HERODOTUS

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IN FOUR VOLUMES
II

BOOKS III AND IV

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INTRODUCTION TO BOOKS III AND IV

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Γ

1. Ἐπὶ τούτου δὲ τῶν Ἀμασίων Καμβύσης ὁ Κύρος ἐστρατεύετο, ἀγων καὶ ἄλλους τῶν ἦρχε καὶ Ἑλλήνων Ἰωνᾶς τε καὶ Αἰολέας, δι' αἰτίας τοίνυν. πέμψας Καμβύσης ἐς Αἰγυπτίων κήρυκα, ἀιτεῖ Ἀμασίως θυγατέρα, αἰτεῖ δὲ ἐκ βουλῆς ἄνδρος Αἰγυπτίων, ὃς μεμφόμενος Ἀμασίων ἔπρηξε ταῦτα ὃτι μην ἔξ ἀπάντων τῶν ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ Ἰητρῶν ἀποσπάσας ἄπε γυναικὸς τε καὶ τέκνων ἔκδοτον ἔποιησε ἐς Πέρσας, ὅτε Κύρος πέμψας παρὰ Ἀμασίων αἰτεῖ Ἰητρῶν ὀφθαλμῶν δόῃ ἄριστος τῶν ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ. ταῦτα δὴ ἐπιμεμφόμενος ὁ Αἰγύπτιος ἐνήγε τῇ συμβουλῇ κελεύον αἰτεῖν τῶν Καμβύσεα Ἀμασίως θυγατέρα, ἵνα ἡ δοὺς ἁμιᾷ τῇ μη δοὺς Καμβύση ἀπέχθοιτο. δὲ Ἀμασίς τῇ δυνάμι τῶν Περσέων ἄχθομενοι καὶ ἄρρωδεων ὡς εἴχε σύστατο ὃτι ὡς γυναῖκας ἔστε Ἴσακας Ἀμασίως ἔξεϊν ἀλλ' ὡς παλλακὴν. ταῦτα δὴ ἐκλογιζόμενος ἐποίησε τάδε. ἦν Ἀπρίω τοῦ προτέρου βασιλέως θυγατῆρ κάρτα μεγάλη τε καὶ εὐεξίας μοῦνη τοῦ σικτοῦ λελειμμένης, οὕνεκα δὲ οἱ
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1. It was against this Amasis that Cambyses led an army of his subjects, Ionian and Aeolian Greeks among them. This was his reason: Cambyses sent a herald to Egypt asking Amasis for his daughter; and this he did by the counsel of a certain Egyptian, who devised it by reason of a grudge that he bore against Amasis, because when Cyrus sent to Amasis asking for the best eye-doctor in Egypt the king had chosen this man out of all the Egyptian physicians and sent him perforce to Persia away from his wife and children. With this grudge in mind he moved Cambyses by his counsel to ask Amasis for his daughter, that Amasis might be grieved if he gave her, or Cambyses’ enemy if he refused her. So Amasis was sorely afraid of the power of Persia, and could neither give his daughter nor deny her; for he knew well that Cambyses would make her not his queen but his mistress. Reasoning thus he betook him of a very tall and fair damsel called Nitetis, daughter of the former king Apries, and all that was left of that

1 The received date is 525 B.C.
Η ἡ Νῖτης ταύτην δή την παῖδα ὁ Ἄμασις κοσμήσας ἐσθήτι τε καὶ χρυσῷ ἀποσέμπει ἐς Πέρσας ὡς ἐωτοῦ θυγατέρα. μετὰ δὲ χρόνον ὡς μν ἡσπάξετο πατρόθεν ὄνομάζων, λέγει πρὸς αὐτὸν ἡ παῖς "Ὡς βασιλεῖ, διαβεβλημένος ὑπὸ Ἄμασιος οὐ μανθάνεις. ὅ έμε σοι κόσμῳ ἀσκήσας ἀπέπεμψε ὡς ἐωτοῦ θυγατέρα διδοῦς, ἐνυσαν τῇ ἁλθεὶ Ἀτρίεω, τὸν ἐκεῖνον ἐστα ἐωτοῦ δεσπότεα μετ' Ἀιγυπτίων ἐπαναστασὶς ἐφόνευσε." τούτῳ δὴ τὸ ἔπος καὶ αὐτῇ ἡ αὐτή ἡ γεγονομένη ἤγαγε Καμβύσεα τὸν Κύρου μεγάλως θυμώθεντα ἐπ' Ἀιγυπτίων.

2. Οὕτω μὲν νυν λέγοντι Πέρσαι. Αἰγυπτιοὶ δὲ οἰκημοῦνται Καμβύσεα, φάμευοι μὲν ἐκ ταύτης δὴ τῆς Ἀτρίεω θυγατρὸς γενέσθαι. Κύρον γὰρ εἶναι τὸν πέμψαντα παρὰ Ἄμασιν ἐπὶ τὴν θυγατέρα, ἀλλ' οὐ Καμβύσεα. λέγοντες δὲ ταύτα οὐκ ὀρθῶς λέγουσι. οὐ μὲν οὐδὲ λέξης αὐτοὺς (εἰ γὰρ τινὲς καὶ ἀλλοι, τὰ Περσέων νόμμα ἐπιστέαται καὶ Ἀιγυπτιοὶ) ὅτι πρῶτα μὲν νόθον οὐ σφι νόμος ἔστι βασιλεύσαι γνησίου παρεότος, αὐτὶς δὲ ὅτι Κασσανδάνης τῆς Φαρνάσπεως θυγατρὸς ἦν παῖς Καμβύσης, ἀνδρὸς Ἀχαμενίδεως, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐκ τῆς Ἀιγυπτίας. ἀλλὰ παρατάτουν τὸν λόγον προσποιεύμενοι τῇ Κύρου οἰκίᾳ συγγενέες εἶναι.

3. Καὶ ταύτα μὲν ὡδὲ ἔχει. λέγοντας δὲ καὶ ὅδε λόγος, ἐμοὶ μὲν οὐ πιθανὸς, ὡς τῶν Περσιδῶν γυναικῶν ἐσελθοῦσά τις παρὰ τὰς Κύρου γυναῖκας, ὡς εἶδε τῇ Κασσανδάνη παρεστῶτα τέκνα εὐείδεα τε καὶ μεγάλα, πολλῷ ἔχρατο τῷ ἐπαίνῳ ὑπερθωμάζονσα, ἦ δὲ Κασσανδάνη ἐσούσα τοῦ Κύρου γυνὴ εἶπε τάδε. "Τοιῶνδε μέντοι ὑμεῖ παιδών μητέρα
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family; Amasis decked her out with raiment and golden ornaments and sent her to the Persians as if she were his own daughter. But after a while, the king greeting her as the daughter of Amasis, the damsel said, "King, you know not how Amasis has deceived you: he decked me out with ornaments and sent me to you to pass for his own daughter; but I am in truth the daughter of his master Apries, whom he and other Egyptians rebelled against and slew." It was these words and this reason that prevailed with Cambyses to lead him in great anger against Egypt.

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

3. So much for this matter. There is another tale too, which I do not believe:—that a certain Persian lady came to visit Cyrus' wives, and greatly praised and admired the fair and tall children who stood by Cassandane. Then Cassandane, Cyrus' wife, said, "Ay, yet though I be the mother of such children
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εὖσαν Κὺρος ἐν ἀτιμίᾳ ἔχει, τὴν δὲ ἀπ' Ἀιγύπτου ἐπίκτητον ἐν τιμῇ τίθεται." τὴν μὲν ἀχθομένην τῇ Νιτήτι εἰπεῖν ταῦτα, τῶν δὲ οἱ παιδών τοὺς πρεσβύτερον εἰπεῖν Καμβύσεα "Τούγαρ τοι ὁ μήτερ, ἐπεῖν ἐγὼ γένωμαι ἄνήρ, Ἀιγύπτου τὰ μὲν ἄνω κάτω θῆσον, τὰ δὲ κάτω ἄνω." ταῦτα εἰπεῖν αὐτὸν ἔτεα ὡς δέκα κού γεγονότα, καὶ τὰς γυναίκας ἐν θώματι γενέσθαι· τὸν δὲ διαμνημονεύοντα οὕτω δῆ, ἐπείτε ἀνδρώθη καὶ ἔσχε τὴν βασιλικήν, ποιήσασθαι τὴν ἐπ' Ἀιγύπτου στρατηγήν.

4. Συνήνεικε δὲ καὶ ἄλλο τι τοιούτου πρήγμα γενέσθαι εἰς τὴν ἐπιστράτευσιν ταύτην. ἦν τῶν ἐπικούρων Ἀμάσιος ἄνήρ γένος μὲν Ἀλκαρνήσεις, οἶνομα δὲ οἱ Φάνης, καὶ γνώμην ἴκανος καὶ τὰ πολεμικὰ ἄλκιμος. οὕτως ὁ Φάνης μεμφόμενός κοῦ τι Ἀμάσι ἐκδιδρήσκει πλούσῳ ἐξ Ἀιγύπτου, βουλόμενος Καμβύση έλθεῖν εἰς ὁγοὺς. οἶα δὲ ἔσταντα αὐτὸν ἐν τοίς ἐπικούροις λόγου σὺ σκυρόν ἐπιστάμενον τα ἀπ' Ἀιγύπτου ἄτρεκέστατα, μεταδιώκει τὁ Ἀμάσις σπουδὴν ποιεύμενος ἔλθειν, μεταδιώκει δὲ τῶν εὐνούχων τὸν πιστότατον ἀποστείλας τριήρει κατ' αὐτὸν, δς αἰρεῖ μιν ἐν Δυκίῃ, ἐλὼν δὲ οὐκ ἀνήγαγεν ἐς Ἀιγύπτον σοφίᾳ γάρ μιν περιήλθε τὁ Φάνης· καταμεθύσας γὰρ τοὺς φυλάκους ἀπαλλάσσετο ἐς Πέρσας. ὀρμημένος δὲ στρατεύσεσθαι Καμβύση ἐπ' Ἀιγύπτου καὶ ἀπορέουτι τὴν ἔλασιν, ὅκως τὴν ἀνδρὸν διεκπεραῖ, ἐπελθὼν φράζει μὲν καὶ τὰ ἄλλα τὰ Ἀμάσιος πρήγματα, ἐξηγεῖται δὲ καὶ τὴν ἔλασιν, ὅπερ παρανέων, πέμψαντα παρὰ τὸν Ἀραβίων βασιλέα δέεσθαι τὴν διέξοδον οἱ ἀσφαλέα παρασχεῖν.

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

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

5. Now the only manifest way of entry into Egypt
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Αἰγυπτιον. ἀπὸ γὰρ Φοινίκης μέχρι οὖρων τῶν Καδύτιος πόλιος ἐστὶ Σύρων τῶν Παλαιστίνων καλεομένων· ἀπὸ δὲ Καδύτιος έσοῦς πόλιος, ὡς ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ, Σαρδίων οὖ πολλῷ ἔλασσον, ἀπὸ ταύτης τὰ ἐμπόρια τὰ ἐπὶ θαλάσσης μέχρι Ἰηνύσου πόλιος ἐστὶ τοῦ Ἀραβίου, ἀπὸ δὲ Ἰηνύσου αὐτίς Σύρων μέχρι Σερβονίδος λίμνης, παρ' ἦν δὴ τὸ Κάσιου ὄρος τείνει ἐς θάλασσαν· ἀπὸ δὲ Σερβονίδος λίμνης, ἐν τῇ δὴ λόγος τὸν Τυφῶ κεκρύφθαι, ἀπὸ ταύτης ἦδη Αἰγυπτος. τὸ δὲ μεταξὺ Ἰηνύσου πόλιος καὶ Κασίου τε ὄρεος καὶ τῆς Σερβονίδος λίμνης, ἐν τῷ τούτῳ οὖκ ὀλγον χωρίον ἀλλὰ ὅσον τε ἐπὶ τρεῖς ἡμέρας ὅδον, ἀνυδρον ἐστὶ δεινῶς.

6. Τὸ δὲ ὀλγον τῶν ἐς Αἰγυπτον ναυτιλλομένων ἐννεώκασι, τοῦτο ἔρχομαι φράσων. ἐς Αἰγυπτον ἐκ τῆς Ἐλλάδος πάσης καὶ πρὸς ἐκ Φοινίκης κέραμος ἔσώγεται πλῆρης οὖν διὸ τοῦ έτεος ἐκάστου, καὶ ἐν κεράμιον οἰνηρὸν ἀριθμὸ κεινὸν οὖκ ἐστὶ ως λόγῳ εἰπεῖν ἰδέσθαι. καὶ δὴ, εἰπον τις ἄν, ταῦτα ἀνασιμοῦται; ἐγὼ καὶ τοῦτο φράσω· δεὶ τὸν μὲν δήμαρχον ἐκαστον ἐκ τῆς ἐωτοῦ πόλιος συλλέξαντα πάντα τὸν κέραμον άγεων ἐς Μέμφιων, τοὺς δὲ ἐς Μέμφιος ἐς ταῦτα δὴ τὰ ἀνυδρα τῆς Σύρης κομίζειν πλήσαντας ὑδατος. οὔτω δὲ ἐπιφοιτεών κέραμος καὶ ἐξαιρέομενος ἐν Ἀἰγύπτῳ ἐπὶ τὸν παλαιόν κομίζεται ἐς Σύρης.

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

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

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

¹ Probably Gaza.
² Hot winds and volcanic agency were attributed by Greek mythology to Typhon, cast down from heaven by Zeus and "buried" in hot or volcanic regions. Typhon came to be identified with the Egyptian god Set; and the legend grew that he was buried in the Serbonian marsh.
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tà εἰρημένα σάξαντες ὑδατι, ἐπείτε τάχιστα παρὲ-
λαβον Ἀιγυπτιον. τότε δὲ οὐκ ἐόντος κω ὑδατος
ἐτούμου, Καμβύσης πυθόμενος τοῦ Ἀλικαρνησσέος
ξείνου, πέμψας παρὰ τὸν Ἄραβιον ἀγγέλους καὶ
dεηθεὶς τῆς ἀσφαλείας ἑτυχε, πίστις δοὺς τε καὶ
dεξιόμενος παρ’ αὐτοῦ.

8. Σέβονται δὲ Ἄραβιοι πίστις ἀνθρώπων ὁμοία
τοῖς μάλιστα, ποιεῦνται δὲ αὐτὰς τρόπῳ τοιφδὲ
τῶν βουλομένων τὰ πιστὰ ποιέσθαι ἄλλος ἀνήρ,
ἀμφοτέρων αὐτῶν ἐν μέσῳ ἐστεός, λίθῳ δὲ τὸ
ἔσω τῶν χειρῶν παρὰ τοὺς δακτύλους τοὺς μεγά-
λους ἐπιτάμων τῶν ποιευμένων τὰς πίστις, καὶ
ἐπειτὰ λαβὼν ἐκ τοῦ ἱματίου ἐκατέρου κροκύδα
ἀλείφει τῷ αἵματι ἐν μέσῳ κειμένως λίθους ἐπτά-
τοῦτο δὲ ποιέων ἐπικαλέει τε τὸν Διόνυσον καὶ
tὴν Οὐρανίην. ἐπιτελέσαντος δὲ τούτῳ ταῦτα, ὁ
τὰς πίστις ποιησάμενος τοῖς φίλοις παρεγγυά
τὸν ξείνου ἢ καὶ τὸν ἀστόν, ἢ πρὸς ἀστόν ποιή-
ται: οἱ δὲ φίλοι καὶ αὐτοὶ τὰς πίστις δικαιοῦν
σέβεσθαι. Διόνυσον δὲ θεῶν μοῦν καὶ τὴν
Οὐρανίην ἠγέονται εἶναι, καὶ τῶν τριχῶν τὴν
κουρήν κείρεσθαι φασὶ κατὰ περ αὐτὸν τὸν Διό-
νυσον κεκάρθαν: κείρονται δὲ περιτρόχαλα, ὕπο-
ξυρώντες τῶν κροτάφους. ὄνομάζουσι δὲ τὸν μὲν
Διόνυσον Ὀροτάλτ, τὴν δὲ Οὐρανίην Ἀλιλάτ.

9. Ἐπεὶ δὲν τὴν πίστιν τοῖς ἀγγέλους τοῖς
παρὰ Καμβύσεω ἀνιγνόμενοι ἐποίησατο ὁ Ἄρα-
βιος, ἐμηχανάτο τοιαῦτα: ἀσκοῦσι καμηλῶν πλῆσις
ὑδατος ἐπέσαξε ἐπὶ τὰς ζωᾶς τῶν καμηλῶν πάσας,
tούτο δὲ ποιήσας ἤλασε ἐς τὴν ἀνυδρον καὶ
ὑπέμενε ἐνθαῦτα τὸν Καμβύσεω στρατῶν. οὕτως
μὲν ὁ πιθανωτέρος τῶν λόγων εἰρήται, δεὶ δὲ καὶ
into that country, filling pots with water as I have said. But at this time there was as yet no ready supply of water; wherefore Cambyses, hearing what was said by the stranger from Halicarnassus, sent messengers to the Arabian and asked and obtained safe conduct, giving and receiving from him pledges.

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

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

¹ According to Movers, Orotalt is "the fire of God," ërath él, and Alilat the feminine of hélé, "morning star"; but a simpler interpretation is Al Ilat = the goddess.
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tὸν ἥσσον πιθανόν, ἔπει γε δὴ λέγεται, ρηθήναι. ποταμὸς ἐστὶ μέγας ἐν τῇ Ἀραβίᾳ τῷ οὖνομα Κόρυς, ἐκδιδοὶ δὲ οὗτος ἐσ τῆν Ἐρυθρὴν καλεομένην θάλασσαν ἀπὸ τοῦτον δὴ ὅν τοῦ ποταμοῦ λέγεται τὸν βασιλέα τῶν Ἀραβίων, ὑψάμενον τῶν ὁμοβοέων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων δερμάτων ὀχέτων μήκει ἐξικνεύμενον ἐς τὴν ἄνυδρον, ἄγαγείων διὰ δὴ τούτων τὸ ύδωρ, ἐν δὲ τῇ ἄνυδρῳ μεγάλας δεξαμενάς ὀρύζασθαι, ἵνα δεκόμεναι τὸ υδωρ σώζωσι. ὁδὸς δὲ ἐστὶ δυνώδεκα ήμερέων ἀπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἐς ταύτην τὴν ἄνυδρον. ἄγειν δὲ μὲν δὶ ὀχέτων τριῶν ἐς τριέκχει χωρία.

10. Ἔν δὲ τῷ Πηλουσίῳ καλεομένῳ στόματι τοῦ Νείλου ἐστρατοπεδεύειτο Ψαμμήνιτος ὁ Ἅρμασιος παῖς ὑπομένων Καμβύσεα. Ἄρμασιος γὰρ οὗ κατέλαβε ξώντα Καμβύσης ἐλάσας ἐπὶ Αἰγύπτου, ἀλλὰ βασιλεύσας ὁ Ἅρμασις τέσσερα καὶ τεσσεράκοντα ἠτεα ἀπέθανε, ἐν τούτι οὐδὲν οἱ μέγα ἀνάρσιον πρήγμα συννηείχθη· ἄποθανὼν δὲ καὶ ταριχευθεὶς ἐτάφη ἐν τῇ ταφῆς ἐν τῷ ἱρῷ, τὰς αὐτὸς ὁικοδομήσατο. ἐπὶ Ψαμμήνιτου δὲ τοῦ Ἅρμασίου βασιλεύνουτος Αἰγύπτου φάσμα Αἰγυπτίουσι μέγιστον δὴ ἐγένετο· υσθησαν γὰρ Θῆβαι αἰ Αἰγυπτίαι, οὔτε πρότερον οὐδὰμα υσθείσαι οὔτε ύστερον τὸ μέχρι ἐμεῖ, ὡς λέγονσι αὐτοὶ Θῆβαιοι· οὐ γὰρ δὴ ὑπεται τὰ ἄνω τῆς Αἰγύπτου τὸ παράπαν· ἀλλὰ καὶ τότε υσθησαν αἰ Θῆβαι ψακάδι.

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

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

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

¹ In modern times there is sometimes a little rain at
Thebes (Luxor); very little and very seldom.
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tо Фάνη ὅτι στρατὸν ἦγαγε ἐπ’ Αἰγύπτου ἄλλο-
θροον, μηχανῶνται πρῆγμα ἐς αὐτὸν τούτῳ. ἦσαν τῷ Φάνη παῖδες ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ καταλελειμ-
μένου τούς ἀγαγόντες ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον καὶ ἐς ὅψιν τοῦ πατρὸς κρητήρα ἐν μέσῳ ἐστησαν ἀμ-
φοτέρων τῶν στρατοπεδών, μετὰ δὲ ἀγινεόντες κατὰ ἕνα ἔκαστον τῶν παῖδων ἐσφαζον ἐς τὸν κρητήρα· διὰ πάντων δὲ διεξελθόντες τῶν παίδων ὁµόν τε καὶ ὕδωρ ἐσεφόρεον ἐς αὐτὸν, ἐμπιόντες δὲ τοῦ αἵματος πάντες ὁἱ ἐπίκουροι ὁµῷ δὴ συνέβαλον Προμάχης δὲ γενομένης καρτερῆς καὶ πεσόντων ἐξ ἀμφιτέρων τῶν στρατοπεδῶν πλήθει πολλῶν ἐτράποντο ὁι Αἰγύπτιοι.

12. Ὁδὸμα δὲ μέγα εἴδον πυθόμενος παρὰ τῶν ἐπιχωρίων· τῶν γαρ ὀστέων περικεχυμένων χωρίς ἐκατέρω τῶν ἐν τῇ μάχῃ ταὐτῇ πεσόντων (χωρίς μὲν γὰρ τῶν Περσέων ἐκέεστο τὰ ὀστέα, ὡς ἐχω-
ρίσθη κατ’ ἀρχὰς, ἐτέρωθη δὲ τῶν Αἰγύπτιων), αἱ μὲν τῶν Περσέων κεφαλάι εἰσὶ ἄσθενες οὐτω ὅστε, εἰ θέλεις ψῆφῳ μοῦνη βαλεῖν, διατετρανεῖες, αἱ δὲ τῶν Αἰγύπτιων οὐτω δὴ τι ἰσχυρᾶ, μόνις ἀν λίθῳ πάισας διαρρήξειας. αὐτίον δὲ τούτῳ τὸδε ἔλεγον, καὶ ἐμὲ γ’ εὑπετέως ἐπειθὸν, ὅτι Αἰγύπτιοι μὲν αὐτίκα ἀπὸ παιδίων ἀρξάμενοι ἐνρώταται τὰς κεφαλὰς καὶ πρὸς τὸν ἥλιον παχύ-
νεται τὸ ὀστέον. τῶντὸ δὲ τοῦτο καὶ τοῦ μὴ φαλακροῦσθαι αὐτίον ἐστὶ. Αἰγύπτιον γὰρ ἂν τις ἐλαχίστους ἰδοίτο φαλάκρους πάντων ἀνθρώπων. τούτοις μὲν δὴ τοῦτο ἐστὶ αὐτίον ἰσχυρᾶς φορέειν τὰς κεφαλὰς, τοῖς δὲ Πέρσησι ὅτι ἄσθενες φορέουσι τὰς κεφαλὰς αὐτίον τὶ δὲ σκιτροφέουσι ἐξ ἀρχῆς πίλους τιάρας φορέοντες. ταῦτα μὲν

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being wroth with him for leading a stranger army into Egypt. Phanes had left sons in Egypt; these they brought to the camp, into their father's sight, and set a great bowl between the two armies; then they brought the sons one by one and cut their throats over the bowl. When all the sons were killed, they poured into the bowl wine and water, and the foreign soldiery drank of this and thereafter gave battle. The fight waxed hard, and many of both armies fell; but at length the Egyptians were routed.

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

13. Οἱ δὲ Αἰγύπτιοι ἐκ τῆς μάχης ὡς ἐτράποντο, ἐφευγον οὐδενὶ κόσμῳ κατειληθέντων δὲ ἐς Μέμφιν, ἐπεμπτε ἀνὰ ποταμὸν Καμβύσης νέα Μυστηριαίην κήρυκα ἅγουσαν ἀνδρὰς Πέρσης, ἐς ὀμολογίην προκαλεομένος Αἰγύπτιους. οἱ δὲ ἐσπεῖτο τὴν νέαν εἴδον ἐσελθοῦσαν ἐς τὴν Μέμφιν, ἐκχυθέntes ἀλὲς ἐκ τοῦ τείχους τὴν τε νέα διεφθειραν καὶ τοὺς ἀνδρας κρεοῦργηδον διασπάσαντες ἐφόρεσον ἐς τὸ τείχος. καὶ Αἰγύπτιοι μὲν μετὰ τῶν πολυρκευμένων χρόνῳ παρέστησαν. οἱ δὲ προσέχεις Λίβνες δείσαντες τὰ περὶ τὴν Αἰγύπτου γεγονότα παρέδοσαν σφέας αὐτοὺς ἁμαχητῇ καὶ φόρον τε ἑταξαντὸ καὶ δῶρα ἐπεμπον. ὡς δὲ Κυρηναῖοι καὶ Βαρκαίοι, δείσαντες ὀμοίως καὶ οἱ Λίβνες, τοιαύτα ἐποίησαν. Καμβύσης δὲ τὰ μὲν παρὰ Διβύων ἑλθόντα δῶρα φιλοφρόνως ἐπέδωκαν τὰ δὲ παρὰ Κυρηναίων ἀπικόμενα μεμφθεῖς, ὡς ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ, ὅτι ἦν ἄλλα ἐπεμψαν γὰρ δὴ πεντακοσίας μένας ἀργυρίου οἱ Κυρηναῖοι ταύτας δρασσόμενος αὐτοχειρὴ διέσπερε τῇ στρατηγῇ.

14. Ἡμέρη δὲ δεκάτη ἀπ’ ἦς παρελάβε τὸ τείχος τὸ ἐν Μέμφι Καμβύσης, κατίσας ἐς τὸ προάστειον ἐπὶ λύμη τῶν βασιλέα τῶν Αἰγυπτίων Ψαμμήνιτων, βασιλεύσαντα μήνας ἔξ, τούτον κατίσας σὺν ἄλλοις Αἰγύπτιοις διεπειράτο αὐτοῦ τῆς ψυχῆς ποιέων τοιάδει στείλας αὐτοῦ τὴν θυγατέρα ἐσθητή δουλήν ἐξέπεμπε ἐπ’ ὕδωρ ἤχουσαν ὕδριμον, συνέπεμπε δὲ καὶ ἄλλας παρθένους ἀπολέξας ἀνδρῶν τῶν πρῶτων, ὦμοίως
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too the skulls of those Persians at Papremis who were slain with Darius' son Achaemenes by Inaros the Libyan, and they were like the others.

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

14. On the tenth day after the surrender of the walled city of Memphis, Cambyses took Psammenitus king of Egypt, who had reigned for six months, and set him down in the outer part of the city with other Egyptians, to do him despite; having so done he made trial of Psammenitus' spirit, as I shall show. He dressed the king's daughter in slave's attire and sent her with a vessel to fetch water, in company with other maidens dressed as she was, chosen from
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ἐσταλμένας τῇ τοῦ βασιλέως. ὃς δὲ βοή τε καὶ κλαυθμῷ παρῆσαν αἱ παρθένοι παρὰ τοὺς πατέρας, οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι πάντες ἀντεβόων τε καὶ ἀντέκλαιον ὀρῶντες τὰ τέκνα κεκακωμένα, ὃ δὲ Ψαμμήνιτος προϊδὼν καὶ μαθὼν ἐκνύψε ἕς τὴν γῆν. παρελθούσεών δὲ τῶν ύδροφόρων, δεύτερα οἱ τὸν παίδα ἔπεμψαν μετὰ ἄλλων Αἰγυπτίων δισχιλίων την. αὐτὴν ἡλικίαν ἑχόντων, τοὺς τε αὐχένας κάλῳ δεδεμένους καὶ τὰ στόματα ἐγκεχαλιωμένους· ἡγούτο δὲ ποιήσεις Μυτηληναίων τοῖς ἐν Μέμφι ἀπολομένοισι σὺν τῇ νηλ. ταῦτα γὰρ εἴδικασαν οἱ βασιλῆιοι δικασταί, ὑπὲρ ἀνδρός ἐκάστου δέκα Αἰγυπτίων τῶν πρωτών ἀνταπόλυσαν. ὃ δὲ ίδιον παρεξίοντας καὶ μαθῶν τὸν παίδα ἡγεόμενον ἐπὶ θάνατον, τῶν ἄλλων Αἰγυπτίων τῶν περικατημένων αὐτῶν κλαιόντων καὶ δεινὰ ποιεύοντων, τῶν ἐπιήσεις τὸ καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ θυγατρί. παρελθόντων δὲ καὶ τούτων, συνήνεικε ὡστε τῶν συμποτέων οἱ ἄνδρα ἀπηλκέστερον, ἐκπεπτωκότα ἐκ τῶν ἔοντων ἑχοντά τα υδέν εἰ μὴ ὥσα πτωχὸς καὶ προσαίτεντα τὴν στρατινή, παρέναι Ψαμμήνιτον τε τῶν Ἀμάσιοι καὶ τοὺς ἐν τῷ προαστείῳ κατημένους Αἰγυπτίων. ὃ δὲ Ψαμμήνιτος ὁς εἰς, ἀνακλαύσας μέγα καὶ καλέσας ὄνομασε τὸν ἔταιρον ἐπλήξατο τὴν κεφαλῆς. ἤςαν ὅ' ἀρα αὐτοῦ φύλακα, οὗ τὸ ποιεύμενον πάν ἐξ ἑκείνου ἐπ' ἐκάστη ἐξόδῳ Καμβύσης ἐσήμανον. θωμᾶς δὲ ὁ Καμβύσης τὰ ποιεύμενα, πέμψας ἀγγελον εἰρώτα αὐτοῦ λέγων τάδε. "Δεσπότης σε Καμβύσης, Ψαμμήνιτε, εἰρωτᾷ δ' ὅ τι δὴ τὴν μὲν θυγατέρα όρεων κεκακωμένη καὶ τὸν παίδα ἐπὶ θάνατον στείχοντα οὔτε ἀνέβωσας οὔτε ἀπέ-
the families of the chief men. So when the damsels came before their fathers crying and lamenting, all the rest answered with like cries and weeping, seeing their children’s evil case; but Psammenitus, having already seen and learnt all, bowed himself to the ground. When the water-carriers had passed by, Cambyses next made Psammenitus’ son to pass him with two thousand Egyptians of like age besides, all with ropes bound round their necks and bits in their mouths; who were led forth to make atonement for those Mytilenaeans who had perished with their ship at Memphis; for such was the judgment of the royal judges, that every man’s death be paid for by the slaying of ten noble Egyptians. When Psammenitus saw them pass by and perceived that his son was led out to die, and all the Egyptians who sat with him wept and showed their affliction, he did as he had done at the sight of his daughter. When these too had gone by, it chanced that there was one of his boon companions, a man past his prime, that had lost all his possessions, and had but what a poor man might have, and begged of the army; this man now passed before Psammenitus son of Amasis and the Egyptians who sat in the outer part of the city. When Psammenitus saw him, he broke into loud weeping, smiting his head and calling on his companion by name. Now there were men set to watch Psammenitus, who told Cambyses all that he did when any came into his sight. Marvelling at what the king did, Cambyses made this inquiry of him by a messenger: “Psammenitus, Cambyses my master asks of you why, seeing your daughter mishandled and your son going to his death, you neither cried

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κλαυσας, τὸν δὲ πτωχὸν οὐδὲν σοι προσήκοντα, ὃς ἄλλων πυνθάνεται, ἔτιμησας.” δὲ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα ἐπειρώτα, δὲ ἀμείβετο τοῦσιδε. “Ὡς παῖ Κύρου, τὰ μὲν οἰκήματα ἤν μέξω κακὰ ἢ ὡστε ἀνακλαίειν, τὸ δὲ τού ἐταίρου πένθος ἄξιον ἦν δακρύων, δὲ ἐκ πολλῶν τε καὶ εὐδαιμόνων ἐκπεσῶν ἐσ πτωχήν ἄπικται ἐπὶ γῆρας οὐδὲν.” καὶ ταῦτα ὡς Ἀπενεχθέντα ὑπὸ τοῦτον εὐ δοκείειν σφὶ εἰρήσθαι, ὡς [δὲ] λέγεται ὑπ’ Αἰγυπτίων, δακρύειν μὲν Κροίτον (ἐπετεύχεκε γὰρ καὶ οὕτως ἐπιστόμενος Καμβύση ἐπ’ Αἰγυπτοῦ), δακρύειν δὲ Περσέων τοὺς παρεῦντας. αὐτῷ τε Καμβύση ἐσελθεῖν οἴκτον τινά, καὶ αὐτίκα κελεύειν τὸν τέ οἱ παῖδα ἐκ τῶν ἀπολλυμένων σώζειν καὶ αὐτὸν ἐκ τοῦ προστείου ἀναστῆσαντας ἄγειν παρ’ ἑωτὸς.

15. Τὸν μὲν δὴ παῖδα εὐρον αὐτοῦ ὦι μετίωντες οὐκέτι περεύοντα ἅλλα πρώτον κατακοπέντα, αὐτοῦ δὲ Ψαμμήνιτον ἀναστῆσαντας ἡγον παρὰ Καμβύσεα. ἤπια τοῦ λοιποῦ διαιτάτῳ ἐκεῖ οὐδὲν βίαιοιν. δὲ δὲ καὶ ἡπιστῆθη μὴ πολυτρηγμονεῖν, ἀπέλαβε δὲν Αἰγυπτοῦ ὡστε ἐπιπροεύνευ ἃυτής, ἐπεὶ τιμᾶν ἐώθασι Πέρσαι τῶν βασιλέων τοὺς παῖδας· τῶν, εἰ καὶ σφέων ἀποστέωσι, ὦμως τοῖς γε παισὶ αὐτῶν ἀποδιδοῦσι τὴν ἄρχήν. πολλοῖς μὲν νυν καὶ ἄλλοισι ἐστὶ σταθμόσασθαι ὅτε τούτῳ οὕτῳ νεομίκαισι ποιεῖσθαι, ἐν δὲ καὶ τῷ τε Ἰνάρῳ παῖδι Θαννύρα, δὲ ἀπέλαβε τὴν οἱ ο πατὴρ εἶχε ἄρχήν, καὶ τῷ Ἀμυρταίον Πανσίρι. καὶ γὰρ οὕτως ἀπέλαβε τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς ἄρχην. καίτοι Ἰνάρῳ γε καὶ Ἀμυρταίον οὐδαμοῦ καὶ Πέρσας κακὰ πλέω

¹ Probably δὲ below should be omitted; otherwise the sentence cannot be translated.

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aloud nor wept, yet did this honour to the poor man, who (as Cambyses learns from others) is none of your kin?” So the messenger inquired. Psammenitus answered: “Son of Cyrus, my private grief was too great for weeping; but the misfortune of my companion called for tears—one that has lost great wealth and now on the threshold of old age is come to beggary.” When the messenger so reported, and Cambyses and his court, it is said, found the answer good, then, as the Egyptians tell, Croesus wept (for it chanced that he too had come with Cambyses to Egypt) and so did the Persians that were there; Cambyses himself felt somewhat of pity, and forthwith he bade that Psammenitus’ son be saved alive out of those that were to be slain, and that Psammenitus himself be taken from the outer part of the city and brought before him.

15. As for the son, those that went for him found that he was no longer living, but had been the first to be hewn down; but they brought Psammenitus away and led him to Cambyses; and there he lived, and no violence was done him for the rest of his life. And had he but been wise enough to mind his own business, he would have so far won back Egypt as to be governor of it; for the Persians are wont to honour king’s sons; even though kings revolt from them, yet they give back to their sons the sovereign power. There are many instances showing that it is their custom so to do, and notably the giving back of his father’s sovereign power to Thannyaeras son of Inaros, and also to Pausiris son of Amyrtaeus; yet none ever did the Persians more harm than Inaros
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έργασαντο. νῦν δὲ μηχανώμενος κακά ὁ Ψαμ-
μήνιτος ἔλαβε τὸν μισθὸν ἀπίστας γὰρ Αἰγυπ-
tίους ἡλικία ἐπείτε δὲ ἐπάστατος ἐγένετο ὑπὸ Καμ-
βύσεως, αἰμα ταύρου πιὸν ἀπέδανε παραχρήμα.
οὔτω δὴ οὕτως ἐτελεύτησε.

16. Καμβύσης δὲ ἐκ Μέμφις ἀπίκετο ἐς Σἀλί
πόλιν, βουλόμενος ποιῆσαι τὰ δὴ καὶ ἐποίησε.
ἐπείτε γὰρ ἐσῆλθε ἐς τὰ τοῦ Ἀμάσιος οἰκία,
αὐτίκα ἐκέλευε ἐκ τῆς ταφῆς τὸν Ἀμάσιος νέκυν
ἐκφέρειν ἑξῆς. ὡς δὲ ταῦτα ἑπιτελέα ἐγένετο, μα-
στυγοῦν ἐκέλευε καὶ τὰς τρίχας ἀποτίλλειν καὶ
κεντοῦν τε καὶ τάλλα πάντα λυμαίνεσθαι. ἐπείτε
dὲ καὶ ταῦτα ἑκαμοῦν ποιεύτες (ὁ γὰρ ὅθεν νεκρὸς
ἄτε τεταρχευμένος ἀντεἰχέ τε καὶ οὐδὲν διεχέτο),
ἐκέλευσε μὴν ὁ Καμβύσης κατακαίσαι, ἐντελλό-
μενος εἰκὸν ὑποπτή. Πέρσαι γὰρ θεὸν νομίζουσι εἶναι
πῦρ. τὸ δὲ κατακαίον γε τοὺς νεκροὺς οὐδαμῶς
ἐν νόμῳ οὐδετέροις ἑστὶ, Πέρσαι μὲν δὲ ὁ περ
ἐπερταῖ, θεὸν οὐ δίκαιον εἶναι λέγοντες νέμει
νεκρὸν ἀνθρώπου. Αἰγυπτίοι δὲ νενόμισται πῦρ
θηρίου εἶναι ἐμψυχοῦ, πάντα δὲ αὐτὸ κατεσθίειν
tὰ πέρ ἄν λάβη, πλησθέν τοῦ αὐτὸ τῆς βορής συν-
ἀποθυμήκειν τὰ κατεσθιόμενο. οὐκὼν θηρίοις
νόμος οὐδαμῶς σφι ἐστὶ τῶν νέκυν διδόναι, καὶ
dιὰ ταῦτα ταριχεύουσι, ἵνα μὴ κείμενος ὑπὸ
eὐλέων καταβρωθῇ. οὔτω οὐδετέροις νομίζομεν
ἐνετέλλετο ποιεῖν ὁ Καμβύσης. ὡς μέντοι Αἰ-
γύπτιοι λέγοντες, οὐκ Ἀμάσις ἦν ὁ ταῦτα παθῶν,
ἀλλὰ ἄλλος τῶν Αἰγυπτίων ἔχων τὴν αὐτὴν
ἡλικίαν Ἀμάσι, τῷ λυμαινόμενοι Πέρσαι ἔδοκεν
Ἀμάσι λυμαίνεσθαι. λέγοντες γὰρ ὡς πυθόμενος
ἐκ μαντηῆόν ὁ Ἀμάσις τὰ περὶ ἐωστὸν ἀποθανόντα

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

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

1 The revolt of the Egyptians Inaros and Amyrtaeus against the Persian governor lasted from 460 to 455 B.C.
2 The blood was supposed to coagulate and choke the drinker. (How and Wells, ad loc.)
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μέλλοντα γίνεσθαι, οὔτω δὴ ἀκεόμενος τὰ ἐπιφερό-
μενα τὸν μὲν ἀνθρώπων τούτων τὸν μαστιγωθέντα
ἀποθανόντα ἔθαψε ἐπὶ τῇ τῆς τοῦ ἔωτοῦ θῆκης, ἐωτὸν δὲ ἐνετείλατο τῷ παιδὶ ἐν
καὶ τὸν ἀνθρώπων ἔχουσαι οὐ μοι δοκέομι
ἀρχὴν γενέσθαι, ἀλλως δ' αὐτὰ Αἰγύπτωι σεμνοῦν.

17. Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ὁ Καμβύσης ἐβουλεύσατο
τριφασίας στρατηγίας, ἐπὶ τε Καρχηδονίους καὶ
ἐπὶ Ἀμμωνίους καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς μακροβίους Αἰθίο-
πας, οἰκημένους δὲ Διβύνης ἐπὶ τῇ νοτίης θαλάσσῃ
βουλευομένῳ δὲ οἱ ἐδοξεῖ ἐπὶ μὲν Καρχηδονίους
τὸν ναυτικὸν στρατόν ἀποστῆλειν, ἐπὶ δὲ Ἀμ-
μωνίους τοῦ πεζοῦ ἀποκρίναντα, ἐπὶ δὲ τοὺς
Αἰθίοπας κατόπτας πρῶτον, ὑψομένους τε τὴν ἐν
tούτοις τοῖς Αἰθίοψι λεγομένην εἶναι ἥλιον
τράπεζαν εἰ ἐστὶ ἀληθέως, καὶ πρὸς ταῦτα τὰ
ἀλλα καταψυμένους, δῶρα δὲ τῷ λόγῳ φέροντας
τῷ βασιλείᾳ αὐτῶν.

18. Ἡ δὲ τράπεζα τοῦ ἥλιου τοιῷδε τις λέγεται
εἶναι, λειμών ἐστὶ ἐν τῷ προστείφῳ ἐπίπλεος
κρεῶν ἐφθόνων πάντων τῶν τετραπόδων, ἐς τόν ταῖς
μὲν νῦκται ἐπιτηδεύοντας τιθέναι τὰ κρέα τοὺς ἐν
tέλει ἐκάστοτε ἐόντας τῶν ἀστῶν, τὰς δὲ ἡμέρας
δαίνυσθαι προσώπων τὸν βουλόμενον. φάναι δὲ
tοὺς ἐπιχωρίους ταῦτα τὴν γῆν αὐτὴν ἀναδίδοναι
ἐκαστοτε.

19. Ἡ μὲν δὴ τράπεζα τοῦ ἥλιου καλεομένη
λέγεται εἶναι τοιῷδε. Καμβύσης δὲ ὁ ἐδοξεῖ πέμ-
πευς τοὺς κατασκόπους, αὐτικα μετεπέμπετο ἐξ
Ἐλεφαντίνης πόλιος τῶν Ἰχθυοφάγων ἀνδρῶν

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done to him after his death, and so to avert this
doom buried this man, him that was scourged, at his
death by the door within his own vault, and com-
manded his son that he himself should be laid in
the farthest corner of the vault. I think that these
commands of Amasis, respecting the burial-place and
the man, were never given at all, and that the
Egyptians but please themselves with a lying tale.

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

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

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

¹ Carthaginians. ² cp. beginning of ch. 23.
³ This story may be an indication of offerings made to the
dead, or of a region of great fertility. In Homer the gods
are fabled to feast with the Ethiopians.
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tous èpistaméneous tìn Aíthiopída glóssan. èn
ò de toûton metéiasan, èn toûto ékéléne èpì tìn
Karkhèdona pléiein tòn nautikôn stratôn. Foiní-
ikes dé oûk èfasaan poîseis tauta' orkíoi si
gar megálloisi ènvedésethai, kai oûk õn poîeis
ôsia èpì tòn paitas tôn èwunen stratêvónomenoi.
Foiníkos dé oû vouloyména oî loutpoi oûk àxio-
maçoi ègínonton. Karkhèdônion mèn õn wûn doun-
losoúnh diéfugon pros Perséon. Kambýsès gar
bình oûk èdikaiou prosoferein Foinízi, õti sfeás
ta autous èdédókesan Persetai kai pás èk Foiní-
kòn õrhteto õ nautikós stratôs. dönites dé kai
Kýprion sfeás autous Persetai èstrapètevontò èp'
Aígupton.

20. 'Epeîte de tò Kambýsès èk tìn 'Elefana-
tînhas ápikounto oî 'Ikhvofâgoi, ètepyme autous ès
tous Aíthiôpases ènteilámevos tà légein chrîn kai
dòra férontas porphúreov te èima kai chrûsou
strætôn perianvénion kai õëlia kai múró
alábastron kai fouinikhîo ouînu kádon. oî dé
Aíthiopes autôi, ès te autous ápêteempè o Kambýsès,
légontai èinaí mégistoi kai kállistoi ànthrôpos
pántov. nómoisì de kai allouí chrãsthai autous
kechronménoi toûn allov ànthrôpos kai ðì kai
kata tìn basîlihê tôn õîdo de tòn õn tòn èstov
kronósi mégistôn te èinaí kai kata tò mégaðos
èxei tìn õïchôn, tòu toûn àxiouvì Basileuvê.

21. 'Eis toûton ðì õn toûs èndras õsâ ápikounto
oî 'Ikhvofâgoi, diðontes tà dòra tò õî basîleí
autôn èleugon tàde. "Basileus õ Perséon Kambý-
sèhs, vouloymenos filó kai òoxhês toî gênésai,
 têmèas te aptêpempe õs lógon toî èltheièn keleíov,
the Ethiopian language. While they were seeking
these men, he bade his fleet sail against Carchedon.
But the Phoenicians would not consent; for they
were bound, they said, by a strict treaty, and could
not righteously attack their own sons; and the
Phoenicians being unwilling, the rest were of no
account as fighters. Thus the Carchedonians escaped
being enslaved by the Persians; for Cambyses would
not use force with the Phoenicians, seeing that they
had willingly given their help to the Persians, and
the whole fleet drew its strength from them. The
Cyprians too had come of their own accord to aid the
Persians against Egypt.

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

21. These were the men to whom the Fish-eaters
came, offering gifts and delivering this message to
their king: "Cambyses king of Persia, desiring to
be your friend and guest, sends us with command
to address ourselves to you; and he offers you such
καὶ δῶρα ταύτα τοι διδοῖ τοῖς καὶ αὐτὸς μάλιστα ἦδεται χρεώμενος." ὁ δὲ Αἰθίοψ μαθὼν ὅτι κατόπται ἦκοιεν, λέγει πρὸς αὐτοὺς τοιάδε. "Οὔτε ὁ Περσέων βασιλεὺς δῶρα ύμέας ἐπεμψε φέροντας προτιμῶν πολλοῦ ἐμοὶ ξείνος γενέσθαι, οὔτε ὑμεῖς λέγετε ἀληθέα (ἡκετε γὰρ κατόπται τῆς ἐμῆς ἀρχῆς), οὔτε ἐκεῖνος ἀνήρ ἐστι δίκαιος. εἰ γὰρ ἦν δίκαιος, οὔτ' ἂν ἐπεθύμησε χάρῳς ἄλλης ἢ τῆς ἑωτοῦ, οὔτ' ἂν ἐς δουλοσύνην ἀνθρώπους ἤγε ὑπ' ὁμ μηδὲν ἢδικηταί. νῦν δὲ αὐτῷ τόξον τόδε διδόντες τάδε ἐπεα λέγετε. 'Βασιλεὺς ὁ Αἰθίοπων συμβουλεύει τῷ Περσέων βασιλεῖ, ἐπεάν οὖν εὐπετέος ἐπικοσμεῖ πάν τὰ ξέα Πέρσαι ἔωντα μεγάθει τοσαῦτα, τότε ἐπ' Αἰθίοπας τοὺς μακροβίους πλήθει ὑπερβαλλόμενων στρατεύεσθαι τέχρι δὲ τοῦτο θεοῦ εἰδέναι χάριν, οἱ οὖν ἐπὶ νοὸν τράπουν Αἰθιώπου παισὶ γῇ ἄλλην προσκτάσθαι τῇ ἑωτῶν.'

22. Ταῦτα δὲ εἴπας καὶ ἄνεις τὸ τόξον παρέδωκε τοῖς ἑκουσί. λαβὼν δὲ τὸ εἶμα τὸ πορφύρεον εἰρώτα ὁ τι εἰή καὶ ὅκως πεποιημένων εἰπόντων τῶν Ἰχθυοφόρων τὴν ἀληθείαν περὶ τῆς πορφύρης καὶ τῆς βαφῆς, δολεροὺς μὲν τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἐφή εἶναι, δολερὰ δὲ αὐτῶν τὰ εἴματα. δεύτερα δὲ τῶν χρυσόν εἰρωτά τόν στρεπτόν τῶν περιαυχένιον καὶ τὰ ψελία· ἐξηγεομένων δὲ τῶν Ἰχθυοφόρων τῶν κόσμων αὐτοῦ, γελάσας ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ νομίσας εἶναι σφέα πέδας εἴπε ὡς παρ' ἑωτοῖς εἰδοθεομελετεραι τουτέων πέδαι. τρίτον δὲ εἰρωτά τὸ μύρον· εἰπόντων δὲ τῆς ποιήσιος πέρι καὶ ἀλείψιος, τόν αὐτῶν λόγον τῶν καὶ περὶ τοῦ εἴματος εἴπε. ὡς δὲ ἐς τῶν οἶνον ἀπίκετο καὶ
BOOK III. 21–22

gifts as he himself chiefly delights to use." But the Ethiopian, perceiving that they had come as spies, spoke thus to them: "It is not because he sets great store by my friendship that the Persian King sends you with gifts, nor do you speak the truth (for you have come to spy out my dominions), nor is your king a righteous man; for were he such, he would not have coveted any country other than his own, nor would he now try to enslave men who have done him no wrong. Now, give him this bow, and this message: 'The King of the Ethiopians counsels the King of the Persians, when the Persians can draw a bow of this greatness as easily as I do, then to bring overwhelming odds to attack the long-lived Ethiopians; but till then, to thank the gods who put it not in the minds of the sons of the Ethiopians to win more territory than they have.'"

22. So speaking he unstrung the bow and gave it to the men who had come. Then, taking the purple cloak, he asked what it was and how it was made; and when the Fish-eaters told him the truth about the purple and the way of dyeing, he said that both the men and their garments were full of guile. Next he inquired about the twisted gold necklace and the bracelets; and when the Fish-eaters told him how they were made, the king smiled, and, thinking them to be fetters, said: "We have stronger chains than these." Thirdly he inquired about the incense; and when they told him of the making and the applying of it, he made the same reply as about the cloak. But when he came to the wine and asked about the
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ἐπύθετο αὐτοῦ τὴν ποίησιν, ὑπερηψθεὶς τῷ πόματι ἐπείρετο ὦ τι τε σιτέται ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ χρῶνος ὁκόσον μακρότατον ἁγή Πέρσης ζώει. οὗ δὲ σιτεύσῃ μὲν τὸν ἄρτον εἶπον, ἔξηγησάμενοι τῶν πυρῶν τὴν φύσιν, ὁγδώκοντα δὲ ἐτεα ζῷας πλήρωμα ἄνδρι μακρότατον προκέεσθαι. πρὸς ταῦτα ὁ Αἰθίοψ ἔφη οὐδὲν θωμάζειν εἰ σιτεύσουσι κόπρον ἐτεα ὅλην ζώουσι· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἂν τοσαῦτα δύνασθαι ζώειν σφέας, εἰ μὴ τῷ πόματι ἀνέφερον, φράζων τοῖσι Ἰχθυοφάγοις τὸν οἶνον· τούτῳ γὰρ ἑωτοὺς ὑπὸΠερσέων ἐσσοῦσθαι.

23. Ἀντειρομένων δὲ τῶν βασιλέα τῶν Ἰχθυοφάγων τῆς ζώης καὶ διαίτης πέρι, ἔτεα μὲν ἐς εἰκοσι καὶ ἐκάτω τοῦ πολλοῦ αὐτῶν ἀπικνέσθαι, ὑπερβάλλειν δὲ τινάς καὶ ταῦτα, σῖτησιν δὲ εἶναι κρέα τε ἐφθα καὶ πόμα γάλα. θῶμα δὲ ποιευμένων τῶν κατασκόπων περὶ τῶν ἐτέων, ἐπὶ κρήνην σφι ἡγήσασθαι, ἀπ’ ἑς λουκύμενοι λιπαρῶτεροι ἐγίνοντο, κατὰ περ εἰ ἐλαῖον εἰη· ὄξεων δὲ ἀπ’ αὐτῆς ὡς εἰ ἔων. ἀσθενεῖς δὲ τὸ ὕδωρ τῆς κρήνης ταῦτης οὕτω δὴ τι ἔλεγον εἶναι οἱ κατάσκοποι ὥστε μηδὲν οἶον τ’ εἶναι ἐπ’ αὐτοῦ ἐπίπλεειν, μῆτε ξύλον μῆτε τῶν ὅσα ξύλον ἔστι ἐλαφρότερα, ἀλλὰ πάντα σφέα χωρέεις ἐς βυσσόν. τὸ δὲ ὕδωρ τούτο εἰ σφί ἐστι ἀληθέως οἶον τι λέγεται, διὰ τοῦτο ἄν εἰεν, τούτῳ τὰ πάντα χρεώμενοι, μακρόβιοι. ἀπὸ τῆς κρήνης δὲ ἀπαλλασσόμενον ἀγανείν σφεας ἐς δεσμωτήριον ἄνδρῶν, ἐνθα τοὺς πάντας ἐν πέδησι χρυσέος δεδέσθαι. ἐστὶ δὲ ἐν τούτους τοῖσι Αἰθίοψι τῶν ὁ χαλκὸς σπανιότατον καὶ τιμώτατον. θεησάμενοι δὲ καὶ τὸ δεσμωτήριον, ἐθείσαντο καὶ τῆς τοῦ ἡλίου λεγομένην τράπεζαν.
BOOK III. 22–23

making of it, he was vastly pleased with the draught, and asked further what food their king ate, and what was the greatest age to which a Persian lived. They told him their king ate bread, showing him how wheat grew; and said that the full age to which a man might hope to live was eighty years. Then said the Ethiopian, it was no wonder that their lives were so short, if they ate dung\(^1\); they would never attain even to that age were it not for the strengthening power of the draught,—whereby he signified to the Fish-eaters the wine,—for in this, he said, the Persians excelled the Ethiopians.

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

\(^1\) i.e. grain produced by the manured soil.
24. Μετὰ δὲ ταύτην τελευταίας ἐθείσαντο τὰς θῆκας αὐτῶν, αἱ λέγονται σκευάζεσθαι ἐξ ὑέλου τρόπῳ τοιῷδε· ἐπεάν τὸν νεκρὸν ἱσχυνναι, εἰτε δὴ κατὰ περ Ἀιγύπτωι εἰτε ἄλλως κως, γυνώσαντες ἀπαντα αὐτῶν γραφῆ κοσμέουσι, ἐξομοίωσεν τὸ εἶδος ἐς τὸ δυνατόν, ἐπείτα δὲ οἱ περιστάσεις στήλην ἐξ ὑέλου πεποιημένην κοίλην· ἢ δὲ σφι πολλὴ καὶ ἐνεργὸς ὀρύσσεται. ἐν μέσῃ δὲ τῇ στήλῃ ἑνῶν διαφαίνεται ὁ νέκους, οὐτέ ὁδηγὴν ὅπερ χαριν παραχομένος οὔτε ἄλλο ἑκεῖνον ὁδήν, καὶ ἔχει πάντα φανερὰ ὁμοίως αὐτῷ τῷ νέκου. ἐναντίον μὲν δὴ ἔχουσι τὴν στήλην ἐν τοῖς οἰκίσσαντες μάλιστα προσήκοντες, πάντων ἀπαρχομένου καὶ θυσίας οἱ προσάγοντες· μετὰ δὲ ταύτα ἐκκομίσαντες ἵστασι περὶ τὴν πόλιν.

25. Θεσάμενοι δὲ τὰ πάντα οἱ κατασκοποὶ ἀπαλλάσσοντο ὀπίσω. ἀπαγγειλάντων δὲ ταύτα τούτων, αὐτίκα ὁ Καμβύσης ὀργήν ποιησάμενος ἐστρατεύετο ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἀιθιόπας, οὔτε παρασκευὴν σιτοῦ οὐδεμίαν παραγείλας, οὔτε λόγον ἐνεπτῷ δοὺς ὅτι ἐς τὰ ἐσχάτα γῆς ἐμελλε στρατεύεσθαι· οι δὲ ἐμμανής τε ἐὼν καὶ οὐ φρενής, ὅς ἦκουε τῶν Ἰλιθυνόχων, ἐστρατεύετο, Ἑλλήνων μὲν τοὺς παρεοντας αὐτοῦ τάξας ὑπομένειν, τὸν δὲ πεζῶν πάντα ἅμα ἄγομενος. ἐπείτε δὲ στρατεύομενος ἐγένετο ἐν Θῆβῃς, ἀπέκρινε τοῦ στρατοῦ ὃς πέντε μυριάδας, καὶ τούτοις μὲν ἐνετέλλετο Ἀμμωνίους ἐξάνδραποδισαμένους τὸ χρηστήριον τὸ τοῦ Δίδος ἐμπρήσαι, αὐτὸς δὲ τὸν λοιπὸν ἄγων στρατὸν ἦμε ἐπὶ τοὺς Αἰθιόπας. πρὶν δὲ τῆς ὁδοῦ τὸ πέμπτον μέρος διελήλυθεν τὴν στρατινήν, αὐτίκα πάντα αὐτοὺς τὰ εἴχον σιτίων ἐχόμενα ἐπελελοίπεε, μετὰ
BOOK III. 24–25

24. Last after this they viewed the Ethiopian coffins; these are said to be made of porcelain, as I shall describe: they make the dead body to shrink, either as the Egyptians do or in some other way, then cover it with gypsum and paint it all as far as they may in the likeness of the living man; then they set it within a hollow pillar of porcelain, which they dig in abundance from the ground, and it is easily wrought; the body can be seen in the pillar through the porcelain, no evil stench nor aught unseemly proceeding from it, and showing clearly all its parts, as if it were the dead man himself. The nearest of kin keep the pillar in their house for a year, giving it of the firstfruits and offering it sacrifices; after which they bring the pillars out and set them round about the city.

25. Having viewed all, the spies departed back again. When they reported all this, Cambyses was angry, and marched forthwith against the Ethiopians, neither giving command for any provision of food nor considering that he was about to lead his army to the ends of the earth; and being not in his right mind but mad, he marched at once on hearing from the Fish-eaters, setting the Greeks who were with him to await him where they were, and taking with him all his land army. When he came in his march to Thebes, he parted about fifty thousand men from his army, and charged them to enslave the Ammonians and burn the oracle of Zeus; and he himself went on towards Ethiopia with the rest of his host. But before his army had accomplished the fifth part of their journey they had come to an end of all there was in the way of provision, and after the food was
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dè tā σιτία kai tā ὑποζύγια ἐπέλειπε κατεσθιόμενα. εἰ μὲν νυν μαθῶν ταῦτα ὁ Καμβύσης ἐγνωσίμαχε καὶ ἀπήγα ὅπισώ τὸν στρατὸν, ἐπὶ τῇ ἄρχὴθεν γενομένῃ ἀμαρτάδι ἦν ἀν ἄνη ποσός· νῦν δὲ οὐδένα λόγον ποιεύμενος ἦμε αἰεὶ ἐς τὸ πρόσω. οἱ δὲ στρατιῶται ἔως μὲν τι εἰχον ἐκ τῆς γῆς λαμβάνειν, ποιησάγεοντες διέξοσαν, ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐς τὴν ἑώμον ἄπικοντο, δεινὸν ἐρχον αὐτῶν τινες ἑργάσαντο· ἐκ δεκάδος γὰρ ἐνα σφέων αὐτῶν ἀποκληρώσαντες κατέφαγον. πυθόμενος δὲ ταῦτα ὁ Καμβύσης, δείασα τὴν ἄλληλοφαγίνην, ἀπείς τὸν ἐπὶ Αἰθίοπας στόλον ὅπισώ ἐπορεύετο καὶ ἀπικνέεται ἐς Θηβάν πολλοὺς ἀπολέσας τὸν στρατὸν· ἐκ Θηβῶν δὲ καταβᾶς ἐς Μέμφιν τοὺς Ἑλλήνας ἀπῆκε ἀποπλέειν.

26. 'Ο μὲν ἐπὶ Αἰθίοπας στόλος οὗτῳ ἐπρηξε· οἱ δ' αὐτῶν ἐπὶ Ἀμμωνίους ἀποσταλέντες στρατεύσατο, ἐπείτε ὀρμηθέντες ἐκ τῶν Θηβῶν ἐπορεύοντο ἑχοντες ἀγωγοὺς, ἀπικόμενοι μὲν φανεροὶ εἰσί ὡς ὁ Οἰασιον τὸν, τὴν ἐχουσα μὲν Σάμηι τῆς Αἰσχρωνίης φυλής λεγόμενοι εἶναι, ἀπέχουσι δὲ ἐπὶ ἡμερῶν ὀδὸν ἀπὸ Θηβῶν διὰ ἑώμον· ὀνομάζεται δὲ ὁ χωρὸς οὗτος κατὰ Ἑλλήνων γλώσσαν Μακάρων νῆσος. ἐς μὲν δὴ τούτον τὸν χώρον λέγεται ἀπικέσαυ τὸν στρατὸν, τὸ ἐνθεύτων δὲ, ὅτι μὴ αὐτοὶ Ἀμμώνιοι καὶ οἱ τούτων ἀκοῦσαντες, ἄλλοι οὔδενες οὖν ἑχουσί εἰπεῖν περὶ αὐτῶν· οὔτε γὰρ ἐς τοὺς Ἀμμωνίους ἀπίκουστο οὔτε ὅπισώ ἑνόστησαν. λέγεται δὲ κατὰ τάδε ὑπ' αὐτῶν Ἀμμωνίων· ἔπειθη ἐκ τῆς Ὅασιος ταύτης ἰέναι διὰ τῆς ψάμμου ἐπὶ σφέας, γενέσθαι τε αὐτοὺς μεταξύ κοι μάλιστα αὐτῶν τε καὶ τῆς Ὅασιος,
BOOK III. 25–26

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

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

¹ Oasis means simply a planted place; Herodotus makes it a proper name. What he means here is the “Great oasis” of Khargeh, about seven days’ journey from Thebes, as he says.
Αριστον αἰρεομένωσι αυτοῖσι ἐπιτυνεύει τόν μέγαν τε καὶ ἔξαίσιον, φορέοντα δὲ θίνας τῆς ψάμμου καταχώσαι σφέας, καὶ τρόπῳ τοιοῦτῳ ἀφαινόσθιναι. Ἀμμώνιοι μὲν οὖτω λέγουσι γενέσθαι περὶ τῆς στρατηγῆς ταύτης.

27. Ἀπυγμένου δὲ Καμβύσεως ἔσε Ἐμέφιν ἐφάνη Αἰγύπτιοιο ὁ Ἀτις, τὸν Ἑλληνες Ἐσαφον καλέοσι: ἐπιφανέος δὲ τούτου γενομένου αὐτίκα οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι εἴματα ἐφόρεον τὰ κάλλιστα καὶ ἤσαν ἐν θαλήσῃ. ἰδὼν δὲ ταῦτα τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους ποιεόντας ὁ Καμβύς, πάγχυ σφέας καταδύσας ἐσοντι κακῶς πρήξαντος χαρμόσυνα ταῦτα ποίειν, ἐκάλεε τοὺς ἐπιτρόπους τῆς Μέμφιος, ἀποκομένους δὲ ἐς ὄψιν εἰρέτο τὸ τρόπερον μὲν ἐόντος αὐτοῦ ἐν Μέμφι ἐποίειν τοιοῦτον οὐδὲν Αἰγύπτιοι, τότε δὲ ἐπεὶ αὐτὸς παρεῖ πῆς στρατηγῆς πλῆθος τι ἀποβαλόν. οὗ δὲ ἔφραξον ὡς σφι θέος εἰς φανεὶς διὰ χρόνου πολλοῦ ἑωθὸς ἐπιφανεσθαι, καὶ ὡς ἐπεὰν φανῇ τότε πάντες Αἰγύπτιοι κεχαρηκότες ὑρτάζοιεν. ταῦτα ἀκούσας ὁ Καμβύς ἐφη ψεύδεσθαι σφέας καὶ ὡς ψευδομένους θανάτῳ ἔξημιον.

28. Ἀποκτένας δὲ τούτους δεύτερα τοὺς ἴρεας ἐκάλεε ἐς ὄψιν λεγόντων δὲ κατὰ ταῦτα τῶν ἴρεων, οὐ λήσεις ἐφη αὐτῶν εἰ θεός τις χειροῆθες ἀπηγμένος εἰς Αἰγυπτίοις. τοσαῦτα δὲ εἶπας ἀπάγειν ἐκέλευε τὸν Ἀπιν τοὺς ἴρεας. οἷς μὲν δὴ μετῆσαν ἄξοντες. ὁ δὲ Ἀπις οὕτως ὁ Ἐσαφὸς γίνεται μόσχος ἐκ βοῶς, ἣτις οὐκέτι οὐὶ τε γίνεται ἐς γαστέρα ἄλλου βάλλεσθαι γόνων. Αἰγύπτιοι δὲ λέγουσι σέλας ἐπὶ τὴν βοῦν ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ κατίσχειν, καὶ μὲν ἐκ τούτου τίκτειν τὸν Ἀπιν.

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breakfasting a great and violent south wind arose, which buried them in the masses of sand which it bore; and so they disappeared from sight. Such is the Ammonian tale about this army.

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

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

\textsuperscript{1} cp. ii. 38.
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ἐχεὶ δὲ ὁ μόσχος οὖτος ὁ Ἀπις καλεόμενος σημῆνα τοιάδε ἐὼν μέλας, ἔπι μὲν τῷ μετώπῳ λευκοῦ τι πρίγωνον, ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ νάτου αἰετὸν εἰκασμένον, ἐν δὲ τῇ οὐρῇ τὰς τρίχας διπλᾶς, ὑπὸ δὲ τῇ γλῶσσῃ κάνθαρον.

29. Ὁς δὲ ἤγαγον τοῦ Ἀπιν οἱ ἱρέες, ὁ Καμβύσης, οἵ έὼν ὑπομαργύτερος, σπασάμενος τὸ ἐγχειρίδιον, θέλων τύχαι τὴν γαστέρα τοῦ Ἀπιος παίει τὸν μηρόν γελάσας δὲ εἶπε πρὸς τοὺς ἱρέας ὁ Κακάκι κεφαλαί, τοιοῦτοι θεοὶ γίνονται, ἐναίμοι τε καὶ σαρκώδεις καὶ ἐπαινοῦτες σιδηρίων; ἄξιοι μὲν γε Αἰγυπτίων οὖτος γε ο θεός, ἀτάρ τοι ύμεῖς γε ὁ Χαρόντες γέλωτα ἐμὲ θήσεσθαι. ταῦτα εἶπας ἐνετέλατο τούτι ταῦτα πρήσουσί τοὺς μὲν ἱρέας ἀπομαστηγόσαι, Αἰγυπτίων δὲ τῶν ἄλλων τὸν ἀν λάβωσι ορτάξοντα κτεῖνεν. ὀρτὴ μὲν δὴ διελόυσι Αἰγυπτίωι, οἱ δὲ ἱρέες εὐκαιεύντο, ὁ δὲ Ἀπις πεπληγμένος τὸν μηρὸν ἐφίνει ἐν τῷ ἱρῷ κατακείμενος. καὶ τῶν μὲν τελευτήσαντα ἐκ τοῦ τρόματος θαψαν οἱ ἱρέες λάθρη Καμβύσεως.

30. Καμβύσης δὲ, ὡς ήλγονει Αἰγυπτίοι, αὐτίκα διὰ τοῦτο τὸ ἁδίκημα ἐμάνη, ἐὼν οὐδὲ πρότερον φρενήσῃ. καὶ πρῶτα μὲν τῶν κακῶν ἐξεργάσατο τὸν ἄδελφον Σμέρδιν ἐόντα πατρὸς καὶ μητρὸς τῆς αὐτῆς, τὸν ἀπέπεμψε ἐς Πέρσας φθόνον ἐς Αἰγύπτου, ὅτι τὸ τόξον μοῦνος Περσέων ὅσον τε ἐπὶ δύο δακτύλους εἴρυσε, τὸ παρὰ τοῦ Αἰθιοπὸς ἦνεικαν ὁ Ἰχθυοφάγοι, τῶν δὲ ἄλλων Περσέων οὐδές οἷς τε ἐγένετο. ἀποιχομένου δὲ δὲ Πέρσας τοῦ Σμέρδιος ὡς εἰς ὁ Καμβύσης ἐν τῷ ὑπνῷ τούνυν ἐδοξεῖ οἱ ἄγγελον ἐλθόντα ἐκ Περσέων ἄγγελλειν ὡς ἐν τῷ θρόνῳ
BOOK III. 28–30

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

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

30. By reason of this wrongful deed, as the Egyptians say, Cambyses' former want of sense turned straightway to madness. His first evil act was to make away with his full brother Smerdis, whom he had sent away from Egypt to Persia out of jealousy, because Smerdis alone could draw the bow brought from the Ethiopian by the Fish-eaters as far as two fingerbreadths; but no other Persian could draw it. Smerdis having gone to Persia, Cambyses saw in a dream a vision, whereby it seemed to him that a messenger came from Persia
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tῷ βασιληῶν ἵζόμενος Σμέρδις τῇ κεφαλῇ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ γαύσειε. πρὸς ὁν ταῦτα δεῖσας περὶ ἑωντοῦ μὴ μιν ἀποκτείνας ὁ ἀδελφεὸς ἄρχη, πέμπει Πρηξάπτεα ἐς Πέρσας, ὡς ἴν οἱ ἀνήρ Περσέων πιστότατος, ἀποκτενόντα μιν. ὃ δὲ ἄναβας ἐς Σοῦα ἀπέκτεινε Σμέρδιν, οὶ μὲν λέγουσι ἐπὶ ἄγην ἢξαγαγόντα, οἷ δὲ ἔσ τὴν Ἑρυθρὴν τάλασσαν προ- ἀγαγόντα καταποιτῶσαι.

31. Πρῶτον μὲν δὴ λέγουσι Καμβύσης τῶν κακῶν ἄρξαι τοῦτο: δεύτερα δὲ ἑξεργάσατο τὴν ἀδελφὴν ἐσπομένην οἱ ἐς Αἰγυπτον, τῇ καὶ συνοίκεε καὶ ἴν ὁι ἀπ᾽ ἀμφοτέρων ἀδελφῆ. ἠγάμε δὲ αὐτὴν ὁδε- οὔδαμῶς γὰρ ἑώθεσαν πρότερον τῇ συνοίκειι συνοίκεσαι Πέρσαι. ἡράσθη μὴς τῶν ἀδελφῶν Καμβύσης, καὶ ἔπειτα βουλόμενος αὐτὴν γῆμαι, ὅτι οὐκ ἑωθότα ἐπενόευ ποιῆσειν, εἰφέτῳ καλέσας τοὺς βασιλῆιους δικαστὰς εἰ τὶς ἐστὶ κελεύων νόμος τὸν βουλόμενον ἀδελφὴν συνοίκεσειν. οἱ δὲ βασιλῆιοι δικασταὶ κεκριμένοι ἀνδρεῖ γίνονται Περσέων, ἐς οὐ ἀποθάνωσι ἦ σφι παρευρεθήκ τι ἅδικον, μέχρι τοῦτον οὕτω δὲ τούτω Πέρσηι δίκαι δικάζουσι καὶ ἐξηγηταὶ τῶν πατρίων θεσμῶν γίνονται, καὶ πάντα ἐς τοῦτον ἀνακεῖται. εἴρο- μένου οὖν τοῦ Καμβύσου, ἀπεκρίνοντο αὐτῷ οὕτω καὶ δίκαια καὶ ἀσφαλεία, φάμενοι νόμον οὐδένα ἢξευρίσκειν δὴ κελεύει ἀδελφῇ συνοίκειαι ἀδελ- φοὶ, ἄλλον μεντοὶ ἢξευρισκέναι νόμον, τῷ βασιλεύ- οντι Περσέων ἢξείναι ποιεῖν τὸ ἅν Βουλήται. οὕτω οὕτε τὸν νόμον ἐλυσαν δείσαντες Καμβύσεα, ἢν τε μὴ αὐτοὶ ἀπόλονται τὸν νόμον περιστέλ- λοντες, παρεξεύρον ἄλλον νόμον σύμμαχον τῷ
and told him that Smerdis had sat on the royal throne with his head reaching to heaven. Fearing therefore for himself, lest his brother might slay him and so be king, he sent to Persia Prexaspes, the trustiest of his Persians, to kill Smerdis. Prexaspes went up to Susa and so did; some say that he took Smerdis out a-hunting, others that he brought him to the Red Sea and there drowned him.

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

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

2 A standing body of seven; cp. Book of Esther, i. 14.
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θέλοντι γαμέειν ἀδελφεάς. τότε μὲν δὴ ὁ Καμβύσης ἔγιμε τὴν ἔρωμένην, μετά μὲντοι οὐ πολλὸν χρόνον ἐσχέ ἄλλην ἀδελφεῖν. τούτων δὲτα τὴν νεωτέρην ἐπισπομένην οἱ ἐπὶ Αἰγυπτίου κτείνει.

32. Ἀμφὶ δὲ τῷ θανάτῳ αὐτῆς διέξος ὡσπερ περὶ Σμέρδιος λέγεται λόγος. "Ελληνες μὲν λέγουσι Καμβύσεα συμβαλεῖν σκύμνων λέοντος σκύλακι κυνός, θεωρείειν δὲ καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα ταύτην, νικωμένου δὲ τοῦ σκύλακος ἀδελφέον αὐτοῦ ἄλλον σκύλακα ἀπορρήξαντα τὸν δεσμὸν παραγενέσθαι οἱ, δύο δὲ γενομένους οὔτω δὴ τοὺς σκύλακας ἐπικρατήσαν τοῦ σκύμνων. καὶ τῶν μὲν Καμβύσεα ἥδεσθαι θεώμενον, τὴν δὲ παρημένην δακρύειν. Καμβύσεα δὲ μαθόντα τοῦτο ἐπειρέσθαι δὴ τὸ ταξίδευε, τὴν δὲ εἰπεῖν ὡς ἰδοῦσα τὸν σκύλακα τῷ ἀδελφῷ τιμωρησάντα δακρύσεις, μνησθεῖσά τε Σμέρδιος καὶ μαθοῦσα ὡς ἐκείνη οὐκ εἰς ὁ τιμωρήσων. "Ελληνες μὲν δὴ διὰ τοῦτο τὸ ἐπος φασί αὐτὴν ἀπολέσθαι ὑπὸ Καμβύσεος, Ἀιγυπτιοὶ δὲ ὡς τραπέζῃ παρακατημένων λαβοῦσαν θρίακα τὴν γυναῖκα περιτίλαι καὶ ἐπανειρήσαν τὸν ἄνδρα κότερον περιτετιμήμεν ὁ θρίαξ ἢ δασέα εἰς καλλίων, καὶ τὸν φάναι δασέαν, τὴν δὲ εἰπείν "Ταῦτῃ μὲντοι κοτὲ σὺ τὴν θρίακα ἐμμήσασα τὸν Κύρου οἶκον ἀποψιλώσας." τὸν δὲ θυμωθέντα ἐμπηδήσαται αὐτῇ ἄχουσῃ ἐν γαστρὶ, καὶ μὴν ἐκτρώσασαν ἀποθανεῖν.

33. Ταῦτα μὲν ἐς τοὺς οἰκῆσοις ὁ Καμβύσης ἐξεμάνη, εἶτε δὴ διὰ τὸν Ἀταίν εἰτε καὶ ἄλλως, οἷα πολλὰ ἔσωσε ἀνθρώπους κακὰ καταλαμβάνειν καὶ γὰρ τῷ ἐκ γενεῆς νοῦν μεγάλην λέγεται ἔχειν ὁ Καμβύσης, τὴν ἴρην ὀνομάζουσι τινὲς. οὐ γὰρ
BOOK III. 31–33

another law to justify one that desired wedlock with sisters. So for the nonce Cambyses married her of whom he was enamoured; yet presently he took another sister to wife. It was the younger of these who had come with him to Egypt, and whom he now killed.

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

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

¹ Epilepsy.
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toi áeikês oúdèn ūn toû sómatos wóuson megálhsvn
vosoéontos mhêde tâs phrénas úghiaînéw.

34. Tâde dê ês toûs álloûs Pérsas éxeamâvhn.
légetai gár eiteîn autôv pròs Prêkâsptea, tòn
éïma te múlîsata kai oi tâs ánggeliás fôrre e
ôuson, tòutôv te ó paîs oînoghoû ūn tô Kambûsà, tmhâ
de kai auth ûv smikrîh eiteîn dê légetai
tâde. “Prêkâsptes, kôînû me tînâ nomizouvis
Pérsai einai ândrôa tînas te lógoûs perî emô
poieîntai;” tòn dê eiteîn “Ôm dêsâptata, tâ mên
âlla pânita megálwos épainëai, thâ dê philoinûh se
fâsî plëwos proîskeëseâi.” tòn mên dê légein
tâuta perî Pérséâv, tòn dê thumabênta toîâde
âmêbësathâi. “Nûn āra me fâsî Pérsai oîw
proskeîmenon parafrônнеîen kai ouk eînai nômôvâ
ôudâ āra sfeóîn oî prôteroi lógoû âghan álthëes.”
prôterov gâr dê āra, Pérséâv oî svnêdrîn èôntov
kai Krôisov, eîrêto Kambûsàs kôîs tîs dôkêi
ânîr eînai prôs tòn ëpêtâ teîlêsai Kûroû, oî dê
âmêbønto òs eîh âmëinov toû paîtrôs: tâ te gâr
èkeînou pânata èxeîn autôn kai proskektësathâi
Aîgnupton te kai thn thalasstav. Pérsai mên
tâûta èleugov, Krôisov dê pâreôv te kai ouk
àreskômenov th krísì eîpte prôs tòn Kambûsèa
tâde. “‘Emoi mên vûn, ò pâi Kûroû, ou dôkêiis
ûmôs eînai toô paîtrô ou gâr kô toî èstî vîôs
ôîn se èkeînos katelîpeto.” hòstha te tâûta
àkoûsas ò Kambûsàs kai èpâinëe thn Krôisov
krísin.

35. Toûtov dê òvn èptimnësthënta òrgh th lêgëv
prôs tòn Prêkâsptea “’Sû vûn mâtë eî lêgouvì
Pérsai âlhthëa eîte autôn lêgontes tâûta pâra-
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then that when his body was grievously afflicted his mind too should be diseased.

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

35. Remembering this, then, he said to Prexaspes in his anger: "Judge you then if the Persians speak truth, or rather are themselves out of their minds
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φρονεώντιν' εἰ μὲν γὰρ τοῦ παιδὸς τοῦ σοῦ τούτῳ ἐστεφώτος ἐν τοῖσι προθύρωτι βαλὼν τύχοιμι μέσης τῆς καρδίας, Πέρσαι φανέονται λέγουτες οὐδὲν· ἂν δὲ ἄμαρτω, φάναι Πέρσαι τε λέγειν ἀληθεὰ καὶ με μὴ σωφρονεῖν." ταῦτα δὲ εἰπόντα καὶ διατείναντα τὸ τόξον βαλεῖν τὸν παῖδα, πεσόντος δὲ τοῦ παιδὸς ἀνασχίζειν αὐτὸν κελεύειν καὶ σκέψασθαι τὸ βλήμα· ὡς δὲ ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ εὑρεθῆναι ἑνεόντα τὸν ὑποτό, εἰπεῖν πρὸς τὸν πατέρα τοῦ παιδὸς γελάσαντα καὶ περιχαρέα γεγομένου "Πρήξαστες, ὡς μὲν ἐγὼ τε σὺ μαίνομαι Πέρσαι τε παραφρονέουσι, δηλά τοι γέγονε. νῦν δὲ μοι εἰπέ, τίνα εἰδες ἧδη πάντων ἀνθρώπων οὐτω ἐπίσκοπα τοξεύοντα;" Πρήξαστε ταῦτα ἄνδρα οὐ φρενήρεα καὶ περὶ ἑνῶτο υδέμαντο εἰπεῖν "Δέσποτα, οὐδὲν ἂν αὐτὸν ἐγογε δοκέω τὸν θεόν οὐτω ἄν καλῶς βαλεῖν." τότε μὲν ταῦτα ἐξεργάσατο, ἐτέρωθι δὲ Περσέων ὁμοίους τοῦσι πρώτοισι δυνάκε έπ' οὐδεμήν αἰτή άξιοχρέω ἔλων ξώντας ἑπὶ κεφαλῆς κατώρυξε.

36. Ταύτα δὲ μιν ποιεῖντα ἔδικαίωσε Κροίσος ὁ Λυδὸς νουθετήσαι τοίσιδε τοίσι ἔπει. "Ω βασιλεὔ, μὴ πάντα ἡλικίᾳ καὶ θυμῷ ἐπίτραπε, ἀλλ' ἱσχε καὶ καταλάμβανε σεωντόν· ἁγαθόν τι πρόνοιαν εἶναι, σοφὸν δὲ ἡ προμηθής. σὺ δὲ κτείνεις μὲν ἄνδρας σεωντοῦ πολιτάς ἐπ' οὐδεμήν αἰτή άξιοχρέω ἔλων, κτείνεις δὲ παιδας. ήπ' δὲ πολλὰ τοιαύτα ποιέσις, ὅρα ὅκως μὴ σεν ἀποστήσουντα Πέρσαι. ἐμοὶ δὲ πατὴρ σὸς Κύρος ἐνετέλλετο πολλὰ κελεύων σε νουθετεῖειν καὶ ὑποτίθεσθαι ὁ τι ἄν εὑρίσκω ἁγαθόν." δὲ μὲν δὴ εὐνοίην φαίνων συνεβούλευν ταύτα· δ' ἀμείβετο τοίσιδε. "Σὺ
when they so speak of me. Yonder stands your son in the porch; now if I shoot and pierce his heart, that will prove the Persians to be wrong; if I miss, then say that they are right and I out of my senses.” So saying he drew his bow and hit the boy, and bade open the fallen body and examine the wound: and the arrow being found in the heart, Cambyses laughed in great glee and said to the boy’s father: “It is plain, Prexaspes, that I am in my right mind and the Persians mad; now tell me: what man in the world saw you ever that shot so true to the mark?” Prexaspes, it is said, replied (for he saw that Cambyses was mad, and he feared for his own life), “Master, I think that not even the god himself could shoot so true.” Thus did Cambyses then; at another time he took twelve Persians, equal to the noblest in the land, proved them guilty of some petty offence, and buried them head downwards and alive.

36. For these acts Croesus the Lydian thought fit to take him to task, and thus addressed him: “Sire, do not ever let youth and passion have their way; put some curb and check on yourself; prudence is a good thing, forethought is wisdom. But what of you? you put to death men of your own country proved guilty of but a petty offence; ay, and you kill boys. If you do often so, look to it lest the Persians revolt from you. As for me, your father Cyrus earnestly bade me counsel you and give you such advice as I think to be good.” Croesus gave him this counsel out of goodwill; but Cambyses answered: “It is very
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καὶ ἐμοὶ τολμᾷς συμβουλεύειν, δε χρηστώς μὲν τὴν σεωτοῦ πατρίδα ἐπετρόπευσας, εὔ δὲ τῷ πατρὶ τῷ ἐμῷ συνεβούλευσας, κελεύων αὐτὸν Ἀράξεα ποταμὸν διαβάντα ἴναι ἐπὶ Μασσαγέτας, βουλομένων ἐκεῖνων διαβαίνειν ἐστὶ τὴν ἡμετέρην, καὶ ἀπὸ μὲν σεωτοῦ ὠλέσας τῆς σεωτοῦ πατρίδος κακῶς προστάσας, ἀπὸ δὲ ὠλέσας Κύρον πειθόμενον σοὶ, ἀλλ’ οὐτὶ χαίρων, ἐπεὶ τοι καὶ πάλαι ἐς σὲ προφασίος τε ἐδεόμης ἐπιλαβέσθαι.” ταῦτα δὲ εἶται ἐλάμβανε τὸ τόξον ὡς κατατοξεύον αὐτόν, Κροίσος δὲ ἀναδραμὼν ἔθεε ἐξω. ὃ δὲ ἐπείτε τοξεύεσαι οὐκ εἰχέ, ἐνετείλατο τοῖς θεράπονσι λαβόντας μιν ἀποκτεῖναί. οἱ δὲ θεράποντες ἐπιστάμενοι τὸν τρόπον αὐτοῦ κατακρύπτουσι τὸν Κροίσον ἐπὶ τὸ δὲ τὸ λόγον ὡστε, εἰ μὲν μεταμελήσῃ τῷ Καμβύσῃ καὶ ἐπικηρύξῃ τὸν Κροίσον, οὐ δὲ ἐκφύγωσε αὐτόν δῶρα λάμψοντες ξωάγρια Κροίσον, ἢν δὲ μὴ μεταμεληθῇ μηδὲ ποθέ μιν, τότε καταχράσθαι. ἐπόθησε τε δὴ ὁ Καμβύσης τὸν Κροίσον οὐ πολλῷ μετέπειτα χρόνῳ οὕστερον, καὶ οἱ θεράποντες μαθόντες τοῦτο ἐπηγγέλλοντο αὐτῷ ὡς περείγῃ. Καμβύσης δὲ Κροίσῳ μὲν συνήδεσθαι ἐφ’ ἐπειδῶς, ἐκείνους μὲν τοὺς περιποιήσαντας οὐ καταπροξεσθαι ἀλλ’ ἀποκτενεῖν καὶ ἐποίησε ταῦτα.

37. Ὅ μὲν δὴ τοιαῦτα πολλὰ ἐς Πέρσας τε καὶ τοὺς συμμάχους ἐξεμαίνετο, μένων ἐν Μέμφι καὶ θῆκας τε πάλαις ἀνόιγων καὶ σκεπτόμενος τοὺς νεκροὺς. ὃς δὲ δὴ καὶ ἐς τοῦ Ἡφαίστου τὸ ἱρὸν ἠλθε καὶ πολλὰ τῷ ἀγάλματι κατεγέλασε. ἔστι γὰρ τοῦ Ἡφαίστου τῷ γάλα τού σει Φοινικήσι Παταίκουσι ἐμφερέστατον, τοὺς οἱ Φοινίκες ἐν
BOOK III. 36–37

well that you should dare to counsel me too; you, who
governed your own country right usefully, and gave
fine advice to my father—bidding him, when the
Massagetae were willing to cross over into our lands,
to pass the Araxes and attack them; thus you
wrought your own ruin by misgoverning your country,
and Cyrus's by overpersuading him. Nay, but you
shall rue it; long have I waited for a pretext to deal
with you.” With that Cambyses took his bow to
shoot him dead; but Croesus leapt up and ran out;
and Cambyses, being unable to shoot him, charged
his attendants to take and kill him. They, knowing
Cambyses’ mood, hid Croesus; being minded, if Cam-
byses should repent and seek for Croesus, to reveal
him and receive gifts for saving his life; but if he
should not repent nor wish Croesus back, then to
kill the Lydian. Not long after this Cambyses did
wish Croesus back, perceiving which the attendants
told him that Croesus was alive. Cambyses said that
he too was glad of it; but that they, who had saved
Croesus alive, should not go scot free, but be killed;
and this was done.

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

¹ The Phoenician Πάταίκος (as the Greeks called him) was
the Ptah or Patah of Egypt whom the Greeks identified
with Hephaestus; always in the form of a dwarf.
ΗΡΟΔΟΤΟΣ

τῇς πρώησι τῶν τριηρέων περιάγονσί. δὲ δὲ
tούτους μὴ ὅπωστε, δὲ δὲ σημανέων πυγμαῖον ἀνδρὸς
μύμησις ἦστι. ἐσῆλθε δὲ καὶ ἐσι τῶν Καβείρων τὸ
ἱρόν, ἐς τὸ θεμιτὸν ἐστὶ ἐσίεναι ἀλλον γε ἢ τὸν
ἱρέα. ταῦτα δὲ τὰ ἀγάλματα καὶ ἐνέπρησε πολλὰ
κατασκόψεις. ἔστι δὲ καὶ ταῦτα ὁμοία γοῦσι τού
Ἡφαίστου τούτου δὲ σφέασ παῖδας λέγουσι εἶναι.

38. Πανταχῇ ὅμως καὶ δὴλα ἐστὶ ὁ ἐμάνη
μεγάλως ὁ Καμβύσης· ὃ τυ νὰ ἱροῖσι τε καὶ
νομαίοις ἐπεχείρησε καταγελάν. εἰ γὰρ τις προ-
θεί τὸ σι ἀνθρώποις ἐκλέξασθαι κελεύουν νόμους
τοὺς καλλίστους ἐκ τῶν πάντων νόμων, διασκε-
ψάμενοι ἄν ἐλοίατο ἐκαστοι τοὺς ἐσπυρῶν· οὕτω
νομίζουσι πολλὸν τοι καλλίστους τοὺς ἐσπύρων
νόμους ἐκαστοι εἶναι. οὐκών οἰκὸς ἐστὶ ἄλλον γε
ἡ μαυρόμενον ἄνδρα γέλωτα τὰ τοιαύτα τίθεσθαι.
ὐς δὲ οὕτω νευμίκασι τὰ περὶ τοὺς νόμους πάντες
ἀνθρῶποι, πολλοίς τε καὶ ἀλλοις τεκμηρίουσι
πάρεστι σταθμώσασθαι, ἐν δὲ δὴ καὶ τὰῦδε. Δαρείος
ἐπὶ τῆς ἐσπύρο ἀρχῆς καλέσας Ἑλλήνων τοὺς
παρεόντας εἴρετο ἐπὶ κόσῳ ἃν χρήματι βουλοῖα
τοὺς πατέρας ἀποθυνόσκοντας καταστιέσθαι· οἴ
dὲ ἐπὶ οὐδεὶν ἐφασαν ἔρδευν ἅν τοῦτο. Δαρείος
δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα καλέσας Ἰνδῶν τοὺς καλεομένους
Καλλατίας, ἥ τοὺς γονέας κατεσθίουσι, εἴρετο,
παρεόντων τῶν Ἑλλήνων καὶ ἡ ἔρμηνεος μανθα-
νόντων τὰ λεγόμενα, ἐπὶ τίνι χρήματι δεξιάτ'. ἅν
τελευτῶν τοὺς πατέρας κατακαὶεν πυρί· οἴ δὲ
ἀμβδώσαντες μέγα εὐφημεέων μὲν ἐκέλευον. οὕτω
μὲν τοι ταῦτα νενόμιστα, καὶ ὅρθος καὶ δοκεῖ
Πίνδαρος ποίησαι νόμον πάντων βασιλεὰ φήγας
εἶναι.

