HERODOTUS the great Greek historian was born about 484 B.C., at Halicarnassus in Caria, Asia Minor, when it was subject to the Persians. He travelled widely in most of Asia Minor, Egypt (as far as Assuan), North Africa, Syria, the country north of the Black Sea, and many parts of the Aegean Sea and the mainland of Greece. He lived, it seems, for some time in Athens, and in 443 went with other colonists to the new city Thurii (in South Italy) where he died about 430 B.C. He was 'the prose correlative of the bard, a narrator of the deeds of real men, and a describer of foreign places' (Murray). His famous history of warfare between the Greeks and the Persians has an epic dignity which enhances his delightful style. It includes the rise of the Persian power and an account of the Persian empire; the description of Egypt fills one book; because Darius attacked Scythia, the geography and customs of that land are also given; even in the later books on the attacks of the Persians against Greece there are digressions. All is most entertaining and produces a grand unity. After personal inquiry and study of hearsay and other evidence, Herodotus gives us a not un-critical estimate of the best that he could find.
HERODOTUS

I
HERODOTUS

WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION BY
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IN FOUR VOLUMES
1

BOOKS I AND II

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GENERAL INTRODUCTION

A

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

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

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

¹ Suidas.
the Near East. He saw with his own eyes much of Asia Minor; Egypt, as far south as Assuan; Cyrene and the country round it; Syria, and eastern lands perhaps as far as Mesopotamia; and the northern coast of the Black Sea. Within these limits, πολλῶν ἀνθρώπων ἰδεῖν ἄστεα καὶ νόον ἐγνώ. But as the dates of his travels are unknown, so is their intention. Did he travel to collect materials for his history, its scheme being already formed? or was that history the outcome of the traveller’s experiences? We only know that Herodotus’ wanderings and the nine books of his narrative are mutually interwoven.

His professed object is, as he states it in the first sentence of his first book, to write the history of the Graeco-Persian war. But in order to do this he must first describe the rise of the Persian empire, to which the chapters on Lydia and the story of Croesus are introductory. When he comes in due time to relate the Persian invasion of Egypt, this is the cue for a description and history of the Nile valley, occupying the whole of the second book; and the story of Darius’ subsequent expedition against Scythia leads naturally to a long digression on the geography and customs of that country. The narrative in the later books, dealing with the actual Persian invasion of Greece, is naturally less broken; but till then at least it is interrupted by constant episodes and digressions, here a chapter, there a whole book; it is the historian’s practice, as he himself says, to introduce προσθήκας, additions, whenever anything even
remotely connected with the matter in hand occurs to him as likely to interest the reader. The net result is really a history of the Near East, and a good deal besides; a summary of popular knowledge or belief respecting recent events and the world as known more or less to the Greeks; which eventually, after branching out into countless digressions and divagations, centres in the crowning narrative of Marathon, Thermopylae, Salamis, Plataea. Tortuously, but never tediously, Herodotus' history moves to this goal. For all his discursiveness, he does not lack unity. "He is the first," it has been said, "to construct a long and elaborate narrative in which many parts are combined in due subordination and arrangement to make one great whole."

That a narrative so comprehensive in its nature—dealing with so great a variety of subjects, and drawn from sources so miscellaneous—should contain much which cannot be regarded as serious history, is only to be expected. It is impossible to generalise where popular belief and ascertained fact, hearsay and ocular evidence are blended, "the historical value of the matter found in Herodotus' work varies not merely from volume to volume, or from book to book, but from paragraph to paragraph, from sentence to sentence, from line to line. Every separate story, every individual statement is to be tried on its own merits." 2 Many critics have not taken the trouble

1 How and Wells' Commentary on Herodotus.
2 R. W. Macan, Herodotus IV–VI.
to exercise this discrimination; it was for a long
time the fashion to dismiss the Father of History as
a garrulous raconteur, hoping to deceive his readers
as easily as he himself was deceived by his informants.
This "parcel of lies" type of criticism may now, for-
tunately, be considered extinct. Modern research,
which began by discrediting Herodotus, has with
fuller knowledge come to far different conclusions.
It should be now (says Dr. Macan) "universally
recognised that the most stringent application of
historical and critical methods to the text of Her-
rodotus leaves the work irremovably and irreplace-
ably at the head of European prose literature, whether
in its scientific or in its artistic character." He has
been blamed for a "garrulity" which gives currency
to much which is alleged to be beneath the dignity
of history. But most scholars must now agree that
even from the historical standpoint the world would
have lost much of infinite value had Herodotus been
more reticent; his "garrulity" is often proved to
point the way to right conclusions.

Obviously, the condition of human beliefs and
opinions falls within the field of history. Where
Herodotus plainly and demonstrably errs, he is often
of supreme interest as indicating contemporary
thought, which he not only summarises but criticises
as well. His geography and his meteorology are repre-
sentative of a stage of thought. He has not arrived
at truth (naturally!) but he is consistent with a current
opinion which is nearer to truth than earlier con-
GENERAL INTRODUCTION

ceptions of the world. It is true that the sun's course is not affected, as Herodotus believes it to be, by the wind. It is also true that the Danube does not rise in the Pyrenees, and that the course of the upper Nile is not from west to east. 1 But no one in his time knew better. He reflects and discusses contemporary opinion; he rejects earlier and more primitive ideas. It may be counted to him for righteousness that if he knows much less than Strabo, at least he knows a great deal more than Homer.

Always and everywhere, Herodotus gives us the best that is accessible to him; and it is one of his great merits as a historian that he does not give it uncritically. Scanty justice, till lately, has been done him in this matter; in reality, his manner of retailing what has been told him shows anything but credulity. Definite acceptance is much rarer than plain expressions of disbelief in what he has heard; "they say, but I do not believe it" is a very frequent introduction. This attitude is shown by the grammatical construction of the narrative—a construction which translation cannot always reproduce without awkwardness, and which is sometimes therefore overlooked altogether; the fact remains that much of the story is cast in the mould of reported speech, showing that the writer is not stating that so-and-so is a fact but only that it has been told him; and the oratio obliqua is maintained throughout the narrative.

1 But the Bahr al Ghazal, a large branch of the Nile, does flow approximately W. to E.; and he may have meant this.

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Herodotus deliberately professes that this is his method; ἐγὼ ὁφεῖλῳ λέγειν τὰ λεγόμενα, πείθεσθαι γε μὴν παντάπασιν οὐκ ὁφείλω (Bk. vii.); τοῖσι μὲν νυν ὑπ' Ἀιγυπτίων λεγομένουι χράσθω ὅτεω τὰ τοιαῦτα πιθανὰ ἔστιν ἐμοὶ δὲ παρὰ πάντα τὸν λόγον ὑποκέεται ὅτι τὰ λεγόμενα ὑπ' ἐκάστων ἀκοῇ γράφω (ii. 123); "I know not what the truth may be, I tell the tale as 'twas told to me." In view of these plain statements, to attack Herodotus for foolish credulity is nothing less than disingenuous.

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

Herodotus' reputation for untrustworthiness arises, in fact, from his professed method of giving a hearing to every opinion. This has been of great service to those who early and late have accused him of deliberate and perhaps interested falsification of historical fact. These attacks began with Plutarch; they have been more than once renewed in modern times by critics desirous of a name for originality and independence. None of them can be regarded as of any serious importance. They leave Herodotus' credit
untouched, for the simple reason that they are hardly ever based on solid evidence. Plutarch’s treatise on Herodotus’ “malignity” only establishes his own. Modern critics, who maintain that Herodotus’ praise and blame is unjustly distributed, have seldom any witness to appeal to save the historian himself; and failing necessary support ab extra, they can only assert the a priori improbability that an historian who is inaccurate in one narrative should be accurate in another. It is quite possible that the heroes of the history were not so heroic and the villains not so villainous as the historian paints them; but we have no evidence as to the private life of Cyrus or Cambyses beyond what the historian himself has given us. Nor is there any justification for depreciating the services of Athens to Greece because the eulogist of Athens happened to believe that the Danube rises in the Pyrenees, and that the sun’s course is affected by the wind.

It cannot be denied that Herodotus invites criticism. Plainly enough, a great deal of the evidence on which he relies must be more substantial than simple hearsay. He has undoubtedly learnt much from documents engraved or written. To take one instance, the long and detailed catalogue of the nations included in the Persian empire and the amounts of tribute paid by each must rest on some documentary authority. But he will not support his credit by producing his proofs—at least, he does so seldom; for the most part, his fontes are included
under "what he has heard"; he may have seen this, he may have read that, but it is all set down as hearsay and no more. There could be no better way of opening the door to suspicious critics. Further, some of the qualities which constitute the charm of his narrative make him suspect to those who ask only from history that it should be a plain statement of what did actually happen. Herodotus is pre-eminently biographical; personal passion and desire is the guiding motive of events; they are attributed to individual action more than to the force of circumstance. Debatable situations are described in terms of an actual debate between named champions of this or that policy,—as in Euripides, nay, as even in the comparatively matter-of-fact narrative of Thucydides. Nor is it only the human individual will which decides; it is the superhuman above all. The fortunes of individuals and communities are presented to us as they appear to a Greek who sees in human life "a sphere for the realisation of Divine Judgments." 1 To θείον is always working; whether as "Nemesis" to balance good and evil fortune, and correct overweening pride and excessive prosperity by corresponding calamity, or as eternal justice to punish actual wrongdoing. Such beliefs, common to all ages, find especial prominence in the history of Herodotus, as they do in Greek tragedy. The stories of Croesus, Polycrates, Cambyses, the fall of Troy—all are illustrations of a

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

The dialect in which Herodotus writes is Ionic, the oldest literary dialect of Greece; but he also makes use of many words and forms which are commonly associated with the literature of Attica. When therefore Dionysius of Halicarnassus calls him τῆς Ἰάδος ἀριστος κανὼν, this must refer rather to his pre-eminence as an Ionian stylist than to the "purity" of his dialect; which in fact is rightly described as μεμιγμένη and ποικίλη.2 Perhaps Herodotus' language was affected by his residence at Athens. But Ionic and "Old Attic" appear to have been so nearly akin that it is difficult to draw a clear line of division between them. From whatever sources drawn, his diction is pervaded by an indefinable but unmistakably archaic quality which constitutes not the least of a translator's difficulties.

1 Sophocles, Oedipus Tyrannus, 874–7.
2 Hermogenes, πεπλ ἰδεῶν

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

The text of Herodotus rests mainly on the authority of nine MSS., of which a "Laurentianus" and a "Romanus" of the tenth and eleventh centuries respectively are considered the best. The merits of all the nine MSS. and the problems which they present to an editor are fully discussed in Hude's preface to the Clarendon Press edition. The text which I have followed is that of Stein; in the few passages of any importance where I have thought fit to follow any other authority, the fact is noted. In the spelling of names I have not attempted to be consistent. I use the familiar transliteration of Κ and ο, and write "Croesus" and "Cyrus," not "Kroisos" and "Kuros," only retaining terminations in os where they are familiar and traditional. Where place-names have a well-known English form, not widely different from the Greek, I have kept to that; for instance, "Athens" and "Thebes," not
“Athenae” and “Thebae”; but I write “Carchedon” and “Taras,” not “Carthage” and “Tarentum.” This is (I trust) a reasonable, though undeniably an inconsistent, method. The scheme of the present series does not contemplate a commentary; only the briefest notes, therefore, have been added to this translation, and only where the “general reader” may be supposed to stand in urgent need of a word of explanation.
INTRODUCTION TO BOOKS I AND II

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

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

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

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

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

It is not likely that Herodotus is inaccurate in describing what he has seen. But, for his Egyptian chronicles, he has had to rely on what was told him, certainly through the medium of interpreters and probably in many cases by informants whose own knowledge was limited and inexact. Here, as usual, he safeguards himself against the charge of uncritical credulity by showing that he repeats the tale as told to him without guaranteeing its truth. It is very clear, however, that the impressions of history given to him are exceedingly misleading, at least for the long period before the twenty-sixth or Saïte dynasty. His chronicle is full of errors of nomenclature and chronological sequence, and is made to cover far too long a period of time. Our knowledge of the early

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INTRODUCTION TO BOOKS I AND II

rulers of Egypt rests, firstly, on evidence supplied by Egyptian monuments; secondly, on what remains to us (though in an epitomised and imperfect form) of the chronicle of Manetho, an Egyptian priest who in the third century B.C. compiled a list of the kings of his country. Herodotus is repeatedly at variance with both these sources of information. In a brief introduction it is impossible to multiply proofs, or even to summarise the difficulties which beset students of these abstruse matters; it is enough to remember that "for Egyptian history in the strict sense chapters 99 to 146 are valueless." ¹ These deal with the dynasties preceding 663 B.C., and covering in fact some 2700 years. Herodotus gives them a far longer duration; apparently he was shown a list of Egyptian rulers, and calculated the united lengths of their reigns by assuming one generation, or thirty years, for each king. So rough-and-ready a method of calculation could lead to no true conclusion; and it is wholly invalidated by the undoubted fact that many of the reigns named in the list were contemporaneous.

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

BOOK I
ΗΡΟΔΟΤΟΥ ΙΣΤΟΡΙΑΙ

Α

1. Ἡροδότου Ἀλικαρνησσέος ἱστορίας ἀπὸ ἐξίς ἦδε, ὃς μήτε τὰ γενόμενα ἐξ ἀνθρώπων τῶν χρόνων ἐξίτηλα· ἔγνηται, μήτε ἔργα μεγάλα τε καὶ θωμαστά, τὰ μὲν "Ελλησι τὰ δὲ βαρβάροις ἀποδεχθέντα, ἀκλεᾶ γένηται, τὰ τὲ ἄλλα καὶ δὴ ὅτι αὐτίνη ἐπολέμησαν ἄλληλοις.

Περσέων μὲν υνν οἱ λόγιοι Φοίνικας αἰτίους φασὶ γενέσθαι τῆς διαφορῆς. τοῦτοι γὰρ ἀπὸ τῆς Ἑρυθρῆς καλεομένης θαλάσσης ἀπικομένους ἐπὶ τὴν θάλασσαν καὶ οἰκήσαντας τοῦτον τὸν χόρον τὸν καὶ ψυγόν συνέχειοι, αὐτίκα γνωτιζόντων μακρῆν ἐπιθέσθαι, ἀπαγνώσοντας δὲ φορτία Ἀιγύπτια τε καὶ Ἀσσύρια τῇ τὲ ἄλλῃ ἐσαπικέσθαι καὶ δὴ καὶ ἐς Ἀργος. τὸ δὲ Ἀργος τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον προείχε ἀπασί τὸν ἐν τῇ ψυγὸν Ἕλλαδι καλεομένη χώρη. ἀπικομένους δὲ τοὺς Φοίνικας ἐσὶ δὴ τὸ Ἀργος τοῦτο διαιτήσθαι τῶν φόρτων. περπατὴ δὲ ἡ ἐκτῇ ἡμέρῃ ἀπ' ἦς ἀπίκουσα, ἐξεμπολημένων σφι σκέδον πάντων, ἔλθειν ἐπὶ τὴν θάλασσαν γυναίκας ἄλλας ἑκάσαν πολλὰς καὶ δὴ καὶ τοῦ βασιλείου θυγατέρα· τὸ δὲ οἱ σύμφωνες εἶναι, κατὰ τῶν τοῦτο τὸ καὶ "Ελληνες λέγουσι, Ἰοῦν τῆς
1. What Herodotus the Halicarnassian has learnt by inquiry is here set forth: in order that so the memory of the past may not be blotted out from among men by time, and that great and marvellous deeds done by Greeks and foreigners and especially the reason why they warred against each other may not lack renown.

