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HERODOTUS

WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION BY
A. D. GODLEY
HON. FELLOW OF MAGDALEN COLLEGE, OXFORD

IN FOUR VOLUMES

I

BOOKS I AND II

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MCMXX
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GENERAL INTRODUCTION

A

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

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

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

¹ Suidas.
GENERAL INTRODUCTION

the Aegean, of which he obviously has personal knowledge, but also in a large part of what we call the Near East. He saw with his own eyes much of Asia Minor; Egypt, as far south as Assuan; Cyrene and the country round it; Syria, and eastern lands perhaps as far as Mesopotamia; and the northern coast of the Black Sea. Within these limits, πολλῶν ἀνθρώπων ἰδεῖν ἄστεα καὶ νόον ἐγνω. But as the dates of his travels are unknown, so is their intention. Did he travel to collect materials for his history, its scheme being already formed? or was that history the outcome of the traveller's experiences? We only know that Herodotus' wanderings and the nine books of his narrative are mutually interwoven.

His professed object is, as he states it in the first sentence of his first book, to write the history of the Graeco-Persian war. But in order to do this he must first describe the rise of the Persian empire, to which the chapters on Lydia and the story of Croesus are introductory. When he comes in due time to relate the Persian invasion of Egypt, this is the cue for a description and history of the Nile valley, occupying the whole of the second book; and the story of Darius' subsequent expedition against Scythia leads naturally to a long digression on the geography and customs of that country. The narrative in the later books, dealing with the actual Persian invasion of Greece, is naturally less broken; but till then at least it is interrupted by constant episodes and digressions, here a chapter, there a whole book; it
GENERAL INTRODUCTION

is the historian's practice, as he himself says, to introduce προσθήκας, additions, whenever anything even remotely connected with the matter in hand occurs to him as likely to interest the reader. The net result is really a history of the Near East, and a good deal besides; a summary of popular knowledge or belief respecting recent events and the world as known more or less to the Greeks; which eventually, after branching out into countless digressions and divagations, centres in the crowning narrative of Marathon, Thermopylae, Salamis, Plataea. Tortuously, but never tediously, Herodotus' history moves to this goal. For all his discursiveness, he does not lack unity. "He is the first," it has been said, "to construct a long and elaborate narrative, in which many parts are combined in due subordination and arrangement to make one great whole." 1

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

1 How and Wells' Commentary on Herodotus.
GENERAL INTRODUCTION

merits."¹ Many critics have not taken the trouble to exercise this discrimination; it was for a long time the fashion to dismiss the Father of History as a garrulous raconteur, hoping to deceive his readers as easily as he himself was deceived by his informants. This "parcel of lies" type of criticism may now, fortunately, be considered extinct. Modern research, which began by discrediting Herodotus, has with fuller knowledge come to far different conclusions. It should be now (says Dr. Macan) "universally recognised that the most stringent application of historical and critical methods to the text of Herodotus leaves the work irremovably and irreplaceably at the head of European prose literature, whether in its scientific or in its artistic character." He has been blamed for a "garrulity" which gives currency to much which is alleged to be beneath the dignity of history. But most scholars must now agree that even from the historical standpoint the world would have lost much of infinite value had Herodotus been more reticent; his "garrulity" is often proved to point the way to right conclusions.

Obviously, the condition of human beliefs and opinions falls within the field of history. Where Herodotus plainly and demonstrably errs, he is often of supreme interest as indicating contemporary thought, which he not only summarises but criticises as well. His geography and his meteorology are representative of a stage of thought. He has not arrived

¹ R. W. Macan, Herodotus IV–VI.
at truth (naturally!) but he is consistent with a current opinion which is nearer to truth than earlier conceptions of the world. It is true that the sun's course is not affected, as Herodotus believes it to be, by the wind. It is also true that the Danube does not rise in the Pyrenees, and that the course of the upper Nile is not from west to east. But no one in his time knew better. He reflects and discusses contemporary opinion; he rejects earlier and more primitive ideas. It may be counted to him for righteousness that if he knows much less than Strabo, at least he knows a great deal more than Homer.

Always and everywhere, Herodotus gives us the best that is accessible to him; and it is one of his great merits as a historian that he does not give it uncritically. Scanty justice, till lately, has been done him in this matter; in reality, his manner of retailing what has been told him shows anything but credulity. Definite acceptance is much rarer than plain expressions of disbelief in what he has heard; "they say, but I do not believe it" is a very frequent introduction. This attitude is shown by the grammatical construction of the narrative—a construction which translation cannot always reproduce without awkwardness, and which is sometimes therefore overlooked altogether; the fact remains that much of the story is cast in the mould of reported speech, showing that the writer is not stating that so-and-so is a fact but only that it has been told him; and the oratio obliqua is maintained throughout the narrative.
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Herodotus deliberately professes that this is his method; ἐγὼ ὑπείρω ἔγειον τὰ λεγόμενα, πείθεσθαι γε μὴν παντάπασιν οὐκ ὑπείρω (Bk. vii.); τοῦτο μὲν νῦν ὑπ' Ἀιγυπτίων λεγομένουι χράσθω ὅτεω τὰ τοιαῦτα πιθανά ἐστι. ἐμοὶ δὲ παρὰ πάντα τὸν λόγον ὑποκεῖται ὅτι τὰ λεγόμενα ὑπ' ἐκάστων ἀκοῆ γράφω (ii. 123); "I know not what the truth may be, I tell the tale as 'twas told to me." In view of these plain statements, to attack Herodotus for foolish credulity is nothing less than disingenuous.

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

Herodotus' reputation for untrustworthiness arises, in fact, from his professed method of giving a hearing to every opinion. This has been of great service to those who early and late have accused him of deliberate and perhaps interested falsification of historical fact. These attacks began with Plutarch; they have been more than once renewed in modern times by critics desirous of a name for originality and independence. None of them can be regarded as of any serious importance. They leave Herodotus' credit
GENERAL INTRODUCTION

untouched, for the simple reason that they are hardly ever based on solid evidence. Plutarch's treatise on Herodotus' "malignity" only establishes his own. Modern critics, who maintain that Herodotus' praise and blame is unjustly distributed, have seldom any witness to appeal to save the historian himself; and failing necessary support ab extra, they can only assert the a priori improbability that an historian who is inaccurate in one narrative should be accurate in another. It is quite possible that the heroes of the history were not so heroic and the villains not so villainous as the historian paints them; but we have no evidence as to the private life of Cyrus or Cambyses beyond what the historian himself has given us. Nor is there any justification for depreciating the services of Athens to Greece because the eulogist of Athens happened to believe that the Danube rises in the Pyrenees, and that the sun's course is affected by the wind.

It cannot be denied that Herodotus invites criticism. Plainly enough, a great deal of the evidence on which he relies must be more substantial than simple hearsay. He has undoubtedly learnt much from documents engraved or written. To take one instance, the long and detailed catalogue of the nations included in the Persian empire and the amounts of tribute paid by each must rest on some documentary authority. But he will not support his credit by producing his proofs—at least, he does so seldom; for the most part, his fontes are included xiv
GENERAL INTRODUCTION

under "what he has heard"; he may have seen this, he may have read that, but it is all set down as hearsay and no more. There could be no better way of opening the door to suspicious critics. Further, some of the qualities which constitute the charm of his narrative make him suspect to those who ask only from history that it should be a plain statement of what did actually happen. Herodotus is pre-eminently biographical; personal passion and desire is the guiding motive of events; they are attributed to individual action more than to the force of circumstance. Debatable situations are described in terms of an actual debate between named champions of this or that policy,—as in Euripides, nay, as even in the comparatively matter-of-fact narrative of Thucydides. Nor is it only the human individual will which decides; it is the superhuman above all. The fortunes of individuals and communities are presented to us as they appear to a Greek who sees in human life "a sphere for the realisation of Divine Judgments."¹ To θείον is always working; whether as "Nemesis" to balance good and evil fortune, and correct overweening pride and excessive prosperity by corresponding calamity, or as eternal justice to punish actual wrongdoing. Such beliefs, common to all ages, find especial prominence in the history of Herodotus, as they do in Greek tragedy. The stories of Croesus, Polycrates, Cambyses, the fall of Troy—all are illustrations of a

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

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

1 Sophocles, Oedipus Tyrannus, 874–7.
2 Hermogenes, περὶ ίδεὼν

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B

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

The text of Herodotus rests mainly on the authority of nine MSS., of which a "Laurentianus" and a "Romanus" of the tenth and eleventh centuries respectively are considered the best. The merits of all the nine MSS. and the problems which they present to an editor are fully discussed in Hude's preface to the Clarendon Press edition. The text which I have followed is that of Stein; in the few passages of any importance where I have thought fit to follow any other authority, the fact is noted. In the spelling of names I have not attempted to be consistent. I use the familiar transliteration of κ and ὦ, and write "Croesus" and "Cyrus," not "Kroisos" and "Kuros," only retaining terminations in os where they are familiar and traditional. Where place-names have a well-known English form, not widely different from the Greek, I have kept to that; for instance, "Athens" and "Thebes," not xvii
GENERAL INTRODUCTION

"Athenae" and "Thebae"; but I write "Carchedon" and "Taras," not "Carthage" and "Tarentum." This is (I trust) a reasonable, though undeniably an inconsistent method. The scheme of the present series does not contemplate a commentary; only the briefest notes, therefore, have been added to this translation, and only where the "general reader" may be supposed to stand in urgent need of a word of explanation.
INTRODUCTION TO BOOKS I AND II

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

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

The second book falls into two parts. The first
INTRODUCTION TO BOOKS I AND II

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

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

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

¹ How and Wells, op. cit.; the reader is referred to their Commentary for a discussion of these matters.
HERODOTUS

BOOK I
ΗΡΟΔΟΤΟΥ ΙΣΤΟΡΙΑΙ

Α

1. Ἡροδότου Ἀλικαρνησσέως ἱστορίης ἀπό-
δεξις ἦδε, ὃς μῆτε τὰ γενόμενα ἐξ ἀνθρώπων 
τῷ χρόνῳ ἐξίτηλα γέννηται, μῆτε ἔργα μεγάλα 
τε καὶ θωμαστά, τὰ μὲν Ἡλληνὶς τὰ δὲ βαρβά-
ρους ἀποδεχθέντα, ἀκλεᾶ γέννηται, τὰ ἄλλα 
καὶ δὴ ἦν αἰτίην ἐπολέμησαν ἀλλήλους.

Περσέων μὲν νῦν οἱ λόγιοι Φοίνικας αἰτίους 
φασὶ γενέσθαι τῆς διαφορῆς. τούτους γὰρ ἀπὸ 
τῆς Ἐρυθρῆς καλεομένης θαλάσσης ἀπικομένους 
ἐπὶ τήνδε τὴν θάλασσαν, καὶ οἰκήσαντας τοῦτον 
τὸν χῶρον τὸν καὶ νῦν οἰκέουσιν, αὐτίκα ναυτιλί-
ησι μακρῷ ὑπερθέσθαι, ἀπαγινόντας δὲ φορτία 
Αἰγύπτια τε καὶ Ἀσσύρια τῇ τῇ ἄλλῃ ἑσπαγικἐ-
νεθαί καὶ δὴ καὶ ἐς Ἀργος. τὸ δὲ Ἀργός τοῦτον 
τὸν χρόνον προεῖχε ἀπασί τῶν ἐν τῇ νῦν Ἡλλάδι 
καλεομένη χώρῃ. ἀπικομένους δὲ τοὺς Φοίνικας 
ἐς δὴ τὸ Ἅργος τὸῦτο διατίθεσθαι τὸν φόρτον. 
πέμπτη δὲ ἡ ἐκτὶ ἡμέρῃ ἀπ᾽ ἕς ἀπίκουντο, ἐξεμ-
πολημένων σφὶ σχεδον πάντων, ἐλθεῖν ἐπὶ τὴν 
θάλασσαν γναῖκας ἄλλας τε πολλὰς καὶ δὴ καὶ 
τοῦ βασιλέος θυγατέρα: τὸ δὲ οἱ οὐνομα εἶναι, 
κατὰ τῶντὸ τὸ καὶ Ἡλληνες λέγουσι, Ἰοῦν τὴν
1. What Herodotus the Halicarnassian has learnt by inquiry is here set forth: in order that so the memory of the past may not be blotted out from among men by time, and that great and marvellous deeds done by Greeks and foreigners and especially the reason why they warred against each other may not lack renown.

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

¹ Not the modern Red Sea, but the Persian Gulf and adjacent waters.
HERODOTUS

Ἰνάχοι ταύτας στάσας κατὰ πρύμνην τῆς νεὸς ὄνεεσθαι τῶν φορτίων τῶν σφὶ ἦν θυμὸς μάλιστα· καὶ τοὺς Φοίνικας διακελευσάμενος ὀρμῆσαι ἐπ' αὐτᾶς. τὰς μὲν δὴ πλεύσας τῶν γυναικῶν ἀποφυγεῖν, τὴν δὲ Ἰούν ποὺν ἀλλησα ἀρπασθῆναι. ἐσθαλομένους δὲ ἐξ. τὴν νέα οἴχεσθαι ἀποπλέοντας ἐπὶ Αἰγύπτου.

2. Οὔτω μὲν Ἰούν ἐς Αἰγυπτιον ἀπικέσθαι λέγουσι Πέραςαi, οὐκ ὁς Ἔλληνες, καὶ τῶν ἀδυκημάτων πρῶτον τούτο ἀρξαί. μετὰ δὲ ταύτα Ἐλληνῶν τυνάς (οὐ γὰρ ἔχουσι τούνομα ἀπηγήμασθαί) φασὶ τῆς Φοίνικης ἐς Τύρον προσκοίντας ἀρπάσαι τοῦ βασιλέως τῆς θυγατέρα Ἕρωπην. εἶχαν δ' ἃν οὐτοὶ Κρῆτες, ταύτα μὲν δὴ ἴσα πρὸς ἵσα σφὶ γενέσθαι, μετὰ δὲ ταύτα Ἐλληνας αἰτίους τῆς δευτέρης ἀδικίης γενέσθαι· καταπλῶσαντας γὰρ μακρῇ νητὶ ἐς Αἰαν τε τῆν Κολχίδα καὶ ἐπὶ Φάσιν ποταμών, ἐνθεῦτεν, διαπηρηγμένους καὶ τάλλα τῶν εἶνεκαν ἀπίκατο, ἀρπάσαι τοῦ βασιλέως τῆς θυγατέρας Μηδείην. πέμψαντα δὲ τῶν Κόλχων βασιλέα ἐς τὴν Ἐλλάδα κήρυκα αἰτείειν τε δίκας τῆς ἀρπαγῆς καὶ ἀπαιτείειν τῆς θυγατέρας. τοὺς δὲ ὑποκρίνασθαι ὡς οὔδε ἐκεῖοι Ἰούς τῆς Ἁργείης ἔδοσαν σφὶ δίκας τῆς ἀρπαγῆς· οὔδε ὁν αὐτοὶ δώσεις ἐκεῖνοι.

3. Δευτέρη δὲ λέγουσι γενεῖ μετὰ ταύτα Ἀλέξανδρον τὸν Πριάμου, ἀκηκοότα ταύτα, ἐθελήσαι οἱ ἐκ τῆς Ἐλλάδος δι' ἀρπαγῆς γενέσθαι γυναῖκα, ἐπιστάμενοι πάντως ὅτι οὐ δώσεις δίκας· οὔδε γὰρ ἐκεῖνος διδόναι. οὔτω δὴ ἀρπασάσαντος αὐτοῦ Ἐλενην, τοῖσι Ἠλησιοί δόξαν πρῶ-
stood about the stern of the ship: and while they bargained for such wares as they fancied, the Phoenicians heartened each other to the deed, and rushed to take them. Most of the women escaped: Io with others was carried off; the men cast her into the ship and made sail away for Egypt.

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

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

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1 This is the legendary cruise of the Argonauts.
ΟΝ

tων πέμψαντας ἀγγέλους ἀπαίτειν τε Ἑλένην καὶ δίκας τῆς ἀρπαγῆς αἰτεῖν. τοὺς δὲ, προϊσχομένων ταῦτα, προφέρειν σφι Μηδείς τὴν ἀρπαγῆν, ὡς οὐ σοῦ δόντες αὐτοὶ δίκας οὐδὲ ἐκδόντες ἀπαίτεοντων βουλοιατό σφι παρ’ ἄλλων δίκας γίνεσθαι.

4. Μέχρι μὲν ὁν τοῦτον ἀρπαγὰς μούνας εἶναι παρ’ ἄλληλους, τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦτον Ἑλληνας δὴ μεγάλως αἰτίους γενέσθαι: προτέρους γὰρ ἀρξαί στρατεύεσθαι ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην ἢ σφέας ἢ τὴν Εὐρώπην. τὸ μὲν νῦν ἀρπάζειν γυναῖκας ἀνδρῶν ἄδικων νομίζειν ἔργον εἶναι, τὸ δὲ ἀρπασθεισέων σπουδὴν ποησάσθαι τιμωρεῖν ἄνοιτων, τὸ δὲ μηδεμίαν ὄρην ἔχειν ἀρπασθεισέων σωφρόνων δῆλα γὰρ δὴ ὅτι, εἰ μὴ αὐταὶ ἐβούλοντο, οὐκ ἂν ἤρπαζοντο. σφέας μὲν δὴ τοὺς ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίης λέγουσι Πέρσαι ἀρπαζομενέων τῶν γυναικῶν λόγον οὐδένα ποησάσθαι, Ἑλληνας δὲ Δακεδαιμονίης εἴνεκεν γυναικῶς στόλον ἔγαν συναγείραι καὶ ἐπείτα ἔλθοντας ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην τὴν Πράμου δύναμιν κατελείν. ἀπὸ τοῦτον αἰεὶ ἤγησασθαι τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν σφίσι εἶναι τολέμιον. τὴν γὰρ Ἀσίην καὶ τὰ ἐνοικεόντα ἑθνα βάρβαρα 1 οἰκημέναι οἱ Πέρσαι, τὴν δὲ Εὐρώπην καὶ τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν ἤχησαν κεχωρίσθαι.

5. Οὕτω μὲν Πέρσαι λέγουσι γενέσθαι, καὶ διὰ τὴν Πλίον ἄλωσιν εὐρίσκουσι σφίσι ἐνύσαν τὴν ἀρχὴν τῆς ἑκδρῆς τῆς ἐς τοὺς Ἑλληνας. περὶ δὲ τῆς Ἰους οὐκ ὁμολογεύσαν Πέρσης οὕτω Φοίνικες: οὐ γὰρ ἀρταγήν σφέας χρησαμένους λέγουσι ἄγαγεῖν αὐτὴν ἐς Αἰγυπτοῦν, ἀλλ’ ὡς ἐν τῷ

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

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

5. Such is the Persian account of the matter: in their opinion, it was the taking of Troy which began their feud with the Greeks. But the Phoenicians do not tell the same story about Io as the Persians. They say that they did not carry her off to Egypt by force: she had intercourse in Argos with the captain
"Αργεί εμίσγετο τῷ ναυκλήρῳ τῆς νεός· ἔπει δ' ἔμαθε ἐγκυνος ἐοῦσα, αἰδεομένη τοὺς τοκέας οὔτω δὴ ἐθελοντὴν αὐτὴν τούτη Φοίνιξι συνεκπλώσαι, ὡς ἄν μὴ κατάδηλος γένηται.

Ταῦτα μὲν νυν Πέρσαι τε καὶ Φοίνικες λέγουσι· ἐγὼ δὲ περὶ μὲν τούτοις οὔκ ἔρχομαι ἔρέων ὡς οὔτω ἢ ἄλλως καὶ ταῦτα ἐγένετο, τὸν δὲ οἶδα αὐτὸς πρῶτον ὑπάρξαντα ἀδίκων ἔργων ἐς τοὺς "Ελληνας, τούτοις σμηνίας προβήσομαι ἐς τὸ πρῶσον τὸν λόγον, ὁμοίως σμικρὰ καὶ μεγάλα ἀστεά ἀνθρώπων ἐπεξιών. τὰ γὰρ τὸ πάλαι μεγάλα ἢν, τὰ πολλὰ σμικρὰ αὐτῶν γέγονε· τὰ δὲ ἐπὶ ἐμευ ἢν μεγάλα, πρότερον ἢν σμικρά. τὴν ἀνθρωπηθείς ὡν ἐπιστάμενον εὐδαιμονίην οὐδαμὰ ἐν τώτῳ μένουσαν, ἐπιμνήσομαι ἀμφοτέρων ὁμοίως.

6. Κροίσος ἦν Δυσδὸς μὲν γένος, παῖς δὲ Ἄλυ-άττεω, τύραννος δὲ ἑθνέων τῶν ἐντὸς Ἄλυσος ποταμοῦ, ὁς ἐνω ἀπὸ μεδαμβρίης μεταξύ Συρίων τε καὶ Παφλαγόνων ἔξει πρὸς βορέην ἀνέμων ἐς τὸν Εὐξείνου καλεόμενον πόλιν. οὕτως ὁ Κροίσος βαρβάρων πρῶτος τῶν ἠμείς Ἰδμεν τοὺς μὲν κατεστρέψατο Ἔλληνων ἐς φόρου ἀπαγωγήν, τοὺς δὲ φίλους προσποιήσατο. κατεστρέψατο μὲν Ἰωνᾶς τε καὶ Διολέας καὶ Δωρέας τοὺς ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ, φίλους δὲ προσποιήσατο Λακεδαι-μονίους. πρὸ δὲ τῆς Κροίσου ἀρχῆς πάντες Ἔλληνες ἦσαν ἐλευθεροί· τὸ γὰρ Κιμερίων στράτευμα τὸ ἐπὶ τὴν Ἰωνίην ἀπικόμενον Κροίσου ἐν ἐπεμβύτερον οὐ καταστροφὴ ἐγένετο τῶν πολιῶν ἀλλ' ἐξ ἐπιδρομῆς ἀρπαγής.

7. Ἡ δὲ ἡγεμονίη οὕτω περιήλθε, ἐοῦσα Ἡρα-
of the ship: then, perceiving herself to be with child, she was ashamed that her parents should know it, and so, lest they should discover her condition, she sailed away with the Phoenicians of her own accord.

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

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

7. Now the sovereign power, which belonged to
κλειδῶν, ἐς τὸ γένος τὸ Κροίσου, καλεσμένους δὲ Μερμυνάδας. Ἡν Κανδαύλης, τῶν οἱ "Ελληνες Μυρσίλος ὄνομάξουσι, τύραννος Σαρδίων, ἀπόγονος δὲ Ἀλκαίου τοῦ Ἡρακλέους. Ἄγρων μὲν γὰρ ὁ Νίνος τοῦ Βῆλου τοῦ Ἀλκαίου πρῶτος Ἡρακλείδεως βασιλεύς ἐγένετο Σαρδίων, Κανδαύλης δὲ ὁ Μύρσος ύπτατος. οἱ δὲ πρὸτεροι Ἀγρωνος βασιλεύσαντες ταῦτα τῆς χώρης ἦσαν ἀπόγονοι Δυνόου τοῦ Ἀτυνος, ἀπ' ὅτεν ὁ δῆμος Δυνίων εκλήθη ὁ πᾶς οὗτος, πρῶτον Μηών καλεόμενος. παρά τούτων Ἡρακλείδαι ἐπιτραφθέντες ἐσχον τὴν ἀρχήν ἐκ θεοπροπτίου, ἐκ δούλης τῆς Ἱαρδάνου γεγονότες καὶ Ἡρακλέος, ἄρχαντες μὲν ἐπὶ δύο τε καὶ εἰκοσι γενεάς ἀνδρῶν ἔτεα τέντε τε καὶ πεντακόσια, παῖς παρὰ πατρὸς ἐκδεκόμενος τὴν ἀρχήν, μέχρι Κανδαύλεω τοῦ Μύρσου. 8. Οὗτος δὴ ὁ Κανδαύλης ἠράσθη τῆς ἐωτοῦ γυναικός, ἔρασθείς δὲ ἐνόμιζε οἱ εἶναι γυναῖκα πολλῶν πασέων καλλίστην. ὡστε δὲ ταύτα νομίζων, ἱν γὰρ οἱ τῶν αἰχμοφόρων Γύγης ὁ Δασκύλου ἀρεσκόμενος μάλιστα, τοῦτο τῷ Γύγῃ καὶ τα σπουδαίστερα τῶν πρηγμάτων ὑπερετόθητο ὁ Κανδαύλης καὶ δὴ καὶ τὸ εἴδος τῆς γυναικὸς ὑπερεταινῶν. χρόνου δὲ ὁ πολλοῦ διελθόντος (χρήν γὰρ Κανδαύλη γενέσθαι κακῶς) ἔλεγε πρὸς τὸν Γύγην τοιάδε. "Γύγη, οὐ γὰρ σε δοκέω πείθεσθαι μοι λέγοντι περὶ τὸν εἴδος τῆς γυναικός (ὡτα γὰρ τυχόντας ἀνθρώποις ἕντα ὑπιστοτέρα ὀφθαλμῶν), ποιεῖς ὁκὼς ἐκείνην θείσαι γυμνήν." ὁ δὲ ἀμβώσας εἶπε "δέσποτα, τίνα λέγεις λόγον οὐκ ὤγειά, κελεύων με δέσποτα.
the descendants of Heracles,¹ fell to the family of Croesus—the Mermnadae as they were called—in the following way. Candaules, whom the Greeks call Myrsilus, was the ruler of Sardis; he was descended from Alcaeus, son of Heracles; Agron, son of Ninus, son of Belus, son of Alcaeus, was the first Heraclid king of Sardis, and Candaules, son of Myrsus, was the last. The kings of this country before Agron were descendants of Lydus, son of Atys, from whom all this Lydian district took its name; before that it was called the land of the Meii. From these the Heraclidæ received the sovereignty and held it in charge, by reason of an oracle; and they ruled for two and twenty generations, or 505 years, son succeeding father, down to Candaules, son of Myrsus.

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

¹ Descendants of Heracles seems to mean descended from the Asiatic sungod identified with Heracles by the Greeks.
ναν τὴν ἐμὴν θείσασθαι γυμνήν; ἀμα δὲ κιθώνι ἐκδυομένῳ συνεκδύεται καὶ τὴν αἶδὼ γυνῆ. πάλαι δὲ τὰ καλὰ ἀνθρόποισι ἐξεύρηται, ἐκ τῶν μανθάνειν δεῖ· ἐν τούτῳ ἐν τόδε ἐστὶ, σκοπεῖν τινὰ τὰ ἑωυτοῦ. ἐγὼ δὲ πείθομαι ἐκείνην εἶναι πασέων γυναικῶν καλλίστην, καὶ σέο δέομαι μὴ δέεσθαι ἀνόμων.”

9. “Ὁ μὲν δὴ λέγων τοιαῦτα ἀπεμάχετο, ἀρρωδέων μὴ τί οἱ ἐξ αὐτῶν γένηται κακόν, δ' ἀμείβετο τοισίδε. “θάρσει, Γύγη, καὶ μὴ φοβεῖν μήτε ἐμέ, ὡς σέο πειρόμενον λέγων λόγον τόνδε, μήτε γυναίκα τὴν ἐμήν, μή τί τοι ἐξ αὐτῆς γένηται διάμοιρος. ἀρχὴν γὰρ ἐγὼ μηχανήσομαι οὕτω ἄστε μήδε μαθεῖν μοι ὅπθείσαν ἢτο σεῦ. ἐγὼ γάρ σε ἐς τὸ οἴκημα ἐν τῷ κοιμώμεθα ὁπίσθε τῆς ἀνοιγμένης ἁύρης στήσω. μετὰ δ' ἐμὲ ἐσελθόντα παρέσται καὶ ἡ γυνὴ ἢ ἐμή ἢς κοίτου. κεῖται δὲ ἀγχοῦ τῆς ἐσόδου θρόνος· ἐπὶ τούτῳ τῶν ἰμάτιων κατὰ ἐν ἐκαστὸν ἐκδύονους θῆσει, καὶ κατ' ἱσυγινήν πολλὴν παρέξει τοις θείσασθαι. ἐπεάν δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ θρόνου στείχῃ ἐπὶ τὴν εὐνήν κατὰ νότου τε αὐτῆς γένη, σοὶ μελετῶ τὸ ἐνθεύτεν ὄκιος μὴ σε ὄψεται ἢντα διὰ τυφρέων.”

10. “Ὁ μὲν δὴ ὡς οὐκ ἐδώσατο διαφυγεῖν, ἣν ἐτοιμὸς· ὁ δὲ Κανδαύλης, ἐπεὶ ἐδόκεε ὁρῇ τῆς κοίτης εἶναι, ἤγαγε τὸν Γύγηα ἐς τὸ οἴκημα, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα αὐτίκα παρῆν καὶ ἡ γυνή. ἑσελθοῦσαν δὲ καὶ τιθέσαν τὰ εἴματα ἑθῆτο ὁ Γύγης. ὃς δὲ κατὰ νότον ἐγένετο ιοῦσις τῆς γυναικὸς ἐς τὴν κοίτην, ὑπεκδύς ἐχώρεε ἐξω, καὶ ἡ γυνὴ ἐπορᾷ μὲν ἐξίοντα. μαθοῦσα δὲ τὸ ποιηθὲν ἐκ τοῦ

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

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

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

άνδρος οὔτε ἀνέβωσε αἰσχυνθεῖσα οὔτε ἔδοξε μαθεῖν, ἐν νῷ ἔχουσα τίσεσθαι τὸν Κανδαύλεα. παρὰ γὰρ τοῖς Λυδοῖσι, σχεδὸν δὲ καὶ παρὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις βαρβάροις καὶ ἄνδρα ὀφθήναι γυμνῶν ἐς αἰσχύνην μεγάλην φέρει.

11. Τότε μὲν δὴ οὔτω οὐδὲν δηλώσασα ἡσυχίαν εἶχε· ὡς δὲ ἡμέρη τάχιστα ἤγεγόνεε, τῶν οἰκετέων τοὺς μάλιστα ὅρα πιστοὺς ἐόντας ἑωτῇ, ἐτοίμους ποιησάμενή ἐκάλεε τὸν Γύγεα. ὃ δὲ οὐδὲν δοκεῶν αὐτὴν τῶν προχθέντων ἐπισταθηθαί ἦλθε καλεόμενος· ἐώθη γὰρ καὶ πρόσθε, ὅκως ἡ βασίλεια καλέω, φοιτάμ. ὡς δὲ ὁ Γύγης ἀπίκετο, ἔλεγε ἡ γυμνὴ τάδε. "ἐὼν τοῦ δυνὸν ὅδον παρεουσάων Γύγη δίδωμι αἴρεσιν, ὀκοτέρην βουλεῖα τραπέζασθαι. ἡ γὰρ Κανδαύλεα ἀποκείμεθα ἐμὲ τε καὶ τὴν βασιληίαν ἔχε τὴν Λυδοῦ, ἡ αὐτὸν σε αὐτίκα οὔτω ἀποθνησκεῖν δεῖ, ὡς δὲ τὸν πάντα πειθόμενος Κανδαύλη τοῦ λυποῦ ἴδης τὰ μὴ σε δει. ἀλλ᾽ ἢτοι κεῖνον γε τῶν ταύτα βουλεύσαστα δεῖ ἀπόλυσθαι, ἢ σὲ τὸν ἐμὲ γυμνὴν θεοσάμενον καὶ ποιήσαντα οὐ νομίζομεν." ὃ δὲ Γύγης τέως μὲν ἀπεθώμαζε τὰ λεγόμενα, μετὰ δὲ ἰκέτευε μὴ μιν ἀναγκαῖη ἐνδεεῖν διακρίναι τοιαύτην αἴρεσιν. οὐκώς δὴ ἔπειθε, ἀλλ᾽ ὧρα ἀναγκαῖην ἀληθέως προκειμένην ἡ τὸν δεσποτεὰ ἀπολλύναι ἡ αὐτὸν ὑπ᾽ ἄλλων ἀπόλυσθαι αἱρέται αὐτὸς περιεῖθαι. ἐπειρώτα δὴ λέγων τάδε. "ἐπεῖ μὲ ἀναγκάξεις δεσπότεα τὸν ἔμοι κτείνειν οὐκ ἔθελοντα, φέρε ἀκούσω τέω καὶ τρόπω ἐπιχειρήσωμεν αὐτῷ." ἢ δὲ ὑπολαβοῦσα ἐφή "ἐκ τοῦ αὐτοῦ μὲν χωρίον ἡ ὀρμη ἔσται οἴθεν περ καὶ ἐκεῖνος ἐμὲ ἐπεδέξατο γύμνην, ὑπωμένῳ δὲ ἡ ἐπιχείρησις ἔσται."
BOOK I. 10–11

out nor let it be seen that she had perceived aught, for she had it in mind to punish Candaules; seeing that among the Lydians and most of the foreign peoples it is held great shame that even a man should be seen naked.

11. For the nonce she made no sign and held her peace. But as soon as it was day, she assured herself of those of her household whom she perceived to be most faithful to her, and called Gyges: who, supposing that she knew nothing of what had been done, came at call; for he had always been wont to attend the queen whenever she bade him. So when he came, the lady thus addressed him: "Now, Gyges, you have two roads before you; choose which you will follow. You must either kill Candaules and take me for your own and the throne of Lydia, or yourself be killed now without more ado; that will prevent you from obeying all Candaules' commands in the future and seeing what you should not see. One of you must die: either he, the contriver of this plot, or you, who have outraged all usage by looking on me unclad." At this Gyges stood awhile astonished: presently he entreated her not to compel him to such a choice; but when he could not move her, and saw that dire necessity was in very truth upon him either to kill his master or himself be killed by others, he chose his own life. Then he asked the queen to tell him, since she forced him against his will to slay his master, how they were to attack the king: and she replied, "You shall come at him from the same place whence he made you see me naked; attack him in his sleep."
HERODOTUS

12. Ὡς δὲ ἦρτυσαν τὴν ἐπιβουλήν, νυκτὸς γενομένης (οὐ γὰρ ἐμετέτο ὁ Γύγης, οὐδὲ οἱ ἤν ἀπαλλαγὴ οὐδεμία, ἀλλ' ἔδεε ἡ αὐτῶν ἀπολωλέναι ἡ Κανδαύλεα) εἴπετο ἐς τὸν θάλαμον τῇ γυναικὶ, καὶ μιν ἐκείνη, ἐγχειρίδιον δοῦσα, κατακρύπτει ὑπὸ τὴν αὐτὴν θύρην. καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἀναπαυμένου Κανδαύλεω ὑπεκδύς τε καὶ ἀποκτείνας αὐτὸν ἔσχε καὶ τῇ γυναικᾷ καὶ τὴν βασιλῆιν Γύγης τοῦ καὶ Ἀρχίλοχος ὁ Πάριος κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον γενόμενος ἐν ἰάμβῳ τριμέτρῳ ἐπεμνήσθη.¹

13. Ἅσχε δὲ τὴν βασιλῆιν καὶ ἐκρατύνθη ἐκ τοῦ ἐν Δελφοῖς χρηστηρίου. ὡς γὰρ δὴ οἱ Λυδοὶ δεινὸν ἐποιεῖντο τὸ Κανδαύλεω πάθος καὶ ἐν ὅπλοις ἦσαν, συνεβησαν ἐς τῶντο οἱ τε τοῦ Γύγεω στασιῶται καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ Λυδοί, ἢ μὲν τὸ χρηστήριον ἀνέλη μιν βασιλέα εἶναι Λυδῶν, τὸν δὲ βασιλεύειν, ἢ δὲ μῆ, ἀποδοῦναι ὅπισω ἐς Ἡρακλείδας τὴν ἀρχήν. ἄνειλε τε δὴ τὸ χρηστήριον καὶ ἐβασιλεύεσθαι οὐτώ Γύγης. τοσοῦτε μέντοι εἰπε ἡ Πυθίη, ὡς Ἡρακλείδησι τύσις ἦξει ἐς τὸν πέμπτον ἀπόγονον Γύγεω. τούτου τοῦ ἔσχος Λυδοὶ τε καὶ οἱ βασιλέες αὐτῶν λόγον οὐδένα ἐποιεῖντο, πρὶν δὴ ἐπετελέσθη.

14. Τὴν μὲν δὴ τυραννίδα οὕτω ἔσχον οἱ Μερμνάδαι τοὺς Ἡρακλείδας ἀπελόμενοι, Γύγης δὲ τυραννεύοντο ἀπέπεμψε ἀναθήματα ἐς Δελφοὺς οὐκ ὁλίγα, ἀλλ' ὁσα μὲν ἀργύρου ἀναθήματα, ἔστι οἱ πλείστα ἐν Δελφοῖς, πάρεξ δὲ τοῦ ἀργύρου χρυσῶν ἀπλετον ἀνέθηκε ἄλλον τε καὶ

¹ Stein brackets the words τοῦ καὶ—ἐπεμνήσθη as superfluous and therefore probably spurious.
BOOK I. 12-14

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

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

14. Thus did the Mermnadae rob the Heraclidae of the sovereignty and take it for themselves. Having gained it, Gyges sent not a few offerings to Delphi: there are very many silver offerings of his there: and besides the silver, he dedicated great store of
HERODOTUS

tou μάλιστα μνήμην ἄξιον ἔχειν ἐστί, κρητῆρες
οἱ ἀριθμῶν ἐξ χρύσεοι ἀνακέπαται. ἐσταῖοι δὲ οὗτοι
ἐν τῷ Κορινθίων θησαυρῷ, σταθμὸν ἔχουσες τριή-
κοντα τάλαντα. ἀληθεία δὲ λόγῳ χρεωμένως οὐ Κορ-
ινθίων τὸν δημοσίον ἔστὶ ο θησαυρός, ἀλλὰ Κυψέ-
λον τοῦ Ἡετίωνος. οὗτος δὲ ὁ Γύγης πρώτος βαρ-
βάρων τῶν ἡμεῖς ὤθεθεν ἐς Δελφοὺς ἀνέθηκεν
ἀναθήματα μετὰ Μίδην τὸν Γορδέων Φρυγίας
βασιλέα. ἀνέθηκε γὰρ δὴ καὶ Μίδης τὸν βασι-
λῆν θρόνον ἐς τῶν προκατίζων ἐδίκαζε, ἐόντα
ἀξιοθέντων. κεῖται δὲ ὁ θρόνος οὗτος ἐνθα περ ὁ
tοῦ Γύγεω κρητῆρες. ὁ δὲ χρυσὸς οὗτος καὶ ὁ
ἀργυρος τὸν ὁ Γύγης ἀνέθηκε, ὑπὸ Δελφῶν
καλέται Γυγάδας ἐπὶ τοῦ ἀναθέντος ἐπωνυμήν.

15. Ἐσέβαλε μὲν ὑπὸ στρατηγὸν καὶ οὗτος ἐπείτε
ἡρξε ἐς τῷ Μίλητον καὶ ἐς Σμύρνην, καὶ Κολοφῶ-
νος τὸ ἄστρον εἶλε. ἀλλ' οὔδεν γὰρ μέγα ἀπ' αὐτοῦ
ἀλλο ἔργον ἐγένετο βασιλεύσαντος δυῶν δέοιτα
τεσσαράκοντα ἐτεα, τούτων μὲν παρῆσομεν τοσαύτα
ἐπιμνησθέντες. Ἀρδυός δὲ τοῦ Γύγεω μετὰ Γύγην
βασιλεύσαντος μνήμην ποιήσωμαι. οὗτος δὲ
Πριηνέας τε εἶλε ἐς Μίλητον τε ἐσέβαλε, ἐπὶ τού-
των τε τυραννεύοντος Σαρδίων Κιμμέριοι ἐξ ἑδέων
ὑπὸ Σκυθέων τῶν νομάδων ἐξαναστάτες ἀπίκωντο
ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην καὶ Σάρδις πλῆν τῆς ἀκροπόλιος
ἐπέλον.

16. Ἀρδυός δὲ βασιλεύσαντος ἐνὸς δέοντα πεν-
τήκοντα ἐτεα ἐξεδέξατο Σαδνάττης ὁ Ἀρδυός, καὶ
ἐβασιλεύσε ἐτεα δυῶδεκα, Σαδνάττων δὲ Ἀλνάτ-
της. οὗτος δὲ Κυνάρη τε τῷ Δηνόκεω ἀπογόνων
ἐπολέμησε καὶ Μήδοισι, Κιμμέριοις τε ἐκ τῆς
Ἀσίης ἐξῆλασε, Σμύρνην τε τῆν ἀπὸ Κολοφῶνος

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gold: among which six golden bowls are the offerings chiefly worthy of record. These weigh 30 talents and stand in the treasury of the Corinthians: though in very truth it is the treasury not of the Corinthian people but of Cypselus son of Eetion. This Gyges then was the first foreigner (of our knowledge) who placed offerings at Delphi after the king of Phrygia, Midas son of Gordias. For Midas too made an offering, to wit, the royal seat whereon he sat to give judgment, and a marvellous seat it is; it is set in the same place as the bowls of Gyges. This gold and the silver offered by Gyges is called by the Delphians "Gygian" after its dedicator.

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

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

1 The "Attic" talent had a weight of about 58 lbs. avoir-dupois, the "Aeginetan" of about 82.

Many Greek states had special "treasuries" allotted to them in the temple precincts at Delphi, in which their offerings were deposited.
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κτισθεῖσαν εἰλε, ἐς Κλαξομενᾶς τε ἐσέβαλε. ἀπὸ μὲν νυν τούτων οὐκ ὡς ἦθελε ἀπῆλλαξε, ἀλλὰ προσπταίσας μεγάλως. ἀλλα δὲ ἔργα ἀπεδέξατο ἑών ἐν τῇ ἄρχῃ ἄξιαπηγητότατα τάδε.

17. Ἐπολέμησε Μιλησίωις, παραδεξάμενος τὸν πόλεμον παρὰ τοῦ πατρός. ἐπελαύνων γὰρ ἐπολιόρκεε τὴν Μιλησίᾳ τρόπῳ τοιῶν ὡς μὲν εἶν ἐν τῇ γῇ καρπὸς ἀδρός, τηνικαύτα ἐσέβαλλε τὴν στρατιῆν. ἐστρατεύετο δὲ ὑπὸ συρίγγων τε καὶ πηκτίδων καὶ αὐλοῦ γυναικήν τε καὶ ἀνδρῶν. ὡς δὲ ἐς τὴν Μιλησίαν ἀπίκοιτο, οἰκήματα μὲν τὰ ἐπὶ τῶν ἀγρών οὔτε κατέβαλλε οὔτε ἐνεπίμπηρον οὔτε θύρας ἀπέσπα, ἐὰ δὲ κατὰ χώραν ἐστάναι ὅ ὃς τὰ τε δεύρεα καὶ τὸν καρπὸν τὸν ἐν τῇ γῇ ὅκως διαφθείρειε, ἀπαλλάσσετο ὁπίσω. τῆς γὰρ θαλάσσης οἱ Μιλησίοι ἐπεκράτεον, ὡστε ἐπέδρας μὴ εἶναι ἔργον τῇ στρατιᾷ. τὰς δὲ οἰκίας οὐ κατέβαλλε ὁ Λυδὸς τῶν δείκτει, ὅκως ἔχοι αὐθητέν ὀρμώμενοι τὴν γῆν στείρειν τε καὶ ἐργάζεσθαι οἱ Μιλησίοι, αὐτὸς δὲ ἐκεῖνων ἐργαζόμενοι ἔχοι τι καὶ σίνεσθαι ἐσβάλλον.

18. Ταῦτα ποιεῖν ἐπολέμησε ἔτεα ἐνδεκα, ἐν τοῖς τρόμματα μεγάλα διφάσια Μιλησίων ἐγένετο, ἐν τε Λυδηνίῳ χώρῃς τῆς σφετήρος μαχεσάμενοι καὶ ἐν Μαιανδρῷ πεδίῳ. τὰ μὲν νῦν ἐξ ἔτεα τῶν ἐνδεκα Σαδυάττης ὁ Ἀρδυνος ἐτί Λυδῶν ἤρχη, ὁ καὶ ἐσβάλλον τηνικαύτα ἐς τὴν Μιλησίαν τῆς στρατιῆς. Σαδυάττης οὖτος γὰρ καὶ ὁ τὸν πόλεμον ἤν συνάψας; τὰ δὲ πέντε τῶν ἐτέων τὰ ἐπόμενα τοῖς ἐξ Ἀλαττῆς ὁ Σαδυάττεως ἐπολέμησε, ὡς παραδεξάμενος, ὡς καὶ πρῶτον μοι δεδήλωται, παρὰ τοῦ πατρός τὸν πόλεμον προσεῖχε ἐντετα-
and invaded the lands of Clazomenae. But here he came off not at all as he wished, but with great disaster. Of other deeds done by him in his reign these were most notable:

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

18. In this manner he waged war for eleven years, and in these years two great disasters befell the Milesians, one at the battle of Limeneion in their own territory, and the other in the valley of the Maeander. For six of these eleven years Sardyattes son of Ardys was still ruler of Lydia, and he it was who invaded the lands of Miletus, for it was he who had begun the war; for the following five the war was waged by Sardyattes' son Alyattes, who, as I have before shown, inherited the war from his father and carried
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μένως. τοῖς δὲ Μιλησίους οὐδαμοὶ Ἰόνων τὸν πόλεμον τούτον συνεπελάφρυνον ὅτι μὴ Χίοι μοῦνοι. οὕτω δὲ τὸ δμοῖον ἀνταποδιδόντες ἔτη-
μώρενοι καὶ γὰρ δὴ πρότερον οἱ Μιλησίοι τοῖς Χίοις τὸν πρὸς Ἐρυθραίους πόλεμον συνδιήνεικαν.

19. Τῷ δὲ δυδεκάτῳ ἔτει ληίον ἐμπυπραμένου ὑπὸ τῆς στρατιὰς συνηνείχθη τι τοιόνδε γενέσθαι
πρῆγμα· ὡς ἄφθη τάχιστα τὸ λίμων, ἀνέμι
βιώμενον ἀψατο ἤτοι 'Ἄθηναις ἐπίκλησιν, Ἀσ-
σσίσης, ἀφθεῖς δὲ ὁ νῆς κατεκαύθη. καὶ τὸ
παρατίκα μὲν λόγος οὐδεὶς ἐγένετο, μετὰ δὲ τῆς
στρατιάς ἀπικομένης ἐσ Σάρδις ἐνόσησε ὁ Ἀλυάτ-
της. μακροτέρης δὲ οἱ γυνομένης τῆς νοῦσου
πέμπει ἢ Δελφῶν θεοπρόπους, εἰτε δὴ συμβου-
λεύσαντός τευ, εἰτε καὶ αὐτῷ ἔδοξε πεμψαντα τὸν
θεόν ἐπειρέσθαι περὶ τῆς νοῦσου. τοίς δὲ ἡ
Πυθίη ἀπικομένοις ἢ Δελφῶν οὐκ ἔφη χρῆσειν
πρὶν ἢ τὸν νηὸν τῆς Ἀθηναίας ἀνορθώσωσι, τὸν
ἐνέπροσαν χώρης τῆς Μιλησίας ἐν Ἀσσηφ.

20. Δελφῶν οἴδα ἐγὼ οὖτω ἀκούσας γενέσθαι
Μιλησίοι δὲ τάδε προστίθεσιν τούτως. Περίαν-
δρον τὸν Κυψέλου ἔντα Θρασυβουλὼ τῷ τότε
Μιλήτου τυραννεύοντι Ἰείων ες τὰ μάλιστα,
πυθέμενον τὸ χρηστύριον τῷ τῷ Ἀλυάτη γενό-
μενον, πέμψαντα ἄγγελον κατειπεῖν, ὅκως αν τι
προειδῶς πρὸς τὸ παρεῖν βουλεύσαι.

21. Μιλησίοι μὲν νυν οὖτω λέγουσι γενέσθαι,
Ἀλυάτης δὲ, ὡς οἱ ταῦτα ἔξαγγέλθη, αὐτίκα
ἐπεμπε κήρυκα ἢς Μιλήτου βουλόμενος σπουδὰς
ποιήσασθαι Θρασυβουλὼ τε καὶ Μιλησίους
χρόνου ὅσον ἄν τὸν νηὸν οἰκοδομῆσι. ὃ μὲν δὴ
it on vigorously. None of the Ionians helped to lighten this war for the Milesians, except only the Chians: these lent their aid for a like service done to themselves; for the Milesians had formerly helped the Chians in their war against the Erythraeans.

19. In the twelfth year, when the Lydian army was burning the crops, it so happened that the fire set to the crops and blown by a strong wind caught the temple of Athene called Athene of Assesos ¹: and the temple was burnt to the ground. For the nonce no account was taken of this. But presently after the army had returned to Sardis Alyattes fell sick; and, his sickness lasting longer than it should, he sent to Delphi to inquire of the oracle, either by someone's counsel or by his own wish to question the god about his sickness: but when the messengers came to Delphi the Pythian priestess would not reply to them before they should restore the temple of Athene at Assesos in the Milesian territory, which they had burnt.

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

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

¹ A small town or village near Miletus.
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ἀπόστολος ἐσ τὴν Μίλητον ἴν, Ὀρασύβουλος δὲ σαφέως προπεπνυμένος πάντα λόγου, καὶ εἰδὼς τὰ Ἀλνάττης μέλλοι ποιήσειν, μηχανᾶται τοιάδε· ὅσος ἴν ἐν τῷ ἀστεί σίτος καὶ ἐωτοῦ καὶ ἱδιωτικός, τούτων πάντα συγκομίσας ἐς τὴν ἄγρην προεῖπε Μιλησίους, ἔπεαν αὐτὸς σημήνη, τότε πίνειν τε πάντας καὶ κώμοι χρᾶσθαι ἐς ἀλλήλους.

22. Ταῦτα δὲ ἔποιε· τε καὶ προηγόρευε Ὀρασύβουλος τῶνδε εἰνεκεν, ὡς ἂν δὴ ὁ κήρυξ ὁ Σαρδηνός ἰδὼν τε σωρὸν μέγαν σίτου κεχυμένον καὶ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἐν εὐπαθείᾳ έόντας αγγείλῃ Ἀλνάττη· τὰ δὴ καὶ ἐγένετο. ώς γὰρ δὴ ἰδὼν τε ἐκεῖνα ὁ κήρυς καὶ εἶπας πρὸς Ὀρασύβουλον τοῦ Λυδοῦ τὰς ἐντολὰς ἀπῆλθε ἐς τὰς Σάρδις, ὡς ἐγὼ πυθάνομαι, δὲ ὡς ἂν ἀλλο ἐγένετο ἡ διαλαγή. ἐπίζων γὰρ ὁ Ἀλνάττης σιτοδείην τε εἶναι ἴσχυρὴν ἐν τῇ Μιλήτῳ καὶ τὸν λεών τετρύσθαι ἐς τὸ ἔσχατον κακοῦ, ἢκον τοῦ κήρυκος νοστήσαντος ἐκ τῆς Μιλήτου τοὺς ἐναυτίους λόγους ἢ ως αὐτὸς κατεδόκεε. μετὰ δὲ ἢ τε διαλαγή φι ἐγένετο ἐπ' ὃ τε ξένους ἀλλήλοις εἶναι καὶ συμμάχους, καὶ δύο τε ἀντὶ ἐνὸς ἤποι τῇ Ἀθηναίην οἰκοδόμησε ὁ Ἀλνάττης ἐν τῇ Ἀσσυρίᾳ, αὐτὸς τε ἐκ τῆς νούσου ἄνεστη. κατὰ μὲν τὸν πρὸς Μιλησίους τε καὶ Ὀρασύβουλον πόλεμον Ἀλνάττη δὲ ἐσχε.

23. Περίανδρος δὲ ἦν Κυψέλου παῖς, οὗτος ὁ τῷ Ὀρασύβολῳ τὸ χρηστήριον μηνύσας· ἐτυράννευς δὲ ὁ Περίανδρος Κορίνθιος· τῷ δὴ λέγουσι Κορίνθιοι (ὁμολογοῦσι δὲ σφι Δέσβιοι) ἐν τῷ βίῳ θῶμα μέγιστον παραστήναι, Ἀρίωνα τὸν Μηθυμναίου ἐπὶ δελφίνως ἐξενειχθέντα ἐπὶ Ταίναρον,
BOOK I. 21-23

Miletus. But Thrasybulus, being exactly forewarned of the whole matter, and knowing what Alyattes meant to do, devised the following plan: he brought together into the market place all the food in the city, from private stores and his own, and bade the men of Miletus all drink and revel together when he should give the word.

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

23. Periander, who disclosed the oracle’s answer to Thrasybulus, was the son of Cypselus, and sovereign lord of Corinth. As the Corinthians and Lesbians agree in relating, there happened to him a thing which was the most marvellous in his life, namely, the landing of Arion of Methymna on Taenarus, borne thither by a dolphin. This Arion was a
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έντα κιθαριδον τῶν τοτε έντων οῦδενός δεύ-
τερον, καὶ διθύραμβον πρῶτον ἀνθρώπων τῶν
ήμεις ἵδημεν ποιήσατά τε καὶ ἀνομάσαντα καὶ
dιδάξαντα ἐν Κορίνθῳ.

24. Τούτων τῶν Ἀρίονα λέγουσι, τὸν πολλῶν
τοῦ χρόνου διατρίβοντα παρὰ Περιάνδρῳ ἐπιθυμ
μῆσαι πλῶσαι ἐς Ἰταλίην τε καὶ Σικελίην, ἐργα
σάμενον δὲ χρήματα μεγάλα θελῆσαι ὁπίσω ἔς
Κόρινθον ἀπικέσθαι. ὅρμασθαι μὲν νυν ἐκ Τάραν
τος, πιστεύουσα δὲ οὐδαμοῖς μᾶλλον ἢ Κορινθίους
μισθόσασθαι πλοῖον ἀνθρώπων Κορινθίων. τοὺς δὲ
ἐν τῷ πελάγει ἐπιβουλεύειν τῷ Ἀρίονα ἐκβα-
λόντας ἔχειν τὰ χρήματα. τὸν δὲ συνέντα τούτῳ
λίσσεσθαι, χρήματα μὲν σφί προϊέντα, ψυχὴν δὲ
παρατεύομεν. οὐκὼν δὴ πείθεν αὐτὸν τούτωσι,
ἀλλὰ κελεῦσιν τοὺς πορθέμας ἢ αὐτὸν διαχράσθαι
μιν, ὡς ἂν ταφῆς ἐν γῇ τύχῃ, ἢ ἐκπηδῶν ἐς τὴν
θάλασσαν τὴν ταχίστην ἀπειληθέντα δὴ τὸν
Ἀρίονα ἐς ἀπορίην παραιτήσασθαι, ἐπειδὴ σφὶ
οὕτω δοκεῖν, περιμεῖν αὐτὸν ἐν τῇ σκεύῃ πάσῃ
στάντα ἐν τοῖς ἐδωλίοις ἀείσαι ἀείσαις δὲ
ὑπεδέκετο ἐωτὸν κατεργάσασθαι. καὶ τοίς
ἐσελθεῖν γὰρ ἤδονην εἰ μέλλοιεν ἀκούσεσθαι τοῦ
ἀρίστου ἀνθρώπων ἄοιδου, ἀναχωρῆσαι ἐκ τῆς
πρύμνης ἢ μέσην νέα. τὸν δὲ ἐνδύνα τε πᾶσαν
tὴν σκεύην καὶ λαβάντα τὴν κιθάρην, στάντα ἐν
tοῖς ἐδωλίοις διεξέλθειν νόμον τῶν ὄρθιον, τελευ-
tῶντος δὲ τοῦ νόμου ῥίψαι μὲν ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν
ἐωτὸν ὥς εἰχὲ σὺν τῇ σκεύῃ πάσῃ. καὶ τοὺς μὲν
ἀποπλέειν ἐς Κόρινθον, τὸν δὲ δελφίνα λέγουσι
ὑπολαβόντα ἐξενεῖκαι ἐπὶ Ταίναρον. ἀποβάντα

26
BOOK I. 23-24

lyre-player second to none in that age; he was the first man, as far as we know, to compose and name the dithyramb\(^1\) which he afterwards taught at Corinth.

24. Thus then, the story runs: for the most part he lived at the court of Periander; then he formed the plan of voyaging to Italy and Sicily, whence, after earning much money, he was minded to return to Corinth. Having especial trust in men of that city, he hired a Corinthian ship to carry him from Taras.\(^2\) But when they were out at sea, the crew plotted to cast Arion overboard and take his money. Discovering the plot, he earnestly entreated them, offering them all his money if they would but spare his life; but the sailors would not listen to him; he must, they said, either kill himself and so receive burial on land, or straightway cast himself into the sea. In this extremity Arion besought them, seeing that such was their will, that they would suffer him to stand on the poop with all his singing robes about him and sing; and after his song, so he promised, he would make away with himself. The men, well pleased at the thought of hearing the best singer in the world, drew away from the stern amidships; Arion, putting on all his adornment and taking his lyre, stood up on the poop and sang the "Shrill Strain,"\(^3\) and at its close threw himself without more ado into the sea, clad in his robes. So the crew sailed away to Corinth; but a dolphin (so the story goes) took Arion on his back and bore him to Taenarus. There he

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\(^1\) The dithyramb was a kind of dance-music particularly associated with the cult of Dionysus.

\(^2\) Tarentum.

\(^3\) The ἄρθρος νόμος was a high-pitched (and apparently very well-known) song or hymn in honour of Apollo.
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dε αυτόν χωρέειν ἐς Κόρινθον σὺν τῇ σκευῇ, καὶ ἀπικόμενον ἀπηγέεσθαι πάν τὸ γεγονός. Περὶ
ανδρὸν δὲ ὑπὸ ἀπιστίας Ἀρίωνα μὲν ἐν φυλακῇ
έχειν οὐδαμῇ μετέντα, ἀνακῶσ δὲ ἔχειν τῶν
πορθμέων. ὡς δὲ ἄρα παρεῖναι αὐτοῖς, κλή-
θέντας ἰστορέεσθαι εἰ τι λέγοιεν περὶ Ἀρίωνος.
φαμένων δὲ ἐκείνων ὡς εἴη τε σῶς περὶ Ἰταλίην
καὶ μιν εὗ πρῆσοντα λίποιεν ἐν Τάραντι, ἐπι-
φανῆναι σφι τὸν Ἀρίωνα ὡσπερ ἔχων ἐξεπήθησε·
καὶ τούς ἐκπλαγέντας οὐκ ἔχειν ἑτὶ ἐλεγχομένους
ἀρνέεσθαι. ταῦτα μὲν νων Κορινθίου τε καὶ
Δέσβιοι λέγουσι, καὶ Ἀρίωνος ἔστι ἀνάθημα
χάλκιου οὐ μέγα ἐπὶ Ταινάρῳ, ἐπὶ δελφίνος
ἔπεων ἀνθρώπος.

25. Ἀλνάττης δὲ ὁ Λυδὸς τὸν πρὸς Μιλήσιον
πόλεμον διενέκας μετέπειται τελευτᾷ, βασιλεύσας
ἐτεα ἐπτὰ καὶ πεντήκοντα. ἀνέθηκε δὲ ἐκφυγὼν
τὴν νοῦσον δεύτερος οὔτος τῆς οἰκίης ταύτης ἐς
Δελφοὺς κρητῆρα τε ἄργυρεον μέγαν καὶ ὑποκρη-
τρίδοιον σιδήρεον κόλλητον, θέσιν δὲ πάν-
tων τῶν ἐν Δελφοῖς ἀναθημάτων, Γλαύκου τοῦ
Χίου πούμα, δὲ μοῦνος δὴ πάντων ἀνθρώπων
σιδήρου κόλλησιν ἐξεύρε.

26. Τελευτήσαντος δὲ Ἀλνάττεως ἐξεδέξατο
τὴν βασιλείην Κροίσος ο Ἀλνάττεως, ἔτέων ἐὼν
ἥλικιν πέντε καὶ τρίηκοντα· δὴ δὴ Ἐλλήνων
πρώτουσι ἐπεθήκατο Ἐφεσίουσι. ἐνθα δὴ οἱ
'Εφεσιοί πολιορκεόμενοι ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ ἄνέθεσαν τὴν
πόλιν τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι, ἐξαγαντες ἐκ τοῦ νηοῦ
σχοινίων ἐς τὸ τεῖχος. ἔστι δὲ μεταξὺ τῆς τε
παλαιῆς πόλιος, ἢ τότε ἐπολιορκεῖτο, καὶ τοῦ
νηοῦ ἐπτὰ στάδιοι. πρώτοισι μὲν δὴ τούτοις
28
BOOK I. 24–26

landed, went to Corinth in his singing robes, and when he came told all that had befallen him. Periander, not believing the tale, put him in close ward and kept careful watch for the coming of the sailors. When they came they were called and questioned, what news they brought of Arion, and they replied that he was safe in the parts of Italy, and that they had left him sound and well at Taras: when, behold, they were confronted with Arion, just as he was when he leapt from the ship; whereat they were amazed, and could no more deny what was proved against them. Such is the story told by the Corinthians and Lesbians. There is moreover a little bronze monument to Arion on Taenarus, the figure of a man riding upon a dolphin.

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

26. After the death of Alyattes Croesus his son came to the throne,\(^1\) being then thirty-five years of age. The first Greeks whom he attacked were the Ephesians. These, being besieged by him, dedicated their city to Artemis; this they did by attaching a rope to the city wall from the temple of the goddess, standing seven furlongs away from the ancient city, which was then being besieged. These

\(^1\) Croesus' reign began in 560 B.C., probably.
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ἐπεχείρησε ὁ Κροίσος, μετὰ δὲ ἐν μέρει ἐκάστοις Ἰώνων τε καὶ Αἰολέων, ἀλλοιοί ἄλλας αἰτίας ἐπιφέρων, τῶν μὲν ἐδύνατο μέξονας παρευρίσκειν, μέξονα ἐπαιτιώμενος, τοῖς δὲ αὐτῶν καὶ φαύλα ἐπιφέρων.

27. Ὡς δὲ ἀρα οἱ ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ ᾙ Ελλήνες κατεστράφατο ὡς φοροῦ ἀπαγωγήν, τὸ ἐνθεύτεν ἐπενάγει νέας ποιησάμενος ἐπιχειρεῖν τοῖς νησιώτησι, ἐὸντω δὲ οἱ πάντων ἐτοίμων ἐς τὴν ναυπηγίαν, οἱ μὲν Βίαντα λέγουσι τὸν Πριηνέα ἀποκόμενον ἐς Σάρδις, οἱ δὲ Πιττακὸν τὸν Μυτιληναίον, εἰρομένου Κροίσον εἰ τι εἰθ νεώτερον περὶ τὴν Ἐλλάδα, εἰπόντα τάδε καταπαύσαι τὴν ναυπηγίαν "Ω βασιλεῦ, νησιώται ἵππον συνωνόμαξε μυρίῃ, ἐς Σάρδις τε καὶ ἔπλεσε εἰς ἐς νόμῳ ἔχοντες στρατεύεσθαι." Κροίσον δὲ ἐπίσαντα λέγειν ἐκείνῳ ἀληθεὰ εἴπειν "Ἀγαρ τοῦτο θεοὶ ποιήσεν ἐπὶ νόμῳ νησιώτησι, ἐλθεῖσθαι ἔπλεσε ὧν Λυδῶν παῖδας σὺν ἵπποις." τὸν δὲ ὑπολαβόντα φάναι "Αὐτῷ βασιλεῦ, προθύμως μοι φαίνειν εὐφαίνομαι νησιώτας ἱππεομένους λαβεῖν ἐν ἠπείρῳ, οἴκοτα ἐλπίζων. νησιώτας δὲ τι δοκεῖς εὐχεσθαι ἄλλῳ ἢ, ἐπείτε ἄκος ἐπιθυμότο σε μέλλοντα ἐπὶ σφίσι ναυπηγέσθαι νέας, λαβεῖν ἄρωμενοι Λυδοὺς ἐν θαλάσσῃ, ἵνα ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐν τῇ ἠπείρῳ οἰκημένων Ἐλλήνων τίσωνται σε, τοὺς σῷ δουλούσας ἔχεις;" κάρτα τε ἴσθήσαντο Κροίσον τῷ ἐπιλόγῳ καὶ οἱ, προσφυέοι γὰρ δόξαι λέγειν, πειθόμενου παύσασθαι τῆς ναυπηγίας. καὶ οὐτῶν τοῖς τᾶς νῆσους οἰκήμενοι Ἰωσί ξεινίῳ συνεδήκατο.

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

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

28. As time went on, Croesus subdued well-nigh
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μένων σχεδον πάντων τῶν ἐντὸς Ἀλυος ποταμοῦ οἰκημένων πλὴν γὰρ Κιλίκων καὶ Δυκάων τοὺς ἄλλους πάντας ὑπ’ ἑωταὶ εἰχε καταστρεφάμενος ὁ Κροίσος. εἰσὶ δὲ οἶδε, Λυδοὶ, Φρύγες, Μυσοὶ, Μαριανδυνοὶ, Χάλυβες, Παφλαγόνες, Θρήκες οἱ Θυνοὶ τε καὶ Βιδυνοὶ, Κάρες, Ἰωνες, Δωριέες, Αἰσιλέες, Πάμφυλοι κατεστραμμένων δὲ τούτων καὶ προσεπικτωμένου Κροίσον Λυδοὶς, 29. ἀπικνέονται ἐς Σάρδης ἀκμαζούσας πλούτῳ ἄλλοι τε οἱ πάντες ἐκ τῆς Ἐλλάδος σοφισταί, οἱ τοῦτον τῶν χρόνων ἑτήγαγαν ἐόντες, ὡς ἐκαστὸς αὐτῶν ἀπτυκνεότατο, καὶ δὴ καὶ Σόλων ἀνὴρ Ἀθηναῖος, δο 'Αθηναίοις νόμοις κελεύσασι ποιήσας ἀπεδήμησε ἔτεα δέκα, κατὰ θεωρίας πρόφασιν ἐκπλῶσας, ἵνα δὴ μὴ τινὰ τῶν νόμων ἀναγκασθῇ λύσαι τῶν ἐδετο. αὐτοὶ γὰρ οὐκ οἶοί τε ἦσαν αὐτὸ ποιήσαν Ἀθηναίοις ὄρκίσαν γὰρ μεγάλοισι κατείχοντο δέκα ἔτεα χρήσεθαι νόμοις τούς ἂν σφι Σόλων θῆται.

30. Αὐτῶν δὴ ὡς τούτων καὶ τής θεωρίας ἐκδημήσας ο Σόλων εἶνεκεν ἐς Αἰγύπτων ἀπίκετο παρὰ Ἀμασίων καὶ δὴ καὶ ἐς Σάρδης παρὰ Κροίσον. ἀπικόμενος δὲ ἐξευίδετο ἐν τοῖς βασιληίσιν ὑπὸ τοῦ Κροίσου: μετὰ δὲ ἡμέρα τρίτη ή τετάρτη κελεύσαντος Κροίσου τὸν Σόλωνα θεράποντες περίγον κατὰ τοὺς θεσαυροὺς, καὶ ἐπεδείκνυσαν πάντα ἐόντα μεγάλα τε καὶ δίδα. θεσάμενον δὲ μιν τὰ πάντα καὶ σκεφάμενον ὡς οἱ κατὰ καύρον ἦν, εἰρετο ὁ Κροίσος τάδε. "Εἴειν Ἀθηναίε, παρ’ ἠμέας γὰρ περὶ σέο λόγοι ἀπίκεται

1 εἰσι . . . Πάμφυλοι and καὶ . . . Λυδοὶς bracketed by Stein.
BOOK I. 28–30

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

30. For this reason, and to see the world, Solon left Athens and visited Amasis in Egypt and Croesus at Sardis: and when he had come, Croesus entertained him in his palace. Now on the third or fourth day after his coming Croesus bade his servants lead Solon round among his treasures, and they showed him all that was there, the greatness and the prosperous state of it; and when he had seen and considered all, Croesus when occasion served thus questioned him: “Our Athenian guest, we have heard much of
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πολλὸς καὶ σοφίς εἶνεκεν ¹ τῆς σῆς καὶ πλάνης, ὃς φιλοσοφέων γῆν πολλὴν θεορίας εἶνεκεν ἐπε- λῆλυθας· νῦν δὲ ἐπειρέσθαι με ἱμερο τῇ πάντων εἴδες ὀλβιώτατον." ὃ μὲν ἐλπίζων εἶναι ἀνθρώπων ὀλβιώτατος ταῦτα ἐπειρώτα: Σόλων δὲ οὐδὲν ὑποθωπεύσας ἀλλὰ τῷ ἐόντι χρησάμενος λέγει "Ὡς βασιλεὺς, Τέλλουν Ἀθηναίου." Σαποθωμάς δὲ Κροίσος τὸ λεχθὲν ἐξερετε ἐπιστρεφέως "Κοίτη δὴ κρίνεις Τέλλουν εἶναι ὀλβιώτατον;" ὃ δὲ εἶπε "Τέλλῳ τοῦτο μὲν τῆς πόλιος εὖ ἥκουσας παῖδες ἤσαν καλοί τε κἀκαθοί, καὶ σφὶ εἰδὲ ἀπασί τέκνα ἐκγενόμενα καὶ πάντα παραμείναντα: τούτῳ τοῦ βίου εὖ ἦκουσιν, ὡς τὰ παρ᾽ ἡμῖν, τελευτὴ τοῦ βίου λαμπροτάτη ἐπεγένετο· γενομένης γαρ Ἀθηναίουισι μάχης πρὸς τοὺς ἀστυγείτονας ἐν Ελευσίνῃ, βοηθήσας καὶ τροπὴν ποιήσας τῶν πολεμίων ἀπέθανε κάλλιστα, καὶ μὲν Ἀθηναίουι δημοσίη τῇ ἔθαψαν αὐτὸν τῇ περ ἐπεσεν καὶ ἐτίμησαν μεγάλως."

31. Ὡς δὲ τὰ κατὰ τὸν Τέλλουν προετρέψατο ὁ Σόλων τοῦν Κροίσου εἴπας πολλά τε καὶ ὀλβία, ἐπειρώτα τίνα δεύτερον μετ᾽ ἐκεῖνον ἱδοῖ, δοκέων πάγχυν δευτερεία γὼν οἴσεσθαι. ὃ δ᾽ εἶπε "Κλέοβιν τε καὶ Βίτωνα. τοῦτοις γὰρ ἔσωσ ἅγενος Ἀργείουσι βίος τε ἀρκέων ὑπῆρ, καὶ πρὸς τοῦτῳ βύσμῃ σώματος τοιῆδε· ἀεθλοφόρῳ τε ἀμφότεροι ὁμοίως ἦσαν, καὶ δὴ καὶ λέγεται ὅδε ὁ λόγος. ἐσώσας ὅρτης τῇ Ἡρή τοῖς Ἀργείουσι ἐδει πάντως τῷ μητέρᾳ αὐτῶν ἐκείς ἐκ τῷ ἵρου, οἱ δὲ σφὶ βόεσ εκ τοῦ ἀγροῦ οὐ παρεγί- νοντο ἐν ὠρῇ ἐκκλησίαμενοι δὲ τῇ ὥρῃ οἱ νευμιαί· ¹ Stein brackets εἶνεκεν.
you, by reason of your wisdom and your wanderings, how that you have travelled far to seek knowledge and to see the world. Now therefore I am fain to ask you, if you have ever seen a man more blest than all his fellows.” So Croesus inquired, supposing himself to be blest beyond all men. But Solon spoke the truth without flattery: “Such an one, O King,” he said, “I have seen—Tellus of Athens.” Croesus wondered at this, and sharply asked Solon “How do you judge Tellus to be most blest?” Solon replied: “Tellus’ city was prosperous, and he was the father of noble sons, and he saw children born to all of them and their state well established; moreover, having then as much wealth as a man may among us, he crowned his life with a most glorious death: for in a battle between the Athenians and their neighbours at Eleusis he attacked and routed the enemy and most nobly there died; and the Athenians gave him public burial where he fell and paid him great honour.”

31. Now when Solon had admonished Croesus by recounting the many ways in which Tellus was blest, the king further asked him whom he placed second after Tellus, thinking that assuredly the second prize at least would be his. Solon answered: “Cleobis and Biton. These were Argives, and besides sufficient wealth they had such strength of body as I will show. Both were prizewinners; and this story too is related of them. There was a festival of Here toward among the Argives, and their mother must by all means be drawn to the temple by a yoke of oxen. But the oxen did not come in time from the fields; so the young men, being thus thwarted by lack of time, put themselves
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ὑποδύνητας αὐτοῖς ὑπὸ τὴν ξεύγηθην εἶλκον τὴν ἀμαξαν, ἐπὶ τῆς ἀμάξης δέ σφι ὅχετο ἡ μῆτηρ· στάδιον δὲ πέντε καὶ τεσσεράκοντα διακομώσαντες ἀπίκοντο ἐς τὸ ἱρόν. ταῦτα δὲ σφι ποιήσασι καὶ ὄφθεισα ὑπὸ τῆς πανηγύριος τελευτή τοῦ βίου ἀρίστην ἔπεγένετο, διέδεξε τε ἐν τούτοις ὁ θεὸς ὡς ἄμεινον εἰ ἄνθρώπῳ τεθνάναι μᾶλλον ἡ ἥσοιν. Ἀργείοι μὲν γὰρ περιστάντες ἐμακάριζον τῶν νεκρῶν τὴν ρώμην, αἰ δὲ Ἀργείαι τὴν μητέρα αὐτῶν, ὃν τέκνων ἐκύρησε· ὡ δὲ μήτηρ περικαρῆς ἐσύσα τῷ τε ἔργῳ καὶ τῇ φύσει, στάσα ἀντίον τοῦ ἀγάλματος εὐχετο Κλεόβι τε καὶ. Βίτωνι τοῖς ἑωτῆς τέκνοις, οἳ μνῆ τείμησαν μεγάλως, τὴν θεὸν δοῦνα τὸ ἄνθρωπῳ τυχεῖν ἀριστον ἐστί. μετὰ ταῦτα δὲ τὴν εὐχήν ὡς ἔκυδον τα τε καὶ εὐσχήθθησαν, κατακοιμήθησαν ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ ἱρῷ οἱ νεκροὶ οὐκέτι ἀνέστησαν ἀλλ' ἐν τέλει τούτῳ ἔσχοντο. Ἀργείοι δὲ σφέων εἰκόνας ποιησάμενοι ἀνέθεσαν ἐς Δελφοὺς ὡς ἀριστῶν γενομένων."

32. Σύνων μὲν δὴ εὐδαιμονίης δευτερεία ἐνεμε τούτοις, Κροῖσσος δὲ σπερχθεὶς εἰπε ὁ Ω ξείνιν Ἀθηναίη, ἡ δ' ἡμετήρει εὐδαιμονίη σύνω τοι ἀπέρριπται ἐς τὸ μηδὲν ὡστε οὐδὲ ἱδιωτέων ἄνδρῶν ἀξίους ἡμέας ἐποίησας; δ' ὁ δὲ εἰπε ὁ Ω Κροῖσσε, ἐπιστάμενοι με τὸ θεῦν πάν ἑον φθονερόν τε καὶ ταραχώδες ἐπειρατάς ἄνθρωπην πρηγμάτων πέρι. ἐν γὰρ τῷ μακρῷ χρόνῳ πολλὰ μὲν ἑστὶ ἱδείν τα μή τις ἐθέλει, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ παθεῖν. ἐς γὰρ ἐβδομήκοντα ἔτεαν οὖρον τῆς θος ἄνθρωπῷ προτίθημι. οὐτοί ἐοντες εὐναυτοὶ ἐβδομήκοντα παρέχονται ἴμέρας διηκοσίας καὶ πεντακισχιλίας καὶ δισμυρίας, ἐμβολίμου μηνὸς μη γινομένου· εἰ

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to the yoke and drew the carriage with their mother sitting thereon: for five and forty furlongs they drew it till they came to the temple. Having done this, and been seen by the assembly, they made a most excellent end of their lives, and the god showed by these men how that it was better for a man to die than to live. For the men of Argos came round and gave the youths joy of their strength, and so likewise did the women to their mother, for the excellence of her sons. She then in her joy at what was done and said, came before the image of the goddess and prayed that her sons Cleobis and Biton, who had done such great honour to the goddess, should be given the best boon that a man may receive. After the prayer the young men sacrificed and ate of the feast; then they lay down to sleep in the temple itself and never rose up more, but here ended their lives. Then the Argives made and set up at Delphi images of them because of their excellence."

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

¹ The "intercalary" month is a month periodically inserted to make the series of solar and calendar years eventually correspond. But Herodotus’ reckoning here would make the average length of a year 375 days.
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de de ἔθελησε τούτερον τῶν ἔτεων μηνι μακρότερον γίνεσθαι, ἵνα δὴ αἱ δραὶ συμβαίνωσι παραγωγόμεναι ἐς τὸ δέον, μήνες μὲν παρὰ τὰ ἐβδομήκοντα ἔτεα οἱ ἐμβόλιμοι γίνονται τριήκοντα πέντε, ἥμεραι δὲ ἐκ τῶν μηνῶν τούτων χίλιαι πεντήκοντα. τούτεων τῶν ἀπασέων ἡμερῶν τῶν ἐς τὰ ἐβδομήκοντα ἔτεα, ἐούσεων πεντήκοντα καὶ διηκοσίεων καὶ ἕξακισχιλίεων καὶ δισμυριέων, ἣ ἐτέρη αὐτέων τῇ ἐτέρῃ ἡμέρῃ τὸ παράπαν οὐδὲν ὦμοιον προσάγει πρήγμα. οὔτω ὄν Κροίσε πᾶν ἐστὶ ἀνθρώπος συμφορή. ἕμοι δὲ σὺ καὶ πλουτεῖν μέγα φαίνει καὶ Βασίλευς πολλῶν εἴναι ἀνθρώπων· ἐκεῖνο δὲ τὸ εἰρέο με, οὐκο γε σὲ ἔγω λέγω, πρὶν τελευτῆσαινεκάτως τῶν αἰώνων πῦθωμαι. οὐ γάρ τι ὁ μέγα πλούσιος μᾶλλον τοῦ ἐπ' ἡμέρην ἔχοντος ὁλβιώτερος ἐστὶ, εἰ μὴ οἱ τύχη ἐπίσπακτο πάντα καλὰ ἔχοντα εὗ τελευτῆσαι τὸν βίον. πολλοὶ μὲν γὰρ ξάπλουτοι ἀνθρώπων ἀνόλβιοι εἰσὶ, πολλοὶ δὲ μετρίως ἔχοντες βίον εὐτυχεῖς. ο̣ μὲν δὴ μέγα πλούσιος ἀνόλβιος δὲ δυνοῖσι προέχει τοῦ εὐτυχεός μοῦνον, οὕτως δὲ τοῦ πλουσίου καὶ ἀνόλβου πολλοίσιν· δ̣ μὲν ἐπιθυμήν ἐκτελέσαι καὶ ἅτην μεγάλην προσπεσοῦσαν ἐνείκαι δυνατότερος, δ̣ δὲ τοῖσιδε προέχει ἐκείνου· ἅτην μὲν καὶ ἐπιθυμήν οὐκ ὀμοίως δυνατὸς ἐκείνω ἐνείκαι, τάντα δὲ ἡ εὐτυχίη οἱ ἀπερίκει, ἅπερος δὲ ἐστὶ, ἀνυσιος, ἀπαθῆς κακῶν, εὐπαίς, εὔειδῆς. εἰ δὲ πρὸς τούτοις ἔτι τελευτῆσαι τὸν βίον εὗ, οὕτως ἐκείνος τὸν σὺ ξητεῖες, ὁ ὁλβιός κεκλησθαί αξιος ἐστιν· πρὶν δ' ἄν τελευτήσῃ, ἐπισχεῖν, μηδὲ καλέειν κω ὀλβιον ἀλλ' εὐτυχεία. τὰ πάντα μὲν νυν ταῦτα
second year be lengthened by a month so that the seasons and the calendar may rightly accord, then the intercalary months are five and thirty, over and above the seventy years: and the days of these months are one thousand and fifty; so then all the days together of the seventy years are seen to be twenty-six thousand two hundred and fifty; and one may well say that no one of all these days is like another in that which it brings. Thus then, Croesus, the whole of man is but chance. Now if I am to speak of you, I say that I see you very rich and the king of many men. But I cannot yet answer your question, before I hear that you have ended your life well. For he who is very rich is not more blest than he who has but enough for the day, unless fortune so attend him that he ends his life well, having all good things about him. Many men of great wealth are unblest, and many that have no great substance are fortunate. Now the very rich man who is yet unblest has but two advantages over the fortunate man, but the fortunate man has many advantages over the rich but unblest: for this latter is the stronger to accomplish his desire and to bear the stroke of great calamity; but these are the advantages of the fortunate man, that though he be not so strong as the other to deal with calamity and desire, yet these are kept far from him by his good fortune, and he is free from deformity, sickness, and all evil, and happy in his children and his comeliness. If then such a man besides all this shall also end his life well, then he is the man whom you seek, and is worthy to be called blest; but we must wait till he be dead, and call him not yet blest, but fortunate. Now
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συλλαβεῖν ἀνθρώπων ένοτα ἀδύνατον ἔστι, ὡσπερ χώρη οὐδεμία καταρκεῖ εἰς τὰ πάντα ἐωτῆς παρέχουσα, ἀλλὰ ἀλλο μὲν ἐχεῖ ἔτερον δὲ ἐπιδέεται ἤ δὲ ἄν τὰ πλείστα ἔχῃ, αὐτὴ ἀρίστη. δὲ δὲ καὶ ἀνθρώπων σῶμα ἐν οὐδὲν αὐτάρκες ἔστι τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἐχεῖ, ἀλλὰ δὲ ἐνδεές ἔστι. οὐ δὲ αὐτῶν πλείστα ἔχων διατελή καὶ ἐπείτα τελευτήσῃ εὐχαρίστως τὸν βίον, οὔτος παρ’ ἐμοὶ τὸ οὐνόμα τοῦτο ὁ βασιλεὺς δίκαιος ἐστὶ φέρεσθαι. σκοπεῖν δὲ χρῆ παντὸς χρήματος τὴν τελευτήν, κύριος ἀποβήσεται τολμῶν γὰρ ἡ ὑποδέξας ὀλβον ο θεὸς προρίζουσι ἄνετρεπε."  

33. Ταύτα λέγων τῷ Κροίσῳ οὔ κως οὔτε ἐχαρίζετο, οὔτε λόγου μιν ποιησάμενος οὐδενὸς ἀποτέμπεται, κάρτα δόξας ἀμαθεά εἰναι, δό παρεόντα ἁγαθά μετείς τὴν τελευτήν παντὸς χρήματος ὅραν ἐκέλευε. 

34. Μετὰ δὲ Σόλωνα οἰχόμενον ἔλαβε ἐκ θεοῦ νέμεισις μεγάλη Κροίσον, ὡς εἰκάσαι, ὅτι ἐνόμωσε ἐνυτὸν εἰναὶ ἀνθρώπων ἀπάντων ὁλβιώτατον. ἀυτίκα δὲ οἱ εὐδοκοῦσθαι ὑπέστη ὁνείρος, δό οἵ τὴν ἀληθεῖν ἐφαινε τῶν μελλόντων γενέσθαι κακῶν κατὰ τόν παῖδα. ἦσαν δὲ τῷ Κροίσῳ δύο παίδες, τῶν οὔτερος μὲν διέφθαρτο, ἣν γὰρ ἡ κωφός, ὃς ἐπειροῦσα τῶν ἡλίκων μακρῷ τὰ πάντα πρῶτος οὖνομα δὲ οἵ ἡ Ἀτυς. τούτων δὴ ὃν τὸν Ἔτυν σημαίνει τῷ Κροίσῳ ὁ ὁνείρος, ὡς ἀπολείει μιν αἰχμή συνηρέθη βληθέντα. ὃ ὅ ἐπείτε ἐξηγήσθη καὶ ἐνυτῷ λόγου ἐδωκε, καταρρῳδήσας τὸν ὁνείρον ἀνείπεται μὲν τῷ παιδὶ γυναῖκα, ἐωθότα δὲ στρατηγεύειν μιν τῶν Λυδῶν οὐδαμὴ ἔπι ἐπὶ τοιοῦτο πρῆγμα ἐξέπεμπτε ἀκόντια δὲ καὶ δοράτια καὶ τὰ
no one (who is but man) can have all these good things together, just as no land is altogether self-sufficing in what it produces: one thing it has, another it lacks, and the best land is that which has most; so too no single person is sufficient for himself: one thing he has, another he lacks; but whoever continues in the possession of most things, and at last makes a gracious end of his life, such a man, O King, I deem worthy of this title. We must look to the conclusion of every matter, and see how it shall end, for there are many to whom heaven has given a vision of blessedness, and yet afterwards brought them to utter ruin."

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

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

35. Ἐχοντι ἔδε οἱ ἐν χερσὶ τοῦ παιδὸς τὸν γάμον, ἀπικνέεται ἐς τὰς Σάρδις ἀνὴρ συμφορῇ ἐχόμενοι καὶ οὐ καθαρὸς χεῖρας, ἐὼν Φρυξ μὲν γενεὴ, γένεος δὲ τοῦ βασιλέου. παρελθὼν δὲ οὕτως ἐς τὰ Κροίσσον οἰκία κατὰ νόμους τοὺς ἐπιχαρίους καθαρισίου ἔδεετο κυρῆσαι, Κροίσσος δὲ μὴν ἐκαθῆρε. ἔστι δὲ παραπλησία ἡ καθαρισὶς τοῖς Λυδοῖσι καὶ τοῖς "Ελλησι. ἐπείτε δὲ τὰ νομιζόμενα ἐποίησε ο Κροίσσος, ἐπυνθάνετο ὁκόθεν τε καὶ τῆς εἴη, λέγον τάδε. "᾽Ωνθρωπε, τις τε ἐων καὶ κόθεν τῆς Φρυγίης ἥκων ἑπίστιος μοι ἐγένεο; τίνα τε ἀνδρῶν ἢ γυναικῶν ἐφόνευσας;" ὃ δὲ ἀμείβετο "᾽Ω βασιλεῦ, Γορδίῳοι μὲν τοῦ Μίδεω εἰμὶ παῖς, ὑμομάζομαι δὲ ᾽Αδρηστος, φονεύσας δὲ ἀδελφῶν ἐμεωντοῦ ἄεκων πάρειμι ἑξεληλαμένοις τε ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ ἐστερημένοις πάντων." Κροίσσος δὲ μὴν ἀμείβετο τοῖς ἐδε "᾽Ανδρῶν τε φίλων τυγχάνεις ἐκγονος ἐων καὶ ἐλήλυθας ἐς φίλους, ἐνθα ἀμηχανήσεις χρήματος οὔδενος μὲν ἐν ἡμετέρου, συμφορὴν τε ταύτην ὃς κουφότατα φέρων κερδανέεις πλεῖστον."

36. Ὁ μὲν δὴ δίαιταν εἶχε ἐν Κροίσσο. ἐν δὲ τῷ αὐτῷ χρόνῳ τοῦτο ἐν τῷ Μυσίῳ Ὀλύμπῳ ὕστερα χρῆμα γίνεται μέγα: ὄρμωμενος δὲ οὗτος ἐκ τοῦ ὅρεος τούτου τὰ τῶν Μυσῶν ἔργα διαφθείρεσθε. πολλάκις δὲ οἱ Μυσοὶ ἐπ' αὐτῶν ἐξελθόντες

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

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

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

\(^1\) Or, perhaps, "in the women's quarters."
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ποιέσκον μὲν κακὸν οὐδέν, ἐπασχον δὲ πρὸς αὐτοῦ. τέλος δὲ ἄπικόμενοι παρὰ τὸν Κροῖσον τῶν Μυσῶν ἄγχελοι ἔλεγον τάδε. "Ὡς βασιλεῦ, ὡς χρῆμα μέγιστον ἀνεφάνη ἡμῖν ἐν τῇ χώρῃ, δῆ τὰ ἔργα διαφθείρει. τούτοι προθυμεόμενοι ἔλειν οὐ δυνάμεθα. νῦν ᾧν προσδέμεθα σεὶ τῶν παιδα καὶ λογάδας νευρίας καὶ κύνας συμπέμψαι ἡμῖν, ὥς ἄν μιν ἐξέλωμεν ἐκ τῆς χώρης." οἱ μὲν δὴ τούτων ἐδέσω, Κροῖσος δὲ μυθομενοῦ τοῦ ὄνειρον τὰ ἑπει ἐλεγέ σφι τάδε. "Παιδῶς μὲν πέρι τοῦ ἐμοῦ μὴ μησθήτε ἔτι οὐ γὰρ ἂν ὑμῖν συμ- πέμψαμι. νεόγαμός τε γὰρ ἐστὶ καὶ ταύτα ὦν μέλει. Λυδῶν μέντοι λογάδας καὶ τὸ κυνηγήσιον πᾶν συμπέμψω, καὶ διακελεύσομαι τοῖς ιούσι εἶναι ὅσ προθυμοτάοιοι συνεξελεῖν ὑμῖν τὸ θηρίον ἐκ τῆς χώρης."

37. Ταύτα ἀμείψατο· ἀποχρεωμένων δὲ τού- τοις τῶν Μυσῶν, ἐπεσέρχεται ὁ τοῦ Κροῖσον παῖς ἀκηκὼς τῶν ἐδέσων οἱ Μυσοί. οὐ φαμένον δὲ τοῦ Κροῖσον τὸν γε παιδὰ σφι συμπέμψει, λέγει πρὸς αὐτὸν ὁ νευρής τάδε. "Ὡς πάτερ, τὰ κάλλιστα πρότερον κοτὲ καὶ γενναίοτατα ἡμῖν ἦν ἐς τε πολέμους καὶ ἐς ἄγρας φοιτεῦσας εὐδοκι- μέειν; νῦν δὲ ἄμφοτέρων με τούτων ἀπόκλισάς ἔχεις, οὔτε τινὰ δειλίην μοι παριδών οὔτε ἀθυμήν. νῦν τε τέοις με χρῆ ὀμμασὶ ἐς τε ἄγορῇ καὶ ἐξ ἄγορης φοιτεῦσα φαίνεσθαι; κοίσ μὲν τοῖς τοίς πολιτεύοντο δόξω εἰναι, κοίδιος δὲ τῆς νεώγαμῳ γυναίκι; κοίρ δὲ ἐκεῖνη δόξει ἀνδρὶ συνοικεῖεν; ἐμὲ ὄν σὺ ἡ μέτεις ιέναι ἕτπ τῆν θήρην, ἡ λόγῳ ἀνάπεισον ὅκως μοι ἀμείνω ἐστὶ ταύτα οὕτω ποιεόμενα."
BOOK I. 36–37

him: but they never did him any harm and rather were themselves hurt thereby. At last they sent messengers to Croesus, with this message: "King, a great monster of a boar has appeared in the land, who destroys our fields; for all our attempts, we cannot kill him; now therefore, we beseech you, send with us your son, and chosen young men and dogs, that we may rid the country of him." Such was their entreaty, but Croesus remembered the prophecy of his dream and thus answered them: "Say no more about my son: I will not send him with you: he is newly married, and that is his present business. But I will send chosen men of the Lydians, and all the hunt, and I will bid those who go to use all zeal in aiding you to rid the country of this beast."

37. So he replied, and the Mysians were satisfied with this. But the son of Croesus now came in, who had heard the request of the Mysians; and when Croesus refused to send his son with them, "Father," said the young man, "it was formerly held fairest and noblest that we princes should go constantly to war and the chase and win thereby renown; but now you have barred me from both of these, not for any sign that you have seen in me of a coward or craven spirit. With what face can I thus show myself whenever I go to and from the market-place? What will the men of the city think of me, and what my new-wedded wife? With what manner of man will she think that she dwells? Nay, do you either let me go to this hunt, or show me by reason good that what you are doing is best for me."
38. Ἀμείβεται Κροῖσος τοίοις. "Τώ ραί, οὕτω δειλήν ὦτε ἄλλο οὐδὲν ἄχαρι παριδῶν τοι ποιέω ταύτα, ἀλλά μοι ὄψις ὁνείρου ἐν τῷ ὑπνῷ ἐπιστᾶσα ἐφή σε ὀλιγοχρόνιον ἐσεθάναι. ὑπὸ γὰρ αἰχμῆς σιδηρῆς ἀπολέεσθαι. πρὸς ὃν τὴν ὄψιν ταύτην τὸν τε γάμον τοῦ τοῦτον ἐσπευσά καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ παραλαμβανόμενα ὦκ ἀποτέμπω, φυλακήν ἔχων, εἰ κοις δυναῖμην ἐπὶ τῆς ἐμῆς σε ξύσης διακλέψαι. εἰς γὰρ μοι μοῦνος τυγχάναις ἐώς παῖς· τὸν γὰρ δὴ ἐτερον διεφθαρμένον τὴν ἀκοὴν ὦκ εἶναι μοι λογίζομαι."

39. Ἀμείβεται ὁ νεηνής τοίσιδε. "Συγγυνώμη μεν ὁ πάτερ τοι, ἰδόντι γε ὄψιν τοιαύτην, περὶ ἐμὲ φυλακὴν ἔχειν· τὸ δὲ οὐ μανθάνεις ἀλλὰ λέληθε σε τὸ ὅνειρον, ἐμὲ τοι δίκαιον ἐστὶ φράζειν. φής τοι τὸ ὅνειρον ὑπὸ αἰχμῆς σιδηρῆς φάναι ἐμὲ τελευτήσειν· ὦς δὲ κοιαί μὲν εἰσὶ χεῖρες, κοίη δὲ αἰχμῆ σιδηρῆς τὴν συ φοβέαι; εἰ μὲν γὰρ ὑπὸ ὀδόντος τοι εἶπε τελευτήσειν με, ἢ ἄλλου τευ ὁ τι τούτω ἐσκε, χρῆν δὴ σε ποιεῖν τὰ ποιεῖς· νῦν δὲ ὑπὸ αἰχμῆς. ἐπεὶ δὲ ὅν οὐ πρὸς ἀνδρας ἡμῖν γίνεται ἢ μάχη, μέτες με."  

40. Ἀμείβεται Κροῖσος "Τώ ραί, ἔστι τῇ με νικᾶς γνώμην ἀποφαίνων περὶ τοῦ ἐνυπνίου. ὡς ὃν νεικημένος ὑπὸ σέο μεταγινώσκω, μετήμι τε σὲ ἱέναι ἐπὶ τὴν ἄγρην."

41. Εἶπας δὲ ταύτα ὁ Κροῖσος μεταπέμπεται τὸν Φρύγα Ἀδρηστον, ἀπικομένῳ δὲ οἱ λέγει τάδε. "Ἀδρηστε, ἔγω σε συμφορῇ πεπληγμένου ἄχαρι, τὴν τοῦ οὐκ ὑνειδίζω, ἐκάθερα καὶ οἰκίοις ὑποδεξάμενος ἔχω, παρέχων πᾶσαν δαπάνην. νῦν ὃν ὅφείλεις γὰρ ἐμοῦ προποιήσαντος χρηστά ἐς
38. "My son," answered Croesus, "if I do this, it is not that I have seen cowardice or aught unseemly in you; no, but the vision of a dream stood over me in my sleep, and told me that your life should be short, for you should be slain by a spear of iron. It is for that vision that I was careful to make your marriage, and send you on no enterprise that I have in hand, but keep guard over you, so that haply I may trick death of you through my lifetime. You are my only son: for that other, since his hearing is lost to him, I count no son of mine."

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

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

41. Having said this, Croesus sent for Adrastus the Phrygian and when he came thus addressed him: "Adrastus, when you were smitten by grievous misfortune, for which I blame you not, it was I who cleansed you, and received and still keep you in my house, defraying all your charges. Now therefore (as you owe me a return of good service for the benefits
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σὲ χρηστοῖσι μὲ ἀμείβεσθαι) φύλακα παιδός σε τοῦ ἐμοῦ χρησίζω γενέσθαι ἐς ἄγρην ὄρμωμένου, μὴ τινὲς κατ' ὁδὸν κλώπις κακοῦργοι ἐπὶ δηλήσι φανέωσι ύμῖν. πρὸς δὲ τούτῳ καὶ σὲ τοῦ χρεοῦ ἐστὶ ἱέναι ἐνθὰ ἀπολαμπρυνέαι τοῦτο ἔργοισι' πατρώιον τε γάρ τοι ἐστὶ καὶ προσέτη ῥόμη ὑπάρχει.”

42. Ἀμείβεται ὁ Ἀδρηστος "Ὤ βασιλεῦ, ἄλλως μὲν ἔγωγε ἄν οὐκ ἦν ἄεθλον τοιώδει· οὔτε γὰρ συμφορῆ τοιῆδε κεχρημένον οἰκός ἐστὶ ἐς ὁμήλικας εὐ πρήσσουτας ἱέναι, οὔτε τὸ βουλεσθαὶ πάρα, πολλαχῇ τε ἀν ἰσχον ἐμεωτον, νῦν δέ, ἐπεῖτε σὺ στενὺς καὶ δεὶ τοι χαρίζεσθαι (οφείλω γὰρ σε ἀμείβεσθαι χρηστοῖσι), ποιέων εἰμὶ ἠτοιμὸς ταῦτα, παίδα τε σὸν, τὸν διακελεύει φυλάσσειν, ἀπήμονα τοῦ φυλάσσοντος εἶνεκεν προσόδοκα τοι ἀπονοστήσειν.”

43. Τοιούτους ἐπείτε οὗτος ἀμείψατο Κροῖσον, ἦσαν μετὰ ταῦτα ἐξηρτυμένοι λογασί τε νευρίσι καὶ κυσί. ἀπικόμενοι δὲ ἐς τὸν "Ὀλυμπον τὸ ὅρος ἐξήτευον τὸ θηρίον, εὐρόντες δὲ καὶ περιστάντες αὐτὸ κύκλῳ ἐσηκονίζον. ἐνθὰ δὴ ὁ ἕεινος, οὗτος δὴ ὁ καθαρθεῖς τῶν φόνων, καλεόμενος δὲ "Ἀδρηστος, ἀκοντιζών τὸν ὑπὸ τοῦ μὲν ἀμαρτάνει, τυγχάνει δὲ τοῦ Κροίσου παιδός. ὃ μὲν δὴ βληθεῖς τῇ αἰχμῇ ἐξέπλησε τοῦ ὀνείρου τὴν φήμην, ἔθεε δὲ τις ἄγγελεων τῷ Κροῖσῳ τὸ γεγονός, ἀπικόμενος δὲ ἐς τὰς Σάρδεις τὴν τε μάχην καὶ τὸν τοῦ παιδὸς μόρον ἐσήμηνε οὐ.

— 44. Ὁ δὲ Κροῖσος τῷ θανάτῳ τοῦ παιδὸς συντεταραγμένος μᾶλλον τι ἐδειγμολογέετο ὅτι μίν ἀπέκτεινε τὸν αὐτὸς φόνῳ ἐκάθηρε· περιημεκτέων 48.
which I have done you) I ask you to watch over my son as he goes out to the chase. See to it that no Russian robbers meet you on the way, to do you harm. Moreover it is but right that you too should go where you can win renown by your deeds. That is fitting for your father’s son; and you are strong enough withal.”

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

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

44. Croesus, distraught by the death of his son, cried out the more vehemently because the slayer was one whom he himself had cleansed of a bloody
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dē τῇ συμφορῇ δεινῶς ἐκάλεε μὲν Δῖα καθάρσιον,
μαρτυρόμενος τὰ ὑπὸ τοῦ ξείνου πεποιθῶς εἶη,
ἐκάλεε δὲ ἐπίστιόν τε καὶ ἑταῖρην, τὸν αὐτὸν
τούτον ὁμομάξων θεόν, τὸν μὲν ἐπίστιον καλέων,
διότι δὴ οἰκίσοισι ὑποδεξάμενος τὸν ξείνου φονέα
tοῦ παιδὸς ἐλάνθανε βοσκῶν, τὸν δὲ ἑταῖρην,
ὡς φύλακα συμπέμψας αὐτὸν εὐρήκοι πολε-
μώτατον.

45. Παρῆσαν δὲ μετὰ τούτο οἱ Δυδοὶ φέροντες
tὸν νεκρόν, ὅπισθε δὲ εὐπετό ὦ ὁ φωνεύς. στὰς
dὲ οὖτος πρὸ τοῦ νεκροῦ παρεδίδου ἑωυτὸν Κροίσῳ
προτείνων τὰς χεῖρας, ἐπικατασφάξαι μιν κελεύων
τῷ νεκρῷ, λέγων τὴν πρὸτερην ἑωυτοῦ συμ-
φορὴν, καὶ ὡς ἔπ’ ἑκεῖνη τὸν καθήραντα ἀπολο-
λεκὼς εἶη, οὐδὲ ὦ ὁ εἶη βιώσιμον. Κροίσος δὲ
τούτων ἀκούσας τὸν τε Ἀδρηστοῦ κατοικτείρει,
καίπερ ἔως ἐν κακῷ οἰκήμῳ τοσοῦτοι καὶ λέγει
πρὸς αὐτὸν "Ἐχω ὦ ξείνε παρὰ σεῦ πᾶσαν τὴν
dίκην, ἐπειδὴ σεωντοῦ καταδικάξεις θάνατον. εῖς
dὲ οὗ σύ μοι τούδε τοῦ κακοῦ αἰτίος, εἰ μὴ ὡς
ἀέκων ἐξεργάσαι, ἀλλὰ θεῶν κοῦ τίς, ὃς μοι
καὶ πάλαι προσήμαυε τὰ μέλλοντα ἐσεσθαι."
Κροίσος μὲν νυν ἔθαψε ὦς οἰκὼς ᾧ τὸν ἑωυτοῦ
παῖδα. Ἀδρηστος δὲ ὦ Γορδεὼς τοῦ Μίδεω,
οὔτος δὴ ὁ φωνεύς μὲν τὸν ἑωυτοῦ ἀδελφοῦ
γενόμενος φωνεύς δὲ τοῦ καθήραντος, ἐπείτε
ἡσυχίᾳ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐγένετο περὶ τὸ σήμα,
συγγινωσκόμενος ἀνθρώπων εἶναι τῶν αὐτῶς ἦδεε
βαρυσυμφορῶτατος, ἐπικατασφάξει τῷ τύμβῳ
ἐωυτῶν.

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

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

46. Croesus, after the loss of his son, sat in deep
κατήστη τοῦ παιδὸς ἐστερημένος. μετὰ δὲ ἡ Ἀστυάγεος τοῦ Κυαξάρεω ἡγεμονία καταρρεθεῖσα ὑπὸ Κύρου τοῦ Καμβύσεω καὶ τὰ τῶν Περσέων πρήγματα αὐξανόμενα πένθεος μὲν Κροίσον ἀπε-παυσε, ἐνέβησε δὲ ἐς φροντίδα, εἰ κως δύναιτο, πρὶν μεγάλους γενέσθαι τοὺς Πέρσας, καταλαβεῖν αὐτῶν αὐξανομένην τὴν δύναμιν. μετὰ δὲ τὴν διάνοιαν ταύτην αὐτικά ἀπεπεράτῳ τῶν μαντηίων τῶν τε ἐν "Ελληνι καὶ τοῦ ἐν Διβύ, διαπέμψας ἄλλους ἄλλη, τοὺς μὲν ἐς Δελφοὺς ἴναι, τοὺς δὲ ἐς Αβας τὰς Φωκέων, τούς δὲ ἐς Δωδώνην· οἱ δὲ τινὲς ἑπέμποντο παρὰ τε Ἀμφιάρεως καὶ παρὰ Τροφώνου, οἱ δὲ τῆς Μιλησίας ἐς Βραγχίδας. ταῦτα μὲν νυν τὰ 'Ελληνικὰ μαντήματα ἐς τὰ ἀπέπεμψε μαν-τευσόμενος Κροίσος· Διβύς δὲ παρὰ Αμμωνα ἀπε-στέλλε ἄλλους χρησιμένους. διέπεμπε δὲ πειρώ-μενος τῶν μαντηίων δ ὅ τι φρονέοιεν, ὡς εἰ φρονέοντα τὴν ἀληθείαν εὐρεθείαν, ἑπείρηται σφέα δεύτερα πέμπτων εἰ ἑπικεφεύει ἐπὶ Πέρσας στρατεύεσθαι.

47. Ἐντελάμενος δὲ τοῖς Λυδοῖς τάδε ἀπέ-πεμπε ἐς τὴν διάστεραν τῶν χρηστηρίων, ἀπ' ἡς ἄν ἡμέρης ὁρμηθέωσι ἐκ Σαρδίων, ἀπὸ ταύτης ἡμερολογήσατας τῶν λοιπῶν χρόνων ἐκατοστῇ ἡμέρῃ χρᾶσθαι τοῖς χρηστηρίοις, ἑπειρωτώντας δ τοὺς πολέμους τυχαίοις οἱ Λυδῶν βασιλεῖς Κροίσος ὁ Ἀλνάττεω· ἀλλ' ἃ ἐκαστα τῶν χρηστηρίων θεσπίσῃ, συγγραφαμένους ἀναφέρειν παρ' ἑωτοῦν. δ τι μὲν νυν τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν χρηστηρίων ἐθέσπισε, οὐ λέγεται πρὸς σύναμοιν· ἐν δὲ Δελφοῖς ὡς ἐσῆλθον τάχιστα ἐς τὸ μέγαρον οἱ Λυδῶν χρησο-μενοι τῷ θεῷ καὶ ἑπειρώτων τὸ ἐντεταλμένον, ἡ Πυθίη ἐν ἕξαμέτρῳ τόνῳ λέγει τάδε.

52
sorrow for two years. After this time, the destruction by Cyrus son of Cambyses of the sovereignty of Astyages son of Cyaxares, and the growth of the power of the Persians, caused him to cease from his mourning; and he resolved, if he could, to forestall the increase of the Persian power before they grew to greatness. Having thus determined, he straightway made trial of the Greek and Libyan oracles, sending messengers separately to Delphi, to Abae in Phocia, and to Dodona, while others again were despatched to Amphiarasus and Trophonius,1 and others to Branchidae in the Milesian country. These are the Greek oracles to which Croesus sent for divination: and he bade others go to inquire of Ammon in Libya. His intent in sending was to test the knowledge of the oracles, so that, if they should be found to know the truth, he might send again and ask if he should take in hand an expedition against the Persians.

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

1 That is, to the oracular shrines of these legendary heroes.
HERODOTUS

Οἶδα δ' ἐγὼ ψαμμοῦ τ' ἄριθμον καὶ μέτρα θαλάσσης,
καὶ κωφοῦ συνίημι, καὶ οὐ ωφεέντος ἀκούω.
οἴμη μ' ἐς φρένας ἦλθε κραταιρίνοιο χελώνης
ἔψωμένης ἐν χαλκῷ ἀμ' ἀρνείοισι κρέεσσιν,
ἡ χαλκὸς μὲν ὑπέστρωται, χαλκὸν δ' ἐπιέσται.

48. Ταύτα οἱ Δυδὸλ θεσπισάσης τῆς Πυθής
συγγραψάμενοι οἶχοντο ἀπιόντες ἐς τὰς Σάρδις.
ὠς δὲ καὶ ὅλλοι οἱ περιπεμφθέντες παρῆσαν
φέροντες τοὺς χρησμούς, ἐνθαῦτα ο Κροῖσος
ἐκαστὰ ἀναπτύσσων ἐπώρα τῶν συγγραμμάτων.
τῶν μὲν δὴ οὐδὲν προσὶετό μιν· δ' δὲ ὡς τὸ ἐκ
Δελφῶν ἢκουσε, αὐτίκα προσεύχετο τε καὶ προσ-
edέξατο, νομίσας μούνον εἶναι μαντήιον τὸ ἐν
Δελφοίς, ὅτι οἱ ἔξευρήκεε τὰ αὐτὸς ἐποίησε.
ἐπείτε γὰρ δὴ διέπεμψε παρὰ τὰ χρηστήρια τοὺς
θεσπότους, φυλάξας τὴν κυρίην τῶν ἡμερῶν
ἐμηχαίνατο τοιάδε· ἐπισοῆςας τὰ ἡν ἀμήχανον
ἔξευρεῶν τε καὶ ἐπιφράσσον, χελώνην καὶ ἄρνα
κατακόψας ὁμοῦ ἤσε αὐτὸς ἐν λέβητι χαλκέος,
χάλκεον ἐπίθημα ἐπιθεῖς.

49. Τὰ μὲν δὴ ἐκ Δελφῶν οὗτοι τῷ Κροῖσῳ
ἐχρήσθη· κατὰ δὲ τὴν Ἀμφιάρεω τοῦ μαντήιον
ὑπόκρισιν, οὐκ ἔχω εἰπεῖν ὅ τι τούσι Δυδὸσι
ἐχρησε ποιήσαι περὶ τὸ ἵρον τὰ νομιζόμενα (οὐ
γὰρ ὃν οὐδὲ τούτῳ λέγεται), ἀλλο γε ἢ δὴ καὶ
τούτον ἐνόμισε μαντήιον ἄψευδές ἐκτῆσθαι.

54
BOOK I. 47-49

"Grains of sand I reckon and measure the spaces of ocean,
Hear when dumb men speak, and mark the speech of the silent.
What is it now that I smell? 'tis a tortoise mightily armoured
Sodden in vessel of bronze, with a lamb's flesh mingled together:
Bronze thereunder is laid and a mantle of bronze is upon it."

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

49. Such then was the answer from Delphi delivered to Croesus. As to the reply which the Lydians received from Amphiaraus when they had followed the due custom of the temple, I cannot say what it was, for nothing is recorded of it, saving that Croesus held that from this oracle too he had obtained a true answer.
HERODOTUS

50. Μετά δὲ ταύτα θυσίησι μεγάλησι τὸν ἐν Δελφοῖς θεόν ἰλάσκετο, κτήνεα τε γὰρ τὰ θύμια πάντα τρισχίλια ἐθυσε, κλίνας τε ἔπιχρύσους καὶ ἐπαργύρους καὶ φιάλας χρυσέας καὶ εἴματα πορφύρεα καὶ κιθώνας, νήσας πυρῆν μεγάλην, κατέκαιε, ἐλπίζων τὸν θεόν μᾶλλον τι τούτοις ἀνακτήσεσθαι. Αὐθοίσι τε πᾶσι προεῖπε θύειν πάντα τινὰ αὐτῶν τούτῳ ὅ τι ἔχοι ἔκαστος. ὡς δὲ ἐκ τῆς θυσίης ἐγένετο, καταχεόμενος χρυσὸν ἀπλετον ἡμιπλίνθια ἐξ αὐτοῦ ἐξήλαυνε, ἐπὶ μὲν τὰ μακρότερα ποιόν ἔξατάλαιστα, ἐπὶ δὲ τὰ βραχύτερα τριπάλαιστα, ὡς δὲ πάλαισταία. ἀρισμὸν δὲ ἐπτακαίδεκα καὶ ἐκατόν, καὶ τούτων ἀπέθῳ χρυσοῦ τέσσερα, τρίτων ἡμιτάλαντον ἔκαστον ἐλκοντα, τὰ δὲ ἄλλα ἡμιπλίνθια λευκοῦ χρυσοῦ, σταθμὸν διτάλαντα. ἐποιεῖτο δὲ καὶ λέοντος εἰκόνα χρυσοῦ ἀπέθῃ ἐλκοσαυν σταθμὸν τάλαντα δέκα. οὗτος ὁ λέων, ἐπείτε κατεκαίετο ὁ ἐν Δελφοῖς νήσος, κατέπεσε ἀπὸ τῶν ἡμιπλίνθιων (ἐπὶ γὰρ τούτοις ἱδρυτο), καὶ νῦν κεῖται ἐν τῷ Κορινθίων θησαυρῷ, ἐλκον σταθμὸν ἐβδομον ἡμιτάλαντον ἀπετάκη γὰρ αὐτοῦ τέταρτον ἡμι-
τάλαντον.

51. Ἑπιτελέσας δὲ ὁ Κροῖσος ταύτα ἀπέπεμπε ἐς Δελφοὺς, καὶ τάδε ἀλλὰ ἀμα τοῖς, κρητήρας δύο μεγαθὲι μεγάλους, χρύσεοι καὶ ἀργύρεοι, τῶν ὁ μὲν χρύσεως ἐκείτο ἐπὶ δεξιὰ ἐσιοντε ἐς τὸν νήσον, ὁ δὲ ἀργύρεος ἐπ’ ἀριστερὰ. μετέκεινθησαν δὲ καὶ οὕτω ὑπὸ τὸν νῆσον κατακαίντα, καὶ ὁ μὲν χρύσεως κεῖται ἐν τῷ Κλαζομενίων θησαυρῷ, ἐλκον σταθμὸν εἴνατον ἡμιτάλαντον καὶ ἐπὶ δυό-
δεκα μνέας, ὁ δὲ ἀργύρεος ἐπὶ τοῦ προνηίου τῆς
BOOK I. 50–51

50. After this, he strove to win the favour of the Delphian god with great sacrifices. He offered up three thousand beasts from each kind fit for sacrifice, and he burnt on a great pyre couches covered with gold and silver, golden goblets, and purple cloaks and tunics; by these means he hoped the better to win the aid of the god, to whom he also commanded that every Lydian should sacrifice what he could. When the sacrifice was over, he melted down a vast store of gold and made of it ingots of which the longer sides were of six and the shorter of three palms' length, and the height was one palm. These were an hundred and seventeen in number. Four of them were of refined gold, each weighing two talents and a half; the rest were of gold with silver alloy, each of two talents' weight. He bade also to be made a figure of a lion of refined gold, weighing ten talents. When the temple of Delphi was burnt, this lion fell from the ingots which were the base whereon it stood; and now it lies in the treasury of the Corinthians, but weighs only six talents and a half, for the fire melted away three and a half talents.

51. When these offerings were fully made, Croesus sent them to Delphi, with other gifts besides, namely, two very great bowls, one of gold and one of silver. The golden bowl stood to the right, the silvern to the left, of the temple entrance. These too were removed about the time of the temple's burning, and now the golden bowl, which weighs eight talents and a half, and twelve minae,¹ lies in the treasury of the Clazomenians, and the silver bowl at the corner of the forecourt of the temple. This

¹ μνᾶ = about 15 oz. Troy weight.
γωνίας, χωρέων ἀμφορέας ἐξακοσίους· ἐπικείμεναι γὰρ ὑπὸ Δελφῶν θεοφανίους· φασὶ δὲ μνῆ Δελφοὶ Θεοδώρου τοῦ Σαμίου ἔργον εἶναι, καὶ ἐγὼ δοκῶ· οὐ γὰρ τὸ συντυχὸν φαινεται μοι ἔργον εἶναι. καὶ πίθους τε ἄργυρους τέσσερας ἀπέπεμψε, οἳ ἐν τῷ Κορινθίων θησαυρῶν ἐστάσει, καὶ περιρραντήριοι δύο ἀνέθηκε, χρύσεον τε καὶ ἄργυρον, τῶν τῶν χρυσέων ἐπιγέγραπται Λακεδαιμονίων φαμέων εἶναι ἀνάθημα, οὐκ ὀρθῶς λέγουντες· ἔστι γὰρ καὶ τούτῳ Κροίσου, ἐπέγραψε δὲ τῶν τῶν Δελφῶν Λακεδαιμονίων βουλόμενος χαρίζεσθαι, τοῦ ἐπιστάμενος τὸ οὐνόμα οὐκ ἐπιμνήσομαι. ἀλλ’ ὁ μὲν παιδικὸς καὶ, ἐν τῇ χειρός ἰδεῖ τὸ ὑδάτω, Λακεδαιμονίων ἐστι, οὐ μέντοι τῶν γε περιρραντήριων οὐδέτερον. ἀλλὰ τε ἀναθήματα οὐκ ἐπίσημα πολλὰ ἀπεπέμψε ἡμᾶς τούτως ο Κροίσος, καὶ χεύματα ἀργυρὰ κυκλοτερέα, καὶ δὴ καὶ γυναικὸς εἰδώλον χρύσεον τρίτης, τὸ Δελφοὶ τῆς ἄρτοκόπου τῆς Κροίεων εἰκόνα λέγουσι εἶναι. πρὸς δὲ καὶ τῆς ἐωτοῦ γυναικὸς τὰ ἀπὸ τῆς δειρῆς ἀνέθηκε ο Κροίος καὶ τὰς ζώνας.

52. Ταύτα μὲν ἐς Δελφοὺς ἀπεπέμψε, τῷ δὲ Ἀμφιάρεος, πυθόμενος αὐτοῦ τὴν τε ἀρετὴν καὶ τὴν πάθην, ἀνέθηκε σάκος τοις θρύσεοι πάν ὅμοιος καὶ αἰχμήνη στρεφὴν πάσαν σωτηρίαν τὸν ἄει τῆς λόγχης ἐνός ὅμοιος χρύσεον τὰ ἔτη καὶ ἀμφότερα ἐς ἔμε ἡν κειμένα ἐν Ὀηθησί καὶ Θηβέων ἐν τῷ νηῷ τοῦ Ἰσμηνίου Ἀπόλλωνος.

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

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

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

1 The Theophania was a festival at Delphi, at which the statues of gods were shown.
HERODOTUS

ώς δὲ ἀπικόμενοι ἐς τὰ ἀπεπέμφθησαν οἱ Δυδοὶ ἀνέθεσαν τὰ ἀναθήματα, ἔχρεωντο τοῖς χρηστηρίοις λέγοντες "Κροΐσος ὁ Δυδῶν τε καὶ ἄλλων ἔθνεων βασιλεύς, νομίσας τάδε μαντήμα εἶναι μοῦνα ἐν ἀνθρώποις, ὥμων τε ἄξια δώρα ἔδωκε τῶν ἐξευρημάτων, καὶ νῦν ὑμέας ἐπειρώτα ἐτὶ στρατεύτηται ἐπὶ Πέρσας καὶ εἰ τίνα στρατὸν ἄνδρῶν προσθέοι τόσμαχον." οἴ μὲν ταῦτα ἐπειρώτων, τῶν δὲ μαντηηῶν ἀμφοτέρων ἐς τόυτο αἱ γνῶμαι συνέδραμον, προλέγουσαν Κροΐσῳ, ἢν στρατεύτητα ἐπὶ Πέρσας, μεγάλην ἀρχὴν μην καταλύσειν τοὺς δὲ Ἐλλήνων δυνατωτάτους συνεβούλευν οἱ ἐξευρόντα φίλους προσθέοθαι.

54. Ἐπείτε δὲ ἀνενειχθέντα τὰ θεοπρόπτα ἐπύθετο ὁ Κροΐσος, ὑπερήφανὴ τε τοῖς χρηστηρίοις, πάγχι τε ἐλπίσας καταλύσειν τὴν Κύρου βασιλείαν, πέμψας αὐτίς ἐς Πυθῶν Δελφοὺς δωρεῖται, πυθόμενοι αὐτῶν τὸ πλήθος, κατ’ ἄνδρα δύο στατήρσει ἐκαστὸν χρυσοῦ. Δελφοῖ δὲ ἀντὶ τούτων ἐδοσαν Κροἴσῳ καὶ Δυδοίσι προμαντὴν καὶ ἀτελείαν καὶ προεδρίαν, καὶ ἐξείναι τῷ βουλομένῳ αὐτῶν γίνεσθαι Δελφὸν ἐς τὸν αἰεὶ χρόνον.

55. Δωρησάμενος δὲ τοὺς Δελφοὺς ὁ Κροΐσος ἐχρηστηριάζετο τὸ τρίτον ἐπείτε γὰρ δὴ παρέλαβε τοῦ μαντηήου ἄληθείαν, ἐνεφορέσετο αὐτοῦ ἐπειρώτα δὲ τάδε χρηστηριαζόμενος, εἰ οὶ πολυ-
BOOK I. 53-55

host:” When the Lydians came to the places whither they were sent, they made present of the offerings, and inquired of the oracles, in these words: “Croesus, king of Lydia and other nations, seeing that he deems that here are the only true places of divination among men, endows you with such gifts as your wisdom merits. And now he would ask you, if he shall send an army against the Persians, and if he shall take to himself any allied host.” Such was their inquiry; and the judgment given to Croesus by each of the two oracles was the same, to wit, that if he should send an army against the Persians he would destroy a great empire. And they counselled him to discover the mightiest of the Greeks and make them his friends.

54. When the divine answers had been brought back and Croesus learnt of them, he was greatly pleased with the oracles. So, being fully persuaded that he would destroy the kingdom of Cyrus, he sent once again to Pytho and endowed the Delphians with two gold staters\(^1\) apiece, according to his knowledge of their number. The Delphians, in return, gave Croesus and all Lydians the right of first consulting the oracle, freedom from all charges, the chief seats at festivals, and perpetual right of Delphian citizenship to whosoever should wish.

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

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\(^1\) The stater was the common gold coin of the Greek world. The value of Croesus' stater was probably about twenty-three shillings of our money.
χρόνος ἦσται ἡ μουναρχία. ἡ δὲ Πυθίη οἱ χρὰ τάδε.

