Diodorus of Sicily

II

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DIODORUS OF SICILY

IN TWELVE VOLUMES

II

BOOKS II (continued) 35–IV, 58

WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION BY

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INTRODUCTION

Books II, 35-IV, 58

Book II, 35-42 is devoted to a brief description of India which was ultimately derived from Megasthenes. Although Diodorus does not mention this author, his use of him is established by the similarity between his account of India and the Indica of Arrian and the description of that land by Strabo, both of whom avowedly drew their material from that writer. Megasthenes was in the service of Seleucus Nicator and in connection with embassies to the court of king Sandracottus (Chandragupta) at Patna was in India for some time between 302 and 291 B.C. In his Indica in four Books he was not guilty of the romances of Ctesias, but it is plain that he was imposed upon by interpreters and guides, as was Herodotus on his visit to Egypt. It cannot be known whether Diodorus used Megasthenes directly or through a medium; his failure to mention his name a single time is a little surprising, if he used him directly. The Scythians, the Amazons of Asia Minor, and the Hyperboreans are then briefly discussed, and Chapters 48-54 are devoted to Syria, Palestine, and Arabia. It is thought that this last section may go

1 On Megasthenes see now B. C. J. Timmer, Megasthenes en de Indische Maatschappij, Amsterdam, 1930.
INTRODUCTION

back to the Stoic philosopher, Poseidonius of Apameia, especially because of its explanation of the varied colouring of birds and different kinds of animals as being due to the “helpful influence and strength of the sun.” The Book closes with a description of a fabulous people living in a political Utopia on an island “in the ocean to the south,” the account purporting to be the adventure of a certain Iambulus, which may indeed be the name of the author of the original tale.

The Third Book opens with an account of the Ethiopians on the upper Nile, then describes the working of the gold mines on the border between Egypt and Ethiopia, and includes a long discussion of the Red Sea and the peoples dwelling about it, with some mention of the tribes along the shores of the Indian Ocean and the Persian Gulf. Much of this material was drawn from the geographer Agatharchides of Cnidus, whose work, On the Red Sea, is preserved to us in the excerpts of Photius. This work of Agatharchides, composed in the latter part of the second century B.C., embraced five Books and is on the whole a sober and fairly trustworthy discussion of that region; much of it was certainly based upon the stories and accounts of travellers in these parts and on personal observation. With chapter 49 Diodorus turns to Libya and embarks upon the myths of the Libyans about the Gorgons and Amazons, this subject serving to lead him over into Greek mythology, which is the theme of the entire Fourth Book.

Since, as Diodorus tells us, Ephorus, and Callisthenes and Theopompus, contemporaries of Ephorus, had not included the myths in their histories, viii
INTRODUCTION

Diodorus opens the Fourth Book with a defence of his exposition of Greek mythology. The gods were once kings and heroes who have been deified because of the great benefits which they conferred upon mankind; they have been the object of veneration by men of old and we "should not fail to cherish and maintain for the gods the pious devotion which has been handed down to us from our fathers" (ch. 8.5); if their deeds appear superhuman it is because they are measured by the weakness of the men of Diodorus' day. Much of this material was drawn directly from Dionysius of Mitylene who lived in Alexandria in the second century B.C. and composed, doubtless with the aid of the library in that city and certainly with considerable indulgence in the romantic, his Kyklos, a kind of encyclopaedia of mythology, which included accounts of the Argonauts, Dionysus, the Amazons, events connected with the Trojan War, and all this he described with such devotion and assiduity that he was given the nickname Skytobrachion ("of the leathern arm"). It is generally held that for his account of Heracles Diodorus took generously from a Praise of Heracles by Matris of Thebes,\(^1\) who is otherwise unknown and composed his encomium with vigorous rhetorical flourishes, taking care to mention every maiden ravished by Heracles and her child, in order to establish Heraclean ancestry for the numerous families in the Greek world which raised such a claim. But here and there, when he touched the western Mediterranean, Diodorus used Timaeus of Tauromenium, who, an exile in Athens for the best

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fifty years of his life, completed, not long before his death about 250 B.C. and almost altogether from literary sources, a history of Sicily and the western Mediterranean in thirty-eight Books. Any attempt to continue further the quest for the sources of Diodorus in this section of his work must run into the sands.
THE LIBRARY OF HISTORY
OF
DIODORUS OF SICILY
BOOK II
ΔΙΟΔΩΡΟΥ
ΤΟΥ ΣΙΚΕΛΙΩΤΟΥ
ΒΙΒΛΙΟΘΗΚΗΣ ΙΣΤΟΡΙΚΗΣ

ΒΙΒΛΟΣ ΔΕΥΤΕΡΑ

35. Ἡ τούτων Ἰνδικῇ τετράπλευρος οὐσὰ τῷ σχήματι, τὴν μὲν πρὸς ἀνατολὰς νεύουσαν πλευρὰν καὶ τὴν πρὸς ἀρκτῶν τὸ Ἡμιώδον ὄρος διείργει τῆς Σκυθίας, ἣν κατοικοῦσι τῶν Σκυθῶν οἱ προσαγορευόμενοι Σάκαι. τὴν δὲ τετάρτην πρὸς δύσιαν ἔστραμμένην διείληφεν ὁ Ἰνδὸς προσαγορευόμενος ποταμός, μέγιστος ὑπὸ τῶν πάντων μετὰ τῶν Νείλων. τὸ δὲ μέγεθος τῆς ὀλῆς Ἰνδικῆς φασὶν ὑπάρχειν ἀπὸ μὲν ἀνατολῶν πρὸς δύσιν δισμυρίων ὅκτακισχίλιων σταδίων, ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν ἀρκτῶν πρὸς μεσημβρίαν τρισμυρίων δισχιλίων. τηλικάυτη δ' οὐσὰ τὸ μέγεθος δοκεῖ τὸν κόσμον μάλιστα περιέχειν τῶν τῶν θερινῶν τροπῶν κύκλων, καὶ πολλαχῇ μὲν ἐπὶ ἀκραὶ τῆς Ἰνδικῆς ἱδεῖν ἐστὶν ἀσκίους ὄντας τοὺς γνώμονας, νυκτὸς δὲ τὰς ἀρκτοὺς

1 τὴν πρὸς Bekker: πρὸς D, τὴν πρὸς τὴν Vulgate.
2 τὴν after τετάρτην omitted by D, Bekker, Vogel.

1 The Indian Ocean.
35. Now India is four-sided in shape and the side which faces east and that which faces south are embraced by the Great Sea,\(^1\) while that which faces north is separated by the Emodus range of mountains from that part of Scythia which is inhabited by the Scythians known as the Sacae; and the fourth side, which is turned towards the west, is marked off by the river known as the Indus, which is the largest of all streams after the Nile. As for its magnitude, India as a whole, they say, extends from east to west twenty-eight thousand stades, and from north to south thirty-two thousand. And because it is of such magnitude, it is believed to take in a greater extent of the sun's course in summer\(^2\) than any other part of the world, and in many places at the Cape of India the gnomons of sundials may be seen which do not cast a shadow, while at night the Bears are

\(^1\) Lit. "of the summer turnings" of the sun, i.e., the course which the sun seems to traverse in the heavens from the solstice on June 22 to the equinox in September, corresponding to the part of the earth lying between the Tropic of Cancer and the equator.
ΔΙΟΔΟΡΟΣ ΟF ΣΙΚΙΛΥ

άθεωρήτους· ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἐσχάτοις οὐδ' αὐτών τὸν ἀρκτούρον φαίνεσθαι· καθ' ὃν δὴ τόπον 1 φαί
cαι τὰς σκιὰς κεκλίσθαι πρὸς μεσημβρίαν.

3 'Ἡ δ' οὖν Ἰνδικῇ πολλά μὲν ὄρη καὶ μεγάλα ἔχει δένδρεσι παντοδαποῖς καρπίμοις πλήθοντα,
pολλά δὲ πεδία καὶ μεγάλα καρποφόρα, τῷ μὲν κάλλει διάφορα, ποταμῶν δὲ πλῆθει διαρρέο-
μενα. τὰ πολλὰ δὲ τῆς χώρας ἀρδεύεται, καὶ
dιὰ τούτο διττοὺς ἔχει τοὺς κατ' ἐτος καρποὺς·
ξύων τε παντοδαπῶν γέμει διαφόρων τοῖς μεγέ-
θεσι καὶ ταῖς ἀλκαῖς, τῶν μὲν χερσαίων, τῶν
dὲ καὶ πτηνῶν. καὶ πλείστους δὲ καὶ μεγίστους
ἐλέφαντας ἐκτρέφει, χορηγοῦσα τὰς τροφὰς ἀφθό-
νους, δ' ἂς ταῖς ρώμαις τὰ θηρία ταῦτα πολὺ
προέχει τῶν κατὰ τὴν Λιβύην γεννωμένων· διὸ
cαὶ πολλῶν θηρευμένων ὑπὸ τῶν Ἰνδῶν καὶ
πρὸς τοὺς πολεμικοὺς ἁγώνας κατασκευαζομένων
μεγάλας συμβαίνει ῥοπᾶς γύνεσθαι πρὸς τὴν

4 ὑκήν.

36. Ὀμοίως δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἡ πολυ-
καρπία τρέφουσα τοῖς τέ ν αναστήμασι τῶν σω-
μάτων καὶ τοῖς ὄγκοις ὑπερφέροντας κατα-
σκευάζει· εἶναι δ' αὐτοὺς συμβαίνει καὶ πρὸς
tὰς τέχνας ἐπιστήμους, ὡς ἄν αέρα μὲν ἐλκυντας καθαρόν, ὤδωρ δὲ λεπτομερέστατον

2 πίνοντας. ἡ δ' ἐν τή πάμφορος οὐσα τοῖς ἥμεροις
καρποῖς ἔχει καὶ φλέβας καταγείους πολλῶν καὶ
παντοδαπῶν μετάλλων· γίνεται γὰρ ἐν αὐτῇ
πολὺς μὲν ἄργυρος καὶ χρυσός, οὐκ ὀλίγος δὲ
χαλκὸς καὶ σίδηρος, ἐτὶ δὲ καττίτερος καὶ τάλλα
tὰ πρὸς κόσμον τε καὶ χρείαν καὶ πολεμικὴν

1 τόπον Hertlein: τρόπον.
not visible; in the most southerly parts not even Arcturus can be seen, and indeed in that region, they say, the shadows fall towards the south.¹

Now India has many lofty mountains that abound in fruit trees of every variety, and many large and fertile plains, which are remarkable for their beauty and are supplied with water by a multitude of rivers. The larger part of the country is well watered and for this reason yields two crops each year; and it abounds in all kinds of animals, remarkable for their great size and strength, land animals as well as birds. It also breeds elephants both in the greatest numbers and of the largest size, providing them with sustenance in abundance, and it is because of this food that the elephants of this land are much more powerful than those produced in Libya; consequently large numbers of them are made captive by the Indians and trained for warfare, and it is found that they play a great part in turning the scale to victory.

36. The same is true of the inhabitants also, the abundant supply of food making them of unusual height and bulk of body; and another result is that they are also skilled in the arts, since they breathe a pure air and drink water of the finest quality. And the earth, in addition to producing every fruit which admits of cultivation, also contains rich underground veins of every kind of ore; for there are found in it much silver and gold, not a little copper and iron, and tin also and whatever else is suitable

¹ Cp. Strabo, 2. 5. 37: "In all the regions that lie between the tropic and the equator the shadows fall in both directions, that is, towards the north and towards the south . . . and the inhabitants are called Amphiscians" (i.e., "throwing shadows both ways"); tr. of Jones in L.C.L.)
3 paraskenēn ἀνήκοντα. χωρὶς δὲ τῶν δημη-
τριακῶν καρπῶν φύεται κατὰ τὴν Ἰνδικῆν πολλῆ
μὲν κέγχρος, ἀρδευμένη τῇ τῶν ποταμῶν να-
μάτων δαμφεία, πολὺ δὲ ὀσπριον καὶ διάφορον,
ἐτὶ δὲ ὀρυζὰ καὶ ὁ προσαγορεύμονος βόσπορος,
καὶ μετὰ ταῦτ' ἄλλα πολλά τῶν πρὸς διατροφὴν
χρησίμων· καὶ τούτων τὰ πολλὰ ὑπάρχει αὐ-
τοφυὴ. οὐκ ἀλίγους δὲ καὶ ἄλλους ἐδωδίμους
καρποὺς φέρει δυναμένους τρέφειν ζῶα, περὶ ὧν
μακρὸν ἄν οἴη γράφειν.

4 Διὸ καὶ φασὶ μηδέποτε τὴν Ἰνδικῆν ἐπισκεῖν
λυμὸν ἡ καθόλου σπάνιν τῶν πρὸς τροφὴν
ήμερον ἀνηκόντων. διπτών γὰρ ὀμβρων ἐν αὐτῇ
γυνιμένων καθ' ἑκαστὸν ἔτος, τοῦ μὲν χειμερινοῦ,
καθὰ παρὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις, ὁ σπόρος τῶν πυρῶν
γίνεται καρπῶν, τοῦ δὲ ἐτέρου κατὰ τὴν θερινὴν
τροπὴν ¹ σπείρεσθαι συμβαίνει τὴν ὀρυζὰν καὶ
tὸν βόσπορον, ἐτὶ δὲ σήσαμον καὶ κέγχρον·
kατὰ δὲ τὸ πλεῖστον ἀμφοτέρους τοῖς καρποῖς
οἱ κατὰ τὴν Ἰνδικὴν ἐπιτυγχάνουσι, πάντων δὲ,
teleσφερομένων θατέρου τῶν καρπῶν, οὐκ

5 ἀποτυγχάνουσιν. οἱ τε αὐτοματίζοντες καρποὶ
cαὶ αἱ κατὰ τοὺς ἑλώδεις τόπους φυόμεναι ρίζαι
dιάφοροι ταῖς γλυκύτησιν οὖσαι πολλὴν παρέ-
χονται τοῖς ἀνθρώποις δαμφείαν. πάντα γὰρ
σχεδὸν τὰ κατὰ τὴν χώραν πεδία γλυκεῖαν ἔχει
tὴν ἀπὸ τῶν ποταμῶν ικμάδα καὶ τὴν ἀπὸ τῶν
ὀμβρων τῶν ἐν τῷ θέρει ² κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν κυκλικὴ
tῶν περιόδων παραδόξως εἰσβάλτων γίνεσθαι,

¹ καθ' ἡν after τροπὴν deleted by Vogel.
² γυνιμένων after θέρει deleted by Reiske.
for adornment, necessity, and the trappings of war. In addition to the grain of Demeter\textsuperscript{1} there grows throughout India much millet, which is irrigated by the abundance of running water supplied by the rivers, pulse in large quantities and of superior quality, rice also and the plant called \textit{bosporos};\textsuperscript{2} and in addition to these many more plants which are useful for food; and most of these are native to the country. It also yields not a few other edible fruits, that are able to sustain animal life, but to write about them would be a long task.

This is the reason, they say, why a famine has never visited India\textsuperscript{3} or, in general, any scarcity of what is suitable for gentle fare. For since there are two rainy seasons in the country each year, during the winter rains the sowing is made of the wheat crops as among other peoples, while in the second, which comes at the summer solstice, it is the general practice to plant the rice and \textit{bosporos}, as well as sesame and millet; and in most years the Indians are successful in both crops, and they never lose everything, since the fruit of one or the other sowing comes to maturity. The fruits also which flourish wild and the roots which grow in the marshy places, by reason of their remarkable sweetness, provide the people with a great abundance of food. For practically all the plains of India enjoy the sweet moisture from the rivers and from the rains which come with astonishing regularity, in a kind of fixed

\textsuperscript{1} Wheat.

\textsuperscript{2} A kind of millet; called \textit{bosmoron} in Strabo, 15. 1. 13.

\textsuperscript{3} This statement may be true in the sense of a general and protracted famine; but the Buddhist records often refer to scarcity of food because of drought or floods; cp. \textit{The Cambridge History of India}, I. p. 203.
δαψιλεία 1 χλιαρῶν πυτόντων ὑδάτων ἐκ τοῦ 
περέχοντος ἀέρος, καὶ τὰς ἐν τοῖς ἔλεσι ρίζας 
ἔφοντο τοῦ καύματος, καὶ μάλιστα τῶν μεγάλων 
6 καλάμων. συμβάλλονται δὲ παρὰ τοῖς Ἰνδοῖς 
καὶ τὰ νόμιμα πρὸς τὸ μηδέποτε ἐνδειαν τροφῆς 
παρ’ αὐτοῖς εἶναι· παρὰ μὲν γὰρ τοῖς ἄλλοις 
ἀνθρώποις οἱ πολέμοι καταφθείροντες τὴν χώραν 
ἀγεώργητον κατασκευάζοσι, παρὰ δὲ τούτοις 
tῶν γεωργῶν ἱερῶν καὶ ἁσύλων ἐωμένων, οἱ 
πλησίον τῶν παρατάξεων γεωργούντες ἀνε- 
7 παίζοντο τῶν κυνήγων εἰσὶν. ἀμφότεροι γὰρ 
οἱ πολέμοικοι ἀλλήλους μὲν ἀποκτείνοντι 
ἐν ταῖς μάχαις, τοὺς δὲ περὶ τὴν γεωργίαν ὀντα 
ἐώσιν ἀβλαβεῖς, όσοι κοινοὶ ὀντας ἀπάντων 
ἐνεργέτας, τὰς τε χώρας τῶν ἀντιπολεμοῦντων 
οὕτ’ ἐμπυρίζουσιν οὐτε δενδρομοῦσιν. 
37. Ἐχει δὲ καὶ ποταμοὺς ἡ χώρα τῶν Ἰνδῶν 
pολλοὺς καὶ μεγάλους πλωτοὺς, οἱ τὰς τηγα 
έχοντες ἐν τοῖς ὀρεσί τοῖς πρὸς τάς ἁρκτοὺς 
κεκλιμένους φέρονται διὰ τῆς πεδιάδος, ὅποι 
ὅλοιοι συμμίσγοντες ἄλληλοις ἐμβάλλοντες εἰς 
2 ποταμόν τῶν ὅνομαξώμενον Γάγγην. οὕτος δὲ 
tὸ πλάτος γυνόμενος σταδίων τριάκοντα φέρεται 
μὲν ἀπὸ τῆς ἁρκτοῦ πρὸς μεσημβρίαν, ἐξερεύ-
γεται δ’ εἰς τὸν ὥκεανον, ἀπολαμβάνως εἰς τὸ 
πρὸς ἐω μέρος τὸ ἔθνος τὸ τῶν Γανδαρίδῶν, 
3 πλείστους ἔχον καὶ μεγίστους ἐλέφαντας. διὸ 
καὶ τῆς χώρας ταύτης οὕδεις πάσης ἐποτε βασιλεὺς 
ἐπηλὺς ἐκράτησε, πάντων τῶν ἅλλοεθηνῶν φοβοῦ-

1 δαψιλεία Oldfather: δαψιλεία D, δαψιλείαν A B, Bekker, Dindorf, Vogel, δαψιλείαν . . . ἀέρος omitted II.
cycle, every year in the summer, since warm showers fall in abundance from the enveloping atmosphere and the heat ripens the roots in the marshes, especially those of the tall reeds. Furthermore, the customs of the Indians contribute towards there never being any lack of food among them; for whereas in the case of all the rest of mankind their enemies ravage the land and cause it to remain uncultivated, yet among the Indians the workers of the soil are let alone as sacred and inviolable, and such of them as labour near the battle-lines have no feeling of the dangers. For although both parties to the war kill one another in their hostilities, yet they leave uninjured those who are engaged in tilling the soil, considering that they are the common benefactors of all, nor do they burn the lands of their opponents or cut down their orchards.

37. The land of the Indians has also many large navigable rivers which have their sources in the mountains lying to the north and then flow through the level country; and not a few of these unite and empty into the river known as the Ganges. This river, which is thirty stades in width, flows from north to south and empties into the ocean, forming the boundary towards the east of the tribe of the Gandaridae, which possesses the greatest number of elephants and the largest in size. Consequently no foreign king has ever subdued this country, all alien

1 Literally, "boils" or "heats." Strabo (15. 1. 20) says that what other peoples call the "ripening" of fruits is called by the Indians the "heating."
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μένων τὸ τε πλήθος καὶ τὴν ἄλκην τῶν θηρίων. καὶ γὰρ Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ Μακεδών ἀπάσης τῆς Ἀσίας κρατήσας μόνους τοὺς Γανδαρίδας οὐκ ἐπολέμησε· καταντήσας γὰρ ἐπὶ τὸν Γάγγην ποταμὸν μετὰ πάσης τῆς δυνάμεως, καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους Ἰνδοὺς καταπολεμήσας, ὅσ ἐπύθετο τοὺς Γανδαρίδας ἤχειν τετρακισχιλίους ἑλέφαντας πολεμικῶς κεκοσμημένους, ἀπέγνω τὴν ἐπ’ αὐτοὺς στρατείαν.

4 Ὅ δὲ παραπλήσιος τῷ Γάγγῃ ποταμῷ, προσαγορεύομενος δὲ Ἰνδὸς, ἀρχεται μὲν ὁμοίως ἀπὸ τῶν ἀρκτῶν, ἐμβάλλων δὲ εἰς τὸν ὠκεανὸν ἄφορίζει τὴν Ἰνδικὴν· πολλὴν δὲ διεξιόν πεδιάδα χώραν δέχεται ποταμοὺς οὐκ ὀλίγους πλωτοὺς, ἐπιφανεστάτους δ’ Ἰπαννι καὶ Ἰδά-5 σπῆν καὶ Ἀκεσίων. χωρίς δὲ τούτων ἄλλο πλήθος ποταμῶν παντοδαπῶν διαρρέει καὶ ποιεῖ κατάφυτον ¹ πολλοῖς κηπεύμασι καὶ καρποῖς παντοδαποῖς τὴν χώραν. τοῦ δὲ κατὰ τοὺς ποταμοὺς πλῆθους καὶ τῆς τῶν υδάτων ύπερβολῆς αἰτίαν φέρουσιν οἱ παρ’ αὐτοῖς φιλόσοφοι καὶ

6 φυσικοῖ τοιαύτην· τῆς Ἰνδικῆς φασι τὰς περικεμένας χώρας, τὴν τε Σκυθῶν καὶ Βακτριανῶν, ἐπὶ δὲ καὶ τῶν Ἀριανῶν, ὕψηλοτέρας εἶναι τῆς Ἰνδικῆς, ὡστ’ εὐλόγως εἰς τὴν ὑποκεμένην χώραν πανταχόθεν συρρεοῦσας τὰς λιβάδας ἐκ τοῦ κατ’ ὀλίγον ποιεῖν τοὺς τόπους καθύγγους καὶ γεννάν

¹ κατάφυτον Dindorf: κατάρρυτον.

¹ A fuller account of this incident is given in Book 17. 93. But Alexander did not reach the river system of the Ganges, the error being due to a confusion of the Ganges with the 10
nations being fearful of both the multitude and the strength of the beasts. In fact even Alexander of Macedon, although he had subdued all Asia, refrained from making war upon the Gandaridae alone of all peoples; for when he had arrived at the Ganges river with his entire army, after his conquest of the rest of the Indians, upon learning that the Gandaridae had four thousand elephants equipped for war he gave up his campaign against them.\(^1\)

The river which is nearly the equal of the Ganges and is called the Indus rises like the Ganges in the north, but as it empties into the ocean forms a boundary of India; and in its course through an expanse of level plain it receives not a few navigable rivers, the most notable being the Hypanis,\(^2\) Hydaspes, and Acesinus. And in addition to these three rivers a vast number of others of every description traverse the country and bring it about that the land is planted in many gardens and crops of every description. Now for the multitude of rivers and the exceptional supply of water the philosophers and students of nature among them advance the following cause: The countries which surround India, they say, such as Scythia, Bactria, and Ariana, are higher than India, and so it is reasonable to assume that the waters which come together from every side into the country lying below them, gradually cause the regions to become soaked and to generate a multitude of Sutlej, a tributary of the Indus; cp. W. W. Tarn, "Alexander and the Ganges," *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 43 (1923), 93 ff.\(^2\) In Book 17. 93. 1 and Arrian, 5. 24. 8, this river is called the Hyphasis, which is the name preferred by most modern writers. Strabo (15. 1. 27, 32), however, calls it the Hypanis, and Quintus Curtius (9. 1. 35), Hypasis.
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7 potamōn πλῆθος. ἵδιον δὲ τι συμβαίνει περὶ τινα τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ἰνδικὴν ποταμῶν τὸν ὄνομα-
ζόμενον Σίλλαν, ἰέοντα δ’ ἐκ τινος ὁμοιώμου κρήνης. ἐπὶ γὰρ τούτον μόνον τῶν ἀπάντων ποτα-
μῶν οὐδὲν τῶν ἐμβαλλομένων εἰς αὐτὸν ἐπιτλεῖ, πάντα δ’ εἰς τὸν βυθὸν καταδύεται παραδόξως.

38. Τὴν δ’ ὅλην Ἰνδικῆν οὕσαν ύπερμεγέδη λέγεται κατοικεῖν ἐθνη πολλὰ καὶ παντοδαπά, καὶ τούτων μηδὲν ἐχειν τὴν ἐς ἀρχῆς γένεσιν ἐπηλνυ, ἀλλὰ πάντα δοκεῖν ὑπάρχειν αὐτόχθωνα, πρὸς δὲ τούτους μήτε ἐξευκῆν ἀποικίαν προσδέχεσθαι πώποτε

2 μήτ’ εἰς ἄλλο ἐθνὸς ¹ ἀπεσταλκέναι. μυθολογοῦσι δὲ τοις ἀρχαίοτατοῖς ἀνθρώπους τροφαῖς μὲν κε-
χρῆσθαι τοῖς αὐτομάτως φυομένοις ἐκ τῆς γῆς καρ-
ποῖς, ἐσθῆσι δὲ ταῖς δοραῖς τῶν ἐγχωρίων ζώων, καθάπερ καὶ παρ’ Ἔλλησι. ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τῶν
tεχνῶν τὰς εὐρέσεις καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν πρὸς βίον
χρησίμων ἐκ τοῦ κατ’ ὅλιγον γενέσθαι, τῆς
χρείας αὐτῆς ύφηγουμένης εὐφυεί ζώω καὶ συνερ-
γοὺς ἔχοντι πρὸς ἀπαντὰ χεῖρας καὶ λόγον καὶ
ψυχῆς ἀγχώνοιαν.

3 Μυθολογοῦσι δὲ παρὰ τοῖς Ἰνδοῖς οἱ λογιώ-
tατοὶ, περὶ οὐ ² καθῆκον ἀν εἰς συντόμως
dιελθεῖν. φασὶ γὰρ ἐν τοῖς ἀρχαίοτατοῖς
χρόνοις, παρ’ αὐτοῖς ἐτὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων κωμηδῶν
οἰκοῦντων, παραγενέσθαι τὸν Διόνυσον ἐκ τῶν
πρὸς ἐσπέραν τῶν ἔχοντα δύναμιν ἀξιόλογον
ἐπελθεῖν δὲ τὴν Ἰνδικὴν ἀπασαν, μηδεμίας οὕσης

¹ ἄλλο ἐθνὸς MSS., Bekker: ἄλλος ἐθνὸς emendation of
Dindorf and adopted by Vogel (cp. ch. 39. 4).
² οὐ Vogel: τὸν F, Bekker, Dindorf.

¹ The same words appear in Book 1. 8. 9.
rivers. And a peculiar thing happens in the case of one of the rivers of India, known as the Silla, which flows from a spring of the same name; for it is the only river in the world possessing the characteristic that nothing cast into it floats, but that everything, strange to say, sinks to the bottom.

38. Now India as a whole, being of a vast extent, is inhabited, as we are told, by many peoples of every description, and not one of them had its first origin in a foreign land, but all of them are thought to be autochthonous; it never receives any colony from abroad nor has it ever sent one to any other people. According to their myths the earliest human beings used for food the fruits of the earth which grew wild, and for clothing the skins of the native animals, as was done by the Greeks. Similarly too the discovery of the several arts and of all other things which are useful for life was made gradually, necessity itself showing the way to a creature which was well endowed by nature and had, as its assistants for every purpose, hands and speech and sagacity of mind.\(^1\)

The most learned men among the Indians recount a myth which it may be appropriate to set forth in brief form. This, then, is what they say: In the earliest times, when the inhabitants of their land were still dwelling in scattered clan-villages,\(^2\) Dionysus came to them from the regions to the west of them with a notable army; and he traversed all India, since there was as yet no notable city which would

\(^2\) It was the teaching of Aristotle that the State (or city) rises out of the Household through the intermediate institution of the Village. So the Indians, in this case, were in the second stage of this evolution; Dionysus, as is stated below, combines the villages into cities and thus makes the good life possible.
DIODORUS OF SICILY

4 ἀξιολόγου πόλεως ἡ δυναμένης ἀντιτάξασθαι. ἐπι-

gενομένων ἰτο ἰαυμάτων μεγάλων, καὶ τῶν τοῦ

Διονύσου στρατιωτῶν λοιμικῆς νόσων διαφθειρο-

μένων, συνέσει διαφέροντα τὸν ἤγεμόνα τούτον

ἀπαγαγεῖν τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐκ τῶν πεδίων τῶν

εἰς τὴν ὅρεων ἐν ταύτη. Ὁ πνεύμων ψυχῶν ἄνε-

μων καὶ τῶν ναματιαίων ὕδατων καθαρῶν ἰεύοντων

πρὸς αὐτάς ταῖς πηγαῖς, ἀπαλασίαται τῆς νόσου

τοῦ στρατόπεδου. ὁνομάζεσθαι δὲ τῆς ὅρεων τοῦ

τόπου τούτου Μηρῶν, καθ' ὅν τοῦ Διονύσου ἐξέτρεψε

τὰς δυνάμεις ἐκ τῆς νόσου. ἀφ' οὗ δὴ καὶ τοὺς

"Ελληνας περὶ τοῦ θεοῦ τούτου παραδεδωκέναι

τοῖς μεταγενεστέροις τεθράφθαι τοῦ Διόνυσου ἐν

μηρῶ."  

5 Μετὰ δὲ ταύτα τῆς παραθέσεως τῶν καρ-

πῶν ἐπιμελήθεντα μεταδίδοναι τοῖς Ἰνδοῖς, καὶ

τῆς εὐρεσιν τοῦ οἴνου καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν εἰς

τοῦ βίου χρησίμων παραδοῦναι. πρὸς δὲ τούτους

πόλεων τε ἀξιολόγων γενηθῆναι κτίστην, μεταγα-

γόντα τὰς κώμας εἰς τοὺς εὐθέτους τόπους, τιμῶν

τε καταδείξαι τὸ θεῖον καὶ νόμους εἰσηγήσασθαι

καὶ δικαστήρια, καθόλου δὲ πολλῶν καὶ καλῶν

ἔργων εἰσηγήσας μεγὸνον θεοῦ νομισθῆναι καὶ

6 τυχεῖν ἀθανάτων τιμῶν. ἱστοροῦσι δ’ αὐτῶν καὶ

γνωνικῶν πλῆθος μετὰ τοῦ στρατόπεδου περιάγε-

σθαι, καὶ κατὰ τὰς ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις παρατάξεις

τυμπάνους καὶ κυμβάλους κεχρήσαθαι, μῆτω σάλπιγ-

γος εὐρημένης. βασιλεύσαντα δὲ πάσης τῆς Ἰνδι-

1 τῆς after πόλεως omitted C D, Dindorf, Vogel, retained by Bekker.
2 ἐν ταύτῃ Dindorf, Vogel: ἐνταῦθα C F, Bekker.
have been able to oppose him. But when an oppressive heat came and the soldiers of Dionysus were being consumed by a pestilential sickness, this leader, who was conspicuous for his wisdom, led his army out of the plains into the hill-country; here, where cool breezes blew and the spring waters flowed pure at their very sources, the army got rid of its sickness. The name of this region of the hill-country, where Dionysus relieved his forces of the sickness, is Meros; and it is because of this fact that the Greeks have handed down to posterity in their account of this god the story that Dionysus was nourished in a thigh (meros).\(^1\)

After this he took in hand the storing of the fruits and shared this knowledge with the Indians, and he communicated to them the discovery of wine and of all the other things useful for life. Furthermore, he became the founder of notable cities by gathering the villages together in well-situated regions, and he both taught them to honour the deity and introduced laws and courts; and, in brief, since he had been the introducer of many good works he was regarded as a god and received immortal honours. They also recount that he carried along with his army a great number of women, and that when he joined battle in his wars he used the sounds of drums and cymbals, since the trumpet had not yet been discovered. And after he had reigned over all

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1 When Zeus, at the request of Semelê, appeared to her with his thunderbolts, the sight was too much for her mortal eyes and her child by Zeus, Dionysus, was born untimely. Zeus covered the babe in his thigh until it came to maturity. There is no agreement among modern writers on the location of Meros.
κῆς ἐτὶ δύο πρὸς τοὺς πεντήκοντα γῆρα τελευτήσαι. diadeēgaméuous dē tōus úious autōù tihn ἡγεμονίαν ἀεὶ τοὺς ἀφ’ ἐαυτῶν ἀπολιπεῖν τὴν ἁρχὴν. τὸ δὲ τελευταῖον πολλαῖς γενεάῖς ύστερον καταλυθεῖσας τῆς ἡγεμονίας δημιοκρατηθήναι τὰς πόλεις.

39. Περὶ μὲν οὖν τοῦ Διονύσου καὶ τῶν ἀπογόνων αὐτοῦ τοιαῦτα μυθολογοῦν οἱ τὴν ὀρεινὴν τῆς Ἰνδικῆς κατοικοῦντες. τὸν τε Ἡρακλέα θαλῆς παρ’ αὐτοῖς γεγενῆσθαι, καὶ παραπλησίως τοῖς Ἐλλησι τὸ τε βόσκον καὶ τὴν λεοντὴν αὐτῷ προσάπτουσι. τῇ δὲ τοῦ σώματος ρώμη καὶ ἀλκή πολλῷ τῶν ἀλλῶν ἀνθρώπων διενεγκεῖν, καὶ καθαρὰν ποιῆσαι τῶν θηρίων γῆν τε καὶ θάλασσαν. γῆμαντα δὲ πλείους γυναίκας úious μὲν πόλλους, θυγατέρα δὲ μίαν γεννήσαι, καὶ τούτων ἐνηλίκων γενομένων πᾶσαν τὴν Ἰνδικὴν διελόμενον εἰς ἱσας τοῖς τέκνοις μερίδας, ἅπαντας τοὺς úious ἀποδεῖξαι βασιλέας, μίαν δὲ θυγατέρα θρέψαντα καὶ ταύτην βασίλισσαν ἀποδεῖξαι. κτίστην τε πόλεων οὐκ ὀλίγων γενέσθαι, καὶ τούτων τὴν ἐπιφανεστάτην καὶ μεγίστην προσαγορεῦσαι Παλίβοθρα. κατασκευάσαι δὲ ἐν αὐτῇ καὶ βασίλεια πολυτελὴ καὶ πλῆθος οἰκητῶρος καθιδρύσαι τὴν τε πόλιν ὀχυρώσαι τάφρους ἀξιολόγους ποταμίους ὕδασι πληρουμένας.1 καὶ τὸν μὲ Ἡρακλέα τὴν ἐς ἀνθρώπων μετάστασιν ποιησάμενον ἄθανάτου τυχεῖν τιμῆς, τοὺς δὲ ἀπογόνους αὐτοῦ βασιλεύσαντας ἐπὶ πολλὰς γενεὰς καὶ πράξεις ἀξιολόγους μεταχειρισμένους μῆτε στρατεύαν ὑπερ-

1 πληρουμέναις Rhodomann: πληρουμένους C F, πληρουμένην ols D.
India for fifty-two years he died of old age. His sons, who succeeded to the sovereignty, passed the rule on successively to their descendants; but finally, many generations later, their sovereignty was dissolved and the cities received a democratic form of government.

39. As for Dionysus, then, and his descendants, such is the myth as it is related by the inhabitants of the hill-country of India. And with regard to Heracles they say that he was born among them and they assign to him, in common with the Greeks, both the club and the lion's skin. Moreover, as their account tells us, he was far superior to all other men in strength of body and in courage, and cleared both land and sea of their wild beasts. And marrying several wives, he begot many sons, but only one daughter; and when his sons attained to manhood, dividing all India into as many parts as he had male children, he appointed all his sons kings, and rearing his single daughter he appointed her also a queen. Likewise, he became the founder of not a few cities, the most renowned and largest of which he called Palibothra. In this city he also constructed a costly palace and settled a multitude of inhabitants, and he fortified it with remarkable ditches which were filled with water from the river. And when Heracles passed from among men he received immortal honour, but his descendants, though they held the kingship during many generations and accomplished notable deeds, made no campaign beyond their own frontiers and despatched

1 Arrian, *Indica*, 8 f., gives a much fuller account of this daughter, whose name was Pandaea.
ὅριον ποιήσασθαι μήτε ἀποκινίαν εἰς ἄλλο ἔθνος ἀποστείλαι. ὑστέρον δὲ πολλοῖς ἔτεσι τὰς πλείστας μὲν τῶν πόλεων δημοκρατηθήναι, τινῶν δ' ἐθνῶν τὰς βασιλείας διαμείναι μέχρι τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου διαβάσεως.

5 Νομίμων δ' ὄντων παρὰ τοῖς Ἰνδοῖς ἔνιοι ἐξηλ- λαγμένων θαυμασιώτατον ἄν τις ἡγήσατο τὸ κατα-
δείχθεν ὑπὸ τῶν ἀρχαίων παρ' αὐτοῖς φιλοσόφων
νεομοθέτηται γάρ παρ' αὐτοῖς δοῦλον μὲν μηδένα
eῖναι τὸ παράπαν, ἐλευθέρους δ' ὑπάρχοντας τὴν
ἰσότητα τιμᾶν ἐν πάσι. τούς γάρ μαθόντας μήθ',
ὑπερέχειν μήθ' ὑποπίπτειν ἄλλοις κράτιστον ἐξεῖν
βίον πρὸς ἀπάσας τὰς περιστάσεις: εὐήθεις 2 γάρ
εἶναι νόμους μὲν ἐπ' ἱσης τιθέναι πάσι, τὰς δ' 
συνουσίας 3 ἀνωμάλους κατασκευάζειν.

40. Τὸ δὲ πάν πλῆθος τῶν Ἰνδῶν εἰς ἑπτὰ μέρη
dυήρηται, ὅπις ἔστι τὸ μὲν πρῶτον σύστημα φιλοσό-
φων, πλήθει μὲν τῶν ἄλλων μερῶν λειπόμενον,
τῷ δ' ἐπιφανείᾳ πάντων πρωτεύον. ἀλειτουργητοὶ
γάρ ὄντες οἱ φιλόσοφοι πάσης ὑπουργίας οὐθ' ἐτέρων 
kυριεύοντες οὐθ'. υφ' ἐτέρων δεσπόζονται.

2 παραλαμβάνονται δ' ὑπὸ μὲν τῶν ἱδιωτῶν εἰς τε τὰς
ἐν τῷ βίῳ θυσίας καὶ εἰς τὰς τῶν τετελευτηκότων
ἐπιμελείας, ὡς θεοὶς γεγονότες προσφιλέστατοι
καὶ περὶ τῶν ἐν ἄδου μάλιστ' ἐμπείρως ἔχοντες,
tαύτης τε τῆς ὑπουργίας δῷρά τε καὶ τιμᾶς

1 ἄλλο ἔθνος C F, Dindorf, Bekker: ἀλλοεθνεῖς remaining MSS., Vogel.
2 εὐήθεις Rhodomann: εὐήθεις.
3 So Capps: οὐσίας MSS., Vogel, ἐξουσίας Dindorf, Bekker.
no colony to any other people. But many years later most of the cities had received a democratic form of government, although among certain tribes the kingship endured until the time when Alexander crossed over into Asia.

As for the customs of the Indians which are peculiar to them, a man may consider one which was drawn up by their ancient wise men to be the most worthy of admiration; for the law has ordained that under no circumstances shall anyone among them be a slave, but that all shall be free and respect the principle of equality in all persons. For those, they think, who have learned neither to domineer over others nor to subject themselves to others will enjoy a manner of life best suited to all circumstances; since it is silly to make laws on the basis of equality for all persons, and yet to establish inequalities in social intercourse.

40. The whole multitude of the Indians is divided into seven castes, the first of which is formed of the order of the philosophers, which in number is smaller than the rest of the castes, but in dignity ranks first. For being exempt from any service to the state the philosophers are neither the masters nor the servants of the others. But they are called upon by the private citizens both to offer the sacrifices which are required in their lifetime and to perform the rites for the dead, as having proved themselves to be most dear to the gods and as being especially experienced in the matters that relate to the underworld, and for this service they receive both notable

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1 Cp. the account of the castes in Strabo, 15. 1. 39 ff., and in Arrian, Indica, 11 ff., and the article “Caste” in the Encyclopaedia Britannica.
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λαμβάνονσιν ἀξιολόγουσι· τῷ δὲ κοινῷ τῶν Ἰνδῶν μεγάλος παρέχονται χρείας παραλαμβανόμενοι μὲν κατὰ τὸ νέον ἔτος ἐπὶ τὴν μεγάλην σύνοδον, προ-
λέγοντες δὲ τοὺς πλήθεις περὶ αὐχμῶν καὶ ἐπομ-
βρίας, ἐτί δ’ ἀνέμων εὐπνοίας καὶ νόσων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν δυναμένων τοὺς ἀκούοντας ωφελήσαι.

3 τὰ μέλλοντα γὰρ προακούσαντες οὐ τε πολλοὶ καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐκπληροῦσιν οἱ τὸ μέλλον ἐκλείπειν καὶ προκατασκεύαζοντες οἱ τὶ τῶν χρησίμων. ὁ δὲ ἀποτυχῶν τῶν φιλοσόφων ἐν τοῖς προρρήσεσιν ἄλλην μὲν οὐδεμίαν ἀναδέχεται τιμωρίαν ἢ βλασ-
φημίαν, ἂφωνος δὲ διατελεῖ τὸν λοιπὸν βίον.

4 Δεύτερον δ’ ἔστι μέρος τὸ τῶν γεωργῶν, οἱ τῷ πλήθει τῶν ἄλλων πολὺ προέχειν δοκοῦσιν. οὕτωι δὲ πολέμων καὶ τῆς ἄλλης λειτουργίας ἀφειμένοι περὶ τὰς γεωργίας ἀσχολοῦνται· καὶ οὐδεὶς ἄν πολέμιος περιτυχῶν γεωργῷ κατὰ τὴν χώραν ἄδικη-
σειν ἂν, ἂλλ’ ὡς κοινὸς εὐεργετὰς ἡγούμενοι

5 πάσης ἀδικίας ἀπέχονται. διότερ αἱ ἀδιάφοροι ἡ χώρα διαμένουσα καὶ καρποὶς βρίθουσα πολλὴν ἀπολαυσιν παρέχεται τῶν ἐπιτηδείων τοῖς ἀνθρώ-
ποις. βιοῦσι δ’ ἐπὶ τῆς χώρας μετὰ τέκνων καὶ γυναικῶν οἱ γεωργοὶ, καὶ τῆς εἰς τὴν πόλιν κατα-
βάσεως παντελῶς ἀφεστήκασιν. τῆς δὲ χώρας μισθόν τελοῦσι τῷ βασιλεί διὰ τὸ πᾶσαν τὴν Ἰνδικὴν βασιλικὴν εἶναι, ἰδιωτὴ δὲ μηδενὶ γῆν

1 ὁν D, Dindorf, Vogel: omitted by Vulgate, Bekker.

20
gifts and honours. Moreover, they furnish great services to the whole body of the Indians, since they are invited at the beginning of the year to the Great Synod and foretell to the multitude droughts and rains, as well as the favourable blowing of winds, and epidemics, and whatever else can be of aid to their auditors. For both the common folk and the king, by learning in advance what is going to take place, store up from time to time that of which there will be a shortage and prepare beforehand from time to time anything that will be needed. And the philosopher who has erred in his predictions is subjected to no other punishment than obloquy and keeps silence for the remainder of his life.

The second caste is that of the farmers, who, it would appear, are far more numerous than the rest. These, being exempt from war duties and every other service to the state, devote their entire time to labour in the fields; and no enemy, coming upon a farmer in the country, would think of doing him injury, but they look upon the farmers as common benefactors and therefore refrain from every injury to them. Consequently the land, remaining as it does unravaged and being laden with fruits, provides the inhabitants with a great supply of provisions. And the farmers spend their lives upon the land with their children and wives and refrain entirely from coming down into the city. For the land they pay rent to the king, since all India is royal land and no man of private station is permitted

1 Strabo (loc. cit.) says he must have erred "three times."
2 Cp. chap. 36. 6 f.
Diódoros of Sicily

6 Ἐξεῖναι κεκτήσατι· χωρίς δὲ τῆς μισθώσεως τετάρτην εἰς τὸ βασιλικὸν τελοῦσι.

41. Τέταρτον δ' ἔστι μέρος τὸ τῶν τεχνῶν καὶ τούτων οἱ μέν εἰσιν ὀπλοποιοῦν, οἱ δὲ τοῖς γεωργοῖς ἡ τυσιν ἅλλοις τὰ χρήσιμα πρὸς ὑπηρεσίαν κατασκεύάζουσιν. οὗτοι δ' οὐ μόνον ἀτελεῖς εἰσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ συμμετρίαν ἐκ τοῦ βασιλικοῦ λαμβάνουσιν.

2 Πέμπτον δὲ τὸ 2 στρατιωτικὸν, εἰς τοὺς πολέμους εὐθετοῦν, τῷ μὲν πλήθει δεύτερον, ἀνέσει δὲ καὶ παιδιὰ πλεῖστη χρώμενον ἐν ταῖς εἰρήναις. τρέφεται δ' ἐκ τοῦ βασιλικοῦ πάν τὸ πλῆθος τῶν στρατιωτῶν καὶ τῶν πολεμιστῶν ἵππων τε καὶ ἐλεφάντων.

3 "Εκτὸν δ' ἔστι τὸ τῶν ἐφόρων οὗτοι δὲ πολυπραγμονοῦντες πάντα καὶ ἐφορώντες τὰ κατὰ τὴν Ἰνδίκην ἀπαγγέλλουσι τοῖς βασιλεύσιν, ἐὰν δ' ἡ πόλις αὐτῶν ἀβασίλευτος ἦ, τοῖς ἀρχοὺσιν.

4 "Εβδομὸν δ' ἔστι μέρος τὸ βουλευτὸν μὲν καὶ συνεδρεύον τοῖς ὑπὲρ τῶν κοινῶν βουλευομένοις, πλήθει μὲν ἐλάχιστον, εὐγενείᾳ δὲ καὶ φρονήσει

1 φιλοτεχνοῦντες B D, Vogel: φιλοποιοῦντες F, Dindorf, Bekker, φιλοσοφοῦντες A C.
2 τὸ added by Hertlein.

1 i.e. of the produce.
to possess any ground; and apart from the rental they pay a fourth part into the royal treasury.

The third division is that of the neatherds and shepherds, and, in general, of all the herdsmen who do not dwell in a city or village but spend their lives in tents; and these men are also hunters and rid the country of both birds and wild beasts. And since they are practised in this calling and follow it with zest they are bringing India under cultivation, although it still abounds in many wild beasts and birds of every kind, which eat up the seeds sown by the farmers.

41. The fourth caste is that of the artisans; of these some are armourers and some fabricate for the farmers or certain others the things useful for the services they perform. And they are not only exempt from paying taxes but they even receive rations from the royal treasury.

The fifth caste is that of the military, which is at hand in case of war; they are second in point of number and indulge to the fullest in relaxation and pastimes in the periods of peace. And the maintenance of the whole multitude of the soldiers and of the horses and elephants for use in war is met out of the royal treasury.

The sixth caste is that of the inspectors. These men inquire into and inspect everything that is going on throughout India, and report back to the kings or, in case the state to which they are attached has no king, to the magistrates.

The seventh caste is that of the deliberators and councillors, whose concern is with the decisions which affect the common welfare. In point of number this group is the smallest, but in nobility of birth and
μάλιστα θαυμαζόμενον· ἐκ τούτων γὰρ οἱ τε σύμβουλοι τοῖς βασιλεύσιν εἰσὶν οἱ τε διοικηταὶ τῶν κοινῶν καὶ οἱ δικασταὶ τῶν ἀμφισβητομένων, καὶ καθόλου τοὺς ἡγεμόνας καὶ τοὺς ἄρχοντας ἐκ τούτων ἔχονσι.

5. Τὰ μὲν οὖν μέρη τῆς διηρημένης πολιτείας παρ' Ἰνδοῖς σχεδὸν ταῦτ' ἔστιν· οὐκ ἐξεστὶ δὲ γαμεῖν ἐξ ἄλλου γένους ἡ προαιρέσεις ἡ τέχναις μεταχειρίζονται, οἴον στρατιώτην ὄντα γεωργεῖν ἢ τεχνίτην ὄντα φιλοσοφεῖν.

42. Ἐξει δ' ἡ τῶν Ἰνδῶν χώρα πλείστους καὶ μεγίστους ἠλέφαντας, ἀλκῇ τε καὶ μεγέθει πολὺ διαφέροντας· ὅχευται δὲ τούτῳ τὸ ζώον οὐχ ὥσπερ τινὲς φασίν, ἔξηλαγμένως, ἀλλ' ὀμοίως ἦποι καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις τετράποσι ζώοις· κυνάμεν ἐν τοῖς μὲν ἐλαχίστους μὴνας ἐκκαίδεκα, τοὺς δὲ πλείστους ὀκτωκαίδεκα. τίκτουσι δὲ καθάπερ ἦποι κατὰ τὸ πλεῖστον ἐν, καὶ τρέφουσι τὸ γεννηθὲν αἰ 1 μητέρες ἐπ' ἐτῇ ἐξ. ζώσι δ' οἱ πλείστοι καθάπερ ὁ μακροβιῶτατος ἀνθρώπος, οἱ δὲ μάλιστα γηράσαντες ἐτῇ διακόσια.

3. Εἰςὶ δὲ παρ' Ἰνδοῖς καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐξένους ἄρχοντες τεταγμένοι καὶ φροντίζοντες ὅπως μηδεὶς ἐξένοις ἀδικήται· τοὺς δ' ἀρρωστοῦσι τῶν ἐξένων ἱστροὺς εἰσάγονσι καὶ τὴν ἄλλην ἐπιμέλειαν ποιοῦνται, καὶ τελευτήσαντας θάπτουσιν, ἐτὶ δὲ τὰ καταλειφθέντα

4. χρήματα τοῖς προσήκοουσιν ἀποδιδόσαιν. οἱ δὲ δικασταὶ τὰς κρίσεις παρ' αὐτοῖς ἀκριβῶς διαγνωσκοῦσι, καὶ πικρῶς τοῖς ἀμαρτάνουσι προσφέρονται.

1 αἰ added by Reiske.
wisdom the most worthy of admiration; for from their body are drawn the advisers for the kings and the administrators of the affairs of state and the judges of disputes, and, speaking generally, they take their leaders and magistrates from among these men.

Such in general terms are the groups into which the body politic of the Indians is divided. Furthermore, no one is allowed to marry a person of another caste or to follow another calling or trade, as, for instance, that one who is a soldier should become a farmer, or an artisan should become a philosopher.

42. The country of the Indians also possesses a vast number of enormous elephants, which far surpass all others both in strength and in size. Nor does this animal cover the female in a peculiar manner, as some say, but in the same way as horses and all other four-footed beasts; and their period of gestation is in some cases sixteen months at the least and in other cases eighteen months at the most. They bring forth, like horses, but one young for the most part, and the females suckle their young for six years. The span of life for most of them is about that of men who attain the greatest age, though some which have reached the highest age have lived two hundred years.

There are among the Indians also magistrates appointed for foreigners who take care that no foreigner shall be wronged; moreover, should any foreigner fall sick they bring him a physician and care for him in every other way, and if he dies they bury him and even turn over such property as he has left to his relatives. Again, their judges examine accurately matters of dispute and proceed rigorously against such as are guilty of wrongdoing.
43. Περὶ δὲ τῶν Σκυθῶν τῶν οίκουντων τὴν ὄμορον χώραν ἐν μέρει διεξιμεν. οὕτως γὰρ τὸ μὲν ἐξ ἄρχῆς ὀλίγην ἐνέμοντο χώραν, ὑστερον δὲ κατ’ ὀλίγον αὐξηθέντες διὰ τὰς ἄλκας καὶ τὴν ἄνδρείαν πολλὴν μὲν κατεκτήσαντο χώραν, τὸ δ’ έδνος εἰς 2 μεγάλην ἡγεμονίαν καὶ δόξαν προῆγαγον. τὸ μὲν οὖν πρῶτον παρὰ τὸν Ἀράξην ποταμὸν ὀλίγοι κατῴκιοι παντελῶς καὶ διὰ τὴν ἄδοξίαν καταφρονύμενοι: ἕνα δὲ τῶν ἄρχαυν ἔχοντες βασιλέα φιλοπόλεμον καὶ διαφέροντα στρατηγία προσεκτήσαντο χώραν, τῆς μὲν ὅρευσης ἐως πρὸς τὸν Καύκασον, τῆς δὲ πεδινῆς τὰ παρὰ τὸν ὦκεανὸν καὶ τὴν Μαίωτιν λίμνην καὶ τὴν ἀλλήν χώραν ἐως Τανάδος ποταμοὺ. 3 Ὑστερον δὲ μωθολογοῦσι Σκύθαι παρ’ αὐτοῖς γενέσθαι γηγενῆ παρθένον: ταύτην δ’ ἔχειν τὰ μὲν ἄνω μέρη τοῦ σώματος μέχρι τῆς ξώνης γυναικεία, τὰ δὲ κατώτερα ἑχθέντα. ταύτη δὲ Δία μιγέντα γενῆσαι παῖδα Σκύθην ὄνομα. τούτων δὲ γενόμενον ἐπιφανέστατον τῶν πρὸ αὐτοῦ τοὺς λαοὺς ἀφ’ ἑαυτοῦ Σκύθας προσαγορεῦσαι. τῶν δὲ ἀπογόνων τούτων τοῦ βασιλέως ἀδελφοὺς δύο γενέσθαι διαφόρους ἄρτην, καὶ τὸν μὲν Πάλον, τὸν 4 δὲ Νάπην ὄνομάσθαι. τούτων δ’ ἐπιφανεῖς πράξεις κατεργασμένων καὶ διελομένων τὴν βασιλείαν, ἀφ’ ἐκατέρου τοὺς λαοὺς τοὺς μὲν Πάλους, τοὺς

1 The Aras.
2 The Sea of Azof.

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As for India, then, and its antiquities we shall be satisfied with what has been said.

43. But now, in turn, we shall discuss the Scythians who inhabit the country bordering upon India. This people originally possessed little territory, but later, as they gradually increased in power, they seized much territory by reason of their deeds of might and their bravery and advanced their nation to great leadership and renown. At first, then, they dwelt on the Araxes \(^1\) river, altogether few in number and despised because of their lack of renown; but since one of their early kings was warlike and of unusual skill as a general they acquired territory, in the mountains as far as the Caucasus, and in the steppes along the ocean and Lake Maeotis \(^2\) and the rest of that country as far as the Tanaïs \(^3\) river.

At a later time, as the Scythians recount the myth, there was born among them a maiden sprung from the earth; the upper parts of her body as far as her waist were those of a woman, but the lower parts were those of a snake. With her Zeus lay and begat a son whose name was Scythes. This son became more famous than any who had preceded him and called the folk Scythians after his own name. Now among the descendants of this king there were two brothers who were distinguished for their valour, the one named Palus and the other Napes.\(^4\) And since these two performed renowned deeds and divided the kingship between them, some of the people were called Pali after one of them and some Napae.

\(^3\) The Don.

\(^4\) A similar story is in Herodotus (4. 8 ff.), where, however, the father is Heracles and the sons are Agathyrsus, Gelonus, and Scythes.
DIODORUS OF SICILY

δὲ Νάπας προσαγορευθήναι. μετὰ δὲ τινὰς χρόνους τοὺς ἀπογόνους τούτων τῶν βασιλέων ἀνδρεία καὶ στρατηγία διενεγκόντας πολλὴν μὲν πέραν τοῦ Τα-νάδος ποταμοῦ χώραν καταστρέφασθαι μέχρι τῆς Θράκης, ἐπὶ δὲ θάτερα μέρη στρατεύσαντας διατεί-ναι τῇ δυνάμει 1 μέχρι τοῦ κατ᾿ Ἀἰγύπτου Νείλου.

5 πολλὰ δὲ καὶ μεγάλα τῶν ἀνὰ μέσον τούτων έθνῶν καταδουλωσαμένους προβιβάσαι τὴν ἡγε-μονίαν τῶν Σκυθῶν τῇ μὲν ἐπὶ τὸν πρὸς ἀνατολάς ὀκεανόν, τῇ δ᾿ ἐπὶ τὴν Κασπίαν θάλατταν καὶ Μαυώτιν λίμνην ηὐξηθῇ γὰρ ἐπὶ πολὺ τούτῳ τὸ έθνος καὶ βασιλεῖς ἐσχεν ἀξιολόγους, ἀφ᾿ ὦν τοὺς μὲν Σάκας προσαγορευθῆναι, τοὺς δὲ Μασσαγέτας, τινὰς δ᾿ Ἀρμαστοὺς, καὶ τούτως ὁμοίως ἄλλους πλείωνας. ὑπὸ δὲ τούτων τῶν βασιλέων πολλὰ μὲν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν καταπολεμηθέντων έθνῶν μετωκίσθαι, δύο δὲ μεγίστας ἀποκίας γενέσθαι, τὴν μὲν ἐκ τῶν Ἀσσυρίων μετασταθέσαν εἰς τὴν μεταξὺ χώραν τῆς τε Παφλαγονίας καὶ τοῦ Πόντου, τὴν δ᾿ ἐκ τῆς Μηδίας παρὰ τὸν Τάναϊν καθιδρυ-θεῖσαν, ὡς τοὺς λαοὺς Σαυρομάτας ὀνομασθῆναι.

6 τούτους δ᾿ ὑστερον πολλοῖς ἑτεροις αὐξηθέντας πορθῆσαι πολλὴν τῆς Σκυθίας, καὶ τοὺς καταπο-λεμηθέντας ἀρδῆν ἀναροῦντας ἐρημον ποιῆσαι τὸ πλείστον μέρος τῆς χώρας.

44. Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἀναρχίας γενομένης κατὰ τὴν Σκυθίαν, ἐβασίλευσαν γυναῖκες ἀλκή διαφέ-

1 τῇ δυνάμει Π. Dindorf, Vogel (ep. 1. 4. 3): τὴν δύναμιν A B D, Bekker.

1 Probably the south side of the Black Sea is meant; cp. chap. 46. 2.
after the other. But some time later the descendants of these kings, because of their unusual valour and skill as generals, subdued much of the territory beyond the Tanaïs river as far as Thrace, and advancing with their armies to the other side they extended their power as far as the Nile in Egypt. And after enslaving many great peoples which lay between the Thracians and the Egyptians they advanced the empire of the Scythians on the one side as far as the ocean to the east, and on the other side to the Caspian Sea and Lake Maeotis; for this people increased to great strength and had notable kings, one of whom gave his name to the Saceae, another to the Massagetae, another to the Arimaspi, and several other tribes received their names in like manner. It was by these kings that many of the conquered peoples were removed to other homes, and two of these became very great colonies: the one was composed of Assyrians and was removed to the land between Paphlagonia and Pontus, and the other was drawn from Media and planted along the Tanaïs, its people receiving the name Sauromatae. Many years later this people became powerful and ravaged a large part of Scythia, and destroying utterly all whom they subdued they turned most of the land into a desert.

44. After these events there came in Scythia a period of revolutions, in which the sovereigns were women endowed with exceptional valour. For

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2 In this incursion, which occurred between 630 and 625 B.C., the Scythians overran Palestine, but according to Herodotus (1. 105) were turned back from Egypt by Psammetichus. A vivid picture of these foes from the north is preserved in Jeremiah, 4–5 passim.

3 These are the "White Syrians" of Strabo (12. 3. 9).
ποώσαι. ἐν τούτοις γὰρ τοῖς ἔθνεσιν αἱ γυναῖκες γυμνάζονται πρὸς πόλεμον παραπλησίως τοῖς ἀνδράσι καὶ ταῖς ἀνδρείας οὐδὲν λείπονται τῶν ἀνδρῶν. διὸ καὶ γυναικῶν ἐπιφανῶν πολλαὶ καὶ μεγάλαι πράξεις ἐπετελέσθησαν οὐ μόνον κατὰ τὴν Σκυθίαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ κατὰ τὴν ὀμορον ταύτης χώραν. Κύρον μὲν γὰρ τοῦ Περσῶν βασιλέως πλείστον ἐσχύσατο τῶν καθ' αὐτὸν καὶ στρατεύσατος ἀξιολόγους δυνάμεσιν εἰς τὴν Σκυθίαν, ἡ βασιλίσσα τῶν Σκυθῶν τὸ τε στρατόπεδον τῶν Περσῶν κατέκοψε καὶ τὸν Κύρον αἰχμάλωτον γενόμενον ἀνεσταύρωσε· τὸ τε συνταθὲν ἔθνος τῶν Ἀμαζόνων τοσοῦτον ἀνδρεία διήνεγκεν ὡστε μὴ μόνον πολλὴν χώραν ὀμορον καταδραμεῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πολλὴν τῆς Εὐρώπης καὶ τῆς Ἀσίας καταστρέψασθαι. ἦμεῖς δ' ἐπειδὴ περὶ τῶν Ἀμαζόνιδων ἐμνήσθημεν, οὐκ ἀνοίκειοι εἶναι νομίζομεν διελθεῖν περὶ αὐτῶν, εἰ καὶ διὰ τὴν παραδοξολογίαν μόνοις ὁμοίᾳ φανῆσεται τὰ ῥηθέντα.

45. Παρὰ τὸν Θερμώδοντα τοῖνυν ποταμὸν ἔθνους κρατοῦντος γυναικοκρατοῦμένου, καὶ τῶν γυναικῶν ὄμοιως τοῖς ἀνδράσι τὰς πολεμικὰς χρείας μεταχειρίζομένων, φασὶ μίαν ἐξ αὐτῶν βασιλικὴν ἐξουσίαν ἔχουσαν ἀλκή καὶ ρώμη διενεγκεῖν· συντησμένην δὲ γυναικῶν στρατόπεδον γυμνάσαι τε τοῦτο καὶ τινας τῶν ὀμόρων καταπολεμῆσαι.
among these peoples the women train for war just as do the men and in acts of manly valour are in no wise inferior to the men. Consequently distinguished women have been the authors of many great deeds, not in Scythia alone, but also in the territory bordering upon it. For instance, when Cyrus the king of the Persians, the mightiest ruler of his day, made a campaign with a vast army into Scythia, the queen of the Scythians not only cut the army of the Persians to pieces but she even took Cyrus prisoner and crucified him; and the nation of the Amazons, after it was once organized, was so distinguished for its manly prowess that it not only overran much of the neighbouring territory but even subdued a large part of Europe and Asia. But for our part, since we have mentioned the Amazons, we feel that it is not foreign to our purpose to discuss them, even though what we shall say will be so marvellous that it will resemble a tale from mythology.

45. Now in the country along the Thermodon river, as the account goes, the sovereignty was in the hands of a people among whom the women held the supreme power, and its women performed the services of war just as did the men. Of these women one, who possessed the royal authority, was remarkable for her prowess in war and her bodily strength, and gathering together an army of women she drilled it in the use of arms and subdued in war some of the neighbouring peoples. And since her valour and fame increased, she made war upon

1 There are many different accounts of the death of Cyrus, but they all agree that he met his end fighting on the far eastern border of his empire.

2 In Pontus (cp. Strabo, 12. 3. 14–15).
οὐνέχως ἐπὶ τὰ πλησίόχωρα τῶν ἑθνῶν στρατεύειν, καὶ τῆς τύχης εὐροούσης φρονήματος ἐμπίπτει στρατηγωθαι, καὶ θυγατέρα μὲν Ἀρεος αὐτὴν προσαγορεύσαι, τοῖς δ’ ἀνδράσι προσνείμαι τὰς ταλασιονυργιὰς καὶ τὰς τῶν γυναικῶν κατ’ οἶκους ἐργασίας. νόμους τε καταδείξαι, δι’ δὲν τὰς μὲν γυναικάς ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμικοὺς ἀγώνας προάγειν, τοῖς δ’ ἀνδράσι ταπείνωσιν καὶ δουλείαν περιάπτειν. τῶν δὲ γεννωμένων τοὺς μὲν ἄρρενας ἐπήρουν τὰ τε σκέλη καὶ τοὺς βραχίονας, ἀχρήστους κατασκευά-ζοντες πρὸς τὰς πολεμικὰς χρείας, τῶν δὲ θηλυτε-ρῶν τὸν δεξίον μαστὸν ἐπέκασαν, ἵνα μὴ κατὰ τὸς ἀκμᾶς τῶν σωμάτων ἐπαιρόμενος ἐνοχλη. ἀφ’ ὡς αἰτίας συμβῆναι τὸ ἔθνος τῶν Ἀμαξόνων ταύτης τυχεῖν τῆς προσαγορίας. καθόλου δὲ διαφέρουσαν αὐτὴν συνέσει καὶ στρατηγία πόλιν μὲν κτίσαι μεγάλην παρὰ τὰς ἐκβολὰς τοῦ Θερμόδοντος ποτα-μοῦ, τοῦνομα Θερμόκυραν, καὶ βασίλεια κατασκευά-σαι περιβόητα, κατὰ δὲ τὰς στρατείας ἐπιμελομέ-νην πολὺ τῆς εὐταξίας τὸ μὲν πρῶτον καταπολε-μῆσαι πάντας τοὺς ὁμόρους μέχρι τοῦ Τανάδος ποταμοῦ. καὶ ταύτην μὲν φασὶ ταύτας τὰς πράξεις ἐπιτελεσαμένην καὶ κατὰ τινα μάχην λαμπρῶς ἀγωνισμένην ἠρωικῶς τελευτῆσαι τὸν βίον.

46. Διαδεξαμένην δὲ τὴν ταύτης θυγατέρα τὴν βασιλείαν ζηλώσαι μὲν τὴν ἀρετὴν τῆς μητρός, ὑπερβαλέσθαι δὲ ταῖς κατὰ μέρος πράξεις. τὰς ἀκμᾶς Dindorf: μάχας.
people after people of neighbouring lands, and as
the tide of her fortune continued favourable, she was
so filled with pride that she gave herself the appella-
tion of Daughter of Ares; but to the men she
assigned the spinning of wool and such other domestic
duties as belong to women. Laws also were estab-
lished by her, by virtue of which she led forth the
women to the contests of war, but upon the men
she fastened humiliation and slavery. And as for
their children, they mutilated both the legs and the
arms of the males, incapacitating them in this way
for the demands of war, and in the case of the females
they seared the right breast that it might not pro-
ject when their bodies matured and be in the way;
and it is for this reason that the nation of the
Amazons received the appellation it bears.1 In
general, this queen was remarkable for her intelli-
gence and ability as a general, and she founded a
great city named Themiscyra at the mouth of the
Thermodon river and built there a famous palace;
furthermore, in her campaigns she devoted much
attention to military discipline and at the outset
subdued all her neighbours as far as the Tanaïs river.
And this queen, they say, accomplished the deeds
which have been mentioned, and fighting brilliantly
in a certain battle she ended her life heroically.

46. The daughter of this queen, the account con-
tinues, on succeeding to the throne emulated the
excellence of her mother, and even surpassed her in

1 Amazon is commonly derived from ἄ and μαρτος, a form
of μαρτος ("breast"), and so means "without a breast," becausethe right breast was got rid of, that it might not
hinder the use of the bow. For a slightly different account,
μὲν γὰρ παρθένοις ἀπὸ τῆς πρώτης ἡλικίας ἐν τε ταῖς θῆραις γυμνάζεσθαι καὶ καθ’ ἡμέραν ἀσκεῖν τὰ πρὸς πόλεμον ἀνήκοντα, καταδείξας δὲ καὶ θυσίας μεγαλοπρεπεῖς "Αρεί τε καὶ Ἀρτέμιδι τῇ προσα-
some particular deeds. For instance, she exercised in the chase the maidens from their earliest girlhood and drilled them daily in the arts of war, and she also established magnificent festivals both to Ares and to the Artemis who is called Tauropolus. Then she campaigned against the territory lying beyond the Tanaïs and subdued all the peoples one after another as far as Thrace; and returning to her native land with much booty she built magnificent shrines to the deities mentioned above, and by reason of her kindly rule over her subjects received from them the greatest approbation. She also campaigned on the other side and subdued a large part of Asia and extended her power as far as Syria.

After the death of this queen, as their account continues, women of her family, succeeding to the queenship from time to time, ruled with distinction and advanced the nation of the Amazons in both power and fame. And many generations after these events, when the excellence of these women had been noised abroad through the whole inhabited world, they say that Heracles, the son of Alcmene and Zeus, was assigned by Eurystheus the Labour of securing the girdle of Hippolytē the Amazon. Consequently he embarked on this campaign, and coming off victorious in a great battle he not only cut to pieces the army of Amazons but also, after taking captive Hippolytē together with her girdle, completely crushed this nation. Consequently the neighbouring barbarians, despising the weakness of

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1 The Taurian Artemis, so well known from the Iphigeneia among the Taurians of Euripides.
2 *i.e.* south of the Black Sea.
3 The story is given in detail in Book 4. 16.
Quintus Smyrnaeus (1. 24 f.) says that she killed her sister Hippolytē on a hunt, while hurling her spear at a stag.

2 There seems good reason (see R. Hennig, “Die Anfänge des kulturellen und Handelsverkehr in der Mittelmeerwelt,” Historische Zeitschrift, 139 (1928), 1–33) to see in this people who live “beyond the north wind,” as their name signifies,
this people and remembering against them their past injuries, waged continuous wars against the nation to such a degree that they left in existence not even the name of the race of the Amazons. For a few years after the campaign of Heracles against them, they say, during the time of the Trojan War, Penthesileia, the queen of the surviving Amazons, who was a daughter of Ares and had slain one of her kindred, fled from her native land because of the sacrilege. And fighting as an ally of the Trojans after the death of Hector she slew many of the Greeks, and after gaining distinction in the struggle she ended her life heroically at the hands of Achilles. Now they say that Penthesileia was the last of the Amazons to win distinction for bravery and that for the future the race diminished more and more and then lost all its strength; consequently in later times, whenever any writers recount their prowess, men consider the ancient stories about the Amazons to be fictitious tales.

47. Now for our part, since we have seen fit to make mention of the regions of Asia which lie to the north, we feel that it will not be foreign to our purpose to discuss the legendary accounts of the Hyperboreans. Of those who have written about the ancient myths, Hecataeus and certain others say that in the regions beyond the land of the Celts there lies in the ocean an island no smaller

an early acquaintance of the Greeks, through the medium of the Celts, with Britain and its inhabitants. In this chapter Apollo would be the Celtic sun-god Borvon, and the "sacred precinct" of Apollo would be the famous Stone Age remains of Stonehenge.

1 i.e. Gaul.
The mother by Zeus of Apollo and Artemis.

2 The island of Delos was from the earliest period of the Greek civilization a centre of the worship of Apollo.
than Sicily. This island, the account continues, is situated in the north and is inhabited by the Hyperboreans, who are called by that name because their home is beyond the point whence the north wind (Boreas) blows; and the island is both fertile and productive of every crop, and since it has an unusually temperate climate it produces two harvests each year. Moreover, the following legend is told concerning it: Leto¹ was born on this island, and for that reason Apollo is honoured among them above all other gods; and the inhabitants are looked upon as priests of Apollo, after a manner, since daily they praise this god continuously in song and honour him exceedingly. And there is also on the island both a magnificent sacred precinct of Apollo and a notable temple which is adorned with many votive offerings and is spherical in shape. Furthermore, a city is there which is sacred to this god, and the majority of its inhabitants are players on the cithara; and these continually play on this instrument in the temple and sing hymns of praise to the god, glorifying his deeds.

The Hyperboreans also have a language, we are informed, which is peculiar to them, and are most friendly disposed towards the Greeks, and especially towards the Athenians and the Delians,² who have inherited this good-will from most ancient times. The myth also relates that certain Greeks visited the Hyperboreans and left behind them there costly votive offerings bearing inscriptions in Greek letters. And in the same way Abaris,³ a Hyperborean, came

³ Abaris is apparently a purely mythical figure, who in some authors sailed on his arrow, as on a witch’s broomstick, through the air over rivers and seas.
"Αβαρυν εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα καταντήσαντα τὸ παλαιὸν ἀνασώσαι τὴν πρὸς Δηλίους εὐνοιὰν τε καὶ συγγένειαν. φασὶ δὲ καὶ τὴν σελήνην ἐκ ταύτης τῆς νήσου φαίνεσθαι παντελῶς ὀλίγον ἀπέχουσαν τῆς γῆς καὶ τινάς ἔξοχὰς γεώδεις ἔχουσαν ἐν 6 αὐτῇ φανεράς. λέγεται δὲ καὶ τὸν θεὸν δι’ ἐτῶν ἐνεακαίδεκα καταντάν εἰς τὴν νήσον, ἐν οἷς αἱ τῶν ἁστρών ἀποκαταστάσεις ἐπὶ τέλος ἀγονται· καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τὸν ἐνεακαίδεκας ἡμικόλιον ὑπὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων Μέτωνων ἔναντὸν ὁνομάζεσθαι· κατὰ δὲ τὴν ἐπιφάνειαν ταύτην τὸν θεὸν κυθαρίζειν τε καὶ χορεύειν συνεχῶς τὰς νύκτας ἀπὸ ἰσημερίας ἑαρίνης ἐως πλειάδος ἀνατολῆς ἐπὶ τοῖς ἑδίοις εὐμερήμασι τερπόμενον. βασιλεύειν δὲ τῆς πόλεως ταύτης καὶ τοῦ τεμένους ἐπάρχειν τοὺς ὁνομαζόμενους Βορεάδας, ἀπογόνους οὕτας Βορέου, καὶ κατὰ γένος ἀεὶ διαδέχεσθαι τὰς ἀρχὰς.

48. Τούτων δ’ ἡμῖν διευκρινημένων μεταβιβάσμεν τὸν λόγον ἐπὶ τὰ ἐτερα μέρη τῆς Ἀσίας τὰ μὴ τετευχότα τῆς ἀναγραφῆς, καὶ μάλιστα τὰ κατὰ τὴν Ἀραβίαν. αὕτη γὰρ κεῖται μὲν μεταξὺ Συρίας καὶ τῆς Αἰγύπτου, πολλοῖς δὲ καὶ παντοδαποῖς ἔθνεσι διελήπται. τὰ μὲν οὖν πρὸς τὴν ἑω μέρη κατοικοῦσιν Ἀραβεῖς οὓς ὁνομάζουσι Ναβαταῖοι, νεμόμενοι χώραν τὴν μὲν ἐρήμον, τὴν δὲ ἀνυδρον, ὀλίγην δὲ καρποφόρον. ἔχουσι δὲ βίον ληστρικοίν, καὶ πολλὴν τῆς ὀμόρου χώρας κατατρέ-
to Greece in ancient times and renewed the goodwill and kinship of his people to the Delians. They say also that the moon, as viewed from this island, appears to be but a little distance from the earth and to have upon it prominences, like those of the earth, which are visible to the eye. The account is also given that the god visits the island every nineteen years, the period in which the return of the stars to the same place in the heavens is accomplished; and for this reason the nineteen-year period is called by the Greeks the "year of Meton." At the time of this appearance of the god he both plays on the cithara and dances continuously the night through from the vernal equinox until the rising of the Pleiades, expressing in this manner his delight in his successes. And the kings of this city and the supervisors of the sacred precinct are called Boreadae, since they are descendants of Boreas, and the succession to these positions is always kept in their family.

48. But now that we have examined these matters we shall turn our account to the other parts of Asia which have not yet been described, and more especially to Arabia. This land is situated between Syria and Egypt, and is divided among many peoples of diverse characteristics. Now the eastern parts are inhabited by Arabs, who bear the name of Nabataeans and range over a country which is partly desert and partly waterless, though a small section of it is fruitful. And they lead a life of brigandage, and overrunning a large part of the neighbouring terri-

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was actually inaugurated at this time has been maintained, most recently, by W. B. Dinsmoor, *The Archons of Athens in the Hellenistic Age* (1931), pp. 320–1 and *passim.*
χοντες ληστεύονσιν, ὁντες δύσμαχοι κατὰ τοὺς πολέμους. κατὰ γὰρ τὴν ἁνωρθον χώραν λεγο-μένην κατεσκευάκότες εὐκαίρα φρέατα, καὶ ταῦτα πεποιηκότες τοῖς ἀλλοις ἔθνεσιν ἁγιώστα, συμ-φεύγουσιν εἰς τὴν χώραν ταύτην ἀκινδύνως. 3 αὐτός μὲν γὰρ εἰδότες τὰ κατακεκρυμμένα τῶν ὑδάτων, καὶ ταῦτ' ἀνοίγοντες, χρὼνται δαψιλέσι ποτοῖς: οἱ δὲ τούτους ἐπιδιώκοντες ἀλλοεθνεῖς σπανίζοντες τῆς ὑδρείας διὰ τὴν ἁγιοταν τῶν φρέα-τῶν, οἱ μὲν ἀπόλλυνται διὰ τὴν σπάνη τῶν ὑδάτων, οἱ δὲ πολλὰ κακοπαθήσαντες μόνος εἰς τὴν οἰκείαν σώζονται. διόπερ οἱ ταύτην τὴν χώραν κατοικοῦντες Ἀραβὲς, ὁντες δυσκαταπολεύμητοι, διατελοῦσιν ἀδούλωτοι, πρὸς δὲ τούτους ἔπηλυν μὲν ἡγεμόνα τὸ παράπαν οὐ προσδέχονται, διατελοῦσι δὲ τὴν ἐλευθερίαν διαφυλάττοντες ἀσάλευτον. 4 διόπερ οὖτ' Ἀσσύριοι τὸ παλαιὸν οὖθ' οἱ Μῆδων καὶ Περσῶν, ἔτι δὲ Ἑλληνιστῶν βάσιλεῖς ἰδινήθησαν αὐτοὺς καταδιούσασθαι, πολλὰς μὲν καὶ μεγάλας δυνάμεις ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἁγιοταν, οὐδέποτε δὲ τὰς ἐπιβολὰς συντελέσαντες. 6 Ἐστὶ δὲ ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ τῶν Ναβαταίων καὶ πέτρα καθ' ὑπερβολὴν ὁχυρά, μίαν ἀνάβασιν ἔχουσα, δι᾽ ἡς κατ᾽ ὀλιγοὺς ἀναβαίνοντες ἀποτίθενται τὰς ἀποσκευάς. λίμνη τε μεγάλῃ φέρουσα πολλὴν

1 ἀλλοις ἔθνεσιν MSS.: ἀλλοεθνεῖς Dindorf, Vogel.

1 A fuller description of this custom is given in Book 19. 94 in connection with the expedition of Antigonus against the Nabataeans.
2 Cp. chap. 1. 5.
3 The city of Petra (rock); cp. Book 19. 97 and Strabo, 16. 21.
tory they pillage it, being difficult to overcome in war. For in the waterless region, as it is called, they have dug wells at convenient intervals and have kept the knowledge of them hidden from the peoples of all other nations, and so they retreat in a body into this region out of danger.¹ For since they themselves know about the places of hidden water and open them up, they have for their use drinking water in abundance; but such other peoples as pursue them, being in want of a watering-place by reason of their ignorance of the wells, in some cases perish because of the lack of water and in other cases regain their native land in safety only with difficulty and after suffering many ills. Consequently the Arabs who inhabit this country, being difficult to overcome in war, remain always unenslaved; furthermore, they never at any time accept a man of another country as their over-lord and continue to maintain their liberty unimpaired. Consequently neither the Assyrians of old, nor the kings of the Medes and Persians, nor yet those of the Macedonians have been able to enslave them, and although they led many great forces against them, they never brought their attempts to a successful conclusion.²

There is also in the land of the Nabataeans a rock,³ which is exceedingly strong since it has but one approach, and using this ascent they mount it a few at a time and thus store their possessions in safety. And a large lake ⁴ is also there which pro-

¹ The Dead Sea; cp. Strabo 16. 42 f. The remainder of this chapter appears in the same words in Book 19. 98, which has been the basis of many changes in the text of the present passage.
Diodorus of Sicily

ἀσφάλτου, ἕξ ἦς λαμβάνουσιν οὐκ ὅλιγας προσό-
7 δους. αὐτὴ δ' ἔχει τὸ μὲν μὴκος σταδίων ὡς
πεντακοσίων, τὸ δὲ πλάτος ὡς ἐξῆκοντα, τὸ δ' ὑδώρ
dυσώδες καὶ διάπικρον, ὥστε μὴ δύνασθαι
μῆτ' ἰχθὺν τρέφειν μὴτ' ἀλλο τῶν καθ' ὅδατος
εἰωθότων ζῴων εἶναι. ἐμβαλλόντων δ' εἰς αὐτὴν
ποταμῶν μεγάλων τῇ γλυκύτητι διαφόρων, τούτων
μὲν περιγίνεται κατὰ τὴν δυσώδιαν, ἐξ αὐτῆς
δὲ μέσης κατ' ἑνακτὸν ἐκφυσῷ ἀσφάλτου μέγεθος
ποτὲ μὲν μείζων ἡ τρίπλεθρον, ἐστὶ δ' ὅτε δυὸν
πλέθρων. ἐφ' ᾗ 1 δὴ συνήθως οἱ περιουκοίνυ-
tες βάρβαροι τὸ μὲν μείζων καλοῦσι ταῖρον, τὸ δ'
8 ἔλαττον μόσχον ἐπονομάζουσιν. ἐπιπλεούσης δὲ τῆς
ἀσφάλτου πελαγίας ὁ τύπος 2 δαίνεται τοῖς 3 ἐξ
ἀποστήματος θεωροῦσιν οἰονεὶ νήσοις. τὴν δ' ἐκπτω-
σιν τῆς ἀσφάλτου συμβαίνει φανερὰν γίνεσθαι τοῖς
ἀνθρώποις πρὸ ἢμερῶν εἴκοσι. 4 κύκλῳ γὰρ τῆς
λίμνης ἐπὶ πολλοὺς σταδίους ὀσμὴ προσπίπτει μετὰ
πνεύματος, καὶ πάς ὁ περὶ τὸν τόπον ἄργυρος τε
καὶ χρυσὸς καὶ χαλκὸς ἀποβάλλει τὴν ἰδιότητα τοῦ
χρώματος. ἀλλ' αὐτὴ μὲν ἀποκαθίσταται πάλιν,
ἐπειδὰν ἀναφυσηθῆναι 5 συμβῇ πάσαν τὴν ἀσφαλ-
tον. ὁ δὲ πλησίον τόπος ἐμπυρὸς ὥν καὶ δυσώδης
ποιεῖ τὰ σώματα τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐπίνοσα καὶ παντε-
9 λῶς ὀλιγοχρόνα. ἀγαθὴ δ' ἐστὶ φουικόφυτος ὅσην
αὐτῆς συμβαίνει ποταμῶς διειλῆφθαι χρησίμως
ἡ πηγαῖς δυναμέναις ἀρδεύειν. γίνεται δὲ περὶ

1 ὧ Wesseling: ὅν.
2 τύπος Schäfer: τόπος.
3 μὲν after τοῖς deleted by Dindorf.
4 δύο after εἴκοσι deleted by Dindorf.
5 ἀναφυσηθῆναι Dindorf: ἀναφυσῆσαι.
duces asphalt in abundance, and from it they derive not a little revenue. It has a length of about five hundred stades and a width of about sixty, and its water is so ill-smelling and so very bitter that it cannot support fish or any of the other animals which commonly live in water. And although great rivers of remarkable sweetness empty into it, the lake gets the better of them by reason of its evil smell, and from its centre it spouts forth once a year a great mass of asphalt,¹ which sometimes extends for more than three plethra, and sometimes for only two; and when this occurs the barbarians who live about the lake usually call the larger flow a "bull" and to the smaller one they give the name "calf." Since the asphalt floats on the surface of the lake, to those who view it from a distance it takes the appearance of an island. And the fact is that the emission of the asphalt is made known to the natives twenty days before it takes place; for to a distance of many stades around the lake the odour, borne on the wind, assails them, and every piece of silver and gold and brass in the locality loses its characteristic lustre. But this returns again as soon as all the asphalt has been spouted forth; and the region round about, by reason of its being exposed to fire and to the evil odours, renders the bodies of the inhabitants susceptible to disease and makes the people very short-lived. Yet the land is good for the growing of palms, wherever it happens to be traversed by rivers with usable water or to be supplied with springs which can irrigate it. And

¹ Asphalt even now occasionally floats ashore from the Dead Sea.
Diodorus of Sicily

toûs tônous tônous 1 εν αύλωνι τινι καὶ τὸ καλοῦμενον βάλσαμον, εξ οὗ πρόσοδον ἀδραν 2 λαμβάνονσιν, οὐδαμοὶ μὲν τῆς ἀλλῆς οἰκουμένης εὐρισκομένου τοῦ φυτοῦ τοῦτου, τῆς δ' εὖ αὐτοῦ χρείας εἰς φάρμακα τοῖς ἰατροῖς καθ' ύπερβολὴν εὐθετούσης.

49. Ἡ δ' ἐχομένη τῆς ἁνύδρου καὶ ἔρημου χώρας Ἀραβία τοσοῦτο διαφέρει ταύτης ὡστε διὰ τὸ πλήθος τῶν ἐν αὐτῇ φυομένων καρπῶν τε καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀγαθῶν Εὐδαίμονα Ἀραβίαν προσαγο-2 ῡτηναι. κάλαμον μὲν γὰρ καὶ σχοῖνον καὶ τὴν ἄλλην ύλην τὴν ἀρωματίζουσαν πολλὴν φέρει καὶ καθόλου παντοδαπᾶς φύλλων εὐωδίας, καὶ τῶν ἀποσταζόντων δακρύων ὀσμαῖς πουκίλαις διελ-ληται: τὴν τε γὰρ σμύρναν καὶ τὸν προσφιλέ-3 στατὸν τοῖς θεοῖς εἰς τε τὴν οἰκουμένην ἀπάσαν διαπόμπην λιβανωτὸν αἱ ταύτης 3 ἐσχατιαὶ φε-ρουσι. τοῦ δὲ κόστου καὶ κασίας, ἕτι δὲ κιναμώ-μου καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν τοιούτων χόρτων καὶ θάμνων βαθεία τοσαῦτα πεφύκασαν ὡστε τὰ παρὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις σπανίωσι ἐπὶ βωμοὺς θεῶν τιθέμενα παρ' ἐκεῖνοι καὶ κλιβάνων υπάρχειν ἐκκαύματα, καὶ τὰ παρὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις μικρῶ δείγματι υπάρχοντα

1 τοῦτος omitted by C D F, Vogel; but ep. 19. 98. 4.
2 ἀδραν Vogel, from 19. 98. 4: μικρὰν D, Bekker, who adds ὦν, λαμπρὰν II, Dindorf.
3 αἱ ταύτης Reiske: ἀπ' αὐτὴς αἱ ταύτης.

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1 The Jordan valley at Jericho.
2 Strabo (16. 2. 41) briefly describes how the resin, perhaps the Biblical “balm of Gilead,” was extracted from this tree.

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there is also found in these regions in a certain valley the balsam tree, as it is called, from which they receive a substantial revenue, since this tree is found nowhere else in the inhabited world and the use of it for medicinal purposes is most highly valued by physicians.  

49. That part of Arabia which borders upon the waterless and desert country is so different from it that, because both of the multitude of fruits which grow therein and of its other good things, it has been called Arabia Felix. For the reed and the rush and every other growth that has a spicy scent are produced in great abundance, as is also, speaking generally, every kind of fragrant substance which is derived from leaves, and the land is distinguished in its several parts by the varied odours of the gums which drip from them; for myrrh and that frankincense which is most dear to the gods and is exported throughout the entire inhabited world are produced in the farthest parts of this land. And kostos and cassia and cinnamon and all other plants of this nature grow there in fields and thickets of such depth that what all other peoples sparingly place upon the altars of the gods is actually used by them as fuel under their pots, and what is found among all other peoples in small speci-

3 Chaps. 49-53 are commonly attributed to Posidonius (cp. Jacoby, FGrHist., No. 87, F 114).
4 The "sweet reed" (sweet-flag) of Theophrastus, Enquiry into Plants, 9. 7. 1, 3 (Vol. 2, pp. 247 f. in L.C.L. tr. by Hort).
5 Ginger-grass; cp. ibid.
6 Saussurea Lappa; cp. ibid.
7 Cinnamomum iners, idem, 9. 5. 3 (Vol. 2, pp. 243 f. in L.C.L.).
8 i.e. aromatic plants.
par' ἐκείνοις στιβάδας οἰκετικὰς ἐπὶ τῶν οἰκιῶν παρέχεσθαι. τὸ τε καλούμενον κινάμωμον διά-
φορον χρείαν παρεχόμενον καὶ ῥητύνη καὶ περέ-
βυνθος ἀπλατος εὐώδης φύεται περὶ τοὺς τόπους.
4 ἐν δὲ τοῖς ὁρεσίν οὐ μόνον ἑλάτη καὶ πεύκη φύεται
dαιμής, ἀλλὰ καὶ κέδρος καὶ ἄρκευθος ἀπλατος
cαὶ τὸ καλούμενον βόρατον. πολλαὶ δὲ καὶ
ἀλλαὶ φύσεις εὐώδεις καρποφοροῦσαι τὰς ἀπορροιάς
cαὶ προσπνεύσεις ἔχουσι τοῖς ἐγχύσαι προση-
νεστάτας. καὶ γὰρ αὕτῳ τὸ τῆς γῆς ἔχει τι
φυσικὸν ἐνατμόν καὶ θυμιάμασιν ἡδέσιν ἑοικός.
5 διὸ καὶ κατὰ τινὰς τόπους τῆς Ἀραβίας ὄρυττο-
μένης τῆς γῆς εὐρύσκονται φλέβες εὐώδεις, ὥν
μεταλλευομένων ἐξαίσιοι τὸ μέγεθος λατομία
γίνονται. ἐκ δὲ τούτων τὰς οἰκίας συλλέγοντες
κατασκεύαζονσιν' αἰσ ὅταν ἐκ τοῦ περιέχοντος
προσπέσωσι ψεκάδες, τὸ διατηκόμενον 1 ὑπὸ 2
τῆς ἱκμάδος υπρεῖ εἰς τὰς ἀρμογάς τῶν λίθων,
cαὶ πηγωμένον συμφωνεὶς ἀπεργάζεται τοῖχους.

50. Μεταλλεύεται δὲ κατὰ τὴν Ἀραβίαν καὶ ὁ
προσαγορευόμενος ἀπυρός χρυσός, οὐχ ὡσπερ
παρὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐκ ψηγμάτων καθεψόμενος,
ἀλλ' εὐθὺς ὄρυττομένος εὐρύσκεται τὸ 3 μέγεθος
καρύος κασταναίκοις παραπλήσιος, τὴν δὲ χρόαν
οὕτω φλογώδης ὡστε τοὺς ἐντυμοτάτους λίθους
ὑπὸ τῶν τεχνών ἐνδεθέντας ποιεῖν τὰ κάλλιστα

1 τὸ διατηκόμενον Wesseling: τὸ omitted A D, διὰ τὸ
tηκόμενον C F.
2 ὑπὸ Dindorf: ἀπό.
3 μέν after τὸ added by Jacoby.

1 Turpentine tree; cp. Theophrastus, ibid. 3. 15. 3–4 and
passim.
48
mens there supplies material for the mattresses of the servants in their homes. Moreover, the cinnamon, as it is called, which is exceptionally useful, and resin of the pine, and the terebinth,¹ are produced in these regions in great abundance and of sweet odour. And in the mountains grow not only silver fir and pine in abundance, but also cedar and the Phoenician cedar ² in abundance and boraton,³ as it is called. There are also many other kinds of fruit-bearing plants of sweet odour, which yield sap and fragrances most pleasing to such as approach them. Indeed the very earth itself is by its nature full of a vapour which is like sweet incense. Consequently, in certain regions of Arabia, when the earth is dug up, there are discovered veins of sweet odour, in the working of which quarries of extraordinary magnitude are formed; and from these they gather stones and build their houses. And as for their houses, whenever rain drops from the enveloping atmosphere, that part ⁴ which is melted down by the moisture flows into the joints of the stones and hardening there makes the walls solid throughout.

50. There is also mined in Arabia the gold called "fireless," ⁵ which is not smelted from ores, as is done among all other peoples, but is dug out directly from the earth; it is found in nuggets about the size of chestnuts, and is so fiery-red in colour that when it is used by artisans as a setting for the most precious gems it makes the fairest of adornments.

¹ These two cedars are distinguished in Theophrastus, ibid. 3. 12. 3–4 (Vol. 2, pp. 235 f. in L.C.L.).
² Juniper.
³ Presumably, the clay of the roof.
⁴ i.e. unsmelted.
2 τῶν κοσμημάτων. θρεμμάτων τε παντοδαπῶν τοσοῦτο κατ' αὐτὴν ὑπάρχει πλῆθος ὡστε ἐθνὶ
πολλὰ νομάδα βίων ήρημένα δύνασθαι καλῶς
dιατρέφεσθαι, σίτου μὲν μὴ προσδεόμενα, τῇ ἐ'
ἀπὸ τοῦτων δαφυλεῖς χορηγοῦμενα. θηρίων τε
πλῆθος ἄλκιμων ἢ προσορίζουσα τῇ Συρίᾳ τρέφειν
καὶ γὰρ λέοντας καὶ παρδάλεις ἐν αὐτῇ πολλῷ
πλείονας καὶ μείζους καὶ ταῖς ἄλκαις διαφόρους
πεφυκέναι ἦπερ ἐν τῇ Λυβίᾳ συμβεβήκε. πρὸς
de τούτοις οἱ καλοῦμενοι Βαβυλώνοι τίγρεις.
3 φέρει δὲ καὶ ζώα διφυή καὶ μεμιγμένα ταῖς
ἰδέαις, ὃν αἰ μὲν ὀνομαζόμεναι στροουθόκαμηλοὶ
περιειλήφασι τοῖς τύποις μέγματα πτηνῶν ¹ καὶ
καμήλων ἄκολοπτος τῇ προσηγορίᾳ. τὸ μὲν γὰρ
μέγεθος ἦχουσι νεογενεῖ καμῆλῳ παραπλήσων,
tὰς δὲ κεφαλὰς πεφρυκυίας ² θρίξι τεπταῖς, τοὺς
δ᾽ ὀφθαλμοὺς μεγάλους καὶ κατὰ τὴν χρόαν
μέλανας, ἀπαραλλάκτους κατὰ τὸν τύπον καὶ τὸ
4 χρώμα τοῖς τῶν καμήλων. μακροτράχηλον δ᾽
ὑπάρχον ρύγχος ἔχει βραχὺ παντελῶς καὶ εἰς
δὲς συνηγμένον. ἐπτέρωται δὲ ταρσοῖς μαλακῶς ³
tετριχωμένοις, καὶ δυσὶ σκέλεσι στηριζόμενον καὶ
ποσὶ διχήλους χερσάιον ἀμα φαινέται καὶ πτηνῶν.
5 διὰ δὲ τὸ βάρος οὐ δυνάμενον ἐξάραι καὶ πέτεσθαι
κατὰ τὴς γῆς ὦκεν ἀκροβατεῖ, καὶ διωκόμενον
ὑπὸ τῶν ἵππων τοὺς ποσὶ τοὺς ὑποπίπτοντας
λίθους οὔτως εὐτόνως ἀποσφενδοῦν ὑπὸ τοὺς
dιώκοντας ὡστε πολλάκις καρτερᾶς πληγαῖς

1 πτηνῶν Rhodomann, Dindorf, Bekker: χηνῶν MSS.,
Vogel.
2 πεφρυκυίας Cobet: πεφυκυίας.
There is also in the land such a multitude of herds that many tribes which have chosen a nomad life are able to fare right well, experiencing no want of grain but being provided for in abundance by their herds. That part of the country which borders upon Syria breeds a multitude of fierce wild beasts; for the lions and leopards there are far more numerous and larger and superior in ferocity as compared with those of Libya, and in addition to these there are the Babylonian tigers, as they are called. And it produces animals which are of double form and mingled in their natures, to which belong the struthocamelii, which, as their name implies, embrace in their form the compound of a bird and of a camel. For in size they are like a newly-born camel, but their heads bristle with fine hair, and their eyes are large and black, indistinguishable in general appearance and colour from those of the camel. It is also long-necked and has a beak which is very short and contracted to a sharp point. And since it has wings with feathers which are covered with a fine hair, and is supported upon two legs and on feet with cloven hoofs, it has the appearance of a land animal as well as of a bird. But being unable by reason of its weight to raise itself in the air and to fly, it swiftly skims over the land, and when pursued by hunters on horseback with its feet it hurls stones as from a sling upon its pursuers, and with such force

1 The MSS. write “of a goose.” Oppian, Cynegetica, 3. 483, says that the animal was of the nature of a camel and of an “ostrich” (strouthos).

Diodorus of Sicily

αὐτοῦς περιπλάνησ. ἐπειδὰν δὲ περικατάληπτον

6 ἢ, τὴν κεφαλὴν εἰς τινα θάμνον ἢ τοιαύτην

σκέπην ἀποκρυπτεῖται, οὐχ, ὡς οὖντα τίνες,

ἀφροσύνη καὶ νωθρότητι ὕμης διὰ τὸ μὴ βλέπειν

ἐτέρους μὴ δ' αὐτὸ βλέπεσθαι διαλαμβάνων ὑφ

ἐτέρων, ἀλλὰ διὰ τὸ τοῦ σώματος ἐχειν τοῦτο τὸ

μέρος ἀσθενέστατον σκέπην αὐτῷ ἕν πρὸς σωτηρίαν

7 περιποιεῖ· ἀγαθὴ γὰρ ἡ φύσις διδάσκαλος ἀπασί

τοῖς ζῴωσ πρὸς διατήρησιν οὐ μόνον ἑαυτῶν,

ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν γεννωμένων, διὰ τῆς συγγενείας

φιλοξενίας τὰς διαδοχὰς εἰς αἴδιον ἄγουσα διαμονῆς

κύκλων.

51. Αἱ δὲ καλοῦμενα καμηλοπαρδάλεις τὴν 2

μίξιν ἀμφοτέρων ἔχουσι τῶν ἐν τῇ προσηγορίᾳ

περιελήμμενων ζῴων. τῷ μὲν γὰρ μεγέθει μικρό-

tεραι τῶν καμηλῶν εἰσὶ καὶ βραχυτραχηλότεραι, 3

tὴν δὲ κεφαλὴν καὶ τὴν τῶν ὁμοίων διάθεσιν

παράδει παρεμφερεῖς 4 διατετύπωνται. τὸ δὲ

κατὰ τὴν ράχιν κύρτωμα παρεμφερές ἔχουσαι

καμηλῶς, τῷ χρώματι καὶ τῇ τριχώσει παράδεισιν

ἐόικασιν· ὀμοίως δὲ καὶ τὴν υἱὸν μακρὰν ἔχουσαι

2 τὴν τοῦ θηρίου φύσιν ἀποτυποῦνται. γινοῦνται δὲ

καὶ τραγέλαφοι καὶ βοῦβαλοι καὶ ἄλλα πλείω γένη

dιμορφα ζῴων καὶ τὴν σύνθεσιν ἐκ τῶν πλεῖστον

tὴν φύσιν κεχωρισμένων ἔχοντα, περὶ ὁνὶν τὰ κατὰ

1 αὐτῷ Jacoby: αὐτῷ.

2 μὲν after τὴν deleted by Dindorf.

3 μακροπτραχηλότεραι has been suggested.

4 παρεμφερεῖς Hertlein: προσεμφερῆ D, προσεμφερὲι A B, παρεμφερεὶ C.
that they often receive severe wounds. And whenever it is overtaken and surrounded, it hides its head in a bush or some such shelter, not, as some men suppose, because of its folly and stupidity of spirit, as if it thought that since it could not see the others it could not itself be seen by others either, but because its head is the weakest part of its body it seeks a shelter for it in order to save its life; for Nature is an excellent instructor of all animals for the preservation not only of their own lives but also of their offspring, since by planting in them an innate love of life she leads successive generations into an eternal cycle of continued existence.

51. The camelopards,¹ as they are called, represent the mixing of the two animals which are included in the name given to it. For in size they are smaller than the camel and have shorter necks,² but in the head and the arrangement of the eyes they are formed very much like a leopard; and although they have a hump on the back like the camel, yet with respect to colour and hair they are like leopards; likewise in the possession of a long tail they imitate the nature of this wild beast. There are also bred tragelaphoi (goat-stags) and bubali³ and many other varieties of animals which are of double form and combine in one body the natures of creatures most widely different, about all of which it would

¹ “Camel-leopards,” or giraffes.
² “Longer necks” has been suggested. Agatharchides (ap. Photius 455. 4) had said that their necks were so long that they could get their food from the “tops of trees.” Giraffes had been exhibited in Alexandria in the third century B.C., and one was brought to Rome by Julius Caesar in 46 B.C. (Dio 43. 23).
³ Apparently a kind of antelope.
μέρος μακρὸν ἂν εἴη γράφειν. δοκεῖ γὰρ ἡ συνεγ-
γύλουσα χώρα τῇ μεσημβρίᾳ τῷ ἀφ' ἡλίου δύναμιν
ζωτικώτατην οὐδαν πολλὴν ἐμπνεύσθαι, καὶ διὰ
tοῦτο πολλῶν καὶ ποικίλων, ἔτι δὲ καλῶν ζῴων

φύσεις γεννᾶν· διὰ δὲ τὰς αὐτὰς αἰτίας κατὰ μὲν
tὴν Αἰγυπτοῦ τοὺς τε κροκόδειλους φύεσθαι καὶ
tοὺς ποταμίους ὕππους, κατὰ δὲ τὴν Ἀἰθιοπίαν καὶ
tὴν τής Διβύης ἐρήμου ἐλεφάντων τε πλῆθος καὶ
παντοδαπῶν ὀφεὼν τε καὶ τῶν ἄλλων θηρίων
cαι δρακόντων ἐξηλλαμμένων τοῖς τε μεγέθεσι καὶ
tαις ἀλκαιῖς, ὀμοίως δὲ καὶ τοὺς περὶ τὴν 'Ινδικὴν
ἐλέφαντας, ὑπερβάλλοντας τοῖς τε ὄγκοις καὶ
πλῆθεσιν, ἔτι δὲ ταῖς ἀλκαιῖς.

52. Οὐ μόνον δὲ ἐν ταύταις ταῖς χώραις ζῶα γεν-
vάται ταῖς ἱδέαις ἐξηλλαμμέναι διὰ τὴν ἀφ' ἡλίου
συνεργίαν καὶ δύναμιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ λίθων παντοῖων
ἐκφύσεις διάφοροι ταῖς χρώαις καὶ ταῖς λαμπρότησι

2 διαφανεῖς. τοὺς γὰρ κρυστάλλους λίθους ἔχειν τὴν
σύστασιν εἰς ὕδατος καθαροῦ παγεῦστος οὐχ ὕπὸ
ψύχους, ἀλλ' ὕπο θείου πυρὸς δυνάμεως, δι' ἦν
ἀσύπτους μὲν αὐτοὺς διαμένειν, βαφῆναι δὲ πολυ-

3 μόρφως ἀναθυμάσῃ πνεύματος. σμαράγδους γὰρ
καὶ τὰ καλούμενα βηρύλλια κατὰ τὰς ἐν τοῖς
χαλκουργεῖοις μεταλλεῖαι γυνόμενα διὰ τὴν ἀπὸ
τῶν θείων βαφῆν καὶ σύνδεσιν συγχρώζεσθαι, τοὺς
de χρυσολίθους ὑπὸ καπνώδους ἀναθυμάσεως

ηλίου θερμότητι φυομένους λέγουσι τυγχάνειν

tούτου τοῦ χρώματος. διὸ καὶ τοὺς ὄνομα-
ζομένους ψευδοχρύσους κατασκευάζεσθαι διὰ τοῦ
θυτητοῦ καὶ ὑπ' ἀνθρώπων γεγονότος πυρὸς βαπτο-

1 Perhaps emeralds.
be a long task to write in detail. For it would seem that the land which lies to the south breathes in a great deal of the sun's strength, which is the greatest source of life, and that, for that reason, it generates breeds of beautiful animals in great number and of varied colour; and that for the same reason there are produced in Egypt both the crocodiles and the river-horses, in Ethiopia and in the desert of Libya a multitude of elephants and of reptiles of every variety and of all other wild beasts and of serpents, which differ from one another in size and ferocity, and likewise in India the elephants of exceptional bulk and number and ferocity.

52. In these countries are generated not only animals which differ from one another in form because of the helpful influence and strength of the sun, but also outcroppings of every kind of precious stone which are unusual in colour and resplendent in brilliancy. For the rock-crystals, so we are informed, are composed of pure water which has been hardened, not by the action of cold, but by the influence of a divine fire, and for this reason they are never subject to corruption and take on many hues when they are breathed upon. For instance smaragdi\(^1\) and beryllia,\(^2\) as they are called, which are found in the shafts of the copper mines, receive their colour by having been dipped and bound together in a bath of sulphur, and the chrysoliths,\(^3\) they say, which are produced by a smoky exhalation due to the heat of the sun, thereby get the colour they have. For this reason what is called "false gold," we are told, is fabricated by mortal fire, made

\(^{1}\) A diminutive of the word beryl.

\(^{2}\) "Gold-stones," perhaps the topaz.
Diodorus of Sicily

μένων τῶν κρυστάλλων, τὰς ἐπὶ τῶν ἀνθράκων
φύσεις φωτὸς δύναμιν ἐμπιληθεῖσαν τῇ πῆξει
φασὶν ἀποτελεῖν τῷ μᾶλλον καὶ ἴττον τὰς ἐν
5 αὐτοῖς διαφοράς. παραπλησίως δὲ καὶ τὰς τῶν
ὀρνέων μορφὰς ἐπιχρύζεσθαι, τὰς μὲν ὀλοσπορφύρους
φαινομένας, τὰς δὲ κατὰ μέρος παντοῖας χρώσις
dιειλημμένας· τὰ μὲν γὰρ φλόγινα, τὰ δὲ κροκόδη,
tινὰ δὲ σμαραγδίζοντα, πολλὰ δὲ χρυσοειδὴ
φαίνεθαι κατὰ τὰς πρὸς τὸ φῶς ἐγκλίσεις αὐτῶν,
καὶ καθόλου πολυείδεις καί δυσερμηνεύτους ἀποτε-
λεῖσθαι χρώσι· ὅπερ καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς κατ’ οὐρανὸν
ὕριδος ὄρασθαι γινόμενον ὑπὸ τοῦ περὶ τὸν ἥλιον
6 φωτὸς. ἐκ δὲ τούτων τοὺς φυσιολόγους συλλογιζο-
μένους ἀποφαίνεσθαι διότι καὶ τὴν ἀνωθεν τῆς
τῶν προειρημένων ἐκφύσεως ποικιλίαν ἐβαίνειν
ἡ συγγενὴς θερμασία, συνεργήσαντος ἥλιον τοῦ
7 ζωοποιοῦντος τὰς ἐκάστων μορφὰς. καθόλου δὲ
καὶ τῆς περὶ τὰ ἄνθη διαφοράς τῆς χρώας καὶ
tῆς τῆς γῆς ποικιλίας τοῦτον ὑπάρχειν αὐτῶν καὶ
dημιουργῶν· οὐ τὴν φυσικῆν ἐνέργειαν τὰς ὑπήτὰς
tέχνας μυρησμένας βάπτειν ἐκαστα καὶ ποικίλλειν,
8 μαθητρίας γενομένας τῆς φύσεως. τὰ μὲν γὰρ χρώ-
ματα τὸ φῶς ἀπεργάζεσθαι, τὰς δὲ ὀσμὰς τῶν καρ-
πῶν καὶ τὰς ἱδιότητας τῶν χυλῶν, ἐτι δὲ τὰ
μεγέθη τῶν ζώων καὶ τὰς ἐκάστου διαθέσεις,
πρὸς δὲ τούτους τὰς τῆς γῆς ἱδιότητας, γεννῶν τὴν

1 φασὶν Rhodomann: φύσιν.

1 Such as carbuncles, rubies, and garnets.
by man, by dipping the rock crystals into it. And as for the natural qualities of the dark-red stones,¹ it is the influence of the light, as it is compressed to a greater or less degree in them when they are hardening, which, they say, accounts for their differences. In like manner, it is reported, the different kinds of birds get their colouring, some kinds appearing to the eye as pure red, other kinds marked with colours of every variety one after the other; for some birds are flaming red in appearance, others saffron yellow, some emerald green, and many of the colour of gold when they turn towards the light, and, in brief, hues are produced in great variety and difficult to describe; and this same thing can be seen taking place in the case of the rainbow in the heavens by reason of the light of the sun. And it is from these facts that the students of nature draw their arguments when they affirm that the variety of colouring that is put forth by the things which we have mentioned above was caused by the heat coincident with their creation which dyed them, the sun, which is the source of life, assisting in the production of each several kind. And it is generally true, they continue, that of the differences in the hues of the flowers and of the varied colours of the earth the sun is the cause and creator; and the arts of mortal men, imitating the working of the sun in the physical world, impart colouring and varied hues to every object, having been instructed in this by nature. For the colours, they continue, are produced by the light, and likewise the odours of the fruits and the distinctive quality of their juices, the different sizes of the animals and their several forms, and the peculiarities which the earth shows, all are
Diodorus of Sicily

perì tōn ἥλιον θερμασίαν, εἰς πολυτραφή χώραν καὶ γόνυμον ὕδωρ ἐνθάλπουσαν καὶ δημιουργὸν

9 γινομένην τῆς ἐκάστου φύσεως. διόπερ οὔτε ἡ Παρία λύγδος οὔτ' ἄλλη θαυμαξομένη πέτρα τοῖς Ἀραβίοις λίθοις ἔξισωθήναι δύναται, ἀλλὰ μαρτυρεῖ μὲν ἡ λευκότης, βαρύτατος δὲ ὁ σταθμὸς, ἢ ἐν

λειώσει ὑπερβολὴν ἑτέρως οὐκ ἀπολείπουσα. αἰτία δὲ τῆς χώρας τῆς κατὰ μέρος ἰδιότητος, καθάπερ προεῖπον, ἢ περὶ τὸν ἥλιον δύναμις, θερμισία μὲν πῆξασα, ἔξηρτητι δὲ πιλήσασα, φέγγει δὲ λαμπρύνσασα.

53. Διὸ καὶ τὸ τῶν ὄρων γένος πλείστης θερμασίας κεκουμνηκός ἐγένετο διὰ μὲν τὴν κούφοτητα πτηνόν, διὰ δὲ τὴν ἀφ' ἥλιον συνεργίαν ποικίλον, καὶ μάλιστα κατὰ τὰς προσκειμένας Ἡλίων χώρας. ἡ μὲν γὰρ Βαβυλωνία ταὸν ἐκτρέφει πλῆθος παντοίας χρώσεις ἐπηνθυσμένων, αἱ δὲ τῆς Συρίας ἐσχατιὰ ψιττακοὺς καὶ πορφυρίωνας καὶ μελεαγρίδας καὶ ἄλλας ζώων ἰδίας φύσεις τοῖς χρώμασι καὶ ποικίλας συγκρίσεις. ὁ δὲ αὐτὸς λόγος καὶ κατὰ τὰς ἄλλας χώρας τῆς γῆς τὰς κατὰ τὴν ὁμοίαν κράσιν κειμένας, λέγω δ' Ἰνδικὴν καὶ τὴν Ἑρυθρὰν θάλατταν, ἐτὶ δὲ Αἰθιοπίαν καὶ

4 τινα μέρη τῆς Λιβύης. ἄλλα τῆς μὲν πρὸς ἀνατολάς κεκλημένης πιοτέρας οὐσίας εὐγενέστερα καὶ μείζονα φύεται ζώα. τῆς δ' ἄλλης δεὶ κατὰ τὸν τῆς ἄρετῆς λόγον ἑκαστὰ ταῖς διαθέσεσι γεννᾶται.

5 ὂμοίως δὲ καὶ τῶν δένδρων οἱ φοίνικες κατὰ μὲν

1 προσκειμένας Jacoby: προκειμένας.
generated by the heat of the sun which imparts its warmth to a fertile land and to water endowed with the generative power and thus becomes the creator of each separate thing as it is. Consequently, neither the white marble of Paros nor any other stone which men admire can be compared with the precious stones of Arabia, since their whiteness is most brilliant, their weight the heaviest, and their smoothness leaves no room for other stones to surpass them. And the cause of the peculiar nature of the several parts of the country is, as I have said, the influence of the sun, which has hardened it by its heat, compressed it by its dryness, and made it resplendent by its light.

53. Hence it is that the race of birds also, having received the most warmth, became flying creatures because of their lightness, and of varied colour because of the influence of the sun, this being especially true in the lands which lie close to the sun. Babylonia, for instance, produces a multitude of peacocks which have blossomed out with colours of every kind, and the farthest parts of Syria produce parrots and purple coots and guinea-fowls and other kinds of animals of distinctive colouring and of every combination of hues. And the same reasoning applies also to all the other countries of the earth which lie in a similar climate, such as India and the Red Sea and Ethiopia and certain parts of Libya. But the eastern part, being more fertile, breeds nobler and larger animals; and as for the rest of Libya, each animal is produced in form and characteristics corresponding to the quality of the soil.

Likewise as regards trees, the palms of Libya bear

1 Cp. Book I. 7. 5.
Diodorus of Sicily

t'ın Διβύνην αὐχμηρόν καὶ μικρόν ἐκφέρονσι καρποὺς, τῆς δὲ Σωρίας κατὰ μὲν τὴν Κοίλην οἱ καρυωτοὶ προσαγορεύομενοι γεννώνται, διάφοροι κατὰ τῇ γλυκύτητα καὶ τὸ μέγεθος, ἐτὶ δὲ τοὺς χυμούς. τούτων δὲ πολλῷ μείζουσι κατὰ τὴν Ἀραβίαν καὶ τὴν Βαβυλωνίαν ὅραν ἐστὶ γινομένους, κατὰ μὲν τὸ μέγεθος ἐξ δακτύλων ὄντας, τῇ δὲ χρόα τοὺς μὲν μηλίνους, τοὺς δὲ φοινικοὺς, ἐνίους δὲ πορφυρίζοντας. ὡσθ' ὕπ' αὐτῶν ἀμα καὶ τήν ὄψιν τέρπεσθαι καὶ τὴν γεύσιν ψυχαγωγεῖσθαι. τὰ δὲ στελέχη τῶν φοινικῶν τὸ μὲν μῆκος ἀέριον ἔχει, τὴν δὲ περιφέρειαν ψυλῆν πανταχόθεν μέχρι τῆς κορυφῆς. ἀκρόκομα δ' ὄντα διαφοροὺς ἔχει τὰς ἀπὸ τῆς κόμης διαθέσεις: τὰ μὲν γὰρ πάντη τοὺς ῥάδικας ἔχει περικεχυμένους, καὶ κατὰ μέσον ἐκ τινος περιρραγέντος φλοιοῦ βοτρυώδης καρπὸν ἀνύησι, τὰ δὲ ἑφ' ἐν μέρος ἔχοντα κεκλιμένας τὰς ἐπὶ τῆς κορυφῆς κόμας σχηματισμοῦ ἀποτελεῖ λαμπάδος ἀπαθυσσομένης, ἕνα δ' ἐπ' ἀμφότερα τὰ μέρη περικλώμενα καὶ διπλῇ τῇ καταθέσει τῶν κλάδων ἀμφίχαιτα γινομένα γραφικῆς ἀποτελεῖ τὴν πρόσοψιν.

54. Τῆς δ' ὀλίς Ἀραβίας τὴν μὲν ἐπὶ μεσημβρίας νεύουσαν Ἑυδαύμονα προσαγορεύοντος, τῆν δ' ἐνδοτέρω κειμένην νέμεται πλῆθος Ἀράβων νομάδων καὶ σκηνήτην βιῶν ἥρμημενῶν. οὕτω δὲ θρεμματοτροφοῦντες ἀγέλας μεγάλας βοσκημάτων ἐναυλίζονται 2 πεδίοις ἀμετρήτους. ἡ δ' ἀνὰ μέσον ταύτης τε καὶ τῆς Εὐδαύμονος Ἀραβίας ἐρήμου καὶ ἀνυπός ἔστι, καθάπερ προείρηται· τὰ δὲ πρὸς δυσμᾶς μέρη

1 i.e. at the side. The lamp of Diodorus’ period had its
BOOK II. 53. 5-54. 2

dry and small fruit, but in Coele-Syria dates called caryoti are produced which excel as to both sweetness and size and also as to their juices. But dates much larger than these can be seen growing in Arabia and Babylonia, six fingers in size and in colour either yellow like the quince, or dark red, or in some cases tending to purple, so that at the same time they both delight the eye and gratify the taste. The trunk of the palm stretches high in the air and its surface is smooth all over as far as its crown. But though they all have a tuft of foliage at the top, yet the arrangement of the foliage varies; for in some cases the fronds spread out in a complete circle and from the centre the trunk sends up, as if from out its broken bark, the fruit in a cluster like grapes, in other cases the foliage at the crown droops down on only one side so that it produces the appearance of a lamp from which the flame flakes out, and occasionally they have their fronds bent down on both sides and by this double arrangement of the branches show a crown of foliage all about the trunk, thus presenting a picturesque appearance.

54. That part of Arabia as a whole which lies to the south is called Felix, but the interior part is ranged over by a multitude of Arabians who are nomads and have chosen a tent life. These raise great flocks of animals and make their camps in plains of immeasurable extent. The region which lies between this part and Arabia Felix is desert and waterless, as has been stated; and the parts of Arabia which lie to

nozzle on the side opposite the handle, and so the comparison is apt.

2 Cp. chap. 48.
ΔΙΟΔΟΡΟΣ Ο ΣΙΚΥΛΟΣ

κεκλιμένα τῆς Ἀραβίας διείληπται πεδίοις ἀμ-μῶδεσιν ἄερίοις τὸ μέγεθος, δι’ ὅν οἱ τὰς ὁδοιπο-ρίας ποιοῦμενοι καθάπερ οἱ ἐν τοῖς πελάγεσι πρὸς τὰς ἀπὸ τῶν ἄρκτων σημασίας τὴν διέξοδον 3 ποιοῦνται. τὸ δ’ ὑπολειπόμενον μέρος τῆς Ἀρα-βίας τὸ πρὸς τὴν Συρίαν κεκλιμένον πλήθει γεωργίᾳ καὶ παντοδαπῶν ἐμπόρων, οἱ διὰ τὰς τῶν φορτίων εὐκαίρους ἀντιδόσεις τὰ παρ’ ἀμφοτέ-ρους σπάνιον καὶ διαφίλειαν τῶν χρησίμων 4 διορθοῦνται. ἢ δὲ παρὰ τὸν ὦκεανὸν Ἀραβία κεῖται μὲν ὑπεράνω τῆς Ευδαίμονος, ποταμοῖς δὲ πολλοῖς καὶ μεγάλοις διειλημμένη πολλοίς ποιεῖ τόπους λιμνάζοντας καὶ μεγάλων ἑλῶν 5 περιμέτρους. τοῖς δ’ ἐκ τῶν ποταμῶν ἐπακτοῖς ὠδασι καὶ τοῖς ἐκ τῶν θερίνων ὄμβρων γνωμένοις ἀρδεύοντες πολλὴν χώραν, καὶ διπλοὺς καρποὺς λαμβάνουσιν. τρέφει δὲ οὗ τοῖς ἐλεφάντων ἁγέλας καὶ ἅλλα ζώα κητώδη χερσαία 1 καὶ δίμορφα, ταῖς ἱδέαις ἐξηλλαγμένα: πρὸς δὲ τούτοις θρεμμάτων παντοδαπῶν πληθύς, καὶ μάλιστα βοῶν καὶ προβάτων τῶν τὰς μεγάλας καὶ παχείας ἑχόντων οὐράς.

6 Πλείοντα δὲ καὶ διαφορώτατα γένη καμήλων τρέφει, τῶν τε ἰχλῶν καὶ δασέων καὶ διπλῶν ἀνατεκτόνων τὸ κατὰ τὴν ράχιν κύρτωμα καὶ διὰ τούτο διτύλων ὄνομαζομένων, ὡς αἱ μὲν γάλα παρεχόμεναι καὶ κρεοφαγοῦμεναι πολλὴν παρ-έχονται τοῖς ἐγχωρίοις δαφίλειαν, αἱ δὲ πρὸς νωστοφορίαν ἄσκημεν πυρῶν μὲν ἀνά ἄεικα μεδίμνους νωστοφοροῦσιν, ἀνθρώπους δὲ κατακει- 1 θηρία after χερσαία omitted by E.
the west are broken by sandy deserts spacious as the air in magnitude, through which those who journey must, even as voyagers upon the seas, direct their course by indications obtained from the Bears. The remaining part of Arabia, which lies towards Syria, contains a multitude of farmers and merchants of every kind, who by a seasonable exchange of merchandise make good the lack of certain wares in both countries by supplying useful things which they possess in abundance. That Arabia which lies along the ocean is situated above Arabia Felix, and since it is traversed by many great rivers, many regions in it are converted into stagnant pools and into vast stretches of great swamps. And with the water which is brought into them from the rivers and that which comes with the summer rains they irrigate a large part of the country and get two crops yearly. This region also breeds herds of elephants and other monstrous land animals, and animals of double shape which have developed peculiar forms; and in addition to these it abounds in domestic animals of every kind, especially in cattle and in the sheep with large and fat tails.

This land also breeds camels in very great numbers and of most different kinds, both the hairless and the shaggy, and those which have two humps, one behind the other, along their spines and hence are called *dituloi.* Some of these provide milk and are eaten for meat, and so provide the inhabitants with a great abundance of this food, and others, which are trained to carry burdens on their backs, can carry some ten *medimni* of wheat and bear up five

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1 "Double-humped" or "double-knobbed."
2 About 14½ bushels, or 900 pounds.
Diodorus of Sicily

μένους ἐπὶ κλήσις πέντε βαστάζουσιν. αἱ δὲ ἀνάκωλοι καὶ λαγαρὰς ταῖς συστάσεσι δρομάδες εἰσὶ, καὶ διατείνουσι πλεῖστον ὄδοι μῆκος, καὶ μάλιστα πρὸς τὰς διὰ τῆς ἀνύδρου καὶ ἐρήμου

7 συντελομένας ὀδοιπορίας. αἱ δ' αὐταὶ καὶ κατὰ τοὺς πολέμους εἰς τὰς μάχας ἔχουσα τοξότας ἀγονταὶ δύο ἀντικαθημένους ἀλλήλους ἀντινώτους· τούτων δὲ ὁ μὲν τοὺς κατὰ πρόσωπον ἀπαντώντας, ὁ δὲ τοὺς ἐπιδιώκοντας ἀμύνεται.

Περὶ μὲν οὖν τῆς Ἀραβίας καὶ τῶν ἐν αὐτῇ φυομένων εἰ καὶ πεπλευκάκαμεν, ἀλλ' ὅσον πολλὰ τοῖς φιλαναγνωστοῦσι πρὸς φιληκοῖαν ἀπηγγέλκαμεν.

55. Περὶ δὲ τῆς κατὰ τὸν ὦκεανὸν εὐρεθείσης νῆσου κατὰ τὴν μεσθηρίαν καὶ τῶν κατ' αὐτὴν παραδοξολογουμένων πειρασόμεθα συντόμως διελθεῖν, προεκθέμενοι τὰς αἰτίας τῆς εὐρέσεως ἀκριβῶς.

2 Ἀιμβούλος ἦν ἐκ παιδῶν παιδείαν ἐξηλωκῶς, μετὰ δὲ τῆς τοῦ πατρὸς τελευτηκός ὄντος ἐμπόρου καὶ αὐτὸς ἐδωκεν ἐαυτὸν ἐπὶ τῆν ἐμπορίαν ἀναβαίνων δὲ τῆς Ἀραβίας ἐπὶ τὴν ἀρωματοφόρον ὑπὸ τῶν ληστῶν συνελήφθη μετὰ τῶν συνοδοιπόρων. τὸ μὲν οὖν πρῶτον μετὰ τῶν τῶν συνελωκότων ἀπεδείχθη νομεὺς, ὕστερον δ' ὑπὸ τῶν Ἁθιότων μετὰ τοῦ συνόντος ληστευθεὶς ἀπῆχθη πρὸς τὴν 3 παραθαλάσσιον τῆς Ἁθιοπίας. οὕτωι δὲ συνηρπά-

1 diā after δὲ deleted by Kallenberg.

1 Perhaps Ceylon, if the unknown writer of the following account of a fabulous people and a political Utopia localized it in any known spot.
men lying outstretched upon a couch. Others which have short legs and are slender in build are dromedaries and can go at full stretch a day’s journey of a very great distance, especially in the trips which they make through the waterless and desert region. And also in their wars the same animals carry into battle two bowmen who ride back to back to each other, one of them keeping off enemies who come on them from in front, the other those who pursue in the rear.

With regard, then, to Arabia and the products of that land, even if we have written at too great length, we have at any rate reported many things to delight lovers of reading.