50.
prow of their triremes. I will describe it for him who has not seen these figures: it is in the likeness of a dwarf. Also he entered the temple of the Cabeiri, into which none may enter save the priest; the images here he even burnt, with bitter mockery. These also are like the images of Hephaestus, and are said to be his sons.

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

1 Apparently from Sanskrit Kāla=black.
2 νόμος ὃ τόν τῶν βασιλεὺς θανάτων τε καὶ ἠθανάτων; quoted in Plato's Gorgias from an otherwise unknown poem of Pindar.
39. Καμβύσεω δὲ ἐπ’ Ἀγγυπτον στρατευομένου ἐποίησαντο καὶ Δακεδαιμόνιοι στρατηγὴν ἔπι Σάμον τε καὶ Πολυκράτεα τὸν Αἰάκεος· δς ἐσχέ Σάμου ἐπαναστάς, καὶ τὰ μὲν πρῶτα τριχῇ δασάμενος τὴν πόλιν . ¹ τοῦτο ἀδελφεῖσι Πανταγώτῳ καὶ Συλοσῶτι ἐνείμε, μετὰ δὲ τὸν μὲν αὐτῶν ἀποκτείνας τὸν δὲ νεώτερον Συλοσῶτα ἐξελάσας ἐσχε πᾶσαν Σάμον, σχὼν δὲ ξεινίν Ἄμαις τῷ Ἀγγυπτῷ βασιλεί συνεθήκατο, πέμπτω τε δῶρα καὶ δεκόμενος ἄλλα παρ’ ἐκείνου. ἐν χρόνῳ δὲ ὅλῳ αὐτίκῳ τοῦ Πολυκράτεος τὰ πρῆγματα ἠξεταὶ καὶ ἦν βεβωμένα ἀνά τε τὴν Ἰωνίην καὶ τὴν ἄλλην Ἐλλάδα· ὅκου γὰρ ἰδύσειε στρατεύεσθαι, πάντα οἱ ἔχορει εὐτυχεῖς. ἐκτεταὶ δὲ πεντηκοντέρους τε ἐκατον καὶ χιλίους τοξώτας, ἐφερε δὲ καὶ ἤρε πάντας διακρίνων οὐδένα· τῷ γὰρ φίλῳ ἐγε χαριεῖσθαι μᾶλλον ἀποδιδοῦσα τα ἔλαβε ἢ ἄρχην μηδε λαβὼν. συχνὰς μὲν δὴ τῶν νήσων ἄραιρῆκε, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ τῆς ἤπειρον ἀστεά· ἐν δὲ δὴ καὶ Δεσβίους πανστρατι βοηθοῦντας Μιλησίοις ναυμαχίᾳ κρατήσας ἔλε, οἱ τὴν τά- φρον περί τὸ τεῖχος τὸ ἐν Σάμῳ πᾶσαν δεδεμένοι ὄρμεαν.

40. Καὶ κως τὸν Ἄμασιν εὐτυχεῶν μεγάλως ὁ Πολυκράτης οὐκ ἐλάνθανε, ἀλλὰ οἱ τούτῳ ἦν ἔτιμελές. πολλῷ δὲ ἐτὶ πλεῖνος οἱ εὐτυχίας γινο- μένης γράψας ἐς βυβλίον τάδε ἐπέστειλε ἐς Σάμον. ἃς Ἀμασίς Πολυκράτει ὃδε λέγει. ἦδυ μὲν πυθα- νεθαι ἀνέρα φίλον καὶ ξεινῶν εὑ πρήσοντα· ἢμοι δὲ αἱ σαὶ μεγάλαι εὐτυχίαι οὐκ ἄρέσκουσι, τὸ θεῖον ἐπισταμένω ὡς ἐστὶ φθονερῶν· καὶ κως βοῦ-

¹ σῶν or ἡμα is probably omitted.
BOOK III. 39-40

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

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

¹ Probably in 532 B.C.
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λομαι καὶ αὐτὸς καὶ τῶν ἀν κηδωμαί τὸ μὲν τι εὐτυχεῖν τῶν πρηγμάτων τὸ δὲ προσπταίειν, καὶ οὔτω διαφέρειν τῶν αἰώνα ἐναλλὰξ πρήσσων ή εὐτυχεῖν τὰ πάντα. οὖδένα γάρ κω λόγῳ οἶδα ἀκούσας ὅστις ἐς τέλος οὐ κακῶς ἐπελεύησε πρόρρηζος, εὐτυχεῶ τὰ πάντα. σὺ νυν ἐμοὶ πει-
θόμενος ποίησον πρὸς τὰς εὐτυχίας τοιάδε. φρον-
tίσας τὸ ἂν εὗρης ἐν τοι πλείστου ἄξιων καὶ ἐπὶ ὧν ἀπολομένῳ μάλιστα τῇν ψυχήν ἀλγήσεις, τοῦτο ἀπόβαλε οὔτω ὁκὼς μηκέτι ἥξει ἐς ἀνθρώ-
πους. ήν τε μὴ ἐναλλάξ ἤδη τῷτο τούτῳ αἱ εὐτυχίαι τοι τῆς πάθος προςπίπτωσι, τρόπῳ τῷ ἐξ ἐμεῖ υποκειμένῳ ἀκέο."  

41. Ταῦτα ἐπιλεξάμενος ὁ Πολυκράτης καὶ νόμο

λαβὼν ὡς ἐς ὑπετίθετο Ἀμασίς, ἐδίζητο ἐπὶ ὧ
ἀν μάλιστα τῇν ψυχήν ἀσθείει ἀπολομένῳ τῶν κειμηλίων, διζήμενος δὲ εὐρισκε τόδε. ἤν ὁι σφη-
γίς τῇν ἑφόρει χρυσόδετος, σμαράγδου μὲν ἄλθου
εὔσα, ἑργον δὲ ἦν Θεοδώρου τοῦ Τηλεκλέος Σαμίου.
ἐπεὶ ὃν ταῦτην ὁ ἐδοκεὶ ἀποβάλειν, ἐποίεε τοιάδε-
πεντηκόντερον πληρώσας ἀνδρῶν ἐσεβὴ ἐς αὐτῆ
μετὰ δὲ ἀναγαγεὶν ἐκέλευε ἐς τὸ πέλαγος. ὡς δὲ
ἀπὸ τῆς νήσου ἑκεῖ ἑγένετο, περιελόμενος τῇ
σφραγίδα πάντων ὀρῶν τῶν συμπλῶν ῥίπτει
ἐς τὸ πέλαγος. τοῦτο δὲ ποιήσας ἀπέπλεε, ἀπι-
κόμενος δὲ ἐς τὰ οἰκία συμφόρη ἔχρατο.  

42. Πέμπτη δὲ ἡ ἐκτη ἡμέρη ἀπὸ τοῦτων τάδε

οἱ συνήνεικε γενέσθαι. ἀνὴρ ἀλευς λαβὼν ἴχθυν
μέγαν τε καὶ καλὸν ἥξιον μν Πολυκράτει ἄρον
dohínav. φέρων δὴ ἐπὶ τᾶς θύρας Πολυκράτει
ἐφή ἑθέλειν ἐλθεῖν ἐς ὄψιν, χωρῆσαντος δὲ οἱ
τοῦτον ἐλεγε διδοὺς τῶν ἴχθων "Ὁ βασιλεῦ, ἐγὼ
the gods; and I do in some sort desire for myself
and my friends a mingling of prosperity and mishap,
and a life of weal and woe thus chequered, rather
than unbroken good fortune. For from all I have
heard I know of no man whom continual good fortune
did not bring in the end to evil, and utter destruc-
tion. Therefore if you will be ruled by me do this
to mend your successes: consider what you deem
most precious and what you will most grieve to lose,
and cast it away so that it shall never again be seen
among men; then, if after this the successes that
come to you be not chequered by mishaps, strive to
mend the matter as I have counselled you.”

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

42. But on the fifth or sixth day from this it so
befell that a fisherman, who had taken a fine and
great fish, and desired to make it a gift to Polycrates,
brought it to the door and said that he wished to be
seen by Polycrates. This being granted to him, he gave
the fish, saying: “O King, I am a man that lives by
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tόνδε ἐλών οὐκ ἐδικαίωσα φέρειν ἐς ἀγορήν, καίπερ ἐων ἀποχειρόβιτος, ἀλλά μοι ἐδόκεε σεῦ τε εἶναι ἁξίως καὶ τῆς σῆς ἀρχῆς. σοι δή μιν φέρων δίδωμι."

d' ἰδεις τούτι ἐπεσε ἀμείβεται τοῦτις. "Κάρτα τε εὖ ἐποίησας καὶ χάρις διπλῆ τῶν τε λόγων καὶ τοῦ δώρου, καὶ σε ἐπὶ δεῖτον καλέομεν." ἐκ δὲ ἁλευὼς μέγα ποιεύμενος ταῦτα ἦσε τὰ περίκα, τὸν δὲ ἰκθὸν τάμνοντες οἱ θεράποντες εὐρίσκουσι ἐν τῇ νησίῳ αὐτοῦ ἐνεώσαν τὴν Πολυκράτεος σφρηγίδα. ὡς δὲ εἰδὼν τε καὶ ἐλαβὼν τάχιστα, ἔφερον κεχαρικότες παρὰ τὸν Πολυκράτηα, διδοῦντες δὲ οἱ τῆς σφρηγίδα ἔλεγον ὅτεφ τρόπῳ εὐρέθη. τὸν δὲ ὡς ἔσηλθε θείου εἶναι τὸ πρήγμα, γράφει ἐς βυβλίων πάντα τὰ ποιήσαντά μιν οἶα καταλαβήκε, γράφας δὲ ἐς Αἰγυπτον ἐπέθηκε.

43. Ἐπιλεξάμενος δὲ Ὁ Ἀμασίς τὸ βυβλίων τὸ παρὰ τὸν Πολυκράτεος ἦκον, ἔμαθε ὅτι ἐκκομίσαι τε ἀδύνατον εἰς ἀνθρώπῳ ἀνθρώπων ἐκ τοῦ μέλλοντος γίνεσθαι πρήγματος, καὶ ὅτι οὐκ εὑ τελευτήσειν μέλλοις Πολυκράτης εὐτυχεῶν τὰ πάντα, ὅσ καὶ τὰ ἀποβάλλει εὐρίσκει. πέμψας δὲ οἱ κήρυκα ἐς Σάμον διαλύσθαι ἐφή τὴν ξεινίαν. τούδε δὲ εἰκενε ταῦτα ἐποίεε, ἵνα μὴ συντυχίας δεινῆς τε καὶ μεγάλης Πολυκράτεα καταλαβούσης αὐτὸς ἀληθεῖε τὴν ψυχήν ὥς περὶ ξεινοῦ ἀνδρός.

44. Ἐπὶ τούτων δὴ ὅπο τὸν Πολυκράτηα εὐτυχέοντα τὰ πάντα ἐστρατεύοντο Δακεδαμώνιοι, ἐπικαλεσάμενοι τῶν μετὰ ταῦτα Κυδωνίαν τὴν ἐν Κρήτῃ κτισάντων Σαμών ἐπέμψας δὲ κήρυκα λάθρη Σαμών Πολυκράτης παρὰ Καμβύσεα τῶν Κύρου συλλέγοντα στρατὸν ἐπ᾽ Αἰγυπτον, ἐδεήθη ὅκως ἄν καὶ παρ᾽ ἐωτῶν πέμψας ἐς Σάμον δέοιτο.
his calling; but when I caught this fish I thought best not to take it to market; it seemed to me worthy of you and your greatness; wherefore I bring and offer it to you." Polycrates was pleased with what the fisherman said; "You have done right well," he answered, "and I give you double thanks, for your words and for the gift; and I bid you to dinner with me." Proud of this honour, the fisherman went home; but the servants, cutting up the fish, found Polycrates' seal-ring in its belly; which having seen and taken they brought with joy to Polycrates, gave him the ring, and told him how it was found. Polycrates saw the hand of heaven in this matter; he wrote a letter and sent it to Egypt, telling all that he had done, and what had befallen him.

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

44. It was against this ever-victorious Polycrates that the Lacedaemonians now made war, being invited thereto by the Samians who afterwards founded Cydonia in Crete. Polycrates had without the knowledge of his subjects sent a herald to Cambyses son of Cyrus, then raising an army against Egypt, to ask that Cambyses should send to Samos too and require
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στρατοῦ. Καμβύσης δὲ ἀκούσας τούτων προθύμως ἐπεμψε ἡς-Σάμων δεόμενος Πολυκράτεος στρατὸν ναυτικὸν ἁμα πέμψαι ἐωτυ τῆς Αἰγυπτοῦ. δὲ ἐπιλέξας τῶν ἀστῶν τοὺς ὑπότευε μάλιστα ἐς ἑπανάστασιν ἀπέτεμπε τεσσαράκοντα τριήρεις, ἐντειλάμενος Καμβύση ὅπισώ τούτων μὴ ἀποπέμπειν.

45. Οὐ μὲν δὴ λέγουσι τοὺς ἀποπεμφθέντας Σαμίων ὑπὸ Πολυκράτεος οὐκ ἀπικέσθαι ἐς Αἰγυπτοῦ, ἀλλ' ἔπειτε ἐγένοντο ἐν Καρπάθῳ πλέοντες, δοῦναι σφίσι λόγον, καὶ σφὶ ἄδειν τῷ προσωτέρῳ μηκέτι πλέειν· οὔ δὲ λέγουσι ἀπικομένους τε ἐς Αἰγυπτοῦ καὶ φυλασσομένους ἔνθετεν αὐτοὺς ἀποδρήσαι. καταπλέουσι δὲ ἐς τὴν Σάμων Πολυκράτης νυνὶ ἀντιάσας ἐς μάχην κατέστην ψυχήσαντες δὲ οἱ κατιόντες ἀπέβησαν ἐς τὴν νῆσον, πεξομαχίζομεν τε ἐν αὐτῇ ἔσπομῆσαν, καὶ οὕτω δὴ ἔπλεον ἐς Λακεδαίμονα. εἰσὶ δὲ οὗ λέγουσι τοὺς ἀπὸ Αἰγυπτοῦ νυκῆσαι Πολυκράτεα, λέγουσε δὲ ἐμοὶ δοκεέων οὐκ ὅρθων· οὐδὲν γὰρ ἔδει σφέας Λακεδαίμοιον ἐπικαλέσθαι, εἰ περ αὐτὸν ἤσαν ἰκανὸν Πολυκράτεα παραστήσασθαι. πρὸς δὲ τούτοις οὐδὲ λόγος αἱρεῖε, τῷ ἐπίκουροι τε μισθωτοὶ καὶ τοξῶται οἰκήματι ἤσαν πλῆθεί πολλοί, τούτων ὑπὸ τῶν κατιόντων Σαμίων ἐούσων ὅλογων ἔσοσθήναι. τῶν δὲ ὑπὸ ἑωτυ ἐούσων πολιτέων τὰ τέκνα καὶ τὰς γυναικὰς ὁ Πολυκράτης ἐς τοὺς νεωσοίκους συνειλήσας εἴχε ἑτούμους, ἢν ἄρα προδίδοσι οὐτοὶ πρὸς τούς κατιόντας, ὑποπρήσαι αὐτοῖς τοῖς νεωσοίκοις.

46. Ἐπεῖτε δὲ οἱ ἐξελάσθεντες Σαμίων ὑπὸ Πολυκράτεος ἀπίκουσι ἐς τὴν Σπάρτην, κατα-
BOOK III. 44-46

men from him. On this message Cambyses very readily sent to Samos, asking Polycrates to send a fleet to aid him against Egypt. Polycrates chose out those townsmen whom he most suspected of planning a rebellion against him, and sent them in forty triremes, charging Cambyses not to send the men back.

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

46. When the Samians who were expelled by Polycrates came to Sparta, they came before the
στάντες ἐπὶ τὰς ἀρχοντας ἔλεγον πολλα οἰα κάρτα δεόμενοι: οὐ δὲ σφὶ τῇ πρώτῃ καταστάσι ὑπεκρίναντο τὰ μὲν πρώτα λεχθέντα ἐπιελήθησαι, τὰ δὲ ὑστατα οὐ συνίεναι. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα δεύτερα καταστάντες ἄλλο μὲν εἶπον οὐδὲν, θύλακον δὲ φέροντες ἐθάνατον τὸν θύλακον ἄλφιτων δέεσθαι. οὐ δὲ σφὶ ὑπεκρίναντο τῷ θυλάκῳ περιεργάσθαι: βοηθείεν δ’ οὖν ἐδοξέ αὐτοῦς.

47. Καὶ ἔπειτα παρασκευασάμενοι ἔστρατον Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἐπὶ Σάμου, ὡς μὲν Σάμιοι λέγουσι, εὐεργεσίας ἐκτίνοντες, ὃτι σφὶ πρότεροι αὐτοὶ ῥυσι ἐβοήθησαν ἐπὶ Μεσσηνίους· ὡς δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι λέγουσι, οὐκ οὔτω τιμωρήσαι δειμένοι Σαμίοις ἔστρατουν ὡς πίσασθαι βοηλομένου τοῦ κρητήρως τῆς ἀρταγής, τοῦ ἤγου Κροίσω, καὶ τὸν θώρηκος, τὸν αὐτοῖς Ἀμάης ὁ Ἀγάπτου βασίλευς ἐπεμψε δόρον. καὶ γαρ θώρηκα ἐλπίσαντο τῷ προτέρῳ ἔτει ἢ τὸν κρητήρα οἱ Σάμιοι, ἑντα μὲν λίνεον καὶ ζυών ἐνυφασμένων συχνῶν, κεκοσμημένου δὲ χρυσῷ καὶ εἰρίσασαι ὑπὸ ξύλων· τῶν δὲ εἴνεκα θωμάσα ἄξιον, ἁρπεδώνῃ ἐκάστη τοῦ θώρηκος ποτεῖς· ἐούσα γὰρ λεπτὴ ἤχει ἁρπεδώνας ἐν ἐωτη τρικοσίας καὶ ἔξηκοντα, πάσας φανεράς. τοιοῦτος ἔτερος ἐστὶ καὶ τὸν ἐν Δίνῳ ἄνέθηκε τῇ Ἀθηναίᾳ Ἀμάης.

48. Συνεπελάβοντο δὲ τοῦ στρατεύματος τοῦ ἐπὶ Σάμου ὡστε γενέσθαι καὶ Κορίνθιοι προβοῦσιν· ὑβρισμα γὰρ καὶ ἕκ τούτους εἶχε ἐκ τῶν Σάμων γενόμενον γενεῆ πρότερον τοῦ στρατεύματος τούτου, κατὰ δὲ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον τοῦ κρητήρος τῇ ἀρταγῆ γεγονός. Κερκυραίων γὰρ παῖδας τρικοσίους ἀνδρῶν τῶν πρώτων Περίανδρος ὁ Κυψέλου ἐς 60
ruling men and made a long speech to show the greatness of their need. But the Spartans at their first sitting answered that they had forgotten the beginning of the speech and could not understand its end. After this the Samians came a second time with a sack, and said nothing but this: "The sack wants meal." To this the Spartans replied: "Your 'sack' was needless"\(^1\); but they did resolve to help them.

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

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

\(^1\) It would have been enough (the Lacedaemonians meant) to say \(\alpha\lambda\phi\iota\tau\omicron\upsilon\ δ\delta\epsilon\tau\alpha\iota\), without using the word \(\theta\upsilon\lambda\alpha\kappa\omicron\).
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Σάρδις ἀπέπεμψε παρὰ 'Αλμάττεα ἐπ' ἐκτομῇ προσεχόντων δὲ ἐσ τὴν Σάμου τῶν ἀγώντων τούς παιδὰς Κορινθίων, πυθόμενοι οἱ Σάμιοι τὸν λόγον, ἐπ' οἷοι ἀγοίατο ἐσ Σάρδις, πρῶτα μὲν τοὺς παιδὰς ἐδίδαξαν ἵροι άψασθαι 'Αρτέμιδος· μετὰ δὲ οὖ περιορώντες ἀπέλκειν τοὺς ἱκέτας ἐκ τοῦ ἵροῦ, σιτίων δὲ τοὺς παιδὰς ἔργοντων Κορινθίων, ἐποίησαντο οἱ Σάμιοι ὅρτην, τῇ καὶ νῦν ἔτι χρεώνται κατὰ ταύτα, νυκτὸς γὰρ ἐπιγενομένης, ὅσον χρόνον ἱκέτευον οἱ παῖδες, ἵστασαν χοροὺς παρθένων τε καὶ ηθέων, ἱστάντες δὲ τοὺς χοροὺς τρωκτὰ σεράμου τε καὶ μέλιτος ἐποίησαντο νόμον φέρεσθαι, ἱνα ἀρπάζοντες οἱ τῶν Κερκυραίων παῖδες ἑχοίεν τροφῆν. ἐς τούτο δὲ τόδε ἐγίνετο, ἐς δ οἱ Κορίνθιοι τῶν παιδῶν οἱ φύλακοι οἰχοῦντο ἀπολιπόντες· τοὺς δὲ παιδὰς ἀπήγαγον ἐς Κέρκυραν οἱ Σάμιοι.

49. Εἰ μὲν νῦν Περιάνδρου τελευτήσαντος τοῖς Κορινθίοισι φίλα ἡν πρὸς τοὺς Κερκυραίους, οἱ δὲ οὐκ ἀν συνελάβοντο τοῦ στρατεύματος τοῦ ἐπὶ Σάμου ταύτης εἰνεκεν τῆς αἰτίας. νῦν δὲ αἰεὶ ἐπείτε ἐκτισαν τὴν νήσου εἰς ἄλληλοις διάφοροι, ἐώντες ἔωστοίς . . . 1 τούτων δὲ εἰνεκέν ἀπεμνησικάκεον τοῖς Σαμίοισι οἱ Κορίνθιοι.

50. 'Απέπεμπε δὲ ἐς Σάρδις ἐπ' ἐκτομῇ Περί-ανδρος τῶν πρῶτων Κερκυραίων ἐπιλέξας τοὺς παιδὰς τιμωρεύμενος· πρότεροι γὰρ οἱ Κερκυραίοι ἦρξαν ἐς αὐτοὺς πρήγμα ἀτάσθαλον ποιήσαντες. ἐπείτε γὰρ τὴν ἑωτοῦ γυναῖκα Μέλισσαν Περί-ανδρος ἀπέκτεινε, συμφορὴν τοιήνδε οἱ ἄλλην

1 I assume in translation that some word, συγγενέες or ὅμαλμοι, has dropped out.

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

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

50. It was in vengeance that Periander chose the sons of the notable Corecyraeans and sent them to Sardis to be made eunuchs; for the Corecyraeans had first begun the quarrel by committing a terrible crime against him. For after killing his own wife Melissa, Periander suffered yet another calamity besides what
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συνέβη πρὸς τῇ γεγονυῖᾳ γενέσθαι. ἦσαν οἱ ἐκ Μελίσσης δύο παῖδες, ἡλικίην ὁ μὲν ἐπτακαίδεκα ὁ δὲ ἀκτωκαίδεκα ἔτεα γεγονός. τούτους ὁ μητροπάτωρ Προκλέης ἐδώ 'Εσπιδαύρου τύραννος μεταπεμφάμενος παρ' ἐωτύν ἐφιλοφρονεῖτο, ὡς οἶκος ἦν θυγατρὸς ἕοντας τῆς ἐωτοῦ παίδας. ἐπείτε δὲ σφέας ἀπεπέμπετο, εἶτε προπέμπον αὐτοῦς "Ἀρα ἵστε, ὁ παῖδες, ἃς ὑμέων τὴν μητέρα ἅπεκτειν;" τοῦτο τὸ ἔπος ὁ μὲν πρεσβύτερος αὐτῶν ἐν οὐδείς λόγῳ ἐποιήσατο· ὁ δὲ νεώτερος, τῷ οἴνῳ ἦν Δυκάφρων, ἠλπήσει ακουόσας οὕτω ὡστε ἀπικόμενος ἐς τὴν Κόρινθον ἀτε φονεά τῆς μητρὸς τὸν πατέρα οὔτε προσεῖπε, διαλεγομένῳ τε οὔτε προσδιελέγετο ἰστορεώντι τοὺς λόγους οὐδένα ἐδίδον. τέλος δὲ μιν περιθύμως ἔχων ὁ Περίανδρος ἐξελαύνει ἐκ τῶν οἰκίων.

51. Ἐξελάσας δὲ τούτων ἰστόρεε τῶν πρεσβύτερον τά σφι ὁ μητροπάτωρ διελέχθη. ὁ δὲ οἱ ἀπηγέετο ὡς σφέας φιλοφρόνως ἐδέξατο· ἐκεῖνον δὲ τοῦ ἔπεος τὸ σφι ὁ Προκλής ἀποστέλλων εἶπε, ἀτε οὐ νόμο λαβών, οὐκ ἐμέμνητο. Περίανδρος δὲ οὐδεμίαν μηχανήν ἔφη εἶναι μη ὁ σφι ἐκεῖνον ὑποθέσαι τι, ἑλπάρες το ἰστορέων· ὁ δὲ ἀναμησθεὶς εἰπε καὶ τοῦτο. Περίανδρος δὲ νόμο λαβὼν [καὶ τοῦτο]¹ καὶ μαλακὸν ἐνδίδοναι βουλόμενος οὐδέν, τῇ ὁ ἐξελασθεῖς ὡς αὐτοῦ παῖς διάιται ἐπόεετο, ἐς τούτοις πέμπων ἀγγελον ἀπηγόρευε μὴ μιν δέκεσθαι οἰκίοιοι. ὁ δὲ ὅκως ἀπελαινόμενος ἐλθον εἰς ἀλλήν οἰκίην, ἀπηλαύνει ἀν καὶ ἀπὸ ταύτης, ἀπειλέωντος τοῦ Περίανδρον τοῦτοι δεξαμένους καὶ ἐξέργειεν κελεύοντος· ἀπελαυνό-

¹ Stein brackets καὶ τοῦτο, as a repetition from the last line.

64.
had already befallen him. He had two sons by Melissa, one seventeen and one sixteen years old. Their mother’s father, Procles, the despot of Epidaurus, sent for the boys and kindly entreated them, as was natural, seeing that they were his own daughter’s sons. When they left him, he said as he bade them farewell: “Know you, boys, him who slew your mother?” The elder of them paid no heed to these words; but the younger, whose name was Lycophron, was struck with such horror when he heard them that when he came to Corinth he would speak no word to his father, as being his mother’s murderer, nor would he answer him when addressed nor make any reply to his questions. At last Periander was so angry that he drove the boy from his house.

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

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μενος δ' ἄν ἦμε ἐπ' ἐτέρην τῶν ἑταῖρων· οἱ δὲ ἄτε Περιάνδρου ἐόντα παῖδα καὶ περ δεμαίνοντες ὄμως ἐδέκοντο.

52. Τέλος δὲ ὁ Περιάνδρος κήρυγμα ἐποιήσατο, δς ἂν ἡ οἰκίσεις ὑποδέχηται μιν ἡ προσδιαλεγθή, ἵρην ξημήν τοῦτο τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι ὁφείλειν, ὅσην ἢ ἐπασ. πρὸς ὃν δὴ τοῦτο τό κήρυγμα οὔτε τίς οἱ διαλέγεσθαι οὔτε οἰκίσεις δέκεσθαι ἠθελε· πρὸς δὲ οὐδὲ αὐτὸς ἐκεῖνος ἐδικαίον πειρᾶσθαι ἀπειρημένων, ἀλλὰ διακαρτερέων ἐν τῇ στοίχῃ ἐκαλυπέτου. τετάρτη δὲ ἡ μέρη ἴδων μιν ὁ Περιάνδρος ἀλούσις ἐρᾷ καὶ ἀστίγμα συμπεπτωκότα οἰκτειρέ· υπείς δὲ τῇς ὀργῆς ἢμε ἄσσον καὶ ἔλεγεν ἴω παῖ, κότερα τούτων αἱρετότερα ἐστί, ταύτα τὸ νῦν ἔχων πρῆσαι, ἡ τὴν τυραννίδα καὶ τὰ ἄγαθα τὰ νῦν ἐγὼ έχω, ταύτα ἐόντα τῷ πατρὶ ἐπιτῆδεον παραλαμβάνειν, ὃς ἔων ἐμὸς τέ παῖς καὶ Κορίθου τῆς εὐδαιμονος βασιλευσ ἀλήτην βίον εἶλεν, ἀντιςτατέων τε καὶ ὀργῇ χρεῶμενος ἐς τὸν σε ἡκίστα ἐχρήν. εἰ γὰρ τις συμφορὴ ἐν αὐτόις γέγονε, ἐξ ἦς ὑποψίην ἐς ἔμε ἔχεις, ἐμοί τε αὕτη γέγονε καὶ ἐγὼ αὕτης τὸ πλεῖν μέτοχος εἰμί, ὅσω αὑτός σφαὶ εξεργασάμην. σὺ δὲ μαθὼν ὅσῳ φθονεσθαι κρέσσου ἐστὶ καὶ οἰκτείρεσθαι, ἀμα τοις κρίνεις καὶ τοῖς κρέσσους τεθυμῶσθαι, ἀπίθι ἐς τὰ ὀικία. Περιάνδρος μὲν τοῦτοι αὐτὸν κατελάμβανε· δὲ ἄλλο μὲν οὐδὲν ἀμείβεται τὸν πατέρα, ἐφ' ἄν ἴρην ξημήν οὔτε ἐν τῷ θεῷ ἐωτῷ ἐς λόγους ἀπικόμουν. μαθὼν δὲ ὁ Περιάνδρος ὡς ἀπορόν τι τὸ κακὸν εἰς τοῦ παιδὸς καὶ ἀνίκητον, εἰς ὀφθαλμῶν μιν ἀποστέπεται στείλας πλοῖον ἐς Κέρκυραν· ἐπεκράτεε γὰρ καὶ ταύτης.
BOOK III. 51-52

out; so he would go, when driven forth, to some other house of his friends, who, though they were afraid, did yet receive him as being Periander's son.

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

53. Ἔπει δὲ τοῦ χρόνου προβαίνοντος ὁ τε Περίανδρος παρῆβηκε καὶ συνεγινόσκετο ἔως τῷ θάνατῳ ὁ δὲ παρῆβηκε καὶ συνεγινόσκετο ἔως τῷ θάνατῳ τῆς Ἐπιδαύρου. Ἔπον τῷ Περίανδρῳ παρῆβηκε καὶ συνεγινόσκετο ἔως τῷ θάνατῳ τῆς Ἐπιδαύρου. Ἔπον τῷ Περίανδρῳ παρῆβηκε καὶ συνεγινόσκετο ἔως τῷ θάνατῳ τῆς Ἐπιδαύρου.
BOOK III. 52-53

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

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

54. Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ στόλῳ μεγάλῳ ὡς ἀπί-κοντο, ἐπολιόρκεον Σάμον· προσβαλόντες δὲ πρὸς τὸ τείχος τοῦ μὲν πρὸς θαλάσσῃ ἐστεώτως πῦργον κατὰ τὸ προαστείων τῆς πόλεως ἐπέβησαν, μετὰ δὲ αὐτοῦ βοηθήσαντος Πολυκράτεος χειρὶ πολλῇ ἀπηλάθησαν. κατὰ δὲ τὸν ἐπάνω πῦργον τὸν ἐπὶ τῆς ράχιος τοῦ ὅρεος ἐπεύνατο ἐπεξήλθον οἱ τε ἐπίκουροι καὶ αὐτῶν Σαμίων συνχοι, δεξάμενοι δὲ τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους ἐπ’ ὅλην χρόνον ἐφευγον ὁπίσω, οἱ δὲ ἐπισπόμενοι ἐκτείνον.

55. Εἰ μὲν νυν οἱ παρεόντες Λακεδαιμονίων ὁμοίοι ἐγένουτο ταύτην τὴν ἡμέρην Ἀρχίς τε καὶ Λυκώπην, αἰρέθη ἀν Σάμος· Ἀρχίς γὰρ καὶ Λυκώπης μοῦνοι συνεσπεσόντες φεύγουσι ἐς τὸ τείχος τοῖς Σαμίωσι καὶ ἀποκλησθέντες τῆς ὁπίσω ὅδοι ἀπέθανον ἐν τῇ πόλι τῇ Σαμίων. τρίτῳ δὲ ἄπ' Ἀρχίς οὐς τούτους θεογονίτη ἄλλω Ἀρχίς τῷ Σαμίῳ τοῖς Ἀρχίσῳ αὐτῶς ἐν Πιτάνῃ συνεγενόμην (ὅμοιο γὰρ τούτου ὄν), δὴ ξείνους πάντων μάλιστα ἐτίμα τε Σαμίωσι καὶ οἱ τῷ πατρὶ ἔφη Σάμιων τούνομα τεθῆναι, δι’ οἱ τὸν πατήρ Ἀρχίς ἐν Σάμῳ ἀριστεύσας ἐτελεύτησε· τιμῶν δὲ Σαμίως ἔφη, διότι ταφῆναι οἱ τὸν πάππον δημοσίῃ ἤπο Σαμίων.
to make Lycophron, when he came, despot in his place. The son consented to this; Periander made ready to go to Corcyra and Lycophron to go to Corinth; but when the Corecyraeans learnt of all these matters they put the young man to death, lest Periander should come to their country. It was for this that Periander desired vengeance upon them.

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

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

1 A part of the town of Sparta; Herodotus calls it by the Attic name of δῆμος; the Peloponnesian word would be κώμα.
56. Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ, ὡς σφι τεσσεράκοντα ἐγεγόνεσαν ἡμέραι πολιορκέουσι Σάμων ἡς τὸ πρῶσο τε οὐδὲν προεκόπτετο τῶν προγμάτων, ἀπαλλάσσοντο ἐς Πελοπόννησον. ὡς δὲ ὁ ματαιότερος λόγος ὄρμηται, λέγεται Πολυκράτεα ἐπιχώριον νόμισμα κόψαντα πολλῶν μολύβδου καταχρυσώσαντα δοῦναι σφι, τοὺς δὲ δεξαμένους οὕτω δὴ ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι. ταύτην πρώτην στρατηγὴν ἐς τὴν Ἀσίνην Λακεδαιμόνιοι Δωριέες ἐποίησαν.

57. Οἱ δ’ ἐπὶ τὸν Πολυκράτεα στρατευσάμενοι Σαμίων, ἐπεὶ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι αὐτούς ἀπολπεῖν ἐμελλον, καὶ αὐτοὶ ἀπέπλευον ἐς Σίφνον, χρημάτων γὰρ ἐδέοντο, τὰ δὲ τῶν Σιφνίων πρήγματα ἤκμαζε τοῦτον τῶν χρόνων, καὶ νησιωτέων μάλιστα ἐπιλούτευον, ἄτε ἐόντων αὐτοῖς ἐν τῇ νήσῳ χρυσέως καὶ ἀργυρέως μετάλλων, οὕτω ὡστε ἀπὸ τῆς δεκάτης τῶν γινομένων αὐτόθεν χρημάτων θησαυρὸς ἐν Δελφοῖς ἀνάκειται δμόια τοῖς πλουσιώτατοισιν αὐτοῖ δὲ τὰ γινόμενα τῷ ένιαυτῷ ἐκάστῳ χρήματα διενέμοντο. ὅτε δὲ ἐποιεῖντο τὸν θησαυροῦ, ἠχρέωτο τῷ χρηστηρίῳ εἰ αὐτοῖς τὰ παρεόντα ἀγαθὰ οἶλα τε ἐστὶ πολλὸν χρόνον παραμένειν ὥστε Πυθίη ἠχρησε σφι τάδε.

"Ἀλλ’ ὅταν ἐν Σίφνῳ πρωτανήμια λευκά γενήται λεύκοφρυς τ’ ἁγορή, τότε δὴ δεῖ φράδμονος ἀνδρός φράσσασθαι ξυλινὸν τε λόχον κήρυκα τ’ ἐρυθρόν.

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

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

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

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

1 Not the first expedition, that is, made by any inhabitants of Laconia, Achaeans from that country having taken part in the Trojan war.
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58. Τούτον τὸν χρησμὸν οὐκ οἶοι τε ἦσαν γνώναι οὔτε εἴνδε οὔτε τῶν Σαμίων ἀπιγμένων. ἐπείτε γὰρ τάχιστα πρὸς τὴν Σίφνων προσίσχον οἱ Σάμιοι, ἐπεμπον τῶν νεῶν μίαν πρέσβειαν ἄγονον ἔσῃ τὴν πόλιν. τὸ δὲ παλαιὸν ἀπασαὶ αἰ νεῖς ἦσαν μιλτηλφέεις, καὶ ἦν τούτο τὸ Ἡ Πυθίη προηγόρευε τοῖς Σιφνίοις, φυλάξασθαὶ τὸν ξύλινον λόχων κελεύουσα καὶ κήρυκα ἐρυθροῦν. ἀπικόμενοι δὲν οἱ ἄγγελοι ἔδεοντες τῶν Σιφνίων δέκα τάλαντά σφι χρήσαν: οὐ φασκόντων δὲ χρήσεων τῶν Σιφνίων αὐτοίς, οἱ Σάμιοι τοὺς χώρους αὐτῶν ἐπόρθεον. πυθόμενοι δὲ εἰθεὸς ἦκον οἱ Σιφνίοι βοηθόντες καὶ συμβαλόντες αὐτοῖς ἔσσασθαν, καὶ αὐτῶν πολλοὶ ἀπεκληρίσθησαν τοῦ ἀστεοῦ ὑπὸ τῶν Σαμίων, καὶ αὐτῶν μετὰ ταῦτα ἑκατὸν τάλαντα ἔπρηξαν.

59. Παρὰ δὲ Ἐρμονέων νῆσον ἀντὶ χρημάτων παρέλαβον Ἀδρέην τὴν ἐπὶ Πελοποννήσῳ καὶ αὐτὴν Δρισθηνίους παρακατέθειτο. αὐτοὶ δὲ Κυδωνίη τὴν ἐν Κρήτῃ ἐκτίσαν, οὐκ ἐπὶ τούτο πλέοντες ἀλλὰ Ζακυνθίους ἐξελόντες ἐκ τῆς νῆσος. ἐμείναν δὲν ἐν ταύτῃ καὶ εὐδαιμόνθησαν ἐπὶ ἔσον πέντε, διότι ὅτα ἐν Κυδωνίῃ ἐόντα νῦν οὐκ ἐστὶν οἱ ποιήσαντες [καὶ τὸν τῆς Δικτώνης νῆον]. ἐκτὸς δὲ ἔτει Αἰγύπτου αὐτοῦς ναυμαχὴν νικήσαντες ἡμιδραποδίσαντο μετὰ Κρητῶν, καὶ τῶν νεῶν κατρίσους ἐχουσέων τάς πρόχειρας ἡμιοτηρίσαν καὶ ἀνέθησαν ἐς τὸ ἤρον τῆς Ἀθηναίας ἐν Αἴγυπτῳ ταῦτα δὲ ἐποίησαν ἐγκοτοῦ ἐχοντες Σαμίοις

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

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

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

1 μιλτοπάρης is one of the Homeric epithets of ships.
Αἰγινῆται πρότεροι γάρ Σάμοι έπ' Ἀμφίκρατεος βασιλεύοντος ἐν Σάμῳ στρατευσάμενοι έπ' Αἰγιναν μεγάλα κακὰ ἐποίησαν Αἰγινῆτας καὶ ἔπαθον ὑπ’ ἐκεῖνων. ἡ μὲν αὐτὴ αὐτῇ.

60. Ἔμηκυνα δὲ περὶ Σαμίων μᾶλλον, ὅτι σφι τρία ἐστὶ μέγιστα ἀπάντων Ἑλλήνων ἐξεργασμένα, ὅρεος τε ὑψηλοῦ ἐς πεντήκοντα καὶ ἐκατὸν ὁργυιάς, τούτου ὅρυγμα κάτωθεν ἀρξάμενον, ἀμφίστομον. τὸ μὲν μῆκος τοῦ ὅρυγματος ἐπτὰ στάδιοι εἰσὶ, τὸ δὲ ύψος καὶ εὐρος ὀκτὼ ἐκατέρων πόδες. διὰ παντὸς δὲ αὐτοῦ ἄλλο ὅρυγμα εἰκοσίπηχον βάθος ὄρφυκται, τρίτων δὲ τὸ εὐρος, δι' οὗ τὸ ὕψωρ ὀχυτευόμενον διὰ τῶν σωλήνων παραγίνεται ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἁγόμενον ἀπὸ μεγάλης πηγῆς. ἀρχιτέκτων δὲ τοῦ ὅρυγματος τούτου ἐγένετο Μεγαρεύς Εὐπαλίνος Ναυστρόφου. τούτῳ μὲν δὴ ἐν τῶν τριῶν ἐστὶ, δεύτερον δὲ περὶ λιμένα χῶμα ἐν θαλάσσῃ, βάθος καὶ εἴκοσι ὁργυιάς μῆκος δὲ τοῦ χώματος μέξον δύο στάδιων. τρίτων δὲ σφι ἐξεργασταὶ νηὺς μέγιστος πάντων νηῶν τῶν ἡμείς ἱδμεν τοὺς ἀρχιτέκτων πρῶτος ἐγένετο Ῥώκος Φιλέω ἐπιχώριος. τούτων εἶνεκεν μᾶλλον τι περὶ Σαμίων ἐμῆκυνα.

61. Καμβύση δὲ τῷ Κύρου χρονίζοντι περὶ 
Αἰγυπτοῦ καὶ παραφρονῆσαι ἐπανιστέαται 
ἀνδρεὶς Μάγοι δύο ἀδελφεῖ, τῶν τῶν ἔτερον καταλελοίπε τῶν οἰκίων μελεδωνὸν ὁ Καμβύσης. οὗτος 
δὴ ὡν οἱ ἐπανέστη μαθῶν τε τῶν Σερδίως θάνατον 
ὡς κρύπτοιτο γενόμενος, καὶ ως ὅλιγοι εἶχον αἱ 76
BOOK III. 59–61

Amphicrates was king of Samos they had sent an army against Aegina, whereby now the Samians and now the Aeginetans had suffered great harm. Such was the cause of the feud.

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

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

¹ Remains of this work show that the tunnel was only 1100 feet long.
² The story dropped at ch. 38 is now taken up again.
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ἐπιστάμενοι αὐτὸν Περσέων, οί δὲ πολλοὶ περιε-όντα μὲν εἰδείτησαν. πρὸς ταύτα βουλεύομε τάδε ἐπεχείρησε τοῦτο βασιλείοισι. ἦν οἱ ἀδελφοί, τὸν εἰτὰ οἱ συνεταναστήναι, οἰκῶς μάλιστα τὸ εἶδος Σμέρδι τῷ Κύρου, τὸν ὁ Καμβύσης ἕντα ἐωντοῦ ἀδελφού ἀπέκτεινε· ἦν τε δὴ ὅμοιος εἶδος τῷ Σμέρδι καὶ δὴ καὶ ὀνύμα τῶντο ἐχει Σμέρδιν. τούτον τὸν άνδρα ἀναγνώσας ὁ Μάγος Πατιζείθης ὡς οἱ αὐτοῦ πάντα διαπρῆξει, εἰσε ἀγών ἐς τὸν βασιλέα θρόνον. ποιήσας δὲ τούτο κήρυκας τῇ τε ἀλλή διέσημε καὶ δὴ καὶ ἐς Αἴγυπτου προερέ-οντα τῷ στρατῷ ὡς Σμέρδιος τοῦ Κύρου ἀκουστεά εἰ ὁ λοιπῷ ἀλλ᾽ οὐ Καμβύσεω.

62. Οἳ τε δὴ ὅν ἀλλοι κήρυκες προηγόρευον ταύτα καὶ δὴ καὶ ὁ ἔπῃ Αἴγυπτου ταχθεῖς, εὐρίσκει γὰρ Καμβύσεα καὶ τὸν στρατὸν ἔοντα τῆς Συρίης ἐν Ἀγβατάνοισι, προηγόρευε στὰς ἐς μέσων τὰ ἐντεταλμένα ἐκ τοῦ Μάγου. Καμβύσης δὲ ἀκου-σας ταύτα ἐκ τοῦ κήρυκος καὶ ἐλπίσας μὴ λέγειν ἄλθεα αὐτός τε προδεόσθαι ἐκ Πρηξάσπεος (πεμφθέντα γὰρ αὐτοῦ ὃς ἀποκτενέοντα, Σμέρδιον οὐ ποιήσαν ταύτα), βλέψας ἐς τὸν Πρηξάσπεα εἶπεν "Πρηξάσπης, οὔτω μοι διετρήξαι τὸ τοῦ προσέβηκα πρῆγμα;" ὁ δὲ εἶπεν "Ὅ δέ δεσποτα, ὅκ ἔστι ταύτα ἄλθεα, οὐκ ἐστὶ νεκρὸν τοῦ νεκρὸν ται ἡ μέγα ἡ σμικρῶν ἐγὼ γὰρ αὐτός, ποιήσας τὰ σὺ με ἐκέλευς, ἔθανα μιν χεροὶ τῆς ἐμεκνοῦ. εἰ μὲν νῦν οἱ τεθνεῖτες ἀνέστασιν, προσδέκετο τοι καὶ Ἀστυνάγεα τοῦ Μῆδουν ἐπαναστήσεσθαι· εἰ δὲ ἔστιν ὡσπερ πρὸ τοῦ, οὐ μή τι τοι ἐκ γε ἐκείνου νεώτερον ἀναβλάστη. νῦν ὄν 78
and that few persons knew of it, most of them believing him to be still alive. Therefore he thus plotted to gain the royal power: he had a brother, his partner, as I said, in rebellion; this brother was very like in appearance to Cyrus’ son, Smerdis, brother of Cambyses and by him put to death; nor was he like him in appearance only, but he bore the same name also, Smerdis. Patizeithes the Magian persuaded this man that he, Patizeithes, would manage the whole business for him; he brought his brother and set him on the royal throne; which done, he sent heralds to all parts, one of whom was to go to Egypt and proclaim to the army that henceforth they must obey not Cambyses but Smerdis the son of Cyrus.

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

63. Ταύτα εἰπάντος Πρηξάσπεος, ἥρεσε γὰρ Καμβύς, αὐτίκα μεταδιώκτως γενόμενος ὁ κήρυξ ἦκε· ἀπηγμένον δὲ μιν εἰρετο ὁ Πρηξάστης τάδε. "Ὡνθρωπε, φήσι γὰρ ἦκεν παρὰ Σμέρδιος τοῦ Κύρου ἄγγελος· νῦν ὁν ἐπιὰς τὴν ἀληθείαν ἀπῆκυνε χαίρον, κότερα αὐτὸς τοῦ Σμέρδιος φαινόμενος ἐς ὅψιν ἐνετελέστε ταύτα ἢ τῶν τις ἐκείνου ὑπηρετεῖν." ὁ δὲ εἶπε "Ἐγὼ Σμέρδιν μὲν τὸν Κύρου, ἐξ ὅτεν βασιλεὺς Καμβύς ἦλασε ἐς Αἰγυπτίων, οὐκ ὅπως· ὁ δὲ μοι Μάγος τὸν Καμβύς ἐπιτροπὸν τῶν οἰκίων ἀπέδεξε, οὗτος ταύτα ἐνετεῖλατο, φᾶς Σμέρδιν τὸν Κύρου ἐνεί τὸν ταύτα ἐπιθέμενον εἶπαι πρὸς ὑμέας." ὁ μὲν δὴ σφι ἐλεγεν ὅπως ἐπικατεψευσμένος, Καμβύς ἄλλος δὲ εἶπε "Πρηξάστης, σὺ μὲν οία ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς ποιήσας τὸ κελευόμενον αἰτίην ἐκπέφυγας· ἐμοὶ δὲ τις ἄν εἰς Περσῶν ὁ ἐπανεστῶς ἐπιβατεύων τοῦ Σμέρδιος οὐνόματος;" ὁ δὲ εἶπε "Ἐγὼ μοι δοκέω συνέναι τὸ γεγονὸς τοῦτο, ὁ βασιλεὺς· οἱ Μάγοι εἰσὶ τοι ὁ ἐπανεστῦτος, τὸν τε ἐλιπες μελεδουν τῶν οἰκίων, Πατιζείθης, καὶ ὁ τοῦτο ἀδελφεὸς Σμέρδις.

64. Ἐνθαῦτα ἀκούσαντα Καμβύς οἰκείᾳ ἐν τῷ Σμέρδιος ὀνόμαθα ἔτυψε ἦ ἀληθεία τῶν τε λόγων καὶ τοῦ ἐνυπνίου· δέ εἴδοκεν ἐν τῷ ὑπνῷ ἀπαγγείλαι τινά οἱ ὁς Σμέρδις ἱζόμενος ἐς τὸν βασιλῆιον θρόνου παύσει τῇ κεφαλῇ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ. μαθὼν δὲ ὡς μάτην ἀπολωλέκκως εἶν τὸν ἄδελφέος, ἀπέκλαιε Σμέρδιν ἀποκλαύσας δὲ καὶ περιημεκτησάς τῇ
therefore this is my counsel, that we pursue after this herald and examine him, to know from whom he comes with his proclamation that we must obey Smerdis as our king.”

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

64. At the name of Smerdis, Cambyses was smitten to the heart by the truth of the word and the fulfilment of his dream; for he had dreamt that a message had come to him that Smerdis had sat on the royal throne with his head reaching to heaven; and perceiving that he had killed his brother without cause, he wept bitterly for Smerdis. Having wept his fill, in great grief for all his mishap,
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άπαση συμφορή ἀναθρώσκει ἐπὶ τὸν ῥπαῖο, ἐν νόῳ ἐχον τὴν ταχιστήν ἐς Σοῦσα στρατεύεσθαι ἐπὶ τὸν Μάγον. καὶ οἱ ἀναθρώσκοντες ἐπὶ τὸν ῥπαῖο τοῦ κολεοῦ τοῦ ξίφους ὁ μύκης ἀποπιπτεῖ, γυμνοθὲν δὲ τὸ ξίφος παῖε τὸν μηρόν τρωματισθεὶς δὲ κατὰ τοῦτο τῇ αὐτῷ πρότερον τὸν τῶν Αἰγυπτίων θεοῦ Ατιν ἔπληξε, ὡς οἱ καρίῆ ἐδοξε τετύφθαι, εἰρετο ὁ Καμβύσης ὃ τι τῇ πόλι οὖνομα εἶχεν οὐδὲν ὅτι Ἀγβάταια. τῷ δὲ ἔτι πρότερον ἐκέχρηστο ἐκ Βουτοῦς πόλιος ἐν Ἀγβατανοισὶ τελευτήσει τοῦ βίου. ὁ μὲν δὲ ἐν τοῖς Μηδικοῖς Ἀγβατανοισὶ ἐδόκεε τελευτήσειν γηραιός, ἐν τοῖς εἴ τι ἐν τὰ πάντα προήματα τῷ δὲ χρηστήριον ἐν τοῖς ἐν Συρίῃ Ἀγβατανοισὶ ἐλεγε ἄρα. καὶ δὴ ὡς τότε ἐπειρόμενος ἐπύθετο τῆς πόλεως τοῦ οὖνομα, ὅπο τῆς συμφορῆς τῆς τε ἐκ τοῦ Μάγου ἐκπεπληγμένος καὶ τοῦ τρόματος ἐσωφρόνησε, συλλαβών δὲ τὸ θεοπρόπιον εἶπεν “Ἐνθαῦτα Καμβύσεα τὸν Κύρον ἐστὶ πεπρωμένον τελευτῶν.”

65. Τότε μὲν τοσαῦτα. ἡμέρησι δὲ υστερον ὡς έκοσι μεταπεμψάμενος Περσέων τῶν παρεύτων τοὺς λογισμάτως ἐλεγε σφι τάδε. “Ω Πέρσαι, καταλελάβησέ με, τὸ πάντων μάλιστα ἐκρυπτὼν πρηγμάτων, τούτο ἐδοκεὶς ἐκφηναι. ἦγω γὰρ ἐων ἐν Αἰγυπτῷ έδοξεν νυν ἐν τῷ ὑπνῷ, τὴν μηδαμώ ὀφελον ιδεῖν. ἐδοκεαν δὲ μοι ἀγγέλου ἐλθόντα ἐξ οἰκου ἀγγέλλειν ὡς Σμέρδες ιζόμενος ἐς τὸν βασιλέων βρόνον ψαύσει τῇ κεφαλῇ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ. δὲισα δὲ μὴ ἀπαρεθέσω τὴν ἀρχὴν πρὸς τοῦ ἀδελφεοῦ, ἐποίησα ταχύτερα ἄν σοφότερα εἰν τῇ γὰρ ἀνθρωπηθῇ φύσι οὐκ ἐνήν ἄρα τὸ μέλλον

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

65. At this time he said no more. But about twenty days after, he sent for the most honourable of the Persians that were about him, and thus addressed them: "Needs must, Persians! that I declare to you a matter which I kept most strictly concealed. When I was in Egypt, I saw in my sleep a vision that I would I had never seen; methought a messenger came from home to tell me that Smerdis had sat on the royal throne, his head reaching to heaven. Then I feared that my brother would take away from me my sovereignty, and I acted with more haste than wisdom; for (as I now
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γίνεσθαι ἀποτράπευν. ἦν δὲ ὁ μάταιος Πρηξά-
σπεα ἀποτέμπω ἐς Σοῦσα ἀποκτενέοντα Σμέρδιν. ἐξεργασθέντος δὲ κακοῦ τοσούτου ἄδειώς δαιτώμην, ὦδαμα ἐπιλεξάμενος μὴ κοτέ τίς μοι Σμέρδιος ὑπαραίρημένου ἄλλος ἐπανασταί ἀνθρώπων. παντὸς δὲ τοῦ μέλλοντος ἐσεθαί ἀμαρτῶν ἀδελ-
φεκτόνος τε οὔδὲν δέον γέγονα καὶ τῆς βασιληίδος οὐδὲν ἦσον ἐστέρημαι. Σμέρδις γὰρ δὴ ἦν ὁ Μάγος τὸν μοι ὁ δαίμων προέφαινε ἐν τῇ ὁψὶ ἐπαναστήσεθαι. τὸ μὲν δὴ ἔργον ἐξεργασταὶ μοι, καὶ Σμέρδιν τὸν Κύρου μηκέτι ὑμῖν ἐόντα λογίζεσθε· οἱ δὲ ὑμῖν Μάγοι κρατέουσι τῶν βασι-
ληίδων, τὸν τε ἐλπίδιν ἐπίτροπον τῶν οἰκίων καὶ ὁ ἐκεῖνον ἅδελφεος Σμέρδις. τὸν μὲν γὰρ καὶ 

κρῆν ἔμευ αἰσχρὰ πρὸς τῶν Μάγων πεπουθότος 

τιμωρέειν ἔμοι, οὗτος μὲν ἀνοσίως μόρφω τετελευτηκε 

ὑπὸ τῶν ἐωτοῦ ὀικηστάτων· τοῦτον δὲ μηκέτι 

ἐόντος, δεύτερα τῶν λοιπῶν ὑμῖν ὁ Πέρσαι γίνεται 

μοι ἀναγκαίωτατον ἐντέλλεσθαι τὰ θέλω μοι γενέ-

σθαι τελευτῶν τῶν βίων· καὶ δὴ ὑμῖν τάδε ἐπισκή-

πτω θεοὺς τοὺς βασιληίδους ἐπικαλέων καὶ πᾶσι 

ὑμῖν καὶ μάλιστα Ἀχαιμενίδεων τούτι παρεοὐσί, 

μὴ περιδεῖν τὴν ἄγεμον ἀυτής ἐς Ὀμόδους 

περιελθοῦσαν, ἀλλ’ εἰτε δὸλῳ ἔχουσι αὐτὴν κτη-

σάμενοι, δὸλῳ ἄπαιρέθηναι υπὸ ὑμέων, εἰτε καὶ 

σθένει τεῷ κατεργασάμενοι, σθένει κατὰ τὸ καρ-

τεροῦ ἀνασώσασθαι. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ποιεῦσι ὑμῖν 

γῇ τε καρπῶν ἐκφέροι καὶ γυναίκες τε καὶ ποίμαι 

τίκτοιεν, ἔσοις ἐς τῶν ἄπαντα χρόνον ἔλευθεροις· 

μὴ δὲ ἀνασώσαμένοις τὴν ἀρχήν μηδ’ ἐπιχειρή-

σασι ἀνασώζειν τὰ ἐναντία τούτοις ἀρῶμαι 

ὑμῖν γενέσθαι, καὶ πρὸς ἔτι τούτοις τὸ τέλος
BOOK III. 65

see) no human power can turn fate aside; fool that I was! I sent Prexaspes to Susa to slay Smerdis. When that great wrong was done I lived without fear, for never did I think that when Smerdis was taken out of my way another man might rise against me. So did I wholly mistake what was to be; I have slain my brother for no cause, and lost my kingship none the less; for the rebel foretold by heaven in the vision was Smerdis the Magian. Now I have done the deed, and I would have you believe that Smerdis Cyrus' son no longer lives; you see the Magians masters of my royal estate, even him that I left steward of my house, and his brother Smerdis. So then he that especially should have avenged the dishonour done me by the Magian lies foully slain by his nearest kinsman; and he being no longer in life, necessity constrains me, in his default, to charge you, men of Persia, with the last desire of my life. In the name of the gods of my royal house I charge all of you, but chiefly those Achaemenids that are here, not to suffer the sovereignty to fall again into Median hands; if they have won it by trickery, trick them of it again; if they have wrested it away by force, then do you by force and strength of hand recover it. And if you so do, may your land bring forth her fruits, and your women and your flocks and herds be blessed with offspring; but if you win not back the kingdom nor essay so to do, then I pray that all may go
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Περσέων ἐκάστῳ ἐπιγενέσθαι οἶον ἐμὸλ ἐπιγέγονε." ἀμα τε εἰπας ταῦτα ὁ Καμβύσης ἀπεκλαία πᾶσαν τὴν ἑωτοῦ πρήξιν.

66. Πέρσαι δὲ ὡς τὸν βασιλέα εἶδον ἀνακλαύσαντα πάντες τὰ τε ἐσθήτος ἐχόμενα ἐξον, ταύτα κατηρείκοντο καὶ οἰμωγὴ ἀφθόνῳ διεχρέωτο. μετὰ δὲ ταύτα ὡς ἐσφακέλισέ τε τὸ ὀστέον καὶ ὁ μηρὸς τάχιστα ἐσάπη, ἀπήνεικε Καμβύσεα τὸν Κύρου, βασιλεύσαντα μὲν τὰ πάντα ἔπτα ἔτεα καὶ πέντε μῆνας, ἀπαιδά δὲ τὸ παράπαν ἐόντα ἔρσενος καὶ θῆλεος γόνοι. Περσέων δὲ τοιοὶ παρεούσι ἀπιστίᾳ πολλῇ ὑπεκέχυτο τοὺς Μάγους ἔχειν τὰ πρήγματα, ἀλλ’ ἡπιστέατο ἐπὶ διαβολῆ εἰπεῖν Καμβύσεα τὰ εἰπε περὶ τοῦ Σμέρδιος βανάτου, ὡς οἱ ἐκπολεμωθῆ πᾶν τὸ Περσικὸν. οὔτω μὲν νυν ἡπιστέατο Σμέρδιν τὸν Κύρου βασιλέα ἐνεστεώτα: δεινῶς γὰρ καὶ ὁ Πρηξύστης ἔξαρνος ἦν μὴ μὲν ἀποκτεῖναι Σμέρδιν οὐ γὰρ ἢν οἱ ἀσφαλὲς Καμβύσεως τετελευτηκότος φάναι τὸν Κύρου νῦν ἀπολωλεκέναι αὐτοχείρῃ.

67. Ὡ δὲ δὴ Μάγος τελευτήσαντος Καμβύσεως ἀδεῶς ἐβασίλευσε, ἐπιβατεύων τοῦ ὀμωνύμου Σμέρδιος τοῦ Κύρου, μῆνας ἔπτα τοὺς ἐπιλοίπους Καμβύση ἐς τὰ ὀκτὼ ἔτεα τῆς πληρώσεως ἐν τοῖς ἀπεδέξατο ἐς τοὺς ὑπηκόους πάντας εὐεργεσίας μεγάλας, ὥστε ἀποθανόντος αὐτοῦ πόθῳ ἔχειν πάντας τοὺς ἐν τῇ Ἀσίῃ πάρεξ αὐτῶν Περσέων. διαπέμψας γὰρ ὁ Μάγος ἐς πᾶν ἔθνος τῶν ἄρχει προείπε αὐτεῖν εἰναι στρατηγὸς καὶ φόρον ἐπ’ ἔτεα τρία.

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

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

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

68. Such was his proclamation at the beginning of his reign; but in the eighth month it was revealed who
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τρόπῳ τοιώδε. Ὄταν ἡ Φαρνάσπεω μὲν παῖς, γένει δὲ καὶ χρήμασι ὁμοίως τῷ πρώτῳ Περσέων. οὕτως ὁ Ὅταν ἡ πρώτος ὑπώτευσε τῶν Μάγου ὡς οὐκ εἰη ὁ Κύρου Σμέρδις ἄλλ’ ὃς περ ἡν, τῇ δε συμβαλόμενος, ὅτι τε οὐκ ἐξεφόβητα ἐκ τῆς ἀκροπόλιος καὶ ὅτι οὐκ ἐκάλεε ἐς ὅτιν ἔωτῷ οὐδένα τῶν λογίμων Περσέων ὑποτεύσασα δὲ μὲν ἐποίεε τάδε. ἔσχε αὐτοῦ Καμβύσης θυγατέρα, τῇ ὑμορᾷ ἡν Φαίδυμης τῇ αὐτῆν δὴ ταύτην εἰχε τότε ὁ Μάγος καὶ ταύτῃ τε συνοίκεε καὶ τῇ αἴλησι πάσης τῇ τοῦ Καμβύσηω γυναιξί. πέμπων δὴ ὁ Ὅταν παρά ταύτην τῇ θυγατέρα ἐπυνθάνετο παρ’ ὅτε ἀνθρώπων κοιμότια, εἶτε μετὰ Σμέρδιος τοῦ Κύρου εἶτε μετὰ ἄλλου τευ. ἦ δὲ αὐτέπεμπε φαμένη οὗ γινώσκειν οὔτε γὰρ τὸν Κύρου Σμέρδιν ἴδεσθαι οὐδαμὰ οὔτε ὅστις εἰη ὁ συνοικέων αὐτῇ εἰδέναι. ἔπεμπε δεύτερα Ὅταν λέγων “Ἐι μὴ αὐτή Σμέρδιν τὸν Κύρου γινώσκεις, σὺ δὲ παρὰ Ἀτόσσης πῦθεν ὅτερ τούτῳ συνοικεῖε αὐτῇ τε ἐκείνῃ καὶ σὺ πάντως γὰρ δὴ κου τὸν γε ἔωτῆς ἀδελφοῦ γινώσκει.”

69. Ἀντιπέμπει πρὸς ταύτα ἡ θυγάτηρ “Οὔτε Ἀτόσσῆ δύναμαι ἐς λόγους ἐλθεῖν οὔτε ἄλλην οὐδεμίαν ἴδεσθαι τῶν συγκατημενέων γυναικῶν. ἐπείτε γὰρ τάχιστα οὕτως ἀνθρώπως, ὅστις κοτὲ ἔστι, παρέλαβε τὴν βασιλήν, διεσπειρὴ ἡμέας ἄλλην ἄλλη τάξας.” ἀκούοντι δὲ ταῦτα τῷ Ὅταν μᾶλλον κατεφαίνετο τὸ πρῆγμα. τρίτην δὲ ἀγγελίην ἐσπέμπει παρ’ αὐτὴν λέγουσαν ταύτα. “Ὡθύγατερ, δεῖ σε γεγονυίαν εῦ κινδυνον ἀναλαβέσθαι τὸν ἀν ὁ πατὴρ ὑποδύνειν κελεύῃ. εἰ γὰρ δὴ μὴ ἔστι ὁ Κύρου Σμέρδις ἄλλα τὸν καταδοκεῖω
he was, and this is how it was done:—There was one Otanes, son of Pharnaspes, as well-born and rich a man as any Persian. This Otanes was the first to suspect that the Magian was not Cyrus' son Smerdis but his true self; the reason was, that he never left the citadel nor summoned any notable Persian into his presence; and in his suspicion—Cambyses having married Otanes' daughter Phaedyme, whom the Magian had now wedded, with all the rest of Cambyses' wives—Otanes sent to this daughter, asking with whom she lay, Smerdis, Cyrus' son, or another. She sent back a message that she did not know; for (said she) she had never seen Cyrus' son Smerdis, nor knew who was her bedfellow. Then Otanes sent a second message, to this effect: "If you do not yourself know Cyrus' son Smerdis, then ask Atossa who is this that is her lord and yours; for surely she knows her own brother."

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

ἐγὼ, οὗτοι μιν σοί τε συγκοιμώμενον καὶ τὸ Περσέων κράτος ἔχουτα δεὶ χαῖροντα ἀπαλλάσσειν, ἄλλα δοῦναι δίκην. υὔν ὁν ποίησον τάδε· ἐπεὰν σοι συνεύδη καὶ μάθης αὐτὸν κατυπνωμένον, ἄφασον αὐτοῦ τὰ ὅτα· καὶ ἢν μὲν φαίνεται ἔχων ὅτα, νόμιζε σεωτὴν Σμέρδι τῷ Κύρου συνοικεῖν, ἢν δὲ μὴ ἔχων, ὀν δὲ τῷ Μάγῳ Σμέρδι." ἁντιπέμπει πρὸς ταύτα ἡ Φαιδύμη φαμένη κινδυνεύσειν μεγάλως, ἢ ποιέῃ ταύτα· εἰ γὰρ δὴ μὴ τυχχάνει τὰ ὅτα ἔχων, ἐπίλαμπτος δὲ ἄφασσουσα ἔσται, εἰν εἰδέναι ὡς ἀιστώσει μιν' ὁμως μέντοι ποιήσειν ταύτα. ἢ μὲν δὴ ὑπεδέξατο ταύτα τῷ πατρὶ κατεργάσεσθαι. τοῦ δὲ Μάγου τούτου τοῦ Σμέρδιος Κύρος ὁ Καμβύσεως ἄρχων τὰ ὅτα ἀπέταμε ἐπ' αἰτία δὴ τινὶ οὐ σμικρῇ. ἡ δὲ Φαιδύμη αὐτῆ, ἡ τοῦ Ὀτάνου θυγάτηρ, πάντα ἐπιτελέουσα τὰ ὑπεδέξατο τῷ πατρὶ, ἐπείτε αὐτῆς μέρος ἐγίνετο τῆς ἀπίξιος παρὰ τὸν Μάγον (ἐν περιτροπῇ γὰρ δὴ αἱ γυναῖκες φοιτεύουσι τοῖς Πέρσῃς), ἐλθοῦσα παρ' αὐτὸν ηὔδε, ὑπνωμένου δὲ καρτερῶς τοῦ Μάγου ἤφασε τὰ ὅτα. μαθοῦσα δὲ οὐ χαλεπῶς ἀλλ' εὐπτετέως οὐκ ἔχοντα τὸν ἄνδρα ὅτα, ὡς ἡμέρη τάχιστα ἐγεγόνε, πέμψασα ἐσήμην τῷ πατρὶ τὰ γεγονέναι.

70. Ὁ δὲ Ὅτάνης παραλαβὼν Ἀσπαθίνην καὶ Γοβρύνην, Περσέων τε πρῶτοι έόντας καὶ ἐωντῷ ἐπιτηδεοτάτους ἐς πίστιν, ἀπηγήσατο πάν τὸ πρήγμα: οἴ δὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ ἄρα ὑπόττευον οὐτώ τούτῳ ἔχεων, ἀνενεκάντος δὲ τοῦ Ὅτάνου τούς λόγους ἐδέξαντο, καὶ ἔδοξέ σφι ἐκαστὸν ἄνδρα Περσέων προσεταιρίζεσθαι τούτου ὅτεφ πιστεύει μάλιστα. Ὅτανής μὲν νῦν ἐσάγεται Ἰνταφρένεα,
another whom I think him to be, then he must not go unscathed, but be punished for sharing your bed and sitting on the throne of Persia. Now, therefore, when he lies with you and you see that he is asleep, do as I bid you and uncover his ears; if you see that he has ears, then you may think that it is Smerdis son of Cyrus who is your lord; but if he has none, it is Smerdis the Magian.” Phaedyme answered by messenger that she would run very great risk by so doing; for if it should turn out that he had no ears, and she were caught uncovering him, he would surely make an end of her; nevertheless she would do it. So she promised to achieve her father’s bidding. It is known that Cyrus son of Cambyses had in his reign cut off the ears of this Magian, Smerdis, for some grave reason—I know not what. So Phaedyme, daughter of Otanes, performed her promise to her father. When it was her turn to visit the Magian (as a Persian’s wives come in regular order to their lord), she came to his bed, and uncovered the Magian’s ears while he slumbered deeply; and having with much ease assured herself that he had no ears, she sent and told this to her father as soon as it was morning.

70. Otanes then took to himself two Persians of the highest rank whom he thought worthiest of trust, Aspathines and Gobryas, and told them the whole story. These, it would seem, had themselves suspected that it was so; and now they readily believed what Otanes revealed to them. They resolved that each should take into their fellowship that Persian whom he most trusted; Otanes brought in Inta-
Γοβρής δὲ Μεγάβυζον, Ἀσπαθίνης δὲ 'Ὑδάρνεα. γεγονότων δὲ τούτων ἔξι παραγίνεται ἐστὶ τὰ Σοῦσα Δαρείος ὁ 'Ἰστάσπεος ἐκ Περσέων ἥκων· τούτων γὰρ δὴ ἦν οἱ ὁ πατὴρ ὑπάρχος. ἐπεὶ δὲν οὗτος ἀπίκετο, τοῖς ἐξ τῶν Περσέων ἔδοξε καὶ Δαρείουν προσταρισασθαι.

71. Συνελθόντες δὲ οὗτοι ἔσται ἔδιδοσαν σφίσι πίστις καὶ λόγους. ἐπείτε δὲ ἐς Δαρείουν ἀπίκετο γνώμην ἀποφαίνεσθαι, ἔλεγε σφι τάδε. "Εγὼ ταῦτα ἔδοκεν μὲν αὐτός μοῦνὸς ἐπίστασθαι, ὅτι τε ὁ Μάγος εἰὴ ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ Σμέρδις ὁ Κύρον τετελεύτηκε καὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦτον εἴνεκεν ἦκω σπουδὴ ὡς συστήσων ἐπὶ τῷ Μάγῳ θάνατον. ἐπείτε δὲ συνήπεικε ὡστε καὶ ὑμέας εἰδέναι καὶ μὴ μοῦνὸν ἔμε, ποιεῖν αὑτίκα μοι δοκεῖ καὶ μὴ ὑπερβάλλεσθαι· οὐ γὰρ ἄμεινον." ἐπεὶ πρὸς ταῦτα ὁ 'Ὀτάνης "Ὡς παὶ Ἰστάσπεος, εἰς τὲ πατρὸς ἀγαθοῦ καὶ ἐκφάνειν ἐκικάς σεωτὸν ἔστατα τοῦ πατρὸς οὐδὲν ἦσον· τὴν μὲντοι ἐπιχείρησιν ταῦται τὴν μὴ οὕτω συντάξανε ἄβούλος, ἀλλὰ ἐπὶ τὸ σωφρονεστέρον αὐτὴν λάμβανε· δεὶ γὰρ πλεῦνας γενομένους οὕτω ἐπιχειρεῖσθαι." λέγει πρὸς ταῦτα Δαρείους "Ἄνδρες οἱ παρεῦόντες, τρόπῳ τῷ εἰρημένῳ ἔξι Ὁτάνεω εἰ χρῆσοθε, ἐπίστασθε ὅτι ἀπολέσθη κάκιστα· ἐξοδεῖ γὰρ τις πρὸς τὸν Μάγον, ἵδιῃ περιβαλλόμενος ἐστὶ κέρδεα. μάλιστα μὲν γὰρ ἐφείλετε ἐπὶ υμέων αὐτῶν βαλλόμενοι ποιεῖν ταῦτα· ἐπείτε δὲ υμῶν ἀναφέρειν ἐς πλεῦνας ἔδοκε καὶ ἐμοὶ ὑπερέθεσθη, ἡ ποιεῖμεν σήμερον ἢ ἵστε ὑμῖν ὅτι ἦν ὑπερτέση ὧν ἦμερῃ, ὡς οὐκ ἄλλος φθάσῃ ἐμει κατηγοροσ ἔσται, ἀλλὰ σφεα αὐτὸς ἐγὼ κατερέω πρὸς τὸν Μάγον."
phrenes, Gobryas brought Megabyzus and Aspathines Hydarnes\textsuperscript{1}; so they were six. Now came to Susa Darius son of Hystaspes, from Persia, of which his father was vice-gerent; and on his coming the six Persians resolved to make Darius too their comrade.

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

\textsuperscript{1} The names in the Behistun inscription (the trilingual inscription set up by Darius at Behistun, after he had crushed the revolts in his empire) are: Vindapana, Utana, Gaubaruwa, Vidarna, Bagabukhsa, Ardumanis; all but the last corresponding with Herodotus' list.
72. Δέχει πρὸς ταῦτα Ὅταν, ἐπειδὴ ὥρα σπερχόμενον Δαρείων, "Ὅπεστε ἡμέας συνταχύνειν ἀνάγκαζεις καὶ ὑπερβάλλεσθαι οὐκ ἔσι, ἵνα ἐξηγεῖ αὐτὸς ὅτερ τρόπῳ πάριμεν ἐς τὰ βασιλήμα καὶ ἐπιχειρήσομεν αὐτοῦσι. φυλακᾶς γὰρ δὴ διεστεωσάς οἰδάς κοι καὶ αὐτὸς, εἰ μὴ ἱδὼν, ἀλλ' ἄκουσας: τὰς τέφρας τρόπος περίσσομεν," ἀμείβεται Δαρείος τοῖσιδε. "Ὅταν, ἦ πολλά ἔστι τὰ λόγῳ μὲν οὐκ οἶδα τε δηλώσασι, ἔργῳ δὲ ἀλλὰ δ' ἔστι τὰ λόγῳ μὲν οἶδα τε, ἔργων δὲ οὐδὲν ἀπ' αὐτῶν λαμπρόν γίνεται. ὡμοίς δὲ ἵστε φυλακᾶς τὰς κατεστεώσας έούσας οὐδὲν χαλεπὰς παρελθεῖν. τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ ἡμέων ἐόντων τοιῶντε οὐδεὶς ὀστίς οὐ παρήσει, τὰ μὲν καὶ καταδεόμενος ἡμέας, τὰ δὲ κοι καὶ δειμαίνων τοῦτο δὲ ἔχω αὐτὸς σκῆψιν εὐπρεπεστάθην τῇ πάριμεν, φὰς ἄρτι τε ἦκειν ἐκ Περσέων καὶ βουλεσθαί τι ἐπος παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς σημῆναι τῷ βασιλεί. ἐνθὰ γὰρ τι δεῖ ψεύδος λέγεσθαι, λέγεσθαι. τοῦ γὰρ αὐτοῦ γλυχόμεθα οἱ τε ψευδόμενοι καὶ οἱ τῇ ἀληθείᾳ διαχρεόμενοι. οὐ μὲν γε ψεύδονται τότε ἐπειν τι μέλλωσι τοιοῦ ψεύδεσθαι πείσαντες κερδήσεσθαι, οὐ δ' ἀληθίζονται ἵνα τῇ ἀληθείᾳ ἐπιστάσωσι κέρδος καὶ τι μᾶλλον σφί ἐπιτράπηται. οὔτω οὐ ταῦτα ἄσκεοντες τοῦτοι περιεχόμεθα. εἰ δὲ μὴ δέν κερδήσεσθαι μέλλοιε, ὀμοίως ἄν ὃ τε ἀληθιζόμενος ψευδὴς εἰη καὶ ὁ ψευδόμενος ἀληθής. ὁ δ' ἄν μὲν γὰρ τῶν πυθαγορῶν ἐκὼν παρῇ, αὐτῷ οἱ ἄμεινοι ἐσ ἱχρόνον ἔσται. ὅσ' ἄν ἀντιβαίνειν πειρῆται, δεικνύσθω ἐνθαῦτα ἐων πολέμιος, καὶ ἐπειτ' ῥᾳσάμενοι ἐσῳ ἐργον ἐχομέθα." 73. Δέχει Γοβρύς μετὰ ταῦτα "Ἀνδρεῖς φίλοι,
72. To this Otanes replied, seeing Darius' vehemence, "Since you compel us to hasten and will brook no delay, tell us now yourself how we shall pass into the palace and assail the Magians. The place is beset all round by guards; this you know, for you have seen or heard of them; how shall we win past the guards?" "Otanes," answered Darius, "very many things can be done whereof the doing cannot be described in words; and sometimes a plan easy to make clear is yet followed by no deed of note. Right well you know that the guards who are set are easy to pass. For we being such as we are, there is none who will not grant us admittance, partly from reverence and partly too from fear; and further, I have myself the fairest pretext for entering, for I will say that I am lately come from Persia and have a message for the king from my father. Let lies be told where they are needful. All of us aim at the like end, whether we lie or speak truth; he that lies does it to win credence and so advantage by his deceit, and he that speaks truth hopes that truth will get him profit and greater trust; so we do but take different ways to the same goal. Were the hope of advantage taken away, the truth-teller were as ready to lie as the liar to speak truth. Now if any warder of the gate willingly suffer us to pass, it will be the better for him thereafter. But if any strives to withstand us let us mark him for an enemy, and so thrust ourselves in and begin our work."

73. Then said Gobryas, "Friends, when shall we
Η Μάγοι κότε κάλλουν παρέξει ἀνασώσασθαι τὴν ἅρχην, ἢ εἰ γε μὴ οἷοί τε ἐσόμεθα αὐτὴν ἀναλαβεῖν, ἀποθανεῖν; ὅτε γε ἀρχόμεθα μὲν ἐόντες Πέρσαι ὑπὸ Μῆδου ἀνδρὸς Μάγου, καὶ τούτου ὡτα οὐκ ἔχοντος. ὥσοι τε ὑμέων Καμβύση νοσεόντε παρεγένοντο, πάντως καὶ μέμνησθε τὰ ἐπεσκηπτεῖ Πέρσης τελευτῶν τῶν βίων μὴ πειρωμένους ἀνακτᾶσθαι τὴν ἅρχην. τὰ τὸτε οὐκ ἐνεδεκώμεθα, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ διαβολῇ ἐδοκέομεν εἰπεῖν Καμβύσεα.· νῦν δὲν τίθεμαι ψήφον πείθεσθαι Δαρείῳ καὶ μὴ διαλύσεθαι ἐκ τοῦ συλλόγου τοῦτο ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τῶν Μάγου ἠθέων. ταῦτα εἰπε Γοβρύης, καὶ πάντες ταῦτῃ αἴνεοι.

74. Ἐν οὗ δὲ οὗτοι ταῦτα ἐβουλεύοντο, ἐγίνετο κατὰ συντυχίαν τάδε. τοῖοι Μάγοι ἔδοξε βουλευόμενοι Πρηξάστει αἱ θίλοιν προσθέσθαι, ὅτι τε ἐπεπόνθε πρὸς Καμβύσεως ἀνάρσια, δὴ οἱ τῶν παῖδα τοξέυσας ἀπολωλέκει, καὶ διὸτι μοῦνοι ἤπιστατο τὸν Σμέρδιος τοῦ Κύρου θάνατον αὐτοχειρίᾳ μην ἀπολέσῃ, πρὸς δὲ ἔτι ἐντα ἐν αὐὴ μεγίστῃ τοῦ Πρηξάστει ἐν Πέρσης. τούτων δὴ μην εἴνεκεν καλέσαντες φίλον προσεκτῶντο πίστι τε λαβόντες καὶ ὅρκιοι, ἡ μὲν ξείνα παρ' ἐσωτὴρ μηδ' ἐξοίσειν μηδενὶ ἀνθρώπων τὴν ἀπὸ σφέων ἀπάτην ἔς Πέρσας γεγονυῖαν, ὑπισχεύμενοι τα πάντα ὡς μυρία δώσειν. ὑποσχομένου δὲ τοῦ Πρηξάστεος ποιήσει ταῦτα, ὡς ἀνέπεισαν μὲν οἱ Μάγοι, δεύτερα προσέφερον, αὐτοὶ μὲν φόμενοι Πέρσας πάντας συγκαλέειν ὑπὸ τὸ βασιλείον τεῖχος, κείνων δ' ἐκέλευον ἀναβάντα ἐπὶ πύργον ἀγορεύεις ὡς ὑπὸ τοῦ Κύρου Σμέρδιος ἄρχονται καὶ ὑπ' οὐδενὸς ἄλλου. ταῦτα δὲ οὗτος ἐνετέλ-
have a better occasion to win back the kingship, or, if we cannot so do, to die? seeing that we who are Persians are ruled by a Mede, a Magian, a man that has no ears. Those of you that were with Cambyses in his sickness cannot but remember the curse which with his last breath he laid on the Persians if they should not essay to win back the kingship; albeit we did not then believe Cambyses, but thought that he spoke to deceive us. Now therefore my vote is that we follow Darius' plan, and not quit this council to do aught else but attack the Magian forthwith." So spoke Gobryas; and they all consented to what he said.

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

75. Φαμένου δὲ καὶ ταύτα ἐτοίμου εἶναι ποιέων τοῦ Πρηξάσπεος, συγκαλέσαντες Πέρσας οἱ Μάγοι ἀνεβίβασαν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ πῦργοι καὶ ἀγορεύειν ἐκέλευον. ὦ δὲ τῶν μὲν ἔκεινοι προσεδέοντο αὐτοῦ, τοῦτων μὲν ἐκών ἐπελήθησο, ἀρξάμενοι δὲ ἀπ' Ἀχαμένεος ἐγενελόγησε τὴν πατρίνη τὴν Κύρου, μετὰ δὲ ὡς ἐς τούτον κατέβη τελευτῶν ἔλεγε ὡσά ἀγαθὰ Κύρου Πέρσας πεποίηκοι, διεξελθὼν δὲ ταύτα ἑξέφαινε τὴν ἀλήθείαν, φάμενος πρὸ τοὺς μὲν κρύπτειν (οὗ γὰρ οἱ εἶναι ἀσφαλὲς λέγειν τὰ γενόμενα), ἐν δὲ τῷ παρεόντι ἀναγκαίᾳ μιν καταλαμβάνειν φαίνειν. καὶ δὴ ἔλεγε τὸν μὲν Κύρου Σμέρδιν ὡς αὐτὸς ὑπὸ Καμβύσεως ἀναγκαζόμενος ἀποκτείνειε, τοὺς Μάγους δὲ βασίλευεν. Πέρσης δὲ πολλὰ ἐπαρηγάμενος εἰ μὴ ἀνακτησάιτο ὅπισώ τὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ τοὺς Μάγους τισαίτο, ἀπῇκε ἐωτοῦ ἐπὶ κεφαλῆς φέρεσθαι ἀπὸ τοῦ πῦργου κάτω. Πρηξάσπης μὲν γὰρ ἐων τὸν πάντα χρόνον ἀνήρ δόκιμος οὗτο ἐτελεύτησε.

76. Οἱ δὲ δὴ ἐπτὰ τῶν Περσέων ὡς ἐβουλεύσαντο αὐτίκα ἐπιχειρεῖν τοῦσι Μάγοισι καὶ μὴ ὑπερβάλλεσθαι, ἦσαν εὐξάμενοι τοῖς θεοῖς, τῶν περὶ Πρηξάσπεα πρηχθέντων εἰδότες οὖδὲν. ἐν τε δὴ τῇ ὁδῷ μέσῃ στείχοντες ἐγίνοντο καὶ ἐπὶ περὶ Πρηξάσπεα γεγονότα ἐπιθυμῶντο. ἐνθαῦτα ἐκστάντες τῆς ὁδοῦ ἔδίδοσαν αὐτίς σφίσι λόγους, οὶ μὲν ἀμφὶ τὸν ὸτάννην πάγχυν κελεύσαντες ὑπερβαλέσθαι μηδὲ οἰδεόντων τῶν προγμάτων ἐπιτί-
be the man most trusted by the Persians, and because he had oftentimes asserted that Cyrus' son Smerdis was alive, and had denied the murder.

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

76. The seven Persians, after counsel purposing to attack the Magians forthwith and delay no longer, prayed to the gods and set forth, knowing nothing of Prexaspes' part in the business. But when they had gone half way they heard the story of him; whereat they went aside from the way and consulted together, Otanes' friends being wholly for waiting and not attacking in the present ferment,
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θεσθαί, οὔ δὲ ἀμφὶ τὸν Δαρείου αὐτίκα τε ἴναι καὶ τὰ δεδομένα ποιεῖν μηδὲ ὑπερβάλλεσθαι. ὁμιζομένων δὲ αὐτῶν ἐφάνη ἱρήκων ἐπὶ ξένεως δύο αἰγυπτιῶν ξένεως διώκοντα καὶ τίλλοντα τε καὶ ἀμύσσοντα. ἱδοντες δὲ ταῦτα οἱ ἐπὶ τῇ την τε Δαρείου πάντες αἴνεον γνώμην καὶ ἐπείτα ὦςαν ἐπὶ τὰ βασιλήμα τεθαρσηκότες τοῖς ὀρνυσι.

77. Ἐπιστάσαι δὲ ἐπὶ τὰς πύλας ἐγίνετο οἵον τι Δαρείῳ ἢ γνώμη ἐφεξῆς καταδείκνυμοι γὰρ οἱ φύλακοι ἄνδρας τοὺς Περσέων πρῶτους καὶ οὐδὲν τοιοῦτο ὑποπτεύοντες ἐξ αὐτῶν ἔσεθαι, παρίσχαν θείῃ πομπῇ χρεμάγουσι, οὐδὲ ἐπειρώτα οὔδείς. ἑπείτε δὲ καὶ παρῆλθον ἐς τὴν αὐλήν, ἐνέκυρον τοῖς τὰς ἀγγελίας ἐσφέροντι εὐνοοῦσι· οὐς ψφας ἱστόρεον ὅ θα τὸ πέλον ἔσκοιε, καὶ ἄμα ἱστορέοντες τούτους τοῖς πυλομορφίς ἀπείλεον ὅτι σφεας παρῆκαν, ἱσχύν τε βουλομένους τοὺς ἐπὶς ἐς τὸ πρόσω παρεῖναι. οὐ δὲ διακελευσάμενοι καὶ σπασάμενοι τὰ ἐγχειρίδια τούτους μὲν τοὺς ἱσχυοῦτοι αὐτοῖς τοῦτη συγκεντρέουσι, αὐτοὶ δὲ ὦςαν δρόμῳ ἐς τὸν ἀνδρέων.

78. Οἱ δὲ Μάγοι ἔτυχον ἀμφότεροι τηνικαῦτα ἔστε τό ἐςω καὶ τὰ ἀπὸ Πρηξάστεος γενόμενα ἐν βουλῇ ἐχοῦσι. ἑπεὶ δὲν εἴδον τοὺς εὐνοούχους τεθορυβημένους τε καὶ βοῦντας, ἀνὰ τῇ ἔδραμον πάλιν ἀμφότεροι καὶ ὡς ἐμαθον τὸ ποιεῖμενον πρὸς ἀλκήν ἐτράποντο. ὃ μὲν δὴ αὐτῶν φθάνει τὰ τόξα κατελόμενος, ὃ δὲ πρὸς τήν οἰκήμην ἐτράπετο. ἐνθαῦτα δὴ συνέμισσεν ἄλληλους. τῷ μὲν δὲ τὰ τόξα ἀναλαβόντες αὐτῶν, ἔστων τε ἄγχοι τῶν πολεμίων καὶ προσκεμένων, ἦν
but Darius' party bidding to go forthwith and do their agreed purpose without delay. While they disputed, they saw seven pairs of hawks that chased and rent and tore two pairs of vultures; seeing which all the seven consented to Darius' opinion, and went on to the palace, heartened by the sight of the birds.