'Αλλ' ὅταν ἡμίονος βασιλεὺς Μήδοισι γένηται, καὶ τότε, Ἀνδρέ ποδαβρέ, πολυψήφιδα παρ' Ἐρμών μεν ηδὲ μένειν μηδ' αἰδεῖσθαι κακός εἶναι.

56. Τούτοις ἐλθοῦσι τοῖς ἔπεισι ὁ Κροίσος πολλὸν τι μάλιστα πάντων ἡσθη, ἐλπίζων ἡμίονον οὐδαμὰ ἀντ' ἄνδρος βασιλεύσειν Μήδων, οὐδ' δὲν αὐτὸς οὐδὲ οἱ εξ αὐτοῦ παύσεσθαι κοτὲ τῆς ἀρχῆς. μετὰ δὲ ταύτα ἐφρόντιζε ἱστορέων τοὺς ἂν Ἑλλῆνων δυνατωτάτους ἐόντας προσκήσασιν φίλους, ἱστορέων δὲ εὐρίσκε Δακεδαιμονίους καὶ Ἀθηναίους προέχοντας τοὺς μὲν τοῦ Δωρικοῦ γένεος τοὺς δὲ τοῦ Ἰωνικοῦ. ταύτα γὰρ ἦν τὰ προκεκριμένα, ἐόντα τὸ ἀρχαιόν τὸ μὲν Πελαγικὸν τὸ δὲ Ἑλληνικὸν ἤθος. καὶ τὸ μὲν οὐδαμὴ κω ἐξεχώρησε, τὸ δὲ πολυπλάνητον κάρτα. ἐπὶ μὲν γὰρ Δευκαλίωνος βασιλέως οἰκεη γῆν τὴν Φθιώτιν, ἐπὶ δὲ Δώρου τοῦ Ἑλληνος τὴν ὑπὸ τὴν Ὀσσαν τε καὶ τῶν Ὀλυμποῦ χώρην, καλομένην δὲ Ἱστιαιώτων εκ δὲ τῆς Ἱστιαιώτιδος ὡς ἐξαινεσθῇ ὑπὸ Καδμείων, οἰκεῖ εὖ Πινδοῦ Μακεδόνον καλομένων ἐνθεύτεν δὲ αὐτὸς ἐς τὴν Δρυσίδα μετέβη, καὶ εκ τῆς Δρυσίδος οὕτω ἐς Πελοπόννησον ἐλθὼν Δωρικὸν ἐκλήθη.
BOOK I. 55-56
duration. To this the Pythian priestess answered as follows:

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

56. When he heard these verses Croesus was
pleased with them above all, for he thought that a
mule would never be king of the Medians in place of
a man, and so that he and his posterity would never
lose his empire. Then he sought very carefully to
discover who were the mightiest of the Greeks whom
he should make his friends. He found by inquiry
that the chief peoples were the Lacedaemonians
among those of Doric, and the Athenians among
those of Ionic stock. These races, Ionian and Dorian,
were the foremost in ancient time, the first a Pelas-
gian and the second an Hellenic people. The
Pelasgian stock has never yet left its habitation, the
Hellenic has wandered often and afar. For in the
days of king Deucalion 1 it inhabited the land of
Phthia, then in the time of Dorus son of Hellen the
country called Histiaeae, under Ossa and Olympus;
driven by the Cadmeans from this Histiaeae country
it settled about Pindus in the parts called Macednian;
thence again it migrated to Dryopia, and at last
came from Dryopia into Peloponnesus, where it took
the name of Dorian. 2

1 Deucalion and Pyrrha were the survivors of the Deluge
as known to Greek legend.
2 The localities mentioned in the story of the migration
into the Peloponnese are all in northern Greece.
57. Ἡντια δὲ γλώσσαν ἔσαν οἱ Πελασγοί, οὐκ ἔχω ἄτρεκέως εἰπεῖν. εἰ δὲ χρεόν ἐστι τεκμαίρομενον λέγειν τοῖς νῦν ἐτί εὗοσι Πελασ-

γῶν τῶν ὑπὲρ Τυρσηνῶν Κρηστῶνα πόλιν οἰκεών-
tων, οὐ δομοροί κοτῆ ἦσαν τοῖς νῦν Δωρεύσι καλεσμένοις (οἰκεον δὲ τηνικάματα γῆν τὴν νῦν Ὑπσοσαλώων καλεσμένην), καὶ τῶν Πλακίνης τε καὶ Σκυλάκης Πελασγῶν οἰκησάντων ἐν Ἐλλησ-

πόντῳ, οἱ σύνοικοι ἐγένοντο Ἀθηναίοις, καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα Πελασγικὰ έόντα πολύσματα τὸ οὐνόμα μετέβαλε: εἰ τοῦτοι πεῖ τεκμαίρομενον δεὶ λέγειν, ἦσαν οἱ Πελασγοὶ βάρβαροι γλώσσαν έέντες. εἰ τοῖς νῦν καὶ τῶν τοιοῦτο τὸ Πελασγικὸν, τὸ Ἀττικὸν ἔθνος ἐδὲ Πελασγικὸν ἀμα τῇ μεταβολῇ τῇ ἐσ Ἐλληνας καὶ τὴν γλώσσαν μετέμαθε. καὶ γὰρ δὴ οὔτε οἱ Κρηστωνιήται οὐδαμοίσι τῶν νῦν σφέας περιοικεώντων εἰσὶ ὁμόγλωσσοι οὔτε οἱ Πλακινοί, σφίσι δὲ ὁμόγλωσσοι δηλούσι τε ὅτι τῶν ἴνεικαντο γλώσσης χαρακτήρα μεταβαίνοντες ἐς ταῦτα τὰ χωρία, τούτον ἔχουσι ἐν φυλακῇ.

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

νεται εἶναι: ἄποσχισθεν μέντοι ἀπὸ τοῦ Πελασ-

γικοῦ ἐὼν ἀσθενεῖς, ἀπὸ σμικροῦ τεο τὴν ἀρχὴν ὁμόμομενον αὐξηται ἐς πλῆθος τῶν ἐθνῶν, Πε-

λασγῶν μάλιστα προσκεχωρηκῶν αὐτῷ καὶ ἄλλων ἐθνῶν βαρβάρων συχνῶν. πρόσθε δὲ ὥν ἐμοιγε δοκεῖι οὔτε τὸ Πελασγικὸν ἔθνος, ἐὼν βάρβαρον, οὐδαμὰ μεγάλως αὐξηθήναι.

59. Τούτων δὴ ὅτι τῶν ἐθνῶν τὸ μὲν Ἀττικὸν κατεχόμενον τε καὶ διεσπασμένον ἐπυνθάνετο ο
BOOK I. 57-59

57. What language the Pelasgians spoke I cannot accurately say. But if one may judge by those that still remain of the Pelasgians who dwell above the Tyrrheni 1 in the city of Creston—who were once neighbours of the people now called Dorians, and at that time inhabited the country which now is called Thessalian—and of the Pelasgians who inhabited Placia and Scylace on the Hellespont, who came to dwell among the Athenians, and by other towns too which were once Pelasgian and afterwards took a different name:—if (I say) one may judge by these, the Pelasgians spoke a language which was not Greek. If then all the Pelasgian stock so spoke, then the Attic nation, being of Pelasgian blood, must have changed its language too at the time when it became part of the Hellenes. For the people of Creston and Placia have a language of their own in common, which is not the language of their neighbours; and it is plain that they still preserve the fashion of speech which they brought with them in their migration into the places where they dwell.

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

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

1 If these are the Etruscans, then Creston may = Cortona: but the whole matter is doubtful.
ΗΡΟĐΟΤΟΣ

Κροίσος ὑπὸ Πεισιστράτου τοῦ Ἰπποκράτεος τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον τυχανεύοντος Ἀθηναίων. Ἰπποκράτει γὰρ ἐόντι ἰδιώτη καὶ θεωρεόντι τὰ Ὀλύμπια τέρας ἐγένετο μέγα. θύσαστος γὰρ αὐτὸν τὰ ἱερὰ οἱ λέβητες ἐπεστέωτες καὶ κρεών τε ἐόντες ἐμπλεοῦ καὶ ὕδατος ἀνευ πυρὸς ἔξεσαν καὶ ὑπερέβαλον. Χίλων δὲ ὁ Δακεδαμώνιος παρατυχὼν καὶ θεησάμενος τὸ τέρας συνεβόλευεν Ἰπποκράτει πρότα μὲν γυναῖκα μὴ ἀγεσθαί τεκνοποιοῦν ἐς τὰ οὐκία, εἰ δὲ τυγχάνει ξχῶν, δεύτερα τὴν γυναῖκα ἐκπέμπειν, καὶ εἰ τὸς οἱ τυγχάνει ἕως παιᾶς, τοῦτον ἀπείπασθαι. οὐκὼν ταῦτα παρανέσαντος Χίλωνος πείθεσθαι θέλειν τὸν Ἰπποκράτεα· γενέσθαι οἱ μετὰ ταῦτα τὸν Πεισιστράτον τοῦτον, ὁς στασιαζόντων τῶν παράλοιπων καὶ τῶν ἐκ τοῦ πεδίου Ἀθηναίων, καὶ τῶν μὲν προστεθῶτος Μεγακλέος τοῦ Ἀλκμέωνος, τῶν δὲ ἐκ τοῦ πεδίου Δυκούργου Ἀριστολαίδεω, καταφρονήσας τὴν τυραννίδα ἦγειρε τρίτην στάσιν· συλλέξας δὲ στασιωτάς καὶ τῷ λόγῳ τῶν ύπερακρίων προστάς μυχανᾶται τοιάδε. τρωματίσας ἐσώυτον τε καὶ ἡμίόνους ἠλασε ἐς τὴν ἀγορὴν τὸ ζεῦγος ὡς ἐκπεφευγός τοὺς ἔχθρους, οἱ μὲν ἑλαύνοντα ἐς ἀγρόν θέλησαν ἀπολέσαι δηθὲν, ἐδεέτο τε τοῦ δήμου φυλακής τινος πρὸς αὐτοῦ κυρῆσαι, πρότερον εὐδοκιμῆσαι ἐν τῇ πρὸς Μεγαρέας γενομένῃ στρατηγῷ, Νίσαιαν τε ἐλών καὶ ἄλλα ἀποδεξάμενος μεγάλα ἔργα. ὁ δὲ δήμος ὁ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐξαπατηθεῖς ἐδώκει οἱ τῶν ἀστῶν καταλέξας ἀνδρῶν τούτων οἱ δορυφόροι μὲν οὐκ ἐγένοντο Πεισιστράτου, κορυνηφόροι δὲ ξύλων γὰρ κορύνας ἔχοντες ἐγείοντό οἱ ὀπισθε. συνεπαναστάντες δὲ 66
BOOK 1. 59

into factions by Pisistratus son of Hippocrates, who at that time was sovereign over the Athenians. This Hippocrates was but a private man when a great marvel happened to him as he was at Olympia to see the games: when he had offered the sacrifice, the vessels, standing there full of meat and water, boiled without fire till they overflowed. Chilon the Lacedaemonian, who chanced to be there and saw this marvel, counselled Hippocrates not to take into his house a childbearing wife, if so might be: but if he had one already, then at least to send her away, and if he had a son, to disown him. Hippocrates refused to follow the counsel of Chilon, and presently there was born to him this Pisistratus aforesaid. In course of time there was a feud between the Athenians of the coast under Megacles son of Alcmeon and the Athenians of the plain under Lycurgus son of Aristolaides. Pisistratus then, having an eye to the sovereign power, raised up a third faction. He collected partisans and pretended to champion the hillmen; and this was his plan. Wounding himself and his mules, he drove his carriage into the market place with a tale that he had escaped from his enemies, who would have slain him (so he said) as he was driving into the country. So he besought the people that he might have a guard from them: and indeed he had won himself reputation in his command of the army against the Megarians, when he had taken Nisaea and performed other great exploits. Thus deceived, the Athenian people gave him a chosen guard of citizens, of whom Pisistratus made not spearmen but clubmen: for the retinue that followed him bore wooden clubs. These
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ότου ἀμα Πεισιστράτω έσχον τὴν ἀκρόπολιν. ἔνθα δὴ ὁ Πεισιστράτος ἦρχε Ἀθηναίων, οὐτε τιμᾶς τὰς έσώσας συνταράξας οὐτε θέσμα μεταλάξας, ἐπὶ τέ τοίσι καταστεώσι ἐνεμὲ τὴν πόλιν κοσμέων καλῶς τε καὶ εὐ.

60. Μετὰ δὲ οὐ πολλῶν χρόνων τῶν τῆς φρονήσαντες οἱ τοῦ Μεγακλέος στασιῶταί καὶ οἱ τοῦ Δυκούργου ἐξελαύνοντι μιν. οὕτω μὲν Πεισιστράτος ἔσχε τὸ πρῶτον Ἀθηνᾶς, καὶ τὴν τυραννίδα ὁκω κάρτα ἐρρίζωμένην ἔχον ἀπέβαλε. οὗ δὲ ἐξελάσαντες Πεισιστράτων ἀυτοῖς ἕκ νέης ἐπὶ ἀλλήλους ἔστασις. περιελαυνόμενος δὲ τῇ στάσι τοί Μεγακλέης ἐπεκερκυκέτο Πεισιστράτῳ, εἰ βούλιοτο ὁ τῆς θυγατέρα ἔχειν γυναικεῖα ἐπὶ τῇ τυραννίδι. ἐνδεχεσί μέν δὲ τὸν λόγον καὶ ὁμολογήσαντος ἐπὶ τούτους Πεισιστράτου, μηχανώντας δὴ ἐπὶ τῇ κατόδῳ πρήγμα εὐθέστατον, ὡς ἐγὼ εὐρίσκω, μακρῷ, ἐπεὶ γε ἀπεκρίθη ἐκ παλαιτέρου τοῦ βαρβάρου ἐθνος τῷ Ἑλληνικῷ ἐὸν καὶ δεξιώτερον καὶ εὐθείας ἡλιθίου ἀπηλλαγμένου μᾶλλον, εἰ καὶ τότε γε οὕτως ἐν Ἀθηναῖοις τούτοι πρότοις λεγομένοις εἰναὶ Ἑλλήνων σοφίν μηχανῶνται τοιάδε. ἐν τῷ δὴ μήμω τῷ Παιανεί ἡ γυνὴ τῇ οὖν τὴν Φύτη, μέγαθος ἀπὸ τεσσέρων πηχέων ἀπολείπομενα τρεῖς δακτύλους καὶ ἀλλος εὐειδὴς ταύτη τὴν γυναῖκα σκευάσαντες πανοπλίης, ἐς ἀρμα ἑσσβιάσαντες καὶ προδέξαντες σχῆμα οἴνον τὶ ἔμελλε εὐπρεπεστὰτον φανεσθαί ἔχουσα, ἡλαυνοῦ ἐς τὸ ἀστυ, προδρόμους κήρυκας προπέμψαντες οὗ τὰ ἐντεταλμένα ἡγόρευον ἀπικόμενοι ἐς τὸ ἀστυ, λέγοντες τοιάδε· "Ἄθηναι, δέκεσθε ἄγαθῳ νῷ Πεισιστράτον, τὸν
with Pisistratus rose and took the Acropolis; and Pisistratus ruled the Athenians, disturbing in no way the order of offices nor changing the laws, but governing the city according to its established constitution and ordering all things fairly and well.

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

¹ Local division of Attica.
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αυτὴ ἡ Ἀθηναίη τιμήσασα ἀνθρώπων μάλιστα κατάγει ἐς τὴν ἐνωτῆς ἀκρόπολιν." οἱ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα διαφορέντες ἔλεγον. αὐτίκα δὲ ἐς τε τοὺς δήμους φάτις ἀπίκετο ὡς Ἀθηναίη Πεισίστρατον κατάγει, καὶ οἱ ἐν τῷ ἀστεί πειθόμενοι τὴν γυναῖκα εἶναι αὐτὴν τὴν θεόν προσεύχοντο τε τὴν ἀνθρώπου καὶ ἐδέκοντο Πεισίστρατον.

61. Ἀπολαβὼν δὲ τὴν τυραννίδα τρόπῳ τῷ εἰρημένῳ ὁ Πεισίστρατος κατὰ τὴν ὁμολογίαν τὴν πρὸς Μεγακλέα γενομένην γαμέει τοῦ Μεγακλέος τὴν θυγατέρα. οἶνα δὲ παῖδων τὲ οἱ υπαρχόντων νεηνεὼν καὶ λεγομένων ἐναγέων εἶναι τοῦ Ἀλκμεωνίδεων, οὐ βουλόμενοι οἱ γενέσθαι ἐκ τῆς νεογάμου γυναικὸς τέκνα ἐμίσγετο οἱ οὐ κατὰ νόμον. τὰ μὲν γὰρ πρῶτα ἐκρυπτε ταῦτα ᾗ γυνῆ, μετὰ δὲ εἶτε ιστορεύσῃ εἶτε καὶ οὐ φαίζει τῇ ἐνωτῆς μητρί, ἢ δὲ τῷ ἀνδρί. ὅργη δὲ ὡς εἶχε καταλλάσσετο τὴν ἔχθρην τοῖς στασιώτησι. μαθὼν δὲ ὁ Πεισίστρατος τὰ ποιεύμενα ἐπὶ ἐνωτῷ ἀπαλλάσσετο ἐκ τῆς χώρης τὸ παράπαν, ἀπικόμενος δὲ ἐς Ἐρέτριαν ἐβουλεύετο ἀμα τοῦτό παίσι. Ἰππίεω δὲ γυνώμη νυκτήσατος ἀνακατάθηκα ὅπισώ τῆς τυραννίδας, ἐνθαῦτα ᾧγερον δωτίνας ἐκ τῶν πολίων αὐτινὲς σφι προαιδεύουν καὶ τι. πολλῶν δὲ μεγάλα παρασχόντων χρήματα, Θηβαῖοι υπερβάλουν τῇ δόσι τῶν χρημάτων. μετὰ δὲ, οὐ πολλῷ λόγῳ εἰπεῖν, χρόνος διέφυ καὶ πάντα ἐφι ἐξήρτυ τοῖς τὸν κάτοδον καὶ γὰρ Ἀργείου μισθωτοῦ ἀπίκουτο ἐκ Πελοπονησίου, καὶ Νάξιος σφι ἀνήρ ἀπυγμένος ἔθελοντη, τῷ οὖνομα ἤν Δύγδαμις, προθυμία πλείστην παρείχετο, κομίσας καὶ χρήματα καὶ ἄνδρας.

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herself honoured beyond all men and was bringing back to her own citadel.” So the heralds went about and spoke thus: immediately it was reported in the demes that Athene was bringing Pisistratus back, and the townsfolk, persuaded that the woman was indeed the goddess, worshipped this human creature and welcomed Pisistratus.

61. Having won back his sovereignty in the manner which I have shown, Pisistratus married Megacles’ daughter according to his agreement with Megacles. But as he had already young sons, and the Alcmeonid family were said to be under a curse, he had no wish that his newly wed wife should bear him children, and therefore had wrongful intercourse with her. At first the woman hid the matter: presently she told her mother (whether being asked or not, I know not) and the mother told her husband. Megacles was very angry that Pisistratus should do him dishonour: and in his wrath he made up his quarrel with the other faction. Pisistratus, learning what was afoot, went by himself altogether away from the country, and came to Euboea, where he took counsel with his sons. The counsel of Hippias prevailing, that they should recover the sovereignty, they set to collecting gifts from all cities which owed them some requital. Many of these gave great sums, the Thebans more than any, and in course of time, not to make a long story, all was ready for their return: for they brought Argive mercenaries from Peloponnesus, and there came also of his own free will a man of Naxos called Lygdamis, who was most zealous in their cause and brought them money and men.
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62. Ἐξ Ἕρετρίης δὲ ὀρμηθέντες διὰ ἐνδεκάτου ἕτεος ἀπίκοντο ὁπίσω, καὶ πρῶτον τῆς Ἀττικῆς ἰσχύος Μαραθώνα. ἐν δὲ τούτῳ τῷ χώρῳ σφι στρατοπεδευμένοισι οἱ τε ἐκ τοῦ ἀστεοῦ στασίωται ἀπίκοντο ἄλλοι τε ἐκ τῶν δήμων προσέρχοντας, τούτι ἡ τυραννίς πρὸ ἑλευθερίης ἤν ἀσπαστότερον. οὗτοι μὲν δὴ συνηλίζοντο, Ἀθηναίων δὲ οἱ ἐκ τοῦ ἀστεοῦ, ἕως μὲν Πεισίστρατος τὰ χρήματα ἥγειρε, καὶ μεταυτίς ὡς ἐσχέ Μαραθώνα, λόγον οὐδένα εἶχον. ἐπείτε δὲ ἐπύθοντο ἐκ τοῦ Μαραθώνος αὐτῶν πορεύεσθαι ἐπὶ τὸ ἀστυ, οὔτω δὴ βοηθείσαι ἐπί αὐτῶν. καὶ οὕτω τε παντοτραπῆ ἦσαν ἐπὶ τοὺς κατίστας, καὶ οἱ ἀμφὶ Πεισίστρατον, ὡς ὀρμηθέντες ἐκ Μαραθὼν ἦσαν ἐπὶ τὸ ἀστυ, ἐς τῶντο συνιόντες ἀπικυνεύοντας ἐπὶ Παλληνίδος Ἀθηναίης ἱρῶν, καὶ ἀντία ἔθεντο τὰ ὁπλα. ἐνθαύτα θείῃ πομπῆ χρεώμενου παρίσταται Πεισίστράτῳ Ἀμφίλυτος ὁ Ακαρνάν χορσμολόγος ἀνήρ, δέ οἱ προσιων χρᾶ ἐν ἐξαμέτρῳ τάνῳ τάδε λέγων:

„Ἐρριπτάτε δ' ὁ βόλος, τὸ δὲ δίκτυν έκσεπτάτεσται, θύννοι δ' οἰμήσουσι σεληναίης διὰ νυκτός.“

63. Ο μὲν δὴ οἱ ἐνθεάζον χρᾶ τάδε, Πεισίστρατος δὲ συλλαβῶν τὸ χρηστήριον καὶ φᾶς δέκεσθαι τὸ χρησθὲν ἐπήγα τὴν στρατην. Ἀθηναίοι δὲ οἱ ἐκ τοῦ ἀστεοῦ πρὸς ἀριστον τετραμμένοι ἦσαν δὴ τηρικαύτα, καὶ μετὰ τὸ ἀριστον μετεξέτεροι αὐτῶν οἱ μὲν πρὸς κύβους οἱ δὲ πρὸς ὑπνον. οἱ δὲ ἀμφὶ Πεισίστρατον ἔσπεσόντες τοὺς Ἀθηναίους τράπονται. φευγόντων δὲ τούτων βουλήν ἐνθαύτα σοφοτάτην Πεισίστρατος ἐπιτε-
BOOK I. 62–63

62. So after ten years they set out from Eretria and returned home. The first place in Attica which they took and held was Marathon: and while encamped there they were joined by their partisans from the city, and by others who flocked to them from the country demes—men who loved the rule of one more than freedom. These, then, assembled; but the Athenians in the city, who, while Pisistratus was collecting money and afterwards when he had taken Marathon, made no account of it, did now, when they learnt that he was marching from Marathon against Athens, set out to attack him. They came out with all their force to meet the returning exiles. Pisistratus' men, in their march from Marathon towards the city, encountered the enemy when they had reached the temple of Pallenian Athene, and encamped face to face with them. There (by the providence of heaven) Pisistratus met Amphilytus the Acarnanian, a diviner, who came to him and prophesied as follows in hexameter verses:

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

63. So spoke Amphilytus, being inspired; Pisistratus understood him, and, saying that he received the prophecy, led his army against the enemy. The Athenians of the city had at this time gone to their breakfast, and after breakfast some betook themselves to dicing and some to sleep: they were attacked by Pisistratus' men and put to flight. So they fled, and Pisistratus devised a very subtle plan to keep
Χνάται, ὅκως μήτε ἀληθεῖεν ἔτι ὁ ᾿Αθηναῖοι διεσκέδασμένοι τοὺς παιδας ἐπὶ ἵππους προπεπμπτε, οὐ δὲ καταλαμβάνοντες τοὺς φεύγοντας ἔλεγον τὰ ἐντεταλμένα ὑπὸ Πεισιστράτου, θαρσεῖν τε κελεύοντες καὶ ἀπείναι ἐκαστὸν ἐπὶ τὰ ἔωτον.

64. Πειθομένων δὲ τῶν ᾿Αθηναίων, οὐτὸ δὴ Πεισιστράτος τὸ τρίτον σχῶν ᾿Αθῆνας ἔρριξοσθε τὴν τυρραννίδα ἐπικούρουσί τε πολλοῖσι καὶ χρημάτων συνόδοισι, τῶν μὲν αὐτόθεν τῶν δὲ ἀπὸ Στρυμόνος ποταμοῦ συνιόττων, ὁμήρους τε τῶν παραμεινάντων ᾿Αθηναίων καὶ μὴ αὐτίκα φυγόντων παιδας λαβών καὶ καταστήσας ἐς Νάξον (καὶ γὰρ ταύτην ὁ Πεισιστράτος κατεστρέψατο πολέμω καὶ ἐπέτρεψε Λυγδάμι), πρὸς τε ἐτὶ τούτοις τὴν νῆσον Δήλου καθήρας ἐκ τῶν λογίων, καθήρας δὲ ὁδε ἐπʼ ὅς ἔσοιες τοῦ ἱροῦ εἶχε, ἐκ τούτου τοῦ χώρου παντὸς ἐξορύξας τοὺς νεκροὺς μετεφόρει ἐς ἄλλον χῶρον τῆς Δήλου. καὶ Πεισιστράτος μὲν ἐτυράννευε ᾿Αθηνέων, ᾿Αθηναίων δὲ οἱ μὲν ἐν τῇ μάχῃ ἐπεττάκεσαν, οἱ δὲ αὐτῶν μετ᾽ Ὀλκιμεωνίδων ἔφευγον ἐκ τῆς οἰκηίσ.

65. Τοὺς μὲν νυν ᾿Αθηναίους τοιαῦτα τὸν χρόνον τούτον ἐπυνθάνετο ὁ Κροίδος κατέχοντα, τοὺς δὲ Δακεδαιμόνιους ἐκ κακῶν τε μεγάλων πεφευγότας καὶ ἔοντας ἢδη τῷ πολέμῳ κατυπερτέρους Τεγεητέων. ἐπὶ γὰρ Δέοντος βασιλεύουσι καὶ Ἁγησικλέος ἐν Σπάρτῃ τοὺς ἄλλους πολέμους εὐτυχεώντες οἱ Δακεδαιμόνιοι πρὸς Τεγεητας μοῦνος προσέπταιον. τὸ δὲ ἐτὶ πρότερον τούτων καὶ κακονομώτατοι ἦσαν σχεδὸν πάντων ᾿Ελλήνων κατά τε σφέας αὐτοὺς καὶ ξείνουσι ἀπρόσμενοι. 74
BOOK I. 63-65

them scattered and prevent their assembling again: he mounted his sons and bade them ride forward: they overtook the fugitives and spoke to them as they were charged by Pisistratus, bidding them take heart and depart each man to his home.

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

65. Croesus learnt, then, that such at this time was the plight of the Athenians: the Lacedaemonians, as he heard, had escaped from great calamities, and had by this time got the upper hand of the men of Tegea in their war; for in the kingship of Leon and Hegesicles at Sparta, the Lacedaemonians were victorious in their other wars, but against Tegea alone they met with no success. And not only so, but before this they were the worst governed of well nigh all the Greeks, having little intercourse among themselves or with strangers.
κτοὶ μετέβαλον δὲ ὅδε ἐς εὔνομίην. Δυκούργοι τῶν Σπαρτητέων δοκίμου ἀνδρὸς ἐλθόντος ἐς Δελφοὺς ἐπὶ τὸ χρυστήριον, ὡς ἐσήμε ἐς τὸ μέγαρον, εὐθὺς ἡ Πυθίη λέγει τάδε.

“Ἡκεῖς ὁ Δυκόοργη ἐμὸν ποτὶ πίονα νηῶν Ζηνί φίλος καὶ πᾶσιν Ὄλυμπια δῶματ᾽ ἔχοισι. δίζω ἡ σε θεὸν μαντεύσομαι ἡ ἀνθρώπον. ἀλλά ἔτι καὶ μᾶλλον θεὸν ἐλπομαι, ὁ Δυκόοργη.”

οὐ μὲν δὴ τινὲς πρὸς τούτοις λέγοντι καὶ φράσαι αὐτῷ τὴν Πυθίην τὸν υἱὸν κατεστεώτα κόσμον Σπαρτητῆς. ὡς δὲ αὐτοὶ Δακεδαῖμονιοι λέγοντι, Δυκούργοι ἐπιτροπεύσαντα Δεσβώτεως, ἀδελφοί δὲν ἐωτοὺ βασιλεύοντος δὲ Σπαρτητέων, ἐκ Κρήτης ἄγαγεσθαι ταῦτα. ὡς γὰρ ἐπητρόπευσε τάχιστα, μετέστησε τὰ νόμιμα πάντα, καὶ ἐφύλαξε ταῦτα μὴ παραβαίνειν μετὰ δὲ τὰ ἐς πόλεμον ἔχοντα, ἐνωμοτίας καὶ τριηκάδας καὶ συσσίτια, πρὸς τε τούτοις τοὺς ἐφόρους καὶ γέρωντας ἑστήσει Δυκούργος.

66. Οὐτὼ μὲν μεταβαλόντες εὐνομήθησαν, τῷ δὲ Δυκούργῳ τελευτήσαντι ἤρον εἰςάμενοι σέβονται μεγάλως. οἶα δὲ ἐν τε χώρῃ ἁγαθῇ καὶ πλήθει όυκ ὁλίγων ἄνδρῶν, ἀνά τε ἔδραμον αὐτίκα καὶ εὐθυνήθησαν, καὶ δὴ σφί οὐκέτι ἀπέχερα ἱσχυίην ἄγειν, ἀλλὰ καταφρονήσαντες Ἀρκάδων κρέσσους εἶναι ἐχρηστηράξοντο ἐν Δελφοῖς ἐπὶ πάση τῇ Ἀρκάδῳ χώρῃ. ἡ δὲ Πυθίη σφὶ χρὰ τάδε.

76
Thus then they changed their laws for the better:—
Lycurgus, a notable Spartan, visited the oracle at
Delphi, and when he entered the temple hall,
straightway the priestess gave him this response:

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

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

66. So they changed their bad laws for good ones,
and when Lycurgus died they built him a shrine
and now greatly revere him. Then, since their land
was good and their men were many, very soon they
began to flourish and prosper. Nor were they
satisfied to remain at peace: but being assured that
they were stronger than the Arcadians, they inquired
of the oracle at Delphi, with their minds set on the
whole of Arcadia. The Pythian priestess gave them
this reply:
HERODOTUS

“'Αρκαδίην μ’ αἴτεις· μέγα μ’ αἴτεις· οὐ τοι δώσω. πολλοὶ ἐν ‘Αρκαδίᾳ βαλανηφάγοι ἄνδρες ἐσιν, οἳ σ’ ἀποκωλύσουσιν. ἐγὼ δὲ τοι οὕτι μεγαίρω· δῶσω τοι Τεγέην ποσσίκροτον ὀρχήσασθαι καὶ καλῶν πεδίων σχοίνῳ διαμετρήσασθαι.”

ταῦτα ὡς ἀπενειχθέντα ἦκουσαν οἱ Λακεδαιμό-νιοι, Ἀρκάδων μὲν τῶν ἄλλων ἀπείχοντο, οὐ δὲ πέδας φερόμενοι ἐπὶ Τεγέητας ἑστρατεύοντο, χρη-σμῷ κιβδήλῳ πίσυνοι, ὡς δὴ ἔξανδραποδιούμενοι τοὺς Τεγέητας. ἐσσωθέντες δὲ τῇ συμβολῇ, ὡσοὶ αὐτῶν ἐξωγρήθησαν, πέδας τε ἔχοντες τὰ ἐφέροντο αὐτοὶ καὶ σχοίνῳ διαμετρησάμενοι τὸ πεδίον τὸ Τεγεητέων ἐργάζοντο. αἱ δὲ πέδαι αὐταὶ ἐν τῇ σι ἔδεδεατο ἐτὶ καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ ἔσαν σῶς ἐν Τεγέη, περὶ τὸν νηὸν τῆς Ἀλέης Ἀθηναίης κρεμάμεναι.

67. Κατὰ μὲν δὴ τὸν πρότερον πόλεμον συνε-χέως αἰεὶ κακῶς ἁέθλευον πρὸς τοὺς Τεγεητάς, κατὰ δὲ τὸν κατὰ Κροίσον χρόνον καὶ τὴν Ἀνα-ξανδρίδεω τε καὶ Ἀριστώνος βασιλείην ἐν Λακε-δαίμονι ἦδη οἱ Σπαρτητήται κατυπέρτεροι τῷ πο-λέμῳ ἐγεγόνεσαν, τρόπῳ τοιῷδε γενόμενοι. ἐπειδὴ αἰεὶ τῷ πολέμῳ ἐσσοῦντο ὑπὸ Τεγεητέων, πέμψαν-τες θεσπρόπους ἐς Δελφοὺς ἐπειρώτων τίνα ἄν θεῶν ἠλασάμενοι κατύπερθε τῷ πολέμῳ Τεγεητέων γενόιτο. ἡ δὲ Πυθίη σφι ἔχρησε τα Ὄρεστεω τοῦ Ἀγαμέμνονος ὀστέα ἐπαγαγομένους. ὅς δὲ

78
BOOK I. 66-67

"Askest Arcadia from me? 'Tis a boon too great for the giving.
Many Arcadians there are, stout heroes, eaters of acorns,—
These shall hinder thee sore. Yet 'tis not I that begrudge thee:
Lands Tegeaean I'll give thee, to smite with feet in the dancing,
Also the fertile plain with line I'll give thee to measure."

When this was brought back to the ears of the Lacedaemonians, they let the rest of the Arcadians be, and marched against the men of Tegea carrying fetters with them; for they trusted in the quibbling oracle and thought they would enslave the Tegeans. But they were worsted in the encounter, and those of them who were taken captive were made to till the Tegean plain, wearing the fetters which they themselves had brought and measuring the land with a line.¹ These fetters, in which they were bound, were still in my time kept safe at Tegea, where they were hung round the temple of Athene Alea.

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

¹ That is, mapping the land out for cultivation.
HERODOTUS

ἀνευρείν οὐκ οἷό τε ἐγίνοντο τὴν θήκην τοῦ Ὄρε-στεο, ἔπεμπον αὕτις τὴν ἐς θεόν ἐπειρησομένους τὸν χῶρον ἐν τῷ κέοιτο Ὅρεστης. εἰρωτώσι δὲ ταύτα τοῖς θεοπρόποιοι λέγει ἡ Πυθία τάδε.

"Ἐστὶ τις Ἀρκαδίης Τεγέη λευρὶ ἐν χῶρῳ,
ἐνθ’ ἄνεμοι πνείουσι δύοι κρατερῆς ὑπ’ ἀνάγκης,
καὶ τύπος ἀντίτυπος, καὶ πήμ’ ἐπὶ πῆματι
κεῖται.

ἐνθ’ Ἀγαμεμνονίδην κατέχει φυσίζοος αἰα,
τὸν σὺ κομμασάμενος Τεγέης ἐπιτάρροθος ἔσθη."
tomb, they sent their messengers again to the god to ask of the place where Orestes lay: and the priestess said in answer to their question:

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

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

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

\[\text{\( \tau \nu \varepsilon \, \theta \epsilon \nu \), explained as \( \tau \nu \varepsilon \, \theta \epsilon \nu \, \delta \delta \nu \). \( \tau \nu \varepsilon \theta \epsilon \nu \) (\( = \) the inspired one: after \( \epsilon \tau \pi \epsilon \rho \nu \sigma \omega \mu \epsilon \nu \sigma \nu \) would be an easy correction. But all MSS. have \( \varepsilon \, \theta \epsilon \nu \).} \]
μαζεσ, ὀκου νῦν οὕτω τυγχάνεις θώμα ποιεύμενος τὴν ἐργασίαν τοῦ σιδήρου. ἐγὼ γὰρ ἐν τῇδε θέλω τῇ αὐλῇ φρέαρ ποιήσασθαι, ὀρύσσων ἐπέτυχον σορῷ ἐπταπήχει, ὅπο δὲ ἀπιστίας μὴ μὲν γενέσθαι μηδαμὰ μέξονας ἀνθρώπους τῶν νῦν ἀνοιξά αὐτὴν καὶ εἰδον τῶν νεκρῶν μὴκει ἵσον ἐόντα τῇ σορῷ μετρήσας δὲ συνέχωσα ὅπεσώ." ὑ μὲν δὴ ὦι ἔλεγε τὰ περ ὅπως ἐστί. δὲ ἐννώσας τὰ λεγόμενα συνεβάλλει τὸν Ὁρέστεα κατὰ τὸ θεοπρόπιον τοῦτον εἶναι, τῇδε συμβαλλόμενος τοῦ χαλκεὸς δύο ὅρεων φύσας τοὺς ἀνέμους εὐρισκε ἐόντας, τὸν δὲ ἀκμονὰ καὶ τὴν σφύραν τὸν τε τύπου καὶ τὸν ἀντίτυπον, τὸν δὲ ἐξελαυνόμενον σίδηρον τὸ πῆμα ἐπὶ πῆματι κείμενον, κατὰ τοιαύτες τι εἰκάζων, ὡς ἐπὶ κακῷ ἀνθρώπου σίδηρος ἀνεύρητας. συμβαλλόμενος δὲ ταύτα καὶ ἄπελθων ἐς Σπάρτην ἔφραξε Δακεδαιμονίοις τὸν τὸ πρήγμα. οὐ δὲ ἐκ λόγου πλαστοῦ ἐπενείκαντες οἱ αὐτίην ἐδὼξεν. δὲ ἀπικόμενος ἐς Τεγέην καὶ φράζων τὴν ἔως τοῦ συμφορῆς πρὸς τὸν χαλκεὰ ἐμοῦ θοῦτον παρ’ οὐκ ἐκδιόντος τὴν αὐλὴν χρόνῳ δὲ ὡς ἀνέγνωσε, ἔνυκισθη, ἀνορύξας δὲ τὸν τάφον καὶ τὰ ὀστέα συλλέξας οἶχετο φέρων ἐς Σπάρτην. καὶ ἄπο τοῦτο τοῦ χρόνου, ὅκως πειράτο ἀλλήλων, πολλῷ κατυπέρετοι τῷ πολέμῳ ἐγώνυντο οἱ Δακεδαιμόνιοι ἦδη δὲ σφί καὶ ἴ πολλὴ τῆς Πελοποννήσου ἦν κατεστραμμένη.

69. Ταῦτα δὴ ὅν πάντα πυνθανόμενος ὁ Κροίσος ἐπεμπεῖ ἐς Σπάρτην ἀγγελοὺς δῷρὰ τε φέροντας καὶ δησομένους συμμαχίας, ἐνετιλάμενος τε τὰ λέγειν χρῆν. οὐ δὲ ἐλθόντες ἔλεγεν "Ἐπεμπέσε ἡμέας Κροίσος ὁ Δυδῶν τε καὶ ἄλλων ἐθνῶν
BOOK I. 68–69

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

69. Croesus, then, being made aware of all this sent messengers to Sparta with gifts, to ask an alliance in words with which he charged them. They came, and said: “Croesus, King of Lydia and other
HERODOTUS

βασιλεύς, λέγων τάδε. Ὡ Δακεδαίμονιοι, χρησάντος τοῦ θεοῦ τῶν Ἑλλήνων φίλων προσθέσθαι, ὑμέας γὰρ πυνθάνομαι προσετάναι τῆς Ἑλλάδος, ὑμέας ὃν κατὰ τὸ χρηστήριον προσκαλέομαι φίλος τε θέλων γενέσθαι καὶ σύμμαχος ἀνευ τε δόλου καὶ ἀπάτης." Κροίσσος μὲν δὴ ταῦτα δι’ ἀγγέλουν ἐπεκηρυκεύετο, Δακεδαίμονιοι δὲ ἀκηκούστε καὶ αὐτοὶ τὸ θεοπρόπιον τὸ Κροίσσῳ γενόμενον ἠκούσαν τε τῇ ἀπίξῃ τῶν Λυδῶν καὶ ἐποιήσαντο ὅρκια ξενίας πέρι καὶ συμμαχίας. καὶ γὰρ τινὲς αὐτοῖς εὐνεργεσία εἰχον ἐκ Κροίσσου πρότερον ἔτι γεγονοῦναι. πέμψαντες γὰρ οἱ Δακεδαίμονιοι ἔς Σάρδας χρυσὸν ὄνεοντα, ἐς ἀγαλμα βουλόμενοι χρήσασθαι τούτῳ τὸ νῦν τῆς Δακωνικῆς ἐν Θόρνακι ἴδρυται Ἀπόλλωνος. Κροίσσος δὲ σφὶ ωνεόμενοι ἔδωκε δωτίνην.

70. Τούτων τε δὲ εἶνεκεν οἱ Δακεδαίμονιοι τὴν συμμαχίαν ἐδέξαντο, καὶ ὅτι ἐκ πάντων σφέας προκρίνας Ἑλλήνων αἱρέτοι φίλους. καὶ τοῦτο μὲν αὐτοὶ ἤσαν ἔτοιμοι ἐπαγγείλαντο, τοῦτο δὲ ποιησάμενοι κρητὴρα χάλκεον ξυδίων τε ἐξωθεὶν πλήσαντες περὶ τὸ χεῖλος καὶ μεγαθεὶ τρικοσιοντα ἀμφορέας χωρέοντα ἠγοι, δόχων βουλόμενοι ἀντιδοῦναι Κροίσσῳ. οὗτος δὲ κρητὴρ ὅπικετο ἐς Σάρδας δι’ αἰτίας διφασίας λεγομένας τάσδε οἱ μὲν Δακεδαίμονιοι λέγουσι ὡς ἐπείτε ἀγόμενος ἐς τὰς Σάρδας ὁ κρητὴρ ἐγίνετο κατὰ τὴν Σαμῖν, πυθόμενοι Σάμωι ἀπελοίατο αὐτὸν νησὶ μακρῆς ἐπιπλώσαντες. αὐτοί δὲ Σάμωι λέγουσι ὡς ἐπείτε ὑστέρησαν οἱ ἄγοντες τῶν Δακεδαίμων ὅ τὸν κρητήρα, ἐπυνθάνοντο δὲ Σάρδαι τε καὶ Κροίσσων ἠλκέναι, ἀπέδωσαν ὅ τὸν κρητήρα ἐν Σάμῳ, ἰδιώταις 84
nations, has sent us with this message: 'Lacedaemonians! the god has declared that I should make the Greek my friend; now, therefore, as I learn that you are the leaders of Hellas, I do so invite you, as the oracle bids; I would fain be your friend and ally, without deceit or guile.'” Thus Croesus proposed by the mouth of his messengers: and the Lacedaemonians, who had already heard of the oracle given to Croesus, welcomed the coming of the Lydians and swore to be his friends and allies; and indeed they were bound by certain benefits which they had before received from the king. For the Lacedaemonians had sent to Sardis to buy gold, with intent to use it for the statue of Apollo which now stands on Thornax in Laconia; and Croesus, when they would buy it, made a free gift of it to them.

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

1 A mountain north-east of Sparta, overlooking the Eurotas valley.
HERODOTUS

de ándras πριμένους ἀναθεῖναι μὲν ἐς τὸ Ἡραῖον.
tάχα δὲ ἀν καὶ οἱ ἀποδόμενοι λέγουν ἀπικόμενοι
ἐς Σπάρτην ὡς ἀπαριθμήσαν ὑπὸ Σαμῖων. κατὰ
μὲν νυν τὸν κρητήρα οὕτω ἔσχε.

71. Κροίσος δὲ ἀμαρτῶν τοῦ χρησμοῦ ἐποίετο
στρατηγὴν ἐς Καππαδοκίαν, ἐλπίζοις καταρρήσειν
Κύρου τε καὶ τὴν Περσέων δύναμιν. παρασκευα-
ζομένου δὲ Κροίσου στρατεύεσθαι ἐπὶ Πέρσας,
tῶν τὸν τοὺς Δυσὸς νομίζομενος καὶ πρόσθε εἶναι
σοφός, ἀπὸ δὲ ταύτης τῆς γνώμης καὶ τὸ κάρτα
οὐνομα ἐν Δυσὸς ἔχων, συνεβούλευσε Κροίσῳ
tάδε οὔνομα ὡς ἦν Σάνδανις. "Ω βασιλεῦ, ἐπὶ
ἀνδρας τοιούτους στρατεύεσθαι παρασκευάζει,
οὐ σκυτύνας μὲν ἀναξιρίδας σκυτύνην δὲ τῆν ἄλλην
ἐσθήτα φορέοσι, στείρουται δὲ οὐκ ὅσα ἔθελουσι
ἀλλ’ ὅσα ἔχουσι, χώρην ἔχουτες τρηχέαν. πρὸς
δὲ οὖν ὅπως διαχρέωσι ἄλλα ύδροποτέουσι, οὐ
σύκα δὲ ἔχουσι τρώγειν, οὐκ ἄλλο ἁγαθὸν οὔδεν.
τούτῳ μὲν δὴ, εἰ νικήσεις, τὶ σφέας ἀπαιρῆσαι,
τοισὶ γε μὴ ἔστι μηδέν; τούτῳ δὲ, ἢν νικήθης,
μάθε ὅσα ἁγαθὰ ἀποβαλλέσθησι: γευσάμενοι γὰρ
tῶν ἡμετέρων ἁγαθῶν περιέξονται οὔδε ἀπωστολ
ἔσονται. ἐγὼ μὲν νυν θεοίσι ἔχω χάριν, οἵ οὐκ
ἐπὶ νόν ποιέουσι Πέρσηι στρατεύεσθαι ἐπὶ
Δυσὸς." ταύτα λέγων οὐκ ἔπειθε τὸν Κροίσον.
Πέρσηι γὰρ, πρὶν Δυσὸς καταστρέψασθαι, ἦν
οὔτε ἄβρον οὔτε ἁγαθὸν οὔδεν.

72. Οἱ δὲ Καππαδόκαι υπὸ Ἐλλήνων Σύριοι
ὁνομάζονται: ἦσαν δὲ οἱ Σύριοι οὔτοι τὸ μὲν
πρότερον ἢ Πέρσας ἄρξαί Μηδῶν κατήκουν, τότε
dὲ Κύρου. ὁ γὰρ οὔρος ἦν τῆς τε Μηδικῆς ἀρχῆς.
men, who set it up in the the temple of Here. And it may be that the sellers of the bowl, when they returned to Sparta, said that they had been robbed of it by the Samians. Such are the tales about the bowl.

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

72. Now the Cappadocians are called by the Greeks Syrians, and these Syrians before the Persian rule were subjects of the Medes, and, at this time, of Cyrus. For the boundary of the Median
καὶ τῆς Δυσικῆς ὁ Ἀλυς ποταμός, ὃς ρέει ἐξ Ἀρμενίου ὅρασο διὰ Κιλίκων, μετὰ δὲ Ματημούς μὲν ἐν δεξιᾷ ἐχει ρέων, ἐκ δὲ τοῦ ἐτέρου Φρύγας· παραμείβομεν δὲ τούτους καὶ ρέων ἄνω πρὸς Ζωρένν ἄνεμον ἐνευ ρὲν μὲν Συρίους Καππαδόκας ἀπέργει, ἐξ εὐωνύμου δὲ Παφλαγώνας. οὗτος ὁ Ἀλυς ποταμὸς ἀποτάμμει σχεδὸν πάντα τῆς Ἀσίης τὰ κάτω ἐκ θαλάσσης τῆς ἀντίον Κύπρον ἐς τὸν Εὐξεινὸν πόλτυν. ἐστὶ δὲ αὐχὴν οὗτος τῆς χώρης ταύτης ἀπάσης· μῆκος ὅδοι εὐξώνφ ἀνδρί πέντε ἢμέραι ἀνασιμοῦνται.

73. Ἔστερα ἐντεύετο δὲ ὁ Κροίσος ἐπὶ τὴν Καππα- δοκίνη τῶνδε εἴνεκα, καὶ γῆς ἵμερῳ προσκτήσασθαι πρὸς τὴν ἐσοντὸυ μοίραν βουλόμενος, καὶ μᾶλιστα τῷ χρηστηρίῳ πίσυνος ἔως καὶ τίςασθαι θέλων ὑπὲρ Ἀστυνάχεος Κύρου. Ἀστυνάχεος γὰρ τὸν Κυαξάρεω, ἔωντα Κροίσον μὲν γαμβρὸν Μήδων δὲ βασιλέα, Κύρος ὁ Καμβύσεως καταστρεψάμενος εἰχε, γενόμενον γαμβρὸν Κροίσῳ ὅδε. Ὁκυθέων τῶν νομάδων εἰργα ἀνδρῶν στασιάσασα ὑπεξῆλθε ἐς γῆν τὴν Μηδικήν· ἔτυράννευε δὲ τὸν χρόνον τούτον Μήδων Κυαξάρης ὁ Φραόρτεω τοῦ Δηόκεω, δς τοὺς Σκύθας τούτους τὸ μὲν πρῶτον περιείπε εὐ ὅς ἐοντας ἵκετας· ὅστε δὲ περὶ πολλοὶ ποιεό- μενοι αὐτοῦς, παιδᾶς σφι παρέδωκε τὴν γλῶσσάν τε ἐκμαδεῖν καὶ τὴν τέχνην τῶν τόξων. χρόνου δὲ γενομένου, καὶ αἰεὶ φοιτεόντων τῶν Σκύθων ἐπὶ ἀγρην καὶ αἰεὶ τι φερόντων, καὶ κοτε συνήνεικε ἐλείν ὁφεῖς μηδέν· νοστήσαντας δὲ αὐτοὺς κειμήσι

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

73. The reasons of Croesus' expedition against Cappadocia were these: he desired to gain territory in addition to his own share, and (these were the chief causes) he trusted the oracle, and wished to avenge Astyages on Cyrus; for Cyrus, son of Cambyses, had subdued Astyages and held him in subjection. Now Astyages, king of Media, son of Cyaxares, was Croesus' brother-in-law: and this is how he came to be so. A tribe of wandering Scythians separated itself from the rest, and escaped into Median territory. This was then ruled by Cyaxares, son of Phraortes, son of Deioces. Cyaxares at first treated the Scythians kindly, as being suppliants for his mercy; and as he held them in high regard he entrusted boys to their charge to be taught their language and the craft of archery. As time went on, it chanced that the Scythians, who were wont to go hunting and ever to bring something back, once had taken nothing, and when they returned

width from sea to sea of the ἀμφίβατος is obviously much underestimated by Hdt., as also by later writers; the actual distance at the narrowest part is about 280 miles as the crow flies; much more than a five days' march.
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χερσὶ ο Κυαξάρης (Ἡ γάρ, ὡς διέδεξε, ὀργὴν ἀκρος) τρηχέως κάρτα περιέσπε ἀεικείη. οἱ δὲ ταύτα πρὸς Κυαξάρεω παθόντες, ὡστε ἀνάξια σφέων αὐτῶν πεπονθότες, ἐβούλευσαν τῶν παρὰ σφίσι διδασκομένων παίδων ἕνα κατακόψαι, σκευάσαντες δὲ αὐτὸν ὀσπερ ἐώθησαν καὶ τὰ θηρία σκευάζειν, Κυαξάρη δοῦναι φέροντες ὡς ἁγριὰν δὴθεν, δόντες δὲ τὴν ταχύτατην κομίζεσθαι παρὰ Ἀλνάττεα τῶν Σαδυάττεω ἐς Σάρδις. ταύτα καὶ ἐγένετο. καὶ гάρ Κυαξάρης καὶ οἱ παρεόντες δαιτυμόνες τῶν κρεῶν τούτων ἐπάσαντο, καὶ οἱ Σκύθαι ταύτα ποιήσαντες Ἀλνάττεω ἴκεται ἐγένετο.

74. Μετὰ δὲ ταύτα, οὐ γὰρ δὴ ὁ Ἀλνάττης ἐξεδίδον τοὺς Σκύθας ἐξαιτέοντι Κυαξάρη, πόλειμος τοῖς Λυδοῖς καὶ τοῖς Μῆδοις ἐγενόμενε ἐπὶ ἐπειπέντε, ἐν τοῖς πολλάκις μὲν οἱ Μῆδοι τοὺς Λυδοὺς ἐνίκησαν, πολλάκις δὲ οἱ Λυδοὶ τοὺς Μῆδους, ἐν δὲ καὶ νυκτομαχίῃ τινὰ ἐποίησαντο, διαφέρουσι δὲ σφί ἐπὶ ἱσθα τῶν πόλεμων τῷ ἔκτῳ ἐτεῖ συμβολῆ γενομένης συνήκεικε ὡστε τῆς μάχης συνεστώσας τὴν ἡμέρην ἐξαπίνῃς νῦκτα γενέσθαι. τὴν δὲ μεταλλαγὴν ταύτην τῆς ἡμέρης Θαλῆς ο Μιλήσιος τοῖς Ἰωσι προσγόρεσε ἐσεῖδαι, οὗρον προθέμενος ἑναιντῶν τούτων ἐν τῷ δή καὶ ἐγένετο ἡ μεταβολὴ. οἱ δὲ Λυδοὶ τε καὶ οἱ Μῆδοι ἐπείτε εἰδον νῦκτα ἀντὶ ἡμέρης γενομένην, τῆς μάχης τε ἐπαισσαντο καὶ μᾶλλον τι ἔσπευσαν καὶ ἀμφότεροι εἰρήνην ἐωνυτοίσι γενέσθαι.

1 All evidence, historical and astronomical, fixes the date of this eclipse as May 28, 585 B.C. There was another eclipse of the sun in Alyattes' reign, on Sept. 30, 610; but it appears 90
empty-handed, Cyaxares (being, as hereby appeared, prone to anger) treated them very roughly and desperately. The Scythians, deeming themselves wronged by the usage they had from Cyaxares, plotted to take one of the boys who were their pupils and cut him in pieces, then, dressing the flesh as they were wont to dress the animals which they killed, to bring and give it to Cyaxares as if it were the spoils of the chase; and after that, to make their way with all speed to Alyattes son of Sadyattes at Sardis. All this they did. Cyaxares and the guests who feasted with him ate of the boy's flesh, and the Scythians, having done as they planned, fled to Alyattes for protection.

74. After this, seeing that Alyattes would not give up the Scythians to Cyaxares at his demand, there was war between the Lydians and the Medes for five years; each won many victories over the other, and once they fought a battle by night. They were still warring with equal success, when it chanced, at an encounter which happened in the sixth year, that during the battle the day was turned to night. Thales of Miletus had foretold this loss of daylight to the Ionians, fixing it within the year in which the change did indeed happen.¹ So when the Lydians and Medes saw the day turned to night they ceased from fighting, and both were the more zealous to make that this latter was not total in Asia Minor: and Pliny's mention of the phenomenon places it in the 170th year from the foundation of Rome. Thales died at an advanced age in 548 B.C.
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οι δὲ συμβιβάσαντες αὐτοὺς ἦσαν οἶδε, Συέννεσίς τε ὁ Κίλιξ καὶ Δαβύνητος ὁ Βαβυλώνιος. οὗτοὶ σφὶ καὶ τὸ ὅρκιον οἱ σπεύσαντες γενέσθαι ἦσαν καὶ γάμων ἐπαλλαγήν ἐποίησαν Ἀλνάττεα γὰρ ἐγνωσάντες δοῦναι τὴν θυγατέρα Ἀρύτην Ἀστυάγει τῷ Κυαξάρεω παιδι. ἀνευ γὰρ ἀναγκαίης ἵσχυρῆς συμβάσεις ἵσχυρα οὐκ ἔθελονσι συμμένειν. ὅρκια δὲ ποιέσται ταῦτα τὰ ἔθνεα τὰ πέρ τε Ἑλληνες, καὶ πρὸς τούτοις, ἐπεξαν τοὺς βραχίονας ἐπιτάμωνται ἐς τὴν ὁμοχροῖν, τὸ αἷμα ἀναλείχουσι ἀλλήλων.

75. Τοῦτον δὴ ὄν τὸν Ἀστυάγεια Κύρος ἐσώτερον ἐσώτερον μητροπάτορα καταστρεψάμενος ἔσχε δὲ αὐτῆς τῆς ἐγω ἐν τοῖς ὁπίσω λόγοις σημανέως τὰ Κροίσους ἐπιμεμφόμενος τῷ Κύρῳ ἐς τὰ τὰ χρηστήρια ἐστεμπεὶ εἰ στρατεύσηται ἐπὶ Πέρσας, καὶ δὴ καὶ ἀπεικομένου χρησμοῦ κιβδήλου, ἐλπίσας πρὸς ἐσώτερον τὸν χρησμὸν εἶναι, ἐστρατεύετο ἐς τὴν Περσέων μοίραν. ὡς δὲ ἀπίκετο ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀλνυν ποταμὸν ὁ Κροίσος, τὸ ἐνθεῖτεν, ὡς μὲν ἐγὼ λέγω, κατὰ τὰς ἑσύσας γεφύρας διεβίβασε τὸν στρατόν, ὡς δὲ ὁ πολλὸς λόγος Ἑλλήνων, Θαλῆς οἱ ὁ Μιλήσιοι διεβίβασε. ἀπορεῶντος γὰρ Κροίσος οὐκ ὁ διαβήσεται τὸν ποταμὸν ῥοῖστος (οὐ γὰρ δὴ ἐναὶ καὶ τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον τὰς γεφύρας ταῦτας) λέγεται παρεύρονται τὸν Θαλῆν ἐν τῷ στρατόπεδῳ ποιῆσαι αὐτῷ τὸν ποταμὸν ἐξ ἀμυντήρις χειρὸς ρέουτα τοῦ στρατοῦ καὶ ἐκ δεξιῆς ἰδείας, ποιῆσαι δὲ ὁδὼν τοῦ στρατοπεδοῦ ἀρχάμενον διώρυχα βαθέαν ὀρύσσειν, ἀγοῦν μηνοειδέα, οὐκ ἂν τὸ στρατόπεδον ἱδρυμένον κατὰ νότου λάβοι, ταύτῃ κατὰ τὴν διώρυχα
BOOK I. 74–75

peace. Those who reconciled them were Syennessis the Cilician and Labynetus the Babylonian; they it was who brought it about that there should be a sworn agreement and an exchange of wedlock between them: they adjudged that Alyattes should give his daughter Aryenis to Astyages, son of Cyaxares; for without a strong bond agreements will not keep their strength. These nations make sworn compacts as do the Greeks; moreover, they cut the skin of their arms and lick each other’s blood.

75. This Astyages then was Cyrus’ mother’s father, and was by him subdued and held subject for the reason which I shall presently declare. Having this cause of quarrel with Cyrus, Croesus sent to ask the oracles if he should march against the Persians; and when a quibbling answer came he thought it to be favourable to him, and so led his army to the Persian territory. When he came to the river Halys, he transported his army across it,—by the bridges, as I hold, which then were there; but the general belief of the Greeks is that the army was carried across by Thales of Miletus. This is the story: As the bridges aforesaid did not then yet exist, Croesus knew not how his army should pass the river: then Thales, being in the encampment, made the river, which flowed on the left hand, flow also on the right of the army in the following way. Starting from a point on the river higher up than the camp, he dug a deep semicircular trench, so that the stream, turned from its ancient course, should flow in the trench to the rear of the
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ἐκτραπόμενος ἐκ τῶν ἀρχαίων ἰεέθρων, καὶ αὕτις παραμεθώμενος τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐς τὰ ἀρχαία ἐσβάλλω. ὥστε ἐπείτε καὶ ἐσχίσθη τάχιστα ὁ ποταμός, ἄμφοτέρως διαβατὸς ἐγένετο. οὐ δὲ καὶ τὸ παράταν λέγομεν καὶ τὸ ἀρχαῖον ἰεέθρον ἀποξηραθήναι. ἀλλὰ τοῦτο μὲν οὐ προσέμεια· κἂς γὰρ ὁπίσω πορευόμενοι διέβησαν αὐτοὺς;

76. Κροίσος δὲ ἐπείτε διαβὰς σὺν τῷ στρατῷ ἀπίκετο τῆς Καππαδοκίας ἐς τὴν Πτερίνη καλεομένην (ἡ δὲ Πτερίνη ἐστὶ τῆς χώρης ταύτης τὸ ἰσχυρότατον, κατὰ Σινώπην πόλιν τὴν ἐν Εὐξέινῳ πόντῳ μάλιστα κῆ κειμένη), ἐνθαῦτα ἐστρατοπεδεύετο φθείρων τῶν Συρίων τοὺς κλήρους· καὶ εἶλε μὲν τῶν Πτερίων τὴν πόλιν καὶ ἠνδραποδίσατο, εἶλε δὲ τὰς περιοικίδας αὐτῆς πάσας, Συρίων τε οὐδὲν ἔοντας αἰτίους ἀναστάτους ἐποίησε. Κύρος δὲ ἀγείρας τῶν ἐωτοῦ στρατόν καὶ παραλαβὼν τοὺς μεταξὺ οὐκέοντας πάντας ήμισυστῆτο Κροίσῳ. ἤπειρον δὲ ἐξελάνυεν ὀρμήσας τῶν στρατῶν, πέμψας κήρυκας ἐς τοὺς Ἰωνας ἐπειράτο μὲν σφέας ἀπὸ Κροίσου ἀπιστάναι. Ἰωνες μὲν νυν οὐκ ἐπείδοντο. Κύρος δὲ ὡς ἀπίκετο καὶ ἀντεστρατοπεδεύσατο Κροίσῳ, ἐνθαῦτα ἐν τῇ Πτερίνῃ χώρῃ ἐπειρώντο κατὰ τὸ ἱσχυρὸν ἄλληλων. μάχαις δὲ καρτέρης γενομένης καὶ πεσόντων ἄμφοτέρω τολλῶν, τέλος οὐδέτεροι νικήσαντες διέστησαν νυκτὸς ἐπελθούσῃς. καὶ τὰ μὲν στρατόπεδα ἄμφοτερα οὕτω ἡγομνύσατο.

77. Κροίσος δὲ μεμφθείς κατὰ τὸ πλήθος τὸ ἐωτοῦ στράτευμα (ἡ γὰρ οἱ ὁ συμβαλὼν στρατὸς τολλῶν ἐλάσσων ἢ ὁ Κύρου), τούτο μεμφθείς, ὡς

1 [τὸ] Stein.
BOOK I. 75-77

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

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

77. Croesus was not content with the number of his force, for his army which had fought was by far smaller than that of Cyrus; therefore, seeing that on
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τῇ ύστεραιῃ οὐκ ἐπειρᾶτο ἐπιδῶν ὁ Κύρος, ἄπη-
λαυνε ἐς τὰς Σάρδις, ἐν νῷ έχων παρακαλέσας
μὲν Ἀιγυπτίους κατὰ τὸ ὄρκιον (ἔποιήσατο γὰρ
καὶ πρὸς Ἀμασίων βασιλεύοντα Αἰγύπτου συμ-
μαχίην πρότερον ἣ περ πρὸς Λακεδαίμονίους),
μεταπεμψάμενος δὲ καὶ Βαβυλωνίους (καὶ γὰρ
πρὸς τούτους αὐτῷ ἐπεποίητο συμμαχίη, ἐτυράν-
νευς δὲ τὸν χρόνον τούτον τῶν Βαβυλωνίων
Δαβύτης), ἐπαγγείλας δὲ καὶ Λακεδαίμονίους,
παρεῖναι ἐς χρόνον ῥήτων, ἀλώς τε ἐς τὸν
tὴν ἐωτοῦ συλλέξας στρατὶς ἐνέωτο, τὸν
χειμῶνα παρεῖς, ἀμα τῷ ἔαρι στρατεύειν ἐπὶ
tοὺς Πέρσας. καὶ δὲ μὲν ταῦτα φρονέων, ὡς ἀπίκετο
ἐς τὰς Σάρδις, ἔπεμπτε κηρύκας κατὰ τὰς συμ-
μαχίας προερέουται ἐς πέμπτον μῆνα συνάλλαγος
ἐς Σάρδις· τὸν δὲ παρεόντα καὶ μακεσάμενον
στρατὸν Πέρσης, δὲ ἦν αὐτοῦ ξεινίκος, πάντα
ἀπείς διεσκέδασε οὐδαμὰ ἐλπίδας μὴ κοτε ἄρα
ἀγωνισάμενος οὔτω παραπλῆσιός Κύρος ἐλάση
ἐπὶ Σάρδις.

78. Ταῦτα ἐπιλεγομένῳ Κροίσῳ τὸ προάστειον
πᾶν ὁφίων ἐνεπλήσθη· φανέρων δὲ αὐτῶν, οὐ
ἐποιοί μετέντες τὰς νομὰς νέμεσθαι φοιτέοντες
κατήσθοι. ἴδοντι δὲ τοῦτο Κροίσῳ, ἀσπερ καὶ
ἡν, ἐδοξε τέρας εἶναι· αὐτίκα δὲ ἐπεμπε θεοπρό-
πους ἐς τῶν ἐξηγητέων Τελμησσέων. ἀπικομέ-
νοις δὲ τούς θεοπρόποις καὶ μαθοῦσι πρὸς Τελ-
μησσέων τὸ θέλει σημαίνει τὸ τέρας, οὐκ ἐξεγέ-
νετο Κροίσῳ ἀπαγγέλλαι· πρὶν γὰρ ἢ ὁπίσω

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the day after the battle Cyrus essayed no second attack, he marched away to Sardis, intending to invite help from the Egyptians in fulfilment of their pledge (for before making an alliance with the Lacedaemonians he had made one also with Amasis king of Egypt), and to send for the Babylonians also (for with these too he had made an alliance, Labynetus being at this time their sovereign), and to summon the Lacedaemonians to join him at a fixed time. It was in his mind to muster all these forces and assemble his own army, then to wait till the winter was over and march against the Persians at the beginning of spring. With such intent, as soon as he returned to Sardis, he sent heralds to all his allies, summoning them to assemble at Sardis in five months' time; and as for the soldiers whom he had with him, who had fought with the Persians, all of them who were not of his nation he disbanded, never thinking that after so equal an issue of the contest Cyrus would march against Sardis.

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

1 These were a caste of priests of Apollo at Telmessus or Telmissus in Lycia. τῶν ἐξηγητέων Τελμησσέων is contrary to Greek usage, ἐξηγ. being a substantive: Stein suggests that the true reading may be Τελμησσέων τῶν ἐξηγητέων.
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σφέας ἀναπλώσαι ἐς τὰς Σάρδις ἢλω ὁ Κροίσος. Τελμησσέες μέντοι τάδε ἐγγρωσαν, στρατῶν ἀλλόθρους προσδόκιμοι εἶναι Κροίσῳ ἐπὶ τὴν χώρην, ἀπικόμενον δὲ τοῦτον καταστρέψεσθαι τοὺς ἐπι- χωρίους, λέγοντες ὅτι εἶναι γῆς παῖδα, ἦππον δὲ πολέμων τε καὶ ἐπῆλυδα. Τελμησσέες μέν ὑπεκρίναυτο Κροίσῳ ἦδη ἡλωκότι, οὐδὲν καὶ εἰδότες τῶν ἦν περὶ Σάρδις τε καὶ αὐτόν Κροίσον.

79. Κύρος δὲ αὐτίκα ἀπελαύνοντος Κροίσου μετὰ τὴν μάχην τὴν γενομένην ἐν τῇ Πτερίῃ, μαθὼν ὡς ἀπελάσας μέλλοι Κροίσος διασκεδάν τὸν στρατὸν, θυελλόμενος εὐρισκε πρήγμα ὥς εἶναι ἐλαύνειν ὡς δύνατο τάχιστα ἐπὶ τὰς Σάρδις, πρὶν ἢ τὸ δεύτερον ἀληθήναι τῶν Λυδῶν τὴν δύναμιν. ὡς δὲ οἱ ταύτα ἐδοξε, καὶ ἐποίεε κατὰ τάχος ἐλάσσας γὰρ τὸν στρατὸν ἐς τὴν Λυδίαν αὐτὸς ἀγγελὼς Κροίσῳ ἐλήλυθε. ἐνθαῦτα Κροί- σος ἐς ἀπορίαν πολλὴν ἀπιγμένος, ὡς οἱ παρὰ δόξαν ἔσχε τὰ πρήγματα ἣ ὡς αὐτὸς κατεδόκεε, ὅμως τοὺς Λυδοὺς ἐξήγη ἢ μάχην. ἦν δὲ τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον ἔθνος οὐδὲν ἐν τῇ Ἄσίῃ οὔτε ἀνδρημό- τερον οὔτε ἀλκιμώτερον τοῦ Λυδίου. ἢ δὲ μάχη σφέων ἦν ἅπτ᾽ ἶππων, δόρατά τε ἐφόρεοι μεγάλα, καὶ αὐτὸι ἦσαν ἑπεύεσθαι ἄγαθοί.

80. Ἔσ το πεδίον δὲ συνελθόντων τοῦτο τὸ πρὸ τοῦ ἄστεος ἐς τοῦ Σαρδηνοῦ, ἐδώ μέγα τε καὶ ψελόν (διὰ δὲ αὐτοῦ ποταμὸν ῥέοντες καὶ ἄλλοι καὶ "Τλλός συρρηγνύσι εῖς τὸν μέγιστον, καλεό- μενον δὲ Ἔρμον, δὲ ἕξ ὀρεσὶ ἱρὸς Δινώ- μην ῥέων ἐκδίδοι ἣς θάλασσαν κατὰ Φωκαίην πόλιν), ἐνθαῦτα ὁ Κύρος ὡς εἶδε τοὺς Λυδοὺς ἔς
a prisoner before they could make their voyage back to Sardis. Howbeit, this was the judgment of the Telmessians—that Croesus must expect a foreign army to attack his country, and that when it came it would subdue the dwellers in the land: for the snake, they said, was the child of the earth, but the horse was a foe and a foreigner. Such was the answer which the Telmessians gave Croesus, knowing as yet nothing of the fate of Sardis and the king himself; but when they gave it Croesus was already taken.

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

80. So the armies met in the plain, wide and bare, which is before the city of Sardis: the Hyllus and other rivers flow across it and rush violently together into the greatest of them, which is called Hermus (this flows from the mountain sacred to the Mother Dindymene⁠¹ and issues into the sea near the city of Phocaea). Here when Cyrus saw the Lydians arraying

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¹ Identified with the Phrygian and Lydian goddess Cybele.
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μάχην τασσομένους, καταρρωδήσας τὴν ἵππον ἐποίησε Ἀρτάγου ὑποθεμένου ἀνδρὸς Μήδου τοιὸν: ὃσαι τῷ στρατῷ τῷ ἕως τοῦ εὖποτο σιτοφόροι τε καὶ σκευοφόροι κάμηλοι, ταῦτας πάσας ἀλίσας καὶ ἀπελὼν τὰ ἀχθεα ἀνδρὰς ἐπὶ αὐτὰς ἀνέβησε ἱππάδα στολήν ἐνεσταλμένους, σκευάσας δὲ αὐτοὺς προσέταξε τῆς ἄλλης στρατιῆς προίηκαι πρὸς τὴν Κροίσου ἤππον, τῇ δὲ καμήλῳ ἐπεσθαί τὸν πεζὸν στρατὸν ἐκέλευσε, ὅπισθε δὲ τοῦ πεζοῦ ἐπέταξε τὴν πᾶσαν ἤππον, ὡς δὲ οἱ πάντες διετετάχατο, παραίνεσε τῶν μὲν ἄλλων Λυδῶν μὴ φειδομένους κτείνειν πάντα τὸν ἐμποδόν γινόμενον, Κροίσου δὲ αὐτοῦ μὴ κτείνειν, μηδὲ δὴν συλλαμβανόμενος ἀμύνηται. ταῦτα μὲν παραίνεσε, τὰς δὲ καμήλους ἔταξε ἀντία τῆς ἤππου τῶν εὐκεκεν κάμηλον ἤππος φοβεῖται, καὶ οὐκ ἀνέχεται οὕτε τὴν ἴδεν αὐτοῦ ὅρεων οὕτε τὴν ὁδὴν ὀσφρανόμενος. αὐτοῦ δὴ ὡς τοῦτο εὐκεκεν ἐσεσοφιστο, ἵνα τῷ Κροίσῳ ἀχρηστὸν ἢ τὸ ἵππικον, τῷ δὴ τὶ καὶ ἐπείχε ἐξάμψφεσθαι ο Ἀυδός. ὡς δὲ καὶ συνήσασαν ἐς τὴν μάχην, ἔνθατα ώς ὀσφραντο τάχιστα τῶν καμήλων οἱ ἤπποι καὶ εἶδον αὐτάς, ὡπίσω ἄνεστρέφον, διεφθαρτὸ τε τῷ Κροίσῳ ἡ ἔπτις. οὐ μέντοι οἱ γε Λυδοὶ τὸ ἐνθεύτεν δεῖλοι ἦσαν, ἀλλ' ως ἔμαθον τὸ γινόμενον, ἀποθορέτες ἀπὸ τῶν ἤππων πεζοὶ τοῖς Πέρσηι συνέβαλλον. χρόνῳ δὲ πεσόντων ἀμφοτέρων πολλῶν ἐτράποντο οἱ Λυδοὶ, κατείλθεντες δὲ ἐς τὸ τείχος ἐπολιορκέοντο ὑπὸ τῶν Περσέων.

81. Τοῖς μὲν δὴ κατεστήκει πολιορκίη. Κροίσος δὲ δοκεῖν οἱ χρόνον ἐπὶ μακρὸν ἐσεσθαί τὴν 100
their battle, he was afraid of their horse, and therefore did as I will show by the counsel of one Harpagus, a Mede. Assembling all the camels that followed his army bearing food and baggage, he took off their burdens and set men upon them equipped like cavalrymen; having so equipped them he ordered them to advance before his army against Croesus' horse; he charged the infantry to follow the camels, and set all his horse behind the infantry. When they were all arrayed, he commanded them to kill all other Lydians who came in their way, and spare none, but not to kill Croesus himself, even if he should defend himself against capture. Such was his command. The reason of his posting the camels to face the cavalry was this: horses fear camels and can endure neither the sight nor the smell of them; this then was the intent of his device, that Croesus' cavalry, on which the Lydian relied for the winning of some glory, might be of no use. So when battle was joined, as soon as the horses smelt and saw the camels they turned to flight, and all Croesus' hope was lost. Nevertheless the Lydians were no cowards; when they saw what was happening they leaped from their horses and fought the Persians on foot. Many of both armies fell; at length the Lydians were routed and driven within their city wall, where they were besieged by the Persians.

81. So then they were beleaguered. But Croesus, supposing that the siege would last a long time, sent
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πολυρκηπήν ἔπεμπε ἐκ τοῦ τείχος ἄλλους ἀγγέ-
λους ἡς τᾶς συμμαχίας. οἷς μὲν γὰρ πρότεροι
dιεπέμποντο ἐς πέμπτου μῆνα προερέοντες συλ-
lέγεσθαι ἐς Σάρδας, τούτους δὲ ἐξεπέμπε τὴν
tαχίστην δέσσαν βοηθείαν ὡς πολυρκημένου
Κροίσου.

82. "Εσ τε ὅτι ἄλλας ἔπεμπε συμμαχίας
καὶ δὴ καὶ ἂς Δακεδαίμονα. τοῖσι δὲ καὶ αὐτοῖσι
τοῖσι Σπάρτιτησι καὶ αὐτόν τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον
συνηθεπτώκεε ἔρις ἔοισα πρὸς Ἀργείους περὶ
χώρου· καλεομένου Θυρέης· τάς γὰρ Θυρέας ταῦ-
τας· ἔοισας τῆς Ἀργολίδος μοίρης ἀποταμοῦμενοι
ζήσον τοὺς Δακεδαίμονιοι. ἤν δὲ καὶ ἡ μέχρι Μα-
κενῶν ἡ πρὸς ἐσπέρην Ἀργείων, ἢ τε ἐν τῇ ἣπείρῳ
χώρῃ καὶ ἡ Κυθηρεία νῆσος καὶ αἱ λοιπαὶ τῶν
νῆσων. βοηθησάντων δὲ Ἀργείων τῇ σφετέρῃ
ἀποταμομοιήθη, ἐνθαῦτα συνέβησαν ἐς λόγους
συνελθόντες ὥστε τριήκοσίους ἐκατέρων μαχέ-
σασθαί, ὁκότεροι δ’ ἄν περιγένωνται, τούτων εἰναι
τῶν χώρων· τὸ δὲ πλήθος τοῦ στρατοῦ ἀπαλλά-
σεσθαι ἐκάτερον ἐς τὴν ἐωτοῦ μηδὲ παραμένειν
ἀγωνιζόμενοι, τόυτο δὲ εὑνεκεν ἢ καὶ μὴ παρεύτων
τῶν στρατοπέδων ὃρῶντες οἱ ἔτεροι ἐσομένους
τοὺς σφετέρους ἐπαμύνονεν. συνθέµενοι ταῦτα
ἀπαλλάσσοντο, λογάδες δὲ ἐκατέρων ὑπολει-
φθέντες συνέβαλον. μαχομένων δὲ σφέων καὶ
γυνομένων ἰσοπαλέων ὑπελείποντο ἐς ἄνδρῶν
ἐξακοσίων τρεῖς, Ἀργείων μὲν Ἀλκήνωρ τε
καὶ Χρομίος, Δακεδαίμονίων δὲ Ὀθρυνάδης· ὑπε-
λείψαν τὸν οὔτου νυκτὸς ἐπελθοῦσαν. οἱ μὲν
δὴ δύο τῶν Ἀργείων ὡς νευκηκότες ἔθεον ἐς
τὸ Ἀργος, ὃ δὲ τῶν Δακεδαίμονιῶν Ὀθρυνάδης.
messengers again from the city to his allies; whereas the former envoys had been sent to summon them to muster at Sardis in five months' time, these were to announce that Croesus was besieged and to entreat help with all speed.

82. So he sent to the Lacedaemonians as well as the rest of the allies. Now at this very time the Spartans themselves had a feud on hand with the Argives, in respect of the country called Thyrea; for this was a part of the Argive territory which the Lacedaemonians had cut off and occupied. (All the land towards the west, as far as Malea, belonged then to the Argives, and not the mainland only, but the island of Cythera and the other islands.) The Argives came out to save their territory from being cut off; then after debate the two armies agreed that three hundred of each side should fight, and whichever party won should possess the land. The rest of each army was to go away to its own country and not be present at the battle; for it was feared that if the armies remained on the field, the men of either party would render help to their comrades if they saw them losing. Having thus agreed, the armies drew off, and picked men of each side were left and fought. Neither could gain advantage in the battle; at last, of six hundred there were left only three, Alcenor and Chromios of the Argives, Othryades of the Lacedaemonians; these three were left alive at nightfall. Then the two Argives, deeming themselves victors, ran to Argos; but Othryades, the Lacedaemonian,
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σκυλεύσας τοὺς Ἀργεῖων νεκροὺς καὶ προσφορῆσας τὰ ὅπλα πρὸς τὸ ἑωτοῦ στρατόπεδον ἐν τῇ τάξι ἔιγε ἑωτόν. ἦμέρη δὲ δευτέρη παρῆσαν πυθανόμενοι ἄμφοτεροι. τεώς μὲν δὴ αὐτῶν ἐκάτεροι ἔφασαν νικάν, λέγοντες οὐ μὲν ὡς ἑωτῶν πλείους περιγεγόνας, οὐ δὲ τοὺς μὲν ἀποφαίνοντες πεφευγότας, τὸν δὲ σφέτερον παραμείναντα καὶ σκυλεύσαντα τοὺς ἑκείνων νεκροὺς τέλος δὲ ἐκ τῆς ἔριδος συμπεσόντες ἐμάχοντο, πεσότων δὲ καὶ ἄμφοτέρων πολλῶν ἐνίκων Δακεδαιμόνιοι. Ἀργεῖοι μὲν υπ' ἀπὸ τούτου τοῦ χρόνου κατα-κειράμενοι τὰς κεφαλὰς, πρότερον ἐπάναγκες κομῶντες, ἐποιήσαντο νόμον τε καὶ κατάρην μὴ πρότερον θρέψεων κόμμα  Ἀργείων μηδένα, μηδὲ τὰς γυναίκας σφὶ χρυσοφορήσειν, πρὶν Θυρέας ἀνασώσωσιν. Δακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ τὰ ἑναντία τούτων ἔθεντο νόμον οὐ γὰρ κομῶντες πρὸ τούτου ἀπὸ τούτου κομᾶν. τὸν δὲ ἔνα λέγοντο τὸν περι-λειφθέντα τῶν τριττοσιών Οθρυάδην, αἰσχυνό-μενον ἀπονοστεῖεν ἐς Σπάρτην τῶν οἱ συλλοχι-τέων διεθθαμένων, αὐτὸν μὲν ἐν τῇ Θυρέῃ καταχρήσασθαί ἑωτὸν.

83. Τοιούτων δὲ τοῖς Σπαρτιήταις ἐνεστεῶτων πρηγμάτων ἦκε ο Σαρδιήνος κήρυξ δέομενος Κροίσος βοσθεῖν πολιορκεομένων. οὐ δὲ όμως, ἐπείτε ἐπύθοντο τοῦ κήρυκα, ὀρμέστατο βοσθεῖν. καὶ σφὶ ἦδη παρεσκευασμένοι καὶ νεὼν ἐοισέων ἐτοίμων ἠλθειν ἀλλη ἀγγελία, ὡς ἡλώκοι τὸ τεῖχος τῶν Λυδῶν καὶ ἐχοῖτο Κροίσος ξωγηθεῖσ. οὗτο δὴ οὐτοί μὲν συμφορὴν ποιησάμενοι μεγάλην ἐπέπαυντο.

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

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

84. Now this is how Sardis was taken. When
καὶ δεκάτη ἐγένετο ἡμέρη πολυορκεομένῳ Κροίσῳ, Κύρος τῇ στρατῇ τῇ ἑωυτοῦ διαπέμψας ἵππεας προεῖπε τῷ πρῶτῳ ἐπιβάντι τοῦ τείχεος δῶρα δώσειν. μετὰ δὲ τούτο πειρησαμένης τῆς στρατικῆς ὡς οὐ προεχόρρε, ἐνθαῦτα τῶν ἄλλων πε- παυμένων ἅγη Μάρδος ἐπειράτο προσβαίνων, τῷ οὖνομα ἦν Ἱρωνίδης, κατὰ τούτο τῆς ἀκρο- πόλιος τῇ οὔδεις ἐτέκτῳ φύλακος· οὐ γὰρ ἦν δεινὸν κατὰ τούτο μὴ ἄλφο κοτέ. ἀπότομος τε γὰρ ἐστὶ ταύτῃ ἡ ἀκρόπολις καὶ ἀμαχος· τῇ οὔδε Μήλης ὁ πρῶτερον βασιλεὺς Σαρδίων μοῦνη οὐ περιενέικε τῶν λέοντα τὸν οἶ ἡ παλλακὴ ἐτεκε, Τελμησσέων δικασάντων περιενε- χθέντος τοῦ λέοντος τὸ τείχος ἔσονται Σάρδιες ἀνάλωτοι. ὁ δὲ Μήλης κατὰ τὸ ἅλλο τείχος περιενείκας, τῇ ἦν ἐπίμαχον τὸ χωρίον τῆς ἀκροπόλιος, κατηλόγησε τούτῳ ὡς ἐών ἀμαχὸν τε καὶ ἀπότομον· ἔστι δὲ πρὸς τοῦ Τμώλου τετραμ- μένων τῆς πόλιος. ὁ δὲ Ἱρωνίδης αὐτὸς ὁ Μάρδος ἰδὼν τῇ προτεραίᾳ τῶν τινα Δυδῶν κατὰ τούτῳ τῆς ἀκροπόλιος καταβάντα ἐπὶ κυνήγῃ ἀνωθὲν κατακμισθείσαν καὶ ἀνελόμενον, ἐφρά- σθη καὶ ἐς θυμὸν ἐβάλετο· τότε δὲ δὴ αὐτὸς τε ἀναβεβήκε καὶ κατ’ αὐτὸν ἅλλοι Περσέων ἀνε- βαινον προσβάντων δὲ συχνῶν οὐτός δὴ Σάρδιες τε ἡλόκεσαν καὶ πᾶν τὸ ἅστυ ἐπορθέτο. 85. Κατ’ αὐτὸν δὲ Κροῖσον τάδε ἐγίνετο. ἦν οἱ παῖς, τοῦ καὶ πρῶτον ἐπεμνήσθην, τὰ μὲν ἄλλα ἐπιεικῆς, ἀφώνος δέ. ἐν τῇ ὑπὸ παρελθοῦσιν εὐστοι ο Κροῖσος τὸ πᾶν ἐς αὐτὸν ἐπετοίκηκε, ἄλλα τε ἐπιθραξόμενος, καὶ δὴ καὶ ἐς Δελφοὺς

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

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

1 The Mardi were a nomad Persian tribe.
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περὶ αυτοῦ ἐπεπόμφεε χρησομένους. ἢ δὲ Πυθίη
οἱ εἶπε τάδε.

Λυδῇ γένος, πολλῶν βασιλεῖ, μέγα νήπιε
Κροῖσε,
μῆ βούλου πολύευκτον ἢν ἀνὰ δῶματ’ ἄκοινειν
παιδὸς φθεγγομένου. τὸ δὲ σοὶ πολὺ λῶιν
ἀμφὶς
ἐμμεναι: αὐδῆσε γὰρ ἐν ἡματι πρῶτον ἀνόλβῳ.

ἀλισκομένου δὴ τοῦ τείχεος, ἢμε γὰρ τῶν τις
Περσῶν ἀλλογνώσας Κροῖσον ὡς ἀποκτενόνων,
Κροῖσος μὲν νυν ὅρειν ἐπιώντα ὑπὸ τῆς παρευθυσὶς
συμφορής παρημελήκεε, οὐδὲ τί οἱ διέφερε πλη-
γέντι ἀποθανεῖν ὁ δὲ παῖς οὗτος ὁ ἄφωνος ὡς εἶδε
ἐπιώντα τὸν Πέρσην, ὑπὸ δέους τε καὶ κακοῦ ἐρρηξὲ
φωνήν, εἶπε δὲ " Ὀμνθρώπε, μῆ κτείνε Κροῖσον."
οὗτος μὲν δὴ τούτο πρῶτον ἐφθέγξατο, μετὰ δὲ
τούτῳ ἤδη ἐφώνεε τὸν πάντα χρόνον τῆς ξῆς.

86. Οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι τὰς τε δὴ Σάρδις ἔσχον καὶ
αὐτὸν Κροῖσον ἐξώγρησαν, ἀρξαντα ἔτεα τεσσερεσ-
καίδεκα καὶ τεσσερεσκαίδεκα ἡμέρας πολυρκη-
θέντα, κατὰ τὸ χρηστήριον τε καταπαύσαντα τὴν
ἐωτοῦ μεγάλην ἀρχήν. λαβόντες δὲ αὐτὸν οἱ
Πέρσαι ἤγαγον παρὰ Κύρων. δὲ δὲ συννήσας
πυρὴν μεγάλην ἀνεβίβασε ἐπὶ αὐτὴν τὸν Κροῖσον
τε ἐν πέδησι δεδεμένον καὶ δις ἐπτὰ Λυδῶν παρ’
αὐτὸν παῖδας, ἐν νῦν ἔχουν δὴ ἄκροβλινα
tαῦτα καταγιεὶν θεῶν ὅτε ὅτι ἐδεῖ ἐκ τῆς
ἐπιτελέσσαι θέλων, εἴτε καὶ πυθόμενος τὸν Κροῖσον
eῖναι θεοσεβέα τοῦδε εἰνεκὴν ἀνεβίβασε ἐπὶ τὴν
πυρῆν, βουλόμενος εἰδέναι εἰ τίς μν δαμόων
ῥύεται τοῦ μη ξοντα κατακαυθήναι. τὸν μὲν δὴ
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oracle concerning him. The Pythian priestess thus answered him:

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

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

86. So the Persians took Sardis and made Croesus himself prisoner, he having reigned fourteen years and been besieged fourteen days, and, as the oracle foretold, brought his own great empire to an end. Having then taken him they led him to Cyrus. Cyrus had a great pyre built, on which he set Croesus, bound in chains, and twice seven Lydian boys beside him: either his intent was to sacrifice these firstfruits to some one of his gods, or he desired to fulfil a vow, or it may be that, learning that Croesus was a god-fearing man, he set him for this cause on the pyre, because he would fain know if any deity would save him from being burnt alive. It is related
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ποιέων ταύτα: τῶ δὲ Κροίσῳ ἔστεωτι ἐπὶ τῆς πυρῆς ἐσελθείν, καίπερ ἐν κακῷ ἐντεύτῳ, τὸ τοῦ Σόλωνος ὡς οἱ εἰη σὺν θεῷ ἑιρημένου, τὸ μηδένα εἶναι τῶν ξωότων ὅλβιον. ὡς δὲ ἄρα μιν προστήναι τοῦτο, ἀνενεκάμενον τε καὶ ἀναστενάζαντα ἐκ πολλῆς ἥσυχης ἐς τρὶς ὄνομάσαι "Σόλων." καὶ τὸν Κύρον ἀκούσαντα κελεῦσαι τοὺς ἑρμηνεύας ἐπειρέσθαι τὸν Κροίσον τίνα τούτου ἐπικαλέστω, καὶ τοὺς προσελθόντας ἐπιειρώταν Κροίσον δὲ τέως μὲν σιγὴν ἔχειν εἰρωτῶμεν, μετὰ δὲ ὡς ἡμαῖς ἔγειρεν εἰρωτῶμεν, πάλιν ἐπιειρώτας τὰ λεγόμενα. ἅπασῃ ἐξ οἷα ἐταῖον καὶ ὅχλον παρεχόντων, ἔλεγε δὴ ὡς ἤλθεν ἅρχην ὁ Σόλων ἐως Ἀθηναῖος, καὶ θεσμόμενος πάντα τὸν ἐωτοῦ ὅλβιον ἀποφλαυρίσεις ὑπό της εἰπεις, ὡς τε αὐτῷ πάντα ἀποβεβήκοι τῇ περ ἐκεῖνος εἴπα, οὔτε τι μᾶλλον ἐς ἑωτοῦ λέγων ἢ ὅπερ ἔπειρον τὸ ἀνθρώπινον καὶ μᾶλιστα τοὺς παρὰ σφίσι αὐτοῖς ὅλβιος δοκέωντας εἰναί. τὸν μὲν Κροίσον ταύτα ἀπηγέιεσθαι, τῆς δὲ πυρῆς ἡ ἢμμένης καλέσθαι τὰ περιέπετα. καὶ τὸν Κύρον ἀκούσαντα τῶν ἑρμηνεύων τὰ Κροίσος εἴπε, μεταγωγόντα τε καὶ ἐνώπιον ὅτι καὶ αὐτὸς ἀνθρωπος ἐως ἄλλον ἀνθρωπον, γενόμενον ἐωτοῦ εὐδαιμονίν εὐκελάσσω, ξανά τῷ πυρὶ διδοİM, πρὸς τε τοῦτοι δεῖσαντα τὴν τήν καὶ ἐπιλεξάμενον ὡς οὔδὲν ἐη τῶν ἐν ἀνθρώποις ἀσφαλέως ἔχον, κελεύειν σβεννύναι τὴν ταχίστην τὸ καιόμενον πῦρ¹ καὶ

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

87. Ἕνθαυτα λέγεται ὑπὸ Λυδῶν Κροίσον μαθόντα τὴν Κύρου μετάγνωσιν, ὅσ᾽ ὠρα πάντα μὲν ἀνδρὰ σβεννύντα τὸ πῦρ, δυναμένους δὲ οὐκέτι καταλαβεῖν, ἐπιβῶσασθαι τοῖς Ἀπόλλωνα ἐπικαλεόμενοι, εἰ τι οἱ κεχαρισμένοι ἐξ αὐτοῦ ἔδωρήθη, παραστήναι καὶ ρύσασθαι αὐτῶν ἕκτοι παρεόντος κακοῦ. τὸν μὲν δακρύνων ἐπικαλέσθαι τὸν θεοῦ, ἐκ δὲ αἰθρίης τε καὶ νηνεμέης συνδραμεῖν ἔξαπινης νέφεα καὶ χειμώνα τῇ καταρραγήναι καὶ ύσαι ὑδατὶ λαβροτάτῳ, κατασβεσθηναί τε τὴν πυρῆν. οὕτω δὴ μαθόντα τὸν Κύρου ὡς εἰς ὁ Κροίσος καὶ θεοφιλῆς καὶ ἀνὴρ ἀγαθός, καταβιβάσαντα αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ τῆς πυρῆς εἰρέσθαι τάδε. “Κροίσε, τίς σε ἀνθρώπων ἀνέγνωσε ἐπὶ γῆν τὴν ἐμὴν στρατευσάμενον πολέμιον ἀντὶ φίλου ἐμοὶ καταστήναι;” δὲ ἐπε “Ω βασιλεῦ, ἐγὼ ταῦτα ἐπρήξα τῇ σῇ μὲν εὐδαιμονίᾳ, τῇ ἐμοῦτοι δὲ κακοδαιμονίᾳ, αἰτίους δὲ τούτων ἐγένετο ὁ Ἐλλήνων θεὸς ἐπαιρέας ἐμε στρατεύεσθαι. οὐδεὶς γὰρ οὕτω ἀνόητος ἐστὶ ὅστις πολέμιον πρὸ εἰρήνης αἱρέται· ἐν μὲν γὰρ τῇ ὁι παῖδες τοὺς πατέρας θάπτουσι, ἐν δὲ τῷ οἱ πατέρες τοὺς παῖδας. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα δαιμοσί κοι φίλον ἦν οὕτω γενέσθαι.”

88. “Ο μὲν ταῦτα ἔλεγε, Κῦρος δὲ αὐτὸν λύσας κατεισὲ τε ἐγγὺς ἐωτοῦ καὶ κάρτα ἐν πολλῇ προμηθῇ εἰχὲ, ἀπεθάμαζε τε ὅρεων καὶ αὐτὸς καὶ οἱ περί ἐκείνων ἐόντες πάντες. δὲ συννοι ἔχομενον ἥσυχος ἤν· μετὰ δὲ ἐπιστραφεῖς τε καὶ
fire with all speed and bring Croesus and those with him down from the pyre. But his servants could not for all their endeavour now master the fire.

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

88. So said Croesus. Then Cyrus loosed him and set him near to himself and took much thought for him, and both he and all that were with him were astonished when they looked upon Croesus. He for his part was silent, deep in thought. Presently he
ΗΡΟΔΟΤΟΣ

ιδόμενος τοὺς Πήρασας τὸ τῶν Λυδῶν ἀστυ κερατζόντας εἶπε ὁ Οὐσίλευς, κάτερον λέγειν πρὸς σὲ τὰ νοέων τυχάνων ἢ συγάν ὑν τῷ παρεόντι κρή; Κύρος δὲ μιν θαρσόντα εκέλευε λέγειν ὅ τι βούλοιτο. ὃ δὲ αὐτῶν εἰρώτα κέλευον "Οὗτος ὁ πολλὸς ὄμιλος τῷ ταῦτα πολλὴ σπουδὴ ἐργάζεται;" δὲ εἶπε "Πόλιν τε τὴν σὴν διαρπάζει καὶ χρήματα τὰ σὰ διαφορέει." Κροίσος δὲ ἀμείβετο "Οὗτε πόλιν τὴν ἐμὴν οὔτε χρήματα τὰ ἐμὰ διαρπάζει· οὔδὲν γὰρ ἔμοι ἔτι τούτων μέτα· ἀλλὰ φέροισι τε καὶ ἀγούσι τὰ σὰ;"

89. Κύρω δὲ ἐπιμελέσε ἐγένετο τὰ Κροίσος εἶπε· μεταστησάμενος δὲ τοὺς ἄλλους, εἶρετο Κροίσουν ὃ τι ὅν ἐνορθή ἐν τοῖς ποιεμένοις. ὃ δὲ εἶπε ὁ Ἐπείτε με θεόδωκα θοῦθαν διὸν σοί, δικαίω, εἰ τὸ ἐνορθά πλέον, σημαίνειν σοί. Πέρσαι φύσιν ἔοιτε ὑβριστάλ εἰς ἀγρήματοι. ἦν ὅν σὺ τούτως περιόθης διαρπάζας καὶ κατασχόντας χρήματα μεγάλα, τάδε τοῦ ἐξ αὐτῶν ἐπίδοξα γενέσθαι· ὅ ἂν αὐτῶν πλεῖστα κατάσχῃ, τούτων προαξικηθέα τοῦ ἐπαναστησόμενον. ἦν ὅν ποιήσων ὅτε, εἰ τοῖς ἀρέσκει τὰ ἐγὼ λέγω· κάτισσον τῶν δορυφόρων ἐπὶ πάσης τῆς πύλης φυλάκους, ᾧ λεγόντων πρὸς τοὺς ἐκφέροντας τὰ χρήματα ἀπαρεόμενοι ὡς σφέα ἀναγκαῖος ἔχει δεκατευθῆναι τῷ Διί· καὶ σύ τέ σφι ὅκο ἀπεχθήσεαι βίη ἀπαρεόμενος τὰ χρήματα, καὶ ἐκείοις συγγόντες ποιέως σε δίκαια ἐκόντες προσῆσον;"

90. Ταῦτα ἀκούων ὁ Κύρος ὑπερήπετο, ὡς οἱ ἐδόκεε εὐ ὑποτίθεσθαι· αἰνέσας δὲ πολλὰ, καὶ ἐντειλάμενος τοῖς δορυφόροις τὰ Κροίσος ὑπεθήκατο ἐπιτελέειν, εἶπε πρὸς Κροίσου τάδε.
BOOK I. 88–90

turned and said (for he saw the Persians sacking the city of the Lydians), "O King, am I to say to you now what is in my mind, or keep silence?" Cyrus bidding him to say boldly what he would, Croesus asked, "Yonder multitude, what is this whereon they are so busily engaged?" "They are plundering," said Cyrus, "your city and carrying off your possessions." "Nay," Croesus answered, "not my city, nor my possessions; for I have no longer any share of all this; it is your wealth that they are ravishing."

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

90. When Cyrus heard this he was exceedingly pleased, for he deemed the counsel good; and praising him greatly, and bidding his guards to act as Croesus
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"Κροίσε, ἀναρτημένου σεῦ ἀνδρὸς βασιλέως χριστά ἔργα καὶ ἔπεα ποιεῖν, αἰτεό δόσιν ἤμνινα βούλεαι τοι γενέσθαι παραντικα." ὃ δὲ εἶπε ὁ Κύρος δὲ εἴρητο ὁ τι οὐδεὶς ἐπηγορεῖ οὐκοτέοιτο. Κροίσος δὲ οἱ ἐπαλληλογῆσαν πάσαν τὴν ἑωτοῦ διάνοιαν καὶ τῶν χρηστηρίων τὰς υποκρίσιας καὶ μάλιστα τὰ ἀναθήματα, καὶ ὡς ἐπαιρθέν τῷ μαντηρῷ ἐστρατεύσατο ἐπὶ Πέρσας. λέγων δὲ ταῦτα κατέβας καὶ τοῖς παρατεόμενοις ἐπείναι οἱ τῷ θεῷ τοῦτο ὑνεδίσαι. Κύρος δὲ γελάσας εἶπε "Καὶ τούτου τεῦξει παρ ἐμεῦ, Κροίσε, καὶ ἀλλον παντός τοῦ ἄν ἐκάστοτε δέης" ὡς δὲ ταῦτα ἔκουσε ὁ Κροίσος, πέμπτων τῶν Λυδῶν εἰς Δελφοὺς ἐνετέλλετο τιθέντας τὰς πέδας ἐπὶ τοῦ νηροῦ τῶν οὐδὸν εἰρωτάν εἰ ὦ τι ἐπαισχύνεται τοὺς μαντηρίους ἐπαείρας Κροίσον στρατεύσαθαι ἐπὶ Πέρσας ὡς καταπαύσοντα τὴν Κύρου δύναμιν, ἀπ' ἢ οἱ ἀκροβίαν τοιαύτα γενέσθαι, δεικνύντας τὰς πέδας· ταῦτα τε ἐπειρωτάν, καὶ εἰ ἀχαρίστους νόμος εἶναι τοῖς Ἐλληνικοῖς θεοῖς.

91. Ἀπικομένοις δὲ τοῖς Λυδοῖς καὶ λέγοντι τὰ ἐντεταλμένα τὴν Πυθίην λέγεται εὑπεὶν τάδε. "Τὴν πεπρομενὴν μοίραν ἀδύνατα ἀποφυγεῖν καὶ θεῷ. Κροίσος δὲ πέμπτων γονέως ἀμαρτάδα ἔξεπτες, δι' ἐων δορυφόρος Ἡρακλείδεως, δόλῳ γυναικῆς ἐπιστόμενος ἐφόνυσε τῶν ἀστώτων καὶ ἔσχε τῇ ἐκείνῳ τιμῆν οὐδέν οἱ προσήκοσαν. προθυμεομένου δὲ Δοξίεω ὅκως ἀν κατὰ τοὺς 116
had counselled, he said: "Croesus, now that you, a king, are resolved to act and to speak aright, ask me now for whatever boon you desire forthwith." "Master," said Croesus, "you will best please me if you suffer me to send these my chains to that god of the Greeks whom I chiefly honoured, and to ask him if it be his custom to deceive those who serve him well." Cyrus then asking him what was the meaning of this request, Croesus repeated to him the tale of all his own intent, and the answers of the oracles, and more especially his offerings, and how it was the oracle that had heartened him to attack the Persians; and so saying he once more instantly entreated that he might be suffered to reproach the god for this. At this Cyrus smiled, and replied, "This I will grant you, Croesus, and what other boon soever you may at any time ask me." When Croesus heard this, he sent men of the Lydians to Delphi, charging them to lay his chains on the threshold of the temple, and to ask if the god were not ashamed that he had persuaded Croesus to attack the Persians, telling him that he would destroy Cyrus' power; of which power (they should say, showing the chains) these were the first-fruits. Thus they should inquire; and further, if it were the manner of the Greek gods to be thankless.

91. When the Lydians came, and spoke as they were charged, the priestess (it is said) thus replied: "None may escape his destined lot, not even a god. Croesus hath paid for the sin of his ancestor of the fifth generation: who, being of the guard of the Heraclidae, was led by the guile of a woman to slay his master, and took to himself the royal state of that master, whereto he had no right. And it was the desire of Loxias that the evil hap of Sardis should
παιδάς τοῦ Κροίσου γένοιτο τὸ Σαρδίων πάθος καὶ μὴ κατ’ αὐτὸν Κροίσον, οὐκ οἶδον τε ἐγίνετο παραγαγέων μοίρας. ὅσον δὲ ἐνέδωκαν αὐταῖ, ἦνυσε τε καὶ ἐχαρίσατο οἴ. τρία γὰρ ἠτα ἐπανεβάλετο τὴν Σαρδίων ἄλωσιν, καὶ τοῦτο ἐπιστάσθω Κροίσος ὡς ἔστερον τοῖς ἤτεσι τούτοις ἄλοιπος τῆς πεπρωμένης. δεύτερα δὲ τούτων καιομένως αὐτῷ ἐπήρκεσε. κατὰ δὲ τὸ μαντήμα τὸ γενόμενον οὐκ ὀρθῶς Κροίσος μέμφεται. προηγόρευε γὰρ οἱ Λοξίης, ἣν στρατεύτηκαν ἐπὶ Πέρσας, μεγάλην ἀρχὴν αὐτῶν καταλύσεις. τὸν δὲ πρὸς ταῦτα χρὴν εὖ μέλλοντα βουλεύεσθαι ἐπειρέσθαι πέμψαντα κότερα τὴν ἐωτοῦ ἢ τὴν Κύρου λέγου ἀρχὴν. οὐ συλλαβῶν δὲ τὸ ῥηθὲν οὐδ᾽ ἐπανειρμένως ἐωτοῦ αὐτίον ἀποφαίνετο τῷ καὶ τὸ τελευταῖον χρηστηριαζόμενω εἴπε Λοξίης περὶ ἥμισυνοι, οὐδὲ τοῦτο συνέλαβε. ἢν γὰρ δὴ ὁ Κύρος οὕτος ἡμῶνς· ἐκ γὰρ δυών οὐκ ὀμοσθενεῖς ἔγεγόνει, μητρὸς ἀμείνονος, πατρὸς δὲ ὑποδειστέρου· ἡ μὲν γὰρ ἡ Μηδίς καὶ Ἀστυάγεος θυγάτηρ τοῦ Μηδών βασιλέως, δὲ Πέρσης τε ἢ καὶ ἀρχῷμενος ὡς ἐκεῖνοι καὶ ἐνερθε ἐὼν τοῖς ἄπασι δεσποτῆς τῇ ἐωτοῦ συνοικε. ταῦτα μὲν ἢ Πυθίη ὑπεκρῖνατο τοῖς Ἀυδοῖσι, οἷ δὲ ἀνήφεικαν ἐς Σάρδις καὶ ἀπήγγειλαν Κροίσῳ. δὲ ἀκούσας συνέγγυς ἐωτοῦ εἶναι τὴν ἀμαρτάδα καὶ οὐ τοῦ θεοῦ, κατὰ μὲν δὴ τὴν Κροίσου τε ἀρχὴν καὶ Ἰωνίς τὴν πρώτην καταστροφὴν ἔσχε οὕτω.

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

92. Now there are many offerings of Croesus in Hellas, and not only those whereof I have spoken.
Ο Θήβης της Βοιωτίας τρίτους χρόνους, τον ἀνέθηκε τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι τῷ Ἰσμηνίῳ, εν δὲ Ἐφέσῳ ἀἱ τε βοῖς αἱ χρύσαι καὶ τῶν κιόνων αἱ πολλαί, εν δὲ Προνήης τῆς εν Δελφοῖς ἀσπίδας χρυσῆς μεγάλη. ταῦτα μὲν καὶ ἐτὶ ἐς ἐμὲ ἦν περιεύοντά, τὰ δὲ ἐξαπόλαλε τῶν ἀναθημάτων· τὰ δὲ ἐν Βραγχίδησι τῆς Μιλησίων ἀναθήματα Κροίσω, ὃς ἐγὼ πυθαίωμαι, ἵσα τε σταθοῦν καὶ ὤμοια τοῦτο ἐν Δελφοῖς. τὰ μὲν νυν ἐς τέλεσθος καὶ ἐς τοῦ Ἀμφιάρεω ἀνέθηκε οἰκήματε ἐν ἑόντα καὶ τῶν πατρώων χρημάτων ἀπαρχήν· τὰ δὲ ἄλλα ἀναθήματα ἐξ ἀνδρός ἐγένετο οὐσίας ἐχθροῦ, δε οἱ πρὶν ἡ βασιλεύσαι ἀντιστασιώτης κατεστήκεε, συσπεύδων Πανταλέοντι γενέσθαι τὴν Ἀρδών ἀρχήν. ο δὲ Πανταλέων ἦν Ἀλυάττεως μὲν παῖς, Κροίσου δὲ ἀδελφός οὐκ ὄμοιος· Κροίσου μὲν γὰρ ἐκ Καείρης ἤν γυναικὸς Ἀλυάττη, Πανταλέων δὲ ἐξ Ἰάδος. ἔπειτε δὲ δόντος τοῦ πατρός ἐκράτησε τῆς ἀρχῆς ὁ Κροίσος, τὸν ἀνθρώπον τῶν ἀντιπρήσοντα ἐπὶ κυάφον ἔλκων δίδεθερε, τὴν δὲ ὀυσίαν αὐτοῦ ἔτι πρότερον κατιρώσας τότε τρόπῳ τῷ εἰρημένῳ ἀνέθηκε ἐς τὰ εἰρηταί. καὶ περὶ μὲν ἀναθημάτων τοσάτα εἰρήσθων.

93. θώματα δὲ γῆ ἡ Ἀρδών ἐς συγγραφὴν οὐ μάλα ἔχει, οἷα τε καὶ ἄλλη χώρη, πάρεξ τοῦ ἐκ τοῦ Τιμώλου καταφερομένου ἕγγαμοτα. ἐν δὲ ἔργον πολλοὺν μέγιστον παρέχεται χωρὶς τῶν τε Αἰγυπτίων ἔργων καὶ τῶν Βαβυλωνίων ἐστι αὐτόθι Ἀλυάττεω τοῦ Κροίσου πατρός σῆμα, τοῦ

1 The sentence is incomplete, lacking a predicate.

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BOOK I. 92–93

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

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

1 The temple at Ephesus was founded probably in Alyattes' reign, and not completed till the period of the Graeco-Persian War.

2 The temple of Athene Proneia (= before the shrine) was situated outside the temple of Apollo.
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ή κρηπίς μὲν εστὶ λίθων μεγάλων, τὸ δὲ ἄλλο σῆμα χώμα γῆς. ἐξεργάσαντο δὲ μιν οἱ ἄνθρωποι καὶ οἱ χειρώνακτες καὶ αἱ ἐνεργαζόμεναι παιδίσκαι. οὐροὶ δὲ πέντε έόντες ἔτι καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ ἤσαν ἐπὶ τοῦ σήματος ἄνω, καὶ σφι γράμματα ἐνεκεκόλλητο τὰ ἐκαστὸι ἐξεργάσαντο, καὶ ἐφαί-νετο μετρόμενοι τὸ τῶν παιδισκέων ἔργον ἐνν μέγιστον. τοῦ γὰρ δὴ Λυδῶν δὴμοι αἱ θυγατέρες πορνεύονται πᾶσαι, συλλέγουσι σφίσι φερνάς, ἐς δ’ ἄν συνοικήσωσι τοῦτο ποιέουσαι ἐκδιδοῦσι δὲ αὐταὶ ἐσωτάς. ἡ μὲν δὴ περίοδος τοῦ σήματος εἰσὶ στάδιοι εξ καὶ δύο πλέθρα, τὸ δὲ εὐρὸς ἐστὶ πλέθρα τρία καὶ δέκα. λήμνη δὲ ἐχεῖ τοῦ σήματος μεγάλη, τὴν λέγουσι Λυδοὶ ἀείμαον εἶναι· καλέται δὲ αὐτὴ Γυγαίη, τοῦτο μὲν δὴ τοιοῦτο ἐστὶ.

94. Λυδοὶ δὲ νόμοισι μὲν παραπλησίοισι χρέωνται καὶ "Ελληνες, χωρὶς ἡ ὅτι τὰ θῆλεα τέκνα καταπορνεύουσι, πρῶτοι δὲ ἀνθρώπων τῶν ἡμέρας ὑμείς νόμωσι φρουτὸ καὶ ἀργύροι κοψάμενοι ἐξεργάσαντο, πρῶτοι δὲ καὶ κάτηλοι ἐγένοντο. φασὶ δὲ αὐτοῖς Λυδοῖ καὶ τὰς παγυνίας τὰς νῦν σφίσι τε καὶ "Ελληνες κατεστάλεσας ἐωτοῖς ἐξεύρημα γενέσθαι. ἀμα δὲ ταῦτας τας ἐξευρέθηναι παρὰ σφίσι λέγουσι καὶ Τυρσηνίην ἀποκισσαί, ὅδε περὶ αὐτῶν λέγοντες. ἐπὶ "Ατυος τοῦ Μάνεω βασιλέω σιτοδείην ἵσχυρήν ἀνὰ τὴν Λυδίην πᾶσαν γενέσθαι, καὶ τοὺς Λυδοὺς τέως μὲν διάγεις λιπαρέοντας, μετὰ δὲ ὃς οὐ παύεσθαι, ἀκεα δίξε-θαι, ἀλλον δὲ ἄλλο ἐπιμηχανᾶσθαι αὐτῶν. ἐξευρεθηκεῖ δὴ ὧν τότε καὶ τῶν κύδων καὶ τῶν ἀστραγάλων καὶ τῆς σφαίρης καὶ τῶν ἄλλων

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whereof is made of great stones and the rest of it of mounded earth. It was built by the men of the market and the artificers and the prostitutes. There remained till my time five corner-stones set on the top of the tomb, and on these was graven the record of the work done by each kind: and measurement showed that the prostitutes' share of the work was the greatest. All the daughters of the common people of Lydia ply the trade of prostitutes, to collect dowries, till they can get themselves husbands; and they offer themselves in marriage. Now this tomb has a circumference of six furlongs and a third, and its breadth is above two furlongs; and there is a great lake hard by the tomb, which, say the Lydians, is fed by ever-flowing springs; it is called the Gygaean lake. Such then is this tomb.

94. The customs of the Lydians are like those of the Greeks, save that they make prostitutes of their female children. They were the first men (known to us) who coined and used gold and silver currency; and they were the first to sell by retail. And, according to what they themselves say, the pastimes now in use among them and the Greeks were invented by the Lydians: these, they say, were invented among them at the time when they colonised Tyrrhenia. This is their story: In the reign of Atys son of Manes there was great scarcity of food in all Lydia. For a while the Lydians bore this with what patience they could; presently, when there was no abatement of the famine, they sought for remedies, and divers plans were devised by divers men. Then it was that they invented the games of dice and knuckle-bones and
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πασέων παγνιεών τα ἐιδεα, πλὴν πεσόων τοῦτων γὰρ ὅν τὴν ἐξεύρεσιν όυκ οἰκήμονται Λυδοὶ. πονέων δὲ ὅπε τὸν λιμὸν ἐξευρόντας, τὴν μὲν ἐτέρην τῶν ἡμερῶν παίζειν πᾶσαν, ἦν δὴ μὴ ξητόεις σιτία, τὴν δὲ ἐτέρην σιτέεσθαι πάνομένους τῶν παγνιεῶν. τοιοῦτο τρόπῳ διάγεων ἐπ’ ἔσεα δυῶν δέοντα εἴκοςι. ἐπεὶτε δὲ όυκ ἀνιέναι τὸ κακὸν ἀλλ’ ἔτι ἐπὶ μᾶλλον βιάξεσθαι, δὴ τὸν βασιλέα αὐτῶν δύο μοῖρας διελόντα Λυδῶν πάντων κληρῶσαι τὴν μὲν ἐπὶ μόνη τὴν δὲ ἐπὶ ἐξόδῳ ἐκ τῆς χώρης, καὶ ἐπὶ μὲν τῇ μένειν αὐτοῦ λαγχανοῦσῃ τῶν μοιρῶν ἐωτὸν τὸν βασιλέα προστάσσειν, ἐπὶ δὲ τῇ ἀπαλλασσομένῃ τὸν ἐωτοῦ παῖδα, τὸ οὐνόμα εἶναι Τυρσηνόν. λαχόντας δὲ αὐτῶν τοὺς ἐτέρους ἐξιέναι ἐκ τῆς χώρης καταβῆναι ἐς Σμύρνην καὶ μηχανήσασθαι πλοία, ἐς τὰ ἑσθήμενους τὰ πάντα ὅσα σφὶ ἦν χρηστὰ ἐπὶ πλοῖα, ἀποπλέειν κατὰ βίον τε καὶ γῆς ξητὴσιν, ἐς δὲ θυεῖα πολλὰ παραμειναμένους ἀπικέσθαι ἐς Ὁμβρικοῦς, ἐνθα σφεῖς ἐνιδρύσασθαι πόλιας καὶ οἰκέειν τὸ μέχρι τοῦτε. ἀντὶ δὲ Λυδῶν μετονομασθῆναι αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ τοῦ βασιλέος τοῦ παιδός, διὸ σφεῖς ἀνήγαγε, ἐπὶ τούτου τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν ποιεύμενος ὅνομασθῆναι Τυρσηνοῦ.

Λυδὸι μὲν δὴ ὑπὸ Πέρσησι ἐδεδούλωντο.

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

The Lydians, then, were enslaved by the Persians.

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

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

Ἀσυρίων ἄρχοντων τῆς ἄνω Ἀσίης ἡπ’ ἔτεα εἰκοσι καὶ πεντακόσια, πρῶτοι ἂπ’ αὐτῶν Μήδοι ήρξαντο ἀπιστασθαι, καὶ κως οὗτοι περὶ τῆς ἐλευθερίης μαχεσάμενοι τοῖς Ἀσυρίοις ἐγένοντο ἄνδρες ἀγαθοὶ, καὶ ἀπωσάμενοι τὴν δουλοσύνην ἐλευθερώθησαν. μετὰ δὲ τούτους καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ἔθνεα ἔποιε τῶντο τούτοις Μήδοισι.

96. Ἐποτων δὲ αὐτονόμων πάντων ἀνὰ τὴν ἴππειρον, ὅπερ αὐτὸς ἐστὶ τυραννίδα περιήλθον. ἀνὴρ ἐν τοῖς Μήδοισι ἐγένετο σοφὸς τῷ οὐνομα ἢν Δηόκης, παῖς δ’ ἦν Φραόρτεω. οὗτος ὁ Δηόκης ἔρασθεὶς τυραννίδος ἔποιε τοῖς κατὰ κόμας, ἐν τῇ ἐωτοῦ ἐών καὶ πρότερον δόκιμος καὶ μᾶλλον τι καὶ προθυμότερον δικαιοσύνην ἐπιθέμενος ἔσκεε; καὶ ταῦτα μέντοι ἐσὺς ἄνομίς πολλῆς ἀνὰ πᾶσαν τὴν Μηδικὴν ἔποιες, ἐπιστάμενος ὅτι τῷ δικαίῳ τὸ ἀδικοῦν πολέμου ἐστίν. οἱ δ’ ἐκ τῆς αὐτῆς κόμης Μήδοι ὅρωντες αὐτοῦ τοὺς τρόπους δικαστήν μη ἐωτοῦν αἰρέοντο. δ’ ἔκ τῆς αὐτῆς κόμης Μήδοι ὅρωντες αὐτοῦ τοὺς τρόπους δικαστήν μη ἐωτοῦν αἰρέοντο. δ’ ἔκ τῆς αὐτῆς κόμης Μήδοι ὅρωντες αὐτοῦ τοὺς τρόπους δικαστήν μη ἐωτοῦν αἰρέοντο. δ’ ἔκ τῆς αὐτῆς κόμης Μήδοι ὅρωντες αὐτοῦ τοὺς τρόπους δικαστήν μη ἐωτοῦν αἰρέοντο. δ’ ἔκ τῆς αὐτῆς κόμης Μήδοι ὅρωντες αὐτοῦ τοὺς τρόπους δικαστήν μη ἐωτοῦν αἰρέοντο. δ’ ἔκ τῆς αὐτῆς κόμης Μήδοι ὅρωντες αὐτοῦ τοὺς τρόπους δικαστήν μη ἐωτοῦν αἰρέοντο. δ’ ἔκ τῆς αὐτῆς κόμης Μήδοι ὅρωντες αὐτοῦ τοὺς τρόπους δικαστήν μη ἐωτοῦν αἰρέοντο. δ’ ἔκ τῆς αὐτῆς κόμης Μήδοι ὅρωντες αὐτοῦ τοὺς τρόπους δικαστήν μη ἐωτοῦν αἰρέοντο. δ’ ἔκ τῆς αὐτῆς κόμης Μήδοι ὅρωντες αὐτοῦ τοὺς τρόπους δικαστὴν μη ἐωτοῦν αἰρέοντο.
the truth, though there are no less than three other accounts of Cyrus which I could give.

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

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

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

1 From 1229 to 709 B.C., as Deioces' reign began in 709.
κατὰ τὸ ἐόν, γινοῦσ ὁ Δηνόκης ἐς ἐωτοῦ πῶν ἀνακείμενον οὔτε κατίζειν ἐτὶ ήθελε ἐνθὰ περ πρότερον προκατίζων ἐδίκαζε, οὔτ' ἐφ' δικᾶν ἐτι' ὦ γαρ οἱ λυσιτελέειν τῶν ἑωτοῦ ἐξημεληκότα τοῦ τέλας δὶ ἡμέρης δικάζειν. ἐσύσης δὲν ἂν ἀρπαγής καὶ άνομίας ἐτὶ πολλῷ μᾶλλον ἄνα τὰς κόμας ἴ πρότερον ἦν, συνελέχθησαν οἱ Μῆδοι ἐς τῶντο καὶ ἐδίδοσαν σφίζει λόγου, λέγοντες περὶ τῶν κατηκόντων. ὡς δ' ἐγὼ δοκεῖ, μᾶλιστα ἐλεγον οἱ τοῦ Δηνόκεω φίλοι "Οὐ γαρ δὴ τρόπῳ τῷ παρεώντι χρεώμενοι δυνατοὶ εἰμέν οἰκείειν τὴν χώρην, φέρε στήσομεν ἡμέων αὐτῶν βασιλέα· καὶ οὔτω ἡ τ' χώρη εὐνομήσεται καὶ αὐτοὶ πρὸς ἔργα τρεψόμεθα, οὐδὲ ὑπ' ἄνομίας ἀνάστατοι ἐσόμεθα.” ταῦτα κη λέγοντες πείδουσι ἑωτοὺς βασιλεύεσθαι.