55. But with regard to the island which has been discovered in the ocean to the south and the marvellous tales told concerning it, we shall now endeavour to give a brief account, after we have first set forth accurately the causes which led to its discovery. There was a certain Iambulus who from his boyhood up had been devoted to the pursuit of education, and after the death of his father, who had been a merchant, he also gave himself to that calling; and while journeying inland to the spice-bearing region of Arabia he and his companions on the trip were taken captive by some robbers. Now at first he and one of his fellow-captives were appointed to be herdsmen, but later he and his companion were made captive by certain Ethiopians and led off to the coast of Ethiopia. They were kid-

2 Perhaps the author of the following account, which is known only from this passage.

3 The “spice-bearing country” was usually placed in Somaliland, but according to Strabo (1. 2. 32) it is in Arabia, where Diodorus also apparently places it.
γησαν εἰς καθαρμὸν τῆς χώρας, οὖντες ἄλλοεθνεῖς. νόμιμων γὰρ ἦν τοὺς τῇδε κατοικοῦσιν Αἰθίοπι
παραδεδομένον ἐκ παλαιῶν χρόνων, χρησμοῖς θεῶν
κεκυρωμένον, διὰ γενεῶν μὲν εἰκοσι, ἐτῶν δὲ
ἐξακοσίων, τῆς γενεᾶς ἀριθμουμένης τριακοντα-
ετοῦς: τοῦ δὲ καθαρμοῦ γινομένου δυοῖν ἀνθρώπων
ἡν αὐτοῖς πλοιάριον κατεσκευασμένον τῷ μεγέθει
σύμμετρον, τοὺς τ᾽ ἐν τῇ θαλάττῃ χειμῶνας
ἀναφέρειν ἵσχυον καὶ ῥαδίως ὑπὸ δυοῖν ἀνθρώπων
ὑπηρετεῖσθαι δυνάμενον· εἰς δὲ τοῦτο τροφὴν δυοῖν
ἀνθρώπους ἱκανήν εἰς ἕξ μῆνας ἐνθέμενοι, καὶ τοὺς
ἀνδρας ἐμβιβάσαντες, προσέταττον ἀνάγεσθαι κατὰ
τὸν χρησμὸν. πλεῖν δὲ διεκελεύοντο πρὸς τὴν
4 μεσημβρίαν· ἦξεν γὰρ αὐτοὺς εἰς νῆσον εὐδαίμονα
καὶ ἐπιεικεῖς ἀνθρώπους, παρ᾽ οἷς μακαρίως
ζήσεσθαι. ὅμως δὲ καὶ τὸ ἑαυτῶν ἐθνὸς ἐφασαν,
ἐὰν μὲν οἱ περιφθέντες εἰς τὴν νῆσον διασωθῶσιν,
ἐξακοσίων ἐτῶν εἰρήνης καὶ βίου κατὰ πάν
εὐδαίμονος ἀπολαύσειν· εἰ δὲ καταπλαγέντες τὸ
μῆκος τοῦ πελάγους εἰς τοῦτοις ποιῆσονται τὸν
πλοῖον, ὡς ἀσεβείς καὶ λυμέωνας ὄλου τοῦ ἔθνους
5 τιμωρίαις περιπεσεῖσθαι ταῖς μεγίσταις. τοὺς μὲν
οὖν Αἰθιοπάς φασὶ μεγάλην πανήγυριν ἀγαγεῖν
παρὰ τὴν θαλάτταν, καὶ θυσίας μεγαλοπρεπεῖς
ἐπιτελέσαντας καταστέψαι τοὺς σκεφομένους καὶ
καθαρμὸν ποιησομένους τοῦ ἔθνους ἐξαποστείλαι.
6 τούτους δὲ πλεύσαντας πελάγος μέγα καὶ χειμασ-
θέντας ἐν μησί τέτταρι προσενεκθῆραι τῇ προση-
napped in order that, being of an alien people, they might effect the purification of the land. For among the Ethiopians who lived in that place there was a custom, which had been handed down from ancient times, and had been ratified by oracles of the gods, over a period of twenty generations or six hundred years, the generation being reckoned at thirty years; and at the time when the purification by means of the two men was to take place, a boat had been built for them sufficient in size and strong enough to withstand the storms at sea, one which could easily be manned by two men; and then loading it with food enough to maintain two men for six months and putting them on board they commanded them to set out to sea as the oracle had ordered. Furthermore, they commanded them to steer towards the south; for, they were told, they would come to a happy island and to men of honourable character, and among them they would lead a blessed existence. And in like manner, they stated, their own people, in case the men whom they sent forth should arrive safely at the island, would enjoy peace and a happy life in every respect throughout six hundred years; but if, dismayed at the extent of the sea, they should turn back on their course they would, as impious men and destroyers of the entire nation, suffer the severest penalties. Accordingly, the Ethiopians, they say, held a great festal assembly by the sea, and after offering costly sacrifices they crowned with flowers the men who were to seek out the island and effect the purification of the nation and then sent them forth. And these men, after having sailed over a vast sea and been tossed about four months by storms, were carried to the island
μανθείση νήσω, στρογγύλη μὲν ὑπαρχοῦσῃ τῷ σχήματι, τὴν δὲ περίμετρον ἐχούσῃ σταδίων ὡς πεντακισχιλίων.

56. Ἡδὴ δ’ αὐτῶν ἐγγιζόντων τῇ νήσῳ τῶν ἐγχωρίων τινὰς ἀπαντήσαντας καταγαγεῖν τὸ σκά- 
φος· τοὺς δὲ κατὰ τὴν νῆσον συνδραμόντας θαυμάζειν μὲν τὸν τῶν ἔξων κατάπλουν, προσενεχθῆναι δὲ 
αὐτοῖς ἐπιεικῶς καὶ μεταδιδόναι τῶν παρ’ αὐτοῖς 
χρησίμων. εἶναι δὲ τοὺς τὴν νῆσον οἰκοῦντας ταῖς 
tε τῶν σωμάτων ἱδίότησι καὶ ταῖς ἀγωγαῖς 
pολὺ διαλλάττοντας τῶν κατὰ τὴν ἡμετέραν 
οἰκομένην· πάντας μὲν γὰρ παραπλησίον εἶναι 
tοῖς ἀναπλάσμασι τῶν σωμάτων, καὶ κατὰ τὸ 
mέγεθος ὑπεράγειν τοὺς τέτταρας πῆχεις, τὰ δὲ 
όστα τοῦ σώματος ἔχειν ἐπὶ ποσὸν καμπτόμενα 
καὶ πάλιν ἀποκαθιστάμενα παραπλησίως τοῖς 
νευρώδεσι τόποις. εἶναι δὲ τοῖς σῶμασιν ἀπαλοῦσ 
μὲν καθ’ ὑπερβολῆν, εὐτονωτέροις δὲ πολὺ τῶν 
παρ’ ἡμῖν· δραχαμένων γὰρ αὐτῶν ταῖς χερσὶν 
ὁδηποτοῦν μηδένα δύνασθαι τὸ τοῖς δακτύλοις 
περιληφθέν ἐκτρέψαι. τρίχας δ’ ἀπλάς μηδαμή 
τοῦ σώματος ἔχειν πλήν ἐν τῇ κεφαλῇ καὶ ὀφρύς καὶ 
βλεφάροις, ἐτὶ δὲ καὶ πώγων, τὰ δὲ ἄλλα μέρη 
τοῦ σώματος οὕτω λεία ὡστε μηδὲ τὸν ἐλάχιστον 
χυνόν ἐν τῷ σώματι φαίνεσθαι. εἶναι δὲ καὶ τῷ 
kάλλει διαπρεπεῖς καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις περιγραφαῖς 
tοῦ σώματος εὐρύθμους. καὶ τὰ μὲν τῆς ἀκοῆς 
τρήματα πολὺ τῶν παρ’ ἡμῖν ἔχειν εὐρυχωρέστερα, 
καὶ καθάπερ ἐπιγλωττίδας αὐτοῖς ἐκπεφυκέναι.

5 ἰδιον δὲ τι καὶ περὶ τὴν γλώτταν αὐτοὺς ἔχειν, τὸ 
μὲν φυσικῶς αὐτοῖς συγγεγεγυμένον, τὸ δ’ ἔξ 
ἐπινοιας φιλοτεχνούμενον· διπτυχον μὲν γὰρ αὐτοῖς

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about which they had been informed beforehand; it was round in shape and had a circumference of about five thousand stades.

56. But when they were now drawing near to the island, the account proceeds, some of the natives met them and drew their boat to land; and the inhabitants of the island, thronging together, were astonished at the arrival of the strangers, but they treated them honourably and shared with them the necessities of life which their country afforded. The dwellers upon this island differ greatly both in the characteristics of their bodies and in their manners from the men in our part of the inhabited world; for they are all nearly alike in the shape of their bodies and are over four cubits in height, but the bones of the body have the ability to bend to a certain extent and then straighten out again, like the sinewy parts. They are also exceedingly tender in respect to their bodies and yet more vigorous than is the case among us; for when they have seized any object in their hands no man can extract it from the grasp of their fingers. There is absolutely no hair on any part of their bodies except on the head, eyebrows and eyelids, and on the chin, but the other parts of the body are so smooth that not even the least down can be seen on them. They are also remarkably beautiful and well-proportioned in the outline of the body. The openings of their ears are much more spacious than ours and growths have developed that serve as valves, so to speak, to close them. And they have a peculiarity in regard to the tongue, partly the work of nature and congenital with them and partly intentionally brought about by artifice; among them, namely, the tongue
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έχειν τὴν γλώσσαν ἐπὶ ποσὸν, τὰ δὲ ἐνδότερῳ προσδιαίρειν, ὡστε διπλῆν αὐτήν γίνεσθα μείχρι τῆς ρίζης. διὸ καὶ ποικιλωτάτους αὐτοὺς εἶναι ταῖς φωναῖς οὐ μόνον πᾶσαι ἀνθρωπίνην καὶ διηρθρωμένην διάλεκτον μιμομένους, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰς τῶν ὅρνεων πολυφωνίας, καὶ καθόλου πᾶσαν ἄγου ὕδιότητα προφέσαν. τὸ δὲ πάντων παραδοξοῦτον, ἢμα πρὸς δύο τῶν ἐντυγχανόντων λαλεῖν ἐντελῶς, ἀποκρινομένους τε καὶ ταῖς ὑποκειμέναις περιστάσεσιν οἰκείως ὁμιλοῦντας· τῇ μὲν γὰρ ἐτέρα πτυχὶ πρὸς τὸν ἐνα, τῇ δ’ ἀλλῇ πάλιν ὁμοίως πρὸς τὸν ἐτέρου διαλέγεσθαι.

7. Εὐκρατότατον δ’ εἶναι τὸν ἀέρα παρ’ αὐτοῖς, ὡς ἂν κατὰ τὸν ἱστημερινὸν οἰκοδομᾶς, καὶ μηθ’ ύπο καύματος μήθ’ ύπὸ ψύχους ἐνοχλομένους. καὶ τὰς ὅπωρας δὲ παρ’ αὐτοῖς παρ’ ὅλον τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν ἀκμάζειν, ὦσπερ καὶ δ’ ποιητὴς φησιν ὁχνὴ ἐπ’ ὁχνὴ γηράσκει, μήλον δ’ ἐπὶ μῆλῳ, αὐτάρ ἐπὶ σταφυλῆ σταφυλῆ, σῦκον δ’ ἐπὶ σῦκῳ.

εἶναι δὲ διὰ παντὸς παρ’ αὐτοῖς τὴν ἡμέραν ἢσεν τῇ νυκτὶ, καὶ κατὰ τὸ μέσον τῆς ἡμέρας μὴ γίνεσθαι παρ’ αὐτοῖς σκιάν μηδενὸς διὰ τὸ κατὰ κορυφήν εἶναι τὸν ἔλιον.

57. Βιοῦν δ’ αὐτοὺς κατὰ συγγενείας καὶ συστήματα, συνηγμένων τῶν οἰκείων οὐ πλειόνων ἡ τετρακοσίων. τούτους δ’ ἐν τοῖς λειμῶσι διαζήν, πολλὰ τῆς χώρας έχουσης πρὸς διατροφήν. διὰ γὰρ τὴν

1 προσδιαίρειν Schäfer: πρὸς διαίρεσιν.
2 καὶ after εἶναι deleted by Dindorf.
is double for a certain distance, but they divide the inner portions still further, with the result that it becomes a double tongue as far as its base. Consequently they are very versatile as to the sounds they can utter, since they imitate not only every articulate language used by man but also the varied chatterings of the birds, and, in general, they can reproduce any peculiarity of sound. And the most remarkable thing of all is that at one and the same time they can converse perfectly with two persons who fall in with them, both answering questions and discoursing pertinently on the circumstances of the moment; for with one division of the tongue they can converse with the one person, and likewise with the other talk with the second.

Their climate is most temperate, we are told, considering that they live at the equator, and they suffer neither from heat nor from cold. Moreover, the fruits in their island ripen throughout the entire year, even as the poet writes,\(^1\)

\[\text{Here pear on pear grows old, and apple close}\\ \text{On apple, yea, and clustered grapes on grapes,}\\ \text{And fig on fig.}\]

And with them the day is always the same length as the night, and at midday no shadow is cast of any object because the sun is in the zenith.

57. These islanders, they go on to say, live in groups which are based on kinship and on political organizations, no more than four hundred kinsmen being gathered together in this way; and the members spend their time in the meadows, the land supplying them with many things for sustenance;

\(^1\) \textit{Odyssey, 7. 120–21, describing the land of the Phaeacians.}
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ἀρετὴν τῆς νήσου καὶ τὴν εὐκρασίαν τοῦ ἀέρος γεννάθαι τροφὰς αὐτομάτους πλείους τῶν ἱκανῶν.

2 φύεσθαι γὰρ παρ’ αὐτοῖς κάλαμον πολύν, φέροντα καρπὸν δαμίλῆ, παρεμφερὴ τοῖς λευκοῖς ὀρῶοις. τούτον οὖν συναγαγόντες βρέχουσιν ἐν ὕδατι θερμῷ, μέχρι ἃν τὸ μέγεθος σχῶσιν ὡς ψοῦ περιστερᾶς. ἐπείτα συνθλάσαντες καὶ τρύβαντες ἐμπείρως ταῖς χεροῖς διαπλάττουσιν ἀρτοὺς, οὓς ὀπτήσαντες σιτοῦνται διαφόρους ὄντας τῇ γλυ-

κύτητι. εἶναι δὲ καὶ πηγᾶς ὕδατων δαμίλεις, τὰς μὲν θερμῶν εἰς λουτρὰ καὶ κόπων ἀφαίρεσιν εὐθέτος, τὰς δὲ ψυχρῶν τῇ γλυκύτητι διαφόρους καὶ πρὸς υγείαν συνεργεῖν δυναμένας. ὑπάρχειν δὲ παρ’ αὐτοῖς καὶ παίδειας πάσης ἐπιμέλειαν, μάλιστα

3 δὲ ἀστρολογίας γράμμασί τε αὐτοῦς χρῆσθαι κατὰ μὲν τὴν δύναμιν τῶν σημαινόντων εἰκοσὶ καὶ ὅκτῳ τὸν ἁρμίμον, κατὰ δὲ τοὺς χαρακτήρας ἐπτά, ὧν ἐκαστὸν τετραχῶς μετασχηματίζεσθαι. γράφοντι δὲ τοὺς στίχους οὐκ εἰς τὸ πλάγιον ἐκτείνοντες, ὦσπερ ἡμεῖς, ἀλλ’ ἀνωθεν κἀτ’ ὑπέρβολὴν, ὡς ἀν ἄχρι τῶν πεντήκοντα καὶ ἐκατὸν ἐτῶν ζῶντας καὶ γνωμένους

4 δὲ ἀστρολογίας γράμμασί τε αὐτοῦς χρῆσθαι κατὰ μὲν τὴν δύναμιν τῶν σημαινόντων εἰκοσὶ καὶ ὅκτῳ τὸν ἁρμίμον, κατὰ δὲ τοὺς χαρακτήρας ἐπτά, ὧν ἐκαστὸν τετραχῶς μετασχηματίζεσθαι. γράφοντι δὲ τοὺς στίχους οὐκ εἰς τὸ πλάγιον ἐκτείνοντες, ὦσπερ ἡμεῖς, ἀλλ’ ἀνωθεν κἀτ’ ὑπέρβολὴν, ὡς ἀν ἄχρι τῶν πεντήκοντα καὶ ἐκατὸν ἐτῶν ζῶντας καὶ γνωμένους

5 ἀνόσους κατὰ τὸ πλεῖστον. τὸν δὲ πηρωθέντα ἦν καθόλου τῷ ἐλάττωμα ἔχοντα ἐν τῷ σῶματι μεθιστάνειν ἐαυτὸν ἐκ τοῦ ζῆν ἀναγκάζουσι κατὰ τινὰ νόμον ἀπότομον. νόμομον δ’ αὐτοῖς ἐστὶ ζῆν ἀχρὶ ἐτῶν ὤρισμένων, καὶ τὸν χρόνον τούτον

1 ὀρθῶν transposed by Wesseling: after ἀπότομον in second sentence below.
for by reason of the fertility of the island and the mildness of the climate, food-stuffs are produced of themselves in greater quantity than is sufficient for their needs. For instance, a reed grows there in abundance, and bears a fruit in great plenty that is very similar to the white vetch. Now when they have gathered this they steep it in warm water until it has become about the size of a pigeon’s egg; then after they have crushed it and rubbed it skilfully with their hands, they mould it into loaves, which are baked and eaten, and they are of surprising sweetness. There are also in the island, they say, abundant springs of water, the warm springs serving well for bathing and the relief of fatigue, the cold excelling in sweetness and possessing the power to contribute to good health. Moreover, the inhabitants give attention to every branch of learning and especially to astrology; and they use letters which, according to the value of the sounds they represent, are twenty-eight in number, but the characters are only seven, each one of which can be formed in four different ways. Nor do they write their lines horizontally, as we do, but from the top to the bottom perpendicularly. And the inhabitants, they tell us, are extremely long-lived, living even to the age of one hundred and fifty years, and experiencing for the most part no ill health. Anyone also among them who has become crippled or suffers, in general, from any physical infirmity is forced by them, in accordance with an inexorable law, to remove himself from life. And there is also a law among them that they should live only for a stipulated number of

1 Possibly a reference to rice.
2 In order to remove the husk.
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έκπληκτάντας ἐκουσίως μεταλλάττειν ἐξηλαγμένων θανάτων· φύεσθαι γὰρ παρ’ αὐτοῖς ἰδιοφυῆ ¹ βοτάνην, ἐφ’ ἂς ὅταν τις κομμηθῇ, λεληθότως καὶ προσηνώς εἰς ὑπὸν κατενεχθεῖς ἀποθνῄσκει.

58. Γυναίκας δὲ μὴ γαμεῖν, ἀλλὰ κοινὰς ἔχειν, καὶ τοὺς γεννηθέντας παῖδας ὀς κοινοὺς τρέφοντας ἐπ’ ἰσης ἀγαπάν· νηπίων δ’ ὄντων αὐτῶν πολλάκις τὰς τρεφούσας διαλλάττειν τὰ βρέφη, ὅπως μηδ’ αἱ μητέρες ἐπιγινώσκωσι τοὺς ἰδίους. διόπερ μηδεμιᾶς παρ’ αὐτοῖς γινομένης φιλοτιμίας ἀστασιάστως καὶ τὴν ὀμόνοιαν περὶ πλείστου ποιομένους διατελεῖν.

2 Εἶναι δὲ παρ’ αὐτοῖς καὶ ζῶα, μικρὰ μὲν τῶν μεγέθειν, παράδοξα δὲ τῇ φύσει τοῦ σώματος καὶ τῇ δυνάμει τοῦ αἴματος· εἶναι γὰρ αὐτὰ τῶ σχήματι στρογγύλα καὶ παρεμφερέστατα ταῖς χελώναις, τὴν δ’ ἐπιφάνειαν δυσὶ γραμμαῖς μηλίναις κεχισμένα, ὑφ’ ἐκάστης δὲ ἀκρας ἔχειν ὁφθαλμὼν καὶ στόμα· διὸ καὶ τέταρτοιν ὄμμασί βλέποντα καὶ τοῖς ὰισισ στόμασι χρώμενα εἰς ἑνα φάρυγα συνάγει τὰ συτία, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καταπυκνεῖται καὶ ἀπαύγαστα· ὀμοίως δὲ τὰ σπλάγχνα καὶ τάλλα τὰ ἐν τὸ πάντα ἔχειν μοναχά. πόθας δὲ ὑποκείσθαι κύκλῳ τῆς περιφερείας πολλοῦς, δι’ ὅν δύνασθαι πορεύεσθαι πρὸς δ’ ἀν μέρος βουληταί. τὸ δ’ αἱμα τοῦτο τοῦ ζώου θαυμάσιον ἔχειν δύναμιν· πάν γὰρ τὸ διατηθέν ἐμπνοῦν σῶμα κολλάν παραχρήμα, κἂν

¹ ἰδιοφυὴ Dindoif: διφυῆ.

¹ Plato’s famous theory recurs here.
years, and that at the completion of this period they should make away with themselves of their own accord, by a strange manner of death; for there grows among them a plant of a peculiar nature, and whenever a man lies down upon it, imperceptibly and gently he falls asleep and dies.

58. They do not marry, we are told, but possess their children in common, and maintaining the children who are born as if they belonged to all, they love them equally; and while the children are infants those who suckle the babes often change them around in order that not even the mothers may know their own offspring. Consequently, since there is no rivalry among them, they never experience civil disorders and they never cease placing the highest value upon internal harmony.

There are also animals among them, we are told, which are small in size but the object of wonder by reason of the nature of their bodies and the potency of their blood; for they are round in form and very similar to tortoises, but they are marked on the surface by two diagonal yellow stripes, at each end of which they have an eye and a mouth; consequently, though seeing with four eyes and using as many mouths, yet it gathers its food into one gullet, and down this its nourishment is swallowed and all flows together into one stomach; and in like manner its other organs and all its inner parts are single. It also has beneath it all around its body many feet, by means of which it can move in whatever direction it pleases. And the blood of this animal, they say, has a marvellous potency; for it immediately glues on to its place any living member that has been

\[i.e.\] the wet-nurses of the community.
ἀποκοπεῖσα χείρ ἡ ὄμοιον εἶπεῖν τύχη, δι’ αὐτοῦ κολλάσθαι προσφάτου τῆς τομῆς ὁφύη, καὶ τάλλα δὲ μέρη τοῦ σώματος, ὅσα μὴ κυρίως τόποις 5 καὶ συνέχουσι τὸ ζῆνι κατέχεται. ἔκαστον δὲ τῶν συστημάτων τρέφειν ὄριον εὐμέγεθες ἱδιάζουν τῇ φύσει, καὶ διὰ τούτου πειράζεσαι τὰ νήπια τῶν βρεφῶν ποιας τινὰς ἔχει τὰς τῆς ψυχῆς διαθέσεις· ἀναλαμβάνουσι γὰρ αὐτὰ ἐπὶ τὰ ζῴα, καὶ τούτων πετομένων τὰ μὲν τὴν διὰ τοῦ ἀέρος φορὰν ὑπομέ- νοντα τρέφουσι, τὰ δὲ περιναύτα γυνόμενα καὶ θάμβους πληρούμενα τῷπούσι, ὡς οὔτε πολυ- χρόνια καθεστῶτα οὔτε τοῖς ἄλλοις τοῖς τῆς ψυχῆς λήμασιν ἀξιόλογα.

6 Ἐκάστον δὲ συστήματος ὁ πρεσβύτερος ἂν τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ἔχει, καθάπερ τις βασιλεύς, καὶ τούτων πάντες πείθονται· ὅταν δ’ ὁ πρῶτος τελέσας τὰ ἔκατον καὶ πεντήκοντα ἐτὴ κατὰ τὸν νόμον ἀπαλλάξῃ ἐαυτὸν τοῦ ζῆνι, ὁ μετὰ τούτου πρεσβύ-

7 τατος διαδέχεται τὴν ἡγεμονίαν. ἡ δὲ περὶ τὴν νήσου θάλαττα, ῥώδης οὐσα καὶ μεγάλας ἀμπότεις καὶ πλημύρας ποιουμένη, γλυκεῖα τὴν γεών καθέστηκε. τῶν δὲ παρ’ ἡμῖν ἀστρων τὰς ἀρκτοὺς καὶ πολλὰ 1 καθόλου μὴ φαίνεσθαι. ἐπτὰ δ’ ἤσαν αὐται νῆσοι παραπλήσιαι μὲν τοῖς μεγέθεσι, σύμμετρον δ’ ἀλλήλων διεστηκυῖαι, πάσαι δὲ τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἐθεσι καὶ νόμως χρώμεναι.

59. Πάντες δ’ οἱ κατοικοῦντες εἰν αὐταῖς, καὶ περ ἀπόλιεῖς ἐχοντες πάντων χορηγίας αὐτοφυεῖς, ὦμοις οὐκ ἀνέδην χρώνται ταῖς ἀπολαύσεσιν, ἀλλὰ τὴν 1 πολλὰ E, Wesseling: πολλὰ τὸ C, πολλὰ τῶν καθ’ ἡμᾶς all other MSS.

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severed; even if a hand or the like should happen to have been cut off, by the use of this blood it is glued on again, provided that the cut is fresh, and the same thing is true of such other parts of the body as are not connected with the regions which are vital and sustain the person's life. Each group of the inhabitants also keeps a bird of great size and of a nature peculiar to itself, by means of which a test is made of the infant children to learn what their spiritual disposition is; for they place them upon the birds, and such of them as are able to endure the flight through the air as the birds take wing they rear, but such as become nauseated and filled with consternation they cast out, as not likely either to live many years and being, besides, of no account because of their dispositions.

In each group the oldest man regularly exercises the leadership, just as if he were a kind of king, and is obeyed by all the members; and when the first such ruler makes an end of his life in accordance with the law upon the completion of his one hundred and fiftieth year, the next oldest succeeds to the leadership. The sea about the island has strong currents and is subject to great flooding and ebbing of the tides and is sweet in taste. And as for the stars of our heavens, the Bears and many more, we are informed, are not visible at all. The number of these islands was seven, and they are very much the same in size and at about equal distances from one another, and all follow the same customs and laws.

59. Although all the inhabitants enjoy an abundant provision of everything from what grows of itself in these islands, yet they do not indulge in the enjoyment of this abundance without restraint, but they
διώκουσι καὶ τὴν ἄρκούσαν τροφὴν προσφέρονται· κρέα δὲ καὶ τάλλα πάντα ὁπτὰ καὶ ἔξ ὀδατός ἐφθα σκευάζοντι· τῶν δὲ ἄλλων τῶν τοῖς μα-γείροις πεφιλοτεχνημένων χυμῶν καὶ τῆς κατὰ τὰς ἀρτύσεις πουκίλιας ἀνεπινόητοι παντελῶς εἰσι.  

2 σέβονται δὲ θεοὺς τὸ περιέχουν πάντα καὶ ἡλιον καὶ καθόλου πάντα τὰ οὐράνια. ἰχθύων δὲ παντοδαπῶν πλῆθος ἀλιεύοντες πουκίλως καὶ τῶν πτημῶν οὐκ

3 ὀλίγα θηρεύουσι. γίνεται δὲ παρ’ αὐτοῖς ἀκρο-δρῶν τε πλῆθος αὐτομάτων, καὶ ἐλαῖαν φύονται καὶ ἀμπελοῦ, ἐξ ὧν ἐλαιόν τε ποιοῦσι δαμιλὲς καὶ οἶνον. ὄφεις τε τοῖς μεγέθεσι διαφέρονται, οὐδὲν δὲ ἄδικούντας τοὺς ἀνθρώπους, ἐδῶδιμον ἔχειν τὴν

4 σάρκα καὶ γλυκύτητι διαφέρουσαν. ἐσθήτας δὲ αὐτοὺς κατασκευάζειν ἐκ τινῶν καλάμων ἔχοντων ἐν τῷ μέσῳ χυμῶν λαμπρῶν καὶ μαλακῶν, ὁν συνάγοντας καὶ τοῖς θαλαττίοις ὁστρέωσι συγκεκομ-μένοις 1 μύγοντας θαυμαστὰ κατασκευάζειν ἰμάτια πορφυρᾶ. ζώων δὲ παρηλλαγμένας φύσεις καὶ διὰ τὸ παράδοξον ἀπιστουμένας.

5 Πάντα δὲ παρ’ αὐτοῖς ὀρυσμένην ἔχειν 2 τάξιν τὰ κατὰ τὴν διαίταν, οὐχ ἀμα πάντων τὰς τροφὰς καὶ τὰς αὐτὰς λαμβανόντων· διατετάχθαι δ’ ἐπὶ τινὰς ὀρυσμένας ἡμέρας ποτὲ μὲν ἰχθύων βρῶσιν, ποτὲ δὲ ὅρνεων, ἐστὶ δ’ ὅτε χερσαίων, ἐνίοτε δὲ ἐλαιῶν

6 καὶ τῶν λιτοτάτων προσοψιμάτων. ἐναλλάξ δὲ αὐτοὺς τοὺς μὲν ἄλληλοις διακονεῖν, τοὺς δὲ

1 συγκεκομμένοις Reiske: συγκεκολλημένοις.
2 ἔχειν Reiske: ἔχει.
practise simplicity and take for their food only what suffices for their needs. Meat and whatever else is roasted or boiled in water are prepared by them, but of all the other dishes ingeniously concocted by professional cooks, such as sauces and the various kinds of seasonings, they have no notion whatsoever. And they worship as gods that which encompasses all things and the sun, and, in general, all the heavenly bodies. Fishes of every kind in great numbers are caught by them by sundry devices and not a few birds. There is also found among them an abundance of fruit trees growing wild, and olive trees and vines grow there, from which they make both olive oil and wine in abundance. Snakes also, we are told, which are of immense size and yet do no harm to the inhabitants, have a meat which is edible and exceedingly sweet. And their clothing they make themselves from a certain reed which contains in the centre a downy substance that is bright to the eye and soft, which they gather and mingle with crushed sea-shells and thus make remarkable garments of a purple hue. As for the animals of the islands, their natures are peculiar and so amazing as to defy credence.

All the details of their diet, we are told, follow a prescribed arrangement, since they do not all take their food at the same time nor is it always the same; but it has been ordained that on certain fixed days they shall eat at one time fish, at another time fowl, sometimes the flesh of land animals, and sometimes olives and the most simple side-dishes. They also take turns in ministering to the needs of one

1 *i.e.* the atmosphere or aether.
2 Probably cotton is meant.
DIODORUS OF SICILY

ἄλλων, τοὺς δὲ περὶ τὰς τέχνας ἐίναι, ἄλλους δὲ περὶ ἄλλα τῶν χρησίμων ἀσχολείσθαι, τοὺς δὲ ἐκ περιόδου κυκλικῆς λειτουργεῖν, πλήν τῶν ἦδη γεγορακότων. ἐν τε ταῖς ἐορταῖς καὶ ταῖς εὐωχίαις ἔλεγον ὁ παρ’ αὐτοῖς εἰς τοὺς θεοὺς ὑμνοὺς καὶ ἐγκώμια, μάλιστα δὲ εἰς τὸν ἥλιον, ἀφ’ οὗ τὰς τε νήσους καὶ ἐαυτοὺς προσαγορεύοντι.

8 Ὁσπέροι δὲ τοὺς τελευτήσαντας ὅταν ἀμπωτις γένηται καταχωνύντες εἰς τὴν ἁμμον, ὡστε κατὰ τὴν πλημμυρίδα τὸν τόπον ἐπιχώννυσθαι. τοὺς δὲ καλάμους, ἐξ ὧν δὲ καρπὸς τῆς τροφῆς γίνεται, φαοὶ σπιθαμαίαν 3 ὄντα τὸ πάχος κατὰ τὰς τῆς σελήνης ἀναπληρώσεις ἀναπληροῦσθαι, καὶ πάλιν κατὰ τὰς ἐλαττώσεις ἀνὰ λόγον ταπεινοῦσθαι.

9 τὸ δὲ τῶν θερμῶν πηγῶν ὑδωρ γλυκὸ καὶ ὑγιεῖν ὁν 4 διαφυλάττει τὴν θερμασίαν, καὶ οὐδέποτε ψύχεται, ἐὰν μὴ ψυχρὸν ὑδωρ ἡ οἶνος συμμίσθηται.

60. Ὑπῆρ δ’ ἐτη λειναντας παρ’ αὐτοῖς τοὺς περὶ τὸν Ἰαμβοῦλον ἐκβληθῆναι ἄκουστας, ὡς κακούργους καὶ πονηροῖς ἐθισμοῖς συντηραμένους. πάλιν οὖν τὸ πλοιάριον κατασκευάσαντας συνανακασθῆναι τὸν χωρισμὸν ποιήσασθαι, καὶ τροφὴν ἐνθεμένους πιλέσαι πλέον ἤ τέταρας μῆνας ἐκπεσεῖν δὲ κατὰ τὴν Ἰνδικήν εἰς ἁμμοὺς καὶ 2 τεναγώδεις τόπους· καὶ τὸν μὲν ἐτερον αὐτῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ κλύδωνος διαφθαρῆναι, τὸν δὲ Ἰαμβοῦλον πρὸς τῶν κώμης προσενεχθέντα ὑπὸ τῶν ἐγχωρίων

1 εὐωχίαι Wesseling; εὐχαῖς MSS., Bekker.
2 ἀφ’ added by Kallenberg.
3 σπιθαμαίαν Reiske: στεφαναίους MSS., Bekker.
4 ὁν added by Dindorf.

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another, some of them fishing, others working at the crafts, others occupying themselves in other useful tasks, and still others, with the exception of those who have come to old age, performing the services of the group in a definite cycle. And at the festivals and feasts which are held among them, there are both pronounced and sung in honour of the gods hymns and spoken laudations, and especially in honour of the sun, after whom they name both the islands and themselves.¹

They inter their dead at the time when the tide is at the ebb, burying them in the sand along the beach, the result being that at flood-tide the place has fresh sand heaped upon it. The reeds, they say, from which the fruit for their nourishment is derived, being a span in thickness increase at the times of full-moon and again decrease proportionately as it wanes. And the water of the warm springs, being sweet and health-giving, maintains its heat and never becomes cold, save when it is mixed with cold water or wine.

60. After remaining among this people for seven years, the account continues, Iambulus and his companion were ejected against their will, as being malefactors and as having been educated to evil habits. Consequently, after they had again fitted out their little boat they were compelled to take their leave, and when they had stored up provisions in it they continued their voyage for more than four months. Then they were shipwrecked upon a sandy and marshy region of India; and his companion lost his life in the surf, but Iambulus, having found his way to a certain village, was then brought by the

¹ i.e. "The Islands and Children of the Sun."
ἀναχθῆναι πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα εἰς πόλιν Παλιβοθρα, πολλῶν ἡμερῶν οὖν ἀπέχουσαν τῆς θαλάττης. 3 οὗτος δὲ φιλέλληνος τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ παιδείας ἀντεχομένου, μεγάλης αὐτοῦ ἀποδοχῆς κατα-ξίωσα: τὸ δὲ τελευταῖον μετὰ τινος ἀσφαλείας τὸ μὲν πρῶτον εἰς τὴν Περσίδα διελθεῖν, ὑστερον δὲ εἰς τὴν Ἐλλάδα διασωθῆναι.

Ὁ δὲ Ἰαμβοῦλος 1 ταῦτα τε ἀναγραφῆς ἥξιώσε καὶ περὶ τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ἰνδικὴν οὐκ ὅλιγα συνετά-ξατο τῶν ἁγνουομένων παρὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις. ἡμεῖς δὲ τὴν ἐν ἀρχῇ τῆς βίβλου γεγενημένην ἐπαγγελίαν τετελεκότες αὐτοῦ περιγράψομεν τῇδε τὴν βιβλίου.

1 οὗτος after Ἰαμβοῦλος omitted E, all editors.
natives into the presence of the king at Palibothra, a city which was distant a journey of many days from the sea. And since the king was friendly to the Greeks and devoted to learning he considered Iambulus worthy of cordial welcome; and at length, upon receiving a permission of safe-conduct, he passed over first of all into Persia and later arrived safe in Greece.

Now Iambulus felt that these matters deserved to be written down, and he added to his account not a few facts about India, facts of which all other men were ignorant at that time. But for our part, since we have fulfilled the promise made at the beginning of this Book, we shall bring it to a conclusion at this point.
Τάδε ἐνεστὶν ἐν τῇ τρίτῃ τῶν
Διονύσου βιβλίων

Περὶ Αἰθιόπων τῶν ὑπὲρ τῆς Διβύης καὶ τῶν παρ᾽ αὐτοῖς ἀρχαιολογουμένων.

Περὶ τῶν χρυσείων μετάλλων τῶν ἐν ταῖς ἐσχαταισὶ τῆς Αἰγύπτου καὶ τῆς κατασκευῆς τοῦ χρυσοῦ.

Περὶ τῶν κατοικοῦντων ἔθνων τὴν παράλιον τὴν παρὰ τὸν ᾿Αραβικὸν κόλπον καὶ καθόλου πᾶσαν τὴν παρὰ τὸν ὦκεανὸν μέχρι τῆς ῾Ινδικῆς. ἐν δὲ τούτως δηλοῦται τὰ κατὰ μέρος ἐθνὶς τίσι νομίμους χρήτας καὶ παρὰ τίνας αἰτίας πολλὰ παρ᾽ αὐτοῖς ἱστορεῖται παντελῶς ἐξηλλαγμένα καὶ διὰ τὸ παράδοξον ἀπιστούμενα.

Περὶ τῶν κατὰ τὴν Διβύην ἀρχαιολογουμένων καὶ περὶ Γοργόνων καὶ ᾿Αμαζονίδων καὶ ᾿Αρμονῶς καὶ ᾿Ατλαντος ἱστορουμένων.

Περὶ τῶν κατὰ τὴν Νῦσαν μυθολογουμένων, ἐν οἷς ἐστὶ καὶ περὶ Τιτάνων καὶ Διονύσου καὶ μητρὸς θεῶν.
CONTENTS OF THE THIRD BOOK OF DIODORUS

On the Ethiopians who dwell beyond Libya and their antiquities (chaps. 1–11).

On the gold mines on the farthest borders of Egypt and the working of the gold (chaps. 12–14).

On the peoples who dwell upon the coast of the Arabian Gulf and, speaking generally, upon all the coast of the ocean as far as India. In this connection there is a discussion of the customs which each people follows and of the reasons why history records many things in connection with them which are entirely unique and are not believed because they are contrary to what one expects (chaps. 15–48).


On the myths related about Nysa, in connection with which there is also an account of the Titans and Dionysus and the Mother of the Gods (chaps. 62–74).
ΒΙΒΛΟΣ ΤΡΙΤΗ

1. Τῶν πρὸ ταύτης βιβλίων δυοίν οὐσῶν ἢ μὲν πρώτη περιέχει τὰς κατὰ τὴν Ἁγιουπτον πράξεις τῶν ἁρχαῖων βασιλέων καὶ τὰ μυθολογούμενα περὶ τῶν παρ᾽ Ἁγιουπτίως θεών, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις περὶ τοῦ Νείλου καὶ τῶν ἐν αὐτῇ φυομένων καρπῶν τε καὶ παντοδαπῶν ζωῶν, περὶ τῇ τῆς τοποθεσίας τῆς 1 Ἁγιουπτον καὶ τῶν νομίμων τῶν παρὰ τοῖς ἐγχωρίοις καὶ τῶν δικαστηρίων, ἢ δὲ δευτέρα τὰς κατὰ τὴν 'Ασίαν 2 ἐν τοῖς ἁρχαῖοις συντελεσθείσαις πράξεις ὑπὸ τῶν 'Ασσυρίων, ἐν αἷς ἐστὶν ἡ τε Σεμιράμιδος γένεσις καὶ αὐξήσις, καθ᾽ ἣν ἐκτυσε μὲν Βαβυλῶνα καὶ πολλὰς ἄλλας πόλεις, ἐστράτευσε δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν 'Ἰδικήν μεγάλας δυνάμεσιν. ἐξῆς δὲ περὶ τῶν Χαλδαίων καὶ τῆς παρ᾽ αὐτοῖς τῶν ἄστρων παρατηρήσεως, καὶ περὶ τῆς Αραβίας καὶ τῶν ἐν αὐτῇ παραδόξως, περὶ τῇ τῆς Σκυθῶν βασιλείας, καὶ περὶ Αμαζώνων, καὶ τὸ τελευταῖον περὶ τῶν Τῆς περιβορέων. ἐν δὲ ταύτῃ τὰ συνεχῇ τοῖς προϊστο- βημένοις προστιθέντες διεξέιμεν περὶ Ἀιθιόπων καὶ τῶν Διβύων καὶ τῶν οὐρωμαξομένων Ἀτλαντών. 3

2. Αἰθιόπας τοίνυν ἱστοροῦσι πρῶτους ἄνθρωπον ἀπάντων γεγονέναι, καὶ τὰς ἀποδείξεις τούτων ἐμφανεῖς εἶναι φασιν. ὅτι μὲν γὰρ οὐκ ἐπήλυδες

1 οὕσης after τῆς deleted by Reiske.
2 καὶ τὰς after Ἄσιαν deleted by Dindorf.
BOOK III

1. Of the two preceding Books the First embraces the deeds in Egypt of the early kings and the accounts, as found in their myths, of the gods of the Egyptians; there is also a discussion of the Nile and of the products of the land, and also of its animals, which are of every kind, and a description of the topography of Egypt, of the customs prevailing among its inhabitants, and of its courts of law. The Second Book embraces the deeds performed by the Assyrians in Asia in early times, connected with which are both the birth and the rise to power of Semiramis, in the course of which she founded Babylon and many other cities and made a campaign against India with great forces; and after this is an account of the Chaldaeans and of their practice of observing the stars, of Arabia and the marvels of that land, of the kingdom of the Scythians, of the Amazons, and finally of the Hyperboreans. In this present Book we shall add the matters which are connected with what I have already narrated, and shall describe the Ethiopians and the Libyans and the people known as the Atlantians.

2. Now the Ethiopians, as historians relate, were the first of all men and the proofs of this statement, they say, are manifest. For that they did not come into their land as immigrants from abroad but were

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3 Ἀτλαντίων Dindorf: Ἀτλαντίδων.
ΔΙΟΔΟΡΟΣ ΟΥΣΙΚΙΛΥ

ἐλθόντες, ἀλλ’ ἐγγενεῖς ὄντες τῆς χώρας δικαῖως αὐτόχθονες ὀνομάζονται, σχεδὸν παρὰ πάσι συμφωνεῖσθαι. 1 οτι δὲ τοὺς ύπὸ τὴν μεσημβρίαν αἰκούντας πιθανὸν ἐστὶ πρῶτους ὑπὸ τῆς γῆς ἐξωγονοῦσθαι, προφανὲς ὑπάρχειν ἅπασι τῆς γὰρ περὶ τὸν ἡλίου θερμασίας ἁναξεραυνοῦσης τὴν γῆν ὑγρὰν οὖσαν ἐτι 2 κατὰ τὴν τῶν ὀλων γένεσιν καὶ ἐξωγονοῦσης, εἰκὸς εἶναι τὸν ἐγγυτάτω τόπον ὄντα τοῦ ἡλίου πρῶτον ἐνεγκεῖν φύσεις ἐμψύχους.  

2 φασὶ δὲ παρ’ αὐτοῖς πρῶτοι καταδειχθῆναι θεοὺς τυμᾶν καὶ θυσίας ἐπιτελεῖν καὶ πομπάς καὶ πανηγύρεις καὶ τάλλα δι’ ὅν ἄνθρωποι τοῦ θείου τιμῶσιν διὸ καὶ τὴν παρ’ αὐτοῖς εὐσέβειαν διαβεβηγηθαι παρά πάσιν ἄνθρωποις, καὶ δοκεῖν τὰς παρ’ Αἰθίῳφι θυσίας μάλιστ’ εἶναι τῷ δαιμονίῳ κεχαρισμένας. 

3 μάρτυρα δὲ τοῦτων παρέχονται τὸν πρεσβυτάτον σχεδὸν καὶ μάλιστα τῶν ποιητῶν θαυμαζόμενον παρ’ Ἕλλησι τοῦτον γὰρ κατὰ τὴν Ἰλιάδα παρεισάγεις τὸν τε Δία καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους μετ’ αὐτοῦ θεοὺς ἀποδημοῦντας εἰς Αἰθιοπίαν πρός τε τὰς θυσίας τὰς ἀπονεμομένας αὐτοῖς κατ’ ἔτος καὶ εὐωχίαν κοινὴν παρὰ τοῖς Αἰθίῳψι, 

Ζεύς γὰρ ἐσ ὡκεανὸν μετ’ ἀμύμονας Αἰθιοπίας χθὲς ἐβη μετὰ δαίτα, θεοὶ δ’ ἀμα πάντες ἐποντο. 

4 λέγουσι δὲ καὶ τῆς εἰς τὸ θείον εὐσεβείας φανερῶς αὐτοὺς κομίζεσθαι τὸς χάριτας, μηδέποτε δεσπο-

1 συμφωνεῖσθαι Wesseling: συμφωνεῖται.  
2 δὲ after ἐτι deleted by Vogel.

1 i.e. “sprung from the soil itself.”
natives of it and so justly bear the name of "autochthones"\(^1\) is, they maintain, conceded by practically all men; furthermore, that those who dwell beneath the noon-day sun were, in all likelihood, the first to be generated by the earth, is, clear to all; since, inasmuch as it was the warmth of the sun which, at the generation of the universe, dried up the earth when it was still wet and impregnated it with life,\(^2\) it is reasonable to suppose that the region which was nearest the sun was the first to bring forth living creatures. And they say that they were the first to be taught to honour the gods and to hold sacrifices and processions and festivals and the other rites by which men honour the deity; and that in consequence their piety has been published abroad among all men, and it is generally held that the sacrifices practised among the Ethiopians are those which are the most pleasing to heaven. As witness to this they call upon the poet who is perhaps the oldest and certainly the most venerated among the Greeks; for in the *Iliad*\(^3\) he represents both Zeus and the rest of the gods with him as absent on a visit to Ethiopia to share in the sacrifices and the banquet which were given annually by the Ethiopians for all the gods together:

> For Zeus had yesterday to Ocean's bounds  
> Set forth to feast with Ethiop's faultless men,  
> And he was followed there by all the gods.

And they state that, by reason of their piety towards the deity, they manifestly enjoy the favour of the gods, inasmuch as they have never experienced the

\(^1\) Cp. Book 1. 7. 4. \(^2\) Book 1. 423-4.
Diodorus of Sicily

telas ἐπῆλυδος πείραν λαβόντας· εξ αἰῶνος γὰρ ἐν ἐλευθερίᾳ μεμενηκέναι καὶ τῇ πρὸς ἀλλήλους ὁμονοία, πολλῶν μὲν καὶ δυνατῶν ἐστρατευκότων ἐπ' αὐτοῖς, μηδενός δὲ τῆς ἐπιβολῆς καθικομένου.

3. Καμβύσην μὲν γὰρ μεγάλῃ δυνάμει στρατεύσαντα τὴν τε στρατιὰν ἀποβαλεῖν ἀπασαν καὶ αὐτὸν τοὺς ὅλους κινδυνεύσαν. Σεμώραμεν δὲ, τῷ μεγεθεὶ τῶν ἐπιβολῶν καὶ πράξεων διωνομασμένην, ἐπὶ βραχὺ τῆς Αἰθιοπίας προελθοῦσαν ἀπογνώώντα τὴν ἐπὶ τὸ σύμπαν ἔθνος στρατεύαν· τούς τε περὶ Ἡρακλέα καὶ Δίονυσον ἐπισύνας ἀπασαν τὴν οἰκουμένην μόνους τοὺς Αἰθιόπους τοὺς ὑπὲρ Ἀιγύπτου μὴ καταπολεμήσαι διὰ τε τὴν εὐσέβειαν τῶν ἀνδρῶν καὶ τὸ δυσκράτητον τῆς ἐπιβολῆς.

Φασὶ δὲ καὶ τοὺς Ἀιγυπτίους ἐαυτῶν ἀποίκους ὑπάρχειν, Ὅσιρίδος ἡγησαμένου τῆς ἀποικίας.

2 καθόλου γὰρ τὴν νῦν οὕσαν Ἀιγύπτου λέγουσιν οὐ χώραν, ἀλλὰ ἡκατταν γεγονέναι κατὰ τὴν ἐξ ἄρχῆς τοῦ κόσμου σύστασιν· ὑστερον μέντοι τοῦ Νεῖλου κατὰ τὰς ἀναβάσεις τὴν ἐκ τῆς Αἰθιοπίας ἐκ τοῦ κατ' ὁλίγον προσχωσθῆναι. οὕτω δὲ ἐστὶν αὐτῶν ἡ χώρα πᾶσα ποταμόχωστος ἐναργεστάτην ἐχεῖν ἀποδείξειν τὴν

3 γνωμενήν κατὰ τὰς ἐκβολὰς τοῦ Νεῖλου. καθ' ἐκαστὸν γὰρ ἐτος αἰ νέας ἑλύσος ἀθροιζομένης πρὸς τὰ στόματα τοῦ ποταμοῦ καθορᾶται τὸ μὲν πέλαγος ἔξωθούμενον τοῖς προσχώμασιν, ὡδὲ χώρα τὴν αὔξησιν λαμβάνουσα. τὰ δὲ πλείστα τῶν νομίμων τοῖς Ἀιγυπτίοις ὑπάρχειν Αἰθιοπικά, τηρουμένης

1 An account of his campaign is in Herodotus 3. 25.
rule of an invader from abroad; for from all time they have enjoyed a state of freedom and of peace one with another, and although many and powerful rulers have made war upon them, not one of these has succeeded in his undertaking.

3. Cambyses,¹ for instance, they say, who made war upon them with a great force, both lost all his army and was himself exposed to the greatest peril; Semiramsis also, who through the magnitude of her undertakings and achievements has become renowned, after advancing a short distance into Ethiopia gave up her campaign against the whole nation; and Heracles and Dionysus, although they visited all the inhabited earth, failed to subdue the Ethiopians alone who dwell above Egypt, both because of the piety of these men and because of the insurmountable difficulties involved in the attempt.

They say also that the Egyptians are colonists sent out by the Ethiopians, Osiris having been the leader of the colony. For, speaking generally, what is now Egypt, they maintain, was not land but sea when in the beginning the universe was being formed; afterwards, however, as the Nile during the times of its inundation carried down the mud from Ethiopia, land was gradually built up from the deposit. Also the statement that all the land of the Egyptians is alluvial silt deposited by the river receives the clearest proof, in their opinion, from what takes place at the outlets of the Nile; for as each year new mud is continually gathered together at the mouths of the river, the sea is observed being thrust back by the deposited silt and the land receiving the increase. And the larger part of the customs of the Egyptians are, they hold, Ethiopian, the
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τῆς παλαιᾶς συνηθείας πάρα τοῖς ἀποικισθείσιν. 4 τὸ τε γὰρ τοὺς βασιλεῖς θεοὺς νομίζειν καὶ τὸ περὶ τὰς ταφὰς μάλιστα σπουδάζειν καὶ πολλὰ τοιαύθ᾽ ἐτερα πράττειν Αἰθίοπων ὑπάρχειν ἐπιτηδεύματα, τὰς τε τῶν ἀγαλμάτων ἱδεῖς καὶ τοὺς τῶν γραμματῶν τύπους Αἰθιοπικοὺς ὑπάρχειν. διττῶν 1 γὰρ Αἰγυπτίως ὄντων γραμμάτων, τὰ μὲν δημώδη προσαγορευόμενα πάντας μανθάνειν, τὰ δ᾽ ἵερα καλούμενα παρὰ μὲν τοῖς Αἰγυπτίοις μόνους γνώσκειν τοὺς ἱερεῖς παρὰ τῶν πατέρων ἐν ἀπορρήτοις μανθάνοντας, παρὰ δὲ τοῖς Αἰθίοψιν 6 ἀπαντᾶς τούτοις χρῆσθαι τοῖς τύποις. τὰ τε συστήματα τῶν ἱερεῶν παραπλησίαν ἔχειν τάξιν παρ᾽ ἀμφοτέρους τοὺς ἐθνεῖς καθαρούς γὰρ ἀπαντᾶς τοὺς περὶ τὴν τῶν θεῶν θεραπείαν ὄντας, ὃμοιως ἐξυρημένους καὶ τὰς στολὰς τὰς αὐτὰς ἐχοντας καὶ τὸν σκῆπτρον τύπουν ἀροτροειδῆ καθεστῶτα, δὴν ἐχοντας τοὺς βασιλεῖς χρῆσθαι πίλους μακροίς ἐπὶ τοῦ πέρατος ὀμφαλὸν ἔχουσι καὶ περισσεπειραμένους ὅφεσιν, οὓς καλοῦσιν ἀσπίδας· τούτῳ δὲ τὸ παράσημον έοικε συνεμφαινεῖν ὅτι τοὺς ἐπιθέσαν τολμῆσοντας τῷ βασιλεῖ συμβη- 7 σεται θανατηφόροις περιπεσεῖν δήγμασιν. πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ἄλλα λέγουσι περὶ τῆς αὐτῶν ἀρχαιότητος καὶ τῆς τῶν Αἰγυπτίων ἀποικίας, περὶ ὁ δὲν οὐδὲν κατεπείγει γράφειν.

4. Περὶ δὲ τῶν Αἰθιοπικῶν γραμμάτων τῶν παρ᾽ Αἰγυπτίους καλομενῶν ἱερογλυφικῶν ῥητέον, ἢν

1 διττῶν Stroth: ἰδίων.

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1 Cp. Book 1. 81. 1 and note.
2 Now commonly called the “hieratic.”
colonists still preserving their ancient manners. For instance, the belief that their kings are gods, the very special attention which they pay to their burials, and many other matters of a similar nature are Ethiopian practices, while the shapes of their statues and the forms of their letters are Ethiopian; for of the two kinds of writing which the Egyptians have, that which is known as "popular" (demotic) is learned by everyone, while that which is called "sacred" is understood only by the priests of the Ethiopians, who learn it from their fathers as one of the things which are not divulged, but among the Ethiopians everyone uses these forms of letters. Furthermore, the orders of the priests, they maintain, have much the same position among both peoples; for all are clean who are engaged in the service of the gods, keeping themselves shaven, like the Ethiopian priests, and having the same dress and form of staff, which is shaped like a plough and is carried by their kings, who wear high felt hats which end in a knob at the top and are circled by the serpents which they call asps; and this symbol appears to carry the thought that it will be the lot of those who shall dare to attack the king to encounter death-carrying stings. Many other things are also told by them concerning their own antiquity and the colony which they sent out that became the Egyptians, but about this there is no special need of our writing anything.

4. We must now speak about the Ethiopian writing which is called hieroglyphic among the Egyptians,

3 i.e. they observe certain rites and practices of purification.

4 The snake was the sacred uraeus, the symbol of the Northern Kingdom.
μηδὲν παραλίπωμεν τῶν ἀρχαιολογούμενων. συμβέβηκε τοῖς τοὺς μὲν τύπους ὑπάρχειν αὐτῶν ὁμοίους ζωὸς παντοδαποῖς καὶ ἀκρωτηρίοις ἀνθρώπων, ἐτὶ δ' ὁργάνοις, καὶ μάλιστα τεκτονικοῖς· οὔ γὰρ ἐκ τῆς τῶν συλλαβῶν συνθέσεως ἡ γραμματικὴ παρ' αὐτοῖς τὸν ὑποκείμενον λόγον ἀποδίδωσι, ἀλλ' ἐξ ἐμφάσεως τῶν μεταγραφομένων καὶ 2 μεταφορᾶς μνήμης συνηθισμένης. γράφουσι γὰρ ἱέρακα καὶ κροκόδειλον, ἐτὶ δ' ὁφιν καὶ τῶν ἕκ τοῦ σώματος τῶν ἀνθρώπων ὀφθαλμὸν καὶ χεῖρα καὶ πρόσωπον καὶ ἐτερα τοιαύτα. ὦ μὲν οὖν ἱέραξ αὐτοῖς σημαίνει πάντα τὰ οξέως γνώμενα, διὰ τὸ τὸ ἴζων τούτο τῶν πτηνῶν σχεδὸν ὑπάρχει ὀξύτατον. μεταφέρεται τε ο λόγος ταῖς οἰκείαις μεταφοράς εἰς πάντα τὰ οξέα καὶ τὰ τούτως 3 οἰκεία παραπλησίως τοῖς εἰρημένοις. ὦ δὲ κροκόδειλος σημαντικὸς ἐστὶ πάσης κακίας, ὦ δὲ ὀφθαλμὸς δίκης τηρητῆς καὶ παντὸς τοῦ σώματος φύλαξ, τῶν δ' ἀκρωτηρίων ὦ μὲν δεξιὰ τῶν δακτύλιοις ἐκτεταμένους ἔχουσα σημαίνει βίοι πορισμών, ἢ δ' εὑώνυμος συνηθισμένη τήρησιν καὶ 4 φυλακὴν χρημάτων. ὦ δ' αὐτὸς λόγος καὶ ἐπ τῶν ἄλλων τύπων τῶν ἐκ τοῦ σώματος καὶ τῶν ὀργανικῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀπάντων· ταῖς γὰρ ἐκάστοις ἐνούσαις ἐμφάσει συνακολουθοῦντες, καὶ μελετή πολυχρονιῶ καὶ μνήμη γυμνάζοντες τᾶς ψυχᾶς, ἐκτικῶς ἔκαστα τῶν γεγραμμένων ἀναγνώσκουσι.

5. Τῶν δὲ παρ' Ἀἰθίοψι νομίμων οὐκ ὁλίγα δοκεῖ

1 τῶν Hertlein: τῶν.
order that we may omit nothing in our discussion of the antiquities. Now it is found that the forms of their letters take the shape of animals of every kind, and of the members of the human body, and implements and especially carpenters' tools; for their writing does not express the intended concept by means of syllables joined one to another, but by means of the significance of the objects which have been copied and by its figurative meaning which has been impressed upon the memory by practice. For instance, they draw the picture of a hawk, a crocodile, snake, and of the members of the human body—an eye, a hand, a face, and the like. Now the hawk signifies to them everything which happens swiftly, since this animal is practically the swiftest of winged creatures. And the concept portrayed is then transferred, by the appropriate metaphorical transfer, to all swift things and to everything to which swiftness is appropriate, very much as if they had been named. And the crocodile is a symbol of all that is evil, and the eye is the warder of justice and the guardian of the entire body. And as for the members of the body, the right hand with fingers extended signifies procuring of livelihood, and the left with the fingers closed, a keeping and guarding of property. The same way of reasoning applies also to the remaining characters, which represent parts of the body and implements and all other things; for by paying close attention to the significance which is inherent in each object and by training their minds through drill and exercise of the memory over a long period, they read from habit everything which has been written.

5. As for the customs of the Ethiopians, not a few
ΔΙΟΔΟΡΟΣ ΟΦ ΣΙΚΙΛΙΑ ΤΟΙΧΙΟΝ

πολύ τῶν παρὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις διαφέρειν, καὶ μάλιστα
tὰ περὶ τὴν αἴρεσιν τῶν βασιλέων. οἱ μὲν γὰρ
ἀρείες ἐξ αὐτῶν τοὺς ἀρίστους προκρόνουσιν, ἐκ δὲ
tῶν καταλεχέντων, ὅν ἂν ὁ θεὸς κωμάζων κατὰ
tίνα συνήθειαν περιφερόμενος λάβῃ, τούτων τὸ
πλῆθος αἵρειται βασιλέα· εὐθὺς δὲ καὶ προσκυνεῖ
kαὶ τιμᾶ καθάπερ θεόν, ὡς ὑπὸ τῆς τοῦ δαμονίου

2 προνοίας ἐγκεχειρισμένης αὐτῶ τῆς ἀρχῆς. ὁ δ’
ἀρείες διαίτη τε χρήται τῇ τεταγμένῃ κατὰ τοὺς
νόμους καὶ τᾶλλα πράττει κατὰ τὸ πάτριον ἔθος,
οὕτ’ εὐφρενεῖαν οὕτε τιμωρίαν ἀπονέμων οὐδενὶ
παρὰ τὸ δεδογμένον ἐξ ἀρχῆς παρ’ αὐτοῖς νόμον·
ἔθος δ’ αὐτοῖς ἐστὶ μηδένα τῶν ὑποτεταγμένων
θανάτῳ περιβάλλειν, μηδ’ ἂν καταδικάσθεις ἐπὶ
θανάτῳ τις φανή τιμωρίας ἀξίως, ἀλλὰ πέμπει τῶν
ὑπηρετῶν τίνα σημεῖον ἔχοντα θανάτου πρὸς τὸν
παρανομομηκότα· οὕτος δ’ ἴδιῶν τὸ σύσσημον, καὶ
παραχρήμα εἰς τὴν ἴδιαν οἰκίαν ἀπελθῶν, ἑαυτὸν ἐκ
tοῦ ξῆν μεθύστησι. φεύγειν δ’ ἐκ 1 τῆς ἴδιας
χώρας εἰς τὴν ὀμορον καὶ τῇ μεταστάσει τῆς πα-
tρίδος λύειν τὴν τιμωρίαν, καθάπερ παρὰ τοῖς

3 Ἐλλησίων, οὐδαμῶς συγκεχώρηται. διὸ καὶ φασί
tίνα, τοῦ θανατηφόρου σημείου πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀποστα-
λέντος ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως, ἐπιβαλέσθαι μὲν ἐκ τῆς
Αἰθιοπίας φεύγειν, αἰσθομένης δὲ τῆς μητρὸς καὶ
tῆς ζώνης τῶν τράχηλον αὐτοῦ σφιγγοῦσης, ταύτη
μηδὲ καθ’ ἕνα τρόπον τολμῆσαι προσενεγκεῖν τὰς

1 δ’ εἴκ Vogel: δὲ MSS., Bekker, Dindorf.
of them are thought to differ greatly from those of
the rest of mankind, this being especially true of
those which concern the selection of their kings.
The priests, for instance, first choose out the noblest
men from their own number, and whichever one
from this group the god may select, as he is
borne about in a procession in accordance with a
certain practice of theirs, him the multitude take for
their king; and straightway it both worships and
honours him like a god, believing that the sovereignty
has been entrusted to him by Divine Providence.
And the king who has been thus chosen both follows
a regimen which has been fixed in accordance with
the laws and performs all his other deeds in accord-
ance with the ancestral custom, according neither
favour nor punishment to anyone contrary to the
usage which has been approved among them from
the beginning. It is also a custom of theirs that
the king shall put no one of his subjects to death,
not even if a man shall have been condemned to
death and is considered deserving of punishment,
but that he shall send to the transgressor one of his
attendants bearing a token of death; and the guilty
person, on seeing the warning, immediately retires to
his home and removes himself from life. Moreover,
for a man to flee from his own into a neighbouring
country and thus by moving away from his native
land to pay the penalty of his transgression, as is
the custom among the Greeks, is permissible under
no circumstances. Consequently, they say, when a
man to whom the token of death had been sent by
the king once undertook to flee from Ethiopia, and
his mother, on learning of this, bound his neck about
with her girdle, he dared not so much as raise his
χειρας, αυτων δ' αγχομενον καρτερησαι μεχρι της τελευτης, ώνα μη τοις συγγενεσιν ονειδη καταληπτη μειξω.

6. Παντων δ' εστι παραδοξοτατον το γινομενον περι την τελευτην των βασιλεων. κατα γαρ την Μεροην οι περι τασ των θεων θεραπειας τε και τιμας διατριβοντες ιερεις, μεγιστην και κυριωτατην ταξιν έχοντες, επειδαν επι νοιν αυτους έλθη, πεμπουσιν αγγελου προς τον βασιλεα, κελευντες 2 άποθνησκειν. τους γαρ θεους αυτως ταυτα κεχρηματικειαι, και δειν το προσταγμα των αθανατων υπο θυνης φυσεως μηδαμως παροραθηναι. και ετερους δ' επιφθεγγονται λογους, οιους αν1 άπλη διανοια προσδεξαιτο φυσις αρχαια μεν και δυσεξ-αλειττω συνηθεια συντεθραμμενη, λογον δ' ουκ έχουσα τον έναντιωσομενον τοις ουκ άναγκαιως 3 προστατομενοις. κατα μεν ουν τους έπανω χρονους υπηκοουν οι βασιλεις τοις ιερεισιν, ουχ οπλους ουδε βια κρατηδεντες, άλλη υπ' αυτης της δεισιδαιμονιας τους λογισμους κατισχυμονιν κατα δε τον δευτερον Πτολεμαιον δ βασιλεως των Αιθιοπων 'Εργαμενης, μετεσχηκως 'Ελληνικης άγωγης και φιλοσοφης, πρωτος έθαρρησε κατα-4 φρονησαι του προσταγματος. λαβων γαρ φρόνημα της βασιλειας αξιων παρηλθη μετα τοις 2 στρατιωτων εις το άβατον, ου συνεβαινει ειναι τον χρυσον ναον των Αιθιοπων, και τους μεν ιερεις

1 αν added by Dindorf.
2 των omitted by D, Vogel.

1 The Greeks considered strangling a shameful death, but it would have been a "greater disgrace" for an Ethiopian to flee from his country.
hands against her in any way but submitted to be strangled until he died, that he might not leave a greater disgrace\(^1\) to his kinsmen.

6. Of all their customs the most astonishing is that which obtains in connection with the death of their kings.\(^2\) For the priests at Meroë who spend their time in the worship of the gods and the rites which do them honour, being the greatest and most powerful order, whenever the idea comes to them, dispatch a messenger to the king with orders that he die. For the gods, they add, have revealed this to them, and it must be that the command of the immortals should in no wise be disregarded by one of mortal frame. And this order they accompany with other arguments, such as are accepted by a simple-minded nature, which has been bred in a custom that is both ancient and difficult to eradicate and which knows no argument that can be set in opposition to commands enforced by no compulsion. Now in former times the kings would obey the priests, having been overcome, not by arms nor by force, but because their reasoning powers had been put under a constraint by their very superstition; but during the reign of the second Ptolemy the king of the Ethiopians, Ergamenes, who had had a Greek education and had studied philosophy, was the first to have the courage to disdain the command. For assuming a spirit which became the position of a king he entered with his soldiers into the unapproachable place where stood, as it turned out, the golden shrine of the Ethiopians, put the priests to the sword, and after

\(^2\) Some of the following account is found in Strabo (17. 2. 1–3, especially § 3, tr. by Jones, in the *L.C.L.*).
Diodorus of Sicily

ἀπέσφαξε, τὸ δὲ ἐθος τοῦτο καταλύσας διωρθώσατο πρὸς τὴν ἕαυτον προαίρεσιν.

7. Τὸ δὲ περὶ τοὺς φίλους τοῦ βασιλέως νόμιμον, καίπερ ὁν παράδοξον, διαμένειν ἐφασαν ἐως τῶν καθ᾽ ἡμᾶς χρόνων. ἐθος γὰρ ὑπάρχειν λέγουσι τοῖς Ἀιθιόψιν, ἔπον ὁ βασιλεὺς μέρος τι τοῦ σώματος πηρωθῇ δι᾽ ἡνδηποτοῦν αἰτίαν, ἀπαντάς τοὺς συνήθεις συναποβάλλειν τοῦτο κατὰ προαιρεσιν· αἰσχρὸν γὰρ ὑπολαμβάνει τοῦ βασιλέως πεπηρωμένου τὸ σκέλος ἀρτίτοδια εἴναι τοὺς φίλους, καὶ μὴ πάντας ἐν ταῖς ἐξόδοις συνέπεσθαι

2 χωλους ὀμοίως· ἀτόπων γὰρ εἶναι τὸ συμπενθεῖν μὲν καὶ 1 συνλυπεῖσθαι καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὀμοίως ἀγαθῶν ἀπάντων τε καὶ κακῶν κοινωνεῖν τὴν βεβαιαν φιλίαν, τῆς δὲ εἰς τὸ σῶμα λύπης ἀμοιρον γίνεσθαι. φασὶ δὲ σύνηθεσ εἶναι καὶ τὸ συντελευτὰν ἐκουσίως τοὺς ἑταῖρους τοῖς βασιλεύσι, καὶ τοῦτον εἶναι τὸν θάνατον ἐνδοξόν καὶ φιλίας ἀληθινῆς

3 μάρτυρα. διὸπερ μὴ ῥαδίως ἐπιβουλῆν γίνεσθαι παρὰ τοῖς Ἀιθιόψι κατὰ τοῦ βασιλέως, ὡς ἂν τῶν φίλων ἀπάντων 2 ἐπ᾽ ἵσις προνοομένων τῆς τ' ἐκεῖνου καὶ τῆς ἰδίας ἀσφαλείας. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν τὰ νόμμα παρὰ τοῖς Ἀιθιόψιν ἐστι τοῖς τῆς μητρόπολιν αὐτῶν οἰκούσι καὶ νεμομένους τὴν τε νήσου τὴν Μερόην καὶ τὴν χώραν τὴν πλησίον Αἰγύπτου.

8. "Εστι δὲ καὶ ἄλλα γένη τῶν Ἀιθιόπων παμπληθῆ, τὰ μὲν ἐξ ἀμφοτέρων τῶν μερῶν τὴν παραποτάμου τοῦ Νείλου κατοικοῦντα καὶ τὰς ἐν τῷ

1 τὸ after kai deleted by Dindorf.
2 So Eichstädt: κατὰ τῶν φίλων ὡς ἂν τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ τῶν φίλων ἀπάντων.

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abolishing this custom thereafter ordered affairs after his own will.

7. As for the custom touching the friends of the king, strange as it is, it persists, they said, down to our own time. For the Ethiopians have the custom, they say, that if their king has been maimed in some part of his body through any cause whatever, all his companions suffer the same loss of their own choice; because they consider that it would be a disgraceful thing if, when the king had been maimed in his leg, his friends should be sound of limb, and if in their goings forth from the palace they should not all follow the king limping as he did; for it would be strange that steadfast friendship should share sorrow and grief and bear equally all other things both good and evil, but should have no part in the suffering of the body. They say also that it is customary for the comrades of the kings even to die with them of their own accord and that such a death is an honourable one and a proof of true friendship. And it is for this reason, they add, that a conspiracy against the king is not easily raised among the Ethiopians, all his friends being equally concerned both for his safety and their own. These, then, are the customs which prevail among the Ethiopians who dwell in their capital and those who inhabit both the island of Meroë and the land adjoining Egypt.

8. But there are also a great many other tribes of the Ethiopians, some of them dwelling in the land lying on both banks of the Nile and on the islands in

\[^{1}\text{Napata.}\]
ποταμῷ νῆσους, τὰ δὲ τὴν ὄμορον τῆς 'Αραβίας νεμόμενα, τὰ δὲ ἐν τοῖς μεσογείοις τῆς Λιβύης 2 καθιδρυμένα. οἱ πλείστοι δὲ τούτων καὶ μάλισθ' οἱ παρὰ τῶν ποταμῶν οἴκοιοντες ταῖς μὲν χρόαις εἰσὶ μέλανες, ταῖς δὲ ἱδέαις σημοί, τοῖς δὲ τριχώ-μασιν ὦλοι. καὶ ταῖς μὲν ψυχαῖς παντελῶς ὑπάρχουσιν ἄγριοι καὶ τὸ θηριώδες ἐμφαίνοντες, οὐχ οὖτω δὲ τοῖς θυμοῖς ὡς τοῖς ἐπίτηδεύμασιν· αὐχμηροὶ γὰρ ὄντες τοῖς ὀλοῖς σώμασι τοὺς μὲν ὄνυχας ἐπὶ πολὺ παρηγμένους ἔχουσι τοῖς θηρίοις παραπλησίως, τῆς δὲ πρὸς ἀλλήλους φιλανθρωπίας 3 πλείστον ὦσον ἀφεστήκασι· καὶ τὴν μὲν φωνὴν ὀξεῖαν προβάλλοντες, τῶν δὲ παρὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐπιτηδευμένων εἰς βίον ἦμερον οὐδ' ὄτιον ἔχοντες, μεγάλην ποιοῦσι πρὸς τὰ καθ' ἡμᾶς ἐθῆ τὴν διαφοράν.

4 Καθοπλίζονται δ' αὐτῶν οἱ μὲν ἀσπίσιν ὁμοβού-ναις καὶ μικροῖς δόρασιν, οἱ δὲ ἄκοντίοις ἀναγκύλοις, ἐνίστε δὲ ξυλίνοις τόξοις τετραπήχεσιν, οἰς τοξεῦ-ουσι μὲν τῷ ποδὶ προσβαίνοντες, ἀναλωθέντων δὲ τῶν οἰστῶν σκυτάλαις ξυλίναις διαγωνίζονται. καθοπλίζουσι δὲ καὶ τὰς γυναίκας, ὀρίζοντες αὐταῖς τεταγμένην ἡλικίαν, ὃν ταῖς πλείσταις νόμιμον ἔστι χαλκοῦν κρίκον φέρειν ἐν τῷ χείλει 5 τοῦ στόματος. ἐσθήτι δὲ τινὲς μὲν αὐτῶν ἀπλῶς οὐ χρῶνται, γυμνὴτα βίον ἔχουσι δι' αἰῶνος καὶ πρὸς μόνα τὰ καύματα ποριζόμενοι βοήθειαν αὐτοῦργον ἐκ τοῦ παραπεσόντος· τινὲς δὲ τῶν προβάτων τὰς οὐρὰς ἀποκόπτοντες ἐκ τῶν ὀπίσθεν καλύπτουσι διὰ τούτων τὰ ἰσχία, καθάπερ αἰών
the river, others inhabiting the neighbouring country of Arabia, and still others residing in the interior of Libya. The majority of them, and especially those who dwell along the river, are black in colour and have flat noses and woolly hair. As for their spirit they are entirely savage and display the nature of a wild beast, not so much, however, in their temper as in their ways of living; for they are squalid all over their bodies, they keep their nails very long like the wild beasts, and are as far removed as possible from human kindness to one another; and speaking as they do with a shrill voice and cultivating none of the practices of civilized life as these are found among the rest of mankind, they present a striking contrast when considered in the light of our own customs.

As for their arms, some of them use shields of raw ox-hide and short spears, others javelins without a slinging-thong and sometimes bows of wood, four cubits in length, with which they shoot by putting their foot against them, and after their arrows are exhausted they finish the fight with wooden clubs. They also arm their women, setting an age limit for their service, and most of these observe the custom of wearing a bronze ring in the lip. As for clothing, certain of them wear none whatsoever, going naked all their life long and making for themselves of whatever comes to hand a rude protection from the heat alone; others, cutting off the tails and the ends of the hides of their sheep, cover their loins with them, putting the tail before them to screen, after a

The obscure description of this custom may be clarified by a statement of Strabo (17. 2. 3) who apparently is greatly condensing the same source which Diodorus has used in this passage. Strabo writes of the Ethiopians: "... and some go naked, or wear around their loins small sheep-skins or..."
manner, the shameful part\(^1\); and some make use of the skins of their domestic animals, while there are those who cover their bodies as far as the waist with shirts, which they weave of hair, since their sheep do not produce wool by reason of the peculiar nature of the land. For food some gather the fruits which are generated in their waters and which grow wild in both the lakes and marshy places, certain of them pluck off the foliage of a very tender kind of tree, with which they also cover their bodies in the midday and cool them in this way, some sow sesame and lotus,\(^2\) and there are those who are nourished by the most tender roots of the reeds. Not a few of them are also well trained in the use of the bow and bring down with good aim many birds, with which they satisfy their physical needs; but the greater number live for their entire life on the meat and milk and cheese of their herds.

9. With regard to the gods, the Ethiopians who dwell above Meroë entertain two opinions: they believe that some of them, such as the sun and the moon and the universe as a whole, have a nature which is eternal and imperishable, but others of them, they think, share a mortal nature and have come to receive immortal honours because of their virtue and the benefactions which they have bestowed upon all mankind; for instance, they revere Isis and Pan, and also Heracles and Zeus, considering that
girdles of well-woven hair (tr. of Jones in the L.C.L.). When this statement is combined with that of Diodorus, it would appear that when the tail of the sheep was cut off a portion of the hide was left attached to it and that this hide was put about the loins in such a way that the tail hung down in front.\(^2\) Cp. Book 1. 34. 6.
σέβονται, μάλιστα νομίζοντες ύπο τούτων ευηργετήσαι τό τών ἀνθρώπων γένος. Ολίγοι δὲ τῶν Ἀιθιόπων καθόλου θεούς οὐ νομίζοντο εἶναι. διὸ καὶ τὸν ἤλιον ὡς πολεμιῶσατον ὄντα κατὰ τᾶς ἀνατολᾶς βλασφημήσαντες φεύγουσι πρὸς τοὺς ἐλώδεις τῶν τῶπον.

3 Παρηλλαγμένοις δ' ἔθεσι χρῶνται καὶ περὶ τοὺς παρ' αὐτοῖς τελευτῶντας· οἱ μὲν γὰρ εἰς τὸν ποταμὸν βάλλοντες ἄφιάσων, ἀρίστην ἡγούμενοι ταφὴν ταύτην, οἱ δὲ περιχέαντες ὑέλον ἐν ταῖς οἰκίαις φιλάττοντες νομίζοντες δεῖν μὴ τῶν τελευτῶντων ἀγνοεῖσθαι τὰς ὅψεις τοῖς συγγενεῖς μήτ' ἐπιλανθάνουσας τοὺς προσήκοντας τῷ γένει τῶν προσφυκειμένων, ἔννοι δ' εἰς ὀστρακίνας σοροὺς ἐμβάλλοντες κατορύττοντοι κύκλῳ τῶν ἱερῶν, καὶ τὸν ἐπὶ τούτοις γινόμενον ὅρκον μέγιστον ἤγονται.

4 Τὰς δὲ βασιλείας ἐγχειρίζουσιν οἱ μὲν τοῖς εὐπρεπεστάτοις, τύχης ἡγούμενοι δῶρα ἀμφότερα, τὴν τε μοναρχίαν καὶ τὴν εὐπρέπειαν, οἱ δὲ τοῖς ἐπιμελεστάτοις κτηνοτρόφοις παραδιδόοντο τὴν ἀρχήν, ὡς μόνους ἀριστα ὑπὸ τῶν ὑποτελαγμένων φτωχοτοῦντας, ἔννοι δὲ τοῖς πλουσιωτάτοις τοὐτοῖς τὸ τίμιον ἄπονέμουσιν, ἡγούμενοι μόνον αὐτοὺς ἐπικουρεῖν τοῖς ὅχλοις δύνασθαι διὰ τὴν ἐτοιμότητα τῆς εὐπορίας, εἰσὶ δ' οἱ τοὺς ἀνδρείας διαφέροντας ἀφοῦνται βασιλεῖς, κρίνοντες τοὺς ἐν πολέμῳ πλείστον δυναμένους ἄξιον εἶναι μόνον τυγχάνειν τῶν πρωτείων.

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these deities in particular have been benefactors of the race of men. But a few of the Ethiopians do not believe in the existence of any gods at all\(^1\); consequently at the rising of the sun they utter imprecations against it as being most hostile to them, and flee to the marshes of those parts.

Different also from those of other peoples are the customs they observe with respect to their dead; for some dispose of them by casting them into the river, thinking this to be the best burial; others, after pouring glass about the bodies,\(^2\) keep them in their houses, since they feel that the countenances of the dead should not be unknown to their kinsmen and that those who are united by ties of blood should not forget their near relations; and some put them in coffins made of baked clay and bury them in the ground in a ring about their temples, and they consider that the oath taken by them is the strongest possible.

The kingship some of them bestow upon the most comely, believing both supreme power and comeliness to be gifts of fortune, while others entrust the rule to the most careful keepers of cattle, as being the only men who would give the best thought to their subjects; some assign this honour to the wealthiest, since they feel that these alone can come to the aid of the masses because they have the means ready at hand; and there are those who choose for their kings men of unusual valour, judging that the most efficient in war are alone worthy to receive the meed of honour.

\(^1\) Strabo (17. 2. 3, tr. by Jones in the L.C.L.) says that these Ethiopians lived near the torrid zone.

\(^2\) Cp. Book 2. 15 for a fuller account of this custom.
10. Ἑδὲ παρὰ τὸν Νεῖλον χώρας τῆς ἐν τῇ Διβύῃ κειμένης ἐστὶ τῷ μέρος τῷ κάλλει διαφέρον·
πολυφόρας τε γὰρ φέρει δαμιλεῖς καὶ ποικίλας, καὶ
πρὸς τὰς τῶν καυμάτων ὑπερβολὰς ἔχει βοηθείας
εὐθέτως τὰς ἐν τοῖς ἔλεσι καταφυγάς. διὸ καὶ
περιμάχητος οὕτως ὁ τόπος γίνεται τοῖς τε Διβύσι
καὶ τοῖς Αἰθίοις, καὶ πρὸς ἀλλήλους ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ
πολεμοῦντες διατελοῦσι. φοιτᾷ δ' εἰς αὐτὸν καὶ
πλῆθος ἐλεφάντων ἐκ τῆς ἅνω χώρας, ὡς μὲν ἐνιοῦ
λέγοντι, διὰ τὴν δαμιλεῖαν καὶ τὴν ἡδονὴν τῆς
νομῆς. ἔλη γὰρ θαυμαστά παρεκτείνεται τοῖς
χείλεσι τοῦ ποταμοῦ, πολλὰς καὶ παντοῖας ἐν
αὐτοῖς φυομένης τροφῆς. διόπερ ὅταν γεύσωνται
τοῦ θρύου καὶ τοῦ καλάμου, διὰ τὴν γλυκύτητα
τῆς τροφῆς μένει καὶ τὴν τῶν ἁνδρώτων δίαιταν
καταφθείρει. δι' ἣν αἰτίαν καταναγκάζονται φεύ-
γειν 1 τούτους τοὺς τόπους, ὡντες νομάδες καὶ
σκηνοῦσι, τὸ σύνολον τῷ συμφέροντι τὰς πατρίδας
ὄριζοντες. αἰ δ' ἀγέλαι τῶν εἰρήμενων θηρίων
τὴν μεσόγειον χώραν ἐκλείπουσι διὰ σπάνων
τροφῆς, ἀτε συντόμως τῶν φυομένων ἐν τῇ γῇ
πάντων αὐνανομένων. διὰ γὰρ τὴν τοῦ καύματος
ὑπερβολὴν καὶ τὴν λειψυδρίαν τῶν πηγαίων καὶ
ποταμῶν ὕδατων σκληρὰς καὶ σπανίους συμβαίνει
gίνεσθαι τὰς τροφὰς.

1 εἰς after φεύγειν deleted by Vogel.
10. In that part of the country which lies along the Nile in Libya there is a section which is remarkable for its beauty; for it bears food in great abundance and of every variety and provides convenient places of retreat in its marshes where one finds protection against the excessive heat; consequently this region is a bone of contention between the Libyans and the Ethiopians, who wage unceasing warfare with each other for its possession. It is also a gathering-place for a multitude of elephants from the country lying above it because, as some say, the pasturage is abundant and sweet; for marvellous marshes stretch along the banks of the river and in them grows food in great plenty and of every kind. Consequently, whenever they taste of the rush and the reed, they remain there because of the sweetness of the food and destroy the means of subsistence of the human beings; and because of this the inhabitants are compelled to flee from these regions, and to live as nomads and dwellers in tents—in a word, to fix the bounds of their country by their advantage. The herds of the wild beasts which we have mentioned leave the interior of the country because of the lack of food, since every growing thing in the ground quickly dries up; for as a result of the excessive heat and the lack of water from springs and rivers it comes to pass that the plants for food are rough and scanty.

There are also, as some say, in the country of the wild beasts, as it is called, serpents which are marvellous for their size and multitude; these attack the elephants at the water-holes, pit their strength against them, and winding themselves in coils about

\[1 \text{ i.e. on the west bank.}\]
Diodorus of Sicily

σκέλη, καὶ πέρας ἐως τούτου συνέχουσι βιαζόμενοι καὶ σφίγγοντες τοὺς δεσμοῖς ἐως Ἀφρίσαντα τὰ θηρία πέση διὰ τὸ βάρος. ἔπειτ' ἀθροιζόμενοι τὸ πεσὸν σαρκοφαγοῦσι, ῥαδίως ἐπικρατοῦντες διὰ τὴν δυσκινησίαν τοῦ ζῴου. ἀπολεπομένου δὲ ἀπορήματος, διὰ τῶν αἰτίαν οὗ συνέπονται τοῖς ἐλέφασιν εἰς τὴν προερμηνεύν παραποταμίαν διώκοντες τὰς συνήθεις τροφὰς, ϕασὶ̂ 1 τοὺς τηλικοῦτους ὁφεις τὴν μὲν ἐπίπεδον τῆς χώρας θεύγειν, περὶ δὲ τὴν ὑπώρειαν ἐν ταῖς φάραγγι ταῖς εἰς 2 τὸ μήκος ἀνηκούσας καὶ τοῖς σπηλαίοις τοῖς τὸ βάθος ἑχοῦσι συνεχῶς ἐναυλίζοντας· διόπερ τοὺς συμφέροντας καὶ συνήθεις τόπους μυδαμῶς ἐκλείπειν, αὐτοδιδάκτου πρὸς τὰ τοιαῦτα τῆς φύσεως οὕσης ἀπασί τοῖς ζῴοις.

Περὶ μὲν οὖν Αἰθιόπων καὶ τῆς χώρας αὐτῶν τοσαῦτα λέγομεν.

11. Περὶ δὲ τῶν συγγραφέων ἡμῶν διοριστέον, ὅτι πολλοὶ συγγεγράφασι περὶ τε τῆς Αἰγύπτου καὶ τῆς Αἰθιοπίας, ὡν οἱ μὲν θεοῦθεί φήμη πεπίστευκότες, οἱ δὲ παρ’ ἐαυτῶν πολλὰ τῆς ψυχαγωγίας ἐνεκα πεπλακότες, δικαίως ἂν ἀπιστοῦντο. Ἀγαθαρχίδης μὲν γὰρ ὁ Κνίδιος ἐν τῇ δευτέρᾳ βιβλίῳ τῶν περὶ τήν Ἀσίαν, καὶ ὁ τὰς γεωγραφίας συνταξάμενος Ἀρτεμίδωρος ὁ Ἐφέσιος κατὰ τὴν ὁγδόνη βιβλίον, καὶ τινὲς ἑτέρου τῶν ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ κατοικοῦντων, ἱστορηκότες τὰ πλεῖότα τῶν προει-

1 Δὲ after ϕασὶ̂ deleted by Reiske.
2 εἰς added by Wesseling, Vogel; omitted by Bekker, Dindorf.

1 An historian and geographer of the second century B.C.
their legs continue squeezing them tighter and tighter in their bands until at last the beasts, covered with foam, fall to the ground from their weight. Thereupon the serpents gather and devour the flesh of the fallen elephant, overcoming the beast with ease because it moves only with difficulty. But since it still remains a puzzle why, in pursuit of their accustomed food, they do not follow the elephants into the region along the river, which I have mentioned, they say that the serpents of such great size avoid the level part of the country and continually make their homes at the foot of mountains in ravines which are suitable to their length and in deep caves; consequently they never leave the regions which are suitable to them and to which they are accustomed, Nature herself being the instructor of all the animals in such matters.

As for the Ethiopians, then, and their land, this is as much as we have to say.

11. Concerning the historians, we must distinguish among them, to the effect that many have composed works on both Egypt and Ethiopia, of whom some have given credence to false report and others have invented many tales out of their own minds for the delectation of their readers, and so may justly be distrusted. For example, Agatharchides of Cnidus¹ in the second Book of his work on Asia, and the compiler of geographies, Artemidorus of Ephesus,² in his eighth Book, and certain others whose homes were in Egypt, have recounted most of what I have set forth above and are, on the whole,

² His work in eleven books on the lands and peoples about the Mediterranean Sea was composed around 100 B.C.
ΔΙΟΔΟΡΟΣ ΟΦ ΣΙΚΙΛΙΑ

3 ρημένων ἐν πάσι σχεδόν ἐπιτυγχάνουσι. καὶ γὰρ ἦμεις καθ’ ὅν καρπόν παρεδόθη ἡμεῖς Αἰγύπτων, πολλοῖς μὲν τῶν ἱερέων ἐνετύχομεν, οὐκ ὁλίγοις δὲ καὶ πρεσβευταῖς ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀθηναίας παροῦσιν ἐκ λόγους ἀφικόμεθα. παρ’ ὧν ἀκριβῶς ἐκαστὰ πυθόμενοι, καὶ τοὺς λόγους τῶν ἱστορικῶν ἐξελέγχοντο, τοῖς μᾶλλοντα συμφωνοῦσιν ἀκόλουθον τὴν ἀναγραφὴν πεποιήμεθα.

4 Περὶ μὲν οὖν Ἀθηναίων τῶν πρὸς τῇ δύσει κατοικοῦντων ἀρκεσθησόμεθα τοῖς ῥήθεσι, περὶ δὲ τῶν κατὰ τὴν μεσημβρίαν καὶ τὴν Ἕρωβρὰν θάλατταν κεκμένων ἐν μέρει διεξίμη. δοκεῖ δ’ ἦμιν ἀρμόττευν προδιελθεῖν περὶ τῆς τοῦ χρυσοῦ κατασκευῆς τῆς ἐν τούτως τοῖς τόποις γινομένης.

12. Περὶ γὰρ τὰς ἐσχατιὰς τῆς Αἰγύπτου καὶ τῆς ὁμορούσης Ἀραβίας τε καὶ Ἀθηναίας τόπος ἐστὶν ἐχών μέταλλα πολλὰ καὶ μεγάλα χρυσοῦ, συναγομένου πολλοῦ πολλῆς κακοπαθείας καὶ δαπάνης. τῆς γὰρ γῆς μελαίνης οὕσης τῇ φύσει καὶ διαφυάς καὶ φλέβας ἐχούσης μαρμάρου τῇ λευκότητι διαφεροῦσας καὶ πάσας τὰς περιλαμμομένας φύσεως ὑπερβαλλούσας τῇ λαμπρότητι, οἱ προσεδρεύοντες τοῖς μεταλλικοῖς ἔργοις τῷ πλήθει τῶν ἐργαζόμενων κατασκευάζοντο τῶν χρυσῶν. οἱ γὰρ βασιλεῖς τῆς Αἰγύπτου τοὺς ἐπί κακουργία καταδικασθέντας καὶ τοὺς κατὰ πόλεμον αἰχμαλωτισθέντας, ἐτὶ δὲ τοὺς ἄδικους διαβολαῖς περιπεσόντας καὶ διὰ θυμὸν εἰς φυλακὰς παραδεδομένους, ποτὲ μὲν αὐτούς, ποτὲ δὲ καὶ μετὰ πάσης συγγενείας, ἀθροίσαντες παραδιδόσασι πρὸς τὴν τοῦ χρυσοῦ

1 The Persian Gulf.
accurate in all they have written. Since, to bear witness ourselves, during the time of our visit to Egypt, we associated with many of its priests and conversed with not a few ambassadors from Ethiopia as well who were then in Egypt; and after inquiring carefully of them about each matter and testing the stories of the historians, we have composed our account so as to accord with the opinions on which they most fully agree.

Now as for the Ethiopians who dwell in the west, we shall be satisfied with what has been said, and we shall discuss in turn the peoples who live to the south and about the Red Sea. However, we feel that it is appropriate first to tell of the working of the gold as it is carried on in these regions.

12. At the extremity of Egypt and in the contiguous territory of both Arabia and Ethiopia there lies a region which contains many large gold mines, where the gold is secured in great quantities with much suffering and at great expense. For the earth is naturally black and contains seams and veins of a marble which is unusually white and in brilliancy surpasses everything else which shines brightly by its nature, and here the overseers of the labour in the mines recover the gold with the aid of a multitude of workers. For the kings of Egypt gather together and condemn to the mining of the gold such as have been found guilty of some crime and captives of war, as well as those who have been accused unjustly and thrown into prison because of their anger, and not only such persons but occasionally all their relatives as well, by this means not only

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2 Cp. the account of the mines in Spain (Book 5. 35 ff.).
3 i.e. a quartz-rock; cp. below, § 5.
metalleinai, aima men timorain lambanontes para
Tovn katanousanthentov, aima de dia tov ergazoimeno
3 megallas prosdoous lambanontes. ois de paradon-
thetaentes, polloi men to plithos ontse, pantse de
pedais dedemeno, proskarterousi tois ergous
sunechous kai meb' hmeran kai de' olhs tis
vaktose, anapausin men oudeimian lambanontes, drasmoi
de pantos filotimous ergomeinoi' filakaai gar ek
stretiwtan barbaram kai taia diaketois diapho-
rois1 chrwmewn efestikasun, oste mbedena dyna-
sthai di' omiliai' filanvrotpon tinos entevxeos
4 theira ta taw epistatoonton. tis de ton
xroun exousia gis tin men sklethrathtin puri
pollw kaussantes kai poumantes xwnin prosa-
gousi tin diad taw xeurwv katerysaian', tin
de aneimenin petran kai metrws pouno dynamein
upikhein latomikw sidhriw katepanoufse muvivades
5 aklyrhoontan anbropwv. kai tis men olhs prag-
mateias o ton lithon diakrinwn technith kath-
geita kai tis ergazoimenois upodeinunoi' ton
de prois tin atuxian tauntin apoedeixhentov ois
men somaatos rwmh diapherontes tuptsa sidhrais
tin marmaricousan petran koptousin, ou techn
tois ergous, alla biai prosagnontes, uponomous
de diakoptontes, ouk ep' euthesia, alla' ws an'
6 diafysisi' h tis apostilboiwsis petras. oustoi
men ouin dia tais en taiai diowrike kampas kai
skoliotitas en skotei diatiribontes Iwvous epi
taw metwpon pepgramenous2 periopherouni' pol-

1 diaphoros Dindorf: diaphoros.
2 So Capps, pepgramateumous all editors, pepfragmenous

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inflicting punishment upon those found guilty but also securing at the same time great revenues from their labours. And those who have been condemned in this way—and they are a great multitude and are all bound in chains—work at their task unceasingly both by day and throughout the entire night, enjoying no respite and being carefully cut off from any means of escape; since guards of foreign soldiers who speak a language different from theirs stand watch over them, so that not a man, either by conversation or by some contact of a friendly nature, is able to corrupt one of his keepers. The gold-bearing earth ¹ which is hardest they first burn with a hot fire, and when they have crumbled it in this way they continue the working of it by hand; and the soft rock which can yield to moderate effort is crushed with a sledge by myriads of unfortunate wretches. And the entire operations are in charge of a skilled worker who distinguishes the stone ² and points it out to the labourers; and of those who are assigned to this unfortunate task the physically strongest break the quartz-rock ³ with iron hammers, applying no skill to the task, but only force, and cutting tunnels through the stone, not in a straight line but wherever the seam of gleaming rock may lead. Now these men, working in darkness as they do because of the bending and winding of the passages, carry lamps bound on their foreheads; and since

¹ Here and below "earth" must be the equivalent of the "marble" mentioned before.
² i.e. picks out that which is gold-bearing.
³ Literally, "the rock which contains the marble."

CE; cp. Agatharchides 25 (Müller): οὕτωι μὲν οὖν ἀλυσιν προσδεδεμένους τοῖς μετώποις ἔχοντες λατομοῦσιν.
1 i.e. as the gold-bearing stratum turns in one direction and another.
2 Agatharchides 26 (ed. Müller), whom Diodorus is following here, say these workers were "under" thirty.
much of the time they change the position of their bodies to follow the particular character of the stone they throw the blocks, as they cut them out, on the ground; and at this task they labour without ceasing beneath the sternness and blows of an overseer.

13. The boys there who have not yet come to maturity, entering through the tunnels into the galleries formed by the removal of the rock, laboriously gather up the rock as it is cast down piece by piece and carry it out into the open to the place outside the entrance. Then those who are above thirty years of age take this quarried stone from them and with iron pestles pound a specified amount of it in stone mortars, until they have worked it down to the size of a vetch. Thereupon the women and older men receive from them the rock of this size and cast it into mills of which a number stand there in a row, and taking their places in groups of two or three at the spoke or handle of each mill they grind it until they have worked down the amount given them to the consistency of the finest flour. And since no opportunity is afforded any of them to care for his body and they have no garment to cover their shame, no man can look upon the unfortunate wretches without feeling pity for them because of the exceeding hardships they suffer. For no leniency or respite of any kind is given to any man who is sick, or maimed, or aged, or in the case of a woman for her weakness, but all without exception are compelled by blows to persevere in their labours, until through ill-treatment they die in the midst of their tortures. Consequently the poor unfortunates be-

8 Or "illness."
Τερον ἀεί τὸ μέλλον τοῦ παρόντος ἥγονται διὰ τὴν ὑπερβολὴν τῆς τιμωρίας, ποθεινότερον δὲ τοῦ ξῆν τὸν θάνατον προσδέχονται.

14. Τὸ δὲ τελευταῖον οἶ τεχνίται παραλαβόντες τὸν ἀληθεσμένον λίθον πρὸς τὴν ὅλην ἀγονίαν συντελειαν· ἐπὶ γὰρ πλατείας σανίδος μικρὸν ἐγκεκλιμένης τρίβουσι τὴν κατειργασμένην μάρμαρον ὕδωρ ἐπιχείρησον· εἰτὰ τὸ μὲν γεώδες αὐτῆς ἐκτηκομένων διὰ τῶν ὕγρων καταρρεῖ κατὰ τὴν τῆς σανίδος ἐγκλισθήν τὸ δὲ χρυσίον ἡ ἤχον ἐπὶ τοῦ ξύλου παραμένει διὰ τὸ βάρος. πολλάκις δὲ τούτῳ ποιοῦντες, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ταῖς χερῶι ἐλαφρῶς τρίβουσι, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα σπόγγους ἀραιοῖς κούφως ἐπιθλίβοντες τὸ χαῦνον καὶ γεώδες διὰ τούτων ἀναλαμβάνουσι, μέχρι ἃν ὅτου καθαρὸν 3 γένηται τὸ ψήγμα τοῦ χρυσοῦ. τὸ δὲ τελευταῖον ἄλλοι τεχνίται παραλαμβάνοντες μέτρω καὶ σταθμῷ τὸ συνηγμένον εἰς κεραμεοῦς χύτρους ἐμβάλλουσι· μίξαντες δὲ κατὰ τὸ πλῆθος ἀνάλογον μολίβδου βῶλον καὶ χόνδρους ἄλων, ἐτὶ δὲ βραχὺ καττετέρου, καὶ κρίθινον πίτυρον προσεμβάλλουσι· ἀρμοστὸν δ' ἐπίθημαι ποιήσαντες καὶ πηλῆς φιλοτόνως περιχρίσαντες ὀπτῶσιν ἐν καμίνῳ πέντε ἡμέρας καὶ 4 νῦκτας ὦσα ἄδιαλείπτως· ἐπειτα ἐάσαντες ψυχθήναι τῶν μὲν ἄλλων οὐδὲν εὐρίσκουσιν ἐν τοῖς ἄγγειοις, τὸν δὲ χρυσὸν καθαρὸν λαμβάνουσιν ὀλίγης ἀπουσίας γεγενημένης. ἡ μὲν οὖν ἐργασία τοῦ χρυσοῦ περὶ τὰς ἐσχατιὰς τῆς Αἰγύπτου γινομένη μετὰ τοσοῦτον καὶ τηλικοῦτων πόνων 5 συντελεῖται· αὐτῇ γὰρ ἡ φύσις, οἶμαι, ποιεῖ

1 Vogel suggests χρυσόν.
lieve, because their punishment is so excessively severe, that the future will always be more terrible than the present and therefore look forward to death as more to be desired than life.

14. In the last steps the skilled workmen receive the stone which has been ground to powder and take it off for its complete and final working; for they rub the marble which has been worked down upon a broad board which is slightly inclined, pouring water over it all the while; whereupon the earthy matter in it, melted away by the action of the water, runs down the inclined board, while that which contains the gold remains on the wood because of its weight. And repeating this a number of times, they first of all rub it gently with their hands, and then lightly pressing it with sponges of loose texture they remove in this way whatever is porous and earthy, until there remains only the pure gold-dust. Then at last other skilled workmen take what has been recovered and put it by fixed measure and weight into earthen jars, mixing with it a lump of lead proportionate to the mass, lumps of salt and a little tin, and adding thereto barley bran; thereupon they put on it a close-fitting lid, and smearing it over carefully with mud they bake it in a kiln for five successive days and as many nights; and at the end of this period, when they have let the jars cool off, of the other matter they find no remains in the jars, but the gold they recover in pure form, there being but little waste. This working of the gold, as it is carried on at the farthest borders of Egypt, is effected through all the extensive labours here described; for Nature herself, in my opinion, makes

1 Cp. p. 115, n. 3.
Diodorus of Sicily

πρόδηλου ὡς ὃς ἐφίπτον μὲν ἐπίπονον ἐχεῖ, φυλακήν δὲ χαλεπὴν, σπουδὴν δὲ μεγίστην, χρῆσιν δὲ ἀνὰ μέσον ἣδονῆς τε καὶ λύπης.

Ἡ μὲν οὖν τῶν μετάλλων τούτων εὑρεσὶς ἀρχαία παντελῶς ἔστιν, ὡς ἄν ὑπὸ τῶν παλαιῶν 6 βασιλέων καταδειχθείσα. περὶ δὲ τῶν ἐθνῶν τῶν κατοικοῦντων τῆς τε παράλιον τοῦ Ἀραβίου κόλπου καὶ Τρῳγονυτικῆς, ἐτὶ δ’ Ἀιδιοπίαν τὴν πρὸς μεσημβρίαν καὶ νότον, πειρασόμεθα διεξεῖναι.

15. Περὶ πρῶτων δὲ τῶν Ἰχθυοφάγων ἐροῦμεν τῶν κατοικοῦντων τῆς παράλιον τῆν ἀπὸ Καρμανίας καὶ Γεδρωσίας ἐως τῶν ἐσχάτων τοῦ μυχοῦ τοῦ κατὰ τὸν Ἀράβιον κόλπον ἰδρυμένου, ὅσ' εἰς τὴν μεσογείων ἀνήκων ἀπιστῶν διάστημα δυσὶν ἑπείροις περικλείεται πρὸς τὸν ἐκπλουν, τῇ μὲν ὑπὸ τῆς Εὐδαιμονος Ἀραβίας, τῇ δ’ ὑπὸ τῆς Τρῳγονυτικῆς. 2 τούτων δὲ τῶν βαρβάρων τινὲς μὲν γυμνοὶ τὸ παράπαν βιοῦτες κοινὰς ἔχονσι τὰς γυναῖκας καὶ τὰ τέκνα παραπλησίως ταῖς τῶν θρεμμάτων ἀγελαίς, ἣδονῆς δὲ καὶ πόνου τὴν φυσικήν μόνον ἀντιληψιν ποιούμενοι τῶν αἰσχρῶν καὶ καλῶν οὐδεμίαν 3 λαμβάνουσιν ἐννοιαν. τὰς δὲ οἰκήσεις ἔχουσιν οὐκ ἀπωθέν τῆς θαλάττης παρὰ τὰς ραχίας, καθ’ ὑστ’ ἕστιν οὐ μόνον βαθεῖα κοιλάδες, ἀλλὰ καὶ φάραγγες ἀνώμαλοι καὶ στενοὶ παντελῶς αὐλῶνες σκολιαῖς ἐκτροπαῖς ὑπὸ τῆς φύσεως διειλημμένοι. τούτων δὲ τῇ χρείᾳ τῶν ἐγχωρίων περικότων ἀρμοζόντως, τὰς ἐκτροπὰς καὶ 3 διεξόδους συγκεχώκασι λίθοις

1 ὁ Reiske: ὁ μὲν.
2 τούτων after ἐθνῶν deleted by Dindorf.
3 For καὶ Capps suggests κατὰ τὰς, “at their outlets.”

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it clear that whereas the production of gold is laborious, the guarding of it is difficult, the zest for it very great, and that its use is half-way between pleasure and pain.

Now the discovery of these mines is very ancient, having been made by the early kings. But we shall undertake to discuss the peoples which inhabit the coast of the Arabian Gulf\(^1\) and that of the Trogodytes and the part of Ethiopia that faces the noon-day sun and the south wind.

15. The first people we shall mention are the Ichthyophagi\(^2\) who inhabit the coast which extends from Carmania and Gedrosia\(^3\) to the farthest limits of the arm of the sea which is found at the Arabian Gulf, which extends inland an unbelievable distance and is enclosed at its mouth by two continents, on the one side by Arabia Felix and on the other by the land of the Trogodytes. As for these barbarians, certain of them go about entirely naked and have the women and children in common like their flocks and herds, and since they recognize only the physical perception of pleasure and pain they take no thought of things which are disgraceful and those which are honourable. They have their dwellings not far from the sea along the rocky shores, where there are not only deep valleys but also jagged ravines and very narrow channels which Nature has divided by means of winding side-branches. These branches being by their nature suited to their need, the natives close up the passages and\(^4\) outlets with heaps of great

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\(^1\) The Red Sea.

\(^2\) Fish-eaters.

\(^3\) Approximately modern south-eastern Persia and Baluchistan.

\(^4\) Or "at their outlets"; cp. critical note.
μεγάλοις, δι’ ὃν ὄσπερ δικτύων τὴν θήραν τῶν ἰχθύων ποιοῦνται. ὅταν γὰρ ἡ πλημμυρίς τῆς θαλάττης ἐπὶ τὴν χέρσον φέρηται λάβρως, δ’ ποιεῖ διὸ τῆς ἡμέρας περὶ τρίτην καὶ ἐνάτην μάλιστα πως ὤραν, ἡ μὲν θαλάττα πάσαν τὴν ῥαχίαν ἐπικλύζουσα καλύπτει, καὶ λάβρω καὶ πολλῷ κύματι συναποκο-

μίζει πρὸς τὴν χέρσον ἀπιστον πλῆθος παντοίων ἰχθύων, οἳ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἐν τῇ παραλίᾳ μένουσι, νομῆς χάριν πλανώμενοι περὶ τὰς ὑποδύσεις καὶ τὰ κοιλώματα: ἔπαν δ’ ὁ τῆς ἀμπώτεως ἔλθῃ χρόνος, τὸ μὲν ὕγρον ἐκ τοῦ κατ’ ὅλιγον διὰ τῶν κεχωμένων λίθων καὶ φαράγγων ἀπορρέει, οἳ δ’ ἰχθύς ἐν τοῖς κοιλώμασι καταλείπονται. κατὰ δὲ τούτον τὸν καιρὸν τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ἐγχωρίων μετὰ τέκνων καὶ γυναικῶν εἰς τὰς ῥαχίας ἀθροίζεται καθάπερ ἄφ’ ἐνὸς κελεύσματος. σχιζομένων δὲ τῶν βαρβάρων εἰς τὰ κατὰ μέρος συστήματα, πρὸς τοὺς ἱδίους ἐκαστοῦ τόπους μετὰ βοῆς ἐξαίσιον φέρονται, καθάπερ αἰφνιδίων τῶν κυνηγίας ἐμπεπτωκυίας.

ἐἰδ’ αἳ μὲν γυναικὲς μετὰ τῶν παιδῶν τοὺς ἐλάττονας τῶν ἰχθύων καὶ πλησίον ὄντας τῆς χέρσου συλλαμβάνουσαι ῥίπτουσιν ἐπὶ τὴν γην, οἳ δὲ τοῖς σώμασιν ἀκμαζόντες προσφέροσι τὰς χείρας τοῖς διὰ τὸ μέγεθος δυσκαταγωγώντως· ἐκπίπτουσι γὰρ ἐκ τοῦ πελάγους ὑπερμεγέθεις οὐ μόνον σκορπίοι καὶ μύραναι καὶ κύνες, ἀλλὰ καὶ φῶκαι καὶ πολλὰ τοιαῦτα ξένα καὶ ταῖς ὄψεις καὶ ταῖς προσηγορίαις.

ταῦτα δὲ τὰ θηρία καταμάχονται τεχνικῆς μὲν ὀπλῶν κατασκευῆς οὐδὲν ἐχοῦσε, κέρασι δὲ αἰγῶν

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stones, and by means of these, as if with nets, they carry on the catching of the fish. For whenever the flood-tide of the sea sweeps violently over the land, which happens twice daily and usually about the third and ninth hour, the sea covers in its flood all the rocky shore and together with the huge and violent billow carries to the land an incredible multitude of fish of every kind, which at first remain along the coast, wandering in search of food among the sheltered spots and hollow places; but whenever the time of ebb comes, the water flows off little by little through the heaps of rocks and ravines, but the fish are left behind in the hollow places. At this moment the multitude of the natives with their children and women gather, as if at a single word of command, at the rocky shores. And the barbarians, dividing into several companies, rush in bands each to its respective place with a hideous shouting, as if they had come unexpectedly upon some prey. Thereupon the women and children, seizing the smaller fish which are near the shore, throw them on the land, and the men of bodily vigour lay hands upon the fish which are hard to overcome because of their size; for there are driven out of the deep creatures of enormous size, not only sea-scorpions¹ and sea-eels and dog-fish, but also seals² and many other kinds which are strange both in appearance and in name. These animals they subdue without the assistance of any skilful device of weapons but by piercing them through with sharp goathorns and by

¹ Perhaps the *scorpaena scrofa*, which is described in Athenaeus 320 D, where Gulick (in the *L.C.L.*) suggests "sculpin" as an "inexact but convenient" equivalent.

² Perhaps the *phoca monachus* of Odyssey 4. 404.
δέσι κατακεντούντες καὶ ταῖς ἀπορραξιν πέτραις ἐπιτέμνοντες· πάντα γὰρ ἢ χρεία διδάσκει τὴν φύσιν, οἰκείως τοῖς ὑποκειμένοις καιροῖς ἀρμοζο-μένην πρὸς τὴν ἐκ τῆς ἐλπίδος εὐχρηστίαν.

16. Ἐπειδὰν δ’ ἀθροίσωσιν ἵχθυών παντοδαπῶν πλῆθος, μεταφέρουσι τοὺς ληφθέντας καὶ πάντας ὀπτῶσιν ἐπὶ τῶν πετρῶν τῶν ἐγκεκλυμένων πρὸς μεσημβρίαν. διαπύρων δ’ οὐσῶν διὰ τὴν τοῦ καύματος ὑπερβολῆν, βραχύν ἔásaντες χρόνον στρέφουσι, καπείτα τῆς οὐράς λαμβανόμενοι σείσουσι τὸν ὀλὸν ὄγκον. καὶ αἱ μὲν σάρκες θρυπτόμεναι διὰ τὴν θερμασίαν ἀποπίπτουσιν, αἱ δ’ ἀκανθαὶ ῥιπτοῦμεν εἰς τὸν μέγαν σωρὸν ἀποτελοῦσιν, ἀθροιζόμεναι χρείας ἑνεκεν περὶ ἡς μικρὸν ύστερον ἔροῦμεν. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα τὰς μὲν σάρκας ἐπὶ τῶν λεωπτρίας κατατιθέμενοι πατοῦσιν ἐπιμελῶς ἐφ’ ἰκανὸν χρόνον καὶ καταμίσχουσι τὸν τοῦ πολιού-ρον καρπὸν τοῦτον γὰρ συναναρχοσθέντος τὸ πᾶν γίνεται χρῆμα 1 κολλᾶδες· καὶ δοκεῖ τοῦτο καθάπερ ἢδύκματος παρ’ αὐτοῖς ἐχειν τάξιν. τὸ δὲ τελευταῖον τὸ καλὸς πατηθὲν εἰς πλυθίδας παραμῆκες τυποῦντες τιθέαισιν εἰς τὸν ἔλαιον ἂς συμμέτρως ἐξηρανθείσας καθίσαντες κατευσχοῦνται, οὐ μὴν πρὸς μέτρον ἡ σταθμὴν ἐσθίοντες, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὴν ἱδίαν ἐκάστου 2 βούλησιν, τὴν φυσικὴν ὄρεξιν ἔχοιτες τής ἀπολαύσεως περιγραφῆν· ἀνεκ-λείπτοις 3 γὰρ καὶ διὰ παντὸς ἐτοίμους χρῶνται ταμεύμασιν, ὡς ἂν τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος τὸ τῆς Δήμητρος ἔργον μετεληφότος.

1 χρῆμα Reiske: χρῶμα MSS, Bekker, Dindorf.
2 ἐκάστου MSS, Bekker, Vogel: ἐκαστος Hertlein, Dindorf.
3 ἀνεκλείπτοις Dindorf: ἀνεκλείπτως.

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gashing them with the jagged rocks; for necessity teaches Nature everything, as Nature, in her own fashion, by seizing upon the opportunities which lie at hand adapts herself to their hoped-for utilization.

16. Whenever they have collected a multitude of all kinds of fish they carry off their catch and bake the whole of it upon the rocks which are inclined towards the south. And since these stones are red-hot because of the very great heat, they leave the fish there for only a short time and then turn them over, and then, picking them up bodily by the tail, they shake them. And the meat, which has become tender by reason of the warmth, falls away, but the backbones are cast into a single spot and form a great heap, being collected for a certain use of which we shall speak a little later. Then placing the meat upon a smooth stone they carefully tread upon it for a sufficient length of time and mix with it the fruit of the Christ’s thorn; for when this has been thoroughly worked into the meat the whole of it becomes a glutinous mass, and it would appear that this takes the place among them of a relish. Finally, when this has been well trodden, they mould it into little oblong bricks and place them in the sun; and after these have become thoroughly dry they sit down and feast upon them, eating not according to any measure or weight but according to every man’s own wish, inasmuch as they make their physical desire the bounds of their indulgence. For they have at all times stores which are unfailing and ready for use, as though Poseidon had assumed the task of Demeter.

1 A shrub of the buckthorn family.
DIODORUS OF SICILY

"Ενίστε δὲ τηλικούτων ἐκ τοῦ πελάγους εἰς τὴν χέρσον κυλινδεῖται κύμα καὶ τὰς βαχίας ἐφ' ἡμέρας πολλὰς κατακλύζει λάβρων,1 ὥστε μηδένα δύνασθαι τοῖς τόποις προσεγγίσειν. διόπερ κατὰ τούτους τοὺς καιροὺς σπανίζοντες τροφῆς τὸ μὲν πρῶτον τοὺς κόγχους συντελέσασθαι, τηλικούτους τὸ μέγεθος ὡν εὐρίσκονταί τινες τετραμναίοι· τὰ μὲν γὰρ κύτη συντρίβοντο λίθους εὐμεγέθεις ἐμβάλλοντες, τὴν δ' ἐντὸς σάρκα κατεσθίουσιν ώμην, τῆς γεύσεως οὔσης παρεμφεροῦσ τοῖς ὀστρέοισι.

6 ἔταν δὲ διὰ τὴν συνέχειαν τῶν πνευμάτων ἐπὶ πλείονα χρόνον πλῆθεις συμβαίνῃ τὸν ὥκεανόν, καὶ τὴν εἰσθανίαν θήραν τῶν ἴχθυων ἐκκλείσῃ τὸ τῆς περιστάσεως ἀδύνατον, ἐπὶ τοὺς κόγχους, ὡς εἰρητικός, τρέπονται. εἰ δὲ ἡ ἐκ τῶν κόγχων τροφὴ σπανίζει, καταφεύγουσιν ἐπὶ τῶν ἀκανθῶν σωρὸν. ἔκ τούτου γὰρ ἐκλέγοντες τὰς ἐγχύλους καὶ προσφάτους τῶν ἀκανθῶν διαιροῦσι κατ' ἄρθρον, καὶ ταῖς μὲν αὐτόθεν τοῖς ὀδοῦσι κατεργάζονται, τὰς δὲ σκληρὰς λίθους θραύσουσι καὶ προϋπεργαζόμενοι κατεσθίουσι, παραπλησίαν διάθεσιν ἔχοντες τοῖς φωλεύουσι τῶν θηρίων.

7. Τῆς μὲν οὐν ἐξηρᾶς τροφῆς τὸν εἰρημένον τρόπον εὐποροῦσι, τῆς δ' ὑγρᾶς παράδοξον ἔχουσι καὶ παντελῶς ἀπιστομείνην τὴν χρῆσιν. ταῖς μὲν γὰρ θηρίας προσκαρτεροῦσιν ἐφ' ἡμέρας τέταρας, εὐσκεύουσιν παιδημεῖ μεθ' ἑλαρότητος καὶ ταῖς ἀνάρθρους ὡδαῖς ἀλλήλους ψυχαγωγοῦντες· πρὸς δὲ τούτοις ἐπιμίσγονται τότε ταῖς γυναικῶις αἴσ ἀν τύχωσι παιδοποιίας ἑνεκα, πάσης ἀσχολίας

1 For λάβρων Vogel suggests λάβρως (ch. 15. 4).
But at times a tidal wave of such size rolls in from the sea upon the land, a violent wave that for many days submerges the rocky shores, that no one can approach those regions. Consequently, being short of food at such times, they at first gather the mussels, which are of so great a size that some of them are found that weigh four minas; that is, they break their shells by throwing huge stones at them and then eat the meat raw, its taste resembling somewhat that of oysters. And whenever it comes to pass that the ocean is high for a considerable period because of the continued winds, and the impossibility of coping with that state of affairs prevents them from making their usual catch of fish, they turn, as has been said, to the mussels. But if the food from the mussels fails them, they have recourse to the heap of backbones; that is, they select from this heap such backbones as are succulent and fresh and take them apart joint by joint, and then they grind some at once with their teeth, though the hard ones they first crush with rocks and thus prepare them before they eat them, their level of life being much the same as that of the wild beasts which make their homes in dens.

17. Now as for dry food they get an abundance of it in the manner described, but their use of wet food is astonishing and quite incredible. For they devote themselves assiduously for four days to the sea-food they have caught, the whole tribe feasting upon it merrily while entertaining one another with inarticulate songs; and furthermore, they lie at this time with any women they happen to meet in order to beget children, being relieved of every concern

1 About five pounds.  2 i.e. "solid."
DIODORUS OF SICILY

ἀπολελυμένοι διὰ τὴν εὐκοπίαν καὶ τὴν ἐτοιμότητα
2 τῆς τροφῆς. τῇ δὲ πέμπτῃ πρὸς τὴν ὑπώρειαν ἐπείγονται πανδήμει ποτοῦ χάριν, ἐνθα συρρύσεις ὑδάτων γλυκέων εἰσὶ, πρὸς αἰς οἱ νομάδες τὰς
3 ἀγέλαις τῶν θρεμμάτων ποτίζουσιν. η δὲ ὀδοπορία τούτων παραπλήσιος γίνεται ταῖς ἀγέλαις τῶν βων, πάντων φωνὴν ἀφιέντων οὐκ ἔναρθρον, ἀλλὰ ἥχου μόνον ἀποτελοῦσαν. τῶν δὲ τέκνων τὰ μὲν νήπια παντελῶς αἱ μητέρες ἐν ταῖς ἀγκάλαις φέρουσι, τὰ δὲ κεκωρισμένα τοῦ γάλακτος οἱ πατέρες, τὰ δ’ ὑπὲρ πενταετῆ χρόνον ὀντα προάγει μετὰ τῶν γονέων σὺν παιδία, πεπληρωμένα χαρᾶς, ὡς ἂν πρὸς τὴν ἡδοτὴν ἀπόλαυσιν ὀρμῶ-μενα. η γὰρ φύσις αὐτῶν ἀδιάστροφος οὖσα τὴν ἀναπληρώσιν τῆς ἐνδείας ἤγείται μέγιστον ἀγαθῶν, οὐδὲν τῶν ἐπεισάκτων ἠδεών ἐπιζητούσα. ὅταν δὲ ταῖς τῶν νομάδων ποτίστραις ἐγχύσωσι καὶ τοῦ ποτοῦ πληρωθῶσι 1 τὰς κοιλίας, ἐπανερ-χονται, μόνης βαδίζοντες διὰ τὸ βάρος. κακεῖνην μὲν τὴν ἡμέραν οὐδενὸς γενόνται, κεῖται δ’ ἐκαστὸς ὑπεργέμων καὶ δύσπονως καὶ τὸ σύνολον παρεμφερῆς τῷ μεθύντι. τῇ δ’ ἐξῆς ἐπὶ τὴν ἀπὸ τῶν ἰχθυῶν πάλιν τροφῆν ἀνακάμπτουσι καί τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον ἡ δίαιτα κυκλεῖται παρ’ αὐτοῖς πάντα τοῦ τοῦ ἔξιν χρόνων.

Οἱ μὲν οὖν τὴν παράλιον τὴν ἐντὸς τῶν στενῶν κατοικοῦντες οὕτω βιοῦσι, νόσοις μὲν διὰ τὴν ἀπλότητα τῆς τροφῆς σπανίως περιπίπτοντες, ὀλιγοχρωνίτεροι δὲ πολύ τῶν παρ’ ἡμῖν ὄντες.

18. Τοῖς δὲ τὴν ἐκτὸς τοῦ κόλπου καράλιον νεμομέ-

1 Dindorf suggests πληρώσωσι.
because their food is easily secured and ready at hand. But on the fifth day the whole tribe hurries off in search of drink to the foothills of the mountains, where there are springs of sweet water at which the pastoral folk water their flocks and herds. And their journey thither is like that of herds of cattle, all of them uttering a cry which produces, not articulate speech, but merely a confused roaring. As for their children, the women carry the babies continually in their arms, but the fathers do this after they have been separated from their milk, while those above five years of age lead the way accompanied by their parents, playing as they go and full of joy, as though they were setting out for pleasure of the sweetest kind. For the nature of this people, being as yet unperverted, considers the satisfying of their need to be the greatest possible good, desiring in addition none of the imported pleasures. And so soon as they arrive at the watering-places of the pastoral folk and have their bellies filled with the water, they return, scarcely able to move because of the weight of it. On that day they taste no food, but everyone lies gorged and scarcely able to breathe, quite like a drunken man. The next day, however, they turn again to the eating of the fish; and their way of living follows a cycle after this fashion throughout their lives.

Now the inhabitants of the coast inside the Straits lead the kind of life which has been described, and by reason of the simplicity of their food they rarely are subject to attacks of disease, although they are far shorter-lived than the inhabitants of our part of the world.

18. But as for the inhabitants of the coast outside
Diocletian's corean ad naturam paucum videmus esse opus omnino, quae
demant cumque dolorem. (Therefore we see that few things
altogether are necessary for the bodily nature, only such in
each case as take pain away."

1 The Epicurean doctrine. Cp. Lucretius 2. 20-1: ergo cor-
poream ad naturam paucum videmus esse opus omnino, quae
demant cumque dolorem. (Therefore we see that few things
altogether are necessary for the bodily nature, only such in
each case as take pain away"); tr. of Rouse.)

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the gulf, we find that their life is far more astonishing than that of the people just described, it being as though their nature never suffers from thirst and is insensible to pain. For although they have been banished by fortune from the inhabited regions into the desert, they fare quite well from their catch of the fish, but wet food they do not require. For since they eat the fish while it is yet juicy and not far removed from the raw state, they are so far from requiring wet food that they have not even a notion of drinking. And they are content with that food which was originally allotted to them by fortune, considering that the mere elimination of that pain which arises from want (of food) is happiness.¹

But the most surprising thing of all is, that in lack of sensibility they surpass all men, and to such a degree that what is recounted of them is scarcely credible. And yet many merchants of Egypt, who sail, as is their practice, through the Red Sea down to this day and have often sailed as far as the land of the Ichthyophagi, agree in their accounts with what we have said about the human beings who are insensible to pain. The third Ptolemy ² also, who was passionately fond of hunting the elephants which are found in that region, sent one of his friends named Simmias to spy out the land; and he, setting out with suitable supplies, made, as the historian Agatharchides of Cnidus asserts, a thorough investigation of the nations lying along the coast. Now he ³ says that the nation of the “insensible” Ethiopians ⁴

² Ptolemy Euergetes I, who reigned 246–221 B.C.
³ i.e. Agatharchides, who is the chief source of Diodorus in this section of his work; cp. Agatharchides, 41 (Müller).
⁴ The Ethiopians of the east; cp. Book 2. 22. 2 and note.
Diodorus of Sicily

**εὖνος τὸ σύνολον ποτὶ μὴ χρήσθαι, μηδὲ τὴν φύσιν αὐτῶν ἐπιζητεῖν διὰ τὰς προειρημένας 5 αἰτίας. καθόλου δὲ ἀποφαίνεται μὴ εἰς σύλλογον ἔρχεσθαι πρὸς τοὺς ἀλλοεθνεῖς, μήτε τὸ ἔξον τῆς ὀψεως τῶν προσπλεόντων κινεῖν τοὺς ἐγχωρίους, ἀλλ' ἐμβλέποντας ἀτενῶς ἀπαθεῖς ἔχειν καὶ ἀκινήτους τὰς αἰσθήσεις, ὡς ἄν 1 μηδενὸς παρόντος. οὔτε γὰρ ξίφος σπασμένου τινὸς καὶ καταφέροντος ὑπεξέφυγον, οὔθε ἤβριν οὐδὲ 2 πληγᾶς ὑπομένουτες ἠρεθίζοντο, τὸ τε πλῆθος οὐ συνηγανάκτει τοῖς πάσχοισιν, ἀλλ' ἐνίοτε τέκνων ἡ γυναικῶν σφατομένων ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς ἀπαθεῖς ταῖς διαθέσεσιν ἔμενον, οὕδεμιᾶν ἐμφασιν ὀργῆς ἡ πάλιν ἐλέους 6 διδόντες. καθόλου δὲ τοὺς ἐκπληκτικωτάτους δεινοὺς περιπλήκτοντες ἠρεμαῖοι διεμένον, βλέποντες μὲν ἀτενῶς εἰς τὰ συντελοῦμενα, ταῖς δὲ κεφαλαῖς παρ' ἐκαστα διανεῦοντες. διὸ καὶ φασιν αὐτοὺς διαλέκτω μὲν μὴ χρήσθαι, μιμητικῇ δὲ δηλώσει διὰ τῶν χειρῶν διασημαίνειν ἐκαστα τῶν πρὸς τὴν 7 χρείαν ἄνηκόντων. καὶ τὸ πάντων θαύμασιωτάτον, φῶκαι τοῖς γένεσι τούτοις συνδιατρίβουσαι θῆραν ποιοῦντας τῶν ἰχθῶν καθ' αὐτάς παραπλησίως ἀνθρώπους. ὅμοιος δὲ καὶ περὶ τὰς κοίτας καὶ τὴν τῶν γεννηθέντων ἀσφάλειαν μεγίστη πίστει τὰ γένη χρήσθαι ταῦτα πρὸς ἄλληλα: χωρὶς γὰρ ἀδικήματος ἀλλοφύλοις ἵπποις ἡ συναναστροφὴ γίνεται μετ' εἰρήνης καὶ πάσης εὐλαβείας. Οὕτως μὲν οὖν ὁ βίως, καίπερ ὁν παράδοξος, ἐκ παλαιῶν χρόνων τετήρηται τοῖς γένεσι τούτοις, εἰτε ἐθισμῷ

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1 ὁν deleted by Vogel.
2 οὐδὲ Dindorf: οὔτε.
makes no use whatsoever of drink and that their nature does not require it for the reasons given above. And as a general thing, he relates, they have no intercourse with other nations nor does the foreign appearance of people who approach their shores have any effect upon the natives, but looking at them intently they show no emotion and their expressions remain unaltered, as if there were no one present. Indeed when a man drew his sword and brandished it at them they did not turn to flight, nor, if they were subjected to insult or even to blows, would they show irritation, and the majority were not moved to anger in sympathy with the victims of such treatment; on the contrary, when at times children or women were butchered before their eyes they remained “insensible” in their attitudes, displaying no sign of anger or, on the other hand, of pity. In short, they remained unmoved in the face of the most appalling horrors, looking steadfastly at what was taking place and nodding their heads at each incident. Consequently, they say, they speak no language, but by movements of the hands which describe each object they point out everything they need. And the most marvellous fact of all is that seals live with these tribes and catch the fish for themselves in a manner similar to that employed by the human beings. Likewise with respect to their lairs and the safety of their offspring these two kinds of beings place the greatest faith in one another; for the association with animals of a different species continues without any wrongdoing and with peace and complete observance of propriety. Now this manner of life, strange as it is, has been observed by these tribes from very early times, whether it
DIODORUS OF SICILY

dia tov xronon eite anagkai a xreia dia to kate-
peignon hrmosménos.

19. Oi kíseis de ta éthn oux ómoeis chrítai, prós
de tas tis peristásseis idióttas dihlagraménas
émbiouni. tinès mèn gar en sthaliais katoikoudi
kekliménois màlista prós tas árkton, en oix
katafýghousin éautous dià te to básos tis skias
cai dià tas peripneússas áéra; ta mèn gar prós
meseermíaan neýonta, tois íppnois paraplēsían
échonta tin thermania, ápróita tois ánthropoì
2 esti dia tin toû kau mátos úperbolhî. oi de twôn
prós árkton neýontôn sthalaión spaniékontes
áthroiçousi tas pleuðas toû èk toû pe lágon
ékpinonton khtôn. tîs de twôn dafileías
polhês ouðîs, kataplézontes èx èkataérou mérrou
kurtas kai1 prós allhìas neveukíaas, tw pro-
fratw fúkei taútas diaplékonoi. sketapazonènhs
ouden tis kamaðas, èn taúth to bárútaton toû
kau mátos anapauîntai, tîs kata fúsun xreias
autodidaktôn téchnh úphiagnènhs.

3 Tritos de trópons esti tois 'Ikhvofágous tis
skhnwseis touýtos. élaiai2 fúontai páñv polliác
peri toûs tópous touútus, tw mèn peri tîn rízav
ékousai prosaklyzómena tî ðalátt, pávnai de
toîs fylláwmast, tw de karpoù òmoin ékousai tw

1 kurtas kai ABD, Wesseling, Eichstdt; kurtas FGMN,
Dindorf, Bekker, Vogel.
2 élaiai Casaubon, cp. Agatharchides, 43; Capps suggests
élaiai tînes for élatai of the MSS.

1 Diodorus evidently refers to the interweaving of the
rib-ends at the top, like the poles of the tepee or wigwam of
the American Indian.

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has been fashioned by habit over the long space of time or by a need imposed by necessity because of stress of circumstances.