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

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

'Ινάχου ταύτας στάσας κατὰ πρύμνην τῆς νεὸς ὀνείσθαι τῶν φορτίων τῶν σφι ὑπὸ θυμὸς μάλιστα· καὶ τῶν Φοινικῶς διακελευσαμένους ὁρμήσαι ἐπ’ αὐτάς. τὰς μὲν δὴ πλεύνας τῶν γυναικῶν ἀποφυγεῖν, τὴν δὲ Ἰοῦν σὺν Ἀλλησὶ ἀρπασθῆναι. ἐσβαλομένους δὲ ἐς τὴν νέα οἰχέσθαι ἀποπλέουντας ἐπ’ Ἀιγύπτου.

2. Οὐτω μὲν Ἰοῦν ἐς Ἀιγύπτον ἀπικέσθαι λέγοντι Πέρσαι, οὐκ ὡς ἑλληνες, καὶ τῶν ἀδικημάτων πρῶτον τοῦτο ἄρξαι· μετὰ δὲ ταύτα Ἑλλήνων των (οὐ γὰρ ἔχουσι τούνομα ἀπηγήσασθαι) φασὶ τῆς Φοινίκης ἐς Τύρων προσχόντας ἀρπάσαι τοῦ βασιλέος τῆς θυγατέρα Εὐρώπην. εἶχαν δ’ ἄν οὖν Κρῆτες. ταύτα μὲν δὴ ἵσα πρὸς ἵσα σφι γενέσθαι, μετὰ δὲ ταύτα Ἑλλήνας αἰτίους τῆς δευτέρης ἀδικίας γενέσθαι· καταπλῶσαντας γὰρ μακρὴ νῆ τε Αἴαν τε τὴν Κολχίδα καὶ ἐπὶ Φᾶσιν ποταμὸν, ἐνθεύτευ, διαπηγήσεις καὶ τᾶλλα τῶν εἴνεκεν ὑπίκατο, ἀρπάσαι τοῦ βασιλέος τῆς θυγατέρα Μηδείην. πέμψαντα δὲ τὸν Κόλχων βασιλέα ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα κήρυκα αἰτείν τε δίκαι τῆς ἢρπαγῆς καὶ ἀπαίτειν τὴν θυγατέρα. τοὺς δὲ ὑποκρίνασθαι ὡς οὐδὲ ἐκεῖνοι Ἰοῦς τῆς Ἀργείης ἐδοσάν σφι δίκας τῆς ἢρπαγῆς· οὐδὲ ὁν ἄυτοι δώσειν ἐκεῖνοι.

3. Δευτέρῃ δὲ λέγοντι γενεῆ μετὰ ταύτα Ἀλέξανδρον τὸν Πριάμου, ἄκυκοστα ταύτα, ἐθελήσαι οἱ ἐκ τῆς Ἑλλάδος δ’ ἢρπαγῆς γενέσθαι γυναικα, ἐπιστάμενον πάντως ὅτι οὐ δώσει δίκας· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐκεῖνοι διδόναι. οὕτω δὴ ἢρπασαντος αὐτοῦ Ἐλένην, τοῖσι ἠ Ἑλλησι δόξαι πρῶ
stood about the stern of the ship: and while they bargained for such wares as they fancied, the Phoenicians heartened each other to the deed, and rushed to take them. Most of the women escaped: Io with others was carried off; the men cast her into the ship and made sail away for Egypt.

2. This, say the Persians (but not the Greeks), was how Io came to Egypt, and this, according to them, was the first wrong that was done. Next, according to their tale, certain Greeks (they cannot tell who) landed at Tyre in Phoenice and carried off the king's daughter Europe. These Greeks must, I suppose, have been Cretans. So far, then, the account between them stood balanced. But after this (say they) it was the Greeks who were guilty of the second wrong. They sailed in a long ship to Aea of the Colchians and the river Phasis 1: and when they had done the rest of the business for which they came, they carried off the king's daughter Medea. When the Colchian king sent a herald to demand reparation for the robbery, and restitution of his daughter, the Greeks replied that as they had been refused reparation for the abduction of the Argive Io, neither would they make any to the Colchians.

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

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1 This is the legendary cruise of the Argonauts.
τον πέμψαντας ἀγγέλους ἀπαίτεειν τε Ἑλένην καὶ δίκας τῆς ἀρπαγῆς αἰτεῖειν. τοὺς δὲ, προϊσχομένων ταῦτα, προφέρειν σφὶ Μηδείης τὴν ἀρπαγὴν, ὡς εὐ δόντες αὐτοὶ δίκας οὐδὲ ἐκδόντες ἀπαίτεόντων βουλοῖατο σφὶ παρ᾽ ἅλλων δίκας γίνεσθαι.

4. Μέχρι μὲν δὲν τούτου ἀρπαγᾶς μούνας εἶναι παρ᾽ ἅλληλων, τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ τούτου Ἑλληνας δὴ μεγάλως αἰτίους γενέσθαι· προτέρους γὰρ ἀρξαί στρατεύεσθαι ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην ἢ σφέας ἐς τὴν Εὐρώπην. τὸ μὲν νῦν ἀρπαζεῖν γυναικὰς ἀνδρῶν ἀδίκων νομίζειν ἔργον εἶναι, τὸ δὲ ἀρπασθεισέων σπουδὴν ποιῆσασθαι τιμωρεῖν ἀνοίγτων, τὸ δὲ μηδείμαν ὄρην ἔχειν ἀρπασθεισέων σωφρόνων· δὴ λα γὰρ δὴ ὅτι, εἰ μὴ αὐταὶ ἐβούλοντο, οὐκ ἂν ἦρπάξοντο. σφέας μὲν δὴ τοὺς ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίης λέγουσι Πέρσαι ἀρπαζομενέων τῶν γυναικῶν λόγον οὐδένα ποιῆσασθαι, Ἐλληνας δὲ Δακεδαίμονις εἴνεκεν γυναικὸς στόλον μέγαν συναγείραι καὶ ἔπειτα ἐλθόντας ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην τὴν Πράμου δύναμιν κατελείν. ἀπὸ τούτου αἰεὶ ἡγήσασθαι τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν σφίσι εἶναι πολέμων. τὴν γὰρ Ἀσίην καὶ τὰ ἐνοικέοντα ἑθνεα Βάρβαρα1 οἰκημέναι οἱ Πέρσαι, τὴν δὲ Εὐρώπην καὶ τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν ἔγνωται κεχωρίσθαι.

5. Οὐτω μὲν Πέρσαι λέγουσι γενέσθαι, καὶ διὰ τὴν Ἰλίου ἄλωσιν εὐρίσκουσι σφίσι ἐνεύσαν τὴν ἄρχῃν τῆς ἔχθρης τῆς ἐς τοὺς Ἑλληνας. περὶ δὲ τῆς Ἰλίου οὐκ ὑμολογεύεσθαι Πέρσηι οὐτω Φοινικῶις· οὐ γὰρ ἀρπαγῇ σφέας χρησαμένους λέγουσι ἀγαγεῖν αὐτὴν ἐς Αἰγυπτον, ἀλλ᾽ ὡς ἐν τῷ ἑθνεα [Βάρβαρα] Stein.
that Helen should be restored and atonement made for the rape; but when this proposal was made, the Trojans pleaded the rape of Medea, and reminded the Greeks that they asked reparation of others, yet had made none themselves, nor given up the plunder at request.

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

5. Such is the Persian account of the matter: in their opinion, it was the taking of Troy which began their feud with the Greeks. But the Phoenicians do not tell the same story about Io as the Persians. They say that they did not carry her off to Egypt by force: she had intercourse in Argos with the captain
Αργεί ἐμίσγετο τῷ ναυκλήρῳ τῆς νεός· ἐπεὶ δ’ ἐμαθὲ ἔγκυος ἔούσα, αἰδεομένη τοὺς τοκεὰς οὕτω δὴ ἐθελοντὴν αὐτὴν τοῖσι Φοίνιξι συνεκπλῶσαι, ὡς ἀν μὴ κατάδηλος γένηται.

Ταῦτα μὲν νυν Πέρσαι τε καὶ Φοίνικες λέγουσι· ἔγω δὲ περὶ μὲν τούτων οὐκ ἔρχομαι ἐρέων ὡς οὕτω ἢ ἄλλως καὶ ταῦτα ἐγένετο, τὸν δὲ οἶδα αὐτός πρῶτον ὑπάρξαντα ἀδίκων ἔργων ἐς τοὺς Ἑλλήνας, τοῦτον σημῆνας προβήσομαι ἐς τὸ πρόσω τοῦ λόγου, ὠμοίως σμικρὰ καὶ μεγάλα ἀστεὰ ἀνθρώπων ἐπεξιών. τὰ γὰρ τὸ πάλαι μεγάλα ἦν, τὰ πολλὰ σμικρὰ αὐτῶν γέγονε· τὰ δὲ ἐπ’ ἐμεῦ ἦν μεγάλα, πρότερον ἦν σμικρά. τὴν ἀνθρωπηνήν ὧν ἐπιστάμενος εὐδαιμονίην οὐδαμὰ ἐν τῶντῷ μένουσιν, ἐπιμνησομαι ἀμφοτέρων ὠμοίως.

6. Κροίσος ἦν Λυδὸς μὲν γένος, παῖς δὲ Ἀλυάττεω, τύραννος δὲ ἐθνεὼν τῶν ἐντὸς "Ἀλυσιστὸς" ποταμοῦ, ὃς ῥέων ἀπὸ μεσαμβρίης μεταξὺ Συρίων τε καὶ Παφλαγόνων ἔξεις πρὸς βορέην ἀνεμον ἐς τὸν Εὐξείνου καλεόμενου πόλου. οὕτως ὁ Κροίσος βαρβάρων πρῶτοσ τῶν ἢμεὶς ἴδμεν τοὺς μὲν κατεστρέψατο Ἑλλήνων ἐς φόρον ἀπαγωγήν, τοὺς δὲ φίλους προσεποιήσατο. κατεστρέψατο μὲν Ἰωνᾶς τε καὶ Αἰσθένεας καὶ Δωρίδας τοὺς ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ, φίλους δὲ προσεποιήσατο Λακεδαιμονίους. πρὸ δὲ τῆς Κροίσου ἄρχης πάντες Ἑλλήνες ἦσαν ἐλεύθεροι· τὸ γὰρ Κιμμερίων στράτευμα τὸ ἐπὶ τὴν Ἰωνίαν ἀπεκόμενον Κροίσου ἐόν πρεσβύτερον οὐ καταστροφῆ ἐγένετο τῶν πολίων ἀλλ’ ἐξ ἐπιδρομῆς ἄρπαγῆ.

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

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

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

7. Now the sovereign power, which belonged to
κλειδώνειν, ἐσ τὸ γένος τὸ Κροίσου, καλεομένους δὲ Μερμνάδας. ἦν Κανδαύλης, τὸν οἶ "Ελληνες
Μυρσίλου ὄνομάζουσι, τύραννος Σαρδίων, ἀπό-
γονος δὲ Ἀλκαίου τοῦ Ἑρακλέος. Ἀγρων μὲν
γὰρ ὁ Νίνου τοῦ Βήλου τοῦ Ἀλκαίου πρώτος
῾Ἡρακλείδεων βασιλεύσαντές ταῦτα τῆς χώρης ἦσαν ἀπόγονοι Λυδοῦ τοῦ Ἀτυὸς, ἀπ' ὅτε οὐ δῆμος
Λύδιος ἐκλήθη ὁ πᾶς οὗτος, πρῶτον Μηνίου
καλεόμενος. παρὰ τούτων Ὁρακλείδαι ἐπιτραφ-
θέντες ἔσχον τὴν ἁρχὴν ἐκ θεοπροπίου, ἐκ δούλης
τε τῆς Ἰαρδάνου γεγονότες καὶ Ἑρακλέος, ἀρ-
ξαντες μὲν ἐπὶ δύο τε καὶ εἰκοσὶ γενεάς ἀνδρῶν
ἐτεὶ πέντε τε καὶ πεντακόσια, παῖς παρὰ πατρὸς
ἐκδεκόμενος τὴν ἁρχήν, μέχρι Κανδαύλεω τοῦ
Μύρσου.

8. Οὖτος δὴ ὃν ὁ Κανδαύλης ἡράσθη τῆς
ἐωτοῦ γυναικός, ἔρασθεὶς δὲ ἐνόμιζε οἱ εἶναι
γυναῖκα πολλῶν πασέων καλλίστην. ὥστε δὲ
tαύτα νομίζων, ἦν γὰρ οἱ τῶν αἰχμοφόρων Γύγης
ὁ Δασκύλων ἀρεσκόμενος μάλιστα, τούτῳ τῷ
Γύγη καὶ τὰ σπουδαίστερα τῶν πρηγμάτων
ὑπερετίθετο ὁ Κανδαύλης καὶ δὴ καὶ τὸ ἐἴδος τῆς
γυναικὸς ὑπερεπαινέων. χρόνου δὲ οὐ πολλοῦ
διελθόντος (χρῆν γὰρ Κανδαύλη γενέσθαι κακῶς)
ἐλεγε πρὸς τὸν Γύγην τοιάδε. "Γύγη, οὐ γὰρ σὲ
dοκεῖν πείθεσθαι μοι λέγοντι περὶ τοῦ ἐἴδους
τῆς γυναικὸς (ὅτα γὰρ τυχαίον ἀνθρώπους
ἐόντα ἀπιστότερα ὀφθαλμῶν), ποίει ὁκὼς ἐκείνην
θεύσῃ γυμνήν." ο δ ἀμβωσάς ἔπε "ἀδισπότα,
tίνα λέγεις λόγον οὐκ ὑγιέα, κελεύων με δέσποι-
the descendants of Heracles,\(^1\) fell to the family of Croesus—the Mermnadae as they were called—in the following way. Candaules, whom the Greeks call Myrsilus, was the ruler of Sardis; he was descended from Alcaeus, son of Heracles; Agron, son of Ninus, son of Belus, son of Alcaeus, was the first Heraclid king of Sardis, and Candaules, son of Myrsus, was the last. The kings of this country before Agron were descendants of Lydus, son of Atys, from whom all this Lydian district took its name; before that it was called the land of the Meii. From these the Heraclidae, descendants of Heracles\(^1\) and a female slave of Iardanus, received the sovereignty and held it in charge, by reason of an oracle; and they ruled for two and twenty generations, or 505 years, son succeeding father, down to Candaules, son of Myrsus.

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

\(^{1}\) Descendants of Heracles seems to mean descended from the Asiatic sungod identified with Heracles by the Greeks.
ναν τὴν ἐμὴν θείσασθαι γυμνήν; ἂμα δὲ κιθώνι ἐκδυομένῳ συνεκδύσεται καὶ τὴν αἶδὼ γυνῆ. πάλαι δὲ τὰ καλὰ ἀνθρώποις ἐξεύρηται, ἐκ τῶν μανθάνειν δεὶ· ἐν τοῖς ἐν τόδε ἐστὶ, σκοπεῖν τινὰ ἀ水肿. ἐγὼ δὲ πείθομαι ἐκείνην εἶναι πασέων γυναικῶν καλλιστήν, καὶ σεό δέομαι μὴ δεσθαι ἄνόμων.

9. "Ὁ μὲν δὴ λέγων τοιαύτα ἀπεμάχετο, ἀρρωδέων μὴ τί οἱ ἐξ αὐτῶν γέννηται κακοῖν, ὃ δ' ἀμείβετο τοῖσιδε. "θάρσει, Γύνη, καὶ μὴ φοβεῖν μήτε ἐμὲ, ὥς σέο πειρώμενος ἐλέγω λόγον τόνδε, μήτε γυναίκα τὴν ἐμὴν, μὴ τί τοι ἐξ αὐτῆς γέννηται βλάβος. ἀρχὴν γὰρ ἔγω μηχανήσομαι οὕτω ὡστε μηδὲ μαθεῖν μιν ὄφθεισαν ὑπὸ σεῦ. ἐγὼ γὰρ σὲ ἐστίν ὁ οἴκημα ἐν τῷ κοιμῶμεθα ὁπίσθε τῆς ἀνοιγμένης θύρης στήσομαι. μετὰ δ' ἐμὲ ἐσελθόντα παρέσται καὶ ἡ γυνὴ ἡ ἐμὴ ἐς κοίτον. κεῖται δὲ ἁγχοῦ τῆς ἐσόδου θρόνος· ἐπὶ τοῦτον τῶν ἴματόων κατὰ ἐν ἔκαστον ἐκδύνουσα θήσει, καὶ κατ' ἡσυχίην πολλὴν παρέξει τοι θείσασθαι. ἐπεάν δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ θρόνου στείχη ἐπὶ τὴν εὐνύν κατὰ νῶτον τε αὐτῆς γένηη, σοὶ μελέτω τὸ ἐνθεύτεν ὀκως μὴ σε ὄψεται ἱόντα διὰ θυρέων."