98. Αὐτίκα δὲ προβαλλόμενων ὄντινα στή- σονται βασιλέα, ὁ Δηνόκης ἦν πολλὸς ὑπὸ παντὸς ἄνδρος καὶ προβαλλόμενος καὶ αἰνεόμενος, ἐς δ' τούτων κατανέουσα βασιλέα σφίσι εἴναι. δ' δ' ἐκέλευε αὐτοῦς οἰκία τε ἑωτῷ ἄξια τῆς βασιληῆς οἰκοδομῆσαι καὶ κρατῶν αὐτῶν δορυφόρους· ποιεῖσι δὴ ταῦτα οἱ Μῆδοι: οἰκοδομέουσι τε γαρ αὐτῶ οἰκία μεγάλα τε καὶ ἴσχυρὰ, ὡν αὐτῶς ἔφρασε τῇ χωρίς, καὶ δορυφόρους αὐτῶ ἐπι- τράπουσι ἐκ πάντων Μῆδων καταλέξασθαι. δ' δὲ ὡς ἔσχε τὴν ἁρχήν, τὸς Μῆδους ἡνάγκασε ἐν πόλισμα ποιήσασθαι καὶ τοῦτο περιστέλλοντας τῶν ἄλλων ἡσυχ ἐπιμέλεσθαι. πειθομένων δὲ καὶ ταῦτα τῶν Μῆδων οἰκοδομεῖ τείχεα μεγάλα τε καὶ καρτερὰ ταῦτα τὰ νῦν Ἀγβατάνα κέ- κληται, ἐτερον ἐτέρφι κύκλῳ ἑνεστέωτα. μεμη-
accorded with the truth. The Deioces, seeing that all was now entrusted to him, would not sit in his former seat of judgment, and said he would give no more decisions; for it was of no advantage to him (he said) to leave his own business and spend all the day judging the cases of his neighbours. This caused robbery and lawlessness to increase greatly in the townships; and the Medes gathering together conferred about their present affairs, and said (here, as I suppose, the chief speakers were Deioces' friends), "Since we cannot with our present manner of life dwell peacefully in the country, come, let us set up a king for ourselves; thus will the country be well governed, and we ourselves shall betake ourselves to our business, and cease to be undone by lawlessness." By such words they persuaded themselves to be ruled by a king.

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

¹ Modern Hamadân, probably: but see Rawlinson's note.
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χάνηται δὲ οὖτω τούτω τὸ τεῖχος ὡστε ὁ ἑτερὸς τοῦ ἑτέρου κύκλος τοίσι προμαχεῖσθι μούνοις ἐστι υψηλότερος. τὸ μὲν κοῦ τι καὶ τὸ χωρίον συμμαχεῖται κολωνῖς ἔων ὡστε τοιοῦτο εἶναι, τὸ δὲ καὶ μᾶλλον τι ἐπετηδεύθη. κύκλων δ’ ἑοντων τῶν συναπάντων ἐπτά, ἐν δὴ τῷ τελευταίῳ τὰ βασιληίαν ἕνεστι καὶ οἱ θησαυροί. τὸ δ’ αὐτῶν μέγιστον ἐστὶ τεῖχος κατὰ τὸν Ἀθηνέων κύκλον μᾶλιστα κῃ τὸ μέγαθος. τοῦ μὲν δὴ πρώτων κύκλων οἱ προμαχεῖσθε εἰσὶ λευκοὶ, τοῦ δὲ δευτέρου μέλανες, τρίτου δὲ κύκλου φοινίκεοι, τετάρτου δὲ κνάνεοι, πέμπτου δὲ σανδαράκινοι. οὕτω τῶν πέντε κύκλων οἱ προμαχεῖσθε ἡνθισμένοι εἰσὶ φαρμάκοις δύο δὲ οἱ τελευταῖοι εἰσὶ δὲ μὲν καταργυρωμένους δὲ κατακεχρυσώμενους ἔχουν τοὺς προμαχεῖσθε.

99. Ταῦτα μὲν δὴ ὁ Δημόκριτος ἐσπυρᾷ τε ἐπείχε καὶ περὶ τὰ ἐνυτύσ ὁμικία, τῶν δὲ ἄλλων δήμων πέριξ ἐκέλευε τὸ τεῖχος οἰκεῖειν. οἰκοδομηθέντων δὲ πάντων κόσμων τόνδε Δημόκριτος πρῶτος ἐστὶ ὁ καταστράγμενος, μῆτε ἐστί πάτα βασιλέα μυθέναι, δὲ ἀγγέλων δὲ πάντα χράσθαι, ὅρασθαι τε βασιλέα ὑπὸ μηθεύναι, πρὸς τέ τούτοις ἐτε γελάνε τε καὶ ἀντίον πτύειν καὶ ἀπασί εἶναι τοῦτο γε αἰσχρόν. ταῦτα δὲ περὶ ἐνυτύσ ἐσεύμυνε τῶν ἐνυτεύκεν, ὡς αὖ μὴ ὁρῶτες οἱ ὀμήλικες, ἐντες σύντροφοι τε ἐκείνω καὶ οἰκίις οἱ ἱλαροτέρης οὐδὲ ἐς ἀνδραγαθίαν λειπόμενοι, λυπεούτα καὶ ἐπιβουλεύοντες, ἀλλ’ ἑτεροίος σφί δοκεόι εἶναι μὴ ὀρέσθαι.

100. Ἐπείτε δὲ ταῦτα διεκόσμησε καὶ ἐκράτησε ἐνυτύν τῇ τυραννίδι, ἤν τὸ δίκαιον φυλάσσων.
circle of walls is higher than the next outer circle by no more than the height of its battlements; to which end the site itself, being on a hill in the plain, somewhat helps, but chiefly it was accomplished by art. There are seven circles in all; within the innermost circle are the king's dwellings and the treasuries; and the longest wall is about the length of the wall that surrounds the city of Athens.\footnote{About eight miles, according to a scholiast's note on Thucyd. ii. 13; but this is disputed.} The battlements of the first circle are white, of the second black, of the third circle purple, of the fourth blue, and of the fifth orange: thus the battlements of five circles are painted with colours; and the battlements of the last two circles are coated, these with silver and those with gold.

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

100. Having ordered all these matters and strongly armed himself with sovereign power, he was a hard
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χαλεπὸς· καὶ τὰς τε δίκας γράφοντες ἔσω παρ’ ἐκείνουν ἐσπέμπτεσκοι, καὶ ἐκεῖνοι διακρίνων τὰς ἐσφερομένας ἐκπέμπτεσκε. ταῦτα μὲν κατὰ τὰς δίκας ἐποίεε, τάδε δὲ ἀλλα ἐκεκοσμεῖτο οἱ· εἰ τινὰ πυνθάνοιτο ὑβρίζοντα, τοῦτον ἄκως μεταπέμψατο κατ’ ἄξιην ἐκάστου ἀδικήματος ἐδικαίων, καὶ οἱ κατάσκοποί τε καὶ κατήκοι ᾤσαν ἀνὰ πᾶσαν τὴν χώρην τῆς ἥρχη.

101. Δηιόκησις μὲν νων τὸ Μηδικὸν ἔθνος συνεστρεψε μοῦνον καὶ τούτον ἥρξε· ἔστι δὲ Μῆδων τοσάδε γένεα, Βοῦσαι Παρητακηνοὶ Στρούχατες Ἀρμάουτοι Βοῦδωι Μάγου. γένεα μὲν δὴ Μῆδων ἐστὶ τοσάδε.

102. Δηιόκεω δὲ παῖς γίνεται Φραόρτης, ὁς τελευτήσαντος Δηιόκεω, βασιλεύσαντος τρία καὶ πευτήκοντα ἔτεα, παρεδέξατο τὴν ἄρχην, παραδέξάμενος δὲ οὐκ ἀπεχράτο μοῦνων Μῆδων ἄρχειν, ἀλλὰ στρατευσάμενος ἔπι τοὺς Πέρσας πρωτοισὶ τε τούτους ἐπεθήκατο καὶ πρῶτους Μῆδων ὑπηκόους ἐποίησε. μετὰ δὲ ἔχον δύο ταῦτα ἔθνεα καὶ ἀμφότερα ἰσχυρά, κατεστρέφετο τὴν 'Ἄσίην ἀπ’ ἄλλου ἐπ’ ἄλλο ἰὼν ἔθνος, ἄσδο στρατευσάμενος ἔπι τοὺς 'Ασσυρίους καὶ 'Ασσυρίων τούτως οὐ Νίνου εἰχον καὶ ἥρχον πρότερον πάντων, τότε δὲ ἤσαν μεμυσμένοι μὲν συμμάχων ἀπε ἀπεστεώτων, ἄλλως μέντοι ἐσωτήρες εὐ ἠκούσας, ἐπὶ τούτους δὴ στρατευσάμενος ὁ Φραόρτης αὐτὸς τε διεθάρη, ἄρξας δύο καὶ εἰκοσὶ ἔτεα, καὶ ὁ στρατὸς αὐτοῦ ὁ πολλός.

103. Φραόρτεω δὲ τελευτήσαντος ἐξεδέξατο Κυαξάρης ὁ Φραόρτεω τοῦ Δηιόκεω παῖς. οὗτος λέγεται πολλόν ἔτι γενέσθαι ἀλκιμώτερος τῶν
man in the observance of justice. They would write down their pleas and send them in to him; then would he adjudge upon what was brought him and send his judgments out. This was his manner of deciding cases at law, and he took order too about other matters; for when he heard that a man was doing violence he would send for him and punish him as befitted each offence: and he had spies and eavesdroppers everywhere in his dominions.

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

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

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

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1 Deioces died in 656 B.C.
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προγόνων, καὶ πρώτος τε ἐλάχιστα κατὰ τέλεα τοὺς ἐν τῇ Ἀσίῃ καὶ πρῶτος διέταξε χωρίς ἑκάστους εἶναι, τοὺς τε αἰχμοφόρους καὶ τοὺς τοξοφόρους καὶ τοὺς ἵππεας πρὸ τοῦ δὲ ἀναμίξῃ ἡν πάντα ὁμοίως ἀναπεφυμένα. οὕτος ὁ τοῖς Λυδοῖσι ἦστι μαχεσάμενος ὅτε νῦν ἡ ἡμέρη ἐγένετο σφί μαχομένους, καὶ ὁ τὴν Ἀλνος ποταμοῦ ἄνω Ἀσίην πᾶσαι συστήσας ἐσωτήρ. συλλέξας δὲ τοὺς ὄπι ἐσωτήρ ἀρχομένους πάντας ἐστρατεύετο ἐπὶ τὴν Νίνον, τιμωρεῖς τε τῷ πατρὶ καὶ τὴν πόλιν ταύτην θέλων ἐξελεῖν. καὶ οἶ, ὡς συμβαλὼν ἐνίκησε τοὺς Ἀσσυρίους, περικατημένῳ τὴν Νίνον ἐπῆλθε Σκυθεῶν στρατὸς μέγας, ἢγε δὲ αὐτούς βασίλευς ὁ Σκυθεῶν Μαδύης Προτοθύνω παῖς. οἱ ἐσέβαλον μὲν ἐν τῇ Ἀσίῃ Κιμμερίους ἐκβάλοντες ἐκ τῆς Εὐρώπης, τούτοις δὲ ἐπιστεύσας φεύγουσι οὕτω ἐς τὴν Μηδικὴν χώρην ἀπίκοντο.

104. Ἔστε δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς λίμνης τῆς Μαιήτιδος ἐπὶ Φάσιν ποταμὸν καὶ ἐς Κόλχους τριήκοντα ἥμερεών εὐξάμων ὅδος, ἐκ δὲ τῆς Κόλχιδος οὐ πολλῶν ὑπερβῆναι ἐς τὴν Μηδικήν, ἀλλὰ ἐν τῷ διὰ μέσου ἔθνος αὐτῶν ἔστε, Σάσπειρες, τούτῳ δὲ παραμειβομένους εἶναι ἐν τῇ Μηδικῇ. οὐ μέντοι οἱ γε Σκύθαις ταύτη ἐσέβαλον, ἀλλὰ τὴν κατυπηρθέν ποταμῷ μακροτερήν ἐκτραπόμενοι, ἐν δεξιῇ ἐχοντες τὸ Καυκάσιον ἄρος. ἐνθαῦτα οἱ μὲν Μηδοὶ συμβαλόντες τούσι Σκύθησι καὶ ἔσωθέντες τῇ μάχῃ τῆς ἀρχής κατελύθησαν, οἱ δὲ Σκύθαι τῇ Ἀσίῃ πᾶσαν ἐπέσχον.
warrior than his fathers: it was he who first arrayed the men of Asia in companies and set each kind in bands apart, the spearmen and the archers and the horsemen: before this they were all blended alike confusedly together. This was the king who fought against the Lydians when the day was turned to night in the battle, and who united under his dominion all Asia that is beyond the river Halys. Collecting all his subjects, he marched against Ninus, wishing to avenge his father and to destroy the city. He defeated the Assyrians in battle; but while he was besieging their city there came down upon him a great army of Scythians, led by their king Madyes son of Protothyes. These had invaded Asia after they had driven the Cimmerians out of Europe: pursuing them in their flight the Scythians came to the Median country.  

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

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

2 The Maeetian lake is the Sea of Azov.
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105. Ἐνθεύτευν δὲ ἤσαν ἐπ' Ἀιγύπτου καὶ ἐπείτε ἐγένοντο ἐν τῇ Παλαιστίνῃ Συρίᾳ, Ψαμμη-τίχος σφέας Αιγύπτου βασιλεὺς ἀντιάσας δώ-ροις τε καὶ λυτῆσι ἀποτράπει τὸ προσωτέρω μὴ πορεύσθαι. οἳ δὲ ἐπείτε ἀναχωρεσίας ὅπισώ ἐγένοντο τῆς Συρίας ἐν Ἀσκάλωνι πόλι, τῶν πλεύσων Σκυθέων παρεξελθόντων ἀσινέων, ὡλγοι τιμές αὐτῶν ὑπολειφθέντες ἐσύλησαν τῆς οὐρανίας 'Αφροδίτης τὸ ἱρόν. ἔστι δὲ τούτο τὸ ἱρόν, ὡς ἐγὼ πυθανόμενος εὐρίσκω, πάντων ἀρχαίαταν ἵδιον ὡς ταύτης τῆς θεᾶς καὶ γὰρ τὸ ἐν Κύπρῳ ἵδιον ἐνθεύτευν ἐγένετο, ὡς αὐτὸ τὸ Κύπριοι λέγουσι, καὶ τὸ ἐν Κυθηροῖς Φοίνικες εἰσὶ οἱ ἰδρυσάμενοι ἐκ ταύτης τῆς Συρίας ἑόντες. τούτοι δὲ τῶν Σκυ-θέων συλθήσαν τὸ ἱρόν τὸ ἐν Ἀσκάλωνι καὶ τοῖς τούτων αἰών ἐκγόνωσι ἐνέσκηψε ὁ θεὸς θῆλεαν νοῦσον· ὡστε ἀμα λέγουσι τε οἱ Σκύθαι διὰ τοῦτο σφέας νοσέων, καὶ ὅραν παρ' ἐωτοῖς τοὺς ἀπικνεομένους ἐς τὴν Σκυθικὴν χώρην ὡς δια-κέαται τοὺς καλέουσι Ἐνάρεας οἱ Σκύθαι.

106. Ἐπὶ μὲν νυν ὁκτὼ καὶ εἰκοσι ἢεῖα ἡρχον τῆς Ἀσίας οἱ Σκύθαι, καὶ τὰ πάντα σφὶ ύπὸ τε ὤβριος καὶ ὅλογωρίας ἀνάστατα ἤν; χωρίς μὲν γὰρ φόρου ἔπρησσον παρ' ἐκάστων τὸν ἐκάστοιο ἐπέβαλλον, χωρίς δὲ τοῦ φόρου ἠρπαξον περιε-λαύνοντες τοῦτο ὅ τι ἔχοιεν ἐκαστοῖ οἱ τούτων μὲν τοὺς πλεύνας Κυκάρης τε καὶ Μηδοὶ ξεινί-ςαντες καὶ καταμεθύσαντες κατεφόνευσαν, καὶ οὔτω ἀνεσώσαντο τὴν ἀρχὴν Μηδοὶ καὶ ἐπεκρά-τεον τῶν περ καὶ πρότερον, καὶ τὴν τε Νίνον

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105. Thence they marched against Egypt: and when they were in the part of Syria called Palestine, Psammetichus king of Egypt met them and persuaded them with gifts and prayers to come no further. So they turned back, and when they came on their way to the city of Ascalon in Syria, most of the Scythians passed by and did no harm, but a few remained behind and plundered the temple of Heavenly Aphrodite.¹ This temple, as I learn from what I hear, is the oldest of all the temples of the goddess, for the temple in Cyprus was founded from it, as the Cyprians themselves say: and the temple on Cythera was founded by Phoenicians from this same land of Syria. But the Scythians who pillaged the temple, and all their descendants after them, were afflicted by the goddess with the "female" sickness: insomuch that the Scythians say that this is the cause of their disease, and that those who come to Scythia can see there the plight of the men whom they call "Enareis."²

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

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

² The derivation of this word is uncertain; it is agreed that the disease was a loss of virility. In iv. 67 ἐναφὴς = ἀνδρόγυνος.
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eίλον (ὡς δὲ εἶλον, ἐν ἑτέροις λόγοις δηλώσω) καὶ τοὺς Ἀσσυρίους ὑποχειρίως ἐποιήσαντο πλὴν τῆς Βαβυλωνίης μοίρης.

107. Μετὰ δὲ ταύτα Κυαξάρης μὲν, βασιλεύσας τεσσεράκοντα ἔτεα σὺν τοῖσι Σκύθαι ήρξαν, τελευτά, ἐκδέκεται δὲ Ἀστυάγης Κυαξάρεω παῖς τήν βασιληήν.

Καὶ οἱ ἐγενετοὶ θυγάτηρ τῇ οὐνομα ἔθετο Μανδάνην τὴν ἐδοκεὶ Ἀστυάγης ἐν τῷ ὑπνῷ οὐρῆσαι τοσοῦτον ὥστε πλῆσαι μὲν τὴν ἑωτοῦ τόλην, ἐπικατακλύσαι δὲ καὶ τὴν Ἀσίην πᾶσαν. ὑπερθέμενος δὲ τῶν Μάγων τοῖσι ὀνειροπόλοιοι τὸ ἐνύπνιον, ἐφοβήθη παρ’ αὐτῶν αὐτὰ ἐκαστα μαθών. μετὰ δὲ τὴν Μανδάνην ταύτην ἐσύσαν ἢδη ἄνδρος ὑραίνη Μήδου μὲν τῶν ἑωτοῦ ἄξιον οὔδεν διδοὶ γυναίκα, δεδοικῶς τὴν ὦψιν ὃ δὲ Πέρση διδοὶ τῷ οὐνομα ἦν Καμβύσης, τὸν εὐρισκε σίκη ς μὲν ἑὼντα ἀγαθῆς τρόπου δὲ ἱσχύοι, πολλῷ ἐνερθεὶ ἄγων αὐτῶν μέσου ἄνδρος Μήδου.

108. Συνοικεσύνης δὲ τῷ Καμβύσῃ τῆς Μανδάνης, ὁ Ἀστυάγης τῷ πρώτῳ ἔτει εἶδε ἄλλην ὦψιν, ἐδοκεί δὲ οἱ ἐκ τῶν αἰδοίων τῆς θυγατρός ταύτης φύναι ἄμπελον, τὴν δὲ ἄμπελον ἐπισχεῖν τὴν Ἀσίην πᾶσαν. ἱδὼν δὲ τούτῳ καὶ ὑπερθέμενος τοῖσι ὀνειροπόλοισι, μετεπέμψατο ἐκ τῶν Περσῶν τὴν θυγατέρα ἐπίτεκα ἐσύσαν, ἀπικομένην δὲ ἐφύλαξεν βουλόμενος τὸ γενόμενον ἐξ αὐτῆς διαφθείραι· ἐκ γὰρ οἱ τῆς ὦψιος οἱ τῶν Μάγων ὀνειροπόλοι ἐσήμαινοι ὅτι μέλλοι ὁ τῆς θυγατρός αὐτοῦ γόνος βασιλεύσει ἀντὶ ἐκείνου. ταύτα δὲ ἐν φυλασσόμενοι ὁ Ἀστυάγης, ὡς ἐγενετοὶ ὁ Κύρος, καλέσας Ἀρπαγὸν ἄνδρα οἰκήτων 138
took Ninus (in what manner I will show in a later part of my history), and brought all Assyria except the province of Babylon under their rule.

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

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

108. But in the first year of Mandane's marriage to Cambyses Astyages saw a second vision. He dreamt that there grew from his daughter a vine, which covered the whole of Asia. Having seen this vision, and imparted it to the interpreters of dreams, he sent to the Persians for his daughter, then near her time, and when she came kept her guarded, desiring to kill whatever child she might bear: for the interpreters declared that the meaning of his dream was that his daughter's offspring should rule in his place. Wishing to prevent this, Astyages on the birth of Cyrus summoned to him a man of his household called Harpagus, who was his
καὶ πιστότατόν τε Μήδων καὶ πάντων ἐπίτροπον τῶν ἐωτοῦ, ἐλεγεί οἱ τοιάδε. "Ἀρπαγε, πρήγμα τὸ ἀν τοι προσθέω, μηδαμῶς παραχρήσῃ, μηδὲ ἐμὲ τε παραβάλῃ καὶ ἄλλους ἐλόμενος ἐξ ὑστέρης σοὶ αὐτῷ περιτέσῃς. λάβε τὸν Μανδάνη ἔτεκε παῖδα, φέρον δὲ ἐς σεωτοῦ ἀπόκτεινον, μετὰ δὲ θάψων τρόπῳ ὅτερ αὐτὸς βούλεαι." ὃ δὲ ἀμείβεται "Ὡς βασιλεὺς, οὐτε ἄλλοτε καὶ παρεῖδης ἄνδρι τὰδε ἄχαρι οὐδὲν, φυλασσόμεθα δὲ ἐς σὲ καὶ ἐς τὸν μετέπειτα χρόνον μηδὲν ἐξαμαρτείν. ἀλλ’ εἰ τοῦ φίλου τοῦτο οὐτω γίνεσθαι, χρὴ δὴ τὸ γε ἐμὸν ὑπηρετέσθαι ἐπιτιθέως.

109. Τούτωσι ἀμείψαμενος ὁ Ἀρπαγος, ὡς οἱ παρεδόθη τὸ παιδίου κεκοσμημένον τὴν ἐπὶ θανάτῳ, ἦν κλαίων ἐς τὰ οἰκίαν τερελθὼν δὲ ἐφραζε τῇ ἐωτοῦ γυναικὶ τῶν πάντα Ἀστυάγεος ῥηθέντα λόγον. ἡ δὲ πρὸς αὐτὸν λέγει "Νῦν δὲν τί σοὶ ἐν νόφει μοι ποιεῖν;" ὃ δὲ ἀμείβεται "Οὔ τῇ ἐνετέλλετο Ἀστυάγης, οὐδὲ ἐπαραφρονήσει τε καὶ μανέται κάκιον ἢ νῦν μαίνεται, οὐ οἱ ἐγώγε προσθῆσομαι τῇ γνώμῃ οὐδὲ ἐς φόνον τοιοῦτον ὑπηρετήσω. πολλῶν δὲ εἶνεκα οὐ φονεύσω μοι, καὶ ὅτι αὐτῷ μοι συγγενής ἐστὶ το παῖς, καὶ ὅτι Ἀστυάγης μὲν ἐστὶ γέρων καὶ ἄπαις ἔρσενος γόνου εἰ δ’ ἐθελήσῃ τοῦτον τελευτήσαντος ἐς τὴν θυγατέρα ταύτην ἀναβῆναι θυγατέρα, τῆς νῦν τῶν νῦν κτείνει δ’ ἐμεῖ, ἀλλ’ τι ἢ λειπεῖ τὸ ἐνθεῦτεν ἐμοὶ κινδύνων ὁ μέγιστος; ἀλλὰ τοῦ μὲν ἀσφαλέος εἶνεκα ἐμοὶ δεῖ τοῦτον τελευτῶν τῶν παῖδα, δεὶ μέντοι τῶν των Ἀστυάγεος αὐτοῦ φονέα γενέσθαι καὶ μὴ τῶν ἐμῶν."
faithfullest servant among the Medes and was steward of all his possessions: then he said, "Do not mishandle this command of mine, Harpagus, nor forsake me for the service of others, lest hereafter it be the worse for yourself. Take the boy whom Mandane has borne, and carry him to your house and kill him: and then bury him in what manner you yourself will." "King," Harpagus answered, "never yet have you seen me do aught unpleasing to you; and I will ever be careful not to offend against you. But if it is your will that this should so be done, then it behoves that for my part I render you fitting service."

109. Thus answered Harpagus. The child was then given to him, adorned for its death, and he went to his house weeping. When he came in he told his wife all the command given him by Astyages. "Now, therefore," said she to him, "what purpose you to do?" "Not," he answered, "to obey Astyages' behest, no, not though he lose his wits and be more frantic than now he is: even so I myself will not serve his purpose, nor be his instrument for such a murder. There are many reasons why I will not kill the child: he is akin to myself, and further, Astyages is old, and has no male issue: now if after his death the sovereignty passes to this daughter of his, whose son he is now using me to slay, what is left for me but the greatest of all dangers? Nay, for my safety I must see that the boy dies, but the deed must be done by some one of Astyages' own men and not of mine."
110. Ταύτα εἰπε καὶ αὐτίκα ἀγγελοῦν ἔπεμπε ἐπὶ τῶν βουκόλων τῶν Ἀστυάγεως τῶν ἡπάστατο νομάς τε ἐπιτηδευτάτας νέμοντα καὶ ὅρεα θηριω-δέστατα· τῷ οὖν ξυνία ἡ Μιτραδάτης, συνοίκεε δὲ ἔωστοῦ συνδούλη, οὖν ομοῖα δὲ τῇ γυναίκῃ ἦν τῇ συνοίκεε Κυνῷ κατὰ τὴν Ἕλληνων γλώσσαν, κατὰ δὲ τὴν Μηδικὴν Σπακῶ· τὴν γὰρ κύνα καλέονσαι σπάκα Μήδου. αἱ δὲ ὑπώρεαι εἰς τῶν ὁρέων, ἔνθα τὰς νομάς τῶν βοῶν ἔχει οὕτως δὴ ὁ βουκόλος, πρὸς βορέω τε ἀνέμου τῶν Ἀγβατάνων καὶ πρῶς τοῦ πόντου τοῦ Ἐβδείνου· ταύτη μὲν γὰρ ἡ Μηδικὴ χώρῃ πρὸς Σασπείρων ὀρεινῇ ἔστι κάρτα καὶ υψηλή τε καὶ ἱδρυσι συνηρεφής, ἢ δὲ ἀλλὰ Μηδικὴ χώρῃ ἐστὶ πάσα ἄπεδεσ. ἐτελ ὁν ὁ βουκόλος σπουδῇ πολλῇ καλεόμενος ἀπίκετο, ἔλεγε ὁ Ἁρπαγος τάδε. "Κελεύεις σε Ἀστυάγης τὸ παιδίον τούτο λαβόντα θείναι ἐς τὸ ἐρημότατον τῶν ὁρέων, ὅκως ἀν τάχιστα διαφθαρεῖ· καὶ τάδε τοι ἐκέλευσε εἰπεῖν, ἡν μὴ ἀποκτείνῃς αὐτὸ ἀλλὰ τεῦ ὑπό περιποίησης, ὄλοφο τῷ κακίστῳ σε διαχρήσασθαι. ἐπορᾶν δὲ ἐκκείμενον τέταγμαι ἐγώ."  

111. Ταύτα ἀκούσας ὁ βουκόλος καὶ ἀναλαβὼν τὸ παιδίον ἦς τὴν αὐτήν ὅπισώ ὃδον καὶ ἀπι-κνέεται ἐς τὴν ἑπαυλίν. τῷ δ' ἄρα καὶ αὐτῷ ἡ γυνὴ, ἐπίτεξ ἐοῦς πᾶσαν ἡμέρην, τότε κως κατὰ δαίμονα τίκτει οἰχομένου τοῦ βουκόλου ἐς πόλιν. ἦσαν δὲ ἐν φροντίδι ἀμφότεροι ἄλληλων πέρι, ὃ μὲν τοῦ τόκου τῆς γυναικὸς ἀρρωδέων, ἢ δὲ γυνὴ ὃ τι οὐκ ἔωθος ὁ Ἁρπαγος μεταπέμψατο αὐτῆς τὸν ἀνδρα. ἐπεῖτε δὲ ἀπονοστήσας ἐπέστη, οὐδε εξ ἀελπτοῦ ἱδοῦσα ἡ γυνὴ εἰρετο προτέρη ὁ τι μν
110. So saying, he sent forthwith a messenger to that one of Astyages’ cowherds whom he knew to pasture his herds in the likeliest places and where the mountains were most haunted of wild beasts. The man’s name was Mitradates, and his wife was a slave like him; her name was in the Greek language Cyno, in the Median Spako: for “spax” is the Median name for a dog. The foothills of the mountains where this cowherd pastured his kine are to the north of Agbatana, towards the Euxine sea: for the rest of Media is everywhere a level plain, but here, on the side of the Saspires, the land is very high and mountainous and covered with woods. So when the cowherd came with all speed at the summons, Harpagus said: “Astyages bids you take this child and lay it in the most desolate part of the mountains, that it may thus perish as soon as may be. And he bids me say, that if you kill not the child, but in any way save it alive, you shall die a terrible death: and it is I who am ordered to see it exposed.”

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

¹ In the north-western part of Media: modern Azer-baijan.
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ότω προθύμως Αρπαγος μετεπέμψατο. δὲ 
ἐἰπε ὁμοίως ημένιον τε ἐς πόλιν ἔλθων καὶ ἥκουσα 
tὸ μῆτε ἰδεῖν ὄφελον μῆτε κοτὲ γενέσθαι ἐς 
δεσπότας τοὺς ἡμετέρους. οἶκος μὲν πᾶς Ἀρπα-
γος κλαυθμῷ κατείχετο, ἐγὼ δὲ ἐκπλαγεῖς Ἦμα 
ἔσω. ὥς δὲ τάχιστα ἐσῆλθον, ὅρεω παιδίων προ-
κείμενον ἀσπαίρου τε καὶ κραυγανώμενον, κεκοσμη-
μένον χρυσῷ τε καὶ ἐσθῆτι ποικίλη. Ὅ Αρπαγος δὲ 
ὡς εἰδὲ με, ἐκέλευε τὴν ταχίστην ἀναλαβόντα τὸ 
pαιδίων οἴχεσθαι φέροντα καὶ θείνα ἐνθαδ-
στατον εἴ τῶν ὅρεων, φᾶς Ἀστυάγεα εἶναι τὸν 
tάντα ἐπιθέμενον μοι, πολλῆ ἀπειλῆσας εἰ μή 
σφεα ποιήσαιμι. καὶ ἐγὼ ἀναλαβὼν ἔφερον, 
δοκέων τῶν τινος οἴκετέων εἶναι: οὐ γὰρ ἀν κοτὲ 
κατέδοξα ἐνθέν γε ἦν. ἑθάμβεων δὲ ὅρεων χρυσῷ 
τε καὶ εἶμαι κεκοσμημένον, πρὸς δὲ καὶ κλαυθμῶν 
kατεστεῶτα ἐμφανέα ἐν Ἀρπαγο. καὶ πρόκατε 
δὴ κατ ὅδον πυθάνομαι τὸν πάντα λόγον θερά-
pοντος, ὅς ἐμὲ προπέμπον ἐξω πόλιος ἐνεχείρισε 
tὸ βρέφος, ὥς ἀρα Μανδάνης τε εἴ τοι ποῖς τῆς 
Ἀστυάγεως θυγατρὸς καὶ Καμβύσεω τοῦ Κύρου, 
καὶ μν Ἀστυάγης ἐντελλεται ἀποκτεῖναι. νῦν τε 
ὅδε ἐστὶ.

112. Ἀμα δὲ τάντα ἔλεγε ὁ Βουκόλος καὶ 
ἐκκαλύφας ἀπεδείκνυ. ἢ δὲ ὡς εἰδὲ τὸ παιδίων 
μέγα τε καὶ εὐειδές εἶν, δακρύσασα καὶ λαβομένη 
tῶν γουνάτων τοῦ ἄνδρος ἔχριζε μηδεμίᾳ τέχνῃ 
ἐκθείναι μιν. δὲ οὐκ ἔφη οἴος τ' ἐίναι ἄλλως 
αὐτὰ ποιέων ἐπιφοιτήσει γὰρ κατασκόπους ἐξ 
Ἀρπαγο ἐπιστατῶν, ἀπολέονται τε κάκιστα 
ἵν μὴ σφεα ποιήσῃ. ὅς δὲ οὐκ ἐπιθέθη ἃρα τῶν 
ἄνδρα, δεύτερα λέγει ἡ γυνὴ τάδε. Ὅπει τοῖνν

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BOOK I. III-112

he could speak why Harpagus had so instantly summoned him. "Wife," he said, "when I came to the city, I saw and heard what I would I had never seen and what I would had never happened to our masters. All the house of Harpagus was full of weeping; and I was astonished, and entered in; and immediately I saw a child laid there struggling and crying, decked out with gold and many-coloured raiment. And when Harpagus saw me, he bade me take the child with all speed and bear it away and lay it where there are most wild beasts in the mountains: it was Astyages, he said, who laid this command on me, and Harpagus threatened me grievously if I did not do his will. So I took up the child and bore him away, supposing him to be the child of someone in the household; for I could never have guessed whose he was. But I was amazed at seeing him decked with gold and raiment, and at hearing moreover the manifest sound of weeping in the house of Harpagus. Very soon on the way I heard all the story from a servant who brought me out of the city and gave the child into my charge: to wit, that it was the son of Mandane the king's daughter and Cambyses the son of Cyrus. And now, here is the child."

112. And with that the cowherd uncovered it and showed it. But when the woman saw how fine and fair the child was, she fell aweeping and laid hold of the man's knees and entreated him by no means to expose him. But the husband said he could do no other; for, he said, there would be comings of spies from Harpagus to see what was done, and he must die a terrible death if he did not obey. So then being unable to move her husband, the woman said next: "Since I cannot move you from your
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οὐ δύναμαι σε πείθειν μὴ ἐκθείναι, σὺ δὲ ὅδε ποίησον, εἰ δὴ πᾶσα ἀνάγκη ὄφθηναι ἐκκείμενον. τέτοια γὰρ καὶ ἐγώ, τέτοια δὲ τεθνεός. τούτο μὲν φέρων πρόθεσε, τὸν δὲ τῆς Ἀστυάγεος θυγατέρας παῖδα ὡς ἐξ ἡμέων εὖντα τρέφουμεν. καὶ οὐτὼς οὔτε σὺ ἀλώσεαι ἄδικέων τοὺς δεσπότας οὔτε ἡμῖν κακῶς βεβουλευμένα ἔσται· ὡ τε γὰρ τεθνεῶς βασιλείας ταφῆς κυρὶσει καὶ ὁ περιέων οὐκ ἀπολεῖε τὴν ψυχὴν."  

113. Κάρτα τε ἐδοξῆ τῷ βοικόλῳ πρὸς τὰ παρεόντα εὐ λέγειν ἡ γυνὴ, καὶ αὐτίκα ἐποίεε ταῦτα· τὸν μὲν ἐφερε θανατώσων παῖδα, τοῦτον μὲν παραδιδοῦ τῇ ἐωτοῦ γυναικί, τὸν δὲ ἐωτοῦ ἐόντα νεκρὸν λαβὼν ἔθηκε ἐς τὸ ἄγγος ἐν τῷ ἐφερὲ τὸν ἔτερον. κοσμῆσας δὲ τῷ κόσμῳ παντὶ τοῦ ἐτέρου παιδός, φέρων ἐς τὸ ἐρημώτατον τῶν ὁρέων τιθεί. ὡς δὲ τρίτη ἡμέρῃ τῷ παιδίῳ ἐκκείμενῳ ἐγένετο, ἦμε ἐς πόλιν ὁ βουκόλος, τῶν τινα προβοσκῶν φύλακον αὐτοῦ καταλιπτῶν, ἔλθὼν δὲ ἐς τοῦ Ἀρπάγου ἀποδεικνύμαι ἐφι ἐτοίμος εἶναι τοῦ παιδίου τοῦ νέκυν. πέμψας δὲ ὁ Ἀρπάγος τῶν ἐωτοῦ δορυφόρων τοὺς πιστοτάτους εἴδε τε διὰ τοῦτον καὶ ἔθαψε τοῦ βουκόλου τὸ παιδίον, καὶ τὸ μὲν ἐτέθατο, τὸν δὲ ὑστερον τοῦτον Κύρον ὄνομασθέντα παραλαβοῦσα ἔτρεψε ἡ γυνὴ τοῦ βουκόλου, οὕνωμα ἀλλο κοῦ τι καὶ οὐ Κύρον θεμένη.  

114. Καὶ ὅτε ἦν δεκαετῆς ὁ παῖς, προῆκα ἐς αὐτοῦ τοιόνδε γενόμενον ἐξέφηνε μιν. ἔπαιζε ἐν τῇ κόμῃ ταύτῃ ἐν τῇ ἱσαύν καὶ αἱ βουκολίαι αὐταί, ἔπαιζε δὲ μετ’ ἄλλων ἡλίκιων ἐν ὁδῷ. καὶ οἱ παῖδες παῖζοντες εἰλοντο ἐωτῶν βασιλέα

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BOOK I. 112-114

purpose to expose, then do you do this, if needs must that a child be seen exposed. Know that I too have borne a child, but it was dead; take it now and lay it out, but, for the child of the daughter of Astyages, let us rear it as it were our own; so shall you escape punishment for offending against our masters, and we shall have taken no evil counsel. For the child that is dead will have royal burial, and he that is alive will not lose his life.'

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

114. Now when the boy was ten years old, it was revealed in some such wise as this who he was. He was playing in the village where these herdsmen's quarters were; there he was playing in the road with others of his age. The boys in their
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εἶναι τοῦτον δὴ τὸν τοῦ βουκόλου ἐπίκλησιν παίδα. ὃ δὲ αὐτῶν διέταξε τοὺς μὲν οἰκίας οἰκοδομέειν, τοὺς δὲ δορυφόρους εἶναι, τὸν δὲ κου τινὰ αὐτῶν ὄφθαλμον βασιλέας εἶναι, τῷ δὲ τυχὸν ἀγγελίας φέρειν ἐδίδου γέρας, ὡς ἐκάστῳ ἔργον προστάσσων. εἰς δὴ τούτων τῶν παιδῶν συμπαίζων, ἐὼν Ἀρτεμιβάρεος παῖς ἀνδρὸς δοκίμιον ἐν Μηδοίσι, οὐ γὰρ δὴ ἔποιησε τὸ προσταχθὲν ἐκ τοῦ Κύρου, ἐκέλευε αὐτὸν τοὺς ἀλλοὺς παῖδας διαλαβεῖν, πειθομένοιν δὲ τῶν παιδῶν ὁ Κύρος τὸν παίδα τρηχὲς κάρτα περιέστη μαστυγέων. δὲ ἔπειτε μετείθη τάχιστα, ώς γε δὴ ἀνάξια ἐωντοῡ παθών, μᾶλλον τι περιημέκτεε, κατελθὼν δὲ ἐς τόλων πρὸς τὸν πατέρα ἀποκτίζετο τῶν ὑπὸ Κύρου ήμιτησε, λέγων δὲ οὐ Κύρον (οὐ γὰρ κω ἦν τοῦτο τούνομα), ἄλλα πρὸς τοῦ βουκόλου τοῦ Ἀστυνάγεος παιδός. ὁ δὲ Ἀρτεμιβάρης ὅργη ὡς εἴχε ἐλθὼν παρὰ τὸν Ἀστυνάγεα καὶ ἀμα ἀγόμενος τὸν παίδα ἀνάρσια πρήγματα ἐφ᾿ πεποιθέναι, λέγον ὡς Ἡ βασιλεύ, ὑπὸ τοῦ σοῦ δούλου, βουκόλου δὲ παιδὸς ὠδὲ περιμβρίσμεθα,” δεικνὺς τὸ παιδὸς τοὺς ὁμοὺς.

115. Ἀκούσας δὲ καὶ ἓδων Ἀστυνάγης, θέλων τιμωρῆσαι τῷ παιδὶ τιμῆς τῆς Ἀρτεμιβάρεος εἰνεκα, μετεπέμπτε τὸν τε βουκόλο καὶ τὸν παιδα. ἔπειτε δὲ παρῆραν ἀμφότεροι, βλέψας πρὸς τὸν Κύρον ὁ Ἀστυνάγης ἐφ᾽ ὡς δὴ ἐὼν τοῦδε τοιοῦτου ἐόντος παίς ἐτάλμησας τὸν τοῦδε παιδα ἐόντος πρώτον παρ᾿ ἐμοὶ ἀεικείῃ τοῦτο περιπετεῖν;” ὁ δὲ ἄμειβετο ὠδὲ. ὡς δὲ στατοτα, ἐγὼ ταύτα τοῦτον ἐποίησα σὺν δίκῃ, οὐ γὰρ με ἐκ τῆς κόμης παιδεῖς, τῶν καὶ ὃδε ἦν, παῖζουσες
BOOK I. 114-115

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

115. When Astyages heard and saw, he was ready to avenge the boy in justice to Artembares’ rank: so he sent for the cowherd and his son. When they were both present, Astyages said, fixing his eyes on Cyrus, “Is it you, then, the son of such a father, who have dared to deal so spitefully with the son of the greatest of my courtiers?” “Nay, master,” answered Cyrus, “what I did to him I did with justice. The boys of the village, of whom he was one, chose me
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σφέων αὐτῶν ἐστήσαντο βασιλέα. ἐδόκεον γάρ σφι εἶναι ἐς τοῦτο ἐπιτηδεύτατος. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἄλλοι παῖδες τὰ ἐπιτασσόμενα ἐπετέλεον, οὗτος δὲ ἀνηκούστε εἰς καὶ λόγον εἶχε οὐδένα, ἐς δὲ ἔλαβε τὴν δίκην. εἰ ὁμιλοῦσα εὐνεκά ἀξίος τεν κακοῦ εἰμί, ὅδε τοῦ πάρειμι.”

116. Ταύτα λέγοντος τοῦ παιδὸς τῶν Ἀστυάγεων ἐστὶν ἄναγκος αὐτοῦ, καὶ οἱ ὁ τε χαρακτήρ τοῦ προσώπου προσφέρεσθαι ἐδόκεε ἐς ἑωτόν καὶ ἡ υπόκρισις ἐλευθερωτέρῃ εἶναι, ὃ τε χρόνος τῆς ἐκθέσεως τῆς ἡλικίας τοῦ παιδὸς ἐδόκεε συμβαίνειν. ἐκπλαγεὶς δὲ τούτοις ἔπλε δρόμου ἄφθογγος ἤνγιμος δὲ δὴ κοτε ἀνευεκτείς εἴπε, θέλων ἐκπέμψαι τὸν Ἀρτεμβάρεα, ἱνὰ τὸν βουκόλου μοῦνον λαβῶν βασιλείαν, “Ἀρτεμβάρε, ἔγω ταύτα ποιήσω ὡστε σὲ καὶ τὸν παῖδα τὸν σὺν μηδὲν ἐπιμεμφέσθαι.” τὸν μὲν δὴ Ἀρτεμβάρεα πέμπει, τὸν δὲ Κύριον ἤγον ἔσων οἱ θεράποντες κελεύσαντος τοῦ Ἀστυάγεως, ἐπει δὲ ὑπελέευπτο ὁ βουκόλος μοῦνος μονοθεν, τάδε αὐτὸν εἴρετο ὁ Ἀστυάγης, κόθεν λάβοι τὸν παιδα καὶ τὸν θεῖο τοῦ παραδοῦς. δὲ ἔξ ἑωτοῦ τε ἐφ' ἐγγενέναι καὶ τῆς τεκοῦσαν αὐτὸν εἶναι ἐτί παρ' ἑωτῷ. Ἀστυάγης δὲ μὴν οὐκ εὐ βουλεύεσθαι ἐφ' ἐπιθυμεύοντα ἐς ἀνάγκας μεγάλας ἀπικνέσθαι, ἀμα τὰ Λέγων ταύτα ἐσθήσαι τοῖς δορυφόροις λαμβάνειν αὐτὸν. δὲ ἀγόμενος ἐς τὰς ἀνάγκας οὕτω δὴ ἐφαίνε τὸν ἐόντα λόγον. ἀρχόμενος δὲ ἀπ' ἀρχῆς διεξήν ἡ ἀληθείᾳ χρεώμενον, καὶ κατέβαινε ἐς λιτάς τε καὶ συγγνώμην ἑωτῳ τε κελεύων ἔχειν αὐτὸν.

117. Ἀστυάγης δὲ τοῦ μὲν βουκόλου τὴν ἀληθείᾳ ἐκφήμαντος λόγον ἤδη καὶ ἐλάσσω ἐποίεστο, 150
in their play to be their king: for they thought me the fittest to rule. The other boys then did as I bid them: but this one was disobedient and cared nothing for me, till he got his deserts. So now if I deserve punishment for this, here am I to take it."

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

117. When the truth had been so declared Astyages took thereafter less account of the cowherd, but
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'Αρπάγω δὲ καὶ μεγάλως μεμφόμενος καλέειν αὐτὸν τοὺς δορυφόρους ἐκέλευε. ὡς δὲ οἱ παρῆν ὁ 'Αρπάγως, εἰρέτο μιν ὁ Ἀστυάγης "Ἀρπαγε, τέω δὴ μόρῳ τὸν παίδα κατεχρήσαο τὸν του παρέδωκα ἐκ θυγατρὸς γεγονότα τῆς ἐμῆς;" ὁ δὲ 'Αρπάγως ὥς εἴδε τὸν βουκόλον ἔνδον ἐόντα, οὐ τράπεται ἐπὶ ψευδέα ὄδον, ἵνα μὴ ἐλεγχόμενος ἁλίσκηται, ἀλλὰ λέγει τάδε. "Ὡ βασιλεῦ, ἐπεῖτε παρέλαβον τὸ παιδίον, ἐβούλευον σκοπέων ὄκως σοὶ τε ποιήσω κατὰ νόον, καὶ ἐγὼ πρὸς σὲ γνώμενος ἀναμάρτητος μῆτε θυγατρὶ τῇ σῇ μῆτε αὐτῷ σοι ἐίην αὐθέντης. ποιέω δὴ ὅδε: καλέσας τὸν βουκόλον τόνδε παραδίδωμι τὸ παιδίον, φας σὲ τε εἰναι τὸν κελευοῦτα ἀποκτείναι αὐτό. καὶ λέγων τοῦτό γε οὐκ ἐψευδόμην· σὺ γὰρ ἐνετέλλεις οὕτω. παραδίδωμι μέντοι τὰδε κατὰ τάδε ἐνετελάμενος, θείναι μιν ἐς ἔρημον ὄρος καὶ παραμένουτα φυλάσσεων ἄχρι οὐ τελευτήσῃ, ἀπειλήσας παντοῦτα τὰδε ἵν μῇ τάδε ἐπιτελέα ποιήσῃ. ἐπείτε δὲ ποιήσαντος τοῦτον τὰ κελεύομενα ἐτελεύτησε τὸ παιδίον, πέμψας τῶν εὐνούχων τοὺς πιστοτάτους καὶ εἶδον δι᾽ ἐκείνων καὶ ἔθαψά μιν. οὕτω ἔσχε ὁ βασιλεῦ περὶ τοῦ πρήγματος τούτου, καὶ τοιούτῳ μόρῳ ἐχρήσατο ὁ παῖς."

118."Ἀρπαγος μὲν δὴ τὸν ἰδίων ἐφαίνε λόγον· Ἀστυάγης δὲ κρύπτων τὸν οἱ ἐνείχε σῖλον διὰ τὸ γεγονός, πρῶτα μὲν, κατὰ περ ἦκουσε αὐτὸς πρὸς τοῦ βουκόλου τὸ πρῆγμα, πάλιν ἀπηγέετο τῷ Ἀρπάγῳ, μετὰ δὲ ὃς οἱ ἐπαλληλογήτο, κατέβαινε λέγων ὡς περίεστι το ὁ παῖς καὶ τὸ γεγονός ἔχει καλῶς: "Τῷ τε γὰρ πεποιημένῳ ἐφι λέγων "ἐς τὸν παῖδα τοῦτον ἐκαμον μεγάλως, καὶ θυγατρὶ

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he was very wroth with Harpagus and bade the guards summon him. Harpagus came, and Astyages asked him, "Harpagus, in what manner did you kill the boy, my daughter's son, whom I gave you?" Harpagus saw the cowherd in the house, and did not take the way of falsehood, lest he should be caught and confuted: "O King," he said, "when I took the boy, I thought and considered how I should do you pleasure, and not offend against you, yet not be held a murderer by your daughter or yourself. This then I did: I called to me yonder cowherd, and gave over the child to him, telling him that it was you who gave the command to kill it. And that was the truth; for such was your command. But I gave the child with the charge that the cowherd should lay it on a desolate mountainside, and wait there and watch till it be dead; and I threatened him with all punishments if he did not accomplish this. Then, when he had done what he was bid, and the child was dead, I sent the trustiest of my eunuchs and by them I saw and buried the body. This, O king, is the tale of the matter, and such was the end of the boy."

118. So Harpagus spoke the plain truth. Astyages hid the anger that he had against him for what had been done, and first he related the story again to Harpagus as he had heard it from the cowherd, then, after so repeating it, he made an end by saying that the boy was alive and good had come of it all. "For," so he said in his speech, "I was greatly afflicted about this boy, and it weighed..."
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tῇ ἐμῇ διαβεβλημένος οὐκ ἐν ἐλαφρῷ ἐποιεύμην. ὡς ὁν τῆς τύχης εὐ μετεστεώσης, τούτῳ μὲν τὸν σεωτοῦ παίδα ἀπόπτεψαν παρὰ τὸν παίδα τὸν νεήλυδα, τούτῳ δὲ (σῶστρα γὰρ τοῦ παιδὸς μέλλω θύειν τοῖς θεῶν τιμή αὐτῆς προσκέπτεται) πάρισθι μοι ἐπὶ δείπνου.

119. "Ἄρπαγος μὲν ὁσ ἦκουσε ταῦτα, προσκυνήσας καὶ μεγάλα ποιησάμενος ὅτι τε ἡ ἀμαρτάσαι οἱ ἐσ δεόν ἐγεγόνεε καὶ ὅτι ἐπὶ τύχην χρηστήσα ἐπὶ δείπνου ἐκέκλησε, ἦτε ὕσ τα οἰκία. ἐσελθὼν ἐς τὴν ταχιστὴν, ὦν γὰρ οἱ παῖς εἰς μοῦνον ἔτεα τρία καὶ δέκα κού μάλιστα γεγονός, τούτον ἐκπέμπετι ἴεται τοῖς κελεύσαι ἐς Ἀστυάγεος καὶ ποιεῖν δὲ τι ἀν ἐκεῖνος κελεύσῃ, αὐτὸς δὲ περιχαρῆς ἔων φράζει τῇ γυναικὶ τὰ συγκυρήσαντα. Ἀστυάγης δὲ, ὁσ οἱ ἀπίκετο ὁ ᾿Αρπάγου παῖς, σφάξας αὐτὸν καὶ κατὰ μέλεα διελών τὰ μεν ὠπτησε τὰ δὲ ἦφησε τῶν κρεῶν, εὐτυκα δὲ ποιησάμενος εἶχε ἑτοιμά. ἐπείτε δὲ τῆς ὡρῆς γνωριμενῆς τοῦ δείπνου παρῆσαν οἳ τε ἄλλοι δαιτυμόνες καὶ ᾗ ᾿Αρπαγος, τοῖς μὲν ἀλλοιοί καὶ αὐτῷ Ἀστυάγει παρετήθειο τράπεζα ἐπὶ πλεία μηλέων κρεῶν, ᾿Αρπάγῳ δὲ τοῦ παιδὸς τοῦ ἐωντοῦ, πλὴν κεφαλῆς τε καὶ ἀκρῶν χειρῶν τε καὶ ποδῶν, τᾶλλα πάντα: ταύτα δὲ χωρίς ἐκεῖτο ἐπὶ κανέω κατακεκαμένα. ὡς δὲ τῷ ᾿Αρπάγῳ ἐδόκεε ἀλις ἔχειν τῆς βορῆς, ᾿Αστυάγῆς εἰρετό μιν εἰ ἑσθείη τι τῇ θοίη. φαμένου ὁ ᾿Αρπαγο καὶ κάρτα ἦσθηναι, παρέφερον τούς προσέκειτο τῆς κεφαλῆς τοῦ παιδὸς κατακεκαμένην καὶ τὰς χείρας καὶ τοὺς πόδας, ᾿Αρπαγον δὲ ἐκέλευον προσστάντες ἀποκαλύπτειν τε καὶ λαβείν τὸ βούλεται αὐτῶν.

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

119. When Harpagus heard this he did obeisance and went to his home, greatly pleased to find that his offence had served the needful end and that he was invited to dinner in honour of this fortunate day. Coming in, he bade his only son, a boy of about thirteen years of age, to go to Astyages’ palace and do whatever the king commanded, and in his great joy he told his wife all that had happened. But when Harpagus’ son came, Astyages cut his throat and tearing him limb from limb roasted some and boiled some of the flesh, and the work being finished kept all in readiness. So when it came to the hour for dinner and Harpagus was present among the rest of the guests, dishes of sheeps’ flesh were set before Astyages and the others, but Harpagus was served with the flesh of his own son, all but the head and hands and feet, which lay apart covered up in a basket. And when Harpagus seemed to have eaten his fill, Astyages asked him, “Are you pleased with your meal, Harpagus?” “Exceeding well pleased,” Harpagus answered. Then those whose business it was brought him in the covered basket the head and hands and feet of his son, and they stood before Harpagus and bade him uncover and take of them what he would. Harpagus did so;
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πειθόμενος δὲ ὁ "Ἀρταγός καὶ ἀποκαλύπτων ὅρα
tοῦ παιδὸς τὰ λείμματα, ἦδον δὲ οὐτε ἐξεπλάγη
ἔντος τε ἐσωτερικῆ χίνεται. εἰρετο δὲ αὐτὸν ὁ
Ἀστυάγης εἰ γινώσκοι οὐ τὴν θηρίον κρέα βε-
βρώκοι. δὲ καὶ γινώσκειν ἔφη καὶ ἀρέστον
einai tān tōn βασιλείας ἔρη. τούτοισι δὲ
ἀμειψάμενος καὶ ἀναλαβόν τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν κρεών
توجه ἔστε τὰ οἰκία, ἐνθεύτεν δὲ ἔμελλε, ὡς ἐγὼ δοκέω,
ἀλίσασθα θάψειν τὰ πάντα.

120. Ἀρτάγωρ μὲν Ἀστυάγης δίκην ταύτην
ἐπέθηκε, Κύροι δὲ πέρι βουλευτῶν ἐκάλεε τοὺς
ἀυτοὺς τῶν Μάγων οὗ τὸ ἑνυπνιον οἱ ταύτη
ἐκριναν. ἀπικομένου δὲ εἰρετο ὁ Ἀστυάγης τῇ
ἐκριναν οἳ τὴν ὤψιν. οὐ δὲ κατὰ ταύτα εἰπαν,
λέγοντες ὡς βασιλεύεις χρὴν τὸν παιδά, εἰ ἐπέ-
ζωσε καὶ μὴ ἀπέθανε προτέρον. δὲ ἀμείβεται
ἀυτοὺς τοίσιδε. "Εστι τε ὁ παῖς καὶ περίεστι,
καὶ μιν ἐπὶ ἀγροῦ διαπεμένου οἱ ἐκ τῆς κόμης
παῖδες ἐστήσας το βασιλέα. δὲ πάντα ὡς περ
οἳ ἀληθεῖ λόγω βασιλείαι ἐτελέσωσε ποιήσας· καὶ
γὰρ δορυφόροις καὶ θυρωροῖς καὶ ἀγγελιφόροις
καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ πάντα διατάξας ἤρχε. καὶ νῦν ἐς
tὶ ὑμῖν ταύτα φαίνεται φέρειν;" εἰπαν οἱ Μάγοι
"Εἰ μὲν περίεστι τε καὶ ἐβασιλεύεσ το παιδή μὴ ἐκ
προοίμιος τινός, θάρωσε το τούτον εἶνεκα καὶ θυμοῦ
ἐχε ἀγαθον· οὗ γὰρ ἐτι τὸ δεύτερον ἄρχει. παρά
σμικρά γὰρ καὶ τῶν λογίων ἡμῖν ἐνα κεχάρηκε,
cαὶ τά γε τῶν ὀνειράτων ἐχόμενα τελέως ἐς
ἀσθενεὶς ἔρχεται." ἀμείβεται ὁ Ἀστυάγης τοίσιδε.
"Καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ Μάγοι ταύτῃ πλείστος γνώμην
εἰμί, βασιλέος ὄνομασθέντος τοῦ παιδὸς ἐξή-
κειν τα ὅνειρον καὶ μοι τὸν παιδα τούτον

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he uncovered and saw what was left of his son: this he saw, but he mastered himself and was not dismayed. Astyages asked him, "Know you what beast's flesh you have eaten?" "Yea," he said, "I know, and all that the king does is pleasing to me." With that answer he took the rest of the flesh and went to his house, purposing then, as I suppose, to collect and bury all.

120. Thus did Astyages punish Harpagus. But, to aid him to resolve about Cyrus, he called to him the same Magians who had interpreted his dream as I have said: and when they came Astyages asked them how they had interpreted his vision. They answered as before, and said that the boy must have been made king had he lived and not died first. Then said Astyages, "The boy is saved and alive, and when he was living in the country the boys of his village made him king, and he did duly all that is done by true kings: for he assigned to each severally the places of bodyguards and sentinels and messengers and all else, and so ruled. And to what, think you, does this tend?" "If the boy is alive," said the Magians, "and has been made king without foreknowledge, then fear not for aught that he can do but keep a good heart: he will not be made king a second time. Know that even in our prophecies it is often but a small thing that has been foretold, and the perfect fulfilment of the dream is but a trifling matter." "I too, ye Magians," said Astyages, "am much of your mind—that the dream came true when the boy was called king, and that I
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eίναι δεινών ἔτι ούδεν. ὁμως μὲν γέ τοι συμβουλεύσατε μοι εὐ περισκεψάμενοι τὰ μέλλει ἀσφαλέστατα εἶναι οἰκὼ τῇ ἐμῷ καὶ ὑμῖν.” εἰπαν πρὸς ταῦτα οἱ Μάγοι “Ὡς βασιλεῦ, καὶ αὐτοῖς ἡμῖν περὶ πολλοὺ ἐστὶ κατορθούσατε ἀρχὴν τὴν σή. κείνως μὲν γὰρ ἀλλοτριοῦται ἐς τὸν παῖδα τούτου περιοῦσα ἔστα Πέρσην, καὶ ἡμεῖς ἔόντες Μῆδοι δουλοῦμεθα τε καὶ λόγου οὐδενὸς γνώμεθα πρὸς Περσέων, ἐόντες ξεῖνοι σέο δ’ ἐνεστεῆτος βασιλέος, ἐόντος πολιήτεω, καὶ ἀρχομεν τὸ μέρος καὶ τιμᾶς πρὸς σέο μεγάλας ἔχομεν. ὀὑτὸ ἄν πάντως ἡμῖν σέο καὶ τῆς σῆς ἀρχῆς προστεῖσον ἔστι. καὶ νῦν εἰ φοβερόν τι ἐνωρώμεν, πάν ἀν σοι προεφράζομεν. νῦν δὲ ἀποσκήπαυσος τοῦ ἐνυπνίου ἐσ φαύλου, αὐτότε τε θαρσέομεν καὶ σοι ἔτερα τοιαῦτα παρακελευόμεθα. τὸν δὲ παῖδα τούτου ἢ ὧθαλμῶν ἀπόπεμψαι ἐς Πέρσας τε καὶ τοὺς γειναμένους.”

121. Ἀκούσας ταῦτα ὁ Άστυάγης ἔχαρῃ τε καὶ καλέσας τὸν Κύρον ἔλεγε οἱ τάδε. “Ὡς παί, σὲ γὰρ ἐγὼ δι’ ὤνειρον οὐ τελέην ἡδίκεον, τῇ σεωντοῦ δὲ μοίρῃ περίεις. νῦν ἃν ἢθι χαιρῶν ἐς Πέρσας, πομποῦς δὲ ἐγὼ ἁμα πέμψω. ἤλθων δὲ ἐκεί πατέρα τε καὶ μητέρα εὐρήσεις οὐ κατὰ Μιτραδάτην τε τὸν βουκόλου καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ.”

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

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

122. So said Astyages and sent Cyrus away. When he returned to Cambyses’ house, his parents received him there, and learning who he was they welcomed him heartily, for they had supposed that long ago he had straightway been killed, and they asked him how his life had been saved. Then he told them, and said that till now he had known
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εἶδέναι ἂλλ' ἤμαρτηκέναι πλείστον, κατ' ὁδὸν δὲ πυθέσθαι πᾶσαν τὴν ἐωτοῦ πάθην ἐπίστασθαι μὲν γὰρ ὡς βουκόλου τοῦ Ἀστυάγεος εἰη παῖς, ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς κείθεν ὀδοῦ τῶν πάντα λόγων τῶν πομπῶν πυθέσθαι. τραφήμαι δὲ ἔλεγε ὑπὸ τῆς τοῦ βουκόλου γυναικός, ἥμε τε ταύτην αἰνέων διὰ παντὸς, ὡς τέ οἱ ἐν τῷ λόγῳ τὰ πάντα ἡ Κυρώ. οἱ δὲ τοκεῖς παραλαβόντες τὸ ὀνύμα τοῦτο, ἵνα θειοτέρως δοκῇ τοῦσι Πέρσησι περιείναι σφ', ὅ παῖς, κατέβαλον φάτιν ὡς ἐκκείμενον Κύρων κύων ἐξέδρεψε.

123. Ἐνθέυτεν μὲν ἡ φάτις αὐτὴ κεχώρηκε. Κύρω δὲ ἀνδρευμένῳ καὶ ἐσπεῦ τῶν ἡλίκων ἀνδρημοτάτῳ καὶ προσφιλεστάτῳ προσέκειτο ὁ Ἀρταγός δῶρα πέμπων, τίσασθαι Ἀστυάγεα ἐπιθυμέων ἀπ' ἐωτοῦ γὰρ ἐόντος ἰδιώτε τὸν ἐνώρα τιμωρῆν ἐσμένην ἐς Ἀστυάγεα, Κύρω δὲ ὀρέων ἐπιτρεφόμενον ἐποιέετο σύμμαχον, τὰς πάθας τὰς Κύρου τῆς ἐωτοῦ ὁμοιούμενος. πρὸ δ' ἔτι τούτων τάδε οἱ κατεργαστὸι ἐόντος τοῦ Ἀστυάγεος πικροῦ ἐς τοὺς Μήδους, συμμίσγων ἐν ἐκάστῳ ὁ Ἀρταγός τῶν πρῶτων Μήδων ἀνέπειθε ὡς χρὴ Κύρων προστησαμένους Ἀστυάγεα παῦσαι τῆς βασιλείας. κατεργασμένου δὲ οἱ τούτῳ καὶ ἐόντος ἐτοίμου, οὕτω δὴ τῷ Κύρῳ διαιτημένῳ ἐν Πέρσησι βουλόμενος ὁ Ἀρταγός δηλῶσαι τὴν ἐωτοῦ γνώμην ἄλλης μὲν ὑδαμῶς εἴχε ἄτε τῶν ὁδῶν φυλασσομενῶν, ὃ δὲ ἐπιτεχνάται τοιοῦντες λαγὸν μηχανησάμενος, καὶ ἀνασχίσας τούτῳ τὴν γαστέρα καὶ οὕδεν ἀποτίλας, ὃς δὲ εἴχε οὕτω ἔσεθηκε βυθιόν, γράψας τὰ οἱ έδοκε· ἀπορράψας δὲ τοῦ λαγοῦ τὴν γαστέρα, καὶ δίκτυα δοὺς ἄτε ἐθρευτῇ τῶν 160
nothing but been greatly deceived, but that on the way he had heard all the story of his misfortune; for he had thought, he said, that Astyages' cowherd was his father, but in his journey from the city his escort had told him all the tale. And he had been reared, he said, by the cowherd's wife, and he was full of her praises, and in his tale he was ever speaking of Cyno. Hearing this name, his parents set about a story that Cyrus when exposed was suckled by a bitch, thinking thereby to make the story of his saving seem the more marvellous to the Persians.

123. This then was the beginning of that legend. But as Cyrus grew to man's estate, being the manliest and best loved of his peers, Harpagus courted him and sent him gifts, wishing to be avenged on Astyages; for he saw no hope of a private man like himself punishing Astyages, but as he saw Cyrus growing up he sought to make him an ally, for he likened Cyrus' misfortune to his own. He had already brought matters so far that—since Astyages dealt harshly with the Medians—he consorted with each of the chief Medians and persuaded them to make Cyrus their leader and depose Astyages. So much being ready and done, Harpagus desired to make known his intent to Cyrus, then dwelling among the Persians; but the roads were guarded, and he had no plan for sending a message but this—he artfully slit the belly of a hare, and then leaving it as it was without further harm he put into it a paper on which he wrote what he thought fit. Then he sewed up the hare's belly, and sent it to Persia by the trustiest of his servants,
ΟΙΚΕΤΕΩΝ ΤῪ ΠΙΣΤΟΤΑΤΩ, ἈΠΕΣΤΕΛΛΕ ΕΞ ΤΟΥΣ ΠΕΡΣΑΣ, ἘΝΤΕΙΛΑΜΕΝΟΣ ΟΙ ΑΠΟ ΓΥΛΩΣΗΣ ΔΙΔΟΝΤΑ ΤΟΝ ΛΑΓΟΝ ΚΥΡΟΥ ἘΠΕΙΠΕΙΝ ΑΥΤΟΧΕΙΡΙ ΜΙΝ ΔΙΕΛΕΙΝ ΚΑΙ ΜΗΔΕΝΑ ΟΙ ΤΑΥΤΑ ΠΟΙΕΥΝΤΙ ΠΑΡΕΙΝΑΙ.

124. ΤΑΥΤΑ ΤΕ ΔΗ ΔΩΝ ἘΠΙΤΕΛΕΑ ἘΓΙΝΕΤΟ ΚΑΙ Ο ΚΥΡΟΣ ΠΑΡΑΛΑΒΩΝ ΤΟΝ ΛΑΓΟΝ ΑΝΕΣΧΙΣΕ.ΕΥΡΩΝ ΔΕ ΕΥ ΑΥΤΩΤΟ ΤΟ ΒΥΒΛΙΟΝ ΕΝΕΩΝ ΛΑΒΩΝ ἘΠΕΛΕΓΕΤΟ, ΤΑ ΔΕ ΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΑ ΈΛΕΓΕ ΤΑΔΕ. "Ὡ ΠΑΙ ΚΑΜΒΥΣΕΩ, ΣΕ ΓΑΡ ΘΕΟΙ ΕΠΟΡΩΣΙΓ, ΟΥ ΓΑΡ ἈΝ ΚΟΤΕ ΕΣ ΤΟΣΟΥΤΟ ΤΥΧΗΣ ΑΡΙΚΕΝ, ΣΟΝ ΧΝ ΑΣΤΥΑΓΕΑ ΤΟΝ ΣΕΩΤΟΥ ΦΟΝΕΑ ΤΤΑΙΤΑΙ. ΚΑΤΑ ΜΕΝ ΓΑΡ ΤΗΝ ΤΟΥΤΟΥ ΠΡΟΘΥΜΗΝ ΤΕΘΥΝΚΑΣ, ΤΟ ΔΕ ΚΑΤΑ ΘΕΟΥΣ ΤΕ ΚΑΙ ΕΜΕ ΠΕΡΙΕΙΣ. ΤΑ ΣΕ ΚΑΙ ΠΙΛΑΙ ΔΟΚΕΩ ΠΑΝΤΑ ἘΚΜΕΜΑΘΗΚΕΝΑΙ, ΣΕΟ ΤΕ ΑΥΤΟΥ ΠΕΡΙ ΩΣ ἘΠΡΗΧΘΗ, ΚΑΙ ΟΙ ΕΓΩ ΥΠΟ ΑΣΤΥΑΓΕΟΣ ΠΕΠΟΥΘΑ, ΟΤΙ ΣΕ ΟΥΚ ΑΡΙΚΕΤΕΙΝΑ ΑΛΛΑ ἘΔΩΚΑ ΤΟ ΒΟΥΚΟΛΩ. ΣΟΝ ΧΝ, ἩΝ ΒΟΥΛΗ ΕΜΟΙ ΠΕΙΘΕΘΑΙ, ΤΗΣ ΠΕΡ ΑΣΤΥΑΓΗΣ ἈΡΧΕΙ ΧΩΡΗΣ, ΤΑΥΤΗΣ ΑΠΑΣΗΣ ἈΡΧΕΙΣ. ΠΕΡΣΑΣ ΓΑΡ ΑΝΑΠΕΙΣΑΣ ΑΡΙΣΤΑΣΘΑΙ ΣΤΡΑΤΗΛΑΤΕΕ ΕΠΙ ΜΗΔΟΥΣ. ΚΑΙ ΗΝ ΤΕ ΕΓΩ ΥΠΟ ΑΣΤΥΑΓΕΟΣ ἈΠΟΔΕΧΘΕΟΙ ΣΤΡΑΤΗΓΟΣ ΑΝΤΙΑ ΣΕΥ, ΕΣΤΙ ΤΟΙ ΤΑ ΣΟ ΒΟΥΛΕΑΙ, ΗΝ ΤΕ ΤΩΝ ΤΙΣ ΔΟΚΙΜΩΝ ΆΛΛΟΣ ΜΗΔΩΝ ΠΡΩΤΟΙ ΓΑΡ ΟΥΤΟΙ ἈΠΟΣΤΑΝΤΕΣ ἈΠ ΕΚΕΙΝΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΓΕΝΟΜΕΝΟΙ ΠΡΟΣ ΣΕΟ ΑΣΤΥΑΓΕΑ ΚΑΤΑΙΡΕΕΙΝ ΠΕΙΡΗΣΟΝΤΑΙ. ὩΣ ΔΩΝ ΕΤΟΙΜΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΓΕ ΕΝΘΑΔΕ ΕΟΝΤΟΣ, ΠΟΙΕΣ ΤΑΥΤΑ ΚΑΙ ΠΟΙΕΣ ΚΑΤΑ ΤΑΧΟΣ."

125. ΑΚΟΥΣΑΣ ΤΑΥΤΑ Ο ΚΥΡΟΣ ΕΦΡΟΝΤΙΖΕ ὍΤΕΡΙ ΤΡΟΠΩ ΣΟΦΩΤΑΤΩ ΠΕΡΣΑΣ ΑΝΑΠΕΙΣΕΙ ΑΡΙΣΤΑΣΘΑΙ, ΦΡΟΝΤΙΖΩΝ ΔΕ ΕΥΡΙΣΚΕΤΑΙ ΤΑΥΤΑ ΚΑΙΡΙΩΤΑΤΑ ΕΙΝΑΙ ΕΠΟΙΕΙ ΔΗ ΤΑΥΤΑ. ΓΡΑΨΑΣ ΕΣ ΒΥΒΛΙΟΝ ΤΑ ΕΒΟΥΛΕΤΟ, ἈΛΛΗΝ ΤΩΝ ΠΕΡΣΕΩΝ ΕΠΟΙΗΣΑΤΟ, ΜΕΤΑ ΔΕ ΑΝΑΠΤΥΧΑΣ ΤΟ ΒΥΒΛΙΟΝ ΚΑΙ ΕΠΙΛΕΓΟΜΕΝΟΣ ΕΦΗ ΑΣΤΥΑΓΕΑ ΜΙΝ ΣΤΡΑΤΗΓΟΥ ΠΕΡΣΕΩΝ ΑΠΟΔΕΙΚΝΥΙΑΙ. "ΝΥΝ ΤΕ," ΕΦΗ 162
giving him nets to carry as if he were a huntsman. The messenger was charged to give Cyrus the hare and bid him by word of mouth cut it open with his own hands, none other being present.

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

125. When Cyrus heard this, he considered how most cunningly he might persuade the Persians to revolt; and this he thought most apt to the occasion, and this he did: writing what he would on a paper, he gathered an assembly of the Persians, and then unfolded the paper and declared that Astyages appointed him leader of the Persian armies. "Now,"

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λέγων, "ὦ Πέρσαι, προαγορεύω γυμνο παρείναι ἐκαστον ἔχοντα δρέπανον." Κύρος μὲν ταῦτα προηγόρευσε. ἔστι δὲ Περσέων συχνὰ γένεα, καὶ τὰ μὲν αὐτῶν ὁ Κύρος συνάλλησε καὶ ἀνέπεισε ἀπίστασθαι ἀπὸ Μῆδων. ἔστι δὲ τάδε, εἶ ὡς ἄλλοι πάντες ἀρτέαται Πέρσαι, Πασαργάδαι Μαράφιοι Μάσπτιοι. τούτων Πασαργάδαι εἰσὶ ἀριστοί, εἰς τοῦτο καὶ Ἀχαιμενίδαι εἰσὶ φρήτρη, εἴθεν οἱ βασιλεῖς οἱ Περσείδαι γεγόνασι. ἄλλοι δὲ Πέρσαι εἰσὶ οἴδε, Πανθιαλαῖοι Δηρουσιαῖοι Γερμάνιοι. οὕτως μὲν πάντες ἀρτέατες εἰσὶ, οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι νομάδες, Δάοι Μάρδοι Δροπικοὶ Σαγάρτιοι.

126. Ὁς δὲ παρῆσαν ἄπαντες ἔχοντες τὸ προειρημένον, ἔνθατα ὁ Κύρος, ἣν γὰρ τις χῶρος τῆς Περσικῆς ἀκαυθάδης ὅσον τε ἐπὶ ὄκτωκαίδεκα σταδίους ἦ εἰκοσι πάντη, τούτων σφι τοῦ χῶρον προεῖπε ἔξημερῶσαι ἐν ἡμέρη. ἑπταεισάκτων δὲ τῶν Περσέων τὸν προκείμενον ἄθλουν, δεῦτερά σφι προεῖπε ἐς τὴν ὕπτεραίην παρεῖναι λελου-μένους. ἐν δὲ τούτῳ τά τε αἰτόλια καὶ τάς ποίμνας καὶ τά βουκόλια ὁ Κύρος πάντα τοῦ πατρὸς συνάλίσας ἐς τώντο ἔθυνε καὶ παρεσκεύ-αζε ὡς δεξόμενος τὸν Περσέων στρατὸν, πρὸς δὲ σίγου τε καὶ σιτίοις ὡς ἐπιτηδευτάτοις. ἀπικο-μένους δὲ τῇ ὕπτεραίῃ τοῦς Πέρσας κατακλίνας ἐς λειμώνα εἰώχθει. ἐπείτε δὲ ἀπὸ δεύτερου ἦσαν, εἰρετο σφέας ὁ Κύρος κότερα τὰ τῇ προτεραίη εἴχον ἡ τὰ παρεόντα σφι ἐπὶ αἱρετώτερα. οἱ δὲ ἐφάσαν πολλὸν εἰλαὶ αὐτῶν τὸ μέσον τὴν μὲν γὰρ προτέρην ἡμέρην πάντα σφι κακὰ ἔχεω, τὴν δὲ τότε παρεόυσαν πάντα ἀγαθά. παραλαβὼν δὲ τούτῳ τὸ ἔπος ὁ Κύρος παρεγύμνου τὸν πάντα
said he in his speech, "I bid you all, men of Persia, to come each of you with a sickle." (There are many tribes in Persia: those of them whom Cyrus assembled and persuaded to revolt from the Medes were the Pasargadae, the Maraphii, and the Maspi. On these hang all the other Persians. The chief tribe is that of the Pasargadae; to them belongs the clan of the Achaemenidae, the royal house of Persia. The other Persian tribes are the Panthialaei, the Derusiaei, and the Germani, all tillers of the soil, and the Dai, the Mardi, the Dropici, the Sagartii, all wandering herdsmen.)

126. So when they all came with sickles as commanded, Cyrus bade them clear and make serviceable in one day a certain thorny tract of Persia, of eighteen or twenty furlongs each way in extent. The Persians accomplished the appointed task; Cyrus then commanded them to wash themselves and come on the next day; and meanwhile, gathering together his father's goats and sheep and oxen in one place, he slew and prepared them as a feast for the Persian host, providing also wine and all foods that were most suitable. When the Persians came on the next day he made them sit and feast in a meadow. After dinner he asked them which pleased them best, their task of yesterday or their present state. They answered that the difference was great: all yesterday they had had nought but evil, to-day nought but good. Then taking their word from their mouths Cyrus laid
λόγον, λέγων "Ανδρές Πέρσαι, ούτω ύμιν ἔχει. βουλομένουσι μὲν ἐμέο πείθεσθαι ἐστι τάδε τε καὶ ἄλλα μυρία ἀγαθά, οὐδένα πόνον δουλοπρεπέα ἔχουσι, μὴ βουλομένουσι δὲ ἐμέο πείθεσθαι εἰσὶ ὑμῖν πόνοι τῷ χθιζῷ παραπλήσιοι ἀναρίθμητοι. νῦν δὲν ἐμέο πειθόμενοι γίνεσθε ἐλεύθεροι. αὐτὸς τε γὰρ δοκεώ θείῃ τύχῃ γεγονὼς τάδε εἰς χεῖρας ἀγεσθαι, καὶ ὑμέας ἤγιμαι ἄνδρας Μήδων εἶναι οὐ φαινότερος οὐτε τάλλα οὐτε τὰ πολέμια. ὡς δὲν ἐχόντων ὅδε, ἀπίστασθε ἀπ’ Ἀστυάγεος τὴν ταχίστην."

127. Πέρσαι μὲν νυν προστάτεω ἐπιλαβόμενοι ἀσμενοὶ ἐλεύθεροντο, καὶ πάλαι δεινὸν ποιεύμενοι ὑπὸ Μήδων ἀρχεσθαι. Ἀστυάγης δὲ ὡς ἐπύθετο Κύρων ταῦτα πρήσοντα, πέμψας ἄγγελον ἐκάλεε αὐτὸν. ὁ δὲ Κύρος ἐκέλευε τὸν ἄγγελον ἀπαγγέλλειν ὅτι πρότερον ἦξοι παρ’ ἐκεῖνὸν ἡ Ἀστυάγης αὐτὸς βουλήσεται. ἀκούσας δὲ ταῦτα ὁ Ἀστυάγης Μήδους τε ὤπλισε πάντας, καὶ στρατηγὸν αὐτῶν ὥστε θεοβλαβῆς ἐὼν "Ἀρ- παγον ἀπέδεξε, λήθην ποιεύμενος τὰ μὲν ἐόργεε. ὡς δὲ οἱ Μήδοι στρατευσάμενοι τοῖς Πέρσαις συνέμισαν, οὐ μὲν τινὲς αὐτῶν ἐμάχοντο, ὅσοι μὴ τοῦ λόγου μετέσχον, οὐ δὲ αὐτομόλεον πρὸς τοὺς Πέρσας, οἱ δὲ πλεῖστοι ἐθελοκάκεον τε καὶ ἐφευγον.

128. Διαλυθέντος δὲ τοῦ Μηδικοῦ στρατευ- ματος αἰσχρῶς, ὡς ἐπύθετο τάχιστα ὁ Ἀστυάγης, έφη ἀπειλέων τῷ Κύρῳ "Ἀλλ’ οὐδ’ ὡς Κύρος γε χαρῆσει." τοσαῦτα εἴπας πρώτον μὲν τῶν Μάγων τοὺς ὀνειροπόλους, οὐ μὲν ἀνέγρωσαν μετείναι τὸν Κύρον, τούτους ἀνεσκολόπισε, μετὰ δὲ ὤπλισε

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bare all his purpose, and said: "This is your case, men of Persia: obey me and you shall have these good things and ten thousand others besides with no toil and slavery; but if you will not obey me you will have labours unnumbered, like to your toil of yesterday. Now, therefore, do as I bid you, and win your freedom. For I think that I myself was saved by a marvellous providence to take this work in hand; and I deem you full as good men as the Medes in war and in all else. All this is true; wherefore now revolt from Astyages with all speed!"

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

128. Thus the Median army was foully scattered. Astyages, hearing this, sent a threatening message to Cyrus, "that even so he should not go unpunished"; and with that he took the Magians who interpreted dreams and had persuaded him to let Cyrus go free, and impaled them; then he armed
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tους ὑπολειφθέντας ἐν τῷ ᾠστεὶ τῶν Μῆδων, νέους τε καὶ πρεσβύτας ἄνδρας. ἐξαγαγὼν δὲ τούτους καὶ συμβαλῶν τούτοις Πέργην ἐσσῶθη, καὶ αὐτὸς τε Ἀστυάγης ἐξωγρήθη καὶ τοὺς ἐξήγαγε τῶν Μῆδων ἀπέβαλε.

129. Ἐστὶ δὲ αἰχμαλώτῳ τῷ Ἀστυάγει προστάς ὁ Ἀρπαγος κατέχαρε τε καὶ κατεκερτόμεε, καὶ ἄλλα λέγων ἐς αὐτὸν θυμαλγέα ἔπεα, καὶ δὴ καὶ εὐρετὸ μιν πρὸς τὸ ἐωτοῦ δεῖπνου, τὸ μιν ἐκεῖνον σαρξί τοῦ παιδὸς ἐθοίνησε, ὡς τι εὑρή ἢ ἐκεῖνον δουλοσύνη ἀντὶ τῆς βασιλείας. Ὅ δὲ μιν προσεδὼν αὐτεῖρο εἰ ἐωτοῦ ποιεῖται τὸ Κύρου ἔργον. Ἀρπαγὸς δὲ ἔφη, αὐτὸς γὰρ γράφαι, τὸ πρήγμα ἐωτοῦ δὴ διαίως εἶναι. Ἀστυάγης δὲ μιν ἀπέφαυνε τῷ λόγῳ σκαίατατον τε καὶ ἀδικώτατον ἐόντα πάντων ἀνθρώπων, σκαίατατον μέν γε, εἰ παρεῖν αὐτῷ βασιλέα γενέσθαι, εἰ δὴ δὴ ἐωτοῦ γε ἐπρήξη αὐτὸ παρεόντα, ἀλλὰ περιέθηκε τὸ κράτος, ἀδικώτατον δὲ, ὅτι τοῦ δεῖπνου εἴναιον Μῆδους κατεδούλωσε. εἰ γὰρ δὴ δείν πάντως περιθέων ἄλλω τεῷ τῆς βασιλείας καὶ μὴ αὐτῶν ἔχειν, δικαιότερον εἶναι Μῆδων τεῷ περιβαλεῖν τοῦτο τὸ ἀγαθὸν Ἡ Περσέων. νῦν δὲ Μῆδους μὲν ἀναιτίους τούτων ἐόντας δοῦλους ἀντὶ δεσποτέων γεγονέναι, Πέρσας δὲ δούλους ἐόντας τὸ πρὶν Μῆδων νῦν γεγονέναι δεσπότας.

130. Ἀστυάγης μὲν νυν βασιλεύσας ἐπ' ἔτεα πέντε καὶ τριήκοντα οὐτῳ τῆς βασιλείας καταπαύσθη, Μῆδοι δὲ ὑπέκυψαν Πέρσηι διὰ τὴν τούτων πικρότητα, ἀρξαντες τῆς ἄνω Ἀλνος ποταμοῦ Ἀσίης ἐπ' ἔτεα τριήκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν δυῶν δέοντα, πάρεξ ἡ ὁσον ὑ Σκύθαι ἦρχουν.
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the Medes who were left in the city, the youths and old men. Leading these out, and encountering the Persians, he was worsted: Astyages himself was taken prisoner, and lost the Median army which he led.

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

130. Thus Astyages was deposed from his sovereignty after a reign of thirty-five years: and the Medians were made to bow down before the Persians by reason of Astyages’ cruelty. They had ruled all Asia beyond the Halys for one hundred and twenty-eight years,¹ from which must be taken the time when the Scythians held sway. At a later

¹ 687 to 559 B.C. The Scythians ruled 634–606 B.C.
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υστέρω μέντοι χρόνω μετεμέλησε τέ σφι ταύτα ποιήσασι καὶ ἀπέστησαν ἀπὸ Δαρείου, ἀποστάντες δὲ ὅπισώ κατεστράφησαν μάχῃ νικηθέντες. τότε δὲ ἔπι Ἀστυάγεος οἱ Πέρσαι τε καὶ ὁ Κύρος ἐπαναστάντες τοίς Μήδοις ἦρχον τὸ ἀπὸ τούτον τῆς Ἀσίης. Ἀστυάγεα δὲ Κύρος κακὸν οὖν ἔδει ἀλλο ποιήσας εἴχῃ παρ’ ἑωτῷ, ἀς ἐτελεύτησε.

Οὔτω δὴ Κύρος γενόμενος τε καὶ τραφεὶς ἐβασίλευσε καὶ Κροίδον υστερον τούτων ἀρξαντα ἀδικίας κατεστρέψατο, ὡς εὑρηταί μοι πρότερον, τούτον δὲ καταστρεψάμενος οὔτω πάσης τῆς Ἀσίης ἦρξε.

131. Πέρσαι δὲ οἶδα νῦμοις τοιοῦτοι χρεωμένους, ἀγάλματα μὲν καὶ νηοὺς καὶ βωμοὺς οὖκ ἐν νόμῳ ποιευμένους ἱδρύεσθαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ποιεύσῃ μωρίῃ ἐπιφέρουσι, ως μὲν ἔμοι δοκεῖν, διτ οὐκ ἀνδρωποφυέσας ἐνόμισαν τοὺς θεοὺς κατὰ περ οἱ Ἐλληνες εἶναι: οὐ δὲ νομίζουσι Διὶ μὲν ἐπὶ τὰ ψηλότατα τῶν ὁρέων ἀναβαίνοντες θυσίας ἔρθειν, τὸν κύκλον πάντα τοῦ οὐρανοῦ Δία καλέοντες: θύουσι δὲ ἡλίῳ τε καὶ σελήνῃ καὶ γῆ καὶ πυρὶ καὶ ὦδατι καὶ ἀνέμοισι· τούτοισι μὲν δὴ θύουσι μοῦνοι άρχηθεν, ἐπιμεμαθήκασι δὲ καὶ τῇ Οὐρανίᾳ θύειν, παρὰ τέ Ἀσσυρίων μαθόντες καὶ Ἀραβίων· καλέουσι δὲ Ἀσσυρίων τὴν Ἀφροδίτην Μύλιτα, Ἀράβιοι δὲ Ἀλιλάτ, Πέρσαι δὲ Μῖτραι.

132. Ἐνικὴ δὲ τοῖς Πέρσαι περὶ τοὺς εἰρημένους θεοὺς ἢ δε κατέστηκε· οὔτε βωμοὺς ποιεύνται οὔτε πῦρ ἀνακαίουσι μέλλοντες θύειν, οὐ σπονδὴ χρεώνται, οὐκὶ αὐλῶ, οὐ στῆμασι, οὐκὶ οὐλῆσι· τῶν δὲ ὡς ἐκάστῳ θύειν θέλη, ἐς χύρων

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time they repented of what they now did, and rebelled against Darius\(^1\); but they were defeated in battle and brought back into subjection. But now, in Astyages' time, Cyrus and the Persians rose in revolt against the Medes, and from this time ruled Asia. As for Astyages, Cyrus did him no further harm, and kept him in his own house till Astyages died.

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

131. As to the usages of the Persians, I know them to be these. It is not their custom to make and set up statues and temples and altars, but those who make such they deem foolish, as I suppose, because they never believed the gods, as do the Greeks, to be in the likeness of men; but they call the whole circle of heaven Zeus, and to him they offer sacrifice on the highest peaks of the mountains; they sacrifice also to the sun and moon and earth and fire and water and winds. These are the only gods to whom they have ever sacrificed from the beginning; they have learnt later, to sacrifice to the "heavenly"\(^2\) Aphrodite, from the Assyrians and Arabians. She is called by the Assyrians Mylitta, by the Arabians Alilat, by the Persians Mitra.

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

\(^{1}\) In 520 B.C.; the event is recorded in a cuneiform inscription.

\(^{2}\) See note on ch. 105.
καθαρὸν ἀγαγῶν τὸ κτήνος καλέει τὸν θεόν, ἐστε-φανωμένος τὸν τιάραν μυρσίνη μάλιστα. ἐνεπτῷ μὲν δὴ τῷ θύντι ἴδῃ κούνφι οὐ κύνις ἐν γάρ δὴ τούτῳ ἀπασί Πέρσης καὶ αὐτὸς γίνεται. ἐπεάν δὲ ὁμοστύλος κατὰ μέλεα τὸ ἱρήνον ἐφήση τὰ κρέα, ὑποπάσας ποίην ἀπαλωτάτην, μάλιστα δὲ τὸ τρίφυλλον, ἐπὶ ταύτης ἔθηκε οὐ πάντα τὰ κρέα. διαθέντω δὲ αὐτῷ Μάγως ἀνήρ παρεστῶς ἐπαείδει θεογονίαν, οὐκ ἤδη ἐκεῖνοι λέγουσι εἶναι τὴν ἐπαοιδήν. ἀνευ γὰρ ὁ Μάγως οὐ σφί νόμος ἐστι θυσίας ποιεσθαι. ἐπισχῶν δὲ ὄλγον χρόνον ἀποφέρεται ὁ θύσαι τὰ κρέα καὶ χράται ὁ τι μνὸς αἰρέει.

133. Ὅμερην δὲ ἀπασέων μάλιστα ἐκείνην τιμᾶν νομίζουσί τῇ ἑκαστος ἐγένετο. ἐν ταύτῃ δὲ πλέω δαίτα τῶν ἅλλων δικαίωσε ἐπρονθεσθαι· ἐν τῇ οἱ εὐδαίμονες αὐτῶν βοῦν καὶ ἵππον καὶ κάμηλον καὶ ὅνον προτιθέαται ὅλους ὅπτους ἐν καμίνοις, οἱ δὲ πένητες αὐτῶν τὰ λεπτὰ τῶν προβάτων προτιθέαται. σίτοισι δὲ ὄλγοις χρέωνται, ἐπιφορήμασι δὲ πολλοῖς καὶ οὐκ ἀλέσι· καὶ διὰ τοῦτο φασὶ Πέρσαι τοὺς "Ελλήνας στεο-μένους πεινῶντας παύεσθαι, ὅτι σφί ἀπὸ δείπνου παραφορέται οὐδὲν λόγῳ ἄξιων· εἰ δὲ τοῦ παρα-φέροιτο, ἐσθίοντας ἄν οὐ παύεσθαι. οἰνῳ δὲ κάρτα προσκέται, καὶ σφί οὐκ ἐμέσαι ἐξεστι, οὐκὶ ὁὐρῆσαι ἀντίων ἄλλου. ταύτα μὲν νυν οὐτω φυλάσσεται, μεθυσκόμενοι δὲ ἐώσιν βουλεύεσθαι τὰ σπουδαιότατα τῶν πρηγμάτων· τὸ δὲ ἂν ἄδη σφί βουλευομένοισι, τούτῳ τῇ ἔστεραί τη νήφουσι 172
beast to an open space and then calls on the god, himself wearing a crown on his cap, of myrtle for choice. To pray for blessings for himself alone is not lawful for the sacrificer; rather he prays that it may be well with the king and all the Persians; for he reckons himself among them. He then cuts the victim limb from limb into portions, and having roasted the flesh spreads the softest grass, trefoil by choice, and places all of it on this. When he has so disposed it a Magian comes near and chants over it the song of the birth of the gods, as the Persian tradition relates it; for no sacrifice can be offered without a Magian. Then after a little while the sacrificer carries away the flesh and uses it as he pleases.

133. The day which every man most honours is his own birthday. On this he thinks it right to serve a more abundant meal than on other days; before the rich are set oxen or horses or camels or asses, roasted whole in ovens; the poorer serve up the lesser kinds of cattle. Their courses are few, the dainties that follow are many and not all served together. This is why the Persians say of the Greeks, that they rise from table still hungry, because not much dessert is set before them: were this too given to the Greek (say the Persians) he would never cease eating. They are greatly given to wine; none may vomit or make water in another's presence. This then is prohibited among them. Moreover it is their custom to deliberate about the gravest matters when they are drunk; and what they approve in their counsels is proposed to them the next day by the master of the house where they deliberate, when they are now sober;
Κατά λόγον [τῷ λεγομένῳ] Stein.
and if being sober they still approve it, they act thereon, but if not, they cast it aside. And when they have taken counsel about a matter when sober, they decide upon it when they are drunk.

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

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

¹ This appears to mean, that the farther off a subject nation is, the less direct is the control exercised by the Medes; on the same principle as that which makes the Persians hold their subjects in less and less estimation in proportion to their distance from the seat of empire.
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tηδεύονσι, καὶ δὴ καὶ ἀπ’ Ἑλλήνων μαθόντες παιδὶ μᾶγχονται. γαμέουσι δὲ ἐκαστος αὐτῶν πολλὰς μὲν κουριδίας γυναῖκας, πολλῷ δ’ ἐτὶ πλεύνας παλλακῶς κτώνται.

136. Ἀνδραγαθίη δὲ αὕτη ἀποδεδεκταί, μετὰ τὸ μάχεσθαι εἶναι ἁγαθόν, δὲ ἀν πολλοὺς ἀποδέξῃ παῖδας· τῷ δὲ τοὺς πλείστους ἀποδεικνύντι δῶρα ἐκπέμπει βασιλεὺς ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος. τὸ πολλὸν δ’ ἤγεαται ὅσχυρον εἶναι. παιδεύουσι δὲ τοὺς παῖδας ἀπὸ πενταέτεος ἀρξάμενοι μέχρι εἰκοσαέτεος τρία μοῦνα, ἰππεύειν καὶ τοξεύειν καὶ ἀληθίζεσθαι. πρὶν δὲ ἡ πενταέτης γέννηται, οὐκ ἀπικνεῖται ἐσ ὁψιν τῷ πατρὶ, ἀλλὰ παρὰ τῇ γυναιξὶ διὰ ταῦτα ἔχει. τούδε δὲ εἴεικα τούτῳ οὕτω ποιέσθαι, ἵνα ἢν ἀποθανή τρεφόμενος, μηδεμίαν ἁσθενὲς τῷ πατρὶ προσβάλῃ.

137. Αἰνέω μὲν νυν τόνδε τὸν νόμον, αἰνέω δὲ καὶ τόνδε, τὸ μὴ μής αἰτίης εἰνεκα μήτε αὐτὸν τὸν βασιλέα μηδένα φονεύειν, μήτε τῶν ἄλλων Περσῶν μηδένα τῶν ἑωτοῦ οἰκετέων ἐπὶ μὴν αἰτίη ἀνήκεστον πάθος ἔρδειν· ἀλλά λογισάμενος ἢν εὐρίσκη πλέον τε καὶ μέξῳ τα ἀδικήματα ἐόντα τῶν ὑπουργημάτων, οὕτω τῷ θυμῷ χράται. ἀποκτείναι δὲ οὐδένα καὶ λέγουσι τὸν ἑωτοῦ πατέρα οὐδὲ μητέρα, ἀλλὰ ὡκοσα ἡγη τοιαῦτα ἐγένετο, πᾶσαν ἀνάγκην φασὶ ἀναζήτητος ταῦτα ἀνεφεθήναι ήτοι ὑποβολαια ἐόντα ἦ μοιχία· οὐ γὰρ δὴ φασὶ οἶκος εἶναι τὸν γε ἀληθέως τοκέα ὑπὸ τοῦ ἑωτοῦ παιδὸς ἀποθνήσκειν.

138. "Ἀσσα δὲ σφί ποιέειν οὐκ ἔξεστι, ταῦτα οὖδὲ λέγειν ἔξεστι. αἰσχυστὸν δὲ αὐτοῖς ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀνθρώπινοι νεικόμεναι, δεύτερα δὲ τὸ ὀφείλειν χρέους, 176
BOOK I. 135-138

are of all kinds, and all borrowed; the Greeks taught them unnatural vices. Every Persian marries many lawful wives, and keeps still more concubines.

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

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

138. Moreover of what they may not do neither may they speak. They hold lying to be foulest of all, and next to that debt; for which they have
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πολλῶν μὲν καὶ ἄλλων εὖνεκα, μάλιστα δὲ ἀναγκαίην φασὶ εἶναι τῶν ὁφείλοντα καὶ τι ψεύδος λέγειν. ὃς ἀν δὲ τῶν ἀστῶν λέπρην ἢ λεύκην ἔχῃ, ἐς πόλιν οὖτος οὐ κατέρχεται οὐδὲ συμμίσχεται τοιοῦ ἄλλοις Πέρσης· φασὶ δὲ μιν ἐς τῶν ἥλιων ἀμαρτώντα τι ταῦτα ἔχειν. ξείνων δὲ πάντα τῶν λαμβανόμενον ὑπὸ τούτων πολλοὶ ἐξελαύνουσι ἐκ τῆς χώρης, καὶ τὰς λευκὰς περιστερὰς, τὴν αὐτὴν αἰτίην ἐπιφέροντες. ἐς ποταμὸν δὲ οὔτε ἐνουρέουσι οὔτε ἐμπτύουσι, οὐ χεῖρας ἐναπονύζονται, οὐδὲ ἄλλον οὐδένα περιορῶσι, ἀλλὰ σέβονται ποταμοῦς μάλιστα.

139. Καὶ τόδε ἄλλο σφὶ ὁδε συμπέπτωκε γίνεσθαι, τὸ Πέρσας μὲν αὐτοῦς λέληθε, ἡμέας μὲντοι οὐ· τὰ οὐνόματά σφὶ ἐστὶ ὁμοία τοῦτο σῶμασι καὶ τὴ μεγαλοπρεπεὶς τελευτῶσι πάντα ἐς τῶν γράμμα, τὸ Δωρίες μὲν σὰν καλέουσι, Ἰωνες δὲ σύμμα· ἐς τούτῳ διὶ ημένοις εὐρήσεις τελευτῶσι τῶν Περσῶν τὰ οὐνόματα, οὐ τὰ μὲν τὰ δ’ οὐ, ἀλλὰ πάντα ὁμοίως.

140. Ταῦτα μὲν ἀτρεκέως ἔχω περὶ αὐτῶν εἰδῶς εἰπεῖν τάδε μέντοι ὡς κρυπτόμενα λέγεται καὶ οὐ σαφηνέως περὶ τοῦ ἀποθανόντος, ὡς οὐ πρότερον θάπτεται ἄνδρος Πέρσεω· ο νέκυς πρὶν ἄν ὑπ’ ὀρνιθὸς ἢ κυνὸς ἐλκυσθῇ. Μάγοι μὲν γὰρ ἀτρεκέως οίδα ταῦτα ποιεῖταί· ἐμφανέως γὰρ ἦ δὴ ποιεῖσθι. κατακηρώσαντες δὲ δῶν τὸν νέκυν Πέρσαι γῆ κρύπτουσι. Μάγοι δὲ κεχωρίδαται πολλὸν τῶν τε ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων καὶ τῶν ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ ιρέων. οὐ μὲν γὰρ ἀγνεύοντι ἐμψυχον μηδὲν κτείνειν, εἰ μὴ δειαθύνουσι· οἱ δὲ ἡ Μάγοι αὐτοχειρὶ πάντα πλὴν κυνὸς καὶ ἀνθρώπου κτείνουσι, καὶ

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many other reasons, but this in especial, that the
debtor must needs (so they say) speak some falsehood.
The citizen who has leprosy or the white sickness
may not come into a town or consort with other Per-
sians. They say that he is so afflicted because he has
sinned in some wise against the sun. Many drive
every stranger, who takes such a disease, out of the
country; and so they do to white doves, for the
reason aforesaid. Rivers they chiefly reverence;
they will neither make water nor spit nor wash their
hands therein, nor suffer anyone so to do.

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

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

N 2
ΗΡΟΔΟΤΟΣ

ἀγώνισμα μέγα τούτο ποιεῦνται, κτείνοντες ὤμοιως μύρμηκάς τε καὶ ὀφίς καὶ τάλλα ἐρπετὰ καὶ πετεινᾶ. καὶ ἀμφὶ μὲν τῷ νόμῳ τούτῳ ἔχετο ὡς καὶ ἀρχὴν ἐνομίσθη, ἀνειμι δὲ ἐπὶ τῶν πρότερον λόγων.

141. Ἰωνεὶ δὲ καὶ Αἰσλείς, ὡς οἱ Δυνοὶ τάχιστα κατεστράφατο ὑπὸ Περσέων, ἐπεμπον ἀγγέλους ἐς Σάρδις παρὰ Κύρου, ἐθέλοντες ἐπὶ τοῖς αὐτοῖς εἶναι τοῖς καὶ Κροίσῳ ἦσαν κατήκουν. δὲ ἀκούσας αὐτῶν τὰ προσχοντο ἔλεξε σφι λόγον, ἀνδρὰ φᾶς αὐλητὴν ἱδόντα ἴχθὺς ἐν τῇ θαλάσσῃ αὐλέειν, δοκέοντα σφέας ἐξελεύσεσθαι ἐς γην ὦς δὲ προσθῆναι τῆς ἐπίδος, λαβεῖν ἀμφίβληστρον καὶ περιβαλεῖν τε πλῆθος πολλὸν τῶν ἴχθυόν καὶ ἐξειρύσαι, ἱδόντα δὲ παλλομένους εἰπεῖν ἄρα αὐτὸν πρὸς τοὺς ἴχθυς· "Παύεσθέ μοι ὄρχεόμενοι, επεὶ οὐδέ ἐμέο αὐλέοντος θέλετε ἐκβαίνειν ὄρχεόμενοι." Κύρου μὲν τούτων τὸν λόγον τοῖς Ἰωσὶ καὶ τοῖσι Αἰσλεύσι τῶν δὲ εἶνεκα ἔλεξε, ὅτι δὴ οἱ Ἰωνεὶ πρῶτον αὐτοῦ Κύρου δειθέντος δὲ ἀγγέλων ἀπίστασθαι σφέας ἀπὸ Κροίσου οὐκ ἐπείθοντο, τότε δὲ κατεργασμένων τῶν πρηγμάτων ἦσαν ἐτοιμοὶ πεῖθεσθαι Κύρφ. δὲ μὲν δὴ ὁργῇ ἔχομενος ἔλεγε σφι τάδε· "Ἰωνεὶ δὲ ὡς ἤκουσαν τοὺς ἀνενειχθέντως ἐς τὰς πόλιας, τείχεα τε περιβάλοντο ἐκαστοί καὶ συνελέγοντο ἐς Πανιώνιον οἱ ἄλλοι, πλὴν Μιλησίων πρὸς μοῦνος γὰρ τοὺς ὄρκους Κύρου ἐποιήσατο ἐπὶ οὖσὶ περὶ δυνᾶσε. τοῖσι δὲ λοιποὶ Ἰωσὶ ἑδοξέ κοινῷ λόγῳ πέμπτειν ἀγγέλους ἐς Σπάρτην δεησομένους Ἰωσὶ τιμωρεῖν.
and men; they kill all alike, ants and snakes, creeping and flying things, and take much pride therein. Leaving this custom to be such as it has been from the first,¹ I return now to my former story.

141. As soon as the Lydians had been subdued by the Persians, the Ionians and Aeolians sent messengers to Cyrus, offering to be his subjects on the same terms as those which they had under Croesus. Having heard what they proposed, Cyrus told them a story. Once, he said, there was a flute-player who saw fishes in the sea and played upon his flute, thinking that so they would come out on to the land. Being disappointed of his hope, he took a net and gathered in and drew out a great multitude of the fishes; and seeing them leaping, "You had best," said he, "cease from your dancing now; you would not come out and dance then, when I played to you." The reason why Cyrus told the story to the Ionians and Aeolians was that the Ionians, who were ready to obey him when the victory was won, had before refused when he sent a message asking them to revolt from Croesus. So he answered them in his anger. But when the message came to the Ionians in their cities, they fortified themselves severally with walls, and assembled in the Panionion,² all except the Milesians, with whom alone Cyrus had made a treaty on the same terms as that which they had with the Lydians. The rest of the Ionians resolved to send envoys in the name of them all to Sparta, to ask help for the Ionians.

¹ Lit. "let matters stand concerning this custom as it was first instituted": i.e., apparently, "let us be content with knowing that this custom is as it has been from its origin."

² See ch. 148.

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142. Οἱ δὲ Ἰωνεῖς οὗτοι, τῶν καὶ τὸ Πανιώνιον ἔστι, τὸν μὲν οὐρανὸν καὶ τῶν ύρέων ἐν τῷ καλ- 
λιστῷ ἐτύγχανον ἰδρυσάμενοι πόλισις πάντων 
ἀνθρώπων τῶν ἡμεῖς ἤδειν· οὔτε γὰρ τὰ ἄνω αὐ- 
τῆς χωρία τῶν ἔστι ποιεῖ τῇ Ἰωνίᾳ οὔτε τὰ κάτω 
οὔτε τὰ πρὸς τὴν ἥδη οὔτε τὰ πρὸς τὴν ἑσπέρην, 
τὰ μὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ ψυχροῦ τε καὶ ύγροῦ πιεζόμενα, 
τὰ δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ θερμοῦ τε καὶ αὐχμώδεσος. γιλωσ-
σαν δὲ οὐ τὴν αὐτὴν οὗτοι νεομίκασιν, ἀλλὰ τρό-
πους τέσσερα παραγωγέων. Μίλητος μὲν αὐτέων 
πρώτη κέεται πόλις πρὸς μεσαμβρίνην, μετὰ δὲ 
Μυὸνις τε καὶ Πριήνη. αὐταί μὲν ἐν τῇ Καρίᾳ 
κατοίκησαν κατὰ ταύτα διαλεγομέναι σφίσι, αἰδέ 
δὲ ἐν τῇ Ἀνδριά, Ἰῃφεσσὶς Κολοφῶν Λεύκης 
Κλαζομεναί Φώκαια· αὐταί δὲ αἱ πόλεις τῆ 
πρότερον λεχθείσης ὁμολογούσι κατὰ γιλωσαν 
οὐδεν, σφίσι δὲ ὑμοφωνέουσι. ἔτι δὲ τρεῖς ὑπό-
λοιποί Ἰάδες πόλεις, τῶν αἱ δύο μὲν υήσους οἰκέ-
αται, Σάμον τε καὶ Χίον, ἢ δὲ μία ἐν τῇ ἡπείρῳ 
ιδρυται, Ἔρυθραι. Χίοι μὲν νυν καὶ Ἔρυθραι κατὰ 
τῶν διαλεγοῦνταί, Σάμιοι δὲ ἐπὶ ἐνυτῶν 
μοῦνοι. οὗτοι χαρακτῆρες γιλωσης τέσσερα 
γίνονται.

143. Τούτων δὲ ἄν τῶν Ἰώνων οἱ Μιλήσιοι μὲν 
ἡσαν ἐν σκέπη τοῦ φόβου, ὅρκιον ποιεσμένοι, 
τοίσι δὲ αὐτῶν νησιώτησι ἢν δειοῦν οὐδεν· οὔτε 
γὰρ Φοίνικες ἡσάν καὶ Περσέων κατήκουσι οὔτε 
αὐτοὶ οἱ Πέρσαι ναυβάται. ἀπεσχισθησαν δὲ 
ἀπὸ τῶν ἀλλῶν Ἰώνων οὗτοι κατ᾽ ἄλλο μὲν οὐδεν, 
ἀσθενεός δὲ ἐνυτὸς τοῦ παντὸς τότε Ἑλληνικοῦ

1 οὔτε τὰ πρῶς... ἑσπέρην bracketed by Stein.
BOOK I. 142-143

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

143. Among these Ionians, the Milesians were sheltered from the danger (for they had made a treaty), and the islanders among them had nothing to fear; for the Phoenicians were not yet subjects of the Persians, nor were the Persians themselves shipmen. But they of Asia were cut off from the rest of the Ionians in no other way save as I shall show. The whole Hellenic race was then but small,
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gένεος, πολλῷ δὴ ἦν ἀσθενέστατον τῶν ἑθνῶν τὸ Ἰωνικὸν καὶ λόγου ἐλαχίστον. ὅτι γὰρ μὴ Ἀθήναι, ἦν οὐδὲν ἄλλο πόλισμα λόγιμον. οἱ μὲν νῦν ἄλλοι Ἰωνες καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναίοι ἐφυγον τὸ οὐνόμα, οὐ βουλόμενοι Ἰωνες κεκλήσθαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ νῦν φαίνονται μοι οἱ πολλοὶ αὐτῶν ἐπαισχύνεσθαι τῷ οὐνόματι· αἰ δὲ δυνάμεκα πόλιες αὐταὶ τῷ τε οὐνόματι ἡγάλλυτο καὶ ἱρὸν ἱδρύσαντο ἐπὶ σφέων αὐτέων, τῷ οὐνόμα κεντόν Πανιώνιον, ἐβουλεύσαντο δὲ αὐτοῦ μεταδοῦναι μηδαμοῦτα ἄλλοις Ἰωνοῖς (οὐδ' ἐδεήθησαν δὲ οὔδαμοι μετασχεῖν ὅτι μὴ Σμυρναίοι). 144. κατὰ περ οἱ ἐκ τῆς πενταπόλιος νῦν χώρης Δωρίες, πρότερον δὲ ἐξαπόλως τῆς αὐτῆς ταύτης καλεομένης, φυλάσσονται ὃν μηδαμοὺς ἐσδέξασθαι τῶν προσοικῶν Δωρίων ἐς τὸ Τριοπικὸν ἱρὸν, ἀλλὰ καὶ σφέων αὐτῶν τοὺς περὶ τὸ ἱρὸν ἀνομήσαντας ἐξεκλήσασθαι τῆς μετοχῆς. ἐν γὰρ τῷ ἁγώνι του Τριοπίου Ἀπόλλωνος ἐτίθεσαν τὸ πάλαι τρίποδος χαλκέους τοῖς νυκώσι, καὶ τούτος χρῆν τοὺς λαμβάνοντας ἐκ τοῦ ἱρὸς μὴ ἐκφέρειν ἀλλ' αὐτοῦ ἀνατιθέναι τῷ θεῷ. ἀνήρ ὁς Ἀλκαρηνησεύς, τῷ οὐνόμα ἤν Ἀγασικέλης, νικήσας τὸν νόμον κατηλόγησε, φέρων δὲ πρὸς τὰ ἑωυτὸς οἰκία προσεπασάλευσε τὸν τρίποδα. διὰ ταύτην τὴν αἰτήσει αἱ πέντε πόλεις, Λίνδος καὶ Ἰῆλυσός τε καὶ Κάμειρος καὶ Κῶς τε καὶ Κνίδος ἐξεκλήσαν τῆς μετοχῆς τὴν ἐκκήν τόλμην Ἀλκαρηνησόν. τούτοις μὲν νῦν οὐκετὸ ταύτῃ τῇ ξημῆν ἐπέθηκαν.

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

145. As for the Ionians, the reason why they made twelve cities and would admit no more was in my judgment this, that there were twelve divisions of
οἶκεον, δυόδεκα ἦν αὐτῶν μέρεα, κατὰ περ ὑν Ἀχαιῶν τῶν ἔξελασάντων Ἰωνας δυόδεκα ἐστὶ μέρεα, Πελλήνη μὲν γε πρώτη πρὸς Σικύωνος, μετὰ δὲ Αἰνείρα καὶ Αἰγαί, ἐν τῇ Κράθις ποταμὸς ἀείνας ἐστὶ, ἀπ’ ὅτεν ὦ ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ ποταμὸς τὸ οὖνομα ἔσχε, καὶ Βοῦρα καὶ Ἐλίκη, ἐς τὴν κατέφυγον Ἰωνας ὑπὸ Ἀχαιῶν μάχῃ ἐσσωθέντες, καὶ Αἰγιον καὶ Ῥύπες καὶ Πατρέες καὶ Φαρεῖς καὶ Ὀλενος, ὦ τῷ Πείρος ποταμὸς μέγας ἐστὶ, καὶ Δύμη καὶ Τριταιέες, οἱ μοῦνοι τούτων μεσόγαιοι οἰκέουσι. ταῦτα δυόδεκα μέρεα νῦν Ἀχαιῶν ἐστὶ καὶ τότε γε Ἰωνῶν ἦν.

146. Τούτων δὴ εἶνεκα καὶ οἱ Ἰωνας δυὸδεκα πόλιας ἐποιήσαντο· ἐπεὶ δὲ γε τι μᾶλλον οὕτω Ἰωνας εἰσὶ τῶν ἄλλων Ἰωνῶν ἡ καλλιότερ ὑπογεωσι, μοριὴ πολλῆ λέγειν· τὸν Ἀβάντες μὲν ἐξ Εὐβοίας εἰσὶ οὐκ ἐλαχίστη μοίρα, τοῖς Ἰωνίς μέτα οὐδὲ τοῦ οὖνοματος οὐδέν. Μινύαι δὲ Ὀρχομένιοι σφι ἀναμεμίχαται καὶ Καθμεῖοι καὶ Δρύσπες καὶ Φωκεῖς ἀποδάμῳ καὶ Μολοσσοῖ καὶ Ἀρκάδες Πελαιοῖο καὶ Δωρίες Ἐπιδαύριοι, ἀλλὰ τε ἔθνεα πολλὰ ἀναμεμίχαται· οἱ δὲ αὐτῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ πρυτανήγου τοῦ Ἀθηναίων ὅμοιότεροι καὶ νομίζοντες γενναίοτατοί εἰναι Ἰωνῶν, οὕτως δὲ οὐ γυναῖκας ἠγάγοντο ἐς τὴν ἀποικίαν ἀλλὰ Καεφιας ἔσχον, τῶν ἐφονευσαν τοὺς γονέας. διὰ τούτων δὲ τῶν φόνων αἱ γυναῖκες αὐται νόμων θέμεναι σφίσι αὐτῇς ὁρκοῦς ἐπήλασαν καὶ παρέδοσαν τῇς θυγατράσι, μὴ κοτὲ ὀμοσιτήσαι τοῖς ἄνδρασι μηδὲ οὐνόματι βῶσαι τὸν ἐωτῆς ἄνδρα, τοῦτο εἶνεκα ὡς ἐφονευσαν σφέων τοὺς πατέρας καὶ

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them when they dwelt in Peloponnesus, just as there are twelve divisions of the Achaeans who drove the Ionians out, Pellene nearest to Sicyon, then Aegira and Aegae, where is the never-failing river Crathis, from which the river in Italy took its name; Bura and Helice, whither the Ionians fled when they were worsted in battle by the Achaeans; Aegion, Rhype, Patrae, Phareae, and Olenus, where is the great river Pirus; Dyme and Tritaeae, the only inland cities of all these; these were the twelve divisions of the Ionians, as they are now of the Achaeans.

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

147. Ταῦτα δὲ ἦν γινόμενα ἐν Μιλήτῳ. βασιλέας δὲ ἐστήσαντο οἱ μὲν αὐτῶν Λυκίους ἀπὸ Γλαύκου τοῦ Ἰππολόχου γεγονότας, οἱ δὲ Καῦκοντος Πυλίους ἀπὸ Κόδρου τοῦ Μελάνθου, οἱ δὲ καὶ συναμφότεροι. ἀλλὰ γὰρ περιέχονται τοὺς οὐνόματος μᾶλλον τὶ τῶν ἄλλων Ἰωνῶν, ἔστωσαν δὴ καὶ οἱ καθαρῶς γεγονότες Ἰωνεῖς. εἰσὶ δὲ πάντες Ἰωνεῖς ὁσοὶ ἀπ' Ἄθηναν γεγόνασι καὶ Ἀπατούρια ἄγουσι ὀρτῆν, ἄγουσι δὲ πάντες πλὴν Ἐφεσίων καὶ Κολοφωνίων οὐτοὶ γὰρ μοῦν Ἰωνῶν οὐκ ἄγουσι Ἀπατούρια, καὶ οὐτοὶ κατὰ φόνον τινὰ σκῃψιν.

148. Τὸ δὲ Πανιώνιον ἐστὶ τῆς Μυκάλης χώρας ἰρὸς πρὸς ἅρκτον τετραμένος, κοινὴ ἔξαραρμένος ὑπὸ Ἰωνῶν Ποσειδέων Ἐλικωνίω. ἡ δὲ Μυκάλη ἐστὶ τῆς ἱπτείρου ἄκρη πρὸς ξέφυρον ἀνεμον κατήκουσα Σάμῳ καταντίον, ἐς τὴν συλλεγόμενον ἀπὸ τῶν πολέων Ἰωνεῖς ἄγεσκον ὀρτῆν τῇ ἑθείτω οὖν μα Πανιώνια. [πεπώθησε δὲ οὕτω μοῦναι αἱ Ἰωνῶν ὀρται τοῦτο, ἀλλὰ καὶ Ἐλλήνων πάντων ομοίως πᾶσαι ἐς τὸν ἄραμμα τελευτῶσι, κατὰ περ τῶν Περσῶν τὰ οὐνόματα.]\(^1\)

149. Αὐτὸι μὲν αἱ Ἰάδες πόλεις εἰςί, αἴδε δὲ αἱ Αἰολίδες, Κύμη ἢ Φρίκωνις καλεομένη, Δήρισαι, Νέοι τείχος, Τήμνος, Κίλλα, Νότιον,

\(^1\) The bracketed words are clearly out of place. Probably they are a marginal note with reference to some commentator's assertion that the α-ending of names of festivals was specially Ionic.

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them after slaying their fathers and husbands and sons.

147. This happened at Miletus. And for kings some of them chose Lycian descendants of Glauclus son of Hippolochus, and some Caucones of Pylus, descendants of Codrus son of Melanthus, and some both. Yet seeing that they set more store by the name than the rest of the Ionians, let it be granted that those of pure birth are Ionians; and all are Ionians who are of Athenian descent and keep the feast Apaturia.  

1 All do so keep it, saving the men of Ephesus and Colophon; these are the only Ionians who do not keep it, and these by reason, they say, of a certain deed of blood.

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

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

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

2 Perhaps so called from a mountain in Aeolis, Phricion, near which the Aeolians had been settled before their migration to Asia.

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Αἰγιρόεσσα, Πιτάνη, Αἰγαίαι, Μύρνα, Γρύνεια. αὐτὰι ἐνδεκα Ἀιολέων πόλεις αἱ ἀρχαῖαι: μία γὰρ σφέων παρελύθη Σμύρνη ὑπὸ Ἰώνων ἤσαν γὰρ καὶ αὐτὰι δυόδεκα αἱ ἐν τῇ ἡπείρῳ. οὗτοι δὲ οἱ Ἀιολέες χώρην μὲν ἔτυχον κτίσαντες ἀμείνω Ἰώνων, ὅρεων δὲ ἦκουσαν οὐκ ὀμοίως.

150. Σμύρνην δὲ ὥδε ἀπέβαλον Αἰολέες. Κολοφωνίους ἄνδρας στάσι ἔσσωθέντας καὶ ἐκπεσόντας ἑκ τῆς πατρίδος ὑπεδέξαντο. μετὰ δὲ οἱ φυγάδες τῶν Κολοφωνίων φυλάξαντες τοὺς Σμυρναίους ὀρτήν ἔξω τεῖχεσ ποιεμένους Διονύσῳ, τάς πύλας ἀποκλησάντες ἔσχον τὴν πόλιν. βοηθησάντων δὲ πάντων Αἰολέων, ὁμολογίᾳ ἔχρησαν τὰ ἐπιτελα ἀποδόντων τῶν Ἰώνων ἐκλιπέτων Σμύρνην Αἰολέας. ποιησάντων δὲ ταῦτα Σμυρναίων ἐπιδιείλοντο σφέας αἱ ἐνδεκα πόλεις καὶ ἐποιήσαντο σφέων αὐτῶν πολιήτας.

151. Ἀὐτὰι μὲν νων αἱ ἱπειρώτιδες Αἰολίδες πόλεις, ἔξω τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἰδὴ οἰκημενέων κεχωρίδαται γὰρ αὐταί. αἱ δὲ τὰς νῆσους ἔχουσαι πέντε μὲν πόλεις τὴν Δέσβου νέμονται (τὴν γὰρ ἔκτην ἐν τῇ Δέσβῳ οἰκημένην Ἀρίσβαν ἡδραπόδισαν Μηθυμναιοί ἐόντας ὀμαίμους), ἐν Τενέδῳ δὲ μία οἰκῆται πόλις, καὶ ἐν τῇ Ἠκατόν νήσοις καλεομένης ἀλλή μία. Δεσβίοισι μὲν νων καὶ Τενεδίοισι, κατὰ περ Ἰώνων τοῖς τὰς νῆσους ἔχουσι, ἥν δεινὸν οὐδὲν τῇς δὲ λοιπῆς πόλις ἔαδε κοινὴ Ἔωσι ἔπεσθαι τῇ ἄν οὕτω ἔξηγένωται.