19. As for their dwelling-places, those used by these tribes are not all similar, but they inhabit homes modified to suit the peculiar nature of their surroundings. For instance, certain of them make their home in caves which open preferably towards the north and in which they cool themselves, thanks to the deep shade and also to the breezes which blow about them; since those which face the south, having as they do a temperature like that of an oven, cannot be approached by human beings because of the excessive heat. But others who can find no caves facing the north collect the ribs of the whales which are cast up by the sea; and then, since there is a great abundance of these ribs, they interweave them\(^1\) from either side, the curve outwards and leaning towards each other, and then weave fresh seaweed through them\(^2\). Accordingly, when this vaulted structure is covered over, in it they gain relief from the heat when it is most intense, the necessity imposed by Nature suggesting to them a skill in which they were self-taught.

A third method by which the Ichthyophagi find a dwelling for themselves is as follows. Olive trees\(^3\) grow about these regions in very great numbers and their roots are washed by the sea, but they bear thick foliage and a fruit which resembles the sweet

\(^1\) Or "olive trees of a kind"; see critical note. Since the fruit is quite different the emendation seems justified.

\(^2\) Strabo (15. 2. 2) also says that their dwellings were made of whale ribs; cp. his account (15. 2. 11-13) of the "spouting whales" of the Persian Gulf (tr. by Jones in the L.C.L.).

\(^3\) Strabo (15. 2. 2) also says that their dwellings were made of whale ribs; cp. his account (15. 2. 11-13) of the "spouting whales" of the Persian Gulf (tr. by Jones in the L.C.L.).
κασταναϊκῷ ¹ καρύῳ. ταῦτα ἄλληλαις συμπλέκοντες καὶ συνεχῇ σκιάν πολοῦντες ἵδιαζοῦσαις σκηναῖς ἑμβιοῦσιν· ἄμα γὰρ ἐν γῇ καὶ θαλάττῃ διατρίβοντες ἐπιτερψῶς διεξάγουσι, τὸν μὲν ἦλιον φεύγοντες τῇ διὰ τῶν ἀκρεμόνων σκιά, τὸ δὲ φυσικὸν περὶ τοὺς τόπους καῦμα τῇ συνεχεῖ τοῦ κύματος προσκλύσει διορθούμενοι, ταῖς δὲ περιπνοαῖς τῶν εὐκαίρων ἀνέμων εἰς βαστώνην ἄγοντες τὰ σώματα.

Ῥητέον δ’ ἤμιν καὶ περὶ τοῦ τετάρτου μέρους τῆς}

σκηνώσεως. ἐκ γὰρ τοῦ παντὸς αὐ̂θεν σεσώρευται τοῦ μνίου φόρτος ἀπλατος, ὁρεὶ παρεμφερῆς· οὕτως ὑπὸ τῆς συνεχοῦς τοῦ κύματος πληγῆς πεπλημένος τὴν φύσιν ἔχει στερέμνου καὶ συμπεπληγμένην ἄμμω. ἐν τούτοις οὖν τοῖς ἁναστήμασιν ὑπονόμους ἀνδρομήκεις ὀρύττοντες, τὸν μὲν κατὰ κορυφὴν τόπον ἐώσι στέγην, κάτωθεν δ’ αὐλῶνας παραμήκεις καὶ πρὸς ἄλληλους συντετρήμενος κατασκευάζουσιν. ἐν δὲ τούτοις ἀναφύχοντες ἐαυτοὺς ἀλύπους κατασκευάζουσι, καὶ κατὰ τὰς ἐπικλύσεις τῶν κυμάτων ἐκπηδῶντες περὶ τὴν θῆραν τῶν ἰχθύων ἀσχολοῦνται. ὅταν δὲ ἁμπωτὶς γένηται, κατευναχθούμενοι ² τὰ λιθόθεντα συμφεύγουσι πάλιν εἰς τοὺς προειρημένους αὐλῶνας.

τοὺς δὲ τελευτησαντας θάπτουσι κατὰ μὲν τὸν τής ἁμπώτεως καιρὸν ἐώιντες ἐρρυμένους, ὅταν δ’ ἡ πλημμυρίς ἐπέλθῃ, ῥήττουσιν εἰς τὴν θάλατταν τὰ σώματα. διὸ καὶ τὴν ἰδίαν ταφὴν τροφὴν τῶν

¹ κασταναϊκῷ  Eichstädt: κασταϊνῳ.
² So Eichstädt: κατευναχθούμενοι.
chestnut. These trees they interlace, forming in this way a continuous shade, and live in tents of this peculiar kind; for passing their days as they do on land and in the water at the same time, they lead a pleasurable life, since they avoid the sun by means of the shade cast by the branches and offset the natural heat of the regions with the continual washing of the waves against them, giving their bodies comfort and ease by the pleasant breezes which blow about them.

We must speak also about the fourth kind of habitation. From time immemorial there has been heaped up a quantity of seaweed of tremendous proportions, resembling a mountain, and this has been so compacted by the unceasing pounding of the waves that it has become hard and intermingled with sand. Accordingly, the natives dig in these heaps tunnels of the height of a man, leaving the upper portion for a roof, and in the lower part they construct passage-ways connected with each other by borings. As they cool themselves in these tunnels they free themselves from all troubles, and leaping forth from them at the times when the waves pour over the shore they busy themselves with the catching of the fish; then, when the ebb-tide sets in, they flee back together into these same passage-ways to feast upon their catch. Their dead, moreover, they "bury" by leaving the bodies just as they are cast out at the ebb of the tide, and then when the flood-tide sets in they cast the bodies into the sea. Consequently, by making their own interment a

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1 This custom and the following about the disposal of the dead is recounted by Strabo (16. 4. 14) in connection with the "Turtle-eaters."

2 i.e. without formal burial.
20. Εν δὲ γένος τῶν Ἰχθυοφάγων τοιοῦτος ἔχει τὰς οἰκήσεις οὕστε πολλὴν ἀπορίαν παρέχεσθαι τοῖς τὰ τοιαύτα φιλοτιμούμενοι ζητεῖν: ἐν γὰρ ἀποκρήμνοις φάραγξι καθιδρυνταὶ τίνες, εἰς ἂς ἕξ ἀρχῆς ἤν ἁδύνατον παραβάλλειν τοὺς ἀνθρώπους, ἀνωθέν μὲν ἐπεχούσης πέτρας υψηλῆς καὶ πανταχόθεν ἀποτόμου, ἐκ πλαγίων δὲ κρημνῶν ἀπροσίτων υφαιρουμένων τὰς παρόδους, τὴν δὲ λοιπὴν πλευρὰν τοῦ πελάγους ὀρίζοντο, ὃ πεζῇ μὲν διελθεῖν ἁδύνατον, σχεδίαις δὲ οὐ χρώνται τὸ παράπαν, πλοίων τε τῶν παρ᾽ ἦμῖν υπάρχουσιν ἀνεννητοῖ.  

2 τοιαύτης δὲ ἀπορίας περὶ αὐτοῦς οὐσίας, ὑπολείπεται λέγειν αὐτόχθονας αὐτοὺς ὑπάρχειν, ἀρχήν μὲν τοῦ πρώτου γένους μηδεμιὰν ἐσχήκοτας, ἀεὶ δὲ ἕξ αἰῶνος γεγονότας, καθάπερ ἔνιοι τῶν φυσιολόγων περὶ πάντων τῶν φυσιολογουμένων ἀπεφήνατο.  

3 ἀλλὰ γὰρ περὶ μὲν τῶν τοιούτων ἀνεφίκτου τῆς ἐπινοίας ἦμῖν οὖσις οὖδὲν κωλὺς τοὺς τὰ πλεῖστα ἀποφημαμένους ἐλάχιστα γινώσκειν, ὡς ἄν τῆς ἐν τοῖς λόγοις πιθανότητος τῆς μὲν ἀκοῆς πειθοῦσις, τὴν δ᾽ ἀλήθειαν οὐδαμώς εὐρίσκουσις.  

21. Ῥητέων δ᾽ ἦμῖν καὶ περὶ τῶν καλουμένων Χελωνοφάγων, ὅν τρόπον ἔχουσι τὴν ἀληθὴ διάθεσιν τοῦ βίου. νῆσοι γὰρ εἰς κατὰ τὸν ὀκεανὸν πλησίον τῆς γῆς κείμεναι, πολλαὶ μὲν τὸ πλῆθος, μικραὶ δὲ τοῖς μεγέθεσι καὶ ταπειναί, καρπὸν δὲ οὐθ᾽ ἢμερον οὗτ᾽ ἄγριον ἔχουσιν. ἐν ταύταις διὰ τὴν πυκνότητα κύμα μὲν οὐ γίνεται, τὸν κλύδωνος

1 Cp. Book 1. 6. 2.
nutriment of the fish, they have a life which follows in singular fashion a continuous cycle throughout all eternity.

20. One tribe of the Ichthyophagi has dwellings so peculiar that they constitute a great puzzle to men who take a pride in investigating such matters; for certain of them make their homes among precipitous crags which these men could not possibly have approached at the outset, since from above there overhangs a lofty rock, sheer at every point, while on the sides unapproachable cliffs shut off entrance, and on the remaining face the sea hems them in, which cannot be passed through on foot, and they do not use rafts at all, while of boats such as we have they have no notion. Such being the puzzle concerning them, the only solution left to us is that they are autochthonous, and that they experienced no beginning of the race they originally sprang from, but existed always from the beginning of time, as certain natural philosophers have declared to be true of all the phenomena of nature. But since the knowledge of such matters is unattainable by us, nothing prevents those who have the most to say about them from knowing the least, inasmuch as, while plausibility may persuade the hearing, it by no means discovers the truth.

21. We must speak also about the Chelonophagi, as they are called, and the nature of their entire manner of life. There are islands in the ocean, which lie near the land, many in number, but small in size and low-lying, and bearing no food either cultivated or wild. Because these islands are so near to one another no waves occur among them,

2 Turtle-eaters; cp. Strabo 16. 4. 14 ff.
θραυσμένου περὶ τὰς ἄκρας τῶν νῆσων, χελώνων δὲ
θαλαττῶν πλῆθος ἐνδιατρίβει περὶ τοὺς τόπους
tούτους, πανταχόθεν καταφεύγων πρὸς τὴν ἐκ
2 τῆς γαλήνης σκέπην. αὐτὴ δὲ τὰς μὲν νύκτας ἐν
βυθῷ διατρίβουσι ἀσχολούμεναι περὶ τὴν νομῇν,
tὰς δὲ ἡμέρας εἰς τὴν ἀνὰ μέσον τῶν νῆσων θάλατ-
tαν φοιτῶσαν κοιμῶνται μετέωροι τοὺς κύτεσι
πρὸς τὸν ἥλιον, παρεμφερή τὴν πρόσωπην ποιοῦσαι
ταῖς κατεστραμμέναις ἀκάτοις. ἔξαίσιοι γὰρ τοῖς
μεγέθεσιν ὑπάρχουσι καὶ τῶν ἐλαχίστων ἀλιάδων
3 οὐκ ἐλάττουσ. οἱ δὲ τὰς νῆσους κατοικοῦντες
βάρβαροι κατὰ τοῦτον τὸν καρπὸν ἡρέμα προση-
χούνται ταῖς χελώναις. πρὸς ἐκάτερον δὲ μέρος
πλησίασάντες, οἱ μὲν πιέζουσιν, οἱ δὲ ἐξαιροῦσιν,
4 ἔως ἄν ὑπτιόν γένηται τὸ ζώον. ἔπειθ' οἱ μὲν
ἐξ ἐκάτερον μέρους οἰκιζοῦσι τὸν ὅλον ὄγκον,
ιία μὴ στραφεῖν τὸ ζώον καὶ νηζάμενον τῷ τῆς
φύσεως βοηθήματι φύγῃ κατὰ βάθους, εἰς δ' ἐχὼν
μέριμνα μακράν καὶ δῆσας τῆς οὐρᾶς νήχεται πρὸς
τὴν γῆν καὶ προσελκυεῖ μετάγων τὸ ζώον ἐπὶ τὴν
χέρσον, συμπαρακομιζομένων τῶν ἐξ ἀρχῆς τῆν
5 ἐπίθεσιν πεποιημένων. ὅταν δ' εἰς τὴν νῆσον
ἐκκομίσωσι, τὰ μὲν ἐντὸς πάντα βραχὺν χρόνον ἐν
ήλιῳ παροπτῆσαντες κατευχοῦνται, τοῖς δὲ
κύτεσιν οὖσι σκαφοειδεῖς χρωνίν τρὸς τε τὸν εἰς
τὴν ἡπείρου διάπλουν, ὄν ποιοῦντας τῆς ὕδρειας
ἐνεκεν, καὶ πρὸς τὰς σκηνώσεις, τιθέντες πρηνεῖς
ἐφ' ὑφηλῶν τόπων, ὡστε δοκεῖν τούτοις τὴν
φύσιν δεδωρηθῆσαι μιᾶς χάριτι πολλὰς χρείας.

1 ὁπ added by Dindorf.
since the surf breaks upon the outermost islands, and so a great multitude of sea-turtles tarry in these regions, resorting thither from all directions to gain the protection offered by the calm. These animals spend the nights in deep water busied with their search for food, but during the days they resort to the sea which lies between the islands and sleep on the surface with their upper shells towards the sun, giving to the eye an appearance like that of overturned boats; for they are of extraordinary magnitude and not smaller than the smallest fishing skiffs. And the barbarians who inhabit the islands seize the occasion and swim quietly out to the turtles; and when they have come near the turtle on both sides, those on the one side push down upon it while those on the other side lift it up, until the animal is turned over on its back. Then the men, taking hold on both sides, steer the entire bulk of the creature, to prevent it from turning over and making its escape into the deep water by swimming with the means with which Nature has endowed it, and one man with a long rope, fastening it to its tail, swims towards the land, and drawing the turtle along after him he hauls it to the land, those who had first attacked it assisting him in bringing it in. And when they have got the turtles upon the shore of their island, all the inside meat they bake slightly for a short time in the sun and then feast upon it, but the upper shells, which are shaped like a boat, they use both for sailing over to the mainland, as they do in order to get water, and for their dwellings, by setting them right side up upon elevations, so that it would appear that Nature, by a single act of favour, had bestowed upon these peoples the
Diodorus of Sicily

6. Οὐ μακρὰν δὲ τοῦτων διεστῶτες νέμονται τὴν παράλιον βάρβαροι βίον ἀνώμαλον ἔχοντες. δια- 
τρέφονται γὰρ ἀπὸ τῶν ἐκπιπτόντων εἰς τὴν 
χέρσον κητῶν, ποτὲ μὲν δαιμόλειαν τροφῆς ἔχοντες 
διὰ τὰ μεγέθη τῶν εὐρισκομένων θηρίων, ποτὲ δὲ 
διαλειμμάτων γυνομένων κακῶς ἀπαλλάττουσιν 
ὑπὸ τῆς ἐνδείας· καθ’ ὅπερ δὴ χρόνον ἀναγκάζονται 
κατεργάζεσθαι διὰ τὴν ὁπάνω τῶν ἀρχαίων 
῾οστῶν χόνδρους καὶ τὰς ἀκραῖς τῶν πλευρῶν 
ἐκφύσεις.

Τῶν μὲν οὖν Ἱχθυοφάγων τὰ γένη τοσαῦτ’ 
ἐστὶ καὶ τοιοῦτοι χρῶνται βίοι, ὥς ἐν κεφαλαίοις 
eίπειν.

22. Ἡ δὲ κατὰ τὴν Βαβυλωνίαν παράλιον συνάπτει 
μὲν ἡμέρων καὶ καταφύτωρ χῶρα, τοσοῦτο δὲ 
ἐστὶ πλῆθος τῶν ἱχθυών τοῖς ἐγχωρίοις ὡστε τοὺς 
ἀναλίσκοντας μὴ δύνασθαι βαδίως περιγενέσθαι 
2 τῆς δαιμόλειας. παρὰ γὰρ τοὺς αἰγιαλοὺς ἵστασι 
καλάμους πυκνοὺς καὶ πρὸς ἀλλήλους διαπέπλεγ- 
μένους, ὡστε τὴν πρόσοψιν εἶναι δικτύων παρὰ 
θάλατταν ἐστηκότι. κατὰ δὲ πάν τὸ 1 ἔργον 
ὑπάρχουσι πυκναὶ θύραι, τῇ μὲν πλοκῇ ταρσώδεις, 
tὰς στροφὰς 2 δὲ ἔχουσι πρὸς τὰς ἐἰς ἐκάτερα τὰ 
μέρη κινήσεις εὐλύτους. ταῦτας ὁ κλύδων φερό-

1 τὸ added by Dindorf.
2 στροφὰς is not known elsewhere in the sense of “hinge” and probably στροφεῖς (i.e. στροφέας) without the article, the reading of C E, is what Diodorus actually wrote.

1 In using the term “Babylonia” Diodorus must be thinking of the satrapy of that name, which included the 144
satisfaction of many needs; for the same gift constitutes for them food, vessel, house and ship.

Not far distant from these people the coast is inhabited by barbarians who lead an irregular life. For they depend for their food upon the whales which are cast up on the land, at times enjoying an abundance of food because of the great size of the beasts which they discover, but at times, when interruptions of the supply occur, they suffer greatly from the shortage; and when the latter is the case they are forced by the scarcity of food to gnaw the cartilages of old bones and the parts which grow from the ends of the ribs.

As for the Ichthyophagi, then this is the number of their tribes and such, speaking summarily, are the ways in which they live.

22. But the coast of Babylonia\(^1\) borders on a land which is civilized and well planted and there is such a multitude of fish for the natives that the men who catch them are unable readily to keep ahead of the abundance of them. For along the beaches they set reeds close to one another and interwoven, so that their appearance is like that of a net which has been set up along the edge of the sea. And throughout the entire construction there are doors which are fixed close together and resemble basket-work\(^2\) in the way they are woven, but are furnished with hinges that easily yield to movements of the water in either direction. These doors are opened by the

north coast of the Persian Gulf and presumably extended down the west coast of the Gulf as far as “the uninhabited portion of Arabia” (cp. Book 18. 6. and below ch. 23. 1).

\(^{2}\) *i.e.* they are closely woven, so as to offer resistance to the water.
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μενος μὲν εἰς τὴν γῆν κατὰ τὸν τῆς πλημμυρίδος καιρὸν ἀνοίγει, παλισσυτῶν δὲ κατὰ τὴν ἄμπωτον

3 ἀποκλείει. διόπερ συμβαίνει καθ' ἑκάστην ἥμεραν πλημμυρούσης μὲν τῆς θαλάττης ἐκ βυθοῦ τοὺς ἵθις συνεκφερομένους διὰ τῶν θυρῶν παρεισπε-πτειν, ἀναχωροῦσης δὲ μὴ δύνασθαι τοῖς ύγροῖς συνδιαρρεῖν διὰ τῆς τῶν καλάμων πλοκῆς. διὸ καὶ παρὰ τὸν ὦκεανὸν ἑνίοτε σωροὺς ἵθις ὑπαρκόντων ὅραν ἔστι γινομένους, οὔς ἀναλεγόμενοι συνεχῶς οἱ πρὸς τούτοις ἑταγμένοι δαμιλεῖς ἀπολαύσεις ἔχουσι καὶ μεγάλας προσόδους. ἔνοι δὲ τῶν περὶ τοὺς τόπους διατριβόντων, πεδιάδος τε καὶ ταπεινῆς τῆς χώρας ύπαρχοῦσης, τάφρος ὁρύττουσιν ἀπὸ θαλάττης εὑρείας ἐπὶ πολλοὺς σταδίους μέχρι ἰδίων ἐπαύλεων, ῥαβδωτάς δὲ θύρας ἐπὶ ἀκρας αὐτὰς ἐπιστήσαντες ἀναβαυνοῦσης μὲν τῆς πλημμυρίδος ἀνοίγουσιν, εἰς δὲ τοῦνατιν ἐπιπτούσης κλείουσιν. ἐστα τῆς μὲν θαλάττης διὰ τῶν τῆς θύρας ἀραινόματων ἀπορρεοῦσης, τῶν δ' ἵθις ἀποληφθέντων ἐν ταῖς τάφροις, ταμεύον-ται καὶ λαμβάνουσιν ὅσους ἀν προιρῶνται καὶ καθ' ὄν ἀν χρόνον βούλωνται.

23. Διεληλυθότες δὲ περὶ τῶν παροικοῦντων τὴν ἀπὸ τῆς Βαβυλωνίας παράλιον ἐως Ἀραβίου κόλπου, περὶ τῶν ἔξης τούτους ἐθνῶν διέξιμεν. κατὰ γὰρ τὴν Αἰθιοπίαν τὴν ὑπὲρ Αἰγύπτου παρὰ τὸν Ἀσαν καλούμενον ποταμὸν παροικεῖ τὸ τῶν Ῥίζοφάγων ἔθνος. ἐκ γὰρ τῶν πλησιοχώρων
waves as they roll towards the shore at the time of flood-tide, and are closed at ebb-tide as they surge back. Consequently it comes about that every day, when the sea is at flood-tide, the fish are carried in from the deep water with the tide and pass inside through the doors, but when the sea recedes they are unable to pass with the water through the interwoven reeds. As a result it is possible at times to see beside the ocean heaps being formed of gasping fish, which are being picked up unceasingly by those who have been appointed to this work, who have from their catch subsistence in abundance as well as large revenues. And some of the inhabitants of these parts, because the country is both like a plain and low-lying, dig wide ditches leading from the sea over a distance of many stades to their private estates, and setting wicker gates at their openings they open these when the flood-tide is coming inland and close them when the tide changes to the opposite direction. Then, inasmuch as the sea pours out through the interstices of the gate but the fish are held back in the ditches, they have a controlled store of fish and can take of them as many as they choose and at whatever time they please.

23. Now that we have discussed the peoples who dwell on the coast from Babylonia to the Arabian Gulf,¹ we shall describe the nations who live next to them. For in the Ethiopia which lies above Egypt there dwells beside the river Asa² the nation of the Rhizophagi.³ For the barbarians here dig

¹ The Red Sea.
² Called Astabara by Agatharchides (On the Red Sea, 50) and Astaboras by Strabo (16. 4. 8).
³ Root-eaters.
ELON 1 TÁS RÍZAS TÓW KALÁMWN ÓRTTONTES OI BÁRBAROΠI PLÚNOUSI PHILOTÍMOS: POUΗΣANTES DE KATHARAS KÓPTTOUSI LÝTHOS, MÉXRI AN GÉΝHTAI TÒ ËRGON LEİON KAI KOLLHÔDES: TÉPEITA PERIPLÁSANTES XEIROPHÝHIAIÔUS ŌNGKOUS EN HILÔW PAROPPTÔŚI, KAI TAUΤH KHRÔMENOI TROΦH ÍAΝTA TÒN BÍON DIATELÔŚIÜN.

2 ÆNEKLEÎPTOUS DÊ ËXONTES TÀS TÍS TROΦH ÍAUNTΗS DΑMILĒIAS, KAI PRÒS ÂLLHΛOÙS ÂEI EÎRHÎNÝH ÆÇONTES, ÏPÒ PΛHÎOUS LEÎONTWN POLEMOÛNTAI: ËMPTHÔN ΓÂR TÒU PÉRIΧ AËROS ÆΟΝΤOS ËK TÎS ËΡHÎMÔU PRÒS AUTOÙS FOIΤÔΣI LEÎONTES SKIAΣ ËNEKEV, OI DE KAI THÎRAS TÔW ELATTÎNÔN ΘΗΡÎWN. DIÔPER TOUS ËK TÔW TELMÂTÔN ËΞÎONTAS TÔN LÎDHIÔTÔN ÏPÒ TÔTÔW TÔW ΘΗΡÎWN ANALÎSKEΣTÂI SUÎMBÆNÝ: ÂDUNATÔΣI ΓÂR ËFÎΣTÂ-

3 AUTÔMATON ËPOÎHΣE BOÎHĪMA. ÏPÒ ΓÂR TÎH ĀNA-

TOLH TÔU KIWÔS PÅRAĐÔZÔS 3 GÎNOΜÎNEΣ νHÎMEIÔS PΕΡΙ TOUS TÔTÔS TOUS TOSΟÜTO PΛHÎOS ÂΘROÎZETAI KΩΝΟÎPÔWN, ÏPÆREΧΟΝ DYNÂMEI TOUS GÎNOΡIΣÔBMÔNÔS, ÏÓΣTÎ TOUS MÊN ÂNTHrôPÔS KATAΦÎGÔNTAS EΙΣ TÀS ELÎDÔSIS LÎMNAS MÎHÎN PÅŚΧEIN, TOUS DE LEÎONTAS ÎAΝTA FÊVÎGEIN ËK TÔN TÔTÔN, ÂMA MÊN ÏPÒ TÔU DÎΓHÎMÔ KAKOUΧΟÎMÔNÔS, ÂMA DE TÔN ÂPÒ TÎH FÎWÎΣΗ HÎΧON KATAPEΠLÎGÎMÔNÔS.

24. 'ΕΠÎMÎNEI 4 DE TÔTÔS EIΣÎN OI TE 'ΙΛΟΦÂYÔI

1 ELON added by Rhodomann but by no other editors; yet cp. Agatharchides (50): ËK TÔU PARÞKÔNÔTOS ELÔS TÀS RÍZAS TÔW KALÁMWN ÓΡTTEE; Strabo 16. 4. 9; Book 2. 36. 5.
2 Ï added by Dindorf.
3 MÎHÎMEΣ after PARAĐÔZÔS deleted by Vogel, but retained by Bekker, Dindorf, who read μÎVÎAΣ (AB) for νHÎMEIÔS.
4 148
up the roots of the reeds which grow in the neighbouring marshes and then thoroughly wash them; and after they have made them clean they crush them with stones until the stuff is without lumps and glutinous; and then, moulding it into balls as large as can be held in the hand, they bake it in the sun and on this as their food they live all their life long. Enjoying as they do the unfailing abundance of this food and living ever at peace with one another, they are nevertheless preyed upon by a multitude of lions; for since the air about them is fiery hot, lions come out of the desert to them in search of shade and in some cases in pursuit of the smaller animals. Consequently it comes to pass that when the Ethiopians come out of the marshy lands they are eaten by these beasts; for they are unable to withstand the might of the lions, since they have no help in the form of weapons, and indeed in the end the race of them would have been utterly destroyed had not Nature provided them with an aid which acts entirely of itself. For at the time of the rising of the dog-star,¹ whenever a calm unexpectedly comes on, there swarms to these regions such a multitude of mosquitoes, surpassing in vigour those that are known to us, that while the human beings find refuge in the marshy pools and suffer no hurt, all the lions flee from those regions, since they not only suffer from their stings but are at the same time terrified by the sound of their humming.

24. Next to these people are the Hylophagi²

¹ Sirius.  ² Wood-eaters.

⁴ ἐπόμενοι Bekker: ἐχόμενοι.
καὶ οἱ Σπερματοφάγοι καλούμενοι. τούτων δ’ οἱ μὲν ὑπὸ τὴν θερείαν τὸν πίπτοντα καρπὸν ἀπὸ τῶν δένδρων οὕτα πολὺν ἀθροίζοντες ἀπόνως διατρέ-φονται, κατὰ δὲ τὸν ἄλλον καϊρὸν τῆς βοτάνης τῆς ἐν ταῖσ σκιαζομέναις συναγκεῖαις 1 φυομένης προσφέρονται τὴν προσηνεστάτην στερεά γὰρ οὕσα τὴν φύσιν, καὶ καυλὸν έχουσα παραπλήσιον ταῖς λεγομέναις 2 βουνιάσιν, ἐκπληροὶ τὴν τῆς ἀναγκαίας τροφῆς ένδειαν. οἱ δὲ Ύλοφάγοι μετὰ τέκνων καὶ γυναικῶν ἐπὶ τὰς νομὰς έξίοντες ἀναβαίνουσιν ἐπὶ τὰ δένδρα καὶ τοὺς ἀπαλοὺς τῶν ἀκρεμόνων προσφέρονται. τοιαύτην δ’ ἐκ τῆς συνεχοῦς μελέ-της τῆς ἐπ’ ἀκροὺς τοὺς κλάδους ἀναδρομὴν ποιούν-ται πάντες οὐστε ἀπιστον εἶναι τὸ γινόμενον· καὶ γὰρ μεταπηδῶσιν αὖ’ ἐτέρου ἐφ’ ἐτερον δένδρον ὅμοιός τοῖς ὀρνέοις, καὶ τὰς ἀναβάσεις ἐπὶ τῶν λεπτοτάτων κλάδων ποιοῦνται χωρίς κυδύνων.

3 ἰσχυότητι γὰρ σώματος καὶ κουφότητι διαφέροντες, ἐπειδὰν τοὺς ποσὶ σφάλλωνται, ταῖς χερσὶν ἀντιλαμβάνονται· καὶ τὸ ὕψος πεσόντες ἀὖ’ ὑψος, οὐδὲν πάσχουσι διὰ τὴν κουφότητα· καὶ πάντα δὲ κλάδον ἐγχυλον τοὺς ὀδοὺς κατεργαζόμενοι πέπτου-σιν εὐκόσις ταῖς κοιλίαις. οὕτως δ’ ἀεὶ βιοῦσι γυμνοὶ μὲν έσθήτος, κοιναῖς δὲ χρώμενοι γυναιξὶν ἀκολούθως καὶ τοὺς γεννηθέντας παιδάς κοινοὺς ἠγούνται. διαπολεμοῦσι δὲ πρὸς ἀλήλους περὶ τῶν τῶν ῥάβδων ὑπλισμένοι, καὶ ταύτας ἀμυνόμενοι τοὺς ἑαυτῶν διασπώσι τοὺς χειρωθέντας. τελευτῶσι δ’ αὐτῶν οἱ πλείστοι λιμῷ καταπονηθέντες, ὅταν

1 σχιζομένης καὶ after συναγκείας deleted by Reiske.
2 λεγομέναις Vogel: γινομέναις.
and the Spermatophagi,\textsuperscript{1} as they are called. The latter gather the fruit as it falls in great abundance from the trees in the summer season and so find their nourishment without labour, but during the rest of the year they subsist upon the most tender part of the plant which grows in the shady glens; for this plant, being naturally stiff and having a stem like the bounias,\textsuperscript{2} as we call it, supplies the lack of the necessary food. The Hylophagi, however, setting out with children and wives in search of food, climb the trees and subsist off the tender branches. And this climbing of theirs even to the topmost branches they perform so well as a result of their continued practice that a man can scarcely believe what they do; indeed they leap from one tree to another like birds and make their way up the weakest branches without experiencing dangers. For being in body unusually slender and light, whenever their feet slip they catch hold instead with their hands, and if they happen to fall from a height they suffer no hurt by reason of their light weight; and every juicy branch they chew so thoroughly with their teeth that their stomachs easily digest them. These men go naked all their life, and since they consort with their women in common they likewise look upon their offspring as the common children of all. They fight with one another for the possession of certain places, arming themselves with clubs, with which they also keep off enemies, and they dismember whomsoever they have overcome. Most of them die from becoming exhausted by hunger, when cataracts form upon

\textsuperscript{1} Seed-eaters, called by Strabo (16. 4. 9) Spermophagi.

\textsuperscript{2} "French turnip," \textit{Brassica Napus}.  

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τῶν ὠμότων ἀπογλαυκωθέντων τὸ σῶμα στερηθῇ
tῆς ἀναγκαίας έκ ταύτης τῆς αἰσθήσεως χρείας.

25. Τὴν δὲ ἐξῆς χώραν τῶν Αἰθίοπων ἐπέχουσιν οἱ καλοῦμενοι Κυνηγοὶ, σύμμετροι μὲν κατὰ τὸ πλῆθος, βίον δ’ οἰκεῖον ἐχοντες τῇ προσηγορίᾳ.

θηριώδους γὰρ οὐσίας τῆς χώρας καὶ παντελῶς λυπρᾶς, ἐτὶ δὲ ὑδάτων ρύσεις ναματιαιῶν ἐχούσης ὀλίγας, καθευδοῦσι μὲν ἐπὶ τῶν δέντρων διὰ τὸν ἀπὸ τῶν θηρίων φάβον, ὑπὸ δὲ τὴν έωθινὴν πρὸς τὰς συρρύσεις τῶν ὑδάτων μεθ’ ὅπλων φοιτῶντες έαυτοὺς ἀποκρύβουσιν εἰς τὴν ὑλήν καὶ σκοπεύουν.

2 σιν ἐπὶ τῶν δέντρων. κατὰ δὲ τὸν τοῦ καύματος καιρὸν, ἐρχομένων βοῶν τε άγριῶν καὶ παρδάλεων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων θηρίων πλῆθος πρὸς τὸ ποτόν, ταῦτα μὲν διὰ τὴν ὑπερβολὴν τοῦ τε καύματος καὶ δίφους λάβρως προσφέρεται τὸ γυρόν, μέχρι ἂν ἐμπλησθῇ, οἱ δ’ Αἰθίοπες, γενομένων αὐτῶν βαρέων καὶ δυσκινήτων, καταπηδῶντες ἀπὸ τῶν δέντρων καὶ χρώμενοι ξύλοις πεπυρακτωμένοι καὶ λίθοις, ἐτί δὲ τοξεύμασι, βαδίας καταπονοῦσι.

κατὰ δὲ συστήματα ταύταις χρώμενοι ταῖς κυνηγίαις σαρκοφαγοῦσι τὰ ληφθέντα, καὶ σπανίως μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν ἀλκυμωτάτων ζώων αὐτοὶ διαφθείρονται, τὰ δὲ πολλὰ δόλω τὴν ἐκ βίας ὑπεροχὴν χειροῦνται. ἔαν δὲ ποτε τῶν κυνηγομένων ζώων σπανίζωσι, τὰς δορὰς τῶν πρότερον εἰλημμενῶν βρέξαντες ἐπιτιθέασιν ἐπὶ πῦρ ἀπαλόν· σποδίσαντες δὲ τὰς τρίχας τὰ δέρματα διαίροντι, καὶ κατεσθιόντες βεβιασμένως ἀναπληροῦσι τὴν ἐνδείαν. τοὺς δὲ ἀνήβους παίδας γυμνάζουσιν ἐπὶ σκοποῦν

1 Hunters.
BOOK III. 24. 4–25. 4

their eyes and the body is deprived of the necessary use of this organ of sense.

25. The next part of the country of the Ethiopians is occupied by the Cynegi,¹ as they are called, who are moderate in number and lead a life in keeping with their name. For since their country is infested by wild beasts and is utterly worthless,² and has few streams of spring water, they sleep in the trees from fear of the wild beasts, but early in the morning, repairing with their weapons to the pools of water, they secrete themselves in the woods and keep watch from their positions in the trees. And at the time when the heat becomes intense, wild oxen and leopards and a multitude of every other kind of beast come to drink, and because of the excessive heat and their great thirst they greedily quaff the water until they are gorged, whereupon the Ethiopians, the animals having become sluggish and scarcely able to move, leap down from the trees, and by the use of clubs hardened in the fire and of stones and arrows easily kill them. They hunt in this way in companies and feed upon the flesh of their prey, and although now and then they are themselves slain by the strongest animals, yet for the most part they master by their cunning the superior strength of the beasts. And if at any time they find a lack of animals in their hunt they soak the skins of some which they had taken at former times and then hold them over a low fire; and when they have singed off the hair they divide the hides among themselves, and on such fare as has been forced upon them they satisfy their want. Their boys they train in shooting at a mark and give

¹ i.e. not suitable for agriculture.

²
βάλλειν, καὶ μόνοις διδόσαι τροφὴν τοῖς ἐπιτυχοῦσιν. διὸ καὶ θαυμαστοὶ ταῖς εὐστοχίαις ἄνδρες γίνονται, κάλλιστα διδασκόμενοι ταῖς τοῦ λιμοῦ πληγαῖς.

26. Ταῦτης δὲ τῆς χώρας εῖς τά πρὸς δυσμάς μέρη πολὺ διεστηκότες Αἰθίόπες ὑπάρχουσι Ἑλε-φαντομάχοι κυνηγοί. νεμόμενοι γὰρ δρυμῶδεις καὶ πυκνοὺς τοὺς δένδρους τόπους παρατηροῦσι τῶν ἐλεφάντων τὰς εἰσόδους καὶ τὰς ἐκτροπάς, σκοπᾶς ἀπὸ τῶν υψηλοτάτων δένδρων ποιούμενοι· καὶ ταῖς μὲν ἀγέλαις αὐτῶν οὐκ ἐπιτίθενται διὰ τὸ μηδεμίαν ἐλπίδα ἐχειν κατορθώσεως, τοῖς δὲ καθ᾽ ἑνα πορευομένοι ἐπιβάλλονται τὰς

2 χεῖρας, παραδόχοις ἐγχειροῦντες τολμήμασιν. ὅταν γὰρ τὸ ἡών διεξίον γένηται κατὰ τὸ δένδρον ἐν ὃ συμβαίνει τῶν σκοπεύοντα κεκρυφθαί, ἀμα τῷ παραλλάττειν τῶν τόπον ταῖς μὲν χερσὶν ἔδραζατο τῆς οὐρᾶς, τοῖς δὲ ποσὶν ἀντέβη πρὸς τὸν ἀριστερὸν μηρὸν· ἔχων δ᾽ ἐκ τῶν ὦμων ἐξηρτημένον πέλεκυν, κούφων μὲν πρὸς τὴν ἀπὸ τῆς μᾶς χειρὸς πληγήν, ὅζων δὲ καθ᾽ ὑπερβολὴν, τούτων λαβόμενος ἐν τῇ δεξιᾷ χειρὶ νευροκοπεῖ τὴν δεξιὰν ἰγνών, πυκνὰς καταφέρων πληγάς καὶ διὰ τῆς ἀριστερᾶς χειρὸς οἰακίζων τὸ ἰδιὸν σώμα. παράδοξον δὲ ὧν ἔστηται τοῖς ἐργοῖς προσφέρουσιν, ὡς ἂν άθλου τῆς ἱδίας ψυχῆς ἐκάστῳ 2 προκειμένου· ἡ γὰρ χειρώσασθαι τὸ ἡών ἢ τελευτῶν αὐτῶν λειτεται, τῆς περιστάσεως οὐκ ἐπιδεχομένης ἔτερον

3 ἀποτέλεσμα. τὸ δὲ νευροκοπηθέν ἡών ποτὲ μὲν διὰ τὴν δυσκίνησιν ἁδύνατον στρέφεσθαι καὶ συνεγκλωμένον ἐπὶ τῶν πεπονθότα τόπον πίπτει

1 διεξίον Dindorf: δεξίον.
2 ἐκάστῳ Reiske: ἐκάστῃ.
food only to those who hit it. Consequently, when they come to manhood, they are marvellously skilled in marksmanship, being most excellently instructed by the pangs of hunger.

26. Far distant from this country towards the parts to the west are Ethiopians known as Elephant-fighters, hunters also. For dwelling as they do in regions covered with thickets and with trees growing close together, they carefully observe the places where the elephants enter and their favourite resorts, watching them from the tallest trees; and when they are in herds they do not set upon them, since they would have no hope of success, but they lay hands on them as they go about singly, attacking them in an astonishingly daring manner. For as the beast in its wandering comes near the tree in which the watcher happens to be hidden, the moment it is passing the spot he seizes its tail with his hands and plants his feet against its left flank; he has hanging from his shoulders an axe, light enough so that a blow may be struck with one hand and yet exceedingly sharp, and seizing this in his right hand he hamstrings the elephant’s right leg, raining blows upon it and maintaining the position of his own body with his left hand. And they bring an astonishing swiftness to bear upon the task, since there is a contest between the two of them for their very lives; for all that is left to the hunter is either to get the better of the animal or to die himself, the situation not admitting another conclusion. As for the beast which has been hamstrung, sometimes being unable to turn about because it is hard for it to move and sinking down on the place where it has been hurt, it falls to the ground and causes the death of the Ethiopian
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καὶ τὸν Αἴθιοπα συναπόλλυσι, ποτὲ δὲ πρὸς πέτραν ἡ δένδρον ἀποθλῦσαν τὸν ἀνθρωπὸν τῷ βάρει πιέζει 4 μέχρι ἃν ἀποκτεῖνῃ. ένοι δὲ τῶν ἐλεφάντων περιάλγεις γινόμενοι τοῦ μὲν ἀμύνεσθαι τὸν ἐπιβουλεύσαντα μακράν ἀφεστήκασι, τὴν δὲ φυγὴν διὰ τοῦ πεδίου πουιντάται, μέχρις ἃν οὐ συνεχῶς δ’ ἐποσβηβηκῶς τύπτων εἰς τὸν αὐτὸν τόπον τῷ πελέκει διακόψας τὰ νεῦρα πουήσῃ πάρετον τὸ ζώον. ὅταν δὲ τὸ ζώον πέσῃ, συντρέχουσι κατὰ συστήματα, καὶ ζωντὸς ἐπὶ βίων τέμνοντες τὰς σάρκας ἐκ τῶν ὀπίσθεν μερῶν εὐωχοῦνται.

27. "Ενοι δὲ τῶν πλησίον κατοικοῦντων χωρίς κυνώνων θηρεύοντο τοὺς ἐλεφάντας τέχνη τῆς βίας περιγινόμενοι. εἰσεθε γὰρ τοῦτο τὸ ζώον, ἐπειδὰν ἀπὸ τῆς νομῆς πληρωθῇ, πρὸς ὑπνὸν καταφέρεσθαι, διαφορὰν ἐχούσης τῆς περὶ αὐτὸ διαθέσεως πρὸς τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν τετραπόδων. οὐ γὰρ δύναται τοῖς γόνασι πρὸς τὴν γῆν συγκαθιέναι τὸν ὄλον ὄγκον, ἀλλὰ πρὸς δένδρον ἀνακλῖθεν ποιεῖται τὴν διὰ τῶν ὑπνῶν ἀνάπαυσιν. διόπερ τὸ δένδρον διὰ τὴν γινομένην πρὸς αὐτὸ πλεονάκις πρόσκλισιν τοῦ ζώου τετριμμένον τὲ ἔστω καὶ ὑπὸν πλῆρες, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις ὑπ’ αὐτὸ τόπος ἰχνῆ τῆς ἐξεί καὶ σημεία πολλά, δι’ ὅν οἱ τὰ ουαῦτα ἐρευνῶντες Αἴθιοπες γνωρίζουσι τὰς τῶν ἐλεφάντων κοίτας. 3 ὅταν οὖν ἐπιτύχωσι τοιούτω δένδρῳ, πρίζουσιν αὐτὸ παρὰ τὴν γῆν, μέχρι ἃν ὀλίγην ἐτι τὴν ῥόπην ἐχῇ πρὸς τὴν πτῶσιν· εἰ δ’ οὖντοι μὲν τὰ σημεία τῆς ἱδίας παρουσίας ἀφανίσαντες ταχέως ἀπαλλάτ-

1 ὁ after προσβεβηκὼς MSS, corrected by Ursinus and adopted by Dindorf, Bekker; Vogel reads προσβεβηκῶς (D) ὁ.

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along with its own, and sometimes squeezing the man against a rock or tree it crushes him with its weight until it has killed him. In some cases, however, the elephant in the extremity of its suffering is far from thinking of turning on its attacker, but flees across the plain until the man who has set his feet upon it, striking on the same place with his axe, has severed the tendons and paralysed the beast. And as soon as the beast has fallen they run together in companies, and cutting the flesh off the hind-quarters of the elephant while it is still alive they hold a feast.

27. But some of the natives who dwell near by hunt the elephants without exposing themselves to dangers, overcoming their strength by cunning. For it is the habit of this animal, whenever it has had its fill of grazing, to lie down to sleep, the manner in which it does this being different from that of all other four-footed animals; for it cannot bring its whole bulk to the ground by bending its knees, but leans against a tree and thus gets the rest which comes from sleep. Consequently the tree, by reason of the frequent leaning against it by the animal, becomes both rubbed and covered with mud, and the place about it, furthermore, shows both tracks and many signs, whereby the Ethiopians who search for such traces discover where the elephants take their rest. Accordingly, when they come upon such a tree, they saw it near the ground until it requires only a little push to make it fall; thereupon, after removing the traces of their own presence, they quickly depart in antici-
tontai, phánontes thn éfodo v tou zómou, ó de éléphas próz thn éspéran émplertheis ths tróphês épi thn synhth katanv kóntin. kataklítheis dé ábrów 1 tò wáрей parafragíma meta ths tou déndrovn fóras épi thn gén katanféretai, peseón d' úppíos ménei thn nukta keímenos dià to thn tou swmatos fúswn ádhamouýrghntov einai prós ánástasov. ói dé príssantes to déndrovn Aítíopes ám' hmera katanvōs, kai xwris kaiándwn apokteíantas ths zómou skhmo- poioúntai peri thn tótpon kai paraímenous méχri an to peptwkos anallwsws.

28. Tóutov dé tòwn genwv và mén prós éspéran mérh katóukouvs Aítíopes ói prosgaroroumenoi Sumoi, tá dé prós mesémbrían keklêmea vêmetai to 2 tòwn Stroúthofágwn gévov. èstì gar par' autóis órnéou tì génov meigmévenh ãxov thn fúswn tw chrésaîw zówv, di' thn ths synthetou téteuxhe pros-*

ηgorías. tóutò dé megeîthei mén ou leîpetai ths megísths eláfou, tov dé avxéna makròn ãxov kai periferéis tás plèvras kai pterwtás ùpo ths fúsewh dédhamouýrghntai. kai kefálion mév ásthenês èxei kai mikrón,3 mérois dé kai kóلوus ùpárxei 3 karteróstaton, dixhîlou ths báseos õúshs. táutto

1 ábrów Dindorf: ábrówos.
2 Bekker suggests Stroúthokamhlofágwn.
3 mikrón Rhodomann: mikrón.

1 Strabo (16. 4. 10) in a similar account of the hunting of elephants says this is because “its legs have a continuous and unbending bone”; cp. a similar account of how the Germans capture the elk of the Hercynian forest in Caesar, Gallic War, 6. 27 (tr. by Edwards in the L.C.L.). J. E. Tennent, The Natural History of Ceylon, pp. 100–106, gives examples of the prevalence of the idea, both in antiquity and the Middle

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pation of the approach of the animal, and towards evening the elephant, filled with food, comes to his accustomed haunt. But as soon as he leans against the tree with his entire weight he at once rolls to the ground along with the tree, and after his fall he remains there lying on his back the night through, since the nature of his body is not fashioned for rising. Then the Ethiopians who have sawn the tree gather at dawn, and when they have slain the beast without danger to themselves they pitch their tents at the place and remain there until they have consumed the fallen animal.

28. The parts west of these tribes are inhabited by Ethiopians who are called Simi, but those towards the south are held by the tribe of the Struthophagi. For there is found among them a kind of bird having a nature which is mingled with that of the land animal, and this explains the compound name it bears. This animal is not inferior in size to the largest deer and has been fashioned by Nature with a long neck and a round body, which is covered with feathers. Its head is weak and small, but it has powerful thighs and legs and its foot is cloven. It is unable to fly in the air.

Ages, that the legs of the elephant had no joints. The facts lying back of the account in our author are that elephants, after wallowing in pools, rub their sides against trees and that they do often sleep leaning against rocks or trees.

2 Flat-nosed.
3 Bird-eaters; but see the following note.
4 Probably a double compound stood above, such as "Struthocamelophagi" (cp. the critical note). The struthocameli (from strouthos, "sparrow," and kamelos, i.e. the "bird like a camel," or the "ostrich") are described in Book 2. 50. 3.
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πέτεσθαι μὲν μετέωρον οὐ δύναται διὰ τὸ βάρος, τρέχει δὲ πάντων ὁκύτατον, μικρὸν ἀκροίς τοῖς ποσὶ τῆς γῆς ἐπιφανῶν· μάλιστα δ᾽ ὅταν κατ᾽ ἀνέμου πνοὰς ἐξαίρῃ τὰς πτέρυγας, ὑπεξάγει καθαπερεῖ τις ναῦς ἱστιοδρομοῦσα· τοὺς δὲ διωκοντας ἀμύνεται διὰ τῶν ποδῶν ἀποσφενδονῶν. ¹

4 παραδόξως λίθους χειροπληθιαῖους. ὅταν δ᾽ ἐν νυκτί διώκηται, ταχὺ συνιζουσών ἑτέρων πτερύγων ἀδυνατεῖ χρήσασθαι τοῖς τῆς φύσεως προτερήμασι, καὶ ῥαδίως καταλαμβανόμενον ἀλίσκεται.

5 τούτων δὲ τῶν ζώων ἀμυνθῶν ὄντων τῷ πλῆθει κατὰ τὴν χώραν, οἱ βάρβαροι παντοδαπὰς μηχανὰς ἐπινοοῦσι κατ᾽ αὐτῶν τῆς θῆρας. ῥαδίως δὲ πολλῶν ἀλισκομένων ταῖς μὲν σαρεί χρώνται πρὸς διάτροφήν, ταῖς δὲ δοραῖ πρὸς ἐσθήτα καὶ στρωμῆν.

6 ὑπὸ δὲ τῶν Σιμῶν ὀνομαζόμενων Ἀθηνόπων πολεμοῦμενοι διακινδυνεύουσι πρὸς τοὺς ἐπιτιθεμένους, ὀπλοὺς ἀμυντήριοις χρώμενοι τοῖς τῶν ὀρύγων κέρασι· ταῦτα δὲ μεγάλα καὶ τμητικὰ καθεστῶτα μεγάλην παρέχεται χρείαν, δαμιλείας οὕσης κατὰ τὴν χώραν διὰ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ἐχόντων αὐτὰ ζώων.

29. Βραχὺ δὲ τούτων ἀπέχοντες Ἀκριδοφάγοι κατοικοῦσι τὰ συνορίζοντα πρὸς τὴν ἐρήμον, ἄνθρωποι μικρότεροι μὲν τῶν ἄλλων, ἵσχυοι δὲ τοῖς ὕγκοις, μέλανες δὲ καθ᾽ ὑπερβολήν. κατὰ γὰρ τὴν ἑαρμηνὴν ὃραν παρ᾽ αὐτοῖς ξέφυροι καὶ λίβες παμμεγέθεις ἐκριπτούσιν ἐκ τῆς ἐρήμου πλῆθος ἀκρίδων ἀμύθητον, τοῖς τε μεγέθεις διαλλάττων καὶ τῇ χρώῃ του πτερώματος εἰδεχθές καὶ ρυπαρόν.

¹ So Wesseling: ἀποσφενδονώσα.
because of its weight, but it runs more swiftly than any other animal, barely touching the earth with the tips of its feet; and especially when it raises its wings adown the blasts of the wind it makes off like a ship under full sail; and it defends itself against its pursuers by means of its feet, hurling, as if from a sling, in an astonishing manner, stones as large as can be held in the hand. But when it is pursued at a time of calm, its wings quickly collapse, it is unable to make use of the advantages given it by Nature, and being easily overtaken it is made captive. And since these animals abound in the land in multitude beyond telling, the barbarians devise every manner of scheme whereby to take them; moreover, since they are easily caught in large numbers, their meat is used for food and their skins for clothing and bedding. But being constantly warred upon by the Ethiopians known as "Simi," they are in daily peril from their attackers, and they use as defensive weapons the horns of gazelles; these horns, being large and sharp, are of great service and are found in abundance throughout the land by reason of the multitude of the animals which carry them.

29. A short distance from this tribe on the edge of the desert dwell the Acridophagi, men who are smaller than the rest, lean of body, and exceeding dark. For among them in the spring season strong west and south-west winds drive out of the desert a multitude beyond telling of locusts, of great and unusual size and with wings of an ugly, dirty colour.

1 Locust-eaters.

2 ὑπηρετὸν Rhodomann: ὑπηρετοῦν MSS and all editors.

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2 ἐκ τούτου δαμιλείης τροφᾶς ἔχουσιν ἀπαντά τὸν βίον, ἰδιοτρόπως αὐτῶν ποιούμενοι τὴν θήραν. παρὰ γὰρ τὴν χώραν αὐτῶν ἐπὶ πολλοὺς σταδίους παρήκει χαράδρα βάθος ἔχουσα καὶ πλάτος ἀξιόλογον· ταύτην πληροῦσιν ἀγρίας ὤλης, οὐσίας ἀφθόνου κατὰ τὴν χώραν· ἐπειθ’ ὅταν τῶν προειρήμενων ἀνέμων πνεύμων προσφέρηται τὰ νέφη τῶν ἀκρίδων, καταδεικνύομεν πάντα τὸν τῆς χαράδρας
3 τόπον πυροῦσι τὸν ἐν αὐτῇ χόρτον. ἐγειρομένου δὲ καπνοῦ πολλοῦ καὶ δρμέος, αἱ μὲν ἀκρίδες ὑπερπετόμεναι τὴν χαράδραν, καὶ διὰ τὴν τοῦ καπνοῦ δρμύττητα πυγόμεναι, καταπίπτουσι ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν ὀλίγον διαπετασθεῖσα τόπον, τῆς δὲ τούτων ἀπωλείας ἐπὶ πλείονας ὑμέρας γινόμενης μεγάλοι διανύσταται σωρῷ· καὶ τῆς χώρας ἔχουσις ἀλμυρίδα πολλήν, πάντες προσφέρουσι ταύτην ἄθροις τοῖς σωροῖς, καὶ διατήραντες οἰκείως ποιοῦσι τὴν τε γεύσιν πρόσφορον καὶ τὸν
4 ἀποθησαυρισμὸν ἀσηπτον καὶ 1 πολυχρόνων. ἡ μὲν οὖν διατροφὴ τούτως παραχρῆμα καὶ τὸν ύστερον χρόνον ἀπὸ τούτων τῶν ἐξόν ὑπάρχει· οὔτε γὰρ κτηνοτροφοῦσιν οὔτε θαλάττης ἐγγὺς οἰκοῦσιν οὔτε ἄλλης ἐπικουρίας οὐδεμιᾶς τυγχάνουσι· τοῖς δὲ σώμασιν οὖντες κοὐφοὶ καὶ τοῖς ποσὶν ὁξύτατοι βραχύβιοι παντελῶς εἰσιν, ὥς ἀν τῶν πολυχρονωτάτων παρ’ αὐτοῖς οὔχ ὑπερβαλλόντων ἐτη τετ-τεράκοντα.
5 Τὸ δὲ τοῦ βίου τέλος οὐ μόνον παράδοξον ἔχουσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάντων ἀκληρότατον. ὅταν γὰρ πλησιάζῃ τὸ γῆρας, ἐμφύσονται τοῖς σώμασι

1 ἀσηπτον καὶ omitted by D, Vogel; retained by Bekker, Dindorf.
From these locusts they have food in abundance all their life long, catching them in a manner peculiar to themselves. For along the border of their land over many stades there extends a ravine of considerable depth and width; this they fill with wood from the forests, which is found in plenty in their land; and then, when the winds blow which we have mentioned and the clouds of the locusts approach, they divide among themselves the whole extent of the ravine and set fire to the brush in it. And since a great volume of pungent smoke rises, the locusts, as they fly over the ravine, are choked by the pungency of the smoke and fall to the ground after they have flown through it only a short space, and as the destruction of them continues over several days, great heaps of them are raised up; moreover, since the land contains a great amount of brine, all the people bring this to the heaps, after they have been gathered together, soak them to an appropriate degree with the brine and thus both give the locusts a palatable taste and make their storage free from rot and lasting for a long time. Accordingly, the food of this people, at the moment and thereafter, consists of these animals; for they possess no herds nor do they live near the sea nor do they have at hand any other resources; and light in body and very swift of foot as they are, they are also altogether short-lived, the oldest among them not exceeding forty years of age.

As for the manner in which they end their lives, not only is it astounding but extremely pitiful. For when old age draws near there breed in their

1 A much shorter account of the same custom is in Strabo (16. 4. 12).
πτερωτοὶ θείρες οὐ μόνον διάφοροι τοῖς εἰδεσιν, ἄλλα καὶ ταῖς ἱδέαις ἀγριοὶ καὶ παντελῶς εἰδεχθεῖσ.

6 ἀρξάμενον δὲ τὸ κακὸν ἀπὸ τῆς γαστρὸς καὶ τοῦ θώρακος ἐπινέμεται πάντα τὸν ὄγκον ἐν ὀλύγῳ χρόνῳ. ὦ δὲ πάσχων τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ὡς ὑπὸ ψώρας τυφὸς ἐρεθιζόμενος μετρίως θάδαξάσθαι φιλοτιμεῖται, μεμυγμένην ἔχοντος τοῦ πάθους ἀλγηδόσι τὴν χαράν· μετὰ δὲ ταύτα ἀεὶ μᾶλλον τῶν ἐγγειομένων θηρίων εἰς τὴν ἐπιφάνειαν ἐκπιπτόντων συνεκχείται πλήθος ἱχώρος λεπτὸς, τὴν δριμύτητα παντελῶς ἔχοντος ἀνυπομόνητον.

7 διόπερ ὁ συνεχόμενος τῷ πάθει βιαιότερον ἀμύττει τοῖς οὖν, στεναγμοῦς μεγάλους προϊέμενος. κατὰ δὲ τὰς τῶν χειρῶν ἐξελκώσεις τοσοῦτο πλῆθος ἐκπίπτει τῶν ἐρπετῶν ὡστε μηδὲν ἀνύειν τοὺς ἀπολέγοντας, ὡς ἢν ἄλλων ἐπ' ἄλλοις ἐκφανομένων καθάπερ ἐκ τινος ἄγγειου πολλαχῶς κατατετρημένου. οὕτω μὲν οὖν εἰς τοιαύτην διάλυσιν τοῦ σώματος καταστρέφουσι τὸν βίον δυστυχῶς, εἰτε διὰ τὴν ἱδιότητα τῆς τροφῆς εἰτε διὰ τὸν ἁέρα τοιαύτης τυγχάνοντες περιπετεῖας.

30. Τῶ δὲ ἑθεὶ τοῦτω χῶρα παρῆκε κατὰ τὸ μέγεθος πολλῆ καὶ κατὰ τὰς τῆς νομῆς ποικιλίας ἀγαθῆ· ἐρημὸς δ' ἄστι καὶ παντελῶς ἅβατος, οὐκ ἀπ' ἀρχῆς σπανίζουσα τοῦ γένους τῶν ἀνθρώπων, ἀλλ' ἐν τοῖς ύστερον χρόνοις ἐκ τινος ἐπομβρίας ἄκαίρου πλῆθος φαλαγγίων καὶ σκορπίων ἐξενέγ-κασα. τοσοῦτο γὰρ ἰστοροῦσιν ἐπιπολάσαι τῶν

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bodies winged lice, which not only have an unusual form but are also savage and altogether loathsome in aspect. The affliction begins on the belly and the breast and in a short time spreads over the whole body. And the person so affected is at first irritated by a kind of itching and insists on scratching himself a bit, the disease at this point offering a satisfaction combined with pain; but after this stage the animals, which have been continuously engendered more and more in the body, break out to the surface and there is a heavy discharge of a thin humour, the sting of which is quite unbearable. Consequently the man who is in the grip of the disease lacerates himself with his nails the more violently, groaning and moaning deeply. And as his hands tear at his body, such a multitude of the vermin pours forth that those who try to pick them off accomplish nothing, since they issue forth one after another, as from a kind of vessel that is pierced throughout with holes. And so these wretches end their lives in a dissolution of the body after this manner, a miserable fate, meeting with such a sudden reversal of fortune either by reason of the peculiar character of their food or because of the climate.

30. Along the borders of this people there stretches a country great in size and rich in its varied pasturage; but it is without inhabitants and altogether impossible for man to enter; not that it has from the first never known the race of men, but in later times, as a result of an unseasonable abundance of rain, it brought forth a multitude of venomous spiders and scorpions. For, as historians relate,\(^1\) so great a multitude of these

\(^1\) Cp. Strabo 16. 4. 12; Aelian, History of Animals, 17. 40; Pliny 8. 29.
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eιρημένων θηρίων πλήθος ὦστε τοὺς κατοικοῦντας ἀνθρώπους τὸ μὲν πρῶτον πανδημεῖ κτείνειν
τὸ τῆ φύσει πολέμιον, ἀπεργυνήτου δὲ τοῦ πλήθους ὤντος καὶ τῶν δημιάτων ὃξεῖς τοῖς
πληγεῖται τοὺς θανάτους ἐπιφερόντων, ἀπογνώντας τὴν πάτριον γῆν τε καὶ δίαιταν φυγεῖν ἐκ τῶν τόπων.
οὐ χρὴ δὲ θαυμάζειν οὐδὲ ἁπιστεῖν τοῖς λεγομένοις,
pολλὰ τούτων παραδοξότερα κατὰ πᾶσαν τὴν
οἰκουμένην γεγονότα διὰ τῆς ἀλήθειας ἱστορίας
παρειληφότας. περὶ γὰρ τὴν Ἰταλίαν μνῷ πλῆθος
ἀρουραίων ἐγγεννηθέν τοῖς πεδίοις ἐξεβαλέ τυνας
ἐκ τῆς πατρίου χώρας, κατὰ δὲ τὴν Μηδίαν ἐπιπο-
λάσατος ἀμυθητοὶ στροφοὶ καὶ τὰ σπέρματα
τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἀφανίζουτεν ἥναγκασαν εἰς ἑτερο-
γενεῖς τόπους μεταστῆναι, τοὺς δὲ καλομένους
Ἀνταρίατας βάτραχοι τὴν ἀρχέγονον σύστασιν ἐν
τοῖς νέφεσι λαμβάνοντες καὶ πίπτοντες ἀντὶ τῆς
συνήθους ἕκαστον τὰς πατρίδας κατα-
λιπεῖν καὶ καταφυγεῖν εἰς τούτων τῶν τόπων ἐν ὃ

νῦν καθίδρυται. καὶ μὴν τὸς οὐχ ἱστορήσεν
Ἡρακλεῖ τῶν ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀθανασίας ἄθλων συντελε-
σθέντων ἕνα καταρθμοῦμενον καὶ ὃν ἐξήλασεν ἐκ
τῆς Στυμφαλίδος λίμνης τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ἐπιπολα-
σάντων ὄρνηθος ἐν αὐτῇ; ἀνάστατοι δὲ κατὰ τὴν
Διβύην πόλεις τινὲς ἐγένοντο πλῆθος λεόντων
ἐπελθόντος ἐκ τῆς ἑρήμου.

Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἡμῖν εἰρήσθω πρὸς τοὺς ἀπί-

1 πᾶν M, omitted F, πάντα other MSS, after κτείνειν deleted by Vogel.
2 πλῆθος Hertlein: πάθος.

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animals came to abound that, although at the outset the human beings dwelling there united in killing the natural enemy, yet, because the multitude of them was not to be overcome and their bites brought swift death to their victims, they renounced both their ancestral land and mode of life and fled from these regions. Nor is there any occasion to be surprised at this statement or to distrust it, since we have learned through trustworthy history of many things more astonishing than this which have taken place throughout all the inhabited world. In Italy, for instance, such a multitude of field-mice was generated in the plains that they drove certain people out of their native country; in Media birds, which came to abound beyond telling and made away with the seeds sown by the inhabitants, compelled them to remove into regions held by another people; and in the case of the Autariatae, as they are called, frogs were originally generated in the clouds, and when they fell upon the people in place of the customary rain, they forced them to leave their native homes and to flee for safety to the place where they now dwell. And who indeed has not read in history, in connection with the Labours which Heracles performed in order to win his immortality, the account of the one Labour in the course of which he drove out of the Stymphalian Lake the multitude of birds which had come to abound in it? Moreover, in Libya certain cities have become depopulated because a multitude of lions came out of the desert against them.

Let these instances, then, suffice in reply to those

1 A people of Illyria; Justin (15. 2) also says that they were driven out in this way.
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στως διὰ τὸ παράδοξον πρὸς τὰς ἱστορίας διακειμένους. πάλιν δ’ ἐπὶ τὰ συνεχῇ τοὺς προειρημένους μεταβησόμεθα.

31. Τὰς δ’ ἐσχατιὰς τῶν πρὸς μεσημβρίαν μερῶν κατοικοῦσιν ἀνδρεῖς ὑπὸ μὲν τῶν Ἐλλήνων καλούμενοι Κυναμολγοί, κατὰ δὲ τὴν τῶν πλῆθος ὑπὸ μὲν τῶν πλησιοχώρων βαρβάρων διάλεκτον Ἀγριοῖ. οὕτωι δὲ πώγονας μὲν φέρουσι παμμεγέθεις, κυνῶν δὲ τρέφουσιν ἀγρίων ἀγελάς πρὸς τὴν τοῦ βίου χρείαν εὐθέτους.

2 ἀπὸ γὰρ τῶν πρώτων τροπῶν τῶν θερινῶν μέχρι μέσου χειμῶνος Ἰνδικοὶ βόες ἀμύθητοι τὸ πλῆθος ἐπιφοιτῶσιν αὐτῶν τὴν χώραν, ἀδήλου τῆς αἰτίας οὔσης. οὕτως γὰρ οἶδεν εἰ’ ὑπὸ ξῶν πολλῶν καὶ σαρκοφάγων πολεμοῦμενοι φεύγουσι, εἰτε δι’ ἐνδειαν τροφῆς ἐκλείποντες τοὺς οἰκείους τόπους εἰτε δ’ ἄλλην περιπέτειαν, ἢν ἡ μὲν πάντα τὰ παράδοξα γεννῶσα φύσις κατασκευάζει, τὸ δὲ τῶν ἀνθρώπων γένος ἀδυνατεῖ τῷ νῷ συνιδεῖν. οὐ μὴν ἄλλα τοῦ πλῆθους οὐ κατισχύοντες δι’ ἐαυτῶν περιγενέσθαι τοὺς κύνας ἐπαφιάσι, καὶ μετὰ τούτων ποιούμενοι τὴν θήραν πολλὰ πάνιν τῶν ξῶν χειρὸνται. τῶν δὲ λιθήθετων ἢ μὲν πρόσφατα κατέσθισαν, ἢ δὲ εἰς ἄλας συντίθεντες ἀποθησαυρίζουσι. πολλὰ δὲ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ξῶν διὰ τῆς τῶν κυνῶν ἄλκης θηρεύοντες ἀπὸ κρεοφαγίας τοῦ βίου ἔχουσι.

3 Ἐν μὲν οὖν τελευταῖα γένη τῶν πρὸς μεσημβρίαν οἰκούντων ἐν μορφᾷς ἀνθρώπων τὸν βίον

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1 Milkers of bitches.
2 Savages.
3 Strabo (16. 4. 10) also says that the dogs hunt the cattle; but Agatharchides (60) and Aelian (History of Animals, 16. 31)
who adopt a sceptical attitude towards histories because they recount what is astonishing; and now we shall in turn pass on to what follows the subjects we have been treating.

31. The borders of the parts to the south are inhabited by men whom the Greeks call "Cynamolgi,"¹ but who are known in the language of the barbarians who live near them as Agrii.² They wear great beards and maintain packs of savage dogs which serve to meet the needs of their life. For from the time of the beginning of the summer solstice until mid-winter, Indian cattle, in a multitude beyond telling, resort to their country, the reason for this being uncertain; for no man knows whether they are in flight because they are being attacked by a great number of carnivorous beasts, or because they are leaving their own regions by reason of a lack of food, or because of some other reversal of fortune which Nature, that engenders all astonishing things, devises, but which the mind of the race of men cannot comprehend. However, since they have not the strength of themselves to get the better of the multitude of the cattle, they let the dogs loose on them, and hunting them by means of the dogs they overcome a very great number of the animals; and as for the beasts which they have taken, some of them they eat while fresh and some they pack down with salt and store up. Many also of the other animals they hunt, thanks to the courage of their dogs, and so maintain themselves by the eating of flesh.³

Now the most distant tribes of those peoples who live to the south have indeed the forms of men but add that this people drink the milk of bitches when they have no meat.

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"Much of what follows is in Strabo (16. 4. 17). The spelling of Trogodytes, without the λ, is supported by D, the oldest
their life is that of the beasts; however, it remains for us to discuss two peoples, the Ethiopians and the Trogodytes. But about the Ethiopians we have written in other connections, and so we shall now speak of the Trogodytes.

32. The Trogodytes,¹ we may state, are called Nomads by the Greeks, and living as they do a nomadic life off their flocks, each group of them has its tyrant, and their women, like their children, they hold in common, with the single exception of the wife of the tyrant; but if any man goes in to this woman the ruler exacts of him a fine of a specified number of sheep. At the time of the etesian winds, when there are heavy rains in their country, they live off blood and milk which they mix together and seethe for a short while. But after this season the pasturage is withered by the excessive heat, and they retreat into the marshy places and fight with each other for the pasturage of the land. They eat the older animals of their flocks and such as are growing sick and maintain themselves on them at all times. Consequently they give the name of parents to no human being, but rather to a bull and a cow, and also to a ram and a sheep; these they call their fathers or their mothers, by reason of the fact that they ever secure their daily food from them, and not from those who had begotten them. And as a drink the common people make use of juice from the plant Christ’s-thorn, but for the rulers there is prepared from a certain flower a beverage like the vilest of our sweet new wines. Following after their

¹ Following after their
ἀγέλαις τῶν θρεμμάτων ἐπακολουθοῦντες ἄλλην ἐξ ἄλλης χώραν ἐπιπορεύονται, φεύγοντες τὸ
4 τοῖς αὐτοῖς τόποις ἐνδιατρίβειν. καὶ γυμνοὶ μὲν εἰσὶ πάντες τὰ σώματα πλὴν τῶν ἱσχίων, δ’ ἰδρμασὶ
σκεπάζουσι· τὰ δ’ αἷδοια πάντες οἱ Ἀρωγοῦται
παραπλησίως τοῖς Αἴγυπτίοις περιτείμονται πλὴν
τῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ συμπτώματος ὄνομαζόμενων κολο-
βῶν· οὕτω γὰρ μόνοι τὴν ἐντὸς τῶν στενῶν νεμόμενοι χώραν ἐκ νηπίου ἔυροις ἀποτείμονται
πάν τὸ τοῖς ἄλλοις μέρος περιτομῆς τυγχάνον.

33. Ὡπλισμὸν δ’ ἔχουσι τῶν Ἀρωγοῦτῶν οἱ
μὲν ὄνομαζόμενοι Μεγάβαροι κυκλοτερεῖς ὠμο-
βοῖνας ἀστίδας καὶ ῥοπαλον τύλους ἔχουν περισῳδέ-
ρους, οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι τόξα καὶ λόγχας. ταφαί δὲ
2 παντελῶς ἔξηλλαγμέναι 1 ἐπιχωριάζουσι· τοῖς γὰρ
τῶν παλιούρων λύγοις δήσαντες τῶν τετελευ-
τηκότων τὰ σώματα προσάπτουσι τῶν αὐχένα τοῖς
σκέλεσι, θέντες δὲ τὸν νεκρὸν ἐπὶ τῶν ἀναστήματος
βάλλουσι λίθοις χειροπληθέσι γελώντες, μέχρι
ἀν ὅτου τοῖς λίθοις περιχώσαντες ἀποκρύψως τὰ
σώματα· τὸ δὲ τελευταῖον αἰγός κέρας ἐπιθέντες
ἀπολύνονται, συμπάθειαν οὐδεμίαν λαμβάνοντες.

3 πολεμοῦσι δὲ πρὸς ἄλληλος οὐχ ὁμοίως τοῖς
"Ελλησιν ὑπὲρ γῆς 2 ἢ των ἄλλων ἐγκλη-
μάτων, ἀλλ’ ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐπιγυνομένης ἀεὶ νομῆς.
ἐν δὲ ταῖς φιλονεικίαις τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἄλληλος
τοῖς λίθοις βάλλουσι, μέχρι ἀν τῶς τρωθώσι, καὶ
τὸ λοιπὸν ἐπὶ τὸν τῶν τοξῶν ἀγώνα καταντώσι.
πολλοὶ δὲ ἐν ἀκαρεὶ χρόνῳ τελευτῶσιν, ὡς ἄν εὑ-

1 So Wesseling: ταφαῖς . . ἔξηλλαγμέναις.
2 γῆς Dindorf: ὁργῆς.
herds and flocks they move about from one land to another, avoiding any stay in the same regions. And they are all naked as to their bodies except for the loins, which they cover with skins; moreover, all the Trogodytes are circumcised like the Egyptians with the exception of those who, because of what they have experienced, are called "colobi"; for these alone of all who live inside the Straits have in infancy all that part cut completely off with the razor which among other peoples merely suffers circumcision.

33. As for the arms of the Trogodytes, those who bear the name of Megabari have round shields covered with raw ox-hide and a club with iron knobs, but the rest of them have bows and arrows and lances. Again, the burials practised by them differ entirely from all others; for after binding the bodies of the dead with withes of Christ's-thorn they tie the neck to the legs, and then placing the corpse upon a mound they cast at it stones as large as can be held in the hand, making merry the while, until they have built up a heap of stones and have hidden the bodies from sight; and finally they set up a goat's horn on the heap and separate, having shown no fellow-feeling for the dead. And they fight with one another, not, as the Greeks do, for the possession of land or because of some alleged misdeeds, but for the pasturage as it comes up at one time and another. In their quarrels they at first hurl stones at each other, until some are wounded, and the rest of the time they resort to the struggle with bows and arrows. And it is but a moment before many are

1 The word means "mutilated" (persons whose sexual organs have been removed).
2 At the entrance into the Red Sea.
στόχως μὲν βαλλόντων διὰ τὴν ἐν τούτοις ἀθλήσων, τὸν δὲ σκοπὸν ἐχόντων γυμνὸν τῶν σκεπαστηρίων ὀπλών. διαλύουσι δὲ τὴν μάχην τῶν γυναικῶν αἱ πρεσβύτεραι, προβαλλόμεναι μὲν εἰς τὸ μέσον, ἐντροπῆς δὲ τυγχάνουσι: νόμιμον γὰρ ἐστὶν αὐτοῖς ταύτας κατὰ μηδένα τῶν τρόπων τύπτειν, οὐθὲν ἄμα τῷ φανῆναι παύονται τοῦ τοξεύειν. οἱ δὲ διὰ τὸ γῆρας οὐ δυνάμενοι ταῖς ποίμαιν ἀκολουθεῖν βοῶς οὐρά τὸν αὐχένα περισφύξαντες ἐαυτῶν ἀπολύονται τοῦ ζήν προθύμως· τοῦ δὲ τὸν θάνατον ἀναβαλλόμενον τὴν ἐξουσίαν οἱ βουλό-μενος ἔχει τὸν δεσμὸν ὡς ἐπὶ εὐνοία περιθείναι καὶ μετὰ νουθετήσεως στηρίζει τοῦ ζῆν. ὅμως δὲ νόμιμον αὐτοῖς ἐστὶ τοὺς πηρωθέντας ἢ νόσοις δυσιάτοις συνεχομένους ἐξάγειν ἐκ τοῦ ζῆν· μέγιστον γὰρ τῶν κακῶν ἡγοῦνται τὸ φιλοψυχεῖν τὸν μηδὲν ἄξιον τοῦ ζῆν πράττειν δυνάμενον. διὸ καὶ πάντας ἢ δὲ ἐστὶ τοὺς Τρωγοδύτας ἀρτίους μὲν τοῖς σώμασιν, ἰσχύοντας δὲ ἐπὶ ταῖς ἡλικίαις, ὡς ἂν μηδενὸς ὑπερβάλλοντος τὰ ἐξήκοντα ἐτη.

7. Καὶ περὶ μὲν τῶν Τρωγοδύτων ἰκανώς εἰρήκαμεν· εἰ δὲ τις τῶν ἀναγνωσκόντων διὰ τὸν ξενισμὸν καὶ τὸ παράδοξον τῶν ἀναγεγραμμένων βιῶν ἀπιστήσει ταῖς ἱστορίαις, θεῖος πρὸ τῆς διανοίας παρ’ ἄλληλα τὸν τε περὶ τὴν Σκυθίαν ἄερα καὶ τὸν περὶ τὴν Τρωγοδυτικήν, καὶ τὰς ἑκατέρων διαφορὰς ἰδὼν, οὐκ ἀπιστήσει τοὺς ἱστορημένους. 34. Τοσαύτη γὰρ παραλλαγὴ τῶν παρ’ ἡμῖν ἀέρων πρὸς τοὺς ἱστορημένους ὥστε τὴν κατὰ

1 So the MSS. and Bekker; Dindorf and Vogel read προ-αλλόμεναι (“leaping in front of”).
2 μὲν after πάντας deleted by Dindorf.
dead, since they are accurate shooters by reason of their practice in archery and the object at which they are aiming is bare of protective armour. The fighting is terminated by the older women, who rush into the fray and offer themselves as a protection to the fighters, and are the object of respect; for it is a custom with these people that they shall in no wise strike one of these women, and so at their appearance they cease shooting. Those who can no longer accompany the flocks by reason of old age bind the tail of an ox about their own necks and so put an end to their lives of their own free will; and if a man postpones his death, anyone who wishes has the authority to fasten the noose about his neck, as an act of good-will, and, after admonishing the man, to take his life. Likewise it is a custom of theirs to remove from life those who have become maimed or are in the grip of incurable diseases; for they consider it to be the greatest disgrace for a man to cling to life when he is unable to accomplish anything worth living for. Consequently, a man can see every Trogodyte sound in body and of vigorous age, since no one of them lives beyond sixty years.

But we have said enough about the Trogodytes; and if anyone of our readers shall distrust our histories because of what is strange and astonishing in the different manners of life which we have described, when he has considered and compared the climate of Scythia and that of the Trogodyte country and has observed the differences between them, he will not distrust what has been here related.

34. So great, for instance, is the contrast between our climate and the climates which we have described that the difference, when considered in detail,
2 μέρος διαφοράν ἀπιστον εἶναι. ὃποι μὲν γὰρ διὰ τὴν ὑπερβολὴν τοῦ ψύχους πήγνυνται μὲν οἱ μέγιστοι ποταμοί, στέγοντος τοῦ κρυστάλλου διαβάσεις στρατοπέδων καὶ ἀμαξῶν καταγώμων ἐφόδους, πήγνυνται δὲ ὁ οἶνος καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν χυμῶν ὡστε μαχαίραις ἀποτέμνεσθαι, καὶ τὰ τούτων θαυμασιώτερα, τὰ μὲν ἀκρωτηρία τῶν ἀνθρώπων τῆς ἐσθήτου παρατριβοῦσθης περιρρεῖ, τὰ δὲ ὄμματα ἀμαυροῦται, τὸ δὲ πῦρ ἀλεωράν οὐ ποιεῖ, καὶ χαλκοὶ μὲν ἀνδριάντες ρήγνυνται, κατὰ δὲ τινὰς καιροὺς διὰ τὴν πυκνότητα τῶν νεφῶν ὦτε ἀστραπῆν ὄπτε βροντῆν γίνεσθαι περὶ τῶν τόπων φασί· ἀπολαὶ δὲ καὶ ἄλλα τούτων παραδοξότερα συντελεῖται, τοῖς μὲν ἀγνοοῦσιν ἀπιστά, τοῖς δὲ πείραν ἐιληφόσιν ἀνυπομόνητα. περὶ δὲ τὰς ἐσχατιὰς τῆς Αἰγύπτου καὶ Τρωγοδυτικῆς διὰ τὴν ὑπερβολὴν τῆς ἀφ’ ἡλίου θερμασίας κατὰ τὸν τῆς μεσημβρίας καιρὸν οὐδὲ συνορᾶν ἀλλήλους οὶ παρεστώτες δύνανται διὰ τὴν παχύτητα τῆς περὶ τῶν ἀέρα πυκνώσεως, χωρὶς δὲ ὑποδέσεως πάντες ἀδυνατοῦσι βαδίζειν, ὡς ἂν τοῖς ἀνυποδήτοις παραχρῆμα φλυκτίδων γυμνομένων. κατὰ δὲ τὸ ποτόν, ἐὰν μὴ τὴν ἔνδειαν ἐτοίμως ἀφαιρηται, ταχέως τελευτῶσιν, ὡς ἂν τῆς θερμασίας τῆς τῶν ὕγρῶν ἐν τῷ σώματι φύσις ὄξεως ἀναλισκοῦσι. πρὸς δὲ τούτοις, ὅταν τὶς εἰς χαλκοῖν ἀγγείοιν ἐμβαλὼν τῶν ἐδωδίμων ὀδηποτοῦν μεθ’ ὕδατος εἰς τὸν ἥλιον θῆ, 5 ταχέως ἐξηταὶ χωρὶς πυρὸς καὶ ξύλων. ἀλλ’ ὅμως οἱ κατοικοῦντες ἀμφοτέρας τὰς εἰρημένας χώρας οὕς ὁ οἶνον φεύγειν βούλονται τὴν ὑπερβολὴν τῶν συμβαινόντων αὐτοῖς κακῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τούναντιον ἐκουσίως προέντατι τὸ ζήν ἔνεκα τοῦ μή βιασθήναι.
surpasses belief. For example, there are countries where, because of the excessive cold, the greatest rivers are frozen over, the ice sustaining the crossing of armies and the passage of heavily laden wagons, the wine and all other juices freeze so that they must be cut with knives, yea, what is more wonderful still, the extremities of human beings fall off when rubbed by the clothing, their eyes are blinded, fire furnishes no protection, even bronze statues are cracked open, and at certain seasons, they say, the clouds are so thick that in those regions there is neither lightning nor thunder; and many other things, more astonishing than these, come to pass, which are unbelievable to such as are ignorant of them, but cannot be endured by any who have actually experienced them. But on the farthest bounds of Egypt and the Trogodyte country, because of the excessive heat from the sun at midday, men who are standing side by side are unable even to see one another by reason of the thickness of the air as it is condensed, and no one can walk about without foot-gear, since blisters appear at once on any who go barefoot. And as for drink, unless it is ready to hand to satisfy the need of it, they speedily perish, since the heat swiftly exhausts the natural moistures in the body. Moreover, whenever any man puts any food into a bronze vessel along with water and sets it in the sun, it quickly boils without fire or wood. Nevertheless, the inhabitants of both the lands which we have mentioned,¹ far from desiring to escape from the excessive evils which befall them, actually, on the contrary, give up their lives of their own accord simply to avoid being com-

¹ i.e. Scythia and the Trogodyte land.

¹ προσεύνα Dindorf: προσεύναι BDG, προσέναι other MSS.
6 diaítis étéras kai bión peirathénavi. óútws autó-

fuves échei ti filtron pasáa syvhnhs xónra, kai

perigínetai tís ék tón anerw kakopatheías ò

7 chrónos ð tìn eú npíou paralaðwv ëlikían. tás
dè têlikaúntas èp' àmforêta diaforás ou polý

diorîzei tópou diásthma. ápò gar tís Monótidos

lìmhas, ë prosoikouî tines tón Ñkuvwv en págei

kai vúxhesw ùperbállosi káthidréménon, polloi

tón plóiozoménon ouriodromouías vàsi fortísan

eis mév 'Ródov dekataíoi katappleúkasin, ès ës

eis 'Alexándreian tetartaioi katanéwis, èk dé

taúth káta tón Neílon pléontes polloi dekataíoi

cathtíkasin ès Aíthiosían, ówste ápò tón kate-
vugménon merón tís oikouménhs épti tà theromíata
méra mh pléon eúkosí kai tetárws hémerwn

éinai tón plów toís káta tà sunechés koimóme nóis.

8 diáspere tís diaforá tís tón anerw év olígws

diástímati megálhs ouùhs ouòdev parádoxeon kai tún

diaita và tòús bíous, èpti dé và sómata polû

diallátteu và par' ëmivn.

35. 'Epeí dé và énwn và bión và kefália

tón dokouvnwv éinai paradoxeon dielhýthamev, peri

tón 1 ðhríwv và vàs úpokeménas xónras

2 èn mére diézimon. èstí gar ëwvon ð kaleítai mén

ápò tóù svmbèbhwntos rínokéros, allë ò dé và

bía paraplhíson ou 2 éléfanti, tò dé úpeí tateinó-

teron, tìn mév doráv isxurótíteth ëchei, tìn dé

chrónwv vúzoeidh. èpti ð' ákrwv và vàn uvcuyrówn

1 òntwv after và déle d by Eichstadt.

2 òn added by Dindorf.

1 i.e. as to severe cold and severe heat.
pelled to make trial of a different fare and manner of life. Thus it is that every country to which a man has grown accustomed holds a kind of spell of its own over him, and the length of time which he has spent there from infancy overcomes the hardship which he suffers from its climate. And yet countries so different in both ways are separated by no great interval of space. For from Lake Maeotis, near which certain Scythians dwell, living in the midst of frost and excessive cold, many sailors of merchant vessels, running before a favourable wind, have made Rhodes in ten days, from which they have reached Alexandria in four, and from that city many men, sailing by way of the Nile, have reached Ethiopia in ten, so that from the cold parts of the inhabited world to its warmest parts the sailing time is not more than twenty-four days, if the journey is made without a break. Consequently, the difference in climates in a slight interval being so great, it is nothing surprising that both the fare and the manners of life as well as the bodies of the inhabitants should be very different from such as prevail among us.

35. And now that we have discussed the principal facts concerning the nations and the manners of life which men consider astonishing, we shall speak in turn of the wild animals of the countries which we are considering. There is an animal, for instance, which is called, from its characteristic, rhinoceros; in courage and strength it is similar to the elephant but not so high, and it has the toughest hide known and a colour like box-wood. At the tip of its nostrils

2 The Sea of Azof.
3 i.e. instead of by the Red Sea.
4 Nose-horn.
5 i.e. pale yellow.
DIODORUS OF SICILY

3... 

5... 

6... 

1 i.e. bent backwards. Diodorus uses a term familiar to the Greeks but not used of a back-pointing horn.
it carries a horn which may be described as snub\(^1\) and in hardness is like iron. Since it is ever contesting with the elephant about pasturage it sharpens its horn on stones, and when it opens the fight with this animal it slips under his belly and rips open the flesh with its horn as with a sword. By adopting this kind of fighting it drains the blood of the beasts and kills many of them. But if the elephant has avoided the attempt of the rhinoceros to get under his belly and has seized it beforehand with his trunk, he easily overcomes it by goring it with his tusks and making use of his superior strength.

These are also sphinxes\(^2\) in both the Trogodyte country and Ethiopia, and in shape they are not unlike those depicted in art save that they are more shaggy of hair, and since they have dispositions that are gentle and rather inclined towards cunning they yield also to systematic training.

The animals which bear the name cynoccephali\(^3\) are in body like misshapen men, and they make a sound like the whimpering of human beings. These animals are very wild and quite untamable, and their eyebrows give them a rather surly expression.

A most peculiar characteristic of the female is that it carries the womb on the outside of its body during its entire existence.

The animal called the cepus\(^4\) has received its

\(^{\text{1}}\) The large baboon (Papio sphinx).

\(^{\text{2}}\) Dog-heads, the sacred dog-faced baboon (Papio hamadryas).

\(^{\text{3}}\) A long-tailed monkey. The more common form of the word was “cebus,” but the explanation of the name shows that Diodorus used the spelling of the text (kepos, “garden,” was used metaphorically in the sense of “pleasure” or “grace”).
DIODORUS OF SICILY

peri ton oigkon olon oraias kai prosigoues hlikias, to de proswpon exeon omoion leonti to loipon soma feirei pantithi paraplision, plin tou megethous, o parasountai dorakadi.

7. Pantwv de twv eirhmenon zoiwv o sarkefagos tauro
ros agristoratos esti kai pantelwos duuskataamachitos.
tw men gar oigkou touto mezoan esti twv hmeiron taouron, deuthti de podwn ou leipomevon ttppon, 
tw stomati de diasthkos achi twv ontwn.1 to de 
chorima purnon exei kath uperbolin, kai ta men
oimata glanakoterera leontos kai tais nuktas
astrapontonta, ta de kerauta fusews idiotropou
koinowunta: ton men gar allon chropon auta
kinei paraplisios tois wsi, kata de tais makhas
isthmon ararotwos. tihn de tis trichos epagnyn

8. Exei tois allous zoiws enantian. esti de to
theiron alkhi te kai dynamei diaforon, ws an
epitideumen tois alkimosteratois twv zoiwv kai
thn trophi exeon ek tis twn xeirowentwn sarkefo-
gias. diapherei de kai tais poimnas twn egxwron,
kai katanplhktikos anowizetai prw ola s unsti-
mata tavn poimewn kai kuvon agelas. legetai
de kai to dera ateroton exein. polelwv gev
epibehmewn labwv upocheiriwn miadea kataxw-
kenta. to de eis orunma peison h di allhs ap-
tis xeirowhen upo tov thimo wntei periptigen,
kai tis elxutheias oudaimos allatetai tihn en tis
thasevesfai filanvrwptian. dioter eikotis o
Trwgydptai touto to theiron kratistovn krouwov,
ws an tis fusews avtw dederhmenh alkhn

1 ontwn (Agatharchides 76) Dindorf: ommatow MSS.,
Bekker.
name from the beautiful and pleasing grace which characterizes its entire body, and it has a head like that of a lion, but the rest of its body is like that of a panther, save in respect to its size, in which it resembles a gazelle.

But of all the animals named the carnivorous bull is the wildest and altogether the hardest to overcome. For in bulk he is larger than the domestic bulls, in swiftness of foot he is not inferior to a horse, and his mouth opens clear back to the ears. His colour is a fiery red, his eyes are more piercing than those of a lion and shine at night, and his horns enjoy a distinctive property; for at all other times he moves them like his ears, but when fighting he holds them rigid. The direction of growth of his hair is contrary to that of all other animals. He is, again, a remarkable beast in both boldness and strength, since he attacks the boldest animals and finds his food in devouring the flesh of his victims. He also destroys the flocks of the inhabitants and engages in terrible combats with whole bands of the shepherds and packs of dogs. Rumour has it that their skin cannot be pierced; at any rate, though many men have tried to capture them, no man has ever brought one under subjection. If he has fallen into a pit or been captured by some other ruse he becomes choked with rage, and in no case does he ever exchange his freedom for the care which men would accord to him in domestication. It is with reason, therefore, that the Trogodytes hold this wild beast to be the strongest of all, since Nature has endowed it with the
μὲν λέοντος, ἵππου δὲ τάχος, ρώμην δὲ ταῦρον, τῆς δὲ πάντων κρατίστης σιδήρου φύσεως οὐχ ἦττωμεν.

10 'Ὁ δὲ λεγόμενος παρ’ Αἴθλοψι κροκόττας μεμυγμένη μὲν ἔχει φύσιν κυνός καὶ λύκου, τὴν δ’ ἀγριότητα φοβερώτεραν ἀμφοτέρων, τοῖς δὲ ὁδοῖσι πάντων ὑπεράγει. πᾶν γαρ ὅστιν μέγεθος συντρίβει βαδίως, καὶ τὸ καταποθὲν διὰ τῆς κοιλίας πέπτει παραδόξως. τούτο δὲ τὸ ζῷον τῶν ψευδῶς παραδοξολογούντων ἱστοροῦντες ἐνιού μιμεῖσθαι τὴν τῶν ἀνθρώπων διάλεκτον ἴματί μὲν οὐ πελθοῦσιν.

36. Ὁφεων δὲ γένη παντοδαπὰ καὶ τοῖς μεγεθεσιν ἀπιστὰ θεωρεῖσθαι φασὶν οἱ τὴν πλησίον τῆς ἐρήμου καὶ θηρίων κατοικοῦντες. ἐκατὸν γὰρ πηχών τὸ μῆκος ἑορκάειν τινὲς ἀποφαινόμενοι δικαίως ἀν οὐχ ὑφ’ ἡμῶν μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν ἀλλῶν ἀπάντων ψευδολογεῖν ὑποληφθείσαν· προστιθέασι γὰρ τῷ διαπιστομένῳ πολλῷ παραδοξότερα, λέγοντες ὅτι τῆς χώρας οὕσης πεδιάδος, ὅταν τὰ μέγιστα τῶν θηρίων περισσειραθῆ, ποιεῖ ταῖς ἐγκυκλωθείσαις ἐπ’ ἀλλήλαις σπείραις ἀναστήματα πόρρωθεν φαινόμενα λόφῳ παραπλήσια.

2 τῶν μὲν όσων μεγέθει τῶν ῥηθέντων θηρίων οὐκ ἰν τῶν βαδίως συγκατάθουτο· περὶ δὲ τῶν μεγίστων θηρίων 1 τῶν εἰς ὅιμι ἐληλυθότων καὶ κομψοθέντων ἐν τισίν ἀγγείοις εὐθέτοις εἰς τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν ποιησόμεθα τὴν ἀναγραφὴν, προστιθέντες καὶ τῆς 2 θῆρας τὴν κατὰ μέρος οἰκονομίαν.

1 θηρίων ὅφεων MSS.; ὅφεων deleted by Vogel, θηρίων deleted by Eichstädt, Dindorf, Bekker.
2 κατὰ μέρος after τῆς deleted by Dindorf.

1 Probably a kind of hyena.
prowess of a lion, the speed of a horse, and the might
of a bull, and since it is not subdued by the native
strength of iron which is the greatest known.

The animal which the Ethiopians call the crocottas has a nature which is a mixture of that of a dog and
that of a wolf, but in ferocity it is more to be feared
than either of them, and with respect to its teeth it
surpasses all animals; for every bone, no matter how
huge in size, it easily crushes, and whatever it has
gulped down its stomach digests in an astonishing
manner. And among those who recount marvellous
lies about this beast there are some who relate that
it imitates the speech of men, but for our part they
do not win our credence.

36. As for snakes, those peoples which dwell
near the country which is desert and infested by
beasts say that there is every kind of them, of a
magnitude surpassing belief. For when certain
writers state that they have seen some one hundred
cubits long, it may justly be assumed, not only by
us but by everybody else, that they are telling a
falsehood; indeed they add to this tale, which is
utterly distrusted, things far more astonishing, when
they say that, since the country is flat like a plain,
whenever the largest of these beasts coil themselves
up, they make, by the coils which have been wound
in circles and rest one upon another, elevations which
seen from a distance resemble a hill. Now a man may
not readily agree as to the magnitude of the beasts
of which we have just spoken; but we shall describe
the largest beasts which have actually been seen and
were brought to Alexandria in certain well-made
receptacles, and shall add a detailed description of
the manner in which they were captured.

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3 'O γὰρ δεύτερος Πτολεμαῖος, περὶ τὴν τῶν ἐλεφάντων κυνηγίαν φιλοτιμήθεις καὶ τοῖς τὰς παραδόξους θήρας τῶν ἀλκιμωτάτων ζῴων ποιομένους μεγάλας ἀπονέμων δωρεᾶς, πολλὰ δὲ χρήματα δαπανήσας εἰς ταύτην τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν, ἐλέφαντας τε συχνοὺς πολεμιστὰς περιεποιήσατο καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ζῴων ἀθεωρήτους καὶ παραδόξους φύσεις ἐποίησεν εἰς γνώσιν ἔλθειν τοῖς Ἐλλησι.

4 διὸ καὶ τυφεῖς τῶν κυνηγῶν, ὀρώντες τὴν τού βασιλέως μεγαλοψυχίαν ἐν ταῖς δωρεαῖς, συστραφέντες εἰς ἵκανον πλῆθος ἐκρίναν παραβαλέσθαι ταῖς ψυχαῖς, καὶ τῶν μεγάλων ὁφεων ἐνα θηρεύσατε ἀνακομίσαι ζῶντα εἰς τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν πρὸς τὸν Πτολεμαῖον. μεγαλῆς δ' οὐσίς καὶ παραδόξου τῆς ἐπιβολῆς, ἡ τύχη συνεργήσασα ταῖς ἐπινοοῖς αὐτῶν καὶ τὸ τέλος οἰκεῖον περιποίησε τῆς πράξεως. σκοπεύσαντες γὰρ ἐνα τῶν ὁφεων τριάκοντα πηχῶν διατρίβοντα περὶ τὰς συστάσεις τῶν ὑδάτων, τὸν μὲν ἄλλον χρόνον ἀκίνητον τοῦ σώματος τὸ κύκλωμα τηροῦντα, κατὰ δὲ τὰς ἐπιφανείας τῶν διὰ τὴν δύσαν ζῴων φοιτώντων ἐπὶ τὸν τόπον ἀφὼν διανιστάμενον, καὶ τῷ μὲν στόματι διαρπάζοντα, τῷ δὲ σπειράματι καταπλέκοντα τὸν ὄγκον τῶν φανέρων ζῴων, ὥστε μηδεὶς τρόπῳ δύνασθαι τὸ παραπεσὸν ἐκφυγεῖν—, προμήχους οὖν ὄντος τοῦ ζώου καὶ νωθροὶ τὴν φύσιν ἐλπίσαντες βρόχους καὶ σειραῖς κυριεύσειν, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον παρῆσαν ἐπὶ αὐτῷ τεθαρρηκότεσ, ἔχοντες ἐξηρτυμένα πάντα τὰ πρὸς τὴν χρείαν,

1 Ptolemy Philadelphus, 285–246 B.C. Ptolemy's interest in wild animals has long been known from this passage and
The second Ptolemy, who was passionately fond of the hunting of elephants and gave great rewards to those who succeeded in capturing against odds the most valiant of these beasts, expending on this hobby great sums of money, not only collected great herds of war-elephants, but also brought to the knowledge of the Greeks other kinds of animals which had never before been seen and were objects of amazement. Consequently certain of the hunters, observing the princely generosity of the king in the matter of the rewards he gave, rounding up a considerable number decided to hazard their lives and to capture one of the huge snakes and bring it alive to Ptolemy at Alexandria. Great and astonishing as was the undertaking, fortune aided their designs and crowned their attempt with the success which it deserved. For they spied one of the snakes, thirty cubits long, as it loitered near the pools in which the water collects; here it maintained for most of the time its coiled body motionless, but at the appearance of an animal which came down to the spot to quench its thirst it would suddenly uncoil itself, seize the animal in its jaws, and so entwine in its coil the body of the creature which had come into view that it could in no wise escape its doom. And so, since the beast was long and slender and sluggish in nature, hoping that they could master it with nooses and ropes, they approached it with confidence the first time, having ready to hand everything which

Theocritus 2. 67–8. That he was as deeply interested in introducing new breeds of domesticated animals into Egypt is attested by a papyrus (P. Cairo Zenon I. 59,075), written in 257 B.C., in which an Ammonite chief from east of the Jordan river says that he is sending the king a gift of horses, dogs, asses and several specimens of cross-breeding with the wild ass.
6 ὡς δ' ἐπλησιάζον, οἷς μᾶλλον ἐξεπλήττοντο τῷ δέει, θεωροῦντες ὁμια πυρωπῶν καὶ λιχμωμένην πάντη τὴν γλώτταν, ἔτι δὲ τῇ τραχύτητι τῶν φολίδων ἐν τῇ διὰ τῆς ὑλῆς πορεία καὶ παρατρέψει ψόφον ἔξαισιον κατασκευάζοντα, ὁ μέγεθος τε τῶν ὁδόντων ὑπερφυές καὶ στόματος ἀγρίαν πρόσοψιν
7 καὶ κυκλώματος ἀνάστημα παράδοξον. διόπερ τῷ φόβῳ τὰ χρώματα τῶν προσώπων ἀποβεβλη-
κότες δειλῶς ἐπέβαλον τοὺς βρόχους ἀπὸ τῆς ὑφρᾶς· τὸ δὲ θηρίον ἀμα τῷ προσάψασθαι τοῦ σώματος τὸν κάλων ἐπεστράφη μετὰ πολλοῦ ψυχήματος καταπληκτικῶς, καὶ τὸν μὲν πρώτον ἀρτάζει τῷ στόματι μετεωρισθέν ὑπὲρ τῆς κεφαλῆς, καὶ τὰς σάρκας ἐτι ζῶντος κατεστεῖτο, τὸν δὲ δεύτερον φεύγοντα τῇ σπείρᾳ πόρρωθεν ἐπεσπά-
σατο, καὶ περιειλθὲν ἔσφυγε τῇ κοιλίᾳ τῶν δεσμῶν· οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ πάντες ἐκπλαγέντες διὰ τῆς φυγῆς τὴν σωτηρίαν ἐπορίσαντο.

37. Ὡς μὴν ἀπέγνωσαν τὴν θήραν, ὑπερβαλ-
λούσης τῆς ἀπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως χάριτος καὶ δωρεᾶς τοὺς ἀπὸ τῆς πείρας ἐγνωσμένους κυνῶν, 
φιλοτεχνία δὲ καὶ δόλῳ τὸ τῇ βίᾳ δυσκαταγώνιστον ἐχειρώσαντο, τοιάνδε τινὰ μηχανὴν πορισάμενοι. 
κατεσκεύασαν ἀπὸ σχοῖνον πυκνῆς περιφέρεις 
πλόκανος, τῷ μὲν τύπῳ τοῖς κύρτοις ἐμφερές, 
τῷ δὲ μεγέθει καὶ τῇ διαλήψει τῆς χώρας δυνάμενον
2 δέξασθαι τὸν ὄγκον τοῦ θηρίου. κατοπτεύσαντες 
οὐν τὸν φωλεόν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν ὃραν τῆς τε ἐπὶ 
τὴν νομὴν ἐξόδου καὶ πάλιν τῆς ἐπανόδου, ὡς

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they might need; but as they drew near it they constantly grew more and more terrified as they gazed upon its fiery eye and its tongue darting out in every direction, caught the hideous sound made by the roughness of its scales as it made its way through the trees and brushed against them, and noted the extraordinary size of its teeth, the savage appearance of its mouth, and the astonishing height of its heap of coils. Consequently, after they had driven the colour from their cheeks through fear, with cowardly trembling they cast the nooses about its tail; but the beast, the moment the rope touched its body, whirled about with so mighty a hissing as to frighten them out of their wits, and raising itself into the air above the head of the foremost man it seized him in its mouth and ate his flesh while he still lived, and the second it caught from a distance with a coil as he fled, drew him to itself, and winding itself about him began squeezing his belly with its tightening bond; and as for all the rest, stricken with terror they sought their safety in flight.

37. Nevertheless, the hunters did not give up their attempt to capture the beast, the favour expected of the king and his reward outweighing the dangers which they had come to know full well as the result of their experiment, and by ingenuity and craft they did subdue that which was by force well-nigh invincible, devising a kind of contrivance like the following:—They fashioned a circular thing woven of reeds closely set together, in general shape resembling a fisherman’s creel and in size and capacity capable of holding the bulk of the beast. Then, when they had reconnoitred its hole and observed the time when it went forth to feed and
ΔΙΟΔΟΡΟΣ ΟΥ ΣΙΚΩΛΥ

τάχισθ' ὄρμησεν ἐπὶ τὴν ἀγράν τὴν συνήθη τῶν ἑτερογενῶν ζώων, τὸ μὲν προοπάρχον τοῦ φωλεοῦ στόμα λίθους εὐμεγέθεσι καὶ γῆ συνωκοδόμησαν, τὸν δὲ πλησίον τῆς λόχμης τόπον ὕπόνομον ποιόσαντες καὶ τὸ πλόκανον εἰς αὐτὸν ἐνθέντες ἐναντίον ἐποίησαν τὸ στόμιον, ὡστε εἰς ἑτοίμον τῷ θηρῷ

3 τὴν ἐὑσοδον ὑπάρχειν. κατὰ δὲ τὴν ἐπάνοδον τοῦ ζῷου παρεσκευασμένοι τοξότας καὶ σφενδονήτας, ἐτὶ δὲ ἵππεις πολλοὺς, πρὸς δὲ τούτους σαλπικτὰς καὶ τὴν ἅλλην ἀπασαν χορηγίαν, ἀμα 1 τῷ προσ-

πελάζειν τὸ μὲν θηρίον μετεωρότερον τῶν ἵππεων ἐξήρ τὸν αὐχένα, οἱ δ' ἐπὶ τὴν θήραν ήθορισμένοι προσεγγίσατο μὲν οὐκ ἑτόλμων, νενομιστημένοι ταῖς προγεγενημέναις συμφοραῖς, πόρρωθεν δὲ πολλαῖς χερσίν ἐφ' ἑνα καὶ μέγαν σκοποῦν βάλλοντες ἑτύχανον, καὶ τῇ τε τῶν ἱππεῶν ἐπιφανεία καὶ πλήθει κυνών ἀλκίμων, ἔτι δὲ τῷ διὰ τῶν σαλπίγγων ἥχω, κατέπληττον τὸ ζῷον. διόπερ ὑποχωρώντος αὐτοῦ 2 πρὸς τὴν οἰκείαν λόχμην τοσοῦτον ἐπεδίωκον

4 ὡστε μὴ παροξύνειν ἐπὶ πλέον. ὡς δὲ τῆς ἐνωκοδο-

μημένης φάραγγος ἢγγισεν, ἀδρώως ψόφον μὲν πολὺν διὰ τῶν ὁπλῶν ἐποίησαν, ταραχὴ δὲ καὶ φόβον διὰ τῆς τῶν ὄχλων ἐπιφανείας καὶ σαλπίγ-

γων. τὸ δὲ θηρίον τὴν μὲν ἐὑσοδον οὐχ ἡὕρισκε, τὴν δὲ τῶν κυνηγῶν ὀρμὴν καταπληττόμενον κατε-

φυγεν εἰς τὸ πλησίον κατεσκευασμένον στόμιον.

5 πιμπλαμένου δὲ τοῦ πλοκάνου τῇ διαλύσει τῆς σπείρας, ἐφθασαν τῶν κυνηγῶν τινες προσπά-

μενοι, καὶ πρὸ τοῦ στραφῆναι τὸν ὄφιν ἐπὶ τὴν

1 δὲ after ἀμα deleted by Reiske.
2 αὐτοῦ deleted by Dindorf, retained by Bekker, Vogel.

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returned again, so soon as it had set out to prey upon the other animals, as was its custom, they stopped the opening of its old hole with large stones and earth, and digging an underground cavity near its lair they set the woven net in it and placed the mouth of the net opposite the opening, so that it was in this way all ready for the beast to enter. Against the return of the animal they had made ready archers and slingers and many horsemen, as well as trumpeters and all the other apparatus needed, and as the beast drew near it raised its neck in air higher than the horsemen. Now the company of men who had assembled for the hunt did not dare to draw near it, being warned by the mishaps which had befallen them on the former occasion, but shooting at it from afar, and with many hands aiming at a single target, and a large one at that, they kept hitting it, and when the horsemen appeared and the multitude of bold fighting-dogs, and then again when the trumpets blared, they got the animal terrified. Consequently, when it retreated to its accustomed lair, they closed in upon it, but only so far as not to arouse it still more. And when it came near the opening which had been stopped up, the whole throng, acting together, raised a mighty din with their arms and thus increased its confusion and fear because of the crowds which put in their appearance and of the trumpets. But the beast could not find the opening and so, terrified at the advance of the hunters, fled for refuge into the mouth of the net which had been prepared near by. And when the woven net began to be filled up as the snake uncoiled itself, some of the hunters anticipated its movements by leaping forward, and before the snake
έξοδον κατελάβοντο δεσμοῖς τὸ στόμιον πρόμηχες ὁν καὶ πεφιλοτεχνημένον πρὸς ταύτην τὴν ὄξυτητα· ἐξελκύσαντες δὲ τὸ πλόκανον καὶ φάλαγγας

6 ὑποθέντες μετέωρον ἐξῆραν. τὸ δὲ θηρίον ἀπειλημμένον ἐν ἀπεστενωμένῳ τόπῳ παρὰ φύσιν συριγμὸν ἔχαιρον ἢφείε καὶ τοῖς ὀδοὺσι τὴν περιέχουσαν σχοῖνον κατέσπα, πάντη δὲ διασειόμενον προσδοκίαν ἐποίησε τοῖς φέρουσιν ὡς ἐκπροσόμου ἐκ τοῦ περιέχοντος αὐτὸ φιλοτεχνήματος. διὸ καὶ καταπλαγέντες ἔθεσαν ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν τὸν ὄφιν, καὶ τοὺς περὶ τὴν οὐρὰν τόπους κατακεντούντες ἀντιπεριέσπων τοῦ θηρίου τὸν ἀπὸ τῶν ὀδόντων σπαραγμοῦ ἐπὶ τὴν αἰσθησιῶν τῶν ἀλγούστων μερῶν.

7 Ἀπενέγκαντες δὲ εἰς τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν ἐδωρήσαντο τῷ βασιλεῖ, παράδοξον θέαμα καὶ τοῖς ἀκούσασιν ἀπιστούμενον. τῇ δ' ἐνδείᾳ τῆς τροφῆς καταπονήσαντες τὴν ἅλκην τοῦ θηρίου τιθασὼν ἐκ τοῦ κατ' ὀλίγον ἐποίησαν, ὥστε θαυμαστὴν

8 αὐτοῦ γενέσθαι τὴν ἔξημέρωσιν. δ' ὁ δὲ Πτολεμαῖος τοῖς μὲν κυνηγοῖς τᾶς ἄξιας ἀπένεμε δωρεάς, τὸν δ' ὄφιν ἐτρεφε τετιθασεμένον καὶ τοῖς εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν παραβάλλουσι ξένοις μέγιστον παρεχόμενον καὶ παραδοξότατον θέαμα. διὸ ὁ ποταμὸς μεγέθους ὁφεις εἰς ὄφιν κοινῆν κατηνηκότος οὐκ ἄξιον ἀπιστεῖν τοῖς Αἰθίοις οὐδὲ μῦθον ὑπολαμβάνει τὸ θρυλούμενον ὑπ' αὐτῶν. ἀποφαίνεται γὰρ ὀρᾶσθαι κατὰ τὴν χώραν αὐτῶν ὁφεις τηλικούτους τὸ μέγεθος ὥστε μὴ

1 So Dindorf: μετεωρότερον.
could turn about to face the entrance they closed and fastened with ropes the mouth, which was long and had been shrewdly devised with such swiftness of operation in mind; then they hauled out the woven net and putting rollers under it drew it up into the air. But the beast, enclosed as it was in a straitened place, kept sending forth an unnatural and terrible hissing and tried to pull down with its teeth the reeds which enveloped it, and by twisting itself in every direction created the expectation in the minds of the men who were carrying it that it would leap out of the contrivance which enveloped it. Consequently, in terror, they set the snake down on the ground, and by jabbing it about the tail they diverted the attention of the beast from its work of tearing with its teeth to its sensation of pain in the parts which hurt.

When they had brought the snake to Alexandria they presented it to the king, an astonishing sight which those cannot credit who have merely heard the tale. And by depriving the beast of its food they wore down its spirit and little by little tamed it, so that the domestication of it became a thing of wonder. As for Ptolemy, he distributed among the hunters the merited rewards, and kept and fed the snake, which had now been tamed and afforded the greatest and most astonishing sight for the strangers who visited his kingdom. Consequently, in view of the fact that a snake of so great a size has been exposed to the public gaze, it is not fair to doubt the word of the Ethiopians or to assume that the report which they circulated far and wide was a mere fiction. For they state that there are to be seen in their country snakes so great in size that they not only eat both
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μόνον βοῦς τε καὶ ταύρους καὶ τῶν ἀλλων ζῴων τὰ τηλυκάτα τοῖς ὄγκοις ἀναλίσκεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ἐλέφασιν εἰς ἄλκην συνισταθαι, καὶ διὰ μὲν τῆς σπείρας ἐμπλεκομένους τοῖς σκέλεσιν ἐμποδίζειν τὴν κατὰ φύσιν κίνησιν, τὸν δ' αὐχενα μετεωρίσαντας ὑπὲρ ¹ τὴν προβοσκίδα τὴν κεφαλῆν ἑναντίαν ποιεῖν τοῖς τῶν ἐλεφάντων ὄμμασι, διὰ δὲ τοῦ πυρωποῦ τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν ἀστρατή παραπλησίας ² τάς λαμπηδόνας προβάλλοντας ἀποτυφλοῦν τὴν ὀρασίαν, καὶ σφήλαντας ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν σαρκοφαγεῖν τὰ χειρωθέντα τῶν ζῴων.

38. Διευκρινώσετε δ' ἀρκούντως τὰ περὶ τὴν Ἀθηναίαν καὶ Τρωγοδοτικήν καὶ τὴν ταύτας συνάπτουσαν μέχρι τῆς διὰ καῦμα ἀουκήτον, πρὸς δὲ ταύτας περὶ τῆς παραλίας τῆς παρὰ τὴν Ἐρυθρῶν θάλατταν καὶ τὸ Ἀτλαντικὸν πέλαγος τὸ πρὸς μεσημβρίαν κεκλιμένον, περὶ τοῦ καταλεγμένου μέρους, λέγω δὲ τοῦ Ἀραβίου κόλπου, ποιησόμεθα τὴν ἀναγραφῆν, τὰ μὲν ἐκ τῶν ἐν Ἀλεξανδρεία βασιλικῶν ὑπομημάτων ἐξειληφότε, τὰ δὲ παρὰ τῶν αὐτοπτῶν πεπυμένου.

2 τοῦτο γὰρ τὸ μέρος τῆς οἰκουμένης καὶ τὸ περὶ τὰς Βρεττανικὰς νῆσους καὶ τὴν ἀρκτον ἡκιστα πέπτωκεν ὑπὸ τὴν κοινήν ἀνθρώπων ἐπίγνωσιν. ἀλλὰ περὶ μὲν τῶν πρὸς ἀρκτον κεκλιμένων μερῶν τῆς οἰκουμένης τῶν συναπτόντων τῇ διὰ ψύχος ἀουκήτῳ διέξιμην, ὅταν τὰς Γαίου Καίσαρας

1 ὑπὲρ Reiske: ὑπό.
2 So Dindorf: παραπλησίωσ.
oxen and bulls and other animals of equal bulk, but even join issue in battle with the elephants, and by intertwining their coil about the elephants' legs they prevent the natural movement of them and by rearing their necks above their trunks they put their heads directly opposite the eyes of the elephants, and sending forth, by reason of the fiery nature of their eyes, brilliant flashes like lightning, they first blind their sight and then throw them to the ground and devour the flesh of their conquered foes.

38. But now that we have examined with sufficient care Ethiopia and the Trogodyte country and the territory adjoining them, as far as the region which is uninhabited because of excessive heat, and, beside these, the coast of the Red Sea¹ and the Atlantic deep² which stretches towards the south, we shall give an account of the part which still remains—and I refer to the Arabian Gulf³—drawing in part upon the royal records preserved in Alexandria, and in part upon what we have learned from men who have seen it with their own eyes. For this section of the inhabited world and that about the British Isles and the far north have by no means come to be included in the common knowledge of men. But as for the parts of the inhabited world which lie to the far north and border on the area which is uninhabited because of the cold, we shall discuss them when we record the

² Apparently Diodorus uses the term “Atlantic,” although it is derived from the word “Atlas,” and regularly designated the western ocean, in the sense employed by the geographer Eratosthenes, who, about 200 B.C., applied it to the entire expanse of water which surrounded the “inhabited world” (cp. H. Berger, Geschichte der wissenschaftlichen Erdkunde der Griechen², pp. 323, 377, 396).
³ The Red Sea.
3 πράξεις ἀναγράφωμεν· οὔτος γὰρ τὴν Ἀρωμάτων ἡγεμονίαν εἰς ἐκείνα τὰ μέρη πορρωτάτω προβιβάσας πάντα τὸν πρότερον ἀγνοούμενον τόπον

4 ἐποίησε πεσεῖν εἰς σύνταξιν ἱστορίας· ὁ δὲ προορισμόμενος Ἀράβιος κόλπος ἀνεστώμεται μὲν εἰς τὸν κατὰ μεσημβρίαν κείμενον ὦκεανόν, τῶν μηκεί δὲ ἐπὶ πολλοὺς πάνυ παρηκὼν σταδίους τῶν μυχῶν ἔχει περιοριζόμενον ταῖς ἐσχατιαίς τῆς Ἀραβίας καὶ Τρωγοδυτικῆς. εὐθὺς δὲ κατὰ μὲν τὰ στόμα καὶ τῶν μυχῶν ὑπάρχει περὶ ἐκκαϊδεκα σταδίους, ἀπὸ δὲ Πανόρμου λιμένος πρὸς τὴν ἀντιπέρας ἥπειρον μακρὰς νεῶς διωγμὸν ἥμερησιον. τὸ δὲ μέγιστὸν ἐστὶ διάστημα κατὰ τὸ Τύρκαιον ὄρος καὶ Μακαρίαν νῆσον πελάγιαν, ὡς ἃν τῶν ἥπειρων ὅλη ὀρμωμένον ἀπ’ ἄλληλων.

5 ἀπὸ δὲ τούτου τὸ πλάτος ἄει μᾶλλον συγκλείεται καὶ τὴν συναγωγὴν ἔχει μέχρι τοῦ στόματος. ὁ δὲ παράπλους αὐτοῦ κατὰ πολλοὺς τόπους ἐχεῖ νῆσους μακρὰς, στενοὺς μὲν διαδρόμους ἑχούσας, οὖν δὲ πολὺν καὶ σφοδρόν. ἡ μὲν οὖν κεφαλαιώδης τοῦ κόλπου τούτου θέσεις ὑπάρχει τοιαύτη. ὡμείν δ’ ἀπὸ τῶν ἐσχάτων ¹ τοῦ μυχοῦ τόπων ἀρξάμενοι τὸν ἐφ’ ἐκάτερα τὰ μέρη παράπλου τῶν ἥπειρων καὶ τὰς ἀξιολογώτατας κατ’ αὐτὰς ἰδιότητας διέξειμεν· πρῶτον δὲ λησόμεθα τὸ δεξίων μέρος, οὗ τὴν παραλίαν τῶν Τρωγοδυτῶν ἐθνὶ νέμεται μέχρι τῆς ἐρήμου.

¹ τούτου after ἐσχάτων deleted by Dindorf.
deeds of Gaius Caesar; for he it was who extended the Roman Empire the farthest into those parts and brought it about that all the area which had formerly been unknown came to be included in a narrative of history; but the Arabian Gulf, as it is called, opens into the ocean which lies to the south, and its innermost recess, which stretches over a distance of very many stades in length, is enclosed by the farthermost borders of Arabia and the Trogodyte country. Its width at the mouth and at the innermost recess is about sixteen stades, but from the harbour of Panormus to the opposite mainland is a day's run for a warship. And its greatest width is at the Tyrcaeus mountain and Macaria, an island out at sea, the mainlands there being out of sight of each other. But from this point the width steadily decreases more and more and continually tapers as far as the entrance. And as a man sails along the coast he comes in many places upon long islands with narrow passages between them, where the current runs full and strong. Such, then, is the setting, in general terms, of this gulf. But for our part, we shall make our beginning with the farthest regions of the innermost recess and then sail along its two sides past the mainlands, in connection with which we shall describe what is peculiar to them and most deserving of discussion; and first of all we shall take the right side, the coast of which is inhabited by tribes of the Trogodytes as far inland as the desert.

Strabo (16. 4. 4) and others say the straits at Deiré are sixty stades wide (about seven miles), which is much nearer the present width than the "sixteen" of Diodorus.

Panormus and this mountain are otherwise unknown.

i.e. the western or Egyptian side.
39. Ἀπὸ πόλεως τούτων Ἀρασινώς κομιζόμενος παρὰ τὴν δεξιὰν ἦπειρον ἐκπίπτει κατὰ πολλοὺς τόπους ἐκ πέτρας εἰς θάλατταν ὑδατα πολλά, πικρᾶς ἀλμυρίδος ἐχοντα γεύσιν. παραδραμόντι δὲ τὰς πηγὰς ταύτας ὑπέρκειται μεγάλου πεδίου μιλτώδη χρόαν ἔχον ὀρος καὶ τὴν ὄρασιν τῶν ἐπὶ πλέον ἀτενιζόντων εἰς αὐτὸ λυμαινόμενον. ὑπὸ δὲ τὰς ἐσχατίας τῆς ὑπωρείας κεῖται λιμὴν σκολιὸν ἔχων τὸν εἰσπλοῦν, ἐπώνυμος Ἀφροδίτης. ὑπέρκειται δὲ τούτου νήσου τρεῖς, ὧν δύο μὲν πλήρεις εἰσὶν ἑλαιῶν καὶ σύσκιοι, μία δὲ λειπομένη τῷ πλήθει τῶν προειρήμενων δένδρων, πλῆθος δ' ἔχουσα τῶν ὀνομαζομένων μελεαγρίδων. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα κόλπος ἐστὶν εὐμεγέθης ὁ καλούμενος Ἀκάθαρτος, καὶ πρὸς αὐτῷ βαθεία καθ' ὑπερβολὴν χερρόνησος, ἢς κατὰ τὸν αὐχένα στενὸν οὐτα διακομίζουσι τὰ σκάφη πρὸς τὴν ἀντιπέρας θάλατταν. παρακομισθέντι δὲ τοὺς τόπους τούτους κεῖται νήσος πελαγία μὲν τῷ διαστήματι, τὸ δὲ μῆκος εἰς ὁγδοήκοντα σταδίους παρεκτείνουσα, καλομέμνη δὲ Ὅφιώδης, ἢ τὸ μὲν παλαίων ὑπήρχε πλήρης παντοδαπῶν καὶ φοβερῶν ἔρπετῶν, ἀφ' ὧν καὶ ταῦτης ἐτυχὲ τῆς προσηγορίας, ἐν δὲ τοῖς μεταγενεστέροις χρόνοις ὑπὸ τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν βασιλέων οὕτως ἐξημερώθη φιλοτίμως ὡστε μηδὲν ἔτι κατ' αὐτὴν ὀράσθαι τῶν προϋπαρξάντων ζώων.

1 ταύτας Eichstäd: avtâs.
In the course of the journey, then, from the city of Arsinoë along the right mainland, in many places numerous streams, which have a bitter salty taste, drop from the cliffs into the sea. And after a man has passed these waters, above a great plain there towers a mountain whose colour is like ruddle and blinds the sight of any who gaze steadfastly upon it for some time. Moreover, at the edge of the skirts of the mountain there lies a harbour, known as Aphrodité's Harbour, which has a winding entrance. Above this harbour are situated three islands, two of which abound in olive trees and are thickly shaded, while one falls short of the other two in respect of the number of these trees but contains a multitude of the birds called *meleagrides.* Next there is a very large gulf which is called Acathartus, and by it is an exceedingly long peninsula, over the narrow neck of which men transport their ships to the opposite sea. And as a man coasts along these regions he comes to an island which lies at a distance out in the open sea and stretches for a length of eighty stades; the name of it is Ophiodes and it was formerly full of fearful serpents of every variety, which was in fact the reason why it received this name, but in later times the kings at Alexandria have laboured so diligently on the reclaiming of it that not one of the animals which were formerly there is any longer to be seen on the island.

1 Strabo (16. 4. 5 ff.) follows much the same order in his description of the Gulf.
2 Strabo (16. 4. 5) says these islands lie "off," Agatharchides (81), that they lie "in" the harbour.
3 Guinea-fowls.
4 *i.e.* "Foul."
5 *i.e.* "Snaky."
5 Οὐ παραλειπτέον δ' ἡμῶν οὐδὲ τὴν αὐτάν τῆς περὶ τὴν ἡμέρωσιν φιλοτιμίας. εὐρίσκεται γὰρ ἐν τῇ νήσῳ ταύτῃ τὸ καλοῦμενον τοπάζιον, ὅπερ ἐστὶ λίθος διαφαινόμενος ἐπιτερπῆς, ὅλως παρεμφέρης καὶ θαυμαστὴν ἐγχρυσον πρόσοψιν παρεχο-μένος. διόπερ ἀνεπίβατος τοῖς ἄλλοις τηρεῖται, θανατουμένου παντὸς τοῦ προσπλεύσαντος ὑπὸ τῶν καθεσταμένων ἐπ’ αὐτῆς φυλάκων. οὕτω δὲ τὸν ἀρυμόν οἴντες ὀλίγοι βλον ἔχουσιν ἄτυχή. ἤνα μὲν γὰρ μηδεὶς λίθος διακλατή, πλοῦν οὐκ ἀπολείπεται τὸ παράπαν ἐν τῇ νῆσῳ. οἱ δὲ παραπλέοντες αὐτὴν διὰ τὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως φόβον πόρρωθεν παραθέουσιν τροφαί δὲ αἰ μὲν παρακομιζόμεναι ταχέως ἐκλείπουσιν, ἔτερα δὲ ἐγχώριοι 7 τὸ σύνολον οὐχ ὑπάρχουσι. διόπερ ὅταν τῶν συτίων ὀλίγα καταλείπηται, κάθηται πάντες οἱ κατὰ τὴν κώμην προσδεχόμενοι τὸν τῶν κομιζόντων τὰς τροφὰς κατάπλουν· ὅν βραδυνότων εἰς τὰς 8 ἐσχάτας ἐλπίδας συστέλλονται. δὲ προειρή-μένος λίθος φυόμενος ἐν ταῖς πέτραις τὴν μὲν ἡμέραν διὰ τὸ πύγος οὐχ ὀρᾶται, κρατοῦμενος ὑπὸ τοῦ περὶ τοῦ ἥλιου φέγγους, τῆς δὲ νυκτὸς ἐπιγυμνόμενης ἐν σκότει διαλάμπει καὶ πόρρωθεν 9 δῆλος ἐστὶν ἐν ὦ ποτ’ ἃν ἢ τόπῳ. οὐ δὲ νησοφύλακες κλήρῳ διηρημένοι τοὺς τόπους ἐφεδρεύουσι, καὶ τῷ φανέρτι λίθῳ περιτιθέασι σημείον χάριν ἄγγος τηλικοῦτον ἥλικον ἢν ἢ τοῦ μέγεθος τοῦ στίλβοντος λίθου. τῆς δ’ ἡμέρας περιόντες περιτέμνουσι τὸν σημειωθέντα τόπων τῆς πέτρας, καὶ παραδιδόσαι τοῖς διὰ τῆς τέχνης δυναμένοις ἐκλεάνειν τὸ παραδοθὲν οἰκείως.

1 ἐπ’ αὐτῆς Hertlein: ὑπ’ αὐτῶν.

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However, we should not pass over the reason why the kings showed diligence in the reclamation of this island. For there is found on it the topaz, as it is called, which is a pleasing transparent stone, similar to glass, and of a marvellous golden hue. Consequently no unauthorized person may set foot upon the island and it is closely guarded, every man who has approached it being put to death by the guards who are stationed there. And the latter are few in number and lead a miserable existence. For in order to prevent any stone being stolen, not a single boat is left on the island; furthermore, any who sail by pass along it at a distance because of their fear of the king; and the provisions which are brought to it are quickly exhausted and there are absolutely no other provisions in the land. Consequently, whenever only a little food is left, all the inhabitants of the village sit down and await the arrival of the ship of those who are bringing the provisions, and when these are delayed they are reduced to their last hopes. And the stone we have mentioned, being found in the rocks, is not discernible during the day because of the stifling heat, since it is overcome by the brilliance of the sun, but when night falls it shines in the dark and is visible from afar, in whatever place it may be. The guards on the island divide these places by lot among themselves and stand watch over them, and when the stone shines they put around it, to mark the place, a vessel corresponding in size to the chunk of stone which gives out the light; and when day comes and they go their rounds they cut out the area which has been so marked and turn it over to men who are able by reason of their craftsmanship to polish it properly.
40. Parapleusaunti de toutous toous topous polla mën 'Ixthuofagwn ethn kataikei thn paralwion, pollloi de nomades Trwgyoudtai. pros de toutous orhp pantoia taiz idiothsin uparxei mexhrh limenos tou prosgagoreuvnetos sotetrias, os etuxhe ths oinoiasias taunths apó twv prwtwn pleusantwn

2 'Ellhnwv kai diasowthenwv, apó de toutwn twv merōn árchetai sunagwghn lamvanein o kolpos kai thn epistrophei epí ta katá thn 'Araβián mérh poieíthai. kai thn fúsw de ths khwras kai thalattins alloian einai sumpběrhke dia thn idiótita to twv topwv: 

3 taiz mén ouv éptikópous twv neón euðetós èstwvn o topos, kludwvna mén ouk ék pollou kulywv diastýmatos, thrían th 'Ixthúwn aplaton perechómenos: ai de toutis éléphantas diaγousai, dia ta varh báthuploi kahéstwv kai taiz katastkevain emíbrtheis, megálous kai deunois epiféroun kudvoun tws en autais pleoun.

4 kai fúkous. taiz mén ouv éptikópous twv neón euðetós èstwvn o topos, kludwvna mén ouk ék pollou kulywv diastýmatos, thrían th 'Ixthúwn aplaton perechómenos: ai de toutis éléphantas diaγousai, dia ta varh báthuploi kahéstwv kai taiz katastkevain emíbrtheis, megálous kai deunois epiféroun kudvoun tws en autais pleoun.

