖστον ἄξιον καὶ ἐπὶ σὺ ἀπολομένῳ μάλιστα τὴν ψυχὴν ἀληθείας, τοῦτο ἀπόβαλε οὕτω ὁκὼς μικρέτι ὥς ἂνθρωπος ὑπάρκην τε ἦν τε μὴ ἐναλλάξ ἢδὴ τῷ τούτῳ αἱ εὐτυχίαι τοῦ τῆς πάθησι προσποπτωσι, τρόπῳ τῷ ἔξ ἐμεῖν ὑποκειμένῳ ἀκέω.

41. Ταύτα ἐπιλεξάμενος ὁ Πολυκράτης καὶ νῦν λαβὼν ὡς οἱ ἐν ὑπετίθετο "Ἀμασίς, ἐδίξητο ἐπὶ ὃ ἄν μάλιστα τὴν ψυχὴν ἀσθενεία ἀπολομένῳ τῶν κειμηλίων, διζήμενος δὲ εὐρίσκει τόδε. ἦν οἱ σφη-γίς τὴν ἐφόρεε χρυσόδετος, σμαράγδου μὲν λίθου ἐσύσα, ἔργον δὲ ἢν Θεοδώρου τοῦ Τηλεκλέος Σαμίου. ἔπει ὡν ταύτην οἱ ἐδόκεε ἀποβαλεῖν, ἐποίεε τοιάδε: πεντηκόντερον πληρώσας ἄνδρῶν ἐσέβη ἢς αὐτήν, μετὰ δὲ ἀναγαγεῖν ἐκέλευε ἐς τὸ πέλαγος ὡς δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς νήσου ἑκας ἐγένετο, περιελόμενος τὴν σφηγίδα πάντων ὀρφών τῶν συμπλών ῥίπτει ἐς τὸ πέλαγος. τοῦτο δὲ ποίησας ἀπέπλεε, ἀπικόμενος δὲ ἐς τα ὀικία συμφορὴ ἐχράτο.

42. Πέμπτη δὲ ἡ ἐκτη ἡμέρῃ ἀπὸ τούτων τάδε οἱ συνήνεικε γενέσθαι. ἀνήρ ἀλευς λαβὼν ἰχθύν μέγαν τε καὶ καλὸν ἥξιον μιν Πολυκράτει ὑδώρων ὄντηνα: φέρων δὴ ἐπὶ τὰς θύρας Πολυκράτει ἐφὴ ἐθέλειν ἐλθεῖν ἐς ὅψιν, χωρίςαντος δὲ οἱ τούτοι ἐλεγε διδοὺς τὸν ἰχθύν "’Ο βασιλεῦ, ἐγὼ
the gods; and I do in some sort desire for myself and my friends a mingling of prosperity and mishap, and a life of weal and woe thus chequered, rather than unbroken good fortune. For from all I have heard I know of no man whom continual good fortune did not bring in the end to evil, and utter destruction. Therefore if you will be ruled by me do this to mend your successes: consider what you deem most precious and what you will most grieve to lose, and cast it away so that it shall never again be seen among men; then, if after this the successes that come to you be not chequered by mishaps, strive to mend the matter as I have counselled you.”

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

42. But on the fifth or sixth day from this it so befell that a fisherman, who had taken a fine and great fish, and desired to make it a gift to Polycrates, brought it to the door and said that he wished to be seen by Polycrates. This being granted to him, he gave the fish, saying: “O King, I am a man that lives by
τόνδε ἐλών όυκ ἐδικαίωσα φέρειν ἐς ἀγορῆν, καίπερ ἐὼν ἀποχειροβολότος, ἀλλά μοι ἐδόκεε σεῦ τε εἶναι ἀξίος καὶ τῆς σῆς ἀρχῆς· σοι δὴ μν ἕρων διδώμι.” ὦ δὲ ἴσθείς τοῖς ἐπεσι ἀμείβεται τοῖσιδε. “Κάρτα τε εὔ ἐποίησας καὶ χάρις διπλῆ τῶν τε λόγων καὶ τοῦ δόρου, καὶ σε ἔπὶ δεῖπνον καλέσμεν.” ὦ μὲν δὴ ἀλιεὺς μέγα ποιεύμενος ταῦτα ἦς ἐς τὰ οἰκία, τὸν δὲ ἵχθυν τάμνοντες οἱ θεράποντες εὐρίσκουσι ἐν τῇ νησίῳ αὐτοῦ ἐνεοῦσαν τὴν Πολυκράτεος σφρηγίδα. ὡς δὲ εἶδον τε καὶ ἔλαβον τάχιστα, ἔφερον κεχαρηκότες παρὰ τὸν Πολυκράτεα, διδόντες δὲ οἱ τὴν σφρηγίδα ἔλεγον ὅτεω τρόπῳ εὐρέθη, τὸν δὲ ὡς ἐσήλθε θείον εἶναι τὸ πρῆγμα, γράφει ἐς βυβλίου πάντα τὰ ποιήσατά μιν οία καταλελάβηκε, γράψας δὲ ἔς Αἰγυπτον ἐπέθηκε.

43. Ἐπιλεξάμενος δὲ ὁ Αμασίς τὸ βυβλίον τὸ παρὰ τοῦ Πολυκράτεος ἦκον, ἔμαθε ὅτι ἐκκομίσαι τε ἀδύνατον εὐθ ἀνθρώπῳ ἀνθρωπον ἐκ τοῦ μέλλοντος γίνεσθαι πρῆγματος, καὶ ὅτι οὐκ εὖ τελευτήσειν μέλλοι Πολυκράτης εὐτυχέως τὰ πάντα, ὅς καὶ τὰ ἀποβάλλει εὐρίσκει. πέμψας δὲ οἱ κήρυκα ἐς Σάμου διαλύονται ἔφη τὴν ξεινία. τούδε δὲ εἴνεκεν ταῦτα ἔποιες, ἵνα μὴ συντυχεῖς δεινῆς τε καὶ μεγάλης Πολυκράτεα καταλαβουσῆς αὐτὸς ἀλγήσειε τὴν ψυχῆν ὡς περὶ ξείνου ἄνδρος.

44. Ἐπὶ τούτων δὴ ὅν τὸν Πολυκράτεα εὐτυχέουτα τὰ πάντα ἐστρατεύοντο Δακεδαμόνιοι, ἐπικαλεσάμενοι τῶν μετὰ ταῦτα Κυδωνίην τὴν ἐν Κρήτῃ κτισάντων Σαμίων. πέμψας δὲ κήρυκα λάθρῃ Σαμίων Πολυκράτης παρὰ Καμβύσεα τὸν Κύρου συνελέγοντα στρατόν ἐπὶ Αἰγυπτον, ἐδείηθη ὅκως ἄν καὶ παρ’ ἐωντὸν πέμψας ἐς Σάμου δέοιτο.
his calling; but when I caught this fish I thought best not to take it to market; it seemed to me worthy of you and your greatness; wherefore I bring and offer it to you.” Polycrates was pleased with what the fisherman said; “You have done right well,” he answered, “and I give you double thanks, for your words and for the gift; and I bid you to dinner with me.” Proud of this honour, the fisherman went home; but the servants, cutting up the fish, found Polycrates’ seal-ring in its belly; which having seen and taken they brought with joy to Polycrates, gave him the ring, and told him how it was found. Polycrates saw the hand of heaven in this matter; he wrote a letter and sent it to Egypt, telling all that he had done, and what had befallen him.

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

44. It was against this ever-victorious Polycrates that the Lacedaemonians now made war, being invited thereto by the Samians who afterwards founded Cydonia in Crete. Polycrates had without the knowledge of his subjects sent a herald to Cambyses son of Cyrus, then raising an army against Egypt, to ask that Cambyses should send to Samos too and require
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στρατοῦ. Καμβύσης δὲ ἀκούσας τούτων προ-θύμως ἔπεμψε ἐς Σάμων δεόμενος Πολυκράτεος στρατὸν ναυτικὸν ἀμα πέμψαι ἐωντὸ ἐπ’ Ἀιγυπτον. δὲ ἐπιλέξας τῶν ἀστῶν τοὺς ὑπόπτευε μᾶλιστα ἐς ἐπανάστασιν ἀπέπεμπε τεσσεράκοντα τριήμεροι, ἐνειλάμενος Καμβύσης ὀπίσω τούτους μὴ ἀπο-πέμπειν.

45. Οἱ μὲν δὴ λέγουσι τοὺς ἀποπεμφθέιτας Σαμίων ὑπὸ Πολυκράτεος οὐκ ἀπικέσθαι ἐς Αἰγυπτον, ἀλλ’ ἐπείτε ἐγένοντο ἐν Καρπάθῳ πλέοντες, δούναι σφίσι λόγον, καὶ σφὶ ὠδεῖν τὸ προσωτέρω μηκέτι πλέειν. οἱ δὲ λέγουσι ἀπικομένους τε ἐς Αἰγυπτον καὶ φυλασσομένους ἐνθεύτεν αὐτοὺς ἀποδρῆναι. καταπλέουσι δὲ ἐς τὴν Σάμων Πολυκράτης νυσὶ ἀντίασας ἐς μάχην κατέστη νικη-σαντες δὲ οἱ κατίόντες ἀπέβησαν ἐς τὴν νῆσον, πεζομαχῆσαντες δὲ ἐν αὐτῇ ἐσσώθησαν, καὶ οὕτω δὴ ἐπλεῦον ἐς Δακεδαίμονα. εἰσὶ δὲ οἱ λέγουσι τοὺς ἀπ’ Αἰγυπτον νικῆσαι Πολυκράτεα, λέγοντες ἐμοὶ δοκείν τοὺς ὠδὴ δὲν γὰρ ἔδει σφέας Δακεδαίμονοις ἐπικαλέσθαι, εἰ περ αὐτοὶ ᾠσαν ἰκανοί Πολυκράτεα παραστήσασθαι. πρὸς δὲ τού-τοις οὐδὲ λόγος αἱρέει, τῷ ἐπίκουροι τε μισθωτοί καὶ τοξόται οἰκῆσαι ἤσαν πληθεὶ πολλοὶ, τοῦτον ὑπὸ τῶν κατιόντων Σαμίων ἐσωτόν οἰκήσωθην. τῶν δ’ ὑπ’ ἐωντὸ ἐσωτὸν πολιητέων τὰ τέκνα καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας ὁ Πολυκράτης ἐς τοὺς νεωσόκους συνειλήσας εἴχε ἐτοίμους, ἣν ἀρα προ-δίδωσι οὕτω πρὸς τοὺς κατιόντας, ὑποπρῆσαι αὐτοῖς τοῖς νεωσόκοισι.

46. Ἐπείτε δὲ οἱ ἐξελασθέντες Σαμίων ὑπὸ Πολυκράτεος ἀπίκοντο ἐς τὴν Σπάρτην, κατα-
men from him. On this message Cambyses very readily sent to Samos, asking Polycrates to send a fleet to aid him against Egypt. Polycrates chose out those townsmen whom he most suspected of planning a rebellion against him, and sent them in forty triremes, charging Cambyses not to send the men back.

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

46. When the Samians who were expelled by Polycrates came to Sparta, they came before the
στάντες ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀρχοντας ἐλεγον πολλα ὡν κάρτα δεόμενοι· οἱ δὲ σφι τῇ πρώτῃ καταστάσι ὑπεκρίναντο τὰ μὲν πρῶτα λεχθέντα ἐπιλελήσθαι, τὰ δὲ ύστετα οὐ συνιείναι. μετὰ δὲ ταύτα δεύτερα καταστάντες ἄλλο μὲν εἴπον οὐδὲν, θύλακον δὲ φέροντες ἐφασαν τὸν θύλακον ἀλφίτων δέσθαι. οἱ δὲ σφι ὑπεκρίναντο τῷ θύλακῳ περιεργάσθαι· βοηθείειν δ’ ὧν ἐδοξε αὐτοῖς.

47. Καὶ ἔπειται παρασκευασάμενοι ἐστρατεύοντο Δακεδαμόνιοι ἐπὶ Σάμου, ὡς μὲν Σάμιοι λέγοντο, εὐεργεσίας ἐκτίνοντες, ὅτι σφι πρότεροι αὐτοὶ νησιὶ ἐβοηθῆσαν ἐπὶ Μεσσηνίους· ὡς δὲ Δακεδαμόνιοι λέγοντο, οὐκ οὐτώ τιμωρήσαι δεσμένοις Σαμίουσι ἐστρατεύοντο ὡς τίσασθαι βουλόμενοι τοῦ κρητῆρος τῆς ἀρπαγῆς, τὸν ἠγον Κροίσω, καὶ τοῦ θώρηκος, τὸν αὐτοίς Ἀμασίς ὁ Αἰγύπτου βασιλεὺς ἐπεμψε δῶρον. καὶ γὰρ θώρηκα ἐλθόντα τῷ προτέρῳ ἔτει ἡ τοῦ κρητῆρα οἱ Σάμιοι, εόντα μὲν λίνους καὶ ξώων ἐνυφασμένων συγχῦν, κεκοσμημένους δὲ χρυσῷ καὶ εἱρίοις ἀπὸ ξύλου· τῶν δὲ εἰνεκα θωμάσαι ἄξιον, ἀρπεδόνη ἐκάστη τοῦ θώρηκος ποιεῖν· ἐοῦσα γὰρ λεπτὴ ἔχει ἀρπεδόνας ἐν ἐωτῇ τρικόσιας καὶ ἐξήκοντα, πάσας φανερὰς. τοιοῦτος ἑτέρος ἐστὶ καὶ τὸν ἐν Δίνδῳ ἀνέβηκε τῇ Ἀθηναίᾳ Ἀμασίς.

48. Συνεπελάβοντο δὲ τοῦ στρατεύματος τοῦ ἐπὶ Σάμου ὡστε γενέσθαι καὶ Κορίνθιοι προθύμως· ύβρισμα γὰρ καὶ ἐς τούτους εἴχε ἐκ τῶν Σαμίων γενόμενον γενεθ ἐπρότερον τοῦ στρατεύματος τούτου, κατὰ δὲ τοῦ αὐτοῦ χρόνου τοῦ κρητῆρος τῇ ἀρπαγῇ γεγονός. Κερκυραίων γὰρ παῖδας τριγκοσίοις ἀνδρῶν τῶν πρώτων Περίανδρος ὁ Κυψέλου ἐς 60
ruling men and made a long speech to show the greatness of their need. But the Spartans at their first sitting answered that they had forgotten the beginning of the speech and could not understand its end. After this the Samians came a second time with a sack, and said nothing but this: "The sack wants meal." To this the Spartans replied: "Your 'sack' was needless"¹; but they did resolve to help them.

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

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

¹ It would have been enough (the Lacedaemonians meant) to say ἄλφιτων δέεται, without using the word θῦλακος.
Σάρδις ἀπέπεμψε παρὰ Ἀλνάττεα ἐπ’ ἐκτομῇ: προσπέραντων δὲ ἐστὶν Σάμον τῶν ἀγώντων τοὺς παῖδας Κορινθίους, πυθόμενοι οἱ Σάμοι τὸν λόγον, ἐπ’ οἴσι ἀγοιατὸ εἰς Σάρδις, πρὸτα μὲν τοὺς παῖδας ἐδίδαξαν ἰροῦ ἀψασθαι Ἀρτέμιδος: μετὰ δὲ οὗ περιορώντες ἀπέλκειν τοὺς ἱκέτας ἐκ τοῦ ἱροῦ, σιτίων δὲ τοὺς παῖδας ἐργόντων Κορινθίων, ἐποιήσαντο οἱ Σάμοι ὁρτήν, τῇ καὶ νῦν ἐτί χρέωςται κατὰ ταῦτα. νυκτὸς γὰρ ἐπιγευμένης, ὅσον χρόνον ἱκέτευον οἱ παῖδες, ἱστασαν χροῖς παρθένων τε καὶ ἥθεων, ἰστάντες δὲ τοὺς χροῦς τρωκτὰ σησάμου τε καὶ μέλιτος ἐποιήσαντο νόμον φέρεσθαι, ὅνα ἀρπαξοῦντες οἱ τῶν Κερκυραίων παῖδες ἐχουνε τροφῆν. ἐς τοῦτο δὲ τόδε ἐγίνετο, ἐς δ’ οἱ Κορίνθιοι τῶν παῖδων οἱ φύλακοι οἶχοντο ἀπολιπόντες· τοὺς δὲ παῖδας ἀπῆγγαγον ἐς Κέρκυραν οἱ Σάμοι.

49. Εἰ μὲν νυν Περιάνδρου τελευτήσαντος τοῖς Κορίνθιοις φίλα ἡν πρὸς τοὺς Κερκυραίους, οὗ δὲ όντι ἄν συνελάβοντο τοῦ στρατεύματος τοῦ ἐπὶ Σάμου ταύτης εἶνεκεν τῆς αἰτίας. νῦν δὲ αἰεὶ ἐπείτε ἐκτισάν τὴν νῆσον εἰσὶ ἀλλήλους διάφοροι, ἐόντες ἐωυτοῖς . . . ¹ τούτων δὲν εἶνεκεν ἀπεμνησικάκεον τοῖς Σαμίοισι οἱ Κορίνθιοι.

50. Ἀπέπεμπε δὲ ἐς Σάρδις ἐπ’ ἐκτομῇ Περίανδρος τῶν πρῶτων Κερκυραίων ἐπιλέξας τοὺς παῖδας τιμωρεῖμενος: πρότεροι γὰρ οἱ Κερκυραίοι ἠρξαν ἐς αὐτοῦ πρῆγμα ἀτάσθαλον ποιήσαντες. ἐπείτε γὰρ τὴν ἐωυτοῦ γυναῖκα Μέλισσαν Περίανδρος ἀπέκτεινε, συμφορῆν τοιύνδε οἱ ἄλλην

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

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

50. It was in vengeance that Periander chose the sons of the notable Corecyraeans and sent them to Sardis to be made eunuchs; for the Corecyraeans had first begun the quarrel by committing a terrible crime against him. For after killing his own wife Melissa, Periander suffered yet another calamity besides what
συνέβη πρὸς τῇ γεγονυῖῃ γενέσθαι. ἦσαν οἱ ἔκ Μελίσσης δύο παῖδες, ἡλικίᾳ δὲ μὲν ἑπτακαίδεκα ὁ δὲ ὀκτωκαίδεκα ἔτεα γεγονός. τούτους ὁ μητροπάτωρ Προκλέης ἔως Ἐπιδαύρου τύραννος μεταπεμψάμενος παρ' ἐωυτὸν ἐφιλοφρονεῖτο, ὡς ὦκικὸς ἢν θυγατρὸς ἔοντας τῆς ἐωυτοῦ παίδας. ἐπείτε δὲ σφέας ἀπεπέμπτεν, εἰπε προπέμπτων αὐτοὺς "Ἀρα ἰστε, ὁ παῖδες, ὃς ὑμεῖς τὴν μητέρα ἀπεκτείνει;" τούτο τὸ ἔπος ὁ μὲν πρεσβύτερος αὐτῶν ἐν ὑὗδει λόγῳ ἐποιήσατο· ὁ δὲ νεώτερος, τῷ ὑὗνομα ἢν Δυκόφρων, ἱλαγήσε ἀκούσας ὡςτε ἀπικόμενος ἐς τὴν Κόρινθον ἀτε φονέα τῆς μητρὸς τοῦ πατέρα ὑπερ προσείπε, διαλεγομένῳ τε ὑπερ προσδιελέγετο ἴστορέοντί τε λόγῳ οὐδένα ἐδίδουν. τέλος δὲ μιν περιθύμως ἔχων ὁ Περίανδρος ἐξελάυνε ἐκ τῶν ὦκικῶν.

51. Ἐξελάσας δὲ τούτον ἴστορε τὸν πρεσβύτερον τά σφὶ ὁ μητροπάτωρ διελέχθη. ὁ δὲ οἱ ἀπηγεύσετο ὡς σφέας φιλοφρόνως ἐδέξατο· ἐκεῖνον δὲ τοῦ ἐπεος τὸ σφὶ ὁ Προκλέης ἀποστέλλων εἴπε, ἀτε οὐ ύνὸ λαβὼν, οὔκ ἐμέμνητο. Περίανδρος δὲ ὑπεδείαν μηχανὴν ἐφι ἐναὶ μὴ οὐ σφὶ ἐκεῖνων ὑποθέσατι τι, ἐλιπάρεε τε ἴστορεον· ὁ δὲ ἀναμνῄσχεις εἴπε καὶ τοῦτο. Περίανδρος δὲ νῷ λαβὼν [καὶ τοῦτο]¹ καὶ μαλακὸν ἐνδιδόναι βουλόμενος οὐδέν, τῇ ὁ ἐξελασθείς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ παῖς δίαταν ἐποιεῖτο, ἐς τούτους πέμπτων ἀγγελον ἀπηγόρευε μὴ μιν δέκεσθαι οἰκίοις. ὁ δὲ ὀκὺς ἀπελανωμένος ἔλθοι ἐς ἀλλήν οἰκίνη, ἀπηλαύνετ ἀν καὶ ἀπὸ ταύτής, ἀπεπλείντως τε τοῦ Περίανδρον τοῖς δεξαμένοις καὶ ἐξέργειν κελεύοντος ἀπελανώ-

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

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

52. Τέλος δὲ ὁ Περιάνδρος κήρυγμα ἐποιήσατο, ὦς ἄν ἦ οἰκίσσι ὑποδέχηται μιν ἡ προσδιαλεξθῇ, ἢ ἰρὴν ξημίᾳ τοῦτον τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι ὀφείλειν, ὅσῃν ἴη ἐμπας. πρὸς ὅν ἴη τοῦτο τὸ κήρυγμα οὔτε τίς οἱ διαλέγεσθαι οὔτε οἰκίσσι δέκεσθαι ἤθελε· πρὸς δὲ οὔδε αὐτὸς ἐκεῖνος ἐδικαίου πειράσθαι ἀπειρημένου, ἀλλὰ διακαρτερέων ἐν τῇ στοήσι σκαλανδέντο. τετάρτη δὲ ἡ μέρη ἴδων μιν ὁ Περιάνδρος ἀλουσίησι τε καὶ ἀσείγισι συμπεπτωκότα οἰκτείρε· ὑπείς δὲ τῆς ὀργῆς ἦμε ἄσσον καὶ ἐλεγε· "Ω παῖ, κότερα τούτων αἱρέσωτε ἐστὶ, ταῦτα τὸ νῦν ἔχων πρήσσεις, ἢ τὴν τυραννίδα καὶ τὰ ἀγαθὰ τὰ νῦν ἔγω ἔχω, ταὐτά ἐόντα τῷ πατρὶ ἐπιτήδεου παραλαμβάνει, δὲ ἐὼν ἐμός τε παῖς καὶ Κορίνθου τῆς εὐδαίμονος βασιλείας ἀλήτην βίον ἐἶλευ, ἀντιστατέων τε καὶ ὀργὴ χρεώμενος ἐς τόν σε ἡκιστα ἔχρην. εἰ γὰρ τις συμφορῇ ἐν αὐτοῦσι γέγονε, ἐξ ἤς ὑποψίην ἐς ἐμὲ ἔχεις, ἐμοὶ τε αὐτῇ γέγονε καὶ ἐγὼ αὐτῆς τὸ πλεῖον μέτοχος εἰμί, ὅσῳ αὐτὸς σφεα ἐξεργασάμην. σοὶ δὲ μαθῶν ὅσῳ φθονεσθαι κρέσσον ἐστὶ ἢ οἰκτείρεσθαι, ἀμα τε ὁκοῖον τί ἐς τοὺς τοκεσ καὶ ἐς τοὺς κρέσσονας τεθυμώσθαι, ἀπιθί ἐς τὰ οἰκία." Περιάνδρος μὲν τούτωι αὐτὸν κατελάμβανε· ὦ δὲ ἄλλο μὲν οὖδεν ἀμείβεται τὸν πατέρα, ἐφ' ἰη δὲ μιν ἰρὴν ξημίᾳ ὀφείλειν τῷ θεῷ ἐσωτῷ ἐς λόγους ἀπικόμενον. μαθών δὲ ὁ Περίανδρος ὡς ἀπορον τι τὸ κακὸν εἴη τοῦ παιδὸς καὶ ἀνίκητου, ἐξ ὀφθαλμῶν μιν ἀποσπέμπεται στείλας πλοίον ἐς Κέρκυραν· ἐπεκράτεε γὰρ καὶ ταύτης.
out; so he would go, when driven forth, to some other house of his friends, who, though they were afraid, did yet receive him as being Periander's son.

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

53. Ἐπεὶ δὲ τοῦ χρόνου προβαίνοντος ὁ τε Περίανδρος παρηβήκει καὶ συνεγινώσκετο ἑωτῷ οὐκέτι εἶναι δυνατὸς τὰ πρῆγματα ἐπορᾶν τε καὶ διέπειν, πέμψας ἔσ τὴν Κέρκυραν ἀπεκάλεε τὸν Δυκόφρων ἐπὶ τὴν τυραννίδα· ἐν γὰρ δὴ τῷ πρεσβυτέρῳ τῶν παίδων οὐκών ἐνώρα, ἀλλὰ οἱ κατεφαίνετο εἶναι νωθέστερος, ὁ δὲ Δυκόφρων οὐδὲ ἀνακρίσιος ἤξισε τὸν φέροντα τὴν ἀγγελίην. Περίανδρος δὲ περιεχόμενος τοῦ νεκρόῃ δεύτερα ἀπεστείλε ἐπὶ αὐτὸν τὴν ἀδελφείην, ἐωτοῦ δὲ θυγατέρα, δοκεῶν μιν μάλιστα ταύτῃ ἀν πεῖθεσθαι. ἀπικομένης δὲ ταύτης καὶ λειχουσῆς Ὠν παί, βούλειη τὴν τε τυραννίδα ἐς ἄλλους πεσεῖν καὶ τὸν οἰκὸν τοῦ πατρὸς διαφορηθέντα μᾶλλον ἡ αὐτὸς σφαίρα ἀπελθὼν ἔχεω; ἀπιθὶ ἐς τὰ οἰκία, παῦσαι σεωτοῦ χημῶν. φιλοτιμή κτῆμα σκαινῶν. μὴ τῷ κακῷ τὸ κακὸν ἰῶ. πολλοὶ τῶν δικαίων τὰ ἐπιεικέστερα προτιθεῖσι, πολλοὶ δὲ ἢδη τὰ μητρώια διζήμενοι τὰ πατρώια ἀπέβαλον. τυ-ραννὶς χρῆμα σφαλερῶν, πολλοὶ δὲ αὐτῆς ἐρασταί εἰσι, ὁ δὲ γέρων τε ἢδη καὶ παρηβήκὼς μὴ δῷς τὰ σεωτοῦ ἀγαθὰ ἄλλουσι.” ἦ μὲν δὴ τὰ ἐπαγωγῶτα δίδαχθεσα ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς ἐλεγε πρὸς αὐτῶν· ὁ δὲ ὑποκρινάμενος ἐφι οὐδαμὰ ἤξειν ἐς Κόρινθον, ἐστὶν ἀν πυνθανόντας περιεύντα τὸν πατέρα. ἀπαγγειλάσης δὲ ταύτης ταύτα, τὸ τρίτον Περίανδρος κήρυκα πέμπει βουλόμενος αὐτῶς μὲν ἐς Κέρκυραν ἢκείν, ἐκεῖνον δὲ ἐκέλευεν

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

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

54. Δακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ στόλῳ μεγάλῳ ὡς ἀπί- κοντο, ἑπολιορκεον Σάμουν· προσβαλόντες δὲ πρὸς τὸ τείχος τοῦ μὲν πρὸς θαλάσσῃ ἐστεώτος πῦργον κατὰ τὸ προάστειον τῆς πόλιος ἐπέβησαν, μετὰ δὲ αὐτοῦ βοηθήσαντος Πολυκράτεος χειρὶ πολλῇ ἀπηλάσθησαν. κατὰ δὲ τὸν ἐπάρω πῦργον τὸν ἐπὶ τῆς ράχιος τοῦ ὅρεος ἐπέοντα ἐπεξῆλθον οἱ τε ἐπίκουροι καὶ αὐτῶν Σαμῖων συνχοί, δεξάμενοι δὲ τοὺς Δακεδαιμονίους ἐπ᾽ ὀλύγον χρόνον ἐφευγον ὀπίσω, οἱ δὲ ἐπιστόμενοι ἐκτείνουν.

55. Εἰ μὲν νῦν οἱ παρεόντες Δακεδαιμονίων ὁμοίῳ ἐγένοντο ταύτην τὴν ἡμέρην Ἀρχίη τε καὶ Λυκώπῃ, αἱρέθη ἂν Σάμος. Ἀρχίης γὰρ καὶ Λυκώπης μοῦνοι συνεπεσόντες φεύγουσι ἐς τὸ τείχος τοῖς Σαμίοις καὶ ἀποκλησθέντες τῆς ὀπίσω ὅδοι τῆς ἐπέθαναν ἐν τῇ πόλι τῇ Σαμίων. τρίτῳ δὲ ἀπ᾽ Ἀρχίεω τούτου γεγονότι ἀλλὰ Ἀρχίη τῷ Σαμίῳ τοῦ Ἀρχίεω αὐτὸς ἐν Πιτάνη συνεγενόμην (δὴμον γὰρ τούτον ἦν), ὁς ἐχθρός πάντων μάλιστα ἐτίμα τε Σαμίων καὶ οἱ τῷ πατρὶ ἔφη Σάμιμον τούνομα τεθηκαί, ὅτι οἱ ὁ πατὴρ Ἀρχίης ἐν Σάμῳ ἀριστεύσας ἐτελεύτησε: τιμὰν δὲ Σαμίων ἔφη, διότι ταφῆναι ὁ τῶν πάππων δημοσίη ὑπὸ Σαμίων.
to make Lycophron, when he came, despot in his place. The son consented to this; Periander made ready to go to Corcyra and Lycophron to go to Corinth; but when the Corcyraeans learnt of all these matters they put the young man to death, lest Periander should come to their country. It was for this that Periander desired vengeance upon them.

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

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

1 A part of the town of Sparta; Herodotus calls it by the Attic name of δήμος; the Peloponnesian word would be ηυμία.
56. Δακεδαίμονι δέ, ὦς σφι τεσσεράκοντα ἐγεγόνεσαν ἦμέραι πολυρκέουσι Σάμουν ἐς τὸ πρόσω τε σύδεν προεκόπτετο τῶν πρηγμάτων, ἀπαλλάσσοντο ἢς Πελοπόννησον. ὡς δὲ ὁ ματαιότερος λόγος ὤρμηται, λέγεται Πολυκράτεα ἐπιχώριοι νόμισμα κόψαντα πολλὸν μολύβδου καταχρυσώσαντα δοῦναι σφι, τοὺς δὲ δεξαμένους οὔτω δὴ ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι. ταύτην πρώτην στρατηγίην ἢς τὴν Ἀσίην Δακεδαίμονι Δωρίες ἐποίησαντο.

57. Οἴ δ’ ἐπὶ τὸν Πολυκράτεα στρατευσάμενοι Σαμίων, ἐπεὶ οἱ Δακεδαίμονι αὐτοὺς ἀπολύτειν ἠμέλλον, καὶ αὐτοὶ ἀπέπλεον ἢς Σίφιν, χρημάτων γὰρ ἐδέοντο, τα δὲ τῶν Σιφνίων πρήγματα ἤκμαξ τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον, καὶ νησιωτέων μάλιστα ἐπλούτευον, ἀπὲ ἐνωῶν αὐτοῖς ἐν τῇ νήσῳ χρυσέων καὶ ἀργυρεῶν μετάλλων, οὕτω ὡστε ἀπὸ τῆς δεκάτης τῶν γινομένων αὐτόθεν χρημάτων θησαυρός ἢς Δελφοῖς ἀνάκειται ὡμοία τοῖς πλουσιώτατοισιν αὐτοῖ δὲ τὰ γινόμενα τῷ ἐνιαυτῷ ἐκάστῳ χρήματα διενέμοντο. ὅτε δὲν ἐποιεῖντο τὸν θησαυρόν, ἐξερεύνοντο τῷ χρηστηρίῳ εἰ αὐτοῖς τὰ παρεῦστα ἀγαθὰ οἷα τὰ ἐστὶ πολλὸν χρόνον παραμένειν ἢ δὲ Πυθίᾳ ἔχρησε σφι τάδε.

"Ἀλλ’ ὅταν ἢς Σίφιν πρυτανῆια λευκὰ γένηται λεύκοφρος τ’ ἡγορή, τότε δὴ δεῖ φράδμονος ἀνδρός φράσσασθαι ξύλινον τε λόχῳ κύρικά τ’ ἐρυθρόν." Τοῖς δὲ Σιφνίοισι ἵνα τότε ἡ ἡγορή καὶ τὸ πρυτανῆιον Παρίῳ λίθῳ ἤσκημένα.
56. So when the Lacedaemonians had besieged Samos for forty days with no success, they went away to Peloponnesus. There is a foolish tale abroad that Polycrates bribed them to depart by making and giving them a great number of gilt leaden coins, as a native currency. This was the first expedition to Asia made by Dorians of Lacedaemon.¹

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

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

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

¹ Not the first expedition, that is, made by any inhabitants of Laconia, Achaeans from that country having taken part in the Trojan war.
58. To ὑπὸ τῶν χρησμῶν οὐκ οἶοί τε ἦσαν γνῶναι οὔτε τότε εὐθὺς οὔτε τῶν Σαμίων ἀπουν-μένων. ἐπείτε γὰρ τάχιστα πρὸς τὴν Σίφων προσίσχον οἱ Σάμιοι, ἐπεμπον τῶν νεῶν μίαν πρέσβειαν ἀγούσαν ἐς τὴν πόλιν. τὸ δὲ πολαίων ἀπασαι αἱ νέες ἦσαν μιλτηλιφέες, καὶ ἢν τοῦτο τὸ Ἡ Πυθη προηγόρευε τοῖς Σιφνίοις, ἐνταλξα- σθαί τὸν ἔξυλινον λόχον κελεύονσα καὶ κήρυκα ἐρυθρόν. ἀπικόμενοι δὲν οἱ ἀγγελοὶ ἐδέοντο τῶν Σιφνίων δέκα τάλαντα σφι χρησαί: οὐ φασκόντων δὲ χρῆσειν τῶν Σιφνίων αὐτοῖς, οἱ Σάμιοι τοὺς χώρους αὐτῶν ἐπόρθεον. πυθόμενοι δὲ εὐθὺς ἦκον οἱ Σιφνίοι βοηθέοντες καὶ συμβαλόντες αὐτοῖς ἐσσώθησαν, καὶ αὐτῶν πολλοὶ ἀπεκληρίσθησαν τοῦ ἄστεος ὑπὸ τῶν Σαμίων, καὶ αὐτῶν μετὰ ταῦτα ἐκατὸν τάλαντα ἐπρηξαν.

59. Παρὰ δὲ Ἡ Ἐρμιονέων νῆσον αὐτὶ χρημάτων παρέλαβον Ὁδρέων τὴν ἐπὶ Πελοποννήσῳ καὶ αὐτὴν Ἰροιζηνίσι παρακατέθεντο· αὐτοὶ δὲ Κυδωνίην τὴν ἐν Κρήτῃ ἔκτισαν, οὐκ ἐπὶ τοῦτο πλέοντες ἀλλὰ Ζακυνθίους ἐξελῶντες ἐκ τῆς νῆσου. ἐμείναν δὴ ἐν ταύτῃ καὶ εὐδαιμόνησαν ἐπὶ ἑτεῖ πέντε, ὡστε τὰ ἱρὰ τὰ ἐν Κυδωνίᾳ ἐόντα νῦν οὗτοι εἰσὶ οἱ ποιήσαντες [καὶ τὸν τῆς Δικτύνης νῆον]. ἐκτὸς δὲ ἐτεῖ Ἀιγινήται αὐτοὺς ναυμαχία νική- σαντες ἡμιδραποδίσαντο μετὰ Κρητῶν, καὶ τῶν νεῶν καπρίους ἔχουσέων τὰς πρώρας ἡκρωτηρίσαν καὶ ἀνέθεσαν ἐς τὸ ἱρὸν τῆς Ἀθηναίης ἐν Ἀθήναις ταῦτα δὲ ἐποίησαν ἐγκοτοῦν ἔχοντες Σαμίοισι

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

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

1 μιλτοπάρμος is one of the Homeric epithets of ships.
Αὐγινήται πρώτερον γὰρ Σάμιοι ἐπ᾽ Ἀμφικράτεος βασιλεύοντος ἐν Σάμῳ στρατευσάμενοι ἐπ᾽ Αὐγιναν μεγάλα κακὰ ἐποίησαν Αὐγινήτας καὶ ἐπαθοῦν ὑπ᾽ ἐκείνων. ἢ μὲν αὐτὴν αὐτὴ.

60. Ἔμήκυνα δὲ περὶ Σαμίων μᾶλλον, ὅτι σφι τρία ἐστὶ μέγιστα ἀπάντων Ἑλλήνων ἔξερ- γασμένα, ὁρεός τε ὑψηλοῦ ἐς πεντήκοντα καὶ ἐκατον ὀργυιάς, τοῦτο ὀρνιμα κάτωθεν ἀρξά- μενον, ἀμφίστομον. τὸ μὲν μῆκος τοῦ ὀρυγ- ματος ἐπὶ στάδιοι εἰςί, τὸ δὲ ὑψος καὶ εὑρος ὁκτὼ ἐκατερον πόδες. διὰ παντὸς δὲ αὐτοῦ ἄλλο ὀρνιμα εἰκοσιπηχυ βάθος ὄρωρυκται, τρίτον δὲ τὸ εὑρος, διὰ οὐ τὸ ὑδρο ὄχθενομενον διὰ τῶν σωλήνων παραγίνεται ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἀγόμενον ἀπὸ μεγάλης πηγῆς. ἀρχιτέκτων δὲ τοῦ ὀρυγματος τοῦτον ἐγένετο Μεγαρεὺς Εὐπαλίνος Ναυστρόφου. τοῦτο μὲν δὴ ἐν τῶν τριῶν ἐστὶν, δεύτερον δὲ περὶ λιμένα χώμα ἐν θαλάσσῃ, βάθος καὶ εἰκοσι ὀργυιέων μῆκος δὲ τοῦ χώματος μέξων δύο σταδίων. τρίτον δὲ σφι ἐξεργασται νηὸς μέγιστος πάντων νηῶν τῶν ἡμεῖς ἐδμεν τοῦ ἀρχιτέκτων πρῶτος ἐγένετο Ῥοῖκος Φιλέω ἐπιχώριος. τούτων εἰνεκεν μᾶλλον τι περὶ Σαμίων ἔμηκυνα.

61. Καμβύσῃ δὲ τῷ Κύρου χρονίζοντι περὶ Αὐγιππιτον καὶ παραφρονήσαντε ἐπανιστεάται ἄνδρες Μάγοι δύο ἄδελφεοι, τῶν τῶν ἑτερον κατα- λειπθεὶς τῶν οἰκίων μελεδωνὸν ὁ Καμβύσῃς. οὕτος δὴ διὸ οἱ ἐπανέστη μαθῶν τε τῶν Σμέρδιος θάνατον ὡς κρῶπτοτο γενόμενος, καὶ ὡς ὀλίγοι εὑησαν οἱ
Amphicrates was king of Samos they had sent an army against Aegina, whereby now the Samians and now the Aeginetans had suffered great harm. Such was the cause of the feud.

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

61. Now after Cambyses son of Cyrus had lost his wits, while he still lingered in Egypt, two Magians, who were brothers, rebelled against him. One of them had been left by Cambyses to be steward of his house; this man now revolted from him, perceiving that the death of Smerdis was kept secret,
ἐπιστάμενοι αὐτὸν Περσέων, οἱ δὲ πολλοὶ περιέ-
όντα μιν εἰδείησαν. πρὸς ταῦτα βουλεύσας τάδε ἐπεχείρησε τοῖς βασίλησις. ἦν οἱ ἀδελφεῖς, τὸν εἰσίν οἱ συνεπαναστήναι, οἶκώς μάλιστα τὸ εἴδος Σμέρδι τῷ Κύρου, τὸν ο Καμβύσης ἐόντα ἔως τοῦ ἀδελφεῖον ἀπέκτεινε· ἂν τῇ ὁμοίᾳ εἴδος τῷ Σμέρδι καὶ δὴ καὶ ὑπόμα τῶντο εἰς Ἱμέρδιν. τούτων τὸν ἄνδρα ἀναγνώσας ὁ Μάγος Πατιζέιθης ὃς οἱ αὐτὸς πάντα διαπρῆξε, εἶσε ἄγων ἐς τὸν βασίλησιν θρόνον. ποιήσας δὲ τούτῳ κήρυκας τῇ τῇ ἄλλῃ διέσπεμπτα καὶ δὴ καὶ ἐς Ἀἰγυπτον προερε-
οντα τῷ στρατῷ ὡς Σμέρδιος τοῦ Κύρου ἀκουστέα εἰς τοῦ λοιποῦ ἄλλ’ ὀ υ Καμβύσεω.

62. Οὐ τῷ δὴ ὁν ἄλλοι κήρυκες προηγόρευον ταῦτα καὶ δὴ καὶ ὁ ἐπ’ Ἀἰγυπτον ταχθείς, εὐρύσκε
γὰρ Καμβύσεα καὶ τὸν στρατὸν ἐόντα τῆς Συρίας ἐν Ἀγβατάνοις, προηγόρευε στὰς ἐς μέσον τὰ ἐντεταλμένα ἐκ τοῦ Μάγου. Καμβύσης δὲ ἀκού-
σσας ταῦτα ἐκ τοῦ κήρυκος καὶ ἐπιτίςας μιν λέγειν ἀληθεία αὐτός τε προδεδόθαι εἰς Πρηξάσπεος
(πεμφθέντα γὰρ αὐτὸν ὡς ἀποκτενόντα Σμέρδιν ὁ Ποιησοῦσαι ταῦτα), βλέψας ἐς τὸν Πρηξάσπεα ἐἰπε· "Πρηξάσπες, οὕτω μοι διεπρῆξα τὸ τοῦ προσέθηκα πρήγμα;", ὁ δὲ ἐἰπε· "Ὡς δέσποτα, οὐκ ἔστι ταῦτα ἀληθεία, ὡκως κοτὲ σοὶ Σμέρδις ἀδελ-
φεὸς σὸς ἐπανέστηκε, οὐδὲ ὡκως τι ἐξ ἐκείνου τοῦ ἄνδρος νεικὸς τοι ἐσται ἢ μέγα ἢ σμικρόν ἐγὼ γὰρ αὐτός, ποιήσας τὰ σὺ με ἐκέλευνες, ἑθαψά μην χερσὶ τῆς ἐμεωντοῦ. εἰ μὲν νῦν οἱ τεθνεώτες ἀνεστᾶσι, προσδεκέο τοι καὶ Ἀστυάγεα τὸν Ἁμόν ἐπαναστήσεσθαι· εἰ δ’ ἐστὶ ὡσπερ πρὸ τοῦ, οὐ μή τί τοῦ ἐκ γε ἐκείνου νεότερον ἀναβλάστη. νῦν δὲ
and that few persons knew of it, most of them believing him to be still alive. Therefore he thus plotted to gain the royal power: he had a brother, his partner, as I said, in rebellion; this brother was very like in appearance to Cyrus' son, Smerdis, brother of Cambyses and by him put to death; nor was he like him in appearance only, but he bore the same name also, Smerdis. Patizeithes the Magian persuaded this man that he, Patizeithes, would manage the whole business for him; he brought his brother and set him on the royal throne; which done, he sent heralds to all parts, one of whom was to go to Egypt and proclaim to the army that henceforth they must obey not Cambyses but Smerdis the son of Cyrus.

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

63. Ταῦτα εἶπαντος Πρηξάσπεος, ἦρεσε γὰρ Καμβύσης, αὐτίκα μεταδίωκτος γενόμενος ὁ κήρυξ ἦκεν ἀπιγμένον δὲ μιν εἰρέτο ὁ Πρηξάσπης τάδε. “Ὡνθρωπε, φῆς γὰρ ἦκεν παρὰ Σμέρδιος τοῦ Κύρου ἀγγέλους· νῦν ὃν εἶπας τὴν ἀληθείαν ἀπείρω χαῖρων, κότερα αὐτὸς τοι Σμέρδις φανομένος ἐστιν ἐνετελέτο ταῦτα ἢ τῶν τις ἐκείνου ὑπηρετέων.” ὃ δὲ εἶπε “Ἐγὼ Σμέρδιν μὲν τὸν Κύρου, ἐξ ὅτεν βασιλέως Καμβύσης ἦλασε ἐστὶν Αὐγυπτοῦ, ὡκὼ ὁπωπότα· ὃ δὲ μοι Μάγος τὸν Καμβύσης ἐπὶτροπὸν τῶν οἰκίων ἀπέδεξε, οὕτος ταῦτα ἐνετειλάτο, φᾶς Σμέρδιν τοῦ Κύρου εἶναι τῶν ταῦτα ἐπιθέμενον εἶπαι πρὸς ὑμέας.” ὃ μὲν δὴ σφί ἔλεγε οὐδὲν ἐπικατεψευσμένος, Καμβύσης δὲ εἶπε “Πρηξάσπεος, σὺ μὲν ὁλα ἄνὴρ ἀγαθὸς ποιήσας τὸ κελευόμενον αὐτίνη ἐκπέφευγας· ἐμοὶ δὲ τίς ἂν εἰη Περσέων ὁ ἐπανεστέως ἐπιβατεύων τοῦ Σμέρδιος οὐνόματος;” ὃ δὲ εἶπε “Ἐγὼ μοι δοκέω συνίειν τὸ γεγονός τοῦτο, ὁ βασιλεῦ· οἱ Μάγοι εἰσὶ τοι οἱ ἐπανεστεῶτες, τὸν τε ἐλπίς μελεδώνων τῶν οἰκίων, Πατιζείθης, καὶ ὁ τούτον ἄδελφεώς Σμέρδις.”

64. Ἐνθαῦτα ἀκούσαντα Καμβύσεα τὸ Σμέρδιος οὐνόμα ἔτυψε ἡ ἀληθεία τῶν τε λόγων καὶ τοῦ ἐνυπνίον· ὃς ἐδόκεε ἐν τῷ ὕπνῳ ἀπαγγείλαι τινὰ οἱ ὡς Σμέρδις ἱζόμενος ἐς τὸν βασιληῷον θρόνον ψαύσειε τῇ κεφαλῇ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ. μαθὼν δὲ ὡς μάτην ἀπολυσκὼς εἶη τὸν ἄδελφεον, ἀπέκλαιε Σμέρδιν ἀποκλαύσας δὲ καὶ περιμεκτήσας τῇ
therefore this is my counsel, that we pursue after this herald and examine him, to know from whom he comes with his proclamation that we must obey Smerdis as our king."

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

64. At the name of Smerdis, Cambyses was smitten to the heart by the truth of the word and the fulfilment of his dream; for he had dreamt that a message had come to him that Smerdis had sat on the royal throne with his head reaching to heaven; and perceiving that he had killed his brother without cause, he wept bitterly for Smerdis. Having wept his fill, in great grief for all his mishap,
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ἀπάση συμφορῆ ἀναθρώσκει ἐπὶ τὸν ἵππου, ἐν νόῳ ἔχων τὴν ταχίστην ἐς Σοῦσα στρατεύεσθαι ἐπὶ τὸν Μάγου. καὶ οἱ ἀναθρῶσκοντι ἐπὶ τὸν ἵππου τοῦ κολεοῦ τοῦ ξίφος ὁ μύκης ἀποπίπτει, γυμνώθεν δὲ τὸ ξίφος παιέ τὸν μηρὸν τρωματι-σθείς δὲ κατὰ τὸ τῆς αὐτὸς πρότερον τὸν τῶν Ἀγγυπτίων θεῶν Ἀπιν ἔπληξε, ὡς οἱ καιρὴ ἔδοξε τετύφθαι, εἴρετο ο Ἀγβάτανα. τῷ δὲ ἔτε πρό-τερον ἐκέχρηστο ἐκ Βουτοῦς πόλιος ἐν Ἀγβατά-νοισι τελευτήσειν τὸν βίον. ὁ μὲν δὴ ἐν τοῖσι Μηδικοῖσι Ἀγβατάνοισι ἔδόκεε τελευτήσειν γηραι-ός, ἐν τοῖσι οἱ ἦν τὰ πάντα πρήγματα· τὸ δὲ χρηστήριον ἐν τοῖσι ἐν Συρία Ἀγβατάνοισι ἔλεγε ἀρα. καὶ δὴ ὡς τότε ἐπειρόμενος ἐπύθετο τῆς πόλιος τὸ οὖνομα, ὡπὸ τῆς συμφορῆς τῆς τε ἐκ τοῦ Μάγου ἐκπεπληγμένοι καὶ τοῦ τρῶματος ἐσωφρόνισε, συλλάβων δὲ τὸ θεοπρόπιον ἐπι

"Ἐνθαῦτα Καμβύσεα τὸν Κύρου ἐστὶ πεπρωμένου τελευτάν."

65. Τότε μὲν τοσαῦτα. ἤμερησι δὲ ὑστερον ὡς εἰκοσι μεταπεμψάμενος Περσέων τῶν παρεόντων τοὺς λογιμωτάτους ἔλεγε σφι τάδε. "Ὡς Πέρσαι, καταλελάβηκε με, τὸ πάντων μάλιστα ἐκρυπτον πρηγμάτων, τούτο ἐς ὑμέας ἔκφηναι. ἐγὼ γὰρ ἐκ τοῦ Ἀγγύτου εἶδον ὅψιν ἐν τῷ ὑπνῷ, τὴν μηδαμὰ ὄφελον ἰδεῖν ἐδόκεον δὲ μοι ἀγγελον ἐλθόντα ἐξ οὐκον ἀγγέλλειν ὡς Σμέρδις ξύομενος ἐς τὸν βασιλῆιον θρόνον ψαύσειε τῇ κεφαλῇ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ. δεισάς δὲ μὴ ἀπαιρεθέω τὴν ἀρχὴν πρὸς τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ, ἐποίησα ταχύτερα ἡ σοφώτερα· ἐν τῇ γὰρ ἀνθρωπηνή φύσι οὐκ ἐνῆν ἁρα τὸ μέλλον

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

65. At this time he said no more. But about twenty days after, he sent for the most honourable of the Persians that were about him, and thus addressed them: "Needs must, Persians! that I declare to you a matter which I kept most strictly concealed. When I was in Egypt, I saw in my sleep a vision that I would I had never seen; methought a messenger came from home to tell me that Smerdis had sat on the royal throne, his head reaching to heaven. Then I feared that my brother would take away from me my sovereignty, and I acted with more haste than wisdom; for (as I now
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γίνεσθαι ἀποτράπεων. ἐγὼ δὲ ὁ μάταιος Πρηξάσπεα ἀποπέμπω ἡς Σοῦσα ἀποκτενέοντα Σμέρδιν. ἐξεργασθέντος δὲ κακοῦ τοσούτου ἀδεώς διαιτώμην, οὐδαμὰ ἐπιλεξάμενος μὴ κοτὲ τίς μοι Σμέρδιος ὑπαραιρημένου ἄλλος ἐπανασταῖν ἄνθρωπων. παντὸς δὲ τοῦ μέλλοντος ἔσεσθαι ἀμαρτῶν ἄδελφωντος τού ὀὐδὲν δέον γέγονα καὶ τῆς βασιλείας οὐδὲν ἦσον ἐστέρημα: Σμέρδις γὰρ δὴ ἦν ὁ Μάγος τὸν μοι ὁ δαιμών προέφαυε ἐν τῇ ὑψι ἐπαναστήσεσθαι. τὸ μὲν δὴ ἔργον ἐξεργασται μοι, καὶ Σμέρδιν τὸν Κύρον μηκέτι ύμῖν ἐόντα λογίζεσθε: οὶ δὲ ύμῖν Μάγοι κρατέουσι τῶν βασιλείων, τὸν τε ἐλίπον ἐπίτροπον τῶν οἰκίων καὶ ὁ ἐκεῖνον ἄδελφα Σμέρδις. τὸν μὲν νυν μάλιστα χρήν ἐμεθ οἰς χρά πρὸς τῶν Μάγων πεποιθότος τιμωρείν ἐμοὶ, ὅτους μὲν ἀνοσίω μόρῳ τετελεύτηκε ύπὸ τῶν ἑωτοῦ οἰκημοστάτων τούτον δὲ μηκέτι ἐόντος, δεύτερα τῶν λοιπῶν ύμῖν ὁ Πέρσαι γίνεται μοι ἀναγκαιότατον ἐντέλλεσθαι τὰ θέλω μοι γενέσθαι τελευτῶν τῶν βίων καὶ δὴ ύμῖν τάδε ἔπισκη-πτῶ θεοὺς τοὺς βασιλείους ἐπικαλέων καὶ πᾶσι ύμῖν καὶ μάλιστα Ἀχαιομενίδεων τοῖς παρεούσι, μὴ περιδεῖν τὴν ἠγεμονίαν αὕτης ἐς Μίδους περιελθόνσαν, ἀλλ’ εἰτε δόλῳ ἔχουσι αὐτὴν κτησάμενοι, δόλῳ ἀπαιρεθήναι ύπὸ ύμέων, εἰτε καὶ σθένει τεῖς κατεργασάμενοι, σθένει κατὰ τὸ καρτεροῦ ἀνασώσασθαι. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ποιεῦσι ύμῖν γῇ τε καρπὸν ἐκφέροι καὶ γυναίκες τε καὶ ποιμνία τίκτοιες, ἐσούσι ὡς τὸν ἄπαντα χρόνον ἐλευθέρουσι μὴ δὲ ἀνασωσαμένους τὴν ἄρχην μηδ’ ἐπιχειρή-σασι ἀνασώζειν τὰ ἐναντία τούτους ἄρωμαι ύμῖν γενέσθαι, καὶ πρὸς ἔτι τούτους τὸ τέλος.
see) no human power can turn fate aside; fool that I was! I sent Prexaspes to Susa to slay Smerdis. When that great wrong was done I lived without fear, for never did I think that when Smerdis was taken out of my way another man might rise against me. So did I wholly mistake what was to be; I have slain my brother for no cause, and lost my kingship none the less; for the rebel foretold by heaven in the vision was Smerdis the Magian. Now I have done the deed, and I would have you believe that Smerdis Cyrus' son no longer lives; you see the Magians masters of my royal estate, even him that I left steward of my house, and his brother Smerdis. So then he that especially should have avenged the dishonour done me by the Magian lies foully slain by his nearest kinsman; and he being no longer in life, necessity constrains me, in his default, to charge you, men of Persia, with the last desire of my life. In the name of the gods of my royal house I charge all of you, but chiefly those Achaemenids that are here, not to suffer the sovereignty to fall again into Median hands; if they have won it by trickery, trick them of it again; if they have wrested it away by force, then do you by force and strength of hand recover it. And if you so do, may your land bring forth her fruits, and your women and your flocks and herds be blessed with offspring; but if you win not back the kingdom nor essay so to do, then I pray that all may go
Περσέων ἐκάστῳ ἐπιγενέσθαι οἶνον ἐμοὶ ἐπιγέγονε." Ἅμα τε εἴπας ταῦτα ὁ Καμβύσης ἀπέκλαιε πᾶσαν τὴν ἐωτοῦ πρῆξιν.

66. Πέρσαι δὲ ὅς τοὺς βασιλέας ἐδόν ἄνακλαυσαντα πάντες τὰ τε ἐσθῆτος ἐχόμενα εἴχον, ταῦτα κατηρείκοντο καὶ οἰμωγῇ ἅφθόνω διεχρέωντο. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ὃς ἐσφακέλισε τε τὸ ὀστέον καὶ ὁ μηρὸς τάχιστα ἑσάπη, ἀπήνεικε Καμβύσεα τὸν Κύρου, βασιλεύσαντα μὲν τὰ πάντα ἐπὶ σε ἔτεα καὶ πέντε μῆνας, ἄπαιδα δὲ τὸ παράπαν ἑότα ἔρσενοι καὶ θῆλεος γονόν. Περσέων δὲ τοῖσι παρεδότες ἁπιστίᾳ πολλῇ ὑπεκέχυτο τοὺς Μάγους ἔχειν τὰ πρῆγματα, ἀλλ' ἤπιστεῖτο ἐπὶ διαβολῇ εἰπεὶν Καμβύσεα τὰ ἐπεῖ περὶ τοῦ Σμέρδιος ἑαυτόν, ἰνα οἱ ἐκπολεμωθῇ πάν τὸ Περσικὸν. οὔτοι μὲν νῦν ἤπιστέατο Σμέρδιν τὸν Κύρου βασιλέα ἑνεστῶτα. δεινὸς γὰρ καὶ ὁ Πρηξάσπης ἔξαρνος ἢν μὴ μὲν ἀποκτεῖναι Σμέρδιν· οὐ γὰρ ἦν οἱ ἀσφαλές Καμβύσεως τετελευτηκότος φάναι τὸν Κύρου νιὸν ἀπολωλεκέναι αὐτοχειρῆ.

67. Ὁ δὲ ἡ Μάγος τελευτήσαντος Καμβύσεως ἄδεως ἐβασιλεύσε, ἐπιβατεύων τοῦ ὀμωνύμου Σμέρδιος τοῦ Κύρου, μῆνας ἐπτὰ τοὺς ἐπιλοίπους Καμβύσης ἐς τὰ ὁκτὼ ἔτεα τῆς πληρώσιος· ἐν τούς ἀπεδέξατο ἐς τοὺς υπηκόους πάντας ἐνεργεσίας μεγάλας, ὡστε ἀποθανόντος αὐτοῦ πόθον ἔχειν πάντας τοὺς ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ πάρεξ αὐτῶν Περσέων. διαπέμψας γὰρ ὁ Μάγος ἐς πᾶν ἔθνος τῶν ἦρχε προείπε ἀπελεύῃν εἶναι στρατηγὴς καὶ φόρου ἐπ’ ἔτεα τρία.

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

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

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

68. Such was his proclamation at the beginning of his reign; but in the eighth month it was revealed who
τρόπω τοιῷδε. Ὄταν ήν Φαρνάσπεω μὲν παῖς, γενεῖ δὲ καὶ χρήμασι ὅμοιος τῷ πρώτῳ Περσέων. οὗτος δὲ Ὅταν πρῶτος ὑπώπτευσε τὸν Μάγον ὡς οὐκ εἶχῃ ὁ Κύριος Σμέρδις ἀλλὰ ὅς περ ἤν, τῇ δὲ συμβαλόμενος, ὅτι τε οὐκ ἔξεφοίτα ἐκ τῆς ἀκροπόλιος καὶ ὅτι οὐκ έκάλεε ἐς ὅγιν ἐωτὺ ὑμήν τῶν λογίμων Περσέων ὑποπτεύσας δὲ μῦν ἐποίεε τάδε. ἔσχε αὐτοῦ Καμβύσης θυγατέρα, τῇ οὖν ὁμομα δὴν Φαεδύμη, τὴν αὐτὴν δὴ ταύτην εἴχε τότε ὁ Μάγος καὶ ταύτῃ τε συνοίκεε καὶ τῆς ἀλήσει πάσης τῇς τοῦ Καμβύσεω γυναιξὶ. πέμπων δὴ δὶν ὁ Ὅταν παρὰ ταύτην τὴν θυγατέρα ἐπυνθάνετο παρ' ὅτε ἀνθρώπων κοιμότο, εἶτε μετὰ Σμέρδιος τοῦ Κύρου εἴτε μετὰ ἄλλου τεν. ἦ δὲ οἱ ἀντέπεμπτε φαμένη ὅτι γυνώσκειν οὕτε γὰρ τὸν Κύριον Σμέρδιν ἰδέσθαι οὐδαμά οὕτε ὅστις εἴη ὁ συνοίκεων αὐτῇ εἰδεναι. ἐπεμπὲ δεύτερα Ὅταν λέγων ὡς ἐπὶ μὴ αὐτῇ Σμέρδιν τὸν Κύριον γυνώσκειν, σὺ δὲ παρὰ Ἀτόςης πῦθεν ὅτε ὁ τοῦτῳ συνοίκεει αὐτῇ τε ἐκείνῃ καὶ σὺ πάντως γὰρ δὴ κου τὸν γε ἐωτής ἀδελφοὶ γυνώσκεις.

69. Ἀντιπέμπει πρὸς ταῦτα ἡ θυγάτηρ ὡς Ὅταν Ἀτόσης δύναμαι ὡς λόγους ἐλθεῖν οὕτε ἀλλην οὐδεμίαν ἰδέσθαι τῶν συγκατημενέων γυναικῶν. ἐπείτε γὰρ τάχιστα οὕτος ὅνθρωπος, ὅστις κοτὲ ἐστὶ, παρέλαβε τὴν βασιλην, διέσπειρε ἡμέας ἀλλην ἀλλην τάξις." ἀκούοντι δὲ ταῦτα τῷ Ὅταν μᾶλλον κατεφαίνετο τὸ πρήγμα. τρύτην δὲ ἀγγελίαν ἐσπέμπει παρ' αὐτῇ λέγοις ταῦτα. ἦ ὡς θυγατερ, δεὶσις γε γεγονοῦν εἰ κίνδυνον ἀναλαβέσθαι τῶν ἄν ὁ πατὴρ ὑποδύνειν κελεύῃ. εἶ γὰρ δὴ μὴ ἐστὶ ὁ Κύριος Σμέρδις ἀλλὰ τὸν καταδεικέως

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

69. To this his daughter replied: "I cannot get speech with Atossa, nor can I see any other of the women of the household; for no sooner had this man, whoever he is, made himself king, than he sent us to live apart, each in her appointed place." When Otanes heard that, he saw more clearly how the matter stood; and he sent her this third message: "Daughter, it is due to your noble birth that you should run any risk that your father bids you face. If this man be not Smerdis son of Cyrus, but
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ἐγώ, οὕτωι μν σοί τε συγκοιμώμενον καὶ τὸ Περσέων κράτος ἔχοντα δεὶ χαίροντα ἀπαλλάσσειν, ἀλλὰ δοῦναι δίκην. ἵνα ὅν ποιήσων τάδε ἑσταίνας σοὶ συνεύδη καὶ μάθης αὐτοῦ κατυπνωμένου, ἢφασον αὐτοῦ τὰ ὁτα; καὶ ἢν μὲν φαίνηται ἔχων ὁτα, νόμιζε σεσωτὴν Σμέρδι τῷ Κύροιν συνοικεῖοιν, ἢν ἰδὲ μὴ ἔχων, σύ δὲ τῷ Μάγῳ Σμέρδι." ἀντιπέμπει πρὸς ταύτα ή Φαίδυμη φαμένη κινδυνεύσειν μεγάλως, ἢν ποιεῖ ταύτα· εἰ γὰρ δὴ μὴ τυχχάνει τὰ ὁτα ἔχων, ἐπίλαμπτος δὲ ἢφασσουσα ἐσται, εὖ εἰδέναι ὡς ἀστώσεις μν ὁμοῖος μέντοι ποηῆσειν ταύτα. ἢ μὲν δὴ ὑπεδέξατο ταύτα τῷ πατρὶ κατεργάσεσθαι. τοῦ δὲ Μάγου τούτου τοῦ Σμέρδιος Κύροις ὁ Καμβύσεως ἄρχων τὰ ὁτα ἀπέταμε ἐπ' αὐτήν δὴ τινι ὦ σμικρῇ. ἢ δὲν δὴ Φαίδυμη αὐτή, ἢ τοῦ Ὁτάνεω θυγάτηρ, πάντα ἐπιτελέουσα τὰ ὑπεδέξατο τῷ πατρὶ, ἐπείτε αὐτῆς μέρος ἐγινετο τῆς ἀπίξιος παρὰ τὸν Μάγον (ἐν περιτροπῇ γὰρ δὴ αἱ γυναῖκες φοιτέουσι τοῖς Πέρσησι), ἐλθοῦσα παρ' αὐτοῦ ἡδὲ, ὑπωμένου δὲ καρτερῶς τοῦ Μάγου ἠφασε τὰ ὁτα. μαθοῦσα δὲν χαλεπῶς ἀλλ' εὐπετέως ὕμνη ἐχοντα τοὺς ἀνδρὰς ὁτα, ὡς ἤμερη τάχιστα ἐγεγόνει, πέμψασα ἐς ἡμῶν τῷ πατρὶ τα γενόμενα.

70. Ὅ ο δὲ Ὅτάνης παραλαβὼν Ἀσπαθίνην καὶ Γοβρύν, Περσέων τε πρῶτους ἐόντας καὶ ἔωυτῳ ἐπιτηδεοτάτους ἐς πίστιν, ἀπηγήσατο πᾶν τὸ πρῆγμα· οὐ δὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ ἀρα ὑπώπτευον οὔτω τούτῳ ἔχειν, ἀνενείκαντος δὲ τοῦ Ὁτάνεω τοὺς λόγους ἐδέξαντο, καὶ ἐδοξεὶ σφὶ ἐκαστὸν ἄνδρᾳ Περσέων προσεταιρίσασθαι τούτον ὀτερ πιστεύει μάλιστα. Ὅτάνης μὲν νυν ἐσάγεται Ἰνταφρένεα.
another whom I think him to be, then he must not go unscathed, but be punished for sharing your bed and sitting on the throne of Persia. Now, therefore, when he lies with you and you see that he is asleep, do as I bid you and feel his ears; if you see that he has ears, then you may think that it is Smerdis son of Cyrus who is your lord; but if he has none, it is Smerdis the Magian.” Phaedyme answered by messenger that she would run very great risk by so doing; for if it should turn out that he had no ears, and she were caught feeling him, he would surely make an end of her; nevertheless she would do it. So she promised to achieve her father’s bidding. It is known that Cyrus son of Cambyses had in his reign cut off the ears of this Magian, Smerdis, for some grave reason—I know not what. So Phaedyme, daughter of Otanes, performed her promise to her father. When it was her turn to visit the Magian (as a Persian’s wives come in regular order to their lord), she came to his bed, and felt the Magian’s ears while he slumbered deeply; and having with much ease assured herself that he had no ears, she sent and told this to her father as soon as it was morning.

70. Otanes then took to himself two Persians of the highest rank whom he thought worthiest of trust, Aspathines and Gobryas, and told them the whole story. These, it would seem, had themselves suspected that it was so; and now they readily believed what Otanes revealed to them. They resolved that each should take into their fellowship that Persian whom he most trusted; Otanes brought in Inta-
Γοβρύς δὲ Μεγάβυζων, Ἀσπαθίνης δὲ Ὑδώρινεα.
γεγονότων δὲ τούτων ἔξι παραγόντεσθαι ἐς τὰ Σοῦσα
Δαρείος ὁ Ἡστάσπεος ἐκ Περσέων ἰκών τούτων
γὰρ δὴ ἦν οἱ ὁ πατὴρ ύπαρχος. ἐπεὶ δὲν οὗτος
ἀπίκετο, τούσι ἔξι τῶν Περσέων ἐδοξε καὶ Δαρείου
προσταρίσασθαι.

71. Συνελθόντες δὲ οὗτοι ἔντον ἐπτὰ ἐδίδοσαν
σφίσι πίστις καὶ λόγους. ἔπειτε δὲ ἐς Δαρείου
ἀπίκετο γρώμην ἀποφαίνεσθαι, ἠλεγέ σφι τάδε.
"Εγὼ ταῦτα ἐδόκεων μὲν αὐτὸς μοῦνος ἐπίστασθαι,
ὅτι τε ὁ Μάγος εἶχ ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ Ἰμέρδις ὁ
Κύρου τετελεύτηκεν καὶ αὐτοῦ τούτου ἐκενέκεν ἥκῳ
σπουδῇ ὡς συστήσων ἐπὶ τῷ Μάγῳ θάνατον.
ἐπείτε δὲ συνήνεικε ὡςτε καὶ ὑμέας εἰδέναι καὶ
μὴ μοῦνον ἔμε, ποιεῖν αὐτίκα μοι δοκέει καὶ μὴ
ὑπερβάλλεσθαι εἰς γὰρ ἀμένων." εἶπε πρὸς ταῦτα
ὁ Ὀτάνης "uggestion' ὁ παῖ Ὁστάσπεος, εἰς τε πατρὸς
ἀγαθὸν καὶ ἐκφαίνειν έοίκας σεωτὸν ἐόντα τοῦ
πατρὸς οὐδὲν ἰσω' τήν μὲντοι ἐπιχείρησιν ταύ-
την μὴ οὕτω συντάχυνε ἀβούλως, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τὸ
σωφρονεστέρον αὐτήν λύμβανε δεὶ γαρ πλεύνας
γενομένους οὕτω ἐπιχειρεῖσθαι." λέγει πρὸς ταῦτα
Δαρείος "Ἀνδρεσ οὶ παρεόντες, τρόπῳ τῷ εἰρήμενῷ
ἔξι Ὀτάνω εἰ χρήσεσθε, ἐπίστασθε ὅτι ἀπολέσθε
κάκιστα: ἐξοίσει γὰρ τῆς πρὸς τὸν Μάγον, ἰδίῃ
περιβάλλομενος ἐνυτὸ κέρδεα. μάλιστα μὲν γνω
ὡφειλετε ἐπὶ ὑμέον αὐτὸν ἐκαλλόμενο ποιείν
ταῦτα: ἐπείτε δὲ ὑμῖν ἀναφέρειν ἐς πλεύνας ἐδοκε
καὶ ἐμοὶ ὑπερέθεσθε, ἢ ποιεόμεν σήμερον ἦ ἢστε
ὑμῖν ὅτι ἦν ὑπερπέσῃ ἡ νῦν ἦμέρη, ὡς οὐκ ἄλλος
θάνες ἐμεύ κατήγορος ἐσται, ἀλλὰ σφεα αὐτὸς ἐγὼ
κατερέω πρὸς τὸν Μάγον."
phrenes, Gobryas brought Megabyzus and Aspathines Hydarnes; so they were six. Now came to Susa Darius son of Hystaspes, from Persia, of which his father was vice-gerent; and on his coming the six Persians resolved to make Darius too their comrade.

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

1 The names in the Behistun inscription (the trilingual inscription set up by Darius at Behistun, after he had crushed the revolts in his empire) are: Vindapana, Utana, Gaubaruwa, Vidarna, Bagabukhsa, Ardumanis; all but the last corresponding with Herodotus' list.
72. Λέγει πρὸς ταῦτα Ὄτανός, ἐπειδὴ ὡρα σπερχόμενον Δαρεῖον, "Ἐπείτε ἡμέας συνταχύνειν ἀναγκάζεις καὶ ὑπερβάλλεσθαι οὐκ ἔσσας, ὑπερηγεῖον αὐτὸς ὑπὲρ ὁποῖο πάριμεν ἐς τὰ βασιλεία καὶ ἐπιχειρήσομεν αὐτοῖς. φυλακᾶς ἔγρα δὴ διεστε-ώσας οἴδας καὶ καὶ αὐτὸς, εἶ μὴ ἱδὼν, ἀλλ' ἀκούσας· τὰς τέφρο τρόπῳ περίσσομεν," ἀμείβεται Δαρεῖος τούτωδε. "Ὅταν, ἡ πολλά ἐστι τὰ λόγῳ μὲν οὐκ οίᾳ τε δηλώσαι, ἔργῳ δὲ· ἀλλὰ δ' ἐστὶ τὰ λόγῳ μὲν οίᾳ τε, ἔργου δὲ οὐδὲν ἀπ' αὐτῶν λαμπρὸν γίνεται. ὑμεῖς δὲ ἵστε φυλακᾶς τὰς κατεστεώσας έουσας οὐδὲν χαλέπας παρελθείην. τούτο μὲν γάρ ἡμέων έόντων τοιώδει οὐδεὶς ὡς τις οὐ παρίσης, τὰ μὲν καὶ καταδεόμενοι ἡμέας, τὰ δὲ καὶ δειμαίνων· τοῦτο δὲ ἔχω αὐτὸς σκήψιν εὐπρεπεστάτην τῇ πάριμεν, φᾶς ἀρτί τε ἦκεν ἐκ Περσέων καὶ βούλεσθαι τι ἔπος παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς σημῆναι τῷ βασιλείῳ. ἐνθα γάρ τι δεῖ ζεύδος λέγεσθαι, λέγεσθω. τοῦ γάρ αὐτοῦ γλυχόμεθα οἳ τε ζευδόμενοι καὶ οἳ τῇ ἀλήθειᾳ διαχρεώμενοι. οἱ μὲν γε ζευδόνται τότε ἐπείν τι μέλλωσιν τοῖς ζεύδει πείσαντες κερδήσεσθαι, οἳ δ' ἀληθίζονται ἵνα τῇ ἀλήθειᾳ ἐπιστάσωσυντα κέρδος καὶ τι μάλ-λόν σφι ἐπιτράπηται. οὕτω οὐ ταῦτα ἀσκέοντες τῶντοι περιεχόμεθα. εἰ δὲ μηδὲν κερδήσεσθαι μέλλοιεν, ὡμοίως ἀν γὰρ οἱ τῇ ἀληθιζόμενος ζεύδης εἴη καὶ ο ζευδόμενος ἀλήθις. ὃς ἄν μὲν τῖν τῶν πυλουρῶν χων παρίη, αὐτῷ οἱ ἁμεῖνον ἐς χρόνον ἔσταν· ὃς δ' ἄν ἀντιβαίνειν πειρᾶται, δεικνύσθω ἐνθαῦτα ἐώς πολέμιοι, καὶ ἐπείτα ὁσάμενοι ἐσο ἔργον ἐχόμεθα."
72. To this Otanes replied, seeing Darius' vehemence, "Since you compel us to hasten and will brook no delay, tell us now yourself how we shall pass into the palace and assail the Magians. The place is beset all round by guards; this you know, for you have seen or heard of them; how shall we win past the guards?" "Otanes," answered Darius, "very many things can be done whereof the doing cannot be described in words; and sometimes a plan easy to make clear is yet followed by no deed of note. Right well you know that the guards who are set are easy to pass. For we being such as we are, there is none who will not grant us admittance, partly from reverence and partly too from fear; and further, I have myself the fairest pretext for entering, for I will say that I am lately come from Persia and have a message for the king from my father. Let lies be told where they are needful. All of us aim at the like end, whether we lie or speak truth; he that lies does it to win credence and so advantage by his deceit, and he that speaks truth hopes that truth will get him profit and greater trust; so we do but take different ways to the same goal. Were the hope of advantage taken away, the truth-teller were as ready to lie as the liar to speak truth. Now if any warder of the gate willingly suffer us to pass, it will be the better for him thereafter. But if any strives to withstand us let us mark him for an enemy, and so thrust ourselves in and begin our work."

73. Then said Gobryas, "Friends, when shall we
κατά συντυχίην τάδε. τοίσι Μάγοισι ἐδοξε βουλευμένοισιν Πρηξάσπεα φίλον προσθέσθαι, ὅτι τε ἐπεπόθθεν πρὸς Καμβύσεω άνάρσια, ὅσι οἱ τὸν παίδα τοξεύσας ἀπολολέκκες, καὶ διότι μοῦνος ἦπιστατο τὸν Σμέρδιος τοῦ Κύρου θάνατον αὐτοχειρίᾳ μιν ἀπολέσας, πρὸς δ' ἐτὶ ἐστα ἐν αὐνή μεγίσῃ τὴν Πρηξάσπεα ἐν Πέρσησι. τοῦτων δὴ μιν εἰνεκεν καλέσαντες φίλον προσεκτόντω τίςτι τε λαβόντες καὶ ὀρκίοσι, ἢ μὲν ἐξειν παρ' ἐωτῷ μηδ' ἐξοίσειν μηδεὶν ἀνθρώπων τὴν ἀπὸ σφέων ἀπάτην ἐς Πέρσας γεγονωδαίν, ὑπισχυμένουι τὰ πάντα οἱ μυρία δῶσειν. ὑποσχομένου δὲ τοῦ Πρηξάσπεας ποιῆσειν ταύτα, ὡς ἀνέπεισαν μιν οἱ Μάγοι, δ' ὑπέρα προσέφερον, αὐτοὶ μὲν φάμενοι Πέρσας πάντας συγκαλέειν ὑπὸ τὸ βασιλῆιον τεῖχος, κεῖνον δ' ἐκέλευον ἀναβάντα ἐπὶ πύργουν ἀγορεύσας ὡς ὑπὸ τοῦ Κύρου Σμέρδιος ἀρχοῦται καὶ ὑπ' οὐδενὸς ἄλλου. ταύτα δὲ οὖτω ἐνετελ-
have a better occasion to win back the kingship, or, if we cannot so do, to die? seeing that we who are Persians are ruled by a Mede, a Magian, a man that has no ears. Those of you that were with Cambyses in his sickness cannot but remember the curse which with his last breath he laid on the Persians if they should not essay to win back the kingship; albeit we did not then believe Cambyses, but thought that he spoke to deceive us. Now therefore my vote is that we follow Darius' plan, and not quit this council to do aught else but attack the Magian forthwith." So spoke Gobryas; and they all consented to what he said.

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

75. Φαμένου δὲ καὶ ταύτα ἐτοίμου εἶναι ποιέειν τοῦ Πρηξάσπεος, συγκαλέσαντες Πέρσας οἱ Μάγου ἀνεβίβασαν αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ πύργον καὶ ἀγορεύειν ἐκέλευον. ὃ δὲ τῶν μὲν ἐκεῖνοι προσεδόντο αὐτοῦ, τούτων μὲν ἐκὼν ἐπελήθησο, ἀρξάμενος δὲ ἀπ’ Ἀχαιμένεος ἐγενεθήκησε τὴν πατρίδα τὴν Κύρου, μετὰ δὲ ως ἐς τούτον κατέβη τελευτῶν ἐλεγε ὅσα ἀγαθὰ Κύρου Πέρσας πεποιήκοι, διεξελθὼν δὲ ταύτα ἐξέφαινε τὴν ἀληθείαν, φάμενος πρότερον μὲν κρύπτειν (οὐ γὰρ οἱ εἶναι ἀσφαλὲς λέγειν τὰ γενόμενα), ἐν δὲ τῷ παρεόντι ἀναγκαίην μιν καταλαμβάνειν φαίνειν. καὶ δὴ ἐλεγε τῶν μὲν Κύρου Σμέρδιν ὡς αὐτοῦ ὑπὸ Καμβύσεω ἀναγκαζόμενος ἀποκτείνειε, τοὺς Μάγους δὲ βασιλεύειν. Πέρσηι δὲ πολλα ἐπαρησάμενος εἰ μὴ ἀνακτησαίατο ὁπίσω τὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ τοὺς Μάγους τισάϊτο, ἀπῆκε ἐωντὸν ἐπὶ κεφαλῆν φέρεσθαι ἀπὸ τοῦ πύργου κάτω. Πρηξάστης μὲν ὑν ἐν τὸν πάντα χρόνον ἀνὴρ δόκιμος οὕτω ἐτελεύτησε.