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

78. It chanced that both the Magians were within, consulting together on the outcome of Prexaspes' act. Seeing the eunuchs in confusion and hearing their cries they both sprang back: and when they saw what was afoot they set about defending themselves; one made haste to take down his bow, the other seized his spear; so the seven and the two met in fight. He that had caught up the bow found it availed him nothing, his enemies being so close and
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χρηστὰ οὐδέν ὁ δ' ἐτέρος τῇ αἰχμῇ ἦμύνετο καὶ τούτῳ μὲν Ἀσπαδήγην παίει ἐς τὸν μηρόν, τούτῳ δὲ Ἰνταφρένεα ἐς τὸν ὀφθαλμὸν καὶ ἑστηρῆθη μὲν τοῦ ὀφθαλμοῦ ἐκ τοῦ τρώματος ὁ Ἰνταφρένης, οὐ μὲντοι ἀπεθάνει γε. τῶν μὲν δὴ Μάγων οὔτερος τρωματίζει τῶτοις. ὁ δὲ ἐτέρος, ἐπείτε οἱ τὰ τόξα οὐδὲν χρήστα εὑμύνετο, ἥν γὰρ δὴ θάλαμος ἐσέχων ἐς τὸν ἀνδρέαν, ἐς τούτον καταφεύγει, θέλων αὐτοῦ προσθείναι τὰς θύρας, καὶ οἱ συνεσπιστούσι τῶν ἐπτὰ δύο, Δαρείος τε καὶ Γοβρύης. συμπλακέντος δὲ Γοβρύνεω τῷ Μάγῳ ὁ Δαρείος ἐπέστειλε τῇ Τυρώνης. ὅρεων δὲ μιᾷ ἄργῳν ἔπεστείλε τῷ Γοβρύης εἴρετο ὅ τι οὐ χράται τῇ χειρί. δὲ εἶπε "Προμηθεόμενος σέο, μὴ πλήξω." Γοβρύης δὲ ἀμείβετο ""Ωθεῖ τὸ ξίφος καὶ δι' ἀμφοτέρων." Δαρείος δὲ πειθόμενος διότι το τὸ ἐγχειρίδιον καὶ ἔτυχέ κως τοῦ Μάγου.

79. Ἀποκτείναντες δὲ τοὺς Μάγους καὶ ἀποταμόντες αὐτῶν τὰς κεφαλὰς, τοὺς μὲν τρωματίας ἐσωτόν αὐτοῦ λείπουσι καὶ ἀδύνασθις εὑνεκεν καὶ φυλακῆς τῆς ἀκροπόλιος, οἱ δὲ πέντε αὐτῶν ἐχοντες τῶν Μάγου τὰς κεφαλὰς ἔθεον βοή τε καὶ πατάγω χρεώμενοι, καὶ Πέρσας τοὺς ἄλλους ἐπεκαλέοντο ἐξηγούμενοι το τὸ πρῆγμα καὶ δεικνύοντες τὰς κεφαλάς, καὶ ἀμα ἐκτεινον πάντα τινὰ τῶν Μάγου τὸν ἐν πολὶ γινόμενον. οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι μαθόντες τὸ γεγονός ἐκ τῶν ἐπτὰ καὶ τῶν Μάγων τὴν ἀπάτην, ἐδικαίειν καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐτερα τοιαύτα ποιεῖν στασάμενοι δὲ τὰ ἐγχειρίδια ἐκτεινον ὅκου τινὰ Μάγων εὐρίσκον· εἰ δὲ μη νῦξ ἐπελθοῦσα ἐσχε, ἔλιπον ἀν οὐδένα Μάγων. τοῦ
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pressing him hard; but the other defended himself with his spear, smiting Aspathines in the thigh and Intaphrenes in the eye; Intaphrenes was not slain by the wound, but lost his eye. So these were wounded by one of the Magians; the other, his bow availing him nothing, fled into a chamber adjoining the men’s apartment and would have shut its door. Two of the seven, Darius and Gobryas, hurled themselves into the chamber with him. Gobryas and the Magian grappling together, Darius stood perplexed by the darkness, fearing to strike Gobryas; whereat Gobryas, seeing Darius stand idle, cried to know why he did not strike; “For fear of stabbing you,” quoth Darius. “Nay,” said Gobryas, “thrust with your sword, though it be through both of us.” So Darius thrust with his dagger, and by good luck it was the Magian that he stabbed.

79. Having killed the Magians and cut off their heads, they left their wounded where they were, by reason of their infirmity and to guard the citadel; the other five took the Magians’ heads and ran with much shouting and noise, calling all Persians to aid, telling what they had done and showing the heads; at the same time they killed every Magian that came in their way. The Persians, when they heard from the seven what had been done and how the Magians had tricked them, resolved to follow the example set, and drew their daggers and slew all the Magians they could find; and if nightfall had not stayed them they would not have left one Magian alive. This day is
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tην την ήμέρην θεραπεύουσι Πέρσαι κοινή μά-
λιστα τῶν ήμερέων, καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ ὀρτήν μεγάλην
ἀνάγουσι, ἢ κέκληται ὑπὸ Περσέων μαγοφώνια·
ἐν τῇ Μάγοι οὐδένα ἔξεστι φανῆναι ἐς τὸ φῶς,
ἀλλὰ κατ᾽ οἴκους ἐωτούς ὦ Μάγοι ἔχουσι τὴν
ήμερην ταύτην.

80. Ἐπείτε δὲ κατέστη ὁ θόρυβος καὶ ἐκτὸς
πέντε ήμερέων ἐγένετο, ἐβουλεύοντο οἱ ἐπανα-
στάντες τοισὶ Μάγοις περὶ τῶν πάντων πρηγ-
μάτων καὶ ἐλέχθησαν λόγοι αἰστοὶ μὲν ἐνίοις
Ἑλλήνων, ἐλέχθησαν δὲ ὕπνοι. Ὄταν μὲν ἐκέλευε
ἐς μέσον Περσᾶς καταθείναι τὰ πρῆγματα,
λέγων τάδε. "Ἐμοί δοκεῖ ἕνα μὲν ἣμερων μοῦ-
ναρχὸν μηκέτι γενέσθαι. οὖτε γὰρ ὢν οὔτε ἀγαθὸν,
εἰδεὶς μὲν γὰρ τὴν Καμβύσεως ὑβρίν ἐπὶ
όσον ἐπεξῆλθε, μετέσχηκατε δὲ καὶ τῆς τοῦ
Μάγου ὑβρίσος. κώς δὲ ἂν εἰναι χρήμα κατηρτη-
μένου μουναρχίης, τῇ ἔξεστι ἀνευθύνω ποιεῖν τὰ
βούλεται; καὶ γὰρ ἂν τὸν ἄριστον ἀνδρῶν πάντων
στάντα ἐς ταύτην ἐκτὸς τῶν ἐωτῶν νοημάτων
στήσειε. ἔγγινεται μὲν γὰρ οἱ ὑβρις ὑπὸ τῶν
παρέοντων ἀγαθῶν, φθόνος δὲ ἀρχήθη πολὺ διὰ τοῦ
τὰ μὲν γὰρ ὑβρὶ κεκορημένος ἔρθει πολλὰ
cαι ἀπᾶσθαλα, τὰ δὲ φθόνω. καίτοι ἀνδρὰ
γε τύραννον ἄφθονον ἐδεί εἰναι, ἔχοντα γαὶ
πάντα τὰ ἀγαθά. τὸ δὲ ὑπεναντίον τούτου ἐς τοὺς
πολλὰς πέφυκε· φθονεῖ γὰρ τοῖς ἀρίστοις περιευθύνερα
tαι ἥφιοι, χαίρει δὲ τοῖς κακίστοις τῶν ἀστῶν,
diabolás δὲ ἀριστός ἐνάκεσθαι. ἀναρμοστότα-
tov δὲ πάντων· ἢ τε γὰρ αὐτοῦ μετρίως θωμάζης,
αὐθετεῖ ὅτι ὅ τι κάρτα θεραπεύεται, ἢ τε θερα-
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the greatest holy day that all Persians alike keep; they celebrate a great festival on it, which they call the Massacre of the Magians; while the festival lasts no Magian may come abroad, but during this day they remain in their houses.

80. When the tumult was abated, and five days had passed, the rebels against the Magians held a council on the whole state of affairs, at which words were uttered which to some Greeks seem incredible; but there is no doubt that they were spoken. Otanes was for giving the government to the whole body of the Persian people. "I hold," he said, "that we must make an end of monarchy; there is no pleasure or advantage in it. You have seen to what lengths went the insolence of Cambyses, and you have borne your share of the insolence of the Magian. What right order is there to be found in monarchy, when the ruler can do what he will, nor be held to account for it? Give this power to the best man on earth, and his wonted mind must leave him. The advantage which he holds breeds insolence, and nature makes all men jealous. This double cause is the root of all evil in him; he will do many wicked deeds, some from the insolence which is born of satiety, some from jealousy. For whereas an absolute ruler, as having all that heart can desire, should rightly be jealous of no man, yet it is contrariwise with him in his dealing with his countrymen; he is jealous of the safety of the good, and glad of the safety of the evil; and no man is so ready to believe calumny. Nor is any so hard to please; accord him but just honour, and he is displeased that you make him not your first care; make him such, and he damns
πεύχα τις κάρτα, ἄχθεται ἀτε θωπί. τὰ δὲ δὴ μέγιστα ἐρχομαι ἐρέων νόμαια τε κинεί πάτρια καὶ βιάται γυναίκας κτείνει τε ἀκρίτους. πλήθος δὲ ἄρχουν πρῶτα μὲν οὐνομα πάντων κάλλιστον ἔχει, ἱσονομίην, δεύτερα δὲ τοῦτων τῶν ὁ μοῦναρχος ποιεῖ οὐδέν πάλι χὲ μὲν ἄρχας ἄρχει, ὑπενθυνόμεν δὲ ἄρχήν ἔχει, βουλεύματα δὲ πάντα ἐς τὸ κοινὸν ἀναφέρει. τίθεμαι δὲν γυνώπη μετέντας ἥμεας μοναρχίην τὸ πλήθος ἄεξειν εὐν γὰρ τὸ πολλῷ ἔνι τὰ πάντα.”

81. Ὠτάνης μὲν δὴ ταύτην γυνώπη ἐσέσερε. Μεγάβυζος δὲ ὀλγαρχία ἐκέλευε ἐπιτράπειν, λέγων τάδε, “Τὰ μὲν Ὠτάνης εἶπε τυραννίδα παύων, λεκέχθω κάμοι ταύτα, τὰ δ’ ἐς τὸ πλήθος ἀνωγε φέρειν τὸ κράτος, γυνώμης τῆς ἀρίστης ἡμάρτηκε. ὦμίλου γὰρ ἀχρησίου οὐδὲν ἐστὶ ἀξινευτότερον οὐδὲ ύβριστότερον. καίτοι τυράννου ὑβριν φεύγουτας ἄνδρας ἐς δήμου ἀκολάστου ὑβριν πεσεῖν ἐστὶ οὔδαμως ἀνασχέτων. δὲ μὲν γὰρ εἰ τι ποιεῖ, γυνώκακων ποιεῖ, τῷ δὲ οὐδὲ γυνώκειν ἐν χως γὰρ ἄν γυνώκαις ὅσ οὐτ’ ἐδιδάχθη οὔτε εἰδε καλὸν οὐδὲν οἰκήμοι, ωθεὶ τε ἐμπεσῶν τὰ πρήγματα ἀνευ νόου, χειμάρρων ποταμῷ εἴκελος; δήμῳ μὲν γὰρ, οἱ Πέρσησι κακῶν νοέουσι, υστεροίς δὲ ἁνδρῶν τῶν ἀρίστων ἐπιλέξαντες ὁμιλήν τοῦτοι περιθέωμεν τὸ κράτος. ὦ γὰρ τοῦτοι καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐνεσόμεθα. ἀρίστων δὲ ἁνδρῶν οἰκὸς ἀρίστα βουλεύματα γίνοσθαι.”

82. Μεγάβυζος μὲν δὴ ταύτην γυνώπη ἐσέσερε.

1 MSS οἴδιν οἰδ’ οἰκήμοι; Stein brackets οἰδ’, as giving a sense not here required. I omit it in translation.

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

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

82. Such was the judgment of Megabyzus.
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τρίτος δὲ Δαρείος ἀπεδείκνυτο γνώμην, λέγων ὡς Ἐμοὶ δὲ τὰ μὲν εἶπε Μεγάβυζος ἐσ τὸ πλῆθος ἔχοντα δοκεῖ ὦρθώς λέξαι, τὰ δὲ ἐσ ὀλυγαρχίην οὐκ ὦρθώς. τριῶν γὰρ προκειμένων καὶ πάντων τῶν λόγω ἀρίστων ἐόντων, δήμου τε ἀρίστου καὶ ὀλυγαρχίης καὶ μουνάρχου, πολλῷ τούτῳ προέχειν λέγω. ἀνδρὸς γὰρ ἐνὸς τοῦ ἀρίστου οὐδὲν ἀμείων ἀν φανεῖη γνώμη γὰρ τοιαύτη χρεόμενος ἐπιτροπεύοι ἀν ἀμομήτως τοῦ πλῆθος, συγγράτο τε ἂν θυβλεύματα ἐπὶ δυσμενέας ἀνδρας οὕτω μάλιστα. ἐν δὲ ὀλυγαρχίη πολλοὶ ἀρετὴν ἐπασκέουσι ἐς τὸ κοινὸν ἔχθεα ἱδια ἰσχυρὰ φιλεῖ ἐγνίσθαι· αὐτὸς γὰρ ἕκαστος θυβλόμενος κορυφαῖος εἶναι γνώμης τε νικᾶν ἐς ἔχθεα μεγάλα ἀλλήλοις ἀπικνέονται, ἐξ ὅν στάσις ἐγκύνονται, ἐκ δὲ τῶν στασίων φόνος· ἐκ δὲ τοῦ φόνου ἀπέβη ἐς μουναρχίην, καὶ ἐν τούτῳ διέδεξε ὅσῳ ἐστὶ τούτῳ ἀρίστου. δήμου τε αὖ ἀρχοντος ἀδύνατα μὴ οὐ κακότητα ἐγκύνοντα· κακότητος τοῖνυν ἐγκυνομένης ἐς τὰ κοινὰ ἔχθεα μὲν οὐκ ἐγκύνοται τοῖσι κακοίσι, φιλάτη δὲ ἱσχυρὰ· οἱ γὰρ κακοῦντες τὰ κοινὰ συγκύψαντες ποιεύσι. τούτῳ δὲ τοιοῦτο γίνεται ὡς ἂν προστάς τοῖς τοῦ δήμου τοὺς τοιούτους παύσῃ. ἐκ δὲ αὐτῶν θωμάζεται οὕτος δὴ ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου, θωμαξόμενος δὲ ἂν ἄν ἐφάνη μουναρχίας εἶν, καὶ ἐν τούτῳ δηλοῖ καὶ οὗτος ὡς ἡ μουναρχία κράτιστον. ἐν δὲ ἐπεί πάντας συλλαβόντα εἰπών, κάθεν ἦμιν ἡ ἐλευθερία ἐγένετο καὶ τεῦ δόντος; κότερα παρὰ τοῦ δήμου ἡ ὀλι-
Darius was the third to declare his opinion. "Methinks," said he, "Megabyzus speaks rightly concerning democracy, but not so concerning oligarchy. For the choice lying between these three, and each of them, democracy, oligarchy and monarchy being supposed to be the best of its kind, I hold that monarchy is by far the most excellent. Nothing can be found better than the rule of the one best man; his judgment being like to himself, he will govern the multitude with perfect wisdom, and best conceal plans made for the defeat of enemies. But in an oligarchy, the desire of many to do the state good service oftentimes engenders bitter enmity among them; for each one wishing to be chief of all and to make his counsels prevail, violent enmity is the outcome, enmity brings faction and faction bloodshed; and the end of bloodshed is monarchy; whereby it is shown that this fashion of government is the best. Again, the rule of the commonalty must of necessity engender evil-mindedness; and when evil-mindedness in public matters is engendered, bad men are not divided by enmity but united by close friendship; for they that would do evil to the commonwealth conspire together to do it. This continues till someone rises to champion the people's cause and makes an end of such evil-doing. He therefore becomes the people's idol, and being their idol is made their monarch; so his case also proves that monarchy is the best government. But (to conclude the whole matter in one word) tell me, whence and by whose gift came our freedom—from the commonalty or an oligarchy or a single
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γαρχίς ἢ μουνάρχου; ἔχω τοίνυν γνώμην ἡμέας ἐλευθερωθέντας διὰ ἕνα ἄνδρα τὸ τοιοῦτο περιστέλλειν, χωρίς τε τούτου πατρίους νόμους μὴ λύειν ἔχοντας εὐ- ὦ γὰρ ἄμεινον.”

83. Ἡνῶμαι μὲν δὴ τρεῖς αὐταὶ προεκέατο, οἱ δὲ τέσσερες τῶν ἐπτὰ ἄνδρῶν προσέθεντο ταῦτη. ὡς δὲ ἐσοσώθη τῇ γνώμῃ ὁ Ὀτάνης Πέρσης ἰσονομίᾳ σπεύδων ποιήσαι, ἐλεξὲ ἐς μέσον αὐ-τοῖς τάδε. “Ἀνδρεὶς στασιώτατε, δῆλα γὰρ δὴ ὅτι δεῖ ἕνα γε τινὰ ἡμέων βασιλεά σενέσθαι, ἤτοι κλήρῳ γε λαχόντα, ἢ ἐπιτρεψάντων τῷ Περσέων πληθεῖ τὸν ἄν ἐκείνο ἐληταῖ, ἢ ἄλλῃ τινὶ μηχανῇ. ἐγὼ μὲν νυν ύμῖν ὀνκ ἐναγωνιεύμαι ὀὔτε γὰρ ἀρχεῖν ὀὔτε ἀρχεῖσθαι ἐθέλων ἐπὶ τούτῳ δὲ ὑπεξ- ἱσταμαι τῆς ἀρχῆς, ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ ὑπὸ υἱῶν ὑμέων ἄρξομαι, ὀὔτε αὐτὸς ἐγὼ ὀὔτε οἱ ἀπ’ ἐμὲ αἰεὶ γινόμενο.” τούτου ἐκπαντος ταῦτα ὡς συνεχώ- ρεον οἱ ἐπὶ τούτοις, ὠὔτος μὲν δὴ σφὶ ὀνκ ἐνηγωνίζετο ἀλλ’ ἐκ μέσου κατήστο, καὶ νῦν αὐτῇ ἢ οἰκίᾳ διατελεῖ μούνῃ ἐλευθέρῃ ἐοῦσα Περσέων καὶ ἀρχεῖαι τοσάκτα ὡς αὐτῇ θέλει, νόμους οὐκ ὑπερβαῖνουσα τοὺς Περσέων.

84. Οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ τῶν ἐπτὰ ἐβουλεύοντο ὡς βασιλεά δικαιότατα στήσονται καὶ σφὶ ἐδοξεὶ 'Ὀτάνη μὲν καὶ τοις ἀπὸ 'Ὀτάνεω αἰεί γινο- μένους, ἢ ἐς ἄλλον τινὰ τῶν ἐπτὰ ἐλθῇ ἢ βασιλής, ἐξαίρετα δίδοσθαι ἐσθητά τε Μηδικήν ἐτεος ἐκάστον καὶ τὴν πᾶσαν δωρεὴν ἢ γίνεται ἐν Πέρσης τιμώτατη. τοῦτο δὲ εὐνέκεν ἐβούλευσάν οἱ δίδοσθαι ταῦτα, ὅτι ἐβούλευσε τε πρῶτος τὸ πρῆγμα καὶ συνέστησε αὐτοὺς. ταῦτα μὲν δὴ 'Ὀτάνη ἐξαίρετα, τάδε δὲ ἐς τὸ κοινὸν ἐβούλευσαν,
BOOK III. 82-84

ruler? I hold therefore, that as the rule of one man gave us freedom, so that rule we should preserve; and, moreover, that we should not repeal the good laws of our fathers; that were ill done."

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

84. The rest of the seven then consulted what was the justest way of making a king; and they resolved, if another of the seven than Otanes should gain the royal power, that Otanes and his posterity should receive for themselves specially a yearly gift of Median raiment and all such presents as the Persians hold most precious. The reason of this resolve was that it was he who had first contrived the matter and assembled the conspirators. To Otanes, then, they gave this peculiar honour; but with regard to all of
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παρίεναι ἐσ τὰ βασιλῆια πάντα τῶν βουλῶμεν τῶν ἐπτὰ ἀνευ ἔσαγγελος, ἣν μὴ τυχχάνῃ εὐδῶν μετὰ γυναικὸς βασιλεύς, γαμεῖν δὲ μὴ ἐξεῖναι ἀλλοθεν τῷ βασιλείτη ἢ ἐκ τῶν συνεπαναστάτων. περὶ δὲ τῆς βασιληῆς ἐβουλεύσαν τοιόνδε· ὅτεν ἢν ὁ ᾿Ἰππὸς ἤλιου ἔπανατέλλοντος πρώτος φθέγγεται, ἐν τῷ προαστείῳ αὐτῶν ἐπιβεβηκότων, τούτον ἔχειν τὴν βασιληήν.

85. Δαρείῳ δὲ ἢν ῥποκόμοις ἀνήρ σοφός, τῷ οὖνομα ἢν Οἰβάρης. πρὸς τοῦτον τὸν ἀνδρά, ἐπείτε διελύθησαν, ἐλέξει Δαρεῖος τάδε. “Οἱ ἐβαρεῖς, ἡμῖν δέδοκται περὶ τῆς βασιλῆς ποιεῖν κατὰ τάδε· ὅτεν ἢν ὁ ῾Ἰππός πρῶτος φθέγγεται ἢμα τῷ ἥλιῳ ἀνώντι αὐτῶν ἐπαναβεβηκότων, τούτον ἔχειν τὴν βασιληήν. νῦν ὃν ἢ τινα ἔχεις σοφίην, μηχανῶ ὡς ἢν ἡμεῖς σχῶμεν τούτῳ τῷ γέρας καὶ μὴ ἄλλος τίς.” ἀμείβεται Οἰβάρης τοίσιδε. “Εἰ μὲν δὴ οἱ δέσποται ἐν τούτῳ τοι ἐστὶ ἢ βασιλεά εἶναι ἢ μή, θάρσει τούτου εὑνεκεν καὶ θυμὸν ἔχε ἀγαθῷν, ὡς βασιλεὺς οὐδεὶς ἄλλος πρὸ σεῦ ἔσται· τοιαύτα ἔχω φάρμακα.” λέγει Δαρείος “Εἰ τοῖνυν τι τοιοῦτον ἔχεις σοφίσμα, ὡρὴ μηχανᾶσθαι καὶ μὴ ἀναβάλλεσθαι, ὡς τῆς ἐπιούσης ἡμέρης ὁ ἄγων ἡμῖν ἔστι.” ἀκούσας ταῦτα ὁ Οἰβάρης ποιεῖ τοιόντε· ὡς ἐγίνετο ἢ νῦξ, τῶν θηλέων ῥππων μιὰν, τὴν ὁ Δαρείος ῥππὸς ἔστεργε μάλιστα, ταῦτην ἄγαγων ἢ τῷ προάστεον κατέδησε καὶ ἐπήγαγε τὸν Δαρείου ῥππόν, καὶ τὰ μὲν πολλὰ περιῆχε ἄγχος τῇ ῥπῳ ἐγχρίμπτων τῇ θηλῇ, τέλος δὲ ἐπῆκε ὀχεῦσαι τὸν ῥππόν.

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

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

86. At dawn of day came the six on horseback as
they had agreed. As they rode out through the
νότων δὲ κατὰ τὸ προάστειον, ὡς κατὰ τούτο τὸ χωρίον ἐγένοντο ἵνα τῆς παροιχομένης νυκτὸς κατεδέδετο ἡ θήλεα ἱππος, ἐνθάυτα ὁ Δαρείου ἱππος προσδραμὼν ἐχρεμέτησε ἀμα δὲ τῷ ἱππῳ τούτῳ ποιήσαντι ἀστραπῆ ἐξ αἰθρίας καὶ βροντῆ ἐγένετο. ἐπιγενόμενα δὲ ταῦτα τῷ Δαρείῳ ἐτελέσε μν ὅσπερ ἐκ συνθέτου τευ γενόμενα· οἳ δὲ καταθορόντες ἀπὸ τῶν ἱππῶν προσεκύνεον τὸν Δαρείου.

87. Οἱ μὲν δὴ φασί τὸν Οἰβάρεα ταύτα μη-χανήσασθαι, οἳ δὲ τοιάδε (καὶ γὰρ ἐπ᾽ ἀμφότερα λέγεται ὑπὸ Περσέων), ὡς τῆς ἱππος ταύτης τῶν ἀρθρῶν ἐπιψαυσάς τῇ χειρὶ ἔχοι αὐτὴν κρύψας ἐν τῇ ἄναξυρίσα ὡς δὲ ἀμα τῷ ἥλιῳ ἀνίοντι ἀπιέσθαι μέλλειν τοὺς ἱπποὺς, τὸν Οἰβάρεα τοῦτον ἐξείραντα τὴν χειρὰ πρὸς τὸν Δαρείου ἱπποῦ τοὺς μυκτῆρας προσεκυκὼν, τὸν δὲ αἰσθόμενον φριμάξασθαί τε καὶ χρεμετίσαι.

88. Δαρείος τε δὴ ὁ Τστάσσεως βασιλεὺς ἀπε-δέδεκτο, καὶ οἱ ἦσαν ἐν τῇ Ἄσιῃ πάντες κατήκουν τὴν Ἀραβίων, Κύρου τε καταστρεψάμενου καὶ ὕστερον αὐτὸς Καμβύσσεως. Ἄραβιοι δὲ οὐδὰμα κατήκουσαν ἐπὶ δουλοσύνῃ Πέρσησι, ἀλλὰ ἄξιοι ἐγένοντο παρέντες Καμβύσεα ἐπὶ Λέγυπτον· ἀκόμα-των γὰρ Ἄραβιων οὐκ ἦν ἐσβάλοις Πέρσης ἢ Λέγυπτος. γάμους τοὺς πρώτους ἐγάμει Πέρσησι ὁ Δαρείος, Κύρου μὲν δύο θυγατέρας Ἀτοσσάν τε καὶ Ἀρτυστώνην, τὴν μὲν Ἀτοσσαν προσυνικήσασαν Καμβύς τε τῷ ἀδελφῆ καὶ αὐτὶς τῷ Μάγω, τὴν δὲ Ἀρτυστώνην παρθένον ἐτέρην δὲ Σμέρδιω τοῦ Κύρου θυγατέρα ἔγνημε, τῇ οὖνομα ἦν Πάρμυν: ἔσχε δὲ καὶ τὴν τοῦ Ὅτανεω
suburb and came to the place where the mare had been picketed in the past night, Darius' horse trotted up to it and whinnied; and as he so did there came lightning and thunder out of a clear sky. These signs given to Darius were thought to be foreordained and made his election perfect; his companions leapt from their horses and did obeisance to him.

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

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

1 521 B.C.
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θυγατέρα, ἡ τὸν Μάγον κατάδηλον ἐποίησε· δυνάμισα τε πάντα οἱ ἐπιμπλέατος πρῶτον μὲν τὸν τύπον ποιησάμενος λύθινον ἔστησε· ξῦνον δὲ οἱ ἐνίχνη ἀνήρ ἱππεύς, ἐπέγραψε δὲ γράμματα λέγοντα τάδε· “Δαρείος ὁ Ἰστάσπεος σὺν τοῖς ἱπποῖς τῇ ἀρετῇ” τὸ οὖνομα λέγων “καὶ Οἰβάρεος τοῦ ἱπποκόμου ἐκτήσατο τὴν Περσέων βασιλείῃ.”

89. Ποιήσας δὲ ταῦτα ἐν Πέρσῃς ἀρχαὶ κατεστήσατο εἴκοσι, τὰς αὐτοῖς καλέοντας σατραπήσιας καταστήσας δὲ τὰς ἀρχαὶ καὶ ἄρχοντας ἐπιστήσας ἐτάξατο φόρους οἱ προσείναν εἰς δέναι τε καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἐθνεύοντάς πληθυνούργοις προστάσσων, καὶ υπερβαίνων τοὺς προσεχέας τὰ ἑκαστέρω ἄλλους ἄλλα ἐθνεά νέμων. ἄρχας δὲ καὶ φόρων πρόσοδον τὴν ἐπέτειον κατὰ τάδε διείλε. τοῖσι μὲν αὐτῶν ἀργύριον ἀπαγινέουσι εὐρητό Βαβυλώνιον σταθμὸν τάλαντον ἀπαγινέων, τοῖσι δὲ χρυσίον ἀπαγινέουσι Εὐβοῖκον. τὸ δὲ Βαβυλώνιον τάλαντον δύναται Εὐβοῖδας ὁκτὼ καὶ ἐβδομήκοντα μνέας.1 ἐπὶ γὰρ Κύρου ἄρχοντος καὶ αὐτὸς Καμβύς ἄντι κατεστηκός οὐδὲν φόρον πέρι, ἀλλὰ δώρα ἀγίνεων. διὰ δὲ ταύτην τὴν ἐπίταξιν τοῦ φόρου καὶ παραπλήσια ταύτη ἄλλα λέγουσι Πέρσαι ὡς Δαρείος μὲν ἦν κάτηλος, Καμβύς δὲ δεσπότης, Κύρος δὲ πατήρ, δὲ μὲν ὅτι ἐκατέρρευε πάντα τὰ πρήγματα, δὲ δὲ ὅτι χαλεπὸς τε ἦν καὶ ὀλίγωρος, δὲ δὲ ἦπιος τε καὶ ἀγαθά σφὶ πάντα ἐμηχανήσατο.

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

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

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

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total silver or Babylonian talent equalled $\frac{1}{3}$ of the gold (or Euboic) talent. Moreover the figure 78 is confirmed by the calculation in ch. 95.
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90. Ἀπὸ μὲν δὴ Ἰώνων καὶ Μαγνητῶν τῶν ἐν τῇ ᾿Ασίῃ καὶ Αἰολέων καὶ Καρὸν καὶ Λυκίων καὶ Μιλυέων καὶ Παμφύλων (εἰς γὰρ ἦν οἱ τεταγμένοι οὕτως φόρος) προσήκε τετρακόσια τάλαντα ἀργυρίου. ὁ μὲν δὴ πρῶτος οὕτως οἱ νομὸς κατεστήκε, ἀπὸ δὲ Μυσῶν καὶ Λυδῶν καὶ Δασυνίων καὶ Καβαλέων καὶ Τεννέων πεντακόσια τάλαντα· δεύτερος νομὸς οὕτως. ἀπὸ δὲ ᾿Ελλησποντίων τῶν ἐπὶ δεξιὰ ἐσπλέοντι καὶ Φρυγῶν καὶ Θρηκών τῶν ἐν τῇ ᾿Ασίῃ καὶ Παφλαγόνων καὶ Μαριαμνῶν καὶ Συρίων ἔξηκοντα καὶ τριηκόσια τάλαντα ἠν φόρος· νομὸς τρίτος οὕτως. ἀπὸ δὲ Κιλίκων ἦπποι τε λευκοὶ ἔξηκοντα καὶ τριηκόσιοι, ἐκάστης ἡμέρης εἰς γινόμενος, καὶ τάλαντα ἀργυρίου πεντακόσια· τούτων ἐς τεσσεράκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν ἐς τὴν φρουρέουσαν ἦππον τὴν Κιλικίνην χώρην ἀνασκήμοτο, τὰ δὲ τριηκόσια καὶ ἔξηκοντα Δαρείῳ ἐφοίτα· νομὸς τέταρτος οὕτως.

91. Ἀπὸ δὲ Ποσειδινίου πόλιος, τῆς ᾿Αμφίλοχος ὁ ᾿Αμφιάρεως οὔκισε ἐπ’ οὐροει τοῦτο Κιλίκων τε καὶ Σύρων, ἀρξάμενος ἀπὸ ταύτης μέχρι Αἰγύπτου, πλὴν μοίρης τῆς ᾿Αραβίων (ταύτα γὰρ ἦν ἀτελέα, πεντήκοντα καὶ τριηκόσια τάλαντα φόρος ἦν. ἔστι δὲ ἐν τῷ νομῷ τούτῳ Φοινίκη τε πᾶσα καὶ Συρίη ἡ Παλαιστίνη καλεομένη καὶ Κύπρος· νομὸς πέμπτος οὕτως. ἀπὸ Αἰγύπτου δὲ καὶ Λιβύων τῶν προσεχέων Αἰγύπτῳ καὶ Κυρήνῃς τε καὶ Βάρκης (εἰς γὰρ τὸν Αἰγύπτιον νομὸν αὐτῇ ἐκεκοσμεῖτο) ἐπτακόσια προσήκε τάλαντα, πάρεξ τοῦ ἐκ τῆς Μοῖρος λίμνης γινομένου ἀργυρίου, τὸ ἐγένετο ἐκ τῶν Ῥηθών· τούτου τε ἰχθύων· τούτου τε ᾿Ελλων, τοῦ ἀργυρίου καὶ τοῦ ᾿Επιμετρουμένου σίτου προσήκει
BOOK III. 90–91

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

91. The fifth province was the country (except the part belonging to the Arabians, which paid no tribute) between Posideion, a city founded on the Cilician and Syrian border by Amphilochoi, son of Amphiaraus, and Egypt; this paid three hundred and fifty talents; in this province was all Phoenice, and the part of Syria called Palestine, and Cyprus. The sixth province was Egypt and the neighbouring parts of Libya, and Cyrene and Barca, all which were included in the province of Egypt. Hence came seven hundred talents, besides the revenue of silver from the fish of the lake Moeris; besides that silver and the measure of grain that was given also, seven hundred talents were paid; for an
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ἐπτακόσια τάλαντα· σίτου γὰρ δύο καὶ δέκα μυριάδας Περσέων τε τοίσι ἐν τῷ Δευκάδε τῷ ἐν Μέμψι κατοικημένοις καταμετρέουσι καὶ τοίσι τούτων ἐπικούροισι. νομὸς ἐκτὸς οὕτως. Σατανγύδαι δὲ καὶ Γανδάριοι καὶ Δαδίκαι τε καὶ Ἀπαρύται ἐς τῶντι τεταγμένων ἐβδομήκοντα καὶ ἐκατόν τάλαντα προσέφερον· νομὸς δὲ οὕτως ἐβδομὸς. ἀπὸ Σούσων δὲ καὶ τῆς Ἀλλῆς Κισσίων χώρης τριηκόσια· νομὸς ὁγδοος οὕτως.

92. Ἀπὸ Βαβυλῶνος δὲ καὶ τῆς λοιπῆς Ἀσσυ- ρίης χιλίαὶ οἱ προσήμες τάλαντα ἀργυρίου καὶ παιδεῖς ἐκτομίαι πεντακόσιοι· νομὸς εἴνατος οὕτως. ἀπὸ δὲ Ἀγβατάνων καὶ τῆς λοιπῆς Μηδικῆς καὶ Παρικανίων καὶ Ὀρθοκορυθαντίων πεντήκοντα τε καὶ τετρακόσια τάλαντα· νομὸς δέκατος οὕτως. Κάσπιοι δὲ καὶ Πανθαγαιοὶ καὶ Παντίμαθοι τε καὶ Δαρείτας εἰς τῶντι συμφέροντος διηκόσια τάλαντα ἀπαγίνεοι· νομὸς ἐνδέκατος οὕτως.

93. Ἀπὸ Βακτριανῶν δὲ μέχρι Αἰγυπτίων ἐξήκοντα καὶ τριηκόσια τάλαντα φόρος ἦν· νομὸς δυωδέκατος οὕτως. ἀπὸ Πακτικής δὲ καὶ Ἀρμενίων καὶ τῶν προσεχέων μέχρι τοῦ πόντου τοῦ Ἐβραίου τετρακόσια τάλαντα· νομὸς τρίτος καὶ δέκατος οὕτως. ἀπὸ δὲ Σαγαρτίων καὶ Σαραγγέων καὶ Θαμαναίων καὶ Οὐτίων καὶ Μύκων καὶ τῶν ἐν τῇ νήσῳ οἰκεόντων τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἑρυθρῇ θαλάσσῃ, ἐν τῇ τοῦ ἀνασπάστους καλεμένους κατοικίζει βασιλείς, ἀπὸ τούτων πάντων ἔκαστος τάλαντα ἑγίνετο φόρος· νομὸς τέταρτος καὶ δέκατος οὕτως. Σακάι δὲ καὶ Κάσπιοι πεντήκοντα καὶ διηκόσια ἀπαγίνεον τάλαντα· νομὸς τέμπος καὶ δέκατος οὕτως. Πάρθοι δὲ καὶ Χοράσμιοι καὶ Σόγδοι ἔς
hundred and twenty thousand bushels of grain were also assigned to the Persians quartered at the White Citadel of Memphis and their allies. The Sattagydae, Gandarii, Dadice, and Aparytae paid together an hundred and seventy talents; this was the seventh province; the eighth was Susa and the rest of the Cissian country, paying three hundred talents.

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

93. The twelfth, the Bactrians as far as the land of the Aegli; these paid three hundred and sixty. The thirteenth, the Pactyic country and Armenia and the lands adjoining thereto as far as the Euxine sea; these paid four hundred. The fourteenth province was made up of the Sagartii, Sarangeis, Thamanaei, Utii, Myci, and the dwellers on those islands of the southern sea wherein the king plants the people said to be “removed”\(^1\); these together paid a tribute of six hundred talents. The Sacae and Caspii were the fifteenth, paying two hundred and fifty. The Parthians, Chorasmians,

\(^1\) The regular term for the peoples or individuals who were transplanted from the western into the eastern parts of the Persian empire; the \textit{apa}- implying removal from the sea to the highlands.
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καὶ Ἀρείου τριηκόσια τάλαντα· νομὸς ἔκτος καὶ δέκατος οὔτος.

94. Παρικάνιοι δὲ καὶ Αἰθίοπες οἱ ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίῆς τετρακόσια τάλαντα ἀπαγίνεον· νομὸς ἔβδομος καὶ δέκατος οὔτος. Ματηνοίσι δὲ καὶ Σάσπειρσι καὶ Ἀλαρδίοισι διηκόσια ἐπετέλατκο τάλαντα· νομὸς ὄγδοος καὶ δέκατος οὔτος. Μόσχοισι δὲ καὶ Τιβαρηνοίσι καὶ Μάκρωσι καὶ Μοσσυνοίκοισι καὶ Μαρσί τριηκόσια τάλαντα προείρητο· νομὸς εἴνατος καὶ δέκατος οὔτος. Ἦνδον δὲ πλῆθος τε πολλάφ πλείστον ἐστὶ πάντων τῶν ἥμεις ἔδειν ἀνθρώπων, καὶ φόρον ἀπαγίνεον πρὸς πάντας τοὺς ἀλλούς ἐξήκουντα καὶ τριηκόσια τάλαντα ψηγματος· νομὸς εἰκοστὸς οὔτος.

95. Τὸ μὲν δὴ ἀργύριον τὸ Βαβυλώνιον πρὸς τὸ Ἕβοικόν συμβαλλομενον τάλαντον γίνεται ὁγδώ- κοντα καὶ ὀκτακόσια καὶ εἰνακισχίλια τάλαντα· τὸ δὲ χρυσίον τρισκαίδεκαστάσιων λογιζόμενον, τὸ ψῆγμα εὑρίσκεται ἐδών Ἕβοικον ταλάντων ὀγδώκοντα καὶ ἐξακοσίων καὶ τετρακισχίλιων. τούτων δὲ πάντων συντιθεμένων τὸ πλῆθος Ἕβοικα τάλαντα συνελέγετο ἐς τὸν ἑπτείουν φόρον Δαρείω μύρια καὶ τετρακισχίλια καὶ πεντα- κόσια καὶ ἐξήκουντα· τὸ δ' ἐτὶ τούτων ἐλασσὸν ἀπεὶς οὐ λέγω.

96. Οὔτος Δαρείῳ προσήμε φόρος ἀπὸ τῆς τε Ἀσίῆς καὶ τῆς Διβύης διαγαχόθεν. προϊόντος μέντοι τοῦ χρόνου καὶ ἀπὸ νήσων προσήμε ἀλλος φόρος καὶ τῶν ἐν τῇ Εὐρώπῃ μέχρι Θεσσαλίης

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

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

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

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

make up 7,600 Babylonian talents, that is, on the 3:4 relation (see ch. 89), 9,880 Euboic talents; add the Indian tribute (4,680 talents) and the total is 14,560.
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οἰκημένων. τούτου τὸν φόρον θησαυρίζει βασιλεὺς τρόπῳ τοιῷδε· ἐς πίθους κεραμίνους τῆς καταχέει, πλῆσας δὲ τὸ ἄγγος περιαρέει τὸν κέραμον· ἐπεὰν δὲ δεηθῇ χρημάτων, κατακόπτει τοσοῦτο ὅσον δὲν ἐκάστοτε δέηται.

97. Αὐταὶ μὲν ἀρχαὶ τε ἦσαν καὶ φόροι ἐπιτάξεις. ἡ Περσίς δὲ χώρη μοῦν μοι οὐκ εἰρηται δασμοφόρος· ἀτελέα γὰρ Πέρσαι νῦμονται χώρην. οἷς δὲ φόροι μὲν οὖδένα ἐτάχθησαν φέρειν, δῶρα δὲ ἀγίνεον· Αἰθιοπεὶς οἱ πρόσοιροι Αἵνυπτῳ, τοὺς Καμβύσης ἑλαύνου έπι τοὺς μακροβίους Αἰθιοπας καταστρέψατο, οἳ τε ἐπὶ τε Νῦσην τὴν ἱρὴν κατοίκησαν καὶ τῷ Διονύσῳ ἀνάγοντο ὅσοι ὁρτᾶς· οὕτως οἱ Αἰθιοπεὶς καὶ οἱ πλησίοχρωροι τοῦτοι σπέρματι μὲν χρέωνται τῷ αὐτῷ τῷ καὶ οἱ Καλλατίαι Ἰνδοί, οἰκήματα δὲ ἔκτηνται κατάγαια·

οὕτως συναμφότεροι διὰ τρίτον ἐτέος ἀγίνεοι, ἀγιόνοι δὲ καὶ τὸ μέχρι ἐμεῖ, δύο χόινκας ἀπόρους χρυσίον καὶ δηκοσίας φάλαγγας ἐβένου καὶ πέντε παίδας Αἰθιοπας καὶ ἐλέφαντος ὀδοντας μεγάλους εἶκοσι. Κόλχοι δὲ τὰ ἐτάξαντο ἐς τὴν δωρεὴν καὶ οἱ προσεχέσεις μέχρι Καυκάσιος ὄρεος (ἐς τοῦτο γὰρ τὸ ὄρος ὑπὸ Πέρσηςι ἄρχεται, τὰ δὲ πρὸς βορέην ἀνεμον τοῦ Καυκάσιος Περσέων οὐδὲν ἔτει φροντίζει), οὕτως δὲν δῶρα τὰ ἐτάξαντο ἐτί καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ διὰ πεντετείρίδος ἀγίνεοι, ἐκατὸν παίδας

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

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

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

97. These were the several governments and appointments of tribute. The Persian country is the only one which I have not recorded as tributary; for the Persians dwell free from all taxes. As for those on whom no tribute was laid, but who rendered gifts instead, they were, firstly, the Ethiopians nearest to Egypt, whom Cambyses subdued in his march towards the long-lived Ethiopians; and also those who dwell about the holy Nysa,¹ where Dionysus is the god of their festivals. [The seed of these Ethiopians and their neighbours is like the seed of the Indian Callantiae; they live underground.] These together brought every third year and still bring a gift of two choenixes² of pure gold, two hundred blocks of ebony, five Ethiopian boys, and twenty great elephants' tusks. Gifts were also required of the Colchians and their neighbours as far as the Caucasian mountains (which is as far as the Persian rule reaches, the country north of the Caucasus paying no regard to the Persians); these were rendered every five years and are still so rendered, namely, an hundred boys and as many maidens.

¹ Probably the mountain called Barkal in Upper Nubia; this is called "sacred" in hieroglyphic inscriptions.
² The choenix was a measure of about the capacity of a quart.
καὶ ἐκατὸν παρθένους. Ἀράβιοι δὲ χίλια τάλαντα ἀγίνεον λιβανωτοῦ ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος· ταῦτα μὲν οὐτοί δώρα πάρεξ τοῦ φόρου βασιλεύει ἐκόμιζον.

98. Τὸν δὲ χρυσὸν τοῦτον τὸν πολλὸν οἱ Ἰνδοὶ, ἀπ’ οὗ τὸ ψήγμα τῷ βασιλεύει τὸ εἰρημένον κομίζουσι, τρόπῳ τοιοῦτῳ κτώνται. ἔστι τῆς Ἰνδικῆς χώρης τὸ πρὸς ἡλιον ἀνίσχυτα ψάμμος· τῶν γὰρ ἡμεῖς ἠδον, τῶν καὶ περὶ ἀτρέκες τι λέγεται, πρῶτοι πρὸς ἡν καὶ ἡλιον ἀνατολᾶς οἰκέουσι ἀνθρώποι τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ Ἰνδοί· Ἰνδῶν γὰρ τὸ πρὸς τὴν ἡδὸν ἐρημία ἐστὶ διὰ τὴν ψάμμον. ἔστι δὲ πολλὰ θερέα Ἰνδῶν καὶ υἱὲ ὁμόφωνα σφίακε, καὶ οἳ μὲν αὐτῶν νομάδες εἰσὶ οἳ δὲ οὐ, οἳ δὲ ἐν τοῖς ἐλεσι οἰκέουσι τοῦ ποταμοῦ καὶ ἰχθύας σιτεύονται ὕμοιος, τοὺς αἱρέουσι ἐκ πλοίων καλαμίων ὁρμώμενοι· καλάμου δὲ ἐν γόνυ πλοίον ἔκαστον ποιεῖται. οὐτοὶ μὲν δὴ τῶν Ἰνδῶν φορέουσι ἐσθῆτα φλοίνην· ἐπεάν ἐκ τοῦ ποταμοῦ φλοίν ἀμήσως καὶ κόψωσι, τὸ ἐνθεύτεν φορμῷ τρόπον καταπλεξαντες ὡς θώρηκα ἐνδύνουσι.

99. 'Ἀλλοι δὲ τῶν Ἰνδῶν πρὸς ἡδὸν οἰκέουτες τούτων νομάδες εἰσὶ κρεῶν ἐδεσταὶ ὕμοιος, καλέονται δὲ Παδαῖοι, νομαίοις δὲ τοιοῖς λέγονται χράσθαι· δὲ ἄν κάμμα τῶν ἀστῶν, ἦν τε γυνή ἦν τε ἀνήρ, τὸν μὲν ἄνδρα ἄνδρες οἳ μάλιστα οἱ ὁμιλέοντες κτείνουσι, φάμενοι αὐτῶν τηκόμενον τῇ νοῦσῳ τὰ κρέα σφίς διαφθείρεσθαι· ὁ δὲ ἄπαρνος ἐστὶ μὴ μὲν νοσέειν, οἳ δὲ οὐ συγγυνωσκόμενοι ἀποκτείναντες κατευχέονται. ἦ δὲ ἀν γυνὴ κάμμη, ὃσαύτως αἱ ἐπιχρεώμεναι μάλιστα γυναῖκες ταύτα τοῖς ἀνδράσι ποιεῦσι. τὸ γὰρ δὴ ἐς γῆρας ἀπικόμενον θύσαντες κατευχέονται· ἐς δὲ τούτου λόγον οὐ
BOOK III. 97-99

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

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

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

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

100. Ἑτέρων δὲ ἦστι Ἰνδῶν οὐδὲ ἄλλος τρόπος· οὕτε κτείνουσι οὐδὲν ἐμψυχοῦ οὕτε τι σπείρουσι οὕτε οἰκίας νυμίζουσι ἐκτήσθαι ποιησαμένοι τε καὶ αὐτοίς ἦστι ὅσον κέγχρος τοῦ μέγαθος ἐν κάλυκι, αὐτόματον ἐκ τῆς γῆς γνωμένον, τὸ συλλέγοντες αὐτὴ τῇ κάλυκῃ ἔψουσι τε καὶ σιτέονται. ὃς δὲ ἃν ἐς νυόσου αὐτῶν πέσῃ, ἐλθὼν ἐς τὴν ἔρημον κέεται· φροντίζει δὲ οὐδεὶς οὕτε ἀποθανόντος οὕτε κάμωντος.

101. Μίξες δὲ τούτων τῶν Ἰνδῶν τῶν κατέλεξα πάντων ἐμφανῆς ἦστι κατά περ τῶν προβάτων, καὶ τὸ χρώμα φορέουσι ὅμοιον πάντες καὶ παραπλησίων Αἰθιόπης. ἡ γονὴ δὲ αὐτῶν, τὴν ἀπείραν ἐς τὰς γυναῖκας, οὐ κατὰ περ τῶν ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων ἦστι λευκή, ἄλλα μέλαινα κατὰ περ τὸ χρώμα. τοιαύτην δὲ καὶ Αἰθιόπης ἀπείραν θερήν. οὐτοί μὲν τῶν Ἰνδῶν ἐκαστέρω τῶν Περσέων οἰκέουσι καὶ πρὸς νότου ἄνέμου, καὶ Δαρείου βασιλέος οὐδαμά ὑπήκουσαν.

102. Ἀλλοι δὲ τῶν Ἰνδῶν Κασταύρῳ τε πόλι καὶ τῇ Πακτυκῆ ἡγηρῇ εἰσὶ πρόσουροι, πρὸς ἄρκτον τε καὶ βορέω ἄνεμον κατοικημένον τῶν ἄλλων Ἰνδῶν, οἱ Βακτρίουσι παραπλησίαν ἔχουσι διάιταν. οὕτοι καὶ μαχιμώτατοι εἰσὶ Ἰνδῶν καὶ οἱ ἐπὶ τῶν χρυσῶν στελλόμενοι εἰσὶ οὕτοι κατὰ γὰρ τοῦτο ἦστι ἐρήμη διὰ τὴν ψάμμων. ἐν δὴ ὧν τῇ ἐρημῇ ταύτῃ καὶ τῇ ψάμμῳ γίνονται μύρμηκες μεγάθεα ἔχοντες κυνών μὲν ἐλάσσονα ἀλωτέκων δὲ μέζουν: εἰσὶ γὰρ αὐτῶν καὶ παρὰ βασιλέα τῷ Περσέων ἐνθεύτεν θηρευθέντες. οὕτοι

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but there are not many who come thereto, for all who fall sick are killed ere that.

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

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

102. Other Indians dwell near the town of Caspatyrus and the Pactyic country,¹ northward of the rest of India; these live like the Bactrians; they are of all Indians the most warlike, and it is they who are charged with the getting of the gold; for in these parts all is desert by reason of the sand. There are found in this sandy desert ants² not so big as dogs but bigger than foxes; the Persian king has some of these, which have been caught

¹ N.E. Afghanistan. Caspatyrus (or Caspapyrus) is said to be probably Cabul.
² It is suggested that the "ants" may have been really marmots. But even this does not seem to make the story much more probable.
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δων οἱ μύρμηκες ποιεύμενοι οὔκησιν ύπὸ γῆν ἀναφέρεσθαι τὴν ψάμμον κατὰ περ οἱ ἐν τοῖς Ἑλλησπόντιοι μύρμηκες κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον, εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ τὸ εἶδος ὀμοιότατον· ἢ δὲ ψάμμος ἢ ἀναφερομένη ἄστι χρυσίτης. ἐπὶ δὲ ταύτην τὴν ψάμμον στελλούνται ἐς τὴν ἔρημον οἱ Ἱνδοὶ, ξενομένοι έκαστος καμήλους τρεῖς, σειρηφόρον μὲν ἐκατέρθην ἔρεσεν παρέλκειν, θήλεαν δὲ ἐς μέσον· ἐπὶ ταύτην δὴ αὐτὸς ἀναβαίνει, ἐπιτηθύνει δὲ καὶ ἄρτες ἀπὸ τέκνων ὁς νεωτάτων ἀποστάτας ξεζεύξει. αἱ γάρ σφι κάμηλοι ὑπὲρν οὐκ ἦσαν ἔς ταχύτητα εἰς τώ, χωρὶς δὲ ἄχθεα δυνατότεραι πολλὸν φέρειν.

103. Τὸ μὲν δὴ εἶδος ὁκούν τι έχει ἡ κάμηλος, ἐπισταμένοι τοῖς Ἑλλησπόντιοι οὐ συγγράφω τὸ δὲ μὴ ἐπιστέταται αὐτὴς, τοῦτο φράσω· κάμηλος ἐν τοῖς ὅπισθόιοι σκέλεσι έχει τέσσερα μήρων καὶ γούνα τὰ τέσσερα, τὰ τοιοῦτα διὰ τῶν ὅπισθίων σκελέων πρὸς τὴν οὐρήν τετραμμένα.

104. Οἱ δὲ δὴ Ἱνδοὶ τρόπῳ τοιούτῳ καὶ ξεζεύξει τοιαύτῃ χρεώμενοι ἐλαύνουσιν ἐπὶ τὸν χρυσὸν λειογισμένως ὅκως καμάτων τῶν θερμότατων ἐώτων ἐσονται ἐν τῇ ἀρπαγῇ ύπὸ γὰρ τοῦ καμάτος οἱ μύρμηκες ἀφανεῖς γίνονται ύπὸ γῆν. θερμότατος δὲ ἐστὶ ὁ ἢλιος τοῦτοι τοῖς ἀνθρώποις τὸ ἐωθινόν, οὐ κατὰ περ τοῖς ἀλλοις μεσαμβρῆς, ἀλλ' ὑπερτείλας μέχρι οὐ ἀγορῆς διαλύσιος. τούτοι τὸν χρόνον καὶ πολλὸς μᾶλλον ἢ τῇ μεσαμβρῆς τὴν Ἐλλάδα, οὕτω ὅστ' ἐν ὑδατι λόγος αὐτοὺς ἐστὶ βρέχεσθαι τηνικάτα. μεσοῦσα δὲ ἡ ἡμέρη σχεδὸν παραπλησίως καὶ τοὺς τὸς ἄλλους ἀνθρώπους καὶ τοὺς Ἱνδοὺς ἀποκλινομένης δὲ τῆς μεσαμβρῆς γίνεται σφι ὁ ἢλιος.
there. These ants make their dwellings underground, digging out the sand in the same manner as do the ants in Greece, to which they are very like in shape, and the sand which they carry forth from the holes is full of gold. It is for this sand that the Indians set forth into the desert. They harness three camels apiece, a male led camel on either side to help in draught, and a female in the middle: the man himself rides on the female, careful that when harnessed she has been taken away from as young an offspring as may be. Their camels are as swift as horses, and much better able to bear burdens besides.

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

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

105. Ἐπεαν δὲ ἔλθωσι ἐς τὸν χῶρον οἱ Ἰνδοὶ ἔχουσι θυλάκια, ἐμπλήσαντες ταῦτα τῆς ψάμμου
τὴν ταχίστην ἐλαύνουσι οπίσω αὐτίκα γὰρ οἱ
μύρημκες όδημῆ, ὡς δὴ λέγεται ὑπὸ Περσῶν,
μαθόντες διόκουσι. εἰναι δὲ πατητῆς οὐδὲνὶ
ἐτέρῳ ὁμοιον, οὕτω ὡστε, εἰ μὴ πρόλαμβανεί τοὺς
Ἰνδοὺς τῆς ὁδοῦ ἐν ὧς τοὺς μύρημκας συλλέγοσθαι,
οὐδένα ἀν σφέων ἀποσώζεσθαι τοὺς μὲν μὲν
ἔρσινας τῶν καμῆλων, εἰναι γὰρ ἥσσους θέειν
τῶν θηλῶν, παραλύεσθαι ἐπελκομένους, οὐκ
ὁμοὶ ἀμφότεροις τὰς δὲ θηλέας ἀναμμυνθεκο-
μένας τῶν ἐλπὸν τέκνων ἐνδιὸναι μαλακὸν οὐδέν.
τῶν μὲν δὴ πλέω τοῦ χρυσοῦ οὕτω οἱ Ἰνδοὶ
κτῶται, ὡς Πέρσαι φασὶ. ἄλλος δὲ σπανιῶτερος
ἐστὶ ἐν τῇ χώρῃ ὀρυσόμενος.

106. Αἱ δ' ἐσχάται καὶ τῆς οἰκεομένης τὰ
κάλλιστα ἐλαχοῦ, κατά περ ἡ Ἑλλάς τὰς ὀρας
πολλῶν τι κάλλιστα κεκρημένα ἐλαχε. τοῦτο
μὲν γὰρ πρὸς τὴν ἡδονὴ ἐσχάτη τῶν οἰκεομενέων ἡ
Ἰνδικὴ ἐστι, ὃσπερ ὅλιγῳ πρότερον ἑρήμη: ἐν
ταύτῃ τούτῳ μὲν τὰ ἐμφύκα, τετράποδα τε καὶ τὰ
πετεινά, πολλῷ μέξῳ ἡ ἐν τοῖσι ἀλλοισι χωρίοισιν
ἐστὶ, πάρεξ τῶν Ἰππῶν (οὐτοὶ δὲ ἐσούνται ὑπὸ
tῶν Μηδικῶν, Νησαίων δὲ καλευμένων Ἰππῶν),
tοῦτο δὲ χρυσὸς ἀπλέτος αὐτόθι ἐστὶ, δὲ μὲν
ὁρυσόμενος, δὲ καταφορέμενος ὑπὸ ποταμῶν,
δὲ δὲ ὡσπερ ἐσήμηνα ἀρπαξόμενος. τὰ δὲ δένδρα
τὰ ἀγρία αὐτόθι φέρει καρπὸν εἴρη καλλοῦσι
τε προφέροντα καὶ ἄρετῆ τῶν ἀπὸ τῶν ὁίων

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BOOK III. 104-106

India has the power of the morning sun in other lands; with its sinking the day becomes ever cooler, till at sunset it is exceeding cold.

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

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

107. Πρὸς δ’ αὐ μεσαμβρίας ἑσχάτῃ Ἀραβίᾳ τῶν οὐκεμομένων χωρέων ἔστι, ἐν δὲ ταύτῃ λιβανωτός τε ἐστὶ μοῦνη χωρέων πασέων φυόμενος καὶ σμύρνη καὶ κασίμη καὶ κινάμομον καὶ λήδανον. ταύτα πάντα πλὴν τής σμύρνης δυσπετέως κτῶνται οἱ Ἀράβιοι. τὸν μὲν γε λιβανωτὸν συνλέγουσι τὴν στύρακα θυμώντες, τὴν ἐς Ἑλληνας Φοίνικες ἔξαγο우σι ταύτῃ θυμώντες λαμβάνουσι τὰ γάρ δένδρα ταύτα τὰ λιβανωτοφόρα ὄψες ὑπόττεροι, μικρὸι τὰ μεγάθεα, ποικίλοι τὰ εἶδεα, φυλάσσουσι πλῆθει πολλοί περὶ δένδρου ἐκαστον, οὕτως οἱ περ ἐπ’ Αἰγυπτον ἐπιστρατεύονται, οὕδειν δὲ ἄλλῳ ἀπελαύνονται ἀπὸ τῶν δενδρέων ἡ τῆς στύρακος τῷ καπνῷ.

108. Δέγουσι δὲ καὶ τὸδε Ἀράβιοι, ὡς πᾶσα ἀν γῆ ἐπίμπλατο τῶν ὀψίων τούτων, εἰ μὴ γίνεσθαι καὶ αὐτοὺς οὐδὲ τα ἐχὴν ἔχιδνας ἡπιστάμην γίνεσθαι. καὶ κὼς τοῦ θείου ἡ προνοία, ὅσπερ καὶ οἰκὸς ἐστί, ἐσόμα σοφή, ὅσα μὲν ψυχὴν τε δειλὰ καὶ ἐδώδιμα, ταύτα μὲν πάντα πολύγονα πεποίηκε, ἵνα μὴ ἐπιλίπῃ κατεσθίομενα, ὁδὸς δὲ σχέτλια καὶ ἀνθρώπα, ὀλίγονα. τοῦτο μὲν, ὅτι ὁ λαγός ὑπὸ παντὸς θηρεύεται θηρίου καὶ θρήνου καὶ ἀνθρώπου, οὕτω δὴ τα πολύγονον ἔστι· ἐπικυνθικεῖται μοῦνον πάντων θήρων, καὶ τὸ μὲν δασὺ τῶν τέκνων ἐν τῇ γαστρὶ τὸ δὲ ψιλὸν, τὸ δὲ ἄρτι ἐν τῇ πυρήμεσι πλάσσεται, τὸ δὲ ἀναίρεται. τοῦτο μὲν δὴ

1 ὁσα μὲν γάρ MSS.; Stein brackets γάρ, which obviously has no place here.

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of sheep; these trees supply the Indians with clothing.

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

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

1 A kind of gum, producing an acrid smoke when burnt, and therefore used as a disinfectant.
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toiouto esti· h de dh leaiwa eon ischurotaton kai
thrasutaton apaze en to biw tikteto en tiktousa
yar synsekballei tv tkevov tas mhtras. to de
aityn touan tode esti· epean o skymnos en t
mhtri eon arxhetai diakinezamenos, de de exoun onuxhas
thriwn pollon pantwv oixutatous amussei tas
mhtras, aixomevos te dh pollo mallon esikvetei
katagrafon· pelas te dh o tokos esti, kai to
parapan leipetai autewv ugeias ouden.

109. ‘Ows de kai oi exidnai te kai oj en ‘Ara-
betaioi upottero orfies ei eginunto vos h fusis
autoisi uparxhei, ouk an h biwswma anbrwpousi-
wni de epean boynwntai kata zeygaa kai en auti
h o ersev t ekpoisw, anpeimeno autou t h ynov
h thlwa aptetai tis deiwhs, kai emfwsa ouk
anvei prin an diafaghe. o men dh ersev anpo-
thnisei trpso t eirhmenw, h de thlwa tisin
toiwde apotinei tiv ersev· tiv ynov tisvarwonta
etiv en tis gastri eounta ta teknav diexthei tis
mhtera, diafragonta de tis ynov auths owt tis
ekdusw poieetai. oj de alloi orfies eountes an-
brwpon ou dhlhmenes tiktousi te vai kai ekle-
pousi pollon ti xrhma twn teknon. ai men wov
exidnai katab pasan tis ynov eisai, oj de upo-
pteroi orfies awróoi eisai en tis ‘Araβi kai oudamh
allh· katab touto dokeousi polloi eina.

110. Tov men dh liβanwton touan ouw
ktwntai ‘Arabioi, tis dh kasisin oide. epean
katadwswntai bywswsai kai dermași allousi pau
to swwma kai to proswpon plwn autoun twn
orfalswv, erxwntai eπi tis kasisin dh de en
límwn fýetai ou bash, peri de autan kai en auti

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the hare, the lioness, a very strong and bold beast, bears offspring but once in her life, and then but one cub; for the uterus comes out with the cub in the act of birth. This is the reason of it:—when the cub first begins to stir in the mother, its claws, much sharper than those of any other creature, tear the uterus, and as it grows, much more does it scratch and tear, so that when the hour of birth is near seldom is any of the uterus left whole.

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

110. The Arabians get their frankincense as I have shown; for the winning of casia, when they seek it they bind oxhides and other skins over all their bodies and faces, leaving only the eyes. Casia grows in a shallow lake; round this and in it are
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αὐλίζεται κοιν θηρία πτερωτά, τῇσι νυκτερίσι προσείκελα μάλιστα, καὶ τέτρυχο γεινὸν, καὶ ἐς ἀλκήν ἁλκίμα: τὰ δεὶ ἀπαμνυμομένους ἀπὸ τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν οὐτὸ δρέπειν τὴν κασίμη.

111. Τὸ δὲ κινάμωμον ἐτί τοῦτων θωμαστότερον συνάγουσι. ὅκου μὲν γὰρ γίνεται καὶ ἦτος μιν γῆ ἡ τρέφουσα ἐστὶ, οὐκ ἔχουσι εἰπεῖν, πλὴν ὅτι λόγῳ οἰκότι χρεῶμενοι ἐν τοῖς ἱδρύσεις μαζί συνεχεῖ παρά ἄλλος αὐτὸ φύεσθαι ἐν τοῖς νυκτερίσι ἄλλος πᾶς ὁ Διόνυσος ἔτραφη: ὄρνιθας δὲ λέγουσι μεγάλας παραδείγματα ταῦτα τὰ κάρφεα τὰ ἡμεῖς ἀπὸ Φοινίκων μαθόντες κινάμωμον καλότειμον, φορέων δὲ τὰς ὀρνίθας ἐς νεοσσιάς προσπέπλασμένας ἐκ πηλοῦ πρὸς ἀποκρήμνυσθαι ὄρεσι, εὐθα ἀποσβασίν ἄνθρωποι οὐδεμίαν εἶναι. πρὸς ὅν δὲ τάτα τοὺς Ἀράβιους σοφίζεσθαι τάδε: βοῶν τε καὶ ὅνων τῶν ἀπογυμνομένων καὶ τῶν ἀλλων ὑποζυγίων τὰ μέλη διαταμόντας ὡς μέγιστα κομίζειν ἐς ταῦτα τὰ χωρία, καὶ σφαίρας ἄγχος τῶν νεοσσιεῶν ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι ἐκάς αὐτέων· τὰς δὲ ὀρνίθας καταπετομένας 1 τὰ μέλη τῶν ὑποζυγίων ἀνα- φορέων ἐπὶ τὰς νεοσσιάς, τὰς δὲ οὔ δυναμένας ἵσχειν καταρρήγησθαι ἐπὶ γῆν, τοὺς δὲ ἐπιώντας συνάγουσι. οὐτῶν μὲν τὸ κινάμωμον συνάγον μεν ἐκ τοῦτων ἀπικνέσθαι ἐς τὰς ἅλλας χώρας.

112. Τὸ δὲ λήδανον, τὸ καλέουσι Ἀράβιοι λάδανον, ἐτί τοῦτον θωμασιώτερον γίνεται: ἐν γὰρ δυσοδόματος γαμόμενον εὐωδεστάτον ἐστίν: τῶν γὰρ αἰγῶν τῶν τράγων ἐν τοῖς πώγωσι εὐρίσκεται ἐγγυμομένοις ὅποιν γλυῖος ἀπὸ τῆς ὕλης. χρήσιμον δὲ ἐς πολλὰ τῶν μύρων ἐστί, θυμῶσι τε μάλιστα τοῦτο Ἀράβιοι.

1 καταπετομένας [ἀυτῶν] Stein.

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

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

112. But gum-mastich, which Greeks call ledanon and Arabians ladanon, is yet more strangely produced. Its scent is most sweet, yet nothing smells more evilly than that which produces it; for it is found in the beards of he-goats, forming in them like tree-gum. This is used in the making of many perfumes; there is nothing that the Arabians so often burn for fragrance.
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113. Τοσαύτα μὲν θυωμάτων πέρι εἰρήσθω, ἀπόξει δὲ τῆς χώρης τῆς Ἀραβίας θεσπέσιον ὡς ἦδυ. δύο δὲ γένεα οἶων σφι ἐστὶ θώματος ἀξία, τὰ οὐδαμῶθι ἐτέρωθι ἐστὶ. τὸ μὲν αὐτῶν ἑτερον ἔχει τὰς οὐράς μακρὰς, τριῶν πηχέων οὐκ ἐλάσσονας, τὰς εἰ τις ἐπείῃ σφι ἐπέλκειν, ἐλκεα ἀν ἔχοιεν ἀνατριβομένων πρὸς τῇ γῇ τῶν οὐρέων· νῦν δ᾿ ἅπασ τις τῶν ποιμένων ἐπίσταται ξυλουργεῖν ἐς τοσοῦτον ἀμαξίδας γὰρ ποιεύεται ὑποδέουσι αὐτὰς τῇ οὐρῇ, ἐνὸς ἐκάστου κτήνεος τὴν οὐρὴν ἐπὶ ἀμαξίδα ἐκάστην καταδεοντες. τὸ δὲ ἑτερον γένος τῶν οἰων τὰς οὐράς πλατέας φορέουσι καὶ ἐπὶ πῆχυν πλάτως.

114. Ἀποκλινομένης δὲ μεσαμβρίας παρῆκε πρὸς δύνοντα ἡλιον ἡ Αἰθιοπίη χώρη ἐσχάτη τῶν οἰκεομενῶν· αὕτη δὲ χρυσόν τε φέρει πολλον καὶ ἐλέφαντας ἀμφιλαφέας καὶ δένδρα πάντα ἀγρια καὶ ἐβενον καὶ ἀνδρας μεγίστους καὶ καλλίστους καὶ μακροβιοτάτους.

115. Αὕται μὲν νυν ἐν τε τῇ Ἀσίῃ ἐσχατιαί εἰσι καὶ ἐν τῇ Διβυῇ. περὶ δὲ τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἑυρώπῃ τῶν πρὸς ἐσπέρην ἐσχατιέων ἐχω μὲν οὐκ ἀτρεκέως λέγειν· οὔτε γαρ ἠγογε ενδέκομαι Ἡριδανὸν καλέσθαι πρὸς βαρβάρων ποταμὸν ἐκδιδώντα πῶς θάλασσαν τὴν πρὸς βορείαν ἀνεμον, ἀπ᾿ ὅτεν τὸ ἥλεκτρον φοιτῶν λόγος ἐστί, οὔτε νῆσους οίδα Κασσιτέριδας ἐνυσας, ἐκ τῶν ὁ κασσίτερος ἦμιν φοιτὰ. τούτῳ μὲν γὰρ ὁ Ἡριδανὸς αὐτὸ κατηγορεῖ τὸ οὐνόμα ὡς ἐστὶ Ἐλληνικὸν καὶ οὐ βάρβαρον, ὑπὸ ποιητέω δὲ τῶν ποιηθέν τούτο δὲ οὐδενὸς αὐτόπτεω γενομένου δύναμαι ἄκουσαι, τούτῳ μελετῶν, ὅκις θάλασσα ἐστὶ τὰ ἐπέκεινα

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BOOK III. 113-115

113. I have said enough of the spices of Arabia; airs wondrous sweet blow from that land. They have moreover two marvellous kinds of sheep, nowhere else found. One of these has tails no less than three cubits long. Were the sheep to trail these after them, they would suffer hurt by the rubbing of the tails on the ground; but as it is every shepherd there knows enough of carpentry to make little carts which they fix under the tails, binding the tail of each several sheep on its own cart. The other kind of sheep has tails a full cubit broad.

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

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

116. Πρὸς δὲ ἀρκετοῦ τῆς Εὐρώπης πολλῆ τι πλείστος χρυσὸς φαίνεται ἐών όκως μὲν γινόμενος, οὐκ ἐχὼ οὐδὲ τοῦτο ἀτρεκέως εἴπαι, λέγεται δὲ ύπεκ τῶν γρυπῶν ἀρτάξεων Ἀρμαστοῦς ἀνδρας μουνοθάλμους. πείθομαι δὲ οὐδὲ τοῦτο όκως μουνόθαλμοι ἀνδρεῖς φύονται, φύσων ἔχοντες τὴν ἄλλην ὁμόιην τοίσι ἄλλοισι ἀνθρώποισι: αἰ δὲ δὲν ἐσχατιαὶ οὐκασί, περικλησίουσα τὴν ἄλλην χώρην καὶ ἔντος ἀπέργουσι, τὰ κάλλιστα δοκεόντα ἦμιν εἰναι καὶ σπανιώτατα ἔχειν αὑταί.

117. Ἐστὶ δὲ πεδίου ἐν τῇ Ἀθήνῃ περικεκλημένων ὅρει πάντωθεν, διασφάγες δὲ τοῦ ὅρεος εἰςὶ πέντε. τοῦτο τὸ πεδίον ἦν μὲν κοτῆ Χορασμίων, ἐν οὐροίσι ἐν Ὑπαρασμίων τε αὐτῶν καὶ Ἰρκανίων καὶ Πάρθων καὶ Σαραγγέων καὶ Θαμαναίων, ἐπείτε δὲ Πέρσαι ἔχουσι τὸ κράτος, ἐστὶ τοῦ βασιλέως. ἐκ δὴ ὅποι τοῦ περικλησίου ὅρεος τοῦτον βεβαιούς μεγάς, οὐνομα δὲ οἱ ἐστὶ Ἀκησ. οὗτος πρότερον μὲν ἀρδεσκε διαλελαμμένος πενταχοῦ τούτων τῶν εἰρημένων τὰς χώρας, διὰ διασφάγοις ἀγόμενος ἐκάστης ἐκάστου: ἐπείτε δὲ ὑπὸ τῷ Πέρσῃ εἰςί, πεπῶνθαι τοιόνδε: τὰς διασφάγας τῶν ὁρέων ἐνδείμασι ὁ βασιλεὺς πύλας ἐπὶ ἐκάστης διασφάγη ἐστησε ἀποκεκλημένου δὲ τοῦ υδάτος τῆς ἐξόδου τὸ πεδίον τὸ ἐντὸς τῶν ὀρέων πέλαγος γίνεται, ἐνδοῦντος μὲν τοῦ ποταμοῦ, ἐχοντος δὲ οὐδαμῆ ἔξημισιν. οὗτοι δὲν οἱ περ ἐμπροσθε ἐσθεσαν.
know, that our tin and amber come from the most distant parts.

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

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

¹ All this description appears to be purely imaginative. But "the idea of the chapter" (say Messrs. How and Wells) "is quite correct; the control of irrigation is in the East one of the prerogatives of government, and great sums are charged for the use of water."
χράσθαι τῷ ὕδατι, οὐκ ἔχοντες αὐτῷ χράσθαι συμφορὴ μεγάλη διαχρέωνται. τὸν μὲν γὰρ χειμῶνα ὑπὶ σφί ὁ θεὸς ὡσπερ καὶ τοῖς ἀλλοις ἀνθρώποις, τού δὲ θέρεος σπείροντες μελίνην καὶ σήσαμον χρησκοῦνται τῷ ὕδατι. ἔπειν δὲν μηδὲν σφί παραδίδωται τοῦ ὕδατος, ἐλθόντες ἐς τοὺς Πέρσας αὐτοῖς τε καὶ γυναῖκες, στάντες κατὰ τὰς θύρας τοῦ βασιλέως βοῶσι ὑφρύμενοι, ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς τοῖς δεσμένοισι αὐτῶν μάλιστα ἐντέλλεται ἀνοίγειν τὰς πύλας τὰς ἐς τὸ τοῦτο φεροῦσας. ἔπεαν δὲ διάκορος ἡ γῆ σφεων γένηται πίνουσα τὸ ὕδωρ, αὐτὴ μὲν αἱ πύλαι ἀποκλήονται, ἄλλας δὲ ἐντελλεται ἀνοίγειν ἀλλοις τοῖς δεσμένοισι μάλιστα τῶν λοιπῶν. ὥς δὲ ἐγὼ οἶδα ἀκοῦσας, χρήματα μεγάλα πρησσόμενος ἀνοίγει πάρεξ τοῦ φόρου.

118. Ταῦτα μὲν δὴ ἔχει οὖτω. τῶν δὲ τῷ Μάγῳ ἐπαναστάντων ἔπτα ἄνδρῶν, ἕνα αὐτῶν Ἰνταφρένεα κατέλαβε ὑβρίσαντα τάδε ἀποθανεῖν αὐτίκα μετὰ τὴν ἐπανάστασιν. ἦθελεν ἐς τὰ βασιλεία ἐσελθὼν χρηματίσασθαι τῷ βασιλείῳ καὶ γὰρ δὴ καὶ ὁ νόμος οὖτω εἶχε, τούτι ἐπαναστάσι τῷ Μάγῳ ἐσόδον εἶναι παρὰ βασιλεὰ ἄνευ ἀγγέλου, ἦν μὴ γυναικὶ τυγχάνῃ μισγόμενος βασιλεύς. οὐκὼν δὴ Ἰνταφρένης ἔδικαίον οὐδένα οἱ ἐσαγγελοῖ, ἀλλ' ὅτι ἦν τῶν ἐπτά, ἐσείει καὶ ἦθελε. ὁ δὲ πυλοῦρος καὶ ὁ ἀγγελισθέρος οὐ περιώρων, φάμενοι τοῖς βασιλεῖς γυναικὶ μίσγεσθαι. ὁ δὲ Ἰνταφρένης δοκεῶν σφέας σφεῦδα λέγει ποιεί τοιάδε' στα- σάμενος τῶν ἀκινάκεα ἀποτάμυνε αὐτῶν τὰ τε ὅτα καὶ τὰς ῥίνας, καὶ ἀνείρας περὶ τῶν χαλινῶν τοῦ ἵππου περὶ τοὺς αὐχένας σφέων ἔδησε, καὶ ἀπήκε.
the water can use it no longer, and are in very evil case; for whereas in winter they have the rain from heaven like other men, in summer they are in need of the water for their sown millet and sesame. So whenever no water is given to them, they come into Persia with their women, and cry and howl before the door of the king's palace, till the king commands that the river-gate which leads thither should be opened for those whose need is greatest; then, when this land has drunk its fill of water, that gate is shut, and the king bids open another for those of the rest who most require it. I have heard and know that he exacts great sums, over and above the tribute, for the opening of the gates.

118. So much for these matters. But Intaphrenes, one of the seven rebels against the Magian, was brought to his death by a deed of violence immediately after the rebellion. He desired to enter the palace and speak with the king; for this was the law, that the rebels should come into the king's presence without announcement given, if the king were not with one of his wives. Intaphrenes then claimed his right to enter unannounced, as one of the seven; but the gate-warden and the messenger forbade him, the king being, they said, with one of his wives. Intaphrenes thought they spoke falsely; drawing his scimitar he cut off their noses and ears, then strung these on his horse's bridle and bound it round the men's necks, and so let them go.
BOOK III. 119

119. They showed themselves to the king and told him the reason why they had been so treated. Darius, fearing that this might be a conspiracy of the six, sent for each severally and questioned him, to know if they approved the deed; and being assured that they had no part in it, he seized Intaphrenes with his sons and all his household—for he much suspected that the man was plotting a rebellion with his kinsfolk—and imprisoned them with intent to put them to death. Then Intaphrenes' wife came ever and anon to the palace gates, weeping and lamenting; and at last her continual so doing moved Darius to compassion; and he sent a messenger to tell her that Darius would grant her the life of one of her imprisoned kinsfolk, whomsoever she chose. She, after counsel taken, answered that if this were the king's boon she chose the life of her brother. Darius was astonished when he heard her answer, and sent one who said to her: "Woman, the king would know for what reason you pass over your husband and your children and choose rather to save the life of your brother, who is less close to you than your children and less dear than your husband." "O King," she answered, "another husband I may get, if heaven so will, and other children, if I lose these; but my father and mother are dead, and so I can by no means get another brother; that is why I have thus spoken." Darius was pleased, and thought the reason good; he delivered to the woman him for
ΗΡΟĐΟΤΟΣ

τὸν πρεσβύτατον, ἡσθεὶς αὐτῆ, τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους ἀπέκτεινε πάντας. τῶν μὲν δὴ ἐπτὰ εἰς αὐτίκα τρόπῳ τῷ εἰρημένῳ ἀπολάλεε.

120. Κατὰ δὲ κοι μάλιστα τὴν Καμβύσεως νοῦσον ἐγίνετο τάδε. ὑπὸ Κύρου κατασταθεῖς ἡν Σαρδίων ὑπάρχος Ὕροιτῆς ἄνηρ Πέρσης· οὗτος ἐπεθύμησε πρήγματος οὐκ ὄσιον· ὅτε γὰρ τι παθὼν οὔτε ἀκοῦσας μάταιον ἐπος πρὸς Πολυκράτεος τοῦ Σαμίου, οὔδὲ ἰδὼν πρὸτερον, ἐπεθύμηε λαβὼν αὐτὸν ἀπολέσαι, ὅσ μὲν οἱ πλεῦνες λέγουσι, διὰ τούτῳ τινὰ αἰτίην. ἐπὶ τῶν βασιλέως θυρέων κατημένου τὸν τὸ Ὅροιτηα καὶ ἄλλον Πέρσην τῷ οὖνομα εἰναι Μιτροβάτεα, νομοῦ ἄρχοντα τοῦ ἐν Δασκυλείῳ, τούτους ἐκ λόγων ἐς νείκεα συμπε- σεῖν, κρινομένων δὲ περὶ ἀρετῆς εἰπεῖν τὸν Μιτρο- βάτεα τῷ Ὅροιτη προφήροντα "Σὺ γὰρ ἐν ἀνδρῶν λόγῳ, δὲ βασιλεί τῆς Σάμον πρὸς τῷ σῷ νομῷ προσκείμενην ὡς προσεκτήσω, ὥδε δὴ τι ἐνοῦσαν εὐπτεῖα χειροθηίναι, τὴν τῶν τις ἐπιχωρίων πεν- τεκαίδεκα ὡπλίτησι ἐπαναστὰς ἔσχε καὶ νῦν αὐτίς τυραννεύει." οἱ μὲν δὴ μιν φασὶ τοῦτο ἀκούσαντα καὶ ἀληθεῦσαν τῷ ὅνειδες ἐπιθυμήσαν· οὐκ οὕτω τῶν εἰπαντα ταῦτα ἀωσαθαί ὡς Πολυκράτεα πάντως ἀπολέσαι, δι' ὅτινα κακῶς ἤκοις.

121. Οἱ δὲ ἐλάσσονες λέγουσι πέμψα Ὅροιτα ἐς Σάμον κήρυκα διευ δὴ χρήματος δεισόμενον (οὐ γὰρ δὴ τούτῳ γε λέγεται), καὶ τὸν ΠολΥ- κράτεα τυχεῖν κατακείμενον ἐν ἀνδρῶν, παρεῖναι δὲ οἱ καὶ Ἀνακρέοντα τὸν Τήιον καὶ κως εἴτ' ἐκ προοίμης αὐτὸν κατηκλυέοντα τὰ Ὅροιτεω πρή- γματα, εἴτε καὶ συντυχής τοιαύτη ἐπεγενετο· τὸν τε γὰρ κήρυκα τὸν Ὅροιτεω παρελθόντα.
BOOK III. 119-121

whose life she had asked, and the eldest of her sons besides; all the rest he put to death. Thus immediately perished one of the seven.

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

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

¹ See ch. 39.
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dιαλέγεσθαι, καὶ τὸν Πολυκράτεα (τυχεὶν γὰρ ἀπεστραμμένον πρὸς τὸν τοῖχον) οὐτε τι μετα-
στραφήναι οὔτε ὑποκρίνασθαι.

122. Αἰτία μὲν δὴ αὐταὶ διφάσια λέγονται
tοῦ θανάτου τοῦ Πολυκράτεος γενέσθαι, πάρεστι
dὲ πείθεσθαι ὄκοτέρη τις βούλεται αὐτέων. ὡς
dὲ ὁ Ὄροιτὴς ἵζομενός ἐν Μαγγησίᾳ τῇ ὑπὲρ Μαι-
άνδρου ποταμοῦ οἰκημένη ἐπεμπέ Μύρον τὸν
Γύγεω ἀνδρα Λυδῶν ἐς Σάμον ἀγγελίην φέροντα,
μαθῶν τοῦ Πολυκράτεος τὸν νόσου. Πολυκράτης
γὰρ ἐστὶ πρῶτος τῶν ἡμεῖς ἰδιεὶς Ἑλληνῶν ὃς
θαλασσοκρατεῖν ἐπενοήθη, πάρεξ Μίνωος τε τοῦ
Κυνοσίου καὶ εἰ δὴ τὶς ἄλλος πρῶτος τοῦτον
ήρξε τῆς θαλάσσης: τῆς δὲ ἀνθρωπηνῆς λεγομένης
γενεῆς Πολυκράτης πρῶτος, ἐπίδιας πολλὰς ἐχὼν
Ἰωνίας τε καὶ νῆσων ἄρξειν. μαθῶν δὲν ταῦτά
μιν διανοεόμενον ὁ Ὅροιτὴς πέμψας ἀγγελίην
ἐλεγε τάδε. "Ὅροιτῆς Πολυκράτει ὃδε λέγει.
πυθάνομαι ἐπιβουλεύειν σε πρήγμασι μεγάλοις,
καὶ χρήματα τοι ὡς εἶναι κατὰ τὰ φρονήματα.
σὺ νῦν ὃδε ποιήσας ὀρθῶσεις μὲν σεωτόν, σώσεις
δὲ καὶ ἔμε: ἐμοὶ γὰρ βασίλεις Καμβύσης ἐπιβουλεύει
θάνατον, καὶ μοι τοῦτο ἐξαγγέλλεται σαφὴ-
nέως. σὺ νῦν ἔμε ἐκκομίσας αὐτὸν καὶ χρήματα,
tα μὲν αὐτὸς ἔχε, τὰ δὲ ἔμε ἐχειν: εἰνεκέν τοῖς χρηματῶν ἄρξεις ἀπάσης τῆς Ἑλλάδος.
εἰ δὲ μοι ἄπιστεες τὰ περὶ τῶν χρημάτων, πέμψον
ὀστὶς τοι πιστότατος τυγχάνει ἐὼν, τῷ ἐγώ ἀπο-
δέξω."  

123. Ταῦτα ἀκούσας Πολυκράτης ἥσθη τε καὶ
ἐβουλετο. καὶ κως ἰμείρετο γὰρ χρημάτων μεγάλοις,
ἀποτέμπει πρῶτα κατοψόμενον Μαιάνδριον Μαι-
150
entered and addressed him, Polycrates, then lying with his face to the wall, never turned nor answered him.

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

123. Hearing this, Polycrates liked the plan and consented; and, as it chanced that he had a great desire for money, he first sent one of his townsmen,
ανδρίου ἄνδρα τῶν ἀστῶν, ὃς οἶκεν γραμματιστὴς·
δὲ χρόνῳ οὐ πολλῷ ὑστερον τούτων τὸν κόσμον
τὸν ἐκ τοῦ ἀνδρεώνος τοῦ Πολυκράτεος ἐστὶ
ἀξιοθέντον ανέθηκε πάντα ἐπὶ τὸ Ἡραιον. ὦ δὲ
Ὀροίτης μαθὼν τὸν κατάσκοπον ἐστὶν προσδό-
κμόν ἐποίησε τοιάδε· λάρνακας ὅκτω πληρώσας
λίθων πλὴν κάρτα βραχέος τοῦ περὶ αὐτὰ τὰ
χείλεα, ἐπιπολής τῶν λίθων χρυσοῦ ἐπέβαλε,
καταδήσας δὲ τὰς λάρνακας εἰχε ἐτοίμας. ἐλθὼν
δὲ ὁ Μαίανδριος καὶ θεσάμενος ἀπήγγειλε τῷ
Πολυκράτει.

124. Ὅ δὲ πολλὰ μὲν τῶν μαντιῶν ἀπαγορεύ-
οντων πολλὰ δὲ τῶν φίλων ἐστέλλετο αὐτόσε, πρὸς
δὲ καὶ ἱδούις τῆς θυγατρὸς ὅψιν ἐνυπνίον
τοιήδε· ἐδόκεε δὲ τὸν πατέρα ἐν τῷ ἥρι
μετέωρων εὐόντα λούσθαι μὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ ∆ίος, χρίσθαι δὲ
ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἡλίου. ταῦτιν ἱδούσαι τὴν ὄψιν παντοίη ἐγι-
νετο μὴ ἀποδημήσαι τὸν Πολυκράτεα παρὰ τὸν
Ὀροίτεα, καὶ δὴ καὶ ἱόντος αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τὴν πεντῆ-
κουτερον ἐπεφημίζετο. ὦ δὲ οἱ ἡπείλησε, ἵνα σῶς
ἀπονοστήσῃ, πολλόν μιν χρόνον παρθενεύσῃ.
ἡ δὲ ἡρήσατο ἐπιτελεά ταύτα γενέσθαι δούλεσθαι
γὰρ παρθενεύσεθαι πλέω χρόνον η τοῦ πατρὸς
ἐπετηρῆσθαι.

125. Πολυκράτης δὲ πάσησι συμβουλής ἀλο-
γήσας ἐπλεε παρὰ τὸν Ὀροίτεα, ἀμα ἀγόμενος
ἀλλοις τε πολλοῖς τῶν ἑταίρων, ἐν δὲ δὴ καὶ
Δημοκρίδας τού Καλλιφώντος Κροτωνισῆν ἄνδρα,
ἰηρὸν τε ἐστὶν καὶ τὴν τέχνην ἀσκέων ἄριστα
τῶν καὶ ἑωτούν. ἀπικόμαυς δὲ ἐς τὴν Μαγνη-
σίῃν ὁ Πολυκράτης διεφθάρη κακῶς, οὕτε ἑωτοῦ
ἀξίως ὅτε τῶν ἑωτοῦ φρονημάτων ὁτι γὰρ μὴ
BOOK III. 123-125

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

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

125. But Polycrates would listen to no counsel. He sailed to meet Oroetes, with a great retinue of followers, among whom was Demoecdes, son of Calliphon, a man of Crotona and the most skilful physician of his time. But no sooner had Polycrates come to Magnesia than he was foully murdered, making an end which ill beseemed himself and his pride; for,
οἱ Συρηκοσίων γενόμενοι τύραννοι οὐδὲ εἰς τῶν Ἀλλων Ἐλληνικῶν τυράννων ἀξίως ἐστὶ Πολυκράτει μεγαλοπρεπεῖν συμβληθῆναι. ἀποκτείνας δὲ μιν οὐκ ἀξίως ἀπηγῆσιος Ὁροίτης ἀνεσταύρωσε τῶν δὲ οἱ ἐπομένων ὅσοι μὲν ἦσαν Σάμιοι, ἀπῆκε, κελεύουσι σφέας ἑωτῷ χάριν εἰδέναι ἕντας ἔλευθέρους, ὅσοι δὲ ἦσαν ξεινοὶ τε καὶ δούλοι τῶν ἐπομένων, ἐν ἀνδραπόδων λόγῳ ποιεύμενος εἴχε. Πολυκράτης δὲ ἀνακρεμάμενος ἐπετέλεε πᾶσαν τὴν ὃπιν τῆς θυγατρός· ἐλούτο μὲν γὰρ ὑπὸ τοῦ Δίὸς ὅκως ὑοὶ, ἐχρίετο δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ ἥλιου, ἀνείς αὐτὸς ἐκ τοῦ σύματος ἰκμάδα.