5 diařsei gar istwv theousai kai dia thn twv pnevmatwn biain pollákis vuktos oðhoumenai, stè mèn pétrais prospeousoi vanaγousoi, potè th ùs tevanagwdeis ùsthmois émpipoutousin: oí de vautai parakatabhtnai mèn adnoutousi dia ò to pleoun

1 i.e. "Safety."
40. After sailing past these regions one finds that the coast is inhabited by many nations of Ichthyo-phagi and many nomadic Trogodytes. Then there appear mountains of all manner of peculiarities until one comes to the Harbour of Soteria, as it is called, which gained this name from the first Greek sailors who found safety there. From this region onwards the gulf begins to become contracted and to curve toward Arabia. And here it is found that the nature of the country and of the sea has altered by reason of the peculiar characteristic of the region; for the mainland appears to be low as seen from the sea, no elevation rising above it, and the sea, which runs to shoals, is found to have a depth of no more than three fathoms, while in colour it is altogether green. The reason for this is, they say, not because the water is naturally of that colour, but because of the mass of seaweed and tangle which shows from under water. For ships, then, which are equipped with oars the place is suitable enough, since it rolls along no wave from a great distance and affords, furthermore, fishing in the greatest abundance; but the ships which carry the elephants, being of deep draft because of their weight and heavy by reason of their equipment, bring upon their crews great and terrible dangers. For running as they do under full sail and often times being driven during the night before the force of the winds, sometimes they will strike against rocks and be wrecked or sometimes run aground on slightly submerged spits. The sailors are unable to go over the sides of the ship because the water is

2 A little south of this region, according to Strabo (16. 4. 7), lay the city of Ptolemais, founded under Ptolemy Philadelphus near the hunting-grounds for elephants.
Diodorus of Sicily

eînai to báthos ἀνδρομήκους, διὰ δὲ τῶν κοντῶν τῷ σκάφει βοηθοῦντες ὅταν μηδὲν αἰώνωσιν, ἐκβάλλουσιν ἀπαντὰ πλὴν τῆς τροφῆς. οὐδ’ οὖτω δὲ τῆς ἀποστροφῆς ¹ τυγχάνοντες εἰς μεγάλην ἀπορίαν ἐμπίπτουσι διὰ τὸ μῆτε νήσου μητ’ ἀκραν ἥπειροι μῆτε ναῦν ἑτέραν πλησίον ὑπάρχουσαν ὀρᾶσθαι. ἀξενοὶ γὰρ παντελῶς οἱ τόποι καὶ σπανίως ἔχοντες τοὺς ναυαὶ διακομιζομένους.

6 χωρὶς δὲ τούτων τῶν κακῶν ὁ κλῦνων ἐν ἄκαρεὶ χρόνῳ τῷ κύτει τῆς νεῶς τοσοῦτο πλῆθος ἁμιμοῦ προσβάλλει καὶ συσσωρεύει παραδόξως ὡστε τὸν κύκλω ὁ πότον περιχώννυσθαι καὶ τὸ σκάφος ὑσπερ ἐπίτηδες ἐνδεσμεύεσθαι τῇ χέρσῳ.

7 Οἶ δὲ τούτω τῷ συμπτώματι περιπεσόντες τὸ μὲν πρῶτον μετριῶς οὖν ἐντούτω πρὸς κωφὴν ἔρημιαν, οὐ παντελῶς ἀπεγνωκότες εἰς τέλος ² τὴν σωτηρίαν. πολλάκις γὰρ τοῖς τοιούτους ἐπιφανείς ὁ τῆς πλημμυρίδος κλῦνων ἐξῆρεν εἰς ύψος, καὶ τοὺς ἐσχάτως κινδυνεύοντας ὑσπερεὶ θεοὶ ἐπιφανεὶς διεφύλαξεν. ὅταν δὲ ἀπὸ μὲν τῶν θεῶν ἡ προειρέμενη μὴ παρακολουθήσῃ βοήθεια, τὰ δὲ τῆς τροφῆς λύπη, τοὺς μὲν ἀσθενεστέρους οἱ κατισχύοντες ἐκβάλλουσιν εἰς θάλατταν, ὅπως τοῖς ὀλίγοις τὰ λειτομένα τῶν ἀναγκαίων πλείονας ἥμερας ἀντέχη, πέρας δὲ πᾶσας τὰς ἔλπιδας ἐξαλείψαντες ἀπολλυται πολὺ χείρον τῶν προσποθανόντων. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἐν ἄκαρεὶ χρόνῳ τὸ πνεῦμα

¹ So Wesseling, Vogel, τροφῆς MSS., Bekker, σωτηρίας Dindorf, ἀναστροφῆς Bezzel, Coniecturae Diodoreae, 10 f.
² εἰς τέλος deleted by Dindorf, Vogel, retained by Bekker.

¹ The reference is to the “epiphany” of a god in tragedy, effected by the use of a “machine” which suddenly hoisted 204
deeper than a man's height, and when in their efforts to rescue their vessel by means of their punting-poles they accomplish nothing, they jettison everything except their provisions; but if even by this course they do not succeed in effecting an escape, they fall into great perplexity by reason of the fact that they can make out neither an island nor a promontory nor another ship near at hand;—for the region is altogether inhospitable and only at rare intervals do men cross it in ships. And to add to these evils the waves within a moment's time cast up such a mass of sand against the body of the ship and heap it up in so incredible a fashion that it soon piles up a mound round about the place and binds the vessel, as if of set purpose, to the solid land.

Now the men who have suffered this mishap, at the outset bewail their lot with moderation in the face of a deaf wilderness, having as yet not entirely abandoned hope of ultimate salvation; for oftentimes the swell of the flood-tide has intervened for men in such a plight and raised the ship aloft, and suddenly appearing, as might a *deus ex machina*, has brought succour to men in the extremity of peril. But when such god-sent aid has not been vouchsafed to them and their food fails, then the strong cast the weaker into the sea in order that for the few left the remaining necessities of life may last a greater number of days. But finally, when they have blotted out of their minds all their hopes, these perish by a more miserable fate than those who had died before; for whereas the latter in a moment's time returned to Nature him into view, that he might offer to the problems of the tragedy a solution which was beyond the power of mortals to foresee or bring to pass.
DIODORUS OF SICILY

τῇ δοὺσῃ φύσει πάλιν ἀπέδωκαν, οἵ δ' εἰς πολλὰς ταλαιπωρίας καταμερίσαντες τὸν θάνατον πολυ-χρονίους τὰς συμφορὰς ἔχοντες τῆς τοῦ βίου

καταστροφῆς τυγχάνουσι. τὰ δὲ σκάφη ταῦτα τῶν ἐπιβατῶν οἰκτρῶς στερηθέντα, καθάπερ τινὰ κενοτάφια, διαμένει πολὺν χρόνον πανταχόθεν περιχωννύμενα, τοὺς δ' ἱστός καὶ τὰς κεραίας μετεώρους ἔχοντα πόρρωθεν τοὺς ὁρῶντας εἰς οίκον καὶ συμπάθειαν ἅγει τῶν ἀπολωλότων. πρόσταγμα γὰρ ἐστὶ βασιλέως ἐάν τὰ τοιαῦτα συμπτώματα τοῖς πλέουσι διασημαίνει τοὺς τὸν

ὀλέθρον περιποιοῦντας τόπους. παρὰ δὲ τοὺς πλησίον κατοικοῦσιν 'Ἰχθυοφάγους παραδέδοταί λόγος, ἐκ προγόνων ἔχων φυλαττομένην τὴν φήμην, ὡς μεγάλης τῶν γενομένης ἀμπώτεως ἐγεώθη τοῦ κόλπου πᾶς οἱ τόπος οὗ τὴν χλωρᾶν ἔχων τοῦ τύπου 1 πρόσοψιν, μεταπεσουσάς τῆς θαλάττης εἰς τάναντια μέρη, καὶ φανείσης τῆς ἐπὶ τῷ βυθῷ χέρσου πάλιν ἐπελθοῦσαν ἐξαισίους πλήμην ἀποκαταστήσας τὸν πόρον εἰς τὴν προῦ-πάρχουσαν τάξιν.

41. Ἀπὸ δὲ τούτων τῶν τόπων τὸν μὲν ἀπὸ Πτολεμαῖδος παράπλουν ἐως τῶν Ταύρων ἀκρωτηρίων προερήκαμεν, ὡς Πτολεμαίου την τῶν ἐλεφάντων θήραν ἀπηγγείλαμεν· ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν Ταύρων ἐπιστρέφει μὲν ἡ παράλιος πρὸς τὰς ἀνατολάς, κατὰ δὲ τὴν θερινήν τροπὴν αἱ σκιαὶ πίπτουσι πρὸς μεσημβρίαν ἐναντίως ταῖς παρ

1 τύπου Eichstätt: τόπου.

1 The older commentators saw in this story a memory of the miraculous passage of the Israelites through the Red Sea. 206
the spirit which she had given them, these parcelled out their death into many separate hardships before they finally, suffering long-protracted tortures, were granted the end of life. As for the ships which have been stripped of their crews in this pitiable fashion, there they remain for many years, like a group of cenotaphs, embedded on every side in a heap of sand, their masts and yard-arms still standing aloft, and they move those who behold them from afar to pity and sympathy for the men who have perished. For it is the king’s command to leave in place such evidences of disasters that they may give notice to sailors of the region which works their destruction. And among the Ichthyophagi who dwell near by has been handed down a tale which has preserved the account received from their forefathers, that once, when there was a great receding of the sea, the entire area of the gulf which has what may be roughly described as the green appearance became land, and that, after the sea had receded to the opposite parts and the solid ground in the depths of it had emerged to view, a mighty flood came back upon it again and returned the body of water to its former place.¹

41. The voyage along the coast, as one leaves these regions, from Ptolemais as far as the Promontories of the Tauri we have already mentioned, when we told of Ptolemy’s hunting of the elephants ²; and from the Tauri the coast swings to the east, and at the time of the summer solstice the shadows fall to the south, opposite to what is true with us, at about the second

² Cp. chap. 18. where, however, there is no mention of either Ptolemais or the Promontories of the Tauri.
2 ήμιν ἂρι πρὸς ὴραν δευτέραν. ἔχει δὲ καὶ ποταμοὺς ἡ χώρα, ἰεντασ ἐκ τῶν ὄρων τῶν προσαγορευμένων Ψεβαιών. διείληπται δὲ καὶ πεδίοις μεγάλοις φέρουσι μαλάχης καὶ καρδάμου καὶ φοίνικος ἀπίστα μεγέθη· ἐκφέρει δὲ καὶ καρποὺς παντοῖους, τὴν μὲν γεῦσιν ἔχοντας
3 νωθράν, ἀγνουμένους δὲ πάρ ἂμιν. ή δὲ πρὸς τὴν μεσόγειον ἀνατείνουσα πλήρης ἐστὶν ἐλεφάντων καὶ ταύρων ἄγριων καὶ λεόντων καὶ πολλῶν ἄλλων παντοδαπῶν θηρίων ἄλκιμών. δὲ δὲ πόρος νῆσοι διεῖληπται καρπὸν μὲν οὐδένα φεροῦσας ἥμερον, ἐκτρεφοῦσαι δ’ ὄρνευν ἱδία γένη καὶ ταῖς προσόψεις θαμμαστά. ἦ δ’ ἐξῆς θάλαττα βαθεῖα παντελῶς ἐστὶ, καὶ κήτη φέρει παντοδαπὰ παράδοξα τοὺς μεγέθεσιν, οὐ μέντοι λυποῦντα τοὺς ἀνθρώπους, ἀν μὴ τις ἀκούσως αὐτῶν ταῖς λοφαῖς περιπέσῃ· οὐ δύνανται γὰρ διώκειν τοὺς πλέοντας, ὡς ἂν κατὰ τὴν ἐκ τῆς θαλάττης ἄρσιν ἀμαυρουμένων αὐτοῖς τῶν ὄμματων ὑπὸ τοῦ κατὰ τὸν ἥλιον φέγγους. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν τὰ μέρη τῆς Τρωγοντικῆς ἐσχάτα γυμνῷς, περιγραφόμενα ταῖς ἀκραῖς ἃς ὁνομάζουσι Ψεβαιῶς.

42. Τὸ δ’ ἄλλο μέρος τῆς ἀντιπέρας παραλίου τὸ προσκεκλιμένον Ἀραβία πάλιν ἀναλαβόντες ἀπὸ τοῦ μυχοῦ διέξιμεν. οὗτος γὰρ ὄνομάζεται Ποσείδειος, ἰδρυσαμένου Ποσειδῶν πελαγίω βωμὸν Ἀρίστωνος τοῦ πεμφλέντος ὑπὸ Πτολεμαίου πρὸς κατασκοπὴν τῆς ἐως ὠκεανοῦ παρηκούσης

1 ἐκ added by Wesseling.
The country also has rivers, which flow from the Psebaean mountains, as they are called. Moreover, it is checkered by great plains as well, which bear mallows, cress, and palms, all of unbelievable size; and it also brings forth fruits of every description, which have an insipid taste and are unknown among us. That part which stretches towards the interior is full of elephants and wild bulls and lions and many other powerful wild beasts of every description. The passage by sea is broken up by islands which, though they bear no cultivated fruit, support varieties of birds which are peculiar to them and marvellous to look upon. After this place the sea is quite deep and produces all kinds of sea-monsters of astonishing size, which, however, offer no harm to men unless one by accident falls upon their back-fins; for they are unable to pursue the sailors, since when they rise from the sea their eyes are blinded by the brilliance of the sun. These, then, are the farthest known parts of the Trogodyte country, and are circumscribed by the ranges which go by the name of Psebaean.

But we shall now take up the other side, namely, the opposite shore which forms the coast of Arabia, and shall describe it, beginning with the innermost recess. This bears the name Poseideion, since an altar was erected here to Poseidon Pelagius by that Ariston who was dispatched by Ptolemy to investigate the coast of Arabia as far as the ocean.

1 The direction of the shadow to the south at about 7 a.m. on June 21st shows that the place was south of the tropic of Cancer.
2 The Roman Posidium, the present Ras-Mohammed, at the southern tip of the Peninsula of Sinai (cp. Strabo 16. 4. 18).
3 i.e. "of the sea."
DIODORUS OF SICILY

2 Ἄραβίας. ἔτη δὲ τοῦ μυχοῦ τόπος ἐστὶ παραθαλάττιος ὅ τιμόμενος ὑπὸ τῶν ἐγχωρίων διαφέροντις διὰ τὴν εὐχρηστίαν τὴν ἐκ αὐτοῦ. οὔτος δὲ ὁνομάζεται μὲν Φουικών, ἔχει δὲ πλῆθος τούτος τοῦ φυτοῦ πολύκαρπον καθ' ὑπερβολὴν καὶ πρὸς
3 ἀπόλαυσιν καὶ τροφὴν ¹ διαφέρον. πᾶσα δ' ἡ σύνεγγυς χώρα σπανίζει ναματιαίων ὕδατών καὶ διὰ τὴν πρὸς μεσημβρίαν ἐγκλίσων ἐμπυρος ὑπάρχει· διὸ καὶ τὸν κατάφυτον τόπον, ἐν ἀπανθρωποτάτοις ὀντα μέρεσι καὶ χορηγοῦντα τὰς τροφὰς, εἰκότως οἱ βάρβαροι καθιερώκασι. καὶ γὰρ ὕδατος οὐκ ὀλίγαι τηγαί καὶ λιβάδες ἐκπίπτουσιν ἐν αὐτῷ, ψυχρότητι χιόνος οὐδὲν λειτόμεναι· αὐτοὶ δ' ἐφ' ἐκάτερα τὰ μέρη τὰ κατὰ τὴν ² γῆν χλοερὰ ποιοῦσι καὶ παντελῶς
4 ἐπιτερπη. ἐστὶ δὲ καὶ βωμὸς ἐκ στερεοῦ λίθου παλαιὸς τοῖς χρόνοις, ἐπιγραφὴν ἐχων ἀρχαιοὶ γράμμασιν ἀγωστοῖς. ἐπιμέλονταί δὲ τοῦ τεμένους ἄνηρ καὶ γυνή, διὰ βίου τὴν ἰερωσύνην ἔχοντες. μακρόβιοι δ' εἰσὶν οἱ τῇ δε κατοικοῦντες, καὶ τὰς κοινὰς ἐτὶ τῶν δένδρων ἔχουσι διὰ τὸν ἀπὸ τῶν θηρίων φόβον.
5 Παραπλεύσαντι δὲ τῶν Φουικώνα.³ πρὸς ἀκρωτηρίῳ τῆς ἰπέυρου νῆσός ἐστιν ἀπὸ τῶν ἐναιλιζομένων ἐν αὐτῇ ζώων Φωκῶν νῆσος ὄνομαζομένη· τοσοῦτο γὰρ πλῆθος τῶν θηρίων τούτων ἐνδιατρίβει τοῖς τόποις ὡστε θαυμάζειν τοὺς ἵδοντας. τὸ δὲ προκείμενον ἀκρωτηρίῳ τῆς νῆσου κεῖται κατὰ τὴν καλουμένην Πέτραν καὶ τὴν Παλαιστίνην.⁴

¹ διατροφὴν Π. ² τὴν omitted by D, Vogel.
³ So Dindorf: Φουικώνα.
⁴ τῆς Ἄραβίας after Παλαιστίνην deleted by Vogel, placed after Πέτραν by Salmasius, Bekker, Dindorf.

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Directly after the innermost recess is a region along the sea which is especially honoured by the natives because of the advantage which accrues from it to them. It is called the Palm-grove and contains a multitude of trees of this kind which are exceedingly fruitful and contribute in an unusual degree to enjoyment and luxury. But all the country round about is lacking in springs of water and is fiery hot because it slopes to the south; accordingly, it was a natural thing that the barbarians made sacred the place which was full of trees and, lying as it did in the midst of a region utterly desolate, supplied their food. And indeed not a few springs and streams of water gush forth there, which do not yield to snow in coldness; and these make the land on both sides of them green and altogether pleasing. Moreover, an altar is there built of hard stone and very old in years, bearing an inscription in ancient letters of an unknown tongue. The oversight of the sacred precinct is in the care of a man and a woman who hold the sacred office for life. The inhabitants of the place are long-lived and have their beds in the trees because of their fear of the wild beasts.

After sailing past the Palm-grove one comes to an island off a promontory of the mainland which bears the name Island of Phocae from the animals which make their home there; for so great a multitude of these beasts spend their time in these regions as to astonish those who behold them. And the promontory which stretches out in front of the island lies over against Petra, as it is called, and Palestine; for to

1 i.e. date-palms.
2 Seals.
DIODORUS OF SICILY

eis γὰρ ταύτην τὸν τε λίβανον καὶ τάλλα φορτία τὰ πρὸς εὐωδίαν ἀνήκοντα κατάγομαι, ὅς λόγος, ἐκ τῆς ἄνω λεγομένης Ἀραβίας οἳ τε Γερραῖοι καὶ Μιναῖοι.¹

43. Τὴν δ' ἐξῆς παραθαλάττων τὸ μὲν παλαιὸν ἐνέμοντο Μαρανῖται, μετὰ δὲ ταύτα Γαρινδανεῖς, ὄντες πλησιόχωροι. τὴν δὲ χώραν κατέσχον τοιῶδε τινὶ τρόπῳ: ἐν τῷ πρόσθεν λεχθέντι Φοινικῶι συντελουμένης πανηγύρεως πενταετηρικῆς ἐφοίτων πανταχόθεν οἱ περίοικοι, καμήλων εἰδε τεθραμμένων ἐκατόμβας τοῖς ἐν τῷ τεμένει θεοῖς θύσοντες, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τῶν ὤδάτων τῶν εἰς αὐτοῦ κομμόντες εἰς τὰς πατρίδας διὰ τὸ παραδίδοσθαι τοῦτο τὸ ποτὸν παρασκευάζειν τοῖς προσενεγκαμένοις τὴν υγείαν.

2 διὰ δὴ ταύτας τὰς αἰτίας τῶν Μαρανιτῶν καταντήσαντων εἰς τὴν πανήγυριν, οἱ Γαρινδανεῖς τοὺς μὲν ἀπολειπομένους ἐν τῇ χώρα κατασφάζαντες, τοὺς δ' ἐκ τῆς πανηγύρεως ἐπαινόντας ἐνεδρεύσαντες διεφθείραν, ἐρημώσαντες δὲ τὴν χώραν τῶν οἰκητῶν κατεκληρούχησαν πεδία καρποφόρα καὶ

3 νομᾶς τοῖς κτήνεσι δαμιλεῖς ἐκτρέφοντα. αὐτὴ δ' ἡ παράλιος λιμένας μὲν ὀλίγους ἔχει, διεἰληπται δ' ὀρεσὶ πυκνοῖς καὶ μεγάλοις, ἐξ δὲ παντοῖας ποικιλίας χρωμάτων ἔχουσα θαυμαστὴν παρέχεται θέαν τοῖς παραπλέουσι.

4 Παραπλεύσαντι δὲ ταύτην τὴν χώραν ἐκδέχεται κόλπος Λαιανίτης, περιοικοῦμενος πολλαῖς κάμμαις Ἀράβων τῶν προσαγορευμένων Ναβαταίων. οὕτω δὲ πολλήν μὲν τῆς παραλίου νέμονται, οὐκ

¹ So Dindorf: Μιναῖοι
this country, as it is reported, both the Gerrhaeans and Minaeans convey from Upper Arabia, as it is called, both the frankincense and the other aromatic wares.

43. The coast which comes next was originally inhabited by the Maranitae, and then by the Garindanes who were their neighbours. The latter secured the country somewhat in this fashion: In the above-mentioned Palm-grove a festival was celebrated every four years, to which the neighbouring peoples thronged from all sides, both to sacrifice to the gods of the sacred precinct hecatombs of well-fed camels and also to carry back to their native lands some of the water of the place, since the tradition prevailed that this drink gave health to such as partook of it. When for these reasons, then, the Maranitae gathered to the festival, the Garindanes, putting to the sword those who had been left behind in the country, and lying in ambush for those who were returning from the festival, utterly destroyed the tribe, and after stripping the country of its inhabitants they divided among themselves the plains, which were fruitful and supplied abundant pasture for their herds and flocks. This coast has few harbours and is divided by many large mountains, by reason of which it shows every shade of colour and affords a marvellous spectacle to those who sail past it.

After one has sailed past this country the Laeanites Gulf\(^1\) comes next, about which are many inhabited villages of Arabs who are known as Nabataeans. This tribe occupies a large part of the coast and not a

\(^1\) Diodorus turns north into the modern Gulf of Akaba, the “Aelanites” Gulf of Strabo 16. 4. 18.
ολύγην δὲ καὶ τῆς εἰς μεσόγειον ἀνηκούσης χώρας, τὸν τε λαὸν ἀμύθητον ἔχοντες καὶ θρεμμάτων ἅγελας ἀπίστους τοὺς πλήθεσιν. οἱ τὸ μὲν παλαιὸν ἐξῆγον δικαιοσύνη χρώμενοι καὶ ταῖς ἀπὸ τῶν θρεμμάτων τροφαῖς ἀρκούμενοι, ύστερον δὲ τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας βασιλέων πλωτὸν τοῖς ἐμπόροις ποιησάντων τὸν πόρον τοῖς τε ναυαγοῦσι ἐπετίθεντο καὶ ληστρικὰ σκάφη κατασκευάζοντες ἐλήμπτον τοὺς πλέοντας, μμούμενοι τὰς ἀγριότητας καὶ παρανομίας τῶν ἐν τῷ Πόντῳ Ταύρων· μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ληφθέντες ὑπὸ τετρηρικῶν σκαφῶν πελάγιοι προσηκόντως ἐκολάσθησαν.

6 Μετὰ δὲ τούτους τοὺς τόπους ὑπάρχει χώρα πεδίας κατάρρυτος, ἐκτρέφουσα διὰ τὰς πάντης διαρρεόντας πηγὰς ἄγρωστιν καὶ μηδίκην, ἐτὶ δὲ λωτὸν ἀνδρομήκης. διὰ δὲ τὸ πλῆθος καὶ τὴν ἄρετὴν τῆς νομῆς οὐ μόνον κτηνῶν παντοδαπῶν ἀμύθητον ἐκτρέφει πλῆθος, ἀλλὰ καὶ καμήλους ἅγριας, ἐτὶ δ’ ἐλάφους καὶ δορκάδας. πρὸς δὲ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ἐντρεφομένων ξών φοιτῶσιν ἐκ τῆς ἐρήμου λεόντων καὶ λύκων καὶ παρδάλεων ἅγελαι, πρὸς ἀς οἱ κτηνοτροφοῦντες ἀναγκάζονται καὶ μεθ’ ἡμέραν καὶ νύκτωρ θηριομαχεῖν ὑπὲρ τῶν θρεμμάτων· οὕτω τὸ τῆς χώρας ἐντύχημα τοῖς κατοικοῦσιν ἄτυχίας αἴτιον γίνεται διὰ τὸ τῆς φύσις ὅσ ἐπίπαν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις μετὰ τῶν ἀγαθῶν διδόναι τὰ βλάπτοντα.

44. Παραπλεύσαντι δὲ τὰ πεδία ταῦτα κόλπος ἐκδέχεται παράδοξον ἔχων τὴν φύσιν. συνενεί μὲν γὰρ εἰς τὸν μυχὸν τῆς χώρας, τῷ μήκει δ’ ἐπὶ στάδιον πεντακοσίους παρεκτείνεται, περι-

1 δηγον Cobet; Vogel suggests dieξηγον.
little of the country which stretches inland, and it has a people numerous beyond telling and flocks and herds in multitude beyond belief. Now in ancient times these men observed justice and were content with the food which they received from their flocks, but later, after the kings in Alexandria had made the ways of the sea navigable for their merchants, these Arabs not only attacked the shipwrecked, but fitting out pirate ships preyed upon the voyagers, imitating in their practices the savage and lawless ways of the Tauri of the Pontus¹; some time afterward, however, they were caught on the high seas by some quadriremes and punished as they deserved.

Beyond these regions there is a level and well-watered stretch of land which produces, by reason of springs which flow through its whole extent, dog's-tooth grass, lucerne, and lotus as tall as a man. And because of the abundance and excellent quality of the pasturage, not only does it support every manner of flocks and herds in multitude beyond telling, but also wild camels, deer, and gazelles. And against the multitude of animals which are nourished in that place there gather in from the desert bands of lions and wolves and leopards, against which the herdsmen must perforce battle both day and night to protect their charges; and in this way the land's good fortune becomes a cause of misfortune for its inhabitants, seeing that it is generally Nature's way to dispense to men along with good things what is hurtful as well.

44. Next after these plains as one skirts the coast comes a gulf of extraordinary nature. It runs, namely, to a point deep into the land, extends in length a distance of some five hundred stades, and

¹ The Black Sea.
κλειόμενος δὲ κρημνοῖς θαυμασίως τὸ μέγεθος σκολιῶν καὶ δυσέξιτον ἔχει τὸ στόμα· ἀλιτενοὶς γὰρ πέτρας τὸν εἰσπλοῦν διαλαμβανοῦσης οὔτ' εἰσπλεύσαι δυνατὸν ἐστιν εἰς τὸν κόλπον οὔτ' ἐκπλεύσαι. κατὰ δὲ τὰς τοῦ βροῦ προσπτώσεις καὶ τὰς τῶν ἀνέμων μεταβολὰς ὁ κλύδων προσπίπτων τῇ βαχίᾳ καχλάζει καὶ τραχύνεται πάντη περὶ τὴν παρῆκουσαν πέτραν. οἱ δὲ τὴν κατὰ τὸν κόλπον χώραν νεμόμενοι, Βανιζωμενεῖς ὄνομαζόμενοι, τὰς τροφὰς ἔχουσι κυνηγοῦσας καὶ σαρκοφαγοῦντες τὰ χερσαία ξώα. οἱ άγιοτάτων ἱδρυται, τιμώμενοι ὑπὸ πάντων Ἀράβων περιτότερον.

3 Εξὴς δὲ τῇ προειρημένῃ παραλίᾳ νῆσοι τρεῖς ἐπίκεινται, λιμένας ποιοῦσα πλείους. καὶ τούτων τὴν μὲν πρώτην ἱστοροῦσιν ὑπάρχειν ἴερὰν Ἰσιδος, ἔρημον οὖσαν, παλαιῶν δ' οἰκίων ἐχειν λιθίνας ὑποστάθμας καὶ στήλας γράμμασι βαρβαρκοῖς κεκαραγγέλειν. ὅμοιος δὲ καὶ τὰς ἄλλας ἐρήμους ὑπάρχειν πάσας δ' ἐλαίαις κατατεφυτεύθηκαί diaφόροις τῶν παρ' ἁμὴν. μετὰ δὲ τὰς νῆσους ταύτας αἰγιαλὸς παρῆκει κρημνώδης καὶ δυσταράπλους ἐπὶ σταδίους χῶς χιλίους. οὔτε γὰρ λιμὴν οὔτε σάλος ἐπ' ἀγκύρας ὑπόκειται τοῖς ναυτῖοις, οὐ χηλὴ 1 δυναμένη τοῖς ἀπορουμένοις τῶν πλεόντων τὴν ἀναγκαίαν ὑπόδυσιν παρασχέσθαι. ὁρος δὲ ταύτη παράκειται κατὰ μὲν 2 κορυφὴν πέτρας ἀποτομάδας ἔχων καὶ τοῖς ψεσὶ καταπληκτικάς, ὑπὸ δὲ τὰς ρίζας σπιλάδας δέξεις καὶ πυκνὰς ἐνθαλάττους καὶ κατὸπιν αὐτῶν φάραγγας ὑποβε-

1 οὐ χηλὴ Hudson: οὐχ ἔλη.
shut in as it is by crags which are of wondrous size, its mouth is winding and hard to get out of; for a rock which extends into the sea obstructs its entrance and so it is impossible for a ship either to sail into or out of the gulf. Furthermore, at times when the current rushes in and there are frequent shiftings of the winds, the surf, beating upon the rocky beach, roars and rages all about the projecting rock. The inhabitants of the land about the gulf, who are known as Banizomenes, find their food by hunting the land animals and eating their meat. And a temple has been set up there, which is very holy and exceedingly revered by all Arabians.

Next there are three islands which lie off the coast just described and provide numerous harbours. The first of these, history relates, is sacred to Isis and is uninhabited, and on it are stone foundations of ancient dwellings and stelae which are inscribed with letters in a barbarian tongue; the other two islands are likewise uninhabited and all three are covered thick with olive trees which differ from those we have. Beyond these islands there extends for about a thousand stades a coast which is precipitous and difficult for ships to sail past; for there is neither harbour beneath the cliffs nor roadstead where sailors may anchor, and no natural breakwater which affords shelter in emergency for mariners in distress. And parallel to the coast here runs a mountain range at whose summit are rocks which are sheer and of a terrifying height, and at its base are sharp undersea ledges in many places and behind them are ravines which are eaten away underneath and turn this way

2 τῆς after μεν omitted DF, Vogel.
5 βρωμέεις καὶ σκολιάς. συντετρημένων δ' αυτῶν πρὸς ἄλληλας, καὶ τῆς θαλάττης βάθος ἐχούσης, ὁ κλύδων ποτὲ μὲν εἰσπίπτων, ποτὲ δὲ παλιοσυτῶν βρόμω μεγάλῳ παραπλήσιον ἥχον ἐξήση. τοῦ δὲ κλύδωνος τὸ μὲν πρὸς μεγάλας πέτρας προσαραττόμενοι εἰς ύψος ἴσταται καὶ τὸν ἀφρὸν θαυμαστὸν τὸ πλῆθος κατασκευάζει, τὸ δὲ καταπυνόμενον κοιλώμασι 1 σπασμὸν καταπληκτικὸν παρέχει, ὡστε τοὺς ἀκουσίως ἐγγίζαντας τοῖς τόποις διὰ τὸ δέος οἶονεὶ προαποθνήσκειν.

6 Ταύτην μὲν οὖν τὴν παράλοιπον ἔχουσιν Ἀραβεῖς οἱ καλούμενοι Ἦθομοντήνες· τὴν δ' εὔχη ἐπέχει κόλπος εὐμεγέθης, ἐπικεμένων αὐτῶν νῆσων σποράδων, τὴν πρόσοψιν ἔχουσών ὁμοίαν ταῖς καλομέναις Ἑχθανατί νῆσοις. εκδέχονται δὲ ταύτην τὴν παράλοιπον ἀέριοι θίνες ἁμίμου κατὰ τε τὸ μῆκος καὶ 7 τὸ πλάτος, μέλανες τὴν χρόαν. μετὰ δὲ τούτως ὀρᾶται χερρόνησος καὶ λιμὴν καλλιστός τῶν εἰς ἱστορίαν πεπτωκώτων, ὅνομαζόμενος Χαρμώθας. ὑπὸ γὰρ χθλήν εξαίσιον κεκλιμένην πρὸς ἑφυροῦν κόλπος ἑστιν οὐ μόνον κατὰ τὴν ἱδέαν θαυμαστός, ἀλλὰ καὶ κατὰ τὴν εὐχρηστίαν πολὺ τοὺς ἄλλους ὑπερέχων· παρήκει γὰρ αὐτῶν ὅρος συνηρεφές, κυκλομένου πανταχόθεν ἐπὶ σταδίους ἐκατόν, εὐσπλουῦ δ' ἔχει δίπλεθρον, ναυσὶ δισχιλίαις 8 ἀκλυστὸν λιμένα παρεχόμενος. χωρίς δὲ τούτων εὕνερος τ' ἐστὶ καθ' ὑπερβολήν, ποταμοῦ μείζονος εἰς αὐτὸν ἐμβάλλοντος, καὶ κατὰ μέσον ἔχει νῆσον εὕνερον καὶ δυναμένην ἔχειν κηπεύματα. καθόλου δ' ἐμφερεστάτος ἐστὶ τῷ κατὰ τὴν Καρχηδόνα

1 So Wurm: κοίλωμα.
and that. And since these ravines are connected by passages with one another and the sea is deep, the surf, as it at one time rushes in and at another time retreats, gives forth a sound resembling a mighty crash of thunder. At one place the surf, as it breaks upon huge rocks, leaps on high and causes an astonishing mass of foam, at another it is swallowed up within the caverns and creates such a terrifying agitation of the waters that men who unwittingly draw near these places are so frightened that they die, as it were, a first death.

This coast, then, is inhabited by Arabs who are called Thamudeni; but the coast next to it is bounded by a very large gulf, off which lie scattered islands which are in appearance very much like the islands called the Echinades. After this coast there come sand dunes, of infinite extent in both length and width and black in colour. Beyond them a neck of land is to be seen and a harbour, the fairest of any which have come to be included in history, called Charmuthas. For behind an extraordinary natural breakwater which slants towards the west there lies a gulf which not only is marvellous in its form but far surpasses all others in the advantages it offers; for a thickly wooded mountain stretches along it, enclosing it on all sides in a ring one hundred stades long: its entrance is two plethra wide, and it provides a harbour undisturbed by the waves sufficient for two thousand vessels. Furthermore, it is exceptionally well supplied with water, since a river, larger than ordinary, empties into it, and it contains in its centre an island which is abundantly watered and capable of supporting gardens. In general, it resembles most closely the

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1 Now called the Kurtzolares, off the Gulf of Corinth.
λιμένι, προσαγορευμένω δὲ Κόθωνι, περὶ οὗ τὰς κατὰ μέρος ευχρηστίας ἐν τοῖς οἰκείοις χρόνοις πειρασόμεθα διελθεῖν. ἱχθύων δὲ πλῆθος ἐκ τῆς μεγάλης θαλάττης εἰς αὐτὸν ἀφροίζεται διὰ τε τὴν νημείαν καὶ τὴν γλυκύτητα τῶν εἰς αὐτὸν ἰέώντων ὕδατων.

45. Παραπλησιαντὶ δὲ τοὺς τόπους τούτους ὅρη πέντε διεστηκότα ἄλληλων εἰς ύψος ἀνατείνει, συναγωμένα ἔχοντα τὰς κορυφὰς εἰς πετρώδη μαστῶν, παραπλήσιον φαντασίαν ἀποτελοῦντα ταῖς 2 κατ’ Αῖγυπτον πυραμίδων. ἔξης δ’ ἐστὶ κόλπος κυκλοτερῆς μεγάλους ἀκρωτηρίους περιεχόμενοι, οὐ κατὰ μέσην τὴν διάμετρον ἀνέστηκε λόφος τραπεζοειδῆς, ἐφ’ οὖ τρεῖς ναὸι θαυμαστοὶ τοῖς ύψεισιν ὕκοδόμημεν θεῶν, ἀγνοομένων μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων, τιμωμένων δ’ ὑπὸ τῶν ἐγχώρων 3 διαφερόντως. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἀγιαλός παρῆκε κάθυρος, ναματαιαῖος καὶ γλυκέα ρεῖθροις διείλθημενος. 1 καθ’ ὥν ἐστὶν ὁρὸς ὁνομαζόμενον μὲν Χαβίνον, δρυμοῖς δὲ παντοδαποῖς πεπυκνωμένον. τὴν δὲ χέρσον τὴν ἐχομένην τῆς ὄρεινθς νέμονται 4 τῶν Ἀράβων οἱ καλοῦμενοι Δέβαι. οὕτω δὲ καμηλοτροφοῦντες πρὸς ἀπαντὰ χρώνυται τὰ μέγιστα τῶν κατὰ τὸν βίον τῇ τοῦ ἄφων τοῦτον χρείαν. πρὸς μὲν γὰρ τοὺς πολεμίους ἀπὸ τούτων μάχονται, τὰς δὲ κομιδὰς τῶν φορτίων ἐπὶ τούτων φοροῦντες 2 βαδίως ἀπαντὰ συντελοῦσι, τὸ δὲ γάλα πῦνοντες ἀπὸ τούτων διατρέφονται, καὶ τὴν ὀλὴν χώραν περισπολοῦσιν ἐπὶ τῶν δρομάδων 5 καμηλῶν. κατὰ δὲ μέσην τὴν χώραν αὐτῶν

1 So Wesseling: κατελημμένοι.
2 φοροῦντες Α, νωτοφοροῦντες other MSS., all editors.
harbour of Carthage, which is known as Cothon, of the advantages of which we shall endeavour to give a detailed discussion in connection with the appropriate time. And a multitude of fish gather from the open sea into the harbour both because of the calm which prevails there and because of the sweetness of the waters which flow into it.

45. After these places, as a man skirts the coast, five mountains rise on high separated one from another, and their peaks taper into breast-shaped tips of stone which give them an appearance like that of the pyramids of Egypt. Then comes a circular gulf guarded on every side by great promontories, and midway on a line drawn across it rises a trapezium-shaped hill on which three temples, remarkable for their height, have been erected to gods, which indeed are unknown to the Greeks, but are accorded unusual honour by the natives. After this there is a stretch of dank coast, traversed at intervals by streams of sweet water from springs; on it there is a mountain which bears the name Chabinus and is heavily covered with thickets of every kind of tree. The land which adjoins the mountainous country is inhabited by the Arabs known as Debae. They are breeders of camels and make use of the services of this animal in connection with the most important needs of their life; for instance, they fight against their enemies from their backs, employ them for the conveyance of their wares and thus easily accomplish all their business, drink their milk and in this way get their food from them, and traverse their entire country riding upon their racing camels. And down the centre of their country runs a river which carries

1 This description was probably in Book 32.
Diodorus of Sicily

6 'H δ' ἐξῆς χώρα κατουκείται μὲν ὑπὸ 'Αράβων Ἀλιλάϊων καὶ Γασανδών, οὐκ ἔμπυρος οὖσα καθά-περ αἱ πλησίον, ἀλλὰ μαλακάς ¹ καὶ δασείας νεφέλας πολλάκις κατεχομένη· ἐκ δὲ τοὺτον ύπετοι ² γίνονται καὶ χειμῶνες εὐκαιροὶ καὶ ποιοῦντες τὴν θερινὴν ὥραν εὐκρατοῦν. ἦ τε χώρα πάμφορος ἐστὶ καὶ διάφορος κατὰ τὴν ἁρετὴν, οὐ μέντοι τυγχάνει τῆς ἐνδεχομένης ἐπιμελείας διὰ τὴν τῶν ἀπερίαν. τὸν δὲ χρυσὸν εὐρίσκοντες ἐν τοῖς φυσικῶις ὑπονόμοις τῆς γῆς συνάγοντο πολὺν, οὐ τὸν ἐκ τοῦ ψῆγματος συντηκόμενον, ἀλλὰ τὸν αὐτο-φυῆ καὶ καλούμενον ἀπὸ τοῦ συμβεβηκότος ἁπυροῦ. κατὰ δὲ τὸ μέγεθος ἐλάχιστος μὲν εὐρίσκεται παραπλήσιος πυρῆνι, μέγιστος δὲ οὖ πολὺ λειπό-8 μενος βασιλικοῦ καρύου. φοροῦσι δ' αὐτὸν περὶ τε τοὺς καρποὺς τῶν χειρῶν καὶ περὶ τούς τραχή-

¹ For μαλακάς Bezzel suggests μελαίνας; for δασείας Capps suggests δροσεραίς (Arist. Nubes 338).
² So Wesseling (ep. Agatharchides 96): ὑπετοῖ.
down such an amount of what is gold dust to all appearance that the mud glitters all over as it is carried out at its mouth. The natives of the region are entirely without experience in the working of the gold, but they are hospitable to strangers, not, however, to everyone who arrives among them, but only to Boeotians and Peloponnesians, the reason for this being the ancient friendship shown by Heracles for the tribe, a friendship which, they relate, has come down to them in the form of a myth as a heritage from their ancestors.

The land which comes next is inhabited by Alilaei and Gasandi, Arab peoples, and is not fiery hot, like the neighbouring territories, but is often overspread by mild and thick clouds, from which come heavy showers and timely storms that make the summer season temperate. The land produces everything and is exceptionally fertile, but it does not receive the cultivation of which it would admit because of the lack of experience of the folk. Gold they discover in underground galleries which have been formed by nature and gather in abundance—not that which has been fused into a mass out of gold-dust, but the virgin gold, which is called, from its condition when found, "unfired" gold. And as for size the smallest nugget found is about as large as the stone of fruit, and the largest not much smaller than a royal nut. This gold they wear about both their wrists and necks,

1 The text may be corrupt; "dark and thick" and "mild and dewy" have been suggested (cp. critical note).

2 i.e. fused into artificial nuggets.

3 The word purēn was used for the stone of any stone-fruit, such as olive, pomegranate, grape, and was, therefore, a very indefinite term of measurement; the "royal nut," mentioned below, however, was the Persian walnut.
λοις, τετρημένον ἐναλλαξ λίθους διαφανέσι. καὶ
tούτου μὲν τοῦ γένους ἐπιπολάζοντος παρ’ αὐτοῖς,
χαλκοῦ δὲ καὶ σιδήρου σπανίζοντος, ἐπ’ ὅσης
ἀλλάττονται ταῦτα τὰ φορτία πρὸς τοὺς ἐμπόρους.
46. Μετὰ δὲ τούτους ὑπάρχουσιν οἱ ὄνομαζό-
μενοι Κάρβαι, καὶ μετὰ τούτους Σαβαίου, πολυαν-
θρωπότατοι τῶν Ἀραβικῶν ἐθνῶν οντες. νέμονται
dὲ τὴν εὐδαίμονα λεγομένην Ἀραβίαν, φέρουσαν
τὰ πλεῖστα τῶν παρ’ ἤμιν ἀγαθῶν καὶ θρεμ-
μάτων παντοδαπῶν ἐκτρέφουσαν πλήθος ἀμύθητον.
εὐωδία τε 1 αὐτὴν πᾶσαν ἐπέχει φυσικῇ διὰ τὸ
πάντα σχεδὸν τὰ ταῖς ὁσμαῖς πρωτεύοντα φύεσθαι
2 κατὰ τὴν χώραν ἀνέκλειπτα. κατὰ μὲν γὰρ τὴν
παράλιον φύεται τὸ καλούμενον βάλσαμον καὶ
κασία καὶ πόα τις ἄλλη ἵδιαζούσαν φύσιν ἔχουσα·
αὐτῇ δὲ πρόσφατος μὲν οὖσα τοῖς ὁμμασι προσηνε-
στάτην παρέχεται τέρψιν, ἐγχρονισθείσα δὲ συντό-
3 μως γίνεται ἐξίτηλος. κατὰ δὲ τὴν μεσόγειον
ὑπάρχουσι δρυμοὶ συνηρεφεῖς, καθ’ οὓς ἔστὶ δεύδρα
μεγάλα λιβανωτοῦ καὶ σμύρνης, πρὸς δὲ τούτους
φοίνικος καὶ καλάμον καὶ κυναμόμον καὶ τῶν
ἄλλων τῶν τούτους ὁμοίων ἐχόντων τὴν εὐωδίαν·
οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐξαριθμήσασθαι δυνατόν τὰς ἐκάστων
ἰδιότητάς τε καὶ φύσεις διὰ τὸ πλῆθος καὶ τὴν
ὑπερβολὴν τῆς ἐκ πάντων ἀθροιζομένης ὁσμῆς.
4 θεία γὰρ τις φαίνεται καὶ λόγου κρείττων ἡ προσ-

1 τε Bekker: τε γάρ.
perforating it and alternating it with transparent stones. And since this precious metal abounds in their land, whereas there is a scarcity of copper and iron, they exchange it with merchants for equal parts of the latter wares.\(^\text{1}\)

46. Beyond this people are the Carbae, as they are called, and beyond these the Sabaeans, who are the most numerous of the tribes of the Arabians. They inhabit that part of the country known as Arabia the Blest,\(^\text{2}\) which produces most of the things which are held dear among us and nurtures flocks and herds of every kind in multitude beyond telling. And a natural sweet odour pervades the entire land because practically all the things which excel in fragrance grow there unceasingly. Along the coast, for instance, grow balsam, as it is called, and cassia and a certain other herb possessing a nature peculiar to itself; for when fresh it is most pleasing and delightful to the eye, but when kept for a time it suddenly fades to nothing. And throughout the interior of the land there are thick forests, in which are great trees which yield frankincense and myrrh, as well as palms and reeds, cinnamon trees and every other kind which possesses a sweet odour such as these have; for it is impossible to enumerate both the peculiar properties and natures of each one severally because of the great volume and the exceptional richness of the fragrance as it is gathered from each and all. For a divine thing and beyond the power of words to describe seems the fragrance which greets

\(^{1}\) Here Diodorus departs radically from Agatharchides (96), who says that they exchange one part of gold for three of copper or two of iron; cp. Strabo 16. 4. 18.

\(^{2}\) The Arabia Felix of the Romans.
πίπτουσα καὶ κινοῦσα τὰς ἐκάστων αἰσθήσεως εὐῳδία. καὶ γάρ τοὺς παραπλέοντας, καὶ περ πολὺ τῆς χέρσου κεχωρισμένους, οὐκ ἀμοίρους ποιεῖ τῆς τοιαύτης ἀπολαύσεως. κατὰ γὰρ τὴν θερινὴν ὥραν, ὅταν ἀνεμος ἀπόγειος γένηται, συμβαίνει τὰς ἀπὸ τῶν σμυρνοφόρων δένδρων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν τοιούτων ἀποπνεομένας εὐῳδίας δικνεῖσθαι πρὸς τὰ πλησίον μέρη τῆς θαλάττης. οὐ γὰρ ἄσπερ παρ᾿ ἡμῖν ἀποκειμένην καὶ παλαιὰν ἔχει τὴν τῶν ἄρωμάτων φύσιν, ἀλλὰ τὴν ἀκμά-ξουσαν ἐν ἄνθει νεαρῶν δύναμιν καὶ δικνουμένην πρὸς τὰ λεπτομερέστατα τῆς αἰσθήσεως. κομ-ξούσης γὰρ τῆς αὕρας τὴν ἀπόρροιαν τῶν εὐῳδε- στάτων, προσπίπτει τοῖς προσπλέουσι τὴν παράλιον προσηνέ καὶ πολὺ, πρὸς δὲ τούτους ὑγεινὸν καὶ παρηλαγμένον ἐκ τῶν ἁρώματων μῦγμα, οὔτε τετμημένον τοῦ καρποῦ καὶ τὴν ἱδίαν ἀκμὴν ἐκπεπνευκότος, οὔτε τὴν ἀπόθεσιν ἔχοντος ἐν ἐτερογενέσιν ἀγγείοις, ἀλλ᾿ ἀπ᾿ αὐτῆς τῆς νεαρωτά- σχες ὥρας καὶ τὸν βλαστῶν ἀκέραιον παρεχομένης τῆς θείας φύσεως, ὡςτε τοὺς μεταλαμβάνοντας τῆς ἱδιότητος δοκεῖν ἀπολαύειν τῆς μυθολογούμενης ἀμβροσίας διὰ τὸ τὴν ὑπερβολὴν τῆς εὐῳδίας μηδεμίαν ἔτεραν εὐρίσκειν οἰκείαν προσ-ηγορίαν.

47. Οὐ μὴν διόλοκληρον καὶ χωρὶς φθόνου τὴν εὐδαιμονίαν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἢ τὐχη περιέθηκεν, ἀλλὰ τοῖς τηλικούτοις δωρήμασι παρέξευξε τὸ βλάπτον καὶ νουθετήσον τοὺς διὰ τὴν συνέχειαν τῶν ἁγαθῶν εἰωθότας καταφρονεῖν τῶν θεῶν.

1 γὰρ after οὔτε deleted by Dindorf.
the nostrils and stirs the senses of everyone. Indeed, even though those who sail along this coast may be far from the land, that does not deprive them of a portion of the enjoyment which this fragrance affords; for in the summer season, when the wind is blowing offshore, one finds that the sweet odours exhaled by the myrrh-bearing and other aromatic trees penetrate to the near-by parts of the sea; and the reason is that the essence of the sweet-smelling herbs is not, as with us, kept laid away until it has become old and stale, but its potency is in the full bloom of its strength and fresh, and penetrates to the most delicate parts of the sense of smell. And since the breeze carries the emanation of the most fragrant plants, to the voyagers who approach the coast there is wafted a blending of perfumes, delightful and potent, and healthful withal and exotic, composed as it is of the best of them, seeing that the product of the trees has not been minced into bits and so has exhaled its own special strength, nor yet lies stored away in vessels made of a different substance, but taken at the very prime of its freshness and while its divine nature keeps the shoot pure and undefiled. Consequently those who partake of the unique fragrance feel that they are enjoying the ambrosia of which the myths relate, being unable, because of the superlative sweetness of the perfume, to find any other name that would be fitting and worthy of it.

47. Nevertheless, fortune has not invested the inhabitants of this land with a felicity which is perfect and leaves no room for envy, but with such great gifts she has coupled what is harmful and may serve as a warning to such men as are wont to despise the gods because of the unbroken succession of their
DIODORUS OF SICILY

2 kata gar tovns euvdestatous drumous ofewv uparxei plithos, oit to mev chrwma phoinikoiv exousi, miktos de sthambhs, deigmaata de poioynai pantelws anistatai. daknovsi de prospethwntes kai alkomein provs ulpos aimaatousi ton chrwta.

3 idion de ti parata tois eighwrious symbainei peri tovs hsthenikotas upo makras noson ta somata.1 diapneumenv gar tov swmatos up akraato kai tmytikhs fuseswv, kai tie sughkrisewv ton ogywv eis araihma synagogemefi, eluvsis epakoloubiei dusbophyntos. dioter tois toioytous asfalton parathymiwsai kai tragwv pwywna, tais evanvtias fusesi kataxamhmenoi tiwn uperbolih tiea eudias. to gar kalon posohtet mnen kai tagei metroumenon ofelei kai terepe tous anbrowton, analogyias de kai kathikon to kairopo diamartoton anonyhtov ekei tiei dwsravn.

4 Toi d' ethnous toytou mhtropolies estin hyn kaloudi Sabaas, ep' orous wkinsmeni. baxileasa d' ek genous ekei tovs diadechomenous, ois ta plithi tymas aponeimei meymugenias agadois kai kakoiw. makarioi mnen gar biow ekein dokoudin, oti pasin epistatontes oudeva logon upexousi twv prattormewn: atuxeis de nwmizontai kath' osoun ouk egeastin autois oudepot ekein ein ek twn baxileion, ei de m'w, gynontai ltholeustoi upo ton oixhwn

5 kata tina xhseum adoxaiw. toot de to ethnos

1 ta somata deleted by Reiske.

1 7½ inches.
2 Strabo (16. 4. 19) says this was done to overcome the
blessings. For in the most fragrant forests is a multitude of snakes, the colour of which is dark-red, their length a span, and their bites altogether incurable; they bite by leaping upon their victim, and as they spring on high they leave a stain of blood upon his skin. And there is also something peculiar to the natives which happens in the case of those whose bodies have become weakened by a protracted illness. For when the body has become permeated by an undiluted and pungent substance and the combination of foreign bodies settles in a porous area, an enfeebled condition ensues which is difficult to cure: consequently at the side of men afflicted in this way they burn asphalt and the beard of a goat, combatting the excessively sweet odour by that from substances of the opposite nature. Indeed the good, when it is measured out in respect of quantity and order, is for human beings an aid and delight, but when it fails of due proportion and proper time the gift which it bestows is unprofitable.

The chief city of this tribe is called by them Sabae and is built upon a mountain. The kings of this city succeed to the throne by descent and the people accord to them honours mingled with good and ill. For though they have the appearance of leading a happy life, in that they impose commands upon all and are not accountable for their deeds, yet they are considered unfortunate, inasmuch as it is unlawful for them ever to leave the palace, and if they do so they are stoned to death, in accordance with a certain ancient oracle, by the common crowd. This tribe drowsiness caused by the sweet odours; the disease appears to be mentioned by no other ancient writer, and presumably was caused by the continued inhaling of these powerful scents.
οὐ μόνον τῶν πλησιοχώρων Ἀράβων, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων διαφέρει πλούτῳ καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις ταῖς· κατὰ μέρος πολυτελείαις. ἐν γὰρ ταῖς τῶν φορτίων ἄλλα γεγονός καὶ πράσεσιν όγκοις ἐλαχίστοις πλείστην ἀποφέρονται τιμῆν ἀπάντων ἄνθρώπων τῶν ἀργυρικῆς ἀμείψως ἐνεκα τὰς ἐμπορίας ποιομένων. διότερ ἐξ αἰῶνος ἀπορθητων αὐτῶν γεγενημένων διὰ τὸν ἐκτοπισμὸν, καὶ χρυσὸν τε καὶ ἀργύρου πλῆθος ἐπικεκλυκότος παρὰ αὐτοῖς, καὶ μάλιστ’ ἐν Σαβαίσ, ἐν ἡ τὰ βασίλεια κείται, τορεύματα μὲν ἀργυρὰ τε καὶ χρυσά παντοδαπῶν ἐκπωμάτων ἔχουσιν, κλίνας δὲ καὶ τρίποδας ἀργυρόποδας, καὶ τὴν ἄλλην κατασκευήν ἀπιστόν τῇ πολυτελείᾳ, κιόνων τε ἀδρόν περίστυλα, τὰ μὲν ἑπίχρυσα, τὰ δ’ ἀργυροειδεῖς τύπους ἐπὶ τῶν κιονοκράνων ἐχοντα. τὰς δ’ ὀροφὰς καὶ θύρας χρυσαὶς φιάλαις λιθοκολλήτοις καὶ πυκναὶς διειληφότες ἄπασαν τὴν τῶν οἰκίων κατὰ μέρος οἰκοδομίαν πεποίηται θαυμαστὴν ταῖς πολυτελείαις· τὰ μὲν γὰρ ἐξ ἀργυροῦ καὶ χρυσοῦ, τὰ δ’ ἐξ ἐλεφαντος καὶ τῶν διαπρεπεστάτων λίθων, ἐτὶ δὲ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν τιμωτάτων παρ’ ἀνθρώποις, κατεσκευάκασιν. ἀλλὰ γὰρ οὕτω μὲν ἐκ πολλῶν χρώνων τὴν εὐδαιμονίαν ἀσάλευτον ἔσχον διὰ τὸ παντελῶς ἀπεξενώθατο τῶν διὰ τὴν ἱδιὰν πλεονεξίαν ἐρμαινὸν ἡγούμενων τῶν ἄλλωτριον πλοῦτον. ἡ δὲ κατὰ τούτους θάλασσα λευκὴ φαίνεται τῇ χρόνῳ, ὡσθ’ ἀμα θαυμάζειν τὸ παράδοξον καὶ τὴν αἰτίαν τοῦ συμβαίνοντος ἐπιζητεῖν. ἦσοι δ’

1 tais added by Dindorf.
surpasses not only the neighbouring Arabs but also all other men in wealth and in their several extravagancies besides. For in the exchange and sale of their wares they, of all men who carry on trade for the sake of the silver they receive in exchange, obtain the highest price in return for things of the smallest weight. Consequently, since they have never for ages suffered the ravages of war because of their secluded position, and since an abundance of both gold and silver abounds in the country, especially in Sabae, where the royal palace is situated, they have embossed goblets of every description, made of silver and gold, couches and tripods with silver feet, and every other furnishing of incredible costliness, and halls encircled by large columns, some of them gilded, and others having silver figures on the capitals. Their ceilings and doors they have partitioned by means of panels and coffers made of gold, set with precious stones and placed close together, and have thus made the structure of their houses in every part marvellous for its costliness; for some parts they have constructed of silver and gold, others of ivory and the most showy precious stones or of whatever else men esteem most highly. For the fact is that these people have enjoyed their felicity unshaken since ages past because they have been entire strangers to those whose own covetousness leads them to feel that another man’s wealth is their own godsend. The sea in these parts looks to be white in colour, so that the beholder marvels at the surprising phenomenon and at the same time seeks for its cause. And there

1 i.e. certain panels were deeply recessed.
2 Literally “gift of Hermes,” as the god of gain and good luck.
ευδαιμονες πλησιων ὑπάρχουσιν, ἔχουσι πόλεις ἀτειχίστους, ἐν αἷς τὰ βοσκήματα πάντα λευκὴν ἔχει τὴν χρόαν, καὶ τοῖς θῆλεσιν αὐτῶν οὐκ ἐπιφύεται τὸ καθόλου κέρας. εἰς ταῦτα δ’ ἐμποροι πάντοθεν καταπλέουσι, μάλιστα δ’ ἐκ 1 Ποτάνας, ἢν Ἀλέξανδρος ὄψις παρὰ τὸν Ἰνδὸν ποταμὸν, ναῦσταθμον ἔχειν βουλόμενος τῆς παρὰ τὸν ὀικεανὸν παραλίου.

Περὶ μὲν οὖν τῆς χώρας καὶ τῶν ἐν αὐτῇ κατοικούντων ἀρκεσθησόμεθα τοῖς εἰρημένοις.

48. Περὶ δὲ τῶν κατὰ τὸν οὐρανὸν ὄραμένων παραδόξων ἐν τοῖς τόποις οὕ το παραλειπτέον. θαυμασώτατον μὲν ἐστὶ τὸ περὶ τὴν ἁρκτον ἱστορούμενον καὶ πλείστην ἀπορίαν παρεχόμενον τοῖς πλοίο-ξομένοις. ἀπὸ γὰρ μηνὸς ὃν καλοῦσαν Ἀθηναίοι Μαμμακτηρίωνα τῶν ἐπτὰ τῶν κατὰ τὴν ἁρκτον ἀστέρων οὐδένα φασίν ὀρᾶσθαι μέχρι τῆς πρώτης φυλακῆς, τῷ δὲ Ποσειδεών μέχρι δευτέρας, καὶ κατὰ τοὺς ἐξῆς ἐκ τοῦ κατ’ ὀλίγον 2 πλοίο-2 ξομένοις 3 ἀθεωρήτους ὑπάρχειν. 4 τῶν δ’ ἄλλων τοὺς ὀνομαζομένους πλανήτας τοὺς μὲν μείζονας τῶν παρ’ ἡμῶν, ἑτέρους δὲ μηδὲ τὰς ὡμοίας ἀνατολᾶς καὶ δύσεις ποιεῖσθαι. τὸν δ’ ἠλιον οὖχ

1 ἐκ Rhodomann: εἰς.
2 κατ’ ὀλίγον, κατὰ λόγον (“at the same rate”) Agatharchides, 104.
3 πλοίοξομένοις deleted by Bekker, Vogel.
4 ἀθεωρήτους ὑπάρχειν after πλανήτας all MSS. but AD, Bekker, Dindorf.

1 The adjective is that translated "Blest" in Arabia the Blest.
2 The fifth month of the Attic year, approximately our November.
3 The sixth month, approximately our December.

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are prosperous islands near by, containing unwalled cities, all the herds of which are white in colour, while no female has any horn whatsoever. These islands are visited by sailors from every part and especially from Potana, the city which Alexander founded on the Indus river, when he wished to have a naval station on the shore of the ocean.

Now as regards Arabia the Blest and its inhabitants we shall be satisfied with what has been said.

48. But we must not omit to mention the strange phenomena which are seen in the heavens in these regions. The most marvellous is that which, according to accounts we have, has to do with the constellation of the Great Bear and occasions the greatest perplexity among navigators. What they relate is that, beginning with the month which the Athenians call Maemacterion, not one of the seven stars of the Great Bear is seen until the first watch, in Poseideon none until the second, and in the following months they gradually drop out of the sight of navigators. As for the other heavenly bodies, the planets, as they are called, are, in the case of some, larger than they appear with us, and in the case of others their risings and settings are also not the same; and the sun does

In the second century B.C., the period when Agatharchides, from whom Diodorus has taken this statement, wrote his work entitled On the Red Sea, at latitude 15 north, which is the probable region of this statement, on November 1st the sun set at approximately 5.45 p.m. and the first star ($\alpha$) of the Great Bear rose at approximately 8.45 p.m. Its rising did, therefore, fall within the first watch of the night. However, the statement that on December 1st it did not rise until the second watch is false, since on that date it rose at approximately 6.40 p.m.; indeed the rising of the Great Bear, instead of receding month by month, as Diodorus states, in fact advances.

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The cause for this statement is the phenomenon of twilight, which is dependent upon atmospheric as well as astronomical conditions. Its duration varies with the depth, clarity, and density of the atmosphere, the latitude and elevation of the
not, as with us, send forth its light shortly in advance of its actual rising, but while the darkness of night still continues, it suddenly and contrary to all expectation appears and sends forth its light.\footnote{1} Because of this there is no daylight in those regions before the sun has become visible, and when out of the midst of the sea, as they say, it comes into view, it resembles a fiery red ball of charcoal which discharges huge sparks, and its shape does not look like a cone,\footnote{2} as is the impression we have of it, but it has the shape of a column which has the appearance of being slightly thicker at the top; and furthermore it does not shine or send out rays before the first hour, appearing as a fire that gives forth no light in the darkness; but at the beginning of the second hour it takes on the form of a round shield and sends forth a light which is exceptionally bright and fiery. But at its setting the opposite manifestations take place with respect to it; for it seems to observers to be lighting up the whole universe with a strange kind of ray \footnote{3} for not less than two or, as Agatharchides of Cnidus has recorded, for three hours. And in the opinion of the natives this is the most pleasant period, when the heat is steadily lessening because of the setting of the sun.

As regards the winds, the west, the south-west, also the north-west and the east blow as in the other parts of the world; but in Ethiopia the south winds place of observation, and the time of year. The Greek navigator found less twilight as he travelled south from Greece towards the equator, at which point, in fact, it has its minimum duration.

\footnote{2} Agatharchides (105) says "discus-shaped."

\footnote{3} Agatharchides (105) says that this takes place after the sun has already set.
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οὔτε γνωρίζονται τὸ σύνολον, κατὰ δὲ τὴν Τρωγο-
δυτικὴν καὶ τὴν 'Αραβίαν θερμοὶ γίνονται καθ' ὑπερβολὴν, ὡστε καὶ τὰς ὤλας ἐκπυροῦν καὶ τῶν
καταφευγόντων εἰς τὰς ἐν ταῖς καλύβαις σκιὰς
ἐκλύειν τὰ σώματα. ὁ δὲ βορέας δικαίως ἂν ἀριστος νομίζοιτο, διικεύομενος εἰς πάντα τόπουν
tῆς οἰκουμένης καὶ διαμένων ψυχῶς.

49. Τούτων δ' ἡμῖν διευκρινημένων οἴκειον ἃν
εἴη διελθεῖν περὶ τῶν Λιβύων τῶν πλησιόν Αἰγύπτου
κατοικοῦντων καὶ τῆς ὁμοροῦ χώρας. τὰ γὰρ
περὶ Κυρήνην καὶ τὰς Σύρτεις, ἐτι δὲ τὴν μεσο-
γείου τῆς κατὰ τοὺς τόπους τούτους χέρσου,
κατοικεῖ τέτταρα γένη Λιβύων· ὅπειρον ὁι μὲν ὄνομα-
ζόμενοι Νασαμῶνες νέμονται τὰ νεύοντα μέρη
πρὸς νότον, οἱ δ' Ἀντιχήσαι τὰ πρὸς τὴν δύσιν,
οἱ δὲ Μαρμαρίδαι κατοικοῦν τὴν μεταξὺ ταυτῶν
Αἰγύπτου καὶ Κυρήνης, μετέχοντες καὶ τῆς παρα-
λίου, οἱ δὲ Μάκαι πολυανθρωπία τῶν ὁμοεθνῶν
προέχοντες νέμονται τοὺς τόπους τοὺς περὶ τὴν
2 Σύρτιν. τῶν δὲ προειρημένων Λιβύων γεωργοὶ
μὲν εἰσὶν οἰς ὑπάρχει χώρα δυναμένη καρπὸν
φέρειν δαφνῆ, νομάδες δ' ὃσοι τῶν κτηνῶν τὴν
ἐπιμέλειαι ποιούμενοι τὰς τροφὰς ἔχουσιν ἀπὸ
tοῦτων· ἀμφότερα δὲ τὰ γένη ταῦτα βασιλέας
ἐχει καὶ βίον οὐ παντελῶς ἄγριον οὐδ' ἀνθρωπίνης
ἡμερότητος ἔξηλλαγμένον. τὸ δὲ τρίτον γένος
οὔτε βασιλέως ὑπακοῦν οὔτε τοῦ δικαιοῦ λόγον
οὐδ' ἐννοιαν ἔχον αἰὲ ληστεύει, ἀπροσδοκήτως δὲ
tὰς ἐμβολὰς ἐκ τῆς ἐρήμου ποιοῦμενον ἀρπάζει τὰ
παρατυχόντα, καὶ ταχέως ἀνακάμπτει πρὸς τὸν

1 i.e. to the plan of Diodorus' history.

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neither blow nor are known at all, although in the Trogodyte country and Arabia they are so exceptionally hot that they set the forests on fire and cause the bodies of those who take refuge in the shade of their huts to collapse through weakness. The north wind, however, may justly be considered the most favourable of all, since it reaches into every region of the inhabited earth and is ever cool.

49. But now that we have examined these matters, it will be appropriate to discuss the Libyans who dwell near Egypt and the country which borders upon them. The parts about Cyrenê and the Syrtes as well as the interior of the mainland in these regions are inhabited by four tribes of Libyans; of these the Nasamones, as they are called, dwell in the parts to the south, the Auschisae in those to the west, the Marmaridae occupy the narrow strip between Egypt and Cyrene and come down to the coast, and the Macae, who are more numerous than their fellow Libyans, dwell in the regions about the Syrtis.

Now of the Libyans whom we have just mentioned those are farmers who possess land which is able to produce abundant crops, while those are nomads who get their sustenance from the flocks and herds which they maintain; and both of these groups have kings and lead a life which is not entirely savage or different from that of civilized men. The third group, however, obeying no king and taking no account or even thought of justice, makes robbery its constant practice, and attacking unexpectedly from out of the desert it seizes whatever it has happened upon and quickly withdraws to the place from which it had set

2 The Greater Syrtis.
3 αὐτὸν τόπον. πάντες δ’ οἱ Λύβες οὔτοι θηριώδη βίον ἔχουσιν, ὑπαλλήλους διαμένοντες καὶ τὸ τῶν ἐπιτηθευμάτων ἄγριον ἐξηλωκότες· οὔτε γὰρ ἡμέρον διάτης οὔτ’ ἐσθήτος μετέχουσιν, ἀλλὰ δορᾶς αἰγών σκεπάζουσι τὰ σώματα. τοῖς δὲ δυνάσταις αὐτῶν πόλεις μὲν τὸ σύνολον οὐχ ὑπάρχουσι, πῦργοι δὲ πλησίον τῶν ὦδῶν, εἰς οὓς ἀποτίθενται τὰ πλεονάζοντα τῆς ὕφελείας. τοὺς δ’ ὑποτεταγμένους λαοὺς κατ’ ἐνιαυτὸν ἐξορκίζουσι πεπαρχήσεως· καὶ τῶν μὲν ὑπακοουσῶν ὄντων ὡς συμμάχων φροντίζουσι, τῶν δὲ μὴ προσ- εχόντων θάνατόν καταγράντες ὡς λησταῖς πολε- μοῦσιν. δ’ δ’ ὀπλισμὸς αὐτῶν ἔστων οἷκεῖος τῆς τε χώρας καὶ τῶν ἐπιτηθευμάτων· κοῦφοι γὰρ ὄντες τοῖς σώμασι καὶ χώρων οἰκούντες κατὰ τὸ πλείστον πεδία, πρὸς τοὺς κινδύνους ὁμόδιοι λόγχας ἔχοντες τρεῖς καὶ λίθους ἐν ἄγγεις σκυτύνοις. ξίφος δ’ οὐ φοροῦσιν οὔδε κράνος οὔδ’ ὀπλον οὔδ’ ἐτερον, στο- χαζόμενοι τοῦ προτερεῖν ταῖς εὐκυνησίαις· καὶ τοὺς διοργομένους καὶ πάλιν ἐν ταῖς ἀποχωρήσεις. διότι εὐθετοὶ πρὸς ὄρμον εἰσὶ καὶ λιθοβολῶν, διαπεπονη- κότες τῇ μελέτῃ καὶ τῇ συνθελεῖα τὰ τῆς φύσεως προτερήματα. κοθόλου δὲ πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλοφύλους οὔτε τὸ δίκαιον οὔτε τὴν πίστιν καὶ οὐδένα τρόπον διατηροῦσιν.

50. Τῆς δὲ χώρας ἡ μὲν ὁμορος τῇ Κυρήνῃ γεώδης ἐστὶ καὶ πολλοῦς φέρουσα καρποὺς· οὐ μόνον γὰρ ὑπάρχει σιτοφόρος, ἀλλὰ καὶ πολλὴν ἁμπελον, ἐτι δὲ ἐλαίαν ἐχει καὶ τὴν ἄγριαν ὠλην καὶ ποταμοὺς εὐχρηστίαν παρεχομένους· ή δ’ ὑπὲρ τὸ νότιον μέρος ὑπερτείνουσα, καθ’ ἣν τὸ νύτρον φύεσθαι συμβεβηκεν, ἀσπορὸς οὕσα καὶ σπανί-
out. All the Libyans of this third group lead a life like that of the wild beasts, spending their days under the open sky and practising the savage in their mode of life; for they have nothing to do with civilized food or clothing, but cover their bodies with the skins of goats. Their leaders have no cities whatsoever, but only towers near the sources of water, and into these they bring and store away the excess of their booty. Of the peoples who are their subjects they annually exact an oath of obedience to their authority, and to any who have submitted to them they extend their protection as being allies, and such as take no heed of them they first condemn to death and then make war upon them as robbers. Their weapons are appropriate to both the country and their mode of life; for since they are light of body and inhabit a country which is for the most part a level plain, they face the dangers which beset them armed with three spears and stones in leather bags; and they carry neither sword nor helmet nor any other armour, since their aim is to excel in agility both in pursuit and again in withdrawal. Consequently they are expert in running and hurling stones, having brought to full development by practice and habit the advantages accorded them by nature. And, speaking generally, they observe neither justice nor good faith in any respect in dealing with peoples of alien race.

50. That part of the country which lies near the city of Cyrenê has a deep soil and bears products of many kinds; for not only does it produce wheat, but it also possesses large vineyards and olive orchards and native forests, and rivers which are of great utility; but the area which extends beyond its southern border where nitre is found, being unculti-
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ζουσα ναματιαίων ὠδάτων, τὴν πρόσοψιν ἔχει πελάγει παρεμφερῆ. οὐδεμίαν δὲ παρεχομένη πουκιλίαν κατὰ τὴν ἴδεαν ἑρήμως γῆ περιέχει τῆς ὑπερκεμένης ἑρήμου δυσεξύτων ἑχούσης τὸ πέρας. διόπερ οὐδ’ ὄρνευν ἱδεῖν ἐστιν, οὐ τετράπον ἐν αὐτῇ ζῷοι πλὴν δορκάδοις καὶ βοῦς, οὐ μὴν οὔτε φυτὸν οὔτε ἄλλο τῶν δυναμένων ψυχαγωγήσαι τὴν ὁρασίν, ὡς ἄν τῆς εἰς μεσόγειον ἀνηκούσης γῆς ἑχούσης ἐπὶ τὸ μῆκος ἄθρόους θίνας. ἐφ’ οὖσον δὲ σπανίζει τῶν πρὸς ἦμερον βίων ἀνηκόντων, ἐπὶ τοσοῦτο πλῆθει παντοίων ταῖς ἱδέαις καὶ τοῖς μεγέθεσιν ὄφεων, μάλιστα δὲ τῶν τοιούτων οὕς προσαγορεύοντο κεράστας, οἱ τὰ μὲν δήγματα θανατηφόρα ποιοῦνται, τὴν δὲ χρόνιν ἄμμων παρα- 3 πλησίαν ἠχούν. διόπερ ἐξωμουσίων αὐτῶν κατὰ τὴν πρόσοψιν τοῖς ὑποκεμένοις ἐδάφεσιν ὄλιγοι μὲν ἐπιγυνώσκουσιν, οἱ πολλοὶ δ’ ἀγνοοῦντες πατοῦσι καὶ κινδύνοις περιπληκτουσιν ἀπροσδοκήτους. λέγεται δὲ τούτους τὸ παλαιὸν ἐπελθόντας ποτὲ πολλὴν τῆς Αἰγύπτου ποιήσαι τὴν ὑποκεμένην χώραν ἀοίκητον.

4 Γίνεται δὲ τὶς θαυμάσιον περὶ τε ταύτην ἡ τὴν χέρσον καὶ τὴν ἐπέκεινα τῆς Σύρτεως Λιβύην. περὶ γὰρ τῶν καιρῶν καὶ μάλιστα κατὰ τὰς νηεμίας συστάσεις ὀρῶται κατὰ τὸν ἄερα παντοίοις ζῴων ἱδεῖς ἐμφαίνουσαι. τούτων δ’ οἱ μὲν ἠρεμοῦσιν, οἱ δὲ κίνησιν λαμβάνουσιν, καὶ ποτὲ μὲν τὴν χώραν καὶ after ταύτην deleted by Reiske.

1 Literally, "horned serpents," or asps.
2 Cp. Aristophanes, The Clouds, 346: "Didst thou never espy a cloud in the sky which a centaur or leopard might be,
vated and lacking springs of water, is in appearance like a sea; and in addition to its showing no variety of landscape it is surrounded by desert land, the desert which lies beyond ending in a region from which egress is difficult. Consequently not even a bird is to be seen there nor any four-footed animal except the gazelle and the ox, nor indeed any plant or anything that delights the eye, since the land which stretches into the interior contains nearly continuous dunes throughout its length. And greatly as it is lacking in the things which pertain to civilized life, to the same degree does it abound in snakes of every manner of appearance and size, and especially in those which men call *cerastes*, the stings of which are mortal and their colour is like sand; and since for this reason they look like the ground on which they lie, few men discern them and the greater number tread on them unwittingly and meet with unexpected perils. Moreover, the account runs that in ancient times these snakes once invaded a large part of that section of Egypt which lies below this desert and rendered it uninhabitable.

And both in this arid land and in Libya which lies beyond the Syrtis there takes place a marvellous thing. For at certain times, and especially when there is no wind, shapes are seen gathering in the sky which assume the forms of animals of every kind; and some of these remain fixed, but others begin to move, or a wolf or a cow?” (tr. by Rogers in the *L.C.L.); and Lucretius 4. 139–42: “For often giants’ countenances appear to fly over and to draw their shadow afar, sometimes great mountains and rocks torn from the mountains to go before and to pass by the sun, after them some monster pulling and dragging other clouds” (tr. by Rouse in the *L.C.L.*).
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ὑποθέσουσι, ποτὲ δὲ διώκουσι, πάσαι δὲ τὸ μέγεθος ἀπλατον ἔχουσα θαυμαστὴν κατάπληξιν 5 καὶ ταρακῆν παρασκευάζουσι τοίς ἀπείροις. αἰ γὰρ επιδιώκουσα τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἐπειδὰν κατα-
λάβωσι, περιχέονται τοῖς σώμασι ψυχραὶ καὶ παλμώδεις, ὡστε τοὺς μὲν ξένους ἀσυνήθεις ὀντὰς διὰ τὸ δέος ἐκπεπλήκθαι, τοὺς δὲ ἐγχωρίους πολλάκις συγκεκυρηκότας τοῖς τοιούτοις κατα-
φρονεῖν τοῦ συμβαίνοντος.

51. Παραδόξου δ' εἶναι δοκοῦντος τοῦ πράγματος καὶ μύθῳ πεπλασμένῳ παραπλησίου, πειρώτατι τίνες τῶν φυσικῶν αὐτίας ἀποδίδοναι τοῦ γνωμένου 2 τοιαύτας. ἀνέμους φασὶ κατὰ τὴν χώραν τοὺς μὲν τὸ σύνολον μὴ πνεῖν, τοὺς δὲ παντελῶς εἶναι βληθροὺς καὶ κωφοὺς. ὑπάρχει δὲ καὶ περὶ τὸν ἄερα πολλάκις ἱρεμίαν καὶ θαυμαστὴν ἀκινησίαν διὰ τὸ μήτε νάπας μήτε συσκίως αὐλῶνας παρακείσθαι πλησίον μήτε λόφων ὑπάρ-
χειν ἀναστήματα· ποταμῶν τε μεγάλων σπανίζειν τοὺς τόπους, καὶ καθόλου τὴν σύνεγγυς χώραν ἀπασαν ἀκαρπον οὕσαν μηδεμίαν ἔχειν ἀναθυμία-
σιν· εὖ δὲν ἀπάντων εἰσθέναι γεννᾶσθαι τινας 3 ἀρχὰς καὶ συστάσεις πνευμάτων. διόπερ συμπυ-
γοὺς περιστάσεως τὴν χέρσον ἐπεχούσης, ὅπερ ὁρῶμεν ἐπὶ τῶν νεφῶν ἐνίοτε συμβαίνον ἐν ταῖς νοτίαις ἡμέραις, τυπουμένων ἱδεών παντοδαπῶν, τούτῳ γίνεσθαι καὶ περὶ τὴν Διβύνην, πολλαχῶς μορφομένου τοῦ συμπίπτοντος ἀέρος· ὅπερ τοῖς μὲν ἀσθενέσθη καὶ βληθραῖς αὐραῖς ὑπελεῖθαι μετεωρι-
ξόμενον καὶ παλμοὺς ποιοῦντα καὶ συγκρούντα συστήμασιν ἐτέρους ὁμοίους, τηνεμίας δ' ἐπιλαμ-

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sometimes retreating before a man and at other times pursuing him, and in every case, since they are of monstrous size, they strike such as have never experienced them with wondrous dismay and terror. For when the shapes which are pursuing overtake the persons they envelop their bodies, causing a chilling and shivering sensation, so that strangers who are unfamiliar with them are overcome with fear, although the natives, who have often met with such things, pay no attention to the phenomenon.

51. Now incredible though this effect may seem and like a fanciful tale, yet certain physical philosophers attempt to set forth the causes of it somewhat as follows: The winds, they say, either blow in this land not at all or else are altogether sluggish and without vigour; and often there prevails in the air a calm and wondrous lack of movement, because of the fact that neither wooded vales nor thickly-shaded glens lie near it nor are there any elevations that make hills; furthermore, these regions lack large rivers and, in general, the whole territory round about, being barren of plants, gives forth no vapour. Yet it is all these things which are wont, they explain, to generate beginnings, as it were, and gatherings of air-currents. Consequently, when so stifling an atmosphere extends over the arid land the phenomenon which we observe taking place now and then with respect to the clouds on humid days, when every kind of shape is formed, occurs likewise in Libya, they tell us, the air as it condenses assuming manifold shapes. Now this air is driven along by the weak and sluggish breezes, rising aloft and making quivering motions and impinging upon other bodies of similar character, but when a calm succeeds, it then descends
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βανούσης καθιστασθαί πρὸς τὴν γῆν, βαρὺν ὄντα καὶ τετυπωμένον ὡς ἔτυχεν· ἐπείτα μηδενὸς ὅντος τοῦ συγχέοντος προσπελάξειν τοῖς αὐτομάτοις 4 περιτυγχάνοισι τῶν ζώων. τὰς δ’ ἐφ’ ἐκάτερα κινήσεις αὐτῶν φασι προαιρέσω μὲν μηδεμίαν ἐμφαίνειν· ἐν ἀψίχῳ γὰρ ἀδύνατον ὑπάρχειν φυγὴν ἐκουσίον ἢ δίωξιν· τὰ μέντοι ζώα λεληθότως αὐτὰ τῆς μεταρρίας κινήσεως γίνεσθαι· προσιόντων μὲν γὰρ αὐτῶν τὸν ὑποκείμενον ἀέρα μετὰ βίας ἀναστέλλειν, καὶ διὰ τοῦθ’ ὑποχωρεῖν τὸ συνεστηκὸς εἰδώλων καὶ ποιεῖν τὴν ἐμφασίν ὑποφεύγοντος· τοῖς δ’ ἀναχωροῦσι κατὰ τοῦναντίον ἐπακολουθεῖν, ἀντεστραμμένης τῆς αὐτίας, ὡς ἂν τοῦ κενοῦ καὶ τῆς ἀραωμάτως ἐπισπωμένης.

διὸσπερ ἐοικέναι διώκοντι τοὺς ὑποχωροῦντας· ἐλκεσθαι γὰρ αὐτὸ καὶ προπίπτειν εἰς τὸ πρόσθεν ἄθροιν ὑπὸ τῆς πάλιν ῥύμης· τοὺς δ’ ὑποφεύγοντας, ὅταν ἐπιστραφῶσιν ἢ μένωσιν, εὐλόγως ὑπὸ τοῦ συνακολουθοῦντος εἰδώλου ψαύσθαι τοὺς ὁγκοὺς· τοῦτο δὲ κατὰ τὴν πρὸς τὸ στερέμνον πρόσπτωσιν περιθρύβεσθαι, καὶ παιναχόθεν προσχεόμενον καταψύχειν τὰ σώματα τῶν περιτυγχανόντων.

52. Τοῦτον δ’ ἢμῖν διευκρινημένων οἰκεῖον ἄν εἰη τοῖς προειρημένοις τόποις διελθεῖν τα περὶ τὰς Ἀμαζόνας ἱστορούμενα τὰς γενομένας τὸ παλαιὸν κατὰ τὴν Διβύην. οἱ πολλοὶ μὲν γὰρ ὑπειλήφασι

1 i.e. either pursuing or retreating before men; cp. chap. 50. 4 and below.
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towards the earth by reason of its weight and in the shape which it may chance to have assumed, whereupon, there being nothing to dissipate it, the air clings to such living creatures as accidentally come to be in the way. As for the movements which these shapes make in both directions,¹ these, they say, indicate no volition on their part, since it is impossible that voluntary flight or pursuit should reside in a soulless thing. And yet the living creatures are, unknown to themselves, responsible for this movement through the air; for, if they advance, they push up by their violent motion the air which lies beneath them, and this is the reason why the image which has formed retreats before them and gives the impression of fleeing; whereas if the living creatures withdraw, they follow in the opposite direction, the cause having been reversed, since that which is empty and rarefied draws the shapes towards itself. Consequently it has the appearance of pursuing men who withdraw before it, for the image is drawn to the empty space and rushes forward in a mass under the influence of the backward motion of the living creature; and as for those who flee, it is quite reasonable that, whether they turn about or stand still, their bodies should feel the light touch of the image which follows them; and this is broken in pieces as it strikes upon the solid object, and as it pours itself out in all directions it chills the bodies of all with whom it comes in contact.

52. But now that we have examined these matters it will be fitting, in connection with the regions we have mentioned, to discuss the account which history records of the Amazons who were in Libya in ancient times. For the majority of mankind believe that
Diodorus of Sicily

tás peri tôn Θερμώδοντα ποταμοῦ ἐν τῷ Πόντῳ λεγομένας κατοικήκεναι μόνας ὑπάρξαι· τὸ δ᾿ ἀληθὲς οὐχ οὕτως ἔχει, διά τὸ πολὺ προτερεῖν τοῖς χρόνοις τὰς κατὰ Λιβύην καὶ πράξεις ἄξιολο-2 γους ἐπιτελέσασθαι. οὐκ ἀγνοοῦμεν δὲ διότι πολλοῖς τῶν ἀναγινωσκόντων ἀνήκοος φανεῖται καὶ ἔνη παντελῶς ἢ peri τούτων ἱστορία· ἡφαίσ-μένου γὰρ ὀλοσχερῶς τοῦ γένους τῶν Ἀμαζονίδων τούτων πολλαῖς γενεαῖς πρότερον τῶν Τρωκίων, τῶν δὲ peri τὸν Θερμώδοντα ποταμοῦ γυναικῶν ἡκμακυνῶν μικρὸν πρὸ τούτων τῶν χρόνων, οὐκ ἀλόγως αἱ μεταγενέστεραι καὶ μᾶλλον γνωριζό-μεναι τὴν δόξαν κεκληρονομήκασι τὴν τῶν παλαιῶν καὶ παντελῶς ἀγνοομένων διὰ τῶν χρόνων ὑπὸ 3 τῶν πλείστων. οὐ μὴν ἄλλη ἡμεῖς εὑρίσκοντες πολλοὺς μὲν τῶν ἀρχαίων ποιητῶν τε καὶ συγγρα-φέων, οὐκ ὀλίγους δὲ καὶ τῶν μεταγενεστέρων μνήμην πεποιημένους αὐτῶν, ἀναγράφειν τὰς πράξεις πειρασόμεθα ἐν κεφαλαίοις ἀκολούθως Διονυσίῳ τῷ συντεταγμένῳ τὰ peri τοὺς Ἀργοναύ-τας καὶ τὸν Διόνυσον καὶ έτερα πολλὰ τῶν ἐν τοῖς παλαιοτάτοις χρόνοις πραξθέντων.

4 Τέγονε μὲν οὖν πλεῖω γένη γυναικῶν κατὰ τὴν Λιβύην μάχιμα καὶ τεθαυμασμένα μεγάλως ἐπ’ ανθρείᾳ· τὸ τε γὰρ τῶν Γοργόνων ἔθνος, ἐφ’ ὃ λέγεται τὸν Περσέα στρατεύσαι, παρειλήφαμεν ἄλκῃ δια-

1 γυναικῶν omitted by E, Bekker, Dindorf, Vogel, retained by Jacoby.

2 This Dionysius, nicknamed Skytobrachion, "of the leathern arm," lived in Alexandria in the middle of the second century B.C. and composed a mythical romance from which

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the only Amazons were those who are reported to have dwelt in the neighbourhood of the Thermodon river on the Pontus; but the truth is otherwise, since the Amazons of Libya were much earlier in point of time and accomplished notable deeds. Now we are not unaware that to many who read this account the history of this people will appear to be a thing unheard of and entirely strange; for since the race of these Amazons disappeared entirely many generations before the Trojan War, whereas the women about the Thermodon river were in their full vigour a little before that time, it is not without reason that the later people, who were also better known, should have inherited the fame of the earlier, who are entirely unknown to most men because of the lapse of time. For our part, however, since we find that many early poets and historians, and not a few of the later ones as well, have made mention of them, we shall endeavour to recount their deeds in summary, following the account of Dionysius, who composed a narrative about the Argonauts and Dionysus, and also about many other things which took place in the most ancient times.

Now there have been in Libya a number of races of women who were warlike and greatly admired for their manly vigour; for instance, tradition tells us of the race of the Gorgons, against whom, as the account is given, Perseus made war, a race dis-Diodorus drew the following account of the Amazons and his description of the Atlantians (cc. 56, 57, 60, 61), of the Dionysus born in Libya (cc. 66. 4–73. 8), and of the Argonauts (Book 4. 40–55). The following account is an excellent example of the syncretism and rationalization of the old Greek myths.
fērou· τὸ γὰρ τὸν Διὸς μὲν νῦν, τῶν δὲ καθ’ ἔαυτὸν Ἐλλήνων ἄριστον, τελέσαι μέγιστον ἀθλον τὴν ἐπὶ ταύτας στρατείαν τεκμήριον ἂν τις λάβοι τῆς περὶ τὰς προειρημένας γυναικᾶς ύπεροχῆς τε καὶ δυνάμεως. ὡ τε τῶν νῦν μελλονσῶν ἱστορεῖσθαι ἀνδρεία παράδοξον ἐχει τὴν ύπεροχὴν πρὸς τὰς καθ’ ἡμᾶς φύσεις τῶν γυναικῶν συγκρινομένη.

53. Φασὶ γὰρ ὑπάρχει τῆς Λιβύης ἐν τοῖς πρὸς ἐσπέραν μέρεσιν ἐπὶ τοῖς πέρασι τῆς οἰκουμένης ἔθνος γυναικοκρατούμενον καὶ βίον ἐξηλωκός οὐχ ὀμοιόν τῷ παρ’ ἡμῖν. ταῖς μὲν γὰρ γυναιξίν ἔθος εἶναι διαπονεῖν τὰ κατὰ πόλεμον, καὶ χρόνους ώρισμένους ὀφείλειν στρατεύεσθαι, διατηρομένης τῆς παρθενίας· διελθοῦτων δὲ τῶν ἐτῶν τῶν τῆς στρατείας προσέναι μὲν τοῖς ἀνδράσι παιδοποιίας ἑνεκα, τὰς δ’ ἄρχας καὶ τὰ κοινὰ διοικεῖν ταύτας 2 ἀπαντα. τοὺς δ’ ἀνδράς ὀμοίως ταῖς παρ’ ἡμῖν γιαμεταῖς τὸν κατοικίδιον ἐχειν βίον, ὑπηρετοῦντας τοῖς ὑπὸ τῶν συνοικοσῶν προστατομένους· μὴ μετέχειν δ’ αὐτοὺς μήτε στρατείας μὴτ’ ἄρχης μὴτ’ ἀλλης τινὸς ἐν τοῖς κοινοῖς παρρησίας, εἴς ἦς ἔμελλον φρονηματισθέντες ἐπιθήσεσθαι ταῖς 3 γυναιξίν. κατὰ δὲ τὰς γενέσεις τῶν τέκνων τὰ μὲν βρέφη παραδίδοσθαι τοῖς ἀνδράσι, καὶ τούτους διατρέψειν αὐτὰ γάλακτι καὶ ἄλλους τισῶν ἐφήμασιν οἰκείως ταῖς τῶν νηπίων ἥλικίαις· εἰ δὲ τῶν ἁθῆν γεννηθέν, ἐπικάεσθαι αὐτοῦ τοὺς μαστοῦς,

1 i.e. Perseus. 2 Literally, “freedom of speech.”
BOOK III. 52. 4-53. 3

tinguished for its valour; for the fact that it was the son of Zeus, the mightiest Greek of his day, who accomplished the campaign against these women, and that this was his greatest Labour may be taken by any man as proof of both the pre-eminence and the power of the women we have mentioned. Furthermore, the manly prowess of those of whom we are now about to write presupposes an amazing pre-eminence when compared with the nature of the women of our day.

53. We are told, namely, that there was once in the western parts of Libya, on the bounds of the inhabited world, a race which was ruled by women and followed a manner of life unlike that which prevails among us. For it was the custom among them that the women should practise the arts of war and be required to serve in the army for a fixed period, during which time they maintained their virginity; then, when the years of their service in the field had expired, they went in to the men for the procreation of children, but they kept in their hands the administration of the magistracies and of all the affairs of the state. The men, however, like our married women, spent their days about the house, carrying out the orders which were given them by their wives; and they took no part in military campaigns or in office or in the exercise of free citizenship in the affairs of the community by virtue of which they might become presumptuous and rise up against the women. When their children were born the babies were turned over to the men, who brought them up on milk and such cooked foods as were appropriate to the age of the infants; and if it happened that a girl was born, its breasts were

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4 Μυθολογούσι δ' αυτάς οικηκέναι νήσουν τήν ἀπὸ μὲν τοῦ πρὸς δυσμᾶς ύπάρχειν αὕτην 'Εσσέραν προσαγορεύεσθαι, κειμένην δ' ἐν τῇ Τρίτωνίδι λίμνῃ. ταύτην δὲ πλησίον ύπάρχειν τοῦ περιήχοντος τῆς γῆς ὕκεανον, προσηγορεῖσθαι δ' ἀπὸ τινος ἐμβαλλοντος εἰς αὕτην ποταμοῦ Τρίτωνος. κείσθαι δὲ τὴν λίμνῃ ταύτην πλησίον Αἰθιοπίας καὶ τοῦ παρὰ τὸν ὕκεανον ὅροις, δ' μέγιστον μὲν ύπάρχειν τῶν ἐν τοῖς τόποις καὶ προσπεπτὼκος εἰς τὸν ὕκεανόν, οἴνομάζεσθαι δ' ὑπὸ τῶν 'Ελλήνων.

5 'Αθλαντα. τὴν δὲ προειρήμενην νήσουν ύπάρχειν μὲν εὐμεγέθη καὶ πληρὴ καρπίμων δένδρων παντοδαπῶν, ἀφ' ὅν πορίζεσθαι τάς τροφὰς τοὺς ἐγχώριους. ἔχειν δ' αὐτὴν καὶ κτηνῶν πλῆθος, αἰγῶν καὶ προβάτων, εἴ δὲν γάλα καὶ κρέα πρὸς διατροφὴν ύπάρχειν τοῖς κεκτημένοις: σίτω δὲ τὸ σύνολον μὴ χρήσθαι τὸ ἔθνος διὰ τὸ μῆπω τοῦ καρποῦ τούτου τὴν χρείαν εὐρεθῆναι παρ' αὐτοῖς.

6 Τάς δ' οὖν Ἀμαζόνας ἀλλ' διαφερούσας καὶ πρὸς πόλεμον ὑμημένας τὸ μὲν πρῶτον τὰς ἐν τῇ νῆσῳ πόλεις καταστρέφεσθαι πλὴν τῆς ὀνομαζομένης Μήνης, ἡρᾶς δ' εἶναι νομιζομένης, ἢν κατοικεῖσθαι μὲν ὑπ' Ἀἰθιόπων Ἰχθυοφάγων, ἔχειν δὲ πυρὸς ἐκφυσήματα μεγάλα καὶ λίθων πολυτελῶν πλῆθος τῶν ὀνομαζομένων παρ' Ἔλ-

1 δοκειν Dindorf: δοκεῖ.
seared that they might not develop at the time of maturity; for they thought that the breasts, as they stood out from the body, were no small hindrance in warfare; and in fact it is because they have been deprived of their breasts that they are called by the Greeks Amazons.¹

As mythology relates, their home was on an island which, because it was in the west, was called Hespera, and it lay in the marsh Tritonis. This marsh was near the ocean which surrounds the earth and received its name from a certain river Triton which emptied into it; and this marsh was also near Ethiopia and that mountain by the shore of the ocean which is the highest of those in the vicinity and impinges upon the ocean and is called by the Greeks Atlas. The island mentioned above was of great size and full of fruit-bearing trees of every kind, from which the natives secured their food. It contained also a multitude of flocks and herds, namely, of goats and sheep, from which the possessors received milk and meat for their sustenance; but grain the nation used not at all because the use of this fruit of the earth had not yet been discovered among them.

The Amazons, then, the account continues, being a race superior in valour and eager for war, first of all subdued all the cities on the island except the one called Menê, which was considered to be sacred and was inhabited by Ethiopian Ichthyophagi, and was also subject to great eruptions of fire and possessed a multitude of the precious stones which the Greeks

λησιν ἀνθράκων καὶ σαρδίων καὶ σιμαράγδων· μετὰ
de ταῦτα πολλοὺς τῶν πλησιοχώρων Διβύων καὶ
νομάδων καταπολεμῆσαι, καὶ κτίσαι πόλιν μεγά-
λην ἐντὸς τῆς Τριτωνίδος λίμνης, ἤν ἀπὸ τοῦ
σχήματος ὄνομάσαι Χερρόνησον.

54. 'Εκ δὲ ταύτης ὄρμωμένας ἐγχειρῆσαι
μεγάλαις ἐπιβολαῖς, ὀρμῆσ αὐταῖς ἐμπεσοῦσθαι
ἐπελθεῖν πολλὰ μέρη τῆς οἰκουμένης. ἐπὶ
πρῶτος δ’ai αὐτὰς στρατεύει τέλεια τοὺς
Ἀτλαντίους, ἄνδρας, ἢμερωτάτους τῶν ἐν τοῖς
τόποις ἔκεινοι καὶ χώραν νεκρομένους εὐδαίμονα
καὶ πόλεις μεγάλας: παρ’ οἷς δὴ μυθολογεῖσθαι
φασὶ τὴν τῶν θεῶν γένεσιν ὑπάρξαι πρὸς τοῖς κατὰ
tὸν ὦκεανὸν τόποις, συμμφώνως τοῖς παρ’ Ἐλλησι
μυθολόγοις, περὶ ὅν τὰ κατὰ μέρος μικρὸν ὑστερον
dιέξειμεν.

2 Τῶν οὖν Ἀμαζώνων λέγεται βασιλεύουσαν Μύ-
ριαναν συστήσασθαι στρατόπεδον πεζῶν μὲν τρισ-
μυρίων, ἢππέων δὲ τρισχιλίων, ξηλομένης παρ’
aυταῖς περιττότερον ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις τῆς ἀπὸ τῶν
3 ἢππέων χρείας. ὁπλοῖς δὲ χρῆσθαι σκεπαστηρίους
ὁφεοὺς μεγάλων δοραῖς, ἔχουσις τῆς Διβύως ταῦτα
tὰ ξώα τοῖς μεγέθεσιν ἀπίστα, ἀμυντηρίους δὲ
ἐξέσται καὶ λόγχαις,1 ἐτὶ δὲ τὸξοις, οἷς μὴ μόνον
ἐξ ἐναντίας βάλλειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ κατὰ τὰς φυγὰς
toῖς ἐξέσται καὶ ταῖς λόγχαις all MSS. but A.

1 The anthrax was a precious stone of dark red colour,
such as the carbuncle, ruby, and garnet; the sardion included
our cornelian and sardine; the smaragdos was any green
stone.

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call anthrax, sardion, and smaragdos; and after this they subdued many of the neighbouring Libyans and nomad tribes, and founded within the marsh Tritonis a great city which they named Cherronesus after its shape.

54. Setting out from the city of Cherronesus, the account continues, the Amazons embarked upon great ventures, a longing having come over them to invade many parts of the inhabited world. The first people against whom they advanced, according to the tale, was the Atlantians, the most civilized men among the inhabitants of those regions, who dwelt in a prosperous country and possessed great cities; it was among them, we are told, that mythology places the birth of the gods, in the regions which lie along the shore of the ocean, in this respect agreeing with those among the Greeks who relate legends, and about this we shall speak in detail a little later.

Now the queen of the Amazons, Myrina, collected, it is said, an army of thirty thousand foot-soldiers and three thousand cavalry, since they favoured to an unusual degree the use of cavalry in their wars. For protective devices they used the skins of large snakes, since Libya contains such animals of incredible size, and for offensive weapons, swords and lances; they also used bows and arrows, with which they struck not only when facing the enemy but also when in flight, by shooting backwards at their...
ΔΙΟΔΟΡΟΣ ΟΦ ΣΙΚΙΛΥ

τοὺς ἐπιδιώκοντας εἰς τούπίσω τοξεύειν εὐστόχως. 4 ἐμβαλοῦσας δ' αὐτὸς εἰς τὴν τῶν Ἀτλαντῶν χώραν τοὺς μὲν τὴν Κέρην καλουμένην οἰκοῦντας παρατάξει νικήσαι, καὶ συνεισπέσουσας τοὺς φένγουσιν ἐντὸς τῶν τειχῶν κυριεύσαι τῆς πόλεως· Βουλομένας δὲ τῷ φόβῳ καταπλῆξασθαι τους περιοίκους ὠμῶς προσενεχθῆναι τοῖς ἀλοῦσι, καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἀνδρὰς ἡβηδὸν ἀποσφάξαι, τέκνα δὲ καὶ γυναῖκας ἐξαινδραποδισαμένας κατασκάψαι τὴν 5 πόλιν. τῆς δὲ περὶ τοὺς Κερναίους συμφορᾶς διαδοθείης εἰς τοὺς ὁμοθνεῖς, λέγεται τοὺς μὲν Ἀτλαντίους καταπλαγέντας δι' ὀμολογίας παρα- δοῦναι τὰς πόλεις καὶ πάν τὸ προσταχθὲν ποιήσεων ἐπαγγείλασθαι, τὴν δὲ βασίλευσαν Μύριναν ἐπιεικῶς αὐτοῖς προσενεχθεῖναι φιλίαν τε συνθέσθαι καὶ πόλιν αὐτὶ τῆς κατασκαφείσης ὄμωνυμον ἐαυτῆς κτίσαι· κατοικίσαι δ' εἰς αὐτὴν τοὺς τε αἰχμαλώτους καὶ τῶν ἐγχωρίων τὸν βουλόμενον. 6 μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα τῶν Ἀτλαντῶν δωρά τε μεγα- λοπρεπὴ δόντων αὐτῇ καὶ τιμᾶς ἀξιολόγους κοινῆ ψηφισμένων, ἀποδέξασθαι τε τὴν φιλανθρω- πίαν αὐτῶν καὶ προσεπαγγείλασθαι τὸ ἔθνος 7 εὐεργετῆσαι. τῶν δ' ἐγχωρίων πεπολεμημένων πολλάκις ὑπὸ τῶν ὄνομαζομένων Γοργόνων, οὐσῶν πλησιοχώρων, καὶ τὸ σύνολον ἐφεδρὸν ἐχόντων 1 τοῦτο τὸ ἔθνος, φασὶν ἀξιωθεῖσαν τὴν Μύριναν ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀτλαντῶν ἐμβαλεῖν εἰς τὴν χώραν τῶν προερημένων. ἀντιταξαμένων δὲ τῶν Γοργόνων γενέσθαι καρτερὰν μάχην, καὶ τὰς Ἀμαζόνας ἐπὶ τοῦ προτερήματος γενομένας ἀνελεῖν μὲν τῶν ἀντιταχθεισῶν παμπληθεῖσι, ζωγρῆσαι δ' οὐκ

1 So Eichštädt: ἐχονων.
pursuers with good effect. Upon entering the land of the Atlantians they defeated in a pitched battle the inhabitants of the city of Cernê, as it is called, and making their way inside the walls along with the fleeing enemy, they got the city into their hands; and desiring to strike terror into the neighbouring peoples they treated the captives savagely, put to the sword the men from the youth upward, led into slavery the children and women, and razed the city. But when the terrible fate of the inhabitants of Cernê became known among their fellow tribesmen, it is related that the Atlantians, struck with terror, surrendered their cities on terms of capitulation and announced that they would do whatever should be commanded them, and that the queen Myrina, bearing herself honourably towards the Atlantians, both established friendship with them and founded a city to bear her name in place of the city which had been razed; and in it she settled both the captives and any native who so desired. Whereupon the Atlantians presented her with magnificent presents and by public decree voted to her notable honours, and she in return accepted their courtesy and in addition promised that she would show kindness to their nation. And since the natives were often being warred upon by the Gorgons, as they were named, a folk which resided upon their borders, and in general had that people lying in wait to injure them, Myrina, they say, was asked by the Atlantians to invade the land of the afore-mentioned Gorgons. But when the Gorgons drew up their forces to resist them a mighty battle took place in which the Amazons, gaining the upper hand, slew great numbers of their opponents and took no fewer than
DIODORUS OF SICILY

Τών δ' Ἀμαζώνων νυκτὸς τὰ περὶ τὰς φυλακὰς ῥαθυμουσῶν διὰ τὴν εὐημερίαν, ἐπιθέμενας τὰς αἰχμαλωτίδας, σπασαμένας τὰ ξίφη τῶν δοκουσῶν κεκρατηκέναι πολλὰς ἀνελείν. τέλος δὲ τοῦ πλήθους αὐτὰς πανταχόθεν περιχυθέντος εὑγε-νῶς μαχομένας ἀπάσας κατακοπῆναι. τὴν δὲ Μύριναν θάψασαν τὰς ἀναρεθείσας τῶν συστρατευουσῶν ἐν τρισὶ πυραίς χωμάτων μεγάλων ἐπιστῆσαι τάφους τρεῖς, οὐς μέχρι τοῦ νῦν Ἀμα-ζόνων σωροὺς ὑμομάζεσθαι. τὰς δὲ Γοργόνας ἐν τοῖς ὑστερον χρόνοις αὐξηθείσας πάλιν ὑπὸ Περσέως τοῦ Διὸς καταπολεμηθῆναι, καθ’ ὃν καίρον ἐβασίλευεν αὐτῶν Μέδουσα. τὸ δὲ τελευταίον ύψ’, Ἡρακλέους ἀρδὴν ἀναρεθήναι ταύτας τε καὶ τὸ τῶν Ἀμαζώνων ἔθνος, καθ’ ὃν καίρον τοὺς πρὸς ἔσπεραν τόπους ἐπελθὼν ἔθετο τὰς ἐπὶ τῆς Λιβύης στῆλας, δεινὸν ἡγούμενος, εἶ προελο-μένος τὸ γένος κουφῇ τῶν ἄνθρωπων ἐνεργετεῖν περιώχεται τινὰ τῶν ἔθνων γυναικοκρατοῦμενα. λέγεται δὲ καὶ τὴν Τριτωνίδα λίμνην σεισμῶν γενομένων ἀφανισθῆναι, βαγέντων αὐτῆς τῶν πρὸς τὸν ὦκεανον μερῶν κεκλιμένων.

Τὴν δὲ Μύριναν φασὶ τῆς τῇ Λιβύης τὴν πλείστην ἐπελθείν, καὶ παραβαλοῦσαν ἐἰς Λύγυπτον πρὸς 256
three thousand prisoners; and since the rest had fled for refuge into a certain wooded region, Myrina undertook to set fire to the timber, being eager to destroy the race utterly, but when she found that she was unable to succeed in her attempt she retired to the borders of her country.

55. Now as the Amazons, they go on to say, relaxed their watch during the night because of their success, the captive women, falling upon them and drawing the swords of those who thought they were conquerors, slew many of them; in the end, however, the multitude poured in about them from every side and the prisoners fighting bravely were butchered one and all. Myrina accorded a funeral to her fallen comrades on three pyres and raised up three great heaps of earth as tombs, which are called to this day "Amazon Mounds." But the Gorgons, grown strong again in later days, were subdued a second time by Perseus, the son of Zeus, when Medusa was queen over them; and in the end both they and the race of the Amazons were entirely destroyed by Heracles, when he visited the regions to the west and set up his pillars in Libya, since he felt that it would ill accord with his resolve to be the benefactor of the whole race of mankind if he should suffer any nations to be under the rule of women. The story is also told that the marsh Tritonis disappeared from sight in the course of an earthquake, when those parts of it which lay towards the ocean were torn asunder.

As for Myrina, the account continues, she visited the larger part of Libya, and passing over into

μὲν Ὡρον τὸν Ἰσίδορος βασιλεύοντα τότε τῆς Ἀιγύπτου φιλίαν συνθέσθαι, πρὸς δ' Ἀραβάς διαπολεμήσασαν καὶ πολλοὺς αὐτῶν ἀνελοῦσαν, τὴν μὲν Συρίαν καταστρέψασθαι, τῶν δὲ Κιλίκων ἀπαντησάντων αὐτῇ μετὰ δώρων καὶ τὸ κελευ-όμενον ποιήσειν ὁμολογοῦντων, ἐλευθέρους ἀφεῖναι τοὺς ἐκουσίως προσχωρῆσαντας, οὐς ἀπὸ ταύτης τῆς αἰτίας μέχρι τοῦ νῦν Ἐλευθεροκιλικάς καλεῖ-σθαι. καταπολεμήσαι δ' αὐτὴν καὶ τὰ περὶ τὸν Ταύρον ἔθην, διάφορα ταῖς ἀλκαῖς ὤντα, καὶ διὰ Φρυγίας τῆς μεγάλης ἐπὶ θάλατταν καταβῆναι. ἐξῆς δὲ τὴν παραθαλάσσιον χώραν προσαγαγομένην ὅρους θέσθαι τῆς στρατείας τὸν Καϊκον ποταμόν. τῆς δὲ δορικτήτου χώρας ἐκλεξαμένην τοὺς εὐθέτους τόπους εἰς πόλεων κτίσεις οἰκοδομήσαι πλείους πόλεις, καὶ τούτων ὁμόνυμον μίαν ἑαυτῇ κτίσαι, τὰς δὲ ἄλλας ἀπὸ τῶν τὰς ἡγεμονίας τὰς μεγίστας ἐχουσῶν, Κύμην, Πιτάναν, Πριήνην.

7 Ταύτας μὲν οὖν οἰκίσαι παρὰ θάλατταν, ἄλλας δὲ πλείους ἐν τοῖς πρὸς μεσόγειον ἀνήκουσι τόποις. κατασχεῖν δ' αὐτὴν καὶ τῶν νῆσων τινῶς, καὶ μᾶ-λιστα τὴν Λέσβον, ἐν Ἦ κτίσαι πόλιν Μυτιλήνην ὁμόνυμον τῇ μετεχούση τῆς στρατείας ἀδελφῆ.

8 Ἐπείτα καὶ τῶν ἄλλων νῆσων τινῶς καταστρέφο-μένην χειμασθῆναι, καὶ ποιησάμενην τῇ μητρὶ τῶν θεών εὐχὰς ύπὲρ τῆς σωτηρίας προσενεχθῆναι νῆσω τινὶ τῶν ἐρήμων. ταύτην δὲ κατὰ τινὰ ἐν

1 The Mediterranean.
2 This river flows past Pergamum and empties into the Aegean Sea.
Egypt she struck a treaty of friendship with Horus, the son of Isis, who was king of Egypt at that time, and then, after making war to the end upon the Arabians and slaying many of them, she subdued Syria; but when the Cilicians came out with presents to meet her and agreed to obey her commands, she left those free who yielded to her of their free will and for this reason these are called to this day the "Free Cilicians." She also conquered in war the races in the region of the Taurus, peoples of outstanding courage, and descended through Greater Phrygia to the sea; then she won over the land lying along the coast and fixed the bounds of her campaign at the Caicus River. And selecting in the territory which she had won by arms sites well suited for the founding of cities, she built a considerable number of them and founded one which bore her own name, but the others she named after the women who held the most important commands, such as Cymê, Pitana, and Prienê.

These, then, are the cities she settled along the sea, but others, and a larger number, she planted in the regions stretching towards the interior. She seized also some of the islands, and Lesbos in particular, on which she founded the city of Mitylenê, which was named after her sister who took part in the campaign. After that, while subduing some of the rest of the islands, she was caught in a storm, and after she had offered up prayers for her safety to the Mother of the Gods, she was carried to one of the uninhabited islands; this island, in obedience

3 The city of Myrina in Mysia; cp. Strabo 13. 3. 6.
4 Cybele.
Diodorus of Sicily

τοῖς ὀνείροις φαντασίαν καθιερώσατι τῇ προειρημένῃ θεῷ καὶ βωμοὺς ἱδρύσασθαι καὶ θυσίας μεγαλοπρεπεῖς ἐπιτελέσατι· ὀνομάσαι δ' αὐτὴν Σαμοθράκην, ὁπερ εἶναι μεθερμηνευόμενον εἰς τὴν Ἑλληνικὴν διάλεκτον ἵεραν νῆσον· ἔνιοι δὲ τῶν ἱστορικῶν λέγουσι τὸ πρὸ τοῦ Σάμου αὐτὴν καλομένην ὑπὸ τῶν κατοικούντων ἐν αὐτῇ ποτὲ Θρακῶν Σαμοθράκην ὀνομασθήναι. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ τῶν Ἀμαζόνων ἐπανελθοῦσαν εἰς τὴν ἑπεροὺς μυθολογοῦσι τὴν μητέρα τῶν θεῶν εὐαρέστηθεῖσαν τῇ νῆσῳ ἄλλους τῇ τυχαῖς εἰς αὐτῇ κατοικίσαι καὶ τους ἑαυτῆς νῦν τοὺς ὀνομαζόμενους Κορύβαντας· ἐξ οὗ δ' εἰσὶ πατρὸς ἐν ἀπορρήτῳ κατὰ τὴν τελείῃ παράδοσα· καταδείξει δὲ καὶ τὰ νῦν ἐν αὐτῇ συντελοῦμενα μυστήρια καὶ τὸ τέμενος ἀσυλον νομοθετῆσαι.

10 Περὶ δὲ τούτου τοὺς χρόνους Μόσυν τὸν Ὀράκα, φυγάδα γενόμενον ὑπὸ Λυκουργοῦ τοῦ βασιλέως τῶν Θρακῶν, ἐμβαλεῖν εἰς τὴν χώραν τῶν Ἀμαζόνων μετὰ στρατιὰς τῆς συνεκπεσούσης αὐτῶ· συνοπτασθῆναι δὲ καὶ Σίτυλον τῷ Μόσῳ τῶν Σκύθων, πεφυγαδευμένου ὁμοίως ἐκ τῆς ὁμόρου τῇ Ὀράκη Σκυθίας. γενομένης δὲ παρατάξεως, καὶ τῶν περὶ τὸν Σίτυλον καὶ Μόσυν προτερήσαντων, τὴν τε βασιλισσαν τῶν Ἀμαζόνων Μύριναν ἀναιρεθῆναι καὶ τῶν ἄλλως τὰς πλείους. τοῦ δὲ χρόνου προβαίνοντος, καὶ κατὰ τὰς μάχας ἀεὶ τῶν Θρακῶν ἐπικρατοῦντων, τὸ τελευταῖον τὰς περιλειψθείσας τῶν Ἀμαζόνων ἀνακάμψαι πάλιν εἰς Λιβύην. καὶ τὴν μὲν στρατείαν τῶν ἀπὸ Λιβύης Ἀμαζόνων μυθολογοῦσι τοιοῦτο λαβεῖν τὸ πέρας.

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to a vision which she beheld in her dreams, she made sacred to this goddess, and set up altars there and offered magnificent sacrifices. She also gave it the name of Samothrake, which means, when translated into Greek, "sacred island," although some historians say that it was formerly called Samos and was then given the name of Samothrake by Thracians who at one time dwelt on it. However, after the Amazons had returned to the continent, the myth relates, the Mother of the Gods, well pleased with the island, settled in it certain other people, and also her own sons, who are known by the name of Corybantes—who their father was is handed down in their rites as a matter not to be divulged; and she established the mysteries which are now celebrated on the island and ordained by law that the sacred area should enjoy the right of sanctuary.

In these times, they go on to say, Mopsus the Thracian, who had been exiled by Lycurgus, the king of the Thracians, invaded the land of the Amazons with an army composed of fellow-exiles, and with Mopsus on the campaign was also Sipylus the Scythian, who had likewise been exiled from that part of Scythia which borders upon Thrace. There was a pitched battle, Sipylus and Mopsus gained the upper hand, and Myrina, the queen of the Amazons, and the larger part of the rest of her army were slain. In the course of the years, as the Thracians continued to be victorious in their battles, the surviving Amazons finally withdrew again into Libya. And such was the end, as the myth relates, of the campaign which the Amazons of Libya made.
56. Ἅμεις δ’ ἐπειδῆ περὶ τῶν Ἀτλαντῶν ἐμνή-
σθήμεν, οὐκ ἀνοίκειον ἤγούμεθα διελθεῖν τὰ μυθολο-
γούμενα παρ’ αὐτοῖς περὶ τῆς τῶν θεῶν γενέσεως,
διὰ τὸ μὴ πολὺ διαλλάττειν αὐτὰ τῶν μυθολογο-
νόμων παρ’ Ἕλλησιν. οἱ τοιῶν Ἀτλαντικοὶ τοὺς
παρὰ τὸν Ὀκεανόν τόπους κατοικοῦντες καὶ
χώραν εὐθαίρετον νεμόμενοι πολὺ¹ μὲν εὐσεβεῖς
καὶ φιλανθρωπίᾳ τῇ πρὸς τοὺς ξένους δοκοῦσι
dιαφέρειν τῶν πλησιόχωρων, τὴν δὲ γένεσιν τῶν
θεῶν παρ’ αὐτοῖς γενέσθαι φασὶ. συμφωνεῖν δὲ
τοῖς λεγομένοις ὑπ’ αὐτῶν καὶ τὸν ἐπιφανέστατον
tῶν παρ’ Ἕλλησι ποιητῶν ἐν οἷς παρεισάγει τὴν
"Ἡραν λέγουσαν

εἰμι γὰρ όφομενη πολυφόρβοι πειρατα γαίης,
Ὅκεανόν τε θεῶν γένεσιν καὶ μητέρα Τηθύν.

3 Μυθολογοῦσι δὲ πρώτον παρ’ αὐτοῖς Ὀκρανὸν
βασιλεύσαντα καὶ τοὺς ἄνθρωπους σποράδην ὀικοῦντας
συναγαγεῖν εἰς πόλεως περίβολον, καὶ τῆς μὲν
ἀνομίας καὶ τοῦ θηριώδους βίου παῦσαι τοὺς
ὑπακοῦντας, εὑρόντα τὰς τῶν ἡμέρων καρπῶν
χρείας καὶ παραθέσεις καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν χρησίμων
οὐκ ὀλίγα· κατακτήσασθαι δ’ αὐτῶν καὶ τῆς
οἰκουμένης τὴν πλείστην, καὶ μάλιστα τοὺς πρὸς
4 τὴν ἐσπέραν καὶ τὴν ἄρκτον τόπους. τῶν δὲ
ἀστρων γενόμενον ἐπιμελῆ παρατηρητὴν πολλὰ προ-
λέγειν τῶν κατὰ τὸν κόσμον μελλόντων γίνεσθαι:
εἰσηγήσασθαι δὲ τοῖς ὀχλοις τῶν μὲν ἐνιαυτῶν ἀπὸ
tῆς τοῦ ἡλίου κινήσεως, τοὺς δὲ μῆνας ἀπὸ τῆς²

¹ πολὺ Dindorf, Bekker, πολλῷ Vogel, πολλῇ MSS.
² τῆς added by Oldfather.
56. But since we have made mention of the Atlantians, we believe that it will not be inappropriate in this place to recount what their myths relate about the genesis of the gods, in view of the fact that it does not differ greatly from the myths of the Greeks. Now the Atlantians, dwelling as they do in the regions on the edge of the ocean and inhabiting a fertile territory, are reputed far to excel their neighbours in reverence towards the gods and the humanity they showed in their dealings with strangers, and the gods, they say, were born among them. And their account, they maintain, is in agreement with that of the most renowned of the Greek poets\(^1\) when he represents Hera as saying:

For I go to see the ends of the bountiful earth, 
Oceanus source of the gods and Tethys divine 
Their mother.

This is the account given in their myth: Their first king was Uranus, and he gathered the human beings, who dwelt in scattered habitations, within the shelter of a walled city and caused his subjects to cease from their lawless ways and their bestial manner of living, discovering for them the uses of cultivated fruits, how to store them up, and not a few other things which are of benefit to man; and he also subdued the larger part of the inhabited earth, in particular the regions to the west and the north. And since he was a careful observer of the stars he foretold many things which would take place throughout the world; and for the common people he introduced the year on the basis of the movement of the sun and the months on that of the

\(^1\) Homer; the lines are from the *Iliad* 14. 200–1.
τῆς σελήνης, καὶ τὰς κατ’ έτος ἐκαστὸν ὥρας 5 διδάξαι. διὸ καὶ τοὺς πολλοὺς, ἀγνοοῦντας μὲν τὴν τῶν ἀστρών αἰώνιον τάξιν, θαυμάζοντας δὲ τὰ γυνόμενα κατὰ τὰς προρρήσεις, ύπολαβεῖν τὸν τούτων εἰσηγητὴν θείας μετέχειν φύσεως, μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἐξ ἀνθρώπων αὐτοῦ μετάστασιν διὰ τε τὰς ἐνεργείας καὶ τὴν τῶν ἀστρών ἐπίγνωσιν ἄθανά- τους τιμᾶς ἀπονεῖμαι, μεταγαγεῖν δ’ αὐτοῦ τὴν προσηγορίαν ἐπὶ τὸν κόσμον, ἀμα μὲν τῷ δοκεῖν ὑφείης ἐσχηκέναι πρὸς τὰς τῶν ἀστρών ἐπίτολάς τε καὶ δύσεις καὶ τάλλα τὰ γυνόμενα περὶ τὸν κόσμον, ἀμα δὲ τῷ μεγέθει τῶν τιμῶν ὑπερβάλλειν τὰς ἐνεργείας, καὶ πρὸς τὸν αἰώνα βασιλέα τῶν ὀλων αὐτὸν ἀναγορεύσαντας.

57. Οὐρανοῦ δὲ μνθολογούσι γενέσθαι παίδας ἐκ πλειώνων γυναικῶν πέντε πρὸς τοῖς τετταράκοντα, καὶ τούτων ὁκτωκαίδεκα λέγουσιν ὑπάρχειν ἐκ Τιτάιας ὄνομα μὲν ὅδιον ἔχοντας ἐκάστοις, κοινῆ δὲ πάντας ἀπὸ τῆς μητρὸς ὄνομαξομένους Τιτάνας. 2 τὴν δὲ Τιταίαν, σώφρονα οὖσαν καὶ πολλῶν ἀγαθῶν αἰτίαν γενομένην τοῖς λαοῖς, ἀποθεωθή- ναι μετὰ τὴν τελευτὴν ὑπὸ τῶν εὗ παθόντων Γῆν μετονομασθεῖσαν. γενέσθαι δ’ αὐτῶ καὶ θυγατέρας, ὃν εἶναι δύο τὰς πρεσβυτάτας πολύ τῶν ἄλλων ἐπιφανεστάτας, τὴν τε καλουμένην Βασίλειαν καὶ Ῥέαν τὴν ὑπ’ ἐνίων Πανδώραν 3 ὀνομασθεῖσαν. τούτων δὲ τὴν μὲν Βασίλειαν, πρεσβυτάτην οὖσαν καὶ σωφροσύνη τε καὶ συνέχει πολὺ τῶν ἄλλων διαφέρουσαν, ἐκθρέψαι πάντας τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς κοινῆ μητρὸς εὖνοιαν παρεχομέ-
moon, and instructed them in the seasons which recur year after year. Consequently the masses of the people, being ignorant of the eternal arrangement of the stars and marvelling at the events which were taking place as he had predicted, conceived that the man who taught such things partook of the nature of the gods, and after he had passed from among men they accorded to him immortal honours, both because of his benefactions and because of his knowledge of the stars; and then they transferred his name to the firmament of heaven, both because they thought that he had been so intimately acquainted with the risings and the settings of the stars and with whatever else took place in the firmament, and because they would surpass his benefactions by the magnitude of the honours which they would show him, in that for all subsequent time they proclaimed him to be the king of the universe.

57. To Uranus, the myth continues, were born forty-five sons from a number of wives, and, of these, eighteen, it is said, were by Titaea, each of them bearing a distinct name, but all of them as a group were called, after their mother, Titans. Titaea, because she was prudent and had brought about many good deeds for the peoples, was deified after her death by those whom she had helped and her name was changed to Gê. To Uranus were also born daughters, the two eldest of whom were by far the most renowned above the others and were called Basileia and Rhea, whom some also named Pandora. Of these daughters Basileia, who was the eldest and far excelled the others in both prudence and understanding, reared all her brothers, showing them collectively a mother's kindness; consequently she was
νην· διὸ καὶ μεγάλην μητέρα προσαγορευθήμαν· μετὰ δὲ τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς ἐξ ἀνθρώπων εἰς θεοὺς μετάστασιν, συγχωρούντων τῶν ὄχλων καὶ τῶν ἀδελφῶν, διαδεξασθαί τὴν βασιλείαν παρθένον οὗτοι ἔτη₁ καὶ διὰ τὴν ὑπερβολὴν τῆς σωφροσύνης οὐδὲν συνοικήσασι βουλήθεισαν. ὄστερον δὲ βουλομένην διαδόχους τῆς βασιλείας ἀπολιπεῖν υἱοὺς, Ὄπεριόνι συνοικήσασι τῶν ἀδελφῶν ἐν· πρὸς δὲν 4 οἰκειότατα διέκειτο. γενομένων δὲ αὐτῇ δύο τέκνων, Ὅλιον καὶ Σελήνης, καὶ θαυμαζομένων ἐπὶ τε τῷ κάλλει καὶ τῇ σωφροσύνη, φασὶ τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς ταύτῃ μὲν ἄπτε, εὐτεκνία φθονοῦντας, τὸν δὲ Ὄπεριόνα φοβηθέντας μῆποτε τὴν βασιλείαν εἰς αὐτὸν περιπάσης, πρᾶξιν ἐπιτελέσασθαι παντε- 5 λὼς ἀνόσιον. συνωμοσίαν γὰρ ποιησαμένους τὸν μὲν Ὅπεριόνα κατασφάζαι, τὸν δὲ "Ηλιον ὃντα παῖδα τὴν ἡλικίαν ἐμβαλόντας εἰς τὸν Ἡρίδανον ποταμὸν ἀποτυγίσας· καταφανούς δὲ γενομένης τῆς ἀτυχίας, τὴν μὲν Σελήνην φιλῶν ὁδόν οὕτως καθό ὑπερβολὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ τέγους εαυτὴν βίψαι, τὴν δὲ μητέρα ἕστούσαν τὸ σῶμα παρὰ τὸν ποταμὸν σύγκοπον γενέσθαι, καὶ κατενεχθέσαις εἰς ὑπὸν ἱδεῖν ὃμων, καθ’ ὅν ἐδοξεῖν ἐπιστάντα τὸν "Ηλιον παρακαλεῖν αὐτὴν μὴ θρηνεῖν τῶν τῶν τέκνων θάνατον· τοὺς μὲν γὰρ Τιτῶνας τεύξεσθαι τῆς προσηκούσης τιμωρίας, ἐαυτὸν δὲ καὶ τὴν ἀδελφὴν εἰς ἀθανάτους φύσεις μετασχηματισθῆσθαι θεία τῶν πρωνοίας· ὄνομασθῆσθαι γὰρ ὑπὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἦλιον μὲν τὸ πρότερον ἐν οὐρανῷ πῦρ ἱερὸν καλοῦμενον,

₁ ἔτι Bekker: ἔτι δὲ.