76. Οἱ δὲ δὴ ἔπτα τῶν Περσέων ὡς ἐβουλεύσαντο αὐτίκα ἐπιχειρεῖν τοῖς Μάγοισι καὶ μὴ ὑπερβάλλεσθαι, ὑσιν εὐξάμενοι τοῖς θεοῖς, τῶν περὶ Πρηξάσπεα πρηγθέντων εἰδότες οὐδέν. ἐν τε δὴ τῇ ὁδῷ μέσῃ στείχοντες ἐγάνωτο καὶ τὰ περὶ Πρηξάσπεα γεγονότα ἐπιυπάνωτο. ἐνθαύτα ἐκστάντες τῆς ὁδοῦ ἐδίδοσαν αὐτῖς σφίσι λόγους, οὐ μὲν ἀμφὶ τῶν Ὁτάνῃ πάγχυ κελεύοντες ὑπερβάλεσθαι μηδὲ οἰδεόντων τῶν πρηγμάτων ἐπιτί-
be the man most trusted by the Persians, and because he had oftentimes asserted that Cyrus' son Smerdis was alive, and had denied the murder.

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

76. The seven Persians, after counsel purposing to attack the Magians forthwith and delay no longer, prayed to the gods and set forth, knowing nothing of Prexaspes' part in the business. But when they had gone half way they heard the story of him; whereat they went aside from the way and consulted together, Otanes' friends being wholly for waiting and not attacking in the present ferment,
θεσθαί, οἳ δὲ ἀμφὶ τὸν Δαρείου αὐτήκα τε ἔναι καὶ τὰ δεδογμένα ποιεῖν μηδὲ ύπερβάλλεσθαι. ὥθησομένων δὲ αὐτῶν ἐφάνη ἱρῖκων ἐπτὰ ξεύγεα δόν αἰγυπτίων ξεύγεα διώκοντα καὶ τίλλουντα τε καὶ ἀμύσσοντα. ἰδόντες δὲ ταῦτα οἱ ἐπτὰ τὴν τε Δαρείου πάντες αἴνεον γνώμην καὶ ἔπειτα ἰσαυ ἐπὶ τὰ βασιλῆα τεθαρσηκότες τοίσι ὄρυσι.

77. Ἐπιστάσι δὲ ἐπὶ τάς πύλας ἐγῖνετο οἴον τι Δαρείῳ ἡ γνώμη ἐφερε καταίδεομενοι γὰρ οἱ φύλακοι ἄνδρας τοὺς Περσέων πρώτους καὶ οὐδὲν τοιὸτο ὑποπτεύουσε τε ἀὐτῶν ἐσεσθαί, παρίεσαν θείῇ πομπῇ χρεωμένους, οὐδ᾽ ἐπειρώτα οὐδείς. ἔπειτε δὲ καὶ παρῆλθον ἐς τὴν αὐλὴν, ἐνέκυραν τοῖς τὰς ἀγγελίας ἐσφέρουσι εὐνοὐχοις, οἱ σφαῖς ἱστόρεον ὁ τι θέλοντες ἥκοιεν, καὶ ἀμα ἱστορέουσα τούτους τοῖοι πυλουροίσι ἀπείλεον ὅτι σφαῖς παρῆκαν, ἱσχὸν τε βουλομένους τοὺς ἐπτὰ ἐς τὸ πρόσω παρίέναι. οὐ δὲ διακελευσάμενοι καὶ σπασάμενοι τὰ ἐγχειρία τούτους μὲν τοὺς ἱσχοῦντας αὐτοῦ ταύτῃ συγκεντέουσι, αὐτοὶ δὲ ἴσαν δρόμῳ ἐς τοῖν ἄνδρεῦνα.

78. Οἱ δὲ Μάγοι ἔτυχον ἀμφότεροι τηνικάτα ἑόντες τε ἐσω καὶ τὰ ἀπὸ Πρήξάσπεως γενόμενα ἐν θουλῇ ἔχοντες. ἔπει δὲν εἶδον τοὺς εὐνούχους τεθορυβημένους τε καὶ βοῶντας, ἀνά τε ἑδραμον πάλιν ἀμφότεροι καὶ ὡς ἔμαθον τὸ ποιεύμενον πρὸς ἁλκήν ἐτράποντο. ὅ μὲν δὴ αὐτῶν φθάνει τὰ τόξα κατελόμενος, ὁ δὲ πρὸς τὴν αἴχμην ἐτράπετο. ἐνθαῦτα δὴ συνέμισσον ἀλλήλοις. τῷ μὲν δὴ τὰ τόξα ἀναλαβόντι αὐτῶν, ἑόντων τε ἀγχοῦ τῶν πολεμίων καὶ προσκειμένων, ἦν
but Darius' party bidding to go forthwith and do their agreed purpose without delay. While they disputed, they saw seven pairs of hawks that chased and rent and tore two pairs of vultures; seeing which all the seven consented to Darius' opinion, and went on to the palace, heartened by the sight of the birds.

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

78. It chanced that both the Magians were within, consulting together on the outcome of Prexaspes' act. Seeing the eunuchs in confusion and hearing their cries they both sprang back: and when they saw what was afoot they set about defending themselves; one made haste to take down his bow, the other seized his spear; so the seven and the two met in fight. He that had caught up the bow found it availed him nothing, his enemies being so close and
χρηστὰ οὐδέν· ὦ δ’ ἐτερος τῇ αἰχμῇ ἡμὺνετο καὶ τοῦτο μὲν Ἀσπαθύνην παλεῖ εἰς τὸν μηρόν, τοῦτο δὲ Ἰνταφρένεα ἐς τὸν ὁφθαλμόν· καὶ ἐστερήθη μὲν τοῦ ὁφθαλμοῦ ἐκ τοῦ τράματος ὁ Ἰνταφρένης, οὐ μέντοι ἀπέθανε γε. τῶν μὲν δὴ Μάγων οὐτερος τρωματίζει τοῦτος· ὦ δὲ ἐτερος, ἐπεῖτε οἱ τὰ τὸξα οὐδέν χρηστὰ εὑρίσκει, ἣν γὰρ δὴ θάλαμος ἐσέχων ἐς τὸν ἀνδρεών, ἐς τοῦτον καταφεύγει, θέλων αὐτοῦ προσθέειν πᾶς θύρας, καὶ οἱ συνεσπι-πτουσι τῶν ἑπτὰ δύο, Δαρείος τε καὶ Γοβρύης. συμπλακέντος δὲ Γοβρύνῳ τῷ Μάγῳ ὁ Δαρείος ἐπεστεώς ἥπορες ὀλα ἐν σκότει, προμηθεόμενος μὴ πλήξῃ τὸν Γοβρύνην. ὁρέων δὲ μιν ἁργὸν ἐπεστεώτα τὸ Γοβρύνης ἔρετο ὁ τι οὐ χράται τῇ χειρὶ· ὥ δὲ εἰπε “Προμηθεόμενος σέο, μὴ πλήξω.” Γοβρύῆς δὲ ἀμέβετο “Ωθεῖ τὸ ἕφος καὶ δι’ ἀμφοτέρων.” Δαρείος δὲ πειθόμενος ὡσὲ τὸ ἐγχειρίδιον καὶ ἐτυχὲ κως τοῦ Μάγου.

79. ’ Ἀποκτείναντες δὲ τοὺς Μάγους καὶ ἀποταμώντες αὐτῶν τὰς κεφαλάς, τοὺς μὲν τρωματίας ἑωτῶν αὐτοῦ λείπουσι καὶ ἀδυνασίας εἶνεκεν καὶ φυλακῆς τῆς ἀκροπόλιος, οἱ δὲ πέντε αὐτῶν ἑχουσε τῶν Μάγων τὰς κεφαλὰς ἔθεον βοη τε καὶ πατάγῳ χρέωμενοι, καὶ Πέρσας τοὺς ἄλλους ἐπεκαλέοντο ἐξηγεομενοὶ τε τὸ πρόγημα καὶ δεικνύοντες τὰς κεφαλὰς, καὶ ἀμα ἐκτείνον πάντα τινὰ τῶν Μάγων τὸν ἐν ποσὶ γινόμενον. οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι μαθόντες τὸ γεγονὸς ἐκ τῶν ἑπτὰ καὶ τῶν Μάγων τὴν ἀπάτην, ἐδικαίευν καὶ αὐτοῦ ἐτέρα τοιαύτα ποιεῖν, σπασάμειν οἱ τὰ ἐγχειρίδια ἐκτείνον ὅκου τινὰ Μάγων εὐρίσκον. εἰ δὲ μη νῦξ ἐπελθοῦσα ἑσχε, ἐλιπον ἄν ούδένα Μάγον. ταῦ-
pressing him hard; but the other defended himself with his spear, smiting Aspathines in the thigh and Intaphrenes in the eye; Intaphrenes was not slain by the wound, but lost his eye. So these were wounded by one of the Magians; the other, his bow availing him nothing, fled into a chamber adjoining the men's apartment and would have shut its door. Two of the seven, Darius and Gobryas, hurled themselves into the chamber with him. Gobryas and the Magian grappling together, Darius stood perplexed by the darkness, fearing to strike Gobryas; whereat Gobryas, seeing Darius stand idle, cried to know why he did not strike; "For fear of stabbing you," quoth Darius. "Nay," said Gobryas, "thrust with your sword, though it be through both of us." So Darius thrust with his dagger, and by good luck it was the Magian that he stabbed.

79. Having killed the Magians and cut off their heads, they left their wounded where they were, by reason of their infirmity and to guard the citadel; the other five took the Magians' heads and ran with much shouting and noise, calling all Persians to aid, telling what they had done and showing the heads; at the same time they killed every Magian that came in their way. The Persians, when they heard from the seven what had been done and how the Magians had tricked them, resolved to follow the example set, and drew their daggers and slew all the Magians they could find; and if nightfall had not stayed them they would not have left one Magian alive. This day is
την τὴν ἡμέρῃν θεραπεύουσι Πέρσαι κοινῇ μᾶλιστα τῶν ἡμερέων, καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ ὀρτήν μεγάλην ἀνάγουσι, ἢ κέκληται ὑπὸ Περσέων μαγοφόνια· ἐν τῇ Μάγοιν οὐδένα ἐξεστὶ φανῇν ἐς τὸ φῶς, ἀλλὰ κατ’ οἶκους ἐσωτεύουσι οἱ Μάγοι ἔχουσι τὴν ἡμέρην ταύτην.

80. Ἑπείτε δὲ κατέστη ὁ θόρυβος καὶ ἐκτὸς πέντε ἡμερέων ἐγένετο, ἐβουλεύοντο οἱ ἐπαναστάντες τοῖς Μάγοις περὶ τῶν πάντων πρήγματων καὶ ἐλέγχθησαν λόγοι ἀπιστοὶ μὲν ἐνίοισι Ἐλλήνων, ἐλέγχθησαν δὲ ὄν. Ὁτάνης μὲν ἐκέλευε ἐς μέσον Πέρσης καταθεῖνα τὰ πρήγματα, λέγων τάδε. "Ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ ἐνα μὲν ἡμέων μοῦναρχον μηκέτι γενέσθαι, οὔτε γὰρ ἢδυ οὔτε ἀγαθὸν. ἐϊδετε μὲν γὰρ τὴν Καμβύσεως ὤβριν ἐπ’ ὅσον ἐπεξῆλθε, μετεσχῆκατε δὲ καὶ τῆς τοῦ Μάγου ὤβριος. κἂς ἦ ἢ ἡ χρήμα κατηρτημένον μουναρχίῃ, τῇ ἐξεστὶ ἀνευθύνῳ ποιεῖν τὰ βουλεύει; καὶ γὰρ ἄν τὸν ἀριστὸν ἀνδρῶν πάντων στάντα ἐς ταύτην ἐκτὸς τῶν ἑωθότων νοημάτων στήσειν. ἐγγίνεται μὲν γὰρ οἱ ὤβροι ὑπὸ τῶν παρεόντων ἀγαθῶν, φθόνος δὲ ἀρχίθεν εἰμήνεται ἀνθρώπῳ. δύο δ’ ἐχον ταῦτα ἔχει πᾶσαν κακότητα· τὰ μὲν γὰρ ὤβρι κεκορημένος ἐρεί τὸ πολλὰ καὶ ἀτάσθαλα, τὰ δὲ φθόνῳ, καίτοι ἁνδρᾷ γε τῦρανον ἀφθονον ἔδει εἶναι, ἔχοντὰ γε πάντα τὰ ἀγαθά. τὸ δὲ ὑπεναντίου τοῦτον ἐς τοὺς πολιτὰς πέφυκε· φθονεῖ γὰρ τοῖς ἀρίστοις περιεσξεῖ τε καὶ ξώουσι, χαίρει δὲ τοῖς κακίστοις τῶν ἁστῶν, διαβολάς δὲ ἀριστὸς ἐνδέκεσθαι. ἀναρμοστότατον δὲ πάντων· ἢν τε γὰρ αὐτὸν μετρίως θωμάζῃς, ἀχθεῖται ὅτι οὐ κάρτα θεραπεύεται, ἢν τε θερα-
the greatest holy day that all Persians alike keep; they 
celebrate a great festival on it, which they call the 
Massacre of the Magians; while the festival lasts no 
Magian may come abroad, but during this day they 
remain in their houses.

80. When the tumult was abated, and five days 
had passed, the rebels against the Magians held a 
council on the whole state of affairs, at which words 
were uttered which to some Greeks seem incredible; 
but there is no doubt that they were spoken. Otanes 
was for giving the government to the whole body of 
the Persian people. "I hold," he said, "that we 
must make an end of monarchy; there is no pleasure 
or advantage in it. You have seen to what lengths 
went the insolence of Cambyses, and you have borne 
your share of the insolence of the Magian. What 
right order is there to be found in monarchy, when 
the ruler can do what he will, nor be held to 
account for it? Give this power to the best man on 
earth, and his wonted mind must leave him. The 
advantage which he holds breeds insolence, and 
nature makes all men jealous. This double cause is 
the root of all evil in him; he will do many wicked 
deeds, some from the insolence which is born of 
satiety, some from jealousy. For whereas an absolute 
ruler, as having all that heart can desire, should 
rightly be jealous of no man, yet it is contrariwise 
with him in his dealing with his countrymen; he is 
jealous of the safety of the good, and glad of the 
safety of the evil; and no man is so ready to believe 
calamity. Nor is any so hard to please; accord him 
but just honour, and he is displeased that you make 
him not your first care; make him such, and he damns
πεύη της κάρτας, ἀνθετή τὰ ἰθωπί. τὰ δὲ δῆ μέγιστα ἑρχομαι ἐρέων νόμαια τε κινεῖ πάτρια καὶ βιάται γυναῖκας κτείνει τε ἀκρίτους. πλήθος δὲ ἄρχον πρώτα μὲν οὐνομα πάντων κάλλιστον ἐχει, ἱσονομῆν, δεύτερα δὲ τούτων τῶν ὁ μουναρχὺς ποιεῖ ὀφεῖν πάλῳ μὲν ἄρχας ἄρχει, ὑπεύθυνον δὲ ἄρχην ἐχει, βουλεύματα δὲ πάντα ἐς τὸ κοινὸν ἀναφέρει. τίθεμαι δὲν γνώμην μετέντας ἡμέας μουναρχῆν τὸ πλήθος ἀέξειν· ἐν γὰρ τὸν πολλὸν ἐνι τὰ πάντα.

81. Ὅταν ἡ ταύτην γνώμην ἐσέφερε· Μεγάβυζος δὲ ὑλιγαρχὺς ἐκελευνεὶ ἐπιτράπειν, λέγον τάδε. “Τὰ μὲν Ὅταν ἐπὶ τύραννίδα παύων, λεικέβω κἀκεῖ ταῦτα, τὰ δὲ ἐς τὸ πλήθος ἀνωγε φέρειν τὸ κράτος, γνώμης τῆς ἀρίστης ἡμάρτηκε· ὁμίλου γὰρ ἀρχηγίου ὀφεῖν ἑστὶ ἀξιωτότερον οὐδὲ ὑβριστότερον. καὶ τοὺς τύραννοὺς ὑβριν φεύγοντας ἀνδρας ἐς ἴμουν ἀκολάστον ὑβριν πεσεῖν ἑστὶ οὐδαμῶς ἀνασχετόν. ὃ μὲν γὰρ ἐὰς τοιεῖ, γινώσκων ποιεῖ, τὸ δὲ οὐδὲ γινώσκειν ἐνι· κἂς γὰρ ἄν γινώσκοι ὃς οὔτ’ ἐδιδάχθη οὔτε εἶδε καλὸν οὐδὲν οἰκῆν,1 ὥθεις τῇ ἐμπεσῶ τὰ πρίγγατα ἀνευ νόου, χειμάρρῳ ποταμῷ εἴκελος; δήμῳ μὲν νυν, οὐ Πέρσηςι κακοῦ νοεούσι, οὔτοι χράσθων, ἤμεῖς δὲ ἀνδρῶν τῶν ἀρίστων ἐπιλέξαντες ὁμίλην τούτοις περιθέωμεν τὸ κράτος· ἐν γὰρ δὴ τούτοις καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐνεσόμεθα· ἀρίστων δὲ ἀνδρῶν οἰκὸς ἀριστα βουλεύματα γίνεσθαι.”

82. Μεγάβυζος μὲν δὴ ταύτην γνώμην ἐσέφερε·

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

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

82. Such was the judgment of Megabyzus.
τρήτος δὲ Δαρείος ἀπεδείκνυτο γυνώμην, λέγων ἴς ὦ. Εἰμι δὲ τὰ μὲν εἶπε Μεγάβυζος ἐς τὸ πλήθος ἔχοντα δοκεῖι ὀρθῶς λέξαι, τὰ δὲ ἐς ὀλυγαρχίαν οὐκ ὀρθῶς. τρὶῶν γὰρ προκειμένων καὶ πάντων τῷ λόγῳ ἀρίστων ἐνυτων, δήμου τε ἀρίστου καὶ ὀλυγαρχίας καὶ μονάρχου, πολλῷ τούτῳ προέχειν λέγω. ἀνδρὸς γὰρ ἐνὸς τοῦ ἀρίστου οὐδέν ἄμεινον ἄν φανεῖ· γυνώμη γὰρ τοιαύτη χρεώμενος ἐπιτροπεύοι ἄν ἀμωμήτως τοῦ πλῆθους, σιγῶτό τε ἀν βουλεύματα ἐπὶ δυσμενέας ἀνδρας οὕτω μάλιστα. ἐν δὲ ὀλυγαρχία πολλοίσι ἄρετήν ἐπασκέουσι ἐς τὸ κοινὸν ἔχθεα ἴδια ἱσχυρὰ φιλέει ἐγγύνεσθαι· αὐτὸς γὰρ ἐκαστὸς βουλόμενος κορυφαῖος εἶναι γυνώμησι τε νικᾶν ἐς ἔχθεα μεγάλα ἀλλήλοισι ἀπικνεόνται, ἐξ ὧν στάσιες ἐγγίνονται, ἐκ δὲ τῶν στασίων φόνος· ἐκ δὲ τοῦ φόνου ἀπέβη ἐς μοναρχίαν, καὶ ἐν τούτῳ διέδεξε ὅσοι ἔστι τούτῳ ἀριστο. δήμου τε αὐτὸ ἀρχούτων ἀδύνατα μὴ ὡς κακότητα ἐγγύνεσθαι· κακότητος τοῖνυν ἐγχινομένης ἐς τὰ κοινὰ ἔχθεα μὲν οὐκ ἐγγίνεται τοῖς κακοίσι, φιλίας δὲ ἱσχυραὶ· οἱ γὰρ κακοῦντες τὰ κοινὰ συγκύψαντες ποιεῦσι. τοῦτο δὲ τοιοῦτο γίνεται ἐς ὅ ἂν προσταῖ τις τοῦ δήμου τους τοιουτοὺς παύσῃ. ἐκ δὲ αὐτῶν θωμάζεται οὕτος δὴ ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου, θωμαζόμενος δὲ ἀν δὲν ἔφανε μονάρχοις ἔως, καὶ ἐν τούτῳ δῆλοι καὶ οὕτος ως ἡ μοναρχία κράτιστον. ἐνὶ δὲ ἐπεὶ πάντω συλλαβόντα εἰπεῖν, κόθεν ἢμῖν ἡ ἐλευθερίη ἐγένετο καὶ τεῦ δόντως; κότερα παρὰ τοῦ δήμου ἡ ὀλι-
Darius was the third to declare his opinion. "Methinks," said he, "Megabyzus speaks rightly concerning democracy, but not so concerning oligarchy. For the choice lying between these three, and each of them, democracy, oligarchy and monarchy being supposed to be the best of its kind, I hold that monarchy is by far the most excellent. Nothing can be found better than the rule of the one best man; his judgment being like to himself, he will govern the multitude with perfect wisdom, and best conceal plans made for the defeat of enemies. But in an oligarchy, the desire of many to do the state good service oftentimes engenders bitter enmity among them; for each one wishing to be chief of all and to make his counsels prevail, violent enmity is the outcome, enmity brings faction and faction bloodshed; and the end of bloodshed is monarchy; whereby it is shown that this fashion of government is the best. Again, the rule of the commonalty must of necessity engender evil-mindedness; and when evil-mindedness in public matters is engendered, bad men are not divided by enmity but united by close friendship; for they that would do evil to the commonwealth conspire together to do it. This continues till someone rises to champion the people's cause and makes an end of such evil-doing. He therefore becomes the people's idol, and being their idol is made their monarch; so his case also proves that monarchy is the best government. But (to conclude the whole matter in one word) tell me, whence and by whose gift came our freedom—from the commonalty or an oligarchy or a single

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γαρχίς ἢ μουνάρχου; ἐχὼ τοῖνυν γνώμην ἡμέας ἐλευθερωθέντας διὰ ἐνα ἄνδρα τὸ τοιοῦτο περιστέλλειν, χωρὶς τε τούτου πατρίους νόμους μὴ λύειν ἐχοντας ευ' οὐ γὰρ ἁμεινον.'

83. Γνώμαι μὲν δὴ τρεῖς αὕται προεκέατο, οἱ δὲ τέσσερες τῶν ἐπτὰ ἄνδρῶν προσέβεντο ταύτην, ώς δὲ ἐσσώθη τῇ γνώμῃ ὁ Ὄτανής Πέρσης ἰσονομίην σπεύδων ποιήσαι, ἔλεξε ἐς μέσον αὐτοῖς τάδε. "Ἄνδρες στασιῶται, δῆλα γὰρ δὴ ὦτι δεῖ ἑαν γε τινὰ ἡμέων βασιλεᾶ γενέσθαι, ήτοι κλήρῳ γε λαχόντα, ἡ ἐπιτρεψάντων τῷ Περσέων πλήθεῖ τῶν ἂν ἐκεῖνο ἐληται, ἡ ἅλλη τινὶ μηχανῇ. ἐγὼ μὲν νυν ὑμῖν οὐκ ἐναγωνιεῦμαι, οὔτε γὰρ ἄρχειν οὔτε ἄρχεσθαι ἐθέλω· ἐπὶ τούτω δὲ ὑπεξισταμαι τῆς ἅρχης, ἔτ' ὁ τε ὑπ' οὖδενος ὑμέων ἄρξομαι, οὔτε αὐτὸς ἐγὼ οὔτε οἰ ἀπ' ἐμέν αἰεὶ γνώμενοι." τούτων εἰπάντως ταῦτα ὡς συνεχόμενοι οἱ εξ ἐπὶ τούτοις, οὔτος μὲν δὴ σφι οὐκ ἐνηγωνίζετο ἀλλ' ἐκ μέσου κατῆστο, καὶ νῦν αὐτὴ ἡ οἰκίη διατελεῖ μούνη ἐλευθέρη ἐσύσα Περσέων καὶ ἄρχεται τοσαύτα ὧσα αὐτή θέλει, νόμους οὐκ ὑπερβαίνουσα τοὺς Περσέων.

84. Οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ τῶν ἐπτὰ ἐβούλευόντο ὡς βασιλεὰ δικαίοτα στήσοντας καὶ σφι ἐδοξεῖ Ὄτανή μὲν καὶ τούσι ἀπὸ Ὄτανεω αἰεὶ γνωμένοις, ἦν ἐς ἄλλον τινὰ τῶν ἐπτὰ ἐλθῆ ἡ βασιλη, ἐξαίρετα δίδοσθαι ἐσθήτα τε Μηδικῆν ἔτεος ἕκαστον καὶ τὴν πᾶσαν δωρεῖν ἥ γίνεται εὖ Πέρσης τιμιωτάτη. τοῦτο δὲ εἶνεκεν ἐβούλευσάν οἱ δίδοσθαι ταύτα, ὅτι ἐβούλευσέ τε πρῶτος τὸ πρῆγμα καὶ συνέστησε αὐτοὺς. ταύτα μὲν δὴ Ὅτανή ἐξαίρετα, τάδε δὲ ἐς τὸ κοινὸν ἐβούλευσαν,
ruler? I hold therefore, that as the rule of one man gave us freedom, so that rule we should preserve; and, moreover, that we should not repeal the good laws of our fathers; that were ill done."

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

84. The rest of the seven then consulted what was the justest way of making a king; and they resolved, if another of the seven than Otanes should gain the royal power, that Otanes and his posterity should receive for themselves specially a yearly gift of Median raiment and all such presents as the Persians hold most precious. The reason of this resolve was that it was he who had first contrived the matter and assembled the conspirators. To Otanes, then, they gave this peculiar honour; but with regard to all of
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παριέναι ἐς τὰ βασιλῆια πάντα τὸν βουλόμενον τῶν ἐπὶ τὰ ἀνευ ἐσαγγελεῖσ, ἢν μὴ τυχαίᾳ εὐδῶν μετὰ γυναικὸς βασιλεύς, γαμέειν δὲ μὴ ἔξεϊναι ἀλλοθεν τῷ βασιλεί ἢ ἐκ τῶν συνεπαναστάντων. peri δὲ τῆς βασιληῆις ἐβούλευσαν τοιόνδε: ὅτεν ἂν ὁ ἱππος ἡλίου ἐπανατέλλοντος πρῶτος φθέγξηται, ἐν τῷ προαστείῳ αὐτῶν ἐπιβεβηκότων, τοῦτον ἔχειν τὴν βασιληῆιν.


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

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

86. At dawn of day came the six on horseback as they had agreed. As they rode out through the
νότων δὲ κατὰ τὸ προϊστειον, ὡς κατὰ τούτο τὸ 
χωρίον ἐγίνοντο ἵνα τῆς παροιχομένης νυκτὸς 
kατεδέετο ἡ θῆλεα ὑππος, ἐνθαῦτα ὁ Δαρεῖον 
ὑππος προσδραμῶν ἐχρεμέτισε· ἀμα δὲ τῷ ὑππῷ 
tούτῳ ποιήσαντι ἀστραπῇ ἐξ αἰθρίης καὶ βροντῇ 
ἐγένετο. ἐπιγενόμενα δὲ ταῦτα τῷ Δαρεῖῳ ἔτε-
λέωσέ μιν ὦσπερ ἐκ συνθέτου τευ γενόμενα· οὐ 
dὲ καταθορόντες ἀπὸ τῶν ὑππῶν προσεκύνεοι τὸν 
Δαρείον.

87. Οἱ μὲν δὴ φασὶ τὸν Οἰβάρεα ταῦτα μη-
χανήσασθαι, οὐ δὲ τοιάδε (καὶ γὰρ ἐπ’ ἀμφότερα 
λέγεται ὑπὸ Περσέων), ὡς τῆς ὑππού ταύτης τῶν 
ἀρθρων ἐπιψάυσας τῇ χειρὶ ἔχοι αὐτὴν κρύψας 
ἐν τῇ αναξυρίσι· ὡς δὲ ἀμα τῷ ἑλιῷ ἀνώτε 
ἀπέσθαι μέλλειν τοὺς ὑπποὺς, τὸν Οἰβάρεα τοῦ-
tου ἔξειραντα τὴν χείρα πρὸς τοῦ Δαρείου ὑπποῦ 
tοὺς μυκτηρᾶς προσενεκαί, τὸν δὲ αἰσθόμενον 
φριμάξασθαι τε καὶ χρεμετίσαι.

88. Δαρείος τε δὴ ὁ 'Ὑστάσπεος βασιλεὺς ἀπε-
δέδεκτο, καὶ οί ἔσαν ἐν τῇ 'Ασίᾳ πάντες κατήκου 
πλὴν Ἀραβίων, Κύρου τε καταστρεψαμένου καὶ 
ὡς τεροῦν αὐτῶν Καμβύσεως. Ἀράβιοι δὲ οὐδαμὰ 
κατήκουσαν ἐπὶ δουλοσύνη Πέρσης, ἀλλὰ ἐξινο 
ἐγένοντο παρέντες Καμβύσεα ἐπ’ Αὐγυπτοῦν ἀεκόν-
tων γὰρ Ἀραβίων οὐκ ἄν ἐσβάλοιεν Πέρσαι ἐς 
Αὐγυπτοῦν. γάμους τε τοὺς πρώτους ἐγάμμε 
Πέρσης ὁ Δαρεῖος, Κύρου μὲν δύο θυγατέρας 
'Ατοσσάν τε καὶ Ἀρτυστώνην, τὴν μὲν Ἀτοσσα 
προσυνοικήσασαν Καμβύση τε τῷ ἀδελφῷ καὶ 
αὐτῖς τῷ Μάγῳ, τὴν δὲ Ἀρτυστώνην παρθένου 
ἐτέρην δὲ Σμέρδιος τοῦ Κύρου θυγατέρα ἔγημε, τῇ 
οὐνομά ἣν Πάρμυς· ἔσχε δὲ καὶ τὴν τοῦ Ὑατάνεω
suburb and came to the place where the mare had been picketed in the past night, Darius' horse trotted up to it and whinnied; and as he so did there came lightning and thunder out of a clear sky. These signs given to Darius were thought to be foreordained and made his election perfect; his companions leapt from their horses and did obeisance to him.

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

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

¹ 521 B.C.
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θυγατέρα, ἦ τὸν Μάγον κατάδηλον ἐποίησε: δυνά-μίου τε πάντα οἱ ἐστιμπλέατο. πρῶτον μὲν νυν τύπου ποιησάμενος λίθινου ἐστησε: ξύον δὲ οἱ ἐν ἂνηρ ἵππεις, ἐπέγραψε δὲ γράμματα λέγοντα τάδε: "Δαρείος ὁ Ὑστάσπεος σὺν τε τοῦ ἱππου τῇ ἄρετῇ" τὸ οὖνομα λέγων "καὶ Οἰβάρεος τοῦ ἱπποκόμου ἐκτῆσατο τὴν Περσέων βασιλήν."

89. Ποιήσας δὲ ταῦτα ἐν Πέρσηι ἄρχας κατεστήσατο εἴκοσι, τὰς αὐτοῦ καλέουσι σατραπηνίας· καταστήσας δὲ τὰς ἄρχας καὶ ἄρχοντας ἐπιστήσας ἐτάξατο φόρους οἱ προσίειν κατὰ ἑθεὶν τε καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἔθινει τοὺς πλησιοχώρους προστάσσον, καὶ ὑπερβαίνων τοὺς προσεχέας τὰ ἐκαστέρω ἀλλοισὶ ἀλλὰ ἔθνεα νέμων. ἄρχας δὲ καὶ φόρον πρόσοδον τὴν ἐπέτειον κατὰ τάδε διεῖλε. τοῖς μὲν αὐτῶν ἄργυριον ἀπαγινέουσι εἴρητο Βαβυλόνιον σταθμὸν τάλαντον ἀπαγινεύειν, τοῖς δὲ χρυσίον ἀπαγινέουσι Εὐβοϊκόν. τὸ δὲ Βαβυλόνιον τάλαντον δύναται Εὐβοιδᾶς ὁκτὼ καὶ ἐβδομήκοντα μνέας.1 ἐπὶ γὰρ Κῦρον ἄρχοντος καὶ αὐτῖς Καμβύσεω ἦν κατεστηκὸς οὐδὲν φόρον πέρι, ἀλλὰ δόρα ἀγίνεον. διὰ δὲ ταύτην τὴν ἐπίταξιν τοῦ φόρου καὶ παραπλήσια ταύτῃ ἀλλὰ λέγοντι Πέρσαι ὡς Δαρείος μὲν ἦν κάπηλος, Καμβύσης δὲ δεσπότης, Κῦρος δὲ πατήρ, ὡς μὲν ὁτι ἐκατηλευεν πάντα τὰ πρήγματα, ὡς δὲ ὁτι χαλεπώς τε ἦν καὶ ὀλγώρως, ὡς δὲ ὁτι Ἦπιος τε καὶ ἀγαθά σφι πάντα ἐμηχανήσατο.

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

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

\(^1\) On the following list see the introduction to this book.

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total silver or Babylonian talent equalled \(\frac{1}{3}\) of the gold (or Euboic) talent. Moreover the figure 78 is confirmed by the calculation in ch. 95.
90. Ἀ πὸ δὲ Ἰῶνων καὶ Μαγυήτων τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ καὶ Αἰολέων καὶ Καρῶν καὶ Αὐκίων καὶ Μελνέων καὶ Παμφύλων (ἐἰς γὰρ ἦν οἱ τεταγμένοι οὐτὸς φόρος) προσήμερο τετρακόσια τάλαντα ἀργυρίου. οἱ μὲν δὴ πρῶτοι οὕτως οἱ νομὸς κατεστήκεε, ἀπὸ δὲ Μυσῶν καὶ Λυδῶν καὶ Λασονίων καὶ Καβαλέων καὶ Τεννέων πεντακόσια τάλαντα· δεύτερος νομὸς οὕτως. ἀπὸ δὲ Ἔλληνσποτίων τῶν ἐπὶ δεξιὰ εστί συνετεύχει καὶ Φρυγῶν καὶ Ῥωμίκων τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ καὶ Παλαιάγων καὶ Μαριανδυνῶν καὶ Συρίων ἐξήκοντα καὶ τριηκόσια τάλαντα Ἰνν φόρος· νομὸς τρίτος οὕτως. ἀπὸ δὲ Κιλίκων ὑπ' ποι τε λευκόλα ἐξήκοντα καὶ τριηκόσιοι, ἐκάστης ἡμέρης εἰς γινόμενος, καὶ τάλαντα ἀργυρίου πεντακόσια· τούτων δὲ τεσσεράκοντα καὶ ἐκατόν ἐς τὴν φρονεόνως ὑπ' ποι τὴν Κιλικίην χώρην ἀνασιμοῦτο, τά δὲ τριηκόσια καὶ ἐξήκοντα Δαρείῳ ἐφοίτανος τέταρτος οὕτως.

91. Ἀπὸ δὲ Ποσιδνίου πόλιος, τῆς Ἀμφιλοχος ὁ Ἀμφιάρεω σοίκες ἐπ᾽ οὖροις τοῦ ν Κιλίκων τε καὶ Σύρων, ἀρξάμενοι ἀπὸ ταῦτας μέχρι Αἰγύπτου, πλὴν μοίρης τῆς Ἀραβίων (ταῦτα γὰρ ἦν ἀτελεῖα), πεντήκοντα καὶ τριηκόσια τάλαντα φόρος ἦν. ἔστι δὲ ἐν τῷ νομῷ τοῦτῳ Φοινίκης τε πᾶσα καὶ Συρίη ΗΠαλαισίνη καλεομένη καὶ Κύπρος νομὸς πέμπτος οὕτως. ἀπὸ Αἰγύπτου δὲ καὶ Λιβύων τῶν προσεχέων Αἰγύπτω καὶ Κυρήνης τε καὶ Βάρκης (ἐς γὰρ τὸν Αἰγύπτιον νομὸν αὐταὶ ἑκεκοσμεῶς) ἐπτακόσια προσήμερο τάλαντα, πάρεξ τοῦ ἐκ τῆς Μοίρως λίμνης γυμνέμου ἀργυρίου, τὸ ἐγίνετο ἐκ τῶν ἵππων· τούτου τε ὑπὸ χωρίς τοῦ ἀργυρίου καὶ τοῦ ἑπιμετρουμένου σίτου προσήμερο
90. The Ionians, Magnesians of Asia, Aeolians, Carians, Lycians, Milyans, and Pamphylians, on whom Darius laid one joint tribute, paid a revenue of three hundred talents of silver. This was established as his first province. The Mysians, Lydians, Lasonians, Cabalians, and Hytannians paid five hundred talents; this was the second province. The third comprised the Hellespontians on the right of the entrance of the straits, the Phrygians, Thracians of Asia, Paphlagonians, Mariandynians, and Syrians; these paid three hundred and sixty talents of tribute. The fourth province was Cilicia. This rendered three hundred and sixty white horses, one for each day in the year, and five hundred talents of silver. An hundred and forty of these were expended on the horsemen who were the guard of Cilicia; the three hundred and sixty that remained were paid to Darius.

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

ἐπτακόσια τάλαντα· σίτου γὰρ δύο καὶ δέκα μυριάδας Περσέων τε τοῦτο ἐν τῷ Δευκάδεει τῷ ἐν Μέμφι κατοικημένουσι καταμετρέουσι καὶ τοῖς τούτων ἐπικούροισι. νομὸς ἐκτος οὔτος. Σατταγύδαι δὲ καὶ Γαυδάριου καὶ Δαδικαὶ τε καὶ Ἀπαρύται ἐς τῶν πεταγμένου ἐβδομήκοντα καὶ ἐκατὸν τάλαντα προσέφερον νομὸς δὲ οὗτος ἐβδομος. ἀπὸ Σοῦσων δὲ καὶ τῆς Ἀλλης Κισσίων χώρης τρικόσια· νομὸς ὁγδοος οὗτος.

92. Ἀπὸ Βαβυλώνος δὲ καὶ τῆς λοιπῆς Ἀσσυ-

ρίης χύλια οἱ προσήμε τάλαντα ἀργυρίον καὶ παίδες ἐκτομίαι πεντακόσιοι νομὸς εἴνατος οὔτος. ἀπὸ δὲ Αγγατάνων καὶ τῆς λοιπῆς Μηδικῆς καὶ Παρι-κανίων καὶ Ὀρθοκορυβαντίων πεντήκοντα τοῖς τετρακόσια τάλαντα· νομὸς δέκατος οὗτος. Κάσ-

πιοί δὲ καὶ Παυσίκαι καὶ Παντίμαθοι τοῖς καὶ Δαρεῖται ἔς τῶν συμφέροντες διηκόσια τάλαντα ἀπαγίνεον· νομὸς ἐνδεκάτος οὔτος.

93. Ἀπὸ Βακτριανῶν δὲ μέχρι Αἰγυλῶν ἐξήκοντα καὶ τρικόσια τάλαντα φόρος ἦν· νομὸς δυωδέ-

κατος οὕτος. ἀπὸ Πακτικῆς δὲ καὶ Ἀρμενίων καὶ τῶν προσεχέων μέχρι τοῦ πόντου τοῦ Ἐυξείνου τετρακόσια τάλαντα· νομὸς τρίτος καὶ δέκατος οὕτος. ἀπὸ δὲ Σαγαρτίων καὶ Σαραγγέων καὶ Ἐταμανάιων καὶ Οὐτίων καὶ Μύκων καὶ τῶν ἐν τῇ νήσῳ οἰκεόντων τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἔρυθρῇ θαλάσσῃ, ἐν τῇ τοὺς ἀναστάστους καλεομένους κατοικίζει βασιλεύσ, ἀπὸ τούτων πάντων ἐξακόσια τάλαντα ἐγίνετο φόρος· νομὸς τέταρτος καὶ δέκατος οὕτος. Σάκαι δὲ καὶ Κάσπιοι πεντήκοντα καὶ διηκόσια ἀπαγίνεον τάλαντα· νομὸς πέμπτος καὶ δέκατος οὕτος. Πάρθοι δὲ καὶ Χορασμιοὶ καὶ Σόγδοι τε
hundred and twenty thousand bushels of grain were also assigned to the Persians quartered at the White Citadel of Memphis and their allies. The Sattagydae, Gandarii, Dadicae, and Aparytae paid together an hundred and seventy talents; this was the seventh province; the eighth was Susa and the rest of the Cissian country, paying three hundred talents.

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

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

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

94. Παρικάνιοι δὲ καὶ Αἰθίοπες οἱ ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίης τετρακόσια τάλαντα ἀπαγίνεον νομὸς ἐβδομος καὶ δέκατος οὐτὸς. Ματιηνοῖσι δὲ καὶ Σάστειρσι καὶ Ἀλαρδίοισι διηκόσια ἐπετέτακτο τάλαντα νομὸς οἴγδος καὶ δέκατος οὐτὸς. Μόσχοισι δὲ καὶ Τιβαρηνοῖσι καὶ Μάκρωσι καὶ Μοσσυνοίκοισι καὶ Μαρσί τριηκόσια τάλαντα προείρητο νομὸς εὕνατος καὶ δέκατος οὐτὸς. Ἦνδων δὲ πλῆθος τε πολλῷ πλείστον ἐστὶ πάντων τῶν ἡμεῖς ὑδμεν ἀνθρώπων, καὶ φόρον ἀπαγίνεον πρὸς πάντας τοὺς ἄλλους ἐξήκοντα καὶ τριηκόσια τάλαντα ψήγματος νομὸς εὐκοστὸς οὐτὸς.

95. Τὸ μὲν δὴ ἀργύριον τὸ Βαβυλώνιον πρὸς τὸ Εὐβοῖκόν συμβαλλόμενον τάλαντον γίνεται ὁγδώκοντα καὶ ὀκτακόσια καὶ εἰνακισχίλια τάλαντα.¹ τὸ δὲ χρυσίον τρισκαίδεκαστάσιον λογιζόμενον, τὸ ψήγμα εὑρίσκεται ἐδών Εὐβοῖκῶν ταλάντων ὁγδώκοντα καὶ ἐξακοσίουν καὶ τετρακισχίλιων τούτων δὲ πάντων συντιθεμένων τὸ πλῆθος Εὐβοῖκα τάλαντα συνελέγετο ἐς τὸν ἐπέτειον φόρον Δαρείῳ μύρια καὶ τετρακισχίλια καὶ πεντακόσια καὶ ἐξήκοντα τὸ δὲ ἐτὶ τούτων ἐλασσον ἀπιείς οὐ λέγω.

96. Οὕτως Δαρείῳ προσήμενος ὁ πρὸς τῆς τῆς Ἀσίης καὶ τῆς Λιβύης ὀλυγαχόθεν. προϊόντος μέντοι τοῦ χρώμου καὶ ἀπὸ νύσσων προσήμενο ἄλλου φόρος καὶ τῶν ἐν τῇ Εὐρώπῃ μέχρι Θεσσαλίης

¹ The MSS. have τεσσαράκοντα καὶ πεντακόσια καὶ εἰν. τ., but the alteration given here is generally accepted and is necessary in view of the total given below. The 19 tributes
Sogdi, and Arii were the sixteenth, paying three hundred.

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

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

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

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

οικημένων. τούτον τὸν φόρον θησαυρίζει βασιλεύς τρόπῳ τοιούτῳ· ἐς πίθους κεραμίνους τῆς κατα- χείς, πλῆσας δὲ τὸ ἄγγος περιαρθεῖ τὸν κέραμον· ἐπεάν δὲ δευθῆ χρημάτων, κατακόπτει τοσοῦτο ὅσον ἂν ἐκάστοτε δέχται.

97. Αὐτοὶ μὲν ἄρχαι τε ἦσαν καὶ φόρον ἐπιτά- 

ξεῖς. ἦ Περσαὶ δὲ χώρῃ μούνῃ μοι ὡκ εἱρηται 

δασμοφόρος· ἀτελεῖα γὰρ Πέρσαι νέμονται χώρῃν. 

οἶδε δὲ φόρον μὲν οὐδένα ἐτάχθησαν φέρειν, δῶρα 

δὲ ἄγινεον· Αἰθίοπες οἱ πρόσουροι Ἀἰγύπτῳ, τοὺς 

Καμβύσης ἑλαύναν ἐπὶ τοὺς μακροβίους Αἰθίοπας 

κατεστρέφατο, οἳ τε ἐπὶ τε Νύσην τὴν ἴρην 

κατοίκηται καὶ τῷ Διονύσῳ ἀνάγωσι τὰς ὅρτας. 

[οὕτοι οἱ Αἰθίοπες καὶ οἱ πλησίοχροι τοῦτοι σπέρματι μὲν χρέωνται τῷ Αὖτῳ τῷ καὶ οἱ Καλ- 

λαυτίαι Ἰνδοί, οἰκήματα δὲ ἐκτητοῖ κατάγαμα.] 2 

οὕτοι συναμφότεροι διὰ τρίτον ἔτεος ἄγινεον, 

ἅγιεσυι δὲ καὶ τὸ μέχρι ἑμεῦ, δύο χοίνικας 

ἀπόρου χρυσίου καὶ διηκοσίας φάλαγγας ἐβένου 

καὶ πέντε παῖδας Αἰθίοπας καὶ ἐλέφαντος ὀδόντας 

μεγάλους εἰκοσι. Κόλχοι δὲ τὰ ἐτάξαντο ἐς τὴν 

δωρεὴν καὶ οἱ προσεχεῖς μέχρι Καυκάσιος ὄρεος 

(ἐς τοῦτο γὰρ τὸ ὄρος ὑπὸ Πέρσησι ἄρχεται, τὰ δὲ 

πρὸς βορέων ἀνεμον τοῦ Καυκάσιος Περσέων οὐδέν 

ἔτι φροντύζει), οὕτοι δὲν δῶρα τὰ ἐτάξαντο ἐτὶ καὶ 

ἐς ἐμὲ διὰ πεντετερίδος ἄγινεον, ἐκατόν παῖδας

1 οἴ τε; MSS. οἴ; Stein places a lacuna before οἴ, because 

the Ethiopians bordering on Egypt did not, he says, live 

near Nysa; at the same time he suggests the easy correction 

οἴ τε, which I adopt.

2 The words in brackets are probably a commentator’s 

note drawn from ch. 101. The Καλλαυτίαι are obviously 

the Καλλαυτίαι of ch. 38.

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

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

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

2 The choenix was a measure of about the capacity of a quart.
καὶ ἑκατὸν παρθένους. Ἀράβιοι δὲ χίλια τάλαντα ἀγίνεον λυβανωτοῦ ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος. ταῦτα μὲν οὕτω δῶρα πάρεξ τοῦ φόρου βασιλεῖ ἐκόμιζον.

98. Τὸν δὲ χρυσὸν τοῦτον τὸν πολλὸν οἱ Ἰνδοὶ, ἀπ' οὗ τὸ ψῆγμα τῷ βασιλεῖ τὸ εἰρημένον κομίζουσι, τρόπῳ τοιώδει κτῶνται. ἐστὶ τῆς Ἰνδικῆς χώρης τὸ πρὸς ἦλιον ἀνύσχοντα ψάμμος· τῶν γὰρ ἴμεις ἵδμεν, τῶν καὶ πέρι ἀτρεκές τι λέγεται, πρῶτοι πρὸς ἥδω καὶ ἦλιον ἀνατολᾶς οἰκέουσι ἀνθρώπων τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ Ἰνδοί. Ἰνδῶν γὰρ τὸ πρὸς τὴν ἥδω ἐρημίη ἐστὶ διὰ τὴν ψάμμον. ἐστὶ δὲ πολλὰ ἐθνεα Ἰνδῶν καὶ οὐκ ὁμόφωνα σφίσι, καὶ οὐ μὲν αὐτῶν νομάδες εἰσὶ οὗ δὲ οὐ, οὗ δὲ ἐν τοῖς ἐλεσί οἰκέουσι τοῦ ποταμοῦ καὶ ἱχθύας σιτέονται ὁμοῦ, τοὺς αἱρέουσι ἐκ πλοίων καλαμίνων ὀρμώμενοι· καλάμου δὲ ἐν γόνῳ πλοῖον ἐκαστὸν ποιεται. οὕτω δὲν ἐν τῶν Ἰνδῶν φορέουσι ἐσθήτα φλοίνην· ἐπεάν ἐκ τοῦ ποταμοῦ φλοῖν ἀμῆσωσι καὶ κόψωσι, τὸ ἐνθεύτεν φορμοῦ τρόπον καταπλέξαντες ὡς θώρηκα ἐνδύμουσι.

99. Ἀλλοι δὲ τῶν Ἰνδῶν πρὸς ἥδω οἰκέουντες τοὺτοι νομάδες εἰσὶ κρεῦν ἐδεσταὶ ὁμοῦ, καλέονται δὲ Παδαίοι, νομαίοις δὲ τοιούτῳ δέχονται χράσθαι· ὅσ ἂν κάμη τῶν ἀστῶν, ἢν τε γυνὴ ἢν τε ἄνηρ, τῶν μὲν ἄνδρα ἄνδρες οἱ μάλιστα οἱ ὀμίλεουτες κτεινοῦσι, φάμενοι αὐτῶν τηκόμενον τῇ νοῦσῳ τὰ κρέας σφισι διαφθείρεσθαι· ὦ δὲ ἀπαρνοῦς ἐστὶ μὴ μὲν νοσέειν, οὗ δὲ οὐ συγκυνωσκόμενοι ἀποκτείναντες κατευχέσθαι. ἢ δὲ ἄν γυνὴ κάμη, ὁσαύτως αἰ ἐπιχρεώμεναι μάλιστα γυναικὲς ταῦτα τοῖς ἄνδραῖς ποιεῦσι. τῶν γὰρ ήδ' ἐς γῆς ἀπικόμενον θύσαντες κατευχέσθαι· ἐς δὲ τούτον λόγον οὗ
BOOK III. 97-99

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

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

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

¹ Not the bamboo, apparently, but the "kana," which sometimes grows to a height of 50 feet.
πολλοί τινες αυτῶν ἀπικνέονται· πρὸ γὰρ τοῦ τῶν ἐς νοῦσον πίπτοντα πάντα κτείνουσι.

100. Ἔτερων δὲ ἦστι Ἰνδῶν οὔτε ἄλλος τρόπος· οὔτε κτείνουσι οὔθεν ἐμψυχον οὔτε τι σπείρουσι οὔτε οἰκίας νομίζουσι εκτήσαθι ποιηφαγεύουσι· καὶ αὐτοῖσι ἦστι ὅσον κέγχρος τὸ μέγαθος ἐν κάλυκι, αὐτόματον ἐκ τῆς γῆς γινόμενον, τὸ συλλέγοντες αὐτῇ τῇ κάλυκι ἐφοσύνα· καὶ σιτεύονται. ὅς δὲ ἂν ἐς νοῦσον αὐτῶν πέσῃ, ἑλθὼν ἐς τὴν ἔρημον κέεται· φροντίζει δὲ οὕδεις οὔτε ἀποθανόντος οὔτε κάμψοντος.

101. Μίξεις δὲ τούτων τῶν Ἰνδῶν τὸν κατέλεξα πάντων ἐμφανῆς ἦστι κατὰ περ ὑπὸ τῶν προβάτων, καὶ τὸ χρῶμα φορέουσι ὁμοίου πάντες καὶ παραπλήσιον Ἀἴθλοψι. ἡ γονὴ δὲ αὐτῶν, τὴν ἀπιένται ἐς τὰς γυναίκας, οὐ κατὰ περ τῶν ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων ἐστὶ λευκὴ, ἀλλὰ μέλαινα κατὰ περ τὸ χρῶμα. τοιαύτῃ δὲ καὶ Ἀἴθλοπες ἀπιένται θορίν. οὔτοι μὲν τῶν Ἰνδῶν ἐκαστόρῳ τῶν Περσέων οἰκέουσι καὶ πρὸς νότου ἀνέμου, καὶ Δαρείου βασιλέος οὕδαμα υπήκουσαν.

102. Ἀλλοι δὲ τῶν Ἰνδῶν Κασπατύρῳ τε πόλι καὶ τῇ Πακτικῇ χώρῃ εἰσὶ πρόσοροι, προς ἅρκτον τε καὶ ἁρπαγοῦν ἀνέμου κατοικημένοι τῶν ἄλλων Ἰνδῶν, οἱ Βακτρίοισι παραπλησίον ἔχουσι δίαιταν. οὔτοι καὶ μαχιμώτατοι εἰσὶ Ἰνδῶν καὶ οἱ ἐπὶ τῶν χρυσῶν στελλόμενοι εἰσὶ οὕτως· κατὰ γὰρ τοῦτο ἦστὶ ἐρμήν διὰ τὴν ψάμμου. ἐν δὴ δὴν τῇ ἐρμήν ταύτῃ καὶ τῇ ψάμμῳ γίνεται μύρμηκες μεγάθεα ἔχοντες κυνῶν μὲν ἕλασσονα ἄλωτεκων δὲ μέξονα· εἰσὶ γὰρ αὐτῶν καὶ παρὰ βασιλεῖ τῶν Περσέων ἐνθεύτευ θηρευθέντες. οὔτοι
but there are not many who come thereto, for all who fall sick are killed ere that.

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

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

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

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\(^{1}\) N.E Afghanistan. Caspatyrus (or Caspapyrus) is said to be probably Cabul.

\(^{2}\) It is suggested that the "ants" may have been really marmots. But even this does not seem to make the story much more probable.
δών οἱ μῦρμηκες ποιεύμενοι οὐκήσων ὕπο γῆν ἀναφορέουσι τὴν ψάμμων κατὰ περ οἱ ἐν τοῖς Ἐλλησι ποιεύμενοι κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον, εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ τὸ εἰδὸς ὁμοιότατον ἢ δὲ ψάμμως ἢ ἀναφερομένη ἐστὶ χρυσίτις. ἔπὶ δὴ ταύτην τὴν ψάμμων στελλοῦνται ἐς τὴν ἐρήμων οἱ Ἰνδοὶ, ξενοξώμενοι ἐκαστὸς καμήλους τρεῖς, σειρηφόρον μὲν ἐκατέρωθεν ἐρσενα παρέλκειν, θῆλεαν δὲ ἐς μέσον ἔπι ταύτην δὴ αὐτὸς ἀναβαίνει, ἐπιτηδεύσας ἄκως ἀπὸ τέκνων ὅς νεωτάτων ἀποσπάσας ξεύξει. αἱ γὰρ σφι κάμηλοι ἵππων οὐκ ἱσσονες ἐς ταχυτῆτα εἰσὶ, χωρίς δὲ ἀγθεά δυνατῶτεραι πολλὸν φέρειν.

103. Τὸ μὲν δὴ εἰδὸς ὁκοῖον τι ἔχει ἡ κάμηλος, ἐπισταμένοις τοῖς Ἐλλησι οὐ παλικράφω τὸ δὲ μὴ ἐπιστέαται αὐτῆς, τοῦτο φράσω. κάμηλος ἐν τοῖς ὁπισθίοις σκέλεσι ἔχει τέσσερα μῆροις καὶ γούνατα τέσσερα, τὰ τε αἰδὸια διὰ τῶν ὁπισθίων σκελέων πρὸς τὴν οὐρὴ τετραμμένα.

104. Οἱ δὲ δὴ Ἰνδοὶ τρόπῳ τοιοῦτῳ καὶ ξεύξι τοιαύτῃ χρεώμενοι ἐλαύνουσι ἐπὶ τὸν χρυσὸν ἅλεογισμένως ὅκως καυμάτων τῶν θερμοτάτων ἐόντων ἐσονται ἐν τῇ ἄρπαγῇ ὑπὸ γάρ τοῦ καύματος οἱ μῦρμηκες ἄφανες γίνονται ὑπὸ γῆν. θερμότατος δὲ ἐστὶ ὁ ἥλιος τοῦτοις τοῖς ἀνθρώποις τὸ ἐωθινόν, οὐ κατὰ περ τοῖς ἄλλοις μεσαμβρίς, ἀλλ' ὑπερτείλας μέχρι οὐ ἀγορῆς διαλύσιος. τούτου δὲ τῶν χρόνων καὶ πολλῷ μᾶλλον ἢ τῇ μεσαμβρίᾳ τὴν Ἐλλάδα, οὕτω ὅστ' ἐν ὑδατι λόγος αὐτοὺς ἐστὶ βρέχεσθαι τηνικαῦτα. μεσοῦσα δὲ ἡ ἡμέρῃ σχεδὸν παραπλησίος καὶ τοὺς τε ἄλλους ἀνθρώπους καὶ τοὺς Ἰνδοὺς. ἀποκλινομένη δὲ τῆς μεσαμβρίας γίνεται σφι ὁ ἥλιος

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

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

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

105. Ἡπείραν δὲ ἐλθωσί ἐς τὸν χώρον οἱ Ἰνδοὶ ἔχοντες θυλάκια, ἐμπλήσαντες ταύτα τῆς ψάμμου τὴν ταχίστην ἐλαύνουσι ὁπίσω· αὐτίκα γὰρ οἱ μῦρημεκες ὄδωρ, ὡς δὴ λέγεται ὑπὸ Περσέων, μαθόντες διώκουσι. εἶναι δὲ ταχυτῆτα οὐδενὶ ἐτέρῳ ὀμοίων, οὕτω ὠστε, εἰ μὴ προλαμβάνειν τοὺς Ἰνδοὺς τῆς ὁδοῦ ἐν ὧ τοὺς μῦρημεκας συλλέγεσθαι, οὐδένα ἀν σφέων ὑποσώζεσθαι. τοὺς μὲν γὰρ ἔρσενας τῶν καμίλων, εἶναι γὰρ ἵσσονας θέειν τῶν θηλέων, παραλύσθαι ἐπελκομένους, οὐκ ὀμοῦ ἀμφοτέρους· τὰς δὲ θηλέας ἀναμιμησικομένας τῶν ἔλιπον τέκνων ἐνδιδοῖαν μαλακοῖς οὐδέν. τὸν μὲν δὴ πλέω τοῦ χρυσοῦ ὀὐτω οἱ Ἰνδοὶ κτῶνται, ὥς Πέρσαι φασί· ἄλλος δὲ σπανιώτερος ἔστι ἐν τῇ χῶρῃ ὄρυσσόμενος.

106. Αἱ δ' ἐσχαταί καὶ τῆς οἰκεομένης τὰ κάλλιστα ἐλαχοῦ, κατά περ ἡ Ἑλλάς τὰς ὄρας πολλῶν τι κάλλιστα κεκρημένας ἐλαχε. τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ πρὸς τὴν ἡδί ἐσχάτη τῶν οἰκεομενεῶν ἡ Ἰνδική ἔστι, ὦσπερ ὀλίγω πρότερον εἴρηκα· ἐν ταύτῃ τούτῳ μὲν τὰ ἐμφυχα, τετράποδα τε καὶ τὰ πετεινά, πολλός μέξῳ ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις χωρίσοι ἔστι, πάρεξ τῶν ἵππων (οὕτω δὲ ἐσσοῦνται ὑπὸ τῶν Μιδικῶν, Νησαίων δὲ καλευμένων ἵππων), τοῦτο δὲ χρυσὸς ἀπλετος αὐτόθι ἔστι, ὁ μὲν ὄρυσσόμενος, ὁ δὲ καταφρεύμενος ὑπὸ πτωμῶν, ὁ δὲ ὀσπερ ἔσημηνα ἀρσαξόμενος. τὰ δὲ δεύδρα τὰ ἄγρια αὐτόθι φέρει καρπὸν εἰρία καλλονῆ τε προφέρουτα καὶ ἀρετή τῶν ἀπὸ τῶν ἄλων.
India has the power of the morning sun in other lands; with its sinking the day becomes ever cooler, till at sunset it is exceeding cold.

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

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

107. Πρὸς δ' αὖ μεσαμβρίης ἐσχάτη Ἀραβίη τῶν οἰκεομενέων χωρέων ἐστὶ, ἐν δὲ ταύτῃ λιβανω-τός τε ἐστὶ μούνη χωρέων πασέων φυμένος καὶ σμύρνη καὶ κασίη καὶ κινάμωμον καὶ λῆδανον. ταῦτα πάντα πλὴν τῆς σμύρνης δυσπετέως κτῶνται οἱ Ἀράβιοι. τὸν μὲν γε λιβανωτὸν συλλέγουσι τὴν στύρακα θυμιῶντες, τὴν ἐς Ἐλ-ληνας Φοίνικες ἐξάγουσι· ταῦτην θυμιῶντες λαμβάνουσι· τὰ γὰρ δευδρεα ταῦτα τὰ λιβανωτοφόρα ὅφεις ὑπόπτεροι, μικροὶ τὰ μεγάθεα, ποικίλοι τὰ εἴδεα, φυλάσσουσι πλήθει πολλοὶ περὶ δευδρον ἐκαστον, οὕτω οὐ περ ἐπ' Ἀἴγυπτον ἐπιστρα-τεύονται, οὕδει δὲ ἄλλῳ ἀπελαύνονται ἀπὸ τῶν δευδρέων ἢ τῆς στύρακος τῷ καπνῷ.

108. Δέγουσι δὲ καὶ τὸ Ἀράβιοι, ὡς πᾶσα ἀν γῆ ἐπίμπλατο τῶν ὄφιων τούτων, εἰ μὴ γνεσσαὶ καὶ αὐτοὺς οἶνον τι κατὰ τὰς ἐχθένας ἡπιστάμην γίνεσθαι. καὶ κως τοῦ θείου ἡ προ- νοία, ὡσπερ καὶ οἰκός ἐστι, ἐότα σοφή, ὁσα μὲν 1 ψυχήν τε δειλὰ καὶ ἐθύων, ταῦτα μὲν πάντα πολύγονα πεποίηκε, ἵνα μὴ ἐπιλίπη κατεσθίόμενα, ὡσα δὲ σχέτλια καὶ ἀνηρά, ὀλλογόνα. τοῦτο μὲν, ὅτι ὁ λαγὸς ὑπὸ παντὸς θηρεύεται θηρίου καὶ οἰρίδος καὶ ἀνθρώπου, οὕτω δὴ τι πολύγονον ἐστὶ· ἐπικυνήσκεται μοῦνον πάντων θηρίων, καὶ τὸ μὲν δασὺ τῶν τέκνων ἐν τῇ γαστρὶ τὸ δὲ ψιλόν, τὸ δὲ ἄρτι ἐν τῇ μῆτρῃ πλάσσεται, τὸ δὲ ἀναιρεῖται. τοῦτο μὲν δὴ

1 ὡσα μὲν γὰρ MSS.; Stein brackets γάρ, which obviously has no place here.
of sheep; these trees supply the Indians with clothing.

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

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

¹ A kind of gum, producing an acrid smoke when burnt, and therefore used as a disinfectant.
HERODOTUS

τοιούτο ἐστὶ· ἢ δὲ δὴ λέαινα ἑον ἵσχυρότατον καὶ θρασύτατον ἀπαξ ἐν τῷ βίῳ τίκτει ἐν· τίκτουσα γὰρ συνεκβάλλει τῷ τέκνῳ τὰς μήτρας. τὸ δὲ αὐτοῦ τοῦτο τόδε ἐστὶ· ἐπεάν ὁ σκύμνος ἐν τῇ μητρὶ ἑῶν ἀρχηται διακινεόμενος, δὲ ἐχών οὖν χαρὰς θηρίων πολλῶν πάντων ἡμίτουτος ἀμύσσει τὰς μήτρας, αὐξόμενός τε δὴ πολλῷ μᾶλλον ἐσικνεῖται καταγράφων· πέλας τε δὴ ὁ τόκος ἐστὶ, καὶ τὸ παράπαν λείπεται αὐτῶν ύπιείς οὐδὲν.

109. Ἡς δὲ καὶ οἱ ἔχιδναι τε καὶ οἱ ἐν Ἀραβίοις ὑπόπτεροι ὀφίες εἰ ἐγίνοντο ὡς ἡ φύσις αὐτοῖς ὑπάρχει, οὐκ ἂν ἦν βιώσιμα ἀνθρώπουσι· νῦν δὲ ἐπεάν θεροῦνται κατὰ ξεύγεα καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ ἒ ὁ ἔρησι τῇ ἐκποίησι, ἀπιεμένου αὐτοῦ τὴν γονὴν ἡ θῆλεα ἀπτεται τῆς δειρῆς, καὶ ἐμφύσα οὐκ ἀνείπ πρὶν ἀν διαφάγη. ὁ μὲν δὴ ἔρησι ἀποθνήσκει τρόπῳ τῷ εἰρημένῳ, ἡ δὲ θῆλεα τίσιν τούτῳ ἀποτίνει τῷ ἔρσειν. τῷ γονεὶ τιμωρέοντα ἐτι ἐν τῇ γαστρὶ ἐόντα τὰ τέκνα διεσθείε τὴν μητέρα, διαφαγόντα δὲ τὴν υἱῆς αὐτῆς ὁὐτῷ τὴν ἐκδύσιν ποιεται. οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι ὀφίες ἐόντες ἀνθρώπων ὑἱη λήμνους τίκτουσι τε πῆλα καὶ ἐκλεπτουσὶ πολλὸν τὸ χρῆμα τῶν τέκνων. οἱ μὲν νῦν ἔχιδναι κατὰ πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν εἰσὶ, οἱ δὲ ὑπόπτεροι ὀφίες ἀνθρώπου εἰσὶ ἐν τῇ Ἀραβίᾳ καὶ οὐδαμῇ ἄλλῃ· κατὰ τούτο δοκέουσι πολλοὶ εἶναι.

110. Τὸν μὲν δὴ λιβανωτὸν τοῦτον ὑπὸ κτῶνται Ἀράβιοι, τὴν δὲ κασίμην ὃδε. ἐπεὰν καταδῆσωσιν βύρσησι καὶ δέρμασι ἄλλοισι πάν τὸ σῶμα καὶ τὸ πρόσωπον πλῆν αὐτῶν τῶν ὅφθαλμῶν, ἔρχονται ἐπὶ τὴν κασίμην ἢ δὴ ἐν λίμνῃ φύεται οὐ βαθῆς, περὶ δὲ αὐτῆς καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ.
the hare, the lioness, a very strong and bold beast, bears offspring but once in her life, and then but one cub; for the uterus comes out with the cub in the act of birth. This is the reason of it:—when the cub first begins to stir in the mother, its claws, much sharper than those of any other creature, tear the uterus, and as it grows, much more does it scratch and tear, so that when the hour of birth is near seldom is any of the uterus left whole.

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

110. The Arabians get their frankincense as I have shown; for the winning of casia, when they seek it they bind oxhides and other skins over all their bodies and faces, leaving only the eyes. Casia grows in a shallow lake; round this and in it are
αὐλίζεται κοινθρία πτερωτά, τῇσι νυκτερίσι προσείκελα μάλιστα, καὶ τέτριγε δεινόν, καὶ ἐς ἄλκην ἄλκιμα: τὰ δὲ ἀπαμυνομένους ἀπὸ τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν οὐτω δρέπειν τὴν κασίν.

111. Τὸ δὲ δὴ κινάμωμον ἔτι τούτων θωμαστο-τερον συλλέγουσί. οἷκον μὲν γὰρ γίνεται καὶ ἦτις μὲν γῆ ἢ τρέφουσα ἐστὶ, οὔκ ἔχουσι εἰπεῖν, πλὴν ὅτι λόγῳ οἰκότι χρεώμενοι ἐν τοῖσιδε χωρίοισι φασί τινὲς αὐτὸ φύεσθαι ἐν τοῖσι ὁ Διόνυσος ἑτράφην. ὃρνιθας δὲ λέγουσι μεγάλας φορέειν ταῦτα τὰ κάρφεα τὰ ἡμεῖς ἀπὸ Φοινίκων μαθόντες κινάμωμον καλέομεν, φορέειν δὲ τὰς ὥρνιθας ἐς νεοσσίας προσπεπλασμένας ἐκ πηλοῦ πρὸς ἀποκρῆμοισι ὅρεσι, ἐνθα πρόσβασιν ἀν-θρώπων οὐδεμίαν εἶναι. πρὸς δὲν δὴ ταῦτα τοὺς Ἀραβίους σοφίζεσθαι τάδε: βοῶν τε καὶ ὄνων τῶν ἀπογνωμόνων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὑποζυγίων τὰ μέλεα διαταμόντας ὡς μέγιστα κομίζειν ἐς ταῦτα τὰ χωρία, καὶ σφέα θέντας ἄγχος τῶν νεοσσίεων ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι ἑκας αὐτέων: τὰς δὲ ὃρνιθας καταπετομένας ¹ τὰ μέλεα τῶν ὑποζυγίων ἀνα-φορέειν ἐπὶ τὰς νεοσσίας, τὰς δὲ οὐ δυναμένας ἵσχεν καταρρήγνυσθαι ἐπὶ γῆν, τοὺς δὲ ἐπιόντας συλλέγειν, οὕτω μὲν τὸ κινάμωμον συλλεγόμενον ἐκ τούτων ἀπικνεόμεν ἐς τὰς ἄλλας χώρας.

112. Τὸ δὲ δὴ λίθανον, τὸ καλέοντι Ἀράβιοι λάδανον, ἔτι τούτων θωμασιώτερον γίνεται: ἐν γὰρ δυσοδιμοτῷ γινόμενον εὐωδεστάτον ἐστὶ: τῶν γὰρ αἰγῶν τῶν πράγμαν ἐν τοῖσι πάγοσι εὐρίσκεται ἐγγυμόμενον οἷον γλοιός ἀπὸ τῆς ὕλης. χρίσιμον δὲ ἐς πολλὰ τῶν μύρων ἐστὶ, θυμίῶσι τὲ μάλιστα τούτο Ἀράβιοι.

¹ καταπετομένας [αὐτῶν] Stein.
encamped certain winged creatures, very like bats, that squeak shrilly and make a stout resistance; these must be kept from the men's eyes if the casia is to be plucked.

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

112. But gum-mastich, which Greeks call ledanon and Arabians ladanon, is yet more strangely produced. Its scent is most sweet, yet nothing smells more evilly than that which produces it; for it is found in the beards of he-goats, forming in them like tree-gum. This is used in the making of many perfumes; there is nothing that the Arabians so often burn for fragrance.
113. Τοσαίτα μὲν θυωμάτων πέρι εἰρήσθω, ἀπόζει δὲ τῆς χώρης τῆς Ἅραβίας θεσπέσιον ὡς ἤδυ. δύο δὲ γένεα οίων σφι ἐστὶ θώματος ἄξια, τὰ οὐδαμόθι ἐτέρωθι ἐστί. τὸ μὲν αὐτῶν ἔτερον ἔχει τὰς οὐρὰς μακρὰς, τριῶν πηχεὼν οὐκ ἐλάσσονας, τὰς εἴ τις ἐπείη σφὶ ἐπέλεκειν, ἔλκεα ἄν ἐχοιεῖν ἀνατριβομενέων πρὸς τῇ γῇ τῶν οὐρέων· νῦν δ' ἀπάς τις τῶν πομένων ἐπίσταται ἐξουργεῖεν ἐς τοσοῦτο· ἀμαξίδας γὰρ ποιεῖτες ὑποδέουσι αὐτὰς τῇσι οὐρῆσι, ἐνὸς ἐκάστου κτήνεος τῆς οὐρῆς ἐπὶ ἀμαξίδα ἐκάστην καταδέοντες. τὸ δὲ ἔτερον γένος τῶν οἴων τὰς οὐρὰς πλατέας φορέουσι καὶ ἐπὶ πῆχυν πλάτος.

114. Ἀποκλινομένης δὲ μεσαμβρίας παρίκει πρὸς δύνοντα ήλιον ἡ Αἰθιοπίη χώρη ἐσχάτη τῶν οἰκεομενέων. αὐτῇ δὲ χρυσόν τε φέρει πολλὸν καὶ ἐλέφαντας ἀμφίλαφεας καὶ δένδρα πάντα ἄγρια καὶ ἐβενον καὶ ἄνδρας μεγίστους καὶ καλλίστους καὶ μακροβιωτάτους.

115. Αὕται μὲν νυν ἐν τῇ Ἁσίη ἐσχατίαι εἰσὶ καὶ ἐν τῇ Λιβύῃ. περὶ δὲ τῶν ἐν τῇ Εὐρώπῃ τῶν πρὸς ἐσπέρην ἐσχατιέων ἔχω μὲν οὐκ ἄπρεκέως λέγειν. οὔτε γὰρ ἐγὼ ἐνδόκομαι Ἡρωδάνδον καλέσθαι πρὸς βαρβάρους ποταμοὺς ἐκδίδοντα ἐς θάλασσαν τὴν πρὸς βορέῃν ἅμεον, ἀπ' ὅτε τὸ ἑλεκτρον φοιτᾶν λόγος ἐστὶ, οὔτε νῆσους οἶδα Κασσιτερίδας ἐσόνας, ἐκ τῶν ὁ κασσίτερος ἡμῖν φοιτᾶ, τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ ὁ Ἡρωδανὸς αὐτὸ κατηγορεῖ τὸ σύνομα ὡς ἐστὶ Ἑλληνικὸν καὶ οὐ βάρβαρον, ὑπὸ ποιητέω δὲ τινὸς ποιηθέν· τοῦτο δὲ οὐδενὸς αὐτόππεω γενομένου δύναμαι ἄκοισαι, τοῦτο μελετῶν, ὦκως θάλασσα ἐστὶ τὰ ἐπέκεινα.
113. I have said enough of the spices of Arabia; airs wondrous sweet blow from that land. They have moreover two marvellous kinds of sheep, nowhere else found. One of these has tails no less than three cubits long. Were the sheep to trail these after them, they would suffer hurt by the rubbing of the tails on the ground; but as it is every shepherd there knows enough of carpentry to make little carts which they fix under the tails, binding the tail of each several sheep on its own cart. The other kind of sheep has tails a full cubit broad.

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

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

116. Πρὸς δὲ ἄρκτον τῆς Εὐρώπης πολλὸ τι πλείστος χρυσὸς φαίνεται ἐών· ὅκως μὲν γινώμενος, οὐκ ἔχω οὔδε τούτο ἀτρεκέως εἶπαι, λέγεται δὲ ὑπὲκ τῶν χρυσῶν ἄρπαζειν Ἀρμασσόνος ἄνδρας μουνοθάλμους. πείθομαι δὲ οὔδὲ τοῦτο ὅκως μουνόφθαλμοι ἄνδρες φύονται, φύσιν ἔχοντες τὴν ἄλλην ὁμοίην τοῦτι ἄλλοις ἄνθρωποις· αἱ δὲ ἄν έσχαται οὐκασι, περικλήσσαι τὴν ἄλλην χώρην καὶ ἐντὸς ἀπέργουσαι, τὰ κάλλιστα δοκέοντα ἦμιν εἶναι καὶ σπανιῶτατα ἔχειν αὐταί.

117. "Εστι δὲ πεδίον ἐν τῇ 'Ασίῃ περικεκλημένον ὅρει πάντοθεν, διασφάγες δὲ τοῦ ὅρεος εἰσὶ πέντε, τούτῳ τὸ πεδίον ἦν μὲν κοτὲ Χορασμίων, ἐν οὔροις ἐνῳ Χορασμίων τε ἀυτῶν καὶ Τρκανίων καὶ Πάρθων καὶ Σαραγγέων καὶ Θαμαναίων, ἐπεῖτε δὲ Πέρσαι ἔχουσι τὸ κράτος, ἐστὶ τοῦ βασιλέως. ἐκ δὴ ὅν τοῦ περικλήσσων ὅρεος τούτου βεβεί ποταμὸς μέγας, οὗνομα δὲ οἱ ἔστι "Ακης. οὕτος πρότερον μὲν ἀρδεσκε διαλελαμμένος πενταχοῦ τούτων τῶν εἱρημένων τὰς χώρας, διὰ διασφάγος ἀγόμενος ἐκάστης ἐκάστοις· ἐπείτε δὲ ὑπὸ τῷ Πέρσῃ εἰσὶ, τεπόνθασι τοιὸνδε· τὰς διασφάγας τῶν ὅρεων ἐνδείμασι ὁ βασιλεὺς πύλαις ἐπ' ἐκάστη διασφάγι ἐστησε· ἀποκεκλημένου δὲ τοῦ ὑδατός τῆς ἐξόδου τὸ πεδίον τὸ ἐντὸς τῶν ὅρεων πέλαγος γίνεται, ἐνδιδόντος μὲν τοῦ ποταμοῦ, ἔχοντος δὲ οὐδαμὴ ἐξήλυσιν. οὐτοὶ δὲν οἱ περί ἐμπροσθε ἐώθεσαν
know, that our tin and amber come from the most distant parts.

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

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

\(^1\) All this description appears to be purely imaginative. But “the idea of the chapter” (say Messrs. How and Wells) “is quite correct; the control of irrigation is in the East one of the prerogatives of government, and great sums are charged for the use of water.”
χρᾶσθαι τῷ ὑδατὶ, οὐκ ἔχοντες αὐτῷ χρᾶσθαι συμφορῇ μεγάλῃ διαχρέωνταί. τὸν μὲν γὰρ 
χειμώνα ἦν σφι ο θεὸς ὠσπερ καὶ τοῖσι ἀλλοισι ἀνθρώποισι, τοῦ δὲ θέρεος σπείροντες μελίνην καὶ 
σήσαμον χρηίσκονται τῷ ὑδατὶ. ἐπεάν ὁμ ἐνδέ 
σφι παραδιδώταί του ὑδατος, ἐλθόντες ἐς τοὺς 
Πέρσας αὐτοὶ τε καὶ γυναίκες, στάσις κατὰ τὰς 
θύρας τοῦ βασιλέως βοῶσι ὁρυόμενοι, ὁ δὲ βα-
σιλεὺς τοῖσι δεομένοισι αὐτῶν μάλιστα ἐντέλ-
λεται ἀνοίγειν τὰς πύλας τὰς ἐς τοῦτο φεροῦσας. 
ἐπεάν δὲ διάκορος ἵ γῆ σφεων γένηται πίνουσα τὸ 
ὕδωρ, αὕτα μὲν αἱ πύλαι ἀποκληίονται, ἄλλα 
δὲ ἐντελεῖται ἀνοίγειν ἀλλοισι τοῖσι δεομένοισι 
μάλιστα τῶν λοιπῶν. ὡς δ' ἐγὼ οἶδα ἀκούσας, 
χρήματα μεγάλα πρησσόμενοι ἀνοίγει πάρεξ τοῦ 
φόρου.