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BOOK I. 149–151

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

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

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

¹ These places lie between Smyrna and Pergamum, on or near the coast. But AEGIROESSA has not been exactly identified.
² A group of small islands between Lesbos and the mainland.
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152. Ὄς δὲ ἀπίκουστο ἐσ τὴν Σπάρτην τῶν Ἰώνων καὶ Αιολέων οἱ ἀγγέλοι (κατὰ γὰρ δὴ τάχος ἦν ταῦτα πρησσόμενα), ἐξέλοντο πρὸ πάντων λέγειν τὸν Φωκαέα, τῷ οὖνομα ἦν Πύθερμος. ὁ δὲ πορφύρεον τε ἐίμα περιβαλόμενος, ὡς ἄν πυριθανόμενοι πλεῖστοι συνελθοίευν Σπαρτιητέων, καὶ καταστάς ἔλεγε πολλὰ τιμωρεῖν ἐωτοίοις χρηίζον. Δακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ οὐ κως ἔσθηκον, ἀλλ’ ἀπέδοξε σφι μὴ τιμωρεῖν Ἰωσι. οἱ μὲν δὴ ἀπαλλάσσοντο, Δακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ ἀποσάμενοι τῶν Ἰώνων τοὺς ἀγγέλους ὁμώς ἀπέστειλαν πεντηκοντέρω ἀνδρας, ὡς μὲν ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν, κατασκόπους τῶν τε Κύρου πρηγμάτων καὶ Ἰωνίας. ἀπικόμενοι δὲ οὕτως ἐς Φώκαιαν ἔστρεμον ὡς Σάρδεις σφέων αὐτῶν τὸν δοκιμώτατον, τῷ οὖνομα ἦν Λακρίνης, ἀπερέωντα Κύρος Δακεδαιμονίων ῥήστιν, γῆς τῆς Ἐλλάδος μηδεμίαν πόλιν σιωμωρεῖν, ὡς αὐτῶν οὐ περιοφομένων.

153. Ταῦτα εἰπόντος τοῦ κήρυκος, λέγεται Κύρον ἐπεφέρεσθαι τοὺς παρεόντας οἱ Ἐλλήνων τίνες ἑόντες ἄνδρωποι. Δακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ κόσοι πλῆθος ταῦτα ἑωυτῷ προαγορεύουσι: πυριθανόμενον δὲ μὲν εἰπεῖν πρὸς τὸν κήρυκα τὸν Σπαρτιήτην "Οὐκ ἐδεισά κω ἄνδρας τοιούτους, τοῖσι ἐστὶ χῶρος ἐν μέσῃ τῇ πόλι ἀποδεδεγμένος ἐς τὸν συλλεξόμενοι ἀλλήλους ὁμώνυτες ἐξαπατῶσι: τοῖσι, ἢν ἐγὼ ὑγιαίνω, οὐ τὰ Ἰώνων πάθεα ἐσται ἔλλεσχα ἀλλὰ τὰ σικήμα;“ ταῦτα ἐς τοὺς πάντας “Ἐλληνας ἀπέρρυψε ὁ Κύρος τὰ ἔσπεα, ὅτι ἄγορᾶς στησάμενοι ὑψή τε καὶ πρήσι χρέωνται αὐτοὶ γὰρ οἱ Πέρσαι ἀγορῆσι, οὐδὲν ἐώθασι χρᾶσθαι, οὐδὲ σφι ἔστι τὸ παράπαν ἄγορή. μετὰ ταῦτα ἐπιτρέψας
BOOK I. 152-153

152. So when the envoys of the Ionians and Aeolians came to Sparta (for this was set afoot with all speed) they chose the Phocaean, whose name was Pythermos, to speak for all. He then put on a purple cloak, that as many Spartans as possible might assemble to hear him, and stood up and made a long speech asking aid for his people. But the Lacedaemonians would not listen to him and refused to aid the Ionians. So the Ionians departed; but the Lacedaemonians, though they had rejected their envoys, did nevertheless send men in a ship of fifty oars to see (as I suppose) how it fared with Cyrus and Ionia. These, coming to Phocaea, sent Lacrines, who was the most esteemed among them, to Sardis, to repeat there to Cyrus a proclamation of the Lacedaemonians, that he must harm no city on Greek territory; else the Lacedaemonians would punish him.

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

154. Ὡς δὲ ἀπῆλασε ὁ Κύρος ἐκ τῶν Σαρδίων, τοὺς Λυδοὺς ἀπέστησε ὁ Πακτύης ἀπὸ τε Ταβαλοῦ καὶ Κύρου, καταβὰς δὲ ἐπὶ θάλασσαν, ἀτε τὸν χρυσὸν ἐχὼν πάντα τὸν ἐκ τῶν Σαρδίων, ἐπικούρους τε ἐμισθοῦτο καὶ τοὺς ἐπιθαλασσίους ἀνθρώπους ἐπειθεὶς σὺν ἑωντῷ στρατευσθαι. ἔλασας δὲ ἐπὶ τὰς Σάρδις ἐπολιορκεῖς Τάβαλον ἀπεργοῦν ἐν τῇ ἀκροπόλι.

155. Πυθόμενος δὲ κατ’ ὦδὸν ταῦτα ὁ Κύρος ἐλπὶ πρὸς Κροίσον τάδε. "Κροίσε, τί ἐστι τέλος τῶν γινομένων τούτων ἐμοῖ; οὐ παύσουται Λυδοί, ὡς οἴκασι, πρήγματα παρέχοντες καὶ αὐτοί ἐχοντες. φροντίζω μὴ ἄριστον ἢ ἔξαιραποδίσασθαι σφέας. ὦμοιος γὰρ μοι νῦν γε φαινομαι πεποιηκέναι ὡς εἰ τις πατέρα ἀποκτείνωσι τῶν παίδων αὐτοῦ φεῖσατο, ὃς δὲ καὶ ἐγὼ Λυδῶν τὸν μὲν πλέον τι ἡ πατέρα ἐόντα σὲ λαβῶν ἀγω, αὐτοῖς δὲ Λυδοῖς τὴν πόλιν παρέδωκα, καὶ ἔπειτα θωμάξω εἰ μοι ἀπεστάσι." ὃ μὲν δὴ τά περ ἐνοῦε ἐλεγε, δ’ ἀμείβετο τοῖς δεισε ἐδείσας μὴ ἀναστάτους ποιησή τὰς Σάρδις. "Ω βασιλεῦ, τὰ μὲν οἰκίστα εἰρήκας, σὺ μὲν τοῖς μὴ πάντα τιμω χρέο, μηδὲ πόλιν ἀρχαίνε ἐξαναστήσῃς ἀναμάρ-
BOOK I. 153-155

entrusting Sardis to a Persian called Tabalus, and
charging Pactyes, a Lydian, to bring the gold of
Croesus and the Lydians, he himself marched away
to Agbatana, taking with him Croesus, and at first
making no account of the Ionians. For he had
Babylon on his hands and the Bactrian nation and
the Sace and Egyptians; he was minded to lead an
army himself against these and to send other forces
against the Ionians.

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

155. When Cyrus had news of this on his journey,
he said to Croesus, "What end am I to make, Croesus,
of this business? it seems that the Lydians will
never cease making trouble for me and for themselves.
It is in my mind that it may be best to make slaves
of them; for now methinks I have done like one that
should slay the father and spare the children. So
likewise I have taken with me you who were more
than a father to the Lydians, and handed the city
over to the Lydians themselves; and then forsooth
I marvel that they revolt!" So Cyrus uttered his
thought; but Croesus feared that he would destroy
Sardis, and thus answered him: "O King, what you
say is but reasonable. Yet do not ever yield to anger,
nor destroy an ancient city that is guiltless both of
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tητον ἔσυσαν καὶ τῶν πρότερον καὶ τῶν νῦν ἔστεώτων. τὰ μὲν γὰρ πρότερον ἐγὼ τε ἔπρηξα καὶ ἐγὼ κεφαλὴ ἀναμάξας φέρω. τὰ δὲ νῦν παρεόντας Πακτύης γαρ ἔστι ὁ ἀδικέων, τῷ σὺ ἐπέτρεψας Σάρδις, οὕτος δότω τοι δίκην. Λυ-δοῖσι δὲ συγγνώμην ἔχων τάδε αὐτοίσι ἐπίταξον, ὥσ μήτε ἀποστέωσι μήτε δεινόν τοι ἔσω τί ἀπείπε μὲν σφι πέμψας ὑπλα ἀρήμα μὴ ἐκτῆσθαι, κέλευε δὲ σφέας κιθώνας τε ὑποδύουν τοῖσὶ εἰμασί καὶ κοθόρνους ὑποδέεσθαι, πρόειπε δὲ αὐτοῖσι κιθαρίζειν τε καὶ ψάλλειν καὶ κατηλεύειν παιδεύειν τοὺς παιδας. καὶ ταχέως σφέας ὡς βασιλεὺς γυναῖκας ἀντ᾽ ἀνδρῶν ὁψεῖ προσοδότας, ὡστε οὐδὲν δεινόν τοι ἐσονται μὴ ἀποστέωσι."  

156. Κροίσος μὲν δὴ ταυτά οἱ ὑπετίθετο, αἱρετώτερα ταυτα εὐρίσκων Λυδοῖσι ἡ ἀνδραποδισθέντας πρηθήναι σφέας, ἐπιστάμενος δὴ ἢ μὴ ἀξιόχρεον πρόφασιν προτείνῃ, οὐκ ἀναπείσει μιν μεταβουλεύσασθαι, ἀρρωδέων δὲ μὴ καὶ ύστερον κοτὲ οἱ Λυδοὶ, ἢν τὸ παρεῦν ὑπεκδράμωσι, ἀποστάντες ἀπὸ τῶν Περσέων ἀπόλλονται. Κῦρος δὲ ἡσθείς τῇ υποθήκῃ καὶ υπείς τῆς ἀργῆς ἐφή οἱ πεῖθεσθαι καλέσας δὲ Μαξάρεα ἀνδρα Μήδων, ταυτά τέ οἱ ἐνετείλατο προεπείν Λυδοῖσι τὰ ὁ Κροίσος ὑπετίθετο, καὶ πρὸς ἐξανδραποδίσασθαι τοὺς ἄλλους πάντας οἱ μετὰ Λυδών ἐπὶ Σάρδις ἐστρατεύσαντο, αὐτῶν δὲ Πακτύης πάντως ἕστα ἀγαγεῖν παρ᾿ ἐσωτόν.  

157. "Ο μὲν δὴ ταυτά ἐκ τῆς ὁδοῦ ἐντειλάμενος ἀπήλαυνε ἢ θέα τὰ Περσέων, Πακτύης δὲ πυθόμενος ἄγχοι ἐιναι στρατῶν ἐπ᾿ ἐσωτόν ὕστα ἐδίσα οἴχετο φεύγων ἢς Κύμην. Μαξάρης δὲ ὁ
the former and of the latter offence. For the beginning was my work, and on my head is the penalty; but it is Pactyes, in whose charge you left Sardis, who does this present wrong; let him therefore be punished. But let the Lydians be pardoned; and lay on them this command, that they may not revolt or be dangerous to you; send, I say, and forbid them to possess weapons of war, and command them to wear tunics under their cloaks and buskins on their feet, and to teach their sons lyre-playing and song and dance and huckstering. Then, O king, you will soon see them turned to women instead of men; and thus you need not fear lest they revolt."

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

157. Having given these commands on his journey, he marched away into the Persian country. But Pactyes, learning that an army sent against him was drawing near, was affrighted and fled to Cyme.
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Μήδες ἐλάσσας ἐπὶ τὰς Σάρδις τοῦ Κύρου στρατοῦ μοίραν δὴ κοτὲ ἔχων, ὡς οὐκ εὑρε ἐτὶ ἐόντας τοὺς ἄμφι Πακτῦν ἐν Σάρδισι, πρῶτα μὲν τοὺς Λυδοὺς ἡμᾶς καστεύετε τὰς Κύρου ἐντολὰς ἐπιτελεῖν, ἐκ τούτου δὲ κελευσμοσύνης Λυδοὶ τὴν πᾶσαν διάταξαν τῆς ξοῆς μετέβαλον. Μαξάρης δὲ μετὰ τούτο ἐπεμπε ἐς τὴν Κύμην ἀγγέλους ἐκδιδόναι κελεύων Πακτῦν. οἱ δὲ Κυμαιοὶ ἐγνώσαν συμβολής πέρι ἐς θεῶν ἀνοίσασι τὸν ἐν Βραγχίδηςι ἢν γὰρ αὐτόθι μαντήριον ἐκ παλαιοῦ ἱδρυμένον, τῷ Ἰωνές τε πάντες καὶ Αἰσλέες ἐώθεσαν χρᾶσθαι. ὁ δὲ χῶρος οὗτος ἐστὶ τῆς Μιλησίας ὕπερ Πανόρμου λιμένος.

158. Πέμψαντες ὁν οἱ Κυμαιοὶ ἐς τοὺς Βραγχίδας θεοπρότους εἰρώτευν περὶ Πακτῦν ὁκοιδών τι ποιέοντες θεοί μέλλοιεν χαριεῖσθαι. ἐπειρωτῶσι δὲ σφι ταῦτα χρηστήριον ἐγένετο ἐκδιδόναι Πακτῦν Πέρσηςι. ταῦτα δὲ ὡς ἀπενειχθέντα ἦκουσαν οἱ Κυμαιοί, ὅρμεατο ἐκδιδόναι ὁρμήμενον δὲ ταῦτα τοῦ πλῆθεος, 'Ἀριστόδικος ὁ 'Ηρακλείδης ἀνὴρ τῶν ἀστῶν ἔδων δόκιμος ἐσχε μὴ ποιῆσαι ταῦτα Κυμαιοὺς, ἀπιστεόν τοῦ τῷ χρησμῷ καὶ δοκεῶν τοὺς θεοπρότους οὐ λέγειν ἀληθέως, ἐς ὁ τὸ δεύτερον περὶ Πακτῦων ἐπειρησόμενοι ἦσαν ἄλλοι θεοπρότοι, τῶν καὶ 'Ἀριστόδικος ἦν.

159. 'Ἀπικομένων δὲ ἐς Βραγχίδας ἐχρηστηριάζετο ἐκ πάντων 'Αριστόδικος ἐπειρωτῶν τάδε. "Ωναξ, ἥλθε παρ' ἤμεας ἢ κέτης Πακτῆς ὁ Λυνόσ, φεύγων θάνατον βίαιον πρὸς Περσέων" οἱ δὲ μὴν ἐξαίτεονται, προείναι Κυμαίους κελεύωντες. ἦμεῖς δὲ δειμαίνοντες τὴν Περσέων δύναμιν τῶν ἢ ἢ κέτην

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BOOK I. 157–159

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

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

159. When they came to Branchidae Aristodicus speaking for all put this question to the oracle: "O King, Pactyes the Lydian hath fled to us for refuge to save him from a violent death at the hands of the Persians; and they demand him of us, bidding the men of Cyme to give him up. But we, for all that we fear the Persian power, have not made bold
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ἐς τόδε οὖ τετολμήκαμεν ἐκδιδόναι, πρὶν ἂν τὸ ἀπὸ σεῦ ἡμῖν δῆλωθῇ ἀτρεκέως ὅκότερα ποι-έωμεν.” ὃ μὲν ταῦτα ἐπειρώτα, ὃ δ’ αὖτις τὸν αὐτὸν σφί χρησμόν ἐφαινε, κελεύων ἐκδιδόναι Πακτύνην Πέρσην. πρὸς ταῦτα ὁ Ἀριστόδικος ἐκ προνοίας ἐποίησε τάδε· περιών τὸν νηὸν κύκλῳ ἐξαίρεσε τοὺς ἑποροῦς καὶ ἀλλὰ ὀσὰ ἦν νεοσ-σεμένα ὑπνίθων γένεα ἐν τῷ νηῷ. ποιέοντος δὲ αὐτοῦ ταῦτα λέγεται φωνῇ ἐκ τοῦ ἀδύτου γε-νέσθαι φέρουσαι μὲν πρὸς τὸν Ἀριστόδικον, λέγουσαν δὲ τάδε “Ἀνοσιώτατε ἀνθρώπων, τί τάδε τολμᾶς ποιεῖν; τοὺς ἱκέτας μου ἐκ τοῦ νηοῦ κεραίζεις;” Ἀριστόδικος δὲ οὐκ ἀπορησάντα πρὸς ταῦτα εἰπεῖν “Ὡναξ, αὐτὸς μὲν οὐτω τοΐσι ἱκέτησι βοηθεῖς, Κυμαῖος δὲ κελεύεις τὸν ἱκέτην ἐκδι-δόναι;” τὸν δὲ αὐτὸς ἀμείψάσθαι τοῖσιδε “Ναὶ κελεύον, ἵνα γε ἄσεβήσαντες θάσσον ἀπόλησθε, ὡς μὴ τὸ λοιπὸν περὶ ἱκετέων ἐκδόσιοι ἔλθητε ἐπὶ τὸ χρηστήριον.”

160. Ταῦτα ὡς ἀπενεχθέντα ἠκούσαν οἱ Κυ-μαῖοι, οὐ βουλόμενοι οὐτε ἐκδόντες ἀπολέσθαι οὐτὲ παρ’ ἐσωτοῖς ἐχουσὶς πολιορκεῖσθαι, ἐκπέμ-πουσι αὐτὸν ἐς Μυτιλήνην. οἱ δὲ Μυτιληναῖοι ἐπιπέμποντος τοῦ Μαξάρεος ἀγγελίας ἐκδιδόναι τὸν Πακτύνην παρεκκευάζοντο ἐπὶ μισθῶν δοῦν δή: οὐ γὰρ ἐχὼ τοῦτό γε εἰπεῖν ἀτρεκέως· οὐ γὰρ ἐτελεσθή. Κυμαῖοι γὰρ ὡς ἐμαθὼν ταῦτα προσ-σόμενα ἐκ τῶν Μυτιληναίων, πέμψαντες πλοῖον ἐς Δέσβον ἐκκομίζουσι Πακτύνην ἐς Χίον. ἐνθεύτεν δὲ ἐξ ἵπτον Ἀθηναίης πολιούχον ἀποσπασθεῖς ὑπὸ Χίου ἐξεδόθη· εξέδοσαν δὲ οἱ Χῖοι ἐπὶ τῷ Ἀταρέει μισθῷ· τοῦ δὲ Ἀταρνεός τούτου ἐστὶ χῶρος 200
to give up this our suppliant, until thy will be clearly made known to us, whether we shall do this or not.” Thus Aristodicus questioned; and the god gave again the same answer, that Pactyes should be delivered up to the Persians. With that Aristodicus did as he had already purposed; he went round about the temple, and stole away the sparrows and all other families of nestling birds that were in it. But while he so did, a voice (they say) came out of the inner shrine calling to Aristodicus, and saying, “Thou wickedest of men, wherefore darest thou do this? wilt thou rob my temple of those that take refuge with me?” Then Aristodicus had his answer ready: “O King,” said he, “wilt thou thus save thine own suppliants, yet bid the men of Cyme deliver up theirs?” But the god made answer, “Yea, I do bid them, that ye may the sooner perish for your impiety, and never again come to inquire of my oracle concerning the giving up of them that seek refuge with you.”

160. When this answer was brought to the hearing of the Cymaeans they sent Pactyes away to Mytilene; for they desired neither to perish for delivering him up nor to be besieged for keeping him with them. Then Mazares sent a message to Mytilene demanding the surrender of Pactyes, and the Mytileneans prepared to give him, for a price; I cannot say with exactness how much it was, for the bargain was never fulfilled; for when the Cymaeans learnt that the Mytileneans had this in hand, they sent a ship to Lesbos and brought Pactyes away to Chios. Thence he was dragged out of the temple of City-guarding Athene and delivered up by the Chians, they receiving in return Atarneus, which is a district
Ηροδοτος

τῆς Μυσίης, Δέσβου ἀντίος. Πακτήν μὲν νυν παραδεξάμενοι οἱ Πέρσαι εἶχον ἐν φυλακῇ, θέλοντες Κύρφο ἀποδέξαι. ἦν δὲ χρόνος οὗτος οὐκ ὁλίγος γινόμενος, ὅτε Χίων οὐδείς ἐκ τοῦ Ἀταρνέος τοῦτον οὕτω ἀνόητος κριθέων πρόχυσιν ἐποιεῖτο θεῶν οὖν ὑπεκατα ἐπέσησε καρποῦ τοῦ ἐνθεῦτεν, ἀπείχετο τε τῶν πάντων ἱρῶν τὰ πάντα ἐκ τῆς χώρης ταύτης γινόμενα.

161. Χίοι μὲν νυν Πακτήν εξέδοσαν· Μαξάρης δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα ἐστρατεύσετο ἐπὶ τοὺς συμπολιορκήσαντας Τάβαλον, καὶ τοῦτο μὲν Πριηνεᾶς ἐξην-дрαποδίσατο, τοῦτο δὲ Μαϊάνδρου πεδίον πᾶν ἐπεδραμε ληήνη ποιεύμενος τῷ στρατῷ, Μαγνησίην τε ὁσαύτως. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα αὐτίκα νοῦσῳ τελευτᾷ.

162. Ἀποθανόντος δὲ τούτου, Ἀρπαγος κατέβη διάδοχος τῆς στρατηγῆς, γένος καὶ αὐτὸς ἐὼν Μήδος, τὸν ὁ Μήδων βασιλεὺς Ἀστυάγης ἀνόμῳ τραπέζῃ ἐδαισε, ὃ τῷ Κύρφῳ τὴν βασιληθὴν συγ-κατεργασάμενος. οὗτος ὁ νῆρ τότε ὑπὸ Κύρου στρατηγὸς ἀποδεχθεῖς ὡς ἀπίκετο ἐς τὴν Ἰωνία, αἰρέε ταῖς πόλισι χώμαις· δικως γὰρ τεχνής τειχεας ποιήσει, τὸ ἐνθεῦτεν χώματα χῶν πρὸς τὰ τείχεα ἐπόρθεε.

163. Πρώτῃ δὲ Φωκαίη Ἰωνία ἐπεχείρησε. οἱ δὲ Φωκαιεῖς οὕτω ναυτιλῆσι μακρῆσι πρῶτοι Ἐλλήνων ἐχρήσαντο, καὶ τὸν τα Ἀδριην καὶ τὴν Τυρσηνία καὶ τὴν Ἰβηρία καὶ τὸν Ταρτησοῦν οὕτω εἰς ἐκαταδεξαντες· ἐναπειλ-λοντο δὲ οὐ στρογγυλῆσι νυσσὶ ἄλλα πεπνηκου-τέροις. ἀπικόμενοι δὲ ἐς τὸν Ταρτησοῦν προσ-ϕιλέες ἐγένοντο τῷ βασιλεί τῶν Ταρτησίων,
in Mysia over against Lesbos. The Persians thus received Pactyes and kept him guarded, that they might show him to Cyrus; and for a long time no Chian would offer sacrifice of barley meal from this land of Atarneus to any god, or make sacrificial cakes of what grew there; nothing that came from that country might be used for any sacred rite.

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

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

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

¹ The lower valley of the Guadalquivir. Later Tartessus was identified with Gades (Cadiz), which Herodotus (iv. 8) calls Gadira.
HERODOTUS

to όνυμα μὲν ἦν Ἀργανθώνιος, ἐτυράννευσε δὲ Ταρτησσοῦ ὁγδώκοντα ἔτεα, ἔβίωσε δὲ πάντα εἶκοσι καὶ ἐκατόν. τούτῳ δὴ τῷ ἀνδρὶ προσφιλέεσ οἱ Φωκαῖες οὕτω δὴ τι γέγονοτο ὡς τὰ μὲν πρώτα σφέας ἐκλιπόντας Ἰωνίην ἐκέλευς τῆς ἐωτοῦ χώρης οἰκήσας οὐκ ἴσοντας· μετὰ δὲ, ὡς τοῦτο γε οὐκ ἔπειθε τοὺς Φωκαίες, δὲ πυθόμενος τὸν Μῆδον παρ' αὐτῶν ὡς αὐξότο, ἔδιδον σφὶ χρήματα τείχος περιβάλεσθαι τὴν πόλιν, ἔδιδον δὲ ἀφεδέως· καὶ γὰρ καὶ ἡ περίδος τοῦ τείχους οὐκ ὀλίγοι στάδιοι εἰσὶ, τούτο δὲ πᾶν λίθων μεγάλων καὶ εὐ συναρμοσμένων.

164. Τὸ μὲν δὴ τείχος τοῦτο Φωκαῖες πρὸ τοῦ τοιφίδε ἔξεποιθη. ὁ δὲ "Ἀρπαγος ως ἔτηλασε τὴν στρατινή, ἐποικίακε αὐτοῖς, προϊσχόμενος ἐπεά ὡς οἱ καταχρᾶ εἰ βούλονται Φωκαῖες προμαχέων ἐν μοῦνον τοῦ τείχους ἑρείπαι καὶ οἰκήμα ἐν καταρώσαι. οἱ δὲ Φωκαῖες περιμεκτέοντες τῇ δουλοσύνῃ ἐφασαν θέλεν βουλεύσασθαι ἡμέρην μίαν καὶ ἐπείτα ὑποκρίνεσθαι· ἐν γὰρ δὲ βουλεύονται αὐτοῖς, ἀπαγαγεῖν ἐκεῖνον ἐκέλευσι τὴν στρατινὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχους. ὁ δὲ "Ἀρπαγος ἀφῆσαν μὲν εὗ τὰ ἐκεῖνοι μέλλοις ποιεῖν, ὡς δὲ σφὶ παρέναι βουλεύσασθαι. ἐν γὰρ αὐτὸν ὁ "Ἀρπαγος ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχους ἀπήγαγε τὴν στρατινή, οἱ Φωκαῖες ἐν τούτῳ κατασπάσαντες τὰς πεντηκοτέρους, ἐσθέμονε τέκνα καὶ γυναικάς καὶ ἐπιπλα πάντα, πρὸς δὲ καὶ τὰ ἀγάλματα τὰ ἐκ τῶν ἱρῶν καὶ τὰ ἀλλα ἀναθήματα, χωρὶς τι χαλκὸς ἢ λίθος ἢ γραφή ἢ, τὰ δὲ ἀλλα πάντα ἐσθέντες καὶ αὐτῶι ἐσβάντες ἐπλεον ἔπι Χίου. τὴν δὲ Φωκαίην ἐρημωθεὶσαν ἀνδρῶν ἐσχον οἱ Πέρσαι.

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BOOK I. 163–164

Tartessians, whose name was Arganthonius; he ruled Tartessus for eighty years and lived an hundred and twenty.¹ The Phocaeans so won this man's friendship that he first entreated them to leave Ionia and settle in his country where they would; and then, when he could not persuade them to that, and learnt from them how the Median power was increasing, he gave them money to build a wall round their city therewith. Without stint he gave it; for the circuit of the wall is of many furlongs, and all this is made of great stones well fitted together.

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

¹ A common Greek tradition, apparently; Anacreon (Fr. 8) says "I would not... rule Tartessus for an hundred and fifty years."
HERODOTUS

165. Οἱ δὲ Φωκαίες, ἐπείτε σφὶ Χίωι τὰς νήσους τὰς Ὀινούσσας καλεομένας οὐκ ἔβούλουτο ὁνευμένοις πολεῖν, δειμαίνοντες μὴ αἱ μὲν ἐμ- πόριοι γένωνται, ἢ δὲ αὐτῶν νήσος ἀποκλημοῦθη τούτου εἶνεκα, πρὸς ταῦτα οἱ Φωκαίες ἔστελλουσιν ἐς Κύρνου ἐν γὰρ τῇ Κύρνῳ εἰκοσὶ ἔτεσι πρό- τερον τούτων ἐκ θεσπροπίου ἀνεστήσαυσαν πόλιν, τῇ οὖνομα ἢν Ἀλαίη. Ἀργανθώνιος δὲ την- καῦτα ἤδη τετελευτήκεε. στελλόμενοι δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν Κύρνου, πρῶτα καταπλεύσαντες ἐς τὴν Φωκαίην κατεφόνευσαν τῶν Περσέων τὴν φυλακήν, ἢ ἐφρούρεε παραδεξαμένη παρὰ Ἀρπάγου τὴν πόλιν. μετὰ δὲ, ὥς τούτῳ σφὶ ἔξεργαστο, ἐποιή- σαντο ἵππους κατά τῷ ὑπολειπομένῳ ἑωυτῶν τοῦ στόλου, πρὸς δὲ ταύτης καὶ μύδρον σιδήρου καταπόλεμον καὶ ὠμοσαν μὴ πρὶν ἐς Φωκαίην ἤξειν πρὶν ἢ τὸν μύδρον τοῦτον ἀναφανῆναι. στελλομένων δὲ αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τὴν Κύρνου, ὑπερη- μίσεας τῶν ἀστῶν ἐλαβεῖ πόθος τε καὶ οἰκτος τῆς πόλιος καὶ τῶν ἡθεῶν τῆς χώρης, ἰσενδόρκιοι δὲ γενόμενοι ἀπέπλευσιν ὅπισώ ἐς τὴν Φωκαίην. οἱ δὲ αὐτῶν τὸ ὅρκιον ἐφύλασιν, ἀπεβέντες ἐκ τῶν Οἰνοουσέων ἐπέλευσι.

166. Επείτε δὲ ἐς τὴν Κύρνου ἀπίκουσιν, οἶκεν κοινῇ μετὰ τῶν πρότερον ἀπικομένων ἐπ' ἔτεα πέντε, καὶ ἰρὰ ἐνιδρύσαντο. καὶ ἤγον γὰρ δὴ καὶ ἔφερον τοὺς περιοίκους ἀπαντάς, στρετεῦ- ονται δὲν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς κοινῆς λόγῳ χρησάμενοι Τυρσηνοὶ καὶ Καρχηδόνιοι, ὑνυσὶ ἐκάτεροι ἐξη- κόντα. οἱ δὲ Φωκαιές πληρώσαντες καὶ αὐτοὶ τὰ πλοῖα, ἔοντα ἀριθμὸν ἔξηκοντα, ἀντίαξον ἐς τὸ Σαρδόνιον καλεόμενον πέλαγος. συμμισ-

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BOOK I. 165–166

165. The Phocaeans would have bought of the Chians the islands called Oenussae; but the Chians would not sell them, because they feared that the islands would become a market and so their own island be cut off from its trade: so the Phocaeans made ready to sail to Cyrrhus, where at the command of an oracle they had twenty years before this built a city called Alalia. Arganthonius was by this time dead. While making ready for their voyage, they first sailed to Phocaea, where they slew the Persian guard to whom Harpagus had entrusted the defence of the city; and this being done, they called down mighty curses on whosoever of themselves should stay behind when the rest sailed. Not only so, but they sank in the sea a mass of iron, and swore never to return to Phocaea before the iron should again appear. But while they prepared to voyage to Cyrrhus, more than half of the citizens were taken with a longing and a pitiful sorrow for the city and the life of their land, and they broke their oath and sailed back to Phocaea. Those of them who kept the oath set out to sea from the Oenussae.

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

1 Between Chios and the mainland.
2 Corsica.
HERODOTUS

γόντων δὲ τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ Καδμείᾳ τις νίκη τοῖς Φωκαιεῖσι εγένετο· αἱ μὲν γὰρ τεσσεράκοντά σφι νέες διεφθάρησαν, αἱ δὲ εἴκοσι αἱ περιεύσασι ἦσαν ἄχρηστοι· ἀπεστράφατο γὰρ τοὺς ἐμβόλους. καταπλώσαντες δὲ ἐς τὴν Ἀλαλίνην ἀνελαβον τὰ τέκνα καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας καὶ τὴν ἄλλην κτήσιν ὅσην οἷα τε ἐγίνοντο αἱ νέες σφι ἄγειν, καὶ ἔπειτα ἄπεντες τὴν Κύρνου ἐπλεον ἐσ Ρήγιου.

167. Τῶν δὲ διαφθαρείσεων νεῶν τοὺς ἄνδρας οἳ τε Καρχηδόνιοι καὶ οἳ Τυρσηνοὶ [διελαχοῦν, τῶν δὲ Τυρσηνῶν οἳ Ἀγγυλλαίοι] ἔλαχον τε αὐτῶν πολλῶν πλείστους καὶ τούτους ἔσαγαγόντες κατέλευσαν. μετὰ δὲ Ἀγγυλλαίους πάντα τὰ παριστόντα τῶν χῶρον, ἐν τῷ οἵ Φωκαιές καταλευσθέντες ἐκέατο, ἐγίνετο διάστροφα καὶ ἐμπερα καὶ ἀπόπληκτα, ὁμοίως πρόβατα καὶ ὑποζύγια καὶ ἄνθρωποι, οἳ δὲ Ἀγγυλλαίοι ἐς Δελφοὺς ἔπεμπον βουλόμενοι ἀκέσασθαι τὴν ἀμαρτάδα. ἦ δὲ Πυθίη σφέας ἐκέλευσε ποιεῖν τὰ καὶ νῦν οἳ Ἀγγυλλαίοι ἔτι ἐπιτελέοντο καὶ γὰρ ἐναγίζουσι σφι μεγάλως καὶ ἁγώνα γυμνίκων καὶ ἱππικῶν ἐπιστάσι. καὶ οὕτωι μὲν τῶν Φωκαιεῶν τοιούτῳ μόρῳ διεχρήσαντο, οἳ δὲ αὐτῶν ἐς τὸ Ρήγιον καταφύγοντες ἐνθέτευν ὀρμώμενοι ἐκτήσαντο πόλιν γῆς τῆς Οἰνωτρίχης ταύτην ἦτις νῦν Τέλη καλεσταὶ ἐκτίσαν δὲ ταύτην πρὸς ἄνδρος Ποσειδωνιήτως μαθόντες ὡς τὸν Κύρνου σφι ἡ Πυθίη ἔχρησε κτίσαι ἥρων ἐόντα, ἀλλ' οὖ τὴν νῆσον.

1 The words in brackets are Stein's conjecture; the MSS. have nothing between Τυρσηνοί and ἔλαχον.

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battle, and the Phocaeans won, yet it was but a Cad- mean victory; for they lost forty of their ships, and the twenty that remained were useless, their rams being twisted awry. Then sailing to Alalia they took on board their children and women and all of their possessions that their ships could hold, and leaving Cyrnus they sailed to Rhegium.

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

1 Polynices and Eteocles, sons of Oedipus and descendants of Cadmus, fought for the possession of Thebes and killed each other. Hence a Cadmean victory means one where victor and vanquished suffer alike.

2 Later Caere in Etruria.

3 Oenotria corresponds to Southern Italy (the Lucania and Bruttium of Roman history).

4 Later Elea (Velia).
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168. Φωκαίης μὲν νυν πέρι τῆς ἐν 'Ἰωνίη ὦτω ἔσχε, παραπλήσια δὲ τούτοις καὶ Τήμων ἐποίησαν. ἐπεῖτε γὰρ σφέων εἴλε χώματι τὸ τείχος Ἀρπαγος, ἐσβάντες πάντες ἐς τὰ πλοῖα ὀίχοντο πλέοντες ἐπὶ τῆς Ὄρηκης, καὶ ἐνθαῦτα ἐκτισαν πόλιν Ἀβδηρα, τὴν πρότερος τούτων Κλαζομένιος Τιμῆσιος κτῖσας οὐκ ἀπόνητο, ἀλλ' ύπὸ Ὅρηκων ἐξελασθεὶς τιμᾶς νῦν ὑπὸ Τηών τῶν ἐν Ἀβδηροις ὡς ἑρως ἔχει.

169. Οὕτω μὲν νυν Ἰώνων μοῦνοι τὴν δουλοσύνην οὐκ ἀνεχόμενοι ἐξέλιπτον τὰς πατρίδας. οἱ δ' ἄλλοι Ἰωνες πλὴν Μιλησίων διὰ μάχης μὲν ἀπίκοντο Ἀρπάγῳ κατά περ οἱ ἐκλιπόντες, καὶ ἄνδρες ἐγένοντο ἀγαθοὶ περὶ τῆς ἐωτοῦ ἑκατόν μαχόμενοι, ἐσσωθέντες δὲ καὶ ἁλότες ἔμενον κατὰ χώρην ἑκατον καὶ τὰ ἐπιτασσόμενα ἐπέτελεν. Μιλησίωι δὲ, ὡς καὶ πρότερον μοι εἴρηται, αὐτῷ Κύρῳ ὄρκιον ποιησάμενοι ἄρχηκης ἡγοῦν. οὕτω δὴ τὸ δεύτερον Ἰωνίη ἐδεδούλωτο. ὡς δὲ τοὺς ἐν τῇ ἱπέιρῳ Ἰωνες ἐχειρώσατο Ἀρπαγος, οἱ τὰς νήσους ἐχοντες Ἰωνες καταρρῳδήσαντες ταῦτα σφέας αὐτοὺς ἐδοσαν Κύρῳ.

170. Κεκακομένων δὲ Ἰώνων καὶ συλλεγομένων οὐδὲν ἡσουν ἐς τὸ Πανιῶνοι, πυθανόμαι γνώμην Βίαντα Ἀρπαγος Πρινεα ἀποδέξασθαι Ἰωσι χρησιμοτάτην, τῇ εἰ ἐπείδοντο, παρεῖχε ἀν σφι εὔδαιμονεειν Ἐλλῆνων μάλιστα δι' ἐκέλευε κοινῷ στόλῳ Ἰωνες ἀερθέντας πλέειν ἐς Σαρδῷ καὶ ἐπείτα πόλιν μίαν κτίσει πάντων Ἰωνων, καὶ οὕτω ἀπαλλαχθέντας σφέας δουλοσύνης εὔδαιμονήσειν, νήσου τε ἀπασέων μεγίστην νεμομένους καὶ ἄρχοντας ἄλλων· μένουσι δὲ σφι ἐν τῇ
BOOK I. 168–170

168. Thus, then, it fared with the Ionian Phocaea. The Teians did in like manner with the Phocaeans: when Harpagus had taken their walled city by building a mound, they all embarked on shipboard and sailed away for Thrace. There they founded a city, Abdera, which before this had been founded by Timesius of Clazomenae; yet he got no good of it, but was driven out by the Thracians. This Timesius is now honoured as a hero by the Teians of Abdera.

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

170. When the Ionians, despite their evil plight, did nevertheless assemble at the Panionion, Bias of Priene, as I have heard, gave them very useful advice, which had they followed they might have been the most prosperous of all Greeks: for he counselled them to put out to sea and sail all together to Sardo and then found one city for all Ionians: thus, possessing the greatest island in the world and bearing rule over others, they would be rid of slavery and win prosperity; but if they stayed in Ionia he could see (he
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"Ιωνής οὐκ ἔφη ἐνορᾶν ἐλευθερίην ἔτι ἐσομένην. αὐτὴ μὲν Βίαντος τοῦ Πριηνέως γνώμη ἐπὶ διε-φθαρμένοις "Ιωσί γενομένη, χρηστή δὲ καὶ πρὶν ἢ διαφθαρῆι Παήνος Ἰωνίων Θάλεω ἄνδρος Μιλησίου ἐγένετο, τὸ ἀνέκαθεν γένος ἔοντος Φοίνικος, δς ἐκέλευεν ἐν βουλευτήριον "Ιωνας ἐκτῆσθαι, τὸ δὲ εἶναι ἐν Τέφ (Τέων γὰρ μέσον εἶναι Ἰωνίης), τὰς δὲ ἄλλας πόλεις οἰκεομένας μηδὲν ἤσσουν νομί-ζεσθαι κατὰ περὶ εἰ δήμοι εἰεν' οὕτωι μὲν δὴ σφι γνώμας τοιάσθε ἀπεδέξαντο.

171. "Αρταγός δὲ καταστρεψάμενος Ἰωνίην ἐποιέστε στρατηγὴν ἐπὶ Κάρας καὶ Καυνίους καὶ Δυκίας, ἀμα ἁγόμενος καὶ Ἰωνας καὶ Λιόλεας. εἰοὶ δὲ τούτων Κάρας μὲν ἀπιγμένοι ἐς τὴν ἡπειρον ἐκ τῶν νῆσων. τὸ γὰρ παλαιὸν ἔοντες Μίνω κατή-κοι καὶ καλέομενοι Λέλεγες εἶχον τὰς νῆσους, φόρον μὲν οὐδένα υποτελέσκετε, ὅσον καὶ ἔγω δυνατός εἰμι ἐπὶ μακρότατον εξεκέμινα ἄκοῃ. οὐ δὲ, ὅκως Μίνως δέοιτο, ἐπλήρουν οὐ τὰς νέας. ἀτε δὴ Μίνω τε κατεστραμμένον γῆν πολλήν καὶ εὐ-τυχέοσως τῷ πολέμῳ, τὸ Καρικὸν ἢν ἔθνος λογι-μωτάτον τῶν ἔθνων ἀπάντων κατὰ τοῦτον ἀμα τῶν χρόνων μακρῷ μάλιστα. καὶ σφι τριξὰ ἔξεφρήματα ἐγένετο, τοῖς οἱ "Ελληνες ἐχρήσαντο· καὶ γὰρ ἐπὶ τα κράνεα λόφους ἐπιδέεσθαι Κάρας εἰσὶ οἱ καταδέξαντες καὶ ἐπὶ τὰς ἀσπίδας τὰ σημῆνα ποιέσθαι, καὶ ὁχανα ἀσπίζοι οὕτωι εἰσὶ οἱ ποιησάμενοι πρῶτον τέως δὲ ἄνευ ὁχάνων ἐφόροιν τὰς ἀσπίδας πάντες οἱ περ ἐώθεσαν ἀσπίζοι χρα-σθαι, τελαμώσας σκυτίνοις οἰηκίζοντες, περὶ τοῖς αὐχέσι τε καὶ τοῖς ἀριστεροῖς ἄμοισι περικεί
BOOK I. 170-171

said) no hope of freedom for them. Such was the counsel which Bias of Priene gave after the destruction of the Ionians; and good also was that given before the destruction by Thales of Miletus, a Phoenician by descent; he would have had the Ionians make one common place of counsel, which should be in Teos, for that was the centre of Ionia; and the state of the other cities should be held to be no other than if they were but townships. Thus Bias and Thales advised.

171. Harpagus, after subduing Ionia, made an expedition against the Carians, Caunians, and Lycians, taking with him Ionians and Aeolians. Now among these the Carians were a people who had come to the mainland from the islands; for in old time they were islanders, called Leleges and under the rule of Minos, not (as far as I can learn by hearsay) paying him tribute, but manning ships for him when he needed them. Seeing then that Minos had subdued much territory to himself and was victorious in war, this made the Carians too at that time to be very far the most regarded of all nations. Three things they invented in which they were followed by the Greeks: it was the Carians who first taught the wearing of crests on their helmets and devices on their shields, and who first made for their shields holders; till then all who used shields carried them without these holders, and guided them with leathern baldrics which they slung round

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μενοῖ. μετὰ δὲ τοὺς Κάρας χρόνῳ ὑστερον πολλῷ Δωρίες τε καὶ Ἰωνεῖς ἐξανέστησαν ἐκ τῶν νῆσων, καὶ οὕτω ἐσ τὴν ἥπειρον ἀπίκοντο. κατὰ μὲν δὴ Κάρας οὕτω Κρήτες λέγουσι γενέσθαι· οὐ μέντοι αὐτοὶ γε ὁμολογέουσι τοῦτοι οἱ Κάρες, ἀλλὰ νομίζουσι αὐτοὶ ἐσώτερος εἶναι αὐτόχθονας ἦπειρωτας, καὶ τῷ οὐνόματι τῷ αὐτῷ αἰεὶ διαχρεωμένους τῷ περ γυν. ἀποδεικνύσι δὲ ἐν Μυλάσοισι Διὸς Καρίου ἵρον ἀρχαίοι, τοῦ Μυσοῦς μὲν καὶ Λυδοῦσι μέτεστι ὡς κασιγνήτοις ἐοῦσι τοῖς Καρσί· τὸν γὰρ Λυδῶν καὶ τὸν Μυσόν λέγουσι εἶναι Καροῖς ἀδελφοῖς. τοῦτοι μὲν δὴ μέτεστι, ὅσοι δὲ ἔοιντες ἄλλου ἔθνεος ὁμόγλωσσοι τοῖς Καρσὶ ἐγένοντο, τοῦτοι δὲ οὐ μέτα.

172. Οἱ δὲ Καύνοι αὐτόχθονες δοκεῖν ἐμοὶ εἰσί, αὐτοὶ μέντοι ἐκ Κρήτης φασὶ εἶναι. προσκεχωρήκασι δὲ γλώσσαν μὲν πρὸς τὸ Καρικὸν ἔθνος, ἢ οἱ Κάρες πρὸς τὸ Καυνικὸν (τοῦτο γὰρ οὐκ ἔχω ἀτρεκέως διακρίναι), νόμοισι δὲ χρέωνται κεχωρισμένους πολλὸν τῶν τε ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων καὶ Καρῶν. τοῖς γὰρ κάλλιστον ἔστι κατ' ἡλικίαν τε καὶ φιλότητα εἰλαδὸν συγγίνεσθαι ἐσ πόσιν, καὶ ἀνδράσι καὶ γυναιξὶ καὶ παισί. ἱδρυθέντων δὲ σφί ἱρῶν ξεινικῶν, μετέπειτα ὡς σφί ἀπέδοξι, ἔδοξε δὲ τοῖς πατρίσισι μοῦνον χράσθαι θεοῖς, ἐνδύνετε τὰ ὀπλα ἀπαντεῖ Καύνοι ἱβηδόν, τύπτοντες δόρασι τὸν ἥρα, μέχρι οὐρων τῶν Καλυνδικῶν ἐπινοτο, καὶ ἐφασαν ἐκβάλλειν τοὺς ξεινικοὺς θεοὺς.

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

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

1 This is the management of the Homeric "man-covering" shield, as shown in the Iliad. The shield is not carried on the arm, but hangs by a belt which passes over the left shoulder and under the right arm-pit; by a pull on the τελαμών it can be shifted so as to protect breast or back.
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173. Καὶ οὕτω μὲν τρόποισι τουτούτοις χρέωνται, οἱ δὲ Λύκιοι ἐκ Κρήτης τῶρχαιῶν γεγόνασιν (τὴν γὰρ Κρήτην εἶχον τὸ παλαιὸν πᾶσαν βαρβαροῦ), διενεχθέντων δὲ ἐν Κρήτῃ περὶ τῆς βασιλείας τῶν Εὐρώπης παίδων Σαρπηδόνος τε καὶ Μίνω, ὡς ἐπεκράτησε τῇ στάσι Μίνως, ἐξῆλασε αὐτὸν τε Σαρπηδόνα καὶ τοὺς στασιώτας αὐτοῦ, οἱ δὲ ἀποσθέντες ἀπίκουσι τῆς Ἀσίῆς ἐς γῆν τῆς Μιλυάδας. τὴν γὰρ νῦν Λύκιοι νέμονται, αὕτη τὸ παλαιὸν ἢν Μιλυάδας, οἱ δὲ Μιλυάδαι τότε Σόλυμοι ἐκαλέοντο. ἐώς μὲν δὴ αὐτῶν Σαρπηδῶν ἠρχε, οἱ δὲ ἐκαλέοντο τὸ πέρ τε ἦνεκαντο οὖνομα καὶ νῦν ἐτί καλέονται ὑπὸ τῶν περιοίκων οἱ Λύκιοι, Τερμίλαις ὁς δὲ έξ Ἀθηναίων Λύκος ὁ Παιδίωνος, ἐξελασθεὶς καὶ οὕτως ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ Αἰγέος, ἀπίκετο ἐς τοὺς Τερμίλας παρὰ Σαρπηδόνα, οὕτω δὴ κατὰ τοῦ Λύκου τὴν ἐπωνυμικὴν Λύκιοι ἀνὰ χρόνου ἐκλήθησαν. νόμοις δὲ τὰ μὲν Κρητικοῖς τὰ δὲ Καρικοῖς χρέωνται. ἐν δὲ τόδε ἴδιοι νεομίκασι καὶ οὐδαμοὶ ἀλλοισι συμφέρονται ἀνθρώπων καλέονται ἀπὸ τῶν μυτέρων ἐσυνοικίσας ὑμῖν καὶ οὐκὶ ἀπὸ τῶν πατέρων εἰρεμένον δὲ ἐτέρου τοῦ πλησίον τῆς εἰς, καταλέξει ἐρωτῶν μητρὸς καὶ τῆς μητρὸς ἀναμενόμενης τὰς μητέρας. καὶ ἴνα μὲν γε γυνὴ ἀστὴ δούλω συνοικίσης, γενναίᾳ τὰ τέκνα νεομίσται ἢ λαὶ ἀνὴρ ἀστὸς καὶ ὁ πρῶτος αὐτῶν γυναῖκα ἤρθην ἢ παλαιὰν ἢ χρή, ἀτιμα τὰ τέκνα γίνεται.

174. Οἱ μὲν νυν Κάραις οὐδέν λαμπρὸν ἔργον ἀποδεξάμενοι ἐδούλωσαν ὑπὸ Ἀρτάγοου, οὕτε αὐτὸ, ἢ Κάραις ἀποδεξάμενοι οὐδέν, οὕτε ὁσοὶ Ἐλλήνων ταύτην τὴν χώρην οἰκίσαν: οἰκίσασι.
BOOK I. 173-174

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

174. Neither then the Carians nor any Greeks who dwell in this country did any deed of note before they were all enslaved by Harpagus. Among
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dε καὶ ἄλλοι καὶ Δακεδαιμονίων ἀποικοὶ Κυνίδιοι. Οὔ τις χώρης τῆς σφετέρης τετραμμένης ἐς πόντον, τὸ δὴ Τριότιον καλέται, ἀργυρίης δὲ ἐκ τῆς Χερσονῆσου τῆς Βυβασσίης, ἐούσης τε πάσης τῆς Κυνίδης πλῆς ὄλγης περιβρόου (τὰ μὲν γὰρ αὐτῆς πρὸς βορέην ἀνεμοῦ ὁ Κεραμείας κόλπος ἀπέργει, τὰ δὲ πρὸς νότον ἡ κατὰ Σύμην τε καὶ Ὁρῶν θάλασσα), τὸ δὲ ὅλγον τοῦτο, ἐδώ ὁσον τε ἐπὶ πέντε στάδια, ὄρυσαν οἱ Κυνίδιοι ἐν ὅσῳ ὁ Ἀρπαγος τὴν Ἡρώνην κατεστρέφετο, βουλόμενοι νῆσον την χώρην ποιῆσαι. ἐντὸς δὲ πᾶσα σφι ἐγένετο· τῇ γὰρ ἡ Κυνίδη χώρη ἐς τὴν ἐπειρον τελευτᾶ, ταύτην ὁ ἱσθμὸς ἐστὶ τὸν ὄρυσαν. καὶ δὴ πολλῆς χειρῆ ἐργαζομένων τῶν Κυνίδων, μᾶλλον γὰρ τι καὶ θειότερον ἐφαίνοντο τιτρώσκεσθαι οἱ ἐργαζόμενοι τοῦ ὁικότου τά τε ἄλλα τοῦ σώματος καὶ μάλιστα τά περὶ τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς θραυσμένης τῆς πέτρης, ἐπειμῖπον ἐς Δελφοὺς θεοτρόπους ἐπειρησομένους τὸ ἀντίξοιον. ἡ δὲ Πυθίη σφι, ὡς αὐτοὶ Κυνίδιοι λέγουσι, χρά τε τριμέτρῳ τόυ τάδε.

'Ἰσθμὸν δὲ μὴ πυργοῦτε μηδ' ὀρύσσετε. Ζεὺς γὰρ κ' ἐδήκε νῆσον, εἰ κ' ἔβαυλετο.

Κυνίδιοι μὲν ταῦτα τῆς Πυθίης χρησάσης τοῦ τε ὀρύγματος ἐπαύσαντο καὶ Ἀρπάγω ἐπιώντι σὺν τῷ στρατῷ ἀμαχητῇ σφέας αὐτοὺς παρέδοσαν.

175. Ἔλεγεν δὲ Πηδασέες οἰκέοντες ὑπὲρ Ἀλικαρνησσοῦ μεσόγαιαν· τοὶσι δικαίως τι μέλλοι ἀνεπιτήδεου ἔσεσθαι, αὐτοίσι τε καὶ τοῖσι περιοίκοισι, ἢ ἰρείη τῆς Ἀθηναίης πώγωνα μέγαν ἴσχε. τρίς σφι τοῦτο ἐγένετο. αὐτοὶ τῶν περὶ Καριέν 218
BOOK I. 174-175

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

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

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

175. There were also certain folk of Pedasus, dwelling inland of Halicarnassus; when any misfortune was coming upon them or their neighbours, the priestess of Athene grew a great beard. This had happened to them thrice. These were the only
ΗΡΟΔΟΤΟΣ

ἀνδρῶν μοῦνοι τε ἀντέσχον χρόνων Ἀρπάγω καὶ πρήγματα παρέσχον πλείστα, ὥρος τειχίσαντες τῷ οὖνομα ἐστὶ Δίδη.

176. Πηδασέες μὲν νυν χρόνῳ ἐξαιρέθησαν. Λύκιοι δὲ, ὡς ἐς τὸ Ξάνθιον πεδίον ἤλασε οὗ "Ἀρπαγος τὸν στρατόν, ἑπεξίουντες καὶ μαχόμενοι οἴλιοι πρὸς πολλοὺς ἀρεταῖς ἀπεδέκτηντο, ἔσσωθέντες δὲ καὶ κατειληθέντες ὡς τὸ ἁστυ συνήλθαν ἐς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν τὰς τε γυναῖκας καὶ τὰ τέκνα καὶ τὰ χρήματα καὶ τοὺς οἰκέτας, καὶ ἔπειτα ὑπῆψαν τὴν ἀκρόπολιν πᾶσαν ταύτην καίσθαι. ταύτα δὲ ποιήσαντες καὶ συνομόσαντες ὅρκους δεινοὺς, ἑπεξελθόντες ὑπέθανον πάντες Ξάνθιοι μαχόμενοι. τῶν δὲ νῦν Λυκίων φαμένων Ξάνθιων εἶναι οἱ πολλοὶ, πλὴν ὅγδοκοιν ἴστιέων, εἰσὶ ἑπτηλῦδες· αἱ δὲ ὅγδοκοντα ἴστιαί αὐτὶ ἔτυχον τηνικαῦτα ἐκδημεύονται καὶ οὕτω περιεγένουτο. τὴν μὲν δὴ Ξάνθιον οὕτω ἔσχε ὁ "Ἀρπαγος, παραπλησίως δὲ καὶ τὴν Καῦνον ἔσχε· καὶ γὰρ οἱ Καῦνοι τοὺς Λυκίους ἐμμηνάσαντο τὰ πλέω.

177. Τὰ μὲν νυν κάτω τῆς Ἀσίας "Ἀρπαγος ἀνάστατα ἐποίεε, τὰ δὲ ἄνω αὐτῆς αὐτὸς Κύρος, πᾶν έθνος καταστρεφόμενος καὶ οὐδὲν παρίεσι. τὰ μὲν νυν αὐτῶν πλέω παρῆσομεν. τὰ δὲ οἱ παρέσχε τὸ πόνον πλείστον καὶ ἀξιαπηγητότατα ἐστὶ, τούτων ἐπιμνησομαι.

178. Κύρος ἐπείτε τὰ πάντα τῆς ἡπείρου ὑποχείρια ἐποιήσατο, Ἀσσυρίοις ἐπετίθετο. τῆς δὲ Ἀσσυρίας ἐστὶ μὲν κοι καὶ ἅλλα πολίσματα μεγάλα πολλά, τὸ δὲ ὁνομαστότατον καὶ ἱσχυρότατον καὶ ἐνθα σφὶ Νίνου ἀναστάτου γενομένης τὰ βασιλεία κατεστήκεσθαι, ἤν Βαβυλῶν, ἕουσα 220
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men near Caria who held out for long against Harpagus, and they gave him the most trouble; they fortified a hill called Lide.

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

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

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

¹ 606 B.C. Ninus = Nineveh.
τοιαύτη δή τις πόλις. κέεται ἐν πεδίῳ μεγάλῳ, μέγαθος ἐσοῦσα μέτωπον ἐκαστον εἰκοσι καὶ ἐκατόν
στάδιων, ἐσούσης τετραγώνου· οὕτωι στάδιοι τῆς
перιοδοῦ τῆς πόλιος γίνονται συνάπαντες ὁγώ-
κοντα καὶ τετρακόσιοι. τὸ μὲν χων μέγαθος
tοσοῦτον ἐστὶ τοῦ ἀστεοῦ τοῦ Βαβυλώνου, ἐκ-
κόσμητο δὲ ως οὔδεν ἄλλο πόλισμα τῶν ἡμεῖς
идμεν. τάφρος μὲν πρώτα μιν βαθέα τε καὶ εὐρέα
καὶ πληθ υδατος περιθέει, μετὰ δὲ τείχος πεντή-
κοντα μὲν πηχέων βασιλῆως ἐδὸ τὸ εὔρος, ἤψος
δὲ διηκοσίων πηχέων· ὁ δὲ βασιλῆος πῆχυς τοῦ
μετρίου ἐστὶ πήχεος μέξων τρισὶ δακτύλοις.

179. Δεῖ δὴ με πρὸς τοῦτοι ἐμεί φράσαι ἵνα
tε ἐκ τῆς τάφρου ἡ γῆ ἀναιμώθη, καὶ το τείχος
ἀντια τρόπον ἐργαστο. ὀρύσσοντες ἁμα τὴν
τάφρον ἐπιληθευν τῆν γῆν τῆν ἐκ τοῦ ὅρυγματος
ἐκφερομένην, ἑλκύσαντες δὲ πλίνθους ἱκανὰς
ὡπτησαν αὐτὰς ἐν καμίνοις· μετὰ δὲ τέλματι
χρεώμενοι ἀσφάλτῳ θερμή καὶ διὰ τριήκοντα
όμων πλίνθου ταρσοὺς καλάμων διαστοιβά-
ζουτε, ἔδειμαν πρώτα μὲν τῆς τάφρον τὰ χείλεα,
δεύτερα δὲ αὐτὸ τὸ τείχος τῶν αὐτῶν τρόπον.
ἐπάνω δὲ τοῦ τείχους παρὰ τὰ ἐσχάτα οἰκήματα
μουνόκωλα ἔδειμαν, τετραμμένα ἐς ἁλληλα· τὸ
μέσον δὲ τῶν οἰκημάτων ἔλιπον τεθρίπτην περιέ-
λασιν. πῦλαι δὲ ἐνεστάσι πέριξ τοῦ τείχους
ἐκατόν, χάλκεαι πᾶσαι, καὶ σταθμοὶ τε καὶ
ὑπέρθυρα ὀσαύτως. ἐστὶ δὲ ἁλλη πόλις ἀπέ-
χουσα ὀκτὼ ἡμερέων ὅδον ἀπὸ Βαβυλώνος. Ἡς
οὖνομα αὐτῆι. ἐνθα ἐστὶ ποταμὸς οὐ μέγας. Ἡς
καὶ τὸ ποταμὸ τὸ οὖνομα· ἐσβάλλει δὲ οὕτος ἐς
τὸν Ἐὔφρητην ποταμὸν τὸ ῲέθρον. οὕτος ὁν
describe. It lies in a great plain, and is in shape a square, each side an hundred and twenty furlongs in length; thus four hundred and eighty furlongs make the complete circuit of the city. Such is the size of the city of Babylon; and it was planned like no other city whereof we know. Round it runs first a fosse deep and wide and full of water, and then a wall of fifty royal cubits’ thickness and two hundred cubits’ height. The royal cubit is greater by three fingers’ breadth than the common cubit.\(^1\)

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

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\(^1\) Common cubit, 18 § inches; royal, 20 §.

\(^2\) The modern Hit or Ait, where the Euphrates enters the alluvial plain.
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ό Ις ποταμὸς ἀμα τῷ ὑδατὶ θρόμμους ἀσφάλτου ἀναδίδοι πολλοὺς, ἐνθεν ἡ ἀσφαλτὸς ἐς τὸ ἐν Βαβυλῶνι τεῖχος ἐκομίσθη.

180. Ἕτετείχιστο μὲν νυν ἡ Βαβυλῶν τρόπῳ τοιῶδε, ἐστὶ δὲ δύο φάρσεα τῆς πόλιος. τὸ γὰρ μέσον αὐτῆς ποταμὸς διέργει, τῷ οὖνομα ἐστὶ Ἐυφρήτης· ἰέει δὲ ἐξ ἀρμενίων, ἑων μέγας καὶ βαθὺς· ἐξεῖ δὲ οὔτος ἐς τὴν Ἑρυθρὴν θάλασσαν. τὸ δὲ ἡ τεῖχος ἐκάτερον τοὺς ἀγκώνας ἐς τὸν ποταμὸν ἐλήλυται, τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ τούτου αἱ ἐπικαμπῇ παρὰ χεῖλος ἐκάτερον τοῦ ποταμοῦ αἰμασιὴ πλίνθων ὁπτεῶν παρατείνει. τὸ δὲ ἀστὺ αὐτὸ, ἐδὲ πλήρες οἰκίεων τριωρόφων καὶ τετρωρόφων, κατατέτμηται τὰς ὀδοὺς ἱδέας ταῖς τε ἄλλας καὶ τὰς ἐπικαρσίας ταῖς ἐπὶ τὸν ποταμὸν ἐχοῦσας. κατὰ δὴ ὡς ἐκάστην ὁδὸν ἐν τῇ αἰμασίῃ τῇ παρὰ τὸν ποταμὸν τυλίδες ἐπησαν, ὅσαι περ αἰ λαύραι, τοσαῦται ἀριθμῶν ἦσαν δὲ καὶ αὐταὶ χάλκεαι1. . . . φέρουσαι [καὶ αὐταὶ] ἐς αὐτὸν τὸν ποταμὸν.

181. Τούτῳ μὲν δὴ τὸ τεῖχος θώρηξ ἐστὶ, ἐτερον δὲ ἐσωθεὶν τεῖχος περιθέει, οὐ πολλῷ τεῳ ἀσθενε- στερον τοῦ ἐτερον τεῖχος, στεινότερον δὲ. ἐν δὲ φάρσει ἐκάτερο τῆς πόλιος ἐτετείχιστο ἐν μέσῳ ἐν τῷ μὲν τὰ βασιλῆια περιβόλῳ μεγάλῳ τε καὶ ἰσχυρῷ, ἐν δὲ τῷ ἐτέρῳ Δίως Βῆλου ἱρὸν χαλκο- πυλον, καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ ἐτί τοῦτο ἐον, δύο σταδίων πάντη, ἐδὲ τετράγωνον. ἐν μέσῳ δὲ τοῦ ἱροῦ πύργος στερεὸς οἰκοδομηται, σταδίου καὶ τὸ μῆκος καὶ τὸ εὐρος, καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦτο τῷ πύργῳ ἀλλος

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

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

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

1 Bel or Baal, the greatest of Assyrian gods.
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πῦργος ἐπιβέβηκε, καὶ ἔτερος μᾶλα ἐπὶ τοῦτῳ, μέχρι οὗ ὦκτω πῦργων. ἀνάβασις δὲ ἐστιν τῶν πῦργων ἔχουσαι περί πάντας τοὺς πῦργους ἔχουσα μεσοῦν. μεσοῦντι δὲ καὶ καὶ τῆς ἀναβάσιος ἐστὶν καταγωγή τε καὶ θῶκοι ἀμπαύστηριοι, ἐν τούς κατιζούντες ἀμπαύνονται οἱ ἀναβαίνοντες. ἐν δὲ τῷ τελευταίῳ πῦργῳ νησὶ ἔπεστι μέγας· ἐν δὲ τῷ νησί κλίνη μεγάλη κέεται εὖ ἐστρωμένη, καὶ οἱ τράπεζαι παρακεέται χρυσή. ἄγαλμα δὲ οὖν ἐνοῦ οὐδενὶ αὐτοῦ ἐνυδρυμένου, οὐδὲ νύκτα οὐδεὶς ἐναν- λίξεται ἀνδρῶτων ὅτι μὴ γυνὴ μοῦνη τῶν ἑπί- χωρίων, τῇ δὲ χροὸς ἔληται ἐκ πασέων, ὡς λέγουσι οἱ Χαλδαῖοι ἐόντες ἱρίες τοῦτον τοῦ θεοῦ.

182. Φασὶ δὲ οἱ αὐτοὶ οὗτοι, ἐμοὶ μὲν οὐ πιστὰ λέγοντες, τὸν θεὸν αὐτὸν φοιτάν τε ἐς τὸν νησί καὶ ἀμπαύσθαι ἐπὶ τῆς κλίνης, κατὰ περὶ ἐν Θῆβαι τής Αἰγυπτίης κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον, ὡς λέγουσι οἱ Αἰγυπτιοὶ καὶ γὰρ δὴ ἐκεῖθεν κομαίατα ἐν τῷ τοῦ Δίος τοῦ Θῆβαιέως γυνῆς, ἀμφότερα δὲ αὐτοὶ λέγονται ἀνδρῶν συ- δαμῶν ἐς ὀμιλίαν φοιτῶν· καὶ κατὰ περὶ ἐν Πατάρους τῆς Δυκίης ἡ πρόμαντις τοῦ θεοῦ, ἐπεάν γένηται· οὐ γὰρ ὅν αἰεὶ ἐστὶ κρητητήριον αὐτόθι· ἐπεάν δὲ γένηται τότε ὄνυχαν καταλκη- λεῖται τὰς νύκτας ἐσῶ ἐν τῷ νησί.

183. Ἐστὶ δὲ τοῦ ἐν Βαβυλώνι ἱρῶν καὶ ἄλλος κάτω νησίς, ἐνθα ἄγαλμα μέγα τοῦ Δίος ἐνι ἀποκείμενον χρύσεον, καὶ οἱ τράπεζα μεγάλη παρα- κέεται χρυσή, καὶ τὸ βάθρον οἰ καὶ ὁ θρόνος χρύσεος ἐστὶ· καὶ ὃς ἔληγον οἱ Χαλδαῖοι, ταλάν- των ὀκτακοσίων χρυσίου πεποίηται ταῦτα. ἔξω 226
from this, and from it yet another, till at last there are eight. The way up to them mounts spirally outside all the towers; about halfway in the ascent is a halting place, with seats for repose, where those who ascend sit down and rest. In the last tower there is a great shrine; and in it a great and well-covered couch is laid, and a golden table set hard by. But no image has been set up in the shrine, nor does any human creature lie therein for the night, except one native woman, chosen from all women by the god, as say the Chaldaeans, who are priests of this god.

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

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

1 Amon-Api (Greek Ἀμώνωφις); cp. ii. 42.  
2 Apollo.
HERODOTUS

dè toû vnoû bwmós èsti chrúsèos, èsti dè kai 
allòs bwmòs mégas, èpi ouθ estai tá télea tón 
probátow, èpi gár toû chrusèou bwmou ouk 
éxei thûn th mi hyalathnà moûna, èpi dè toû 
mézous bwmou kai kataqíçou si leíavnw tò xíla 
tálanà èteos èkástou ouì Xaldaîoi tótè èpèan 
thn òrthn ángwsi tò bhew toutô. òh dè en tout 
temènei toutô èti toû chrónou èkeînou kai vàndrías 
dvódèka píkhèw chrúsèos stereós. èghw mèn mìn 
oûk eîdôv, tà dè légetai upò Xaldaîwn, táuta 
 légère. toutô tò vàndriànti Daraíos mèn ou 'Òstà- 
spéos èpibouleûstas ouk ètolómhe pabeîn, Ùér- 
xhos dè ou Daraíou élabe kai tòon írèa åpêkteinè 
apagoréounô ma kineaîn tòon vàndríánta. tò mèn 
dh írôn toutô ouîtô kekósmîtaî, èsti dè kai ìdia 
ánathêmata pollà.

184. Tòs dè Babhulówos tautopò pollói mèn 
kou kai állloi èghûnto basileîes, tòwn èn touti 
'Asuvríousi loýgoi oumèn poiôsmoi, ouì tà 
teîchà te èpekósmhsan kai tà íra, èn dè dh kai 
yuàikes dûo. òh mèn pròteron àrkhasa, tòs 
ústeron gêuèsi pènste pròteron gênômênè, tò 
oûoma ou Xemíramos, àuîh mèn åpèdèxato xwímatà 
av tà pedíon èounty àxiôthêtaî pròteron dè 
wóthei ouì potamós avn tà pedíon páv pelagízein.

185. Òh dè dh deúteron gênômênè tautopò basî- 
leia, tò ouûoma ou Nîtwkris, àuîh dè suvnetóterè 
gênômênè tòs pròteron àrkhásis touto mèn mnêmó- 
suva èlîpèto tà éghw àpêgísmoi, touto dè tòh 
Mîdnw òròsa àrkhîn megálh th kai ouîk åtréml- 
ţou saî, álî álla te àraîremênà ástea autôsî, 
èn dè dh kai tòh Nînou, prôsefûlázato ouî èdû-

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Outside of the temple is a golden altar. There is also another great altar, whereon are sacrificed the full-grown of the flocks; only sucklings may be sacrificed on the golden altar, but on the greater altar the Chaldeans even offer a thousand talents' weight of frankincense yearly, when they keep the festival of this god; and in the days of Cyrus there was still in this sacred demesne a statue of solid gold weighing twelve talents. I myself have not seen it, but I tell what is told by the Chaldeans. Darius son of Hystaspes purposed to take this statue but dared not; Xerxes his son took it, and slew the priest who warned him not to move the statue. Such is the adornment of this temple, and there are many private offerings besides.

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

185. The second queen, whose name was Nitocris, was a wiser woman than the first. She left such monuments as I shall record; and moreover, seeing that the rulers of Media were powerful and unresting, insomuch that Ninus itself among other cities had fallen before them, she took such care as she could
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νατο μάλιστα. πρώτα μὲν τὸν Εὐφρήτην ποταμὸν ῥέοντα πρότερον ἴδιν, ὅσ σφι διὰ τῆς πόλους μέσης ρέει, τούτον ἀνωθέν διάρυχας ὀρύξασα ὀὔτω δὴ τὶ ἐποίησε σκολιῶν ὅστε δὴ τρὶς ἐς τῶν τινα κομέων τῶν ἐν τῇ 'Ασσυρίᾳ ἀπικυνέται ρέων: τῇ δὲ κώμῃ ὀνόμα ἐστὶ, ἐς τὴν ἀπικυνέται ὁ Εὐφρήτης, 'Αρδέρικκα. καὶ νῦν οὐ ἄν κομίζουντι ἀπὸ τῆς διῆς θαλάσσης ἐς Βαβυλῶνα, καταπλέοντες τὸν Εὐφρήτην ποταμὸν τρίς τε ἐς τὴν αὐτὴν ταύτην κώμην παραγίνονται καὶ ἐν τρισὶ ἡμέρῃ. τοῦτο μὲν δὴ τοιοῦτον ἐποίησε, χώμα δὲ παρέχωσε παρ' ἐκάτερον τοῦ ποταμοῦ τὸ χέιλος ἄξιον θώματος μέγαθος καὶ ὑψος ὅσον τι ἐστὶ. κατύπερθε δὲ πολλῷ Βαβυλῶνος ἀφύστε ἔλυτρον λίμνη, ὄλγον τι παρατείνονσα ἀπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ, βάθος μὲν ἐς τὸ ὕδωρ ἄιλε ὀρύσσουσα, εὑρος δὲ τὸ περίμετρον αὐτοῦ ποιεύσα ἐίκοσι τε καὶ τετρακοσίων σταδίων ὁ τὸ ὀρυσόμενον χοῦν ἐκ τοῦ τοῦ ὀρύγματος ἀνασίμων παρὰ τὰ χείλεα τοῦ ποταμοῦ παραχέουσα. ἐπείτε δὲ οἱ ὄρωντε, λίθους ἀγαγομένη κρηπίδα κύκλῳ περὶ αὐτὴν ἡλασε. ἐποίες δὲ ἀμφότερα ταῦτα, τὸν τοὺ ποταμὸν σκολιῶν καὶ τὸ ὄρυγμα πάν ἐλος, ὡς ὃ το τοπαμὸς βραδύτερος εἰ ἐπὶ περὶ καμπάς πολλᾶς ἀγνύμενος, καὶ οἱ πλοῖοι ἐσοι σκολιῶ λέ τὴν Βαβυλῶνα, ἐκ τὶ τῶν πλών εκδέκειται περίῳς τῆς λίμνης μακρῆ. κατὰ τοῦτο δὲ ἐργάζετο τῆς χώρης τῇ αἰ τῇ ἐσβολαὶ ἦσαν καὶ τὰ σύντομα τῆς ἐκ Μήδων ὄδου, ἢ μὴ ἐπιμισγό-μενοι οἱ Μήδοι ἐκμανθάνοιεν αὐτῆς τὰ πρήγματα.

186. Ταῦτα μὲν δὴ ἐκ βάθεος περιβάλετο, τοιῇ ἄτού ἐπανθήκην ἐποίησετο. ἔς 230
for her protection. First she dealt with the river Euphrates, which flows through the middle of her city; this had before been straight; but by digging canals higher up she made the river so crooked that its course now passes thrice by one of the Assyrian villages; the village which is so approached by the Euphrates is called Ardericca. And now those who travel from our seas to Babylon must as they float down the Euphrates spend three days in coming thrice to the same village. Such was this work; and she built an embankment along either shore of the river, marvellous for its greatness and height. Then a long way above Babylon she dug the basin of a lake, a little way aside from the river, digging always deep enough to find water, and making the circuit of the lake a distance of four hundred and twenty furlongs; all that was dug out of the basin she used to embank either edge of the river; and when she had it all dug, she brought stones and made therewith a coping all round the basin. Her purpose in making the river to wind and turning the basin into a marsh was this—that the current might be slower by reason of the many windings that broke its force, and that the passages to Babylon might be crooked, and that next after them should come also the long circuit of the lake. All this work was done in that part of the country where are the passes and the shortest road from Media, that the Medes might not mix with her people and learn of her affairs.

186. So she made the deep river her protection; and from this work grew another which she added to
πόλιος ἐνύσης δύο σιφρίσεων, τοῦ δὲ ποταμοῦ μέσον ἐχοντος, ἐπὶ τῶν πρότερον βασιλέων ὅκως τις ἔθελοι ἐκ τοῦ ἐτέρου φάρσεως ἐς τούτους διαβῆναι, χρῆν πλοῖοι διαβαίνειν, καὶ ἑν, ὡς ἐγὼ δοκεῖ, ὄχληρον τούτο. αὐτὴ δὲ καὶ τοῦτο προείδε. ἔπειτε γὰρ ὄρυσσε τὸ ἐλυτρων ἡ ἱμη, μνημόσυνον τὸ ἄλλο ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἔργου ἐλλεπτοῦ ἐτάυματο λίθους περιμήκεας, ὡς δὲ οἱ ἤσαν οἱ λίθοι ἐτοιμοὶ καὶ τὸ χωρίον ὅρωματο, ἐκτρέψασα τοῦ ποταμοῦ τὸ ἔθερμον πᾶν ἐς τὸ ὄρυσσε χωρίων, ἐν ὃ ἔπιμπλατο τούτο, ἐν τούτῳ ἄπεξηραμένου τοῦ ἀρχαίου ρέθρου τούτο καὶ τὰ χείλεα τοῦ ποταμοῦ κατὰ τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὰς καταβάσιας τὰς ἐκ τῶν πυλῶν ἐς τὸν ποταμὸν φεροῦσας ἀνοικοδόμησε πλάνθουσι ὁπτήσι κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν λόγον τῷ τείχει, τοῦτο δὲ κατὰ μέσην κοποῦ ἡλιστα τὴν πόλιν τοῖς λίθοις τοὺς ὁρυζατο οἰκοδόμεε γέφυραν, δεόνσα τοὺς λίθους σιδηρῷ τε καὶ μολύβδῳ. ἐπιτείνεσκε δὲ ἐπ᾽ αὐτὴν, ὅκως μὲν ἦμερη κύνοιτο, ξύλα τετράγωνα, ἐπ᾽ ὅν τὴν διάβασιν ἐποιεῖντο οἱ Βαβυλώνιοι, τὰς δὲ νύκτας τὰ χύλα ταῦτα ἀπαρέοσκον τοῦδε εἵνεκα, ἵνα μὴ διαφορεῖτο τὰς νύκτας κλέπτοιεν παρ᾽ ἀλλήλων. ὡς δὲ τὸ τέ όρυχθεν λίμνη πλῆρης ἐγεγόνεε ὑπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ καὶ τὰ πεῖρ τὴν γέφυραν ἐκεκόσμησε, τὸν Ἐυφρήτην ποταμὸν ἐς τὰ ἀρχαία ρέθρα ἐκ τῆς λίμνης εξήγαγε, καὶ οὕτω τὸ όρυχθεν ἔλος γενόμενον ἐς δέον ἐδοκει γεγονέαν καὶ τοῖς πολεμητῶς γέφυρα ἤν κατεσκευαζόμενην. 187. Ἡ δ᾽ αὕτη αἰτή βασιλεία καὶ ἀπάτην τοῦτο πρώτον τινὰ ἐμπεσάνσατο. ὑπὲρ τῶν μάλιστα λεωφόρων πυλέως τοῦ ἅστεος τάφου ἐωτῇ κατε-
it. Hence city was adorned with a temple which flowed through it severally; and in the days of the former wise king, the two parts of the lake were divided, and the one part to the other, then this, as I suppose, was provided, provided also for this; the waters of the lake were divided, and the other part of the lake was done away, and her reign out of this restored. Some blocks of stone were cut out and laid in, and the place was dried up, and the river wholly into the city. The former channel being now dried up, the river in the city and the two leading down into the sea, where the city was built, a bridge had been dug up, and lead and lead. She had learnt morning, whereas the Babylonian logs were taken away, for the river be ever crossing over and over. Then, when the bridge the land filled by the river and the city Nitocris brought the Babylonian channel out of the lake. Hence, purpose, as she thought, for her basin, and her citizens had a drink.

187. There was a brick pavement, and the queen conceived. She took the stone, and set high over the very upper, on the
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σκευάσατο μετέωρων ἐπιτολῆς αὐτέων τῶν πυλέων, ἐνεκόλαψε δὲ ἐς τὸν τάφον γράμματα λέγοντα τάδε. "Τῶν τις ἔμειν ὑστερον γινομένων Βαβυλώνος βασιλέων ἦν σπανίσθη χρημάτων, ἀνοίξας τὸν τάφον λαβέτω ὅκόσα βουλετοί χρῆματα· μὴ μέντοι γε μὴ σπανίσας γε ἄλλως ἀνοίξῃ σοῦ γὰρ ἄμεινων" ὁ γὰρ τάφος ἦν ἁκίνητος μέχρι σοῦ ἐς Δαρέιον περιήλθε ἡ βασιληίη. Δαρείῳ δὲ καὶ δεινὸν ἐδοκεε εἶναι τῇ πύλῃ παύσῃς ταύτῃ μηδὲν χρᾶσθαι, καὶ χρημάτων κείμενον καὶ αὐτῶν τῶν γραμμάτων ἑπικαλεομένων, μὴ σοῦ λαβεῖν αὐτά· τῇ δὲ πύλῃς ταύτῃ σου ἐξῆλθο τούδε εἶνεκα, ὅτι ὑπὲρ κεφαλῆς οὐ ἐγίνετο ὁ νεκρὸς διεξελάγοντι. ἀνοίξας δὲ τὸν τάφον εὗρε χρῆματα μὲν σοῦ, τῶν δὲ νεκρῶν καὶ γράμματα λέγοντα τάδε· "Εἰ μὴ ἅπληστός τε ἔστις χρημάτων καὶ αἰσχροκερδῆς, οὐκ ἂν νεκρῶν θήκας ἀνέφγες." αὐτὴ μὲν νυν ἡ Βασίλεια τοιαύτη τις λέγεται γενέσθαι.

188. Ὅ δὲ δὴ Κῦρος ἐπὶ ταύτῃ τῆς γυναικὸς τοῦ παῖδος ἐστρατεύετο, ἐχοῦτα τε τοῦ πατρὸς του ἑωυτοῦ τούνομα Δαβύνητου καὶ τὴν Ἀσυρίων ἀρχὴν. στρατεύεται δὲ δὴ βασιλεὺς ὁ μέγας καὶ συτίσει εὐ ἔσκευσαμένος ἔξ οἴκου καὶ προβά- τοις, καὶ δὴ καὶ ὧδωρ ἀπὸ τοῦ Χοάσπεω τοσα- μοῦ ἄμα ἀγεῖται τοῦ παρὰ Σοῦσα βέοντος, τοῦ μοῦνου πίνει βασιλεὺς καὶ ἅλου οὐδένος τοσα- μοῦ. τούτου δὲ τοῦ Χοάσπεω τοῦ ὑδατος ἀπεψη- μένου πολλαὶ κάρτα ἀμαξίας τετράκυκλοι ἡμώ- νεα κομίζουσαι ἐν ἀγγηλοίς ἀργυρείοις ἐπούνται, ὅχη ἂν ἐλαύνη ἐκάστοτε.

189. Ἑπείτε δὲ ὁ Κῦρος πορευόμενος ἐπὶ τὴν

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the city which was on the tomb, which was in future time and take whatsoever open it except he took him." This tomb thing that he was using the gate his head at the tomb, be found him of we are not open it is reburied who number the sound the strewing... of dress was done and when the sun had set the sun when the sun was set the sun was set in the number of vessels, following the king...
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Βαβυλώνα ἐγίνετο ἐπὶ Γύνδη ποταμῷ, τοῦ αἰ μὲν 
πηγαὶ ἐν Ματηνοῦσὶ ὄρεσι, ἰεὶ δὲ διὰ Δαρδανέων,
ἐκδιδοῖ δὲ ἐς ἔτερον ποταμόν Τύγρην, ὃ δὲ παρὰ
Ὡτιεν πόλιν ῥέων ἐς τὴν Ἐρυθρὴν θάλασσαν
ἐκδιδοῖ, τοῦτον δὴ τὸν Γύνδην ποταμὸν ὡς δια-
βαίνειν ἐπειράτο ὁ Κύρος ἐόντα νησιπέρητον,
ἐνθαυτά τινὶ τῶν τίς ἱρών ἵππων τῶν λευκῶν ὑπὸ
ὕβριος ἔσβας ἐς τὸν ποταμὸν διαβαίνειν ἐπειράτο,
ὅ δὲ μιν συμψήσας ὑποβρύχιον οἰκώκεε φέρων.
κάρτα τε δὴ ἐχαλέπαινε τῷ ποταμῷ ὁ Κύρος
τοῦτο ὑβρίσαντι, καὶ οἱ ἐπηπείλησε οὕτω δὴ μιν
ἀσθενεά ποιῆσειν ὡστε τοῦ λοιποῦ καὶ γυναικᾶς
μιν εὐπετέως τὸ γόνυ οὐ βρεχοῦσας διαβήσεσθαι.
μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἄπειλην μετείς τὴν ἐπὶ Βαβυλώνα
στράτευσιν διαίρετο τῇ στρατηγῇ δίχα, διελοῦ
δὲ κατέτευχε σχοινοπενεάς ὑποδέξας διώρυχας
ὁγδόκοντα καὶ ἐκατόν παρ᾽ ἐκάτερον τὸ χεῖλος
τοῦ Γύνδεω τετραμμένας πάντα τρόπων, διατάξας
δὲ τῶν στρατῶν ὀρύσσειν ἐκέλευε. οἶα δὲ ὁμίλου
πολλοῦ ἐργαζόμενον ἤγετο μὲν τὸ ἔργον, ἀμώς
μέντοι τῇ θερείᾳ πᾶσαι αὐτοῦ ταύτῃ διέ-
τριψαν ἐργαζόμενοι.

190. Ὅς δὲ τὸν Γύνδην ποταμὸν ἐτίσατο Κύρος
ἐς τρικοσσίας καὶ ἐξῆκοντα διώρυχας μιν δια-
λαβὼν, καὶ τὸ δεύτερον ἔαρ ὑπέλαμπε, οὕτω δὴ
ὁλαυνε ἐπὶ τὴν Βαβυλώνα. οἱ δὲ Βαβυλώνιοι
ἐκστρατευσάμενοι ἔμενον αὐτῶν. ἑπεὶ δὲ ἐγένετο
ἐλαύνων ἄγχοι τῆς πόλιος, συνεβαλόν τε οἱ
Βαβυλώνιοι καὶ ἐσσωθέντες τῇ μάχῃ κατειλή-
θησαν ἐς τὸ ἄστυ. οἶα δὲ ἐξεπιστάμενοι ἐτί
πρότερον τὸν Κύρον οὐκ ἀτρεμίζοντα, ἀλλὰ ὀρέ-
οντες αὐτοῦ παντὶ ἑδιεὶ ὁμοίως ἐπιχειρεύοντα,
when Cyrus had defeated six hundred of the
among the three
at last against Babylon.  The Babylonians
and awaited him, and when in his march he came
near to their city, they, moved with fear, they were
worsted and driven within the city.  They knew
they knew already that Cyrus was an invincible
and saw that he attacked all nations which they held.
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προεσάξαντο σιτία ἐτέων κάρτα πολλῶν. ἐνθαῦτα οὐτοὶ μὲν λόγον εἰχον τῆς πολυορκήσεως οὐδένα, Κύρος δὲ ἀπορίσας ἐνείχετο, ἀτεχρόνου τε ἐγγυνομένου συχνοῦ ἀνωτέρω τε οὐδεν τῶν πρηγμάτων προκοπτομένων.

191. Εἴτε δὴ ὁι ἄλλοι οἱ ἀπορεοῦντι ὑπεθήκατο, εἴτε καὶ αὐτὸς ἔμαθε τὸ ποιητέον οἱ ἦν, ἔποιε ὁ τοιόνδε. τάξας τήν στρατινήν ἄπασσαν ἐξ ἐμβολῆς τοῦ ποταμοῦ, τῇ ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἐσβάλλει, καὶ ὅπισθε αὐτίς τῆς πόλιος τάξας ἐτέρους, τῇ ἐξει ἐκ τῆς πόλιος ὁ ποταμός, προεῖπε τῷ στρατῷ, ὅταν διαβατόν τῷ ἑεθρόν ἱδοντι γενόμενον, ἐσιέναι ταύτη ἐς τὴν πόλιν. οὐτω τῷ τῇ τάξας καὶ κατὰ ταύτη παραώνεσαν ἀπήλαυνε αὐτὸς σὺν τῷ ἀχρήφ τοῦ στρατοῦ. ἀπικόμενος δὲ ἐπὶ τῇ λίμνῃ, τὰ περ ἡ τῶν Βαβυλωνίων βασίλεια ἐποίησε κατὰ τε τοῦ ποταμοῦ καὶ κατὰ τὴν λίμνην, ἔποιε καὶ ὁ Κύρος ἔτερα τοιαῦτα. τὸν γὰρ ποταμὸν διώρυχοι ἐσαγαγὼν ἐς τὴν λίμνην ἐσώσαν Ἑλος, τὸ ἄρχαῖον ἑθρόν διαβατόν εἶναι ἐποίησε, ὑπονοοῦσαντο τοῦ ποταμοῦ. γενομένον δὲ τούτου τοιούτου, οἱ Πέρσαι οἱ περ ἑστάχατο ἐπὶ αὐτῷ τοῦτῳ κατὰ τὸ ἑθρόν τοῦ Εὐφρήτου ποταμοῦ ὑπονοοῦσικότος ἀνδρὶ ὡς ἐς μέσον μηρὸν μάλιστα κη, κατὰ τοῦτο ἐσήμασαν ἐς τὴν Βαβυλώνα. εἰ μὲν γυνὶ προεπύθουτο ἢ ἐμαθον οἱ Βαβυλώνοι τὸ ἐκ τοῦ Κύρου ποιεμένον, οἱ δὲ ἀν περιδόντες τοὺς Πέρσας ἔσελθεν ἐς τὴν πόλιν διήθειραν ἀν κάκιστα· κατακλησαντες γὰρ ἀν πᾶσας τὰς ἐς τὸν ποταμὸν πυλίδας ἐχούσας καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐπὶ τὰς αἵματιας ἀναβάντες τὰς παρὰ τὰ χείλια τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἐληλαμένας, ἔλα—238
BOOK I. 190-191

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

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

192. Καὶ Βαβυλών μὲν οὖτω τότε πρῶτον ἀραίρητο. τὴν δὲ δύναμιν τῶν Βαβυλωνίων πολλοῦσι μὲν καὶ ἄλλοις δηλόσω ὅσα τις ἐστί, ἐν δὲ δὴ καὶ τὰδε. βασιλεῖ τῷ μεγάλῳ ἐς τροφὴν αὐτοῦ τε καὶ τῆς στρατιῆς διαραίρηται, πάρεξ τοῦ φόρου, γῆ πᾶσα ὅσης ἀρχεῖ· δυῶδεκα ὃν μηνῶν ἐόντων ἐς τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν τοὺς τέσσερας μήνας τρέφει μιν ἢ Βαβυλωνίη χώρη, τοὺς δὲ θαυμῶν τῶν μηνῶν ἡ λουσῆ πᾶσα Ἀσίη. οὖτω τριτημορίᾳ ἡ Ἀσσυρίη χώρη τῇ δυνάμι τῆς ἄλλης Ἀσίας. καὶ ἡ ἀρχὴ τῆς χώρης ταύτης, τὴν οἱ Πέρσαι σατραπῆσιν καλέοντο, ἐστὶ ἀπασέων τῶν ἀρχέων πολλῶν τις κρατίστη, ὅκου Τριτημορία τῷ Ἀρταβάζου ἐκ βασιλέως ἢχουντι τῶν νομῶν τοῦτον ἀργυρίον μὲν προσήμη ἡκάστης ἡμέρης ἀρτάβῃ μεστῆ. ἡ δὲ ἀρτάβη, μέτρων ἐνὶ Περσικῶν, χωρεῖν μεδίμνου Ἀττικοῦ πλέον χωνεῖς τρισὶ Ἀττικῆς. ὅποι δὲ οἱ αὐτοῦ ἤσαν ἑπὶδον, πάρεξ τῶν πολεμοστρήσων, οἱ μὲν ἀναβαίνοντες τὰς θηλέας ὀκτάκοσιοι, αἱ δὲ βαινόμεναι ἐξακισχίλαι καὶ μύριαι· ἀνεβαίνε γὰρ ἐκαστος τῶν ἔρημων τοιτῶν εἰκοσὶ ὅπους. κυνῶν δὲ Ἰνδικῶν τοσοῦτο
banks, and so caught their enemies as in a trap. But as it was, the Persians were upon them unawares, and by reason of the great size of the city—so say those who dwell there—those in the outer parts of it were overcome, yet the dwellers in the middle part knew nothing of it; all this time they were dancing and making merry at a festival which chanced to be toward, till they learnt the truth but too well.

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

¹ The Attic medimnus = about 12 gallons; it contained 48 χόλινκες.
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dὴ τι πλήθοσ ἐτρέφετο ὡστε τέσσερες τῶν ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ κώμαι μεγάλαι, τῶν ἄλλων ἐσώσαι ἄτελέες, τοὐσὶ κυσὶ προσετετάχατο σιτία παρέχειν. τοιαύτα μὲν τῷ ἄρχοντι τῆς Βαβυλώνος ὑπήρχε ἑώντα.

193. Ἡ δὲ γῆ τῶν Ἀσσυρίων ὑσταὶ μὲν ὀλίγη, καὶ τὸ ἐκτρέφον τὴν ῥίζαν τοῦ σίτου ἐστὶ τοῦτο: ἀρδόμενον μέντοι ἐκ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἀδρύνεται τε τὸ λήμνον καὶ παραγῖνεται ὁ σίτος, οὐ κατὰ περ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ, αὐτοῦ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἀναβαίνοντος ἐστὶ τὰς ἀροῦρας, ἄλλα χερσὶ τε καὶ κηλωνχοίσι ἀρδόμενοις. ἡ γὰρ Βαβυλωνίη χώρῃ πᾶσα, κατὰ περ ἡ Αἰγυπτίη, κατατέτμηται ἐς διώρυχας· καὶ ἡ μεγίστη τῶν διώρυχων ἐστὶ νησιπέρητος, πρὸς ἤλιον τετραμμένη τὸν χειμερινὸν, ἐσέχει δὲ ἐς ἄλλον ποταμὸν ἐκ τοῦ Εὐφράτεως, ἐς τὸν Τίγρην, παρ’ ὅν Νίνος πόλις οὐκῆτο. ἔστι δὲ χωρέων αὕτη πασέων μακρῷ ἀρίστῃ τῶν ἦμεις ἰδιεῖν Δήμητρος καρπὸν ἐκφέρειν... 1 τὰ γὰρ δὴ ἄλλα δένδρα οὐδὲ πειρᾶται ἄρχην φέρειν, οὔτε συκένη οὔτε ἄμπελον οὔτε ἑλαίην. τῶν δὲ τῆς Δήμητρος καρπῶν ὡδὲ ἀγαθῆ ἐκφέρειν ἐστὶ ὡστε ἐπὶ διηκόσια μὲν τὸ παράπαν ἀποδίδοι, ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἄριστα αὕτη ἑωτής ἐνείκη, ἐπὶ τριηκόσια ἐκφέρει. τὰ δὲ φυλλὰ αὐτῶθι τῶν τε πυρῶν καὶ τῶν κριθέων τὸ πλάτος γίνεται τεσσάρων εὐπετέως δακτύλων. ἐκ δὲ κέγχροι καὶ σησάμου ὅσον τι δένδρον μέγαθος γίνεται; ἐξεπιστάμενοι μνήμην οὐ ποιήσομαι, εὖ εἰδὼς ὅτι τοὺσ μή ἀπειμένοισι ἐς τὴν Βαβυλωνίην χώρην καὶ τὰ εἰρημένα καρπῶν ἐχόμενα

1 Stein marks a lacuna after this word, the meaning of ἕνων not being quite clear.

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that four great villages of the plain were appointed to provide food for the dogs and eased from all other burdens. Such were the riches of the governor of Babylon.

193. There is but little rain in Assyria. It is this which nourishes the roots of the corn; but it is irrigation from the river that ripens the crop and brings the grain to fulness: it is not as in Egypt, where the river itself rises and floods the fields: in Assyria they are watered by hand and by swinging beams.\(^1\) For the whole land of Babylon, like Egypt, is cut across by canals. The greatest of these is navigable: it runs towards where the sun rises in winter, from the Euphrates to another river, the Tigris, by which stood the city of Ninus. This land is of all known to us by far the most fertile in corn. Trees it does not even essay to grow, fig, vine, or olive, but its corn is so abundant that it yields for the most part two hundred fold, and even three hundred fold when the harvest is best. The blades of the wheat and barley there are easily four fingers broad; and for millet and sesame, I will not say, though it is known to me, to what a height they grow; for I am well aware that even what I have said respecting corn is wholly disbelieved by those who have never visited

\(^1\) That is, by the "shadoof," a familiar object to travellers on the Nile; a lever with a bucket attached, revolving on a post.
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ἐς ἀπιστήν πολλὴν ἀπίκται. χρέωνται δὲ-οὔδὲν ἐλαίῳ ἡ ἐκ τῶν σησάμων ποιεύντες. εἰσὶ δὲ σφι φοίνικες πεφυκότες ἄνα πᾶν τὸ πεδίον, οἱ πλευνὲς αὐτῶν καρποφόροι, ἐκ τῶν καὶ σιτία καὶ οἶνον καὶ μέλι ποιεύνται τοὺς συκέων τρόπων θεραπεύουσι τὰ τε ἄλλα καὶ φοινίκων τοὺς έρσενας Ἐλληνες καλέουσι, τούτων τὸν καρπὸν περιδέουσι τῇ βαλανηφόροις τῶν φοινίκων, ἵνα τεταίη τε σφὶ ὁ ψήν τὴν βάλανον ἑσδύον καὶ μὴ ἀπορρέῃ ὁ καρπὸς τοῦ φοίνικος. ψήνας γὰρ δὴ φέρουσι ἐν τῷ καρπῷ οἱ έρσενες κατὰ περὶ δὴ οἱ θηλυκοὶ.

194. Τὸ δὲ ἀπάντων θῶμα μέγιστὸν μοι ἐστὶ τῶν ταύτη μετὰ γε αὐτῆν τὴν πόλιν, ἔρχομαι φράσων τὰ πλοία αὐτοῖσι ἔστὶ τὰ κατὰ τὸν ποταμὸν πορεύομενα ἡ τὴν Βαβυλώνα, ἐόντα κυκλοτερέα, πάντα σκύτων. ἔπειν γὰρ ἐν τοῖσι Ἀρμενίσιοι τοῖσι κατύπερθε Ἀσσυρίων οἰκημένοις νομέως ἱτές ταμόμενοι ποιήσωνται, περιτείνουσι τοῦτοι διεθέρας στεγαστρίδας ἐξωθέν ἐδάφεως τρόπων, οὐτε πρύμνῃν ἀποκρίνουτε οὐτε πρῶρῃν συνάγοντες. ἀλλ' ἀστίδος τρόπου κυκλοτερέα ποιήσαντες καὶ καλάμης πλῆσαντες πᾶν τὸ πλοῖον τοῦτο ἀπείσι κατὰ τὸν ποταμὸν φέρεσθαι, φορτίων πλῆσαντες μάλιστα δὲ βίκους φοινικίους κατάγουσι οἶνον πλέον. ιδύνεται δὲ ὅπο τε δύο πλήκτρων καὶ δύο ἀνδρῶν ὀρθῶν ἑστεώτων, καὶ δὲ μὲν ἔσω ἔλκει τὸ πλήκτρον δὲ ἔξω ὅθεν. ποιεῖται δὲ καὶ κάρτα μεγάλα ταύτα τὰ πλοία καὶ ἐλάσσων τὰ δὲ μέγιστα αὐτῶν καὶ πεντακισχιλίων ταλάντων γόμον ἔχει. ἐν ἐκάστῳ δὲ πλοίῳ ὁνος ξωδὸς ἐνεστὶ, ἐν δὲ τοῖσι μέξοσι.
BOOK I. 193–194

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

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

1 Sesame-oil or "Benre-oil" is still in common use in the East.
2 The Attic talent = about 58 lbs. avoirdupois; the Aeginetan = about 82.
πλεύνες. ἔπεαν ὅπως ἀπίκωνται πλέοντες ἐς τὴν Βαβυλῶνα καὶ διαθέωνται τὸν φόρτον, νομεῖς μὲν τοῦ πλοίου καὶ τὴν καλάμην πᾶσαν ἀπ’ ὅν ἐκήρυξαν, τὰς δὲ διφθέρας ἐπισάξαντες ἐπὶ τοὺς ὄνους ἀπελαύνουσι ἐς τοὺς Ἀρμενίους. ἀνὰ τὸν ποταμὸν γὰρ ὃν ὅλα τε ἐστὶ πλέον εὐδεῖ τρόπῳ ὑπὸ τάχειος τοῦ ποταμοῦ. διὰ γὰρ ταύτα καὶ ὅλα ἐκ ξύλων ποιεῦνται τὰ πλοῖα ἀλλ’ ἐκ διφθερέων. ἔπεαν δὲ τοὺς ὄνους ἔλαιοντες ἀπὶ κούνται ὁπίσω ἐς τοὺς Ἀρμενίους, ἀλλὰ τρόπῳ τῷ αὐτῷ ποιεῦνται πλοῖα.

195. Τὰ μὲν δὴ πλοῖα αὐτοῖς ἐστὶ τοιαῦτα· ἐσθῆτι δὲ τοιῇδε χρέωνται, κιβώνι ποδημεκεί λιμένι, καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦτον ἄλλον εἰρίνεον κιβώνα ἐπενδύει καὶ χλανίδιον λευκὸν περιβαλλόμενον, ὑποδήματα ἑχων ἐπιχώρια, παραπλήσια τῇ δι᾽ Βοιοτίησι ἔμβασι. κομάντες δὲ τὰς κεφαλὰς μιμήθησαν ἀναδεονταί, μεμυρισμένοι πᾶν τὸ σῶμα. σφυρηγίδα δὲ ἐκαστὸς ἔχει καὶ σκῆπτρον χειροποίητον· ἐπ’ ἐκάστῳ δὲ σκῆπτρῳ ἐπεστὶ πεποιημένου ἡ μῆλον ἡ ῥόδον ἡ κρίνου ἡ αἰετὸς ἡ ἀλλο τι ἄνευ γὰρ ἐπισήμου οὐ σφὶ νόμος ἐστὶ ἑχειν σκῆπτρον.

196. Αὕτη μὲν δὴ σφί ἄρτησις περὶ τὸ σῶμα ἐστὶ· νόμοι δὲ αὐτοῖς ὅσε κατεστάται, ὁ μὲν σοφότατος ὡδε κατὰ ἱμώμην τὴν ἡμετέρην, τῷ καὶ Ἰλλυρίων Ἐνετοὺς πυθόνοις χράσθαι. κατὰ κώμας ἐκάστας ἀπάξ τοῦ ἔτεος ἐκάστου ἐποιεῖτο τάδε· ὅσο ἂν αἱ παρθένοι γενοῖτο γάμων ὀραίαι, ταὐτάς ὡδες συναγάγοις πᾶσας, ἐς ἐν χωρίον ἐσώγεσκον ἄλεας, πέριξ δὲ αὐτὰς ἱστάτο ὁμίλος ἄνδρῶν, ἀνιστάς δὲ κατὰ μίαν ἐκάστην
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more than one in the larger. So when they have floated down to Babylon and disposed of their cargo, they sell the framework of the boat and all the reeds; the hides are set on the backs of asses, which are then driven back to Armenia, for it is not by any means possible to go up stream by water, by reason of the swiftness of the current; it is for this reason that they make their boats of hides and not of wood. When they have driven their asses back into Armenia they make more boats in the same way.

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

196. Such is the equipment of their persons. I will now speak of their established customs. The wisest of these, in my judgment, is one which as I have heard is also a custom of the Eneti in Illyria. It is this: once a year in every village all the maidens as they came to marriageable age were collected and brought together into one place, with a crowd of men standing round. Then a crier would stand up and offer them for sale one by one, first
κήρυξ πωλέσκε, πρώτα μὲν τὴν εὐειδεστάτην ἐκ πασέων μετὰ δέ, ὅκως αὕτη εὐρούσα πολλῶν χρυσίον προθείη, ἀλλήν δὲ ἐκήρυσσε ἤ μετ᾽ ἐκείνην ἔσκε εὐειδεστάτην ἐπωλέστη δὲ ἐπὶ συνοικίσι. ὦσι μὲν δὴ ἔσκοι εὐδαίμονες τῶν Βαβυλωνίων ἑπίγαμοι, ὑπερβάλλουσι ἀλλήλους ἐξωνέντο τὰς καλλιστευοῦσας ὄσοι δὲ τοῦ δήμου ἔσκοι ἑπίγαμοι, ὦθοι δὲ εἴδεοι μὲν οὐδὲν ἐδέοντο χρηστοῖ, οἷον δ᾽ ἐν χρήματά τε καὶ αἰσχύνας παρθένους ἐλάμβανον. ὡς γὰρ δὴ διεξέλθοι ὁ κήρυξ πωλέων τὰς εὐειδεστάτας τῶν παρθένων, ἀνίστα ἢ τὴν ἀμορφεστάτην, ἢ εἰ τις αὐτέων ἐμπηρος εἱχ., καὶ ταύτην δὲ ἐκήρυσσε, ὅστις θέλοι ἐλαχίστον χρυσίον λαβών συνωμότευν αὐτῆς, ἐς δ᾽ τῷ τὸ ἐλάχιστον ὑποσταμένῳ προσέκειτο. τὸ δὲ ἄν χρυσίον ἐγίνετο ἀπὸ τῶν εὐειδέων παρθένων καὶ οὕτω αἱ εὐμορφοὶ τὰς ἀμόρφους καὶ εὐπηρέους ἐξεδίδοσαν. ἐκδοῦναι δὲ τὴν ἑωτοῦ θυγατέρα ὅτε δὲ βούλοιτο ἐκαστὸς οἷον ἔζην, οὐδὲ ἄνευ ἐγγυητέω ἀπάγεσθαι τὴν παρθένον πριάμενων, ἀλλ᾽ ἐγγυητάς χρῆν καταστήσαντα ἢ μὲν συνωμότευν αὐτῆς, οὕτω ἀπάγεσθαι. εἰ δὲ μὴ συμφερόιτο, ἀποφέρει τὸ χρυσίον ἐκεῖτο νόμος. ἔζην δὲ καὶ ἔξ ἄλλης ἔλθοντα κόμης τῶν βουλόμενων ὠνεσθαι. ὁ μὲν νυν καλλιστος νόμος οὕτος σφι ἦν, οὐ μέντοι νῦν γε διατελεῖ ένων, ἄλλο δὲ τι ἐξευρήκασι νεωστὶ γενέσθαι [ἐνα μὴ ἄδικοιεν αὐτὰς μηδ᾽ εἰς ἑτέραν πόλιν ἀγωνταί].

1 The words in brackets do not seem to be relevant here; they might more naturally come after οὕτω ἀπάγεσθαι above.

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the fairest of all; and then when she had fetched a great price he put up for sale the next comeliest, selling all the maidens as lawful wives. Rich men of Assyria who desired to marry would outbid each other for the fairest; the commonalty, who desired to marry and cared nothing for beauty, could take the ill-favoured damsels and money therewith; for when the crier had sold all the comeliest, he would put up her that was least beautiful, or crippled, and offer her to whosoever would take her to wife for the least sum, till she fell to him who promised to accept least; the money came from the sale of the comely damsels, and so they paid the dowry of the ill-favoured and the cripples. But a man might not give his daughter in marriage to whomsoever he would, nor might he that bought the girl take her away without giving security that he would indeed make her his wife. And if the two could not agree, it was a law that the money be returned. Men might also come from other villages to buy if they so desired. This then was their best custom; but it does not continue at this time; they have invented a new one lately [that the woman might not be wronged or taken to another city]; since the conquest of Babylon made them afflicted and poor, everyone of the commonalty that lacks a livelihood makes prostitutes of his daughters.
197. Δεύτερος δὲ σοφί ὅδε ἄλλος σφή νόμος κατέστηκε τοὺς κάμνοντας ἡ τὴν ἀγορὴν ἐκφορέουσι· οὐ γὰρ δὴ χρεώνται ἱπτρώσι. προσίνοντες δὲν πρὸς τὸν κάμνοντα συμβουλεύουσι περὶ τῆς νοῦσον, εἰ τις καὶ αὐτὸς τοινῦτο ἔπαθε ὁκοῖον ἂν ἔχῃ ὁ κάμνων ἡ ἄλλων εἰδε παθόντα, ταῦτα προσιόντες συμβουλεύουσι καὶ παραίνοσι ἄσσα αὐτὸς ποιήσας ἐξέφυγε ὁμοίη νοῦσον ἡ ἄλλον εἰδε ἐκφυγόντα. σιγὴ δὲ παρεξελθεὶν τὸν κάμνοντα οὐ σφὶ ἔξεστι, πρὸν ἄν ἐπείρηται ἴτινα νοῦσον ἔχει.

198. Ταφαὶ δὲ σφὶ ἐν μέλιτι, θρῆνοι δὲ παραπλήσιοι τοῖς ἐν Ἀιγύπτῳ. ὁσίακε δὲν ἄν μικῆ γυναῖκι τῇ ἔωτοι ἀνὴρ Βαβυλώνιος, περὶ θυμίημα καταγιζόμενον ἵζει, ἐτέρωθι δὲ ἡ γυνὴ τῶν τοῦτο ποιεῖ, ὅρθρον δὲ γενομένου λοὐνται καὶ ἀμφότεροι ἁγγεος γὰρ οὐδενὸς ἠφονται πρὶν ἄν λούσωνται. ταῦτα δὲ ταῦτα καὶ Ἄραβιοι ποιεῦσιν.

199. ὁ δὲ δὴ αἰσχυντὸς τῶν νόμων ἔστὶ τοῖς Βαβυλώνιοις ὅδε· δὲν πᾶσαι γυναῖκα ἐπιχορήγην ἰζομένην ἐν ἑρὶ Ἀφροδίτης ἀπαξ ἐν τῇ ἥθη μιχθῆνα ἄνδρι ξεῖνῃ. πολλαὶ δὲ καὶ οὐκ ἄξιεύομεναι ἀναμίσθεσθαι τῆς ἄλλης, οὐ πλοῦτος ύπερφυονέσθαι, ἐπὶ ξευγέων ἐν καμάρῃς ἐλάσσαι πρὸς τὸ ἱρὸν ἐστάσις· θεραπηθή δὲ σφὶ ὅπισθε ἔπεται πολλῆ. αἱ δὲ πλεῖνες ποιεῦσιν ὅδε· ἐν τεμένει Ἀφροδίτης κατέσται στέφανον περὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς ἔχουσαι θέμυγγος πολλαὶ γυναῖκες· αἱ μὲν γὰρ προσέρχονται, αἱ δὲ ἀπέρχονται.

1 Three fifteenth century MSS. omit the whole of this chapter.

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

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

199. The foulest Babylonian custom is that which compels every woman of the land once in her life to sit in the temple of Aphrodite and have intercourse with some stranger. Many women who are rich and proud and disdain to consort with the rest, drive to the temple in covered carriages drawn by teams, and there stand with a great retinue of attendants. But most sit down in the sacred plot of Aphrodite, with crowns of cord on their heads; there is a great multitude of women coming and going; passages marked by line run every way through the crowd, by which the stranger men pass and make their choice.
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σχοινοτενέες δὲ διεξοδοι πάντα τρόπον ὁδὼν ἔχουσι διὰ τῶν γυναικῶν, δι' ὃν οἱ ξείνοι διεξιόντες ἐκλέγονται· ἐνθα ἐπεὰν ἦσηται γυνή, οὐ πρότερον ἀπαλλάσσεται ἐς τὰ οἰκία ἡ τίς οἱ ξείνων ἀργύριον ἐμβαλὼν ἐς τὰ γούνατα μιχθῇ ἐξω τοῦ ἱροῦ· ἐμβαλόντα δὲ δεῖ εἰπεῖν τοσοῦτον· "Ἐπικαλέω τοι τὴν θεὸν Μύλεττα." Μύλεττα δὲ καλέουσι τὴν Ἀφροδίτην Ἀσσύριοι. τὸ δὲ ἀργύριον μέγαθος ἐστὶ ὁσον ὄν· οὐ γὰρ μὴ ἀπώσηται· οὐ γὰρ οἱ θέμις ἐστὶ· γίνεται γὰρ ἢρὸν τούτῳ τὸ ἀργύριον. τὸ δὲ πρῶτῳ ἐμβαλόντι ἐπεται οὐδὲ ἀποδοκιμᾶ ὑδένα. ἐπεὰν δὲ μιξθῇ, ἀπροσωπομένη τῇ θεῷ ἀπαλλάσσεται ἐς τὰ οἰκία, καὶ τῶπο τούτου οὐκ οὕτω μέγα τί οἱ δίσεις ὡς μιν λάμψει. ὅσι μὲν νυν εἰδεός τε ἐπαμμέναι εἰσὶ καὶ μεγάθες, ταχύ ἀπαλλάσσονται, ὅσι δὲ ἀμορφοὶ αὐτέων εἰσί, χρόνον πολλὸν προσμένουσι οὐ δυνάμεναι τὸν νόμον ἐκπλῆσαι· καὶ γὰρ τριέτεα καὶ τετράετεα μετεξέτεραι χρόνον μένουσι. ἐναχθῇ δὲ καὶ τῆς Κύπρου ἐστὶ παραπλήσιος τούτῳ νόμος.

200. Νόμοι μὲν δὴ τοῦσι Βαβυλωνίους οὕτωι κατεστάσας· εἰσὶ δὲ αὐτῶν πατριαί τρεῖς αἱ οὐδὲν ἄλλο σιτέονται εἰ μὴ ἰχθὺς μοῦνον, τοὺς ἐπείτε ἂν θηρεύσαντες αὐήνωσι πρὸς ἥλιον, ποιεύσαι τάδε· ἐσβάλλουσι ἐς ὅλμον καὶ λεήγαντες ὑπέροισι σῶσι διὰ σινδόνος, καὶ δὲ μὲν ἂν βούληται αὐτῶν ἀτε μᾶζαν μαξάμενον ἔχει, ὁ δὲ ἄρτον τρόπων ὀπτήσας.

201. Ὡς δὲ τῷ Κύρῳ καὶ τούτῳ τὸ ἔθνος κατέργαστο, ἐπεθύμησε Μασσαγέτας ὑπ' ἐωντῷ ποιήσασθαι. τὸ δὲ ἔθνος τούτῳ καὶ μέγα λέγεται

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

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

201. When Cyrus had conquered this nation also, he desired to subdue the Massagetae. These are
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eίναι καὶ ἀλκιμον, οἰκημένου δὲ πρὸς ἡώ τε καὶ ἕλιου ἀνατολάς, πέρην τοῦ Ἄραξεως ποταμοῦ, ἀντίον δὲ Ἰσοσθόνων ἀνδρῶν. εἰσὶ δὲ οὐτίνες καὶ Σκυθικῶν λέγουσι τοῦτο τὸ ἔθνος εἶναι.

202. Ὅ δὲ Ἄραξες λέγεται καὶ μέξων καὶ ἐλάσσων εἶναι τοῦ Ἰστροῦ. νήσους δὲ ἐν αὐτῷ Δέσβῳ μεγάθεα παραπλησίας συχνάς φασὶ εἶναι, ἐν δὲ αὐτῇ ἄνθρωποι οἱ σιτεύονται μὲν ρίζας τὸ θέρος ὄρυσσοντες παντοῖας καρποὺς δὲ ἀπὸ δενδρῶν ἔξευρημένους σφι ἐς φορβίην κατατίθεσθαι ὁραίους, καὶ τούτων σιτεσθαι τὴν χειμερνήν. ἀλλὰ δὲ τοῦ ἔξευρησθαι δένδρα καρποὺς τοιοῦτοι τινὰς φέροντα, τοὺς ἐπείτε ἂν ἐς τὸ τοῦτο συνέλθωσι κατὰ εἰλας καὶ πῦρ ἀνακαύσωνται κύκλῳ περικεκυμένους ἐπιβάλλειν ἐπὶ τὸ πῦρ, ὥσπερ ἱνομένους δὲ καταγιξόμενον τοῦ καρποῦ τοῦ ἐπιβαλλομένου μεθύσκεσθαι τῇ ὀδημῇ κατὰ περὶ Ἐλλήνας τῷ οὔνῃ, πλεῖνος δὲ ἐπιβαλλομένου τοῦ καρποῦ μᾶλλον μεθύσκεσθαι, ἐς δὲ ὡρίζον ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς τοῦτον μὲν αὐτὴ λέγεται διὰ μαίτα εἶναι. Ὅ δὲ Ἄραξες ποταμὸς Ῥέει μὲν ἐκ Ματινῶν, ὥθεν περὶ τοῦ Γύνδης τὸν τὰς διώρυγας τὰς ἐξήκουντα τε καὶ τριησοσίας διέλαβε ὁ Κύρος, στόμασι δὲ ἐξερεύγεται τεσσεράκοντα, τῶν τὰ πάντα πλὴν ἐνός ἐς ἐλεα τε καὶ τενάγεα ἐκδίδοι. ἐν τοῖς ἄνθρωποις κατοικήθησαι λέγουσι ἱχθοὺς ὡμοὺς σιτεομένους, ἐσόθητι δὲ νομίζοντας χρᾶσθαι φωκέων δέρμασι. τὸ δὲ ἐν τῶν στομάτων τοῦ Ἄραξεως Ῥέει διὰ καθαροῦ ἐς τὴν Καστίνην θάλασσαν.

203. Ἰ δὲ Καστίνη θάλασσα ἐστι ἐπὶ ἑωτυτῆς, οὐ συμμίσγουσα τῇ ἐτέρῃ θαλάσσῃ. τὴν μὲν γὰρ
said to be a great people and a mighty, dwelling towards the east and the sunrise, beyond the Araxes and over against the Issedones; and some say that they are a Scythian people.

202. The Araxes is by some said to be greater and by some less than the Ister. It is reported that there are many islands in it as big as Lesbos, and men thereon who in summer live on roots of all kinds that they dig up, and in winter on fruit that they get from trees and store when it is ripe for food; and they know (it is said) of trees which have a fruit whereof this is the effect: assembling in companies and kindling a fire, the people sit round it and throw the fruit into the flames, then the smell of it as it burns makes them drunk as the Greeks are with wine, and more and more drunk as more fruit is thrown on the fire, till at last they rise up to dance and even sing. Such is said to be their way of life. The Araxes\(^1\) flows from the country of the Matieni—as does the Gyndes, which Cyrus divided into the three hundred and sixty channels—and empties itself through forty mouths, whereof all except one issue into bogs and swamps, where men are said to live whose food is raw fish, and their customary dress sealskins. The one remaining stream of the Araxes flows in a clear channel into the Caspian sea.

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

\(^1\) The Araxes of this chapter appears to be, from the description of its course, the modern Aras. But the Araxes of ch. 205, separating Cyrus' kingdom from the Massagetae, must be either the Oxus (Jihon) or Jaxartes (Sihon), both of which now flow into the Aral Sea. For a full discussion of the question the reader is referred to Essay IX. in the Appendix to Book I. of Rawlinson's Herodotus.
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“Ελληνες ναυτίλλουνται πάσα καὶ ἡ ἔξω στηλέων θάλασσα ἡ Ἀτλαντίς καλεομένη καὶ ἡ Ἐρυθρή μία ἔδυσα τυχάνει· ἡ δὲ Καστίνη ἐστὶ ἐτέρη ἐπὶ ἐωτής, ἔδυσα μήκος μὲν πλάτον εἰρεσία χρωμέων πεντεκαίδεκα ἦμερέων, εὐρος δὲ, τῇ εὐρυτάτῃ ἐστὶν αὐτή ἐωτής, ὀκτὼ ἦμερέων. καὶ τὰ μὲν πρὸς τὴν ἐσπέρην φέροντα τῆς θαλάσσης ταύτης ὁ Καύκασος παρατείνει, ἐδὼ ὅρεων καὶ πλῆθεὶς μεγιστὸν καὶ μεγάθει ψηλότατον. ἔθενα δὲ ἀνθρώπων πολλά καὶ παντού ἐν ἐωτῷ ἔχει ὁ Καύκασος, τὰ πολλὰ πάντα ἀπ' ὅλης ἀγρίης ζωντα. ἐν τούσι καὶ δένδρα φύλλα τούσθε ίδεις παρεχόμενα εἶναι λέγεται, τὰ τρίβοντας τε καὶ παραμόσοντας ύδωρ ζώα ἐωντούσι ἐς τὴν ἔσθητα ἐγγράφειν· τὰ δὲ ξύλα οὐκ ἐκπλύνεσθαι, ἀλλὰ συγκαταγράσκειν τῷ ἀλλῷ εἰρίῳ κατὰ περ ἐνυφανθέντα ἄρχην. μίξουν δὲ τούτων τῶν ἀνθρώπων εἶναι ἐμφανεά κατὰ περ τοῖς προβάτοις.

204. Τὰ μὲν δὴ πρὸς ἐμπέρην τῆς θαλάσσης ταύτης τῆς Κασπίης καλεομένης ὁ Καύκασος ἀπέργησε, τὰ δὲ πρὸς ἢτο τε καὶ ἦλιον ἀνατέλλοντα πεδίον ἐκδέκεται πλῆθος ἀπειροῦ ἐς ἀποψίνι. τοῦ ὡς δὲ πεδίον τοῦτο τοῦ μεγάλου οὐκ ἐλαχίστην μοίραν μετέχουσι οἱ Μασσαγέται, ἐπ' οὔς ὁ Κύρος ἐσχε προθυμίᾳ στρατεύσασθαι. πολλά τε γάρ μιν καὶ μεγάλα τὰ ἐπαείροντα καὶ ἐποτρύνοντα ἦν, πρῶτον μὲν ἡ γένεσις, τὸ δοκεῖν πλέον τι εἶναι ἀνθρώπου, δεύτερα δὲ ἡ εὐτυχία ἢ κατὰ τοὺς πολέμους γενομένη ὁκὴ γὰρ ἵδυσει στρατεύσασθαι Κύρος, ἀμήχανον ἤν ἐκεῖνο τὸ ἔθνος διαφυγεῖν.

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

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

205. Now at this time the Massagetae were ruled
ΗΡΟΔΟΤΟΣ

Μασσαγετέων βασίλεια. Τόμυρις οἱ ἴν οὖνομα.
tαύτην πέμπτων ὁ Κύρος ἐμνάτο τῷ λόγῳ θέλων
γυναῖκα ἴν ἔχειν. ἂ δὲ Τόμυρις συνιέισα οὐκ
αὐτήν μην μινώμενον ἀλλὰ τὴν Μασσαγετέων
βασιλείαν, ἀπείπατο τὴν πρόσωδον. Κύρος δὲ
μετὰ τούτο, ὡς οἱ δόλῳ οὐ προεχώρει, ἔλασας ἐπὶ
tῶν Ἀράξεα ἐποιεῖτο ἐκ τοῦ ἐμφανέος ἐπὶ τοὺς
Μασσαγέτας στρατηγήν, γεφύρας τε ἕνεγνύων ἐπὶ
tῶν ποταμοῦ διάβασιν τῷ στρατῷ, καὶ πύργους
ἐπὶ πλοίων τῶν διαπορθμεύοντῶν τῶν ποταμῶν
οἰκοδομοῦμενος.