10. Ὅ μὲν δὴ ὡς οὐκ ἐδύνατο διαφυγεῖν, ἢν ἑτοίμος· ο δὲ Κανδαύλης, ἐπεὶ ἔδοκεν ὅρη τῆς κοίτης εἶναι, ἤγαγε τὸν Γύνηα ἐς τὸ οἰκήμα, καὶ μετὰ ταύτα αὐτίκα παρῆν καὶ ἡ γυνῆ. ἐσελθοῦσαν δὲ καὶ τιθείσαν τὰ ἐκματα ἐθηεῖτο ὁ Γύνης. ὡς δὲ κατὰ νῶτον ἐγένετο οὐσίας τῆς γυναικῶς ἐς τὴν κοίτην, ὑπεκδύς ἐχώρεε ἐξώ, καὶ ἡ γυνὴ ἐπορᾶ μιν ἐξίοντα. μαθοῦσα δὲ τὸ ποιήθεν ἐκ τοῦ

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

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

10. As Gyges could not escape, he consented. Candaules, when he judged it to be bed time, brought Gyges into the chamber, his wife presently followed, and when she had come in and was laying aside her garments Gyges beheld her; and when she turned her back upon him, going to her bed, he slipped privily from the room. The woman saw him as he passed out, and perceived what her husband had done. But shamed though she was she never cried
άνδρας ούτε ἀνέβωσε αἰσχυνθείσα οὔτε ἔδοξε μαθεῖν, ἐν νόῳ ἔχουσαι τίσεσθαι τὸν Κανδαύλεα. παρὰ γὰρ τοῦσι Λυδοῖσι, σχεδὸν δὲ καὶ παρὰ τοῦσι ἄλλοισι βαρβάροισι καὶ ἄνδρα ὄφθηναι γυμνὸν εἰς αἰσχύνην μεγάλην φέρει.

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

11. For the nonce she made no sign and held her peace. But as soon as it was day, she assured herself of those of her household whom she perceived to be most faithful to her, and called Gyges: who, supposing that she knew nothing of what had been done, came at call; for he had always been wont to attend the queen whenever she bade him. So when he came, the lady thus addressed him: "Now, Gyges, you have two roads before you; choose which you will follow. You must either kill Candaules and take me for your own and the throne of Lydia, or yourself be killed now without more ado; that will prevent you from obeying all Candaules' commands in the future and seeing what you should not see. One of you must die: either he, the contriver of this plot, or you, who have outraged all usage by looking on me unclad." At this Gyges stood awhile astonished: presently he entreated her not to compel him to such a choice; but when he could not move her, and saw that dire necessity was in very truth upon him either to kill his master or himself be killed by others, he chose his own life. Then he asked the queen to tell him, since she forced him against his will to slay his master, how they were to attack the king: and she replied, "You shall come at him from the same place whence he made you see me naked; attack him in his sleep."
12. Ὅς δὲ ἤρτυσαν τὴν ἐπιβουλὴν, νυκτὸς γενομένης (οὗ γὰρ ἐμετίπετο ὁ Γύγης, οúde οἱ ἦν ἀπαλλαγὴ οὔδεμια, ἀλλ' ἔδεε η αὐτὸν ἀπολωλέναι ἡ Κανδαύλεα) ἐϊπετο ἐς τὸν θάλαμον τῇ γυναικί, καὶ μιν ἐκείνη, ἐγχειρίδιον δούσα, κατακρύπτει ὑπὸ τὴν αὐτὴν θύρην. καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἀναπαυμένου Κανδαύλεω ὑπεκδύς τε καὶ ἀποκτείνας αὐτὸν ἔσχε καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα καὶ τὴν βασιληγὴν Γύγης τοῦ καὶ Ἀρχίλοχος ὁ Πάριος κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον γενόμενον ἐν ἰάμβῳ τριμέτρῳ ἐπεμνήσθη. ⁴

13. Ἔσχε δὲ τὴν βασιληγὴν καὶ ἐκρατύνθη ἐκ τοῦ ἐν Δελφοῦσὶ χρηστηρίου. ὡς γὰρ δὴ οἱ Λυδοὶ δεινὸν ἐποιεύντο τὸ Κανδαύλεω πάθος καὶ ἐν ὅπλοις ἦσαν, συνεβῆσαν ἐς τῶν οἳ τε τοῦ Γύγεω στασιώτατ καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ Λυδοὶ, ἦν μὲν τὸ χρηστήριον ἀνέλῃ μιν βασιλέα εἶναι Λυδῶν, τὸν δὲ βασιλεύειν, ἦν δὲ μή, ἀποδοῦναι ὁπίσω ἐς Ἡρακλείδας τὴν ἀρχήν. ἀνεῖλε τε δὴ τὸ χρηστήριον καὶ ἐβασιλεύσε οὔτῳ Γύγης. τοσοῦτο μέντοι εἶπε ἡ Πυθίη, ὡς Ἡρακλείδησι τίσις ἧξει ἐς τὸν πέμπτον ἀπόγγανον Γύγεω. τοῦτο τοῦ ἔπεος Λυδοὶ τε καὶ οἱ βασιλεῖς αὐτῶν λόγον οὐδένα ἐποιεύντο, πρὶν δὴ ἐπετελέσθη.

14. Τὴν μὲν δὴ τυραννίδα οὔτῳ ἔσχον οἱ Μερμυάδαι τοὺς Ἡρακλείδας ἀπελομενοι, Γύγης δὲ τυραννεύσας ἀπέπεμψε ἀναθήματα ἑς Δελφοὺς ὅλιγα, ἀλλ’ ὅσα μὲν ἄργυρον ἀναθήματα, ἐστὶ οἱ πλείστα ἑνὶ Δελφοῖσι, πάρεξ δὲ τοῦ ἄργυρου χρυσὸν ἀπλετον ἀνέθηκε ἄλλου τε καὶ

¹ Stein brackets the words τοῦ καὶ—ἐπεμνήσθη as superfluous and therefore probably spurious.
12. So when they had made ready this plot, and night had fallen, Gyges followed the lady into the chamber (for he could not get free or by any means escape, but either he or Candaules must die), and she gave him a dagger and hid him behind the same door; and presently he stole out and slew Candaules as he slept, and thus made himself master of the king’s wife and sovereignty. He is mentioned in the iambic verses of Archilochus of Parus who lived about the same time.

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

14. Thus did the Mermnadae rob the Heraclidae of the sovereignty and take it for themselves. Having gained it, Gyges sent not a few offerings to Delphi: there are very many silver offerings of his there: and besides the silver, he dedicated great store of
τοῦ μάλιστα μνήμην ἀξίου ἔχειν ἐστί, κρητῆρεσ
οἱ ἀριθμὸν ἓξ χρύσεωι ἀνακέαται. ἔστασι δὲ οὕτωι
ἐν τῷ Κορυβίων θησαυρῷ, σταθμὸν ἔχοντες τριή-
κοντα τάλαντα. ἀληθεί δὲ λόγῳ χρεωμένῳ οὐ Κορ-
υβίων τοῦ δημοσίου ἐστὶ ο θησαυρός, ἀλλὰ Κυψέ-
λου τοῦ Ἡπείρου. οὕτως δὲ ὁ Γύγης πρῶτος βαρ-
βάρων τῶν ἡμείς ὅδεν ἐστιν δὲ Δελφῶν ἀνέδηκε
ἀναθήματα μετὰ Μίδην τὸν Γορδίον Φρυγίς
βασιλέα. ἀνέδηκε γὰρ δὴ καὶ Μίδης τὸν βασι-
λῆων βρόνων ἐς τὸν προκατίζων ἐδίκαζε, ἐόντα
ἀξιοθέντων κεῖται δὲ ὁ βρόνως οὕτως ἐνυθὰ περ ὑἱ
τοῦ Γύγεω κρητῆρεσ. δὲ χρυσὸς οὕτως καὶ ὁ
ἀργυρος τὸν ὁ Γύγης ἀνέδηκε, ὑπὸ Δελφῶν
καλέται Γυγάδας ἐπὶ τοῦ ἀναθέντος ἐπωνυμίην.

15. Ἐσέβαλε μὲν νυν στρατὴν καὶ οὕτως ἐπείτη
ἥρξε ἐς τε Μίλητον καὶ ἐς Σμύρνην, καὶ Κολοφώ-
νος τὸ ἄστυ εἶλε. ἀλλ' οὐδὲν γὰρ μέγα ἀπ' αὐτοῦ
ἀλλο ἔργον ἐγένετο βασιλεύσαντος δυῶν δέοντα
τεσσεράκοντα ἔτεα, τούτων μὲν παρῆσομεν τοσαῦτα
ἐπιμυνησθέντες, "Ἀρδυός δὲ τοῦ Γύγεω μετὰ Γύγην
βασιλεύσαντος μνήμην ποιήσομαι. οὕτως δὲ
Πριηνέας τε εἶλε ἐς Μίλητον τε ἐσέβαλε, ἐπὶ τοῦ-
τος τε τυραννεύσατο Σαρδίων Κιμιέρου ἐξ ἡθέων
ὑπὸ Σκυθέων τῶν νομάδων ἐξαναστάντες ἀπόκοιτο
ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην καὶ Σάρδις πλὴν τῆς ἀκρόπολιος
ἐνευ.

16. Ἀρδυός δὲ βασιλεύσαντος ἐνὸς δέοντα πεν-
τήκοντα ἔτεα ἔξεδέξατο Σαδνάττης ὁ "Ἀρδυός, καὶ
ἐβασίλευσε ἔτεα δυώδεκα, Σαδνάττεω δὲ Ἀλνά-
της. οὕτως δὲ Κυνζάρη τε τῶ Δηοκέῳ ἀπογόνῳ
ἐπολέμησε καὶ Μήδοισι, Κιμιρείοις τε ἐκ τῆς
Ἀσίης ἔξηλασε, Σμύρνην τε τὴν ἀπὸ Κολοφώνος

18
gold: among which six golden bowls are the offerings chiefly worthy of record. These weigh 30 talents and stand in the treasury of the Corinthians: though in very truth it is the treasury not of the Corinthian people but of Cypselus son of Eetion. This Gyges then was the first foreigner (of our knowledge) who placed offerings at Delphi after the king of Phrygia, Midas son of Gordias. For Midas too made an offering, to wit, the royal seat whereon he sat to give judgment, and a marvellous seat it is; it is set in the same place as the bowls of Gyges. This gold and the silver offered by Gyges is called by the Delphians "Gygian" after its dedicator.

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

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

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

2 Many Greek states had special "treasuries" allotted to them in the temple precincts at Delphi, in which their offerings were deposited.
κτισθείσαν εἰλε, ἐς Κλαζομενᾶς τε ἐσέβαλε. ἀπὸ μὲν νυν τούτων οὐκ ὡς ἦθελε ἀπῆλλαξε, ἀλλὰ προσπαίασας μεγάλως· ἀλλα δὲ ἔργα ἀπεδέξατο ἐὼν ἐν τῇ ἄρχῃ ἄξιαπηγητῶτα τάδε.

17. Ἐπολέμησε Μιλησίοις, παραδεξάμενος τὸν πόλεμον παρὰ τοῦ πατρός. ἐπελαύνων γὰρ ἐπολυρκεῖ τὴν Μίλητον τρόπῳ τοῦτῳ· ὅκως μὲν εἰγ ἐν τῇ γῇ καρπὸς ἀδρός, τηνικαύτα ἐσέβαλλε τὴν στρατινὴν ἐστρατεύετο δὲ ὑπὸ συρίγγων τε καὶ πηκτίδων καὶ αὐλοῦ γυναικιῶν τε καὶ ἀνδριῶν. ὥς δὲ ἐς τὴν Μιλησίην ἀπίκοιτο, οἰκήματα μὲν τὰ ἔπε τῶν ἄγρων οὔτε κατέβαλλε οὔτε ἐνεπιμπρη οὔτε βύρας ἀπέσπα, ἐὰ δὲ κατὰ χώρην ἐστάναι· ὅ δὲ τὰ τέ δεύδρεα καὶ τὸν καρπὸν τὸν ἐν τῇ γῇ ὅκως διαφθείρει, ἀπαλλάσσετο ὄπισω. τῆς γὰρ θαλάσσης οἱ Μιλησίοι ἐπεκράτευσι, ὡστε ἐπέδρησι μὴ εἶναι ἔργον τῇ στρατιν. τὰς δὲ οἰκίας οὐ κατέβαλλε ὁ Λυδὸς τὸνδε εἴνεκα, ὅκως ἔχοιεν ἐνθεύτεν ὄρμόμενοι τὴν γῆν σπείρειν τε καὶ ἐργάζεσθαι οἱ Μιλησίοι, αὐτὸς δὲ ἐκείνων ἐργαζομένων ἔχοι τι καὶ σίνεσθαι ἐσβάλλων.

18. Ταῦτα ποιέων ἐπολέμεε ἔτεα ἐνδεκα, ἐν τοῖσι τρώματα μεγάλα διφάσια Μιλησίων ἐγένετο, ἐν τε Διανηνίως χώρης τῆς σφετέρης μαχεσαμένων καὶ ἐν Μαίανδρῳ πεδίῳ. τὰ μὲν νυν ἐξ ἔτεα τῶν ἐνδεκα Σαδνάττης ὁ Ἀρδύος ἐτὶ Λυδῶν ἔρχε, ὁ καὶ ἐσβάλλων τηνικαύτα ἐς τὴν Μιλησίῃν τὴν στρατιν. Σαδνάττης οὖτος γὰρ καὶ ὁ τὸν πόλεμον ἢν συνάψας· τὰ δὲ πέντε τῶν ἐτέων τὰ ἐπόμενα τοῖσι ἐξ Ἀλνάττης ὁ Σαδνάττεω ἐπολέμεε, ὡς παραδεξάμενος, ὡς καὶ πρῶτον μοι δεδήλωται. παρὰ τοῦ πατρός τὸν πόλεμον προσείχε ἐντετα-
and invaded the lands of Clazomene. But here he came off not at all as he wished, but with great disaster. Of other deeds done by him in his reign these were most notable:

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

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

19. Τῷ δὲ δυναδέκτῳ ἔτει ληίου ἐμπιπραμένου ὑπὸ τῆς στρατηγῆς συνηνεῖχθη τι τοιόνδε γενέσθαι πρῆγμα· ὃς ἀφθη τάχιστα τὸ λήμνου, ἀνέμωβιόμενον ἄγατο νηοῦ Ἀθηναίης ἐπίκλησιν Ἀσσησίης, ἀφθείς δὲ ὁ νῆος κατεκαύθη. καὶ τὸ παραυτίκα μὲν λόγος οὐδεὶς ἐγένετο, μετὰ δὲ τῆς στρατηγῆς ἀπικομένης ἐς Σάρδις ἐνόσησε ὁ Ἀλυάττης. μακροτέρης δὲ οἱ γυνομένης τῆς νοῦσον πέμπει ἐς Δελφοὺς θεοπρόπους, εἴτε δὴ συμβουλεύσαντός τευ, εἴτε καὶ αὐτῷ ἔδοξε πέμψαντα τὸν θεόν ἐπειρέσθαι περὶ τῆς νούσου. τοῖς δὲ ἡ Πυθίη ἀπικομένουις ἐς Δελφοὺς οὐκ ἔφη χρήσειν πρὶν ἢ τὸν νηὸν τῆς Ἀθηναίης ἀνορθώσωσι, τῶν ἐνέπρησαν χώρης τῆς Μιλησίας ἐν Ἀσσησῷ.