126. Πολυκράτεως μὲν δὴ αἱ πολλαὶ εὐτυχίαι ἐς τοῦτο ἐτελεύτησαρBODY 1 ὁ Ἀμασίς ὁ Αἰγύπτου βασιλεὺς προεμαυτεύσατο.1 Χρόνῳ δὲ οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον καὶ Ὁροίτης Πολυκράτεως τίσις μετῆλθον: μετὰ γὰρ τῶν Καμβύσεως θάνατον καὶ τῶν Μάγων τὴν βασιλείαν μένων ἐν τῇ Σάρδισι Ὁροίτης ὁφέλεε μὲν οὐδὲν Πέρσας ὑπὸ Μῆδων ἀπαραίτηταν τὴν ἀρχὴν. οὐ δὲ ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ ταξικῇ κατὰ μὲν ἔκτεινε Μιτροβάτα τὸν ἐκ Δασκυλείου ὑπαρχον, οὐ οἰ ωνείδεις τὰ ἐς Πολυκράτεα ἔχοντα, κατὰ δὲ τοῦ Μιτροβάτεως τὸν παῖδα Κρανάστην, ἄνδρας ἐν Πέρσῃς δοκίμους, ἀλλα τε ἐξύβρισε παντοίᾳ καὶ τινα ἀγγελιφόρον ἐλθόντα Δαρείου παρ’ αὐτόν, ως οὐ πρὸς ἡδονήν οἱ ἡ τὰ ἀγγέλιϕαι, κτείνει μιν ὡπείρῳ κομικιοῖς μενον, ἄνδρας οἱ υπείσας κατ’ ὅδον, ἀποκτείνας δὲ μιν ἡφάνισε αὐτῷ ἱππῳ.

1 Stein brackets τῇ...προεμαυτεύσατο, because Amasis did not actually prophesy the details; but the words may well stand.
BOOK III. 125–126

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

126. This was the end of Polycrates' many successes, as Amasis, king of Egypt, had forewarned him. But not long after, Oroetes was overtaken by the powers that avenged Polycrates. After Cambyses had died and the Magians won the kingship, Oroetes stayed in Sardis, where he in no way helped the Persians to regain the power taken from them by the Medes, but contrariwise; for in this confusion he slew two notable Persians, Mitro Bates, the governor from Dascyleium, who had taunted him concerning Polycrates, and Mitro Bates' son, Cranespes; and besides many other violent deeds, when a messenger from Darius came with a message which displeased him, he set an ambush by the way and killed that messenger on his journey homewards, and made away with the man's body and horse.

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HERODOTUS

127. Δαρείος δὲ ὃς ἔσχε τὴν ἀρχήν, ἐπεθύμεε τὸν Ὁροίτεα τίσασθαι πάντων τῶν ἄδικημάτων εἴνεκεν καὶ μάλιστα Μιτροβάτεω καὶ τοῦ παιδὸς. ἐκ μὲν δὴ τῆς ἰδέης στρατοῦ ἦν αὐτοῦ οὐκ ἔδοκεν πέμπειν ἀτε οἰδεόντων ἐτὶ τῶν πρηγμάτων, καὶ νεώστε ἔχων τὴν ἀρχήν καὶ τὸν Ὁροίτεα μεγάλην τὴν ἰσχύν πυθανόμενος ἔχειν τὸν χίλιοι μὲν Περσέων ἐδορυφόρεον, εἰσὶ δὲ νομὸν τὸν τε Φρύγιον καὶ Δυδίου καὶ Ἰωνικὸν. πρὸς ταῦτα δὴ ὃν ὁ Δαρείος τάξει ἐμηχανήσατο. συγκαλέσας Περσέων τοὺς δοκιμοτάτοις ἔλεγε σφι τάδε. "Ὤ Πέρσαι, τίς ἂν μοι τοῦτο ὑμένων ὑποστὰς ἐπιτελέσσεις σοφίᾳ καὶ μὴ βίᾳ τε καὶ ὁμίλῳ; ἐνθα γὰρ σοφίᾳ δεῖ, βίᾳς ἔριγον οὐδέν; ὑμένων δὲ ὃν τίς μοι Ὁροίτεα ἢ ξώντα ἀγάγοι ἢ ἀποκτείνεις; ὃς ὀφελήσει μὲν καὶ Πέρσας οὐδέν, κακὰ δὲ μεγάλα ἔφρεν τοῦτο μὲν δύο ἡμέων ἡστώσε, Μιτροβάτεα τε καὶ τῶν παῖδα αὐτοῦ, τοῦτο δὲ τοὺς ἀνακαλέοντας αὐτὸν καὶ πεμπομένους ὑπ’ ἐμεύ κτείνει, ὑβριν οὐκ ἀνα-
χετὸν φαίνων. πρὸν τι ὃν μέξον ἐξεργάσασθαι μιν Πέρσας κακῶν, καταλαμπτέος ἐστὶ ἡμῖν βανάτω."  

128. Δαρείος μὲν ταῦτα ἐπειρώτα, τῷ δὲ ἄνδρας τριήκοντα ὑπέστησαν, αὐτὸς ἔκαστος ἐθέλων ποιεῖν ταῦτα. ἐρίζοντας δὲ Δαρείος κατελάμβανε κελεύων πάλλεσθαι: παλλομένων δὲ λαγχάνει ἐκ πάντων Βαγαίων ὁ Ἀρτόντεως λαχὼν δὲ ὁ Βαγαίος ποιεῖ τάδε: βυβλία γραψάμενος πολλὰ καὶ περὶ πολλῶν ἔχοντα πρηγμάτων σφηνηγίδα σφι ἐπέβαλε τὴν Δαρείον, μετὰ δὲ ἢς ἔχον ταῦτα ἐς τὰς Σάρδεις. ἀπικόμενος δὲ καὶ Ὁροίτεω ἐς ὁψὶν ἐλθὼν, τῶν βυβλίων ἐν ἐκαστον περιαρεόμενος ἐδίδου τῷ

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BOOK III. 127-128

127. So when Darius became king he was minded to punish Oroetes for all his wrongdoing, and chiefly for the killing of Mitrobates and his son. But he thought it best not to send an army openly against the satrap, seeing that all was still in ferment and he himself was still new to the royal power; moreover he heard that Oroetes was very strong, having a guard of a thousand Persian spearmen and being governor of the Phrygian and Lydian and Ionian province. Resorting therefore to a device to help him, he summoned an assembly of the most notable Persians, whom he thus addressed: "Who is there among you, men of Persia, that will undertake and achieve a thing for me not with force and numbers, but by cunning? Force has no place where cunning is needful. But to the matter in hand—which of you will bring me Oroetes alive, or kill him? for he has done the Persians no good, but much harm; two of us he has slain, Mitrobates and his son; nay, and he slays my messengers who are sent to recall him; so unbearable is the insolence of his acts. Therefore death must stay him from doing the Persians some yet worse evil."

128. At this question thirty men promised that they were ready each for himself to do the king's will. Darius bade them not contend but draw lots; they all did so, and the lot fell on Bagaeus, son of Artontes. He, thus chosen, wrote many letters concerning many matters; then sealing them with Darius' seal he went with them to Sardis. Coming there into Oroetes' presence he took out each letter severally and gave it to one of the royal scribes who attend all
γραμματιστὴ τῷ βασιλῆι ἐπιλέγεσθαι γραμμα-
τιστὰς δὲ βασιλῆιος οἱ πάντες ὑπαρχοὶ ἔχουσιν:
ἀποπειρόμενος δὲ τῶν δορυφόρων ἐδίδον τὰ βυβλία
ὁ Βαγαῖος, εἰ ἐνδεξαίματο ἀπόστασιν ἀπὸ Ὀροῖτεω.
ὁρέων δὲ σφέας τὰ τε βυβλία σεβομένους μεγάλως
καὶ τὰ λεγόμενα ἐκ τῶν βυβλίων ἔτη μεζώνως,
δειδοὶ ἀλλο ἐν τῷ ἐνή ἐπεα τάδε. "Ὡ Πέρσαι,
βασιλεὺς Δαρείος ἀπαγορεύει χρήν μὴ δορυφόρεειν
Ὀροῖτεω." οἱ δὲ ἀκούοντες τοὺς μετηκῶν οἱ
tὰς αἰχμᾶς. ἤδων δὲ τοῦτο σφέας ὁ Βαγαῖος
πειθομένους τῷ βυβλίῳ, ἐνθαῦτα δὴ ἕρασκας τὸ
tελευταῖον τῶν βυβλίων δειδοὶ τῷ γραμματιστῇ,
ἐν τῷ ἐγέγραπτο "Βασιλεὺς Δαρείος Πέρσης
τοίς ἐν Σάρδισι ἐντέλεσε κτεῖνει Ὀροῖτεω."
οἱ δὲ δορυφόροι ὅς ἠκούσαν ταῦτα, σπασάμενοι
τοὺς ἀκινάκας κτεῖνουσι παρατίκα μιν, οὕτω
dὴ Ὀροῖτεω τὸν Πέρσην Πολυκράτεο τοῦ Σαμίου
τίσις μετῆλθον.

129. Ἀπικομένων δὲ καὶ ἀνακομισθέντων τῶν
Ὀροῖτεο χρημάτων ἔσ τὰ Σοῦσα, συνήνεικε χρόνῳ
οὐ πολλῷ ὑπερον βασιλέα Δαρείον ἐν ἀγρῃ
θηρῶν ἀποθρόσκονται ἀπ’ ὑπον στραφήναι τῶν
πόδα. καὶ κως ἰσχυρότερος ἐστράφη ὁ γὰρ οἱ
ἀστράγαλος ἐξεχώρησε ἐκ τῶν ἄρθρων. νομίζον
δὲ καὶ πρότερον περὶ ἑυτῶν ἐχεῖν Ἀἰγυπτίων
τοὺς δοκέοντας εἶναι πρῶτους τὴν ἐτρικήν, τοῦ-
τοσι ἔχρατο. οἱ δὲ στρεβλοῦντες καὶ βιῶμενοι
tῶν πόδα κακὸν μέξον ἔργαζοντο. ἔπ’ ἐπτὰ μὲν
dὴ ἡμέρας καὶ ἐπτὰ νύκτας ὑπὸ τοῦ παρεόντος
κακοῦ ὁ Δαρείος ἀγρυπνήσθη εἰχετο. τῇ δὲ δὴ
ἀγδὴ ἡμέρη ἔχοντι οἱ φλαῦρωσ, παρακούσας τῆς
πρότερον ἔτι ἐν Σάρδισι τοῦ Κροτωνιήτεω Δημο-

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BOOK III. 128–129

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

129. Oroetes' slaves and other possessions were brought to Susa. Not long after this, it happened that Darius, while hunting, twisted his foot in dismounting from his horse, so violently that the ball of the ankle joint was dislocated from its socket. Darius called in the first physicians of Egypt, whom he had till now kept near his person; who, by their forcible wrenching of the foot, did but make the hurt worse; and for seven days and nights the king could get no sleep for the pain. On the eighth day he was in very evil case; then someone, who had heard in Sardis of the skill of Democedes of Croton, told the
κήδεος τὴν τέχνην ἀγγέλλει τῷ Δαρείῳ. ὁ δὲ ἄγειν μὲν τὴν ταχιστὴν παρ’ ἐωτὸν ἐκέλευσε· τόν δὲ ὡς ἔξευρον ἐν τοῖς Ὅροίτεω άνδραπόδοιοι ὅκου δὴ ἀπημελημένου, παρῆγον ἐς μέσον πέδας τε ἐλκοντα καὶ ράκεσι ἐσθημένου.

130. Σταθέντα δὲ ἐς μέσον εἰρώτα οἱ Δαρεῖος τὴν τέχνην εἰ ἐπίστατο· δὲ οὐκ ὑπεδέκετο, ἀρρωδέων μὴ ἐωτὸν ἐκφήνας τὸ παράπαν τῆς Ἑλλάδος ή ἀπεστημένος· κατεφάνη τε τῷ Δαρείῳ τεχνάζειν ἐπιστάμενος, καὶ τοὺς ἀγαγόντας αὐτὸν ἐκέλευσε μάστιγάς τε καὶ κέντρα παραφέρειν ἐς τὸ μέσον. δὲ ἐνθαῦτα δὴ ὡς ἐκφαίνει, φ ας ἀτρεκέως μὲν οὖν ἐπιστᾶσθαι, ὀμιλήσας δὲ ἢτρῷ φλαύρῳ ἔχειν τὴν τέχνην. μετὰ δὲ, ὡς οἱ ἐπέτρεψε, Ἑλληνικοῖσι ἴημασι χρεώμενοι καὶ ἤπια μετὰ τὰ ἱσχυρὰ προσάγων ὑπνοῦ τὲ μν ο λαχάνειν ἐποίει καὶ ἐν χρόνῳ ὅλῳ ύγιέα μὲν ἀπέδεξε, οὔδαμα ἐτὶ ἐλπίζοντα ἀρτίτον ἔσεσθαι. δωρέεται δὴ μὴν μετὰ ταῦτα οἱ Δαρεῖος πεδῶν χρύσεων δύο ξεύγεσι· δὲ μὲν ἐπείρετο εἰ οἱ διπλήσιον τὸ κακὸν ἐπίτηδες νέμει, ὅτι μὲν ύγιέα ἐποίησε. ἆσθεῖς δὲ τῷ ἐπε🛐 ὁ Δαρείος ἀποτέμεπτε μὲν παρὰ τὸς ἐωτοῦ γυναίκας· παράγοντες δὲ οἱ εὐνοῦχοι ἔλεγον πρὸς τὰς γυναίκας ὡς βασιλείᾳ οὖτος εἰ ἔς τὴν ψυχὴν ἀπέδωκε. ὑποτύπτουσα δὲ αὐτῶν ἐκάστη φιάλη τοῦ χρυσοῦ ἐς θήκην ἐδωρέετο Δημοκρίτεα οὕτω δὴ τι δαψιλεῖ δωρεῇ ὡς τοὺς ἀποτύπτοντας ἀπὸ τῶν φιάλεων στατήρας ἐπόμενος ὁ οἰκέτης, τῷ οὖνομα ἦν Σκίτων, ἀνελέγετο καὶ οἱ χρήμα πολλόν τι χρυσοῦ συνελέξθη.
king of him. Darius bade Democedes be brought to him without delay. Finding the physician somewhere all unregarded and forgotten among Oroetes' slaves, they brought him into view, dragging his chains and clad in rags.

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

1 Or, that he knew how to practise his art?
HERODOTUS

131. Ὅ δὲ Δημοκύνης οὗτος ὥδε ἐκ Κρότωνος ἀπεγείμενος Πολυκράτει ὀμήλησε· πατρὶ συνείχετο ἐν τῇ Κρότωνῳ ὥργῃν χαλεπῶ· τούτον ἔπειτε οὐκ ἐδύνατο φέρειν, ἀπολιπὼν οἴχετο ἐς Αἰγίναν. καταστὰς δὲ ἐς ταύτην πρῶτῳ ἔτει ὑπερεβάλετο τοὺς ἄλλους ἰητρούς, ἀσκευής περ ἔδω καὶ ἕχων οὐδὲν τῶν ὅσα περὶ τὴν τέχνην ἐστὶ ἑργαλήν. καὶ μιν δευτέρῳ ἔτει ταλάντων Αἰγινηταὶ δημοσίης μισθοῦνται, τρίτῳ δὲ ἔτει Ἁθηναίοι ἑκατὸν μνέων, τετάρτῳ δὲ ἔτει Πολυκράτης δύον ταλάντων. οὔτω μὲν ἀπίκετο ἐς τὴν Σάμον, καὶ ἀπὸ τούτου τοῦ ἀνδρός οὐκ ἦκιστα Κροτωνιήτης ἰητροὶ εὐδο-κίμηταν. ἐγένετο γὰρ ὅτι τούτῳ ἦν τῶν οἵτω τοῖς μὲν Κροτωνιήτης ἰητρῷ ἐλέγοντο ἀνὰ τὴν Ἑλλάδα εἶναι, δεύτεροι δὲ Κυρηναίοι. κατὰ τὸν αὐτόν δὲ τούτου χρόνου καὶ Ἀργεῖοι ἦκουν μούσικὴν εἶναι Ἑλλήνων πρῶτοι.¹

132. Τότε δὴ ὁ Δημοκύνης ἐν τοῖς Σούσοισι ἐξεισάγωνος Δαρεῖον οἰκόν τε μέγιστον εἶχε καὶ ὁμοτράπεζος βασιλεῖ ἐγεγονει, πλὴν τε ἐνὸς τοῦ ἔστι Ἑλληνας ἀπείναι πάντα τάλλα οἱ παρῆν. καὶ τούτῳ μὲν τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους ἰητροὺς, οἱ βασιλέα πρὸτερον ἴωντο, μελλοντας ἀνασκολοπε-σιάθαι ὅτι ὑπὸ Ἑλλήνος ἰητροῦ ἐσσώδησαν, τού- τους βασιλέα παρατησάμενος ἐφρύσατο· τούτῳ δὲ μάντιν Ἡλείων Πολυκράτει ἐπιστόμενον καὶ ἀπημελημένον ἐν τοῖς ἀνδραπόδοις ἐφρύσατο. ἦν δὲ μέγιστον πρῆγμα Δημοκύνης παρὰ βασιλεῖ.⁴

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

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

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

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

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

άλλα συνήνεικε γενέσθαι. Ἄτοσσῃ τῇ Κύρου μὲν θυγατρὶ Δαρείου δὲ γυναικὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ μαστοῦ ἕφυ φῦμα, μετὰ δὲ ἐκραγεν ἐνέμετο πρόσω. ὅσον μὲν ἦν χρόνον ἢν ἐλασσόν, ἢ δὲ κρύπτουσα καὶ αἰσχυνομένη ἐφραξε οὐδενί.: ἐπείτε δὲ ἐν κακῷ ἦν, μετεπέμψατο τὸν Δημοκήδεα καὶ οἱ ἐπέδεξε. ὃ
de φὰς ὑγιεὰ ποιήσεις ἐξορκοὶ μὲν ἡ μὲν ἐπὶ ἀντι

134. ὥς δὲ ἁρᾶ μὲν μετὰ ταῦτα ἱώμενος ὑγιεὰ ἀπέδεξε, ἐνθαῦτα δὴ διδαχθείσα ὑπὸ τοῦ Δημο-
kήδεος ἢ Ἄτοσσα προσέφερε ἐν τῇ κοιτῇ Δαρείῳ

λόγον τοιόνυν. "Ὤ βασιλεὺ, ἔχων δύναμιν το-
sαῦτην κάτησαι, οὔτε τι ἔθνος προσκύνησεν οὔτε
dύναμιν Πέρσης. οἰκὸς δὲ ἐστὶ ἄνδρα καὶ νέον

καὶ χρημάτων μεγάλων δεσπότην φαίνεσθαι τι ἀποδεικνύμενον, ἢν καὶ Πέρσαι ἐκμάθωσι οὕτω ἄνδρας ἄρχονται. ἐπ' ἀμφότερα δὲ τοις συμφέρει
tαῦτα ποιεῖτε, καὶ ἢν σφέων Πέρσαι ἐπιστώτωνται

ἄνδρα εἶναι τὸν προεστῶτα, καὶ ἢν τρίβονται

πολέμῳ μὴν σχόλην ἁγοντες ἐπιβουλεύσωσι τοι.

νῦν γὰρ ἢν τι καὶ ἀποδέξασι ἔργον, ἔως νέος εἰς ἥλικιν" αὐξομένῳ γὰρ τῇ σώματι συναύξονται

καὶ αἱ φρένες, γηράσκοντι δὲ συγγηράσκοντι καὶ

ἐς τὰ πρῆγματα πάντα ἅπαμβλύνονται." ἢ μὲν

δὴ ταῦτα ἐκ διδαχῆς ἔλεγε, δὲ ἀμείβετο τοῦσιδε.

"Ὤ γυναῖ, πάντα ὅσα περ αὐτὸς ἐπινοεῖς ποιήσειν

eἰρήκας: ἐγὼ γὰρ ἐβεβουλεύμαι ξεύξας γέφυραν

ἐκ τῆς δὲ τῆς ἡπείρου ἢσ τὴν ἐτέρην ἡπείρον ἐπὶ

Σκύθας στρατεύεσθαι καὶ ταῦτα ὁλίγου χρόνου

ἔσται τελεύμενα." λέγει Ἄτοσσα τάδε. "Ὁρα

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

134. His remedies having made her whole, Atossa at Democedes' prompting thus addressed Darius in their chamber: "Sire, you are a mighty ruler; why sit you idle, winning neither new dominions nor new power for your Persians? If you would have them know that they have a man for their king, it is right and fitting for one of your youth and your wealth to let them see you achieving some great enterprise. Thereby will you gain a double advantage: the Persians will know that their king is truly a man; and in the stress of war they will have no leisure for conspiring against you. Now is your time for achieving great deeds, while you are still young: for as a man's mind grows with his body's growth, so as the body ages the mind too grows older and duller for all uses." Thus she spoke, being so prompted. "Lady," said Darius, "what you say I am already minded to do. I am resolved to make a bridge from this to the other continent and so lead an army against the Scythians; and in a little while we will set about accomplishing this." "See now," Atossa answered, "forbear for the nonce to attack the
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νυν, ἐπὶ Σκύθας μὲν τὴν πρώτην ἰέναι ἔσον·
οὕτω γὰρ, ἐπεινάν ςυ βούλη, ἔσονται τοι· σὺ δὲ
μοι ἐπὶ τὴν 'Ελλάδα στρατεύεσθαι. ἐπιθυμεῖν
γὰρ λόγῳ πυρηνομένη Δακαίνας τὲ μοι γενέσθαι
θεραπαίναι καὶ Ἀργείας καὶ Ἀττικᾶς καὶ Κοριν-
θίας. ἔχεις δὲ ἀνδρὰ ἐπιτηδεύτατον ἀνδρῶν
πάντων δέξαι τε ἕκαστα τῆς 'Ελλάδος καὶ κατη-
γήσασθαι, τούτων ὡς σεν τὸν πόδα 'εξήσατο.”
ἀμείβεται Δαρείος “ 'Ω γυναι, ἐπει τοῖς τοι
δοκεῖ τῆς 'Ελλάδος ἡμέας πρῶτα ἀποπειρᾶσθαι,
κατασκόπους μοι δοκείς Περσέων πρῶτον ἀμείνων
ἐναι ὀμοῦ τούτῳ τῷ σὺ λέγεις πέμψαι ἐς αὐτοὺς,
οἱ μαθόντες καὶ ἱδόντες ἐξαγγελέουσι ἕκαστά
αὐτῶν ἡμῖν καὶ ἐπείτη ἐξεπιστάμενος ἐπ' αὐτοὺς
τρέψομαι.”

135. Ταῦτα εἴπε καὶ ἄμα ἔπος τε καὶ ἔργον
ἐποίεε. ἐπείτε γὰρ τάχιστα ἡμέρη ἐπέλαμψε,
καλέσας Περσέων ἀνδρὰς δοκίμους πεντακάideka
ἐνετέλλετό σφι ἐπομένους Δημοκιήδει διεξελθεῖν
tά παραθαλάσσια τῆς 'Ελλάδος, ὅκως τε μὴ
dιαδρήσεται σφέας ὁ Δημοκιήδης, ἀλλὰ μὲν πάν-
tως ὡς ὀπίσω ἀπάξουσι. ἐντειλάμενος δὲ τούτοις
tαῦτα, δεύτερα καλέσας αὐτῶν Δημοκιήδεα ἑδεῖτο
αὐτῶν ὅκως ἐξηγησάμενος πᾶσαν καὶ ἐπιδέξας
tήν 'Ελλάδα τοίς Πέρσῃ ὁπίσω ἤξει· δῶρα δὲ
μὲν τῷ πατρὶ καὶ τοίς ἀδελφεῖσι ἐκέλευε πάντα
tά ἐκείνου ἐπιτλα λαβόντα ἄγειν, φὰς ἀλλὰ οἱ
πολλάπλησια ἀντιδώσειν πρὸς δὲ ἐς τὰ δῶρα
ὁλκάδα οἱ ἐφ' συμβαλεῖσθαι πλῆσας ἀγάθων
παντοῖον, τήν ἄμα οἱ πλεύσεσθαι. Δαρείος μὲν
δὴ, δοκεῖν ἔμοι, ἀπ' οὐδενὸς δόλερον νόον ἐπαγ-
γέλλετό οἱ ταύτα. Δημοκιήδης δὲ δείσας μὴ εὐ
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Scythians; you will find them whenever you so desire; nay, rather, I pray you, march against Hellas. I have heard of Laconian and Argive and Attic and Corinthian women, and would fain have them for handmaidens. There is a man by you who is fitter than any other to instruct and guide you in all matters concerning Hellas: I mean the physician who healed your foot." "Lady," answered Darius, "since it is your desire that we should first try conclusions with Hellas, methinks it is best that we send Persians with the man of whom you speak to spy out the land and bring us news of all that they have seen in it; thus shall I have full knowledge to help my adventure against Hellas."

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

136. Καταβάντες δὲ οὕτωι ἐς Φοινίκην καὶ Φοινίκης ἐς Σιδώνα πόλιν αὐτίκα μὲν τριήρεας δύο ἐπλήρωσαν, ἃμα δὲ αὐτήσι καὶ γαῦλον μέγαν παντοῖον ἄγαθων· παρεσκευασμένοι δὲ πάντα ἐπλεον ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα, προσίσχοντες δὲ αὐτής τὰ παραθαλάσσια ἐθεύντο καὶ ἀπεγράφοντο, ἐς ὁ τὰ πολλὰ αὐτής καὶ ὄνομαστὰ θεησάμενοι ἀπίκουντο τῆς Ἰταλίας ἐς Τάραντα. ἐνθαῦτα δὲ ἐκ ῥηστώνης τῆς Δημοκρήδεος Ἀριστοφιλίδης τῶν Ταρακίνων ὁ βασιλεύς τοῦτο μὲν τὰ πηδάλια παρέλυσε τῶν Μηδικέων νεῶν, τοῦτο δὲ αὐτοὺς τοὺς Πέρσας εἰρέζε ὡς κατασκόπους δῆδεν ἐόντες. ἐν φυτῷ οὖσα ἐστὶν ἐν τῷ τεταρτῷ τῶν προαγόμενον ἀποκριθήκης ἐς τὴν Κρότωνα ἀπεκατάσταται ἀπιγμένου δὲ ἡμᾶς τοῦτο ἐς τὴν ἐσωτερικὰ τῆς περιτομῆς ἐλυσε τοὺς Πέρσας, καὶ τὰ παρέλαβε τῶν νεῶν ἀπέδωκε σφι.

137. Πλέοντες δὲ ἐνθεῦσεν οἱ Πέρσαι καὶ διώκοντες Δημοκρήδεος ἀπεκατάσταται ἐς τὴν Κρότωνα, εὑρόντες δὲ μὲν ἀγοράζοντα ἀπτότον ἀντών, τῶν δὲ Κρότωνιητέων οἰ μὲν καταρρωδεόντες τὰ Πέρσικα πρήγματα προϊόναι ἐστιν ἦσαν, οἰ δὲ ἀντάπτοντο καὶ τούτῳ σκυτάλοισι ἐπαίον τοὺς Πέρσας προϊσχομένους ἐπεα τάδε. ὁ Ἄνδρας Κρότωνιηται, ὅρατε τὰ ποιέτε; ἃνδρα βασιλέως
be but trying him; therefore he made no haste to accept all that was offered, but answered that he would leave his own possessions where they were, that he might have them at his return; as for the ship which Darius promised him to carry the gifts for his brethren, that he accepted. Having laid this same charge on Democedes also, Darius sent all the company to the coast.

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

137. The Persians sailed from Taras and pursued Democedes to Croton, where they found him buying in the town and were for seizing him. Some Crotoniats, who feared the Persian power, would have given him up; but others held him against the king's men and beat them with their staves. "Nay," said the Persians, "look well, men of Croton, what you
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dρητέτην γενόμενον ἐξαιρέσθη. κἂς ταῦτα βα-
sιλεί Δαρείῳ ἐκχρῆσει περιυβρίσθαι; κἂς δὲ
ὑμῖν τὰ ποιεύμενα ἔξει καλῶς, ἣν ἀπέλησθε
ἡμέας; ἐπὶ τίνα δὲ τῇς δὲ προτέρην στρατευσό-
μεθα πόλιν; τίνα δὲ προτέρην ἀνδραποδίζεσθαι
περιησόμεθα;" ταῦτα λέγοντες τοὺς Κροτωνίτας
οὐκὼν ἔπειθον, ἀλλ' ἐξαιρεθέντες τε τὸν Δημο-
κήδεα καὶ τὸν γαύλον τόν ἁμα ἠγοντο ἁπαρε-
θέντες ἀπέπλευσον ὅπισώ ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην, οὕτ' ἔτι
ἐξήτησαν τὸ προσωτέρω τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἀπικόμενοι
ἐκμαθεῖν, ἐστηρήμενοι τοῦ ἁγεμόνοις. Προσώπε 
τοι ἐνετείλατο σφι Δημοκήδης ἀναγμένοις, κε─
λεύων εἰπεῖν σφες Δαρείῳ ὅτι ἀρμοσταὶ τὴν
Μίλωνος θυγατέρα Δημοκήδης ἡγουμήνα. τοῦ γὰρ
δὴ παλαιστέων Μίλωνος ἢν οὐνομα πολλῶν παρὰ
βασιλεί· κατὰ δὲ τούτῳ μοι δοκεῖ εἰπεῖσα τῶν
γάμων τούτων τελέσας χρήματα μεγάλα Δημο-
κήδης, ἴνα φανῇ πρὸς Δαρείον ἑών καὶ ἐν τῇ ἑωτοῦ
δόκιμος.

138. Ἀναχθέντες δὲ ἐκ τῆς Κροτωνος οἱ Πέρσαι
ἐκπέπτουσι τῆς υποσὶ ἦν Ιησοῦν, καὶ σφεας
δουλεύοντας ἐνθαῦτα Γίλλος ἀνήρ Ταραντίνος
φυγάς ῥυσάμενος ἀπῆγαγε παρὰ βασιλέα Δα-
ρείου. ὅ δὲ ἀντὶ τούτων ἐτοιμὸς ἦν διδόναι τούτῳ
ὅ τι βοῦλοιτο αὐτός. Γίλλος δὲ αἰρέται κάτοδον
οἰ ἐς Τάραντα γενέσθαι, προαπηγησάμενος τὴν
συμφορήν· ἵνα δὲ μὴ συνταράξῃ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, ἦν
ὅι αὐτῶν στόλος μέγας πλέη ἐπὶ τὴν Ἰταλίην,
Κυδίους μοῦνος ἀποχράν ὦν ἔφη τῶν κατά-
γοντας γίνεσθαι, δοκεῶν ἀπὸ τούτων ἐόντων τοῖς
Ταραντίνους φίλων μάλιστα τὴν κάτοδον οἱ
ἐσεσθαι. Δαρείος δὲ ὑποδεξάμενος ἐπετέλεε.
do; you are taking from us an escaped slave of the great king; think you that King Darius will rest content under this insolence? Think you that the deed will profit you if you drive us forth? Your city will then be the first that we will attack and essay to enslave." But the men of Croton paid no heed to them; so the Persians lost Democedes and the galleon that had been their consort, and sailed back for Asia, making no endeavour to visit and learn of the further parts of Hellas now that their guide was taken from them. But Democedes gave them a message as they were setting sail; they should tell Darius, he said, that Democedes was betrothed to the daughter of Milon. For Darius held the name of Milon the wrestler in great honour; and, to my thinking, the reason of Democedes' seeking this match and paying a great sum for it was to show Darius that he was a man of estimation in his own country as well as Persia.

138. The Persians then put out from Croton; but their ships were wrecked on the Iapygian coast, and they themselves made slaves in the country, until one Gillus, a banished man of Taras, released and restored them to Darius. In return for this the king offered Gillus any reward that he might desire; Gillus told the story of his misfortune, and asked above all to be restored to Taras; but, not willing that a great armament should for his cause sail to Italy and thereby he should help to trouble Hellas, it was enough, he said, that the Cnidian alone should be his escort; for he supposed that thus the Tarentines would be the readier to receive him back, the Cnidiens being their friends. Darius kept his word,
πέμψας γὰρ ἀγγέλον ἐς Κυνίδου κατάγειν σφέας ἐκέλευε Γίλλου ἐς Τάραντα. πειθόμενοι δὲ Δα-ρείως Κυνίδους Ταραντίνους οὐκὼν ἐπείδον, βιὴν ἄδικανε ἱσαν προσφέρειν. Ψαύτα μὲν γὰρ ὥστε ἐπρήξθη ὁ οὖσι δὲ πρῶτοι ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἀπίκοντο Πέρσαι, καὶ οὕτω διὰ τοιῶντε πρήγμα κατάσκοποι ἐγένοντο. 139. Μετὰ δὲ ταύτα Σάμου βασιλεὺς Δαρείος αἰρείει, πολίων πασέων πρώτην Ἑλληνίδων καὶ βαρβάρων, διὰ τοίχων τινά αἰτίαν. Καμβύσεως τοῦ Κύρου στρατευμένου ἐπὶ Ἀγγυπτον ἄλλοι τε συνχῶν ἐς τὴν Ἀγγυπτον ἀπίκοντο Ἑλλήνων, οἳ μὲν, ὡς οἶκος, κατ’ ἐμπορίαν στρατευμένοι, οἳ δὲ τινὲς καὶ αὐτής τῆς χώρης θεταί τοῖς ἣν καὶ Συλουσῶν ὁ Αἰάκεος, Πολυκράτεος τε ἐὼν ἄδελφος καὶ φευγὼν ἐκ Σάμου. τούτων τὸν Συλουσῶντα κατέλαβε εὐτυχία τις τοιῇδε. λαβὼν χλανίδα καὶ περιβαλόμενος πυρρῆν ἠγόραζε ἐν τῇ Μέμφιδοι δὲ αὐτὸν Δαρείος, δορυφόρος τε ἐὼν Καμ-βύσεως καὶ λόγου οὐδενὸς καὶ μεγάλου, ἐπεθύμησε τῆς χλανίδος καὶ αὐτὴν προσελθών ὤνεετο. ὁ δὲ Συλουσῶν ὁρέων τὸν Δαρείον μεγάλως ἐπιθυμεύοντα τῆς χλανίδος, θείῃ τυχῇ χρεώμενος λέγει "Εγὼ ταύτην πωλέω μὲν οὐδενὸς χρήματος, δίδῳμι δὲ ἄλλως, εἴ περ οὖν δεὶ γενέσθαι πάντως τοι. αἰνέσας ταύτα ὁ Δαρείος παραλαμβάνει τὸ εἶμα.

140. ὁ μὲν δὲ Συλουσῶν ἡπίστατο τοῦτό οἱ ἀπολωλέναι δεὶ εὐθείᾳ. ὡς δὲ τοῦ χρόνου προ-βαίνου τοῦ Καμβύσης τε ἐπέθανε καὶ τῷ Μάγῳ ἐπανέστησαν οἱ ἐπτά καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἐπτά Δαρείος τὴν βασιλείαν ἐσχε, πυθάνεται ὁ Συλουσὼν ὡς ἡ βασιλεία περιεληλύθοι ἐς τοῦτον τὸν ἄνδρα τῷ 172
and sent a messenger to the men of Cnidos, bidding them bring Gillus back to Taras. They obeyed Darius; but they could not persuade the Tarentines to their will, and were not able to compel them. This is the whole story. These Persians were the first who came from Asia into Hellas; and they came to view the country for the reason aforesaid.

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

140. Syloson supposed that he had lost his cloak out of foolish good nature. But in time Cambyses died, the seven rebelled against the Magian, and of the seven Darius came to the throne; Syloson then learned that the successor to the royal power was
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cotè autòs èdòke én Aìgúpptw dēhènti tò éìma.
ánabás de ès tà Soûsa ìzeto ès tà próthro tòn
baspilèos oìkíón kai èfì Dáreîon èvérgetètis èínav.
àgvableîn taúta àkoúasas ò pílypròs tò basileîn.
ò de òwmaíasas légei pròs autòn "Káì tìs èstì
Ellènon èvérgetètis tò ègh proaideîmái, neóstì
mèn tìn ìrkhì èxw, ànanbèbêke òò tìs ò oúdeis
cow par, èmèas autòw, èxw de chrèos èipteîn oúdeî
ánðrous "Ellènos. òmóas de autòn paràgyete èsò,
ìna eîdèw tì òelwòn légei taúta." parîge ò
pílypròs tòn Sulosònta, stánta de ès èmèos
eîròtaîn oî èrmînèes tìs te èiî kai tì poîhìas
evérgetètis fèsi èínav basileòs. èîpe òw ò Sulosòw
pánta tà perì tìn xlahïdà gêvômena, kai òs
autòs èiî kêiws ò doûs. ámeîbêtaî pròs taúta
Dáreîos "Àì òímnaiòtate àndrów, su kêiws èis ðò
èmî oúdeîmian èxonti kò dûnàmîn èdòkàs eî kai
smkrá, ìllì òw ìsò ìsò òh ìrísì òmóîwòs òsî eî
vûn kòdèn tì méga ðàbòîmî: àntì òw tòî chrusòw kai
àrgvoren àpletoîn dîdòìmî, òsî kòtê tòî metaîme
lègîs Dáreîw tòn "Stàstîpes eû pòihsantí." légei
pròs taúta ò Sulosòw "Èîmol mète chrusòw
ò basileîw mète àrgvoren dîdòw, ìllì ànàsmwò-
menòs òmî dé tìn pàtridà Sàmòw, tìn vûn àdèl-
feû tòî èmóû Polûkratèw àpòthànòtoû ùpù
'Oroîtew èxèi dòûlòs èmèterûs, taûtìn òmî dé
anèn te ðòwò kai èxànðrapodíssîw."  
141. Taúta àkoúasas Dáreîos àpèstelle stí-
tìw te kai stírateîgûn 'Otàwàva àndrów tòn èttà
genûmenon, èpîteîlâmènos, òswôn èdèbêthì ò Sulosòw,
taûtâ oî poîèewn èpîtelèa. kataîbàs de èptì tìn
ðálâssàn ò 'Otàwìs èstelle tìn stírateîw.  
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the man to whom he had given at request the garment in Egypt; so he went up to Susa and sat at the king's porch, saying that he was one of Darius' benefactors. When the gate-ward brought word of this to the king, "But to what Greek benefactor," Darius asked, "can I owe thanks? In the little time since I have been king hardly one of that nation has come to us, and I have, so to say, no need of any Greek. Nevertheless let him be brought in, that I may know his meaning." The gate-ward brought Syloson in and set him before them; and the interpreters asked him who he was, and what he had done to call himself the king's benefactor. Then Syloson told the story of the cloak, and said that it was he who had given it. "Most generous man," said Darius, "you are he who made me a present when I had as yet no power; if it was but a little thing, yet it was as thankworthy as if someone now gave me a great gift. Take in requital abundance of gold and silver, that you may never repent of the service you did Darius son of Hystaspes." "Nay," Syloson answered, "I ask neither gold, O king, nor silver; only win me back my fatherland of Samos, where my brother Polycrates has been done to death by Oroetes, and our slave now rules; give me back Samos, but so that there be no bloodshed nor enslaving."

141. Hearing this Darius sent an army, and Otanes, one of the seven, to command it, charging him to perform all Syloson's will. So Otanes came down to the coast and made his army ready.
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142. Τῆς δὲ Σάμου Μαιάνδριος ὁ Μαιανδρίου εἶχε τὸ κράτος, ἐπιτροπαίην παρὰ Πολυκράτεος λαβὼν τὴν ἀρχήν τῷ δικαιοτάτῳ ἀνδρῷ βουλομένῳ γενέσθαι οὐκ ἔξεγένετο. ἔπειδὴ γάρ οἱ ἐξαγγέλθη ὁ Πολυκράτεος θάνατος, ἐποίεε τοιάδε πρῶτα μὲν Δίως ἐλευθερίου βωμὸν ἱδρύσατο καὶ τέμενος περὶ αὐτῶν ὠψις τούτῳ τὸ νῦν ἐν τῷ προαστείῳ ἐστὶ μετὰ δὲ, ὡς οἱ ἐπετοίητο, ἐκκλησίην συναγείρας πάντων τῶν ἁστών ἔλεξε τάδε. "Εμοὶ, ὡς ἦστε καὶ ὑμεῖς, σκῆπτρον καὶ δύναμις πᾶσα ἡ Πολυκράτεος ἐπιτέτραπται, καὶ μοι παρέχει τὸν ὑμέων ἄρχειν. ἐγὼ δὲ τὰ τῷ πέλας ἐπιπλήσω, αὐτὸς κατὰ δύναμιν οὐ ποιήσω. οὔτε γάρ μοι Πολυκράτης ἢρεσ ταὐτὸν ἀνήρ τούτων ὡμοίων ἐωτῷ οὔτε ὁστὶς τοιῶντα ποιέει. Πολυκράτης μὲν πρὸς ἐμὲ ἐξέπλησε μοίραν τὴν ἐωτοῦ, ἐγὼ δὲ ἐς μέσον τὴν ἀρχὴν τιθεὶς ἱσομοίην ὑμῖν προαγορεύω. τοσάδε μὲν τοῖς δικαιώ γέρεα ἐμεωτῷ γενέσθαι, ἐκ μὲν γε τῶν Πολυκράτεως χρημάτων ἐξαιρετὰ ἐξ τάλαντα μαί γενέσθαι, ἱρωσύνην δὲ πρὸς τούτοις αἰρέναι αὐτῷ τέ μοι καὶ τοῖς ἀπ᾿ ἐμεύ αἰεὶ γνωμένους τοῦ Δίως τοῦ ἐλευθερίου· τῷ αὐτῶς τῇ ἱδρυσάμην καὶ τῇ ἐλευθερίην ὑμῖν περιτίθημι." ὁ μὲν δὴ ταύτα τοῖς Σαμίσαι ἐπαγγέλλετο· τῶν δὲ τῆς ἐξαναστάσεως ἐπε Ἀλλ᾿ οὐδ᾿ ἄξιος εἰς σὺ γε ἡμέων ἄρχειν, γεγονός τε κακῶς καὶ ἔως ὀλθρός· ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον ὅκως λόγον δῶσεις τῶν μετεχείρισας χρημάτων.

143. Ταύτα εἴπε ἐώς ἐν τοῖς ἄστοις δόκιμος, τῷ οὖννῳ ἦν Τελέσαρχος. Μαιάνδριος δὲ νῦν λαβὼν ὡς εἰ μετήσει τὴν ἁρχὴν, ἀλλος τίς ἀντι αὐτοῦ τύραννος καταστήσεται, οὐδὲν ἔτι ἐν νῷ

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BOOK III. 142-143

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

143. These were the words of Telesarchus, a man of note among the townsfolk. But Maendrius, perceiving that if he let the sovereignty slip someone else would make himself despot instead, resolved
Εἶχε μετιέναι αὐτήν, ἀλλ' ὡς ἀνεχώρησε ἡ τήν ἀκρότολαν, μεταπεμπόμενος ἦν ἐκαστόν ὡς ἡ λόγον τῶν χρημάτων δῶσων, συνέλαβε σφέας καὶ κατέδησε. οί μὲν δὲ ἔδεδειστο, Μαιανδρίου δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα κατέλαβε νοῦσος. ἐλπίζων δὲ μιν ἀποθανεῖσθαι ὁ ἀδελφεὸς, τῷ οὖνομα ἤν Δυκάρητος, ἦν εὐπετεστέρως κατάσχη τὰ ἐν τῇ Σάμῳ πρήγματα, κατακτεῖει τοὺς δεσμὸτας πάντας· οὐ γὰρ δὴ, ὡς οἴκασθ, ἐβούλωντο εἶναι ἐλεύθεροι.

144. Ἐπειδὴ δὲν ἀτίκοντο ἐς τὴν Σάμον οἱ Πέρσαι κατάγοντες Συλοσῶντα, οὔτε τίς σφι χεῖρας ἀνταείρεται, ὑπόστοιοι τε ἐφασαν εἶναι ἐτοιμοί οἱ τοῦ Μαιανδρίου στασιῶνται καὶ αὐτὸς Μαιανδρίος ἐκχωρήσαι ἐκ τῆς νῆσου. κατανεῖσαντος δ' ἐπὶ τούτοις Ὀτάνεω καὶ σπειραμένου, τῶν Περσῶν οἱ πλείστου ἄξιοι θρόνους θέμενοι κατεναντίον τῆς ἀκροτόλιαν κατέατο.

145. Μαιανδρίω δὲ τῷ τυράννῳ ἦν ἀδελφεὸς υπομαργότερος, τῷ οὖνομα ἦν Χαρίλεως· οὕτως δὲ τῇ δὴ ἐξαμαρτών ἐν γοργύρῃ ἔδεδεστο, καὶ δὴ τότε ἐπακούσας τε τὰ πρησσόμενα καὶ διακύψαις διὰ τῆς γοργύρης, ὥς εἰδε τοὺς Πέρσας εἰρηναίοις κατημένους, ἔβα τε καὶ ἐφῃ λέγων Μαιανδρίῳ θέλειν ἐλθεῖν ἐς λόγους. ἐπακούσας δὲ ὁ Μαιανδρίος λύσαντας αὐτὸν ἐκέλευε ἄγειν παρ' ἐσωτόν· ὡς δὲ ἀχθη τάχιστα, λοιδορεῖν τε καὶ κακίζων μιν ἀνέπειθε ἐπιθέοιται τοῖς Πέρσησι, λέγων τοιῶδε. "Εμὲ μὲν, ὁ κάκιστοι ἄνδρον, ἐστα σεωτοῦ ἀδελφεῶν καὶ ἀδικήσαντα οὐδὲν ἄξιον δεσμὸν ὅς γαρ γοργύρης ἁξίωσε· ὅρεων δὲ τοὺς Πέρσας ἐκβάλλοντις τέ σε καὶ ἀνουκον ποιοῦντας οὐ τολμάς τίσασθαι, οὕτω δὴ τῇ ἐνότατε εὐπετέας χειρωθῇνα.
BOOK III. 143-145

not to give it up. Withdrawing into the citadel, he sent for each man severally, as though to render an account of the money; then he seized and bound them. So they being in prison, Maeandrius presently fell sick. His brother Lycaretus thought him like to die, and, that so he might the more easily make himself master of Samos, put all the prisoners to death. They had, it would seem, no desire for freedom.

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

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

146. Ταῦτα δὲ ἔλεξε ὁ Χαρίλεως. Μαιάνδριος δὲ ὑπέλαβε τὸν λόγον, ὡς μὲν ἐγὼ δοκεώ, οὕκ ἐς τοῦτο ἀφρούσης ἀπικόμενος ὡς δόξαι τὴν ἐωτοῦ δύναμιν περιέσεσθαι τῇς βασιλείας, ἀλλὰ φθονήσας μᾶλλον Συλοσῶντι εἰ ἀπονητὶ ἐμμέλλε ἀπολάμψεσθαι ἀκέραιον τὴν πόλιν. ἔρεθίσας ὡς τοὺς Πέρσας ἤθελε ὡς ἀσθενεστάτα ποιῆσαι τὰ Σάμια πρήγματα καὶ οὕτω παραδιδόναι, εὐ ἐξεπιστάμενος ὡς παθόντες οἱ Πέρσαι κακῶς προσεμπικρανέσθαι ἐμμέλλον τοῖς Σαμίοις, εἰδὼς τε ἐωτοῦ ἀσφαλέα ἐκδυσιν ἐοῦσαν ἐκ τῆς νῆσου τότε ἑπέαν αὐτὸς βούληται· ἐπεποίητο γὰρ οἱ κρυπτὶ διώρυξ ἐκ τῆς ἀκροπόλιος φέρουσα ἐπὶ θάλασσαν. αὐτὸς μὲν δὴ ὁ Μαιάνδριος ἐκπλέει ἐκ τῆς Σάμου· τοὺς δ᾿ ἐπικούρους πάντας ὀπλίσας ὁ Χαρίλεως, καὶ ἀναπετάσας τὰς πύλας, ἐξῆκε ἐπὶ τοὺς Πέρσας οὐτε προσδεκομένους τοιοῦτο οὐδὲν δοκέοντάς τε δὴ πάντα συμβεβάναι. ἐμπεσόντες δὲ οἱ ἐπίκουροι τῶν Περσῶν τοὺς διαφροφερευμένους τε καὶ λόγου πλείστου ἐόντας ἐκτείνων. καὶ οὕτω μὲν ταῦτα ἔποιευν, ἥ δὲ ἄλλη στρατιά ἡ Περσικὴ ἐπεβοήθεε· πιεζομένη δὲ οἱ ἐπίκουροι ὅπισώ κατειλήθησαν ἐς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν.

147. Ὁτάν οὖσα δὲ ὁ στρατηγὸς ἰδὼν πάθος μέγα Πέρσας πεπονθότας, ἑντολὰς μὲν τὰς Δαρείος οἱ ἀποστέλλων ἐνετέλλετο, μήτε κτείνειν μηδένα Σαμίων μήτε ἀνδραποδίζεσθαι ἀπαθεὰ τε κακῶν

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

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

147. The Persian captain Otanes, seeing the great harm done to the Persians, of set purpose put away from his memory the command given him at his departure by Darius to kill or enslave no Samian
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ἀποδοῦναι τὴν νῆσον Συλοσσώντι, τοιτέων μὲν τῶν ἐντολέων μεμνημένοις ἐπελαυθάνετο, ὃ δὲ παρῆγγειλε τῇ στρατιᾷ πάντα τὸν ἁν λάβωσί καὶ ἄνδρα καὶ παίδα ὁμοίως κτείνειν. ἐνθαῦτα τῆς στρατιάς οἱ μὲν τὴν ἀκρόπολιν ἐπολιορκεούν, οἱ δὲ ἐκεῖνοι πάντα τὸν ἐμποδῶν γινόμενον ὁμοίως ἐν τῇ ἱρῷ καὶ ἔξω ἱρῷ.

148. Μαιανδριος δὲ ἀποδρᾶς ἐκ τῆς Σάμου ἐκπλέει ἐς Λακεδαίμονα· ἀπικόμενος δὲ ἐς αὐτὴν καὶ ἄνευναμένος τὰ ἔχων ἐξεχώρησε, ἐποίεε τοιάδε: ὅκως ποτήρια ἄργυρα τε καὶ χρύσα προθείτο, οἱ μὲν θεράποντες αὐτοῦ ἑξέσωμον αὐτά, ὁ δὲ ἂν τὸν χρόνον τούτον τῷ Κλεομένει τῷ Ἀναξανδρίδεω ἐν λόγοις ἔων, βασιλεύοντι Σπάρτης, προῆγε μὲν ἐς τὰ ὅικα· ὅκως δὲ ἤδητο Κλεομένης τὰ ποτήρια, ἀπεθάναμαζέ τε καὶ ἐξεπλήσσετο· ὁ δὲ ἂν ἐκέλευε αὐτὸν ἀποφέρεσθαι αὐτῶν ὅσα βούλοιτο. τούτῳ καὶ δίς καὶ τρίς εἰσπάσων Μαιανδρίον ὁ Κλεομένης δικαιότατος ἄνδρῶν γίνεται, ὅς λαβεῖν μὲν διδόμενα ὅκι ἐδικαίου, μαθὼν δὲ ὡς ἄλλοις διδοῦσι τῶν ἄστῳν εὑρήσεται τιμωρίαν, βάς ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐφόρους ἁμείνον εἶναι ἐφ’ ἡ Ἐπάρτη τοῦ ἕξιον τὸν Σάμον ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι ἐκ τῆς Πελοποννήσου, ἦν μὴ ἀναπείσῃ ἢ αὐτὸν ἢ ἄλλον τινά Σπαρτιτητέων κακὸν γενέσθαι. οἱ δ’ ὑπακούσαντες ἐξεκήρυξαν Μαιανδρίον.

149. Τὴν δὲ Σάμον [σαγγενεύσαντες] ¹ οἱ Πέρσαι παρέδωσαν Συλοσσώντι ἐρημοῦ ἑούσαν ἄνδρῶν.

¹ This word may be an interpolation; the process (forming a long line to sweep all before it) is described in detail in Bk. VI. 31, as if that were the first mention of it. Moreover, it is inconsistent here with ch. 147.
BOOK III. 147–149

but deliver the island unharmed to Syloson; and he commanded his army to kill all they took, men and boys alike. Then, while some of the Persians laid siege to the citadel, the rest slew all they met, whether in temples or without.

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

149. As for Samos, the Persians swept it clear and delivered it over uninhabited to Syloson. But
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υστέρῳ μέντοι χρόνῳ καὶ συγκατοίκισε αὐτῶν ὁ στρατηγὸς Ὤτανῆς ἦκ τε ὄψιος ὅνειρον καὶ νοῦσον ἢ μιν κατέλαβε νοσήσαι τὰ αἵδοια.

150. Ἐπὶ δὲ Σάμων στρατεύματος ναυτικοῦ οἴχομένου Βαβυλώνιοι ἀπέστησαν, κάρτα εὗ παρεσκευασμένοι· ἐν δόσῳ γὰρ ὃ τε Μάγος ἤρχε καὶ οἱ ἐπτὰ ἐπανέστησαν, ἐν τούτῳ παντὶ τῷ χρόνῳ καὶ τῇ ταραχῇ ἐς τὴν πολιορκίην παρεσκευάζοντο. καὶ κως ταύτα ποιεύντες ἐλάνθανον. ἔπειτε δὲ ἐκ τοῦ ἐμφανεὸς ἀπέστησαν, ἐποίησαν τοιὸνδε τὰς μπέρας ἐξέλοντες, γυναῖκα ἔκαστος μιᾶν προσεξιαρέτο τὴν ἐβούλετο ἐκ τῶν ἐωτοῦ ὦκίων, τὰς δὲ λοιπὰς ἀπάσας συναγαγόντες ἀπέπνιξαν τὴν δὲ μίαν ἔκαστος σιτοποιοῦν ἐξαιρέτο· ἀπεπνίξαν δὲ αὐτὰς, ἵνα μὴ σφεων τὸν σίτον ἀναισιμόσωσι.

151. Πυθόμενος δὲ ταύτα ὁ Δαρείος καὶ συλλέξας πᾶσαν τὴν ἐωτοῦ δύναμιν ἐστρατεύετο ἐπ’ αὐτούς, ἐπελάσας δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν Βαβυλώνα ἐπολιορκεῖ φροντίζοντας οὐδὲν τῆς πολιορκίης. ἀναβάνοντες γὰρ ἐπὶ τοὺς προμαχείνας τοῦ τείχους οἱ Βαβυλωνιοὶ κατωρχέοντο καὶ κατέσκοπτον Δαρείον καὶ τὴν στρατιὰν αὐτοῦ, καὶ τῆς αὐτῶν εἶπε τούτο τὸ ἔπος. "Τῇ κάτησθε ὁ Πέρσαι ἐνθαῦτα, ἀλλ’ οὐκ ἀπαλλάσσεσθε; τότε γὰρ αἱρήσετε ἡμᾶς, ἐπεὰν ἡμῖνοι τέκωσί." τοῦτο εἶπε τῶν τε Βαβυλωνίων οὐδαμὰ ἐλπίζων ἂν ἡμῖνοι τεκείν.

152. Ἐπὶ δὲ μηνῶν καὶ ἔνιαυτοῦ διεληλυθότος ἦδη ὁ Δαρείος τε ἤσχαλλε καὶ ἡ στρατιὴ πᾶσα οὐ δινατῇ ἑοῦσα ἐλείν τοὺς Βαβυλωνίους. καίτοι πάντα σοφίσματα καὶ πάσας μηχανὰς

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

150. When the fleet had gone to Samos, the Babylonians revolted;¹ for which they had made very good preparation; for during the reign of the Magian, and the rebellion of the seven, they had taken advantage of the time and the disorders to prepare themselves against the siege; and (I cannot tell how) this was unknown. At the last they revolted openly and did this:—sending away all the mothers, they chose each one woman from his own household, whom he would, as a bread-maker; as for the rest, they gathered them together and strangled them, that they should not consume their bread.

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

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

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

ἐπεποιήκεε ἐς αὐτοὺς Δαρείος· ἀλλ’ οὐδ’ ὦς ἐδύνατο ἐλείν σφέας, ἀλλουσί τε σοφίσμασι πειρησάμενος, καὶ δὴ καὶ τῷ Κύρος εἰλε σφέας, καὶ τούτῳ ἐπειρῆθη. ἀλλὰ γὰρ δεινῶς ἦσαν ἐν φυλακῆσι οἱ Βαβυλώνιοι, οὐδὲ σφέας οἶδο τε ἦν ἐλείν.

153. Ἐνδαίτα εἰκοστῷ μηνὶ Ζωτύρῳ τῷ Μεγαβύζου, τοῦτοι ὅς τάν ἐπὶ ἀνδρῶν ἐγένετο τῶν τῶν Μάγων κατελόντων, τοῦτο τῷ Μεγαβύζου παῖδι Ζωτύρῳ ἐγένετο τέρας τόδε τῶν οἱ σιτοφόρων ἡμιώνων μία ἐτεκε. ὡς δὲ οἱ ἐξαγγέλθη καὶ ὑπὸ ἀπιστίας αὐτὸς ὁ Ζωτύρος εἶδε τὸ βρέφος, ἀπείπας τοῖς ἰδοὺς μηδενὶ φράζειν τὸ γεγονὸς ἐβουλεύετο. καὶ οἱ πρὸς τὰ τοῦ Βαβυλωνίου ῥήματα, δι’ αὐτοῦ ἀρχὰς ἐφύει, ἐπεάν περ ἡμίωνοι τέκωσι, τότε τὸ τείχος ἀλώσεσθαι, πρὸς ταύτην τὴν φήμην Ζωτύρῳ ἐδόκεε εἰναι ἀλώσιμος ἡ Βαβυλώνιοι σὺν γὰρ θεῷ ἐκείνῳ τε εἰπεῖν καὶ ἔωστο τεκείν τὴν ἡμίωνον.

154. Ὡς δὲ οἱ ἐδόκεε μόρσιμον εἰναι ἡδὴ τῇ Βαβυλώνιοι ἀλίσκεσθαι, προσελθῶν Δαρείον ἀπεπυθάνετο εἶ περὶ πολλοῦ κάρτα ποιεῖται τὴν Βαβυλώνιοι ἐλείν. πυθόμενος δὲ ως πολλοῦ τιμᾶτο, ἀλλο ἐβουλεύετο, οἴκους αὐτὸς τε ἐσταί ὦν αὐτῆς καὶ ἐωτὸ τὸ ἔργον ἐσται κάρτα γὰρ ἐφ τοῦτοι Πέρσηι αἱ ἀγαθοεργαῖ εἰς τὸ πρόσω μεγάθεος τιμῶνται. ἀλλὴ μὲν νυν οὐκ ἐφράζετο ἔργον δυνατὸς εἰναι μὴν ὑποχεορίην ποιήσαι, εἰ δ’ ἐωτὸν λωβησάμενος αὐτομολυθέσθαι εἰς αὐτοὺς. Ἐνδαίτα ἐν ἐλαφρῷ ποιησάμενος ἐωτὸν λωβάται λόβην ἀνήκεστον ἀποταμὼν γὰρ ἐωτοῦ τὴν ρίνα καὶ τὰ ἄτα καὶ τὴν κόμην κακῶς περικείρας καὶ μαστιγώσας ἦλθε παρὰ Δαρείον.
every device against it. He essayed the stratagem whereby Cyrus took the city, and every other stratagem and device, yet with no success; for the Babylonians kept a marvellous strict watch and he could not take them.

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

154. Being then persuaded that Babylon was fated to fall, he came and inquired of Darius if he set great store by the taking of the city; and when he was assured that this was so he next looked about for a plan whereby the city’s fall should be wrought by himself alone; for good service among the Persians is much honoured, and rewarded by high preferment. He could think of no way of mastering the city but to do violence to himself and then desert to the Babylonians; so he accounted it but a little thing to mishandle himself past cure; cutting off his nose and ears, shaving his head for a disfigurement, and scourging himself, he came in this guise before Darius.
155. Δαρείος δὲ κάρτα βαρέως ἦνεικε ἵδων ἄνδρα δοκιμώτατον λεῳβημένον, ἐκ τε τοῦ θρόνου ἀναπηδῆσας ἀνέβωσε τε καὶ εἰρετό μιν ὅστις εἰς ὁ λαβησάμενος καὶ ὁ τι ποιήσαντα. ὃ δὲ εἶπε "Οὐκ ἔστι οὗτος ὄνηρ, ὅτι μὴ σὺ, τῷ ἔστι δύναμις τοσαύτη ἐμὲ δὴ ὡς διαθείναι· οὐδὲ τις ἄλλοτρῶν ὁ βασιλεὺς τάδε ἐργασται, ἀλλ' αὐτὸς ἐγὼ ἐμεωτύν, δεινὸν τι ποιεύμενον Ἀσσυρίους Πέρσηι καταγελάν." ὃ δ' ἀμείβετο Ἀχέτωι λιώτατε ἄνδρῶν, ἐργῷ τῷ αἰσχίστῳ ὄνουμα τὸ κάλλιστον ἔθεν, φᾶς διὰ τοὺς πολιορκεμένους σεωτὸν ἀνηκέστως διαθείναι. τί δ', ὅ μάταιοι, λεῳβημένου σεῦ θάσσον οἱ πολέμιοι παραστή- σουται; κῶς οὐκ ἔξεπλωσας τῶν φρενῶν σεωτῶν διαθείρας;" ὃ δὲ εἶπε "Εἰ μὲν τοι ὑπερτίθεα τὰ ἐμελλόν ποιήσειν, οὐκ ἂν με περείδεσ· νῦν δ' ἐπ' ἐμεωτύν βαλόμενος ἔπρηξα. ἦδη δὲν ἦν μὴ τῶν σῶν δεήσῃ, αἰρέομεν Βαβυλῶνα. ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ ὁς ἔχω αὐτομολήσω εἰς τὸ τείχος καὶ φήσω πρὸς αὐτοὺς ὡς ὑπὸ σεῦ τάδε ἔπαθον· καὶ δοκέω, πείσας σφέας ταῦτα ἔχειν οὗτω, τεῦξεσθαι στρα- τής. σὺ δέ, ἀπ' ἢς ἄν ἡμέρης ἐγὼ ἑσέλθω εἰς τὸ τείχος, ἀπὸ ταύτης ἐς δεκάτην ἡμέρην τῆς σεωτοῦ στρατής, τῆς οὐδεμία ἐσται ὥρη ἀπολ- λυμένης, ταύτης χιλίων τάξιν κατὰ τὰς Σεμι- ράμιος καλεμένας πύλας· μετὰ δὲ αὐτίς ἀπὸ τῆς δεκάτης ἐς ἐβδόμην ἄλλους μοι τάξιν διαλιχίους κατὰ τὰς Νινίων καλεμένας πύλας· ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς ἐβδόμης διαλείπετο ἐκκοσα ἡμέρας, καὶ ἑπείτα ἄλλους κάτισον ἀγαγόν κατὰ τὰς Χαλδαίων καλεμένας πύλας, τετρακισχίλιους. ἐχόντων δὲ μήτε οἱ πρότεροι μηδὲν τῶν ἀμυνεύτων μήτε
BOOK III. 155

155. The king was greatly moved at the sight of so notable a man thus mishandled. Leaping up with a cry from where he sat he asked Zopyrus who had done him this outrage and why. "There is no man," answered Zopyrus, "save yourself, who could bring me to this plight; this, O King! is the work of none other but myself; for I could not bear that Persians should be mocked by Assyrians." Darius answered, "This is but gross cruelty to yourself; if you say that it is to win the city that you have maltreated yourself past cure, you do but give a fair name to a foul deed. Foolish man! think you that our enemies will yield the sooner for this violence done to you? Nay, you were clean out of your wits to destroy yourself thus." "Had I told you," said Zopyrus, "what I was minded to do, you would have forbidden it; as it is, I have considered with myself alone and done it. Now, then, matters so stand that if you but play your part Babylon is ours. I will in my present plight desert into the city, pretending to them that you have done this violence upon me; and I think that I shall persuade them that this is so, and thus gain the command of an army. Now, for your part, on the tenth day from my entering the city do you take a thousand men from that part of your army whereof you will least rue the loss, and post them before the gate called the gate of Semiramis; on the seventh day after that, post me again two thousand before the gate called the gate of the Ninevites; and when twenty days are past after that seventh, yet four thousand again before the Chaldean gate, as they call it; suffering neither these, nor the others that have come before them, to carry any weapons of war

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αυτοί, πλην ἐγχειριδίων τούτο δὲ ἦν ἔχειν. μετὰ δὲ τὴν εἰκοστὴν ἡμέρην ἴθεως τὴν μὲν ἄλλην στρατιὰν κελεύειν περίξ προσβάλλειν πρὸς τὸ τεῖχος, Πέρσας δὲ μοι τάξον κατὰ τε τὰς Βηλίδας καλεομένας καὶ Κισσίας πύλας. ὡς γὰρ ἐγὼ δοκεῖ, ἐμέο μεγάλα ἔργα ἀποδέξαμένου, τὰ τὲ ἄλλα ἐπιτρέψονται ἐμοὶ Βαβυλώνιοι καὶ δὴ καὶ τῶν πυλῶν τὰς βαλανάγγας τὸ δὲ εὐθεῖτεν ἐμοὶ τε καὶ Πέρσης μελῆσει τὰ δὲι ποιεῖν.”

156. Ταῦτα ἐντελάμενοι ἦν ἐπὶ τὰς πύλας, ἐπιστρεφόμενος ὡς δὴ ἀληθῶς αὐτόμολος. ὀρων- 
τες δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν πύργων οἱ κατὰ τοῦτο τεταγμένοι κατέτρεχον κάτω καὶ ὀλίγον τι παρακλίναντες 
τὴν ἑτέρην πύλην εἰρῶν τὶς τε εἰς καὶ ὅτεν 
δεόμενος ἤκουσαν. ὃ δὲ σφι ἡγόρευε ὡς εἶχε το Ζώ- 
πυρός καὶ αὐτόμολέοι ἐς ἐκεῖνους. ἦγον δὴ μιν οἱ 
πυλοῦροι, ταῦτα ὃς ἤκουσαν, ἐπὶ τὰ κοινὰ τῶν 
Βαβυλώνιων καταστὰς δὲ ἐπ' αὐτὰ κατοικτίζετο, 
φᾶς ὑπὸ Γαρείου πεπονθέναι τὰ ἐπεπόθθει ὑπ' ἐσοτεροῦ, παθεῖν δὲ ταῦτα διότι συμβουλεύοι οἱ ἀπαυστάναι τὴν στρατιὰν, ἐπεῖτε δὴ οὐδεὶς πόρος ἐφαίνετο τῆς ἀλώσιος. “Νῦν τε” ἔφη λέγων ἔγω ὅμως οἱ Βαβυλώνιοι ἦκω μέγιστον ἁγαθόν, 
Δαρεῖο δὲ καὶ τῇ στρατιᾷ καὶ Πέρσης μέγιστον 
κακόν οὐ γὰρ δὴ ἔμε γε ὅδε λωβησάμενος κατα- 
προίξεται ἐπίσταμαι δ' αὐτὸ πάσας τὰς διεξ- 
όδους τῶν βουλευμάτων.” τουαῦτα ἔλεγε.

157. Ὅλα δὲ Βαβυλώνιοι ὀρώντες ἄνδρα τὸν ἐν 
Πέρσηι δοκιμώτατον ῥίνος τε καὶ οὕτων ἐπτερ- 
μένοι, μάστεξ τε καὶ αἴματε ἀναπεφυρμένον, 
πάγχυν ἐπισάντες λέγειν μιν ἀληθία καὶ σφι 
ἔκειν σύμμαχον, ἐπιτράπεσθαι ἐτοιμοὶ ἤσαν τῶν 
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save daggers; leave them these. But immediately after the twentieth day bid the rest of your army to assault the whole circuit of the walls, and post the Persians before the gate of Belus and the gate called Cissian. For I think that I shall have achieved such exploits that the Babylonians will give into my charge the keys of their gates, and all else besides; and it will thenceforward be my business and the Persians' to do what is needful.”

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

157. When the Babylonians saw the most honoured man in Persia with his nose and ears cut off and all bedabbled with blood from the scourging, they were fully persuaded that he spoke truth and was come to be their ally, and were ready to grant him all that he asked, which was, that he
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ἐδέετο σφέων· ἔδεετο δὲ στρατησ. ὁ δὲ ἐπέτει ἀυτῶν τούτο παρέλαβε, ἐποίεε τὰ περ τῷ Δαρείῳ συνεθήκατο· ἔξαγαγὼν γὰρ τῇ δεκάτῃ ἡμέρῃ τὴν στρατιὰν τῶν Βαβυλωνίων καὶ κυκλωσάμενος τοὺς χιλίους, τοὺς πρῶτους ἐνετείλατο Δαρείῳ τάξαι, τούτους κατεφόνευσε. μαθόντες δὲ μιν οἱ Βαβυλώνιοι τοίσι ἐπεσε τὰ ἔργα παρεχόμενον ὁμοία, πάγχι περιχαρέες εἴντες πᾶν δὴ ἔτοιμοι ἦσαν ὑπηρετεῖν. ὁ δὲ διαλιπὼν ἡμέρας τὰς συγκειμένας, αὐτὶς ἐπιλεξάμενος τῶν Βαβυλωνίων ἐξήγαγε καὶ κατεφόνευσε τῶν Δαρείου στρατιωτέων τοὺς δισχιλίους. ἦδόντες δὲ καὶ τούτο τὸ ἔργον οἱ Βαβυλώνιοι πάντες Ζώπυρον εἶχον ἐν στόμαις αἰνέοντες. ὁ δὲ αὐτὶς διαλιπὼν τὰς συγκειμένας ἡμέρας ἐξήγαγε ἐς τὸ προειρημένον, καὶ κυκλωσάμενος κατεφόνευσε τοὺς τετρακάσιλιους. ὡς δὲ καὶ τούτο κατέργαστο, πάντα δὴ ἦν ἐν τοῖσι Βαβυλώνιοι Ζώπυρος, καὶ στρατάρχης τε οὖτός σφι καὶ τειχοφυλαξ ἀπεδέδεκτο.

158. Προσβολὴν κατὰ τὰ συγκειμένα ποιειμένοι πέρεξ τὸ τεῖχος, ἑνθαῦτα δὴ πάντα τὸν δόλον ὁ Ζώπυρος ἔξεφαίνε. οἱ μὲν γὰρ Βαβυλώνιοι ἀναβάντες ἐπὶ τὸ τεῖχος ἡμύνοντο τὴν Δαρείου στρατιὰν προσβάλλουσαν, ὁ δὲ Ζώπυρος τὰς τε Κισσίας καὶ Βηλίδας καλεομένας πύλας ἀναπετάσας ἐσῆκε τοὺς Πέρσας ἐς τὸ τεῖχος. τῶν δὲ Βαβυλώνίων οἱ μὲν εἶδον τὸ ποιήθεν, οὕτως μὲν ἐφευγοῦν ἐς τοῦ Δάος τοῦ Βῆλου τὸ ἱρόν· οἱ δὲ οὐκ εἶδον, ἔμενον ἐν τῇ ἐσωτερικῇ τάξι ἐκαστος, ὡς δὲ καὶ οὕτω ἐμάθος προδομένου.

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

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

159. Thus was Babylon the second time taken. Having mastered the Babylonians, Darius destroyed
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tóúto mn ñψéωn tò teîxos perieîlê kai tás púlas páasas ápêóspase; tò ããr prôteron ëlìwv Kûros tìn vapulwvá époîhse tòutôn ouðêteron; tóúto dé o Ğareîos tòwn àndrov touùs korûfavious mà-lwsta ès trísgkîlîous ànøsekolóspise, toìsi dé lòoptoiç ëvaçulovióiç ápèðwke tìn pòlin oì- kéevn. ãs d'é ëxovùi ãynâikas oï vapulovíoi ñna sφi gënevù ùpògíntai, tâdè Dâreîov prôidwv époîhse; tás ããr ëwtnv, ãs kai kât' àrçhâs dèdêlòtaî, âpêpuxav oï vapulovíoi toù sîtou prôoréontes' ëpètaçè toìsi perioîkoiç èðnësì ãynâikas ès vapulwvá katiostánai, ãsas dé èkástoiç èpìtássov, òste pèntë mûrîádv to keválaíwma tôw ãynâikwv súnhîlbe' èk toutéwv dé tôw ãynâikwv oï vûv vapulovíoi ñgëvîasiv.


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their walls and reft away all their gates, neither of which things Cyrus had done at the first taking of Babylon; moreover he impaled about three thousand men that were chief among them; as for the rest, he gave them back their city to dwell in. Further, as the Babylonians, fearing for their food, had strangled their own women, Darius provided that they should have wives to bear them children, by appointing that each of the neighbouring nations should send a certain tale of women to Babylon; the whole sum of the women thus collected was fifty thousand: these were the mothers of those who now inhabit the city.

160. There never was in Darius' judgment any Persian before or since who did better service than Zopyrus, save only Cyrus, with whom no Persian could compare himself. Many times Darius is said to have declared that he would rather have Zopyrus whole and not foully mishandled than twenty more Babylons. Very greatly the king honoured him; every year he sent Zopyrus such gifts as the Persians hold most precious, and suffered him to govern Babylon for all his life with no tribute to pay, giving him many other things besides. This Zopyrus was father of Megabyzus, who was general of an army in Egypt against the Athenians and their allies; and Megabyzus' son was that Zopyrus who deserted from the Persians to Athens.
Δ

1. Μετὰ δὲ τὴν Βαβυλώνος αἴρεσιν ἐγένετο ἐπὶ Ὁκύθας αὐτοῦ Δαρείου ἐλάσις. ἀνθεύσης γὰρ τῆς Ἀσίης ἀνδράσι καὶ χρημάτων μεγάλων συνιόντων, ἐπεθύμησε οἱ Δαρείοις τίσασθαι Ὁκύθας, ὅτι ἐκεῖνοι πρότεροι ἐσβαλόντες ἐς τὴν Μηδικὴν καὶ νικήσαντες μάχη τοὺς ἀντιομένους ὑπῆρξαν ἄδικοι. τῆς γὰρ ἀνω Ἀσίης ἡρξαν, ὡς καὶ πρότερον μοι εἴρηται, Ὁκύθαι ἔτεα δυῶν δέοντα τρεῖκοντα. Κιμμερίους γὰρ ἑπιδιώκοντες ἑσβαλον ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην, καταπαύσαντες τῇ ἄρχῃ Μήδους· οὗτοι γὰρ πρὸν ἡ Ὁκύθας ἀπικέσθαι ἤρχον τῆς Ἀσίης. τοὺς δὲ Ὁκύθας ἀποδημήσαντας ὀκτὼ καὶ εἰκοσὶ ἔτεα καὶ διὰ χρόνου τοσοῦτον κατίοντας ἐς τὴν σφατέρην ἐξεδέξατο οὐκ ἐλάσσων πόνος τοῦ Μηδικοῦ· εὑρὼν γὰρ ἀντιομένῃν σφίσι στρατιῶν οὐκ ὀλίγην. αἱ γὰρ τῶν Ὁκυθέων γυναίκαις, ὡς σφὶ οἱ ἄνδρες ἀπῆσαν χρόνου πολλὸν, ἐφοίτεαν παρὰ τοὺς δούλους.

2. Τοὺς δὲ δούλους οἱ Ὁκύθαι πάντας τυφλοῦσιν τοῦ γάλακτος εἶνεκεν τοῦ πίνουσι ποιεῦντες ὁδε.
BOOK IV

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

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

1 That is, the eastern highlands of the Persian empire.
2 Herodotus means that the slaves are blinded to prevent them stealing the best of the milk. Probably the story of blind slaves arises from some Scythian name for slaves, misunderstood by the Greeks.
ΗΕΡΟΔΟΤΟΣ

ἐπεάν φυσητήρας λάβωσι ὀστείνους αὐλοίσι προσ-
εμφερεστάτους, τούτους ἑσθέντες ἐς τῶν θηλέων
ἵππων τὰ ἄρθρα φυσώσι τοῖσι στόμασι, ἄλλοι δὲ
ἀλλων φυσώντων ἄμελγουσί. φασὶ δὲ τούδε
εἰνεκα τούτῳ ποιείν τὰς φλέβας τε πίμπλασθαι
φυσωμένας τῆς ἱπποῦ καὶ τὸ οὕδαρ κατίεσθαι.
ἐπεάν δὲ ἀμέλξωσι τὸ γάλα, ἐσχέαντες ἐς εἶλινα
ἀγγήμα κοίλα καὶ περιστίξαντες κατὰ τὰ ἀγγήμα
τοὺς τυφλοὺς δονέουσι τὸ γάλα, καὶ τὸ μὲν αὐτοῦ
ἐπιστάμενον ἀπαρύσαντες ἀγεύνται εἰναι τιμιῶ-
τερον, τὸ δ’ ὑπιστάμενον ἄσσον τοῦ ἐτέρου,
τούτων μὲν εἰνεκα ἀπαντά τὸν ἀν λάβωσι οἱ
Σκύθαι ἐκτυφλοῦσιν· οὐ γὰρ ἀρόται εἰσὶ ἀλλὰ
νομάδες.

3. Ἐκ τούτων δὴ ὅπ ςφι τῶν δούλων καὶ τῶν
γυναικῶν ἐπάρῃ γεότης· οὐ ἐπείτε ἔμαθον τὴν
σφετέρην γένεσιν, ἦντιοῦντο αὐτοῖς κατιόυσι ἐκ
τῶν Μῆδων. καὶ πρῶτα μὲν τὴν χώρην ἀπετά-
μοντο, τάφρον ὄρυξαν ἐυρέαν κατατείνουσαν
ἐκ τῶν Ταυρικῶν ὁρέων ἐς τὴν Μαίητιν λίμνην,
τῇ περ ἐςτὶ μεγάστη· μετὰ δὲ πειρομένους ἕσ-
βάλλειν τοῖς Σκύθησι ἀντικατιζόμενοι ἐμάχοντο.
γυνομένης δὲ μάχης πολλάκις καὶ οὐ δυναμένων
οὐδὲν πλέον ἔχειν τῶν Σκυθέων τῇ μάχῃ, εἰς
αὐτῶν ἔλεξε τάδε. “Ολη ποιεῦμεν, ἄνδρες Σκύθαι
δούλοιοι τοῖς ἠμέτεροις μαχόμενοι αὐτοὶ τε
κτεινόμενοι ἐλάσσονες γινόμεθα καὶ ἑκεῖνους κτεί-
νοντες ἐλασσόνων τὸ λοιπὸν ἄρξομεν. γών ὅων
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the way of their getting it: taking pipes of bone very like flutes, they thrust these into the secret parts of the mares and blow into them, some blowing and others milking. By what they say, their reason for so doing is that the blowing makes the mare's veins to swell and her udder to be let down. When milking is done, they pour the milk into deep wooden buckets, and make their slaves to stand about the buckets and shake the milk; the surface part of it they draw off, and this they most value; what lies at the bottom is less esteemed. It is for this cause that the Scythians blind all prisoners whom they take; for they are not tillers of the soil, but wandering graziers.

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

1 The Sea of Azov. It is not clear where the τάφρος was. Some think that Herodotus may have had in his mind the so-called "Putrid Sea," the narrow stretch of water between the Ararat isthmus and the Crimea. This at least corresponds with the "point of greatest breadth" of the Sea of Azov.
HERODOTUS

μοι δοκεῖι αἵχμας μὲν καὶ τὸξα μετείναι, λαβόνω
dὲ ἐκαστὸν τοῦ ὑπ'που τὴν μάστιγα ἴεναι ἄσσον
αὐτῶν. μέχρι μὲν γὰρ ὧρων ἡμέας ὑπλα ἔχοντας,
οὐ δὲ ἐνόμιζον ὁμοίοι τε καὶ ἐξ ὁμοίων ἡμῖν εἶναι·
ἐπεὶ δὲ ἵδων οἱ μάστιγας ἀντὶ ὑπλῶν ἔχοντας,
μαθόντες ὡς εἰσὶ ἡμέτεροι δοῦλοι καὶ συγγνώντες
tοῦτο, οὐκ ὑπομενέουσι."  

4. Ταῦτα ἄκουσαντες οἱ Σκύθαι ἐποίειν ἐπι-
tελέα· οὐ δὲ ἐκπλαγέντες τῷ γινομένῳ τῆς μάχης
tε ἐπελάθοντο καὶ ἔβεβγον. οὕτω οἱ Σκύθαι τῆς
tε Ἀσίας ἥρξαν καὶ ἐξελασθέντες αὐτὸς ὑπὸ
Μήδων κατῆλθον τρόπῳ τοιούτῳ ἐς τὴν σφετέρην.
tῶνδε εἶνεκα ὁ Δαρεῖος τίσασθαι βουλόμενος
συνήγειρε ἐπ' αὐτοῦς στράτευμα.

5. Ἡς δὲ Σκύθαι λέγουσι, νεώτατον πάντων
ἐθνῶν εἶναι τὸ σφέτερον, τούτο δὲ γενέσθαι ὡδε.
Ἄνδρα γενέσθαι πρῶτον ἐν τῇ γῇ ταύτῃ ἐούσῃ
ἐρήμῳ τῷ οὐνομα εἶναι Ταργιτάνου· τοῦ δὲ Ταρ-
γιτάνου τούτου τοὺς τοκέας λέγουσι εἶναι, ἐμοὶ
μὲν οὐ πιστὰ λέγωντες, λέγουσι δ' ὅν, Δία τε
καὶ Βορυσθένεος τοῦ ποταμοῦ θυγατέρα. γένεος
μὲν τοιοῦτον δὴ τίνος γενέσθαι τὸν Ταργιτάνον,
tούτου δὲ γενέσθαι παῖδας τρεῖς, Δυσάξαϊν καὶ
Ἀρπόξαϊν καὶ νεώτατον Κολάξαϊν. ἐπὶ τούτων
ἀρχόντων ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ φερόμενα χρύσα ποιή-
ματα, ἄροτρόν τε καὶ ξυνόν καὶ σάγαριν καὶ
φιάλην, πεσεῖν ἐς τὴν Σκυθικὴν· καὶ τῶν ἱδόντα
πρῶτον τὸν πρεσβύτατον ἄσσον ἴεναι βουλόμενον
αὐτὰ λαβεῖν, τὸν δὲ χρυσὸν ἐπιόντος καλέσθαι·
ἀπαλλαχθέντος δὲ τούτου προσέθη τὸν δεύτερον,
καὶ τὸν αὐτὰς ταῦτα ποιεῖν. τοὺς μὲν δὴ καίο-
μενον τὸν χρυσὸν ἀπόσασθαι, τρίτῳ δὲ τῷ νεώ-
my counsel is that we drop our spears and bows, and
go to meet them each with his horsewhip in hand.
As long as they saw us armed, they thought them-
selves to be our peers and the sons of our peers; let
them see us with whips and no weapons of war, and
they will perceive that they are our slaves; and
taking this to heart they will not abide our attack."

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

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

¹ The Dnieper.
HERODOTUS

tάτῳ ἐπελθόντι κατασβῆναι, καὶ μὴν ἐκεῖνον κομίσαι ἐς ἑωτοῦ· καὶ τοῦς πρεσβύτερους ἀδελ-
φεὺς πρὸς ταύτα συγγυόντας τὴν βασιλῆιν πᾶσαν παραδοῦναι τῷ νεωτάτῳ.

6. Ἀπὸ μὲν δὴ Διποξίας γεγονέναι τούτους τῶν Σκυθέων οἱ Αὐχάται γένος καλέονται, ἀπὸ
δὲ τοῦ μέσου Ἀρτοξίας οἱ Κατιαροί τε καὶ Ἰπτήστριας καλέονται, ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ νεωτάτου αὐτῶν
tοῦ βασιλέος οἱ καλέονται Παραλάται· σύμπασι δὲ εἰναι οὖνομα Σκολότους, τοῦ βασιλέος ἐπω-
nυμίν. Σκύθας δὲ Ἔλληνες ὄνομασαν.

7. Γεγονέναι μὲν νυν σφέας ὃδε λέγουσι οἱ
Σκύθαι, ἔτεα δὲ σφίασι ἐπεῖτε γεγόνασι τὰ σύμ-
pαντα λέγουσι εἶναι ἀπὸ τοῦ πρῶτου βασιλέος
Ταργιτάου ἐς τὴν Δαρείου δίαβασιν τὴν ἑπὶ
σφέας χιλίων οὐ πλέω ἀλλὰ τοσαῦτα. τὸν δὲ
χρυσὸν τούτον τῶν ἴρων φυλάσσοντι οἱ βασιλεῖς
ἐς τὰ μάλιστα, καὶ θυσίαι μεγάληι ἰλασκό-
μενοι μετέρχονται ἀνὰ πάν ἐτος. διὸ δὲ ἄν έχων
τὸν χρυσὸν τῶν ἴρων ἐν τῇ ὑπάθριος κατα-
κομμαθῆ, οὕτως λέγεται ὑπὸ Σκυθέων οὐ διενιατί-
ζειν· δίδοσθαι δὲ οἱ διὰ τοῦτο ὅσα ἀν ἑπὶ ἡμέρῃ μὴ περιελάσῃ αὐτός. τῆς δὲ χώρης ἑοῦσις
μεγάλης τριφασίας τὰς βασιλείας τοῖς παισὶ
tοῖς ἑωτοῦ καταστήσασθαι Κολάξαιν, καὶ του-
τέων μὲν ποιήσας μεγίστην, ἐν τῇ τὸν χρυσὸν
φυλάσσεσθαι. τὰ δὲ κατύπερθε πρὸς βορέῃ
λέγουσι ἀνεμοῦ τῶν ὑπεροίκων τῆς χώρης οὐκ οὐδὲ
tε εἰναι ἐτὶ προσωτέρῳ οὔτε ὡρᾶι οὔτε διεξεῖναι
ὑπὸ πτερῶν κεχυμένων· πτερῶν γὰρ καὶ τὴν γῆν
καὶ τὸν ἥρα εἶναι πλέον, καὶ ταύτα εἰναι τὰ
ἀποκλήσοντα τὴν ὀψιν.

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

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

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

¹ The "reason" is obscure; perhaps the gift of land is a compensation for his shortness of life.
² See ch. 31 for Herodotus' explanation.
8. Σκύθαι μὲν ὁδε ὑπὲρ σφέων τε αὐτῶν καὶ τῆς χώρης τῆς κατύπερθε λέγουσι, Ἑλληνῶν δὲ οἱ τὸν Πόντον οἰκεύοντες ὁδε. Ὡρακλέα ἐλαύνοντα τὰς Γηρυόνεω βοῶς ἀπικέσθαι εσ γῆν ταύτην ἔσωσιν ἐρήμην, ἕκτινα νῦν Σκύθαι νέμονται. Γηρυόνεα δὲ οἰκείων ἔξω τοῦ Πόντου, κατοικημένων τὴν Ἑλληνες λέγουσι Ἐρύθειαν νῦσσον τὴν πρὸς Γαδείροις τοῦτο ἔξω Ὡρακλέων στηλέων ἐπὶ τῷ Ὡκεανῷ. τὸν δὲ Ὡκεανῶν λόγῳ μὲν λέγουσι ἀπὸ ἡλίου ἀνατολέων ἀρξάμενον γῆν περὶ πᾶσαν ἰθαίνης, ἐργῷ δὲ οὐκ ἀποδεικνύσι. ἐνθεύτεν τὸν Ὡρακλέα ἀπικέσθαι εσ τὴν νῦν Σκυθίην χώρην καλεομένην, καὶ καταλαβεῖν γὰρ αὐτὸν χειμώνα τε καὶ κρυμών, ἐπειρασμένου τὴν λευτέρην κατυπνῶσαι, ταῦτα δὲ οἱ ἤπειροι τὰς ὑπὸ τοῦ ἄρματος νεμομένας ἐν τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ ἀφανισθήναι θέει τῶν 9.