206. Ἡχοῦντι δὲ οἱ τοῦτον τῶν πόνων πέμψασα
ἡ Τόμυρις κήρυκα ἔλεγε τάδε. "Ὡς βασιλεὺ Μή-
δων, παῦσαι σπεῦδων τὰ σπεῦδες· οὐ γὰρ ἂν εἰδείης
εἰ τοίς καὶρόν ἔσται ταύτα τελεϊόμενα· παυσά-
μενος δὲ βασίλευς τῶν σεωτοῦ, καὶ ἡμέες ἀνέχει
ὄρεων ἄρχοντας τῶν περ ἄρχομεν. οὐκὼν ἔθελήσεις
ὑποθήκησαι τῆς ἰχαρᾶς τῆς ἀριστοκράτης, ἀλλὰ πάντως μᾶλλον
ἡ δὴ ἱστικὴ εἶναι· σὺ δὴ εἰ μεγάλως προθυμεῖς
Μασσαγετέων πειρηθῆναι, φέρε μόχθου μὲν τῶν
ἐχεις ἕνεγνυς τῶν ποταμῶν ἀπειρεῖ, σὺ δὴ ἡμέας
ἀναχωρησάντων ἀπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ τριῶν ἡμερῶν
οὐδὲν διάβαινε ἐσὶ τὴν ἱμετέρην· εἰ δὴ ἡμέας βοῦ-
λει ἐσδέξασθαι μᾶλλον ἐς τὴν ἱμετέρην, σὺ
tῶν τούτο τούτο πολεῖ·" ταύτα δὲ ἰκούσας ὁ Κύρος
συνεκάλεσε Περσέων τοὺς πρῶτους, συναγείρας
δὲ τούτους ἐς μέσον σφί προετίθει τὸ πρῆγμα,
συμβουλευόμενος ὁκότερα ποιέη. τῶν δὲ κατὰ
tῶν τούτο οἱ γνώμενοι συνεξεπιπτοῦν κελευνότων ἐσδέ-
κεσθαι Τόμυριν τε καὶ τῶν στρατῶν αὐτῆς ἐς
τὴν χώρην.

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BOOK I. 205–206

by a queen, called Tomyris, whose husband was dead. Cyrus sent a message with a pretence of wooing her for his wife, but Tomyris would have none of this advance, well understanding that he wooed not her but the kingdom of the Massagetae. So when guile availed him nothing Cyrus marched to the Araxes and openly prepared to attack the Massagetae; he bridged the river that his army might cross, and built towers on the pontoons that should carry his men over.

206. But while he was at this work Tomyris sent a herald to him with this message: "Cease, king of the Medes, from that on which you are intent; for you cannot know if the completion of this work will be for your advantage. Cease, and be king of your own country; and be patient to see us ruling those whom we rule. But if you will not take this counsel, and will do all rather than remain at peace, then if you so greatly desire to essay the strength of the Massagetae, do you quit your present labour of bridging the river, and suffer us to draw off three days' journey from the Araxes; and when that is done, cross into our country. Or if you desire rather to receive us into your country, do you then yourself withdraw as I have said." Hearing this, Cyrus assembled the chief among the Persians and laid the matter before them, asking them to advise him which he should do. They all spoke to the same purpose, urging him to suffer Tomyris and her army to enter his country.
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207. Παρεδών δὲ καὶ μεμφόμενος τὴν γνώμην ταύτην Κροίσος ὁ Λυδὸς ἀπεδείκνυτο ἐναντίην τῇ προκειμένῃ γνώμῃ, λέγων τάδε. "Ὡς βασιλεὺς, εἶπον μὲν καὶ πρότερον τοι ὅτι ἐπεὶ μὲ Ζεὺς ἐδωκέ τοι, τὸ ἀν ὅρῳ σφάλμα ἐδοὺ οἶκῳ τῷ σῷ, κατὰ δύναμιν ἀποτρέψειν τὰ δὲ μοι παθήματα ἐόντα ἀχάριτα μαθήματα γέγονε. εἰ μὲν ἀθάνατος δοκεῖς εἶναι καὶ στρατηγὸς τοιαύτης ἄρχειν, οὐδὲν ἂν εἶν ἐπὶ γνώμην ἐμὲ σοὶ ἀποφαίνεσθαι εἰ δ’ ἔγνωκας ὅτι ἀνθρώπος καὶ σὺ εἷς καὶ ἐτέρων τοὐλήδε ἄρχεις, ἐκεῖνο πρῶτον μάθε, ὥς κύκλος τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων ἐστὶ πρηγμάτων, περιφερόμενος δὲ οὐκ ἔδει αἰεὶ τούς αὐτοὺς ἐντυχέων. ἢδη ὃν ἔχω γνώμην περὶ τοῦ προκειμένου πρήγματος τὰ ἐμπαλίν ἢ οὕτω. εἰ γὰρ ἐθελήσομεν ἐσδέξασθαι τοὺς πολεμίους ἐς τὴν χώρην, ὅδε τοι ἐν αὐτῷ κίνδυνος ἔναι ἐσσωθεὶς μὲν προσαπολλύεις πᾶσαν τὴν ἄρχην. δὴλα γὰρ δὴ ὅτι νικῶντες Μασσαγέταις ὁ τὸ ὅπισθεν φεύξονται ἄλλ’ ἐπ’ ἄρχαις τὰς σὰς ἔλωσι. νικῶν δὲ οὐ νικάς τοσοῦτον ὅσον εἰ διαβὰς ἐς τὴν ἐκείνων, νικῶν Μασσαγέτας, ἐποιο φεύγουσι. τὸντὸ γὰρ ἀντιδήσῃ ἐκεῖνος, ὅτι νικήσας τοὺς ἀντιομένους ἐλάς ἠδὶ τῆς ἄρχης τῆς Τομύριος. χωρίς τε τοῦ ἀπηγημένου αἰήσχρον καὶ οὐκ ἀνασχέτων Κῦρον γε τὸν Ἀμβύσεω γυναικὶ εἰςαντα ὑποχωρήσαι τῆς χώρης. νῦν ὃν μοι δοκεῖ διαβάντας προελθεῖν ὅσον ἂν ἐκεῖνοι ὑπεξίωσι, ἐνθεύτεν δὲ τάδε ποιεῖται πειράσθαι ἐκείνων περιγενέσθαι. ὡς γὰρ ἐγὼ πνευμάτων καὶ καλῶν μεγάλων ἀπαθεῖς. τοῦτοισι

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BOOK I. 207

207. But Croesus the Lydian, who was present, was displeased by their counsel and spoke against it. "Sire," said he, "you have ere now heard from me that since Zeus has given me to you I will to the best of my power turn aside whatever mischance I see threatening your house. And disaster has been my teacher. Now if you deem yourself and the army that you lead to be immortal, it is not for me to give you advice; but if you know that you and those whom you rule are but men, then I must first teach you this: men's fortunes are on a wheel, which in its turning suffers not the same man to prosper for ever. Then, if that be true, I am not of the same mind on the business in hand as these your other counsellors. This is the danger if we agree to suffer the enemy to enter your country: if you lose the battle you lose your empire also, for it is plain that if the Massagetae win they will not retreat back but will march against your provinces. And if you conquer them it is a lesser victory than if you crossed into their country and routed the Massagetae and pursued them; for I balance your chances against theirs, and suppose that when you have worsted your adversaries you will march for the seat of Tomyris' power. And besides what I have shown, it were a thing shameful and not to be borne that Cyrus the son of Cambyses should yield and give ground before a woman. Now therefore it is in my mind that we should cross and go forward as far as they go back, and that then we should endeavour to overcome them by doing as I shall show. As I learn, the Massagetae have no experience of the good things of Persia, nor have they ever fared well in respect of what is greatly desirable. For these men, therefore,
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διν τοίσι ἀνδράσι τῶν προβάτων ἀφειδέως πολλά κατακόψαντας καὶ σκεύασάντας προθείναι ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ τῷ ἡμετέρῳ δαίτα, πρὸς δὲ καὶ κρη-τήρας ἀφειδέως οἶνον ἀκρήτου καὶ σιτία παντοῖα· ποιήσαντας δὲ ταῦτα, ὑπολιπομένους τῆς στρατιῆς τὸ φλαυρότατον, τοὺς λοιποὺς αὐτοὺς ἔξαναχωρέειν ἐπὶ τὸν ποταμὸν. ἦν γὰρ ἐγὼ γυνώμης μὴ ἁμάρτω, κεῖνοι ἰδόμενοι ἀγαθὰ πολλὰ τρέψονταί τε πρὸς αὐτὰ καὶ ἡμῖν τὸ ἐνθεῦτεν λειπεῖτα ἀπὸδεξιὸς ἔργων μεγάλων.

208. Γυνώμαι μὲν αὐταῖς συνέσταταν. Κύρος δὲ μετεῖς τὴν προτέρην γυνώμην, τὴν Κροίσου δὲ ἐλόμενος, προηγόρευε Τομύρι ἐξαναχωρέειν ὡς αὐτοῦ διαβησινένοι ἐπὶ ἐκεῖνην. ἦ μὲν δὴ ἐξαναχωρείς κατὰ ὑπέσχετο πρώτα. Κύρος δὲ Κροίσου ἐς τὰς χεῖρας ἐσθεῖς τῷ ἐωντοῦ παιδὶ Καμβύσῃ, τῷ περὶ τὴν βασιλικήν ἐδίδου, καὶ πολλὰ ἐτειλάμενοι οἱ τιμᾶν τε αὐτὸν καὶ εὐ ποιέειν, ἦν ἡ διάβασις ἡ ἐπὶ Μασσαγέτας μὴ ὀρθώθη, ταῦτα ἐντειλάμενος καὶ ἀποστείλας τούτοις ἐς Πέρσας, αὐτὸς διέβαινε τὸν ποταμὸν καὶ ὁ στρατὸς αὐτοῦ.

209. Ἐπείτε δὲ ἐπεραιῶθη τὸν Ἀράξεα, νυκτὸς ἐπελθούσης εἴδε ὅπως εὐδῶν ἐν τῶν Μασσαγετῶν τῇ χώρᾳ τοιῇ δὲ· ἐδόκεε ο Κύρος ἐν τῷ ὑπνῳ ὅραν τῶν Ἀστάπεος παῖδων τῶν πρεσβύτατων ἐχοντα ἐπὶ τῶν ὁμών πτέρυγας καὶ τούτων τῇ μὲν τὴν Ἀσίην τῇ δὲ τὴν Εὐρώπην ἐπισκιάζειν. Ἀστάπει δὲ τῷ Ἀρεῖος ἐόντι ἀνδρὶ Αχαιμενίδη ἢν τῶν παῖδων Δαρείων πρεσβύτατος, ἐὼν τότε ἡλικίαν ἐστιν καὶ καὶ μάλιστα ἔετα, καὶ οὔτος κατελέειππτο ἐν Πέρσῃ· οὐ γὰρ εἰσὶ καὶ ἡλικίας στρατεύεσθαι. ἔπει δὴ ἐξηγήρθη ο Κύρος,
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I counsel you to cut up the flesh of many of your sheep and goats into portions unstintingly, and to cook it and serve it as a feast in our camp, providing many bowls of unmixed wine withal and all manner of food. Then let your army withdraw to the river again, leaving behind that part of it which is of least account. For if I err not in my judgment, when the Massagetae see so many good things they will betake them to feasting thereon; and it will be for us then to achieve mighty deeds."

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

209. Then, being now across the Araxes, he dreamt at night while sleeping in the country of the Massagetae, that he saw the eldest of the sons of Hystaspes wearing wings on his shoulders, the one wing overshadowing Asia and the other Europe. (Hystaspes son of Arsames was an Achaemenid, and Darius was the eldest of his sons, being then about twenty years old; this Darius had been left behind in Persia, being not yet of an age to follow the army.) So when
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ἐδίδον λόγον ἐωτῷ περὶ τῆς ὤψις. ὡς δὲ οἱ ἐδόκεε μεγάλη εἶναι ἡ ὄψις, καλέσας 'Τστάσπεα καὶ ἀπολαβὼν μοῦνον εἶπε "'Τστάσπες, παῖς σῶς ἐπιβουλεύων ἐμοί τε καὶ τῇ ἐμῇ ἀρχῇ ἐάλωκε. ὡς δὲ ταύτα ἄτρεκέως οἶδα, ἐγὼ σημανέω· ἐμεῦ θεῷ κήδουναι καὶ μοι πάντα προδεικνύοσι τὰ ἐπιφε-

ródενα. ἤδη ὅν ἐν τῇ παροιχομένῃ νυκτὶ εὔδων ἐδών τῶν σῶν παίδων τὸν πρεσβύτατον ἔχοντα ἐπὶ τῶν ὁμών πτέρυγας καὶ τούτων τῇ μὲν τὴν Ἀσίης τῇ δὲ τῆν Εὐρώπην ἐπισκιάζειν. οὐκὼν ἐστὶ μηχανὴ ἀπὸ τῆς ὄψιος ταύτης οὐδεμία τὸ μὴ ἐκείνον ἐπιβουλεύειν ἐμοὶ· σὺ νυν τὴν ταχύστην πορεύεσθαι ὑπὸ σῶς ἙΠέρσας καὶ ποίεσθαι ὅκως, ἐπειδὲ ἐγὼ τάδε καταστρεψάμενος ἐξέθω ἐκεί, ὡς μοι καταστήσεις τὸν παῖδα ἐς ἔλεγχον."

210. Κύρος μὲν δοκέων οἱ Δαρείων ἐπιβουλεύειν ἔλεγεν τάδε· τῷ δὲ ὁ δαίμων προέφαινε ὡς αὐτὸς μὲν τελευτήσειν αὐτοῦ ταύτης μέλλοι, ἢ δὲ βα-

σιλήνη αὐτοῦ περιχωρέοι ἡ Δαρείων. ἀμείβεται δὴ ὁ ἦ τοῦ Ἐστάσπης τοῖς ἑοίμε. ὡς βασιλεὺς, μὴ εἰς ἀνήρ Πέρσης γεγονός ὅστις τοῦ ἐπιβουλεύσεις, εἰ δ' ἐστι, ἀπόλοιπο ὡς τάχιστα· ὃς ἂντι μὲν δούλων ἐποίησας ἐλευθέρους Πέρσας εἶναι, ἂντι δὲ ἀρχε-

σθαι ὑπ' ἄλλων ἀρχειν ἀπάντων. εἰ δὲ τῶν ὄψις ἀπαγγέλλει παῖδα τοῖς ἑμῶν νεώτερα βου-

λεύειν περὶ σέο, ἐγὼ τοι τοπαδίδωμι χράσθαι αὐτῷ τοῦτο ὁ τι σὺ βούλεις."

211. 'Τστάσπης μὲν τούτῳ ἀμειψάμενος καὶ διαβὰς τὸν Ἀράξεα ἥμετέρας πέρσας φυλάξων Κύρος τὸν παῖδα Δαρείον, Κύρος δὲ προεστῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀράξεως ἡμέρης ὁδὸν ἐποίηε παῖδα τὰς Κροίσου υποθήκας. μετὰ δὲ ταύτα Κύρου τε 264
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Cyrus awoke he considered his vision, and because it seemed to him to be of great import, he sent for Hystaspes and said to him privately, "I find, Hystaspes, that your son is guilty of plotting against me and my sovereignty; and I will tell you how I know this for a certainty. I am a man for whom the gods take thought, and show me beforehand all that is coming. Now this being so, I have seen in a dream in the past night your eldest son with wings on his shoulders, overshadowing Asia with the one and Europe with the other; wherefore it is from this vision most certain that he is plotting against me. Do you therefore go with all speed back to Persia, and so act that when I come thither after subduing this country you shall bring your son before me to be questioned of this."

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

211. Having so answered, Hystaspes returned across the Araxes to Persia to watch Darius for Cyrus; and Cyrus, going forward a day's journey from the Araxes, did according to Croesus' advice. After this Cyrus and the sound part of the Persian
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καὶ Περσέων τοῦ καθαροῦ στρατοῦ ἀπελάσαντος ὅπισώ ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀράξεα, λειψθέντος δὲ τοῦ ἀχρησίου, ἐπελθοῦσα τῶν Μασσαγετῶν τριτημορίου τοῦ στρατοῦ τοὺς τε λειψθέντας τῆς Κύρου στρατιῶτης ἔφονευε ἀλεξομένους καὶ τὴν προκειμένην ἱδόντες δαίτα, ὡς ἔχειρώσαντο τοὺς ἐναντίους, κλιθέντες ἔδαίνυντο, πληρωθέντες δὲ φορβῆς καὶ οἶνου ἡδον. οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι ἐπελθόντες πολλοὺς μὲν σφέων ἐφόνευσαν, πολλῷ δ’ ἔτι πλεῦνας ἔξωγρησαν καὶ ἀλλοὺς καὶ τὸν τῆς βασιλείας Τομύριος παῖδα στρατηγεόντα Μασσαγετῶν, τῷ οὖνῳ ἦν Σπαργατίσης.

212. “Ἡ δὲ πυθομένη τὰ τε περὶ τὴν στρατιῶτην γεγονότα καὶ τὰ περὶ τὸν παῖδα, πέμπουσα κήρυκα παρὰ Κύρου ἔλεγε τάδε. “Ἀπληστε αἶματος Κύρε, μηδὲν ἐπαερθῆς τὸ γεγονότι τάδε πρᾶγματι, εἰ ἀμπελίνῳ καρπῷ, τῷ περ αὐτοῖς ἐμπυλάμενοι μαίνεσθε οὔτω ὅστε κατιόντος τοῦ οἴνου ἐς τὸ σῶμα ἐπαναπλέειν ὡμῶν ἐπεα κακά, τοιοῦτῳ φαρμάκῳ δολῶσας ἐκράτησας παιδὸς τοῦ ἐμοῦ, ἀλλ’ οὔ μάχη κατὰ τὸ καρτερὸν. νῦν δὲν μεν εὖ παρανεύσῃς ὑπόλαβε τὸν λόγον, ἀποδοῦς μοι τὸν παῖδα ἀπεθανεῖ τῇ στρατιῶτῆς χώρης ἄξισμος, Μασσαγετῶν τριτημορίδι τοῦ στρατοῦ κατυβρύσας. εἰ δὲ ταῦτα οὐ ποιήσεις, Ἰλισθ έτομυμί τοῦ τὸν Μασσαγετῶν δεσπότην, η μὲν σε έγὼ καὶ ἀπληστοτ εόντα αἶματος κορέσο.”

213. Κύρος μὲν ἐπέων οὐδένα τούτων ἀνευρχθέντων ἐποιέετο λόγον. ο δὲ τῆς βασιλείας Τομύριος παῖς Σπαργατίσης, ὡς μὲν δ’ τε οἶνος ἀνήκε καὶ ἐμαθεί ὡς ἤν κακοῦ, δεηθεὶς Κύρου ἐκ τῶν δεσμῶν λυθῆναι ἔτυχε, ὡς δὲ ἐλύσθη τε
army marched away back to the Araxes, leaving behind those that were useless; whereupon a third part of the host of the Massagetae attacked those of the army who were left behind and slew them despite resistance; then, seeing the banquet spread, when they had overcome their enemies they sat down and feasted, and after they had taken their fill of food and wine they fell asleep. Then the Persians came upon them and slew many and took many more alive, among whom was the son of Tomyris the queen, Spargapises by name, the leader of the Massagetae.

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

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

214. Καὶ δὴ οὗτος μὲν τρόπῳ τοιούτῳ τελευτᾶ. Τόμυρις δὲ, ὡς οἱ Κύρος οὐκ ἐσήκουσε, συλλέξασα πάσαν τὴν ἐσωτήρ δύναμιν συνέβαλε Κύρο. ταῦτῃ τὴν μάχην, ὡσι δὴ βαρβάρων ἀνδρῶν μᾶχαι ἐγένοντο, κρίνω ἵσχυροτάτην γενέσθαι, καὶ δὴ καὶ πυθάνομαι οὕτω τούτῳ γενόμενον. πρῶτα μὲν γὰρ λέγεται αὐτοὺς διαστάντας ἐς ἀλλήλους τοξεύειν, μετὰ δὲ ὡς σφὶ τὰ βέλεα ἐξετετόξευτο, συμπεσόντας τῇς αἰχμῆς τε καὶ τοῖς ἐγχειρίδιοις συνέχεσθαι. χρόνον τε δὴ ἐπὶ πολλοί συνεστάναι μαχομένους καὶ οὐδετέρους ἐθέλειν φεύγειν δὲ τέλος δὲ οἱ Μασσαγετάτες περιεγένοντο. ἢ τε δὴ πολλῇ τῆς Περσικῆς στρατιῆς αὐτοῦ ταύτῃ διεφθάρη καὶ δὴ καὶ αὐτὸς Κύρος τελευτᾶ, βασιλεύσας τὰ πάντα ἐνὸς δέοντα τριήκοντα ἑτερ. ἄσκον δὲ πλήσασα αἵματος ἀνθρωπήνου Τόμυρις ἐδίξητο ἐν τοῖς τεθνεώσι τῶν Περσέων τῶν Κύρου νέκυν, ὡς δὲ εὐρε, ἐναπῆκε αὐτοῦ τὴν κεφαλὴν ἐς τὸν ἄσκον, λυμανυμένη δὴ τῷ νεκρῷ ἐπέλεγε τάδε: "Σὺ μὲν ἐμὲ χώσαν τε καὶ νικῶσαν σε μάχῃ ἀπώλεσας, παΐδα τὸν ἐμὸν ἐλὼν δόλῳ. σὲ δὲ ἐγὼ, κατὰ περ ἅπειλησα, αἵματος κορέσω." τὰ μὲν δὴ κατὰ τὴν Κύρου τελευτήν τοῦ βίου, πολλῶν λόγων λεγομένων, ὕδε μοι ὁ πιθανῶτατος εἰρηται.

215. Μασσαγετάτες δὲ ἐσθήτα τε ὁμοίη τῇ Σκυθικῇ φορέοντο καὶ δίαιταν ἔχουσι, ἵπποται δὲ εἰσὶ καὶ ἀνιπποὶ (ἀμφοτέρων γὰρ μετέχουσι) καὶ τοξόται τε καὶ αἰχμοφόροι, σαγήρις νομίζοντες ἔχειν. χρυσῷ δὲ καὶ χαλκῷ τὰ πάντα χρεώνται.
him; but no sooner was he loosed and had the use of his hands, than he made away with himself.

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

215. These Massagetae are like the Scythians in their dress and manner of life. They are both horsemen and footmen (having some of each kind), and spearmen and bowmen; and it is their custom to carry battle-axes. They ever use gold and bronze;
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ὅσα μὲν γὰρ ἐς αἰχμὰς καὶ ἄρδις καὶ σαγάρις, χαλκῷ τὰ πάντα χρέωνται, ὅσα δὲ περὶ κεφαλὴν καὶ ξωστήρας καὶ μασχαλιστήρας, χρυσῷ κοσμοῦνται. διὸς δ᾽ αὐτῶς τῶν ἵππων τὰ μὲν περὶ τὰ στέρνα χαλκέους θώρηκας περιβάλλοντι, τὰ δὲ περὶ τοὺς χαλινοὺς καὶ στόμια καὶ φάλαρα χρυσῷ. σιδήρῳ δὲ οὐδ᾽ ἀργυρῷ χρέωνται οὐδὲν οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδὲ σφι ἐστὶ ἐν τῇ χώρῃ, ὡ δὲ χρυσὸς καὶ ὁ χαλκὸς ἀπλετος.

216. Νόμοισι δὲ χρέωνται τοιούτως. γυναικα μὲν γαμέει ἐκαστος, ταύτης δὲ ἐπίκοινα χρέωνται· τὸ γὰρ Σκύθας φαί. "Ελληνες ποιέων, οὐ Σκύθαι εἰσὶ ν οἱ ποιεόντες ἄλλα Μασσαγέται· τῆς γὰρ ἐπιθυμήσῃ γυναικὸς Μασσαγέτης ἀνήρ, τὸν φαρέτρωνα ἀποκρεμάσαν πρὸ τῆς ἀμάξης μίσης τε ἀδεῶς. οὗρος δὲ ἡλικίας σφι πρὸκειται ἄλλος μὲν οὐδεὶς· ἐποίη αὐτῷ δὲ γέρον γένηται κάρτα, οἱ προσήκοντες οἱ πάντες συνελθώντες θύουσι μν καὶ ἄλλα πρόβατα ἁμα αὐτῷ, ἐψήσαντές δὲ τὰ κρέα κατευκεόνται. ταύτα μὲν τὰ ὅλωνται σφι νεομόσιαι, τὸν δὲ νοῦσῳ τελευτάσιαν οὐ καταστέονται ἄλλα γῆ κρύπτουσι, συμφόροι ποιεύμενοι ὅτι οὐκ ἴκετο ἐς τὸ τυθῆναι. σπείρουσι δὲ οὐδὲν, ἄλλα ἀπὸ κτηνέων ξώσουν καὶ ἵθους οὐ δὲ ἄθονοι σφι ἐκ τοῦ Ἀράξεωσ χομοῦ παραγίνονται· γαλακτόποτε δ᾽ εἰσί. θεῶν δὲ μούνον ἥλιον σέβονται, τῷ θύουσι ἵππους. νόος δὲ οὕτω τῆς θυσίας· τῶν θεῶν τῷ ταχίστῳ πάντων τῶν θυγατῶν τὸ τάχιστον δατέονται.

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BOOK I. 215–216

all their spear-points and arrow-heads and battle-axes are of bronze, and gold is the adornment of their headgear and belts and girdles. They treat their horses in like manner, arming their forehands with bronze breastplates and putting gold on reins, bits, and cheekplates. But iron and silver they never use; for there is none at all in their country, but gold and bronze abounds.

216. Now, for their customs: each man marries a wife, but the wives are common to all. The Greeks say this is a Scythian custom; it is not so, but a custom of the Massagetae. There, when a man desires a woman, he hangs his quiver before her waggon, and has intercourse with her, none hindering. Though they set no certain term to life, yet when a man is very old all his kin meet together and kill him, with beasts of the flock besides, then boil the flesh and feast on it. This is held to be the happiest death; when a man dies of a sickness they do not eat him, but bury him in the earth, and lament that he would not live to be killed. They never sow; their fare is their live-stock and the fish which they have in abundance from the Araxes. Their drink is milk. The sun is the only god whom they worship; to him they sacrifice horses; the reason of it is that he is the swiftest of the gods and therefore they give him the swiftest of mortal things.
BOOK II
1. Τελευτήσαντος δὲ Κύρου παρέλαβε τὴν βασιλείαν Καμβύσης, Κύρου ἐδών παῖς καὶ Κασσανδρᾶς τῆς Φαρσάπεως θυγατρός, τῆς προαποθανούσας Κύρου αὐτὸς τε μέγα πένθος ἐποήσατο καὶ τοῦδε ἀλλοις προεἶπε πάσι τῶν ἦρχε πένθος ποιέσθαι. ταύτης δὴ τῆς γυναικὸς ἐδῶν παῖς καὶ Κύρου Καμβύσης Ἰωνας μὲν καὶ Αἰσιλέας ὡς δόυλος πατρῴους ἐόντας ἐνόμιζε, ἐπὶ δὲ Αἰγύπτου ἐποίετο στρατηλασίην ἄλλους τε παραλαβόν τῶν ἦρχε καὶ δὴ καὶ Ἐλλήνων τῶν ἐπεκράτευσε.

2. Οἱ δὲ Αἰγύπτιοι, πρὶν μὲν ἡ Ψαμμήτιχος σφέων βασιλεύσαι, ἐνόμιζον ἐωτοὺς πρῶτον γενέσθαι πάντων ἀνθρώπων· ἐπειδὴ δὲ Ψαμμήτιχος βασιλεύσας ἠθέλησε εἰδέναι οίτινες γενοῦσιν πρῶτον, ἀπὸ τούτου νομίζοντο Φρύγας προτέρους γενέσθαι ἐωτούς, τῶν δὲ ἄλλων ἐωτούς. Ψαμμήτιχος δὲ ὡς οὐκ ἐδύνατο πυνθανόμενος πόρουνδένα τούτου ἁνευρεῖν, οἱ γενοῖσιν πρῶτοι ἀνθρώποι, ἐπιτεχνάσατε τοιόνδε. παιδία δύο νεογνὰ ἀνθρώπων τῶν ἐπιτυχόντων δίδωσιν ποιμένι τρέφειν ἐς τὰ ποίμνια τροφήν τινα τοῦνδε, ἐντειλάμενοι μηδένα ἀντίοιν αὐτῶν μηδεμίαν φωνὴν ἰέναι, ἐν στέγῃ δὲ ἐρήμῃ ἐπ’ ἐωτῶν κείσθαι αὐτό, καὶ τὴν ὄρην ἐπαγγελεῖν σφὶ αἴγας, πλήσαντα δὲ γάλακτος ἀλλὰ διαπρήσεσθαι· ταύτα δὲ ἐποίεε τε καὶ ἐνετέλλετο Ψαμμήτιχος θέλων ἀκοῦ-
BOOK II

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

2. Now before Psammetichus became king of Egypt,¹ the Egyptians deemed themselves to be the oldest nation on earth. But ever since he desired to learn, on becoming king, what nation was oldest, they have considered that, though they came before all other nations, the Phrygians are older still. Psammetichus, being nowise able to discover by inquiry what men had first come into being, devised a plan whereby he took two newborn children of common men and gave them to a shepherd to bring up among his flocks. He gave charge that none should speak any word in their hearing; they were to lie by themselves in a lonely hut, and in due season the shepherd was to bring goats and give the children their milk and do all else needful. Psammetichus did this, and gave this charge, because he desired to hear what speech

¹ In 664 B.C., probably.
sigmai ton paidion, apallakhtenwv ton asymwv kynigmaton, hntina phwthen rhexousi prwtih, tpa per wv kai egeneito. ows gar diehtis chrwos egegonve tauta to poimenv prhsonv, anougeti thn thurhn kai esiont tpa paidia amfoterpa prospitptonta bekos ephwes, orfegonta tas cheiras. tpa mev de prwta anouges hsynchos oun poimhn wos de pollakiws foiteouti kai epimelemewn polloin hnt touto to etpos, ou tw de smenhas tw despotih yhage tpa paidia keleusantos eis ofivn thn ekinein. anouges de kai autos o Psammithikos epunthaneito oitines anbropwv bekos ti kalenusi, pynthanoiwoj de eubiske Frugas kalentas ton arton. ou tw sunexohsasan Aiguptiou kai toioutfi stathmiasamei protymati tois Frugas prsbynterous einai euvtw. wde mev geveshtai ton ireon ton Hfaiostou ton en Mefhi ykonon. "Ellhnes de legousi allla te matia poffa kai wos ynavikan tas glwssas o Psammithikos ekamwn thn diaitan outw epohsato ton paidwn para tauthsei theri ynavi.

3. Kata mev de tyn trophi ton paidon tosaute xelugon, ykonasa de kai alla en Mefhi elowv es logous toi si ireusi ton Hfaiostou. kai de kai es Oibas te kai es Hlivan poffin auton ton touton eimeken etrapomh, ethelw eidenti ei symbhsontai toisi logoiou toisi en Mefhi oi gar Hliopolita legontai Aigniptwv einai logiwtatoi. tpa mev wwn theia ton ap Peggymaton ola ykonon ouk eimi prthymos xegheshtai, eixw h tpa ounomata auton monon, xomiwv pantas
BOOK II. 2–3

would first break from the children, when they were past the age of indistinct babbling. And he had his wish; for when the shepherd had done as he was bidden for two years, one day as he opened the door and entered both the children ran to him stretching out their hands and calling "Bekos." When he first heard this he said nothing of it; but coming often and taking careful note, he was ever hearing this same word, till at last he told the matter to his master, and on command brought the children into the king's presence. Psammetichus heard them himself, and inquired to what language this word Bekos might belong; he found it to be a Phrygian word signifying bread. Reasoning from this fact the Egyptians confessed that the Phrygians were older than they. This is the story which I heard from the priests of Hephaestus' temple at Memphis; the Greeks relate (among many foolish tales) that Psammetichus made the children to be reared by women whose tongues he had cut out.

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

1 Identified by the Greeks with the Egyptian Ptah.
HERODOTUS

άνθρώπους ἵσον περὶ αὐτῶν ἐπιστασθαῖ· τὰ δ’ ἄν ἐπιμυνησθέων αὐτῶν, ὑπὸ τοῦ λόγου ἐξαναγκαζόμενος ἐπιμυνησθήσομαι.

4. "Ὅσα δὲ ἀνθρωπία πρήγματα, ὁδε ἐλεγον ὁμολογούντες σφίσι, πρῶτος Αἰγυπτίους ἀνθρώπων ἀπάντων ἐξευρεῖν τὸν ἐνιαυτόν, δυώδεκα μέρεα δασαμένους τῶν ὁρέων ἐς αὐτὸν· ταῦτα δὲ ἐξευρεῖν ἐκ τῶν ἀστερῶν ἐλεγον· ἀγοὺσι δὲ τοσοῦτο σοφότερου Ἑλλήνου, ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν, ὅσω ᾖ Ἑλλήνες μὲν διὰ τρίτον ἔτεος ἐμβόλιμον ἐπεμβάλλουσι τῶν ὁρέων εἰνέκεν, Αἰγυπτίου δὲ τρικοντημέρους ἄγοντες τοὺς δυώδεκα μῆνας ἐπάγουσι ἀνὰ πάν ἐτός πέντε ἡμέρας πάρεξ τοῦ ἄριθμοῦ, καὶ σφι ὁ κύκλος τῶν ὁρέων ἐς τῶν τε περιῶν παραγίνεται. δυώδεκά τε θεῶν ἐπωνυμίας ἐλεγον πρῶτοι Αἰγυπτίους νομίσαι καὶ ᾖ Ἑλλήνας παρὰ σφέων ἀναλαβεῖν, βωμοῦς τε καὶ ἀγάλματα καὶ ἤθους θεοῦσι ἀπονεῖμαι σφέας πρώτοις καὶ ζώα ἐν λίθοις ἐγγυλύσαι. καὶ τούτων μὲν τοῖς τὰ πλέον ἔργω ἐξῆλθον οὕτω γενόμενα. βασιλεύσαι δὲ πρῶτοι Αἰγυπτίου ἀνθρώπων ἐλεγον Μίνα· ἐπὶ τούτοις, πλὴν τοῦ Θηβαϊκοῦ νομοῦ, πάσαν Αἰγυπτίων εἶναι ἔλος, καὶ αὐτῆς εἶναι οὐδὲν ὑπερέχων τῶν νῦν ἐνερθε λίμνης τῆς Μοῖρος ἐόντων, ἐς τὴν ἀνάπλοος ἀπὸ θαλάσσης ἐπτὰ ἡμερῶν ἐστὶ ἀνὰ τῶν ποταμῶν.

5. Καὶ εὖ μοι ἐδόκεοι λέγειν περὶ τῆς χώρης· δήλα γὰρ δὴ καὶ μὴ προακούσαντι ἰδούτι δὲ, ὡστὶς γε σύνεσιν ἔχει, ὧτι Αἰγυπτίοι, ἐς τὴν Ἑλλήνες

1 There is much obscurity about the "Twelve Gods." This only appears to be clear, that eight (or nine) gods form the first order of the Egyptian hierarchy, and that there are 278
hold that no man knows about the gods more than another; and I will say no more about them than what I am constrained to say by the course of my history.

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

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

2 The southern part of Upper Egypt.
3 In the modern Fayyum, west of the Nile.
HERODOTUS

ναυτίλλονταί, ἐστὶ Αἰγυπτίοισι ἐπίκτητός τε γῆ καὶ δῶρον τοῦ ποταμοῦ, καὶ τὰ κατύπερθε ἔτι τῆς λίμνης ταύτης μέχρι τριῶν ἡμερέων πλόου, τῆς πέρι ἐκείνων οὐδέν ἔτι τοιόνδε ἔλεγον, ἐστὶ δὲ ἔτερον τοιόνδε. Αἰγύπτου γὰρ φύσις ἐστὶ τῆς χώρης τοιήδε. πρῶτα μὲν προσπλέων ἔτι καὶ ἡμέρης δρόμον ἀπέχων ἀπὸ γῆς, κατεῖς καταπειρητηρίην πηλόν τε ἀνοίσεις καὶ ἐν ἔνδεκα ὁργοῦσι ἐσεαί. τούτῳ μὲν ἐπὶ τοσότῳ δῆλοι πρόχυσιν τῆς γῆς ἐόυσαν.

6. Αὐτίς δὲ αὐτῆς ἐστὶ Αἰγύπτου μήκος τὸ παρὰ θάλασσαν ἔξηκοντα σχοῖνοι, κατὰ ἡμεῖς διαιρέομεν εἶναι Αἰγυπτίων ἀπὸ τοῦ Πλωμαντείων κόλπου μέχρι Σερβωνίδος λίμνης, παρ' ἂν τὸ Κάσιου ὄρος τεῖνει ταύτης ἄν ἀπὸ οί ἔξηκοντα σχοῖνοι εἰσί. ὅσοι μὲν γὰρ γεωπείναι εἰσὶ ἀνθρώπων, ὀργοοῦσι μεμετρήκασι τὴν χώρην, ὅσοι δὲ ἢσσον γεωπείναι, σταδίοις, οἳ δὲ πολλὴν ἔχουσι, παρασάγγησι, οἳ δὲ ἀφθονον λίπην, σχοῖνοις. δύναται δὲ ὁ παρασάγγης τριήκοντα στάδια, ο δὲ σχοῖνος, μέτρου ἐὼν Αἰγύπτιον, ἔξηκοντα στάδια.

7. Οὔτω ἂν εἰσάνει πρὸς τοῦ στάδιοι ἔξακόσιοι καὶ τρισχίλιοι τὸ παρὰ θάλασσαν. ἔνθευτεν μὲν καὶ μέχρι Ἡλίου πόλιος ἐς τὴν μεσογαιαν ἐστὶν εὐρέα Αἰγυπτος, ἐόυσα πᾶσα ὑππή τε καὶ ἐνυδρός1 καὶ ἰλύς. ἐστὶ δὲ ὅδος ἐς Ἡλίου πόλιον ἀπὸ θαλασσής ἀνω ἱοντι παραπλησίη τοῦ μήκος τῇ ἐξ Ἀθηνέων ὀδῷ τῇ ἀπὸ τῶν δυνάκες θεῶν τοῦ βωμοῦ φερούσῃ ἐς τῶν Πίσαν καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν νηῶν τοῦ Διός τοῦ Ὀλυμπίου. σμίκροιν τι τὸ διά-

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

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

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

¹ Literally "ropes."
HERODOTUS

φορον εὐροὶ τις ἄν λογιζόμενος τῶν ὀδῶν τοπεέων
τὸ μὴ ἵσας μῆκος εἰναι, οὐ πλέον πεντεκαίδεκα
σταδίων ἢ μὲν γὰρ ἐσ Πίσαν ἐξ Ἀθηνέων κατα-
δεῖ πεντεκαίδεκα σταδίων μὴ εἰναι πεντακοσίων
καὶ χιλίων, ἢ δὲ ἐς Ἰλιόν πόλιν ἀπὸ θαλάσσης
πληροὶ ἐς τῶν ἄριθμον τούτων.

8. Ἀπὸ δὲ Ἰλιόν πόλιος ἀνω ἱόντι στεινῇ ἐστὶ
Ἀγίνυττος. τῇ μὲν γὰρ τῆς Ἀραβίας ὅρος παρα-
tέταται, φέρον ἀπ' ἀρκτοῦ πρὸς μεσαμβρίην τε
καὶ νότον, αἰεί ἀνω τεῖνον ἐς τὴν Ἐρυθρῆν καλε-
μένην θάλασσαν· ἐν τῷ αἱ λιθοτομίαι ἐνεσί αἱ
ἐς τᾶς πυραμίδας καταμηθεῖσαι τὰς ἐν Μέμφι.
ταύτῃ μὲν λήγον ἀνακάμπτει ἐς τὰ εἰρήται τὸ
ὁρὸς· τῇ δὲ αὐτῷ ἐωτοῦ ἐστὶ μακρότατον, ὡς ἐγὼ
ἕπουν ἐπικλημένην, δύο μηνῶν αὐτὸ εἰναι τῆς ὄδοι ἀπὸ
ἡοὺς πρὸς ἐσπέρην, τὰ δὲ πρὸς τὴν ἡμι βασιλι-
φόρα αὐτοῦ τὰ τέρματα εἰναι. τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ τὸ
ὁρὸς τοιοῦτο ἐστὶ, τὸ δὲ πρὸς Λιβύης τῆς Ἀγίνυττο
ὁρὸς ἄλλο πέτρινον τείνει, ἐν τῷ αἱ πυραμίδες ἐνεσί,
ψάμμω κατειλυμένου, κατὰ τῶν αὐτῶν τρόπων
καὶ τοῦ Ἀραβίου τὰ πρὸς μεσαμβρίην φέροντα.
τὸ δὲ ἄπο τῆς Ἰλιόν πόλιος οὐκέτι πολλὸν χωρίον
ὡς εἰναι Ἀγίνυττο, ἀλλ' ὅσον τε ἡμερέων τε-
σάρων καὶ δέκα ἀναπλόου ἐστὶ στεινῇ Ἀγίνυττος,
ἐσώσα τῶν ὅρεων τῶν εἰρημένων τὸ μεταξὺ πεδίας
μὲν γῆ, στάδιοι δὲ μάλιστα ἐδόκεον μοι εἰναι,
τῇ στεινώτατον ἐστὶ, δυσκολίαιν ὡς πλέους ἐκ τοῦ
Ἀραβίου ὅρεος ἐς τὸ Δισκυκὸν καλεόμενον. τὸ δ' ἐνθεύτεν αὐτῶς εὐρέα Ἀγίνυττος ἐστὶ. πέφυκε μὲν
νυν ἡ χώρη αὐτῇ ὀυτῶ.

1 The MSS. have τέσσαρων; but this is inconsistent with
ch. 9. The addition of καὶ δέκα makes the figures agree,
roughly.

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BOOK II. 7–8

a little difference of length, not more than fifteen furlongs, between these two journeys; for the journey from Athens to Pisa is fifteen furlongs short of fifteen hundred, which is the tale of furlongs between the sea and Heliopolis.

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

¹ ὡς εἶναι Αἰγύπτου; so much of the Nile valley being outside Egypt. But it is possible that the words may mean "no great distance, for Egypt," i.e. no great distance relatively to the size of the country.
HERODOTUS

9. Ἀπὸ δὲ Ἡλίου πόλιος ἐς Θήβας ἐστὶ ἀνάπλοος ἐννέα ἡμέρεων, στάδιοι δὲ τῆς ὀδοῦ ἔξηκοντα καὶ ὀκτακόσιοι καὶ τετρακισχίλιοι, σχοίνων ἑνὸς καὶ σχόλικον ἕνοντων. οὕτωι συνηθεῖσιν οἱ στάδιοι Αἰγύπτου τὸ μὲν παρὰ θάλασσαν ἦδη μοι καὶ πρότερον δεδήλωται ὅτι ἐξακοσίων τε ἐστὶ στάδιων καὶ τρισχιλίων, ὥσπερ δὲ τι ἀπὸ θαλάσσης ἐς μεσόγαιαν μέχρι Θηβέων ἐστὶ, σημανών στάδιοι γὰρ εἰσὶ εἰκοσι καὶ ἐκατόν καὶ ἐξακισχίλιοι. τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ Θηβέων ἐς Ἐλεοφαντίνην καλεομένην πόλιν στάδιοι χίλιοι καὶ ὀκτακόσιοι εἰσὶ.

10. Ταύτης δὲν τῆς χώρης τῆς εἰρημένης ἡ πολλή, κατὰ περὶ οἱ ἱρεῖς ἔλεγχοι, ἔδοκε καὶ αὐτῷ μοι εἶναι ἐπίκτητος Αἰγυπτίωσι. τῶν γὰρ ὁρῶν τῶν εἰρημένων τῶν ὑπὲρ Μέμφι πόλιν κειμένων τὸ μεταξὺ ἐφαίνετο μοι εἶναι κοτὲ κόλπος θαλάσσης, ὡς περὶ τὰ περὶ Ἡλίου καὶ Τευθρανίνη καὶ Ἐφεσῶν τε καὶ Μαϊάνδρου πεδίων, ὥς γε εἶναι σμικρὰ ταύτα μεγάλοις συμβαλεῖν τῶν γὰρ ταύτα τὰ χωρία προσχωσάντων ποταμῶν ἐνὶ τῶν στομάτων τοῦ Ἕλλου, ἐόντως πενταστόμου, οὐδεὶς αὐτῶν πλήθειος περὶ ἄξιος συμβληθήναι ἐστὶ. εἰς δὲ καὶ ἄλλοι ποταμοὶ, οὐ κατὰ τὸν Ἕλλου ἐόντες μεγάθεα, οὔτως ἑργὰ ἀποδεξάμενοι μεγάλα εἰσὶ: τῶν ἑνὸς φρόσαι ἐχων οὐνόματα καὶ άλλως καὶ οὐκ ἂκιστα Ἀχελώου, δι' ἑρέων δι' Ἀκαρνανίης καὶ ἔξεις ἐς θάλασσαν τῶν Ἐχυνάδων νῆσων τὰς ἡμισέας ἦδη ἤπειρον πεποίηκε.

11. Ἐστὶ δὲ τῆς Ἀραβίης χώρης, Αἰγύπτου δὲ οὐ πρόσω, κόλπος θαλάσσης ἐσέχων ἐκ τῆς
BOOK II. 9-11

9. From Heliopolis to Thebes it is nine days' journey by river, and the distance is four thousand eight hundred and sixty furlongs, or eighty-one schoeni. This then is the sum of all the furlongs in Egypt: the seaboard is three thousand six hundred furlongs long; and I will now declare the distance inland from the sea to Thebes: it is six thousand one hundred and twenty furlongs. And between Thebes and the city called Elephantine there are eighteen hundred furlongs.

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

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

¹ The "sea called Red," it will be remembered, is the sea south and east of Arabia: the gulf entering in from it is our Red Sea. Suppose the Delta to have been once a gulf too, then there would have been two gulfs, both running up into Egypt, their heads not far from each other.
HERODOTUS

Ερυθρῆς καλεομένης θαλάσσης, μακρὸς οὕτω δὴ τι καὶ στενῶς ὡς ἔρχομαι φράσων. μήκος μὲν πλόου ἀρξαμένῳ ἐκ μυχοῦ διεκπλῶσαι ἐστὶ τὴν εὐρέαν θάλασσαν ἡμέραι ἀνασίμοινται τεσσερά-
κοντα εἰρεσίῃ χρεωμένῳ. εὔρος δὲ, τῇ εὐρύτατος ἐστὶ ὁ κόλπος, ἡμισὶ ἡμέρης πλόου. ῥήχη δ᾽ ἐν αὐτῷ καὶ ἀμπωτις ἀνὰ πάσαν ἡμέρην γίνεται. ἔτερον τοιοῦτον κόλπου καὶ τὴν Ἀἰγύπτου δοκέω γενέσθαι κοτέ, τὸν μὲν ἐκ τῆς βορνῆς θαλάσσης κόλπον ἐσέχοντα ἐπί Ἄιθιοπίας, τὸν δὲ Ἀράβιον, τὸν ἔρχομαι λέξων, ἐκ τῆς νοτίης φέροντα ἐπὶ Συρίας, σχεδὸν μὲν ἀλλήλους συντετραίνοντας τοὺς μυχοὺς, ὀλύγον δὲ τὶ παραλάσσοντας τῆς χώρης. εἰ δὲν ἔθελησε ἐκτρέψαι τὸ βέθρον ὁ Ἡσίλος ἐς τοῦτον τὸν Ἀράβιον κόλπον, τί μὴν κωλύει ὑπόντος τοῦτον ἐκχωσθῆναι ἐντὸς γε δισι-
μυρίων ἔτεων; ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ ἐλπομαί γε καὶ μυρίων ἐντὸς χωσθῆναι ἃν κοῦ γε δὴ ἐν τῷ προανασιμωμένῳ χρόνῳ πρότερον ἢ ἐμὲ γενέσθαι σὺν ἀν χωσθεῖσα κόλπος καὶ πολλῷ μέξων ἔτι τοῦτον ὑπὸ τοσοῦτον τε ποταμοῦ καὶ ὑπὸ ἐργατικοῦ;

12. Τὰ περὶ Αἰγύπτου δὲν καὶ τοῖσι λέγονσι αὐτὰ πείθομαι καὶ αὐτὸς οὕτω κάρτα δοκεῖ εἶναι, ἱδῶν τε τὴν Ἀἰγύπτου προκειμένην τῆς ἐχομένης γῆς κοχύλια τε φαινόμενα ἐπὶ τοῖσι ὀρεσί καὶ ἄλμην ἐπανθέουσαν, ὡστε καὶ τὰς πυραμίδας δηλέσθαι, καὶ ψάμμον μοῦνον Αἰγύπτου ὄρος τοῦτο τὸ ὑπὲρ Μέμφιος ἔχον, πρὸς δὲ τῇ χώρῃ οὔτε τῇ Ἀραβίη προσούρῳ ἐσούση τὴν Ἀἰγύπτου προσεκέλην οὔτε τῇ Λιβύη, οὐ μὲν οὐδὲ τῇ Συρίᾳ (τῆς γὰρ Ἀραβίης τὰ παρὰ θάλασσαν 286
of which the length and narrowsness is such as I shall
show: for length, it is a forty days' voyage for a
ship rowed by oars from its inner end out to the wide
sea; and for breadth, it is half a day's voyage at the
widest. Every day the tide ebbs and flows therein.
I hold that where now is Egypt there was once
another such gulf; one entered from the northern sea
towards Aethiopia, and the other, the Arabian gulf
of which I will speak, bore from the south towards
Syria; the ends of these gulfs pierced into the
country near to each other, and but a little space of
land divided them. Now if the Nile choose to turn
his waters into this Arabian gulf, what hinders that
it be not silted up by his stream in twenty thousand
years? nay, I think that ten thousand would suffice
for it. Is it then to be believed that in the ages
before my birth a gulf even much greater than this
could not be made into land by a river so great and
so busy?

12. Therefore, as to Egypt, I believe those who so
speak, and I am myself fully so persuaded; for I
have seen that Egypt projects into the sea beyond
the neighbouring land, and shells are plain to view
on the mountains and the ground is coated with salt
(insomuch that the very pyramids are wasted
thereby), and the only sandy mountain in Egypt is
that which is above Memphis; moreover, Egypt is
like neither to the neighbouring land of Arabia, nor
to Libya, no, nor to Syria (for the seaboard of Arabia

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ΗΡΟΔΟΤΟΣ

Σύροι νέμονται), ἀλλὰ μελάγγαιών τε καὶ καταρρηγημένην, ὥστε ἐνύσαι ἵλων τε καὶ πρόχυσιν ἐξ Αἰθιοπίης κατευναίμημεν ὑπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ. τὴν δὲ Διβύην ἱδομεν ἐμποτερήν τε γῆν καὶ ὑποψαμμοτέρην, τὴν δὲ Ἀραβίην τε καὶ Συρίην ἀργιλωδεστέρην τε καὶ ὑπόπετρον ἐνύσαι.

13. Ἐλεγον δὲ καὶ τὸ τε μεγά τεκμήριον περὶ τῆς χώρης ταύτης οἱ ἱέρεις, ὡς ἐπὶ Μοίριος βασιλέως, ὡκος ἔλθοι ὁ ποταμὸς ἐπὶ ὀκτὼ πήχεας τὸ ἐλάχιστον, ἀρδεσκε Αἰγύπτων τὴν ἐνερεθοὶ Μέμφιος καὶ Μοῖρι οὐκ ἡ ἑτεα εἰνακόσια τετελευτηκότι ὅτε τῶν ἱέρεων ταύτα ἐγώ ἦκουν. μὴ δὲ εἰ μὴ ἐπὶ ἐκκαὶδεκα ἢ πεντεκαϊδεκα πήχεας ἀναβῇ τὸ ἐλάχιστον ὁ ποταμός, οὐκ ὑπερβαίνει εἰς τὴν χώρην. δοκεοῦσι τέ μοι Αἰγύπτων οἱ ἐνερθε λίμνης τῆς Μούριος οἰκεοῦσι τά τε ᾠλα χωρία καὶ τὸ καλεόμενον Δέλτα, ἢν οὔτω ἡ χώρη αὐτὴ κατὰ λόγον ἐπιδίδῳ ἐς ύψος καὶ τὸ ὁμοιον ἀποδίδῳ ἐς αὐξησιν, ἡ κατακλυζοντος αὐτῆς τοῦ Νείλου πείσεσθαι τὸν πάντα χρόνον τὸν ἐπίλουπον Αἰγύπτων τὸ κοτὲ αὐτοὶ Ἑλληνας ἔφασαν πείσεσθαι. πυθόμενοι γὰρ ὡς ὑπείρα ἔκαστῃ ἡ χώρῃ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἄλλοι οὐ ποταμόης ἀρδεσκε κατὰ περὶ ἡ σφέτερη, ἔφασαν Ἑλληνας ψευδόταν κοτὲ ἐκπίδος μεγάλης κακῶς πεινῆσαι. τὸ δὲ ἔτοι τούτῳ ἐθέλει λέγειν ὡς, εἰ μὴ ἐθελήσαι σφι ὕειν ὁ θεὸς ἄλλα αὐχμο διαχράσθαι, λιμῷ οἱ Ἑλληνες αἱρεθήσονται: οὐ γὰρ δὴ σφι ἐστὶ ύδατος οὐδεμία ἄλλη ἀποστροφή ὅτι μὴ ἐκ τοῦ Διὸς μοῦνον.

1 Stein brackets καὶ... αὔξησιν.
BOOK II. 12-13

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

13. This too that the priests told me concerning Egypt is a strong proof; when Moeris was king, if the river rose as much as eight cubits, it watered all Egypt below Memphis.¹ Moeris was not yet nine hundred years dead when I heard this from the priests. But now, if the river rise not at the least to sixteen or fifteen cubits, the land is not flooded. And, to my thinking, the Egyptians who dwell lower down the river than the lake Moeris, and chiefly those who inhabit what is called the Delta—these, if thus this land of theirs rises in such proportion and likewise increases in extent, will (the Nile no longer flooding it) be ever after in the same plight which they themselves once said would be the case of the Greeks; for learning that all the Greek land is watered by rain, and not, like theirs, by river, they said that some day the Greeks would be disappointed of their high hopes, and miserably starve: signifying thereby that should it be heaven's will to send the Greeks no rain and afflict them with drought, famine must come upon them, as receiving all this water from Zeus and having no other resource.

¹ Supposing this statement to be true, Moeris must have been king much more than 900 years before Hdt.; 900 years being much too short a period for a rise of eight cubits in the height of the Nile valley.
14. Καί ταῦτα μὲν ἐς Ἐλληνας Ἀιγυπτίοισι ὁρθῶς ἔχοντα εἰρηται· χέρε δὲ νῦν καὶ αὐτοῖς Ἀιγυπτίοισι ώς ἔχει φράσω· εἰ σφὶ θέλοι, ώς καὶ πρότερον εἴποι, ὡς ἡ χώρῃ ἐνερεθε Μέμφιος (αὕτη γὰρ ἐστὶ ἡ αὔξανομένη) κατὰ λόγον τοῦ παροιχο-μένου χρόνου ἐς ὑψος αὐξάνεσθαι, ἀλλο τι ἢ ὦ ὀ ταύτῃ ἀικέντους Ἀιγυπτίων πεινήσουσι; εἰ μὴτε γε ύστεταν σφὶ ἡ χώρῃ μὴτε ὁ ποταμὸς οἶς τ᾿ ἔσται ἐς τὰς ἄροιρας ὑπερβαίνειν. ἡ γὰρ δὴ νῦν γε ὦ ὀ τοὺς ἀπονηγότατα καρπῶν κομίζονται ἐκ γῆς τῶν τέ ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων πάντων καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν Ἀιγυπτίων· οἱ οὔτε ἀρότρῳ ἀναρρηγώντες αὐ-λακας ἔχουσι πάνως οὔτε σκάλλοντες οὔτε ἀλλο ἑργαξόμενοι οὔδεν τῶν οἱ ἄλλοι ἀνθρώποι περὶ λήμου πονέουσι, ἀλλὰ ἐπεάν σφὶ ὁ ποταμὸς αὐτό-ματος ἐπελθὼν ἁρσὴ τὰς ἄροιρας, ἁρσας δὲ ἀπολίπῃ ὀπίσω, τότε σπείρας ἐκαστος τὴν ἐωτοῦ ἄροιραν ἑσβάλλει ἐς αὐτὴν ὃς, ἐπεάν δὲ κατα-πατήσῃ τὴσι ϊσι τὸ σπέρμα, ἀμητον τὸ ἀπὸ τοῦτο μένει, ἀποδινήσας δὲ τῆσι ἕσι τὸν σύτον οὕτω κομίζεται.

15. Εἰ δὲν βουλόμεθα γνώμησι τῆσι Ίώνων χρᾶσθαι τὰ περὶ Ἀιγυπτὸν, οὐ φασί τὸ Δέλτα μοῦν ἐναι Ἀιγυπτοῦ, ἀπὸ Περσέως καλομένης σκοπίης λέγοντες τὸ πάραθαλασσαν ἐναι αὐτῆς μέχρι ταιριχήν τῶν Πηλούσιακῶν, τῇ δὴ τεσσεράκοντα εἰςί, σχοῖνοι, τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ ταλάσσης λεγόντω γς μέσογαμαν τεῖνας ἀυτήν μέχρι Κερ-κασώρου πόλιος, κατ᾽ ἣν σχίζεται ο Νεῖλος ἐς Πηλούσιον ῥέων καὶ ἐς Κάνωβον, τὸ δὲ ἄλλα λεγόντως τῆς Ἀιγύπτου τὰ μὲν Δεβίς τὰ δὲ Ἀραβίης ἐναι, ἑ ἀποδεικνύομεν ἀν τούτῳ τῶ
BOOK II. 14-15

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

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

1 At the southern point of the Delta, where the two main channels of the Nile divide, not far below Cairo.
λόγῳ χρεώμενοι/ Αἰγυπτίοισι οὐκ ἔοισαν πρό-
tερον χώρην. ἦδη γὰρ σφὶ τὸ γε Δέλτα, δῶς
αὐτοὶ λέγουσι Αἰγύπτιοι καὶ ἐμοὶ δοκέει, ἐστὶ
cατάρρυτῶν τε καὶ νεώστι χῶς λόγῳ εἰπεῖν
ἀναπέφυγος. εἰ τοιῶν σφὶ χώρῃ γε μηδεμία
ὑπῆρχε, τὰ περιγράγγυτοι δοκέοντες πρῶτοι ἀν-
θρώπων γεγονέει; οὐδὲ ἐδει σφέας ἐς διάπειραν
tῶν παιδών ἰέναι, τίνα γλώσσαν πρῶτην ἐπη-
σουσι. ἀλλ’ οὔτε Αἰγυπτίοισι δοκῶ άμα τῷ
Δέλτα τῷ ὑπὸ Ἰώνων καλεομένῳ γενέσθαι αἰεί
tε εἰναι ἐξ οὐ ἀνθρώπων γένος ἐγενέτο, προϊόσης
de τῆς χώρης/πολλοὺς μὲν τοὺς ὑπολειπομένους
αὐτῶν γενέσθαι πολλοὺς δὲ τοὺς ὑποκαταβαλ-
νοῦτας. τὸ δ’ ὅπως πάλαι αἱ Θῆβαι Αἰγυπτοῡς
ἐκαλέστο, τῆς τὸ περὶμετρον στάδιοι εἰσὶ εἰκοσὶ
καὶ ἐκατὸν καὶ ἐξακιοκχίλιοι.

16. Εἰ ὁν ἡμεῖς ὀρθῶς περὶ αὐτῶν γινόσκομεν,
"Ἰώνες οὐκ εὐ δογμένουθεν Πέρι Αἰγύπτου" εἰ δὲ
ὁρθὴ ἐστιν ἡ γνώμη τῶν Ἰώνων, "Εὐληνᾶς τε καὶ
αὐτῶν Ἰωνᾶς ἀποδείκνυμι οὐκ ἐπισταμένους
λογίζεσθαι, οὐ φασί τρία μόρα εἰναι γήν πᾶσαν,
Εὐρώτην τε καὶ Ἀσίην καὶ Λιβύην. τέταρτον
gάρ δὴ σφέας δεῖ προσλογίζεσθαι Αἰγύπτου τὸ
Δέλτα, εἰ μήτε γε ἐστιν τῆς Ἀσίης μήτε τῆς
Λιβύης; οὐ γάρ δὴ ὁ Νεῖλος γε ἐστὶ κατὰ τοῦτον
tῶν λόγων ὁ τῆς Ἀσίης υἱρίζων τῆς Λιβύης, τοῦ
Δέλτα δὲ τοῦτο κατὰ τὸ ὁξύ περιτρήγγυται ὁ
Νεῖλος, ὡστε ἐν τῷ μεταξὺ Ἀσίης τε καὶ Λιβύης
γίνοιτ’ ἄν.

17. Καὶ τὴν μὲν Ἰώνων γνώμην ἀπίεμεν, ἡμεῖς
dὲ ὁδὸ καὶ περὶ τοῦτων λέγομεν, Αἰγύπτου μὲν
πᾶσαν εἰναι ταῦτην τὴν ὑπὸ Αἰγυπτίων οἰκεομέ-
BOOK II. 15-17

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

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

17. Nay, we put the Ionians' opinion aside; and our own judgment concerning the matter is this: Egypt is all that country which is inhabited by
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υνη κατὰ περ Κιλικίην τὴν ὑπὸ Κιλίκων καὶ Ἀσσυρίην τὴν ὑπὸ Ἀσσυρίων, οὖρισμα δὲ Ἀσίη καὶ Διβύη οἴδαμεν οὐδὲν ἐδώ ὁρθῶν λόγως εἰ μὴ τοὺς Ἀγυπτίων οὖρος. εἰ δὲ τῷ Ἕλληνων νεομυσμένῳ χρησόμεθα, νομοῦμεν Ἀγυπτίουν πᾶσαν ἀρξαμένην ἀπὸ Καταδούπτων τε καὶ Ἐλε-

φαντίνης πόλιος δίχα διαφέρεσθαι καὶ ἀμφοτέρων τῶν ἐπωνυμεών ἐχεσθαι· τὰ μὲν γὰρ αὐτῆς εἶναι τῆς Διβύης τὰ δε τῆς Ἀσίης. ὁ γὰρ δὴ Νεῖλος ἀρξάμενος ἐκ τῶν Καταδούπτων ῥέει μέσην Αἰγυ-

πτον σχίζων ἐς θάλασσαν. μέχρι μὲν νυν Κερκα-

σώρου πόλιος ῥέει εἰς ἑων ὁ Νεῖλος, τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ ταύτης τῆς πόλιος σχίζεται τριφάσια όδοὺς. καὶ ἡ μὲν πρὸς ἥπερ τράπεται, τὸ καλέται Πηλούσιον στόμα, ὡς ἐτέρη τῶν ὁδῶν πρὸς ἐστιν ἐχει-

τοῦτο δὲ Κανωβικὸν στόμα κέκληται. ἡ δὲ ἤθε 

τῶν ὁδῶν τῷ Νεῖλῳ ἔστιν ἢδε ἀνωθεὶς φερό-

μενος ἐς τὸ ὁξὺ τοῦ Δέλτα ἀποκλειεῖται, τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ τούτου σχίζων μέσον τὸ Δέλτα ἐς θάλασσαν ἔξει, 

οὐτε ἑλάχιστην μοῖραν τοῦ ὕδατος παρεχόμενος 

ταύτην οὔτε ἥκιστα ὤνομαστήν· τὸ καλέται 

Σεβεννυτικὸν στόμα. ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἐτερα διφάσια 

στόματα ἀπὸ τοῦ Σεβεννυτικοῦ ἀποσχισθέντα, 

φέροντα ἐς θάλασσαν· τοῖς οὐνόματα κέεται 

τάδε, τῷ μὲν Σαίτικον αὐτῶν τῷ δὲ Μενδήσιον. 

τὸ δὲ Βολβίτινον στόμα καὶ τὸ Βουκολικὸν οὐκ 

θαγενέα στόματα ἔστι ἀλλ’ ὅρυκτα.

18. Μαρτυρεῖ δὲ μοι τῇ γυνώμῃ, ὅτι τοσαύτη 

ἔστι Αἰγυπτος ὁσην τινὰ ἐγὼ ἀποδείκνυμι τῷ 

λόγῳ, καὶ τὸ Ἀμμώνος χρηστήσας γενόμενον· τὸ 

ἐγὼ τῆς ἐμεωντοῦ γυνώμης ὑστερον περὶ Αἰγυ-

πτον ἐπιθύμην. οἱ γὰρ δὴ ἐκ Μαρένης τε πόλιος

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BOOK II. 17–18

Egyptians, even as Cilicia and Assyria are the countries inhabited by Cilicians and Assyrians severally; and we know of no frontier (rightly so called) below Asia and Libya save only the borders of the Egyptians. But if we follow the belief of the Greeks, we shall consider all Egypt, down from the Cataracts and the city Elephantine, \(^1\) to be divided into two parts, and to claim both the names, the one part belonging to Libya and the other to Asia. Now as far as the city Cercasorus the Nile flows in one channel, but after that it parts into three. One of these, which is called the Pelusian mouth, flows eastwards; the second flows westwards, and is called the Canobic mouth. But the direct channel of the Nile, when the river in its downward course reaches the sharp point of the Delta, flows thereafter clean through the middle of the Delta into the sea; in this is seen the greatest and most famous part of its waters, and it is called the Sebennytic mouth. There are also two channels which separate themselves from the Sebennytic and so flow into the sea, by name the Saïtic and the Mendesian. The Bolbithine and Bucolic mouths are not natural but dug channels.

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

\(^1\) On the island opposite Syene (Assuan).
καὶ Ἀπιός, οἰκέοντες Ἀιγύπτου τὰ πρόσουμα Διβύῃ, ἀυτοὶ τε δοκέοντες εἶναι Δίβνες καὶ οὐκ Ἀιγύπτιοι καὶ ἄχρομοι τῇ περὶ τὰ ἱππησκήνης, βουλόμενοι θηλέων βοῶν μὴ ἔργεσθαι, ἐπεμήναν ἐς Ἀμμωνα φάμενοι οὖδὲν σφίζει τε καὶ Ἀιγύπτιοι κοινὸν εἶναι: οἰκέον τε γὰρ ἐξω τοῦ Δέλτα καὶ οὐδὲν ὁμολογεῖν αὐτοῖς, βουλομένοι τε πάντων σφίζει ἐξεῖναι γεύσθαι. ὥ δὲ θεὸς σφεῶς οὐκ ἐὰν ποιεῖν ταῦτα, φᾶς Ἀιγύπτιον εἶναι ταῦτην τὴν ὁ Νείλος ἐπὶ ἔρημος ἄρδευ, καὶ Ἀιγυπτίως εἶναι τούτους οὐ ἑνερθε Ἐλεφαντίνης πόλιος οἰκέοντες ἀπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ τοῦτον πλοοῦσι. οὐτω σφὶ ταῦτα ἔχρυσθη.

19. Ἐπέρχεται δὲ ὁ Νείλος, ἐπεάν πληθύνῃ, οὐ μοῦνον τὸ Δέλτα ἄλλα καὶ τοῦ Διβυκοῦ τε λεγομένου χωρίου εἶναι καὶ τοῦ Ἀραβίου ἐνιαχῆ καὶ ἔπὶ δύο ἡμερῶν ἐκατέρωθι ὁδὸν, καὶ πλέον ἔτι τοῦτον καὶ ἐλασσόν. τοῦ ποταμοῦ δὲ φύσις πέρι οὔτε τῶν ἰρέων οὔτε ἄλλου οὐδενὸς παραλαβεῖν ἐδυνάσθην. πρόθυμος δὲ ἦν τάδε παρ' αὐτῶν πυθέσθαι, δὴ ταῦτα κατέρχεται μὲν ὁ Νείλος πληθύων ἀπὸ τροπέων τῶν θερμῶν ἡρξάμενος ἐπὶ ἐκατὸν ἡμέρας, πελάσας δὲ ἐς τὸν ἄριθμὸν τοιτέων τῶν ἡμερῶν ὁπίσω ἀπέρχεται ἀπολείπων τὸ ῥέθρον, ὡστε βραχὺς τὸν χειμώνα ἀπαντά διατελέει ἐὼν μέχρι οὗ αὐτὶς τροπέων τῶν θερμῶν. τοῦτον δὲ πέρι οὐδενὸς οὐδὲν οἰός τε ἐγενόμην παραλαβεῖν παρὰ τῶν Ἀιγυπτίων, ἰστορεῖν αὐτοὺς ἑνερίδινα δύναμιν ἔχει ὁ Νείλος τὰ ἐμπαλίν πεφυκέναι τῶν ἄλλων ποταμῶν. ταυτὰ τε δὴ τὰ λελεγμένα βουλόμενος εἰδέναι ἱστορεῖν καὶ ὁ τι αῦρας ἀποτυπευόσας μοῦνος ποταμῶν πάντων οὐ παρέχεται.
BOOK II. 18–19

Apis, in the part of Egypt bordering on Libya, thinking themselves to be not Egyptians but Libyans, and misliking the observance of the religious law which forbade them to eat cows' flesh, sent to Ammon saying that they had no part or lot with Egypt: for they dwelt (said they) outside the Delta and did not consent to the ways of its people, and they wished to be suffered to eat of all foods. But the god forbade them: all the land, he said, watered by the Nile in its course was Egypt, and all who dwelt lower down than the city Elephantine and drank of that river's water were Egyptians. Such was the oracle given to them.

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

¹ Not from the river itself, perhaps; but there is a regular current of air blowing up the valley.
20. Ἀλλὰ Ἑλλήνων μὲν τινὲς ἐπίσημοι βουλόμενοι γενέσθαι σοφίην ἐλέξαν περὶ τοῦ ὕδατος τοῦτου τριφασίας ὁδοὺς· τῶν τὰς μὲν δύο τῶν ὀδῶν ὄυδ᾿ ἄξιόν μην ἔχει ναὶ μην σημάδιναι εἰ μὴ ὅσον σημαίναι βουλόμενοι. μοῦνοι· τῶν ἡ ἐτέρη μὲν λέγει τοὺς ἐτησίας ἄνεμους εἶναι αἰτίους πληθύνειν τὸν ποταμόν, κωλύοντας ἐς θάλασσαν ἐκρέειν τὸν Νείλον. πολλάκις δὲ ἐτησίαι μὲν οὐκὼν ἐπνεῦσαν, ὁ δὲ Νείλος τῶντι ἐργάζεται. πρὸς δὲ, εἰ ἐτησίαι αἰτίου ἦσαν, χρῆν καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ποταμοὺς, ὅσοι τοὺσ ἐτησίους ἀντίοι ἔρεουσιν, ὅμοιος πάσχειν καὶ κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ τῷ Νείλῳ, καὶ μᾶλλον ἐπὶ τὴν κοιλῷ ὅσῳ ἐλάσσονες, ἐντεκὼ ἀσθενεστέρα τὰ ῥεύματα παρέχονται. εἰσὶ δὲ πολλοὶ μὲν ἐν τῇ Συρίᾳ ποταμοὶ πολλοὶ δὲ ἐν τῇ Διβύσῃ, οὗ οὐδὲν τοιοῦτο πάσχουσι οἶνον τι καὶ ὁ Νείλος.

21. Ἡ δ᾿ ἐτέρη ἀνεπιστημονεστέρη μὲν ἐστὶν τῆς ἱστοφυλακίας, λόγῳ δὲ εἰπεῖν ἠκριβωτέρῃ ἡ λέγει ἀπὸ τοῦ Ὁκεανοῦ ἴσοντα αὐτὸν τὰ ἐν τῷ ἔμβαλον γῇν περὶ πᾶσαν ῥέειν.

22. Ἡ δὲ τρίτη τῶν ὀδῶν πολλῶν ἐπιεικεστάτη ἐστὶν πᾶσα μᾶλλον ἐψευστάτη· λέγει γὰρ ὅτι οὐδὲν αὐτὴ ὑπῆρκε, φαμένῃ τὸν Νείλον ἱές ἀπὸ τηκομείεσθαι χλώνως· δὲ ἐρέει μὲν ἐκ Διβύσῃ διὰ μέσῳ Αἰγινταπών, ἐκιδὼν δὲ εἰς Ἀιγινταπών. καὶ ὅτι δὴ ἐρέει ἀν ἀπὸ χλώνως· ἀπὸ τῶν τερματάτων ῥέων· ἀ δὲ τὰ ψυχρότερα τὰ πολλά ἐστι· ἀνδρὶ γε λογίζεσθαι τοιούτων περὶ οἴῳ τε ἐστιν, ἄστι οὐδὲ οἴκος ἀπὸ χλώνως μὲν ἱές, πρῶτον μὲν καὶ μέγιστον μαρτύριον οἱ ἀνεμοὶ παρέχονται πνεύματες ἀπὸ τῶν.
20. But some of the Greeks, wishing to be notable for cleverness, put forward three opinions about this river; of which there are two that I would not even mention, save to show only what they are. One of these will have it that the etesian winds¹ are the cause of the rivers being in flood, because they hinder the Nile from flowing out into the sea. But there are many times when the etesian winds do not blow, yet the Nile does the same as before. And further, if the etesian winds were the cause, then the other rivers which flow contrary to those winds should be affected in like manner even as is the Nile, and all the more, inasmuch as being smaller they have a weaker current. Yet there are many rivers in Syria and in Libya, which are nowise in the same case as the Nile.

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

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

¹ The regular N.W. winds which blow in summer from the Mediterranean.
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χωρέων τούτων θερμός· δεύτερον δὲ ὃτι ἄνομβρος ἡ χώρη καὶ ἀκρύσταλλος διατελεῖ εὐόσσα, ἐπὶ δὲ χιοῦν πεσοῦση πάσα ἀνάγκη ἐστὶ ύσαι ἐν πέντε ἡμέρῃ, ὥστε, εἰ ἔχιονιζε, ὅτο ἀν ταῦτα τὰ χωρία· τρίτα δὲ οἱ ἀνθρώποι ὑπὸ τοῦ καῦματος μέλανες ἔοντες. ἰκτύνιοι δὲ καὶ χελιδόνες δὲ ἔτεος ἔοντες οὐκ ἀπολείπουσι, γέρανοι δὲ φεύγουσι τὸν χειμώνα τὸν ἐν τῇ Σκυθικῇ χώρῃ γυνόμενον φωτῶσι ἐς χειμασίην ἐς τοὺς τόπους τούτους. εἰ τούνων ἔχιονιζε καὶ ὅσον ὑπναύτην τὴν χώρην διὰ ἃς τε ρέει καὶ εἰς τῆς ἀρχηταίρεον ὁ Νείλος, ἦν ἄν τούτων οὐδέν, ὡς ἡ ἀνάγκη ἑλεύχει.

23. ὁ δὲ περὶ τοῦ Ὀκεανοῦ λέξας ἐς αἱρανὲς τὸν μύθον ἄνεβεικας οὐκ ἔχει ἑλευχθον· οὐ γὰρ τινὰ ἐγώγη ὅδα ποταμὸν Ὀκεανοῦ ἔοντα· ὁμηροῦ δὲ ἡ τινὰ τῶν πρότερον γενομένων ποιητῶν δοκέω τὸ οὐνόμα εὑρόντα ἐς ποιήσιν ἔσεβεικασθαι.

24. Εἰ δὲ δεὶ μεμψάμενον γνώμας τὰς προ-κειμένας αὐτὸν περὶ τῶν ἀφανῶν γνώμην ἀποδέξασθαι, φράσω δὲ τὶ μοι δοκεῖ πληθύνεσθαι ὁ Νείλος τοῦ θέρεσι· τὴν χειμαρρίνην ἀργην ἀπελαυνομένης ὁ ἡλιος ἐκ τῆς ἀρχαῖας διέξοδον ὑπὸ τῶν χειμώνων ἔρχεται τῆς Λιβύης τὰ ἀνω. ὡς μέν ὑπὸ ἐλαχίστῳ δηλῶσαι, πᾶν εἰρήται· τῆς γὰρ ἀν ἀγχοτάτω τε ἡ χώρης οὔτος ὁ θεὸς καὶ κατὰ ἄντων ταυταίος δινῆν τε ὑδάτων μάλιστα καὶ τὰ ἐγχώρια ρεύματα μαραίνεσθαι τῶν ποταμῶν.

25. Ὡς δὲ ἐν πλέονι λόγῳ δηλῶσαι, ὁδὲ ἔχει· διέξον τῆς Λιβύης τὰ ἀνω· ὁ ἡλιος τάδε ποιεῖ· ἀτε διὰ παντὸς τοῦ χρόνου αἰθρίου τε ἐόντος τοῦ
Ethiopia are hot. And the second proof is, that the
country is ever without rain and frost; but after snow
has fallen there must needs be rain within five days;¹
so that were there snow there would be rain in these
lands. And the third proof is, that the men of the
country are black by reason of the heat. Moreover,
kites and swallows live there all the year round, and
cranes, flying from the wintry weather of Scythia,
come every year to these places to winter there.
Now, were there but the least fall of snow in this
country through which the Nile flows and whence it
rises, none of these things would happen, as neces-
sity proves.

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

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

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

¹ It does not seem to be known what authority there is for
this assertion.
Ηέρος τοὺ ς κατὰ ταῦτα τὰ χωρία καὶ ἀλεεινής τῆς χώρης ἔσοις καὶ ἀνέμων Ἵσυχρῶν, διεξίων ποιεῖ ὁ ὤν περ καὶ το ἴδερος ἐωθε ποιεῖν ὑπὸ τοῦ μέσον τοῦ ὑπάραυον ἐλκεὶ γὰρ ἐπὶ ἐωτοῦ τοῦ ὕδωρ, ἐλκύσας δὲ ἀπωθεῖε εἰς τὰ ἀνὸ χωρία, ὑπολαμβάνοντες δὲ ὁ ἀνεμοὶ καὶ διασκιδάντες τὴκουσι καὶ εἰς ὁὐκότως ὁ ἀπὸ ταῦτης τῆς χώρης πνέοντες, δὲ τοῦ νότος καὶ ὁ λίβρα, ἀνέμων πολλῶν τῶν πάντων ὑποτατοῦ. δοκεῖ δὲ μοι οὐδὲ πᾶν τὸ ὕδωρ τὸ ἐπέπεθεν ἐκάστοτε ἀποκέπασθαι τοῦ Νεῖλου ὁ ἤλιος, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑπολείπεσθαι περὶ ἐωτοῦ, προμνομένου δὲ τοῦ χειμώνος ἀπέρχεται ὁ ἤλιος ἐς μέσον τοῦ ὑπαραυον ὁπίσω καὶ τὸ ἐνθεῦτεν ἢμὴ ὁμοίως ἀπὸ πάντων ἐλκεὶ τῶν ποταμῶν. τέως δὲ οἱ μὲν ὁμβρίον ὕδατος συμμοιχομένου πολλοῦ αὐτοῦ ἂν ἀπεικονίζῃς τε ὡς ἀπομάκρυνομαι τε τῆς χώρης καὶ κεχαρα-
δρωμενής, ἰχνοςι μεγάλοι τοῦ δὲ θέρεις τῶν το
ομβρίων ἐπιλειπόντων αὐτοὺς ᾧ ὑπὸ τοῦ ὤλου ἐν
κομένου ἀσθενείς εἰς. ὁ δὲ Νεῖλος ἑών ἀνομ-
βρος, ἐλκόμενος δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ ὤλου μοῦνος πο-
ταμών τοῦ τοῦ χρόνον, ὁὐκότως αὐτὸς ἐωτοῦ
ῥέει πολλῷ ὑποδεέστερος ἢ τοῦ θέρεις τότε μὲν
γὰρ μετὰ πάντων τῶν ὑδάτων ἐσον ἐλκεται, τὸν
dὲ χειμώνα μοῦνος πιέζεται.
26. Οὖτω τοῦ ἤλιου νεῦμικα τούτων αἰτιών εἶναι. αἰτίος δὲ ὁ αὐτὸς ὁ ὅτος κατὰ γνώμην τῆς ἐμὴν καὶ τοῦ ἴερα ξηρὸν τοῦ ταύτης εἶναι, διακαίνον τῆς διέξοδον ἐωτοῦ. οὖτω τῆς Διβήνης τὰ ἄνω
θέροις ἂν κατέχειν. εἰ δὲ η ἑστάσις ἐλλακτο τῶν ὁρέων, καὶ τοῦ ὑπαραυοῦ τῆς μὲν νῦν ὁ βορέης τε καὶ ὁ χειμών ἑστάσις, ταύτη μὲν τοῦ νότου ἢ
η ἑστάσις καὶ τῆς μεσαμβρής, τῇ δὲ ὁ νότος νῦν
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land warm and the winds cool—the sun does what he
was wont to do in the summer in passing through
the middle of the heaven: he draws the water to
himself, and having so drawn it, expels it away to
the inland regions, and the winds catch it and scatter
and dissolve it; and, as is to be supposed, those that
blow from that country, the south and the south-west,
are the most rainy of all winds. Yet I think that the
sun never lets go all the water that he yearly draws
up from the Nile, but keeps some back near to
himself. Then as the winter becomes milder, the
sun returns back to the middle of the heaven, and
after that he draws from all rivers alike. Meantime
the other rivers are swollen to high flood by the
much water from the sky that falls into them,
because the country is rained upon and cut into
gullies; but in the summer they are low, lacking the
rain and being drawn up too by the sun. But the
Nile being fed by no rain, and being the only river
in winter drawn up by the sun, at this time falls far
short of the height that he had in summer; which
is but natural; for in summer all other waters too
and not his alone are attracted to the sun, but in
the winter it is he alone who is afflicted.

26. I am persuaded therefore that the sun is the
cause of these matters. The dryness of the air in
these parts is also caused by the sun, to my thinking,
because he burns his passage through it; so it is that
it is always summer in the inland part of Libya.
But were the stations of the seasons changed, so
that the south wind and the summer had their
station where now the north wind and winter are
set, and the north wind was where the south wind is

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εστηκε, ταύτη δε ο βορέης, ει ταύτα ουτω ειχε, ο ήλιος δεν ἀπελαυνόμενος εκ μέσου του ουρανοῦ υπὸ τοῦ χειμώνος καὶ τοῦ βορέως ἦν ἃν τα ἄνω τῆς Εὐρώπης κατὰ περ νῦν τῆς Διβύς ἔρχεται, διεξόντα δ' ἃν μιν διὰ πάσης Εὐρώπης ἐλπόμαι ποιέων ἀν τὸν Ἰστρον τὰ περ νῦν ἐργάζεται τὸν Νείλον.

27. Τῆς αὐρῆς δὲ πέρι, ὅτι οὐκ ἀποπνέει, τήνδε ἐχω γνώμην, ὡς κάρτα ἀπὸ θερμῶν χωρῶν οὐκ οἰκός ἐστι οὐδὲν ἀποπνεεῖν, αὐρη δὲ ἀπὸ ψυχροῦ τυποῦ φίλειε πνεεῖν.

28. Ταύτα μὲν νυν ἐστον ὡς ἐστι τε καὶ ὡς ἀρχὴν ἐγένετο τοῦ δὲ Νείλου τὰς πηγὰς οὔτε Αἰγυπτίων οὔτε Διβύου οὔτε Ἑλλήνων τῶν ἐμοὶ ἀπικομένων ἐς λόγους οὐδεὶς ὑπέσχετο εἰδέναι, εἰ μὴ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ ἐν Σάι πόλει ὁ γραμματιστὴς τῶν ἱρῶν χρημάτων τῆς Ἀθηναίης. οὕτως δ' ἐμοί γε παίζεων ἐδόκει φόμενος εἰδέναι ἄτρεκέως ἠλεγέν δὲ ὄνε, εἶναι δύο ὅρεα εἰς ὅξι τὰς κορυφὰς ἀπηγμένα, μεταξὺ Συνήνης τε πόλιος κείμενα τῆς Θηβαίδος καὶ Ἐλεφαντίνης, οὖνόματα δὲ εἶναι τούσι ὀρεσι τῷ μὲν Κρόσφι τῷ δὲ Μόσφι τὰς ὅν ἠ πηγὰς τοῦ Νείλου εὐόφας ἀβύσσους ἐκ τοῦ μέσου τῶν ὀρέων τούτων ῥέειν, καὶ τὸ μὲν ἢμυσι τοῦ ὅδατος ἐπ' Αἰγύπτου ῥεειν καὶ πρὸς βορέην ἀνεμον, τὸ δ' ἔτερον ἢμυσιν ἐπ' Αἰθιοπίης τε καὶ νότον. ὡς δὲ ἀβυσσοί εἰσὶ αἱ πηγαῖ, ἐς διάπεραν ἐφ' τούτον Ψαμμήτιχον Αἰγύπτων βασιλέα ἀπικέσθαι πολλέων γὰρ αὐτῶν χιλιάδων ὄργυεων πλεξάμενων κάλου κατείναι ταύτη καὶ οὐκ ἐξικέσθαι ἐς βυσσόν. οὕτω μὲν δὴ ὁ γραμματιστής, εἰ ἀρα ταύτα γνώμενα ἠλεγέ, ἀπέφανεν, ὡς ἐμὲ κατανοεῖν, δίνας

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

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

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

29. Ἀλλ' ὁ Νεῖλος ὁ πόλις ήταν ἐν Ῥώμητοι πυθέσθαι. Ἀλλ' τοσόνδε μὲν ἄλλο ἐπὶ μακρότατον ἐπιθώμεν, μέχρι μὲν Ἕλεφαντίνης πόλιος αὐτόπτής ἐλθὼν, τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦτον ἄκομη ἢδη ἱστορεῖν. ἀπὸ Ἕλεφαντίνης πόλιος ἄνω ἴόντες ἄναντες ἐστὶ χωρίον ταύτη ὅν δεῖ τὸ πλοῖον διαδήσαντας ἀμφοτέρωθεν κατὰ πέρ' ἱπποὺν πορεύεσθαι. ἦν δὲ ἀπόρραγη τὸ πλοῖον, ο ἱστορεῖν ὑπὸ ἱσχύς τοῦ Ῥώμης ἄρτα τῇ χώρᾳ τούτος ἐστὶ ἢπ' ἠμέρας τέσσερας πλόος, σκολίος δὲ ταύτῃ κατὰ περὶ Μαίανδρος ἐστὶ ὁΝεῖλος. σχοῖνοι δὲ δυώδεκα εἰσὶν ὁϋτοι τοὺς δεῖ τούτῳ τῷ τρόπῳ διέκπλωσαι. καὶ ἔπειτα ἀπίστευε ἐς πεδίον λείον, ἐν τῷ νῆσσων περιπρέπει ὁΝεῖλος. Ταχομυςω ὀὖνομα αὐτή ἐστιν ὦται ἵππις. οἱκέσου περὶ ἄπο Ἕλεφαντίνης ἄνω Αἰθίοπες ἠδη καὶ τῇ νῆσος τὸ Ἱμεροῦ, τὸ δὲ Ἦμισυ Αἰγύπτιοι. ἔχεται δὲ τῇ νῆσος λίμνη μεγάλη, τῇ περιπεριποίησις Αἰθίοπες νέμουσα, τῇ διεκπλώσας ἐς τοῦ Νεῖλου τὸ Ῥέθρον ἢξεις, τὸ ἐς τῇ λίμνῃ ταύτῃ ἐκεῖθεν. καὶ ἔπειτα ἀποβὰς παρὰ τὸν ποταμὸν ὁπουργήτην ποιήσαει ἠμέρες τετεράκοντα, σκόπελοι τε γὰρ ἐν τῷ Νεῖλω ἢξεις ἄν-έχουσι καὶ χοιράδες πολλαὶ εἰςγε, δι' ὅν πολιτικὰ τε ἐστὶν πλέειν. διεξέλθων δὲ ἐν τῇ τετεράκοντῃ ἠμέρᾳ τούτῳ τὸ χωρίον, αὐτῆς ἐς ἑτερον πλοῖον ἐσβάς δυώδεκα ἠμέρας πλεύσαει, καὶ ἔπειτα ἢξεις ἐς πόλιν μεγάλην τῇ οὖνομα ἐστὶ Μερών. λέγεται δὲ αὐτή ἡ πόλις εἶναι μητρόπολις τῶν ἀλλων.
strong eddies and an upward flow of water, and the rushing of the stream against the hills makes the sounding-line when let down unable to reach the bottom.

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

30. ἄπε δὲ ταύτης τῆς πόλεως πλέων ἐν ἰσω χρόνῳ ἄλλῳ ἡξεις ἐς τοὺς αὐτομόλους ἐν ὅσῳ περ ἐξ Ἐλεφαντίνης ἠλθεῖς ἐς τὴν μητρόπολιν τὴν Αἰθιόπων. τοῖς δὲ αὐτομόλοις τούτοις οὐνομα ἔστι Ἀσσαχ, δύναται δὲ τούτο τὸ ἔπος κατὰ τὴν Ἐλλήνων γλῶσσαν οἱ ἐξ ἀριστερῆς χειρὸς παρ-ιστάμενοι βασιλεί. ἀπέστησαν δὲ αὐτοὶ τέσσε-ρες καὶ ἐίκοσι μυριάδες Αἰγυπτίων τῶν μαχίμων ἐς τοὺς Αἰθιόπες τούτους δὲ αἰτήσας τούτῳ ἐν τῇ ἑορτῇ ἐπὶ Βασιλείως φυλακαὶ κατέστησαν ἐν τῇ Ἐλεφαντίνη πόλι πρὸς Αἰθιόπων καὶ ἐν Δάφ-υσι τῇ Πηλούσῃ ἄλλῃ πρὸς Ἀραβίων τε καὶ Ἀσσυρίων καὶ ἐν Μαρέθρα πρὸς Λιβύης ἄλλῃ. ἐτὶ δὲ ἐντ᾽ ἑμεῦ καὶ Περσέων κατὰ ταύτα αἱ φυλακαὶ ἔχουσι ὡς καὶ ἐπὶ Ψαμμητίχου ἤσαν καὶ γὰρ ἐν Ἐλεφαντίνῃ Πέρσαι φουρέουσι καὶ ἐν Δάφυσι. τοὺς δὲ Ἀιγυπτίους τρία ἔτεα φουράντας ἀπέλευ οὐδεῖς τῆς φουρήσης ὀι δὲ βουλευσάμενοι καὶ κοινῷ λόγῳ χρησάμενοι πάντες ἀπὸ τοῦ Ψαμμητίχου ἀποστάτες ἦσαν ἐς Αἰθι-οπίῃ. Ψαμμητίχος δὲ πυθόμενος ἔδιωκε ὡς δὲ κατέλαβε, ἐδέκτε πολλὰ λέγων καὶ σφεας θεοῦς πατρών ἀπολιπεῖν οὐκ ἔα καὶ τέκνα καὶ γυναι-κας. τῶν δὲ τινὰ λέγεται δέξαντα τὸ αἰδοῖον

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

30. From this city you will make a journey by water of equal distance with that by which you came from Elephantine to the capital city of Ethiopia, and you will come to the land of the Deserters. These Deserters are called Asmach, which signifies, in our language, those who stand on the left hand of the king. These once, to the number of two hundred and forty thousand Egyptians of fighting age, revolted and joined themselves to the Ethiopians. The reason was this:—In the reign of Psammetichus there were garrisons posted at Elephantine on the side of Ethiopia, at Daphnae of Pelusium on the side of Arabia and Assyria, and at Marea on the side of Libya. And still in my time the Persians hold these posts as they were held in the days of Psammetichus; there are Persian guards at Elephantine and at Daphnae. Now the Egyptians had been on guard for three years, and none came to relieve them; so taking counsel and making common cause, they revolted from Psammetichus and went to Ethiopia. Psammetichus heard of it and pursued after them; and when he overtook them he besought them with many words not to desert the gods of their fathers and their children and wives. Then one of them, so the story goes, said, pointing to his manly part, current above Elephantine, as those who have made the passage between the Assuan Dam and Assuan will realise. But the conditions have of course been entirely altered by the construction of the dam.
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eἰπεῖν, ἕνθα ἂν τοῦτο ἦ, ἔσεσθαι αὐτοῖς ἔνθαυτα καὶ τέκνα καὶ γυναῖκας. οὕτω εἴπετε ἐς Αἰθιοπίνην ἀπίκουσιν, διδοῦσι σφέας αὐτοὺς τῷ Αἰθιόπων βασιλέω, ἢ δὲ σφέας τῶδε ἀντιδωρέεται. ἣςάν οἱ διάφοροι τινὲς γεγονότες τοῖς Αἰθιόπων τούτους ἐκέλευε ἐξελάντας τῇν ἐκείνων γῆν οἰκεῖεν. τούτων δὲ ἐσοκισθέντων ἐς τοὺς Αἰθιόπας ἥμερωτεροι γεγόνασι Αἰθιόπας, ἢθεα μαθόντες Αἰγύπτια.

31. Μέχρι μὲν ὕποι τεσσάρων μηνῶν πλόου καὶ ὁδοῦ γινώσκεται ὁ Νεῖλος πάρεξ τοῦ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ ῥέματος· τοσοῦτοι γὰρ οὐμβαλλωμένω μηνῖς εὑρίσκονται ἀναίσιμομοιον εἰς Ἑλεφαντίνης πορευομένω ἐς τοὺς αὐτομόλους τούτους. ῥεῖε δὲ ἀπὸ ἐσπέρης τε καὶ ἥλιου δυσμένων· τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦτο οὔδεὶς ἤχει σαφέως φράσας· ἐρημὸς γὰρ ἐστὶν ἡ χώρῃ αὕτη ὑπὸ καύματος.

32. Ἀλλὰ τάδε μὲν ἤκουσα ἀνδρῶν Κυρηναίων φαμένων ἐλθεῖν τε ἐπὶ τὸ Ἀμμωνὸς χρηστήριον καὶ ἀπικέσθαι ἐς λόγους Ἐτεάρχῳ τῷ Αμμώνῳ βασιλεί, καὶ καὶ ἕκ λόγων ἄλλων ἀπικέσθαι ἐς λέσχην περὶ τοῦ Νείλου, ὡς οὐδεὶς αὐτοῦ οἶδε τὰς πηγὰς, καὶ τὸν Ἐτεάρχον φάναι ἐλθεῖν κοτε παρ' αὐτῶν Νασαμώνας ἀνδρας. τὸ δὲ ἔθνος τούτῳ ἐστὶν μὲν Διβυκόνων, νέμεται δὲ τὴν Σύρτιν τε καὶ τὴν πρὸς ἕως χώρην τῆς Σύρτιος οὐκ ἐπὶ πολλὸν. ἀπικομένος δὲ τοὺς Νασαμὼνας καὶ εἰρωτωμένους εἰ τι ἔχουσι πλέον λέγειν περὶ τῶν ἐρήμων τῆς Διβύης, φάναι παρὰ σφίζει γενέσθαι ἀνδρῶν δυναστεύων παῖδας ὑβριστᾶς, τοὺς ἀλλὰ τε μηχανᾶσθαι ἀνδρωθέντας περισσά καὶ δὴ καὶ ἀποκληρώσαι πέντε ἐνυπνῶν ἄνθρωποι τὰ ἔρημα τῆς Διβύης, καὶ εἰ τι πλέουν ἱδοίεν τῶν τὰ μακρότατα ἴδομένων.

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that wherever this should be they would have wives and children. So they came to Ethiopia, and gave themselves up to the king of the country; who, to make them a gift in return, bade them dispossess certain Ethiopians with whom he was at feud, and occupy their land. These Ethiopians then learnt Egyptian customs and have become milder-mannered by intermixture with the Egyptians.

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

32. But this I heard from certain men of Cyrene, who told me that they had gone to the oracle of Ammon, and there conversed with Etearchus king of the Ammonians, and that from other matters of discourse they came to speak of the Nile, how no one knows the source of it. Then Etearchus told them that once he had been visited by certain Nasamonians. These are a Libyan people, inhabiting the country of the Syrtis and the country a little way to the east of the Syrtis. When these Nasamonians on their coming were questioned if they brought any news concerning the Libyan desert, they told Etearchus that there had been among them certain sons of their chief men, proud and violent youths, who, when they came to man's estate, besides planning other wild adventures, had chosen by lot five of their company to visit the deserts of Libya, and see what they might beyond the utmost range of travellers. It must be known
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tῆς γὰρ Διβύης τὰ μέν κατὰ τὴν βορηήν θάλασσαν ἀπὸ Αἰγύπτου ἀρξάμενοι μέχρι Σολῶντος ἄκρης, ἥ τελευτᾶ τῆς Διβύης, παρῆκουσι παρὰ πάσαν Δίβνες καὶ Διβύων ἔθνεα πολλά, πλὴν ὅσον Ἐλληνες καὶ Φωκίκες ἔχουσι: τὰ δὲ ὑπὲρ θαλάσσης τε καὶ τῶν ἐπὶ θάλασσαν κατηκότων ἄνθρωπον, τὰ κατύπερθε θηριώδης ἐστὶ ἡ Διβύη: τὰ δὲ κατύπερθε τῆς θηριώδεος ψάμμος τε ἐστὶ καὶ ἀνυδρος δεινῶς καὶ ἔρημος πάντων. εἰπαί δὲν τοὺς νεκρίας ἀποτελομένους ύπὸ τῶν ἠλίκων, ὑδαίνε τε καὶ σιτίοισι εὖ ἐξουρμένους, ἱέναι τὰ πρῶτα μὲν διὰ τῆς οἰκειομένης, ταῦτην δὲ διεξέλθοντας ἐς τὴν θηριώδεα ἀπικέσθαι, ἐκ δὲ ταύτης τῆς ἔρημου διεξιέναι, τὴν ὀδὸν ποιευμένου πρὸς ξέφυρον ἀνεμον, διεξέλθοντας δὲ χώρον πολλὸν ψαμμόδεα καὶ ἐν πολλής ἠμέρησι ἱδεῖν δὴ κοτε δεῦρεα ἐν πεδίῳ πεφυκότα, καὶ σφας προσελθόντας ἀπεσθαί τοῦ ἐπεόντος ἐπὶ τῶν δευρέων καρποῦ, ἀπομένοις δὲ σφι ἐπελθεῖν ἀνδρας μικροὺς, μετρίων ἐλάσσονας ἀνδρῶν, λαβόντας δὲ ἀγεῖν σφέας· φωνῆς δὲ οὔτε τι τῆς ἐκείνων τοὺς Νασαμώνας γυνώσκειν οὔτε τοὺς ἀγοντας τῶν Νασαμώνων· ἄγειν τε δὴ αὐτοὺς δὲ ἑλέον μεγίστως, καὶ διεξέλθοντας ταῦτα ἀπικέσθαι ἐς τόλμην ἐν τῇ πάντας εἶναι τοῖς ἀγονοι τὸ μέγαθος ἱσον, χρωμα δὲ μέλανας. παρὰ δὲ τῆς πόλιν ῥέουν πτομᾶν μέγαν, ῥεῖν δὲ ἀπὸ ἐσπέρης αὐτὸν πρὸς ἠλίαν ἀνάτελοντα, φαίνεσθαι δὲ ἐν αὐτῷ κροκοδείλους.

33. Ὅ μὲν δὴ τοῦ Ἀμμωνίου Ἐτεάρχου λόγος ἐστοῦτο μοι δεδηλώσθω, πλὴν ὅτι ἀπονοστῆσαι τε ἐφασκε τοὺς Νασαμώνας, ὡς οἱ Κυρηναῖοι ἔλεγον, καὶ ἐς τοὺς οὕτω ἀπίκοντο ἄνθρωπον, γόνης εἶναι
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that all the northern seacoast of Libya—from Egypt as far as the promontory of Soloeis, which is the end of Libya—is inhabited all along by Libyans, many tribes of them, except the part held by Greeks and Phoenicians; the region of Libya above the sea and the men of the seacoast is infested by wild beasts; and farther inland than the wild-beast country all is sand, exceeding waterless and wholly desert. This then was the story told by the young men:—When they left their companions, being well supplied with water and provisions, they journeyed first through the inhabited country, and having passed this they came to the region of wild beasts. After this, they travelled over the desert, towards the west, and crossed a wide sandy region, till after many days they saw trees growing in a plain; when they came to these and were plucking the fruit of the trees, they were met by little men of stature smaller than common, who took them and led them away. The Nasamonians did not know these men’s language nor did the escort know the language of the Nasamonians. The men led them across great marshes, which having crossed they came to a city where all the people were of like stature with the escort, and black. A great river ran past this city, from the west towards the rising sun; crocodiles could be seen in it.

33. This is enough to say concerning the story told by Etearchus the Ammonian; except that he said that the Nasamonians returned—as the men of Cyrene told me—and that the people to whose
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ἁπαντας. τὸν δὲ δὴ ποταμὸν τούτον τὸν παραπέφυτον καὶ Ἐτέαρχος συνεβάλλετο εἶναι Νείλον, καὶ δὴ καὶ ὁ λόγος οὕτω αἰρέει. ῥεεὶ γὰρ ἐκ Διβύνης ὁ Νείλος καὶ μέσην τὰμνων Διβύνη, καὶ ὁς ἐγὼ συμβάλλομαι τοῦτι ἐμφανέσθη τὰ μὴ γινωσκόμενα τεκμαιρόμενος, τῷ Ἰστρῳ ἐκ τῶν ἱσών μέτρων ὀρμᾶται. Ἰστρος τε γὰρ ποταμὸς ἀρξάμενος ἐκ Κελτῶν καὶ Πυρήνης πόλιος ρέει μέσην σχῆσιν τὴν Εὐρώπην· οἱ δὲ Κελτὶ εἰσὶ ἔξω Ἡρακλέων στηλέων, ὄμουρέουσι δὲ Κυνηγεῖσιν, οἱ ἐσχατοὶ πρὸς δυσμένων οἰκεύοντι τῶν ἐν τῇ Εὐρώπῃ κατοικημένων· τελευτᾶ δὲ ὁ Ἰστρός ἐσθάλασσαν ρέων τὴν τοῦ Εὐξείνου πόλυτον διὰ πάσης Εὐρώπης, τῇ Ἰστρίην οἱ Μιλησίων οἰκεύοσι αὐτοὺς.

34. Ὅ μὲν δὴ Ἰστρός, ρέει γὰρ δὶ οἰκεομένης, πρὸς πολλὰν γιανώσκεται, περὶ δὲ τῶν τοῦ Νείλου πηγέων οὐδὲς ἔχει λέγειν· ἀοικητός τε γὰρ καὶ ἔρημος ἐστὶ ἡ Διβύνη δὴ ἡς ρέει. περὶ δὲ τοῦ ἰεύματος αὐτοῦ, ἐπ’ ὅσον μακρότατον ἱστορεύεται ἣν ἐξικέσθαι, εἴρηται· ἐκδιδοῖ δὲ ἂς Ἀγνυπτοῦ. ἢ δὲ Ἀγνυπτοῦ τῆς ὁρείνης Κελικίης μάλιστα κη ἀντίκε κέεται· ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ ἐς Σινώπην τὴν ἐν τῷ Εὐξείνῳ πόλυτο πέντε ὡμερῶν ιθέα ὅδος εὐξώφω ἀνδρί· ἡ δὲ Σινώπῃ τῷ Ἰστρῳ ἐκδιδόντες ἐσθάλασσαν ἀντίον κέεται. οὕτω τῶν Νείλου δοκεῖ νῦν διὰ πάσης τῆς Διβύνης διεξίουσάν ἐξισούσθαι τῷ Ἰστρῳ.

35. Νείλον μὲν νυν περὶ τοσάτα εἰρήσθω· ἔρχομαι δὲ περὶ Αὐγύπτου μηκυνεῖν τὸν λόγον, ὅτι πλεῖστα θωμάσια ἔχει ἡ ἄλλη πᾶσα χώρῃ καὶ

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1 ἐκ τῶν ἱσών μέτρων is an obscure expression. What Hdt. appears to mean is, that as the Nile (according to him)

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

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

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

έργα λόγου μέζῳ παρέχεται πρὸς πᾶσαν χώρην·
tούτων είνεκα πλέω περὶ αὐτῆς εἰρήσεται.

Αἰγύπτιοι ἀμα τῷ οὐρανῷ τῷ κατὰ σφέας ἐόντι ἐτεροίῳ καὶ τῷ ποταμῷ φύσιν ἄλλοις παρεχο-
μένῳ ἢ οἱ ἄλλοι ποταμοὶ, τὰ πολλὰ πάντα ἐμπαλιν
tοῖς ἄλλοις ἄνθρωποι ἐστήσαντο ἢθεά τε καὶ
νόμους· ἐν τοῖς αἱ μὲν γυναῖκες ἀγοράζουσι καὶ
κατηλεύουσι, οἱ δὲ ἄνδρες καὶ οἰκους ἐόντες
ὑφαίνουσι· ὑφαίνουσι δὲ οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι ἄνω τὴν
κρόκην ὥθεντες, Αἰγύπτιοι δὲ κάτω. τὰ ἀχθεα
οἱ μὲν ἄνδρες ἐπὶ τῶν κεφαλέων φορέουσι, αἱ δὲ
gυναῖκες ἐπὶ τῶν ὁμων. οὐρέουσι αἱ μὲν γυναῖκες
ὀρθαί, οἱ δὲ ἄνδρες κατήμενοι. εὐμαρεῖα χρέωνται
ἐν τοῖς οἰκουσι, ἐσθίουσι δὲ ἔξω ἐν τῇ ὁδοῖς ἐπι-
lέγουσι τῷ μὲν αἰσχρᾶ άναγκάᾳ δὲ ἐν ἀπο-
κρύφῳ ἐστὶ ποιέειν χρεῶν, τὰ δὲ μὴ αἰσχρὰ ἀνα-
φαίον. ἢραται γυνὴ μὲν οὐδεμία οὔτε ἔρσενος
θεοῦ οὔτε θηλῆς, ἄνδρες δὲ πάντων τε καὶ πα-
σεως. τρέφειν τοὺς τοκεῖας τοῖς μὲν παισὶ οὐδε-
μία ἀνάγκη μὴ βουλουμένουις, τῇς δὲ θυγατράσι
πᾶσα ἀνάγκη καὶ μὴ βουλουμένης.

36. Οἱ ἱρέες τῶν θεῶν τῇ μὲν ἄλλη κομέουσι, ἐν
Αἰγύπτω δὲ ξυρῶνται. τοῖσι ἄλλοισι ἄνθρωποι σὺ
νόμος ἀμα κηδεῖ κεκάρθαι τὰς κεφαλὰς τοὺς μα-
λιστα ἰκνέεται, Αἰγύπτιοι δὲ ὑπὸ τοὺς θανάτους
ἀνείσι τὰς τρίχας αὔξεσθαι τὰς τε ἐν τῇ κεφαλῇ
καὶ τῷ γενεῖ, τἴως ἔξυρθομεν. τοῖσι μὲν ἄλλοισι
ἄνθρωποι χωρὶς θηρίων ἢ δίαιτα ἀποκέκριται,
Αἰγυπτίουι δὲ ὄμοι θηρίοις ἢ δίαιτα ἐστὶ. ἀπὸ
πυρῶν καὶ κριθῶν ἄλλοι ξώονται, Αἰγυπτίων δὲ
τῷ ποιευμένῳ ἀπὸ τούτων τὴν ζῷην ὅνειδος μέ-
γιστον ἐστί, ἀλλὰ ἀπὸ ὀλυρέων ποιεύονται σιτία,
be seen so many works of unspeakable greatness; therefore I shall say the more concerning Egypt.

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

36. Everywhere else, priests of the gods wear their hair long; in Egypt they are shaven. With all other men, in mourning for the dead those most nearly concerned have their heads shaven; Egyptians are shaven at other times, but after a death they let their hair and beard grow. The Egyptians are the only people who keep their animals with them in the house. Whereas all others live on wheat and barley, it is the greatest disgrace for an Egyptian so to live; they make food from a coarse grain which some call
τὰς ζειδὰς μετεξέτεροι καλέουσι. φυρώσε το μὲν σταῖς τοῖς ποσὶ, τὸν δὲ πηλὸν τῆς χερσί, καὶ τὴν κόπρον ἀναρέονται. τὰ αἰδοία ὄλλοι μὲν ἔσσε ὅσι ἐγένοντο, πλὴν ὅσοι ἀπὸ τούτων ἔμαθον. Αἰγύπτιοι δὲ περιτάμονται. εἴματα τῶν μὲν ἀνδρῶν ἐκαστὸς ἔχει δύο, τῶν δὲ γυναικῶν ἐν ἑκάστῃ. τῶν ἰστῶν τοὺς κρίκους καὶ τοὺς κάλους οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι ἔξωθεν προσδέουσι, Αἰγύπτιοι δὲ ἐσσώθεν. γράμματα γράφουσι καὶ λογίζονται ψηφοί." Ἐλληνες μὲν ἀπὸ τῶν ἀριστερῶν ἐπὶ τὰ ἀριστερὰ φέροντες τὴν χείρα, Αἰγύπτιοι δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν ἀριστερῶν ἐπὶ τὰ ἀριστερὰ· καὶ ποιεῖτο ταῦτα αὐτῶν μὲν ἰσότοι ἐπὶ ἀριστερὰ τοιχάν. Ἐλληνας δὲ ἐπὶ ἀριστερά διαφανεῖται καὶ γράμμασι χρέωται, καὶ τὰ μὲν αὐτῶν ἱρὰ τὰ δὲ δημοτικὰ καλεῖται.

37. Θεσσαλοὶ δὲ περισσῶς ἐόντες μάλιστα πάντων ἀνθρώπων νόμοις τοιούτοις κανένας χρέωται. ἔχει καλκέων ποιηρίων πίνουσι, διασμότας ἀνὰ πᾶσαν ήμέραν, οὐκ ὁ μὲν ὁ δ' οὐ, ἀλλὰ πάντες. εἴματα δὲ λίνα φορέουσι αἰεὶ νεόπλυτα, ἐπιποτούντες τοῦτο μάλιστα, τὰ τε αἰδοία περιτάμονται καθαρεύοντος ἐϊνεκεν, προτιμώτας καθαροὶ ἐναί ἐνυπρεπεύτεροι. οἱ δὲ ἱρέες ἁρωνοῦντας πᾶν τὸ σῶμα διὰ τρίτης ἡμέρης, ἵνα μήτε φθείρι μήτε ἄλλο μυστικὸ μηδὲν ἐγγίνηται σφι χεραπεύουσι τοὺς θεοὺς. ἐσθήτα δὲ φορέουσι οἱ ἱρέες λινέν μούνην καὶ υποδήματα βύθισαν. ἀλλην δὲ σφι ἐσθήτα οὐκ ἔξεστι λαβεῖν οὐδὲ υποδήματα ἄλλα. λαοῦται δὲ διὸ τῆς ἡμέρης ἑκάστης ἑπεξής καὶ διὸ ἑκάστης νυκτός, ἀλλὰς τε θρησκείας ἐπιτελεύουσι μυρίας ὡς εἰπεῖν λόγοι. πάσχουσι δὲ καὶ ἁγαθὰ οὐκ ὅλγα οὐτε τι γάρ

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BOOK II. 36–37

spelt. They knead dough with their feet, and gather mud and dung with their hands. The Egyptians and those who have learnt it from them are the only people who practise circumcision. Every man has two garments, every woman only one. The rings and sheets of sails are made fast elsewhere outside the boat, but inside it in Egypt. The Greeks write and calculate by moving the hand from left to right; the Egyptians do contrariwise; yet they say that their way of writing is towards the right, and the Greek way towards the left. They use two kinds of writing; one is called sacred, the other common.¹

37. They are beyond measure religious, more than any other nation; and these are among their customs:—They drink from cups of bronze, which they cleanse out daily; this is done not by some but by all. They are especially careful ever to wear newly-washed linen raiment. They practise circumcision for cleanliness' sake; for they set cleanness above seemliness. Their priests shave the whole body every third day, that no lice or aught else that is foul may infest them in their service of the gods. The priests wear a single linen garment and sandals of papyrus²: they may take no other kind of clothing or footwear. Twice a day and twice every night they wash in cold water. Their religious observances are (if I may so say) innumerable. But also they receive many benefits: they neither consume nor spend aught of

¹ Three kinds, really: hieroglyphic, hieratic (derived from hieroglyphic), and demotic, a simplified form of hieratic. See Rawlinson's essay, ch. 5, in his Appendix to Book II.
² On this plant, see ch. 92.
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tων οἰκήων τρίβουσι οὔτε δαπανῶνται, ἄλλα καὶ
αὐτία σφι ἐστὶ ἱρὰ πεσοῦμενα, καὶ κρεών βοέων
καὶ χηρέων πληθὸς τι ἐκάστῳ γίνεται πολλῶν
ημέρης ἐκάστης, δίδοται δὲ σφι καὶ οἶνος ἀμπέ-
λωνος: ἰχθύων δὲ οὐ σφι ἔξεστι πᾶσαςθαι.
κυάμοις δὲ οὔτε τι μάλα σπείρουσι Αἰγυπτιοὶ
ἐν τῇ χώρῃ, τοὺς τε γυμνούσας οὔτε τρώγοντας
οὔτε ἐψῴντες πατέντας, οἱ δὲ δὴ ἱρεῖς οὐδὲ
ὁρέωντες ἁνέχονται, νομίζοντες οὐ καθαρὸν εἶναι
µὲν ὄσπριον. ἵραται δὲ οὐκ εἰς ἐκάστον τῶν θεῶν
ἀλλὰ πολλοὶ, τῶν εἰς ἐστὶ ἄρχιερεῖς. ἐπεὰν δὲ
τις ἀποθάνῃ, τοῦτον ὁ παῖς ἀντικατιστάται.

38. Τοὺς δὲ βοῦς τοὺς ἔρσενας τοῦ Ὤπάφου
εἶναι νομίζουσι, καὶ τοῦτον εἰνεκα δοκιμάζουσι
αὐτοὺς ὅτε: τρίχαι ἢν καὶ μᾶλιν ἰδηται ἐπεούσαν
μέλαιαν, οὐ καθαρὸν εἶναι νομίζει. δίζηται δὲ
ταῦτα ἐπὶ τούτῳ τεταγμένος τῶν τις ἱρέων καὶ
ὄρθου ἐστεώτος τοῦ κτήνεος καὶ υπτίου, καὶ τὴν
γλώσσαν ἐξερύσας, εἰ καθαρὴ τῶν προκειμένων
σημείων, τὰ ἐγὼ ἐν ἄλλῳ λόγῳ ἐρέω: κατορᾶ δὲ
καὶ τὰς τριχὰς τῆς ὑφής εἰ κατὰ φύσιν ἔχει
περικύνια. ἢν δὲ τούτων πάντων ἡ καθαρὸς,
σημαίνεται βύβλῳ περὶ τὰ κέρεα εἰλίσσων καὶ
ἐπειτα γῆν σημαντρίδα ἐπιπλάσας ἐπιβάλλει τὸν
δακτύλιον, καὶ οὐτω ἀπάγουσι. ἀσήμαντον δὲ
θύσαντες θάνατος ἡ ζημία ἐπικέεται. δοκιμάζεται
μὲν νυν τὸ κτήνος τρόπῳ τούτῳ, θυσίν δὲ σφι ἢδὲ
κατέστηκε.

39. 'Αγαροντες τὸ σεσημασμένον κτήνος πρὸς
τὸν βωμὸν δικοὶ ἀνθύσας, πῦρ ἀνακαίουσιν, ἔπειτα
δὲ ἐπι αὐτοῦ οἶνον κατὰ τοῦ ἱρείου ἐπισπείραζεν
καὶ ἐπικαλέσαντες τὸν θεὸν σφάζουσι, σφά-
BOOK II. 37–39

their own; sacred food is cooked for them, to each man is brought every day flesh of beees and geese in great abundance, and wine of grapes too is given to them. They may not eat fish. The Egyptians sow no beans in their country; if any grow, they will not eat them either raw or cooked; the priests cannot endure even to see them, considering beans an unclean kind of pulse. Many (not one alone) are dedicated to the service of each god. One of these is the high priest; and when a high priest dies his son succeeds to his office.

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

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

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1 Epaphus is the Greek form of Apis or Hapi, the bull-god of Memphis.
2 iii. 28.
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εἰσαγωγή τῆς κεφαλῆς. σώμα μὲν ὁ τοῦ κτήνεως δείχνοι, κεφαλὴ δὲ κείνῃ πολλὰ καταρχᾶμενοι φέροντε, τοῖσι μὲν ἀν ἡ ἀγορὴ καὶ Ἑλληνες σφί εἰσι ἐπιδήμωι ἐμποροί, οἱ δὲ φέροντες εἰς τὴν ἀγορὴν ἀπ' ὅν ἔδοτο, τοῖσι δὲ ἀν μὴ παρέσαν Ἐλληνες, οἱ δ' ἐκβάλλοντες εἰς τὸν ποταμὸν καταράνται δὲ τάδε λέγοντες τῇς κεφαλῆς, εἰ τι μέλλοι ἡ σφίσι τοῖσι θύουνη ἆ Αἰγύπτω τῇ συναπάσῃ κακόν γενέσθαι, εἰς κεφαλῆς ταύτην τραπέζησαι. κατὰ μὲν γὰρ τὰς κεφαλάς τῶν θυμομένων κτηνεῶν καὶ τὴν ἐπίσπευσιν τοῦ οἴνου πάντες Αἰγύπτιοι νόμους τοῖσι αὐτοῖσι χρέωνται ὁμοίως ἐς πάντα τὰ ἱρα, καὶ ἀπὸ τούτου τοῦ νόμου οὐδὲ ἄλλου οὐδενὸς ἐμψύχου κεφαλῆς γεύσεται Αἰγυπτίων οὐδεῖς.

40. Ἡ δὲ ἐξαίρεσις τῶν ἱρῶν καὶ ἡ καύσις ἄλλη περὶ ἄλλο ἱρόν σφί κατέστηκε. τὴν δ' ἂν μεγίστην τε δαίμονα ἤγινται εἴναι καὶ μεγίστην οἱ ὀρτήν ἀνάγουσι, ταύτην ἐρχομαι ἔρεων . . . 1 ἐπεάν ἀποδείρωσι τὸν βοῦν, κατευχάμενοι κοιλίην μὲν κείνην πᾶσαν ἐξ ὧν εἶλον, σπλάγχνα δὲ αὐτοῦ λείπουσι ἐν τῷ σώματι καὶ τὴν πιμελὴν, σκέλεα δὲ ἀποτάμησι καὶ τὴν ὀσφύν ἄκρην καὶ τοὺς ὄμοις τε καὶ τὸν τράχηλον. ταῦτα δὲ ποιήσαντες τὸ ἄλλο σώμα τοῦ βοῶς πιμπλάσι ἄρτων καθαρῶν καὶ μέλιτους καὶ ἀσταφίδος καὶ σύκων καὶ λιβανωτού καὶ σμύρνης καὶ τῶν ἄλλων θυσμάτων, πλήσαντες δὲ τούτων καταγίζουσι, ἐλαιὸν ἄφθονον καταχέοντες προσπερνεύσαντες δὲ θύουσι, καιομένων δὲ τῶν ἱρῶν

1 There is an obvious lacuna; probably the name of the goddess (Isis) was given here.
BOOK II. 39–40

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

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

41. Τοὺς μέν νυν καθαροὺς βοῦς τοὺς ἔρσενας καὶ τοὺς μόσχους οἱ πάντες Αἰγύπτιοι θύουσι, τὰς δὲ θηλέας οὐ σφι ἔξεστι θύειν, ἀλλὰ ἰραί εἶσι τῆς Ἰσιος· τὸ γὰρ τῆς Ἰσιος ἀγαλμα ἐόν γυναικήν βοῦκερων ἔστι κατὰ περ Ἕλληνες τῆν Ἰοῦν γράφουσι, καὶ τὰς βοῦς τὰς θηλέας Αἰγύπτιοι πάντες ὁμοίως σέβονται προβάτων πάντων μάλιστα μακρῷ. τῶν εἰνεκα οὕτε ἀνὴρ Αἰγύπτιοι οὕτε γυνὴ ἄνδρα Ἕλληνα φελήσειε ἀν τῷ στόματι, οὐδὲ μαχαίρῃ ἄνδρος Ἕλληνος χρῆσεται οὐδὲ ὤβελοίσι οὐδὲ λέβητι, οὐδὲ κρέως καθαροῦ βοῦς διατετμημένον Ἕλληνικὴ μαχαίρῃ γεύσεται. θάπτουσι δὲ τοὺς ἀποθνήσκοντας βοῦς τρόπον τόνδε·
tὰς μὲν θηλέας ἐς τὸν ποταμὸν ἀπίεσι, τοὺς δὲ ἔρσενας κατορύσσουσι ἐκαστοὶ ἐν τοῖς προστείοις, τὸ κέρας τὸ ἔτερον ἢ καὶ ἀμφότερα ὑπερέχοντα σημηνίον εἰνεκεν ὑπεαν δὲ σαπῇ και προσῇ ὅ τεταγμένος χρόνος, ἀπικνέται ἐς ἐκάστην πόλιν βάρις ἐκ τῆς Προσωπίτιδος καλεμμένης νῆσου. ἢ δ’ ἔστι μὲν ἐν τῷ Δήλτα, περίμετρον δὲ αὐτῆς εἰσὶ σχοῖνοι ἐννέα. ἐν ταύτῃ ἄν τῇ Προσωπίτιδι νήσῳ ἔνεισι μὲν καὶ ἄλλαι πόλεις συνχαί, ἐκ τῆς δὲ αἱ βάριες παραγίνονται ἀναιρησόμεναι τὰ ὡστεὰ τῶν βοῶν, οὖνομα τῇ πόλι τῇ Ἀτάρβηχις, ἐν δ’ αὐτῇ Ἀφροδίτης ἰρόν ἄγιον ἵδρυται. ἐκ ταύτῃ τῆς πόλος πλανῶνται πολλοὶ ἄλλοι ἐς ἄλλας πόλις, ἀνορύζαντες δὲ τὰ ὡστεὰ ἀπάγουσι καὶ θάπτουσι ἐς ἐνα χῶρον πάντες. κατὰ ταύτα δὲ τοῖς βουσὶ καὶ τάλλα κτήνεα θάπτουσ ἀποθνήσκοντα· καὶ γὰρ περὶ
lamentation is over, they set out a meal of what is
left of the victim.