₁ The "sun" and the "moon" respectively.
given the appellation of “Great Mother;” and after her father had been translated from among men into the circle of the gods, with the approval of the masses and of her brothers she succeeded to the royal dignity, though she was still a maiden and because of her exceedingly great chastity had been unwilling to unite in marriage with any man. But later, because of her desire to leave sons who should succeed to the throne, she united in marriage with Hyperion, one of her brothers, for whom she had the greatest affection. And when there were born to her two children, Helius and Selenê,1 who were greatly admired for both their beauty and their chastity, the brothers of Basileia, they say, being envious of her because of her happy issue of children and fearing that Hyperion would divert the royal power to himself, committed an utterly impious deed; for entering into a conspiracy among themselves they put Hyperion to the sword, and casting Helius, who was still in years a child, into the Eridanus 2 river, drowned him. When this crime came to light, Selenê, who loved her brother very greatly, threw herself down from the roof, but as for his mother, while seeking his body along the river, her strength left her and falling into a swoon she beheld a vision in which she thought that Helius stood over her and urged her not to mourn the death of her children; for, he said, the Titans would meet the punishment which they deserve, while he and his sister would be transformed, by some divine providence, into immortal natures, since that which had formerly been called the “holy fire” in the heavens would be called by men Helius (“the sun”) and that

1 The Po.

2 The Po.
6 σελήνην δὲ τὴν μῆνην προσαγορευμένην. διεγερθείσαν δὲ καὶ τοῖς ὀχλοις τὸν τε ὄνειρον καὶ τὰ περὶ αὐτὴν ἀτυχήματα διελθοῦσαν ἀξιώσαι τοῖς μὲν τετελευτηκόσιν ἀπονεῖμαι τιμὰς ἱσοθέους, τοῦ δ’ αὐτῆς σώματος μηκέτι μηδένα θυγεῖν. 7 μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἐμμανὴ γενομένην καὶ τῶν τῆς θυγατρῶς παιγνίων τὰ δυνάμενα ψόφων ἐπιτελεῖν ἀρπάσασαν πλανᾶσθαι κατὰ τὴν χώραν, λελυμένην 1 μὲν τὰς τρίχας, τῷ δὲ διὰ τῶν τυμπάνων καὶ κυμβάλων ψόφων ἐνθεάζουσαν, ὡστε καταπλήττειν τεσσαράς. πάντων δὲ τὸ περὶ αὐτὴν πάθος ἔλεούντως, καὶ των ἀντεχομένων τοῦ σώματος, ἐπιγενέσθαι πλήθος ὀμβροῦ καὶ συνεχεῖς κεραυνῶν πτώσεις· ἐνταῦθα δὲ τὴν μὲν Βασίλειαν ἀφανὴ γενέσθαι, τοὺς δ’ ὀχλοὺς θαυμάσαντας τὴν περιπέτειαν τὸν μὲν Ἡλίου καὶ τὴν Σελήνην τῆς προσηγορία καὶ ταῖς τιμαῖς μεταγαγεῖν ἐπὶ τὰ κατ’ οὐρανὸν ἄστρα, τήν δὲ μητέρα τούτων θεοῦ τε νομίσαι καὶ βωμοὺς ἱδρύσασθαι, καὶ ταῖς διὰ τῶν τυμπάνων καὶ κυμβάλων ἐνεργείαις καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀπασιν ἀπομιμομένους τὰ περὶ αὐτὴν συμβάντα θυσίας καὶ τὰς ἄλλας τιμὰς ἀπονεῖμαι.

58. Παραδέδοται δὲ τῆς θεοῦ ταύτης καὶ κατὰ τὴν Φρυγίαν γένεσις. οἱ γὰρ ἐγχώριοι μυθολογοῦσι τὸ παλαιὸν γενέσθαι βασιλέα Φρυγίας καὶ

1 So Eusebius (Praep. Ev. 2. 2. 39): καταλελυμένην.

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addressed as "menē" would be called Selênē ("the moon"). When she was aroused from the swoon she recounted to the common crowd both the dream and the misfortunes which had befallen her, asking that they render to the dead honours like those accorded to the gods and asserting that no man should thereafter touch her body. And after this she became frenzied, and seizing such of her daughter's playthings as could make a noise, she began to wander over the land, with her hair hanging free, inspired by the noise of the kettledrums and cymbals, so that those who saw her were struck with astonishment. And all men were filled with pity at her misfortune and some were clinging to her body, when there came a mighty storm and continuous crashes of thunder and lightning; and in the midst of this Basileia passed from sight, whereupon the crowds of people, amazed at this reversal of fortune, transferred the names and the honours of Helius and Selênē to the stars of the sky, and as for their mother, they considered her to be a goddess and erected altars to her, and imitating the incidents of her life by the pounding of the kettledrums and the clash of the cymbals they rendered unto her in this way sacrifices and all other honours.

58. However, an account is handed down also that this goddess 2 was born in Phrygia. For the natives of that country have the following myth: In ancient times Meión became king of Phrygia and Lydia;

1 Cp. the scene in Sophocles, Oedipus at Colonus, 1620-1, immediately before Oedipus passes from earth in the storm:

So clinging to each other sobbed and wept
Father and daughters both.

(tr. by Storr in the L.C.L.)

2 i.e. the Magna Mater.
Δυδίας Μήνα: γήμαντα δὲ Διωνύμη γεννήσαι μὲν παιδίων θήλυ, τρέφειν δ’ αὐτὸ μὴ βουλόμενον εἰς ὅρος ἐκθεῖν τὸ προσαγορεύμονον Κυβέλον. ἐνταῦθα τῷ παιδίῳ κατὰ τινα θείαν πρόνοιαν τὰς τε παρδάλεις καὶ τινα τῶν ἄλλων τῶν ἄλκη δια-φερόντων θηρίων παρέχεσθαι τὴν θηλήν καὶ διατρέφειν, γύναια δὲ τινα περὶ τὸν τόπον ποιμά-νοντα κατιδεῖν τὸ γυνόμενον, καὶ θαυμάσαντα τὴν περιπέτειαν ἀνελέσθαι τὸ βρέφος, καὶ προσαγορεύ-σαι Κυβέλην ἀπὸ τοῦ τόπου. αὐξομένην δὲ τὴν παίδα τῷ τε κάλλει καὶ σωφροσύνη διενεγκεῖν, ἔτι δὲ συνέσει γενέσθαι θαυμαστὴν· τὴν τε γὰρ πολυκάλαμον σύριγγα πρῶτην ἐπινόησαι καὶ πρὸς τὰς παιδίας καὶ χορείας εὔρειν κύμβαλα καὶ τύμπανα, πρὸς δὲ τοῦτοι καθαρμοὺς τῶν νοσοῦντων κτηνῶν τε καὶ νηπίων παιδῶν εἰσηγήσασθαι.

3 διὸ καὶ τῶν βρεφῶν ταῖς ἐπιφανεῖς σωζομένοις καὶ τῶν πλείστων ὑπ’ αὐτῆς ἐναγκαλιζομένων, διὰ τὴν εἰς ταῦτα σπουδὴν καὶ φιλοστοργίαν ὑπὸ πάντων αὐτῆς ὀρείαν μητέρα προσαγορευθῆναι, συναστρέφεσθαι δ’ αὐτῆ καὶ φιλιὰν ἔχειν ἐπὶ πλέον φασὶ Μαρσύαν τὸν Φρύγα, θαυμαζόμενον ἐπὶ συνέσει καὶ σωφροσύνης καὶ τῆς μὲν συν-έσεως τεκμήριον λαμβάνουσι τὸ μιμήσασθαι τοὺς φθόγγους τῆς πολυκάλαμου σύριγγος καὶ μετ-ενεγκεῖν ἐπὶ τοὺς αὐλοὺς τὴν ὀλην ἄρμονιαν, τῆς δὲ σωφροσύνης σημεῖον εἶναι φασὶ τὸ μέχρι τῆς τελευτῆς ἀπείρατον γενέσθαι τῶν ἀφρο-δισών.

4 Τὴν οὖν Κυβέλην εἰς ἁκμὴν ἥλικίας ἐξθοῦσαν ἀγαπῆσαι τῶν ἐγχωρίων τινὰ νεαρύσκον τῶν
and marrying Dindymê he begat an infant daughter, but being unwilling to rear her he exposed her on the mountain which was called Cybelus. There, in accordance with some divine providence, both the leopards and some of the other especially ferocious wild beasts offered their nipples to the child and so gave it nourishment, and some women who were tending the flocks in that place witnessed the happening, and being astonished at the strange event took up the babe and called her Cybelê after the name of the place. The child, as she grew up, excelled in both beauty and virtue and also came to be admired for her intelligence; for she was the first to devise the pipe of many reeds and to invent cymbals and kettledrums with which to accompany the games and the danse, and in addition she taught how to heal the sicknesses of both flocks and little children by means of rites of purification; in consequence, since the babes were saved from death by her spells and were generally taken up in her arms, her devotion to them and affection for them led all the people to speak of her as the "mother of the mountain." The man who associated with her and loved her more than anyone else, they say, was Marsyas the Phrygian, who was admired for his intelligence and chastity; and a proof of his intelligence they find in the fact that he imitated the sounds made by the pipe of many reeds and carried all its notes over into the flute,¹ and as an indication of his chastity they cite his abstinence from sexual pleasures until the day of his death.

Now Cybelê, the myth records, having arrived at full womanhood, came to love a certain native youth

¹ i.e. into a single pipe.
DIODORUS OF SICILY

προσαγορευόμενον μὲν Ἄττιν, ὕστερον δ' ἐπικληθέντα Πάπαν' συνελθοῦσαν δ' εἰς ὀμιλίαν αὐτῷ λάθρα καὶ γενομένην έγκυον ἐπιγνωσθῆναι κατὰ τούτον τὸν καιρὸν ὑπὸ τῶν γονέων. 59. διόπερ ἀναχθείσης αὐτῆς εἰς τὰ βασίλεια, καὶ τοῦ πατρὸς τὸ μὲν πρώτον ὡς παρθένον προσδεξαμένου, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα γνώντος τὴν φθοράν, καὶ τάς τε τροφοὺς καὶ τὸν Ἄττιν ἁνελόντος καὶ τὰ σώματα ἐκρύβαντος ἀταφα, φασὶ τὴν Κυβέλην διὰ τὴν πρὸς τὸ μειράκιον φιλοστοργίαν καὶ τὴν ἐπὶ ταῖς τροφοῖς λύπην ἐμμανη γενομένην εἰς τὴν χώραν ἐκπηδήσαι. καὶ ταύτην μὲν ὀλολύζουσαν καὶ τυπιμανίζουσαν μόνην ἐπιέναι πάσαν χώραν, λειμαμένην τὰς τρίχας, τὸν δὲ Μαρσύαν ἐλεοῦντα τὸ πάθος ἐκουσίως αὐτῇ συνακολούθειν καὶ συμπλανάσθαι διὰ τὴν προύπάρ-2 χουσαν φιλίαν. παραγενομένους δ' αὐτῶν πρὸς Διόνυσον εἰς τὴν Νόσαν καταλαβεῖν τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα τυγχάνοντα μεγάλης ἀποδοχῆς διὰ τὴν κιθάραν, ἢν Ἐρμῆν εὐρείων φασὶν, Ἀπόλλωνα δ' πρῶτον αὐτῇ κατὰ τρόπον χρῆσθαι ἔριζοντος δὲ τοῦ Μαρσύα πρὸς τὸν Ἀπόλλων περὶ τῆς τέχνης, καὶ τῶν Νυσαίων ἀποδειχθέντων δικαστῶν, τὸν μὲν Ἀπόλλωνα πρῶτον κιθαρίσαι ψιλὴν, τὸν δὲ Μαρσύαν ἐπιβαλόντα τοῖς αὐλοίς καταπλήξαι τὰς ἀκοὰς τῷ ἔξυπνῳ, καὶ διὰ τὴν εὐμέλειαν 1 δόξαι πολὺ 3 προέχειν τοῦ προηγομυσμένου. συντεθειμένων δ' αὐτῶν παρ' ἀλληλα τοῖς δικασταῖς επιδείκνυσθαι

1 Reiske suggests ἐμμέλειαν (“harmony”).
who was known as Attis, but at a later time received the appellation Papas\(^1\); with him she consorted secretly and became with child, and at about the same time her parents recognized her as their child. 59. Consequently she was brought up into the palace, and her father welcomed her at the outset under the impression that she was a virgin, but later, when he learned of her seduction, he put to death her nurses and Attis as well and cast their bodies forth to lie unburied; whereupon Cybelê, they say, because of her love for the youth and grief over the nurses, became frenzied and rushed out of the palace into the countryside. And crying aloud and beating upon a kettledrum she visited every country alone, with hair hanging free, and Marsyas, out of pity for her plight, voluntarily followed her and accompanied her in her wanderings because of the love which he had formerly borne her. When they came to Dionysus in the city of Nysa they found there Apollo, who was being accorded high favour because of the lyre, which, they say, Hermes invented, though Apollo was the first to play it fittingly; and when Marsyas strove with Apollo in a contest of skill and the Nysaeans had been appointed judges, the first time Apollo played upon the lyre without accompanying it with his voice, while Marsyas, striking up upon his pipes, amazed the ears of his hearers by their strange music and in their opinion far excelled, by reason of his melody, the first contestant. But since they had agreed to take turn about in displaying their skill to the judges,

\(^1\) "Papa" or "father." Attis-Papas was the supreme god of the Phrygians, occupying the position held by Zeus in the Greek world.
DIODORUS OF SICILY

τὴν τέχνην, τὸν μὲν Ἀπόλλωνα φασιν ἐπιβαλεῖν τὸ δεύτερον ἀρμόττουσαν τῷ μέλει τῆς κιθάρας φωνῆν, καθ’ ἣν ὑπερβαλέσθαι τὴν προὐπάρξασαν τῶν αὐλῶν ἀποδοχῆν· τὸν δὲ πρῶτον ἀγανακτήσαντα διδάσκειν τοὺς ἀκροατὰς ὅτι παρὰ πᾶν τὸ δίκαιον αὐτὸς ἐλαττοῦσαι· δεῖν γὰρ γίνεσθαι τέχνης σύγκρισιν, οὐ φωνῆς, καθ’ ἣν προσήκει τὴν ἀρμονίαν καὶ τὸ μέλος ἔξετάζεσθαι τῆς κιθάρας καὶ τῶν αὐλῶν· καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἀδικοὺς εἶναι δύο τέχνας ἀμα πρὸς μίαν συγκρίνεσθαι. τὸν δὲ Ἀπόλλων μυθολογοῦσιν ἐπειν ὡς οὔδὲν αὐτὸν

4 πλεονεκτοῖν· καὶ γὰρ τὸν Μαρσύαν τὸ παραπλήςφον αὐτῷ ποιεῖν, εἰς τοὺς αὐλοὺς ἐμφυσῶιντα· δεῖν γὰρ ἣ τὴν ἐξουσίαν ταύτην ἵσθην ἀμφοτέρους δίδοσθαι τῆς κράσεως, ἦμηδέτερον τῷ στόματί διαγωνιζόμενον διὰ μόνων τῶν χειρῶν ἐνδείκνυς

5 σθαι τὴν ἑδιαν τέχνην. ἐπικρινόμενον δὲ τῶν ἀκροατῶν τὸν Ἀπόλλων δικαιότερα λέγειν, συγκριθῆναι πάλιν τὰς τέχνας, καὶ τὸν μὲν Μαρσύαν λειψθῆναι, τὸν δὲ Ἀπόλλων διὰ τὴν ἐριν πικρότερον χρησάμενον ἐκδείραι ζώντα τῶν ἡττηθέντα. ταχὺ δὲ μεταμεληθέντα καὶ βαρέως ἐπὶ τοὺς ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ πραξθείσην ἐνέγκαντα τῆς κιθάρας ἐκρῆξαι τὰς χορὰς καὶ τὴν εὐρημένην ἀρμονίαν ἀφανίσατι.

6 ταύτης δ’ ύστερον Μουσᾶς μὲν ἀνευρεῖν τὴν μέσην, Λύνον δὲ τὴν λίχανον, Ὄρφεὰ δὲ καὶ

1 κράσεως Eichstätt: κρίσεως.
Apollo, they say, added, this second time, his voice in harmony with the music of the lyre, whereby he gained greater approval than that which had formerly been accorded to the pipes. Marsyas, however, was enraged and tried to prove to the hearers that he was losing the contest in defiance of every principle of justice; for, he argued, it should be a comparison of skill and not of voice, and only by such a test was it possible to judge between the harmony and music of the lyre and of the pipes; and furthermore, it was unjust that two skills should be compared in combination against but one. Apollo, however, as the myth relates, replied that he was in no sense taking any unfair advantage of the other; in fact, when Marsyas blew into his pipes he was doing almost the same thing as himself; consequently the rule should be made either that they should both be accorded this equal privilege of combining their skills, or that neither of them should use his mouth in the contest but should display his special skill by the use only of his hands. When the hearers decided that Apollo presented the more just argument, their skills were again compared; Marsyas was defeated. and Apollo, who had become somewhat embittered by the quarrel, flayed the defeated man alive. But quickly repenting and being distressed at what he had done, he broke the strings of the lyre and destroyed the harmony of sounds which he had discovered. This harmony of the strings, however, was rediscovered, when the Muses added later the middle string, Linus the string struck with the forefinger, and Orpheus and Thamyris the lowest

1 i.e. they were both using their breath; Marsyas to make the pipes sound, Apollo to produce vocal notes.
Diodorus of Sicily

"αμύραν ὑπάτην καὶ παρυπάτην. τὸν δ’ Ἀπόλλων φασὶν εἰς τὸ ἀντρον τοῦ Διονύσου τὴν τε κυθάραν καὶ τοὺς αὐλοὺς ἀναθέντα, καὶ τῆς Κυβέλης ἐρασθέντα, συμπλανήθηνα ταύτῃ μέχρι τῶν Ἰππερβορέων. 7 Ἑτέρας δὲ τινὰς Ἐμπεσοῦσης νόσου τοῖς ἀνθρώποις καὶ τῆς γῆς ἀκάρπως γενομένης, ἐπερωτησάντων τῶν ἀτυχοῦντων τὸν θεόν ἕπει τῆς τῶν κακῶν ἀπαλλαγῆς προστάξαι φασὶν αὐτοῖς θάμαι τὸ "Ἀττίδος σῶμα καὶ τιμᾶν τὴν Κυβέλην ὡς θεόν. διότι τοὺς Φρύγας ἡφαιστεύμενον τοῦ σώματος διὰ τὸν χρόνον εἰδωλον κατασκεύασαν τοῦ μειρακίου, πρὸς ὅθεν ὑπολύτα ταῖς οἰκείαις τιμαῖς τοῦ πάθους ἐξιλάσκεσθαι τὴν τοῦ παρανομηθέντος μὴν ὑπὲρ μέχρι τοῦ καθ’ 8 ἦμᾶς βίου ποιοῦντας αὐτοὺς διατελεῖν. τῆς δὲ Κυβέλης τὸ παλαιὸν βωμὸς ἰδρυσμένος θυσίας ἐπιτελεῖν κατ’ ἑτος. χέρερον δ’ ἐν Πισινοῦντι τῆς Φρυγίας κατασκευάσαν νεών πολυτελῆ καὶ τιμᾶς καὶ θυσίας καταδείξαι μεγαλοπρεπεστάς, Μῖδον 2 τοῦ βασιλέως εἰς ταῦτα συμφιλοκαλήσαντος τῷ δ’ ἀγάλματι τῆς θεοῦ παραστήσαι παρδάλεις καὶ λέοντας διὰ τὸ δοκεῖν ὑπὸ τούτων πρῶτον τραφήναι. Περὶ μὲν οὖν μητρὸς θεῶν τοιαύτα μυθολογεῖται παρά τε τοῖς Φρυγί καὶ τοῖς Ἀτλαντίοις τοῖς παρὰ τὸν ὠκεανὸν οἰκουσίν.

1 So Dindorf: τὸν θεόν ἀτυχοῦντων D, ἀτυχοῦντων omitted in Vulgate.
2 Μῖδον Wesseling: Μῆδον.

1 Hermes had discovered the three-stringed lyre (ep. Book 1. 16. 1), and Apollo had presumably added four more strings.
BOOK III. 59. 6–8

string and the one next to it.¹ And Apollo, they say, laid away both the lyre and the pipes as a votive offering in the cave of Dionysus, and becoming enamoured of Cybelē joined in her wanderings as far as the land of the Hyperboreans.

But, the myth goes on to say, a pestilence fell upon human beings throughout Phrygia and the land ceased to bear fruit, and when the unfortunate people inquired of the god how they might rid themselves of their ills he commanded them, it is said, to bury the body of Attis and to honour Cybelē as a goddess. Consequently the Phrygians, since the body had disappeared in the course of time, made an image of the youth, before which they sang dirges and by means of honours in keeping with his suffering propitiated the wrath of him who had been wronged; and these rites they continue to perform down to our own lifetime. As for Cybelē, in ancient times they erected altars and performed sacrifices to her yearly; and later they built for her a costly temple in Pisinus of Phrygia, and established honours and sacrifices of the greatest magnificence, Midas their king taking part in all these works out of his devotion to beauty; and beside the statue of the goddess they set up panthers and lions, since it was the common opinion that she had first been nursed by these animals.

Such, then, are the myths which are told about the Mother of the Gods both among the Phrygians and by the Atlantians who dwell on the coast of the ocean.

It is these additional four strings which then had to be rediscovered.

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60. Metà δὲ τὴν Ὑπερίονος τελευτήν μυθολογοῦσι τοὺς υἱοὺς τοῦ Οὐρανοῦ διελέσθαι τὴν βασιλείαν, ὄν υπάρχειν ἐπιφανεστάτους Ἀτλαντα καὶ Κρόνον. τούτων δὲ τὸν μὲν Ἀτλαντα λαχείν τοὺς παρὰ τὸν ἀκεανὸν τόπους, καὶ τοὺς τε λαοὺς Ἀτλαντίους ὀνομάσαι καὶ τὸ μέγιστον τῶν κατὰ τὴν χώραν ὀρθῶν ὄμοιῶς Ἀτλαντα προσαγορεύσαι.

2 φασὶ δ' αὐτὸν τὰ περὶ τὴν ἀστρολογίαν ἔξακριβώσαι καὶ τὸν σφαιρικὸν λόγον εἰς ἀνθρώπους πρῶτον ἐξενεγκεῖν. ἀφ' ἂς αἰτίας δόξαι τὸν σύμπαντα κόσμου ἐπὶ τῶν Ἀτλαντος ὦμων ὀχεῖσθαι, τοῦ μύθου τὴν τῆς σφαίρας εὑρεσιν καὶ καταγραφήν αἰνιττομένου. γενέσθαι δ' αὐτῷ πλείους υἱοὺς, ὥν ἐνα διενεγκεῖν εὐσεβεία καὶ τῇ πρὸς τοὺς ἄρχομένους δικαιοσύνη καὶ φιλανθρωπία, τὸν 3 προσαγορευόμενον Ἐσσερον. τοῦτον δ' ἐπὶ τὴν κορυφὴν τοῦ Ἀτλαντος ὦρους ἀναβαῖνοντα καὶ τὰς τῶν ἀστρων παρατηρήσεις ποιούμενον ἔξαιρθην ὑπὸ πνευμάτων συναρπαγέντα μεγάλων ἀφαντον γενέσθαι. διὰ δὲ τὴν ἀρετὴν αὐτοῦ τὸ πάθος τὰ πλῆθος ἐλεησάντα τιμᾶς ἀθανάτους ἀπονείμαι καὶ τὸν ἐπιφανεστάτον τῶν κατὰ τὸν οὐρανὸν ἀστέρων ὄμωνήμως ἐκείνω προσαγορεύσαι.

4 Ὑπάρξαι δ' Ἀτλαντι καὶ θυγατέρας ἐπτά, τὰς κοινὰς μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς καλουμένας Ἀτλαντί-
60. After the death of Hyperion, the myth relates, the kingdom was divided among the sons of Uranus, the most renowned of whom were Atlas and Cronus. Of these sons Atlas received as his part the regions on the coast of the ocean, and he not only gave the name of Atlantians to his peoples but likewise called the greatest mountain in the land Atlas. They also say that he perfected the science of astrology and was the first to publish to mankind the doctrine of the sphere; and it was for this reason that the idea was held that the entire heavens were supported upon the shoulders of Atlas, the myth darkly hinting in this way at his discovery and description of the sphere. There were born to him a number of sons, one of whom was distinguished above the others for his piety, justice to his subjects, and love of mankind, his name being Hesperus. This king, having once climbed to the peak of Mount Atlas, was suddenly snatched away by mighty winds while he was making his observations of the stars, and never was seen again; and because of the virtuous life he had lived and their pity for his sad fate the multitudes accorded to him immortal honours and called the brightest of the stars of heaven after him.

Atlas, the myth goes on to relate, also had seven daughters, who as a group were called Atlantides.

beginnings of astronomical thinking among the Greeks, we have in these references to the “doctrine of the sphere” and the “spherical nature of the stars” a memory of the Pythagorean quadrivium, in which “sphaeric” means astronomy, being the geometry of the sphere considered solely with reference to the problem of accounting for the motions of the heavenly bodies” (T. L. Heath, Greek Mathematics, 1. p. 11).

Hesperus.
δας, ἵδια δ' ἐκάστην ὄνομαζομένην Μαίαν, Ἡλέκτραν, Ταύγετην, Στερόπην, Μερόπην, Ἀλκυόνην καὶ τελευταίαν Κελαινώ. ταύτας δὲ μιγείσας τοὺς ἐπιφανεστάτους ἤρωσι καὶ θεοῖς ἀρχηγοὺς καταστήναι τοῦ πλείστου 1 γένους τῶν ἀνθρώπων, τεκούσας τοὺς δι' ἀρετὴν θεοὺς καὶ ἤρωας ὄνομασθέντας, οἰον τὴν πρεσβυτάτην Μαίαν Διὰ μιγείσαν Ἐρμήν τεκνώσαι, πολλῶν εὐρετὴν γενόμενον τοῖς ἀνθρώποις· παραπλησίως δὲ καὶ τὰς ἄλλας Ἀτλαντίδας γεννήσαι παῖδας ἐπιφανεῖς, ὥν τοὺς μὲν ἔθνων, τοὺς δὲ πόλεων γενέσθαι κτίστας. 5 διόπερ οὐ μόνον παρ' ἐνίοις τῶν βαρβάρων, ἄλλα καὶ παρὰ τοῖς Ἑλλησι τοὺς πλείστους τῶν ἀρχαίο-
τάτων ἤρων εἰς ταύτας ἀναφέρειν τὸ γένος. ὑπάρξαι δ' αὐτὰς καὶ σώφρονας διαφερόντως, καὶ μετὰ τὴν τελευτὴν τυχεῖν ἀθανάτοι τιμής παρ' ἀνθρώποις καὶ 2 καθιδρυθέσας ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ καὶ τῇ τῶν Πλειάδων προσηγορία περιληθέσαις. ἐκλήθησαν δὲ αἴ 3 Ἀτλαντίδες καὶ νύμφαι διὰ τὸ τοὺς ἐγχωρίους κοινῆ τὰς γυναῖκας νύμφας προσα-
γορεύειν.

61. Κρόνου δὲ μυθολογούσιν, ἄδελφον μὲν Ἀτ-
λαντος ὤντα, διαφέροντα δ' ἄσεβεία καὶ πλευνεξία, γήμαι τὴν ἄδελφην Ἱέαν, ἕξ ἢ γεννήσαι Δία τὸν Ὀλύμπιον ὤστερον ἐπικληθέντα. γεγονέναι δὲ καὶ ἐτερον Δία, τὸν ἄδελφον μὲν Οὐρανοῦ, τῆς δὲ

1 πλείστου omitted by DF, Vogel.
2 καὶ after ἀνθρώποις deleted by Dindorf, Bekker, Vogel.
3 αἴ added by Reiske.
after their father, but their individual names were Maea, Electra, Taygetê, Steropê, Meropê, Halyçonê, and the last Celaeno. These daughters lay with the most renowned heroes and gods and thus became the first ancestors of the larger part of the race of human beings, giving birth to those who, because of their high achievements, came to be called gods and heroes; Maea the eldest, for instance, lay with Zeus and bore Hermes, who was the discoverer of many things for the use of mankind; similarly the other Atlantides also gave birth to renowned children, who became the founders in some instances of nations and in other cases of cities. Consequently, not only among certain barbarians but among the Greeks as well, the great majority of the most ancient heroes trace their descent back to the Atlantides. These daughters were also distinguished for their chastity and after their death attained to immortal honour among men, by whom they were both enthroned in the heavens and endowed with the appellation of Pleiades.¹ The Atlantides were also called "nymphs" because the natives of that land addressed their women by the common appellation of "nymph."²

61. Cronus, the brother of Atlas, the myth continues, who was a man notorious for his impiety and greed, married his sister Rhea, by whom he begat that Zeus who was later called "the Olympian." But there had been also another Zeus, the brother of Uranus

¹ It has been conjectured that the name is derived from the verb "to sail" (Pleō), since this constellation rose at the beginning of the sailing season.

² i.e. in addressing their women they did not distinguish between the married and unmarried, as most Greeks did.
Κρήτης βασιλεύσαντα, τῇ δόξῃ πολὺ λειπόμενον
2 τοῦ μεταγενεστέρου. τοῦτον μὲν ὁδὸν βασιλεύσαι
tοῦ σύμπαντος κόσμου, τὸν δὲ προγενέστερον,
dυναστεύοντα τῆς προειρημένης νῆσου, δέκα παίδας
gεννήσαι τοὺς ὀνομασθέντας Κουρήτας. προσαγο-
ρεύσαι δὲ καὶ τὴν νῆσον ἀπὸ τῆς γυναικὸς Ἰδαίαν,
ἐν ὣς καὶ τελευτήσαντα ταφῆναι, δεικνυμένου τοῦ
tῆς ταφῆς δεξαμένου τόπου μέχρι τῶν καθ’
3 ἡμῶν χρόνων. οὐ μὴν οἳ γε Κρήτες ὁμολογοῦ-
μενα τούτους μυθολογοῦσι,1 περὶ δὲν ἦμεις ἐν
tοῖς περὶ Κρήτης τὰ κατὰ μέρος ἀναγράφομεν:
dυναστεύει τὴν Κρόνου κατὰ Σικελίαν καὶ
Λιβύην, ἔτι δὲ τὴν Ἰταλίαν, καὶ τὸ σύνολον ἐν τοῖς
πρὸς ἐσπέραν τόποις συστήσασθαι τὴν βασιλείαν:
παρὰ πάσι δὲ φρουραῖς διακατέχειν τὰς ἀκροπό-
λεις καὶ τοὺς ὄχυρους τῶν τόπων.2 ἀφ’ οὗ δὴ
μέχρι τοῦ νῦν χρόνου κατὰ τὴν Σικελίαν καὶ
tὰ πρὸς ἐσπέραν νεύοντα μέρη πολλοὺς τῶν υψηλῶν
tόπων ἀπ’ ἐκείνων Κρόνοις προσαγορεύεσθαι.

4 Κρόνου δὲ γενόμενον υἱὸν Δία τὸν ἐναντίον τῷ
πατρὶ βίον ἔμηλωσαί, καὶ παρεχόμενον έαυτὸν
πᾶσιν ἐπιεικῆ καὶ φιλάνθρωπον ὑπὸ τοῦ πλήθους
πατέρα προσαγορευθήμεν. διαδεξασθαι δ’ αὐτὸν
φασὶ τὴν βασιλείαν οἱ μὲν ἐκουσίως τοῦ πατρὸς
παραχωρήσαντος, οἱ δ’ ὑπὸ τῶν ὄχλων αἵρε-
θέντα διὰ τὸ μίσος τὸ πρὸς τὸν πατέρα. ἐπιστρα-
τεύσαντος δ’ ἐπ’ αὐτὸν τοῦ Κρόνου μετὰ τῶν
Τιτάνων κρατήσας τῇ μάχῃ τὸν Δία, καὶ κύριον
γενόμενον τῶν ὀλῶν ἐπελθεῖν ἄπασαν τὴν οἰκο-
μένην, εὐεργετοῦντα τὸ γένος τῶν ἀνδρῶπων.

1 μυθολογοῦσι ABD, ἰστοροῦσι II, Jacoby.
2 τοῦτων after τόπων deleted by Dindorf.
and a king of Crete, who, however, was far less famous than the Zeus who was born at a later time.\footnote{\textit{i.e.} "the Olympian."} Now the latter was king over the entire world, whereas the earlier Zeus, who was lord of the above-mentioned island, begat ten sons who were given the name of Curetes; and the island he named after his wife Idaea, and on it he died and was buried, and the place which received his grave is pointed out to our day. The Cretans, however, have a myth which does not agree with the story given above, and we shall give a detailed account of it when we speak of Crete.\footnote{In Book 5. 64 ff.} Cronus, they say, was lord of Sicily and Libya, and Italy as well, and, in a word, established his kingdom over the regions to the west; and everywhere he occupied with garrisons the commanding hills and the strongholds of the regions, this being the reason why both throughout Sicily and the parts which incline towards the west many of the lofty places are called to this day after him "Cronia."

Zeus, however, the son of Cronus, emulated a manner of life the opposite of that led by his father, and since he showed himself honourable and friendly to all, the masses addressed him as "father." As for his succession to the kingly power, some say that his father yielded it to him of his own accord, but others state that he was chosen as king by the masses because of the hatred they bore towards his father, and that when Cronus made war against him with the aid of the Titans, Zeus overcame him in battle, and on gaining supreme power visited all the inhabited world, conferring benefactions upon the
5 dienegekein δ' αυτόν καὶ σώματος ῥώμη καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις ἀπάσαις ἀρεταῖς, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ταχὺ κύριον γενέσθαι τοῦ σύμπαντος κόσμου. καθόλου δ' αυτόν τὴν ἀπάσαν σπουδὴν ἔχειν εἰς κόλασιν μὲν τῶν ἁσεβῶν καὶ πονηρῶν, εὐεργεσίαν δὲ τῶν ὀχλῶν. ἀνθ' ὁν μετὰ τὴν ἔξ ἀνθρώπων μετάστασιν ὄνομασθήναι μὲν Ζήνα διὰ τὸ δοκεῖν τοῦ καλῶς ζῆν αὐτικό γενέσθαι τοῖς ἀνθρώποις, καθιδρυθήναι δ' ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ τῇ τῶν εἰς παθόντων τιμῇ, πάντων προθύμως ἀναγορευόντων θεον καὶ κύριον εἰς τὸν αἰώνα τοῦ σύμπαντος κόσμου.

Τῶν μὲν οὖν παρὰ τοῖς Ἀτλαντίοις θεολογουμένων τὰ κεφάλαια ταῦτ' ἐστίν.

62. Ἡμεῖς δ' ἐπεὶ προειρήκαμεν ἐν τοῖς Αἰγυπτιακοῖς περὶ τῆς τοῦ Διονύσου γενέσεως καὶ τῶν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ πραχθέντων ἀκολούθως ταῖς ἐγχωρίοσις ἱστορίαις, οἰκεῖον εἶναι διαλαμβάνομεν προσθεῖναι τὰ μυθολογούμενα περὶ τοῦ θεοῦ τούτου παρὰ τοῖς Ἑλλησί. τῶν δὲ παλαιῶν μυθογράφων καὶ ποιητῶν περὶ Διονύσου γεγραφῶν ἀλλήλοις ἀσύμφωνα καὶ πολλοὺς καὶ περατώδεις λόγους καταβεβλημένων, δυσχερές ἐστίν ὑπὲρ τῆς γενέσεως τοῦ θεοῦ τούτου καὶ τῶν πράξεων καθαρῶς εἶπεῖν. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἐνα Διόνυσου, οἱ δὲ τρεῖς γεγονέναι παραδεδωκασιν, εἰσὶ δ' οἱ γένεσιν μὲν τούτου ἀνθρωπόμορφον μὴ γεγονέναι τὸ παράπαν ἀποφαίνομεν, τὴν δὲ

1 This is another form of the name "Zeus," and also the infinitive of the verb "live." 284
race of men. He was pre-eminent also in bodily strength and in all the other qualities of virtue and for this reason quickly became master of the entire world. And in general he showed all zeal to punish impious and wicked men and to show kindness to the masses. In return for all this, after he had passed from among men he was given the name of Zên,1 because he was the cause of right "living" among men, and those who had received his favours showed him honour by enthroning him in the heavens, all men eagerly acclaiming him as god and lord for ever of the whole universe.

These, then, are in summary the facts regarding the teachings of the Atlantians about the gods.

62. But since we have previously made mention, in connection with our discussion of Egypt, of the birth of Dionysus and of his deeds as they are preserved in the local histories of that country,2 we are of the opinion that it is appropriate in this place to add the myths about this god which are current among the Greeks. But since the early composers of myths and the early poets who have written about Dionysus do not agree with one another and have committed to writing many monstrous tales, it is a difficult undertaking to give a clear account of the birth and deeds of this god. For some have handed down the story that there was but one Dionysus, others that there were three,3 and there are those who state that there was never any birth of him in human form whatsoever, and think that

1 Cp. Book 1. 23.
2 Cicero (On the Nature of the Gods, 3. 58) said there had been five.
3 τοῦ οὖν δόσιν Διόνυσον εἶναι νομίζουσα. διότι
ήμεις τῶν παρ' ἐκάστους λεγομένων τὰ κεφάλαια
πειρασόμεθα συντόμως ἐπιδραμεῖν.
Οἱ τῶν νυφισιολογοῦντες περὶ τοῦ θεοῦ τούτου καὶ τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς ἀμπέλων καρπῶν Διόνυσον ὄνομαζοντές φασὶ τὴν γῆν αὐτομάτως μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων
φυτῶν ἐνεγκεῖν τὴν ἀμπελών, ἄλλ' οὐκ ἐξ ἄρχῆς
4 ὑπὸ τινος εὐρετοῦ φυτευθῆναι. τεκμήριον δ' εἶναι
tούτου τὸ μέχρι τοῦ νῦν ἐν πολλοῖς τόποις ἀγρίας
ἀμπέλους φύεσθαι, καὶ καρποφορεῖν αὐτὰς παραπλησίως
tαῖς ὑπὸ τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης ἐμπερίας χει-
5 ρουργουμέναις. διμήτορα δὲ τὸν Διόνυσον ὑπὸ
tῶν παλαιῶν ὄνομασθαι, μιᾶς μὲν καὶ πρῶτης
γενέσεως ἄρθρουμενής ὅταν τὸ φυτὸν εἰς τὴν γῆν
tεθὲν λαμβάνῃ τὴν αὔξησιν, δευτέρας δ' ὅταν βρ.θη
καὶ τοὺς βότρυς πεπαίνη, ὡστε τὴν μὲν ἐκ γῆς, τὴν
d' ἐκ τῆς ἀμπέλου γένεσιν τοῦ θεοῦ νομίζεσθαι.
6 παραδεδωκότων δὲ τῶν μυθογράφων καὶ τρίτην
gένεσιν, καθ' ἐν φασи τὸν θεοῦ ἐκ Διὸς καὶ Δήμητ-
τρος τεκνωθέντα διασπασθῆναι μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν γηγε-
nων καὶ καθεφιθῆναι, πάλιν δ' ὑπὸ τῆς Δήμητρος
tῶν μελῶν συναρμοσθέντων ἐξ ἄρχῆς νέοιν γεννη-
θῆναι, εἰς φυσικὰς τυχαίς αὐτίας μετάγουσι τοὺς
7 τοιούτων λόγους. Διὸς μὲν γὰρ καὶ Δήμητρος
αὐτὸν λέγεσθαι διὰ τὸ τὴν ἀμπελών ἐκ τε γῆς καὶ
ὄμβρων λαμβάνουσαν τὴν αὔξησιν καρποφορεῖν τὸν
ἐκ τοῦ βότρυνος ἀποθλιβόμενον οἶνον· τὸ δ' ὑπὸ τῶν
γηγενῶν νέον ὁντα διασπασθῆναι δηλοῦν τὴν ὑπὸ

1 "Twice-born."
2 i.e. the Titans, or "sons of earth."
the word Dionysus means only "the gift of wine" 
(oinou dosis). For this reason we shall endeavour to run over briefly only the main facts as they are given by each writer.

Those authors, then, who use the phenomena of nature to explain this god and call the fruit of the vine "Dionysus" speak like this: The earth brought forth of itself the vine at the same time with the other plants and it was not originally planted by some man who discovered it. And they allege as proof of this the fact that to this day vines grow wild in many regions and bear fruit quite similar to that of plants which are tended by the experienced hand of man. Furthermore, the early men have given Dionysus the name of "Dimetor,"¹ reckoning it as a single and first birth when the plant is set in the ground and begins to grow, and as a second birth when it becomes laden with fruit and ripens its clusters, the god, therefore, being considered as having been born once from the earth and again from the vine. And though the writers of myths have handed down the account of a third birth as well, at which, as they say, the Sons of Gaia² tore to pieces the god, who was a son of Zeus and Demeter, and boiled him, but his members were brought together again by Demeter and he experienced a new birth as if for the first time, such accounts as this they trace back to certain causes found in nature. For he is considered to be the son of Zeus and Demeter, they hold, by reason of the fact that the vine gets its growth both from the earth and from rains and so bears as its fruit the wine which is pressed out from the clusters of grapes; and the statement that he was torn to pieces, while yet a youth, by the
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τῶν γεωργῶν συγκομιδὴν τῶν καρπῶν, ¹ τὴν δὲ καθέξιον τῶν μελῶν μεμυθοποιήσαντι διὰ τὸ τοὺς πλείστους ἐφευτὸ τὸν οἶνον καὶ μύσγοντας εὐωδεστέραν αὐτοῦ καὶ βελτίωνα τὴν φύσιν κατασκευάζοντι τὸ δὲ τὰ ² ὑπὸ τῶν γηγενῶν λυμανθέντα τῶν μελῶν ἀρμοσθέντα πάλιν ἐπὶ τὴν προγεγενημένην φύσιν ἀποκαθίστασαν παρεμφαίνειν ὅτι πάλιν ἢ γὰρ τὴν τρυγηθεῖσαν ἀμπελόν καὶ τιμηθεῖσαν ταῖς κατ’ ἕτος ὄραις εἰς τὴν προϋπάρξασαν ἐν τῷ καρποφορεῖν ἀκμῆν ἀποκαθίστησιν. καθόλου γὰρ ὑπὸ τῶν ἀρχαίων ποιητῶν καὶ μυθογράφων τὴν Δήμητραν γῆν μητέρα προσαγορεύσαται. σύμφωνα δὲ τούτοις εἶναι τὰ τε δηλούμενα διὰ τῶν Ὄρφικῶν ποιημάτων καὶ τὰ παρασαγόμενα κατὰ τὰς τελετὰς, περὶ ὃν οὐ θέμις τοῖς ἀμφότεροις ἵστορεῖ τὰ κατὰ μέρος.

8 Ὅμοιος δὲ καὶ τὴν ἑκ Σεμέλης γένεσιν εἰς φυσικὰς ἀρχὰς ἀνάγουσιν, ἀποφαινόμενοι Θυώνην ὑπὸ τῶν ἀρχαίων τὴν γῆν ὑμομάσθαι, καὶ τεθείσαται τὴν προσηγορίαν ³ Σεμέλην μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ σεμνῆς εἶναι τῆς θεοῦ ταύτης τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν καὶ τιμῆν, Θυώνην δ’ ἀπὸ τῶν θυομένων αὐτῆς θυσίων καὶ θυηλῶν. δις δ’ αὐτοῦ τὴν γένεσιν ἐκ Διὸς παραδεδόσθαι διὰ τὸ δοκεῖν μετα τῶν ἄλλων ἐν τῷ κατὰ τὸν Δευκαλίωνα κατακλυσμῷ φθαρῆναι καὶ τούτους

1 διὰ τὸ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους τὴν γῆν Δήμητραν νομίζειν after καρπῶν deleted by Reiske.
2 τὸ δὲ τὰ Dindorf: τὰ δ’.
3 καὶ after προσηγορίαν deleted by Eichstäd.t.

1 An epithet of the Giants, who were the sons of Gaia ("Earth").
2 Literally, the "workers of the earth." Here the MSS.

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“earth-born”¹ signifies the harvesting of the fruit by the labourers;² and the boiling of his members has been worked into a myth by reason of the fact that most men boil the wine and then mix it, thereby improving its natural aroma and quality. Again, the account of his members, which the “earth-born” treated with despite, being brought together again and restored to their former natural state, shows forth that the vine, which has been stripped of its fruit and pruned at the yearly seasons, is restored by the earth to the high level of fruitfulness which it had before. For, in general, the ancient poets and writers of myths spoke of Demeter as Gè Meter (Earth Mother). And with these stories the teachings agree which are set forth in the Orphic poems and are introduced into their rites, but it is not lawful to recount them in detail to the uninitiated.

In the same manner the account that Dionysus was born of Semelè they trace back to natural beginnings, offering the explanation that Thuonè³ was the name which the ancients gave to the earth, and that this goddess received the appellation Semelè because the worship and honour paid to her was dignified (semnê), and she was called Thuonè because of the sacrifices (thusiai) and burnt offerings (thuēlaï) which were offered (thuomenai) to her. Furthermore, the tradition that Dionysus was born twice of Zeus arises from the belief that these fruits also perished in common with all other plants in the flood at the time of Deucalion, and that when they interpolate the explanation “because men consider the earth to be Demeter”; cp. Book 1. 12. 4.

³ Thyonè was the name which was given Semelè after she was received into the circle of the gods (cp. Book 4. 25. 4).

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The story of the birth of Dionysus from the thigh of Zeus is partly etymological, Dio- from Dios, the genitive form of the nominative Zeus.

1 Cp. Book 2. 38. 4, and chap. 62 below. The "mythographi" appeared in Greek literature below.
sprang up again after the Deluge it was as if there had been a second epiphany of the god among men, and so the myth was created that the god had been born again from the thigh of Zeus. However this may be, those who explain the name Dionysus as signifying the use and importance of the discovery of wine recount such a myth regarding him.

63. Those mythographers, however, who represent the god as having a human form ascribe to him, with one accord, the discovery and cultivation of the vine and all the operations of the making of wine, although they disagree on whether there was a single Dionysus or several. Some, for instance, who assert that he who taught how to make wine and to gather "the fruits of the trees," as they are called, he who led an army over all the inhabited world, and he who introduced the mysteries and rites and Bacchic revelries were one and the same person; but there are others, as I have said, who conceive that there were three persons, at separate periods, and to each of these they ascribe deeds which were peculiarly his own.

This, then, is their account: The most ancient Dionysus was an Indian, and since his country, because of the excellent climate, produced the vine in abundance without cultivation, he was the first to press out the clusters of grapes and to devise the use of wine as a natural product, likewise to give the

towards the close of the fourth century B.C. By that time the myths tended to drop out of sober historical writing and to become the subject of separate treatises, the writers of such works being called by the Greeks "mythographi."
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ἐπινοήσαι, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τῶν σύκων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀκροδρύων τῇν καθήκουσαν ἐπιμέλειαν ποιήσασθαι, καὶ καθολοῦ τὰ πρὸς τήν συγκομιδήν καὶ παράθεσιν 2 τούτων τῶν καρπῶν ἐπινοήσαι.3 τόν αὐτὸν δὲ καὶ καταπώγωνα λέγουσι γενέσθαι διὰ τὸ τοῖς 'Ἰνδοῖς νόμιμον εἶναι μέχρι τῆς τελευτῆς ἐπιμελῶς ὑποτρέφειν τοὺς πόλινας. 4 τόν δ’ οὖν Διόνυσον ἐπελθόντα μετὰ στρατοπέδου πάσαν τῇν οἰκουμένην διδάξαι τῇν τε φυτείαν τῆς ἀμπέλου καὶ τῇν ἐν ταῖς ληνοῖς ἀποθέλυν τῶν βοτρύων: ἀφ’ οὗ Δημητρίου αὐτὸν ὀνομασθήναι. ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων εὐρημάτων μεταδόντα πάσι τυχεῖν αὐτὸν μετὰ τήν εἰς ἀνθρώπων μετάστασιν ἀθανάτου τιμῆς παρὰ τοῖς εὖ παθοῦσιν.

5 δείκνυσθαι δὲ παρ’ Ἰνδοῖς μέχρι τοῦ νῦν τῶν τε τόπων ἐν δ’ συνέβη γενέσθαι τὸν θεοῦ καὶ προσηγορίας πόλεων ἀπ’ 4 αὐτοῦ κατὰ τὴν τῶν ἐγχωρίων διάλεκτον καὶ πολλὰ ἐτέρα διαμένειν ἀξίολογα τεκμήρια τῆς παρ’ Ἰνδοῖς γενέσεως, περὶ ὁν μακρὸν ἄν εἰς γράφειν.

64. Δεύτερον δὲ μυθολογούσι γενέσθαι Διόνυσον ἐκ Δίως καὶ Φερσεφόνης, ὡς δὲ τινές, ἐκ Δῆμητρος. τούτων δὲ παρεισάγουσι πρῶτον βοῦς ὑπ’ ἀροτρον ζεῦξει, τὸ πρὸ τοῦ ταῖς χερις τῶν ἀνθρώπων τῆν γῆν κατεργαζομένων. πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ἄλλα φιλοτέχνους ἐπινοήσαι τῶν πρὸς τὴν γεωργίαν χρησίμων, δι’ ὅν ἀπολυθήναι τοὺς οἴχλους τῆς πολλῆς κακοπα-2 θείας· ἀνθ’ ὅν τοὺς εὖ παθόντας ἀπονείμαι τιμᾶς

1 τῆν after καὶ deleted by Dindorf.
2 καὶ παράθεσιν added by Dindorf (ep. 2. 38. 5; 3. 56. 3).
3 Here the MSS. add διὸ καὶ ληπαῖον ὀνομασθήναι, which editors omit as an interpolation; cp. § 4 below.

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proper care to the figs and other fruits which grow upon trees, and, speaking generally, to devise whatever pertains to the harvesting and storing of these fruits. The same Dionysus is, furthermore, said to have worn a long beard, the reason for the report being that it is the custom among the Indians to give great care, until their death, to the raising of a beard. Now this Dionysus visited with an army all the inhabited world and gave instruction both as to the culture of the vine and the crushing of the clusters in the wine-vats (lenoũ), which is the reason why the god was named Lenæus. Likewise, he allowed all people to share in his other discoveries, and when he passed from among men he received immortal honour at the hands of those who had received his benefactions. Furthermore, there are pointed out among the Indians even to this day the place where it came to pass that the god was born, as well as cities which bear his name in the language of the natives; and many other notable testimonials to his birth among the Indians still survive, but it would be a long task to write of them.

64. The second Dionysus, the writers of myths relate, was born to Zeus by Persephonē, though some say it was Demeter. He is represented by them as the first man to have yoked oxen to the plough, human beings before that time having prepared the ground by hand. Many other things also, which are useful for agriculture, were skilfully devised by him, whereby the masses were relieved of their great distress; and in return for this those whom he had


4 ἄν' Dindorf: ὅν'.
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ισοθέους αυτῷ καὶ θυσίας, προθύμως ἀπάντων ἀνθρώπων διὰ τὸ μέγεθος τῆς εὐεργεσίας ἀπονειμάτων τὴν ἄθανασίαν. παράσημον δ' αὐτῷ πουήσαι κέρατα τοὺς κατασκευάζοντας τὰς γραφὰς ἢ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους, ἀμα μὲν δηλοῦντας ἐτέραν Διονύσου φύσιν, ἀμα δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς περὶ τὸ ἄροτρον εὐρέσεως ἐμφαίνοντας τὸ μέγεθος τῆς ἐπινοηθείσης τοῖς γεωργοῖς εὐχρηστίας.

3 Τρίτον δὲ γενέσθαι Διόνυσον χασίν ἐν Θήβαις ταῖς Θυιστίαις ἐκ Δίω καὶ Σεμέλης τῆς Κάδμου. μυθολογοῦσι γὰρ ἔρασθέντα Δία μυγῆναι πλεονάκις αὐτῇ διὰ τὸ κάλλος, τὴν δ᾽ Ἦραν ξηλοτυποῦσαν καὶ βουλομένην τιμωρία περιβαλεῖν τὴν ἀνθρώπον, ὀμοιωθήμεν μὲν τινὶ τῶν ἀποδοχῆς τυγχανοσών παρ᾽ αὐτῇ γυναικῶν, παρακρούσασθαι

4 δὲ τὴν Σεμέλην. εἰπεῖν γὰρ πρὸς αὐτὴν ὅτι καθηκον ἡν τὸν Δία μετὰ τῆς αὐτῆς ἐπιφανείας τε καὶ τιμῆς ποιεῖσθαι τὴν ὀμιλίαν ἡπερ χράται κατὰ τὴν πρὸς τὴν Ἦραν συμπεριφορὰν. διὸ καὶ τὸν μὲν Δία, τῆς Σεμέλης ἀξιούσης τυγχάνειν τῶν ισων Ἦρα τιμῶν, παραγενέσθαι μετὰ βροντῶν καὶ κεραυνῶν, τὴν δὲ Σεμέλην οὐχ ὑπομείνασαν τὸ μέγεθος τῆς περιστάσεως τελευτήσαι καὶ τὸ βρέφος

5 ἐκτρώσασι πρὸ τοῦ καθήκοντος χρόνου. καὶ τοῦτο μὲν τὸν Δία ταχέως εἰς τὸν ἑαυτὸν μηρὸν ἐγκρύψαι· μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα τοῦ κατὰ φύσιν τῆς γενέσεως χρόνου τὴν τελείαν αὖξησιν ποιήσαντος ἄπενεγ- κεῖν τὸ βρέφος εἰς Νῦσαν τῆς Ἀραβίας. ἐνταῦθα δ᾽ ὑπὸ νυμφῶν τραφέντα τὸν παιδα προσαγορευθῆναι μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ τόπου Διόνυσον,
benefited accorded to him honours and sacrifices like those offered to the gods, since all men were eager, because of the magnitude of his service to them, to accord to him immortality. And as a special symbol and token the painters and sculptors represented him with horns, at the same time making manifest thereby the other nature of Dionysus and also showing forth the magnitude of the service which he had devised for the farmers by his invention of the plough.

The third Dionysus, they say, was born in Boeotian Thebes of Zeus and Semelê, the daughter of Cadmus. The myth runs as follows: Zeus had become enamoured of Semelê and often, lured by her beauty, had consorted with her, but Hera, being jealous and anxious to punish the girl, assumed the form of one of the women who was an intimate of Semelê's and led her on to her ruin; for she suggested to her that it was fitting that Zeus should lie with her while having the same majesty and honour in his outward appearance as when he took Hera to his arms. Consequently Zeus, at the request of Semelê that she be shown the same honours as Hera, appeared to her accompanied by thunder and lightning, but Semelê, unable to endure the majesty of his grandeur, died and brought forth the babe before the appointed time. This babe Zeus quickly took and hid in his thigh, and afterwards, when the period which nature prescribed for the child's birth had completed its growth, he brought it to Nysa in Arabia. There the boy was reared by nymphs and was given the name Dionysus after his father (Dios) and after the place (Nysa); and since he grew to be

1 Cp. the other account of this Semelê in Book 1. 23. 4f.
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γενόμενον δὲ τῷ κάλλει διάφορον τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἐν χορείαις καὶ γυναικῶν θάσοις καὶ παντοδαπῇ τρυφῇ καὶ παιδιά διατελεῖν· μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα στρατόπεδον ἐκ τῶν γυναικῶν συναγαγόντα καὶ θύρσοις καθοπλίσαντα στρατείαν ἐπὶ πᾶσαν ποιήσατο τὴν οἰκουμενίαν. καταδείξας δὲ καὶ τὰ περὶ τὰς τελετὰς καὶ μεταδοῦνα τῶν μυστηρίων τοῖς εὐσεβεσί τῶν ἄνθρωπών καὶ δίκαιον βίον ἀσκοῦσι, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις πανταχοῦ πανηγύρεις ἀγεν καὶ μουσικοὺς ἀγώνας συντελεῖν, καὶ τὸ σύνολον συλλύοντα τὰ ἱερὰ τῶν ἔθνων καὶ πόλεως ἀντὶ τῶν στάσεων καὶ τῶν πολέμων ὁμόνοιαν καὶ πολλὴν εἰρήνην κατασκεύαζεν.

65. διαβοηθείσης δὲ κατὰ πάντα τόπον τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ παρουσίας, καὶ διότι πᾶσι ἐπιεικῶς προσφερόμενοι πολλά συμβάλλεται πρὸς τὴν ἐξήμερωσιν τοῦ κοινοῦ βίου, πανδημεῖ συναντῶν αὐτῶ καὶ 2 προσδέχεσθαι μετὰ πολλῆς χαρᾶς. ὅλιγοι δὲ ὅντων τῶν δὲ ὑπερηφανίαν καὶ ἁσβείαν καταφρονούντων καὶ φασκόντων τὰς μὲν βάκχας δὲ ἀκρασίαν αὐτῶν περιάγεσθαι, τὰς δὲ τελετὰς καὶ τὰ μυστήρια φθορᾶς ἑνέκα τῶν ἀλλατρών γυναικῶν καταδεικνύειν, κολάζεσθαι τοὺς τοιούτους ὑπ' αὐτοῦ παραχρήμα. ἔνιοτε γὰρ τῇ τῆς θείας φύσεως ὑπεροχῇ χρώμουν τιμωρεῖσθαι τοὺς ἁσβείς, ποτὲ μὲν αὐτοῖς ἐμβάλλοντα μανίαν, ποτὲ δὲ ταῖς τῶν γυναικῶν χερσὶ ζώιτας διαμελίζοντα· ἔνιοτε δὲ καὶ διὰ τῆς στρατηγικῆς ἐπινοιας

1 τὰ Bokker: τὰ τε.

1 Wands wreathed in ivy and vine-leaves with a pine-cone at the top.
of unusual beauty he at first spent his time at dances and with bands of women and in every kind of luxury and amusement, and after that, forming the women into an army and arming them with thyrsi, he made a campaign over all the inhabited world. He also instructed all men who were pious and cultivated a life of justice in the knowledge of his rites and initiated them into his mysteries, and, furthermore, in every place he held great festive assemblages and celebrated musical contests; and, in a word, he composed the quarrels between the nations and cities and created concord and deep peace where there had existed civil strifes and wars.

65. Now since the presence of the god, the myth goes on to say, became noised abroad in every region, and the report spread that he was treating all men honourably and contributing greatly to the refinement of man's social life, the whole populace everywhere thronged to meet him and welcomed him with great joy. There were a few, however, who, out of disdain and impiety, looked down upon him and kept saying that he was leading the Bacchantes about with him because of his incontinence and was introducing the rites and the mysteries that he might thereby seduce the wives of other men, but such persons were punished by him right speedily. For in some cases he made use of the superior power which attended his divine nature and punished the impious, either striking them with madness or causing them while still living to be torn limb from limb by the hands of the women; in other cases he destroyed such as opposed him by a military device which took

\[e.g.\] the "Dionysia."
παραδόξως ἀναιρεῖν τοὺς ἐναντιοπραγοῦντας. ἀνα-
διδόναι γὰρ ταῖς βάκχαις ἀντὶ τῶν θύρων λόγχας
tῷ κιττῷ κεκαλυμμένας τὴν ἀκμὴν τοῦ σιδήρου· διὸ
kai τῶν βασιλέων διὰ τὴν ἁγγοιαν καταφρονοῦντων
ὡς ἀν γυναικῶν, καὶ διὰ τοῦτ’ ἀπαρασκεύων ὅντων,
ἀνελπίστως ἐπιτιθέμενον κατακοντίζειν. τῶν δὲ
κολασθέντων ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ φασιν ἐπιφανεστάτους εἶναι
Πενθέα μὲν πάρᾳ τοῖς Ἑλλησίοις, Μύρρανον δὲ τὸν
βασιλέα παρ’ Ἰνδοῖς, Λυκοῦργον δὲ παρὰ τοῖς
Θρακῖς. μυθολογοῦσι γὰρ τὸν Δίονυσον ἐκ τῆς
Ἀσίας μέλλοντα τὴν δύναμιν διαβιβάζειν εἰς τὴν
Εὐρώπην, συνθέσαι φιλίαν πρὸς Λυκοῦργον τόν
Θράκης βασιλέα τῆς ἐφ’ Ἑλλησπόντων· διαβιβά-
σαντος δὲ αὐτοῦ πρώτας τὰς βάκχας ἡς εἰς φιλίαν
χώραν, τὸν μὲν Λυκοῦργον παραγγείλαι τοῖς
στρατιώταις νυκτὸς ἐπιθέσαντα καὶ τὸν τε Δίονυσον
καὶ τὰς μανάδας πάσας ἀνελείν, τὸν δὲ Δίονυσον
παρὰ τινος τῶν ἐγχορίων, ὃς ἐκαλεῖτο Χάροψ,
μαθόνα τὴν ἐπιβολὴν καταπλαγῆναι διὰ τὸ τὴν
δύναμιν ἐν τῷ πέραν εἶναι, παντελῶς δ’ ὀλίγους
5 αὐτῷ τῶν φιλῶν συνδιαβεβηκέναι. διὸπερ λάθρᾳ
tοῦτοι διαπλεύσαντος πρὸς τὸ σφέτερον στρατό-
πεδον, τὸν μὲν Λυκοῦργον φασιν ἐπιθέμενον ταῖς
μανάσιν ἐν τῷ καλουμένῳ Νυσίῳ πάσας ἀποκτεῖ-
ναι, τὸν δὲ Δίονυσον περαιώσαντα τὰς δυναμεῖς
μάχη κρατῆσαι τῶν Θρακῶν, καὶ τὸν Λυκοῦργον
ξωγρήσαντα τυφλώσαι τε καὶ πᾶσαν αἰκίαν
6 εἰσενεγκάμενον ἀνασταυρῶσαι. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα τῷ
μὲν Χάροπτι χάριν ἀποδιδόντα τῆς ἐνεργείας
παραδοῦναι τὴν τῶν Θρακῶν βασιλείαν καὶ διδάξαι
τὰ κατὰ τὰς τελετὰς ὀργία. Χάροπτος δ’ υιὸν γενό−
them by surprise. For he distributed to the women, instead of the thyrsi, lances whose tips of iron were covered with ivy leaves; consequently, when the kings in their ignorance disdained them because they were women and for this reason were unprepared, he attacked them when they did not expect it and slew them with the spears. Among those who were punished by him, the most renowned, they say, were Pentheus among the Greeks, Myrrhanus the king of the Indians, and Lycurgus among the Thracians. For the myth relates that when Dionysus was on the point of leading his force over from Asia into Europe, he concluded a treaty of friendship with Lycurgus, who was king of that part of Thrace which lies upon the Hellespont. Now when he had led the first of the Bacchantes over into a friendly land, as he thought, Lycurgus issued orders to his soldiers to fall upon them by night and to slay both Dionysus and all the Maenads, and Dionysus, learning of the plot from a man of the country who was called Charops, was struck with dismay, because his army was on the other side of the Hellespont and only a mere handful of his friends had crossed over with him. Consequently he sailed across secretly to his army, and then Lycurgus, they say, falling upon the Maenads in the city known as Nysium, slew them all, but Dionysus, bringing his forces over, conquered the Thracians in a battle, and taking Lycurgus alive put out his eyes and inflicted upon him every kind of outrage, and then crucified him. Thereupon, out of gratitude to Charops for the aid the man had rendered him, Dionysus made over to him the kingdom of the Thracians and instructed him in the secret rites connected with the initiations; and Oeagrus,
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μενον Οἰάγρον παραλαβεῖν τὴν τε βασιλείαν καὶ
tὰς ἐν τοῖς μυστηρίοις παραδεδομένας τελετάς,
ἀς ύστερον Ὀρφέα τὸν Οἰάγρον μαθόντα παρὰ τοῦ
pατρός, καὶ φύσει καὶ παιδείᾳ τῶν ἀπάντων
διενεγκόντα, πολλὰ μεταθείναι τῶν ἐν τοῖς ὄργιοις·
dió καὶ τὰς ὑπὸ τοῦ Διονύσου γενομένας τελετὰς
Ὀρφικὰς προσαγορευθῆναι.

7 Τῶν δὲ ποιητῶν τυφεῖ, ὃν ἔστι καὶ Ἀντίμαχος,
ἀποφαίνοντα τὸν Λυκόδρομον οὐ Θράκης, ἀλλὰ
τῆς Ἀραβίας γεγονέναι βασιλέα, καὶ τῷ τε Διο-
νύσῳ καὶ ταῖς βάκχαις τὴν ἐπίθεσιν ἐν τῇ κατὰ
tῆς Ἀραβίας Νύσῃ πεποιήσατο. τὸν δ' ὅν ὄν
Διονύσον φασὶ κολάσαντα μὲν τοὺς ἀσβεῖσι, ἐπιει-
κῶς δὲ προσενεχθέντα τοῖς ἄλλοις ἄνθρώποις,
ἐκ τῆς 'Ἰνδικῆς ἐπ' ἐλέφαντος τὴν εἰς Ὄθηβας ἐπά-

8 νοδον ποιήσασθαι. τριετοὺς δὲ διαγεγενημένου
τοῦ σύμπαντος χρόνου, φασὶ τοὺς Ἑλλήνας ἀπὸ
tαυτῆς τῆς αὐτίας ἄγειν τὰς τριετηρίδας. μυθολο-
γοῦσι δ' αὐτὸν καὶ λαφύρων ἥθηθοιτα πλῆθος
ὡς ἄν ἀπὸ τηλικαύτης στρατείας, πρῶτον τῶν
ἀπάντων καταγαγείν θρίαμβον εἰς τὴν πατρίδα.

66. Αὐτὰς μὲν ὅσι τού ἐγενέσεις συμφωνοῦνται μά-
λυτα παρὰ τοῖς παλαιοῖς· ἀμφισβητοῦσι δὲ καὶ
πόλεις οὐκ ὀλίγαι Ἑλληνίδες τῆς τοῦτον τεκνώ-
σεως· καὶ γὰρ Ἡλεῖοι καὶ Νάξιοι, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις
οί τὰς Ἑλευθερὰς οἴκοιντες καὶ Τήμης καὶ πλείους

2 ἐτεροί παρ' ἐαυτοῖς ἀποφαίνονται τεκνωθῆναι. καὶ
Τήμης μὲν τεκμηρίων φέρουσι τῆς παρ' αὐτοῖς γενε-
σεως τοῦ θεοῦ τῷ μέχρι τοῦ νῦν τεταγμένως χρόνως

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the son of Charops, then took over both the kingdom and the initiatory rites which were handed down in the mysteries, the rites which afterwards Orpheus, the son of Oeagrus, who was the superior of all men in natural gifts and education, learned from his father; Orpheus also made many changes in the practices and for that reason the rites which had been established by Dionysus were also called "Orphic."

But some of the poets, one of whom is Antimachus,¹ state that Lycurgus was king, not of Thrace, but of Arabia, and that the attack upon Dionysus and the Bacchantes was made at the Nysa which is in Arabia. However this may be, Dionysus, they say, punished the impious but treated all other men honourably, and then made his return journey from India to Thebes upon an elephant. The entire time consumed in the journey was three years, and it is for this reason, they say, that the Greeks hold his festival every other year. The myth also relates that he gathered a great mass of booty, such as would result from such a campaign, and that he was the first of all men to make his return to his native country in a triumph.

66. Now these accounts of the birth of Dionysus are generally agreed upon by the ancient writers; but rival claims are raised by not a few Greek cities to having been the place of his birth. The peoples of Elis and Naxos, for instance, and the inhabitants of Eleutheræ and Teos and several other peoples, state that he was born in their cities. The Teans advance as proof that the god was born among them the fact that, even to this day, at fixed times in their

¹ Antimachus of Colophon lived in the latter part of the fifth century B.C. in the period of the Peloponnesian War.
Diodorus of Sicily

ἐν τῇ πόλει πηγῆν αὐτομάτως ἐκ τῆς γῆς οἴνου μεῖν εὐωδίᾳ διαφέροντος· τῶν δὲ ἄλλων οἱ μὲν ἱερὰν Διονύσου δεικνύουσι τήν χώραν, οἱ δὲ ναοὺς καὶ τεμένη διαφέροντως ἐκ παλαιῶν χρόνων αὐτῷ καθι-3 δρυμένα. καθόλου δὲ ἐν πολλοῖς τόποις τῆς οἰκου-
μένης ἀπολελοιπότος τοῦ θεοῦ σημεῖα τῆς ἱδίας εὐεργεσίας ἀμα καὶ παρουσίας, οὐδὲν παράδοξον ἐκάστους νομίζειν οἰκειότητα τινα γεγονέναι τῷ Διο-
νύσῳ πρὸς τὴν ἑαυτῶν πόλιν τε καὶ χώραν. μαρ-
tυρεῖ δὲ τοῖς ὑφ’ ήμῶν λεγομένοις καὶ ὁ ποιητής ἐν τοῖς ὑμνοῖς, λέγων περὶ τῶν ἀμφισβητοῦντων τῆς τούτου γενέσεως καὶ ἀμα τεκνωθῆναι παρεισ-
ἀγων αὐτοῦ ἐν τῇ κατὰ τὴν Ἀραβίαν Νύσῃ,
oi μὲν γὰρ Δρακάνως ἡ', οἱ δὲ 'Ικάρως ἡμεμοέσσῃ φάσ', ὅ, οἱ δὲ ἐν Νάξῳ, διὸν γένος, εἴραφιῶτα, 
oi δὲ σ’ ἐπ’ 'Αλφειῷ ποταμῷ βαθυδυνήσαν 
kυσαμένην Σεμέλην τεκεέδειν Δίε τερπικεραύνως, 
ἀλλ’ ἐν Θῆβαις, ἄναξ, σε λέγουσι γενέσθαι, 
φευδόμενοι. οὔτε δὲ ἔτυκτε πατὴρ ἀνδρῶν τε 
πολλῶν ἀπ’ ἀνθρώπων κρύπτων λευκόλενον "Ηρην. 
ἐστι δὲ τις Νύσῃ, ὑπατοῦ ὅρος, ἀνθέου ὑλή, 
τηλοῦ Φοινίκης, σχεδὸν Αἰγύπτου ὁρᾶων.

1 φασ Rhodomann: φασίν.

1 Archaeological evidence that a miraculous flow of wine was caused by the priests of a temple (of Dionysus?) of the fifth century B.C. in Corinth is presented by Campbell Bonner, "A Dionysiae Miracle at Corinth," Am. Journal of Archaeology, 33 (1929), 368–75.
2 Homer Hymns, 1. 1–9.
city a fountain of wine, of unusually sweet fragrance, flows of its own accord from the earth; and as for the peoples of the other cities, they in some cases point out a plot of land which is sacred to Dionysus, in other cases shrines and sacred precincts which have been consecrated to him from ancient times. But, speaking generally, since the god has left behind him in many places over the inhabited world evidences of his personal favour and presence, it is not surprising that in each case the people should think that Dionysus had had a peculiar relationship to both their city and country. And testimony to our opinion is also offered by the poet in his Hymns, when he speaks of those who lay claim to the birthplace of Dionysus and, in that connection, represents him as being born in the Nysa which is in Arabia:

Some Dracanum, wind-swept Icarus some,
Some Naxos, Zeus-born one, or Alpheius' stream
Deep-eddied, call the spot where Semelê
Bore thee, Eiraphiotes, unto Zeus
Who takes delight in thunder; others still
Would place thy birth, O Lord, in Thebes. 'Tis false;
The sire of men and gods brought thee to light,
Unknown to white-armed Hera, far from men.
There is a certain Nysa, mountain high,
With forests thick, in Phoenicê afar,
Close to Aegyptus' streams.

3 Of the seven explanations offered in antiquity for the origin of this name for Dionysus the most probable is that which derives it from the Greek word eriphos ("kid"), on the basis of the myth that Zeus changed the infant Dionysus into a kid which Hermes took to Nysa and turned over to the Nymphs.
4 Οὐκ ἄγνοι ὃτι καὶ τῶν τῆς Λιβύης νεμομένων οἱ παρὰ τῶν ὁκεανῶν ὀικοῦντες ἀμφισβητοῦσι τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ γενέσεως, καὶ τῆς Νύσαι καὶ τάλλα τὰ περὶ αὐτοῦ μυθολογούμενα παρ’ ἐαυτοῖς δεικνύουσι γεγενημένα, καὶ πολλὰ τεκμήρια τούτων μέχρι τοῦ καθ’ ἡμᾶς βίου διαμένειν κατὰ τὴν χώραν φασί· πρὸς δὲ τούτοις ὑμῖν πολλοὶ τῶν παλαιῶν παρ’ “Ἐλλησι μυθογράφων καὶ ποιητῶν συμφωνούμενα τούτοις ἱστοροῦσι καὶ τῶν μεταγενεστέρων συγγραφέων οὐκ ὀλίγοι. διόπερ, ἵνα μηδὲν παραλίπωμεν τῶν ἱστορημένων περὶ Διονύσου, διεξεῖτο ἐν κεφαλαίοις τὰ παρὰ τοῖς Λίβυσι λεγόμενα καὶ τῶν Ἐλληνικῶν συγγραφέων ὡσοὶ τοὺτοι σύμφωνα γεγράφασι καὶ Διονυσίῳ τῷ συνταξαμένῳ τὰς παλαιὰς μυθοποιίας. οὕτως γὰρ τὰ τε περὶ τῶν Διόνυσον καὶ τὰς Ἀραξένας, ἐτὶ δὲ τούς Ἀργοναῦτας καὶ τὰ κατὰ τὸν Ἡλίκον πόλειν πραξθέντα καὶ πόλλ’ ἐτερα συντετακται, παρατιθείς τὰ ποιήματα τῶν ἀρχαίων, τῶν τε μυθολόγων καὶ τῶν ποιητῶν.

67. Φησὶ τούνων παρ’ “Ἐλλησὶ πρῶτον εὐφετὴν γενέσθαι Λίνων ῥυθμῶν καὶ μέλους, ἐτὶ δὲ Κάδμου κομίσαντος ἐκ Φοινίκης τὰ καλοῦμενα γράμματα πρῶτον εἰς τὴν Ἐλληνικὴν μεταθείναι διάλεκτον, καὶ τὰς προσηγορίας ἐκάστω τάξαι καὶ τοὺς χαρακτήρας διατυπώσαι. κοινῇ μὲν οὖν τὰ γράμματα Φοινίκεια κληθῆναι διὰ τὸ παρὰ τοὺς “Ελληνας ἐκ Φοινίκων μετενεχθῆναι, ἱδίᾳ δὲ τῶν Πελασγῶν πρῶτων χρησμαμένων τοὺς μετατεθείσι χαρακτήρισι 304
I am not unaware that also those inhabitants of Libya who dwell on the shore of the ocean lay claim to the birthplace of the god, and point out that Nysa and all the stories which the myths record are found among themselves, and many witnesses to this statement, they say, remain in the land down to our own lifetime; and I also know that many of the ancient Greek writers of myths and poets, and not a few of the later historians as well, agree with this in their accounts. Consequently, in order not to omit anything which history records about Dionysus, we shall present in summary what is told by the Libyans and those Greek historians whose writings are in accord with these and with that Dionysius who composed an account out of the ancient fabulous tales. For this writer has composed an account of Dionysus and the Amazons, as well as of the Argonauts and the events connected with the Trojan War and many other matters, in which he cites the versions of the ancient writers, both the composers of myths and the poets.

67. This, then, is the account of Dionysius: Among the Greeks Linus was the first to discover the different rhythms and song, and when Cadmus brought from Phoenicia the letters, as they are called, Linus was again the first to transfer them into the Greek language, to give a name to each character, and to fix its shape. Now the letters, as a group, are called "Phoenician" because they were brought to the Greeks from the Phoenicians, but as single letters the Pelasgians were the first to make use of the transferred characters and so they were called

1 Cp. p. 246, n. 2.
As our knowledge of the history of the development of the Greek letters has increased in recent years and as early Phoenician and Semitic inscriptions have come to light, all the evidence confirms the Greek tradition that their alphabet was derived from the Phoenician. The question now is, How early did the Phoenician letters appear on the Greek mainland? The "palace" of Cadmus, if Cadmus is an historical figure, has been discovered in Thebes, and may be roughly dated around 1400–1200 B.C.; and "letters" were 306
"Pelasgic."  

Linus also, who was admired because of his poetry and singing, had many pupils and three of greatest renown, Heracles, Thamyris, and Orpheus. Of these three Heracles, who was learning to play the lyre, was unable to appreciate what was taught him because of his sluggishness of soul, and once when he had been punished with rods by Linus he became violently angry and killed his teacher with a blow of the lyre. Thamyris, however, who possessed unusual natural ability, perfected the art of music and claimed that in the excellence of song his voice was more beautiful than the voices of the Muses. Whereupon the goddesses, angered at him, took from him his gift of music and maimed the man, even as Homer also bears witness when he writes:

There met the Muses Thamyris of Thrace  
And made an end of his song;

and again:

But him, enraged, they maimed, and from him took  
The gift of song divine and made him quite  
Forget his harping.

About Orpheus, the third pupil, we shall give a detailed account when we come to treat of his deeds.

found in it, but they were not of Semitic origin. See Rhys Carpenter, "Letters of Cadmus," *Am. Journ. of Philology*, 56 (1935), 5-13. The present evidence appears to indicate that the Greeks took over the Phoenician letters around 800 B.C. Arguments for this view, an excellent brief discussion of the more recent literature, and two Tables showing the forms of Semitic letters between the thirteenth and eighth centuries B.C. and of the earliest Greek letters, are given by John Day, in *The Classical Weekly*, 28 (1934), 65-9 (Dec. 10), 73-80 (Dec. 17).

2 *Iliad* 2, 594-5, and 599-600 below.  
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Τόν δ' οὖν Λύων φασί τοῖς Πελασγικοῖς γράμμασι συνταξάμενον τὰς τοῦ πρῶτον Διονύσου πράξεις καὶ τὰς ἄλλας μυθολογίας ἀπολυπεῖν ἐν 5 τοῖς ὑπομνήμαιν. ὁμοίως δὲ τούτοις χρήσασθαι τοῖς Πελασγικοῖς γράμμασι τὸν Ὄρφεα καὶ Προναπίδην τὸν Ὄμηρον διδάσκαλον, εὐφυὴ γεγονότα μελοποιοῦν πρὸς δὲ τούτοις Θυμοῖτην τὸν Θυμοῖτον τοῦ Λαομέδοντος, κατὰ τὴν ἡλικίαν γεγονότα τὴν Ὅρφεως, δι' 1 πλανηθῆναι κατὰ πολλοὺς τόπους τῆς οἰκουμένης, καὶ παραβαλεῖν τῆς Λιβύης εἰς τὴν πρὸς ἑσπέραν χώραν 2 ἐως ὤκεανοῦ· θεασάσθαι δὲ καὶ τὴν Νῦσαν, εὖ ἡ μυθολογοῦσιν οἱ ἐγχύρωιοι ἄρχαιοι 3 τραφῆναι τὸν Διόνυσον, καὶ τὰς κατὰ μέρος τοῦ θεοῦ τούτου πράξεις μαθόντα παρὰ τῶν Νυσαέων συνταξάσθαι τὴν Φυγιάν ὁνομαζομένην ποιήσων, ἄρχαιοις 4 τῇ τε διαλέκτῳ καὶ τοῖς γράμμασι χρησάμενον.

68. Φησὶ δ' οὖν Ἀμμωνι βασιλεύοντα τοῦ μέρους τῆς Λιβύης Οὐρανοῦ γῆμαι θυγατέρα την προσαγορευμένην Ρέαν, ἀδελφὴν οὖσαν Κρόνου τε καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Τιτάνων. ἐπιώντα δὲ τὴν βασιλείαν εὑρεῖν πλησίον τῶν Κεραυνίων καλομέμενων ὄρων παρθένον τῷ κάλλει διαφέρουσαν Ἀμάλθειαν 2 ὅνομα. ἐρασθέντα δ' αὐτῆς καὶ πλησάσαντα γεννῆσαι παῖδα τῷ τε κάλλει καὶ τῇ ῥώμη θανμαστόν, καὶ τὴν μὲν Ἀμάλθειαν ἀποδείξει κυρίαν τοῦ σύνεγγυς τόπου παντός, ὄντος τῷ σχῆματι παραπλησίου κέρατι βοὸς, ἀφ' ἦς αἰτίας Ἑσπέρου

1 δι' added by Jacoby.
2 τῆς οἰκουμένης after χώραν deleted by Rhodomann.
3 ἄρχαιοι deleted by Jacoby.
4 ἄρχαιοις Dindorf: ἄρχαικως.
Now Linus, they say, composed an account in the Pelasgic letters of the deeds of the first Dionysus and of the other mythical legends and left them among his memoirs. And in the same manner use was made of these Pelasgic letters by Orpheus and Pronapides who was the teacher of Homer and a gifted writer of songs; and also by Thymoetes, the son of Thymoetes, the son of Laomedon, who lived at the same time as Orpheus, wandered over many regions of the inhabited world, and penetrated to the western part of Libya as far as the ocean. He also visited Nysa, where the ancient natives of the city relate the myth that Dionysus was reared there, and, after he had learned from the Nysaeans of the deeds of this god one and all, he composed the "Phrygian poem," as it is called, wherein he made use of the archaic manner both of speech and of letters.

68. Dionysius, then,\(^1\) continues his account as follows: Ammon, the king of that part of Libya, married a daughter of Uranus who was called Rhea and was a sister of Cronus and the other Titans. And once when Ammon was going about his kingdom, near the Ceraunian Mountains, as they are called, he came upon a maiden of unusual beauty whose name was Amaltheia. And becoming enamoured of her he lay with the maiden and begat a son of marvellous beauty as well as bodily vigour, and Amaltheia herself he appointed mistress of all the region round about, which was shaped like the horn of a bull and for this reason was known as

\(^1\) The narrative of Dionysius is apparently resumed from the end of chapter 61.
κέρας προσαγορευθήναι· διὰ δὲ τὴν ἀρετὴν τῆς χώρας εἶναι πλήρη παντοδαπῆς ἀμπέλου καὶ τῶν ἄλλων δένδρων τῶν ἥμερους φερόντων καρποὺς.

3 τῆς δὲ προειρημένης γυναικὸς τὴν δυναστείαν παραλαβοῦσις, ἀπὸ ταύτης τὴν χώραν Ἀμαλθείας κέρας ὁνομασθῆναι· διὸ καὶ τοὺς μεταγενεστέρους ἀνθρώπους διὰ τὴν προειρημένην αὐτίαν τὴν κρατίστην γῆν καὶ παντοδαποῖς καρποῖς πληθοῦσαν ὡσαύτως Ἀμαλθείας κέρας προσαγορεύειν.

4 Τὸν δ’ οὖν Ἁμμωνα φωβούμενον τὴν τῆς Ρέας ἔλεγον τὸ γεγονός, καὶ τὸν παῖδα λάθρα μετενεγκείν εἰς τινα πόλιν Νυσᾶν, μακράν

5 ἀπ’ ἐκείνων τῶν τόπων ἀπεργημένην. κείσθαι δὲ ταύτην ἐν τινὶ νήσῳ περιεχομένη μὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ Τρίτωνος ποταμοῦ, περικρήμνω δὲ καὶ καθ’ ἕνα τόπον ἔχονσι στενᾶς εἰσβολάς, ἀς ὁνομάσθαι πύλας Νυσίας. εἶναι δ’ ἐν αὐτῇ χώραν εὐδαίμονα λειμωσὶ τε μαλακοῖς διειλημμένην καὶ πηγαίοις άδασῳ ἀρδευομένην δαφνέσι, δένδρα τε καρποφόρα παντοῖα καὶ πολλὴν ἀμπελοῦν αὐτοφυῆ,

6 καὶ ταύτης τὴν πλείστην ἀναδενδράδα. ὑπάρχειν δὲ καὶ πάντα τὸν τὸν τόπον εὐπνοῦν, ἐτί δὲ καθ’ ὑπερβολὴν ὑγειεῖν· καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τοὺς ἐν αὐτῷ κατοικοῦντας μακροβιωτάτους ὑπάρχειν τὸν πλησιοχώρων· εἶναι δὲ τῆς νῆσος τῆς μὲν πρώτης εἰσβολῆς αὐλωνισειδῆ, σύσκοιν ψηλοῖς καὶ πυκνοῖς δένδρεσιν, ὡστε τὸν ἢλιον μὴ παντάπασι διαλάμπειν διὰ τὴν συνάγκειαν, αὐγὴν δὲ μόνην ὀρᾶσθαι φωτὸς.

69. Πάντη δὲ κατὰ τὰς παρόδους προχείσθαι

1 πηγαίοις Dindorf: κηπίοις D, κηπείοις C, κηπείαις F.
2 τὸν added by Dindorf.
Hesperoukeras¹; and the region, because of the excellent quality of the land, abounds in every variety of the vine and all other trees which bear cultivated fruits. When the woman whom we have just mentioned took over the supreme power the country was named after her Amaltheias Keras²; consequently the men of later times, for the reason which we have just given, likewise call any especially fertile bit of ground which abounds in fruits of every kind “Amaltheia’s Horn.”

Now Ammon, fearing the jealousy of Rhea, concealed the affair and brought the boy secretly to a certain city called Nysa, which was at a great distance from those parts. This city lies on a certain island which is surrounded by the river Triton and is precipitous on all sides save at one place where there is a narrow pass which bears the name “Nysaean Gates.” The land of the island is rich, is traversed at intervals by pleasant meadows and watered by abundant streams from springs, and possesses every kind of fruit-bearing tree and the wild vine in abundance, which for the most part grows up trees. The whole region, moreover, has a fresh and pure air and is furthermore exceedingly healthful; and for this reason its inhabitants are the longest lived of any in those parts. The entrance into the island is like a glen at its beginning, being thickly shaded by lofty trees growing close together, so that the sun never shines at all through the close-set branches but only the radiance of its light may be seen.

69. Everywhere along the lanes, the account con-

¹ “Horn of Hesperus.”
² “Horn of Amaltheia.”
πηγὰς ὑδάτων τῇ γλυκύτητι διαφόρων, ὡστε τὸν τόπον εἶναι τοῖς Βουλομένοις ἐνδιατρίβαι προσηγέστατον. ἐξῆς δ' ὑπάρχειν ἀντρον τῷ μὲν σχῆματι κυκλοτερές, τῷ δὲ μεγέθει καὶ τῷ κάλλει θαυμαστόν. ὑπερκείσθαι γάρ αὐτοῦ πανταχὺ κρημνὸν πρὸς ύπος ἐξαίσιον, πέτρας ἔχοντα τοῖς χρώμασι διαφόρους· ἐναλλὰς γάρ ἀποστίλθειν τὰς μὲν θαλαττίας πορφύρα τὴν χρόαν ἔχουσας παραπλῆσιον, τὰς δὲ κυναγὲς, τιχας δ' ἄλλαις φύσεσι περιλαμπομέναις, ὡστε μηδὲν εἶναι χρώμα τῶν ἐωραμένων παρ' ἀνθρώποις περὶ τὸν τόπον ἀδεώρητον. πρὸ δὲ τῆς εἰσόδου πεφυκέναι δὲνδρα θαυμαστά, τὰ μὲν κάρπιμα, τὰ δὲ ἀειθαλῆ, πρὸς αὐτὴν μόνον τὴν ἀπὸ τῆς θέας τέρμην ὑπὸ τῆς φύσεως διδημιουργημένα. ἐν δὲ τούτοις ἐνεπίστευεν ὅρνεα παντοδαπὰ ταῖς φύσεσιν, ἢ τὴν χρόαν ἔχειν ἐπιτερπὴ καὶ τὴν μελωδίαν προσηνεστάτην. διὸ καὶ πάντα τὸν τόπον ὑπάρχειν μὴ μόνον θεοπρεπῆ κατὰ τὴν πρόσοψιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ κατὰ τὸν ἔχον, ὡς ἂν τῆς αὐτοδιδάκτου γλυκυφωνίας νικώσῃ τῆς ἐναρμόνιον τῆς τέχνης μελωδίαν.  

3 δισθόντε δὲ τὴν εἰσόδου θεωρεῖσθαι μὲν ἀντρον ἀναπεπταμένον καὶ τῇ κατὰ τὸν ἥλιον ἀυγῇ περιλαμπόμενον, ἀνθὴ δὲ παντοδαπὰ πεφυκότα, καὶ μάλιστα τὴν τε κασίαν καὶ τὰλλα τὰ δυνάμενα δ' ἐναντίων διαφυλάττει τὴν εὐωδίαν· ὀρᾶσθαι δὲ καὶ νυμφῶν εὐνᾶς ἐν αὐτῷ πλείους ἐξ' ἀνθῆν παντοδαπῶν, ὦ χειροποιήτους, ἀλλ' ὑπ' αὐτῆς τῆς φύσεως ἀνεμένας θεοπρεπῶς. κατὰ πάντα δὲ τὸν τῆς περιφερείας κύκλον οὕτως οὐτ' ἄνθος οὐτε φύλλον πεπτωκὸς ὀρᾶσθαι. διὸ καὶ τοῖς θεωμένοις οὐ μόνον ἐπιτερπὴ φαίνεσθαι τὴν πρόσοψιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν εὐωδίαν προσηγεστάτην.
tinues, springs of water gush forth of exceeding sweetness, making the place most pleasant to those who desire to tarry there. Further in there is a cave, circular in shape and of marvellous size and beauty. For above and all about it rises a crag of immense height, formed of rocks of different colours; for the rocks lie in bands and send forth a bright gleam, some like that purple which comes from the sea,¹ some bluish and others like every other kind of brilliant hue, the result being that there is not a colour to be seen among men which is not visible in that place. Before the entrance grow marvellous trees, some fruit-bearing, others evergreen, and all of them fashioned by nature for no other end than to delight the eye; and in them nest every kind of bird of pleasing colour and most charming song. Consequently the whole place is meet for a god, not merely in its aspect but in its sound as well, since the sweet tones which nature teaches are always superior to the song which is devised by art. When one has passed the entrance the cave is seen to widen out and to be lighted all about by the rays of the sun, and all kinds of flowering plants grow there, especially the cassia and every other kind which has the power to preserve its fragrance throughout the year; and in it are also to be seen several couches of nymphs, formed of every manner of flower, made not by hand but by the light touch of Nature herself, in manner meet for a god. Moreover, throughout the whole place round about not a flower or leaf is to be seen which has fallen. Consequently those who gaze upon this spot find not only its aspect delightful but also its fragrance most pleasant.

¹ i.e. the purple derived from the mollusc *Murex brandaris.*
70. Εἰς τοῦτο οὖν τὸ ἄντρον τῶν Ἀρμωνίων παραγενόμενον παραθέσαι τὸν παῖδα καὶ παραδοθῆναι τρέφειν Νύση, μιὰ τῶν Ἀρισταίου θυγατέρων· ἔπιστάτην δ' αὐτοῦ τάξαι τὸν 'Αρισταίον, ἀνδρα συνέσει καὶ σωφροσύνη καὶ πάση παιδεία διαφέροντα.
2 πρὸς δὲ τὰς ἄπο τῆς μητροῦ 'Ρέας ἐπιβουλὰς φύλακα τοῦ παιδὸς καταστήσαι τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν, μικρὸν πρὸ τούτων τῶν χρόνων γηγενῆ φανείσαν ἐπὶ τοῦ Τριτωνος ποταμοῦ, δι' ὄν Τριτωνίδα προσηγορεῖν.
3 σημα. μυθολογουσί δὲ τὴν θεὸν ταύτην ἐλομένην τὸν πάντα χρόνον τὴν παρθενίαν σωφροσύνη τε διενεγκείν καὶ τὰς πλείστας τῶν τεχνῶν ἔξευρεῖν, ἀγχίζων ὀσαν καθ' ὑπερβολήν· ζηλώσαι δὲ καὶ τὰ κατὰ τὸν πόλεμον, ἀλλὰ δὲ καὶ ῥώμη διαφέρουσαν ἀλλα τε πολλά πράξαι μνήμης ἄξια καὶ τὴν Αἰγίδα προσαγορευμένην ἀνελεῖν, θηρίον τι καταπληκτικὸν καὶ παντελῶς δυσκαταγώνιστον. γηγενὲς γὰρ ὑπάρχον καὶ φυσικῶς ἐκ τοῦ στόματος ἀπλατον ἐκβάλλον φλόγα τὸ μὲν πρῶτον φανῆναι περὶ τὴν Φρυγίαν, καὶ κατακαίσαι τὴν χώραν, ἡν μέχρι τοῦ νῦν κατακεκαυμένην Φρυγίαν ὅνομαζεσθαι· ἐπειτ' ἐπελθεῖν τὰ περὶ τὸν Ταύρον ὡρη συνεχῶς, καὶ κατακαίσαι τοὺς ξῆς δρυμοὺς μέχρι τῆς Ἰνδικῆς· μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα πάλιν ἐπὶ θάλασσαν τὴν ἐπάνοδον ποιησάμενον περὶ μὲν τὴν Φοινίκην ἐμπρήσαι τοὺς κατὰ τὸν Λιβανὸν δρυμοὺς, καὶ δι' Ἀιγύπτου πορευθέν ἐπὶ τῆς Λιβύης διελθεῖν τοὺς περὶ τὴν ἐσπέραν τόπους, καὶ τὸ τελευταῖον εἰς

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1 Cp. Book 1. 12. 8 for the explanation of the name "Tritogeneia" for Athena.
70. Now to this cave, the account runs, Ammon came and brought the child and gave him into the care of Nysa, one of the daughters of Aristaeus; and he appointed Aristaeus to be the guardian of the child, he being a man who excelled in understanding, and in self-control, and in all learning. The duty of protecting the boy against the plottings of his stepmother Rhea he assigned to Athena, who a short while before had been born of the earth and had been found beside the river Triton, from which she had been called Tritonis. And according to the myth this goddess, choosing to spend all her days in maidenhood, excelled in virtue and invented most of the crafts, since she was exceedingly ready of wit; she cultivated also the arts of war, and since she excelled in courage and in bodily strength she performed many other deeds worthy of memory and slew the Aegis, as it was called, a certain frightful monster which was a difficult antagonist to overcome. For it was sprung from the earth and in accordance with its nature breathed forth terrible flames of fire from its mouth, and its first appearance it made about Phrygia and burned up the land, which to this day is called "Burned Phrygia"; and after that it ravaged unceasingly the lands about the Taurus mountains and burned up the forests extending from that region as far as India. Thereupon, returning again towards the sea round about Phoenicia, it sent up in flames the forests on Mt. Lebanon, and making its way through Egypt it passed over Libya to the regions of the west and at the end of its wanderings

2 Strabo (12. 8. 18-19) says that this area of Phrygia was occupied by Lydians and Mysians, and that the cause of the name was the frequent earthquakes.
Diodorus of Sicily

τοὺς περὶ τὰ Κεραύνια δρυμοὺς ἐγκατασκήψαται.

5 ἐπιφλεγομένης δὲ τῆς χώρας πάντη, καὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων τῶν μὲν ἀπολλυμένων, τῶν δὲ διὰ τῶν φόβων ἐκλειπόντων τὰς πατρίδας καὶ μακρὰν ἐκτοπιζομένων, τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν φασὶ τὰ μὲν συνέσει τὰ δ᾿ ἀλκή καὶ ρώμη περιγενομένην ἀνελεῖν τὸ θηρίον, καὶ τὴν δορὰν αὐτοῦ περιαφαμένην φορεῖν τῷ στήθει, ἀμα μὲν σκέπης ἕνεκα καὶ τῆς φυλακῆς τοῦ σώματος πρὸς τοὺς ὑστερον κωδύνους, ἀμα δ᾿ ἀρετῆς ὑπόμνημα καὶ δικαίας δόξης.

6 τὴν δὲ μητέρα τοῦ θηρίου Γῆν ὄργισθείσαν ἀνεύναι τοὺς ὀνομαζομένους Γίγαντας ἀντιπάλους τοῖς θεοῖς, οὐσ ὑστερον ὑπὸ Διὸς ἀναμεθηναί, συναγωγιζομένης Ἀθηνᾶς καὶ Διονύσου μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων θεῶν.

7 Οὐ μὴν ἄλλα τῶν Διόνυσου ἐν τῇ Νύσῃ τρεφομένων καὶ μετέχοντα τῶν καλλίστων ἐπιτηδευμάτων μὴ μόνον γενέσθαι τῷ κάλλει καὶ τῇ ρώμη διάφορον, ἀλλὰ καὶ φιλότεχνον καὶ πρὸς πᾶν τὸ χρήσιμον εὐρετικόν. ἐπινοήσαι γὰρ αὐτὸν ἔτι παῖδα τῇ ἡλικίᾳ ὃντα τοῦ μὲν οὖν τὴν φύσιν τε καὶ χρείαν, ἀποθλίψαντα βότρυς τῆς αὐτοφυοῦς ἀμπέλου, τῶν δ᾿ ὦραίων τὰ δυνάμενα ἡγραίνεσθαι καὶ πρὸς ἀποθησαυρισμὸν ὕπτα χρήσιμα, μετὰ δὲ ταύτα καὶ τὸς ἐκάστων κατὰ τρόπον φυτείας εὐρεῖν, καὶ βουληθῆναι τῷ γένει τῶν ἀνθρώπων μεταδοθῆναι τῶν ἱδίων εὐρημάτων, ἐλπίζοντα διὰ τὸ μέγεθος τῆς εὐεργεσίας ἀθανάτων τεῦξεσθαι τιμῶν.

81. Τῆς δὲ περὶ αὐτὸν ἀρετῆς τε καὶ δόξης διαδιδομένης, λέγεται τὴν Ἐρέαν ὄργισθείσαν Ἀμμων

1 μὲν after δυνάμενα D, Vogel, Jacoby, omitted Vulgate, Bekker, Dindorf.

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fell upon the forests about Ceraunia. And since the
country round about was going up in flames and the
inhabitants in some cases were being destroyed and
in others were leaving their native countries in their
terror and removing to distant regions, Athena, they
say, overcoming the monster partly through her
intelligence and partly through her courage and
bodily strength, slew it, and covering her breast with
its hide bore this about with her, both as a covering
and protection for her body against later dangers,
and as a memorial of her valour and of her well-
merited fame. Ge (Earth), however, the mother of
the monster, was enraged and sent up the Giants,
as they are called, to fight against the gods; but they
were destroyed at a later time by Zeus, Athena and
Dionysus and the rest of the gods taking part in
the conflict on the side of Zeus.

Dionysus, however, being reared according to the
account in Nysa and instructed in the best pursuits,
became not only conspicuous for his beauty and
bodily strength, but skilful also in the arts and quick
to make every useful invention. For while still a
boy he discovered both the nature and use of wine,
in that he pressed out the clusters of grapes of the
vine while it still grew wild, and such ripe fruits as
could be dried and stored away to advantage, and
how each one of them should be planted and cared
for was likewise a discovery of his; also it was his
desire to share the discoveries which he had made
with the race of men, in the hope that by reason of
the magnitude of his benefactions he would be
accorded immortal honours.

71. When the valour and fame of Dionysus became
spread abroad, Rhea, it is said, angered at Ammon,
filoτιμηθήναι λαβεῖν ὑποχείριον τὸν Διόνυσον·
οὐ δυναμένην δὲ κρατήσαι τῆς ἐπιβολῆς τὸν μὲν
"Αμμωνα καταλπεῖν, ἀπαλλαγεῖσαν δὲ πρὸς τοὺς
ἀδελφοὺς Τιτάνας συνοικήσαι Κρόνῳ τῷ ἀδελφῷ.

2 τούτον δ’ ὑπὸ τῆς Ῥέας πεισθέντα στρατεύσαι μετὰ
tῶν Τιτάνων ἐπ’ "Αμμωνα, καὶ γενομένης παρα-
tάξεως τὸν μὲν Κρόνον ἐπὶ τοῦ προτερήματος
ὑπάρξαι, τὸν δ’ "Αμμωνα σιτοδεία πιεζόμενον
φυγεῖν εἰς Κρήτην, καὶ γῆμαντα τῶν τότε βασιλεύνων-
tων Κουρήτων ἐνὸς θυγατέρα Κρήτην δυναστεύσαι
τε τῶν τόπων καὶ τὸ πρὸ τοῦ τῆς νήσου Ἰδαίαν
καλουμένην ἀπὸ τῆς γυναικὸς ὅνομάσαι Κρήτην.

3 τὸν δὲ Κρόνον μυθολογοῦσι κρατήσαντα τῶν
'Αμμωνίων τόπων τούτων μὲν ἄρχειν πυκρῶς,
ἐπὶ δὲ τὴν Νύσαν καὶ τὸν Διόνυσον στρατεύσαι
μετὰ πολλῆς δυνάμεως. τὸν δὲ Διόνυσον πυθόμενον
τά τε τοῦ πατρὸς ἐλαττώματα καὶ τὴν τῶν Τιτάνων
ἐπ’ αὐτὸν συνδρομῆν, ἄθροίσαι στρατιώτας ἐκ
tῆς Νύσης, ὡν εἶναι συντρόφους διακοσίους,
διαφόρους τῇ τε ἄλκη καὶ τῇ πρὸς αὐτὸν εὐνοίας
προσλαβέσαι δὲ καὶ τῶν πλησιοχώρων τούς τε
Λίβνας καὶ τὰς Ἀμαζόνας, περὶ ὧν προερήκαμεν
ὅτι δοκοῦσιν ἄλκη διενεγκεῖν, καὶ πρῶτον μὲν
στρατεύαν ὑπερόμιον στείλασθαι, πολλὴν δὲ τῆς

4 οἰκουμένης τοῖς ὁπλοῖς καταστρέφασθαι. μάλιστα
δ’ αὐτάς φασὶ παρορμήσαι πρὸς τὴν συμμαχίαν
Ἤθηναν διὰ τὸν ὁμοίον τῆς προαιρέσεως ξῆλον,
ὡς ἃν τῶν Ἀμαζώνων ἀντεχομένων ἐπὶ πολὺ τῆς
ἀνδρείας καὶ παρθενίας. διηρημένης δὲ τῆς δυνά-

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strongly desired to get Dionysus into her power; but being unable to carry out her design she forsook Amnon and, departing to her brothers, the Titans, married Cronus her brother. Cronus, then, upon the solicitation of Rhea, made war with the aid of the Titans upon Ammon, and in the pitched battle which followed Cronus gained the upper hand, whereas Ammon, who was hard pressed by lack of supplies, fled to Crete, and marrying there Cretê, the daughter of one of the Curetes who were the kings at that time, gained the sovereignty over those regions, and to the island, which before that time had been called Idaea, he gave the name Crete after his wife. As for Cronus, the myth relates, after his victory he ruled harshly over these regions which had formerly been Amnon's, and set out with a great force against Nysa and Dionysus. Now Dionysus, on learning both of the reverses suffered by his father and of the uprising of the Titans against himself, gathered soldiers from Nysa, two hundred of whom were foster-brothers of his and were distinguished for their courage and their loyalty to him; and to these he added from neighbouring peoples both the Libyans and the Amazons, regarding the latter of whom we have already observed that it is reputed that they were distinguished for their courage and first of all campaigned beyond the borders of their country and subdued with arms a large part of the inhabited world. These women, they say, were urged on to the alliance especially by Athena, because their zeal for their ideal of life was like her own, seeing that the Amazons clung tenaciously to manly courage and virginity. The force was divided into two parts,
μελωσ, καὶ τῶν μὲν ἀνδρῶν στρατηγοῦντος Διονύσου, τῶν δὲ γυναικῶν τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ἐχούσης Αθηνᾶς, προσπεσόντας μετὰ τῆς στρατιάς τοῖς Τιτᾶσι συνάψαί μάχην. γενομένης δὲ παρατάξεως ἰσχυρᾶς, καὶ πολλῶν παρ’ ἀμφοτέρους πεσόντων, τρωθήναι μὲν τὸν Κρόνον, ἐπικρατήσας δὲ τὸν Διόνυσον ἀριστεύσαντα κατὰ τὴν μάχην. μετὰ δὲ ταύτα τοὺς μὲν Τιτᾶνας φυγεῖν εἰς τοὺς κατακτηθέντας ὑπὸ τῶν περὶ τὸν Ἀμμωνα τόπους, τὸν δὲ Διόνυσον ἀθροίσαντα πλήθος αἰχμαλώτων ἐπανελθεῖν εἰς τὴν Νῦσαν. ἐνταῦθα δὲ τὴν δύναμιν περιστήσαντα καθωπλισμένην τοῖς ἀλούσι κατηγορίαι πονησάσαθαι τῶν Τιτάνων, καὶ πᾶσαν ὑπόνοιαν καταλιπεῖν ὡς μέλλοντα κατακόπτειν τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους. ἀπολύσαντος δ’ αὐτοὺς τῶν ἐγκλημάτων καὶ τὴν ἐξουσίαν δόντος εἴτε συστρατεύειν εἴτε ἀπιέναι βούλουστο, πάντας ἔλεοθα συστρατεύειν: διὰ δὲ τὸ παράδοξον τῆς σωτηρίας προσκυνεῖν αὐτοὺς ὡς θεοῦ. τὸν δὲ Διόνυσον παράγοντα καθ’ ἑνα τῶν αἰχμαλώτων καὶ διδόντα σποιδὴν οὐνοῦν πάντας ἐξορκώσαι συστρατεύσειν ἁδόλως καὶ μέχρι τελευτῆς βεβαιῶς διαγωνισθαί: διὸ καὶ τοῦτον πρῶτον ὑποσπόνδων ὄνομασθέντων τοὺς μεταγενεστέρους ἀπομιμομένους τὰ τότε πραξάντα τὰς ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις διαλύσεις σπονδάς προσαγορεύειν.

72. Τοῦ δ’ οὖν Διονύσου μέλλοντος στρατεύειν ἐπὶ τὸν Κρόνον καὶ τῆς δυνάμεως ἐκ τῆς Νῦσης ἐξουσίας, μυθολογοῦσιν Ἀρισταίον τὸν ἐπιστάτην αὐτοῦ θυσίαν τε παραστήσας καὶ πρῶτον ἀνθρώπων ὡς θέωθ' θύσαι. συστρατεύσαι δὲ φασὶ καὶ

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1 So Wesseling: συστρατεύειν.
the men having Dionysus as their general and the women being under the command of Athena, and coming with their army upon the Titans they joined battle. The struggle having proved sharp and many having fallen on both sides, Cronus finally was wounded and victory lay with Dionysus, who had distinguished himself in the battle. Thereupon the Titans fled to the regions which had once been possessed by Ammon, and Dionysus gathered up a multitude of captives and returned to Nysa. Here, drawing up his force in arms about the prisoners, he brought a formal accusation against the Titans and gave them every reason to suspect that he was going to execute the captives. But when he got them free from the charges and allowed them to make their choice either to join him in his campaign or to go scot free, they all chose to join him, and because their lives had been spared contrary to their expectation they venerated him like a god. Dionysus, then, taking the captives singly and giving them a libation (sponde) of wine, required of all of them an oath that they would join in the campaign without treachery and fight manfully until death; consequently, these captives being the first to be designated as "freed under a truce" (hypospondoi), men of later times, imitating the ceremony which had been performed at that time, speak of the truces in wars as spondai.

72. Now when Dionysus was on the point of setting out against Cronus and his force was already passing out of Nysa, his guardian Aristaeus, the myth relates, offered a sacrifice and so was the first man to sacrifice to him as to a god. And companions of his on the campaign, they say, were also the most nobly born
2 Seilenouς. 1 πρῶτον γὰρ τῶν ἀπάντων βασιλεύσαη
φασὶ τῆς Νύσης 2 Σειληνόν, οὗ 3 τὸ γένος ὄθεν ἦν
ὑπὸ πάντων ἀγνοεῖσθαι διὰ τῆς ἀρχαῖατης. ἔχον-
tος δ' αὐτοῦ κατὰ τὴν ὀδῷν οὐράν, διατελεῖσα
καὶ τοὺς ἔγχονους τὸ παράσημον τούτο φοροῦντας
dιὰ τὴν τῆς φύσεως κοινωνιαν.

Τὸν δ' οὖν Διόνυσον ἀναξεύξαντα μετὰ τῆς δυνά-
μεως, καὶ διελθόντα πολλὴν μὲν ἄνυδρον χώραν,
οὐκ ὀλίγην δ' ἔρημον καὶ θηριώδη, καταστρατο-
pεδεύσαι περὶ πόλιν Λιβυκὴν τὴν ὀνομαζομένην

3 Ζαβιρναν. πρὸς δὲ ταύτῃ γηγενέσ ὑπάρχον θηρίον
καὶ πολλοὺς ἀναλίσκον τῶν ἐγχωρίων, τὴν ὀνομαζο-
μένην Κάμπην, ἀνελεῖν καὶ μεγάλης τυχεῖν δόξης
ἐπ' ἀνδρείᾳ παρὰ τοῖς ἐγχωρίοις. ποιῆσαι δ' αὐτὸν
καὶ χῶμα παμμέγεθες ἐπὶ τῷ φονευθέντι
θηρίῳ, βουλόμενον ἀθάνατον ἀπολιπεῖν ὑπόμημα
tῆς ἱδίας ἀρετῆς, τὸ καὶ διαμεῖναν μέχρι τῶν

4 νεωτέρων χρόνων. ἔπειτα τὸν μὲν Διόνυσον προά-
γευν πρὸς τοὺς Τιτᾶνας, εὐτάκτως ποιοῦμεν τὰς
ὁδοιπορίας καὶ πάσι τοῖς ἐγχωρίοις φιλανθρώπως
προσφερόμενον καὶ τὸ σύνολον ἑαυτὸν ἀποφαίνο-
μενον στρατεύειν ἐπὶ κολάσει μὲν τῶν ἀσεβῶν,
ἐνεργείᾳ δὲ τοῦ κοινοῦ γένους τῶν ἀνθρώπων.
tοὺς δὲ Λιβυας θαυμάζοντας τὴν εὐταξίαν καὶ
tοῦ τῆς ψυχῆς μεγαλοπρεπεῖς, τροφᾶς τε παρέχε-
θαι τοῖς ἀνθρώποις δαμιλεῖς καὶ συστρατεύειν

5 Συνεγγυζοῦσις δὲ τῆς δυνάμεως τῇ πόλει τῶν
Ἀμμωνίων, τὸν Κρόνον πρὸ τοῦ τείχους παρα-

1 Σιλήνος D, Σιλίνος C, Σιλήνος other MSS.; all editors
but Jacoby emend to Σειληνός (ep. 4. 4. 3).
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of the Nysaeans, those, namely, who bear the name Seileni. For the first man of all, they say, to be king of Nysa was Seilenus, but his ancestry was unknown to all men because of its antiquity. This man had a tail at the lower part of his back and his descendants also regularly carried this distinguishing mark because of their participation in his nature.

Dionysus, then, set out with his army, and after passing through a great extent of waterless land, no small portion of which was desert and infested with wild beasts, he encamped beside a city of Libya named Zabirna. Near this city an earth-born monster called Campê, which was destroying many of the natives, was slain by him, whereby he won great fame among the natives for valour. Over the monster which he had killed he also erected an enormous mound, wishing to leave behind him an immortal memorial of his personal bravery, and this mound remained until comparatively recent times. Then Dionysus advanced against the Titans, maintaining strict discipline on his journeyings, treating all the inhabitants kindly, and, in a word, making it clear that his campaign was for the purpose of punishing the impious and of conferring benefits upon the entire human race. The Libyans, admiring his strict discipline and high-mindedness, provided his followers with supplies in abundance and joined in the campaign with the greatest eagerness.

As the army approached the city of the Ammonians, Cronus, who had been defeated in a pitched
τάξει λειψθέντα τὴν μὲν πόλιν νυκτὸς ἐμπρῆσα, σπεύδοντα εἰς τέλος καταφθείραι τοῦ Διονύσου τὰ πατρῷα βασιλεία, αὐτὸν δὲ ἀναλαβόντα τὴν γυναῖκα ʼῬέαν καὶ τινὰς τῶν συνηγγωνισμένων φίλων λαθεῖν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως διαδράντα. οὔ μὴν τὸν γε Διόνυσον ὁμοίαν ἔχειν τούτω προαίρεσιν λαβόντα γὰρ τὸν τε Κρόνον καὶ τὴν ʼῬέαν αἰχμαλώτους οὐ μόνον ἀφεῖναι τῶν ἐγκλημάτων διὰ τὴν συγγένειαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ παρακαλέσαι τὸν λοιπὸν χρόνον γονέων ἐχεῖν πρὸς αὐτῶν εὐνοίαν τε καὶ τάξιν καὶ συζήν τιμω-6 μένους ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ μάλιστα πάντων. τὴν μὲν οὖν ἑ καταστελέσαι πάντα τὸν βίον ὡς ὕδων ἀγαπῶσαν, τὸν δὲ Κρόνον ὑπολουν ἔχειν τὴν εὐνοίαν. γενέ-σθαι δ’ αὐτοῖς περὶ τούτους τοὺς χρόνους ὕδων, ὅν προσαγορευθῆναι Δία, τιμηθῆναι δὲ μεγάλως ὑπὸ τοῦ Διονύσου, καὶ δ’ ἀρετὴν ἐν τοῖς ὑπερὸν χρόνοις γενέσθαι πάντων βασιλέα.

73. Τῶν δὲ Λιβύων εἰρηκότων αὐτῷ πρὸ τῆς μάχης ὅτι καθ’ ὅν καρον ἐξεπεσεν ἐκ τῆς βασιλείας ʼΑμμων, τοῖς ἐγχωρίοις προειρηκὼς εἰπὶ τεταγμένοις χρόνοις ἔξειν ὕδων αὐτοῦ Διονύσου, καὶ τὴν τε πατρῶν ἀνακτήσεσθαι βασιλείαν καὶ πάσης τῆς οἰκουμένης κυριεύσαντα θεὸν νομισθήσεσθαι, ὑπολαβὼν ἀληθῆ γεγονέναι μάντιν τὸ τε χρηστήμων ἱδρύσατο τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἀνουκοδομήσας 2 τιμᾶς ὁρισεν ὡς θεῷ καὶ τοὺς ἐπιμελησμένους τοῦ μαντείου κατέστησε. παραδεδόθαι δὲ τὸν ᾧ Ἀμμων ἐχειν κριόν κεφαλῆς τετυπωμένην, παράσημον

1 καταφθείραι Vulg., διαφθείραι D. Jacoby.
2 So Dindorf: ἀνουκοδομήσα MSS., Bekker, Vogel.
battle before the walls, set fire to the city in the night, intending to destroy utterly the ancestral palace of Dionysus, and himself taking with him his wife Rhea and some of his friends who had aided him in the struggle, he stole unobserved out of the city. Dionysus, however, showed no such a temper as this; for though he took both Cronus and Rhea captive, not only did he waive the charges against them because of his kinship to them, but he entreated them for the future to maintain both the good-will and the position of parents towards him and to live in a common home with him, held in honour above all others. Rhea, accordingly, loved him like a son for all the rest of her life, but the good-will of Cronus was a pretence. And about this time there was born to both of these a son who was called Zeus, and he was honoured greatly by Dionysus and at a later time, because of his high achievements, was made king over all.

73. Since the Libyans had said to Dionysus before the battle that, at the time when Ammon had been driven from the kingdom, he had prophesied to the inhabitants that at an appointed time his son Dionysus would come, and that he would recover his father's kingdom and, after becoming master of all the inhabited world, would be looked upon as a god, Dionysus, believing him to have been a true prophet, established there the oracle of his father,\(^1\) rebuilt the city and ordained honours to him as to a god, and appointed men to have charge of the oracle. Tradition also has recorded that the head of Ammon was shaped like that of a ram, since as his device he

\(^1\) The great oracle of Ammon; cp. Book 17. 49 ff. for the famous visit of Alexander to this shrine.
DIODORUS OF SICILY

ἔσχηκότος αὐτῷ τὸ ¹ κράνος κατὰ τὰς στρατείας. 2 εἰσὶ δ’ οἱ μυθολογοῦντες αὐτῷ πρὸς ἀλήθειαν γενέ-σθαι καὶ ἐκάτερον μέρος τῶν κροτάφων κεράτω- διό καὶ τὸν Διόνυσον, ὦν αὐτῷ γεγονότα, τὴν ὁμοίαν ἔχειν πρόσοψιν, καὶ τοῖς ἐπιγνομένοις τῶν ἀνθρώπων παραδεδόθαι τὸν θεὸν τούτον γεγονότα κερατιέν.

3 Μετὰ δ’ οὖν τὴν τῆς πόλεως οἰκοδομίαν καὶ τὴν περὶ τὸ χρηστήριον κατάστασιν πρῶτον φασί τὸν Διόνυσον χρήσασθαι τῷ θεῷ περὶ τῆς στρατείας, καὶ λαβεῖν παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς χρησμὸν ὅτι τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἐυεργετῶν τεῦξεται τῆς ἀθανασίας.

4 διὸ καὶ μετεωρισθέντα τῇ ψυχῇ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀγυπτίων στρατεύεσθαι, καὶ τῆς χώρας κατα-στήσας βασιλέα Δία τὸν Κρόνου καὶ 'Ρέας, παῖδα τῆς ήλικίαν ὅντα. παρακαταστήσας δ’ αὐτῷ καὶ ἐπιστάτην "Ολυμπον, ἀφ’ οὖ τὸν Δία παιδευθέντα καὶ πρωτεύσαντα κατ’ ἀρετὴν ʼΟλυμπίων προσα-

5 γορευθήναι. τὸν δ’ οὖν Διόνυσον λέγεται διδάξαι τοὺς Ἀγυπτίους τὴν τε τῆς ἀμπέλου φυτείαν καὶ τὴν χρήσιν καὶ τὴν παράθεσιν τοῦ τε οἴνου καὶ τῶν ἀκροδρύων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων καρπῶν. πάντη δὲ δια-διδομένης περὶ αὐτῶν φήμης ἀγαθῆς μηδένα καθά-περ πρὸς πολέμιον ἀντιτάσσεσθαι, πάντας δὲ προβά-μως ὑπακούοντας ἑπαίνοις καὶ θυσίαις ὃς θεόν

6 τιμάν. τῷ δ’ αὐτῷ τρόπῳ φασίν ἐπελθεῖν τὴν οἰκουμένην, ἐξημερώνοντα μὲν τὴν χώραν ταῖς φυτείαις, ἐυεργετούντα δὲ τοὺς λαοὺς μεγάλαις καὶ τιμίαις ² χάρισι πρὸς τὸν αἰῶνα. διὸ καὶ πάντας

¹ For τὸ Capps suggests τοιοῦτο.
² καὶ τιμίαις suggested by Vogel for τιμαῖς καὶ, MSS.; δωρεαῖς for τιμαῖς Rhodomann.

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had worn a helmet of that form in his campaigns. But there are some writers of myths who recount that in very truth there were little horns on both sides of his temples and that therefore Dionysus also, being Ammon's son, had the same aspect as his father and so the tradition has been handed down to succeeding generations of mankind that this god had horns. However this may be, after Dionysus had built the city and established the oracle he first of all, they say, inquired of the god with regard to his expedition, and he received from his father the reply that, if he showed himself a benefactor of mankind, he would receive the reward of immortality. Consequently, elated in spirit at this prophecy, he first of all directed his campaign against Egypt and as king of the country he set up Zeus, the son of Cronus and Rhea, though he was still but a boy in years. And at his side as his guardian he placed Olympus, by whom Zeus had been instructed and after whom he came to be called "Olympian," when he had attained pre-eminence in high achievements. As for Dionysus, he taught the Egyptians, it is said, both the cultivation of the vine and how to use and to store both wine and the fruits which are gathered from trees, as well as all others. And since a good report of him was spread abroad everywhere, no man opposed him as if he were an enemy, but all rendered him eager obedience and honoured him like a god with panegyrics and sacrifices. In like manner as in Egypt, they say, he visited the inhabited world, bringing the land under cultivation by means of the plantings which he made and conferring benefactions upon the people for all time by bestowing upon them great and valuable gifts. For this reason it comes
Diodorus of Sicily

7. Then δ’ ὁ Ὑδώρ, ἐπὶ τὴν δήμον πρίγγησις ἐπὶ τὸν δίονυσον ἔσω συνιστάναι πολεμόν αὐτοῦ πολεμίων ἀντίκεισθαι ἀντίκεισθαι τῆς ἀδιακομήτου καὶ πολεμικῆς καὶ διαμαρτυρίας ἔπειτα ἐπὶ τὸν "Ἀμμονα" προσβεβηκότας καὶ καὶ τοῦ διωσ' εἶναι τῆς Αἰγίπτου τοις περὶ τὸν "Ἀμμονα", καὶ πολέμου μεγάλου συνεστῶτος ἐν τῇ νήσῳ, ταχέως καὶ τοὺς περὶ τὸν διονύσον καὶ τὴν Ἀθηναίαν καὶ τινας τῶν άλλων θεῶν νομισθέντων συνιστάναι εἰς Κρήτην. γενομένης δὲ παρατάξεως μεγάλης ἐπικρατήσας τοὺς περὶ τὸν διονύσον καὶ πάντας ἀνελεῖν τοὺς τιτάνας. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα "Ἀμμονα καὶ διονύσου μεταστάντων ἐκ τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης φύσεως εἰς τὴν ἀδιακομήτου, τὸν δία φασὶ βασιλεύει τοῦ σύμπαντος κόσμου, κεκολασμένων τῶν τιτάνων, καὶ μηδενὸς ὀντός τοῦ τολμήσοντος δὴ ἀσέβειαν ἀμφισβητῆσαι τῆς ἀρχῆς.

74. Τὸν μὲν οὖν πρῶτον διὸνυσον ἐξ "Ἀμμονος καὶ Ἀμαλθείας γενόμενον τοιαύτας οἱ Λίβνες ἱστοροῦσιν ἔπιπλεσθαί σοι πράξεις τὸν δὲ δευτερον φασὶν ἐξ "Ἰους τῆς Ἰνάχου Δὶ γενόμενον

1 Cp. Book 1. 20. 4.

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about that, although not all men are of one belief with one another concerning the honours which they accord to the other gods, in the case of Dionysus alone we may almost say that they are in complete agreement in testifying to his immortality; for there is no man among Greeks or barbarians who does not share in the gift and favour which this god dispenses, nay, even those who possess a country which has become a wilderness or altogether unsuited to the cultivation of the vine learned from him how to prepare from barley a drink which is little inferior to wine in aroma.¹

Now Dionysus, they say, as he was marching out of India to the sea,² learned that all the Titans had assembled their united forces together and had crossed over to Crete to attack Ammon. Already Zeus had passed over from Egypt to the aid of Ammon and a great war had arisen on the island, and forthwith Dionysus and Athena and certain others who had been considered to be gods rushed over in a body to Crete. In a great battle which followed Dionysus was victorious and slew all the Titans. And when after this Ammon and Dionysus exchanged their mortal nature for immortality, Zeus, they say, became king of the entire world, since the Titans had been punished and there was no one whose impiety would make him bold enough to dispute with him for the supreme power.

74. As for the first Dionysus, the son of Ammon and Amaltheia, these, then, are the deeds he accomplished as the Libyans recount the history of them; the second Dionysus, as men say, who was born to Zeus by Io, the daughter of Inachus, became

² The Mediterranean.
Diodorus of Sicily

βασιλεύσατι μὲν τὴς Αἰγύπτου, καταδείξατι δὲ τὰς
teleτὰς· τελευταίων δὲ τῶν ἐκ Δίως καὶ Σεμέλης
tεκνωθέντα παρὰ τοῖς Ἕλλησι ζηλωτὴν γενέσθαι
2 τῶν προτέρων. τὰς δ’ ἀμφοτέρων προαιρέσεις
μμησάμενον στρατεύσαι μὲν ἐπὶ πᾶσαν τὴν
οἰκουμενήν, στήλας δ’ οὐκ ὁλίγας ἀπολιπεῖν τῶν
ὁρῶν τῆς στρατείας· καὶ τὴν μὲν χῶραν ἑξημεροῦν
tαῖς φυτείαις, στρατιώτιδας δ’ ἐπιλέξασθαι γυναῖ-
κας, καθάπερ καὶ ὁ παλαιὸς τὰς Ἀμαζόνας.
ἐνεργήσαι δ’ ἐπὶ πλέον καὶ τὰ περὶ τοὺς ὅργια-
σμοὺς, καὶ τελετὰς ἃς μὲν μεταθείναι πρὸς τὸ
3 κρεῖττον, ἃς δ’ ἐπινοήσαι. διὰ δὲ τὸ πλῆθος τοῦ
χρόνου τῶν προτέρων εὐρετῶν ἀγνοηθέντων ὑπὸ
tῶν πολλῶν, τούτων κληρονομῆσαι τὴν τῶν προ-
γενεστέρων προαίρεσιν τε καὶ δόξαν. οὐκ ἐπὶ
tούτου δὲ μόνου συμβῆναι τὸ προειρημένον, ἄλλα καὶ
4 μετὰ ταύτ’ ἔφ’ Ἡρακλέους. δυοῖν γὰρ ὄντων τῶν
προγενεστέρων τῶν τῆς αὐτῆς ἐσχηκότων προση-
γορίαν, τὸν μὲν ἀρχαιότατον Ἡρακλέα μυθολο-
γεῖσθαι γεγονέναι παρ’ Ἀιγύπτιος, καὶ πολλῆν τῆς
οἰκουμένης τοῖς ὀπλοῖς καταστρεφάμενον θέσθαι
τὴν ἐπὶ τῆς Λιβύης στῆλην, τὸν δὲ δεύτερον ἐκ
Κρήτης ἕνα τῶν Ἰδαιῶν ὄντα Δακτύλων καὶ
γενόμενον γόνητα καὶ στρατηγικὸν συστήσασθαι
tὸν Ὀλυμπικὸν ἀγῶνα· τὸν δὲ τελευταίων μικρὸν
πρὸ τῶν Τρωικῶν ἔξ’ Ἀλκμήνης καὶ Δίως τεκνω-
θέντα πολλῆν ἐπελθεῖν τῆς οἰκουμένης, ὑπηρετοῦντα
5 τοῖς Εὐρυσθέως προστάγμασιν. ἐπιτυχόντα δὲ
πάσι τοῖς ἄθλοις θέσθαι μὲν καὶ στήλην τῆς ἐπὶ τῆς
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king of Egypt and appointed the initiatory rites of that land; and the third and last was sprung from Zeus and Semelē and became, among the Greeks, the rival of the first two. Imitating the principles of both the others he led an army over all the inhabited world and left behind him not a few pillars to mark the bounds of his campaign; the land he also brought under cultivation by means of the plantings which he made, and he selected women to be his soldiers, as the ancient Dionysus had done in the case of the Amazons. He went beyond the others in developing the orgiastic practices, and as regards the rites of initiation, he improved some of them, and others he introduced for the first time. But since in the long passage of time the former discoverers had become unknown to the majority of men, this last Dionysus fell heir to both the plan of life and the fame of his predecessors of the same name. And this Dionysus is not the only one to whom has happened that which we have related, but in later times Heracles likewise experienced the same fortune. For there had been two persons of an earlier period who had borne the same name, the most ancient Heracles who, according to the myths, had been born in Egypt, had subdued with arms a large part of the inhabited world, and had set up the pillar which is in Libya, and the second, who was one of the Idaean Dactyls of Crete and a wizard with some knowledge of generalship, was the founder of the Olympic Games; but the third and last, who was born of Alcmene and Zeus a short time before the Trojan War, visited a large part of the inhabited world while he was serving Eurystheus and carrying out his commands. And after he had successfully completed all the Labours
Εὐρώτης, διὰ δὲ τὴν ὁμοιωμαίαν καὶ τὴν τῆς προαιρεσεως ὁμοιότητα χρόνων ἐπιγενομένων τελευτασαντα κληρονομῆσαι τὰς τῶν ἀρχαιοτέρων πράξεις, ὡς ἑνὸς Ἡρακλέους γεγονότος ἐν παντὶ τῷ πρότερον αἰῶνι.

6 Ἡπέρ δὲ τού πλείους Διονύσους γεγονέναι σὺν ἄλλας ἀποδείξει πειρώνται φέρειν τὴν ἐκ τῆς Τιτανομαχίας· συμφωνομένου γὰρ παρὰ πᾶσιν ὅτι Διόνυσος τῷ Διὶ συνηγωνίσατο τὸν πρὸς τοὺς Τιτάνας πόλεμον, οὐδαμῶς πρέπειν φασὶ τὴν τῶν Τιτάνων γενεὰν πιθέναι κατὰ τοὺς τῆς Σεμέλης χρόνους οὐδὲ Κάδμου τὸν Ἀγήνωρος ἀποφαίνεσθαι πρεσβύτερον εἶναι τῶν Ὀλυμπίων θεῶν.

Οἱ μὲν οὖν Λῖβνες περὶ Διονύσου τοιαῦτα μυθολογοῦσιν· ἡμεῖς δὲ τὴν ἐν ἀρχῇ πρόθεσιν τετελεκότες αὐτοῦ περιγράψομεν ἕν τὴν τρίτην βιβλίον.

1 So Wesseling: παραγράφομεν.
he also set up the pillar which is in Europe, but because he bore the same name as the other two and pursued the same plan of life as did they, in the course of time and upon his death he inherited the exploits of the more ancient persons of the name, as if there had been in all the previous ages but one Heracles.