118. Ταύτα μὲν δὴ ἔχει οὕτω. τῶν δὲ τῷ Μάγῳ 
ἐπαναστάντων ἐπτὰ ἀνδρῶν, ἐνα αὐτῶν Ἰνταφρέ-
νεα κατέλαβε ὑβρίσαντα τάδε ἀποθανεῖν αὐτίκα 
μετὰ τὴν ἐπανάστασιν. ᾗθελε ἐς τὰ βασιλεία 
ἐσελθὼν χρηματίσασθαι τῷ βασιλείῳ καὶ γὰρ 
δὴ καὶ ὁ νόμος οὕτω εἰρε, τοῖσι ἐπαναστάσι τῷ Μάγῳ 
ἔσοδον εἶναι παρὰ βασιλέα ἀνευ ἀγγέλου, ἢν 
μὴ γυναίκι τυγχάνῃ μισομένοις βασιλεύσι. οὐκὼν 
δὴ Ἰνταφρένης ἐδικαίου οὐδένα οἱ ἐςαγγείλατι, ἀλλ' 
ὅτι ἢν τῶν ἐπτά, ἐσείναι ᾗθελε. ὁ δὲ πυλουρὸς 
καὶ ὁ ἀγγελιφόρος οὐ περίωρων, φάμενοι τὸν 
βασιλέα γυναίκι μίσησθαι. ὁ δὲ Ἰνταφρένης 
δοκέων σφέας ψεύδα λέγειν ποιεῖ τοιάδε: σπα-
σάμενος τῶν ἀκινάκεα ἀποτάμμει αὐτῶν τὰ τε ὅτα 
καὶ τὰς πίνας, καὶ ἀνείρας περὶ τὸν χαλίνου τὸν 
Ἱππον περὶ τοὺς αὐχένας σφέων ἔδησε, καὶ ἀπήκε.
the water can use it no longer, and are in very evil case; for whereas in winter they have the rain from heaven like other men, in summer they are in need of the water for their sown millet and sesame. So whenever no water is given to them, they come into Persia with their women, and cry and howl before the door of the king's palace, till the king commands that the river-gate which leads thither should be opened for those whose need is greatest; then, when this land has drunk its fill of water, that gate is shut, and the king bids open another for those of the rest who most require it. I have heard and know that he exacts great sums, over and above the tribute, for the opening of the gates.

118. So much for these matters. But Intaphrenes, one of the seven rebels against the Magian, was brought to his death by a deed of violence immediately after the rebellion. He desired to enter the palace and speak with the king; for this was the law, that the rebels should come into the king's presence without announcement given, if the king were not with one of his wives. Intaphrenes then claimed his right to enter unannounced, as one of the seven; but the gate-warden and the messenger forbade him, the king being, they said, with one of his wives. Intaphrenes thought they spoke falsely; drawing his scimitar he cut off their noses and ears, then strung these on his horse's bridle and bound it round the men's necks, and so let them go.
119. Οἱ δὲ τῷ βασιλεῖ δεικνύοντι ἑωτοῦς καὶ τῆς αἰτής εἶπον δι᾽ ἦν πεπονθότες εὐχασαν. Δαρεῖος δὲ ἄρρωδήσας μὴ κοινῷ λόγῳ οἱ ἔξε πεποιηκότες ἔως ταῦτα, μεταπεμπόμενος ἐνα ἐκαστὸν ἀπεπειράτῳ γνώμης, εἰ συνεπαίων εἰσὶ τῷ πεποιημένῳ. ἐπείτε δὲ ἐξέμαθε ὡς οὐ σὺν κείνοις εἰ ἡ ταῦτα πεποιηκὼς, ἐλαβεν αὐτὸν τε τὸν Ἰνταφρένεα καὶ τοὺς παῖδας αὐτοῦ καὶ τοὺς οἰκήσιοις πάντας, ἐπίδας πολλὰς ἔχων μετὰ τῶν συγγενέων μιν ἐπιβουλεύειν οἱ ἐπανάστασιν, συλλαβῶν δὲ σφέας ἔδησε τὴν ἐπὶ θανάτῳ. ἡ δὲ γυνὴ τοῦ Ἰνταφρένεος φοιτῶσα ἐπὶ τὰς θύρας τοῦ βασιλεός κλαίσεκε ἀν καὶ ὀδυρέσκετο· ποιεῦσα δὲ αἰεὶ τῶντο τοῦ τὸν Δαρείον ἐπείσει οἰκτείραι μιν. πέμψας δὲ ἀγγελον ἔλεγε τάδε. ""Ὡς γύναι, βασιλεύς τοι Δαρείος διδοὶ ἕνα τῶν δεδεμένων οἰκήσιον ρύσασθαι τοῦ βούλει αἲ πάντων." ἡ δὲ βουλευσαμένη ὑπεκρίνετο τάδε· "Ἐν μὲν δὴ μοι διδοὶ βασιλεύς ἔνως τὴν ψυχήν, αἰρέομαι ἐκ πάντων τὸν ἀδελφόν." πυθόμενος δὲ Δαρείος ταῦτα καὶ θωμάσας τὸν λόγον, πέμψας ἤγορευε "" האלו γύναι, εἰρωτᾶ σε βασιλεύς, τίνα ἔχουσα γνώμην, τὸν ἄνδρα τε καὶ τὰ τέκνα ἐγκαταλιποῦσα, τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἐλεῖν περιείναι τοι, ὅσα καὶ ἀλλοτριώτερος τοι τῶν παιδῶν καὶ ἔσον κεχαρισμένος τοῦ ἄνδρός ἐστι." ἡ δὲ ἀμείβετο τοῖσιδε. ""Ὡς βασιλεύ, ἀνήρ μὲν μοι ἄν ἄλλος γένους, εἰ δαίμων θέλοι, καὶ τέκνα ἄλλα, εἰ ταύτα ἀποβάλοιμι· πατρὸς δὲ καὶ μητρὸς οὐκέτι μεν ζωότων ἀδελφῶν ἄν ἄλλος οὐδὲν τρόπῳ γένοιτο. ταύτῃ τῇ γνώμῃ χρεωμένη ἐλέξα ταῦτα." εὐ τε δὴ ἐδοξε τῷ Δαρείῳ εἰπεῖν ἡ γυνὴ, καὶ οἱ ἀπῆκε τοῦτον τε τὸν παρατέτο καὶ τῶν παιδῶν.
119. They showed themselves to the king and told him the reason why they had been so treated. Darius, fearing that this might be a conspiracy of the six, sent for each severally and questioned him, to know if they approved the deed; and being assured that they had no part in it, he seized Intaphrenes with his sons and all his household—for he much suspected that the man was plotting a rebellion with his kinsfolk—and imprisoned them with intent to put them to death. Then Intaphrenes' wife came ever and anon to the palace gates, weeping and lamenting; and at last her continual so doing moved Darius to compassion; and he sent a messenger to tell her that Darius would grant her the life of one of her imprisoned kinsfolk, whomsoever she chose. She, after counsel taken, answered that if this were the king's boon she chose the life of her brother. Darius was astonished when he heard her answer, and sent one who said to her: "Woman, the king would know for what reason you pass over your husband and your children and choose rather to save the life of your brother, who is less close to you than your children and less dear than your husband." "O King," she answered, "another husband I may get, if heaven so will, and other children, if I lose these; but my father and mother are dead, and so I can by no means get another brother; that is why I have thus spoken." Darius was pleased, and thought the reason good; he delivered to the woman him for
τὸν πρεσβύτατον, ἢσθεὶς αὐτῇ, τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους ἀπέκτεινε πάντας. τῶν μὲν δὴ ἐπὶ τὰ εἰς αὐτίκα τρόπῳ τῷ εὑρημένῳ ἀπολῶλεε.

120. Κατὰ δὲ κοι μάλιστα τὴν Καμβύσεως νοῦσον ἐγίνετο τάδε. ὑπὸ Κύρου καταστάθηκε ἦν Σαρδίων ὑπάρχος ὁ Ὅροιτής ἄνηρ Πέρσης; οὗτος ἐπεθύμησε πρήγματος ὁκ ὁσίουν. οὔτε γὰρ τι παθῶν οὔτε ἀκούσας μᾶταιν ἔπος πρὸς Πολυκράτεος τοῦ Σαμοῦ, οὔτε ἰδὼν πρότερον, ἐπεθύμεε λαβὼν αὐτὸν ἀπολέσαι, ὡς μὲν οἱ πλείνες λέγοντι, διὰ τούτῳ διὰ τινὰ αἰτίην. ἐπὶ τῶν βασιλεῶς θυρέων κατήμενον τὸν τε Ὅροιτεα καὶ ἄλλον Πέρσην τῷ οὖν οὖνομα εἶναι Μιτροβάτεα, νομοῦ ἀρχοντα τοῦ ἐν Δασκυλείῳ, τούτους ἐκ λόγων ἐς νείκεα συμπεσεῖν, κρινομένων δὲ περὶ ἀρετῆς εἰπεὶν τοῦ Μιτροβάτεα τῷ Ὅροιτή προφηροῦτα "Σὺ γὰρ ἐν ἀνδρῶν λόγῳ, διὸ βασίλεϊ νῦν Σάμον πρὸς τῷ σῷ νομῷ προσκειμένην οὐ προσεκτίσαο, ὡδε δὴ τι ἐνύσσαν εὐπετέα χειρωθῆναι, τὴν τῶν τις ἐπιχωρίων πεντεκαίδεκα ὕπλήτησι ἐπαναστᾶς ἐσχὲ καὶ νῦν αὐτῆς τυραννεύει." οὐ μὲν δὴ μὴν φασὶ τοῦτο ἀκούσαντα καὶ ἀλγήσατα τῷ ὄνειδει ἐπιθυμῆσαι οὐκ οὗτῳ τὸν εἰπαντα ταύτα τίσασθαι ὡς Πολυκράτεα πάντως ἀπολέσαι, δι' ὅντινα κακῶς ἥκουσε.

121. Οἱ δὲ ἐλάσσονες λέγουσι πέμψαι Ὅροιτεα ἐς Σάμον κήρυκα ὅτεν δὴ χρήματος δεισόμενον (οὗ γὰρ ὅν δὴ τοῦτο ὑπὲρ οὐδεταί), καὶ τὸν Πολυκράτεα τυχεῖν κατακεκιμένον ἐν ἀνδρῶνι, παρεῖναι δὲ οἱ καὶ Ὅμακρέοντα τὸν Θήσιον καὶ κὼς εἶτ' ἐκ προνοίης αὐτὸν κατηλογεύοντα τὰ Ὅροιτεω πρήγματα, εἰτε καὶ συντυχία τῆς τοιαύτῃ ἐπεγένετο· τὸν τε γὰρ κήρυκα τὸν Ὅροιτεω παρελθόντα.
whose life she had asked, and the eldest of her sons besides; all the rest he put to death. Thus immediately perished one of the seven.

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

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

\[\text{\textsuperscript{1}}\text{ See ch. 39.}\]
diáleigéssai, kai tòn Polukrátēa (tuhxein gar apèstaramménov prós tòn toíxov) ouste ti meta-
strafhímai ouste úpokrínasai.

122. Aíttaîa mèn òd ãutai dífíasai légonntai
tou thanatótou tòu Polukrátēos genésai, párêstî
de peîthesai ókotérh tis boûletai autéon. ò òde
òv' Öroîthís izômenos en Magnisíh tì ùper Mavi-
ândrou potamou oïkhamen ëpêmpne Múρson tòu
Gýgeó anêdra Lydôn ês Sámuon ánggelíh phéronta,
maðw tòu Polukrátēos tòn nôn. Polukrátēs
gar êstî prôtost tòn ûmeis idîmev 'Ellhîmwn òs
thalaßosokratéesen ëpênoihê, párêz Mínwos te tòu
Kynosíou kai eî òdî tîs álloss prôteros toútô
ërxe tîs thaláßhês. tîs òde ánðrôptihis legrómênhs
genèhî Polukrátēs prôtost, élpîdas pollâs êxoun
'Iwînhs te kai nhîsou ãrxein. maðw òn tautâ
mûn diânoûmenon ò' Öroîthís pémußas ánggelíh
èlêge tâde. "'Öroîthís Polukráttei òde lêgei.
punthánoi ëpiboulênênei se prîghmasti megálloisi,
kaî chrîmatâ tòi ouk ëinaí kátà tâ phrouhmata.
sû vûn òde poûsséas oðrhôsesi mên sewutôn, sôseis
dê kaî éme: èmi ògar Basilèus Kamvúshis èpiboulê-
neîe thánatôn, kai mûi toútô èxâgghllêtaî safhi-
néwos. sû vûn ême èkkiomísas autôn kaî chrîmatâ,
tâ mên autôn autôs êxe, tâ òde ême êa êxein
êînekeîn te chrîmatôs ãrxeis àpâsís tîs 'Ellládos.
eî òde mûi àpistêeis tû perî tûn chrîmatôn, pémuß
óstis toî pistôtatos typakhînei êwô, tû êgô àpo-
dêzûw."

123. Taûta àkoûsas Polukrátês ëssthê te kai
èbouleto: kai kôs ìmeîretô gar chrîmatôn megállois,
àpøpêmpeî pròtata katóûómênon Mavânrîou Mav-
entered and addressed him, Polycrates, then lying with his face to the wall, never turned nor answered him.

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

123. Hearing this, Polycrates liked the plan and consented; and, as it chanced that he had a great desire for money, he first sent one of his townsmen,
ανδρίον ἄνδρα τῶν ἀστῶν, ὅς οἱ ἦν γραμματιστῆς· ὡς χρόνῳ οὐ πολλῷ ύστερον τούτων τῶν κόσμων τόν ἐκ τοῦ ἀνδρεώνος τοῦ Πολυκράτεος ἔοντα ἄξιοθέτων ἀνέθηκε πάντα ἐς τὸ Ἡραίον. ὁ δὲ Ὀροῖτης μαθὼν τὸν κατάσκοπον ἔοντα προσδόκιμον ἐποίεε τοιάδε· λάρνακας ὅκτὼ πληρώσας λίθων πλην κάρτα βραχέος τοῦ περὶ αὐτὰ τὰ χείλεα, ἐπιπολῆς τῶν λίθων χρυσὸν ἐπέβαλε, καταδήσας δὲ τὰς λάρνακας εἰχε ἐτοίμασε. ἐλθὼν δὲ ὁ Μαιάνδριος καὶ θεσάμενος ἀπήγγελλε τῷ Πολυκράτει.

124. Ὁ δὲ πολλὰ μὲν τῶν μαντίων ἀπαγορεύοντων πολλὰ δὲ τῶν φίλων ἐστέλλετο αὐτόσε, πρὸς δὲ καὶ ἱδούσης τῆς θυγατρὸς ὅψιν ἐνυπτιόν τοιμύδε· ἐδόκεε οἱ τὸν πατέρα ἐν τῷ ἥρει μετέωρον ἐόντα λοίσθαι μὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ Δίος, χρίσθαι δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ ἡλίου. ταῦτην ἱδούσα τὴν ὅψιν παντοτὴν ἐγκνευτὸ μὴ ἀποδημήσαι τὸν Πολυκράτεα παρὰ τὸν Ὀροῖτα, καὶ δὴ καὶ ἱόντος αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τὴν πεντηκόντερον ἐπεφημίζετο. ὁ δὲ οἱ ἦπείλησε, ἦν σῶς ἀπονοστῆσῃ, πολλὸν μιν χρόνον παρθενεύεσθαι. ἦ δὲ ἦρήσατο ἐπιτελέα ταῦτα γενέσθαι βούλεσθαι γὰρ παρθενεύεσθαι πλέω χρόνον ἦ τοῦ πατρὸς ἐστερήσθαι.

125. Πολυκράτης δὲ πάσης συμβουλῆς ἀλογήσας ἐπλεε παρὰ τὸν Ὀροῖτα, ἄμα ἄρομενοι ἄλλους τε πολλοὺς τῶν ἐταίρων, ἐν δὲ δὴ καὶ Δημοκρίδεα τὸν Καλλιφῶντος Κροτωνιῆτιν ἄνδρα, ἴητον τε ἐόντα καὶ τὴν τέχνην ἄσκεσαν ἄριστα τῶν κατ’ ἐωτοῦ. ἀπικομενος δὲ ἐς τὴν Μαγνησίην ὁ Πολυκράτης διεθάρη κακῶς, οὔτε ἐωτοῦ ἄξιος οὔτε τῶν ἐωτοῦ φρονημάτων οτι γὰρ μὴ

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BOOK III. 123-125

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

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

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

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οἱ Συρηκοσίων γενόμενοι τύραννοι οὐδὲ εἰς τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλληνικῶν τυράννων ἁξίως ἐστὶ Πολυκράτει μεγαλοπρεπεῖήν συμβληθῆναι. ἀποκτείνας δὲ μιν οὐκ ἁξίως ἀπηγήσιος Ὁροῖτῆς ἀνεστάλησε τῶν δὲ οἱ ἑπομένων ὅσοι μὲν ἦσαν Σάμιοι, ἀπῆκε, κελεύων σφέας ἐσωτῷ χάριν εἰδέναι ἐόντας ἐλευθέρους, ὅσοι δὲ ἦσαν ἑξίνοι τε καὶ δοῦλοι τῶν ἑπομένων, ἐν ἀνδραπόδων λόγῳ ποιεύμενος εἰχε. Πολυκράτης δὲ ἀνακρεμάμενος ἐπετελείς πᾶσαν τὴν ὁψιν τῆς θυγατρὸς ἔλοῦτο μὲν γὰρ ὑπὸ τοῦ Δίου ὦκως ὦι, ἔχριετο δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ ἥλιου, ἀνείς αὐτὸς ἐκ τοῦ σώματος ἴκμάδα.

126. Πολυκράτεος μὲν δὴ αἱ πολλαὶ εὐτυχίαι ἐς τούτο ἐτελεύτησαν τῇ οἱ Ὁμασις ὁ Λιγυπτον βασιλεὺς προεμαντεύσατο.1 χρόνῳ δὲ οὐ πολλῷ ὑστερον καὶ Ὁροῖτα Πολυκράτεος τίσιες μετηλθον. μετὰ γὰρ τὸν Καμβύσεων βασιλεὺς καὶ τῶν Μάγων τὴν βασιλην μένων ὑπὸ τῆς Σάρδις Ὁροῖτῆς ὄφελεε μὲν οὐδὲν Πέρσας ὑπὸ Μηδῶν ἀπαραιρημένοις τὴν ἁρχὴν. δὲ ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ ταραχῇ κατὰ μὲν ἐκτεινε Μιτροβάτεα τοῦ ἐκ Δασκυλείου ὑπαρχον, ὡς οἱ ὀνείδις τα ἐς Πολυκράτεα ἔχοντα, κατὰ δὲ τοῦ Μιτροβάτων τῶν παῖδα Κρανᾶσπην, ἀνδρας ἐν Πέρσῃς δοκὶμοις, ἅλλα τε ἐξύβρισε παντοία καὶ τινα ἀγγεληφόρον ἐλθόντα Δαρείου παρ' αὐτῶν, ὦξ οὐ πρὸς ἦδον ὁι ἦν τὰ ἀγγελλόμενα, κτεινει χιν ὀπίσω κομικομενον, ἀνδρας οἱ ὑπείσας κατ' ὀδόν, ἀποκτείνας δὲ μιν ἥφανισε αὐτῷ ὕππω.

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

126. This was the end of Polycrates’ many successes, as Amasis king of Egypt had forewarned him. But not long after, Oroetes was overtaken by the powers that avenged Polycrates. After Cambyses had died and the Magians won the kingship, Oroetes stayed in Sardis, where he in no way helped the Persians to regain the power taken from them by the Medes, but contrariwise; for in this confusion he slew two notable Persians, Mitrobates, the governor from Dascyleium, who had taunted him concerning Polycrates, and Mitrobates’ son, Cranaspes; and besides many other violent deeds, when a messenger from Darius came with a message which displeased him, he set an ambush by the way and killed that messenger on his journey homewards, and made away with the man’s body and horse.
127. Δαρείος δὲ ὡς ἔσχε τὴν ἄρχην, ἐπεθύμεε τὸν Ὅροίτεα τίσασθαι πάντων τῶν ἀδικημάτων εἶνεκέν καὶ μάλιστα Μιτροβάτεω καὶ τοῦ παιδός. ἐκ μὲν δὴ τῆς ἰδέης στρατῶν ἐπ' αὐτὸν οὐκ ἐδόκεε πέμπειν ἀτε οὐδεόντων ἐτὶ τῶν πρηγμάτων, καὶ νεωστὶ ἔχων τὴν ἄρχην καὶ τὸν Ὅροίτεα μεγάλην τὴν ἵσχυν πυθανόμενος ἔχειν· τὸν χίλιον μὲν Περσέων ἐδορυφόρεον, εἴχε δὲ νομὸν τὸν τε Φρύγιον καὶ Λυδίον καὶ Ἰωνίκον. πρὸς ταύτα δὴ δὸν ὁ Δαρείος τάδε ἐμηχανήσατο. συγκαλέσας Περσέων τοὺς δοκιμωτάτους ἔλεγεν σφι τάδε. "Ὤ Πέρσαι, τίς ἂν μοι τοῦτο ὑμέων ὑποστάς ἐπιτελέσεις σοφίη καὶ μὴ βίη τε καὶ ὀμίλω; ἐνθα γὰρ σοφίης δέει, βίης ἔργων οὐδέν· ὑμέων δὲ δὴ τίς μοι Ὅροίτεα ἢ ξώοντα ἀγάλιον ἢ ἀποκτείνειε; ὅσ ὠφελήσε μὲν κω Πέρσας οὐδέν, κακὰ δὲ μεγάλα ἐσργέ- τοιτο μὲν δύο ἴμεων ἑστῶτας, Μιτροβάτεα τε καὶ τὸν παίδα αὐτοῦ, τοῦτο δὲ τοὺς ἀνακαλέοντας αὐτὸν καὶ πεμπομένους ὑπ' ἔμευ κτείνει, ὑβριν οὐκ ἀνασχέτον φαίνων. πρὶν τι ὄν μέξον ἐξεργάσασθαί μιν Πέρσας κακῶν, καταλαμπτέος ἐστὶ ἰμῖν θανάτῳ."

128. Δαρείος μὲν ταύτα ἐπειρώτα, τῷ δὲ ἄνδρες τριήκοντα ὑπέστησαν, αὐτὸς ἕκαστος ἔθελον ποιέ- ειν ταύτα. ἐρίζοντας δὲ Δαρείος κατελὰμβανε κελεύων πᾶλλεσθαι· παλλομένων δὲ λαγχάνει ἐκ πάντων Βαγαίος ὁ Αρτόντεω· λαχῶν δὲ ὁ Βαγαίος ποιέει τάδε· βυβλία γραψάμενος πολλά καὶ περὶ πολλῶν ἔχουσα πρηγμάτων σφρηγίδα σφι ἐπέβαλε τῆν Δαρείου, μετὰ δὲ ἤις ἔχων ταύτα ἐς τὰς Σάρδις. ἀπικόμενος δὲ καὶ Ὅροίτεω ἐς ὑψὸν ἐλθὼν, τῶν βυβλίων ἐν ἕκαστον περιαρεόμενος ἐδίδου τῷ
127. So when Darius became king he was minded to punish Oroetes for all his wrongdoing, and chiefly for the killing of Mitrobates and his son. But he thought it best not to send an army openly against the satrap, seeing that all was still in ferment and he himself was still new to the royal power; moreover he heard that Oroetes was very strong, having a guard of a thousand Persian spearmen and being governor of the Phrygian and Lydian and Ionian province. Resorting therefore to a device to help him, he summoned an assembly of the most notable Persians, whom he thus addressed: "Who is there among you, men of Persia, that will undertake and achieve a thing for me not with force and numbers, but by cunning? Force has no place where cunning is needful. But to the matter in hand—which of you will bring me Oroetes alive, or kill him? for he has done the Persians no good, but much harm; two of us he has slain, Mitrobates and his son; nay, and he slays my messengers who are sent to recall him; so unbearable is the insolence of his acts. Therefore death must stay him from doing the Persians some yet worse evil."

128. At this question thirty men promised that they were ready each for himself to do the king's will. Darius bade them not contend but draw lots; they all did so, and the lot fell on Bagaeus, son of Artontes. He, thus chosen, got written many letters concerning many matters; then sealing them with Darius' seal he went with them to Sardis. Coming there into Oroetes' presence he took out each letter severally and gave it to one of the royal scribes who attend all
γραμματιστή τῷ βασιλικῷ ἐπιλέγεσθαι. γραμματιστάς δὲ βασιλείους οἱ πάντες ὑπάρχοι ἔχουσιν ἀποπειρώμενοι δὲ τῶν δορυφόρων ἔδιδον τῷ βυβλίῳ ὁ Βαγαίος, εἰ ἐνδεξαῖστο ἀπόστασιν ἀπὸ Ὀροίτεω. όρέων δὲ σφέας τὰ τε βυβλία σεβομένους μεγάλως καὶ τὰ λεγόμενα έκ τῶν βυβλίων ἔτι μεζόνως, διδοὶ ἀλλο ἐν τῷ ἐνήμ ἔσεν τάδε: "Ὤ Πέρσαι, βασιλεὺς Δαρείος ἀπαγορεύει ὑμῖν μὴ δορυφορεῖν Ὀροίτεα." οἱ δὲ ἀκούσαντες τούτως μετῆκαν οἱ τάς αἰχμάς. ιδὼν δὲ τούτῳ σφέας ὁ Βαγαίος πεθομένους τῷ βυβλίῳ, ἐνθαῦτα δὴ θαρσήσας τὸ τελευταῖον τῶν βυβλίων διδοὶ τῷ γραμματιστῇ, ἐν τῷ ἐνγέγραπτῳ "Βασιλεὺς Δαρείος Πέρσης τοῦ Ὀροίτεα." οἱ δὲ δορυφόροι ὡς ἦκουσαν ταῦτα, σπασάμενοι τοὺς ἀκινάκας κτείνουσι παραυτικά μιν, οὕτω δὴ Ὀροίτεα τὸν Πέρσην Πολυκράτεος τοῦ Σαμίου τίσις μετῆλθον.

129. Ἀπικομένων δὲ καὶ ἀνακομισθέντων τῶν Ὀροίτεω χρημάτων ἐσ τὰ Σοῦσα, συνήνεικε χρόνῳ οὐ πολλῷ ὑπερον βασιλέα Δαρείον ἐν ἀγρηθηρῶν ἀποθράσκοντα ἀπ' ἵππου στραφήναι τὸν πόδα. καὶ κως ἰσχυρότεροι ἐστράφη δὴ γὰρ οἱ ἀστράγαλος ἐξεχώρησε ἐκ τῶν ἄρθρων. νομίζω δὲ καὶ πρότερον περὶ ἐωτον ἔχειν Αἰγυπτίων τοὺς δοκέοντας εἶναι πρῶτους τὴν ἱστορικὴν, τούτους ἐχράτο. οἱ δὲ στρέβλοντες καὶ βιώμενοι τὸν πόδα κακὸν μέξον ἐργαζότο. ἐπὶ ἐπτά μὲν δὴ ἡμέρας καὶ ἐπτὰ νύκτας ὑπὸ τοῦ παρεόντος κακοῦ ὁ Δαρείος ἀγρυπνῆσι εἴχετο. τῇ δὲ δὴ ὁγδόῃ ἡμέρῃ ἔσχεν οἱ φλαύρως, παρακούσας τις πρότερον ἑτὶ ἐν Σάρδισι τοῦ Κροτωνιήτεω Νημο-
governors, for him to read; giving the letters with intent to try the spearmen and learn if they would consent to revolt against Oroetes. Seeing that they paid great regard to the rolls and yet more to what was written therein, he gave another, wherein were these words: "Persians! King Darius forbids you to be Oroetes' guard," which when the guard heard they threw down their spears. When Bagaeus saw that they obeyed the letter thus far, he took heart and gave the last roll to the scribe, wherein were these words: "King Darius charges the Persians in Sardis to kill Oroetes." Hearing this the spearmen drew their scimitars and killed Oroetes forthwith. Thus was Oroetes the Persian overtaken by the powers that avenged Polycrates of Samos.

129. Oroetes' slaves and other possessions were brought to Susa. Not long after this, it happened that Darius, while hunting, twisted his foot in dismounting from his horse, so violently that the ball of the ankle joint was dislocated from its socket. Darius called in the first physicians of Egypt, whom he had till now kept near his person; who, by their forcible wrenching of the foot, did but make the hurt worse; and for seven days and nights the king could get no sleep for the pain. On the eighth day he was in very evil case; then someone, who had heard in Sardis of the skill of Democedes of Croton, told the
κύδεος την τέχνην ἁγγέλλει τῷ Δαρείῳ. ὃ δὲ ἄγει ἐμὲ τῇ παρκίσην παρ' ἐωυτοῦ ἐκέλευσε τὸν δὲ ως ἐξεύρον ἐν τοῖς Ὀροίτεω ἀνδραπόδοισι ὅκου δὴ ἀπημελημένου, παρῆγον ἐς μέσον πέδας τε ἐλκοντα καὶ ῥάκεσι ἐσθημένου.

130. Σταθέντα δὲ ἐς μέσον εἰρώτα ὁ Δαρείος τῇ τέχνην εἰ ἐπίστατο. ὃ δὲ οὐκ ὑπεδέκετο, ἀρρωδεῶν μὴ ἐωυτὸν ἐκφήνας τὸ παράπαν τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἢ ἀπεστερημένος· κατεφάνη τε τῷ Δαρείῳ τεχνᾶξειν ἐπιστάμενος, καὶ τοὺς ἀγαγόντας αὐτοῦ ἐκέλευσε μάστιγάς τε καὶ κέντρα παραφέρειν ἐς τὸ μέσον. ὃ δὲ ἐνθαῦτα δὴ ὃν ἐκφάινει, φας ἀτρεκέως μὲν οὐκ ἐπίστασθαι, ὁμιλήσας δὲ ἱητρῷ φλαύρως ἐχειν τὴν τέχνην. μετὰ δὲ, ὡς οἱ ἐπέτρησε, Ἄλληνικοῖς ἱήμασι χρεώμενοι καὶ ἤπια μετὰ τὰ ἴσχυρὰ προσάγων ὑπνοῦ τε μιν λαγχάνειν ἐποίεε καὶ ἐν χρόνῳ ὀλίγῳ υγίεια μιν ἀπέδεξε, οὐδαμὰ ἔτι ἐκπίζοντα ἀρτίπον ἔσεσθαι. δωρεέται δὴ μιν μετὰ ταῦτα ὁ Δαρείος πεδέων χρυσέων δῦο ζεύγεσι· ὃ δὲ μιν ἐπείρετο εἰ οἱ διπλήσιον τὸ κακὸν ἐπίτηδες νέμει, ὅτι μιν υγίεα ἐποίησε. ἢσθεὶς δὲ τῷ ἐπεὶ ὁ Δαρείος ἀποτέμπει μιν παρὰ τὰς ἐωυτοῦ γυναίκας· παράγοντες δὲ οἱ εὐνοῦχοι ἐλεγον πρὸς τὰς γυναίκας ὡς βασιλεῖα ὑπὸς εἴη δὲ τὴν ψυχὴν ἀπέδωκε. ὑποτύπτουσα δὲ αὐτέων ἑκάστῃ φιάλῃ τοῦ χρυσοῦ ἐς θήκην ἐδωρεέτο Δημοκήδεα οὕτω δὴ τι δαψιλέω δωρηθῇ ὡς τοὺς ἀποτίπτοντας ἀπὸ τῶν φιαλέων στατήρας ἐπόμενος ὁ οἰκέτης, τῷ οὐνόμα ἦν Σκίτων, ἀνελέγετο καὶ οἱ χρήμα πολλῶν τι χρυσοῦ συνελέχθη.
BOOK III. 129-130

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

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

1 Or, that he knew how to practise his art?
131. Ὅ δὲ Δημοκρίδης οὗτος ὁδε ἐκ Κρότωνος ἀπιγμένος Πολυκράτει ὁμίλησε· πατρὶ συνείχετο ἐν τῇ Κρότωνι ὄργῃ χαλέπῳ· τοῦτον ἔπειτε οὐκ ἐδύνατο φέρειν, ἀπολέπων οἶχετο ἐς Αἰγιναν. καταστὰς δὲ ἐς ταύτην πρωτῷ ἔτει ὑπερεβάλετο τοὺς ἄλλους ἡττρούς, ἀσκενής περ ἐὼν καὶ ἔχων οὐδὲν τῶν ὃσα περὶ τὴν τέχνην ἔστι ἐργαλήμα. καὶ μιν δευτέρῳ ἔτει ταλάντων Αἰγινήται δημοσίη μισθοῦνται, τρίτῳ δὲ ἔτει 'Αθηναίοι ἐκατὸν μνέων, τετάρτῳ δὲ ἔτει Πολυκράτης δυῶν ταλάντων, οὕτω μὲν ἀπίκευτο ἐς τὴν Σάμον, καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦτον τοῦ ἄνδρος οὐκ ἥκιστα Κροτωνηταί ἡττροῖ εὐδοκίμησαν. ἐγένετο γὰρ ὅτι τοῦτο ὅτε πρῶτοι μὲν Κροτωνηταί ἡττροὶ ἐλέγοντο ἀνὰ τὴν 'Ελλάδα εἶναι, δεύτεροι δὲ Κυρηναίοι. κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν δὲ τούτον χρόνον καὶ Ἀργεῖοι ἥκουν μουσικὴν εἶναι 'Ελλήνων πρῶτοι."

132. Τότε δὴ ὁ Δημοκρίδης ἐν τοῖσι Σοῦσοισι ἐξησάμενος Δαρείον οἰκόν τε μέγιστον εἴχε καὶ ὁμοτράπεζος βασιλεύε ἐγεγόνεε, πλὴν τε ἐνος τοῦ ἐς 'Ελλήνας ἀπίεται πάντα τάλλα οἱ παρῆν. καὶ τοῦτο μὲν τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους ἡττρούς, οἱ βασιλέα πρότερον ἠζυότο, μέλλοντας ἁμασκολοπι- εῖσθαι ὅτι ὧπο 'Ελλήνος ἡττροῦ ἐσσώθησαν, τούτοις βασιλέα παραιτησάμενος ἐρρύσατο· τοῦτο ἢ ἣν δὲ μέγιστον πρήγμα Δημοκρίδης παρὰ βασιλεύ. 133. Ἐν χρόνῳ δὲ ὀδύγῳ μετὰ ταῦτα τάδε

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

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

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

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

1 The Aeginetan talent = about 82 Attic minae (60 of which composed the Attic talent).
άλλα συνήνεικε γενέσθαι. Ἄτοσση τῆ Κύρου μὲν θυγατρὶ Δαρείου δὲ γυναῖκι ἐπὶ τοῦ μαστοῦ ἐφι φύμα, μετὰ δὲ ἐκραγὲν ἐνέμετο πρόσω. ὡσον μὲν δὴ χρόνον ἦν ἔλασσον, ἢ δὲ κρυπτοῦσα καὶ αἰσχυνομένη ἐφφάζετο οúdeν. ἐπείτε δὲ ἐν κακῷ ἦν, μετεπέμψατο τὸν Δημοκήδεα καὶ οἱ ἐπέδεξε. οὐ δὲ φᾶς υγιέα ποιήσειν ἐξορκοὶ μνὴ μὲν οἱ ἀντι- πουργήσειν ἐκεῖνην τοῦτο τὸ ἄν αὐτῆς δεηθῇ· δείσεσθαι δὲ οúdeνος τῶν ὀσα ἐς αἰσχύνην ἐστὶ φέροντα.

134. Ὡς δὲ ἄρα μιν μετὰ ταῦτα ὦμενος υγιέα ἀπέδεξε, ἐνθάυτα δὴ διδαχθεῖσα ὑπὸ τοῦ Δημο- κήδεος ἦ Ἄτοσσᾳ προσέφερε ἐν τῇ κοίτῃ Δαρείῳ λόγον τοιόνδε. "Ὡς βασιλεὺ, ἔχων δύναμιν το- σαύτην κάτησαι, οὔτε τι ἐθνὸς προσκτώμενος οὔτε δύναμιν Πέρσησι. οἶκος δὲ ἐστὶ ἄνδρα καὶ νέον καὶ χρημάτων μεγάλων δεσπότην φαινεσθαι τι ἀποδεικνύμενον, ἵνα καὶ Πέρσαι ἐκμάθωσι ὅτι ὑπ’ ἄνδρος ἄρχονται. ἐπ’ ἀμφότερα δὲ τοι συμφέρει ταῦτα ποιέειν, καὶ ἵνα σφέων Πέρσαι ἐπίστωται ἄνδρα εἶναι τοῦ προσετέωτα, καὶ ἵνα τρίβωνται πολέμῳ μηδὲ σχολὴν ἀγοντες ἐπιβουλεύωσι τοι. νῦν γὰρ ἄν τι καὶ ἀποδεξαίον ἔργον, ἕως νέος εἰς ἡλικίαν αὐξομένῳ γὰρ τῷ σώματι συναύξονται καὶ αἱ φρένες, γηράσκοντι δὲ συγγηράσκουσι καὶ ἐς τὰ πρήγματα πάντα ἀπαμβλύνουται." ὡς μὲν δὴ ταῦτα ἐκ διδαχῆς ἐλεγε, δ’ ἀμείβετο τοῖσιν. "Ὡς γὰρ, πάντα ὀσα περ αὐτός ἐπίνεον ποιήσειν εἰρηκας· ἐγὼ γὰρ βεβούλευμαι ξεύξας γέφυραν ἐκ τῆς τῆς ἤπειρου ἐς τὴν ἔτερην ἤπειρον ἔπι Σκύθας στρατεύεσθαι καὶ ταῦτα ὄλγου χρόνου ἔσται τελεύμενα." λέγει Ἄτοσσα τάδε. "Ὡρα
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and Darius' wife, found a swelling growing on her breast, which broke and spread further. As long as it was but a small matter, she said nothing of it but hid it for shame; but presently growing worse, she sent for Democedes and showed it to him. He promised to cure her, but made her to swear that she would requite him by granting whatsoever he requested of her; saying, that he would ask nothing shameful.

134. His remedies having made her whole, Atossa at Democedes' prompting thus addressed Darius in their chamber: "Sire, you are a mighty ruler; why sit you idle, winning neither new dominions nor new power for your Persians? If you would have them know that they have a man for their king, it is right and fitting for one of your youth and your wealth to let them see you achieving some great enterprise. Thereby will you gain a double advantage: the Persians will know that their king is truly a man; and in the stress of war they will have no leisure for conspiring against you. Now is your time for achieving great deeds, while you are still young: for as a man's mind grows with his body's growth, so as the body ages the mind too grows older and duller for all uses." Thus she spoke, being so prompted. "Lady," said Darius, "what you say I am already minded to do. I am resolved to make a bridge from this to the other continent and so lead an army against the Scythians; and in a little while we will set about accomplishing this." "See now," Atossa answered, "forbear for the nonce to attack the
νων, ἐπὶ Σκύθας μὲν τὴν πρώτην ἴέναι ἔσοινον ὦτοι γὰρ, ἐπεάν σὺ βούλη, ἔσονται τοῖς σὺ δὲ μοι ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα στρατεύεσθαι. ἐπιθυμεῖν γὰρ λόγῳ πυθανομένη Δακαίνας τέ μοι γενέσθαι θεραπαίνας καὶ Ἀργείας καὶ Ἀττικᾶς καὶ Κορινθίας. ἔχεις δὲ ἄνδρα ἐπιτηδεύσατον ἄνδρῶν πάντων δέξατε ἡ Ἑλλάδος καὶ κατηγόσασθαι, τούτοις ὡς σεύ τοὺς πόδα ἡλίσατο." ἀμείβεται Δαρεῖος "Ὡ γινότα, ἐτεὶ τοίνυν τοι δοκέει τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἡμέας πρώτω ἀποπειράσθαι, κατασκόπους μοι δοκέει Περσέων πρώτων ἀμείνων εἶναι ὡμόν τούτῳ τῷ σὺ λέγεις πέμψαι ἐς αὐτούς, οἱ μαθόντες καὶ ἱδόντες ἔξαγγελέουσι ἡ ἔκαστα αὐτῶν ἡμῖν καὶ ἔπειτα ἔξεπτισάμενος ἐπὶ αὐτῶν τρέψωμαι."

135. Ταῦτα ἐπει καὶ ἄμα ἐποίης τε καὶ ἔργον ἐποίης. ἐπείτε γὰρ τάχιστα ἡμέρη ἐπέλαμψε, καλέσας Περσέων ἄνδρας δοκίμους πεντεκαίδεκα ἐνετέλλετο σφὶ ἐπομείνους Δημοκῦδει διεξέλθειν τὰ παραθαλάσσια τῆς Ἑλλάδος, ὅκως τε μὴ διαδρήσεται σφέας ὁ Δημοκῦς, ἀλλὰ μιν πάντως ὀπίσω ἀπάξουσι. ἐντειλάμενος δὲ τούτοις ταῦτα, δεύτερα καλέσας αὐτῶν Δημοκῦδεα ἔδειτο αὐτοῦ ὅκως ἐξηγησάμενος πᾶσαν καὶ ἐπιδέξας τῆς Ἑλλάδας τοῦτι Πέρσης ὡπίσω ἦξει. ἡ δὲ μιν τὸ πατρὶ καὶ τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς ἐκέλευε πάντα τὰ ἐκεῖνον ἐπιπλα λαβόντα ἄγειν, φας ἀλλα ὁ πολλαπλῆς ἀντίδωσεν· πρὸς δὲ ἐς τὰ δῶρα ὀλκάδας ὁ ἐφὶ συμβαλέσθαι πλῆςαν ἀγαθῶν παντοῖων, τὴν ἀμα ὑ πλεύσεσθαι. Δαρεῖος μὲν δὴ, δοκεέει ἐμοί, ἀπ᾿ οὔδενος δολεροῦ νόου ἐπαγγελλετό οἱ ταῦτα. Δημοκῦς δὲ δείςας μὴ εῦ
Scythians; you will find them whenever you so desire; nay, rather, I pray you, march against Hellas. I have heard of Laconian and Argive and Attic and Corinthian women, and would fain have them for handmaidens. There is a man by you who is fitter than any other to instruct and guide you in all matters concerning Hellas: I mean the physician who healed your foot." "Lady," answered Darius, "since it is your desire that we should first try conclusions with Hellas, methinks it is best that we send Persians with the man of whom you speak to spy out the land and bring us news of all that they have seen in it; thus shall I have full knowledge to help my adventure against Hellas."

135. So said Darius, and it was no sooner said than done. For the next day at dawn he called to him fifteen notable Persians, and bade them go with Democedes and pass along the seaboard of Hellas; charging them, too, by all means to bring the physician back and not suffer him to escape. Having thus charged them he next sent for Democedes himself, and required of him that when he had shown and made clear all Hellas to the Persians, he should come back; "And take," said he, "all your movable goods to give your father and your brethren; I will give you many times as much in return; and I will send to sail with you a ship of burden with a cargo of all things desirable." Darius, I think, made this promise in all honesty. But Democedes feared lest the king should
κυπειρότο Δαρείος, ούτι ἐπιδραμὼν πάντα τὰ διδόμενα ἐδέκετο, ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν ἐωυτοῦ κατὰ χώρην ἔφη καταλείψειν, ἵνα ὁπίσω σφέα ἀπελθὼν ἔχοι, τὴν μέντοι ὄλκάδα, τὴν οἱ Δαρείος ἐπαγγέλλετο ἐς τὴν δωρεὴν τοίσι ἀδελφεῖσι, δέκεσθαι ἐφὴ. ἐντελίμενος δὲ καὶ τούτῳ ταύτα ὁ Δαρείος ἀποστέλλει αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ θάλασσαν.

136. Καταβάντες δὲ οὗτοι ἐς Φοινίκην καὶ Φοινίκης ἐς Σιδῶνα πόλιν αὐτίκα μὲν τριήρεις δύο ἐπιλήρωσαν, ἀμα δὲ αὐτῆς καὶ γαύλου μέγαν παντοίων ἀγαθῶν· παρεσκευασμένοι δὲ πάντα ἔπλεον ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα, προσίσχοντες δὲ αὐτής τὰ παραθαλάσσια ἔθησιν καὶ ἀπεγράφοντο, ἐς τὰ πολλά αὐτῆς καὶ ὁνομαστὰ θεησάμενοι ἀπεκόντο τῆς Ἰταλίης ἐς Τάραντα. ἐνθαῦτα δὲ ἐκ ῥηστώνυμς τῆς Δημοκύνδεος Ἀριστοφιλίδης τῶν Ταραντίνων ὁ Βασίλειος τοῦτο μὲν τὰ πηδάλια παρέλυσε τῶν Μηδικέων νεῶν, τοῦτο δὲ αὐτῶν τοὺς Πέρσας ἐιρήξε ὡς κατασκόπους δήθεν ἔοντας. ἐν ᾧ δὲ οὗτοι ταύτα ἔπασχον, ὁ Δημοκύνδης ἐς τὴν Κρότωνα ἀπικυέεται· ἀπιγμένου δὲ ἥδη τούτου ἐς τὴν ἐωυτοῦ ὁ Ἀριστοφιλίδης ἔλυσε τοὺς Πέρσας, καὶ τὰ παρέλαβε τῶν νεῶν ἀπεδωκέ σφι.

137. Πλέοντες δὲ ἐνθεύτεν οἱ Πέρσαι καὶ διώκοντες Δημοκύνδεο ἀπικυέονται ἐς τὴν Κρότωνα, εὑρόντες δὲ μὴν ἀγοράζοντα ἀπτοῦτο αὐτοῦ. τῶν δὲ Κροτωνιητέων οἱ μὲν καταρρωδέοντες τὰ Περσικὰ πρήγματα προϊέναι ἑτοίμῳ ἦσαν, οἷ δὲ αὐτάπτοντο καὶ τοῦτο σκυτάλιοι ἐπαινοῦ τοὺς Πέρσας προϊσχομένους ἔπεα τάδε. "Ἀνδρέας Κροτωνιῆται, ὅρατε τὰ ποιέετε· ἀνδρά βασιλέας
be but trying him; therefore he made no haste to accept all that was offered, but answered that he would leave his own possessions where they were, that he might have them at his return; as for the ship which Darius promised him to carry the gifts for his brethren, that he accepted. Having laid this same charge on Democedes also, Darius sent all the company to the coast.

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

137. The Persians sailed from Taras and pursued Democedes to Croton, where they found him buying in the town and were for seizing him. Some Crotoneiats, who feared the Persian power, would have given him up; but others held him against the king's men and beat them with their staves. "Nay," said the Persians, "look well, men of Croton, what you
δρηπέτην γενόμενον ἐξαιρέσθε. κἀς ταῦτα βα-
σιλέι Δαρείῳ ἐκχρήσει περιβρίσθαι; κἀς δὲ
ὑμῖν τὰ ποιεύμενα ἔξει καλῶς, ἢν ἀπέλησθε
ήμεας; ἐπὶ τίνα δὲ τῆς δὲ προτέρου στρατευσό-
μεθα πόλιν; τίνα δὲ προτέρην ἀνδραποδίζεσθαι
περιησόμεθα;” ταῦτα λέγοντες τοὺς Κροτώνιτάς
οὐκών ἔπειθον, ἀλλ' ἐξαιρεθέντες τε τὸν Δημο-
κιδεα καὶ τὸν γαῦλον τὸν ἀμα ἤγοντο ἀπαίρε-
θέντες ἀπέπλευς ὁπίσω ἐς τὴν Ἀσίνην, οὐδ' ἐτι
ἐξήτησαν τὸ προσωτέρῳ τῆς Ἔλλαδος ἀπικόμενοι
ἐκμαθεῖν, ἐστερήμενοι τοῦ ἡγεμόνος. τοσοῦτε μὲν-
τοι ἐνετείλατο σφι Δημοκιδῆς ἀναγομένοις, κε-
λεύων εἰπεῖν σφεας Δαρείῳ ὅτι ἄρμοσταὶ τὴν
Μίλωνος γυμνατέρα Δημοκιδῆς γυναίκα. τοὺ γὰρ
δὴ παλαιστέων Μίλωνος ἢν οὐνομα πολλὸν παρὰ
βασιλέω κατὰ δὲ τούτῳ μοι δοκεῖσι σπεύσαι τὸν
γάμον τούτον τέλεσας χρήματα μεγάλα Δημο-
κιδῆς, ἴνα φανῇ πρὸς Δαρείον ἑών καὶ ἐν τῇ ἐωτοῦ
δόκιμος.

138. Ἀναχθέντες δὲ ἐκ τῆς Κρότωνος οἱ Πέρσαι
ἐκπίπτοντοι τῇς νησιὶ ἦν Ιηπυγια, καὶ σφεας
dουλεύονται ἐνθαύτα Γίλλος ἀνὴρ Ταραντῖνος
φυγας ῥυσάμενος ἀπήγαγε παρὰ βασιλέα Δα-
ρείον. δὲ ἀντι τοῦτον ἐτοίμοι ἢν διδόναι τοῦτο
ο τι βούλοιτο αὐτός. Γίλλος δὲ αἱρέσεται κάτοδον
οἱ ἐς Τάραντα γενέσθαι, προσπήγησάμενος τὴν
συμφωρήν. ἴνα δὲ μὴ συνταράξῃ τὴν Ἔλλαδα, ἢν
dι' αὐτοῦ στόλος μέγας πλέη ἐπὶ τὴν Ἰταλίαν,
Κυνδίους μούνος ἀποχρᾶν οἱ ἐφὶ τοὺς κατά-
γοντας ὑμεσθαι, δοκέων ἀπὸ τοῦτων ἐόντων τοῖς
Ταραντίνοισι φιλῶν μάλιστα τὴν κάτοδον οἱ
ἐσεσθαι. Δαρεῖος δὲ ὑποδεξάμενος ἔπετέλεε.
do; you are taking from us an escaped slave of the
great king; think you that King Darius will rest con-
tent under this insolence? Think you that the deed
will profit you if you drive us forth? Your city will
then be the first that we will attack and essay to
enslave." But the men of Croton paid no heed to
them; so the Persians lost Democedes and the galleon
that had been their consort, and sailed back for Asia,
making no endeavour to visit and learn of the further
parts of Hellas now that their guide was taken from
them. But Democedes gave them a message as they
were setting sail; they should tell Darius, he said,
that Democedes was betrothed to the daughter of
Milon. For Darius held the name of Milon the
wrestler in great honour; and, to my thinking, the
reason of Democedes' seeking this match and paying
a great sum for it was to show Darius that he was a
man of estimation in his own country as well as
Persia.

138. The Persians then put out from Croton; but
their ships were wrecked on the Iapygian coast, and
they themselves made slaves in the country, until
one Gillus, a banished man of Taras, released and
restored them to Darius. In return for this the king
offered Gillus any reward that he might desire;
Gillus told the story of his misfortune, and asked
above all to be restored to Taras; but, not willing
that a great armament should for his cause sail to
Italy and thereby he should help to trouble Hellas,
it was enough, he said, that the Cnidians alone should
be his escort; for he supposed that thus the Tarent-
tines would be the readier to receive him back, the
Cnidians being their friends. Darius kept his word,
πέμψας γὰρ ἄγγελον ἐς Κυίδον κατάγειν σφέας ἐκέλευε Γίλλον ἐς Τάραντα. πειθόμενοι δὲ Δαρείω Κυίδιοι Ταραντίνους οὐκών ἐπείθον, βίην δὲ ἀδύνατον ἦσαν προσφέρειν. ταῦτα μὲν ὑπὸ ὦτῳ ἐπρήξθην ὦτῷ δὲ πρῶτοι ἐκ τῆς 'Ασίνης ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἀπίκοντο Πέρσαι, καὶ ὦτοι διὰ τοιὸν ἐπήγμα κατάσκοποι ἐγένοντο.

139. Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Σάμου βασίλευς Δαρείος αἱρέει, πολίων πασέων πρώτην Ἑλληνίδων καὶ Βαρβάρων, διὰ τοιὴν τινὰ αἰτίαν. Καμβύσεω τοῦ Κύρου στρατευομένου ἐπὶ Αἰγυπτοῦ ἄλλοι τε συχνοὶ ἐς τὴν Αἰγυπτοῦ ἀπίκοντο Ἑλλήνων, οἱ μὲν, ὡς οἴκος, κατ᾽ ἐμπορίαν στρατευόμενοι, οἱ δὲ τινὲς καὶ αὐτῆς τῆς χώρης θεταὶ τῶν ἦν καὶ Συλλοσῶν ὁ Αἰάκεος, Πολυκράτεος τε ἐὼν ἀδέλφεος καὶ φεύγων ἐκ Σάμου. τούτων τὸν Συλλόσωτα κατέλαβε ἐυτυχίᾳ τις τοιῇ. λαβὼν χλανίδα καὶ περιβαλόμενος πυρρήν ἴγοραξ ἐν τῇ Μέμφι ἰδὼν δὲ αὐτὸν Δαρείος, δορυφόρος τε ἐὼν Καμβύσεω καὶ λόγου οὐδενός κω μεγάλου, ἐπεθύμησε τῆς χλανίδος καὶ αὐτῆς προσελθὼν ὑνεέτο. ὁ δὲ Συλλόσων ὀρέων τὸν Δαρείον μεγάλως ἐπιθυμεῖν τῇ χλανίδος, θείη τύχη χρεώμενος λέγει "Ἐγὼ ταὐτὴν πωλεό μὲν οὐδενός χρήματος, δίδωμι δὲ ἄλλως, εἰ περ ὦτῷ δεῖ γενέσθαι πάντως τοι." αἰνέσας ταῦτα ὁ Δαρείος παραλαμβάνει τὸ εἶμα.

140. Ὁ μὲν δὲ Συλλόσων ἤπιστατο τοῦτο οἱ ἀπολωλέναι δὲ ἐνθείην. ὡς δὲ τοῦ χρόνου προβαίνοντος Καμβύσης τε ἀπέθανε καὶ τῷ Μάγῳ ἑπανέστησαν οἱ ἐπτὰ καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἐπτὰ Δαρείος τὴν βασιληνὴν ἔσχε, πυθαίνεται ὁ Συλλόσων ὡς ἡ βασιληνὴ περιεληλύθοι ἐς τούτων τὸν ἄνδρα τῷ
and sent a messenger to the men of Cnidos, bidding them bring Gillus back to Taras. They obeyed Darius; but they could not persuade the Tarentines to their will, and were not able to compel them. This is the whole story. These Persians were the first who came from Asia into Hellas; and they came to view the country for the reason aforesaid.

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

140. Syloson supposed that he had lost his cloak out of foolish good nature. But in time Cambyses died, the seven rebelled against the Magian, and of the seven Darius came to the throne; Syloson then learned that the successor to the royal power was
κοτὲ αὐτὸς ἐδωκε ἐν Διψύπτῳ δεηθέντι τὸ εἶμα. ἀναβὰς δὲ ἐσ τὰ Σοῦσα ἵζετο ἐς τὰ πρόθυρα τῶν βασιλέως οἰκίων καὶ ἐφὶ Δαρείου εὐεργετής εἶναι. ἀνγέλλει ταῦτα ἀκούσας ὁ πυλουρὸς τὸ βασιλείν· ὁ δὲ θωμάσας λέγει πρὸς αὐτὸν "Καὶ τίς ἐστὶ Ἐλλήνων εὐεργετής τὸν ἐγὼ προαιδεύμαι, νεωστὶ μὲν τὴν ἁρχὴν ἔχων, ἀναβέβηκε δ’ ἡ τις ὡσυδείς κω παρ’ ἡμέας αὐτὸν, ἔχω δὲ χρέος εἰπεῖν οὐδὲν ἀνδρὸς Ἐλληνος. ὦ μοις δὲ αὐτὸν παράγετε ἐσῷ, ἵνα εἰδέω τὶ θέλων λέγει ταῦτα." παρῆγε ο πυλουρὸς τὸν Συλοσώντα, στάντα δὲ ἐς μέσον εἰρωτῶν οἱ ἐρμηνεῖς τὶς τε εἰὰ καὶ τὶ ποιήσας εὐεργετής φησὶ εἶναι βασιλέως. εἶπε δὲν ὁ Συλοσῶν πάντα τὰ περὶ τὴν χλανίδα γενόμενα, καὶ ὡς αὐτὸς εἰὴ κεῖνος ὁ δοῦς. ἀμείβεται πρὸς ταῦτα Δαρείος ὁ γενναίοτάτε ἀνδρῶν, σὺ κεῖνος εἰς ὅσ ἐμοὶ οὐδεμίαν ἔχοντι καὶ δύναμιν ἐδοκας εἰ καὶ σμικρά, ἀλλ’ ὑν ἢση γε ἡ χάρις ὁμοίως ὡς εἰ νῦν κοθὲν τι μέγα λάβομι· ἀντ’ ὑν τοι χρυσὸν καὶ ἄργυρον ἀπλετον δίδωμι, ὡς μὴ κοτέ τοι μεταμελήσῃ Δαρείον τὸν Ὄστάσσεως εὐ ποιήσαντι. λέγει πρὸς ταῦτα ὁ Συλοσῶν ὁ Εμοὶ μὴτε χρυσὸν ὃ βασιλεύ μὴτε ἄργυρον δίδωμι, ἀλλ’ ἀνασσώσαμενός μοι δὸς τὴν πατρίδα Σάμου, τὴν νῦν ἀδελφεός του ἐμοῦ Πολυκράτεος ἀποθανόντος ὑπὸ Ὀροίτεω ἂθεί δούλος ἡμέτερος· ταῦτην μοι δὸς ἄνευ τε φόνου καὶ ἐξανδραποδίσιος." 141. Ταῦτα ἀκούσας Δαρείος ἀπέστελλε στρατιὴν τε καὶ στρατηγὸν Ὄτάνεα ἀνδρῶν τῶν ἐπτὰ γενόμενον, ἐντειλάμενος, ὡσὶν ἐδείηθ ὁ Συλοσῶν, ταῦτα οἱ ποιεῖν ἐπιτελέα. καταβὰς δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν θάλασσαν ὁ Ὄτάνης ἐστελλε τὴν στρατιῆν.
the man to whom he had given at request the garment in Egypt; so he went up to Susa and sat at the king's porch, saying that he was one of Darius' benefactors. When the gate-ward brought word of this to the king, "But to what Greek benefactor," Darius asked, "can I owe thanks? In the little time since I have been king hardly one of that nation has come to us, and I have, so to say, no need of any Greek. Nevertheless let him be brought in, that I may know his meaning." The gate-ward brought Syloson in and set him before them; and the interpreters asked him who he was, and what he had done to call himself the king's benefactor. Then Syloson told the story of the cloak, and said that it was he who had given it. "Most generous man," said Darius, "you are he who made me a present when I had as yet no power; if it was but a little thing, yet it was as thankworthy as if someone now gave me a great gift. Take in requital abundance of gold and silver, that you may never repent of the service you did Darius son of Hystaspes." "Nay," Syloson answered, "I ask neither gold, O king, nor silver; only win me back my fatherland of Samos, where my brother Polycrates has been done to death by Oroetes, and our slave now rules; give me back Samos, but so that there be no bloodshed nor enslaving."

141. Hearing this Darius sent an army, and Otanes, one of the seven, to command it, charging him to perform all Syloson's will. So Otanes came down to the coast and made his army ready.
142. Τῆς δὲ Σάμου Μαιάνδριος ὁ Μαιάνδριον εἶχε τὸ κράτος, ἐπιτροπαῖν παρὰ Πολυκράτεος λαβὼν τὴν ἀρχήν. τῷ δικαιοτάτῳ ἀνδρῶν θυλομένῳ γενέσθαι οὐκ ἔξεγένετο. ἔπειδὴ γὰρ οἱ ἔξαγγέλθη ο Πολυκράτεος θάνατος, ἐποίεε τοιάδε πρῶτα μὲν Δίως ἐλευθερίου βυωμὸν ἱδρύσατο καὶ τέμενος περὶ αὐτὸν οὐρίσε τοῦτο τὸ νῦν ἐν τῷ προαστείῳ ἔστι. μετὰ δὲ, ὡς οἱ ἐπεποίητο, ἐκκλησίᾳ συναγείρας πάντων τῶν ἀστῶν ἔλεξε τάδε. "Ἐμοί, ὡς ἦστε καὶ ὑμεῖς, σκηπτρον καὶ δύναμις πᾶσα ἡ Πολυκράτεος ἐπιτέτραπται, καὶ μοι παρέχει νῦν ὑμέων ἀρχεῖν. ἐγὼ δὲ τὰ τῷ πέλας ἐπιπλήσω, αὐτὸς κατὰ δύναμιν οὐ ποιήσω. οὐτε γὰρ μοι Πολυκράτης ἥρεσκε δεσπόζων ἀνδρῶν ὁμοίων ἐωτῷ οὔτε ἄλλος ὅστις τοιάτα ποιεῖ. Πολυκράτης μὲν νῦν ἔξεπλησε μοῖραν τὴν ἑωτοῦ, ἐγὼ δὲ ἐς μέσον τὴν ἀρχὴν τιθεὶς ἱσονομίαν ὑμῖν προαγορεῦω. τοσάδε μέντοι δικαιὸ γέρεα ἐμεωυτῷ γενέσθαι, ἐκ μὲν γε τῶν Πολυκράτεος χρημάτων ἐξαιρέται ἐξ τάλαντά μοι γενέσθαι, ἱροσύπῃ δὲ πρὸς τούτοις αἱρεῦμαι αὐτῷ τέ μοι καὶ τοῖς ἄπεμεν αἰὲ γινομένοις τοῦ Δίως τοῦ ἐλευθερίου. τῶν αὐτῶς τὲ ἱρῶν ἱδρυσάμην καὶ τὴν ἐλευθερίαν ὑμῖν περιτίθημι." ὃς μὲν δὴ ταῦτα τοῦτο Σαμίοισι ἐπαγγέλλετο. τῶν δὲ τις ἐξαναστὰς εἶπε "Ἀλλ' οὐδ' ἄξιος εἰς σὺ γε ἡμέων ἀρχεῖν, γεγονὼς τε κακῶς καὶ ἐὼν ὀλεθρός. ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον ὥς καὶ λόγον δώσεις τῶν μετεχείρισας χρημάτων." 143. Ταῦτα εἶπε ἐδώ ἐν τούτῳ ἀστούσι δόκιμος, τῷ οὖν ομαδῇ ἣν Τελέσαρχος. Μαιάνδριος δὲ νῦν λαβὼν ὡς εἶ μετήσει τὴν ἀρχὴν, ἀλλὸς τρὶς ἀντ' αὐτοῦ τύραννος καταστήσεται, οὔδεν έτι ἐν νῶ ὁ
142. Now Samos was ruled by Maeandrius, son of Maeandrius, whom Polycrates had made his vice-gerent. This Maeandrius desired to act with all justice, but could not. For when he had news of Polycrates' death, first he set up an altar to Zeus the Liberator and marked out round it that sacred enclosure which is still to be seen in the suburb of the city; when this was done, he called an assembly of all the townsfolk, and thus addressed them: "It is known to you that I have sole charge of Polycrates' sceptre and dominion; and it is in my power to be your ruler. But, so far as in me lies, I will not myself do that which I account blameworthy in my neighbour. I ever misliked that Polycrates or any other man should lord it over men like to himself. Polycrates has fulfilled his destiny; for myself, I call you to share all power, and I proclaim equality; only claiming as my own such privilege that six talents of Polycrates' wealth be set apart for my use, and that I and my descendants have besides the priesthood of Zeus the Liberator, whose temple I have founded, and I now give you freedom." Such was Maeandrius' promise to the Samians. But one of them arose and answered: "Nay, but who are you? You are not worthy to reign over us, being a low-born knave and rascal. See to it rather that you give an account of the moneys that you have handled."

143. These were the words of Telesarchus, a man of note among the townsfolk. But Maeandrius, perceiving that if he let the sovereignty slip someone else would make himself despot instead, resolved
εἴχε μετιέναι αὐτήν, ἀλλ’ ὡς ἀνεχώρησε ἐς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν, μεταπεμπόμενος ἐνα ἐκαστον ὡς δὴ λόγον τῶν χρημάτων δώσων, συνέλαβε σφέας καὶ κατέδησε. ο ciphertext κτιίδε, Μαιανδριον δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα κατέλαβε νοῦσος. ἐλπίζων δὲ μν ἀποθανέσθαι ὁ ἀδελφεός, τὸ σὺνομα ἤν Δυκάρητος, ἵνα εὐπετεστέρως κατάσχη τὰ ἐν τῇ Σάμῳ πρῆγματα, κατακτεῖνε τοὺς δεσμώτας πάντας· ὃς γὰρ δὴ, ὡς οἵκασι, ἐβούλοντο εἴναι ἐλεύθεροι.

144. Ἐπειδὴ όν ἀπίκωντο ἐς τὴν Σάμον οἱ Πέρσαι κατάγοντες Συλλοσσόντα, οὕτε τὸς σφι χείρας ἀνταείρεται, ὑπόσπονδοι τε ἐφασαν εἰναι ἑσομιοί τοῦ Μαιανδρίου στασιῶται καὶ αὐτὸς Μαιανδριος ἐκχωρῆσαι ἐκ τῆς νῆσου. κατανεύσαντος δὲ ἐπὶ τούτοις Ὁτάνεω καὶ σπεισαμένου, τῶν Περσέων οἱ πλείστου ἄξιοι θρόνους θέμενοι κατεναντίον τῆς ἀκροπόλιος κατέατο.

145. Μαιανδρίῳ δὲ τῷ τυράννῳ ἡν ἀδελφεός ὑπομαρχότερος, τῷ σὺνομα ἦν Χαρίλεως· οὗτος ὁ τι δὴ ἐξαμαρτών ἐν γοργύρῃ ἐδέδετο, καὶ δὴ τότε ἐπακούσας τε τὰ πρήσομενα καὶ διακύψας διὰ τῆς γοργύρης, ὃς εἶδε τοὺς Πέρσας εἰρηνιάως κατημένους, ἐβόα τε καὶ ἐφή λέγων Μαιανδρίῳ θέλειν ἐλθεῖν ἐς λόγους. ἐπακούσας δὲ ὁ Μαιανδριος λύσαντας αὐτὸν ἐκέλευε ἄγειν παρ’ ἐωτόν· ὡς δὲ ἀχθη τάχιστα, λοιδορέων τε καὶ κακίζων μιν ἀνέπειθε ἐπιθέσθαι τοῖς Πέρσησι, λέγων τοιάδε. "Ἐμὲ μὲν, ὁ κάκιστε ἄνδρον, ἐόντα σεωντοῦ ἀδελφοῦ καὶ ἄδικησάντα συδὲν ἄξιον δεσμοῦ δήσας γοργύρης ἥξιωσας· ὅρεων δὲ τοὺς Πέρσας ἐκβάλλοντάς τε σε καὶ ἀνοικόν ποιόντας οὐ τολμᾶς τίσασθαι, οὔτω δὴ τι ἑόντας εὐπετέας χειρωθήναι. 178
not to give it up. Withdrawing into the citadel, he sent for each man severally, as though to render an account of the money; then he seized and bound them. So they being in prison, Maeandrius presently fell sick. His brother Lycaretus thought him like to die, and, that so he might the more easily make himself master of Samos, put all the prisoners to death. They had, it would seem, no desire for freedom.

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

145. Now Maeandrius the despot had a crazy brother named Charilaus, who lay bound in the dungeon for some offence; this man heard what was afoot, and by peering through the dungeon window saw the Persians sitting there peaceably; whereupon he cried with a loud voice that he desired to have speech with Maeandrius. His brother, hearing him, bade Charilaus be loosed and brought before him. No sooner had he been brought than he essayed with much reviling and abuse to persuade Maeandrius to attack the Persians. "Villain," he cried, "you have bound and imprisoned me, your own brother, who had done nothing to deserve it; and when you see the Persians casting you out of house and home, have you no courage to avenge yourself, though you could so easily master them? If you are yourself
146. Ταύτα δὲ ἐλέει ὁ Χαρίλεως· Μαιάνδριος δὲ ὑπέλαβε τὸν λόγον, ὡς μὲν ἔγω δοκεῖ, οὐκ ἐς τοῦτο ἀφροσύνης ἀπικόμενος ὡς δόξαι τὴν ἑωτοῦ δύναμιν περιέσεθαι τῆς βασιλέως, ἄλλα φθονίσας μᾶλλον Σύλησσωτε εἰ ἀπονυτὶ ἔμελλε ἀπολύσθεσθαι ἀκέραιον τὴν πόλιν. ἐρεθίσας δὲν τοὺς Πέρσας ἤθελε ὡς ἀσθενέστατα ποιῆσαι τὰ Σάμια πρήγματα καὶ οὕτω παραδιδόναι, εὖ ἐξεπιστάμενος ὡς παθόντες οἱ Πέρσαι κακῶς προσεμπροκανεσθῆσαι ἔμελλον τοῖς Σαμίοις, εἰδὼς τε ἐωτῷ ἀσφαλέα ἐκδυσὶν εὐθαν ἐκ τῆς νῆσου τότε ἐπεάν αὐτὸς βουλῆται· ἐπεποίητο γὰρ οἱ κρυπτὶ διώρυξ ἐκ τῆς ἁκροτόλιος φέρουσα ἐπὶ θάλασσαν. αὐτὸς μὲν δὴ ὁ Μαιάνδριος ἐκπλεεί ἐκ τῆς Σάμου· τοὺς δ’ ἐπικούρους πάντας ὀπλίσας ὁ Χαρίλεως, καὶ ἀναπετάσας τὰς πύλας, ἐξῆκε ἐπὶ τοὺς Πέρσας οὐτε προσδεκομένους τοιοῦτο οὐδὲν δοκεούστας τε δὴ πάντα συμβεβάναι. ἐμπεσόντες δὲ οἱ ἐπίκουροι τῶν Περσέων τοὺς διορεσθέντας τοις βοώς τοῦ λόγου πλείστου ἑώντας ἑκτεινούς καὶ οὕτω μὲν ταύτα ἐποίειν, ἤ δὲ ἀλλή στρατηγῇ ἡ Περσικὴ ἐπεβοήθησε· πιεζευμένοι δὲ οἱ ἐπίκουροι ὀπίσω κατειλήθησαν ἐς τὴν ἁκρόπολιν.

147. Ὁτάν οὖν ἐπάθωσ πάθος μέγα Πέρσας, πεπονθότας, ἐντολάς μὲν τὰς Δαρείδος οἱ ἀποφθέγματος ἐνετέλλετο, μήτε κτείνειν μηδένα Σαμίων μήτε ἀνδραποδίζεσθαι ἀπαθεὰ τε κακῶν.
afraid of them, give me your foreign guards, and I will punish them for their coming hither; as for you, I will give you safe conduct out of the island."

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

147. The Persian captain Otanes, seeing the great harm done to the Persians, of set purpose put away from his memory the command given him at his departure by Darius to kill or enslave no Samian
148. Μαιάνδριος δὲ ἀποδρᾶς ἐκ τῆς Σάμου ἐκπλέει ἐς Λακεδαίμονα· ἀπικόμενος δὲ ἐς αὐτὴν καὶ ἀνενεκάμενος τὰ ἔχων ἐξεχώρησε, ἐποίεε τοιάδε· ὅκως ποτήρια ἄργυρεά τε καὶ χρύσα προθέτο, οἱ μὲν θεράποντες αὐτὸν ἐξέσων αὐτά, ὁ δὲ ἀν τὸν χρόνον τοῦτον τῷ Κλεομένει τῷ Ἀνα-ξαινδρίδεω ἐν λόγοις ἐὼν, βασιλεύοντι Σπάρτης, προῆγε μν ἐς τὰ οἴκια· ὅκως δὲ ἱδοῖτο Κλεομένης τὰ ποτήρια, ἀπεθώμαζε τε καὶ ἐξεπλήσσετο· ὁ δὲ ἀν ἐκέλευε αὐτὸν ἀποφέρεσθαι αὐτῶν ὡσα βούλιοτο, τούτῳ καὶ διὸς καὶ τρὶς ἐπιπτῶν Μαιάνδριον ὁ Κλεομένης δικαιότατος ἀνδρῶν γίνεται· ὅς λαβεῖν μὲν διδόμενα ὡς ἐδίκαιον, μαθὼν δὲ ὡς ἀλλοτρία δίδου τῶν ἀστῶν εὑρήσεται τιμωρών, βας ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐφόρους ἀμείνων εἶναι ἐφ' ἣ τὴν Σπάρτην τὸν ἐξίνον τὸν Σάμου ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι ἐκ τῆς Πελο-ποννησίου, ἴνα μὴ ἀναπείσῃ ἢ αὐτὸν ἢ ἀλλὸν τινὰ Σπαρτιτῶν κακῶν γενέσθαι. οἱ δ' ὑπακού-σαντες ἐξεκηρύζαν Μαιάνδριον.

149. Τὴν δὲ Σάμου [σαγηνεύσαντες] ὁ Πέρσαι παρέδοσαν Συλοσώτη έρημον ἐούσαν ἀνδρῶν.

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

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

149. As for Samos, the Persians swept it clear and delivered it over uninhabited to Syloson. But
150. 'Επὶ δὲ Σάμου στρατεύματος ναυτικοῦ οὐχομένου Βαβυλώνιοι ἀπέστησαν, κάρτα εὖ παρεσκευασμένοι. ἐν ὦσῳ γὰρ ὁ τε Μάγος ἦρχε καὶ οἱ ἐπὶ ἐπανέστησαν, ἐν τούτῳ παντὶ τῷ χρόνῳ καὶ τῇ ταραχῇ ἐσ τὴν πολιορκίαν παρεσκευάζοντο. καὶ κως ταῦτα ποιεῖτε ἔλαβανον. ἐπείτε δὲ ἐκ τοῦ ἐμφανέος ἀπέστησαν, ἐποίησαν τοιούθεν τὰς μητέρας ἔξελοντες, γυναικά ἐκαστὸς μίαν προσεζηρέετο τὴν ἐβούλετο ἐκ τῶν ἐωτοῦ ὦκίων, τὰς δὲ λοιπὰς ἀπάσας συναγαγόντες ἀπέτυγαν τὴν δὲ μίαν ἐκαστὸς σιτοποιοῦ ἐξαίρετο. ἀπεπνιζαν δὲ αὐτάς, ἵνα μῆ σφεων τὸν σῖτον ἀναισιμομόσωσι.

151. Πυθόμενος δὲ ταῦτα ὁ Δαρεῖος καὶ συλλέξας πάσαν τὴν ἐωτοῦ δύναμιν ἐστρατεύετο ἐπὶ αὐτούς, ἐπελάσας δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν Βαβυλώνα ἐπολιόρκεε φροντίζοντας οὐδέν τῆς πολιορκίας. ἀναβίωντες γὰρ ἐπὶ τοὺς προμαχεόνας τοῦ τείχεος οἱ Βαβυλώνιοι κατωρχέουντο καὶ κατέσκωτον Δαρείον καὶ τὴν στρατίην αὐτοῦ, καὶ τις αὐτῶν ἔπε τοῦτο τὸ ἔπος. "Τῇ κάτησθε ὦ Πέρσαι ἐνθαῦτα, ἄλλο οὐκ ἀπαλλάσσεσθε; τότε γὰρ αἱρίσετε ἡμέας, ἔπειαν ἡμῖνοι τέκωσι." τοῦτο ἔπε τῶν τις Βαβυλώνιων οὐδαμὰ ἐξπίζων ἢν ἡμῖνοι τεκεῖν.

152. Ἐπὶ δὲ μηνῶν καὶ ἐνιαυτοῦ διεληλυθότος ἢδη ὁ Δαρεῖος τε ἤσχαλλε καὶ ἡ στρατιὴ πᾶσα οὐ δυνατῇ ἑοῦσα ἑλεῖν τοὺς Βαβυλωνίους. καίτοι πάντα σοφίσματα καὶ πᾶσας μηχανὰς

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

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

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

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

1 According to the course of Herodotus’ narrative, this revolt would seem to have taken place some considerable time after Darius’ accession (521 B.C.). But the Behistun inscription apparently makes it one of the earliest events of his reign.
ἐπεποιήκεε ἐς αὐτοὺς Δαρεῖος· ἀλλ’ οὐδ’ ὦς ἐδύνατο ἐλείν σφεας, ἀλλοιοὶ τε σοφίσμασι πειρησάμενος, καὶ δὴ καὶ τῷ Κύρος εἶλε σφεας, καὶ τούτῳ ἐπειρῆθη. ἀλλὰ γὰρ δεινῶς ἦσαν ἐν φυλακῆσι οἱ Βαβυλώνιοι, οὐδὲ σφεας οἶος τε ἦν ἐλείν.

153. Ἑνθαῦτα εἰκοστῷ μηνὶ Ζωπύρῳ τῷ Μεγαβύζου, τούτου δὲ τῶν ἐπτὰ ἀνδρῶν ἐγένετο τῶν τῶν Μάγων κατελώτων, τούτῳ τῷ Μεγαβύζου παιδὶ Ζωπύρῳ ἐγένετο τέρας τόδε· τῶν οἱ σιτοφόροις ἡμίόνων μία ἔτεκε. ὡς δὲ οἱ ἔξαγγελθη καὶ ὑπὸ ἀπιστίας αὐτὸς ὁ Ζωπύρος εἰδε τὸ βρέφος, ἀπεῖπας τούτῳ ὕδους μηδὲν φράξειν τὸ γεγονός ἐβουλεύετο. καὶ οἱ πρὸς τὰ τοῦ Βαβυλώνιον ῥήματα, ὃς κατ’ ἄρχας ἐφησε, ἐπεάν περ ἡμίονοι τέκωσι, τότε τὸ τείχος ἀλώσεσθαι, πρὸς ταῦτην τὴν φήμην Ζωπύρῳ ἐδόκεε εἶναι ἀλώσιμος ἡ Βαβυλὼν· σὺν γὰρ θεὸ ἐκεῖνον τε εἰπεῖν καὶ ἐωτῷ τεκεῖν τὴν ἡμίονον.