41. All Egyptians sacrifice unblemished bulls and
bull-calves; they may not sacrifice cows; these are
sacred to Isis. For the images of Isis are in woman's
form, horned like an ox, as the Greeks picture Io, and
cows are held by far the most sacred of all beasts of
the herd by all Egyptians alike. For this reason no
Egyptian man or woman will kiss a Greek man, or
use a knife, or a spit, or a caldron belonging to a
Greek, or taste the flesh of an unblemished ox that
has been cut up with a Greek knife. Oxen that die
are dealt with in the following way:—Cows are cast
into the river, bulls are buried by each city in its
suburbs, with one or both horns uncovred for a sign:
then, when the carcase is decomposed, and the time
appointed is at hand, a boat comes to each city from
the island called Prosopitis, an island in the Delta,
of nine schoeni in circuit. There are many other
towns in Prosopitis; that one from which come the
boats to gather the bones of the bulls is called
Atarbechis; ¹ there stands in it a temple of Aphrodite
of great sanctity. From this town many go about, some
to one town and some to another, and dig up the
bones, which they then carry away and all bury in
one place. As they bury the oxen, so they do with
all other beasts at death. Such is their ordinance

¹ No doubt from Athor or Hathor, under which name Isis
was often worshipped.
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taûta oùtw sphi nevnomoûthētai' kteînousi gâr ïh ouûde taûta.

42. "Osoi mên dê Diôs Θεβαιέος ἱδρυται ἰρῶν ἡ νομοῦ τοῦ Θεβαίου εἰσί, οὗτοι μὲν νῦν πάντες ὅιων ἀπεχόμενοι αἰγας θύουσι. θεοὺς γὰρ δὴ οὐ τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἀπαντεῖς ὀμοίως Αἰγύπτιοι σέβονται, πλὴν Ἡσίος τε καὶ Ὅσύριος, τὸν δὲ Διόνυσον εἶναι λέγουσι τούτους δὲ ὀμοίως ἀπαντεῖς σέβονται. ὃσοι δὲ τοῦ Μένδητος ἐκείνου ἰρῶν ἡ νομοῦ τοῦ Μενδησίου εἰσί, οὗτοι δὲ αἰγῶν ἀπεχόμενοι δῖς θύουσι. Θεβαιίοι μὲν νῦν καὶ ὅσοι δὴ τούτους ὅιων ἀπέχουσι, διὰ τάδε λέγουσι τὸν νόμον τὸν ὅπου σφίσι τεθῆναι. Ἡρακλέα θελήσαι πάντως ἰδέσθαι τὸν Δία, καὶ τὸν οὐκ ἔθελειν ὕφθηναι υπ᾽ οὕτων· τέλος δὲ, ἔπειτε λιπαρέειν τὸν Ἡρακλέα, τάδε τὸν Δία μηχανῆσασθαι κριόν ἐκδείραντα προσχέσθαι τε τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀποταμόντα τοῦ κριοῦ καὶ ἐνδύντα τὸ νάκος οὗτος οἱ ἐωτῶν ἐπιδέξαι. ἀπὸ τοῦτον κριστρότοπον τοῦ Διῶς τῶγαλμα ποιεῦσι Αἰγύπτιοι, ἀπὸ δὲ Αἰγυπτίων Ἄμμωνιοι, ἔντεκες Αἰγυπτίων τε καὶ Ἀθηναίων ἄποικοι καὶ φωνὴν μεταξὺ ἀμφοτέρων νομίζοντες. δοκεῖν δὲ μοι, καὶ τὸ οὖνομα Ἁμμώνιοι ἀπὸ τοῦδε σφίσι τὴν ἐπωνυμὴν ἐποιήσαντο· Ἁμμών γὰρ Αἰγύπτιοι καλέοντο τὸν Δία. τοὺς δὲ κριοὺς οὗ θύουσι Θε βαίοι, ἀλλ' εἰσί σφὶ ἰρὸι διὰ τοῦτο. μὴ δὲ ἡμέρη τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ, ἐν ὅρτῃ τοῦ Διός, κριόν ἐνα κατακόψαντες καὶ ἀποδείραντες κατὰ τῶν τὸν ἐνδύουσι τῶγαλμα τοῦ Διῶς, καὶ ἔπειτα ἄλλο

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

42. All that have among them a temple of Zeus of Thebes, or are of the Theban province, sacrifice goats but will not touch sheep. For no gods are worshipped in common by the whole of Egypt save only Isis and Osiris, whom they say to be Dionysus; these are worshipped by all alike. Those who have a temple of Mendes¹ or are of the Mendesian province sacrifice sheep, but will not touch goats. The Thebans, and those who by the Theban example will not touch sheep give the following reason for their ordinance: Heracles² (they say) would by all means look upon Zeus, and Zeus would not be seen by him. At last, being earnestly entreated by Heracles, Zeus contrived a device, whereby he showed himself wearing the head and the fleece of a ram which he had flayed and beheaded. It is from this that the Egyptian images of Zeus have a ram's head; and in this the Egyptians are imitated by the Ammonians, who are colonists from Egypt and Ethiopia and speak a language compounded of the tongues of both countries. It was from this, I think, that the Ammonians got their name too; for Amun is the Egyptian name for Zeus. The Thebans, then, hold rams sacred for this reason, and do not sacrifice them. But on one day in the year, at the festival of Zeus, they cut in pieces and flay a single ram and put the fleece on the image of Zeus, as in the story; then

¹ Mendes, Greek form of Binded, a town in the Delta where Osiris was worshipped in the form of a ram, according to monuments. Here Mendes apparently = Osiris.

² The Greeks identified with Heracles an Egyptian god Shu (called at Thebes Chonsu-Neferhotep, Ἀγαθόδαιμων).
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ἀγαλμα Ἡρακλέος προσάγουσι πρὸς αὐτό. ταῦτα δὲ ποιήσαντες τύπτονται οἱ περὶ τὸ ἱρὸν ἀπαντεῖ τὸν κριῶν καὶ ἔπειτα ἐν ἱρῇ θήκῃ θάπτουσι αὐτῶν.

43. Ἡρακλέος δὲ πέρι τόνδε τὸν λόγον ἦκουσα, ὅτι εἰ ἔτι τῶν δυόδεκα θεῶν τοῦ ἔτερου δὲ πέρι Ἡρακλέος, τὸν Ἐλληνας οὐδασί, οὐδαμῆν Αἰγύπτου ἐδυνάσθην ἄκοισαι, καὶ μὴν ὅτι γε οὐ παρ᾽ Ἐλλήνων ἔλαβον τὸ φυσόμα Αἰγύπτιοι τοῦ Ἡρακλέος, ἀλλὰ Ἐλληνες μᾶλλον παρ᾽ Αἰγυπτίων καὶ Ἐλλήνων οὔτοι οἱ θέμενοι τῷ Ἀμφιτρύωνος γόνῳ τούνομα Ἡρακλέα, πολλὰ μοι καὶ ἄλλα τεκμηρία ἐστὶ τούτο οὔτω ἔχειν, ἐν δὲ καὶ τόδε, ὅτι τε τοῦ Ἡρακλέος τούτοι οἱ γονεῖς ἀμφότεροι ᾤσαν Ἀμφιτρύων καὶ Ἀλκμήνης γεγονότες τῷ ἀνέκαθεν ἀπ᾽ Αἰγύπτου, καὶ διότι Αἰγύπτιοι οὔτε Ποσειδέωνος οὔτε Διοσκούρων τὰ οὐνόματα φασὶ εἰδέναι, οὔδε σφί θεοὶ οὔτοι ἐν τούτο ἄλλοι θεοὶ ἀποδεδέχαται. καὶ μὴν εἰ γε παρ᾽ Ἐλλήνων ἔλαβον οὐνομά τεν δαίμονος, τούτων οὐκ ἤκιστα ἀλλὰ μάλιστα ἐμελλόν μνήμην ἔχειν, εἰ περὶ καὶ τότε ναυτιλήσι ἔχρεωντα καὶ ἄσαν Ἐλλήνων τινὲς ναυτίλοι, ὥς ἐλπομαὶ τε καὶ ἐμὴ γνώμη αἱρέει· ὅστε τούτων ἄν καὶ μᾶλλον τῶν θεῶν τὰ οὐνόματα ἐξεπιστεύετο Αἰγύπτιοι ἡ τοῦ Ἡρακλέος. ἀλλὰ τὸς ἄρχαίος ἐστὶ θέος Αἰγυπτίοις Ἡρακλέος. ὡσ δὲ αὐτοὶ λέγουσι, ἔτεα ἐστὶ ἐπτακισχίλεα καὶ μύρια ἐς "Ἀμασίων βασιλεύσαντα, ἐπείτε ἐκ τῶν ὅκτω θεῶν οἱ δυόδεκα θεοὶ ἐγένοντο τῶν Ἡρακλέα ἕνα νομίζουσι.

44. Καὶ θέλων δὲ τούτων πέρι σαφές τι εἰδέναι ἐξ ὧν οἰών τε ἢν, ἔπλευσα καὶ ἐς Τύρου τῆς

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they bring an image of Heracles near to it. Having done this, all that are about the temple mourn for the ram, and presently bury it in a sacred coffer.

43. Concerning Heracles, I heard it said that he was one of the twelve gods. But I could nowhere in Egypt hear anything concerning the other Heracles, whom the Greeks know. I have indeed many proofs that the name of Heracles did not come from Hellas to Egypt, but from Egypt to Hellas (and in Hellas to those Greeks who gave the name Heracles to the son of Amphitryon); and this is the chief among them—that Amphitryon and Alcmene, the parents of this Heracles, were both by descent Egyptian;¹ and that the Egyptians deny knowledge of the names of Poseidon and the Dioscuri, nor are these gods reckoned among the gods of Egypt. Yet had they got the name of any deity from the Greeks, it was these more than any that they were like to remember, if indeed they were already making sea voyages and the Greeks too had seafaring men, as I suppose and judge; so that the names of these gods would have been even better known to the Egyptians than the name of Heracles. Nay, Heracles is a very ancient god in Egypt; as the Egyptians themselves say, the change of the eight gods to the twelve, of whom they deem Heracles one, was made seventeen thousand years before the reign of Amasis.

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

¹ As grandchildren of Perseus, for whose Egyptian origin see 91.
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Φωικής, πυνθανόμενος αὐτῷ εἶναι ἵρον Ἡρακλέος ἄγιον, καὶ εἶδον πλουσίως κατεσκευασμένον ἄλλοις τε πολλοῖς ἀνασήμασι, καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ ἦσαν στῆλαι δύο, ἥ μὲν χρυσοῦ ἀπέφθεγμος, ἥ δὲ σμαράγδου λίθου λάμποντος τὰς νύκτας μέγαθος. ἐς λόγους δὲ ἐλθὼν τοῖς ἱερείς τοῦ θεοῦ εἰρόμενον ὄκουσος χρώμοις ἐξ ἢ οὐ σφι τὸ ἱρὸν ἱδρυται. εὐρὸν δὲ οὐδὲ τούτους τοῖς Ἐλλησι σύμφερομένους ἔφασαν γὰρ ἄμα Τύρῳ οἰκίζομένη καὶ τὸ ἱρὸν τοῦ θεοῦ ἱδρυθῆναι, εἶναι δὲ ἔτεα ἄπτ' οὐ Τύρων οἰκέουσι τρηκόσια καὶ δισχίλια. εἶδον δὲ ἐν τῇ Τύρῳ καὶ ἄλλο ἵρον Ἡρακλέος ἐπωνυμίην ἔχοντος Θάσιον εἶναι· ἀπικόμμην δὲ καὶ ἐς Θάσον, ἐν τῇ εὐρόν ἥρων Ἡρακλέος ὑπὸ Φωικῶν ἱδρυμένον, οἷ κατ' Εὐρώπης ξήτησιν ἐκπλάσαντες Θάσον ἔκτισαν· καὶ ταῦτα καὶ πέντε γενεῆς ἀνδρῶν πρότερα ἐστὶ ἡ τῶν Ἀμφιτρύων Ἡρακλεά ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι γενέσθαι. τὰ μὲν υἱῶν ἰστορημένα δηλοὶ σαφέως παλαιὸν θεόν Ἡρακλέα εἴσομα, καὶ δοκέουσι δὲ μοι οὕτω ὁρθότατα Ἐλλήνων ποιεῖν, οἷ διὰ 'Ἡράκλεα ἱδρυσάμενον ἐκτιναί, καὶ τῷ μὲν ὡς ἀθανάτῳ 'Ολυμπίῳ δὲ ἐπωνυμίην θύουσι, τῷ δὲ ἐτέρῳ ὡς ἦρωι ἐναγίζουσι.

45. Δέγνους δὲ πολλὰ καὶ ἄλλα ἀνεπισκέπτως οἱ Ἐλληνες, εὐθύρας δὲ αὐτῶν καὶ ὁδὸν τὸν περὶ τοῦ Ἡρακλέους δέγνουσι, ὡς αὐτὸν ἀπεκόμενον ἐς Αἰγυπτὸν στέφανες οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι ὑπὸ πομπῆς ἐξῆγον ὡς θύσιν τῷ Διί· τὸν δὲ τέως μὲν ἰσυχίαν ἔχειν, ἐπεὶ δὲ αὐτοῦ πρὸς τῷ βωμῷ

1 The Tyrian god Melkart.
ship to Tyre in Phoenice, where I heard that there was a very holy temple of Heracles.\footnote{There is a dual Heracles in the Odyssey, xi. 601 \textit{seqq.} An \textit{εἴδωλον} of him is seen in the world of the dead; but "he himself" is an immortal among the gods of heaven.} There I saw it, richly equipped with many other offerings, besides that in it there were two pillars, one of refined gold, one of emerald, a great pillar that shone in the night-time; and in converse with the priests I asked how long it was since their temple was built. I found that neither did their account tally with the belief of the Greeks; for they said that the temple of the god was founded when Tyre first became a city, and that was two thousand three hundred years since. At Tyre I saw yet another temple of that Heracles called the Thasian. Then I went to Thasos, too, where I found a temple of Heracles built by the Phoenicians, who made a settlement there when they voyaged to discover Europe; now they did so as much as five generations before the birth in Hellas of Heracles the son of Amphitryon. Therefore, what I have discovered by inquiry plainly shows that Heracles is an ancient god. And further: those Greeks, I think, are most in the right, who have established and practise two worship of Heracles, sacrificing to one Heracles as to an immortal, and calling him the Olympian, but to the other bringing offerings as to a dead hero.\footnote{There is a dual Heracles in the Odyssey, xi. 601 \textit{seqq.} An \textit{εἴδωλον} of him is seen in the world of the dead; but "he himself" is an immortal among the gods of heaven.}

45. But among the many ill-considered tales told by the Greeks, this is a very foolish story which they relate about Heracles—how when he came to Egypt the Egyptians crowned him and led him out in a procession to sacrifice him to Zeus; and for a while (they say) he followed quietly, but when they began
κατάρχοντο, ἐς ἀλκήν τραπόμενον πάντας σφέας καταφονεύσαι. ἔμοι μὲν νῦν δοκέομεν ταῦτα λέγοντες τῆς Ἀιγυπτίων φύσιος καὶ τῶν νόμων πάμπαν ἀπείρως ἐξείνι οἱ Ἰθάκης: τόσι γὰρ οὐδὲ κτήμεα ὅσι θύειν ἐστὶ χωρίς ὑδίν καὶ ἐρεσίνων βοῶν καὶ μόσχων, ὅσι τὰν καθαρὸ ἔωσι, καὶ χηνῶν, κἀς ἀν ὁ φιλότητος θύοις; ἔτι δὲ ἐνα ἐόντα τὸν Ἡρακλέα καὶ ἐτὶ ἄνθρωπον, ὡς δὴ φασί, κἀς φύσιν ἐχει πολλὰς μυρίδας φοινεύσαι; καὶ περὶ μὲν τούτων τοσαῦτα ἡμῖν εἴποισι καὶ παρὰ τῶν θεῶν καὶ παρὰ τῶν ἤρωων εὐμενείη εἰς.

46. Τὰς δὲ ἄγας καὶ τοὺς τράγους τῶν εἰνεκα οἳ θύομεν Αἰγυπτίων οἱ εἰρημένοι: τὸν Πάνα τῶν ὀκτῶ θεῶν λογίζονται εἶναι οἱ Μενδήσιοι, τοὺς δὲ ὀκτῶ θεοὺς τούτους προτέρους τῶν δυσδέκα θεῶν φασί γενέσθαι. ἐγέρασι τε δὴ καὶ γλύφουσι οἱ ζωγράφοι καὶ οἱ ἀγαλματοποιοὶ τοῦ Πανός τῶν ἁγαλματα κατὰ περὶ Ἐλλήνες αἰγοπρόσωπον καὶ τραγοσκελέα, οὐτὶ τοιοῦτον νομίζοντες εἶναι μὴ ἄλλα ὀμοῖον τοῖς ἄλλοις θεοῖς. ὅτεν δὲ εἰνεκα τοιοῦτον γράφουσι αὐτὸν, οὗ μοι ἦδων ἐστὶ λέγειν. σέβομαι δὲ πάντας τοὺς ἄγας οἱ Μενδήσιοι, καὶ μᾶλλον τοὺς ἔρσενας τῶν θηλέων, καὶ τούτων οἱ αἰτήλοι τιμᾶς μέξονας ἔχουσι: ἐκ δὲ τοῦτον ἔνα μάλιστα, ὅστις ἐπεάν ἀποδάνη, πένθος μέγα παντὶ τῷ Μενδήσιῳ νομῷ τίθεται. καλέται δὲ ὁ τε τράγος καὶ ὁ Πάν Αἰγυπτιστὶ Μένδης. ἐγένετο δὲ ἐν τῷ νομῷ τούτῳ ἐπ᾽ ἐμεῖν τοῦτο τὸ τέρας; γυναικὶ τράγος ἐμίσησεν ἀναφανδόν. τοῦτο ἐς ἐπίδεξεν ἄνθρωπων ἀπίκετο.

47. Ἡ τῆς Ἀιγυπτίως μιαρόν ἠγνηται θηρίων εἶναι, καὶ τοῦτο μὲν ἢ τις ψαύσῃ αὐτῶν παρῴων

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BOOK II. 45–47

the first rites of sacrifice upon him at the altar, he resisted and slew them all. Now it seems to me that by this story the Greeks show themselves wholly ignorant of the nature and customs of the Egyptians; for how should they sacrifice men, who are forbidden to sacrifice even the lower animals, save only swine and bulls and bull-calves, if they be unblemished, and geese? Moreover, Heracles being alone, and only a man too, as they say, how is it natural that he should slay a countless multitude? So much I say of this matter; may no god or hero be displeased with me therefor!

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

47. Swine are held by the Egyptians to be unclean beasts. Firstly, if an Egyptian touch a hog in
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υὸς, αὐτοίσι τοῖσι ἰματίοισι ἀπ' ὅν ἔβαψε ἐσωτήρ
βᾶς ἐς τὸν ποταμὸν· τούτῳ δὲ οἱ συβῶται ἐόντες
Ἀιγύπτιοι ἐγγενεῖες ἐς ἱρὸν οὐδὲν τῶν ἐν Ἀιγύπτῳ
ἐσέρχονται μοῦνοι πάντων, οὐδὲ σφι ἐκδίδοσθαι
οὐδεὶς θυγατέρα ἔθελεν οὐδ’ ἀγεσθαι εἰς αὐτῶν,
ἀλλ’ ἐκδίδονται τε οἱ συβῶται καὶ ἀγονται εἰς ἀλλήλων. τοῖσι μὲν νῦν ἀλλοισι θεοῖσι τεύχειν ὡς
οὐ δικαιεύσι αἰγύπτιοι, Σελήνη τῇ καὶ Διονύσῳ
μοῦνοις τοῦ αὐτοῦ χρόνου, τῇ αὐτῇ πανσελήνῳ,
tοὺς ὡς θύσαντες πατέονται τῶν κρεών. διότι
dὲ τοὺς ὡς ἐν μὲν τῇ ἀλλήσι ὅρτης ἀπεστυγή-
κασὶ ἐν δὲ ταύτῃ θύουσι, ἔστι μὲν λόγος περὶ
aυτοῦ ὑπ’ Ἀιγύπτιων λεγόμενος, ἡμοὶ μέντοι ἐπι-
σταμένοι ὡς εὐπρεπεστεροὶ ἐστὶ λέγονται. θυσίν
δὲ ἦδε τῶν ὑὸν τῇ Σελήνῃ ποιέειται ἐπεάν
θύσῃ, τὴν οὐρήν ἅκρην καὶ τὸν σπλήνα καὶ τὸν
ἐπίπλουν συνθεῖς ὁμοί κατ’ ἀν ἐκάλυψε πάση
tοῦ κτήνεος τῇ πιμέλῃ τῇ περὶ τὴν νηδίαν γυνομένη,
καὶ ἐπειτα καταγίζει πυρὶ· τὰ δὲ ἄλλα κρέα
αἰτέονται ἐν τῇ πανσελήνῳ ἐν τῇ ἀν τὰ ἵρᾳ
θύσωσι, ἐν ἀλλή δὲ ἄμερῃ, ὡς ἄν ἐτε γευσαῖοι.
οἱ δὲ πένητες αὐτῶν ὑπ’ ἄσθενεὶς βίου σταίτινας
πλάσαντες ὡς καὶ ὀπτῆσαντες ταῦτας θύουσι.

48. τῇ δὲ Διονύσῳ τῇ ὅρτῆς τῇ δορπίᾳ χοίρον
πρὸ τῶν θυρέων σφάξας ἐκαστὸς διδοὶ ἀπο-
φέρεσθαι τὸν χοίρον αὐτῷ τῷ ἄποδομένῳ τῶν
συβωτέων. τὴν δὲ ἄλλην ἀνάγουσι ὅρτην τῷ
Διονύσῳ οἱ Ἀιγύπτιοι πλὴν χορῶν κατὰ ταῦτὰ
σχεδόν πάντα "Ελλησι· ἀντὶ δὲ φαλλῶν ἄλλα
σφι ἐστὶ ξευρημένα, ὡς τε πῆχυνα ἀγάλματα
νευρόππαστα, τὰ περιφορέουσι κατὰ κώμας γυ-
ναίκες, νεοῦν τὸ αἰδοίον, οὔ πολλῷ τερ ἔλασσον

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BOOK II. 47-48

passing by, he goes to the river and dips himself in it, clothed as he is; and secondly, swineherds, native born Egyptians though they be, are alone of all men forbidden to enter any Egyptian temple; nor will any give a swineherd his daughter in marriage, nor take a wife from their women; but swineherds intermarry among themselves. Nor do the Egyptians think right to sacrifice swine to any god save the Moon and Dionysus; to these they sacrifice their swine at the same time, in the same season of full moon; then they eat of the flesh. The Egyptians have an account of the reason why they sacrifice swine at this festival, yet abominate them at others; I know it, but it is not fitting that I should relate it. But this is how they sacrifice swine to the Moon: the sacrificer lays the end of the tail and the spleen and the caul together and covers them up with all the fat that he finds about the belly, then burns all with fire; as for the rest of the flesh, they eat it at the time of full moon when they sacrifice the victim; but they will not taste it on any other day. Poor men, having but slender means, mould swine of dough, which they then bake and sacrifice.

48. To Dionysus, on the evening of his festival, everyone offers a porker which he kills before his door and then gives to the swineherd himself who has sold it, for him to take away. The rest of the festival of Dionysus is ordered by the Egyptians much as it is by the Greeks, except for the dances; but in place of the phallus they have invented the use of puppets a cubit long moved by strings, which are carried about the villages by women, the male member moving and near as big as the rest of the

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ёν τού ἄλλου σώματος· προηγεῖται δὲ αὐλός, αἱ δὲ ἐπτυνται αἰείδουσαι τὸν Δίονυσον. διότι δὲ μέξουν 
τε ἔχει τὸ αἰδοίον καὶ κινεῖ τοῦ μοῦν τοῦ σώματος, 
ἔστι λόγος περὶ αὐτοῦ ἢρος λεγόμενος.

49. Ἡδὴ δὲν δοκεῖ εἰμὶ Μελάμπτους ὁ Ἀμυθέωνς 
τῆς θυσίας ταύτης νῦν εἶναι ἅδας ἀλλ᾽ ἐμπειρος. 
"Ελλησι γὰρ δὴ Μελάμπτους ἐστὶ ὁ ἐξηγησάμενος 
τοῦ Διονύσου τὸ τε οὖνομα καὶ τὴν θυσίαν καὶ 
τὴν πομπὴν τοῦ φαλλοῦ· ἀτρεκέως μὲν οὐ πάντα 
σύλλαβον τὸν λόγον ἐφηνε, ἀλλ᾽ οἱ ἐπιγενόμενοι 
τούτῳ σοφισταὶ μεξόνως ἐξεφηναν· τὸν δ᾽ ὃν 
φαλλὸν τὸν τῷ Διονύσῳ πεμπόμενον Μελάμπτους 
ἐστὶ ὁ καθηγησάμενος, καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦτο μαθόντες 
ποιεῖται τὰ ποιεῖται Ἔλληνες. ἐγὼ μὲν νυν φημὶ 
Μελάμπτουδα γενόμενον ἀνδρὰ σοφὸν μαυτικὴν τε 
ἔστρωσικαὶ καὶ πυθόμενον ἀπ᾽ Αἰγύπτου 
ἀλλα τε πολλά ἐσχήγησασθαι Ἔλλησι καὶ τὰ 
περὶ τὸν Διόνυσου, ὅλιγα αὐτῶν παραλλάξαντα. 
οὗ γὰρ δὴ συμπεσεὶν γε φήσω τά τε ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ 
ποιεύμενα τῷ θεῷ καὶ τὰ ἐν τοίσι Ἔλλησιν ὁμό 
τροπα γὰρ ἂν ἦν τοῖσι Ἔλλησι καὶ οὐ νεώτερα 
ἐσχημένα. οὗ μὲν οὔδε φήσω ὅκως Αἰγύπτιοι 
παρ᾽ Ἔλληνων ἔλαβον ἡ τούτο ἢ ἄλλο κοί τι 
νόμαιον. πυθέσθαι δὲ μοι δοκεῖ μάλιστα Με 
λάμπτους τὰ περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον παρὰ Κάδμου τε 
τοῦ Τυρίου καὶ τῶν συν αὐτῷ ἐκ Φοινίκης ἀπικο 
μένων εὐς τὴν νῦν Βοιωτίαν καλεομένην χώρην.

50. Σχεδὸν δὲ καὶ πάντων τὰ συνόματα τῶν θεῶν 
ἐξ Αἰγύπτου ἐλήλυθε ἐς τὴν Ἔλλαδα. διότι μὲν 
γὰρ ἐκ τῶν βαρβάρων ἦκει, πυθανόμενος οὕτω 
eὐρίσκων ἐὼν· δοκεῖ δ᾽ ὃν μάλιστα ἀπ᾽ Αἰγύπτου ἀπέχθαι. ὅτι γὰρ δὴ μὴ Ποσειδέωνος καὶ Διοσ-
BOOK II. 48-50

body; a flute-player goes before, the women follow after, singing of Dionysus. There is a sacred legend which gives the reason for the appearance and motions of these puppets.

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

50. Indeed, wellnigh all the names of the gods came to Hellas from Egypt. For I am assured by inquiry that they have come from foreign parts, and I believe that they came chiefly from Egypt. Except the names of Poseidon and the Dioscuri, as I have
κούρων, ὡς καὶ πρότερον μοι ταύτα εἴρηται, καὶ Ἡρης καὶ Ἰστίης καὶ Θέμιος καὶ Χαρίτων καὶ Νηρηίδων, τῶν ἄλλων θεῶν Αἰγυπτίοις αἱεὶ κοτε τὰ οὐνόματα ἐστὶ ἐν τῇ χώρῃ. λέγω δὲ τὰ λέγουσι αὐτοὶ Αἰγύπτιοι. τῶν δὲ οὐ φασὶ θεῶν γυνώσκειν τὰ οὐνόματα, οὔτοι δὲ μοι δοκεώσην ὑπὸ Πελασγῶν ὄνομασθῆναι, πλὴν Ποσειδέωνος τούτον δὲ τὸν θεόν παρὰ Διμών ἐπύθοντο, οὕδαμοι γὰρ ἀπ’ ἄρχης Ποσειδέωνος οὐνόμα ἐκτηται εἰ μὴ Δίβας καὶ τιμῶσι τὸν θεόν τούτον αἰεὶ νομίζουσι δὲ ὁν Αἰγύπτιοι οὐδ’ ἤρωσι οὐδὲν.

51. Ταύτα μὲν νυν καὶ ἄλλα πρὸς τούτοις, τὰ ἐγώ φράσαμεν Ἑλληνεσάς ἀπ’ Ἀιγυπτίων νεομίκασιν τὸν δὲ Ἐρμέω τὰ ἀγάλματα ὀρθὰ ἔχειν τὰ αἱδοῖα ποιεῖτε σύντικτα ἀπ’ Ἀιγυπτίων μεμαθήκασι, ἄλλ’ ἀπὸ Πελασγῶν πρῶτοι μὲν Ἑλλήνων ἀπάντων Ἀθηναίοι παραλαβόντες, παρὰ δὲ τούτων ἄλλοι. Ἀθηναίοις γὰρ ἢδη τηνικάτα ἐσ’ Ἑλληνας τελέουσι Πελασγοὶ σύνοικοι ἐγένοντο ἐν τῇ χώρῃ, ὃθεν περ καὶ Ἑλληνες ἤρξαντο νομίσθηναι. ὡστὶς δὲ τὰ Καβείρων ὀργία μεμύηται, τὰ Σαμοθρήκης ἐπιτελεύσι παραλαβόντες παρὰ Πελασγῶν, οὕτως ὄμηρ ὀδὸ τὸ λέγω τὴν γὰρ Σαμοθρήκην οἴκεον πρότερον Πελασγοὶ οὕτως οὐ περ Ἀθηναίοις σύνοικοι ἐγένοντο, καὶ παρὰ τούτων Σαμοθρήκης τὰ ὀργία παραλαμβάνουσι. ὀρθὰ δὲ ἔχειν τὰ αἱδοῖα τὰ ἀγάλματα τοῦ Ἐρμέω ’Ἀθηναίοι πρῶτοι Ἑλλήνων μαθέσαντες παρὰ Πελασγῶν ἐποίησαντο: οἱ δὲ Πελασγοὶ ἵνα τῶν λόγον περὶ αὐτοῦ ἔλεξαν, τὰ ἐν τοῖς ἐν Σαμοθρήκῃ μυστηρίωσι δεδῆλωται.

52. Ἐδυνον δὲ πάντα πρότερον οἱ Πελασγοὶ θεοῦσι ἐπευγόμενοι, ὡς ἐγώ ἐν Δωδώνη οἴδα ἀκούσαμεν.
already said, and Here, and Hestia, and Themis, and the Graces and the Nereids, the names of all the gods have ever existed in Egypt. I say but what the Egyptians themselves say. The gods whose names they say they do not know were, as I think, named by the Pelasgians, save only Poseidon, of whom they learnt knowledge from the Libyans. Alone of all nations the Libyans have had among them the name of Poseidon from the first, and they have ever honoured this god. The Egyptians did not so; nor do they worship heroes.

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

52. Formerly, in their sacrifices, the Pelasgians called upon gods (this I know, for I was told at
σαι, ἐπωνυμήν δὲ οὐδὲ ονομα ἐποιεύντο οὐδενί αὐτῶν· οὐ γὰρ ἄκηκος σάν καὶ θεοίς δὲ προσω-
νόμασαν σφέας ἀπὸ τοῦ τοιοῦτον, ὅτι κόσμῳ
θέντες τὰ πάντα πρήγματα καὶ πάσας νομᾶς
εἶχον. ἔπειτα δὲ χρόνου πολλοῦ διεξελθόντος
ἐπύθοντο ἐκ τῆς Διήγερτον ἀπικόμενα τὰ ονομάτα
tῶν θεῶν τῶν ἄλλων, Διονύσου δὲ ὑστερον πολλῷ
ἐπύθοντο. καὶ μετὰ χρόνου ἔχρηστηριάζοντο
περὶ τῶν οὐνοματών ἐν Δωδώνη τὸ γὰρ δὴ μαντήμαν
τοῦτο νεκρόσκεται ἄρχουσατον τῶν ἐν "Ελλησι
χρηστηρίων εἰσι, καὶ ἣν τὸν χρόνον τούτον μοῦ-
nόν. ἔπει δὲν ἔχρηστηριάζοντο ἐν τῇ Δωδώνη οἱ
Πελασγοὶ εἰ ἀνέλωσαν τὰ ονομάτα τὰ ἀπὸ τῶν
βαρβάρων ἦκοντα, ἀνεῖλε τὸ μαντήμαν χρᾶσθαι.
ἀπὸ μὲν δὴ τοῦτο τοῦ χρόνου ἐθνον τοῖς οὐνόμασι
τῶν θεῶν χρεύμενοι· παρὰ δὲ Πελασγῶν "Ελληνες
ἐξεδέξαυτο ὑστερον.

53. "Ενθεν δὲ ἐγένοντο έκαστος τῶν θεῶν, εἶτε
αιεί ἡμᾶς πάντες, ὅκοιοῦ συν τινὲς τὰ εἴδεα, οὐκ
ἡπιστεύσαν μέχριν οὐ πρώην τε καὶ χθεῖς ὡς εἰπεῖν
λόγω. Ἡσίοδον γὰρ καὶ "Ομηρον ἡλικίᾳ τεταρ-
κοσίοις ἐτεσί δοκέω μεν πρεσβυτέρους γενέσθαι
cαὶ οὐ πλέοσι· οὕτω δὲ εἰς ὅιοι ποιήσαντες θεο-
γονίῃ "Ελλησι καὶ τοίσι θεοίσι τὰς ἐπωνυμίας
δόντες καὶ τιμᾶς τε καὶ τέχνας διελόντες καὶ εἴδεα
αὐτῶν σημάννατες. οἱ δὲ πρότερον ποιηταί λεγό-
μενοι τούτων τῶν ἀνδρῶν γενέσθαι ὑστερον, ἔμοιγε
δοκέειν, ἐγένοντο. τούτων τὰ μὲν πρῶτα αἱ Δωδὼ-
νίδες ἱερεῖαι λέγουσι, τὰ δὲ ὑστερα τὰ ἐς Ἡσίοδὸν
τε καὶ "Ομηρον ἔχοντα ἐγὼ λέγω.

54. Χρηστηρίων δὲ περὶ τοῦ τε ἐν "Ελλησι καὶ
BOOK II. 52–54

Dodona) without giving name or appellation to any; for they had not as yet heard of such. They called them gods¹ because all things and the due assignment thereof were by them set in order. Then, after a long while, they learnt the names first of the rest of the gods, which came to them from Egypt, and, much later, the name of Dionysus; and presently they inquired of the oracle at Dodona concerning the names; for this place of divination is held to be the most ancient in Hellas, and at that time it was the only one. When the Pelasgians, then, inquired at Dodona if they should adopt the names that had come from foreign parts, the oracle bade them use the names. From that time onwards they used the names of the gods in their sacrifices; and the Greeks received these later from the Pelasgians.

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

54. But as concerning the oracles in Hellas, and

¹ On the supposition that θεός meant "a disposer," connected with θεσμός, τίθημι, etc.

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tou en Diβυη tonde Aigυπτion logos legouni. efasan oi irees tou Θηβαιos Dieis duo gynaikaas ireias ek Θηβων exachthnai upo Foinikwn, kai twn mēn autēwn puthēsai eis Diβυην prthēisan tihn dē eis tous "Ελληνας. taутas dē tais gynaikaas einai tais idrousamena ta mauntia prōtasa en tois eiρhmenois ētheni. eiρomēnous dē mev οκόθεn oútow ātrakeos ēpistamēnou leγouni, efasan prois taутa xhthsis megálhν aπo sfēnas genēsai twn gynaikōn toutēw, kai anevrein mev sfēnas ou dunatōi genēsai, puthēsai dē υστερon taутa perί autēwn tais dē ēlegon.

55. Taутa mēn wun twn en Θηβησι irēwν ήκουν, tāde dē Δωδωνaiων fasī ai proμantiesi duo peleiaadas melainas ek Θηβων twn Aigυπτiōn anaptaimēnas tihn mēn autēwn eis Diβυην tihn dē parα sfēnas ἀπικέσαι, iζomēnHEN dē mēn epī phηγων αυdakēsai phyn anbrwptēh ωs χρεων eis mauntiHn autōthi Dieis genēsai, kai autous upolabein theiōn eisai to ἐπαγγελλόμενον autoiHs, kai sfēnas ek touτou poiHsai. tihn dē eis touς Diβnas oHχos mēn peleiaadē leγouni Ἀμμωνος χρηστήρων keleūsai touς Diβnas poiēewn eisēi dē kai touτou Dieis. Δωδωνaiων dē ai irēiHs, tōn tῃ presbυtHtē ouvwma hν Proμēneia, tῃ dē metα tauntiHn Timarētē, tῃ dē neωtHtē Nικάνδρη, ēlegon tαутa συνυμβολογειον dē σφi kai oi állloi Δωδωνaioi oi peri to irōn.

56. "Εγω δὲ ἔχω περὶ αὐτῶν γνώμην τὴνδὲ: εἰ ἀληθέως οἱ Φοίνικες ἐξήγαγον τὰς ἰράς γυναίκας καὶ τὴν μὲν αὐτῶν ἐς Διβύην τὴν δὲ ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἀπέδωντο, δοκεῖν ἐμοί, ἡ γυνὴ αὕτη τῆς

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BOOK II. 54–56

that one which is in Libya, this is the account given by the Egyptians. The priests of Zeus of Thebes told me that two priestesses had been carried away from Thebes by Phoenicians; one of them (so, they said, they had learnt) was taken away and sold in Libya, and the other in Hellas; these women, they said, were the first founders of places of divination in the countries aforesaid. When I asked them how it was that they could speak with so certain knowledge, they said in reply that their people had sought diligently for these women, and had never been able to find them, but had learnt later the tale which was now told to me.

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

56. But this is my own belief about it. If the Phoenicians did in truth carry away the sacred women and sell one in Libya and one in Hellas, then to my thinking the part of what is now Hellas, but
Η Ελλάδα, πρώτην δε Πελασγίης καλεμένης τῆς αυτῆς ταύτης, πρηθήναι εσ Θεσπρωτούς, ἐπείτα δουλεύουσα αυτοθεί ἰδρύσασθαι ὑπὸ φηγῆ πεφυκῆς ἴρον Διός, ὥσπερ ἦν οἰκὸς ἀμφιπολεύουσαν ἐν Ἐθήσης ἴρον Διός, ἐνθὰ ἀπίκετο, ἐνθαῦτα μνήμην αὐτοῦ ἔχειν ἐκ δὲ τούτων χρηστήριον κατηγόρατο, ἐπεῖτε συνέλαβε τὴν Ἐλλάδα γλώσσαν φάναι δὲ οἱ ἄρνεθὲν ἐν Διβύῃ πεπρῆσθαι ὑπὸ τῶν αὐτῶν Φοινίκων ὑπ’ ἄν καὶ αὐτὴ ἐπρήθη.

57. Πελείαδες δὲ μοι δοκέουσι κληθήναι πρὸς Δωδοναίων ἐπὶ τούδε αἱ γυναῖκες, διότι βάρβαροι ἦσαν, ἐδόκεον δὲ σφι ὡμοίως ὀρνισι φθέγγεσθαι: μετὰ δὲ χρόνον τὴν πελείάδα ἀνθρωπηνή φωνὴ αὐθάξασθαι λέγουσι, ἐπείτε συνετὰ σφι ηὐδα η γυνη ἐως δὲ ἐβαρβάριζε, ὀρνισὶς τρόπου ἐδόκεε σφι φθέγγεσθαι, ἐπεὶ τέφ αν τρόπῳ πελείας γε ἀνθρωπηνή φωνὴ φθέγξαιτο μὲλαίνον ἰα λέγουτε είναι τὴν πελείάδα σημαινοῦσι ὅτι Αἰγυπτίη ἢ γυνη ἦν.

58. Ἡ δὲ μαντηνή ἢ τε ἐν Ἐθήσης τῆς Αἰγυπτίης καὶ ἐν Δωδονῇ παραπλήσιαι ἀλλήλησι πυγχάνουσι εὑσι. ἐστι δὲ καὶ τῶν ἱρῶν ἡ μαντικὴ ἀπ’ Αἰγύπτου ἀπιγμένη. πανηγύρις δὲ ἀρα καὶ πομπᾶς καὶ προσαγωγάς πρῶτοι ἀνθρώπων Ἀιγύπτιοι εἰσὶ οἱ ποιησάμενοι, καὶ παρὰ τούτων Ἔλληνες μεμαθήκασι. τεκμήριον δὲ μοι τούτων τὸδε αἱ μὲν γὰρ φαίνονται ἐκ πολλῶν τευ χρόνου ποιεύμεναι, αἱ δὲ Ἔλληνες νεώτεροι ἐπουρήθησαν.

59. Πανηγυρίζουσι δὲ Ἀιγύπτιοι οὐκ ἂπαξ τοῦ
BOOK II. 56–59

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

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

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

59. The Egyptians hold solemn assemblies not

¹ Perhaps Herodotus’ explanation is right. But the name “doves” may be purely symbolic; thus priestesses of Demeter and Artemis were sometimes called Bees.
HERODOTUS

ἐναυτοῦ, πανηγύρις δέ συχνάς, μάλιστα μὲν καὶ προθυμότατα ἐς Βούβαστιν πόλιν τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι, δεύτερα δὲ ἐς Βούσιριν πόλιν τῇ Ἰσι· ἐν ταύτῃ γὰρ δὴ τῇ πόλις ἐστὶ μέγιστον Ἰσιός ἵρον, ἰδρυται δὲ ἡ πόλις αὐτῇ τῆς Διόνυσίου ἑν μέσῳ τῷ Δέλτα· Ἰσις δὲ ἐστὶ κατὰ τὴν Ἑλλήνων γυλώσαν Δημή-τηρ. τρίτα δὲ ἐς Σάιν πόλιν τῇ Ἀθηναίη πανηγυρίζουσι, τέταρτα δὲ ἐς Ἡλίου πόλιν τῷ Ἡλίῳ, πέμπτα δὲ ἐς Βοιοτῶν πόλιν τῇ Δητοῖ, ἐκτα δὲ ἐς Πάπρημιν πόλιν τῷ Ἀρει.

60. Ἐς μὲν νυν Βούβαστιν πόλιν ἐπεῶν κομί-ξονται, ποιεῦσι τοιάδε. πλέουσι τε γὰρ δὴ ἀμα ἀνδρὲς γυναιξὶ καὶ πολλὸν τι πλῆθος ἐκατέρων ἐν εκάστῃ βάρι· αἱ μὲν τινὲς τῶν γυναικῶν κρόταλα ἔχουσιν κροταλίζουσι, οἱ δὲ αὐλέουσι κατὰ πάντα τὸν πλόον, αἱ δὲ λοιποὶ γυναῖκες καὶ ἀνδρὲς αἰείδουσι καὶ τὰς χεῖρας κροτέουσι. ἐπεάν δὲ πλέοντες κατὰ τινα πόλιν ἀλλήν γένωσται, ἐγχώμ-ψαις τὴν βάριν τῇ γῇ ποιεῦσι τοιάδε· αἱ μὲν τινὲς τῶν γυναικῶν ποιεῦσι τά περ εἰρηκα, αἱ δὲ τωθάξουσι βοῶσαι τάς ἐν τῇ πόλις ταύτη γυναῖκας, αἱ δὲ ὀρχέουσι, αἱ δὲ ἁνασύρονται ἁνιστάμεναι. ταῦτα παρὰ πάσαν πόλιν παραποταμήν ποιεῦσι· ἐπεάν δὲ ἀπίκονται ἐς τὴν Βούβαστιν, ὀρτάξουσι μεγάλαις ἀνάγοντες θυσίας, καὶ οἶνος ἀμπέλινος ἀνασύμβολος πλέων ἐν τῇ ὀρτή ἤ ἐν τῷ ἀπαντῷ ἐναυτῷ τῷ ἐπιλοίπῳ. συμφοιτῶσι δὲ, ὁ τι ἀνήρ καὶ γυνὴ ἐστὶ πλῆν παιδίων, καὶ ἐς ἑδομήκοντα μυριάδες, ως οἱ ἔπικεφονια λέγουσι.

61. Ταῦτα μὲν δὴ ταύτῃ ποιεῖται, ἐν δὲ Βουάιρι πόλι ὡς ἀνάγουσι τῇ Ἰσι τῇ ὀρτήν, εἰρηται πρότερον μοι· τύπτονται μὲν γὰρ δὴ μετὰ τὴν θυσίαν

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once in the year, but often. The chiefest of these and the most zealously celebrated is at the town of Bubastis\(^1\) in honour of Artemis, and the next is that in honour of Isis at Busiris. This town is in the middle of the Egyptian Delta, and there is in it a very great temple of Isis, who is in the Greek language, Demeter. The third greatest festival is at Sais in honour of Athene; the fourth is the festival of the sun at Heliopolis, the fifth of Leto at Buto, and the sixth of Ares at Paphremis.

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

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

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\(^1\) Bubastis in the Delta, the "city of Pasht," where the cat-headed goddess Pasht (identified by Herodotus with Artemis) was worshipped.
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πάντες καὶ πᾶσαι, μυριάδες κάρτα πολλαὶ ἀνθρώπων τὸν δὲ τύπτονται, οὐ μοι ὦςιν ἐστὶ λέγειν. ὦσιν δὲ Καρών εἰσὶ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ οἰκεῖοι, οὐτοὶ δὲ τοσοῦτο ἐτὶ πλέω ποιεῖσθι τούτων ὅσῳ καὶ τὰ μέτωπα κόπτονται μαχαίραις, καὶ τούτῳ εἰσὶ δήλοι ὅτι εἰσὶν ξείνων καὶ οὐκ Αἰγύπτιοι.

62. Ἐς Σάιν δὲ πόλιν ἔπεαν συλλεχθέωσι, τῆς θυσίας ἐν τῇ νυκτὶ λύχνα καίουσι πάντες πολλὰ υπαίθρια περὶ τὰ δώματα κύκλῳ τὰ δὲ λύχνα ἐστὶ ἐμβάφια ἔμπλεα ἀλὸς καὶ ἐλαίον, ἐπιπολῆς δὲ ἐπεστὶ αὐτῷ τὸ ἐλλύχυνον, καὶ τούτο καίεται παννύχιον, καὶ τῇ ὀρτῇ οὖνομα κέεται λυχνοκαΐη. οἱ δὲ ἄν μὴ ἔλθωσιν τῶν Αἰγυπτίων ἐς τὴν πανήγυριν ταῦτην, φυλάσσοντες τὴν νύκτα τῆς θυσίας καίουσι καὶ αὐτοὶ πάντες τὰ λύχνα, καὶ οὐτῶν οὐκ ἐν Σάιν μούνη καίεται ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀνὰ πᾶσαν Αἰγυπτίον. οὗτοι δὲ εἴνεκα φῶς ἔλαχε καὶ τιμὴν ἢ νῦξ αὐτῇ, ἐστὶ οἰρὸς περὶ αὐτοῦ λόγος λεγόμενος.

63. Ἐς δὲ Ἡλίου τε πόλιν καὶ Βουτοῦν θυσίας μούνας ἐπιτελέουσι φοιτεύτων. ἐν δὲ Παπρήμῳ θυσίας μὲν καὶ ἵρα κατὰ περ καὶ τῇ ἄλλῃ ποιεῖσθι εὖτ᾽ ἂν δὲ γηγηται καταφερῆς ὁ ἔλιος, ὦλυγοι μὲν τινὲς τῶν ἵρεων περὶ τῶν ἅγαλμα πεπονέαται, οἱ δὲ πολλοὶ αὐτῶν ἵμαλων κορύνας ἔχοντες ἐστάσις τοῦ Ἥρου ἐν τῇ ἑσόδῳ, ἀλλοὶ τε εὐχωλὰς ἐπιτελέουντες πλεῦρες χιλίων ἀνδρῶν, ἐκαστοὶ ἔχοντες ξύλα καὶ οὗτοι, ἐπὶ τὰ ἑτέρα ἄλλες ἐστάσις. τὸ δὲ ἀγαλμα ἐὼν ἐν νηφὶ μικρῷ ἵμαλῳ καταχρυσωμένῳ προ-

εκκομίζουσι τῇ προτεραίᾳ ἐς ἀλλο ὦσιμα ἢρον. οἱ μὲν δὴ ὦλυγοι οἱ περὶ τῶν ἅγαλμα λευκεμένοι ἔλκουσι τετράκυκλον ἀμαξὰν ἄγουσι τῶν ἦρων τε καὶ τὸ ἐν τῷ νηφὶ ἐνεῶν ἀγαλμα, οὐ δὲ οὐκ ἔστιν
BOOK II. 61–63

lament, in countless numbers; but it were profane for me to say who it is for whom they lament. Carian dwellers in Egypt do even more than this, for they cut their foreheads with knives; showing thereby, that they are not Egyptians but strangers.

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

63. When the people go to Heliopolis and Buto they offer sacrifice only. At Papremis sacrifice is offered and rites performed as elsewhere; but when the sun is sinking, while a few of the priests are left to busy themselves with the image, the greater number of them beset the entrance of the temple, with clubs of wood in their hands; they are confronted by more than a thousand men, all performing vows and all carrying wooden clubs like the rest. The image of the god, in a little wooden gilt casket, is carried on the day before this from the temple to another sacred chamber. The few who are left with the image draw a four-wheeled cart carrying it in its casket; the other priests stand in the temple porch and prevent its
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ἐν τοῖς προπυλαιοῖς ἐστεῶτες ἐσιέναι, οἱ δὲ εὐχαριστοῦν τιμωρεῖτε τῷ θεῷ παίουσι αὐτῶν ἀλεξομένους. ἐνθαῦτα μάχη ξύλοις καρτέρη γίνεται κεφαλάς τε συναράσσονται, καὶ ὡς ἐγὼ δοκεώ πολλοὶ καὶ ἀποθνῄσκοντο ἐκ τῶν τρώματοι οὐ μέντοι οἳ γε Αἰγύπτιοι ἔφασαν ἀποθνῄσκειν οὐδένα. τὴν δὲ πανήγυριν ταύτην ἐκ τούτων νομίσας φασὶ οἱ ἐπιχώριοι οἰκεῖεν ἐν τῷ ἱρῷ τούτῳ τοῦ Ἀρεος τὴν μητέρα, καὶ τὸν Ἀρέα ἀπότροφον γενόμενον ἔλθειν ἐξαιρωμένον ἔθελον τῇ μητρὶ συμμίξαι, καὶ τοὺς προπόλους τῆς μητρός, οἴα ὦν ὑπωπότας αὐτὸν πρότερον, οὐ περιορᾶν παρέναι ἄλλα ἄπερκειν, τὸν δὲ ἐξ ἄλλης τῶν ἀγαγόμενον ἀνθρώπους τοὺς τε προπόλους τρηχέως περισπεῖν καὶ ἐσελθεῖν παρὰ τὴν μητέρα. ἀπὸ τούτου τῷ Ἀρεί ταύτην τὴν πληγὴν ἐν τῇ ὀρτῇ νευμομέναν φοσὶ.

64. Καὶ τὸ μῆ κισγεσθαι γυναιξὶ ἐν ἱρὸις μηδὲ ἄλουτοι ἀπὸ γυναικῶν ἐς ἱρὰ ἐσιέναι οὕτως εἰσὶ οἱ πρῶτοι θρησκεύοντες. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἄλλοι σχεδὸν πάντες ἀνθρώπους, πλὴν Αἰγυπτίων καὶ Ἐλλήνων, μυστήριοι ἐν ἱροῖς καὶ ἀπὸ γυναικῶν ἀνιστάμενοι ἄλουτοι ἐσερχονται ἐς ἱρὸν, νομί-ζοντες ἀνθρώπους εἶναι κατὰ περὰ τὰ ἄλλα κτήνεα· καὶ γὰρ τὰ ἄλλα κτήνεα ὅραν καὶ ὑπνίδων γένεα ὁχεύμενα ἐν τοῖς τυχοῖ τοῖς θεῶν καὶ ἐν τοῖς τεμενεσιν· εἰ δὲν εἶναι τῷ θεῷ τούτῳ μη φίλον, οὐκ ἄν οὐδὲ τὰ κτήνεα ποιέειν. οὕτως μὲν σήμερον ἐπιλέγοντες ποιεῦσι ἐμοίῳ ὄντων ἀρετὰς· Αἰγύπτιοι δὲ θρησκεύοντες περισσῶς τὰ τοῖς περὶ τὰ ἱρὰ καὶ δῆ καὶ τάδε.

65. Ἑούσα ἡ Αἰγύπτιος ὁμοφορος τῇ Διβύη οὐ
entrance; the votaries take the part of the god, smite the priests, and are resisted. There is hard fighting with clubs, and heads are broken, and as I think (though the Egyptians told me no life was lost), many die of their wounds. The assemblage, say the people of the country, took its rise thus:—The mother of Ares dwelt in this temple; Ares had been reared away from her, and when he grew to manhood came to hold converse with his mother; but as her attendants, never having seen him before, kept him off and would not suffer him to pass, Ares brought men from another town, roughly handled the attendants, and gained access to his mother. From this, they say, arose this custom of a battle of blows at the festival.¹

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

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

¹ It is uncertain what Egyptian deity Herodotus identifies with Ares. In a Greek papyrus, “Ares” is the equivalent for the Egyptian Anhur, a god, apparently, not clearly differentiated from “Shu” or “Heracles.”
μάλα θηριώδης ἦστι· τὰ δὲ ἑόντα σφί ἀπανταὶ ἵρα νενόμεσται, καὶ τὰ μὲν σύντροφα αὐτοῖς τοῖς ἀνθρώποις, τὰ δὲ ὦν. τῶν δὲ εὐνεκεῖ ἀνεῖται τὰ θηρία ἵρα εἰ λέγοιμι, καταβαίνει ἄν τῷ λόγῳ ἐς τὰ θεία πρήγματα, τὰ ἐγὼ φεύγω μάλιστα ἀπηγέεσθαι· τὰ δὲ καὶ εἰρήκα αὐτῶν ἐπιψαύσας, ἀναγκαῖα καταλαμβανόμενος ἔπτων. νόμος δὲ ἐστὶν περὶ τῶν θηρίων ὅτε ἔχων μελεδωνοί ἀποδεδέχαται τῆς τροφῆς χωρίς ἐκάστοτε καὶ ἔρσενες καὶ θήλεια τῶν Ἀἵνυπτίων, τῶν παῖσι παρὰ πατρὸς ἐκδέκεται τῷ τιμήν. οὐ δὲ ἐν τῇ πόλις ἐκαστοὶ εὐχαί τάσδε σφί ἀποτελέουσιν· εὐχόμενον τῷ θεῷ τοῦ ἄν ἃ τὸ θηρίον, ξυρῶντες τῶν παιδίων ἢ πᾶσαν τὴν κεφαλήν ἢ τῇ ἡμοῦ ἢ τῷ τρίτον μέρος τῆς κεφαλῆς, ἵστασιν σταθμὸ πρὸς ἀργύρων τὰς τρίχας· τὸ δὲ ἐν ἐλκύσῃ, τούτο τῇ μελεδωνῷ τῶν θηρίων διδότην, ἢ δὲ ἀντ' αὐτοῦ τάμνουσα ἰχθύς παρέχει βορήν τοῖς θηρίοις. τροφὴ μὲν δὴ αὐτοῖς τοιαύτη ἀποδέχεσθαι· τὸ δὲ ἀν τις τῶν θηρίων τούτων ἀποκτείνῃ, ἦν μὲν ἐκών, θάνατος ἢ ζημία, ἦν δὲ ἀέκων, ἄποτεν ὡς ζημία τὴν ἄν ἡ ἑρέες ζάξωσαι. δὲ δὲ ἀν ἱσω ἢ ἱρήκα ἀποκτείνῃ, ἢν τε ἐκών ἢ τε ἀέκων, τεθνάναι ἀνάγκη.

66. Πολλάν δὲ ἑόντων ὀμοτρόφων τοῖς ἀνθρώ-ποισι θηρίων πολλῷ ἄν ἔτι πλέω ἐγώνοτοι, εἰ μὴ κατελάμβανε τοὺς αἰελουρίους τοῖς ἔπειραν τέκωσι αἰ θήλεαι, υἱκέτε φοιτέοισιν παρὰ τοὺς ἔρσενες· οὐ δὲ διδέχομαι μύσγεσθαι αὐτήσιν οὐκ ἔχουσι· πρὸς ὅν ταῦτα σοφίζονται τάδε· ἀρπά-ξοντες ἀπὸ τῶν θηλέων καὶ υπαιρεόμενοι τὰ τέκνα κτείνουσι, κτείνατες μέντοι οὐ πατεόνται· αἱ
not a country of many animals. All of them are held sacred; some of these are part of mens' households and some not; but were I to declare the reason why they are dedicated, I should be brought to speak of matters of divinity, of which I am especially unwilling to treat; I have never touched upon such save where necessity has compelled me. But I will now show how it is customary to deal with the animals. Men and women are appointed guardians to provide nourishment for each kind severally; a son inherits this office from his father. Townsmen in each place, when they pay their vows, make prayer to the god to whom the animal is dedicated, shaving the whole or the half or the third part of their children's heads, and weighing the hair in a balance against a sum of silver; then whatever be the weight in silver of the hair is given to the female guardian of the creatures, who buys fish with it and feeds them therewith. Thus is food provided for them. Whoever kills one of these creatures with intention is punished with death; if he kill by mischance he pays whatever penalty the priests appoint. Whoever kills an ibis or a hawk, with intention or without, must die for it.

66. There are many household animals; and there would be many more, were it not for what happens to the cats. When the females have kittened they will not consort with the males; and these seek them but cannot get their will of them; so their device is to steal and carry off and kill the kittens (but they do not eat what they have killed). The mothers,
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dὲ στερισκόμεναι τῶν τέκνων, ἄλλων δὲ ἐπιθυμέουσαι, οὕτω δὴ ἀπικνέονται παρὰ τοὺς ἔρσενας·
φιλότεκνοι γὰρ τὸ θηρίον. πυρκαίης δὲ γενομένης
θεῖα πρήγματα καταλαμβάνει τοὺς αἰέλουροις·
οἱ μὲν γὰρ Αἰγύπτιοι διαστάντες φυλακᾶς ἔχουσι
τῶν αἰέλουρων, ἀμελήσαντες σβεννύαι τὸ καιό-
μενον, οἱ δὲ αἰέλουροι διαδύνοντες καὶ ἔπερθρώ-
σκοντες τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἐσάλλονται ἐς τὸ πῦρ.
ταῦτα δὲ γινόμενα πένθεα μεγάλα τοὺς Αἰ-
γύπτιους καταλαμβάνει. ἐν ὑπόσι δὲ ἀν οἰκίοισι
αἰέλουρος ἀποθάνη ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτομάτου, οἱ ἑνοικέ-
οντες πάντες ἔμφωνται τὰς ὁφρύας μούνας, παρ'
ὑπόσι δὲ ἀν κύων, πᾶν τὸ σῶμα καὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν.

67. Ἀπάγονται δὲ οἱ αἰέλουροι ἀποδανόντες ἐς
ἱρᾶς στέγας, ἐνθα δάπτονται ταραχευθέντες, ἐν Βου-
βάστη πόλις· τὰς δὲ κύων ἐν τῇ ἐωτῶν ἐκαστοὶ πόλι
θάπτουσι ἐν ἑρήμοι θήκησι. διὸ δὲ αὐτῶς τῇς κυσὶ
οἱ ἱστεντοί δάπτονται. τὰς δὲ μυγαλὰς καὶ τοὺς
ἰρήκας ἀπάγοντος ὡς Βουτοῦν πόλιν, τὰς δὲ ἰβίς ἐς
Ἑρμέω πόλιν. τὰς δὲ ἀρκτοὺς έσούσας σπανίας
καὶ τοὺς λύκους οὐ πολλῷ τεφ ἐόντας ἀλωπέκων
μέζονας αὐτοῦ θάπτουσι τῇ ἀν εὑρεθέωσι κείμενοι.

68. Τῶν δὲ κροκοδίων φύσις ἐστὶ τούτη.
τοὺς χειμεριστάτους μήνας τέσσερας ἐσθίει οὐδέν,
ἐὼν δὲ τετράτους χερσαίοι καὶ λιμναῖοι ἐστὶ.
τίκτει μὲν γὰρ ὣδ᾽ ἐν γῆ καὶ ἐκλέπει, καὶ τὸ
πολλόν τῆς ὑμέρης διατρίβει ἐν τῷ ξήρῳ, τὴν
dὲ νύκτα πᾶσαν ὑπὸ τῷ ποταμῷ θερμότερον γὰρ
dὴ ἔστι τὸ ύδωρ τῆς τε αἰθρίας καὶ τῆς δρόσου.
πάντων δὲ τῶν ἡμείς ἅδε ἔσθη θυμητῶν τοῦτο ἐξ ἐλα-
χίστου μέγιστου γίνεται· τὰ μὲν γὰρ ὥδ᾽ χνέων
οὐ πολλῷ μέξονα τίκτει, καὶ ὁ νεοσσὸς κατὰ λόγον

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deprived of their young and desiring to have more will then consort with the males; for they are creatures that love offspring. And when a fire breaks out very strange things happen to the cats. The Egyptians stand round in a broken line, thinking more of the cats than of quenching the burning; but the cats slip through or leap over the men and spring into the fire. When this happens, there is great mourning in Egypt. Dwellers in a house where a cat has died a natural death shave their eyebrows and no more; where a dog has so died, the head and the whole body are shaven.

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

68. I will now show what kind of creature is the crocodile. For the four winter months it eats nothing. It has four feet, and lives both on land and in the water, for it lays eggs and hatches them out on land, and it passes the greater part of the day on dry ground, and the night in the river, the water being warmer than the air and dew. No mortal creature known to us grows from so small a beginning to such greatness; for its eggs are not much bigger than goose eggs, and the young crocodile is of a bigness answering
ΗΡΩΟΔΟΤΟΣ

tού φού γίνεται, αὐξανόμενος δὲ γίνεται καὶ ἐς ἐπτακαίδεκα πήχειας καὶ μέξων ἔτη. ἔχει δὲ ὀφθαλμοὺς μὲν ύός, ὀδόντας δὲ μεγάλους καὶ χαλούδοντας κατὰ λόγον τοῦ σώματος. γυλωσάν δὲ μοῦνον θηρίων οὐκ ἔφυσε, οὐδὲ κινεῖ τὴν κάτω γνάθον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦτο μοῦνον θηρίων τὴν ἄνω γνάθον προσάγει τῇ κάτω. ἔχει δὲ καὶ ὄψιν ὁ αριστερὸς καὶ δέρμα λεπίδωτον ἀρρηκτὸν ἐπὶ τοῦ νότου. τυφλὸν δὲ ἐν ύδατι, ἐν δὲ τῇ αἰθρίῃ ὀξυδερκέστατον. ἀτε δὴ ὅν ἐν ύδατι δίαιταν ποιεύμενον, τὸ στόμα ἐνδοθεῖν φορέει πάντων μεστὸν βδέλλαν. τὰ μὲν δὴ ἀλλὰ ὄρνεα καὶ θηρία φεύγει μιν, ὁ δὲ τροχίλος εἰρημαίον οὐκ ἐστι ἀτε ὥφελομένῳ πρὸς αὐτοῦ ἐπεάν γὰρ ἐστὶ τὴν γῆν ἕκβη ἐκ τοῦ ὕδατος ὁ κροκόδειλος καὶ ἔπε δοράξατο χάμη (ἔωθε γὰρ τούτο ὡς ἐπίπαν ποιεῖν πρὸς τὸν ξέφυρον), ἐνθαῦτα ὁ τροχίλος ἔσδονου ἐστὶ τὸ στόμα αὐτοῦ καταπίνει τὰς βδέλλας. δὲ ὥφελομένος ἦδεται καὶ οὕδεν σίνεται τὸν τροχίλον.

69. Τοῖς μὲν δὴ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων ἱροῖ εἰσθι οἱ κροκόδειλοι, τοῖς δὲ οὐ, ἀλλ’ ἄτε πολεμίους περιέπουν: οἱ δὲ περὶ τε Θῆβας καὶ τὴν Μοῖρος λίμνην οἰκέουτε καὶ κάρτα ἰησυχαίοι αὐτοὺς εἶναι ἱροῦς· ἐκ πάντων δὲ ἐνα ἐκάτεροι τρέφουσι κροκόδειλον δεδιδαγμένον εἶναι χειρωθέα, ἀρτήματα τε λίθων χυτὰ καὶ χρύσεα ἐς τὰ ὅτα ἐνθέντες καὶ ἀμφιδέας περὶ τοὺς ἐμπρόσθιον πόδας, καὶ συτία ἀποτακτὰ διδοῦτε καὶ ἱρίμα, καὶ περιέπουν ὡς κάλλιστα ζῶτας· ἀποθανόντας δὲ θάπτοντι ταραχέουσι ἐν ἱρήσι θήκησι. οἱ δὲ περὶ Ἐλε- φαντῖνην πόλιν οἰκέουτε καὶ ἐσθίουσι αὐτοὺς οὐκ ἤγεόμενοι ἱροῦς εἶναι. καλέονται δὲ οὐ κροκόδειλοι.
BOOK II. 68–69

thereto, but it grows to a length of seventeen cubits and more. It has eyes like pigs' eyes, and great teeth and tusks answering to the bigness of its body. It is the only animal that has no tongue. Nor does it move the lower jaw. It is the only creature that brings the upper jaw down upon the lower. It has also strong claws, and a scaly impenetrable hide on its back. It is blind in the water, but very keen of sight in the air. Since it lives in the water, its mouth is all full within of leeches. All birds and beasts flee from it, except only the sandpiper, with which it is at peace, because this bird does the crocodile a service; for whenever the crocodile comes ashore out of the water and then opens its mouth (and this it does for the most part to catch the west wind), the sandpiper goes into its mouth and eats the leeches; the crocodile is pleased by this service and does the sandpiper no harm.

69. Some of the Egyptians hold crocodiles sacred, others do not so, but treat them as enemies. The dwellers about Thebes and the lake Moeris deem them to be very sacred. There, in every place one crocodile is kept, trained to be tame; they put ornaments of glass and gold on its ears and bracelets on its forefeet, provide for it special food and offerings, and give the creatures the best of treatment while they live; after death the crocodiles are embalmed and buried in sacred coffins. But about Elephantine they are not held sacred, and are even eaten. The Egyptians do not call them crocodiles, but champsae.
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άλλα χάμψαι· κροκοδείλους δὲ Ἰωνεῖς ὄνταν μασαν, εἰκάζοντες αὐτῶν τὰ εἶδεα τοῦπαρὰ σφίσι ἀνωμένοις κροκοδείλους τοῖς ἐν τῇσι αἷμασιχί.

70. Ἄγραι δὲ σφέων πολλὰς κατεστάσας καὶ παντοῖας ὡς ἄνω ἔμοιγε δοκεῖς ἀξιωτάτη ἀπηγήσιος εἰναι ταύτην γράφω. ἐπειδὴ ἦτον ὑς δελεάσῃ περὶ ἁγιεορᾶμα μετεῖς ἐς μέσον τὸν ποταμὸν, αὐτὸς δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ χείλεος τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἔχων δέλπακα ζωῆν ταύτην ἥπτετε. ἐπακούσας δὲ τῆς φωνῆς ὁ κροκόδειλος ἔταξε κατὰ τὴν φωνὴν, ἐντυχὼν δὲ τῷ νότῳ καταπίνεις· οὐ δὲ ἔλκουσιν. ἐπειδὴ ἄξιον ἐξελκυσθῆ ἐς γῆν, πρῶτον ἀπάντων ὁ θηρευτὴς τηλῶ κατ’ ὁν ἔπλασε αὐτοῦ τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς. τοῦτο δὲ ποιήσας κάρτα εὔπετέως τὰ λοιπὰ χειροῦνται, μὴ ποιῆσας δὲ τοῦτο σὲ ἐντὸς.

71. Οἱ δὲ ἔπιστοι οἱ ποτάμων νομῖν μὲν τῷ Πατρηματῆ ἱρὸν ὡρίσε, τοῦτο δὲ ἀλλοισι Αἰγυπτίοισι οὐκ ἱρὸν. φύσιν δὲ παρέχονται ἱδέας τοιήδες· τετράπον ἔστιν διάγησιν, ὅπλαι βοῶς, σιμῶν, λοφίνα ἔχουν ἔπειποι, χαυλίόντας φαινοῦν, οὐρην ἔποιαι καὶ φωνήν, μέγαθος ὅσον τε βοῖς ὁ μεγιστός· τὸ δέρμα δὲ αὐτοῦ οὖτω δὴ τι παχὺ ἔστι ἄστι ἄνω γενομένου ἡυστὰ ποιείσθαι ἀκόντια ἐξ αὐτοῦ.

72. Γίνονται δὲ καὶ ἐνύδρεις ἐν τῷ ποταμῷ, τὰς ἱρὰς ἔγνυται εἰναι. νομίζουσι δὲ καὶ τῶν ἰχθύων τὸν καλεῦμενον λεπιδωτὸν ἱρὸν εἰναι καὶ τὴν ἔγχελυν, ἱροὺς δὲ τούπους τοῦ Νεῖλου φασὶ εἰναι, καὶ τῶν ὀρνίθων τοὺς χηναλώπεκας.

73. Ἐστι δὲ καὶ ἄλλος ὄρμος ἱρὸς, τὸ ὀξύνομα φοινίκε. ἐγὼ μὲν μιν ὦκ κεῖτον εἰ μὴ ὁςον γραφῆν καὶ γὰρ δὴ καὶ σπάνιος ἐπιϕοιτῆ σφί, δι’ ἐτέων, 358
BOOK II. 69-73

The Ionians called them crocodiles, from their likeness to the lizards which they have in their walls. 1

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

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

72. Otters also are found in the river, which the Egyptians deem sacred; and they hold sacred that fish too which is called the scale-fish, and the eel. These, and the fox-goose 2 among birds, are said to be sacred to the god of the Nile.

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

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

2 Or “Nile-goose.”
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ώς Ἡλιοπόλιται λέγουσιν, πεντακοσίων φοιτῶν
dὲ τότε φασὶ ἐπεάν οἱ ἀποθάνη ὁ πατήρ. ἔστι δὲ,
eἰ τῇ γραφῇ παρόμοιος, τοσόσδε καὶ τοιόσδε·
tὰ μὲν αὐτοῦ χρυσόκομα τῶν πτερῶν τὰ δὲ ἐρυθρὰ ἐς
tὰ μάλιστα· αἰετῶ περιγήσεσιν ὦμοιότατος καὶ τὸ
μέγαθος. τούτω δὲ λέγουσι μηχανᾶσθαι τάδε,
ἐμοὶ μὲν οὐ πιστὰ λέγοντες· ἐξ Ἀραβάθης ὦμοιο-
μενον ἐς τὸ ἱρὸν τοῦ Ἡλίου κομίζειν τὸν πατέρα ἐν
σμύρνῃ ἐμπλάσσοντα καὶ θάπτειν ἐν τοῦ Ἡλίου
τῷ ἱρῷ, κομίζειν δὲ οὕτω· πρώτον τῆς σμύρνης
ὡς πλάσσειν ὅσον τε δυνατός ἔστι φέρειν, μετὰ
dὲ πειρᾶσθαι αὐτὸ φορέοντα, ἔπεαν δὲ ἀπωπειρηθῆ,
οὕτω δὴ κοιλήσαντα τὸ ὕδω τοῦ πατέρα ἐς αὐτὸ
ἐνυθέναι, σμύρνη δὲ ἀλλὴ ἐμπλάσσειν τούτῳ κατ'
ὁ τοῦ ὕδω ἐκκοιλήσας ἐνέθηκε τὸν πατέρα· ἐσκειμένου δὲ τοῦ πατρὸς γίνεσθαι τῶντο βάρος·
ἐμπλάσαντα δὲ κομίζειν μὲν ἔστ' Ἀλυπτοῦ ἐς τοῦ
Ἡλίου τὸ ἱρὸν. ταῦτα μὲν τούτων τὸν ὅρνην
λέγουσι ποιεῖν.

74. Εἰσὶ δὲ περὶ Θῆβας ἱρόι ὄφεις, ἀνθρώπων
οὐδαμῶς δηλήμονες, οὐ μεγάθει ἔόντες μικροὶ δύο
κέρεα φορέουσι πεφυκότα ἐξ ἀκρης τῆς κεφαλῆς
tούς θάπτουσι ἀποθανόντας ἐν τῷ ἱρῷ τοῦ Διὸς·
tούτου γὰρ σφέας τοῦ θεοῦ φασὶ εἶναι ἱροῖς.

75. Ἐστὶ δὲ χῶρος τῆς Ἀραβίας κατὰ Βούτοῦν
τόλιν μάλιστα κή κείμενος, καὶ ἐς τούτῳ τὸ χωρίον
ἡλθον πυθανόμενοι περὶ τῶν πτερῶν ὀφίων· ἀπικόμενος δὲ εἴδων ὀστεά ὀφίων καὶ ἀκάνθας
πληθεὶς μὲν ἀδύνατα ἀπηχήσασθαι, σωροὶ δὲ ἦσαν ἀκανθέων καὶ μεγάλων καὶ ὑποδέστεροι καὶ ἐλάσ-
σους ἐτε τούτων, πολλοὶ δὲ ἦσαν οὕτωι. ἔστι δὲ
ὁ χῶρος οὕτως, ἐν τῷ αἱ ἀκανθαι κατακεχύσαται,
once in five hundred years, as the people of Heliopolis say. It is said that the phoenix comes when his father dies. If the picture truly shows his size and appearance, his plumage is partly golden and partly red. He is most like an eagle in shape and bigness. The Egyptians tell a tale of this bird's devices which I do not believe. He comes, they say, from Arabia bringing his father to the Sun's temple enclosed in myrrh, and there buries him. His manner of bringing is this: first he moulds an egg of myrrh as heavy as he can carry, and when he has proved its weight by lifting it he then hollows out the egg and puts his father in it, covering over with more myrrh the hollow in which the body lies; so the egg being with his father in it of the same weight as before, the phoenix, after enclosing him, carries him to the temple of the Sun in Egypt. Such is the tale of what is done by this bird.

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

75. Not far from the town of Buto, there is a place in Arabia to which I went to learn about the winged serpents. When I came thither, I saw innumerable bones and backbones of serpents; many heaps of backbones there were, great and small and smaller still. This place, where lay the backbones
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toióde tis, ἐσβολὴ εἶ ὀρέων στεινῶν ἐς πεδίων μέγα, τὸ δὲ πεδίον τούτο συνάπτει τῷ Ἁἰγυπτίῳ πεδίῳ. λόγος δὲ ἐστὶ ἁμα τῷ ἕαρι πτερωτοῦς ὁφις ἐκ τῆς Ἀραβίης πέτεσθαι ἐπ' Ἀιγύπτου, τὰς δὲ ἶβις τὰς ὄρνιθας ἀπαντῶσας ἐς τὴν ἐσβολὴν ταύτης τῆς χώρης οὐ παρεῖναι τοὺς ὁφις ἀλλὰ κατακτεῖνειν. καὶ τὴν ἶβιν διὰ τούτο τὸ ἔργον τετιμῆσθαι λέγουσι Ἀραβίων μεγάλως πρὸς Ἁἰγυπτίων ὁμολογέουσι δὲ καὶ Ἁἰγύπτιοι διὰ ταῦτα τιμῶν τὰς ὄρνιθας ταύτας.

76. Εἰδος δὲ τῆς μὲν ἴβιος τόδε· μέλαινα δεινῶς πᾶσα, σκέλεα δὲ φορείς γεράνου, πρόσωπον δὲ ἐς τὰ μάλιστα ἐπάγρυντον, μέγαθος ὅσον κρέξ. τῶν μὲν δὴ μελανεῶν τῶν μαχομενέων πρὸς τοὺς ὁφις ἢδε ἴδε, τῶν δὲ ἐν ποὺλ μᾶλλον εἰλευμενέων τοῖς ἀνθρώποις (διὰ πόρο δὴ εἰσὶ ἴβιες) ψῆλη τῆς κεφαλῆς καὶ τῆς δειρῆς πᾶσαν, λευκὴ πτεροίς πλὴν κεφαλῆς καὶ αὐγένος καὶ ἀκρέων τῶν πτερύγων καὶ τοῦ πυγαίου ἄκρου (ταῦτα δὲ τὰ εἴπον πάντα μέλαια ἐστὶ δεινῶς), σκέλεα δὲ καὶ πρόσωπον ἐμφερῆς τῇ ἐτέρῃ. τοῦ δὲ ὁφιος ἡ μορφή οὐ περ τῶν ὑδραν, πτίλα δὲ οὐ πτερωτὰ φορείς ἀλλὰ τοῖς τῆς νυκτερίδος πτεροίς μᾶλιστα κῇ ἐμφερέστατα.

Τοσαύτα μὲν θηρίων περὶ ἱρῶν εἰρήσθω.

77. Αὐτῶν δὲ δὴ Ἁἰγυπτίων οἱ μὲν περὶ τὴν σπειρομένην Ἁἰγυπτοῦ οἰκεῖον, μνήμην ἀνθρώπων πάντων ἐπασκέντας μάλιστα λογισμάτων εἰς μακρῷ τῶν ἐγὼ ἐς διάπειραν ἀπικόμην, τρόπῳ δὲ ξύνης τοῦθε διαχρέωνται· συμμαχεύουσι τρεῖς ἡμέρας ἐπεξῆς μηνὸς ἐκάστου, ἐμέτοικοι θηρίωμενοι τὴν ὑγείαν καὶ κλύσμασι, νομίζοντες ἀπὸ τῶν τρε-
scattered, is where a narrow mountain pass opens into a great plain, which is joined to the plain of Egypt. Winged serpents are said to fly at the beginning of spring, from Arabia, making for Egypt; but the ibis birds encounter the invaders in this pass and kill them. The Arabians say that the ibis is greatly honoured by the Egyptians for this service, and the Egyptians give the same reason for honouring these birds.

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

I have now said enough concerning creatures that are sacred.

77. Among the Egyptians themselves, those who dwell in the cultivated country are the most careful of all men to preserve the memory of the past, and none whom I have questioned have so many chronicles. I will now speak of the manner of life which they use. For three following days in every month they purge themselves, pursuing after health by means of emetics and drenches; for they think
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φόντων σιτίων πάσας τὰς νοῦσους τοῖς ἀνθρώποις γίνεσθαι. εἰς ἕνες γὰρ καὶ ἄλλας Αἰγύπτιοι μετὰ Δέβνας ὑγιηρέστατοι πάντων ἀνθρώπων τῶν ὄφεων δοκεέω ἐμοὶ εἶνεκα, ὅτι οὐ μεταλλάσσοντι αἱ ὅραι ἐν γὰρ τῇ σεματολογίᾳ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις αἱ νοῦσαι μάλιστα γίνονται τῶν τε ἄλλων πάντων καὶ δὴ καὶ τῶν ὄρεων μάλιστα. ἄρτοφαγεούσι δὲ ἐκ τῶν ὀλυρέων ποιεῦντες ἄρτους, τοὺς ἐκείνους κυνήγησις ὀνομάζοντι. οὐνὶ δὲ ἐκ κριθέων πεποιημένων διαχρέωνται οὐ γὰρ σφε εἰς ἐν τῇ χώρῃ ἀμπελοί. ἵχθυον δὲ τοὺς μὲν πρὸς ἥλιον αὖναντες ὕμοις σιτέονται, τοὺς δὲ ἐξ ἄλμης τεταρείχευμένους. ὄρνιθων δὲ τοὺς τε ὀρτυγας καὶ τὰς νῆσσας καὶ τὰ μικρὰ τῶν ὄρνιθων ὑμα σιτέονται προπαρείχεσάντες. τὰ δὲ ἄλλα ὅσα ἢ ὄρνιθων ἢ ἵχθυων σφε ἐστὶ ἐχόμενα, χωρὶς ὡσοὶ σφε ἰροί ἀποδεδέχαται, τοὺς λοιποὺς ὅπτοις καὶ ἐφθοὺς σιτέονται.

78. Ἐν δὲ τῇ συνουσίᾳ τοῖς εὐδαίμοσι αὐτῶν, ἐπειδὴ ἀπὸ δείπνου γένωνται, περιφέρει ἀνὴρ νεκρὸν ἐν σορῷ ξυλινον πεποιημένον, μεμημένον ἐς τὰ μάλιστα καὶ γραφὴ καὶ ἔργῳ, μέγαθος ὅσον τε πηχυαιοῦν ἢ δίπηχυν, δεικνύς δὲ ἐκάστῳ τῶν συμποτέων λέγει "Ἐς τοῦτῳ ὄρεων πῖνε τε καὶ τέρπεν. ἐσεῖ ἤγαρ ἀποθανὸν τοιοῦτος." ταῦτα μὲν παρὰ τὰ συμπόσια ποιεῦσι.

79. Πατρίοισι δὲ χρεώμενοι νόμοισι ἄλλους ὀυ- δένα ἐπικτῶνται. τοῖς ἄλλα τε ἐπάξια ἐστὶ νό- μιμα, καὶ δὴ καὶ ἀείσμα ἐν ἐστὶ, Δίνος, ὅσπερ ἐν τῇ Φοινίκῃ ἀοίδιμος ἐστὶ καὶ ἐν Κύπρῳ καὶ ἄλλῃ, κατὰ

1 MSS. πάντη πηχυαιοῦν; Stein brackets πάντη, "a cubit's length every way" being unintelligible here.

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BOOK II. 77-79

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

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

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

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\(^1\) Loaves twisted to a point, apparently.

\(^2\) This is the hymn for a slain youth (said to typify the departure of early summer), Thammuz, Atys, Hylas, or Linus; the Semitic refrain \textit{ai lenu}, "alas for us," becomes the Greek \textit{a\ls k\ls vos}, from which comes the name Linus.
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μέντοι ἑθναὶ οὐνομα ἔχει, συμφέρεται δὲ ὅπως εἶναι τὸν οἰ "Ελληνες Λίνον ὀνομάζοντες ἀείδουσιν, ὥστε πολλὰ μὲν καὶ ἄλλα ἀποθωμάζειν μὲ τῶν περὶ Αἰγύπτου ἔντον, ἐν δὲ δὴ καὶ τὸν Λίνον ὁκόθεν ἔλαβον τὸ οὖνομα· φαίνονται δὲ αἱεὶ κοτε τούτων ἀείδουστε. ἔστι δὲ Αἰγυπτιστὶ ὁ Λίνος καλεύμενος Μανερώς. ἐφασαν δὲ μὲν Αἰγύπτιοι τοῦ πρῶτον βασιλεύσαντος Αἰγύπτου παῖδα μονογενέα γενέσθαι, ἀποθανόντα δὲ αὐτῶν ἁνωρον θρήνοις τούτοις ὑπὸ Αἰγυπτίων τιμηθῆναι, καὶ αὐτῶν τε ταύτην πρώτην καὶ μοῦνην σφίσι γενέσθαι.

80. Συμφέρεονται δὲ καὶ τὸδε ἄλλο Αἰγύπτιοι Ἐλλήνων μοῦνοι Δακεδαμονίοισι· οἱ νεώτεροι αὐτῶν τοῖς προσβυτέροις συνηγχάνοντες εἴκουσι τῆς ὁδοῦ καὶ ἐκτράπονται καὶ ἐπιούσι ἐξ ἔδρης ὑπανισταται. τὸδε μέντοι ἄλλοις Ἐλλήνων οὐδαμοῖς συμφέρονται· ἀντὶ τοῦ προσαγορεύειν ἀλλήλους ἐν τῇς ὁδοῖς ὑποτεύχουσι κατείντες μέχρι τοῦ γούνατος τῆς χείρα.

81. Ἐνδεδύκασι δὲ κινούσας λινέους περὶ τὰ σκέλα θυσανωτοὺς, τοὺς καλέουσι καλασίρις· ἐπὶ τούτους δὲ εἰρίνεια εἰματα λευκὰ ἐπαναβλήθον φορέοντι. οὐ μεντοὶ ἐγε τὰ ἱρὰ ἐσφέρεται εἰρίνεια οὐδὲ συγκαταθάπτεται σφί. οὐ γὰρ ὁσιον. ομολογεύοντι δὲ ταύτα τούς Ὅρφικοις καλεϊμένοις καὶ Βακχικοῖς, ἔοις δὲ Αἰγυπτίοις καὶ Πυθαγορείοις· οὐδὲ γὰρ τούτων τῶν ὀργίων μετέχοντα ὁσιον ἐστὶ ἐν εἰρμέοις εἰμασι θαφθῆναι. ἔστι δὲ περὶ αὐτῶν ἱρὸς λόγος λεγόμενος.

82. Καὶ τάδε ἄλλα Αἰγυπτίοις ἐστὶ ἐξευρημένα, μεῖς τε καὶ ἡμέρη ἐκάστη θέων ὅτεν ἔστι, 366
and elsewhere; each nation has a name of its own for this, but it is the same song that the Greeks sing, and call Linus; wherefore it is to me one of the many strange things in Egypt, whence the Egyptians got the name. Plainly they have ever sung this song; the name for Linus in Egyptian is Maneros.\footnote{Maneros, probably from the refrain \textit{ma-n-hra}, “come back to us.”} The Egyptians told me that Maneros was the only son of their first king, who died untimely, and this dirge was sung by the Egyptians in his honour; and this, they said, was their earliest and their only chant.

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

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

82. I pass to other inventions of the Egyptians. They assign each month and each day to some god;
καὶ τῇ ἔκαστος ἡμέρῃ γενόμενος ὅτεοις ἐγκυρῆσει καὶ ὅκως τελευτήσει καὶ ὅκως τις ἔσται. καὶ τούτοις τῶν Ἐλλήνων οἱ ἐν ποιήσιν γενόμενοι ἔχονσαντο. τέρατα τε πλέω σφί ἀνεύρηται ἢ τούτη ἀλλοισί ἀπασί ἀνθρώποις γενομένος γὰρ τέρατος φυλάσσονται γραφόμενοι τῶποβαίνον, καὶ ἢν κοτε ὕστερον παραπλήσιον τούτῳ γένηται, κατὰ τῶντο νομίζουσι ἀποβήσεσθαι.

83. Μαντικὴ δὲ αὐτοῦσι ὠδὲ διακέεται ἀνθρώπων μὲν οὐδεὶς προσκέεται ἡ τέχνη, τῶν δὲ θεῶν μετεξετέρωσι καὶ γὰρ Ἡρακλέος μαντήσις αὐτόθι ἔστι καὶ Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ Ἀθηναίης καὶ Ἀρτέμιδος καὶ Ἀρεος καὶ Δίος, καὶ τὸ γε μάλιστα ἐν τιμῇ ἀγονταί πάντων τῶν μαντήσις, Δητοῦς ἐν Βούτοῖ πόλει ἔστι. οὐ μέντοι αἱ γε μαντησίας φι κατὰ τῶντο ἐστάσι, ἀλλὰ διάφοροι εἰσὶ.

84. Ἡ δὲ ἱερικὴ κατὰ τάδε σφὶ δέδασται μής νοῦσον ἔκαστος ἱερός ἔστι καὶ οὐ πλεόνα. πάντα δὲ ἱερων ἔστι πλέαν οὐ μὲν γὰρ ὄρθωσίν ἱερων καταστάσι, οὐ δὲ κεφαλῆς, οὐ δὲ οἴνων, οὐ δὲ τῶν κατὰ νηδών, οὐ δὲ τῶν ἀφανέων νοῦσων.

85. Ὁρὴνοι δὲ καὶ ταφαὶ σφεῶν εἰσὶ αἶδε τοῦτο ἄν ἀπογένεται ἐκ τῶν οἰκίων ἀνθρώπως τοῦ τις καὶ λόγος ἐς τὸ θῆλυ γένος πάν τὸ ἐκ τῶν οἰκίων τούτων κατ᾽ ἐπιπάσατο τὴν κεφαλὴν πηλῷ ἢ καὶ τὸ πρόσωπον, καὶ μετατὰ ἐν τούτοις οἰκίοις λιποῦσαι τὸν νεκρὸν αυτὰ ἀνὰ τὴν πόλιν στροφῶσιν τυπτούσαι ἐπεξώσμεναι καὶ φαίνουσαι τοὺς μαξούς, σὺν δὲ σφὶ αἱ προσήκουσαι πᾶσαι, ἐτέρωθεν δὲ οἱ ἀνδρεῖς, τυπτούσαι ἐπεξωμένοι καὶ οὕτωι ἐπεάν δὲ ταύτα ποιῆσομε, οὕτως ἐς τὴν ταρίχευσιν κομίζομε.
they can tell what fortune and what end and what disposition a man shall have according to the day of his birth. This has given material to Greeks who deal in poetry. They have made themselves more omens than all other nations together; when an ominous thing happens they take note of the outcome and write it down; and if something of a like kind happen again they think it will have a like result.

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

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

85. They mourn and bury the dead as I will show. Whenever a man of note is lost to his house by death, all the womenkind of the house daub their faces or heads with mud; then, with all the women of their kin, they leave the corpse in the house, and roam about the city lamenting, with their garments girt round them and their breasts showing; and the men too lament in their place, with garments girt likewise. When this is done, they take the dead body to be embalmed.
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86. Εἰςι δὲ οἳ ἐπ' αὐτῶ τούτῳ κατέσται καὶ τέχνην ἔχουσι ταύτην. οὐτοὶ, ἐπείραν σφί κομῳδῇ νεκρός, δεικνύουσι τοῖς κομίσασι παραδέχοματα νεκρῶν ξύλων, τῇ γραφῇ μεμιμημένα

1... καὶ τὴν μὲν σπουδαιοτάτην αὐτέων φασί εἶναι τοῦ οὗκ ὅσιον ποιεύματο τὸ οὖνομα ἐπὶ τοιοῦτῳ πρήγματι ὁμομαζέων, τὴν δὲ δευτέρην δεικνύουσι ὑποδεικτέρην τε ταύτης καὶ εὐτελεστέρην, τὴν δὲ τρίτην εὐτελεστάτην φράσαντες δὲ πυθαγωνοντα παρ' αὐτῶν κατὰ ἥμων βούλοντας σφί σκευασθήναι τῶν νεκρῶν. οὐ μὲν δὴ ἐκποδῶν μισθῷ ὁμολογησάντες ἀπαλλάσσονται, οὐ δὲ ὑπολειπόμενοι ἐν σίκκήμασι δόδε τὰ σπουδαιότατα ταραχεύοντι. πρῶτα μὲν σκολιῶ σιδήρῳ διὰ τῶν μυξώτηρων ξέαγουσι τῶν ἐγκέφαλοι, τὰ μὲν αὐτοῖς οὗτοι ξέαγοντες, τὰ δὲ ἐγχέοντες φάρμακα. μετὰ δὲ λίθῳ Αἰθιοπίκῳ ὅξει παρασχίσαντες παρὰ τὴν λαπάρην εἴξων εἰδον τὴν κοιλίην πᾶσαιν, ἐκκαθήραντες δὲ αὐτήν καὶ διηθήσαντες οὖν ψυκτήριον αὐτός διηθέουσι θυμήσασθαι τετριμμένοις. ἐπείτα τὴν ηλικίαν σμύρνης ἀκηράτου τετριμμένης καὶ κασίμης καὶ τῶν ἀλλων θυμημάτων, πλὴν λεβανωτοῦ, πλήραντες συρράπτουσι ὑπόσω. ταύτα δὲ ποιήσαντες ταριχεύοντο λίτρῳ κρύσαντες ἥμερας ἐβδομήκοντα. πλεύναις δὲ τούτων οὐκ ἔξετι ταριχεύειν. ἔπειν δὲ παρέλθωσι αἰ ἐβδομήκοντα, λῶσαντες τῶν νεκρῶν κατελίσσουσι πᾶν αὐτοῦ τὸ σῶμα σινδόνος βυσσίνης τελαμῶν κατατετμημένους, ὑποχρόντες τῷ κόμμι, τῷ δὲ ἀντὶ κόλλης τὰ πολλὰ χρέωνται Αἰγύπτιοι. ἐνθεῦσαν δὲ παραδεξάμενοι μνὶ οἱ προσήκοντες ποιεύνται ξύλων τύπων ἀνθρωποειδέα, ποιησάμενοι δὲ

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

87. Οὕτω μὲν τοὺς τὰ πολυτελέστατα σκευάζουσι νεκροὺς, τοὺς δὲ τὰ μέσα βουλομένους τὴν δὲ πολυτελείαν φεύγοντας σκευάζουσι ὥστε· ἐπεάν τοὺς κλυστήρας πλήσωσαι τοῦ ἀπὸ κέδρον ἀλείφατος γυνομένον, ἐν ὸν ἐπλησαν τοῦ νεκροῦ τῆς κοιλίης, οὔτε ἀναταμώντες αὐτὸν οὕτε ἐξελόντες τὴν νηδύν, κατὰ δὲ τὴν ἔδρην ἐσηθήσαντες καὶ ἐπιλαβόντες τὸ κλύσμα τῆς ὁπίσω ὀδοῦ ταριχεύσοντι τὰς προκειμένας ἡμέρας, τῇ δὲ τελευταίᾳ ἐξείωσι ἐσ τῆς κοιλίης τὴν ἑσκῆν τῶν πρότερον. ἢ δὲ ἔχει τοσαύτην δύναμιν ὠστε ἀμα ἐωτικὴ τὴν νηδύν καὶ τὰ σπλάγχνα κατατέθηκοτα ἐξάγαγε τὰς δὲ σάρκας τὸ λίθρον κατατήκηκε, καὶ δὴ λείπεται τοῦ νεκροῦ τὸ δέρμα μούνον καὶ τὰ ὀστέα. ἔπεαν δὲ ταῦτα ποιήσωσιν, ἀπ' ὄν ἐδωκαν οὕτω τὸν νεκρὸν, οὐδὲν ἔτι πρηγματευθέντες.

88. Ἡ δὲ τρίτη ταριχεύσις ἐστὶ ήδε, ἢ τοὺς χρήμασι ἀσθενεστέρους σκευάζει· συρμαίνῃ διηθήσαντες τὴν κοιλίην ταριχεύσοντι τὰς ἐβδομήκοντα ἡμέρας καὶ ἔπειτα ἀπ' ὄν ἐδωκαν ἀποφέρεσθαι.

89. Τὰς δὲ γυναίκας τῶν ἐπιφανέων ἀνδρῶν, ἐπεάν τελευτήσωσι, οὐ παραντίκα διδοῦσι ταριχεύειν, οὐδὲ δοσιν ἀν ἔωσι ἐνείδες κάρτα καὶ λόγον πλεύνοις γυναίκες· ἀλλ' ἐπεὰν τριταία ἢ τεταρταία γένωνται, οὕτω παραδίδοσι τοὺς ταριχεύσοντι. τοῦτο δὲ ποιεύσι οὕτω τούδε εὐνεκεν, ἣν μή σφι οἱ ταριχευταί μίσησβον τῇσι γυναῖξι· λαμφθήναι γὰρ τινὰ φασί μισθόμενον νεκρῳ προσφάτῳ γυναίκος, κατείπειν δὲ τὸν ὀμότεχνον.

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which they enclose the corpse, shut it up, and preserve it safe in a coffin-chamber, placed erect against a wall.

87. This is how they prepare the dead who have wished for the most costly fashion¹; those whose wish was for the middle and less costly way are prepared in another fashion. The embalmers charge their syringes with cedar oil and therewith fill the belly of the dead man, making no cut, nor removing the intestines, but injecting the drench through the anus and checking it from returning; then they embalm the body for the appointed days; on the last day they let the oil which they poured in pass out again. It has so great power that it brings away the inner parts and intestines all dissolved; the flesh is eaten away by the saltpetre, and in the end nothing is left of the body but skin and bone. Then the embalmers give back the dead body with no more ado.

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

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

¹ τοὺς τὰ πολυτελέστατα, sc. βυλομένους.
90. "Ως δ' ἂν ἂν αὐτῶν Ἀιγυπτίων ἡ ξείνων ὤμοις ὑπὸ κροκοδείλου ἀρπασθείς ἢ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ ποταμοῦ φαίνηται τεθνεώς, κατ' ἤν ἂν πόλιν ἕξενειχθῇ, τούτους πᾶσα ἀνάγκη ἔστι ταριχεύσαντα αὐτὸν καὶ περιστελλάντας ὥς κάλλιστα θάψαι ἐν ἴρῃ θήκης· οὐδὲ ψάψαι ἔξεστι αὐτοῦ ἄλλον οὐδένα οὔτε τῶν προσηκόντων οὔτε τῶν φίλων, ἀλλὰ μὲν αἱ ἱρεῖς αὐτοῖ τοῦ Νείλου ἄτε πλέον τι ἡ ἀνθρώπου νεκρῶν χειραπτάξουσις θάπτουσιν.

91. Ἐλληνικοὶ δὲ νομαίοις φεύγοις χράσθαι, τὸ δὲ σύμπαν εἰπεῖν, μηδ' ἄλλων μηδαμᾶ μηδαμῶν ἀνθρώπων νομαίοισι. οἱ μὲν νυν ἄλλοι Αἰγυπτιοὶ οὔτω τούτω φυλάσσουσιν, ἔστι δὲ Χέμμως πόλις μεγάλη νομοῦ τοῦ Θηβαίου ἐγγὺς Νέης πόλιος· ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ πόλι ἐστὶ Περσέως τοῦ Δανάης ἴρῳ τετράγωνῳ, πέριξ δὲ αὐτοῦ φοίνικες πεφύκασι. τὰ δὲ πρόπυλα τοῦ ἴρου λίθων ἐστὶ κάρτα μεγάλα· ἕπτὰ δὲ αὐτοῦ ἀνδριάντες δύο ἐστάσι λίθων μεγάλοι. ἐν δὲ τῷ περιβεβλημένῳ τούτῳ νησί τε ἔννεπτα καὶ ἁγάλμα ἐν αὐτῷ ἐνέστηκε τοῦ Περσέως. οὕτως οἱ Χεμμῖται λέγουσι τὸν Περσέα πολλάκις μὲν ἀνὰ τὴν γῆν φαίνεσθαι σφι πολλάκις δἐ ἔσω τοῦ ἴρου, σαυδάλιον τε αὐτοῦ πεφορημένου εὐρίσκεσθαι ἐν τῷ μέγαθος δῖππῳ τῷ ἐπεάν φανῇ, εὐθηνεῖν ἀπασαν Ἀιγυπτοῦ. ταῦτα μὲν λέγουσι, ποιοῦσι δὲ τάδε Ἐλληνικὰ τῷ Περσείῳ ἀγώνα γυμνικὸν τιθεῖσι διὰ πάσης ἀγωνίας ἔχοντα, παρέχουσε άθλη νήγεα καὶ χλαίνας καὶ δέρματα. εἰρομένου δὲ μὲν ὁ τι σφι μούνοις ἐξωθε ὁ Περσεύς ἐπιφαίνεσθαι καὶ ὁ τι κεχωρίδαται Ἀιγυπτίων τῶν ἄλλων ἁγώνα γυμνικὸν τιθέντες, 374
90. When anyone, be he Egyptian or stranger, is known to have been carried off by a crocodile or drowned by the river itself, such an one must by all means be embalmed and tended as fairly as may be and buried in a sacred coffin by the townsmen of the place where he is cast up; nor may any of his kinsfolk or his friends touch him, but his body is deemed something more than human, and is handled and buried by the priests of the Nile themselves.

91. The Egyptians shun the use of Greek customs, and (to speak generally) the customs of any other men whatever. Yet, though the rest are careful of this, there is a great city called Chemmis, in the Theban province, near the New City; in this city is a square temple of Perseus son of Danae, in a grove of palm trees. The colonnade before this temple is of stone, very great; and there stand at the entrance two great stone statues. In this outer court there is a shrine with an image of Perseus standing in it. The people of this Chemmis say that Perseus is often seen up and down this land, and often within the temple, and that the sandal he wears is found, and it is two cubits long; when that is seen, all Egypt prospers. This is what they say; and their doings in honour of Perseus are Greek, in that they celebrate games comprising every form of contest, and offer animals and cloaks and skins as prizes. When I asked why Perseus appeared to them alone, and why, unlike all other Egyptians, they celebrate games,
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ἐφασαν τὸν Περσέα ἐκ τῆς ἐωτοῦ πόλιος γεγο-νέαι τὸν γάρ Δαναόν καὶ τὸν Δυνηκέα ἔοντας. Χεμμίτας ἐκπλώσαι ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα, ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ-των γενεθλογέοντες κατέβαινον ἐς τὸν Περσέα. ἀπικόμενου δὲ αὐτῶν ἐς Αἰγύπτων κατ’ αὐτὴν τὴν καὶ "Ἐλληνες λέγουσι, οὕσοντα ἐκ Λιβύης τὴν Γορ-γοῦς κεφαλῆν, ἐφασαν ἐλθείν καὶ παρὰ σφέας καὶ ἀναγμόωνα τοὺς συγγενέας πάντας. ἐκμεμαθη-κότα δὲ μιν ἀπικέσθαι ἐς Αἰγύπτων τὸ τῆς Χέμ-μιος υύνομα, πεπυσμένου παρὰ τῆς μητρός. ἀγώνα δὲ οἱ γυμνικοῦ αὐτοῦ κελεύσαντος ἐπιτελέειν.

92. Ταῦτα μὲν πάντα οἱ κατύπερθε τῶν ἔλεων οἰκέοντες Αἰγύπτιοι νομίζουσι: οἱ δὲ δὴ ἐν τοῖς ἔλεοι κατοικημένοι τούσ μὲν αὐτοῖσι νόμοισι χρέωνται τοῦσ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι Αἰγύπτιοι, καὶ τὰ ἄλλα καὶ γυναικὶ μὴ ἐκαστος αὐτῶν συνοικεῖς κατὰ περ Ἐλληνες, ἀτὰρ πρὸς εὐτελεῖν τῶν συνίων τάδε σφι ἄλλα ἐξεύρηται. ἐπεάν πλῆρης θέληται ὁ ποταμὸς καὶ τὰ πεδία πελαγίση, φύεται ἐν τῷ ὑδατι κρίνει πολλά, τὰ Αἰγύπτιοι καλέουσι λωτῶν: ταῦτ' ἐπεάν δρέφωσι αὐαίνουσι πρὸς ἦλιον καὶ ἐπείτα τὸ ἐκ μέσου τοῦ λωτοῦ, τῇ μήκως ἐδὲν ἐμφερέσ, πτίσαντες ποιεύνται ἐξ αὐτῶν ἄρτους ὅπποις πυρ. ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἡ ρίξα τοῦ λωτοῦ τοῦτο ἐδωδίμη καὶ ἐγγυλύσει ἐπιεικέος, ἐδὲ στρογγύλου, μέγαθος κατὰ μήλον. ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἄλλα κρίνεα ρόδοις ἐμφερέα, ἐν τῷ ποταμῷ γινόμενα καὶ ταῦτα, ἐξ ὧν ὁ καρπὸς ἐν ἄλλῃ κάλυκι παραφυ-μένη ἐκ τῆς ρίξης γίνεται, κηρῷ σφηκῶν ἰδέυν ὀμοιότατον ἐν τούτῳ τρωκτὰ δὸςν τε πυρήν ἐλαίης ἐγγύνεται συχνά, τρώγεται δὲ καὶ ἀπαλα ταῦτα καὶ αὐξα. τὴν δὲ βύβλον τὴν ἐπέτειον γινομένην

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

92. All these are the customs of Egyptians who dwell above the marsh country. Those who inhabit the marshes have the same customs as the rest, both in other respects, and in that each man has one wife, as in Greece. They have, besides, devised means to make their food less costly. When the river is in flood and overflows the plains, many lilies, which the Egyptians call lotus, grow in the water. They pluck these and dry them in the sun, then they crush the poppy-like centre of the plant and bake loaves of it. The root also of this lotus is eatable, and of a sweetish taste; it is round, and of the bigness of an apple. Other lilies also grow in the river, which are like roses; the fruit of these is found in a calyx springing from the root by a separate stalk, and is most like to a comb made by wasps; this produces many eatable seeds as big as an olive-stone, which are eaten both fresh and dried. They use also the byblus which
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ἐπεαν ἀναστάσωσι ἐκ τῶν ἔλεων, τὰ μὲν ἄνω αὐτῆς ἀποτάμνοντες ἐς ἀλλο τι τράπονται, τὸ δὲ κάτω λειειμένον ὅσον τε ἐπὶ τῆς τρόγχου και πωλέουσι. 1 οἳ δὲ ἄν καὶ κάρτα βούλονται χρηστὴ τῇ βύβλῳ χρᾶσθαι, ἐν κλιβάνῳ διαφανεὶ πυξάντες οὕτω τρόγχουσι. οἳ δὲ τινὲς αὐτῶν ζῶσι ἀπὸ τῶν ἰχθύων μοῦν, τοὺς ἐπεαν λάβωσι καὶ ἐξέλωσι τὴν κοιλίην, αὐαίνουσι πρὸς ἡλιον καὶ ἐπειτα αὖν οὐσι σιτεόνται.

93. Οἱ δὲ ἰχθύες οἳ ἀγελαίοι ἐν μὲν τοῖς ποταμοῖο ὑπὸ μάλα γίνονται, τρεφόμενοι δὲ ἐν τῇ τοιάδε ποιεόνται. ἐπεάν σφαιρας ἐστὶν ὁστροφ κυλικεῖται, ἀγελεῖν ἐκπλώουσι ἐς θάλασσαν. ἢγεύονται δὲ οἳ ἔρσενες ἀπορραίνοντες τοῦ θεροῦ, αἱ δὲ ἐπόμεναι ἀνακάπτονται καὶ εἴ οὐτοὶ κυλικεῖται. ἐπεάν δὲ πλῆρες γένουσι εἰς τῇ θαλάσσῃ, ἀναπλώουσι ὁπίσω ἐς θεα τὰ ἑωτῶν ἐκαστοῖ, ἢγεύονται μέντοι γε οὐκέτι οἳ αὐτοῖ, ἀλλὰ τῶν θηλεῶν γίνεται ἡ ήγεμονίη. ἢγεύονται δὲ ἀγεληδῶν ποιεύσι οἷον περ ἑποίεν οἳ ἔρσενες τῶν γὰρ φῶν ἀπορραίνοντες κατ᾽ ὀλίγους τῶν κέγχρων, οἱ δὲ ἔρσενες καταπίνουσι ἐπόμενοι. εἰσι δὲ οἳ κέγχροι οὕτοι ἰχθύες. ἐκ δὲ τῶν περιγινομένων καὶ μὴ καταπινομένων κέγχρων οἳ τρεφόμενοι ἰχθύες γίνονται. οἳ δὲ ἄν αὐτῶν ἄλοιποι ἐκπλῶντες ἐς θάλασσαν, φαίνονται τετριμένοι τὰ ἐπὶ ἄριστερὰ τῶν κεφαλέων, οἳ δὲ ἄν ὁπίσω ἀναπλώντες, τὰ ἐπὶ δεξιά τετρίφατα, πάσχουσι δὲ ταῦτα διὰ τὸ θέτε ἐχομένου τῆς γῆς ἑτε ἀριστερὰ καταπλώνουσι ἐς θάλασσαν, καὶ ἀναπλώντες ὁπίσω τῆς αὐτής.

1 Stein brackets καὶ πωλέουσι, as being inappropriate; it should perhaps come after τράποντι above.

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grows annually: it is plucked from the marshes, the top of it cut off and turned to other ends, and the lower part, about a cubit's length, eaten or sold. Those who wish to use the byblus at its very best roast it before eating in a redhot oven. Some live on fish alone. They catch the fish, take out the intestines, then dry them in the sun and eat them dried.

93. Fish that go in shoals do not often come to birth in the river; they are reared in the lakes, and this is the way with them: when the desire of spawning comes on them, they swim out to sea in shoals, the males leading, and throwing out their seed, while the females come after and swallow it and so conceive. When the females have become pregnant in the sea, then all the fish swim back to their homes; but now it is the females and not the males who lead the way, going before in a shoal, and (like the males) throwing off ever and anon a few of their eggs (which are like millet-seeds), which the males devour as they follow. These millet-seeds, or eggs, are fish. It is from the surviving eggs, which are not devoured, that the fish which grow come to the birth. Those fish that are caught while swimming seawards show bruises on the left side of their heads; those that are caught returning, on the right side. This happens to them because as they swim seawards they keep close to the left bank, and hold
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ἀντέχονται, ἑγχριμπτόμενοι καὶ ψαύνοντες ὡς μᾶλλον, ἵνα δὴ μὴ ἀμάρτοιεν τῆς ὁδοῦ διὰ τὸν ρόον. ἔπεαν δὲ πληθύνεσθαι ἀρχηται ὁ Νεῖλος, τὰ τέκνα τῆς γῆς καὶ τὰ τέλματα τὰ παρὰ τῶν ποταμῶν πρῶτα ἀρχηται πήμπλασθαι διηθέουτος τοῦ ὑδατος ἐκ τῶν ποταμῶν· καὶ αὐτίκα τα πλέα γίνεται ταῦτα καὶ παραχρήμα ἰχθύων σμικρῶν πήμπλαται πάντα. κόθεν δὲ οἶκος αὐτοῦς γίνεσθαι, ἐγὼ μοι δοκεῖν κατανοεῖν τοῦτο· τοῦ προτέρου ἔπεαν ἀπολίπη ὁ Νεῖλος, οἱ ἰχθύες ἐντεκόντες φὰ ἐς τὴν ἀλάν ἑς τῇ ἕσχατῳ ὑδάτῃ ἀπαλλάσσονται· ἔπεαν δὲ περιέλθοντος τοῦ χρόνου πάλιν ἐπέλθη τὸ ὑδάτῳ, ἐκ τῶν φῶν τούτων παραυτίκα γίνονται οἱ ἰχθύες οὕτω.

94. Καὶ περὶ μὲν τούς ἰχθύας οὕτω ἔχει. ἀλείφατε δὲ χρέωνται Αἰγυπτίων οἱ περὶ τὰ ἔλεα ὀικέοντες ἀπὸ τῶν σιλλικυτρίων τοῦ καρποῦ, τὸ καλεῖ οἱ Αἰγυπτιοῦ κίκι, ποιεῖσθαι δὲ ὠδε. παρὰ τὰ χείλεα τῶν τοὺς ποταμῶν καὶ τῶν λιμνῶν σπείρουσα τὰ σιλλικύτρια ταῦτα, τὰ ἐν Ἔλλησι αὐτόματα ἄγρια φύεται· ταῦτα ἐν τῇ Αἰγύπτῳ σπειρόμενα καρπὸν σφερίζει πολλῶν μὲν δυσώδεα δὲ τούτων ἔπεβαν συλλέξονται, οἱ μὲν κόψαντες ἀπὶ πούσι, οἱ δὲ καὶ φρύζαντες ἀπέφουσι, καὶ τὸ ἀπορρέων ἀπ᾿ αὐτοῦ συγκομίζονται. ἔστι δὲ πὼν καὶ οὐδὲν ἤσον τοῦ ἐλαιοῦ τῷ λίχυτρῳ προσηνεῖ, ὁδὴν δὲ βαρέαν παρέχεται.

95. Πρὸς δὲ τοὺς κώνωπας ἀφθόνους ἐόντας τάδε σφί ἐστὶ μεμηχανημένα. τοὺς μὲν τὰ ἀνω τῶν ἕλεων οἰκέοντας οἱ πύργοι ωφελεύσι, ἐς τοὺς ἀναβαίνοντες κοιμῶνται· οἱ γὰρ κώνωπες ὑπὸ τῶν ἀνέμων οὐκ οἶδε τε εἰσὶ ύψος πέτεσθαι. τοῖσι 380
to the same bank also in their return, grazing it and touching it as much as they may, I suppose lest the current should make them miss their course. When the Nile begins to rise, hollow and marshy places near the river are the first to begin to fill, the water trickling through from the river, and as soon as they are flooded they are suddenly full of little fishes. Whence it is like that these come into being I believe that I can guess. When the Nile falls, the fish have spawned into the mud before they leave it with the last of the water; and as the time comes round, and in the next year the flood comes again, this spawn at once gives birth to these fishes.

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

95. Gnats are abundant; this is how the Egyptians protect themselves against them: those who dwell higher up than the marshy country are well served by the towers whither they ascend to sleep, for the winds prevent the gnats from flying aloft; those
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δὲ περὶ τὰ ἔλεον ὑκέονου τάδε ἀντὶ τῶν πῦργων ἄλλα μεμψάνηται· πᾶς ἀνήρ ἀυτῶν ἀμφίβληστρον ἐκτεταίρι πῷ τῇ περὶ ἡμέρης ἴχθυς ἀγρεύει· τῇ δὲ νύκτα τάδε αὐτῷ χρῆται· ἐν τῇ ἀναπαυέται κοίτῃ, περὶ ταύτην ἔστησε τὸ ἀμφίβληστρον καὶ ἐπείτε καὶ ὑπ' αὐτῷ κατεύθει. οἱ δὲ κώμωπες, ὥμεν μὲν ἐν ἰματίῳ ἐνειλιξάμενος εὐδῆ ἢ σινδόνι, διὰ τούτων ἄκνουσι, διὰ δὲ τοῦ δικτύου οὐδὲ πειρώνται ἄρχην.

96. Τὰ δὲ δὴ πλοῖα σφι, τοῖς φορτηγόνους, ἐστὶ ἐκ τῆς ἀκάνθης ποιεύμενα, τῆς ἡ μορφὴ μὲν ἐστὶ ομοιοτάτη τῷ Κυρηναίῳ λωτῷ, τὸ δὲ δάκρυν κόμμω ἐστὶ. ἐκ ταύτης Ἰὼν τῆς ἀκάνθης κοψάμενοι ξύλα ὅσον τε διηδέχεα πλωθηδὸν συντιθείς ναυπηγεύμενοι τρόπον τοιόνδε· περὶ γόμφους πυκνοὺς καὶ μακροὺς περιεύρουσι τὰ διηδέχεα ξύλα· ἐπεάν δὲ τῷ τρόπῳ τούτῳ ναυπηγήσωνται, ξυγὰ ἐπιτολής τείνουσι αὐτῶν· νομεύει δὲ οὐδὲν χρέωσται· ἐσωθεὶ δὲ τὰς ἁρμονίας ἐν ὧν ἐπάκτωσαν τῇ βύβλῳ. πηδάλιον δὲ ἐν ποιεύνται, καὶ τούτῳ διὰ τῆς τρόπους διαβύνεται. ἱστῷ δὲ ἀκανθίῳ χρέωσται, ἱστίοισι δὲ βυβλίνουσι. ταῦτα τὰ πλοῖα ἀνὰ μὲν τῶν ποταμῶν οὐ δύναται πλέειν, ἢ μὴ λαμπρὸς ἄνεμος ἐπέχη, ἢ γῆς δὲ παρέλκεται, κατὰ ἐκείνου δὲ κομίζεται δὴδὲ· ἐστὶ ἐκ μυρίκης πεποιημένη θύρη, κατερραμμένη ρίπτει καλάμων, καὶ λίθος τετρημένος διάλαυντος μάλιστα κη σταθμῶν· τούτων τῇ μὲν θύρῃ δεδεμένην κάλφο ἔμπροσθε τοῦ πλοίου ἀπει ἐπιφέρεσθαι, τὸν δὲ λίθου ἄλλῳ κάλφῳ ὁπίσθε. ἢ μὲν δὴ θύρῃ τοῦ ῥόου ἐμπιπτοντος χωρεῖ ταχέως καὶ ἐλκεὶ τὴν βαριν (τούτῳ γὰρ δὴ οὖνομα ἐστὶ 382
living about the marshes have a different device, instead of the towers. Every man of them has a net, with which he catches fish by day, and for the night he sets it round the bed where he rests, then creeps under it and so sleeps. If he sleep wrapped in a garment or cloth, the gnats bite through it; but through the net they do not even try at all to bite.

96. The boats in which they carry cargo are made of the acacia,\(^1\) which is in form most like to the lotus of Cyrene, and its sap is gum. Of this tree they cut logs of two cubits length and lay them like courses of bricks,\(^2\) and build the boat by making these two-cubit logs fast to long and close-set stakes; and having so built they set crossbeams athwart and on the logs. They use no ribs. They caulk the seams within with byblus. There is one rudder, passing through a hole in the boat’s keel. The mast is of acacia-wood and the sails of byblus. These boats cannot move upstream unless a brisk breeze continue; they are towed from the bank; but downstream they are thus managed: they have a raft made of tamarisk wood, fastened together with matting of reeds, and a pierced stone of about two talents’ weight; the raft is let go to float down ahead of the boat, made fast to it by a rope, and the stone is made fast also by a rope to the after part of the boat. So, driven by the current, the raft floats swiftly and tows the “baris” (which is the name of

\(^1\) The “Mimosa Nilotica,” still used for boat-building in Egypt.
\(^2\) That is, like bricks laid not one directly over another but with the joints alternating: 

1 | 1 | 1 
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1 | 1 | 1
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toίσι πλοίοις τούτοις), ὁ δὲ λίθος ὀπισθε ἐπελκόμενος καὶ ἔδω ἐν βυσσῷ κατιθύμει τὸν πλόον. ἔστι δὲ σφί τὰ πλοῖα ταῦτα πλήθει πολλά, καὶ ἄγει ἐνα πολλὰς χιλιάδας ταλάντων.

97. Ἐπεάν δὲ ἐπέλθη ὁ Νείλος τὴν χώρην, ἀι πόλεις μοῦνα φαίνονται ὑπερέχουσαι, μᾶλλοντά κη ἐμφερέες τῆς ἐν τῷ Αἰγαίῳ πόλτῳ νήσουσι· τὰ μὲν γὰρ ἄλλα τῆς Αἰγύπτου πέλαγος γίνεται, ἀι δὲ πόλεις μοῦνα ὑπερέχουσι· πορθμεύονται ἄν, ἐπεάν τοῦτο γένηται, οὐκέτι κατὰ τὰ μέθορα τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἄλλα διὰ μέσου τοῦ πεδίου. ἐς μὲν γε Μέμφιν ἐκ Ναυκράτιος ἀναπλώνωτι παρ’ αὐτάς τὰς πυραμίδας γίνεται ὁ πλόος· ἐστὶ δὲ οὐδ’ οὗτος, ἄλλα παρὰ τὸ ὄξι τοῦ Δέλτα καὶ παρὰ Κερκά-σωρον πόλιν· ἐς δὲ Ναύκρατιν ἀπὸ θαλάσσης καὶ Κανώβου διὰ πεδίου πλέων ἤξεις κατ’ Ἀνθυλλάν τε πόλιν καὶ τὴν Ἀρχάνδρου καλεμήνην.