To support the view that there were several of the name Dionysus the effort is made to cite, along with the other proofs, the battle waged against the Titans. For since all men agree that Dionysus fought on the side of Zeus in his war against the Titans, it will not do at all, they argue, to date the generation of the Titans in the time when Semele lived or to declare that Cadmus, the son of Agenor, was older than the gods of Olympus.

Such, then, is the myth which the Libyans recount concerning Dionysus; but for our part, now that we have brought to an end the plan which we announced at the beginning, we shall close the Third Book at this point.

1 Cp. chap. 1. 3.
Τάδε ἐνεστὶν ἐν τῇ τετάρτῃ τῶν Διοδώρου βίβλων

Προοίμιον περὶ τῶν μυθολογουμένων παρὰ τοῖς ἱστοριογράφοις.
Περὶ Διονύσου καὶ Πριάπου καὶ Ἑρμαφροδίτου καὶ Μουσῶν.
Περὶ Ἥρακλους καὶ τῶν δώδεκα ἄθλων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν πραξιθέντων ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ μέχρι τῆς ἀποθεώσεως.
Περὶ τῶν Ἀργοναυτῶν καὶ Μηδείας καὶ τῶν Πελίων ἑυγατέρων.
Περὶ τῶν ἀπογόνων τοῦ Ἡρακλέους.
Περὶ ᾿Οησέως καὶ τῶν ἄθλων αὐτοῦ.
Περὶ τῶν ἐπτὰ ἐπὶ ᾿Οήβας.
Περὶ τῶν ἐπιγόνων τῶν ἐπτὰ ἐπὶ ᾿Οήβας.
Περὶ Νηλέως καὶ τῶν ἀπογόνων αὐτοῦ.
Περὶ Λαπιθῶν καὶ Κενταῦρων.
Περὶ ᾿Ασκληπιοῦ καὶ τῶν ἀπογόνων αὐτοῦ.
Περὶ τῶν ᾿Ασωποῦ ἑυγατέρων καὶ τῶν Δίακω γενομένων νῦν.
Περὶ Πέλοπος καὶ Ταντάλου καὶ Οἰνομάου καὶ Νιώβης.
Περὶ Δαρδάνου καὶ τῶν ἀπογόνων αὐτοῦ μέχρι Πριάμου.
Περὶ Δαιδάλου καὶ Μινωταῦρου καὶ τῆς Μίνω στρατείας ἐπὶ Κώκαλον τὸν βασιλέα.
Περὶ Αρισταίου καὶ Δάφνιδος καὶ ᾿Ερυκος, ἕτερον ὀρείῳ.

1 i.e. immediate descendants.
CONTENTS OF THE FOURTH BOOK OF
DIODORUS

Introduction on the myths recounted by the historians (chap. 1).
On Dionysus, Priapus, Hermaphroditus, and the Muses (chaps. 2–7).
On Heracles and the twelve Labours, and the other deeds of his up to the time of his deification (chaps. 8–39).
On the Argonauts and Medea and the daughters of Pelias (chaps. 40–56).
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On Daedalus, the Minotaur, and the campaign of Minos against the king Cocalus (chaps. 76–80).
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ΒΙΒΛΟΣ ΤΕΤΑΡΤΗ

1. Όψιν ἄγνω μὲν ὅτι τοῖς τὰς παλαιὰς μυθολογίας συνταττομένοις συμβαίνει κατὰ τὴν γραφὴν ἐν πολλοῖς ἐλαττούσθαι. ἢ μὲν γὰρ τῶν ἀναγραφο-μένων ἀρχαιότης δυσεύρετος οὖσα πολλὴν ἀπορίαν παρέχεται τοῖς γράφουσιν, ἡ δὲ τῶν χρόνων ἀπαγγελία τὸν ἀκριβέστατον ἔλεγχον οὐ προσδεχομένη καταφρονεῖν ποιεῖ τὴς ἱστορίας τοὺς ἀναγνώσκον- τας· πρὸς δὲ τούτοις ἡ πουκιλία καὶ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν γενεαλογομενῶν ἡμῶν τε καὶ ἡμιθέων καὶ τῶν ἀλλών ἀνδρῶν δυσέφικτον ἔχει τὴν ἀπαγγελίαν· τὸ δὲ μέγιστον καὶ πάντων ἀτοπώτατον, ὁτι συμβαίνει τοὺς ἀναγεγραφότας τὰς ἀρχαιοτάτας πράξεις τε καὶ μυθολογίας ἀσυμφώνουσι εἶναι πρὸς

2 ἀλλήλους. διὸπερ τῶν μεταγενεστέρων ἱστοριο-γράφων οἱ πρωτεύοντες τῇ δόξῃ τῆς μὲν ἀρχαιας μυθολογίας ἀπέστησαν διὰ τὴν δυσχέρειαν, τὰς δὲ νεωτέρας πράξεις ἀναγράφειν ἐπεχείρησαν.

3 Ἐφορος μὲν γὰρ ὁ Κυμαῖος, Ἰσοκράτους ὃν μάθητής, ὑποστηρίσαρος γράφειν τὰς κοινὰς πράξεις, τὰς μὲν παλαιὰς μυθολογίας ὑπερέβη, τὰ δ' ἀπὸ τῆς Ἡρακλείδῶν καθόδου πραχθέντα συνταξάμενος ταύτῃ ἀρχὴν ἐποιήσατο τῆς ἱστο-
BOOK IV

1. I am not unaware of the fact that those who compile the narratives of ancient mythology labour under many disadvantages in their composition. For, in the first place, the antiquity of the events they have to record, since it makes record difficult, is a cause of much perplexity to those who would compose an account of them; and again, inasmuch as any pronouncement they may make of the dates of events does not admit of the strictest kind of proof or disproof, a feeling of contempt for the narration is aroused in the mind of those who read it; furthermore, the variety and the multitude of the heroes, demi-gods, and men in general whose genealogies must be set down make their recital a difficult thing to achieve; but the greatest and most disconcerting obstacle of all consists in the fact that those who have recorded the deeds and myths of the earliest times are in disagreement among themselves. For these reasons the writers of greatest reputation among the later historians have stood aloof from the narration of the ancient mythology because of its difficulty, and have undertaken to record only the more recent events. Ephorus of Cynê, for instance, a pupil of Isocrates, when he undertook to write his universal history, passed over the tales of the old mythology and commenced his history with a narration of the events which took place after the Return of the Heracleidae. Like-
DIODORUS OF SICILY

ρίας. ὁμοίως δὲ τούτῳ Καλλισθένης καὶ Θεό-πομπος, κατὰ τὴν αὐτὴν ἥλικίαν γεγονότες, ἀπέστησαν τῶν παλαιῶν μύθων. ἡμεῖς δὲ τὴν ἐναντίαν τούτους κρίσιν ἔχοντες, καὶ τὸν ἐκ τῆς ἀναγραφῆς πόνον ὑποστάντες, τὴν πᾶσαν ἐπιμέ-λειαν ἐποιησάμεθα τῆς ἀρχαιολογίας. μέγισται γὰρ καὶ πλείσται συνετελέσθησαν πράξεις ὑπὸ τῶν ἡρώων τε καὶ ἡμιθέων καὶ πολλῶν ἄλλων ἀνδρῶν ἁγαθῶν. ὃν διὰ τὰς κοινὰς εὐεργεσίας οἱ μεταγενέστεροι τοὺς μὲν ἱσθεόοις, τοὺς δὲ ἡρωικάς θυσίας ἑτίμησαν, πάντας δὲ τῆς ἱστορίας λόγος τοῖς καθήκονσι ἐπαίνοις εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα καθυμῆσεν.

5 Ἔν μὲν οὖν ταῖς πρὸ ταύτης βιβλίοις τρισὶν ἀνεγράψαμεν τὰς παρὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἔθνεσι μυθολο-γουμένας πράξεις καὶ τὰ περὶ θεῶν παρ’ αὐτοῖς ἱστορούμενα, πρὸς δὲ τούτους τὰς τοποθεσίας τῆς παρ’ ἐκάστοις χώρας καὶ τὰ φυόμενα παρ’ αὐτοῖς θηρία καὶ τάλλα ζῷα καὶ καθόλου πάντα τὰ μνήμης ἁξία καὶ παραδοξολογούμενα διεξόντες, ἐν ταύτῃ δὲ τὰ παρὰ τοῖς "Ελλησίων ἱστορούμενα κατὰ τοὺς ἀρχαῖους χρόνους περὶ τῶν ἐπιφανε-στάτων ἡρώων τε καὶ ἡμιθέων καὶ καθόλου τῶν κατὰ πόλεμον ἀξιόλογον τι κατεργασμένων, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τῶν ἐν εἰρήνῃ τι χρήσιμον πρὸς τὸν κοινὸν

6 βίον εὐφρόντων ἡ νομοθετησάντων. ποιησόμεθα δὲ τὴν ἄρχην ἀπὸ Διονύσου διὰ τὸ καὶ παλαιὸν εἶναι σφόδρα τούτου καὶ μεγίστας εὐεργεσίας κατατεθείσθαι τῷ γένει τῶν ἀνθρώπων.

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wise Callisthenes and Theopompus, who were contemporaries of Ephorus, held aloof from the old myths. We, however, holding the opposite opinion to theirs, have shouldered the labour which such a record involves and have expended all the care within our power upon the ancient legends. For very great and most numerous deeds have been performed by the heroes and demi-gods and by many good men likewise, who, because of the benefits they conferred which have been shared by all men, have been honoured by succeeding generations with sacrifices which in some cases are like those offered to the gods, in other cases like such as are paid to heroes, and of one and all the appropriate praises have been sung by the voice of history for all time.

Now in the three preceding Books we have recorded the deeds of mythological times which are found among other nations and what their histories relate about the gods, also the topography of the land in every case and the wild beasts and other animals which are found among them, and, speaking generally, we have described everything which was worthy of mention and was marvellous to relate; and in the present Book we shall set forth what the Greeks in their histories of the ancient periods tell about their most renowned heroes and demi-gods and, in general, about all who have performed any notable exploit in war, and likewise about such also as in time of peace have made some useful discovery or enacted some good law contributing to man's social life. And we shall begin with Dionysus because he not only belongs to a very ancient time but also conferred very great benefactions upon the race of men.
Diodorus of Sicily

Εὖρηται μὲν οὖν ἦμῖν ἐν ταῖς προειρημέναις βιβλίοις ὅτι τινὲς τῶν βαρβάρων ἀντιποιοῦνται τῆς γενέσεως τοῦ θεοῦ τούτου. Ἀγύπτιοι μὲν γὰρ τὸν παρ’ αὐτοῖς θεὸν "Οσιριν ὄνομαζόμενον

φασιν εἶναι τὸν παρ’ Ἑλλησὶ Διόνυσον καλοῦμενον.

τοῦτον δὲ μυθολογοῦσιν ἔπελθεῖν ἀπασαν τὴν ὁικουμένην, εὐρετὴν γενόμενον τοῦ οἴνου, καὶ τὴν φυτείαν διδάξαι τῆς ἄμπελου τοὺς ἀνθρώπους,

καὶ διὰ ταύτην τὴν εὐρεχείαν τυχεῖν συμφωνούμενης ἀθανασίας. ὃμοιώς δὲ τοὺς 'Ἰνδοὺς τὸν θεὸν τοῦτον παρ’ ἑαυτοῖς ἀποφαίνεσθαι γεγονέναι,

καὶ τὰ περὶ τῆς φυτείας τῆς ἄμπελου φιλοτεχνήσαντα μεταδοῦναι τῆς τοῦ οἴνου χρήσεως τοῖς κατὰ τὴν ὁικουμένην ἀνθρώπους. ἦμεῖς δὲ τὰ

κατὰ μέρος περὶ τούτων εἴρηκότες ὑνὶ τὰ παρὰ τοῖς Ἑλλησὶ λεγόμενα περὶ τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦτον διέξιμεν.

2. Κάδμων μὲν γὰρ φασὶ τὸν 'Αγήνωρος ἐκ Φοινίκης ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως ἀποσταλῆσαι πρὸς ξήτησιν τῆς Εὔρωπης, ἐντολὰς λαβόντα ἡ τὴν παρθένον ἀγαγείν ἡ μὴ ἀνακάμπτειν εἰς τὴν Φοινίκην.

ἐπελθόντα δὲ πολλὴν χώραν, καὶ μὴ δυνάμενον ἀνευρέιν, ἀπογενόμενον τὴν εἰς οἰκὸν ἀνακομιδὴν κατανείπαντα δ’ εἰς τὴν Βουωτίαν κατὰ τὸν παραδεδομένον χρήσμον κτίσας τὰς Θήβας. ἐν

ταῦθα δὲ κατοικήσαντα γῆμαι μὲν Ἄρμοιόν τῆς 'Αφροδίτης, γεννῆσαι δ’ εἰς αὐτὴς Σεμέλην καὶ Ἰνώ καὶ 'Αὐτοῦσῃ καὶ Ἁγανίν, ἔτι δὲ

Πολύδωρων. τῇ δὲ Σεμέλη διὰ τὸ κάλλος Δία μιγέντα καὶ μεθ’ ἧσουχίας ποιοῦμενον τὰς ὀμλίας

1 Vogel suggests ἀνάγειν.
We have stated in the previous Books that certain barbarian peoples claim for themselves the birthplace of this god. The Egyptians, for example, say that the god who among them bears the name Osiris is the one whom the Greeks call Dionysus. And this god, as their myths relate, visited all the inhabited world, was the discoverer of wine, taught mankind how to cultivate the vine, and because of this benefaction of his received the gift of immortality with the approval of all. But the Indians likewise declare that this god was born among them, and that after he had ingeniously discovered how to cultivate the vine he shared the benefit which wine imparts with human beings throughout the inhabited world. But for our part, since we have spoken of these matters in detail, we shall at this point recount what the Greeks have to say about this god.

2. The Greek account of Dionysus runs like this: Cadmus, the son of Agenor, was sent forth from Phoenicia by the king to seek out Europé, under orders either to bring him the maiden or never to come back to Phoenicia. After Cadmus had traversed a wide territory without being able to find her, he despaired of ever returning to his home; and when he had arrived in Boeotia, in obedience to the oracle which he had received he founded the city of Thebes. Here he made his home and marrying Harmonia, the daughter of Aphroditê, he begat by her Semelê, Ino, Autonoê, Agavê, and Polydorus. Semelê was loved by Zeus because of her beauty, but since he had his intercourse with her secretly and without speech she thought that the

Diodorus of Sicily

3 ὁδὼς καταφρονεῖν αὐτῆς· διόπερ ὡς αὐτῆς παρακληθῆναι τάς ἐπιπλοκὰς ὁμοίας ποιεῖσθαι ταῖς πρὸς τὴν Ἡραν συμπεριφορᾶς. τον μὲν οὖν Δία παραγενόμενον θεοπρεπῶς μετὰ βροντῶν καὶ ἀστραπῶν ἐπιφανῶς ποιεῖσθαι τὴν συνουσίαν· τήν δὲ Σεμέλην ἔγκυνον οὖσαν καὶ τὸ μέγεθος τῆς περιστάσεως οὐκ ἐνέγκασαν τὸ μὲν βρέφος ἑκτρῶσαι, ὑπὸ δὲ τοῦ πυρὸς αὐτῆν τελευτῆσαι. ἐπειτα τὸ παιδίον ἀναλαβόντα τὸν Δία παραδοῦναι τῷ Ἑρμῆ, καὶ προστάξαι τούτῳ μὲν ἀποκομίσαι πρὸς τὸ ἀντρον τὸ ἐν τῇ Νύσῃ, κείμενον μεταξὺ Φωικῆς καὶ Νείλου, ταῖς δὲ νύμφαις παραδοῦναι τρέφειν καὶ μετὰ πολλῆς σπουδῆς ἐπιμέλειαν

4 αὐτοῦ ποιεῖσθαι τὴν ἀρίστην. διὸ καὶ τραφέντα τὸν Διόνυσον ἐν τῇ Νύσῃ τυχεῖν τῆς προσηγορίας ταύτης ἀπὸ Δίος καὶ Νύσης. καὶ τὸν Ὀμηρὸν δὲ τούτους μαρτυρῆσαι ἐν τοῖς ξύμοις ἐν οἷς λέγει ἐστὶ δὲ τις Νύσῃ, ὕπατος ὄρος, ἀνθέον ὕλη, τηλοῦ Φωικῆς, σχεδὸν Αἴγυπτου προάων.

5 Τραφέντα δ' αὐτὸν ὑπὸ τῶν νυμφῶν ἐν τῇ Νύσῃ φασίν εὑρετὴν τε τοῦ οἴνου γενέσθαι καὶ τὴν φυτείαν διδάξαι τῆς ἀμπέλου τοὺς ἀνθρώπους. ἐπιοῦντα δὲ σχεδὸν ὅλην τὴν οἰκουμένην πολλήν χώραν ἐξημερώσαι, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τυχεῖν παρὰ πάσι μεγίστων τιμῶν. εὑρεῖν δ' αὐτὸν καὶ τὸ ἐκ τῆς κριθῆς κατασκευαζόμενον πόμα, τὸ προσαγορευόμενον μὲν ὑπ' ἐνίων ξόθος, οὐ πολὺ δὲ λειπόμενον τῆς περὶ τὸν οἴνον εὐωδίας. τοῦτο δὲ διδά-

god despised her; consequently she made the request of him that he come to her embraces in the same manner as in his approaches to Hera. Accordingly, Zeus visited her in a way befitting a god, accompanied by thundering and lightning, revealing himself to her as he embraced her; but Semelē, who was pregnant and unable to endure the majesty of the divine presence, brought forth the babe untimely and was herself slain by the fire. Thereupon Zeus, taking up the child, handed it over to the care of Hermes, and ordered him to take it to the cave in Nysa, which lay between Phoenicia and the Nile, where he should deliver it to the nymphs that they should rear it and with great solicitude bestow upon it the best of care. Consequently, since Dionysus was reared in Nysa, he received the name he bears from Zeus and Nysa. And Homer bears witness to this in his Hymns, when he says:

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

After he had received his rearing by the nymphs in Nysa, they say, he made the discovery of wine and taught mankind how to cultivate the vine. And as he visited the inhabited world almost in its entirety, he brought much land under cultivation and in return for this received most high honours at the hands of all men. He also discovered the drink made out of barley and called by some zythos, the bouquet of which is not much inferior to that of wine. The preparation of this drink he taught to

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2 *i.e.* Dio- (from Dios, the genitive form of the nominative Zeus) and -nysus (Nysa); cp. Book I. 15. 6.

3 *Homeric Hymn* 1. 8-9.
Diodorus of Sicily

ξαί τοὺς χώραν ἔχοντας μὴ δυναμένην ἐπιδέχεσθαι τὴν τῆς ἀμπέλου φυτείαν. περιάγεσθαι δὲ αὐτὸν καὶ στρατόπεδον οὗ μόνον ἄνδρῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ γυναικῶν, καὶ τοὺς ἄδικους καὶ ἁσθείς τῶν ἀνθρώπων κολάζειν. καὶ κατὰ μὲν τὴν Βουωτίαν ἀποδιδόντα τῇ πατρίδι χάριτας ἔλευθερώσας πάσας τὰς πόλεις, καὶ κτίσαι πόλιν ἐπώνυμον τῆς αὐτονομίας, ἢν ἹΕλευθέρας προσαγορεύσαι.

3. Στρατεύοντα δὲ εἰς τὴν Ἰνδικὴν τριετεῖς χρόνως τὴν ἔπανοδον εἰς τὴν Βουωτίαν ποιῆσασθαι, κομίζοντα μὲν λαφύρων ἀξιόλογον πλῆθος, καταγαγεῖν δὲ πρῶτον τῶν ἀπάντων θρήματον ἐπ' ἑλέφαντος Ἰνδικοῦ. καὶ τοὺς μὲν Βοιωτοὺς καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους Ἑλλήνας καὶ Ὁρᾶκας ἀπομνημονεύοντας τῆς κατὰ τὴν Ἰνδικὴν στρατείας καταδείξαι τὰς τριετήριδας θυσίας Διονύσου, καὶ τὸν θεὸν νομίζειν κατὰ τὸν χρόνον τοῦτον ποιεῖσθαι τὰς παρὰ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἐπιφανείας. διὸ καὶ παρὰ πολλαῖς τῶν Ἑλληνίδων πόλεων διὰ τριῶν ἔτων βακχεῖά τε γυναικῶν ἄθροισθαι, καὶ ταῖς παρθένοις νόμιμοι εἶναι θυρσοφορεῖν καὶ συνενθονιάζειν εὐαξοῦσας καὶ τιμῶσας τὸν θεόν τὰς δὲ γυναῖκας κατὰ συστήματα θυσίας τῷ θεῷ καὶ βακχεύειν καὶ καθόλου τὴν παρουσίαν ὕμνειν τοῦ Διονύσου, μιμομένας τὰς ἱστορομένεις τὸ παλαιὸν παρεδρεύειν τῷ θεῷ μανάδας.

1 i.e. “City of Freedom.”
2 i.e. after one year had intervened.
3 Literally, “every three years,” since the Greeks in reckoning from an event included the year in which it took place.
4 Scholars have wondered why Dionysus, who was originally
those peoples whose country was unsuited to the cultivation of the vine. He also led about with himself an army composed not only of men but of women as well, and punished such men as were unjust and impious. In Boeotia, out of gratitude to the land of his birth, he freed all the cities and founded a city whose name signified independence, which he called Eleutherae.¹

3. Then he made a campaign into India, whence he returned to Boeotia in the third year,² bringing with him a notable quantity of booty, and he was the first man ever to celebrate a triumph seated on an Indian elephant. And the Bocotians and other Greeks and the Thracians, in memory of the campaign in India, have established sacrifices every other year³ to Dionysus, and believe that at that time the god reveals himself to human beings. Consequently in many Greek cities every other year⁴ Bacchic bands of women gather, and it is lawful for the maidens to carry the thyrsus and to join in the frenzied revelry, crying out "Euai!" and honouring the god; while the matrons, forming in groups, offer sacrifices to the god and celebrate his mysteries and, in general, extol with hymns the presence of Dionysus, in this manner acting the part of the Maenads⁵ who, as history records, were of old the companions of the god. He also punished a vegetation god, should have had his special festival only every other year. L. R. Farnell (The Cults of the Greek States, 5.181) suggests that the Thracians, from whom the worship of Dionysus came to the Greeks, "may have shifted their corn-land every other year," and so stood in special need of the vegetation god for the new soil only after this interval.

⁵ Cp. Book 3. 65. 4.

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4 kolásai δ' αὐτὸν πολλοὺς μὲν καὶ ἄλλους κατὰ πᾶσαν τὴν οἰκουμένην τοὺς δοκοῦντας ἀσεβεῖν, ἐπιφανεστάτους δὲ Πενθέα καὶ Λυκοῦργον. τῆς δὲ κατὰ τὸν οἶνον εὐρέσεως καὶ δωρεάς κεχαρισμένης τοῖς ἀνθρώποις καθ' ὑπερβολὴν διὰ τε τὴν ἡδονὴν τὴν ἐκ τοῦ ποτοῦ καὶ διὰ τὸ τοῖς σώμασιν εὐτοιονωτέρους γίνεσθαι τοὺς τὸν οἶνον πίνοντας, φασίν ἐπὶ τῶν δείπνων, ὅταν ἀκρατος οἶνος ἐπιδιόρθωται, προσεπιλέγειν ἀγαθοῦ δαίμονος· ὅταν δὲ μετὰ τὸ δείπνον διδότω κεκραμένος ὑδατιν, Δίὸς σωτήρος ἐπιφωνεῖν. τὸν γὰρ οἶνον ἀκρατον μὲν πινόμενοι μανιῶδες διαθέσεις ἀποτελεῖν, τοῦ δ' ἀπὸ Δίὸς ὀμβρου μυγέντος τὴν μὲν τέρψιν καὶ τὴν ἡδονὴν μένειν, τὸ δὲ τῆς μανίας καὶ

5 παραλύσεως βλάπτον διορθοῦσθαι. καθάλον δὲ μυθολογοῦσι τῶν θεῶν μεγάστης ἀποδοχῆς τυγχάνειν παρ' ἀνθρώποις τοὺς ταῖς εὐεργεσίαις ὑπερβαλλόμενους κατὰ τὴν εὐρεσιν τῶν ἀγαθῶν Διόνυσον τε καὶ Δήμητραν, τὸν μὲν τοῦ προσηνεστάτου ποτοῦ γενόμενον εὑρετήν, τὴν δὲ τῆς ἔηρας τροφῆς τὴν κρατίστην παραδοῦσαν τῷ γένει τῶν ἀνθρώπων.

4. Μυθολογοῦσι δὲ τινες καὶ ἐτερον Διόνυσον γεγονέναι πολὺ τοῖς χρόνοις προτεροῦντα τοῦτον. φασὶ γὰρ ἐκ Δίος καὶ Φερσέφόνης Διόνυσον γενέσθαι τὸν ὑπὸ τινων Σαβάζιων ὀνομαζόμενον, οὗ τὴν τε γένεσιν καὶ τὰς θυσίας καὶ τιμᾶς νυκτε-

1 τῶν δείπνων F, Bekker, Dindorf, τὸ δείπνον D, Vogel.

1 The Attic custom, as given by the scholiasts on Aristophanes, Knights, 85: Peace, 300, was slightly different: The toast to the "Good Deity" was given in unmixed wine
here and there throughout all the inhabited world many men who were thought to be impious, the most renowned among the number being Pentheus and Lyeurgus. And since the discovery of wine and the gift of it to human beings were the source of such great satisfaction to them, both because of the pleasure which derives from the drinking of it and because of the greater vigour which comes to the bodies of those who partake of it, it is the custom, they say, when unmixed wine is served during a meal to greet it with the words, "To the Good Deity!" but when the cup is passed around after the meal diluted with water, to cry out, "To Zeus Saviour!" For the drinking of unmixed wine results in a state of madness, but when it is mixed with the rain from Zeus the delight and pleasure continue, but the ill effect of madness and stupor is avoided. And, in general, the myths relate that the gods who receive the greatest approval at the hands of human beings are those who excelled in their benefactions by reason of their discovery of good things, namely, Dionysus and Demeter, the former because he was the discoverer of the most pleasing drink, the latter because she gave to the race of men the most excellent of the dry foods.

4. Some writers of myths, however, relate that there was a second Dionysus who was much earlier in time than the one we have just mentioned. For according to them there was born of Zeus and Persephone a Dionysus who is called by some Sabazius and whose birth and sacrifices and honours are after the dinner was over and the table removed, that to "Zeus Saviour" just before the guests went home.

Wheat.
DIODORUS OF SICILY

ρινάς καὶ κρυφίους παρεισάγουσι διὰ τὴν αἰσχύνην τὴν ἐκ τῆς συνοισίας ἐπακολουθοῦσαν. λέγουσι δ’ αὐτὸν ἀγχυνοία διενεγκεῖν, καὶ πρῶτον ἐπι-χειρῆσαι βοῦς ζευγνύειν καὶ διὰ τούτων τῶν σπόρων τῶν καρπῶν ἐπιτελεῖν ἄφ’ οὗ δὴ καὶ κερατίαν αὐτὸν παρεισάγουσι.

Καὶ τὸν μὲν ἐκ Σεμέλης γενόμενον ἐν τοῖς νεωτέροις χρόνοις φασὶ τῷ σώματι γενέσθαι τρυ-φερὸν καὶ παντελῶς ἀπαλόν, εὐπρεπεῖα δὲ πολὺ τῶν ἄλλων διενεγκεῖν καὶ πρὸς τὰς ἀφροδισιακὰς ἡδονὰς εὐκατάφορον γεγονέναι, κατὰ δὲ τὰς στρατείας γυνακῶν πλῆθος περιάγεσθαι καθωπλισ-μένων λόγχαις τεθυρσωμέναις. φασὶ δὲ καὶ τὰς Μουύσας αὐτῶν συναποδημεῖν, παρθένους οὖσας καὶ πεπαιδευμένας διαφερόντως. ταύτας δὲ διὰ τῆς μελωδίας καὶ τῶν ὀρχήσεων, ἐτὶ δὲ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν ἐν παιδείᾳ καλῶν ψυχαγωγεῖν τὸν θεόν. φασὶ δὲ καὶ παιδαγωγὸν καὶ τροφέα συνέπεσθαι κατὰ τὰς στρατείας αὐτῶ Σειληνόν, εἰσηγητὴν καὶ διδάσκαλον γυνόμενον τῶν καλλι-στῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων, καὶ μεγάλα συμβάλλεσθαι τῷ Διονύσῳ πρὸς ἀρετήν τε καὶ δόξαν. καὶ κατὰ μὲν τὰς ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις μάχας ὀπλοὺς αὐτὸν πολεμικοῖς κεκοσμήσθαι καὶ δοραῖς παρδάλεως, κατὰ δὲ τὰς ἐν εἰρήνῃ πανηγύρεις καὶ ἑορτὰς ἐσθήσων ἀνθεωναῖς καὶ κατὰ τὴν μαλακότητα τρυ-φεραῖς χρήσθαι. πρὸς δὲ τὰς ἐκ τοῦ πλεονά-ζουτος οὖν κεφαλαλγίας τοῖς πίνουσι γυνο-μένας διαδεδέσθαι λέγουσιν αὐτὸν μίτρα. ¹ τὴν

¹ μίτρα Wesseling, following Eusebius: μίτρῃ.
celebrated at night and in secret, because of the disgrace resulting from the intercourse of the sexes. They state also that he excelled in sagacity and was the first to attempt the yoking of oxen and by their aid to effect the sowing of the seed, this being the reason why they also represent him as wearing a horn.

But the Dionysus who was born of Semelè in more recent times, they say, was a man who was effeminate in body and altogether delicate; in beauty, however, he far excelled all other men and was addicted to indulgence in the delights of love, and on his campaigns he led about with himself a multitude of women who were armed with lances which were shaped like thyrsi. They say also that when he went abroad he was accompanied by the Muses, who were maidens that had received an unusually excellent education, and that by their songs and dancing and other talents in which they had been instructed these maidens delighted the heart of the god. They also add that he was accompanied on his campaigns by a personal attendant and caretaker, Seilenus, who was his adviser and instructor in the most excellent pursuits and contributed greatly to the high achievements and fame of Dionysus. And in the battles which took place during his wars he arrayed himself in arms suitable for war and in the skins of panthers, but in assemblages and at festive gatherings in time of peace he wore garments which were bright-coloured and luxurious in their effeminacy. Furthermore, in order to ward off the headaches which every man gets from drinking too much wine he bound about his head, they report,

1 Cp. p. 296, n. 1.
κεφαλήν, ἄφ᾽ ὦς αἰτίας καὶ μυτηρηφόρον ὄνομα-ζεσθαι. ἀπὸ δὲ ταῦτης τῆς μίτρας ύστερον παρὰ τοῖς βασιλεῦσι καταδειχθήμα τὸ διάδημα φασὶ.

5 διμήτορα δ᾽ αὐτῶν προσαγορεύθηναι λέγουσι διὰ τὸ πατρὸς μὲν ἔνως ὑπάρξει τοὺς δύο Διονύσους, μητέρων δὲ δυσῶν. κεκληρονομηκέναι δὲ τὸν νεώτερον καὶ τὰς τοῦ προγενεστέρου πράξεις· διότερ τοὺς μεταγενεστέρους ἀνθρώπους, ἀγνο-ούντας μὲν τάληθές, πλανηθέντας δὲ διὰ τὴν ὁμωνυμίαν, ἕνα γεγονέναι νομίσαι Διόνυσον.

6 Τὸν δὲ νάρθηκα προσάπτουσιν αὐτῷ διὰ τινὰς τοιαύτας αἰτίας. κατὰ τὴν ἐξ ἁρχῆς εὐρέσιν τοῦ οἴνου μῆπω τῆς τοῦ ὕδατος κράσεως εὐρημένης ἀκρατον πίνειν τὸν οἴνον· κατὰ δὲ τὰς τῶν φίλων συναναστροφὰς καὶ εὐωχίας τοὺς συνεορ-τάζοντας δαψιλῆ τὸν ἀκρατον ἐμφορησαμένους μανιώδεις γίνεσθαι, καὶ ταῖς βακτηρίαις ἔξυλναις

7 χρωμένους ταῦτας ἀλλήλους τύπτειν. διὸ καὶ τινῶν μὲν τραυματιζομένων, τινῶν δὲ καὶ τελευτῶν-τῶν ἐκ τῶν καυρίων τραυμάτων, προσκόψαντα τὸν Διόνυσον ταῖς τοιαύταις περιστάσεις τὸ μὲν ἀποστῆσαι τοῦ πίνειν δαψιλῆ τὸν ἀκρατον ἀποδο-κιμάσαι διὰ τὴν ἰδιονὴν τοῦ ποτοῦ, καταδείξαι δὲ νάρθηκε χρησθαι καὶ μὴ ἔξυλναις βακτηρίαις.

5. Ἐπωνυμίας δ᾽ αὐτῷ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους πολλὰς προσάψαι, τὰς ἀφορμὰς ἀπὸ τῶν περὶ αὐτὸν ἐπιτηδευμάτων λαβόντας. Βακχεῖον μὲν γὰρ ἀπὸ

1 "Wearer of a mitra."
BOOK IV. 4. 4-5. 1

a band (*mitra*), which was the reason for his receiving the name Mitrephorus\(^1\); and it was this head-band, they say, that in later times led to the introduction of the diadem for kings. He was also called Dimetor,\(^2\) they relate, because the two Dionysi were born of one father, but of two mothers. The younger one also inherited the deeds of the older, and so the men of later times, being unaware of the truth and being deceived because of the identity of their names, thought there had been but one Dionysus.

The *narthex*\(^3\) is also associated with Dionysus for the following reason. When wine was first discovered, the mixing of water with it had not as yet been devised and the wine was drunk unmixed; but when friends gathered together and enjoyed good cheer, the revellers, filling themselves to abundance with the unmixed wine, became like madmen and used their wooden staves to strike one another. Consequently, since some of them were wounded and some died of wounds inflicted in vital spots, Dionysus was offended at such happenings, and though he did not decide that they should refrain from drinking the unmixed wine in abundance, because the drink gave such pleasure, he ordered them hereafter to carry a *narthex* and not a wooden staff.

5. Many epithets, so we are informed, have been given him by men, who have found the occasions from which they arose in the practices and customs which have become associated with him. So, for instance, he has been called Baccheius from the

\(^{2}\) "Of two mothers"; but see Book 2. 62. 5 for a different explanation of the name.

\(^{3}\) *i.e.* the reed which formed the staff of the thyrsus.
DIODORUS OF SICILY

tων συνεπομένων βακχών ὀνομάσαι, Ληναιον δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ πατήσα τὰς σταφυλάς ἐν ληνῷ, Βρόμιον δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ κατὰ τὴν γένεσιν αὐτοῦ γενομένου βρόμου. ὅμοιως δὲ καὶ πυριγένη διὰ τὴν ὁμοιαν αἰτίαν ὕνομάσθαι. Ὁρίαμβον δ’ αὐτοῦ ὀνομασθηναίον φασιν ἀπὸ τοῦ πρώτου τῶν μημονευμένων καταγαγεῖν ἀπὸ τῆς στρατείας θρίαμβον εἰς τὴν πατρίδα, τὴν εἰς Ἰνδῶν πουσσάμενον ἐπάνοδον μετὰ πολλῶν λαφύρων. παραπλησίως δὲ καὶ τὰς λοιπὰς προσηγορίας ἐπιθετικὰς αὐτῷ γεγενήθαι, περὶ δὲ μακρὸν ἄν εὕη λέγειν καὶ τῆς ὑποκειμενῆς ἱστορίας ἀνοίκειον.

Δίμορφον δ’ αὐτοῦ δοκεῖν ὑπάρχειν διὰ τὸ δύο Διονύσους γεγονέναι, τὸν μὲν παλαιὸν καταπώγωνα διὰ τὸ τοὺς ἄρχαίους πάντας πωγωνοτροφεῖν, τὸν δὲ νεώτερον ὦραιον καὶ τρυφερὸν καὶ νέον, καθότι προείρηται. ἐνιοῦ δὲ λέγουσιν ὅτι τῶν μεθυόντων διπτάς διαθέσεις ἐχόντων, καὶ τῶν μὲν ἔλαρων, τῶν δὲ ὀργίλων γυνομένων, δίμορφον ὑνομάσθαι τὸν θεόν. καὶ Σατύρους δὲ φασιν αὐτὸν περιάγεσθαι, καὶ τούτους ἐν ταῖς ὀρχήσεσι καὶ ταῖς τραγῳδίαις τέρψει καὶ πολλὴν ἡδονὴν παρέχεσθαι τῷ θεῷ. καθόλου δὲ τὰς μὲν Μούσας τοῖς ἐκ τῆς παιδείας ἀγαθοῖς ὦφελούσας τε καὶ τερπούσας, τοὺς δὲ Σατύρους τοῖς πρὸς γέλωτα συνεργοῦσιν ἐπιτηδεύμασι χρωμένους, παρασκευάζειν τῷ Διονύσῳ τὸν εὐδαίμονα καὶ κεχαρισμένον βίον. καθόλου δὲ τούτου τῶν θυμελικῶν

1 Chap. 4. 2. But in Book 3. 63. 3 the long beard is explained as due to the fact that the first Dionysus was an Indian.

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Bacchic bands of women who accompanied him. Lenaeus from the custom of treading the clusters of grapes in a wine-tub (lenos), and Bromius from the thunder (bromos) which attended his birth; likewise for a similar reason he has been called Pyrigenes ("Born-of-Fire"). Thriambus is a name that has been given him, they say, because he was the first of those of whom we have a record to have celebrated a triumph (thriambos) upon entering his native land after his campaign, this having been done when he returned from India with great booty. It is on a similar basis that the other appellations or epithets have been given to him, but we feel that it would be a long task to tell of them and inappropriate to the history which we are writing.

He was thought to have two forms, men say, because there were two Dionysi, the ancient one having a long beard, because all men in early times wore long beards, the younger one being youthful and effeminate and young, as we have mentioned before.¹ Certain writers say, however, that it was because men who become drunk get into two states, being either joyous or sullen, that the god has been called "two-formed." Satyrs also, it is reported, were carried about by him in his company and afforded the god great delight and pleasure in connection with their dancings and their goat-songs.² And, in general, the Muses who bestowed benefits and delights through the advantages which their education gave them, and the Satyrs by the use of the devices which contribute to mirth, made the life of Dionysus happy and agreeable. There is general agreement also, they say, that he was the

¹ The Greek word usually translated "tragedies."
The thymele was the altar of Dionysus which stood in the centre of the orchestra of the theatre, and so the adjective "thymelic" came to signify the action of the chorus as opposed to that of the actors. "Thymelic" contests included non-dramatic performances, such as the singing of songs, dancing, jugglery, and the like.

From the fourth century B.C. onward for at least eight centuries these "Artists of Dionysus" were members of
inventor of thymelic \(^1\) contests, and that he introduced places where the spectators could witness the shows and organized musical concerts; furthermore, he freed from any forced contribution to the state those who had cultivated any sort of musical skill during his campaigns, and it is for these reasons that later generations have formed musical associations of the artists of Dionysus \(^2\) and have relieved of taxes the followers of this profession.

As for Dionysus and the myths which are related about him we shall rest content with what has been said, since we are aiming at due proportion in our account.

6. We shall at this point discuss Priapus and the myths related about him, realizing that an account of him is appropriate in connection with the history of Dionysus. Now the ancients record in their myths that Priapus was the son of Dionysus and Aphrodite and they present a plausible argument for this lineage; for men when under the influence of wine find the members of their bodies tense and inclined to the pleasures of love. But certain writers say that when the ancients wished to speak in their myths of the sexual organ of males they called it Priapus. Some, however, relate that the generative member, since it is the cause of the reproduction of human beings and of their continued existence through all powerful guilds which bore that title together with the name of the city in which their headquarters were situated. These guilds made contracts with cities in their territories for furnishing theatrical exhibitions of every description and their members in many cases enjoyed freedom from military service and similar privileges, as well as the exemption from taxation mentioned below.
DIODORUS OF SICILY

3 ἀθανάτου τιμῆς. οἶ δ' Αἰγύπτιοι περὶ τοῦ Πριά-που μυθολογοῦντές φασι τὸ παλαιὸν τοὺς Τιτάνας ἐπιβουλεύσαντας Ὄσιριδι τοῦτον μὲν ἄνελειν, τὸ δὲ σῶμα αὐτοῦ διελόντας εἰς ῥυγὰς μερίδας ἐαυτοῖς καὶ λαβόντας ἀπενεγκεῖν ἐκ τῆς οἰκείας λαθραίως, μόνον δὲ τὸ αἰδοῖον εἰς τὸν ποταμὸν ῥίψαι διὰ τὸ μηδένα βουλέσθαι τοῦτο ἄνελέσθαι. τὴν δὲ Ὀσιν τὸν φόνον τοῦ ἄνδρος ἀναξιοῦσαν, καὶ τοὺς μὲν Τιτάνας ἄνελοῦσαν, τὰ δὲ τοῦ σώματος μέρη περιπλάσασαν εἰς ἄνθρωπον τύπον, ταῦτα μὲν δοῦναι θάψαι τοὺς ἱερεύσας καὶ τιμᾶν προστάξαι ὡς θεον τὸν Ὅσιριν, τὸ δὲ αἰδοῖον μόνον οὐ δυναμένην ἂνευρεῖν καταδείξαι τιμᾶς ὡς θεον καὶ ἀναθέναι κατὰ τὸ ἱερὸν ἐντεταμένον. περὶ μὲν οὖν τῆς γενέσεως τοῦ Πριάπου καὶ τῆς τιμῆς τοιαῦτα μυθολογεῖται παρὰ τοῖς παλαιοῖς τῶν Αἰγυπτίων.

4 Τοῦτον δὲ τὸν θεὸν τινὲς μὲν Ἰθύφαλλον ὄνομάζουσι, τινὲς δὲ Τύχωνα. τὰς δὲ τιμὰς οὐ μόνον κατὰ πόλιν ἀπονέμουσαν αὐτῷ ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς, ἀλλὰ καὶ κατὰ τὰς ἀγροκις ὀπωροφόρα τῶν ἀμπελῶνων ἀποδεικνύσας καὶ τῶν κηπῶν, ἐτι δὲ πρὸς τοὺς βασικαίνοντάς τι τῶν καλῶν τοῦτον κολαστὴν παρεισάγοντες. ἐν τε ταῖς τελεταῖς οὐ μόνον ταῖς Διονυσιακαῖς, ἀλλὰ καὶ ταῖς άλλαις σχεδὸν ἀπάσαις οὗτος ὁ θεὸς τυχανει τινὸς τιμῆς, μετὰ γέλωτος καὶ παιδιᾶς παρεισαγόμενος ἐν ταῖς θυσίαις.

1 ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς deleted by Vogel.

1 Cp. Book I. 21–2, where the murderer of Osiris is Typhon not the Titans.

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time, became the object of immortal honour. But the Egyptians in their myths about Priapus say that in ancient times the Titans formed a conspiracy against Osiris and slew him, and then, taking his body and dividing it into equal parts among themselves, they slipped them secretly out of the house, but this organ alone they threw into the river, since no one of them was willing to take it with him. But Isis tracked down the murder of her husband, and after slaying the Titans and fashioning the several pieces of his body into the shape of a human figure, she gave them to the priests with orders that they pay Osiris the honours of a god, but since the only member she was unable to recover was the organ of sex she commanded them to pay to it the honours of a god and to set it up in their temples in an erect position. Now this is the myth about the birth of Priapus and the honour paid to him, as it is given by the ancient Egyptians.

This god is also called by some Ithyphallus, by others Tychon. Honours are accorded him not only in the city, in the temples, but also throughout the countryside, where men set up his statue to watch over their vineyards and gardens, and introduce him as one who punishes any who cast a spell over some fair thing which they possess. And in the sacred rites, not only of Dionysus but of practically all other gods as well, this god receives honour to some extent, being introduced in the sacrifices to the accompaniment of laughter and sport.

2 According to the account in Book 1. 21. 5 Isis used spices and wax to build each piece up to the size of a human body.

3 Diodorus is equating Priapus with the Egyptian god Min, a deity of fertility, whose statues were ithyphallic.
5 Παραπλησίως δὲ τῷ Πρώτῳ των μυθο-
λογοῦσι γεγενήθαι τὸν ὅνομαζόμενον Ἐρμαφρόδι-
tον, ὃν ἔξ Ἐρμοῦ καὶ Ἀφροδίτης γεννηθέντα τυχεῦν τῆς ἐξ ἀμφοτέρων τῶν γονέων συντε-
θείσης προσηγορίας. τούτον δ’ οἱ μὲν φασίν ἐκεῖν θεὸν καὶ κατὰ τινὰς χρόνους φαίνεσθαι παρ’ ἀνθρώπους, καὶ γεγενήθαι τὴν τοῦ σώματος φύσιν ἔχοντα μεμυγμένην ἐξ ἀνδρός καὶ γυναικὸς· καὶ τῇ μὲν εὐπρεπείαν καὶ μαλακότητα τοῦ σώματος ἔχειν γυναικὶ παρεμφερήν, τὸ δ’ ἀρρενω-
πὸν καὶ δραστικὸν ἀνδρὸς ἔχειν.· 1 ἐνιοί δὲ τὰ 
τοιαῦτα γένη ταῖς φύσεσι ἀποφαίνονται τέρατα ὑπάρχειν, καὶ γεγνώμενα σπανίως προσημαντικὰ γίνεσθαι ποτὲ μὲν κακῶν ποτὲ δ’ ἀγαθῶν. καὶ 
περὶ μὲν τῶν τοιούτων ἄλλων ἡμῶν ἔχετω.
7. Περὶ δὲ τῶν Μουσῶν, ἐπειδὴ περὶ ἐμνήσθημεν 
ἐν ταῖς τοῦ Διονύσου πράξεσι, οἰκείον ἄν εἰη 
διελθεῖν ἐν κεφαλαίοις. ταύτας γὰρ οἱ πλείστοι 
τῶν μυθογράφων καὶ μάλιστα δεδοκιμασμένοι 
φασὶ θυγατέρας εἶναι Διός καὶ Μηνημοσύνης· ὁλίγοι δὲ τῶν ποιητῶν, ἐν οἷς ἐστὶν καὶ Ἀλκμάν, 
θυγατέρας ἀποφαίνονται Ὀδρανοῦ καὶ Γῆς. ὡμοίως 
δὲ καὶ κατὰ τὸν ἄριθμὸν διαφωνοῦσιν· οἱ μὲν γὰρ 
tréis λέγουσιν, οἱ δ’ ἐννέα, καὶ κεκράτηκεν ὁ 
tῶν ἐννέα ἀριθμὸς ὑπὸ τῶν ἑπτάφανεστάτων ἀνδρῶν 
βεβαιοῦμενος, λέγοντι τὴν Ὀμήρου τε καὶ Ἡσιόδου 
καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν τοιούτων. Ὁμηρὸς μὲν γὰρ 
λέγει

Μοῦσαι δ’ ἐννέα πᾶσαι ἀμειβόμεναι ὑπὶ καλῆ·

1 τὰ δὲ φυσικὰ μόρια συγγεννᾶσθαι τούτῳ καὶ γυναικὸς καὶ ἀνδρὸς ("and he is born with the physical organs both of a woman and of a man") after ἔχειν BD.
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A birth like that of Priapus is ascribed by some writers of myths to Hermaphroditus, as he has been called, who was born of Hermes and Aphrodite and received a name which is a combination of those of both his parents. Some say that this Hermaphroditus is a god and appears at certain times among men, and that he is born with a physical body which is a combination of that of a man and that of a woman, in that he has a body which is beautiful and delicate like that of a woman, but has the masculine quality and vigour of a man. But there are some who declare that such creatures of two sexes are monstrosities, and coming rarely into the world as they do they have the quality of presaging the future, sometimes for evil and sometimes for good. But let this be enough for us on such matters.

7. As for the Muses, since we have referred to them in connection with the deeds of Dionysus, it may be appropriate to give the facts about them in summary. For the majority of the writers of myths and those who enjoy the greatest reputation say that they were daughters of Zeus and Mnemosyne; but a few poets, among whose number is Alcman, state that they were daughters of Uranus and Gê. Writers similarly disagree also concerning the number of the Muses; for some say that they are three, and others that they are nine, but the number nine has prevailed since it rests upon the authority of the most distinguished men, such as Homer and Hesiod and others like them. Homer, for instance, writes:

The Muses, nine in all, replying each To each with voices sweet;

1 Odyssey 24. 60.
ΔΙΟΔΟΡΟΣ ΟΥ ΣΙΚΙΛΙΑ

'Hσίδοδος δὲ καὶ τὰ ὅνοματα αὐτῶν ἀποφαίνεται λέγων

Κλειώ τ' Εὐτέρπη τε Θάλεια τε Μελπομένη τε
Τερψιχόρη τ' Ἐρατώ τε Πολύμνια τ' Οὐρανίη τε
Καλλιόπη θ', ἦ σφευν προφερεστάτη ἐστὶν ἀπασέων.

3 Τούτων δ' ἐκάστη προσάπτουσι τὰς οἰκείας
diathéseis τῶν περὶ μουσικῆν ἐπιτηδευμάτων,
οἶνον ποιητικὴν, μελῳδίαν, ὀρχήσεις καὶ χορείας,
ἀστρολογίαν τε καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων.
aprōθέουσι δ' αὐτάς οἱ πλείστοι 1 μυθολογοῦσι διὰ
tὸ τὰς κατὰ τὴν παιδείαν ἄρετάς ἀφθόρους δοκεῖν
eἶναι. Μούσσας δ' αὐτάς ὠνομάσθαι ἀπὸ τοῦ
μυείν τοὺς ἀνθρώπους, τοῦτο δ' ἐστὶν ἀπὸ τοῦ
didáskειν τὰ καλὰ καὶ συμφέροντα καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν
ἀπαιδεύτων ἀγνοούμενα. ἐκάστη δὲ προσηγορία
tῶν οἰκείον λόγον ἀπονέμοντες φασιν ὠνομάσθαι
tὴν μὲν Κλειῶ διὰ τὸ τὸν ἐκ τῆς ποιήσεως τῶν
ἐγκωμιαζομένων ἐπαινοῦν μέγα κλέος περιποιεῖν
tοῖς ἐπαινομένοις, Εὐτέρπην δ' ἀπὸ τοῦ τέρπει
τοὺς ἀκρωμένους τοῖς ἀπὸ τῆς παιδείας ἀγαθοῖς,
Θάλειαν δ' ἀπὸ τοῦ θάλλειν ἔπι πολλοὺς χρόνους
tοὺς διὰ τῶν ποιημάτων ἐγκωμιαζομένους, Μελ-
πομένην δ' ἀπὸ τῆς μελῳδίας, δι' ἦς τοὺς ἀκούοντας
ψυχαγωγεῖσθαι, Τερψιχόρην δ' ἀπὸ τοῦ τέρπει
τοὺς ἀκροατὰς τοῖς ἐκ παιδείας περιγυμνομένοις

1 γεγονέναι after πλείστοι omitted by D.
and Hesiod 1 even gives their names when he writes:

Cleo, Euterpe, and Thaleia, Melpomene,
Terpsichore and Erato, and Polymnia, Urania,
Calliope too, of them all the most comely.

To each of the Muses men assign her special aptitude for one of the branches of the liberal arts, such as poetry, song, pantomimic dancing, the round dance with music, the study of the stars, and the other liberal arts. They are also believed to be virgins, as most writers of myths say, because men consider that the high attainment which is reached through education is pure and uncontaminated. Men have given the Muses their name from the word muein, which signifies the teaching of those things which are noble and expedient and are not known by the uneducated. 2 For the name of each Muse, they say, men have found a reason appropriate to her: Cleio is so named because the praise which poets sing in their encomia bestows great glory (kleos) upon those who are praised; Euterpe, because she gives to those who hear her sing delight (terpein) in the blessings which education bestows; Thaleia, because men whose praises have been sung in poems flourish (thallein) through long periods of time; Melpomene, from the chanting (melodia) by which she charms the souls of her listeners; Terpsichore, because she delights (terpein) her disciples with the good things which come from education;

1 Theogony 77–9.
2 But muein means “to close” the eyes or mouth; Plato, Cratylius 406 A, derives the word from μύωραί, which he explains as meaning “searching and philosophy.” There is no agreement among modern scholars on the etymology of the word “Muse.”
The following account of Heracles is generally considered to have been drawn from a Praise of Heracles by Matris of Thebes, who is otherwise unknown and appears to have omitted nothing that would redown to the glory of the greatest Greek hero.

1 "The lovely one."

2
Erato, because she makes those who are instructed by her men who are desired and worthy to be loved; Polymnia, because by her great (polle) praises (humnosis) she brings distinction to writers whose works have won for them immortal fame; Urania, because men who have been instructed of her she raises aloft to heaven (ouranos), for it is a fact that imagination and the power of thought lift men's souls to heavenly heights; Calliopè, because of her beautiful (kale) voice (ops), that is, by reason of the exceeding beauty of her language she wins the approbation of her auditors.

But since we have spoken sufficiently on these matters we shall turn our discussion to the deeds of Heracles.2

8. I am not unaware that many difficulties beset those who undertake to give an account of the ancient myths, and especially is this true with respect to the myths about Heracles. For as regards the magnitude of the deeds which he accomplished it is generally agreed that Heracles has been handed down as one who surpassed all men of whom memory from the beginning of time has brought down an account; consequently it is a difficult attainment to report each one of his deeds in a worthy manner and to present a record which shall be on a level with labours so great, the magnitude of which won for him the prize of immortality. Furthermore, since in the eyes of many men the very early age and astonishing nature of the facts which are related make the myths incredible, a writer is under the necessity either of omitting the greatest deeds and so detracting somewhat from the fame of the god, or of recounting them all and in so doing making
πάντα διεξόντας τὴν ἱστορίαν ποιεῖν ἀπιστουμένην.

3 ἐνοὶ γὰρ τῶν ἀναγινωσκόντων οὐ δικαία χρώμενοι κρίσει τάκριβες ἐπίζητοσιν ἐν ταῖς ἀρχαῖαις μυθολογίαις ἐπ' ἱσης τοῖς πραττομένοις ἐν τοῖς καθ' ἡμᾶς χρόνοις, καὶ τὰ δισταξόμενα τῶν ἔργων διὰ τὸ μέγεθος ἐκ τοῦ καθ' αὐτοὺς βίου τεκμαιρόμενοι, τῆν Ἱρακλέους δύναμιν ἐκ τῆς ἀσθενείας τῶν νῦν ἀνθρώπων θεωροῦσιν, ὡστε διὰ τὴν ὑπερβολὴν τοῦ μεγέθους τῶν ἔργων ἀπιστεύσασθαι τὴν γραφήν. καθόλου μὲν γὰρ ἐν ταῖς μυθολογομέναις ἱστορίαις οὐκ ἐκ παντὸς τρόπου πικρῶς τὴν ἀλήθειαν ἐξεταστέον. καὶ γὰρ ἐν τοῖς θεάτροις, πεπεισμένοι μὴτε Κενταύρους διψεύς ἐξ ἐτερογενῶν σωμάτων ὑπάρξαι μὴτε Γηρυόνην τρισώματον, ὀμοίως προσδεχόμεθα τὰς τοιαύτας μυθολογίας, καὶ ταῖς ἐπισημασίαις συναύξομεν τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ τιμήν. καὶ γὰρ ἀτόπον Ἱρακλέα μὲν ἔτι κατ' ἀνθρώπους οὐτα τοῖς ἱδίοις πόνοις ἐξημερώσαι τὴν οἰκουμένην, τοὺς δ' ἀνθρώπους ἐπιλαθομένους τῆς κοινῆς εὐεργεσίας συκοφάντειν τὸν ἐπὶ τοῖς καλλίστοις ἔργοις ἐπαινοῦν, καὶ τοὺς μὲν προγόνους διὰ τὴν ὑπερβολὴν τῆς ἀρετῆς ὁμολογομενὴν αὐτῷ συγχωρῆσαι τὴν ἀθανασίαν, ἡμᾶς δὲ πρὸς τὸν θεὸν μηδὲ τὴν πατροπαράδοτον εὐσέβειαν διαφυλάττειν. ἀλλὰ γὰρ τῶν τοιούτων λόγων ἀφέμενοι διεξόμεν αὐτοῦ τὰς πράξεις ἀπ' ἀρχῆς ἀκολούθως τοῖς παλαιότατοι τῶν ποιητῶν τε καὶ μυθολόγων.

1 ἐπαινοῦν D, ὑπεροχὴν Vulgate.
the history of them incredible. For some readers set up an unfair standard and require in the accounts of the ancient myths the same exactness as in the events of our own time, and using their own life as a standard they pass judgment on those deeds the magnitude of which throw them open to doubt, and estimate the might of Heracles by the weakness of the men of our day, with the result that the exceeding magnitude of his deeds makes the account of them incredible. For, speaking generally, when the histories of myths are concerned, a man should by no means scrutinize the truth with so sharp an eye. In the theatres, for instance, though we are persuaded there have existed no Centaurs who are composed of two different kinds of bodies nor any Geryones with three bodies, we yet look with favour upon such products of the myths as these, and by our applause we enhance the honour of the god. And strange it would be indeed that Heracles, while yet among mortal men, should by his own labours have brought under cultivation the inhabited world, and that human beings should nevertheless forget the benefactions which he rendered them generally and slander the commendation he receives for the noblest deeds, and strange that our ancestors should have unanimously accorded immortality to him because of his exceedingly great attainments, and that we should nevertheless fail to cherish and maintain for the god the pious devotion which has been handed down to us from our fathers. However, we shall leave such considerations and relate his deeds from the beginning, basing our account on those of the most ancient poets and writers of myths.

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9. Τῆς Ἀκρισίου τούτων Δανάης καὶ Διός φασι γενέσθαι Περσέας τούτω δὲ μιγείσαν τὴν Κηφέως Ἀνδρομέδαν Ἡλεκτρύνωνα γεννήσαι, ἐπείτα τούτῳ τὴν Πέλοπος Εὐρυδίκην συνοικίσασαν Ἀλκμήνην τεκνώσαι, καὶ ταύτῃ Δία μιγέντα δι’ ἀπάτης Ἡρα-κλέα γεννήσαν. τὴν μὲν οὖν τοῦ γένους ῥίζαν ἀπ’ ἄμφοτέρων τῶν γονέων εἰς τὸν μέγιστον τῶν θεῶν ἀναφέρειν λέγεται τὸν εἰρημένον τρόπον. τὴν δὲ γεγενημένην περὶ αὐτοῦ ἀρετὴν οὐκ ἐν ταῖς πράξεσι θεωρηθῆναι μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸ τῆς γενέσεως γυνώσκεσθαι. τὸν γὰρ Δία μισογόμενον Ἀλκμήνη τριπλασίαν τὴν νῦκτα ποιήσας, καὶ τῷ πλήθει τοῦ πρὸς τὴν παιδοποίαν ἀναλωθέντος χρόνου προσημῆναι τὴν ὑπερβολὴν τῆς τοῦ γεννήθησιμένου ῥώμης. καθόλου δὲ τὴν ὁμολίαν ταύτην οὐκ ἐρωτικῆς ἐπιθυμίας ἐνεκα ποιήσασθαι, καθάπερ ἐπὶ τῶν ἄλλων γυναικῶν, ἀλλὰ τὸ πλέον τῆς παιδο-ποίας χάριν. διὸ καὶ βουλόμενον τὴν ἐπιπλοκήν νόμιμον ποιήσασθαι βιάσασθαι μὲν μὴ βουληθῆναι, πεισαί δ’ οὕδαμως ἐλπίζειν διὰ τὴν σωφροσύνην τῆς ἀπάτης οὖν προκύναντα διὰ ταύτης παρακρούσασθαι τὴν Ἀλκμήνην, Ἀμφιτρύώνι κατὰ πάν ὀμολογέντα.

4. Διελθόντος δὲ τοῦ κατὰ φύσιν χρόνου ταῖς ἐγκύους, τὸν μὲν Δία πρὸς τὴν Ἡρακλέους γένεσιν ἐνεχέθεντα τῇ διανοίᾳ προεπείν παρόντων ἀπάντων τῶν θεῶν ὅτι τὸν κατ’ ἐκείνην τὴν ἡμέραν Περσειδῶν γεννώμενον ποιήσει βασιλέα, τὴν δ’ Ἡραν ξηλο-τυποῦσαν καὶ συνεργὸν ἐχούσαν Εἰλείθυιαν τῇν

1 i.e. to Zeus.
This, then, is the story as it has been given us: Perseus was the son of Danaë, the daughter of Acrisius, and Zeus. Now Andromeda, the daughter of Cepheus, lay with him and bore Electryon, and then Eurydice, the daughter of Pelops, married him and gave birth to Alcmenê, who in turn was wooed by Zeus, who deceived her, and bore Heracles. Consequently the sources of his descent, in their entirety, lead back, as is claimed, through both his parents to the greatest of the gods, in the manner we have shown. The prowess which was found in him was not only to be seen in his deeds, but was also recognized even before his birth. For when Zeus lay with Alcmenê he made the night three times its normal length and by the magnitude of the time expended on the procreation he presaged the exceptional might of the child which would be begotten. And, in general, he did not effect this union from the desire of love, as he did in the case of other women, but rather only for the sake of procreation. Consequently, desiring to give legality to his embraces, he did not choose to offer violence to Alcmenê, and yet he could not hope to persuade her because of her chastity; and so, deciding to use deception, he deceived Alcmenê by assuming in every respect the shape of Amphitryon.

When the natural time of pregnancy had passed, Zeus, whose mind was fixed upon the birth of Heracles, announced in advance in the presence of all the gods that it was his intention to make the child who should be born that day king over the descendants of Perseus; whereupon Hera, who was filled with jealousy, using as her helper Eileithyia her daughter,

2 The goddess who assisted in travail.
DIODORUS OF SICILY

θυγατέρα, τῆς μὲν 'Αλκμήνης παρακατασχεῖν τὰς ὁδίνας, τὸν δ' Εὐρυσθέα πρὸ τοῦ καθήκοντος
5 χρόνου πρὸς τὸ φῶς ἀγαγεῖν. τὸν δὲ Δία καταστρατηγηθέντα βουλήθηναι τὴν τε ὑπόσχεσιν
βεβαιώσαι καὶ τῆς Ὁρακλέους ἐπιφανείας προνοηθήναι. διὸ φασιν αὐτὸν τὴν μὲν "Ἡραν πείσαι
ὑπόσχεσιν Εὐρυσθέα, τὸν δ' Ὁρακλέα τεταγμένον
υπὸ τὸν Εὐρυσθέα τελέσαι δώδεκα άθλους οὕς
ἀν ὃ Εὐρυσθεὺς προστάξῃ, καὶ τούτο πράξαντα
6 τυχεῖν τῆς ἀθανασίας. Ἀλκμήνη δὲ τεκοῦσα καὶ
φοβηθεῖσα τὴν τῆς "Ἡρας ξηλοτυπίαν, ἐξέθηκε τὸ
βρέφος εἰς τὸν τόπον ὅσ ὑνιν ἁπ' ἐκεῖνον καλεῖται
πεδίον Ὅρακλειον. καθ' ὁν δὴ χρόνον Ἀθηνᾶ
μετὰ τῆς "Ἡρας προσιούσα, καὶ θαυμάσασα τοῦ
παιδίου τὴν φύσιν, συνέπεσε τὴν "Ἡραν ὑποσχεῖν
τῆς θηλῆν. τοῦ δὲ παιδὸς ὑπὲρ τῆς ἡλικίας βιοικῷ-
tερον ἐπιστασαμένου τῆς θηλῆς, ἡ μὲν "Ἡρα
dιαλυγήσασα τὸ βρέφος ἔρριφεν. Ἀθηνᾶ δὲ κομίσασα
αὐτὸ πρὸς τὴν μητέρα τρέφειν παρεκκελεύσατο.
7 θαυμάσας δ' ἂν τις εἰκότως τὸ τῆς περιπτεῖας
παράδοξον, ἡ μὲν γὰρ στέργειν ὀφείλουσα μήτηρ
tὸ ἱδιον τέκνων ἀπόλλυνεν, ἡ δὲ μητρυῖας ἔχουσα
μίσος δ' ἄγνοιαν ἔσωξε τὸ τῇ φύσει πολέμιον.

10. Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἡ μὲν "Ἡρα δύο δράκοντας
ἀπέστειλε τοὺς ἀναλώσοντας τὸ βρέφος, ὁ δὲ
παῖς οὐ καταπλαγεῖς ἐκατέρα τῶν χειρῶν τὸν
ἀυχένα σφίγξας ἀπέπνιξε τοὺς δράκοντας. διόπερ

1 προσιόυσα ABD, προιούσα Π, παριούσα Bekker.

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checked the birth-pains of Alcmene and brought Eurystheus\(^1\) forth to the light before his full time. Zeus, however, though he had been outgeneralled, wished both to fulfill his promise and to take thought for the future fame of Heracles; consequently, they say, he persuaded Hera to agree that Eurystheus should be king as he had promised, but that Heracles should serve Eurystheus and perform twelve Labours, these to be whatever Eurystheus should prescribe, and that after he had done so he should receive the gift of immortality. After Alcmene had brought forth the babe, fearful of Hera’s jealousy she exposed it at a place which to this time is called after him the Field of Heracles. Now at this very time Athena, approaching the spot in the company of Hera and being amazed at the natural vigour of the child, persuaded Hera to offer it the breast. But when the boy tugged upon her breast with greater violence than would be expected at his age, Hera was unable to endure the pain and cast the babe from her, whereupon Athena took it to its mother and urged her to rear it. And anyone may well be surprised at the unexpected turn of the affair; for the mother whose duty it was to love her own offspring was trying to destroy it, while she who cherished towards it a stepmother’s hatred, in ignorance saved the life of one who was her natural enemy.

10. After this Hera sent two serpents to destroy the babe, but the boy, instead of being terrified, gripped the neck of a serpent in each hand and strangled them both. Consequently the inhabitants

\(^1\) Descendant of Perseus by another line and later king of Argos.
'Αργείων πυθόμενοι τὸ γεγονός Ἡρακλέα προσηγόρευσαν, ὅτι δὲ Ὁραν ἔσχε κλέος, Ἀλκαίον πρότερον καλούμενον. τοῖς μὲν οὖν ἄλλοις οἱ γονεῖς τούνῳ περιτθέασι, τούτῳ δὲ μόνῳ ἡ ἀρετή τὴν προσηγορίαν ἔθετο.

2 Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα δὲ μὲν Ἀμφιτρύων φυγαδευθεῖς ἐκ Τίρυνθος μετώπησεν εἰς Θηβαίς. οὐ δ’ Ἡρακλῆς τραφεῖς καὶ παιδευθεῖς καὶ μάλιστ’ ἐν τοῖς γυμνασίοις διαπονήθειες ἐγένετο βάρμη τε σώματος πολὺ προέχων τῶν ἄλλων ἀπάντων καὶ ψυχῆς λαμπρότητι περιβόητος, ὥσις χρὴ τὴν ἡλικίαν ἔφηβος ὁ ἄνωθεν μὲν ἠλευθέρωσε τὰς Θηβαίας, ἀποδιδόθη ὡς πατρίδι τὰς προσηκούσας χάρτας. ὑποτεταγμένων γὰρ τῶν Θηβαίων Ἑργύνῳ τῷ βασιλεῖ τῶν Μινώων, καὶ κατὰ ἐναυτὸν ὄρισμένους φόρους τελοῦσαν, οὐ καταπλαγεὶς τὴν τῶν δεδουλωμένων ὑπεροχήν ἐτόλμησε πραξιν ἐπιτελέσαι περιβόητον. τοὺς γὰρ παραγενομένους τῶν Μινώων ἐπὶ τὴν ἀπαίτησιν τῶν δασμῶν καὶ μὲθ’ ὑβρεῖς εἰσπραττόμενους ἀκρωτηρίας ἔξεβαλεν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως. Ἑργύνου δ’ ἐξαιτοῦντος τῶν αὐτίων, Κρέων βασιλεύων τῶν Θηβαίων, καταπλαγεῖς τὸ βάρος τῆς ἐξουσίας, ἐστοιμὸς ἢν ἐκδιδόναι τῶν αὐτίων τῶν ἐγκλημάτων. οὐ δ’ Ἡρακλῆς πείσας τοὺς ἡλικιώτας ἐλευθεροῦν τὴν πατρίδα, κατέσπασεν ἐκ τῶν ναῶν τὰς προση-

1 μὲθ’ ὑβρεῖς after τελοῦσα deleted by Bekker.

1 Cp. Book 1. 24. 4. But Heracles won his fame, not through Hera, but through his own achievements; and so many philologists derive the first part of his name, not from Hera, but from ἡρα ("service").
2 Literally, an "ephebus," in Athens at the age of eighteen.
of Argos, on learning of what had taken place, gave him the name Heracles because he had gained glory (kleos) by the aid of Hera,¹ although he had formerly been called Alcaeus. Other children are given their names by their parents, this one alone gained his name by his valour.

After this time Amphitryon was banished from Tiryns and changed his residence to Thebes; and Heracles, in his rearing and education and especially in the thorough instruction which he received in physical exercises, came to be the first by far in bodily strength among all the rest and famed for his nobility of spirit. Indeed, while he was still a youth ² in age he first of all restored the freedom of Thebes, returning in this way to the city, as though it were the place of his birth, the gratitude which he owed it. For though the Thebans had been made subject to Erginus, the king of the Minyans, and were paying him a fixed yearly tribute, Heracles was not dismayed at the superior power of these overlords but had the courage to accomplish a deed of fame. Indeed, when the agents of the Minyans appeared to require the tribute and were insolent in their exactions, Heracles mutilated ³ them and then expelled them from the city. Erginus then demanded that the guilty party be handed over to him, and Creon, the king of the Thebans, dismayed at the great power of Erginus, was prepared to deliver the man who was responsible for the crime complained of. Heracles, however, persuading the young men of his age to strike for the freedom of their fatherland, took out of the temples the suits of armour which had been affixed to their walls,

³ i.e. cut off their hands and their feet.
λωμένας πανοπλίας, ἄς οἱ πρόγονοι σκῦλα τοῖς θεοῖς ἦσαν ἀνατεθεικότες· οὐ γὰρ ἦν εὔρειν κατὰ τὴν πόλιν ἰδιωτικὸν ὁπλοῦν διὰ τὸ τοὺς Μινύας παρω- πλικέναι τὴν πόλιν, ἦν μηδεμίαν λαμβάνωσιν οἱ 5 κατὰ τὰς Θήβας ἀποστάσεως ἔννοιαν. ὁ δ' Ἡρα- κλῆς πυθόμενος Ἐργύνων τὸν βασιλέα τῶν Μινυῶν προσάγει τῇ πόλει μετὰ στρατιωτῶν, ἀπαντήσας αὐτῷ κατὰ τινα στενοχωρίαν, καὶ τὸ μέγεθος τῆς τῶν πολεμίων δυνάμεως ἀχρηστον ποιήσας, αὐτὸν τε τὸν Ἐργύνων ἀνείλε καὶ τοὺς μετ' αὐτοῦ σχεδὸν ἀπαντάς ἀπέκτεινεν. ἂνω δὲ προσπεσῶν τῇ πόλει τῶν Ὀρχομενῶν καὶ παρευσπεσῶν ἐντός τῶν πυλῶν τὰ τε βασίλεια τῶν Μινυῶν ἐνέπρησε καὶ τὴν πόλιν κατέσκαβε.

6 Περιβοτοῦ δὲ τῆς πράξεως γενομένης καθ' ὅλην τὴν Ἑλλάδα καὶ πάντων θαυμαζόντων τὸ παράδοξον, ὁ μὲν βασιλεὺς Κρεών θαυμάσας τὴν ἀρετὴν τοῦ νεανίσκου τὴν τε θυγατέρα Μεγάραν συνώκισεν αὐτῷ καὶ καθάπερ υἱῷ γνησίῳ τὰ κατὰ τὴν πόλιν ἐπέτρεψεν, Εὐρυσθεὺς δ' ὁ τὴν βασιλείαν ἔχων τῆς Ἀργείας ὑποπτεύσας τὴν Ἡρακλέους ἀὔξησιν μετεπέμπτο τε αὐτὸν καὶ προσέτατε 7 τελεί' ἄθλους. οὐχ ὑπακούοντος δὲ τοῦ Ἡρα- κλέους, Ζεὺς μὲν ἀπέστειλε διακελεύμονες ὑπουρ- γεῖν Εὐρυσθεῖ, Ἡρακλῆς δὲ παρελθὼν εἰς Δελφοὺς καὶ περὶ τούτων ἐπερωτήσας τὸν θεόν, ἐλάβεν χρησμὸν τὸν δηλοῦντα διότι τοῖς θεοῖς δέδοκται δώδεκα ἅθλοισ τελέσαι προστάττοντος Εὐρυσθέως, καὶ τούτο πράξαντα τευξεσθαι τῆς ἀθανασίας.

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dedicated to the gods by their forefathers as spoil from their wars; for there was not to be found in the city any arms in the hands of a private citizen, the Minyans having stripped the city of its arms in order that the inhabitants of Thebes might not entertain any thought of revolting from them. And when Heracles learned that Erginus, the king of the Minyans, was advancing with troops against the city he went out to meet him in a certain narrow place, whereby he rendered the multitude of the hostile force of no avail, killed Erginus himself, and slew practically all the men who had accompanied him. Then appearing unawares before the city of the Orchomenians and slipping in at their gates he both burned the palace of the Minyans and razed the city to the ground.

After this deed had been noised about throughout the whole of Greece and all men were filled with wonder at the unexpected happening, Creon the king, admiring the high achievement of the young man, united his daughter Megara in marriage to him and entrusted him with the affairs of the city as though he were his lawful son; but Eurystheus, who was ruler of Argolis, viewing with suspicion the growing power of Heracles, summoned him to his side and commanded him to perform Labours. And when Heracles ignored the summons Zeus despatched word to him to enter the service of Eurystheus; whereupon Heracles journeyed to Delphi, and on inquiring of the god regarding the matter he received a reply which stated that the gods had decided that he should perform twelve Labours at the command of Eurystheus and that upon their conclusion he should receive the gift of immortality.
11. Τούτων δὲ πραχθέντων ¹ ὁ μὲν Ἰρακλῆς ἐνέπεσεν εἰς ἀθυμίαν οὐ τὴν τυχούσαν· τὸ τε γὰρ τῷ ταπεινοτέρῳ δουλεύειν οὐδαμῶς ἄξιον ἔκρυνε τῆς ἱδίας ἀρετῆς, τὸ τε τῷ Διὶ καὶ πατρί μὴ πείθεσθαι καὶ ἀσύμφορον ἐφαίνετο καὶ ἄδυνατον. εἰς πολλὴν οὖν ἀμηχανίαν ἐμπίπτοντος αὐτοῦ, Ἰρα μὲν ἐπέμψεν ² αὐτῷ λύτταν· ὁ δὲ τῇ ψυχῇ δυσφορών εἰς μανίαν ἐνέπεσε. τοῦ πάθους δὲ αὐξομένου τῶν φρενῶν ἐκτὸς γενόμενος τὸν μὲν Ἰόλαον ἐπεβάλετο κτείνειν, ἐκείνου δὲ φυγόντος καὶ τῶν παίδων τῶν ἐκ Μεγάρας πλησίον διατριβῶντων, τούτους ὡς ² πολεμίους κατετόξευσε. μόνιμος δὲ τῆς μανίας ἀπολουθεῖς, καὶ ἐπιγνωσάς τὴν ἱδίαν ἀγνοιαν, περιαλγής ἦν ἐπὶ τῷ μεγέθει τῆς συμφορᾶς. πάντων δὲ αὐτῶν συλλυπουμένων καὶ συμπενθοῦντων, ἐπὶ πολὺν χρόνον κατὰ τὴν οἰκίαν ἤσύχαξεν, ἐκκλίνων τὰς τῶν ἀνθρώπων ὀμίλιας τε καὶ ἀπαντήσεις· τέλος δὲ τοῦ χρόνου τὸ πάθος πραῦναντος κρίνας ὑπομένειν τοὺς κινδύνους παρεγένετο πρὸς Εὐρυσθέα.

3 Καὶ πρῶτον μὲν ἐλαβε άθλον ἀποκτείναι τὸν ἐν Νεμέα λέοντα. οὕτως δὲ μεγέθει μὲν ὑπερφυῆς ἦν, ἀτρώτος δὲ ὡς σιδήρῳ καὶ χαλκῷ καὶ λίθῳ τῆς κατὰ χεῖρα βιαζομένης προσεδείτο ἀνάγκης. διέτριβε δὲ μάλιστα μεταξὺ Μυκηνῶν καὶ Νεμέας περὶ ὀρος τὸ καλούμενον ἀπὸ τοῦ συμβεβηκότος Τρῆτον· εἰς γὰρ περὶ τὴν ρίζαν διώρυχα διηνεκῆ, ⁴ καθ’ ἦν εἰσάχθη φωλεύειν τὸ θηρίον. ὁ δὲ Ἰρακλῆς

¹ προσταχθέντων Wesseling.
² ἐπέσεμψεν Reiske.

¹ "Perforated."
BOOK IV. 11. 1-4

11. At such a turn of affairs Heracles fell into despondency of no ordinary kind; for he felt that servitude to an inferior was a thing which his high achievements did not deserve, and yet he saw that it would be hurtful to himself and impossible not to obey Zeus, who was his father as well. While he was thus greatly at a loss, Hera sent upon him a frenzy, and in his vexation of soul he fell into a madness. As the affliction grew on him he lost his mind and tried to slay Iolaüs, and when Iolaüs made his escape but his own children by Megara were near by, he shot his bow and killed them under the impression that they were enemies of his. When he finally recovered from his madness and recognized the mistake he had made through a misapprehension, he was plunged in grief over the magnitude of the calamity. And while all extended him sympathy and joined in his grief, for a long while he stayed inactive at home, avoiding any association or meeting with men; at last, however, time assuaged his grief, and making up his mind to undergo the dangers he made his appearance at the court of Eurystheus.

The first Labour which he undertook was the slaying of the lion in Nemea. This was a beast of enormous size, which could not be wounded by iron or bronze or stone and required the compulsion of the human hand for his subduing. It passed the larger part of its time between Mycenae and Nemea, in the neighbourhood of a mountain which was called Tretus from a peculiarity which it possessed; for it had a cleft at its base which extended clean through it and in which the beast was accustomed to lurk. Heracles came to the region
καταντήσας ἐπὶ τὸν τόπον προσέβαλεν αὐτῷ, καὶ τοῦ θηρίου συμφυγόντος εἰς τὴν διώρυχας συνακολουθῶν αὐτῷ καὶ τὸ ἔτερον τῶν στομίων ἐμφράξας συνεπάγη, καὶ τὸν αὐχένα σφύγχας τοῖς βραχίοσιν ἀπέπνυξε. τὴν δὲ δορὰν αὐτοῦ περιθέμενος, καὶ διὰ τὸ μέγεθος ἄπαν τὸ ἱδίον σῶμα περιλαβὼν, εἶχε σκεπαστήριον τῶν μετὰ ταῦτα κυδώνων.

5 Δεύτερον δὲ ἔλαβεν ἄθλον ἀποκτείνας τὴν Λερναίαν ὑδραν, ἣς εἰς ἐνὸς σώματος ἐκατὸν αὐχένες ἔχοντες κεφαλάς ὀφεών διετεύπωντο.¹ τούτων δὲ εἰ μία διαφθαρεῖ, διπλασίας ὁ τμῆθες ἀνέις τόπος· δὲ ἣν αὐτὰν ἀἵττητος ὑπάρχειν διεὶληπτο, καὶ κατὰ λόγον· τὸ γὰρ χειρωθὲν αὐτῆς μέρος διπλάσιον ἀπεδίδον βοήθημα. πρὸς δὲ τὴν δυστραπέλειαν παύτην ἑπινόησας τι φιλοτέχνημα προσέταξεν Ἰολάως λαμπάδι καομένη τὸ ἀποτμηθέν μέρος ἐπικάεων, ἵνα τὴν ρύου ἑπίσχη τοῦ αἵματος. οὕτως οὖν χειρωσάμενος τὸ ζῷον εἰς τὴν χολὴν ἀπέβαπτε τὰς ἀκίδας, ἵνα τὸ βληθέν βέλος ἐχῇ τὴν ἐκ τῆς ἀκίδος πληγήν ἀνίατον.

6 12. Τρίτον δὲ πρόσταγμα ἔλαβεν ἐνεγκεῖν τὸν Ἐρυμάνθιον κάπρον ζώντα, ὃς διετρίβεν ἐν τῇ Λαμπείᾳ τῆς Ἀρκαδίας. ἐδόκει δὲ τὸ πρόσταγμα τοῦτο πολλὴν ἑχειν δυσχέρειαν· ἐδει γὰρ τὸν ἀγωνιζόμενον τοιούτῳ θηρίῳ τοσαύτην ἑχειν περιουσίαν ὡστε ἐπ᾽ αὐτῆς τῆς μάχης ἀκριβῶς στοχάσασθαι τοῦ καίρου. ἔτι μὲν γὰρ ἵσχύοντα ἁφεῖς αὐτὸν ἀπὸ

¹ So Dindorf: διετυπώντο.
² So Dindorf: διετρίβε μέν.

¹ Cp. Strabo 8. 3. 10.

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and attacked the lion, and when the beast retreated into the cleft, after closing up the other opening he followed in after it and grappled with it, and winding his arms about its neck choked it to death. The skin of the lion he put about himself, and since he could cover his whole body with it because of its great size, he had in it a protection against the perils which were to follow.

The second Labour which he undertook was the slaying of the Lernaean hydra, springing from whose single body were fashioned a hundred necks, each bearing the head of a serpent. And when one head was cut off, the place where it was severed put forth two others; for this reason it was considered to be invincible, and with good reason, since the part of it which was subdued sent forth a two-fold assistance in its place. Against a thing so difficult to manage as this Heracles devised an ingenious scheme and commanded Iolaüs to sear with a burning brand the part which had been severed, in order to check the flow of the blood. So when he had subdued the animal by this means he dipped the heads of his arrows in the venom, in order that when the missile should be shot the wound which the point made might be incurable.

12. The third Command which he received was the bringing back alive of the Erymanthian boar which lived on Mount Lampeia\(^1\) in Arcadia. This Command was thought to be exceedingly difficult, since it required of the man who fought such a beast that he possess such a superiority over it as to catch precisely the proper moment in the very heat of the encounter. For should he let it loose while it still retained its strength he would be in
τῶν θόντων ἄν ἐκινδύνευσε, πλέον ἔτη τοῦ δέοντος καταπολεμήσας ἀπέκτεινεν, ὡστε τὸν ἄθλον ὑπάρχειν ἄσυντέλεστον. οὕμως δὲ κατὰ τὴν μάχην ταμιευσάμενος ἀκριβῶς τῇ συμμετρίᾳ ἀπήνεγκε τὸν κάπρον ζώντα πρὸς Εὐρυσθέα: ὃν ἱδὼν ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐπὶ τῶν ὦμων φέροντα, καὶ φοβηθεὶς, ἔκρυψεν ἑαυτὸν εἰς χαλκοῦν πίθον.

3 Ἀμα δὲ τούτων πραττομένων Ἡρακλῆς κατηγοροῦσατο τοὺς ὀνομαζόμενους Κενταύρους διὰ τοιαύτας αἰτίας. Φόλος ἦν Κενταύρος, ἀφ’ οὗ συνέβη τὸ πλησίον ὄρος Φολόν ὀνομασθηκεν, οὗτος ξενίος δεχόμενος Ἡρακλέα τὸν κατακεχωσμένον οὐνο τίθον ἀνέωξε. τούτων γὰρ μυθολογοῦσι τὸ παλαιὸν Διόνυσον παρατεθεῖσθαι τῶν Κενταύρων, καὶ προστάξας τότε ἀνοίξας ὅταν Ἡρακλῆς παραγένηται, διόπερ ὧστερον τέταρτος γενεὰς ἐπιξενωθέντος αὐτοῦ μενοθήκε τὸν Φόλον τῆς

4 Διονύσου παραγγέλλας. ἀνοιχθέντος οὖν τοῦ πίθου, καὶ τῆς εὐωδίας διὰ τὴν παλαιότητα καὶ δύναμιν τοῦ οἴου προσπεσοῦσης τοῖς πλησίοις οἴκοις Κενταύρων, συνέβη διουστρήκθηκε τούτως. διὸ καὶ προσπεσόντες ἄθροοι τῇ οἰκήσει τοῦ Φόλου καὶ τῆς εὐωδίας διὰ τὴν παλαιότητα καὶ δύναμιν τοῦ οἴου προσπεσοῦσης τοῖς πλησίοις οἴκοις Κενταύρων, συνέβη διουστρήκθηκε τούτως. διὸ καὶ προσπεσόντες ἄθροοι τῇ οἰκήσει τοῦ Φόλου

5 καταπληκτικῶς ὄρμησαν πρὸς ἄρπαγὴν. ὁ μὲν οὖν Φόλος φοβηθεὶς ἔκρυψεν ἑαυτὸν, ὁ δὲ Ἡρακλῆς παραδόξως συνεπλάκη τοῖς βιαζόμενοις ἐδει γὰρ διαγωνίζεον πρὸς τοὺς ἀπὸ μὲν μητρὸς ὄντας θεοὺς, τὸ δὲ τάχος ἔχοντας ἱππῶν, ἡμιθάλκης δὲ δισωματισθεῖσα θῆρας, ἐμπειρίαν δὲ καὶ σύνε-

1 So Dindorf: πλείω.
danger from its tushes, and should he attack it more violently than was proper, then he would have killed it and so the Labour would remain unfulfilled. However, when it came to the struggle he kept so careful an eye on the proper balance that he brought back the boar alive to Eurystheus; and when the king saw him carrying the boar on his shoulders, he was terrified and hid himself in a bronze vessel.

About the time that Heracles was performing these Labours, there was a struggle between him and the Centaurs, as they are called, the reason being as follows. Pholus was a Centaur, from whom the neighbouring mountain came to be called Pholoe, and receiving Heracles with the courtesies due to a guest he opened for him a jar of wine which had been buried in the earth. This jar, the writers of myths relate, had of old been left with a certain Centaur by Dionysus, who had given him orders only to open it when Heracles should come to that place. And so, four generations after that time, when Heracles was being entertained as a guest, Pholus recalled the orders of Dionysus. Now when the jar had been opened and the sweet odour of the wine, because of its great age and strength, came to the Centaurs dwelling near there, it came to pass that they were driven mad; consequently they rushed in a body to the dwelling of Pholus and set about plundering him of the wine in a terrifying manner. At this Pholus hid himself in fear, but Heracles, to their surprise, grappled with those who were employing such violence. He had indeed to struggle with beings who were gods on their mother’s side, who possessed the swiftness of horses, who had the strength of two bodies, and enjoyed in addition
σὺν ἔχοντας ἀνδρῶν. τῶν δὲ Κενταύρων οἱ μὲν πεύκας αὐτορρίζουσ ἔχοντες ἐπήσαν, οἱ δὲ πέτρας μεγάλας, τυνὲς δὲ λαμπάδας ἦμμένας, ἔτεροι δὲ
6 Βουφόνους πελέκεις. ὦ δὲ ἀκαταπλήκτως ὑποστὰς ἄξιαν τῶν προκατεργασμένων συνεστήσατο máξην. συνηγωνίζετο δὲ αὐτοῖς ἡ μήτηρ Νεφέλη πολὺν ὀμβρον ἐκχέουσα, δι’ οὔ τοὺς μὲν τετρασκελεῖς οὐκ ἐβλάπτε, τῶ δὲ δυσὶν ἠρεισμένωι σκέλεσι τῆν βάσιν ὀλισθηράν κατεσκεύαζεν. ἀλλ’ ὀμος τοὺς τοιούτους προτερήμασι πλεονεκτοῦντας Ἡρακλῆς παραδόξως κατηγωνίσατο, καὶ τοὺς μὲν πλείστους ἀπετενε, τοὺς δ’ ὑπολειφθέντας φυγεῖν ἣνάγκασε. τῶν δ’ ἀναρεθέντων Κενταύρων ὑπήρχον ἐπιφανέστατοι Δάφνως καὶ Ἀργείως καὶ Ἀμφών, ἔτι δὲ Ἰπποτίων καὶ Ὄρειος καὶ Ἰσοπήθης καὶ Μελαγχαίτης, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις Θηρευῖς καὶ Δούτων καὶ Φρίξος. τῶν δὲ διαφυγόντων τὸν κίνδυνον ὑστερον ἐκαστὸς τιμωρίας ἡξιώθη. ὃμαδος μὲν γὰρ ἐν Ἀρκαδίᾳ τῆν Ἐυρυσθέως ἀδελφὴν Ἀλκυόνην βιαζόμενος ἀνηρέθη. ἐφ’ ὧν συνέβη θαυμασθήναι τὸν Ἡρακλέα διαφέρόντως; τὸν μὲν γὰρ ἐχθρὸν κατ’ ἱδιὰν ἐμίσησε, τὴν δὲ ὑβριζομένην ἑλεών ἐπιεικείᾳ διαφέρειν ὑπελάμβανεν.
7 Ὅδιον δὲ τι συνέβη καὶ περὶ τὸν Ἡρακλέους φίλον τὸν ὀνομαζόμενον Φόλον. οὐτος γὰρ διὰ τὴν συγγένειαν θάπτων τοὺς πεπτωκότας Κενταύρους, καὶ βέλος ἐκ τινος ἐξαίρων, ὕπο τῆς ἀκίδος ἐπλήγη, καὶ τὸ τραγμα ἔχων ἀνίατον ἐτελεύτησεν.

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1 The word means a "cloud."
2 i.e. Eurystheus.
the experience and wisdom of men. The Centaurs advanced upon him, some with pine trees which they had plucked up together with the roots, others with great rocks, some with burning firebrands, and still others with axes such as are used to slaughter oxen. But he withstand them without sign of fear and maintained a battle which was worthy of his former exploits. The Centaurs were aided in their struggle by their mother Nephele, who sent down a heavy rain, by which she gave no trouble to those which had four legs, but for him who was supported upon two made the footing slippery. Despite all this Heracles maintained an astonishing struggle with those who enjoyed such advantages as these, slew the larger part of them, and forced the survivors to flee. Of the Centaurs which were killed the most renowned were Daphnis, Argeius, Amphion, also Hippotion, Oreius, Isoples, Melanchaetes, and Thereus, Doupon, and Phrixus. As for those who escaped the peril by flight, every one of them later received a fitting punishment: Homadus, for instance, was killed in Arcadia when he was attempting to violate Alcyonē, the sister of Eurystheus. And for this feat it came to pass that Heracles was marvelled at exceedingly; for though he had private grounds for hating his enemy, yet because he pitied her who was being outraged, he determined to be superior to others in humanity.

A peculiar thing also happened in the case of him who was called Pholus, the friend of Heracles. While he was burying the fallen Centaurs, since they were his kindred, and was extracting an arrow from one of them, he was wounded by the barb, and since the wound could not be healed he came to his death.

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δεν Ἡρακλῆς μεγαλοπρεπῶς θάμασ υπὸ τὸ ὄρος ἐθηκεν, ὁ στήλης ἐνδοξοῦ γέγονε κρείττον. Φολόη γὰρ ὄνομαζόμενον διὰ τῆς ἐπωνυμίας μηνύει τὸν ταφέντα καὶ οὐ δὲ ἐπιγραφῆς. ὅμως δὲ καὶ Χείρωνα τὸν ἐπὶ τῇ ἱατρικῇ θαυμαζόμενον ἀκουσίως τόξου βολὴ διέφθειρε. καὶ περὶ μὲν τῶν Κενταύρων ἰκανῶς ἦμιν εἰρήσθω.

13. Ἔποτέ δὲ ταῦτ’ ἐλαβε πρόσταγμα τῆς χρυσόκε- 
ρων μὲν οὐδαν ἐλαφον, τάχει δὲ διαφέρουσαν, ἀγα- 
γεῖν. τοῦτον δὲ τὸν ἄθλον συντελῶν τὴν ἐπὶνοιαν 
ἐσχεν οὐκ ἀχρηστοτέραν τῆς κατὰ τὸ σῶμα ῥώμης. 
οἱ μὲν γὰρ φασίν αὐτὴν ἄρκυσαν ἐλείν, οἱ δὲ διὰ 
τῆς στιβείας χειρώσασθαι καθεύδουσαν, τινὲς δὲ 
συνεχεῖ διωγμῷ καταπονήσαν. πλὴν ἄνευ βίας καὶ 
κινδύνων διὰ τῆς κατὰ τὴν ψυχὴν ἀγχινοὶας τὸν 
ἄθλον τοῦτον κατειργάσατο.

2 'Ο δ’ Ἡρακλῆς πρόσταγμα λαβὼν τὰς ἐκ τῆς 
Στυμφαλίδος λήμνης ὁρνίθας ἐξελάσαι, τέχνη καὶ 
ἐπινοία ράξιως συνετέλεσε τὸν ἄθλον. ἐπεπόλασε 
γάρ, ὡς ἐοίκεν, ὀρνίθων πλῆθος ἀμύθητον, καὶ 
τοὺς ἐν τῇ πλησίον χώρᾳ καρποὺς ἐλυμαίνετο. βία 
μὲν οὐν ἀδύνατον ἦν χειρώσασθαι τὰ ζώα διὰ τὴν 
ὑπερβολὴν τοῦ πλῆθους, φιλοτέχνου δ’ ἐπινοίας 
ἡ πρᾶξις προσεδεῖτο. διόπερ κατασκευάσας χαλκῆν 
πλαταγῆν, καὶ διὰ ταύτης ἐξαίσιον κατασκευάζων 
ψόφον, ἐξεφοβεῖ τὰ ζῷα, καὶ πέρας τῇ συνεχείᾳ
Heracles gave him a magnificent funeral and buried him at the foot of the mountain, which serves better than a gravestone to preserve his glory; for Pholoë makes known the identity of the buried man by bearing his name and no inscription is needed. Likewise Heracles unwittingly by a shot from his bow killed the Centaur Cheiron, who was admired for his knowledge of healing. But as for the Centaurs let what we have said suffice.

13. The next Command which Heracles received was the bringing back of the hart which had golden horns and excelled in swiftness of foot. In the performance of this Labour his sagacity stood him in not less stead than his strength of body. For some say that he captured it by the use of nets, others that he tracked it down and mastered it while it was asleep, and some that he wore it out by running it down. One thing is certain, that he accomplished this Labour by his sagacity of mind, without the use of force and without running any perils.

Heracles then received a Command to drive the birds out of the Stymphalian Lake, and he easily accomplished the Labour by means of a device of art and by ingenuity. The lake abounded, it would appear, with a multitude of birds without telling, which destroyed the fruits of the country round-about. Now it was not possible to master the animals by force because of the exceptional multitude of them, and so the deed called for ingenuity in cleverly discovering some device. Consequently he fashioned a bronze rattle whereby he made a terrible noise and frightened the animals away, and furthermore, by maintaining a continual din, he
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τοῦ κρότου ράδιως ἐκπολιορκήσας καθαρὰν ἐποίησε τὴν λίμνην.

3 Τελέσας δὲ καὶ τοῦτον τὸν ἄθλον ἔλαβε παρ’ Εὐρυσθέως πρόσταγμα τὴν αὐλήν τὴν Αὐγέου καθάραι μηδενὸς βοηθοῦντος· αὕτη δ’ ἐκ πολλῶν χρόνων ἡθροισμένη κόπρον εἰχεν ἀπλατον, ἢν ὡβρεως ἐνεκεν Εὐρυσθέως προσέταξε καθάραι. ὁ δ’ Ἡρακλῆς τὸ μὲν τοῖς ὦμοις ἐξενεγκεῖν ταύτην ἀπεδοκίμασεν, ἐκκλίνων τὴν ἐκ τῆς ὡβρεως αἰσχύνην ἐπαγαγὼν δὲ τὸν Ἀλφείδον καλοῦμενον ποταμὸν ἐπὶ τὴν αὐλήν, καὶ διὰ τοῦ βεῦματος ἐκκαθάρας αὐτήν, χωρὶς ὡβρεως συνετέλεσε τὸν ἄθλον ἐν ἡμέρᾳ μιᾷ. διὸ καὶ θαυμάσαι τις ἀν τὴν ἐπίνοιαν τὸ γὰρ ὑπερήφανον τοῦ προστάγματος χωρὶς αἰσχύνης ἐπετέλεσεν, οὐδὲν ὑπομείνας ἀνάξιον τῆς ἀθανασίας.

4 Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα λαβὼν ἄθλον τὸν ἐκ Κρήτης ταῦρον ἀγαγεῖν, οὐ Πασιφάην ἐρασθήναι φασί, πλεύσασα εἰς τὴν νῆσον, καὶ Μίνω τὸν βασιλέα συνεργὸν λαβὼν, ἦγαγεν αὐτὸν εἰς Πελοπόννησον, τὸ τηλικοῦτον πέλαγος ἐπ’ αὐτῷ ναυστολθεῖς.

14. Τελέσας δὲ τοῦτον τὸν ἄθλον τὸν Ὀλυμπικὸν ἀγώνα συνεστήσατο, καλλιστὸν τῶν τόπων πρὸς τηλικαύτην πανήγυριν προκρίνας τὸ παρὰ τὸν Ἀλφείδον ποταμὸν πεδίον, ἐν ὧ τὸν ἁγώνα τοῦτον τῷ Διῷ τῷ πατρίῳ καθιέρωσε. στεφανιτὴν δ’ αὐτὸν

1 Usually known as the Minotaur, “bull of Minos”; cp. chap. 77.
easily forced them to abandon their siege of the place and cleansed the lake of them.

Upon the performance of this Labour he received a Command from Eurystheus to cleanse the stables of Augeas, and to do this without the assistance of any other man. These stables contained an enormous mass of dung which had accumulated over a great period, and it was a spirit of insult which induced Eurystheus to lay upon him the command to clean out this dung. Heracles declined as unworthy of him to carry this out upon his shoulders, in order to avoid the disgrace which would follow upon the insulting command; and so, turning the course of the Alpheius river, as it is called, into the stables and cleansing them by means of the stream, he accomplished the Labour in a single day, and without suffering any insult. Surely, then, we may well marvel at the ingenuity of Heracles; for he accomplished the ignoble task involved in the Command without incurring any disgrace or submitting to something which would render him unworthy of immortality.

The next Labour which Heracles undertook was to bring back from Crete the bull of which, they say, Pasiphaë had been enamoured, and sailing to the island he secured the aid of Minos the king and brought it back to Peloponnesus, having voyaged upon its back over so wide an expanse of sea.

14. After the performance of this Labour Heracles established the Olympic Games, having selected for so great a festival the most beautiful of places, which was the plain lying along the banks of the Alpheius river, where he dedicated these Games to Zeus the Father. And he stipulated that the prize
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εποίησεν, ὅτι καὶ αὐτὸς εὐηργέτησε τὸ γένος τῶν
2 ἀνθρώπων οὐδένα λαβὼν μισθόν. τὰ δὲ ἀθλήματα
πάντα αὐτὸς ἀδηρίτως ἐνίκησε, μηδενὸς τολμήσαν-
tos αὐτῷ συγκριθήναι διὰ τὴν ὑπερβολὴν τῆς
ἀρετῆς, καὶ περὶ τῶν ἀθλημάτων ἐναντίων ἄλληλοις
όντων τὸν γὰρ πόλιν ἢ παγκρατιαστὴν τοῦ
σταδίεως δύσκολον περιγενέσθαι, καὶ πάλιν τὸν
ἐν τοῖς κούφοις ἀθλήμασι πρωτεύοντα 1 τοὺς ἐν
toῖς βαρέσιν ὑπερέχοντας δυσχερὲς καταπονησάι. 2
διὸπερ εἰκότως ἐγένετο τιμώστατος ἀπάντων τῶν
ἄγωνων οὕτω, τὴν ἀρχήν ἀπ' ἀγαθῶν λαβῶν.

3 ὦν μὲν ἔξιον δὲ παράλιπείν οὐδὲ τὰς ὑπὸ τῶν
θεῶν αὐτῶι δοθείσας δωρεὰς διὰ τὴν ἀρετήν. ἀπὸ
γὰρ τῶν πολέμων τραπέντων αὐτοῦ πρὸς ἀνέσεις τε
καὶ πανηγύρεις, ἄτι δὲ ἐορτᾶς καὶ ἀγώνας, ἐτίμησαν
αὐτὸν δωρεάις οἰκείας ἐκαστὸς τῶν θεῶν, Ἀθηνᾶ
μὲν πέπλω, Ἡφαίστεος δὲ ῥοπάλῳ καὶ θώρακι,
kαὶ πρὸς ἄλληλους ἐφιλοτιμήσασαν ὁ προερημένοι
θεοί κατὰ τὰς τέχνας, τῆς μὲν πρὸς εἰρήνηκην
ἀπόλαυσιν καὶ τέρψιν, τοῦ δὲ πρὸς τὴν τῶν πολε-
μικῶν κυνδύων ἀσφαλείαν. τῶν δὲ ἄλλων Ποσει-
dῶν μὲν ἵππους ἑδωρήσατο, Ἐρμῆς δὲ ξίφος,
Ἀπόλλων δὲ τὸξον τε ἐδωκε καὶ τοξεύεν ἐδιδάξε,
Δημήτρῃ δὲ πρὸς τὸν καθαρῶν τοῦ Κενταύρων
φόνον τὰ μικρὰ μυστήρια συνεστήσατο, τὸν
Ἡρακλέα τιμῶσα.

1 καταγωνίσασθαι after πρωτεύοντα deleted by all editors
but Vogel.
2 καταπονήσαι II, all editors, κατανοῆσαι ABD, Vogel.

1 The contest in boxing and wrestling.
2 The famous foot-race, 606² feet long.
in them should be only a crown, since he himself had conferred benefits upon the race of men without receiving any monetary reward. All the contests were won by him without opposition by anyone else, since no one was bold enough to contend with him because of his exceeding prowess. And yet the contests are very different one from another, since it is hard for a boxer or one who enters for the "Pankration"\(^1\) to defeat a man who runs the "stadion,"\(^2\) and equally difficult for the man who wins first place in the light contests to wear down those who excel in the heavy. Consequently it was fitting that of all Games the Olympic should be the one most honoured, since they were instituted by a noble man.

It would also not be right to overlook the gifts which were bestowed upon Heracles by the gods because of his high achievements. For instance, when he returned from the wars to devote himself to both relaxations and festivals, as well as to feasts and contests, each one of the gods honoured him with appropriate gifts; Athena with a robe, Hephaestus with a war-club and coat of mail, these two gods vying with one another in accordance with the arts they practised, the one with an eye to the enjoyment and delight afforded in times of peace, the other looking to his safety amid the perils of war. As for the other gods, Poseidon presented him with horses, Hermes with a sword, Apollo gave him a bow and arrows and taught him their use, and Demeter instituted the Lesser Mysteries\(^3\) in honour of Heracles, that she might purify him of the guilt he had incurred in the slaughter of the Centaurs.

\(^3\) These were celebrated at Agrae, south-east of the Acropolis, on the Ilissus, the "Greater Mysteries" at Eleusis.

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4 "Ἰδιων δὲ τι συνέβη καὶ κατὰ τὴν γένεσιν τοῦ θεοῦ τούτου συντελεσθήναι. Ζεύς γὰρ πρώτη μὲν ἐμίγη γυναικὶ θυτηῇ Νιόβῃ τῇ Φορωνεῶς, ἐσχάτη δ’ Ἀλκμήνης ταύτην δ’ ἀπὸ Νιόβης ἐκκαίδεκάτην οἶν μυθογράφοι γενεαλογοῦσιν. ὥστε τοῦ ¹ γεννᾶν ἀνθρώπους ἐκ μὲν τῶν ταύτης προγόνων ἡρξατο, εἰς αὐτὴν δὲ ταύτην κατέληξεν· ἐν ταύτῃ γὰρ τὰς πρὸς θυτήν ὀμιλίας κατέλυσε, καὶ κατὰ τοὺς ύστερον χρόνους οὐδένα τούτων γεννήσειν ἄξιον ἐλπίζων οὐκ ἐβουλήθη τοῖς κρείττοσιν ὑπεισάγειν τὰ χείρω.

15. Μετὰ δὲ ταύτα τῶν περὶ τὴν Παλλήνην γυγάντων ἐλομένων ² τῶν πρὸς τοὺς ἀθανάτους πόλεμον, Ἡρακλῆς τοῖς θεοῖς συναγωνισάμενος καὶ πολλοὺς ἀνελὼν τῶν γηγενῶν ἀποδοχῆς ἔτυχε τῆς μεγίστης. Ζεύς γὰρ τοὺς μὲν συναγωνισάμενους τῶν θεῶν μόνους ἀνώμασεν Ὀλυμπίους, ἢν ἡτα ταύτης τιμῆ ὁ ἀγαθὸς κοσμηθεὶς ἐπωνυμία διαφέρῃ τοῦ χείρων· ἥξιωσε δὲ ταύτης τῆς προσηγορίας τῶν ἐκ θυτῶν γυναικῶν γενομένων Διόνυσου καὶ Ἡρακλέα, οὐ μόνον ὁτι πατρὸς ἦσαν Διὸς, ἀλλὰ διότι καὶ τὴν προαιρεσὶν ὁμοῖαν ἔσχον, εὐεργετήσαντες μεγάλα τοῖς βίοι τῶν ἀνθρώπων.

2 Ζεύς δὲ, Προμηθεώς παραδόντος τὸ πῦρ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις, δεσμοῖς κατελάβετο καὶ παρέστησεν ἅπαν τὸν ἑσθόντα τὸ ἢπαρ αὐτοῦ. Ἡρακλῆς δ’ ὅρῳν τῆς τιμωρίας αὐτῶν τυγχάνοντα διὰ τὴν τῶν ἀνθρώπων εὐεργεσίαν, τὸν μὲν ἅπαν κατετόξευσε,

1 ὥστε τοῦ Dindorf: εἰς δὲ τὸ.
2 Dindorf conjectures ἀνελομένων.
A peculiar thing also came to pass in connection with the birth of this god. The first mortal woman, for instance, with whom Zeus lay was Niobë, the daughter of Phoroneus, and the last was Alemenê, who, as the writers of myths state in their genealogies, was the sixteenth lineal descendant from Niobë. It appears, then, that Zeus began to beget human beings with the ancestors of this Alemenê and ceased with her; that is, he stopped with her his intercourse with mortal women, since he had no hope that he would beget in after times one who would be worthy of his former children and was unwilling to have the better followed by the worse.

15. After this, when the Giants about Pallene chose to begin the war against the immortals, Heracles fought on the side of the gods, and slaying many of the Sons of Earth he received the highest approbation. For Zeus gave the name of "Olympian" only to those gods who had fought by his side, in order that the courageous, by being adorned by so honourable a title, might be distinguished by this designation from the coward; and of those who were born of mortal women he considered only Dionysus and Heracles worthy of this name, not only because they had Zeus for their father, but also because they had avowed the same plan of life as he and conferred great benefits upon the life of men.

And Zeus, when Prometheus had taken fire and given it to men, put him in chains and set an eagle at his side which devoured his liver. But when Heracles saw him suffering such punishment because of the benefit which he had conferred upon men, he killed the eagle with an arrow, and then persuad-
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τὸν δὲ Δία πείσας λῆξαι τῆς ὀργῆς ἔσωσε τὸν κοινὸν εὐργέτην.

3 Ἔτη δὲ ταῦτα ἐλαβεν ἄθλον ἀγαγεῖν τὰς Διο-
μήδους τοῦ Θρακίων ἵππους. αὐταὶ δὲ χαλκᾶς μὲν
φάτνας εἰχον διὰ τὴν ἀγριότητα, ἀλώσει δὲ σιδη-
ραίς διὰ τὴν ἱσχὺν ἐδεσμεύωντο, τροφὴν δὲ ἐλάμ-
βανον οὗ τῆς ἐκ γῆς φυμένην, ἀλλὰ τὰ τῶν
ξένων μέλη διαρούμεναι τροφὴν εἰχον τὴν συμφορὰν
τῶν ἀκληροῦντων. ταῦτας ὁ Ἡρακλῆς βουλό-
μενος χειρώσασθαι τὸν κύριον Διομήδην παρέ-
βαλε, καὶ ταῖς τοῦ παρανομεῖν διδάζοντος σαρξίν
ἐκπληρώσας τὴν ἐνδείαν τῶν ζώων εὑπειθεὶς

Εὐρυσθεὺς δ’ ἄχθεισων πρὸς αὐτὸν τῶν
ἵππων ταῦτας μὲν ἵερὰς ἐποίησεν Ἡρας, ὃν τὴν
ἐπιγονήν συνέβη διαμείναι μέχρι τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου
τοῦ Μακεδόνος βασιλείας.

Τούτων δὲ τὸν ἄθλον ἐπιτελέσας μετ’ Ἱάσονος
συνεξέπλευσε συστρατεύσων ἐπὶ τὸ χρυσόμαλλον
déros eis Kólkhous. ἀλλὰ περὶ μὲν τούτων ἐν τῇ
τῶν Ἀργοναυτῶν στρατεύματά κατὰ μέρος διέξιμεν.

16. Ἡρακλῆς δὲ λαβὼν πρόσταγμα τὸν Ἰππο-
λύτης τῆς Ἀμαζόνων ἐνεγκεῖν ὥστηρα, τὴν ἐπὶ
tάς Ἀμαζόνας στρατεύματον ἐποίησατο. πλεύσας οὖν
εἰς τὸν Εὐξεινον ὑπ’ ἕκεινον κληθέντα Πόντον,
καὶ καταπλεῦσας ἐπὶ τὰς ἐκβολὰς τοῦ Θερμώδοντος
ποταμοῦ, πλησίον Θερμισκύρας πόλεως κατεστρατο-
πέδευσεν, ἐν ᾧ τὰ βασίλεια τῶν Ἀμαζόνων ὑπῆρχε.

2 καὶ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἦτει παρ’ αὐτῶν τὸν προστεταγ-

1 ὑπ’ suggested by Vogel: ἀπ’.

1 In chaps. 41–56.
Zeus to cease from his anger he rescued him who had been the benefactor of all.

The next Labour which Heracles undertook was the bringing back of the horses of Diomedes, the Thracian. The feeding-troughs of these horses were of brass because the steeds were so savage, and they were fastened by iron chains because of their strength, and the food they ate was not the natural produce of the soil but they tore apart the limbs of strangers and so got their food from the ill lot of hapless men. Heracles, in order to control them, threw to them their master Diomedes, and when he had satisfied the hunger of the animals by means of the flesh of the man who had taught them to violate human law in this fashion, he had them under his control. And when the horses were brought to Eurystheus he consecrated them to Hera, and in fact their breed continued down to the reign of Alexander of Macedon.

When this Labour was finished Heracles sailed forth with Jason as a member of the expedition to the Colchi to get the golden fleece. But we shall give a detailed account of these matters in connection with the expedition of the Argonauts.¹

16. Heracles then received a Command to bring back the girdle of Hippolytē the Amazon and so made the expedition against the Amazons. Accordingly he sailed into the Pontus, which was named by him Euxeinus,² and continuing to the mouth of the Thermodon River he encamped near the city of Themiscyra, in which was situated the palace of the Amazons. And first of all he demanded of them the girdle which he had been commanded

i.e. "hospitable to strangers."
mēnōn ξωστήρα· ὥς δ’ οὖχ ὑπήκουον, συνήψε μάχην αὐταῖς. τὸ μὲν οὖν ἄλλο πλῆθος αὐτῶν ἀντετάχθη τοῖς πολλοῖς, αἰ δὲ τιμωταταί κατ’ αὐτὸν ταχθεῖσα τὸν Ἡρακλέα μάχην καρτερὰν συνεστήσαντο. πρῶτη μὲν γὰρ αὐτῷ συνάφασα μάχην Ἀελλα,1 διὰ τὸ τάχος ταύτης τετευχύνα τῆς προσηγορίας, ἰξύτερον εὗρεν αὐτῆς τὸν ἀντιαχθέντα. δευτέρα δὲ Φιλιππᾶς εὐθὺς ἐκ τῆς πρώτης συντάσσεως καιρῶν πληγὴ περιπεσοῦσα διεφθάρη. μετὰ δὲ ταύτα Ἑρακλῆς συνῆψε μάχην, ἢν ἐκ προκλήσεως ἐφασαν ἐπτάκις νευκηκέναι τὸν ἀντιταξάμενον. πεσοῦσις δὲ καὶ ταύτης, τετάρτην ἐχειρώσατο τὴν ὄνομαζομένην Ἐρίβοιαν. αὐτὴ δὲ διὰ τὴν ἐν τοῖς πολεμικοῖς ἁγῶσαν ἀνδραγαθίαν καυχωμένη μηδενὸς χρείαν ἔχειν βοηθοῦν, φευδὴ τὴν ἐπαγγελίαν ἐσχε κρείττονι περιπεσοῦσα. μετὰ δὲ ταύτας Κελαινῶ καὶ Εὔρυβία καὶ Φοίβη, τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος οὖσαι συγκυκνηγοὶ καὶ διὰ παντὸς ἐνυστόχως ἀκοντίζουσαι, τὸν ἐνα στόχον οὐκ ἔτρωσαν, ἀλλ’ ἑαυταῖς συνασπίζουσαι τότε πᾶσαι κατεκόπησαν. μετὰ δὲ ταύτας Δημάνειραν καὶ Ἀστερίαν καὶ Μάρππην, ἔτι δὲ Τέκμησαν καὶ Ἀλκίππην ἐχειρώσατο. αὐτὴ δ’ ὀμόσασα παρθένος διαμενεὶ τὸν μὲν ὅρκον ἐφύλαξε,2 τὸ δὲ ζῆν οὐ διετήρησεν.3 ἦ δὲ τὴν στρατηγίαν ἔχουσα τῶν Ἀμαζώνων Μελανίππη καὶ θαυμαζομένη μάλιστα δι’ ἀνδρείαν ἀπέβαλε τὴν ἡγεμονίαν. Ἡρακλῆς δὲ τὰς ἐπιφανεστάτας τῶν Ἀμαζώνιδων ἀνελῶν καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν πλῆθος φυγεῖν

1 καὶ after Ἀελλα by Vogel.
2 ἐφύλαξε D, Vogel, διετήρησε CF, Dindorf, Bekker.
3 διετήρησεν D, Vogel, ἐφύλαξεν CF, Dindorf, Bekker.

1 i.e. “Whirlwind.”
to get; but when they would pay no heed to him, he joined battle with them. Now the general mass of the Amazons were arrayed against the main body of the followers of Heracles, but the most honoured of the women were drawn up opposite Heracles himself and put up a stubborn battle. The first, for instance, to join battle with him was Aella, who had been given this name because of her swiftness, but she found her opponent more agile than herself. The second, Philippis, encountering a mortal blow at the very first conflict, was slain. Then he joined battle with Prothoê, who, they said, had been victorious seven times over the opponents whom she had challenged to battle. When she fell, the fourth whom he overcame was known as Eriboea. She had boasted that because of the manly bravery which she displayed in contests of war she had no need of anyone to help her, but she found her claim was false when she encountered her better. The next, Celaeno, Eurybia, and Phoebê, who were companions of Artemis in the hunt and whose spears found their mark invariably, did not even graze the single target, but in that fight they were one and all cut down as they stood shoulder to shoulder with each other. After them Deïaneira, Asteria and Marpê, and Tecmessa and Alcippê were overcome. The last-named had taken a vow to remain a maiden, and the vow she kept, but her life she could not preserve. The commander of the Amazons, Melanippê, who was also greatly admired for her manly courage, now lost her supremacy. And Heracles, after thus killing the most renowned of the Amazons and forcing the remaining multitude to turn in flight, cut down the
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συναναγκάσας, κατέκοψε τὰς πλείστας, ὡστε παντελῶς τὸ ἔθνος αὐτῶν συντριβῆναι. τῶν δ' αἱχμαλωτίδων Ἀντιόπην μὲν ἐδωρήσατο Θησεῖ, Μελανίππην δ' ἀπελύσας ἀντιλαβῶν τὸν ζωστῆρα.

17. Ἐυρυσθέως δὲ προστάξαντος ἄθλον δέκατον τὰς Γηρυόνου βοῦς ἀγαγεῖν, ἃς νέμεσθαι συνεβαίνε τῆς Ἰβηρίας ἐν τοῖς πρὸς τὸν ὦκεανὸν κεκλιμένοις μέρεσιν, Ἦρακλῆς θεωρῶν τὸν πόνον τοῦτον μεγάλης προσδεόμενον παρασκευῆς καὶ κακοπαθείας, συνεστήσατο στόλον ἀξίωλογον καὶ πλήθους στρατιωτῶν ἀξίοχρεων ἐπὶ ταύτην τὴν στρατείαν.

2 διεβεβότο γὰρ κατὰ πᾶσαν τὴν οἰκουμένην ὅτι Χρυσάωρ ὁ λαβὼν ἀπὸ τοῦ πλούτου τὴν προσηγορίαν βασιλεύει μὲν ἄπασης Ἰβηρίας, τρεῖς δ' ἔχει συναγωνιστὰς νίους, διαφέροντας ταῖς τε ρώμαις τῶν σωμάτων καὶ ταῖς ἐν τοῖς πολεμικοῖς ἀγῶνοι ἀνδραγαθίαις, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις ὅτι τῶν νῦν ἕκαστος μεγάλας ἔχει δυνάμεις συνεστώσας ἐξ ἑθνῶν μαχίμων· ὥν δὴ χάριν ὁ μὲν Ἐυρυσθεὺς νομίζων δυσέφικτον εἶναι τὴν ἐπὶ τούτους στρατείαν,

3 προσετετάχει τὸν προειρημένον ἄθλον. δ' ὅτι Ἦρακλῆς ἀκολούθως ταῖς προκατειργασμέναι πράξεις τεθαρρηκότως ὑπέστη τοὺς κινδύνους. καὶ τὰς μὲν δυνάμεις ἡθροεῖν εἰς Κρήτην, κεκριμένος ἐκ ταύτης ποιεῖσθαι τὴν ὁμήρων· σφόδρα γὰρ εὐφυῶς ἦ νῆσος αὕτη κεῖται πρὸς τὰς ἐφ' ὅλην τὴν οἰκουμένην στρατείας. πρὸ δὲ τῆς ἀναγωγῆς τιμηθεῖσιν ύπὸ τῶν ἐγχωρίων μεγαλοπρεπῶς, καὶ βουλόμενος τοῖς Κρησί ιχαρίσσασθαι, καθαράν ἐποίησε τὴν νῆσον τῶν θηρίων. διόπερ ἐν τοῖς ὕστερον

1 "He of the Golden Sword."

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greater number of them, so that the race of them was utterly exterminated. As for the captives, he gave Antiope as a gift to Theseus and set Melanippē free, accepting her girdle as her ransom.

17. Eurystheus then enjoined upon him as a tenth Labour the bringing back of the cattle of Geryones, which pastured in the parts of Iberia which slope towards the ocean. And Heracles, realizing that this task called for preparation on a large scale and involved great hardships, gathered a notable armament and a multitude of soldiers such as would be adequate for this expedition. For it had been noised abroad throughout all the inhabited world that Chrysaor, who received this appellation because of his wealth, was king over the whole of Iberia, and that he had three sons to fight at his side, who excelled in both strength of body and the deeds of courage which they displayed in contests of war; it was known, furthermore, that each of these sons had at his disposal great forces which were recruited from warlike tribes. It was because of these reports that Eurystheus, thinking any expedition against these men would be too difficult to succeed, had assigned to Heracles the Labour just described. But Heracles met the perils with the same bold spirit which he had displayed in the deeds which he had performed up to this time. His forces he gathered and brought to Crete, having decided to make his departure from that place; for this island is especially well situated for expeditions against any part of the inhabited world. Before his departure he was magnificently honoured by the natives, and wishing to show his gratitude to the Cretans he cleansed the island of the wild beasts which infested it. And this
χρόνοις ούδὲν ἐτι τῶν ἀγρίων ζώων ὑπήρχεν ἐν τῇ νήσῳ, οἷον ἄρκτων, λύκων, ὄφεων ἡ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν τοιούτων. ταύτα δ’ ἔπραξεν ἄποσεμινύ-νων τῇ νήσῳ, ἐν ἡ μυθολογοῦσι καὶ γενέσθαι καὶ τραφῆναι τὸν Δία.

4 Ποιησάμενος οὖν τὸν ἐκ ταύτης πλοῦν κατήρεν εἰς τὴν Λιβύην, καὶ πρῶτον μὲν Ἦλρωτον τὸν ῥώμη σώματος καὶ παλαιόστρας ἐμπειρᾶ διαβε-βοημένον καὶ τοὺς ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ καταπαλαισθέντας ξένους ἀποκτείνοντα¹ προκαλεσάμενος εἰς μάχην καὶ συμπλακεῖς διέφθειρεν. ἀκολούθως δὲ τούτως τὴν μὲν Λιβύην πλήθουσαν ἀγρίων ζώων, πολλὰ τῶν κατὰ τὴν ἔρημον χώραν χειρωσάμενος, ἐξημε-ρωσεν, ὡστε καὶ γεωργίαις καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις φυτείαις ταῖς τοὺς καρποὺς παρασκευαζόσθαις πληρωθῆναι πολλὴν μὲν ἀμπελόφυτον χώραν, πολλὴν δ’ ἔλαιοφόρον· καθόλου δὲ τὴν Λιβύην διὰ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν κατὰ τὴν χώραν θηρίων ἀοικη-τὸν πρότερον οὕτων ἐξημερώσας ἐποίησε μηδεμίας 5 χώρας εὐδαιμονίᾳ λείπεσθαι. ὅμοιως δὲ καὶ τοὺς παρανομοῦντας ἀνθρώπους ἡ δυνάστας ὑπερηφάνους ἀποκτείνας τὰς πόλεις ἐποίησεν εὐδαιμονας. μυθο-λογοῦσι δ’ αὐτὸν διὰ τούτο μισῆσαι καὶ πολεμῆσαι τὸ γένος τῶν ἀγρίων θηρίων καὶ παρανόμων ἀνδρῶν, ὅτι παιδὲ μὲν ὄντι νηπίῳ συνέβη τοὺς ὀφεις ἐπιβούλους αὐτῷ γενέσθαι, ἀνδρωθέντι δὲ πεσεῖν ὑπ’ ἐξουσίαν ὑπερηφάνου καὶ ἀδίκου μονάρχου τοῦ τοὺς ἀθλους προστάττοντος.

18. Μετὰ δὲ τὸν Ἦλρωτον θάνατον παρελθὼν εἰς

¹ So Bekker: ἀποκτείναντα MSS., Dindorf, Vogel.

is the reason why in later times not a single wild animal, such as a bear, or wolf, or serpent, or any similar beast, was to be found on the island. This deed he accomplished for the glory of the island, which, the myths relate, was both the birthplace and the early home of Zeus.

Setting sail, then, from Crete, Heracles put in at Libya, and first of all he challenged to a fight Antaeus, whose fame was noised abroad because of his strength of body and his skill in wrestling, and because he was wont to put to death all strangers whom he had defeated in wrestling, and grappling with him Heracles slew the giant. Following up this great deed he subdued Libya, which was full of wild animals, and large parts of the adjoining desert, and brought it all under cultivation, so that the whole land was filled with ploughed fields and such plantings in general as bear fruit, much of it being devoted to vineyards and much to olive orchards; and, speaking generally, Libya, which before that time had been uninhabitable because of the multitude of the wild beasts which infested the whole land, was brought under cultivation by him and made inferior to no other country in point of prosperity. He likewise punished with death such men as defied the law or arrogant rulers and gave prosperity to the cities. And the myths relate that he hated every kind of wild beast and lawless men and warred upon them because of the fact that it had been his lot that while yet an infant the serpents made an attempt on his life, and that when he came to man's estate he became subject to the power of an arrogant and unjust despot who laid upon him these Labours.

18. After Heracles had slain Antaeus he passed into
Diodorus of Sicily

Ἄγωντον ἀνείλε Βούσιρν τὸν βασιλέα ἔσενοκτο
νοῦτα τοὺς παρεπιδημοῦντας. διεξών δὲ τὴν
ἀνυδρον τῆς Λιβύης, καὶ περιτυχών χώρα καταρ-
ρύτω καὶ καρποφόρῳ, πόλιν ἔκτισε θαυμαστὴν τῷ
μεγέθει, τῷ ὄνομαξομενήν Ἐκατόμπυλον, ἥ ἔθετο
τὴν προσγηγορίαν ἀπὸ τοῦ πλήθους τῶν καὶ αὐτὴν
πυλῶν. διαμεμενήκε ὅ ἡ ταύτης τῆς πόλεως
εὐδαμονία μέχρι τῶν νεωτέρων καίρων, ἐν οἷς
Καρχηδόνιοι δυνάμεσιν ἀξιολόγους καὶ στρατηγοῖς
ἀγαθοῖς στρατεύσαντες ἐπ᾽ αὐτὴν κύριοι κατε-
2 στησαν. ὁ δὲ Ἡρακλῆς πολλὴν τῆς Λιβύης ἐπελ-
θών παρῆλθεν ἐπὶ τὸν πρὸς Γαδείρους ὀικειόν,
καὶ στήλας ἔθετο καθ᾽ ἐκατέραν τῶν ἡπείρων.
συμπαραπλέοντος δὲ τοῦ στόλου διαβὰς εἰς τὴν
Ἰβηρίαν, καὶ καταλαβὼν τοὺς Χρυσάρος νίον,
τρισὶ δυνάμεσι μεγάλαις κατεστρατοπεδευκότο
ἐκ διαστήματος, πάντας τοὺς ἡγεμόνας ἐκ προκλή-
σεως ἀνελὼν καὶ τὴν Ἰβηρίαν ἱερωσάμενος
ἀπῆλασε τᾶς διωνυσίμανας τῶν ἁγίλας.
3 διεξών δὲ τὴν τῶν Ἰβηρίων χώραν, καὶ τιμηθεὶς
ὑπὸ τινὸς τῶν ἐγχωρίων βασιλέως, ἀνδρὸς εὐσεβεία
καὶ δικαιοσύνη διαφέροντος, κατέλιπε μέρος τῶν
βοῶν ἐν δωρεάις τῷ βασιλεῖ. ὁ δὲ λαβὼν ἀπάσας
καθιέρωσεν Ἡρακλεὶ, καὶ κατ᾽ ἐναυτὸν ἐκ τοῦτων
ἔθεν αὐτῷ τὸν καλλιστεύοντα τῶν ταύρων.
τὰς δὲ βοῖς τηρουμένας συνέβη ἱερὰς διαμεῖνα
κατὰ τὴν Ἰβηρίαν μέχρι τῶν καθ᾽ ἡμᾶς καίρων.
4 Ἡμεῖς δὲ ἐπεὶ περὶ τῶν Ἡρακλέους στηλῶν
ἐμνήσθημεν, οἰκεῖον εἶναι νομίζομεν περὶ αὐτῶν

1 ois Hertlein: ois καὶ.

1 Cp. Book 1. 88. 5.
Egypt and put to death Busiris,\(^1\) the king of the land, who made it his practice to kill the strangers who visited that country. Then he made his way through the waterless part of Libya, and coming upon a land which was well watered\(^2\) and fruitful he founded a city of marvellous size, which was called Hecatompylon,\(^2\) giving it this name because of the multitude of its gates. And the prosperity of this city continued until comparatively recent times, when the Carthaginians made an expedition against it with notable forces under the command of able generals and made themselves its masters. And after Heracles had visited a large part of Libya he arrived at the ocean near Gadeira,\(^3\) where he set up pillars on each of the two continents. His fleet accompanied him along the coast and on it he crossed over into Iberia. And finding there the sons of Chrysaor encamped at some distance from one another with three great armies, he challenged each of the leaders to single combat and slew them all, and then after subduing Iberia he drove off the celebrated herds of cattle. He then traversed the country of the Iberians, and since he had received honours at the hands of a certain king of the natives, a man who excelled in piety and justice, he left with the king a portion of the cattle as a present. The king accepted them, but dedicated them all to Heracles and made it his practice each year to sacrifice to Heracles the fairest bull of the herd; and it came to pass that the kine are still maintained in Iberia and continue to be sacred to Heracles down to our own time.