20. Δελφῶν οὐδα ἐγὼ οὕτω ἀκοῦσας γενέσθαι Μιλήσιοι δὲ τάδε προστιθεῖσιν τοῦτοισιν, Περίανδρον τὸν Κυψέλου ἐόντα Ὁρασυβοῦλω τῷ τότε Μιλήτου τυραννεύσει τείνου ἐς τὰ μάλιστα, πυθόμενον τὸ χρηστήριον τὸ τῷ Ἀλυάττη γενόμενον, πέμψαντα ἄγγελον κατεπείν, ὡκὼς ἄν τι προειδῶς πρὸς τὸ παρεόν βουλεύσαται.

21. Μιλήσιοι μὲν νων οὕτω λέγοντι γενέσθαι. Ἀλυάττης δὲ, ὡς οἱ ταῦτα ἐξαγγέλθη, αὐτίκα ἐπεμπτε κήρυκα ἐς Μιλήτου βουλώμενος σπουδὰς ποιήσασθαι Ὁρασυβοῦλῳ τε καὶ Μιλήσιοις χρόνου ὅσον ἄν τὸν νηὸν οἰκοδομής. ὁ μὲν δὴ
it on vigorously. None of the Ionians helped to lighten this war for the Milesians, except only the Chians: these lent their aid for a like service done to themselves; for the Milesians had formerly helped the Chians in their war against the Erythraeans.

19. In the twelfth year, when the Lydian army was burning the crops, it so happened that the fire set to the crops and blown by a strong wind caught the temple of Athene called Athene of Assesos¹: and the temple was burnt to the ground. For the nonce no account was taken of this. But presently after the army had returned to Sardis Alyattes fell sick; and, his sickness lasting longer than it should, he sent to Delphi to inquire of the oracle, either by someone’s counsel or by his own wish to question the god about his sickness: but when the messengers came to Delphi the Pythian priestess would not reply to them before they should restore the temple of Athene at Assesos in the Milesian territory, which they had burnt.

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

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

¹ A small town or village near Miletus.
Ἡροδότος ὁ Μιλησίων ἦν, Ὁρασύβουλος δὲ σαφέως προπεπνυμένος πάντα λόγου, καὶ εἰδὼς τὰ Ἀλνάττης μέλλοι ποιήσειν, μηχανάται τοιάδε: ὅσος ἦν ἐν τῷ ἀστεὶ σῖτος καὶ ἑωυτοῦ καὶ ἰδιωτικός, τούτον πάντα συγκομίσας ἐς τὴν ἀγορὴν προείπε Μιλησίοις, ἐπεάν αὐτὸς σημείη, τότε πίνειν τε πάντας καὶ κώμῳ χρᾶσθαι ἐς ἀλλήλους.

22. Ταύτα δὲ ἑποίεε τε καὶ προηγόρευε Ὁρασύβουλος τῶνδε εἶνεκεν, ὅκως ἂν δὴ ὁ κήρυξ ὁ Σαρδηνὸς ιδὼν τε σωρὸν μέγαν σῖτον κεχυμένον καὶ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἐν εὐπαθείᾳ ἔοντας ἀγγείλῃ Ἀλνάττῃ τὰ δὴ καὶ ἐγένετο. ὡς γὰρ δὴ ιδῶν τε ἑκεῖνα ὁ κήρυξ καὶ ἑίτας πρὸς Ὁρασύβουλον τὸν Λυδοῦ τὰς ἐυτολάς ἀπῆλθε ἐς τὰς Σάρδις, ὡς ἐγὼ πτυθάνομαι, δι’ οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἐγένετο ἡ διαλλαγῆ. ἑλπίζων γὰρ ὁ Ἀλνάττης σιεοδείην τε εἶναι ἱσχυρὴν ἐν τῇ Μιλῆτῳ καὶ τὸν λεων τετρύσθαι ἐς τὸ ἐσχατὸν κακοῦ, ἤκουε τοῦ κήρυκος νοστῆσαντος ἐκ τῆς Μιλῆτος τοὺς ἑαυτίους λόγους ἢ ὡς αὐτὸς κατεδόκεε. μετὰ δὲ ἦν τε διαλλαγῆ σφί ἐγένετο ἐπ’ ὧ τε ξέινους ἀλλήλοις εἶναι καὶ συμμάχους, καὶ δύο τε ἀντὶ ἐνὸς υἱοὺς τῆ Ἀθηναίης οἰκοδόμησε ὁ Ἀλνάττης ἐν τῇ Ἀσσησῷ, αὐτὸς τε ἐκ τῆς νοῦσου ἀνέστη. κατὰ μὲν τὸν πρὸς Μιλησίους τε καὶ Ὁρασύβουλον πόλεμον Ἀλνάττῃ ὀδε ἐσχε.

23. Περίανδρος δὲ ἦν Κυψέλου παῖς, οὕτος ὁ τῶ Ὁρασύβουλῳ τὸ χρηστήριον μηνύσας· ἐπιράννευε δὲ ὁ Περίανδρος Κορίθου τῷ δὴ λέγουσι Κορίνθιοι ὁμολογεύοσι δὲ σφί Δέσβειοι εν τῷ βίῳ θῶμα μέγιστον παραστήναι, Ἀρίστα τοῦ Μηθυμναίου ἐπὶ δελφίνως ἐξενειχθέντα ἔπὶ Ταίναρον,
Miletus. But Thrasybulus, being exactly forewarned of the whole matter, and knowing what Alyattes meant to do, devised the following plan: he brought together into the market place all the food in the city, from private stores and his own, and bade the men of Miletus all drink and revel together when he should give the word.

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

23. Periander, who disclosed the oracle's answer to Thrasybulus, was the son of Cypselus, and sovereign lord of Corinth. As the Corinthians and Lesbians agree in relating, there happened to him a thing which was the most marvellous in his life, namely, the landing of Arion of Methymna on Taenarus, borne thither by a dolphin. This Arion was a
κιθαρώδον τῶν τότε ἐόντων οὐδενὸς δεύτερον, καὶ διθύραμβον πρώτου ἀνθρώπων τῶν ἡμεῖς ἤδεν ποιήσαντά τε καὶ ὠνομάσαντα καὶ διδάξαντα ἐν Κορίνθῳ.

24. Τούτον τὸν Ἀρίωνα λέγουσι, τὸν πολλὸν τοῦ χρόνου διατρίβοντα παρὰ Περιάνδρῳ ἐπιθυμήσαι πλῶσαι ἐς Ἰταλίνην τε καὶ Σικελίνην, ἐργασάμενον δὲ χρήματα μεγάλα θελήσαι ὡσπῶς ἐς Κορίνθον ἀπικέσθαι. ὁμαθαί μὲν νῦν ἐκ Τάραντος, πιστεύοντα δὲ οὐδαμοὶ μᾶλλον ἢ Κορινθίοις μισθώσασθαι πλῶν ἀνδρῶν Κορίνθων. τοὺς δὲ ἐν τῷ πελάγει ἐπιβουλεύειν τὸν Ἀρίωνα ἐκβαλόντας ἐχειν τὰ χρήματα. τὸν δὲ συνέντα τούτῳ λίσσεσθαι, χρήματα μὲν σφι προϊέντα, ψυχὴν δὲ παρατεόμενον. οὐκὼν δὴ πείθειν αὐτὸν τούτοις, ἀλλὰ κελεύειν τοὺς πορθέμας ἢ αὐτὸν διαχράσθαι μιν, ὡς ἀν ταφῆς ἐν γῇ τύχῃ, ἢ ἐκπηδᾶν ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν τὴν ταχίστην ἀπειληθέντα δὴ τὸν Ἀρίωνα ἐς ἀπορίην παρατήρησασθαί, ἐπειδὴ σφι οὐτω δοκέοι, περιδεῖν αὐτὸν ἐν τῇ σκεύῃ πάσῃ στάντα ἐν τοῖς ἐδωλίωσι ἀείσαν· ἀείσας δὲ ὑπεδέκετο ἐωτόν κατεργάσασθαι. καὶ τοῖς ἐσελθείν γὰρ ἠδονήν εἰ μέλλοιεν ἁκούσεσθαι τοῦ ἀριστοῦ ἀνθρώπων ἀοίδος, ἀναχώρησαι ἐκ τῆς πρύμνης ἐς μέσην νέα. τὸν δὲ ἐνδύσατα τε πᾶσαν τὴν σκευὴν καὶ λαβόντα τὴν κιθάρην, στάντα ἐν τοῖς ἐδωλίωσι διεξέλθειν νόμον τοῦ ὁρθίου, τελευτῶντος δὲ τοῦ νόμου ῥίψαι μιν ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν ἐωτόν ὡς εἰχε σὺν τῇ σκευῇ πάσῃ. καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἀποπλέειν ἐς Κορίνθον, τὸν δὲ δελφίνα λέγουσι υπολαβόντα ἐξενείκαι ἐπὶ Ταίναρον. ἀποβάντα
lyre-player second to none in that age; he was the
first man, as far as we know, to compose and name the
dithyramb\(^1\) which he afterwards taught at Corinth.

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

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

\(^2\) Tarentum.

\(^3\) The \(\ddot{o}r\theta\iota\sigma\upsilon\upsilon\sigma\upsilon\) was a high-pitched (and apparently very
well-known) song or hymn in honour of Apollo.
δὲ αὐτὸν χωρέειν ἐς Κόρινθον σὺν τῇ σκευῇ, καὶ ἀπικόμενον ἀπηγέεσθαι πάν τὸ γεγονός. Περὶ-
ανδρὸν δὲ ὑπὸ ἀπιστίας Ἄριωνα μὲν ἐν φυλακῇ
ἐχειν οὐδαμὴ μετιέντα, ἀνακὼς δὲ ἐξειν τῶν
πορθμέων. ὡς δὲ ἀρὰ παρεῖναι αὐτοὺς, κλη-
θέντας ἰστορέεσθαι εἰ τι λέγοιεν περὶ Ἄριωνος.
φαμένων δὲ ἐκεῖνων ὡς εἶν τε σῶς περὶ Ἰταλίην
καὶ μιν εὖ πρῆσοντα λέποιεν ἐν Τάραντι, ἐπι-
φανῆναι σφι τὸν Ἄριωνα ὡσπερ ἔχουν ἐξεπήδησιν
καὶ τοὺς ἐκπλαγέντας οὐκ ἐχεῖν ἐτὶ ἐλεγχομένους
ἀρνέεσθαι. ταῦτα μὲν νυν Κορινθιῶν τε καὶ
Λέσβιων λέγουσι, καὶ Ἄριωνος ἀστὶ ἀνάθημα
χάλκεον οὐ μέγα ἐπὶ Ταιναρῷ, ἐπὶ δελφῖνος
ἐπεών ἀνθρωπος.

25. Ἀλυάττης δὲ ὁ Δυνὸς τὸν πρὸς Μιλησίοις
πόλεμον διενείκας μετέπειτα τελευτᾷ, βασιλεύσαι
ἐτεα ἐπτὰ καὶ πεντήκοντα. ἀνέθηκε δὲ ἐκφυγὼν
τὴν νοῦς δεύτερος οὗτος τῆς οἰκίας ταύτης ἐς
Δελφοὺς κρητὶρά τε ἀργύρεου μέγαν καὶ ὑποκρη-
τηρίδιον σιδηρεύου κολλητὸν, θέης ἄξιον διὰ πάν-
των τῶν ἐν Δελφοῖσι ἀναθημάτων, Γλαύκου τοῦ
Χίου ποίημα, δο μοῦνος δὴ πάντων ἀνθρώπων
σιδηρὸν κολλησίν ἔξευρε.

26. Τελευτήσατο δὲ Ἀλυάττεω ἐξεδέξατο
τὴν βασιλείαν Κροὸσος ὁ Ἀλυάττεω, ἐτέων ἐὼν
ἥλικίνη πέντε καὶ τρήκοντα ὡς δὴ Ἑλλήνων
πρώτοις ἐπεθήκατο Ἐφεσίοις. ἐνθα δὴ οἱ
Ἐφέσιοι πολιορκεόμενοι ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ ἀνέθεσαν τὴν
πόλιν τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι, ἐξαύγαστες ἐκ τοῦ νησί
σχοινίων ἐς τὸ τεῖχος, ἔστι δὲ μεταξὺ τῆς τε
παλαιῆς πόλιος, ἂ τότε ἐπολιορκέστη, καὶ τοῦ
νησί ἐπτὰ στάδιοι. πρώτοις μὲν δὴ τούτοις
28
landed, went to Corinth in his singing robes, and when he came told all that had befallen him. Periander, not believing the tale, put him in close ward and kept careful watch for the coming of the sailors. When they came they were called and questioned, what news they brought of Arion, and they replied that he was safe in the parts of Italy, and that they had left him sound and well at Taras; when, behold, they were confronted with Arion, just as he was when he leapt from the ship; whereat they were amazed, and could no more deny what was proved against them. Such is the story told by the Corinthians and Lesbians. There is moreover a little bronze monument to Arion on Taenarus, the figure of a man riding upon a dolphin.

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

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

¹ Croesus' reign began in 560 B.C., probably.
HERODOTUS

ἐπεξείρησε ὁ Κροίσος, μετὰ δὲ ἐν μέρει ἐκάστοις Ἰῶνων τε καὶ Ἀιολέων, ἀλλοιοῦ ἄλλας αἰτίας ἐπιφέρων, τῶν μὲν ἐδύνατο μέξονας παρευρίσκειν, μέξονα ἐπαιτιώμενος, τοὺς δὲ αὐτῶν καὶ φαύλα ἐπιφέρων.

27. Ὡς δὲ ἄρα οἱ ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ Ἑλληνῶν κατεστράφατο ἐς φοροῦ ἀπαγωγήν, τὸ ἐνθεύτευν ἐπενύεε νέας ποιησάμενος ἐπιχειρεῖν τούσι νησιώτησι. ἐόντων δὲ οἱ πάντων ἐτοίμων ἐς τὴν ναυπηγήν, οἱ μὲν Βίαντα λέγουσι τὸν Πριηνέα ὀπικόμενον ἐς Σάρδις, οἱ δὲ Πιπτακὸν τὸν Μυκηναίον, εἰρομένου Κροίσου εἰ τι εἰὴ νεώτερον περὶ τὴν Ἐλλάδα, εἰπότα τάδε καταπαύσαι τὴν ναυπηγήν: "Ὡ βασιλεῦ, νησιωτὰ ἵππων συνωνέονται μυρίν, ἐς Σάρδις τε καὶ ἐπὶ σὲ ἐν νόῳ ἔχοντες στρατευόμεθα." Κροίσον δὲ ἐπισάντα λέγειν ἐκεῖνον ἄλληθεία εἰπεῖν "Αἱ γὰρ τούτῳ θεοὶ ποιήσειν ἐπὶ νόον νησιώτης, ἐλθεῖν ἐπὶ Λυδῶν παΐδας σὺν ἱπποίς." τὸν δὲ ὑπολαβόντα φάναι "Ὡ βασιλεῦ, προθύμως μοι φαίνεισθαι εὐξασθαι νησιώτας ἰππευμένους λαβεῖν ἐν ἡπείρῳ, οἰκότα ἕλπίζων. νησιώτας δὲ τὶ δοκεῖσθαι εὐχεσθαι ἄλλο ἦ, ἐπείτε τάχιστα ἐπύθοντο σε μέλλοντα ἐπὶ σφίσι ναυπηγέοςθαι νέας, λαβεῖν ἀρώμενοι Λυδοῦς ἐν θαλάσσῃ, ἵνα ύπὲρ τῶν ἐν τῇ ἡπείρῳ οἰκημένων Ἑλλήνων τίσωνται σε, τοὺς σὺ δούλωσας ἔχεις;" κάρτα τε ἡσθηναι Κροίσον τῷ ἐπιλόγῳ καὶ οἱ, προσφένως γὰρ δόξαν λέγειν, πειθόμενον παύσασθαι τῆς ναυπηγής. καὶ οὕτω τοῖς τὰς νήσους οἰκημένους Ἰωσὶ ξεινίν συνεθήκατο.