98. Τούτεων δὲ ἢ μὲν Ἀνθυλα ἐσύσα λογίμη πόλις ἢ υποδήματα ἐξαίρετος δίδοται τοῦ αἰεὶ βασιλεύοντος Αἰγύπτου τῇ γυναικί (τοῦτο δὲ γίνεται ἢ ὅσον ὑπὸ Πέρσης ἐστὶ Αἰγύπτος), ἢ δὲ ἔτερη πόλις δοκεῖ εἰ μοι τὸ οὐνόμα ἔχειν ἀπὸ τοῦ Δαναοῦ γαμβροῦ Ἀρχάνδρου τοῦ Θῆον τοῦ Ἀχαίοῦ· καλέται γὰρ δὴ Ἀρχάνδρου πόλις. ἐν δ’ ἄν καὶ ἄλλος τις Ἀρχάνδρος, οὐ μέντοι γε Αἰγύπτιον τὸ οὐνόμα.

99. Μέχρι μὲν τούτου ὄψις τε ἐμὴ καὶ γνώμῃ καὶ ἱστορίῃ ταῦτα λέγουσα ἐστὶ, τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀιγυπτίου άρχομαι λόγους ἔρευν κατὰ τὰ ἑκούν προσέσται δὲ αὐτοῦς τι καὶ τῆς ἐμῆς ὄψιος. Μίνα τὸν πρῶτον βασιλεύσαντα Αἰγύπτου αἱ

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these boats,) and the stone dragging behind on the river bottom keeps the boat’s course straight. There are many of these boats; some are of many thousand talents’ burden.

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

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

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

¹ The meaning of these words is not clear. Some think that they mean “the usual course is not this,” and that perhaps ὁ ἐνθώς has been lost after ἄντος.
ἱρεῖς ἔλεγον τούτῳ μὲν ἀπογεφυρῶσαι τὴν Μέμφια. τὸν γὰρ ποταμὸν πάντα ῥέειν παρὰ τὸ ὅρος τὸ ψάμμινον πρὸς Διβύης, τὸν δὲ Μίνα ἄνωθεν, ὅσον τε ἐκατὸν σταδίους ἀπὸ Μέμφιος, τὸν πρὸς μεσαμβρίης ἁγκώνα προσχώσαντα τὸ μὲν ἀρχαῖον ῥέοντο ἀποξερήναι, τὸν δὲ ποταμὸν ὁχετεύσαι τὸ μέσον τῶν ὅρεων ῥέειν. ἔτι δὲ καὶ νῦν ὑπὸ Περσέων ὁ ἁγκών οὗτος τοῦ Νείλου ὡς ἀπεργμένος ῥέῃ ἐν φυλακήσει μεγάλησθαι ἐχεται, φρασσόμενος ἀνὰ πάν ἐτος· εἰ γὰρ ἐθελήσει βῆξας ὑπερβῆναι ὁ ποταμὸς ταύτης, κινδύνοις πάσης Μέμφι κατακλυσθῆναι ἐστὶ. ὡς δὲ τῷ Μίνῳ τούτῳ τῷ πρώτῳ γενομένῳ βασιλείᾳ χέρσου γεγονέναι τὸ ἀπεργμένον, τούτῳ μὲν ἐν αὐτῷ πόλει κτίσαι ταύτην ἤτις νῦν Μέμφι καλεῖται· ἐστι γὰρ καὶ ἡ Μέμφις ἐν τῷ στεινῷ τῆς Αἰγύπτου· ἔξωθεν δὲ αὐτῆς περιορύξαι λήμνην ἐκ τοῦ ποταμοῦ πρὸς βορέην τε καὶ πρὸς ἐσπέρην (τὸ γὰρ πρὸς τὴν ἥν αὐτὸς ὁ Νεῖλος ἀπέργεθε), ἵπτοτο δὲ τοῦ Ἡφαίστου τὸ ἱρὸν ἰδρύσασθαι ἐν αὐτῇ, ἐὸν μέγα τε καὶ αξιαπηγητότατον.

100. Μετὰ δὲ τούτων κατέλεγον οἱ ἱρεῖς ἐκ βύβλου ἅλλων βασιλέων τριήκοσίων καὶ τριήκοντα οὐνόματα. ἐν τοσαύτῃ δὲ γενέσθαι ἀνθρώπων ὀκτωκαίδεκα μὲν Ἀἴθλοπες ἦσαν, μία δὲ γυνὴ ἐπιχωρίη, οἱ δὲ ἅλλοι ἄνδρες Αἰγύπτιοι. τῇ δὲ γυναικὶ οἴνομα ἦν, ἦτις ἐβασίλευσε, τὸ περὶ τῇ Βαβυλωνίᾳ, Νίτωκρις· τὴν ἔλεγον τιμωρέουσαν ἄδελφες, τὸν Αἰγύπτιον βασιλεύοντα σφέων ἀπέκτειναν, ἀποκτείνατες δὲ οὕτω ἐκείνη ἀπέδοσαν τὴν βασιλείαν, τοῦτῳ τιμωρέουσαν πολλοὺς Αἰγύπτιον.
BOOK II. 99-100

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

100. After him came three hundred and thirty kings, whose names the priests recited from a papyrus roll. In all these many generations there were eighteen Ethiopian kings, and one queen, native to the country; the rest were all Egyptian men. The name of the queen was the same as that of the Babylonian princess, Nitocris. She, to avenge her brother (he was king of Egypt and was slain by his subjects, who then gave Nitocris the sovereignty) put
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διαφθείρατι δόλῳ. ποιησαμένην γάρ μν ὁμοιμα
περίμνησες ὑπόγαιον καινοῦν τῷ λόγῳ, νόφι δὲ ἄλλα
μηχανάσθαι· καλέσασαν δὲ μν Αἴγυπτιων τοὺς
μάλιστα μετατίθους τοῦ φόνου ἢδεε πολλοὺς
ιστιάν, δαιμονεύοις δὲ ἐπείναι τὸν ποταμὸν δὲ
αὐλῶνος κρυπτοῦ μεγάλου. ταῦτης μὲν πέρι το-
σαύτα ἔλεγον, πλὴν ὅτι αὐτὴν μὲν, ὡς τοῦτο
ἐξέργαστο, ρίψαι ἐς οἰκημά σποδοῦ πλέον, ὡς
ἀτιμώρητος γένηται.

101. Τῶν δὲ ἄλλων βασιλέων οὖ γὰρ ἔλεγον
οὐδεμιῶν ἔργων ἀποδέξιν καὶ οὐδὲν εἶναι λαμπρό-
τητος, πλὴν ἐνὸς τοῦ ἐσχάτου αὐτῶν Μοίριως-
tούτον δὲ ἀποδέξασθαι μνημόσυνα του 'Ḥφαίστου
τὰ πρὸς βορέᾳ ἀνέμοι τετραμένα προπύλαια,
λίμνη τε ἄνυξαι, τῆς ἡ περίοδος ὁς ἐστὶ
σταδίων ὑστερον δῆλωσω, πυραμίδας τε ἐν αὐτῇ
οἴκοδομήσαι, τῶν τοῦ μεγάθεος πέρι ὁμοῦ αὐτῆς
τῆς
λίμνη ἔπιμνήσομαι· τούτον μὲν τοσαύτα ἀπο-
δέξασθαι, τῶν δὲ ἄλλων οὐδένα οὐδὲν.

102. Παραμειψάμενος ὁν τούτους τοῦ ἐπὶ τού-
tουσι γενομένου βασιλέως, τῷ οὐνόμα ἡν 'Σέσω-
στρις, τούτου μνήμην ποιήσομαι· τῶν ἔλεγον οἱ
ἐρέες πρῶτον μὲν πλοίοις μακροίσι ὀρμηθέντα
ἐκ τοῦ 'Αραβίου κόλπου τοὺς παρὰ τὴν Ἐρυθρῆν
θάλασσαν κατοικημένους καταστρέφεσθαι, ἐς δὲ
πλέοντά μν πρόσω ἀπικέσθαι ἐς θάλασσαν οὐκέτι
πλωτὴν ὑπὸ βραχέων. ἐνθεύτην δὲ ὡς ὅπισώ
ἀπίκετο ἐς Αἴγυπτον, κατὰ τῶν ἱέρων τῆς φάτων,
pολλὴν στρατιὴν τῶν . . ἰ λαβὼν ἠλαυνε διὰ τῆς
ἦσείρου, πάν ἔθνος τὸ ἐμποδῶν καταστρεφόμενος.

1 A word is omitted, perhaps ἥρξεν; τῶν ἥρξεν = of his
subjects.

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

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

102. Passing over these, therefore, I will now speak of the king who came after them, Sesostris.¹ This king, said the priests, set out with a fleet of long ships² from the Arabian Gulf and subdued all the dwellers by the Red Sea, till as he sailed on he came to a sea which was too shallow for his vessels. After returning thence back to Egypt, he gathered a great army (according to the story of the priests) and marched over the mainland, subduing every nation to

¹ Rameses II., called by the Greeks Sesostris; said to have ruled in the fourteenth century B.C.
² Ships of war.
ΗΡΩΔΟΤΟΣ

ότε ουσὶ μὲν νυν αὐτῶν ἁλκίμοιοι ἐνετύγχανε καὶ
dεινὼς γλυχομένοις περὶ τῆς ἐλευθερίας, τούτοισι
μὲν στῆλας ἐνίστη ἐς τὰς χώρας διὰ γραμμάτων
λεγοῦσας τὸ τε ἐωντοῦ οὐνομα καὶ τῆς πάτρης,
καὶ ὡς δυνάμι τῇ ἐωντοῦ κατεστρέψατο σφέας·
ότεων δὲ ἀμαχητὶ καὶ εὐπετέως παρέλαβε τὰς
πόλιας, τούτοισι δὲ ἐνέγραφε ἐν τῇ ὁστῇ στήλῃ κατὰ
tαὐτὰ καὶ τοῦι ἀνδρίσιοι τῶν ἑβνέων γε-
νομένοις, καὶ δὴ καὶ αἰδοῖα γυναικὸς προσ-
ἐνέγραφε, δὴδα βουλόμενος ποιεῖν ὡς εἰησαν
ἀνάλκιδες.

103. Ταῦτα δὲ ποιέων διεξῆ ἡ τὴν ἡπεῖρον, ἐς
δὲ ἐκ τῆς Ἁσίας ἐς τὴν Εὐρώπην διαβὰς τοὺς τε
Σκύθας κατεστρέψατο καὶ τοὺς Ἐρήμικας. ἐς τοῦ-
tους δὲ μοι δοκεῖν καὶ προσώτατα ἀπικέσθαι ὁ
Ἀγώπτων στρατός· ἐν μὲν γὰρ τῇ τούτων χώρῃ
φαίνονται σταθεῖσαι αἱ στῆλαι, τὸ δὲ προσωτέρω
tοῦτοι οὐκέτι. ἐνθέντεν δὲ ἐπιστρέφας ὅπισω
ἡμεῖς, καὶ ἐπείτε ἐγίνετο ἐπὶ Φάσι ποταμῷ, οὐκ
ἐχω τὸ ἐνθέντεν ἄτρεκέως εἰπεῖν εἰτε αὐτὸς δὲ
Βασιλεὺς Σέσωστρις ἀποδασάμενος τῆς ἐωντοῦ
στρατηγῆς μόριον ὅσον δὴ αὐτοῦ κατέλιπε τῆς
χώρης οἰκήτορας, εἰτε τῶν τινῶν στρατιωτῶν τῇ
πλάνῃ αὐτοῦ ἄχθεσθέντες περὶ Φάσιν ποταμῶν
κατέμειναν.

104. Φαίνονται μὲν γὰρ ἔντες οἱ Κόλχοι Αἰ-
γύπτιοι, νοῆσας δὲ πρὸτερον αὐτὸς ἢ ἄκούσας
ἀλλῶν λέγων. ὡς δὲ μοι ἐν φροντίδι ἐγένετο,
εἰρήμην ἀμφοτέρους, καὶ μᾶλλον οἱ Κόλχοι ἐμε-
μέειτο τῶν Αἰγύπτων ἢ οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι τῶν
Κόλχων· νομίζειν δὲ ἔφασαν οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι τῆς
Σέσωστριος στρατηγῆς εἶναι τοὺς Κόλχους. αὐτὸς
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which he came. When those that he met were valiant men and strove hard for freedom, he set up pillars in their land whereon the inscription showed his own name and his country's, and how he had overcome them with his own power; but when the cities had made no resistance and been easily taken, then he put an inscription on the pillars even as he had done where the nations were brave; but he drew also on them the privy parts of a woman, wishing to show clearly that the people were cowardly.

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

104. For it is plain to see that the Colchians are Egyptians; and this that I say I myself noted before I heard it from others. When I began to think on this matter, I inquired of both peoples; and the Colchians remembered the Egyptians better than the Egyptians remembered the Colchians; the Egyptians said that they held the Colchians to be part of Sesostris' army. I myself guessed it to be
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dè eîkasa têde, kai ôti melângyroses eîsî kai oulôtrikes. kai toûto mên ès ouîdev ânîkei eîsî gâr kai êteroi toioûtoî. allâ tôîsîde kai mâllon, ôti moûnoi pântov anâthrôpov Kólkhov kai Ai-
gûptioi kai Aiðîptes peritâmounvntai âpî ârchiês tâ aîdovia. Fônikes dè kai Sûrhoi oî en tê Pala-
stînì kai autôi oîmolojîousi parî Aiîntîwv meumaðhkevâi, Sûrhoi dè oî peri Òerêmôdovnta kai Parthênov potamî kai Makrînov oî toûtoîsî âstînâîtones èîntes ápò Kólkhov fâsî neîsî meumaðhkevâi. oûtoî gâr eîsî oî perîtâmûmînov oî anâthrôpov moûnoi, kai oûtoî Aiîntîwv phai-
înontai poieîntes kata tautâ. autôn dè Aiînt-
pîwv kai Aiðîwv oûk èxh eîpteîn dokôtêros parâ tîwv ètêrov èxémâthov ârchiwv gâr dê tî phainetai èîn. òs dè èpîmîsgâmînov Aiîntîwv èxémâthov, mègâ moî kai tôdê tekmiêrînov gînetai. Fônikov
îkòsî oî tê 'Ellâdî èpîmîsgovntai, oukêti Aiînt-
pîwv mîmîoîntai kata tâ aîdovia, allâ tîwv èpi-
gînovmínov oû perîtâmînovtâ aîdovia.

105. Fère vûn kai àllâo eîspw peri tîwv Kólkhov, òs Aiîntîwv prôsofêrêes eîsî. lînov moûnoi oûtoî te kai Aiîntîwv eragâînovtai kai kata tautâ, kai hè zôî pâsâ kai hè grôsva emfêrês èsî allêlîovsi. lînov dê tô vûn Kólkhov upô 'Ellhînov Sarîðwv kîkîntai, tô mônîtov apî Aiîntîwv apîkînûmînov kâlëtai Aiîntîwv.

106. Ai dè stîlîs tîs îsta kata tâs cîrâs oî Aiîntîwv Basîlwv Sêswstrîs, aî mên plêîvnes
so, partly because they are dark-skinned and woolly-haired; though that indeed goes for nothing, seeing that other peoples, too, are such; but my better proof was that the Colchians and Egyptians and Ethiopians are the only nations that have from the first practised circumcision. The Phoenicians and the Syrians of Palestine acknowledge of themselves that they learnt the custom from the Egyptians, and the Syrians of the valleys of the Thermodon and the Parthenius, as well as their neighbours the Macrones, say that they learnt it lately from the Colchians. These are the only nations that circumcise, and it is seen that they do even as the Egyptians. But as to the Egyptians and Ethiopians themselves, I cannot say which nation learnt it from the other; for it is manifestly a very ancient custom. That the others learnt it from intercourse with Egypt I hold to be clearly proved by this—that Phoenicians who hold intercourse with Hellas cease to imitate the Egyptians in this matter and do not circumcise their children.

105. Nay, and let me speak of another matter in which the Colchians are like to the Egyptians: they and the Egyptians alone work linen, and have the same way, a way peculiar to themselves, of working it; and they are alike in all their manner of life, and in their speech. Linen has two names: the Colchian kind is called by the Greeks Sardonian;¹ that which comes from Egypt is called Egyptian.

106. As to the pillars which Sesostris, king of Egypt, set up in the countries, most of them are no

¹ There seems to be no reason for connecting Colchian linen with Sardinia (as Σαρδωνικόν would imply). The Colchian word may have had a similar sound.
οὐκέτι φαίνονται περιευόσαι, ἐν δὲ τῇ Παλαιστίνῃ Συρίᾳ αὐτὸς ὤρων ἐούσας καὶ τὰ γράμματα τὰ εἰρημένα ἐνεόντα καὶ γυναικὸς αἴδοια. εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ περὶ Ἰωνίᾳ δύο τύποι ἐν πέτρηι ἐγκεκολαμμένου τοῦτον τοῦ ἀνδρός, τῇ τε ἐκ τῆς Ἐφεσίας ἐς Φώκαιαν ἔρχονται καὶ τῇ ἐκ Σαρδίων ἐς Σμύρνην. ἐκατέρωθι δὲ ἀνὴρ ἐγγέγυλπται μέγαθος πεμπτῆς σπιθαμῆς, τῇ μὲν δέξιῃ χειρὶ ἔχων αἰχμὴν τῇ δὲ ἀριστερῆ τῶν, καὶ τὴν ἄλλην σκευὴν ὁσαύτως· καὶ γὰρ Αἰγυπτίω καὶ Αἰθιοπίδα ἔχει· ἐκ δὲ τοῦ ὁμοῦ ἐς τὸν ἔτερον ὁμοῦ διὰ τῶν στηθέων γράμματα ἰρὰ Αἰγύπτων διήκει ἐγκεκολαμμένα, λέγοντα τάδε: „Ἐγώ τῆν τὴν χῶρην ὁμοίως τοίς ἐμοίσι ἐκτησάμην.“ ὡστε δὲ καὶ ὁκόθεν ἔστι, ἐνθαύτα μὲν οὐ δηλοῖ, ἐτέρωθι δὲ δεδήλωκε· τὰ δὴ καὶ μετεξέτεροι τῶν θεσσαλέων Μέμνονος εἰκόνα εἰκάζουσί μιν εἶναι, πολλῶν τῆς ἀλήθείας ἀπολελειμμένοι.

107. Τούτων δὲ τῶν Αἰγύπτων Σέσωστριν ἀναχωρέοντα καὶ ἀνάγοντα πολλοὺς ἀνθρώπους τῶν ἐθνῶν τῶν τῶν χώρας κατεστρέψατο, ἔλεγον οἱ ἱρέες, ἐπείτε ἐγώντο ἀνακομμεῖον εἰς Δάφνησι τῆς Πηλούσης, τῶν ἄδελφων ἐωτοῦ, τῷ ἐπέτρεψε οἱ Σέσωστρις τὴν Αἰγύπτων, τούτων ἐπὶ ξείνα αὐτὸν καλέσαντα καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸ τοὺς παίδας περινήσας ἐξώθεν τὴν οἰκίην ὢλῃ, περινήσαντα δὲ ὑποπρῆσαν· τὸν δὲ ως μαθεῖν τοῦτο, αὐτίκα συμβουλεύεσθαι τῇ γυναικὶ καὶ γὰρ δὴ καὶ τῇ γυναικὶ αὐτὸν ἀμα ἄγεσθαι. τὴν δὲ οἱ συμβουλεύσαι τῶν παίδων ἐντούς ἔξ ὑπό τῶν δύο ἐπὶ τὴν πυρὴν ἐκτείναντα γεφυρώσαι τὸ καιόμενον, αὐτοὺς δὲ ἐπὶ ἐκείνων ἐπιβαίνοντας ἐκσω-ξεσθαι. ταῦτα ποιήσαι τὸν Σέσωστριν, καὶ δύο
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longer to be seen. But I myself saw them in the Palestine part of Syria, with the writing aforesaid and the women's privy parts upon them. Also there are in Ionia two figures of this man carven in rock, one on the road from Ephesus to Phocaea, and the other on that from Sardis to Smyrna. In both places there is a man of a height of five ells and a half cut in relief, with a spear in his right hand and a bow in his left, and the rest of his equipment answering thereto; for it is both Egyptian and Ethiopian; and right across the breast from one shoulder to the other there is carven a writing in the Egyptian sacred character, saying: "I myself won this land with the might of my shoulders." There is nothing here to show who he is and whence he comes, but it is shown elsewhere. Some of those who have seen these figures guess them to be Memnon, but they are far indeed from the truth.

107. Now when this Egyptian Sesostris (so said the priests), being on his way homewards and bringing many men of the nations whose countries he had subdued, had come in his return to Daphnae of Pelusium, his brother, to whom he had given Egypt in charge, invited him and his sons to a banquet and then piled wood round the house and set it on fire. When Sesostris was aware of this, he took counsel at once with his wife, whom (it was said) he was bringing with him; and she counselled him to lay two of his six sons on the fire and to make a bridge over the burning whereby they might pass over the bodies of the two and escape. This Sesostris did;

1 Two such figures have been discovered in the pass of Karabel, near the old road from Ephesus to Smyrna. They are not, however, Egyptian in appearance.
μὲν τῶν παῖδων κατακαίηναι τρόπῳ τοιούτῳ, τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς ἀποσωθήναι ἄμα τῷ πατρὶ.

108. Νοστήσας δὲ ὁ Σέσωστρις ἐσ τὴν Αἰγύπτου καὶ τισάμενος τὸν ἀδελφόν, τῷ μὲν ὀμίλῳ τὸν ἐπηγάγετο τῶν τὰς χώρας κατεστρέψατο, τούτῳ μὲν τάδε ἐχρήσατο· τοὺς τὲ οἱ λίθους τοὺς ἐπὶ τοῦτο τοῦ βασιλέως κομισθέντας ἐς τοῦ Ἡφαῖ- στου τὸ ἱρὸν, ἔόντας μεγάθει περιμήκεας, οὕτω ἦσαν οἱ ἐλκύσαντες, καὶ τὰς διώρυχας τὰς νῦν ἐσώσας ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ πάσας οὕτω ἀναγκαζόμενοι ὄρυσσον, ἔποιεν τε οὐκ ἐκόντες Αἰγύπτων, τὸ πρὶν ἐκόναν ἱππασίμην καὶ ἀμαξευμένην πᾶσαν, ἐνδὲα τοῦτω. ἀπὸ γὰρ τοῦτο τοῦ χρόνου Αἰ- γυπτος ἐσώσα πεδίας πᾶσα ἀνυππο καὶ ἀναμα- ἔσοντος γέγονε· αὐτία τε τοῦτω αἱ διώρυχες ἐγόνασι ἐσώσαι πολλαὶ καὶ παυτοὶς τρόπους ἐχοῦσαι. κατέταμεν δὲ τοῦτο εἴνεκα τὴν χώρην ὁ βασιλεὺς. ὁσοὶ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων μὴ ἐπὶ τῷ πο- ταμῷ ἔκτηντο τὰς πόλις ἀλλʼ ἀναμέσους, οὕτω, ὅκως τε ἔπιοι ὁ ποταμός, σπανίζοντες ύδατων πλατυτέρωσι ἐχρέωντο τοῖς πόμασι, ἐκ φρεάτων χρεώμενοι.

109. Τούτων μὲν δὴ εἴνεκα κατεμήθη ἡ Αἰ- γυπτος. κατανείμαι δὲ τὴν χώρην Αἰγυπτίουσι ἀπασὶ τοῦτον ἔλεγον τὸν βασιλέα, κλήρου ἵσον ἐκάστω τετράγωνον διδόντα, καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦτο τὰς προσόδους ποιήσασθαι, ἐπιτάξαντα ἀποφορὴν ἐπιτελέσων κατʼ ἐνιαυτοῖς. εἰ δὲ τινὸς τοῦ κλήρου ὁ ποταμός τι παρέλοιπο, ἔλθων ἀν πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐσήμαινε τὸ γεγενημένον· ο δὲ ἐπεμπέ τοὺς ἐπι- σκεψομένους καὶ ἀναμετρήσοντας ὅσоι ἔλάσσον ὁ χώρος γέγονε, ὅκως τοῦ λοιποῦ κατὰ λόγον

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two of his sons were thus burnt, but the rest were saved alive with their father.

108. Having returned to Egypt, and taken vengeance on his brother, Sesostris found work, as I shall show, for the multitude which he brought with him from the countries which he had subdued. It was these who dragged the great and long blocks of stone which were brought in this king's reign to the temple of Hephaestus; and it was they who were compelled to dig all the canals which are now in Egypt, and thus, albeit with no such intent, made what was before a land of horses and carts to be now without either. For from this time Egypt, albeit a level land, could use no horses or carts, by reason of the canals being so many and going every way. The reason why the king thus intersected the country was this: those Egyptians whose towns were not on the Nile but inland from it lacked water whenever the flood left their land, and drank only brackish water from wells.

109. For this cause Egypt was intersected. This king moreover (so they said) divided the country among all the Egyptians by giving each an equal square parcel of land, and made this his source of revenue, appointing the payment of a yearly tax. And any man who was robbed by the river of a part of his land would come to Sesostris and declare what had befallen him; then the king would send men to look into it and measure the space by which the land was diminished, so that thereafter it should
τῆς τεταγμένης ἀποφορῆς τελεός. δοκεῖ δὲ μοι ἐνθέωτον γεωμετρία εὐρεθείσα ἐς τὴν Ἐλλάδα ἐπανελθεῖν πόλον μὲν γὰρ καὶ γνώμονα καὶ τὰ δυῶδεκα μέρεα τῆς ἤμερης παρὰ Βαβυλωνίων ἐμαθὸν οἱ Ἐλληνες.

110. Βασιλεὺς μὲν δὴ οὗτος μοῦνος Αἰγύπτιος Αἰθιοπίης ἦρξε, μνημόσυνα δὲ ἐλίπετο πρὸ τοῦ Ἡφαιστείου ἀνδριάντας λιθίνους, δύο μὲν τριήκοντα πηχέων, ἔωστόν τε καὶ τὴν γναῖκα, τοὺς δὲ παιδὰς έόντας τέσσερας εἰκοσὶ πηχέων ἐκατοντάς τῶν δὴ ὁ ἱρεύς τοῦ Ἡφαιστοῦ χρόνῳ μετέπειτα πολλῷ Δαρείον τὸν Πέρσην οὐ περείδει ἵσταντα ἐμπροσθεῖν ἀνδριάντα, φας οὐ οἱ πεποιηθαὶ ἔργα οἶα περὶ Σεσώστρι τῷ Αἰγύπτιῳ. Σεσώστρι μὲν γὰρ ἄλλα τε καταστρέψασθαι ἦθελεν οὐκ ἐλάσσω εἰκείου καὶ δὴ καὶ Σκύθας, Δαρείον δὲ οὐ δυνασθήναι Ἀκύθας ἔλειν· οὐκοτὸν δικαῖον εἶναι ἵσταναι ἐμπροσθεῖν τῶν ἐκείνου ἀναθημάτων μὴ οὐκ ὑπερβαλλόμενον τούτο ἐργοῖς. Δαρείον μὲν γὰς Λέγουσι πρὸς ταύτα συγγνώμην ποιῆσασθαι.

111. Σεσώστρι μὲν δὲ τελευτήσαντος ἐκδέξασθαι ἔλεγον τὴν βασιληίδην τὸν παῖδα αὐτοῦ Φερών, τὸν ἀποδέξασθαι μὲν οὐδεμίαν στρατηγὴν, συνενεχθήναι δὲ οἱ τυφλοὶ γενέσθαι διὰ τοῖοῦτο πρήγμα. τοῦ ποταμοῦ κατελθόντως μέγιστα δὴ τότε ἐπὶ ὥκτωπαθεῖα πήχεως, ὡς ὑπερβαλεῖ τὰς ἄροφρας, πνεύματος ἐμπεσόντως κυματίας ὁ ποταμὸς ἐγένετο· τὸν δὲ βασιλέα λέγουσι τούτον ἀτασθαλίθη χρησάμενον, λαβόντα αἰχμήν βαλεῖν ἐς μέσας τὰς δίνας τοῦ ποταμοῦ, μετὰ δὲ αὐτίκα καμόντα αὐτὸν τοὺς ὄφθαλμοὺς τυφλωθήναι. δέκα μὲν δὴ
pay the appointed tax in proportion to the loss. From this, to my thinking, the Greeks learnt the art of measuring land; the sun clock and the sundial, and the twelve divisions of the day, came to Hellas not from Egypt but from Babylonia.

110. Sesostris was the only Egyptian king who also ruled Ethiopia. To commemorate his name, he set before the temple of Hephaestus two stone statues of himself and his wife, each thirty cubits high, and statues of his four sons, each of twenty cubits. Long afterwards Darius the Persian would have set up his statue before these; but the priest of Hephaestus forbade him, saying that he had achieved nothing equal to the deeds of Sesostris the Egyptian; for Sesostris (he said) had subdued the Scythians, besides as many other nations as Darius had conquered, and Darius had not been able to overcome the Scythians; therefore it was not just that Darius should set his statue before the statues of Sesostris, whose achievements he had not equalled. Darius, it is said, let the priest have his way.

111. When Sesostris died, he was succeeded in the kingship (so said the priests) by his son Pheros.¹ This king made no wars; and it happened that he became blind, for the following reason: the Nile came down in a flood such as never was before, rising to a height of eighteen cubits, and the water which overflowed the fields was roughened by a strong wind; then, it is said, the king was so infatuated that he took a spear and hurled it into the midst of the river eddies. Straightway after this he suffered from a disease of the eyes, and became blind. When he had been blind for ten years, an

¹ Manetho's list shows no such name. It is probably not a name but a title, Pharaoh.
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έτεα εἶναι μιν τυφλὸν, ἐνδεκάτῳ δὲ ἐτεῖ ἀπικέσθαι
οἱ μαυτήριον ἐκ Βοιωνοῦ πόλιος ὡς ἐξήκει τε οἱ
ὁ χρόνος τῆς ξημῆς καὶ ἀναβλέψει γυναικὸς οὐρὸ
νυψάμενος τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς, ἤτις παρὰ τὸν ἐωτῆς
ἄνδρα μοῦνον πεφοίτηκε, ἄλλων ἄνδρῶν ἐσύσα
ἀπειρο. καὶ τὸν πρώτης τῆς ἐωτοῦ ἐνναίκος
πειράσθαι, μετὰ δὲ, ὡς οὐκ ἀνέβλεπε, ἐπεξῆς
πασέων πειρασθαὶ: ἀναβλέψαντα δὲ συναγαγεῖν
τὰς γυναῖκας τῶν ἐπειρήθη, πλὴν ἡ τῆς τῷ οὐρῳ
νυψάμενος ἀνέβλεψε, ἵππο μάν πόλιν, ἢ νῦν κα
λεῖται Ἐρυθρὴ βῆλος. ἐς ταύτην συναλίσαντα
ὑποπρῆσαι πᾶσας σὺν αὐτῇ τῇ πόλις τῆς δὲ
νυψάμενος τῷ οὐρῳ ἀνέβλεψε, ταύτην δὲ ἔσχε
αὐτὸς γυναῖκα. ἀναθῆματα δὲ ἀποφεύγων τὴν
πάθην τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν ἄλλα τε ἀνὰ τὰ ἱδά πάντα
τὰ λόγια ἀνέθηκε καὶ τοῦ γε λόγων μάλιστα
ξὺν ἐστὶ ἔχειν, ἐς τοῦ Ἡλίου τὸ ἱδὼν ἀξιοβέγητα
ἀνέθηκε ἑργά, ὁμοίων δύο λιθίνων, ἐξ ἐνὸς ἐόντα
ἐκάτερον λίθου, μῆκος μὲν ἐκάτερον πηχέων
ἐκατῶν, εὐρός δὲ ὁκτὼ πηχέων.

112. Τοῦτο δὲ ἐκδέξασθαι τὴν βασιληθῆνεν ἔλεγ
γον ἄνδρα Μεμφίτην, τῷ κατὰ τὴν Ἑλλήνων
γλῶσσαν οὖνομα Πρωτέα εἶναι: τοῦ νῦν τέμενος
ἐστὶ ἐν Μέμφι κάρτα καλὸν τε καὶ εὖ ἐσκενασ
μένον, τοῦ Ἡφαιστείου πρὸς νότον ἀνέμου κεῖ
μενον. περιοκεύουσα δὲ τὸ τέμενος τοῦτο Φώικες
Τύριοι, καλέται δὲ ὁ χῶρος οὗτος ὁ συγάπα
Συρίων στρατόπεδον. ἔστι δὲ ἐν τῷ τεμένει τοῦ
Πρωτέος ἱρὸν τὸ καλέται ξείνης Ἀφροδίτης
συμβάλλομαι δὲ τούτῳ τὸ ἱρὸν εἶναι Ἐλένης τῆς
Τυνδάρεω, καὶ τὸν λόγον ἀκηκόως ὡς διαπερὰ
Ἐλένη παρὰ Πρωτεί, καὶ δὴ καὶ ὑπὲρ ξείνης Ὀφρο
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oracle from the city of Buto declared to him that the
time of his punishment was drawing to an end,
and that he should regain his sight by washing his
eyes with the issue of a woman who had never had
intercourse with any man but her own husband.
Pheros made trial with his own wife first, and as
he still remained blind, with all women, one after
another. When he at last recovered sight, he took
all the women of whom he had made trial, save only
her who had made him to see again, and gathered
them into one town, that which is now called "Red
Clay"; where having collected them together he
burnt them and the town; but the woman by whose
means he had recovered sight he took to wife.
Among the many offerings which he dedicated in all
the noteworthy temples for his deliverance from
blindness, most worthy of mention are the two mar-
vellous stone obelisks which he set up in the temple
of the Sun. Each of these is made of a single
block, and is an hundred cubits high and eight cubits
thick.

112. Pheros was succeeded (they said) by a man
of Memphis, whose name in the Greek language
was Proteus. This Proteus has a fair and well-
adorned temple precinct at Memphis, lying to the
south of the temple of Hephaestus. Round the pre-
cinct dwell Phoenicians of Tyre, and the whole place
is called the Camp of the Tyrians. There is in the
precinct of Proteus a temple entitled the temple of
the Stranger Aphrodite; this I guess to be a temple
of Helen, daughter of Tyndarus, partly because I
have heard the story of Helen's abiding with
Proteus, and partly because it bears the name of
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dίτης ἐπώνυμον ἔστι· ὅσα γὰρ ἄλλα Ὀφροδίτης ἱρά ἐστι, οὐδαμῶς ξείνης ἐπικαλέεται.

113. Ἕλεγον δὲ μοι οἱ ιρέες ἱστορέοντι τὰ περὶ Ἑλένην γενέσθαι ὤδε. Ἀλέξανδρον ἀρπάσαντα Ἑλένην ἐκ Σπάρτης ἀποπλῆςεν ἐς τὴν ἑωτοῦ· καὶ μιν, ὡς ἐγένετο ἐν τῷ Ἀἰγαίῳ, ἐξώσται ἄνεμοι ἐκβάλλουσι ἐς τὸ Ἀἰγύπτιον πέλαγος, ἐνθείτεν δὲ, οὐ γὰρ ἀνείε τὰ πνεύματα, ἀπεκνέεται ἐς Αἰγύπτιον καὶ Αἰγύπτιον ἐς τὸ νῦν Κανωβικὸν καλεύμενον στόμα τοῦ Νείλου καὶ ἐς Ταριχείας. ἣν δὲ ἔπτι τῆς ἡμέρας τὸ καὶ νῦν ἐστί Ἡρακλεὸς ἱρόν, ἐς τὸ ἢν καταφυγὸς ὀϊκέτης ὅσε κἀν ἄνθρωποι ἐπιβάλλοντο στῦγματα ἱρά, ἑωτὸν διδοῦς τῷ θεῷ, οὐκ ἔξεστι τούτου ἀφασθαί. ὁ νόμος οὗτος διατελεῖ ἐὼν ὅμοιος μέχρι ἔμει τῷ ἀρχῆς. τοῦ δὲ Ἀλέξανδρον ἀπεστέαται θεράποντες τυθόμενοι τὸν περὶ τὸ ἱρόν ἐχούτα νόμον, ἰκέται δὲ ἰξόμενοι τοῦ θεοῦ κατηγόρεον τοῦ Ἀλέξανδρον, βουλόμενοι βλάπτειν αὐτῶν, πάντα λόγων ἐξηγεύ- μενοι ὡς εἰχε περὶ τὴν Ἑλένην τε καὶ τὴν ἐς Μενέλεων ἀδίκημα κατηγόρεον δὲ ταῦτα πρὸς τε τοὺς ιρέας καὶ τὸν τοῦ στόματος τοῦτον φύλακον, τῷ οὖνόμα ἡν Ὁδώς.

114. Ἀκούσας δὲ τούτων ὁ Ὁδώς πέμπει τὴν ταχιστὴν ἐς Μέμφιν παρὰ Πρωτέα ἀγγελίην λέγουσαν τάδε. "Ἱκεὶ ἔεινος γένος μεν Τευκρός, ἔργον δὲ ἀνόσιον ἐν τῇ Ἐλλάδι ἔξεργασμένος· ἔεινο γὰρ τοῦ ἑωτοῦ ἐξαπατηθεῖσα τὴν γυναῖκα αὐτὴν τε ταύτην ἄγων ἥκει καὶ πολλὰ κάρτα χρήματα, ὑπὸ ἀνέμων ἐς γῆν ταύτην ἀπενειχθείς. κότερα δὴ τούτων ἐσώμεν ἁσίνεα ἐκπλέειν ἡ
the Stranger Aphrodite; for no other of Aphrodite's temples is called by that name.

113. When I enquired of the priests, they told me that this was the story of Helen:—After carrying off Helen from Sparta, Alexandrus sailed away for his own country; violent winds caught him in the Aegean, and drove him into the Egyptian sea; whence (the wind not abating) he came to Egypt, to the mouth of the Nile called the Canopic mouth, and to the Salting-places. Now there was on the coast (and still is) a temple of Heracles; where if a servant of any man take refuge and be branded with certain sacred marks in token that he delivers himself to the god, such an one may not be touched. This law continues to-day the same as it has ever been from the first. Hearing of the temple law, certain of Alexandrus' servants separated themselves from him, threw themselves on the mercy of the god, and brought an accusation against Alexandrus with intent to harm him, telling all the story of Helen and the wrong done to Menelaus. They laid this accusation before the priests and the warden of the Nile mouth, whose name was Thonis.

114. When Thonis heard it, he sent this message with all speed to Proteus at Memphis: "There has come hither a Teurcian stranger who has done great wrong in Hellas. He has deceived his host and robbed him of his wife, and brought her hither, driven to your country by the wind, with very great store of wealth besides. Shall we suffer him to sail away unharmed, or take away from him that which
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"ἀπελώμεθα τὰ ἔχων ἤλθε;" ἀντιπέμπει πρὸς ταῦτα ὁ Πρωτεύς λέγοντα τάδε. "Ἀνδρα τούτων, ὅστις κοτὲ ἐστὶ ἀνόσια ἐργασμένος ξεῖνον τὸν ἥωτοῦ, συλλαβόντες ἀπάγητε παρ' ἐμέ, ὅνα εἶδέω ὃ τι κοτὲ καὶ λέξει." 115. Ἀκούσας δὲ ταῦτα ὁ Ὁδὼς συλλαμβάνει τὸν Ἀλεξάνδρον καὶ τὰς νέας αὐτοῦ κατίσχει, μετὰ δὲ αὐτὸν τε τούτων ἀνήγαγε ἑς Μέμφιν καὶ τὴν Ἐλένην τε καὶ τὰ χρήματα, πρὸς δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἰκέτας. ἀνακομισθέντων δὲ πάντων, εἰρώτα τὸν Ἀλεξαν-δρόν ὁ Πρωτεύς τίς εἴη καὶ ὁκόθεν πλέοι. ὃ δὲ οἱ καὶ τὸ γένος κατέλεξε καὶ τῆς πάτρης εἶπε τὸ σῶμα, καὶ δὴ καὶ τὸν πλόον ἀπηγήσατο ὁκόθεν πλέοι. μετὰ δὲ ὁ Πρωτεύς εἰρώτα αὐτὸν ὁκόθεν τὴν Ἐλένην λάβοι. πλανωμένου δὲ τοῦ Ἀλε-ξάνδρου ἐν τῷ λόγῳ καὶ οὐ λέγοντος τὴν ἀληθείαν, ἤλεγχον οἱ γενόμενοι ἰκέται, ἐξηγεύμενοι πάντα λόγον τοῦ ἀδικήματος. τέλος δὲ δὴ σφι λόγον τόνδε ἐκφαίνει ὁ Πρωτεύς, λέγων ὅτι "Εγὼ εἰ μὴ περὶ πολλοῦ ἡγεύμην μηδένα ξεῖνον κτέινειν, ὅσοι ὅπῃ ἄνεμων ἤδη ἀπολαμβάνει ἢλθον ἐς χώρην τὴν ἐμῆν, ἐγὼ ἂν σὺ ὑπὲρ τοῦ Ἐλληνος ἐτισάμην, ὃς, ὃ κἀκιστε ἄνδρῶν, ξείνῳ πολὺ ἐργὸν ἀνο-σίωταν ἐργάσασθαι. παρὰ τοῦ σεωτοῦ ξείνου τῆς γυναίκας ἤλθες. καὶ μάλα ταῦτά τοι οὐκ ἤρκεσε, ἀλλ' ἀναπτερώσας αὐτὴν οὐχεῖαι ἔχων ἐκκλέψας. καὶ οὐδὲ ταῦτα τοι μοῦνα ἤρκεσε, ἀλλ' καὶ οἶκια τοῦ ξείνου κεραύσας ἤκεις. νῦν ὡν ἐπειδὴ περὶ πολλοῦ ἡγησάμενος κηφὶ ξεινοκτονεῖν, γυναῖκα μὲν ταῦτην καὶ τὰ χρήματα οὐ τοι προῆσο ἀπαγγέσθαι, ἀλλ' αὐτὰ ἔγω τῷ Ἐλληνι ξείνῳ φυλάξω, ἐς δὲ ἄντός ἐλθὼν ἐκεῖνος ἀπαγαγέσθαι 404
BOOK II. 114-115

he has brought?" Proteus sent back this message: "Whoever be this man who has done a wrong to his own host, seize him and bring him to me, that I may know what he will say."

115. Hearing this, Thonis seized Alexandrus and held his ships there, and presently brought him with Helen and all the wealth, and the suppliants therewith, to Memphis. All having come thither, Proteus asked Alexandrus who he was and whence he sailed; Alexandrus told him of his lineage and the name of his country, and of his voyage, whence he sailed. Then Proteus asked him whence he had taken Helen; Alexandrus made no straightforward or truthful answer; but the men who had taken refuge with the temple disproved his tale, and related the whole story of the wrongful act. When all was said, Proteus thus gave sentence:—"Were I not careful to slay no stranger who has ever been caught by the wind and driven to my coasts, I would have avenged that Greek upon you; seeing that, O basest of men! you have done foul wrong to him who hospitably entertained you, and have entered in to the wife of your own host. Nay, and this did not suffice you; you made her to fly with you and stole her away. Nor was even this enough, but you have come hither with the plunder of your host’s house. Now, therefore, since I am careful to slay no stranger, I will not suffer you to take away this woman and these possessions; I will keep them for the Greek stranger, till such time as he shall himself come to

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ΗΕΡΟΔΟΤΟΣ

ἐθέλη· αὐτὸν δὲ σε καὶ τοὺς σοὺς συμπλόους τριῶν ἡμερέων προαγορεύω ἐκ τῆς ἐμῆς γῆς ἐς ἀλλήν τινὰ μετορμίζεσθαι, εἰ δὲ μὴ, ἀτε πολεμίους περιέφεσθαι.

116. Ἑλένης μὲν ταύτην ἀπίξων παρὰ Πρωτέα ἔλεγον οἱ ἱρέες γενέσθαι· δοκεῖι δὲ μοι καὶ Ὁμηρός τὸν λόγον τοῦτον πυθέσθαι· ἀλλ' οὐ γάρ ὁμοίως ἐς τὴν ἐποποιήθης εὐπρεπῆς ἦν τῷ ἐτέρῳ τῷ περ ἐχρῆσατο, ἐκὼν μετήκε αὐτόν, δηλώσας ὡς καὶ τοῦτον ἐπίστατο τὸν λόγον· δῆλον δὲ κατὰ [γάρ] 1 ἐποίησε ἐν Ἰλιάδι (καὶ οὐδαμῇ ἄλλῃ ἀνεπόδεισε ἐωτόν) πλάνην τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου, ὡς ἀπηνείξθη ἀγων Ἑλένην τῇ τε δὴ ἄλλῃ πλαξόμενος καὶ ὡς ἔς Σιδώνα τῆς Φοινίκης ἀπίκετο. ἐπιμέμνηται δὲ αὐτοῦ ἐν Διομήδεος ἀριστηθῇ λέγει δὲ τὰ ἐπεα ὅδε.

"Ενθ' ἔσαν οἱ πέπλοι παμποῖκιλοι, ἔργα γυναικῶν Σιδώνιων, τὰς αὐτὸς Ἀλεξάνδρος θεοειδῆς ἦγαγε Σιδωνίηθεν, ἐπιτπικθ ἐüρεά πόντου, τὴν ὅδον ἢν Ἑλένην περ ἀνηγαγεν εὐπατέρειαν.

ἐπιμέμνηται δὲ καὶ ἐν Ὀδυσσέῃ ἐν τοῖσιδε τοῖσι ἐπεσει.

Τοῖα Διὸς θυγάτηρ ἔχε φάρμακα μητιόεντα, ἐσθλά, τὰ οί Πολύδαμνα πόρεν Θῶνσ παράκοιτες
Αἰγυπτίη, τῇ πλεῖστα δέρει Ἴείδωρος ἄρουρα φάρμακα, πολλα μὲν ἐσθλὰ μεμγίμενα, πολλα δὲ λυγρά.

1 κατά = καθά, "according as." γάρ is out of place here.
BOOK II. 115-116

take them away; but as for you and the companions of your voyage, I warn you to depart from my country elsewhither within three days, else I will deal with you as with enemies."

116. This, by what the priests told me, was the manner of Helen's coming to Proteus. And, to my thinking, Homer too knew this story; but seeing that it suited not so well with epic poetry as the tale of which he made use, he rejected it of set purpose, showing withal that he knew it. This is plain, from the passage in the Iliad (and nowhere else does he return to the story) where he relates the wanderings of Alexandrus, and shows how he with Helen was carried out of his course, among other places, to Sidon in Phoenice. This is in the story of the Feats of Diomedes, where the verses run as follows:

There were the robes in his house, inwrought with manifold colours,
Work of the women of Sidon, whom godlike Paris aforetime
Brought from their eastern town, o'er wide seas voyaging thither,
E'en when he won from her home fair Helen, the daughter of princes.¹

He makes mention of it in the Odyssey also:
Suchlike drugs of grace, for a healing cunningly mingled,
Once in the land of Nile had the wife of Thon, Polydamna,
Giv'n to the daughter of Zeus; for there of the country's abundance,
Potent to heal or to harm, are herbs full many engendered:²

¹ Il. vi. 289-92. ² Od. iv. 227-30.
καὶ τάδε ἕτερα πρὸς Τηλέμαχον Μενέλεως λέγει.

Αἰγύπτῳ μ’ ἐτὶ δεύρο θεοὶ μεμαώτα νέεσθαι ἔσχον, ἐπεὶ οὐ σφιν ἐρέξα τεληέσσας ἐκατόμβας.  

ἐν τούτοισι τοῖσι ἐπεσε δηλοὶ ὅτι ἡπίστατο τὴν ἐς Αἴγυπτον Ἄλεξάνδρου πλάνην ὀμουρεῖ γὰρ ἡ Συρίη Αἰγύπτῳ, οἱ δὲ Φοινικεῖς, τῶν ἐστὶ ἡ Σιδῶν, ἐν τῇ Συρίῃ οἴκεουσι.

117. Κατὰ ταῦτα δὲ τὰ ἐπεα καὶ τόδε τὸ χωρίον οὐκ ἡκίστα ἀλλὰ μᾶλιστα δηλοὶ ὅτι οὐκ Ὄμηρον τὰ Κύπρια ἐπεα ἐστὶ. ἀλλ’ ἄλλου τινὸς. ἐν μὲν γὰρ τοῖσι Κυπρίοις εἰρήται ὡς τριταῖος ἐκ Σπάρτης Ἀλέξανδρος ἀπίκετο ἐς τὸ Ἰλιον ἀγων Ἐλένην, εὐαιτε τε πνεύματι χρησάμενος καὶ θαλάσσης λεῖης ἐν δὲ Ἰλιάδι λέγει ὡς ἐπλάξετο ἀγῶν αὐτῆς.

118. Ὅμηρος μὲν νυν καὶ τὰ Κύπρια ἐπεα χαιρέτω. εἰρομένου δὲ μεν τοὺς ἤρεας εἰ μᾶταιον λόγων λέγουσι οἱ Ἑλληνες τὰ περὶ Ἰλιον γενέσθαι ἢ οὖ, ἐφασαν πρὸς ταῦτα τάδε, ἰστορίησι φάμενοι εἰδέναι παρ’ αὐτοῦ Μενέλεως. ἐλθεὶν μὲν γὰρ μετὰ τὴν Ἐλένης ἄρπαγην ἐς τὴν Τευκρίδα γῆν Ἐλλήνων στρατηγὸν πολλὴν βοηθεῦσαν Μενέλεως, ἐκβάςαν δὲ ἐς γῆν καὶ ἰδρυθεῖσαν τὴν στρατηγὸν πέμπειν ἐς τὸ Ἰλιον ἀγγέλους, τὸν δὲ σφι λέναι καὶ αὐτὸν Μενέλεων τοὺς δ’ ἐπείτε ἐσελθεῖν ἐς τὸ τεῖχος, ἀπαιτεῖν Ἐλένην τε καὶ τὰ χρήματα τὰ οἱ οἶχετο κλέψας Ἀλέξανδρος, τῶν τε ἀδικημάτων δίκας αἰτεῖν τοὺς δὲ Τευ-

1 Stein brackets ἐπιμέμηται... ἐκατόμβας, because (as he says) the quotations from the Odyssey have nothing to do with the story of Alexandrus.

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BOOK II. 116–118

and again Menelaus says to Telemachus:

Eager was I to return, but the gods fast held me in Egypt,
Wroth that I honoured them not nor offered a sacrifice duly.¹

In these verses the poet shows that he knew of Alexandrus' wanderings to Egypt; for Syria borders on Egypt, and the Phoenicians, to whom Sidon belongs, dwell in Syria.

117. These verses and this passage prove most clearly that the Cyprian poems are by the hand not of Homer but of another. For the Cyprian poems relate that Alexandrus reached Ilion with Helen in three days from Sparta, having a fair wind and a smooth sea; but according to the Iliad he wandered from his course in bringing her.

118. Enough, then, of Homer and the Cyprian poems. But when I asked the priests whether the Greek account of the Trojan business were vain or true, they gave me the following answer, saying that they had inquired and knew what Menelaus himself had said:—After the rape of Helen, a great host of Greeks came to the Teucrian land on Menelaus' behalf. Having there disembarked and encamped, they sent to Ilion messengers, of whom Menelaus himself was one. These, on coming within the city walls, demanded restitution of Helen and the possessions which Alexandrus had stolen from Menelaus and carried off, and reparation besides for the wrong done; but the Teucrians then and ever afterwards

¹ Od. iv. 351, 2.
κροὺς τὸν αὐτὸν λόγον λέγειν τότε καὶ μετέπειτα, καὶ ὁμοῦντας καὶ ἀνωμοτι, μὴ μὲν ἔχειν Ἐλένην μηδὲ τὰ ἐπικαλεύμενα χρῆματα, ἀλλ' εἶναι αὐτὰ πάντα ἐν Αἰγυπτίω, καὶ οὐκ ἂν δικαίως αὐτοὶ δίκας ὑπέχειν τῶν Πρωτεύοντος Αἰγύπτιος βασιλεύσ ἔχει. οἱ δὲ Ἐλληνες καταγελάσθαι δοκεόντες ὑπ' αὐτὸν οὖτω δὴ ἐπολιώρκεον, ἐς δὲ ἐξεύλοιος ἔλουσι δὲ τὸ τείχος ὡς οὐκ ἐφαίνετο ἡ Ἐλένη, ἀλλὰ τὸν αὐτὸν λόγον τῷ προτέρῳ ἐπυρβάλουν, οὖτω δὴ πιστεύσαντες τῷ λόγῳ τῷ πρῶτῳ οἱ Ἐλληνες αὐτὸν Μενέλασον ἀποστέλλουσι παρὰ Πρωτέα.

119. Ἀπεικόμενος δὲ ὁ Μενέλασος ἐστὶν Αἰγυπτίων καὶ ἀναπλώσας ἐστὶν Μέμφιδες, εἶπας τὴν ἄληθείαν τῶν ποιημάτων, καὶ ξειώνω ἦντησε μεγάλων καὶ Ἐλένην ἀπαθέα κακῶν ἀπέλαβε, πρὸς δὲ καὶ τὰ ἐωτοῦ χρῆματα πάντα. τυχῶν μέντοι τούτων ἐγένετο Μενέλας ἀνήρ ἄδικος ἐστὶ Αἰγύπτιος. ἀποπλέειν γὰρ ὀρμημένον αὐτὸν Ἰσχον ἀπλοῖαν ἐπειδὴ δὲ τούτῳ ἐπὶ πολλῶν τοιοῦτον ἦν, ἐπιτεχνάται πρήγμα ὁ σῶν λαβών γὰρ δύο παιδία ἀνδρῶν ἐπιχωρίων ἐντομα σφέα ἐποίησε. μετὰ δὲ ὡς ἐπάιστος ἐγένετο τούτῳ ἐργασμένος, μισθείς τε καὶ διωκόμενος οὐχετο φεύγων τῇ σινήτῃ ἐπὶ Διβύνης τὸ ἐνθεύτην δὲ ὁκον ἐπὶ ἐτράπετο οὐκ ἐχον εἰπεῖν Ἐλένης. τοῦτω δὲ τὰ μὲν ἱστορήσῃ ἐφασαν ἐπίστασθαι, τὰ δὲ παρ' ἐσυντοίχις γενόμενα ἀτρεκέως ἐπιστάμενοι λέγειν.

120. Ταῦτα μὲν Αἰγυπτίων οἱ ἱρεῖς ἔλεγον· ἐγὼ δὲ τῷ λόγῳ τῷ περὶ Ἐλένης λεγθέντι καὶ αὐτὸς προστίθεμαι, τάδε ἐπιλεγόμενος, εἰ ἦν Ἐλένη ἐν 410
declared, with oaths and without, that neither Helen nor the goods claimed were with them, she and they being in Egypt; nor could they (so they said) justly make reparation for what was in the hands of the Egyptian king Proteus. But the Greeks thought that the Trojans mocked them, and therewith besieged the city, till they took it; and it was not till they took the fortress and found no Helen there, and heard the same declaration as before, that they gave credence to the Trojans' first word and so sent Menelaus himself to Proteus.

119. Menelaus then came to Egypt and went up the river to Memphis; there, telling the whole truth of what had happened, he was very hospitably entertained and received back Helen unharmed and all his possessions withal. Yet, albeit so well entreated, Menelaus did the Egyptians a wrong. For when he would have sailed away he was stayed by stress of weather; and this hindrance continuing for long, he devised and did a forbidden deed, taking two children of the land and sacrificing them. When it was known that he had so done, the people hated and pursued him, and he fled away with his ships to Libya; and whither he thence betook himself the Egyptians could not say. The priests told me that they had learnt some of this tale by inquiry, but that they spoke with exact knowledge of what had happened in their own country.

120. So much was told me by the Egyptian priests. For myself, I believe their story about Helen: for I reason thus—that had Helen been in Ilion, then
HERODOTUS

'Ιλίῳ, ἀποδοθήμαι ἄν αὐτὴν τοισί Ἐλλησὶ ἦτοι ἐκόντος γε ἡ ἀέκοντος Ἀλέξανδρου. οὐ γὰρ δὴ οὐτω γε φρενόβλαβῆς ἦν ὁ Πρίαμος οὔδε οἱ ἄλλοι οἱ προσήκοντες αὐτῷ, ὡστε τοισι σφέτεροισι σώμασι καὶ τοισὶ τέκνοισι καὶ τῇ πόλι κινδυνεύειν ἐβούλοντο, ὅκως Ἀλέξανδρος Ἐλένη συνοικήσῃ. εἰ δὲ τοι καὶ ἐν τοιτι πρότοισι χρόνοις ταῦτα ἐγλυσκον, ἔπει πολλοὶ μὲν τῶν ἄλλων Τρώων, ὅκοτε συμμεῖσογοιν τοισὶ Ἐλλησὶ, ἀπώλλυντο, αὐτοῦ δὲ Πρίαμος οὐκ ἔστι ὡτε οὐ δύο ἢ τρεῖς ἢ καὶ ἕτε πλέους τῶν παῖδων μάχης γινομένης ἀπέθνησκον, εἰ χρή τι τοισι ἐποποιοῖσθαι χρεώμενοι λέγειν, τούτων δὲ τοιούτων συμβαινόντων ἔγω μὲν ἐλπομαι, εἰ καὶ αὐτὸς Πρίαμος συνοικεῖν Ἐλένη, ἀποδοῦναι ἄν αὐτὴν τοισὶ Ἀχαιοῖς, μέλλοντά γε δὴ τῶν παρεόντων κακῶν ἀπαλλαγῆσθαι. οὐ μὲν οὖν ἢ βασιλεία ἐς Ἀλέξανδρον περιήγης, ὡστε γέροντος Πρίαμος έώντος ἐπ' ἐκείνῳ τὰ πρήγματα εἶναι, ἀλλὰ Ἔκτωρ καὶ πρεσβύτερος καὶ ἀνήρ ἐκείνου μᾶλλον ἔων ἐμελλε αὐτήν Πρίαμον ἀποθανόντος παραλάμψεσθαι, τῶν οὐ προσῆκε ἄδικεντες τῷ ἀδελφῷ ἐπιτράτειν, καὶ ταῦτα μεγάλων κακῶν δὴ αὐτῶν συμβαινόντων ἦν τε αὐτῷ καὶ τοῖσι ἄλλοις πάσι Τρώσι. ἀλλ' οὐ γὰρ εἴχον Ἐλένην ἀποδοῦναι, οὐδὲ λέγουσι αὐτοῖς τὴν ἀληθείαν ἐπίστευν οἱ Ἐλληνες, ὡς μὲν ἐγὼ γνώμην ἀποφαίνομαι, τοῦ δαμαυοῦν παρασκευάζοντος, ὅκως πανωλθήρη ἀπολόμενοι καταφανεῖς τοῦτο τοισὶ ἀνθρώποισι ποιήσωσι, ὡς τῶν μεγάλων ἀδικημάτων μεγάλαι εἰσὶ καὶ αἱ τιμωρίαι παρὰ τῶν θεῶν. καὶ ταύτα μὲν τῇ ἔμοι δοκεῖ εἰρηται.

121. Πρωτέος δὲ ἐκδέξασθαι τὴν βασιλείαν

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with or without the will of Alexandrus she would have
been given back to the Greeks. For surely neither
was Priam so mad, nor those nearest to him, as to
consent to risk their own persons and their children
and their city, that Alexandrus might have Helen to
wife. Even be it granted that they were so minded
in the first days, yet when not only many of the
Trojans were slain in fighting against the Greeks,
but Priam himself lost by death two or three or even
more of his sons in every battle (if the poets are to
be trusted), in this turn of affairs, had Helen been
Priam's own wife, I cannot but think (for myself)
that he would have restored her to the Greeks, if by
so doing he could escape from the present evil plight.
Nay, nor was Alexandrus next heir to the kingship,
whereby he might have been the real ruler, Priam
being old; it was Hector, an older and a more
valiant man than Alexandrus, who was like to receive
the royal power at Priam's death; and it was none of
Hector's business to consent to his brother's wrong-
doing, least of all when that brother was the cause of
great calamity to Hector himself and the whole of
Troy beside. But matters fell out as they did
because the Trojans had not Helen there to give
back, yet though they spoke the truth the Greeks
would not believe them; for, as I am convinced and
declare, the powers above ordained that the utter
destruction of Troy should prove in the sight of all
men that the gods do greatly punish great wrong-
doing. This is my own belief and thus I declare it.

121. The next to reign after Proteus (they said)
HERODOTUS

'Ραμψίνουν ἔλεγον, δε μημόσυνα ἐλίπετο τὰ προπύλαια τὰ πρὸς ἐσπέρην τετραμμένα τοῦ Ἡφαιστείου, ἀντίος δὲ τῶν προπυλαίων ἐστησε ἀνδριάντας δύο, ἐόντας τὸ μέγαθος πέντε καὶ ἐξικοι πηχέων, τῶν Ἀιγύπτιων τῶν μὲν πρὸς βορέω ἐστεώτα καλέουσι θέρος, τὸν δὲ πρὸς νότον χει-μῶνα. καὶ τὸν μὲν καλέουσι θέρος, τοῦτον μὲν προσκυνοῦσι τε καὶ εὖ ποιέουσι, τὸν δὲ χει-μῶνα καλεόμενον τὰ ἐμπαλίν τοῦτον ἔρδουσι. πλοῦτον δὲ τούτῳ τῷ βασιλεύι γενέσθαι ἀργύρου μέγαν, τὸν οὐδένα τῶν ὑστερον ἐπιτραφέντων βασιλέων δύνασθαι ὑπερβαλέσθαι οὔδ' ἐγγύς ἐλθείν. βουλόμενον δὲ αὐτὸν ἐν ἀσφαλείᾳ τὰ χρήματα θησαυρίζειν οἰκοδομέσθαι οἰκημα λι-θων, τοῦ τῶν τοῖχων ἕνα ἐς τὸ ἔξω μέρος τῆς οἰκίης ἔχειν. τὸν δὲ ἐργαζόμενον ἐπιβουλεύοντα τάδε μηχανάσθαι τῶν λίθων παρασκευάσασθαι ἕνα ἐξαιρετον εἶναι ἐκ τοῦ τοίχου ῥημισίως καὶ ὑπὸ δύο ἀνδρῶν καὶ ὑπὸ ἑνός. ὡς δὲ ἐπετελέσθη τὸ οἰκημα, τὸν μὲν βασιλέα θησαυρίζει τὰ χρήματα ἐν αὐτῷ. χρόνον δὲ περιώντος τῶν οἰκοδομῶν περὶ τελευτὴν τὸν βίου ἐόντα ἀνακαλέσασθαι τοὺς παίδας (ἐναι γὰρ αὐτῷ δύο), τούτοις δὲ ἀπηγη-σάσθαι όσ' ἐκεῖνων προσφών, ὅκως βίον ἄφθονον ἔχωσι τεχνάσατο οἰκοδομέων τῶν θησαυρῶν τοῦ βασιλέως. σαφέως δὲ αὐτοῦ πάντα ἐξηγήσα-μενον τὰ περὶ τὴν ἐξαίρεσιν τοῦ λίθου δοῦναι τὰ μέτρα αὐτοῦ, λέγοντα όσ' ταῦτα διαφυλάσσοντες ταμίαι τῶν βασιλεός χρημάτων ἔσονται. καὶ τὸν μὲν τελευτῆσαι τὸν βίου, τοὺς δὲ παίδας οὐκ ἐς μακρὴν ἔργον ἔχεσθαι, ἐπελθόντας δὲ ἐπὶ τὰ βασιλῆια νυκτὸς καὶ τὸν λίθου ἐπὶ τῷ οἰκοδολ.
was Rhampsinitus. The memorial of his name left by him was the western forecourt of the temple of Hephaestus; before this he set two statues of twenty-five cubits' height; the northernmost of these is called by the Egyptians Summer, and the southernmost Winter; that one which they call Summer they worship and entreat well, but do contrariwise to the statue called Winter. This king (they told me) had great wealth of silver, so great that none of the later-born kings could surpass or nearly match it. That he might store his treasure safely, he made to be built a stone chamber, one of its walls abutting on the outer side of his palace. But the builder of it craftily contrived that one stone should be so placed as to be easily removed by two men or even by one. So when the chamber was finished, the king stored his treasure in it. But as time went on, the builder, being now near his end, called to him his two sons and told them how he had provided an ample livelihood for them by the art with which he had built the king's treasure-house; he made them clearly to understand concerning the removal of the stone, and gave the measurements which would find it; saying that if they kept these in mind they would be stewards of the king's riches. So when he was dead, his sons set to work with no long delay: coming to the palace by night, they easily found and
μήματι ἀνευρόντας ὑδίως μεταχειρίσασθαι καὶ τῶν χρημάτων πολλὰ ἐξενείκασθαι. ὡς δὲ τυχεῖν τῶν βασιλέα ἀνοίξαντα τὸ οἰκήμα, θωμάσαι ἰδόντα τῶν χρημάτων καταδεῖ τὰ ἀγγημ. οὐκ ἔχειν δὲ ὅτινα ἑπανίται, τῶν τε σημάντρων ἐόντων σῶν καὶ τοῦ οἰκήματος κεκλημένου. ὡς δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ δίς καὶ τρὶς ἀνοίξαντι αἰεὶ ἐλάσσω φαίνεσθαι τὰ χρήματα (τοὺς γὰρ κλέπτας οὐκ ἀνέναι κερατζοντας), ποιῆσαι μὴν τάδε πάγας προστάξαι ἐργάσασθαι καὶ ταῦτα περὶ τὰ ἀγγημα ἐν τοῖς τὰ χρήματα ἐνήν στήσαι. τῶν δὲ φωρῶν ὤσπερ ἐν τῷ πρὸ τοῦ χρόνῳ ἐλθόντων καὶ ἐσθόντος τοῦ ἐτέρου αὐτῶν, ἔτει πρὸς τὸ ἅγιος προσήθηκε, ἰδέως τῇ πάγῃ ἐνέχεσθαι. ὡς δὲ γνῶναι αὐτὸν ἐν οἴῳ κακῶ ἦν, ἰδέως καλέειν τῶν ἀδελφοῦ καὶ δηλοῦν αὐτῷ τὰ παρεόντα, καὶ κελεύειν τὴν ταχίστην ἐσθόντα ἀποταμεῖν αὐτοῦ τὴν κεφαλήν, ὥσεις μὴ αὐτὸς ὁθεῖς καὶ γνωρισθεῖς δε εἰπὶ προσαπολέσῃ κάκεινον. τῷ δὲ δόξαι εὗ λέγειν, καὶ ποιῆσαι μὴν πισθέντα ταῦτα, καὶ καταρμόσαντα τὸν λίθου ἀπιέναι ἐπ' οἴκου, φέροντα τὴν κεφαλὴν τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ. ὡς δὲ ἡμέρη ἐγένετο, ἐσελθόντα τοῦ βασιλέα ἐς τὸ οἰκήμα ἐκπεπλήχθαι ὅρων σῶμα τοῦ φωρῶ ἐν τῇ πάγῃ ἀνευ τῆς κεφαλῆς ἐόν, τὸ δὲ οἰκήμα ἀσινές καὶ οὔτε ἐσοδον οὔτε ἐκδυσιν οὐδεμίαν ἔχον. ἀπορεύμενον δὲ μὴν τάδε ποιῆσαι τοῦ φωρῶ τῶν νέκυν κατὰ τοῦ τείχους κατακρεμάσαι, φυλάκους δὲ αὐτοῦ καταστήσαντα ἐντείλασθαι σφί, τῶν ἄν ἰδώναι ἀποκλαύσαντα ή κατοικτισάμενοι, συλλαβόντας ἁγείν πρὸς ἐωτοῖν.

Ἀνακρεμμένου δὲ τοῦ νέκυος τὴν μητέρα δεινῶς φέρειν, λόγους δὲ πρὸς τὸν περιεόντα παῖδα 416
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handled the stone in the building, and took away much of the treasure. When the king opened the building, he was amazed to see the vessels lacking their full tale of treasure; yet he knew not whom to accuse, seeing that the seals were unbroken and the chamber fast shut. But when at the second and third opening of the chamber he saw the treasure grown ever less (for the thieves ceased not from plundering), he bid traps to be made and set about the vessels in which his riches lay. The thieves came as they had done before, and one of them crept in; when he came near the vessel, at once he was caught and held in the trap. Seeing his evil plight, he straightway called to his brother, and, showing him how matters stood, "Creep in quickly," said he, "and cut off my head, lest I be seen and recognised and so bring you too to ruin." The brother consented and did this, thinking the counsel good. Then he set the stone in place again, and went away home, carrying his brother's head. When it was morning the king came to the chamber, and was amazed to see the thief's headless body in the trap, yet the chamber unbroken, with no way of passing in or out; and he knew not what to do. But presently he hung the thief's dead body on the outer wall, and set guards over it, charging them to seize and bring before him whomsoever they should see weeping or making lamentation.

But the thief's mother, when the body had been so hung, was greatly moved: she talked with
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ποιευμένην προστάσεων αυτῷ οτεφ τρόπῳ δύναται μηχανάσθαι ὅκως τὸ σῶμα τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ καταλύσας κομιεῖ· εἰ δὲ τούτων ἀμελήσει, διαπειλέειν αὐτὴν ὡς ἔλθοῦσα πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα μηνύσει αὐτὸν ἐχοντα τὰ χρήματα. ὡς δὲ χαλεπῶς ἐλαμβάνετο ἡ μήτηρ τοῦ περιεόντος παιδὸς καὶ πολλὰ πρὸς αὐτὴν λέγων οὐκ ἔπειθε, ἐπιτεχνήσασθαι τοιάδε μν' ὅνους κατασκευασάμενον καὶ ἀσκοῦς πλήσαντα οἶνον ἐπιθεῖναι ἑπὶ τῶν ὅνων καὶ ἔπειτα ἐλαύνειν αὐτοὺς· ὡς δὲ κατὰ τοὺς φυλάσσοντας ἦν τὸν κρεμάμενον νέκυν, ἐπισπάσαντα τῶν ἀσκῶν δύο ἡ τρεῖς ποδεῶνας αὐτῶν λύειν ἀπαμένους· ὡς δὲ ἔρρεε ὁ οἶνος, τὴν κεφαλὴν μν' κόπτεσθαι μεγάλα βοώντα ὡς οὐκ ἐχοντα πρὸς οὔκοιον τῶν ὅνων πρῶτον τράπηται. τοὺς δὲ φυλάκους ὡς ἰδεῖν πολλὸν ρέοντα τῶν οἴνων, συντρέχειν ἐς τὴν ὁδὸν ἀγγήνῃ ἐχοντας, καὶ τὸν ἐκκεκυμένον οἴνον συγκομίζειν ἐν κέρδει ποιευμένους· τὸν δὲ διαλοιδορέσθαι πᾶσι θρήν προσποιεύμενοι, παραμυθεύμενοι δὲ αὐτῶν τῶν φυλάκων χρόνῳ πρηνύνεσθαι προσποιεύμεσθαι καὶ ὑπίεσθαι τής θρήνης, τέλος δὲ ἐξελάσαι αὐτὸν τοὺς ὅνους ἐκ τῆς ὅδου καὶ κατασκευάζειν. ὡς δὲ λόγους τῇ πλέον ἐγγίνεσθαι καὶ τινα καὶ σκῶψαι μν' καὶ ἐς γέλωτα προαγαγέσθαι, ἐπιδοῦναι αὐτοῖς τῶν ἀσκῶν ἔνα· τοὺς δὲ αὐτοὺ ὠσπερ ἐιχον κατακλιθέντας πίνειν διανοεῖσθαι, καὶ ἐκεῖνον παραλαμβάνειν καὶ κελεύειν μετ' ἑωτῶν μείναντα συμπίνειν· τὸν δὲ πεισθῆναι τῇ δΗ καὶ καταμείναι. ὡς δὲ μν' παρὰ τὴν πόσιν φιλοφρόνως ἕσπαζοντο, ἐπιδοῦναι αὐτοῖς καὶ ἄλλον τῶν ἀσκῶν· δαψιλεὶ δὲ τῷ ποτῷ χρησάμενος τοὺς φυλάκους ὑπερμε-
her surviving son, and bade him contrive by whatever means to loose and bring her his brother's body, threatening that if he would not obey her she would go to the king and lay an information that he had the treasure. So when she bitterly reproached him and for all he said he could not overpersuade her, the brother devised a plot: he got his asses and loaded them with skins full of wine and then drove them before him till he came near those who guarded the hanging body; then he pulled at the feet of two or three of the skins and loosed their fastenings; and the wine so running out, he cried aloud and beat his head like one that knew not which of his asses he should deal with first. The guards, seeing the wine running freely, all took vessels and ran into the highway, where they caught the spilt wine, and thought themselves lucky; the man pretended to be angry and reviled each and all of them; but the guards speaking peaceably to him, he presently made as if he were comforted and appeased, till at last he drove his asses aside from the highway and put his gear in order. So the guards and he fell into talk, and one of them jesting with him, so that there was laughter, he gave them one of the skins: whereupon without more ado they sat down and began to drink, making him one of their company and bidding him stay and drink with them; and he consented and stayed. They drank to him merrily, and he gave them yet another of the skins, till the guards grew very drunk with the abundance of
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θυσθήναι καὶ κρατηθέντας ὑπὸ τοῦ ὑπνοῦ αὐτοῦ ἐνθὰ περ ἔπινον κατακοιμηθῆναι. τὸν δὲ, ὡς πρόσω ἢν τῆς νυκτὸς, τὸ τε σώμα τοῦ ἄδελφειον καταλύσαι καὶ τῶν φυλάκων ἐπὶ λύμη πάντων ἤρχησαί τὰς δεξιὰς παρηγίδας, ἑπιθέντα δὲ τῶν νέκων ἐπὶ τοὺς ὄνοις ἀπελαύνειν ἐπί οἴκου, ἑπιτελέσαντα τῇ μητρὶ τὰ προσταχθέντα.

Τὸν δὲ βασιλέα, ὡς αὐτὸ ἀπηγγέλθη τοῦ φωρὸς ὁ νέκυς ἐκκεκλεμμένος, δεινὰ ποιεῖν· πάντως δὲ βουλόμενον εὑρεθῆναι ὅστις κοτῆ εἰ ὁ ταῦτα μηχανώμενος, ποιῆσαι μιν τάδε, ἐμοὶ μὲν οὐ πιστά· τὴν θυγατέρα τὴν ἑωτοῦ κατίσαι ἐπὶ οἰκήματος, ἐντειλάμενον πάντας τε ὁμοίως προσδέκεσθαι, καὶ πρὶν συγγενέσθαι, ἀναγκάζειν λέγειν αὐτῇ ὅ τι δὴ ἐν τῷ βίῳ ἐργαστὶ αὐτῷ σοφῶταν καὶ ἀνοσιώτατον· δὲ δὲ ἄν ἀπηγγέλθη σται τὰ περὶ τὸν φῶρα γεγενημένα, τούτων συλλαμβάνειν καὶ μὴ ἀπιέναι ἐξω. ὡς δὲ τὴν παῖδα ποιεῖν τὰ ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς προσταχθέντα, τὸν φῶρα πυθόμενον τῶν εἰνεκά ταῦτα ἐπρήσετο, βουλθέντα πολυτροπικόν τοῦ βασιλέως περιγενέσθαι ποιεῖν τάδε· νεκροῦ προσφάτου ἀποταμόντα ἐν τῷ ὠμῷ τὴν χειρὰ ἱέναι αὐτῶν ἔχοντα αὐτὴν ὑπὸ τῷ ἰματίῳ. ἑσελθόντα δὲ ὡς τοῦ βασιλέως τὴν θυγατέρα καὶ εἰρωτώμενον τὰ περ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι, ἀπηγγέλθασθαι ὡς ἀνοσιώτατον μὲν εἰς ἐργασμένος ὅτι τοῦ ἄδελφοῦ ἐν τῷ θησαυρῷ τοῦ βασιλέως ὑπὸ πάγης ἄλοιπος ἀποτάμοι τὴν κεφαλὰς, σοφῶταν δὲ ὅτι τῶν φυλάκων καταμεθύσας καταλύσειε τοῦ ἄδελφου κρεμάμενον τὸν νέκυν. τὴν δὲ ὡς ἣκουσε ἀπεσταθαι αὐτοῦ. τὸν δὲ φῶρα ἐν τῷ σκότει προτείναι αὐτῇ τοῦ νεκροῦ.
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liquor, and at last being overmastered by sleep lay down in the place where they had been drinking. When the night was far spent, the thief cut down his brother's body and then (first shaving the guards' right cheeks by way of insult) laid it on his asses and drove them home, having so fulfilled his mother's commands for her.

When the king was told of the stealing away of the dead thief's body he was very angry, and resolved by all means to find who it was that had plotted the deed. So he bade his daughter (such is the story, but I myself do not believe it) to sit in a certain room and receive alike all who came; before she had intercourse with any, she should compel him to tell her what was the cleverest trick and the greatest crime of his life; then if any told her the story of the thief she must seize him and not suffer him to pass out. The girl did as her father bade her. The thief, learning the purpose of the king's act, was minded to get the better of him by ready cunning. He therefore cut off the arm of a man newly dead at the shoulder, and went to the king's daughter, carrying it under his cloak, and when asked the same question as the rest, he told her that his greatest crime was the cutting off of his brother's head when the brother was caught in a trap in the king's treasury, and his cleverest trick the release of his brother's hanging body by making the guards drunk. Hearing this, the princess would have laid hands on him, but the thief in
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tην χείρα· την δὲ ἐπιλαβομένην ἔχειν, νομίζουσαν αὐτοῦ ἐκείνου τῆς χειρὸς ἀντέχεσθαι· τὸν δὲ φῶρα προέμενον αὐτῇ οἴχεσθαι διὰ θυρέων φεύγοντα.

Ὡς δὲ καὶ ταύτα ἐς τὸν βασιλέα ἀνηφείχθη, ἐκπεπλῆχθαι μὲν ἐπὶ τῇ πολυφροσύνῃ τε καὶ τόλμῃ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου, τέλος δὲ διαπεπόντα εἰς πάσας τὰς πόλις ἐπαγγέλλεσθαι ἀδείην τε διδόντα καὶ μεγάλα ὑποδεκόμενον ἐλθόντι ἐς ὅψιν τὴν ἑωτοῦ· τὸν δὲ φῶρα πιστεύσαντα ἐλθεῖν πρὸς αὐτόν, Ῥαμψίνιτον δὲ μεγάλοις θωμᾶσαι, καὶ οἱ τὴν θυγατέρα ταύτην συνοικίσαι ὡς πλείστα ἐπισταμένῳ ἀνθρώπων. Αἰγυπτίων μὲν γὰρ τῶν ἄλλων προκεκρίσθαι, ἐκείνων δὲ Αἰγυπτίων.

122. Μετὰ δὲ ταύτα ἔλεγον τούτου τὸν βασιλέα ζωὸν καταβῆναι κάτω ἐς τὸν οἶ. Ἐλλήνης Ἀιδην νομίζουσι εἶναι, καὶ κεῖθε συγκυβεύειν τῇ Δήμητρι, καὶ τὰ μὲν νικάν αὐτὴν τὰ δὲ ἐσούσθαι ὑπ’ αὐτῆς, καὶ μὲν πάλιν ἀπικέσθαι δῷ ἔχοντα παρ’ αὐτῆς χειρόμακτρον χρύσεον. ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς Ῥαμψίνιτου καταβάσιος, ὡς πάλιν ἀπίκετο, ὅρτῃ δὴ ἀνάγειν Αἰγυπτίως ἔφασαν· τὴν καὶ ἐγὼ οἶδα ἄτι καὶ ἐς ἕμε ἐπιτελέσωτας αὐτοὺς, οὐ μέντοι εἰ γε διὰ ταύτα ὅρτάζουσι ἐξω λέγειν. φάρος δὲ αὐτημερῶν ἐξουφήναντες οἱ ἱέρεις κατ’ ὅν εἴδησαν ἐνός ἐωτῶν μίτρῃ τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς, ἀγαγόντες δὲ μὲν ἔχοντα τὸ φάρος ἐς ὁδὸν φέρουσαν ἐς ἱδὸν Δήμητρος αὐτοὶ ἀπαλλάσσονται ὁπίσω· τὸν δὲ ἱδέα τούτου καταδεδεμένου τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς λέγουσι ὑπὸ δύο λύκων ἀγεσθαι ἐς τὸ ἱδὸν τῆς Δήμητρος ἀπέχον τῆς πόλιος εἶκοσι σταδίους, καὶ αὖτις ὁπίσω ἐκ τοῦ ἱδοῦ ἀπάγειν μὲν τοὺς λύκους ἐς τῶντο χωρίον.

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the darkness giving her the dead man's arm, she seized that, thinking that she was grasping the arm of the thief, who, having given it to her, made his escape by way of the door.

When this also came to the king's ears, he was astonished at the man's ingenuity and daring, and in the end, he sent a proclamation to every town, promising the thief impunity and a great reward if he would come into the king's presence. The thief trusted the king and came before him; Rhampspinitus admired him greatly and gave him his daughter to wife for his surpassing cleverness, for as the Egyptians (said he) excelled all others in craft, so did he excel the Egyptians.

122. After this (said the priests) this king went down alive to the place which the Greeks call Hades; there he played dice with Demeter, and after both winning and losing he returned back with a gift from her of a golden napkin. From this descent of Rhampspinitus the Egyptians were said by the priests to have kept a festival after his return, which to my own knowledge they celebrate to this day, but whether it be for that cause I cannot say. On the day of this festival the priests weave a cloth and bind it for a headgear on the eyes of one among themselves, whom they then lead, wearing the cloth, into a road that goes to the temple of Demeter; they themselves return back, but this priest with his eyes bandaged is guided (say they) by two wolves\(^1\) to Demeter's temple, a distance of twenty furlongs from the city, and led back again from the temple by the wolves to the same place.

\(^1\) Jackals appear on Egyptian monuments, symbolising Anubis, the guide of the dead.
123. Τοίσι μέν νυν ὑπ’ Ἀιγυπτίων λεγομένους χράσθω ὅτε τα τοιαύτα πιθανά ἔστιν ἐμοὶ δὲ παρὰ πάντα τὸν λόγον ὑπόκειται ὅτι τα λεγόμενα ὑπ’ ἐκάστων ἀκοῆ γράφω. ἀρχηγετεῖν δὲ τῶν κατὼ Αἰγυπτίων λέγοντι Δήμητρα καὶ Διόνυσον. πρῶτοι δὲ καὶ τόνδε τὸν λόγου Αἰγυπτίων εἰσὶ οἱ εἰπόντες, ὃς ἀνθρώπων ψυχή ἀθάνατος ἐστίν, τού σώματος δὲ καταφύγοντος ἐστὶν ἐλλο ξίφον αἰεὶ γινόμενον ἐσφυς, ἐπείν δὲ πάντα περιέλθη τὰ χερσαία καὶ τὰ θαλάσσια καὶ τὰ πετεινὰ, αὐτές ἐς ἀνθρώπου σῶμα γινόμενον ἐσφυς, τὴν περιήλυσιν δὲ αὐτὴ γίνεται ἐν τρισχιλίοις ἔτεσιν. τούτῳ τῷ λόγῳ εἰσὶ οἱ Ἑλλήνων ἐχρήσαντο, οὐ μὲν πρῶτον οὐ δὲ ύστερον, ὃς ἰδίω ἐωτῶν ἐόντων ἐγὼ εἰδὼς τὰ σύνομα οὐ γράφω.

124. Μέχρι μὲν νυν Ὅραμαν θυεῖν μετὰ τῶν Ἀἰγυπτίων πάσαν εὐνομίην ἔλεγον καὶ εὐθνείεσσιν Ἀἰγυπτίων μεγάλως, μετὰ δὲ τούτων βασιλεύσαντα σφέων Χέοσπα ἐς πάσαν κακότητα ἐλάσαι. κατακλησάντα γὰρ μιν πάντα τὰ ἴρα πρῶτα μὲν σφέας θυσιῶν τούτων ἀπέρξαι, μετὰ δὲ ἐργαζομαι εἰς τούτῳ κελεύειν πάντας Ἀἰγυπτίας. τοῖσι μὲν δὴ ἀποδεδεχθαι ἐκ τῶν λωθοτομίων τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἀραβία ὀρεί, ἐκ τούτων ἔλκειν λίθοις μέχρι τοῦ Νείλου διασπεραιώθεντας δὲ τὸν ποταμὸν πλοίοις τοὺς λίθους ἐπέρφυται ἐπέταξε ἐκδείκνυαν καὶ πρὸς τὸ Διόβυκον καλεύμενον ὅρος, πρὸς τούτο ἔλκειν. ἐργάζομαι δὲ κατὰ δέκα μυριάδας ἀνθρώπων αἰεὶ τὴν τρίμην ἐκάστην. χρόνον δὲ ἐγγενεῖσθαι τριβομένῳ τῷ λεῷ δέκα ἐτεῖν μὲν τῆς ὁδοῦ κατ ἔνδεικνυσιν τοὺς λίθους, τὴν ἐδειμαν ἐργον ἐδὸν οὐ πολλῷ τερ ἔλασσον τῆς πυραμίδος. ως ἐμοὶ 424
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123. These Egyptian stories are for the use of whosoever believes such tales: for myself, it is my rule in this history that I record whatever is told me as I have heard it. It is believed in Egypt that the rulers of the lower world are Demeter and Dionysus. Moreover, the Egyptians were the first to teach that the human soul is immortal, and at the death of the body enters into some other living thing then coming to birth; and after passing through all creatures of land, sea, and air (which cycle it completes in three thousand years) it enters once more into a human body at birth. Some of the Greeks, early and late, have used this doctrine as if it were their own; I know their names, but do not here record them.

124. Till the time of Rhampsinitus Egypt (so the priests told me) was in all ways well governed and greatly prospered, but Cheops, who was the next king, brought the people to utter misery. For first he shut up all the temples, so that none could sacrifice there; and next, he compelled all the Egyptians to work for him, appointing to some to drag stones from the quarries in the Arabian mountains to the Nile: and the stones being carried across the river in boats, others were charged to receive and drag them to the mountains called Libyan. They worked in gangs of a hundred thousand men, each gang for three months. For ten years the people were afflicted in making the road whereon the stones were dragged, the making of which road was to my thinking a task but a little lighter than the building of the pyramid,

1 Isis and Osiris.
2 The "Great Pyramid."
HERODOTUS

dοκείειν· τῆς μὲν γὰρ μῆκος εἰσὶ πέντε στάδιοι, εὐρὸς δὲ δέκα ὀργυιαῖ, ύψος δὲ, τῇ ὑψηλοτάτῃ ἐστὶ αὐτῇ ἑωτῆς, ὀκτὼ ὀργυιαῖ, λίθου δὲ ἔστι τοῦ καὶ ξύλου ἐγγεγυλυμένων· ταύτης τε δὴ τὰ δέκα ἔτει γενέσθαι καὶ τῶν ἔπι τοῦ λόφου ἐπ’ οὖ ἐστάσει αἱ πυραμίδες, τῶν ὑπὸ γῆν οἰκημάτων, τὰς ἐποιεῖτο θῆκας ἑωτῶ ἐν νῆσῳ, διώρυχα τοῦ Νείλου ἐσαγαγών. τῇ δὲ πυραμίδι αὐτῇ χρόνον γενέσθαι εἰκοσι ἔτει ποιεμένη· τῆς ἐστὶ παυταχῆ μέτωπον ἐκαστὸν ὀκτὼ πλεθρά ἐνυσίς τετραγώνῳ καὶ ύψος ἵσων, λίθου δὲ ἔστι τε καὶ ἀρμοσμένου τὰ μάλιστα· οὐδεὶς τῶν λίθων τριήκοντα ποδῶν ἔλασσον.

125. Ἐποιήθη δὲ δὴ αὐτῇ ἡ πυραμίς· ἀναβαθμῶν τρόπων, τὰς μετεξέτεροι κρόσσασι οἱ δὲ βωμίδας οὐσίας, τοιαύτην τὸ πρῶτον ἑπείτε ἐποίησαν αὐτήν, ἥερον τοὺς ἐπιλοίπους λίθους μηχανῆς ξύλων βραχέων πεποιημένης, χαμάθεαν μὲν ἐπὶ τὸν πρῶτον στοίχου τῶν ἀναβαθμῶν ἀείρωντες· ὅκως δὲ ἀνίσοι ο λίθος ἐπ’ αὐτόν, ἐς ἐτέρην μηχανήν ἐτίθετο ἐστεῶσαν ἐπὶ τὸν πρῶτον στοίχου, ἀπὸ τούτου δὲ ἐπὶ τὸν ἐνεπετερεὶν εἴλκετο στοίχου ἐπ’ ἄλλης μηχανῆς· ὁσοὶ γὰρ δὴ στοῖχοι ἐσαν τῶν ἀναβαθμῶν, τοσάτται καὶ μηχαναὶ ἐσαν, εἶτε καὶ τὴν αὐτὴν μηχανήν ἑωςαν μὲαν τε καὶ εὐβάστατον μετεφόρεσι ἐπὶ στοίχου ἐκαστον, ὅκως τὸν λίθον ἔξελοειν· λεπέκχω γὰρ ἡμῖν ἐπὶ ἀμφότερα, κατὰ περ λέγεται. ἐξεποιήθη δ’ ὅν τὰ ἀνώτατα αὐτῆς πρῶτα, μετὰ δὲ τὰ ἐχόμενα τούτων ἐξεποίειν, τελευταία δὲ αὐτῆς τὰ ἐπίγαμα καὶ τὰ κατωτάτω ἐξεποίησαν. σεσήμανται δὲ διὰ γραμμάτων Ἄιγυπτίων ἐν τῇ πυρα- 426
BOOK II. 124-125

for the road is five furlongs long and ten fathoms broad, and raised at its highest to a height of eight fathoms, and it is all of stone polished and carven with figures. The ten years aforesaid went to the making of this road and of the underground chambers on the hill whereon the pyramids stand; these the king meant to be burial-places for himself, and encompassed them with water, bringing in a channel from the Nile. The pyramid itself was twenty years in the making. Its base is square, each side eight hundred feet long, and its height is the same; the whole is of stone polished and most exactly fitted; there is no block of less than thirty feet in length.

125. This pyramid was made like a stairway with tiers, courses, or steps. When this, its first form, was completed, the workmen used levers made of short wooden logs to raise the rest of the stones; they heaved up the blocks from the ground on to the first tier of steps; when the stone had been so raised it was set on another lever that stood on the first tier, and a lever again drew it up from this tier to the next. It may be that there was a new lever on each tier of the steps, or perhaps there was but one lever, and that easily lifted, which they carried up to each tier in turn; I leave this uncertain, both ways being told me. But this is certain, that the upper part of the pyramid was the first finished off, then the next below it, and last of all the base and the lowest part. There are writings on the pyramid

1 That is, the stones which were to fill up the angles of the steps, and make the side of the pyramid a smooth inclined plane. The pyramids built by Cheops, Chephren, and Mycerinus respectively are the pyramids of Gizeh, near Cairo.

2 Or, "in."
HERODOTUS

μίδι ὅσα ἐς τε συρμαίνη καὶ κρόμμια καὶ σκόροδα ἀναισιμώθη τοῦτο ἐργαζόμενοις· καὶ ὡς ἐμὲ εὗ μεμνήσθαι τὰ ὁ ἐρμηνεύσ μοι ἐπιλεγόμενος τὰ γράμματα ἔφη, ἐξακόσια καὶ χίλια τάλαντα ἄργυρίου τετελέσθαι. εἶ δὲ ἔστι οὖτω ἔχοντα ταῦτα, κόσα οἰκός ἄλλα δεδαπανῆσθαι ἔστὶ ἐς τε σίδηρον τῷ ἐργαζόντο καὶ σιτία καὶ ἐσθήτα τοῖσι ἐργαζόμενοι, ὅκοτε χρόνοι μὲν οἰκοδόμεων τὰ ἔργα τὸν εἰρημένον, ἀλλὰ δὲ, ὡς ἤγῳ δοκέω, ἐν τῷ τοὺς λίθους ἔταμνων καὶ ἤγιον καὶ τὸ ὑπὸ γῆν ὄρυγμα ἐργάξοντο, οὐκ ὀλίγων χρόνων.

126. Ἑς τούτῳ δὲ ἔλθες Ἡσώπα εἰκόνητος ὅστε χρημάτων δεόμενον τὴν θυγατέρα τῇ ἐωτοῦ κατίσαντα ἐπὶ οἰκήματος προστάζει πρήσεσθαι ἄργυριον ὁκόσον δὴ τι· οὐ γὰρ δὴ τούτῳ γέ ἐλεγον. τὴν δὲ τά τε ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς ταχθέντα πρήσεσθαι, ἰδίῃ δὲ καὶ αὐτὴν διανοηθῆναι μνημήνιον καταλιπέσθαι, καὶ τοῦ ἐςιόντος πρὸς αὐτὴν ἐκάστον δέσθαι ὅκος ἄν αὐτὴ ἔνα λίθον ἐν τοῖσι ἔργοις δυρέοιτο. ἐκ τούτων δὲ τῶν λίθων ἐφασάν τὴν πυραμίδα οἰκοδομηθῆναι τὴν ἐν μέσῳ τῶν τριῶν ἐστηκίαν, ἐμπροσθε τῆς μεγάλης πυραμίδος, τῆς ἐστὶ τὸ κάλυμνον ἑκάστον ὅλον καὶ ἡμίσεως πλέθρου.

127. Βασιλεύσαι δὲ τῶν Ἡσώπα τούτων Αἴ- γυπτων ἔλεγον πεντήκοντα έτεα, τελευτήσαντος δὲ τούτων ἐκδέξασθαι τὴν βασιληθήν τὸν ἀδελφοὺς αὐτοῦ Χεφρήνα· καὶ τούτων δὲ τῷ αὐτῷ τρόπῳ διαχράσθαι τῷ ἐτέρῳ τά τε ἄλλα καὶ πυραμίδα ποιῆσαι, ἐς μὲν τὰ ἐκέινον μέτρα οὐκ ἀνήκουσαν· ταῦτα γὰρ ὃν καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐμετρήσαμεν· (οὔτε γὰρ ὑπεστὶ οἰκήματα ὑπὸ γῆν, οὔτε ἐκ τοῦ Νεῖλου 428
in Egyptian characters showing how much was spent on purges and onions and garlic for the workmen; and to my sure remembrance the interpreter when he read me the writing said that sixteen hundred talents of silver had been paid. Now if that is so, how much must needs have been expended on the iron with which they worked, and the workmen’s food and clothing? seeing that the time aforesaid was spent in building, and the hewing and carrying of the stone and the digging out of the underground parts was, as I suppose, a business of long duration.

126. And so evil a man was Cheops that for lack of money he made his own daughter to sit in a chamber and exact payment (how much, I know not; for they did not tell me this). She, they say, doing her father’s bidding, was minded to leave some memorial of her own, and demanded of everyone who sought intercourse with her that he should give one stone to set in her work; and of these stones was built the pyramid that stands midst of the three, over against the great pyramid; each side of it measures one hundred and fifty feet.

127. Cheops reigned (so the Egyptians said) for fifty years; at his death he was succeeded by his brother Chephren, who bore himself in all respects like Cheops. Chephren also built a pyramid, of a less size than his brother’s. I have myself measured it. It has no underground chambers, nor is it entered
HERODOTUS

dιδρυξ ἦκει ἐς αὐτὴν ὠσπερ ἐς τὴν ἑτέρην ρέουσα·
dὲ ὀικοδομημένου δὲ αὐλῶνος ἑσώ νήσον περιρρέει,
ἐν τῇ αὐτῶν λέγουσι κείσθαι Χέσπα). ὑποδείμας
dὲ τὸν πρώτων δόμων λίθον Ἀἰθιοπικοῦ ποικίλου,
tεσσεράκοντα πόδας υποβὰς τῆς ἑτέρης τῶν τῶν
μέγαθος, ἐχομένην τῆς μεγάλης οἰκοδόμησε. ἔστάσι
δὲ ἐπὶ λόφου τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἀμφότεραι, μάλιστα ἐς
ἐκατὸν πόδας ψηλοῦ. βασιλεύσαι δὲ ἔλεγον
Χεφρῆμα Ἕξ καὶ πεντήκοντα ἑτα.

128. Ταῦτα ἦξ τε καὶ ἑκατόν λογίζονται ἑτεα,
ἐν τοὺς Ἀἰγυπτίοις τε πᾶσαι εἶναι κακότητα
cαὶ τὰ ἰρὰ χρόνου τοσοῦτον κατακλησθέντα οὐκ
ἀνοιχθῆναι. τούτων ὑπὸ μίσος οὐ κάρτα θέλουσι
Αἰγυπτίοι οὐραμάζειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰς πυραμίδας
καλέουσι ποιμένος Φιλίτιος, δό τοὔτων τὸν χρόνον
ἐνεμε κτήνεα κατὰ ταῦτα τὰ χωρία.

129. Μετὰ δὲ τούτων βασιλεύσα τοῖς
Μυκερίνων ἔλεγον Χέσπος παῖδα· τῷ τὰ μὲν τοῦ
πατρὸς ἔργα αἰπαδεῖν, τὸν δὲ τὰ τὸ ἰρὰ ἀνοίξαι
καὶ τὸν λεων τετραμένον εἰς τὸ ἐσχατὸν κακοῦ
ἀνεῖναι πρὸς ἔργα τε καὶ θυσίας, δίκας δὲ σφί
πάντων βασιλέων δικαιότατα κρίνειν. κατὰ τοῦτο
μὲν ὧν τὸ ἐργον ἀπάντων ὅσοι ἦδη βασιλέας
ἔγινοντο Ἀἰγυπτίων αἰνέουσι μᾶλιστα τούτων. τὰ
τε ἀλλὰ γὰρ μὲν κρίνειν εὖ, καὶ δὴ καὶ τῷ ἐπιμερ-
φομένῳ ἐκ τῆς δίκης παρ' ἑωτοῦ διδόντα ἄλλα
ἀποπιμπλάναι αὐτοῦ τὸν θυμόν. ἐόντε δὲ ἦπιῳ τῷ
Μυκερίνῳ κατὰ τοὺς πολιήτας καὶ ταῦτα ἐπιτη-
δεύοντε πρῶτον κακῶν ἄρξαι τὴν θυγατέρα ἀπο-
θανοῦσαν αὐτοῦ, τὴν μοῦνον οἱ εἶναι ἐν τοῖς
οἰκίσεις τέκνον. τὸν δὲ ὑπεραλγήσαντά τε τῷ
like the other by a canal from the Nile, but the river comes in through a built passage and encircles an island, in which, they say, Cheops himself lies. This pyramid was built of the same bigness as the other, save that it falls forty feet short of it in height; it stands near to the great pyramid; the lowest layer of it is of variegated Ethiopian stone. Both of them stand on the same ridge, which is about an hundred feet high. Chephren, they said, reigned for fifty-six years.

128. Thus they reckon that for a hundred and six years Egypt was in great misery and the temples so long shut were never opened. So much do the people hate the memory of these two kings that they do not greatly wish to name them, and call the pyramids after the shepherd Philitis, who then pastured his flocks in this place.¹

129. The next king of Egypt, they said, was Cheops' son Mycerinus. He, being displeased with his father's doings, opened the temples and suffered the people, now ground down to the depth of misery, to go to their business and their sacrifices; and he was the justest judge among all the kings. It is on this account that he is praised beyond all the rulers of Egypt; for not only were his judgments just, but if any were not contented with the sentence Mycerinus would give such an one a present out of his own estate to satisfy him for his loss. Such was his practice, and so he ruled his people with clemency, yet calamities befel him, of which the first was the death of his daughter, the only child of his household. Greatly grieving

¹ This is the form which Hdt. gives to the story of the rule of the "shepherds" (Hyksos) in Lower Egypt, perhaps from 2100 to 1600 B.C.
HERODOTUS

περιπεπτώκες πρήγματι, καὶ βουλόμενον περισσότερον τι τῶν ἄλλων θάψαι τὴν θυγατέρα, ποιήσασθαι βοῶν ξυλίνην κοίλην, καὶ ἐπειτα καταχρυσώσαντα μὲν ταύτην ἔσω ἐν αὐτῇ θάψαι ταύτην δὴ τὴν ἀποθανούσαν θυγατέρα.

130. Ἀὕτη ὁν ἡ βοῦς γῇ οὐκ ἐκρύφθη, ἀλλ' ἐτι καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ ἡ φανερή, ἐν Σάι μὲν πόλι ἐοῦσα, κειμένη δὲ ἐν τούσι βασιλῆσαντι ἐν οἰκήματι ἤσκημεν. θυμιῆσαν δὲ παρ' αὐτῇ παντοῖα καταγίζουσι ἀνά πᾶσαν ἡμέρην, νῦκτα δὲ ἐκάστην πάνυνχος λύχνος παρακαίεται. άγχομι δὲ τῆς βοῶς ταύτης ἐν ἅλλῳ οἰκήματι εἰκόνισ τῶν παλλακέων τῶν Μυκερίνου εὐστάσι, ως ἐλεγον οἳ ἐν Σάι πόλι ιρέες. εὐστάσι μὲν γὰρ ἠλιεύμεναι κολοσσοῖ, ἐοῦσαι ἀρίθμῳ ως εἰκόσι μάλιστα κη, γυμναὶ ἐργασμέναι αἰτίνες μέντοι εἰσί, οὐκ ἐχῳ εἰπεῖν πλην ἢ τὰ λεγόμενα.

131. Οἳ δὲ τινὲς λέγουσι περὶ τῆς βοῶς ταύτης καὶ τῶν κολοσσῶν τόνδε τὸν λόγον, ὃς Μυκερίνος ἠράζθη τῆς ἐωντοῦ θυγατρὸς καὶ ἐπειτα ἐμύγη οἱ ἀθησίος μετὰ δὲ λέγουσι ως ἡ παῖς ἀπήγξατο ὑπὸ ἄχεος, ὁ δὲ μιν ἔθαψε ἐν τῇ βοὶ ταύτῃ, ἡ δὲ μήτηρ αὐτῆς τῶν ἀμφιτόλων τῶν προδουσέων τῆν θυγατέρα τῷ πατρί ἀπέταμε τὰς χεῖρας, καὶ νῦν τὰς εἰκόνας αὐτέων εἶναι πεποιθιας τὰ περι ἀι τε προσθήσον. ταύτα δὲ λέγουσι φλυρέοντες, ὃς ἐγὼ δοκῶ, τά τε ἄλλα καὶ δὴ καὶ τὰ περὶ τὰς χεῖρας τῶν κολοσσῶν ταύτας γὰρ ὁμ οὐκ ἤμεις ὥρμεν ὅτι ὑπὸ χρόνου τὰς χεῖρας ἀποβεβληκασι, αἰ ἐν ποιὶ αὐτέων ἐφάνεντο ἐοῦσαι ἐτι καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ.

132. Ἡ δὲ βοῦς τὰ μὲν ἄλλα κατακέκρυπται

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over this misfortune, he desired to give her a burial something more excellent than ordinary; he made therefore a hollow cow's image of gilded wood and placed therein the body of his dead daughter.

130. This cow was not buried in the earth but was to be seen even in my time, in the town of Sais, where it lay in an adorned chamber of the palace; incense of all kinds is offered daily before it, and a lamp burns by it all through every night. There is another chamber near to this image, where stand the statues of Mycerinus' concubines, as the priests of Sais told me; and indeed there are about twenty colossal wooden figures there, made like naked women, but I have only the priests' word to show who they are.

131. Some have a story about the cow and the statues, how Mycerinus conceived a passion for his own daughter and did her foul wrong, and she strangled herself for grief: then he buried her, they say, in this image of a cow; the girl's mother cut off the hands of the attendants who had betrayed the daughter to her father, so that now (it is said) their statues are in the plight to which the living women were brought. But this I believe to be a foolish tale, especially as respects the hands of the figures. As we ourselves saw, it is time which has made the hands to drop away; they were to be seen even in my day lying on the ground before the statues.

132. As for the cow, it is covered with a purple
HERODOTUS

φωικέω εἴματι, τὸν αὐχένα δὲ καὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν φαίνει κεχρυσωμένα παχεῖ κάρτα χρυσῷ· μεταξὺ δὲ τῶν κερέων ὁ τοῦ ἡλίου κύκλος μεμιμημένος ἐπεστὶ χρύσεος. ἔστι δὲ ἡ βοῦς οὐκ ὅρθη ἀλλ' ἐν γούνασι κειμένη, μέγαθος δὲ ὅση περ μεγάλη βοῦς ξωή. ἐκφέρεται δὲ ἐκ τοῦ οἰκήματος ἀνὰ πάντα ἔτεα, ἐπεαν τύπτωνται Αἰγύπτιοι τὸν οὐκ ὀνομαζόμενον θεόν ὑπ' ἐμεὺ ἐπὶ τοιούτῳ πρήγματι· τότε ὅπως καὶ τὴν βοῦν ἐκφέρουσι ἐς τὸ φῶς· φασὶ γὰρ αὐτὴν δεθήναι τοῦ πατρὸς Μυκερίου ἀποθνήσκουσαν ἐν τῷ ἐνιαυτῷ ἀπαξ μιν τὸν ἦλιον κατιδεῖν.

133. Μετὰ δὲ τῆς θυγατρὸς τὸ πάθος δεύτερα τούτῳ τῷ βασιλεί τάδε γενέσθαι: ἐλθεῖν οἱ μαντήμιοι ἐκ Βουτοῦς πόλιος ὡς μέλλοι εξ ἔτεα μοῦνον βιούς τῷ ἐβδόμῳ τελευτήσεωι. τὸν δὲ δεινὸν ποιησάμενον πέμψαι ἐς τὸ μαντήμιον τῷ θεῷ οὐδείσιμα, ἀντιμεμφόμενον δι' ὁ μὲν αὐτοῦ πατήρ καὶ πάτρως, ἀποκλησάντες τα ἵδα καὶ θεῶν οὐ μεμημένοι ἀλλὰ καὶ τούς ἀνθρώπους φθείροντες, ἐβίωσαν χρόνον ἐπὶ πολλὰν, αὐτῶς δ' εὐσεβῆς ἐώς μέλλοι ταχέως οὕτω τελευτήσειν. ἐκ δὲ τοῦ χρηστηρίου αὐτῷ δεύτερα ἐλθεῖν λέγοντα τούτων εἶνεκα καὶ συνταχύνειν αὐτῶν τὸν βίον· οὐ γὰρ ποιήσαι μιν τὸ χρεὼν ἣν ποιεῖν· δεῖν γὰρ Αἰγύπτου κακοῦσθαι ἐπ' ἔτεα πεντήκοντα τε καὶ ἐκάτον, καὶ τοῖς μὲν δύο τοῖς πρὸ ἐκείνου γενομένους βασιλέας μαθεῖν τούτῳ, κείνω δὲ οὗ. ταῦτα ἀκούσαντα τὸν Μυκερίον, ὡς κατακεκριμένων ἦδη οἱ τούτων, λύχνα ποιησάμενον πολλά, ὅκως γίνοιτο νῦξ, ἀνάψαντα

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robe, and shows only the head and neck, which are encrusted with a very thick layer of gold. Between its horns it bears the golden figure of the sun's orb. It does not stand, but kneels; its stature is that of a live cow of great size. This image is carried out of the chamber once in every year, whenever the Egyptians make lamentation for the god whom I name not in speaking of these matters; it is then that the cow is brought out into the light, for Mycerinus' daughter, they say, entreated him at her death that she might see the sun once a year.¹

133. After the grievous death of his daughter, it next happened to Mycerinus that an oracle was sent to him from the city of Buto, declaring that he had but six years to live and must die in the seventh. The king deemed this unjust, and sent back to the oracle a message of reproach, blaming the god: why must he die so soon who was pious, whereas his father and his uncle had lived long, who shut up the temples, and regarded not the gods, and destroyed men? But a second utterance from the place of divination declared to him that his good deeds were the very cause of shortening his life; for he had done what was contrary to fate; Egypt should have been afflicted for an hundred and fifty years, whereof the two kings before him had been aware, but not Mycerinus. Hearing this, he knew that his doom was fixed. Therefore he caused many lamps to be made, and would light these at nightfall and drink and make

¹ The cow-worship is no doubt the cult of Isis, honoured at Sais under the name Nit.
HERODOTUS

αὐτὰ πίνειν τε καὶ εὐπαθέειν, οὔτε ἡμέρῃς οὔτε
υπκτῶς ἀνιέντα, ἐς τε τὰ ἔλεα καὶ τὰ ἄλσεα
πλανώμενον καὶ ἵνα πυθάνοιτο εἶναι ἐνηθήρια
ἐπιτηδεύτατα. ταῦτα δὲ ἐμηχανάτο θέλων τὸ
μαντήματι θευδόμενον ἄποδέξαι, ἵνα οἱ δυνάμεικα
ἐτεά ἀντὶ δὲ ἔτεων γένηται, αἱ νύκτες ἡμέραι
ποιεύμεναι.

134. Πυραμίδα δὲ οὖτος ἀπελάπετο πολλῶν
ἐλάσσω τοῦ πατρός, εἴκοσι ποδῶν καταδέουσαν
κάλον ἕκαστον τριῶν πλέθρων, ἐς ὦς τέτραγωνον,
λίθου δὲ ἐς τὸ ἡμείαν Αἰθιοπίκου. τὴν δὴ
μετεξέτεροι φασὶ Ἑλλήνων 'Ροδώπιος ἑταίρης
γυναικὸς εἶναι, οὐκ ὁρθῶς λέγοντες. οὐδὲ δὲν οὐδὲ
εἰδότες μοι φαίνονται λέγειν οὕτω ἡτὶς ἢ ἡ
'Ροδώπις,' οὐ γὰρ ἂν οἱ πυραμίδα ἄνεθεσαν
ποιήσασθαι τοιάυτην, ἐς τὴν ταλάντων χιλιάδες
ἀναρίθμητοι ψαλίῳ ἐπεῖν ἀναίσημωνται· πρὸς
δὲ ὅτι κατὰ Ἀμασίν Βασιλεύουσαν ἢ ἀκμάζοσα
'Ροδώπις, ἀλλ' οὐ κατὰ τοῦτον. ἔτεσι γὰρ κάρτα
πολλοῖς υἱοτέροις τούτων τῶν βασιλέων τῶν τὰς
πυραμίδας ταῦτας ἢ λιπομένων 'Ροδώπις, γενεὰν
μὲν ἀπὸ Θρηκής, δούλη δὲ ἢν 'Ιάδμωνος τοῦ
'Ἡφαιστοπόλιος ἀνδρὸς Σαμίου, σύνδουλος δὲ
Αἰσώπου τοῦ λογοτεχνοῦ. καὶ γὰρ οὕτως 'Ιάδμωνος
ἐγένετο, ώς διϊδεξε τῆδε οὕτως ἐπειτε γὰρ
πολλάκις κηρυσσόντων Δελφῶν ἐκ θεοπροτόπους
ὅτι βούλουσι τούτων Ἀισώπου ψυχῆς ἀνελέσθαι,
ἀλλος μὲν οὖνες θάνατος, 'Ιάδμωνος δὲ παιδὸς
παῖς ἀλλος 'Ιάδμων ἀνελέτο. οὕτω καὶ Αἰσώπος
'Ιάδμωνος ἐγένετο.

135. 'Ροδώπις δὲ ἦς Αἰγύπτον ἀπίκετο Ξάνθεω
τοῦ Σαμίου κομίσαντος, ἀπικομένη δὲ κατ' ἐργασίην
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merry; by day or night he never ceased from reveling, roaming to the marsh country and the groves and wherever he heard of the likeliest places of pleasure. Thus he planned, that by turning night into day he might make his six years into twelve and so prove the oracle false.

134. This king too left a pyramid, but far smaller than his father’s; its sides form a square whereof each side is two hundred and eighty feet in length; as far as the half of its height it is of Ethiopian stone. Some Greeks say that it was built by Rhodopis, the courtesan, but they are in error; indeed it is clear to me that when they say this they do not know who Rhodopis was, else they would never have credited her with the building of a pyramid whereon what I may call an uncountable sum of talents must have been expended. And it is a further proof of their error that Rhodopis flourished in the reign of Amasis, not of Mycerinus, and thus very many years after these kings who built the pyramids. She was a Thracian by birth, slave to Iadmon, son of Hephaestopolis, a Samian, and fellow-slave of Aesopus the story-writer. For he also was owned by Iadmon; of which the chiefest proof is that when the Delphians, obeying an oracle, issued many proclamations inviting whosoever would to undertake atonement for the killing of Aesopus, none would undertake it but only another Iadmon, grandson of the first. Thus was Aesopus too shown to be the slave of Iadmon.

135. Rhodopis was brought to Egypt by Xanthes of Samos, and on her coming was freed for the
ΗΡΟΔΟΤΟΣ

διλύθη χρημάτων μεγάλων ὑπὸ ἀνδρὸς Μυτιληναίου Χαράξου τοῦ Σκαμανδρωνύμου παιδός, ἀδελφοῦ δὲ Σαπφοῦς τῆς μουσοποιοῦ. οὔτω δὲ Ἡ Ῥοδώπις ἐλευθερώθη, καὶ κατέμεινε τε ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ καὶ κάρτα ἐπαφρόδιτος γενομένη μεγάλα ἐκτῆσατο χρήματα ὡς ἂν εἶναι Ἡ Ῥοδώπι, ἀτὰρ οὐκ ὡς γε ἐς πυραμίδα τοιαύτην ἐξικέσθαι. τῆς γὰρ τὴν δεκάτην τῶν χρημάτων ἰδέσθαι ἐστὶ ἐτί καὶ ἐς τόδε παντὶ τῷ βουλομένῳ, οὔδεν δὲ μεγάλα οἱ χρήματα ἀναθείναι. ἐπεθύμησε γὰρ Ἡ Ῥοδώπις μνημήνων ἐστῆσθαι ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι καταλιπέσθαι, ποίημα ποησαμένη τούτῳ τὸ μὴ τυχόνοι ἀλλὰ ἐξευρημένον καὶ ἀνακείμενον ἐν ἵρῳ, τούτῳ ἀναθείναι ἐς Δελφοὺς μνημόσυνον ἐστῆσθαι. τῆς ἂν δεκάτης τῶν χρημάτων ποιησαμένη ὑβελοῦσ βουτόρους πολλοὺς σιδηρέους, ὃσον ἐνεχώρεε ἡ δεκάτη οἱ, ἀπέπεμπε ἐς Δελφοὺς· οἱ καὶ νῦν ἐτί συννενέασθαι ὑπὸ θεοῦ μὲν τοῦ βωμοῦ τῶν Χῖοι ἀνέθεσαν, ἀντίον δὲ αὐτοῦ τοῦ νησί. φιλέουσι δὲ καὶ ἔν τῇ Ναυκρατί ἑπαφρόδιτοι γίνεσθαι αἱ ἐταίραι· τούτῳ μὲν γὰρ αὐτῇ, τῆς πέρι λέγεται οἶδε ὁ λόγος, οὕτω δὲ τῇ κλεινῇ ἐγένετο ὡς καὶ οἱ πάντες Ἔλληνες Ἡ Ῥοδώπιος τὸ ὄνομα ἐξερρέασθος· τούτῳ δὲ ὕστερον ταύτης, τῇ οὐνομα Ἰ. Ἄρχαδική, ἀοίδιμος ἀνὰ τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἐγένετο, ἑςον δὲ τῆς ἑτέρης περιλεσχήνευς. Χάραξος δὲ ὡς λυσάμενος Ἡ Ῥοδώπιν ἀπενόστησε ἐς Μυτιλήνην, ἐν μέλει Σαπφώ πολλὰ κατεκρέτομησε· μίν.

136. Ἡ Ῥοδώπιος μὲν νῦν πέρι πέπαιμαι. μετὰ δὲ Μυκερίιον γενέσθαι Ἀιγύπτου βασιλέα ἐλεγον οἱ ἱρεῖς Ἀσυχίῳ, τὸν τὰ πρὸς ἥλιον ἀνίσχοντα ποιῆσαι τῷ Ἡφαίστῳ προπύλαια, ἐὼντα πολλῷ
practice of her calling by Charaxus of Mytilene, son of Scamandronymus and brother of Sappho the poetess. Thus Rhodopis was set free and abode in Egypt, where, her charms becoming well known, she grew wealthy enough for a lady of her profession, but not for the building of such a pyramid. Seeing that to this day anyone who wishes may know what was the tenth part of her possessions, she cannot be credited with great wealth. For Rhodopis desired to leave a memorial of herself in Greece, by having something made which no one else had contrived and dedicated in a temple and presenting this at Delphi to preserve her memory; so she spent the tenth part of her substance on the making of a great number of iron ox-spits, as many as the tithe would pay for, and sent them to Delphi; these lie in a heap to this day, behind the altar set up by the Chians and in front of the shrine itself. It seems that the courtesans of Naucratis ever have the art of pleasing, for the woman of whom this story is told became so famous that all Greeks knew the name of Rhodopis, and in later days one Archidice was the theme of song throughout Greece, albeit less spoken of than the other. Charaxus, after giving Rhodopis her freedom, returned to Mytilene. He is bitterly attacked by Sappho in one of her poems.

136. Enough has been said of Rhodopis. After Mycerinus, said the priests, Asuchis became king of Egypt. He built the eastern outer court of Hephaestus' temple; this is by much the fairest and
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te κάλλιστα καὶ πολλῷ μέγιστα· ἔχει μὲν γὰρ καὶ τὰ πάντα προπύλαια τύπους τε ἐγγεγυμμένους καὶ ἄλλην ὅψιν οἰκοδομημάτων μυρίν, ἐκείνα δὲ καὶ μακρῷ μάλιστα. ἔτι τούτου βασιλεύοντος ἔλεγον, ἀμξίζης ἐζύονος πολλῆς χρημάτων, γενέσθαι νόμον Αἰγυπτίωσι, ἀποδεικνύντα ἐνέχυρον τοῦ πατρὸς τῶν νέκυων οὕτω λαμβάνειν τὸ χρέος· προστεθῆναι δὲ ἔτι τούτῳ τῷ νόμῳ τόνδε, τὸν διδόντα τὸ χρέος καὶ ἀπάσης κρατεῖν τῆς τοῦ λαμβάνοντος θήκης, τῷ δὲ ὑποτιθέντι τούτῳ τῷ ἐνέχυρῳ τίνδε ἐπείναι ξημίνη μὴ βουλομένῳ ἀποδοῦναι τὸ χρέος, μήτε αὐτῷ ἐκείνῳ τελευτῆσαι εἶναι ταφῆς κυρῆσαι μήτ' ἐν ἐκείνῳ τῷ πατρῴῳ τάφῳ μήτ' ἐν ἄλλῳ μηδενί, μήτε ἄλλου μηδένα τῶν ἑωτοῦ ἀπογενόμενον θάψαι. ὑπερβαλέσθαι δὲ βουλόμενον τούτον τὸν βασιλέα τοὺς πρότερον ἑωτοῦ βασιλέας γενομένους Αἰγύπτου μνημόσυνον πυραμίδα λυπέσθαι ἐκ πλίνθων ποιῆσαι, ἐν τῇ γράμματα ἐν λίθῳ ἐγκεκολλαμμένα τάδε λέγοντα ἔστι. "Μὴ μὲ κατονοσθής πρὸς τὰς λιθίνας πυραμίδας· προέχω γὰρ αὐτῶν τοσοῦτον ὅσον ὁ Ζεὺς τῶν ἄλλων θεῶν. κοινῷ γὰρ ὑποτύπτοντες ἐς λίμνην, δὶ τοὺς πρόσχοιτο τοὺς πηλοῦν τῷ κοινῷ, τοῦτο συλλέγοντες πλίνθους εἴρυσαν καὶ μὲ τρόπῳ τοιούτῳ ἐξεποίησαν."

137. Τούτον μὲν τοσαῦτα ἀποδέξασθαι. μετὰ δὲ τούτον βασιλεύσαι ἄνδρα τυφλὸν ἐξ Ἀνυσίος πόλιος, τῷ οὖνομα Ἀνυσίων εἶναι. ἔτι τούτου βασιλεύοντος ἐλάσαι ἐπ' Αἰγύπτου χειρὶ πολλῆς Αἰθιοπᾶς τε καὶ Σαμβακῶν τὸν Αἰθιόπων βασιλέα. τὸν μὲν δὴ τυφλὸν τούτον οὐχεσθαι φεύγοντα ἐς τὰ ἔλεα, τὸν δὲ Αἰθιόπα βασιλεύειν Αἰγύπτου
BOOK II. 136–137

largest of all the courts, for while all have carven figures and innumerable graces of architecture, this court has far more than any. In this king's reign as they told me, money in Egypt passed not readily from hand to hand; wherefore a law was made that a man might borrow on the security of his father's dead body; and the law provided also, that the lender should have a lien on the whole burial-vault of the borrower, and that the penalty for the giver of this security, should he fail to repay the debt, should be that he might neither himself be buried at death nor bury any deceased of his kin either in that tomb of his fathers nor in any other. Moreover, being desirous of excelling all who ruled Egypt before him, this king left a pyramid of brick to commemorate his name, on which is this writing, cut on a stone:—“Deem me not less than the pyramids of stone; for I am as much more excellent than they as Zeus is than the other gods; for they struck a pole down into a marsh and collected what mud clave to the pole; therewith they made bricks, and thus was I built.”