But since we have mentioned the pillars of Heracles, we deem it to be appropriate to set forth the facts con-

\(^2\) "Of a Hundred Gates." \(^3\) Cadiz.
The Straits of Gibraltar are twelve miles wide and for eight miles the average depth is 250 fathoms.

The reference is to Lake Copaïs.
cerning them. When Heracles arrived at the farthest points of the continents of Libya and Europe which lie upon the ocean, he decided to set up these pillars to commemorate his campaign. And since he wished to leave upon the ocean a monument which would be had in everlasting remembrance, he built out both the promontories, they say, to a great distance; consequently, whereas before that time a great space had stood between them, he now narrowed the passage, in order that by making it shallow and narrow\(^1\) he might prevent the great sea-monsters from passing out of the ocean into the inner sea, and that at the same time the fame of their builder might be held in everlasting remembrance by reason of the magnitude of the structures. Some authorities, however, say just the opposite, namely, that the two continents were originally joined and that he cut a passage between them, and that by opening the passage he brought it about that the ocean was mingled with our sea. On this question, however, it will be possible for every man to think as he may please.

A thing very much like this he had already done in Greece. For instance, in the region which is called Tempê, where the country is like a plain and was largely covered with marshes, he cut a channel through the territory which bordered on it, and carrying off through this ditch all the water of the marsh he caused the plains to appear which are now in Thessaly along the Peneius river. But in Boeotia he did just the opposite and damming the stream which flowed near the Minyan city of Orchomenus he turned the country into a lake\(^2\) and caused the ruin of that whole region. But what he did in Thessaly was to
DIODORUS OF SICILY

gετῶν τοὺς Ἑλλήνας, τὰ δὲ κατὰ τὴν Βοιωτίαν τιμωρίαν λαμβάνων παρά τῶν τὴν Μινώαδα κατοικοῦντων διὰ τὴν τῶν Θηβαίων καταδούλωσιν.

19. Ὅ δ' Ἦρακλῆς τῶν μὲν Ἰβήρων παρέδωκε τὴν βασιλείαν τοῖς ἀρίστοις τῶν ἐγχωρίων, αὐτὸς δ' ἀναλαβὼν τὴν δύναμιν καὶ καταντήσας εἰς τὴν Κελτικὴν καὶ πᾶσαν ἐπελθὼν κατέλυσε μὲν τὰς συνήθεις παραίσθεις καὶ ξενοκτονίας, πολλοῦ δὲ πλήθους ἀνθρώπων ἐξ ἀπαντος ἔθνους ἐκουσίως συστρατεύοντος ἐκτισσε πόλιν εὐμεγέθῃ τὴν ὄνομασθείσαν ἀπὸ τῆς κατὰ τὴν στρατεύαν ἀλης Ἀλησίαν. πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ τῶν ἐγχωρίων ἀνεμίζεν εἰς τὴν πόλιν. ὃν ἐπικρατησάντων τῶν πλῆθει πάντας τοὺς ἐνοικοῦντας ἐκβαρβαρωθήναι συνεβή. οἵ δὲ Κελτοὶ μέχρι τῶν δὲ τῶν καπρῶν τιμῶσι τιάτην τὴν πόλιν, ὡς ἀπάσης τῆς Κελτικῆς ύπόσι ἐστίν καὶ μητρόπολιν. διέμεινε δ' αὐτή πάντα τὸν ἀφ' Ἦρακλέους χρόνον ἐλευθέρα καὶ ἀπόρθητος μέχρι τοῦ καθ' ἡμᾶς χρόνου. τὸ δὲ τελευταῖον ἕπο Γαΐου Καίσαρος τοῦ διὰ τὸ μέγεθος τῶν πράξεων θεοῦ προσαγορευθέντος ἐκ βίας ἀλοῦσα συνήμακασθῇ μετὰ πάντων τῶν ἄλλων Κελτῶν ὑποταγῆναι Ρωμαίοις. Ὅ δ' Ἦρακλῆς τὴν ἐκ τῆς Κελτικῆς πορείαν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἰταλίαν ποιούμενος, καὶ διεξόων τὴν ὀρεινήν τὴν κατὰ τὰς Ἀλπεις, ὠδοποίησε τὴν τραχύτητα τῆς ὀδοῦ καὶ τὸ ὄσβατον, ὅπετε δύνασθαι στρατοπέδους καὶ ταῖς τῶν ὑποζυγίων ἀποσκευαῖς βάσιμοι εἶναι. τῶν δὲ τὴν ὀρεινὴν τιάτην κατοικοῦντων βαρβάρων ἐωθότων τὰ διεξόντα τῶν στρατοπέδων περικόπτειν.
confer a benefit upon the Greeks, whereas in Boeotia he was exacting punishment from those who dwelt in Minyan territory, because they had enslaved the Thebans.

19. Heracles, then, delivered over the kingdom of the Iberians to the noblest men among the natives and, on his part, took his army and passing into Celtica and traversing the length and breadth of it he put an end to the lawlessness and murdering of strangers to which the people had become addicted; and since a great multitude of men from every tribe flocked to his army of their own accord, he founded a great city which was named Alesia after the "wandering" (alé) on his campaign. But he also mingled among the citizens of the city many natives, and since these surpassed the others in multitude, it came to pass that the inhabitants as a whole were barbarized. The Celts up to the present time hold this city in honour, looking upon it as the hearth and mother-city of all Celtica. And for the entire period from the days of Heracles this city remained free and was never sacked until our own time; but at last Gaius Caesar, who has been pronounced a god because of the magnitude of his deeds, took it by storm and made it and the other Celts subjects of the Romans.1 Heracles then made his way from Celtica to Italy, and as he traversed the mountain pass through the Alps he made a highway out of the route, which was rough and almost impassable, with the result that it can now be crossed by armies and baggage-trains. The barbarians who inhabited this mountain region had been accustomed to butcher and to plunder such

1 In 52 B.C.; the account of the siege and capture of Alesia is in Caesar, The Gallic War, 7. 68 ff.
καὶ ληστεύειν ἐν ταῖς δυσχωρίαις, χειρωσάμενος ἀπαντας καὶ τοὺς ἡγεμόνας τῆς παρανομίας ἀνελῶν ἐποίησεν ἁσφαλῆ τοῖς μεταγενεστέροις τὴν ὁδοποιίαν. διελθὼν δὲ τὰς "Ἀλπεῖς καὶ τῆς νῦν καλουμένης Γαλατίας τὴν πεδιάδα διεξιών ἐποίησατο τὴν πορείαν διὰ τῆς Αἰγυπτικῆς.

20. Οἱ δὲ ταῦτην τὴν χώραν οἰκοῦντες Λίγυες νέμονται γῆν τραχεῖαν καὶ παντελῶς λυπρᾶν· τῶν δὲ ἔγχωρίων ταῖς ἔργασίαις καὶ ταῖς τῆς κακοπαθείας ὑπερβολαῖς φέρει καρποὺς πρὸς βιὰν ὁλίγους. διὸ καὶ τοῖς ὄγκοις εἰσὶ συνεσταλμένοι καὶ διὰ τὴν συνεχή γυμνασίαν εὐτονοι· τῆς γὰρ κατὰ τὴν τρυφήν βαστώνης πολὺ κεχωρισμένοι ἐλαφροὶ μὲν ταῖς εὐκινησίασ εἰσίν, ἐν δὲ τοῖς 2 πολεμικοῖς ἀγώσται ταῖς ἀλκαῖς διάφοροι. καθόλου δὲ τῶν πλησιοχώρων τὸ πονεῖν συνεχῶς ἡσκηκότων, καὶ τῆς χώρας πολλῆς ἔργασίας προσδεομένης, εἰθικαὶ τὰς γυναίκας τῶν κακοπαθείων τῶν ἐν ταῖς ἔργασίαις κοινωνοὺς ποιεῖσθαι. μισθοῦ δὲ παρ’ ἀλλήλους ἐργαζομένους τῶν τε ἀνδρῶν καὶ τῶν γυναικῶν, ἱδίων τι καὶ παράδοξον καθ’ 3 ἡμᾶς συνέβη περὶ μίαν γυναίκα γενέσθαι. ἔγκυνος γὰρ οὔσα καὶ μετὰ τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐργαζομένη μισθοῦ, μεταξὺ συνεχομένη ταῖς ὀδῖσσιν ἀπῆλθεν εἰς τινας θάμνους ἄθορυβος· ἐν οἷς τεκοῦσα, καὶ τὸ παιδόν φύλλοις ἐνειλήσασα, τοῦτο μὲν ἑκένως ἔπεμψεν, αὐτῇ δὲ συμμίξασα τοῖς ἐργαζομένοις τὴν αὐτήν ἐκείνους ὑπέμεινε κακοπάθειαν, οὐδὲν δηλώσασα περὶ τοῦ συμβεβηκότος. τοῦ βρέφους δὲ κλαυθμων-

1 εἰς τινας θάμνους after μὲν deleted by Bekker.

1 Cisalpine Gaul.
armies as passed through when they came to the difficult portions of the way, but he subdued them all, slew those that were the leaders in lawlessness of this kind, and made the journey safe for succeeding generations. And after crossing the Alps he passed through the level plain of what is now called Galatia and made his way through Liguria.

20. The Ligurians who dwell in this land possess a soil which is stony and altogether wretched, and, in return for the labours and exceedingly great hardships of the natives, produce only scanty crops which are wrung from it. Consequently the inhabitants are of small bulk and are kept vigorous by their constant exercise; for since they are far removed from the care-free life which accompanies luxury, they are light in their movements and excel in vigour when it comes to contests of war. In general, the inhabitants of the region round about are inured to continuous work, and since the land requires much labour for its cultivation, the Ligurians have become accustomed to require the women to share in the hardships which the cultivation involves. And since both the men and the women work side by side for hire, it came to pass that a strange and surprising thing took place in our day in connection with a certain woman. She was with child, and while working for hire in company with the men she was seized by the labour-pains in the midst of her work and quietly withdrew into a thicket; here she gave birth to the child, and then, after covering it with leaves, she hid the babe there and herself rejoined the labourers, continuing to endure the same hardship as that in which they were engaged and giving no hint of what had happened. And when the babe wailed and the occurrence be-
διοδόρους, καὶ τῆς πράξεως φανερὰς γενομένης, ὁ μὲν ἑφεστηκός οὐδαμῶς ἦδυνατο πεῖσαι παύσασθαι τῶν ἔργων· ἢ δ’ οὐ πρότερον ἀπεστή τῆς κακοπαθείας, ἔως ὁ μισθωσάμενος ἐλεήσας καὶ τὸν μισθὸν ἀποδοῦσι ἀπέλυσε τῶν ἔργων.

21. Ἦρακλῆς δὲ διελθὼν τὴν τε τῶν Ἀγάμων καὶ τὴν τῶν Τυρρηνῶν χώραν, κατανεύσας πρὸς τὸν Τίβεριν ποταμὸν κατεστρατοπέδευσεν οὐ νῦν ἢ Ἡρώμη ἐστὶν. ἀλλ’ αὐτὴ μὲν πολλαῖς γενεαῖς ύπερτον ὑπὸ Ὥρμυλου τοῦ Ἀρεοῦ ἐκτίσθη, τότε δὲ τινες τῶν ἐγχωρίων κατὼκοιν ἐν τῷ νῦν καλουμένῳ Παλατίῳ, μικρὰν παντελῶς πόλιν 2 οἰκούντες. ἐν ταύτῃ δὲ τῶν ἐπιφανῶν ὀντες ἀνδρῶν Κάκιος καὶ Πινάριος ἔδεξαντο τὸν Ἦρακλέα ἐξευτέλεος ἀξιολόγοις καὶ δωρεαῖς κεχαρισμέναις ἐτίμησαν: καὶ τούτων τῶν ἄνδρῶν ὑπομνήματα μέχρι τῶν καιρῶν διαμένει κατὰ τὴν Ἦρωμην. τῶν γὰρ νῦν εὐγενῶν ἄνδρῶν τὸ τῶν Πιναρίων ὀνομαζομένων 1 γένος διαμένει παρὰ τοῖς Ἡρωμαῖοι, ὡς ὑπάρχον ἀρχαιότατον, τοῦ δὲ Κακίου ἐν τῷ Παλατίῳ κατὰ βάσις ἔστιν ἄχουσα λιθήνη κλίμακα τῆς ὀνομαζομένης ἀπ’ ἐκείνου Κακίαν, οὔταν πλησίον τῆς τότε γενομένης οἰκίας 3 τοῦ Κακίου. ὁ δ’ οὖν Ἦρακλῆς ἀποδεξάμενος τὴν εὑροιναν τῶν τὸ Παλάτιον οἰκούντων, προεἶπεν αὐτοῖς ὅτι μετὰ τὴν ἔαντον μετάστασιν εἰς θεοὺς τοῖς εὐξαμένοις ἐκδεκατεύσειν Ἦρακλεῖ τὴν οὕσιν συμβῆσαι τὸν βίον εὐδαιμονέστερον ἔχειν. 2 ὁ καὶ συνέβη κατὰ τούς ύπερτον χρόνους διαμείναι

1 So Hortlein: ὀνομαζόμενων.
2 ἔχειν Hortlein: ἔχειν.
came known, the overseer could in no wise persuade her to stop her work; and indeed she did not desist from the hardship until her employer took pity upon her, paid her the wages due her, and set her free from work.¹

21. After Heracles had passed through the lands of the Ligurians and of the Tyrrenians ² he came to the river Tiber and pitched his camp at the site where Rome now stands. But this city was founded many generations afterwards by Romulus, the son of Ares, and at this time certain people of the vicinity had their homes on the Palatine Hill, as it is now called, and formed an altogether inconsiderable city. Here some of the notable men, among them Caeius and Pinarius, welcomed Heracles with marked acts of hospitality and honoured him with pleasing gifts; and memorials of these men abide in Rome to the present day. For, of the nobles of our time, the gens which bears the name Pinarii still exists among the Romans, being regarded as very ancient, and as for Caeius, there is a passage on the Palatine which leads downward, furnished with a stairway of stone, and is called after him the “Steps of Caeius,” ³ and it lies near the original house of Caeius. Now Heracles received with favour the good-will shown him by the dwellers on the Palatine and foretold to them that, after he had passed into the circle of the gods, it would come to pass that whatever men should make a vow to dedicate to Heracles a tithe of their goods would lead a more happy and prosperous life. And in fact this custom did arise in later times and has

¹ A similar story of women of Liguria is told by Strabo (3.4.17), on the authority of Posidonius.
² Etruscans.
³ The scalae Caci.
4 μέχρι τῶν καθ’ ἡμᾶς χρόνων· πολλοὺς γὰρ τῶν Ἡρωμαίων οὐ μόνον τῶν συμμέτρους οὐσίας κεκτημένων, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν μεγαλοπλούτων τινῶς εὐξαμένους ἐκδεκατεύσειν Ἡρακλεῖ, καὶ μετὰ ταύτα γενομένους εὐδαιμονιας, ἐκδεκατεύσας τὰς οὐσίας οὐσίας ταλαντῶν τετρακισχιλίων. Δεύκολλος γὰρ ὁ τῶν καθ’ αὐτῶν Ἡρωμαίων σχεδὸν τι πλουσιώτατος ὄν διατιμησάμενος τὴν ἑδίαν οὐσίαν κατέμψε τῷ θεῷ πᾶσαν τὴν δεκάτην, εὐωχίας ποιῶν συνεχεῖς καὶ πολυδαπάνους. κατεσκεύασαν δὲ καὶ Ἡρωμαίοι τούτω τῷ θεῷ παρὰ τὸν Τίβεριν ἵερον ἀξιόλογον, ἐν ὦ νομίζουσι συντελεῖν τὰς ἐκ τῆς δεκάτης υδνίας.

5 Ὁ δὲ οὖν Ἡρακλῆς ἀπὸ τοῦ Τιβέρεως ἀναζεύξας, καὶ διεξίων τὴν παράλιον τῆς νῦν Ἰταλίας ὁνομαζομένης, κατήντησεν εἰς τὸ Κυμαίων πεδίον, ἐν ὦ μυθολογοῦσιν ἄνδρας γενέσθαι ταῖς τῶν ῥώμαις προέχοντας καὶ ἑπὶ παρανομία διωνομασμένους, οὐς ὅνομάζεσθαι γίγαντας. ἀνομάσθαι δὲ καὶ τὸ πεδίον τούτο Φλεγραῖον ἀπὸ τοῦ λόφου τοῦ τὸ παλαιὸν ἔκφυσῶντος ἀπλατον πῦρ παραπλησίως τῇ κατὰ τὴν Σικελίαν Λιτνῆ. καλεῖται δὲ νῦν ὁ λόφος ¹ Οὐσεσούιος, ἐχὼν πολλὰ σημεῖα τοῦ κεκαύθας κατὰ τοὺς ἀρχαίους χρόνους. τοὺς δὲ οὖν γίγαντας πυθομένους τὴν Ἡρακλέους παρουσίαν ἄθροισθηναι πάντας καὶ παρατάξασθαι τῷ προερημένῳ. θαυμασθῆς δὲ γενομένης μάχης κατὰ τῇ τῶν ρώμην καὶ τῇ ἀλκή τῶν γιγάντων, φασὶ τὸν Ἡρακλέα, συμμαχοῦσσων αὐτῶ τῶν θεῶν, κρατῆσαι τῇ μάχῃ καὶ τοὺς πλείστους ἀνελόντα τὴν χώραν

¹ λόφος Dindorf: τόπος.
² Οὐσεσούιος (ἐπ. Strabo 5. 4. 8), Οὐσεσούιος Bekker, Dindorf, Vogel, oυσεσούιοι MSS.

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persisted to our own day; for many Romans, and not only those of moderate fortunes but some even of great wealth, who have taken a vow to dedicate a tenth to Heracles and have thereafter become happy and prosperous, have presented him with a tenth of their possessions, which came to four thousand talents. Lucullus, for instance, who was perhaps the wealthiest Roman of his day, had his estate appraised and then offered a full tenth of it to the god, thus providing continuous feastings and expensive ones withal. Furthermore, the Romans have built to this god a notable temple on the bank of the Tiber, with the purpose of performing in it the sacrifices from the proceeds of the tithe.

Heracles then moved on from the Tiber, and as he passed down the coast of what now bears the name of Italy he came to the Cumaean Plain. Here, the myths relate, there were men of outstanding strength the fame of whom had gone abroad for lawlessness and they were called Giants. This plain was called Phlegraean ("fiery") from the mountain which of old spouted forth a huge fire as Aetna did in Sicily; at this time, however, the mountain is called Vesuvius and shows many signs of the fire which once raged in those ancient times. Now the Giants, according to the account, on learning that Heracles was at hand, gathered in full force and drew themselves up in battle-order against him. The struggle which took place was a wonderful one, in view of both the strength and the courage of the Giants, but Heracles, they say, with the help of the gods who fought on his side, gained the upper hand in the battle, slew most of the Giants, and brought the land under cultivation.
7 ἔξημερώσατι. μυθολογοῦνταί δ’ οἱ γίγαντες γηγε-νείς γεγονέναι διὰ τὴν ὑπερβολὴν τοῦ κατὰ τὸ σῶμα μεγέθους. καὶ περὶ μὲν τῶν ἐν Φλέγρα φονευθέντων γιγάντων τοιαῦτα μυθολογοῦσι τινες, οἳ καὶ Τίμαιος ὁ συγγραφέας ἴκολουθήσεν.

22. 'Ο δ’ Ἡρακλῆς ἐκ τοῦ Φλεγραίου πεδίου κατελθὼν ἔπι τὴν θάλατταν κατεσκεύασθεν ἔργα περὶ τὴν Αορνοῦ ὀνομαζομένην λίμνην, ἵναν ἐν Φερσεφόνης νομιζομένην.1 κεῖται μὲν οὖν ἡ λίμνη μεταξὺ Μυσηνῶν καὶ Δικαιαρχείων, πλησίον τῶν θερμῶν ὑδάτων, ἔχει δὲ ἐν μὲν περὶμετρόν ὡς πέντε σταδίων, τὸ δ’ ἐν ἀπιστον. ἔχουσα γὰρ ὕδωρ καθαρώτατον φαίνεται τῇ χρόᾳ κυανοῦν διὰ τὴν ὑπερβολὴν τοῦ βάθους. μυθολογοῦσι δὲ τὸ μὲν παλαιὸν γεγενηθαὶ νεκυομαντεῖον πρὸς αὐτῇ, δ’ τοῖς ὑστερον χρόνοις καταλελύθα τα φασίν. ἀναπεπταμένης δὲ τῆς λίμνης εἰς τὴν θάλατταν, τὸν Ἡρακλέα λέγεται τὸν μὲν ἐκρομὸν ἐγχώσαι, τὴν δ’ ὁδὸν τὴν νῦν οὕσαν παρὰ θάλατταν κατασκευάσαι, τὴν ἀπ’ ἐκείνου καλομένην Ἡρακλείαν.

3 Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἐπράξε περὶ ἐκείνους τοὺς τό-πους. ἐντεῦθεν δ’ ἀναζεύξας κατήνθησε τῆς Πο-σειδωνιατῶν χώρας πρὸς τινὰ πέτραν, πρὸς ἢ μυθολογοῦσιν ὑδόν τι γενέσθαι καὶ παράδοξον. τῶν γὰρ ἐγχωρίων τινὰ κυνηγὸν ἐν τοῖς κατὰ τὴν

1 So Stephanus: ὀνομαζομένην.

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1 Timaeus of Tauromenium in Sicily was born about 350 B.C. and is reputed to have lived to the age of ninety-six. His greatest work was a history of Sicily and the West from the earliest times to 264 B.C.
The myths record that the Giants were sons of the earth because of the exceedingly great size of their bodies. With regard, then, to the Giants who were slain in Phlegra, this is the account of certain writers of myths, who have been followed by the historian Timaeus ¹ also.

22. From the Phlegraean Plain Heracles went down to the sea, where he constructed works about the lake which bears the name Lake of Avernus and is held sacred to Persephonē. Now this lake lies between Misenum and Dicaearcheia ² near the hot waters, ³ and is about five stades in circumference and of incredible depth; for its water is very pure and nas to the eye a dark blue colour because of its very great depth. And the myths record that in ancient times there had been on its shores an oracle of the dead which, they say, was destroyed in later days. Lake Avernus once had an opening into the sea, but Heracles is said to have filled up the outlet and constructed the road which runs at this time along the sea and is called after him the “Way of Heracles.”

These, then, are the deeds of Heracles in the regions mentioned above. And moving on from there he came to a certain rock in the country of the people of Poseidonia, ⁴ where the myths relate that a peculiar and marvellous thing once took place. There was, that is, among the natives of the region a certain

² The Roman Puteoli.
³ The hot springs of Baiae, the famous summer resort of the Romans, which, according to Strabo (5. 45), “were suited both to the taste of the fastidious and to the cure of disease” (tr. of Jones in the L.C.L.).
⁴ The Roman Paestum, modern Pesto.
Diodorus of Sicily

θήραν ἀνδραγαθήμασι διωνομασμένον ἐν μὲν τοῖς ἐμπροσθεν χρόνοις εἰσωθέναι τῶν ληφθέντων θηρίων τὰς κεφαλὰς καὶ τούς πόδας ἀνατίθεναι τῇ Ἀρτέ-μιδι καὶ προσηλοῦν τοῖς δένδρεσι, τότε δ᾽ οὖν ὑπερφυῆ κάπρον χειρωσάμενον, ὡς τῆς θεοῦ καταφρονήσαντα, εἰπεῖν ὅτι τὴν κεφαλὴν τοῦ θηρίου ἕαυτῷ ἀνατίθημι, καὶ τοῖς λόγοις ἀκολούθως ἐκ τινος δένδρου κρεμάσαι ταύτην, αὐτὸν δὲ, καυματώ-δους περιστάσεως οὕσης, κατὰ μεσημβρίαν εἰς ὑπνόν τραπῆναι· καθ᾽ ὅν δὴ χρόνον τοῦ δεσμοῦ λυθέντος αὐτομάτως πεσεῖν τὴν κεφαλὴν ἐπὶ τὸν κομψόμενον καὶ διαφθείραι. ἀλλὰ γὰρ οὐκ ἀν τις θανμάσει τὸ γεγονός, ὅτι τῆς θεάς ταύτης πολλαὶ περιστάσεις μημονεύονται περιέχουσαι τὴν κατὰ τῶν ἁσβέσων τιμωρίαν. τῷ δ᾽ Ἡρακλεὶ διὰ τὴν εὑσέβειαν τοῦνατίον συνέβη γενέσθαι. καταντήσαντος γὰρ αὐτοῦ πρὸς τὰ μεθόρια τῆς Ρηγύνης καὶ Λοκρίδος, καὶ διὰ τὸν ἐκ τῆς ὁδοιπορίας κόπον ἀναπαυμένου, φασὶν ὑπὸ τῶν τεττίγων αὐτὸν ἐνοχλούμενον εὐξάσθαι τοῖς θεοῖς ἅφανείς γενέσθαι τοὺς ἐνοχλοῦντας αὐτόν· καὶ διὰ τοῦτο, τῶν θεῶν βεβαιω- σάντων τὴν εὐχήν, μὴ μόνον κατὰ τὸ παρὸν ἅφανείς γενέσθαι τούτους, ἀλλὰ καὶ κατὰ τὸν ὅστε- ρον χρόνον ἀπαντά μηδένα τεττίγα φαίνεσθαι κατὰ τὴν χώραν.

6 Ὁ δ᾽ Ἡρακλῆς καταντήσας ἐπὶ τὸν πορθμὸν κατὰ τὸ στενώτατον τῆς θαλάττης τὰς μὲν βοῦς ἑπεραίωσεν εἰς τὴν Σικελίαν, αὐτὸς δὲ ταῦρον κέρ- ρως λαβόμενος διενήχατο τὸν πόρον, ὅντος τοῦ δια- στήματος σταδίων τριῶν καὶ δέκα, ὡς Τίμαιος φησί.

1 ὡς Capps: καὶ.
hunter, the fame of whom had gone abroad because of his brave exploits in hunting. On former occasions it had been his practice to dedicate to Artemis the heads and feet of the animals he secured and to nail them to the trees, but once, when he had overpowered a huge wild boar, he said, as though in contempt of the goddess, "The head of the beast I dedicate to myself," and bearing out his words he hung the head on a tree, and then, the atmosphere being very warm, at midday he fell asleep. And while he was thus asleep the thong broke, and the head fell down of itself upon the sleeper and killed him. And in truth there is no reason why anyone should marvel at this happening, for many actual occurrences are recorded which illustrate the vengeance this goddess takes upon the impious. But in the case of Heracles his piety was such that the opposite happened to him. For when he had arrived at the border between Rheginê and Locris and lay down to rest after his wearying journey, they say that he was disturbed by the crickets and that he prayed to the gods that the creatures which were disturbing him might disappear; whereupon the gods granted his petition, and not only did his prayer cause the insects to disappear for the moment, but in all later times as well not a cricket has ever been seen in the land.

When Heracles arrived at the strait where the sea is narrowest, he had the cattle taken over into Sicily, but as for himself, he took hold of the horn of a bull and swam across the passage, the distance between the shores being thirteen stades, as Timaeus says.

1 In the toe of Italy. 2 The Strait of Messina.
DIODORUS OF SICILY

23. Metà de tauta boulómevos égkyklwthnai pásosw Sikelián, épohieito tîn poreían ἀπὸ tîs Pelw-
miádos épi tîn "Eruca. Díexeíntos δ' autou tîn par-
alión tîs νήσου, μυθολογούσι τâs Númphâs āneînai
thermâ loutrâ prós tîn ānâpausin tîs kata tîn
ódouporían autîw geinomênhia kakopatheias. Tootw
δ' óntwv diatôv, tâ mêν 'Imeraïa, tâ δ' 'Egesstaia
prosag oreútai, tîn ónomashîna exonta tautên āpò
2 tîn tòpwn. Toî δ' 'Hraklêous plêsiašantos tois
kata tîn "Eruca tòpois, proekaléswto autôn
"Eruês eîs páln, uîos 1 ón 'Aphroditis kai Bouita toû
tôte basileúontos tîn tòpwn. Geinomênhia de tîs
philostimias metà proostîmou, kai toû mêν "Erukos
didôntos tîn χwódan, toû δ' 'Hraklêous tâs boûs,
tô mêν prōtôn āganakteîn tîn "Eruca, diòti
polû leîpontai tîs ãzîas ai bòes, sunýkrwomênhia
tîs χwódas prôs autâs. prós tauta de toû 'Hra-
kleous apofainomênhia diòti, tautas ān āpobálh,
stereîsetai tîs āthanastîas, eîdokhîsas ò 'Eruês
tî synthrîka kai palaíshâ eleîfsh kai tîn
3 χwódas ápèbalen. ò δ' 'Hraklhês tîn mêν χwódan
parètheto tois ἐγχωρίως, sunýkrhîshas autois
laîmbân ein tois karpois, méxri ai tîs tîn ēknîon
autoi paraneinomênoi apântîsh. òpere kai syneîsh
geneôshai. Pollaîsh gar ùsteroi geneaîs Dôumeiôs
ò Lakedaimônios katanîshas eîs tîn Sikeliân kai

1 mêν after uîos deleted by Bekker.

1 i.e. from the eastern extremity of the north coast to the
western.
2 Cp. Aristophanes, The Clouds, 1051: "Where, pray,
did you ever see Baths of Heracles ("'Hrâkleia loutrô) that
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23. Upon his arrival in Sicily Heracles desired to make the circuit of the entire island and so set out from Pelorías in the direction of Eryx. While passing along the coast of the island, the myths relate, the Nymphs caused warm baths to gush forth so that he might refresh himself after the toil sustained in his journeying. There are two of these, called respectively Himeraea and Egestaea, each of them having its name from the place where the baths are. As Heracles approached the region of Eryx, he was challenged to a wrestling match by Eryx, who was the son of Aphroditē and Butas, who was then king of that country. The contest of the rivals carried with it a penalty, whereby Eryx was to surrender his land and Heracles the cattle. Now at first Eryx was displeased at such terms, maintaining that the cattle were of far less value as compared with the land; but when Heracles in answer to his arguments showed that if he lost the cattle he would likewise lose his immortality, Eryx agreed to the terms, and wrestling with him was defeated and lost his land. Heracles turned the land over to the natives of the region, agreeing with them that they should gather the fruits of it until one of his descendants should appear among them and demand it back; and this actually came to pass. For in fact many generations later Dorieus the Lacedaemonian

were cold? All naturally hot springs were commonly called "Heracleia" by the Greeks.

3 *i.e.* Mount Eryx, at the north-west corner of Sicily, now Mt. San Giuliano.

4 The chequered career of Dorieus, of the royal line of Sparta and so a Heraclid, is given in some detail in Herodotus 5. 41-8.
Τών χώρων ἀπολαβῶν ἐκτίσε πόλιν Ἦρακλειαν.
ταχὺ δ’ αὐτῆς αξιομένης, οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι φθονή-
σαντες ἁμα καὶ φοβηθέντες μήποτε πλέον ἱσχυ-
σασα τῆς Καρχηδόνος ἀφέληται τῶν Φοινίκων
τῆς ἱγεμονίας, στρατεύσαντες ἐπ’ αὐτῆς μεγά-
λας δυνάμεις καὶ κατὰ κράτος ἐλόντες κατέσκαψαν.
ἀλλὰ περὶ μὲν τούτων τὰ κατὰ μέρος ἐν τοῖς
οἰκείοις χρόνοις ἀναγράφομεν.

4 Τότε δ’ ὁ Ἦρακλῆς ἐγκυκλούμενος τῆς Σικελίας,
καταντήσας εἰς τὴν νῦν οὖσαν τῶν Συρακοσίων
πόλιν καὶ πυθόμενος τὰ μυθολογούμενα κατὰ τὴν
τῆς Κόρης ἀρπαγῆν, ἔθυσε τε ταῖς θεαῖς μεγαλοπρε-
πῶς καὶ εἰς τὴν Κυάνην τὸν καλλιστεύοντα τῶν
ταύρων καθαγίσας κατέδειξε θύειν τοὺς ἐγχώριους
κατ’ ἐναυτὸν τῇ Κόρη καὶ πρὸς τῇ Κυάνῃ λαμ-
5 πρῶς ἀγείν πανήγυρίν τε καὶ θυσίαν. αὐτὸς δὲ
μετὰ τῶν βοῶν διὰ τῆς μεσογείου διεξών, καὶ τῶν
ἐγχώριων Σικανῶν μεγάλας δυνάμεις ἀντιταξα-
μένων, ἐνίκησεν ἐπιφανεὶ παρατάξει καὶ πολλοὺς
ἀπέκτεινεν, ἐν οἷς μυθολογοῦσι τίνες καὶ στρατη-
γοὺς ἐπιφανεῖς γεγενηθαί τοὺς μέχρι τοῦ νῦν
ἡρωικῆς τιμῆς τυχαίσαντας, Λεύκαστιν καὶ Πεδια-
κράτην καὶ Βουφόναν καὶ Γλυχάταν, ἐτὶ δὲ Βυταιαν
καὶ Κρυτίδαν.

24. Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα διελθὼν τὸ Λεοντίνον πεδίον,
tὸ μὲν κάλλος τῆς χώρας ἔθαυμασε, πρὸς δὲ τοὺς
τιμῶντας αὐτὸν οἰκείως διατιθέμενος ἀπέλυπε παρ’

1 No account of this is in the extant portions of Diodorus.
2 This Heracleia in the region about Mt. Eryx is not to be
3
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came to Sicily, and taking back the land founded the city of Heracleia. Since the city grew rapidly, the Carthaginians, being jealous of it and also afraid that it would grow stronger than Carthage and take from the Phoenicians their sovereignty, came up against it with a great army, took it by storm, and razed it to the ground. But this affair we shall discuss in detail in connection with the period in which it falls. 1

While Heracles was making the circuit of Sicily at this time he came to the city which is now Syracuse, and on learning what the myth relates about the Rape of Corē he offered sacrifices to the goddesses 2 on a magnificent scale, and after dedicating to her the fairest bull of his herd and casting it in the spring Cyanē 3 he commanded the natives to sacrifice each year to Corē and to conduct at Cyanē a festive gathering and a sacrifice in splendid fashion. He then passed with his cattle through the interior of the island, and when the native Sicani opposed him in great force, he overcame them in a notable battle and slew many of their number, among whom, certain writers of myths relate, were also some distinguished generals who receive the honours accorded to heroes even to this day, such as Leucaspis, Pediaerates, 4 Buphonas, Glychatas, Bytacas, and Crytidas.

24. After this Heracles, as he passed through the plain of Leontini, marvelled at the beauty of the land, and to show his affection for the men who confused with the well-known Heracleia Minoa in the territory of Agrigentum. The date of its destruction is not known.

2 Corē ("The Maiden," i.e. Persephonē) and Demeter.
3 Cp. Book 5. 4 for an account of the connection of this spring with the myth of Corē.
4 Called Pediocrates by Xenagoras, Erg. 21 (Jacoby).
DIODORUS OF SICILY

αὐτοῖς ἀθάνατα μνημεῖα τῆς ἑαυτοῦ παρουσίας. Ἐν ὁδῷ δὲ τῷ συνέβη γενέσθαι περὶ τῆς πόλεως τῶν Ἀγυρμαίων. ἐν ταύτῃ γὰρ τιμήθη ἐπὶ ἱστης τοὺς Ὀλυμπίοις θεοῖς πανηγύρεσι καὶ θυσίας λαμπράς, καὶ περὶ τοὺς ἐμπροσθεν χρόνους οὐδεμίαν θυσίαν προσδεχόμενος, τότε πρῶτος συνευδόκησε, τοῦ δαμνωνίου τῆς ἀθανασίαν αὐτῶ προσημαίνοντος.

2 ὃδοι γὰρ οὐκ ἀποδείκνυα τῆς πόλεως πετρώδους, αἱ βοῖς τὰ ἵππα καθάπερ ἐπὶ κηροῦ τινος ἀπετυπωντο. ὀμοίως δὲ καὶ αὐτῶ τῷ Ἡρακλεὶ τούτου συμβαίνοντος, καὶ τοῦ Ἀθλου δεκάτου τελομένου, νομίσας ἦδη τι λαμβάνειν τῆς ἀθανασίας, προσεδέχετο τὰς τελουμένας ὑπὸ τῶν ἐγχώριων κατ᾽ ἐνιαυτὸν θυσίας. διόπερ τοῖς εὐδοκομένοις τὰς χάριτας ἀποδιδοῦσι, πρὸ μὲν τῆς πόλεως κατεσκευάσας λίμνην, ἐχουσαν τὸν περίβολον σταδίων τεττάρων, ἡν ἐπώνυμον αὐτῶ καλεῖσθαι προσέταξεν. ὑσαῦτως δὲ καὶ τῶν βοῶν τοῖς ἀποτυπωθέσιν ἱχνεῖ τήν ἐφ᾽ ἑαυτοῦ προσηγορίαν ἐπιθεῖς, τέμενος κατεσκεύασεν ἥρωι Γηρυνηῆς, δὲ μέχρι τοῦ νῦν τιμᾶται παρὰ τοῖς ἐγχωρίοις.

3 Ἰολάδου τε τοῦ ἀδελφίδοι συστατεύοντος τέμενος ἀξιόλογον ἐποίησε, καὶ τιμᾶς καὶ θυσίας κατεδείξεν αὐτῶ γίνεσθαι κατ᾽ ἐνιαυτὸν τὰς μέχρι τοῦ νῦν τηρουμένας σάρκες γὰρ οἳ κατὰ ταύτην τὴν πόλιν οἰκούντες ἐκ γενετῆς τὰς κόμας.

4 Ἔσσι τρέφουσι, μέχρι ἄν οὗ διαθέτῃς μεγαλο-

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1 So Dindorf: εὐδοκομένοις.
2 ἢπας after κόμας omitted D, Vogel; retained by Bekker, Dindorf.

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1 The native city of Diodorus.
honoured him he left behind him there imperishable memorials of his presence. And it came to pass that a peculiar thing took place near the city of Agyrium. Here he was honoured on equal terms with the Olympian gods by festivals and splendid sacrifices, and though before this time he had accepted no sacrifice, he then gave his consent for the first time, since the deity was giving intimations to him of his coming immortality. For instance, there was a road not far from the city which was all of rock, and yet the cattle left their tracks in it as if in a waxy substance. Since, then, this same thing happened in the case of Heracles as well and his tenth Labour was likewise coming to an end, he considered that he was already to a degree participating in immortality and so accepted the annual sacrifices which were offered him by the people of the city. Consequently, as a mark of his gratitude to the people who had found favour with him, he built before the city a lake, four stades in circumference, which he ordained should be called by his name; and he likewise gave his name to the moulds of the tracks which the cattle had left in the rock and dedicated to the hero Geryones a sacred precinct which is honoured to this day by the people of that region. To Iolaüs, his nephew, who was his companion on the expedition, he likewise dedicated a notable sacred precinct, and ordained that annual honours and sacrifices should be offered to him, as is done even to this day; for all the inhabitants of this city let the hair of their heads grow from their birth in honour of Iolaüs, until they have obtained good omens in costly sacrif-

2 i.e. Heracles also left his footprints in the rock.
Diodorus of Sicily

πρεπέσι καλλιερήσαντες τόν θεόν ἔλεων κατασκευάσωσι. τοσαυτή δ' ἐστὶν ἀγνεία καὶ σεμνότης περὶ τὸ τέμενος ὡστε τοὺς μὴ τελουντας τὰς εἰθυσμένας θυσίας παιδάς ἀφώνους γίνεσθαί καὶ τοῖς τετελευτηκόσιν ὁμοίοις. ἀλλ' οὕτωι μὲν, ὅταν εὐξηταὶ τις ἀποδώσεων τὴν θυσίαν καὶ ἐνέχυρον τῆς θυσίας ἀναδείξῃ τῷ θεῷ, παραχρήμα ἀποκαθίστασθαι φασί τοὺς τῇ προειρημένῃ νόσῳ κατεχο-μένους. οἱ δ' οὗν ἐγχώριοι τούτοις ἀκολούθως τὴν μὲν πύλην, πρὸς ἡ τὰς ἀπαντήσεις καὶ θυσίας τῷ θεῷ παρέστησαν, 'Ἡρακλεῖαν προσηγόρευσαν, ἀγώνα δὲ γυμνικὸν καὶ ἱππικὸν καθ' ἐκαστὸν ἔτος μετὰ πάσης προθυμίας ποιοῦσι. πανδήμου δὲ τῆς ἀποδοχῆς ἔλευθέρων τε καὶ δούλων γυναικῆς, κατεδείξαν καὶ τοὺς οἰκέτας ἑιδὰ τιμῶντας τὸν θεόν θιάσοντες τε συνάγειν καὶ συνιόντας εὐωχίας τε καὶ θυσίας τῷ θεῷ συντελεῖν.

'Ο δ' 'Ἡρακλῆς μετὰ τῶν βοῶν περαιωθεῖς εἰς τὴν Ἰταλίαν προῆγε διὰ τῆς παραλίας, καὶ Λακώνιον μὲν κλέπτοντα τῶν βοῶν ἀνείλε, Κρότωνα δὲ ἀκουσίως ἀποκτείνας ἔθαψε μεγαλοπρεπῶς καὶ τάφον αὐτοῦ κατεσκέυασε· προείπε δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἐγχωρίοις ὅτι καὶ κατὰ τοὺς ύστερον χρόνους ἔσται πόλις ἐπίσημος ὁμώνυμος τῷ τετελευτηκότι.

25. Αὐτὸς δ' ἐγκυκλώθησε τὸν Ἀδρίαν καὶ πεζῆ περιελθὼν τὸν προειρημένον κόλπον κατημνησεν εἰς τὴν Ἡπείρον, ἐξ ἤς πορευθείς εἰς τὴν Πελοπόννησον, καὶ τετελεκὼς τὸν δέκατον ἄθλον, ἔλαβε πρόσταγμα παρ' Εὐρυσθέως τὸν ἐξ ᾖδου Κέρβερον πρὸς τὸ φῶς ἀγαγεῖν. πρὸς δὲ τούτον τὸν ἄθλον
fices and have rendered the god propitious. And such a holiness and majesty pervade the sacred precinct that the boys who fail to perform the customary rites lose their power of speech and become like dead men. But so soon as anyone of them who is suffering from this malady takes a vow that he will pay the sacrifice and vouchsafes to the god a pledge to that effect, at once, they say, he is restored to health. Now the inhabitants, in pursuance of these rites, call the gate, at which they come into the presence of the god and offer him these sacrifices, "The Heracleian," and every year with the utmost zeal they hold games which include gymnastic contests and horse-races. And since the whole populace, both free men and slaves, unite in approbation of the god, they have commanded their servants, as they do honour to him apart from the rest, to gather in bands and when they come together to hold banquets and perform sacrifices to the god.

Heracles then crossed over into Italy with the cattle and proceeded along the coast; there he slew Lacinius as he was attempting to steal some of the cattle, and to Croton, whom he killed by accident, he accorded a magnificent funeral and erected for him a tomb; and he foretold to the natives of the place that also in after times a famous city would arise which should bear the name of the man who had died.

25. But when Heracles had made the circuit of the Adriatic, and had journeyed around the gulf on foot, he came to Epirus, whence he made his way to Peloponnesus. And now that he had performed the tenth Labour he received a Command from Eurystheus to bring Cerberus up from Hades to the light of day. And assuming that it would be to
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υπολαβῶν συνοίσειν αὐτῷ, παρῆλθεν εἰς τὰς Ἀθήνας καὶ μετέσχε τῶν ἐν Ἑλευσίνι μυστηρίων, Μουσαίου τοῦ Ὀρφέως ύιοῦ τότε προεστηκότος τῆς τελετῆς.

2 Ἐπεὶ δ' Ὀρφέως ἐμνήσθημεν, οὐκ ἀνοίκειον ἐστὶ παρεκβάντας βραχέα περὶ αὐτοῦ διελθεῖν. οὕτος γὰρ ἦν ύιός μὲν Οἰάγρου, Θρᾴς δὲ τὸ γένος, παίδεια καὶ μελωδία καὶ ποιήσει πολὺ προέχων τῶν μνημονευόμενων καὶ γὰρ ποίημα συνετά-

3 ἔστε θαυμαζόμενον καὶ τῇ ἁγίᾳ εὐμελείᾳ διαφέρον. ἐπὶ τοσοῦτο δὲ προέβη τῇ δόξῃ ὡστε δοκεῖν τῇ μελωδίᾳ θέλγειν τά τε θηρία καὶ τὰ δένδρα. περὶ δὲ παίδειαν ἀσχολήθεις καὶ τὰ περὶ τῆς θεολογίας μυθολογούμενα μαθὼν, ἀπεδήμησε μὲν εἰς Αὐγιστην, κάκει πολλὰ προσε-

4 πιμαθῶν μέγιστος ἐγένετο τῶν Ἐλλήνων ἐν τε ταῖς θεολογίαις καὶ ταῖς τελεταίς καὶ ποιήσει καὶ μελωδίαις. συνεστρατεύσατο δὲ καὶ τοῖς Ἀργο-

υναύταις, καὶ διὰ τοῦ ἐρῶτα τὸν πρὸς τὴν γυναίκα καταβῆναι μὲν εἰς ἅδου παραδόξως ἐτόλμησε, τὴν δὲ Φερσεφόνην διὰ τῆς εὐμελείας ψυχαγωγήσας ἐπεισε συνεργῆσαι ταῖς ἐπιθυμίαις καὶ συγχωρῆσαι τὴν γυναίκα αὐτοῦ τετελευτηκυιαν ἀναγαγεῖν ἕξ ἅδου παραπλησίως τῷ Διονύσῳ καὶ γὰρ ἐκείνου μυθολογούσιν ἀναγαγεῖν τὴν μητέρα Σεμέλην ἕξ ἅδου, καὶ μεταδόντα τῆς ἀθανασίας Ὀυώνην μετονομάσαι.

'Ἡμεῖς δ' ἐπεὶ περὶ Ὀρφέως διεληλύθαμεν, μεταβησόμεθα πάλιν ἐπὶ τῶν Ἡρακλέα.

26. Οὕτως γὰρ κατὰ τοὺς παραδεδομένους μύθους καταβὰς εἰς τούς καθ' ἅδου τόπους, καὶ προσδε-

1 τῇ added by Dindorf.
his advantage for the accomplishment of this Labour, he went to Athens and took part in the Eleusinian Mysteries, Musaeus, the son of Orpheus, being at that time in charge of the initiatory rites.

Since we have mentioned Orpheus it will not be inappropriate for us in passing to speak briefly about him. He was the son of Oeagrus, a Thracian by birth, and in culture and song-music and poesy he far surpassed all men of whom we have a record; for he composed a poem which was an object of wonder and excelled in its melody when it was sung. And his fame grew to such a degree that men believed that with his music he held a spell over both the wild beasts and the trees. And after he had devoted his entire time to his education and had learned whatever the myths had to say about the gods, he journeyed to Egypt, where he further increased his knowledge and so became the greatest man among the Greeks both for his knowledge of the gods and for their rites, as well as for his poems and songs. He also took part in the expedition of the Argonauts, and because of the love he held for his wife he dared the amazing deed of descending into Hades, where he entranced Persephonê by his melodious song and persuaded her to assist him in his desires and to allow him to bring up his dead wife from Hades, in this exploit resembling Dionysus; for the myths relate that Dionysus brought up his mother Semele from Hades, and that, sharing with her his own immortality, he changed her name to Thyone.

But now that we have discussed Orpheus, we shall return to Heracles.

26. Heracles, then, according to the myths which have come down to us, descended into the realm of
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χθεὶς ὑπὸ τῆς Φερσεφόνης ὡς ἂν ἀδελφὸς, Θησέα μὲν ἀνήγαγεν ἐκ δεσμῶν μετὰ Πειρίδου, χαρισμα-μένης τῆς Κόρης, τὸν δὲ κύνα παραλαβὼν δεδεμένου παραδόξως ἀπήγαγε καὶ φανερὸν κατεστησεν ἀνθρώπους.

2 Τελευταίοι δ’ ἄθλον λαβὼν ἐνεγκεῖν τὰ τῶν Ἑσπερίδων χρυσὰ μῆλα, πάλιν ἐπλευσεν εἰς τὴν Διβύην. περὶ δὲ τῶν μῆλων τούτων διαπεφωνή-κασιν ὁ μυθογράφοι, καὶ τινὲς μὲν φασὶν ἐν τοῖς κῆποις τῶν Ἑσπερίδων ὑπάρξαε κατὰ τὴν Διβύην μῆλα χρυσὰ, τηροῦμενα συνεχῶς ὑπὸ τυνὸς δράκοντος φοβερωτάτου, τινὲς δὲ λέγουσιν ποίμνας προβάτων κάλλει διαφεροῦσας κεκτήσαθαι τὰς Ἑσπερίδας, χρυσὰ δὲ μῆλα ἀπὸ τοῦ κάλλους ὦνομάσθαι ποιητικῶς, ὢσπερ καὶ τὴν Ἀφροδίτην χρυσὴν καλείσθαι διὰ τὴν εὐπρέπειαν. ἔνοι δὲ λέγουσιν 1 τὰ πρόβατα τὴν χροὰν ἰδιάζουσαν ἐχοῦτα καὶ παρόμοιον χρυσῷ τετευχέναι ταύτης τῆς προσηγορίας, Δράκοντα δὲ τῶν ποιμῶν ἐπιμελη-τῆν καθεσταμένον, καὶ ρώμη σῶμας καὶ ἀλκή διαφέροντα, τηρεῖν τὰ πρόβατα καὶ τοὺς ληστεύειν αὐτὰ τολμῶντας ἀποκτείνειν. ἀλλὰ περὶ μὲν τούτων ἐξέσται διαλαμβάνειν ὡς ἡν ἐκαστὸς ἐαυτὸν πείθη.

3 ὁ δ’ Ἡρακλῆς τὸν φύλακα τῶν μῆλων ἄνελὼν, καὶ ταύτα ἀποκομίσας πρὸς Εὔρυσθέα, καὶ τοὺς ἄθλους ἀποτετελεκὼς, προσεδέχετο τῆς ἀθανασίας τευξεσθαι, καθάπερ ὁ Ἀπόλλων ἔχρησεν.

1 ὁτι after λέγουσιν deleted by Dindorf, Bekker, retained by Vogel.
Hades, and being welcomed like a brother by Persephonē brought Theseus and Peirithoūs back to the upper world after freeing them from their bonds. This he accomplished by the favour of Persephonē, and receiving the dog Cerberus in chains he carried him away to the amazement of all and exhibited him to men.

The last Labour which Heracles undertook was the bringing back of the golden apples of the Hesperides, and so he again sailed to Libya. With regard to these apples there is disagreement among the writers of myths, and some say that there were golden apples in certain gardens of the Hesperides in Libya, where they were guarded without ceasing by a most formidable dragon, whereas others assert that the Hesperides possessed flocks of sheep which excelled in beauty and were therefore called for their beauty, as the poets might do, "golden apples," 1 just as Aphroditē is called "golden" because of her loveliness. There are some, however, who say that it was because the sheep had a peculiar colour like gold that they got this designation, and that Dracon ("dragon") was the name of the shepherd of the sheep, a man who excelled in strength of body and courage, who guarded the sheep and slew any who might dare try to carry them off. But with regard to such matters it will be every man's privilege to form such opinions as accord with his own belief. At any rate Heracles slew the guardian of the apples, and after he had duly brought them to Eurystheus and had in this wise finished his Labours he waited to receive the gift of immortality, even as Apollo had prophesied to him.

1 The word μηλον means both "sheep" and "apple."
27. 'Ἡμῶν δ' οὖν παραλειπτέον τὰ περὶ "Ἀτλαντος μυθολογούμενα καὶ τὰ περὶ τοῦ γένους τῶν Ἑσπερίδων. κατὰ γὰρ τὴν Ἑσπερίτων ὄνομαζο-μένην χώραν φασὶν ἀδελφοὺς δύο γενέσθαι δόξῃ διωνομασμένους, Ἔσπερον καὶ ᾿Ατλαντα. τούτους δὲ κεκτήσαντο πρόβατα τῷ μὲν κάλλει διάφορα, τῇ δὲ χρώα ξανάθα καὶ χρυσοειδήν. ᾧ ἂν αὐτίας τούς ποιήσας τὰ πρόβατα μῆλα καλούντας ὁνομάζωσιν χρυσά μῆλα. τὸν μὲν οὖν Ἔσπερον θυγατέρα γεννήσαντα τὴν ὄνομαζομένην Ἑσπερίδα συνοικίσαι τάδελφῷ, ἂν ἦσι τὴν χώραν Ἑσπερίτων ὄνομασθήναι. τὸν δ' ᾿Ατλαντα ἐκ ταύτης ἐπτὰ γεννήσας θυγατέρας, ἀς ἀπὸ μὲν τοῦ πατρὸς ᾿Ατλαντίδας, ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς μητρὸς Ἐσπερίδας ὄνομασθήναι. τούτων δὲ τῶν ᾿Ατλαντίδων κάλλει καὶ σωφροσύνη διαφερουσῶν, λέγουσι Βουσίριν τὸν βασιλέα τῶν ᾿Αἴγυπτων ἐπιθυμήσας τῶν παρθένων ἐγκρατῆ γενέσθαι. διὸ καὶ ληστᾶς κατὰ θάλασταν ἀποστείλαντα διακελεύσασθαι τὸν κόραν ἀρπάσαι καὶ διακομίσαι πρὸς ἑαυτόν.

3 Κατὰ δὲ τούτων τὸν καίρον τὸν Ἡρακλέα τελοῦντα τὸν ὕστατον ἀθλον Ὁ Ἀνταῖον μὲν ἀνελεῖν ἐν τῇ Λιβύῃ τοῖς συναναγκάζοντα τοὺς ἔργους διαπαλαίειν, Βουσίριν δὲ κατὰ τὴν Ἁγιοπτὸν τῷ Δίῳ σφαγίαντα τοὺς παρεπιδημοῦντας ἔργους τῆς προσηκούσης τιμωρίας καταξιῶσαι. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἀνὰ τὸν Νεῖλον πλεύσαντα εἰς τὴν Αἰθιοπίαν τὸν βασιλεύοντα τῶν Ἁθιόπων Ἡμαθίωνα κατάρχοντα μάχης ἀποκτείναι, τὸ δ' ὕστατον ἐπὶ τὸν ἀθλον. τοὺς δὲ ληστὰς ἐπάνελθείν πάλιν ἐπὶ τὸν ἀθλον. τοὺς δὲ ληστὰς

1 ἐπὶ αὐτᾶς after ληστᾶς omitted D, Dindorf, Vogel, retained by Bekker.
27. But we must not fail to mention what the myths relate about Atlas and about the race of the Hesperides. The account runs like this: In the country known as Hesperitis there were two brothers whose fame was known abroad, Hesperus and Atlas. These brothers possessed flocks of sheep which excelled in beauty and were in colour of a golden yellow, this being the reason why the poets, in speaking of these sheep as *mela*, called them golden *mela*. Now Hesperus begat a daughter named Hesperis, whom he gave in marriage to his brother and after whom the land was given the name Hesperitis; and Atlas begat by her seven daughters, who were named after their father Atlantides, and after their mother, Hesperides. And since these Atlantides excelled in beauty and chastity, Busiris the king of the Egyptians, the account says, was seized with the desire to get the maidens into his power; and consequently he dispatched pirates by sea with orders to seize the girls and deliver them into his hands.

About this time Heracles, while engaged in the performance of his last Labour, slew in Libya Antaeus, who was compelling all strangers to wrestle with him, and upon Busiris in Egypt, who was sacrificing to Zeus the strangers who visited his country, he inflicted the punishment which he deserved. After this Heracles sailed up the Nile into Ethiopia, where he slew Emathion, the king of the Ethiopians, who made battle with him unprovoked, and then returned to the completion of his last Labour. Meanwhile the

*καλλιερεῖν* after *Δῖ* deleted by Dindorf.
ἐν κήπῳ τινὶ παιδούσας τὰς κόρας συναρπάσαι, καὶ ταχύν ἐγγόντας εἰς τὰς ναῦς ἀποπλεῖν. τούτοις δ’ ἐπὶ τινὸς ἀκτῆς δειπνοποιούμενοι ἐπιστάντα τὸν Ἡρακλέα, καὶ παρά τῶν παρθένων μαθόντα τὸ συμβεβηκός, τοὺς μὲν ληστὰς ἀπαντᾶς ἀποκτεῖναι, τὰς δὲ κόρας ἀποκομίσαι πρὸς "Ἀτλαντα τὸν πατέρα· ἀνθ’ ὄν τὸν Ἐλληνας καὶ τὸν θάλον καθήκοντα προθύμως, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ κατὰ τὴν ἀστρολογίαν ἀφθόνως διδάξαι. περιττότερον γὰρ αὐτὸν τὰ κατὰ τὴν ἀστρολογίαν ἐκπεπονηκότα καὶ τὴν τῶν ἀστρων σφαίραν φιλοτέχνως εὐρόντα ἔχειν ὑπόληψιν ὡς τὸν κόσμον ὅλον ἐπὶ τῶν ὦμων φοροῦντα· παραπλησίως δὲ καὶ τοῦ Ἡρακλέους ἐξενέγκαντο εἰς τοὺς Ἐλλήνας τὸν σφαιρικὸν λόγον, δόξης μεγάλης τυχεῖν, ὡς διαδεδεγμένου τὸν Ἀτλαντικὸν κόσμον, αἴνητομενων τῶν ἀνθρώπων τὸ γεγονός.

28. Τοῦ δ’ Ἡρακλέους περὶ ταῦτ’ ὄντος φασὶ τὰς ὑπολειφθεῖσας Ἀμαζόνας περὶ τὸν Θερμώδοντα ποταμὸν ἄθροισθείσας πανδημεῖ σπεῦσαι τοὺς Ἐλλήνας ἁμύνασθαι περὶ ὅν Ἡρακλῆς στρατεύσας διειργάσατο. διαφορῶτα δὲ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἐφιλοτιμούντο Κολάσαι ἀδιά τὸ τὸν Ἐθνόνα καταδουλώσθαι τὴν ἡγεμόνα τῶν Ἀμαζώνων Ἀντιόπην, ως δ’ ἐν τοιού ὑγρόφωσιν, Ἰππολύτην. συστρατευσάντων δὲ τῶν Σκυθῶν ταῖς Ἀμαζόσι συνέβη δύναμιν

1 εὐρόντα Dindorf: ἔχοντα.
2 κολάσαι added by Kallenberg to govern Ἀθηναίους.
pirates had seized the girls while they were playing in a certain garden and carried them off, and fleeing swiftly to their ships had sailed away with them. Heracles came upon the pirates as they were taking their meal on a certain strand, and learning from the maidens what had taken place he slew the pirates to a man and brought the girls back to Atlas their father; and in return Atlas was so grateful to Heracles for his kindly deed that he not only gladly gave him such assistance as his Labour called for, but he also instructed him quite freely in the knowledge of astrology. For Atlas had worked out the science of astrology to a degree surpassing others and had ingeniously discovered the spherical nature of the stars,\(^1\) and for that reason was generally believed to be bearing the entire firmament upon his shoulders. Similarly in the case of Heracles, when he had brought to the Greeks the doctrine of the sphere, he gained great fame, as if he had taken over the burden of the firmament which Atlas had borne, since men intimated in this enigmatic way what had actually taken place.

28. While Heracles was busied with the matters just described, the Amazons, they say, of whom there were some still left in the region of the Thermodon river, gathered in a body and set out to get revenge upon the Greeks for what Heracles had done in his campaign against them. They were especially eager to punish the Athenians because Theseus had made a slave of Antiopê, the leader of the Amazons, or, as others write, of Hippolytê. The Scythians had joined forces with the Amazons, and so it came

\(^1\) Or the phrase may mean "the spherical arrangement of the stars"; but cp. p. 278, n. 2.
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The Strait of Kertch, which connects the Sea of Azof with the Black Sea.

This spot was probably on the slopes of the Areopagus. Cp. Aeschylus, Eumenides, 685 ff.: "And this hill of Ares,
about that a notable army had been assembled, with which the leaders of the Amazons crossed the Cimmerian Bosporus and advanced through Thrace. Finally they traversed a large part of Europe and came to Attica, where they pitched their camp in what is at present called after them "the Amazoneum." When Theseus learned of the oncoming of the Amazons he came to the aid of the forces of his citizens, bringing with him the Amazon Antiope, by whom he already had a son Hippolytus. Theseus joined battle with the Amazons, and since the Athenians surpassed them in bravery, he gained the victory, and of the Amazons who opposed him, some he slew at the time and the rest he drove out of Attica. And it came to pass that Antiope, who was fighting at the side of her husband Theseus, distinguished herself in the battle and died fighting heroically. The Amazons who survived renounced their ancestral soil, and returned with the Scythians into Scythia and made their homes among that people.

But we have spoken enough about the Amazons, and shall return to the deeds of Heracles.

29. After Heracles had performed his Labours, the god revealed to him that it would be well if, before he passed into the company of the gods, he should despatch a colony to Sardinia and make the sons who had been born to him by the daughters of Thespius the leaders of the settlement, and so he decided to send his nephew Iolaüs with the boys, since

whereon the Amazons had their seat and pitched their tents, what time they came, embattled, in resentment against Theseus, and in those days built up this new citadel with lofty towers to rival his, and sacrificed to Ares . . ." (tr. of Smyth in the L.C.L.).
2 εἶναι. ἀναγκαῖον δ’ ἡμῖν φαίνεται προδιελθεῖν περὶ τῆς γενέσεως τῶν παιδῶν, ἵνα τὸν περὶ τῆς ἀποικίας λόγον καθαρώτερον ἐκθέσθαι δυνηθῶμεν.

Θέσπιος ἦν ἀνήρ τὸ γένος ἐπιφανῆς ἐκ τῶν Ἀθηνῶν, νῦν Ἐρεχθέως, βασιλεύων δὲ τῆς ὁμονύμου χώρας ἐγέννησεν ἐκ πλειόνων γυναικῶν

3 θυγατέρας πεντήκοντα. Ἡρακλέους δ’ ἐτί παιδὸς ὄντος τὴν ἥλικιαν, καὶ ῥώμη σώματος ὑπερφυοῦσ ὄντος, ἐφιλοτιμήθη τὰς θυγατέρας ἐκ τούτου τεκνοποιήσασθαι. διὸ καλέσας αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τινὰ θυσίαν καὶ λαμπρῶς ἐστιάσας, ἀπέστειλε κατὰ μίαν τῶν θυγατέρων· αἱς ἀπάσαις μιγεῖς καὶ ποιῆσαι ἐγκύους ἐγένετο πατήρ υἱῶν πεντήκοντα. ὃν λαβόντων τὴν κοινὴν προσηγορίαν ἀπὸ τῶν Θεσπιάδων, καὶ γενομένων ἐνηλίκων, ἐκρινεῖ ἐκπέμπειν τούτους εἰς τὴν ἀποικίαν τὴν εἰς

4 Σαρδόνα κατὰ τὸν χρησμὸν. ἤγουμενον δὲ τοῦ στόλου παντὸς Ἰολάου, καὶ συνεστρατευμένου σχεδὸν ἀπάσας τὰς στρατείας, ἐπέτρεψεν αὐτῷ τὰ περὶ τοὺς Θεσπιάδας καὶ τὴν ἀποικίαν. τῶν δὲ πεντήκοντα παιδῶν δύο μὲν κατέμειναν ἐν ταῖς Θῆβαις, ὃν τοὺς ἀπογόνους φασὶ μέχρι τοῦ νῦν τιμᾶσθαι, ἐπὶ δ’ ἐν Θεσπιαῖς, οὓς ὄνομάζουσι δημούχους, ὃν καὶ τοὺς ἀπογόνους ἡγήσασθαι

1 The territory of the city of Thespiae in Bocotia.
2 This was done, according to some ancient writers, on fifty successive nights; according to others, on seven nights when seven daughters lay with Heracles each night, one refusing and being sentenced by him to lifelong maidenhood.
they were still quite young. Now it seems to us indispensable that we should speak first of the birth of the boys, in order that we may be able to set forth more clearly what is to be said about the colony.

Thespius was by birth a distinguished man of Athens and son of Erechtheus, and he was king of the land which bears his name and begot by his wives, of whom he had a great number, fifty daughters. And when Heracles was still a boy, but already of extraordinary strength of body, the king strongly desired that his daughters should bear children by him. Consequently he invited Heracles to a sacrifice, and after entertaining him in brilliant fashion he sent his daughters one by one in to him; and Heracles lay with them all, brought them all with child, and so became the father of fifty sons. These sons all took the same name after the daughters of Thespius, and when they had arrived at manhood Heracles decided to send them to Sardinia to found a colony, as the oracle had commanded. And since the expedition was under the general command of Iolaüs, who had accompanied Heracles on practically all of his campaigns, the latter entrusted him with the care of the Thespiadae and the planting of the colony. Of the fifty boys, two continued to dwell in Thebes, their descendants, they say, being honoured even to the present day, and seven in Thespiae, where they are called demouchi, and where their

But some writers (e.g. Pausanias, 9. 27. 7, Gregorius Nazianzenus, Orat. IV, Contra Julianum I (Migne, S. Gr. 35. 661)) state that this deed was accomplished by Heracles in one night and counted as his thirteenth Labour.

3 i.e. each took the name Thespiades. "son of Thespius."

4 The word means "protector of the people."
Diodorus of Sicily

φασὶ τῆς πόλεως μέχρι τῶν νεωτέρων καυρῶν.

5 τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς ἀπαίτας Ἰόλαος ἀναλαβὼν καὶ πολλοὺς ἄλλους τοὺς βουλομένους κοινωνεῖν τῆς ἀποικίας, ἐπλέουσεν εἰς τὴν Σαρδώνα. κρατήσας δὲ μᾶχῃ τῶν ἐγχωρίων, κατεκληρούχησε τὸ κάλλιστον τῆς νῆσου, καὶ μάλιστα τῇ πεδιάδα χώραν,

6 ἤν μέχρι τοῦ νῦν καλείσθαι ὸλαίειον. ἐξημερώσας δὲ τὴν χώραν καὶ καταφυτεύσας δένδρει καρπίμοις κατεσκεύασε περιμάχητον ἐπὶ τοσοῦτο γὰρ ἡ νῆσος διωνομάσθη τῇ τῶν καρπῶν ἀφθονίᾳ ὡστε Καρχηδονίους ὑστερον αὐξηθέντας ἐπιθυμησάς τῆς νῆσου, καὶ πολλοὺς ἄγωνας καὶ κυνόνους ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς ἀναδέξασθαι. ἄλλα περὶ μὲν τούτων ἐν τοῖς οἰκείοις χρόνοις ἀναγράφομεν.

30. Τότε δ' ὁ Ἰόλαος καταστήσας τὰ περὶ τῆς ἀποκίαν, καὶ τὸν Δαίδαλον ἐκ τῆς Σικελίας μεταπεμψάμενος, κατεσκεύασεν ἑργα πολλὰ καὶ μεγάλα μέχρι τῶν νῦν καυρῶν διαμένοντα καὶ άπὸ τοῦ κατασκευάσαντος Δαίδαλεα καλούμενα. ψικοδόμησε δὲ καὶ γυμνίσσα μεγάλα τε καὶ πολυτελῆ, καὶ δικαστήρια κατέστησε καὶ τάλλα τὰ πρὸς τὴν 2 εὐθανασίας συντείνοντα. ἀνόμασε δὲ καὶ τοὺς λαοὺς Ἰολαίεις, ἀφ' ἐαυτοῦ θέμενος τὴν προσηγορίαν, συγκωρησάμεν τῶν Θεσπιαδῶν, καὶ δόντων αὐτῷ τούτῳ τὸ γέρας καθαπερεῖ τινι πατρί. διὰ γὰρ τὴν πρὸς αὐτοὺς σπουδὴν ἐπὶ τοσοῦτ' εὔνοιας προήχθησαν ὡστ' ἐπώνυμον αὐτῷ περιθείναι τὴν τοῦ γονέως προσηγορίαν. διόσπερ ἐν τοῖς ὑστερον χρόνοις

1 Ἰολαίεις (επ. Strabo 5. 2. 7), Ἰολάους MSS, Ἰολαίειος Wesseling and editors.

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descendants, they say, were the chief men of the city until recent times. All the other Thespiadae and many more who wished to join in the founding of the colony Iolaüs took with him and sailed away to Sardinia. Here he overcame the natives in battle and divided the fairest part of the island into allotments, especially the land which was a level plain and is called to this day Iolaeium. When he had brought the land under cultivation and planted it with fruit-bearing trees he made of the island an object of contention; for instance, it gained such fame for the abundance of its fruits that at a later time the Carthaginians, when they had grown powerful, desired the island and faced many struggles and perils for possession of it. But we shall write of these matters in connection with the period to which they belong.¹

30. At the time we are considering, Iolaüs established the colony, and summoning Daedalus from Sicily he built through him many great works which stand to this day and are called "Daedaleia" after their builder. He also had large and expensive gymnasia constructed and established courts of justice and the other institutions which contribute to the prosperity of a state. Furthermore, Iolaüs named the folk of the colony Iolaeis, calling them after himself, the Thespiadae consenting to this and granting to him this honour as to a father. In fact his regard for them led them to entertain such a kindly feeling towards him that they bestowed upon him as a title the appellation usually given to the progenitor of a people; consequently those who in later times

¹ This is not found in the extant portions of Diodorus.
οι τὰς θυσίας τελοῦντες τοῦτῳ τῷ θεῷ προσ-
αγορεύοντες αὐτὸν Ἰόλαον πατέρα, καθάπερ οἱ
Πέρσαι τὸν Κύρον.

3 Μετὰ δὲ ταύτα ὁ μὲν Ἰόλαος ἐπανών εἰς τὴν
'Ελλάδα, καὶ προσπλεύσας τῇ Σικελία, οὐκ ὄλγον
χρόνον διέτριψεν ἐν τῇ νήσῳ. καθ' ὄν δὴ χρόνον
καὶ τινες τῶν συναποδημοῦντων αὐτῶ διὰ τὸ
κάλλος τῆς χώρας κατέμειναν ἐν τῇ Σικελίᾳ,
καὶ τοῖς Σικανοῖς καταμιγήσαντες ἐν ταύτῃ κατ-
ώκησαν, τιμᾶμενοι διαφέροντος ὑπὸ τῶν ἐγχωρίων.
ὁ δ' Ἰόλαος μεγάλης ἀποδοχῆς τυγχάνων καὶ
πολλοῦς εὐεργετῶν ἐν πολλαῖς τῶν πόλεων ἐτή-
μήνῃ τεμένεσι καὶ τιμαῖς ἤρωικαῖς. ὦτιον δὲ τὶ
καὶ παράδοξον συνέβη γενέσθαι κατὰ τὴν ἀποικίαν
ταύτην. ὁ μὲν γὰρ θεὸς ἔχρησεν αὐτοῖς ὅτι πάντες
οἱ τῆς ἀποικίας ταύτης μετασχόντες καὶ οἱ τούτων
ἐκγονοὶ διατελέσουσιν ἀπαντὰ τὸν αἰῶνα διαμενο-
τες ἐλευθεροί, τὸ δ' ἀποτέλεσμα τούτων ἀκολούθως
τῷ χρησμῷ διέμενε μέχρι τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς καυρῶν.

4 οἱ μὲν γὰρ λαοὶ διὰ τὸ πλῆθος τοῦ χρόνου, πλειώ-
νων τῶν βαρβάρων ὄντων τῶν μετασχηκότων τῆς
ἀποικίας, ἐξεβαρβαρώθησαν, καὶ μεταστάντες εἰς
τὴν ὀρεινήν ἐν ταῖς δυσχωρίαις κατώκησαν,
ἐθάναντες δ' ἐαυτοὺς τρέφεσθαι γάλακτι καὶ
κρέασι καὶ πολλὰς ἅγελας κτηνῶν τρέφοντες οὐκ
ἐπεδέσεντο σύτων· κατασκευάσαντες δ' οἰκήσεις
ἐαυτοῖς καταγείνους καὶ τὴν τοῦ βίου διεξαγωγήν ἐν
τοῖς ὀρύγμασι λοιμοῦντες ἐκ τῶν πολέμων

5 κινδύνους ἔξεφυγον. διὸ καὶ πρότερον μὲν Καρχη-
δόνοι, μετὰ δὲ ταύτα 'Ῥωμαίοι πολλάκις πολεμή-
σαντες τούτοις τῆς προθέσεως διήμαρτον.

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offer sacrifices to this god address him as "Father Iolaüs," as the Persians do when they address Cyrus. After this Iolaüs, on his return to Greece, sailed over to Sicily and spent a considerable time on that island. And at this time several of those who were visiting the island in his company remained in Sicily because of the beauty of the land, and uniting with the Sicani they settled in the island, being especially honoured by the natives. Iolaüs also received a great welcome, and since he conferred benefits upon many men he was honoured in many of the cities with sacred precincts and with such distinctions as are accorded to heroes. And a peculiar and astonishing thing came to pass in connection with this colony in Sardinia. For the god \(^1\) had told them in an oracle that all who joined in this colony and their descendants should continually remain free men for evermore, and the event in their case has continued to be in harmony with the oracle even to our own times. For the people of the colony in the long course of time came to be barbarized, since the barbarians who took part in the colony about them outnumbered them, and so they removed into the mountainous part of the island and made their home in the rough and barren regions and there, accustoming themselves to live on milk and meat and raising large flocks and herds, they had no need of grain. They also built themselves underground dwellings, and by spending their lives in such dug-out homes they avoided the perils which wars entail. As a consequence both the Carthaginians in former days and the Romans later, despite the many wars which they waged with this people, did not attain their design.\(^2\)

\(^1\) Apollo in Delphi.  
\(^2\) Cp. Book 5. 15.
DIODORUS OF SICILY

Καὶ περὶ μὲν Ἰολάου καὶ Θεσπιαδῶν, ἐτὶ δὲ τῆς ἀποκλίας τῆς εἰς Σαρδόνα γενομένης ἀρκεσθησόμεθα τοῖς ρήθεισι, περὶ δὲ Ἡρακλέους τὰ συνεχὴ τοῖς προειρημένοις προσθῆσομεν.

31. Τελέσας γὰρ τοὺς ἄθλους τὴν μὲν ἑαυτοῦ γυναῖκα Μεγάραν συνώκισεν Ἰολάω, διὰ τὴν περὶ τὰ τέκνα συμφορὰν ὑποπτευσάμενος τὴν εἰς ἐκείνης παιδοποιῶν, ἐτέραν δὲ εξήτει πρὸς τέκνων γένεσιν ἀνύπτοπον. διὸπερ ἐμνήστευσεν Ἰόλην τὴν Εὐρύτου τοῦ δυναστεύσαντος Οἰχαλίας. οὐ δὲ Εὐρυτος διὰ τὴν ἐκ τῆς Μεγάρας γενομένην ἀτυχίαν εὐλαβηθείς, ἀπεκρίθη βουλεύσεσθαι περὶ τοῦ γάμου. οὐ δὲ ἀποτυχῶν τῆς μυστηρίως διὰ τὴν ἀτυμίαν εξῆλασε τὰς ἰππους τοῦ Εὐρύτου. Ἰφίτου δὲ τοῦ Εὐρύτου τὸ γεγονός ὑποπτεύσαντος καὶ παραγενομένου κατὰ ἕξήτησιν τῶν ἰππῶν εἰς Τίρωνθα, τούτον μὲν ἀναβιβάσας ὁ Ἡρακλῆς ἐπὶ τινα πύργου ὑψηλοῦ ἐκέλευσεν ἀφορὰν μὴ ποὺ νεμόμεναι τυγχάνουσιν οὐ δυναμένου δὲ κατανοη- σαι τοῦ Ἰφίτου, φήσας αὐτὸν ψευδῶς κατητισθαί τὴν κλοπὴν κατεκρήμνισεν ἀπὸ τοῦ πύργου.

4 Διὰ δὲ τὸν τοῦτον θάνατον Ἡρακλῆς νοσήσας παρῆλθεν εἰς Πύλον πρὸς Νηλέα, καὶ παρεκάλεσεν αὐτὸν καθάρα τὸν φόνον. ὃ μὲν οὖν Νηλέως βουλευσάμενος μετὰ τῶν νιών ἐλαβεὶ πάντας πλὴν Νέστορος τοῦ νεωτάτου συγκατανοοῦντας μὴ προσ-

1 ὁ Ἡρακλῆς omitted by DF, Vogel.

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As regards Iolaüs, then, and the Thespiadae and the colony which was sent to Sardinia, we shall rest satisfied with what has been said, and we shall continue the story of Heracles from the point at which our account left off.

31. After Heracles had completed his Labours he gave his own wife Megara in marriage to Iolaüs, being apprehensive of begetting any children by her because of the calamity which had befallen their other offspring, and sought another wife by whom he might have children without apprehension. Consequently he wooed Iolê, the daughter of Eurytus who was ruler of Oechalia. But Eurytus was hesitant because of the ill fortune which had come in the case of Megara and replied that he would deliberate concerning the marriage. Since Heracles had met with a refusal to his suit, because of the dishonour which had been shown him he now drove off the mares of Eurytus. But Iphitus, the son of Eurytus, harboured suspicions of what had been done and came to Tiryns in search of the horses, whereupon Heracles, taking him up on a lofty tower of the castle, asked him to see whether they were by chance grazing anywhere; and when Iphitus was unable to discover them, he claimed that Iphitus had falsely accused him of the theft and threw him down headlong from the tower.

Because of his murder of Iphitus Heracles was attacked by a disease, and coming to Neleus at Pylus he besought him to purify him of the blood-guilt. Thereupon Neleus took counsel with his sons and found that all of them, with the exception of Nestor who was the youngest, agreed in advising him that he

1 Cp. chap. 11.
δέξασθαι τὸν καθαροῦν· ὃ δὲ Ἡρακλῆς τὸτε μὲν παρελθὼν πρὸς Δηῖροβοῦν τὸν Ἰππολύτου καὶ πείσας αὐτὸν ἐκαθάρθη, οὐ δυνάμενος δὲ ἀπολυθῆναι τῆς νοσεὶς ἐπηρώτησε τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα περὶ τῆς θεραπείας· τούτου δὲ χρήσαντος ὅτι βάον οὕτως ἀπολυθήσεται τῆς νοσοῦ, εἰ πραθεὶς δικαίως τὴν ἑαυτοῦ τιμῆν ἀποδοίη τοῖς Ἰφίτου παῖσιν, ἀναγκαζόμενος πεῖθεσθαι τῷ χρησμῷ μετὰ τῶν φίλων ἐπλεῦσεν εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν. ἔκει δὲ ὑπομείνας ἐκουσίως ὑπὸ τῶν φίλων ἐπράθη, καὶ παρθένου δοῦλος ἐγένετο ὁμφάλης τῆς Ἰαρδάνου, βασιλευουσῆς τῶν τότε Μαίονων, νῦν δὲ Λυδῶν ὀνομαζομένων.

καὶ τὴν μὲν τιμήν ὁ ἀποδόμενος τὸν Ἡρακλέα τοῖς Ἰφίτου παῖσιν ἀπέδωκε κατὰ τὸν χρησμὸν, ὃ δὲ Ἡρακλῆς ὑγιασθεὶς καὶ δουλεύων τῇ Ὁμφάλῃ τοὺς κατὰ τὴν χώραν ληστεύουσας ἐκόλασε. τοὺς μὲν γὰρ ὄνομαζομένους Κέρκυπας, ληστεύουσας καὶ πολλὰ κακὰ διεργαζόμενους, οὐς μὲν ἀπέκτεινεν, οὓς δὲ ζωγρῆσας δεδεμένους παρέδωκε τῇ Ὁμφάλῃ. Συλέα δὲ τοὺς παριόντας ξένους συναρπάζοντα καὶ τοὺς ἀμπελώνας σκάπτειν ἀναγκάζοντα τῷ σκαφείῳ πατάξας ἀπέκτεινεν. Ἰτώνων δὲ λεγαλατούντων πολλήν τῆς ὑπὸ Ὁμφάλῃ χῶρας, τὴν τε λειαν ἀφεῖλετο καὶ τὴν πόλιν, ἐξ ἃς ἐποιοῦντο τὴν ὅρμην, ἐκπορθησάς ἐξημοδαπὸδίσατο καὶ κατέσκοψεν. ὡ δὲ Ὁμφάλη ἀποδεχομένη τῆς ἄνδρείαν τῆς Ἡρακλέους, καὶ πυθομένη τίς ἐστὶ καὶ τίνων, ἐθαύμασε τὴν ἄρετίν, ἐλευθέρον δὲ ὑπὸ τῆς νόσου after πείθεσθαι deleted by Dindorf, Vogel, retained by Bekker.
should not undertake the rite of purification. Heracles then went to Deiphobus, the son of Hippolytus, and prevailing upon him was given the rite of purification, but being still unable to rid himself of the disease he inquired of Apollo how to heal it. Apollo gave him the answer that he would easily rid himself of the disease if he should be sold as a slave and honourably pay over the purchase price of himself to the sons of Iphitus, and so, being now under constraint to obey the oracle, he sailed over to Asia in company with some of his friends. There he willingly submitted to be sold by one of his friends and became the slave of Omphalê, the daughter of Iardanus, who was still unmarried and was queen of the people who were called at that time Maenonians, but now Lydians. The man who had sold Heracles paid over the purchase price to the sons of Iphitus, as the oracle had commanded, and Heracles, healed now of the disease and serving Omphalê as her slave, began to mete out punishment upon the robbers who infested the land. As for the Cercopes, for instance, as they are called, who were robbing and committing many evil acts, some of them he put to death and others he took captive and delivered in chains to Omphalê. Syleus, who was seizing any strangers who passed by and forcing them to hoe his vineyards, he slew by a blow with his own hoe; and from the Itoni, who had been plundering a large part of the land of Omphalê, he took away their booty, and the city which they had made the base of their raids he sacked, and enslaving its inhabitants razed it to the ground. Omphalê was pleased with the courage Heracles displayed, and on learning who he was and who had been his parents she marvelled at his valour, set him
ἀφείσα καὶ συνοικῆσασα αὐτῷ Λάμον ἐγέννησε. προὐπήρχε δὲ τῷ Ἡρακλεὶ κατὰ τὸν τῆς δουλείας καιρὸν ἐκ δούλης ὑώς Κλεόδαιος.

32. Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἐπανελθὼν εἰς Πελοπόννησον ἐστράτευσεν εἰς Ἰλιον, ἔγκαλων Λαομέδοντι τῷ βασιλεῖ. οὕτως γὰρ Ἡρακλέους στρατεύοντος μετὰ Ἰάσωνος ἐπὶ τὸ χρυσόμαλλον δέρος, καὶ τὸ κῆτος ἀνελόντος, ἀπεστέρησε τῶν ὁμολογημένων ἵππων, περὶ ὅν ἐν τοῖς Ἀργοναύταις τὰ κατὰ μέρος μικρὸν ὡστερὸν διέξημεν. καὶ τότε μὲν διὰ τὴν μετ' Ἰάσωνος στρατεύαν ἄσχοληθείς, ὡστερὸν δὲ λαβὼν καιρὸν ἐπὶ τὴν Τροίαν ἐστράτευσεν, ὡς μὲν τινὲς φασι, ναυσὶ μακραῖς ὀκτωκαίδεκα, ὡς δὲ Ὁμήρος γέγραφεν, ἐξ ταῖς ἀπάσαις, ἐν οἷς παρεισάγει τὸν ὑῶν αὐτοῦ Τηλπόλεμον λέγοντα

ἀλλ' οἴον τινά φασι βίην Ἡρακληείην εἶναι, ἐμὸν πατέρα θραυσμέμινονα, θυμολέοντα, ὡς ποτὲ δεύρ εἴλθων ἐνεχ' ἵππων Λαομέδοντος ἐξ οἷς σὺν νυσι καὶ ἀνδράσι παυροτέροισιν Ἰλίου εξαλάταξε πόλιν, χήρωσε δ' ἀγνάς.

3 Ὅ δ' οὖν Ἡρακλῆς καταπλεύσας εἰς τὴν Τρωάδα αὐτός μὲν μετὰ τῶν ἀρίστων προῆγεν ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν, ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν νεὼν ἀπέλιπεν ἔγεμονα τῶν Ἀμφιαράου υἱῶν Οἰκλέα. Λαομέδων δ' ἀπροσδοκήτου τῆς παρουσίας τῶν πολεμίων γενομένης δύναμιν ἀξιόλογον συμαγαγεῖν ἐξεκλείσθη διὰ τὴν διόντητα τῶν καιρῶν, ἀθροίσας δ' ὦσοντι εὔνατο,

1 This story is told below in chap. 42.
2 Iliad 5. 638-42.
BOOK IV. 31. 8–32. 3

free, and marrying him bore him Lamus. Already before this, while he was yet a slave, there had been born to Heracles by a slave a son Cleodaeus.

32. After this Heracles, returning to Peloponnesus, made war against Ilium, since he had a ground of complaint against its king, Laomedon. For when Heracles was on the expedition with Jason to get the golden fleece and had slain the sea-monster, Laomedon had withheld from him the mares which he had agreed to give him and of which we shall give a detailed account a little later in connection with the Argonauts.¹ At that time Heracles had not had the leisure, since he was engaged upon the expedition of Jason, but later he found an opportunity and made war upon Troy with eighteen ships of war, as some say, but, as Homer writes, with six in all, when he introduces Heracles' son Tlepolemus as saying²:

Aye, what a man, they say, was Heracles
In might, my father he, steadfast, with heart
Of lion, who once came here to carry off
The mares of King Laomedon, with but
Six ships and scantier men, yet sacked he then
The city of proud Ilium, and made
Her streets bereft.

When Heracles, then, had landed on the coast of the Troad, he advanced in person with his select troops against the city and left in command of the ships Oecles, the son of Amphiaraus. And since the presence of the enemy had not been expected, it proved impossible for Laomedon, on account of the exigencies of the moment, to collect a passable army, but gathering as many soldiers as he could he advanced
metà toútων ἥλθεν ἐπὶ τὰς ναύς, ἑλπίζων, εἰ ταύτας ἐμπρήσεις, τέλος ἐπιθήσεν τῷ πολέμῳ. τοῦ δὲ Οἰκλέους ἀπαντήσαντος, ὁ μὲν στρατηγὸς Οἰκλῆς ἔπεσεν, οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ συνδωχόντες ἔτι τὰς ναύς ἔφθασαν ἀναπλεύσαντες ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς.

4 Λαομέδων δὴ ἔπανελθὼν καὶ πρὸς τῇ πόλει τοῖς μεθ’ Ἡρακλέως συμβαλὼν αὐτός τε ἐπέσε καὶ τῶν συναγωνιζομένων οἱ πλείους. Ἡρακλῆς δὲ τὴν πόλιν ἐλών κατὰ κράτος καὶ πολλοὺς ἐν χειρῶν νόμω κατασφάξας, Πριάμῳ τὴν βασιλείαν ἀπεδωκε τῶν Ἰλιαδῶν διὰ τὴν δικαιοσύνην οὔτος γὰρ μόνος τῶν νεόν τοῦ Λαομέδωντος ἐναντιοῦμενος τῶν πατρί τὰς ὕππους ἀποδοῦναι συνεβούλευσε τῷ Ἡρακλεί κατὰ τὰς ἐπαγγελίας. ὁ δὲ Ἡρακλῆς ἐστεφάνωσε Τελαμώνα ἀριστείους, δοὺς αὐτῷ τὴν Λαομέδωντος θυγατέρα Ἡσιώνην οὔτος γὰρ κατὰ τὴν πολιορκίαν πρῶτος βιασάμενος εἰσέπεσεν εἰς τὴν πόλιν, Ἡρακλέους προσβαλόντος κατὰ τὸ καρτερῶτατον μέρος τοῦ τείχους τῆς ἀκροπόλεως.

33. Μετὰ δὲ ταύτα Ἡρακλῆς μὲν ἔπανελθὼν εἰς Πελοπόννησον ἐστράτευσεν ἐπ’ Αὐγέαν διὰ τὴν ἀποστέρησιν τοῦ μισθοῦ· γενομένης δὲ μάχης πρὸς τοὺς Ἡλείους, τότε μὲν ἀπρακτὸς ἐπανῆλθεν εἰς Ὡλενον πρὸς Δεξαμενόν τῇ δὲ τοῦτον θυγατρός Ἰππολύτης συνουκιζομένης Ἀξάιν, συνδειπνῶν Ἡρακλῆς καὶ θεασάμενος ἐν τοῖς γάμοις ὑβρίζοντα τὸν Κένταυρον Εὐρυτίωνα καὶ τὴν Ἰππολύτην τὴν βιαζόμενον, ἀπέκτεινεν. εἰς Τίρνυθα δὲ Ἡρακλέους ἐπανελθόντος, Εὐρυσθεὺς αἰτιασά-

1 Augeas had agreed to give Heracles one-tenth of his herds in payment for the cleansing of his stables.
with them against the ships, in the hope that if he could burn them he could bring an end to the war. Oecles came out to meet him, but when he, the general, fell, the rest succeeded in making good their flight to the ships and in putting out to sea from the land. Laomedon then withdrew and joining combat with the troops of Heracles near the city he was slain himself and most of the soldiers with him. Heracles then took the city by storm and after slaughtering many of its inhabitants in the action he gave the kingdom of the Iliadae to Priam because of his sense of justice; for Priam was the only one of the sons of Laomedon who had opposed his father and had counselled him to give the mares back to Heracles, as he had promised to do. And Heracles crowned Telamon with the meed of valour by bestowing upon him Hesione the daughter of Laomedon, for in the siege he had been the first to force his way into the city, while Heracles was assaulting the strongest section of the wall of the acropolis.

33. After this Heracles returned to Peloponnesus and set out against Augeas, since the latter had defrauded him of his reward. It came to a battle between him and the Eleans, but on this occasion he had no success and so returned to Olenus to Dexamenus. The latter's daughter Hippolytê was being joined in marriage to Azan, and when Heracles, as he sat at the wedding feast, observed the Centaur Eurytion acting in an insulting manner towards Hippolytê and endeavouring to do violence to her, he slew him. When Heracles returned to Tiryns, Eurystheus charged him with plotting to seize the

\*\* A city of Achaea. \*\*
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μένος αὐτοῦ ἐπιβουλεύειν τῇ βασιλείᾳ προσέταξεν ἀπελθεῖν ἐκ Τίρυνθος αὐτοῦ τε καὶ τὴν Ἀλκμήνην καὶ Ἰφικλέα καὶ Ἰόλαον. διὸ περ ἀναγκασθεὶς ἐφυγε μετὰ τούτων καὶ κατώκησε 3 τῇ Ἀρκαδίᾳ ἐν Φενεώ. ἐντεῦθεν δὲ ὀρμώµενος, καὶ πυθόµενος ἐξ Ὡλίδος ποµὴν ἀποστέλλεσθαι Ποσειδών εἰς Ἰσθµόν, καὶ ταύτης ἀφηγεῖσθαι Εὔρυτον τὸν Ἀὐγέον, προσπεσών ἄφω τὸν Εὔρυτον ἀπέκτεινε περὶ Κλεωνᾶς, ἐνθα νῦν 4 ἔστω ἱερὸν Ἡρακλέους. μετὰ δὲ ταύτα στρατευσας ἐπὶ τὴν Ὡλίν τὸν τε βασιλέα ἐφόνευσεν Αὐγέαν, καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐλὼν κατὰ κράτος Φυλεά τὸν Αὐγέον μετεπέµβατο, καὶ τούτῳ τὴν βασιλείαν παρέδωκεν· ἢ γὰρ ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς πεφυγάδευσιν βενὸς καθ᾽ ὁν καιρὸν δικαστῆς γενόµενος τῷ πατρὶ πρὸς Ἡρακλέα περὶ τοῦ μισθοῦ τὸ νίκημα ἀπέδωκεν Ἡρακλεί. 5 Μετὰ δὲ ταύτα Ἰπποκόων μὲν ἐφυγάδευσεν ἐκ τῆς Σπάρτης τὸν ἀδελφὸν Τυνδάρεων, Οἰωνὸν δὲ τὸν Λικυμνίον φίλον ὅντα Ἡρακλέους οἱ νῦι τοῦ Ἰπποκόωντος εἰκοσὶ τὸν ἀριθμὸν ὄντες ἀπέκτειναν· ἐφ᾽ οἷς ἀγανακτήσας Ἡρακλῆς ἐστράτευσεν ἐπὶ αὐτούς· μεγάλη δὲ μάχη νικήσας παµπληθεὶς ἀπέκτεινε. τὴν δὲ Σπάρτην ἐλὼν κατὰ κράτος, κατήγαγεν ἐπὶ τὴν βασιλείαν Τυνδάρεων τὸν πατέρα τῶν Διοσκόρων, καὶ τὴν βασιλείαν ὡς δορίκτητον Τυνδάρεων παρέβητο, προστάξας 6 τοῖς ἀφ᾽ ἑαυτοῦ γενοµένοις φυλάττειν. ἐπεσον δ᾽ ἐν τῇ μάχῃ τῶν μὲν μεθ᾽ Ἡρακλέους ὁλίγοι παντελῶς, ἐν οἷς ἦσαν ἐπιφανεῖς ἄνδρες Ἰφικλὸς καὶ Κηφεὺς καὶ Κηφέως νῦι τὸν ἀριθμὸν ὄντες ἐπτακαίδεκα· τρεῖς γὰρ ἀπὸ τῶν 1 εἰκοσὶ μόνον 448
kingdom and commanded that he and Alemenê and Iphicles and Iolaüs should depart from Tiryns. Consequently he was forced to go into exile along with these just mentioned and made his dwelling in Pheneus in Arcadia. This city he took for his headquarters, and learning once that a sacred procession had been sent forth from Elis to the Isthmus in honour of Poseidon and that Eurytus, the son of Augeas, was at the head of it, he fell unexpectedly upon Eurytus and killed him near Cleonae, where a temple of Heracles still stands. After this he made war upon Elis and slew Augeas its king, and taking the city by storm he recalled Phyleus, the son of Augeas, and gave the kingdom into his hands; for the son had been exiled by his father at the time when he had served as arbitrator between his father and Heracles in the matter of the reward and had given the decision to Heracles.

After this Hippocoön exiled from Sparta his brother Tyndareüs, and the sons of Hippocoön, twenty in number, put to death Oeonus who was the son of Licymnius and a friend of Heracles; whereupon Heracles was angered and set out against them, and being victorious in a great battle he made a slaughter of every man of them. Then, taking Sparta by storm he restored Tyndareüs, who was the father of the Dioscori, to his kingdom and bestowed upon him the kingdom on the ground that it was his by right of war, commanding him to keep it safe for Heracles' own descendants. There fell in the battle but a very few of the comrades of Heracles, though among them were famous men, such as Iphiclus and Cepheus and seventeen sons of Cepheus, since only three of his

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1 τῶν deleted by Kallenberg.
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 диесώθησαν. τών δ' ἑναντίων αὐτός τε ὁ Ἰπποκόων καὶ μετ' αὐτοῦ δέκα μεν ύποί, τῶν δ' ἄλλων
7 Ἐπαρτατῶν παμπληθεῖς. ἀπὸ δὲ ταύτης τῆς στρατείας ἑπανών εἰς τὴν Ἀρκαδίαν, καὶ καταλύσας παρὰ Ἀλέω τῷ βασιλεί, τῇ θυγατρὶ τούτῳ λάθρα μιγείς Αὐγή καὶ ταύτην ποιήσας ἐγκυνον εἰς
8 Στῦμφαλον ἐπανήλθεν. Ἀλέως δ' ἄγγοιν τὸ πεπραγμένον, ὡς ὁ τῆς γαστρὸς ὄγκος ἐμήνυσε τὴν φθοράν, ἐξήτει τὸν φθείραντα. τῆς δ' Ἀὐγῆς ἀποφαινομένης ὅτι βιάσατο αὐτὴν Ἡρακλῆς, ἀπιστήσας τοῖς ὑπὸ ταύτης λεγομένοις ταύτην μὲν παρέδωκε Ναυπλίῳ φίλῳ καθεστώτι, καὶ προσέταξε
9 καταποντίσαι. Αὐγή δ' ἀπαγομένη εἰς Ναυπλίαν, καὶ γενομένη κατὰ τὸ Παρθένου ὀρος, ὑπὸ τῶν ὕδατων καταβαρουμένη παρῆλθεν εἰς τὴν πλησίον ὕλην ὡς ἐπὶ τινα χρείαν ἀναγκαίαν τεκοῦσα δὲ παιδίον ἀρρεν ἀπέλιπε τὸ βρέφος εἰς τινας θάμνους κρύμασα. μετὰ δὲ ταύτα Αὐγή μὲν ἀπηλλάγη πρὸς τὸν Ναύπλιον, καὶ καταντήσασα τῆς Ἀργείας εἰς τὸν ἐν Ναυπλίᾳ λιμένα παραδόξον σωτηρίας
10 ἐτύχεν. ὁ γὰρ Ναυπλιος καταποντίσαι μὲν αὐτὴν κατὰ τὰς ἐντολὰς οὐκ ἐκρινε, ἔνεισα δὲ τοις Καρσίων ἀναγομένοις εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν δωρήσασαν, ὅτι δ' ἀπαγαγόντες εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν ἀπέδοντο τὴν Αὐγήν τῷ βασιλεὶ τῆς Μυσίας Τεῦθραντι.
11 τὸ δ' ἀπολειφθέν ἐν τῷ Παρθενίῳ βρέφος ὑπὸ τῆς Ἀὐγῆς βουκόλου τινὲς Κορύθου τοῦ βασιλέως εὐφόρους ὑπὸ τυνὸς ἐλάφου τῶ ὑμιστῶ τρεφόμενον, ἐδωρήσαντο τῷ δεσπότῃ. ὁ δὲ Κόρυθος παραλαβὼν τὸ παιδίον ἀσμένως ὡς ὕδιον υἱὸν ἐτρεφε, προσαγορεύσας Τήλεφον ἀπὸ τῆς τρεφούσης ἐλάφου. Τήλεφος δ' ἀνδρωθεῖς καὶ τὴν μητέρα
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twenty sons came out alive; whereas of the opponents Hippocoön himself fell, and ten sons along with him, and vast numbers of the rest of the Spartans. From this campaign Heracles returned into Arcadia, and as he stopped at the home of Aleos the king he lay secretly with his daughter Augê, brought her with child, and went back to Stymphalus. Aleos was ignorant of what had taken place, but when the bulk of the child in the womb betrayed the violation of his daughter he inquired who had violated her. And when Augê disclosed that it was Heracles who had done violence to her, he would not believe what she had said, but gave her into the hands of Nauplius his friend with orders to drown her in the sea. But as Augê was being led off to Nauplia and was near Mount Parthenium, she felt herself overcome by the birth-pains and withdrew into a near-by thicket as if to perform a certain necessary act; here she gave birth to a male child, and hiding the babe in some bushes she left it there. After doing this Augê went back to Nauplius, and when she had arrived at the harbour of Nauplia in Argolis she was saved from death in an unexpected manner. Nauplius, that is, decided not to drown her, as he had been ordered, but to make a gift of her to some Carians who were setting out for Asia; and these men took Augê to Asia and gave her to Teuthras the king of Mysia. As for the babe that had been left on Parthenium by Augê, certain herdsmen belonging to Corythus the king came upon it as it was getting its food from the teat of a hind and brought it as a gift to their master. Corythus received the child gladly, raised him as if he were his own son, and named him Telephus after the hind (elaphos) which had suckled it. After Telephus had
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μαθεῖν ὁπεύδων, παρῆλθεν εἰς Δελφοὺς, καὶ χρησμὸν ἐλαβεῖ πλεῖν εἰς τὴν Μυσίαν πρὸς

12 Τεύθραντα τὸν βασιλέα. ἀνευρὼν δὲ τὴν μητέρα, καὶ γνωσθεὶς τίνος ἦν πατρός, ἀποδοχῆς ἐτύγ-χανε τῆς μεγίστης. ὁ δὲ Τεύθρας ἄπας ὄν ἄρρενων παιδῶν τὴν θυγατέρα Ἀργυόπην συνώ-κισε τῷ Τήλεφῳ, καὶ διάδοχον ἀπεδείξε τῆς βασιλείας.

34. Ἡρακλῆς δὲ μετὰ τὴν ἐν Φενεῷ κατοίκησιν ἔτει πέμπτων, δυσφορῶν ἐπὶ τῷ τετελευτηκέναι Οἰωνὸν τὸν Λυκυμνίου καὶ Ἰφικλον τὸν ἄδελφον, ἀπῆλθεν ἐκοινοῦσι ἐξ Ἀρκαδίας καὶ πάσης Πελο-ποννήσου. συναπελθόντων δ' αὐτῷ πολλῶν ἐκ τῆς Ἀρκαδίας, ἀπῆλθε τῆς Αἴτωλίας εἰς Καλυδῶνα κάκει κατάφηκεν. οὐκ οὖν δ' αὐτῷ παιδῶν γνησίων οὐδὲ γαμετῆς γυναικὸς, ἔγημε Δημά-νεραν τὴν Οἰνέως, τετελευτηκότος ἦδη Μελεά-γρου. οὐκ ἄνοικειον δ' εἶναι νομίζομεν βραχὺ παρεκβάντας ἡμᾶς ἀπαγγέλα τὴν περὶ τὸν Μελεάγρου περιπέτειαν.

2 Οἰνεὺς γάρ, γενομένης εὐκαρπίας αὐτῷ τοῦ σίτου, τοῖς μὲν ἄλλοις θεοῖς ἐτέλεσε θυσίας, μόνης δὲ τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος ἀλιγώρθησεν· δι' ἢν αὐτὸν ἡ θεὸς αὐτῷ μηνίσασα τὸν διαβεβημένον Καλυδῶνιν ἄνηκεν, ὑπερφυτ τὸ μέγεθος.

3 οὖτος δὲ τὴν σύνεγγυσ χώραν καταφθείρων τὰς κτήσεις ἐλυμαίνετο· διότι Μελεάγρος ὁ Οἰνέως, τὴν μὲν ἡλικίας μάλιστα ἄκμαζων, ὑμηρὴ δὲ καὶ ἄνδρεια διαφέρων, παρέλαβε πολλοὺς τῶν ἀρίστων ἐπὶ τὴν τοῦτον κυνηγίαν. πρώτον δὲ Μελεάγρου τὸ θηρίον ἀκοντίσαντος, ὁμολογούμενον αὐτῷ τὸ

1 παιδῶν added by Wesseling.
come to manhood, being seized with the desire to learn who his mother was, he went to Delphi and received the reply to sail to Mysia to Teuthras the king. Here he discovered his mother, and when it was known who his father was he received the heartiest welcome. And since Teuthras had no male children he joined his daughter Argiopê in marriage to Telephus and named him his successor to the kingdom.

34. In the fifth year after Heracles had changed his residence to Pheneus, being grieved over the death of Oeonus, the son of Licymnion, and of Iphiclus his brother, he removed of his free will from Arcadia and all Peloponnesus. There withdrew with him a great many people of Arcadia and he went to Calydon in Aetolia and made his home there. And since he had neither legitimate children nor a lawful wife, he married Deiâneira, the daughter of Oeneus, Meleager being now dead. In this connection it would not, in our opinion, be inappropriate for us to digress briefly and to speak of the reversal of fortune which befell Meleager.

The facts are these: Once when Oeneus had an excellent crop of grain, he offered sacrifices to the other gods, but neglected Artemis alone; and angered at him for this the goddess sent forth against him the famous Calydonian boar, a creature of enormous size. This animal harried the neighbouring land and damaged the farms; whereupon Meleager, the son of Oeneus, being then in the bloom of youth and excelling in strength and in courage, took along with himself many of the bravest men and set out to hunt the beast. Meleager was the first to plunge his javelin into it and by general
The mother of Meleager.
agreement was accorded the reward of valour, which consisted of the skin of the animal. But Atalantê, the daughter of Schoeneus, participated in the hunt, and since Meleager was enamoured of her, he relinquished in her favour the skin and the praise for the greatest bravery. The sons of Thestius, however, who had also joined in the hunt, were angered at what he had done, since he had honoured a stranger woman above them and set kinship aside. Consequently, setting at naught the award which Meleager had made, they lay in wait for Atalantê, and falling upon her as she returned to Arcadia took from her the skin. Meleager, however, was deeply incensed both because of the love which he bore Atalantê and because of the dishonour shown her, and espoused the cause of Atalantê. And first of all he urged the robbers to return to the woman the meed of valour which he had given her; and when they paid no heed to him he slew them, although they were brothers of Althaea. Consequently Althaea, overcome with anguish at the slaying of the men of her own blood, uttered a curse in which she demanded the death of Meleager; and the immortals, so the account runs, gave heed to her and made an end of his life.

But certain writers of myths give the following account:—At the time of the birth of Meleager the Fates stood over Althaea in her sleep and said to her that her son Meleager would die at the moment when the brand in the fire had been consumed. Consequently, when she had given birth, she believed that the safety of her child depended upon the preservation of the brand and so she guarded the brand with every care. Afterward, however, being
7 ὑστερον δ' ἐπὶ τῷ φόνῳ τῶν ἀδελφῶν παροξυ- 
θείσαν κατακαύσατο τὸν δαλὸν καὶ τῷ Μελεάγρῳ 
τῆς τελευτῆς αἰτίαν καταστήσατο; οὔ δὲ μάλλον ἐπὶ 
τοῖς πεπραγμένοις λυπουμένην τὸ τέλος ἀγχόνη 
τῶν βίων καταστρέψατο.
35. Ἄμα δὲ τούτοις πραττομένους Ἰππόνουν ἐν 
'Ωλένῳ πρὸς τὴν θυγατέρα Περίβοιαν, φάσκουσαν 
αὐτὴν ἐξ Ἄρεος ὑπάρχειν ἔγκυν, διενεχέθεντα 
πέμψα ταύτην εἰς Αἰτωλίαν πρὸς Οἰνέα καὶ 
παρακελεύσασθαί ταύτην ἀφανίσαι τὴν 
ταχίστην.
2 δ' Οἰνεὺς ἀπολωλεκὼς προσφάτως ύιὸν καὶ 
γυναῖκα, τὸ μὲν ἀποκτεῖναι τὴν Περίβοιαν ἀπέγνω, 
γῆμας δ' αὐτὴν ἐγέννησεν ύιὸν Τυδεά. τὰ μὲν 
οὐν περὶ Μελεάγρου καὶ Ἁλθαίαν, ἐτὶ δ' Οἰνέα 
τοιαύτης ἐτυχε διεξόδου.
3 Ἡράκλης δὲ τοῖς Καλυδωνίοις βουλόμενος 
χαρίσασθαι τὸν Ἀχελώον ποταμὸν ἀπέστρεψε, 
καὶ ρύσιν ἄλλην κατασκευάζας ἀπέλαβε χώραν 
pολλὴν καὶ πάμφορον, ἀρδευμένην ὑπὸ τοῦ 
προειρημένου ρεῖθρον. διὸ καὶ τῶν ποιητῶν 
tίνας μυθοποιήσει τὸ πραχθὲν παρεισήγαγον 
γὰρ τὸν Ἡράκλεα πρὸς τὸν Ἀχελώον συνάψαι 
μάχην, ὠροιωμένως τοῦ ποταμοῦ ταῦρῳ, κατὰ δὲ 
tὴν συμπλοκὴν βάτερον τῶν κεράτων κλάσαντα 
δωρήσασθαι τοῖς Αἰτωλοῖς, δ' προσαγορεύσα 
κέρας Ἀμαλθείας. ἐν ὧν πλάττονσι πλῆθος ὑπάρ-
χειν πάσης ὁπωρισθή ὥρας, βοτρύων τε καὶ 
μῆλων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν τοιούτων, αἰνιγμόμενων 
tῶν ποιητῶν κέρας μὲν τοῦ Ἀχελώου τὸ διὰ τῆς 
dιώρυχος φερόμενον ρεῖθρον, τὰ δὲ μῆλα καὶ 
tὰς ῥόας καὶ τοὺς βότρυς δηλοῦν τὴν καρποφόρον 
χώραν τὴν ὑπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἀρδευμένην καὶ 
τὸ πλῆθος 456
deeply incensed at the murder of her brothers, she burned the brand and so made herself the cause of the death of Meleager; but as time went on she grieved more and more over what she had done and finally made an end of her life by hanging.

35. At the time that these things were taking place, the myth continues, Hipponoës in Olenus, angered at his daughter Periboea because she claimed that she was with child by Ares, sent her away into Aetolia to Oeneus with orders for him to do away with her at the first opportunity. Oeneus, however, who had recently lost his son and wife, was unwilling to slay Periboea, but married her instead and begat a son Tydeus. Such, then, is the way the story runs of Meleager and Althæa and Oeneus.

But Heracles, desiring to do a service to the Calydonians, diverted the river Acheloës, and making another bed for it he recovered a large amount of fruitful land which was now irrigated by this stream. Consequently certain poets, as we are told, have made this deed into a myth; for they have introduced Heracles as joining battle with Acheloës, the river assuming the form of a bull, and as breaking off in the struggle one of his horns, which he gave to the Aetolians. This they call the "Horn of Amaltheia," and represent it as filled with a great quantity of every kind of autumn fruit, such as grapes and apples and the like, the poets signifying in this obscure manner by the horn of Acheloës the stream which ran through the canal, and by the apples and pomegranates and grapes the fruitful land which was watered by the river and the multi-
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tων καρποφοροῦντων φυτῶν Ἀμάλθειας δ' εἶναι κέρας οἰονεῖ τινος ἀμαλακιστίας, δι' ἦς τὴν εὐτονίαν τοῦ κατασκευάσαντος δηλοῦσθαι.

36. Ἡρακλῆς δὲ τοῖς Καλυδώνιοις συστρατεύσας ἐπὶ Θεσπρωτοῦς πόλιν τε Ἐφύραν κατὰ κράτος εἶλε καὶ Φυλέα τὸν βασιλέα τῶν Θεσπρωτῶν ἀπέκτεινε. λαβὼν δὲ αἱμάλωτον τὴν θυγατέρα τοῦ Φυλέως ἔπεμψε ταύτῃ καὶ ἐτέκνωσε Τληπόλεμον. μετὰ δὲ τὸν Δημανέρας γάμον τριῶν ύστερον ἔτεσι δειπνῶν παρ' Ὀινεῖ, διακονοῦντος Εὐρυνύμον τοῦ Ἀρχιτέλους νῦν, παιδὸς τὴν ἥλικιαν, ἀμαρτάνοντος δ' ἐν τῷ διακονεῖν, πατάξας κονδύλῳ, καὶ βαρυτέρας τῆς πληγῆς γενομένης, ἀπέκτεινεν άκουσίως τὸν παῖδα. περιλαγῆς δὲ γενόμενος ἐπὶ τῷ πάθει πάλιν ἐκ τῆς Καλυδῶνος ἐκουσίως ἐφυγε μετὰ τῆς γυναίκος Δημανέρας καὶ Ὄλλου τοῦ ἐκ ταύτης, παιδὸς ὄντος τῆς ἥλικιαν. ἐπεὶ δὲ πορεύμενος ἦλθε πρὸς τὸν Εὐνύόν ποταμὸν, κατέλαβε Νέσσον τὸν Κένταυρον μισθοῦ διαβιβάζοντα τὸν ποταμὸν. οὐτός δὲ πρῶτην διαβιβάσας τὴν Δημάνεραν, καὶ διὰ τὸ κάλλος ἔρασθεῖς, ἐπεχείρησε βιάσασθαι ταύτην. ἐπιβομβευμένης δ' αὐτῆς τὸν ἄνδρα, ὃς Ἡρακλῆς ἐτόξευσε τὸν Κένταυρον, ὃς τὸ Νέσσος μεταξὺ μισγόμενος, καὶ διὰ τὴν ὀξύτητα τῆς πληγῆς εὐθὺς ἀποθνῄσκων, ἔφησε τῇ Δημανείρᾳ δώσειν φίλτρον, ὀπως μηδεμία τῶν ἄλλων γυναικῶν

1 i.e. the idea of Heracles' strength is suggested both by the name Amaltheia, the first part of which is the same as that of amalakistia ("hardness") and by the hard thing a horn is—

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tude of its fruit-bearing plants. Moreover, they say that the phrase "Amaltheia's Horn" is used as of a quality incapable of being softened (a-malakistia), whereby is indicated the tense vigour of the man who built the work. ¹

36. Heracles took the field with the Calydonians against the Thesprotians, captured the city of Ephyra by storm, and slew Phyleus the king of the Thesprotians. And taking prisoner the daughter of Phyleus he lay with her and begat Tlepolemus. Three years after his marriage to Deianeira Heracles was dining in the home of Oeneus and Eury Nomus, the son of Architeles, who was still a lad in years, was serving him, and when the boy made some slip in the service Heracles gave him a blow with his fist, and striking him too hard he unintentionally killed the lad. Overcome with grief at this misfortune he went again into voluntary exile from Calydonia along with his wife Deiāneira and Hyllus, his son by her, who was still a boy in years. And when in his journeying he arrived at the Euenus river he found there the Centaur Nessus who was conveying travellers across the river for a fee. Nessus carried Deiāneira across first, and becoming enamoured of her because of her beauty he tried to assault her. But when she called to her husband for help Heracles shot the Centaur with an arrow, and Nessus, struck even while he was having intercourse with her and because of the sharpness of the blow being at once on the point of death, told Deiāneira that he would give her a love-charm to the end that Heracles should never desire to approach any other

¹ a most fanciful conception. For another explanation of the origin of the phrase "Amaltheia's Horn" cp. Book 3. 68.
This differs slightly from the account in Sophocles, *Women of Trachis*, 572 ff., where Nessus enjoins upon Deianeira: "If thou gatherest with thy hands the blood clotted round my wound, at the place where the Hydra, Lerna’s monstrous growth, hath tinged the arrow with black..."
woman. He urged her, accordingly, to take the seed which had fallen from him and, mixing it with olive oil and the blood which was dripping from the barb of the arrow, to anoint with this the shirt of Heracles. This counsel, then, Nessus gave Deianira and at once breathed his last. And she put the seed, as Nessus had enjoined upon her, into a jar and dipped in it the barb of the arrow and kept it all unknown to Heracles. And he, after crossing the river, came to Ceyx, the king of Trachis, and made his dwelling with him, having with him the Arcadians who always accompanied him on his campaigns.

37. After this, when Phylas, the king of the Dryopes, had in the eyes of men committed an act of impiety against the temple of Delphi, Heracles took the field against him in company with the inhabitants of Melis, slew the king of the Dryopes, drove the rest of them out of the land, and gave it to the people of Melis; and the daughter of Phylas he took captive and lying with her begat a son Antiochus. By Deianira he became the father of two sons, younger than Hyllus, Gleneus and Hodites. Of the Dryopes who had been driven from their land some passed over into Euboea and founded there the city Carystus, others sailed to the island of Cyprus, where they mixed with the natives of the island and made their home, while the rest of the Dryopes took refuge with Eurystheus and won his aid because of the enmity which he bore to Heracles;

gall—this shall be to thee a charm for the soul of Heracles, so that he shall never look upon any woman to love her more than thee” (tr. of Jebb). And the incident takes place while Heracles is taking Deianira home as his bride.
Diodorus of Sicily

τούτου γὰρ αὐτοῖς συνεργοῦντος τρεῖς πόλεις ἄκισαι ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ, Ἀσίνην καὶ Ἐρμιόνην, ἔτι δ' Ἡιόνα.

3 Μετὰ δὲ τὴν Δρυόπων ἀνάστασιν, πολέμου συνεστῶτος τοῖς Δωριεῦσι τοῖς τὴν Ἑστιαώτων καλουμένην οἰκοῦσιν, ὃν ἐβασίλευεν Λιγύμος, καὶ τοῖς Λαπίθαις τοῖς περὶ τὸν Ὀλυμπον ἱδρυμένοις, ὰν ἐδυνάστευεν Κόρωνος ὁ Καινέως, ὑπερεχόντων δὲ τῶν Λαπίθων πολὺ ταῖς δυνάμεσιν, οἱ Δωριεῖς κατέφυγον ἐπὶ τὸν Ἡρακλέα, καὶ σύμμαχον αὐτὸν ἔκάλεσαν ἐπὶ τρίτω μέρει τῆς Δωρίδος χώρας καὶ τῆς βασιλείας. πεύσαντες δὲ κοινῇ τὴν ἐπὶ τοὺς Λαπίθας στρατεύαν ἐπούσαντο. ὁ δ' Ἡρακλῆς ἔχων ἀεὶ τοὺς μεθ' ἐαυτοῦ στρατεύσαντας Ἀρκάδας, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτων χειρωσάμενος τοὺς Λαπίθας, αὐτὸν τε τὸν βασιλέα Κόρωνον ἀνείλε καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τοὺς πλείστους κατακόψας ἡμάγκασεν ἐκχωρήσας τῆς ἀμφισβητησίμου χώρας.

4 τούτων δὲ πραχθέντων, Λιγυμίω μὲν τὸ ἐπιβάλλον τῆς χώρας τριτον μέρος παρέθετο καὶ παρεκλεύσατο φυλάττειν τοῖς ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἐπανύων δ' εἰς Τραχίνα, καὶ προκληθέες ὑπὸ Κύκνου τοῦ Ἀρεος, τούτων μὲν ἀπέκτεινεν, ἐκ δὲ τῆς Ἰτώνου πορευόμενος καὶ διὰ τῆς Πελαγιώτιδος γῆς βαδίζων Ὀμμενίῳ τῷ βασιλείς συνέμειξεν, οὐ τὴν θυγατέρα ἐμνήστευεν Ἀστυδάμειαν· οὗ προσέχοντος δ' αὐτοῦ διὰ τὸ ἔχειν αὐτὸν γαμετὴν Δημάνειραν τῆν Οἰνέως, στρατεύσας ἐπ' αὐτοῦ τὴν τε πόλιν εἰλε καὶ τὸν ἀπειθοῦντα βασιλέα ἀπέκτεινε, τὴν δ' Ἀστυδάμειαν αἰχμάλωτον λαβὼν, καὶ μιγεις

5 αὐτῆ, Κτήσιππον νῦν ἐγέννησε. ταῦτα δὲ δια-
and with the aid of Eurystheus they founded three cities in Peloponnesus, Asinè, Hermione, and Eion.

After the removal of the Dryopes from their land a war arose between the Doricis who inhabit the land called Hestiaeotis, whose king was Aegimius, and the Lapithae dwelling about Mount Olympus, whose king was Coronus, the son of Caeneus. And since the Lapithae greatly excelled in the number of their forces, the Doricis turned to Heracles for aid and implored him to join with them, promising him a third part of the land of Doris and of the kingship, and when they had won him over they made common cause in the campaign against the Lapithae. Heracles had with him the Arcadians who accompanied him on his campaigns, and mastering the Lapithae with their aid he slew king Coronus himself, and massacring most of the rest he compelled them to withdraw from the land which was in dispute. After accomplishing these deeds he entrusted to Aegimius the third part of the land, which was his share, with orders that he keep it in trust in favour of Heracles' descendants. He now returned to Trachis, and upon being challenged to combat by Cycnus, the son of Ares, he slew the man; and as he was leaving the territory of Itonus and was making his way through Pelasgiotis he fell in with Ormenius the king and asked of him the hand of his daughter Astydameia. When Ormenius refused him because he already had for lawful wife Deiæneira, the daughter of Oeneus, Heracles took the field against him, captured his city, and slew the king who would not obey him, and taking captive Astydameia he lay with her and begat a son Ctesippus. After finishing this exploit he set out to
πραξάμενος ἐστράτευσεν εἰς τὴν Οἰχαλίαν ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἐὔρυτον παῖδας, ὅτι τὴν Ἰόλην μνηστεύσας ἀπέτυχεν συναγωγοὺς ὁ φιλοτεχνός τῶν Ἀρισάδων, τὴν τε πόλιν εἰλε καὶ τοὺς Ἐὔρυτον παῖδας ἀπέκτεινε, Τοξέα καὶ Μολίωνα καὶ Κλυτίων.\\n\\n38. Ἐνταῦθα δὲ θυσίαν ἐπιτελῶν ἀπέστειλε Λίχαν τὸν ὑπηρέτην εἰς Τραχῦνα πρὸς τὴν γυναῖκα Δημάνειρας τούτῳ δὲ προσφεύγετε ἀν δέ ἢ γαῖς τὸν ἄγνωστον ὡς αὐτής χιτῶνα καὶ ἴματον, οἳ εἰσέλθει οὐράθαι πρὸς τὰς θυσίας. ἤ δὲ Δημάνειρα πυθομένη τοῦ Λίχα τὴν πρὸς Ἰόλην φιλοτεχνών καὶ βουλομένη πλέον ἐαυτῆς ἀγαπᾶσθαι, τὸν χιτῶνα ἔχρισε τῷ παρὰ τοῦ Κενταύρου δεδομένῳ πρὸς ἀπώλειαν φίλτρω.

2 δὲ μὲν Ὡν Ῥίχας ἀγνοοῦν περὶ τούτων ἀπήνεγκε τὴν ἐσθήτα πρὸς τὴν θυσίαν δὲ ἢ Ἡρακλῆς ἐνάγετο τὸν κεχριμένον χιτῶνα, καὶ κατ' ὀλίγον τῆς τοῦ σημνοῦ φαρμάκου δυνάμεως ἐνεργούσης, περιέπεσε συμφορὰ τῇ μεγίστῃ. τῆς γὰρ ἀκίδος τὸν ἐκ τῆς ἐχίλινης Ἰών ἀνειληφησάς, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τοῦ χιτῶνος διὰ τὴν θερμασίαν τὴν σάρκα τοῦ σώματος λυμανωμένου, περιαληγής γενόμενος ὁ Ἡρακλῆς τὸν μὲν διακομήσαντα Λίχαν ἀπέκτεινε, τὸ δὲ στρατόπεδον ἀπολύσας ἐπανῆλθεν εἰς τὴν Τραχῦνα.

3 Ἀεὶ δὲ μᾶλλον τῇ νόσῳ βαρυμένος αὐτὸς μὲν ἀπέστειλεν εἰς Δελφοὺς Λυκίμων καὶ Ἰόλαον ἐπερωτήσοντας τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα τῇ χρή περὶ τῆς νόσου πράττεσαι, Δημάνειρα δὲ τὸ μέγεθος τῆς Ἡρακλέους συμφορᾶς καταπεπληγμένην, καὶ συν-

1 So Burmann: Τύτιον Π, Διγύπτιον Δ.
Oechalia to take the field against the sons of Eurytus because he had been refused in his suit for the hand of Iolē. The Arcadians again fought on his side and he captured the city and slew the sons of Eurytus, who were Toxeus, Molion, and Clytius. And taking Iolē captive he departed from Euboea to the promontory which is called Cenaeum.

38. At Cenaeon Heracles, wishing to perform a sacrifice, dispatched his attendant Lichas to Deianeira his wife, commanding him to ask her for the shirt and robe which he customarily wore in the celebration of sacrifices. But when Deianeira learned from Lichas of the love which Heracles had for Iolē, she wished him to have a greater affection for herself and so anointed the shirt with the love-charm which had been given her by the Centaur, whose intention was to bring about the death of Heracles. Lichas, then, in ignorance of these matters, brought back the garments for the sacrifice; and Heracles put on the shirt which had been anointed, and as the strength of the toxic drug began slowly to work he met with the most terrible calamity. For the arrow’s barb had carried the poison of the adder,¹ and when the shirt for this reason, as it became heated, attacked the flesh of the body, Heracles was seized with such anguish that he slew Lichas, who had been his servant, and then, disbanding his army, returned to Trachis.

As Heracles continued to suffer more and more from his malady he dispatched Licymnius and Iolaüs to Delphi to inquire of Apollo what he must do to heal the malady, but Deianeira was so stricken by the magnitude of Heracles’ misfortune that, being

¹ *i.e.* of the Lernaean Hydra; *cp.* chap. 11. 5.
ειδυία έαυτῇ τὴν ἀμαρτίαν, ἀγχόνη τὸν βίον κατέστρεψεν. ὁ δὲ θεὸς ἔχρησε κομισθήμα τὸν Ἡρακλέα μετὰ τῆς πολεμικῆς διασκευῆς εἰς τὴν Οἰνην, κατασκευάσας δὲ πλησίον αὐτοῦ πυρὰν εὔμεγέθη.

4 περὶ δὲ τῶν λοιπῶν ἔφησε Διὶ μελῆσεως. τῶν δὲ περὶ τὸν Ἰόλαον ποιησάντων τὰ προστεταγμένα καὶ ἐκ διαστήματος ἀποθεωροῦσων τὸ ἀποβηγόμενον, ὁ μὲν Ἡρακλῆς ἀπογονὸς τὰ καθ’ ἑαυτὸν, καὶ παρελθὼν εἰς τὴν πυρὰν, παρεκάλει τὸν ἀεὶ προσιόντα ὑφάσας τὴν πυρὰν. οὐδενὸς δὲ τολμῶντος ὑπακοῦσας μόνος Φιλοκτῆτης ἐπείσθη· λαβὼν δὲ τῆς ὑπουργίας χάριν τὴν τῶν τῶν τόξων δωρεᾶν ἥψα τὴν πυρὰν. εὐθὺς δὲ καὶ κεραυνῶν ἐκ τοῦ περιέχοντος πεσόντων, ἡ πυρὰ πᾶσα κατεφλέχθη.

5 μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα οἱ μὲν περὶ τὸν Ἰόλαον ἐλθόντες ἐπὶ τὴν ὁστολογίαν, καὶ μηδὲν ὅλως ὁστοῦν εὐρόντες, ὑπέλαβον τὸν Ἡρακλέα τοῖς χρησμοῖς ἀκολούθως εἰς ἀνθρώπων εἰς θεοὺς μεθεστάσθαι.

39. Διόπερ ὡς ἦρωι ποιησάντες ἀγνισμοὺς καὶ χώματα κατασκευάσαντες ἀπηλλάγησαν εἰς Τραχύνα. μετὰ δὲ τούτους Μενοῖτος ὁ Ἀκτόρος νιῶς, φίλος ὡν Ἡρακλεῖ, κάπρον καὶ ταῦρον καὶ κριῶν θύσας ὡς ἦρωι κατέδεεξε κατ’ ἐνιαυτὸν ἐν Ὀπόδυνθ θύεων καὶ τιμᾶν ὡς ἦρωα τὸν Ἡρακλέα. τὸ παραπλήσιον δὲ καὶ τῶν Θηβαίων ποιησάντων, Ἀθηναίων πρῶτοι τῶν ἄλλων ὡς θεῶν ἐτύμησαν θυσίας τὸν Ἡρακλέα, καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀνθρώποις παράδειγμα τὴν ἑαυτῶν εἰς τὸν θεόν εὐσεβείαν ἀποδείξαντες προετρέψαντο τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἀπαντας 466
conscious of her error, she ended her life by hanging herself. The god gave the reply that Heracles should be taken, and with him his armour and weapons of war, unto Oetè and that they should build a huge pyre near him; what remained to be done, he said, would rest with Zeus. Now when Iolaüs had carried out these orders and had withdrawn to a distance to see what would take place, Heracles, having abandoned hope for himself, ascended the pyre and asked each one who came up to him to put torch to the pyre. And when no one had the courage to obey him Philoctetes alone was prevailed upon; and he, having received in return for his compliance the gift of the bow and arrows of Heracles, lighted the pyre. And immediately lightning also fell from the heavens and the pyre was wholly consumed. After this, when the companions of Iolaüs came to gather up the bones of Heracles and found not a single bone anywhere, they assumed that, in accordance with the words of the oracle, he had passed from among men into the company of the gods.