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

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

28. As time went on, Croesus subdued well-nigh
μένων σχεδον πάντων τών ἑντὸς "Ἀλυσος ποταμὸς οὐκημένων" πλῆθν γὰρ Κιλίκων καὶ Λυκών τοὺς ἄλλους πάντας ὑπ' ἑντῶ ἑχε καταστρεψάμενος ὁ Κροῖσος. εἰσὶ δὲ οἴδη, Λυδοὶ, Φρύγες, Μυσοὶ, Μαριανδυνοί, Χάλυβες, Παφλαγόνες, Ἐρημίκες οἱ Θυνοὶ τε καὶ Βιθυνοί, Κάρες, Ἰωνε, Δωριές, Αἰσίλες, Πάμφυλοι1 κατεστραμμένοι δὲ τούτων καὶ προσεπικτωμένου Κροῖσον Λυδοῦσι, 29. ἀπικνεόνται ἐς Σάρδις ἀκμαζοῦσας πλούτῳ ἄλλοι τε οἱ πάντες ἐκ τῆς Ἑλλάδος σοφισταί, οἱ τούτων τῶν χρόνων ἐτύγχανον ἔοντες, ὡς ἐκαστὸς αὐτῶν ἀπικνεότει, καὶ δὴ καὶ Σόλων ἀνὴρ Ἀθηναῖος, ὃς Ἀθηναίοις νόμους κελεύσασι ποιήσας ἀπεδήμησε ἔτεα δέκα, κατὰ θεωρίας προφασίν ἐκπλώσας, ἵνα δὴ μὴ τινά τῶν νόμων ἀναγκασθῇ λύσαι τῶν ἔθετο. αὐτοὶ γὰρ οὐκ οἶδον τε ἦσαν αὐτὸ ποιῆσαι Ἀθηναίοι· ὅρκίοις γὰρ μεγάλοισι κατείχοντο δέκα ἐτεα χρήσεσθαι νόμοισι τούς ἃν σφὶ Σόλων θήται.

30. Αὐτῶν δὴ ὅν τούτων καὶ τῆς θεωρίας ἐκδημήσας ὁ Σόλων εἶνεκεν ἐς Αἰγυπτον ἀπικετο παρὰ Ἀμασιν καὶ δὴ καὶ ὡς Σάρδις παρὰ Κροῖσον. ἀπικόμενος δὲ ἐξεινίζετο ἐν τούτῳ βασιλεύσαι ὑπὸ τοῦ Κροῖσον· μετὰ δὲ ἡμέρῃ τρίτῃ ἡ τετάρτῃ κελεύσαντος Κροῖσον τὸν Σόλωνα θεράπουντες περιῆγον κατὰ τοὺς θησαυροὺς, καὶ ἐπεδείκυσαν πάντα ἑόντα μεγάλα τε καὶ ὀλβία. θεσάμενον δὲ μιν τὰ πάντα καὶ σκεψάμενον ὃς οἱ κατὰ καιρὸν ἦν, εἰρετο ὁ Κροῖσος τάδε. "Εἴειν Ἀθηναίες παρ' ἡμέας γὰρ περί σὲο λόγος ἀπικται 1 εἰσὶ ... Πάμφυλοι and καὶ ... Λυδοῖσι bracketed by Stein.
all the nations west of the Halys and held them in subjection, except only the Cilicians and Lycians: the rest, Lydians, Phrygians, Mysians, Mariandynians, Chalybes, Paphlagonians, Thymians and Bithynians (who are Thracians), Carians, Ionians, Dorians, Aeolians, Pamphylians, were subdued and became subjects of Croesus like the Lydians, and Sardis was at the height of its wealth. 29. There came to the city all the teachers from Hellas who then lived, in this or that manner; and among them came Solon of Athens: he, having made laws for the Athenians at their request, left his home for ten years and set out on a voyage to see the world, as he said. This he did, lest he should be compelled to repeal any of the laws he had made, since the Athenians themselves could not repeal them, for they were bound by solemn oaths to abide for ten years by such laws as Solon should make.

30. For this reason, and to see the world, Solon left Athens and visited Amasis in Egypt and Croesus at Sardis: and when he had come, Croesus entertained him in his palace. Now on the third or fourth day after his coming Croesus bade his servants lead Solon round among his treasures, and they showed him all that was there, the greatness and the prosperous state of it; and when he had seen and considered all, Croesus when occasion served thus questioned him: “Our Athenian guest, we have heard much of
πολλοὶ καὶ σοφίς εἶνεκεν ῥῆς σῆς καὶ πλάνης, ὡς φιλοσοφόων γῆν πολλήν θεωρίς εἶνεκεν ἐπε- λήλυθας· νῦν ὁν ἐπειρέσθαι με ἵμερος ἐπῆλθέ σε ἐι τινα ἦδη πάντων εἰδες ὅλβιώτατον." ὁ μὲν ἐλπίζων εἶναι ἀνθρώπων ὅλβιώτατος ταῦτα ἐπειρώτα: Σόλων δὲ οὐδὲν ὑποθωπεύσας ἀλλὰ τῷ ἑντὶ χρησάμενος λέγει "Ω Βασιλεῖ, Τέλλον Ὀθηναῖον." ἀποθωμάσας δὲ Κροῖσος τὸ λεγθὲν εἴρετο ἐπιστρεφέως "Κοινὴ δὴ κρίνεις Τέλλον εἶναι ὅλβιώτατον;" ὁ δὲ εἶπε "Τέλλῳ τοῦτο μὲν τῆς πόλιος εὑ ἡκουσίς παῖδες ἦσαν καλοὶ τε κάγαθοί, καὶ σφι εἰδὲ ἄπασι τέκνα ἐκγενόμενα καὶ πάντα παραμείνατα· τοῦτο δὲ τοῦ βίου εὑ ἥκοντι, ὡς τὰ παρ᾿ ἡμῖν, τελευτὴ τοῦ βίου λαμπροτάτη ἐπεγένετο· γενομένης γὰρ Ὀθηναίοις μάχης πρὸς τοὺς ἀστυνείτους ἐν Ἐλευσίνῃ, βοηθήσας καὶ τροπὴν ποιῆσας τῶν πολεμών ἀπέθανε κάλλιστα, καὶ μιν Ὀθηναίοι δημοσίη τε έθαψαν αὐτοῦ τῇ περ ἔπεσε καὶ ἐτίμησαν μεγάλως."

31. Ως δὲ τὰ κατὰ τὸν Τέλλον προετρέψατο ὁ Σόλων τὸν Κροῖσον εἴπας πολλά τε καὶ ὅλβια, ἐπειρώτα τίνα δεύτερον μετ᾿ ἐκείνου ἵδιοι, δοκέων πάγχυ δευτερεία γὼν οἴσεσθαι. ὁ δὲ εἶπε "Κλέοβιν τε καὶ Βίτωνα. τούτοις γὰρ έστιν γένος Ἀργείοις βίος τε ἄρκεων ὑπῆ, καὶ πρὸς τούτῳ ρώμῃ σώματος τοιῆδε ἀεθλοφόροι τε ἀμφότεροι ὅμοιοι ήσαν, καὶ δὴ καὶ λέγεται ὅδε ὁ λόγος. ἐσύσης ὀρτῆς τῇ "Ἡρη τοῦσ Ἀργείοις έδει πάντως τὴν μητέρα αὐτῶν ζεύγεϊ κομισθήναι ἐς τὸ ἴρον, οἱ δὲ σφι βόες ἐκ τοῦ ἀγροῦ οὐ παρεγέ- νοντο ἐν ὧρῃ έκκλησίομεν οἱ δὲ τῇ ὧρῃ οἱ νευνίαι

1 Stein brackets εἶνεκεν.
you, by reason of your wisdom and your wanderings, how that you have travelled far to seek knowledge and to see the world. Now therefore I am fain to ask you, if you have ever seen a man more blest than all his fellows." So Croesus inquired, supposing himself to be blest beyond all men. But Solon spoke the truth without flattery: "Such an one, O King," he said, "I have seen—Tellus of Athens." Croesus wondered at this, and sharply asked Solon "How do you judge Tellus to be most blest?" Solon replied: "Tellus' city was prosperous, and he was the father of noble sons, and he saw children born to all of them and their state well established; moreover, having then as much wealth as a man may among us, he crowned his life with a most glorious death: for in a battle between the Athenians and their neighbours at Eleusis he attacked and routed the enemy and most nobly there died; and the Athenians gave him public burial where he fell and paid him great honour."

31. Now when Solon had roused the curiosity of Croesus by recounting the many ways in which Tellus was blest, the king further asked him whom he placed second after Tellus, thinking that assuredly the second prize at least would be his. Solon answered: "Cleobis and Biton. These were Argives, and besides sufficient wealth they had such strength of body as I will show. Both were prizewinners; and this story too is related of them. There was a festival of Here toward among the Argives, and their mother must by all means be drawn to the temple by a yoke of oxen. But the oxen did not come in time from the fields; so the young men, being thus thwarted by lack of time, put themselves
ὑποδύντες αὐτοὶ ὑπὸ τὴν ξεύγηλην εἰλκον τὴν ἀμαξαν, ἐπὶ τῆς ἀμάξης δε σφι ωθετο ἡ μήτηρ· σταδίους δε πέντε καὶ τεσσεράκοντα διακομή· σαντις ἀπίκουτο ες τὸ ἱρόν. ταῦτα δε σφι ποιῆ· σασι καὶ ὁφθεισι ὑπὸ τῆς πανηγύριος τελευτὴ τοῦ βίου ἀρίστη ἐπεγένετο, διέδεξε τε ἐν τούτοις ὁ θεὸς ὡς ἀμείνον εὐθ ἀνθρώπω τεθυναὶ μᾶλλον ἦ ξώειν. Ἀργείοι μὲν γὰρ περιστάντες ἐμακάριζον τῶν νεπνεῶν τὴν ρώμην, αἰ δε Ἀργείαι τὴν μητέρα αὐτῶν, οἷον τέκνων ἐκύρησε ἢ δε μὴτηρ περιχαρῆς ἐώσα τῷ τε ἐργῷ καὶ τῇ φίμῃ, στάωσι ἀντίου τοῦ ἀγάλματος εὐχετο Κλεόβι τε καὶ Βίτωνι τοῖς ἐσωτήρ τέκνωσι, ὥ μιν ἐτύμησαν μεγάλως, τὴν θεὸν δοῦνα τὸ ἀνθρώπῳ τυχεῖν ἀριστὸν ἐστὶ. μετὰ ταύτῃ δε τὴν εὐχὴν ὡς ἑθυσάν τε καὶ εὐσυχῆσαν, κατακοιμηθέντες εν αὐτῷ τῷ ἱρῷ οἱ νεπνών οὐκέτι ἀνέστησαν ἀλλ' ἐν τελεί τούτῳ ἐσχόντο. Ἀργείοι δε σφέων εἰκόνας ποιησάμενοι ἀνέθεσαν ἐς Δελφοὺς ὡς ἀριστῶν γενομένων.

32. Σόλων μὲν δὴ εὐδαιμονίης δευτερεία ἐνεμε τούτωσι, Κροίσος δὲ σπερχθείς εἶπε "ὢ Θεῖοι, ἡ δ' ἡμετέρη εὐδαιμονίη ὀυτω τοι ἀπέρριπται ε σ το μηδὲν ὡστε οὐδὲ ἱδιωτέων ἀνδρῶν ἄξιόν ἡμέας ἐποίησας;" ὅ δε εἶπε "ὢ Κροίσε, ἑπιστάμενοι με το θείον παν ἐνο φθονορόν τε καὶ ταραχώδες ἐπειροτάς ἀνθρωπην πρηγμάτων πέρι. ἐν γὰρ τῷ μακρῷ χρόνῳ πολλὰ μὲν ἐστὶ ἰδεῖν τα μή τις ἐθέλει, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ παθεῖν. ἓς γὰρ ἐβδομήκοντα ἐτεα οὐρον τῆς ξοῆς ἀνθρώπω προτίθημι. οὕτω κοίτης ἐνιαυτοι ἐβδομήκοντα παρέχονται ἡμέρας διηκοσίας καὶ πεντακισχιλίας καὶ δισμυρίας, ἐμβολίμου μηνὸς μη γινομένου εἰ
to the yoke and drew the carriage with their mother sitting thereon: for five and forty furlongs they drew it till they came to the temple. Having done this, and been seen by the assembly, they made a most excellent end of their lives, and the god showed by these men how that it was better for a man to die than to live. For the men of Argos came round and gave the youths joy of their strength, and so likewise did the women to their mother, for the excellence of her sons. She then in her joy at what was done and said, came before the image of the goddess and prayed that her sons Cleobis and Biton, who had done such great honour to the goddess, should be given the best boon that a man may receive. After the prayer the young men sacrificed and ate of the feast; then they lay down to sleep in the temple itself and never rose up more, but here ended their lives. Then the Argives made and set up at Delphi images of them because of their excellence.”