154. Ὡς δὲ οἱ ἐδόκεε μόρσιμον εἶναι ἡδὴ τῇ Βαβυλώνι ἀλίσκεσθαι, προσελθὼν Δαρεῖον ἀπεπυθάνετο εἰ περὶ πολλοῦ κάρτα ποιέται τῇ Βαβυλώνα ἐλείν. πυθόμενος δὲ ὡς πολλὸν τιμῶστο, ἄλλο ἐβουλεύετο, ὅκως αὐτὸς τε ἔσται ὁ ἐλὼν αὐτὴν καὶ ἐωτοῦ τὸ ἔργον ἔσται· κάρτα γὰρ ἐν τοῖς Πέρσηι αἱ ἀγαθοεργίαι εἰ τὸ πρὸςο μεγάθεος τιμώνται. ἄλλω μὲν υἱὸς ἑφράξετο ἐργῳ δυνατός εἶναι μιν ὑποχειρίν ποιῆσαι, εἰ δ’ ἐωτοῦν ἱβησάμενοι αὐτομολήσει ἐς αὐτοὺς. Ἑνθαῦτα ἐν ἑλαφρῷ ποιησάμενος ἐωτοῦν λωβᾶται λωβὴν ἀνήκεςτον· ἀποταμῶν γὰρ ἐωτοῦ τὴν ῥίνα καὶ τὰ ὀτα καὶ τὴν κόμην κακῶς περικείρας καὶ μαστιγώσας ἦλθε παρὰ Δαρείον.
every device against it. He essayed the stratagem whereby Cyrus took the city, and every other stratagem and device, yet with no success; for the Babylonians kept a marvellous strict watch and he could not take them.

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

154. Being then persuaded that Babylon was fated to fall, he came and inquired of Darius if he set great store by the taking of the city; and when he was assured that this was so he next looked about for a plan whereby the city’s fall should be wrought by himself alone; for good service among the Persians is much honoured, and rewarded by high preferment. He could think of no way of mastering the city but to do violence to himself and then desert to the Babylonians; so he accounted it but a little thing to mishandle himself past cure; cutting off his nose and ears, shaving his head for a disfigurement, and scourging himself, he came in this guise before Darius.
155. Δαρείος δὲ κάρτα βαρέως ἦνεικε ἦδὼν ἀνδρα δοκιμώτατον λελωβημένου, ἢκ τε τοῦ θρόνου ἀναπηδήσας ἀνέβωσε τε καὶ εἶρετό μιν ὅστις εἶ ὁ λωβησάμενος καὶ ὁ τι ποιήσαντα. ὁ δὲ εἶπε "Οὐκ ἐστὶ οὕτως ὀνείρ, ὅτι μὴ σὺ, τῷ ἐστὶ δύναμις τοσαύτη ἐμὲ δὴ ὥδε διαθείναι· οὐδὲ τις ἀλλοτρίων ὁ βασιλεὺς τάδε ἐργασται, ἀλλ' αὐτὸς ἐγὼ ἐμεωτὺν, δεινὸν τι ποιεύμενος Ἀσσυρίων Πέρσηςι καταγελάν." ὁ δ' ἀμείβετο "Ὡ σχετ- λιώτατε ἀνδρῶν, ἔργω τῷ αἰσχίστῳ οὖνομα τὸ κάλλιστον έθευ, φας διὰ τοὺς πολιορκεομένους σεωτὸν ἀνηκέστως διαθείναι. τί δ', ὃ μάταιε, λελωβημένου σεῦ θάσσον οἱ πολέμιοι παρατη- σονται; κἂν οὐκ ἔξεπλωσας τῶν φρεινον σεωτὸν διαφθείρας;" ὁ δὲ εἶπε "Εἰ μὲν τοι ὑπερετίθεα τὰ ἐμελλὸν ποιήσειν, οὐκ ἂν με περεῖδες· νῦν δ' ἐπ' ἐμεωτοῦ βαλόμενος ἐπιρήξα. ἦδη δὼ ἢν μὴ τῶν σῶν δεήσῃ, αἱρέομεν Βαβυλώνα. ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ ὡς ἐχὼ αὐτομολύθος ἐσ τὸ τείχος καὶ φήσω πρὸς αὐτοὺς ὡς ὑπὸ σεῦ τάδε ἐπαθὼν καὶ δοκεώ, πείσας σφέας ταῦτα ἐχειν οὕτω, τεῦξεσθαί στρατι- της. σὺ δὲ, ἀπ' ἢς ἂν ἡμέρης ἐγὼ ἐσέλθω ἐς τὸ τείχος, ἀπὸ ταύτης ἐς δεκάτην ἡμέρην τῆς σεωτοῦ στρατιῆς, τῆς οὐδεμίᾳ ἐσται ὡρη ἀπολ- λυμένης, ταύτης χιλίους τάξου κατὰ τὰς Σεμι- ράμιοι καλεομένας πύλας· μετὰ δὲ αὐτις ἀπὸ τῆς δεκάτης ἐς ἔβδομην ἄλλους μοι τάξον διεχιλίους κατὰ τὰς Νινίων καλεομένας πύλας· ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς ἔβδομης διαλείπειν εἴκοσι ἡμέρας, καὶ ἐπειτα ἄλλους κάτισον ἄγαγων κατὰ τὰς Χαλδαιών καλεομένας πύλας, τετρακισχίλιους. ἐχόντων δὲ μήτε οἱ πρότεροι μηδὲν τῶν ἀμυνεύτων μήτε
155. The king was greatly moved at the sight of so notable a man thus mishandled. Leaping up with a cry from where he sat he asked Zopyrus who had done him this outrage and why. "There is no man," answered Zopyrus, "save yourself, who could bring me to this plight; this, O King! is the work of none other but myself; for I could not bear that Persians should be mocked by Assyrians." Darius answered, "Hardhearted man; if you say that it is to win the city that you have maltreated yourself past cure, you do but give a fair name to a foul deed. Foolish man! think you that our enemies will yield the sooner for this violence done to you? Nay, you were clean out of your wits to destroy yourself thus." "Had I told you," said Zopyrus, "what I was minded to do, you would have forbidden it; as it is, I have considered with myself alone and done it. Now, then, matters so stand that if you but play your part Babylon is ours. I will in my present plight desert into the city, pretending to them that you have done this violence upon me; and I think that I shall persuade them that this is so, and thus gain the command of an army. Now, for your part, on the tenth day from my entering the city do you take a thousand men from that part of your army whereof you will least rue the loss, and post them before the gate called the gate of Semiramis; on the seventh day after that, post me again two thousand before the gate called the gate of the Ninevites; and when twenty days are past after that seventh, yet four thousand again before the Chaldean gate, as they call it; suffering neither these, nor the others that have come before them, to carry any weapons of war
HERODOTUS

οὗτοι, πλὴν ἐγχειριδίων· τοῦτο δὲ ἐὰν ἔχειν. μετὰ δὲ τὴν εἰκοστὴν ἡμέρην ἥδεως τὴν μὲν ἄλλην στρατιὰν κελεύειν πέριξ προσβάλλειν πρὸς τὸ τείχος, Πέρσας δὲ μοι τάξιν κατὰ τὰς Βηθλίδας καλεομένας καὶ Κισσίας πύλας. ὃς γαρ ἐγὼ δοκέω, ἐμέο μεγάλα ἔργα ἀποδεξαμένου, τά τε ἄλλα ἐπιτρέψονται ἐμοὶ Βαβυλώνιοι καὶ δὴ καὶ τῶν πυλέων τὰς βαλανάγρας· τὸ δὲ ἐνθεύτεν ἐμοὶ τε καὶ Πέρσησι μελήσει τὰ δεῖ ποιεῖν."

156. Ταῦτα ἐντειλάμενος ἦς ἐπὶ τὰς πύλας, ἐπιστρεφόμενος ὡς δὴ ἀληθέως αὐτόμολος. ὀρωντες δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν πύργων οἱ κατὰ τοῦτο τεταγμένοι κατέτρεχον κάτω καὶ ὀλίγον τι παρακλίναντες τὴν ἐτέρην πύλην εἰρώτων τίς τε εἶχῃ καὶ στις ἄδεομενοι ἤκοι. ὃ δὲ σφί ἡγόρευε ὡς εἶχε τα Ζώ- πυρος καὶ αὐτομολεός ἐς ἐκείνους. ἤγον δὴ μιν οἱ πυλουροί, ταῦτα ὡς ήκουσαν, ἐπὶ τὰ κοινά τῶν Βαβυλώνιων· καταστὰς δὲ ἐπὶ αὐτὰ κατοικτίζετο, φας ὑπὸ Δαρείου πεποιθέναι τὰ ἐπεπόνθει ὑπ’ ἐωντοῦ, παθεῖν δὲ ταῦτα διότι συμβουλεύσαι οἱ ἀπανιστάναι τὴν στρατιῶν, ἐπεἴετε δὴ ούδεισ πόρος ἐφαίνετο τῆς ἀλώσιοι. " Νῦν τε" ἐφη λέγων ἂν γάρ μην ὁ Βαβυλώνιος ἦκω μέγιστον ἀγαθόν, Δαρείῳ δὲ καὶ τῇ στρατιᾷ καὶ Πέρσησι μέγιστον κακόν· οὐ γὰρ δὴ ἔμε γε ὅδε λωβησάμενος κατα- προίζεται· ἐπιστᾶμαι δ᾿ αὕτου πάσας τὰς διεξ- ὀδους τῶν βουλευμάτων." τοιαῦτα ἔλεγε.

157. Οἳ δὲ Βαβυλώνιοι ὀρώντες ἀνδρὰ τὸν ἐν Πέρσησι δοκιμώτατον ῥινὸς τε καὶ ὦτων ἐστερημένον, μάστιξι τε καὶ αἵματι ἀναπεφυμένον, πάγχυ ἐλπίσαντες λέγειν μιν ἀληθέα καὶ σφί ἤκειν σύμμαχον, ἐπιτράπεσθαι ἐτοιμοὶ ἦσαν τῶν
save daggers; leave them these. But immediately after
the twentieth day bid the rest of your army to assault
the whole circuit of the walls, and post the Persians
before the gate of Belus and the gate called Cissian.
For I think that I shall have achieved such exploits
that the Babylonians will give into my charge the
keys of their gates, and all else besides; and it will
thenceforward be my business and the Persians' to
do what is needful.”

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

157. When the Babylonians saw the most
honoured man in Persia with his nose and ears
cut off and all bedabbled with blood from the
scourging, they were fully persuaded that he spoke
truth and was come to be their ally, and were ready
to grant him all that he asked, which was, that he
ἐδέετο σφέων ἑδέετο δὲ στρατηγῆς. ὁ δὲ ἔπειτε αὐτῶν τοῦτο παρέλαβε, ἐποίεε τὰ περ τῷ Δαρείῳ συνεθήκατο: ἐξαγαγόν γὰρ τῇ δεκάτῃ ἡμέρῃ τὴν στρατὴν τῶν Βαβυλωνίων καὶ κυκλωσάμενος τοὺς χιλίους, τοὺς πρῶτους ἐνετείλατο Δαρείῳ τάξαι, τούτους κατεφόνευσε. μαθόντες δὲ μιν οἱ Βαβυλώνιοι τοῖς ἔπεσι τὰ ἔργα παρεχόμενον ὡμοια, πάγχυ περιχαρέες ἐόντες πὰν δὴ ἐτοιμοὶ ἦσαν ὑπηρετέειν. ὁ δὲ διαλυπῶν ἡμέρας τὰς συγκειμένας, αὐτίς ἐπιλεξάμενος τῶν Βαβυλωνίων ἐξήγαγε καὶ κατεφόνευσε τῶν Δαρείου στρατιωτέων τοὺς δις χιλίους. ἱδόντες δὲ καὶ τούτο τὸ ἔργον οἱ Βαβυλώνιοι πάντες Ζώπυρον εἶχον ἐν στόμασι αἴνεοντες. ὁ δὲ αὐτίς διαλυπῶν τὰς συγκειμένας ἡμέρας ἐξήγαγε ἐς τὸ προειρημένον, καὶ κυκλωσάμενος κατεφόνευσε τοὺς τετρακισχιλίους. ὡς δὲ καὶ τούτο κατέργαστο, πάντα δὴ ἦν ἐν τοῖς Βαβυλωνίοις Ζώπυρος, καὶ στρατάρχης τε οὕτος σφι καὶ τειχοφύλαξ ἀπεδέδεκτο.

158. Προσβολὴν δὲ Δαρείου κατὰ τὰ συγκειμένα ποιεμένον πέρις τὸ τείχος, ἐνθαῦτα δὴ πάντα τὸν δόλον ὁ Ζώπυρος ἐξέφαίε. οἱ μὲν γὰρ Βαβυλώνιοι ἀναβάντες ἐπὶ τὸ τείχος ἡμῖνοντο τὴν Δαρείου στρατηγὴν προσβάλλουσαν, ὁ δὲ Ζώπυρος τὰς τε Κισσίας καὶ Βηλίδας καλεομένας πύλας ἀναπετάσας ἐσῆκε τοὺς Πέρσας ἐς τὸ τείχος. τῶν δὲ Βαβυλωνίων οἱ μὲν εἶδον τὸ ποιηθὲν, οὐτοὶ μὲν ἐφευγοὺς ἐς τοῦ Δίως τοῦ Βῆλου τὸ ἱρὸν, οἱ δὲ οὐκ εἶδον, ἔμενον ἐν τῇ ἐωτοῦ τάξι ἐκαστος, ἐς δὴ καὶ οὐτοὶ ἐμαθον προδεδομένοι.

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

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

159. Thus was Babylon the second time taken. Having mastered the Babylonians, Darius destroyed
τοῦτο μὲν σφέων τὸ τείχος περιεῖλε καὶ τὰς πύλας πάσας ἀπέσπασε· τὸ γὰρ πρότερον ἔλων Κύρος τὴν Βαβυλώνα ἐποίησε τούτων οὐδέτερον· τοῦτο δὲ ὁ Δαρείως τῶν ἀνδρῶν τοὺς κορυφαίους μάλιστα ἐσ τρισχιλίους ἀνεσκολόπισε, τοῖς δὲ λοιποῖς Βαβυλωνίοις ἀπέδωκε τὴν πόλιν οἰκεῖειν. ὡς δ’ ἔξουσι γυναῖκας οἱ Βαβυλώνιοι ἤνα σφι γενεῖ ὑπογίνηται, τάδε Δαρείως προϊόν ἐποίησε· τὰς γὰρ ἑώτου, ὡς καὶ κατ’ ἀρχὰς δεδήλωται, ἀπέπνευσαν οἱ Βαβυλώνιοι τὸν σίτου προορέοντες· ἐπέταξε τοῖς περιόκοις ἔθνεις γυναίκας ἐς Βαβυλώνα κατιστάναι, ὡςα δὴ ἐκάστουσι ἐπιτάσσον, ὡστε πέντε μυριάδων τὸ κεφαλαίωμα τῶν γυναικῶν συνήλθε· ἐκ τούτων δὲ τῶν γυναικῶν οἱ νῦν Βαβυλώνιοι γεγόνασι.

160. Ζωπύρου δὲ οὐδεὶς ἀγαθοεργήνη Περσέων ὑπερεβάλετο παρὰ Δαρείῳ κριτῇ οὔτε τῶν ὑστερον γενομένων οὔτε τῶν πρότερον, ὅτι μὴ Κύρος μοῦνος· τοῦτῳ γὰρ οὐδεὶς Περσέων ἥξισθε καὶ ἑώτου συμβάλειν. πολλάκις δὲ Δαρείων λέγεται γνώμην τίνδε ἀποδέξασθαι, ὡς βουλιότο ἦν Ζωπύρου εἶναι ἀπαθέα τῆς ἀεικείης μάλλον η Βαβυλώνας οἱ εἰκοσι πρὸς τὴ ἑόρασῃ προσγενέσθαι. ἐτίμησε δὲ μιν μεγάλως· καὶ γὰρ δοῦρι οἱ ἀνὰ πᾶν ἐτος ἐδίδου ταῦτα τὰ Πέρσης ἑστὶ τιμιώτατα, καὶ τὴν Βαβυλώνα οἱ ἔδωκε ἀτελέα νέμεσθαι μέχρι τῆς ἐκείνου ζῷης, καὶ ἄλλα πολλὰ ἐπέδωκε. Ζωπύρου δὲ τούτῳ γίνεται Μεγάβυζος, ὅς ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ ἀντία Αθηναιῶν καὶ τῶν συμμάχων ἐστρατήγησης Μεγαβύζου δὲ τούτου γίνεται Ζωπύρος, ὅς ἐς Αθηνας ἡμομόλησε ἐκ Περσέων.
their walls and reft away all their gates, neither of which things Cyrus had done at the first taking of Babylon; moreover he impaled about three thousand men that were chief among them; as for the rest, he gave them back their city to dwell in. Further, as the Babylonians, fearing for their food, had strangled their own women, Darius provided that they should have wives to bear them children, by appointing that each of the neighbouring nations should send a certain tale of women to Babylon; the whole sum of the women thus collected was fifty thousand: these were the mothers of those who now inhabit the city.

160. There never was in Darius' judgment any Persian before or since who did better service than Zopyrus, save only Cyrus, with whom no Persian could compare himself. Many times Darius is said to have declared that he would rather have Zopyrus whole and not fouly mishandled than twenty more Babylons. Very greatly the king honoured him; every year he sent Zopyrus such gifts as the Persians hold most precious, and suffered him to govern Babylon for all his life with no tribute to pay, giving him many other things besides. This Zopyrus was father of Megabyzus, who was general of an army in Egypt against the Athenians and their allies; and Megabyzus' son was that Zopyrus who deserted from the Persians to Athens.
1. Μετὰ δὲ τὴν Βαβυλὼνος αἰέρεσιν ἐγένετο ἐπὶ Σκύθας αὐτοῦ Δαρείου ἐλασίς. ἀνθεύσης γὰρ τῆς Ἀσίης ἀνδράσι καὶ χρημάτων μεγάλων συνιόντων, ἐπεθύμησε ὁ Δαρείος τίσασθαι Σκύθας, ὡς ἐκεῖνοι πρότεροι ἐσβαλόντες ἐς τὴν Μηδικήν καὶ νικήσαντες μάχη τοὺς ἀντιομένους ὑπῆρξαν ἀδικίας. τῆς γὰρ ἀνω Ἀσίης ἦρξαν, ὡς καὶ πρότερον μοι εἰρήται, Σκύθαι ἔτενα δυὸν δέοντα τρηκόντα. Κυμμερίους γὰρ ἐπιδιώκοντες ἐσβαλόν ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην, καταπαύσαντες τῆς ἀρχῆς Μῆδους· οὕτω γὰρ πρὶν ἡ Σκύθας ἀπικέσθαι ἦρξον τῆς Ἀσίης. τοὺς δὲ Σκύθας ἀποδημήσαντας ὡκτὸ καὶ εἴκοσι ἔτεα καὶ διὰ χρόνου τοσοῦτον κατίοντας ἐς τὴν σφετέρην ἐξεδέξατο ὡκ ἐλάσσων πόνος τοῦ Μηδικοῦ· εὑρὸν γὰρ ἀντιομένην σφίς στρατιῶν ὡκ ὀλίγην. αἱ γὰρ τῶν Σκυθέων γυναῖκες, ὡς σφί οἱ ἄνδρες ἠπῆσαν χρόνου πολλὸν, ἔφοιτεον παρὰ τοὺς δοῦλους.

2. Τοὺς δὲ δοῦλους οἱ Σκύθαι πάντας τυφλοῦσι τοῦ γάλακτος εἶνεκεν τοῦ πίνουσι ποιεύντες ὡδε. 

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BOOK IV

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

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

1 That is, the eastern highlands of the Persian empire.
2 Herodotus means that the slaves are blinded to prevent them stealing the best of the milk. Probably the story of blind slaves arises from some Scythian name for slaves, misunderstood by the Greeks.
Επεὶ δὲν φυσητήρας λάβωσι ὀστείνους αὐλοῖσι προσεμφερεστάτους, τούτους ἐσθέντες ἐς τῶν θηλέων ἵππων τὰ ἄρθρα φυσώσι τοῖς στόμασι, ἀλλοὶ δὲ ἄλλων φυσώντων ἀμέλγουσι. φασὶ δὲ τούδε εἶνεκα τοῦτο ποιέειν· τὰς φλέβας τε πίμπλασθαι φυσωμένας τῆς ἵππου καὶ τὸ οὐθαρ κατίσεσθαι. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀμέλξωσι τὸ γάλα, ἐσχέαντες ἐς ξύλινα ἀγγηήμα κοῖλα καὶ περιστίζαντες κατὰ τὰ ἀγγήμα τούς τυφλοὺς δονέονσι τὸ γάλα, καὶ τὸ μὲν αὐτοῦ ἐπιστάμενον ἀπαρύσαντες ἡγεύνται εἶναι τιμιώ-τερον, τὸ δ' ὑπιστάμενον ἡσσον τοῦ ἐτέρου. τούτων μὲν εἶνεκα ἅπαντα τῶν ἀν λάβωσι οἱ Σκύθαι ἐκτυφλοῦσι· οὐ γὰρ ἀρόται εἰσὶ ἄλλα νομάδες.

3. Ἡκ τούτων δὴ ὃν σφι τῶν δούλων καὶ τῶν γυναικῶν ἑτράφη νεότης· οἱ ἐπείτε ἐμαθον τὴν σφετέρην γένεσιν, ἡμτιοῦντο αὐτοῖσι κατιοῦσι ἐκ τῶν Μηδών. καὶ πρῶτα μὲν τὴν χώρην ἀπετά-μουτο, τάφρον ὀρυζάμενοι εὐρέαν κατατείνουσαν ἐκ τῶν Ταυρικῶν ὄρεων ἐς τὴν Μαιήτιν λίμνην, τῇ περ ἐστὶ μεγίστῃ· μετὰ δὲ πειρωμένους ἐσ-βάλλουν τοῖς Σκύθησι ἀντικατίζομενοι ἑμάχοντο. γινομένης δὲ μάχης πολλάκις καὶ οὐ δυναμένων οὐδὲν πλέον ἔχειν τῶν Σκυθέων τῇ μάχῃ, εἰς αὐτῶν ἑλεξε τάδε. "Οἶα ποιεῦμεν, ἀνδρές Σκύθαι· δούλοισι τοῖσι ἡμετέροισι μαχόμενοι αὐτοῖς τε κτεινομενοὶ ἐλάσσονες γινόμεθα καὶ ἐκείνους κτεῖ-νοντες ἐλασσόνων τὸ λοιπὸν ἀρξομεν. νῦν ὃν
the way of their getting it: taking pipes of bone very like flutes, they thrust these into the secret parts of the mares and blow into them, some blowing and others milking. By what they say, their reason for so doing is that the blowing makes the mare's veins to swell and her udder to be let down. When milking is done, they pour the milk into deep wooden buckets, and make their slaves to stand about the buckets and shake the milk; the surface part of it they draw off, and this they most value; what lies at the bottom is less esteemed. It is for this cause that the Scythians blind all prisoners whom they take; for they are not tillers of the soil, but wandering graziers.

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

1 The Sea of Azov. It is not clear where the ῥάφρος was. Some think that Herodotus may have had in his mind the so-called "Putrid Sea," the narrow stretch of water between the Ararat isthmus and the Crimea. This at least corresponds with the "point of greatest breadth" of the Sea of Azov.
μοι δοκεῖι αἶχμὰς μὲν καὶ τὸξα μετείναι, λαβὸντα
dὲ ἐκαστὸν τοῦ ἵππου τὴν μάστιγα ἱέναι ἄσον
αὐτῶν. μέχρι μὲν γὰρ ὄρων ἡμέας ὁπλὰ ἔχοντας,
οἱ δὲ ἐνόμιζον ὁμοίοι τε καὶ ἐξ ὁμοίων ἡμῖν εἶναι·
ἐπεὶ δὲ ἱδονταί μάστιγας ἀντὶ ὁπλῶν ἔχοντας,
μαθόντες ὡς εἰσὶ ἡμέτεροι δοῦλοι καὶ συγγνώντες
τοῦτο, οὐκ ὑπομενέουσί.”

4. Ταῦτα ἀκούσαντες οἱ Σκύθαι ἐποίειν ἐπι-
tελέα· οἱ δὲ ἐκπλαγέντες τῷ γυνομένῳ τῆς μάχης
tε ἐπελάθοντο καὶ ἐφευγον. οὔτω οἱ Σκύθαι τῆς
tε Ἁσίης ἥρξαν καὶ ἐξελασθέντες ἅπτις ὑπὸ
Μήδων κατῆλθον πρόπῳ τοιούτῳ ἐς τὴν σφέτερην.
τῶνδε εἶνεκα ὁ Δαρείος τίσασθαι βουλόμενος
συνήγειρε ἐπ’ αὐτῶν στράτευμα.

5. Ὡς δὲ Σκύθαι λέγουσιν, νεώτατον πάντων
ἔθνεων εἶναι τὸ σφέτερον, τοῦτο δὲ γενέσθαι ὤδε.
ἄνδρα γενέσθαι πρὸτον ἐν τῇ γῇ ταύτῃ ἐσώρυ
ἐρήμῳ τῷ οὐνόμα εἶναι Ταργιτάον τοῦ δὲ Ταρ-
γιτάον τοῦτον τοὺς τοκέας λέγουσι εἶναι, ἐμοὶ
μὲν οὖ πιστὰ λέγοντες, λέγουσι δ’ ὅν, Δία τε
καὶ Βορυσθένεος τοῦ ποταμοῦ θυγατέρα. γένεοι
μὲν τοιούτων δὴ τινος γενέσθαι τὸν Ταργιτάον,
tοῦτον δὲ γενέσθαι παιδὰς πρεῖς, Διπόξαιν καὶ
Ἄρποξαίν καὶ νεώτατον Κολάξαιν. ἐπὶ τούτων
ἀρχόντων ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ φερόμενα χρύσεα ποιή-
ματα, ἀροτρὸν τε καὶ ξυγὸν καὶ σῶγαριν καὶ
φιάλην, πεσεῖν ἐς τὴν Σκυθικὴν καὶ τῶν ἱδόντα
πρῶτον τὸν πρεσβύτατον ἄσον ἱέναι βουλόμενον
αὐτὰ λαβεῖν, τὸν δὲ χρυσὸν ἐπιόντος καίεσθαι·
ἀπαλλαχθέντος δὲ τούτου προσιέναι τὸν δεύτερον,
καὶ τὸν ἅπτις ταῦτα ποιεῖν. τοὺς μὲν δὴ καίο-
μενον τὸν χρυσὸν ἀπώσασθαι, τρίτῳ δὲ τῷ νεώ-
my counsel is that we drop our spears and bows, and
go to meet them each with his horsewhip in hand.
As long as they saw us armed, they thought them-
selves to be our peers and the sons of our peers; let
them see us with whips and no weapons of war, and
they will perceive that they are our slaves; and
taking this to heart they will not abide our attack.”

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

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

¹ The Dnieper.
6. Ἀπὸ μὲν δὴ Λιποξάιος γεγονέναι τούτους τῶν Σκυθέων οἳ Λύχάται γένος καλέονται, ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ μέσου Ἀρποξάιος οἳ Κατιαροὶ τε καὶ Τράσπιες καλέονται, ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ νεωτάτου αὐτῶν τοῦ βασιλέως οἳ καλέονται Παραλάται σύμπασι δὲ εἶναι οὖνομα Σκολότους, τοῦ βασιλέως ἐπωνυμίην. Σκύθας δὲ Ἔλληνες ὄνόμασαν.

7. Γεγονέναι μὲν νυν σφέας δδε λέγουσι οἳ Σκύθαι, ἔτεα δὲ σφίσι ἐπείτε γεγόνασι τὰ σύμπαντα λέγουσι εἶναι ἀπὸ τοῦ πρώτου βασιλέως Ταργιτάου ἐς τὴν Δαρείου διάβασιν τὴν ἐπὶ σφέας χιλίων οὐ πλέω ἄλλα τοσάντα. τὸν δὲ χρυσὸν τούτον τὸν ἱρὸν φυλάσσουσι οἳ βασιλέες ἐς τὰ μάλιστα, καὶ θυσίησι μεγάλης ἰλασκόμενοι μετέρχονται ἀνὰ πάν ἔτος. δὲ δ’ ἂν ἔχων τὸν χρυσὸν τὸν ἱρὸν ἐν τῇ ὀρτῇ ὑπαίθριοι κατακομμηθῆ, οὐτός λέγεται ὑπὸ Σκυθέων οἳ διενιατίζειν. δίδοσθαι δὲ οἱ διὰ τοῦτο ὃσα ἂν ἱππὸ ἐν ἱμέρῃ μηὶ περιελάσῃ αὐτός. τὴς δὲ χώρης ἐούσῃς μεγάλης τριφασίας τὰς βασιληίας τοῖς παισί, τοῖς ἑωτοῦ καταστήσασθαι Κολάξαϊν, καὶ τουτέων μίαν ποιήσαι μεγάλην, ἐν τῇ τῶν χρυσῶν φυλάσσεσθαι. τὰ δὲ κατύπφθη πρὸς Βορέθιν

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

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

7. Such then is the Scythians' account of their origin; they reckon that neither more nor less than a thousand years in all passed between their first King Targitâus and the crossing over of Darius into their country. The kings guard this sacred gold most jealously, and every year offer to it solemn sacrifices of propitiation. Whoever at this festival sleeps in the open air, having with him the gold, is said by the Scythians not to live out the year; for which reason¹ (they say) there is given him as much land as he can himself ride round in one day. Because of the great size of the country, the lordships established by Colaxaïs for his sons were three, one of which, where they keep the gold, was the greatest. Above and northward of the neighbours of their country none (they say) can see or travel further, by reason of showers of feathers²; for earth and sky are overspread by these, and it is this which hinders sight.

¹ The "reason" is obscure; perhaps the gift of land is a compensation for his shortness of life.
² See ch. 31 for Herodotus' explanation.
8. Σκύθαι μὲν ὤδε ὑπὲρ σφέων τε αὐτῶν καὶ τῆς χώρης τῆς κατύπερθε λέγουσι, Ἑλλήνων δὲ οἱ τὸν Πόντον οἰκέοντες ὤδε. Ἦρακλεά ἐλαιόνοντα τᾶς Γηρυόνεω βοῦς ἀπικέσθαι ἐς γῆν ταύτην ἔοισαν ἐρήμην, ἤμτινα νῦν Σκύθαι νέ-μονται. Γηρυόνεα δὲ οἰκεῖν ἔξω τοῦ Πόντου, κατοικημένοι τὴν Ἑλλήνες λέγουσι Ἑρώθειαν νήσου τὴν πρὸς Γαδέροις τοῖς ἔξω Ἦρακλέων στηλέων ἐπὶ τῷ Ὀκεανῷ. τὸν δὲ Ὀκεανὸν λόγῳ μὲν λέγουσι ἀπὸ ἡλίου ἀνατολέων ἀρδάμενον γῆν περὶ πᾶσαν ἐνείν, ἔρημῳ δὲ οὐκ ἀποδεικνύσι. ἐνθεύτεν τὸν Ἦρακλεά ἀπικέσθαι ἐς τὴν νῦν Σκυθῆν χώρην καλεομένην, καὶ καταλαβεῖν γὰρ αὐτὸν χειμώνα τε καὶ κρυμὸν, ἐπειρυσάμενον τὴν λεοντένα κατυπνώσαι, τὰς δὲ οἱ ἱπποὺς τὰς ὑπὸ τοῦ ἅρματος νειμομένας ἐν τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ ἀφανισθῆναι θείῃ τύχῃ.

9. Ὁς δὲ ἐγερθῆναι τὸν Ἦρακλέα, δίξησθαι, πάντα δὲ τῆς χώρης ἐπεξελθόντα τέλος ἀπι-κέσθαι ἐς τὴν Ἐλαίην καλεομένην γῆν ἐνθαῦτα δὲ αὐτὸν εὔρειν ἐν ἄντρῳ μιξοπάρθενον τινὰ, ἔχουσαν διφυέα, τῆς τὰ μὲν ἅνω ἀπὸ τῶν γλυκτῶν εἶναι γυναικός, τὰ δὲ ἐνερθὲ ὄφιος. ἴδοντα δὲ καὶ θωμάσαντα ἐπειρέσθαι μιν εἰ κον ἵδοι ἱπποὺς πλανωμένας. τὴν δὲ φάναι ἐσωτηρία ἑχειν καὶ οὐκ ἀποδόσειν ἐκεῖνο πρὶν ἢ οἱ μιχθῆ τὸν δὲ Ἦρα-κλέα μιχθῆναι ἐπὶ τῷ μισθῷ τούτῳ. κείμην τε ἴτη ὑπερβάλλεσθαι τὴν ἀπόδοσιν τῶν ἱππῶν, βουλομένην ὡς πλείστον χρόνον συνεῖναι τῷ Ἦρακλεί, καὶ τὸν κυμισάμενον ἐθέλειν ἀπαλ-λάσσεσθαι τέλος δὲ ἀποδιδοῦσαν αὐτὴν εἶπεῖν

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

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

¹ Very far west, Gadira being identified with Cadiz.
""'Ιππον μὲν δὴ ταύτας ἀπικομίας ἐνθάδε ἐσωσά τοι ἑγώ, σώστρα τε σὺ παρέσχες· ἑγώ γὰρ ἐκ σεῦ τρεῖς παίδας ἔχω. τούτους, ἐπεάν γένωνται τρόφιες, ὃ τι χρή ποιεῖν, ἐξηγεῖ σὺ, εἰτε αὐτοῦ κατοικίξῳ (χώρῃ γὰρ τῆς ἔπος τὸ κράτος αὐτῆς) εἰτε ἀποπέμπω παρὰ σέ." τῇ μὲν δὴ ταύτα ἑπειρωτάν, τὸν δὲ λέγονσι πρὸς ταῦτα εἶπείν "Ἐπεάν ἀνδρωθέντας ᾑῇ τοὺς παίδας, τάδε ποιεῦσα οὖν ἄν ἁμαρτάνοις· τὸν μὲν ἄν ὀρᾶς αὐτῶν τόδε τὸ τόξον ὧδε διατεινόμενον καὶ τῷ ἧστηρι τῷ δὲ κατὰ τάδε ἔπος ἔμενον, τούτοις μὲν τῆς χώρης οἰκήτορα ποιεῖν· ὅς δ' ἂν τούτων τῶν ἔργων τῶν ἐντελλομαι λείπηται, ἐκπεμπτε ἐκ τῆς χώρης. καὶ ταῦτα ποιεῦσα αὐτῇ τε εὐθρανέατο καὶ τὰ ἐντελεμένα ποιήσεις." 10. Τὸν μὲν δὴ εἰρύσαντα τῶν τόξων τὸ ἔτερον (δύο γὰρ δὴ φορεῖν τέως Ἡρακλέα) καὶ τὸν ἧστηρα προδέξαντα, παραδοῦναι τὸ τόξον τε καὶ τὸν ἧστηρα ἐχοῦντα ἐπ' ἀκρής τῆς συμβολῆς φιάλην χρυσέν, δόντα δὲ ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι. τῇ δ', ἐπεί οἱ γενομένοι τοὺς παίδας ἀνδρωθήναι, τούτοις μὲν σφι σύνοματα θέσθαι, τῷ μὲν Ἀγάθυρσον αὐτῶν, τῷ δ' ἐπομένῳ Γελωνῷ, Σκύθην δὲ τῷ νεωτάτῳ, τούτῳ δὲ τῆς ἐπιστολῆς μεμνημένην αὐτήν ποιήσατο τὰ ἐντελεμένα. καὶ δὴ δύο μὲν οἱ τῶν παίδων, τὸν τε Ἀγάθυρσον καὶ τὸν Γελωνόν, οὐκ οἶους τε γενομένους ἐξικέσθαι πρὸς τὸν προκείμενον ἀεθλόν, οἶχεσθαι ἐκ τῆς χώρης ἐκ- βληθέντας ύπὸ τῆς γειναμένης, τὸν δὲ νεώτατον αὐτῶν Σκύθην ἐπιτελέσαντα καταμείναι ἐν τῇ χώρῃ. καὶ ἀπὸ μὲν Σκύθεω τοῦ Ἡρακλέος γενέσθαι τοὺς αἰεί βασιλέας γινομένους Σκυθέων,
to him, "These mares came, and I kept them safe here for you, and you have paid me for keeping them, for I have three sons by you. Do you now tell me what I must do when they are grown big: shall I make them to dwell here (for I am the queen of this country), or shall I send them away to you?" Thus she inquired, and then (it is said) Heracles answered her: "When you see the boys grown to man's estate, act as I bid you and you will do rightly; whichever of them you see bending this bow thus and girding himself with this girdle, make him a dweller in this land; but whoever fails to achieve these tasks which I lay upon him, send him away out of the country. Thus do and you will yourself have comfort, and my bidding will be done."

10. So he drew one of his bows (for till then Heracles ever bore two), and showed her the girdle, and delivered to her the bow and the girdle, that had a golden vessel on the end of its clasp; and, having given them, so departed. But she, when the sons born to her were grown men, gave them names, calling one of them Agathyrsus and the next Gelonus and the youngest Scythes; moreover, remembering the charge, she did as she was commanded. Two of her sons, Agathyrsus and Gelonus, not being able to achieve the appointed task, were cast out by their mother and left the country, but Scythes, the youngest, accomplished it and so abode in the land. From Scythes son of Heracles comes the whole line of the kings of Scythia; and it is because of the
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ΑΠΟ ΔΕ ΤΗΣ ΦΙΑΛΗΣ ΕΤΙ ΚΑΙ ΕΣ ΤΟΔΕ ΦΙΑΛΑΣ ΕΚ ΤΩΝ ΞΩΣΤΙΡΩΝ ΦΟΡΕΙΝ ΣΚΥΘΑΣ. ΤΟ ΔΗ ΜΟΥΝΟΝ ΜΗΧΑΝΗΣΑΣΘΑΙ ΤΗΝ ΜΗΤΕΡΑ ΣΚΥΘΗ.1 ΤΑΥΤΑ ΔΕ Η ΕΛΛΗΝΩΝ ΟΙ ΤΟΝ ΠΟΝΤΟΝ ΟΙΚΕΟΝΤΕΣ ΛΕΓΟΥΣΙ.

11. “ΕΣΤΙ ΔΕ ΚΑΙ ΑΛΛΟΣ ΛΟΓΟΣ ἝΧΩΝ ΩΔΕ, ΤΟΙΟ ΜΑΛΙΣΤΑ ΛΕΓΟΜΕΝΩ ΑΥΤΟΣ ΠΡΟΣΚΕΙΜΑΙ, ΣΚΥΘΑΣ ΤΟΥΣ ΝΟΜΑΔΑΣ ΟΙΚΕΟΝΤΑΣ ΕΝ ΤΗ ΑΣΙΗ, ΠΟΛΕΜΩ ΠΙΕΣΘΕΝΤΑΣ ΥΠΟ ΜΑΣΣΑΓΕΤΕΝΩΝ, ΟΙΧΕΣΘΑΙ ΔΙΑΒΑΝΤΑΣ ΠΟΤΑΜΟΝ ἈΡΑΞΗΝ ΕΠΙ ΓΗΝ ΤΗΝ ΚΙΜΜΕΡΙΝ (ΤΗΝ ΓΑΡ ΝΥΝ ΒΕΜΟΝΤΑΙ ΣΚΥΘΑΙ, ΑΥΤΗ ΛΕΓΕΤΑΙ ΤΟ ΠΑΛΑΙΟΝ ΕΙΝΑΙ ΚΙΜΜΕΡΙΩΝ), ΤΟΥΣ ΔΕ ΚΙΜΜΕΡΙΟΥΣ ἙΠΙΟΝΤΩΝ ΣΚΥΘΕΩΝ ΒΟΥΛΕΥΣΘΑΙ ΩΣ ΣΤΡΑΤΟΥ ἙΠΙΟΝΤΟΣ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ, ΚΑΙ ΔΗ ΤΑΣ ΓΝΩΜΑΣ ΣΦΕΩΝ ΚΕΧΩΡΙΣΜΕΝΑΣ, ΕΥΤΟΝΟΥΣ ΜΕΝ ΆΜΦΟΤΕΡΑΣ, ΆΜΕΙΝΟ ΤΟΙΟΥ ΤΟΥΝ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ. ΤΗΝ ΜΕΝ ΓΑΡ ΔΗ ΤΟΥΝ ΔΗΜΟΥ ΦΕΡΕΙΝ ΓΝΩΜΗΝ ΩΣ ἈΠΑΛΛΑΛΘΙΩΝ ΠΡΟΒΡΗΓΙΑ ΕΙΝΗ ΜΗΔΕ ΠΡΟ ΣΠΟΔΟΥ ΜΕΝΟΝΤΑΣ ΚΙΝΔΥΝΕΥΕΙΝ, ΤΗΝ ΔΕ ΤΟΙΟΝ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΔΙΑΜΑΧΕΣΘΑΙ ΠΕΡΙ ΤΗΣ ΧΩΡΗΣ ΤΟΙΟ ΕΠΙΟΥΣΙ. ὨΝΚΩΝ ΔΗ ΘΕΛΕΙΝ ΠΕΙΘΕΣΘΑΙ ΟΥΣΤΕ ΤΟΙΟΙ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣΙ ΤΟΝ ΔΗΜΟΝ ΟΥΣΤΕ ΤΟΙΟ ΔΗΜΩ ΤΟΥΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΑΣ. ΤΟΥΣ ΜΕΝ ΔΗ ΑΠΑΛΛΑΛΘΙΩΝ ΒΟΥΛΕΥΣΘΑΙ ἌΜΑΧΗΜ ΤΗΝ ΧΩΡΗΝ ΠΑΡΑΔΟΝΤΑΣ ΤΟΙΟΙ ἘΠΙΟΥΣΙ ΤΟΙΟΙ ΔΕ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣΙ ΔΟΞΑΙ ΕΝ ΤΗΝ ΕΩΤΥΝΩΝ ΚΕΙΣΘΑΙ ἈΠΟΘΑΝΟΝΤΑΣ ΜΗΔΕ ΣΥΜΦΕΥΓΕΙΝ ΤΟΙΟ ΔΗΜΩ, ΛΟΓΙΣΑΜΕΝΟΥΣ ΔΟΣΑ ΤΕ ΑΓΑΘΑ ΠΕΠΟΝΘΑΣΙ ΚΑΙ ὈΣΑ ΦΕΥΓΟΝΤΑΣ ΕΚ ΤΗΣ ΠΑΤΡΙΔΟΣ ΚΑΚΑ ΕΠΙΔΟΧΑ ΚΑΤΑΛΑΜΒΑΝΕΙΝ. ΩΣ ΔΕ ΔΟΞΑΙ ΣΦΙ ΤΑΥΤΑ, ΔΙΑΣΤΑΝΤΑΣ ΚΑΙ ΆΡΙΘΜΟΝ ἘΙΣΟΥΣ ΓΕΝΟΜΕΝΟΥΣ ΜΑΧΕΣΘΑΙ ΠΡΟΣ ἈΛΛΗΛΟΥΣ. ΚΑΙ

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

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

\(^1\) Herodotus' idea of the course of this river is uncertain; \(cp.\) i. 202. He appears to extend the Araxes, which flowed from the west into the Caspian, into regions east of that sea.
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tou̱s μεν ἀποθανόντας πάντας ὑπ’ ἐωτύτων θάψαι
tόν δήμον τῶν Κιμμερίων παρὰ ποταμὸν Τύρην
(καὶ σφεων ἐτὶ δήλος ἐστὶ οἱ τάφοι), θάψαντας δὲ
οὕτω τήν ἔξοδον ἐκ τῆς χώρης ποιεσθαι. Σκύθας
dὲ ἐπελθόντας λαβεῖν τὴν χώρην ἐρήμην.

12. Καὶ νῦν ἔστι μὲν ἐν τῇ Σκυθικῇ Κιμμέρια
teίχεα, ἔστι δὲ πορθμῆμα Κιμμέρια, ἔστι δὲ καὶ
χώρῃ οὖν ομομα Κιμμέρι, ἔστι δὲ Βόστορος Κιμ-
μέριος καλεόμενος. φαίνονται δὲ οἱ Κιμμέριοι
φεύγοντες ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην τοὺς Σκύθας καὶ τὴν
χερσόνησον κτίσαντες, ἐν τῇ νῦν Σινώπη πόλις
Ἐλλας οἰκίσται. φανερὸν δὲ εἰσὶ καὶ οἱ Σκύθαι
dιώξαντες αὐτοὺς καὶ ἐσβαλόντες ἐς γῆν τὴν Μη-
dικήν, ἀμαρτόντες τῆς ὁδοῦ· οἱ μὲν γὰρ Κιμμέριοι
αἰεὶ τὴν παρὰ θάλασσαν ἐφευγόν, οἱ δὲ Σκύθαι
ἐν δεξιῇ τὸν Καύκασον ἐχοντες ἐδίωκον ὡς οὐ
ἐσέβαλον ἐς γῆν τὴν Μηδικήν, ἐς μεσόγαιαν τῆς
ὁδοῦ τραφθέντες. οὕτως δὲ ἄλλος ἔξως Ἐλλήνων
τε καὶ βαρβάρων λεγόμενος λόγος εἶρηται.

13. Ὁ Ἐφη δὲ Ἄριστές ὁ Καῦστροβίον ἀνήρ
Προκοννήσιος ποιέων ἔπεα, ἀπικέσθαι ἐς Ἰσση-
dόνας φοιβόλαμπτός γενόμενος, Ἰσσηδόνοι οἱ
ὑπεραικέειν Ἀριμασποὺς ἀνδρας μουσοθάλμους,
ὑπὲρ δὲ τούτων τοὺς χρυσοφύλακας γρύτας, τοῦ-
tων δὲ τοὺς Ἑπερβορέους κατήκοντας ἐπὶ θάλασ-
sαν. τούτως δὲν πάντας πλὴν Ἑπερβορέων,
ἀρξάντων Ἀριμασπῶν, αἰεὶ τοῖσι πλησιοχώροισι
ἐπιτίθεσθαι, καὶ ὑπὸ μὲν Ἀριμασπῶν ἑξωθέεσθαι

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

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

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

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

For some notice of geographical difficulties here and
elsewhere in this Book, see the introduction to this volume.
ἐκ τῆς χώρης Ἰσσηδώνας, ὕπο δὲ Ἰσσηδώνων Σκύθας, Κυμμερίους δὲ οἰκεόντας ἐπὶ τῇ νοτίᾳ ἀλάσῃ ὕπο Σκυθέων πιεζομένους ἐκλείπειν τὴν χώρην. οὕτω οὔδὲ οὕτος συμφέρεται περὶ τῆς χώρης ταύτης Σκύθησι.

14. Καὶ ὃθεν μὲν ἢν Ἀριστέης ὁ ταῦτα εἴπας, εὔρηκα, τὸν δὲ περὶ αὐτοῦ ἢκουν λόγου ἐν Προκοννήσῳ καὶ Κυζίκῳ, λέξω. Ἀριστέης γὰρ λέγονσι, ἔόντα τῶν ἀστῶν οὐδὲνος γένος ὑποδέστερον, ἐσελθόντα ἐς καφῆμον ἐν Προκοννήσῳ ἀποθανεῖν, καὶ τοῦ κναφέα κατακλησάντα τὸ ἐργαστηρίου οἰχέσαι ἁγγελέοντα τοῖς προσήκουσι τῷ νεκρῷ. ἐσκεδασμένου δὲ ἦδη τοῦ λόγου ἀνὰ τὴν πόλιν ὡς τεθνεὼς εἰς ὁ Ἀριστέης, ἐς ἀμφισβασίας τοῖς λέγονσι ἀπικνέσθαι ἄνδρα Κυζίκην ἢκοντα ἐς Ἀρτάκης πόλιος, φάντα συντυχεῖν τε ὀς ἰόντι ἐπὶ Κυζίκου καὶ ἐς λόγους ἀπικέσθαι. καὶ τούτων μὲν ἐντεταμένως ἀμφισβατεῖν, τούς δὲ προσήκουσι τῷ νεκρῷ ἐπὶ τὸ καφῆμον παρεῖναι ἐχοντας τὰ πρόσφορα ὡς ἀναίρησομένους· ἀνοιχθέντος δὲ τοῦ οἰκήματος οὔτε τεθνεώτα οὔτε ξώντα φαίνεσθαι Ἀριστέης. μετὰ δὲ ἐβδόμῳ έτει φανέντα αὐτὸν ἐς Προκοννήσῳ ποιῆσαι τὰ ἐπεα ταῦτα τὰ νῦν ὑπ' Ἐλλήνων Ἀρμάσσεα καλέσσατι, ποιῆσαντα δὲ ἀφαινοθήναι τὸ δεύτερον.

15. Ταῦτα μὲν αἱ πόλεις αὐταὶ λέγονσι, τάδε δὲ οἶδα Μεταποντίνοις τοῖς ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ συγκυρίσαντα μετὰ τὴν ἀφάνισιν τὴν δευτέρην Ἀριστέων ἐτείς τεσσεράκοντα καὶ διηκοσίας, ὡς ἐγὼ συμβαλλόμενος ἐν Προκοννήσῳ τε καὶ Μεταποντίῳ εὐρισκον. Μεταποντίνοις φασὶ αὐτὸν Ἀριστέην φανέντα φι σφί ἐς τὴν χώρην κελεῦσαι βοών Ἀπολ-
by the Arimaspians, and the Scythians by the Issedones, and the Cimmerians, dwelling by the southern sea, were hard pressed by the Scythians and left their country. Thus neither does Aristeas' story agree concerning this country with the Scythian account.

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

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

¹ A Milesian colony, the port of Cyzicus.
λωνος ἱδρύσασθαι καὶ Ἀριστέω τοῦ Προκοπινησίου ἔπωσαμιν ἔχοντα ἀνδρίαν παρ’ αὐτὸν ιστάναι. φάναι γὰρ σφὶ τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα Ἰταλιωτῶν μοῦνοι δὴ ἀπικέσθαι ἐς τὴν χώρην, καὶ αὐτὸς οἱ ἑπεσθαι ὁ νῦν ἔων Ἀριστέης· τότε δὲ, ὅτε εἶπετο τῷ θεῷ, εἶναι κόραξ. καὶ τὸν μὲν εἰπόντα ταῦτα ἀφανισθῆναι, σφέας δὲ Μεταποντῖνοι λέγουσι ἐς Δελφοὺς πέμψαντας τὸν θεὸν ἐπειρωτᾶν ὃ τι τὸ φάσμα τοῦ ἀνθρώπου εἴη. τὴν δὲ Πυθίνην σφέας κελεύνει πιθεσθαί τῷ φάσματι, πειθομένουι δὲ ἀμείνον συνοίσεσθαι. καὶ σφέας δεξαμένους ταῦτα ποιήσαν ἐπιτελέα. καὶ νῦν ἐστὶν ἀνδρίας ἐπωνυμίην ἔχων Ἀριστέω παρ’ αὐτῷ τῷ ἀγάλματι τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος, πέριξ δὲ αὐτὸν δάφναι ἑστᾶσι: τὸ δὲ ἀγαλμα ἐν τῇ ἀγορῇ ἱδρυται. Ἀριστέω μὲν νῦν πέρι τοσαῦτα εἰρήσθω.

16. Τῆς δὲ γῆς, τῆς πέρι οὗτος ὁ λόγος ὁμιλητεῖ λέγεσθαι, οὐδεὶς οἷδε ἀτρεκέως δὸ τὸ κατύπερθε ἐστὶ: οὐδενὸς γὰρ δὴ αὐτῶτες εἰδέναι φαμένου δύναμαι πυθέσθαι: οὐδὲ γὰρ οὗτος Ἅριστεύς, τοῦ περὶ ὀλίγῳ πρότερον τοῦτων μνήμην ἐποιεύμην, οὐδὲ οὗτος προσωτέρω Ἰσσηδόνων ἐν αὐτοῖς τοῖς ἔπεσι ποιέων ἐφήσε ἀπικέσθαι, ἀλλὰ τὰ κατύπερθε ἐλεγε ἀκόη, φας Ἰσσηδόνας εἶναι τοὺς ταῦτα λέγοντας. ἀλλ’ ὅσον μὲν ἡμεῖς ἀτρεκέως ἐτὶ μακρότατον οὐοὶ τε ἐγενόμεθα ἀκοὴ ἐξικέσθαι, πάν eιρήστεται.

17. Ἀπὸ τοῦ Βορυσθενειτέων ἐμπορίου (τοῦτο γὰρ τῶν παραθαλασσίων μεσαίτατον ἐστὶ πάσης τῆς Σκυθίης), ἀπὸ τοῦτον πρῶτοι Καλλιτῳπίδαι νέμονται ἐόντες Ἐλληνες Σκύθαι, ύπὲρ δὲ τούτων ἄλλο ἐθνος οὗ Ἀλαζόνες καλέονται. οὕτωι δὲ καὶ
beside it a statue bearing the name of Aristeas the Proconnesian; for, he said, Apollo had come to their country alone of all Italiot lands, and he himself—who was now Aristeas, but then when he followed the god had been a crow—had come with him. Having said this, he vanished away. The Metapontines, so they say, sent to Delphi and inquired of the god what the vision of the man might be; and the Pythian priestess bade them obey the vision, saying that their fortune would be the better; having received which answer they did as commanded. And now there stands beside the very image of Apollo a statue bearing the name of Aristeas; a grove of laurels surrounds it; the image is set in the market-place. Suffice it then that I have said thus much of Aristeas.

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

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

¹ Another Milesian colony, called by Greeks generally Olbia (the Fortunate) or Miletopolis; it was the most important Greek centre north of the Euxine.
οι Καλλιπίδαι τά μὲν ἄλλα κατὰ ταύτα Σκύθησι ἐπασκέουσι, σίτον δὲ καὶ σπείρουσι καὶ σιτέονται, καὶ κρόμμως καὶ σκόροδα καὶ φακοῦς καὶ κέγχρους. ὑπὲρ δὲ Ἀλαξόνων οἰκέουσι Σκύθαι ἀροτῆρες, οὐκ ἐπὶ σιτίσι σπείρουσι τόν σίτον ἄλλ' ἐπὶ πρῆσι, τούτων δὲ κατύπερθε οἰκέουσι Νευροί. Νευρῶν δὲ τὸ πρὸς βορένην άνεμον ἔρημον ἀνθρώπων, ὅσον ἦμεις ἤδημεν.

18. Ταύτα μὲν παρὰ τὸν"Τπανιων ποταμῶν ἐστὶ ἐθνεα πρὸς ἑσπέρης τοῦ Βορυσθένεος· ἀτὰρ διαβάντο τοὺν Βορυσθένεα ἀπὸ θαλάσσης πρῶτον μὲν ἡ Ὀλβιοπόλιται, οὔτοι δὲ ταύτης ἄνω ίσοντι οἰκέουσι Σκύθαι γεωργοί, τοὺς" Ἑλληνες οἱ οἰκέοντες ἐπὶ τῷ Τπάνι ποταμῷ καλέουσι Βορυσθενεύτας, σφέας δὲ αὐτοὺς Ὁλβιοπόλιται, οὔτοι δὲν οἱ γεωργοὶ Σκύθαι νέμονται τὸ μὲν πρὸς τὴν ἡδ' ἐπὶ τρεῖς ἠμέρας ὁδοῦ, κατήκοντες ἐπὶ ποταμὸν τῷ οὐνομα κεῖται Παντικάπης τὸ δὲ πρὸς βορένην ἄνεμον πλόον ἀνὰ τὸν Βορυσθένεα ἠμερέων έυδεκα. ἡδ' δὲ κατύπερθε τούτων ἡ ἔρημος ἐστὶ ἐπὶ πολλῶν, μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἔρημον Ἀνδροφάγου οἰκέουσι, ἔθνος ἐνν' ἴδιον καὶ οὐδαμῶς Σκυθικὸν. τὸ δὲ τούτων κατύπερθε ἔρημον ἡδ' ἀληθέως καὶ ἔθνος ἀνθρώπων οὐδέν, ὅσον ἦμεις ἤδημεν.

19. Τὸ δὲ πρὸς τὴν ἡδ' τῶν γεωργῶν τούτων Σκυθέων, διαβάντο τὸν Παντικάπην ποταμῶν, νομάδες ἡδ' Σκύθαι νέμονται, οὔτε τι σπείροντες οὐδέν οὔτε ἄροντες· ψίλη δὲ δεινόρων ἢ πᾶσα αὐτὴ τλῇ τῆς Ὀλβιοπόλεως. οἱ δὲ νομάδες οὔτοι τὸ πρὸς τὴν ἡδ' ἠμερέων τεσσάρων καὶ δέκα ὄδον νέμονται χώρην κατατείνουσαν ἐπὶ ποταμὸν Γέρρου.

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

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

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

20. Across the Gerrus are those lands called

1 The Bug.  2 Not identified.  3 Not identified.
μενα βασιλήμα ἐστὶ καὶ Σκύθαι οἱ ἀριστοὶ τε καὶ
πλείστοι καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους νομιζόντες Σκύθας δοῦ-
λους σφετέρους εἶναι κατήκουσι δὲ οὕτω τὸ μὲν
πρὸς μεσαμβρίην ἐς τὴν Ταυρικήν, τὸ δὲ πρὸς ἡ
ἐπὶ τε τάφρον, τὴν δὴ οἱ ἐκ τῶν τυφλῶν γενόμενοι
ὡρυξαν, καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς Λίμνης τῆς Μαινητίδος τὸ
ἐμπόριον τὸ καλέσται Κρημμυοῖ. τὰ δὲ αὐτῶν κατή-
κουσι ἐπὶ ποταμὸν Τάναιν. τὰ δὲ κατύπερθε
πρὸς βορέθην ἀνέμου τῶν βασιληίων Σκυθέων οἰκέ-
ουσί Μελάγχλαινοι, ἀλλο ἔθνος καὶ οὖ Σκυθικοῦ.
Μελαγχλαίων δὲ τὸ κατύπερθε λίμναι καὶ ἔρημος
ἐστὶ ἀνθρώπων, κατόσον ἤμεις ὑδειν.
21. Τάναιν δὲ ποταμὸν διαβάντι οὐκέτι Σκυ-
θική, ἀλλ' ἡ μὲν πρώτῃ τῶν λαξίων Σαυροματέων
ἐστὶ, οὗ ἐκ τοῦ μυχοῦ ἀρξάμενοι τῆς Μαινητίδος
Λήμνης νέμονται τὸ πρὸς βορέθην ἀνέμου ἠμέρῳ
πεντεκαίδεκα ὅδον, πᾶσαν ἐσύναν ψυλὴν καὶ
ἀγρίων καὶ ἤμερων δενδρέων ὑπεροικέουσι δὲ
tούτων δευτέρην λάξιν ἔχοντες Βουδίνωι, γῆν νεμό-
μενοι πᾶσαν δασέαν ὑλή παντοίῃ.
22. Βουδίνωι δὲ κατύπερθε πρὸς βορέθην ἐστὶ
πρώτῃ μὲν ἔρημος ἐπὶ ἠμέρῳ ἐπὶ τὰ ὅδον, μετὰ δὲ
τὴν ἄρχον ἀποκλίνοντι μᾶλλον πρὸς ἀπηλιώτην
ἀνέμου νέμονται Θυσσαγέται, ἔθνος πολλὸν καὶ
ἵδιον. ξώσι δὲ ἀπὸ θῆρης. συνεχέες δὲ τούτοις
ἐν τοῖς αὐτοῖς τόποις κατοικημένοι εἰσὶ τοὺς
σύνομα κείται Ἰύρκαι, καὶ οὕτου ἀπὸ θῆρης ξώσεις
τρόπω τοιῷδε. λοχά ἐπὶ δένδρεον ἀναβαίνει, τὰ δὲ
ἐστὶ πυκνὰ ἀνὰ πᾶσαν τὴν χώρην. ἐπιτοις δὲ
ἐκαστῷ δεδιδαγμένος ἐπὶ γαστέρα κείσθαι ταπει-
nότητος εἰνεκα ἔτοιμος ἐστὶ καὶ κύων ἐπεάν δὲ
ἀπῖδη τὸ θηρίου ἀπὸ τοῦ δενδρέου, τοξεύσας ἐπι-
Royal, where are the best and most in number of the Scythians, who deem all other Scythians their slaves; their territory stretches southward to the Tauric land, and eastward to the fosse that was dug by the sons of the blind men, and on the Maeetian lake to the port called The Cliffs; and part of it stretches to the river Tanais. Above the Royal Scythians to the north dwell the Blackcloaks, who are of another and not a Scythian stock; and beyond the Blackcloaks the land is all marshes and uninhabited by men, so far as we know.

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

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

1 Apparently on the west coast of the Sea of Azov; cp. 110.
Βάς ἐπὶ τὸν ἵππον διώκει, καὶ ὁ κύων ἔχεται. ὑπὲρ δὲ τούτων τὸ πρὸς τὴν ἥδω ἀποκλίνοντι οἰκέουσι Σκῦθαι ἄλλοι, ἀπὸ τῶν βασιλείων Σκυθέων ἀποστάντες καὶ οὐτῳ ἀπικόμενοι ἐς τοῦτον τὸν χώρων.

23. Μέχρι μὲν δὴ τῆς τούτων τῶν Σκυθέων χώρης ἔστι ἡ καταλεγθεῖσα πᾶσα πεδιάς τε γῆ καὶ βαθύγαιος, τὸ δ’ ὕπο τοῦτον λιθώδης τ’ ἐστὶ καὶ τρηχαί. διεξελθόντι δὲ καὶ τῆς τρηχής χώρης πολλὸν οἰκέουσι ὑπώρεαν ὄρεων ὑψηλῶν ἄνθρωποι λεγόμενοι εἰναι πάντες φαλάκροι ἐκ γενετής γυνόμενοι, καὶ ἔρσειες καὶ θῆλεια ὁμοίως, καὶ σμοῖς καὶ γένεια ἔχουσες μεγάλα, φωνῇ δὲ ἰδίῃν ἱέντες, ἐσθῆτι δὲ χρεώμενοι Σκυθική, ἱώτες δὲ ἀπὸ δευδρέων. ποντικῶν μὲν οἴνομα τῷ δευδρῷ ὕπο οὖ ξύσι, μέγαθος δὲ κατὰ συκεῖν μάλιστα κη. καρπῶν δὲ φορέει κύαμορ ἵσον, πυρῆνα δὲ ἔχει. τοῦτο ἐπεάν γένηται πέπον, σακκέουσι ἰματίσαι, ἀπορρέει δὲ ἀπ’ αὐτοῦ παχύ καὶ μέλαν οἰνόμα δὲ τῷ ἀπορρέοντι ἐστὶ ἀσχυν. τούτο καὶ λείχουσι καὶ γάλακτι συμμίσγουσες πίνουσι, καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς παχύτητος αὐτοῦ τῆς τρυγος παλάθεισας συνιθεῖσι καὶ ταύτας σιτεύονται. πρόβατα γὰρ σφι οὐ πολλά ἐστιν οὐ γὰρ τι σπουδαῖα αἰ νομαί αὐτόθι εἰςί. ὑπὸ δευδρέω δὲ ἐκαστὸς κατοίκηται, τὸν μὲν χειμῶνα ἐπεάν τὸ δευδρεῖον περικαλύψῃ πίλῳ στεγνῷ λευκῷ, τὸ δὲ θέρος ἀνευ πίλον. τούτους οὖδεὶς ἀδικεῖει ἄνθρωπων ἱροὶ γὰρ λέγονται εἰναι οὖδέ τι ἀρήνων ὁπλον ἐκτέαται. καὶ τούτο μὲν τοῖς περιοικόντων οὕτοι εἰςὶ οἱ τὰς διαφορὰς.
bow and mounts his horse and pursues after it, till the dog grips the prey. Beyond these and somewhat towards the east dwell Scythians again, who revolted from the Royal Scythians and so came to this country.

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

1 The fruit of the "Prunus Padus" is said to be made by the Cossacks into a drink called "atschi."
διαίρεοντες, τούτο δὲ ὃς ἂν φεύγων καταφύγῃ ἔστε τούτους, ὑπ' οὐδενὸς ἀδικεῖται. οὖνομα δὲ σφι ἐστὶ Ἀργυππαῖοι.

24. Μέχρι μὲν ὑν τῶν φαλακρῶν τούτων πολλὴ περιφανείᾳ τῆς χώρης ἐστὶ καὶ τῶν ἐμπροσθετῶν· καὶ γὰρ Σκυθέων τυνὲς ἀπικεύονται ἐς αὐτούς, τῶν οὐ χαλεπῶν ἐστὶ πυθέσθαι καὶ Ἐλλήνων τῶν ἐκ Βορυσθένεος τε ἐμπορίου καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Ποινικῶν ἐμπορίων· Σκυθέων δὲ οἷς ἂν ἔλθωσι ἐς αὐτούς, δι’ ἐπτὰ ἐρμηνεύων καὶ δι’ ἐπτὰ γλωσσέων διαπρῆσονται.

25. Μέχρι μὲν ὑν τούτων γινώσκεται, τὸ δὲ τῶν φαλακρῶν κατύπερθε οὐδεὶς ἀτρεκέως οἷς φράσαι. ὅρεα γὰρ ὕψηλα ἀποτάμνει ἀβατα καὶ οὐδεὶς σφεα ὑπερβαίνει. οἱ δὲ φαλακροὶ οὐτοί λέγουσι, ἐμοὶ μὲν οὐ πιστὰ λέγουστε, οἰκείεν τὰ ὅρεα αἰγίπδας ἀνδρας, ὑπερβάντι δὲ τούτους ἀνθρώπους ἄλλους οἱ τὴν ἐξαίρεσιν κατεύθυνοί. τούτο δὲ οὐκ ἐνδεκομαὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν, ἀλλὰ τὸ μὲν πρὸς ἦν τῶν φαλακρῶν γινώσκεται ἀτρεκέως ὑπὸ Ἰσσηδόνων οἰκεομενον, τὸ μέντοι κατύπερθε πρὸς βορέην ἄνεμον οὐ γινώσκεται οὔτε τῶν φαλακρῶν οὔτε τῶν Ἰσσηδόνων, εἰ μὴ ὡσα αὐτῶν τούτων λεγόντων.

26. Νόμοισι δὲ Ἰσσηδόνες τοίσιδε λέγονται χρᾶσθαι. ἔπειαν ἄνδρι ἀποθανυν πατήρ, οἱ προσηκοντες πάντες προσάγουσι πρόβατα, καὶ ἐπείτα ταῦτα θύσαντες καὶ κατατάμνουσι τὰ κρέα κατατάμνουσι καὶ τὸν τοῦ δεκομένου τεθνεώτα γονέα, ἀναμίκαντες δὲ πάντα τὰ κρέα δαίτα προτίθενται· τὴν δὲ κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ ψιλόσαντες καὶ ἐκκαθήραντες καταχρυσώσι καὶ ἐπείτα ἄτε ἀγάλματι χρέωσται, θυσίας μεγάλας ἐπετείους ἐπιτελέοντες.
ever banished man has taken refuge with them is wronged by none. They are called Argippeans.

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

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

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

27. Γινώσκονται μὲν δὴ καὶ οὕτωι, τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦτων τὸ κατύπερθε Ἰσσηδόνες εἰσὶ οἱ λέγοντες μουνοφθάλμους ἄνθρώπους καὶ χρυσοφύλακας γρύπας ἐιναὶ παρὰ δὲ τούτων Σκύθαι παραλαβόντες λέγουσι, παρὰ δὲ Σκυθέων ἡμεῖς οἱ ἄλλοι νεομικαρέαι καὶ νικόμαζομεν αὐτοῦς σκυθιστὶ Ἀριμασποῦς· ἀριμα γὰρ ἐν καλέουσι Σκύθαι, στοῖ δὲ ὀφθαλμῶν.

28. Δυσχείμερος δὲ αὐτὴ ἡ καταλεχθεῖσα πᾶσα χώρη οὕτω δὴ τι ἐστὶ, ἐνθα τοὺς μὲν ὅκτῳ τῶν μηνῶν ἀφόρητος οἶος γίνεται κρυμός, ἐν τοῖς ύδωρ ἐκχεῶν πηλὼν οὐ ποιήσεις, πῦρ δὲ ἀνακαίων ποιήσεις πηλὼν. ἡ δὲ θάλασσα πήγεται καὶ ὁ Βόσπορος πᾶς ὁ Κυμέριος, καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ κρυστάλλου οἱ ἐντὸς τάφρου Σκύθαι κατοικημένοι στρατεύονται καὶ τὰς ἀμάξας ἐπελαύνουσι πέριν ἐς τοὺς Σίνδους. οὕτω μὲν δὴ τοὺς ὅκτῳ μῆνας διατελεῖς χειμῶν ἑώς, τοὺς δὲ ἐπιλοίπους τέσσερας ψύχεα αὐτόθι ἐστὶ. κεχώρισται δὲ οὕτος ὁ χειμῶν τοὺς τρόπους πᾶσι τοῖς ἐν ἄλλοις χωρίσεις γινομένοις χειμῶνί, ἐν τῷ τὴν μὲν ὀραίην οὐκ ὑπὲρ λόγου ἄξιον οὐδέν, τὸ δὲ θέρος ὑπὸ οὐκ ἀνεῖ. βρονταῖ τε ἡμοὶ τῇ ἀλλῇ γίνονται, τηνικαῦτα μὲν οὐ γίνονται, θέρεος δὲ ἀμφιλαφεῖς· ἦν δὲ χειμῶνος βροντή γένεται, ὡς τέρας νεομίσται θωμαξισθαι. ὡς δὲ καὶ ἡν σεισμὸς γένεται ἦν τε θέρεος ἦν τε χειμῶνος ἐν τῇ Σκυθικῇ, τέρας νεομίσται. ἦπποι δὲ ἀνεχόμενοι φέρουσι τὸν χειμῶνα τοῦτον, ἡμίονοι

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

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

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

29. Δοκεῖ δὲ μοι καὶ τὸ γένος τῶν βοῶν τὸ κόλπον διὰ ταῦτα οὐ φύειν κέρεα αὐτόθι· μαρτυρεῖ δὲ μοι τῇ γνώμη καὶ Ὄμηρον ἔπος ἐν Ἰονισσείᾳ ἔχον δὲ,

καὶ Διβύνην, ὅθ’ τ’ ἄρνες ἀφαν κεραοὶ τελέθουσι,

ὄρθως εἰρημένου, ἐν τοῖς θερμοῖς ταχὺ παραγινεσθαι τὰ κέρεα, ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἵπποις ψύχεισι οὐ φύειν κέρεα τὰ· κτήνεα ἀρχὴν ἢ φύοντα φύειν μόνοις.

30. Ἐνθαῦτα μὲν νυν διὰ τὰ ψύχεα γίνεται ταῦτα. θωμάξω δὲ (προσθήκας γὰρ δὴ μοι ὁ λόγος ἐξ ἀρχὴς ἐδίκητο) ὅτι ἐν τῇ Ἰλείᾳ πάσῃ χώρῃ οὗ δυνᾶται γίνεσθαι ἥμιονοι, οὐτε ψυχροῦ τοῦ χώρου ἐόντος οὐτε ἄλλου φανεροῦ αἰτίου οὐδενὸς. φασὶ δὲ αὐτοῖς Ἰλείοις ἐκ κατάρχης τευ οὐ γίνεσθαι σφίσι ἥμιονος, ἀλλ’ ἐπειδ’ ἐποιήσε ἡ ὠρὴ κυνισκεσθαι τὰς ἱππους, ἐξελαύνουσι ἐς τοὺς πλησιοχώρους αὐτάς, καὶ ἐπειτὰ σφι ἐν τῇ τῶν πέλας ἐπιείσι τοὺς ὄνους, ἐς οὐ ἄν σχῶσι αἰ ἱπποὶ ἐν γαστρὶ· ἐπειτὰ δὲ ἀπελαύνουσι.

31. Περὶ δὲ τῶν πτερῶν τῶν Σκύθων λέγουσι ἀνάπλεον εἶναι τῶν ἡέρα. καὶ τούτων εἴνεκα οὐκ οἱ οἶον τε εἶναι οὕτε ἒλθην τὸ πρόσω τῆς ἤπειρου οὐτε διεξεῖναι, τήνυπε ἔχω περὶ αὐτῶν γνώμην· τὰ κατύπερθε ταύτης τῆς χώρης αἰεὶ νύφεται, ἐλάσσονι δὲ τοῦ θέρεσι· τοῦ χειμώνος, ὥστε καὶ ὁικός. ἡδὴ ὃν ὅστις ἀγχόθεν χιόνα ἀδρὴν πύπτουσαν 228
and asses cannot at all bear it; yet in other lands, whereas asses and mules can endure frost, horses that stand in it are frostbitten.

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

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

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

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

31. But as touching the feathers whereof the Scythians say that the air is full, insomuch that none can see or traverse the land beyond, I hold this opinion. Northward of that country snow falls continually, though less in summer than in winter, as is to be expected. Whoever has seen snow falling thickly near him knows of himself my meaning; for
καὶ διὰ τὸν χειμώνα τούτον ἐόντα τοιούτου ἀνοί̂-
κητα τὰ πρὸς βορέων ἐστὶ τῆς ἥπειρου ταύτης. 
τὰ ὅν πτερὰ εἰκάζοντας τὴν χιόνα τοὺς Σκύθας 
καὶ τοὺς περιοίκους δοκέω λέγειν. ταῦτα μὲν νῦν 
τὰ λέγεται μακρότατα εὑρίσκει.

32. "Ὑπερβορέων δὲ πέρι ἀνθρώπων οὔτε τι 
Σκύθαι λέγουσι οὐδὲν οὔτε τινὲς ἄλλοι τῶν ταύτη 
οἰκημένων, εἰ μὴ ἄρα Ἰσσηδόνες. ὃς δὲ ἐγὼ 
δοκέω, οὐδ’ οὕτω λέγουσι οὐδέν· ἐλέγον γὰρ ἂν 
καὶ Σκύθαι, ὥς περὶ τῶν μονοφθάλμων λέγουσι. 
ἀλλ’ Ἡσιόδῳ μὲν ἐστὶ περὶ Ὕπερβορέων εἰρή-
μένα, ἐστὶ δὲ καὶ Ὀμήρῳ ἐν Ἐπιγόνους, εἰ δὴ τῷ 
ἔόντι γε ὁ Ομήρος ταῦτα τὰ ἔπεα ἐποίησε.

33. Πολλῷ δὲ τι πλείστα περὶ αὐτῶν Δήλου 
λέγουσι, φάμενοι ίρὰ ἐνδεδεμένα ἐν καλάμῃ πυρῶν
ἐξ Ὕπερβορέων φερόμενα ἀπίκνεσθαι ἐς Σκύθας,
ἀπὸ δὲ Σκυθέων ἦδη δεκομένους αἰεὶ τοὺς πλησιο-
χώρους ἐκάστους κομίζειν αὐτὰ τὸ πρὸς ἐσπέρης
ἐκαστάτῳ ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀδρίνην, ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ πρὸς
μεσαμβρήν προπεμπόμενα πρῶτοι Δωδώναίους
Ἐλλήνων δέκεσθαι, ἀπὸ δὲ τούτων καταβαίνειν
ἐπὶ τὸν Μηλία κόλπον καὶ διαπορεύεσθαι ἐς
Εὔβοιαν, πόλιν τε ἐς πόλιν πέμπει πέρι Ἁρυ-
στού, τὸ δ’ ἀπὸ ταύτης ἐκλιπεῖν 'Ανδρον. Ἡρω-
στίους γὰρ εἶναι τοὺς κομίζοντας ἐς Τῆνον,
Τηνίους δὲ ἐς Δήλον. ἀπικνέσθαι μὲν νῦν οὕτω
the snow is like feathers; and by reason of the winter, which is such as I have said, the parts to the north of this continent are uninhabited. I think therefore that in this tale of feathers the Scythians and their neighbours do but speak of snow in a figure. Thus then I have spoken of those parts that are said to be most distant.

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

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

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

2 This Delian story about the Hyperboreans is additional evidence of the known fact that trade routes from the earliest times linked northern with south-eastern Europe. Amber in especial was carried from the Baltic to the Aegean.
ταύτα τὰ ἵρα λέγουσι ἐς Δῆλον· πρῶτον δὲ τοὺς Ἡρώδωνος πέμψαι φερούσας τὰ ἵρα δύο κόρας, τὰς ὁνομάζουσι Δήλιοι εἶναι Ἡρώδωνος τοις καὶ Λαοδίκης ἄμα δὲ αὐτῆς ἄσφαλείς εἴνεκεν πέμψαι τοὺς Ἡρώδωνος τῶν ἄστων ἀνδρας πέντε πομποὺς, τούτους οἳ νῦν Περφερεῖς καλέονται τιμᾶς μεγάλας ἐν Δῆλῳ ἢχουτεσ. ἔτει δὲ τούς Ἡρώδωνος τοὺς ἀποπεμφθέντας ὅπισώ οὐκ ἀπονοστείειν, δεινά ποιευμένους εἰ σφέας αἰεὶ καταλάμψεται ἀποστέλλοντας μὴ ἀποδέκεσθαι, οὔτω δὴ φέροντας ἐς τοὺς οὐροὺς τὰ ἵρα ἐνδεδεμένα ἐν πυρῶν καλάμη τοὺς πλησιοχώρους ἐπισκήπτειν κελεύοντας προσπέμπειν σφέα ἀπὸ ἑωτῶν ὡς ἀλλὸ ἔθνος. καὶ ταύτα μὲν οὕτω προπεμπόμενα ἀπικνέσθαι λέγουσι ἐς Δῆλον. οἶδα δὲ αὐτὸς τούτους τοῖς ἵροις τὸ ὑδερόμενα προσφερέσ, τὰς Ἰορκίας καὶ τὰς Παιονίδας γυναῖκας, ἐπεαὶ θύσι τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι τῇ βασιλείῃ, οὐκ ἀνευ πυρῶν καλάμης ἢχουσας τὰ ἵρα.