9. Ὡς δὲ ἔγερθηναι τὸν Ὡρακλέα, δίξησθαι, πάντα δὲ τῆς χώρης ἐπεξελθόντα τέλος ἀπικέσθαι εσ τὴν Ἡλλαίην καλεομένην γῆν ἐνθαῦτα δὲ αὐτῶν εὐρεῖν ἐν ἄνθρο μεξοπάρθενον τυά, ξύδισαν διφύεα, τῆς τα μὲν ἄνω ἀπὸ τῶν γλυτυτῶν εἰναι γυναικός, τα δὲ ἐνερθεί όφιος. ἵδοντα δὲ καὶ θωμάσαντα ἐπειρέσθαι μιν εἰ κου ἵδοι ἤπειροι πλανωμένας την δὲ φάναι ἐωτὴν ἔχεαν καὶ οὐκ ἀποδόςδε πείνῃ ἢ οἱ μικθητ. τὸν δὲ Ὡρακλέα μιχθηναι ἐπὶ τῷ μισθῷ τοῦτῳ. κεῖνῃ τε δὴ ὑπερβάλλεσθαι τὴν ἀπόδοσιν τῶν ἤπειρων, βουλομένην ὡς πλεῖστον χρόνον συνείναι τῷ Ὡρακλέει, καὶ τὸν κομψάμενον θέλειν ἀπαλάσσεσθαι τέλος δὲ ἀποδιδοῦσαν αὐτὴν εἰπείν

1 [τά] Stein.
BOOK IV. 8-9

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

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

¹ Very far west, Gadira being identified with Cadiz.
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"'Ιπτους μὲν δὴ ταύτας ἄπικομένας ἐνθάδε ἔσωσά τοι ἑγώ, σώστρα τε σὺ παρέσχες. ἐγώ γὰρ ἐκ σεῦ τρεῖς παίδας ἔχω. τούτους, ἐπεάν γένων-
tαι τρόφιες, ὁ τι χρῆ ποιεῖν, ξέργεο σὺ, εἰτε αὐτοῦ κατοικίζω (χώρης γὰρ τῆς ἐξ ὑμὸ το κράτος
αὐτῆ) εἰτε ἀποπέμπω παρὰ σὲ." τὴν μὲν δὴ
ταύτα ἐπειρωτᾶν, τὸν δὲ λέγουσι πρὸς ταύτα
eἰπεῖν "'Επεάν ἀνδρωθέντας ἢδη τοὺς παίδας,
tάδε ποιεῦσα οὐκ ἂν ἀμαρτάνοις. τὸν μὲν ἂν ὀρᾶς
αὐτῶν τὸν ὅτε τὸ τόξον ὃδε διατεινόμενον καὶ τῷ
ξωστῆρα τῷ κατὰ τάδε ξωνύμενον, τοῦτον μὲν
τῆς τῆς χώρης ὑικήτορα ποιεῖν ὅδε ἂν τούτων
tῶν ἐργῶν τῶν ἑντέλλομαι λείπηται, ἐκπεμπε ἢ
τῆς χώρης. καὶ ταύτα ποιεῦσα αὐτῆ τε εὐφρανέαι
καὶ τὰ ἑντελαμένα ποιήσεις."

10. Τὸν μὲν δὴ εἰρύσαντα τῶν τόξων τὸ ἔτερον
(δύο γὰρ δὴ φορέειν τέως Ἰρακλέα) καὶ τὸν
ξωστῆρα προδέξαντα, παραδοῦναι τὸ τόξον τε καὶ
τὸν ξωστῆρα ἔχοντα ἐπ' ἄκρης τῆς συμβολῆς
φιάλην χρυσῆν, δόντα δὲ ἀπαλλάσσομαι. τὴν
δ', ἑπεί οἱ γενομένους τοὺς παίδας ἀνδρωθήναι,
tούτο μὲν σφι οὐνόματα θέσαι, τὸ μὲν Ἀγά-
θυρον αὐτῶν, τῷ δ' ἐπομένῳ Γελωνῷ, Σκύθην δὲ
τῷ νεωτάτῳ, τούτῳ δὲ τῆς ἐπιστολῆς μεμημένην
αὐτὴν ποιῆσαι τὰ ἑντελαμένα. καὶ δὴ δύο μὲν
οἱ τῶν παιδῶν, τὸν τὲ Ἀγάθυρον καὶ τὸν Γελω-
νόν, οὐκ οίους τε γενομένους ἐξικέσθαι πρὸς τὸν
προκείμενον ἀεθλοῦν, οἰχεῖοι Ε ἐκ τῆς χώρης ἐκ-
βληθέντας ὑπὸ τῆς γειναμένης, τὸν δὲ νεωτατὸν
αὐτῶν Σκύθην ἐπιστελεσάντα καταμείναι ἐν τῇ
χώρῃ. καὶ ἀπὸ μὲν Σκύθεω τῷ Ἰρακλείος
γενέσθαι τοὺς αἰεὶ βασιλείας γεινομένους Σκυθέων,
to him, "These mares came, and I kept them safe here for you, and you have paid me for keeping them, for I have three sons by you. Do you now tell me what I must do when they are grown big: shall I make them to dwell here (for I am the queen of this country), or shall I send them away to you?" Thus she inquired, and then (it is said) Heracles answered her: "When you see the boys grown to man's estate, act as I bid you and you will do rightly; whichever of them you see bending this bow thus and girding himself with this girdle, make him a dweller in this land; but whoever fails to achieve these tasks which I lay upon him, send him away out of the country. Thus do and you will yourself have comfort, and my bidding will be done."

10. So he drew one of his bows (for till then Heracles ever bore two), and showed her the girdle, and delivered to her the bow and the girdle, that had a golden vessel on the end of its clasp; and, having given them, so departed. But she, when the sons born to her were grown men, gave them names, calling one of them Agathyrsus and the next Gelonus and the youngest Scythes; moreover, remembering the charge, she did as she was commanded. Two of her sons, Agathyrsus and Gelonus, not being able to achieve the appointed task, were cast out by their mother and left the country, but Scythes, the youngest, accomplished it and so abode in the land. From Scythes son of Heracles comes the whole line of the kings of Scythia; and it is because of the
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ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς φιάλης ἔτι καὶ ἐς τόδε φιάλας ἐκ τῶν ξωστήρων φορέειν Σκύθας· τὸ δὴ μοῦνον μηχανήσασθαι τὴν μητέρα Σκύθην.\(^1\) ταῦτα δὲ Ἐλλήνων οἱ τὸν Πόντον οἰκέοντες λέγουσι.

11. Ἐστι δὲ καὶ ἅλλος λόγος ἔχουν ὡδὲ, τῷ μᾶλλον οἰκομένῳ αὐτὸς πρόσκειμαι, Σκύθας τοὺς νομάδας οἰκέοντας ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ, πολέμῳ πιεσθέντας ὑπὸ Μασσαγετῶν, οἰχεσθαι διαβάντας ποταμὸν 'Αράξην ἐπὶ γῆν τὴν Κιμμερίην (τὴν γὰρ νῦν νέμονται Σκύθαι, αὕτη λέγεται τὸ παλαιὸν εἶναι Κιμμερίων), τοὺς δὲ Κιμμερίους ἐπιόντων Σκυθέων βουλεύεσθαι ὡς στρατοῦ ἐπιώντος μεγάλου, καὶ δὴ τὰς γνώμας σφέων κεχωρισμένας, ἐντόνους μὲν ἀμφοτέρας, ἀμείνω δὲ τὴν τῶν βασιλέων· τὴν μὲν γὰρ δὴ τοῦ δῆμου φέρειν γνώμην ὡς ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι πρῆγμα εἶναι μηδὲ πρὸ σποδοῦ μένοντας κινδυνευέν, τὴν δὲ τῶν βασιλέων διαμάχεσθαι περὶ τῆς χώρης τοῖς ἐπιούσι. οὕτως δὴ ἐθέλειν πείδεσθαι οὐτε τοῖς βασιλεύσι τὸν δῆμον οὔτε τῷ δῆμῳ τοὺς βασιλέας· τοὺς μὲν δὴ ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι βουλεύεσθαι ἀμαχητὶ τὴν χώρην παραδόντας τοῖς ἐπιούσι· τοῖς δὲ βασιλεύσι δόξαι ἐν τῇ ἐσωτηρίων κεῖσθαι ἀποθανόντας μηδὲ συμφέων τῷ δήμῳ, λογισμένοις ὁσα τε ἀγαθὰ πεπόνθαι καὶ ὁσα φεύγοντας ἐκ τῆς πατρίδος κακὰ ἐπίδοξα καταλαμβάνειν. ὡς δὲ δόξαι σφί ταῦτα, διαστάντας καὶ ἀριθμὸν ἵσους γενομένους μάχεσθαι πρὸς ἀλλήλους. καὶ

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

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

\(^1\) Herodotus' idea of the course of this river is uncertain; cp. i. 202. He appears to extend the Araxes, which flowed from the west into the Caspian, into regions east of that sea.
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tους μὲν ἀποθανόντας πάντας ὕπε ἔως τῶν Κιμμερίων παρὰ ποταμὸν Τύρην (καὶ σφεων ἐΐς δῆλος ἐστὶ ὁ τάφος), θάψαντας δὲ οὗτο τὴν ἐξοδον ἐκ τῆς χώρης ποιεσθαι. Σκύθας δὲ ἐπελθόντας λαβεῖν τὴν χώρην ἔρημην.

12. Καὶ νῦν ἔστι μὲν ἐν τῇ Σκυθικῇ Κιμμερίᾳ τείχεα, ἔστι δὲ πορθμήα Κιμμερία, ἔστι δὲ καὶ χώρῃ οὐνομα Κιμμερία, ἔσσετι δὲ Βόσπορος Κιμμερίως καλεόμενος: φαίνονται δὲ οἱ Κιμμεριοι φεύγουτε ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην τοὺς Σκύθας καὶ τὴν χερσόνησον κτίσαντες, ἐν τῇ νῦν Σινώπη πόλις Ἐλλάς οἰκισται. φανεροὶ δὲ εἰσὶ καὶ οἱ Σκύθαι διώξαντες αὐτοὺς καὶ ἐσβαλόντες ἐς γῆν τὴν Μηδικήν, ἀμαρτόντες τῆς ὠδοῦ· οἱ μὲν γὰρ Κιμμερίους αἰεὶ τὴν παρὰ θάλασσαν ἔφευγον, οἱ δὲ Σκύθαι ἐν δεξιᾷ τὸν Καύκασον ἔχοντες ἐδίωκον ἐς οὐ ἐσέβαλον ἐς γῆν τὴν Μηδικήν, ἐς μεσόγαιαν τῆς ὠδοῦ τραφθέντες. οὕτως δὲ ἄλλος ξυνὸς Ἐλλήνων τε καὶ βαρβάρων λεγόμενος λόγος εὔρηται.

13. Ἐφη δὲ Ἀριστέης ὁ Καυστροβίος ἀνὴρ Προκοννήσιος ποιεών ἔσπεα, ἀπικέσθαι ἐς Ἰσσηδόνας φοιβόλαμπτος γενόμενος, Ἰσσηδόνων δὲ ὑπεροικεῖν Ἀριμασποὺς ἄνδρας μουνοθάλμους, ὑπὲρ δὲ τούτων τοὺς χρυσοφύλακας γρύπας, τοῦτων δὲ τοὺς Ἡπερβορέους κατήκοντας ἐπὶ θάλασσαν. τοῦτους δὲ πάντας πλὴν Ἡπερβορέων, ἀρξάντων Ἀριμασπῶν, αἰεὶ τούσι πλησιοχώρουσι ἐπιτίθεσθαι, καὶ ὑπὸ μὲν Ἀριμασπῶν ἐξωθέσθαι 212
were all slain by their own hands; then the commonalty of the Cimmerians buried them by the river Tyres, where their tombs are still to be seen, and having buried them departed out of the land; and the country being empty, the Scythians came and took possession of it.

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

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

1 The name survives in “Crimea.” The “Cimmerian ferry” is probably the narrow entrance of the Sea of Azov. For some notice of geographical difficulties here and elsewhere in this Book, see the introduction to this volume.
ΗΕΡΟΔΟΤΟΣ

ἐκ τῆς χώρης Ἰσσηδόνας, ὑπὸ δὲ Ἰσσηδόνων
Σκύθας, Κιμμερίους δὲ οἴκεοντας ἔτι τῇ νυκτὶ
θαλάσσῃ ὑπὸ Σκυθέων πιεζομένους ἐκλείπειν τὴν
χώρην. οὕτω οὐδὲ οὕτος συμφέρεται περὶ τῆς
χώρης ταύτης Σκύθησι.

14. Καὶ οὖν μὲν ἦν Ἄριστεύς ὁ ταῦτα εἶπας,
εἰρήκα, τὸν δὲ περὶ αὐτοῦ ἥκονοι λόγον ἐν Προκο-
νήσῳ καὶ Κυζίκῳ, λέξω. Ἄριστεύς γὰρ λέγουσι,
ἕντα τῶν ἀστῶν οὐδενὸς γένος ὑποδέστερον, ἐσελ-
θόντα ἐς κανάβην ἐν Προκοννήσῳ ἀποθανεῖν, καὶ
tὸν κναβέα κατακλησάντα τὸ ἐργαστήριον οἶχε-
σθαι ἀγγελέοντα τοῖς προσήκουσι τῷ νεκρῷ.
ἐσκεδασμένον δὲ ἦδη τοῦ λόγου ἀνὰ τὴν πόλιν ὡς
τεθνέως εἴη ὁ Ἄριστεύς, ἐς ἀμφισβασίας τοις
λέγοντες ἀπικυνέοντα ἄνδρα Κυζίκην ἤκοντα ἐξ
Ἄρτάκης πόλος, φάντα συντυχέων τέ οἱ ἱόντες ἐπὶ
Κυζίκου καὶ ἐς λόγους ἀπικέσθαι. καὶ τούτων μὲν
ἐντεκαμένως ἀμφισβατέοι, τοὺς δὲ προσήκουσι
τῷ νεκρῷ ἐπὶ τὸ κανάβην παρεῖναι ἠχοῦσα τὰ
πρόσφορα ὡς ἀναιρησομένους· ἀνοικθέντος δὲ τοῦ
οἰκήματος οὕτε τεθνέωτα οὕτε ξώντα φάνερον
Ἄριστεύς. μετὰ δὲ ἐβδόμῳ ἔτει φανέρα αὐτὸν
ἔς Προκόννησον ποιήσαντα τὰ ἐπεα ταῦτα τὰ νῦν
ὑπὸ Ἐλλήνων Ἀρμάσπεα καλέσται, ποιήσαντα δὲ
ἀφαιροῦσά τις τὸ δεύτερον.

15. Ταῦτα μὲν αἱ πόλεις ἄρται λέγουσι, τάδε
ἀπὸ αἱ Μεταποντίνωι τοῖς ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ συγκυ-
ρήσαντα μετὰ τὴν ἀφάνισιν τὴν δευτέρην Ἄριστεώς
ἐτεις τεσσεράκοντα καὶ διηκοσίαις, ὡς ἐγὼ συμ-
βαλλόμενος ἐν Προκοννήσῳ τε καὶ Μεταποντίως
ἐύρισκον. Ἔπειτα οὖν φασὶν αὐτὸν Ἄριστεύς
φανέρα σφί ἐς τὴν χώρην κελεύσαι βωμὸν Ἀπόλ-

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by the Arimaspians, and the Scythians by the Issedones, and the Cimmerians, dwelling by the southern sea, were hard pressed by the Scythians and left their country. Thus neither does Aristeas' story agree concerning this country with the Scythian account.

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

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

¹ A Milesian colony, the port of Cyzicus.
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λόγος ἵδρυσασθαι καὶ Ἄριστέω τοῦ Προκοννησίου ἐπωνυμίᾳ ἔχοντα ἀνδριάντα παρ’ αὐτόν ἰστάναι· φάναι γάρ σφί τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα Ἰταλιωτέων μοῦνοις δὴ ἀπικέσθαι ἐσ τὴν χώρην, καὶ αὐτός οἱ ἔπεσθαι ὁ νῦν ἐων Ἀριστέης· τότε δὲ, ὅτε εἴπετο τῷ θεῷ, εἶναι κόραξ. καὶ τὸν μὲν εἰσόντα ταῦτα ἀφανισθῆναι, σφέας δὲ Μεταποντίνου λέγουσι ἐσ Δελφοὺς πέμψαντας τὸν θεὸν ἐπειρωταν ὁ τὸ τὸ φάσμα τοῦ ἀνθρώπου εἴη. τὴν δὲ Πυθίην σφέας κελεύειν πείθεσθαι τῷ φάσματι, πειθομένιοι δὲ ἀμεινον συνοίσεσθαι. καὶ σφέας δεξαμένους ταῦτα ποιήσαι ἐπιτελέα. καὶ νῦν ἔστηκε ἀνδριάς ἐπωνυμίῃ ἔχων Ἀριστέω παρ’ αὐτῷ τῷ ἀγάλματι τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος, πέριξ δὲ αὐτὸν δάφνιν ἐστάσι· τὸ δὲ ἀγαλμα ἐν τῇ ἄγορῇ ἰδρυται. Ἀριστέω μὲν νῦν πέρι τοσαῦτα εἰρήσθω.

16. Τῆς δὲ γῆς, τῆς πέρι οὗτος ὁ λόγος ὀρμηται λέγεσθαι, οὔδεὶς οὗτος ἀτρεκεὺς ὁ τῷ τὸ κατύπερθε ἐστι· οὐδεὶς γὰρ δὴ αὐτόπτεω εἰδέναι φαμένου δυναμαι πυθέσθαι· οὔδὲ γὰρ οὗτος Ἀριστέης, τοῦ περ ὅλῳ πρότερον τούτων μνήμην ἐποιεύμην, οὔδὲ οὗτος προσωτέρω Ἰσσηδόνων ἐν αὐτώσι τοῖσι ἐπεσι ποιέων ἔφησε ἀπικέσθαι, ἀλλὰ τὰ κατύπερθε ἐλεγε ἀκοῆ, φας Ἰσσηδόνας εἰναι τοὺς ταῦτα λέγοντας. ἀλλ’ ὅσον μὲν ἢμεῖς ἀτρεκέως ἔπλ μακρότατον οἰοί τε ἐγενόμεθα ἀκοῇ ἐξικέσθαι, πᾶν εἰρήσεται.

17. Ἀπὸ τοῦ Βορυσθενεῖτέων ἐμπορίου (τοῦτο γὰρ τῶν παραθαλασσίων μεσαίτατον ἐστὶ πάσης τῆς Σκυθίης), ἀπὸ τοῦτο πρώτοι Καλλιππίδαι νέμονται ἑόντες Ἔλληνες Σκύθαι, ύπερ δὲ τοῦτον ἄλλο ἔθνος οὗ Ἀλαζόνες καλέονται. οὕτωι δὲ καὶ 216
beside it a statue bearing the name of Aristeas the Proconnesian; for, he said, Apollo had come to their country alone of all Italiot lands, and he himself—who was now Aristeas, but then when he followed the god had been a crow—had come with him. Having said this, he vanished away. The Metapontinēs, so they say, sent to Delphi and inquired of the god what the vision of the man might be; and the Pythian priestess bade them obey the vision, saying that their fortune would be the better; having received which answer they did as commanded. And now there stands beside the very image of Apollo a statue bearing the name of Aristeas; a grove of laurels surrounds it; the image is set in the market-place. Suffice it then that I have said thus much of Aristeas.

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

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

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1 Another Milesian colony, called by Greeks generally Olbia (the Fortunate) or Miletopolis; it was the most important Greek centre north of the Euxine.
οἱ Καλλιππίδαι τὰ μὲν ἄλλα κατὰ ταῦτα Σκύθησι ἐπασκέουσιν, ὦτον δὲ καὶ σπείρουσι καὶ σιτεύονται, καὶ κρόμμω καὶ σκόροδα καὶ φακοὺς καὶ κέγχρους. ὑπὲρ δὲ Ἀλαζόνων οἰκέουσι Σκύθαις ἄροτῆρες, οἳ οὐκ ἐπὶ σιτήσι σπείρουσι τῶν σίτου ἄλλο ἐπὶ πρῆσι. τούτων δὲ κατύπερθε οἰκέουσι Νευροί. Νευρών δὲ τὸ πρὸς βορένην ἄνεμον ἔρημον ἀνθρώ- πων, ὅσον ἡμεῖς ἱδμεν.

18. Ταύτα μὲν παρὰ τὸν "Τπάνων ποταμὸν ἐστὶ ἑδεα πρὸς ἐσπέρης τοῦ Βορυσθένεως. ἀτὰρ δια- βάντι τὸν Βορυσθένεα ἀπὸ θαλάσσης πρῶτον μὲν ἦ Τλαϊς, ἀπὸ δὲ ταύτης ἄνω ἱόντι οἰκέουσι Σκύθαις γεωργοί, τοὺς Ἐλλήνες οἱ οἰκέουσες εἰπὶ τῷ Τπάνῳ ποταμῷ καλέοσώ Βορυσθενείταις, σφέας δὲ αὐτοὺς Ὀλβοπολίταις. οὐτοί δὲν οἱ γεωργοί Σκύθαι νέμονται τὸ μὲν πρὸς τὴν ἡδὸ ἐπὶ τρεῖς ἡμέρας ὄδον, κατήκοντες ἐπὶ ποταμῶν τῷ ὀυνωμα κεῖται Παντικάπης, τὸ δὲ πρὸς βορένην ἄνεμον πλόον ἀνὰ τὸν Βορυσθένεα ἡμερέων ἐνδεκα. ἦδη δὲ κατύπερθε τούτων ἡ ἔρημος ἐστὶ ἐπὶ πολλῶν. μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἐρημοὶ Ἀνδροφάγοι οἰκέουσι, ἔθνος ἐν ῥησίν καὶ οὐδαμὸς Σκυθικῶν. τὸ δὲ τούτων κατύπερθε ἔρημον ἦδη ἀληθέως καὶ ἔθνος ἀνθρώπων οὐδέν, ὅσον ἡμεῖς ἱδμεν.

19. Τὸ δὲ πρὸς τὴν ἡδὸ τῶν γεωργῶν τούτων Σκυθέων, διαβάντι τὸν Παντικάπην ποταμῶν, νομάδες ἦδη Σκύθαι νέμονται, οὕτω τι σπείροντες οὐδέν οὔτε ἀρουντες, ζυλὲ δὲ δενδρῶν ἡ πᾶσα αὐτὴ πλήν τῆς Τλαϊς. οἱ δὲ νομάδες οὕτως τὸ πρὸς τὴν ἡδὸ ἡμερέων τεσσέρων καὶ δέκα ὀδὸν νέμοντας καθαρὰ κατατείνουσαν ἐπὶ ποταμῶν Γέρρου.

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

18. These are the tribes by the river Hypanis,¹ westwards of the Borysthenes. But on the other
side of the Borysthenes the tribe nearest to the sea is the tribe of the Woodlands; and north of
these dwell Scythian farmers, whom the Greek dwellers on the Hypanis river (who call them-
selves Olbiopolitae) call Borysthenaitae. These farming Scythians inhabit a land stretching east-
ward a three days' journey to a river called Panticapes,² and northward as far as an eleven days'
voyage up the Borysthenes; and north of these the land is uninhabited for a long way; after which
desert is the country of the Man-eaters, who are a nation by themselves and by no means Scythian;
and beyond them is true desert, wherein no nation of men dwells, as far as we know.

19. But to the east of these farming Scythians, cross the river Panticapes, and you are in the land
of nomad Scythians, who sow nothing, nor plough; and all these lands except the Woodlands are bare
of trees. These nomads inhabit to the eastward a country that stretches fourteen days' journey to the
river Gerrus.³

20. Across the Gerrus are those lands called

¹ The Bug.  ² Not identified.  ³ Not identified.
μενα βασιλήια εστι καλ Σκύθαις οἱ ἁριστοὶ τε καὶ πλεῖστοι καὶ τοὺς ἁλλους νομίζουτες Σκύθας δούλως σφετέρους εἴναι κατήκουσι δὲ οὔτοι τὸ μὲν πρὸς μεσαμβρήν εἴς τὴν Ταυρικὴν, τὸ δὲ πρὸς ἥν ἔτι τε τάφρον, τὴν δὴ οἷς ἐκ τῶν τυφλῶν γενόμενοι ῥυζαν, καὶ ἔτι τῆς λίμνης τῆς Μαιήνδος τὸ ἐμπόριον τὸ καλέσται Κρῆμοι· τὰ δὲ αὐτῶν κατήκοσι ἐπὶ ποταμὸν Τάναιν. τὰ δὲ κατύπερθε πρὸς βορέην ἀνεμον τῶν βασιλήνων Σκυθέων οἰκεύοντες Μελάγχαλαιοι, ἀλλο ἔθνος καὶ οὐ Σκυθικοί. Μελάγχαλαιοι δὲ τὸ κατύπερθε λίμναι καὶ ἐρήμος ἐστὶ ἀνθρώπων, κατόσον ἡμεῖς ἴδομεν.

21. Τάναιν δὲ ποταμὸν διαβάντι οὐκέτι Σκυθικῆ, ἀλλ' ἡ μὲν πρώτη τῶν λαξίων Σαυροματέων ἐστί, οἷς ἐκ τοῦ μυχοῦ ἀρξάμενοι τῆς Μαιήνδος λίμνης νέμονται τὸ πρὸς βορέην ἀνεμον ήμερέων πεντεκαίδεκα ὁδῶν, πᾶσαν ἔνοικα ψιλῆν καὶ ἀγρίων καὶ ἡμέρων δενδρέων ὑπεροικέουσι δὲ τούτων δευτέρην λάξιν ἔχουτε Βουδίνοις, γῆν νεμομενοι πᾶσαν δασεὰν θηλ παντοῦ.

22. Βουδίνων δὲ κατύπερθε πρὸς βορέην ἐστὶ πρώτῃ μὲν ἔρημος ἐπὶ ήμερέων ἐπτὰ ὁδῶν, μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἔρημον ἀποκλίνωτε μᾶλλον πρὸς ἀπηλώτην ἀνεμον νέμονται Θυσαγέται, ἔθνος πολλῶν καὶ ἱδιων· ζωίδι δὲ ἀπὸ θήρης. συνεχέες δὲ τοῦτοι ἐν τοῖς αὐτοῖς τόποισι κατοικημένοι εἰς τοῖς οὐνομα κεῖται Ἰύρκαι, καὶ οὕτωι ἀπὸ θήρης ζωίτας τρόπο τοιῶδε· λοχά ἐπὶ δενδρεον ἀναβάς, τὰ δὲ ἐστὶ πυκνὰ ἀνὰ πᾶσαν τὴν χώρην. ἔπποι δὲ ἐκάστω δεδιδαγμένος ἐπὶ γαστέρα κείθαι ταπεινότητος εἰνεκα ἔτοιμος ἐστὶ καὶ κώνω· ἐπεάν δὲ ἀπίδη τὸ θηρίον ἀπὸ τοῦ δενδρεον, τοξεύσας ἐπι-
BOOK IV. 20-22

Royal, where are the best and most in number of the Scythians, who deem all other Scythians their slaves; their territory stretches southward to the Tauric land, and eastward to the fosse that was dug by the sons of the blind men, and on the Maeetian lake to the port called The Cliffs; and part of it stretches to the river Tanais. Above the Royal Scythians to the north dwell the Blackcloaks, who are of another and not a Scythian stock; and beyond the Blackcloaks the land is all marshes and uninhabited by men, so far as we know.

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

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

1 Apparently on the west coast of the Sea of Azov; cp. 110.
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βας ἐπὶ τὸν ἱππον διώκει, καὶ ὁ κυών ἔχεται. ὑπὲρ δὲ τοῦτον τὸ πρὸς τὴν ἥδω ἀποκλίνοντι οἰκε- ουσι Σκύθαι άλλοι, ἀπὸ τῶν βασιλείων Σκυθέων ἀποστάντες καὶ ὀφτω ἀπικόμενοι ἐς τούτον τὸν χώρον.

23. Μέχρι μὲν δὴ τῆς τούτων τῶν Σκυθέων χώρης ἔστι ἡ καταλεγθείσα πᾶσα πεδιάς τε γῆ καὶ βαθύγαιοι, τὸ δ' ἀπὸ τούτου λιθώδης τ' ἐστὶ καὶ τρηχέα. διεξελθόντι δὲ καὶ τῆς τρηχέης χώρης πολλῶν οἰκεύουσι ὑπώρειν ὃρεών ὕψηλῶν ἀνθρώπων λεγόμενοι εἰναι πάντες φαλακροὶ ἐκ γενετῆς γυνώ- μενοι, καὶ ἔρσενες καὶ θόλεαι ὀμοίως, καὶ σιμωὶ καὶ γένεια ἔχουσες μεγάλα, φωνὴν δὲ ἰδίην ἰέντες, ἐςθῆτι δὲ χρεώμενοι Σκυθικῆς, ἦντες δὲ ἀπὸ δευδρέων. ποντικὸν μὲν οὔνομα τῷ δευδρέῳ ἀπ' οὗ ξώσι, μέγαθος δὲ κατὰ συκένη μάλιστα κη. καρπὸν δὲ φορέει κυάμφρ ἵσον, πυρήνα δὲ ἔχει. τούτῳ ἐπεάν γένηται πέτουν, σακκέουσι ἑμαίστοι, ἀπορρεῖε δὲ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ παχύ καὶ μέλαιο οὔνομα δὲ τῷ ἀπορρέοντι ἔστι ἅσχυ. τούτῳ καὶ λείχουσι καὶ γάλακτι συμμοῦσοντες πίνουσι, καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς παχύτητος αὐτοῦ τῆς τρυγὸς παλάθας συντιθείσι καὶ ταῦτα συτέονται. πρόβατα γάρ σφι οὐ πολλά ἐστιν. οὐ γάρ τι σπουδαῖοι αἱ νομαι αὐτόθι εἰσὶ. ὑπὸ δευδρήῳ δὲ ἄκακος κατοίκηται, τὸν μὲν χειμῶνα ἔπεαν τὸ δευδρευν περικαλύψη πήλῳ στεγνῷ λευκῷ, τὸ δὲ θέρος ἄνευ πῆλου. τούτους οὕδεις ἀδίκειε ἀνθρώπων. ἵοι γὰρ λέγονται εἰναι. οὐδὲ τι ἁρήμον ὀπλον ἐκτέαται. καὶ τούτῳ μὲν τοῖς πέρικεέουσι οὕτωι εἰσὶ οἱ τὰς διαφορὰς.
bow and mounts his horse and pursues after it, till the dog grips the prey. Beyond these and somewhat towards the east dwell Scythians again, who revolted from the Royal Scythians and so came to this country.

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

1 The fruit of the "Prunus Padus" is said to be made by the Cossacks into a drink called "atschi."
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diairéontes, touto dé de òan feúgyon katafýgha ès toutous, ùp' oudeivos àdikéetai. ónuma dé sphi èstí 'Arogippaloi.

24. Méxri mév vun toûn falakrō̂n touton pollh pérfanei tís xórhois èstí kai toûn èmprom- sóthe ñvnevoj kai gàr Skuðevas tinves áttiknevontai ès autous, tout ou xal EVPÓ̂N èstì nvedésai kai 'Ebhóvno tòv èk Boúrjvdhevos té èmporisons kai tout allov Pontikov èmporíov. Skuðevas dé oí òan èlVowai ès autous, di' èptà èrmivenov kai di' èptà glwsséves dìaparíssontai.

25. Méxri mév dé touton gynósketai, toutè touton falakrō̂n kátipéthe oudeis àtrēkéous oude frásai. ñreà gàr ñpsilà àpotáměi àbeta kai oudeis sfeà épêrbaiuei. oí dé falakroi outoi lêgonoi, èmol mév òn pìstà lêgonves, oukeièw tà ñreà aigípoda ándras, épêrbánti dé toutous anbromous allov oí tìn èxámmhnon kateúndousi. touto dé ouk èndé- koi mà tìn èrchn, álla touto mév pròs hò tout falakrō̂n gynósketai àtrēkèwvs òpò 'Iosfioivov oukeómenv, touto méntoi katúperhe pròs boresin anmènov ou gynósketai ouste tout falakrō̂n ouste toutov 'Iosfioivov, ei ìchsa autov touton lêgonwv.

ever banished man has taken refuge with them is wronged by none. They are called Argippeans.

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

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

26. It is said to be the custom of the Issedones, that whenever a man's father dies, all the nearest of kin bring beasts of the flock, and having killed these and cut up the flesh they cut up also the dead father of their host, and set out all the flesh mingled together for a feast. As for his head, they strip it bare and cleanse and gild it, and keep it for a sacred relic, whereto they offer yearly solemn sacrifice. Every
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παίς δὲ πατρὶ τούτῳ ποιέει, κατὰ περ’ Ἑλλήνες τὰ γενέσια. ἄλλως δὲ δίκαιοι καὶ οὗτοι λέγονται εἶναι, ἵσοκρατεῖς δὲ ὁμόως αἱ γυναίκες τούτῳ ἀνδράσι.

27. Γινώσκονται μὲν δὴ καὶ οὗτοι, τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ τούτων τὸ κατύπερθε Ἰσσηδόνες εἰσὶ οἱ λέγοντες μονοφθάλμους ἀνθρώπους καὶ χρυσοφύλακας γρύπας εἶναι· παρὰ δὲ τούτων Σκύθαι παραλ-βόντες λέγουσι, παρὰ δὲ Σκυθέων ἡμεῖς οἱ ἄλλοι νεομίκαμεν καὶ ὀνομάζομεν αὐτοὺς σκυθιστὶ ἀριμασποὺς· ἀριμα γὰρ ἐν καλέοντι Σκύθαι, στοῦ δὲ ὀφθαλμοῦ.

28. Δυσχέιμερος δὲ αὐτὴ ἡ καταλεχθεῖσα πάσα χώρη οὕτω δὴ τι ἐστὶ, ἐνθα τοὺς μὲν ὅκτῳ τῶν μηνῶν ἄφορητος οἷος γίνεται κρυμός, ἐν τοῖς úδωρ ἐκχέας πηλὸν οὐ ποιήσεις, πῦρ δὲ ἀνακαίων ποιή-σεις πηλὸν 1 ἢ δὲ θάλασσα πήγνυται καὶ ὁ Βόσπορος πᾶς ὁ Κιμμέριος, καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ κρυ-στάλλου οἱ ἐντὸς τάφρον Σκύθαι κατοικημένοι στρατεύονται καὶ τὰς ἀμάξας ἐπελαύνουσιν πέρην ὡς τοὺς Σίνδους. οὕτω μὲν δὴ τοὺς ὅκτῳ μήνας διατελεῖε χειμών ἕως, τοὺς δὲ ἐπιλοίπους τέσσερας ψύχεα αὐτόθι ἐστὶ. κεχώρισται δὲ οὗτος ὁ χειμών τοὺς τρόπους πᾶσι τοῖς ἐν ἀλλοις χωρίσαι γινομένους χειμώνις, ἐν τῷ τῇ μὲν ὄραμα οὐκ ὑπὶ λόγον ἄξιον οὐδέν, τὸ δὲ θέρος οὐν οὐκ ἀνιεί· βρονταὶ τῇ ἢμοι ἀλλὴ γίνουσιν, τημικάντα μὲν οὐ γίνονται, ςέρεος δὲ ἀμφιλαφέες· ἢ δὲ χειμῶνος βροντὴ γένηται, ὡς τέρας νεόμισται θωμαξέσθαι. ὡς δὲ καὶ ἢν σεισμὸς γένηται ἢ τε θέρεος ἢ τε χειμῶνος ἐν τῇ Σκυθικῇ, τέρας νεόμισται. ὑποτι δὲ ἀνεχόμενοι φέρουσι τὸν χειμώνα τοῦτον, ἡμίονοι

1 [πηλὸν] Stein.
BOOK IV. 26-28

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

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

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

29. Δοκεῖε δὲ μοι καὶ τὸ γένος τῶν βοῶν τὸ κόλον διὰ ταῦτα οὐ φύειν κέρεα αὐτῶι· μαρτυρεῖ δὲ μοι τῇ γνώμῃ καὶ Ὄμήρου ἔπος ἐν Ὀδυσσείᾳ ἔχου ὅδε,

καὶ Διβύην, οὗ τ’ ἄρνες ἄφαρ κεραί τελέθουσιν,

ὁρθῶς εἰρημένον, ἐν τοῖς θερμοῖς ταχὺ παραγίνεσθαι τὰ κέρεα, ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἱσχυροῖς ψύχειν ἤ οὐ φύειν κέρεα τὰ κτήνεα ἀρχήν ἢ φύοντα φύειν μόνης.

30. Ἐνθαῦτα μὲν νυν διὰ τὰ ψύχεα γίνεται ταῦτα. θωμάζω δὲ (προσθήκαι γάρ ὅμοι ο λόγος ἐξ ἀρχής ἐδίξητο) ὅτι ἐν τῇ Ἡλείᾳ πάσῃ χώρῃ οὔ δυνάται γίνεσθαι ἡμίνοι, οὔτε ψυχρόν τοῦ χώρου ἐόντος οὔτε ἀλλού φανερῶν αἰτίου ούδενός. φασί δὲ αὐτοὶ Ἡλείοι ἐκ κατάρης τεν οὔ γίνεσθαι σφίσαν ἡμίνοις, ἀλλ’ ἐπεάν προσίη ἡ ώρη κυκλοσκεπᾶ τὰς ἱπποὺς, ἐξελαύνουσι ἐς τοὺς πληθυντέρους αὐτάς, καὶ ἐπειτά σφί ἐν τῇ τῶν πέλας ἔπιεις τοὺς ὅνος, ἐς οὐ ἄν σχώσι αἰ ἵπποι ἐν γαστρί ἐπειτα δὲ ἀπελαύνουσι.

31. Περὶ δὲ τῶν πτερῶν τῶν Σκύθων λέγουσι ἀνάπλεον εἶναι τὸν ἥρα, καὶ τούτων εἶνεκα οὐκ οἷοί τε εἶναι οὔτε ἱδεῖν ὁ πρόσος τῆς ἕπειρου οὔτε διεξεῖναι, τῶν δὲ ἔχω περὶ αὐτῶν γνώμην· τὰ κατ’ ὑπερθε ταῦτα τῆς χώρης αἰει νίφεται, ἔλασσοι δὲ τοῦ Θέρεος ἢ τοῦ χειμῶνος, ὥσπερ καὶ οἷος. ἦδη οὖν ὅπως ἀγχόθεν χίόνα ἀδρήν πίπτουσαν

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BOOK IV. 28-31

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

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

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

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

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

31. But as touching the feathers whereof the Scythians say that the air is full, insomuch that none can see or traverse the land beyond, I hold this opinion. Northward of that country snow falls continually, though less in summer than in winter, as is to be expected. Whoever has seen snow falling thickly near him knows of himself my meaning; for
eίδε, οίδε τὸ λέγω. ἔοικε γὰρ ἡ χιὼν πτεροῖσιν: καὶ διὰ τὸν χειμῶνα τούτον ἐόντα τοιοῦτον ἀνοίκητα τὰ πρὸς βορέῃν ἐστὶ τῆς ἡπείρου ταύτης. τὰ δὲ πτερὰ εἰκάζοντας τὴν χιόνα τοὺς Σκύθας τε καὶ τοὺς περιοίκους δοκεῶ λέγειν. ταῦτα μὲν ὑπὲρ τὰ λέγεται μακρότατα εἰρηται.

32. Ἡπερβορέων δὲ πέρι ἀνθρώπων οὔτε τι Σκύθαι λέγουσι οὐδὲν οὔτε τινὲς ἄλλοι τῶν ταύτης οἰκημένων, εἰ μὴ ἀρὰ Ἰσσηδάννες. ἀς δὲ ἐγὼ δοκεῶ, οὐδὲ οὕτωι λέγουσι οὐδέν. ἔλεγον γὰρ ἂν καὶ Σκύθαι, ὡς περὶ τῶν μουνόφθαλμων λέγουσι. ἀλλ' Ἡσιόδοφ μὲν ἐστὶ περὶ Ἡπερβορέων εἰρήμενα, ἔστι δὲ καὶ Ὄμήρῳ ἐν Ἐπιγόνοις, εἰ δὴ τῷ ἔόντι γε Ὁμήρος ταῦτα τὰ ἔπεα ἔποιησε.

33. Πολλῷ δὲ τί πλεῖστα περὶ αὐτῶν Δήλων λέγουσι, φάμενοι ἵπτε ἐνδεδεμένα ἐν καλάμη πυρῶν ἐξ Ἡπερβορέων φερόμενα ἀπικνέονται καὶ Σκύθαις, ἀπὸ δὲ Σκυθέων ἢ ἐκ δεκούμενως αἰεὶ τοὺς πλησιοχώρους ἐκάστους κομίζειν αὐτὰ τὸ πρὸς ἐσπέρης ἐκαστάτω ἐπὶ τῶν Ἀδριήν, ἐνθευτεν δὲ πρὸς μεσαμβρίνην προπεμπόμενα πρῶτον Δωδώναιοις Ἐλλήνων δέκεσθαι, ἀπὸ δὲ τούτων καταβαίνειν ἐπὶ τῶν Μηλεά κόλπων καὶ διαπερεῦσθαι ἐς Εὔβοιαν, πόλιν τε ἐς πόλιν πέμπειν μέχρι Καρύστου, τὸ δ' ἀπὸ ταύτης ἐκλεπεῖν 'Αγρον. Καρυστίους γὰρ εἶναι τοὺς κομίζοντας ἐς Τήνου, Τηνίους δὲ ἐς Δήλων. ἀπικνέονται μὲν ὑπὸ οὕτω
BOOK IV. 31-33

the snow is like feathers; and by reason of the winter, which is such as I have said, the parts to the north of this continent are uninhabited. I think therefore that in this tale of feathers the Scythians and their neighbours do but speak of snow in a figure. Thus then I have spoken of those parts that are said to be most distant.

32. Concerning the Hyperborean people neither the Scythians nor any other dwellers in these lands tell us anything, except perchance the Issedones. And, as I think, even they tell nothing; for were it not so, then the Scythians too would have told, even as they tell of the one-eyed men. But Hesiod speaks of Hyperboreans, and Homer too in his poem The Heroes’ Sons,¹ if that be truly the work of Homer.

33. But the Delians² tell much more concerning them than do any others. They say that offerings wrapt in wheat-straw are brought from the Hyperboreans to Scythia; when they have passed Scythia, each nation in turn receives them from its neighbours till they are carried to the Adriatic sea, which is the most westerly limit of their journey; thence they are brought on to the south, the people of Dodona being the first Greeks to receive them. From Dodona they come down to the Melian gulf, and are carried across to Euboea, and city sends them on to city till they come to Carystus; after this, Andros is left out of their journey, for it is Carystians who carry them to Tenos, and Tenians to Delos. Thus (they

¹ One of the “Cyclic” poems; a sequel to the “Thebais” (story of the seven against Thebes).
² This Delian story about the Hyperboreans is additional evidence of the known fact that trade routes from the earliest times linked northern with south-eastern Europe. Amber in especial was carried from the Baltic to the Aegean.
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tαύτα τὰ ἱρὰ λέγουσι ἐς Δῆλου πρῶτον δὲ τῶν Ἰπερβορέων πέμψαι φεροῦσας τὰ ἱρὰ δύο κόρας, τὰς ὀνομάξουσι Δῆλιοι εἶναι Ἰπερόχην τε καὶ Δαοδίκην ἀμα δὲ αὐτῆσι ἀσφαλείς εἶνεκεν πέμψαι τοὺς Ἰπερβορέως τῶν ἀστῶν ἄνδρας πέντε πομπούς, τούτους οὐ νῦν Περφερείαις καλέονται τιμᾶς μεγάλας ἐν Δῆλῳ ἔχουτε. ἐπεὶ δὲ τοῖσι Ἰπερβορέωι τοὺς ἀποπεμφθέντας ὀπίσω οὐκ ἀπονοστέειν, δενά ποιευμένους εἰ σφέασ αἰεὶ καταλάμψησαί ἀποστέλλουτας μὴ ἀποδέκεαθαι, οὔτω δὴ φέροντας ἐς τοὺς οὐρους τὰ ἱρὰ ἐνδεδε-μένα ἐν πυρῶν καλάμη τοὺς πλησιοχώρους ἐπισκέπτειν κελεύοντας προπέμπειν σφέα ἀπὸ ἐωτῶν ἐς ἄλλο ἔθνος. καὶ ταύτα μὲν οὔτω προ-πεμπόμενα ἀπικνέεισθαι λέγουσι ἐς Δῆλου. οἶδα δὲ αὐτῶς τούτοις τοῖσι ἱροῖσι τὸδε ποιεύμενον προσφέρεσ, τὰς Ὀρηκίας καὶ τὰς Παιονίδας γυναίκας, ἐπεὶν θύσιν τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι τῇ βασιλείᾳ, οὐκ ἀνευ πυρῶν καλάμης ἐχοῦσας τὰ ἱρά.

34. Καὶ ταύτα μὲν δὴ ταύτας οἶδα ποιεύσας· τήσι δὲ παρθένους ταύτην τήσι ἐς Ἰπερβορέων τελευτησάσιν ἐν Δῆλῳ κείρονται καὶ αἱ κόραι καὶ οἱ παῖδες οἱ Δηλῖων· αἱ μὲν πρὸ γάμου πλο-κάμοι ἀποταμώμεναι καὶ περὶ ἄτρακτον εἰλί-ξασιν ἐπὶ τὸ σήμα τιθείσι (τὸ δὲ σήμα ἐστὶ ἔσω ἐς τὸ Ἀρτεμίσιον ἐσιόντι ἀριστερῆς χειρός, ἐπι-πέφυκε δὲ οἱ ἐλαίη), ὅσοι δὲ παῖδες τῶν Δηλίων, περὶ χλόην εὐνα εἰλίξαντες τῶν ῥιχῶν τιθείσι καὶ οὕτωι ἐπὶ τὸ σήμα.

35. Αὐταὶ μὲν δὴ ταύτην τιμῆν ἔχουσι πρὸς τῶν Δῆλου οἰκητόρων. φασὶ δὲ οἱ αὐτοὶ οὕτωι καὶ τὴν Ἀργην τε καὶ τὴν Ὀμπιν ἔοισας παρθένοις.
BOOK IV. 33-35

say) these offerings come to Delos. But on the first journey the Hyperboreans sent two maidens bearing the offerings, to whom the Delians give the names Hyreroche and Laodice, sending with them for safe conduct five men of their people as escort, those who are now called Perpherees\(^1\) and greatly honoured at Delos. But when the Hyperboreans found that those whom they sent never returned, they were very ill content that it should ever be their fate not to receive their messengers back; wherefore they carry the offerings, wrapt in wheat-straw, to their borders, and charge their neighbours to send them on from their own country to the next; and the offerings, it is said, come by this conveyance to Delos. I can say of my own knowledge that there is a custom like these offerings, namely, that when the Thracian and Paeonian women sacrifice to the Royal Artemis, they have wheat-straw with them while they sacrifice.

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

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

\(^{1}\) That is, probably, the Bearers.
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νους ἐξ Ὄτερβορέων κατὰ τοὺς αὐτοὺς τοῦτους ἀνθρώπους πορευομένας ἀπικέεσθαι ἐς Δῆλον ἔτη πρὸτερον Ὄτερόχης τε καὶ Δαδίκης. ταῦτας μὲν ὑπὸ τῇ Εἰδελυνή ἀποφερούσας ἀντὶ τοῦ ὄκτυσκοῦ τὸν ἔταξαντο φόρον ἀπικέεσθαι, τὴν δὲ Ἄργην τε καὶ τὴν ᾽Οπίνν ἀμα αὐτοῖς θεοίς ἀπικέεσθαι λέγουσι καὶ σφι τιμᾶς ἄλλας δεδόσθαι πρὸς σφέων καὶ γὰρ ἀγείρειν σφι τὰς γυναίκας ἐπονομαζόμενας τὰ σύνοματα ἐν τῷ ὕμνῳ τὸν σφι Ὄλην ἄνθρο Δύκιος ἐποίησε, παρὰ δὲ σφέων μαθόντας νησίωτας τε καὶ Ἰωνας ὕμνειν Ὄπιν τε καὶ Ἄργην ὄνομαξοντάς τε καὶ ἀγέροντας (οὕτος δὲ Ὅλην καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους τοὺς παλαιοὺς ὕμνους ἐποίησε ἐκ Δυκίης ἐξωθὸν τοὺς ἀειδομένους ἐν Δῆλῳ), καὶ τῶν μηρίων καταγικαμένων ἐπὶ τῷ βωμῷ τὴν σποδὸν ταύτην ἐπὶ τὴν θῇκην τῆς Ὁπίος τε καὶ Ἄργης ἀναισιμοῦθαι ἐπιβαλλομένην. ἡ δὲ θῆκη αὐτῶν ἐστὶ διπλοθε τοῦ Ἀρτεμισίου, πρὸς ἡδὸν τετραμμένη, ἀγχοτάτῳ τοῦ Ἐπίου ἱστιτηρίου.

36. Καὶ ταῦτα μὲν Ὅτερβορέων πέρι εἰρήσθω τὸν γὰρ περὶ Ἀβάριος λόγον τοῦ λεγομένου εἶναι Ὅτερβορέου οὐ λέγω, ὡς τὸν ὄστον περίφερε κατὰ πάσαν γῆν οὐδὲν στείμενος. εἰ δὲ εἰσὶ υπερβόρεοι τινὲς ἀνθρωποί, εἰσὶ καὶ υπερνότιοι ἄλλοι. γελῶ δὲ ὅρεων γῆς περιόδους γράφωντας πολλοὺς ἥδη καὶ οὐδένα νοουχόντως ἐξηγησάμενον· οἱ Ὄλεανον τε ῥέοντο γράφουσι περὶ τὴν γῆν οὐκοῦσα κυκλοτερά ὡς ἀπὸ τόρμου, καὶ τὴν Ἐσίνην τῇ Ἕλληνῃ ποιεύσιν ἔσχον. ἐν ὀλίγοις γὰρ ἐγὼ δηλώσω μεγαθὸς τε ἐκάστης αὐτῶν καὶ οὕτι τις ἐστὶ ἐς γραφὴν ἐκάστη.
Hyperboreans by way of the peoples aforesaid to Delos, yet earlier than the coming of Hyperoche and Laodice; these latter came to bring to Ilithyia the tribute where to they had agreed for ease of child-bearing; but Arge and Opis, they say, came with the gods themselves,¹ and received honours of their own from the Delians. For the women collected gifts for them, calling upon their names in the hymn made for them by Olen a man of Lycia; it was from Delos that the islanders and Ionians learnt to sing hymns to Opis and Arge, calling upon their names and collecting gifts (this Olen after his coming from Lycia made also the other and ancient hymns that are sung at Delos). Further they say that when the thighbones are burnt in sacrifice on the altar, the ashes of them are all used for casting on the burial-place of Opis and Arge; which burial-place is behind the temple of Artemis, looking eastwards, nearest to the refectory of the people of Ceos.

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

¹ Apollo and Artemis, probably.
37. Πέρσαι οἰκέουσι κατηκότες ἐπὶ τὴν νοτίνθ ϑάλασσαν τὴν Ἑρυϑρὴν καλεομένην, τούτων δὲ ύπεροικέουσι πρὸς βορέῃν ἀνεμοῦν Μῆδοι, Μῆδων δὲ Σάσπειρες, Σασπεῖρων δὲ Κόλχοι κατηκότες ἐπὶ τὴν βορηήν θάλασσαν, ἐς τὴν Φᾶσις ποταμὸς ἐκδιδοῖ. ταῦτα τέσσερα ἔθνεα οἰκεῖει ἐκ θαλάσσης ἐς θάλασσαν.

38. Ἐνθεύτευν δὲ τὸ πρὸς ἑσπέρης ἀκταὶ διαφά- σαι ἀπ' αὐτῆς κατατείνουσι ἐς θάλασσαν, τὰς ἐγὼ ἀπεγήγησομαι ἐνθεύεις, μὲν ἡ ἀκτῇ ἡ ἐτέρη τὰ πρὸς βορέῃν ἀπὸ Φᾶσιος ἀρξαμένη παρατέταται ἐς θάλασσαν παρά τε τὸν Πόντου καὶ τὸν Ἐλ- λῆσποντον μέχρι Σιγεῖου τοῦ Τροικοῦ. τὰ δὲ πρὸς νότον ἡ αὐτῇ αὐτῇ ἀκτῇ ἀπὸ τοῦ Μυριαν- δικοῦ κόλπου τοῦ πρὸς Φοινίκη κειμένου τείνει τὰ ἐς θάλασσαν μέχρι Τριοπίου ἀκρῆς. οἰκεῖει δὲ ἐν τῇ ἀκτῇ ταύτῃ ἔθνεα ἀνθρώπων τριήκοντα.

39. Αὐτῇ μὲν νυν ἡ ἐτέρη τῶν ἀκτῶν, ἡ δὲ ἡ ἐτέρη ἀπὸ Περσέων ἀρξαμένη παρατεταίραι ἐς τὴν Ἑρυϑρὴν θάλασσαν, ἡ τε Περσικῆ καὶ ἀπὸ ταύτης ἑκδεκιμένη ἡ Ἀσσυρία καὶ ἀπὸ Ἀσσυρίας ἡ Ἀραβία· λήγει δὲ αὐτῇ, οὐ λήγουσα εἰ μὴ νόμῳ, ἐς τὸν κόλπον τῶν Ἀραβίων, ἐς τὸν Δαρεῖος ἐκ τοῦ Νείλου διώρυχα ἐσῆγαγε. μέχρι μὲν νυν Φοινίκης ἀπὸ Περσέων χῶρος πλατὺς καὶ πολύς ἐστιν· τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ Φοινίκης παρῆκε διὰ τῆς δὴ τῆς θαλάσσης ἡ ἀκτῇ αὐτῇ παρὰ τε Συρίαν τὴν Παλαιστίνην καὶ Αἰγυπτοῦ, ἐς τὴν τελευταίαν ἐν τῇ ἔθνεα ἐστὶ τρία μοῦνα.

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

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

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

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

\(^1\) Here, the Black Sea; in 42, the "northern sea" is the Mediterranean.
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σέων καὶ Μήδων καὶ Σασπείρων καὶ Κόλχων, τὰ πρῶς ἧδω τε καὶ ἦλιον ἀνατέλλοντα, ἐνθεν μὲν ἡ Ἐρυθρή παρῆκει θάλασσα, πρὸς βορέω δὲ ἡ Κασπίη τε θάλασσα καὶ ὁ Ἀράβης ποταμός, πέων πρὸς ἦλιον ἀνύσχοντα. μέχρι δὲ τῆς Ἰνδικῆς οἰκείης ἦσον Ἀσίην τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ ταύτης ἔρημος ἦδη τὸ πρὸς τὴν ἦδω, οὐδὲ ἔχει οὔδες φράσαι οἱ οἱ δὴ τι ἦστι.

41. Τοιαύτη μὲν καὶ τοσαύτη ἡ Ἀσίη ἔστι, ἢ δὲ Διβύη ἐν τῇ ἀκτῇ τῇ ἑτέρῃ ἔστι: ἀπὸ γὰρ Αἰγυπτοῦ Διβύη ἦδη ἐκδέκεται. κατὰ μὲν οὖν Αἰγυπτίων ἡ ἀκτὴ αὐτὴ στεινὴ ἔστι: ἀπὸ γὰρ τῆς τῆς θαλάσσης ἐς τὴν Ἐρυθρῆ διαλέγεται δέκα μυριάδες εἰς ὀργυέων, αὐτὰς δὲ ἀν εἶνα χίλιοι στάδιοι· τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ στεινοῦ τούτου κάρτα πλατέα τυγχάνει ἐούσα ἡ ἀκτὴ ήτοι Διβύη κέκληται.

42. Θωμάζω ἀν τῶν διαυρισσάντων καὶ διελώτων Διβύην τε καὶ Ἀσίην καὶ Εὐρώπην· οὐ γὰρ σμικρὰ τὰ διαφέροντα αὐτῶν ἔστι· μὴκει μὲν γὰρ παρ’ ἀμφότερας παρῆκει ἡ Εὐρώπη, εὗρεος δὲ πέρι οὐδὲ συμβάλλειν ἄξια φαίνεται μοι εἶναι. Διβύη μὲν γὰρ δηλοῖ ἑωτὴν 1 ἐοὺσα περίρρυτος, πλὴν ὅσον αὐτῆς πρὸς τὴν Ἀσίην οὐρίζει, Νεκὼ τοῦ Αἰγυπτίων βασιλέως πρῶτον τῶν ἡμεῖς ἤδειν καταδέχαντο· δὲ ἐπεὶ τὴν διώρροχα ἐπαύσατο ὅρυςσων τὴν ἕκ τοῦ Νείλου διέχουσαν ἐς τὸν Ἀράβων κόλπον, ἀπέπετεψε Φωίκας ἀνδρὰς πλοίοις, ἐντειλάμενος ἐς τὸ ὁπίσω δι’ Ἡρακλέων στηλῶν ἐκπλεειν ἔως ἐς τὴν βορηήθα θάλασσαν καὶ οὔτω ἐς Αἰγυπτον ἀπικνέεσθαι. ὀρμηθέντες δὲν οἱ Φωίκες ἐκ τῆς Ἐρυθρῆς θαλάσσης ἐπλεον

1 [ἐωτὴν] Stein.
BOOK IV. 40-42

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

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

42. I wonder, then, at those who have mapped out and divided the world into Libya, Asia, and Europe; for the difference between them is great, seeing that in length Europe stretches along both the others together, and it appears to me to be beyond all comparison broader. For Libya shows clearly that it is encompassed by the sea, save only where it borders on Asia; and this was proved first (as far as we know) by Necos king of Egypt. He, when he had made an end of digging the canal which leads from the Nile to the Arabian Gulf, sent Phoenicians in ships, charging them to sail on their return voyage past the Pillars of Heracles till they should come into the northern sea and so to Egypt. So the Phoenicians set out from the Red Sea and
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τὴν νοτίην θάλασσαν ὅκως δὲ γίνοιτο φθινόπωρον, προσαχόντες ἀν σπείρεσκον τὴν γῆν, ἵνα ἐκάστοτε τῆς Διβύης πλέοντες γινοίατο, καὶ μένεσκον τὸν ἄμμον νερόν, θερίσαντες δὲ ἄν τὸν σῖτον ἐπλεον, ὡστε δύο ἔτεων διεξελθοντον τρίτῳ ἐτεὶ κάμψαντες Ἡρακλέας στῆλας ἀπίκοντο ἐς Αἰγυπτόν. καὶ ἔλεγον ἔμοι μὲν ὦν πιστὰ, ἀλλὰ δὲ δὴ τερ, ὡς περιπλώντως τὴν Διβύην τὸν ἥλιον ἔσχον ἐς τὰ δεξιά.

43. Οὔτω μὲν αὕτη ἐγνώσθη τὸ πρῶτον, μετὰ δὲ Καρχηδόνιοι εἰςὶ οἱ λέγοντες· ἐπεὶ Σατάσπης γε ὁ Τεασπίος ἀνὴρ Ἀχαιμενίδης οὐ περιέπλωσε Διβύην, ἐπ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο πεμφθείς, ἀλλὰ δείσας τὸ τε μήκος τοῦ πλόου καὶ τὴν ἑρμήνην ἀπῆλθε ὁπίσω, οὐδὲ ἐπετέλεσε τὸν ἐπέταξέ οἱ ἡ μήτηρ ἄεθλον. θυγατέρα γὰρ Ζωπύρου τοῦ Μεγαβύζου ἐβιήσατο παρθένον· ἐπείτα μέλλοντος αὐτοῦ διὰ ταύτην τὴν αὐτήν ἀνασκολοπεύεσθαι ὑπὸ Ξέρξεως βασιλέως, ἡ μήτηρ τοῦ Σατάσπεος ἐσώσα Δαρείου ἀδελφῆς παρατήσατο, φασά οἱ αὐτὴ μέξω ξημίην ἐπιθήσειν ἡ περ ἐκείνον· Διβύην γὰρ οἱ ἀνάγκην ἔσεσθαι περιπλώειν, ἐς δὲ ἄν ἀπίκηται περιπλέων αὐτήν ἐς τὸν Ἄραβην κόλπον. συγχωρήσαντος δὲ Ξέρξεως ἐπὶ τούτοις, ὁ Σατάσπης ἀπικόμενος ἐς Αἰγυπτον καὶ λαβὼν νέα τε καὶ ναῦτας παρὰ τούτων ἐπλεε ἐπὶ Ἁρακλέας στῆλας· διεκπλώσας δὲ καὶ κάμψας τὸ ἀκρωτήριον τῆς Διβύης τῷ οὐνομα Σολόεις ἐστι, ἐπλεε πρὸς μεσαμβρήν· περή-
sailed the southern sea; whenever autumn came they would put in and sow the land, to whatever part of Libya they might come, and there await the harvest; then, having gathered in the crop, they sailed on, so that after two years had passed, it was in the third that they rounded the Pillars of Heracles and came to Egypt. There they said (what some may believe, though I do not) that in sailing round Libya they had the sun on their right hand.¹

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

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

² Probably Cape Cantin, in the latitude of Madeira.
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σας δὲ θάλασσαν πολλὴν ἐν πολλοῖσι μησὶ, ἔπειτε τοῦ πλεύνος αἱεὶ ἐδει, ἀποστρέψας ὑπὸσ ἀπέπλεε ἐς Αἰγυπτον. ἐκ δὲ ταύτης ἀπικόμενος παρὰ βασιλέα Ἑρέξεα ἐλεγε φὰς τὰ προσωτᾶτῳ ἀνθρώποις μικροὺς παραπλέεισ έσθητι φοινικηῆ διαχρεωμένους, οὐ διωσ σφεῖς καταγοίατο τῇ νη φεύγσσεον πρὸς τὰ ὅρεα λειποντες τὰς πόλιας αὐτοι δὲ ἀδικεειν οὔδεν ἐσιντες, βρωτὰ δὲ μοῦνα ἀξὶ αὐτεὼν λαμβάειν. τοῦ δὲ μὴ περιπλῶσαι Διβύην παντελῶς αἴτιον τόδε ἔλεγε, τὸ πλοῖον τὸ πρόσω οὐ δυνατὸν ἔτι εἶναι προβάιειν ἀλλ' ἐνίσχεθαι. Ἑρέξεες δὲ οὐ οἱ συγγινώσκων λέγειν ἀληθεὰ οὐκ ἐπιτελέσαντα τε τὸν προκείμενον ἀεθλον ἀνεσκολόπτες, τὴν ἀρχαὴν δικὴν ἐπιτιμῶν, τοῦτον δὲ τοῦ Σατάσπεος εἴνουχος ἀπέδρη ἔς Σάμων, ἔπειτε ἐπύθετο τάχιστα τὸν δεσπότα τετελευτηκότα, ἔχων χρήματα μεγάλα, τὰ Σάμιος ἀνὴρ κατέσχε, τοῦ ἐπιστάμενος τὸ ὁυνομα ἐκὼν ἐπιλήθομαι.

44. Τῆς δὲ Ἀσίης τὰ πολλὰ ὑπὸ Δαρειον ἐξευρέθη, δὲ βουλόμενος Ἰνδὸν ποταμὸν, δὲ κροκοδείλους δεύτερος οὐτος ποταμῶν πάντων παρέχεται, τούτον τὸν ποταμὸν εἴδει τῇ ἐς θάλασσαν ἐκδίδοι, πέμπει πλοίοισι ἄλλοις τε τοισὶ ἐπιστεῦνε τὴν ἀληθείαν ἐρέει καὶ δὴ καὶ Σκύλακα ἄνδρα Καρυανδέα, οὐ δὲ ὀρμηθέντες ἐς Κασπατύρον τε πόλιοι καὶ τῆς Πακτυκῆς γῆς ἐπλεον κατὰ ποταμῶν πρὸς ἥω τε καὶ ἡλίῳ ἀνατολᾶς ἐς θάλασσαν, διὰ θαλάσσης δὲ πρὸς ἐσπέρην πλέοντες τριηκοστῷ μηνὶ ἀπικνέονται ἐς τοῦτον τὸν χῶρον ὅθεν ὁ Αἰγυπτίων βασιλεὺς τοὺς Φοίνικας τοὺς πρότερον ἐίπα ἀπέστειλε περιπλῶειν Διβύην. μετὰ
sailed southward; but when he had been many months sailing far over the sea, and ever there was more before him, he turned back and made sail for Egypt. Thence coming to Xerxes, he told in his story how when he was farthest distant he sailed by a country of little men, who wore palm-leaf raiment; these, whenever he and his men put in to land with their ship, would ever leave their towns and flee to the hills; he and his men did no wrong when they landed, and took naught from the people but what they needed for eating. As to his not sailing wholly round Libya, the reason (he said) was that the ship could move no farther, but was stayed. But Xerxes did not believe that Sataspes spoke truth, and as the task appointed was unfulfilled he impaled him, punishing him on the charge first brought against him. This Sataspes had an eunuch, who as soon as he heard of his master’s death escaped to Samos, with a great store of wealth, of which a man of Samos possessed himself. I know the man’s name but of set purpose forget it.

44. But as to Asia, most of it was discovered by Darius. There is a river Indus, in which so many crocodiles are found that only one river in the world has more. Darius, desiring to know where this Indus issues into the sea, sent ships manned by Scylax, a man of Caryanda, and others in whose word he trusted; these set out from the city Caspatyrus and the Pactyic country, and sailed down the river towards the east and the sunrise till they came to the sea; and voyaging over the sea westwards, they came in the thirtieth month to that place whence the Egyptian king sent the Phoenicians afore-mentioned to sail round Libya. After
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de toutous periplousantas 'Iondoys te katestre-fato Daporeos kai tē thalássēs tautē ēkrató. outhe kai tēs 'Asihs, plēn tā prōs ἥλιον ἀνι-
skonta, tā allā aneúrthei omoia paroxmēnē tē
Liβyhs.

45. Ἡ δὲ Εὐρώπη πρὸς οὐδαμῶν φανερὴ ἐστὶ
γυνωσκομένη, οὔτε τὰ πρὸς ἥλιον ἀνατέλλοντα
οὔτε τὰ πρὸς βορέην, εἰ περίρρυτος ἐστὶ: μήκει
δὲ γυνώσκεται παρ’ ἀμφοτέρας παρῆκουσα. οὔδ’
ἔχω συμβαλέσθαι ἐπ’ ὅτεν μὴ ἔσυν ἡ ὀυνόματα
τριφάσια κέεται ἐπωνυμίας ἔχοντα γυναικῶν, καὶ
οὐρίσματα αὐτῇ Νεῖλοσ τοῦ Ἀλγύπτιος ποταμὸς
ἐτέθη καὶ Φάσις ὁ Κόλχος (οἱ δὲ Τάναιν ποταμὸν
τοῦ Μαιήτη καὶ πορθμηὰ τά Κεμμέρια λέγουσι),
οὔδ’ τῶν διουρισάμων τὰ ὀυνόματα πυθέσθαι,
καὶ ὅθεν ἐθεύτο τὰς ἐπωνυμίας. ἦδη γὰρ Λιβύη
μὲν ἐπὶ Λιβύης λέγεται ὑπὸ τῶν πολλῶν Ἕλλη-
νῶν ἐχειν τὸ ὀυνόμα γυναικὸς αὐτόχθων, ἡ δὲ
'Ασίη ἐπὶ τῆς Προμηθεοὺς γυναικὸς τὴν ἐπωνυμίην.
καὶ τοῦτο μὲν μεταλαμβάνονται τοῦ ὀυνόματος
Λυδοὶ, φάμενοι ἐπὶ 'Ασίεω τοῦ Κότνος τοῦ Μάνου
κεκλησθαὶ τὴν 'Ασίην, ἀλλ’ οὐκ ἐπὶ τῆς Προμη-
θεοῦ 'Ασίῆς· ἀπ’ ὅτεν καὶ τὴν ἐν Σάρδισι φυλὴν
κεκλησθαὶ 'Ἀσιάδα. ἡ δὲ δὴ Εὐρώπη οὔτε εἰ
περίρρυτος ἐστὶ γυνώσκεται πρὸς οὐδαμῶν ἀνθρώ-
πων, οὔτε ὅκοθεν τὸ ὀυνόμα ἔλαβε τοῦτο, οὔτε
ὅστις οἱ ἢν ὁ θέμενος φαίνεται, εἰ μὴ ἀπὸ τῆς
Τυρῆς φῆσομεν Εὐρώπης λαβεῖν τὸ ὀυνόμα τὴν
χώρην· πρῶτον δὲ ἢν ἀρα ἀνώνυμος ὠσπερ αἱ
ἐτεραι. ἀλλ’ αὕτη νῃ ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίῆς τε φαίνεται
ἔσοδα καὶ οὐκ ἀπικομένη ἐς τὴν γῆν ταῖν ἔτης
νῦν ὑπὸ Ἕλληνων Εὐρώπη καλεῖται, ἀλλ’ ὅσον
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BOOK IV. 44-45

this circumnavigation Darius subdued the Indians and made use of this sea. Thus was it discovered that Asia, saving the parts towards the rising sun, was in other respects like Libya.

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

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\(^1\) *cp.* ch. 12.

\(^2\) The Fire-giver celebrated by Aeschylus and Shelley; Asia is one of the principal characters in *Prometheus Unbound*.  
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έκ Φοινίκης ἐς Κρήτην, ἐκ Κρήτης δὲ ἐς Δυκίνην.
ταῦτα μὲν νῦν ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον εἰρήσθω· τοῖς γὰρ
νομιζόμενοιν αὐτῶν χρησόμεθα.

46. Ὅ δὲ Πόντος ὁ Εὐδείνος, ἐπὶ δὲ ἐστρα-
τεύετο ὁ Δαρείος, χωρέων πασέων παρέχεται ἔξω
τοῦ Σκυθικοῦ ἔθνεα ἀμαθέστατα. οὔτε γὰρ ἔθνος
τῶν ἐντὸς τοῦ Πόντου οὐδὲν ἔχομεν προβαλέσθαι
σοφίς πέρι οὔτε ἄνδρα λόγιον οἴδαμεν γενόμενον,
πάρεξ τοῦ Σκυθικοῦ ἔθνεως καὶ Ἀναχάρσιος. τῷ
δὲ Σκυθικῷ γένεσθαι οἷον μὲν τὸ μέγιστον τῶν ἀνθρω-
πών προγμάτων σοφότατα πάντων ἐξεύρηται
τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδομεν, τὰ μέντοι ἄλλα οὐκ ἄγαμαν· τὸ
δὲ μέγιστον οὕτω σφί ἀνεύρηται ὅστε ἀποφυγεῖν
τε μηδένα ἑπελθόντα ἐπὶ σφέας, μη βουλόμενοι
τε ἐξευρεθῆναι καταλαβεῖν ἢν ὦν τε εἶναι. τοῖς
γὰρ μήτε ἄστηα μήτε τείχεα ἢ ἐκτισμένα, ἀλλὰ
φερεόικοι ἐόντες πάντες ἔσω ἵπποτοβοῦται, ἥνοτες
μὴ ἀπ' ἀρότου ἄλλο ἀπὸ κτηνέων, οἰκήματα τε
σφὶ ἢ ἐπὶ ξενιγέων, κώς οὐκ ἀν εἰσαν οὕτοι ἁμαχοῖ
τε καὶ ἀποροι προσμίσχειν;

47. Ἐξεύρηται δὲ σφὶ ταῦτα τῆς τε γῆς ἐούσης
ἐπιτηδείας καὶ τῶν ποταμῶν ἐόντων σφὶ συμμάχων.
ἡ τε γὰρ γῆ ἐούσα πεδίας αὖθι ποιόθης τε καὶ
εὐνύμφος ἐστὶ, ποταμοὶ τε δὲ αὐτῆς ἰδοὺν οὐ πολλῷ
τεφ ἄριθμον ἐλάσσονες τῶν εἰς Αἰγύπτῳ διώρχων.
ὅσοι δὲ ὀνομαστοὶ τε εἰσὶν αὐτῶν καὶ προσπλωτοὶ
ἀπὸ ἀθλάσσης, τούτως ὀνομαστὶ 1 . . . . Ἰστρος
μὲν πεντάστομος, μετὰ δὲ Τύρης τε καὶ Ῥπανίς
καὶ Βορυσθένης καὶ Παντικάτης καὶ Ῥπάκυρις
καὶ Γέρρος καὶ Τάναις. βέβουσι δὲ οἶδε κατὰ τάδε.

48. Ἰστρος μὲν, ἐὼν μέγιστος ποταμῶν πάντων

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

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

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

48. The Ister, the greatest of all rivers known to
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tων ἡμείς ἰδμεν, ἵσος αἰεὶ αὐτὸς ἑωυτῷ μέει καὶ θέρεος καὶ χειμῶνος, πρῶτος δὲ τὸ ἄπτ' ἐσπέρης τῶν ἐν τῇ Σκυθικῇ ῥέων κατὰ τοιῶνδε μέγιστος γέγονεν ποταμῶν καὶ ἄλλων ἐς αὐτον ἐκδιδόντων εἰσὶ δὴ οἷς δι' οὓς τέκνα αὐτῶν ποιεῖντες, διὰ μὲν γε τῆς Σκυθικῆς χώρης πέντε μὲν οἱ πρόντες, τὸν τε Σκύθαι Πόρατα καλέουσι Ελληνες δὲ Πυρετῶν, καὶ ἄλλος Τιάραντος καὶ 'Αραρός τε καὶ Νάπαρις καὶ Ὄρδησσος. ὁ μὲν πρῶτος λεχθεὶς τῶν ποταμῶν μέγας καὶ πρὸς ἂν ἓρων ἀνακοίνωται τῷ Ἰστρῷ τὸ ὑδώρ, ὁ δὲ δεύτερος λεχθεὶς Τιάραντος πρὸς ἐσπέρης τε μᾶλλον καὶ ἐλάσσων, ὁ δὲ δὴ 'Αραρός τε καὶ ὁ Νάπαρις καὶ Ὁ Ὅρδησσος διὰ μέσου τούτων ἵοντες ἐσβάλλουσι ἐς τὸν Ἰστρον.

49. Οὕτω μὲν αὐθεντευέτες Σκυθικὸν ποταμὸν συμπληθόνυσι αὐτὸν, ἐκ δὲ Ἀγαθύρσου Μάρις ποταμοῦ ἱδρυν συμμίσχεται τῷ Ἰστρῷ, ἐκ δὲ τοῦ Ἀἴμου τῶν κορυφῶν τρεῖς ἄλλοι μεγάλοι πρόντες πρὸς βορέην ἄνεμον ἐσβάλλουσι ἐς αὐτόν, Ἀτλας καὶ Αὔρας καὶ Τίβινις, διὰ δὲ Θησέως καὶ Θησέων τῶν Κροβύζων πρόντες Ἀθρούς καὶ Νόης καὶ Ἀρτάνθης ἐκδιδούσι ἐς τὸν Ἰστρον ἐκ δὲ Παιώνων καὶ όρεος Ῥόδοντις Κίος ποταμός μέσον σχίζων τὸν Αἴμον ἐκδιδοῖ ἐς αὐτόν. ἐξ Ιλλυρίων δὲ ἱδρύν πρὸς βορέην ἄνεμον Ἀγγος ποταμὸς ἐσβάλλει ἐς πεδίον τῷ Τριβάλλικόν καὶ ἐς ποταμὸν Βρόγγιον, ὁ δὲ Βρόγγιος ἐς τὸν Ἰστρον ὦτω ἀμφοτέρους ἔοντας μεγάλους ὁ Ἰστρος δεκέται. ἐκ δὲ τῆς κατύφερε χώρης Ὅμβρικων Κάρπις ποταμὸς καὶ ἄλλος Ἀπριάς ποταμὸς πρὸς βορέην ἄνεμον

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us, flows with ever beast among its winter: in the bottom of these are the Euxine, Ponto, Aulides, and others rivers, and the rest of the Euxine is frozen. Many other rivers are in the country of Aigiras, those that come from the sea. The Seythyian country is the space in the river Poraita and its three branches, one coming in the Thracian, the Araxes in the Armenian, and the Euphrates. The first-named of these rivers, a short distance flowing eastward and reaching its mouth near to Ister, the second, the Themiscia, is near to the and smaller; the Araxes, Euphrates, and Euphrates between these two near their mouths and to Ister.

49. There are the native-Hercynian rivers who help to wash it: one the river Rhene, whose alluvium is with the lower stream of the river Achelous, the Acon, Araxes, and Tiberius, more and more; that pour into it from southwestward and the region of Haemaus. The Araxes, the Tiberius, and the rest issue into the Ister from the mountain of the Thracian in Thrace; the river Lycus among the mountainous region of Haemaus, from the Haemonius sea of mountainous range of Haemonus. The river Lycus from northward from Illyria into the Thracian sea on the river Rheneus, and the Haemonian sea which so receives these two near their mouths. The Carpus and another river neither than any near northward, from the country north of the Haemonian.

1 Probably the Illyrians, he means, since of the four rivers mentioned here are Haemonian or Illyrian.

2 The Haemon range. Some of the rivers in the mountain can be certainly determined, for indeed many, and among them Carpathus.
τῶν ἡμεῖς ἱδμεν, ἵσος αἰεὶ αὐτὸς ἐωυτῷ μέει καὶ θέρεος καὶ χειμῶνος, πρῶτος δὲ τὸ ἀπ’ ἐσπέρης τῶν ἐν τῇ Σκυθικῇ ρέων κατὰ τοιόνδε μέγιστος γέγονε ποταμῶν καὶ ἄλλων ἐς αὐτὸν ἐκδεδομένων εἰσὶ δὴ οἵ οἱ μέγαν αὐτῶν ποιεῦτεσ, διὰ μὲν γε τῆς Σκυθικῆς χώρης πεντε μὲν οἱ ῥέοντες, τὸν τε Σκύθαι Πόρατα καλέουσι Ελληνες δὲ Πυρετῶν, καὶ ἄλλος Τιάραντος καὶ Ἄραρός τε καὶ Νάπαρις καὶ Ὄρδησσος. ὁ μὲν πρῶτος λεχθεὶς τῶν ποταμῶν μέγας καὶ πρὸς ἥδω ρέων ἀνακωνοῦται τῷ Ἰστρῷ τὸ ὑψώρ, ὅ δὲ δεύτερος λεχθεὶς Τιάραντος πρὸς ἐσπέρης τε μᾶλλον καὶ ἐλάσσων, ὁ δὲ δὴ Ἰεράρος τε καὶ Ὅ Νάπαρις καὶ Ὅ Ὄρδησσος διὰ μέσου τούτων ἰόντες ἐσβάλλουσι ἐς τῶν Ἰστρῶν.

49. Οὕτωι μὲν αὐθινενέες Σκυθικοὶ ποταμοὶ συμπληθύνονται αὐτῶν, ἐκ δὲ Ἡγαθύρσων Μάρις ποταμὸς ρέων συμμίσθησαί τῷ Ἰστρῷ, ἐκ δὲ τοῦ Αἴμου τῶν κορυφέων τρεῖς ἄλλοι μεγάλοι ρέοντες πρὸς βορέθνε ἀνεμον ἐσβάλλουσι ἐς αὐτῶν, Ἀτλας καὶ Αὔρας καὶ Τίβισις, διὰ δὲ Θρηίκης καὶ Θρηίκων τῶν Κροβύζων ρέοντες Ἀθρύς καὶ Νόης καὶ Ἀρτάνης ἐκδιδοῦσι ἐς τῶν Ἰστρῶν ἐκ δὲ Παυόνον καὶ ὄρεος Ροδόπης Κύος ποταμός μέσουν σχίζων τοῦ Αἴμου ἐκδιδοῖ ἐς αὐτῶν. ἐξ Ἡλλυρίων δὲ ρέων πρὸς βορέθνε ἀνεμον Ἀγγυρός ποταμῶς ἐσβάλλει ἐς πεδίον τῷ Τριβαλλικῷ καὶ ἐς ποταμόν Βρόγγον, ὁ δὲ Βρόγγος ἐς τῶν Ἰστρῶν οὕτω ἀμφοτέρους ἐόντας μεγάλους ὁ Ἰστρὸς δέκεται. ἐκ δὲ τῆς κατύπερθε χώρης Ὀμβρικῶν Κάρπης ποταμὸς καὶ ἄλλος Ἀλπις ποταμὸς πρὸς βορέθνε ἀνεμον.
us, flows with ever the same volume in summer and winter; it is the farthest westward of all the Scythian rivers, and the reason of its greatness is as follows: Many other rivers are its tributaries, but these are those that make it great, five flowing through the Scythian country: the river called by Scythians Porata and by Greeks Pyretus,¹ and besides this the Tiarantus, the Ararus, the Naparis, and the Ordessus. The first-named of these rivers is a great stream flowing eastwards and uniting its waters with the Ister, the second, the Tiarantus, is more to the west and smaller; the Ararus, Naparis, and Ordessus flow between these two and pour their waters into the Ister.

49. These are the native-born Scythian rivers that help to swell it; but the river Maris, which comingles with the Ister, flows from the Agathyrsi; the Atlas, Auras, and Tibisis, three other great rivers that pour into it, flow northward from the heights of Haemus.² The Athrys, the Noes, and the Artanes issue into the Ister from the country of the Crobyzi in Thrace; the river Cius, which cuts through the midst of Haemus, from the Paeonians and the mountain range of Rhodope. The river Angrus flows northward from Illyria into the Triballic plain and the river Brongus, and the Brongus into the Ister, which so receives these two great rivers into itself. The Carpis and another river called Alpis also flow northward, from the country north of the Ombrici,

¹ Probably the Pruth; the modern names of the other four rivers mentioned here are matters of conjecture.
² The Balkan range. None of the rivers in this chapter can be certainly identified; the names Κάρπις and Ἀλβις must indicate tributaries descending from the Alps and Carpathians.
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καὶ οὕτωι ἑσύντες ἐκδιδοῦσι ἐσ αὐτῶν. ἦν γὰρ ἐὰν δὴ διὰ πάσης τῆς Εὐρώπης ὁ Ἰστρος, ἀρξάμενος ἐκ Κελτῶν, οὗ ἔσχατοι πρὸς ἡλίου δυσμεῖν μετὰ Κύνητας οἰκέουσι τῶν ἐν τῇ Εὐρώπῃ. ἰὼν ἤ δὲ διὰ πάσης τῆς Εὐρώπης ἐσ τὰ πλάγια τῆς Σκυβίθης ἔσβαλλει.

50. Τούτων δὲ τῶν καταλεξθέντων καὶ ἀλλῶν πολλῶν συμβαλλόμενων τὸ σφέτερον ὑδωρ γίνεται ὁ Ἰστρος ποταμῶν μέγιστος, εὐεί ὑδωρ γε ἐν πρὸς ἐν συμβάλλειν ὁ Νείλος πλῆθει ἀποκρατεί. ἐς γὰρ δὴ τούτων οὔτε ποταμὸς οὔτε κρήνη οὐδεμία ἐσδιδοῦσα ἐς πλῆθος οἱ συμβάλλεται. ἵσος δὲ αἰεὶ ρέει ἐν τῇ θέρει καὶ χειμώνι ὁ Ἰστρος κατὰ τοιόντει τῇ ὕσοις καὶ τοῖς περ ἢ ἦν τῷ ἐστὶ, ὅλῳ τῇ μέξων τῇ θεωτοῦ φύσιος γίνεται· ὑποτεῖ γὰρ ἡ ἤ αὐτῇ τοῦ χειμώνος πάμπαν ὅλῳ, υφετῶ δὲ πάντα χράται· τοῦ δὲ θερέους ἡ χών ἢ ἐν τῷ χειμών πεσοῦσα, ὑπάσα ἀμφιλαφῆς, τηκομένη πάντοθεν ἐσδιδοῦ ἐς τὸν Ἰστρον. αὐτῇ τε δὴ ἡ χών ἐσδιδοῦσα ἐς αὐτῶν συμπληθύνει καὶ ὁμβροὶ πολλοὶ τε καὶ λάβροι σὺν αὐτῇ· ὑπεῖ γὰρ δὴ τῷ θέρει. ὅσῳ δὲ πλέον ἐπὶ ἐωτοῦ ὑδῶρ ὁ ἠλιος ἐπέλεκται ἐν τῷ θερεί ἢ ἐν τῷ χειμώνι, τοσοῦτοι τὰ συμμεσομένα τῇ Ἰστρῷ πολλαπλᾶσια ἐστὶ τοῦ θέρεος ἢ περ τοῦ χειμῶνος· ἀντίπλεμα δὲ ταῦτα ἀντισήκωσε γίνεται, ὥστε ἰσον μὲν αἰεὶ φαίνεσθαι ἐόντα.

51. Εἰς μὲν δὴ τῶν ποταμῶν τοίς Σκύθησι ἐστὶ ὁ Ἰστρος, μετὰ δὲ τούτων Τύρης, ὃς ἀπὸ βορέω μὲν ἀνέμου ὁμμάται, ἀρχεταί δὲ ᾗν ἐκ λήμμης μεγάλης ἢ οὐρίζει τῇ τῇ Σκυθικῆ καὶ Νευρίδα γην. ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ στόματι αὐτοῦ κατοίκηνται Ἔλληνες οἳ Τυρίται καλέονται.

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

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

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

1 The Dniester.
52. Τρίτος δὲ ὁ Ἡροδότος ὁ ποταμός ὅρμαται μὲν ἐκ τῆς Σκυθικῆς, δέει δὲ ἐκ λίμνης μεγάλης τὴν περίξ νέμονται ἵπποι ἀγριοὶ λευκοὶ· καλέται δὲ ἡ λίμνη αὕτη ὀρθῶς μήτηρ Ἡροδότου. Ἐκ ταύτης ὁϊν ἀνατέλλουσι ὁ Ἡροδότος ὁ ποταμός δέει ἐπὶ μὲν πέντε ἦμερέων πλόον βραχὺς καὶ γλυκὺς ἐστὶ· ἀπὸ δὲ τούτου πρὸς θαλάσσης τεσσάρων ἦμερέων πλόον πικρὸς δεινῶς· ἐκδιδοῖ γὰρ ἐς αὐτόν κρήνη πικρῆ, οὔτω δὴ τι έσοῦσα πικρῆ, ἡ μεγάθει σμικρῆ ἐσοῦσα κιρνὰ τὸν Ἡροδότον ἐόντα ποταμὸν ἐν ὀλίγοις μέγαν. Ἐστὶ δὲ ἡ κρήνη αὕτη ἐν οὐροστὶ χώρῃ τῆς τε ἀροτῆρων Σκυθέων καὶ Ἀλαζώνων· οὕνεκα δὲ τῇ κρήνῃ καὶ ὀθὲν δέει τῷ χώρῳ σκυθίστη μὲν Ἑξαμπαῖος, κατὰ δὲ τὴν Ἑλληνῶν γλῶσσαν Ἰραλόδοι. συνάγουσι δὲ τὰ τέρματα ὅ τε Τύρης καὶ ὁ Ἡροδότος κατὰ Ἀλαζώνας, τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ τούτου ὑποστρέψας ἐκάτερος δέει εὐρύων τὸ μέσον.

53. Τέταρτος δὲ ὁ Βορυσθενής ποταμός, δὲ ἐστὶ τε μέγιστος μετὰ Ἡστρον τούτων καὶ πολυαρκεστάτως κατὰ γνώμας τὰς ἡμετέρας οὕτως μοῦν τῶν Σκυθικῶν ποταμῶν ἄλλα καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἄπαντων, πλὴν Νείλου τοῦ Αἰγυπτίου· τούτῳ γὰρ οὐκ οἶδα τε ἐστὶ συμβαλεῖν ἄλλον ποταμὸν τῶν δὲ λοιπῶν Βορυσθενῆς ἐστὶ πολυαρκεστάτος, ὅς νομάς τε καλλίστας καὶ εὐκομιδεστάτας κτήνεις παρέχεται ἵχθυας τε ἀρίστους διακριδόν καὶ πλείστους, πίνεσθαι τε ἦδιστος ἐστὶ, δέει τε καθάρος παρὰ θολεροῖς, σπόρος τε παρ’ αὐτὸν ἄριστος γίνεται, ποτὴ τε, τῇ οὐ σπείρεται ἡ χώρη, βαθυτάτης ἄλεος τε ἐπὶ τῷ στόματι αὐτοῦ αὐτόματοι πῆγουνται ἀπλετοῦ· κίτεια τε μεγάλα ἀνάκανθα, τὰ ἀντακαίους καλέουσι, παρέχεται ἔς ταράχευσιν,
52. The third river is the Hypanis; this comes from Scythia, flowing out of a great lake, round which wild white horses graze. This lake is truly called the mother of the Hypanis. Here, then, the Hypanis rises; for five days' journey its waters are shallow and still sweet; after that for four days' journey seaward it is wondrous bitter, for a spring issues into it which is so bitter that although its volume is small its admixture taints the Hypanis, one of the few great rivers of the world. This spring is on the border-land between the farming Scythians\textsuperscript{1} and the Alazones; the name of it and of the country whence it flows is in Scythian Exampaeus, in the Greek tongue Sacred Ways. The Tyras and the Hypanis draw their courses near together in the Alazones' country; after that they flow divergent, widening the space between.

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

\textsuperscript{1} See ch. 17.
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άλλα τε πολλὰ θωμάσαι ἄξια. μέχρι μὲν  νυν Γερρέων χώρου, ἐς τὸν τεσσεράκοντα ἡμερέων πλόος ἐστὶ, γινώσκεται ὥραν ἀπὸ βορέω ἀνέμου· τὸ δὲ κατύπερθε δι’ ὃν ῥέει ἀνθρώπων οὐδεὶς ἔχει φράσαι· φαίνεται δὲ ῥέων δι’ ἐρήμου· ὡς τῶν γεωργῶν Σκυθέων τὴν χώρην· οὕτως γὰρ οἱ Σκύθαι παρ’ αὐτὸν ἔπὶ δέκα ἡμερέων πλοῦν νέμονται. μοῦνοι δὲ τούτων τοῦ ποταμοῦ καὶ Νείλου οὐκ ἔχω φράσαι τὸς πηγάς, δοκεῖ δὲ, οὐδὲ οὐδεὶς Ἐλλήνων. ἀγχοῦ τε δὴ θαλάσσης ὁ Βορυσθένης ῥέων γίνεται καὶ οἱ συμμίσχεται ὁ Τπανις ἐς τῶν ἔλος ἐκδίδοισ. τὸ δὲ μεταξὶ τῶν ποταμῶν τούτων, ἐδὲ ἐμβολον τῆς χώρης, Ἰππόλεως ἀκρη καλεῖται, ἐν δὲ αὐτῷ ἱδον Δήμητρος ἐνίδρυται· πέρην δὲ τοῦ ἱροῦ ἐπὶ τῷ Τπάνι Βορυσθενεῖται κατοίκηται.