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

1 The “intercalary” month is a month periodically inserted to make the series of solar and calendar years eventually correspond. But Herodotus’ reckoning here would make the average length of a year 375 days.
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dè dè έθελήσει τούτερον τῶν ἑτέων μην μακρότερον γίνεσθαι, ἵνα dè aî ὀραί συμβαίνωσι παραγινόμεναι ἐς τὸ δέον, μὴνες μὲν παρὰ τὰ ἐβδομήκοντα ἐτεὰ οἱ ἐμβόλιμοι γίνονται τριήκοντα πέντε, ἢμέραι dè ἐκ τῶν μηνῶν τούτων χίλιαι πεντήκοντα. τοιτέων τῶν ἀπασέων ἥμερέων τῶν ἐς τὰ ἐβδομήκοντα ἐτεὰ, ἐουσέων πεντήκοντα καὶ διηκοσιεῶν καὶ ἔξακισικιλιέων καὶ δισμυρεών, ἡ ἐτέρη αὐτέων τῇ ἐτέρῃ ἡμέρῃ τὸ παράπαν οὐδὲν ὁμοίων προσάγει πρήγμα. ὦτω δὲν Κροίσε πὰν ἐστὶ ἄνθρωπος συμφορή. ἐμοὶ δὲ σὺ καὶ πλούτεειν μέγα φαίνει καὶ βασιλεὺς πολλῶν εἶναι ἄνθρωπων ἕκεινο δὲ τὸ εἴρεό με, οὐκώ σε ἐγὼ λέγω, πρὶν τελευτήσαντα καλῶς τὸν αἰῶνα πόθωμαι. οὐ γάρ τι ὁ μέγα πλούσιος μᾶλλον τοῦ ἐπ᾽ ἡμέρην ἔχοντος ὀλβιώτερος ἐστὶ, εἰ μὴ οἱ τύχῃ ἐπίσποτο πάντα καλὰ ἔχοντα εὐ τελευτήσαι τὸν βίον. πολλοὶ μὲν γάρ ξάπλουτοι ἄνθρωπων ἄνολβιοι εἰσί, πολλοὶ δὲ μετρίως ἔχοντες βίου εὐτυχεῖς. ο μὲν δὴ μέγα πλούσιος ἄνολβιος δὲ δυσίσε προέχει τοῦ εὐτυχέους μοῦνον, οὕτως δὲ τοῦ πλουσίου καὶ ἄνολβου πολλοίσι· ο μὲν ἐπιθυμήν ἐκτελέσαι καὶ ἅτην μεγάλην προσπεσοῦσαν ἑνείκαι δυνατῶτερος, δὲ τούσιδε προέχει ἕκεινον ἅτην μὲν καὶ ἐπιθυμήν οὐκ ὁμοίως δυνατός ἐκεῖνω ἑνείκαι, ταῦτα δὲ ἡ εὐτυχία οἱ ἀπερίκει, ἄπηρος δὲ ἐστὶ, ἄνουσος, ἀπαθὴς κακῶν, εὐπαιρε, εὐεδίης. εἰ δὲ πρὸς τούτους ἐτὶ τελευτήσει τὸν βίον εὐ, οὕτως ἑκεῖνος τὸν σὺ ξητέεις, ὁ ὀλβιός κεκλήσθαι άξιος ἐστὶ· πρὸν δὲ ἄν τελευτήσῃ, ἐπισχέεν, μηδὲ καλέειν κω ὀλβιον ἀλλ᾽ εὐτυχέα. τὰ πάντα μὲν νυν ταῦτα

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second year be lengthened by a month so that the seasons and the calendar may rightly accord, then the intercalary months are five and thirty, over and above the seventy years: and the days of these months are one thousand and fifty; so then all the days together of the seventy years are seen to be twenty-six thousand two hundred and fifty; and one may well say that no one of all these days is like another in that which it brings. Thus then, Croesus, the whole of man is but chance. Now if I am to speak of you, I say that I see you very rich and the king of many men. But I cannot yet answer your question, before I hear that you have ended your life well. For he who is very rich is not more blest than he who has but enough for the day, unless fortune so attend him that he ends his life well, having all good things about him. Many men of great wealth are unblest, and many that have no great substance are fortunate. Now the very rich man who is yet unblest has but two advantages over the fortunate man, but the fortunate man has many advantages over the rich but unblest: for this latter is the stronger to accomplish his desire and to bear the stroke of great calamity; but these are the advantages of the fortunate man, that though he be not so strong as the other to deal with calamity and desire, yet these are kept far from him by his good fortune, and he is free from deformity, sickness, and all evil, and happy in his children and his comeliness. If then such a man besides all this shall also end his life well, then he is the man whom you seek, and is worthy to be called blest; but we must wait till he be dead, and call him not yet blest, but fortunate. Now
συλλαβείν ἀνθρωπον ἔντα αὐδύνατον ἔστι, ὡσπερ χώρη οὐδεμία καταρκεῖ καὶ πάντα ἐωτή παρέχουσα, ἀλλὰ ἀλλο μὲν ἔχει ἔτερον δὲ ἐπιδιέται· ἦ δὲ ἄν τὰ πλεῖστα ἔχῃ, αὐτὴ ἀρίστη. ὃς δὲ καὶ ἀνθρώπου σῶμα ἐν οὐδὲν αὐτάρκες ἔστ'· τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἔχει, ἀλλού δὲ ἐνδεες ἔστι· ὃς ἄν αὐτῶν πλεῖστα ἐχων διατέλη καὶ ἐπείτα τελευτήσῃ εὐχαρίστως τὸν βίον, οὕτως παρ' ἐμοὶ τὸ οὐνομα τοῦτο ὁ βασιλεὺς δίκαιος ἐστι φέρεσθαι. σκοπεῖειν δὲ χρῆ παντὸς χρήματος τῆς τελευτήν, κῇ ἀποβηγεταὶ πολλοῖς γὰρ ἡ ὑποδέξας ὅλβον ὁ θεὸς προβιγοῦς ἀνέτρεψε."  

33. Ταῦτα λέγων τῷ Κροῖσῳ οὔ κως οὔτε ἐχαρίζετο, οὔτε λόγου μιν ποιησάμενος οὐδενὸς ἀποπέμπτεται, κάρτα δόξας ἀμαθεὰ εἶναι, ὃς τὰ παρεόντα ἀγαθὰ μετεῖν τὴν τελευτὴν παντὸς χρήματος ὀρᾶν ἐκέλευς.

34. Μετὰ δὲ Σόλωνα οἶχομενον ἔλαβε ἐκ θεοῦ νέμεσις μεγάλη Κροῖσον, ὡς εἰκάσαι, ὅτι ἐνόμισε ἐωτὸν εἶναι ἀνθρώπων ἀπάντων ὁλβιῶσαν. αὐτικά δὲ οἱ εὔδουτι ἐπέστη ὁνειρος, ὅς οἱ τὴν ἀληθείαν ἔφαινε τῶν μελλόντων γενέσθαι κακῶν κατὰ τὸν παιδα. ᾦσαν δὲ τῷ Κροῖσῳ δύο παῖδες, τῶν οὕτος μὲν διέφτατο, ἡν γὰρ ἡ κωφός, ὃ δὲ ἔτερος τῶν ἡλίκων μακρὸ τὰ πάντα πρῶτος οὐνομα δὲ οἱ ἡ "Ατυς. τοῦτον δὴ ὅν τὸν "Ατυν σημαίνει τῷ Κροῖσῳ ὁ ὅνειρος, ὃς ἀπολείει μιν αἰχμῆ σιδηρὴς βληθέντα. ὃ δ' ἐπείτε ἐξηγήρθη καὶ ἐωτῶ λόγου ἔδωκε, καταρρωδήσας τὸν ὅνειρον ἔγεται μὲν τῷ παιδὶ γυναῖκα, ἐωθότα δὲ στρατηγέειν μιν τῶν Λυδῶν οὐδαμὴ ἔτι ἐπὶ τοιούτῳ πρήγμα ἐξέστημε· ἀκόντια δὲ καὶ δοράτια καὶ τά
no one (who is but man) can have all these good things together, just as no land is altogether self-sufficing in what it produces: one thing it has, another it lacks, and the best land is that which has most; so too no single person is sufficient for himself: one thing he has, another he lacks; but whoever continues in the possession of most things, and at last makes a gracious end of his life, such a man, O King, I deem worthy of this title. We must look to the conclusion of every matter, and see how it shall end, for there are many to whom heaven has given a vision of blessedness, and yet afterwards brought them to utter ruin.”

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

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

35. "Εχωντι ¹ δὲ οἱ ἐν χερσὶ τοῦ παιδὸς τῶν γάμων, ἀπεκνεῖεται ἐς τὰς Σάρδις ἀνὴρ συμφορῆ ἐχόμενος καὶ οὐ καθαρὸς χεῖρας, ἐὼν Φρυξ μὲν γενέῃ, γένεος δὲ τοῦ βασιλέων. παρελθὼν δὲ οὗτος ἐς τὰ Κροῖσον οἰκίᾳ κατὰ νόμους τοὺς ἐπιχωρίους καθαροῖόν ἐδέετο κυρῆσαι, Κροῖσος δὲ μὲν ἐκάθηρε. ἔστι δὲ παραπλησίη ἡ καθαρσίς τοῖσι Λυδοῖς καὶ τοῖσι Ἑλλησί. ἐπείτε δὲ τὰ νομίζομεν ζητόνησε ὁ Κροῖσος, ἐπνυθάνετο ὁκόθεν τε καὶ τίς εἶν, λέγων τάδε: ""Ω σωματοπτε, τίς τε ἐὼν καὶ κόθεν τῆς Φρυγίης ἥκων ἐπιστίος μοι ἐγένεο; τίνα τε ἀνδρὸν ἢ γυναικὸν ἑφόνευσας;" ὁ δὲ ἀμείβετο ""Ω βασιλεῦ, Γορδίεω μὲν τοῦ Μίδεω εἰμὶ παῖς, ὁνομάζομαι δὲ ὁ Ἀδρηστός, φονεύσας δὲ ἀδελφεῖν ἐμεωντοῦ ἄεκων πάρειμι ἑξεληλαμένος τε ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ ἐστερημένος πάντων." Κροῖσος δὲ μὲν ἀμείβετο τοῦσιδε: ""Ἀνδρῶν τε φίλων τυχχάνεις ἐκγονος ἐὼν καὶ ἐληλυθάς ἐς φίλους, ἐνθα ἀμηχανήσεις χρήματος οὖνδεὸς μένων ἐν ἡμετέροις, συμφορῆ τε ταύτην ὡς κουφότατα φέρων κερδανέεις πλεῖστον." 36. "Ο μὲν δὴ διάιταν ἐίχε ἐν Κροῖσοι. ἐν δὲ τῷ αὐτῷ χρόνῳ τούτῳ ἐν τῷ Μυσίω Ὁλύμπῳ ὅς χρήμα γίνεται μέγα: ὁμομένους δὲ οὕτος ἐκ τοῦ ὅρεως τούτῳ τὰ τῶν Μυσῶν ἔργα διαφθείρεσκε. πολλάκις δὲ οἱ Μυσοὶ ἐπ' αὐτῶν ἐξελθόντες

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

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

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

¹ Or, perhaps, "in the women's quarters."
ποιέσκον μὲν κακὸν οὐδέν, ἔπασχον δὲ πρὸς αὐτὸν. τέλος δὲ ἀπικόμενοι παρὰ τὸν Κροῖσον τῶν Μυσῶν ἀγγέλου ἐλεγον τάδε. "Ὡς βασιλεὺς, ὑδες χρῆμα μέγιστον ἀνεφάνη ἡμῖν ἐν τῇ χώρῃ, ὅσ τὰ ἐργα διαφθείρει. τούτων προθυμεόμενοι ἐλείν οὐ δυνάμεθα. νῦν ὅπως προσδεόμεθα σει τὸν παῖδα καὶ λογάδας νεηρίας καὶ κύνας συμπέμψαι ἡμῖν, ὡς ἂν μὴν ἔξελωμεν ἐκ τῆς χώρης." οἱ μὲν δὲ τούτων ἐδέοντο, Κροῖσος δὲ μυθομενόν τοῦ ὅνειρου τὰ ἔστε ελεγές σφι τάδε. "Παιδὸς μὲν πέρι τοῦ ἐμοῦ μὴ μνησθήτε ἐτί, οὐ γὰρ ἂν ἡμῖν συμπέμψαιμι νεόγαμος τε γὰρ ἔστι καὶ ταῦτα οἱ νῦν μέλει. Λυθῶν μέντοι λογάδας καὶ τὸ κυνηγείόν πάν συμπέμψω, καὶ διακελεύσομαι τοίς ἱοῦσι εἰναι ὡς προθυμοτάυτοι συνεξελείν ἡμῖν τὸ θηρίον ἐκ τῆς χώρης."

37. Ταῦτα ἀμείψατο· ἀποχρεωμένων δὲ τούτωι τῶν Μυσῶν, ἐπεσέρχεται ο ὁ τοῦ Κροῖσον παῖς ἀκηκοῶς τῶν ἐδέοντο οἱ Μυσοῖ. οὐ φαμένον δὲ τοῦ Κροῖσον τὸν γε παῖδα σφι συμπέμψειν, λέγει πρὸς αὐτὸν ὁ νεηρῶς τάδε. "Ὡς πάτερ, τὰ κάλλιστα πρὸτερον κοτὲ καὶ γενναιότατα ἡμῖν ἦν ἐς τε πολέμους καὶ ἐς ἄγρας φοιτέοντας εὐδοκιμέειν νῦν δὲ ἀμφότεροι με τούτων ἀπόκλησις ἐχεις, οὕτε τινὰ δειλίν ποιεῖν μοι παριδῶν οὕτε ἀθυμίην νῦν τε τέοσι με χρῆ ὃμμασι ἐς τε ἀγορὴν καὶ ἐς ἁγορῆς φοιτέοντα φαίνεσθαι; κοίος μὲν τις τοῖς πολιήτρις δόξω εἰναι, κοίος δὲ τῆς ἑοργίμων γυναικῆς; κοίο δὲ ἐκείνη δόξει ἀνδρὶ συνοικεῖειν; ἐμὲ ὡν σὺ ἡ μέτες ἑναι ἐπὶ τῆς θήρην, ἡ λόγῳ ἀνάπεισον ὅκας μοι ἀμείνω ἐστὶ ταύτα οὕτα ποιεόμενα."
him: but they never did him any harm and rather were themselves hurt thereby. At last they sent messengers to Croesus, with this message: "King, a great monster of a boar has appeared in the land, who destroys our fields; for all our attempts, we cannot kill him; now therefore, we beseech you, send with us your son, and chosen young men and dogs, that we may rid the country of him." Such was their entreaty, but Croesus remembered the prophecy of his dream and thus answered them: "Say no more about my son: I will not send him with you: he is newly married, and that is his present business. But I will send chosen men of the Lydians, and all the hunt, and I will bid those who go to use all zeal in aiding you to rid the country of this beast."

37. So he replied, and the Mysians were satisfied with this. But the son of Croesus now came in, who had heard the request of the Mysians; and when Croesus refused to send his son with them, "Father," said the young man, "it was formerly held fairest and noblest that we princes should go constantly to war and the chase and win thereby renown; but now you have barred me from both of these, not for any sign that you have seen in me of a coward or craven spirit. With what face can I thus show myself whenever I go to and from the market-place? What will the men of the city think of me, and what my new-wedded wife? With what manner of man will she think that she dwells? Nay, do you either let me go to this hunt, or show me by reason good that what you are doing is best for me."

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38. Ἅμειβεται Κροίσος τούσιδε. "Ὡς παῖ, οὐτὲ δειλίνων οὐτὲ ἄλλο οὐδὲν ἄχαρι παριδών τοι ποιέω ταῦτα, ἀλλὰ μοι ὤψις οὐνεῖρον ἐν τῷ ὑπνῷ ἐπιστάσα ἐφή σε ὀλυγχρόνουν ἐσεθαι. ὑπὸ γὰρ αἰχμῆς σιδηρῆς ἀπολέεσθαι. πρὸς δὲ τὴν ὤψιν ταύτην τὸν τε γάμων τοι τοῦτων ἐσπευσα καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ παραλαμβανόμενα οὐκ ἀποπέμπω, φυλακὴν ἔχων, εἰ κως δυναίμην ἐπὶ τῆς ἐμῆς σε ξύπις διακλέψαί. εἰς γὰρ μοῦ μοῦνος τυγχάνεις ἐώς παῖς τὸν γὰρ δὴ ἐτερον διεφθαρμένον τὴν ἀκοίνη οὐκ εἶναι μοι λογίζομαι."

39. Ἅμειβεται ὁ νευνής τούσιδε. "Συγγνώμη μὲν ὁ πάτερ τοι, ἴδοντι γε ὤψιν τοιαύτην, περὶ ἐμὲ φυλακὴν ἔχειν τὸ δὲ οὐ μανθάνεις ἀλλὰ λέληθε σε τὸ ὄνειρον, ἐμὲ τοι δίκαιον ἐστὶ φράξειν. φῆς τοὶ τὸ ὄνειρον ὑπὸ αἰχμῆς σιδηρῆς φάναι ἐμὲ τελευτήσειν ύσ τὸ δὲ κοίλας μὲν εἰς χεῖρες, κοίλας δὲ αἰχμῆ σιδηρῆς τὴν συ φοβεάι; εἰ μὲν γὰρ ὑπὸ ὀδόντος τοι εἰπε τελευτήσειν με, ἥ ἄλλου τευ τὸ τοῦτῳ ἐοικε, χρῆν δὴ σε ποιέειν τὰ ποιεῖεις νῦν δὲ ὑπὸ αἰχμῆς. ἐπείτε δὲν οὐ πρὸς ἄνδρας ἡμῖν γίνεται ἡ máχη, μέτες με."

40. Ἅμειβεται Κροίσος "Ὡς παῖ, ἐστὶ τῇ μὲ μικρᾶς γνώμην ἀποφαίνων περὶ τοῦ ἐνυπνίου. ὡς δὲν νεκρηκμένος ὑπὸ σεο μεταγινώσκομεν, μετίημι τε σῇ ἐναι ἐπὶ τὴν ἀγρίνη."  