34. Καὶ ταύτα μὲν δὴ ταύτας οἶδα ποιεύσας· τῆσι δὲ παρθένους ταύτης τῆσι εἴς Ἡρώδωνος τελευτησάσθησι ἐν Δῆλῳ κείρονται καὶ αἱ κόραι καὶ οἱ παῖδες οἱ Δηλίων· αἱ μὲν πρὸ γὰρ πυρὸν πλοκαμον ἀποταμώμεναι καὶ περὶ ἀτρακτὸν εἰλίξασαι ἔπι τὸ σήμα τιθέεσθι (τὸ δὲ σήμα ἐστὶ ἐσώ ἐς τῷ Ἀρτέμισιον ἐσιόντι ἀριστέρης χειρός· ἐπιπέδυκε δὲ οἱ ἐλαίη), ὅσιοι δὲ παῖδες τῶν Δηλίων, πρὸ χλόην τινὰ εἰλίξαντες τῶν τριχῶν τιθεῖσι καὶ οὕτωι ἔπι τὸ σήμα.

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

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

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

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1 That is, probably, the Bearers.
νοσ εξ 'Τπερβορέων κατὰ τοὺς αὐτοὺς τοὺτος ἀνθρώπους πορευομένας ἀπικέσθαι ἐς Δήλον ἔτι πρότερον 'Τπερόχθης τε καὶ Δασδίκης. ταύτας μὲν νυν τῇ Ἐἰλειθυίᾳ ἀποφευρύσας ἀντὶ τοῦ ὁκυτόκου τὸν ἐτάξαντο φόρον ἀπικέσθαι, τὴν δὲ "Ἀργην τε καὶ τὴν Ὄπιν ἀμα αὐτοῖς θεοῖς ἀπικέσθαι λέγουσι καὶ σφι τιμᾶς ἄλλας δεδόσθαι πρὸς σφέων καὶ γὰρ ἀγείρειν σφι τὰς γυναῖκας ἐπονομαζοῦσας τὰ συνόματα ἐν τῷ ὤμοι τὸν σφι Ὄπιν ἄνὴρ Δύκιος ἐποίησε, παρά δὲ σφέων μαθόντας νησιώτας τε καὶ Ἰωνᾶς ὑμνεῖν Ὄπιν τε καὶ "Ἀργην ὄνομάζοντάς τε καὶ ἀγείροντας (οὕτος δὲ Ὅπιν καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους τοὺς παλαιοὺς ὄμοις ἐποίησε ἐκ Δυκίης ἐλθὼν τοὺς ἀειδομένους ἐν Δήλῳ), καὶ τῶν μηρίων καταγιζομένων ἐπὶ τῷ βωμῷ τὴν σποδῶν ταύτην ἐπὶ τὴν θήκην τῆς Ὅπιος τε καὶ "Ἀργης ἀνασιμοῦνθαι ἐπιβαλλομένην. ἥ δὲ θήκη αὐτέων ἐστὶ ὁπισθε τοῦ Ἀρτεμισίου, πρὸς ὡς τετραμμενή, ἀγχοτάτω τοῦ Κηλὼν ἱστητορίου. 36. Καὶ ταύτα μὲν 'Τπερβορέων πέρι εἰρήσθω τοῦ γὰρ περὶ Ἀβάριος λόγον τοῦ λεγομένου εἶναι 'Τπερβορέους οὐ λέγω, ὡς τὸν ὀστὸν περιέφερε κατὰ πᾶσαν γῆν οὐδὲν σιτεόμενος, εἰ δὲ εἰς ὑπερβόρεοι τινὲς ἀνθρώπους, εἰς καὶ ὑπερυνότιοι ἄλλοι. γελῶ δὲ ὀρέων γῆς περιόδους γράφωντας πολλοὺς ἡδῆ καὶ οὔδενα νουνεχόντως ἐξηγησάμενον οὐ Ὀκεανῶ τε ῥέοντα ἡγάπουσι πέριξ τὴν γῆν ἑσοῦσαν κυκλοτερέα ὡς ὑπὸ τόρνου, καὶ τὴν Ἀσίην τῇ Εὐρώπῃ ποιεύουσι ὅσην. ἐν δὲ δολοΐς δηλώσω μεγαθός τε ἐκάστης αὐτέων καὶ οὐθ τις ἐστὶ ἐς γραφὴν ἐκάστη. 234
Hyperboreans by way of the peoples aforesaid to Delos, yet earlier than the coming of Hyperoche and Laodice; these latter came to bring to Ilithyia the tribute where to they had agreed for ease of child-bearing; but Arge and Opis, they say, came with the gods themselves, and received honours of their own from the Delians. For the women collected gifts for them, calling upon their names in the hymn made for them by Olen a man of Lycia; it was from Delos that the islanders and Ionians learnt to sing hymns to Opis and Arge, calling upon their names and collecting gifts (this Olen after his coming from Lycia made also the other and ancient hymns that are sung at Delos). Further they say that when the thighbones are burnt in sacrifice on the altar, the ashes of them are all used for casting on the burial-place of Opis and Arge, which burial-place is behind the temple of Artemis, looking eastwards, nearest to the refectory of the people of Ceos.

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

1 Apollo and Artemis, probably.
37. Πέρσαι οἰκέουσι κατηκοντες ἐπὶ τὴν νοτίην θάλασσαν τὴν Ἔρυθρὴν καλεομένην, τούτων δὲ ύπεροικέουσι πρὸς βορεῖν ἀνεμον Μῆδων, Μῆδων δὲ Σάσπειρες, Σάσπειρον δὲ Κόλχων κατηκοντες ἐπὶ τὴν βορείην θάλασσαν, ἐς τὴν Ψάσις ποταμὸς ἐκδιδοῖ. ταύτα τέσσερα ἔθνεα οἰκεῖει ἐκ θαλάσσης ἐς θάλασσαν.

38. Ἐνθεύτευν δὲ τὸ πρὸς ἑσπέρης ἀκταὶ διφάσαι ἀπ' αὐτῆς κατατείνουσι ἐς θάλασσαν, τάς ἐγὼ ἀπηγήσομαι· ἐνθεύει μὲν ἡ ἀκτὴ ἡ ἐτέρῃ τὰ πρὸς βορεῖν ἀπὸ Φάσιος ἀρξαμένη παρατέταται ἐς θάλασσαν παρὰ τε τοῦ Πόντου καὶ τοῦ Ἐλλησποντον μέχρι Σιγείου τοῦ Τροικοῦ· τὰ δὲ πρὸς νότου ἡ αὐτὴ αὐτὴ ἀκτὴ ἀπὸ τοῦ Μυριανδικοῦ κόλπου τοῦ πρὸς Φοινίκη κειμένου τεῖνε τὰ ἐς θάλασσαν μέχρι Τρισπίου ἀκρῆς. οἰκεῖει δὲ ἐν τῇ ἀκτῇ ταύτῃ ἔθνεα ἀνθρώπων τριήκοντα.

39. Ἀὐτὴ μὲν νυν ἡ ἐτέρῃ τῶν ἀκτῶν, ἡ δὲ δὴ ἐτέρῃ ἀπὸ Περσέων ἀρξαμένη παρατέταται ἐς τὴν Ἔρυθρὴν θάλασσαν, ἡ τε Περσικὴ καὶ ἀπὸ ταύτης ἐκδεκομένη, ἡ Ἀσσυρία καὶ ἀπὸ Ἀσσυρίας ἡ Ἀραβία· λίγηι δὲ αὐτῇ, οὐ λίγονως εἰ μὴ νόμῳ, ἐς τὸν κόλπον τὸν Ἀράβιον, ἐς τὸν Δαρεῖος ἐκ τοῦ Νείλου διώρυγα ἐστίναγε. μέχρι μὲν μιᾶς Φοινίκης ἀπὸ Περσέων χῶδος πλατὺς καὶ πολλὸς ἐστιν· τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ Φοινίκης παρήκει διὰ τῆς θαλάσσης ἡ ἀκτὴ αὐτὴ παρὰ τε Συρίῃ τῆς Παλαιστίνην καὶ Αἰγυπτιον, ἐς τὴν τελευταίαν ἐν τῇ ἔθνεα ἐστὶ τρία μοῦνα.

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

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

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

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

\(^1\) Here, the Black Sea; in 42, the "northern sea" is the Mediterranean.
41. Τοιαύτη μὲν καὶ τοσαύτη ἡ Ἀσίη ἔστι, ἡ δὲ Διβύη ἐν τῇ ἁκτῇ τῇ ἐστέρῃ ἔστι· ἀπὸ γὰρ Αἰγύπτου Διβύη ἤδη ἐκδεκεται. κατὰ μὲν οὖν Αἰγύπτου ἡ ἁκτῇ αὐτὴ στεινή ἔστι· ἀπὸ γὰρ τῆς θαλάσσης ἐς τὴν Ἐρυθράθην θάλασσαν δέκα μυριάδες εἰσὶ ὀργυλεών, αὐτὰ δὲ ἄν εἴειν χίλιοι στάδιοι· τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ στεινοῦ τοῦτον κάρτα πλατέα τυγχάνει ἐσόσα ἡ ἁκτῇ ἤτοι Διβύη κέκληται.

42. Θωμάζω δὲ τῶν διουρισάντων καὶ διελόντων Διβύην τε καὶ Ἀσίην καὶ Εὐρώπην· οὐ γὰρ σμικρὰ τὰ διαφέροντα αὐτέων ἔστι· μήκει μὲν γὰρ παρ’ ἀμφότερας παρὴκει ἡ Εὐρώπη, εὔρεσι δὲ πέρι οὖδε συμβάλλειν ἄξιη φαίνεται μοι εἶναι. Διβύη μὲν γὰρ δηλοῦ ἐσωθην 1 ἐσόσα περίπρουτος, πλὴν ὅσον αὐτὴς πρὸς τὴν Ἀσίην οὐρίζει. Νεκῶ τοῦ Αἰγυπτίων βασιλέως πρῶτον τῶν ἡμεῖς ἱδμεν καταδέξαντος· δὲ ἐπείτε τὴν διώρυχα ἐπαύσατο όρύσσων τὴν ἐκ τοῦ Νείλου διέχουσαν ἐς τὸν Ἀράβιον κόλπον, ἀπέπεψε Φοίνικας ἀνδρας πλοίοισι, ἑυτειλάμενος ἐς τὸ ὀπίσω δι’ Ἱφρακλέων στηλέων ἐκπλέειν ἑως ἐς τὴν βορηήν θαλάσσαν καὶ οὖτω ἐς Αἰγύπτου ἀπικνέεσθαι. ὀρμηθέντες δὲν οἱ Φοίνικες ἐκ τῆς Ἐρυθρῆς θαλάσσης ἐπλεον

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

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

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

τὴν νοτίην θάλασσαν ὡκώς δὲ γίνοιτο φθινό-
πωρον, προσαχόντες ἄν σπείροισκον τὴν γῆν, ἵνα
ἐκάστοτε τῆς Διβύης πλέοντες γινοιτο, καὶ με-
νεσκον τὸν ἄμαθον. θερίσαντες δ᾿ ἄν τὸν σιτὸν
ἐπλεον, ὥστε δύο ἐτέων διεξελθοῦσιν τρίτω ἔτει
κάμψαντες Ἡρακλέας στῆλας ἀπίκουσι ἐς Αἴ-
γυπτον. καὶ ἔλεγον ἐμοὶ μὲν ὦ πιστά, ἄλλω δὲ
δὴ τεᾳ, ὡς περιπλώοντες τὴν Διβύην τὸν ἦλιον
ἔσχον ἐς τὰ δεξιά.

43. Οὗτο μὲν αὐτῇ ἐγνώσθη τὸ πρῶτον, μετὰ
ἀδὲ Καρχηδόνιον εἰσὶ οἱ λέγοντες· ἔπει Σατάσπης
ἂν 'Αχαμπεύδης οὐ περιέπλωσε Διβύην, ἐπὶ ἄυτο τοῦτο πεμφθείς, ἀλλὰ δεῖσας
tὸ τε μῆκος τοῦ πλῶου καὶ τὴν ἐρημίην ἀπῆλθε
ὅπισω, οὐδὲ ἐπετέλεσε τὸν ἐπέταξέ οἱ ἡ μῆτηρ
Ἀθηλοῦ. θυγατέρα γὰρ Ζωπύρου τοῦ Μεγαβύζου
ἐβιήσατο παρθένου· ἐπειτὰ μέλλοντος αὐτοῦ διὰ
ταύτην τὴν αὐτὴν ἀνασκολοπιεῖσθαι ὑπὸ Ξέρξεω
βασιλέος, ἡ μῆτηρ τοῦ Σατάσπεος ἐούσα Δαρείου
ἀδελφῆς παραιτήσατο, φάσα ἀδι αὐτὴ μὲξ ἔρημην
ἐπιθῆσειν ἢ περ ἐκεῖνον· Διβύην γὰρ οἱ ἀνάγκην
ἐσεσθαι περιπλώειν, ἐς ὦ ἄν ἀπίκεται περιπλέων
ἀὐτῆν ἐς τὸν Ἀράβιων κόλπον. συγχωρήσαντος
dὲ Ξέρξεω ἐπὶ τούτοις, ὁ Σατάσπης ἀπικόμενος
eς Διγυπτον καὶ λάβων νέα τε καὶ νάυτας παρὰ
τοῦτων ἐπλεε ἐπὶ Ἡρακλέας στήλας· διεκπλώσας
dὲ καὶ κάμψας τὸ ἀκρωτήριον τῆς Διβύης τῷ
οὐνομα Ἐλούεις ἐστὶ, ἐπλεε πρὸς μεσαμβρίην· περί-

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

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

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

² Probably Cape Cantin, in the latitude of Madeira.
σας δὲ θάλασσαν πολλὴν ἐν πολλοῖς μησι, ἐπείτε τοῦ πλεῦνος αἰεὶ ἕδεε, ἀποστρέψας ὁπίσω ἀπέπλεε ἐς Αἰγυπτον. Ξέρξεα ἐλεγε φας τὰ προσωτάτῳ ἀνθρώπους μικροὺς παραπλέειν ἐσθῆτι φοινικῆθι διαχρωμένους, οἳ ὦκοσ σφεῖς καταγωγατο τῇ νῃ φεύγεσκον πρὸς τὰ ὄρεα λεύποντες τὰς πόλιας· αὐτοὶ δὲ ἀδικεῖν οὐδὲν ἐσιόντες, ἱθοτά δὲ μοῦνα ἐξ αὐτῶν λαμβάνειν. τοῦ δὲ μὴ περιπλῶσαι Λιβύην παντελέως αὐτίον τὸδε ἐλεγε, τὸ πλοῖον τὸ πρόσῳ οὖ δυνατὸν ἐτὶ εἶναι προβάσουν ἀλλ᾽ ἐνίοχεσθαι. Ἐξερξῆς δὲ οὐ οἱ συγγιμνόσκοι λέγειν ἀληθεὰ οὐκ ἐπιτελέσαντά τε τὸν προκείμενον ἀεθλὸν ἀνεσκολόπιςε, τὴν ἀρχαῖν δίκην ἐπιτιμῶν. τούτοι δὲ τοῦ Σατάσπεος εὐνοῦχος ἀπέδρη ἐς Σάμον, ἐπείτε ἐπύθετο τάχιστα τὸν δεσπότεα τετελευτηκότα, ἐχὼν χρήματα μεγάλα, τὰ Σάμιος ἀνὴρ κατέσχε, τὸν ἐπιστάμενος τὸ σύνομα ἐκὼν ἐπιλήθουμαι.

44. Τῆς δὲ Ἀσίης τὰ πολλὰ ὑπὸ Δαρείου ἐξευρέθη, ὃς βουλόμενος Ἰρνὸν ποταμὸν, ὃς κροκοδείλοις δεύτερος οὕτως ποταμῶν πάντων παρέχεται, τοῦτον τὸν ποταμὸν εἰδέναι τῇ ἐς θάλασσαν ἐκδίδοι, πέμπει πλοίοισι ἄλλους τε τοὺς ἐπίστευν τῇ ἀληθείᾳ ἐρέειν καὶ δὴ καὶ Σκύλακα ἄνδρα Καρναιδέα. οἳ δὲ ὀρμηθέντες ἐκ Κασπατύρου τε πόλιος καὶ τῆς Πακτυῖκῆς ὦς ἐπλεοῦν κατὰ ποταμῶν πρὸς ἡδο τε καὶ ἡλίου ἀνατολᾶς ἐς θάλασσαν, διὰ βαλκάσης δὲ πρὸς ἐσπέρην πλέοντες τριηκοστῷ μηνὶ ἀπικυνέονται ἐς τοῦτον τὸν χώρον οἶθεν ὁ Αἰγυπτίων βασιλεὺς τοὺς Φοινικάς τοὺς πρῶτον εἶπα ἀπέστειλε περιπλανέων Λιβύην. μετὰ

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

44. But as to Asia, most of it was discovered by Darius. There is a river Indus, in which so many crocodiles are found that only one river in the world has more. Darius, desiring to know where this Indus issues into the sea, sent ships manned by Sylax, a man of Caryanda, and others in whose word he trusted; these set out from the city Caspatyrus and the Pactyic country, and sailed down the river towards the east and the sunrise till they came to the sea; and voyaging over the sea westwards, they came in the thirtieth month to that place whence the Egyptian king sent the Phoenicians afore-mentioned to sail round Libya. After
δὲ τούτους περιπλώσαντας Ἰνδόυς τε κατεστρέψατο Δαρείος καὶ τῇ θαλάσσῃ ταύτῃ ἔχρατο, οὔτω καὶ τῆς Ἀσίης, πλὴν τὰ πρὸς ἥλιον ἀνίσχοντα, τὰ ἀλλὰ ἀνεύρηται ὁμοία παρεχομένη τῇ Λιβύῃ.

45. Ἡ δὲ Εὐρώπη πρὸς οὐδαμῶν φανερῆ ἐστὶ γινωσκομένη, οὔτε τὰ πρὸς ἥλιον ἀνατέλλοντα οὔτε τὰ πρὸς βορέιν, εἰ περίμετρος εστὶ· μήκει δὲ γινώσκεται παρ’ ἄμφοτέρα παρῆκουσα. οὐδ’ ἔχω συμβαλέσθαι ἐπ’ ὅτεν μὴ ἐνύχη γῆ οὐνόματα τριφάσια κέεται ἐπωνυμίας ἔχοντα γυναικῶν, καὶ οὐρίσματα αὐτῆς Νείλος τε ὁ Ἐλιγύπτιος ποταμὸς ἔτεθη καὶ Φάσις ὁ Κόλχος (οἱ δὲ Τάναιν ποταμὸν τὸν Μαυήτην καὶ πορθμία τὰ Κιμμέρια λέγουσιν), οὐδὲ τῶν διουρισάντων τὰ οὐνόματα πυθέσθαι, καὶ οὐθ’ ἔθεντο τὰς ἐπωνυμίας. ἦδη γὰρ Λιβύη μὲν ἐπὶ Λιβύης λέγεται ὑπὸ τῶν πολλῶν Ἐλληνῶν ἔχειν τὸ οὐνόμα γυναικὸς αὐτόχθωνος, ὡδ’ δὲ Ἀσίη ἐπὶ τῆς Προμηθέως γυναικὸς τῆς ἐπωνυμίας, καὶ τούτου μὲν μεταλαμβάνονται τοῦ οὐνόματος Λυδοί, φάμενοι ἐπὶ Ἀσίεως τοῦ Κότνου τοῦ Μάιεως κεκλησθαί τὴν Ἀσίην, ἀλλ’ οὐκ ἐπὶ τῆς Προμηθεοῦς Ἀσίης ἀπ’ ὅτεν καὶ τὴν ἐν Σάρδισι φυλήν κεκλησθαί Ἀσιάδα. ὡδ’ δὲ Εὐρώπη οὔτε εἰ περίμετρος ἐστὶ γινώσκεται πρὸς οὐδαμῶν ἀνθρώπων, οὔτε ὅκουθ’ τὸ οὐνόμα ἐλαβε τοῦτο, οὔτε ὅστις οὐ ἤν ὁ θέμενος φαίνεται, εἰ μὴ ἀπὸ τῆς Τυρίης φήσομεν Εὐρώπης λαβεῖν τὸ οὐνόμα τῆς χώρης πρότερον δὲ ἣν ἄρα ἀνώνυμος όσπερ αἱ ἐτεραι. ἀλλ’ αὐτὴ γε ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίης τε φαίνεται ἐούσα καὶ οὐκ ἀπικομένη ἐς τὴν γῆν ταύτην ἤτες νῦν ὑπὸ Ἐλληνῶν Εὐρώπη καλεῖται, ἀλλ’ ὅσον
this circumnavigation Darius subdued the Indians and made use of this sea. Thus was it discovered that Asia, saving the parts towards the rising sun, was in other respects like Libya.

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

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1 *cp. ch. 12.*

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

6. 'O de Póntos ó Euvexinos, éπ' ὑν εὐστατεύετο ὁ Δαρείος, χωρέων πασέων παρέχεται ἔξω τοῦ Σκυθικοῦ ἕθενα ἀμαθέστατα. οὔτε γὰρ ἔθνος τῶν ἐντὸς τοῦ Πόντου οὐδὲν ἔχομεν προβαλέσθαι σοφίς πέρι οὔτε ἀνδρα λόγιον οἴδαμεν γενόμενοι, πάρεξ τοῦ Σκυθικοῦ ἑθεοὺς καὶ Ἀναχάρσιος. τῷ δὲ Σκυθικῷ γένει ἐν μὲν τὸ μέγιστον τῶν ἀνθρωπών πριγμάτων σοφότατα πάντων ἐξεύρηται τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδομεν, τὰ μέντοι ἄλλα οὐκ ἀγιμαίνετο τὸ δὲ μέγιστον οὔτω σφὶ ἀνεύρηται ὡστε ἀποφυγεῖν τε μηδένα ἐπελθόντα ἐπὶ σφέας, μὴ βουλομένους τε ἐξευρεθήναι καταλαβεῖν μὴ οἴδον τε εἶναι. τοῖσι γὰρ μήτε ἅστεα μῆτε τέιχεα ἢ ἐκτισμένα, ἀλλὰ φερέοικοι ἑόντες πάντες ἐσθι ιπποτοξόται, ζωντες μὴ ἀπ' ἀρότου ἀλλ' ἀπὸ κτηνέων, οἰκήματὰ τε σφὶ ἢ ἐπὶ ξενηγεῶν, κῶς οὐκ ἄν εἴησαν οὕτοι ἀμαχοῖ τε καὶ ἀποροι προσμίσηνεν;

67. 'Εξεύρηται δὲ σφὶ ταῦτα τῆς τε γῆς ἑούσης ἐπιτηδείας καὶ τῶν ποταμῶν ἐούσων σφὶ συμμάχων. ἢ τε γὰρ γῆ ἑούσα πεδιάς αὐτῇ ποιώδης τε καὶ εὐνόδος ἐστὶ, ποταμοὶ τε δ' αὐτῆς ῥέουσιν οὐ πολλῷ τεῳ ἀριθμῷ ἐλάσσονες τῶν ἐν Ἀγγύπτῳ διωρύχων. ὡςώ δὲ όμοιοι τε εἰς αὐτῶν καὶ προσπλωτοὶ ἀπὸ θαλάσσης, τούτους ὀνομανεῖν ἐν ἱστρος μὲν πεντάστομος, μετὰ δὲ Τύρης τε καὶ Ἄπαντος καὶ Βορυσθένης καὶ Παντικάπης καὶ Ἄπαντος καὶ Γέρρου καὶ Τάναισ. ῥέουσι δὲ οἴδε κατὰ τάδε. ἢστρος μὲν, ἐοῦν μέγιστος ποταμῶν πάντων

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

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

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

48. The Ister, the greatest of all rivers known to
τῶν ἡμεῖς ὕδειν, ὡςοι αἰεὶ αὐτὸς ἐωυτῷ ὤει καὶ θέρεος καὶ χειμῶνος, πρῶτος ἐκ τὸ ἀπ' ἐστερῆς τῶν ἐν τῇ Σκυθικῇ ρέων κατὰ τοιόνδε μέγιστος γέγονε: ποταμῶν καὶ ἄλλων ἐς αὐτὸν ἐκδιδόντων εἰώδ δὴ οἷδε οἱ μέγαν αὐτὸν ποιεῖντες, διὰ μὲν γε τῆς Σκυθικῆς χώρης πέντε μὲν οἱ ἔρειντες, τὸν τε Σκύθαι Πόρατα καλέουσι Ελληνες δὲ Πυρετόν, καὶ ἄλλος Τιάραντος καὶ Ἀραρός τε καὶ Νάπαρις καὶ Ὄρηδος. οὗ μὲν πρῶτος λεχθεὶς τῶν ποταμῶν μέγας καὶ πρὸς ἦσο ρέων ἀνακοινώτατο τῷ Ἰστρῷ τὸ ὕδωρ, οὗ δὲ δεύτερος λεχθεὶς Τιάραντος πρὸς ἐσπέρης τε μᾶλλον καὶ ἐλάσσων, οὗ δὲ δὴ Ἀραρός τε καὶ Ὁ Νάπαρις καὶ Ὅ Ὄρηδος διὰ μέσον τοῦτων ἔρευντες ἐσβάλλουσι ἐς τὸν Ἰστρόν.

49. Οὗτοι μὲν αὐθιγενεῖς Σκυθικοὶ ποταμοὶ συμπληθοῦσιν αὐτὸν, ἐκ δὲ Ἀγαθύρσων Μάρις ποταμὸς ρέων συμμίσχεται τῷ Ἰστρῷ, ἐκ δὲ τοῦ Ἀ μου τῶν κορυφέων τρεῖς ἄλλοι μεγάλοι ἔρευντες πρὸς ἑορέυῃ ἄνεμου ἐσβάλλουσι ἐς αὐτὸν, Ἀτλας καὶ Λύκρα καὶ Τίβτισις, διὰ δὲ Ὄρηήκης καὶ Ὄρηήκων τῶν Κροβύζων ἔρευντες Ἀθρύς καὶ Νόης καὶ Ἀρταίνης ἐκδιδόσα αἰτὸν Ἰστρόν, ἐκ δὲ Παιόνων καὶ ὅρεως Ὀσύπτης Κίος ποταμὸς μέσου σχίζων τὸν Ἀμοὺ ἐκδιδοὶ ἐς αὐτὸν. ἐξ Ἰλλυρίῳ δὲ ρέων πρὸς βορέῃ ἄνεμον Ἀγγρος ποταμὸς ἐσβάλλει ἐς πεδίον τὸ Τριβαλλίκόν καὶ ἐς ποταμὸν Βρόγγου, ὡ δὲ Βρόγγος ἐς τὸν Ἰστρόν, οὗτος ἀμφοτέρους ἐνταῦσας μεγάλους ὁ Ἰστρός ἐκεῖται. ἐκ δὲ τῆς κατύπερθε χώρης Ὀμβρικῶν Κάρτης ποταμὸς καὶ ἄλλος Ἀλπες ποταμὸς πρὸς βορέῃ ἄνεμον.
us, flows with ever the same volume in summer and winter; it is the farthest westward of all the Scythian rivers, and the reason of its greatness is as follows: Many other rivers are its tributaries, but these are those that make it great, five flowing through the Scythian country: the river called by Scythians Porata and by Greeks Pyretus, and besides this the Tiarantus, the Ararus, the Naparis, and the Ordessus. The first-named of these rivers is a great stream flowing eastwards and uniting its waters with the Ister, the second, the Tiarantus, is more to the west and smaller; the Ararus, Naparis, and Ordessus flow between these two and pour their waters into the Ister.

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

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

2 The Balkan range. None of the rivers in this chapter can be certainly identified; the names Ḃάρτις and Ἀλπίς must indicate tributaries descending from the Alps and Carpathians.
καὶ οὕτωι ἰέντες ἐκδιδοῦσι ἐς αὐτὸν· ῥεῖν γὰρ δὴ διὰ πάσης τῆς Ἑυρώπης ὁ Ἰστρος, ἀρξάμενος ἐκ Κελ-
tῶν, οἱ ἐσχατοὶ πρὸς ἥλιον δυσμέων μετὰ Κύνητας
οὐκέουσι τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἑυρώπῃ· ῥέων δὲ διὰ πάσης
tῆς Ἑυρώπης ἐς τὰ πλάγια τῆς Σκυθίης ἐσβάλλει.
50. Τούτων ὡν τῶν καταλεχθέντων καὶ ἄλλων
πολλῶν συμβαλλομένων τὸ σφέτερον ὑδωρ γίνεται
ὁ Ἰστρος ποταμῶν μέγιστος, ἐπεὶ ὑδωρ γε ἐν πρὸς
ἐν συμβάλλειν ὁ Νείλος πλήθει ἀποκρατεῖ. ἐς
γὰρ δὴ τούτων οὕτω ποταμὸς οὕτω κρήνη οὐδεμία
ἐσδιδοῦσα ἐς πλῆθός οἱ συμβάλλεται. ἦσος δὲ
αιὲν ῥέει ἐν τε θέρει καὶ χειμῶν ὁ Ἰστρος κατὰ
tοιόνδε τι, ὡς ἔμοι δοκεῖ· τοῦ μὲν χειμῶνος ἐστὶ
ὅσος περ ἐστὶν, ὅλιγον τε μέξων τῆς ἐωτοῦ φύσιος
γίνεται. ὑσταὶ γὰρ ἡ γῆ αὐτὴ τοῦ χειμῶνος πάμπαν
ὅλιγον, νυφετῷ δὲ πάντα χρᾶται· τοῦ δὲ θέρεος ἡ
χῶν ἡ ἐν τῷ χειμῶνει πεσοῦσα, ἐσοῦσα ἀμφιλαφῆς,
τηκομένη πάντοθεν ἐσδιδοῖ ἐς τὸν Ἰστρον. αὐτῇ
τε δὴ ἡ χῶν ἐσδιδοῦσα ἐς αὐτῶν συμπληθῆκεν καὶ
ἀμβροὶ πολλοὶ τε καὶ λάβροι σὺν αὐτῇ· ὅπι γὰρ
dὴ τὸ θέρος. ὅσω δὲ πλέον ἐπ' ἐωτοῦ υδωρ ὁ
ἵλιος ἐπέλεκται ἐν τῷ θέρει ἡ ἐν τῷ χειμῶνι,
tοσοῦτον τὰ συμμυστῆται τῷ Ἰστρῳ πολλα-
πλησία ἐστὶ τοῦ θέρεος ἡ περ τοῦ χειμῶνος· ἀντιτι-
θέμενα δὲ ταῦτα ἀντισῆκωσι γίνεται, ὡστε ἵσον
μιν αἰὲν φαίνεσθαι ἐόντα.
51. Εἰς μὲν δὴ τῶν ποταμῶν τοῖς Σκύθησι ἐστὶ
ὁ Ἰστρος, μετὰ δὲ τούτων Τύρης, ὃς ἀπὸ βορέω
μὲν ἀνέμου ὀρμᾶται, ἀρχεῖ τοῦ δὲ ῥέων ἐκ ἀμήνης
μεγάλης ἀνερίζει τῆν τε Σκυθίκην καὶ Νευρίδα
γῆν. ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ στόματι αὐτὸν κατοίκηνται
"Ελληνες οἱ Τυρίται καλέονται.
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to issue into it; for the Ister traverses the whole of Europe, rising among the Celts who, save only the Cynetes, are the most westerly dwellers in Europe, and flowing thus clean across Europe it issues forth along the borders of Scythia.

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

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

1 The Dniester.
52. Τρίτος δὲ οὗτος ποιαμὸς ὑπάται μὲν ἐκ τῆς Σκυθίκης, ρέει δὲ ἐκ Λίμνης μεγάλης τὴν πέριξ νέμονται ὑπ' ποι ἄγροι λευκοὶ· καλέται δὲ ἡ λίμνη αὕτη ὅρθως μῆτηρ Ἰπαμος. ἐκ ταύτης δὲν ἀνατέλλων ὁ Ἰπαμος ποιαμὸς ῥέει ἐπὶ μὲν πέντε ἡμερέων πλὸν βραχὺς καὶ γλυκύς ἐστὶ, ἀπὸ δὲ τούτου πρὸς θαλάσσης τεσσαρών ἡμερέων πλὸν πικρὸς δεινὸς· ἐκδίδοι γὰρ ἐς αὐτὸν κρῆσθα πικρή, οὕτω δὴ τι ἐόνσα πικρῆ, ἢ μεγάθει σμικρὰ ἐόνσα κυρίᾳ τὸν Ἰπαμος ἑόντα ποιαμὸν ἐν ὀλίγοις μέγαν. ἔστι δὲ ἡ κρῆσθα αὕτη ἐν οὐροῖσι χόρῃς τῆς τε ἀρωτήρων Σκυθέων καὶ Ἀλαζώνων· οὐνόμα δὲ τῇ κρῆσθα καὶ ὀθεν ῥέει τῷ χῶρῳ σκυθιστὶ μὲν Ἐξαμπαίοις, κατὰ δὲ τὴν Ἑλληνικὰ γλῶσσαν Ἰραὶ ὀδοῖ. συνιάγοις δὲ τὰ τέρματα ὁ τε Τύρης καὶ ὁ Ἰπαμος κατὰ Ἀλαζώνας, τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ τούτου ἀποστρέψας ἑκάτερος ῥέει εὐρύνων τὸ μέσον.

53. Τέταρτος δὲ Βορυσθένης ποιαμὸς, ὃς ἐστὶ τε μέγιστος μετὰ Ἰστροῦ τούτων καὶ πολυαρκεστατος κατὰ γρώμας τὰς ἡμετέρας οὐτί μοῦνον τῶν Σκυθικῶν ποιαμῶν ἄλλα καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀπάντων, πλὴν Νείλου τοῦ Ἀγυπτίου· τούτῳ γὰρ οὐκ ὅλα τε ἐστὶ συμβαλεῖν ἄλλον ποιαμὸν τῶν δὲ λιοῦν Βορυσθένης ἐστὶ πολυαρκέστατος, ὃς νομάς τε καλλίστας καὶ ἐνυκομίδεστάτας κτήνεσι παρέχεται ἵππας τε ἀρίστους διακρίδιδον καὶ πλείστους, πίνεσθαι τε ἥδιστος ἐστὶ, ῥέει τε καθαρὸς παρὰ θολεροῖσι, σπόροις τε παρ’ αὐτὸν ἀρίστος γίνεται, ποίη τε, τῇ οὖ σπείρεται ἡ χώρῃ, βαθυτάτῃ ἄλες τε ἐπὶ τῷ στόματι αὐτοῦ ἀυτόματοι πήγηνται ἀπλετον· κήτει τε μεγάλα ἀνάκανθα, τὰ ἀντακαίους καλέουσι, παρέχεται ἐς ταρίχευσιν,
52. The third river is the Hypanis; this comes from Scythia, flowing out of a great lake, round which wild white horses graze. This lake is truly called the mother of the Hypanis. Here, then, the Hypanis rises; for five days' journey its waters are shallow and still sweet; after that for four days' journey seaward it is wondrous bitter, for a spring issues into it which is so bitter that although its volume is small its admixture taints the Hypanis, one of the few great rivers of the world. This spring is on the borderland between the farming Scythians and the Alazones; the name of it and of the country whence it flows is in Scythian Exampaeus, in the Greek tongue Sacred Ways. The Tyras and the Hypanis draw their courses near together in the Alazones' country; after that they flow divergent, widening the space between.

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

1 See ch. 17.
άλλα τε πολλὰ θωμάσαι ἄξια. μέχρι μὲν ὑν Ἰερρέων χώρου, ἐς τὸν τεσσεράκοντα ἥμερέων πλόος ἐστὶ, γινώσκεται ἰέων ἀπὸ βορέω ἀνέμου· τὸ δὲ κατύπερθε δὶ οὐ δὲν ἰέων ἤνθρώπων οὐδείς ἐχει φράσαι· φαίνεται δὲ ἰέων δὲ ἐρήμου ἐς τὸν γεωργῶν Σκυθέων τὴν χώρην· οὐτοὶ γὰρ οἱ Σκύθαι παρ’ αὐτὸν ἐπὶ δέκα ἥμερέων πλόον νέμονται. μοῦνον δὲ τούτου τοῦ ποταμοῦ καὶ Νείλου οὐκ ἐχὶ φράσαι τὰς πηγάς, δοκέω δὲ, οὐδὲ οὐδεὶς Ἑλληνῶν. ἀγχοῦ τε δὴ θαλάσσης ὁ Βορυσθένης ἰέων γίνεται καὶ οἱ συμμίσγεται ὁ Ὁπάνις ἐς τῶν ἐλος ἔκδιδοὺς. τὸ δὲ μεταξὺ τῶν ποταμῶν τούτων, ἐδο ἐμβολοῦ τῆς χώρης, Ἰππόλεω ἄκρη καλέται, ἐν δὲ αὐτὸ ἴρον Δήμητρος ἐνίδρυται· πέρην δὲ τοῦ ἴρου ἐπὶ τῷ Ὁπάνι Βορυσθενεῖται κατοίκηται.

54. Ταῦτα μὲν τὰ ἀπὸ τούτων τῶν ποταμῶν, μετὰ δὲ τούτους πέμπτος ποταμὸς ἄλλος, τὸ οὐνομα Παντικάτης, ῥέει μὲν καὶ οὕτως ἀπὸ βορέω τε καὶ ἐκ λίμνης, καὶ τὸ μεταξὺ τούτου τε καὶ τοῦ Βορυσθένεος νέμονται οἱ γεωργοὶ Σκύθαι, ἐκδίδοι δὲ ἐς τὴν Ὁλαίην, παραμειψάμενος δὲ ταῦτη τῷ Βορυσθένει συμμίσγεται.

55. Ἐκτὸς δὲ Ὁπάκυρις ποταμός, ὁς ὀρμᾶται μὲν ἐκ λίμνης, διὰ μέσων δὲ τῶν νομάδων Σκυθέων ἰέων ἐκδιδοὶ κατὰ Καρκινίτων πόλιν, ἐς δεξιῆς ἀπέργων τὴν τῇ Ὁλαίην καὶ τὸν Ἀχιλλήου δρόμον καλεόμενον.

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

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

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

56. The seventh river, the Gerrhus, parts from

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

57. 'Ογδοος δὲ δὴ Τάναϊς ποταμός, δς ρέει τανέ- καθεν ἐκ λίμνης μεγάλης ὁμοώμενος, ἐκδιδοῖ δὲ ἐς μὲζω ἔτι λίμνην καλεομένην Μαιήτιν, ἣ οὐρίζοι Σκύθας τε τοὺς βασιλείους καὶ Σαυρομάτας. ἐς δὲ Τάναϊν τοῦτον ἄλλος ποταμός ἐσβάλλει τῷ οὐνόμα ἐστὶ ὧν γραμ.

58. Τοῦτο μὲν δὴ ὠνομαστοῦσι ποταμοῖς οὐτω δὴ τι οἱ Σκύθαι ἐσκευάδαται, τοῦσι δὲ κτήνεσι ἡ ποίη ἀναφορομένη ἐν τῇ Σκυθικῇ ἐστὶ ἐπιχολο- τάτη πασέων ποιεών τῶν ἡμεῖς ἵδεμεν· ἀνοιγο- μένοις δὲ τοῦτο κτήνεσι ἐστὶ σταθμώσασθαι ὅτι τοῦτο οὐτώ ἔχει.

59. Τὰ μὲν δὴ μέγιστα οὕτω σφι εὕπορα ἐστὶ, τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ νόμαιν κατὰ τάδε σφι διακέεται. θεοὺς μὲν μούνους τοῦσδε ἠλάσκοιται, Ἰστίνην μὲν μάλιστα, ἐπὶ δὲ Δία καὶ Ήγῆ, νομίζοντες τὴν Γῆν τοῦ Δίως εἶναι γυναῖκα, μετὰ δὲ τοὺτον Ἀπόλ- λωνα τε καὶ οὐρανίην Ἀφροδίτην καὶ Ἡρακλέα καὶ Ἄρεα. τοῦτος μὲν πάντες Σκύθαι νενομί- κασι, οἱ δὲ καλεόμενοι βασιλείην Σκύθαι καὶ τῶ Ποσειδέων θύουσι. ὠνομάζεται δὲ σκυθιστὴ Ἰστίνη μὲν Ταβιτί, Ζεῦς δὲ ὀρθότατα κατὰ γνώμην γε τὴν ἐμὴν καλεόμενος Παπαῖος, Γῆ δὲ Ἐπί. Ἀπόλλων δὲ Γοιτόσυρος, οὐρανίη δὲ Ἀφροδίτη Ἀργύμπασα, Ποσειδέων δὲ Θαγμασάδας. ἀγάλ-
the Borysthenes at about the place which is the end of our knowledge of that river; at this place it parts, and has the same name as the place itself, Gerrhus; then in its course to the sea it divides the country of the Nomads and the country of the Royal Scythians, and issues into the Hypacuris.

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

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

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

1 The Don.
2 Perhaps the "Syrgis" of ch. 123; it may be the modern Donetz.
3 As the "All-Father"; cp. such words as πᾶπας, πατίας, etc.
ματα δὲ καὶ βωμοὺς καὶ νησίς οὐ νομίζουσι ποιεῖν πλὴν Ἀρεί: τούτῳ δὲ νομίζουσι.

60. Θυσία δὲ η αυτῇ πᾶσι κατέστηκε περὶ πάντα τὰ ἴρα ὁμοίως, ἔρθουσιν δὲ τὸ μὲν ἴρημα αὐτὸ ἐμπεποδισμένον τοὺς ἐμπροσθίους πόδας ἐστηκε, ὡς δὲ θύου λάβασθε τοῦ κτήμας ἐστεν σπάσας τὴν ἀρχὴν τοῦ στρόφου καταβάλλει μιν, πίπτοντος δὲ τοῦ ἴρημου ἐπικάλει τὸν θεον τῷ ἀν θύῃ, καὶ ἐπείτα βρόχῳ περὶ ὧν ἐβαλε τὸν αὐχένα, σκυταλίδα δὲ ἐμβαλῶν περιάγει καὶ ἀποπνύγει, οὔτε πῦρ ἀνακάυσας οὔτε καταρξάμενος οὔτ' ἐπισπείσας· ἀποπνύξας δὲ καὶ ἀποδείρας τράπεται πρὸς ἐψησιν.

61. Τῆς δὲ γῆς τῆς Σκυθικῆς αἰνῶς ἄξυλον ἐόσιν ὃδὲ σφί ἐς τὴν ἐψησιν τῶν κρεῶν ἐξεύρηται· ἐπειδαν ἀποδείρωσι τὰ ἴρημα, γυμνοῦσι τὰ ὀστεά τῶν κρεῶν, ἐπείτα ἐσβάλλουσι, ἤν μὲν τύχωσι ἔχοντες, ἐς λέβητας ἐπιχωρίους, μάλιστα Δεσβίοισι κρητηρίσι προσεικέλουσι, χωρὶς ὃ ὁ πολλῷ μέξινας· ἔς τούτους ἐσβάλλουτες ἐψουσι ὑποκαίοντες τὰ ὀστεά τῶν ἴρημων. ἤν δὲ μὴ σφί παρῇ ὁ λέβης, οὐ δὲ ἐς τὰς γαστέρας τῶν ἴρημών ἐσβάλλουτες τὰ κρέα πάντα καὶ παραμύξαντες ὑδωρ ὑποκαίοντες τὰ ὀστεά· τὰ δὲ αἰθεῖται κάλλιστα, αἱ δὲ γαστέρες χωρέουσι εὐπετέως τὰ κρέα ἐψυλλωμένα τῶν ὀστέων· καὶ οὐτω βοῦς τε ἐωτυν ἐξέβαι καὶ τάλλα ἴρημα ἐωτὸ ἐκαστον. ἐπεαν δὲ ἐψηθῇ τὰ κρέα, ὃ θύσις τῶν κρεῶν καὶ τῶν σπλάγχνων ἀπαρκάμενος ῥίππει ἐς τὸ ἐμπροσθε. θύσιν δὲ καὶ τὰ ἄλλα πρόβατα καὶ ἰππούς μάλιστα.

62. Τοῦσι μὲν δὴ ἄλλοισι τῶν θεών οὗτω θύουσι
Thagimasadas. It is their practice to make images and altars and shrines for Ares, but for no other god.

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

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

62. Such is their way of sacrificing to all other
καὶ ταῦτα τῶν κτηνέων, τῷ δὲ "Αρεὶ ὡδε. κατὰ νομοὺς ἐκάστους τῶν ἄρχεων ἐσιδρυταί σφί 'Αρεος ἱρὸν τοιόνδε: φρυγάνων φάκελοι συννενέαται ὡσον τ' ἔπι σταδίους τρεῖς μήκος καὶ εὑρος, ὕψος δὲ ἐλασσον. ἂνω δὲ τούτου τετράγωνον ἀπεδον πε- ποίηται, καὶ τὰ μὲν τρία τῶν κώλων ἐστὶ ἀπό- τομα, κατὰ δὲ τὸ ἐν ἑπιβατόν. ἐτεος δὲ ἐκάστου ἀμάξας πεντήκοντα καὶ ἐκατὸν ἐπινέουσι φρυγάνων ὑπονοστεί γὰρ δὴ αἰεὶ ύπὸ τῶν χειμώνων. ἐπὶ τούτου δὴ τοῦ σηκοῦ ἁκινάκης σίδηρεος ἱδρυται ἁρχαῖοι ἐκάστοισι, καὶ τοῦτ' ἐστὶ τοῦ 'Αρεος τὸ ἀγαλμα. τοῦτο δὲ τῷ ἁκινάκη τυσίας ἐπετείους προσάγουσι προβάτων καὶ ἵππων, καὶ δὴ καὶ τοίς' ἐτι πλέον θύουσιν ἡ τοῖς ἀλλοισι θεοῖς: ὅσους ἃν τῶν πολεμίων ζωγρήσοις, ἀπὸ τῶν ἐκατὸν ἄνδρῶν ἄνδρα θύουσι τρόπῳ οὐ τῷ ἄντῳ καὶ τὰ πρόβατα, ἀλλ' ἐτεροὶς. ἐπεαν γὰρ οίνον ἐπισπείσωσι κατὰ τῶν κεφαλέων, ἀποσφά- ξουσι τους ἄνδρωπους ἐς άγγος καὶ ἐπείτα ἀνενεί- καντες ἂνω ἐπὶ τόν ὅγκον τῶν φρυγάνων καταχέ- ουσι τό ἄμα τοῦ ἁκινάκεω. ἂνω μὲν δὴ φορέουσι τοῦτο, κἀτω δὲ παρὰ τὸ ἱρὸν ποιεύσι τάδε: τῶν ἀποσφαγέων ἄνδρων τοὺς δεξιοὺς ὦμους πάντας ἀποταμώνεται σὺν τὴσι χερσί ἐς τὸν ἥερα ἱείσι, καὶ ἐπείτα καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ἀπέρξαντες ιρήνα ἀπαλ- λάσσουται. χείρ δὲ τῇ ἃν πέσῃ κέεται, καὶ χωρίς ο νεκρὸς.
gods and such are the beasts offered; but their sacrifices to Ares are on this wise. Every district in each of the governments has in it a building sacred to Ares, to wit, a pile of fagots of sticks three furlongs broad and long, but of a less height, on the top of which there is a flattened four-sided surface; three of its sides are sheer, but the fourth can be ascended. In every year an hundred and fifty waggon-loads of sticks are heaped upon this; for the storms of winter ever make it sink down. On this pile there is set for each people an ancient scimitar of iron, which is their image of Ares; to this scimitar they bring yearly sacrifice of sheep and goats and horses, offering to these symbols even more than they do to the other gods. Of all their enemies that they take alive, they sacrifice one man in every hundred, not according to their fashion of sacrificing sheep and goats, but differently. They pour wine on the men's heads and cut their throats over a vessel; then they carry the blood up on to the pile of sticks and pour it on the scimitar. So they carry the blood aloft, but below by the sacred building they cut off the slain men's right arms and hands and throw these into the air, and presently depart when they have sacrificed the rest of the victims; the arm lies where it has fallen, and the body apart from it.

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

64. As to war, these are their customs. A Scythian drinks of the blood of the first man whom he has
Σκύθης, τοῦ αἵματος ἐμπνεύσει, ὅσον δ' ἂν φονεύσῃ ἐν τῇ μάχῃ, τούτων τὰς κεφαλὰς ἀποφέρει τῷ βασιλεί. ἀπενείκας μὲν γὰρ κεφαλὴν τῆς θηώς μεταλαμβάνει τὴν ἄν λάβωσι, μη ἐνείκας δὲ οὐ. ἀποδείξει δὲ αὐτὴν ἄκροφ τοὐῷ· περιταμών κύκλῳ περὶ τὰ ὄντα καὶ λαβόμενος τῆς κεφαλῆς ἐκσείει, μετὰ δὲ σαρκίσας βοῦς πλευρῇ δέχει τῇς χερσὶ, ὑργάσας δὲ αὐτὸ ὁτε χειρόμακτρον ἐκτηται, ἐκ δὲ τῶν χαλινῶν τοῦ ῥπποῦ τὸν αὐτὸς ἔλαινει, ἐκ τούτου ἔξιάπτει καὶ ἀγάλλεται· ὅς γὰρ ἂν πλείστα δέρματα χειρόμακτρα ἐχῇ, ἀνὴρ ἀριστὸς οὗτος κέκριται. πολλοὶ δὲ αὐτῶν ἐκ τῶν ἀποδαρμάτων καὶ χλαίνας ἐπείνυσθαι ποιεῦσι, συρράπτοντες κατά περ βαίτας. πολλοὶ δὲ ἄνδρῶν ἐχθρῶν τὰς δεξιὰς χειράς νεκρῶν ἐντὸν ἀποδειράταις αὐτοῖς ὄνυξι καλύπτρας τῶν φαρετρῶν ποιεῦνται. δέρμα δὲ ἄνθρωπον καὶ παχύ καὶ λαμπρὸν ἣν ἁρα, σχεδὸν δερμάτων πάντων λαμπρότατον λευκότητι. πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ ὅλους ἄνδρας ἐκδειράταις καὶ διατείναντες ἐπὶ ξύλων ἐπι ῥππῶν περιφέρουσι.

65. Ταῦτα μὲν δὴ οὕτω σφι νεύμωσται, αὐτὰς δὲ τὰς κεφαλὰς, οὗτι πάντων ἀλλὰ τῶν ἐχθρίστων, ποιεῦσι τάδε· ἀποπρίσας ἐκαστὸς

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

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

66. Ἀπαξ δὲ τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ ἔκαστον ὁ νομάρχης ἔκαστος ἐν τῷ ἐωτοῦ νουῳ κρινᾶ κρητήρα οὖν, ἀπ’ οὗ πίνουσι τῶν Σκυθέων τοῖς ἄνδρες πολέμιοι ἀραιρημένοι ἔσωσι τοῖς δ’ ἄν ἡ κατεργασμένου ἦ τούτο, οὐ γεύονται τοῦ οἴνου τούτου, ἀλλ’ ἠτιμωμένοι ἀποκατέαται ὦνειδος δὲ σφὶ ἐστὶ μέγιστον τοῦτο. ὥσπερ δὲ ἄν αὐτῶν καὶ κάρτα πολλοὺς ἄνδρας ἀραιρηκότες ἔσωσι, οὗτοι δὲ σύνδονυ κύλικας ἔχοντες πίνουσι ὁμοῦ.

67. Μάντες δὲ Σκυθέων εἰσὶ πολλοὶ, οἱ μαντεύονται ράβδοις ἱτεινησὶ πολλήσι ὡδε’ ἐπεάν φακέλους ράβδους μεγάλους ἐνείκωνται, θέντες χαμαι διεξειλήσουσι αὐτοὺς, καὶ ἐπὶ μίαν ἐκαστὴν ράβδον τιθέντες θεσπίζουσι, ἀμα τε λέγοντες ταῦτα συνειλέουσι τὰς ράβδους ὁπίσω καὶ αὐτῶς κατὰ μίαν συντιθέονται. αὐτὴ μὲν σφὶ ἡ μαντικὴ πατρωίῃ ἐστὶ. οἱ δὲ Ἐνάρεες οἱ ἄνδρογυνοι τὴν Ἀφροδίτῃν σφίσι λέγουσι μαντικὴν δοῦναι φιλύρης δ’ ὁν φλοιῷ μαντεύονται’ ἐπεάν τὴν φιλύρην τρίχα σχίσῃ, διαπλέκων ἐν τοῖς δακτύλοις τοῖς ἐωτοῦ καὶ διαλύων χρᾶ.

68. Ἐπεάν δὲ βασιλεὺς ὁ Σκυθέων κάμη, μεταπέμπεται τῶν μαντίων ἄνδρας τρεῖς τοὺς εὐδοκιμέοντας μάλιστα, οἱ τρόπῳ τῷ εἰρημένῳ μαντεύονται καὶ λέγουσι οὕτω ὡς τὸ ἐπίπαυν μάλιστα τάδε, ὡς τὰς βασιληνίας ἱστίας ἐπιώρκησε ὡς καὶ ὡς, λέγοντες τῶν ἄστων τῶν ἀν δὴ λέγωσι, τὰς δὲ βασιληνίας ἱστίας νόμος Σκυθησί
him he will serve them with these heads, and show how the dead were his kinsfolk who made war upon him and were worsted by him; this they call manly valour.

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

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

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

τὰ μάλιστα ἐστὶ οὕτων τὸ τότε ἐπεὰν τῶν μέγιστων ὅρκων ἀθέλωσι οὕτων. αὐτίκα δὲ διαλεκταμένους ἄγεται οὕτως τῶν ἀν δὴ φώσι ἐπιορκήσαι, ἀπιγμένου δὲ ἐλέγχουσι οἱ μάντις ὡς ἐπιορκήσας φαίνεται ἐν τῇ μαντικῇ τὰς βασιλείας ἰστίας καὶ διὰ ταῦτα ἀληθεί ὁ βασιλεὺς· δὲ δὲ ἀρνεῖται, οὐ φάμενος ἐπιορκήσαι, καὶ δεινολογεῖται. ἀμεομένου δὲ τούτον ὁ βασιλεὺς μεταπέμπτεται ἄλλους διπλησίους μάντιας· καὶ ἢ μὲν καὶ οὕτω ἐσορῶντες ἐς τὴν μαντικὴν καταδήσωσι ἐπιορκήσαι, τοῦ δὲ ἱθέως τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀποτάμνουσι, καὶ τὰ χρήματα αὐτοῦ διαλαγχάνουσι οἱ πρῶτοι τῶν μαντίων. ἢν δὲ οἱ ἐπελθόντες μάντις ἀπολύσωσι, ἄλλῳ πάρεισι μάντις καὶ μᾶλα ἄλλοι. ἢν δὲν οἱ πλεῦνες τὸν ἀνθρώπον ἀπολύσωσι, δέδοκται τοῖσι πρώτοισι τῶν μαντίων αὐτοῖσι ἀπόλλυσθαι.

69. Ἀπολλύσι δῆτα αὐτοῖσι τρόπῳ τοιῶδε· ἐπεὰν ἄμαξαν φρυγάνων πλήσωσι καὶ ὑποζεύξωσι βούς, ἐμποδίσαντες τοὺς μάντισι καὶ χειρα ὀπίσω δήσαντες καὶ στομώσαντες κατεργύσι ἐς μέσα τὰ φρύγανα. ὑποπρήσαντες δὲ αὐτὰ ἀπείσι φοβήσαντες τοὺς βοῦς. πολλοὶ μὲν δὴ συγκατακαίονται τοῖσι μάντισι βόες, πολλοὶ δὲ περικεκαυμένοι ἀποφεύγουσι, ἐπεὰν αὐτῶν ὁ ρυμὸς κατακαυθῇ. κατακαίουσι δὲ τρόπῳ τῷ εἰρημένῳ καὶ δὲ ἄλλας αἰτίας τοὺς μάντιας, ψευδομάντιας καλέοντες. τοὺς δὲ ἀν ἀποκτείνῃ βασιλεὺς, τούτων οὐδὲ τοὺς παῖδας λείπει, ἄλλα πάντα τὰ ἐρήματα κτείνει, τὰ δὲ θηλεὰ οὐκ ἦδεινε. 

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

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

70. As for the giving of sworn pledges to such as are to receive them, this is the Scythian fashion: they take blood from the parties to the agreement
νομένων, τύψαντες ὑπέατι ἢ ἐπιταμόντες μαχαίρη σμικρὸν τοῦ σώματος, καὶ ἔπειτα ἀποβάψαντες ἐς τὴν κύλικα ἀκινάκην καὶ ἀιστοῦς καὶ σάγαριν καὶ ἀκόντιον ἐπεαν δὲ ταῦτα ποιήσωσι, κατευχόνται πολλὰ καὶ ἔπειτα ἀποπίνουσι αὐτοὶ τε οἱ τὸ ὀρκίων ποιεύμενοι καὶ τῶν ἐπομένων οἱ πλείστον ἀξίοι.

71. Ταφαὶ δὲ τῶν βασιλέων ἐν Γέρροισι εἰσὶ ἐς δ’ ὁ Βορυσθένης ἐστὶ προσπλωτός. ἐνθαῦτα, ἔπεαν σφι ἀποθάνῃ ὁ βασιλεὺς, ὀρυγμα γῆς μέγα ὀρύσσουσι τετράγωνον, ἔτοιμον δὲ τοῦτο ποιήσαντες ἀναλαμβάνουσι τὸν νεκρὸν, κατακεκηρυμένον μὲν τὸ σῶμα, τῇ δὲ νηδὴν ἀνασχισθέος καὶ καθαρθέος, πλένων κυπέρου κεκομμένου καὶ θυμιήματος καὶ σελίνου σπέρματος καὶ ἀνυνῆου, συνερραμμένην ὀπίσω, καὶ κομίζουσι ἐν ἀμάξῃ ἐς ἀλλὸ ἔθνος. οὐ δὲ ἂν παραδέξωνται κομισθέντα τὸν νεκρόν, ποιεύσι τὰ περὶ οἱ βασιλῆιοι Σκύθαι τοῦ ὀτὸς ἀποτάμονται, τρῖχας περικείρονται, βραχίονας περιτάμονται, μέτωπον καὶ ρίνα καταμύσσονται, διὰ τῆς ἀριστερῆς χειρὸς ὀστοὺς διαβυνέονται. ἐνθεύετεν δὲ κομίζουσι ἐν τῇ ἀμάξῃ τοῦ βασιλέως τὸν νέκυν ἐς ἀλλὸ ἔθνος τῶν ἄρχουσι. οὐ δὲ σφι ἔπονται ἐς τοὺς πρότερον ἠλθον. ἔπεαν δὲ πάντας περιέλθωσι τὸν νεκρὸν κομίζουσε, ἐν τῇ Γέρροισὶ ἐσχάτα κατοικημένοις εἰς τῶν ἐθνέων τῶν ἄρχουσι καὶ ἐν τῇ ταφῆσι. καὶ ἔπειτα, ἔπεαν θέωσι τὸν νέκυν ἐν τῇ τῇ θηκὴς ἐπὶ στιβάδος, παραπήξαντες αἰχμᾶς ἔθεν καὶ ἔυθεν τοῦ νεκροῦ ξύλα ὑπερτείνουσι καὶ ἔπειτα ῥυπὶ

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

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

71. The burial-places of the kings are in the land of the Gerrhi, which is the end of the navigation of the Borysthenes. There, whenever their king has died, the Scythians dig a great four-cornered pit in the ground; when this is ready they take up the dead man—his body enclosed in wax, his belly cut open and cleansed and filled with cut marsh-plants and frankincense and parsley and anise seed, and sewn up again—and carry him on a waggon to another tribe. Then those that receive the dead man at his coming do the same as do the Royal Scythians; that is, they cut off a part of their ears, shave their heads, make cuts round their arms, tear their foreheads and noses, and pierce their left hands with arrows. Thence the bearers carry the king's body on the waggon to another of the tribes which they rule, and those to whom they have already come follow them; and having carried the dead man to all in turn, they are in the country of the Gerrhi, the farthest distant of all tribes under their rule, and at the place of burial. Then, having laid the dead in the tomb on a couch, they plant spears all round the body and lay across them wooden planks, which they then roof over with hides; in the
καταστεγάζουσι, ἐν δὲ τῇ λοιπῇ εὐρυχωρίᾳ τῆς θῆκης τῶν παλλακέων τε μίαν ἀποπνίξαντες θάπτουσι καὶ τὸν οἶνοχόν καὶ μάγειρον καὶ ἵπποκόμον καὶ διήκονον καὶ ἀγγελιηφόρον καὶ ἵππους καὶ τῶν ἄλλων πάντων ἀπαρχὰς καὶ φιάλας χρυσέας· ἀργύρῳ δὲ ούδὲν οὐδὲν χαλκῷ χρέωται. ταῦτα δὲ ποιήσαντες χοῦσι πάντες χῶμα μέγα, ἀμιλλὼμενοι καὶ προθυμεόμενοι ὥς μέγιστον ποιήσαι.

72. Ἔνιαυτὸν δὲ περιφερομένου αὐτὸς ποιεῦσι τοῖονδε· λαβόντες τῶν λοιπῶν θεραπόντων τοὺς ἐπιτηθεοτάτους (οὐ δὲ εἰσὶ Σκύθαι έγγεμέες· οὕτω γὰρ θεραπεύσαι τοὺς ἀν αὐτὸς ὁ βασιλεὺς κελεύσῃ, ἀργυρώντοι δὲ οὐκ εἰσὶ σφι θεράποντες), τούτων δὲν τῶν διηκόνων ἐπεάν ἀποπνίξασι πεντήκοντα καὶ ἱπποὺς τοὺς καλλίστους πεντήκοντα, ἔξελόντες αὐτῶν τὴν κοιλήν καὶ καθήραντες ἐμπιπλάσι ἄχυρον καὶ συρράπτουσι. ἄψιδος δὲ ἱμισκέν ἔπι δύο ξύλα στήσαντες ἔππιον καὶ τὸ ἔτερον ἱμισκέ 

tῆς ἄψιδος ἐπʼ ἔτερα δύο, καταπτῆζαντες τρόπῳ τοιούτῳ πολλὰ ταῦτα, ἔπειτα τῶν ἱππῶν κατὰ τὰ μήκεα, ξύλα παχέα διελάσαντες μέχρι τῶν τραχήλων ἀναβιβάζουσι αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ τὰς ἄψιδας· τῶν δὲ αἱ μὲν πρότεραι ἄψιδες ὑπέχουσι τοὺς ὠμοὺς τῶν ἱππῶν, αἱ δὲ ὑπὸσθε παρὰ τοὺς μηροὺς τὰς γαστέρας ὑπολαμβάνουσιν σκέλεα δὲ ἀμφότερα κατακρέμαται μετέωρα. χαλινοῦς δὲ καὶ στόμα ἐμβαλόντες ἐς τοὺς ἱπποὺς κατατείνουσι ἐς τὸ πρόσθε αὐτῶν καὶ ἔπειτα ἐκ πασσάλων δέουσι. τῶν δὲ δὴ νευνίσκων τῶν ἀποπεπυγμένων τῶν πεντήκοντα ἐνα ἐκαστὸν ἀναβιβάζουσι ἐπὶ τῶν ἱππῶν, ὡδὲ ἀναβιβάζοντες, ἐπεάν νεκροῦ ἐκάστου
open space which is left in the tomb they bury, after strangling, one of the king's concubines, his cup-bearer, his cook, his groom, his squire, and his messenger, besides horses, and first-fruits of all else, and golden cups; for the Scythians make no use of silver or bronze. Having done this they all build a great barrow of earth, vying zealously with one another to make this as great as may be.

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

73. Οὕτω μὲν τοὺς βασιλέας θάπτουσι· τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους Σκύθας, ἐπειώ ἀποθάνωσι, περιάγουσι οἱ ἀγχωτάτω προσήκοντες κατὰ τοὺς φίλους ἐν ἀμάξῃ κείμενος· τών δὲ ἐκαστός ὑποδεκόμενος εὐωχεῖ τοὺς ἐπομένους, καὶ τῷ νεκρῷ ἀπάντων παραπλησίως παρατίθησι ὅσα τοῖς ἄλλοις. ἡμέρας δὲ τεσσεράκοντα οὕτω οἱ ἵδιῶται περιάγονται, ἔπειτα θάπτονται. θάψαντες δὲ οἱ Σκύθαι καθαίρονται τρόπῳ τοῦτῳ. σμησάμενοι τὰς κεφαλάς καὶ ἐκπλυνάμενοι ποιεῦσι περὶ τὸ σῶμα τάδε· ἐπεάν ἕιλα στήσωσι τρία ἐς ἄλληλα κεκλιμένα, περὶ ταῦτα πίλους εἰρινέους περιτείνουσι, συμφρά-ξαντες δὲ ὡς μάλιστα λίθους ἐκ πυρὸς διαφανέας ἐσβάλλουσι ἐς σκάφην κειμένην ἐν μέσῳ τῶν ἕιλων τε καὶ τῶν πίλων.

74. 'Εστι δὲ σφι κάνναβις φυομένη ἐν τῷ χώρῃ πλὴν παχύτητος καὶ μεγάθεος τῷ λίνῳ ἐμφερε-στάτη· ταύτῃ δὲ πολλῷ ύπερφέρει ἡ κάνναβις. αὐτὴ καὶ αὐτομάτη καὶ σπειρομένη φύεται, καὶ ἐξ αὐτῆς Ῥήμικες μὲν καὶ ἐἵματα ποιεῦνται τοῖς λινέουσι όμοίοτατα; οὔτ' ἀν, ἀστίς μὴ κάρτα τρίβων εἳν αὐτῆς, διαγνοίη λίνου ἡ καννάβιος ἐστί· ὅσ δὲ μὴ εἴδε καὶ τὴν κανναβίδα, λίνεον δοκήσει εἶναι τὸ ἐίμα.

75. Ταύτης δὲν οἱ Σκύθαι τῆς καννάβιος τὸ στέρμα ἐπεάν λάβωσι, ὑποδύνουσι ὑπὸ τοὺς πίλους, καὶ ἔπειτα ἐπιβάλλουσι τὸ στέρμα ἐπὶ 272
body passing up by the spine to the neck, and enough of the stake projects below to be fixed in a hole made in the other stake, that which passes through the horse. So having set horsemen of this fashion round about the tomb they ride away.

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

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

75. The Scythians then take the seed of this hemp and, creeping under the rugs, they throw it
τούς διαφανέας λίθους τῷ πυρί· τὸ δὲ θυμίαται ἐπιβαλλόμενον καὶ ἀτμίδα παρέχεται τοσαύτην ὡστε Ἑλληνικῇ οὐδεμίᾳ ἐκ πυρῆς ἀποκρατήσει. οὐ δὲ Σκύθαι ἀγάμενοι τῇ πυρῆ ώρύονται· τοῦτο σφὶ ἀντὶ λουτροῦ ἐστι· οὐ γὰρ δὴ λούονται ὕδατι τὸ παράπαν τὸ σῶμα. αἱ δὲ γυναῖκες αὐτῶν ὕδωρ παραχέουσαι κατασώχουσι περὶ λίθον τρεχών τῆς κυπαρίσσου καὶ κέδρου καὶ λιβάνου ξύλου, καὶ ἕπιτα τὸ κατασωχόμενον τούτο παχὺ ἐον καταπλάσσονται πάν τὸ σῶμα καὶ τὸ πρόσωπον· καὶ ἂμα μὲν εὐωδὴν σφέας ἀπὸ τούτου ῥύχει, ἂμα δὲ ἀπαρέουσαι τῇ δευτέρῃ ἱμέρῃ τῇ καταπλαστῶν γίνονται καθαραί καὶ λαμπραί.

76. Ξεινικοῖσι δὲ νομαίοισι καὶ οὕτοι φεύγουσι αὐνός χράσθαι, μῆτε τεῦω ἄλλων, Ἑλληνικοῖσι δὲ καὶ ἤκιστα, ὡς διεδέχαν Ἀνάχαρος τε καὶ δεύτερα αὕτης Σκύλης. τούτῳ μὲν γὰρ Ἀνάχαρος ἐπείτε γῆν πολλήν θεωρήσας καὶ ἀποδεξάμενος κατ’ αὐτὴν σοφίαν πολλήν ἐκομίζετο ἐς ήθεα τὰ Σκυθέων, πλέων δὲ Ἑλλησπόντου προσίσχει ἐς Κύσικον· καὶ εὑρε γὰρ τῇ μητρὶ τῶν θεῶν ἀναγυντας τοὺς Κύσικηνος ὅρτην μεγαλοπρεπέως κάρτα, εὔξατο τῇ μητρὶ ὁ Ἀνάχαρος, ἤν σῶς καὶ υγίης ἄπονοστήσῃ ἐς ἑωυτοῦ, θύσειν τε κατὰ ταύτὰ κατὰ ὅρα τοὺς Κύσικηνος ποιεῦντας καὶ πανυχίδα στήσειν. ὥς δὲ ἀπίκετο ἐς τὴν Σκυθικὴν, καταδύς ἐς τὴν καλεομένην Ἑλαίην (ἐὰν δ’ ἐστι μὲν παρὰ τὸν Ἀχιλλῆιον δρόμον, τυγχάνει δὲ πᾶσα ἑόσα δειεδρέων παντοῦ πλεῆ), ἐς ταῦτ’ ἁμεῖν οτ’ ἀνάχαρος τὴν ὀρτήν ἐπετέλεε πᾶσαν τῇ θεῷ, τύμπανον τε ἔχων καὶ ἐκδησάμενος ἅγιάματα. καὶ τῶν τις Σκυθέων καταφρασθεῖς
on the red-hot stones; and, being so thrown, it smoulders and sends forth so much steam that no Greek vapour-bath could surpass it. The Scythians howl in joy for the vapour-bath. This serves them instead of bathing, for scarce ever do they wash their bodies with water. But their women grind with a rough stone cypress and cedar and frankincense wood, pouring water also thereon, and with the thick stuff so ground they anoint all their bodies and faces, whereby not only does a fragrant scent abide upon them, but when on the second day they take off the ointment their skin becomes clean and shining.

76. But as regards foreign usages, the Scythians (as others) are wondrous loth to practise those of any other country, and of Hellas in especial, as was proved in the case of Anacharsis and again also of Scyles. For when Anacharsis, having seen much of the world in his travels and given many proofs of his wisdom therein, was coming back to the Scythian country, he sailed through the Hellespont and put in at Cyzicus; where, finding the Cyzicenes celebrating the feast of the Mother of the Gods with great pomp, he vowed to this same Mother that, if he returned to his own country safe and sound, he would sacrifice to her as he saw the Cyzicenes do, and establish a nightly rite of worship. So when he came to Scythia, he hid himself in the country called Woodland (which is beside the Race of Achilles, and is all overgrown with every kind of wood); hiding himself there Anacharsis celebrated the goddess’s ritual with exactness, carrying a cymbal and hanging about himself images. Then some
αὐτὸν ταῦτα ποιεῖντα ἐσήμηνε τῷ βασιλείῳ Σαυλίῳ· ὁ δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς ἀπικόμενος ὡς εἶδε τὸν 'Ανάχαρσιν ποιεῖντα ταῦτα, τοξεύσας αὐτὸν ἀπέκτεινε. καὶ νῦν ἤν τις εἰρήται περὶ 'Αναχάρσιος, οὗ φασὶ μν Ἀκύθαι γινώσκειν, διὰ τοῦτο ὅτι ἐξεδήμησε τε ἐς τὴν Ἐλλάδα καὶ ἤπειροι ἐθεσὶ διεχρήσατο. ὡς δὲ ἤγω ἤκουσα Τύμνεω τοῦ 'Αριαπείθεος ἐπιτρόπου, εἶναι αὐτὸν Ἰδανύρσου τοῦ Ἀκυθέων βασιλέως πάτρων, παῖδα δὲ εἶναι Γυνοῦρον τοῦ Δύκου τοῦ Σπαργαπείθεος. εἰ δὲν ταύτης ἢν τῆς οἰκίας ὁ 'Ανάχαρσις, ὄστῳ ὑπὸ τοῦ ἄδελφου ἀποθανόν· Ἰδανύρσος γὰρ ἤν παῖς Σαυλίου, Σαύλιος δὲ ἦν ὁ ἀποκτείνας 'Ανάχαρσιν.

77. Καίτοι τινὰ ἤδη ἤκουσα λόγον ἄλλον ὑπὸ Πελοπονησίων λεγόμενον, ὡς ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἀκυθέων βασιλέως Ανάχαρσις ἀποπεμφθεῖς τῆς Ἐλλάδος μαθητὴς γένοιτο, ὅπισώ τε ἀπονοστήσας φαύῃ πρὸς τὸν ἀποπέμψαντα Ἐλληνας πάντας ἀσχόλους εἶναι ἐς πᾶσαν σοφίν πλὴν Λακεδαιμονίων, τούτους δὲ εἶναι μοῦνοισι σωφρόνως δοῦναι τε καὶ δέξασθαι λόγον. ἄλλος οὖτος μὲν ὁ λόγος ἄλλως πέπλασται ὑπ’ αὐτῶν Ἐλλήνων, ὁ δὲ ὅν ἄνηρ ὦσπερ πρότερον εἰρέθη διεφθάρη.

78. Οὗτος μὲν ὑν ὦτῳ δὴ ἐπηρήξε διὰ ἤπειροι τε νόμαια καὶ Ἐλληνικὰς ὀμιλίας. πολλοῖσι δὲ κάρτα ἐτεσὶ ύπερον Ἀκύθην ὁ 'Αριαπείθεος ἐπαθε παραπλήσια τούτω. Ὁ Ἀριαπείθεις γὰρ τῷ Σκυθέων βασιλεὶ γίνεται μετ’ ἄλλων παίδων Σκύλης· ἢς Ἰστρινῆς δὲ γυναικὸς οὗτος γίνεται καὶ οὐδαμῶς ἐγχωρίης· τὸν ἡ μήτηρ ἀυτῆ γυλώσσων τε Ἐλλάδα καὶ γράμματα ἐδίδαξε. μετὰ δὲ χρόνῳ ύπερον
Scythian marked him doing this and told it to the king, Saulius; who, coming himself to the place and seeing Anacharsis performing these rites, shot an arrow at him and slew him. And now the Scythians, if they are asked about Anacharsis, say they have no knowledge of him; this is because he left his country for Hellas and followed the customs of strangers. But according to what I heard from Tymnes, the deputy for Ariapithes, Anacharsis was uncle to Idanthyrsus king of Scythia, and he was the son of Gnurus, son of Lycus, son of Spargapithes. Now if Anacharsis was truly of this family, then I would have him know that he was slain by his own brother; for Idanthyrsus was the son of Saulius, and it was Saulius who slew Anacharsis.

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

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

1 In what is now the Dobrudja.
'Αριαπείδης μὲν τελευτὰ δόλῳ ύπὸ Σπαργαπείδεος
tοῦ 'Αγαθύρσων βασίλεως, Σκύλης δὲ τὴν τε
βασιλείαν παρέλαβε καὶ τὴν γυναίκα τοῦ πατρός, 
tῇ οὖν ὁμοίᾳ ἢν 'Οποίη ἢν δὲ αὐτὴ ἢ 'Οποίη ἀστή, 
ἐξ ὥς ἢν ὁ Ὀρίκος 'Αριαπείδεη παῖς. βασιλεύων 
dὲ Σκυθέων ὁ Σκύλης διαιτὴν οὐδαμῶς ἥρεσκετο 
Σκυθικῆ, ἀλλὰ πολλὸν πρὸς τὰ Ἑλληνικὰ μᾶλλον 
tετραμμένος ὃν ἀπὸ παιδεύσιος τῆς ἐπεπαίδευτο, 
ἐποίεῖ τε τοιοῦτον εὐτε ἁγίας τὴν στρατιὰν τὴν 
Σκυθέων ἐς τὸ Βορυσθενεῖτέων ἀστυ (οἱ δὲ Βορυ-
σθενεῖται οὐτοὶ λέγουσι σφέας αὐτοὺς εἶναι Μιλη-
σίους), ἐς τούτους ὁκὼς ἔλθοι ὁ Σκύλης, τὴν 
μὲν στρατὶν καταλίπεσε ἐν τῷ προαστείῳ, αὐτὸς 
dὲ ὁκὼς ἔλθοι ἐς τὸ τείχος καὶ τὰς πύλας ἐγκλησει, 
τὴν στολὴν ἀποθέμενος τὴν Σκυθικῆν λάβεσε ἂν 
سوء ξένων ἐσθήτα, ἔχων δὲ αὐτὴν ᾗ γόραζ 
οὔτε δορυφόρων ἔπομενῶν οὔτε ἀλλὸν οὐδενὸς τὰς 
dὲ πύλας ἐφύλασσοι, μή τις μὲν Σκυθέων ἔδοι 
ἔχοντα ταύτην τὴν στολὴν καὶ τὰ τὸ ἄλλα ἐχράτο 
dιαιτὴν Σκυθικῆ καὶ θεοῖς ἱρὰ ἐποίεσε κατὰ νόμους 
tούς Σκυθῶν. ὁτε δὲ διατρίψειε μῆνα ἢ πλέον 
τοῦτο, ἀπαλλάσσετο ἡδύς τὴν Σκυθικῆν στολῆν. 
ταῦτα ποιέσκε πολλάκις καὶ οἰκία τε ἐδείματο ἐν 
Βορυσθενεὶ καὶ γυναίκα ἐγγήμε ἐς αὐτὰ ἐπιχωρίτη. 