54. Ταύτα μὲν τὰ ἀπὸ τούτων τῶν ποταμῶν, μετὰ δὲ τούτων πέμπτος ποταμὸς ἄλλος, τῷ οὖν Παντικάπης, ῥέει μὲν καὶ οὕτως ἀπὸ βορέω τε καὶ ἐκ λίμνης, καὶ τὸ μεταξὺ τούτου τε καὶ τοῦ Βορυσθένεος νέμονται οἱ γεωργοὶ Σκύθαι, ἐκδίδοι δὲ ἐς τὴν Ταλάν, παραμειψάμενος δὲ ταύτην τῷ Βορυσθένει συμμίσχεται.

55. Ἑκτὸς δὲ 'Τπάκυρος ποταμός, δὲ ὀρμᾶται μὲν ἐκ λίμνης, διὰ μέσων δὲ τῶν νομάδων Σκυθέων ῥέων ἐκδίδοι κατὰ Καρκινίτων πόλιν, ἐς δεξιὰν ἀπέργων τῆς τε 'Ταλάν καὶ τῶν Ἀχιλλῆος δρόμου καλεόμενον.

56. Ἑβόδομος δὲ Γέρρος ποταμὸς ἀπέσχισται

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

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

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

56. The seventh river, the Gerrhus, parts from

¹ Perhaps in the Molotschna region, considerably east of the Dnieper. The “city of Carcine” lay at the eastern end of the Scythian sea-coast, close to the Tauric Chersonese (Crimea). The Racecourse of Achilles was a strip of land, now broken into islands, about 80 miles long, between the Crimea and the mouth of the Dnieper.
μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ Βορυσθένεως κατὰ τοῦτο τῆς χώρης ἐς ὁ γινώσκεται ὁ Βορυσθένης. ἀπέσχισται μὲν νυν ἐκ τούτου τοῦ χώρου, οὖνομα δὲ ἔχει τό περ ὁ χώρος αὐτός. Γέρρος, ρέων δὲ ἐς θάλασσαν οὐρίζει τὴν τε τῶν νομάδων χώρην καὶ τὴν τῶν βασιλικῶν Σκυθέων, ἐκδιδόταί δὲ ἐς τὸν 'Ιππάκυρον.

57. Ὅγδοος δὲ δὴ Τάναις ποταμός, δὲ ρέει τάνε- καθεν ἐκ λίμνης μεγάλης ὅρμωμενος, ἐκδιδόταί δὲ ἐς μέξω ἐτὶ λίμνην μεγαλόποιν Μαιῆτιν, ἡ οὐρίζει Σκύθας τε τοὺς βασιλικοὺς καὶ' Σαυρομάτας. ἐς δὲ Τάναιῖν τούτον ἄλλος ποταμὸς ἐσβάλλει τῷ οὖνομα ἐστὶ 'Ιργίς.

58. Τούσι μὲν δὴ ονομαστοίσι ποταμοΐσι οὕτω δὴ τι ἡ Σκύθαι ἐσκενάδαται, τούσι δὲ κτήνεσι ἡ ποίη ἀναφυσικήν ἐν τῇ Σκυθικῇ ἐστὶ ἐπιχολω- τάτη πασέων ποιέων τῶν ἡμεῖς ἵθιμεν· ἄνοιγο- μένοισι δὲ τούσι κτήνεσι ἐστὶ σταθμώσασθαι ὅτι τούτο οὕτω ἔχει.

59. Τὰ μὲν δὴ μέγιστα οὕτω σφι ἐστὶ, τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ νόμαια κατὰ τάδε σφι διακέπται. Θεοὺς μὲν μούνους τούσδε ἑλάσκουσι, Ἰστίνην μὲν μάλιστα, ἐπὶ δὲ Δία καὶ Γῆν, νομίζοντες τὴν Γῆν τοῦ Δίος εἶναι γυναίκα, μετὰ δὲ τούτους Ἀπόλ- λωνα τε καὶ οὐρανίην Ἀφροδίτην καὶ Ἡρακλέα καὶ Ἀρεα. τούτοις μὲν πάντες Σκύθαι νεομί- κασι, οἱ δὲ καλεόμενοι βασιλῆιοι Σκύθαι καὶ τῷ Ποσειδέων θύουσι. ὑπομάξεται δὲ σκυθίστι Ἰσ- τίνη μὲν Ταβιτί, Ζεῦν δὲ ὀρθότατα κατὰ γρώμην γε τὴν ἐμὴν καλεόμενος Παπαῖος, Γῆ δὲ Ἱπτί. Ἀπόλλων δὲ Πολύσυρος, οὐρανίη δὲ Ἀφροδίτη Ἀργύμπασα, Ποσειδέων δὲ Θαγιμασάδας. ἀγάλ-
the Borysthenes at about the place which is the end of our knowledge of that river; at this place it parts, and has the same name as the place itself, Gerrhus; then in its course to the sea it divides the country of the Nomads and the country of the Royal Scythians, and issues into the Hypacuris.

57. The eighth is the river Tanaïs\(^1\); this in its upper course begins by flowing out of a great lake, and enters a yet greater lake called the Maeetian, which divides the Royal Scythians from the Sauromatae; another river, called Hyrgis,\(^2\) is a tributary of this Tanaïs.

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

59. The Scythians then have what most concerns them ready to hand. It remains now to show the customs which are established among them. The only gods whom they propitiate by worship are these: Hestia in especial, and secondly Zeus and Earth, whom they deem to be the wife of Zeus; after these, Apollo, and the Heavenly Aphrodite, and Heracles, and Ares. All the Scythians worship these as gods; the Scythians called Royal sacrifice also to Poseidon. In the Scythian tongue Hestia is called Tabiti: Zeus (in my judgment most rightly so called) Papaeus\(^3\); Earth is Api, Apollo Goetosyurus, the Heavenly Aphrodite Artimpasa, and Poseidon

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\(^1\) The Don.

\(^2\) Perhaps the “Syrgis” of ch. 123; it may be the modern Donetz.

\(^3\) As the “All-Father”; cp. such words as πάπας, παπάς, etc.
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ματα δὲ καὶ βωμοὺς καὶ νησίους οὐ νομίζουσι ποιεῖν πλὴν Ἀρεί· τούτῳ δὲ νομίζουσι.

60. Θυσία δὲ ἡ αὐτή πάσι κατέστηκε περὶ πάντα τὰ ἱρὰ ὅμως, ἐρδομένη ὡδὲ τὸ μὲν ἴρην αὐτὸ ἐμπεποδισμένου τούς ἐμπροσθίους πόδας ἐστήκε, ὃ δὲ θυσία ὑποσθε τοῦ κτήνους ἐστεφὼς στάσας τὴν ἀρχὴν τοῦ στρόφου καταβάλλει μιν, πίπτοντος δὲ τοῦ ἴρην ἐπικαλέει τὸν θεὸν τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ, καὶ ἐπείτη θυσία περὶ ὧν ἐβαλε τὸν αὐχένα, σκυταλίδα δὲ ἐμβάλλων περιάγει καὶ ἀποτύγχαι, οὔτε πῦρ ἀνακάισας οὔτε καταρξάμενος οὔτε ἐπι- στείσας· ἀποπνίξας δὲ καὶ ἀποδείρας τράπεται πρὸς ἔφησιν.

61. Τῆς δὲ γῆς τῆς Σκυθικῆς αἰνῶς ἀξύλου ἐσούσης δόδε σφί ἐς τὴν ἔφησιν τῶν κρεών ἐξεύ- ρηται· ἐπειδὰν ἀποδείρωσι τὰ ἴρην, γυμνοῦσι τὰ ὅστεα ὅσιν κρεῶν, ἐπείτη ἐσβάλλουσι, ἢ μὲν τύχωσι ἔχοντες, ἢς λέβητας ἐπιχωρίους, μάλιστα Δεσβίοις κρητηρίσι προσεικέλουσι, χωρὶς ἢ σει τολλῳ μέζωνας· ἢς τούτους ἐσβάλλοντες ἔφουσι ὑποκαίοντες τὰ ὅστεα τῶν ἴρηων. ἢν δὲ μὴ σφι παρρὴ ὁ λέβης, οἳ δὲ ἔστες γαστέρας τῶν ἴρηων ἐσβάλλοντες τὰ κρέα πάντα καὶ παραμίξαντες ὑδῶρ ὑποκαίοντες τὰ ὅστεα· τὰ δὲ αἰθεταί κάλ- λιστα, αἱ δὲ γαστέρες χωρέουσι εὐπτέος τὰ κρέα ἐφιλωμένα τῶν ὅστεων· καὶ οὕτω βοῦς τε ἐωτοῦν ἐξέψει καὶ τάλλα ἴρημα ἐωτὸν ἔκαστον. ἐπεάν δὲ ἔψηθή τὰ κρέα, ὁ θύταις τῶν κρεών καὶ τῶν σπλάγχνων ἀπαρξάμενος ὑπετεί ἐς τὸ ἐμπροσθίε. θύνουσι δὲ καὶ τὰ ἄλλα πρόβατα καὶ ἱπποὺς μάλιστα.

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

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

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

62. Such is their way of sacrificing to all other
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cαὶ ταῦτα τῶν κτηνεῶν, τῷ δὲ Ἀρεὶ ὁδε. κατὰ
νομοὺς ἐκάστους τῶν ἀρχέων ἐσίδρυται σφὶ Ἀρεός
ιρὸν τοιόνυμεν φρυγάνων φάκελοι συννενέαται ὅσον
τ᾿ ἐπὶ στάδιον τρεῖς μῆκος καὶ εὐρος, ὑψὸς δὲ
ἐλασσὸν. ἂνω δὲ τούτων τετράγωνον ἀπέδων πε-
ποίηται, καὶ τὰ μὲν τρία τῶν κῶλων ἐστὶ ἀπό-
τομα, κατὰ δὲ τὸ ἐν ἔπιβατον. ἔτεος δὲ ἐκάστου
ἀμάξας πεντήκοντα καὶ ἐκατὸν ἐπινέουσι φρυγά-
νων ὑπονοστέει γάρ δὴ αἰεὶ ὑπὸ τῶν χειμώνων.
ἐπὶ τούτου δὴ τοῦ σηκοῦ ἀκινάκης σιδηρεὸς
ιδρυται ἀρχαιὸς ἐκάστοις, καὶ τοὺτ᾿ ἐστὶ τοῦ
Ἀρεῶ τὸ ἀγαλμα. τοῦτῳ δὲ τῷ ἀκινάκης θυσίας
ἐπετείους προσάγουσι προβατῶν καὶ ἵππων, καὶ
dὴ καὶ τοῖσι ἐτί πλέω θύουσι ἡ τοῖσι ἄλλοισι
θεοῖς. ὅσουν ἂν τῶν πολεμίων ξυγρήσωσι, ἀπὸ
tῶν ἐκατὸν ἀνδρῶν ἀνδρὰ θύουσι τρόπῳ οὗ τῷ
αὐτῷ καὶ τὰ πρόβατα, ἀλλ᾿ ἑτερόῳ. ἔστειν γὰρ
οἶνον ἐπισπείρασι κατὰ τῶν κεφαλῶν, ἀποσφά-
ζουσι τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ὡς ἅγιος καὶ ἐπείτα ἄνευ-
κατεσὶ ἂνω ἐπὶ τὸν οἴκον τῶν φρυγάνων καταχέ-
ουσι τὸ αἷμα τοῦ ἀκινάκης. ἄνω μὲν δὴ φορέουσι
tούτῳ, κάτω δὲ παρὰ τὸ ἱρὸν ποιεύσι τάδε: τῶν
ἀποσφαγέντων ἀνδρῶν τοὺς δεξιοὺς ὡμοὺς πάντας
ἀποταμοῦντες σὺν τῇ χερσὶ, ἐς τὸν ἥραι ἰεῖσι,
καὶ ἐπείτα καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ἀπέρξαντες ἱρώς ἀπαλ-
λάσσονταί. χείρ δὲ τῇ ἄν πέσῃ κέεται, καὶ
χωρίς ὁ νεκρός.

63. Θυσίαι μὲν νῦν αὐταὶ σφὶ κατεστάσι. ὡς
δὲ οὕτωι οὐδὲν νομίζουσι, οὐδὲ τρέφειν ἐν τῇ χώρῃ
τὸ παράπαν θέλουσι.

64. Τὰ δὲ ἐς πόλεμον ἔχοντα ὁδὲ σφὶ δια-
kέεται: ἐπεάν τὸν πρῶτον ἀνδρὰ καταβάλη ἀνὴρ
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BOOK IV. 62–64

gods and such are the beasts offered; but their sacrifices to Ares are on this wise. Every district in each of the governments has in it a building sacred to Ares, to wit, a pile of fagots of sticks three furlongs broad and long, but of a less height, on the top of which there is a flattened four-sided surface; three of its sides are sheer, but the fourth can be ascended. In every year an hundred and fifty waggon-loads of sticks are heaped upon this; for the storms of winter ever make it sink down. On this pile there is set for each people an ancient scimitar of iron, which is their image of Ares; to this scimitar they bring yearly sacrifice of sheep and goats and horses, offering to these symbols even more than they do to the other gods. Of all their enemies that they take alive, they sacrifice one man in every hundred, not according to their fashion of sacrificing sheep and goats, but differently. They pour wine on the men’s heads and cut their throats over a vessel; then they carry the blood up on to the pile of sticks and pour it on the scimitar. So they carry the blood aloft, but below by the sacred building they cut off the slain men’s right arms and hands and throw these into the air, and presently depart when they have sacrificed the rest of the victims; the arm lies where it has fallen, and the body apart from it.

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

64. As to war, these are their customs. A Scythian drinks of the blood of the first man whom he has
ΗΡΟΔΟΤΟΣ

Σκύθης, τού αἵματος ἔμπινει, ὅσους δὲ ἀν φονεύσῃ ἐν τῇ μάχῃ, τούτων τὰς κεφαλὰς ἀποφέρει τῷ βασιλεί. ἀπενεῖκας μὲν γὰρ κεφαλὴν τῆς ληής μεταλαμβάνει τὴν ἀν λάβωσι, μὴ ἐνεῖκας δὲ οὐ. ἀποδέιρει δὲ αὐτὴν τρόπῳ τούδε περιταμῶν κύκλῳ περὶ τὰ ὅτα καὶ λαβόμενος τῆς κεφαλῆς ἐκσεῖει, μετὰ δὲ σαρκίσας βοὸς πλευρῆ δέψει τῆς χερσί, ὀργάσας δὲ αὐτό ἅτε χειρόμακτρον ἔκτηται, ἐκ δὲ τῶν χαλινῶν τοῦ ἵππου τὸν αὐτὸς ἐλαίνει, ἐκ τούτου ἐξάπτει καὶ ἀγάλλεται. ὅσα γὰρ ἦν πλείστα δέρματα χειρόμακτρα ἔχῃ, ἀνὴρ ἄριστος οὗτος κέκριται. πολλοὶ δὲ αὐτῶν ἐκ τῶν ἀποδαμάτων καὶ χλαίνας ἐπείνυσθαι ποιεῦσι, συρράπτοντες κατὰ περ βαίταις. πολλοὶ δὲ ἀνδρῶν ἐχθῶν τὰς δεξιὰς χειρῶν νεκρῶν ἑόντων ἀποδείραντες αὐτοῖς δινοῦκα καλύπτρας τῶν φαρετρῶν ποιεῦσιν. δέρμα δὲ ἀνθρώπου καὶ παχὺ καὶ λαμπρὸν ἦν ἁρα, σχεδὸν δερμάτων πάντων λαμπρότατον λευκότητι. πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ ὅλους ἀνδρᾶς ἐκδείραντες καὶ διατείναντες ἐπὶ ξύλων ἐπ’ ἵππων περιφέρουσι.

65. Ταῦτα μὲν δὴ οὕτω σφι νεόμοισται, αὐτὰς δὲ τὰς κεφαλὰς, οὕτω πάντως ἀλλὰ τῶν ἐχθίστων, ποιεῦσι τάδε ἀποτρίσας ἐκαστὸς ἔπάν τὸ ἐνερθὲ τῶν ὄφρων ἐκκαθαίρει, καὶ ἢ μὲν ἢ τένης, δὲ ἐξῳδὲν ὦμοβοεῖν μούνην περιτείνας οὕτω χρᾶται, ἢν δὲ ἢ πλούσιος, τὴν μὲν ὦμοβοεῖν περιτείνει, ἐσῳδὲν δὲ καταχρυσώσας οὕτω χρᾶται ποτηρίῳ. ποιεῦσι δὲ τούτο καὶ ἐκ τῶν οἰκτηῶν ἢν σφι διάφοροι γένονται καὶ ἢν ἐπικρατήσῃ αὐτοῦ παρά τῷ βασιλεί. ξείναιν δὲ οἱ ἐλθόντων τῶν ἀν λόγον

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

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

66. "Απάξ δὲ τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ ἐκάστου ὁ νομάρχης ἐκαστὸς ἐν τῷ ἐσωτερικῷ χώρῳ κρητῆρα ὕδωρ, ἀπ' οὗ πίνουσι τῶν Σκυθέων τοῖς ἄνδρες πολέμιοι ἀραιημένοι ἔσωσι τοὺς δὲ ἄν μὴ κατεργασμένον ἂ τοῦτο, οὐ γενοῦται τοῦ ὅν καὶ τούτου, ἀλλ' ἤτιμωμένοι ἀποκατέστατο ὦνιος δὲ σφὶ ἐστὶ μέγιστον τοῦτο. ὃς τι δὲ ἄν αὐτῶν καὶ κάρτα πολλοὺς ἄνδρας ἀραιηκότες ἔσωσι, οὕτω δὲ σύνδυο κύλικας ἑχοντες πίνουσι ἐνομοί.

67. Μάντιες δὲ Σκυθέων εἰς πολλοὶ, οἱ μαντεύονται ῥάβδοις ἱετένες πολλήσι ώδ' ἐπεάν φακέλους ῥάβδους μεγάλους ἑνείκωνται, θέντες χαμαί διεξειλίσσουσι αὐτοὺς, καὶ ἐπὶ μίαν ἐκάστην ῥάβδον τιθέντες θεσσάπεσι, ἵπταν τὰς λέγοντες ταῦτα συνειλέουσι τὰς ῥάβδους ὑπόσω καὶ αὕτης κατὰ μίαν συντιθείση, αὕτη μὲν σφὶ ἡ μαντικὴ πατρωή ἐστι. οἱ δὲ Ἔναρες οἱ ἄνδρονυμοι τὴν Ἀφροδίτην σφίσι λέγουσι μαντικὴν δόουσι· φιλύρης δ' ὃν φλοιῷ μαντεύονται· ἐπεάν τὴν φιλύρην τρίχα σχίση, διαπλέκων ἐν τοῖς δακτύλοις τοῖς ἐσωτερικοῖς καὶ διαλύουν χραφά.

68. Ἐπεάν δὲ βασιλεὺς ὁ Σκυθέων κάμη, μεταπέμπεται τῶν μαντῶν ἄνδρας τρεῖς τῶν εὐδοκιμέων μάλιστα, οἱ τρόπῳ τῷ εἰρήμενῳ μαντεύονται καὶ λέγουσι οὕτως ὡς τὸ ἐπίπαν μάλιστα τάδε, ὡς τὰς βασιλιναίς ἱστίας ἐπιώρκηκε δὲ καὶ δὲ, λέγοντες τῶν ἀστῶν τῶν ἄν δὴ λέγωσι· τὰς δὲ βασιλιναίς ἱστίας νόμος Σκύθησι.
BOOK IV. 65-68

him he will serve them with these heads, and show how the dead were his kinsfolk who made war upon him and were worsted by him; this they call manly valour.

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

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

68. But whenever the king of the Scythians falls sick, he sends for the three diviners most in repute, who prophesy in the aforesaid manner; and they for the most part tell him that such and such a man (naming whoever it is of the people of the country) has forsworn himself by the king's hearth; for when the Scythians will swear their mightiest oath, it is
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tά μάλιστα ἐστὶ διμύναι τότε ἔπεαν τόν μέγιστον ὄρκον ἔθελωσι διμύναι. αὐτίκα δὲ διαλελαμ-
μένος ἄγεται οὕτως τόν ἀν δὴ φῶσι ἐπιορκῆσαι,
ἀπηγμένον δὲ ἐλέγχουσι οἱ μάντιες ὡς ἐπιορκήσας
φαίνεται ἐν τῇ μαντικῇ τᾶς βασιλείας ἱστίας καὶ
dιὰ ταύτα ἀλγέει ὁ βασιλεύς· ἡ δὲ ἀρνεται, οὐ
φάμενοι ἐπιορκῆσαι, καὶ δεινολογεῖται. ἀρνεο-
μένον δὲ τούτον ὁ βασιλεύς μεταπέμπτεται ἄλλους
διπλησίους μάντιας· καὶ ἢν μὲν καὶ οὕτως ἐσο-
ρὼντες ἐς τὴν μαντικὴν καταδήσωσι ἐπιορκῆσαι,
tοῦ δὲ ἰδέως τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀποτάμυνοι, καὶ τὰ
χρήματα αὐτοῦ διαλαγχάνουσι οἱ πρῶτοι τῶν
μαντίων· ἢν δὲ οἱ ἐπελθόντες μάντιες ἀπολύσωσι,
ἄλλοι πάρεισι μάντιες καὶ μᾶλα ἄλλοι. ἢν ὁν οἱ
πλεῖνες τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἀπολύσωσι, δεδοκται τοῖς
πρώτοις τῶν μαντίων αὐτοῖς ἀπόλλυσθαι.

69. Ἀπολλύσι δὴ τα αὐτοὺς τρόπῳ τοὐδε·
ἐπεὰν ἀμαξαν φρυγάνων πλήσωσι καὶ ύποξεύωσι
βοῦς, ἐμποδίσαντες τοὺς μάντιας καὶ χείρας
ὀπίσω δήσαντες καὶ στομόσαντες κατεργυσὶ ἐς
μέσα τὰ φρύγανα, ὑποπρήσαντες δὲ αὐτὰ ἀπείσι
φοβήσαντες τοὺς βοῦς. τολλοί μὲν δὴ συγκατα-
καίνεται τοσσί μάντισι βόσθα, τολλοὶ δὲ περι-
κεκαυμένοι ἀποφεύγουσι, ὑπεαὶν αὐτῶν ὁ ῥυμὸς
κατακαυθῇ. κατακαίνουσι δὲ τρόπῳ τῷ εἰρημένῳ
καὶ δὲ ἄλλας αὐτίας τοὺς μάντιας, ψευδομάντιας
καλέοντες. τοὺς δὲ ἀν ἄποκτείνῃ βασιλεύς, τοῦ-
των οὐδὲ τοὺς παιδᾶς λείπει, ἄλλα πάντα τὰ
ἐρσενα κτείνει, τὰ δὲ θήλεα οὐκ ἀδικεῖ.  

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

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

70. As for the giving of sworn pledges to such as are to receive them, this is the Scythian fashion: they take blood from the parties to the agreement
νομένων, τύφαντες υπέστη ἡ ἐπιταμόντες μαχαίρη σμικροῦ τοῦ σώματος, καὶ ἔπειτα ἀποθάρραντες ἐς τὴν κύλικα ἀκινάκην καὶ ὑστοῦς καὶ σάγαριν καὶ ἀκόντιον ἔπεαν δὲ ταῦτα ποιήσωσι, κατεύχονται πολλα καὶ ἔπειτα ἀποτίνουσι αὐτοὶ τε οἴ το ὁρκίον ποιεύμενοι καὶ τῶν ἔπομένων οἱ πλείστοι ἄξιοι.

71. Ταφαὶ δὲ τῶν βασιλέων ἐν Γέρροισι εἰσὶ ἐς δ ὁ Βορυσθένης ἐστὶ προσπλωτὸς. ἔνθα, ἔπεαν σφε ἀποθάνῃ ὁ βασιλεὺς, ὄρυμα γῆς μέγα ὀρύσσουσι τετράγωνον, ἔτοιμον δὲ τοῦτο ποιήσαντες ἀναλαμβάνουσι τὸν νεκρὸν, κατακεκηρυμένον μὲν τὸ σῶμα, τὴν δὲ νηδίν ἀνασχισθεῖσαν καὶ καθαρθεῖσαν, πλένων κυπέρου κεκομένου καὶ θυμημάτος καὶ σελίνων σπέρματος καὶ ἀνήσου, συνερράμμενην ὀπίσω, καὶ κομίζοντι ἐν ἀμάξῃ ἐς ἄλλο ἔθνος. οὐ δὲ ἀν παραδέξωμαι κομίσθηντα τὸν νεκρὸν, ποιεύσῃ τὰ πέρ οἱ βασιλῆιοι Σκυθαῖι τοῦ ὁτὸς ἀποτάμωσι, τρίχας περικείρωνται, βραχίονας περιτάμωσι, μετωπῶν καὶ ρώνα καταμύσσονται, διὰ τῆς ἄριστης χειρός ὡστοῦ διαβυνέονται. ἐνθεύτεν δὲ κομίζοντι ἐν τῇ ἀμάξῃ τοῦ βασιλέως τῶν νέκυν ἐς ἄλλο ἔθνος τῶν ἀρχούσι, οὐ δὲ σφέ ἐπονται ἐς τοὺς πρῶτους ἥλθον. ἔπεαν δὲ πάντας περιέλθωσι τῶν νέκυν κομίζοντες, ἐν τῇ Γέρροισι ἐσχατα κατοικημένοις εἰσὶ τῶν ἔθνων τῶν ἀρχούσι· καὶ ἐν τῆς ταφῆς· καὶ ἔπειτα, ἔπεαν θέωσι τῶν νέκυν ἐν τῇς θήκης ἐπὶ στιβάδος, παραπτήζομαι αἰχμᾶς ἐνθεύν καὶ ἐνθευν τοῦ νεκροῦ ἐξώλα ὑπερτείνουσι καὶ ἔπειτα ῥυπί

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

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

72. Ἔνιοι δὲ περιφερομένου αὕτης ποιεῖσθε τοιόντως· λαβόντες τῶν λοιπῶν θεραπόντων τοὺς ἑπιτηδεύσαντος (οἷ δὲ εἰςὶ Σκύθαι ἐγγενεῖς· οὗτοι γὰρ θεραπεύοντες τοὺς ἀν αὐτῶς ὁ βασιλεὺς κελεύσῃ, ἀργυρωπόντοι δὲ οὐκ εἰςὶ σφίθε ϑεράποντες), τούτων ὑπὸ τῶν διηκόνων ἐπεάν ἀποπνίξασθαι πεντήκοντα καὶ ὕππους τοὺς καλλίστους πεντήκοντα, ἔξελόντες αὐτῶν τὴν κοιλίην καὶ καθήραντες ἐμπιπτάναι ἀχύροι καὶ συπράπτουσι. ἀψίδως δὲ ἦμουν ἐπὶ δύο ξύλα στήσαντες ὕππους καὶ τὸ ἔτερον ἦμουν τῆς ἀψίδως ἐπ’ ἔτερα δύο, καταστήσαντες τρόπῳ τοιούτῳ πολλὰ ταῦτα, ἐπείτα τῶν ὕππων κατὰ τὰ μήκεα ξύλα παχέα διελάσαντες μέχρι τῶν τραχηλῶν ἀναβιβάζοντες αὐτοὺς ἑπὶ τὰς ἀψίδας· τῶν δὲ αἱ μὲν πρότεραι ἀψίδες ὑπέχουσι τοὺς ὁμοῖος τῶν ὕππων, αἱ δὲ ὁπισθεν παρὰ τοὺς μηνοὺς τὰς γαστέρας ὑπολαμβάνουσι· σκέλεα δὲ ἄμφοτερα κατακρέμαται μετέωρα. χαλινοὺς δὲ καὶ στόμα ἐμβαλόντες ἐς τοὺς ὕππους κατατείνουσι ἐς τὸ πρόσθε αὐτῶν καὶ ἐπείτα ἐς πασσάλων δέοντι. τῶν δὲ δὴ νευρίσκων τῶν ἀποπτευμένων τῶν πεντήκοντα ἕνα ἐκαστὸν ἀναβιβάζουσι ἑπὶ τῶν ὕππων, ὅδε ἀναβιβάζοντες, ἐπεάν νεκρὸν ἐκάστου

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open space which is left in the tomb they bury, after strangling, one of the king's concubines, his cupbearer, his cook, his groom, his squire, and his messenger, besides horses, and first-fruits of all else, and golden cups; for the Scythians make no use of silver or bronze. Having done this they all build a great barrow of earth, vying zealously with one another to make this as great as may be.

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

73. Οὔτω μὲν τοὺς βασιλέας θάπτοντι· τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους Σκύθας, ἐπειδὰν ἀποθάνωσι, περιάγουσι οἱ ἀγχοτάτως προσήκοντες κατὰ τοὺς φίλους ἐν ἀμάξῃ κειμένους· τῶν δὲ ἐκαστὸς ὑποδεκόμενος εὐωχεῖ τοὺς ἔπομένους, καὶ τῷ νεκρῷ ἀπάντων παραπλησίως παρατίθησι ὡσα τοῖς ἀλλοις. ἡμέρας δὲ τεσσεράκοντα οὔτω οἱ ἰδίωται περιάγονται, ἐπειτα θάπτονται. θάφαντες δὲ οἱ Σκύθαι καθαίρουν τρόπῳ τοῖς. σμησάμενοι τὰς κεφαλὰς καὶ ἐκπλυνόμενοι ποιεῖσι περὶ τὸ σῶμα τάδε· ἐπειδὰν ξύλα στήσωσι τρία ἐς ἀλλήλα κεκλιμένα, περὶ ταύτα πῖλους εἰρινέους περιτείνουσι, συμφράζοντας δὲ ὡς μάλιστα λίθους ἐκ πυρὸς διαφανεῖς ἐσβάλλουσι ἐς σκάφην κειμένην ἐν μέσῳ τῶν ξύλων τε καὶ τῶν πῖλων.

74. Ἐστι δὲ σφι κάνναβις φυομένη ἐν τῇ χώρῃ πλὴν παχύτητος καὶ μεγάθους τῷ λίνῳ ἐμφερεστάτη· ταῦτη δὲ πολλῇ ὑπερθέρει ἡ κάνναβις. αὕτη καὶ αὐτομάτη καὶ σπειρομένη φύεται, καὶ εἰς αὐτῆς Ὀρήκες μὲν καὶ ἐμπτὲς ποιεῖται τοῖς λυνείσι ὁμοιότατα· συν ἂν, οὕτως μὴ κάρτα τρίβων ἔτη αὐτῆς, διαγνοίη λίνου ἢ κάνναβιος ἐστὶ· δεὶ δὲ μὴ εἰδὲ κω τῇ κάνναβίδα, λίνου δοκιμεῖ εἶναι τὸ εἶμα.

75. Ταῦτης ὁν οἱ Σκύθαι τῆς καννάβιος τὸ σπέρμα ἐπειδὰν λάβωσι, ὑποδύνουσι ύπὸ τοὺς πῖλους, καὶ ἐπειτα ἐπιβάλλουσι τὸ σπέρμα ἐπὶ
BOOK IV. 72–75

body passing up by the spine to the neck, and enough of the stake projects below to be fixed in a hole made in the other stake, that which passes through the horse. So having set horsemen of this fashion round about the tomb they ride away.

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

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

75. The Scythians then take the seed of this hemp and, creeping under the rugs, they throw it
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tous diafaneias lithous to parvar. to de theumat
epiballomenon kal atrimida paraxetai tosaunt
oste 'Ellhnikh ouvemia an mun pariri apokrap-
tisie. oi de Skudai agamenoi ti pariri orynount.
touto phi anti laotrou esto ou gar de lounont
udati to parapan to soma. ai de ginaikeis auton
udor parahenyontai kataswkhouni peri lithon tr-
chon tis kyparison kai kedron kal labanon xulon,
kai epieita to kataswkhomenon touto panox a
kataplasiontai pan to soma kai to prosowpop
kai ama mewn euodei sfeas apo touton ishe, ama
de apairhoun fhi denvteri hmeri thi kata-
plaston ginontai katharai kai lamprai.

76. Eunikoi de nomaioi kai outoi feugounai
ainov chrasi, mhte teow anlou, 'Ellhnikoi de
kai hikosta, ws dieuevan 'Anaxarhios te kai
deftera avtis Skulhys. touto mewn gar 'Anaxarhios
epite gein pollh thewriakas kai apodezamenos
kai autin sofis pollh ekomizeto es hthea tis
Skudewn, pleewo di 'Ellhnponton prosochexe es
Kudikon kai eure gar h mhtri tin thew an-
goutas tou Kudikhoun orthen megalothei kws
karta, euhto ti mhtri o 'Anaxarhios, hnu sws kai
ughis apoonstishe es evouto, thsesin te kata
tauata kata ora tou Kudikhoun poionthas kai
panvthida sthisein. ws de aptiketo es tin
Skudikhn, kata dow es tin kaleomewn 'Thalyn (o de
estin mewn papa ton 'Achillhion drmon, thychane
de pasas eousa devdrwv pantwovn plh), es tau-
tin dh katahous o 'Anaxarhios tin orthen epetelle
pasan ti thew, tymphanov te exe kai ekdhsmenos
agalmeta. kai tov tin Skudewov katafrasbeis

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on the red-hot stones; and, being so thrown, it smoulders and sends forth so much steam that no Greek vapour-bath could surpass it. The Scythians howl in joy for the vapour-bath. This serves them instead of bathing, for scarce ever do they wash their bodies with water. But their women grind with a rough stone cypress and cedar and frankincense wood, pouring water also thereon, and with the thick stuff so ground they anoint all their bodies and faces, whereby not only does a fragrant scent abide upon them, but when on the second day they take off the ointment their skin becomes clean and shining.

76. But as regards foreign usages, the Scythians (as others) are wondrous loth to practise those of any other country, and of Hellas in especial, as was proved in the case of Anacharsis and again also of Scyles. For when Anacharsis, having seen much of the world in his travels and given many proofs of his wisdom therein, was coming back to the Scythian country, he sailed through the Hellespont and put in at Cyzicus; where, finding the Cyzicenes celebrating the feast of the Mother of the Gods with great pomp, he vowed to this same Mother that, if he returned to his own country safe and sound, he would sacrifice to her as he saw the Cyzicenes do, and establish a nightly rite of worship. So when he came to Scythia, he hid himself in the country called Woodland (which is beside the Race of Achilles, and is all overgrown with every kind of wood); hiding himself there Anacharsis celebrated the goddess's ritual with exactness, carrying a cymbal and hanging about himself images. Then some
HERODOTUS

αὐτὸν ταῦτα ποιεῦτα ἐσήμηνε τῷ βασιλείς Σαυλὼν· ὁ δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς ἀπικόμενος ὡς εἰδὲ τὸν Ἀνάχαρσιν ποιεῦτα ταῦτα, τοξεύσας αὐτὸν ἀπέετευνε· καὶ νῦν ἦν τοῖς εἰρηταῖς περὶ Ἀναχάρσιος, οὐ φασὶ μνεῖν Σκύθαις γυνώσκειν, διὰ τούτο ὅτι ἐξεδήμησε τε ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδα καὶ ξεινικοῖσι ἔθεσε διεχρῆσατο. ὡς δ' ἐγὼ ἴκουσα Τύμνεω του τ' Ἀριαπείθεος ἐπιτρόπον, εἶναι αὐτὸν Ἰδανθύρου του Σκυθέων βασιλέως πάτρων, παίδα δὲ εἶναι Γυνόρου τοῦ Δύκου τοῦ Σπαργαπείθεος. εἰ δὲν ταύτης ἦν τῆς οἰκίης ὁ Ἀνάχαρσις, ἵστω ὑπὸ τοῦ ἁδελφοῦ ἄποθανόν· Ἰδανθύρους γὰρ ἦν παῖς Σαυλίου, Σαύλιος δὲ ἦν ὁ ἀποκτείνας Ἀνάχαρσιν.

77. Καίτοι τινὰ ἴδῃ ἴκουσα λόγον ἄλλον ὑπὸ Πελοποννησίων λεγόμενον, ὡς ὑπὸ τοῦ Σκυθέων βασιλέως Ἀνάχαρσις ἀποπεμφθεῖς τῆς Ἑλλάδος μαθητής γένοιτο, ὅπτερο τε ἀπονυμητὴς φαίνετο τὸν ἄποπεμψαντα "Ἐλληνας πάντας ἁγίοις εἰναι ἵο πάσαν σοφίην πλήν Δακεδαιμονίων, τοῦτοι δὲ εἶναι μούνοισι σωφρόνοις δοῦναι τε καὶ δέξασθαι λόγον. ἀλλ' οὕτως μὲν ὁ λόγος ἄλλως πέπλασται ὑπ' αὐτῶν Ἐλλήνων, ὁ δ' ὁν ἀνήρ ὁσπέρ πρότερον εἰρέθη διεθξάριη.

78. Οὕτως μὲν νυν οὕτω δὴ ἔπρηξε διὰ ξεινικά τε νόματα καὶ Ἐλληνικάς ὁμιλίας. πολλοίς δὲ κάρτα ἔτεσι ὑστερον Σκύλης ὁ Ἀριαπείθεος ἔπαθε παραπλήσια τούτῳ. Ἀριαπείθει γὰρ τῷ Σκυθέων βασιλείᾳ γίνεται μετ' ἄλλων παΐδων Σκύλης· ἐξ Ἰστριμῆς δὲ γυναικὸς οὕτως γίνεται καὶ οὐδαμῶς ἐγχωρίης· τὸν ἡ μῆτρα αὐτὴ γλώσσαν τε Ἑλλάδα καὶ γράμματα ἐδίδαξε· μετὰ δὲ χρόνῳ ὑστερον.
Scythian marked him doing this and told it to the king, Saulius; who, coming himself to the place and seeing Anacharsis performing these rites, shot an arrow at him and slew him. And now the Scythians, if they are asked about Anacharsis, say they have no knowledge of him; this is because he left his country for Hellas and followed the customs of strangers. But according to what I heard from Tymnes, the deputy for Ariapithes, Anacharsis was uncle to Idanthyrus, king of Scythia, and he was the son of Gnurus, son of Lycus, son of Spargapithes. Now if Anacharsis was truly of this family, then I would have him know that he was slain by his own brother; for Idanthyrus was the son of Saulius, and it was Saulius who slew Anacharsis.

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

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

1 In what is now the Dobrudja.
Αριάπειθης μὲν τελευταὶ δόλῳ ὑπὸ Σπαργαπείθεος τοῦ Ἀγαθύρσων βασιλέως, Σκύλης δὲ τὴν τε βασιλῆν παρέλαβε καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα τοῦ πατρός, τῇ οὖν ὅνωμα ἦν Ὀποίη· ἦν δὲ αὐτὴ ἡ Ὀποίη ἀστή, εἴς ἦς ἦν Ὀρμοκος Ἀριαπείθει παῖς. βασιλεύων δὲ Σκυθέων ὁ Σκύλης διαίτη δικαίως ἦρεσκετο Σκυθικῇ, ἄλλα πολλὰ πρὸς τὰ Ἑλληνικὰ μᾶλλον τετραμμένους ἦν ἀπὸ παιδεύσιος τῆς ἐπεπάιδευτο, ἐποίει τε τοιοῦτο ἐντὸς ἀγάλματος τῆς στρατικῆς τὴν Σκυθέων ἐσ τὸ Βορυσθενεῖτέων ἀστυ (οἱ δὲ Βορυσθενεῖται οὐκοι λέγουσι σφέας αὐτοὺς εἶναι Μιλήσιους), ἐς τούτους ὅκως ἔθειοι ὁ Σκύλης, τὴν μὲν στρατικὴν καταλίπεσε ἐν τῷ προαστείῳ, αὐτὸς δὲ ὅκως ἔθειος ὡς τὸ τείχος καὶ τὰς πύλας ἐγκατέλειψε, τὴν στολὴν ἀποθέμενος τὴν Σκυθικὴν λάβεσκε ἀν Ἑλληνίδα ἐσθήτα, ἔχων δὲ ἀν ταύτην ἡγούραξ ὧντε δορυφόρων ἐπομένων ὤλετε ἄλλου ὁδεγοῦ· τὰς δὲ πύλας ἐφύλασσον, μὴ τὶς μιν Σκυθέων ὑδαι ἔχοντα ταύτην τὴν στολὴν· καὶ τὰ τέ άξράτο διαίτη Ἑλληνικὴ καὶ θεοῦ εἶ ἔποιει κατὰ νόμους τούς Ἑλληνίων. δὲ δὲ διατρίψειε μὴν ἢ πλέον τούτου, ἀπαλλάσσετο ἐνδὺς τῆς Σκυθικῆς στολῆς. ταῦτα ποιέσκε πολλάκις καὶ οἰκία τε ἐδείματο ἐν Βορυσθενεὶ καὶ γυναίκα ἐγγέμε ἐσ αὐτὰ ἐπιχώρην. 79. Ἐπείτε δὲ ἔδει οἱ κακῶς γενέσθαι, ἔγινετο ἀπὸ προφασίους τοιοῦδε. ἐπεθύμησε Διονύσω Βακχέω τελεσθῆναι· μέλλοντι δὲ οἱ ἐς χείρας ἀγέσθαι τὴν τελετὴν ἔγενετο φάσμα μέγιστον. ἦν οἱ ἐν Βορυσθενεῖτέων τῇ πόλι οἰκίας μεγάλης καὶ πολυτελεῖς περιβολῆ, τῆς καὶ ὅλῳ τῷ προτερον τούτων μνήμην εἶχον, τὴν πέριξ λευκοῦ λίθου σφίγγες τε καὶ γρύπες ἔστασαν· ἐς ταύτην ο θεὸς 278
As time passed, Ariapithes was treacherously slain by Spargapithes, king of the Agathyrsi, and Scyles inherited the kingship and his father’s wife, whose name was Opeoa, a Scythian woman, and she bore to Scyles a son, Oricus. So Scyles was king of Scythia; but he was in no wise content with the Scythian manner of life, and was much more inclined to Greek ways, from the bringing up which he had received; so this is what he did: having led the Scythian army to the city of the Borysthenites (who say that they are Milesians)—having, I say, come thither, he would ever leave his army in the suburb of the city, but he himself, entering within the walls and shutting the gates would doff his Scythian apparel and don a Greek dress; and in it he went among the townsmen unattended by spearmen or any others (the people guarding the gates, lest any Scythian should see him wearing this apparel), and in every way followed the Greek manner of life, and worshipped the gods according to Greek usage. Then having so spent a month or more, he put on Scythian dress and left the city. This he did often; and he built him a house in Borysthenes, and married and brought thither a wife of the people of the country.

79. But when the time came that evil should befall him, this was the cause of it: he conceived a desire to be initiated into the rites of the Bacchic Dionysus; and when he was about to begin the sacred mysteries, he saw a wondrous vision. He had in the city of the Borysthenites a spacious house, great and costly (that same house whereof I have just made mention), all surrounded by sphinxes and griffins wrought in white stone; this house was
ΗΡΩΔΟΤΟΣ

ἐνέσκηψε βέλος. καὶ ἥ μὲν κατεκάμα πᾶσα, Σκύλης
dὲ οὐδὲν τούτων εἶνεκα ἡσουν ἐπετέλεσε τὴν τελε-
tὴν. Σκύθαι δὲ τοῦ βακχεύειν πέρι “Ελλησ-
ονειδίζουσιν οὐ γὰρ φασί σίκοι εἰναι θεον ἔξενυρ-
σκειν τοῦτον ὅστις μαίνεσθαι ἐνάγει ἀνθρώπους.
ἐπείτε δὲ ἐτελέσθη τῷ Βακχείῳ ο Σκύθης, διεισ-
στευε τῶν τις Βορυσθενείτεων πρὸς τοὺς Σκύθας
λέγων “Ἡμῖν γὰρ καταγελάτη, ο Σκύθαι, ὅτι
βακχεύομεν καὶ ἡμέας ο θεὸς λαμβάνει. οὐν οὗτος
ὁ δαίμων καὶ τὸν ὑμέτερον βασιλέα λελάβηκε,
καὶ βακχεύει τε καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ μαίνεται. εἰ
dὲ μοι ἀπιστεύετε, ἔπεσθε, καὶ ὑμῖν ἐγὼ δέξω.”
ἐποντο τῶν Σκύθων οἱ προστεθτεῖς, καὶ αὐτοῦς
ἀναγαγὼν ὁ Βορυσθενείτης λάθρη ἐπὶ πύργουν
κατείσα. ἐπείτε δὲ παρῆ ςυν τῷ θιάσῳ ὁ Σκύ-
λῆς καὶ εἶδον μιν βακχεύοντα οἱ Σκύθαι, κάρτα
ςυμφορὴν μεγάλην ἐποιήσαντο, ἐξελθόντες δὲ
ἐσήμαινον πάση τῇ στρατηγῇ τὰ ἴδιαν.

80. Ὡς δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα ἔξηλαννε ὁ Σκύλῆς ἐς
ἐθεα τὰ ἑωτοῦ, οἱ Σκύθαι προστηθόμενοι τὸν
ἀδελφόν αὐτοῦ Ὁκταμασάδην, γεγονότα ἐκ τῆς
Τήρεως θυγατρός, ἐπανιστέατο τῷ Σκύλῃ. ὃ δὲ
μαθών τὸ γινόμενον ἐπ' ἑωτῷ καὶ τὴν αἰτίαν δὲ
ἂν ἔποιετο, καταφεύγει ἐς τὴν Ῥηκίκην. πυθό-
μενος δὲ ὁ Ὁκταμασάδης ταῦτα ἐστρατεύετο ἐπὶ
tὴν Ῥηκίκην. ἐπείτε δὲ ἐπὶ τῷ Ἰστρῷ ἐγένετο,
ἡπτίασάν μιν οἱ Ῥηκίκες, μελλόντων δὲ αὐτῶν
συνάψειν ἐπεμψὲ Σιτάλκης παρὰ τὸν Ὁκταμα-
σάδην λέγων τοιάδε. “Τῷ δὲ ἡμέας ἀλλήλων
πειρηθῆναι; εἰς μὲν μεν τῆς ἀδελφείς παῖς, ἔχεις
dὲ μεν ἀδελφεύ. σὺ δὲ μοι ἀπόδος τούτων, καὶ ἔγω
σοι τὸν σὸν Σκύλην παραδίδωμι· στρατηγῇ δὲ μῆτε
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BOOK IV. 79–80

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

80. After this Scyles rode away to his own place; but the Scythians rebelled against him, setting up for their king his brother Octamasades, son of the daughter of Teres. Scyles, learning how they dealt with him and the reason of their so doing, fled into Thrace; and when Octamasades heard this he led his army thither. But when he was beside the Ister, the Thracians barred his way; and when the armies were like to join battle Sitalces sent this message to Octamasades: “Wherefore should we essay each other’s strength? You are my sister’s son, and you have with you my brother; do you give him back to me, and I give up your Scyles to you; and let
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σὺ κινδυνεύσῃς μήτ’ ἐγώ." ταῦτα οἱ πέμψας ὁ Σιτάλκης ἐπεκηρυκεύσετο· ἦν γὰρ παρὰ τῷ Ὄκταμασάδη ἀδελφὸς Σιτάλκης πεφυγὼς. ὁ δὲ Ὄκταμασάδης καταίνει ταῦτα, ἐκδοὺς δὲ τὸν ἐωτοῦ μήτρα Σιτάλκη ἔλαβε τὸν ἀδελ-
φεὸν Σκύθην. καὶ Σιτάλκης μὲν παραλαβὼν τὸν ἀδελ-
φεὸν ἀπῆγγετο, Σκύθης δὲ Ὄκταμασάδης αὐτοῦ ταῦτη ἀπέταμε τὴν κεφαλήν. οὔτω μὲν περιστέλλουσι τὰ σφέτερα νόματα Σκύθαι, τοῖς δὲ παρακτωμένοις ξεινικοὺς νόμους τοιάυτα ἐπιτίμημα δεδούσι.

81. Πλῆθος δὲ τὸ Σκυθέων οὐκ οἶος τε ἐγενόμην ἀτρεκέως πυθέσθαι, ἀλλὰ διαφόρους λόγους περὶ τοῦ ἁριθμοῦ ἢκουν καὶ γὰρ κάρτα πολλῶν εἶναι σφέας καὶ ὀλγών ὡς Σκύθας εἶναι. τοσοῦτοι μὲν οὐκ εἶπον ὡς ὧν. ἐστὶ μεταξὺ Βορυ-

σθένεος τε ποταμοῦ καὶ Ὀπάνιος χῶρος, οὔνομα δὲ οἱ ἔστι Ἐξαμπαῖοι· τοῦ καὶ ὀλγῷ τοι πρότερον τούτων μνήμην ἔχουν, φάμενοι ἐν αὐτῷ κρήνῃ ὑδατος πικροῦ εἶναι, ἀπ’ ἧς τὸ υδωρ ἀπορρέον τὸν Ὁπάνιν ἀποτον ποιεῖν. ἐν τούτῳ τῷ χῶρῳ κέεται χαλκήιον, μεγάθει καὶ ἐξαπλήσθησιν τοῦ ἐπὶ στόματι τοῦ Πόντου κρητήριος, τοῦ Παυσανίας ὁ Κλεομβρότου ἀνέθηκε. ὃς δὲ μὴ εἰδὲ καὶ τοῦτον, ὅδε δηλῶσω· ἐξακοσίους ἀμφορέας εὔπτετος χωρεῖ τὸ ἐν Σκύθης ἀχληίον, πάχος δὲ τὸ Ἑκθείκου τοῦτο χαλκήιον ἐστὶ δακτύλων ἔξ. τοῦτο ὁμ ἔλεγον οἱ ἐπιχώριης ἀπὸ ἀρδίων γενέσθαι. βουλόμενου γὰρ τὸν σφέτερον βασιλέα, τῷ οὖναμα εἶναι Ἀριάνταν, τοῦτον εἰδέναι τὸ πλῆθος τὸ Σκυθέων κελεύειν μὲν πάντας Σκύθας ἀρδίων ἔκα-
neither of us endanger our armies." Such was the offer sent to him by Sitalces; for Sitalces' brother had fled from him and was with Octamasades. The Scythian agreed to this, and received his brother Scyles, giving up his own uncle to Sitalces. Sitalces then took his brother and carried him away, but Octamasades beheaded Scyles on the spot. So closely do the Scythians guard their usages, and such penalties do they lay on those who add foreign customs to their own.

81. How many the Scythians are I was not able to learn with exactness, but the accounts which I heard concerning the number did not tally, some saying that they are very many, and some that they are but few, counted as Scythians. But thus much they made me to see for myself:—There is a region between the rivers Borysthenes and Hypanis, the name of which is Exampaeus; this is the land whereof I lately made mention when I said that there is a spring of salt water in it, the water from which makes the Hypanis unfit to drink. In this region stands a bronze vessel, as much as six times greater than the cauldron dedicated by Pausanias son of Cleombrotus at the entrance of the Pontus.\footnote{Pausanias, the victor of Plataea, set up this cauldron in 477 B.C. to commemorate the taking of Byzantium.} To any who has not yet seen this latter I will thus make my meaning plain: the Scythian bronze vessel easily contains five thousand and four hundred gallons, and it is of six fingers' thickness. This vessel (so said the people of the country) was made out of arrow-heads. For their king, whose name was Ariantas, desiring to know the numbers of the Scythians, commanded every Scythian to bring him the point
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στον μίαν ἀπὸ τοῦ ὑστοῦ 1 κομίσαι· δὲ δ' ἂν μὴ κομίσῃ, θάνατον ἀπείλεε. κομισθήμα τε δὴ χρήμα πολλὸν ἀρδίων καὶ οἱ δόξαι εἰς αὐτῶν μιθυμόσυνον ποιήσαντι λιπέσθαι. ἐκ τούτων δὴ μων τὸ χαλκῆιον ποιήσαι τούτῷ καὶ ἀναθείναι ἐς τὸν Ἐξαμπαίον τούτον. ταῦτα δὲ περὶ τοῦ πλήθεος τοῦ Σκυθέων ἦκουν.

82. Θωμάσια δὲ ἡ χώρη αὕτη οὐκ ἔχει, χωρὶς ἢ ὅτι ποταμοὺς τε πολλῷ μεγίστους καὶ ἀριθμὸν πλεῖστους. τὸ δὲ ἀποθαμάσαι ἄξιον καὶ πάρεξ τῶν ποταμῶν καὶ τοῦ μεγάθεος τοῦ πεδίου παρεχεῖαι, εἰρήσεται. ἦχος Ἡρακλέος φαίνουσι ἐν πέτρῃ ἔνεον, τὸ ἔοικε μὲν βήματι ἀνδρός, ἐστὶ δὲ τὸ μέγαθος δίππχυ, παρὰ τὸν Τύρην ποταμόν. τούτῳ μὲν νῦν τοιοῦτο ἐστὶ, ἀναβησομαι δὲ ἐς τὸν κατ' ἀρχὰς ἦνα λέξων λόγον.

83. Παρασκευαζόμενον Δαρείου ἐπὶ τοῦς Σκύθας καὶ ἐπιπέμποντος ἀγγέλους ἐπιτάξεως τοίς μὲν πεζῶν στρατόν, τοῖς δὲ νέας παρέχειν, τοῖς δὲ ξεύγυνθαι τὸν Ὀρνίκιον Βόσπορον, Ἀρτάβανος ὁ Τοστάσπεος, ἀδελφὸς ἐὼν Δαρείου, ἐχρῆις μηδαμῶς αὐτῶν στρατηγῆν ἐπὶ Σκύθας ποιέσθαι, καταλέγων τῶν Σκυθέων τὴν ἀπορίαν. ἀλλ' οὗ γὰρ ἐπειθεὶς συμβουλεύσων οἱ χρηστά, δὲ μὲν ἐπέπαντο, δὲ δὲ, ἐπειδὴ οἱ τὰ ἄπαντα παρεσκεύαστο, ἐξῆλανε τὸν στρατόν ἐκ Σούσων.

84. Ἐνθαῦτα τῶν Περσέων Οἰόβαζος ἐδεήθη Δαρείου τριῶν ἔοντων οἱ παίδων καὶ πάντων στρατευμένων ἐνα αὐτῶ καταλειψθήναι. δὲ δὲ

1 [ἀπὸ τοῦ ὑστοῦ] Stein.
BOOK IV. 81–84

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

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

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

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

¹ In ch. 1.
² The date of Darius’ expedition is uncertain. Grote thinks it probable that it took place before 514 B.C.
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ἐφὶ ὁς φίλῳ ἐόντι καὶ μετρίων δεομένῳ πάντας τοὺς παίδας καταλείψειν. ὁ μὲν Ὁιόβαζος περιχαρὴς ἦν, ἐπιτίζων τοὺς υἱέας στρατηγὸς ἀπολελύσθαι. ὃ δὲ ἐκέλευσε τοὺς ἐπὶ τοῦτων ἑπεστεώτας ἀποκτείναι πάντας τοὺς Ὁιόβαζον παίδας.

85. Καὶ οὗτοι μὲν ἀποσφαγέντες αὐτοῦ ταύτη ἔλειποντο. Δαρείος δὲ ἐπείτε πορευόμενος ἐκ Σούσων ἀπίκετο τῆς Καλχηδονίας ἐπὶ τὸν Βόσπορον Ἵλα ἐξευκτὸ ἡ γέφυρα, ἐνθεὐτεν ἐσβᾶς ἐς νεὰ ἐπλεε ἐπὶ τὰς Κυανέας καλευμένας, τὰς πρότερον πλαγκτάς ἐοληνες χαῖρε εἶναι, ἐξόμενος δὲ ἐπὶ ρίῳ ἐθείτο τὸν Πόντον ἐόντα ἀξιοθέητον. πελάγεων γὰρ ἀπάντων πέφυκε θαμασιώτατος· τοῦ τὸ μὲν μῆκος στάδιοι εἰσὶ ἐκατόν καὶ χίλιοι καὶ μύριοι, τὸ δὲ εὐρὸς, τῇ εὐρύτατος αὐτὸς ἑωτού, στάδιοι τριήκοσιοι καὶ τρισχίλιοι. τοῦτο τοῦ πελάγεος τὸ στόμα ἐστὶ ἕως τέσσερες στάδιοι· μῆκος δὲ τοῦ στόματος, ὁ αὐχή, τὸ δὴ Βόσπορος κέκληται, κατ’ ὃ δὴ ἐξευκτὸ ἡ γέφυρα, ἐπὶ στάδιος εἰκοσὶ καὶ ἐκατόν ἑστὶ. τεῖνε ὃ ἐς τὴν Προποντίδα οὐ Βόσπορος· ὃ δὲ Προποντίς ἐοῦσα εὐρός μὲν σταδίων πεντακοσίων, μῆκος δὲ τετρακοσίων καὶ χιλίων, καταδιότερος ἐς τὸν 'Ελλησπόντον ἑόντα στευνότητα μὲν ἑπτὰ στάδιοι, μῆκος δὲ τετρακοσίων, ἐκδιότερος δὲ τὸ 'Ελλησπόντος ἐς χάσμα πελάγεος τὸ δὴ Αἰγαῖόν καλέσται.

86. Μεμέτρηται δὲ ταύτα ὁδός. νῦν ἐπίπαν

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

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

86. These measurements have been made after

(about 6280 stades), and, at the point of Herodotus’ measurement, about 270 miles broad; its greatest breadth is 380 miles. His estimates for the Propontis and Hellespont are also in excess, though not by much; the Bosporus is a little longer than he says, but its breadth is correctly given.
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μάλιστα κη κατανύει εν μακρημερίᾳ ὀργυίᾳς ἐπτακισμυρίας, νυκτός δὲ ἐξακισμυρίας. ἦδη δὲν ἦς μὲν Φάσιν ἀπὸ τοῦ στόματος (τοῦτο γὰρ ἐστὶ τοῦ Πόντου μακρότατον) ἱμερέων ἐννέα πλόοις ἐστὶ καὶ νυκτῶν ὀκτὼ: αὐτὰ τε ἐνδεκα μυριάδες καὶ ἐκατὸν ὀργυίεων γίνονται, ἐκ δὲ τῶν ὀργυίεων τοιτέων στάδιοι ἐκατὸν καὶ χίλιοι καὶ μύριοι εἰςὶ. ἐς δὲ Θεμισκύρην τὴν ἐπὶ Θερμῶδοντι ποταμῷ ἐκ τῆς Σινδικής (κατὰ τοῦτο γὰρ ἐστὶ τοῦ Πόντου εὐρύτατον) τριῶν τε ἱμερέων καὶ δύο νυκτῶν πλόοις· αὐτὰ δὲ τρεῖς μυριάδες καὶ τριή- κοντα ὀργυίεων γίνονται, στάδιοι δὲ τριήκοσιοι καὶ τρισχίλιοι. ὁ μὲν νυν Πόντος οὗτος καὶ Βόσ- πορός τε καὶ Ἑλλησποντος οὗτος τέ μοι μεμετρέ- αται καὶ κατὰ τὰ εἰρημένα πεφύκασιν, παρέχεται δὲ καὶ λίμνην ὁ Πόντος οὗτος ἐκδιδοῦσαν ἐς αὐτὸν οὐ πολλῷ τεφ ἐλάσσω ἐσωτερικοῦ, ἡ Μαιητίς τε καλέεται καὶ μὴν τοῦ Πόντου.

87. ὁ δὲ Δαρείος ὃς ἐθείσατο τὸν Πόντον, ἐπλεε ὡπέσω ἐπὶ τὴν γέφυραν, τῆς ἄρχιτέκτων ἐγένετο Μανδροκλῆς Σάμιος· θεσάμενος δὲ καὶ τὸν Βόσπορον στῆλας ἐστήσε δύο ἐπὶ αὐτοῦ λίθον λευκοῦ, ἐνταμῶν γράμματα ἐς μὲν τὴν Ἀσσύρια ἐς δὲ τὴν Ἑλληνικά, ἔθνεα πάντα ὄσα περ ἴγε· ἴγε δὲ πάντα τῶν ἥρχη. τοῦτων μυριάδες ἔξηρι- θμήθησαν, χωρὶς τοῦ ναυτικοῦ, ἐβδομήκοντα σὺν ἰππεύσι, νέες δὲ ἐξακόσιαι συνελέχθησαν. τῷ μὲν νῦν στήλησι ταύτης Βυζάντιοι κομίσαντες ἐς τὴν πόλιν ὑστερον τούτων ἐχρήσαντο πρὸς τὸν

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BOOK IV. 86-87

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

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

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

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βομον της Ὄρθωσις Ἀρτέμιδος, χωρὶς ἐνὸς ἱθον ὁὔτος δὲ κατελείφθη παρὰ τοῦ Διονύσου τὴν ηθον ἐν Βυζαντίῳ, γραμμάτων Ἀσσυρίων πλέος. τοῦ δὲ Βοσπόρου ὁ χῶρος τὸν ἐξευξε βασιλεὺς Δαρείου, ὃς ἔμοι δοκεῖ συμβαλλομένῳ, μέσον ἐστὶ Βυζαντίῳ τε καὶ τοῦ ἐπὶ στόματι ἰροῦ.

88. Δαρείος δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα ἡσθεὶς τῇ σχεδίᾳ τὸν ἀρχιτέκτονα αὐτῆς Μανδροκλέα τὸν Σάμιον ἐδώρησατο πάσι δέκα. ἀπ’ ἀν δὴ Μανδροκλέης ἀπαρχὴν ξύλα γραφάμενος πάσαν τὴν ξευξίν τοῦ Βοσπόρου καὶ βασιλεὰ τὰ Δαρείον ἐν προεδρίᾳ κατήμενον καὶ τὸν στρατὸν αὐτοῦ διαβάινοντα ταῦτα γραφάμενος ἀνέθηκε ἐς τὸ Ἡραίον, ἐπι- γράφας τάδε.

Βοσπόρον ἱχθύοντα γεφυρώσας ἀνέθηκε
Μανδροκλέης Ἡρη μνημόσυνον σχεδίας,
αὐτῷ μὲν στέφανον περιθεῖς, Σαμίοις δὲ κῦδος,
Δαρείον βασιλεός ἐκτελέσας κατὰ νοῦν.

89. Ταῦτα μὲν νυν τοῦ ξευξάντος τὴν γέφυραν μνημόσυνα ἐγένετο. Δαρείος δὲ δωρησάμενος Μανδροκλέα διέβαινε ἐς τὴν Εὐρώπην, τοις Ἰωσὶ παραγγείλας πλέειν ἐς τὸν Πόντον μέχρι Ἰστροῦ ποταμοῦ, ἐσπεδὼ δὲ ἀπίκωνται ἐς τὸν Ἰστροῦ, ἐνθάντα αὐτῶν περιμένειν ξευγώντας τὸν ποταμόν. τὸ γὰρ δὴ ναυτικὸν ἦγον Ἰωνές τε καὶ Αἰσλέες καὶ Ἐλλησσόντιοι. ὁ μὲν δὴ ναυτικὸς στρατὸς Κυναέας διεκπλάσας ἐπλεε ἢθυ τὸν Ἰστροῦ, ἀναπλώσας δὲ ἀνὰ ποταμὸν δυῶν ἡμερῶν πλόον ἀπὸ θαλάσσης, τοῦ ποταμοῦ τὸν αὐχένα, ἐκ τοῦ

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Artémis, save for one column covered with Assyrian writing that was left beside the temple of Dionysus at Byzantium. Now if my reckoning be true, the place where king Darius bridged the Bosporus was midway between Byzantium and the temple at the entrance of the sea.

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

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

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

1 Apparently a proverbial expression for great abundance; cp. a similar phrase in ix. 81.
σχίζεται τὰ στόματα τοῦ Ἰστροῦ, ἔξεύγνυε. 
Δαρείος δὲ ὄσε διεβῆ τὸν Ἡσυποροῦν κατὰ τὴν 
σχεδίνην, ἐπορεύετο διὰ τῆς Θρηκίνης, ἀπικόμενος 
δὲ ἐτί Τέαρου ποταμοῦ τὰς πηγὰς ἐστρατοπεδεύ- 
σατο ἡμέρας τρεῖς.

90. Ὁ δὲ Τέαρος λέγεται ὑπὸ τῶν περιοικῶν 
εἶναι ποταμῶν ἀριστος τὰ τὰ ἄλλα τὰ ἐς ἄκεσιν 
φέροντα καὶ δὴ καὶ ἀνδράσι καὶ ἱπποισι ψώρν 
ἀκέσαισθαι. εἰς ὁ δὲ αὐτοῦ αἱ πηγαὶ δυὸν δέουσαι 
tεσσεράκοντα, ἐκ πέτρης τῆς αὐτῆς ρέουσαι, καὶ 
αἱ μὲν αὐτέων εἰς ψυχραὶ αἱ δὲ θερμαὶ. ὁδὸς δὲ 
ἐπ' αὐτάς ἐστὶ ἱση ἔξ' Ἡραίου τε πόλιος τῆς παρὰ 
Περίνθῳ καὶ ἔξ' Ἀπολλωνίας τῆς ἐν τῷ Ἐὔξεινῳ 
πόντῳ, δυὸν ἡμερῶν ἐκατέργῃ. ἐκδιδοῖ δὲ ὁ 
Τέαρος οὗτος ἐς τὸν Κοντάδεσδον ποταμῶν, ὁ δὲ 
Κοντάδεσδος ἐς τὸν Ἀγριάνην, ὁ δὲ Ἀγριάνης ἐς 
tὸν Ἐβρον, ὁ δὲ ἐς θάλασσαν τὴν παρ' Ἀίνῳ 
pόλι.

91. Ἐπὶ τούτων ὃν τὸν ποταμὸν ἀπικόμενος ὁ 
Δαρείος ὡς ἐστρατοπεδεύσατο, ἴσθεὶς τῷ ποταμῷ 
στῆλην ἐστησε καὶ ἔνθαυτα, γράμματα ἐγγράφας 
λέγοντα τάδε. "Τέαρου ποταμοῦ κεφαλὴ ὕδωρ 
ἀριστῶν τε καὶ κάλλιστον παρέχοντα πάντων 
pοταμῶν καὶ ἐπ' αὐτὰς ἀπικετὸ ἐλαὐνῶν ἐπὶ 
Σκύθας στρατὸν ἀνήρ ἀριστός τε καὶ κάλλιστος 
pάντων ἀνθρώπων, Δαρείος ὁ Ἡσυποροῦς, Περ- 
σέων τε καὶ πάσης τῆς ἠπειροῦ βασιλεὺς." ταῦτα 
δὲ ἐνθαῦτα ἐγράφη.

92. Δαρείος δὲ ἐνθεύτεν ὀρμηθεὶς ἀπικετὸ ἐπ' 
ἀλλον ποταμὸν τῷ οὖνομα Ἀρτησκός ἔστι, δς διὰ 
Ὁδρυσέων ῥέει. ἐπὶ τούτων δὴ τὸν ποταμὸν ἀπι- 
kόμενος ἐποίησε τοιὸνδε ἀποδέξας χωρίον τῇ
BOOK IV. 89-92

of the river where its divers mouths part asunder. But Darius, having passed over the Bosporus on the bridge of ships, journeyed through Thrace to the sources of the river Tearus, where he encamped for three days.

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

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

92. Thence Darius set forth and came to another river called Artescus, which flows through the country of the Odrysae; whither having come, he marked a place for the army to see, and bade every
στρατιή ἐκέλευε πάντα ἄνδρα λύθον ἄνα παρεξ-ιόντα τιθέναι ἐς τὸ ἀποδεδεγμένον τούτῳ χωρίου. ὡς δὲ ταύτα ἡ στρατιή ἐπετέλεσε, ἐνθαῦτα κολωναὶ μεγάλους τῶν λίθων καταλιπών ἀπήλαυνε τὴν στρατιήν.

93. Πρὶν δὲ ἀπικέσθαι ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰστρον, πρῶτον αἱρεῖ Ἰέτας τοὺς ἀθανατίζοντας. οἱ μὲν γὰρ τὸν Σαλμύδησον ἔχοντες Ὡρήκες καὶ ὑπὲρ Ἀπολλωνίης τε καὶ Μεσαμβρίης πόλιοι οἰκημένοι, καλεύμενοι δὲ Κυρμιᾶναι καὶ Νιψαιοὶ, ἀμαχητί σφέας αὐτοὺς παρέδοσαν Δαρείῳ· οἱ δὲ Γέται πρὸς ἀγνωμοσύνην τραπόμενοι αὐτίκα ἔδουλωθησαν, Ὡρῆκεν ἐόντες ἀνδριήτατοι καὶ δικαιότατοι.

94. Ἀθανατίζουσι δὲ τόνδε τὸν τρόπον οὕτε ἀποθνῄσκειν ἔως τοὺς νομίζουσι ἴεναι τοῖς ἀπολλυμένοιν παρὰ Σάλμοξιν δαίμονα. οὐ δὲ αὐτῶν τὸν αὐτὸν τοῦτον ὑμοᾶχον Γεβελέξιων διὰ πεντηρίδος τε τὸν πάλῳ λαχόντα αἰεὶ σφέων αὐτῶν ἀποτείμπουσι ἄγγελον παρὰ τὸν Σάλμοξιν, ἐντελόμενοι τῶν ἄν ἐκάστοτε δεσσωτε, πέμπουσι δὲ ὡς· οὐ μὲν αὐτῶν ταχθέντες ἀκόνται τρία ἔχουσι, ἄλλοι δὲ διαλαβότες τοῦ ἀποτείμπουσίν παρὰ τὸν Σάλμοξιν τάς χεῖρας καὶ τοὺς πόδας, ἀνακινήσαντες αὐτοὺς μετέωρον ῥιπτούσι ἐς τᾶς λόγχας. ἂν μὲν δὴ ἀποθάνη ἀναπαρεῖς, τοῖς δὲ Ἡλεος ὁ θεὸς δοκεῖ εἶναι· ἂν δὲ μὴ ἀποθάνη, αἰτιώτατοι αὐτῶν τὸν ἄγγελον, φάμενοι μὲν ἄνδρα κακὸν εἶναι, αἰτιογομένοι δὲ τοῦτον ἄλλον ἀποτείμπουσι· ἐντέλλονται δὲ ἐτὶ ξὼντι. οὕτως οἱ αὐτοὶ Ὡρήκες καὶ πρὸς βροντὴν τε καὶ ἀστραπὴν τοξεύουντες.
BOOK IV. 92–94

man as he passed by lay one stone in this place which he had shown. His army having so done, he made and left great hillocks of the stones and led his army away.

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

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

95. Ὡς δὲ ἐγὼ πυθόμας τῶν τὸν Ἑλλησ-ποντοῦν οἰκεύτων Ἑλλήνων καὶ Πόντου, τῶν Σάλμοβι τοῦτον ἐόντα ἀνθρώπων δουλεύσαι ἐν Σάμῳ, δουλεύσας δὲ Πυθαγόρη τῷ Μηνσάρχου, ἐνεβίτεν ὁ δὲ αὐτὸν γενόμενον ἑλεύθερον χρήματα κτήσασθαι μεγάλα, κτησάμενον δὲ ἀπελθεῖν ἐστὶ τὴν ἑωτοῦ. ἀτι δὲ κακοβίως τε ἐόντων τῶν Ὀρηκών καὶ ὑπαρχονεστέρων, τῶν Σάλμοβι τοῦτον ἐπιστάμενον διαίταν τα Ἰάδα καὶ ἡθε βαθύτερα ἢ κατά Ὀρηκάς, οἷα Ἑλλησί τε ὁμιλή-σαντα καὶ Ἑλλήνων οὐ τῷ ἀσθενεστάτῳ σοφιστῇ Πυθαγόρῃ, κατασκευάσασθαι ἀνδρεῖα, ἐστὶ τὸν παιδικεύοντα τῶν ἀστῶν τοὺς πρώτους καὶ εὐω-χέοντα ἀναδιδάσκειν ὡς οὕτε αὐτὸς οὕτε οἱ συμπόται αὐτῷ οὕτε οἱ ἐκ τούτων αἰεὶ γινόμενοι ἀποθανόνται, ἀλλὰ ἡξούσι ἐστὶ χώρον τοῦτον ἦν αἰεὶ περιεύοντες ἡξούσι τὰ πάντα ἀγαθά. ἐν φὸ δὲ ἐποίει τὰ καταλεχθέντα καὶ ἐλεγε ταῦτα, ἐν τούτῳ κατάγαγον οἰκήμα ἐποίεστο. ὡς δὲ οἱ παυτελέως εἰχε τὰ οἰκήμα, ἐκ μὲν τῶν Ὀρηκών ἡφανίσθη, καταβὰς δὲ κατὼ ἐς τὸ κατάγαμον οἰκήμα διαιτάτο ἐπ᾽ ἔτοι τρία: οἱ δὲ μιν ἐπό-θεον τε καὶ ἑπένθεον ὡς τεθνεώτα. τετάρτῳ δὲ ἐτεὶ ἑφάνη τοῖς Ὀρηκίζοι, καὶ οὕτω πιθανά σφι ἐγένετο τὰ ἔλεγε ὁ Σάλμοβις. ταῦτα φασὶ μιν ποιῆσαι.

96. Ἐγὼ δὲ περὶ μὲν τοῦτον καὶ τοῦ κατα-γαλον οἰκήματος οὕτε ἀπιστέων οὕτε δων πιστεύω τι λίθῳ, δοκέω δὲ πολλοὶς ἐτεσι πρὸτερον τῶν Σάλμοβι τοῦτον γενέσθαι Πυθαγόρεω εἰτε δὲ 296
Thrachians shoot arrows skyward as a threat to the
god, believing in no other god but their own.

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

96. For myself, I neither disbelieve nor fully
believe the tale about Salmoxis and his underground
chamber; but I think that he lived many years before
Pythagoras; and whether there was a man called
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eγένετο τις Σάλμοξις ἀνθρωπος, εἰτ' ἐστὶ δαίμων
tis Γέτρσι οὐτος ἐπιχώριοι, χαίρετω.

97. Ότιοι μὲν δ' θρόπῳ τοιούτῳ χρεώμενοι ὡς ἐχειρώθησαν ὑπὸ Περσέων, εὐποτοῦ τῷ ἄλλῳ
στρατῷ. Δαρείος δὲ ὡς ἀπίκετο καὶ ὁ πεζὸς ἀμ'
αὐτῷ στρατὸς ἔπὶ τὸν Ἰστήρον, ἐνθαῦτα διαβάντων
πάντων Δαρείου ἐκέλευσε τοὺς τῇ Ἰωνᾶς τὴν
σχεδίην λύσαντας ἐπεσθαί καὶ ἤπειρον ἑωτῷ
καὶ τὸν ἐκ τῶν νεῶν στρατῶν. μελλόντων δὲ τῶν
Ἰωνῶν λῦει καὶ ποιεῖει τὰ κελεύομενα, Κώς ὁ
Ἐρξάνδρου στρατηγὸς ἐὼν Μυτηναῖων ἔλεξε
Δαρείῳ τάδε, πυθόμενος πρότερον εἰ τί φίλον εἰη
γνώμην ἀποδέκεσθαι παρὰ τοῦ βουλομένου ἀπο-
δείκνυσθαι. "Ὡς βασιλεὺς, ἐπὶ γῆς γὰρ μέλλεις
στρατεύεσθαι τῆς οὕτε ἄρρημενον φανὴσται
οὐδὲν οὕτε πόλεις οἰκεομένης σύ τυν γέφυρων ταύ-
την ἐκ κατὰ χώρην ἔστάναι, φυλάκους αὐτῆς
λιπῶν τούτως οὔπερ μην ἔξευξαν. καὶ ἢν τε κατὰ
νόον πρήξωμεν εὐρύντες Σκύθας, ἔστι ἀποδος ἡμῖν,
ἡ τε καὶ μὴ σφαῖς εὑρεῖν δυνώμεθα, ἢ γε ἀποδος
ἡμῖν ἀσφαλῆς· οὐ γὰρ ἐδεισά κω μὴ ἔσσωθέωμεν
ὑπὸ Σκυθέων μάχῃ, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον μη ὠ τυ δυνά-
μενοι σφαῖς εὑρεῖν πάθωμεν τὶ ἀλώμενοι. καὶ
tάδε λέγεις φαίης τὰς ἄν με ἑμεῳτου εἰνεκεν, ὡς
καταμένω· ἐγὼ δὲ γνώμην μὲν τὴν εὐρισκόν ἀρί-
στην σοί, βασιλεὺς, ἐς μέσον φέρω, αὐτὸς μέντοι
ἐξομαὶ τοι καὶ ώκ ἄν λειψθεῖν." κάρτα τε
ἡσθη τῇ γνώμῃ Δαρείος καὶ μιν ἀμείψατο τούσδε.
"Εἰ γενέε δέσβιε, σωθέντοις ἐμεῖς ὡπίς εἰς οἰκον τῶν
ἐμῶν ἐπιφάνηθι μοι πάντως, ἵνα σε ἀντι χρηστης
συμβουλής χρηστοῖς ἐργοις ἀμείψωμα.

98. Τάυτα δὲ εἴπας καὶ ἀπάψας ἀμματα ἐξή-
BOOK IV. 96-98

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

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

98. Having thus spoken, he tied sixty knots in a
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κοῦτα ἐν ἴμαντι, καλέσας ἐς λόγους τοὺς Ἰώνων τυράννους ἔλεγε τάδε. "Ἀνδρέας Ἰωνε, ἡ μὲν πρότερον γνώμη ἀποδεχθεῖσα ἐς τὴν γέφυραν μετείσθω μοι, ἔχοντες δὲ τὸν ἴμαντα τόνδε ποιεῖτε τάδε; ἐπεάν ἐμὲ ἰδίτε τάχιστα παρεύρουν ἐπὶ Σκύθας, ἀπὸ τούτου ἀρξάμενοι τοῦ χρόνου λύετε ἁμμα ἐν ἐκάστης ἡμέρης. ἢν δὲ ἐν τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ μὴ παρέω ἀλλὰ διεξέλθωσι ὑμῖν αἱ ἡμέραι τῶν ἁμμάτων, ἀποπλέετε ἐς τὴν ἴμμετρην αὐτῶν. μέχρι δὲ τούτου, ἐπείτε οὕτω μετέδοξε, φυλάσσετε τὴν σχεδίαν, πᾶσαν προθυμίαν σωτηρίας τε καὶ φυλακῆς παρεχόμενοι. ταῦτα δὲ ποιεῖτε ἐμοὶ μεγάλως χαριεῖσθε." Δαρείος μὲν ταῦτα εἶπας ἐς τὸ πρῶτο ἐπείγετο.

99. Τῆς δὲ Σκυθικῆς γῆς ἡ Ἡρηκή τὸ ἐς θάλασσαν πρόκειται κόλπου δὲ ἀγομένου τῆς γῆς ταύτης, ἡ Σκυθικὴ τε ἐκδεκται καὶ ὁ Ἰστρος ἐκδιδότι ἐς αὐτήν, πρὸς εὐρον ἁνεμον τοῦ στόμα τετραμμένον. τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ Ἰστρον ἔρχομαι σημανεῶν τὸ πρὸς θάλασσαν αὐτῆς τῆς Σκυθικῆς χώρης ἐς μέτρησιν. ἀπὸ Ἰστρον αὐτὴ ἡδὴ ἡ ἀρχαίῃ Σκυθική ἐστί, πρὸς μεσαμβρίαν τε καὶ νότου ἁνεμον κειμένη, μέχρι τόλιος Ἀρκωνίτιδος καλεομένης. τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ ταύτης τῆς μὲν ἐπὶ θάλασσαν τὴν αὐτὴν φέρουσαν, ἐουσαν ὀρεινήν τε χώρην καὶ προκειμένην τὸ ἐς Πόντον, νέμεται τὸ Ταυρικὸν ἔθνος μέχρι χερσονήσου τῆς τρήχεις καλεομένης. αὐτὴ δὲ ἐς θάλασσαν τὴν πρὸς ἀπηλιώτην ἁνεμον κατήκει. ἔστι γὰρ τῆς Σκυθικῆς τὰ δύο μέρα τῶν οὔρων ἐς θάλασσαν φέροντα, τὴν τε πρὸς μεσαμβρίαν καὶ τὴν πρὸς τὴν Ἡδώ, κατὰ περ ὑπὸ τῆς Ἀττικῆς χώρης καὶ παραπλήσια

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thong, and calling the despots of the Ionians to an audience he said to them: "Ionians, I renounce the opinion which I before declared concerning the bridge; do you now take this thong and do as I command you. Begin to reckon from the day when you shall see me march away against the Scythians, and loose one knot each day: and if the days marked by the knots have all passed and I have not returned ere then, take ship for your own homes. But till then, seeing that my counsel is thus changed, I bid you guard the bridge, using all zeal to save and defend it. This do, and you will render me a most acceptable service." Having thus spoken, Darius made haste to march further.

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

1 For the sea to the south and the sea to the east are two of the four boundary lines of Scythia, even as the seas are boundaries of Attica; and

1 Here = the Sea of Azov.
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taúτη καὶ οἱ Ταύροι νέμονται τῆς Σκυθικῆς, ὡς εἰ τῆς Ἀττικῆς ἀλλὰ ἔθνος καὶ μὴ Ἀθηναῖοι νεμόιτο τῶν γονών τῶν Σουνιακῶν, μᾶλλον ἐσ τῶν πόντων τῆν ἀκρίν 1 ἀνέχοντα, τῶν ἀπὸ Θερίκοι ὑπέρ Ἀναφλύστου δήμου λέγω δὲ ὡς εἶναι ταύτα σμικρὰ μεγάλοις συμβάλλειν τοιούτων ἡ Ταυρικὴ ἔστι. δὲ δὲ τῆς Ἀττικῆς ταύτα μὴ παραπέπλωκε, ἔγω δὲ ἄλλως δηλώσω ὡς εἰ τῆς Ἰπτυγίης ἀλλὸ ἔθνος καὶ μὴ Ἰπτυγίες ἀρξάμενοι ἐκ Βρεντείστου λιμένος ἀποταμοῖοι μέχρι Τάραντος καὶ νεμόιτο τῆν ἀκρίν. δύο δὲ λέγων ταύτα πολλὰ λέγω παρόμοια, τούτι ἄλλοισι ἐσόικε ἡ Ταυρικὴ.

100. Τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς Ταυρικῆς ἐδή Σκύθαι τὰ κατύπερθε τῶν Ταύρων καὶ τὰ πρὸς θαλάσσης τῆς ἥρως νέμονται, τοῦ τε Βοσπόρου τοῦ Κιμμερίου τὰ πρὸς ἐσπέρης καὶ τῆς λίμνης τῆς Μαιντίδος μέχρι Τανάδος ποταμοῦ, δὲ ἐκδίδοι ἐς μυχὸν τῆς λίμνης ταύτης. ἢδη δὲν ἀπὸ μὲν Ἰστροῦ τὰ κατύπερθε ἐς τὴν μεσόγαιαν φέροντα ἀποκληίεται ἡ Σκυθικὴ ὑπὸ πρῶτον Ἀγαθύρσων, μετὰ δὲ Νευρῶν, ἔπειτα δὲ Ἀνδροφάγων, τελευταίων δὲ Μελαγχλαίνων.

101. Ἐστι δὲν τῆς Σκυθικῆς ὡς ἐούσῃς τετραγώνου, τῶν δύο μερέων κατηκότων ἐς θάλασσαν, πάντη ἵσουν τὸ τε ἐς τὴν μεσόγαιαν φέρον καὶ τὸ παρὰ τῆν θάλασσαν. ἀπὸ γὰρ Ἰστροῦ ἐπὶ Βορυ-

1 τῆν ἀκρίν is bracketed by Stein, ἀνέχειν being generally (in the required sense) intransitive.

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

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

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

¹ All this is no more than to say that the Tauri live on a promontory (the Tauric Chersonese), which is like the south-eastern promontory of Attica (Sinium) or the "heel" of Italy, i.e. the country east of a line drawn between the modern Brindisi and Taranto. The only difference is, says Herodotus, that the Tauri inhabit a part of Scythia yet are not Scythians, while the inhabitants of the Attic and Italian promontories are of the same stock as their neighbours.
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σθένεα δέκα ἡμερέων ὁδὸς, ἀπὸ Βορυσθένεος τε ἐπὶ τὴν λίμνην τὴν Μαιήτιν ἑτερέων δέκα· καὶ τὸ ἀπὸ βαλάσσης ἐς μεσόγαιαν ἐς τοὺς Μελαγχλαίνους τοὺς κατύπερθε Σκυθέων οὐκεμένους εἶκοσι ἡμερέων ὁδὸς. ἡ δὲ ὁδὸς ἡ ἡμερησίη ἀνὰ διηκόσια στάδια συμβεβληταί μοι. οὕτω ἂν εἰη τῆς Σκυθικῆς τὰ ἐπικάρσια τετρακισχιλίων σταδίων καὶ τὰ ὄρθια τὰ ἐς τὴν μεσόγαιαν φέροντα ἑτέρων τοσοῦτων σταδίων. ἡ μὲν γνωρίσει ἀυτὴ ἐστὶ μέγαθος τοσαυτῆς.

102. Οἰ δὲ Σκύθαι δόντες σφίσι λόγον ὡς οὐκ οἱ τε εἰσὶ τὸν Δαρείου στρατὸν ἱθυμαχίᾳ διώσασθαι μοῦνοι, ἐπεμποὺ ἐς τοὺς πλησιοχώρους ἀγγέλους τῶν δὲ καὶ ἦ δὲ οἱ βασιλεῖς συνελθόντες ἐβουλεύοντο ὡς στρατοῦ ἑπελαύνοντος μεγάλου. ἦσαν δὲ οἱ συνελθόντες βασιλεῖς Ταύρων καὶ Ἀγαθύρσων καὶ Νευρῶν καὶ Ἀνδροφῶν καὶ Μελαγχλαίνων καὶ Γελωνῶν καὶ Βουδίων καὶ Σαυροματέων.

103. Τοῖτων Ταύρωι μὲν νόμοις τοιούτῳ χρέονται. θύουσι μὲν τῇ Παρθένῳ τοὺς τε ναυηγοὺς καὶ τοὺς ἀν λάβωσι Ἐλληνῶν ἐπαναχθέντες τρόπῳ τοιοῦτο. καταρξάμενοι ῥοπάλῳ παίονται τὴν κεφαλὴν. οἱ μὲν δὴ λέγουσι ὡς τὸ σώμα ἀπὸ τοῦ κρημνοῦ ὠδέοντι κάτω (ἐπὶ γὰρ κρημνοῦ ἱδρυται τὸ ἱρὸν), τὴν δὲ κεφαλὴν ἀνασταυροῦσι· οἱ δὲ κατὰ μὲν τὴν κεφαλὴν ῥυζολογεύουσι, τὸ μέντοι σώμα οὐκ ὠδέοται ἀπὸ τοῦ κρημνοῦ λέγουσι ἄλλα γῆς κρύπτεσθαι. τὴν δὲ δαίμονα ταύτην τῇ θύουσι λέγουσι αὐτοὶ Ταύρωι Ἰφυγένειαν τὴν Ἀγαμέμνονος εἶναι. πολεμίους δὲ ἀνδρας τοὺς ἄν χειρώσωνται ποιεῦσι τάδε· ἀποταμῶν ἕκα-
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Ister to the Borysthenes, and the same from the Borysthenes to the Maeetian lake; and it is a twenty days' journey from the sea inland to the country of the Black-cloaks who dwell north of Scythia. Now as I reckon a day's journey at two hundred furlongs, the cross-measurement of Scythia would be a distance of four thousand furlongs, and the line drawn straight up inland the same. Such then is the extent of this land.

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

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

¹ A deity locally worshipped, identified by the Greeks with Artemis.
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στος ἃ κεφαλὴν ἀποφέρεται ἐς τὰ οἰκία, ἔπειτα ἐπὶ ἐξύλου μεγάλου ἀναπείρας ἴστα ὑπὲρ τῆς οἰκίης ὑπερέχουσαν πολλόν, μάλιστα δὲ ὑπὲρ τῆς καπνο-δόκης. φασὶ δὲ τούτους φυλάκους τῆς οἰκίης πάσης ὑπεραιωρεῖσθαι. ἥθει δὲ ἀπὸ ληίης τε καὶ πολέμου.

104. Ἀγάθυρσοι δὲ ἀβρότατοι ἀνδρῶν εἰσὶ καὶ χρυσοφόροι τὰ μάλιστα, ἐπίκοινων δὲ τῶν γυναι-κῶν τὴν μίξιν ποιεῦνται, ἵνα κασύγητοι τε ἀλλή-λων ἔωσι καὶ οἰκήμοις έόντες πάντες μήτε φθόνῳ μήτε ἔχθειχρεώνται ἐς ἀλλήλους. τὰ δὲ ἄλλα νόματα Θρήνει προσκεχωρήκασι.

105. Νευρόδις δὲ νόμοσι μὲν χρεώνται Σκυθι-κοίσι, γενεὴ δὲ μὴ πρότερον σφέας τῆς Δαρείου στρατηγασίας κατέλαβε ἐκλιπεῖν τὴν χώρην πά-σαν ὑπὸ ὀφίων· ὀφίας γὰρ σφὶ πολλοὺς μὲν ἡ χώρη ἀνέφαινε, οἱ δὲ πλεῦνες ἁυσθέν σφὶ ἐκ τῶν ἐρήμων ἐπέπεσον, ἐς δὲ πιεζόμενοι οἰκήσαν μετὰ Βουδίνων τὴν ἐωτῶν ἐκλιπόντες. κινδυνεύοντο δὲ οἱ ἀνθρώποι οὕτω γόντες εἶναι. λέγονται γὰρ ὑπὸ Σκυθέων καὶ Ἐλλήνων τῶν ἐν τῇ Σκυθικῇ κατοικήμενων ὡς ἔτεος ἐκάστου ἀπαξ τῶν Νευρῶν ἐκάστος λύκος γίνεται ἡμέρας ὀλίγας καὶ αὐτὺς ὀπίσω ἐς τῶντο κατίσταται. ἐμὲ μὲν νῦν ταῦτα λέγοντες οὐ πείθουσι, λέγοντες δὲ οὐδὲν ἠσσοῦν, καὶ ὀμνύοι δὲ λέγοντες.