137. These were the acts of Asuchis. After him reigned a blind man called Anysis, of the town of that name. In his reign Egypt was invaded by Sabacos king of Ethiopia and a great army of Ethiopians.¹ The blind man fleeing away into the marshes, the Ethiopians ruled Egypt for fifty years. It is

¹ In Manetho's list three Ethiopian kings form the twenty-fifth dynasty, Sabacon, Sebichos, and Taracos (the Tirhaka of the Old Testament).
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ἐπ’ ἔτεα πεντήκοντα, ἐν τούτῳ αὐτῷ τάδε ἀπο-
δέξασθαι· ὅκως τῶν τις Αἰγυπτίων ἀμάρτοι τι, κτείνειν μέν αὐτῶν οὐδένα ἔθελεν, τῶν δὲ κατὰ
μέγαθος τοῦ ἀδικήματος ἐκάστῳ δικάζειν ἐπιτάσ-
σοντα χώματα χούν πρὸς τῇ ἐσωτέρω πόλι, οἴθεν
ἐκαστὸς ἦν τῶν ἄδικεόντων. καὶ οὕτω ἔτι αἱ
πόλεις ἐγένοντο ὑψηλότεραι· τὸ μὲν γὰρ πρῶτον
ἐχώσθησαν ὑπὸ τῶν τὰς διώρυχας ὀρυζάντων ἐπὶ
Σεσώστριος Βασιλέως, δεύτερα δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ Αἰθλίππος
καὶ κάρτα ὑψηλαὶ ἐγένοντο. ὑψηλῶν δὲ καὶ
ἐτερέων γενομενέων ἐν τῇ Αἰγύπτῳ πολίων, ὡς
ἔμοι δοκεῖν, μάλιστα ἕν Βουβάστι πόλις ἔξεχωσθη,
ἐν τῇ καὶ ἰρόν ἐστὶ Βουβάστιος ἀξιαπηγητότατον;
μέζῳ μὲν γὰρ ἄλλα καὶ πολυδαπανώτερα ἐστὶ
ἱρά, ἤδονη δὲ ἰδέασθαι οὐδὲν τούτο τοῦλλον. ἡ δὲ
Βούβαστις κατὰ Ἑλλάδα γλῶσσαν ἐστὶ Ἀρτέμις.

138. Τὸ δ’ ἰρόν αὐτῆς ὄδε ἔχει· πλὴν τῆς
ἐσόδου τὸ ἄλλο νῆσος ἐστὶ· ἐκ γὰρ τοῦ Νείλου
diώρυχες ἐσέχουσι οὐ συμμίσθουσαι ἀλλήλησι,
ἀλλ’ ἄχρι τῆς ἐσόδου τοῦ ἱρόν ἐκατέργη ἐσέχει.
ἡ μὲν τῇ περιμένουσα ἢ δὲ τῇ, εὐρός ένοσα
ἐκατέργη ἐκατον ποδών, δέυδρεσι κατάσκοιος.
τὰ δὲ προπύλαια ὑψος μὲν δέκα ὀργυλεων ἐστὶ,
tύποισι δὲ ἐξαπήχεσι ἐσκευάδαται ἀξίου σι λόγου.
ἐδο δ’ ἐν μέσῃ τῇ πόλι τὸ ἱρόν κατορᾶτα πάντο-
θεν περιόμεντι· ἀτε γὰρ τῆς πόλεος μὲν ἔκκεχω-
σμενῆς ὑψοῦ, τοῦ δ’ ἱρόοι οὐ κεκυμενον ὡς
ἀρχηθεὶ ἐποίηθη, ἔσοπτον ἐστί. περιθεῖ τὸ δὲ
αὐτὸ ἁμασιὴ ἐγγεγυμμένη τύποισι, ἔστι δὲ
ἐσωθεὶν ὄλας δευδρεὼν μεγάστων ἐπιτευμένου
περὶ νηὸν μέγαν, ἐν τῷ δὲ τοσιμαλμα ἐνι· εὐρος
δὲ καὶ μήκος τοῦ ἱροῦ πάντη σταδίον ἐστί. κατὰ
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BOOK II. 137-138

recorded in the history of his reign that he would never put to death any Egyptian wrongdoer, but sentenced all, according to the greatness of their offence, to raise embankments in the town of which each was a native. Thus the towns came to stand yet higher than before; for having been first built on embankments made by the diggers of the canals in the reign of Sesostris, they were yet further raised in the reign of the Ethiopian. Other Egyptian towns, to my thinking, were so dealt with, but the level of Bubastis was raised more than any. In this town there is a temple of Bubastis, and it is a building most worthy of note. Other temples are greater and more costly, but none pleasanter to the eye than this. Bubastis is, in the Greek language, Artemis.

138. I will now show the form of her temple: save for the entrance, it stands on an island; two separate channels approach it from the Nile, running in contrary directions as far as the entry of the temple; each of them is an hundred feet wide, and overshadowed by trees. The outer court has a height of ten fathoms, and is adorned with notable figures six cubits high. The temple is in the midst of the city, the whole circuit of which commands a view down into it; for the city's level has been raised, but that of the temple has been left as it was from the first, so that it can be seen into from without. A stone wall, carven with figures, runs round it; within is a grove of very tall trees growing round a great shrine, wherein is the image of the goddess; the temple is a square, each side measuring a furlong.
HERODOTUS

μὲν δὴ τὴν ἔσοδον ἑστρωμένη ἦστι ὅδος λίθου ἐπὶ σταδίους τρεῖς μάλιστα κη, διὰ τῆς ἀγορῆς φέρουσα ἐσ τὸ πρὸς ἥω, εὖρος δὲ ἐς τεσσαρών πλέθρων τῇ δὲ καὶ τῇ τῆς ὅδος δεόμενα οὐρανομήκεα πέφυκε· φέρει δὲ ἐς 'Ερμέων ἱρών. τὸ μὲν δὴ ἵνα τούτῳ οὕτω ἔχει.

139. Τέλος δὲ τῆς ἀπαλλαγῆς τοῦ Αἰθίοπος ὁδε ἔλεγον γενέσθαι· οὕσιν ἐν τῷ ὑπνῷ τοιήνυν ἰδόντα αὐτὸν οἴχεσθαι φεύγοντα· ἐδόκεε οἱ ἁνδρα ἐπιστάντα συμβουλεύειν τοὺς ἱρέας τοὺς ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ συλλέγαντα πάντας μέσους διαταμεῖν. ἰδόντα δὲ τὴν οὕσιν ταύτην λέγειν αὐτὸν ὡς πρόφασιν οἱ δοκεόν ταύτην τοὺς θεούς προδεικνύναι, ἵνα ἀσεβήσας πέρι τὰ ἱρᾶ κακῶν τι πρὸς θεῶν ἢ πρὸς ἀνθρώπων λάβωι· οἰκὼν ποιήσειν ταύτα, ἀλλὰ γὰρ οἱ ἔξεληλυθέναι τὸν χρόνον, ὄκοσιν κεχρῆσθαι ἀρξάντα Αἰγύπτου ἐκχωρήσειν. ἐν γὰρ τῇ Αἰθιοπὶ ἐντα τούτῳ τὰ μαντήμα, τοῖς χρῄωνται Αἰθίοπες, ἀνεῖλε ὡς δέοι αὐτῶν Αἰγύπτου βασιλεύσαι ἔτεα πεντήκοντα. ὡς δὲν ὁ χρόνος οὕτως ἔξηε καὶ αὐτὸν ἢ ὅψιν τοῦ ἐνυπνίου ἐπετάρασσε, ἐκών ἀπαλλάσσετο ἐκ τῆς Αἰγύπτου ὁ Σαβακῶς.

140. Ὡς δ’ ἄρα οἴχεσθαι τοῦ Αἰθίοπα ἐξ Αἰγύπτου, αὕτως τὸν τυφλὸν ἄρχεων ἐκ τῶν ἑλέων ἀπικόμενον, ἐνθα τενηκόντα ἔτεα νήσου χώσας σποδῷ τε καὶ γῆ οἰκε. ὡκος γὰρ οἱ φοιτᾶν σίτον ἀγοντας Αἰγυπτίων, ὡς ἐκάστοιοι προστετάχθαι, συγγ τοῦ Αἰθίοπος, ἐς τὴν δώρειν κελεύειν σφέας καὶ σποδῶν κομίζειν. ταύτῃ τὴν νήσου οὐδεὶς πρότερον ἐνυπάσθη Ἀμυρταίου ἤξευρείν, ἀλλὰ ἔτεα ἐπὶ πλέω ἡ ἐπτακόσια οὐκ οἰοί τε ἦσαν
BOOK II. 138–140

A paved road of about three furlongs’ length leads to the entrance, running eastward through the market place, towards the temple of Hermes; this road is about four hundred feet wide, and bordered by trees reaching to heaven. Such is this temple.

139. Now the departure of the Ethiopian (they said) was accomplished on this wise. He fled away from the country, having seen in a dream one who stood over him and counselled him to gather together all the priests in Egypt and cut them in sunder. Having seen this vision, he said that he supposed it to be a manifestation sent to him by the gods, that he might commit sacrilege and so be punished by gods or men; he would not (he said) act so, but otherwise, for the time foretold for his rule over Egypt, after which he was to depart, was now fulfilled: for when he was still in Ethiopia the oracles which are inquired of by the people of that country declared to him that he was fated to reign fifty years over Egypt. Seeing that this time was now completed and that he was troubled by what he saw in his dream, Sabacos departed from Egypt of his own accord.

140. The Ethiopian having left Egypt, the blind man (it is said) was king once more, returning from the marshes, where he had dwelt fifty years on an island which he built of ashes and earth; for the Egyptians, who were severally charged to bring him food without the Ethiopian’s knowledge, were bidden by the king to bring ashes whenever they came, to add to their gift. This island was never discovered before the time of Amyrtaeus; all the kings before him sought it in vain.
HERODOTUS

αὐτὴν ἀνευρέιν ὁ πρότεροι γενόμενοι βασιλέες Ἀμυρταίου. οὐνομα δὲ ταύτη τῇ νῆσῷ Ἑλβώ, μέγαθος δὲ ἐστὶ πάντῃ δέκα σταδίων.

141. Μετὰ δὲ τούτον βασιλεύσας τὸν ἱρέα τοῦ Ἱφαίστου, τῷ οὖνομα εἶναι Σεθὼν τὸν ἐν ἀλογίσει ἔχειν παραχρησάμενον τῶν μαχιμῶν Ἀιγυπτίων ὡς οὐδὲν δεσσόμενον αὐτῶν, ἀλλὰ τε δὴ ἄτιμα ποιεῖντα ἐσ αὐτοὺς, καὶ σφεας ἀπελέσθαι τὰς ἀροῦρας· τοῖσι ἐπὶ τῶν προτέρων βασιλεῶν δεδόσθαι ἐξαιρέτους ἐκάστῳ δυνώδεκα ἀροῦρας. μετὰ δὲ ἐπὶ Ἀιγυπτον ἐλαύνειν στρατὸν μέγαν Σαναχάριβον βασιλέα Ἀραβίων τε καὶ Ἀσσυρίων οὐκὼν δὴ ἐθέλειν τοὺς μαχιμοὺς τῶν Ἀιγυπτίων βοηθεῖν. τὸν δ’ ἱρέα ἐς ἀπορίην ἀπειλημένον ἐσελθόντα ἐς τὸ μέγαρον πρὸς τῶν γαλμα ἀποδύρεσθαι οἷα κινδυνεύει παθεῖν. ὀλοφυρόμενον δ’ ἄρα μὲν ἐπελθεὶν ὑπνον, καὶ οἱ δόξαι ἐν τῇ ὡς ἐπιστάντα τὸν θεὸν θαρσώνειν ὡς οὐδὲν πείσεται ἄχαρι ἀντιάξων τῶν Ἀραβίων στρατὸν αὐτὸς γάρ οἱ πέμψειν τιμωρούσ. τούτοις δὴ μὲν πίσυνον τοῖσι ἐνυπνίσας, παραλαβόντα Ἀιγυπτίων τοὺς βουλομένους οἱ ἐπεσχά, στρατοπεδεύσασθαι ἐν Πηλουσίῳ· ταύτη γὰρ εἰσὶ ἀἱ ἐσβολαῖ. ἐπεσχα δὲ οἱ τῶν μαχιμῶν μὲν οὐδένα ἀνδρῶν, κατηλοῦς δὲ καὶ χειρώνακτας καὶ ἀγοραίους ἀνθρώπους. ἐνθαῦτα ἀπικομένουισι 1 τοῖσι ἐνυντίσας αὐτοῖς ἐπιχυθέντας νυκτὸς μὲν ἀρουραίους κατὰ μὲν φαγεῖν τοὺς φαρετρεῖνοις αὐτῶν κατὰ δὲ τὰ τόξα, πρὸς δὲ τῶν ἀσπίδων τὰ ὄχανα, ὡστε τῇ υστεραῖν

1 Stein reads ἀπικομένους, and supposes a lacuna after ἐνυντίσας; ἀπικομένουισι has the best authority.

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for more than seven hundred years. The name of it is Elbo, and it is ten furlongs long and of an equal breadth.

141. The next king was the priest of Hephaestus, whose name was Sethos. He despised and took no account of the warrior Egyptians, thinking he would never need them; besides otherwise dishonouring them, he took away the chosen lands which had been given to them, twelve fields to each man, in the reign of former kings. So presently came king Sanacharib ¹ against Egypt, with a great host of Arabians and Assyrians; and the warrior Egyptians would not march against him. The priest, in this quandary, went into the temple shrine and there bewailed to the god's image the peril which threatened him. In his lamentation he fell asleep, and dreamt that he saw the god standing over him and bidding him take courage, for he should suffer no ill by encountering the host of Arabia: "Myself," said the god, "will send you champions." So he trusted the vision, and encamped at Pelusium with such Egyptians as would follow him, for here is the road into Egypt; and none of the warriors would go with him, but only hucksters and artificers and traders. Their enemies too came thither, and one night a multitude of fieldmice ² swarmed over the Assyrian camp and devoured their quivers and their bows and the handles of their shields likewise, inso-

¹ Sennacherib's attack on Hezekiah of Judaea was made on his march to Egypt.—II Kings, xviii.

² This is Hdt.'s version of the Jewish story of the pestilence which destroyed the Assyrian army before Jerusalem. Mice are a Greek symbol of pestilence; it is Apollo Smintheus (the mouse god) who sends and then stays the plague in Homer, II. i. It has long been known that rats are carriers of the plague.
HERODOTUS

φευγόντων σφέων γυμνῶν πεσεῖν πολλοὺς. καὶ νῦν οὕτως ὁ βασιλεὺς ἔστηκε ἐν τῷ ἱρῷ τοῦ Ἡφαι-στοῦ λίθινος, ἔχων ἐπὶ τῆς χειρὸς μῦν, λέγων δὲ γραμμάτων τάδε: “Ἐς ἐμε τις ὀρέων εὐσεβὴς ἐστώ.”

142. Ἐς μὲν τοσοῦτο τοῦ λόγου Ἀιγύπτωι τε καὶ οἱ ἱρεῖς ἔλεγον, ἀποδεικνύντες ἀπὸ τοῦ πρῶτου βασιλέος ἐς τοῦ Ἡφαιστοῦ τὸν ἱρέα τούτων τῶν τελευταίων βασιλεύσαντα μίαν τε καὶ τεσσεράκοντα και τριηκοσίας γενεὰς ἀνδρῶπων γενομένας, καὶ ἐν ταύτης ἀρχιερείας καὶ βασιλείας ἑκατέρους τοσούτους γενομένους. κατοι τριηκοσίας μὲν ἀνδρῶν γενεᾶς δυναίται μύρια ἐτεὰ· γενεὰς γὰρ τρεῖς ἀνδρῶν ἐκατῶν ἐτεὰ ἐστὶ· μῆς δὲ καὶ τεσσεράκοντα ἐτεῖ τῶν ἐπιλοίπων γενεῶν, αἱ ἐπῆςαν τής τριηκοσίης, ἐστὶ τεσσεράκοντα καὶ τριηκοσία καὶ χίλια ἐτεὰ. οὕτω ἐν μυρίοις τε ἐτεῖ καὶ χι-λίοις καὶ τριηκοσίοις τε καὶ τεσσεράκοντα ἔλεγον θεῶν ἀνδρωποειδέα οὐδένα γενέσθαι· οὐ μέντοι οὐδὲ πρῶτον οὐδὲ ἱστερον ἐν τοίῃ ὑπολοίποις Ἀιγύπτων βασιλεύσι γενομένους ἔλεγον οὐδὲν τοιοῦτο. ἐν τοῖς τούτω τῷ χρόνῳ τετράκις ἔλεγον ἐξ ὧδεον τῶν ἣλιον ἀνατείλας· ἐνθα τε τῶν καταδύτατοι, ἐνθαῦτε δὲς ἐπαντείλαι, καὶ ἐνθα τῶν ἀνατέλλει, ἐνθαῦτα δὲς καταδύων. καὶ οὐδὲν τῶν κατ’ Ἀιγύπτων ὑπὸ ταύτα ἐτερωθῆναι, οὔτε τὰ ἐκ τῆς γῆς οὔτε τὰ ἐκ τοῦ ποταμοῦ σφι γνώμενα, οὔτε τὰ ἀμφὶ νοῦσος οὔτε τὰ κατὰ τοὺς θανάτους.

143. Πρῶτον δὲ Ἐκατάρῳ τῷ λογοποιῷ ἐν Θῆβῃς γενεαλογῆσαντί τε ἐωτοῦν καὶ ἀναδη-σαντί τὴν πατρίην ἐς ἐκκαιδέκατον θεῖον ἐποίησαν 448
much that they fled the next day unarmed and many fell. And at this day a stone statue of the Egyptian king stands in Hephaestus' temple, with a mouse in his hand, and an inscription to this effect: "Look on me, and fear the gods."

142. Thus far went the record given me by the Egyptians and their priests; and they showed me that the time from the first king to that priest of Hephaestus, who was the last, covered three hundred and forty-one generations of men, and that in this time such also had been the number of their kings, and of their high priests. Now three hundred generations make up ten thousand years, three generations being equal to a century. And over and above the three hundred the remaining forty-one cover thirteen hundred and forty years. Thus the whole sum is eleven thousand three hundred and forty years; in all which time (they said) they had had no king who was a god in human form, nor had there been any such thing either before or after those years among the rest of the kings of Egypt. Four times in this period (so they told me) the sun rose contrary to his wont; twice he rose where he now sets, and twice he set where now he rises; yet Egypt at these times underwent no change, neither in the produce of the river and the land, nor in the matter of sickness and death.

143. Hecataeus the historian was once at Thebes, where he made for himself a genealogy which connected him by lineage with a god in the sixteenth

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1 Hecataeus died soon after the Persian war.
οἱ ίρεῖς τοῦ Διὸς οὖν τι καὶ ἐμὸι οὐ γευηλογησαντὶ ἐμεωτύν· ἐσαγαγόντες ἐς τὸ μέγαρον ἐσω ἐν μέγα ἐξηρίθμευοι δεικνύντες κολοσσοὺς ξυλίνους τοσοῦτος ὄσους περ εἰπον· ἀρχιερεὺς γὰρ ἐκαστὸς αὐτῶθι ἵστὰ ἐπὶ τῆς ἐωτοῦ ζόης εἰκόνα ἐωτοῦ· ἀριθμέοντες δὲν καὶ δεικνύντες οἱ ίρεῖς ἐμοί ἀπεδείκνυσαν παίδα πατρὸς ἐωτῶν ἐκαστον ἐόντα, ἐκ τοῦ ἄγχιστα ἀποθαυνόντος τῆς εἰκόνος διεξίοντες διὰ πασέων, ἔως οὐ ἀπέδεξαν ἀπάσας αὐτᾶς. Ἐκαταῖορ δὲ γευηλογησαντὶ ἐωτῶν καὶ ἀναδήσαντι ἔς ἐκκατεδκατον θεῶν ἀντεγενελγηγησαν ἐπὶ τῇ ἀριθμήσει, οὐ δεκόμενοι παρ᾽ αὐτῶν ἀπὸ θεοῦ γενέσθαι ἀνθρωπον· ἀντεγενελγησαν δὲ ὅδε, φάμενοι ἐκαστον τῶν κολοσσῶν πῖρωμιν ἐκ πιρώμιος γεγονέναι, ἐς ἐς τοὺς πέντε καὶ τεσσεράκοντα καὶ τριηκοσίους ἀπέδεξαν κολοσσοὺς [πῖρωμιν ἐπονομαζόμενον], καὶ οὕτε ἐς θεῶν οὕτε ἐς ἥρωα ἀνέδησαν αὐτοὺς. πῖρωμις δὲ ἐστὶ κατὰ Ἑλλάδα γυλώσαν καλὸς κἀγαθός.

144. Ἡδη ὅτι τῶν αἱ εἰκόνες ἦσαν, τοιούτως ἀπεδείκνυσαν σφέας πάντας ἐόντας, θεῶν δὲ πολλῶν ἀπαλλαγμένως. τὸ δὲ πρότερον τῶν ἀνδρῶν τούτων θεοὺς εἶναι τοὺς ἐν Ἀιγύπτῳ ἀρχοντας, οὐκ ἐόντας ἅμα τοῖς ἀνθρώποις, καὶ τούτοις ἀεὶ ἐνα τῶν κρατέων εἶναι ὑστατον δὲ αὐτῆς βασιλεύσαι Ὁμον τὸν Ὀσίριον παῖδα, τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα Ἑλλήνες ὑνομάζοντει· τοῦτοι καταπάυσαντα Τυφώνα βασιλεύσαι ὑστατον Ἀιγύπτου. Ὁσίρις δὲ ἐστὶ Διόνυσος κατὰ Ἑλλάδα γυλώσαν.

1 Whether we read ἐπονομαζόμενον (with Stein) or πῖρωμιν ἐκ πιρώμιος γεγομένον (with the MSS.) the words do not accord with the construction of the sentence.
generation. But the priests did for him what they did for me (who had not traced my own lineage). They brought me into the great inner court of the temple and showed me there wooden figures which they counted up to the number they had already given, for every high priest sets there in his lifetime a statue of himself; counting and pointing to these, the priests showed me that each inherited from his father; they went through the whole tale of figures, back to the earliest from that of him who had lateliest died. Thus when Hecataeus had traced his descent and claimed that his sixteenth forefather was a god, the priests too traced a line of descent according to the method of their counting; for they would not be persuaded by him that a man could be descended from a god; they traced descent through the whole line of three hundred and forty-five figures, not connecting it with any ancestral god or hero, but declaring each figure to be a "Piromis" the son of a "Piromis," that is, in the Greek language, one who is in all respects a good man.

144. Thus they showed that all whose statues stood there had been good men, but wholly unlike gods. Before these men, they said, the rulers of Egypt were gods, but none had been contemporary with the human priests. Of these gods one or other had in succession been supreme; the last of them to rule the country was Osiris' son Horus, called by the Greeks Apollo; he deposed Typhon,¹ and was the last divine king of Egypt. Osiris is, in the Greek language, Dionysus.

¹ Typhon is the Egyptian Set, the god of destruction.
145. Ἐν Ἔλλησι μὲν νυν νεώτατοι τῶν θεῶν νομίζονται εἶναι Ἡρακλῆς τε καὶ Δίονυσος καὶ Πάν, παρ’ Ἀιγυπτίοις δὲ Πᾶν μὲν ἄρχαιότατος καὶ τῶν ὅκτω τῶν πρώτων λεγομένων θεῶν, Ἡρακλῆς δὲ τῶν δευτέρων τῶν δυῶδεκα λεγομένων εἶναι, Δίονυσος δὲ τῶν τρίτων, οἷ ἐκ τῶν δυῶδεκα θεῶν ἐγένοτα. Ἡρακλῆς μὲν δὴ ὃσα αὐτοὶ Αἰγυπτίοι φασὶ εἶναι ἑτερα καὶ Ἀμασίν βασιλέα, δεδήλωται μοι πρόσθε. Πανὶ δὲ ἑτὶ τούτων πλέονα λέγεται εἶναι, Διονύσῳ δ’ ἐλάχιστα τούτων, καὶ τούτῳ πεντακισχίλιᾳ καὶ μῦρα λογίζονται εἶναι ἐς Ἀμασίν βασιλέα. καὶ ταῦτα Αἰγυπτίοι ἀπεκέφως φασὶ ἐπίστασθαι, αἰεὶ το λογίζομενοι καὶ αἰεὶ ἀπογραφόμενοι τὰ ἑτερα. Διονύσῳ μὲν νυν τῷ ἐκ Σεμέλης τῆς Κάδμου λεγομένῳ γενέσθαι κατὰ ἐξακόσια ἑτερα καὶ χίλια μᾶλιστα ἐστὶ ἐς ἐμὲ, Ἡρακλῆς δὲ τῷ Ἀλκμήνης κατὰ εἰνακόσια ἑτερα. Πανὶ δὲ τῷ Ἐρμέω λέγεται γενέσθαι ὑπὸ Ἕλληνων ὁ Πάν) ἑλάσσω ἑτερα ἐστὶ τῶν Τρωικῶν, κατὰ ὅκτακόσια μᾶλιστα ἐς ἐμὲ.

146. Τούτων δὲν ἀμφοτέρων πάρεστι χρᾶσθαι τοιοῦτοι τις πείσεται λεγομένους μᾶλλον εἶποι δ’ ὃν ἡ περὶ αὐτῶν γνώμη ἀποδέδεκται. εἰ μὲν γὰρ φανεροὶ τε ἐγένοντο καὶ κατεγῆρασαν καὶ ὁποῖοι ἐν τῇ Ἐλλάδι, κατὰ περὶ Ἡρακλῆς ὁ ἐξ Ἀμφιτρύωνος γενόμενος, καὶ δὴ καὶ Διόνυσος ὁ ἐκ Σεμέλης καὶ Πάν ὁ Ἐρμέως γενόμενος, ἔφη τὰ ἐκεῖνων σύνοματα τῶν προγεγομένων θεῶν, οὐν δὲ Διόνυσόν τε λέγουσι οἱ Ἔλληνες ὡς αὐτίκα γενόμενον ἐς τὸν μηρὸν ἐνερράψατο Ζεὺς καὶ
145. Among the Greeks, Heracles, Dionysus, and Pan are held to be the youngest of the gods. But in Egypt Pan 1 is the most ancient of these and is one of the eight gods who are said to be the first of all, Heracles belongs to the second dynasty (that of the so-called twelve gods), and Dionysus to the third, which came after the twelve. How many years there were between Heracles and the reign of Amasis, I have already shown; Pan is said to be earlier still; the years between Dionysus and Amasis are the fewest, and they are reckoned by the Egyptians at fifteen thousand. Of all this the Egyptians claim to have certain knowledge, seeing that they have reckoned the years and chronicled them in writing. Now the Dionysus who was called the son of Semele, daughter of Cadmus, was about sixteen hundred years before my time, and Heracles son of Alcmene about nine hundred years; and Pan the son of Penelope (for according to the Greeks Penelope and Hermes were the parents of Pan) was about eight hundred years before me, and thus of a later date than the Trojan war.

146. With regard to these two, Pan and Dionysus, a man may follow whatsoever story he deems most credible; but I here declare my own opinion concerning them:—Had Dionysus son of Semele and Pan son of Penelope been visible in Hellas and lived there to old age, like Heracles the son of Amphitryon, it might have been said that they too (like Heracles) were but men, named after the older Pan and Dionysus, the gods of antiquity; but as it is, the Greek story has it that no sooner was Dionysus born than Zeus sewed him up in his thigh and carried

1 The Egyptian Khem.
ΗΡΟДΟΤΟΣ

ἡμείκε ἐς Νύσαιν τὴν ὑπὲρ Ἀιγύπτου ἐσύσαι ἐν τῇ Αἰθιοπίᾳ, καὶ Πανός γε πέρι οὐκ ἤχουσι εἰπεῖν ὄκη ἐτράπετο γενόμενος. δὴλα μοι ὡς γέγονε ὅτι ὑστερον ἐπύθουτο οὗ Ἑλληνες τούτων τὰ ὄνοματα ἢ τὰ τῶν ἄλλων θεῶν. ἀπ᾽ οὗ δὲ ἐπύθουτο χρόνου, ἀπὸ τοῦτο γενεηλογέουσι αὐτῶν τὴν γένεσιν.

147. Ταῦτα μὲν υπὸν αὐτοὶ Ἀιγύπτιοι λέγουσιν ὅσα δὲ οἳ τε ἄλλοι ἀνθρωποὶ καὶ Ἀιγύπτιοι λέγουσιν ὁμολογεύοντες τοὺς ἄλλους κατὰ ταύτην τὴν χώρην γενόμενοι, ταῦτ᾽ ἢδη φράσω προσέσται δὲ τι αὐτοῦ καὶ τῆς ἐμῆς ὅψιν.

Ἐλευθερωθέντες Ἀιγύπτιοι μετὰ τὸν ἱρέα τοῦ Ἡφαίστου βασιλεύσαντα, οὔδένα γὰρ χρόνον οὐκ ἔχει δὴ ἦσαν ἄνευ βασιλέως διαιτᾶσθαι, ἐστήσαντο δυνάμεθα βασιλέας, δυνάμεθα μοίρας δασάμενοι Ἀιγύπτου πᾶσαν. οὕτως ἐπιγαμμάζοντες ποιησάμενοι ἐβασιλεύουσαν νόμοις τοῖσιδε χρεώμενοι, μήτε καταρέειν ἄλλοις μήτε πλέον τι δίξησαι ἐχεῖν τῶν ἐτερον τοῦ ἐτέρου, εἰναὶ τε φίλους τὰ μάλιστα. τῶν δὲ εἶνεκα τοὺς νόμους τούτους ἐπωεύοντο, ἱσχυρῶς περιστέλλοντες· ἕκχεχηστο σφι καὶ ἄρχας αὐτίκα ἐνισταμένους ἐς τὰς τυραννίδας τῶν χαλκής φιάλης σπείσαντα αὐτῶν ἐν τῷ ἱρῷ τοῦ Ἡφαίστου, τούτου ἀπάσης βασιλεύσεως Ἀιγύπτου· ἐς γὰρ δὴ τὰ πάντα ἴρα συνελέγοντο.

148. Καὶ δὴ σφι μημόσυνα ἐδοξῆ λαττεύοι κοινῇ, δόξαι δὲ σφι ἐποίησαντο λαβύρινθων, ὅλην ὑπὲρ τὴς λίμνης τῆς Μοίρους κατὰ Κροκοδείλων καλεομένην πολιν μάλιστά κη κείμενον· τὸν ἐγὼ ἢδη εἶδον λόγου μέξῳ. εἰ γὰρ τις τὰ ἔξ’ Ἑλληνων τείχεα τε καὶ ἔργον ἀπόδεξιν συνελογίσαντο,
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him away to Nysa in Ethiopia beyond Egypt; and as for Pan, the Greeks know not what became of him after his birth. It is therefore plain to me that the Greeks learnt the names of these two gods later than the names of all the others, and trace the birth of both to the time when they gained the knowledge.

147. Thus far I have recorded what the Egyptians themselves say. I will now relate what is recorded alike by Egyptians and foreigners, and I will add thereto something of what I myself have seen.

After the reign of the priest of Hephaestus the Egyptians were made free. But they could never live without a king, so they divided Egypt into twelve portions and set up twelve kings. These kings intermarried, and agreed to be close friends, none deposing another nor seeking to possess more than he. The reason of this agreement, which they zealously guarded, was this: at their very first establishment in their several lordships an oracle was given them that that one of them who poured a libation from a bronze vessel in the temple of Hephaestus (where, as in all the temples, it was their wont to assemble) should be king of all Egypt.

148. Moreover they resolved to preserve the memory of their names by some joint enterprise; and having so resolved they made a labyrinth,¹ a little way beyond the lake Moeris and near the place called the City of Crocodiles. I have myself seen it, and indeed no words can tell its wonders;² were all that Greeks have builded and wrought added together

¹ This “labyrinth” was a horseshoe-shaped group of buildings, supposed to have been near the pyramid of Hawâra (Sayce).
² I take ἡδη as = ἢ δῆ, with λόγου μείζων.
ΗΡΟΔΟΤΟΣ

ἐλάσσονος πόνου τε ἀν καὶ δαπάνης φανεῖ ἔοντα τοῦ λαβύρινθου τούτου. καίτιοι ἀξιολογός γε καὶ ὁ ἐν Ἑφέσῳ ἐστὶ νηὸς καὶ ὁ ἐν Σάμῳ. ἦσαν μὲν νυν καὶ αἱ πυραμίδες λόγου μέξους, καὶ πολλῶν ἐκάστη αὐτέων Ἑλληνικῶν ἔργων καὶ μεγάλων ἀνταξιώ, ὁ δὲ δὴ λαβύρινθος καὶ τὰς πυραμίδας ὑπερβάλλει. τοῦ [γὰρ]¹ δυόδεκα μὲν εἰσὶ αὐταὶ κατάστηγοι, ἀντίπυλοι ἀλλήλησι, ἐξ μὲν πρὸς βορέω ἔξι δὲ πρὸς νότον τετραμμέναι, συνεχὲς τοῖχος δὲ ἐξωθεὶν ὁ αὐτὸς σφέας περιέργης. οἰκήματα δ' ἔνεστι διπλά, τὰ μὲν ὑπόγαια τὰ δὲ μετέωρα ἐπ' ἐκείνους, τρισχιλία ἁριθμόν, πεντακοσίων καὶ χιλίων ἐκάτερα. τὰ μὲν νυν μετέωρα τῶν οἰκημάτων αὐτοί τε ὁρῶμεν διεξόντες καὶ αὐτοὶ θεσάμενοι λέγομεν, τὰ δὲ αὐτῶν ὑπόγαια λόγοισι ἐπιυπνανόμεθα: οἱ γὰρ ἐπιστεώτες τῶν Αἰγυπτίων δεικνύει αὐτὰ οὐδαμῶς ἤθελον, φάμενοι θήκας αὐτοθεί εἶναι τῶν τε ἀρχὴν τοῦ λαβύρινθου τούτου οἰκοδομησάμενων βασιλέων καὶ τῶν ἱρῶν κροκοδεῖλων. οὐτώ τῶν μὲν κάτω πέρι οἰκημάτων ἀκοή παραλαβόντες λέγομεν, τὰ δὲ ἀνω μέξονα ἀνθρωπηνίων ἔργων αὐτοί ὁρῶμεν: αἰ τε γὰρ διεξόδοι διὰ τῶν στεγέων καὶ οἱ ἐλιγμοὶ διὰ τῶν αὐλέων ἐόντες ποικιλώτατοι θόμα μυρίον παρείχοντο εξ αὐλῆς τε ἐς τὰ οἰκήματα διεξοισάντι καὶ ἐκ τῶν οἰκημάτων ἐς παστάδας, ἐς στέγας τε ἀλλὰς ἐκ τῶν παστάδων καὶ ἐς αὐλὰς ἀλλὰς ἐκ τῶν οἰκημάτων. ὁροφὴ δὲ πάντων τούτων λιθίνη κατά περὶ τοιχοί, οἱ δὲ τοιχοὶ τύπων ἐγχειρημένων πλέοι,

¹ γὰρ is bracketed, τοῖ as a relative being in accordance with Herodotus’ practice.

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BOOK II. 148

the whole would be seen to be a matter of less labour and cost than was this labyrinth, albeit the temples at Ephesus and Samos are noteworthy buildings. Though the pyramids were greater than words can tell, and each one of them a match for many great monuments built by Greeks, this maze surpasses even the pyramids. It has twelve roofed courts, with doors over against each other: six face the north and six the south, in two continuous lines, all within one outer wall. There are also double sets of chambers, three thousand altogether, fifteen hundred above and the same number under ground. We ourselves viewed those that are above ground, and speak of what we have seen; of the underground chambers we were only told; the Egyptian wardens would by no means show them, these being, they said, the burial vaults of the kings who first built this labyrinth, and of the sacred crocodiles. Thus we can only speak from hearsay of the lower chambers; the upper we saw for ourselves, and they are creations greater than human. The outlets of the chambers and the mazy passages hither and thither through the courts were an unending marvel to us as we passed from court to apartment and from apartment to colonnade, from colonnades again to more chambers and then into yet more courts. Over all this is a roof, made of stone like the walls, and the walls are covered with carven figures, and every
αὐλῆ δὲ ἐκάστη περίστυλος λίθου λευκοῦ ἀρμοσμένη μένου τὰ μάλιστα τῆς δὲ γυνής τελευτῶν τοῦ ὁμογένης ἔχεται τυραμίς τεσσαρακοντόγυνος, ἐν τῇ ξώα μεγάλα ἐγγέγυλυπται ὁδὸς δὲ ἐστὶν ἦπ’ γῆν πεποίηται.

149. Τὸν δὲ λαβύρινθον τούτον ἐόντος τοιούτων θάμα ἔτι μέζον παρέχεται ἡ Μοῖρας καλεομένη λίμνη, παρ’ ἥν ὁ λαβύρινθος ὅτου σικιδόμηται τῆς τὸ περίμετρον τῆς περιόδου εἰσὶ στάδιον ἕξακόσιον καὶ τρισχίλιον, σχοινών ἕξικοντα ἕως τῶν, ἵσσοι καὶ αὐτῆς Αἰγύπτου τὸ παρὰ θάλασσαν. κεῖται δὲ μακρὴ ἡ λίμνη πρὸς βορέων τε καὶ νότον, ἐσούσα βάθος, τῇ βαθύτατῃ αὐτῆς ἑωτῆς, πεντηκοντάργυνος. ὅτι δὲ χειροποίητος ἐστὶ καὶ ὄρυκτη, αὐτὴ δηλοῦ ἐν γὰρ μέση τῇ λίμνῃ μάλιστα κη ἐστάσι δύο πυραμίδες, τοὺς ὕδατος ὑπερέχουσαι πεντήκοντα ὄργυιάς ἐκατέρη, καὶ τὸ κατ’ ὕδατος σικιδόμηται ἔρευν τοσοῦτον, καὶ ἐπ’ ἀμφοτέρησι ἐπεστὶ κολοσσὸς λίθινος κατήμενος ἐν θρόνῳ ὁμοῦ αἱ καὶ μὲν πυραμίδες εἰσὶ ἐκατῶν ὁργυιῶν, αἱ δὲ ἐκατῶν ὁργυιῶν δίκαιαι εἰσὶ στάδιον ἐξαπλεθροῦν, ἔξαπέδου τε τῆς ὁργυιῆς μετρεομένης καὶ τετραπτήχεος, τῶν ποδῶν μὲν τετραπαλαίστων ἐόντων, τοῦ δὲ πτέχεος ἐξαπαλαίστων. τὸ δὲ ὑδρὸ τὸ ἐν τῇ λίμνῃ αὐθίγενες μὲν οὐκ ἐστὶ (ἀνυδρος γὰρ δὴ δεινὸς ἐστὶ ἡ ταύτη), ἐκ τοῦ Νείλου δὲ κατὰ διώρυχα ἐστὶ καὶ ἐξὶ μὲν μῆνας ἐσω ῥεῖ ἐστὶ τῆς λίμνης, ἐξὶ δὲ μῆνας ἐξι τοῦ Νείλου αὐτῆς καὶ ἐπεάν μὲν ἐκρῆ ἐξι, ἡ δὲ τοῦ ἐξὶ μῆνας ἐς τὸ βασιλεῖαν καταβάλλει ἐπ’ ἡμέρην ἐκάστην τάλαντον ἄργυρον ἐκ τῶν ἰχθύων, ἐπεάν δὲ ἐσίη τὸ ὑδρὸ ἐς αὐτῆς, εἰκοσὶ μνεάς.

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court is set round with pillars of white stone most exactly fitted together. Hard by the corner where the labyrinth ends there stands a pyramid forty fathoms high, whereon great figures are carved. A passage has been made to this underground.

149. Such is this labyrinth; and yet more marvellous is the lake Moeris, by which it stands. This lake has a circuit of three thousand six hundred furlongs, or sixty schoeni, which is as much as the whole seaboard of Egypt. Its length is from north to south; the deepest part has a depth of fifty fathoms. That it has been dug out and made by men's hands the lake shows for itself; for almost in the middle of it stand two pyramids, so built that fifty fathoms of each are below and fifty above the water; atop of each is a colossal stone figure seated on a throne. Thus these pyramids are a hundred fathoms high; and a hundred fathoms equal a furlong of six hundred feet, the fathom measuring six feet or four cubits, the foot four spans and the cubit six spans. The water of the lake is not natural (for the country here is exceeding waterless) but brought by a channel from the Nile; six months it flows into the lake, and six back into the river. For the six months that it flows from the lake, the daily take of fish brings a silver talent into the royal treasury, and twenty minae for each day of the flow into the lake.
150. Ἕλεγον δὲ οἱ ἐπιχώριοι καὶ ὃς ἐς τὴν Σύρτιν τὴν ἐς Δεβύην ἐκδιδοὺ ἡ λίμνη αὕτη ὑπὸ γῆν, τετραμμένη τὸ πρὸς ἐσπέρην ἐς τὴν μεσόγαιαν παρὰ τὸ ὄρος τὸ ὑπὲρ Μέμφιος. ἐπείτε δὲ τοῦ ὄρυγματος τούτου οὐκ ὤρων τὸν χοῦν οὐδαμοῦ ἑόντα, ἐπιμελεῖς γὰρ δὴ μοι ἦν, εἰρόμην τοὺς ἀγχιστὰς οἰκέοντας τῆς λίμνης ὅκου εἰ ὁ χοῦς ὁ ἐξορυχθεῖς. οἱ δὲ ἐφρασάν μοι ἵνα ἐξεφορήθη, καὶ εὐπεπέως ἐπειθὼν ἓδεα γὰρ λόγῳ καὶ ἐν Νίνῳ τῇ Ἀσσυρίων πόλι γενόμενον ἔτερον τοιόοτον. τὰ γὰρ Σαρδαναπάλλου τοῦ Νίνου βασιλέως ἑόντα μεγάλα χρήματα καὶ φυλασσόμενα ἐν θησαυροῖς καταγαίοισι ἐπενόησαν κλώπες ἐκφορήσαι. ἐκ δὴ ἄν τῶν σφέτερων οἰκίων ἀρξάμενοι οἱ κλώπες ὑπὸ γῆν σταθμεύμενοι ἐς τὰ βασιλήμα ὦκία ὀρυσθοῦν, τὸν δὲ χοῦν τὸν ἐκφορεόμενον ἐκ τοῦ ὄρυγματος, ὅκως γένοιτο νῦξ, ἐς τὸν Τήγρην ποταμὸν παραρρέοντα τὴν Νίνον ἐξεφόρεον, ἐς δὲ κατεργάσατο δ’ τι ἐβούλουτο. τοιοοῦτον ἔτερον ἦκουσα καὶ κατὰ τὸ τῆς ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ λίμνης ὄρυγμα γενέσθαι, πλὴν οὖ νυκτὸς ἀλλὰ μετ’ ἡμέρην ποιεύμενον ὀρύσσοντας γὰρ τὸν χοῦν τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους ἐς τὸν Νεῖλον φορέειν. δ’ ἔβουλομβάνων ἔμελλε διαχειν. ἥ μὲν νυν λίμνη αὕτη οὔτω λέγεται ὀρυχθήναι.

151. Τῶν δὲ δυνώδεκα βασιλέως δικαίουσιν χρεωμένων, ἀνὰ χρόνον ὡς ἐθυσαν ἐν τῷ ἱρῷ τοῦ Ηφαίστου, τῇ υἱή τῆς ὅρτης, μελλόντων κατασπείσειν, ὁ ἄρχερες ἐξήνεικε φιλάς χρυσέας, τῆς περ ἐσθέσαν σπένδευν, ἀμαρτών τοῦ ἁριθμοῦ, ἐνδεκα δυνώδεκα ένούσι. ἐνθαῦτα ὡς οὐκ εἶχε φιάλην ὁ ἐσχατος ἐστεῶς αὐτῶν Ψαμ-460
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150. Further, the people of the country said that this lake issues by an underground stream into the Libyan Syrtis, and stretches below the mountains that are above Memphis, having the inland country on its western side. I could not anywhere see the earth taken from the digging of this lake, and this giving me matter for thought, I asked those who dwelt nearest to the lake where the stuff was that had been dug out. They told me whither it had been carried, and I readily believed them, for I had heard of a like thing happening in the Assyrian city of Ninus. Sardanapallus king of Ninus had great wealth, which he kept in an underground treasury. Certain thieves were minded to carry it off; they reckoned their course and dug an underground way from their own house to the palace, carrying the earth taken out of the dug passage at night to the Tigris, which runs past Ninus, till at length they accomplished their desire. This, I was told, had happened when the Egyptian lake was dug, save only that the work went on not by night but by day. The Egyptians bore the earth dug out by them to the Nile, to be caught and scattered (as was to be thought) by the river. Thus is this lake said to have been dug.

151. Now the twelve kings dealt justly; and as time went on they came to sacrifice in Hephaestus' temple. On the last day of the feast, they being about to pour libations, the high priest brought out the golden vessels which they commonly used for this; but he counted wrongly and gave the twelve only eleven. So he who stood last of them, Psammetichus, got no vessel; wherefore taking off his
μήτιχος, περιελόμενος τὴν κυνένην ἐσόσιαν χαλκέην ὑπέσχεται καὶ ἐσπενδέ. κυνέας δὲ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι ἀπαντεῖς ἐφόρεοι τε βασιλέες καὶ ἑτύγχανον τὸτε ἔχοντες. Ψαμμήτιχος μὲν γὰρ ὄντες ἄραρά νόμο χρεῶμεν ὑπέσχεται τὴν κυνένην· οὗ δὲ ἐν φρενὶ ἄβαντες τὸ τε ποιηθέν ἐκ Ψαμμήτιχου καὶ τὸ χρηστήριον, ὅτι ἐκέχρηστό σφι τὸν χαλκέη στειρασάντα αὐτῶν φιάλη τοῦτον βασιλέα ἐσεσθαι μοῦνον Αἰγύπτου, ἀναμμησθέντες τοῦ χρησμοῦ κτείναι μὲν οὐκ ἐδικαίωσαν Ψαμμήτιχον, ὡς ἀνεύρισκον βασανίζοντες εἶναι ὀδεμῆς προνοίας αὐτῶν ποιήσαντα, ἐστὶ δὲ τὰ ἔλεα ἐδοξαζέ σφι διώξει ψιλώσαντα τὰ πλείστα τῆς δυνάμεος, ἐκ δὲ τῶν ἐλέων ὀρμώμενον μὴ ἐπιμίσγασθαι τῇ ἄλλῃ Αἰγύπτῳ.

152. Τὸν δὲ Ψαμμήτιχον τούτον πρότερον φεύγοντα τὸν Αἴθιοπα Σαβακίων, ὅτι τὸν πατέρα Νεκών ἀπέκτεινε, τούτον φεύγοντα τότε ἐς Συρίην ὡς ἀπαλλάχθη ἐκ τῆς ὀψιν τοῦ ὀνείρου ὁ Αἴθιοψ, κατήγαγὼν Αἰγυπτίων οὖντοι ὃ οὐκ οὐ καθισε τὸ Σαῦτεων εἰσί. μετὰ δὲ βασιλεύοντα τὸ δεύτερον πρὸς τῶν ἐνδεκα βασιλέων καταλαμβάνει μὲν διὰ τὴν κυνένην φεύγει οὖς τὰ ἔλεα. ἐπιστάμενος δὲν ὅς περιφρύσσεις ἐγὼ πρὸς αὐτῶν ἐπενόει τίς σαῦρα, περιθαντεὶ δὲ οὐ εἰς Βουτοὺς πόλις ἐς τὸ χρηστήριον τῆς Δητοῦς, ἐνθα δὴ Αἰγυπτίοις ἐστὶ μαντήμαι ἀψυνεστατούν, ἢλθε χρησίμως ὡς τίσις ἤξει ἀπὸ τῆς θαλάσσης χαλκέων ἀνδρῶν ἐπιφανέντων καὶ τῷ μὲν δὴ ἀπιστίᾳ μεγάλῃ ὑπεκέχυντο χαλκέως οἱ ἄνδρας ἤξει ἐπικούρους. χρόνῳ δὲ οὐ πολλοῦ διελθῶντος ἀναγκαῖα κατέλαβε Ἡρωᾶς τε καὶ Κάρας ἄνδρας κατὰ ληθὴν ἐκπλώσαντας ἀπενειχθῆναι ἐς Αἰγύπτου, 462
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bronze helmet he held it out and poured the libation with it. All the other kings too were wont to wear helmets, and were then helmeted; it was not in guile, then, that Psammetichus held out his head-gear; but the rest marked Psammetichus' deed, and remembered the oracle which promised the sovereignty of all Egypt to whosoever should pour libation from a vessel of bronze; wherfore, though they deemed Psammetichus not to deserve death (for they proved him and found that he had acted without intent), they resolved to strip him of the most of his power and chase him away into the marshes, not to come out from thence and enter other parts of Egypt.

152. This Psammetichus had formerly been in Syria, whither he had fled from Sabacos the Ethiopian, who killed his father Necos; then, when the Ethiopian departed by reason of what he saw in a dream, the Egyptians of the province of Sais brought him back from Syria; and now Psammetichus was for the second time king, when it happened to him to be driven away into the marshes by the eleven kings by reason of the matter of the helmet. Therefore he held himself to have been outrageously dealt with by them and had a mind to be avenged on those who had expelled him, and he sent to inquire of the oracle of Leto in the town of Buto, which is the most infallible in Egypt; the oracle answered that he should have vengeance when he saw men of bronze coming from the sea. Psammetichus secretly disbelieved that men of bronze would come to aid him. But after no long time, certain Ionians and Carians, voyaging for plunder, were forced to put in on the coast of Egypt, where they disembarked in
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ἐκβάντας δὲ ἐς γῆν καὶ ὀπλισθέντας χαλκῷ ἀγ-
γέλλει τῶν τις Αἰγυπτίων ἐς τὰ ἔλεα ἀπικόμενος
τῷ Ψαμμητίχω, ὡς οὐκ ἰδὼν πρότερον χαλκῷ
ἀνδρας ὀπλισθέντας, ὡς χάλκεοι ἄνδρες ἀπιγμένουι
ἀπὸθαλάσσης λεπτατεύσῃ τὸ πεδίον. ὀ δὲ μαθὼν
τὸ χρηστήριον ἐπιτελεύμενον φίλα τε τοῖς ῾Ιωσὶ
καὶ Καροὶ ποιέται καὶ σφεας μεγάλα ὑπερχυνε-
μενος πείθει μετ’ ἐωτοῦ γενέσθαι. ὡς δὲ ἔπεισε,
οὗτο ἀμα τοῖς τὰ ἐωτοῦ βουλομένοι Αἰγυπτί-
οισι καὶ τοῖς ἐπικούροισι καταφέει τοὺς βασι-
λέας.

153. Κρατήσας δὲ Αἰγύπτου πάσης ὁ Ψαμμη-
τίχος ἐποίησε τῷ Ἡφαίστῳ προπύλαια ἐν Μέμφι
τὰ πρὸς νότον ἄνεμον τετραμμένα, αὐλήν τε τῷ
Ἁπι, ἐν τῇ τρέφεται ἐπεὰν φανὴ ὁ Ἁπις, οἰκοδο-
μησε ἐναυτῶν τῶν προπύλαιων, πᾶσάν τε περι-
στύλου ἐνόσαν καὶ τύπων πλένσι ἀντὶ δὲ κιόνωι
ὑπεστᾶσι κολοσσοὶ δυσδεκαπῆξες τῇ αὐλῇ. ἦ δὲ
Ἁπις κατὰ τὴν Ἐλλήνων γλῶσσαν ἐστὶ Ἕπαφος.

154. Τοῖς δὲ Ἰωσὶ καὶ τοῖς Καροὶ τοῖς
συγκατεργασμένοις αὐτῷ ὁ Ψαμμητίχος δίδωσι
χώρους ἐνοικήσαι αντίους ἀλλήλων, τοῦ Νείλου
tὸ μέσον ἔχοντος, τοῖς οὐνόματα ἐτέθη Στρατό-
pεδαὶ τούτων τε δὴ σφι τοὺς χώρους δίδωσι καὶ
tὰ ἄλλα τὰ ὑπέσχετο πάντα ἀπέδωκε. καὶ δὴ
καὶ παῖδας παρέβαλε αὐτοῖς Αἰγυπτίους τὴν
Ἐλλάδα γλῶσσαν ἐκδιδάσκεσθαι. ἀπὸ δὲ τού-
tων ἐκμαθητῶν τὴν γλῶσσαν οἱ νῦν ἐρμηνεύει
tὸν Αἰγύπτιον γεγονάσι. οἱ δὲ Ἰωνὲς τε καὶ οἱ Κάρες
tοῦτων τοὺς χώρους ὑκησάν χρόνον ἐπὶ πολλῶν
eἰσι δὲ οὗτοι οἱ χώροι πρὸς θαλάσσης ὀλύνον
ἐνερβε Βουβάστιος πόλιος, ἐπὶ τῷ Πηλουσίῳ
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their mail of bronze; and an Egyptian came into the marsh country and brought news to Psammetichus (for he had never before seen mailed men) that men of bronze were come from the sea and were foraging in the plain. Psammetichus saw in this the fulfilment of the oracle; he made friends with the Ionians and Carians, and promised them great rewards if they would join him, and having won them, with the aid of such Egyptians as consented and these allies he deposed the eleven kings.

153. Having made himself master of all Egypt, he made the southern outercourt of Hephaestus’ temple at Memphis, and built over against this a court for Apis, where Apis is kept and fed whenever he appears; this court has an inner colonnade all round it and many carved figures; the roof is held up by great statues twelve cubits high for pillars. Apis is in the Greek language Epaphus.

154. The Ionians and Carians who had helped him to conquer were given by Psammetichus places to dwell in called The Camps, opposite to each other on either side of the Nile; and besides this he paid them all that he had promised. Moreover he put Egyptian boys in their hands to be taught the Greek tongue; these, learning Greek, were the ancestors of the Egyptian interpreters. The Ionians and Carians dwelt a long time in these places, which are near the sea, on the arm of the Nile called the Pelusian, a little way below the town of Bubastis.
καλεομένω στόματι τοῦ Νείλου. τούτους μὲν δὴ χρόνῳ ὑστερον βασιλεὺς Ἀμασίς ἐξαναστήσας ἐνθεύτεν κατοίκισε ἐς Μέμφιν, φυλακὴν ἐσωτερικοῦ ποιεύμενος πρὸς Ἀιγυπτίων. τούτων δὲ οἰκισθέντων ἐν Ἀιγύπτῳ, οἱ Ὑπηργυρεῖς οὗτῳ ἐπιμισγόμενοι τοῦτοι τὰ περὶ Ἀιγυπτίων γινόμενα ἀπὸ Ψαμμητίχου βασιλέως ἀρξάμενοι πάντα καὶ τὰ υστερον ἐπιστάμεθα ἀτρικέως· πρῶτοι γὰρ οὗτοι ἐν Ἀιγύπτῳ ἄλλογγλωσσοι κατοικίσθησαν. εὗ δὲ ἐξανέστησαν χώρων, ἐν τούτοις δὲ οἱ τὸ χωρίον τῶν νεῶν καὶ τὰ ἔρευπια τῶν οἰκημάτων τὸ μέχρι ἐμεύ ἦσαν.

155. Ψαμμητίχος μὲν νυν οὗτῳ ἐσχε Ἀιγυπτίων. τοῦ δὲ χρηστηρίου του ἐν Ἀιγύπτῳ πολλὰ ἐπε- μνήσθην ἡ δή, καὶ δὴ λόγον περὶ αὐτοῦ ὡς ἄξιον ἐόντος ποιήσομαι. τὸ γὰρ χρηστηρίῳ τοῦτο τὸ ἐν Ἀιγύπτῳ ἔστι μὲν Λητοῦς ἴρον, ἐν πόλι δὲ μεγάλη ἢδρυμένον κατὰ τὸ Σεβεννυτικὸν καλεό- μενον στόμα τοῦ Νείλου, ἀναπλέοντι ἀπὸ θαλασ- σῆς ἀνω. οὖνομα δὲ τῇ πόλι ταύτη ὅκου τὸ χρηστηρίῳ ἐστὶ Βουτώ, ὡς καὶ πρότερον ἀνό- μασταὶ μοι. ἴρον δὲ ἐστὶ ἐν τῇ Βουτῷ ταύτῃ Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ Ἄρτέμιδος, καὶ ὃς ὦν ὅπας τῆς Λητοῦς, ἐν τῷ δὴ τὸ χρηστηρίῳ ἦν, αὐτὸς τε τυγχάνει ἔως μέγασ καὶ τὰ προπύλαια ἔχει ἐς υψὸς δέκα ὀργυιέων. τὸ δὲ μοι τῶν φανερῶν ὡς θώμα μέγιστον παρεχόμενον, φράσω· ἐστὶ ἐν τῷ τεμένει τοῦτῳ Λητοῦς νῆς ἐς ἐνὸς λίθου πεποιη- μένος ἐς τὸ ὑψὸς καὶ ἐς μῆκος καὶ τοῖχος ἐκαστος τοῦτοι ὑσος πεσεράκοντα ἐπιχεών τούτων ἐκα- στον ἐστί, τὸ δὲ καταστέγασμα τῆς ὄροφῆς ἄλλος ἐπίκειται λίθος, ἐχὼν τὴν παρωροφίδα τετράπτηχνων. 466
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Long afterwards, king Amasis removed them thence and settled them at Memphis, to be his guard against the Egyptians. It comes of our intercourse with these settlers in Egypt (who were the first men of alien speech to settle in that country) that we Greeks have exact knowledge of the history of Egypt from the reign of Psammetichus onwards. There still remained till my time, in the places whence the Ionians and Carians were removed, the landing engines\(^1\) of their ships and the ruins of their houses.

155. This is the story of Psammetichus’ conquest of Egypt. I have often made mention of the Egyptian oracle, and I will now treat fully of it, for this it deserves. This Egyptian oracle is sacred to Leto, and is situated in a great city by the Sebennytic arm of the Nile, on the way up from the sea. The name of the city where is this oracle is Buto; I have already named it. In Buto there is a temple of Apollo and Artemis. The shrine of Leto in which is the oracle is itself very great, and its outer court is ten fathoms high. But I will now tell of what was the most marvellous among things visible there: in this precinct is the shrine of Leto, whereof the height and length of the walls is all made of a single stone slab; each wall has an equal length and height, namely, forty cubits. Another slab makes the surface of the roof, the cornice of which is four cubits broad.

\(^1\) Probably capstans for hauling the ships ashore.
156. Οὕτω μὲν νῦν ὁ νήσος τῶν φανερῶν μοι τῶν περὶ τοῦτο τὸ ἱρὸν ἔστι θωμαστότατον, τῶν δὲ δευτέρων νῆσος ἡ Χέμμως καλεμένη ἔστι μὲν ἐν λίμνῃ βαθέᾳ καὶ πλατέῃ κείμενη παρὰ τὸ ἐν Βουτοί ἱρὸν, λέγεται δὲ ὑπ’ Ἀγνύττων εἶναι αὐτὴ ἡ νῆσος πλωτή. αὐτὸς μὲν ἔγνωσε ὦτε πλέουσαν ὦτε κινηθέσαν εἶδον, τέθησα δὲ ἄκοινον εἰ νῆσος ἀληθεώς ἐστὶ πλωτή. ἐν δὲ δῶν ταύτῃ νησὶ τε Ἀπόλλωνος μέγας ἐνι καὶ βωμοὶ τριφάσιοι ἐνυφάσαται, ἐμπεφύκασι δὲ ἐν αὐτῇ φοῖνικες συχνοὶ καὶ ἄλλα δένδρα καὶ καρποφόρα καὶ ἄφορα πολλά. λόγον δὲ τόνδε ἐπιλέγοντες οἱ Ἀγνύττοι φασὶ εἶναι αὐτὴν πλωτήν, ὡς ἐν τῇ νῆσῳ ταύτῃ οὐκ ἔοισῃ πρότερον πλωτῇ Αθηναίοι, ἐοῦσα τῶν ὁκτὼ θεῶν τῶν πρώτων γενομένων, ὀικέουσα δὲ ἐν Βουτοί τόλμη, ὥσπερ ὁ τὸ χρηστήριον τούτῳ ἐστὶ, Ἀπόλλωνα παρ’ Ἰσιος παρακαταθήκην δεξιάμεν πεσόσσε κατακρύψασα ἐν τῇ νήσῳ πλωτῇ λεγομένη νῆσῳ, ὅπε τὸ πάν διζήμενος οῦ Τυφών ἐπῆλθε, θέλων ἐξευρέιν τοῦ Ὀσίριος τῶν παῖδα. Ἀπόλλωνα δὲ καὶ Ἀρτεμις Διονύσου καὶ Ἰσιος λέγουσι εἶναι παῖδας, Δητοῦν δὲ τροφὸν αὐτοῖς καὶ σωτείραι γενέσθαι. Αἰγύπτιστι δὲ Ἀπόλλων μὲν Ὀμρος, Δημήτηρ δὲ Ἰσιος, Ἀρτεμις δὲ Βούβαστις. ἐκ τουτοῦ δὲ τοῦ λόγου καὶ οὐδενὸς ἄλλου Ἀἰσχύλου ὁ Εὐφορίων ἤρπασε τὸ ἐγὼ φράσῳ, μοῦνος δὴ ποιητέων τῶν προγενομένων ἐποίησε γὰρ Ἀρτεμις εἶναι θυγατέρα Δήμητρος. τὴν δὲ νῆσον διὰ τοῦτο γενέσθαι πλωτήν, ταύτα μὲν οὐτῶν λέγουσι.

157. Ψαμμήτιχος δὲ ἐβασίλευσε Αἰγύπτων τέσσερα καὶ πεντήκοντα ἑτεα, τῶν τὰ ἐνὸς δέοντα.
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156. Thus then the shrine is the most marvellous of all things that I saw in this temple; but of things of lesser note, the most wondrous is the island called Chemmis. This lies in a deep and wide lake near to the temple at Buto, and the Egyptians say that it floats. For myself I never saw it float, nor move at all, and I thought it a marvellous tale, that an island should truly float. However that be, there is a great shrine of Apollo thereon, and three altars stand there; many palm trees grow in the island, and other trees too, some yielding fruit and some not. The story told by the Egyptians to show why the island moves is this: when Typhon came seeking through the world for the son of Osiris, Leto, being one of the eight earliest gods, and dwelling in Buto where this oracle of hers is, received Apollo in charge from Isis and hid him for safety in this island which was before immovable but is now said to float. Apollo and Artemis were (they say) children of Dionysus and Isis, and Leto was made their nurse and preserver; in Egyptian, Apollo is Horus, Demeter Isis, Artemis Bubastis. It was from this and no other legend that Aeschylus son of Euphorion stole an imagination, which is in no other poet, that Artemis was the daughter of Demeter. For the aforesaid reason (say the Egyptians) the island was made to float. Such is the tale.

157. Psammetichus ruled Egypt for fifty-three years; for twenty-nine of these he sat before Azotus,
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τριήκοντα Ἄξωτον τῆς Συρίης μεγάλην πόλιν προσκατήμενος ἐπολιόρκεε, ἦς οἱ ξείλε. αὖτη δὲ Ἰ Ἄξωτος ἀπασέων πολίων ἔπλεστοι χρόνον πολιορκεομένη ἀντέσχη τῶν ἡμεῖς ἤθελεν.

158. Ψαμμητίχου δὲ Νεκῶς παῖς ἐγένετο καὶ ἐβασίλευε Αἰγύπτῳ, διὸ δὴ διώρυχα ἐπεχείρησε πρῶτος τῇ ἐκ τῆς 'Ἐρυθρῆς θάλασσας φεροῦσι, τῇν Δαρείον τῇν Πέρσης δεύτερα διώρυξε· τῆς μῆκος ἐστὶ πλάσσει ἡμέραι τέσσερες, εύρος δὲ ὀρυχεῖ ὡστε τριήμερας δύο πλέειν ὁμοῦ ἐλαστρευμένας. ἦκατε δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ Νεῖλου τὸ ὕδωρ ἐς αὐτήν· ἦκατε δὲ κατύπερθε δύλιον Βουβάστιος πόλιος παρὰ Πάτουμον τῇν Ἀραβίην πόλιν, ἐσέχει δὲ ἐς τῇν Ἐρυθρήν θάλασσαν. ὄρῳντι δὲ πρῶτον μὲν τοῦ πεδίου τοῦ Αἰγυπτίου τὰ πρὸς Ἀραβίην ἔχοντα· ἔχεται δὲ κατύπερθε τοῦ πεδίου τὸ κατὰ Μέμφιν τεῖνον ὅρος, ἐν τῷ οἱ λιθοτομίαν ἔνεισιν· τοῦ ὦν δὴ ὅρεος τοῦτον παρὰ τῇν ὑπαρέθη ἦκατε ἡ διώρυξι ἀπ᾽ ἐσπέρης μακρὴ πρὸς τὴν ἥ, καὶ ἐπευτα τείνει ἐς διασφάγας, φέρουσα ἀπὸ τοῦ ὅρεος πρὸς μεσαμβρίαν τε καὶ νότον ἄνεμον ἐς τὸν κόλπον τοῦ Ἀράβιον. τῇ δὲ ἐλάχιστον ἔστι καὶ συντομώτατον ἐκ τῆς βορείης θαλάσσης ύπερβήναι ἐς τὴν νοτίην καὶ Ἐρυθρὴν τὴν αὐτὴν ταύτην καλεομένην, ἀπὸ τοῦ Κασίου ὅρεος τοῦ ὄρη-ζουντος Αἰγυπτίων τε καὶ Συρίην, ἀπὸ τοῦτον ἐς ἔστιν τάδειοι ἀπαρτὶ χλίοις ἐς τὸν Ἀράβιον κόλπον. τοῦτο μὲν τὸ συντομώτατον, ἦ δὲ διώρυξι πολλῷ μακροτέρῃ, οὐσὶ σκολιωτέρῃ ἐστὶ· τῇ ἐπὶ Νεκῶ βασιλέως ὀρύσσοντες Αἰγυπτίων ἀπώλουσι δυώ-δεκα μυριάδες. Νεκῶς μὲν νυν μεταξὺ ὀρύσσων ἐπαύσατο μαντηίου ἐμποδίου γενομένου τοιοῦτο, 470
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a great city in Syria, and besieged it till he took it. Azotus held out against a siege longer than any city of which I have heard.

158. Psammetichus had a son Necos, who became king of Egypt. It was he who began the making of the canal into the Red Sea,¹ which was finished by Darius the Persian. This is four days' voyage in length, and it was dug wide enough for two triremes to move in it rowed abreast. It is fed by the Nile, and is carried from a little above Bubastis by the Arabian town of Patumus; it issues into the Red Sea. The beginning of the digging was in the part of the Egyptian plain which is nearest to Arabia; the mountains towards Memphis (in which mountains are the stone quarries) come close to this plain; the canal is led along the lower slope of these mountains, where its longest reach is from west to east; passing then into a ravine it bears southward out of the hill country towards the Arabian Gulf. Now the shortest and most direct passage from the northern to the southern or Red Sea is from the Casian promontory, which is the boundary between Egypt and Syria, to the Arabian Gulf, and this is a distance of one thousand furlongs, neither more nor less; this is the most direct way, but the canal is by much longer, inasmuch as it is more crooked. In Necos' reign a hundred and twenty thousand Egyptians perished in the digging of it. Necos ceased from the work, being stayed by a prophetic

¹ This canal ran from near Tel Basta (Bubastis) apparently to Suez. Inscriptions recording Darius' construction of it have been found in the neighbourhood.

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tῶ βαρβάρω φιλῶν προεργάζεσθαι. βαρβάρους
dὲ πάντας οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι καλεόυσι τοὺς μὴ σφίςι
όμογλώσσους.

159. Παυσάμενοι δὲ τῆς διώρυχος ὁ Νεκώς
ἐτράπετο πρὸς στρατηγίας, καὶ τριήμερα αἱ μὲν ἔπὶ
tῆ βορρήθη ταλάσσῃ ἐποιήθησαν, αἱ δὲ ἐν τῷ
Ἀραβίῳ κόλπῳ ἐπὶ τῇ Ἐρυμθῇ ταλάσσῃ, τῶν ἐτὶ
οἱ ὅλκοι ἐπίδηλοι. καὶ ταύτης τε ἐχραιὸ τὸν
δὲ θεόν καὶ Σύροις πεζῷ ὁ Νεκώς συμβαλὼν ἐν
Μαγδώλῳ ἐνίκησε, μετὰ δὲ τὴν μάχην Κάδυτεν
πόλων τῆς Συρίας ἐνώπιον μεγάλην εἶλε. ἐν τῇ
dὲ ἐσθῆτι ἐπεμψε ταῦτα κατεργασάμενος, ἀνέθηκε τῷ
Ἀπόλλωνι πέμψας ἐς Βραγχίδας τὰς Ρηθίσιων.
μετὰ δὲ, ἐκκαίδεκα ἔτεα τὰ πάντα ἀρξας, τελευτᾷ,
tῷ παιδὶ Ψάμμῳ παραδοῦν ὑπ' ἀρχήν.

160. Ἐπὶ τούτον δὴ τὸν Ψάμμῳ βασιλεύοντα
Αἰγύπτιον ἀπίκοντο Ἡλείων ἀγγελοί, αἰχέοντες
dικαιότατα καὶ κάλλιστα τιθέναι τὸν ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ
ἀγώνα πάντων ἀνθρώπων, καὶ δοκεόντες παρὰ
tαῦτα οὐδὲ ἀν τοὺς σοφωτάτους ἀνθρώπους Αἰγυ-
πτίους οὐδὲν ἐπεξευρεῖν. ὡς δὲ ἀπικόμενοι ἐς τὴν
Αἰγύπτιον οἱ Ἡλείοι ἔλεγον τῶν εἴνεκα ἀπίκοντο,
ἐνθαῦτα ὁ βασιλεὺς οὕτως συγκαλέται Αἰγύπτιοι
tοὺς λεγομένους εἶναι σοφωτάτους. συνελθόντες
dὲ οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι ἐπιθυμάοντο τῶν Ἡλείων λεγόν-
tων ἀπαντᾷ τὰ κατηκεὶ σφέας ποιέων περὶ τὸν
ἀγώνα· ἀπηγησάμενοι δὲ τὰ πάντα ἔφασαν ἥκειν
ἐπιμαθησόμενοι εἰ τι ἔχοιεν Αἰγύπτιοι τούτων
dικαιότερον ἐπεξευρεῖν. οὐ δὲ βουλευσάμενοι
ἐπειρώτων τοὺς Ἡλείους εἰ σφι ὁ πολῖται ἐνα-
γωνίζονται. οὐ δὲ ἔφασαν καὶ σφέων καὶ τῶν
ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων ὀμοίως τῷ βουλομένῳ ἐξεῖναι

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utterance which bade him deal first with the barbarian. The Egyptians call all men of other languages barbarians.

159. Necos then ceased from making the canal and engaged rather in warlike preparation; some of his ships of war were built on the northern sea, and some in the Arabian Gulf, by the Red Sea coast: the landing-engines of these are still to be seen. He used these ships at need, and with his land army met and defeated the Syrians at Magdolus,\(^1\) taking the great Syrian city of Cadytis\(^2\) after the battle. He sent to Branchidae of Miletus and dedicated there to Apollo the garments in which he won these victories. Presently he died after a reign of sixteen years, and his son Psammis reigned in his stead.

160. While this Psammis was king of Egypt he was visited by ambassadors from Elis, the Eleans boasting that they had ordered the Olympic games with all the justice and fairness in the world, and claiming that even the Egyptians, albeit the wisest of all men, could not better it. When the Eleans came to Egypt and told the purpose of their coming, Psammis summoned an assembly of those who were said to be the wisest men in Egypt. These assembled, and inquired of the Eleans, who told them of the rules of the games which they must obey, and, having declared these, said they had come that if the Egyptians could invent any juster way they might learn this too. The Egyptians consulted together, and then asked the Eleans if their own townsmen took part in the contests. The Eleans answered that this was so: all Greeks from Elis or elsewhere

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\(^1\) Magdolus appears to be the Migdol of O.T.  
\(^2\) Gaza.
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ἀγωνίζεσθαι. οἱ δὲ Αιγύπτιοι ἐφασαν σφέας οὕτω τιθέντας ταυτὸς τοῦ δικαίου ἡμαρτηκέναι. οὐδεμίαν γὰρ εἶναι μηχανὴν ὅκως οὐ τῷ ἀστῷ ἀγωνιζομένῳ προσθήκησονται, ἀδικεύοντες τὸν ξείνων. ἀλλ' εἰ δὴ βούλονται δικαίως τιθέναι καὶ τούτου εἶνακα ἀπικοιλατε ὡς Αιγύπτιοι, ξείνουσι ἀγωνιζομένου ἐκέλευον τὸν ἀγώνα τιθέναι, Ἡλείων δὲ μηδὲν εἶναι ἀγωνίζεσθαι. ταῦτα μὲν Αιγύπτιοι Ἡλείων ὑπεθήκαντο.

161. Ψάμμος δὲ ἔξε ἔτεα μοῦνον βασιλεύσαντος Αιγύπτιοι καὶ στρατευσάμενος ἐς Αἰθιοπίην καὶ μετανυκτική τελευτήσαντος ἐξεδέσετο Ἀπρίης ὁ Ψάμμος· δὲ μετὰ Ψαμμήτην τὸν ἐωτοῦ προπάτορα ἐγένετο εὐδαιμονεστάτος τῶν πρότερον βασιλέων, ἐπ' ἔτεα πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι ἄρξας, ἐν τοῖς ἐπὶ τῇ Σιδώνιᾳ στρατῷ ἤλασε καὶ ἐναμάχησε τῷ Τυρίῳ. ἔπει δὲ οἱ ἔδει κακῶς γενέσθαι, ἐγίνετο ἀπὸ προφάσιος τὴν ἐγώ μεξόνως μὲν ἐν τοῖς Διβυκοῖς λόγοις ἀπηγήσομαι, μετρίως δὲ ἐν τῷ παρεών. ἀποπέμψας γὰρ στράτευμα ὁ Ἀπρίης ἐπὶ Κυρηναῖον μεγαλωστὶ προσέπταισε, Αιγύπτιοι δὲ ταῦτα ἐπιμεμφόμενοι ἀπέστησαν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ, δοκεόντες τὸν Ἀπρίην ἐκ προοιής αὐτοῦς ἀποπέμψας ἐς φανόμενον κακόν, ἣν δὴ σφέων φθορὴ γένηται, αὐτὸς δὲ τῶν λοιπῶν Ἀιγυπτίων ἀσφάλεστερον ἄρχοι. ταῦτα δὲ δεινὰ ποιεύμενοι οὕτως τε οἱ ἀπονοστήσαντες καὶ οἱ τῶν ἀπολομένων φίλοι ἀπέστησαν ἐκ τῆς θείης.

162. Πυθόμενος δὲ Ἀπρίης ταῦτα πέμπει ἐπ' αὐτοῦς Ἀμασίν καταπαύσοντα λόγοι. δὲ ἔπειτε ἀπικόμενος κατελάβανε τοὺς Αιγυπτίους

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might contend. Then the Egyptians said that this rule was wholly wide of justice: "For," said they, "it cannot be but that you will favour your own townsmen in the contest and deal unfairly by a stranger. Nay, if you will indeed make just rules and have therefore come to Egypt, you should admit only strangers to the contest, and not Eleans." Such was the counsel of the Egyptians to the Eleans.

161. Psammis reigned over Egypt for six years only; he invaded Ethiopia, and immediately thereafter died, and Apries his son reigned in his stead. He was more fortunate than any former king (save only his great-grandfather Psammetichus) during his rule of twenty-five years, in which he sent an army against Sidon and did battle by sea with the king of Tyre. But when it was fated that ill should befall him, the cause of it was one that I will now deal with briefly, and at greater length in the Libyan part of this history. Apries sent a great host against Cyrene and suffered a great defeat. The Egyptians blamed him for this and rebelled against him; for they thought that Apries had knowingly sent his men to their doom, that by their so perishing he might be the safer in his rule over the rest of the Egyptians. Bitterly angered by this, those who returned home and the friends of the slain openly revolted.

162. Hearing of this, Apries sent Amasis to them to persuade them from their purpose. When Amasis came up with the Egyptians he exhorted them to

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1 Apries is the Hophra of O.T.; he reigned from 589 to 570 B.C., apparently. But the statement that he attacked Tyre and Sidon is inconsistent with Jewish history (Jerem. xxvii., Ezek. xvii.).
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tαύτα μη ποιέω, λέγοντος αυτοῦ τῶν τις Ἀι-
γυπτίων ὁπόσος στὰς περιέβηκε οἱ κυνήγι, καὶ
περιτειθεὶς ἐφῆ ἐπὶ βασιλῆς περιτιθέναι. καὶ τῷ
οὗ κως ἀκούσιον ἐγίνετο τὸ ποιεύμενον, ὡς διε-
δείκνυε. ἐπείτε γὰρ ἐστήσαντο μιν βασιλέα τῶν
Αἰγυπτίων οἳ ἀπεστείωτες, παρεσκευάζετο ὡς ἔλθω
ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀπρίην. πυθόμενος δὲ ταῦτα ὁ Ἀπρίης
ἐπεμπε ἔπ' Ἄμασιν ἀνδρὰ δόκιμον τῶν περὶ
ἐωτυόν Αἰγυπτίων, τῷ οὐνομὰ ἡν Πατάρβημις,
ἐντειλάμενος αὐτῷ ζῶντα Ἄμασιν ἀγαγείν παρ' ἐωτύ
ὁ Ἄμασις, ὡς δὲ ἀπακόμενος τὸν Ἄμασιν ἐκάλεε ὁ
Πατάρβημις, ὁ Ἄμασις, ἔτυχε γὰρ ἐπ' ἵππου
κατήμενος, ἐπαείρας ἀπεματάισε, καὶ τοῦτο μιν
ἐκέλευ Ἀπρίη ἀπάγεν. ὅμως δὲ αὐτὸν ἄξιον
τὸν Πατάρβημιν βασιλέος μεταπεμπτομένου ἴναι
πρὸς αὐτὸν τὸν δὲ αὐτῷ ὑποκρίνεσθαι ὡς ταῦτα
πάλαι παρεσκευάζετο ποιεύων, καὶ αὐτῷ οὐ μέμ-
ψεσθαι Ἀπρίην παρέσεσθαι γὰρ καὶ αὐτὸς καὶ
ἀλλος ἄξιοι. τὸν δὲ Πατάρβημιν ἔκ τε τῶν
λεγομένων οὐκ ἀγνοεῖν τὴν διάνοιαν, καὶ παρα-
σκευαζόμενον ὀρῶντα σπουδὴ ἀπιέναι, βουλόμενος
τὴν ταχύτητα βασιλεῖ δηλώσαι τὰ προσφέρεται.
ὡς δὲ ἀπικέσθαι αὐτὸν πρὸς τὸν Ἀπρίην οὐκ
ἀγνοτα τὸν Ἄμασιν, οὐδένα λόγου ἐωτύν ἄντα
ἀλλα περιθύμως ἔχοντα περιταμεῖν προστάξαι
αὐτοῦ τὰ τε ὅτα καὶ τὴν ρίνα. ἰδομενοὶ δ' οἱ
λοιποὶ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων, οἳ ἔτι τὰ ἐκείνον ἐφρόνουν,
ἀνδρὰ τὸν δοκείμωταν ἐωτυῶν οὐτοῖ αἰσχρῶς
λύμη διακείμενον, οὐδένα δὴ χρόνον ἐπισχώντες
ἀπιστεύει πρὸς τοὺς ἐτέρους καὶ ἐδίδοσαν σφέας
αὐτοὺς Ἄμασι.

163. Πυθόμενος δὲ καὶ ταῦτα ὁ Ἀπρίης ὀπλίζε
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desist from what they did; but while he spoke an Egyptian came behind him and put a helmet on his head, saying it was the token of royalty. And Amasis showed that this was not displeasing to him, for being made king by the rebel Egyptians he prepared to march against Apries. When Apries heard of it, he sent against Amasis an esteemed Egyptian named Patarbemis, one of his own court, charging him to take the rebel alive and bring him into his presence. Patarbemis came, and summoned Amasis, who lifted his leg with an unseemly gesture (being then on horseback) and bade the messenger take that token back to Apries. But when Patarbemis was nevertheless instant that Amasis should obey the king's summons and go to him—such is the story—Amasis answered that he had long been making ready to do this, and Apries should be well satisfied with him: "For I will come myself;" quothe, "and bring others with me." Hearing this, Patarbemis could not mistake Amasis' purpose; he saw his preparations and made haste to depart, that he might with all speed make known to the king what was afoot. When Apries saw him return without Amasis he took no thought with himself, but in his rage and fury bade cut off Patarbemis' ears and nose. The rest of the Egyptians, who were till now Apries' friends, seeing the foul despite thus done to the man who was most esteemed among them, changed sides without more ado and delivered themselves over to Amasis.

163. This news too being brought to Apries, he
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toûs èpikouîrous kai ἦλαυνε ἐπὶ τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους·
eîχε δὲ περὶ ἐωτὸν Καράς τε καὶ Ἰωνᾶς ἀνδρας
ἐπικούρους τρισμυρίους· ἦν δὲ οἱ τὰ βασιλῆια ἐν
Σάι πόλι, μεγάλα ἔσταται καὶ ἀξιοθέτητα. καὶ οἳ τε
περὶ τὸν Ἁπρίην ἐπὶ τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους ἦσαν καὶ
οἳ περὶ τὸν Ἄμας ἐπὶ τοὺς ξείνους· ἐν τε δὴ
Μαμέμφι πόλι ἐγένοντο ἀμφότεροι καὶ πειρή-
σεσθαι ἐμελλον ἀλλήλων.

164. Ἐστί δὲ Αἰγυπτίων ἐπτά γένεα, καὶ
toῦτων οἱ μὲν ἴρες οἱ δὲ μάχιμοι κεκλεᾶται, οὗ
dὲ Βούκολοι οὗ δὲ συβώται, οὗ δὲ κάτηλοι, οὗ δὲ
ἐρμήνες, οὗ δὲ κυβερνῆται. γένεα μὲν Αἰγυ-
πτίων τοσαῦτα ἐστί, οὐνόματα δὲ σφι κέεται ἀπὸ
tῶν τεχνῶν. οὗ δὲ μάχιμοι αὐτῶν καλέονται μὲν
Καλασίριες τε καὶ Ἕρμοτύβιες, ἐκ νομῶν δὲ
tῶν ἐστὶ· κατὰ γὰρ δὴ νομοὺς Αἰγυπτος ἀπασα
διαράιρηται.

165. Ἕρμοτύβιοι μὲν οἵδε εἰσὶ νομοὶ, Βουσι-
ρίτης, Σαάτις, Χεμμίτης, Παπρημίτης, νῆσος ἡ
Προσωπίτης καλεομένη, Ναθὼ τὸ ἴμισυ. ἐκ μὲν
τοῦτων τῶν νομῶν Ἕρμοτύβιες εἰσί, γενόμενοι,
ὅτε ἐπὶ πλείστους ἐγένοντο, ἐκκαίδεκα μυριάδες,
καὶ τοῦτων βαναυσίας οὐδεὶς δεδάκη υἱοῦν, ἀλλὰ
ἀνέωνται ἐς τὸ μάχιμον.

166. Καλασίριων δὲ οἵδε ἀλλοι νομοὶ εἰσὶ,
Θηβαῖος, Βουβαστίτης, Ἀφίτης, Ταύτιτης, Μεν-
δῆιος, Σεβεννύτης, Ἀρμβίτης, Φαρβαῖδιτης,
Θομύτης, Ὀνυφίτης, Ἀνύτιος, Μυεκφόριτης·
οὗτος ο νομὸς ἐν νῆσῳ οἰκεῖ ἀντίον Βουβάστιος
πόλιος. οὗτοι δὲ οἱ νομοὶ Καλασίριων εἰσί, γε-
νόμενοι, ὅτε ἐπὶ πλείστους ἐγένοντο, πέντε καὶ
εἰκοσι μυριάδες ἄνδρῶν. οὐδὲ τούτους ἔζεστι

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armed his guard and marched against the Egyptians; he had a bodyguard of Carians and Ionians, thirty thousand of them, and his royal dwelling was in the city of Sais, a great and marvellous palace. Apries’ men marched against the Egyptians, and so did Amasis’ men against the strangers; so they came both to Momemphis, where it was their purpose to prove each other’s quality.

164. The Egyptians are divided into seven classes, severally entitled priests, warriors, cowherds, swineherds, hucksters, interpreters, and pilots. So many classes there are, each named after its vocation. The warriors are divided into Kalasiries and Hermotubies, and they belong to the following provinces (for all divisions in Egypt are made according to provinces).

165. The Hermotubies are of the provinces of Busiris, Sais, Chemmis, and Papremis, the island called Prospitis, and half of Natho—all of these; their number, at its greatest, attained to a hundred and sixty thousand. None of these has learnt any common trade; they are free to follow arms alone.

166. The Kalasiries for their part are of the provinces of Thebes, Bubastis, Aphthis, Tanis, Mendes, Sebennys, Athribis, Pharbaïthis, Thmuis, Onuphis, Anytis, Myecephoris (this last is in an island over against the city of Bubastis)—all these; their number, at its greatest, attained to two hundred and fifty thousand men. These too may practise

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τέχνην ἐπασκήσαι ὑδεμίαν, ἀλλὰ τὰ ἐς πόλεμον ἐπασκέουσι μοῦνα, παῖς παρὰ πατρὸς ἐκδεκόμενος.

167. Εἰ μὲν υἱὸν καὶ τοῦτο παρ' Αἰγυπτίων μεμαθήκασι οἱ Ἑλληνες, οὐκ ἔχω ἀτρεκέως κρίναι, ὅρεων καὶ Θρήκιας καὶ Σκύθας καὶ Πέρσας καὶ Λυδοὺς καὶ σχέδου πάντας τοὺς βαρβάρους ἀποτιμοτέρους τῶν ἄλλων ἡγημένους πολιτείων τοὺς τὰς τέχνας μανθάνοντας καὶ τοὺς ἐκγόνους τούτων, τοὺς δὲ ἀπαλλαγμένους τῶν χειρωναξιῶν γενναίους νομιζόμενους εἶναι, καὶ μάλιστα τοὺς ἐς τὸν πόλεμον ἀνεμένους· μεμαθήκασι δ' ὁν τούτο πάντες οἱ Ἑλληνες καὶ μάλιστα Λακεδαιμόνιοι. ἦκιστα δὲ Κορίνθιοι ὄνοται τοὺς χειροτέχνας.

168. Γέρεα δὲ σφι ἣν τάδε ἐξαραιρημένα μοῦνοι Αἰγυπτίων πάρεξ τῶν ἱρέων, ἄρουραι ἕξαιρετοι δυόδεκα ἐκάστῳ ἄτελεῖς. ἢ δὲ ἄρουρα ἐκατόν πηχέων ἔστι Αἰγυπτίων πάντη, ὁ δὲ Αἰγύπτιος πηχὺς τυγχάνει ἵσος ἕως τῷ Σαμίῳ. ταῦτα μὲν δὴ τοῖς ἄπασι ἦν ἐξαραιρημένα, τάδε δὲ ἐν περιτροπῇ ἐκαρποῦντο καὶ σύναμα ὁμοί. Καλασιρίων χίλιοι καὶ Ἑρμοτυβίων ἐδορυφόρειν ἐναιστῶν ἐκαστοί τῶν βασιλέας· τοῦτοι δὲν τάδε πάρεξ τῶν ἄρουρέων ἀλλὰ ἐδίδουτο ἐπ' ἂμερῃ ἐκάστῳ, ὡς τὴν σίτου σταθῆσθαι πέντε μνέας ἐκάστῳ, κρεόν βοῶν δύο μνέαι, οἶνον τέσσερες ἀρυστήρες. ταῦτα τοῦ ἄλλος ἀρετοφόρος ἐδίδοτο.

169. Ἐπείτε δὲ συνιόντες ὁ τε Ἀπρίλις ἄγων τοὺς ἐπικούρους καὶ ὁ Ἀμασίς πάντας Αἰγυπτίους ἀπίκοντο ἐς Μώμεμφιν πόλιν, συνέβαλον καὶ ἐμαχέσατο μὲν εὐ οἱ ἔξων, πληθεὶ δὲ πολλῷ ἐλάσσονες έόντες κατὰ τοῦτο ἐσσωθησαν. ὁ Ἀπρίλις δὲ
no trade but only war, which is their hereditary calling.

167. Now whether this separation, like other customs, has come to Greece from Egypt, I cannot exactly judge. I know that in Thrace and Scythia and Persia and Lydia and nearly all foreign countries those who learn trades are held in less esteem than the rest of the people, and those who have least to do with artisans' work, especially men who are free to practise the art of war, are highly honoured. Thus much is certain, that this opinion, which is held by all Greeks and chiefly by the Lacedaemonians, is of foreign origin. It is in Corinth that artisans are held in least contempt.

168. The warriors were the only Egyptians, except the priests, who had special privileges: for each of them there was set apart an untaxed plot of twelve acres. This acre is a square of a hundred Egyptian cubits each way, the Egyptian cubit being equal to the Samian. These lands were set apart for all; it was never the same men who cultivated them, but each in turn.¹ A thousand Kalasiries and as many Hermotubies were the king's annual bodyguard. These men, besides their lands, received each a daily provision of five minae's weight of roast grain, two minae of beef, and four cups of wine. These were the gifts received by each bodyguard.

169. When Apries with his guards and Amasis with the whole force of Egyptians came to the town of Momemphis, they joined battle; and though the foreigners fought well, they were by much the fewer, and therefore were worsted. Apries, they say,

¹ That is, each twelve-acre plot was cultivated by a new occupier every year.
λέγεται εἰναι ἦδε διάνοια, μηδ' ἂν θεόν μν μηδένα δύνασθαι παῦσαι τῆς βασιληῆς. οὐτω ἀσφαλέως ἐωτῷ ἱδρύσθαι ἐδόκεε. καὶ δὴ τὸτε συμβαλῶν ἐςοῦθι καὶ ἕωρῃ δι' ἀπήχθη ἐς Σάιν πόλιν, ἐς τὰ ἐωτόν ὅικα πρότερον ἑντα, τὸτε δὲ Ἀμάσιος ἤδη βασιλῆα. ἐνθαῦτα δὲ τέως μὲν ἐτρέφετο ἐν τοῖς βασιλείοις, καὶ μν Ἀμασίς εὑ περιεύπετε τέλος δὲ μεμφομένων Αἰγυπτίων ὡς οὐ ποιέοι δίκαια τρέφων τὸν σφίς τε καὶ ἐωτῷ ἐχθρότου, οὐτω δὴ παραδίδοι τὸν Ἀπρίην τοῦι Ἀιγυπτίοις. οὐ δὲ μν ἀπέπνεαν καὶ ἔπειτα ἔθαψαν ἐν τῇ πατρῴσει ταφῆς. οὐ δὲ εἰσὶ ἐν τῷ ἱρῷ τῆς Ἀθηναίης, ἀγχοτάτῳ τοῦ μεγάρου, ἐσίωντι ἅμιστηρῆς χειρός. ἔθαψαν δὲ Σαῦτα πάντας τοὺς ἐκ νομοῦ τοῦτον γενομένοις βασιλέας ἐσοὶ ἐν τῷ ἱρῷ. καὶ γὰρ τὸ τοῦ Ἀμασίους σῆμα ἐκαστέρω μὲν ἐστὶ τοῦ μεγάρου ἡ τοῦ Ἀπρίεω καὶ τῶν τούτων προπάτορων, ἐστὶ μέντοι καὶ τούτο ἐν τῇ αὐλῇ τοῦ ἱροῦ, παστάς λαθίνη μεγάλη καὶ ἡςκημένη στυλοίς τε φοίνικας τὰ δένδρα μεμιμημένοις καὶ τῇ ἀλλῃ δαπάνῃ ἔσω δὲ ἐν τῇ παστάδι δὲξα θυρώματα ἐστηκε, ἐν δὲ τοῖς θυρώμασι ἡ θήκη ἐστὶ.

170. Εἰςὶ δὲ καὶ αἱ ταφαὶ τοῦ ὦκ δὸσιν ποιεῦμαι ἐπὶ τοιοῦτω πρήγματι ἐξαγορεύειν τὸ οὖνομα ἐν Σάιν, ἐν τῷ ἱρῷ τῆς Ἀθηναίης, ὁπισθε τοῦ νηοῦ, παντὸς τοῦ τῆς Ἀθηναίης ἐχόμεναι τοίχου. καὶ ἐν τῷ τεμενεῖ ὀβελοὶ ἐστασὶ μεγάλοι λίθινοι, λίμνη τε ἐστὶ ἐχομένη λιθίνη κρηπίδι κεκοσμημένη καὶ ἐργασμένη εὑ κύκλῳ καὶ μέγαθος, ὡς ἐμοὶ ἑδοκε, ὅση περ ἐν Δήλῳ ἡ τροχειδῆς καλεμένη.

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supposed that not even a god could depose him from his throne; so firmly he thought he was established; and now being worsted in battle and taken captive he was brought to Sais, to the royal dwelling which belonged once to him but now to Amasis. There he was kept alive for a while in the palace, and well entreated by Amasis. But presently the Egyptians complained that there was no justice in keeping alive one who was their own and their king's bitterest enemy; whereupon Amasis gave Apries up to them, and they strangled him and then buried him in the burial-place of his fathers. This is in the temple of Athene, very near to the sanctuary, on the left of the entrance. The people of Sais buried within the temple precinct all kings who were natives of their province. The tomb of Amasis is farther from the sanctuary than the tomb of Apries and his ancestors; yet it also is within the temple court; it is a great colonnade of stone, richly adorned, the pillars whereof are wrought in the form of palm trees. In this colonnade are two portals, and the place where the coffin lies is within their doors.

170. There is also at Sais the burial-place of him whose name I deem it forbidden to utter in speaking of such a matter; it is in the temple of Athene, behind and close to the whole length of the wall of the shrine. Moreover great stone obelisks stand in the precinct; and there is a lake hard by, adorned with a stone margin and wrought to a complete circle; it is, as it seemed to me, of the bigness of the lake at Delos which they call the Round Pond.
171. Ἐν δὲ τῇ λήμνη ταύτη τὰς δείκηλα τῶν παθέων αὐτοῦ νυκτὸς ποιεῦσι, τὰ καλέουσι μυστήρια Αἰγύπτιοι. περὶ μὲν γὰρ τούτων εἰδότι μοι ἐπὶ πλέον ὡς ἐκαστα αὐτῶν ἔχει, εὐστόμα κείσθω. καὶ τῆς Δῆμητρος τελετῆς περὶ, τὴν οἱ Ἑλληνες θεσμοφορία καλέουσι, καὶ ταύτης μοι περὶ εὐστόμα κείσθω, πλὴν ὅσον αὐτῆς ὁσίῃ ἔστι λέγειν· αἱ Δαναοὶ θυγατέρες ἦσαν αἱ τὴν τελετὴν ταύτην ἐξ Αἰγύπτου ἐξαγαγοῦσαι καὶ διδάξασαι τὰς Πελασγώτιδας γυναῖκας· μετὰ δὲ ἔξαναστάσης πάσης 1 Πελοπονησίου ὑπὸ Δωρίων ἐξαπώλετο ἡ τελετή, οἱ δὲ ὑπὸλειψάντες Πελοπονησίων καὶ οὐκ ἔξαναστάντες Ἀρκάδες διέσωξαν αὐτὴν μοῦνοι.

172. Ἀπρίσιο δὲ ὅπε διακαρακεμένου ἐβασίλευσε Ἀμασίς, νομοῦ μὲν Σαῖτεω εῶς, ἐκ τῆς δὲ ἡν πόλισι, οὕνεκα οἱ ἔστι Σιοῦφ. τὰ μὲν δὴ πρῶτα κατώγουσα τὸ Ἀμασίν Αἰγύπτιοι καὶ ἐν οὐδεμίᾳ μοῖρῃ μεγάλῃ ἦγαν ἀτε δὴ δημότην τὸ πρὶν ἐόντα καὶ οἰκίας οὐκ ἐπιφανεός· μετὰ δὲ σοφῆς αὐτοὺς ὁ Ἀμασίς, οὐκ ἀγνωσμούῃ προσηγάγετο. ἢν οἱ ἄλλα τε ἀγαθὰ μυρία, ἐν δὲ καὶ ποδανιπτήρ χρύσεως, ἐν τῷ αὐτὸς τε ὁ Ἀμασίς καὶ οἱ δαιτυμόνες οἱ πάντες τοὺς πόλεις ἐκάστοτε ἐναπενίζοντο· τούτων κατ’ ὅν κόψας ἀγαλμα δαιμόνος ἐξ αὐτοῦ ἐποίησατο, καὶ ἱδρυσε τῆς πόλιος ὅκων ἦν ἐπιτηδεύτατον· οἱ δὲ Αἰγύπτιοι φοιτέοντες πρὸς τῶν ἄθαλμα ἔσβοντο μεγάλως. μαθῶν δὲ ὁ Ἀμασίς τὸ ἐκ τῶν ἄστιν ποιεύμενον, συγκαλέσας Αἰγύπτιόν ἐξέφηνε φᾶς ἐκ τοῦ ποδανιπτήρος τῶν ἄθαλμα γεγο- 

1 Stein brackets πάσης, as not consistent with the following words.
BOOK II. 171-172

171. On this lake they enact by night the story of the god's sufferings, a rite which the Egyptians call the Mysteries. I could speak more exactly of these matters, for I know the truth, but I will hold my peace; nor will I say aught concerning that rite of Demeter which the Greeks call Thesmophoria, saving such part of it as I am not forbidden to mention. It was the daughters of Danaus who brought this rite out of Egypt and taught it to the Pelasgian women; afterwards, when the people of Peloponnesus were driven out by the Dorians, it was lost, except in so far as it was preserved by the Arcadians alone, the Peloponnesian nation that was not driven out but left in its home.

172. Apries being thus deposed, Amasis became king; he was of a town called Siuph in the province of Saïs. Now at first he was contemned and held in but little regard by the Egyptians, as having been but a common man and of no high family; but presently he won them to him by being cunning and not arrogant. He had among his countless treasures a golden washpot, in which he and all those who feasted with him were ever wont to wash their feet. This he broke in pieces and made thereof a god's image, which he set in the most fitting place in the city; and the Egyptians came ever and anon to this image and held it in great reverence. When Amasis knew what the townsmen did, he called the Egyptians together and told them that the image had been made out of the washpot; once (said he)

1 A festival celebrated by Athenian women in autumn.

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νέαι, ἐς τὸν πρότερον μὲν τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους ἐνεμέειν τε καὶ ἐνουρέειν καὶ πόδας ἐναπονύζεσθαι, τότε δὲ μεγάλως σέβεσθαι. ᾦδη δὲν ἔφη λέγον ὁμοίως αὐτὸς τῷ ποδανυπτήρι πεπραγγέλατι· εἰ γὰρ πρότερον εἶναι δημότης, ἀλλ’ ἐν τῷ παρεόντι εἶναι αὐτῶν βασιλεὺς· καὶ τιμᾶν τε καὶ προμηθεύεσθαι ἑωτοῦ ἐκέλευε.

173. Τοιούτω μὲν τρόπῳ προσηγάγετο τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους ὡστε δικαιοῦν δουλεύειν, ἐχράτο δὲ καταστάσι πρηγμάτων τοιῆδε· τὸ μὲν ὄρθιον ἔχρι ὅτεν πληθούσης ἁγορῆς προθύμως ἐπήρησε τὰ προσφέρομενα πρήγματα, τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ τούτου ἐπινε τε καὶ κατέσκωπτε τοὺς συμπότας καὶ ἦν μάταιός τε καὶ παγυνήμων. ἀχθεσθέντες δὲ τούτουι οἰ φίλοι αὐτοῦ ἐνουθένες αὐτὸν τοιάδε λέγοντες. “Ὡ βασιλεὺς, οὐκ ὄρθως σεωτοῦ προ- ἐστηκας, ἐς τὸ ἄγαν φαύλον προάγων σεωτοῦ. σὲ γὰρ ἔχρη ἐν πόρον ςεμύση σεμοῦ τῷ ὁμίλες πρήσεσιν τὰ πρήγματα, καὶ οὕτω Αἰγύ- πτιοί τ’ ἄν ἡπιστέατο ὡς ὑπ’ ἀνδρὸς μεγάλου ἄρχον- ται, καὶ ἀμείνον σὺ ἢ ἰκουνε. νῦν δὲ ποιείς συνάφως βασιλικά.” ὃ δ’ ἀμελβετο τοισίδε αὐτούς. “Τὰ τόξα οἱ ἐκτημένοι, ἐπεδὲ μὲν δεώνται χρᾶσθαι, ἐντανύουσι· εἰ γὰρ δὴ τὸν πάντα χρόνον ἐντε- ταμένα εἰ, ἐκραγεί ἂν, ὡστε ἐς τὸ δέον οὐκ ἄν ἔχοιν αὐτοῖς χρᾶσθαι. οὕτω δὲ καὶ ἀνθρώπων κατάστασις· εἰ ἔθελε κατεσπουδάζεται αἰεὶ μηδὲ ἐς παιγνίνη τὸ μέρος ἑωτῶν ἀνίεναι, λάθοι ἄν ἦτοι μανείς ὁ ἦν ἀπὸπληκτος γενόμενος· τὰ ἐγὼ ἐπιστάμενοι μέρος ἑκατέρω νέμω.” ταῦτα μὲν τοὺς φίλους ἀμείψατο.

174. Δέγεται δὲ ὁ Ἀμασίς, καὶ ὁτε ἦν ἰδιώτης, 486
BOOK II. 172-174

his subjects had washed their feet in it and put it to yet viler uses; now they greatly revered it. "So now" (quoth he to them) "it has fared with me as with the washpot; once I was a common man, now I am your king; it is your duty to honour me and hold me in regard."

173. In this manner he won the Egyptians to consent to be his slaves; and this is how he ordered his affairs: in the morning, till the filling of the market place, he wrought zealously at such business as came before him; the rest of the day he spent in drinking and jesting with his boon companions in idle and sportive mood. But this displeased his friends, who thus admonished him: "O King, you are ill guided so to demean yourself. We would have you sit aloft on a throne of pride all day doing your business; thus would the Egyptians know that they have a great man for their ruler, and you would have the better name among them; but now your behaviour is nowise royal." "Nay," Amasis answered them, "men that have bows bend them at need only; were bows kept for ever bent they would break, and so would be of no avail when they were needed. Such too is the nature of men. Were they to be ever at serious work nor permit themselves a fair share of sport they would go mad or silly ere they knew it; I am well aware of that, and give each of the two its turn." Such was his answer to his friends.

174. It is said that before Amasis was a king he
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ός φιλοπότης ἦν καὶ φιλοσκώμων καὶ οὐδαμῶς κατεστρεπάσμενος ἀνήρ· δικαιὸς δὲ μην ἐπιλείποι πίνοντα τε καὶ εὐπαθέοντα τὰ ἐπιτήδεα, κλέπτεσκε ἀν περιῶν· οἱ δὲ ἂν μην φάμενοι ἔχειν τὰ σφέτερα χρήματα ἀρνεύμενον ἄγεσκον ἐπὶ μαντήμον, ὅκου ἐκάστοις εἶχη. πολλὰ μὲν δὴ καὶ ἡλίσκετο ύπ’ ὅ τῶν μαντηίων, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ἀπέφευγε. ἐπείτε δὲ καὶ ἐβασίλευσε, ἐποίησε τοιάδε· ὅσοι μὲν αὐτῶν τῶν θεῶν ἀπέλυσαν μὴ φώρα εἶναι, τούτων μὲν τῶν ἱρῶν οὔτε ἐπεμέλετο οὔτε ἐς ἐπισκεπήν ἐδίδου οὐδὲν, οὐδὲ φοιτόνων ἔθεν ὡς οὐδενὸς ἔοισι ἄξιοις ψευδέα τε μαντήματα ἐκτημένους· ὅσοι δὲ μην κατέδησαν φώρα εἶναι, τούτων δὲ ὡς ἀληθέων θεῶν ἐόντων καὶ ἀγευδέα μαντήμα παρεχομένων τὰ μάλιστα ἐπεμέλετο.

175. Καὶ τούτο μὲν ἐν Σάι τῇ Ἀθηναίῃ προπύλαιᾳ θωμάσια οᾶ ἐξεποίησε, πολλάν πάντας ὑπερβαλόμενος τῷ τε ψεί ἢ τῷ μεγάθει, ὅσον τε τὸ μέγαθος λίθων ἐστὶ καὶ ὁκοίῳ τεῦχον· τούτο δὲ κολοσσοὺς μεγάλους καὶ ἀνδρόσφιγγας περιμήκειας ἀνέθηκε, λίθους τε ἄλλους ἐς ἐπισκεπήν ὑπερφυέας τὸ μέγαθος ἐκόμισε. ἤγαγεν δὲ τούτων τοὺς μὲν ἐκ τῶν κατὰ Μέμφιν ἔουσέων λιθοτομίων, τοὺς δὲ ὑπερμεγάθεας ἐξ 'Ελεφαντίνης πόλιος πλόον καὶ εἰκοσὶ ἡμερέων ἀπεχούσης ἀπὸ Σάιος. τὸ δὲ οὐκ ἤκιστα αὐτῶν ἀλλὰ μάλιστα θωμάζω, ἐστι τόδε· οίκημα μουνόλιθον ἐκόμισε ἐξ 'Ελεφαντίνης πόλιος, καὶ τούτο ἐκομίζων μὲν ἔπ'
was a man nowise serious-minded but much given to drinking and jesting; and when his drinking and merrymaking brought him to penury, he would steal from one and another. Then those others, when he denied the charge that he had taken their possessions, would bring him to whatever place of divination was nearest them; and the oracles often declared him guilty and often acquitted him. When he became king, he took no care of the shrines of the gods who had acquitted him of theft, nor gave them aught for maintenance, nor made it his practice to sacrifice there, for he deemed them to be worthless and their oracles to be false; but he tended with all care the gods who had declared his guilt, holding them to be gods in very truth and their oracles infallible.

175. Amasis made a marvellous outer court for the temple of Athene at Sais, exceeding all that any had built in height and greatness, and in the size and splendour of the stone blocks; moreover, he set up huge images and vast man-headed sphinxes, and brought enormous blocks of stone besides for the building. Some of these he brought from the stone quarries of Memphis; those of greatest size came from the city Elephantine, distant twenty days' journey by river from Sais. But let me now tell of what I hold the most marvellous of his works. He brought from Elephantine a shrine made of one single block of stone; three years it

1 Apparently, Nit; also identified with Demeter (132, note).

2 Visitors to Karnak will remember the double row of sphinxes leading to the temple.

3 The island opposite Assuan; the Assuan quarries have always been famous.
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'Ετεα τρία, δισχίλιοι δέ οἱ προσετετάχατο ἄνδρες ἁγωγεῖς, καὶ οὕτω ἅπαντες ἦσαν κυβερνήται. τῆς δὲ στέγης ταύτης τὸ μὲν μῆκος έξωθεν ἐστὶ εἰς τε καὶ εἰκοσι πηχεῖς, εὐρός δὲ τεσσερεσκαίδεκα, ύψος δὲ ὀκτώ. ταύτα μὲν τὰ μέτρα έξωθεν τῆς στέγης τῆς μουνολίθου ἐστὶ, ἀτὰρ έσωθεν τὸ μῆκος ὀκτωκαίδεκα πηχέων καὶ πυγόνων...¹ τὸ δὲ ύψος πέντε πηχέων ἐστὶ. αὐτὴ τοῦ ἵρου κέεται παρὰ τὴν ἔσωθον ἐσοδον ἐσο ᾗρ καὶ τὸ ἵρον φασὶ τῶν δὲ εἴνεκα οὐκ ἐσελκύσαι τὸν ἀρχιτέκτονα αὐτῆς ἐλκομένης τῆς στέγης ἀναστενάξαι, οὐ δὲ χρόνου ἐγγεγονότος πολλοῦ καὶ ἀνθομενοῦ τῷ ἐργῷ, τὸν δὲ Ἀμασίν ἐνθύμιμον ποιησάμενον οὐκ έαν ἐτὶ προστέρω ἐλκύσαι. ἤδη δὲ τινὲς λέγουσιν ὡς ἄνθρωπος διεφθάρη ὑπ' αὐτῆς τῶν τις αὐτῆς μοχλεύοντων, καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦτον οὐκ ἐσελκυσθήναι.

176. Ἀνέθηκε δὲ καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἀλλοισι ἱροῖσιν οἱ Ἀμασίς πᾶσι τοῖς ἐλλογίμοισι ἐργα τὸ μέγαθος ἀξιοθέντα, ἐν δὲ καὶ ἐν Μέμφῃ τὸν ὑπτιον κείμενον κολοσσὸν τῷ Ἡφαιστείῳ ἐμπροσθε, τοῦ τόδε πέντε καὶ ἔβδομηκοτα εἰσὶ τὸ μῆκος. ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ αὐτῷ βάθρῳ ἐστάσις τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἐόντος λίθου δύο κολοσσοί, εἰκοσι ποτὶν τὸ μέγαθος ἐων ἐκάτερος, ὁ μὲν ένθεν δ' ἐνθεν τοῦ μεγάλου. ἐστὶ δὲ λίθους ἐτερος τοσοῦτος καὶ ἐν Σάι, κείμενος κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον τῷ ἐν Μέμφῃ. τῇ Ἰσι τοῦ ἐν Μέμφῃ ἱρών ὁ Ἀμασίς ἐστὶ ὁ ἐξουκοδομήσας, ἐον μέγα τε καὶ ἀξιοθετότατον.

177. Ἐπ' Ἀμάσιος δὲ βασιλέας λέγεται Αἰγυπτίων μάλιστα δὴ τὸτε εὐδαιμονήσαι καὶ τὰ ἀπὸ τοῦ

¹ This lacuna is in one MS. filled by the words τὸ δὲ εὐρός δυόδεκα πηχέων.

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was in the bringing, and two thousand men were charged with the carriage of it, pilots all of them. This chamber measures in outer length twenty-one cubits, in breadth fourteen, in height eight. These are the outer measurements of the chamber which is made of one block; its inner length is of eighteen cubits and four-fifths of a cubit, and its height of five cubits. It lies by the entrance of the temple; the reason why it was not dragged within into the temple was (so they say), that while it was being drawn the chief builder groaned aloud for the much time spent and his weariness of the work, and Amasis taking this to heart would not suffer it to be drawn further. Some again say that a man, one of them that heaved up the shrine, was crushed by it, and therefore it was not dragged within.

176. Moreover Amasis dedicated, besides monuments of marvellous size in all the other temples of note, the huge image that lies supine before Hephaestus' temple at Memphis; this image is seventy-five feet in length; there stand on the same base, on either side of the great image, two huge statues hewn from the same block, each of them twenty feet high. There is at Saïs another stone figure of like bigness, lying as lies the figure at Memphis. It was Amasis, too, who built the great and most marvellous temple of Isis at Memphis.

177. It is said that in the reign of Amasis Egypt attained to its greatest prosperity, in respect of what
ποταμοῦ τῇ χώρῃ γινόμενα καὶ τὰ ἀπὸ τῆς χώρης τοῖς ἀνθρώποις, καὶ πόλεις ἐν αὐτῇ γενέσθαι τὰς ἀπάσας τότε δισμυρίας τὰς οἰκειόμενας. νόμον τε Ἀιγυπτίους τόνδε ἦν Ἀμασίς ἐστὶν ὁ καταστήσας, ἀποδεικνύει ἐπειδὴ ἐκάστον τῷ νομάρχῃ πάντα τινὰ Ἀιγυπτίων ὀθεν βιωταί μὴ δὲ ποιεῖται ταῦτα μηδὲ ἀποφαίνωται δικαίην λόγον ἵθωνθεσθαι θανάτῳ. Σόλων δὲ ὁ Ἀθηναίος λαβὼν εἰς Αἰγύπτου τοῦτον, τὸν νόμον Ἀθηναίους ἔθετο· τῷ ἐκείνῳ ἐς αἰεὶ χρέωνται ἕντει ἀμόμφω νόμῳ.

178. Φιλέλλην δὲ γενόμενος ὁ Ἀμασίς ἄλλα τε ἐς Ἕλληνων μετεξετέρους ἀπεδέξατο, καὶ δὴ καὶ τοῖς ἀπικυνεμένοις ἐς Αἰγυπτοῦ ἔδωκε Ναύκρατιν πόλιν ἐνοικήσαι· τοῖς δὲ μὴ βουλομένοις αὐτῶν οἰκείες, αὐτοῦ δὲ ναυτιλομένους ἔδωκε χώρους ἐνιδρύσασθαι βωμοὺς καὶ τεμένεα θεοῦς. τὸ μὲν νυν μέγιστον αὐτῶν τέμενος, καὶ ὄνομαστότατον ἐν καὶ χρησιμώτατον, καλεύμενον δὲ Ἕλληνιον, αἰθεὶς αἱ πόλεις εἰσὶν αἱ ἰδρυμέναι κωνῆς, Ἰώνων μὲν Χίος καὶ Τέως καὶ Φώκαια καὶ Κλαζομεναί, Δωρίεων δὲ Ῥόδος καὶ Κυίδος καὶ Ἄλκαρνησός καὶ Φάσηλος, Αἰολέων δὲ ἡ Μυτιληναίων μοῦνη. τούτων μὲν ἐστὶν τοῦτο τὸ τέμενος, καὶ προστάτας τοῦ ἐμπορίου αὐτῶν αἱ πόλεις εἰσὶν αἱ παρέχονται· ὅσα δὲ ἄλλα πόλεις μεταποιεῖται, οὐδὲν σφί μετεύχων μεταποιεῖται. χωρὶς δὲ Αἰγυπτίων ἐπὶ ἐωτῶν ἱδρυόταν τέμενος Διός, καὶ ἄλλο Σάμιοι Ἡρης καὶ Μιλήσιοι Ἀπόλλωνος.

179. Ἡν δὲ τὸ παλαιὸν μοῦνη Ναύκρατις ἐμπόριον καὶ ἄλλο οὐδὲν Αἰγύπτου· εἰ δὲ τις ἐς τῶν τι ἄλλο στομάτων τοῦ Νεῖλου ἀπίκουσθι, χρήν

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the river did for the land and the land for its people: and that the whole sum of inhabited cities in the country was twenty thousand. It was Amasis also who made the law that every Egyptian should yearly declare his means of livelihood to the ruler of his province; and, failing so to do or to prove that he had a just way of life, be punished with death. Solon the Athenian got this law from Egypt and established it among his people; may they ever keep it! for it is a perfect law.

178. Amasis became a lover of the Greeks, and besides other services which he did to some of them he gave those who came to Egypt the city of Naukratis to dwell in, and to those who voyaged to the country without desire to settle there he gave lands where they might set altars and make holy places for their gods. Of these the greatest and most famous and most visited precinct is that which is called the Hellenion, founded jointly by the Ionian cities of Chios, Teos, Phocaea, and Clazomenae, the Dorian cities of Rhodes, Cnidus, Halicarnassus, and Phaselis, and one Aeolian city, Mytilene. It is to these that the precinct belongs, and these are they that appoint wardens of the port; if any others claim rights therein they lay claim to that wherein they have no part or lot. The Aeginetans made a precinct of their own, sacred to Zeus; and so did the Samians for Here and the Milesians for Apollo.

179. Naukratis was in old time the only trading port in Egypt. Whosoever came to any other mouth of the Nile must swear that he had not come of his
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όμόσαι μη μὲν ἐκόντα ἔλθεῖν, ἀπομόσαντα δὲ τῇ
νη ἀυτῇ πλέειν ἐς τὸ Καυσομένον· ἢ εἰ μη γε οἷα
te εὑ̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣̣}
own will, and having so sworn must then take his ship and sail to the Canopic mouth; or, if he could not sail against contrary winds, he must carry his cargo in barges round the Delta till he came to Naucratis. In such honour was Naucratis held.

180. When the Amphictyons had hired out for three hundred talents the work of finishing the temple that now stands at Delphi (that which was formerly there having been burnt by pure mischance), it fell to the Delphians to provide a fourth part of the cost. They went about from city to city collecting gifts, and in this business they got most from Egypt; for Amasis gave them a thousand talents' weight of astringent earth,¹ and the Greek dwellers in Egypt twenty minae.

181. Amasis made friends and allies of the people of Cyrene. Moreover he thought fit to take himself a wife from thence; whether it was that he desired a Greek woman, or that he had other cause for winning the friendship of Cyrene, I know not; but he married one Ladice, said to be the daughter of Battus by some, of Arcesilaus by others, and by others again of Critobulus, an esteemed citizen of the place. But it so fell out that Ladice was the only woman with whom Amasis could not have intercourse; and this continuing, Amasis said to this Ladice, "Woman, you have cast a spell on me, and most assuredly you shall come to a terrible end." So, the king's anger not abating for all her denial, Ladice vowed in her heart to Aphrodite that she

¹ Alum, apparently.


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tην νύκτα μικρή ὁ Ἀμασις, τούτο γάρ οἱ κακοῦ εἶναι μῆχος, ἀγαλμά οἱ ἀποπέμψεως ἐς Κυρήνην. μετὰ δὲ τὴν εὐχήν αὐτίκα οἱ ἐμίχθη ὁ Ἀμασις. καὶ τὸ ἐνθεῦτεν ἥδη, ὅκιτε ἔλθοι Ἀμασις πρὸς αὐτήν, ἐμίσγετο, καὶ κάρτα μὲν ἐστερβε μετὰ τοῦτο. ἡ δὲ Λαδίκη ἀπέδωκε τὴν εὐχήν τῇ θεῷ ποιησαμένη γάρ ἀγαλμά ἀπέπεμψε ἐς Κυρήνην, τὸ ἔτι καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ ἦν σὸν, ἐξὸ τετραμμένον τοῦ Κυρηναίων ἀστεοῦ. ταύτην τὴν Λαδίκην, ὃς ἐπεκράτησε Καμβύσης Αἰγύπτου καὶ ἐπύθετο αὐτῆς ἣτις εἰς, ἀπέπεμψε ὁσινέα ἐς Κυρήνην.

182. Ἀνέθηκε δὲ καὶ ἀναθήματα ὁ Ἀμασις ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα, τούτο μὲν ἐς Κυρήνην ἀγαλμα ἐπίχρυσον Ἀθηναίης καὶ εἰκόνα ἑωτοῦ γραφὴ εἰκασμένη, τοῦτο δὲ τῇ ἐν Δίνδῳ Ἀθηναίη δύο τε ἀγάλματα λίθων καὶ θώρηκα λίνων ἀξιοθέητον, τοῦτο δ’ ἐς Σάμον τῇ Ἡρη εἰκόνας ἑωτοῦ διφασίας ξυλίνας, αἱ ἐν τῷ νηψὶ τῷ μεγάλῳ ἰδρύατο ἐτι καὶ τὸ μέχρι ἐμεῦ, ὅτι ύποτο τῶν θυρέων. ἐς μὲν μισυν Σάμον ἀνέθηκε κατὰ ξεινίαν τὴν ἑωτοῦ τε καὶ Πολυκράτεος τοῦ Λακεδαίω, ὡς δὲ Δίνδον ξεινίας μὲν οὐδεμίῆς εἴνεκεν, ὅτι δὲ τὸ ἱρὸν τὸ ἐν Δίνδῳ τὸ τῆς Ἀθηναίης λέγεται τᾶς Δαναοῦ θυγατέρας ἰδρύσασθαι προσκούσας, ὅτε ἀπεδίδρησαν τοὺς Αἰγύπτου παῖδας. ταύτα μὲν ἀνέθηκε ὁ Ἀμασις, εἶλε δὲ Κύπρον πρῶτος ἀνθρώπων καὶ κατεστρέψατο ἐς φόρον ἀπαγωγήν.
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would send the goddess a statue to Cyrene if Amasis had intercourse with her that night; for that would remedy the evil; and thereafter all went well, and Amasis loved his wife much. Ladice paid her vow to the goddess; she had an image made and sent it to Cyrene, where it stood safe till my time, outside the city. Cambyses, when he had conquered Egypt and learnt who Ladice was, sent her away to Cyrene unharmed.

182. Moreover Amasis dedicated offerings in Hellas. He gave to Cyrene a gilt image of Athene and a painted picture of himself, to Athene of Lindus two stone images and a marvellous linen breast-plate, and to Here in Samos two wooden statues of himself, which stood yet in my time behind the doors in the great shrine. The offerings in Samos were dedicated by reason of the friendship between Amasis and Polycrates\(^1\) son of Aeaces; what he gave to Lindus was for no friendship with any man, but because it is said that the temple of Athene in Lindus was founded by the daughters of Danaus, when they landed there in their flight from the sons of Egyptus. Such were Amasis' offerings. Moreover he was the first conqueror of Cyprus, which he made tributary to himself.

\(^1\) Polycrates' rule began probably in 532 B.C. For the friendship between him and Amasis, see iii. 39.
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