41. Εἶπας δὲ ταῦτα ὁ Κροίσος μεταπέμπεται τὸν Φρύγα Ἀδρηστον, ἀπικομένῳ δὲ οἱ λέγει τάδε. "Ἀδρηστε, ἐγὼ σε συμφορῇ πεπληγμένων ἄχαρι, τὴν τοι οὐκ ὄνειδίζω, ἐκάθηρα καὶ οἰκίουσι υποδεξάμενος ἔχω, παρέχων πᾶσαν δαπάνην. νῦν οὖν (ὀθείλεις γὰρ ἐμοὶ προποιήσαντοι χρήστα) ἐς
38. "My son," answered Croesus, "if I do this, it is not that I have seen cowardice or aught unseemly in you; no, but the vision of a dream stood over me in my sleep, and told me that your life should be short, for you should be slain by a spear of iron. It is for that vision that I was careful to make your marriage, and send you on no enterprise that I have in hand, but keep guard over you, so that haply I may trick death of you through my lifetime. You are my only son: for that other, since his hearing is lost to him, I count no son of mine."

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

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

41. Having said this, Croesus sent for Adrastus the Phrygian and when he came thus addressed him: "Adrastus, when you were smitten by grievous misfortune, for which I blame you not, it was I who cleansed you, and received and still keep you in my house, defraying all your charges. Now therefore (as you owe me a return of good service for the benefits
σὲ χρηστοίσι με ἀμείβεσθαι) φύλακα παιδὸς σὲ τοῦ ἐμοῦ χρηΐζω γενέσθαι ἐς ἄγρην ὁρμωμένου, μή τινες κατ' ὁδὸν κλώτες κακούργοι ἐπὶ δηλήσι φανέωσι ὑμῖ.
πρὸς δὲ τούτῳ καὶ σὲ τοῖς χρεῶν ἐστὶ ίέναι ἵνθα ἀπολαμπρύνεαι τοῖς ἐργοίς πατρῶιόν τε γάρ τοι ἐστὶ καὶ προσέτι ῥώμῃ ὑπάρχει.

42. Ἀμείβεται ὁ Ἀδρηστος "Ω Βασιλεῦ, ἀλλως μὲν ἔγνω ἢν οὐκ ἦν λέγειον τοίνυν ὅτε γὰρ συμφόρη τοῖς κεχρημένον οἷκος ἐστὶ ὡς ὁμῆλικας εὖ πρήσσοντας ἱέναι, οὔτε τῷ βοῦλεσθαι πάρα, πολλαχή τε ἢν ἵσχον ἐμεωτὸν. νῦν δὲ, ἐπείτε σὺ σπεύδεις καὶ δεῖ τοῖς χαρίζεσθαι (οφειλο γὰρ σὲ ἀμείβεσθαι χρηστοῖσι), ποιεῖν εἰμὶ ἐγοίμος ταύτα, παῖδα τε σὸν, τὸν διακελεύεις φυλάσσειν, ἀπήμονα τοῦ φυλάσσοντος εἶνεκεν προσδόκα τοι ἀπονοστήσειν.

43. Τοιούτοις ἐπείτε οὕτος ἀμείβατο Κροῦσον, ἧναν μετὰ ταύτα ἐξηρτυμένου λογίσι τε νευκύσι καὶ κυσί. ἀπικόμενοι δὲ ἐς τὸν Ὅλυμπον τὸ ὀρός ἐξῆτεν τὸ θηρίων, εὐρούντες δὲ καὶ περιστάντες αὐτὸ κύκλῳ ἐσηκοντίζον. ἐνθα δὴ ὁ ἄεινος, οὕτος δὴ ὁ καθαρθείς τὸν φόνον, καλεόμενος δὲ Ἀδρηστος, ἀκοντίζον τὸν ὑν τοῦ μὲν ἀμαρτάνει, τυγχάνει δὲ τοῦ Κροῦσου παῖδος. ὁ μὲν δὴ βληθείς τῇ αἰχμῇ ἐξέπλησε τοῦ ὄνειρον τὴν φήμην, ἐθεὲ δὲ τὶς ἀγγελέων τῷ Κροῦσῳ τὸ γεγονός, ἀπικόμενος δὲ ἐς τὰς Σάρδας τὴν τε μάχην καὶ τὸν τοῦ παιδὸς μόρον ἐσήμενε οἱ.

44. Ὁ δὲ Κροῦσος τῷ θανάτῳ τοῦ παιδὸς συντεταραγμένος μᾶλλον τι ἐξευνολογεῖστο ὅτι μὲν ἀπέκτεινε τὸν αὐτὸς φόνου ἐκάθηρε ἐπειμεκτέων

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which I have done you) I ask you to watch over my son as he goes out to the chase. See to it that no ruffian robbers meet you on the way, to do you harm. Moreover it is but right that you too should go where you can win renown by your deeds. That is fitting for your father's son; and you are strong enough withal."

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

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

44. Croesus, distraught by the death of his son, cried out the more vehemently because the slayer was one whom he himself had cleansed of a bloody
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δὲ τῇ συμφορῇ δεινῶς ἐκάλεε μὲν Δία καθάρσιον μαρτυρόμενος τὰ ὑπὸ τοῦ ξείνου πεποιθὼς εἰὴ ἐκάλεε δὲ ἐπίστιον τε καὶ ἐταιρήμιον, τὸν αὐτὸν τοῦτον ὅνομάζων θεόν, τὸν μὲν ἐπίστιον καλέων, διότι δὴ οἷκεσι υποδεξάμενος τὸν ξείνου φονέα τοῦ παιδὸς ἐλάνθανε βόσκου, τὸν δὲ ἐταιρήμιον, ὡς φύλακα συμπέμψας αὐτὸν εὐρήκοι πολεμιῶτατον.

45. Παρῆσαν δὲ μετὰ τοῦτο οἱ Λυδοὶ φέροντες τὸν νεκρόν, ὅπισθε δὲ εἰπέτο οἱ ὁ φονεύς. στὰς δὲ οὕτος πρὸ τοῦ νεκροῦ παρεδίδου ἐωυτὸν Κροῖσῳ προτείνων τὰς χειρὰς, ἔπικατασφάξας μιν κελεύων τῷ νεκρῷ, λέγων τὴν τε προτέρην ἐωυτοῦ συμφορῆν, καὶ ὡς ἐπ’ ἐκείνῃ τὴν καθήραντα ἀπολογλεκῶς εἶη, οὐδὲ οἱ εἰῆ βιώσιμον. Κροῖσος δὲ τοῦτων ἄκούσας τὸν τε "Ἀδρηστὸν κατοικτείρει, καίπερ ἐὼν ἐν κακῷ οἰκημίῳ τοσοῦτο καὶ λέγει πρὸς αὐτόν "Εἷς ὁ ξείνως παρὰ σεῦ πᾶσαν τὴν δίκην, ἔπειδὴ σεωτοῦ καταδικάζεις θάνατον. εἰς δὲ οὐ σὺ μοι τοῦδε τοῦ κακοῦ αἴτιος, εἰ μὴ ὅσον ἀέκων ἐξεργάσασο, ἀλλὰ θεῶν κοῦ τις, ὅς μοι καὶ πάλαι προεσῆμαυς τὰ μέλλοντα ἔσεσθαι." Κροῖσος μὲν νυν ἐθαψε ὡς οἰκὸς ἢν τὸν ἐωυτοῦ παῖδα. Ἄδρηστος δὲ ὁ Γορδίεως τοῦ Μίδεω, οὕτος δὴ ὁ φονεὺς μὲν τοῦ ἐωυτοῦ ἄδελφου γενόμενος φονεύς δὲ τοῦ καθήραντος, ἐπείτε ἡσυχία τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐγένετο περὶ τὸ σῆμα, συγγίνωσκόμενος ἀνθρώπων εἶναι τοῖς αὐτῶς ἦδεε βαρυσυμφορῶτατος, ἔπικατασφάξει τῷ τύμβῳ ἐωυτών.

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

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

46. Croesus, after the loss of his son, sat in deep
κατηστο τοῦ παιδὸς ἐστερημένως. μετὰ δὲ ἡ Ἀστυάγεος τοῦ Κυαξάρεω ἡγεμονίᾳ καταστρεφθεῖσα ὑπὸ Κύρου τοῦ Καμβύσεω καὶ τὰ τῶν Περσέων πρήγματα αὐξανόμενα πένθεος μὲν Κροίσον ἀπέπαυσε, ἐνεβήσε δὲ ἐς φρουτίδα, εἰ κως δύναυτο, πρὶν μεγάλους γενέσθαι τοὺς Πέρσας, καταλαβεῖν αὐτῶν αὐξανομένην τὴν δύναμιν. μετὰ δὲ τὴν διάνοιαν ταύτην αὐτίκα ἀπεπειράτο τῶν μαντηῶν τῶν τε ἐν Ἕλληνι καὶ τοῦ ἐν Διβύῃ, διαπέμψας ἄλλους ἄλλη, τοὺς μὲν ἐς Δελφοὺς ἤναι, τοὺς δὲ ἐς Ἀβαὶς τὰς Φωκέων, τοὺς δὲ ἐς Δωδώνην· οἱ δὲ τινὲς ἐπέμπουν πάρα τε Ἀμφιάρεων καὶ παρὰ Τροφώνιον, οἱ δὲ τῆς Μελησίης ἐς Βραγχίδας. ταύτα μὲν νυν τὰ Ἕλληνικὰ μαντήματα ἐς τὰ ἀπεπεμψε μαντευσόμενοι Κροίσος· Διβύης δὲ παρὰ Ἀμμώνα ἀπεστέλλε ἄλλους χρησομένους. διέστημε δὲ πειρώμενος τῶν μαντηῶν ὁ τι φρονέοιν, ὡς εἰ φρονέοντα τὴν ἀληθείαν εὑρεθεῖν, ἐπείρητα σφέα δεύτερα πέμποντο εἰ ἐπιχειρεῖοι ἐπὶ Πέρσας στρατεύεσθαι.

47. Ἐνετειλάμενος δὲ τοῖς Λυδοῖς τάδε ἀπέπεμπτε ἐς τὴν διάπειραν τῶν χρηστηρίων, ἀπ’ ὅς ἂν ἡμέρης ἀρμηθέωσι ἐκ Σαρδίων, ἀπὸ ταύτης ἡμερολογέοντας τὸν λοιπὸν χρόνον ἐκατοστῇ ἡμέρῃ χρᾶσθαι τοῖς χρηστηρίοις, ἐπειρωτώντας ὃ τι ποιέω τυγχάνοι ὁ Λυδῷ βασιλεὺς Κροίσος ὁ Ἀλιάττεως· ἀσσα δ’ ἂν ἐκαστὰ τῶν χρηστηρίων θεσπίσῃ, συγγραφαμένους ἀναφέρειν παρ’ ἐωτόν. ὁ τι μὲν νυν τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν χρηστηρίων ἔθεσπισε, οὐ λέγεται πρὸς οὐδαμῶν· ἐν δὲ Δελφοῖς ὡς ἐσῆλθον τάχιστα ἐς τὸ μέγαρον οἱ Λυδοὶ χρησομενοὶ τῷ θεῷ καὶ ἐπειρώτων τὸ ἐντεταλμένον, ἡ Πυθίη ἐν ἐξαμέτρῳ τοὺς λέγει τάδε.
sorrow for two years. After this time, the destruction by Cyrus son of Cambyses of the sovereignty of Astyages son of Cyaxares, and the growth of the power of the Persians, caused him to cease from his mourning; and he resolved, if he could, to forestall the increase of the Persian power before they grew to greatness. Having thus determined, he straightway made trial of the Greek and Libyan oracles, sending messengers separately to Delphi, to Abae in Phocia, and to Dodona, while others again were despatched to Amphiarasus and Trophonius, and others to Branchidae in the Milesian country. These are the Greek oracles to which Croesus sent for divination: and he bade others go to inquire of Ammon in Libya. His intent in sending was to test the knowledge of the oracles, so that, if they should be found to know the truth, he might send again and ask if he should take in hand an expedition against the Persians.

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

1 That is, to the oracular shrines of these legendary heroes.
Οίδα δ' ἐγώ ψάμμων τ' ἀριθμὸν καὶ μέτρα θαλάσσης,
kαὶ κωφοῦ συνίημι, καὶ οὐ φωνεύτως ἀκούω.

48. Ταῦτα οἱ Δυνοὶ θεσπισάσης τῆς Πυθίης
συγγραψάμενοι οἶχοντο ἀπίοντες ἐς τὰς Σάρδις.

ὁδημή μ' ἐς φρένας ἦλθε κραταιρῖνοι χελώνης
ἐψομένης ἐν χαλκῷ ἀμ' ἀρνείοις κρεεσσι,

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

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

49. Such then was the answer from Delphi delivered to Croesus. As to the reply which the Lydians received from the oracle of Amphiaras when they had followed the due custom of the temple, I cannot say what it was, for nothing is recorded of it, saving that Croesus held that from this oracle too he had obtained a true answer.
50. Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα θυσίηςι μεγάλησι τὸν ἐν Δελφοῖς θεὸν ἵλασκετο· κτήμει τε γὰρ τὰ θύσιμα πάντα τρισχίλια ἐθυσε, κλίνας τε ἐπιχρύσους καὶ ἐπαργύρους καὶ φιάλας χρυσέας καὶ εἴματα πορφύρεα καὶ κιθώνας, νήσας πυρὴν μεγάλην, κατέκαιε, ἐπιζων τὸν θεὸν μᾶλλον τι τούτως ἀνακτήσειςθαι· Λυδοὶς τε πᾶσι προείπε θύειν πάντα τινὰ αὐτῶν τούτῳ ὁ τι ἔχοι ἐκαστος; ὡς δὲ ἐκ τῆς θυσίης ἐγένετο, καταχεῖμενος χρυσὸν ἀπλετον ἡμιπλινθία ἐξ αὐτοῦ ἐξῆλαυνε, ἐπὶ μὲν τὰ μακρότερα ποιέων ἐξαιπάλαιστα, ἐπὶ δὲ τὰ βραχύτερα τριπάλαιστα, ὑψὸς δὲ παλαισταία. ἀριθμὸν δὲ ἐπτακαίδεκα καὶ ἐκατόν, καὶ τούτων ἀπέφθου χρυσοῦ τέσσερα, τρίτον ἡμιτάλαντον ἐκαστον ἐλκουντα, τὰ δὲ ἄλλα ἡμιπλινθία λευκοῦ χρυσοῦ, σταθμὸν διτάλαντα. ἐποίετο δὲ καὶ λέοντος εἰκόνα χρυσοῦ ἀπέφθου ἐλκουσαν σταθμὸν τάλαντα δέκα. οὗτος ο λέων, ἐπείτε κατεκαίετο ὁ ἐν Δελφοῖς νήσος, κατέπεσε ἀπὸ τῶν ἡμιπλινθιῶν (ἐπὶ γὰρ τούτους ἱδρυτο), καὶ νῦν κεῖται ἐν τῷ Κορινθίων θησαυρῷ, ἑλκων σταθμὸν ἐβδομον ἡμιτάλαντων ἀπετάκη γὰρ αὐτοῦ τέταρτον ἡμιτάλαντον.