106. Ἀνδροφάγοι δὲ ἀγριώτατα πάντων ἀν-θρώπων ἔχουσι ήθεα, οὕτε δίκην νομίζοντες οὕτε νόμῳ οὐδενὶ χρεώμενοι νομάδες δὲ εἰσὶ, ἐσθητά τε φορέοντι τῇ Σκυθικῇ ὁμοίῃ, γλώσσαν δὲ ἰδίῃν, ἀνδροφαγέοντι δὲ μοῦνοι τούτων.

1 [ἐκαστος] Stein.

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

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

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

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

108. Βουδίνοι δὲ ἔθνος ἐόν μέγα καὶ πολλὸν γλαυκόν τε πάν ἵσχυρὸς ἔστι καὶ πυρρόν. πόλει δὲ ἐν αὐτοῖσι πεπολισται ξύλην, οὐνόμα δὲ τῇ πόλι ἐστὶ Γελωνὸς τοῦ δὲ τείχεος μέγαθος κόλον ἐκαστὸν τρίκοντα σταδίων ἔστι, ὕψηλὸν δὲ καὶ πάν ξύλινον, καὶ αἱ οἰκίαι αὐτῶν ξύλιναι καὶ τὰ ἱρά. ἔστι γὰρ δὴ αὐτόθι Ἑλληνικῶν θεῶν ἵρᾳ Ἑλληνικῶς κατεσκευασμένα ἀγάλμασι τε καὶ βωμοίσι καὶ νοῦσι ξύλινοισι, καὶ τῇ Διονύσῳ τριτερίδας ἀνάγοντι καὶ βακχεύοντι. εἰσὶ γὰρ οἱ Γελωνοὶ τὸ ἄρχαίον "Ἑλληνες, ἐκ τῶν δὲ ἐμπορίων ἐξαναστάντες οἰκησαν ἐν τοῖσι Βουδίνοισι καὶ γλώσσῃ τὰ μὲν Σκυθικῇ τὰ δὲ Ἑλληνικῇ χρέωνται. Βουδίνοι δὲ ὑπὸ τῇ αὐτῇ γλώσσῃ χρέωνται καὶ Γελωνοί, οὐδὲ διὰ τὰ ἑαυτῆ.

109. Οἱ μὲν γὰρ Βουδίνοι ἐόντες αὐτόχθονες νομάδες τε εἰσὶ καὶ φθειροτραγέουσι μοῦνοι τῶν ταύτη, Γελωνοὶ δὲ γῆς τε ἐργάται καὶ σιτοφύγοι καὶ κήπους ἑκτημένους, οὐδὲν τὴν ἰδέαν ὅμοιοι οὐδὲ τὸ χρώμα. ὅπως μέντοι Ἐλλήνων καλέονται καὶ οἱ Βουδίνοι Γελωνοί, οὐκ ὀρθῶς καλεόμενοι. ἡ δὲ χώρα σφέων πάσα ἐστὶ δασεία ἰδησί παντοίχησι: ἐν δὲ τῇ ἵδε τῇ πλείστῃ ἐστὶ λίμνη μεγάλη τε καὶ πολλῆ καὶ ἑλοὶ καὶ κάλαμος περὶ αὐτῆν. ἐν δὲ ταύτῃ ἐνύδρεις ἀλίσκονται καὶ καστορες καὶ ἀλλα θηρία τετραγωνοπρόσωπα, τῶν τὰ δέρματα παρὰ τὰς σισύρνιας παραρράττεται, καὶ οἱ ὀρχίες αὐτοῖσι εἰσὶ χρήσιμοι ἐς ὕστερων ἄκεσιν.

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

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

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

110. The history of the Sauromatae is as I will
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"Ελληνες Ἀμαξόνες ἐμαχέσαντο (τὰς δὲ Ἀμαξόνας καλέουσι Σκύθαι Οἰόρπατα, δύναται δὲ τὸ σύνομα τούτο κατὰ Ἑλλάδα γλῶσσαν ἀνδροκτόνου· οἷος γὰρ καλέουσι ἄνδρα, τὸ δὲ πατὰ κτείνειν), τότε λόγος τούς "Ελληνας μυκήσαντας τῇ ἔπι Θερμώδουτι μάχη ἀποπλέειν ἄγοντας τρισὶ πλοίοις τῶν Ἀμαξόνων ὅσα ἐδυνάτο ἴσωρῆσαι, τὰς δὲ ἐν τῷ πελάγει ἐπιθεμένας ἐκκόψας τοὺς ἄνδρας. πλοία δὲ οὐ γινώσκειν αὐτὰς οὐδὲ πηδάλιοι χράσθαι οὐδὲ ἱστίοις οὐδὲ εἰρεσίαν ἀλλ' ἔπει εξέκοψαν τοὺς ἄνδρας ἐφέροντο κατὰ κύμα καὶ ἀνεμον, καὶ ἀπικυνίαται τῆς λίμνης τῆς Μαυμίδος ἐπὶ Κρημνοῦ· οἱ δὲ Κρημνοὶ εἰσὶ γῆς τῆς Σκυθέων τῶν ἔλευθερων. ἐνθαῦτα ἀποβᾶσαι ἀπὸ τῶν πλοίων αἱ Ἀμαξόνες ὀδοιπόρες ἐς τὴν οἰκομένην. ἐντυχοῦσαι δὲ πρῶτῳ ἵπποφορβίῳ τούτῳ διήρπασαν, καὶ ἐπὶ τούτων ἰππαξόμεναι ἐληίζοντο τὰ τῶν Σκυθέων.

111. Οἱ δὲ Σκύθαι οὐκ εἰχον συμβαλέσθαι τῷ πρήγματι· οὔτε γὰρ φωλὴν οὔτε ἐσθήτα οὔτε τὸ ἔθνος ἐγίνωσκον, ἀλλ' ἐν θώματι ἦσαν ὁκόθεν ἔλθοιμα, ἔθοκεον δ' αὐτᾶς εἶναι ἄνδρας τὴν αὐτὴν ἡλικίαν ἔχοντας, μάχην τε δὴ πρὸς αὐτᾶς ἐποιεῦντο. ἐκ δὲ τῆς μάχης τῶν νεκρῶν ἐκράτησαν οἱ Σκύθαι, καὶ οὔτω ἐγνώσαν ἐνύσας γυναῖκας. δουλευόμενοι ὅν αὐτοῦσι ἐδοξῆ κτείνειν μὲν οὔδεν τρόπω ἐτι αὐτᾶς, ἐσωτῆρον δὲ τοὺς νεωτάτους ἀποπέμψαι· ἐνα ἀυτάς, πλῆθος εἰκάσανται οὕτω περ ἐκεῖναι ἰσαν, τούτους δὲ στρατοπεδεύσεσθαι πλησίον ἐκεινῶν καὶ ποιεῖν τὰ περὶ καὶ ἐκεῖναι ποιέως· ἢν δὲ αὐτοῖς διόκωσιν, μάχεσθαι μὲν μὴ, ὑποφεύγειν δὲ· ἐπεαν δὲ παύσωσται, ἐλθόντας
now show. When the Greeks warred with the Amazons (whom the Scythians call Oiorpata, a name signifying in our tongue killers of men, for in Scythian a man is oior, and to kill is pata) after their victory on the Thermodon they sailed away carrying in three ships as many Amazons as they had been able to take alive; and out at sea the Amazons set upon the crews and threw them overboard. But they knew nothing of ships, nor how to use rudder or sail or oar; and the men being thrown overboard they were borne at the mercy of waves and winds, till they came to the Cliffs by the Maeetian lake; this place is in the country of the free Scythians. There the Amazons landed, and set forth on their journey to the inhabited country. But at the beginning of their journey they found a place where horses were reared; and carrying these horses away they raided the Scythian lands on horseback.

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

112. Ἑπεὶ δὲ ἐμαθον αὐτοὺς αἱ 'Ἀμαξόνες ἔποιαν δηλήσαν ἀπιγμένους, ἔως χαίρειν προσεχώρεσαν δὲ πλησιαίτερον τὸ στρατόπεδον τῷ στρατόπεδῳ ἔπει ἡμέρη ἐκάστη. εἰχον δὲ οὐδὲν οὐδὲ οἱ νευρίκοι, ὡσπερ αἱ 'Ἀμαξόνες, εἰ μὴ τὰ ὄπλα καὶ τοὺς ἱπποὺς, ἀλλὰ ξόνην ἔξων τὴν αὐτὴν ἐκείνην, θηρεύοντες τε καὶ ληξόμενοι.

113. Ἑποίεν τε δὲ αἱ 'Ἀμαξόνες ἐς τὴν μεσαμβρίνην τοιούτην ἐγίνοντο σποράδες κατὰ μίαν τε καὶ δύο, πρόσω δὴ ἀπ' ἀλληλέων ἐς εὑρακεῖθην ἀποσκευάζοντες. μαθώντες δὲ καὶ οἱ Σκύθαι ἐποίεν τὸντο τοῦτο. καὶ τις μονωθείσεως τινι αὐτῶν ἐνεχρίμπτετο, καὶ ἡ 'Ἀμαξών οὐκ ἀπωθέτετο ἀλλὰ περείλη χρήσασθαι. καὶ φωνήσαι μὲν οὐκ εἰχε, οὐ γὰρ συνίεσαν ἀλλήλων, τῇ δὲ χειρὶ ἔφραξε ἐς τὴν ὑστεραίην ἐλθεῖν ἐς τοῦτο χωρίον καὶ ἐτερον ἄγειν, σημαίνουσα δύο γενέσθαι, καὶ αὐτή ἐτέρην ἄξειν. ὁ δὲ νευρίκος, ἠπήλθε, ἔλειψε ταύτα πρὸς τοὺς λοιποὺς. τῇ δὲ δευτεραίη ἴδθη ἐς τὸ χωρίον αὐτὸς τε ὧντος καὶ ἐτερον ἤγε, καὶ τὴν Ἀμαξώνα εὗρε δευτέρην αὐτὴν υπομένουσαν. οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ νευρίκοι ὡς ἐπίθυμον ταύτα, καὶ αὐτοὶ εκτιλώσαντο τὰς λοιπὰς τῶν Ἀμαξώνων.

114. Μετὰ δὲ συμμίσαντες τὰ στρατόπεδα οἴκεαν ὀμοί, γυναῖκα ἔχων ἐκαστὸς ταύτην τῇ τὸ πρῶτον συνεμίθη. τὴν δὲ φωνήν τὴν μὲν τῶν γυναικῶν οἱ. ἄνδρες οὐκ ἐδυνέατο μαθεῖν, τὴν δὲ
come and encamp near to them. This was the plan of the Scythians, for they desired that children should be born of the women. The young men, being sent, did as they were charged.

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

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

114. Presently they joined their camps and dwelt together, each man having for his wife the woman with whom he had had intercourse at first. Now the men could not learn the women's language, but the
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115. Ἐπείτε δὲ ἀπολαχόντες τῶν κτημάτων τὸ ἐπιβάλλου ἄνδρον ὑπόσω παρὰ τὰς Ἀμαζόνας, ἔλεγαν αἱ γυναῖκες πρὸς αὐτούς τάδε. "Ἡμέας ἔχει φόβος τε καὶ δεός ὡς χρησίμα μεν ἡμέων ἐν τῷ ὁρίζω, τούτῳ μὲν ὑμέας ἀποστερήμασας πατέ- ρων, τούτῳ δὲ γῆς τὴν ὑμετέρην δηλησμένας πολλά. ἀλλ' ἐπείτε ἀξιοῦτε ἡμέας γυναίκας ἔχειν, τάδε ποιείτε ἀμα ἡμῶν" φέρετε ἐξαναστέωμεν ἐκ τῆς γῆς τῆς δε καὶ περήσαντες Τάναίν ποταμῶν ὀικέωμεν.

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

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

116. To this too the youths consented; and crossing
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βάντες δὲ τῶν Τάναϊν ὀδοιπόρων πρὸς ἠλιον ἀνίσχοντα τρώων μὲν ἦμερέων ἀπὸ τοῦ Τανάδος ὀδοὺ, τριῶν δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς λίμνης τῆς Μανήτηδος πρὸς βορέην ἄνεμον. ἀπικόμενοι δὲ ἐς τοῦτον τῶν χόρον ἐν τῷ νῦν κατοίκηται, οὐκέσαν τοῦτον. καὶ διαίθη ἀπὸ τοῦτον χρέωνται τῇ παλαιᾷ τῶν Σαυροματέων αἱ γυναῖκες, καὶ ἐπὶ θήρην ἐπ’ ἱππῶν ἐκφοιτῶσαι ἀμα τοῦτο ἄνδρας καὶ χωρίς τῶν ἄνδρων, καὶ ἐς πόλεμον φοιτῶσαι καὶ στολὴν τὴν αὐτὴν τοῦτο ἄνδρας φορέουσαι.

117. Φωνῇ δὲ οἱ Σαυρομάται νομίζουσι Σκυθική, σολοκίζοντες αὐτῇ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀρχαίου, ἐπεὶ οὐ χρηστῶς ἐξέμαθον αὐτήν αἱ Ἀμαξίνες. τὰ περὶ γάμων δὲ ὧδε σφὶ διακέεσται· οὐ γαμέται παρθένοις οὐδεμία πρὶν ἄν τῶν πολεμίων ἄνδρα ἀποκτείνῃ· αἱ δὲ τινὲς αὐτέων καὶ τελευτῶσι γηραιαὶ πρὶν γήμασθαι, οὐ δυνάμεναι τὸν νόμον ἐκπλήσσαι.

118. Ἐπὶ τοῦτων ἀν τῶν καταλεχθέντων ἐθνῶν τοὺς βασιλέας ἐλισμένους ἀπικόμενοι τῶν Σκυθέων οἱ ἄγγελοι ἔλεγον ἐκδιδάσκοντες ὡς ὁ Πέρσης, ἐπειδὴ οἱ τὰ ἐν τῇ ἡπείρῳ τῇ ἐτέρῃ πάντα κατέστραπται, γέφυραν ξεύξας ἐπὶ τῷ αὐχένι τοῦ Βασπόρου διαβέβηκε· ἐς τὴν τῆς ἡπείρου, διαβὰς· δὲ καὶ καταστρεφόμενος Θρήκας γεφυροὶ ποταμῶν Ἰστροῦ, θυσίας καὶ τάδε πάντα ὑπ’ ἑωτῷ ποιήσασθαι. "Τμεῖς δὲν μηδεὶς τρόπῳ ἐκ τοῦ μέσου κατήμενοι περιήγητε ἡμέας διαφθαρέντας, ἀλλὰ τῶν νοήσαντες ἀντιἀξωμεν τῶν ἐπιστάμενα· οὐκὼν ποιήσετε ταῦτα· ἡμεῖς μὲν πιεξόμενοι ἐκκελέψαμεν τὴν χώρην ἢ μένοντες ὀμολογήσαμεν χρησόμεθα. τὰ γὰρ πάθωμεν μὴ διαφθαρέντας ὑμῖν τιμωρεῖν; ὑμῖν δὲ οὐδὲν ἐπὶ τοῦτῳ ἔσται ἔλα-

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the Tanais they went a three days' journey from the river eastwards, and a three days' journey from the Maeetian lake northwards; and when they came to the region in which they now dwell, they made their abode there. Ever since then the women of the Sauromatae have followed their ancient usage; they ride a-hunting with their men or without them; they go to war, and wear the same dress as the men.

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

118. The kings then of these aforesaid nations being assembled, the Scythian messengers came and laid all exactly before them, telling how the Persian, now that the whole of the other continent was subject to him, had crossed over to their continent by a bridge thrown across the gut of the Bosporus, and how having crossed it and subdued the Thracians he was now bridging the Ister, that he might make all that region subject like the others to himself. "Do you, then," said they, "by no means sit apart and suffer us to be destroyed; rather let us unite and encounter this invader. If you will not do this, then shall we either be driven perforce out of our country, or abide and make terms. For what is to become of us if you will not aid us? And thereafter it will be no
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φρότερον ἦκε γάρ ὁ Πέρσης οὐδὲν τί μᾶλλον ἐπὶ ἡμέας ἦ σὺ καὶ ἐπὶ ἡμέας, οὔτε ὀι καταχρῆσει ἡμέας καταστρεφαμένοι ὑμέων ἀπέχεσθαι. μέγα δὲ ὑμῖν λόγων τόνδε μαρτύριον ἐρέμουν. εἰ γὰρ ἐπὶ ἡμέας μοῦνος ἑστρατηλάτεε ὁ Πέρσης τίσασθαι τῆς πρόσθε δουλοσύνης βουλόμενος, χρὴν αὐτὸν πάντων τῶν ἄλλων ἀπεχόμενον ἱέναι οὕτω ἐπὶ τὴν ἡμετέρην, καὶ ἂν ἐδήλου πᾶσι σὺ ἐπὶ Σκύθας ἑλαύνει καὶ οὐκ ἐπὶ τοὺς ἄλλους. νῦν δὲ ἐπείτε τάχιστα διέβη ἐς τὴν ἡπειρον, τοὺς αἰεὶ ἐμποδὸν γινομένους ἡμεροῦτα πάντας τοὺς τε δὴ ἄλλους ἕχει ὑπ᾽ ἐωτῷ Θρήκας καὶ δὴ καὶ τοὺς ἴμων ἐόντας πλησιοχώρους Γέτας."

119. Ταῦτα Σκυθέων ἐπαγγελλομένων ἐβουλεύοντο οἱ βασιλεῖς οἱ ἀπὸ τῶν ἐθνεῶν ἥκοντες, καὶ σφενῶν ἑσχίσθησαν αἱ γυναικεῖς ὁ μὲν γὰρ Γελωνὸς καὶ ὁ Βοῦδινος καὶ ὁ Σαυρομάτης κατὰ τὸν γενόμενον ὑπεδέκοντο Σκύθησι τιμορήσειν, ὁ δὲ Ἀγάθυρσος καὶ Νευρὸς καὶ Ἀνδροφάγος καὶ οἱ τῶν Μελαγχλαίων καὶ Ταύρων τάδε Σκύθησι ὑπεκρίναντο. "Εἰ μὲν μὴ ὑμεῖς ἂνοικτοὶ ἐποίησατε Πέρσας καὶ ἄρξαστες πολέμου, τούτων δεόμενοι τῶν νῦν δέεσθε λέγειν τε ἂν ἐφαινέσθη ἡμῖν ὀρθά, καὶ ἡμεῖς ὑπακούσατε τῶν δαίμονας τῶν ἐρήμους. νῦν δὲ ὑμεῖς τε ἡμῖν τὰ ὑποκύπτεις γην ἄνευ ἡμέων ἐπεκρίνατε ἔκειν ἐφοβοῦσθεν ὁρόν ὑμῖν ὁ θεὸς ταρεθίδου, καὶ ἐκεῖνοι, ἐπεὶ σφενῶν ὑπὸ τῶν θεῶν ἐγείρετε, τὴν ὁμοίην ὑμῖν ἀποδίδοντες. ἡμεῖς δὲ οὔτε τί τότε ἡδικήσατε τοὺς ἄνδρας τούτους οὐδὲν οὔτε τίνα πρότερον πείρασάμεθα ἀδικεῖεις. ἦν μὲντοι ἐπὶ τὴν ἡμετέρην ἄρξας οὕτως ἀδικέων, 318
light matter for you yourselves; for the Persian is come
to attack you no whit less than us, nor when he has
subsued us will he be content to leave you alone.
We can give you full proof of what we say: were it
we alone against whom the Persian is marching, to be
avenged on us for our former enslaving of his country,
it is certain that he would leave others alone and
make straight for us, thus making it plain to all that
Scythia and no other country is his goal. But now,
from the day of his crossing over to this continent,
he has been ever taming all that come in his way,
and he holds in subjection, not only the rest of
Thrace, but also our neighbours the Getae.”

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

120. Ταῦτα ὡς ἀπενειχθέντα ἐπύθουντο οἱ Σκύθαι, ἐβουλεύοντο ἴθυμαχίαν μὲν μηδὲμίαν ποιέονται ἐκ τοῦ ἐμφανεός, ὅτε δὴ σφι οὐτοὶ γε σύμμαχοι οὐ προσεγίνοντο, ὑπεξίοντες δὲ καὶ ὑπεξελώνοντες τὰ φρέατα τὰ παρεξίονεν αὐτοὶ καὶ τὰς κρίνας συγχοῦν, τὴν ποίην τε ἐκ τῆς γῆς ἐκτρίβειν, διοχοῦ σφέας διελόντες. καὶ πρὸς μὲν τὴν μίαν τῶν μοιρῶν, τῆς ἐβασίλευσε Σκόπασις, προσχωρεῖν Σαιρομάτας τούτους μὲν δὴ ὑπάγειν, ἢν ἐπὶ τοῦτο τράπηται ὁ Πέρσης, ἀθὴναίος ποταμοῦ παρὰ τὴν Μαῖτην λίμνην ὑποθέσεντας, ἀπελαύνοντός τε τοῦ Πέρσεω ἐπίνοντας διώκειν. αὐτὴ μὲν σφὶ μία ἡ μοῖρα τῆς βασιλείας, τεταγμένη ταύτην τὴν ὅδον ἢ περ εἰρηται· τὰς δὲ δύο τῶν βασιληῶν, τὴν τε μεγάλην τῆς ἡραὶ Ἰδάνθυρος καὶ τὴν τρίτην τῆς ἐβασίλευσε Τάξακις, συνελθοῦσας ἐς τὸν καὶ Γελωνῶν τε καὶ Βουδίων προσγενομένων, ἡμέρης καὶ τοῦτος ὁδὸ προέχοντας τῶν Περσέων ὑπεξάγειν, ὑπιόντας τε καὶ ποιεῦντας τὰ βεβουλεμένα. πρῶτα μὲν γὰρ ὑπάγειν σφέας ἢν τῶν χωρέων τῶν ἀπειπαμένων τὴν σφετέρην συμμαχίαν, ἢν καὶ τοῦτος ἐκπολεμώσωσι· εἰ γαρ μὴ ἐκόντες γε ὑπέδυσαν τὸν πόλεμον τὸν πρὸς Πέρσας, ἀλλ’ ἀέκοντας ἐκπολεμώσουσι· μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο ὑποστρέφειν ἐς τὴν σφετέρην καὶ ἐπιχειρεῖεν, ἢν δὴ βουλευομένους δοκέῃ.

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

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

122. Ταῦτα μὲν δὴ προεκομίζετο· τῶν δὲ Σκυθέων οἱ πρόδρομοι ὡς εὑροῦν τοὺς Πέρσας ὅσον τε τριῶν ἡμερῶν ὁδὸν ἀπέχουντα ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἰστροῦ, οὐτοὶ μὲν τούτους εὑρόντες, ἡμέρης ὁδὸ προέχουσι, ἐστρατοπεδεύοντο τὰ ἐκ τῆς γῆς φυόμενα λεαινούστες. οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι ὡς εἶδον ἐπιφανεὶσαν τῶν Σκυθέων τὴν ἱππίων, ἐπίσωσαν κατὰ στίβον αἰεὶ ὑπαγόντων καὶ ἔπειτα (πρὸς γὰρ τὴν μίαν τῶν μοιρῶν ἵππων) οἱ Πέρσαι ἐδίωκον πρὸς ἡδὸ τε καὶ ἰδὺ Ταύνιδος· διαβαίνοντες δὲ τούτων τὸν Τάναιν ποταμὸν οἱ Πέρσαι ἐπιδιαβάντες ἐδίωκον, ἐσί τῶν Σαυροματέων τὴν χώρην διεξελθόντες ἀπίκοντο ἐσί τῶν Βουδίων.

123. Ὁσον μὲν δὴ χρόνον οἱ Πέρσαι ἦσαν διὰ τῆς Σκυθικῆς καὶ τῆς Σαυροματίδου χώρης, οἱ δὲ εἰρχον οὐδὲν σύνεσαν ἀτε τῆς χώρης εὐσῆς χέρσου· ἐπεῖτε δὲ ἐς τὴν τῶν Βουδίων χώρην ἐσεβαλλον, ἐνθαῦτα δὴ ἐντυχόντες τῷ ἤλιῳ τεῖχει, ἐκκελοπτότων τῶν Βουδίων καὶ κεκενωμένου τοῦ τείχους πάντων, ἐνέπρησαν αὐτῷ. τούτο δὲ ποιήσαντες εἴποντο αἰεὶ τὸ πρόσω κατὰ στίβον, ἐς διεξελθόντες ταύτην ἐς τὴν ἔρημον ἀπίκοντο. ἣ δὲ ἔρημος αὐτῇ ὑπὸ οὐδαμῶν νεμεται ἀνδρῶν, κέεται δὲ ὑπὲρ τῆς Βουδίων χώρης εὐσᾶ πλήθος
121. Being resolved on this plan, the Scythians sent an advance guard of the best of their horsemen to meet Darius' army. As for the waggons in which their children and wives lived, all these they sent forward, charged to drive ever northward; and with the waggons they sent all their flocks, keeping none back save such as were sufficient for their food.

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

123. As long as the Persians were traversing the Scythian and Sauromatic territory there was nothing for them to harm, as the land was dry and barren. But when they entered the country of the Budini, they found themselves before the wooden-walled town; the Budini had deserted it and left nothing therein, and the Persians burnt the town. Then going still forward in the horsemen's tracks they passed through this country into the desert, which is inhabited by no men; it lies to the north of the Budini and its
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ἐπτὰ ἡμερέων ὀδού. ὑπὲρ δὲ τῆς ἐρήμου Θυσσαγέται οἰκέουσι, ποταμοὶ δὲ ἐξ αὐτῶν τέσσερες μεγάλοι ἔρουντες διὰ Μαυτέων ἐκδίδοντι ἐς τὴν λίμνην τὴν καλεομένην Μαηῆτιν, τοῖς οὖν ὁμόματα κέσται τάδε, Δύκος Ὁσρος Τάναῖς Σύργιος.

124. 'Εσπεὶ δὲν ὁ Δαρεῖος ἦλθε ἐς τὴν ἔρημον, παυσάμενος τοῦ δρόμου ὕδρυσε τὴν στρατιὰν ἐπὶ ποταμῷ Οάρφῳ. τοῦτο δὲ ποιήσας ὀκτὼ τείχεα ἔτειχες μεγάλα, ἵσον ἀπ' ἀλλήλων ἀπέχοντα, σταδίους ὡς ἤξηκοντα μάλιστα κη. τῶν ἐτί ἐς ἐμὲ τὰ ἐρείπια σῶα ἦν. ἐν δὲ οὕτως πρὸς ταύτα ἐτράπετο, οἱ διωκόμενοι Σκύθαι περιελθόντες τὰ κατύπερθε ὑπεστρέφον ἐς τὴν Σκυθικὴν. ἀφανισθέντων δὲ τούτων τὸ παράπαν, ὡς οὐκέτι ἐφαντάζοντο σφί, οὕτω δὴ ὁ Δαρεῖος τείχεα μὲν ἐκείνα ἠμέρηγα μετῆκε, αὐτὸς δὲ ὑποστρέψας ἦς πρὸς ἐσπέρην, δοκέων τούτων τὸ πάντας τοὺς Σκύθας εἶναι καὶ πρὸς ἐσπέρην σφέας φεύγειν.

125. 'Ελαύνων δὲ τὴν ταχίστην τὸν στρατὸν ὡς ἐς τὴν Σκυθικὴν ἀπίκετο, ἐνέκυρσε ἀμφότερος τῇσι μοίρησι τῶν Σκυθέων, ἐνυχων δὲ ἐδίωκε ὑπεκφέροντας ἡμέρης ὀδῷ. καὶ οὐ γὰρ ἀνίει ἐπὶ τῶν ὁ Δαρεῖος, οἱ Σκύθαι κατὰ τὰ βεβολευμένα ὑπέφευγον ἐς τῶν ἀπειπαμένων τὴν σφετέρην συμμαχίνην, πρῶτην δὲ ἐς τῶν Μελαγχαλίνων τὴν γῆν. ὡς δὲ ἐσβαλόντες τούτων ἐτάραξαν οὐ τὰ Σκύθαι καὶ οἱ Πέρσαι, κατηγοῦσι οἱ Σκύθαι ἐς τῶν Ἀνδροφάγων τῶν χῶροις ταραχθέντων δὲ καὶ τούτων ὑπήγον ἐπὶ τὴν Νευρίδα· ταρασσομένον δὲ καὶ τούτων ἦσαν ὑποφεύγοντες οἱ Σκύθαι ἐς τοὺς Ἀγαθύρσους. Ἀγαθύρσους δὲ ὀρέοντες καὶ τοὺς ὁμούρους φεύγοντας ὑπὸ Σκυ-
breadth is a seven days' march. Beyond this desert dwell the Thyssagetae; four great rivers flow from their country through the land of the Maeetians, and issue into the lake called the Maeetian; their names are Lycus, Oarus, Tanais, Syrgis.

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

125. But when he came by forced marches into Scythia, he met both the divisions of the Scythians, and pursued them, they keeping ever a day's march away from him; and because he would not cease from pursuing them, the Scythians, according to the plan they had made, fled before him to the countries of those who had refused their alliance, and first to the land of the Black-cloaks. Into their land the Scythians and Persians burst, troubling their peace; and thence the Scythians led the Persians into the country of the Man-eaters, troubling them too; whence they drew off with a like effect into the country of the Neuri, and troubling them also, fled to the Agathyrsi. But these, seeing their very neighbours fleeing panic-stricken at the Scythians' approach,
θέων καὶ τεταραγμένους, πρὶν ἡ σφὶ ἐμβαλείν τοὺς Σκύθας πέμψαντες κήρυκα ἀπηγόρευν Σκύθησι μὴ ἐπιβάϊνειν τῶν σφητέρων οὕρων, προλέγοντες ὡς εἰ πειρήσονται ἐσβαλόντες, σφίσι πρῶτα διαμαχήσονται. Ἀγάθυρσοι μὲν προεῖπαντες ταῦτα ἐβοήθεον ἐπὶ τοὺς οὐρους, ἐρύκειν ἐν νόῳ ἔχοντες τοὺς ἐπιόντας. Μελάγχλαινοι δὲ καὶ Ἀνδροφάγοι καὶ Νευροὶ ἐσβαλόντων τῶν Περσῶν ἀμα Σκύθησι οὔτε πρὸς ἀλκήν ἑτράποντο ἐπιλαβόμενοι τε τῆς ἀπειλῆς ἐφευγον αἰεὶ τὸ πρὸς βορέω ἐς τὴν ἔρημον τεταραγμένοι. οἱ δὲ Σκύθαι ἐς μὲν τοὺς Ἀγαθύρσους οὐκέτι ἀπείπαντας ἀπικνύοντο, ο羕 δὲ ἐκ τῆς Νευρίδους χώρης ἐς τὴν σφετέρην κατηγέοντο τοῖς Πέρσης.

126. Ὅσδέ πολλῶν τοῦτο ἐγίνετο καὶ οὐκ ἐπαύετο, πέμψας Δαρείος ἱππεά παρὰ τὸν Σκυθέων βασιλέα Ἰδάνθυρσον ἔλεγε τάδε. “Δαμόνιε ἀνδρῶν, τί φεύγεις αἰεὶ, ἐξεύτο τοῦ τῶν ἕτερα ποιεῖν; εἰ μὲν γὰρ ἄξιοχρεος δοκεῖς εἰςευτότο τοῖς ἐμοίσι πρήγμασι ἀντιωθῆναι, σὺ δὲ στάς τε καὶ παυσάμενος πλάνης μάχεσθαι εἰ δὲ συγγινώσκεις εἰσίν ήρσον, σὺ δὲ καὶ οὕτω παυσάμενος τοῦ δρόμου δεσπότη τῷ σῷ δῶρα φέρων γῆν τε καὶ υδῷ ἐλθὲ ἐς λόγους.”

127. Πρὸς ταῦτα ὁ Σκυθέων βασιλεὺς Ἰδάνθυρσος λέγει τάδε. “Οὐτω τὸ ἐμὸν ἔχει, ὁ Πέρσα. ἐγὼ οὔδένα καὶ ἀνθρώπων δεῖσας ἐφυγὼν οὕτε πρότερον οὕτε νῦν σὲ φεύγω, οὐδὲ τὶ νεώτερον εἰμὶ ποιήσας νῦν ἥ καὶ ἐν εἰρήνῃ ἐώθεα ποιέων. ὁ τι δὲ οὐκ αὐτίκα μάχομαι τοῖς, ἐγὼ καὶ τοῦτο σημανέω. ἡμῖν οὕτω ἄστεα οὕτε γῆ πεφυτευμένη ἔστί, τῶν πέρι δείσαντες μὴ ἀλὼ ἢ

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before the Scythians could break into their land sent a herald to forbid them to set foot on their borders, warning the Scythians that if they essayed to break through they must first fight with the Agathyrsi. With this warning they mustered on their borders, with intent to stay the invaders. But the Black-cloaks and Man-eaters and Neuri, when the Persians and the Scythians broke into their lands, made no resistance, but forgot their threats and fled panic-stricken ever northward into the desert. The Scythians, being warned off by the Agathyrsi, made no second attempt on that country, but led the Persians from the lands of the Neuri into Scythia.

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

127. To this Idanthyrsus the Scythian king made answer: "Know this of me, Persian, that I have never fled for fear of any man, nor do I now flee from you; this that I have done is no new thing or other than my practice in peace. But as to the reason why I do not straightway fight with you, this too I will tell you. For we Scythians have no towns or planted lands, that we might meet you the sooner
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καρη ταχύτερον ἃν ύμιν συμμίσχοιμεν ἐς μάχην. εἰ δὲ δεῦ τάντως ἂς τοῦτο κατὰ τάχος ἀπικνε- еσθαι, τυγχάνουσι ήμιν ἐόντες τάφοι πατρώιοι- φέρετε, τούτους ἀνευρότεις συγχέειν πειράσθε αὐτούς, καὶ γνῶσεσθε τότε εἶτε ύμιν μαχησόμεθα περὶ τῶν τάφων εἶτε καὶ οὐ μαχησόμεθα. πρό- τερον δέ, ἣν μη ἡμέας λόγοι αἱρέῃ, οὐ συμμίσχομεν τοι. ἀμφι μὲν μάχη τοσαῦτα εἰρήσθω, δεσπτότας δὲ ἐμοὺς ἔγω Δία τε νομίζω τὸν ἐμὸν πρόγονον καὶ Ἰστίην τὴν Σκυθέων βασίλειαν μοῦνος εἶναι. σοὶ δὲ ἀντὶ μὲν δώρων γῆς τε καὶ ύδατος δῶρα πέμψω τοιαῦτα οἶα σοὶ πρέπει ἐλθεῖν, ἀντὶ δὲ τοῦ ὅτι δεσπτότης ἐφήσας εἶναι ἐμός, κλαίειν λέγω." τοῦτο ἐστὶ ἡ ἀπὸ Σκυθέων ῥήσεις. ¹

128. Ὅ μὲν δὴ κήρυξε οἴχώκεε ἀγγελέων ταῦτα Δαρείῳ, ὁ δὲ Σκυθέων βασιλέας ἀκούσαντες τῆς δουλοσύνης τὸ ὄνομα ὅργης ἐπλήσθησαν. τὴν μὲν δὲ μετὰ Σαυροματέων μοῖραν ἑαυτεῖς, τῆς ἤρχε Σκώπασις, πέμπουσι Ἰωσι κελεύουτες ἐς λόγους ἀπικέσθαι, τοῦτοις οἱ τὸν Ἰστρον ἐξευ- γμένου ἐφρούρεον αὐτῶν δὲ τοῖς ὑπολειπομέ- νοις ἐδοξε πλανᾶν μὲν μηκέτι Πέρσας, σίτα δὲ ἐκάστοτε ἀναιρεομένοις ἐπιτίθεσθαι. νωμῶντες ὅν σῖτα ἀναιρεομένους τοὺς Δαρείου ἐποίεων τὰ βεβουλεύμενα. ἡ μὲν δὴ Ἰππος τὴν Ἰππον αἰεὶ τράπεσκε ἡ τῶν Σκυθέων, οἱ δὲ τῶν Περσέων ἴπποται φεύγοντες ἐσέπιπτον ἐς τῶν πεζῶν, ὃ δὲ πεζὸς ἀν ἐπεκούρεσ. οἱ δὲ Σκύθαι ἐσαράκαντες τὴν Ἰππον ὑπέστρεφον τῶν πεζῶν φοβεομένοι. ἐποιεότο δὲ καὶ τὰς νύκτας παραπλησίας προσ- βολᾶς οἱ Σκύθαι.

¹ This sentence is bracketed by Stein, but there seems to be no conclusive reason for rejecting it.

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

128. So the herald went to carry this message to Darius; but the Scythian kings were full of anger when they heard the name of slavery. They sent then the division of Scythians and Sauromatae, which was led by Scopasis, to speak with those Ionians who guarded the bridge over the Ister; as for those of the Scythians who were left behind, it was resolved that they should no longer lead the Persians astray, but attack them whenever they were foraging for provision. So they watched for the time when Darius' men were foraging, and did according to their plan. The Scythian horse ever routed the Persian horse, and the Persian horsemen falling back in flight on their footmen, the foot would come to their aid; and the Scythians, once they had driven in the horse, turned about for fear of the foot. The Scythians attacked in this fashion by night as well as by day.
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129. Τὸ δὲ τοῖς Πέρσησι τε ἦν σύμμαχον καὶ
tοῖς Σκυθησί αὐτίξουν ἐπιτιθεμένοιαι τῷ Δαρείουν
στρατοπέδῳ, θώμα μέγιστον ἔρεω, τῶν τε ὅνων ἡ
φωνὴ καὶ τῶν ἡμῖνων τὸ εἶδος. οὔτε γὰρ ὅνων
οὔτε ἡμῖνον γῆ ἡ Σκυθικῆ φέρει, ὡς καὶ πρῶτον
μοι δεδήλωται, οὐδὲ ἐστὶ ἐν τῇ Σκυθικῇ πάση
χώρῃ τὸ παράπαν οὔτε ὅνος οὔτε ἡμῖνος διὰ τὰ
ψύχεα. ὑβρίζοντες δὲν οἳ ὅνοι ἐτάρασσον τὴν
ὑπον τῶν Σκυθέων. πολλάκις δὲ ἐπελαυνότων
ἐπὶ τοὺς Πέρσας μεταξὺ ὅκως ἀκούσειαν οἳ ὑπον
τῶν ὅνων τῆς φωνῆς, ἐταράσσοντο τε ὑποστρέφο-
μενοι καὶ ἐν θόματι ἔσκοι, ὅρθα ἱστάντες τὰ ὄντα,
ἅτε οὔτε ἀκούσαντες πρῶτον φωνῆς τοιαύτης
οὔτε ἴδοντες τὸ εἶδος.

130. Ταῦτα μὲν νῦν ἐπὶ σμικρόν τι ἐφερόντο
tοῦ πολέμου. οἱ δὲ Σκύθαι ὅκως τοὺς Πέρσας
ἴδοιεν τεθορυμμένους, ἵνα παραμένοιεν τε ἐπὶ
πλέω χρόνον ἐν τῇ Σκυθικῇ καὶ παραμένοντες
ἀνωθότῳ τῶν πάντων ἐπιδεινεῖς ἐόντες, ἐποίεοι
τοιαίδες ὅκως τῶν προβάτων τῶν σφιτέρων αὐτῶν
καταλύσων μετὰ τῶν νομέων, αὐτοὶ ἄν ὑπεξή-
λαυνοῦν ἐς ἄλλον χώρον οἳ δὲ ἄν Πέρσαι ἐπελ-
θόντες λάβεσκον τὰ πρόβατα καὶ λαβόντες
ἐπηλώροντο ἀν τῷ πεποιημένῳ.

131. Πολλάκις δὲ τοιοῦτον γυμνόν, τέλος
Δαρείος τε ἐν ἀπορίσῃ εἰχετο, καὶ οἱ Σκυθέων
βασιλεῖς μαθόντες τοῦτο ἐπεμπόν κήρυκα δῶρα
Δαρείῳ φέροντα ὡρνιθά τε καὶ μῶν καὶ βάτραχον
καὶ ὅιστος πέντε. Πέρσαι δὲ τῶν φέροντα τὰ
dῶρα ἐπειρώτεον τῶν νόου τῶν διδομένων. ὃ δὲ
οὔνεν ἔφη οἳ ἐπεστάλθαι ἄλλο ἡ δόντα τὴν ταχύ-
στην ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι. αὐτοὺς δὲ τοὺς Πέρσας
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129. Most strange it is to relate, but what aided the Persians and thwarted the Scythians in their attacks on Darius' army was the braying of the asses and the appearance of the mules. For, as I have before shown, Scythia bears no asses or mules; nor is there in the most of Scythia any ass or mule, by reason of the cold. Therefore the asses, when they waxed wanton, alarmed the Scythian horses; and often, when they were in the act of charging the Persians, if the horses heard the asses bray they would turn back in affright or stand astonished with ears erect, never having heard a like noise or seen a like creature.

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

131. This having often happened, Darius was in a quandary; which when they perceived, the Scythian kings sent a herald bringing Darius the gift of a bird, a mouse, a frog, and five arrows. The Persians asked the bringer of these gifts what they might mean; but he said that no charge had been laid on him save to give the gifts and then depart with all speed; let
132. Ταύτα ἀκούσαντες οἱ Πέρσαι ἔβουλεύοντο. Δαρείον μὲν νῦν ἡ γυνώμη ἢ Σκύθας ἐωτῷ διδό-ναι σφέας τε αὐτούς καὶ γῆν τε καὶ ύδωρ, εἰκάζων τῇδε, ὡς μῦς μὲν ἐν γῇ γίνεται καρπὸν τὸν αὐτὸν ἀνθρώπῳ σεῖσίμενος, βατράχος δὲ ἐν ύδατι, ὄρνῃ δὲ μάλιστα ξοικε ὑπαίθρῳ, τοὺς δὲ ὑστοὺς ὡς τὴν ἐωτῶν ἀλκήν παραδίδοισι. αὐτὴ μὲν Δαρείῳ ἀπεδέδεκτο ἡ γυνώμη. συνεστήκεε δὲ ταύτη τῇ γυνώμῃ ἡ Γοβρύεω, τῶν ἀνδρῶν τῶν ἐπτὰ ἐνὸς τῶν τῶν Μάγων κατελόντων, εἰκάζοντος τὰ δώρα λέγειν ""Ἡν μὴ ὀρνιθες γενόμενοι ἀναπτήσετε ἐς τὸν οὐρανόν, ὦ Πέρσαι, ἢ μῦς γενόμενοι κατὰ τῆς γῆς καταδύτε, ἢ βατραχοί γενόμενοι ἐς τὰς λίμνας ἐσπηδόντε, οὐκ ἀπονοστήσετε ὅπισώ ὑπὸ τῶν ἑξευρήτων βαλλόμενοι.""  
133. Πέρσαι μὲν δὴ τὰ δώρα εἰκάζον. ἡ δὲ Σκυθέων μία μοῖρα ἡ ταχθεῖσα πρότερον μὲν παρὰ τὴν Μαῖητιν λίμνην φούρεειν, τότε δὲ ἐπὶ τῶν Ἰστρῶν Ἡσαῖ ὡς λόγους ἐλθείν, ὡς ἀπίκετο ἐπὶ τὴν γέφυραν, ἔλεγε τάδε. ""Ἀνδρεὶς Ἡσαῖ, ἐλευθερίην ἤκομεν ύμῖν φέροντες, ἢν πέρ γε ἐθέ-λητε ἐσακοῦειν. πυνθανόμεθα γὰρ Δαρείου ἐντελ-λασθαί ύμῖν ἐξήκοντα ἡμέρας μοῦνας φρουρή-σαντας τῆν γέφυραν, αὐτοῦ μὴ παραγενομένου ἐν τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ, ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι ἐς τὴν ύμετέρην. νῦν δὲ ύμεῖς τάδε ποιεῖτε ἐκτὸς μὲν ἐσεθεὶ πρὸς ἐκείνου αἰτίης, ἐκτὸς δὲ πρὸς ἡμῶν τὰς προκει-μένας ἡμέρας παραμείνατε τὸ ἀπὸ τούτου ἀπαλ-λάσσεσθε." οὗτοι μὲν νῦν ὑποδεξαμένων Ἡσαίων ποιήσειν ταύτα ὅπισώ τὴν ταχύτητι ἐπείγοντο.
the Persians (he said), if they were clever enough, discover the signification of the presents.

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

133. Thus the Persians reasoned concerning the gifts. But when the first division of the Scythians came to the bridge—that division which had first been appointed to stand on guard by the Maeetian lake and had now been sent to the Ister to speak with the Ionians—they said, "Ionians, we are come to bring you freedom, if you will but listen to us. We learn that Darius has charged you to guard the bridge for sixty days only, and if he comes not within that time then to go away to your homes. Now therefore do that whereby you will be guiltless in his eyes as in ours: abide here for the days appointed, and after that depart." So the Ionians promised to do this, and the Scythians made their way back with all speed.
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134. Πέρσησι δὲ μετὰ τὰ δῶρα ἐλθόντα Δαρεῖον ἀντετάχθησαν οἱ ὑπολειφθέντες Σκύθαι πεζῶ καὶ ἵπποις ὡς συμβαλέοντες. τεταγμένοις δὲ τοὺς Σκύθησι λαγὸς ἐσ τὸ μέσον διῆξε τῶν δὲ ὡς ἐκαστὸι ὄρων τῶν λαγὸν ἐδίωκον. ταραχθέντων δὲ τῶν Σκυθέων καὶ βοὴ χρεωμένων, εἰρετο ὁ Δαρεῖος τῶν ἀντιπολεμών τῶν θρόυβων πυθόμενος δὲ σφέας τῶν λαγὸν δίωκοντας, εἶπε ἁρὰ πρὸς τοὺς περ ἐώθεε καὶ τὰ ἀλλὰ λέγειν "Ὅτιον ἄνδρες ἡμῶν πολλῶν καταφρονεύσατε, καὶ μοι νῦν φαίνεται Γοβρύνης εἴπαι περὶ τῶν Σκυθικῶν δώρων ὅρθωσ. ὅς ὃν οὖν ἤδη δοκεόντων καὶ αὐτῷ μοι ἐχεῖν, βουλῆς ἀγαθῆς δεῖ, ὅκως ἀσφαλέως ἡ κομιδὴ ἡμῶν ἔσται τὸ ὀπίσω." πρὸς τάντα Γοβρύνης εἶπε "ὢ Βασιλείου, ἐγὼ σχεδὸν μὲν καὶ λόγω ἡπιστάμην τοὺς τῶν ἀνδρῶν τὴν ἀπορίαν, ἐλθὼν δὲ μᾶλλον ἐξέμαθον, ὅρεων αὐτοὺς ἐμπαίζοντας ἡμῖν, νῦν ὡς μοι δοκεέι, ἐπειδὴ τάχιστα νῦ ἑπελθή, ἐκκαύσαντας τὰ πυρὰ ὡς ἐώθαμεν καὶ ἀλλοτε ποιεῖν, τῶν στρατιωτῶν τοὺς ἀσθενεστάτους ἐς τὰς ταλαίπωριας ἐξαπατήσαντας καὶ τοὺς ὅνους πάντας καταδίσαντας ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι, πρὶν ἦ καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰστρον ἵθυσαι Σκύθας λύσοντας τὴν γέφυραν, ἢ καὶ τῇ Ἰωσὶ δόξαι τὸ ἡμέας οἶον τε ἔσται ἐξεργάσασθαι."

135. Γοβρύνης μὲν τάντα συνεβούλευε. μετὰ δὲ νῦξ τε ἐγίνετο καὶ Δαρεῖος ἐχράτο τῇ γυνῷ ταύτῃ τοὺς μὲν καματηροὺς τῶν ἀνδρῶν καὶ τῶν ἦν ἐλάχιστος ἀπολλυμένων λόγος, καὶ τοὺς ὅνους πάντας καταδίσας κατέλιπε αὐτοῦ ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ. κατέλιπε δὲ τούς τε ὅνους καὶ τοὺς ἀσθενεῖς τῆς στρατιῆς τῶν δε εἶνεκεν, ἦν οἱ μὲν ὄνοι

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BOOK IV. 134-135

134. But after the sending of the gifts to Darius, the Scythians who had remained there came out with foot and horse and offered battle to the Persians. But when the Scythian ranks were arrayed, a hare ran out between the armies; and every Scythian that saw it gave chase. So there was confusion and shouting among the Scythians; Darius asked what the enemy meant by this clamour; and when he heard that they were chasing the hare, then said he (it would seem) to those wherewith he was ever wont to speak, "These fellows hold us in deep contempt; and I think now that Gobryas' saying concerning the Scythian gifts was true. Seeing therefore that my own judgment of the matter is like his, we need to take sage counsel, whereby we shall have a safe return out of the country." To this said Gobryas: "Sire, reason showed me well enough how hard it would be to deal with these Scythians; and when I came I was made the better aware of it, seeing that they do but make a sport of us. Now therefore my counsel is, that at nightfall we kindle our camp-fires according to our wont, that we deceive those in our army who are least strong to bear hardship, and tether here all our asses, and so ourselves depart, before the Scythians can march straight to the Ister to break the bridge, or the Ionians take some resolve whereby we may well be ruined."

135. This was Gobryas' advice, and at nightfall Darius followed it. He left there in the camp the men who were weary, and those whose loss imported least to him, and all the asses too tethered. The reason of his leaving the asses, and the infirm among his soldiers, was, as regarding the asses, that they
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βοήν παρέχωνται· οἱ δὲ ἀνθρωποὶ ἀσθενείσι μὲν εὑνέκεν κατελεύπτοντο, προφάσιος δὲ τῆς δηλαδή, ὡς αὐτὸς μὲν σὺν τῷ καθαρῷ τοῦ στρατοῦ ἐπιθή-
σεθαι μέλλοι τοῖς Σκύθησι, οὕτω δὲ τὸ στρατό-
πεδον τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον ῥυοίατο. ταῦτα τοῖς
ὑπολειμένοισι ὑποθέμενοι ὁ Δαρείος καὶ πυρὰ
ἐκκαύσας τὴν ταχίστην ἐπείγετο ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰστρον.
οἱ δὲ ὤνοι ἐρημωθέντες τοῦ ὀμίλου οὕτω δὴ μᾶλλον
πολλῷ ἔσαν τῆς φωνῆς· ἀκούσαντες δὲ οἱ Σκύθαι
tῶν ὄνων πάγχυ κατὰ χόρθην ἦλπιζον τοὺς Πέρ-
σας εἶναι.

136. Ἡμέρης δὲ γευομένης γνώντες οἱ ὑπολει-
φθέντες ὡς προδεδομένοι εἰς ὑπὸ Δαρείου, χειρᾶ
tε προετέινοντο τοῖς Σκύθησι καὶ ἔλεγον τὰ
catήκοντα· οἱ δὲ ὄσοι ἠκούσαν ταῦτα τὴν ταχίστην
συστραφέντες, αἱ τε δύο μοῦραι τῶν Σκυθέων καὶ
ἡ μία καὶ Σαυρομάται καὶ Βουδῖνοι καὶ Γέλωνοι,
ἐδιώκον τοὺς Πέρσας ἰδυ τοῦ Ἰστρον. ἀτε δὲ τοῦ
Περσικοῦ μὲν τοῦ πολλοῦ ἔνοτος πεζοῦ στρατοῦ
καὶ τὰς ὄδοις οὐκ ἔπισταμένου, ὡστε οὐ τετμη-
μενέων τῶν ὄδοι, τοῦ δὲ Σκυθικοῦ ἱππότεω καὶ
τὰ σύντομα τῆς ὄδου ἔπισταμένου, ἀμαρτόντες
ἀλλῆλων, ἔφθειαν πολλῷ οἱ Σκύθαι τοὺς Πέρσας
ἐπὶ τὴν γέφυραν ἀπικόμενοι. μαθόντες δὲ τοὺς
Πέρσας οὐκ ἀπειγόμενος ἔλεγον πρὸς τοὺς Ἰωνῶν
ἔσοντας ἐν τῇ σι νησί· "Ἀνδρεὶς Ἰωνε, αἱ τε ἡμὲ-
ραι ὑμῖν ἀριθμὸν διοίχηται καὶ οὐ ποιεῖτε
dίκαια ἐτί παραμένοντες· ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ πρότερον
dειμαίνοντες ἔμενετε, νῦν λύσαντες τὸν πόρον
tὴν ταχίστην ἀπείτη χαίροντες ἐλεύθεροι, θεοὶ
τε καὶ Σκύθησι εἰδότες χάριν. τὸν δὲ πρότερον
ἔόντα ὑμέων δεσπότην ἥμεις παραστησόμεθα

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

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


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οὗτω ὥστε ἐπὶ μηδαμοὺς ἔτι ἀνθρώπους αὐτῶν στρατεύσασθαι."  

137. Πρὸς ταῦτα Ἰωνεὶς ἐβουλεύοντο. Μιλτιάδεω μὲν τοῦ Ἀθηναίου, στρατηγέοντος καὶ τυραννεύοντος Χερσονησιτέων τῶν ἐν Ἑλλησπόντῳ, ἦν γνώμη πείθεσθαι Σκύθης καὶ ἔλευθεροῖν Ἰωνίης, Ἰστιαιοῦ δὲ τοῦ Μιλησίου ἐναντίο ταῦτῃ, λέγοντος ὡς νῦν μὲν διὰ Δαρείου ἔκαστος αὐτῶν τυραννεύει πόλιος· τῆς Δαρείου δὲ δυνάμεος καταρρεθέος οὔτε αὐτῶς Μιλησίων οἶος τε ἔσσεσθαι ἄρχειν οὔτε ἄλλοις οὐδένα οὐδαμῶν βουλήσσεσθαι γὰρ ἕκαστην τῶν πολιῶν δημοκράτεσθαι μάλλον ἴῳ τυραννεύσεσθαι. Ἰστιαιοῦ δὲ γνώμην ταῦτην ἀποδεικνυμένου αὐτίκα πάντες ἦσαν τετραμμένοι πρὸς ταύτην τὴν γνώμην, πρότερον τὴν Μιλτιάδεω αἱρέομενοι.

138. Ἡσαν δὲ οὕτωι οἱ διαφεροῦσι τε τὴν ψήφων καὶ ἔοντες λόγου πρὸς βασιλέως, Ἑλλησποντίων μὲν τύραννοι Δάφνις τε Ἀβιδηνός καὶ Ἰπποκλος Δαμψακηνὸς καὶ Ἡρόφαντος Παρινὸς καὶ Μητρόδωρος Προκοπηνήσιος καὶ Ἀρισταγόρης Κυζίκηνός καὶ Ἀρίστων Βυζάντιος. οὕτωι μὲν ἦσαν οἱ ἐξ Ἑλλησπόντου, ἀπ' Ἰωνίης δὲ Στράττις τε Χῖος καὶ Αἰάκης Σάμιος καὶ Λαδάμας Φωκαίεως καὶ Ἰστιαιος Μιλησίος, τού ἴῳ γνώμην ἴ προκειμένη ἐναντίο τῇ Μιλτιάδεω. Αἰολέων δὲ παρὰ λόγιμος μοῦνος Ἀρισταγόρης Κυμαῖος.

139. Οὕτωι ὃν ἔπεετε τὴν Ἰστιαιοῦ αἱρέοντο γνώμην, ἐδοξέσθαι σφι πρὸς ταύτῃ τάδε ἔργα τε καὶ ἔπεα προσβείναι, τῆς μὲν γεφύρης λύειν τὰ κατὰ τοὺς Σκύθας ἐόντα, λύειν δὲ ὅσον τὸξεμα ἐξικνε-
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plight that never again will he lead his army against any nation."

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

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

139. These then chose to follow Histiaeus' counsel, and resolved to make it good by act and word: to break as much of the bridge as reached a bowshot from the Scythian bank, that so they might
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εταί, ἵνα καὶ ποιεῖν τι δοκέωσι ποιεῖντες μηδέν καὶ οἱ Σκύθαι μὴ πειράσατε βιώμενοι καὶ βουλόμενοι διαβήναι τὸν Ἰστρον κατὰ τὴν γέφυραν, εἰτεὶν τε λύσθαι τῆς γεφύρης τὸ ἐς τὴν Σκυθίκην ἔχον ὡς πάντα ποιήσουσι τὰ Σκύθησι ἐστὶ ἐν ἠδονῇ. ταῦτα μὲν προσέθηκαν τῇ γνώμῃ μετὰ δὲ ἐκ πάντων ὑπεκρίνατο Ἰστιαίος τάδε λέγων. "Ἀνδρεὶς Σκύθαι, χρηστὰ ἦκετε φέροντες καὶ ἐς καρδῶν ἐπείγεσθε· καὶ τὰ τε ἀπ᾽ ὑμέων ἡμῖν χρηστώς ὀδὐται καὶ τὰ ἀπ᾽ ἡμέων ἐς ὑμέας ἐπιτηδεώς ὑπρητέεται. ὡς γὰρ ὅρατε, καὶ λύομεν τὸν πόρον καὶ προσθήκην πᾶσαν ἔξομεν θέλοντες εἶναι ἐλεύθεροι. ἐν ὃ δὲ ἡμεῖς τάδε λύομεν, ὑμέας καιρὸς ἐστὶ δίξησθαι ἐκείνους, εὐρότατος δὲ ὑπὸ τε ἡμέων καὶ ὑμέων αὐτῶν τίσασθαι οὕτω ὡς κεῖνος πρέπει."

140. Σκύθαι μὲν τὸ δεύτερον Ἰσιδο πιστεύσαντες λέγειν ἀληθεά ὑπέστρεφον ἐπὶ ξητησιν τῶν Περσῶν, καὶ ἡμάρτανον πᾶσης τῆς ἐκείνων διεξόδου. αἰτοῦ δὲ τοῦτον αὐτοὶ οἱ Σκύθαι ἐγένοντο, τὰς νομὰς τῶν ῥπων τὰς ταύτη διαφθείραντες καὶ τὰ ὑδατα συγχώσαντες. εἰ γὰρ ταῦτα μὴ ἐποίησαν, παρεῖχε ἀν σφί, εἰ ἐβούλοντο, εὐπετέως ἐξευρεῖν τοὺς Πέρσας. νῦν δὲ τὰ σφί ἐδόκεε ἄριστα βεβουλεύσθαι, κατὰ ταῦτα ἔσφαλην. Σκύθαι μὲν νῦν τῆς σφετέρης χώρης τῇ χελὸς τοῖς ἐπίποισι καὶ ὑδάτα ἦν, ταύτῃ διεξόντες ἐδίζηντο τούς ἀντιπολέμους, δοκέοντες καὶ ἐκείνους διὰ τοιούτων τῆς ἀπόδρησιν ποιεσθαί· οἱ δὲ δὲ Πέρσαι τὸν πρότερον ἐωτῶν γενόμενον στίβον, τοῦτον φυλάσσοντες ἦσαν, καὶ οὕτω μόγης εὑρόν τὸν πόρον. οἶα δὲ νυκτὸς τε
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seem to do somewhat when in truth they did nothing, and that the Scythians might not essay to force a passage across the Ister by the bridge; and to say while they broke the portion of the bridge on the Scythian side, that they would do all that the Scythians desired. This resolve they added to their decision; and presently Histiaeus answered for them all, and said, "You have brought us good, Scythians, and your zeal is well timed; you do your part in guiding us aright and we do ours in serving your ends as need requires; for as you see, we are breaking the passage, and will use all diligence, so much do we desire our freedom. But while we break this bridge, now is the time for you to seek out the Persians, and when you have found them to take such vengeance on our and your behalf as they deserve."

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

141. Ἡν δὲ περὶ Δαρείου ἀνὴρ Αἰγύπτιος φωνεὼν μέγιστον ἀνθρώπων τοῦτον τὸν ἄνδρα καταστάντα ἐπὶ τοῦ χείλεος τοῦ Ἰστροῦ ἐκέλευε Δαρείος καλεέων Ἰστιαῖον Μιλήσιον. ὥ μὲν δὴ ἔποιε ταῦτα, Ἰστιαῖος δὲ ἐπακούσας τῷ πρώτῳ κελεύσματι τάς τε νέας ἀπάσας παρεῖχε διαπορθμένης τὴν στρατινὴν καὶ τὴν γέφυραν ἐξευξῆς.

142. Πέρσαι μὲν ὁν οὕτω ἐκφεύγονσι. Σκύ- θαι δὲ διζήμενοι καὶ τὸ δεύτερον ἦμαρτον τῶν Περσέων, καὶ τοῦτο μὲν ὡς οὕτας Ἰωνας ἔλευ- θέρους κακίστους τε καὶ ἀνανδροτάτους κρίνουσι εἶναι ἀπάντων ἀνθρώπων, τούτο δὲ, ἡς δούλων ἐόντων τὸν λόγον ποιεύμενοι, ἀνδράσωδα φιλοδέ- σποτα φασὶ εἶναι καὶ ἅδρηστα. ταῦτα μὲν δὴ Σκύθησι ἐς Ἰωνας ἀπέρριπται.

143. Δαρείος δὲ διὰ τὴν Θρήνης πορευόμενος ἀπίκετο ἐς Σηστόν τῆς Χερσονήσου. ἐνθιεῖται δὲ αὐτὸς μὲν διεβὴ τῇσι νησὶ ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην, λεῖπε δὲ στρατηγὸν ἐν τῇ Εὐρώπῃ Μεγάβαζον ἄνδρα Πέρσῃ τῷ Δαρείος κοτὲ ἐδωκε γέρας, τοιώνδε εἰπᾶς ἐν Πέρσῃς ἐπος. ὅμημενον Δαρείου ῥοιας τρώγειν, ὥς ἀνοίητα ταχίσσε τὴν πρώτῃ τῶν ῥοιών, ἐφετο αὐτὸν ὁ ἄδελφος Ἁρτάβανος τῷ βούλοιτ αὖν τὸ τοσοῦτο πλῆθος γενέσθαι ὅσοι ἐν τῇ ροή κόκκων. Δαρείος δὲ εἰπε Μεγαβά- ζους αὖν τὸ τοσοῦτο ἀριθμὸν γενέσθαι βούλεσθαι μᾶλλον ἀ τὴν Ἑλλάδα υπῆκοον. ἐν μὲν δ᾽ Πέρσῃς ταῦτά μν εἰπας ἐτίμα, τότε δὲ αὐτὸν

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

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

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

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

144. Οὔτος δὲ ὁ Μεγάβαζος εἶπε τὸδε τὸ ἔπος ἐλήπτο ἀθάνατον μνήμην πρὸς Ἐλλησποντῖων. γενόμενος γὰρ ἐν Βυζαντίῳ ἐπύθετο ἐπτακαίδεκα ἐτεσι πρότερον Καλχηδονίους κτίσαντας τὴν χώρην Βυζαντίων, πυθόμενος δὲ ἔφη Ἐλλησποντῖοι τούτων τὸν χρόνον τυχάνειν ἔοντας τυφλοῖς· οὖ γὰρ ἄν τοῦ καλλίουν παρεούτος κτίζειν χώρου τὸν αἰσχίνα ἐλέσθαι, εἰ μὴ ἦσαν τυφλοί. οὔτος δὲ ὁ τὸτε ὁ Μεγάβαζος στρατηγὸς λείφθεις ἐν τῇ χώρῃ Ἐλλησποντῖων τοὺς μὴ μηδείζοντας κατεσχέτο.

145. Οὔτος μὲν νυν ταῦτα ἐπτρησε. τὸν αὐτὸν δὲ τούτων χρόνον ἐγίνετο ἐπὶ Διβύην ἄλλος στρατηγὸς μέγας στόλος, διὰ πρόφασιν τὴν ἐγὼ ἀπηγήσομαι προδηηγησάμενος πρότερον τάδε. τῶν ἐκ τῆς Ἀργοῦς ἐπιβατέων παῖδων παῖδες ἐξελεοσθέντες ὑπὸ Πελασγῶν τῶν ἐκ Βραυρῶν ψησαμένων τὰς Ἀθηναίων γυναῖκας, ὑπὸ τούτων ἐξελασθέντες ἐκ Λήμνου οὐχοῦντο πλέοντες ἐς Δακεδαίμονα, ἵζομενοι δὲ ἐν τῷ Θηγγέτῳ πῦρ ἀνέκαινον. Δακεδαίμονιοι δὲ ἴδοντες ἅγγελον ἔπεμπον πεισόμενος τίνες τε καὶ ὅκοθεν εἰσὶν· οἱ δὲ τῷ ἅγγελῷ εἰροτῶντι ἔλεγον ὡς εἴησαν μὲν Μινυαῖ, παίδες δὲ εἶν τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἀργοὶ πλεόντων ἥρων, προσσχόντας δὲ τούτως ἐς Λήμνον φυτεύσαι σφέας. οἱ δὲ Δακεδαίμονιοι ἀκηκοότες τὸν λόγον τῆς γενεῆς τῶν Μινυέων, πέμψαντες τὸ δεύτερον εἰρώτων τὶ θέλοντες ἤκοιεν τε ὡς τὴν χώρην καὶ πῦρ αἰθοιεν. οὐ δὲ ἔφασαν ὑπὸ Πελασγῶν ἐκβληθέντες ἤκειν εἰς τοὺς πατέρας· δικαιότατον

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now he left him behind as his general, at the head of eighty thousand of his army.

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

145. Thus Megabazus did. About this time a great armament was sent against Libya also, for a reason which I will show after this story which I will now relate. The descendants of the crew of the Argo had been driven out by those Pelasgians who carried off the Athenian women from Brauron; being driven out of Lemnos by these, they sailed away to Lacedaemon, and there encamped on Taygetum and kindled a fire. Seeing this, the Lacedaemonians sent a messenger to enquire who they were and whence they came. They answered the messenger that they were Minyae, descendants of the heroes who had sailed in the Argo, and had put in at Lemnos and there begotten their race. Hearing the story of the lineage of the Minyae, the Lacedaemonians sent a second time and asked to what end they had come into Laconia and kindled a fire. They replied, that being expelled by the Pelasgians they had come to the land of their fathers,
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γὰρ εἶναι οὗτω τοῦτο γίνεσθαι δέεσθαι δὲ οἰκεῖεν ἣμα τοῦτοι μοιρὰν τε τιμέως μετέχοντες καὶ τῆς γῆς ἀπολαχόντες. Λακεδαιμονίοισι δὲ ἔαδε δέκεσθαί τοὺς Μινύας ἐπ’ οἷς θέλουσι αὐτοῖ. μάλιστα δὲ ἐνήγε σφέας ὡστε ποιέειν ταῦτα τῶν Τυνδαριδέων ἡ ναυτιλία ἐν τῇ Ἀργοί. δεξάμενοι δὲ τοὺς Μινύας γῆς τε μετέδοσαν καὶ ἐς φυλὰς διεδάσαντο. οὐ δὲ αὐτίκα μὲν γάμους ἔγημαν, τὰς δὲ ἐκ Δήμων ἡγοῦτο εξέδοσαν ἀλλοισι.

146. Χρόνον δὲ οὐ πολλοῦ διεξελθόντος αὐτίκα οἱ Μινύαι ἐξύβρισαν, τῆς τε βασιληῆς μεταιτέρωντες καὶ ἀλλα ποιέοντες οὐκ ὅσια. τοῖς δὲν οἱ Λακεδαιμονίοισι ἔδοξε αὐτοὺς ἀποκτεῖναι, συλλαβόντες δὲ σφέας κατέβαλον ἐς ἐρκτήν. κτείνοντες δὲ τοὺς ἄν κτείνωσι Λακεδαιμόνιοι νυκτός, μετ’ ἡμέρῃ δὲ οὐδένα. ἐπεὶ δὲν ἔμελλον σφέας καταχρῆσασθαι, παρατήσαντο αἱ γυναῖκες τῶν Μινύων, ἔουσαν ἀσταί τε καὶ τῶν πρῶτων Σπαρτιτῶν θυγατέρες, ἐσελθεῖν τε ἐς τὴν ἐρκτήν καὶ ἐς λόγους ἐλθεῖν ἐκάστη τῷ ἐωτῆς ἀνδρὶ. οἱ δὲ σφέας παρῆκαν, οὐδένα δόλον δοκεόντες ἐξ αὐτέων ἔσεσθαι. αἱ δὲ ἐπείτε ἐσήλθουσι, ποιέοντι τοιάδε πάσαν τὴν εἴχον ἐσθήτα παραδοῦσαι τοῦτο ἀνδράσι αὐταὶ τὴν τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἔλαβον, οἱ δὲ Μινύαι ἐνδύοντες τὴν γυναικηῆς ἐσθήτα ἀτε γυναῖκες ἐξήσαν ἐξω, ἐκφυγόντες δὲ τρόπῳ τοιούτῳ ἔζοντο αὐτίς ἐς τὸ Τηὺγετον.

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

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

147. Now about this same time Theras (who was

1 As descendants of the Argonauts, who were Minyae of Thessaly, living near the Pagasaean gulf.
2 Castor and Polydeuces.
Αὐτεσίώνος τοῦ Τισαμενοῦ τοῦ Θερσάνδρου τοῦ Πολυνείκεος ἔστελλε ἐς ἀποικίαν ἐκ Λακεδαύμονος. ἦν δὲ ὁ Θήρας οὗτος, γένος ἐὼν Καδμείος, τῆς μητρὸς ἄδελφεος τοῦ Αριστοδήμου παῖς Ἐυρυσθένει καὶ Προκλεί. ἐούτων δὲ ἐτὶ τῶν παίδων τούτων ὑπότικων ἐπιτροπαίην εἰχε ὁ Θήρας τὴν ἐν Σπάρτῃ βασιλείην. αὐξηθέντων δὲ τῶν ἀδελφιδέων καὶ παραλαβόντων τὴν ἀρχήν, οὕτω δὴ ὁ Θήρας δεινών πονεύμενος ἀρχεσθαι ὑπ’ ἄλλων ἐπείτε ἐγεύσατο ἀρχής, οὐκ ἐφ’ ἐκεῖνοι ἐν τῇ Λακεδαίμονος ἀλλ’ ἀποπλεύσεθαι ἐς τοὺς συγγενέας. ἦσαν δὲ ἐν τῇ νῦν Θήρῃ καλεομένη νήσῳ, πρότερον δὲ Καλλίστῃ τῇ αὐτῇ ταύτῃ, ἀπόγονοι Μεμβλιάρου τοῦ Ποικίλεω ἀνδρὸς Φοίνικος. Κάδμος γὰρ ὁ Ἀγήνωρος Εὐρώπην διζήμενος προσέχει ἐς τὴν νῦν Θήρην καλεομένην προσέχοντι δὲ εἰτε ὁ ἡ χώρῃ ἤρεσε, εἰτε καὶ ἄλλως ἠθέλησε ποιῆσαι τοῦτο καταλείπει γὰρ ἐν τῇ νῆσῳ ταύτῃ ἄλλους τε τῶν Φοίνικων καὶ δὴ καὶ τῶν ἐωτῶν συγγενεῶν Μεμβλιάρου. οὗτοι ἐνέμοντο τὴν Καλλίστην καλεομένην ἐπὶ γενεάς, πρὶν ἡ Θήραν ἐλθεῖν ἐκ Λακεδαίμονος, ὅτως ἀνδρῶν.

148. Ἐπὶ τούτους δὴ ἄν ὁ Θήρας λέων ἔχων ἀπὸ τῶν φυλέων ἐστελλε, συνοικήσων τούτους καὶ οὐδαμῶς ἐξελὼν αὐτοὺς ἄλλα κάρτα οἰκημενοῖς. ἐπείτε δὲ καὶ οἱ Μινύαι ἐκδράντες ἐκ τῆς ἑρκῆς ζοντο ἐς τῷ Τηύγγετον, τῶν Λακεδαίμονῶν βουλευομένων σφέας ἀπολλύναι παραίτεται ὁ Θήρας, διὸς μὴς φῶνος γένηται, αὐτὸς τε ὑπεδέκετο σφέας ἐξάζειν ἐκ τῆς χώρης. συγχωρησάντων δὲ τῇ γνώμῃ τῶν Λακεδαίμονῶν, τρισὶ τριηκονέρουσι ἐς τοὺς Μεμβλιάρους ἀπογόνους 348
BOOK IV. 147-148

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

148. It was these whom Theras was preparing to join, taking with him a company of people from the tribes; it was his intent to settle among the folk of Calliste, and not to drive them out but to claim them as verily his own people. So when the Minyae escaped out of prison and encamped on Taygetum, and the Lacedaemonians were taking counsel to put them to death, Theras entreated for their lives, that there might be no killing, promising himself to lead them out of the country. The Lacedaemonians consenting to this, Theras sailed with three fifty-oared ships to join the descendants of Membliarius, taking with him
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έπλωσε, οὕτι πάντας ἄγων τοὺς Μινύας ἄλλος ὀλύγους τινάς. οἱ γὰρ πλεύνες αὐτῶν ἐτράποντο ἐς τοὺς Παρωφεάτας καὶ Καύκωνας, τούτοις δὲ ἐξελάσαντες ἐκ τῆς χώρης σφέας αὐτοὺς ἐξ μοῖρας διεῖλον, καὶ ἐπειτὰ ἔκτισαν πόλιας τάσδε ἐν αὐτοῖς, Λέπρεον Μάκιστον Φρίξας Πύργον Ἔπιον Νοῦδιον. τούτων δὲ τὰς πλεύνας ἐπ’ ἐμέο Ἡλείοι ἐπορθήσαν. τῇ δὲ νῆσῳ ἐπὶ τοῦ οἰκιστέω Θῆρα ἡ ἐπωνυμία ἐγένετο.

149. Ὅ δὲ παῖς οὖ γὰρ ἐφεὶ οἱ συμπλεύσεσθαι, τοιγαρῶν ἐφεί αὐτῶν καταλείψειν ὄν ἐν λύκωσι. ἔπλωσε τοῦ ἐπεος τοῦτου οὕνομα τῷ νευνίσκῳ τούτῳ Οἰλόκου ἐγένετο, καὶ κως τὸ οὐνομα τοῦτο ἐπεκράτησε. Οἰλόκου δὲ γίνεται Αἰγεύς, ἐπ’ οὗ Αἰγείδαι καλέονται φυλὴ μεγάλη ἐν Σπάρτῃ. τοῦτο δὲ ἐν τῇ φυλῇ ταύτῃ ἄνδραίσι οὐ γὰρ ὑπέμειναν τὰ τέκνα, ἱδρύσαντο ἐκ θεοπροπίου Ἐρινύων τῶν Λατοῦτε καὶ Οἰδιπόδεω θρόνιον καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο ὑπέμειναν 1 . . . . τοῦτο τοῦτο καὶ ἐν Θήρῃ τοῦτο ἀπὸ τῶν ἄνδρων τοιτῶν γεγονόσι.

150. Μέχρι μὲν νυν τοῦτο τοῦ λόγου Δακεδαμώνιο Θηραίοισι κατὰ ταύτα λέγουσι, τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦτο τούτων μοῦνοι Θηραίοι ὡδὲ γενέσθαι λέγονται. Γρίνος ο Αἰσανίου ἔως Θῆρα τοῦτον ἄργονος καὶ βασιλεύων Θῆρης τῆς νήσου ἀπίκετο ἐς Δελφοὺς, ἄγων ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως ἑκατομβην εὔποντο δὲ οἱ καὶ ἄλλοι τῶν πολιτεῶν καὶ δὴ καὶ Βάττος

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

1 These six towns were in the western Peloponnese, in Triphylia, a district between Elis and Messenia.
2 Literally “sheep-wolf.”

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

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

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

³ Oedipus, son of Laius king of Thebes and his wife Iocasta, was exposed in infancy, but rescued and carried away to a far country. Returning in manhood, ignorant of his lineage, he killed his father and married his mother; after which the truth was revealed to him, too late. The story is first told by Homer, and is the subject of the Oedipus Tyrannus of Sophocles.
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ὁ Πολυμνήστου, ἔως γένος Εὐφημίδης τῶν Μυσ- νέων. χρεωμένως δὲ τῷ Γρίνῳ τῷ βασιλείτοι τῶν Θηραίων περὶ ἄλλων χραὶ ή Πυθίη κτίζειν εἰν Διβύης πόλιν. ὃ δὲ ἀμείβετο λέγων ἩΕγὸ μὲν ὄναξ πρεσβύτερος τε ἣδη εἰμὶ καὶ βαρύς ἀέι- ρεσθαι σὺ δὲ τινὰ τῶν τῶν νεωτέρων κέλευε ταύτα ποιέειν. ἀμα τε ἔλεγε ταύτα καὶ ἐδείκνυε ἐς τὸν Βάττον. τὸτε μὲν τοσαῦτα. μετὰ δὲ ἀπελθόντες ἀλογήην εἶχον τοῦ χρηστηρίου, οὔτε Διβύης εἰδότες ὅκου γῆς εἰς οὔτε πολιμνέτες ἐς ἀφανὲς χρῆμα ἀποστέλλειν ἀποικίας.

151. Ἐπτὰ δὲ ἔτεων μετὰ ταύτα οὐκ ἔδε τὴν �>(()ήρην, ἐν τοῖς τὰ δένδρεα πάντα σφι τὰ ἐν τῇ νῆσῳ πλὴν ἐνὸς ἕξαυάνθεη. χρεωμένωι δὲ τοῖς Θηραίοις προέφερε ἡ Πυθίη τὴν ἐς Διβύην ἀποι- κίας. ἐπεῖτε δὲ κακοῦ οὐδὲν ἤν σφὶ μήχους, πέμ- πουσι ἐς Κρήτην ἀγγέλους διξημένους εἰ τὸς Κρητῶν ἡ μετοίκων ἀπιγμένοι εἰς ἐς Διβύην. περιπλανώμεμοι δὲ αὐτὴν οὕτω ἀπίκουτο καὶ ἐς Ἰτανον πόλιν, ἐν ταύτῃ δὲ συμμίσσονυ ἀνδρὶ πορφυρὶ τῷ οὐνόμα ἡν Κορώβιος, ὡς ἐφὶ ὑπ' ἀνέμων ἀπευλοχθεῖς ἀπικέςθαι ἐς Διβύην καὶ Διβύης ἐς Πλατέαν νῆσσον. μισθῷ δὲ τούτων πείσαντες ἤγον ἐς Θήρην, ἐκ δὲ Θήρης ἔπλεον κατάκοποι ἀνδρεῖς τὰ πρῶτα ὑπὸ πολλοὶ κατη- γησάμενον δὲ τοῦ Κορώβιου ἐς τὴν νῆσον ταύτῃ δὴ τὴν Πλατέαν, τὸν μὲν Κορώβιον λείπουσι, σιτία καταλιπόντες ὅσων δὴ μηνῶν, αὐτοὶ δὲ ἔπλεον τὴν ταχύτητι ἀπαγγελεύοντες Θηραίοις περὶ τῆς νῆσου.

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

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

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

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1 The island now called Bomba, east of Cyrene.
μετὰ δὲ ταύτα νησὶς Σαμίης, τῆς ναύκληρος ἦν Κωλαῖος, πλέουσα ἐπ’ Ἀιγύπτου ἀπηνείχθη ἐσ τὴν Πλατέαν ταύτην’ πυθόμενοι δὲ οἱ Σάμιοι παρὰ τοῦ Κορωβίου τὸν πάντα λόγον, συνία οἱ ἐνιαυτοῦ καταλείποισι. αὐτοὶ δὲ ἀναχθέντες ἐκ τῆς νῆσου καὶ γλυχόμενοι Αἰγύπτου ἔπλεον, ἀπο-φερόμενοι ἀπηλωτὴ ἀνέμῳ καὶ οὐ γὰρ ἀνίει τὸ πνεῦμα, Ἡρακλέας στῆλας διεκπερήσαντες ἀπὶ-κοντοῦ ἔς Ταρτσῆσις, θείᾳ πομπῇ χρεώμενοι. τὸ δὲ ἐμπόριον τούτῳ ἦν ἀκήρατον τούτον τὸν χρόνον, ὡστε ἀπονοστήσαντες οὐτοὶ ὅπισώ μέγιστα δὴ Ἔλληνων πάντων τῶν ἡμεῖς ἀτρεκείην ἰδμεν ἐκ φορτίων ἐκέρδησαν, μετὰ γε Σώστρατον τὸν Δασδάμαντος Αἰγυνήτην’ τούτῳ γὰρ οὐκ οἶα τε ἐστὶ ἐρίσαι ἄλλον. οἱ δὲ Σάμιοι τὴν δεκάτην τῶν ἐπικερδίων ἐξελόντες ἐξ τάλαντα ἐποίησαντο χαλκήιοι κρητήροι ’Αργολικοῦ τρόπουν πέριξ δὲ αὐτοῦ γρυπῶν κεφαλαὶ πρόκροσσοι εἰσὶν καὶ ἀνέθηκαν ἐς τὸ Ἡραιον, ὑποστήσαντες αὐτῷ τρεῖς χαλκέους κολοσσοὺς ἐπταττήχεας τοῦσι γούνας ἐρρεισεμένους. Κυρηναιοίσι δὲ καὶ Θηραῖοισι ἐς Σαμίους ἀπὸ τοῦτον τὸν ἔργον πρῶτα φιλίαι μεγάλαι συνεκρήθησαν.

153. Οἱ δὲ Θηραιοί ἐπείτε τὸν Κορωβίου λι-πόντες εἰς τῇ νῆσῳ ἀπίκουσον ἐς τὴν Ἡρην, ἀπήγγ-γελλον δ’ σφι εἰς νῆσος ἐπὶ Διβύη ἐκτισμένη. Θηραῖοισι δὲ ἐδε ἀδελφεῖς τε ἀπ᾿ ἀδελφεῖς πέμπτεν πάλῳ λαγχάνοντα καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν χωρῶν ἀπάντων ἐπτὰ ἐόντων ἄνδρας, εἰναι δὲ σφέων καὶ ἥγεμόνα καὶ βασιλέα Βάττον. οὕτω δὴ στέλ-λοινοι δύο πεντακούτερους ἐς τὴν Πλατέαν.

154. Ταύτα δὲ Θηραῖοι λέγουσι, τὰ δὲ ἐπίλοιπα

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

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

154. This is what the Theraeans say; and now

\(^1\) That is, as yet unvisited by Greeks. It was at or near
the mouth of the Guadalquivir; \(\text{i.e.}\) l. 163.
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τοῦ λόγου συμφέρονται ἢδη Θηραίοι Κυρηναῖοι. Κυρηναῖοι γὰρ τὰ περὶ Βάττων οὐδαμῶς ὄμολογέοντο Θηραίοις· λέγουσι γὰρ οὕτω. ἔστι τῆς Κρήτης Ὄαξος πόλις, ἐν τῇ ἐγένετο Ἐτέαρχος βασιλεὺς, δι' ἐπὶ θυγατρὶ ἀμήτορι τῇ οὖνομα ἡν Φρονίμη, ἐπὶ ταύτῃ ἔγιμε ἀλλην γυναῖκα. ἦ δὲ ἐπεσελθοῦσα ἐδικαίον καὶ τῷ ἔργῳ εἶναι μητριᾷ τῇ Φρονίμῃ, παρέχουσα τε κακὰ καὶ πᾶν ἐπ' αὐτῇ μηχανωμενή, καὶ τέλως μαχλοσύνην ἐπενείκασά οἱ πεῖθε τῶν ἄνδρα ταύτα ἔχειν οὕτω. δὲ ἀναγκωσθεὶς ὑπὸ τῆς γυναικὸς ἔργου οὐκ ὀσιον ἐμηχανάτο ἐπὶ τῇ θυγατρί. ἦν γὰρ ὡς Ἐθεμίσων ἀνὴρ Θηραίος ἐμπροσ ἐν τῇ Ὅαξῳ τούτων ὁ Ἐτέαρχος παραλαβὼν ἐπὶ ξείνια ἔξορκοι ἢ μὲν οἱ διηκονήσειν ὁ τι ἄν δειθή. ἐπείτε δὴ ἐξώρκωσε, ἀγαγών οἱ παραδίδοι τὴν ἐσυντοθερα καὶ ταύτην ἔκέλευε καταποντώσαι ἀπαγαγόντα. δὲ Θεμίσων περιημεκτήσας τῇ ἀπάτῃ τοῦ ὄρκου καὶ διαλυσάμενος τὴν ξεινήν ἐποίει τοιάδε παραλαβὼν τὴν παίδα ἀπέπλεε· ὡς δὲ ἐγίνετο ἐν τῷ πελάγει, ἀποσιεύμενος τὴν ἐξόρκωσιν τοῦ Ἐτεάρχου, σχοινοίσει αὐτὴν διαδήσας κατήκε ἐς τὸ πέλαγος, ἀνασπάσας δὲ ἀπίκετο ἐς τὴν Θήρην.

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

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

1 That is, the Stammerer.
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μάσθη, ἐπείτε ἐς Διβύην ἀπίκετο, ἀπὸ τε τοῦ χρηστηρίου τοῦ γενομένου ἐν Δελφοῖσι αὐτῷ καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς τιμῆς τῆς ἔσχε τήν ἐπωνυμὴν ποιεύ-
μένος. Δίβυες γὰρ βασιλέα βάττων καλέουσι, καὶ τούτων εἶνεκα δοκεῖς θεσπίζουσαν τὴν Πυθίην καλέσαι μὲν Διβυκὴ γλώσσῃ, εἰδυῖαν ὡς βασιλεύεις ἔσται ἐν Διβύῃ. ἐπείτε γὰρ ἡγοῦρθῆ ὁδος, ἠλθὲ ἐς Δελφοὺς περὶ τῆς φωνῆς· ἐπειρωτῶντι δὲ οἱ χρᾶ ἡ Πυθίη τάδε.

Βάττ', ἐπὶ φωνῇ ἠλθεὶς· ἀναξὶ δὲ σε Φοῖβος
'Ἀπόλλων
ἐς Διβύην πέμπτει μηλοτρόφον οἰκιστήρα,

ὡσπέρ εἰ εἴποι Ἐλλάδι γλώσσῃ χρεωμένη "Ὡ
βασιλεύ, ἐπὶ φωνῇ ἠλθεῖς." ὦ δ' ἀμείβετο τοῖ-
σιδε. "Ὡνὰξ, ἐγὼ μὲν ἠλθον παρὰ σὲ χρησά-
μενος περὶ τῆς φωνῆς, σὺ δὲ μοι ἀδύνατα χρᾶς, κελεύων Διβύην ἀποκίζεων τέφρο δυνάμι,
κοὴ χειρὶ;" ταῦτα λέγουν οὐκ εἴπειθε ἄλλα οἱ
χρᾶν· ὡς δὲ κατὰ ταῦτα ἑδέσπιζε όι καὶ πρότερον,
ὀἴχετο μεταξὺ ἀπολυπών ο βάττος ἐς τὴν Θήρην.

156. Μετὰ δὲ αὐτῷ τε τούτῳ καὶ τοῖς ἀλλοισὶ
Θηραίοις συνεφέρετο παλιγκότος· ἀγνοεύντες δὲ
tὰς συμφορὰς οἱ Θηραίοι ἐπεμπὼν ἐς Δελφοὺς
περὶ τῶν παρεόντων κακῶν. ὡ δὲ Πυθίῃ σφὶ
ἐχρησε συγκτίζουσι βάττῳ Κυρήνην τῆς Διβύης
ἀμείνων πρῆξεων. ἀπέστελλον μετὰ ταῦτα τὸν
βάττον οἱ Θηραίοι δύο πεντηκοντέρουσι. πλώ-
santet δὲ ἐς τὴν Διβύην οὐτοῦ, οὐ γὰρ ἔιχον ὁ τι
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to Battus on his coming to Libya, taking this new name by reason of the oracle uttered at Delphi and the honourable office which he received. For the Libyan word for king is "battus," and this (methinks) is why the Pythian priestess called him so in her prophecy, using a Libyan name because she knew that he was to be king in Libya. For when he came to man's estate, he went to Delphi to enquire concerning his voice; and the priestess in answer gave him this oracle:

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

156. But afterwards matters went untowardly with Battus and the rest of the Theraeans; and when, knowing not the cause of their misfortunes, they sent to Delphi to enquire concerning their present ills, the priestess declared that they would fare better if they aided Battus to plant a colony at Cyrene in Libya. Then the Theraeans sent Battus with two fifty-oared ships; these sailed to Libya, but presently
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ποιέωσι ἄλλα, ὑπὸσ ἀπαλλάσσοντο ἐς τὴν Θήρην. οἱ δὲ Θηραῖοι καταγομένους ἐβαλλον καὶ οὐκ ἔων τῇ γῇ προσίσχειν, ἀλλ’ ὑπὸσ πλάειν ἐκέλευον. οἱ δὲ ἀναγκαζόμενοι ὑπὸσ ἀπέπλευον καὶ ἐκτίσαν νῆσον ἐπὶ Διβύῃ κειμένην, τῇ οὖνομα, ὡς καὶ πρότερον εἰρήθη, ἐςτὶ Πλατέα. λέγεται δὲ ἵσθι εἶναι ἡ νῆσος τῇ νῦν Κυρηναίων πόλι.

157. Ταῦτην οἰκέοντες δύο ἔστεα, οὐδὲν γὰρ σφὶ χρηστὸν σύνεφερετο, ἕνα αὐτῶν καταλιπόντες οἱ λοιποὶ πάντες ἀπέπλευον ἐς Δελφοὺς, ἀπικόμενοι δὲ ἐπὶ τὸ χρηστήριον ἐχρέωντο, φάμενοι οἰκείειν τε τὴν Διβύην καὶ οὐδὲν ἄμεινον πρὸς σεβαις οἰκεύντεσ. ἥ δὲ Πυθίη σφὶ πρὸς ταῦτα χρὰ τάδε.