79. Ἐπείτε δὲ ἔδεε οἱ κακῶς γενέσθαι, ἐγίνετο 
ἀπὸ προφάσιος τοῖς καὶ. ἐπεβύμησε Διονύσῳ 
Βακχείῳ τελεσθήναι μέλλοντι δὲ οἱ ἐς χείρας 
ἀγεσθαι τὴν τελετὴν ἐγένετο φάσμα μέγιστον. ἦν 
οἱ ἐν Βορυσθενεῖτέων τὴ πόλις οἰκίας μεγάλης καὶ 
pολυτελέος περιβολή, τῆς καὶ ὅλῳ τι πρότερον 
τούτων μνήμην ἐχον, τὴν πέριξ λευκοῦ λίθου 
σφίγγες τε καὶ γρῦπες ἐστασαν ἐς ταύτην ὁ θεὸς 
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As time passed, Ariapithes was treacherously slain by Spargapithes, king of the Agathyrsi, and Scyles inherited the kingship and his father's wife, whose name was Opoea, a Scythian woman, and she bore to Scyles a son, Oricus. So Scyles was king of Scythia; but he was in no wise content with the Scythian manner of life, and was much more inclined to Greek ways, from the bringing up which he had received; so this is what he did: having led the Scythian army to the city of the Borysthenites (who say that they are Milesians)—having, I say, come thither, he would ever leave his army in the suburb of the city, but he himself, entering within the walls and shutting the gates would doff his Scythian apparel and don a Greek dress; and in it he went among the towns- men unattended by spearmen or any others (the people guarding the gates, lest any Scythian should see him wearing this apparel), and in every way followed the Greek manner of life, and worshipped the gods according to Greek usage. Then having so spent a month or more, he put on Scythian dress and left the city. This he did often; and he built him a house in Borysthenes, and married and brought thither a wife of the people of the country.

79. But when the time came that evil should befall him, this was the cause of it: he conceived a desire to be initiated into the rites of the Bacchic Dionysus; and when he was about to begin the sacred mysteries, he saw a wondrous vision. He had in the city of the Borysthenites a spacious house, great and costly (that same house whereof I have just made mention), all surrounded by sphinxes and griffins wrought in white stone; this house was
ἐνέσκηψε βέλος. καὶ ἦ μὲν κατεκώμη πᾶσα, Σκύλης
dὲ οὐδὲν τούτον εἶνεκα ἢσσον ἐπετέλεσε τὴν
tελετὴν. Σκύθαι δὲ τοῦ βακχεύειν πέρι Ἀλλησι
ονειδίζουσιν: οὐ γὰρ φασίν οίκος εἶναι θεὸν ἐξευρί-
σκειν τοῦτον ὡστὶς μαίνεσθαι ἐνάγει ἀνθρώπους.
ἐπείτε δὲ ἐτελέσθη τῷ Βακχείῳ ὁ Σκύλης, διεπρή-
στευσε τῶν τις Βορυσθενείτων πρὸς τοὺς Σκύθας
λέγων "Ἡμῖν γὰρ καταγελάτη, ὦ Σκύθαι, ὅτι
βακχεύομεν καὶ ἡμέας ὁ θεὸς λαμβάνει· νῦν οὖτος
ὁ δαίμων καὶ τὸν ύμέτερον βασιλέα λειάζηκε,
καὶ βακχεύει τε καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ μαίνεται. εἰ
dὲ μοι ἀπιστέετε, ἐπεσθε, καὶ ἦμῖν ἐγὼ δέξω.
"εἴποντο τῶν Σκύθων οἱ προστεωτες, καὶ αὐτοὺς
ἀναγαγὼν ὁ Βορυσθενείτης λάβρῃ ἐπὶ πῦρχον
κατείσε. ἐπείτε δὲ παρήκε σὺν τῷ θιάσῳ ὁ Σκύ-
λης καὶ εἶδόν μιν βακχεύοντα οἱ Σκύθαι, κάρτα
συμφορῆν μεγάλην ἐπονήσαντο, ἐξελθόντες δὲ
ἐσῆμαινον πάση τῇ στρατιᾷ τὰ ἰδοιειν.
80. Ὡς δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα ἐξῆλαυνε ὁ Σκύλης ἢς
ἡθεα τὰ ἐωτοῦ, οἱ Σκύθαι προστησάμενοι τὸν
ἀδελφεῖν αὐτοῦ Ὁκταμασάδην, γεγονότα ἐκ τῆς
Τήρεω θυγατρός, ἐπανιστάτη τῷ Σκύλης. ὦ δὲ
μαθὼν τὸ γενόμενον ἐπὶ ἐωτῶ καὶ τὴν αὐτήν δὲ
ἡμ ἐποῖετο, καταφεύγει ἐς τὴν Ὁρηκίην. πυθό-
μενος δὲ ὁ Ὁκταμασάδης ταῦτα ἐστρατεύετο ἐπὶ
tῆν Ὁρηκίην. ἐπείτε δὲ ἐπὶ τῷ Ἰστρῳ ἔγενετο,
ὕμτιάσαν μιν οἱ Ὁρηκίες, μελλόντων δὲ αὐτῶν
συνάψειν ἐπεμψε Σιτάλκης παρὰ τὸν Ὁκταμα-
σάδην λέγων τοιάδε. "Τὶ δὲ ἡμέας ἀλλήλων
πειρηθήματι; εἰς μὲν μεν τῆς ἀδελφείς παις, ἔχεις
δὲ μεν ἀδελφεῖν. σὺ δὲ μοι ἀπόδος τοῦτον, καὶ ἐγὼ
σοὶ τὸν σὸν Σκύλην παραδίδωμι· στρατιᾷ δὲ μῆτε
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smitten by a thunderbolt and wholly destroyed by fire. But none the less for this did Scyles perform the rite to the end. Now the Scythians make this Bacchic revelling a reproach against the Greeks, saying that it is not reasonable to set up a god who leads men on to madness. So when Scyles had been initiated into the Bacchic rite, some one of the Borysthenites scoffed at the Scythians: “Why,” said he, “you Scythians mock us for revelling and being possessed by the god; but now this deity has taken possession of your own king, so that he is revelling and is maddened by the god. If you will not believe me, follow me now and I will show him to you.” The chief men among the Scythians followed him, and the Borysthenite brought them up secretly and set them on a tower; whence presently, when Scyles passed by with his company of worshippers, they saw him among the revellers; whereat being greatly moved, they left the city and told the whole army what they had seen.

80. After this Scyles rode away to his own place; but the Scythians rebelled against him, setting up for their king his brother Octamasades, son of the daughter of Teres. Scyles, learning how they dealt with him and the reason of their so doing, fled into Thrace; and when Octamasades heard this he led his army thither. But when he was beside the Ister, the Thracians barred his way; and when the armies were like to join battle Sitalces sent this message to Octamasades: “Wherefore should we essay each other’s strength? You are my sister’s son, and you have with you my brother; do you give him back to me, and I give up your Scyles to you; and let
σὺ κινδυνεύσῃς μήτ’ ἐγώ.” ταύτα οἱ πέμψας ὁ Σιτάλκης ἐπεκηρυκεύετο· ἂν γὰρ παρὰ τῷ Ὄκταμασάδῃ ἀδελφεὸς Σιτάλκεως πεφευγόω. ὁ δὲ Ὄκταμασάδῃς καταγνάνει ταύτα, ἐκδοὺς δὲ τὸν ἐσωτοῦ μήτρωα Σιτάλκη ἔλαβε τὸν ἀδελ-
φεὸν Σκύλην. καὶ Σιτάλκης μὲν παραλαβὼν τὸν ἀδελφεὸν ἀπῆγετο, Σκύλεω δὲ Ὄκταμασάδῃς αὐτοῦ ταύτῃ ἀπέταμε τὴν κεφαλὴν. οὕτω μὲν περιστέλλουσι τὰ σφέτερα νόμαια Σκύθαι, τοῖσι δὲ παρακτωμένοις ξεινικοὺς νόμους τοιαύτα ἐπιτίμα ἄδιδούσι.

81. Πλήθος δὲ τὸ Σκυθέων οὐκ οὐδὲ τὸ ἐγενόμην ἀτρεκέως πυθέσθαι, ἀλλὰ διαφόρους λόγους περὶ τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ ἱκουν· καὶ γὰρ κάρτα πολλοὺς εἶναι σφέας καὶ ὀλίγους ὡς Σκύθας εἶναι. τοσοῦτον μὲντοι ἀπέφαινόν μοι ἐς ὀψιν. ἐστὶ μεταξὺ Βορυ-
σθένεως τε ποταμοῦ καὶ Ὀπάνιος χώρος, οὐνομα
to δὲ οἱ ὕστη Ἑξαμπαίοις· τοῦ καὶ ὀλίγῳ τι πρότερον τούτων μνήμην εἶχον, φάμενος ἐν αὐτῷ κρήνῃν ὑδατὸς πικρὸν εἶναι, ἀπ’ ὑς τὸ ὤδωρ ἀπορρέον τὸν Ὀπάνιν ἀποτον ποιέειν. ἐν τούτῳ τῷ χώρῳ κέεται χαλκήιον, μεγάθει καὶ ἕξαπλήσιον τοῦ ἐπὶ στόματι τοῦ Πόντου κρήνης, τοῦ Παυσανίς ὁ Κλεομβρότου ἀνέθηκε. ὃς δὲ μὴ εἶδε καὶ τούτον, ὥδε δηλώσω· ἔξακοσίους ἀμφόρεας εὐπετέως χωρεῖ τὸ ἐν Σκύθησι χαλκήιον, πάχος δὲ τὸ Σκυθικὸν τούτο χαλκήιον ἐστὶ δακτύλων ἐξ. τούτῳ δὲ ἔλεγον οἱ ἐπιχώριοι ἀπὸ ἀρδίων γενέσθαι. Βουλόμενοι γὰρ τὸν σφέτερον βασιλέα, τῷ οὗνομα εἶναι Ἑρμάνταν, τούτοις εἰδέναι τὸ πλήθος τὸ Σκυθέων κελεύειν μνὶ πάντας Σκύθας ἀρδιν ἐκα-
neither of us endanger our armies." Such was the offer sent to him by Sitalces; for Sitalces’ brother had fled from him and was with Octamasades. The Scythian agreed to this, and received his brother Scyles, giving up his own uncle to Sitalces. Sitalces then took his brother and carried him away, but Octamasades beheaded Scyles on the spot. So closely do the Scythians guard their usages, and such penalties do they lay on those who add foreign customs to their own.

81. How many the Scythians are I was not able to learn with exactness, but the accounts which I heard concerning the number did not tally, some saying that they are very many, and some that they are but few, counted as Scythians. But thus much they made me to see for myself:—There is a region between the rivers Borysthenes and Hypanis, the name of which is Exampaeus; this is the land whereof I lately made mention when I said that there is a spring of salt water in it, the water from which makes the Hypanis unfit to drink. In this region stands a bronze vessel, as much as six times greater than the cauldron dedicated by Pausanias son of Cleombrotus at the entrance of the Pontus.1 To any who has not yet seen this latter I will thus make my meaning plain: the Scythian bronze vessel easily contains five thousand and four hundred gallons, and it is of six fingers’ thickness. This vessel (so said the people of the country) was made out of arrow-heads. For their king, whose name was Ariantas, desiring to know the numbers of the Scythians, commanded every Scythian to bring him the point

1 Pausanias, the victor of Plataea, set up this cauldron in 477 B.C. to commemorate the taking of Byzantium.
στον μίαν ἀπὸ τοῦ ὑστοῦ ¹ κομίσας; δεὶ δὲ ἂν μὴ κοµίσῃ, θάνατον ἀπείλεε. κοµισθήναι τε ἔτη χρήςσα
πολλοῦ ἀρδίων καὶ οἱ δόξαι έξ αὐτῶν μνηµόσυνο
νου ποιήσαντι λιπέσθαι. ἐκ τοὐτῶν δὴ μὲν το
χαλκήιον ποιῆσαι τούτο καὶ ἀναθεῖναι ἐς τὸν 'Εξαµπαῖον τούτον. ταῦτα δὲ περὶ τοῦ πλήθεος τοῦ Σκυθέων ἤκουν.

82. Ὀωµάσια δὲ ἡ χώρη αὐτῇ όνκ ἔχει, χωρίς ἡ ὅτι ποταµοῦ τε πολλῷ μεγίστους καὶ ἀριθµοὶ
πλεύστους. τὸ δὲ ἀποθωµάσαι ἄξιον καὶ πάρεξ τῶν ποταµῶν καὶ τοῦ μεγάθεος τοῦ πεδίου παρέ
χεται, εἰρήσεται ἵχνος Ἡρακλέους φαίνουσι ἐν πέτρῃ ἑνόον, τὸ έοικε μὲν βήµατι ἀνδρόσ, ἐστὶ δὲ τὸ µέγαθος δύπηχυ, παρὰ τὸν Τύρην ποταµόν.
τούτο μὲν νῦν τοιοῦτο εἴστι, ἀναβήσομαι δὲ ἐς τὸν κατ' ἀρχὰς ἡµᾶς λέξων λόγον.

83. Παρασκευαζόµενον Δαρείου ἐπὶ τοὺς Σκύθας καὶ ἐπιπέµποντος ἄγγελους ἐπιτάξοντας τοῖς µὲν πεζοὶ στρατῶν, τοῖς δὲ νέας παρέχειν, τοῖς δὲ ξεύγνυσθαι τοῖς Ὀρηκίους Βόσπορον, Ἀρτά
βαιος ὁ Τστάσπεος, ἀδελφεὺς ἐὼν Δαρείου, ἐχρήµατι µηδαµῶς αὐτοῦ στρατηγὴν ἐπὶ Σκύθας
ποιεόµαι, καταλέγων τῶν Σκυθέων τὴν ἀπορίαν. ἀλλ' οὔ ἂν ἐπεί περὶ συµβουλεύων οἱ χρηστά,
ὁ µὲν ἐπέπαινο, ὃ δὲ, ἐπειδὴ οἱ τὰ ἀπαντάν
tοί στρατεύεστο, ἔξηλανε τὸν στρατόν ἐκ Σούσων.

84. Ἐνθαυτὰ τῶν Περσῶν Οἰόβαζος ἐδείξη
Δαρείου τριῶν ἑοντὸν οἱ παῖδων καὶ πάντων
στρατευοµένων ἕνα αὐτῷ καταλείψημαι. δὲ ἐ

¹ [ἀπὸ τοῦ ὑστοῦ] Stein.
from an arrow, threatening all who should not so do with death. So a vast number of arrow-heads was brought, and he resolved to make and leave a memorial out of them; and he made of these this bronze vessel, and set it up in this country Exam-paeus. Thus much I heard concerning the number of the Scythians.

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

83. While Darius was making preparations\(^2\) against the Scythians, and sending messengers to charge some to furnish an army and some to furnish ships, and others again to bridge the Thracian Bosporus, Artabanus, son of Hystaspes and Darius' brother, desired of him by no means to make an expedition against the Scythians, telling him how hard that people were to deal withal. But when he could not move the king for all his good counsel, Artabanus ceased to advise, and Darius, all his preparations being now made, led his army from Susa.

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

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\(^1\) In ch. 1.

\(^2\) The date of Darius' expedition is uncertain. Grote thinks it probable that it took place before 514 B.C.
85. Καὶ οὕτωι μὲν ἀποσφαγέντες αὐτοῦ ταύτῃ ἔλειποντο. Δαρείος δὲ ἐπείτε πορεύόμενος ἐκ Σοῦσων ἀπίκετο τῆς Καλχηδονίης ἐπὶ τοῦ Βόσπορον ὑπὲρ ἑξευκτο ἡ γέφυρα, ἐνθεῦτεν ἐσβας ἐς νέα ἐπλεε ἐπὶ τὰς Κυανέας καλεμένας, τὰς πρὸ-τεραν πλαγκτας "Ἐλληνες φασὶ εἶναι, ἐξόμενος δὲ ἐπὶ ρίῳ ἐθηεῖτο τὸν Πόντον ἐόντα ἄξιοθέητον. πελάγεων γὰρ ἀπάντων πέφυκε θωρασίωτατος: τοῦ τὸ μὲν μῆκος στάδιου εἰσὶ ἐκατον καὶ χίλιοι καὶ μύριοι, τὸ δὲ εὕρος, τῇ εὐρύτατος αὐτὸς ἐωτοῦ, στάδιοι τρικόσιοι καὶ τρισχίλιοι. τοῦτον τοῦ πελάγεος τὸ στόμα ἐς τὸ εὕρος τέσσερες στάδιοι· μῆκος δὲ τοῦ στόματος, ὁ αὐχήν, τὸ δὴ Βόσπορος κέκληται, κατ' ὁ δὴ ἑξευκτο ἡ γέφυρα, ἐπὶ στάδιους εὐκοσι καὶ ἐκατον ἐς τοῦτον τέινει δ' ἐς τὴν Προποντίδαι ο Βόσπορος. ὅ δὲ Προποντίς ἐόνυσα εὕρος μὲν στάδιων πεντακοσίων, μῆκος δὲ τετρακοσίων καὶ χιλίων, καταδιδοὶ ἐς τὸν Ἐλλήσποντον ἐόντα στεινότητα μὲν ἐπὶ σταδίους, μῆκος δὲ τετρακοσίους. ἐκδιδοὶ δὲ ὁ Ἐλλήσποντος ἐς χάσμα πελάγεος τὸ δὴ Αἰγαίον καλέεται.

86. Μεμέτρηται δὲ ταῦτα ὡδε. νηὺς ἐπὶ παν

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

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

86. These measurements have been made after (about 6280 stades), and, at the point of Herodotus’ measurement, about 270 miles broad; its greatest breadth is 380 miles. His estimates for the Propontis and Hellespont are also in excess, though not by much; the Bosporus is a little longer than he says, but its breadth is correctly given.
μάλιστα κη κατανύει ἐν μακρημερίᾳ ὅργιας ἐπτακισμυρίας, νυκτὸς δὲ ἐξακισμυρίας. ἦδη δὲν ἐς μὲν Φάσιν ἀπὸ τοῦ στόματος (τοῦτο γὰρ ἐστὶ τοῦ Πόντου μακρότατον) ἤμερέων εἰνέα πλὸς ἐστὶ καὶ νυκτῶν ὅκτω· αὐταὶ ἐνδεκα μυριάδες καὶ ἐκατὸν ὅργιεων γῆνουται, ἐκ δὲ τῶν ὅργιεων τοιτέων στάδιοι ἐκατὸν καὶ χίλιοι καὶ μῦριοι εἰσὶ. ἐς δὲ Θεμισκύρην τὴν ἔπὶ Θερμώδοντι ποταμῷ ἐκ τῆς Σινδικῆς (κατὰ τοῦτο γὰρ ἐστὶ τοῦ Πόντου εὐρύτατον) τριῶν τε ἤμερέων καὶ δύο νυκτῶν πλὸς· αὐταὶ δὲ τρεῖς μυριάδες καὶ τριήκοντα ὅργιεων γῆνουται, στάδιοι δὲ τριηκοσίοι καὶ τρισχίλιοι. ὁ μὲν νυν Πόντος οὕτος καὶ Βόσπορος τε καὶ Ἔλλησποντος οὕτω τε μοι μεμετρέαται καὶ κατὰ τὰ εἰρημένα πεφύκασι, παρέχεται δὲ καὶ λίμυνν ὁ Πόντος οὕτος ἐκδιδούσαν ἐς αὐτὸν οὐ πολλῷ τεῳ ἐλάσσῳ ἐωυτοῦ, ἡ Μαιήτις τε καλέεται καὶ μήτηρ τοῦ Πόντου.

87. Ὁ δὲ Δαρείος ὃς ἐθεύσατο τὸν Πόντον, ἐπλεε ὅπισώ ἐπὶ τὴν γέφυραν, τῆς ἄρχιτεκτῶν ἐγένετο Μανδροκλέης Σάμιος· θεσάμενος δὲ καὶ τὸν Βόσπορον στῆλας ἐστησε δύο ἔπ. αὐτοῦ λίθου λευκοῦ, ἐνταμοὶ γράμματα ἐς μὲν τὴν Ἀσσύρια ἐς δὲ τὴν Ἐλληνικά, ἑβδεκά πάντα ὅσα περ ἦγε· ἤγε δὲ πάντα τῶν ἥργης. τούτων μυριάδες ἐξηριθμήθησαν, χωρὶς τοῦ ναυτικοῦ, ἐβδομήκοντα σὺν ἐπτευσί, νέες δὲ ἐξακοσίαι συνελέχθησαν. τῆς μὲν νυν στήλησι ταύτης Βυζάντιοι κομίσαντες ἐς τὴν πόλιν ὑστερον τούτων ἔχρισαντο πρὸς τὸν
this manner: a ship will for the most part accomplish seventy thousand fathoms in a long day’s voyage, and sixty thousand by night. This being granted, seeing that from the Pontus’ mouth to the Phasis (which is the greatest length of the sea) it is a voyage of seven days and eight nights, the length of it will be an hundred and ten thousand and one hundred fathoms, which make eleven thousand one hundred furlongs. From the Sindic region to Themiscara on the river Thermodon (for here is the greatest width of the Pontus) it is a voyage of two days and three nights, that is of thirty thousand and thirty fathoms, or three thousand and thirty furlongs. Thus have I measured this Pontus and the Bosporus and Hellespont, and they are such as I have said. Moreover there is seen a lake issuing into the Pontus and not much smaller than the sea itself; it is called the Maeetian lake, and the mother of the Pontus.

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

1 A deity worshipped especially at Sparta; the meaning of the epithet is uncertain.
HERODOTUS

βωμὸν τῆς Ὅρθωσίης Ἀρτέμιδος, χωρὶς ἐνὸς λίθου· οὗτος δὲ κατελείφθη παρὰ τοῦ Διονύσου τὸν νηὰν ἐν Βυζαντίῳ, γραμμάτων Ἀσσυρίων πλέος. τοῦ δὲ Βοσπόρου ὁ χῶρος τὸν ἔξευξε βασιλεὺς Δαρείος, ὡς ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ συμβαλλομένως, μέσον ἐστὶ Βυζαντίου τε καὶ τοῦ ἐπὶ στόματι ἰροῦ.

88. Δαρείος δὲ μετὰ ταύτα ἡσθεὶς τῇ σχεδίῃ τὸν ἀρχιτέκτονα αὐτῆς Μανδροκλέα τὸν Σάμιον ἐδωρήσατο πᾶσι δέκα· ἀπ’ ὄν δὴ Μανδροκλέης ἀπαρχῇν ξύλα γραψάμενον πᾶσαν τὴν ξεύξιν τοῦ Βοσπόρου καὶ βασιλέα τε Δαρείου ἐν προεδρίᾳ κατημένου καὶ τὸν στρατὸν αὐτοῦ διαβαίνοντα ταύτα γραψάμενος ἀνέθηκε ἐς τὸ Ἡραίον, ἐπιγράψας τάδε.

Βόσπορον ἵχθυόντα γεφυρώσας ἀνέθηκε Μανδροκλέης Ἡρη μυημόσυνον σχεδίςς, αὐτῷ μὲν στέφανον περιθείς, Σαμίοισι δὲ κύδος, Δαρείου βασιλέος ἐκτελέσας κατὰ νοῦν.

89. Ταύτα μὲν νυν τοῦ ξεύξαντος τῆς γέφυραν μυημόσυνα ἐγένετο· Δαρείος δὲ δωρησάμενος Μανδροκλέα διέβαινε ἐς τὴν Εὐρώπην, τοιαῖο Ἰωσὶ παραγγείλας πλέειν ἐς τὸν Πόντον μέχρι Ἰστροῦ ποταμοῦ, ἔπεαν δὲ ἀπίκουνται ἐς τὸν Ἰστροῦ, ἐνθαῦτα αὐτὸν περιμένειν ξευγνῦντας τὸν ποταμὸν. τὸ γὰρ δὴ ναυτικὸν ἄγγον Ἰωνές τε καὶ Αἰολεές καὶ Ἐλλησπόντιοι. ὁ μὲν δὴ ναυτικὸς στρατὸς Κυνεάς διεκπλῶσας ἐπλεε ἵθι τοῦ Ἰστροῦ, ἀναπλώσας δὲ ἀνὰ ποταμὸν δυὸν ἥμερῶν πλόου ἀπὸ θαλάσσης, τοῦ ποταμοῦ τοῦ ἀυχένα, ἐκ τοῦ
Artemis, save for one column covered with Assyrian writing that was left beside the temple of Dionysus at Byzantium. Now if my reckoning be true, the place where king Darius bridged the Bosporus was midway between Byzantium and the temple at the entrance of the sea.

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

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

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

1 Apparently a proverbial expression for great abundance; cp. a similar phrase in ix. 81.
σχίζεται τὰ στόματα τοῦ Ἰστροῦ, ἔξεύγυνε. Δαρεῖος δὲ ὡς διεβη τὸν Βόσπορον κατὰ τὴν σχεδίην, ἐπορεύετο διὰ τῆς Ἐρηνίκης, ἀπικόμενος δὲ ἔπι Τειάρου ποταμοῦ τὰς πηγὰς ἐστρατοπεδεύ-σατο ἡμέρας τρεῖς.

90. Ο ὁ Τειάρος λέγεται ὑπὸ τῶν περιοίκων εἶναι ποταμῶν ἀριστος τὰ τὰ ἄλλα τὰ ἐς ἀκέσιν φέροντα καὶ δὴ καὶ ἀνδράσι καὶ ἵπποις ψώρην ἀκέσασθαι. εἰσὶ δὲ αὐτοῦ αἱ πηγάδες δυόν δέονται τεσσαράκοντα, ἐκ πέτρης τῆς αὐτῆς ἰέονται, καὶ αἱ μὲν αὐτέων εἰσὶ ψυχραί αἱ δὲ θερμαί. ὠδὸς δ' ἐπ' αὐτὰς ἵστι ἐς Ἐραῖον πεῖν λίον τῆς παρὰ Περίνθῳ καὶ ἐς 'Απολλωνίην τῆς ἐν τῷ Ἐλπείῳ πόντῳ, δυῶν ἡμερέων ἐκατέρη. ἐκδίδοι δὲ ὁ Τείαρος οὗτος ἐς τὸν Κοντάδεσδον ποταμὸν, ὁ δὲ Κοντάδεσδος ἐς τὸν Ἀγριάνην, ὁ δὲ Ἀγριάνης ἐς τὸν Ἔβρου, δὲ ὅτι ἡ ἀλάσσαν τὴν παρ' Ἀίνῳ πόλιν.

91. Ἐπὶ τοῦτον ὄν τὸν ποταμὸν ἀπικόμενος ὁ Δαρεῖος ὡς ἐστρατοπεδεύσατο, ἵσθεὶς τῷ ποταμῷ στῆλην ἔστησε καὶ ἐνθάται, γράμματα ἐγγράψας λέγοντα τάδε. "Τειάρου ποταμοῦ κεφαλαί ὑδωρ ἀριστον τε καὶ κάλλιστον παρέχονται πάντων ποταμῶν καὶ ἐπ' αὐτάς ἀπίκετο ἐλαύνων ἐπὶ Σκύθας στρατὸν ἀνήρ ἀριστός τε καὶ κάλλιστος πάντων ἀνθρώπων, Δαρεῖος ὁ Ὁστάσπεος, Περσέως τε καὶ πάσης τῆς ἱππείρου βασίλευς." ταῦτα δὲ ἐνθάτα ἐγράφη.

92. Δαρεῖος δὲ ἐνθεύτευν ὀρμήθεις ἀπίκετο ἐπ' ἄλλων ποταμῶν τῷ ὀύνομα Ἀρτησκός ἔστι, διὰ τὰ Οδρυσέων ρέει. ἐπὶ τοῦτον δὴ τὸν ποταμὸν ἀπικόμενον ἐποίησε τοιόντε: ἀποδέξας χωρίον τῇ
of the river where its divers mouths part asunder. But Darius, having passed over the Bosporus on the bridge of ships, journeyed through Thrace to the sources of the river Tearus, where he encamped for three days.

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

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

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

93. Πρὶν δὲ ἀπικέσθαι ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰστρον, πρώτοις αἱρέει Γέτας τοὺς ἀθανατίζοντας, οἱ μὲν γὰρ τὸν Σαλμυδησσὸν ἡκοῦν τε Θρήκεις καὶ ὑπὲρ Ἀπολλωνίας τε καὶ Μεσαμβρίας πόλιος οἰκη-μένοι, καλεύμενοι δὲ Κυρριάναι καὶ Νιφάδιοι, ἀμαχητὶ σφέας αὐτοὺς παρέδοσαν Δαρεῖος· οἱ δὲ Γέται πρὸς ἀγνωμοσύνην τραπόμενοι αὐτίκα ἔδουλωθησαν, Θρήκεως ἐόντες ἀνδριμότατοι καὶ δικαιότατοι.

94. Ἀθανατίζουσι δὲ τόνδε τὸν τρόπον· οὔτε ἀποθνῄσκειν ἐσωτερικὸς νομίζουσι ἰέναι τε τὸν ἀπολ-λύμενον παρὰ Σάλμοξιν δαίμονα· οἱ δὲ αὐτῶν τὸν αὐτὸν τούτον ὀνομάζουσι Γεβελλίζων· διὰ πεντε-τηρίδος τὸν πάλῳ λαχόντα αἰεὶ σφέας αὐτῶν ἀποπέμπουσι ἀγγέλον παρὰ τὸν Σάλμοξιν, ἐντελ-λόμενοι τῶν ἄν ἑκάστοτε δέωνται, πέμπουσι δὲ ὦδε· οἱ μὲν αὐτῶν ταχθέντες ἀκόντια τρία ἑχοῦσι, ἀλλοι δὲ διαλαβόντες τὸν ἀποπεμπμένον παρὰ τὸν Σάλμοξιν τὰς χεῖρας καὶ τοὺς πόδας, ἀνακινησάντες αὐτὸν μετέφρον ρίπτουσι εἰς τὰς λόγχας. ἢν μὲν δὴ ἀποθάνη ἀναπαραίς, τοῖσι δὲ Ἰλεος ὁ θεὸς δοκεῖ εἶναι· ἢν δὲ μὴ ἀποθάνῃ, αὐτιδῶνται αὐτὸν τὸν ἀγγέλον, φάμενοι μιν ἄνδρα κακῶν εἶναι, αἰτησάμενοι δὲ τοῦτον ἄλλου ἀποπέμπουσι· ἐν-τέλλονται δὲ ἐτὶ ζῶντι, οὕτωι οἱ αὐτοὶ Θρήκεις καὶ πρὸς βροντήν τε καὶ ἀστρατήν τοξεύουσες
man as he passed by lay one stone in this place which he had shown. His army having so done, he made and left great hillocks of the stones and led his army away.

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

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

95. Ὡς δὲ ἐγὼ πυθάνομαι τῶν τῶν Ἐλλησ-ποιτῶν οἰκεόντων Ἐλλήνων καὶ Πόντου, τῶν Σάλμοξιν τοῦτον ἔοντα ἀνθρώπον δουλεύσαι ἐν Σάμῳ, δουλεύσαι δὲ Πυθαγόρη τῷ Μνησάρχου, ἐνθεύτεν δὲ αὐτὸν γενόμενον ἐλεύθερον χρήματα κτήσασθαι μεγάλα, κτησάμενον δὲ ἀπελθεῖν ἐς τὴν ἐωτοῦ. ἢτε δὲ κακοβίων τε ἐόντων τῶν Ἰθρίκων καὶ ὑπαφρονεστέρων, τῶν Σάλμοξιν τοῦτον ἐπιστάμενον διαίταν τε Ἰάδᾳ καὶ ἦθεα βαθύτερα ἢ κατὰ Ἰρήκας, οἷα Ἐλλησί τε ὁμιλή-σαντα καὶ Ἐλλήνων οὐ τῷ ἀσθενεστάτῳ σοφιστῇ Πυθαγόρῃ, κατασκευάσασθαι ἀνδρεώνα, ἐς τὸν πανδοκεύόντα τῶν ἀστῶν τοὺς πρώτους καὶ εὐω-χέοντα ἀναδιδάσκειν ὡς οὕτε αὐτὸς οὕτε οἱ συμπόται αὐτοῦ οὕτε οἱ ἐκ τούτων αἱ ἡγομένοι ἀποθανόνται, ἄλλ' ἦξοςι εἰς χώρον τοῦτον ἱνα αἰεὶ περιεύοντες ἐξουσία τὰ πάντα ἀγαθά. ἐν δὲ ἐποίει τὰ καταλεχθέντα καὶ ἐλεγε ταῦτα, ἐν τούτῳ κατάγαιον οἶκημα ἐποιέετο. ὡς δὲ οἱ παντελέως εἰχε τὸ οἰκήμα, ἐκ μὲν τῶν Ἰθρίκων ἡφανίσθη, καταβάς δὲ κάτω ἐς τὸ κατάγαιον οἰκήμα διαίτατο ἐπ' ἐτεα τρία: οἱ δὲ μιν ἐπόθεον τε καὶ ἐπένθεον ὡς τεθυεώτα. τετάρτῳ δὲ ἐτεί ἐφανή τοῖς Ἰθρίξι, καὶ οὕτω πιθανὰ σφι ἐγένετο τά ἐλεγε ὁ Σάλμοξις. ταῦτα φασί μιν ποιήσαι.

96. Ἐγὼ δὲ περὶ μὲν τοῦτον καὶ τοῦ κατα-γαίον οἶκηματος οὕτε ἀπιστεῶθα ρου τὼν ἐπιστεύω τι λίη, δοκεώ δὲ πολλοίσι ἐτεσί πρὸτερον τῶν Σάλμοξιν τοῦτον γενέσθαι Πυθαγόρεω. εἰτε δὲ 296
Thracians shoot arrows skyward as a threat to the god, believing in no other god but their own.

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

96. For myself, I neither disbelieve nor fully believe the tale about Salmoxis and his underground chamber; but I think that he lived many years before Pythagoras; and whether there was a man called
97. Όστοι μὲν δὴ τρόπῳ τοιούτῳ χρεώμενοι ὡς ἔχειρώθησαν ὑπὸ Περσέων, ἐπιτυγχανόταυτο φροντίζετο χαῖρετο. Δαρείος δὲ ὡς ἀπίκετο καὶ ὁ πεζὸς ἀμφοτέρων χαῖρετο επι τοῦ Ἰστροῦ, ἐνθαύτα διαβάντων πάντων Δαρείος ἐκέλευσε τοὺς τε Ἰωνας τῆν σχεδίην λύσαντας ἐπέσθαι κατ᾽ ἦπειρον ἐσωτήρ καὶ τὸν ἐκ τῶν νεῶν στρατον. μελλόντων δὲ τῶν Ἰωνῶν λύειν καὶ ποιεῖν τὰ κελευμένα, Κώνις ὁ Ἐρξάνδρου στρατηγὸς ἐὼν Μυτιληναίων ἐλέγει Δαρείῳ τάδε, πυθόμενος πρότερον εἰ οἱ φίλοι εἰς γνῶμην ἀποδέκεσθαι παρὰ τοῦ βουλομένου ἀποδείκνυσθαι. “Ω βασιλεῦ, ἐπὶ γῆν γὰρ μέλλεις στρατεύεσθαι τῆς οὔτε ἀρηρομένου φανήσεται οὐδὲν οὔτε πόλις οἰκεομένης· σὺ υἱῷ γέφυραν ταῦτην ἔα κατὰ χώρην ἐστάναι, φυλάκους αὐτῆς λιτῶν τούτως οὔτε ποιεῖ. καὶ ἢν τε κατὰ νόον πρῆξωμεν εὐρώντες Σκύθας, ἐστὶ ἀποδοθῇ ἢμῖν, ἢν τε καὶ μὴ σφεᾷς εὑρεῖν δυνώμεθα, ἢ γε ἀποδοθῇ ἡμῖν ἀσφάλις· οὐ γὰρ ἔδεισά κω μὴ ἔσωθήσωμεν ὑπὸ Σκυθέων μάχης, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον μὴ οὖ δυνάμενοι σφεᾷς εὑρεῖν πάθωμεν τί ἀλώμενοι. καὶ τάδε λέγειν φαίνει τις ἂν με ἐμεσωτοῦ εἴσεκεν, ὡς καταμένω· ἐγὼ δὲ γνῶμην μὲν τὴν εὐρύσκον ἀρίστη τὴν σοι, βασιλεῦ, ἐς μέσον φέρων, αὐτῶς μεντοί ἐξομαί τοι καὶ οὐκ ἂν λειψθείη.” κάρτα τε ἦσθη τῇ γνώμῃ Δαρείος καὶ μιν ἀμείψατο τοῦσιδε. “Εἰσὶν Δέσβιε, σωθέντος ὑπὸ πόλισι ὡς οἶκον τὸν ἐμὸν ἐπιφάνῃς μοι πάντως, ἵνα σε ἀντὶ χρηστῆς συμβουλῆς χρηστοῦσι ἐργοῦσι ἀμείψωμαι.”

98. Ταῦτα δὲ εἶπας καὶ ἀπάψας ἁματα ἐξῆς.
Salmoxis, or this be a name among the Getae for a god of their country, I have done with him.

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

98. Having thus spoken, he tied sixty knots in a
κοντα ἐν ἰμάντι, καλέσας ἐς λόγους τοὺς Ἴωνον τυράννους ἐλέγε ὁ τάδε. Ὠν ἀνδρεῖς ἰωνεῖς, ἢ μὲν πρότερον γνώμη ἀποδεχθεῖσα ἐς τὴν γέφυραν μετείσθω μοι, ἔχοντες δὲ τὸν ἰμάντα τόνδε ποιεῖτε τάδε: ἐπειδ' ἐμὲ ἤδητε τάχιστα πορευόμενον ἐπὶ Σκύθας, ἀπὸ τούτοις ἀρξάμενοι τοῦ χρόνου λύετε ἀμμα ἐν ἐκάστης ἢμέρης: ἢν δὲ ἐν τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ μὴ παρέω ἀλλὰ διεξέλθοσι οὐ μὴ ἢμέραι τῶν ἀμμάτων, ἀποπλεῖτε ἐς τὴν ἑμετέρην αὐτῶν. μέχρι δὲ τούτου, ἐπείτε οὕτω μετέδοξε, φυλάσσετε τὴν σχεδίην, πᾶσαν προθυμίαν σωτηρίης τε καὶ φυλακῆς παρεχόμενοι. ταῦτα δὲ ποιείντες ἐμοὶ μεγάλως χαριεῖσθε." Δαρείος μὲν ταῦτα εἴπας ἐς τὸ πρόσω ἐπείγετο.

99. Τῆς δὲ Σκυθικῆς γῆς ἢ Θρηκῆ τὸ ἐς θάλασσαν πρόκειται κόλπου δὲ ἀγομένου τῆς γῆς ταύτης, ἢ Σκυθικὴ τε ἐκδέκεται καὶ ὁ Ἰστρος ἐκδιδοὶ ἐς αὐτήν, πρὸς εὐρον ἀνέμου τὸ στόμα τετραμμένος. τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ Ἰστρού ἔρχομαι σημανέων τὸ πρός θάλασσαν αὐτής τῆς Σκυθικῆς χώρης ἐς μέτρησιν. ἀπὸ Ἰστρού αὐτῆς ἴδην ἢ ἀρχαίον Σκυθίη ἔστι, πρὸς μεσαμβρῶν τε καὶ νότου ἀνέμου κειμένη, μέχρι πόλιος Καρκινίτιδος καλεομένης. τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ ταύτης τὴν μὲν ἐπὶ θάλασσαν τὴν αὐτὴν φέρουσαν, ἐουσαν ὀρεινὴν τε χώρην καὶ προκειμένην τὸ ἐς Πόντου, νέμεται τὸ Ταυρικὸν ἔθνος μέχρι χερσουήσου τῆς τρηχέως καλεομένης· αὐτὴ δὲ ἐς θάλασσαν τὴν πρὸς ἀπηλιωτὴν ἀνέμον κατίκει. ἐστι γὰρ τῆς Σκυθικῆς τὰ δύο μέρεα τῶν οὐρών ἐς θάλασσαν φέροντα, τὴν τε πρὸς μεσαμβρών καὶ τὴν πρὸς τὴν ἴδιο, κατὰ περὶ τῆς Ἀττικῆς χώρης καὶ παραπλήσια
thong, and calling the despots of the Ionians to an audience he said to them: "Ionians, I renounce the opinion which I before declared concerning the bridge; do you now take this thong and do as I command you. Begin to reckon from the day when you shall see me march away against the Scythians, and loose one knot each day: and if the days marked by the knots have all passed and I have not returned ere then, take ship for your own homes. But till then, seeing that my counsel is thus changed, I bid you guard the bridge, using all zeal to save and defend it. This do, and you will render me a most acceptable service." Having thus spoken, Darius made haste to march further.

99. Thrace runs farther out into the sea than Scythia; and where a bay is formed in its coast, Scythia begins, and the mouth of the Ister, which faces to the south-east, is in that country. Now I will describe the coast of the true Scythia from the Ister, and give its measurements. At the Ister begins the ancient Scythian land, which lies facing the south and the south wind, as far as the city called Carcinitis. Beyond this place, the country fronting the same sea is hilly and projects into the Pontus; it is inhabited by the Tauric nation as far as what is called the Rough Peninsula; and this ends in the eastern sea.¹

¹ Here = the Sea of Azov.
ταύτη καὶ οἱ Ταύροι νέμονται τῆς Σκυθικῆς, ὡς εἰ τῆς Ἀττικῆς ἄλλο ἑθνὸς καὶ μὴ Ἀθηναίοι νεμοίατο τὸν γονὸν τὸν Σουνιακόν, μᾶλλον ἐς τὸν πόντον τὴν ἄκρην 1 ἀνέχοντα, τὸν ἀπὸ Θορικοῦ μέχρι Ἀναφλύστου δήμου. λέγω δὲ ὡς εἶναι ταῦτα σμικρὰ μεγάλοισι συμβάλλειν τοιούτον ἡ Ταυρικὴ ἔστιν. ὅσ δὲ τῆς Ἀττικῆς ταύτα μὴ παραπέπλωκε, ἐγὼ δὲ ἄλλως δηλώσω. ὡς εἰ τῆς Ἰησυγίης ἄλλο ἑθνὸς καὶ μὴ Ἰησυγιαῖς ἀρξάμενοι ἐκ Βρεντεσίου λιμένος ἀποταμοίατο μέχρι Τάραντος καὶ νεμοίατο τὴν ἄκρην. δύο δὲ λέγων ταύτα πολλὰ λέγω παρόμοια, τοῖσι ἄλλοισι ἐσθεν ἡ Ταυρική.

100. Τὸ δ' ἀπὸ τῆς Ταυρικῆς ἦδη Σκύθαι τὰ κατύπερθε τῶν Ταύρων καὶ τὰ πρὸς θαλάσσης τῆς ἡοῖς νέμονται, τοῦ τε Βοστόρου τοῦ Κυμμερίου τὰ πρὸς ἑσπέρης καὶ τῆς λίμνης τῆς Μαιήντιδος μέχρι Τανάιδος ποταμοῦ, ὡς ἐκδιδότες μὲν μυχῶν τῆς λίμνης ταύτης. ἦδη δὲν ἀπὸ μὲν Ἰστροῦ τὰ κατύπερθε ἐς τὴν μεσόγαιαν φέροντα ἀποκληρεῖται ἡ Σκυθική ὑπὸ πρῶτων Ἀγαθύρσων, μετὰ δὲ Νευρῶν, ἐπειτὰ δὲ Ἀνδροφάγων, τελευταῖων δὲ Μελαγχλαίων.

101. 'Εστι δὲν τῆς Σκυθικῆς ὡς οὐσίας τετραγώνου, τῶν δύο μερέων κατηκόντων ἐς θάλασσαν, πάντη ἵσον τὸ τε ἐς τὴν μεσόγαιαν φέρον καὶ τὸ παρὰ τὴν θάλασσαν. ἀπὸ γὰρ Ἰστροῦ ἐπὶ Βορυ-

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

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

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

¹ All this is no more than to say that the Tauri live on a promontory (the Tauric Chersonese), which is like the southeastern promontory of Attica (Sunium) or the “heel” of Italy, i.e. the country east of a line drawn between the modern Brindisi and Taranto. The only difference is, says Herodotus, that the Tauri inhabit a part of Scythia yet are not Scythians, while the inhabitants of the Attic and Italian promontories are of the same stock as their neighbours.
σθένεα δέκα ἢμερέων ὀδός, ὥποι Βορυσθένεος τε ἐπὶ τὴν Λίμνην τὴν Μαιήτιν ἐτερέων δέκα· καὶ τὸ ἀπὸ θαλάσσης ἐς μεσόγαιαν ἐς τοὺς Μελαγχλαίους τοὺς κατύπερβε Σκυθέων οὐκημένους εἴκοσι ἢμερέων ὀδός. ἢ δὲ ὀδὸς ἡ ἢμερησία ἀνὰ διηκόσια στάδια συμβέβληται μοι. οὕτω ἂν εἴη τῆς Σκυθικῆς τὰ ἐπικάρσια τετρακισχιλίων σταδίων καὶ τὰ ὄρθια τὰ ἐς τὴν μεσόγαιαν φέροντα ἐτέρων τοσοῦτων σταδίων. ἢ μὲν γὰρ γῆ αὕτη ἐστὶ μέγαθος τοσαύτη.

102. Οἱ δὲ Σκύθαι δόντες σφισὶ λόγον ὡς οὐκ ὁιοὶ τε εἰσὶ τῶν Δαρείου στρατοῦ ἴθυμαχίη διώσασθαι μοῦνοι, ἔπεμπον ἐς τοὺς πλησίον ὄρους ὄγγέλους· τῶν δὲ καὶ δὴ οἱ βασιλεῖς συνελθόντες ἐβουλεύοντο ὡς στρατοῦ ἐπελαιώνοντος μεγάλου. ἦσαν δὲ οἱ συνελθόντες βασιλεῖς Ταῦρων καὶ Ἀγαθύρσων καὶ Νευρῶν καὶ Ἀνδροφάγων καὶ Μελαγχλαίων καὶ Γελωνῶν καὶ Βουδίνων καὶ Σαυροματέων.

103. Τούτων Ταῦρων μὲν νόμοισι τοιοούσιε χρέωνται· θύουσι μὲν τῇ Παρθένῳ τοὺς τε ναυηγοὺς καὶ τοὺς ἂν λάβωσι Ἐλλήνων ἐπαναχέντες τρόπῳ τοιῷδε· καταρξαμένου ῥοπάλῳ παῖοντι τὴν κεφαλήν. οἱ μὲν δὴ λέγουσι ὡς τὸ σῶμα ἀπὸ τοῦ κρημνοῦ ὁθέουσι κάτω (ἐπὶ γὰρ κρημνοῦ ἱδρυται τὸ ἵρον), τὴν δὲ κεφαλήν ἀνασταυροῦσι· οἱ δὲ κατὰ μὲν τὴν κεφαλήν ὀμολογέουσι, τὸ μέντοι σῶμα οὐκ ὀθέοσθαι ἀπὸ τοῦ κρημνοῦ λέγουσι ἀλλὰ γῆ κρύπτεσθαι. τὴν δὲ δαίμονα ταύτην τῇ θύουσι λέγουσι αὐτῶν Ταῦροι Ἰφιγένειαν τὴν Ἀγαμέμνονος ἐναί. πολεμίους δὲ ἄνδρας τοὺς ἂν χειρώσωνται ποιεῦσι τάδε· ἀποταμών ἐκα-
Ister to the Borysthenes, and the same from the Borysthenes to the Maeetian lake; and it is a twenty days' journey from the sea inland to the country of the Black-cloaks who dwell north of Scythia. Now as I reckon a day's journey at two hundred furlongs, the cross-measurement of Scythia would be a distance of four thousand furlongs, and the line drawn straight up inland the same. Such then is the extent of this land.

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

103. Among these, the Tauri have the following customs: all ship-wrecked men, and any Greeks whom they take in their sea-raiding, they sacrifice to the Virgin goddess\(^1\) as I will show: after the first rites of sacrifice, they smite the victim on the head with a club; according to some, they then throw down the body from the cliff whereon their temple stands, and impale the head; others agree with this as to the head, but say that the body is buried, not thrown down from the cliff. This deity to whom they sacrifice is said by the Tauri themselves to be Agamennon's daughter Iphigenia. As for the enemies whom they overcome, each man cuts off

\(^1\) A deity locally worshipped, identified by the Greeks with Artemis.
στος ἱ κεφαλὴν ἀποφέρεται ἐς τὰ οἰκία, ἔπειτα ἐπὶ ξύλου μεγάλου ἀναπείρας ἵστα ὑπὲρ τῆς οἰκίας ὑπερέχουσαν πολλῶν, μάλιστα δὲ ὑπὲρ τῆς καπνοδόκης. φασὶ δὲ τούτος φυλάκους τῆς οἰκίας πάσης ὑπεραιωρεῖσθαι. ξόσι δὲ ἀπὸ λῃσῆς τε καὶ πολέμου.

104. Ἀγάθυρσοι δὲ ἄβρότατοι ἄνδρῶν εἰσὶ καὶ χρυσοφόροι τὰ μάλιστα, ἐπίκοινοι δὲ τῶν γυναικῶν τὴν μίξιν ποιεῖνταί, ἵνα κασίγνητοί τε ἄλληλῶν ἔωσι καὶ οἰκήμοι έόντες πάντες μήτε φθόνῳ μήτε ἔχθει χρέωνται ἐς ἄλληλους. τὰ δὲ ἄλλα νόματα Θρήνει προσκεχωρήκασι.

105. Νευρὸι δὲ νόμοισι μὲν χρεώνται Σκυθικοῖς, γενεῆ δὲ μιᾷ πρότερον σφέας τῆς Δαρείου στρατηλασίας κατέλαβε ἐκλιπεῖν τὴν χώρην πάσαν ὑπὸ ὀρφών. ὀφίας γὰρ σφι πολλοὺς μὲν ἡ χώρη ἄνεφαινε, οἱ δὲ πλεῖνες ἀνωθέν σφι ἐκ τῶν ἔρημων ἐπέπεσον, ὡς ὁ πιεζόμενοι οἰκησαν μετὰ Βουδίων τὴν ἐωτῶν ἐκλιπόντες. κινδυνεύουσι δὲ οἱ ἄνθρωποι οὕτω γόητες εἶναι. λέγονται γὰρ ὑπὸ Σκυθέων καὶ Ἐλλήνων τῶν ἐν τῇ Σκυθικῇ κατοικημένων ὡς ἔτεος ἐκάστου ἀπαξ τῶν Νευρῶν ἐκαστος λύκος γίνεται ἡμέρας ὀλίγας καὶ άυτις ὀπίσω ἐς τῶν κατίσταται. ἐμὲ μὲν τυν ταῦτα λέγοντες οὐ πείθουσι, λέγουσι δὲ οὐδὲν ἠσσον, καὶ ὀμνύσι δὲ λέγοντες.

106. Ἀνδροφάγῳ δὲ ἀγριώτατα πάντων ἄνθρωπων ἔχουσι ἢθεα, οὔτε δίκην νομίζουσε οὔτε νόμῳ οὐδεν χρεώμενοι νομάδες δὲ εἰσὶ, ἐσθίτα τε φορέουσι τῇ Σκυθικῇ ὁμοῖῃ, γλῶσσαν δὲ ἰδίῃν, ἀνδροφαγέουσι δὲ μοῦνοι τούτων.

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

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

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

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

108. Βουδίνοι δὲ ἐθνὸς ἐδὼ μέγα καὶ πολλὸν
γλαυκόν τε πάν ἱσχυρῶς ἔστι καὶ πυρρόν. πόλις
dὲ ἐν αὐτοῖσι πεπόλισται ξυλίνη, οὐνομα δὲ τῇ
πόλι ἐστὶ Γελωνός· τοῦ δὲ τείχεος μέγαθος κόλον
ἐκαστὸν τριήκοντα σταδίων ἔστι, ὑψηλὸν δὲ καὶ
πάν ξύλινον, καὶ αἱ οἰκίαι αὐτῶν ξύλιναι καὶ τὰ
ἱρά. ἔστι γὰρ δὴ αὐτὸθι Ἑλληνικῶν θεῶν ἴρα
Ἑλληνικῶς κατεσκευασμένα ἁγάλμασι τε καὶ
βουμοίσι καὶ νηοίσι ξυλίνουσι, καὶ τὸ Διονύσῳ
τριετηρίδας ἀνάγονοι καὶ βακχεύονοι. εἰσὶ γὰρ
οἱ Γελωνοὶ τὸ ἄρχαῖον Ἑλληνες, ἐκ τῶν δὲ ἔμ-
πορίων ἐξαναστάσεις οὐκησαν ἐν τοῖσι Βουδίνοισι·
καὶ γλώσσῃ τὰ μὲν Σκυθικῆ τὰ δὲ Ἑλληνικῆ
χρέωνται. Βουδίνοι δὲ οὐ τῇ αὐτῇ γλώσσῃ χρέ-
ωνται καὶ Γελωνοὶ, οὔδε δίαυτα ἡ αὐτῇ.

109. Οἱ μὲν γὰρ Βουδίνοι ἑόντες αὐτόχθονες
νομάδες τε εἰσὶ καὶ φθειροτραγέουσι μοῦνοι τῶν
ταύτης, Γελωνοὶ δὲ γῆς τε ἑργάται καὶ σιτοφάγοι
καὶ κῆπους ἐκτημένοι, οὐδὲν τὴν ἱδέην ὄμοιοι οὔδὲ
τὸ χρῶμα. ὑπὸ μέντοι Ἑλλήνων καλέονται καὶ
οἱ Βουδίνοι Γελωνοὶ, οὐκ ὀρθῶς καλεόμενοι. ἦ δὲ
χώρῃ σφέων πᾶσα ἐστὶ δασεὰ ἰδησί παντοτίης·
ἐν δὲ τῇ ἱδῇ τῇ πλείοστῃ ἐστὶ λίμνη μεγάλη τε καὶ
πολλὴ καὶ ἐλὸς καὶ κάλαμος περὶ αὐτῆς. ἐν δὲ
ταύτῃ ἐνυπόνως ἀλίσκονται καὶ κάστορες καὶ ἄλλα
θηρία τετραγωνοπρόσωπα, τῶν τὰ δέρματα παρὰ
tὰς σισύριας παραρράπτεται, καὶ οἱ ὄρχεις αὐ-
τοὶ εἰσὶ χρήσιμοι ἐς ύστερέων ἀκεσίων.

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

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

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

110. The history of the Sauromatae is as I will
Ελληνες Ἀμαξόσι ἐμαχέσαντο (τὰς δὲ Ἀμαξόνας καλέουσι Σκύθαι Οἰόρπατα, δύναται δὲ τὸ οὖνομα τοῦτο κατὰ Ἕλλαδα γλῶσσαν ἀνδροκτόνου· οἷόρ γὰρ καλέουσι ἄνδρα, τὸ δὲ πατὰ κτείνειν), τότε λόγος τοὺς Ἕλληνας νικήσαντας τῇ ἐπὶ Θερμώδουτι μάχῃ ἀποπλέειν ἄγοντας τρισὶ πλοίοις τῶν Ἀμαξώνων ὁσας ἐδυνέατο ξωγρῆσαι, τὰς δὲ ἐν τῷ πελάγει ἐπιθεμένας ἐκκόψαι τοὺς ἄνδρας. πλοία δὲ οὐ γινώσκειν αὐτὰς οὐδὲ πτηδαλίουσι χράσθαι οὐδὲ ἱστίοισι οὐδὲ εἰρεσίῃ· ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ ἐξέκοψαν τοὺς ἄνδρας ἐφέροντο κατὰ κύμα καὶ ἄνεμον, καὶ ἀπικνέονται τῆς λίμνης τῆς Μαυήτιδος ἐπὶ Κρημνών· οἱ δὲ Κρημνοὶ εἰσὶ γῆς τῆς Σκυθέων τῶν ἐλευθέρων. ἐνθαῦτα ἀποβάσαι ἀπὸ τῶν πλοίων αἱ Ἀμαξόνες ὀδοιπόρεον ἐς τὴν οἰκεμένην. ἐνυγχοῦσαι δὲ πρῶτῳ ἱπποφορῆς τοῦτο διήρπασαν, καὶ ἐπὶ τούτων ἵππαξόμεναι ἐληιζοῦντο τὰ τῶν Σκυθέων.

111. Οἱ δὲ Σκύθαι οὐκ ἐῖχον συμβαλέσθαι τὸ πρῆγμα· οὕτε γὰρ φωνὴν οὕτε ἐσθήτα οὔτε τὸ ἔθνος ἐγνώσκον, ἀλλ' ἐν θώματι ἦσαν ὁκόθεν ἐλθοιειν, ἔδοκεν δ' αὐτὰς ἐἶναι ἄνδρας τὴν αὐτὴν ἡλικίαν ἐχοντας, μάχην τε δὴ πρὸς αὐτὰς ἐποιευτο. ἐκ δὲ τῆς μάχης τῶν νεκρῶν ἐκράτησαν οἱ Σκύθαι, καὶ οὕτω ἐγνωσαν ἑοῦσας γυναῖκας. Βουλευομένοις δὲν αὐτοὶ ἔδοξε κτείνειν μὲν οὐδεὶς τρόπῳ ἐπὶ αὐτὰς, ἑωυτῶν δὲ τοὺς νεωτάτους ἀποπέμψαν ἐς αὐτὰς, πλῆθος εἰκάσαντας ὡσια περ ἐκεῖναι ἦσαν, τούτους δὲ στρατοπεδεύεσθαι πλησίον εἰκεῖνες καὶ ποιεῖν τὰ περ ἄν καὶ ἐκεῖναι ποιέως· ἦν δὲ αὐτῶν διόκως, μάχεσθαι μὲν μὴ, ύποφεύγειν δὲ· ἐπεάν δὲ παύσωνται, ἐλθόντας.
now show. When the Greeks warred with the Amazons (whom the Scythians call Oiorpata, a name signifying in our tongue killers of men, for in Scythian a man is oior, and to kill is pata) after their victory on the Thermodon they sailed away carrying in three ships as many Amazons as they had been able to take alive; and out at sea the Amazons set upon the crews and threw them overboard. But they knew nothing of ships, nor how to use rudder or sail or oar; and the men being thrown overboard they were borne at the mercy of waves and winds, till they came to the Cliffs by the Maeetian lake; this place is in the country of the free Scythians. There the Amazons landed, and set forth on their journey to the inhabited country. But at the beginning of their journey they found a place where horses were reared; and carrying these horses away they raided the Scythian lands on horseback.

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

112. Ἡπεὶ δὲ ἐμαθοῦν αὐτοὺς αἱ Ἀμαζόνες ἐπ' οὐδεμιῆς δηλήσι ἀπηγμένοι, ἔων χαίρειν προσεχώρεον δὲ πλησιαστέρῳ τὸ στρατόπεδον τῷ στρατοπέδῳ ἐπ' ἡμέρῃ ἐκάστῃ. εἶχον δὲ οὐδὲν οὐδ' οἱ νευμίσκοι, ὧσπερ αἱ Ἀμαζόνες, εἰ μὴ τὰ ὁπλα καὶ τοὺς ἱπποὺς, ἀλλὰ ζῷην ἐξων τὴν αὐτῆς ἐκείνης, θηρεύοντες τε καὶ ληζόμενοι.

113. Ἡποίευν δὲ αἱ Ἀμαζόνες ἐς τὴν μεσαμβρίην τοιοῦτα ἐγνώσοντα σποράδες κατὰ μίαν τε καὶ δύο, πρόσω δὴ ἀπ' ἀλληλέων ἐς εὔμαρεῖν ἀποσκιδνάμεναι. μαθόντες δὲ καὶ οἱ Ῥκύθαι ἐποίευν τῶντο τοῦτο. καὶ τις μονωθεισέων τινὶ αὐτῶν ἐνεχρίμπτετο, καὶ ἡ Ἀμαζών οὐκ ἀπωθέετο ἀλλὰ περιείδε χρῆσασθαι. καὶ φωνήσαν μὲν οὐκ ἐίχε, οὐ γὰρ συνίεσαν ἀλλήλων, τῇ δὲ χειρὶ ἐφραζέ τις τὴν ὑστεραιήν ἐλθεῖν ἐς τῶντο χωρίων καί ἐτερον ἄγειν, σημαίνοσα δύο γενόμεθα, καὶ αὐτῇ ἐτέρην ἄξειν. ὁ δὲ νευμίσκος, ἐπεὶ ἀπῆλθε, ἐλέξε ταύτα πρὸς τούς λοιποὺς τῇ δὲ δευτεραίη ἤλθε τις τὸ χωρίον αὐτός τε οὕτως καί ἐτερον ἤγει, καὶ τὴν Ἀμαζώνα ἐφρε δευτέρην αὐτὴν ὑπομένουσαν. οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ νευμίσκοι ὡς ἐπύθοντο ταύτα, καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐκπλάσαντο τὰς λοιπὰς τῶν Ἀμαζώνων.

114. Μετὰ δὲ συμμεῖσαντες τὰ στρατόπεδα οἴκεων ὁμοί, γυναικὰ ἔχων ἐκαστὸς ταύτην τῇ τὸ πρῶτον συνεμίχθη, τῇ δὲ φωνῆν τὴν μὲν τῶν γυναικῶν οἱ ἄνδρες οὐκ ἐδυνάτο μαθεῖν, τῇ δὲ
come and encamp near to them. This was the plan of the Scythians, for they desired that children should be born of the women. The young men, being sent, did as they were charged.

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

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

114. Presently they joined their camps and dwelt together, each man having for his wife the woman with whom he had had intercourse at first. Now the men could not learn the women’s language, but the
τῶν ἀνδρῶν αἱ γυναῖκες συνέλαβον. ἔπει δὲ συνήκαν ἄλληλων, ἔλεγαν πρὸς τὰς Ἀμαζόνας τάδε οἱ ἄνδρες. "Ἡμῖν εἰσὶ μὲν τοκεῖες, εἰσὶ δὲ κτήσιες: νῦν ὃν μηκέτι πλεύνα χρόνον ξύνην τούνδε ἔχωμεν, ἀλλὰ ἀπελθόντες ἐς τὸ πλῆθος διαιτώμεθα. γυναίκας δὲ ἔξομεν ύμέας καὶ οὐδαμὰς ἄλλας." αἱ δὲ πρὸς ταύτα ἔλεγαν τάδε. "Ἡμεῖς οὐκ ἄν δυναίμεθα οἰκέειν μετὰ τῶν ὑμετέρων γυναίκῶν· οὐ γὰρ τὰ αὐτὰ νόμαι ἤμιν τε κάκείνησι ἐστὶ. ἥμεις μὲν τοξεύομεν τε καὶ ἀκοντίζομεν καὶ ἱππαξόμεθα, ἔργα δὲ γυναικῆια ὁυκ ἐμάθομεν· αἱ δὲ υμετέραι γυναίκες τούτων μὲν οὐδὲν τῶν ἥμεις κατελέξαμεν ποιεῖσθι, ἔργα δὲ γυναικῆια ἐργάζονται μένουσαι εἰ τῆσι ἀμάξησι, οὐτ' ἐπὶ θήρην ίσοπαίον οὔτε ἄλλῃ οὐδαμῇ. οὐκ ἄν δὴ δυναίμεθα ἐκείνησι συμφέρεσθαι. ἀλλ' εἰ βούλεσθε γυναῖκας ἔχειν ἡμέας καὶ δοκεῖειν εῖναι δίκαιοι, ἐλθόντες παρὰ τοὺς τοκέας ἀπολάχετε τῶν κτημάτων τὸ μέρος, καὶ ἐπειτὰ ἐλθόντες οἰκέωμεν ἐπὶ ἡμέων αὐτῶν." ἐπείθοντο καὶ ἐποίησαν ταύτα οἱ νενύσκοι.

115. Ἐπείτε δὲ ἀπολαχόντες τῶν κτημάτων τὸ ἐπιβάλλων ἦλθον ὅπϊσώ παρὰ τὰς Ἀμαζόνας, ἔλεγαν αἱ γυναῖκες πρὸς αὐτοὺς τάδε. "Ἦμεας ἐχει φῶςε τε καὶ δέος ὁκὼς χρῆ οἰκέειν ἐν τῶδε τῷ χώρῳ, τοῦτο μὲν ύμέας ἀποστερησάσας πατέρων, τοῦτο δὲ γῆν τὴν ὑμετέρην δήλησαμενας πολλά. ἀλλ' ἐπείτε ἀξιοῦτε ήμέας γυναῖκας ἔχειν, τάδε ποίεστε ἀμα ἤμιν· φέρετε ἐξαναστέωμεν ἐκ τῆς γῆς τῆς δὲ καὶ περὶσαντες Τάναϊν ποταμοῦ οἰκέωμεν."

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

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

116. To this too the youths consented; and crossing
βάντες δὲ τὸν Τάναϊν ὀδοιπόρων πρὸς Ἡλιον ἀνίṣχοντα τριῶν μὲν ἠμερέων ἀπὸ τοῦ Τανάϊδος ὀδοῦ, τριῶν δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς Λήμνης τῆς Μαιήτιδος πρὸς Βορέην ἀνέμου. ἀπικόμενοι δὲ ἐς τούτον τὸν χῶρον ἐν τῷ νῦν κατοικηνταί, οὐκησαν τοῦτον. καὶ διαίτη ἀπὸ τοῦτον χρέωνται τῇ παλαίᾳ τῶν Σαυροματέων αἱ γυναίκες, καὶ ἐπὶ θήρῃ ἐπὶ ὑπῶν ἐκφοιτῶσαι ἁμα τοις ἁνδράσι καὶ χωρίς τῶν ἁνδρῶν, καὶ ἐς πόλεμον φοιτῶσαι καὶ στολὴν τὴν αὐτὴν τοις ἁνδράσι φορέουσαι.

117. Φωνῇ δὲ οἱ Σαυρομάται ιομίζουσι Σκυθικῇ, σολοκικοὺς αὐτῇ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀρχαίου, ἐπεῖ οὐ χρηστῶς ἐξέμαθον αὐτὴν αἱ Ἀμαξόνες. τὰ περὶ γάμων δὲ ὥδε σφί διακέται· οὐ γαμεῖται παρθένοις οὐδεμία πρὶν ἂν τῶν πολεμίων ἁνδρὰ ἀποκτείνῃ· αἱ δὲ τινὲς αὐτέως καὶ τελευτῶσι γηραιαί πρὶν γῆμασθαι, οὐ δυνάμεναι τὸν νόμον ἐκπλησθαι.

118. Ἐπὶ τούτων ὁν τῶν καταλεχθέντων ἐθνέων τοὺς βασιλέας ἀλισμένους ἀπικόμενοι τῶν Σκυθέων οἱ ἀγγελοὶ ἔλεγον ἐκδιδάσκοντες ὡς ὁ Πέρσης, ἐπειδὴ οἱ τὰ ἐν τῇ ἥπειρῳ τῇ ἐτέρῃ πάντα κατέστραπται, γέφυραν ξεύξας ἐπὶ τῷ αὐχένι τοῦ Βοσπόρου διαβέβηκε εἰς τίνυδε τὴν ἥπειρον, διαβὰς δὲ καὶ καταστρεψάμενος Θρημίκας γεφυρὶς ποταμῶν Ἰστροῦ, Βουλόμενος καὶ τάδε πάντα ὑπ’ ἐωντῷ ποιήσασθαι. "Τιμεῖς ὃν μηδεὶς τρόπῳ ἐκ τοῦ μέσου κατήμενοι περιήδητε ἡμέας διαφθαρέντας, ἀλλὰ τῶν οὐσιάσαντες ἀντιάζωμεν τὸν ἐπιόντα. οὐκών ποιήσεσε ταῦτα· ἡμεῖς μὲν πιεζόμενοι ἢ ἐκλείψομεν τῇ χώρῃ ἢ μένουντες ὠμολογίᾳ χρήσῳ-μεθα. τί γὰρ πάθωμεν μὴ βουλομένων ὡμέων τιμωρεῖν; ὡμὶν δὲ οὐδὲν ἐπὶ τούτῳ ἔσται ἐλα-
the Tanais they went a three days' journey from the river eastwards, and a three days' journey from the Maeetian lake northwards; and when they came to the region in which they now dwell, they made their abode there. Ever since then the women of the Sauromatae have followed their ancient usage; they ride a-hunting with their men or without them; they go to war, and wear the same dress as the men.

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

118. The kings then of these aforesaid nations being assembled, the Scythian messengers came and laid all exactly before them, telling how the Persian, now that the whole of the other continent was subject to him, had crossed over to their continent by a bridge thrown across the gut of the Bosporus, and how having crossed it and subdued the Thracians he was now bridging the Ister, that he might make all that region subject like the others to himself. "Do you, then," said they, "by no means sit apart and suffer us to be destroyed; rather let us unite and encounter this invader. If you will not do this, then shall we either be driven perforce out of our country, or abide and make terms. For what is to become of us if you will not aid us? And thereafter it will be no
φρότερον ἢκει γὰρ ὁ Πέρσης οὐδὲν τι μᾶλλον ἐπ' ἡμέας ἢ οὐ καὶ ἐπ' ὑμεας, οὐδὲ οἱ καταχρήσει ἡμέας καταστρηψαμένοι ὑμέαν ἀπέχεσθαι. μέγα δὲ ὑμῖν λόγων τούντα μαρτύριον ἐρέομεν. εἰ γὰρ ἐπ' ἡμέας μούνους ἐστρατηγιάτεε ὁ Πέρσης τίςαρ-θαι τής πρόσθε δουλοσύνης βουλόμενος, χρῆν αὐτῶν πάντων τῶν ἄλλων ἀπεχόμενον ἵνα ὑμᾶς ἐπὶ τὴν ἡμετέρην, καὶ ἂν ἔδηλου πᾶσι ὡς ἐπὶ Σκύθας ἐλαύνει καὶ οὐκ ἐπὶ τοὺς ἄλλους. νῦν δὲ ἐπείπε τάχιστα διέβη ἐς τὴν ἦμεραν τοῦ ἦμερον, τοῖς αἰεὶ ἐμποδών γινομένους ἠμεροῦται πάντας· τοὺς τε δὴ ἄλλους ἔχει ὑπ' ἐωυτῷ Ὁρήκας καὶ δὴ καὶ τοὺς ἡμῖν ἐόντας πλησιοχώρους Γέτας."
light matter for you yourselves; for the Persian is come to attack you no whit less than us, nor when he has subdued us will he be content to leave you alone. We can give you full proof of what we say: were it we alone against whom the Persian is marching, to be avenged on us for our former enslaving of his country, it is certain that he would leave others alone and make straight for us, thus making it plain to all that Scythia and no other country is his goal. But now, from the day of his crossing over to this continent, he has been ever taming all that come in his way, and he holds in subjection, not only the rest of Thrace, but also our neighbours the Getae.”

119. Such being the message of the Scythians, the kings who had come from their nations took counsel, and their opinions were divided. The kings of the Geloni and the Budini and the Sauromatae made common cause and promised to help the Scythians; but the kings of the Agathyrsi and Neuri and Maneaters and Black-cloaks and Tauri made this answer to the messengers: “Had it not been you who did unprovoked wrong to the Persians and so began the war, this request that you proffer would seem to us right, and we would consent and act jointly with you. But now, you and not we invaded their land and held it for such time as the god permitted; and the Persians, urged on by the same god, are but requiting you in like manner. But we did these men no wrong in that former time, nor will we essay to harm them now unprovoked; natheless if the Persian come against our land too and do the first act of
καὶ ἡμεῖς οὐ πεισόμεθα, 1 μέχρι δὲ τούτο ἦδομεν, μενέομεν παρ’ ἡμῖν αὐτοίσιν ἢκειν γὰρ δοκέομεν οὐκ ἔπ’ ἡμέας Πέρσας ἀλλ’ ἐπὶ τοὺς αὐτίος τῆς ἀδικίας γενομένους.”

120. Ταῦτα ὡς ἀπενειχθέντα ἐπύθοντο οἱ Σκύθαι, ἐβουλεύοντο ἱθυμαχίᾳ μὲν μηδεμίαν ποίεσθαι ἐκ τοῦ ἐμφανεός, ὅτε δὴ σφὶ οὕτωι γε σύμμαχοι οὐ προσεγίνοντο, ὑπεξίόντες δὲ καὶ ὑπεξελαύνοντες τὰ φρέατα τὰ παρεξόην αὐτοῖν καὶ τὰς κρῆνας συγχων, τὴν ποίην τε ἐκ τῆς γῆς ἐκτρίβειν, δισοὶ σφέας διελόντες. καὶ πρὸς μὲν τὴν μίαν τῶν μοιρῶν, τῆς ἐβασίλευε Σκώπασις, προσχωρεῖν Σαυρομάτας τοῦτοι μὲν δὴ ὑπάγειν, ἣν ἐπὶ τοῦτο τράπηται ὁ Πέρσης, ἰδὼν Τανάίδος ποταμοῦ παρὰ τὴν Μαιήτην λίμνην ὑποφεύγοντας, ἀπελαύνοντός τε τοῦ Πέρσεω ἐπιόντας διώκειν. αὐτὴ μὲν σφὶ μία ἢν μοῖρα τῆς βασιληῆς, τεταγμένη ταύτην τὴν ὀδὸν ἡ περ εἰρηταί τὰς ἰδέ τῶν βασιληῶν, τῆς τε μεγάλην τῆς ἢρχη Ἰδάνθυροσ καὶ τὴν τρίτην τῆς ἐβασίλευε Τάξακις, συνελθοῦσας ἐς τῶντο καὶ Γελωνῶν τε καὶ Βουδίων προσγενομένων, ἴμέρης καὶ τοῦτος ὀδῷ προέχοντας τῶν Περσέων ὑπεξάγειν, ὑπίοντας τε καὶ ποιεύντας τὰ βεβουλευμένα. πρώτα μὲν νυν ὑπάγειν σφέας ἵθυ τῶν χωρέων τῶν ἀπειπαμένων τὴς σφατέρης συμμαχίας, ἵνα καὶ τοῦτος ἐκπολεμώσωσι εἰ γὰρ μὴ ἐκόντες γε ὑπέδυσαν τὸν πόλεμον τὸν πρὸς Πέρσας, ἀλλ’ ἀέκοντας ἐκπολεμώσειν μετὰ δὲ τούτῳ ὑποστρέφειν ἐς τὴν σφατέρην καὶ ἐπιχειρεῖν, ἣν δὴ βουλευομένουι δοκέῃ.

1 πεισόμεθα MSS.; Stein prefers κεισόμεθα, “lie inactive.”
wrong, then we two will not consent to it; but till we see that, we will abide where we are by ourselves. For in our judgment the Persians are attacking not us but those at whose door the offence lies."

120. This answer being brought back and made known to the Scythians, they resolved not to meet their enemy in the open field, seeing that they could not get the allies that they sought, but rather to withdraw and drive off their herds, choking the wells and springs on their way and rooting up the grass from the earth; and they divided themselves into two companies. It was their will that to one of their divisions, over which Scopasis was king, the Sauromatae should be added; this host should, if the Persian marched that way, retire before him and draw off towards the river Tanais, by the Maeetian lake, and if the Persian turned to depart then they should attack and pursue him. This was one of the divisions of the royal people, and it was appointed to follow the way aforesaid; their two other divisions, namely, the greater whereof the ruler was Idanthyrsus, and the third whose king was Taxakis, were to unite, and taking to them also the Geloni and Budini, to draw off like the others at the Persian approach, ever keeping one day's march in front of the enemy, avoiding a meeting and doing what had been resolved. First, then, they must retreat in a straight course towards the countries which refused their alliance, so that these too might be compelled to fight; for if they would not of their own accord enter the lists against the Persians, they must be driven to war willy-nilly; and after that, the host must turn back to its own country, and attack the enemy, if in debate this should seem good.
121. Ταύτα οἱ Σκύθαι βουλευσάμενοι ὑπηντία-ζον τὴν Δαρείου στρατιῶν, προδρόμους ἀποστεί-λαντες τῶν ἵππεων τους ἀρίστους. τὰς δὲ ἀμάξας ἐν τῇ σφὶ διαίτατο τὰ τέκνα καὶ αἱ γυναῖκες πάσας καὶ τὰ πρόβατα πάντα, πλὴν ὅσα σφὶ ἐσ φορβὴν ἰκανὰ ᾧ τοσαῦτα ὑπολιπόμενοι, τὰ ἄλλα ἀμα τῇ σφὶ ἀμάξισι προεπεμψάν, ἐντειλάμενοι αἰεὶ τὸ πρὸς βορεῶ ἑλαύνειν.

122. Ταύτα μὲν δὴ προεκομίζετο· τῶν δὲ Σκυ-θέων οἱ πρόδρομοι ὡς εὐρὸν τοὺς Πέρσας ὅσον τε τριῶν ἡμερῶν ὀδὸν ἀπέχοντας ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἱστροῦ, οὕτως μὲν τούτοις εὐρόντες, ἡμέρης ὁδὸν προέχοντες, ἑστρατοπεδέυοντο τὰ ἐκ τῆς γῆς φυόμενα λεινοντες, οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι ώς εἶδον ἐπιφανείςαν τῶν Σκυθέων τὴν ὑππον, ἐπῆσαν κατὰ στίβον αἰεὶ ὑπαγόντων καὶ ἔπευτα (πρὸς γὰρ τὴν μίαν τῶν μοιρῶν ἰδίους) οἱ Πέρσαι ἐδίωκον πρὸς ἥω τε καὶ ἰδὺ Ταναίδος· διαβάντων δὲ τούτων τῶν Τάναϊν ποταμῶν οἱ Πέρσαι ἐπιδιαβάντες ἐδίωκον, ἐς τὸ τῶν Σαυρομάτεων τὴν χώρην διεξελθόντες ἀπίκοντο ἐς τὴν τῶν Βουδίνων.

123. Ὅσον μὲν δὴ χρόνον οἱ Πέρσαι ἦσαν διὰ τῆς Σκυθικῆς καὶ τῆς Σαυρομάτιδος χώρης, οἱ δὲ εἰχον οὐδὲν σίνεσθαι ἀτε τῆς χώρης ἐούσης χέρσου· ἐπεῖτε δὲ ἐς τὴν τῶν Βουδίνων χώρην ἐσέβαλλον, ἐνθαῦτα δὴ ἐντυχόντες τῷ ἔνθινῳ τείχει, ἐκλεοπότων τῶν Βουδίνων καὶ κεκευω-μένου τοῦ τείχεος πάντων, ἐνέπρησαν αὐτὸ. τοῦτο δὲ ποιήσαντες εἶποντο αἰεὶ τὸ πρόσω κατὰ στίβον, ἐς ο διεξελθόντες ταύτην ἐς τὴν ἔρημον ἀπίκοντο. ἢ δὲ ἔρημος αὐτῇ ὑπὸ οὐδαμῶν νέμεται ἀνδρῶν, κέεται δὲ ὑπὲρ τῆς Βουδίνων χώρης ἐούσας πλῆθος
121. Being resolved on this plan, the Scythians sent an advance guard of the best of their horsemen to meet Darius' army. As for the waggons in which their children and wives lived, all these they sent forward, charged to drive ever northward; and with the waggons they sent all their flocks, keeping none back save such as were sufficient for their food.