39. These men, therefore, performed the offerings to the dead as to a hero, and after throwing up a great mound of earth returned to Trachis. Following their example Menoetius, the son of Actor and a friend of Heracles, sacrificed a boar and a bull and a ram to him as to a hero and commanded that each year in Opus Heracles should receive the sacrifices and honours of a hero. Much the same thing was likewise done by the Thebans, but the Athenians were the first of all other men to honour Heracles with sacrifices like as to a god, and by holding up as an example for all other men to follow their own
"Ελλήνας, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα καὶ τοὺς κατὰ τὴν οἰκουμένην ἀνθρώπους ἀπαντας ὡς θεὸν τιμᾶν τὸν Ἡρακλέα.

2 Προσβεθέον δ' ἡμῖν τοῖς εἰρημένοις ὅτι μετὰ τὴν ἀποθέωσιν αὐτοῦ Ζεὺς Ἡραν μὲν ἔπεισεν νεοποιήσασθαι τὸν Ἡρακλέα καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν εἰς τὸν ἀπαντά χρόνον μητρὸς εὐνοιαν παρέχεσθαι, τὴν δὲ τέκνωσιν γενέσθαι φασὶ τουαύτην· τὴν Ἡραν ἀναβάσαν ἐπὶ κλίνην καὶ τὸν Ἡρακλέα προσλαβομένην πρὸς τὸ σῶμα διὰ τῶν ἐνδυμάτων ἀφεῖναι πρὸς τὴν γῆν, μιμουμένην τὴν ἀληθινὴν γένεσιν· ὅπερ μέχρι τοῦ νῦν ποιεῖν τοὺς βαρβάρους ὅταν θετὸν ὦν ποιεῖσθαι βούλωνται. τὴν δ' Ἡραν μετὰ τὴν τέκνωσιν μυθολογοῦσι συνοικίσαι τὴν ὉΒήν τῷ Ἡρακλεὶ, περὶ ὅσ καὶ τὸν ποιητὴν τεθεικέναι κατὰ τὴν Νεκυίαν εἰδωλον, αὐτὸς δὲ μετ' ἀθανάτους θεοῖς τέρπεται ἐν θαλίαις καὶ ἔχει καλλίσφυρον ὉΒήν.

3 τὸν δ' οὖν Ἡρακλέα λέγουσι καταλεγόμενον ὑπὸ τοῦ Δίως εἰς τοὺς δώδεκα θεοὺς μὴ προσδέξασθαι τὴν τιμὴν ταῦτην· ἀδύνατον γὰρ ἣν τούτον καταλεγθῆναι μὴ πρῶτον ἐνὸς τῶν δώδεκα θεῶν ἐκβληθέντος· ἀποτὸν οὖν εἰναι προσδέξασθαι τιμὴν ἐτέρῳ θεῷ φέρουσαν ἀτιμίαν.

40. Περὶ μὲν οὖν Ἡρακλέους εἰ καὶ πεπλεονάκαμεν, ἄλλ' οὖν οὐδὲν τῶν μυθολογομενῶν περὶ αὐτοῦ παραλειπόμενεν.
reverence for the god they induced the Greeks first of all, and after them all men throughout the inhabited world, to honour Heracles as a god.

We should add to what has been said about Heracles, that after his apotheosis Zeus persuaded Hera to adopt him as her son and henceforth for all time to cherish him with a mother's love, and this adoption, they say, took place in the following manner. Hera lay upon a bed, and drawing Heracles close to her body then let him fall through her garments to the ground, imitating in this way the actual birth; and this ceremony is observed to this day by the barbarians whenever they wish to adopt a son. Hera, the myths relate, after she had adopted Heracles in this fashion, joined him in marriage to Hebê, regarding whom the poet speaks in the "Necyia"¹:

I saw the shade of Heracles, but for
Himself he takes delight of feasts among
Th' immortal gods and for his wife he hath
The shapely-ankled Hebê.

They report of Heracles further that Zeus enrolled him among the twelve gods but that he would not accept this honour; for it was impossible for him thus to be enrolled unless one of the twelve gods were first cast out; hence in his eyes it would be monstrous for him to accept an honour which involved depriving another god of his honour.

Now on the subject of Heracles if we have dwelt over-long, we have at least omitted nothing from the myths which are related concerning him.

40. As for the Argonauts, since Heracles joined

¹ Odyssey 11. 602-3.
'Ἡρακλῆς συνεστράτευσεν, οἶκεῖον ἂν εὖ διελθεῖν περὶ αὐτῶν.

Ἰάσονα γενέσθαι λέγουσιν ύδων μὲν Ἀἴσονος, ἀδελφὸδον δὲ Πελίου τοῦ Θετταλῶν βασιλέως, ὥμη δὲ σώματος καὶ ψυχῆς λαμπρότητι διενέκαντα τῶν ἥλικιωτῶν ἐπιθυμήσαι τι πράξαι

2 μνήμης ἄξιον. ὅρωντα δὲ τῶν τὸν ἱππότην ἐπὶ πρὸ αὐτοῦ Περσέα καὶ τυνας ἄλλους διὰ τὰς ὑπερορίας στρατείας καὶ τὸ παράβολον τῶν ἄθλων δόξης ἀειμνήστους πετευχότας, ξηλώσαι τὰς προαίρεσις αὐτῶν. διὸ καὶ τὴν ἐπιβολὴν ἀνακοινώσαμένον τῷ βασιλεῖ ταχέως λαβεῖν αὐτὸν συγκάταινον, οὐχ οὖν τοῦ Πελίου σπεύδοντος προαγαγεῖν εἰς ἐπιφάνειαν τὸν νεανίσκον ὡς ἐλπίζοντος ἐν ταῖς παραβολοῖς στρατείαις διαφθαρίσασθαι αὐτὸν μὲν γὰρ ἐκ φύσεως ἐστερηθῆσθαι παῖδων ἄρρενων, τὸν δ' ἀδελφὸν εὐλαβεῖσθαι μήποτε συνεργὸν ἐχων τὸν ύδων ἐπίθηται τῇ βασιλείᾳ. κρύπτοντα δὲ τὴν ὑποφίαν ταύτην, καὶ τὰ πρὸς τὴν στρατείαν χρήσιμα χορηγήσειν ἐπαγγειλάμενον, παρακαλεῖν ἄθλον τελέσαι στειλάμενον τὸν πλοῦν εἰς Κόλχους ἐπὶ τὸ διαβεβομένον τοῦ κριοῦ δέρος χρυσόμαλλον.

4 τὸν δὲ Πόντον κατ' ἐκεῖνοις τοὺς χρόνους περιοικούμενον ὑπὸ ἐθνῶν βαρβάρων καὶ παντελῶς ἀγρίων Ἀξενο προσαγορεύεσθαι, ἐξενοκτοούμενον τῶν ἐγχωρίων τοὺς καταπλέοντας. Ἰάσονα δὲ δόξης ὀρεγόμενον καὶ τῶν ἄθλων δυσέφικτον μὲν, οὐ κατὰ πᾶν δ' ἅδυνατον κρίνοντα, καὶ διὰ

1 τῶν Dindorf: τῶν.

1 "Hostile to strangers;" ep. p. 393, n. 2.

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them in their campaign, it may be appropriate to speak of them in this connection.

This is the account which is given:—Jason was the son of Aeson and the nephew through his father of Pelias, the king of the Thessalians, and excelling as he did above those of his years in strength of body and nobility of spirit he was eager to accomplish a deed worthy of memory. And since he observed that of the men of former times Perseus and certain others had gained glory which was held in everlasting remembrance from the campaigns which they had waged in foreign lands and the hazard attending the labours they had performed, he was eager to follow the examples they had set. As a consequence he revealed his undertaking to the king and quickly received his approval. It was not so much that Pelias was eager to bring distinction to the youth as that he hoped that in the hazardous expeditions he would lose his life; for he himself had been deprived by nature of any male children and was fearful that his brother, with his son to aid him, would make an attempt upon the kingdom. Hiding, however, this suspicion and promising to supply everything which would be needed for the expedition, he urged Jason to undertake an exploit by sailing to Colchis after the renowned golden-fleeced skin of the ram. The Pontus at that time was inhabited on all its shores by nations which were barbarous and altogether fierce and was called "Axenos," since the natives were in the habit of slaying the strangers who landed on its shores. Jason, who was eager for glory, recognizing that the labour was difficult of accomplishment and yet not altogether impossible, and concluding that for this
τούτο μάλλον αὐτόν ἐπιφανέστερον ἔσεσθαι δια-
λαμβάνοντα, παρασκευάσασθαι τὰ πρὸς τὴν ἐπι-
βολὴν.

41. Καὶ πρῶτον μὲν περὶ τὸ Πήλιον ναυπηγήσα-
σθαι σκάφος, πολὺ τῷ μεγέθει καὶ τῇ λουτῷ κατα-
σκευῇ τὴν τότε συνῆθειαν ὑπερβάλλον, διὰ τὸ
σχεδίας πλεῖν τοὺς τότε ἀνθρώπους καὶ μικροὶς
παντελῶς ἀκάτιοις. διὸ καὶ τῶν ἰδόντων αὐτὸ τότε
καταπληττομένων, καὶ τῆς φήμης διαδοθείσης κατὰ
τὴν Ἑλλάδα περὶ τε τοῦ ἄθλου ¹ καὶ τῆς κατὰ τὴν
ναυπηγίαν ἐπιβολῆς, οὐκ ὀλίγους τῶν ἐν ὑπεροχαῖς
νεανίσκων ἐπιθυμήσαι μετασχεῖν τῆς στρατεύσ.

2 Ίάσσανα δὲ καθελκύσαντα τὸ σκάφος καὶ κοσμη-
σαντα πάσι τοῖς ἀνήκουσι πρὸς ἐκπλήξιν λαμπρῶς,
ἐκλέξαι τῶν ὀρεγομένων τῆς αὐτῆς προαιρέσεως
τοὺς ἐπιφανεστάτους ἀριστεῖς, ὥστε σὺν αὐτῷ
toὺς ἀπαντάς εἶναι πεντήκοντα καὶ τέταρται.
toύτων δὲ ὑπάρχειν ἐνδοξοτάτους Κάστορα καὶ
Πολυδεύκην, ἐτὶ δ’ Ἡρακλέα καὶ Τελαμώνα,
πρὸς δὲ τούτοις Ὄρφεα καὶ τὴν Σχοινέως Ἀτα-
λάντην, ἐτὶ δὲ τοὺς Θεσπίου παῖδας καὶ αὐτὸν τὸν
3 στελλόμενον τὸν πλοῦν ἐπὶ τὴν Κολχίδα. τὴν δὲ
ναῦν Ἄργῳ προσαγορευθῆναι κατὰ μὲν τινας
τῶν μυθογράφων ἀπὸ τοῦ τὸ σκάφος ἀρχιτεκτονή-
sαντος Ἄργου καὶ συμπλεύσαντος ἐνεκά τοῦ
θεραπεύειν ἀνὶ τὰ πονοῦντα μέρη τῆς νεῶς, ὡς δ’
ἐνιοὶ λέγομεν ἀπὸ τῆς περὶ τὸ τάχος ὑπερβολῆς,
ὡς ἄν τῶν ἀρχαίων ἄργον πρὸς τὰχῦ προσαγορευνω-
tων. τοὺς δ’ οὖν ἀριστεῖς συνελθόντας ἐλέσθαι
σφῶν αὐτῶν στρατηγὸν Ἡρακλέα, προκρύναντας
καὶ ἀνδρείαν.

¹ So Dindorf: πρὸς τε τὸ ἄθλον.
very reason the greater renown would attach to himself, made ready everything needed for the undertaking.

41. First of all, in the vicinity of Mount Pelion he built a ship which far surpassed in its size and in its equipment in general any vessel known in those days, since the men of that time put to sea on rafts or in very small boats. Consequently those who saw the ship at the time were greatly astonished, and when the report was noised about throughout Greece both of the exploit and of the enterprise of building the ship, no small number of the youths of prominence were eager to take part in the expedition. Jason, then, after he had launched the ship and fitted it out in brilliant fashion with everything which would astonish the mind, picked out the most renowned chieftains from those who were eager to share his plan, with the result that the whole number of those in his company amounted to fifty-four. Of these the most famous were Castor and Polydeuces, Heracles and Telamon, Orpheus and Atalantē the daughter of Schoeneus, and the sons of Thespius, and the leader himself who was setting out on the voyage to Colchis. The vessel was called Argo after Argus, as some writers of myths record, who was the master-builder of the ship and went along on the voyage in order to repair the parts of the vessel as they were strained from time to time, but, as some say, after its exceeding great swiftness, since the ancients called what is swift argos. Now after the chieftains had gathered together they chose Heracles to be their general, preferring him because of his courage.
42. "Εσειτ' έκ της Ἰωλκοῦ τοῦ ἐκπλουν ποιησαμένους, καὶ παραλλάξαντας τον τε "Δω καὶ Σαμοθράκην, χειμώνι περιπεσείν, καὶ προσενεχθήναι τῆς Τριφῶδος πρὸς Σίγειον. ένταθά δ' αὐτῶν τῆν ἀποβασιν ποιησαμένων, εὑρεθήναι φασὶ παρθένον δεδεμένην παρὰ τὸν αἰγιαλὸν διὰ τοιαύτας αἰτίας. 2 λέγεται τοῦ Ποσειδῶνα διὰ τῆν μυθολογουμένην τῶν Τρωικῶν τειχῶν κατασκευὴν μηνύσαντα Λαομέδοντι τῷ βασιλεί κήτος ἀνείναι ἕκ τοῦ πελάγους πρὸς τὴν χώραν. ὑπὸ δὲ τούτου τούς τε παρὰ τὸν αἰγιαλὸν διατρίβοντας καὶ τοὺς γεωργοῦντας τὴν παραθαλάσσιον παραδόξως συναρπάζοντας πρὸς δὲ τούτους λοιμὸν ἐμπεσεῖν εἰς τὰ πλῆθη καὶ καρπῶν παντελῆ φθοράν, ὡστε πάντας ἐκπλήττεσθαι τὸ μέγεθος τῆς περιστάσεως. διὸ καὶ συντρεχόντων τῶν ὄχλων εἰς ἐκκλησίαν καὶ ζητούντων ἀπαλλαγῆν τῶν ἀτυχημάτων, λέγεται τὸν βασιλέα πέμψαι πρὸς τὸν Ἀπόλλω τοὺς ἐπερωτήσοντας περὶ τῶν συμβεβηκότων. ἐκπεσόντος οὗν χρησιμοῦ μὴν ὑπάρχειν Ποσειδῶνος, καὶ τότε ταῦτην λήξειν ὅταν οἱ Τρώες τὸ λαχὸν τῶν τέκνων ἐκουσίως παραδώσει βορὰν τῷ κήτει, φασίν ἀπάντων εἰς τὸν κλήρον ἐμβαινόντων ἐπανελθεῖν εἰς Ἡσιώνη τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως θυγατέρα. διόπερ τὸν Λαομέδοντα συναναγκασθέντα παραδοθήναι τὴν παρθένον καὶ δεσμοῖς καταλαβένον ἀπολιπεῖν παρὰ τὸν αἰγιαλὸν. ένταθα 474
42. After they had sailed from Iolcus, the account continues, and had gone past Athos and Samothrace, they encountered a storm and were carried to Sigeium in the Troad. When they disembarked there, it is said, they discovered a maiden bound in chains upon the shore, the reason for it being as follows. Poseidon, as the story runs, became angry with Laomedon the king of Troy in connection with the building of its walls,¹ according to the mythical story, and sent forth from the sea a monster to ravage the land. By this monster those who made their living by the seashore and the farmers who tilled the land contiguous to the sea were being surprised and carried off. Furthermore, a pestilence fell upon the people and a total destruction of their crops, so that all the inhabitants were at their wits’ end because of the magnitude of what had befallen them. Consequently the common crowd gathered together into an assembly and sought for a deliverance from their misfortunes, and the king, it is said, dispatched a mission to Apollo to inquire of the god regarding what had befallen them. When the oracle, then, became known, which told that the cause was the anger of Poseidon and that only then would it cease when the Trojans should of their free will select by lot one of their children and deliver him to the monster for his food, although all the children submitted to the lot, it fell upon the king’s daughter Hesionè. Consequently Laomedon was constrained by necessity to deliver the maiden and to leave her, bound in chains, upon the shore. Here

¹ Poseidon and Apollo had been compelled by Zeus to labour for Laomedon for hire, but when they had built the walls of Troy Laomedon refused to pay them.
δὲ τὸν μὲν Ἡρακλέα μετὰ τῶν Ἀργοναυτῶν τὴν ἀπόβασιν ποιησάμενον, καὶ μαθόντα παρὰ τῆς κόρης τὴν περιπέτειαν, ἀναρρήξας μὲν τοὺς περὶ τὸ σῶμα δεσμοὺς, ἀναβάντα δὲ εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἐπαγγελθαι τῷ βασιλεῖ διαφθειρόν τὸ κῆτος.

6 τοῦ δὲ Λαομέδοντος ἀποδεξαμένου τὸν λόγον καὶ δωρεὰν δώσειν ἐπαγγελμένου τὰς ἀνικήτους ἱπποὺς, φασὶ τὸ μὲν κῆτος ύφ᾽ Ἡρακλέους ἀναρρήθηναι, τῇ δ᾽ Ἦσιόνῃ δοθῆναι τὴν ἐξουσίαν εἰτε βούλιοιτο μετὰ τοῦ σώσαντος ἀπελθεῖν εἰτε μετὰ τῶν γονέων καταμένειν ἐν τῇ πατρίδι. τὴν μὲν ὅπως κόρην ἔλεσθαι τὸν μετὰ τοῦ ξένου βιόν, οὐ μόνον τὴν εὐεργεσίαν τῆς συγγενείας προκρίνασαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ φοβομένην μὴ πάλιν φανέντος κῆτους πρὸς τὴν ὁμοίαν ὑπὸ τῶν πολιτῶν ἐκτεθῇ τιμωρίαν.

7 τὸν δ᾽ Ἡρακλέα δόροις καὶ τοῖς προσήκουσι ἐξεῖνοι λαμπρῶς τυμηθέντα τῇ Ἦσιόνῃ καὶ τὰς ἱπποὺς παραδέσθαι τῷ Λαομέδοντι, συνταξάμενον μετὰ τὴν ἐκ Κόλχων ἐπάνοδον ἀπολήψεσθαι, αὐτὸν δ᾽ ἀναχθῆναι μετὰ τῶν Ἀργοναυτῶν κατὰ ὁποιῆν ἐπὶ τὸν προκείμενον άθλον.

43. Ἐπιγειομένου δὲ μεγάλου χειμῶνος, καὶ τῶν ἀριστέων ἀπογυνωσκόντων τῆς σωτηρίας, φασὶν Ὁρφέα, τῆς τελετῆς μόνον τῶν συμπλεόντων μετασχηκότα, ποιήσαται τοῖς Σαμόθραξι τὰς ὑπὲρ τῆς σωτηρίας εὐχὰς. εὕθυς δὲ τοῦ πνεύματος ἐνδόντος, καὶ δυνῶν ἀστέρων ἐπὶ τὰς τῶν Διοσκόρων κεφαλὰς ἐπιπεσόντων, ἀπαντασ μὲν ἐκπλαγῆναι τὸ παράδοξον, ὑπολαβεῖν δὲ θεῶν προνοία τῶν κιν-

1 i.e. the Cabeiri. 2 i.e. Castor and Polydeuces.
Heracles, when he had disembarked with the Argonauts and learned from the girl of her sudden change of fortune, rent asunder the chains which were about her body and going up to the city made an offer to the king to slay the monster. When Laomedon accepted the proposal and promised to give him as his reward his invincible mares, Heracles, they say, did slay the monster and Hesione was given the choice either to leave her home with her saviour or to remain in her native land with her parents. The girl, then, chose to spend her life with the stranger, not merely because she preferred the benefaction she had received to the ties of kinship, but also because she feared that a monster might again appear and she be exposed by the citizens to the same fate as that from which she had just escaped. As for Heracles, after he had been splendidly honoured with gifts and the appropriate tokens of hospitality, he left Hesione and the mares in keeping with Laomedon, having arranged that after he had returned from Colchis, he should receive them again; he then set sail with all haste in the company of the Argonauts to accomplish the labour which lay before them.

43. But there came on a great storm and the chieftains had given up hope of being saved, when Orpheus, they say, who was the only one on shipboard who had ever been initiated in the mysteries of the deities of Samothrace.¹ offered to these deities the prayers for their salvation. And immediately the wind died down and two stars fell over the heads of the Dioscori,² and the whole company was amazed at the marvel which had taken place and concluded that they had been rescued from their perils by an
dúnuv éavtvov ἀπηλλάχθαι. διὸ καὶ τοῖς ἐπιγω-μένοις παραδόσιμοι γεγενημένης τῆς περιπετείας, ἀεὶ τοὺς χειμαζομένους τῶν πλεοντῶν εὐχὰς μὲν τίθεσθαι τοῖς Σαμώθραξι, τὰς δὲ τῶν ἀστέρων παρουσίας ἀπαέμπειν εἰς τὴν τῶν Διοσκόρων ἐπιφάνειαν.

3 Οὐ μὴν ἄλλα τότε λήξαντος τοῦ χειμῶνος ἀποβῆναι μὲν τοὺς ἀριστεῖς τῆς Θράκης εἰς τὴν ὑπὸ Φινέως βασιλευμένην χώραν, περιπεσεῖν δὲ δυσὶ νεανίσκοις ἐπὶ τιμωρίᾳ διωρυγμένους καὶ μά-στιξι πλῆγας συνεχεῖς λαμβάνοντει τούτους δὲ ὑπάρχειν Φινέως νῖον καὶ Κλεοπάτρας, ἣν φασὶν ἡξ Ὀρειβνίας τῆς Ἑρεθέως γεννηθῆναι καὶ Βορέου, διὰ δὲ μητρυᾶς τόλμαν καὶ διαβόλας ψευδεῖς τυγχάνοντας ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς ἄδικως τῆς προειρήμενης τιμωρίας. τὸν γὰρ Φινέα γεγαμη-κότα Ἰδαίαν τὴν Δαρδανοῦ τοῦ Σκυθῶν βασιλέως θυγατέρα, καὶ διὰ τὸν πρὸς αὐτὴν ἔρωτα πάντα χαρι-ζόμενον, πιστεύει διότι τῇ μητρυᾷ βίων ἔφῃ ὑβρεί προσήγαγων οἱ πρόγονοι, βουλόμενοι τῇ μητρὶ χαρίζεσθαι. τῶν δὲ περὶ τὸν Ἡρακλέα παραδόξως ἐπιφανείτων, φασὶ τοὺς μὲν ἐν ταῖς ἀνάγκαις ὀντας ἐπικαλέσασθαι καθάπερ θεοὺς τοὺς ἀριστεῖς, καὶ τὰς αὐτίας δηλώσαντας τῆς τοῦ

1 δὲ deleted by Vogel, retained by Bekker, Dindorf, Jacoby.

1 The Gemini, the appearance of which was believed to have a quieting influence on the sea; thus Horace (Odes, 1. 3. 2) prays to "Helen’s brethren, stars of light," safely
act of Providence of the gods. For this reason, the story of this reversal of fortune for the Argonauts has been handed down to succeeding generations, and sailors when caught in storms always direct their prayers to the deities of Samothrace and attribute the appearance of the two stars\(^1\) to the epiphany of the Dioscori.

At that time, however, the tale continues, when the storm had abated, the chieftains landed in Thrace on the country which was ruled over by Phineus. Here they came upon two youths who by way of punishment had been shut within a burial vault where they were being subjected to continual blows of the whip; these were sons of Phineus and Cleopatra, who men said was born of Oreithyia, the daughter of Erechtheus, and Boreas, and had unjustly been subjected to such a punishment because of the unscrupulousness and lying accusations of their mother-in-law. For Phineus had married Idaea, the daughter of Dardanus the king of the Scythians, and yielding to her every desire out of his love for her he had believed her charge that his sons by an earlier marriage had insolently offered violence to their mother-in-law out of a desire to please their mother. And when Heracles and his friends unexpectedly appeared, the youths who were suffering these tortures, they say, made supplication to the chieftains as they would to gods, and setting forth the causes of their father’s unlawful to bring to Greece the ship which bears Vergil. Cf. Macaulay, *The Lays of Ancient Rome*:

Safe comes the ship to haven,
Through billows and through gales,
If once the Great Twin Brethren
Sit shining on the sails.

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\(^1\) The reference to the two stars is not explained in the text, but it is likely referring to certain celestial events or phenomena associated with the Dioscori, a constellation mentioned throughout classical literature.
44. Τὸν δὲ Φινέα πικρῶς ἀπαντήσαντα τοῖς ξένοις παραγγειλαὶ μηδὲν τῶν καθ’ ἑαυτὸν πολυπραγμονεῖν· μηδένα γὰρ πατέρα λαβεῖν παρ’ νῦν ἐκουσίως τιμωρίαν, εἰ μὴ τῷ μεγέθει τῶν ἀδικημάτων ὑπέρθοντο τὴν φυσικὴν τῶν γονέων ἔσι

2 τέκνα φιλοστοργίαν. ἐνταῦθα συμπλέοντας τοῖς περὶ τὸν Ἡρακλέα τοὺς ἐπικαλουμένους μὲν Βορεάδας, ἀδελφοὺς δ’ ὄντας Κλεοπάτρας, λέγεται διὰ τὴν συγγενείαν πρῶτους ὀρμῆσαι πρὸς τὴν βοήθειαν, καὶ τοὺς μὲν περικεμένους τοῖς νεανίσκοις δεσμοὺς περιρρήξαι, τοὺς δὲ ἐναντιούμενους

3 τῶν βαρβάρων ἀποκτεῖναι. ὀρμήσαντος δὲ τοῦ Φινέως πρὸς μάχην, καὶ τοῦ πλῆθους τῶν Ὡρακῶν συνδραμόντος, φασὶ τὸν Ἡρακλέα πάντων ἁρσατα διαγωνισάμενον αὐτὸν τε τὸν Φινέα καὶ τῶν ἀλλῶν οὐκ ὀλίγους ἀνελεῖν, τὸ δὲ τελευταίον κρατήσαντα τῶν βασιλείων τὴν μὲν Κλεοπάτραν ἐκ τῆς φυλακῆς προσαγαγεῖν, τοῖς δὲ Φινείδαις ἀποκαταστήσας τὴν πατρίων ἁρχήν· βουλομένων δ’ αὐτῶν τὴν μητρικὰν μετ’ αἰκίας ἀποκτεῖναι, πείσας τῆς μὲν τιμωρίας ταύτης ἀποστῆναι, πρὸς δὲ τὸν πατέρα πέμψαντας εἰς τὴν Σκύθθαν ἐκείνων παρακαλέσα τῶν εἰς αὐτοὺς ἀνομημάτων λαβεῖν κόλασιν. οὐ γευθέντος τὸν μὲν Σκύθθην τῆς θυγατρὸς καταγνώναι θάνατον, τοὺς δ’ ἐκ τῆς Κλεοπάτρας νῦν ἀπενέγκασθαι παρὰ τοῖς Θραξίδοις ἐξαι ἐπεικείαις.

4 Οὐκ ἀγνοῶ δὲ διότι τινὲς τῶν μυθογράφων τυφλωθημένοι φασὶ τοὺς Φινείδας ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρός, καὶ ἐκ Vulgate, Bekker, Jacoby, omitted D, Dindorf, Vogel.

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conduct implored that they be delivered from their unfortunate lot.

44. Phineus, however, the account continues, met the strangers with bitter words and ordered them not to busy themselves with his affairs; for no father, he said, exacts punishment of his sons of his free will, unless they have overcome, by the magnitude of their crimes, the natural love which parents bear towards their children. Thereupon the young men, who were known as Borcadæ and were of the company which sailed with Heracles, since they were brothers of Cleopatra, and because of their kinship with the young men, were the first, it is said, to rush to their aid, and they tore apart the chains which encircled them and slew such barbarians as offered resistance. And when Phineus hastened to join battle with them and the Thracian multitude ran together, Heracles, they say, who performed the mightiest deeds of them all, slew Phineus himself and no small number of the rest, and finally capturing the royal palace led Cleopatra forth from out the prison, and restored to the sons of Phineus their ancestral rule. But when the sons wished to put their stepmother to death under torture, Heracles persuaded them to renounce such a vengeance, and so the sons, sending her to her father in Scythia, urged that she be punished for her wicked treatment of them. And this was done; the Scythian condemned his daughter to death, and the sons of Cleopatra gained in this way among the Thracians a reputation for equitable dealing.

I am not unaware that certain writers of myths say that the sons of Phineus were blinded by their

1 "Sons of Boreas."
τὸν Φινέα τῆς ὁμοίας τυχεῖν συμφορᾶς ὑπὸ Βορέου.

5 ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τὸν Ἡρακλέα τινὲς παραδεδώκασι πρὸς ὑδρείαν ἐξελθόντα κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀργοναυτῶν ἐπὶ τῆς χώρας ἀπολειφθῆναι. καθὸλου δὲ τοὺς παλαιοὺς μῦθους οὐχ ἀπλὴν οὐδὲ συμπεφωνημένην ἱστορίαν ἔχειν συμβέβηκε· διόπερ
6 οὐ χρῆ θαυμάζειν, εάν τινὰ τῶν ἀρχαιολογομομε- 

νῶν μὴ συμφώνως ἀπασί τοῖς ποιηταῖς καὶ συγ- 

γραφεῦσι συγκρίνωμεν.

Οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς Φινείδας λέγεται τὴν 

βασιλείαν παραδόντας τῇ μητρὶ Κλεοπάτρα συστρα-

7 τεῦσαι τοῖς ἀριστεῦσιν. ἀναχθέντας δὲ αὐτοὺς 

ἐκ τῆς Ἑράκης καὶ κομισθέντας εἰς τὸν Πόντον 

προσχεῖν1 τῇ Ταυρικῇ, τὴν ἀγριότητα τῶν 

ἔγχωριών ἀγιοῦσαν· νόμιμον γὰρ εἶναι τοῖς τῆς 

χώρας ταύτῃν οἰκούσι βαρβάροις θύειν Ἀρτέμιδι 

Ταυροπόλῳ τοὺς καταπλέοντας ἔξοσαν· παρ’ 

οῖς φασὶ τὴν Ἰσιγνείαν ἐν τοῖς ἔστερον χρόνοις 

ἱέρειαν τῆς εἰρήμενης θεοῦ κατασταθεῖσαν θύειν 

τοὺς ἀλικοκομένους.

45. Ἐπιζητοῦσης δὲ τῆς ἱστορίας τὰς τῆς ἔνο-

κτονίας αἰτίας, ἀναγκαίον βραχέα διελθεῖν, ἀλλως 

tε καὶ τῆς παρεκβάσεως οἰκείας ἐσομένης ταῖς 

τῶν Ἀργοναυτῶν πράξεσι. φασὶ γὰρ Ἡλίου δύο 

γενέσθαι παίδας, Λιθῆνι τε καὶ Πέρσῃ τούτων 

dὲ τὸν μὲν Λιθῆνι βασιλεύσαι τῆς Κολχίδος, τὸν δ’ 

ἔτερον τῆς Ταυρικῆς, ἀμφοτέρους δὲ διενεχεῖν 

2 ωμότητι, καὶ Πέρσου μὲν Ἐκάτην γενέσθαι 

θυγατέρα, τόλμη καὶ παρανομίᾳ προέχουσαν τοῦ

1 προσχεῖν Eichstädtt, προσχεῖν (προσέχειν D*) MSS.,

editors.

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father and that Phineus suffered the like fate at the hands of Boreas. Likewise certain writers have passed down the account that Heracles, when he went ashore once in Asia to get water, was left behind in the country by the Argonauts. But, as a general thing, we find that the ancient myths do not give us a simple and consistent story; consequently it should occasion no surprise if we find, when we put the ancient accounts together, that in some details they are not in agreement with those given by every poet and historian.

At any rate, according to these ancient accounts, the sons of Phineus turned over the kingdom to their mother Cleopatra and joined with the chieftains in the expedition. And after they had set sail from Thrace and had entered the Pontus, they put in at the Tauric Chersonese, being ignorant of the savage ways of the native people. For it is customary among the barbarians who inhabit this land to sacrifice to Artemis Tauropolus the strangers who put in there, and it is among them, they say, that at a later time Iphigeneia became a priestess of this goddess and sacrificed to her those who were taken captive.

45. Since it is the task of history to inquire into the reasons for this slaying of strangers, we must discuss these reasons briefly, especially since the digression on this subject will be appropriate in connection with the deeds of the Argonauts. We are told, that is, that Helius had two sons, Aeëtes and Perses, Aeëtes being king of Colchis and the other king of the Tauric Chersonese, and that both of them were exceedingly cruel. And Perses had a daughter Hecatè, who surpassed her father in bold-
According to Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, 7, 408 ff., the plant which gave aconite came from the foam which dropped from the jaws of Cerberus when Heracles brought him out of Hades.

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ness and lawlessness; she was also fond of hunting, and when she had no luck she would turn her arrows upon human beings instead of the beasts. Being likewise ingenious in the mixing of deadly poisons she discovered the drug called aconite and tried out the strength of each poison by mixing it in the food given to the strangers. And since she possessed great experience in such matters she first of all poisoned her father and so succeeded to the throne, and then, founding a temple of Artemis and commanding that strangers who landed there should be sacrificed to the goddess, she became known far and wide for her cruelty. After this she married Aeëtes and bore two daughters, Circé and Medea, and a son Aegialeus.

Although Circé also, it is said, devoted herself to the devising of all kinds of drugs and discovered roots of all manner of natures and potencies such as are difficult to credit, yet, notwithstanding that she was taught by her mother Hecaté about not a few drugs, she discovered by her own study a far greater number, so that she left to the other woman no superiority whatever in the matter of devising uses of drugs. She was given in marriage to the king of the Sarmatians, whom some call Scythians, and first she poisoned her husband and after that, succeeding to the throne, she committed many cruel and violent acts against her subjects. For this reason she was deposed from her throne and, according to some writers of myths, fled to the ocean, where she seized a desert island, and there established herself with

For this reason the plant was reputed to grow near Heraclea on the Black Sea where the entrance to Hades was pointed out.
Diodorus of Sicily

46. Την δὲ Μηδειάν ιστοροῦσι μαθεῖν παρὰ τε τῆς μητρός καὶ τῆς ἀδελφῆς ἄπασας τὰς τῶν φαρμάκων δυνάμεις, προαιρέσει δ’ ἐναντιωτάτη χρήσθαι· διατελεῖν γὰρ τοὺς καταπλέοντας τῶν ἔξων ἐξαιρουμένην ἐκ τῶν κυνύνων, καὶ ποτὲ μὲν παρὰ τοῦ πατρός αἰτεῖσθαι δεῖσει καὶ χάριτι τὴν τῶν μελλόντων ἀπόλλυσθαι σωτηρίαν, ποτὲ δ’ αὐτήν ἐκ τῆς φυλακῆς ἀφεῖσθαι προνοεῖσθαι τῆς τῶν ἀτυχούντων ἀσφαλείας· τὸν γὰρ Αἰήτην τὰ μὲν διὰ τὴν ἱδίαν ὑμότητα, τὰ δ’ υπὸ τῆς γυναικὸς Ἑκάτης πεισθέντα, προσδέξασθαι τὸ τῆς ἐξενοκτονίας νόμμουν. Ἀντιπραττοῦσις δὲ τῆς Μηδείας οἷς μᾶλλον τῇ προαιρέσει τῶν γονέων, φασὶ τὸν Αἰήτην ὑποπτεύοντα τὴν ἐκ τῆς θυγατρὸς ἐπιβουλήν ἐὰς ἔλευθεραν αὐτὴν ἀποθέσθαι φυλακῆς· τὴν δὲ Μηδειαν διαδράσαν καταφυγεῖν εἰς τι τέμενος Ἡλίου κείμενον παρὰ θάλατταν. καθ’ ὄν δὴ χρόνον τοὺς Ἀργοναύτας ἀπὸ τῆς Ταυρικῆς κομισθέντας νυκτὸς καταπλεῦσαι τῆς Κολχίδος εἰς τὸ προειρημένον τέμενος. ἐνθα δὴ περιτυχόντας τῇ Μηδείᾳ πλανωμένη παρὰ τῶν αἰγαλῶν, καὶ μαθόντας παρ’ αὐτὴς τὸ τῆς ἐξενοκτονίας νόμμουν, ἀποδέξασθαι μὲν τὴν ἠμερότητα τῆς παρθένου, δηλώσαντας δ’ αὐτῆ τὴν ἔαυτῶν ἐπι-

1 Κίρκειον ΙΙ, Jacoby.

1 In early times the southern boundary of Latium.
the women who had fled with her, though according to some historians she left the Pontus and settled in Italy on a promontory which to this day bears after her the name Circaeum.¹

46. Concerning Medea this story is related:— From her mother and sister she learned all the powers which drugs possess, but her purpose in using them was exactly the opposite. For she made a practice of rescuing from their perils the strangers who came to their shores, sometimes demanding from her father by entreaty and coaxing that the lives be spared of those who were to die, and sometimes herself releasing them from prison and then devising plans for the safety of the unfortunate men. For Aeëtes, partly because of his own natural cruelty and partly because he was under the influence of his wife Hecatë, had given his approval to the custom of slaying strangers. But since Medea as time went on opposed the purpose of her parents more and more, Aeëtes, they say, suspecting his daughter of plotting against him consigned her to free custody²; Medea, however, made her escape and fled for refuge to a sacred precinct of Helius on the shore of the sea. This happened at the very time when the Argonauts arrived from the Tauric Chersonese and landed by night in Colchis at this precinct. There they came upon Medea, as she wandered along the shore, and learning from her of the custom of slaying strangers they praised the maiden for her kindly spirit, and then, revealing to her their own project, they learned in turn from

² The *libera custodia* of the Romans, which corresponded in general to our release on bail or on parole, a citizen frequently assuming responsibility for the person of the prisoner.
Diodorus of Sicily

bolhn paln par' 'keivns mabeiv ton uparchonta auti kivdunon apd tov patros dia ton pros tovs
4 'xeinou exesebeian. kouvoi de tov sumpferontos
faneontos, tihn men Meideian epaggleiasahi suver-
ghseiv autois mecri an svntelieswsi ton prokei-
menon atheion, ton de 'Iasona dia ton orkow doynai
pisteis oti yhmas autin exei sumbion apanta
ton tov zhn chrnon. metad de taata tovs 'Arrgo-
nautas apoploountas fylakas tihn neous, nuktos
orhysae metad tihn Meideias ep to chrusomallon
deros: peri oO ta 2 katame rikes an eih
diethsiv, 'nqa mpeden ton anekonton eis tihn upokei-
menein ystoriaian agnethai.

47. Phrizon ton 'Athamanontos mythologousi dia tas
apio tihn mytrnias epiboula analabonta tihn ade-
phiin 'Ellhyn fyngei ek tihn 'Ellados. peraiou-
menov d' autwn katia tina thew proounan ek tihn
Eurwphpsoi eis tihn 'Asian epi kriou chrusomallon,
tihn men parboenon apopesew eis tihn thalattan,
hn ap' 'keivns 'Ellhiponton onomasshniai, ton
de Phrizon eis ton Pounton poreuthenta kataphshnia
men pros tihn Kolchida, kata de ti logion thsanta
ton kriou anadeinai to deros eis to tov 'Areos
2 ierow. metad de taata basileuton tihn Kolchidos
Aiyton chrismov expesew oti tote katastratepei
ton blion othan xenoi katapleusantes to chrusom-
malllon deros apeneqkswi. dia dh taata tas
autias kai dia 3 tihn idian ymouetai katadeikeyai
thwein tovs xenous, 'nva diadotheis tihn phihs eis

1 apO Wesseling: ypO.
2 ta Hertlein: omitted D, to Vulgate.
3 dia omitted by D, Vogel.

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her of the danger which threatened her from her father because of the reverence which she showed to strangers. Since they now recognized that it was to their mutual advantage, Medea promised to co-operate with them until they should perform the labour which lay before them, while Jason gave her his pledge under oath that he would marry her and keep her as his life's companion so long as he lived. After this the Argonauts left guards to watch the ship and set off by night with Medea to get the golden fleece, concerning which it may be proper for us to give a detailed account, in order that nothing which belongs to the history which we have undertaken may remain unknown.

47. Phrixus, the son of Athamas, the myths relate, because of his stepmother's plots against him, took his sister Hellë and fled with her from Greece. And while they were making the passage from Europe to Asia, as a kind of Providence of the gods directed, on the back of a ram, whose fleece was of gold, the maiden fell into the sea, which was named after her Hellespont,¹ but Phrixus continued on into the Pontus and was carried to Colchis, where, as some oracle had commanded, he sacrificed the ram and hung up its fleece as a dedicatory offering in the temple of Ares. After this, while Aeëtes was king of Colchis, an oracle became known, to the effect that he was to come to the end of his life whenever strangers should land there and carry off the golden fleece. For this reason and because of his own cruelty as well, Aeëtes ordained that strangers should be offered up in sacrifice, in order that, the report of

¹ i.e. Sea of Hellë.
ἀπαντα τόπον περὶ τῆς Κόλχων ἀγριότητος μηδείς τῶν ἤένων ἐπιβηθέναι τολμήσῃ τῆς χώρας. περιβάλειν δὲ καὶ τῷ τεμένει τεῖχος καὶ φύλακας πολλοὺς ἐπιστήσαι τῶν ἐκ τῆς Ταυρικῆς. ἀφ’ ὧν καὶ τερατώδεις παρὰ τοῖς Ἑλλησιοὺς πλασθῆναι μύθους. διαβεβοήθαται γὰρ ὅτι πυρίπνου ταῦροι περὶ τὸ τέμενος ὑπήρχον, δράκων δ’ ἄυπνος ἐτήρει τὸ δέρος, ἀπὸ μὲν τῶν Ταύρων μετενεχθείς τῆς ὁμωνυμίας ἐπὶ τήν τῶν βοῶν ἱσχύν, ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς κατὰ τὴν ἐξενοκτονίαι ὁμότητος πυρπνεῖν τοὺς ταῦρους μυθολογθέντος, παραπλησίως δὲ τοῦ τηροῦντος τὸ τέμενος Δράκοντος ὄνομαζόμενον, μετεννυχέναι τοὺς ποιητὰς ἐπὶ τὸ τερατώδες καὶ καταπληκτικὸν τοῦ ζόφου. τῆς ὁμοίας δὲ μυθολογίας ἔχεσθαι καὶ τὰ περὶ τοῦ Φρίξου λεγόμενα. διαπλεύσαι γὰρ αὐτὸν φασὶν οἱ μὲν ἐπὶ νεώς πρωτομῆν ἐπὶ τῆς πρώρας ἔχωσης κριοῦ, καὶ τὴν Ἑλλῆν δυσφοροῦσαν ἐπὶ τῇ ναυτίᾳ, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἐπὶ τοῦ τοίχου τῆς νεώς ἐκκυπτοὺς, εἰς τὴν βάλαταν προπεσείν. ἐνιοῦ δὲ φασι τὸν βασιλέα τῶν Σκυθῶν, ὅντα γαμβρὸν Αἰήτου, παρὰ τοῖς Κόλχωις ἐπιδημήσαι καθ’ ὅν καρδὸν ἄλωναν συνέβη τὸν Φρίξου μετὰ τοῦ παιδαγωγοῦ, ἑρωτικὸς δὲ σχόντα τοῦ παιδὸς λαβεῖν αὐτὸν ἐν δωρεὰ παρ’ Αἰήτου, καὶ καθάπερ ὑδὸν γείσιον ἀγαπήσαντα καταλιπεῖν αὐτῷ τὴν βασιλείαν. τὸν δὲ παιδαγωγὸν ὄνομαζόμενον Κρίδων τυθήναι τοῖς θεοῖς, καὶ τοῦ σώματος ἐκδα- 1 ἄυπνος Vogel: αὐτοῖς. 2 So Dindorf: πῦρ πνεῖν.
the cruelty of the Colchi having been spread abroad to every part of the world, no stranger should have the courage to set foot on the land. He also threw a wall about the precinct and stationed there many guardians, these being men of the Tauric Chersonese, and it is because of these guards that the Greeks invented monstrous myths. For instance, the report was spread abroad that there were fire-breathing bulls (*tauroi*) round about the precinct and that a sleepless dragon (*drakon*) guarded the fleece, the identity of the names having led to the transfer from the men who were Taurians to the cattle because of their strength and the cruelty shown in the murder of strangers having been made into the myth of the bulls breathing fire; and similarly the name of the guardian who watched over the sacred precinct, which was Dracon, has been transferred by the poets to the monstrous and fear-inspiring beast, the dragon. Also the account of Phrixus underwent a similar working into a myth. For, as some men say, he made his voyage upon a ship which bore the head of a ram upon its bow, and Hellê, being troubled with sea-sickness, while leaning far over the side of the boat for this reason, fell into the sea. Some say, however, that the king of the Scythians, who was a son-in-law of Aeëtes, was visiting among the Colchi at the very time when, as it happened, Phrixus and his attendant were taken captive, and conceiving a passion for the boy¹ he received him from Aeëtes as a gift, loved him like a son of his own loins, and left his kingdom to him. The attendant, however, whose name was Crius (ram), was sacrificed to the gods, and when his

¹ *i.e.* Phrixus.
ῥέντος προσηλωθήναι τῷ νεῶ ¹ τὸ δέρμα κατὰ τι ²
6 νόμιμον. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Αἰήτη γενομένου χρη-
σμοῦ, καθ’ ὄν ἐσημαίνετο τότε ³ τελευτῆσειν αὐτοῦν
ὅταν ξένοι καταπλεύσαντες τὸ τοῦ Κριοῦ δέρος
ἀπενέγκωσι, τὸν βασιλέα φασὶ τειχίσαι τὸ τέμενος
καὶ φρουράν ἐγκαταστήσαι, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις
χρυσώσαι τὸ δέρος, ἵνα διὰ τὴν ἐπιφάνειαν ὑπὸ
tῶν στρατιωτῶν ἐπιμελεστάτης ἀξίωθη φυλακῆς.
ταῦτα μὲν οὐν ἐξέσται τοὺς ἀναγινώσκοντας
κρίνειν πρὸς τὰς ἰδιὰς ἐκάστου προαιρέσεις.
48. Τὴν δὲ Μήδειαν ἱστοροῦσι καθηγήσασθαι τοῖς
'Ἀργοναύταις ⁴ πρὸς τὸ τοῦ Ἀρεος τέμενος,
ἀπέχον ἐβδομήκοντα σταδίους ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως,
ἡν καλεῖσθαι μὲν Σύβαριν, έχειν δὲ τὰ βασιλεία
tῶν Κόλχων. προσελθοῦσαν δὲ ταῖς πύλαις
κεκλεμέναις νυκτὸς τῇ Ταυρικῇ διαλέκτῳ προσ-
2 φωνήσαι τοὺς φρουρούς.⁵ τῶν δὲ στρατιωτῶν
ἀνοιξάντων προθύμως ὡς ἄν βασιλέως θυγατρὶ,
φασὶ τοὺς 'Ἀργοναύτας εἰσπεσόντας ἐσπασμένοις
τοῖς ξίφεσι πολλοὺς μὲν φονεύσαι τῶν βαρβάρων,
tοὺς δ’ ἄλλους διὰ τὸ παράδοξον καταπληξαμένους
ἐκβάλεν ἐκ τοῦ τεμένους, καὶ τὸ δέρος ἀναλαβόντας
3 πρὸς τὴν ναῦν ἐπείγοσθαι κατὰ σπουδήν. παρα-
πλησίως δὲ τούτοις καὶ τὴν Μήδειαν ἐν τῷ τεμένει
τὸν μυθολογούμενον ἀντιγ. δράκοντα περιεσπειρα-
μένον τὸ δέρος τοῖς φαρμάκοις ἀποκτεῖνα, καὶ
μετὰ Ἰάσονος τὴν ἐπὶ θάλατταν κατάβασιν ποιή-
4 σασθαι. τῶν δὲ διαφυγόντων Ταύρων ἀπαγγε-
λάντων τῷ βασιλεῖ τὴν γενομένην ἐπιθέσειν, φασὶ τὸν

¹ νεῦ Dindorf: θεῶ.
² τι II, Bekker, Dindorf, Vogel, τὸ ABD, Jacoby.
³ τότε added by Dindorf, ἐσημαίνετο ὁ θεὸς Jacoby.

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body had been flayed the skin was nailed up on the temple, in keeping with a certain custom. And when later an oracle was delivered to Aeëtes to the effect that he was to die whenever strangers would sail to his land and carry off the skin of Crius, the king, they say, built a wall about the precinct and stationed a guard over it; furthermore, he gilded the skin in order that by reason of its brilliant appearance the soldiers should consider it worthy of the most careful guarding. As for these matters, however, it rests with my readers to judge each in accordance with his own predilections.

48. Medea, we are told, led the way for the Argonauts to the sacred precinct of Ares, which was seventy stades distant from the city which was called Sybaris and contained the palace of the rulers of the Colehi. And approaching the gates, which were kept closed at night, she addressed the guards in the Tauric speech. And when the soldiers readily opened the gates to her as being the king’s daughter, the Argonauts, they say, rushing in with drawn swords slew many of the barbarians and drove the rest, who were struck with terror by the unexpected happening, out of the precinct, and then, taking with them the fleece, made for the ship with all speed. Medea likewise, assisting the Argonauts, slew with poisons the dragon which, according to the myths, never slept as it lay coiled about the fleece in the precinct, and made her way with Jason down to the sea. The Tauri who had escaped by flight reported to the king the attack which had

4 τοὺς Ἀργοναῦτας Jacoby.
5 So Hertlein, Vogel, τοὺς φρουροῖς D, Dindorf, Bekker, Jacoby.
Αἰήτην μετὰ τῶν περὶ αὐτῶν στρατιωτῶν διώξαντα
tοὺς Ἑλλήνας καταλαβεῖν πλησίον τῆς θαλάττης: ἐξ ἐφόδου δὲ συνάψαντα μάχην ἀνέλειν ἕνα τῶν Ἀργοναυτῶν Ἰφιτον τὸν Εὔρυσθέως ἄδελφον τοῦ
tοὺς ἄθλους Ἡρακλεὶ προστάζαντος, ἐπειτα τοῖς ἄλλοις τῷ πλήθει τῶν συναγωγιζομένων περιχυνθέντα καὶ βιαστέρον ἐγκείμενον ὑπὸ Μελεάγρου
φονευθῆναι. ἔνθα δὴ πεσόντος τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐπαρθέντων, τραπῆναι πρὸς φυγὴν τοὺς Κόλχους, καὶ κατὰ τὸν διῳγμὸν τοὺς πλείστους αὐτῶν ἀναπεθῆναι. γενέσθαι δὲ καὶ τῶν ἀριστέων τραυματίαν Ἰάσωνα καὶ Λαέρτην, ἐτὶ δ' Ἀταλάντην καὶ τοὺς Θεσπιάδας προσαγωρευμένους. τούτους μὲν ὅσον φασιν ὑπὸ τῆς Μηδείας ἐν ὀλίγαις ἡμέραις βίζαις καὶ βοτάναις τισὶ θεραπευθὴναι, τοὺς δ' Ἀργοναύτας ἐπισυσταμένους ἐκπλεῦσαι, καὶ μέσον ἤδη τὸ Ποντικὸν πέλαγος ἤχοντας περιπεσεῖν χειμῶν παυτελῶς ἐπικυνδύνω. τοῦ δ' Ὀρφέως, καθάπερ καὶ πρότερον, εὐχὰς ποιησαμένου τοῖς Σαμόθραξι, λήξας μὲν τοὺς ἀνέμους, φανῆναι δὲ πλησίον τῆς νεώς τὸν προσαγωρευόμενον θαλάττιον Γλαῦκον. τούτου δ' ἐπὶ δύο νύκτας καὶ δύο ἡμέρας συνεχῶς τῇ νη συμπλεύσαντα προειπεῖν μὲν Ἡρακλεὶ περὶ τῶν ἄθλων καὶ τῆς ἠθανασίας, τοῖς δὲ Τυνδαιδίαις, ὅτι προσαγωγευθήσονται μὲν Διόσκοροι, τυμῆς δ' ἰσοθέου τεύξονται παρὰ πάσιν ἀνθρώποις. καθόλου δ' ἐξ ὄνοματος προσφωνήσαντα πάντας τοὺς Ἀργοναύτας εἰπεῖν ὡς διὰ τὰς Ὀρφέως εὐχὰς

1 καὶ βοτάναις deleted by Dindorf.
been made upon them, and Aeëtes, they say, took
with him the soldiers who guarded his person, set
out in pursuit of the Greeks, and came upon them
near the sea. Joining battle on the first contact
with them, he slew one of the Argonauts, Iphitus, the
brother of that Eurystheus who had laid the Labours
upon Heracles, but soon, when he enveloped the
rest of them with the multitude of his followers and
pressed too hotly into the fray, he was slain by
Meleager. The moment the king fell, the Greeks
took courage, and the Colchi turned in flight and the
larger part of them were slain in the pursuit. There
were wounded among the chieftains Jason, Laërtes,
Atalantê, and the sons of Thespius, as they are
called. However they were all healed in a few
days, they say, by Medea by means of roots and
certain herbs, and the Argonauts, after securing
provisions for themselves, set out to sea, and they
had already reached the middle of the Pontic sea
when they ran into a storm which put them in the
greatest peril. But when Orpheus, as on the former
occasion,\(^1\) offered up prayers to the deities of Samo-
thrace, the winds ceased and there appeared near
the ship Glaucus the Sea-god, as he is called. The
god accompanied the ship in its voyage without
ceasing for two days and nights and foretold to
Heracles his Labours and immortality, and to the
Tyndaridae that they should be called Dioscori
("Sons of Zeus") and receive at the hands of all
mankind honour like that offered to the gods. And,
in general, he addressed all the Argonauts by name
and told them that because of the prayers of Orpheus
he had appeared in accordance with a Providence

\(^1\) Cp. chap. 43. 1.
Diodorus of Sicily

49. "Επειτα τὸν μὲν Γλαύκον δύναι πάλιν εἰς τὸ πέλαγος, τοὺς δ' Ἀργοναύτας κατὰ στόμα ὑμῶν ἐπέλαβε τὴν γῆ, βασιλεύοντός τὸτε τὴς χώρας Βυζαντος, ἀφ' οὗ καὶ τὴν 2 πόλιν τῶν Βυζαντίων ἕνομάσθαι. ἐνταῦθα δὲ βωμοὺς ἰδρυσμένοι καὶ τοῖς θεοῖς τὰς εὐχὰς ἀποδόντας καθερώσαι τὸν τόπον τὸν ἔτι καὶ 3 νῦν τιμώμενον ὑπὸ τῶν παραπλεύσοντων. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἀναχθέντας, καὶ διαπλέσαντας τὴν τε Προποντίδα καὶ τὸν Ἐλλησπόντον, προσενεχθήναι τῇ Τρῳδί. ἐνταῦθα δ' Ἡρακλέους πέμψαντος εἰς τὴν πόλιν "Ιφικλὸν τε τὸν ἄδελφον καὶ Τελαμόνα τάς 4 τε ἔππους καὶ τὴν Ἰσιόνην ἀπαιτήσοντας, λέγεται τὸν Δαομέδοντα τοὺς μὲν πρεσβευτὰς εἰς φυλακὴν ἄποθέσαθαι, τοῖς δ' ἄλλοις Ἀργοναύταις δι' ἐνέδρας βουλέσθαι 2 θάνατον καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους ύιοὺς ἐχειν τῇ πράξει συνεργοὺς. Πριάμοιν δὲ μόνον ἐναντιοπραγοῦντα: τοῦτον γάρ ἀποφή- νασθαι δεῖν τὰ πρὸς τοὺς ἔνοικους δίκαια τηρεῖν, καὶ τὴν τε ἄδελφὴν καὶ τὰς ὀμολογημένας ἔππους ἀποδιδόναι. οὐδὲνος δ' αὐτῷ προσέχοντος, φασίν εἰς τὴν φυλακὴν δύο ξίφη παρενέγκαντα λάθρᾳ δοῦναι τοῖς περὶ τὸν Τελαμόνα, καὶ τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς προαιρεσιν ἐξηγησάμενον αὐτοῖς γενέσθαι τῆς 496

1 τὰς Ειχστάτη: τοὺς. 2 βουλεύσασθαι DF, Jacoby.

1 This was on the Asiatic side and was called by Polybius (4. 39. 6) the "Holy Place, where they say Jason on his voyage
of the gods and was showing forth to them what was destined to take place; and he counselled them, accordingly, that so soon as they touched land they should pay their vows to the gods through the intervention of whom they had twice already been saved.

49. After this, the account continues, Glaucus sank back beneath the deep, and the Argonauts, arriving at the mouth of the Pontus, put in to the land, the king of the country being at that time Byzas, after whom the city of Byzantium was named. There they set up altars, and when they had paid their vows to the gods they sanctified the place,1 which is even to this day held in honour by the sailors who pass by. After this they put out to sea, and after sailing through the Propontis and Hellespont they landed at the Troad. Here, when Heracles dispatched to the city his brother Iphiclus and Telamon to demand back both the mares and Hesione, Laomedon, it is said, threw the ambassadors into prison and planned to lay an ambush for the other Argonauts and encompass their death. He had the rest of his sons as willing aids in the deed, but Priam alone opposed it; for he declared that Laomedon should observe justice in his dealings with the strangers and should deliver to them both his sister and the mares which had been promised. But when no one paid any heed to Priam, he brought two swords to the prison, they say, and gave them secretly to Telamon and his companions, and by disclosing the plan of his father he became the cause back from Colchis first sacrificed to the twelve gods” (tr. of Paton in the L.C.L.).
5 σωτηρίας αυτοῖς. εὐθὺς γὰρ τοὺς περὶ τὸν Τελαμώνα φονεύσαι μὲν τῶν φυλάκων τοὺς ἀντεχομένους, φυγόντας δ’ ἐπὶ θάλατταν ἀπαγγείλαι τὰ κατὰ μέρος τοῖς Ἀργοναύταις. διόπερ τούτους μὲν ἐτοίμους γενομένους πρὸς μάχην ἀπαντήσαι τοῖς ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἐκχεομένους μετὰ τοῦ βασιλέως.

6 γενομένης δὲ μάχης ἵσχυρὰς, καὶ τῶν ἀριστέων διὰ τὰς ἀρετὰς ἐπικρατοῦντων, μυθολογοῦσι τὸν Ἡρακλεόντων ἀρίστα διαγωνίσασθαι. τὸν τε γὰρ Λαομέδοντα φονεύσαι, καὶ τῆς πόλεως ἐξ ἐφόδου κρατῆσαντα κολάσας μὲν τοὺς μετασχόντας τῷ βασίλει τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς, Πριάμῳ δὲ διὰ τὴν δικαιοσύνην παραδοῦναι τὴν βασιλείαν, καὶ φιλίαις συνθέμοις ἐκπλεῦσαι μετὰ τῶν Ἀργοναύτων.

7 ἑνοῦ δὲ τῶν ἀρχαίων ποιητῶν παραδεδώκασιν οὐ μετὰ τῶν Ἀργοναύτων, ἀλλ’ ἵδια στρατεύσαντα τὸν Ἡρακλέα ναυσὶν ἐξ ἕνεκα τῶν ἵππων ἐλείν τὴν Τροίαν. προσμαρτυρεῖν δὲ τούτοις καὶ Ὕμηρον ἐν τοῖς ἐπεσιν,

ἀλλ’ οἶνον τινὰ φασὶ βίην Ἡρακλησίην εἶναι, ἐμὸν πατέρα ἡρασμέμονα, θυμολέοντα, ὅς ποτὲ δεὐρ’ ἐλθὼν ἐνεχ’ ἵππων Λαομέδοντος ἐξ οὗς σὺν νησί καὶ ἀνδράσι παυροτέρουσιν Ἰλίου ἐξαλάπαξε πόλιν, χήρωσε δ’ ἀγωνίας.

8 τοὺς δ’ Ἀργοναύτας φασίν ἐκ τῆς Τρωάδος ἀναχθέντας εἰς Σαμοθράκην κομισθῆναι, καὶ τοῖς μεγάλοις θεοῖς τὰς εὐχὰς ἀποδόντας πάλιν ἀναθεῖναι τὰς φιάλας εἰς τὸ τέμενος τὰς ἔτι καὶ νῦν διαμενοῦσας.

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1 Iliad 5. 638-42; quoted before, chap. 32.
of their deliverance. For immediately Telamon and his companions slew such of the guards as offered resistance, and fleeing to the sea gave the Argonauts a full account of what had happened. Accordingly, these got ready for battle and went out to meet the forces which were pouring out of the city with the king. There was a sharp battle, but their courage gave the chieftains the upper hand, and Heracles, the myths report, performed the bravest feats of them all; for he slew Laomedon, and taking the city at the first assault he punished those who were parties with the king to the plot, but to Priam, because of the spirit of justice he had shown, he gave the kingship, entered into a league of friendship with him, and then sailed away in company with the Argonauts. But certain of the ancient poets have handed down the account that Heracles took Troy, not with the aid of the Argonauts, but on a campaign of his own with six ships, in order to get the mares; and Homer also adds his witness to this version in the following lines:

Aye, what a man, they say, was Heracles
In might, my father he, steadfast, with heart
Of lion, who once came here to carry off
The mares of King Laomedon, with but
Six ships and scantier men, yet sacked he then
The city of proud Ilium, and made
Her streets bereft.

But the Argonauts, they say, set forth from the Troad and arrived at Samothrace, where they again paid their vows to the great gods and dedicated in the sacred precinct the bowls which are preserved there even to this day.
50. Τῆς δὲ τῶν ἀριστέων ἀνακομιδῆς ἀγνοουμένης ἔτι κατὰ τὴν Θεσσαλίαν, φασὶ προσπεσεὶν φήμην ὅτι πάντες οἱ μετὰ Ἰάσωνος στρατεύσαντες ἐν τοῖς κατὰ τὸν Πόντον τόποις ἀπολόγασ. διόπερ τὸν Πελίαν καὶ καὶ ἔχειν ὑπολαμβάνοντα τοὺς ἐφέδρους τῆς βασιλείας πάντας ἀρδην ἀνέλειν, τὸν μὲν πατέρα τὸν Ἰάσωνος ἀναγκάσαι πιεῖν αἷμα ταύρου, τὸν δ᾿ ἀδελφὸν Πρόμαχον, παῖδα τὴν ἥλυσιν 2 ὄντα, φονεύσαι. Ἀμφιόμην δὲ τὴν μητέρα μέλλουσαν ἀναφεύγον διασὶ ἐπανδρον καὶ μνήμη τατικαὶ ἐπιτελέσασθαι πράξεων καταφυγοῦσαν γὰρ ἐπὶ τὴν έστιν τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ καταρασμαμένην παθεῖν αὐτὸν ἄξια τῶν ἀσεβημάτων, ἔσθει πατάξασαν εὐαυτῆς τὸ υπῆθος ἰρωκτὸς καταστρέψαν τὸν 3 βίον. τὸν δὲ Πελίαν τούτω τῷ τρόπῳ πᾶσαν τὴν Ἰάσωνος συγγενειαν ἀρδην ἀνέλοντα ταχὺ τὴν προσήκουσαν τοῖς ἀσεβήμασι κομίσασθαι τιμωρίαν. τὸν γὰρ Ἰάσωνα καταπλεύσαντα νυκτὸς τῆς Θεσσαλίας εἰς ὁμοῦ ὡς μακρὰν μὲν τῆς Ἰωλκοῦ κείμενον, ἀθεώρητον δὲ τοῖς ἐκ τῆς πόλεως, μαθεῖν παρά τινος τῶν κατὰ τὴν χώραν τὰ γενόμενα περὶ τοὺς συγγενεῖς ἀτυχήματα. πάντων δὲ τῶν ἀριστέων ἔποιμων ὅντων βοηθεῖν τῷ Ἰάσωνι καὶ πάντα κίνδυνον ἀναδέχεσθαι, περὶ τῆς ἐπιθέσεως ἐμπεσεῖν αὐτοῖς ἀμφισβήτησιν τοὺς μὲν γὰρ συμβουλευέναι παραχρῆμα βιασαμένους εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἀπροσδοκήτως ἐπιθέσθαι τῷ βασιλεῖ, τόνας δ᾿ ἀποφαίνεσθαι δεῖν στρατιώτας ἀπὸ τῆς ἒδαις πατρίδος ἐκαστὸν συλλέξαντα θυσίαν ἀρασθαι πόλεμον ἀδίστατον γὰρ εἶναι πεντήκοντα καὶ

1 Cp. chap. 40.
50. While the return of the chieftains was as yet not known in Thessaly, a rumour, they say, went the rounds there that all the companions of Jason in the expedition had perished in the region of the Pontus. Consequently Pelias, thinking that an occasion was now come to do away with all who were waiting for the throne, forced the father of Jason to drink the blood of a bull, and murdered his brother Promachus, who was still a mere lad in years. But Amphinomê, his mother, they say, when on the point of being slain, performed a manly deed and one worthy of mention; for fleeing to the hearth of the king she pronounced a curse against him, to the effect that he might suffer the fate which his impious deeds merited, and then, striking her own breast with a sword, she ended her life heroically. But as for Pelias, when he had utterly destroyed in this fashion all the relatives of Jason, he speedily received the punishment befitting his impious deeds. For Jason, who had sailed that night into a roadstead which lay not far from Ioleus and yet was not in sight of the dwellers in the city, learned from one of the country-folk of the misfortunes which had befallen his kinsmen. Now all the chieftains stood ready to lend Jason their aid and to face any peril on his behalf, but they fell into dispute over how they should make the attack; some, for instance, advised that they force their way at once into the city and fall upon the king while he was not expecting them, but certain others declared that each one of them should gather soldiers from his own birthplace and then raise a general war; since it was impossible,
5 ἐχοντος καὶ πόλεις ἀξιολόγους. τοιαύτης δ’ οὐσης ἐν αὐτοῖς ἀπορίας, λέγεται τῇ Μῆδειαν ἐπαγγειλαθαί δι’ ἑαυτῆς τὸν τε Πελίαν ἀποκτε-νεῖν 1 δόλῳ καὶ τὰ βασίλεια παραδώσειν τοῖς ἀριστεύσιν ἀκυδύνως. ἐνταῦθα πάντων θαυμα- 
σάντων τὸν λόγον καὶ τὸν τρόπον τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς μαθεῖν ζητοῦντων, εἶπεν ὅτι κομίζει μεθ’ ἑαυτῆς 
pολλάς καὶ παραδόξους δυνάμεις φαρμάκων εὐρη- 
μένας ύπὸ τε τῆς μητρὸς Ἐκάτης καὶ τῆς ἀδελφῆς 
Κήρης: καὶ ταύτας μὲν μηδέποτε χρήσατι πρό- 
tερον πρὸς ἀπαλλεῖαν ἀνθρώπων, νυνὶ δὲ δ’ αὐτῶν 
ἀμυνεῖσθαι ῥαδίως τοὺς ἀξίους τιμωρίας. προει-
ποῦσαν δὲ τοῖς ἀριστεύσι τὰ κατὰ μέρος τῆς ἐπιθέσεως, ἐκ τῶν βασιλείων αὐτοῖς ἐπαγγείλ- 
asθαι σημανεῖν 2 τῆς μὲν ἡμέρας κατνύ, τῆς δὲ 
nυκτὸς πυρί, πρὸς τὴν ὑπερκεμένην τῆς θαλάττης 
σκοπίν.

51. Αὐτὴν δὲ κατασκευάσασαν Ἀρτέμιδος εἰ- 
dωλον κολλῶν, εἰς μὲν τούτο παντοδαπὰς φύσεις 
φαρμάκων κατακρύψαι, ἑαυτῆς δὲ τὰς μὲν τρίχας 
dυνάμεις τισι χρίσασαν ποησάν πολιάς, τὸ δὲ πρόσ-
ωπον καὶ τὸ σῶμα ρυτίδων πληρές, ὡστε τοὺς 
ἰδόντας δοκεῖν εἶναι τινα παντελῶς προσβότιν: 

dὲ τελευταῖον ἀναλαβοῦσαν τὴν θεοῦ διεσκευασμένην 
καταπληκτικῶς εἰς ὄχλων δεισιδαμονίαν, εἰς 
ten πῶλον εἰσβαλεῖν ἀμὴ ἡμέρα. ἐνθεαζόμενος δ’ 
aυτῆς, καὶ τοῦ πλῆθους κατὰ τὰς ὀδοὺς συντρέχον-

1 So Hertlein: ἀποκτεῖναι.
they maintained, for fifty-three men to overcome a king who controlled an army and important cities. While they were in this perplexity Medea, it is said, promised to slay Pelias all alone by means of cunning and to deliver to the chieftains the royal palace without their running any risk. And when they all expressed astonishment at her statement and sought to learn what sort of a scheme she had in mind, she said that she had brought with her many drugs of marvellous potency which had been discovered by her mother Hecatē and by her sister Circē; and though before this time she had never used them to destroy human beings, on this occasion she would by means of them easily wreak vengeance upon men who were deserving of punishment. Then, after disclosing beforehand to the chieftains the detailed plans of the attack she would make, she promised them that she would give them a signal from the palace during the day by means of smoke, during the night by fire, in the direction of the look-out which stood high above the sea.

51. Then Medea, the tale goes on, fashioning a hollow image of Artemis secreted in it drugs of diverse natures, and as for herself, she anointed her hair with certain potent ointments and made it grey, and filled her face and body so full of wrinkles that all who looked upon her thought that she was surely an old woman. And finally, taking with her the statue of the goddess which had been so made as to strike with terror the superstitious populace and move it to fear of the gods, at daybreak she entered the city. She acted like one inspired, and as the multitude rushed together along the streets

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τοσ, παραγγέλλειν πᾶσι δέχεσθαι τήν θεόν εὐσεβῶς·
παρείναι γὰρ αὐτὴν ἐξ Ἡπερβορέων ἐπ' ἀγαθῷ
3 δαίμονι τῇ τε πόλει πάση καὶ τῷ βασιλεῖ. πάντων
dὲ προσκυνοῦντων καὶ τιμῶντων τήν θεόν θυσίας,
καὶ τὸ σύνολον τῆς πόλεως ἀπάσης συνενθεαζούσης,1
eἰσβαλεῖν τὴν Μήδειαν εἰς τὰ βασίλεια, καὶ τόν τε
Πελίαν εἰς δεισιδαίμονα διάθεσιν ἐμβαλεῖν καὶ τὰς
θυγατέρας αὐτοῦ διὰ τῆς τερατείας εἰς τοιαύτῃν
cατάπληξεν ἁγαγεῖν ὡστε πιστεύσαι διότι πάρεστιν
ἡ θεὸς εὐδαίμονα ποιήσουσα τὸν οἶκον τοῦ βασι-
λέως. ἀπεφαινετο γὰρ ἐπὶ δρακόντων ὁχυμένην
tὴν "Ἀρτεμών δὲ ἀέρος ὑπερπετασθήναι πολλὰ μέρῃ
tῆς οἰκουμένης, καὶ πρὸς καθίδρυσιν ἑαυτῆς καὶ
tιμᾶς αἰώνιοι ἐκγελέχθαι τὸν εὐσεβέστατον ἀπάν-
tων τῶν βασιλέων· προστατεύειν δ' αὐτῇ καὶ τὸ
γῆρας ἀφελοῦσαι2 τὸ Πελίου διὰ τῶν δυνάμεων
νέου παντελῶς ποιήσαι τὸ σῶμα καὶ πολλὰ ἐτέρα
πρὸς μακάριον καὶ θεοφιλή βίον δωρήσασθαι.

4 Ἐκπληττομένου δὲ τοῦ βασιλέως τὸ παρά-
δοξον τῶν λόγων, ἐπαγγείλασθαι τὴν Μήδειαν
παραχρῆμα ἐπὶ τοῦ σώματος ἑαυτῆς τάς τούτων
πίστεως παρέξεσθαι. εἰποῦσαν γὰρ μιᾷ τῶν Πελίου
θυγατέρων καθαρὸν ἐνεγκεῖν ψωφρ, καὶ τῆς
παρθένου τὸ ρήθην εὐθὺς ἐπὶ τέλος ἁγαγούσης,
φασὶν εἰς οἰκίσκον τινὰ συγκλείσασαν ἑαυτὴν καὶ
περιποιμένην τὸ σῶμα πὰν ἀποκλύσασθαι τὰς

1 So Reiske: συνθεαζούσης Vulgate, omitted by D.
2 So Stephanus: ἀφελοῦτα.

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she summoned the whole people to receive the goddess with reverence, telling them that the goddess had come to them from the Hyperboreans to bring good luck to both the whole city and the king. And while all the inhabitants were rendering obeisance to the goddess and honouring her with sacrifices, and the whole city, in a word, was, along with Medea herself, acting like people inspired, she entered the palace, and there she threw Pelias into such a state of superstitious fear and, by her magic arts, so terrified his daughters that they believed that the goddess was actually there in person to bring prosperity to the house of the king. For she declared that Artemis, riding through the air upon a chariot drawn by dragons, had flown in the air over many parts of the inhabited earth and had chosen out the realm of the most pious king in all the world for the establishment of her own worship and for honours which should be for ever and ever; and that the goddess had commanded her not only to divest Pelias, by means of certain powers which she possessed, of his old age and make his body entirely young, but also to bestow upon him many other gifts, to the end that his life should be blessed and pleasing to the gods.

The king was filled with amazement at these astonishing proposals, but Medea, we are informed, promised him that then and there, in the case of her own body, she would furnish the proof of what she had said. Then she told one of the daughters of Pelias to bring pure water, and when the maiden at once carried out her request, she shut herself up, they say, in a small chamber and washing thoroughly her whole body she made it clean of the
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τῶν φαρμάκων δυνάμεις. ἀποκατασταθεῖσαν δ’ εἰς τὴν προϋπάχρουσαν διάθεσιν καὶ φανείσαν τῷ βασιλεῖ καταπλήξασθαι τοὺς ὀρῶντας, καὶ δόξαι τινὶ θεῶν προνοίᾳ μετηλλαχέναι τὸ γῆρας εἰς 6 παρθένου νεότητα καὶ κάλλος περίβλεπτον. ποιήσαι δ’ αὐτὴν καὶ διὰ τινων φαρμάκων εἰδωλα φαντασθήναι τῶν δρακόντων, ἐφ’ ὧν ἀποφαίνεσθαι τὴν θεοῦ κομισθεῖσαν δι’ ἀέρος εἰς ὑπερβορέων ἐπιξενωθήναι τῷ Πελίᾳ. τῶν δ’ ἐνεργημάτων ὑπὲρ τὴν ἀνθρωπίνην φύσιν φανέντων, καὶ τοῦ βασιλέως μεγάλης ἀποδοχῆς ἄξιούντος τὴν Μήδειαν καὶ τὸ σύνολον πιπεύσαντος ἀληθῆ λέγειν, φασὶν αὐτὴν κατὰ μόνας ἑντυχουσαν τῷ Πελίᾳ παρακαλέσας ταῖς θυγατράσι διακελεύσασθαι συνεργεῖν καὶ πράττειν ἄπερ αν αὐταῖς προστάτης προσήκεις γὰρ τῶν τοῦ βασιλέως σώματι μὴ δουλκαίς χερσίν, ἀλλὰ ταῖς τῶν τέκνων θεραπευθέντα τυχεῖν τῆς 7 παρὰ θεῶν ἐνεργείσις. διόπερ τοῦ Πελίου ταῖς θυγατράσι διαρρήδην εἰσπόντος πάντα πράττειν ὡσα ἢ Μήδεια προστάτη περὶ τὸ σῶμα τοῦ πατρός, τὰς μὲν παρθένους ἐτοίμους εἶναι 1 τὸ κελευμένον ἐπιτελεῖν.

52. Τὴν δὲ Μήδειαν νυκτὸς ἐπιγενομένης καὶ τοῦ Πελίου πρὸς ὑπὸν τραπέντος λέγειν ὡς ἀναγκαῖον ἐν λέβητι καθεψῆσαι τὸ σῶμα τοῦ Πελίου. προσάντως 2 δὲ τῶν παρθένων δεξαμένων τῶν λόγων, ἐτέραν αὐτὴν ἐπινοήσαι πίστιν τῶν ὑπ’ αὐτῆς λεγομένων· τρεφομένου γὰρ κριοῦ πολυετοῦς κατὰ τὴν οἰκίαν, ἐπαγγείλασθαι ταῖς κόραις τοῦτον πρότερον καθεψῆσαι καὶ ποιήσειν ἀπ’ ἀρχῆς

1 εἶναι Dindorf: οὐσας MSS, Vogel.
2 So Dindorf: προσηνὼς.

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potent influences of the drugs. Being restored, then, to her former condition, and showing herself to the king, she amazed those who gazed upon her, and they thought that a kind of Providence of the gods had transformed her old age into a maiden's youth and striking beauty. Also, by means of certain drugs, Medea caused shapes of the dragons to appear, which she declared had brought the goddess through the air from the Hyperboreans to make her stay with Pelias. And since the deeds which Medea had performed appeared to be too great for mortal nature, and the king saw fit to regard her with great approval and, in a word, believed that she was telling the truth, she now, they say, in private conversation with Pelias urged him to order his daughters to co-operate with her and to do whatever she might command them; for it was fitting, she said, that the king's body should receive the favour which the gods were according to him through the hands, not of servants, but of his own children. Consequently Pelias gave explicit directions to his daughters to do everything that Medea might command them with respect to the body of their father, and the maidens were quite ready to carry out her orders.

52. Medea then, the story relates, when night had come and Pelias had fallen asleep, informed the daughters that it was required that the body of Pelias be boiled in a cauldron. But when the maidens received the proposal with hostility, she devised a second proof that what she said could be believed. For there was a ram full of years which was kept in their home, and she announced to the maidens that she would first boil it and thus make
2 ἄρνα. συγκαταθεμένων δ' αὐτῶν, μυθολογοῦσι τὴν Μῆδειαν κατὰ μέλη διελούσαν τὸ σῶμα τοῦ κριοῦ καθεψάσαι, καὶ διὰ τινῶν φαρμάκων παρακροσαμένην ἐξελεῖν ἐκ τοῦ λέβητος ἀρνὸς ἐίδωλον. ἐνταῦθα τῶν παρθένων καταπλαγείσων, καὶ πίστεις τῆς ἐπαγγελίας ἡγησαμένων ἐνδεχομένας ἔχειν, ὑπουργῆσαι τοῖς προστάγμασι. καὶ τὰς μὲν ἄλλας ἀπάσας τὸν πατέρα τυπτούσας ἀποκτείναι, μόνη δ' Ἀλκηστὶν δι' εὐσεβείας ὑπερβολὴν ἀποσχέσθαι τοῦ γεννήσαντος.

3 Μετὰ δὲ ταύτα τὴν Μῆδειαν φασὶ τοῦ μὲν τὸ σῶμα κατακόπτειν ἢ καθέψειν ἀποστῆναι, προσποιησαμένην δὲ δεῖν πρότερον εὐχάς ποιῆσασθαι τῇ σελήνῃ, τὰς μὲν παρθένους ἀναβιβάσαι μετὰ λαμπάδων ἐπὶ τὸ μετεωρότατον τέγος τῶν βασιλείων, αὐτὴν δὲ τῇ Κολχίδι διαλέκτῳ κατευχὴν τινα μακρὰν διερχομένην ἐγχρονίζειν, ἀναστροφὴν διδοῦσαν τοῖς μέλλουσι ποιεῖσθαι τὴν ἐπίθεσιν.

4 διὸ καὶ τοὺς Ἀργοναύτας ἀπὸ τῆς σκοπῆς καταμαθόντας τὸ πῦρ, καὶ νομίζοντας συντετελέσθαι τῆς ἀναίρεσιν τοῦ βασιλέως, ὀρμῆσαι δρόμῳ πρὸς τὴν πόλιν, παρεισελθόντας δὲ ἐντὸς τοῦ τείχους ἐσπασμένους τοῖς ἐξίσσειν εἰς τὰ βασίλεια καταντήσαι καὶ τοὺς ἐναντιομένους τῶν φυλάκων ἀνέλειν. τὰς δὲ τοῦ Πελιοῦ θυγατέρας ἄρτι καταβεβηκύνας ἀπὸ τοῦ τέγους πρὸς τὴν καθέψην, καὶ παραδόξοις εἰς τοῖς βασίλειοις ἱδοῦσας τὸν τε Ἰάσονα καὶ τοὺς ἁριστεῖς, περιαλγεῖς ἐπὶ τῇ συμφορᾷ γενέσθαι οὔτε γὰρ ἀμύνασθαι τὴν Μῆδειαν ἐξέσωσιν οὔτε τὸ πραγμὲν αὐτῶν μύσος δι',

5 ἀπάτην διορθώσασθαι. διόπερ ταύτας μὲν ὄρμη-
it into a lamb again. When they agreed to this, we are told that Medea severed it apart limb by limb, boiled the ram's body, and then, working a deception by means of certain drugs, she drew out of the cauldron an image which looked like a lamb. Thereupon the maidens were astounded, and were so convinced that they had received all possible proofs that she could do what she was promising that they carried out her orders. All the rest of them beat their father to death, but Alcestis alone, because of her great piety, would not lay hands upon him who hadbegotten her.

After Pelias had been slain in this way, Medea, they say, took no part in cutting the body to pieces or in boiling it, but pretending that she must first offer prayers to the moon, she caused the maidens to ascend with lamps to the highest part of the roof of the palace, while she herself took much time repeating a long prayer in the Colchian speech, thus affording an interval to those who were to make the attack. Consequently the Argonauts, when from their look-out they made out the fire, believing that the slaying of the king had been accomplished, hastened to the city on the run, and passing inside the walls entered the palace with drawn swords and slew such guards as offered opposition. The daughters of Pelias, who had only at that moment descended from the roof to attend to the boiling of their father, when they saw to their surprise both Jason and the chieftains in the palace, were filled with dismay at what had befallen them; for it was not within their power to avenge themselves on Medea, nor could they by deceit make amends for the abominable act which they had done. Consequently the daughters, it is
σαὶ λέγεται στερίσκειν αὐτὰς τοῦ ζῆν, τὸν δ’ Ἰάσονα κατελήσαντα τὰ πάθη παρακατασχέον αὐτὰς, καὶ θαρρεῖν παρακαλέσαντα δεικνύειν ὡς ἐκ κακίας μὲν οὐδὲν ἠμαρτον, ἀκουσίως δὲ δ’ ἀπάτην ἦτύχησαν.

53. Καθόλου δὲ πάσι τοῖς συγγενέσιν ἐπαγγειλάμενοι ἐπιεικῶς καὶ μεγαλοψύχως προσενεκθῆσεθαί, συναγαγεὶν εἰς ἐκκλησίαν τὰ πλήθη. ἀπολογησάμενον δὲ περὶ τῶν πεπραγμένων, καὶ διδάξαντα διότι τοὺς προοδικήσαντας ἠμύνατο, τιμωρῶν ἐλάττωνα λαβῶν ὡς αὐτὸς πέποιθεν, Ἄκαστῳ μὲν τῷ Πελίου τὴν πατρῴαν βασιλείαν παραδοῦναι, τῶν δὲ τοῦ βασιλέως θυγατέρων ἄξιόωσαι αὐτὸνutos ὑποίσχασθαι. καὶ πέρας συντελέσατε τὴν ὑπόσχεσιν αὐτὸν φασὶ μετὰ τῶν χρόνων συνοικίσαντα πάσας τοῖς ἐπιφανεστάτοις.

"Ἀλκηστίν μὲν γὰρ τὴν πρεσβυτάτην ἐκδοῦναί πρὸς γὰρ Αδμήττω τῷ Φέρητος Θετταλῶ, Ἀμφινόμην δὲ Ἀνδραίμονι Λεοντέως ἀδελφῆς, Εὐάδην δὲ Κάνη τῷ Κεφάλου, Φωκέων τότε βασιλεύοντι. ταῦτα μὲν αὐτὸν ὑστερον πρᾶξαι, τότε δὲ μετὰ τῶν ἁριστῶν εἰς Ἰσθμόν τὸν ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ πλεύσαντα θυσίαν ἐπιτελέσαι τῷ Ποσειδῶνι καὶ καθιερώσατο τὴν Ἀργῳ τῷ θεῷ.

3 ἀποδοχῆς δὲ μεγάλης τυγχάνοντα παρὰ τῷ βασιλεῖ τῶν Κορινθίων Κρέουτι μετασχέον τῆς πολιτείας καὶ τὸν λοιπὸν χρόνον ἐν τῇ Κορίνθῳ κατοικῆσαι.

1 αὐτὸν D, Vogel, αὐτὸν II, Bekker, Dindorf.
related, were about to make an end of their lives. but Jason, taking pity upon their distress, restrained them, and exhorting them to be of good courage, showed them that it was not from evil design that they had done wrong but it was against their will and because of deception that they had suffered this misfortune.

53. Jason now, we are informed, promising all his kindred in general that he would conduct himself honourably and magnanimously, summoned the people to an assembly. And after defending himself for what he had done and explaining that he had only taken vengeance on men who had wronged him first, inflicting a less severe punishment on them than the evils he himself had suffered, he bestowed upon Acastus, the son of Pelias, the ancestral kingdom, and as for the daughters of the king, he said that he considered it right that he himself should assume the responsibility for them. And ultimately he fulfilled his promise, they say, by joining them all in marriage after a time to the most renowned men. Alcestis, for instance, the eldest he gave in marriage to Admetus of Thessaly, the son of Pheres, Amphinomē to Andraemon, the brother of Leonteus, Euadnē to Canes, who was the son of Cephalus and king at that time of the Phocians. These marriages he arranged at a later period; but at the time in question, sailing together with the chieftains to the Isthmus of Peloponnesus, he performed a sacrifice to Poseidon and also dedicated to the god the ship Argo. And since he received a great welcome at the court of Creon, the king of the Corinthians, he became a citizen of that city and spent the rest of his days in Corinth.

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4 Μελλόντων δὲ τῶν Ἅργοναυτῶν εἰς τὰς πατρίδας διαχωρίζεσθαι, φασὶ τὸν Ἡρακλέα συμβουλεύσαι τοῖς ἀριστεῦσι πρὸς τὰ παράδοξα τῆς τύχης ἀλλήλοις ὅρκους δοῦναι συμμαχῆσαι, ἐάν τις βοηθείας προσδεηθῇ. ἐκλέξασθαι δὲ καὶ τῆς Ἑλλάδος τὸν ἐπιφανέστατον τόπον εἰς ἄγωνων θέσιν καὶ πανήγυριν κοινῆν, καὶ καθιερώσαι τὸν ἁγώνα τῷ μεγίστῳ τῶν θεῶν Διῷ Ὀλυμπίῳ.

5 συνομοσάντων δὲ τῶν ἀριστεών περὶ τῆς συμμαχίας, καὶ τὴν διάταξιν τῶν ἄγωνων ἐπιτρεψάντων Ἡρακλεὶ, φασὶ τούτον 1 τόπον προκρίναι πρὸς τὴν πανηγυρίν τῆς τῶν Ἡλείων χώρας τὸν παρὰ τὸν Ἀλφεῖον. διὸ καὶ τὴν παραποταμίαν καθιερώσατα τῷ μεγίστῳ τῶν θεῶν, Ὀλυμπίαν ἀπ' ἐκείνου προσαγορεύσαι. ὑποστηρίζει δ' ἵππικόν ἁγώνα καὶ γυμνικόν, τά τε περὶ τῶν ἁθλῶν διατάξαι καὶ θεωροῦς ἀποστείλαι τοὺς ταῖς πόλεις προεροῦντας τὴν θεαν τῶν ἁγώνων. διὰ δὲ τὴν παρὰ τοῖς Ἅργοναυταῖς γενομένην ἀποδοχὴν αὐτοῦ κατὰ τὴν στρατείαν οὐ μετρίως δοξασθέντος, προσγενέσθαι τὴν ἐκ τῆς Ὀλυμπικῆς πανηγύρεως δόξαν, ὡστε πάντων τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐπιφανέστατον ὑπάρχει καὶ παρὰ ταῖς πλεύσεως πόλεις γυνακέντα πολλοὺς έχειν ἐπιθυμητὰς τῆς φιλίας, οὐς προθύμους εἶναι μετασχεῖν παντὸς κυνίκουν. ταχὺ δ' ἐπ' ἀνδρείᾳ καὶ στρατηγίᾳ θαυμασθέντα στρατόπεδον τε κράτιστον συστήσασθαι καὶ πᾶσαν ἐπελθεῖν τὴν οἰκουμένην εὐερ-

1 τῶν after τοῦτον deleted by Hertlein.
When the Argonauts were on the point of separating and departing to their native lands, Heracles, they say, proposed to the chieftains that, in view of the unexpected turns fortune takes, they should exchange oaths among one another to fight at the side of anyone of their number who should call for aid; and that, furthermore, they should choose out the most excellent place in Greece, there to institute games and a festival for the whole race, and should dedicate the games to the greatest of the gods, Olympian Zeus. After the chieftains had taken their oath concerning the alliance and had entrusted Heracles with the management of the games, he, they say, picked the place for the festival on the bank of the Alpheius river in the land of the Eleans. Accordingly, this place beside the river he made sacred to the greatest of the gods and called it Olympia after his appellation. When he had instituted horse-races and gymnastic contests, he fixed the rules governing the events and then dispatched sacred commissioners to announce to the cities the spectacle of the games. And although Heracles had won no moderate degree of fame because of the high esteem in which he was held by the Argonauts throughout their expedition, to this was now added the glory of having founded the festival at Olympia, so that he was the most renowned man among all the Greeks and, known as he was in almost every state, there were many who sought his friendship and who were eager to share with him in every danger. And since he was an object of admiration because of his bravery and his skill as a general, he gathered a most powerful army and visited all the inhabited world, conferring
DIODORUS OF SICILY

γετοῦν τοῦ γένος τῶν ἀνθρώπων, ἀνθ' ὄν τυχεῖν αὐτὸν συμφωνουμένης ἀθανασίας. τοὺς δὲ ποιητὰς διὰ τὴν συνήθη τερατολογίαν μυθολογήσαι μόνον τὸν Ἡρακλέα καὶ γυμνῶν ὀπλῶν τελέσαι τοὺς τεθρυλημένους ἄθλους.

54. Ἀλλὰ περὶ μὲν τοῦ θεοῦ τούτου τὰ μυθολογούμενα πάντα διήλθομεν, νυνὶ δὲ προσβετεῖν ἡμῖν καὶ ὑπέρ Ἰάσονος τὸν ὑπολειπόμενον λόγον. φασὶ γὰρ αὐτὸν ἐν Κορίνθῳ κατουκοῦντα καὶ συμβιώσαντα δεκαετῆ χρόνον Μηδεία γεννῆσαι παιὰς ἐς αὐτῆς, τοὺς μὲν πρεσβυτάτους δύο διδύμους Θεσπαλῶν τε καὶ 'Ἀλκμένην, τὸν δὲ τρίτον πολὺ

2 νεώτερον τούτων Τίσανδρον. τοῦτον μὲν οὖν τὸν χρόνον ἑστορούσιν ἀποδοχῆς ἀξιωθῆναι τῇ Μηδείαιν ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀνδρός διὰ τὸ μὴ μόνον καλλεὶ διαφέρειν αὐτήν, ἀλλὰ καὶ σωφροσύνη καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις ἀρεταῖς κεκοσμήσατο. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα αἰεὶ μᾶλλον τοῦ χρόνον τὴν φυσικὴν εὐπρέπειαν ἀφαιρομένου, λέγεται τὸν Ἰάσονα Γλαύκης ἔραβεντα τῆς Κρέοντος θυγατρὸς μηνειδέως τὴν παρθένον.

3 συγκαταθεμένου δὲ τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τάξαντος ἡμέραν τοῖς γάμοις, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἐπιβάλλεσθαι φασὶν αὐτοῦ πείθειν τὴν Μηδείαν ἐκουσίως παραχωρῆσαι τῆς συμβιώσεως. βούλεσθαι γὰρ αὐτῆς γαμεῖν οὐκ ἀποδοκιμάσαντα τὴν πρὸς αὐτὴν ὁμιλίαν, ἀλλὰ τοῖς τέκνοις σπεύδοντα συγγεινὴ τὸν τοῦ βασιλέως σικον ποιῆσαι. ἀγανακτοῦσῃ δὲ τῆς γυναικὸς καὶ θεοὺς μαρτυρομένης τοὺς ἑπόπτας γενομένους τῶν ὦρκων, φασὶ τὸν Ἰάσονα καταφρονήσαντα τῶν

1 αὐτὴν MSS, Bekker, ἀλλὰ Dindorf, αὐτὸν Vogel, deleted by Jacoby. 2 καὶ after ἀλλὰ deleted by Dindorf.

1 i.e. Heracles.

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his benefactions upon the race of men, and it was in return for these that with general approval he received the gift of immortality. But the poets, following their custom of giving a tale of wonder, have recounted the myth that Heracles, single-handed and without the aid of armed forces, performed the Labours which are on the lips of all.

54. But we have now recounted all the myths which are told about this god,¹ and at this time must add what remains to be said about Jason. The account runs like this:—Jason made his home in Corinth and living with Medea as his wife for ten years be begat children by her, the two oldest, Thessalus and Alcimenes, being twins, and the third, Tisandrus, being much younger than the other two. Now during this period, we are informed, Medea was highly approved by her husband, because she not only excelled in beauty but was adorned with modesty and every other virtue; but afterward, as time more and more diminished her natural comeliness, Jason, it is said, became enamoured of Glauce, Creon's daughter, and sought the maiden's hand in marriage. After her father had given his consent and had set a day for the marriage, Jason, they say, at first tried to persuade Medea to withdraw from their wedlock of her free-will; for, he told her, he desired to marry the maiden, not because he felt his relations with Medea were beneath him, but because he was eager to establish a kinship between the king's house and his children.² But when his wife was angered and called upon the gods who had been the witnesses of their vows, they say that Jason, disregarding the vows, married the daughter

¹ The plea urged by Jason in Euripides, Medea, 551 ff.

² The plea urged by Jason in Euripides, Medea, 551 ff.
Diodorus of Sicily

δρκων γάμαι τήν τοῦ βασιλέως θυγατέρα. τήν δὲ

5 Μηδειαν ἠξέλαυσομένην ἐκ τῆς πόλεως, καὶ

μέαν ἦμεραν παρὰ τοῦ Κρέοντος λαβοῦσαν εἰς τήν

τῆς φυγῆς παρασκευήν, εἰς μὲν τὰ βασιλεία νυκτὸς

εἰσέλθειν ἄλλοιςασαν τοῖς φαρμάκοις τῆν αὐτῆς

ὄψιν, καὶ τὴν οὐκίαν ὑφάσαι, ῥίζιον τι προσθείσαν,

εὐρημένον μὲν ὑπὸ Κύρκης τῆς ἀδελφῆς, δύναμιν

δ' ἔχον, ἐπ' ἄλλαν ἐξαφῆθη, δυσκατάσβεστον. ἄφιεν δὲ

φλεγόμενον τῶν βασιλείων, τὸν μὲν Ἰάσονα

tαχέως ἐκπηδήσας, τὴν δὲ Γλαύκην καὶ τὸν

Κρέοντα τοῦ πυρὸς περικαταλαβόντος διαφθαρῆναι.

6 τωσὲ δὲ τῶν συγγραφέων φαι τούς μὲν νεῖσ

τῆς Μηδείας δώρα κομίζαι τῇ νύμφῃ φαρμάκοις

κεχριμένα, τὴν δὲ Γλαύκην δεξαμένην καὶ τῷ

σώματι περιθεμένην αὐτῆν τε συμφορά περιπεσεῖν

καὶ τὸν πατέρα βοηθοῦντα καὶ τοῦ σώματος ἄψα-

μενον τελευτῆσαι.

7 Τὴν δὲ Μηδειαν ἐπιτυχοῦσαν τοῖς πρώτοις ἐγχειρήμασιν οὐκ ἀποστήμαι τῆς Ἰάσονος τιμωρίας.

ἐπὶ τοσοῦτο γὰρ προελθεῖν αὐτῆν ὀργῆς ἁμα καὶ

ζηλοτυπίας, ἐπὶ δ' ὑμότητος, ὡστ' ἐπεὶ διέφυγε

τὸν μετὰ τῆς νύμφης κίνδυνον, τῇ σφαγῇ τῶν

κοινῶν τέκινων ἐμβαλεῖν αὐτὸν εἰς τὰς μεγίστας

συμφορὰς· πλὴν γὰρ ἐνὸς τοῦ διαφυγόντος τοὺς

アルバム νεῖσ ἀποσφάξαι ¹ καὶ μετὰ τῶν πιστοτάτων

¹ καὶ τὰ σώματα τούτων ἐν τῷ τῆς Ἡρας τεμένει θάψαι after ἀποσφάξαι deloted by Vogel, Jacoby.

¹ i.e. from the territory of Corinth.

² This is the manner of Glaucê’s death in the Medea of Euripides. His version also differs from the account which follows, in that there are only two sons of Jason and Medea, and after slaying them Medea carries off their bodies so that

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of the king. Thereupon Medea was driven out of the city, and being allowed by Creon but one day to make the preparations for her exile,¹ she entered the palace by night, having altered her appearance by means of drugs, and set fire to the building by applying to it a little root which had been discovered by her sister Circe and had the property that when it was once kindled it was hard to put out. Now when the palace suddenly burst into flames, Jason quickly made his way out of it, but as for Glauce and Creon, the fire hemmed them in on all sides and they were consumed by it. Certain historians, however, say that the sons of Medea brought to the bride gifts which had been anointed with poisons, and that when Glauce took them and put them about her body both she herself met her end and her father, when he ran to help her and embraced her body, likewise perished.²

Although Medea had been successful in her first undertakings, yet she did not refrain, so we are told, from taking her revenge upon Jason. For she had come to such a state of rage and jealousy, yes, even of savageness, that, since he had escaped from the peril which threatened him at the same time as his bride, she determined, by the murder of the children of them both, to plunge him into the deepest misfortunes; for, except for the one son who made his escape from her, she slew the other sons and in company with her most faithful maids

Jason may not even give them formal burial, and that Jason does not commit suicide. The fountain of Glauce has been found (cp. Am. Journ. of Archaeology, 4 (1900), 458–75; 14 (1910), 19–50), but not as yet the tomb of the children which was pointed out to Pausanias (2. 3. 6).
55. Έν τοσούτω δὲ τὸν μὲν Ἰάσονα στερηθέντα τέκνων καὶ γυναικὸς δόξαι πᾶσι δίκαια πεπονθέναι· διὸ καὶ μὴ δυνάμενον ἐνεγκεῖν τὸ μέγεθος τῆς συμφορᾶς ἐκ τοῦ ζῆν ἕαυτὸν μεταστήσαι. τοὺς δὲ Κορυνθίους ἐκπεπλήχθαι μὲν τὴν διευθυντα τῆς περιπετείας, μάλιστα δ’ ἀπορεῖν περὶ τῆς ταφῆς τῶν παίδων. διόπερ ἀποστειλάντων αὐτῶν Πυθώδε τοὺς ἐπερωτήσοντας τὸν θεόν ὅπως χρηστέον ἐστὶ τοῖς σώμασι τῶν παίδων, προστάξαι τὴν Πυθίαν ἐν τῷ τεμένει τῆς Ἡρας αὐτοῦς 2 θάψαι καὶ τιμῶν ἡρωικῶν αὐτοὺς ἄξιοιν. ποιησάντων δὲ τῶν Κορυνθίων τὸ προσταχθέν, φασί Θεσσαλὸν μὲν τὸν διαφυγόντα τὸν ἀπὸ τῆς μητρὸς φόνον ἐν Κορίνθῳ τραφέντα μετὰ ταῦτα ἐπανελθεῖν εἰς Ἰωλκόν, οὗσαν Ἰάσονος πατρίδα· ἐν ἡ καταλαβόντα προσφάτως Ἀκαστόν τὸν Πελίου τετελευτηκότα παραλαβεῖν κατὰ γένος προσήκουσαν τὴν βασιλείαν, καὶ τοὺς ὑφ’ ἕαυτὸν τεταγμένους 3 ἀφ’ ἕαυτοῦ προσαγορεύσαι Θεσσαλοῦς. οὐκ ἀγνοῶ δὲ διότι περὶ τῆς τῶν Θεσσαλῶν προσηγορίας ὡς ταύτην μόνην τὴν ἑστορίαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ διαφώνουσ

1 i.e. that Jason would wed Medea and “keep her as his life’s companion so long as he lived” (cp. chap. 40. 4).

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fled in the dead of night from Corinth and made her way safely to Heracles in Thebes. Her reason for doing so was that Heracles had acted as a mediator in connection with the agreements which had been entered into in the land of the Colchians and had promised to come to her aid if she should ever find them violated.

55. Meanwhile, they go on to say, in the opinion of everyone Jason, in losing children and wife, had suffered only what was just; consequently, being unable to endure the magnitude of the affliction, he put an end to his life. The Corinthians were greatly distressed at such a terrible reversal of fortune and were especially perplexed about the burial of the children. Accordingly, they dispatched messengers to Pytho to inquire of the god what should be done with the bodies of the children, and the Pythian priestess commanded them to bury the children in the sacred precinct of Hera and to pay them the honours which are accorded to heroes. After the Corinthians had performed this command, Thessalus, they say, who had escaped being murdered by his mother, was reared as a youth in Corinth and then removed to Ioleus, which was the native land of Jason; and finding on his arrival that Acastus, the son of Pelias, had recently died, he took over the throne which belonged to him by inheritance and called the people who were subject to himself Thessalians after his own name. I am not unaware that this is not the only explanation given of the name the Thessalians bear, but the fact is that the other accounts which have been handed down to us

2 According to Euripides (Medea, 1386), a beam of wood fell from the rotting Argo upon Jason and killed him.
Diodorus of Sicily

ἐτέρας παραδεδόσθαι συμβέβηκε, περὶ ὁν ἐν ὁἰκειοτέροις μνησθησόμεθα καροῖς.

4 Τὴν δ' οὖν Μηδειαν ἐν Θῆβαις φασὶ καταλαβοῦσαν Ἦρακλεὰ μανικῷ πάθει συνεχόμενον καὶ τοὺς νίους ἀπεκταγότα, φαρμάκοις αὐτὸν ἰάσασθαί. τοῦ δ' Ἐὔρυσθέως ἐπικειμένου τοῖς προστάγμασι, ἀπογνώσαν τὴν κατὰ τὸ παρὸν ἐκ τούτῳ βοηθεῖαι καταφυγεῖν εἰς Ἀθηνᾶς πρὸς Αἰγέα τὸν

5 Πανδίνονος. ἐνταῦθα δ' οἱ μὲν φασὶν αὐτὴν Αἰγέι συνοικήσασαν γεννῆσαι Μηδον τὸν ὑστερον Μηδίας βασιλεύσαντα, τινὲς δ' ἱστοροῦσιν ὑφ' Ἰππότου τοῦ Κρέοντος ἐξαιτουμένην τυχεῖν κρίσειως καὶ τῶν ἐγκλημάτων ἀπολυθῆναι. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Θησέως ἔπανελθόντος ἐκ Τρομῖνος εἰς τὰς Ἀθηνᾶς, ἐγκληθεῖσαν ἐπὶ φαρμακείᾳ φυγεῖν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως. δόντος δ' Αἰγέως τοὺς παραπέμψαντας εἰς ἦν βούλουτο χώραν, εἰς τὴν Φοινίκην κομισθῆναι. ἐντεῦθεν δ' εἰς τοὺς ἀνω τόπους τῆς Ἀσίας ἀναβᾶσαν συνοικήσασι τινὶ τῶν ἐπιφανῶν βασιλέων, ἐξ οὐ γεννῆσαι παῖδα Μηδον: καὶ τὸν 1 παῖδα μετὰ τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς τελευτην διαδεξάμενον τὴν βασιλείαν θαυμασθῆναι τε κατὰ τὴν ἀνδρείαν καὶ τοὺς λαοὺς 2 ἀφ' ἐαυτοῦ Μηδούς ὄνομάσαι.

56. Καθόλου δὲ διὰ τὴν τῶν τραγῳδῶν τερατεῖαν ποικιλὴ τις καὶ διάφορος ἱστορία περὶ Μηδείας ἐξενήκται, καὶ τινὲς χαρίζεσθαί βουλόμενοι τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις φασὶν αὐτὴν ἀναλαβοῦσαν τὸν

1 τὸν Bekker: τὸν μὲν. 2 λαοὺς Rhodomann: ἄλλους.

1 This is not in the extant portions of Diodorus.
2 Cp. chap. 11.

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are likewise at variance with one another, and concerning these we shall speak on a more appropriate occasion.¹

Now as for Medea, they say, on finding upon her arrival in Thebes that Heracles was possessed of a frenzy of madness and had slain his sons,² she restored him to health by means of drugs. But since Eurystheus was pressing Heracles with his commands,³ she despaired of receiving any aid from him at the moment and sought refuge in Athens with Aegeus, the son of Pandion. Here, as some say, she married Aegeus and gave birth to Medus, who was later king of Media, but certain writers give the account that, when her person was demanded by Hippotes, the son of Creon, she was granted a trial and cleared of the charges he raised against her. After this, when Theseus returned to Athens from Troezen, a charge of poisoning was brought against her and she was exiled from the city; but by the gift of Aegeus she received an escort to go with her to whatever country she might wish and she came to Phoenicia. From there she journeyed into the interior regions of Asia and married a certain king of renown, to whom she bore a son Medus; and the son, succeeding to the throne after the death of the father, was greatly admired for his courage and named the people Medes after himself.

56. Speaking generally, it is because of the desire of the tragic poets for the marvellous that so varied and inconsistent an account of Medea has been given out; and some indeed, in their desire to win favour with the Athenians, say that she took that

³ i.e. with the Labours which Heracles had to perform for him.
Diodorus of Sicily

ἐξ Ἀιγέως Μήδον εἰς Κόλχους διασωθῆναι· κατὰ δὲ τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον Αἰήτην ἐκ τῆς βασιλείας ὑπὸ τάδελφον Πέρσου βιαίως ἐκπεπτυκότα τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀνακτήσασθαι, Μήδου τοῦ Μηδείας ἀνελόντος τὸν Πέρσην· μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα δυνάμεως ἐγκρατῆ γενόμενον τὸν Μήδον πολλὴν ἐπελθεῖν τῆς ὑπὲρ τὸν Πόντον Ἀσίας, καὶ κατασχεῖν τὴν ἀπ’ ἐκείνου

2 Μήδαιαν προσαγορευθεῖσαν. ἀλλὰ γὰρ τὸ πᾶσας τὰς ἀποφάσεις τῶν περὶ τῆς Μηδείας μυθολογιστῶν ἀναγράφειν οὐκ ἀναγκαῖον ἀμα καὶ μακρὸν εἶναι κρίμοντες τὰ καταλειπόμενα τῆς περὶ τῶν Ἀργοναυτῶν ἱστορίας προσθήσομεν.

3 Οὐκ οἶ λίγοι γὰρ τῶν τε ἀρχαίων συγγραφέων καὶ τῶν μεταγενεστέρων, ὅν ἔστι καὶ Τίμαιος, φασὶ τοὺς Ἀργοναύτας μετὰ τὴν τοῦ δήσου ἀρπαγῆν πυθομένους ὑπ’ Αἰήτου προκατειλήφθαι ναυσὶ τὸ στόμα τοῦ Πόντου, πρᾶξεν ἐπιτελεύσασθαι παράδοξον καὶ μνήμης ἀξίαν. ἀναπλεύσαντας γὰρ αὐτοὺς διὰ τοῦ Τανάϊδος ποταμοῦ ἐπὶ τὰς πηγὰς, καὶ κατὰ τὸπὸν τινὰ τὴν ναῦν διεκύσαντας, καθ’ ἐτέρου πάλιν ποταμὸ τὴν βύσιν ἔχοντος εἰς τὸν ὠκεανὸν καταπλεύσαι πρὸς τὴν θάλατταν, ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν ἀρκτῶν ἐπὶ τὴν δύσιν κομισθῆναι τὴν γῆν ἔχοντας εἰς εὐωνύμων, καὶ ἁλίθιον γινομένους Γαδείρων εἰς τὴν καθ’ ἡμᾶς θάλατταν εἰσπλεύσαι.

4 ἀποδείξεις δὲ τούτων δείκνυτος, δεικνύντες τοὺς παρὰ τὸν ὠκεανὸν κατοικοῦντας Κέλτους σεβομένους μάλιστα τῶν θεῶν τοὺς Διοσκόρους· παράδοσίμοι γὰρ αὐτοὺς ἔχειν ἐκ παλαιῶν χρόνων τὴν τούτων τῶν θεῶν παρουσίαν ἐκ τοῦ ὠκεανοῦ.

1 Cp. p. 412, n. 1. 2 The Don.
Medus whom she bore to Aegeus and got off safe to Colchis; and at that time Aeëtes, who had been forcibly driven from the throne by his brother Perses, had regained his kingdom, Medus, Medea's son, having slain Perses; and that afterwards Medus, securing the command of an army, advanced over a large part of Asia which lies above the Pontus and secured possession of Media, which has been named after this Medus. But since in our judgment it is unnecessary and would be tedious to record all the assertions which the writers of myths have made about Medea, we shall add only those items which have been passed over concerning the history of the Argonauts.

Not a few both of the ancient historians and of the later ones as well, one of whom is Timaeus,¹ say that the Argonauts, after the seizure of the fleece, learning that the mouth of the Pontus had already been blockaded by the fleet of Aeëtes, performed an amazing exploit which is worthy of mention. They sailed, that is to say, up the Tanaïs river ² as far as its sources, and at a certain place they hauled the ship overland, and following in turn another river which flows into the ocean they sailed down it to the sea; then they made their course from the north to the west,³ keeping the land on the left, and when they had arrived near Gadeira (Cadiz) they sailed into our sea.⁴ And the writers even offer proofs of these things, pointing out that the Celts who dwell along the ocean venerate the Dioscori above any of the gods, since they have a tradition handed down from ancient times that these gods appeared among

¹ i.e. south-west. ⁴ The Mediterranean.
Diodorus of Sicily

γεγενημένην. εἶναι δὲ καὶ τὴν παρὰ τὸν ὁκεανὸν χώραν οὐκ ὀλίγας ἔχουσαν προσηγορίας ἀπὸ τε τῶν

5 Ἀργοναυτῶν καὶ τῶν Διοσκόρων. παραπλησίως δὲ καὶ τὴν ἐντὸς Γαδεῖρων ἦπειρον ἔχειν ἐμφανῆ σημεία τῆς τούτων ἀνακομιδῆς. περὶ μὲν γὰρ τὴν Τυρρηνίαν καταπλεύσαντας αὐτούς εἰς νῆσον τὴν ὁνομαζομένην Αἰθάλειαν τὸν ἐν αὐτῇ λιμένα, κάλλιστον ὄντα τῶν ἐν ἐκείνοις τοῖς τόποις, Ἀργὼν ἀπὸ τῆς νεώς προσαγορεύσαι, καὶ μέχρι τῶν ἄλλων ἄλλων διαμένειν αὐτοῦ τὴν προσηγορίαν. παραπλησίως δὲ τοῖς εἰρήμενοις κατὰ μὲν τὴν Τυρρηνίαν ἀπὸ σταδίων ὀκτακοσίων τῆς Ῥώμης ὀνομάζει λιμένα Τελαμώνα, κατὰ δὲ Φορμίας τῆς Ἰταλίας Αἰήτη τὸν νῦν Καϊνήν προσαγορευόμενον. πρὸς δὲ τούτοις ὑπ’ ἄνεμων αὐτοὺς ἐκριφέντας εἰς τὰς Σῦρτες, καὶ μαθόντας παρὰ Τρῖτων τοῦ τότε βασιλεύοντος τῆς Διβύς τὴν ἱδιότητα τῆς θαλάττης, καὶ τὸν κύδυνον ἐκφυγόντας, δωρήσασθαι χαλκοῦν τρίποδα τὸν ἄρχαίοις μὲν κεχαραγμένον γράμμασι, μέχρι δὲ τῶν νεωτέρων χρόνων διαμείναντα παρὰ τοῖς Εὔνεσπερίταις.

6 Οὐ παραλειπότεν δ’ ἦμιν ἀνεξέλεγκτον τὴν ἱστορίαν τῶν ἀποφημαμένων τοὺς Ἀργοναυτὰς ἀνὰ τὸν "Ἰστρον πλεύσαντας μέχρι τῶν πηγῶν κατεξεχθῆναι διὰ τῆς ἀντιπροσώπου ρύσεως πρὸς τὸν

7 Ἀδριατικόν κόλπον. τούτοις γὰρ ὁ χρόνος ἠλεγξεν ὑπολαβόντας τὸν ἐν τῷ Πόντῳ πλεῖσι στόμασιν ἐξερευνόμενον "Ἰστρον καὶ τὸν εἰς τὸν Ἀδριάν ἑκβάλλοντα τὴν ρύσιν ἔχειν ἀπὸ τῶν αὐτῶν τόπων.

1 Elba.
2 The Roman Portus Argous, the harbour of the present capital of the island, Portoferraio.

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them coming from the ocean. Moreover, the country which skirts the ocean bears, they say, not a few names which are derived from the Argonauts and the Dioscori. And likewise the continent this side of Gadeira contains visible tokens of the return voyage of the Argonauts. So, for example, as they sailed about the Tyrrhenian Sea, when they put in at an island called Aethaleia they named its harbour, which is the fairest of any in those regions, Argoön after their ship, and such has remained its name to this day. In like manner to what we have just narrated a harbour in Etruria eight hundred stades from Rome was named by them Telamon, and also at Phormia in Italy the harbour Aeëtes, which is now known as Caeëtes. Furthermore, when they were driven by winds to the Syrtes and had learned from Triton, who was king of Libya at that time, of the peculiar nature of the sea there, upon escaping safe out of the peril they presented him with the bronze tripod which was inscribed with ancient characters and stood until rather recent times among the people of Euhesperis.

We must not leave unrefuted the account of those who state that the Argonauts sailed up the Ister river as far as its sources and then, by its arm which flows in the opposite direction, descended to the Adriatic Gulf. For time has refuted those who assumed that the Ister which empties by several mouths into the Pontus and the Ister which issues into the Adriatic flow from the same regions. As a

3 Formiae. 4 Gaëta.
5 The most western city, later called Berenicë, of the Pentapolis in Cyrenë.
6 Danube.
'Ρωμαίων γὰρ καταπολεμησάντων τὸ τῶν Ἰστρων ἔθνος, εὑρέθη τὰς πηγὰς ἔχων ὁ ποταμὸς ἀπὸ τετ- 
ταράκοντα σταδίων τῆς θαλάττης. ἀλλὰ γὰρ τοὺς 
συγγραφεύσων αἰτίαν τῆς πλάνης φασὶ γενέσθαι 
tῆν ὁμωνυμίαν τῶν ποταμῶν.

57. Ἡμῖν δὲ ἀρκοῦντως ἐξευρηγασμένοις τὴν περὶ 
τῶν Ἀργοναυτῶν ἱστορίαν καὶ τὰ ὑφ’ Ἦρακλέους 
πραξθέντα οἰκεῖον ἂν εἴη κατὰ τὴν γενομένην 
ἐπαγγελλὰν ἀναγράφαι τὰς τῶν νεῶν αὐτοῦ πράξεις.

2 Μετὰ τὴν Ἦρακλέους τούς ἀποθέσων οἱ 
παίδες αὐτοῦ κατώκουν ἐν Τραχίνι παρὰ Κήνυκι 
τῷ βασιλεί. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Ὕλλον καὶ τῶν ἐτέρῶν 
ἀνδρῳβεντων, Εὐρυσθεὺς φοβηθεὶς μὴ 
πάντων ἔνθελκων γενομένων ἐκπέσῃ τῆς ἐν Μυκή- 
ναις βασιλείας, ἐγνώ τοὺς Ἤρακλείδας ἐξ ὅλης τῆς 

3 Ἔλλαδος φυγαδεύσαι. διὸ Κήνυκι μὲν τῷ βασιλεί 
προηγόρευσε τοὺς τε Ἤρακλείδας καὶ τοὺς 
Λικυμνίου παίδας ἐκβαλεῖν, ἔτι δὲ Ἰόλαον καὶ 
τὸ σύστημα τῶν Ἀρκάδων τῶν Ἔρακλεῖ συνεστρα-

tευκτῶν, ἡ ταῦτα μὴ ποιοῦτα πόλεμον ἀνα-

4 δέξασθαι. οἱ δ’ Ἔρακλείδαι καὶ οἱ μετ’ αὐτῶν 
θεωροῦντες αὐτοὺς οὐκ ἄξιομάχους ὄντας Εὐρυ-

σθεὶ πολεμεῖν, ἐγνωσαν ἐκουσίως φεύγειν ἐκ τῆς 
Τραχίνου. ἐπιώντες δὲ τῶν ἄλλων πόλεων τὰς 
ἀξιολογοῦτας ἐδέσοντο δέξασθαι σφᾶς αὐτοὺς συν-

οίκους. μιθεμαὰ δὲ τολμῶσις ὑποδέξασθαι, μόνοι 
τῶν ἄλλων Ἀθηναίοι διὰ τὴν ἐμφυτον παρ’ αὐτοῖς 
ἐπιείκειαν προσεδέξαντο τοὺς Ἔρακλείδας. κατώ-

1 Strabo (1. 3. 15) mentions the same erroneous belief, and 
in language which shows that he knew no river of that name 
in I-stria.

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matter of fact, when the Romans subdued the nation of the Istrians it was discovered that the latter river has its sources only forty stades from the sea. But the cause of the error on the part of the historians was, they say, the identity in name of the two rivers. ¹

57. Since we have sufficiently elaborated the history of the Argonauts and the deeds accomplished by Heracles, it may be appropriate also to record, in accordance with the promise we made, the deeds of his sons.

Now after the deification of Heracles his sons made their home in Trachis at the court of Ceyx the king. But later, when Hyllus and some of the others had attained to manhood, Eurystheus, being afraid lest, after they had all come of age, he might be driven from his kingdom at Mycenae, decided to send the Heracleidae into exile from the whole of Greece. Consequently he served notice upon Ceyx, the king, to banish both the Heracleidae and the sons of Licymnius, ² and Iolaüs as well and the band of Arcadians who had served with Heracles on his campaigns, adding that, if he should fail to do these things, he must submit to war. But the Heracleidae and their friends, perceiving that they were of themselves not sufficient in number to carry on a war against Eurystheus, decided to leave Trachis of their own free will, and going about among the most important of the other cities they asked them to receive them as fellow-townsmen. When no other city had the courage to take them in, the Athenians alone of all, such being their inborn sense of justice, extended a welcome to the sons of Heracles, and

² A half-brother of Alcmenê and so an uncle of Heracles.
κυσαν δὲ αυτοὺς μετὰ τῶν συμφυγῶντων εἰς Τρικόρυθον πόλιν, ἢτις ἐστὶ μία τῆς ὀνομαζομένης τετραπόλεως. μετὰ δὲ τινα χρόνον ἀπάντων τῶν Ἡρακλεόν παίδων ἄνδρωμεν, καὶ φρονή-ματος ἐμφυομένου τοῖς νεανίσκοις διὰ τὴν ἀφ’ Ἡρακλεόν δόξαν, ὑφορώμενος αὐτῶν τὴν αὔξησιν Εὔρυσθεὺς ἐστράτευσεν ἐπ’ αὐτοὺς μετὰ πολλῆς δυνάμεως. οἱ δ’ Ἡρακλείδαι, ὑμηθοῦνταν αὐτοῖς τῶν Ἀθηναίων, προστησάμενοι τοὺς Ἡρακλεόν ἀδελφιδοὺς Ἰόλαυν, καὶ τούτω τε καὶ Ἰσθμεῖ καὶ Ὕλλω τὴν στρατηγίαν παραδόντες, ἐνίκησαν παρατάξει τὸν Εὐρυσθέα. κατὰ δὲ τὴν μάχην πλείστοι μὲν τῶν μετ’ Εὐρυσθέως κατεκόπησαν, αὐτὸς δ’ ὁ Εὐρυσθεὺς, τοῦ ἄρματος κατὰ τὴν φυγὴν συντρι-βέντος, ὑπὸ Ὕλλου τοῦ Ἡρακλεοῦς ἀνηρέθη· ὀμοίως δὲ καὶ οἱ νιόι τοῦ Εὐρυσθέως πάντες κατὰ τὴν μάχην ἐτελεύτησαν.

58. Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα οἱ μὲν Ἡρακλείδαι πάντες περιβοητῶν μάχη νεκρηκότες τὸν Εὐρυσθέα, καὶ διὰ τὴν εὐμερίαν συμμάχων εὐπορήσαντες, ἐστράτευσαν ἐπὶ τὴν Πελοπόννησον Ὕλλου στρατηγοῦν-τος. Ἀτρεύς δὲ μετὰ τὴν Εὐρυσθέως τελευτὴν καταλαβόμενος τὴν ἐν Μυκήναις βασιλείαν, καὶ προσλαβόμενος συμμάχους Τεγεάτας καὶ τινὰς ἄλλους, ἀπήντησε τοῖς Ἡρακλείδαις. κατὰ δὲ τὸν Ἰσθμὸν τῶν στρατοπέδων ἀθροισθέντων, Ὅλλος μὲν ὁ Ἡρακλέος εἰς μονομαχίαν προεκα-

1 A union of four cities in Attica of which Marathon was the most important.
they settled them and their companions in the flight in the city of Tricorythus, which is one of the cities of what is called the Tetrapolis. And after some time, when all the sons of Heracles had attained to manhood and a spirit of pride sprang up in the young men because of the glory of descent from Heracles, Eurystheus, viewing with suspicion their growing power, came up against them with a great army. But the Heracleidae, who had the aid of the Athenians, chose as their leader Iolaüs, the nephew of Heracles, and after entrusting to him and Theseus and Hyllus the direction of the war, they defeated Eurystheus in a pitched battle. In the course of the battle the larger part of the army of Eurystheus was slain and Eurystheus himself, when his chariot was wrecked in the flight, was killed by Hyllus, the son of Heracles; likewise the sons of Eurystheus perished in the battle to a man.

58. After these events all the Heracleidae, now that they had conquered Eurystheus in a battle whose fame was noised abroad and were well supplied with allies because of their success, embarked upon a campaign against Peloponnesus with Hyllus as their commander. Atreus, after the death of Eurystheus, had taken over the kingship in Mycenae, and having added to his forces the Tegeatans and certain other peoples as allies, he went forth to meet the Heracleidae. When the two armies were assembled at the Isthmus, Hyllus, Heracles' son, challenged to single combat any one of the enemy

2 Euripides' drama, *The Children of Heracles*, centres about the persecution of the children by Eurystheus and about the war with Argos which Athens undertakes in defence of the refugees.
DIODORUS OF SICILY

λέσατο τῶν πολεμίων τὸν βουλόμενον, ὁμοιογίας θέμενος τοιαύτας, εἰ μὲν Ὁλλος νυκήσει1 τὸν ἀντιταχθέντα, παραλαβεῖν Ἡρακλείδας τὴν Ἐυρυσθέως βασιλείαν, εἰ δ' Ὁλλος λειψθείη, μὴ κατιέναι τοὺς Ἡρακλείδας εἰς Πελοπόννησον ἐντὸς ἔτων πεντήκοντα. καταβάντος δ' εἰς τὴν πρόκλησιν Ἐχέμου τοῦ βασιλέως τῶν Τεγεατῶν, καὶ τῆς μυομαχίας γενομένης, δ' μὲν Ὁλλος ἀνηρέθη, οἱ δ' Ἡρακλείδαι κατὰ τὰς ὁμοιογίας ἀπέστησαν τῆς καθόδου καὶ τῆν εἰς Τρικόρυθον ἐπάνωδον ἐποίησαντο. μετὰ δὲ τινας χρόνους Λικύμινοι μὲν μετὰ τῶν παίδων καὶ Τληπολέμου τοῦ Ἡρακλείου, ἐκουσίως τῶν Ἀργείων αὐτούς προσδεξαμένων, εἶν Ὁργεὶ κατάκηπησαν, οἱ δ' ἄλλοι πάντες εἶν Τρικόρυθων κατοικήσαντες,2 ώς 3 δ' πεντηκονταετῆς χρόνος διήλθε, κατήλθουν εἰς Πελοπόννησον. ὅτι τὰς πράξεις ἀναγράψομεν, ὅταν εἰς ἐκείνους τοὺς χρόνους παραγενηθῶμεν.

6 'Αλκμήνη δ' εἰς Θήβας καταντήσασα, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα Ἀφαντός γενομένη, τιμῶν ἰσοθέων ἐτυχε παρὰ τοῖς Θεβαίοις. τοὺς δ' ἄλλους Ἡρακλείδας φασίν ἠλθόντας παρ' Αἰγίμου τὸν Δώρου τὴν πατρίαν τῆς χώρας παρακαταθήκην ἀπαίτησαν μετὰ Δωριέων κατοικῆσαι. Τληπολέμου δὲ τῶν Ἡρακλείου ἐν Ὁργεὶ κατοικοῦσα λέγουσιν ἀνελεῖν Λικύμιου τὸν Ἡλεκτρώνων ἔρισαντα περὶ τῶν, διὰ δὲ τὸν φόνον τοῦτον ἔχ Ἀργοὺς φυγόντα εἰς Ρόδον μετοικήσαν.4 τὴν δὲ νήσου ταῦτην τότε

1 νυκήσει Bekker, νυκήσαι Vogel, νυκήσει MSS, Dindorf.
2 κατάκηπησαν ABD, deleted by Vogel.
3 δὲ after ως omitted Vulgate.
4 So Hertlein: κατοικήσαι.

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who would face him, on the agreement that, if Hyllus should conquer his opponent, the Heracleidae should receive the kingdom of Eurystheus, but that, if Hyllus were defeated, the Heracleidae would not return to Peloponnesus for a period of fifty years.¹ Echemus, the king of the Tegeatans, came out to meet the challenge, and in the single combat which followed Hyllus was slain and the Heracleidae gave up, as they had promised, their effort to return and made their way back to Tricorythus. Some time later Licymnius and his sons and Tlepolemus, the son of Heracles, made their home in Argos, the Argives admitting them to citizenship of their own accord; but all the rest who had made their homes in Tricorythus, when the fifty-year period had expired, returned to Peloponnesus. Their deeds we shall record when we have come to those times.²

Alcmene returned to Thebes, and when some time later she vanished from sight she received divine honours at the hands of the Thebans. The rest of the Heracleidae, they say, came to Aegimius, the son of Dorus, and demanding back the land which their father had entrusted to him ³ made their home among the Dorians. But Tlepolemus, the son of Heracles, while he dwelt in Argos, slew Licymnius, the son of Electryon, we are told, in a quarrel over a certain matter, and being exiled from Argos because of this murder changed his residence to Rhodes. This island was inhabited at that time by Greeks

¹ Herodotus (9. 26) says "one hundred" years and the statement of Thucydides (1. 12) would suggest about the same number.
² This is not in the extant portions of Diodorus.
³ Cp. chap. 37. 4.
κατώκουν Ἑλληνες οἱ ὑπὸ Τριῶτα του Ἐρβαντος κατοικισθέντες. τὸν δὲ οὖν Τληπόλεμον κοινῇ μετὰ τῶν ἐγχωρίων τριμερῆ ποιήσαι τὴν Ῥόδον, καὶ τρεῖς εἰς αὐτῇ καταστήσαι πόλεις, Λίνδον, Ὕηλυσον, Κάμειρον βασιλεύσαι δ' αὐτὸν πάντων τῶν Ῥοδίων διὰ τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς Ἡρακλέους δόξαν, καὶ κατὰ τοὺς ύστερον χρόνους μετ' Ἀγαμέμνονος ἐπὶ τῆν Τροίαν στρατεύσαι.
who had been planted there by Triopas, the son of Phorbas. Accordingly, Tlepolemus, acting with the common consent of the natives, divided Rhodes into three parts and founded there three cities, Lindus, Ielysus (Ialysus), and Cameirus; and he became king over all the Rhodians, because of the fame of his father Heracles, and in later times took part with Agamemnon in the war against Troy.
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1 A complete Index will appear in the last volume.
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