αἱ τῷ ἐμεῖ Διβύην μηλοτρόφον οἴδας ἄμεινον, μὴ ἐλθὼν ἐλθόντος, ἀγαν ἀγαμαι σοφίην σεῦ.

ἀκούσαντες δὲ τούτων οἱ ἄμφι τὸν Βάττον ἀπέπλωον ὑπὸσ οὐ γὰρ δὴ σφαῖσ ἀπίει ὁ θεὸς τῆς ἀποικίας, πρὶν δὴ ἀπίκωνται ἐς αὐτὴν Διβύην. ἀπικόμενοι δὲ ἐς τὴν νῆσον καὶ ἀναλαβόντες τὸν ἔλευον, ἐκτίσαν αὐτῆς τῆς Διβύης χώρον αὐτίον τῆς νῆσον τῷ οὖνομα ἦν Ἡρίως. τὸν νάπαι τε καλλιστα ἐπὶ ἀμφότερα συγκλησίουσι καὶ ποταμός τὰ ἐπὶ θάτερα παραρρεῖε.

158. Τούτων οἰκεον τὸν χώρον ἦς ἔστεα, ἐβδόμῳ δὲ σφαῖσ ἐτεῖ παρατησάμενοι οἱ Δίβυις ὡς ἐς ἄμεινον χώρον ἀξούσι, ἀνέγνωσαν ἐκλιπτεῖν. ἦγου δὲ σφαῖσ ἐνθεῦτεν οἱ Δίβυις ἀναστήσαντες πρὸς ἐσπέρην, καὶ τὸν κάλλιστο τῶν χώρων ἦν διεξόντες οἱ Ἐλληνες μὴ ἱδοίειν, συμμετρησάμενοι τὴν ὀρείην τῆς ἡμέρης νυκτὸς παρῆγγον. ἔστι

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

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

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

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

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

158. Here they dwelt for six years; but in the seventh the Libyans persuaded them by entreaty to leave the place, saying that they would lead them to a better; and they brought the Greeks from Aziris and led them westwards, so reckoning the hours of daylight that they led the Greeks by night past the fairest place in their country, called Irasa,
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dè τῷ χῶρῳ τοῦτῳ οὖνομα Ἰρασα. ἀγαγόντες δὲ σφέας ἐπὶ κρήνην λεγομένην εἶναι Ἀπόλλωνος εἶπαν "Ἀνδρείς Ἑλλήνες, ἐνθαῦτα ὡμίν ἐπιτίθεσον οἰκέειν ἐνθαῦτα γὰρ ὁ οὐρανὸς τέτρηται."

159. Ἔπὶ μὲν νῦν Βάττου τε τοῦ οἰκιστέω τῆς ᾽ξόης, ἄρξαντος ἐπὶ τεσσεράκοντα ἑτεα, καὶ τοῦ παιδὸς αὐτοῦ Ἀρκεσίλεω ἄρξαντος ἐκκαίδεκα ἑτεα, οὔκεον οἳ Κυρηναῖοι ἑόντες τοσοῦτοι ὁσοὶ ἄρχην ἐς τὴν ἀποικίαν ἐστάλησαν. ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ τρίτου, Βάττου τοῦ εὐδαίμονος καλεομένου, "Εὐληνας πάντας ὧρμησε χρήσασα ἡ Πυθίη πλέειν συνοικίσοντας Κυρηναῖοις Διβύνῃ ἐπεκαλέοντο γὰρ οἳ Κυρηναῖοι ἐπὶ γῆς ἀναδασμῷ ἔχρησε δὲ ἀδε ἐχοντα.

ὡς δὲ κεν ἔς Διβύνην πολυήρατον ὑστερον ἐλθῇ γὰς ἀναδασμένας, μετὰ οἳ ποικα φαμὶ μελῆσειν. συλλεχθέντος δὲ ὀμίλου πολλοῦ ἐς τὴν Κυρηνήν, περταμνόμενοι γῆν πολλὴν οἳ περάκικοι Δίβνες καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς αὐτῶν τῷ οὖνομα ἡν 'Ἀδικράν, ὁτα τῆς τε χώρης στερισκόμενοι καὶ περιυβριζόμενοι ὑπὸ τῶν Κυρηναίων, πέμψαντες ἐς Αἰγύπτου ἐδο-

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BOOK IV. 158-159

lest the Greeks should see it in their passage. Then they brought the Greeks to what is called the Fountain of Apollo, and said to them: "Here, ye Greeks, it befits you to dwell; for here is a hole in the sky." ¹

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

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

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

¹ That is, there is abundance of rain.
ΗΡΟΔΟΤΟΣ

ησαν οὗτω δώσε τινές αυτών ἀπενόστησαν ἐς Αἰγύπτιον. ἀντὶ τούτων Αἰγύπτιοι καὶ ταῦτα ἐπιμεμφόμενοι Ἀπρίθ ἀπέστησαν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ.

160. Τοῦτον δὲ τοῦ Βάττον παῖς γίνεται 'Ἀρκεσίλεως' δ' ἐν ταῖς πρώταις τούτωι ἀδελφοῖς ἐστασίασε, ἐσ' μὲν οὖν ἀπολυπόντες ὁμοστοι ἐς ἀλλού χῶρον τῇς Λιβύης καὶ ἐπ' ἐσπερίτων βαλόμενοι ἐκτισαν πόλιν ταύτην ἢ τότε καὶ πάντως. Βάρκη καλέσατο κτίζοντες δὲ ἀμα αὐτήν ἀπεστάσι ἀπό τῶν Κυρηναῖων τοὺς Λίβυνας. μετὰ δὲ 'Ἀρκεσίλεως ἐσ' τοὺς ὑποδεξαμένους ταῖς τῶν Λιβύων καὶ ἀποστάντας τοὺς αὐτοὺς τούτους ἐστρατεύετο. οὐ δὲ Λίβυες δεῖσαντες αὐτὸν ὁμοστοι φεύγοντες πρὸς τοὺς ἱόλους τῶν Λιβύων. οὐ δὲ 'Ἀρκεσίλεως εἴπετο φεύγουσι, ἐσ' οὐ ἐν Λευκωί τῇς Λιβύης ἐγένετο ἐπιδιώκων καὶ ἐδοξε τοῖς Λίβυσι ἐπιθέσθαι ο方才. συμβαλέσας δὲ ἐνίκησαν τοὺς Κυρηναίους τοσοῦτο ἦστε ἐπτακισχίλους ὀπλίτας Κυρηναίων ἔνθαυτα πεσεῖν. μετὰ δὲ τὸ τρώμα τούτο 'Ἀρκεσίλεως μὲν κάμυντα τα καὶ φάρμακον πεπωκότα ο ἀδελφὸς 'Αλίαρχος ἀποπνίγει, 'Αλίαρχον δὲ ἡ γυνὴ ἡ 'Ἀρκεσίλεως δόλῳ κτείνει, τῇ οὖν ἐκεῖ ἣν Ἐρυξῷ.

161. Διεδέξατο δὲ τὴν βασιληνην τοῦ 'Ἀρκεσίλεω ὁ παῖς Βάττος, χωλὸς τε ἐὼν καὶ οὐκ ἀρτίποις. ο_REDIRECT0 δὲ Κυρηναῖοι πρὸς τὴν καταλαβοῦσαν συμφορὴν ἐπέμεταν ἐς Δελφοὺς ἐπειρησομένους ὅτι τρόπον καταστημάτημαι κάλλιστα ἃν οἰκεῖοι. ή δὲ Πυθίη ἐκέλευε ἐκ Μαντινῆς τῆς Ἀρκάδου καταρτισάμηρα ἀγαγέθαι. αἰτεῖν δὲν οἱ Κυρηναῖοι, καὶ οἱ Μαντινεῖοι ἔδοσαν ἄνδρα τῶν άστων δοκιμώτατον, τῷ οὖν ἐκεῖ ἦν Δημώνας. 364
BOOK IV. 159-161

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

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

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

In 570 B.C.; cp. ii. 161.

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οὕτως ὄν ὡνὴρ ἀπικόμενος ἐς τὴν Κυρήνην καὶ καθὼς ἐκαστα τούτῳ μὲν τριφύλους ἐποίησε σφέας, τῇ διαθείς. Θηραίων μὲν καὶ τῶν περιοίκων μίαν μοῖραν ἐποίησε, ἄλλην δὲ Πελοποννησίων καὶ Κρητῶν, τρίτην δὲ νησιωτέων πάντων. τούτο δὲ τῷ βασίλει βάττω τεμένεα ἐξελὼν καὶ ἱρωσύνας, τὰ ἀλλὰ πάντα τὰ πρότερον εἶχον οἱ βασιλεῖς ἐς μέσον τῷ δήμῳ ἔθηκε.

162. Ἐπὶ μὲν δὴ τούτῳ τοῦ βάττων οὕτω διετέλεε ἐόντα, ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ τούτῳ παιδὸς Ἀρκεσίλεως πολλὴ ταραχῇ περὶ τῶν τιμεῶν ἐγένετο. Ἀρκεσίλεως γὰρ ὁ βάττω τε τοῦ χωλοῦ καὶ Φερετίμης οὐκ ἔφη ἀνέξεσθαι κατὰ τὰ τὸ Μαντινεὺς Δημόναξ ἐταξε, ἀλλὰ ἀπαίτεε τὰ τῶν προγόνων γέρεα. ἐνθεύτεν στασιάζων ἔσσωθε καὶ ἐφυγε ἐς Σάμον, ἡ δὲ μήτηρ ὅ τι Ἡλαμίνα τῆς Κύριου ἐφυγε. τῆς δὲ Ἡλαμίνος τούτῳ τὸν χρόνον ἐπεκράτεε Ἐνέλθων, διὸ τὸ ἐν Δελφοῖς θυμιστήριον ὕμνον ἄξιοθέτηταν ἀνέθηκα, τὸ ἐν τῷ Κορινθίων θησαυρῷ κέεται. ἀπικομένῃ δὲ παρὰ τούτῳ ἡ Φερετίμη ἔδεε τοῦ στρατῆς ἢ κατάξει σφέας ἐς τὴν Κυρήνην. ὁ δὲ Ἐνέλθων πάν μᾶλλον ἡ στρατὴς ὅ ἐδίδον. ἡ δὲ λαμβάνουσα τὸ διδόμενον καλὸν μὲν ἔφη καὶ τούτῳ εἶναι, κάλλιον δὲ ἐκεῖνο, τὸ δοῦναι ὁ δεο- μένῃ στρατηγῷ. τούτῳ ἐπὶ παυτὶ γὰρ τῷ διδομένῳ ἐλεγε, τελευταίοιο ὁ ἐξέπεμψε δόρον ὁ Ἐνέλθων ἀτρακτὸν χρύσεων καὶ ἡλικάτῃ, προσῆν δὲ καὶ εἰριον ἐπειπάσης δὲ αὕτης τῆς Φερετίμης τόπῳ ἔπος, ὁ Ἐνέλθων ἔφη τοιούτοις γυναικαῖς ὁρε- εσθαι ἀλλ' οὐ στρατηγῷ.

163. Ὁ δὲ Ἀρκεσίλεως τούτῳ τὸν χρόνον ἐών
name was Demonax. When this man came to Cyrene and learnt all, he divided the people into three tribes;¹ of which divisions the Theraeans and dispossessed Libyans were one, the Peloponnesians and Cretans the second, and all the islanders the third; moreover he set apart certain domains and priesthoods for their king Battus, but gave all the rest, which had belonged to the kings, to be now held by the people in common.

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

163. Meanwhile Arcesilaus was in Samos, gather-

¹ According to the principle of division customary in a Dorian city state.
Η ΡΟΔΩΣ

ἐν Σάμω συνήγειρε πάντα ἄνδρα ἐπὶ γῆς ἀναδα-σμῷ. συλλεγόμενον δὲ στρατοῦ πολλοῦ, ἐστάλη
ἐς Δελφοὺς Ἀρκεσίλεως χρησόμενος τῷ χρη-
στηρίῳ περὶ κατόδου. ἦ δὲ Πυθίη οἱ χρὰ τάδε. "Επὶ μὲν τέσσερας Βάττους καὶ Ἀρκεσίλεως
τέσσερας, ὀκτὼ ἄνδρῶν γενεᾶς, διδοὶ ύμῖν Δοξῆς
βασιλεύειν Κυρήνης, πλέον μέντοι τούτων οὐδὲ
πειρᾶσθαι παραίνει. σὺ μέντοι ἰσχύς εἶναι
κατελθὼν ἐς τὴν σεωτοῦ. ἦ δὲ τὴν κάμινον
εὐρής πλέον ἀμφορέων, μὴ ἐξοπτήσῃς τοὺς ἀμ-
φορέας ἀλλ' ἀπόπεμπε κατ' οὖρον εἰ δὲ ἐξοπτή-
σῃς τὴν κάμινον, μὴ ἐσέλθης ἐς τὴν ἀμφίρρυτον.
εἰ δὲ μὴ ἀπόθανεί καὶ αὐτὸς καὶ ταῦρος ὁ
καλλιστεύων." ταῦτα ἦ Πυθίη Ἀρκεσίλεως χρὰ.

164. "Ο δὲ παραλαβὼν τοὺς ἐκ τῆς Σάμου
κατῆλθε ἐς τὴν Κυρήνην, καὶ ἐπικρατῆσας τῶν
πρηγμάτων τοῦ μαντήιου οὐκ ἐμεμνητό, ἀλλὰ
dικὰς τοὺς ἀντιστασιώτας αἴτει τῆς ἐσωτοῦ φυγῆς.
tῶν δὲ οὐ μὲν τὸ παράπαν ἐκ τῆς χώρης ἀπαλλάσ-
σουτο, τοὺς δὲ τινὰς χειρωσάμενος ὁ Ἀρκεσίλεως
ἐς Κύπρον ἀπέστειλε ἐπὶ διαφθορῆ. τούτους μὲν
καὶ τῶν Κυνίδιοι ἀπενειχθέντας πρὸς τὴν σφετέρην
ἐρρύσαντο καὶ ἐς Θήρην ἀπέστειλαν ἑτέρους δὲ
tινὰς τῶν Κυρηναίων ἐς πύργον μέγαν Ἀγλωμά-
χου καταφυγόντας ἰδιωτικὸν ὑλὴν περινήσας ὁ
Ἀρκεσίλεως ἐνέπρησε. μαθὼν δὲ ἐπὶ ἐξεργασμέ-
νοισὶ τὸ μαντήιον ἐδώ τούτῳ, ὅτι μιν ἦ Πυθίη οὐκ
ἐδὲ εὐρόντα ἐν τῇ καμάνῳ τοὺς ἀμφορέας ἐξοπτή-
σαι, ἔρχετο ἐκὼν τῆς τῶν Κυρηναίων πόλος,
δειμαίνων τε τὸν κεχρησμένον θάνατον καὶ δοκεῶν
ἀμφίρρυτον τὴν Κυρήνην εἶναι. εἰς πέρα γυναικά.
BOOK IV. 163-164

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

164. But he with the men from Samos returned to Cyrene, whereof having made himself master he forgot the oracle, and demanded justice upon his enemies for his banishment. Some of these departed altogether out of the country; others Arcesilaus seized and sent away to Cyprus to be there slain. These were carried out of their course to Cnidus, where the Cnidians saved them and sent them to Thera. Others of the Cyrenaeans fled for refuge into a great tower that belonged to one Aglomachus, a private man, and Arcesilaus piled wood round it and burnt them there. Then, perceiving too late that this was the purport of the Delphic oracle which forbade him to bake the pots if he found them in the oven, he refrained of set purpose from going into the city of the Cyrenaeans, fearing the death prophesied and supposing the sea-girt place to be
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συγγενέα ἑωτοῦ, θυγατέρα δὲ τῶν Βαρκαίων τοῦ Βασίλεος, τῷ οὖν μα μὴν Ἄλαξειρ. παρὰ τούτων ἀπεκνέεται, καὶ μὲν Βαρκαῖοι τε ἄνδρες καὶ τῶν ἐκ Κυρήνης φυγάδων τινὲς καταμαθότες ἀγορά-ξοντα κτείνοντα, πρὸς δὲ καὶ τὸν πενθερόν αὐτοῦ Ἀλαξειρα. Ἄρκεσιλεως μὲν ἦν ἵνα εἴτε ἐκὼν εἴτε ἅκων ἀμαρτών τοῦ χρῆσμοῦ ἐξέπλησε μοῦραν τὴν ἑωτοῦ.

165. Ἡ δὲ μήτηρ Φερετίμη, ἐως μὲν ὁ Ἄρκεσί-λεως ἐν τῇ Βάρκη διαίτατο ἐξεργασμένος ἑωτοῦ κακῶν, ἢ δὲ εἰχε αὐτῇ τοῦ παίδος τὰ γέρεα ἐν Κυρήνη καὶ τάλλα νεμομένη καὶ ἐν βουλῇ παρί-ξουσα: ἐπείτε δὲ ἔμαθε ἐν τῇ Βάρκη ἄποθανόντα οἱ τὸν παίδα, φεύγουσα οἰχώκει εἰς Αἰγυπτον. ἦσαν γάρ οἱ ἐκ τοῦ Ἄρκεσιλεως εὐρεγοσῖαι ἐς Καμβύσηα τὸν Κύρον πεποιημέναι: αὐτοὺς γὰρ ἦν ὁ Ἄρκεσιλεως δις Κυρήνην Καμβύση ἔδωκε καὶ φόρον ἐτάξατο. ἀπικομένη δὲ ἐς τὴν Αἰγυπτον ἡ Φερετίμη Ἀρνάνδεω ἰκέτης ἰζετο, τιμωρήσας ἑωτῆ κελεύουσα, προϊσχομένη πρόφασιν ὡς διὰ τὸν μηδισμόν ὁ παῖς ὦ τέθνηκε.

166. Ὁ δὲ Ἀρνάνδης ἦν οὗτος τῆς Αἰγυπτον ὕπαρχος ὑπὸ Καμβύσηων κατεστεὼς, ὃς ὑστέρω χρόνῳ τούτων παρισούμενος Δαρείῳ διεφθάρη. πυθόμενος γὰρ καὶ ἰδὼν Δαρείου ἐπιθυμεύοντα μνημόσυνον ἑωτοῦ λιτέσθαι τούτῳ τὸ μὴ ἄλλῳ εἰς βασιλεὶ κατεργασμένου, ἐμμέετο τούτῳ, ἐς οὐ ἐλαβε τὸν μισθόν. Δαρείου μὲν γὰρ χρυσίον καθαρότατον ἀπεψήσας ἐς τὸ διωκότατον νό-μωμα ἐκώπατο, Ἀρνάνδης δὲ ἄρχων Αἰγυπτον ἀργύριον τῶντο τοῦτο ἐποίες, καὶ νῦν ἐστὶ ἄργυ-ριον καθαρότατον τὸ Αρνανδικὸν. μαθῶν δὲ μιν

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

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

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

¹ The gold coins called δαρεικοί are said to contain only 3 per cent. of alloy.
Δαρείος ταύτα ποιεύτα, αιτήν ὦι ἄλλην ἐπενεί-
kas ὃς ὦ ἐπανόστατο, ἀπέκτεινε.

167. Τότε δὲ οὖν ο Ὄρυνάντης κατοικτείρας Φερετίμην διδοῖ αὐτῇ στρατὸν τὸν ἐξ Αἰγύπτου ἀπαντά καὶ τὸν πεζὸν καὶ τὸν ναυτικὸν στρατη-
γόν δὲ τὸν μὲν πεζὸν Ἅμασιν ἀπέδεξε ἄνδρα Μαράφιον, τοῦ δὲ ναυτικὸν Βάδρην ἐόντα Πασαρ-
γάδην γένος. πρὶν δὲ ἡ ἀποστείλαι τὴν στρατιν, ο Ὄρυνάντης πέμψας ἐς τὴν Βάρκην κήρυκα ἐπ᾽-
θάνετο τίς εἰ ὁ Ἀρκεσίλεων ἀποκτείνας. οἱ δὲ 
Βαρκαίοι αὐτοὶ ὑπεδέκουντο πάντες: πολλὰ τὲ γὰρ 
καὶ κακά πᾶσχειν ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ. πυθόμενος δὲ ταῦ-
tα ὁ Ὄρυνάντης οὔτω δὴ τὴν στρατιν ἀπέστειλε 
ἀμα τῇ Φερετίμῃ. αὐτῇ μὲν υἱῶς αἰτής πρόσχημα 
τὸν στόλου ἐγίνετο, ἀπεπέμπετο δὲ ἡ στρατιν, 
ὡς ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν, ἐπὶ Λιβύης καταστροφῆ. Λιβύην 
γὰρ δὴ ἔθνεα πολλὰ καὶ παντοῖα ἐστὶ, καὶ τὰ 
μὲν αὐτῶν ὁλίγα βασιλεῖς ἦν ὑπῆκοα, τὰ δὲ πλέω 
ἐφρόντιζε Δαρείον 1 οὐδέν.

168. Οἰκείους δὲ κατὰ τάδε Λιβύες. ἀπ᾽ 
Αἰγύπτου ἀρξάμενοι πρῶτοι Ἀδυρμαχίδαι. Λιβύ-
ων κατοίκηται, οἵ νόμοις μὲν τὰ πλέον Αἰγυπτί-
οισι χρέωνται, ἐσθήτα δὲ φορέουσι ὅτιν περ ὦ 
ἀλλὸι Λιβύες. αἳ δὲ γυναῖκες αὐτῶν ψέλιον περὶ 
ἐκατέρω τῶν κυμέων φορέουσι χάλκεον τὰς 
κεφάλας δὲ κομώσαν, τῶν φθείρας ἐπεὰν λάβωσι 
tῶς ἐσωτηρία ἐκάστη αντιδόκει καὶ οὕτω ῥήπτει. 
οὗτοι δὲ μοῦνοι Λιβύων τοῦτο ἐργάζονται, καὶ τῷ 
βασιλεῖ μοῦνοι τὰς παρθένας μελλούσας συνοι-
κέειν ἐπιδεικνύοντο: ἢ δὲ ἂν τῷ βασιλεὶ ἀρεστή 
γένηται, ὑπὸ τούτοι διαπαρθενεύεται. παρήκουσι

1 [Δαρείου] Stein.

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

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

168. Now as concerning the lands inhabited by Libyans, the Adyrmachidae are the people that dwell nearest to Egypt; they follow Egyptian usages for the most part, but wear a dress like that of other Libyans. Their women wear bronze torques on both legs; their hair is long; they catch each her own lice, then bite and throw them away. They are the only Libyans that do this, and that show the king all virgins that are to be wedded; the king takes the virginity of whichever of these pleases
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de oýtoi oi 'Adúrmachídaí ayt' Aýýuptov mékri
lýmevnov tó oúvoma Pliúvos ésti.

169. Toútvn dé exeúntai Gýlyámái, vêmómenvoi
to próz esptérhν χώrhν1 mékri 'Afródiqvódos
výsou. én dé tó metáxu toútvn χώrhν2 ἢ te
Plátéa výsos épikètai, týn ekústian oi Kyrh-
naíoi, kai én tý òpereió Mevéllos àmuían éstv kai
'Αξíris, týn oi Kyrhnaíoi oíkeouv, kai to súlfwn
árketai aúto toútvn: parískei dé aúto Plátéhs
výsou mékri tov stómatov týs Sýrtios to súlfwn.
nómioi dé chréwntai oútoi paraplhsiósioi tóis
étérois.

170. Gýlyamévon dé exeúntai to próz esptérh
'Aòvástai oútoi ùpér Kyrhnhs oíkeouv. épí
thállassan dé ou kátkousoi 'Aòvástai to gár
pára thállassan Kyrhnaíoi némontai. teðrípi-
pobátai dé ouk hêkista álllà málista Ávbnw
eisí, nómous dé touvs pléwnas mímésethei épísthdeú-
onoi touvs Kyrhnaíovn.

171. 'Aòvástewn dé exeúntai to próz esptérh
Aúxchisai oútoi ùpér Bárrkhs oíkeouv, kath-
kouves épí thállassan kath' Évonestfrías. Aúxchi-
séon dé kata mésoou týs χórhs oíkeouv Bákales,
dlýgon éthnos, kátkouves épí thállassan kata
Tàúcheira pólivn týs Varckívhs: nómioi dé toúis
autóis chréwntai toúis kai ou ùpér Kyrhnhs.

172. Aúxchisewn dé toútvn to próz esptérh
exeúntai Nasisamónes, éthnos éán polllhn, ou to
thèros kataleipontes épí tý thállassh tá próbstata
ánabainousoi eis Aúgila χórwn òpomieúntes touvs
foívnikas ou dé pollloi kai ámfílaphsas peýkasi,
pántes éontes karpsòforoi. touvs dé áttelébous

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him. These Adyrmachidae reach from Egypt to the harbour called Plynus.

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

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

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

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

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1 [χώρης] Stein.
2 [χώρας] Stein.
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ἐπεὶ θηρεύσωσι, αύχναντες πρὸς τὸν ἥλιον καταλεύοντες καὶ έπειτα ἐπὶ γάλα ἐπιπάσσουσις πίνουσι. ὑγναίκας δὲ νομίζοντες πολλὰς ἐχειν ἐκαστὸς ἐπίκοινον αὐτῶν τὴν μίξιν ποιεῦνται τρόπῳ παραπλησίῳ τῷ καὶ Μασσαγέταις ἐπέαν σκίπονα προστήσουσι, μύσιγουνται. πρὸτον δὲ γαμέοντος Νασαμῶνος ἀνδρὸς νόμος ἐστὶ τὴν νύμφην νυκτὶ τῇ πρώτῃ διὰ πάντων διεξελθεῖν τῶν δαιτυμόνων μισογομένην τῶν δὲ ὡς ἐκαστὸς οἱ μικρῶν, διδοῖ δόρων τὸ ἀν ἐχθρόν μενεμονος ἐξ οἶκου. ὠρκεύοντο δὲ καὶ μαντικὴς γράφως λαβοῦσι τοῖς ὀμνύουσι μὲν τοὺς παρὰ σφιᾷ ἀνδρὰς δυκαιοτάτους καὶ ἀρίστους λεγομένους γενέσθαι, τούτους, τῶν τύμβων ἀπτόμενους μαντεύουσι δὲ ἐπὶ τῶν προγόνων φοιτεύοντες τὰ σήματα, καὶ κατευξάμενους ἐπικατακοιμῶνται τὸ δὲ ἐν θυσίᾳ ἐνυπνοῦν, τούτω χράται. πίστις δὲ τούτης γράφως λαβεῖν· ἐκ τῆς κεφαλῆς διδοῖ πιεῖν καὶ αὐτὸς ἐκ τῆς τοῦ ἑτέρου πίνει· ἢν δὲ μὴ ἔχωσιν ψυχάν μιθέων, οὐ δὲ τῆς χαμάθει σποδοῦ λαβοῦντες λείχονται.

173. Νασαμῶνι δὲ προσώμουρι εἰσὶ Ψύλλοι. οὗτοι ἐξαπολώλασι τρόπῳ τοιῷδε· ὁ νότος σφι πιέων ἀνέμοι τὰ ἐλυτρα τῶν ὑδάτων ἐξηγήνετο, ἡ δὲ χώρη σφι ἀπασα ἐντός ἐως ἡ ἡ Σύρτιος ἥν ἄνυδρος· οὐ δὲ βουλευτάμενοι κοινῷ λόγῳ ἐστρατεύοντο ἐπὶ τὸν νότον (λέγω δὲ ταῦτα τὰ λέγουσι Λίβυες), καὶ ἐπείτε ἐγώνοντο ἐν τῇ ψάμφῳ, πνεύσας ὁ νότος κατέχωσε σφέας. ἐξαπολομένων δὲ τούτων ἔχουσι τὴν χώριν οἱ Νασαμῶνες.

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

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

174. Inland of these to the southward the Garamantes dwell in the wild beasts' country. They shun the sight and fellowship of men, and have no
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διπλον ἐκτεῖται ἀρήμον οὐδὲν οὐτε ἀμύνεσθαι ἐπιστέαται.

175. Οὗτοι μὲν δὴ κατύπερθε οἰκέουσι Νασαμώνων τὸ δὲ παρὰ τὴν θάλασσαν ἔχονται τὸ πρὸς ἐσπέρης Μάκαι, οὗ λόφος κείρονται, τὸ μὲν μέσον τῶν τριχῶν ἀνάευτες αὐξέσθαι, τὰ δὲ ἐνθεν καὶ ἐνθεν κείροντες ἐν χροτὶ, ἐς δὲ τὸν πόλεμον στροφθὰν καταγαίων δορὰς φορέουσι προβλήματα. διὰ δὲ αὐτῶν Κίνυψ ποταμὸς ῥέων ἐκ λόφου καλευμένου Χαρίτων ἐς θάλασσαν ἐκδιδόι. ὁ δὲ λόφος οὗτος ὁ Χαρίτων δασὺς ἤδησι ἐστὶ, ἔοισις τῆς ἄλλης τῆς προκαταλεχθείσης Διβύης ψιλῆς: ἀπὸ θαλάσσης δὲ ἐς αὐτῶν στάδιοι διηκόσιοι εἰσὶ.

176. Μακέων δὲ τούτων ἐχόμενοι Γινδάνες εἰσὶ, τῶν αἱ γυναίκες περισφύρια δερμάτων πολλὰ ἐκάστη φορεῖ κατὰ τοιοῦδε τι, ὡς λέγεται: κατ' ἀνδρα ἐκαστὸν μιχθέντα περισφύριον περιδέεται: ἢ δὲ ἄν πλείστα ἔχῃ, αὕτη ἀρίστη δέδοκται εἶναι ὡς ὑπὸ πλείστων ἀνδρῶν φιληθείσα.

177. Ἀκτὴν δὲ προεχούσαν ἐς τὸν πόντον τούτων τῶν Γινδάνων νέμονται Δωτοφάγοι, οἱ τῶν καρπῶν μοῦνον τοῦ λωτοῦ τρώγοντες ἥονσι. ὁ δὲ τοῦ λωτοῦ καρπὸς ἐστὶ μέγαθος ὁσον τε τῆς σχίνου, γλυκότητα δὲ τοῦ φοίνικος τῷ καρπῷ προσείκελος. ποιεῖται δὲ ἐκ τοῦ καρποῦ τούτου οἱ Δωτοφάγοι καὶ οἶνον.

178. Δωτοφάγοι δὲ τὸ παρὰ θάλασσαν ἔχονται Μάχλνες, τῷ λωτῷ μὲν καὶ οὕτωι χρεώμενοι, ἀτὰρ ἤσον γε τῶν πρῶτον λεχθέντων, κατηκοσί δὲ ἐπὶ ποταμὸν μέγαν τῷ οὖνομα Τρίτων

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weapons of war, nor know how to defend themselves.

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

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

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

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

1 The fruit of the Rhamnus Lotus, which grows in this part of Africa, is said to be eatable, but not so delicious as to justify its Homeric epithet "honey-sweet."
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εστι. ἐκδιδοὶ δὲ ὦτος ἐς λήμνην μεγάλην Τριτωνίδα. ἐν δὲ αὐτῇ νῆσος ἔν τῇ οὐνομα Φλά. ταύτην δὲ τῇ νῆσον Δακεδαμωνίοις φασὶ λόγιον εἶναι κτίσαι.

179. Ἡστι δὲ καὶ ὅδε λόγος λεγόμενος. Ἰήσουνα, ἐπείτε οἱ ἐξεργάσθη ὑπὸ τῷ Πηλῷ ἡ Ἀργῷ, ἔσθέμενον ἐς αὐτὴν ἄλλην τε ἐκατόμβην καὶ δὴ καὶ τρίποδα χάλκεων περιπλάνειν Πελοπόννησον, βουλόμενον ἐς Δελφοὺς ἀπικέσθαι. καὶ μιν, ὡς πλέοντα γενέσθαι κατὰ Μαλένην, ὑπολαβεὶν ἄνεμον βορέθην καὶ ἀποφέρειν πρὸς τὴν Διβύνην πρὶν δὲ κατιδέσθαι γῆν, ἐν τούτῳ βράχεσι γενέσθαι λίμνης τῆς Τριτωνίδος. καὶ οἱ ἀπορέουσι τῇ ἔξαγωγῆν λόγῳ ἐστὶ φανήσαι Τρίτωνα καὶ κελεύει τὸν Ἰήσουνα ἐωτῷ δούναι τὸν τρίποδα, φάμενον σφι καὶ τὸν πόρον δέξειν καὶ ἀπήμονας ἀποστελέειν. πειθομένου δὲ τοῦ Ἰήσουνος, οὕτω δὴ τὸν τε διέκπλοο τῶν βραχέων δείκνυαι τὸν Τρίτωνα σφι καὶ τὸν τρίποδα θείναι εν τῷ ἔωστοι ἱρῷ, ἐπιθεσπίζαντα τε τῷ τρίποδι καὶ τοῖς σὺν Ἰήσουνι σημήναντα τὸν πάντα λόγον, ὡς ἐπεαν τὸν τρίποδα κομίσηται τῶν ἐκγόνων τις τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἀργῷ συμπλεύσας, τότε ἐκατὸν πόλιας οἰκήσαι περὶ τὴν Τριτωνίδα λίμνην Ἐλληνίδας πᾶσαν εἶναι ἀνάγκην. ταύτα ἀκούσαντας τοὺς ἐπιχωρίους τῶν Διβύων κρύψαι τὸν τρίποδα.

180. Τούτων δὲ ἔχουσι τῶν Μαχλῶν Αὐσεές. οὕτω δὲ καὶ οἱ Μάχλεις πέρι ἡ τῇ Τριτωνίδα λίμνην οἰκέουσι, τὸ μέσον δὲ σφι οὐρίζει ο Τρίτων. καὶ οἱ μὲν Μάχλες τὰ ὁπίσω κομῶσι περὶ κεφαλῆς, οἱ δὲ Αὐσεές τὰ ἐμπροσθε. ὅρτῃ δὲ ἐναυσίη Ἀθηναίης αἱ παρθένοι αὐτῶν δίχα

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BOOK IV. 178–180

called Triton,¹ which issues into the great Tritonian lake, wherein is an island called Phla. It is said that the Lacedaemonians were bidden by an oracle to plant a settlement on this island.

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

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

¹ The "Triton" legend may arise from the Argonauts finding a river which reminded them of their own river Triton in Boeotia, and at the same time identifying the local goddess (cp. 180) with Athene, one of whose epithets was Tritoyéveia (whatever that means).
διαστάσαι μάχονται πρὸς ἄλληλας λίθοις τε καὶ ἄλληλας ἱπποι τῷ ἀνθρωπεύει θεῷ λέγοντα τὰ πάτρια ἀποτελεέιν, τὴν Ἀθηναίην καλέομεν. τὰς δὲ ἀποθνησκούσας τῶν παρθένων ἐκ τῶν τρωμάτων φευγοπαρθένους καλέονται. πρὶν δὲ ἀνείναι αὐτάς μάχεσθαι, τάδε ποιεῦσι κοινὴ παρθένων τὴν καλλιστεύουσαν ἐκάστοτε κοσμήσαντες κυνή γε τὴν Κορινθίαν καὶ πανωπλή Γέρμην Κυκλώ. ὠτέοιοι δὲ τὸ πάλαι ἐκόσμεον τὰς παρθένους πρὶν ἢ σφί "Ελλήνας παροικισθῆναι, οὐκ ἔχω εἰπεῖν, δοκεῖ μήν οἱ Ἀιγυπτίωτοι ὁπλοῦσι κροσμένεσιν αὐτάς: ἀπὸ γὰρ Αἰγύπτου καὶ τὴν ἀσπίδα καὶ τὸ κράνος φημὶ ἀπέχθαι ἐσ τοὺς Ἰππολίτας. τὴν δὲ Ἀθηναίαν φασὶ Ποσειδέωνος εἶναι θυγατέρα καὶ τῆς Τριτονίδος λίμνης, καὶ μνὸν μεμφθεῖσαν τι τῷ πατρὶ δοῦναι ἐσωτήρ τῷ Δίῳ, τὸν δὲ Δία ἐσωτηρίζου μνὸν ποιήσασθαι θυγατέρα. ταῦτα μὲν λέγουσι, μίξιν δὲ ἐπικοινονοῦσα γυναικών ποιεῖται, αὐτὲ συνοικισμένες κτηνηθῶν τε μεσόμενοι. ἐπεὶ δὲ γυναικὶ τὸ παιδίον ἁδρ抱住 γέννηται, συμφοινωσὶ ἐς τῶν τινῶν άνδρῶν τρίτου μηνὸς, καὶ τῷ ἀν οίκῃ τῶν ἀνδρῶν τὸ παιδίον, τούτου παῖς νομίζεται.

181. Οὗτοι μὲν οἱ παραθαλάσσιοι τῶν νομάδων Διβύνων εἰρέται, υπὲρ δὲ τούτων ἐσ τραγαίον ἡ θηρίωδης ἐστὶ Διβύνη, υπὲρ δὲ τῆς θηρίωδους ὄφρυς ψάμμης κατήκει παρατείνουσα ἀπὸ Θη-βέων τῶν Ἀιγυπτίων ἐπὶ Ἡρακλῆας στῆλας. ἐν

1 Herodotus' description is true in so far as it points to the undoubted fact of a caravan route from Egypt to N.W. Africa; the starting-point of which, however, should be Memphis and not Thebes. But his distances between identi-
BOOK IV. 180-181

whereat their maidens are parted into two bands and fight each other with stones and staves, thus (as they say) honouring after their people’s manner that native goddess whom we call Athene. Maidens that die of their wounds are called false virgins. Before the girls are set fighting, the whole people choose ever the fairest maiden, and equip her with a Corinthian helmet and Greek panoply, to be then mounted on a chariot and drawn all along the lake shore. With what armour they equipped their maidens before Greeks came to dwell near them, I cannot say; but I suppose the armour to have been Egyptian; for I hold that the Greeks got their shield and helmet from Egypt. As for Athene, they say that she was daughter of Poseidon and the Tritonian lake, and that, being for some cause wroth with her father, she gave herself to Zeus, who made her his own daughter. Such is their tale. The intercourse of men and women there is promiscuous; they do not cohabit but have intercourse like cattle. When a woman’s child is well grown, within three months thereafter the men assemble, and the child is adjudged to be that man’s to whom it is most like.

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

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fiable places are nearly always incorrect; the whole description will not bear criticism. The reader is referred to the editions of Rawlinson, Macan, and How and Wells for detailed discussion of difficulties.
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dε τη ὄφρυς ταύτη μάλιστα διὰ δέκα ἡμερέων ὁδοῦ ἄλος ἐστὶ τρόφεα κατὰ χόνδρους μεγάλους ἐν κολωνοίσι, καὶ ἐν κορυφῇ ἐκάστου τοῦ κολωνοῦ ἀνακοντίζει ἐκ μέσου τοῦ ἄλος ὕδωρ ψυχρόν καὶ γλυκύ, περὶ δὲ αὐτῶν ἀνθρωποι οἰκέουσι ἐσχάτοι πρὸς τῆς ἐρήμου καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς θηριώδεος, πρῶτοι μὲν ἀπὸ Θηβέων διὰ δέκα ἡμερέων ὁδοῦ Ἀμμώνιοι, ἐχοντες τὸ ἱρὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ Θηβαίους Δίος· καὶ γὰρ τὸ ἕν Θήβηςι, ὡς καὶ πρότερον εἰρηταί μοι, κριστρόσωπον τοῦ Δίος τῶγαλμα ἐστὶ. τυνχάνει δὲ καὶ ἄλλο σφι ὕδωρ κρηναῖον ἐὼν, τὸ τῶν μὲν ὄρθρου γίνεται χλαρόν, ἀγορής δὲ πληθυνόσης ψυχρότερον, μεσαμβρή τε ἐστὶ καὶ τὸ κάρτα γίνεται ψυχρόν· τηνικάτα δὲ ἀρδοῦσι τοὺς κήπους ἀποκλινομένης δὲ τῆς ἡμέρης ύπίεται τοῦ ψυχροῦ, ἐς οὗ δύτεται τὸ ἡλιος καὶ τὸ ὕδωρ γίνεται χλαρόν· ἐπὶ δὲ μάλλον ἵον ἐς τὸ θερμὸν ἐς μέσας νύκτας πελάξει, τηνικάτα δὲ ζεῖε ἀμβολάδων παρέρχονται τε μέσας νύκτες καὶ ψύχεται μέχρι ἐς ἥω· ἐπικλησιν δὲ αὐτή ἡ κρήνη καλέται ἡλιόν.

182. Μετὰ δὲ Ἀμμώνιοι διὰ τῆς ὄφρυς τῆς ψάμμων δὲ ἀλλέων δέκα ἡμερέων ὁδοῦ κολωνοῦς τε ἄλος ἐστὶ δύοισι τῷ Ἀμμωνίῳ καὶ ὕδωρ, καὶ ἀνθρωποι περὶ αὐτῶν οἰκεουσι· τῷ δὲ χώρῳ τούτῳ οὐνόμα Αὐγίλα ἐστὶ. ἐς τούτοι τῶν χώρων οἱ Νασαμῶνες ὁπωριεύντες τοὺς φοινικάς φοιτῶσι.

183. Ἀπὸ δὲ Αὐγίλων διὰ δέκα ἡμερέων ἀλλέων ὁδοῦ ἐτερος ἄλος κολωνοῦς καὶ ὕδωρ καὶ φοινικὲς καρποφόροι τολλοί, κατὰ περ καὶ ἐν τοῖσι ἐτεροισι καὶ ἀνθρωποι οἰκέουσι ἐν αὐτῷ.

1 [τὸ] Stein; and the article certainly makes the grammar difficult.

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

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

183. After ten days' journey again from Augila there is yet another hillock of salt and springs of water and many fruit-bearing palms, as at the other places;
τοῖσι οὖνομα Γαράμαντες ἐστὶ, ἔθνος μέγα ἑσ-
χυρός, οἱ ἐπὶ τὸν ἄλα γῆν ἐπιφορέοντες οὔτω
σπείρουσι. συντομώτατον δ' ἐστὶ ἐς τοὺς Δωτο-
φάγους, ἐκ τῶν τρήκοντα ἦμερῶν ἐς αὐτοὺς ὁδὸς
ἔστι· ἐν τούτῳ καὶ οἱ ὁπισθονόμοι βοῦς γίνονται·
ὀπισθονόμοι δὲ διὰ τὸ δέος εἰς. τὰ κέρεα ἔχουσι
κεκυφότα ἐς τὸ ἐμπροσθε· διὰ τούτο ὑπὸ ἀναχω-
ρεόντες νέμονται· ἐς γὰρ τὸ ἐμπροσθε οὐκ οἷοι τε
εἰς προεμβαλλόντων ἐς τὴν γην τῶν κερέων.
ἀλλο δὲ οὐδὲν διαφέρουσι τῶν ἄλλων βοῶν ὅτι μὴ
τούτο καὶ τὸ δέρμα ἐς παχύτητα τε καὶ τρίψιν.
οἱ Γαράμαντες δὴ οὕτως τοὺς τρωγλοδύτας Αἴθιο-
πας θερεύονται τοσὶ τεθρίππῳ· οἱ γὰρ τρω-
γλοδύται Αἴθιοπες πόδας τάχιστοι· ἀνθρώπων
πάντων εἰς τῶν ἡμεῖς πέρι λόγους ἀποφερομένους
ἀκούομεν. στείρουται δὲ οἱ τρωγλοδύται ὃφις καὶ
σαύρους καὶ τὰ τοιαύτα τῶν ἐρπετῶν γλῶσσαν
δὲ οὐδεμὴ ἄλλη παρημοιήν νευμόκασι, ἀλλὰ
tετρήγασι κατὰ περ ἀι νυκτερίδες.

184. Ἀπὸ δὲ Γαραμάντων δι’ ἄλλων δέκα
ἡμερῶν ὁδοῦ ἄλλος ἄλος τὸ κολυνός καὶ ὕδωρ,
καὶ ἀνθρωποὶ περὶ αὐτῶν οἰκέουσι τοῖσι οὖνομα
ἔστι Ἀτάραντες, οἱ ἀνώνυμοι εἰς τοῖς ἁγίοις ἁ-
θρώπων τῶν ἡμεῖς ἱμέαν· ἀλητὴς μὲν γὰρ σφί ἐστὶ
Ἀτάραντες οὖνομα, εὖ δὲ ἐκάστῳ αὐτῶν οὖνομα
οὐδὲν κέεται. οὔτοι τῷ ἡλίῳ ὑπερβάλλοντες κατα-
ρώνται καὶ πρὸς τοῦτοι πάντα τὰ αἰσχρὰ
λοιδορέονται, ὅτι σφέας καίων ἐπιτρίβει, αὐτοὺς
tε τοὺς ἀνθρώπους καὶ τὴν χώρην αὐτῶν. μετὰ
dὲ δὲ ἄλλων δέκα ἡμερῶν ἄλλος κολυνός ἄλος
καὶ ὕδωρ, καὶ ἀνθρωποὶ περὶ αὐτῶν οἰκέουσι.
ἐχεται δὲ τοῦ ἁλος τοῦτον ὁρὸς τφ οὖνομα ἐστὶ
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men dwell there called Garamantes, an exceeding great nation, who sow in earth which they have laid on the salt. Hence is the shortest way to the Lotus-eaters' country, thirty days' journey distant. Among the Garamantes are the oxen that go backward as they graze; whereof the reason is that their horns curve forward; therefore they walk backward in their grazing, not being able to go forward, seeing that the horns would project into the ground. In all else they are like other oxen, save that their hide is thicker, and different to the touch. These Garamantes go in their four-horse chariots chasing the cave-dwelling Ethiopians: for the Ethiopian cave-dwellers are swifter of foot than any men of whom tales are brought to us. They live on snakes, and lizards, and such-like creeping things. Their speech is like none other in the world; it is like the squeaking of bats.

184. After another ten days' journey from the Garamantes there is again a salt hillock and water; men dwell there called Atarantes. These are the only men known to us who have no names; for the whole people are called Atarantes, but no man has a name of his own. These when the sun is exceeding hot curse and most foully revile him, for that his burning heat afflicts their people and their land. After another ten days' journey there is again a hillock of salt, and water, and men dwelling there. Near to this salt is a mountain called Atlas, the shape
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"Ἀτλας, ἐστὶ δὲ στεινὼν καὶ κυκλοτερῆς πάντη, ὑψηλὸν δὲ οὕτω δὴ τι λέγεται ὡς τὰς κορυφὰς αὐτοῦ οὐκ οἶδα τε εἶναι ἰδέσθαι: οὐδέκοτε γάρ αὐτὰς ἀπολείπειν νέφεα οὐτε θέρεος οὐτε χειμῶνος. τούτῳ τὸν κύονα τοῦ οὐρανοῦ λέγουσι οἱ ἐπιχώριοι εἶναι. ἐπὶ τούτῳ τοῦ ὅρεος οἱ ἀνθρωποὶ οὕτω ἐπώνυμοι ἐγένοντο καλέοντας γάρ δὴ Ἀτλαντες. λέγουται δὲ οὐτε ἐμψυχον οὐδὲν σιτέσθαι οὐτε ἐνύπνια ὅραν.

185. Μέχρι μὲν δὴ τῶν Ἀτλαντῶν τούτων ἔχω τὰ οὐνόματα τῶν ἐν τῇ ὁφρύῃ κατοικημένων καταλέξαι, τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ τούτων οὐκέτι. διήκει δὲ ὡς ἡ ὁφρύς μέχρι Ἡρακλέων στηλέων καὶ τὸ ἔξω τούτων. ἐστὶ δὲ ἀλὸς τε μέταλλον ἐν αὐτῇ διὰ δέκα ἡμερῶν ὀδὸν καὶ ἀνθρωποὶ οἰκέοντες. τὰ δὲ οἰκία τούτωσι πᾶσι ἐκ τῶν ἁλίνων χόνδρων οἰκοδομεῖται. ταῦτα γὰρ ἢδη τῆς Διβύθης ἀνομβρὰ ἐστὶ· οὐ γὰρ ἄν ἢδυνήσωτο μὲν αἰν τοῖχοι ἔντει ἁλινοί, εἰ δὲ οὔ δὲ ἄλας αὐτόθι καὶ λευκὸς καὶ πορφύρος τὸ εἴδος ὁρύσσεται. ὑπὲρ δὲ τῆς ὁφρύς τὸ πρὸς νῦν τοῦ καὶ ἐς μεσόγαιαν τῆς Διβύθης ἔρημος καὶ ἀνυφρος καὶ ἀθρηρος καὶ ἀνομβρος καὶ ἀξιολος ἐστὶ ἡ χώρη, καὶ ἴκμάδος ἐστὶ ἐν αὐτῇ οὐδέν.

186. Οὕτω μὲν μέχρι τῆς Τριτονίδος λίμνης ἀπ' Ἀιγύπτου νομάδες εἰσὶ κρεοφάγοι τε καὶ γαλακτοπότα Δίβυνες, καὶ θηλέων τε βοῦν οὕτω γενομένοι, διότι περ ὀυδὲ Ἀιγύπτιοι, καὶ ἦσαν οὐ τρέφοντες. βοῦν μὲν γὰρ βηλέοντο οὔδ' αἰ Κυρηναίων γυναίκες δικαιοῦσι πεπέσθαι διὰ τὴν ἐν Ἀιγύπτῳ ΄Ισιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ νηστήσας αὐτῇ καὶ

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whereof is slender and a complete circle; and it is said to be so high that its summits cannot be seen, for cloud is ever upon them winter and summer. The people of the country call it the pillar of heaven. These men have got their name, which is Atlantes, from this mountain. It is said that they eat no living creature, and see no dreams in their sleep.

185. I know and can tell the names of all the peoples that dwell on the ridge as far as the Atlantes, but no farther than that. But this I know, that the ridge reaches as far as the Pillars of Heracles and beyond them. There is a mine of salt on it a ten days’ journey distant from the Atlantes, and men dwell there. Their houses are all built of the blocks of salt; here begins the part of Libya where no rain falls; for the walls, being of salt, could not stand firm if there were rain. The salt which is dug from this mine is both white and purple. Beyond this ridge the southern and inland parts of Libya are desert and waterless; no wild beasts are there, nor rain, nor forests; this region is wholly without moisture.

186. Thus from Egypt to the Tritonian lake, the Libyans are nomads that eat meat and drink milk; for the same reason as the Egyptians too profess, they will not touch the flesh of cows; and they rear no swine. The women of Cyrene too deem it wrong to eat cows’ flesh, because of the Isis of Egypt; nay, they even honour her with fasts and
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δρτάς ἐπιτελέουσιν· αἱ δὲ τῶν Βαρκαίων γυναῖκες οὐδὲ ὤνον πρὸς τῇς βοῦλι γεύονται.

187. Ταῦτα μὲν δὴ οὗτω ἔχει. τὸ δὲ πρὸς ἐσπέρης τῆς Τριτωνίδος λίμνης οὐκέτι νομάδες εἰσὶ Λίβνες οὔτε νόμοις τοῖς αὐτοῖς χρεώμενοι, οὔτε κατὰ τὰ παιδία ποιεύτες οἶνον τι καὶ οἱ νομάδες ἐσώθασι ποιεύειν. οἱ γὰρ δὴ τῶν Λιβύων νομάδες, εἰ μὲν πάντες, ὦκ ἐχὼ ἀτρεκέως τοῦτο εἰπεῖν, ποιεύει δὲ αὐτῶν συχνοὶ τοιάδε· τῶν παιδίων τῶν σφετέρων, ἐπειδὰν τετραέτεα γένηται, οὐστὶ προβάτων καίουσι τὰς ἐν τῇς κορυφῆσι φλέβας, μετεξέτεροι δὲ αὐτῶν τὰς ἐν τοῖς κροτά-φοις, τούδε εἶνεκα ως μῆ σφεας ἐς τὸν πάντα χρόνον καταρρέουν φλέγμα ἐκ τῆς κεφαλῆς δηλέ-ηται. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο σφέας λέγουσι εἶναι ὑγιηρο-τάτους· εἰσὶ γὰρ ὡς ἀληθέως οἱ Λίβνες ἀνθρώπων πάντων ὑγιηρότατοι τῶν ἡμεῖς ἰδίμεν, εἰ μὲν διὰ τοῦτο, οὐκ ἐχὼ ἀτρεκέως εἰπεῖν, ὑγιηρότατοι δὲ ὄν εἰσὶ. ἂν δὲ καίουσι τὰ παιδία σπασμὸς ἐπι-γένηται, ἐξευρηταὶ σφὶ ἄκος· τράγου γὰρ οὐρὸν σπείραντες τῦν τυν σφέα. λέγω δὲ τὰ λέγουσι αὐτοὶ Λίβνες.

188. Ὀνυσίαι δὲ τοῖς νομάσι εἰσὶ αἰδέ· ἐπεὶ τῶν ὁτὸς ἀπάρξωνται τοῦ κτίσμος, ἐπιτέουσι ὑπὲρ τῶν δόμων, τοῦτο δὲ ποιήσαντες ἀποστρέ-φουσι τὸν αὐξεῖνα αὐτοῦ· θύουσι δὲ ἥλιῳ καὶ σελήνῃ μοῦνοισι. τοῦτοι μὲν νῦν πάντες Λί-βνες θύουσι, ἀτὰρ οἱ περὶ τὴν Τριτωνίδα λίμνην νέμοντες τῇ Ἀθηναίη μάλιστα, μετὰ δὲ τῷ Τρί-τωνο καὶ τῷ Ποσειδέωνι.

189. Τῇ δὲ ἁρα ἐσθήτα καὶ τὰς αἰγίδας τῶν ἀγαλμάτων τῆς Ἀθηναίης ἐκ τῶν Λιβυσσέων 390
festivals; and the Barcaean women refuse to eat swine too as well as cows.

187. Thus it is with this region. But westward of the Tritonian lake the Libyans are not nomads; they follow not the same usages, nor treat their children as the nomads are wont to do. For the practice of many Libyan nomads (I cannot with exactness say whether it be the practice of all) is to take their children when four years old, and with grease of sheep’s wool to burn the veins of their scalps or sometimes of their temples, that so the children may be never afterwards afflicted by phlegm running down from the head. They say that this makes their children most healthy. In truth no men known to us are so healthy as the Libyans; whether it be by reason of this practice, I cannot with exactness say; but most healthy they certainly are. When the children smart from the pain of the burning the Libyans have found a remedy, which is, to heal them by moistening with goats’ urine. This is what the Libyans themselves say.

188. The nomads’ manner of sacrificing is to cut a piece from the victim’s ear for first-fruits and throw it over the house; which done they wring the victim’s neck. They sacrifice to no gods save the sun and moon; that is, this is the practice of the whole nation; but the dwellers by the Tritonian lake sacrifice to Athene chiefly, and next to Triton and Poseidon.

189. It would seem that the robe and aegis of the images of Athene were copied by the Greeks from
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ἐποιήσαντο οἱ Ἑλληνες· πλὴν γὰρ ἢ ὅτι σκυτή ἢ ἔσθής τῶν Διβυσσέων ἔστι καὶ οἱ θύσανοι οἱ ἐκ τῶν αἰγίδων αὐτῆς οὐκ ὄφεις εἰσὶ ἀλλὰ ἰμάντινοι, τά γε ἄλλα πάντα κατὰ τῶν ἔστατα τὰ μεγάλα ἰμάντινα. καὶ δὴ καὶ τὸ ὑμνομα κατηγορεῖ ὅτι ἐκ Δίβυσις ἦκει ἢ στολή τῶν Παλλαδίων· αἰγέας γὰρ περιβάλλονται ψιλᾶς περὶ τὴν ἔσθητα θυσιαστάς αἱ Δίβυσαι κεχριμένας ἐρευθεάνως, ἐκ δὲ τῶν αἰγέων τούτων αἰγίδας οἱ Ἑλληνες μετωνόμασαν. δοκεῖς δὲ ἐμοιγε καὶ ὀλονυγή ἐν ἱροῖς ἐνθαῦτα πρῶτον γενέσθαι κάρτα γὰρ ταῦτα χρέωνται καλῶς αἱ Δίβυσαι. καὶ τέσσερα ἵππους συζευγνύναι παρὰ Δίβυσον οἱ Ἑλληνες μεμαθήκασι.

190. Θάπτουσι δὲ τοὺς ἀποθνήσκοντας οἱ νομάδες κατὰ πέρ οἱ Ἑλληνες, πλὴν Νασαμώνων· οὔτοι δὲ κατημένους θάπτουσι, φιλάσσοντες, ἑπεδώ ἀπὸ τὴν ψυχήν, διός μιν κατίσουσι μηδὲ ὑπτίος ἀποθανέται. οἰκήματα δὲ σώμητα ἐξ ἀνθρικῶν ἐνειρμένων περὶ σχοῦντος ἐστὶ, καὶ ταῦτα περιφορητὰ. νόμοισι μὲν τοιούτοις οὖτοι χρέονται.

191. Τὸ δὲ πρὸς ἐσπέρησι τοῦ Τριτώνος ποταμοῦ Αὐσέων ἔχονται ἄροτήρες ἢδη Δίβυσις καὶ οἰκίας νομίζοντες ἐκτήσθαι, τοῖς οὕνωμα κέεται Μάξυες· οὐ δὲ ἐπὶ δεξιὰ τῶν κεφαλέων κομόωσι, τὰ δὲ ἐπὶ ἀριστερὰ κείρουσι, τὸ δὲ σῶμα χρίνουται μίλτω. φασὶ δὲ οὖτοι εἶναι τῶν ἐκ Τροίης ἀνδρῶν. ἢ δὲ

1 The aegis is the conventional buckler of Pallas. Probably the conservatism of religious art retained for the warrior goddess the goatskin buckler which was one of the earliest forms of human armour.

2 The ὀλονυγή (says Dr. Macan) was proper to the worship
the Libyan women; for save that the dress of Libyan women is leathern, and that the tassels of their goat-skin bucklers are not snakes but made of thongs of hide, in all else their equipment is the same. Nay, the very name bewrays that the raiment of the statues of Pallas has come from Libya; for Libyan women wear hairless tasselled goatskins over their dress, coloured with madder, and the Greeks have changed the name of these into their “aegis.”

Further, to my thinking the ceremonial chant first took its rise in Libya: for the women of that country chant very tunefully. And it is from the Libyans that the Greeks have learnt to drive four-horse chariots.

190. The dead are buried by the nomads in Greek fashion, save by the Nasamones. These bury their dead sitting, being careful to make the dying man sit when he gives up the ghost, and not die lying supine. Their dwellings are compact of asphodel-stalks twined about reeds; they can be carried hither and thither. Such are the Libyan usages.

191. Westward of the river Triton and next to the Ausees begins the country of Libyans who till the soil and possess houses; they are called Maxyes; they wear their hair long on the right side of their heads and shave the left, and they paint their bodies with vermilion. These claim descent from the men who came from Troy. Their country, and the rest of Athene; a cry of triumph or exultation, perhaps of Eastern origin and connected with the Semitic Hallelu (which survives in Hallelu-jah).

Asphodel is a long-stalked plant. The name has acquired picturesque associations; but Homer’s “asphodel meadow” is in the unhappy realm of the dead, and is intended clearly to indicate a place of rank weeds.
χώρη αὐτη τε καὶ ἡ λουπή τῆς Διβύης ἡ πρὸς ἐσπέρην πολλῷ θηριωδεστήρε τε καὶ δασυτέρη
ἐστι τῆς τῶν νομάδων χώρης. ἡ μὲν γὰρ δὴ πρὸς τὴν ἥδη τῆς Διβύης, τὴν οἱ νομάδες νέμουσι, ἐστὶ ταπεινή τε καὶ ψαμμώδης μέχρι τοῦ Τρί-
τωνος ποταμοῦ, ἡ δὲ ἀπὸ τούτοι τὸ πρὸς ἐσπέρην ἡ τῶν ἀροτήρων ὅρειν τῆς κάρτα καὶ δασεὰ καὶ
θηριώδης· καὶ γὰρ οἱ ὄφιες οἱ ὑπερμεγάθες καὶ οἱ
λέωντες κατὰ τούτους εἰσὶ καὶ οἱ ἐλέφαντες τε καὶ
ἀρκτοί καὶ ἀσπίδες τε καὶ ὁνοι οἱ τὰ κέρεα ἔχον-
tες καὶ οἱ κυνοκέφαλοι καὶ οἱ ἀκέφαλοι οἱ ἐν
τοῖς στήθεσι τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς ἔχοντες, ὡς δὴ
λέγουσι οἱ ὑπὸ Διβύων, καὶ οἱ ἄγριοι ἄνδρες καὶ
γυναικὲς ἄγριαι, καὶ ἀλλα πλῆθει πολλὰ θηρία
ἀκατάψευτα.

192. Κατὰ τοὺς νομάδας δέ ἐστὶ τούτων οὐδὲν,
ἀλλ᾽ ἄλλα τοιάδε, πύγαργοι καὶ χορκάδες καὶ
βουβάλιες καὶ ὁνοὶ, οὐκ οἱ τὰ κέρεα ἔχοντες ἀλλ᾽
ἀλλοι ἀποτοῖ (οὐ γὰρ δὴ πύγαργοι), καὶ ὄρνες, τῶν
tὰ κέρεα τοῖς φοίνιξι οἱ πῆχες ποιεύνται (μέγα-
thος δὲ τὸ θηρίον τοῦτο κατὰ βοῶν ἐστί), καὶ βασ-
σάρια καὶ θανατοῖ καὶ ύπτριχες καὶ κριοὶ ἄγριοι
καὶ δίκτυνες καὶ θῶες καὶ πάνθηρες καὶ βόρνες,
καὶ κροκόδειλοι ὅσον τε τριπήχες χερσαίοι, τῆς
σαύρης ἐμφερέστατοι, καὶ στρουθοὶ κατάγαινοι,
καὶ ὄφιες μικροί, κέρας ἐν ἑκαστοὶ ἔχοντες· ταύτα
tε δὴ αὐτὸθε ἐστὶ θηρία καὶ τὰ περὶ τῇ ἄλη,
πλὴν ἐλάφου τε καὶ ὅσο ἄγριον· ἑλάφος δὲ καὶ ὃς
ἄγριος ἐν Διβύῃ πάμπαν οὐκ ἐστὶ. μὲν δὲ
γένεα τρίξα αὐτόθε ἐστὶ· οἱ μὲν διποδες καλέον-
tαι, οἱ δὲ ξεγέρες (τὸ δὲ οὐνομα τοῦτο ἐστὶ μὲν
Διβυστικόν, δύναται δὲ κατ᾽ Ελλάδα γλώσσαν.
of the western part of Libya, is much fuller of wild beasts and more wooded than the country of the nomads. For the eastern region of Libya, which the nomads inhabit, is low-lying and sandy as far as the river Triton; but the land westward of this, where dwell the tillers of the soil, is exceeding hilly and wooded and full of wild beasts. In that country are the huge snakes, and the elephants and bears and asps, the horned asses, the dog-headed men and the headless that have their eyes in their breasts, as the Libyans say, and the wild men and women, besides many other creatures not fabulous.

192. But in the nomads' country there are none of these; yet there are others, gazelles of divers kinds, asses, not the horned asses, but those that are called undrinking (for indeed they never drink), antelopes of the bigness of an ox, the horns whereof are made into the sides of a lyre, foxes, hyenas, porcupines, wild rams, the dictys and the borys,1 jackals and panthers, land crocodiles three cubits long, most like to lizards, and ostriches and little one-horned serpents; all these beasts are there besides those that are elsewhere too, save only deer and wild swine; of these two kinds there are none at all in Libya. There are in this country three kinds of mice, the two-footed,2 the "zegeries" (this is a Libyan word, signifying in our language hills),

1 The dictys and borys are not identifiable. (But there is a small African deer called the Dik-dik.)
2 Clearly, the jerboa.
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βουνοί), οἳ δὲ ἐχινέες. εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ γαλαί ἐν τῷ σιλήφῳ γινόμεναι τῇ Ταρτησσίᾳ ὁμοιόταται. τοσαῦτα μὲν νυν θηρία ἡ τῶν νομάδων Διβύων γῆ ἔχει, ὅσον ἤμεις ἱστορέοντες ἐπὶ μακρότατον οἷοι τε ἐγενόμεθα ἐξικέσατο.

193. Μαξύνων δὲ Διβύων Ζαύηκες ἔχονται, τοίσι αἱ γυναίκες ἤνιοχέοι τὰ ἀρματα ἐς τὸν πόλεμον.

194. Τούτων δὲ Γύζαντες ἔχονται, ἐν τοῖσι μὲν πολλῶν μὲν μέλισσαν κατεργάζονται, πολλῷ δὲ ἐτὶ πλέον λέγεται δημοσεργοὺς ἀνδρας ποιέειν. μιλτούνται δ' ὅν πάντες οὕτω καὶ πιθηκοφαγέοις: οὐ δὲ σφί ἄφθουν οὗτοι ἐν τοῖσι ὤρει γίνονται.

195. Κατὰ τούτους δὲ λέγουσι Καρχηδόνιοι κεῖσθαι νῆσον τῇ οὖνομα εἶναι Κύρανιν, μῆκος μὲν διηκοσίων σταδίων, πλάτος δὲ στεινῆς, δια-βατῶν ἐκ τῆς ἥπειρος, ἐλαιέων τε μεστην καὶ ἀμπέλων. λίμνης δὲ ἐν αὐτῇ εἶναι, ἐκ τῆς οἳ παρθένοι τῶν ἐπιχωρίων πτεροίσι ὀρνίθων κεχριμένοις πίσση ἐκ τῆς ἠλύους ψῆφιμα ἀναφέρουσι χρυσῷ. ταύτα εἰ μὲν ἐστί ἀληθέως οὐκ οἶδα, τὰ δὲ λέγεται γράφω: εἰ ἢ δ' ἀν πάν, ὅκου καὶ ἐν Ζακύνθῳ ἐκ λίμνης καὶ ύδατος πίσσαν ἀναφέρο-μένην αὐτὸς ἔγω ὄρων. εἰσὶ μὲν καὶ πλεῖνες αἱ λίμναι αὐτοθεί, ἢ δ' ὅν μεγίστη αὐτέων ἐβδομῆ-κοντα ποδῶν πάντη, βάθος δὲ διόργυγος ἐστὶ ἡ ταύτην κοντὰ κατείσι ἐπ' ἀκρῷ μυρσίνην προσδήσαντες καὶ ἐπείτα ἀναφέρουσι τῇ μυρσίνῃ πίσσαν, ὄδμην μὲν ἔχουσαν ἀσφάλτου, τὰ δ' ἄλλα τῆς Πειρεκῆς πίσσης ἀμείων. ἔσχεον δὲ ἐς λάκκον ὀρφυρυχοῦν ἄγχοι τῆς λίμνης: ἔπεαν δὲ 396
and the hairy, as they are called. There are also weasels found in the silphium, very like to the weasels of Tartessus. So many are the wild creatures of the nomads' country, as far as by our utmost enquiry we have been able to learn.

193. Next to the Maxyes of Libya are the Zauekes, whose women drive their chariots to war.

194. Next to these are the Gyzantes, where much honey is made by bees, and much more yet (so it is said) by craftsmen.\(^1\) It is certain that they all paint themselves with vermilion and eat apes, which do greatly abound in their mountains.

195. Off their coast (say the Carchedonians) there lies an island called Cyrauis, two hundred furlongs long and narrow across; there is a passage to it from the mainland; it is full of olives and vines. It is said that there is a lake in this island wherefrom the maidens of the country draw up gold-dust out of the mud with feathers smeared with pitch. I know not if this be truly so; I write but what is said. Yet all things are possible; for I myself saw pitch drawn from the water of a pool in Zacynthus. The pools there are many; the greatest of them is seventy feet long and broad, and two fathoms deep. Into this they drop a pole with a myrtle branch made fast to its end, and bring up pitch on the myrtle, smelling like asphalt, and for the rest better than the pitch of Pieria. Then they pour it into a pit that they have dug near the pool; and when

\(^1\) *cp.* vii. 31, where men are said to make honey out of wheat and tamarisk.
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ἀδροίσωσι συχνὴν, οὕτω ἐσ τοὺς ἀμφορέας ἐκ τοῦ λάκκου καταχέουσι. ὁ τι ἂν ἑσπέρα ἐς τὴν ἁμνήν, ὑπὸ γῆν ἵνα ἀναφαίνεται ἐν τῇ θαλάσσῃ· ἢ δὲ ἀπέχει ὡς τέσσερα στάδια ἀπὸ τῆς ἁμνῆς. οὕτω ὁι καὶ τὰ ἀπὸ τῆς νήσου τῆς ἐπὶ Λιβύης κειμένης οἰκότα ἐστὶ ἀληθείᾳ.

196. Δέγγοις δὲ καὶ τάδε Καρχηδόνιοι. εἰναι τῆς Λιβύης χῶρον τε καὶ ἀνθρώπους ἔξω Ἡρακλέων στηλέων κατοικημένους· ἐς τοὺς ἔπεαν ἀπίκωνται καὶ ἐξέλωνται τὰ φορτία, θέντες αὐτὰ ἐπεξῆς παρὰ τὴν κυματώγην, ἐσβάντες ἐς τὰ πλοῖα τύφειν κατινών. τοὺς δὲ ἐπιχωρίους ἰδομένους τὸν καπνὸν ἤναι ἐπὶ τὴν θάλασσαν καὶ ἔπειτα ἀντὶ τῶν φορτίων χρυσὸν τιθέναι καὶ ἐξαναχωρεῖν πρόσω ἀπὸ τῶν φορτίων. τοὺς δὲ Καρχηδόνιους ἐκβάντας σκέπτεσθαι, καὶ ἢν μὲν φαίνεται σφι ἄξιος ὁ χρυσὸς τῶν φορτίων, ἀνελόμενοι ἀπαλλάσσονται, ἢν δὲ μὴ ἄξιος, ἐσβάντες ὡς ἐς τὰ πλοῖα κατέαται· οἱ δὲ προσελθόντες ἄλλου πρὸς ὁν ἔθηκαν χρυσὸν, ἔσ τὸν πείθωσι. ἀδικείειν δὲ οὐδετέρους· οὕτε γὰρ αὐτοὺς τοῦ χρυσοῦ ἀπτεσθαι πρὶν ἢν σφι ἀπισώθη τῇ ἄξιῃ τῶν φορτίων, οὕτε ἐκεῖνος τῶν φορτίων ἀπτεσθαι πρὸτερον ἢ αὐτὸ τὸ χρυσὸν λάβωσι.

197. Ὁρτοὶ μὲν εἰσὶ τοὺς ἕμεις ἑχομεν Λιβύων ὄνομάσαι, καὶ τούτων οἱ πολλοὶ βασιλέος τοῦ Μήδων οὕτε τὶ νῦν οὕτε τὸτε εφρώντως οὐδέν. τοσοῦτοι δὲ ἐστὶ ἰχχει ἐιπείν περὶ τῆς χώρης ταύτης, ὅτι τέσσερα θενεα νέμεται αὐτὴν καὶ οὗ πλέω τούτων, ὅσον ἕμεις ὁμοῖος, καὶ τὰ μὲν δῦο αὐτοχθόνοι τῶν εὐνέων τὰ δὲ δύο οὖ, Λιβνες μὲν καὶ Λιβισπες αὐτοχθονες, οὐ μὲν τὰ πρὸς βορέω οὐ δὲ
BOOK IV. 195-197

much is collected there, they fill their vessels from the pit. Whatever thing falls into the pool is carried under ground and appears again in the sea, which is about four furlongs distant from the pool. Thus, then, the story coming from the island off the Libyan coast is like the truth.

196. Another story too is told by the Carchedonians. There is a place, they say, where men dwell beyond the Pillars of Heracles; to this they come and unload their cargo; then having laid it orderly by the waterline they go aboard their ships and light a smoking fire. The people of the country see the smoke, and coming to the sea they lay down gold to pay for the cargo and withdraw away from the wares. Then the Carchedonians disembark and examine the gold; if it seems to them a fair price for their cargo, they take it and go their ways; but if not, they go aboard again and wait, and the people come back and add more gold till the shipmen are satisfied. Herein neither party (it is said) defrauds the other; the Carchedonians do not lay hands on the gold till it matches the value of their cargo, nor do the people touch the cargo till the shipmen have taken the gold.

197. These are all the Libyans whom we can name, and of their kings the most part cared nothing for the king of the Medes at the time of which I write, nor do they care for him now. I have thus much further to say of this country: four nations and no more, as far as our knowledge serves, inhabit it, whereof two are aboriginal and two are not; the Libyans in the north and the Ethiopians in the
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tὰ πρὸς νότου τῆς Διβύης οἰκέοντες, Φοίνικες δὲ καὶ Ὁ Ἑλληνες ἐπίλυδες.

198. Δοκεῖ δὲ μοι οὖν ἀρετὴν εἶναι τις ἡ Διβύη σπουδαίᾳ ὥστε ἦ Ἄσις ἢ Ἐὐρώπη παραβληθήναι, πλὴν Κίνυπτος μούνησ· τὸ γὰρ δὴ αὐτὸ οὖν ὅμως ἢ γῆ τῷ ποταμῷ ἔχει. αὐτὴ δὲ ὅμοιὴ τῇ ἁρίστῃ γέων. Δήμητρος καρπὸν ἐκφέρειν οὐδὲ ἐοικε οὐδὲν τῇ ἀλλή Διβύη. μελάγγαζος τε γὰρ ἐστὶ καὶ ἐπυδρός πίδαξ, καὶ οὔτε αὐχμοὺ φροντὶς ζουσα οὐδέν οὔτε ὁμβρον πλέω πιούσα δεδηληται· ὅτι γὰρ δὴ ταῦτα τῆς Διβύης. τῶν δὲ ἐκφορίων τοῦ καρποῦ ταῦτα μέτρα τῇ Βαβυλωνίᾳ γὴ κατισταται. ἀγαθὴ δὲ γῆ καὶ τὴν Ἑὐσεπτίται νεμονται· ἕπτ' ἐκατοστὰ γὰρ, ἐπεάν αὐτὴ ἑωτήρι ἁριστα ἕνεικη, ἐκφέρει, δὲ ἐν τῇ Κίνυπτι ἐπὶ τρηκόσια.

199. Ἐχει δὲ καὶ ἡ Κυρηναῖα χώρη, ἑούσα υψηλοτάτη ταύτης τῆς Διβύης τὴν οἱ νομάδες νεμονται, τρεῖς ἄρας ἐν ἑωτήρι ἱππασ ὁματος. πρώτα μὲν γὰρ τὰ παραθαλάσσια τῶν καρπῶν ὀργάν άμαθαί τε καὶ τρυγαρθαι· τούτων τε δὴ συγκεκομισμένων τὰ ύπερ τῶν θαλασσιδίων χώρων τὰ μέσα ὀργάνα συγκομίζονται, τὰ θουνὸς καλέουσι· συγκεκομιστά τε οὖν οἱ μέσος καρπός καὶ ο ἐν τῇ κατυπερτάτῃ τῆς γῆς πεπαίνεται τε καὶ ὀργάναι, ὡστε ἐπετεόταται τε καὶ καταβεβρωται ὁ πρῶτος καρπός καὶ ὁ τελευταῖος σύμπαραγίνεται· οὖν ἐπὶ ἀκτῶν μῆνας Κυρηναίους ὁπώρη ἐπέχει. ταῦτα μὲν νυν ἐπτοσοῦτον εἰρήσθω.

200. Οἱ δὲ Φερετίμης τιμωροῦ Πέρσαι ἐπείτε ἐκ τῆς Αἰγύπτου σταλέντες ὑπὸ Ἀρνάνδεω ἀπὶ κατο ἐς τὴν Βάρκην, ἐπολυρκεον τὴν πόλιν

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south of Libya are aboriginal, the Phoenicians and Greeks are later settlers.

198. To my thinking, there is in no part of Libya any great excellence whereby it should be compared to Asia or Europe, save only in the region which is called by the same name as its river, Cinyps. But this region is a match for the most fertile cornlands in the world, nor is it at all like to the rest of Libya. For the soil is black and well watered by springs, and has no fear of drought, nor is it harmed by drinking excessive showers (there is rain in this part of Libya). Its yield of corn is of the same measure as in the land of Babylon. The land inhabited by the Euhesperitae is also good; it yields at the most an hundredfold; but the land of the Cinyps region yields three hundredfold.

199. The country of Cyrene, which is the highest part of that Libya which the nomads inhabit, has the marvellous boon of three harvest seasons. First on the sea-coast the fruits of the earth are ripe for reaping and plucking: when these are gathered, the middle region above the coast, that which they call the Hills, is ripe for gathering: and no sooner is this yield of the middle country gathered than the highest-lying crops are mellow and ripe, so that the latest fruits of the earth are coming in when the earliest are already spent by way of food and drink. Thus the Cyrenaecans have a harvest lasting eight months. Of these matters, then, enough.

200. Now when the Persians sent by Ariandes from Egypt to avenge Pherecitme came to Barce,¹ they laid siege to the city, demanding the surrender of

¹ The story broken off in ch. 167 is resumed.
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ἐπαγγελλόμενοι ἐκδιδόναι τοὺς αὐτίους τοῦ φόνου τοῦ Ἀρκεσίλεως τῶν δὲ πᾶν γὰρ ἦν τὸ πλῆθος μεταίτιον, οὐκ ἔδεκοντο τοὺς λόγους. ἐνθαῦτα δὴ ἐπολιορκεον τὴν Βάρκην ἐπὶ μῆνας ἐννέα, ὀρύσσοντες τε ὀρύγματα ὑπόγαμα φέροντα ἐς τὸ τεῖχος καὶ προσβολὰς ποιεύμενοι. τὰ μὲν ὄνομα ὀρύγματα ἁνὴρ χαλκεὺς ἀνεύρα ἐπιχάλξῃ ἀσπίδι, ὡδε ἐπιφρασθεῖς, περιφέρων αὐτὴν ἐντὸς τοῦ τείχεος προσέχοντα πρὸς τὸ δάπεδον τῆς πόλεως. τὰ μὲν δὴ ἄλλα ἔσκε κωφὰ πρὸς τὰ προσέχοντα, κατὰ δὲ τὰ ὀρύσσομενα ἥχεσσε καὶ χαλκὸς τῆς ἀσπίδος. ἀντορύσσοντες δὲ ἀν ταύτην οἱ Βαρκαιοὶ ἔκτεινον τῶν Περσῶν τοὺς γεωργικοῦς τοὺς. τούτῳ μὲν δὴ οὕτω ἐξευρέθη, τὰς δὲ προσβολὰς ἀπεκρούοντο οἱ Βαρκαιοὶ.

201. Χρόνον δὲ δὴ πολλῶν τριβομένων καὶ πιττῶν ἀμφοτέρων πολλῶν καὶ οὐκ ἠσσον τῶν Περσῶν, Ἀμασίς ὁ στρατηγὸς τοῦ πεζοῦ μηχανάται τοιάδε. μαθῶν τοὺς Βαρκαιοὺς ὡς κατὰ μὲν τὸ ἱσχυρὸν οὐκ αἱρετοὶ εἰεν, δόλῳ δὲ αἱρετοὶ, ποιεῖτο τοιάδε: νυκτὸς τάφρος ὀρύζας εὑρέαν ἐπέτεινε ξύλα ἀσθενέα ὕπερ αὐτῆς, κατύπερθε δὲ ἐπιπολῆς τῶν ξύλων χοῦν γῆς ἐπεφόρησε ποιέων τῇ ἀλλῃ γῇ ἵσοπεδον. ἀμα ἠμέρη δὲ ἐς λόγους προσεκάλετο τοὺς Βαρκαιοὺς· οὐ δὲ ἀσπαστῶς ὑπῆκουσαν, ἐς δὲ σφι ἔστε ὀμολογή σχησαθαι. τῇ δὲ ὀμολογήνῃ ἐποιεύτω τοινυκτί τινα, ἐπὶ τῆς κρυπτῆς τάφρου τάμνοντες ὅρκια, ἐστὶ δὲν ἡ γῆ αὕτη οὕτω ἔχη, μένειν τὸ ὅρκιον κατὰ χώρην, καὶ Βαρκαιοὺς τε ὑποτελείειν φάναι ἀξίην βασιλεία καὶ Πέρσας μηδὲν ἄλλο νεοχμοῦν κατὰ Βαρκαιοὺς. μετὰ δὲ τὸ ὅρκιον Βαρκαιοι

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BOOK IV. 200–201

those who were guilty of the slaying of Arcesilaus; but the Barcaeans, whose whole people were accessory to the deed, would not consent. Then the Persians besieged Barce for nine months, digging underground passages leading to the walls, and making violent assaults. As for the mines, a smith discovered them by the means of a shield coated with bronze, and this is how he found them: carrying the shield round the inner side of the walls he smote it against the ground of the city; all other places where he smote it returned but a dull sound, but where the mines were the bronze of the shield rang clear. Here the Barcaeans made a countermine and slew those Persians who were digging the earth. Thus the mines were discovered, and the assaults were beaten off by the townsman.

201. When much time was spent and ever many on both sides (but of the Persians more) were slain, Amasis the general of the land army devised a plot, as knowing that Barce could not be taken by force but might be taken by guile: he dug by night a wide trench and laid frail planks across it, which he then covered over with a layer of earth level with the ground about it. Then when day came he invited the Barcaeans to confer with him, and they readily consented; at last all agreed to conditions of peace. This was done thus: standing on the hidden trench, they gave and took a sworn assurance that their treaty should hold good while the ground where they stood was unchanged; the Barcaeans should promise to pay a due sum to the king, and the Persians should do the Barcaeans no hurt. When the sworn agreement was made, the towns-
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μὲν πιστεύσαντες τούτοις αὐτοὶ τε ἔξῆσαν ἐκ τοῦ ἀστείου καὶ τῶν πολεμίων ἔως παριέναι ἐς τὸ τείχος τῶν βουλόμενοι, τὰς πάσας πύλας ἀνοίξαντες ἵνα ἐπέκειντο τὴν κρυφῆν γέφυραν ἔθεον ἐς τὸ τείχος. κατέρρηξαν ἓ τούδε ἐoineκα τὴν ἐποίησαν γέφυραν, ἵνα ἐμπεδοκέειν, ταμόντες τοῦτο Βαρκαίους χρόνον μένειν αἰεὶ τὸ ὀρκιου δοὺς ἄν ἂ γῆ μὲν κατὰ τότε εἰχε καταρρῆξας δὲ οὐκέτι ἔμενε τὸ ὀρκιον κατὰ χώρην.

202. Τοὺς μὲν νῦν αἰτιωτάτοις τῶν Βαρκαίων ἡ Φερετίμη, ἔπειτε οἶ ἐκ τῶν Περσέων παρεδόθησαι, ἀνεσκολώπσει κύκλῳ τοῦ τείχους, τῶν δὲ σφιγγικῶν τους μαζώς ἀποταμοῦσα περιέστησε καὶ τούτοις τὸ τείχος, τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς τῶν Βαρκαίων ληθην ἐκέλευε θέσθαι τοὺς Πέρσας, πλὴν ὐςοι αὐτῶν ἦσαν Βαττιάδαι τε καὶ τοῦ φόνου οὐ μεταίτιοι τούτοις δὲ τὴν πόλιν ἐπέτρεψε ἡ Φερετίμη.

203. Τοὺς ἄν δὲ λοιποὺς τῶν Βαρκαίων οἱ Πέρσαι ἀνδραποδισάμενοι ἀπῆσαν ὑπὸσω καὶ ἔπειτε ἐπὶ τῇ Κυρηναίων πόλιν ἐπέστησαν, οἱ Κυρηναιοὶ λόγων τὶ ἀποσιώμενοι διεξῆκαν αὐτοὺς διὰ τοῦ ἀστείου. διεξούσῃ δὲ τῆς στρατηγῆς Βάρδης μὲν ὁ τοῦ ναυτικοῦ στρατοῦ στρατηγὸς ἐκέλευε αἱρεῖν τὴν πόλιν, Ἀμασίς δὲ ὁ τοῦ πεζοῦ ὑπὸ ἐπὶ Βάρκην γὰρ ἀποσταλὴν μοῦν Ἐλληνίδα πόλιν· ἐς διεξελθοῦσι καὶ ἱζομένους ἐπὶ Δίῳ Δυκαίου ὁχθὸν μετεμελήσει σφι οὐ σχούσι τὴν Κυρήνην. καὶ ἐπειρωτὸ τὸ δεύτερον παριέναι ἐς αὐτὴν οἱ δὲ Κυρηναιοὶ οὐ περιώρων τοῦτο δὲ Περσηφί οὐδενὸς μαχομένου φόβος ἐνέ-
BOOK IV. 201-203

men, trusting in it and opening all their gates, themselves came out of the city, and suffered all their enemies who so desired to enter within the walls: but the Persians broke down the hidden bridge and ran into the city. They broke down the bridge that they had made, that so they might keep the oath which they had sworn to the Barcaeans, namely, that this treaty should hold good for as long as the ground remained as it was; but if they broke the bridge the treaty held good no longer.

202. Pheretim took the most guilty of the Barcaeans, when they were delivered to him by the Persians, and set them impaled round the top of the wall; she cut off the breasts of their women and planted them round the wall in like manner. As for the remnant of the Barcaeans, she bade the Persians take them as their booty, save as many as were of the house of Battus and not accessory to the murder; to these she committed the governance of the city.

203. The Persians thus enslaved the rest of the Barcaeans, and departed homewards. When they halted at Cyrene, the Cyrenaeans suffered them to pass through their city, that a certain oracle might be fulfilled. As the army was passing through, Badres the admiral of the fleet was for taking the city, but Amasis the general of the land army would not consent, saying that he had been sent against Barce and no other Greek city; at last they passed through Cyrene and encamped on the hill of Lycaean Zeus; there they repented of not having taken the city, and essayed to enter it again, but the Cyrenaeans would not suffer them. Then, though none attacked them, fear fell upon the Persians, and they
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πεσε, ἀποδραμόντες τε ὅσον τε ἐξήκοντα στάδια ἤζοντο. ἱδρύθεντι δὲ τῷ στρατοπέδῳ ταύτῃ ἤλθε
παρὰ Ἀρνάνδεω ἄγγελος ἀποκαλέων αὐτοὺς. οἱ
dὲ Πέρσαι Κυρηναίων δειθὲντες ἐποδία σφὶ δοῦναι
ἐτυχοῦν, ἠβοῦντες δὲ ταύτα ἀπαλλάσσοντο ἐς τὴν
Αἰγύπτου. παραλαβόντες δὲ τὸ ἐνθεύτεν αὐτοὺς
Δίβνες τῆς τε ἐσθήτος εἴνεκα καὶ τῆς σκευῆς τοὺς
ὑπολειπομένους αὐτῶν καὶ ἐπελκομένους ἔφονον,
ἐς ὅ ἐς τὴν Αἰγύπτου ἀπίκοντο.

204. Οὔτος ὁ Περσέων στρατὸς τῆς Λιβύης
ἐκαστάτῳ ἐς Εὐθεσπερίδας ἤλθε. τοὺς δὲ ἦδραπο-
ποδίσαντο τῶν Βαρκαίων, τούτοις δὲ ἐκ τῆς
Αἰγύπτου ἀνασπιστότων ἐποίησαν παρὰ βασιλέα,
βασιλεὺς δὲ σφὶ Δαρείος ἐδωκε τῆς Βακτρίης
χώρης κόμην ἐγκατακίκησα. οὐ δὲ τῇ κόμῃ ταύτῃ
οὖνομα ἔθεντο Βάρκην, ἢ περ ἐτι καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ ἦν
οἰκειομένη ἐν γῇ τῇ Βακτρίῃ.

205. Οὐ μὲν οὔδὲ ἡ Φερετίμη εὗ τὴν ζῆνα κατέ-
πλέξε. ὡς γὰρ δὴ τάχιστα ἐκ τῆς Λιβύης τισα-
μένη τοὺς Βαρκαίους ἀπενόστησε ἐς τὴν Αἰγυπτοῦ,
ἀπέθανε κακῶς. ξώσα γὰρ εὐλέων ἐξέβαζε, ὡς
ἀρὰ ἀνθρώποις αἱ λίην ἰσχυρὰ τιμωρίαι πρὸς
θεῶν ἐπίφθονοι γίνονται. ἐκ μὲν δὴ Φερετίμης
τῆς Βάττου τοιαύτῃ τε καὶ τοσαύτη τιμωρίᾳ
ἐγένετο ἐς Βαρκαίους.
BOOK IV. 203–205

fled to a place sixty furlongs distant and there encamped; and presently while they were there a messenger from Aryandes came to the camp bidding them return. The Persians asked and obtained of the Cyrenaeans provisions for their march, having received which they departed, to go to Egypt; but after that they fell into the hands of the Libyans, who slew the laggards and stragglers of the host for the sake of their garments and possessions; till at last they came to Egypt.

204. This Persian armament advanced as far as Euhesperidae in Libya and no farther. As for the Barcaeans whom they had taken for slaves, they carried them from Egypt into banishment and brought them to the king, and Darius gave them a town of Bactria to dwell in. They gave this town the name Barce, and it remained an inhabited place in Bactria till my own lifetime.

205. But Pheretime fared ill too, and made no good ending of her life. For immediately after she had revenged herself on the Barcaeans and returned to Egypt, she died a foul death; her living body festered and bred worms: so wroth, it would seem, are the gods with over-violent human vengeance. Such, and so great, was the vengeance which Pheretime daughter of Battus wrought upon the people of Barce.
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