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

123. As long as the Persians were traversing the Scythian and Sauromatic territory there was nothing for them to harm, as the land was dry and barren. But when they entered the country of the Budini, they found themselves before the wooden-walled town; the Budini had deserted it and left nothing therein, and the Persians burnt the town. Then going still forward in the horsemen's tracks they passed through this country into the desert, which is inhabited by no men; it lies to the north of the Budini and its
erus παντοτινος την καλεσμενην Μαυτον, τοιων ουνοματα κετουν ταδε, Λυκος· "Οαιρος Ταναις Συργης.
124. 'Επει δων ο Ναρειος ήλθε εις την ήρημον, πανσάμενος του δρομου ίδρυσε την στρατηγιν έπι ποταμο 'Ολρω. τουτο δε πουησας οκτω τειχεα έτειχε μεγαλα, ισων ατ' αλληλων άπεχουτα, σταθενως ως έξηκουνα μελετατα κη των ετι ες εμε τα ερεπια σοα ήν. εν οι δε ουτος προς ταυτα έτραπετο, οι δωκομενοι Σκυθαι περιελθοντες τα κατυπαρεθε υπεστρεφον εις την Σκυθικην. ώφανισθεντων δε τοιτων το παραπαν, ως ουκετι έφανταξουτο σφι, ερτω δη ο δαρειος τειχεα μεν έκεινα ημιεργα μετηκε, αυτος δε υποστρηψας ήμε προς εσπερην, δοκεων τοιτους τε παητας τους Σκυθας ειαι και προς εσπερην σφεας φευγεν.
125. 'Ελαυνος δε την ταξισθην των στρατων ως ες την Σκυθικην άπικετο, ενθυκυρε άμφοτερησι τησι μοιρησι των Σκυθεων, έντυχων δε έδιωκε υπεκέφεροντας ημερης οδοι, και ου γαρ ανιει επιων ο δαρειος, οι Σκυθαι κατα τα βεβουλευμενα υπεψευγον εσ των άπειπαμενων την σφετερην συμμαξην, πρωτην δε ες των Μελαγχλαιων την γην. ως δε έσβαλοντες τοιτους επαρεξαν οι τε Σκυθαι και οι Περσαι, καθηοντο οι Σκυθαι ες των 'Ανδροφαγων τους χωρους· ταραχθεντων δε και τοιτων υπηγον επι την Νευριδα· ταρασσομενων δε και τοιτων ήμιαν υποφευγοντες οι Σκυθαι ες τους 'Αγαθύρσους. 'Αγαθύρσουι δε ορεουσε και τους ομούρους φευγοντας υπο Σκυ-
breadth is a seven days' march. Beyond this desert dwell the Thyssagetae; four great rivers flow from their country through the land of the Maeetians, and issue into the lake called the Maeetian; their names are Lycus, Oarus, Tanais, Syrgis.

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

125. But when he came by forced marches into Scythia, he met both the divisions of the Scythians, and pursued them, they keeping ever a day's march away from him; and because he would not cease from pursuing them, the Scythians, according to the plan they had made, fled before him to the countries of those who had refused their alliance, and first to the land of the Black-cloaks. Into their land the Scythians and Persians burst, troubling their peace; and thence the Scythians led the Persians into the country of the Man-eaters, troubling them too; whence they drew off with a like effect into the country of the Neuri, and troubling them also, fled to the Agathyrsi. But these, seeing their very neighbours fleeing panic-stricken at the Scythians' approach,
HERODOTUS

θέων καὶ τεταραγμένους, πρὶν η’ σφί ἐμβαλεῖν τοὺς Σκύθας πέμψαντες κήρυκα ἀπηγόρευν Σκύθησι μὴ ἐπιβάϊνειν τῶν σφετέρων οὐρων, προλέγοντες ὡς εἰ πειρήσονται ἐς βαλόντες, σφύσι πρῶτα διαμαχήσονται. Ἀγάθυρσοι μὲν προεπαντες ταῦτα ἐβοήθεον ἐπὶ τοὺς οὖρους, ἐρύκειν ἐν νόῳ ἔχοντες τοὺς ἐπιόντας. Μελάγχλαινοι δὲ καὶ Ἀνδροφάγοι καὶ Νευροὶ ἐς βαλόντων τῶν Περσέων ἀμα Σκύθησι οὔτε πρὸς ἀλκήν ἑτράποντο ἐπιλαθόμενοι τε τῆς ἀπειλῆς ἐφευγον αἰεὶ τὸ πρὸς βορέω ἐς τὴν ἐρήμου τεταραγμένοι. οἱ δὲ Σκύθαι εἰς μὲν τοὺς Ἀγαθύρσους οὐκέτι ἀπεπανταὶ ἀπικινεύοντο, οὐ δὲ ἐκ τῆς Νευρίδος χώρης ἐς τὴν σφετέρην κατηγέοντο τοῖς Πέρσησι.

126. Ὡς δὲ πολλὸν τοῦτο ἐγίνετο καὶ οὖκ ἐπαύετο, πέμψας Δαρείος ἐππέα παρὰ τῶν Σκυθέων βασιλέα Ἰδάνθυρσον ἐλεγε τάδε. "Δαιμόνιε ἄνδρων, τί φεύγεις αἰεί, ἐξέον τοι τῶνδε τὰ ἐτερα ποιεῖν; εἰ μὲν γὰρ ἄξιόχρεος δοκεῖς εἶναι σεωντῷ τοῖς ἐμοί σι πρήγμασι ἀντιωθῆναι, σὺ δὲ στὰς τε καὶ παυσάμενος πλάνης μάχεσθαι εἰ δὲ συγγινώσκεαι εἶναι ἡσσών, σὺ δὲ καὶ οὖτῳ παυσάμενος τοῦ δρόμου δεσπότη τῷ σῷ δώρᾳ φέρων γῆν τε καὶ ύδωρ ἐλθὲ ἐς λόγους."

127. Πρὸς ταῦτα ὁ Σκυθέων βασιλεὺς Ἰδάνθυρσος λέγει τάδε. "Οὔτω τὸ ἐμὸν ἐχεῖ, ὡ Πέρσα. ἐγὼ οὐδένα καὶ ἀνθρώπων δεῖσας ἐφυγον οὔτε πρότερον οὔτε νῦν σὲ φεύγω, οὐδὲ τὶ νεώτερον εἰμί, ποιοῦσας νῦν ἥ και ἐν εἰρήνῃ ἑώθεα ποιεῖν. ὅ τι δὲ οὖκ αὐτίκα μάχομαι τοι, ἐγὼ καὶ τοῦτο σημανέω. ἡμῖν οὔτε ἀστεα οὔτε γῆ πεφυτευμένη ἔστι, τῶν πέρι δείσαντες μὴ ἄλῳ ἢ
before the Scythians could break into their land sent a herald to forbid them to set foot on their borders, warning the Scythians that if they essayed to break through they must first fight with the Agathyrsi. With this warning they mustered on their borders, with intent to stay the invaders. But the Black-cloaks and Man-eaters and Neuri, when the Persians and the Scythians broke into their lands, made no resistance, but forgot their threats and fled panic-stricken ever northward into the desert. The Scythians, being warned off by the Agathyrsi, made no second attempt on that country, but led the Persians from the lands of the Neuri into Scythia.

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

127. To this Idanthyrsus the Scythian king made answer: "Know this of me, Persian, that I have never fled for fear of any man, nor do I now flee from you; this that I have done is no new thing or other than my practice in peace. But as to the reason why I do not straightway fight with you, this too I will tell you. For we Scythians have no towns or planted lands, that we might meet you the sooner
καρη ταχύτερον ἀν ὑμῖν συμμίσγομεν ἐς μάχην. εἰ δὲ δέοι πάντως ἐς τούτο κατὰ τάχος ἀπικενε- 
εσθαί, τυγχάνουσι ἡμῖν ἐόντες τάφοι πατρώων 
φέρετε, τούτους ἀπευρότες συγχέεις πειράσθε 
αυτούς, καὶ γνώσεσθε τότε εἴτε ὑμῖν μαχησόμεθα 
πέρι τῶν τάφων εἴτε καὶ οὗ μαχησόμεθα. πρό- 
τερον δὲ, ἢν μὴ ἡμέας λόγος αἱρέῃ, οὐ συμμέξομέν 
τοι. ἂμφὶ μὲν μάχη τοσαῦτα εἰρήσθω, δεσπότας 
δὲ ἐμοὺς ἐγὼ Δία τε νομίζω τὸν ἐμὸν πρόγονον 
καὶ Ἰστίην τὴν Σκυθέων βασίλειαν μούνους εἶναι. 
σοὶ δὲ ἀντὶ μὲν δῶρῳ γῆς τε καὶ ῥῆτορος δῶρα 
πέμψω τοιαύτα οί σοὶ πρέπει ἔλθεῖν, ἀντὶ δὲ 
τοῦ ὅτι δεσπότης ἐφησας εἶναι ἐμός, κλαίειν 
λέγω.” τούτῳ ἐστὶ ἡ ἀπὸ Σκυθέων ῥήσις.

128. Ὅ μὲν δὴ κήρυξ ὁ χώκεε ἀγγελέων ταῦτα 
Δαρείῳ, οἱ δὲ Σκυθέων βασιλεῖς ἀκούσαντες τῆς 
δουλούντις τὸ οὖνομα ὑγίης ἐπλήσθησαν. τῆς 
μὲν δὴ μετὰ Σαυροματέων μοίραν ταχθείσαν, τῆς 
ἥρχε Σκώπασις, πέμπτοι δὲ Ἰωσὶ κελεύοντες ἐς 
λόγους ἀπικέσθαι, τούτους οἴ τὸν Ἰστρον ἐξευ- 
γμένου ἐφροῦρειν αὐτῶν δὲ τοῖς ὑπολειπομέ- 
νοις ἐδοξε πλανᾶν μὲν μηκέτι Πέρσας, σῶτα δὲ 
ἐκάστοτε ἀναιρεομένοις ἐπιτίθεσθαι. νωμὼντε 
ὡν σίτα ἀναιρεομένους τοὺς Δαρείου ἐποίειν τὰ 
βεβουλευμένα. ἡ μὲν δὴ ἵππος τῆς ἵππον αἰεὶ 
τράπεσε ἡ τῶν Σκυθέων, οἱ δὲ τῶν Πέρσων 
ἵπποται φεύγοντες ἐσέπιπτον ἐς τὸν πεζόν, ὁ δὲ 
πεζὸς ἄν ἐπεκούρει: οἱ δὲ Σκύθαι ἐσαριξάντες 
τὴν ἰππον ὑπέστρεφον τὸν πεζόν φυγεόμενοι. 
ἐποίευτο δὲ καὶ τὰς νύκτας παραπλησίας προσ- 
βολῶς οἱ Σκύθαι.

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

128. So the herald went to carry this message to Darius; but the Scythian kings were full of anger when they heard the name of slavery. They sent then the division of Scythians and Sauromatae, which was led by Scopasis, to speak with those Ionians who guarded the bridge over the Ister; as for those of the Scythians who were left behind, it was resolved that they should no longer lead the Persians astray, but attack them whenever they were foraging for provision. So they watched for the time when Darius’ men were foraging, and did according to their plan. The Scythian horse ever routed the Persian horse, and the Persian horsemen falling back in flight on their footmen, the foot would come to their aid; and the Scythians, once they had driven in the horse, turned about for fear of the foot. The Scythians attacked in this fashion by night as well as by day.
129. Τὸ δὲ τοῖς Πέρσησι τε ἂν σύμμαχοι καὶ
toῖς Σκύθσι ἀντίξον ἐπιτιθημένοισι τῷ Δαρείου
στρατοπέδῳ, θόρμα μέγιστον ἐρέω, τόν τε ὅνων ἡ
φωνῇ καὶ τῶν ἡμιόνων τὸ εἰδός. οὐτε γὰρ ὅνων
οὔτε ἡμίόνων γῇ ἡ Σκυθικὴ φέρει, ὡς καὶ πρότερον
μοι δεδήλωται, οὔδὲ ἐστὶ ἐν τῇ Σκυθικῇ πάσῃ
χώρῃ τὸ παράπαν οὔτε ὅνος οὔτε ἡμίόνος διὰ τὰ
ψύχεα. ὑβρίζοντες δὲν οἱ οἱ ἐτάρασσον τὴν
ἵππον τῶν Σκυθέων. πολλάκις δὲ ἐπελαυνόντων
ἐπὶ τοὺς Πέρσας μεταξὺ ὅκως ἀκούσειαν οἱ ἵπποι
τῶν ὅνων τῆς φωνῆς, ἐτάρασσοντό τε ὑποστρέφο-
μενοι καὶ ἐν θώματι ἐσκόν, ὅρθα ἱστάντες τὰ ὅτα,
οὔτε οὐκ ἀκούσαντες πρότερον φωνῆς τοιαύτης
οὔτε ἱδόντες τὸ εἰδός.

130. Ταῦτα μὲν νῦν ἐπὶ σμικρόν τι ἐφέροντο
τοῦ πολέμου. οἱ δὲ Σκύθαι ὅκως τοὺς Πέρσας
ἵδοιεν τεθορυβημένους, ἴνα παραμένοιεν τε ἐπὶ
πλέω χρόνου ἐν τῇ Σκυθικῇ καὶ παραμένοντες
ἀνωτάτῳ τῶν πάντων ἐπιδεευές ἔντεις, ἐποίεον
τοιάδε. ὅκως τῶν προβάτων τῶν σφετέρων αὐτῶν
καταλύποιεν μετὰ τῶν νομέων, αὐτοὶ ἄν ὑπεξή-
λαυνοῦν ἐς ἄλλου χώρου. οἱ δὲ ἄν Πέρσαι ἐπελ-
θόντες λάβεσκον τὰ πρόβατα καὶ λαβόντες
ἐπιεύρητον ἄν τῷ πεποιημένῳ.

131. Πολλάκις δὲ τοιούτων γινομένων, τέλος
Δαρείου τε ἐν ἀπορίησι εἰχετο, καὶ οἱ Σκυθέων
βασιλέες μαθόντες τούτο ἐπεμπον κήρυκα δῶρα
Δαρείῳ φέροντα ὀρνιθὰ τε καὶ μῦν καὶ βάτραχον
καὶ ὀστοῦς πέντε. Πέρσαι δὲ τὸν φέροντα τὰ
δῶρα ἐπειρότεσον τὸν νόον τῶν διδομένων· ὁ δὲ
οὐδὲν ἔφη οἱ ἐπεστάλθαι ἄλλο ἡ δόντα τὴν ταχι-
στὴν ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι· αὐτοὺς δὲ τοὺς Πέρσας
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129. Most strange it is to relate, but what aided the Persians and thwarted the Scythians in their attacks on Darius' army was the braying of the asses and the appearance of the mules. For, as I have before shown, Scythia bears no asses or mules; nor is there in the most of Scythia any ass or mule, by reason of the cold. Therefore the asses, when they waxed wanton, alarmed the Scythian horses; and often, when they were in the act of charging the Persians, if the horses heard the asses bray they would turn back in affright or stand astonished with ears erect, never having heard a like noise or seen a like creature.

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

131. This having often happened, Darius was in a quandary; which when they perceived, the Scythian kings sent a herald bringing Darius the gift of a bird, a mouse, a frog, and five arrows. The Persians asked the bringer of these gifts what they might mean; but he said that no charge had been laid on him save to give the gifts and then depart with all speed; let
132. Ταύτα ἀκοῦσαντες οἱ Πέρσαι ἐβουλεύοντο. Δαρείον μὲν νυν ἡ γνώμη ἦν Σκύθως ἐωτύῳ διδόναι σφέας τε αὐτούς καὶ γῆν τε καὶ ύδωρ, εἰκάζων τήδε, ὡς μὺς μὲν ἐν γῇ γίνεται καρπὸν τὸν αὐτὸν ἀνθρώπῳ συνεκμεθεν, βάπταχος δὲ ἐν ύδατι, ὅρνις δὲ μάλιστα ἐσυκε ὑππὼ, τοὺς δὲ ὁστοὺς ὡς τῆν ἑωτῶν ἀλκήν παραδίδουσι. αὐτῇ μὲν Δαρείῳ ἀπεδέδεκτο ἡ γνώμη. συνεστήκεε δε ταύτῃ τῇ γνώμῃ ἡ Γοβρύω, τῶν ἀνδρῶν τῶν ἐπτὰ ἐνὸς τῶν τῶν Μάγων κατελόντων, εἰκάζοντος τὰ δώρα λέγειν "Ἡν μὴ ὅρνιθες γενόμενοι ἀναπτήσθη ἐς τῶν οὐρανῶν, ὥ Πέρσαι, ἡ μὺς γενόμενοι κατὰ τῆς γῆς καταδῦντε, ἡ βάπταξοι γενόμενοι ἐς τὰς λίμνας ἐσπεριάσθη, οὐκ ἀποιστήσετε ὁπίσω ὑπὸ τῶν τοξευμάτων βαλλόμενοι.

133. Πέρσαι μὲν δὴ τὰ δώρα εἰκάζον. ἢ δὲ Σκυθέων μία μοῖρα ἡ ταχθείσα πρότερον μὲν παρὰ τὴν Μαιήτινα λίμνην φουρρεέω, τότε δὲ ἐπὶ τῶν 'Ἰστροῦν 'Ἰωσι ἐς λόγους ἐλθείν, ὡς ἀπίκετο ἐπὶ τὴν γέφυραν, ἔλεγε τάδε. "Ἀνδρεῖς Ἰωνες, ἐλευθερίην ἦκομεν ὡμίν φέροντες, ἢ πέρ γε ἐθέλητε ἐσακούειν. πυνθανόμεθα γὰρ Δαρείον ἐντελεῖνς ἔγερα μίαν εἰς τὴν γέφυραν, αὐτοῦ μὴ παραγενομένον ἐν τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ, ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι ἐς τὴν υμετέρην. νῦν ὡν ὑμεῖς τάδε ποιεῖτες ἐκτὸς μὲν ἐσεσθε πρὸς ἐκείνου αὐτῆς, ἐκτὸς δὲ πρὸς ἢμένῳ τὰς προκειμένας ἡμέρας παραμέναντες ὑπὸ τούτου ἀπαλλάσσεσθε." οὕτων μὲν νυν ὑποδεξαμένων Ἰωνοῦ ποιήσειν ταύτα ὁπίσω τὴν ταχύτητι ἐπείγοντο.
the Persians (he said), if they were clever enough, discover the signification of the presents.

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

133. Thus the Persians reasoned concerning the gifts. But when the first division of the Scythians came to the bridge—that division which had first been appointed to stand on guard by the Maeetian lake and had now been sent to the Ister to speak with the Ionians—they said, “Ionians, we are come to bring you freedom, if you will but listen to us. We learn that Darius has charged you to guard the bridge for sixty days only, and if he comes not within that time then to go away to your homes. Now therefore do that whereby you will be guiltless in his eyes as in ours: abide here for the days appointed, and after that depart.” So the Ionians promised to do this, and the Scythians made their way back with all speed.
134. Πέρσης δὲ μετὰ τὰ δῶρα ἐλθόντα Δαρείῳ ἀντετάχθησαν οἱ ὑπολείφθέντες Σκύθαι πεζοὶ καὶ ἐπίουσι ως συμβαλέοντες. τεταγμένοι δὲ τοῖς Σκύθησι λαγὸς ἐς τὸ μέσον διηνίξε· τῶν δὲ ὁς ἐκαστὸι ὄρων τῶν λαγῶν ἐδίωκον. ταραχθέντων δὲ τῶν Σκυθέων καὶ Βοη χρεωμένων, εἰρετο ὁ Δαρείος τῶν ἀντιπολεμίων τὸν θόρυβον πυθόμενος δὲ σφέας τὸν λαγὸν διώκοντας, εἶπε ἄρα πρὸς τοὺς περ ἔωθεν καὶ τὰ ἀλλὰ λέγειν "Οὔτοι ὄνδρες ἡμέων πολλὸν καταφρονεῖσθι, καὶ μοι νῦν φαίνεται Γοβρύὴς εἴπαι περὶ τῶν Σκυθικῶν δώρων ὀρθῶς. ὣς ὁν σύνω ἢδη δοκεόντων καὶ αὐτῷ μοι ἔχειν, βουλής ἀγαθῆς δεῖ, ὡς ἀσφαλέως ἡ κομιδὴ ἡμῶν ἐςται τὸ ὀπίσω." πρὸς ταῦτα Γοβρύῆς εἶπε ὡς Βασιλεῦ, ἔγω σχεδὸν μὲν καὶ λόγῳ ἁπι- στάμην τούτων τῶν ἀνδρῶν τὴν ἀπορίαν, ἐλθὼν δὲ μᾶλλον ἔξεμαθον, ὅρεων αὐτοὺς ἐμπαίζοντας ἡμῖν. νῦν δὲν μοι δοκεῖ, ἐπεάν τάχιστα νύξ ἐπέλ- θη, ἐκκαύσαντας τὰ πυρὰ ὡς ἐὼθαμεν καὶ ἄλλοτε ποιέειν, τῶν στρατιωτῶν τοὺς ἀσθενεστάτους ἐς τὰς ταλαιπωρίας ἐξαπατήσαντας καὶ τοὺς ὅνους πάντας καταδήσαντας ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι, πρὶν ἡ καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰστρον ἱθὺσαι Σκύθας λύσοντας τὴν γέφυραν, ἡ καὶ τὶ Ἰσσι δόξαι τὸ ἡμέας οἶνον τε ἐςται ἐξεργάσασθαι.

135. Γοβρύῆς μὲν ταῦτα συνεβούλευε. μετὰ δὲ νύξ τε ἐγένετο καὶ Δαρείος ἐχράτω τῇ γνώμῃ ταύτης τοὺς μὲν καματηροὺς τῶν ἀνδρῶν καὶ τῶν ἦν ἐλάχιστος ἀπολλυμένων λόγος, καὶ τοὺς ὅνους πάντας καταδήσας κατέλυπε αὐτοὺ ἐν τῷ στρατο-πέδῳ. κατέλυπε δὲ τοὺς τε ὅνους καὶ τοὺς ἀσθε-νέας τῆς στρατιῆς τῶνδε ἐίνεκεν, ἴνα οἱ μὲν ὅνοι
134. But after the sending of the gifts to Darius, the Scythians who had remained there came out with foot and horse and offered battle to the Persians. But when the Scythian ranks were arrayed, a hare ran out between the armies; and every Scythian that saw it gave chase. So there was confusion and shouting among the Scythians; Darius asked what the enemy meant by this clamour; and when he heard that they were chasing the hare, then said he (it would seem) to those wherewith he was ever wont to speak, "These fellows hold us in deep contempt; and I think now that Gobryas' saying concerning the Scythian gifts was true. Seeing therefore that my own judgment of the matter is like his, we need to take sage counsel, whereby we shall have a safe return out of the country." To this said Gobryas: "Sire, reason showed me well enough how hard it would be to deal with these Scythians; and when I came I was made the better aware of it, seeing that they do but make a sport of us. Now therefore my counsel is, that at nightfall we kindle our camp-fires according to our wont, that we deceive those in our army who are least strong to bear hardship, and tether here all our asses, and so ourselves depart, before the Scythians can march straight to the Ister to break the bridge, or the Ionians take some resolve whereby we may well be ruined."

135. This was Gobryas' advice, and at nightfall Darius followed it. He left there in the camp the men who were weary, and those whose loss imported least to him, and all the asses too tethered. The reason of his leaving the asses, and the infirm among his soldiers, was, as regarding the asses, that they
βοήν παρέχωνταί οί δὲ ἀνθρώποι ἀσθενείς μὲν εἶνεκεν κατελεύτοντο, προφάσιοι δὲ τῇς δηλαδή, ὡς αὐτός μὲν σὺν τῷ καθαρῷ τοῦ στρατοῦ ἐπιθή-
σεθαι μέλλοι τοῖς Σκύθησι, οὔτοι δὲ τὸ στρατό-
πεδον τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον ὑποίατο. ταῦτα τοῖς ὑπολειμμένοις ὑποθέμενοι ὁ Δαρεῖος καὶ πυρὰ ἐκκαύσας τὴν ταχύστην ἐπείγετο ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰστρον. 
οἱ δὲ ὄνοι ἐρημωθέντες τοῦ ὀμίλου οὔτω δὴ μᾶλλον πολλῷ ἔσαν τῆς φωνῆς· ἀκούσαντες δὲ οἱ Σκύθαι τῶν ὄνων πάγχυ κατὰ χώρην ἦλπιζον τοὺς Πέρ-
σας εἶναι.

136. Ἡμέρης δὲ γενομένης γνώντες οἱ ὑπολει-
φθέντες ός προδεδομένοι εἶεν ὑπὸ Δαρείου, χεῖρας 
τε προετέινοντο τοῖς Σκύθησι καὶ ἔλεγον τὰ 
κατήκοντα· οἱ δὲ ὄς ἦκουσαν ταῦτα τὴν ταχύστην 
συστραφέντες, αἱ τε δύο μοῖραι τῶν Ἐκυθέων καὶ 
ἡ μία καὶ Σαυρομάται καὶ Βουδίνοι καὶ Γελωνοί,
ἐδώκον τοὺς Πέρσας ἰθὺ τοῦ Ἰστρον. ἀτε δὲ τοῦ 
Περσικοῦ μὲν τοῦ πολλοῦ ἐόντος πεζοῦ στρατοῦ 
καὶ τὰς ὀδοὺς οὐκ ἐπισταμένου, ὅστε οὐ τετμη-
μενέων τῶν ὀδῶν, τοῦ δὲ Σκυθικοῦ ἅπτότεω καὶ 
τὰ σύντομα τῆς ὀδοῦ ἐπισταμένου, ἀμαρτόντες 
ἀλλήλων, ἐφθησαν πολλῷ οἱ Σκύθαι τοὺς Πέρσας 
ἐπὶ τὴν γέφυραν ὑποκόμενοι. μαθόντες δὲ τοὺς 
Πέρσας οὐκ ἀπιγμένους ἔλεγον πρὸς τοὺς Ἰωνοῖς 
ἐόντας· ἐν τῇς νυσί "Ἀνδρες Ἰωνες, αἱ τε ἠμὲ-


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might bray; as to the men, they were left by reason of their infirmity, but his pretext was, forsooth, that they should guard the camp while he attacked the Scythians with the sound part of his army. Giving this charge to those who were left behind, and lighting camp-fires, Darius made all speed to reach the Ister. When the asses found themselves deserted by the multitude, they brayed much the louder for that; and the Scythians by hearing them were fully persuaded that the Persians were still in the same place.

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

137. Ἐν τῷ Ἰωνίῳ Ἑλλησπόντῳ. Μιλτιάδεως μὲν τοῦ Ἀθηναίου, στρατηγέοντος καὶ τυραννεύοντος Χερσονησιτῶν τῶν ἐν Ἑλλησπόντῳ, ἦν γνώμη πείθεσθαι Σκύθησι καὶ ἐλευθεροῦν Ἰωνίνθη, Ἰστιαίον δὲ τοῦ Μιλησίου ἐναντία ταύτῃ, λέγοντος ὡς νῦν μὲν διὰ Δαρείου ἐκαστὸς αὐτῶν τυραννεύει πόλιος· τῆς Δαρείου δὲ δυνάμεως καταρρεθείς οὕτε αὐτὸς Μιλησίων οἶός τε ἐσεσθαι ἄρχειν οὕτε ἄλλοι οὔδενα οὐδαμοῦ· βουλήσεσθαι γὰρ ἐκάστην τῶν πολίων δημοκρατεσθαι μᾶλλον ἡ τυραννεύσθαι. Ἰστιαίον δὲ γνώμην ταύτην ἀποδεικνυμένου αὐτὸκαὶ πάντες ἦσαν τετραμμένοι πρὸς ταύτην τὴν γνώμην, πρὸτερον τὴν Μιλτιάδεως αἵρεσιν.

138. Ἡσαν δὲ οὕτωι οἱ διαφέροντές τε τὴν ψήφου καὶ έόντες λόγου πρὸς βασιλέως, Ἐλλησποντίων μὲν τύραννοι Δάφνις τε Ἀβυδηνός καὶ Ἰπποκλος Δαμφάκης καὶ Ἡρόφαντος Παρηνός καὶ Μητρόδωρος Προκοννήσιος καὶ Ἀρισταγόρης Κυζικηνός καὶ Ἀρίστων Βυζάντιος. οὕτωι μὲν ἦσαν οἱ ἐξ Ἐλλησποντοῦ, ἀπὸ Ἰωνίνθη δὲ Στράττης τε Χῖος καὶ Αἰάκης Σάμιος καὶ Λασδάμας Φωκαιεὺς καὶ Ἰστιαῖος Μιλήσιος, τοῦ ἡν γνώμη ἡ προκειμένη ἐναντία τῇ Μιλτιάδεω. Ἀιολέων δὲ παρὴν λόγιμος μοῦνος Ἀρισταγόρης Κυμαῖος.

139. Οὕτωι δὲν ἐπείτε τὴν Ἰστιαίον αἵρεοντο γνώμην, ἐδοξεὶ σφὶ πρὸς ταύτην τάδε ἔργα τε καὶ ἐπεα προσθείναι, τῆς μὲν γεφύρης λύειν τὰ κατὰ τοὺς Σκύθας ἐόντα, λύειν δὲ ὅσον τόξουμα ἐξικνεῖ.
plight that never again will he lead his army against any nation."

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

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

139. These then chose to follow Histiaeus’ counsel, and resolved to make it good by act and word: to break as much of the bridge as reached a bowshot from the Scythian bank, that so they might
etu, ἵνα καὶ ποιέων τι δοκέωσι ποιεύτες μηδὲν καὶ οἱ Σκύθαι μὴ πειρῶσατε βιώμενοι καὶ βουλόμενοι διαβῆναι τὸν Ἰστρον κατὰ τὴν γέφυραν, εἶπειν τε λύσοντας τῆς γεφύρης τὸ ἐς τὴν Σκυθικῆν ἔχον ὡς πάντα ποιήσουν τὰ Σκύθησι ἐστὶ ἐν ηδονῇ. ταῦτα μὲν προσέθηκαν τῇ γυνώμη μετὰ δὲ ἐκ πάντων ὑπεκρίνατο Ἰστιαίως τάδε λέγων. "Ανδρές Σκύθαι, χρηστὰ ἦκετε φέροντες καὶ ἐς καιρὸν ἐπείγεσθε καὶ τά τε ἅπ' ὑμέων ἡμῖν χρηστῶς ὀδοῦται καὶ τά ἅπ' ἡμέων ἐς ὑμέας ἐπιτηδεώς ὑπηρετεῖται. ὥς γὰρ ὅρατε, καὶ λύσομεν τὸν πόρον καὶ προθυμίην πάσαν ἐξομεν θέλοντες εἶναι ἐλεύθεροι. ἐν δὲ ἡμεῖς τάδε λύσομεν, ὑμέας καιρός ἐστι δίξησθαι ἐκείνος, εὐφόροτας δὲ ὑπέρ τε ἡμέων καὶ ὑμέων αὐτῶν τίσασθαι ὅτω ὡς κεῖνος πρέπει." 140. Σκύθαι μὲν τὸ δεύτερον Ἡῳ πιστεύσαντες λέγειν ἀληθέα ὑπέστρεφον ἐπὶ ξῆτησιν τῶν Περσῶν, καὶ ἡμάρτανον πάσης τῆς ἐκείνων διεξόδου. αὐτοῖς δὲ τούτον αὐτοῖ οἱ Σκύθαι ἐγένοντο, τὰς νομάς τῶν ὑπ' ὑμῶν τὰς ταύτης διαφθείραντες καὶ τὰ ὑδάτα συγχώσαντες. εἰ γὰρ ταῦτα μὴ ἐποίησαν, παρεῖχε ἄν σφί, εἰ ἐβούλοντο, εὐπετέως ἐξευρεῖν τοὺς Πέρσας. νῦν δὲ τά σφί ἐδόκεε ἀριστα βεβουλεύσθαι, κατὰ ταύτα ἐσφάλησαν. Σκύθαι μὲν νυν τῆς σφετέρης χάρης τῇ χιλὸς τε τοῦτο ὑποσί καὶ ὑδάτα ἦν, ταύτη διεξόντες ἐδίζηντο τοὺς ἀντιπολεμίους, δοκέοντες καὶ ἐκείνος διὰ τοιούτων τῆς ἀπόδρησιν ποιεσθαι: οἱ δὲ δὴ Πέρσαι τὸν πρῶτον ἐσωτῇ γενόμενον στίβου, τούτον φυλάσσοντες ἤσαν, καὶ οὕτω μόνις εὗρον τὸν πόρον. οἶα δὲ νυκτὸς τε
seem to do somewhat when in truth they did nothing, and that the Scythians might not essay to force a passage across the Ister by the bridge; and to say while they broke the portion of the bridge on the Scythian side, that they would do all that the Scythians desired. This resolve they added to their decision; and presently Histiaeus answered for them all, and said, "You have brought us good, Scythians, and your zeal is well timed; you do your part in guiding us aright and we do ours in serving your ends as need requires; for as you see, we are breaking the passage, and will use all diligence, so much do we desire our freedom. But while we break this bridge, now is the time for you to seek out the Persians, and when you have found them to take such vengeance on our and your behalf as they deserve."

140. So the Scythians trusted the Ionians' word once more, and turned back to seek the Persians; but they mistook the whole way whereby their enemies passed. For this the Scythians themselves were to blame, inasmuch as they had destroyed the horses' grazing-grounds in that region and choked the wells. Had they not so done, they could readily have found the Persians if they would. But as it was, that part of their plan which they had thought the best was the very cause of their ill-success. So the Scythians went searching for their enemies through the parts of their own country where there was provender for horses and water, supposing that they too were aiming at such places in their flight; but the Persians ever kept to their own former tracks, and so with much ado they found the passage of the river. But inasmuch as they
141. Ην δὲ περὶ Δαρείου ἀνήρ Δισύππτιος φωνεῶν μέγιστον ἀνθρώπων· τούτον τῶν ἄνδρα καταστάντα ἔπι τοῦ χείλεος τοῦ Ἰστροῦ ἐκέλευε Δαρείος καλέων Ἰστιαίου Μιλήσιον. ὦ μὲν δὴ ἐποίεε ταύτα, Ἰστιαίος δὲ ἑπακούσας τῷ πρώτῳ κελεύσματι τάς τε νέας ἀπάσας παρεῖχε διαπορθμεύειν τὴν στρατιὰ καὶ τὴν γέφυραν ἐξευξζε.

142. Πέρσαι μὲν δὲν οὖτω ἐκφεύγονσι. Σκύθαι δὲ διεξήμενοι καὶ τὸ δεύτερον ἦμαρτον τῶν Περσῶν, καὶ τούτο μὲν ὡς έόντας Ἰωνᾶς ἐλευθέρους κακίστους τε καὶ ἀνανδρότατους κρίνουσι εἶναι ἀπάντων ἀνθρώπων, τούτο δὲ, ὡς δούλων έόντων τὸν λόγον ποιεύμενοι, ἀνδράποδα φιλοδέσποτα φασὶ εἶναι καὶ ἁδρηστὰ. ταῦτα μὲν δὴ Σκύθησι ἐς Ἰωνᾶς ἀπέρριπται.

143. Δαρείος δὲ διὰ τῆς Ἐρηνίκης πορευόμενος ἀπίκετο ἐς Σηστοῦ τῆς Χερσονήσου· ἐνθεύτευν δὲ αὐτὸς μὲν διέβη τῇς νῆσι ἐς τὴν 'Ασίην, λείπει δὲ στρατηγὸν ἐν τῇ Εὔρώπῃ Μεγάβαζον ἄνδρα Πέρσην· τῷ Δαρείου κὸτε ἔδωκε γέρας, τοιὸνδὲ εἶπας ἐν Πέρσησι ἔπος. ὁρμημένου Δαρείου ροιάς τρώγειν, ὡς ἀνοιξε τάχιστα τὴν πρώτην τῶν ροιών, εἶρετο αὐτὸν ὁ ἄδελφος Ἀρτάβανος ὁ τι βούλοιτ' ἄν ὦ τοσοῦτο πλήθος γενέσθαι ὅσοι ἐν τῇ ροιῇ κόκκοι. Δαρείος δὲ εἶπε Μεγαβάζους ἄν ὦ τοσοῦτοι ἀρίθμῳ γενέσθαι βούλεσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ τὴν Ἐλλάδα ύπήκουσιν. ἐν μὲν δὴ Πέρσησι ταυτά μνε εἶπας ἐτίμα, τότε δὲ αὐτὸν
came to it at night and found the bridge broken, they were in great terror lest the Ionians had abandoned them.

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

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

143. Darius marched through Thrace to Sestos on the Chersonesus; thence he crossed over with his ships to Asia, leaving as his general in Europe Megabazus, a Persian, to whom he once did honour by saying among Persians what I here set down. Darius was about to eat pomegranates; and no sooner had he opened the first of them than his brother Artabanus asked him of what thing he would wish to have as many as there were seeds in his pomegranate; whereupon Darius said, that he would rather have that number of men like Megabazus than make all Hellas subject to him. By thus speaking among Persians the king did honour to Megabazus; and
ὑπελιπε στρατηγὸν ἔχοντα τῆς στρατιῆς τῆς ἐως τοῦ ὄκτῳ μυριάδας.

144. Οὔτος δὲ ὁ Μεγάβαζος εἶπας τόδε τὸ ἔπος ἐλίπετο ἀθάνατον μνήμην πρὸς Ἑλλησποντίων. γενόμενος γὰρ ἐν Βυζαντίῳ ἐπύθετο ἐπτακαίδεκα ἐτεσί πρῶτον Καλχηδονίους κτίσαντας τὴν χώρην Βυζαντίων, πυθόμενος δὲ ἐφ' Καλχηδονίους τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον τυνχάνειν ἑόντας τυφλοὺς: οὐ γὰρ ἂν τοῦ καλλίονος παρεόντος κτίζειν χώρον τὸν αἰσχύνα ἐλέσθαι, εἰ μὴ ἦσαν τυφλοὶ. οὕτως δὴ ὅπο τότε ὁ Μεγάβαζος στρατηγὸς λειψθεὶς ἐν τῇ χώρῃ Ἑλλησποντίων τοὺς μὴ μηδέξοντας κατεστρέφετο.

145. Οὕτως μὲν ὑπὸ ταῦτα ἐπηρήσει. τὸν αὐτὸν δὲ τοῦτον χρόνον ἐγίνετο ἐπὶ Διβύην ἄλλος στρατηγὸς μέγας στόλος, διὰ πρόβασιν τὴν ἐγὼ ἀπηγῆσομαι προδηγηγησάμενος πρῶτον τάδε. τῶν ἐκ τῆς Ἀργοῦ ἐπιβατέων παῖδων παῖδες ἑξελασθέντες ὑπὸ Πελασγῶν τῶν ἐκ Βραυρώνος λησαμένων τὰς Ἀθηναίων γυναίκας, ὑπὸ τοῦτον ἑξελασθέντος ἐκ Λήμνου οὖχοντο πλέοντες ἐς Λακεδαιμονὰ, ἵσομενοι δὲ ἐν τῷ Τηῦγέτῳ πῦρ ἀνέκαιον. Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ ἱδόντες ἄγγελον ἐπεμύπτην πενσόμενοι τίνες τε καὶ ὄκοθεν εἰσίν οὐ δὲ τῷ ἄγγελῳ εἰρωτῶντι ἔλεγον ὡς εἰςαν μὲν Μυνύαι, παῖδες δὲ εἴεν τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἀργοῖ πλεοντῶν ἡρώων, προσχόντας δὲ τοῦτος ἐς Λήμνυον φυτέυσαν σφέας. οἱ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἀκηκοότες τὸν λόγον τῆς γενεῆς τῶν Μυνύων, πέμψαντες τὸ δεύτερον εἰρῶτων τὶ θέλοντες ἤκοιεν τε ἐς τὴν χώρην καὶ πῦρ αἴθοιεν. οὐ δὲ ἐφασαν ὑπὸ Πελασγῶν ἑκβληθέντες ἤκειν ἐς τοὺς πατέρας. δικαιότατον
now he left him behind as his general, at the head of eighty thousand of his army.

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

145. Thus Megabazus did. About this time a great armament was sent against Libya also, for a reason which I will show after this story which I will now relate. The descendants of the crew of the Argo had been driven out by those Pelasgians who carried off the Athenian women from Brauron; being driven out of Lemnos by these, they sailed away to Lacedaemon, and there encamped on Taygetum and kindled a fire. Seeing this, the Lacedaemonians sent a messenger to enquire who they were and whence they came. They answered the messenger that they were Minyae, descendants of the heroes who had sailed in the Argo, and had put in at Lemnos and there begotten their race. Hearing the story of the lineage of the Minyae, the Lacedaemonians sent a second time and asked to what end they had come into Laconia and kindled a fire. They replied, that being expelled by the Pelasgians they had come to the land of their fathers,
γὰρ εἶναι οὕτω τούτῳ γίνεσθαι· δέεσθαι δὲ οἰκεῖων ἀμα τούτοις μοιράν τε τιμέων μετέχοντες καὶ τῆς γῆς ἀπολαχόντες. Λακεδαιμονίοισι δὲ ἐαδε δέκεσθαι τούς Μινύας ἐπ' οἷς θέλουσι αὐτοῖ. μάλιστα δὲ ἐνήγε σφέας ὅστε ποιεῖν ταύτα τῶν Τυνδαρίδεων η ναυτιλίᾳ ἐν τῇ Ἀργοί. δεξάμενοι δὲ τοὺς Μινύας γῆς τε μετέδοσαν καὶ ἐς φυλὰς διεδάσαντο. οὐ δὲ αὐτίκα μὲν γάμους ἔγημαν, τὰς δὲ ἐκ Δήμου ἔγοντο ἐξέδοσαν ἀλλοισι.

146. Χρόνον δὲ οὖ πολλοῦ διεξελθόντος αὐτίκα οἱ Μινύαι ἔξυβρίσαν, τῆς τε βασιλικῆς μεταίτοντες καὶ ἄλλα ποιεόντες οὐκ ὀσία. τοῖς δὲν Λακεδαιμονίοισι ἐδοξε αὐτοὺς ἀποκτεῖναι, συλλαβόντες δὲ σφέας κατέβαλον ἐς ἔρκτην. κτείνουσι δὲ τοὺς ἀν κτείνωσι Λακεδαιμόνιοι νυκτός, μετ' ἡμέρην δὲ οὔδενα. ἐπεὶ δὲν ἐμελλον σφέας καταχρήσασθαι, παρατήσαντο αἰ γυναίκες τῶν Μινυέων, ἐοῦσαί αὐτοὶ τε καὶ τῶν πρώτων ᾿Σπαρτιτεύων θυγατέρες, ἐσελθεῖν τε ἐς τὴν ἔρκτην καὶ ἐς λόγους ἐλθεῖν ἐκάστη τῷ ἐωυτῆς ἀνδρί. οὐ δὲ σφέας παρῆκαν, οὔδενα δολὸν δοκεόντες ἐξ αὐτέων ἐσεσθαι. αἱ δὲ ἐπείτε ἐσῆλθον, ποιεόντι τοιάδε· πᾶσαν τὴν εἴχον ἐσθήτα παραδοῦσαι τοῖς ἀνδράσι αὐτοῖ τὴν τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἔλαβον, οἱ δὲ Μινύαι ἐνδύντες τὴν γυναικῆς ἐσθήτα ἄτε γυναίκες ἐξήμαν ἐξω, ἐκφυγόντες δὲ τρόπῳ τοιοῦτῳ ἵξοντα αὐτίς ἐς τὸ Τηῦγετον.

147. Τὸν δὲ αὐτοῦ τούτον χρόνον Ῥώσας ὁ
as (they said) was most just; and for their desire, it was that they might dwell with their father's people, sharing in their rights and receiving allotted parcels of land. It pleased the Lacedaemonians to receive the Minyae ¹ on the terms which their guests desired; the chief cause of their so consenting was that the Tyndaridae ² had been in the ship's company of the Argo; so they received the Minyae and gave them of their land and divided them among their own tribes. The Minyae forthwith wedded wives, and gave in marriage to others the women they had brought from Lemnos.

146. But in no long time these Minyae waxed over-proud, demanding an equal right to the kingship, and doing other things unlawful; wherefore the Lacedaemonians resolved to slay them, and they seized and cast them into prison. (When the Lacedaemonians kill, they do it by night, never by day.) Now when they were about to kill the prisoners, the wives of the Minyae, who were native to the country, daughters of the chief among the Spartans, entreated leave to enter the prison and have speech each with her husband; the Lacedaemonians granted this, supposing that the women would deal honestly with them. But when the wives came into the prison, they gave to their husbands all their own garments, and themselves put on the men's dress; so the Minyae donned the female dress and so passed out in the guise of women, and having thus escaped once more encamped on Taygetum.

147. Now about this same time Theras (who was

¹ As descendants of the Argonauts, who were Minyae of Thessaly, living near the Pagasaean gulf.
² Castor and Polydeuces.
Αὐτεσίωνος τοῦ Τισαμενοῦ τοῦ Θερσάνδρου τοῦ Πολυνείκεος ἐστελλε ἐς ἀποικίην ἐκ Δακεδαίμονος. ἦν δὲ ὁ Θήρας οὗτος, γένος ἐὼν Καδμεῖος, τῆς μητρὸς ἀδελφεῖς τοῦσι 'Ἀριστοδήμου παιδὶ Εὐρυσθένει καὶ Προκλέι. ἐντὸν δὲ ἐτὶ τῶν παίδων τούτων ὑπίων ἐπιτροπαίην εἶχε ὁ Θήρας τὴν ἐν Σπάρτῃ βασιληγήν. αὐξηθέντων δὲ τῶν ἀδελφίδεων καὶ παραλαβόντων τὴν ἀρχήν, οὕτω δὴ ὁ Θήρας δεινὸν ποιεῖμενος ἀρχεῖσθαι ὑπ’ ἄλλων ἐπείτε ἐγεύσατο ἀρχῆς, οὐκ ἐφι μένειν ἐν τῇ Δακεδαίμονι ἄλλῃ ἀποπλεύσεσθαι ἐς τοὺς συγγενεῖς. ἦσαν δὲ ἐν τῇ ἰὼν Θήρῃ καλεομένη νήσῳ, πρότερον δὲ Καλλίστῃ τῇ αὐτῇ ταύτῃ, ἀπόγονοι Μεμβλιάρον τοῦ Ποικίλεω ἀνδρὸς Φοίνικος. Κάδμος γὰρ ὁ Ἀγήνορος Εὐρώπην διζήμενος προσέσχε ἐς τὴν ἰὼν Θήρην καλεομένην: προσσχότι δὲ εἰτε δὴ ὦ ἡ χώρῃ ἄρεσε, εἶτε καὶ ἀλλως ἡθέλησε ποιῆσαι τοῦτο: καταλείπει γὰρ ἐν τῇ νῆσῳ ταύτῃ ἄλλους τε τῶν Φοίνικῶν καὶ δὴ καὶ τῶν ἐνυτὸν συγγενεύων Μεμβλιάρων. οὕτω ἐνέμοντο τὴν Καλλίστην καλεομένην ἐπὶ γενεάς, πρὶν ἡ Θήραν ἐλθεῖν ἐκ Δακεδαίμονος, ὡκτὼ ἀνδρῶν.

148. 'Επὶ τούτους δὴ ὁ Ὁθήρας λεων ἐχων ἀπὸ τῶν φυλέων ἐστελλε, συνοικίσων τούτοις καὶ οὐδαμῶς ἐξελὼν αὐτοὺς ἄλλα κάρτα οἰκημεύμενος. ἐπεῖτε δὲ καὶ οἱ Μινύαι ἐκδράντες ἐκ τῆς ἐρκτῆς ὶτον ἐς τὸ Τηῦγετον, τῶν Δακεδαίμονίων οὐκενομένων σφέας ἀπολλύμαι παραίτεται ὁ Θήρας, ὥσπερ μήτε φῶνος γένηται, αὐτός τε ὑπεδέκτο σφέας ἐξάξειν ἐκ τῆς χώρης. συγχωρησάντων δὲ τῇ γνώμῃ τῶν Δακεδαίμονίων, τρισὶ τριηκοντέροις ἐς τοὺς Μεμβλιάρου ἀπογόνους.
a descendant of Polynices, through Thersander, Tisamenus, and Autesion) was preparing to lead out colonists from Lacedaemon. This Theras was of the lineage of Cadmus and an uncle on the mother's side of Aristodemus' sons Eurysthenes and Procles; and while these boys were yet children he held the royal power of Sparta as regent; but when his nephews grew up and became kings, then Theras could not brook to be a subject when he had had a taste of supreme power, and said he would abide no longer in Lacedaemon but sail away to his kinsfolk. There were in the island now called Thera, but then Calliste, descendants of Membliarius the son of Poeciles, a Phoenician; for Cadmus son of Agenor, in his search for Europa, had put in at the place now called Thera; and having put in, either because the land pleased him, or because for some other reason he desired so to do, he left in this island, among other Phoenicians, his own kinsman Membliarius. These dwelt in the island Calliste for eight generations before Theras came from Lacedaemon.

148. It was these whom Theras was preparing to join, taking with him a company of people from the tribes; it was his intent to settle among the folk of Calliste, and not to drive them out but to claim them as verily his own people. So when the Minyae escaped out of prison and encamped on Taygetum, and the Lacedaemonians were taking counsel to put them to death, Theras entreated for their lives, that there might be no killing, promising himself to lead them out of the country. The Lacedaemonians consenting to this, Theras sailed with three fifty-oared ships to join the descendants of Membliarius, taking with him
Something is obviously lost, συνέβη δὲ or the like.

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

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

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

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

\[^3\] Oedipus, son of Laius king of Thebes and his wife 
Iocasta, was exposed in infancy, but rescued and carried 
away to a far country. Returning in manhood, ignorant of 
his lineage, he killed his father and married his mother; 
after which the truth was revealed to him, too late. The 
story is first told by Homer, and is the subject of the 
Oedipus Tyrannus of Sophocles.
ο Πολυμνήστου, ἐδών γένος Εὐφημίδης τῶν Μιν-
νεών. χρεωμένω δὲ τῷ Γρίννῳ τῷ βασιλεύ τῶν
Θηραίων περὶ ἄλλων χρᾶ ἡ Πυθίη κτίζειν ἐν
Λιβύῃ πόλιν. δὲ ἀμείβετο λέγων "Ἐγὼ μὲν
δυναζων' πρεσβύτερος τε ὑδὴ εἶμι καὶ βαρὺς ἀεί-
ρεσθαίν οὐ δὲ τινὰ τῶν ἔως ἕως κέλευεν
ταῦτα ποιεῖν.
" ἀμα τε ἔλεγε ταῦτα καὶ ἐδείκνυε
ἐς τὸν Βάττον. τότε μὲν τοσάντα. μετὰ δὲ
ἀπελθόντες ἀλογίην εἶχον τοῦ χρηστηρίου, οὐτε
Λιβύην εἰδότες ὁκου γῆς εἶν οὔτε τοιμῶντες ἐς
ἀφανὲς χρήμα ἀποστέλλειν ἀποικίνην.
151. Ἐπτὰ δὲ ἐτέων μετὰ ταῦτα οὐκ ὑπὲ τὴν
Θήρην, ἐν τούτῳ τὰ δένδρεα πάντα σφὶ τὰ ἐν τῇ
νῆσῳ πλῆς ἐνὸς ἔξανάνθη. χρεωμένους δὲ τοὺς
Θηραίους προέφερε ἡ Πυθίη τὴν ἐς Λιβύην ἀπο-
κίνην. ἐπείτε δὲ κακοῦ οὐδὲν ἦν σφὶ μῆχος, πέμ-
pουσι ἐς Κρήτην ἀγγέλους διηθήνεσα εἰ τὶς
Κρητῶν ἡ μετοίκων ἀπεγείμονος εἶν ἐς Λιβύην.
περιπλανώμενοι δὲ αὐτὴν οὕτω ἀπίκοντο καί ἐς
Ἰτανοῦ πόλιν, ἐν ταῦτῃ δὲ συμμίσγχουσι ἀνδρὶ
πορφυρί τῷ οὐνόμα ἧν Κορώβιος, ὃς ἐφὲ ὑπ'
ἀνέμων ἀπενεκβήεις ἀπικέσθαι ἐς Λιβύην καὶ
Λιβύης ἐς Πλατέαν νῆσον. μισθῶ δὲ τούτων
πείσαντες ἤγγον ἐς Θήρην, ἐκ δὲ Θήρης ἐπέλευν
κατάσκοποι ἄνδρες τὰ πρῶτα οὕ πολλοὶ: κατη-
γνωσάμενος δὲ τοῦ Κορώβιον ἐς τὴν νῆσον ταῦτην
δὴ τὴν Πλατέαν, τὸν μὲν Κορώβιον λείπουσιν,
συτία καταλιπόντες ὁσῶν δὴ μην ὑμνοῦν, αὐτοὶ δὲ
ἐπέλευν τὴν ταχϊστήν ἀπαγγελέοντες Θηραίους
περὶ τῆς νῆσον.
152. Ἀποδημεόντων δὲ τούτων πλεῖσιν χρόνον
τοῦ συγκειμένου τοῦ Κορώβιον ἐπέλυπε τὰ πάντα.
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people, Battus son of Polymnestus, a descendant of Euphemus of the Minyan clan. When Grinnus king of Thera inquired of the oracle concerning other matters, the priestess' answer was that he should found a city in Libya. "Nay, Lord," answered Grinnus, "I am grown old and heavy to stir; do thou lay this command on some one of these younger men," pointing as he spoke to Battus. No more was then said. But when they had departed, they neglected to obey the oracle, seeing that they knew not where Libya was, and feared to send a colony out to an uncertain goal.

151. Then for seven years after this there was no rain in Thera; all their trees in the island save one were withered. The Theraeans inquired again at Delphi, and the priestess made mention of the colony they should send to Libya. So since there was no remedy for their ills, they sent messengers to Crete to seek out any Cretan or sojourner there who had travelled to Libya. These, in their journeys about the island, came to the town of Itanus, where they met a trader in purple called Corobius, who told them that he had once been driven out of his course by winds to Libya, to an island there called Platea. This man they hired to come with them to Thera; thence but a few men were first sent on shipboard to spy out the land, who, being guided by Corobius to the aforesaid island Platea, left him there with provision for I know not how many months, and themselves sailed back with all speed to Thera to bring news of the island.

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

1 The island now called Bomba, east of Cyrene.
μετὰ δὲ ταύτα νησὶ Σαμίη, τῆς ναύκληρος ἢν Κωλαιός, πλέυσα ἐπὶ Αἰγύπτου ἀπηνείχθη ἐς τὴν Πλατέαν ταύτην: πυθόμενοι δὲ οἱ Σάμιοι παρὰ τοῦ Κορώβιον τὸν πάντα λόγον, συμία οἱ ἐνιαυτοῦ καταλείπουσι. αὐτοὶ δὲ ἀναχθέντες ἐκ τῆς νήσου καὶ γλύχομενοι Αἰγύπτου ἐπέλεουν, ἀποφέρομενοι ἀπηλιώτην ἀνέμων καὶ οὐ γὰρ ἀνεί τὸ πνεῦμα, Ἡρακλέας στήλας διεκπερήσαντες ἀπίκοντο ἐς Ταρτησσόν, θείη πομπῆς χρεώμενοι. τὸ δὲ ἐμπόριον τοῦτο ἢν ἀκήρατον τούτον τὸν χρόνον, ὡστε ἀπονοστήσαντες οὔτοι ὅπισω μέγιστα δὴ Ἑλλήνων πάντων τῶν ἡμείς ἀτρεκείναν ἱδον ἐκ φορτίων ἐκέρδησαν, μετά γε Σωστρατον τὸν Λαοδάμαντος Αἰγυνήτην· τούτῳ γὰρ οὐκ οἶδα τε ἐστὶ ἐρίσαι ἄλλον. οἱ δὲ Σάμιοι τὴν δεκάτην τῶν ἐπικερδίων ἐξελόντες ἐξ τάλαντα ἐποιήσαντο χαλκῆιον κριτῆρος 'Αργολικοῦ τρόπου· πέρεξ δὲ αὐτοῦ γρυπῶν κεφαλαί πρόκροσσοι εἰσὶ· καὶ ἀνέθηκαν ἐς τὸ Ἡραίον, ὑποστήσαντες αὐτῷ τρεῖς χαλκέους κολοσσοὺς ἑπταπήχεας τοῦτοι γούνασι ἐρημεισμένους. Κυρηναίοι τε καὶ Ἡθραίοι τοῦ Σάμιος ἀπὸ τούτου τοῦ ἔργου πρῶτα φιλίαι μεγάλαι συνεκρήθησαν.

153. Οἱ δὲ Ἡθραίοι ἑπέτει τὸν Κορώβιον λυπόντες ἐν τῇ νήσῳ ἀπίκοντο ἐς τὴν Ἡήρη, ἀπήγγελλον ὡς σφι εἴη νήσος ἐπὶ Διβύη ἐκτυσμένη. Ἡθραίοι δὲ ἔδει ἄδελφεσθον τε ἂπτ᾽ ἄδελφεοι πέμπτων πάλι θαλάσσαντο καὶ ἅπο τῶν χώρων ἀπαντών ἐπτὰ ἔντων ἄνδρας, εἶναι δὲ σφέων καὶ ἠγεμόνα καὶ βασιλέα Βάπτον. οὕτω δὲ στέλλοισι δύο πεντηκοντέρους ἐς τὴν Πλατέαν.

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

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

154. This is what the Theraeans say; and now

1 That is, as yet unvisited by Greeks. It was at or near the mouth of the Guadalquivir; cp. l. 163.
τοῦ λόγου συμφέρονταί ἣδη Ἐθραίοι Κυρηναῖοι. Κυρηναῖοι γὰρ τὰ περὶ Βάττον οὐδαμῶς ὀμολογεύοντι Ἐθραίοις: λέγουσι γὰρ οὕτω. ἔστι τῆς Κρήτης 'Οαξὸς πόλις, ἐν τῇ ἐγένετο Ἐτέαρχος βασιλεὺς, ὃς ἐπὶ θυγατρὶ ἀμήτορι τῇ οὐνομα ἵνα Φρονίμη, ἐπὶ ταύτῃ ἐγήμε ἄλλην γυναῖκα. ἦ δὲ ἐπεσεθοῦσα ἐδικαίων καὶ τῷ ἐργῷ εἶναι μητρικῇ τῇ Φρονίμῃ, παρέχουσά τε κακὰ καὶ πᾶν ἐπ᾽ αὐτῇ μηχανωμένη, καὶ τέλος μαχλοσύνην ἐπενείκασά οἱ πείθει τὸν ἄνδρα ταύτα ἔχειν οὕτω. ὃ δὲ ἀναγνωσθεὶς ὑπὸ τῆς γυναικὸς ἐργὸν οὐκ ὅσιον ἐμηχανάτο ἐπὶ τῇ θυγατρὶ. ἦν γὰρ δὴ Ἐθμίσων ἀνὴρ Ἐθραῖος ἐμπορός ἐν τῇ 'Οαξῷ τούτων ὁ Ἐτέαρχος παραλαβὼν ἐπὶ ξείνια ἐξορκοὶ ἥ μὲν οἱ διηκονήσειν ὃ τι ἄν δεηθῇ. ἐπείτε δὴ ἐξώρκωσε, ἀγαγῶν οἱ παραδίδοι τὴν ἐωτοῦ θυγατέρα καὶ ταύτην ἐκέλευε καταποτώσαι ἀπαγαγόντα. ὃ δὲ Ἐθμίσων περιημεκτήσας τῇ ἀπάτῃ τοῦ ὀρκοῦ καὶ διαλυσάμενος τὴν ξεινίαν ἐποίεε τοιάδε: παραλαβὼν τὴν παῖδα ἀπέπλεε: ὡς δὲ ἐγίνετο ἐν τῷ πελάγει, ἀποσιεύμενος τὴν ἐξόρκωσιν τοῦ Ἐτεάρχου, σχοινίοις αὐτὴν διαδήσας κατῆκε ἐς τὸ πέλαγος, ἀνασπάσας δὲ ἀπίκετο ἐς τὴν Ὁίρην.

155. Ἔνθεύετεν δὲ τὴν Φρονίμην παραλαβὼν Πολύμνηστος, ἐων τῶν Ἐθραίων ἀνὴρ δόκιμος, ἐπαλλακεύετο. χρόνου δὲ περιόντος ἐξεγένετο οἱ παῖς ἵσχοφωνος καὶ τραυλός, τῷ οὖνομα ἐτέθη Βάττος, ως Ἐθραῖοι τε καὶ Κυρηναῖοι λέγουσι, ὡς μέντοι ἐγὼ δοκέω, ἀλλὰ τι: Βάττος δὲ μετώνυ-
begins the part in which the Theraean and Cyrenean stories agree, but not till now, for the Cyreneans tell a wholly different tale of Battus, which is this. There is a town in Crete called Oaxus, of which one Etearchus became ruler. He had a motherless daughter called Phronime, but he must needs marry another wife too. When the second wife came into his house, she thought fit to be in very deed a stepmother to Phronime, ill-treating her and devising all evil against her; at last she accused the girl of lewdness, and persuaded her husband that the charge was true. So Etearchus was over-persuaded by his wife and devised a great sin against his daughter. There was at Oaxus a Theraean trader, one Themison; Etearchus made this man his guest and friend, and took an oath of him that he would do him whatever service he desired; which done, he gave the man his own daughter, bidding him take her away and throw her into the sea. But Themison was very angry at being so tricked with the oath and renounced his friendship with Etearchus; presently he took the girl and sailed away, and that he might duly fulfil the oath that he had sworn to Etearchus, when he was on the high seas he bound her about with ropes and let her down into the sea and drew her up again, and presently came to Thera.

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

¹ That is, the Stammerer.
μάςθη, ἔπειτε ἐς Διβύην ἀπίκετο, ἀπὸ τε τοῦ χρηστηρίου τοῦ γενομένου ἐν Δελφοῖς αὐτῷ καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς τιμῆς τήν ἐσχε τήν ἐπωνυμίαν ποιεύμενος. Δίβυνες γὰρ βασιλέα βάττον καλέουσι, καὶ τούτου εἶνεκα δοκεῖ ὑπερίζουσαι τήν Πυθίην καλέσαι μιν Διβυκῇ γλώσσῃ, εἰδὺναν ὡς βασιλεὺς ἔσται ἐν Διβύῃ. ἔπειτε γὰρ ἠνδρώθη οὖτος, ἢλθε ἐς Δελφοὺς πέρι τῆς φωνῆς ἐπειρατώντει δὲ οἱ χρά ἡ Πυθίη τάδε.

Βάττ', ἐπὶ φωνῆν ἢλθες· ἀναξ δὲ σὲ Φοίβοις Ἀπόλλων,
ἐς Διβύην πέμπει μηλοτρόφον οἰκιστήρα,
ὡσπερ εἰ εἴποι 'Ελλάδι γλώσσῃ χρεωμένη "Ὡ βασιλεῦ, ἐπὶ φωνῆν ἢλθες." ὃ δ' ἀμείβετο τοι- σίδε. "Ὡναξ, ἐγὼ μὲν ἢλθον παρὰ σὲ χρησάμενος περὶ τῆς φωνῆς, σὺ δὲ μου ἀλλα ἀδύνατα χρᾶς, κελεύων Διβύην ἀποικίζειν τέω δυνάμι, κοίν χειρί;" ταῦτα λέγων οὐκ ἔπειθε ἄλλα οἱ χράνυ ὡς δὲ κατὰ ταῦτα ἐθέσπιζε οἱ καὶ πρότερον, οὐχεῖτο μεταξὺ ἀπολιπὼν ὁ Βάττος ἐς τήν Θήρην.

156. Μετὰ δὲ αὐτῷ τε τούτῳ καὶ τοῖς ἀλλοις Θηραίοις συνεφέρετο παλιγκότως· ἀγνοεύντες δὲ τὰς συμφορὰς οἱ Θηραῖοι ἐπεμποῦν ὡς Δελφοὺς πέρι τῶν παρεόντων κακῶν. ἦ δὲ Πυθίη σφι ἐχρησε συγκτίζουσι Βάττῳ Κυρήνῃ τής Διβύης ἁμείνον πρῆξειν. ἀπέστελλον μετὰ ταῦτα τὸν Βάττον οἱ Θηραῖοι δύο πεπτηκοντέροις. πλώ- σαντες δὲ ἐς τὴν Διβύην οὖτοι, οὐ γὰρ εἶχον ο τι
to Battus on his coming to Libya, taking this new name by reason of the oracle uttered at Delphi and the honourable office which he received. For the Libyan word for king is "battus," and this (methinks) is why the Pythian priestess called him so in her prophecy, using a Libyan name because she knew that he was to be king in Libya. For when he came to man's estate, he went to Delphi to enquire concerning his voice; and the priestess in answer gave him this oracle:

"Battus, thou askest a voice; but the King, ev'n Phoebus Apollo,

Sends thee to make thee a home in Libya, the country of sheepfolds,"

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

156. But afterwards matters went untowardly with Battus and the rest of the Theracans; and when, knowing not the cause of their misfortunes, they sent to Delphi to enquire concerning their present ills, the priestess declared that they would fare better if they aided Battus to plant a colony at Cyrene in Libya. Then the Theraeans sent Battus with two fifty-oared ships; these sailed to Libya, but presently
ποιέωςι ἀλλο, ὡς ἀπαλλάσσοντο ἐς τὴν Ἐῃρη. οἱ δὲ θηραίοι καταγομένους ἔβαλλον καὶ ὅπις ἔων τῇ γῇ προσίσχειν, ἀλλ' ὡς ἀπόσω πλώειν ἐκέλευον. οἱ δὲ ἀναγκαζόμενοι ὡς ἀπέπλεον καὶ ἐκτισαν νῆσον ἐπὶ Διβύην κειμένην, τῇ οὖν καὶ πρότερον εἰρέθη, ἐστὶ Πλατέα. λέγεται δὲ ἵς εἶναι ἡ νῆσος τῇ νῦν Κυριναιῶν πόλι.

157. Ταῦτῃν οἰκεύοντες δύο ἔτεα, οὐδὲν γὰρ σφὶ χρηστὸν συνεφέρετο, ἐναυτῶν καταλυόντες οἱ λοιποὶ πάντες ἀπέπλεον ἐς Δελφοὺς, ἀπίκωμενοι δὲ ἐπὶ τὸ χρηστήριον ἐχρέωντο, φάμενοι οἰκεύον τε τὴν Διβύην καὶ οὐδὲν ἄμεινον πρῆσσειν οἰκεύοντες. ἡ δὲ Πυθή σφὶ πρὸς ταῦτα χρὰ τάδε.

αὶ τῷ ἔμει Διβύην μηλοτρόφον οἰδας ἄμεινον, μὴ ἐλθὼν ἐλθόντος, ἀγαν ἀγαμαι σοφίν σει.

ἀκοῦσαντες δὲ τούτων οἱ ἀμφὶ τὸν Βάττον ἀπεπλώσεσαν ὡς οὐ γὰρ δὴ σφεάς ἀπίει ο θεὸς τῆς ἀποκάλυψης, πριν δὴ ἀπίκωμεν εἰς αὐτὴν Διβύην. ἀπίκωμενοι δὲ ἐς τὴν νῆσον καὶ ἀναλαβόντες τὸν ἐλιπτον, ἐκτισαν αὐτῆς τῆς Διβύης χώρων ἀντίον τῆς νῆσου τῷ οὖν ἰν ᾣν ἀξιοῦσι τὸν νάπαι τε κάλλιστα ἐπὶ ἀμφότερα συγκληθονυ μα καὶ ποταμὸς τὰ ἐπὶ θάτερα παραρρέει.

158. Τοὺτον οἰκεύον τὸν χώρον ἑκ ἔτεα, ἔβδόμῳ δὲ σφεάς ἔτει παραιτησάμενοι οἱ Διβυνες ὡς ἐς ἄμεινον χώρον ἄξουσι, ἀνέγνωσαν ἐκλιπεῖν. Ἦγον δὲ σφεάς ἐυθεῖν τοι Διβυνες ἀναστησάντες πρὸς ἐσπέρην, καὶ τὸν κάλλιστον τῶν χώρων ἐνα διεξόντες οἱ Ἔλληνες μὴ ἴδοιεν, συμμετρησάμενοι τὴν ὀρὴν τῆς ἡμέρης νυκτὸς παρῆγγον. ἐστι 360.
not knowing what else to do returned back to Thera.

There the Theraeans shot at them as they came to land and would not suffer the ship to put in, bidding them sail back; which under stress of necessity they did, and planted a colony in an island off the Libyan coast called (as I have said already) Platea. This island is said to be as big as the city of Cyrene is now.

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

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

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

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

158. Here they dwelt for six years; but in the seventh the Libyans persuaded them by entreaty to leave the place, saying that they would lead them to a better; and they brought the Greeks from Aziris and led them westwards, so reckoning the hours of daylight that they led the Greeks by night past the fairest place in their country, called Irasa,
δε τῷ χώρῳ τούτῳ οὖνομα Ἰρασά. ἀγαγόντες δὲ σφέας ἐπί κρήνην λεγομένην εἶναι Ἀπόλλωνος εἶπαν "Ἀνδρεὶς Ἔλληνες, ἐνθαῦτα ὑμῖν ἐπιτίθεον οἰκεῖειν ἐνθαῦτα γὰρ ὁ ὀυρανὸς τέτρηται.

159. Ἐπὶ μὲν νυν Βάπτου τε τοῦ οἰκιστέων τῆς ξοῆς, ἀρξαντος ἐπὶ τεσσεράκοντα ἐτεα, καὶ τοῦ παιδὸς αὐτοῦ Ἀρκεσίλεω ἀρξαντος ἐκκαίδεκα ἐτεα, οἰκεον οἱ Κυρηναῖοι ἐοντες τοσοῦτο ὦσοι ἀρχὴν ἐς τὴν ἀποικίαν ἐστάλησαν. ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ τρίτου, Βάπτου τοῦ εὐδαίμονος καλεομένου, Ἔλληνας πάντας ὁμοίας χρήσασα ἤ Πυθή πλέειν συνοικίσοντας Κυρηναῖοις Διβύνην ἐπεκαλέοντο γὰρ οἱ Κυρηναῖοι ἐπὶ γῆς ἀναδασμῷ ἔχρησε δὲ ὧδε ἔχοντα.

ὅς δὲ κεν ἐς Διβύνην πολυήρατον ύστερον ἐλθῃ γῆς ἀναδαιομένας, μετὰ οἱ πόκα φαμί μελήσειν.

συλλεχθέντος δὲ ὀμίλου πολλοῦ ἐς τὴν Κυρήνην, περιταμνόμενοι γῆς πολλὴν οἱ περίοικοι Διβῦνες καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς αὐτῶν τῷ οὖνομα ἤ Ἀδικράν, οἷα τῆς τε χώρης στερισκόμενοι καὶ περιυβριζόμενοι ὑπὸ τῶν Κυρηναίων, πέμψαντες ἐς Αἰγυπτόν ἐδονο σφέας αὐτοῦς Ἀπρίη τῷ Αἰγύπτου βασιλεί. ὁ δὲ συλλέγας στρατῶν Αἰγυπτίων πολλῶν ἐπεμψε ἐπὶ τὴν Κυρήνην. οἱ δὲ Κυρηναῖοι ἐκστρατευσάμενοι ἐς Ἰρασά χώρων καὶ ἐπὶ κρήνην Θέστην συνέβαλον τε τοῖς Αἰγυπτίοις καὶ ἐνίκησαν τῇ συμβολῇ. ἀτε γὰρ οὐ πεπειρημένοι πρότερον οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι Ἔλληνων καὶ παραχρεώμενοι διεφθάρ-362
lest the Greeks should see it in their passage. Then they brought the Greeks to what is called the Fountain of Apollo, and said to them: "Here, ye Greeks, it befits you to dwell; for here is a hole in the sky."  

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

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

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

1 That is, there is abundance of rain.
HERODOTUS

ησαν οὕτω ὡστε άλίγοι τινὲς αὐτῶν ἀπενόστησαν ἔς Λιγυπτίου. ἀντὶ τούτων Λιγυπτίου καὶ ταύτα ἐπιμεμφόμενοι Ἀπριή ἀπέστησαν ἀπ’ αὐτοῦ.

160. Τούτου δὲ τοῦ Βάττου παῖς γίνεται Ἀρκεσίλεως: ὃς βασιλεύσας πρῶτα τοῖς ἔως τοῦ ἄδελφου ἐστασίασε, ἐς ὁ μιν οὕτω ἀπολιπόντες οἴχοντο ἐς ἄλλον χώρον τῆς Διβύης καὶ ἐπ’ ἔως τῶν βαλόμενιν ἐκτισαν πόλιν ταύτην ἡ τότε καὶ νῦν Βάρκι καλέεται. κτίζοντες δὲ ἀμα αὐτῆν ἀπιστάσι ἄπο τῶν Κυρηναίων τοὺς Δίβυας. μετὰ δὲ Ἀρκεσίλεως ἐς τοὺς ὑποδεξαμένους τε τῶν Διβύων καὶ ἀποστάντας τοὺς αὐτοὺς τούτους ἐστρατεύετο· οἱ δὲ Δίβυες δείσαντες αὐτὸν οἴχοντο φεύγοντες πρὸς τοὺς ἥοιους τῶν Διβύων. ὁ δὲ Ἀρκεσίλεως εὕπετο φεύγοντες, ἐς οὐ ἐν Λεύκωι τε τῆς Διβύης ἐγινετο ἐπιδιώκων καὶ ἐδοξε τοῖς Δίβυσι ἐπιθέσθαι οἱ. συμβάλοντες δὲ ἐνίκησαν τοὺς Κυρηναίους τοσοῦτο ὡστε ἐπτακισχίλιους ὀπλίτας Κυρηναίων ἐνθαῦτα πεσεῖν. μετὰ δὲ τὸ τρόμα τούτο Ἀρκεσίλεων μὲν κάμνοντά τε καὶ φάρμακον πεπωκότα ὁ ἄδελφος Ἀλίαρχος ἀποπνίγει, Ἀλίαρχον δὲ ἡ γυνὴ ἡ Ἀρκεσίλεω δόλῳ κτείνει, τῇ ὀνόματι ἦν Ἑρυξώ.

161. Διεδέχατο δὲ τὴν βασιληγήν τοῦ Ἀρκεσίλεω ὁ παῖς Βάττος, χωλός τε ἐών καὶ σῶκ ἄρτιποισ. οἱ δὲ Κυρηναιοὶ πρὸς τὴν καταλαβοῦσαν συμφορὴν ἐπεμπον ἐς Δελφοὺς ἐπειρησομένους ὁμίῳ τρόπον καταστησάμενοι κάλλιστα ἀν οἰκειον. ἡ δὲ Πυθίη ἐκέλευε ἐκ Μαντινείας τῆς Ἀρκάδους καταρτιστήρα ἀγαγέσθαι. αὑτοὺς ὄν οἱ Κυρηναιοὶ, καὶ οἱ Μαντινεῖς ἐδοσαν ἄνδρα τῶν ἀστῶν δοκιμώτατον, τῷ ὀνόματι ἦν Δημώναξ.
BOOK IV. 159-161

despised their enemy; whereby they were so utterly destroyed that few of them returned to Egypt. For this mishap, and because they blamed Apries for it, the Egyptians revolted from him.¹

160. This Battus had a son Arcesilaus; he at his first coming to reign quarrelled with his own brothers, till they left him and went away to another place in Libya, where they founded a city for themselves, which was then and is now called Barce; and while they were founding it, they persuaded the Libyans to revolt from the Cyrenaeans. Then Arcesilaus came with an army into the country of the Libyans who had received his brothers and had also revolted; and these fled in fear of him to the eastern Libyans. Arcesilaus followed their flight until he came in his pursuit to Leucon in Libya, where the Libyans resolved to attack him; they joined battle and so wholly overcame the Cyrenaeans that seven thousand Cyrenaean men-at-arms were there slain. After this disaster Arcesilaus, being sick and having drunk medicine, was strangled by his brother Haliarchus; Haliarchus was craftily slain by Arcesilaus' wife Eryxə.¹

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

In 570 B.C.; cp. ii. 161.
οὔτος δὲν ὡνὴρ ἀπικόμενος ἐς τὴν Κυρήνην καὶ μαθῶν ἔκαστα τοῦτο μὲν τριφύλους ἐποίησε σφέας, τῇδε διαθεῖς. Θηραίων μὲν καὶ τῶν περιοίκων μίαν μοίραν ἐποίησε, ἄλλην δὲ Πελοποννησίων καὶ Κρητῶν, τρίτην δὲ νησιωτέων πάντων. τοῦτο δὲ τῷ βασιλεία Βάττω τεμένεα ἐξελῶν καὶ ἴρωσύνας, τὰ ἀλλὰ πάντα τὰ πρότερον εἰχον οἱ βασιλεῖς ἐς μέσον τῷ δήμῳ ἐβηκε.

162. Ἐπὶ μὲν δὴ τοῦτον τοῦ Βάττου οὔτω διετέλεε ἑόντα, ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ τούτου παιδὸς Ἀρκεσίλεως πολλὴ παραχῇ περὶ τῶν τιμεῶν ἐγένετο. Ἀρκεσίλεως γὰρ ὁ Βάττω τε τοῦ χωλοῦ καὶ Φερετίμης οὔκ ἐφή ἀνέξεσθαι κατὰ τὰ ὁ Μαντινεὺς Δημοδώνας ἔταξε, ἀλλὰ ἀπαίτεε τὰ τῶν προγόνων γέρεα. ἐνθεύτεν στασιάζου ἐσσώθη καὶ ἐφυγε ἐς Σάμου, ἡ δὲ μῆτηρ οἱ ἐς Σαλαμίνα τῆς Κύπρου ἐφυγε. τῆς δὲ Σαλαμίνος τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον ἐπεκράτεε Εὐέλθων, ὅς τὸ ἐν Δελφοῖς θυμιστήριον ἐδοκιμάζεθαν ἀνέθηκε, τὸ ἐν τῷ Κορινθίων θησαυρῷ κέεται. ἀπικομένη δὲ παρὰ τούτου ἡ Φερετίμη ἐδέστο στρατηγῆς ἢ κατάξει σφέας ἐς τὴν Κυρήνην. ὁ δὲ Εὐέλθων πᾶν μάλλον ἡ στρατηγῆς οἱ ἐδίδον. ἢ δὲ λαμβάνουσα τὸ διδόμενον καλὸν μὲν ἐφή καὶ τοῦτο εἶναι, κάλλιον δὲ ἐκεῖνο, τὸ δοῦναι οἱ δέομένη στρατηγῆς. τοῦτο ἐπὶ παντὶ γὰρ τῷ διδομένῳ ἔλεγε, τελευταίων οἱ ἐξεπερμῆς δόρων ὁ Εὐέλθων ἀτρακτὸν χρύσου καὶ ἱλακάτην, προσῆ καὶ οἱ ἔριμον ἐπειπάσης δὲ αὕτης τῆς Φερετίμης τῶντο ἐπός, ὁ Εὐέλθων ἐφη τοιούτοις γυναῖκας δωρέοςθαι ἀλλ' οὐ στρατηγῇ.

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

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

163. Meanwhile Arcesilaus was in Samos, gather-

1 According to the principle of division customary in a Dorian city state.
ἐν Σάμῳ συνήγειρε πάντα ἀνδρὰ ἐπὶ γῆς ἀναδα-
σμός. συλλεγομένου δὲ στρατοῦ πολλοῦ, ἐστάλη
ἐς Δελφοὺς Ἀρκεσίλεως χρησόμενος τῷ χρη-
στηρίῳ περὶ κατόδου. ἦ δὲ Πυθίη οἴ χρὰ τάδε.
"Επὶ μὲν πέσσερας Βάττους καὶ Ἀρκεσίλεως
πέσσερας, ὡκτὸ ἀνδρῶν γενεάς, διδοὶ ύμῖν Δοξίης
Βασιλεύειν Κυρήνης, πλεον μέντοι τούτου οὔδὲ
πεισάσθαι παραινέει. σοῦ μέντοι ἦσυχος εἶναι
κατελθὼν ἐς τὴν σεωτοῦ. ἦν δὲ τὴν κάμινων
eύρης πλένη ἀμφορέων, μὴ ἐξοπτήσης τοὺς ἀμ-
φορέας ἀλλ’ ἀπόπεμπτε κατ’ οὖρον; εἰ δὲ ἐξοπτή-
σης τὴν κάμινων, μὴ ἐσέλθης ἐς τὴν ἀμφίρρυτον;
eἰ δὲ μὴ ἀποθανέαι καὶ αὐτὸς καὶ ταῦρος ὁ
καλλιστεύων." ταῦτα ἦ Πυθίη Ἀρκεσίλεως χρὰ.
164. Ὅ δὲ παραλαβὼν τοὺς ἐκ τῆς Σάμου
κατῆλθε ἐς τὴν Κυρήνην, καὶ ἐπικρατήσας τῶν
πρηγμάτων τοῦ μαντήου οὐκ ἐμέμνητο, ἀλλὰ
dίκας τοὺς ἀντιστασίωτας αἴτε τῆς ἐωτοῦ φυγῆς.
tῶν δὲ οὐ μὲν τὸ παράπαν ἐκ τῆς χώρης ἀπαλλά-
σοντο, τοὺς δὲ τινὰς χειρωσάμενος ὁ Ἀρκεσίλεως
ἐς Κύπρον ἀπέστειλε ἐπὶ διαφθορῆ. τούτους μὲν
υνν Κνίδιοι ἀπενεχθέντας πρὸς τὴν σφετέρην
ἐρρύσαντο καὶ ἐς Θῆρην ἀπέστειλαν: ἐτέρους δὲ
tινὰς τῶν Κυρηναίων ἐς πύργον μέγαν Ἀγλωμά-
χου καταφυγόντας ἰδιωτικοῖς ὑλῆς περινήσας ὁ
Ἀρκεσίλεως ἐνέπρησε. μαθὼν δὲ ἐπ’ ἐξεργασμέ-
νοις τὸ μαντήου ἐδυ τούτο, ὅτι μν ἡ Πυθίη οὐκ
ἐα εὐρότα ἐν τῇ καμίνῳ τοὺς ἀμφορέας ἐξοπτή-
σαι, ἔργετο ἐκὼν τῆς τῶν Κυρηναίων πόλιος,
δειμαίνων τε τὸν κεχρησμένον θάνατον καὶ δοκέων
ἀμφίρρυτον τὴν Κυρήνην εἶναι. εἶχε δὲ γυναῖκα

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

164. But he with the men from Samos returned to Cyrene, whereof having made himself master he forgot the oracle, and demanded justice upon his enemies for his banishment. Some of these departed altogether out of the country; others Arcesilaus seized and sent away to Cyprus to be there slain. These were carried out of their course to Cnidus, where the Cnidians saved them and sent them to Thera. Others of the Cyrenaeans fled for refuge into a great tower that belonged to one Aglomachus, a private man, and Arcesilaus piled wood round it and burnt them there. Then, perceiving too late that this was the purport of the Delphic oracle which forbade him to bake the pots if he found them in the oven, he refrained of set purpose from going into the city of the Cyrenaeans, fearing the death prophesied and supposing the sea-girt place to be
συγγενέα ἐστού, θυγατέρα δὲ τῶν Βαρκαίων τοῦ Βασιλέος, τῷ οἴνομα ἦν Ἀλάζειρ. παρὰ τούτον ἀπεικόνεται, καὶ μὲν Βαρκαῖοι τε ἀνδρὲς καὶ τῶν ἐκ Κυρήνης φυγάδων τινὲς καταμαθῶντες ἀγορά·
ζοντα κτείνουσι, πρὸς δὲ καὶ τὸν πενθερὸν αὐτοῦ Ἀλάζειρα. Ἀρκεσίλεως μὲν νῦν εἶπε ἕκων εἶπε ἅρκων ἅμαρτῶν τοῦ χρησμοῦ ἑξεπλήσθη μοῖραν τὴν ἑωτοῦ.

165. Ἡ δὲ μήτηρ Φερετίμη, ἔως μὲν ὁ Ἀρκεσίλεως ἐν τῇ Βάρκη διαίτατο ἐξεργασμένος ἐσωτερικός κακὸν, ἦ δὲ εἰχHASHES αὐτὴ τοῦ παιδὸς τὰ γέρεα ἐν Κυρήνῃ καὶ τάλλα νεομμένη καὶ ἐν βουλῇ παρίζοουσά· ἐπείτε δὲ ἔμαθε ἐν τῇ Βάρκῃ ἀποθανόντα οἱ τὸν παῖδα, φεύγουσα οἰχὼκε ἔστε Ἀγνύπτουν. ἤσαν γὰρ οἱ ἐκ τοῦ Ἀρκεσίλεως ἐνεργείας ἡς Καμβύσεα τῶν Κύρου πεποιμέναι οὕτως γὰρ ἦν οἱ Ἀρκεσίλεως ὦς Κυρήνην Καμβύση ἔδωκε καὶ φόρον ἑπίφησεν. ἀποκομένη δὲ ἐς τὴν Ἀγνύπτουν ἡ Φερετίμη Ἅρμανδεω ἰκέτης ἱζέτο, τιμωρήσαι ἐσωτηρία κελεύονσα, προσχωμένη πρόφασιν ὅσ διὰ τὸν μηδόσμον ὁ παῖς οἱ τέθυνε.

166. Ὁ δὲ Ἅρμανδης ἦν οὕτως τῆς Ἀγνύπτου ὑπαρχός ὑπὸ Καμβύσεως κατεστεῖσθαι, ὦς ὑστέρῳ χρόνῳ τούτων παρισοῦμενος Δαρείῳ διεθήρη. πυθόμενος γὰρ καὶ ἴδων Δαρείον ἐπιυμένουται μνημόσυνον ἐσωτερικὸν λιπέσθαι τοῦτο τὸ μὴ ἄλλῳ εἰς βασιλέως κατεργασμένον, ἐμμέετο τοῦτον, ἐστὶν ἐλαβεῖ τὸν μισθόν. Δαρείος μὲν γὰρ χρυσίον καθαρώτατον ἀπεφύγεσας ὡς τὸ δυνατότατον νομίσμα ἐκόψατο, Ἅρμανδης δὲ ἄρχον Ἀγνύπτου ἀργυρίου τῶν τοῦτο ἐποίεε, καὶ νῦν ἐστὶ ἀργυρίου καθαρώτατον τὸ Ἅρμανδικόν. μαθὼν δὲ μὲν 370
Cyrene. Now his wife was his own kinswoman, daughter of Alazir king of the Barcaeans, and Arce-
silaus betook himself to Alazir; but men of Barce and certain of the exiles from Cyrene were aware of
him and slew him as he walked in the town, and Alazir his father-in-law likewise. So Arce-silaus
whether with or without intent missed the meaning of the oracle and fulfilled his destiny.

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

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

¹ The gold coins called δαρεικοί are said to contain only
3 per cent. of alloy.
Δαρείος ταύτα ποιεύντα, αἰτήν οἰ ἀλλην ἐπενείκας ὡς οἱ ἐπανύστατο, ἀπέκτεινε.

167. Τότε δὲ οὖν ο Ἀρνάνδης κατοικτείρας Φερετίμην διδοὶ αὐτῇ στρατὸν τὸν ἐξ Αἰγύπτου ἀπαντὰ καὶ τὸν πεζὸν καὶ τὸν ναυτικὸν στρατηγὸν δὲ τοῦ μὲν πεζὸν Ἅμασίν ἀπέδεξε ἄνδρα Μαράφιον, τοῦ δὲ ναυτικοῦ Βάδρην ἐόντα Πασαργάδην γένος. πρὶν δὲ ἡ ἀποστείλαι τὴν στρατινήν, ὁ Ἀρνάνδης πέμψας ἐς τὴν Βάρκην κύρικα ἐπυνθάνετο τὸς εἰς ὁ Ἀρκεσίλεως ἀποκείνας. οἱ δὲ Βαρκαῖοι αὐτοὶ ὑπεδέκοντο πάντες πολλὰ τε γὰρ καὶ κακὰ πάσχειν ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ. πυθόμενος δὲ ταῦτα ὁ Ἀρνάνδης οὕτω δὴ τὴν στρατινήν ἀπέστειλε ἀμα τῇ Φερετίμη. αὐτὴ μὲν γὰρ αὐτὴ πρόσχημα τοῦ στόλου ἐγένετο, ἀπεπέμπετο δὲ ἡ στρατινή, ὥς ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ μοι, ἐπὶ Διβύης καταστροφή. Διβύων γὰρ δὴ ἐθνεα πολλὰ καὶ παντοτὰ ἐστὶ, καὶ τὰ μὲν αὐτῶν ἄλιγα βασιλείας ἤν ὑπήκοα, τὰ δὲ πλέον ἐφρόντιζε Δαρείον ὁ οὐδέν.

168. Οἴκεουσι δὲ κατὰ τάδε Λίβνεσ. ἀπὶ Αἰγύπτων ἄρξαμενοι πρῶτοι Ἀδυρμαχίδας Λιβύων κατοίκησαν, οἱ νόμοις μὲν τὰ πλέον Ἀιγυπτιοίσι χρέωνται, ἐσθήτα δὲ φορέουσι οὕτων περὶ οἱ ἄλλοι Λίβνεσ. αἱ δὲ γυναῖκες αὐτῶν ψέλιον περὶ ἐκατέρθη τῶν κυμέων φορέουσι χάλκεους τὰς κεφαλάς δὲ κομίσαι, τοὺς φθείρας ἐπεάν πάρθους τοὺς ἐστὶς ἐκάστη ἀντιδάκνει καὶ οὕτω ῥίπτει. οὕτῳ δὲ μοῦνοι Λιβύων τούτῳ ἐργάζονται, καὶ τῷ βασιλείῳ μοῦνοι τὰς παρθένους μελλούσας συνοικέειν ἐπιδεικνύουσιν δὲ ἃν καὶ τῷ βασιλείῳ ἀρεστὴ γένηται, ὡς τούτου διαπαρθενεύεται. παρίκουσι

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

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

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

169. Τούτων δὲ ἔχονται Χιλιγάμαι, νεμόμενοι τὸ πρὸς ἑσπέρην χώρην, μέχρι Ἀφροδισιάδος νῆσου. ἐν δὲ τῷ μεταξὺ τούτου χώρῳ ἢ τε Πλατέα νῆσος ἐπικέεται, τὴν ἐκτισαν οἱ Κυρηναῖοι, καὶ ἐν τῇ ἡπείρῳ Μενέλαος λιμήν ἔστι καὶ Ἀξίρης, τὴν οἱ Κυρηναῖοι οἰκεοῦν, καὶ τὸ σίλφιον ἀρχεῖ τοῦ τούτου παρῆκε δὲ ἀπὸ Πλατέης νῆσου μέχρι τοῦ στόματος τῆς Σύρτιος τὸ σίλφιον. νόμοισι δὲ χρέωνται οὖτοι παραπλησίοις τοῖσι ἑτέροισι.

170. Χιλιγαμέων δὲ ἔχονται τὸ πρὸς ἑσπέρης Ἀσβύσται οὐτοὶ ὑπὲρ Κυρήνης οἰκέουσι. ἐπὶ θάλασσαν δὲ οὗ κατήκουσι Ασβύσται τὸ γὰρ παρὰ θάλασσαν Κυρηναίοι νέμονται. τεθριπτοβάται δὲ οὐκ ἦκιστα ἀλλὰ μάλιστα Διβύων εἰσὶ, νόμους δὲ τοὺς πλεύνας μιμέοσθαι ἐπιτηδεύουσι τοὺς Κυρηναίους.

171. Ἀσβυστέων δὲ ἔχονται τὸ πρὸς ἑσπέρης Αὐσχισταῖ. οὐτοὶ ὑπὲρ Βάρκης οἰκέουσι, κατήκοντες ἐπὶ θάλασσαν κατ᾽ Ἑυσπερίδας. Αὐσχυσέων δὲ κατὰ μέσον τῆς χώρης οἰκέουσι Βάκαλες, ὅλιγον ἔθνος, κατήκοντες ἐπὶ θάλασσαν κατὰ Ταύχειρα πόλιν τῆς Βαρκαίης. νόμοισι δὲ τοῖσι αὐτοῖσι χρέονται τοῖσι καὶ οἱ ὑπὲρ Κυρήνης.

172. Αὐσχυσέων δὲ τούτων τὸ πρὸς ἑσπέρης ἔχονται Νασαμώνες, ἔθνος ἔδων πολλῶν, οὗ τὸ θέρος καταλείποντες ἐπὶ τῇ θαλάσσῃ τὰ πρόβατα ἀναβαίνοντι ἐς Ἀὐγίλα χώρον ὄπωριέντες τοὺς φοίνικας· οὐ δὲ πολλοὶ καὶ ἀμφιλαφέες πεφύκασι, πάντες ἔοντες καρποφόρου. τοὺς δὲ ἀπελέξους.
him. These Adyrmachidae reach from Egypt to the harbour called Plynus.

169. Next to them are the Giligamae, who inhabit the country to the west as far as the island Aphrodisias; ere this is reached the island Platea lies off the coast, and on the mainland is the haven called Menelaus, and that Aziris which was a settlement of the Cyrenaeans. Here begins the country of silphium, which reaches from the island Platea to the entrance of the Syrtis. This people is like the others in its usages.

170. The next people westward of the Giligamae are the Asbystae, who dwell inland of Cyrene, not coming down to the sea-coast; for that is Cyrenaean territory. These are drivers of four-horse chariots not less but more than any other Libyans; it is their practice to imitate most of the Cyrenaean usages.

171. Next westward of the Asbystae are the Auschisae, dwelling inland of Barce, and touching the sea-coast at Euhesperidae. About the middle of the land of the Auschisae dwells the little tribe of the Bacales, whose territory comes down to the sea at Tauchira, a town in the Barcaean country; their usages are the same as those of the dwellers inland of Cyrene.

172. Next westward of these Auschisae is the populous country of the Nasamones, who in summer leave their flocks by the sea and go up to the land called Augila to gather dates from the palm-trees which grow there in great abundance, and all bear fruit. They hunt locusts, which when taken they

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1 [χόρης] Stein.  
2 [χόρφα] Stein.
ἐπεάν θηρεύσωσι, αὐνάντες πρὸς τὸν ἥλιον καταλέουσι καὶ ἐπείτα ἐπὶ γάλα ἐπιπάσσοντες πηνοῦσι. γυναῖκας δὲ νομίζοντες πολλὰς ἔχειν ἐκαστὸς ἐπίκοινον αὐτῶν τῇν μῆξιν ποιεῖνται τρόπῳ παραπλησίῳ τῷ καὶ Μασσαγέταις ἐπεὰν σκίπωνα προστήσονται, μύσγονται. πρῶτον δὲ γαμέοντος Νασαμώνος ἀνδρὸς νόμος ἔστι τῇν νύμφην νυκτὶ τῇ πρώτῃ διὰ πάντων διεξελθείν τῶν δαίτυμών μισομένην· τῶν δὲ ὡς ἐκαστὸς οἱ μικῆς, διδοὶ δῶρον τὸ ἄν ἔχει φερόμενον ἐξ οἴκου. ὀρκίσουσι δὲ καὶ μαντικῇ χρέωσται τοιῇς· ὀμνύοσι μὲν τοὺς παρὰ σφίσι ἀνδρας δικαιοτάτους καὶ ἀρίστους λεγομένους γενέσθαι, τούτους, τῶν τύμβων ἀπτόμενοι μαντεύονται δὲ ἐπὶ τῶν προγόνων φοιτέοντες τὰ σῆματα, καὶ κατευγάμενοι ἐπικατακοιμώνται· τὸ δὲ ἂν ἵδη ἐν τῇ ὤψι ἐνυπνοῦν, τούτῳ χρᾶται. πίστις δὲ τοιῆσιδε χρέωσται· ἐκ τῆς χειρὸς διδοὶ πιεῖν καὶ αὐτὸς ἕκ τῆς τοῦ ἐτέρου πίνει· ἢν δὲ μή ἔχωσι ύγρὸν μηδέν, οὐ δὲ τῆς χαμάθεν σποδοῦ λαβόντες λείχουσι·

173. Νασαμώσι δὲ προσόμουροι εἰσὶ Ψύλλοι. οὕτωι ἐξαιπολόλασι τρόπῳ τοιῳδε· ὁ νότος σφὶ πνεῶν ἀνεμὸς τὰ ἐλυτρα τῶν ὑδάτων ἐξηνύνε, ἢ δὲ χώρῃ σφὶ ἀπασα ἐντὸς ἐούσα τῆς Σύρτιος ἦν ἀνυδρος· οἳ δὲ βουλευσάμενοι κοινῷ λόγῳ ἐστρατεύοντο ἐπὶ τῶν νότον (Ἄγγῳ δὲ ταῦτα τὰ λέγουσι Δίβυνεσ), καὶ ἐπείτε ἐγίνοντο ἐν τῇ ψάμμῳ, πνεύσας οὐ νότος κατέχουσε σφέας. ἐξαιπολομένων δὲ τούτων ἔχουσι τὴν χώρην οἱ Νασαμώνες.

174. Τούτων δὲ κατύπερθε πρὸς νότον ἀνεμον ἐν τῇ θηρωδεὶ οἰκέουσι Γαράμαντες, οὐ πάντα ἀνθρωπον φεύγουσι καὶ πάντος ὁμιλήν, καὶ οὕτε
dry in the sun, and after grinding sprinkle them into milk and so drink it. It is their custom for every man to have many wives; their intercourse with women is promiscuous, in like manner as among the Massagetae; a staff is planted before the dwelling and then they have intercourse. When a man of the Nasamones first weds, on the first night the bride must by custom lie with each of the whole company in turn; and each man after intercourse gives her whatever gift he has brought from his house. As for their manner of swearing and divination, they lay their hands on the graves of the men reputed most just and good among them, and by these men they swear; their practice of divination is to go to the tombs of their ancestors, where after making prayers they lie down to sleep, and take whatever dreams come to them for oracles. They give and receive pledges by drinking each from the hand of the other party; and if they have nothing liquid they take of the dust of the earth and lick it up.

173. On the borders of the Nasamones is the country of the Psylli, who perished in this wise: the force of the south wind dried up their water-tanks, and all their country, lying within the region of the Syrtis, was waterless. Taking counsel together they marched southward (I tell the story as it is told by the Libyans), and when they came into the sandy desert a strong south wind buried them. So they perished utterly, and the Nasamones have their country.

174. Inland of these to the southward the Garamantes dwell in the wild beasts' country. They shun the sight and fellowship of men, and have no
οπλον ἐκτέαται ἀρήμον οὐδὲν οὔτε ἀμύνεσθαι ἔπιστέαται.

175. Οὗτοι μὲν δὴ κατύπερθε οἰκέουσι Νασαμόνων· τὸ δὲ παρὰ τὴν θάλασσαν ἔχονται τὸ πρὸς ἑσπέρης Μάκαι, οὗ λόφους κείρονταί, τὸ μὲν μέσον τῶν τριχῶν ἀνιέντες αῦξεσθαι, τὰ δὲ ἐνθέν καὶ ἐνθέν κείροντες ἐν χροῖ, ἐς δὲ τὸν πόλεμον στρούθων καταγαίων δορὰς φορέουσι προβλήματα. διὰ δὲ αὐτῶν Κίνυψ ποταμὸς ἐξέστη λόφου καλεμένου Χαρίτων ἐς θάλασσαν ἐκδεδοῖ. ὁ δὲ λόφος οὗτος ὁ Χαρίτων δασὺς ἴδησι ἐστὶ, ἐούσῃς τῆς ἄλλης τῆς προκαταλεχθεῖσης Διβύης ψυλῆς ἀπὸ θαλάσσης δὲ ἐς αὐτὸν στάδιοι διηκοσίοι εἰσὶ.

176. Μακέων δὲ τούτων ἐχόμενοι Γινδάνες εἰσὶ, τῶν αἱ γυναῖκες περισσύρια δερμάτων πολλὰ ἐκάστη φορέει κατὰ τοιούδε τι, ὥς λέγεται· καὶ ἄνδρα ἐκαστὸν μιχθέντα περισσύριον περιδέεται· ἢ δὲ ἀν πλείστα ἐχὴ, αὐτὴ ἄριστη δεδοκται εἰναι ὡς ὑπὸ πλείστων ἀνδρῶν φιληθείσα.

177. Ἀκτὴν δὲ προέχουσαν ἐς τὸν πόλτον τούτων τῶν Γινδάνων νέμονται Λωτοφάγοι, οὗ τὸν καρπὸν μοῦν τοῦ λωτοῦ πρώγιοντες ἔσωσιν. ὁ δὲ τοῦ λωτοῦ καρπὸς ἐστὶ μέγαθος ὡς τοῦ τῆς σχίνου, γλυκύτητα δὲ τοῦ φοίνικος τῷ καρπῷ προσείκελος. ποιεῖνται δὲ ἐκ τοῦ καρποῦ τοῦτον οἵ Λωτοφάγοι καὶ οἶνον.

178. Λωτοφάγων δὲ τὸ παρὰ θάλασσαν ἔχονται Μάχλυες, τῶν λωτῶν μὲν καὶ οὗτοι χρεώμενοι, ἀτὰρ ἥσσον γε τῶν πρότερον λεχθέντων, κατήκουσι δὲ ἐπὶ ποταμὸν μέγαν τῷ οὐνομα Τρίτων 378
weapons of war, nor know how to defend themselves.

175. These dwell inland of the Nasamones; the neighbouring seaboard to the west is the country of the Macae, who shave their hair to a crest, leaving that on the top of their heads to grow and shaving clean off what is on either side; they carry in war bucklers made of ostrich skins. The river Cinyps flows into their sea through their country from a hill called the Hill of the Graces. This hill is thickly wooded, while the rest of Libya whereof I have spoken is bare of trees; it is two hundred furlongs distant from the sea.

176. Next to these Macae are the Gindanes, where every woman wears many leathern anklets, because (so it is said) she puts on an anklet for every man with whom she has had intercourse; and she who wears most is reputed the best, because she has been loved by most men.

177. There is a headland jutting out to sea from the land of the Gindanes; on it dwell the Lotus-eaters, whose only fare is the lotus. The lotus fruit is of the bigness of a mastich-berry: it has a sweet taste like the fruit of a date-palm; the lotus-eaters not only eat it but make wine of it.

178. Next to these along the coast are the Machlyes, who also use the lotus, but less than the people aforesaid. Their country reaches to a great river.

1 The fruit of the Rhamnus Lotus, which grows in this part of Africa, is said to be eatable, but not so delicious as to justify its Homeric epithet "honey-sweet."
HERODOTUS

εστιν ἐκδιδομένη δὲ οὕτως ἐς λίμνην μεγάλην Τριτωνίδα· ἐν δὲ αὐτῇ νῆσος ἐν τῇ οὖνομα Φλά. ταύτην δὲ τὴν νῆσον Λακεδαιμονίου οἰσι φασὶ λόγιον εἶναι κτίσαι.

179. Ἐστι δὲ καὶ ὅδε λόγος λεγόμενος. Ἡ ἱσονα, ἔπειτε οἱ ἐξεργάζοντα ὑπὸ τῷ Πηλίῳ ἡ Ἀργώ, ἔσθε καὶ ἐς αὐτὴν ἄλλην τε ἐκατόμβην καὶ δὴ καὶ τρίποδα χάλκεν περιπλάονειν Πελοπόννησον, βουλόμενον ἐς Δελφοὺς ἀπικέσθαι. καὶ μὲν, ὡς πλέοντα γενέσθαι κατὰ Μαλένην, ὑπολαβὲν ἄνεμου βορέην καὶ ἀποφέρειν πρὸς τὴν Διβύνην πρὶν δὲ κατιδέσθαι γῆν, ἐν τῶι βραχέσι γενέσθαι λίμνης τῆς Τριτωνίδος. καὶ οἱ ἀπορέοντι τὴν ἐξαγωγὴν λόγος ἐςτιν φανήναι Τριτωνα καὶ κελεύειν τὸν Ἧσονα ἐωνυφί δοῦνα τὸν τρίποδα, φάμειον σφι καὶ τὸν πόρον δέξειν καὶ ἀπήμονας ἀποστελέων. πειθομένου δὲ τοῦ Ἡσονος, οὕτω δὴ τὸν τε διέκπλον τῶν βραχέων δεικνύναι τὸν Τριτωνά σφι καὶ τὸν τρίποδα θείναι ἐν τῷ ἑωυτοῦ ἱρῷ, ἐπιθεσπιστάντα τε τῷ τρίποδι καὶ τοῖς σὺν Ἡσονι συμμνήμας τὸν πάντα λόγον, ὡς ἐπεάν τὸν τρίποδα κομίσηται τῶν ἐγκώμων τις τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἀργοῖ συμπλεόντων, τότε ἐκάτον πόλιας οἰκήσαι περὶ τὴν Τριτωνίδα λίμνην Ἐλληνίδας πᾶσαν εἶναι ἀνώγην. ταῦτα ἀκούσαντας τοὺς ἐπιχωρίους τὸν Διβύνων κρύψαι τὸν τρίποδα.

180. Τούτων δὲ ἔχονται τῶν Μαχλῶν Αὐσέες· σὺτοι δὲ καὶ οἱ Μάχλαις πέρις τὴν Τριτωνίδα λίμνην οἰκέουσι, τὸ μέσον δὲ σφι οὐρίζει οἱ Τρίτων. καὶ οἱ μὲν Μάχλαις τὰ ὅπσιν κομίσοι τῆς κεφαλῆς, οἱ δὲ Αὐσέες τὰ ἐμπροσθε. ὅρτῆ δὲ ἐναισίη Ἀθηναίης αἱ παρθένοι αὐτῶν δίχα.
BOOK IV. 178–180
called Triton,¹ which issues into the great Tritonian lake, wherein is an island called Phila. It is said that the Lacedaemonians were bidden by an oracle to plant a settlement on this island.

179. The following story is also told:—Jason (it is said) when the Argo had been built at the foot of Pelion, put therein besides a hecatomb a bronze tripod, and set forth to sail round Peloponnesus, that he might come to Delphi. But when in his course he was off Malea, a north wind caught and carried him away to Libya; and before he could spy land he came into the shallows of the Tritonian lake. There, while yet he could find no way out, Triton (so goes the story) appeared to him and bade Jason give him the tripod, promising so to show the shipmen the channel and send them on their way unharmed. Jason did his bidding, and Triton then showed them the passage out of the shallows and set the tripod in his own temple; but first he prophesied over it, declaring the whole matter to Jason’s comrades: to wit, that when any descendant of the Argo’s crew should take away the tripod, then needs must a hundred Greek cities be founded on the shores of the Tritonian lake. Hearing this (it is said) the Libyan people of the country hid the tripod.

180. Next to these Machlyes are the Ausees; these and the Machlyes, divided by the Triton, dwell on the shores of the Tritonian lake. The Machlyes wear the hair of their heads long behind, the Ausees in front. They make a yearly festival to Athene,

¹ The “Triton” legend may arise from the Argonauts’ finding a river which reminded them of their own river Triton in Boeotia, and at the same time identifying the local goddess (cp. 180) with Athene, one of whose epithets was Τριτογένεια (whatever that means).
Herodotus' description is true in so far as it points to the undoubted fact of a caravan route from Egypt to N.W. Africa; the starting-point of which, however, should be Memphis and not Thebes. But his distances between identi-
whereat their maidens are parted into two bands and fight each other with stones and staves, thus (as they say) honouring after their people’s manner that native goddess whom we call Athene. Maidens that die of their wounds are called false virgins. Before the girls are set fighting, the whole people choose ever the fairest maiden, and equip her with a Corinthian helmet and Greek panoply, to be then mounted on a chariot and drawn all along the lake shore. With what armour they equipped their maidens before Greeks came to dwell near them, I cannot say; but I suppose the armour to have been Egyptian; for I hold that the Greeks got their shield and helmet from Egypt. As for Athene, they say that she was daughter of Poseidon and the Tritonian lake, and that, being for some cause wroth with her father, she gave herself to Zeus, who made her his own daughter. Such is their tale. The intercourse of men and women there is promiscuous; they do not cohabit but have intercourse like cattle. When a woman’s child is well grown, within three months thereafter the men assemble, and the child is adjudged to be that man’s to whom it is most like.

181. I have now told of all the nomad Libyans that dwell on the sea-coast. Farther inland than these is that Libyan country which is haunted by wild beasts, and beyond this wild beasts’ land there runs a ridge of sand that stretches from Thebes of Egypt to the Pillars of Heracles.¹ After about a ten

fiable places are nearly always incorrect; the whole description will not bear criticism. The reader is referred to the editions of Rawlinson, Macan, and How and Wells for detailed discussion of difficulties.
δὲ τῇ ὀφρύῃ ταύτῃ μάλιστα διὰ δέκα ἡμερέων ὀδοὺ ἀλὸς ἔστι τρύφεα κατὰ χάνδρους μεγάλους ἐν κολωνοίσι, καὶ ἐν κορυφῆι ἐκάστου τοῦ κολωνοῦ ἀνακοντίζει ἐκ μέσου τοῦ ἀλὸς ὑδωρ ψυχρὸν καὶ γλυκὺ, περὶ δὲ αὐτῶν ἄνθρωποι οἰκέουσι ἐσχατοί πρὸς τὴς ἐρήμου καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς θηριώδεος, πρῶτοι μὲν ἀπὸ Θῆβαῖων διὰ δέκα ἡμερέων ὀδοῦ Ἁμμώνιου, ἔχοντες τὸ ἱρὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ Θῆβαιόν. Δίος· καὶ γὰρ τὸ ἐν Θῆβῃς, ὡς καὶ πρότερον εἰρήται μοι, κριστρόσωπον τοῦ Δίος τῶγαλμα ἐστὶ. τυγχάνει δὲ καὶ ἄλλο σφι ὑδωρ κρηναιόν εὖν, τὸ τοῦ μὲν ὀρθρὸν γίνεται χλιαρόν, ἀγορῆς δὲ πληθυοῦση ψυχρότερον, μεσαμβρή τε ἐστὶ καὶ τὸ κάρτα γίνεται ὑψιρὸν τινικαύτα δὲ ἀρδουσι τοὺς κήπους ἀποκλινομένης δὲ τῆς ἡμέρης ὑπίσται τοῦ ψυχροῦ, ἐς οὖ δύνει τε ὁ ἕλιος καὶ τὸ ὑδωρ γίνεται χλιαρόν. ἐπὶ δὲ μᾶλλον ἰδιὸς τὸ θερμὸν ἐς μέσας νύκτας πελάζει, τηνικαύτα δὲ ξεῖε ἀμβολάδῃ παρέρχονται τε μέσαι νύκτες καὶ ψύχεται μέχρι ἐς ἥδω. ἐπίκλησιν δὲ αὕτη ἡ κρήνη καλέσται ἕλιον.

182. Μετὰ δὲ Ἁμμώνιον διὰ τῆς ὀφρύης τῆς ψάμμου δι᾽ ἄλλων δέκα ἡμερέων ὀδοῦ κολωνός τε ἀλὸς ἔστι ὁμοίως τῷ Ἁμμώνιῳ καὶ ὑδωρ, καὶ ἄνθρωποι περὶ αὐτῶν οἰκέουσι· τῷ δὲ χώρῳ τούτῳ οὖνομα Αὐγήλα ἐστὶ. ἐς τοῦτον τοῦ χώρον οἱ Νασαμώνες ὀπωριεύντες τοὺς φοίνικας φοιτῶσι.

183. Ἄπο δὲ Ἀυγήλων διὰ δέκα ἡμερέων ἄλλων ὀδοῦ ἔτερος ἀλὸς κολωνὸς καὶ ὑδωρ καὶ φοίνικες καρποφόροι πολλοὶ, κατὰ περ καὶ ἐν τούτῳ ἔτερουσι· καὶ ἄνθρωποι οἰκέουσι ἐν αὐτῷ

1 [τὸ] Stein; and the article certainly makes the grammar difficult.
days' journey along this ridge there are masses of great lumps of salt in hillocks; on the top of every hillock a fountain of cold sweet water shoots up from the midst of the salt; men dwell round it who are farthest away towards the desert and inland from the wild beasts' country. The first on the journey from Thebes, ten days distant from that place, are the Ammonians, who follow the worship of the Zeus of Thebes; for, as I have before said, the image of Zeus at Thebes has the head of a ram. They have another spring of water besides, which is warm at dawn, and colder at market-time, and very cold at noon; and it is then that they water their gardens; as the day declines the coldness abates, till at sunset the water grows warm. It becomes ever hotter and hotter till midnight, and then it boils and bubbles; after midnight it becomes ever cooler till dawn. This spring is called the spring of the sun.

182. At a distance of ten days' journey again from the Ammonians along the sandy ridge, there is a hillock of salt like that of the Ammonians, and springs of water, where men dwell; this place is called Augila; it is to this that the Nasamones are wont to come to gather palm-fruit.

183. After ten days' journey again from Augila there is yet another hillock of salt and springs of water and many fruit-bearing palms, as at the other places;
τοῖς οὖνομα Γαράμαντες ἐστί, ἐθνὸς μέγα ἱσχυρός, οἱ ἐπὶ τῶν ἄλα γῆν ἐπιφορέουτες οὕτω σπείρουσι. συντομώτατον δ' ἐστὶ ἐς τοὺς Λωτοφάγους, ἐκ τῶν τριήκοντα ἡμερέων ἐς αὐτοὺς ὄδός ἐστι· ἐν τοῖς καί οἱ ὀπισθονόμοι βοῶς γίνονται· ὀπισθονόμοι δὲ διὰ τόδε εἰσί. τὰ κέρα ἔχουσι κεκυφότα ἐς τὸ ἐμπροσθε· διὰ τοῦτο ὀπίσω ἀναξωρέουτες νέμονται· ἐς γὰρ τὸ ἐμπροσθε οὐκ οἶοι τε εἰσὶ προεμβαλλόντων ἐς τὴν γῆν τῶν κερέων. ἀλλο δὲ οὐδὲν διαφέρουσι τῶν ἄλλων βοῶν ὅτι μὴ τοῦτο καὶ τὸ δέρμα ἐς παχύτητά τε καὶ τρίψιν. οἱ Γαράμαντες δὴ οὐτοί τοὺς τρωγλοῦτας Αἰθίοπας θηρεύουσι τοῖς τεθρίπποισι· οἱ γὰρ τρωγλοῦται Αἰθίοπες πόδας τάχιστοι ἀνθρώπων πάντων εἰς τῶν ἡμεῖς πέρι λόγους ἀποφερομένους ἀκούομεν. συτέονται δὲ οἱ τρωγλοῦται ὁφι καὶ σαύρους καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα τῶν ἑρπετῶν γλώσσαν δὲ οὐδεμιὴ ἄλλῃ παρομοίῃ νευομίκασι, ἀλλὰ τετρίγασι κατὰ περ αἴ νυκτερίδες.
184. Ἀπὸ δὲ Γαραμάντων δι’ ἄλλεων δέκα ἡμερέων ὅδου ἄλλος ἄλος τε κολώνος καὶ ὕδωρ, καὶ ἀνθρώποι περὶ αὐτῶν οἰκεύοσι τοῖς οὖνομα ἐστὶ Ἀτάραντες, οἱ ἀνώνυμοι εἰς μοῦνοι ἀνθρώπων τῶν ἡμεῖς ὤδεμν· ἀλέσι μὲν γὰρ σφί ἐστι Ἀτάραντες οὖνομα, ἐνὶ δὲ ἐκάστω ἀυτῶν οὖνομα οὐδὲν κέεται. οὐτοὶ τῷ ἡλίῳ ὑπερβάλλοντι καταρώνται καὶ πρὸς τοῦτοι πάντα τὰ ἀισχρὰ λοιδορεύονται, ὅτι σφέας καὶν ἐπιτρίβει, αὐτοὺς τε τοὺς ἀνθρώπους καὶ τὴν χώριν αὐτῶν. μετὰ δὲ δι’ ἄλλεων δέκα ἡμερέων ἄλλος κολώνος ἄλος καὶ ὕδωρ, καὶ ἀνθρώποι περὶ αὐτῶν οἰκεύοσι. ἔχεται δὲ τοῦ ἄλος τοῦτον ὄρος τῷ οὖνομα ἐστὶ 386
men dwell there called Garamantes, an exceeding great nation, who sow in earth which they have laid on the salt. Hence is the shortest way to the Lotus-eaters' country, thirty days' journey distant. Among the Garamantes are the oxen that go backward as they graze; whereof the reason is that their horns curve forward; therefore they walk backward in their grazing, not being able to go forward, seeing that the horns would project into the ground. In all else they are like other oxen, save that their hide is thicker, and different to the touch. These Garamantes go in their four-horse chariots chasing the cave-dwelling Ethiopians: for the Ethiopian cave-dwellers are swifter of foot than any men of whom tales are brought to us. They live on snakes, and lizards, and such-like creeping things. Their speech is like none other in the world; it is like the squeaking of bats.

184. After another ten days' journey from the Garamantes there is again a salt hillock and water; men dwell there called Atarantes. These are the only men known to us who have no names; for the whole people are called Atarantes, but no man has a name of his own. These when the sun is exceeding hot curse and most foully revile him, for that his burning heat afflicts their people and their land. After another ten days' journey there is again a hillock of salt, and water, and men dwelling there. Near to this salt is a mountain called Atlas, the shape
"Ατλας, ἐστὶ δὲ στεινοῦ καὶ κυκλοτερῆς πάντη, ὑψηλὸν δὲ οὔτω δὴ τί λέγεται ός τάς κορυφᾶς αὐτοῦ οὐκ οίᾳ τε εἶναι ἱδέσθαι: οὐδέκοτε γὰρ αὐτὰς ἀπολείπειν νέφεα οὔτε θέρεος οὔτε χειμώνοις. τούτῳ τὸν κίονα τοῦ οὐρανοῦ λέγουσι οἱ ἐπιχώριοι εἶναι. ἐπὶ τούτου τοῦ ὄρεος οἱ ἀνθρώποι οὔτοι ἐπώνυμοι ἐγένοντο: καλέονται γὰρ δὴ "Ἀτλαντες. λέγονται δὲ οὔτε ἐμφυχον οὐδὲν σιτέσθαι οὔτε ἐνύπνια ὀρᾷν.

185. Μέχρι μὲν δὴ τῶν Ἀτλαντῶν τοῦτων ἔχω τὰ σύνοματα τῶν ἐν τῇ ὀφρύῃ κατοικημένων καταλέξαι, τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ τοὺς οὐκέτι. διήκει δὲ ὥν ἡ ὀφρύς μέχρι Ἡρακλέων στηλέων καὶ τὸ ἔξω τουτέων. ἔστι δὲ ἀλὸς τε μέταλλον ἐν αὐτῇ διὰ δέκα ἡμέρων ὁδὸς καὶ ἀνθρώποι οἰκέοντες. τὰ δὲ οἰκία τούτωσι πάσι εἰκὼν ἀλῶν χόνδρῳς οἰκοδομέαται. ταύτα γὰρ ἦδη τῆς Διβύνης ἀνομβρα ἐστὶν: οὐ γὰρ ἄν ἡδυνατο μένειν οἱ τοῖχοι ἐόντες ἂλινοι, εἰ δὲ ἀλὸς αὐτῶθι καὶ λευκὸς καὶ πορφύρεος τὸ ἔδος ὀρύσσεται. ὑπὲρ δὲ τῆς ὀφρύς τὸ πρὸς νότον καὶ ἐς μεσόγαιαν τῆς Διβύνης ἔρημος καὶ ἀνύδρος καὶ ἀθῆρος καὶ ἀνομβρος καὶ ἄξυλος ἐστὶ ἡ χώρη, καὶ ἵκμάδος ἐστὶ ἐν αὐτῇ οὐδέν.

186. Οὔτω μὲν μέχρι τῆς Τριτωνίδος λίμνης ἀπ' Ἀιγύπτου νομάδες εἰσὶ κρεοφάγοι τε καὶ γαλακτοπόταται Δίβνες, καὶ θηλέων τε βοῶν οὔτι γενόμενοι, διὸτι περ οὔτε Ἀιγύπτιοι, καὶ ὡς οὔ τρέφοντες. βοῶν μὲν νυν θηλέων οὐδ' αἱ Κυρηναῖων γυναίκες δικαίωσαν τετείσθαι διὰ τὴν ἐν Ἁιγύπτῳ Ἰσιω, ἀλλὰ καὶ νηστήσαις αὐτῇ καὶ
whereof is slender and a complete circle; and it is said to be so high that its summits cannot be seen, for cloud is ever upon them winter and summer. The people of the country call it the pillar of heaven. These men have got their name, which is Atlantes, from this mountain. It is said that they eat no living creature, and see no dreams in their sleep.

185. I know and can tell the names of all the peoples that dwell on the ridge as far as the Atlantes, but no farther than that. But this I know, that the ridge reaches as far as the Pillars of Heracles and beyond them. There is a mine of salt on it a ten days' journey distant from the Atlantes, and men dwell there. Their houses are all built of the blocks of salt; here begins the part of Libya where no rain falls; for the walls, being of salt, could not stand firm if there were rain. The salt which is dug from this mine is both white and purple. Beyond this ridge the southern and inland parts of Libya are desert and waterless; no wild beasts are there, nor rain, nor forests; this region is wholly without moisture.

186. Thus from Egypt to the Tritonian lake, the Libyans are nomads that eat meat and drink milk; for the same reason as the Egyptians too profess, they will not touch the flesh of cows; and they rear no swine. The women of Cyrene too deem it wrong to eat cows' flesh, because of the Isis of Egypt; nay, they even honour her with fasts and
ορτάς ἐπιτελέσκεν· αἰ δὲ τῶν Βαρκαίων γυναίκες οὐδὲ ὑών πρὸς τῆς βουσὶ γεύονται.

187. Ταῦτα μὲν δὴ οὔτω ἔχει. τὸ δὲ πρὸς ἑσπέρις τῆς Τριτωνίδος λίμνης οὐκέτι νομάδες εἰσὶ Δίβνες οὐδὲ νόμοισι τοῖς αὐτοῖς χρεώμενοι, οὐδὲ κατὰ τὰ παιδία ποιεύετε οἶνον τι καὶ οἱ νομάδες ἐώθασι ποιεῖν. οἱ γὰρ δὴ τῶν Διβύων νομάδες, εἰ μὲν πάντες, οὐκ ἔχω ἀτρεκέως τοῦτο εἰπεῖν, ποιεύσι δὲ αὐτῶν συχνῷ τοιάδε· τῶν παιδίων τῶν σφετέρων, ἐπεδαν τετραέτεα γέννηται, οὕσπη προβάτων καίουσι τὰς ἐν τῇς κορυφῆσι φλέβας, μετεξέτεροι δὲ αὐτῶν τὰς ἐν τοῖς κροτά-φοισι, τοῦδε εἰνεκα ὡς μὴ σφεάς ἐς τὸν πόντα χρόνον καταρρέουν φλέγμα ἐκ τῆς κεφαλῆς δηλέ-ηται. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο σφέας λέγουσι εἶναι ὑγιηρο-τάτους· εἰσὶ γὰρ ὃς ἀληθέως οἱ Δίβνες ἀνθρώπων πάντων ὑγιηρότατοι τῶν ἥμεις ἵδεμεν, εἰ μὲν διὰ τοῦτο, οὐκ ἔχω ἀτρεκέως εἰπεῖν, ὑγιηρότατοι δ' ὧν εἰσὶ. ηὲ δὲ καίουσι τὰ παιδία σπασμός ἐπι-γέννηται, ἐξεύρηται σφὶ ἀκός· τράγου γὰρ οὕρον σπείσαντες ρύονται σφέα. λέγω δὲ τὰ λέγουσι αὐτῶι Δίβνες.

188. Θυσίαι δὲ τοῖς νομάσι εἰσὶ αἰδὲ· ἐπεᾶν τοῦ ὠτὸς ἀπάρξονται τοῦ κτήνεως, ριπτέουσι ύπὲρ τὸν δόμον, τοῦτο δὲ ποιήσαντες ἀποστρέ-φουσι τὸν αὐχένα αὐτοῦ· θύουσι δὲ ἥλιῳ καὶ σελήνῃ μοῦνοισι. τοῦτοισι μὲν νων πάντες Δί-βνες θύουσι, ἀτὰρ οἱ περὶ τὴν Τριτωνίδα λίμνην νέμοντες τῇ Ἀθηναίη μάλιστα, μετὰ δὲ τῷ Τρί-τωνι καὶ τῷ Ποσειδέων.

189. Τὴν δὲ ἄρα ἐσθήτα καὶ τὰς αἰγίδας τῶν ἁγαλμάτων τῆς Ἀθηναίης ἐκ τῶν Διβύσσεων
festivals; and the Barcaean women refuse to eat swine too as well as cows.

187. Thus it is with this region. But westward of the Tritonian lake the Libyans are not nomads; they follow not the same usages, nor treat their children as the nomads are wont to do. For the practice of many Libyan nomads (I cannot with exactness say whether it be the practice of all) is to take their children when four years old, and with grease of sheep's wool to burn the veins of their scalps or sometimes of their temples, that so the children may be never afterwards afflicted by phlegm running down from the head. They say that this makes their children most healthy. In truth no men known to us are so healthy as the Libyans; whether it be by reason of this practice, I cannot with exactness say; but most healthy they certainly are. When the children smart from the pain of the burning the Libyans have found a remedy, which is, to heal them by moistening with goats' urine. This is what the Libyans themselves say.

188. The nomads' manner of sacrificing is to cut a piece from the victim's ear for first-fruits and throw it over the house; which done they wring the victim's neck. They sacrifice to no gods save the sun and moon; that is, this is the practice of the whole nation; but the dwellers by the Tritonian lake sacrifice to Athene chiefly, and next to Triton and Poseidon.

189. It would seem that the robe and aegis of the images of Athene were copied by the Greeks from
The aegis is the conventional buckler of Pallas. Probably the conservatism of religious art retained for the warrior goddess the goatskin buckler which was one of the earliest forms of human armour.

2 The ὀλονυγὴ (says Dr. Macan) was proper to the worship
the Libyan women; for save that the dress of Libyan women is leathern, and that the tassels of their goat-skin bucklers are not snakes but made of thongs of hide, in all else their equipment is the same. Nay, the very name bewrays that the raiment of the statues of Pallas has come from Libya; for Libyan women wear hairless tasselled goatskins over their dress, coloured with madder, and the Greeks have changed the name of these into their "aegis." Further, to my thinking the ceremonial chant first took its rise in Libya: for the women of that country chant very tunefully. And it is from the Libyans that the Greeks have learnt to drive four-horse chariots.

190. The dead are buried by the nomads in Greek fashion, save by the Nasamones. These bury their dead sitting, being careful to make the dying man sit when he gives up the ghost, and not die lying supine. Their dwellings are compact of asphodel-stalks twined about reeds; they can be carried hither and thither. Such are the Libyan usages.

191. Westward of the river Triton and next to the Ausees begins the country of Libyans who till the soil and possess houses; they are called Maxyes; they wear their hair long on the right side of their heads and shave the left, and they paint their bodies with vermilion. These claim descent from the men who came from Troy. Their country, and the rest of Athene; a cry of triumph or exultation, perhaps of Eastern origin and connected with the Semitic Hallelu (which survives in Hallelu-jah).

* Asphodel is a long-stalked plant. The name has acquired picturesque associations; but Homer's "asphodel meadow" is in the unhappy realm of the dead, and is intended clearly to indicate a place of rank weeds.
χώρη αὐτή τε καὶ ἡ λοιπῆ τῆς Διβύης ἢ πρὸς ἑσπέρην πολλῶν θηριωδεστέρη τε καὶ δασυτέρη ἐστὶ τῆς τῶν νομάδων χώρης. ἤ μὲν γὰρ δὴ πρὸς τὴν ἡδο τῆς Διβύης, τὴν οἱ νομάδες νέμουσι, ἐστὶ ταπεινῆ τε καὶ ψαμμώδης μέχρι τοῦ Τρίτωνος ποταμοῦ, ἢ δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦτο τὸ πρὸς ἑσπέρην ἢ τῶν ἀρωτήρων ὅρειν τε κάρτα καὶ δασέα καὶ θηριώδης· καὶ γὰρ οἱ ὄφιες οἱ ὑπερμεγάθες καὶ οἱ λέοντες κατὰ τούτους εἰσὶ καὶ οἱ ἐλέφαντες τε καὶ ἀρκτοι καὶ ἀσπίδες τε καὶ ὁνοὶ οἱ τὰ κέρεα ἔχοντες καὶ οἱ κυνοκέφαλοι καὶ οἱ ἁκέφαλοι οἱ ἐν τοῖς στήθεσι τοὺς ὁφθαλμοὺς ἔχοντες, ὡς δὴ λέγονται τοῖς ὑπὸ Διβύων, καὶ οἱ ἄγριοι ἄνδρες καὶ ἀνυάκικες ἄγριαι, καὶ ἄλλα πλῆθεὶ πολλὰ θηρία ἀκατάφευστα.

192. Κατὰ τοὺς νομάδας δὲ ἐστὶ τούτων οὐδὲν, ἄλλ’ ἄλλα τοιαδέ, πῦγαργοι καὶ ξορκάδες καὶ βουβάλιες καὶ ὁνοὶ, οὐκ οἱ τὰ κέρεα ἔχοντες ἄλλ’ ἄλλοι ἀποτοι (οὐ γὰρ δὴ πίνουσι), καὶ ὄρνες, τῶν τὰ κέρεα τοῖς φοίνιξι οἱ πῆχες ποιεῦνται (μέγαθος δὲ τὸ θηρίον τούτο κατὰ βοῦν ἐστὶ), καὶ βασσάρια καὶ θανάτικα καὶ ύστριχες καὶ κριοὶ ἄγριοι καὶ δίκτυες καὶ θάρσει καὶ πάνθρες καὶ βόρνες, καὶ κροκόδειλοι ὅσον τε τριτήχες χερσαῖοι, τῆς σαύρης ἐμφερέστατοι, καὶ στρουθοκατάγαιοι, καὶ ὃφιες μικροὶ, κέρας ἐν ἐκαστοῖς ἔχοντες· ταύτα τε δὴ αὐτόθι ἐστὶ θηρία καὶ τὰ περ τῇ ἄλλῃ, πλὴν ἐλάφου τε καὶ ὅς ἄγριον· ἐλαφος δὲ καὶ ὃς ἄγριος ἐν Διβύῃ πάμπαν οὐκ ἐστὶ. μοῦν δὲ γένεα τρίξα αὐτόθι ἐστι· οὐ μὲν δίποδες καλέονται, οὗ δὲ ὑπερεῖς (τὸ δὲ οὐνομα τοῦτο ἐστὶ μὲν Διβυστικῶν, δύναται δὲ κατ’ Ἑλλάδα γλώσσας.
of the western part of Libya, is much fuller of wild beasts and more wooded than the country of the nomads. For the eastern region of Libya, which the nomads inhabit, is low-lying and sandy as far as the river Triton; but the land westward of this, where dwell the tillers of the soil, is exceeding hilly and wooded and full of wild beasts. In that country are the huge snakes, and the elephants and bears and asps, the horned asses, the dog-headed men and the headless that have their eyes in their breasts, as the Libyans say, and the wild men and women, besides many other creatures not fabulous.

192. But in the nomads' country there are none of these; yet there are others, gazelles of divers kinds, asses, not the horned asses, but those that are called undrinking (for indeed they never drink), antelopes of the bigness of an ox, the horns whereof are made into the sides of a lyre, foxes, hyenas, porcupines, wild rams, the dictys and the borys,¹ jackals and panthers, land crocodiles three cubits long, most like to lizards, and ostriches and little one-horned serpents; all these beasts are there besides those that are elsewhere too, save only deer and wild swine; of these two kinds there are none at all in Libya. There are in this country three kinds of mice, the two-footed,² the "zegeries" (this is a Libyan word, signifying in our language hills),

¹ The dictys and borys are not identifiable. (But there is a small African deer called the Dik-dik.)
² Clearly, the jerboa.
βουνοί), οἱ δὲ ἐξινεῖς. εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ γαλαὶ ἐν τῷ 
σιλφίῳ γυνόμεναι τῇ Γαρτησίησι ὁμοίοταται. 
τοσαῦτα μὲν νυν θηρία ἡ τῶν νομάδων Λιβύων ἡ ἄχει, ὅσον ἡμεῖς ἱστορέωντες ἐπὶ μακρότατον οἰοί 
tε ἐγενόμεθα ἐξικέσθαι.
193. Μαξύων δὲ Λιβύων Ζαύηκες ἔχονται, 
τοῖς αἱ γυναίκες ἴνιοχεύς τὰ ἄρματα ἐς τὸν 
pόλεμον.
194. Τοῦτων δὲ Γύζαντες ἔχονται, ἐν τοῖς μὲν 
pολλοῖς μὲν μέλισσαι κατεργαζονται, πολλῷ δ᾽ ἐτὶ 
πλέον λέγεται δημιουργούς ἄνδρας ποιεῖν. 
μελτοῦνται δ᾽ ὄν πάντες οὕτω καὶ πιθηκο- 
φαγεόυσιν οἱ δὲ σφὶ ἄφθονοι ὅσοι ἐν τοῖς ὁρεσι 
γίνονται.
195. Κατὰ τούτοις δὲ λέγουσι Καρχηδόνωι 
κείσθαι νῆσον τῇ οὐνομα εἶναι Κύρανν, μῆκος 
mὲν διηκοσίων σταδίων, πλάτος δὲ στεινῆν, δια- 
βατὸν ἐκ τῆς ἡπείρου, ἐλαιέων τε μεστήν καὶ 
ἀμπέλων. λίμνην δὲ ἐν αὐτῇ εἶναι, ἐκ τῆς 
αἱ παρθένου τῶν ἐπιχαρίων πτεροίσι ὀρνίθων 
κεχρι- 
μένουσι πίσση ἐκ τῆς ἰλύνος ψῆγμα ἀναφέρουσι 
χρυσοῦ. ταῦτα εἰ μὲν ἔστι ἀληθεός οὐκ οἶδα, τὰ 
δὲ λέγεται γράφω· εἰ γὰρ ἰν πᾶν, ὅκου καὶ ἐν 
Ζακύνθῳ ἐκ λίμνης καὶ ύδατος πίσσαν ἀναφερο-
μένην αὐτὸς ἐγὼ ὧρων. εἰσὶ μὲν καὶ πλεῖνεις αἱ 
λίμναι αὐτόθι, ἢ δ᾽ ἰν μεγίστη αὐτέων ἐβδομή-
konta ποδῶν πάντη, βάθος δὲ διόργυνος ἐστὶ· ἐς 
tαῦτην κοινον κατεισὶ ἐπ᾽ ἀκρῷ μυρσίνην προσ-
δήσαντες καὶ ἐπείτα ἀναφέρουσι τῇ μυρσίνη πίσ-
sαν, ὄμην μὲν ἔχουσαν ἅπαλτον, τὰ δ᾽ ἀλλα 
tῆς Πιερίκης πίσσης ἀμείνω. ἐσχέουσι δὲ ὡς 
λάκκον ὀρωρυγμένον ἀγχοῦ τῆς λίμνης· ἐπεκαν δὲ
and the hairy, as they are called. There are also weasels found in the silphium, very like to the weasels of Tartessus. So many are the wild creatures of the nomads’ country, as far as by our utmost enquiry we have been able to learn.

193. Next to the Maxyes of Libya are the Zauekes, whose women drive their chariots to war.

194. Next to these are the Gyzantes, where much honey is made by bees, and much more yet (so it is said) by craftsmen. It is certain that they all paint themselves with vermilion and eat apes, which do greatly abound in their mountains.

195. Off their coast (say the Carchedonians) there lies an island called Cyrauis, two hundred furlongs long and narrow across; there is a passage to it from the mainland; it is full of olives and vines. It is said that there is a lake in this island wherefrom the maidens of the country draw up gold-dust out of the mud with feathers smeared with pitch. I know not if this be truly so; I write but what is said. Yet all things are possible; for I myself saw pitch drawn from the water of a pool in Zacynthus. The pools there are many; the greatest of them is seventy feet long and broad, and two fathoms deep. Into this they drop a pole with a myrtle branch made fast to its end, and bring up pitch on the myrtle, smelling like asphalt, and for the rest better than the pitch of Pieria. Then they pour it into a pit that they have dug near the pool; and when

1 cp. vii. 31, where men are said to make honey out of wheat and tamarisk.
HERODOTUS

196. Δέγνουσι δὲ καὶ τάδε Καρχηδόνιοι, εἶναι τῆς Διβύης χώρων τε καὶ ἀνθρώπων ἔξω Ἡρακλέων στηλέων κατοικημένους· ἐσ τοὺς ἐπεᾶν ἀπίκωνται καὶ ἐξελώνται τὰ φορτία, θέντες αὐτὰ ἐπεξής παρὰ τὴν κυματώγην, ἐσβάντες ἐς τὰ πλοία τύφειν καπνῶν. τοὺς δὲ ἐπιχωρίους ἰδομένους τῶν καπνῶν ἴναι ἐπὶ τὴν θάλασσαν καὶ ἐπεῖτα ἀντὶ τῶν φορτίων χρυσῶν τίθεναι καὶ ἐξαναχώρειν πρόσω ἀπὸ τῶν φορτίων. τοὺς δὲ Καρχηδόνιους ἐκβάντας σκέπτεσθαι, καὶ ἤν μὲν φαίνηται σφι ἄξιος ὁ χρυσὸς τῶν φορτίων, ἀνελόμενοι ἀπαλ- λάσσονται, ἤν δὲ μὴ ἄξιος, ἐσβάντες ὅπειρος ἐς τὰ πλοία κατέαται: οἱ δὲ προσελθόντες ἄλλον πρός ὃν ἔθηκαν χρυσὸν, ἐς οὐ ἄν πεῖδωσί. ἂδικεῖσιν δὲ οὐδέτέροις· οὔτε γὰρ αὐτοὺς τὸν χρυσὸν ἀπτε- σθαι πρὸν ἄν σφι ἀπισωθῆ τῇ ἄξιᾳ τῶν φορτίων, οὔτ' ἐκεῖνος τῶν φορτίων ἀπτεσθαι πρότερον ἢ αὐτὸ τὸ χρυσίον λάβωσι.
much is collected there, they fill their vessels from the pit. Whatever thing falls into the pool is carried under ground and appears again in the sea, which is about four furlongs distant from the pool. Thus, then, the story coming from the island off the Libyan coast is like the truth.

196. Another story too is told by the Carchedonians. There is a place, they say, where men dwell beyond the Pillars of Heracles; to this they come and unload their cargo; then having laid it orderly by the waterline they go aboard their ships and light a smoking fire. The people of the country see the smoke, and coming to the sea they lay down gold to pay for the cargo and withdraw away from the wares. Then the Carchedonians disembark and examine the gold; if it seems to them a fair price for their cargo, they take it and go their ways; but if not, they go aboard again and wait, and the people come back and add more gold till the shipmen are satisfied. Herein neither party (it is said) defrauds the other; the Carchedonians do not lay hands on the gold till it matches the value of their cargo, nor do the people touch the cargo till the shipmen have taken the gold.

197. These are all the Libyans whom we can name, and of their kings the most part cared nothing for the king of the Medes at the time of which I write, nor do they care for him now. I have thus much further to say of this country: four nations and no more, as far as our knowledge serves, inhabit it, whereof two are aboriginal and two are not; the Libyans in the north and the Ethiopians in the
tà πρὸς νότου τῆς Διβύης οἰκέουτες, Φοίνικες δὲ καὶ Ἑλληνες ἐπὶ λυδεῖς.

198. Δοκεῖοι δὲ μοι οὖν ἄρετὴν εἶναι τῆς Διβύης σπουδαίον ὡστε ἡ Ἀσίη ἡ Ἐυρώπη παραβληθῆναι, πλὴν Κύνυπος μούνης· τὸ γὰρ δὴ αὐτὸ ὀὖνομα ἡ γῆ τῷ ποταμῷ ἐχει. αὕτη δὲ ὀμοίᾳ τῇ ἀρίστῃ γέων Δήμητροι καρπῶν ἐκφέρειν οὐδὲ ἐοικε οὖν ὑπὸ τῆς ἄλλης Διβύης, μελάγγαιος τε γὰρ ἐστὶ καὶ ἑπτυδρὸς πίδαξι, καὶ οὔτε αὐχμοῦν φροτι-ζουσα οὖδὲν οὔτε ὁμβρον πλέω πιοῦσα δεδήληται· ὑεται γὰρ δὴ ταῦτα τῆς Διβύης. τῶν δὲ ἐκφορίων τοῦ καρποῦ ταυτὰ μέτρα τῇ Βαβυλωνίᾳ γῆ κατίσταται. ἀγαθὴ δὲ γῆ καὶ τὴν Ἐνεστερῶται νεμονται· ἐπ᾽ ἐκατοστὰ γὰρ, ἐπειδὲ αὐτὴ ἔωτής ἀριστα ἐνείκη, ἐκφέρει, ἢ δὲ ἐν τῇ Κύνυπι ἐπὶ τριήκοσία.

199. Ἐχει δὲ καὶ ἡ Κυρηναίη χώρη, ἐσύσα ψηλοτάτῃ ταύτης τῆς Διβύης τὴν οἱ νομάδες νέμονται, τρεῖς ὁρας ἐν ἔωτη ἄξιας θώματος. πρῶτα μὲν γὰρ τὰ παραθαλάσσια τῶν καρπῶν ὁργὰ ἀμάσθαι τε καὶ τρυγάσθαι· τοῦτοι τε δὴ συγκεκομισμένων τὰ ύπερ τῶν θαλασσιδίων χώρων τὰ μέσα ὁργὰ συγκομίζεσθαι, τὰ βουνοῦς καλέσωμεν· συγκεκομισταὶ τε οὕτος ὁ μέσος καρπὸς καὶ ὁ ἐν τῇ κατυπερτάτῃ τῆς γῆς πεπαίνεται τε καὶ ὁργὰ, ὅστε ἐκπεποταὶ τε καὶ καταβέβρωται ὁ πρῶτος καρπὸς καὶ ὁ τελευταῖος συμπαραγίνεται. οὕτω ἐπ᾽ ὁκτὼ μῆνις Κυρηναίων ὑπὸ ἄρωρ ἐπέχει. ταῦτα μὲν νῦν ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον εἰρήσθων.

200. Οἱ δὲ Φερετίμης τιμωροῖ Πέρσαι ἐπείτε ἐκ τῆς Αἰγύπτου σταλέντες ὑπὸ Ἀρνάνδεω ἀπίκατο ἐσ τῆς Βάρκην, ἐπολιόρκεον τῇ πόλιν.
south of Libya are aboriginal, the Phoenicians and Greeks are later settlers.

198. To my thinking, there is in no part of Libya any great excellence whereby it should be compared to Asia or Europe, save only in the region which is called by the same name as its river, Cinyps. But this region is a match for the most fertile cornlands in the world, nor is it at all like to the rest of Libya. For the soil is black and well watered by springs, and has no fear of drought, nor is it harmed by drinking excessive showers (there is rain in this part of Libya). Its yield of corn is of the same measure as in the land of Babylon. The land inhabited by the Euhesperitae is also good; it yields at the most an hundredfold; but the land of the Cinyps region yields three hundredfold.

199. The country of Cyrene, which is the highest part of that Libya which the nomads inhabit, has the marvellous boon of three harvest seasons. First on the sea-coast the fruits of the earth are ripe for reaping and plucking: when these are gathered, the middle region above the coast, that which they call the Hills, is ripe for gathering: and no sooner is this yield of the middle country gathered than the highest-lying crops are mellow and ripe, so that the latest fruits of the earth are coming in when the earliest are already spent by way of food and drink. Thus the Cyrenaecans have a harvest lasting eight months. Of these matters, then, enough.

200. Now when the Persians sent by Aryandes from Egypt to avenge Pheretime came to Barce, they laid siege to the city, demanding the surrender of

1 The story broken off in ch. 167 is resumed.
HERODOTUS

ἐπαγγελλόμενοι ἑκδιδόναι τοὺς αἰτίους τοῦ φόνου τοῦ Ἀρκεσίλεως τῶν δὲ πάν γὰρ ἦν τὸ πλῆθος μεταίτιον, οὐκ ἐδέκουσ τοὺς λόγους. ἐνθαῦτα δὴ ἐπολιόρκεον τὴν Βάρκην ἐπὶ μῆνας ἐννέα, ὁρύσωστές τε ὀρύγματα ὑπόγαια φέροντα ἐς τὸ τείχος καὶ προσβολάς καρτερὰς ποιεύμενοι. τὰ μὲν γὰρ ὀρύγματα ἀνὴρ χαλκέως ἀνεύρε ἐπιχαλκῷ ἀσπίδι, ὥδε ἐπιφρασθεὶς: περιφέρων αὐτὴν ἐντὸς τοῦ τείχεος προσσίσχη πρὸς τὸ δάπεδον τῆς πόλιος. τὰ μὲν δὴ ἄλλα ἐσκε κωφὰ πρὸς τὰ προσσίσχε, κατὰ δὲ τὰ ὁρυσόμενα ἤχεεσκε ὁ χαλκὸς τῆς ἀσπίδος. ἀντορύσσοντες δὲ ἀν ταύτῃ οἱ Βαρκαιοὶ ἐκτείνον τῶν Περσέων τοὺς γεωργιέοντας. τοῦτο μὲν δὴ οὕτω ἐξευρέθη, τὰς δὲ προσβολὰς ἀπεκρούντο οἱ Βαρκαιοὶ.

201. Χρόνον δὲ δὴ πολλῶν τριβομένων καὶ πιπτόντων ἀμφότερων πολλῶν καὶ οὐκ ἤσσον τῶν Περσέων, Ἀμασίς ὁ στρατηγὸς τοῦ πεζοῦ μηχανᾶται τοιάδε. μαθῶν τοὺς Βαρκαιῶν ὡς κατὰ μὲν τὸ ἰσχυρὸν οὐκ αἱρετοὶ εἶν, δόλῳ δὲ αἱρετοί, ποιεῖ τοιάδε: νυκτὸς τάφρην ὀρύξας εὐρέαν ἐπέτεινε ξύλα ἀσθενέα ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς, κατύπερθε δὲ ἐπιπολὴς τῶν ξύλων χοῦν γῆς ἐπεφόρησε ποιέων τῇ ἀλλη γῆ ἵσοπεδον. ἀμα ἡμέρη δὲ ἐς λόγους προεκαλέστο τοὺς Βαρκαιῶν: οὗ δὲ ἀσπαστῶς ὑπήκουσαν, ἐς ὁ σφι ἐκδε ὀμολογίη χρήσασθαι. τὴν δὲ ὀμολογίην ἐποιεύντο τοιχίδε τινά, ἐπὶ τῆς κρυπτῆς τάφρου τάμινοντες ὄρκια, ἔστ ἀν ἡ γῆ αὐτή οὕτω ἔχη, μένειν τὸ ὄρκιον κατὰ χώρην, καὶ Βαρκαιῶς τε ὑποτελεῖν ψάναι ἀξίην βασιλεί καὶ Πέρσας μηδὲν ἄλλο νεοχμοῦν κατὰ Βαρκαιῶς. μετὰ δὲ τὸ ὄρκιον Βαρκαιοί
those who were guilty of the slaying of Arcesilaus; but the Barcaeans, whose whole people were accessory to the deed, would not consent. Then the Persians besieged Barce for nine months, digging underground passages leading to the walls, and making violent assaults. As for the mines, a smith discovered them by the means of a shield coated with bronze, and this is how he found them: carrying the shield round the inner side of the walls he smote it against the ground of the city; all other places where he smote it returned but a dull sound, but where the mines were the bronze of the shield rang clear. Here the Barcaeans made a countermine and slew those Persians who were digging the earth. Thus the mines were discovered, and the assaults were beaten off by the townsman.

201. When much time was spent and ever many on both sides (but of the Persians more) were slain, Amasis the general of the land army devised a plot, as knowing that Barce could not be taken by force but might be taken by guile: he dug by night a wide trench and laid frail planks across it, which he then covered over with a layer of earth level with the ground about it. Then when day came he invited the Barcaeans to confer with him, and they readily consented; at last all agreed to conditions of peace. This was done thus: standing on the hidden trench, they gave and took a sworn assurance that their treaty should hold good while the ground where they stood was unchanged; the Barcaeans should promise to pay a due sum to the king, and the Persians should do the Barcaeans no hurt. When the sworn agreement was made, the towns-
μὲν πιστεύσαντες τούτοις αὐτοὶ τε ἔξήσαν ἐκ τοῦ ἀστεὸς καὶ τῶν πολεμίων ἔων παριέναι ἐς τὸ τείχος τῶν Βουλόμενου, τὰς πάσας πύλας ἀνοίξαντες· οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι καταρρήξαντες τὴν κρυπτὴν γέφυραν ἐθεοῦ ἐς τὸ τείχος. κατέρρηξαν δὲ τούτῳ εἰνεκα τὴν ἐποίησαν γέφυραν, ἵνα ἐμπεδωκέοιεν, ταμόντες τοῖς Βαρκαίοις χρόνον μένειν αἰεὶ τὸ ὅρκιον ὅσον ἀν ἢ γῆ μένη κατὰ τότε εἰχε· καταρρήξασι δὲ οὐκέτι ἔμειν τὸ ὅρκιον κατὰ χώρην.

202. Τοὺς μὲν νυν αἰτιωτάτους τῶν Βαρκαίων ἡ Φερετίμη, ἔπειτε οἱ ἐκ τῶν Περσέων παρεδόθησαν, ἀνεσκολόπισε κύκλῳ τοῦ τείχους, τῶν δὲ σφι γυναικῶν τοὺς μαζὸν ἀποταμοῦσα περιέστιξε καὶ τοῦτοις τὸ τείχος· τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς τῶν Βαρκαίων λημὴν ἐκέλευε θέσθαι τοὺς Πέρσας, πλὴν ὅσοι αὐτῶν ἦσαν Βαττιάδαι τε καὶ τοῦ φόνου οὐ μεταίτιον τοῦτοις δὲ τὴν πόλιν ἐπέτρεψε ἡ Φερετίμη.

203. Τοὺς δὲν δὴ λοιποὺς τῶν Βαρκαίων οἱ Πέρσαι ἀνδραποδίσαμενοι ἀπήσαν ὅπισώ· καὶ ἔπειτε ἐπὶ τῇ Κυρηναίῳ πόλι ἐπέστησαν, οἱ Κυρηναιοὶ λόγιων τι ἀποσιεύμενοι διεξῆκαν αὐτοὺς διὰ τοῦ ἀστεοῦ. διεξούσης δὲ τῆς στρατιῆς Βάδρης μὲν ὁ τοῦ ναυτικοῦ στρατοῦ στρατηγὸς ἐκέλευε αἰρέειν τὴν πόλιν, "Ἄρα τοῦ πεζοῦ σὺν ἔα· ἐπὶ Βάρκην γὰρ ἀποσταλήναι μούνην Ἐλληνίδα πόλιν· ἢ δὲ διεξελθόντες καὶ ἐξομένους ἐπὶ Δίως Λυκαίου ὁχθὸν μετεμέλησε σφι οὐ σχοῦσι τὴν Κυρήνην. καὶ ἐπειρόντο τὸ δεύτερον παρέναι ἐς αὐτὴν· οἱ δὲ Κυρηναιοὶ οὐ περιώρων τοῖς δὲ Πέρσησι οὐδενὸς μαχομένου φόβος ἔνε-
men, trusting in it and opening all their gates, themselves came out of the city, and suffered all their enemies who so desired to enter within the walls: but the Persians broke down the hidden bridge and ran into the city. They broke down the bridge that they had made, that so they might keep the oath which they had sworn to the Barcaaeans, namely, that this treaty should hold good for as long as the ground remained as it was; but if they broke the bridge the treaty held good no longer.

202. Pheretimé took the most guilty of the Barcaaeans, when they were delivered to her by the Persians, and set them impaled round the top of the wall; she cut off the breasts of their women and planted them round the wall in like manner. As for the remnant of the Barcaaeans, she bade the Persians take them as their booty, save as many as were of the house of Battus and not accessory to the murder; to these she committed the governance of the city.

203. The Persians thus enslaved the rest of the Barcaaeans, and departed homewards. When they halted at Cyrene, the Cyrenaeans suffered them to pass through their city, that a certain oracle might be fulfilled. As the army was passing through, Badres the admiral of the fleet was for taking the city, but Amasis the general of the land army would not consent, saying that he had been sent against Barce and no other Greek city; at last they passed through Cyrene and encamped on the hill of Lycaean Zeus; there they repented of not having taken the city, and essayed to enter it again, but the Cyrenaeans would not suffer them. Then, though none attacked them, fear fell upon the Persians, and they
πεσε, ἀποδραμόντες τε ὅσον τε ἐξήκοντα σταδία ἤζοντο. Ἰδρυθέντι δὲ τῷ στρατοπέδῳ ταύτῃ ἤλθε παρὰ Ἀρνάνδεω ἄγγελος ἀποκαλέων αὐτούς. οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι Κυρηναῖων δεηθέντες ἐπόδια σφί δοῦναι ἐτυχον, λαβόντες δὲ ταύτα ἀπαλλάσσοντο ἐς τὴν Λύγυπτον. παραλαβόντες δὲ τὸ ἐνθεύτευν αὐτοὺς Λύβνες τῆς τε ἐσθήτος εὖνεκα καὶ τῆς σκευῆς τοὺς ὑπολευμομένους αὐτῶν καὶ ἐπελκομένους ἐφόνευον, ἐς δὲ τὴν Λύγυπτον ἀπίκοντο.

204. Οὕτος δ’ Περσέων στρατὸς τῆς Λιβύης ἐκαστάτῳ ἐς Εὐεσπερίδας ἤλθε. τοὺς δὲ ἱνδραποδίσαντο τῶν Βαρκαίων, τούτους δὲ ἐκ τῆς Λύγυπτον ἀνασπάστους ἐποίησαν παρὰ βασιλέα, βασιλεύον τέ σφι Δαρείος ἐδώκε τῆς Βακτρίας χώρης κόμην ἐγκατοικήσαι. οὐ δὲ τῇ κόμη ταύτῃ οὐνομα ἐθεντό Βάρκην, ἡ περ ἐτι καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ ἦν οἰκεομένη ἐν γῇ τῇ Βακτρίᾳ.

205. Οὐ μὲν οὖς ὁ παρακεχασμένος τῆς Λιβύης κατέπλεξε. ὦς γὰρ δὴ τὰχιστα ὁ τῆς Λιβύης τισαμένη τῶν Βαρκαίων ἀπενόστησε ἐς τὴν Λύγυπτον, ἀπέθανεν κακῶς· ξώσα γὰρ εὐλέων ἐξέξεσε, ὡς ἀρα ἀνθρώποις αἱ λίπη ἵσχυραι τιμωρίαι πρὸς θεῶν ἐπίθησθοι γίνονται· ἐς μὲν δὴ Φερετήμης τῆς Βάττου τοιαύτῃ τε καὶ τοσαύτῃ τιμωρίῃ ἐγένετο ἐς Βαρκαίους.
BOOK IV. 203–205

fled to a place sixty furlongs distant and there encamped; and presently while they were there a messenger from Aryandes came to the camp bidding them return. The Persians asked and obtained of the Cyrenaeans provisions for their march, having received which they departed, to go to Egypt; but after that they fell into the hands of the Libyans, who slew the laggards and stragglers of the host for the sake of their garments and possessions; till at last they came to Egypt.

204. This Persian armament advanced as far as Euhesperidae in Libya and no farther. As for the Barcaeans whom they had taken for slaves, they carried them from Egypt into banishment and brought them to the king, and Darius gave them a town of Bactria to dwell in. They gave this town the name Barce, and it remained an inhabited place in Bactria till my own lifetime.

205. But Pheretime fared ill too, and made no good ending of her life. For immediately after she had revenged herself on the Barcaeans and returned to Egypt, she died a foul death; her living body festered and bred worms: so wroth, it would seem, are the gods with over-violent human vengeance. Such, and so great, was the vengeance which Pheretime daughter of Battus wrought upon the people of Barce.
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