51. Ἐπιτελέσας δὲ ὁ Κροίσος ταῦτα ἀπέπεμπε ἐς Δελφοὺς, καὶ τάδε ἄλλα ἄμα τοῖς, κρητήρας δύο μεγάθει μεγάλους, χρύσεους καὶ ἀργύρεους, τῶν ὁ μὲν χρύσεως ἐκεῖτο ἐπὶ δεξιὰ ἐσιόντι ἐς τῶν νῆων, ὁ δὲ ἀργύρεος ἐπὶ ἀριστερά. μετεκινήθησαν δὲ καὶ οὕτω ὑπὸ τῶν νηῶν κατακαέντα, καὶ ὁ μὲν χρύσεως κεῖται ἐν τῷ Κλαξομενίων θησαυρῷ, ἑλκων σταθμὸν εἵνατον ἡμιτάλαντον καὶ ἅτι δυῶ-δεκα μνέας, ὁ δὲ ἀργύρεος ἐπὶ τοῦ προνήμου τῆς
50. After this, he strove to win the favour of the Delphian god with great sacrifices. He offered up three thousand beasts from each kind fit for sacrifice, and he burnt on a great pyre couches covered with gold and silver, golden goblets, and purple cloaks and tunics; by these means he hoped the better to win the aid of the god, to whom he also commanded that every Lydian should sacrifice what he could. When the sacrifice was over, he melted down a vast store of gold and made of it ingots of which the longer sides were of six and the shorter of three palms' length, and the height was one palm. These were an hundred and seventeen in number. Four of them were of refined gold, each weighing two talents and a half; the rest were of gold with silver alloy, each of two talents' weight. He bade also to be made a figure of a lion of refined gold, weighing ten talents. When the temple of Delphi was burnt, this lion fell from the ingots which were the base whereon it stood; and now it lies in the treasury of the Corinthians, but weighs only six talents and a half, for the fire melted away three and a half talents.

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

\(^1\) \(\mu\nu\dot{a} = \text{about 15 oz. Troy weight.}\)
γωνίας, χωρέων ἀμφορέας ἔξακοσίους· ἐπικύρναται γὰρ ὑπὸ Δελφῶν θεοφανίοιοι. φασὶ δὲ μὲν Δελφὸι Θεοδώρον τοῦ Σαμίου ἔργον εἶναι, καὶ ἐγὼ δοκέω· οὗ γὰρ τὸ συντυχὸν φαινεται μοι ἔργον εἶναι. καὶ πίθους τε ἄργυρους τέσσερας ἀπέπεμψε, οἱ ἐν τῷ Κορινθίων θησαυρῷ ἑστάσι, καὶ περιρραντήρια δύο ἀνέθηκε, χρύσεον τε καὶ ἄργυρους, τῶν τῶν χρυσέω ἐπιγέγραπται Δακεδαιμονίων φαμένων εἶναι ἀνάθημα, οὐκ ὅρθως λέγοντες· ἔστι γὰρ καὶ τοῦτο Κροίσου, ἐπέγραψε δὲ τῶν τοῖς Δελφῶν Δακεδαιμονίοισι βουλόμενος χαρίζεσθαι, τοῦ ἐπιστάμενος τὸ οὖνομα οὐκ ἐπιμνήσομαι. ἀλλ’ ὁ μὲν παις, ἄδικ’ οὗ τῆς χειρὸς ἰταί τὸ ὑδωρ, Δακεδαιμονίων ἐστὶ, οὐ μέντοι τῶν γε περιρραντήριων οὐδέτερον. ἀλλὰ τα ἀναθήματα οὐκ ἐπίσημα πολλὰ ἀπέπεμψε ἀμα τούτοισι ὁ Κροίσος, καὶ χεύματα ἄργυρα κυκλοτερέα, καὶ δῆ καὶ γυναικὸς εἰδωλον χρύσεον τρίπηχυ, τὸ Δελφὸι τῆς ἄρτοκόπου τῆς Κροίσου εἰκόνα λέγουσι εἶναι. πρὸς δὲ καὶ τῆς ἐωυτοῦ γυναικὸς τὰ ἀπὸ τῆς δειρῆς ἀνέθηκε ὁ Κροίσος καὶ τὰς ζώνας.

52. Ταύτα μὲν ἐς Δελφοὺς ἀπέπεμψε, τῷ δὲ Ἀμφιάρεω, πυθόμενος αὐτοῦ τὴν τε ἀρετὴν καὶ τὴν πάθην, ἀνέθηκε σάκος τε χρύσεον πάν ὀμοίως καὶ αἰχμή στερεὰν πᾶσαν χρυσέην, τὸ ξυστὸν τῆς λόγχησι ἐδώ ὀμοίως χρύσεως τὰ ἐτὶ καὶ ἀμφότερα ἐς ἐμὲ ἥν καὶ ἡμέραν ἐν Θήβῃ καὶ Ἡθεῖων ἐν τῷ νηῷ τοῦ Ἱσμηνίου Ἀπόλλωνος.

53. Τοῖοι δὲ ἄγευν μελλοντι τῶν Λυδῶν ταύτα τὰ δώρα ἐς τὰ ἱρὰ ἐνετέλλετο ὁ Κροίσος ἐπειρωτᾶν τὰ χρηστήρια εἰ στρατεύεσθαι ἐπὶ Πέρσας Κροίσος καὶ εἰ τινὰ στρατὸν ἄνδρῶν προσθέοιτο φίλον,
bowl holds six hundred nine-gallon measures: for the Delphians use it for a mixing-bowl at the feast of the Divine Appearance.\textsuperscript{1} It is said by the Delphians to be the work of Theodorus of Samos, and I believe them, for it seems to me to be of no common workmanship. Moreover, Croesus sent four silver casks, which stand in the treasury of the Corinthians, and dedicated two sprinkling-vessels, one of gold, one of silver. The golden vessel bears the inscription "Given by the Lacedaemonians," who claim it as their offering. 'But they are wrong, for this, too, is Croesus' gift. The inscription was made by a certain Delphian, whose name I know but will not reveal, out of his desire to please the Lacedaemonians. The figure of a boy, through whose hand the water runs, is indeed a Lacedaemonian gift; but they did not give either of the sprinkling-vessels. Along with these Croesus sent, besides many other offerings of no great mark, certain round basins of silver, and a golden female figure three cubits high, which the Delphians assert to be the statue of the woman who was Croesus' baker. Moreover he dedicated his own wife's necklaces and girdles.

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

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

\textsuperscript{1} The Theophania was a festival at Delphi, at which the statues of gods were shown.
ὁς δὲ ἀπικόμενοι ἐστά ὑπεπέμφθησαν οἱ Λυδοὶ ἀνέθεσαν τὰ ἀναθήματα, ἔχρεωντο τοῖς ἱερηστηρίοις λέγοντες "Κροῖσος ὁ Λυδῶν τε καὶ ἄλλων ἐθνῶν βασιλεὺς, νομίσας τάδε μαντήμα ἐνε ἐν ἀνθρώποις, ὡμὴν τε ἄξια δῶρα ἐδώκε τῶν ἔξευρημάτων, καὶ νῦν ὑμέας ἐπειρωτά ἐι στρατεύῃται ἐπὶ Πέρσας καὶ εἴ τινα στρατὸν ἄνδρῶν προσθέουσι σύμμαχον." οὐ μὲν ταῦτα ἐπειρώτων, τῶν δὲ μαντημάτων ἀμφότερων ἐστὶν τῷ ζῷϊ αἰ γνώμαι συνέδραμον, προλέγονται Κροῖσω, ἣν στρατεύῃται ἐπὶ Πέρσας, μεγάλην ἄρχην μὲν καταλύσεως τοὺς δὲ Ἑλλήνων δυνατωτάτους συνεβούλευον οἱ ἔξευρόντα φίλους προσθέσθαι.

54. Ἐπείτε δὲ ἀνενεχθέντα τὰ θεοπρότειν ἐπῶθετο ὁ Κροῖσος, ὑπερήφανος τε τοῖς χρηστηρίοις, πάγχυ τε ἐλπίσας καταλύσειν τὴν Κύρου βασιλείαν, πέμψας αὐτὰς ἐς Πυθῶν Δελφῶς ἄρτοι, πυθόμενος αὐτῶν τὸ πλῆθος, καὶ' ἄνδρα δύο στατήριο διακατον χρυσοῦ. Δελφοὶ δὲ ἀντὶ τοῦτων ἐδόθην Κροῖσῳ καὶ Λυδοῖσι προμαντήμαν καὶ ἀτελείαν καὶ προεδρίαν, καὶ ἔχειν τῷ βουλομένῳ αὐτῶν γίνεσθαι Δελφοῖ ἐς τῶν αἰεὶ χρόνων.

55. Δωρησάμενος δὲ τοὺς Δελφοὺς ὁ Κροῖσος ἐχρηστηριαζέτο στὸ τρίτον ἔπειτε γὰρ δὴ παρέλαβε τοῦ μαντήματο ἀληθείαν, ἐνεφορέστο αὐτοῦ. ἔπειρωτα δὲ τάδε χρηστηριαζόμενος, εἰ οἱ πολυ-
host?" When the Lydians came to the places whither they were sent, they made present of the offerings, and inquired of the oracles, in these words: "Croesus, king of Lydia and other nations, seeing that he deems that here are the only true places of divination among men, endows you with such gifts as your wisdom merits. And now he would ask you, if he shall send an army against the Persians, and if he shall take to himself any allied host." Such was their inquiry; and the judgment given to Croesus by each of the two oracles was the same, to wit, that if he should send an army against the Persians he would destroy a great empire. And they counselled him to discover the mightiest of the Greeks and make them his friends.

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

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

\(^1\) The stater was the common gold coin of the Greek world. The value of Croesus' stater was probably about twenty-three shillings of our money.
χρόνιος ἐσται ἡ μουναρχίη. ἥ δὲ Πυθή οἱ χρᾶ τάδε.

'Αλλ' ὅταν ἡμίονος βασιλεύς Μηδοίςι γένηται, καὶ τότε, Λυδὲ ποδαβρὲ, πολυψηφίδα παρ' Ἔρμον

φεύγειν μηδὲ μένειν μηδ' αἰδεῖσθαι κακῶς εἶναι.

56. Τούτοις ἐλθοῦσι τοῖς ἐπεσει ὁ Κροίσος πολλὸν τι μάλιστα πάντων ἡσθη, ἐλπίζων ἡμίονον οὐδαμὰ ἀντ' ἀνδρὸς βασιλεύσειν Μηδῶν, οὐδ' ὅν αυτὸς οὐδὲ οἱ ἐξ αὐτοῦ παύσησθαι κοτῆ τῆς ἀρχῆς. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἐφρόντιζε ἱστορέων τοὺς ἀν Ἔλληνων δυνατωτάτους ἐόντας προσκτήσαιτο φίλους, ἱστορέων δὲ εὐρισκε Δακεδαιμονίοις καὶ Ἀθηναίοις προέχοντας τοὺς μὲν τοῦ Δωρικοῦ γένεως τοὺς δὲ τοῦ Ἰωνικοῦ. ταῦτα γὰρ ἦν τὰ προκεκριμένα, ἐόντα τὸ ἀρχαῖον τὸ μὲν Πελασγικὸν τὸ δὲ Ἔλληνικὸν ἔθνος. καὶ τὸ μὲν οὐδαμὴ κω ἐξεχώρησε, τὸ δὲ πολυπλάνητον κάρτα. ἔπτε μὲν γὰρ Δευκαλίωνος βασιλέως οἶκεν γῆν τὴν Φθιώτιν, ἔπτε δὲ Δόρον τοῦ "Ελληνος τὴν ὑπὸ τὴν "Οσσαντε καὶ τὸν "Ολυμπον χῶρην, καλεομένην δὲ Ἰστιαιώτιν. ἐκ δὲ τῆς Ἰστιαιώτιδος ὡς ἔξωστη ὑπὸ Καδμείων, οἰκεῖν ἐν Πίνδῳ Μακεδονὸν καλεόμενον ἐνθεύτεν δὲ αὕτις ἐς τὴν Δρυοπίδα μετέβη, καὶ ἐκ τῆς Δρυοπίδος οὔτω ἐς Πελοπόννησον ἐλθὼν Δωρικὸν ἐκλήθη.
duration. To this the Pythian priestess answered as follows:

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

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

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\(^1\) Deucalion and Pyrrha were the survivors of the Deluge as known to Greek legend.

\(^2\) The localities mentioned in the story of the migration into the Peloponnesian are all in northern Greece.
57. "Ἡ ντινα δὲ γυλώσαν ἵεσαν οἱ Πελασγοὶ, οὐκ ἔχω ἀτρεκέως εἰπεῖν. εἰ δὲ χρεόν ἐστι τεκμαίρόμενον λέγειν τοῦτον νῦν ἐτι ἐοῦσι Πελασγῶν τῶν ὑπὲρ Τυρσηνῶν Κρηστώνα πόλιν οἰκεοντων, οὐ ὀμουροὶ κοτὲ ἦραν τοῦτον νῦν Δωριεῦσι καλεομένοισι (οἴκεου δὲ τηνικάυτα γῆν τῆς νῦν Θεσσαλιῶτων καλεομένην), καὶ τῶν Πλακίην τε καὶ Σκυλάκην Πελασγῶν οἰκησάντων ἐν Ἐλλησπόντῳ, οἵ σύνοικοι ἐγένοντο Ἀθηναίοιες, καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα Πελασγικὰ ἑώτα πολίσματο τὸ σύνομα μετέβαλε· εἰ τοῦτοι τεκμαίρομενον δεῖ λέγειν, ἦσαν οἱ Πελασγοὶ βάρβαροι γυλώσαν ἵεντες. εἰ τοῖνυν ἦν καὶ πᾶν τοιοῦτο τὸ Πελασγικὸν, τὸ Ἀττικὸν ἐθνὸς ἐν Πελασγικὸν ἀμα τῇ μεταβολῇ τῇ ἐς Ἐλληνας καὶ τὴν γυλώσαν μετέμαθε. καὶ γὰρ δὴ οὔτε οἱ Κρηστωνίηται οὐδαμοῦσι τῶν νῦν σφέας περιοικεόντων εἰσὶ ομόγλωσσοι οὔτε οἱ Πλακίηνοι, σφίσι δὲ ομόγλωσσοι· δηλοῦσι τε ὅτι τὸν ἱνείκαντο γυλώσῃς χαρακτὴρα μεταβάινοντες ἐς ταῦτα τὰ χωρία, τούτον ἔχουσι ἐν φυλακῇ.

58. Τὸ δὲ Ἐλληνικὸν γυλώσῃ μὲν ἐπεῖτε ἐγένετο αἰεὶ κοτὲ τῇ αὐτῇ διαχράται, ὡς ἐμοὶ καταφαίνεται εἰναι· ἀποσχίσθεν μὲντι ἀπὸ τοῦ Πελασγικοῦ ἐν ἀσθενές, ἀπὸ σμικροῦ τεο τὴν ἄρχην ὀρμώμενον αὔξηται ἐς πλῆθος τῶν ἐθνῶν, Πελασγῶν μάλιστα προσκεχωρηκότων αὐτῷ καὶ ἄλλων ἐθνῶν βαρβάρων συχνῶν. πρόσθε δὲ ὅν ἐμοιγε δοκεῖι οὔτε τὸ Πελασγικὸν ἐθνὸς, ἐν βάρβαρον, οὔδαμὰ μεγάλως αὔξηθήγαι.

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

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

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

1 If these are the Etruscans, then Creston may = Cortona; but the whole matter is doubtful.
Κροῖσος ὑπὸ Πεισιστράτου τοῦ Ἰπποκράτεος τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον τυραννεύοντος Ἀθηναίων. Ἰπποκράτει γὰρ ἐντι ὅδυστῃ καὶ θεωρεύοντι τὰ Ὀλύμπια τέρας ἔγενετο μέγας θύσαντος γὰρ αὐτὸν τὰ ἱρὰ οἱ λέβητες ἐπεστέφησιν καὶ κρέων τε ἐόντες ἐμπλεοῦ καὶ ὑδατὸς ἄνευ πυρὸς ἔξεσαν καὶ ὑπερέβαλον. Χίλων δὲ ὁ Δακεδαιμόνιος παρατυχὼν καὶ θευσάμενος τὸ τέρας συνεβούλευε Ἰπποκράτει πρῶτα μὲν γυναῖκα μή ἀγεσθαι τέκνοποιόν ἐς τὰ σῶια, εἰ δὲ τυγχάνει ἔχων, δεύτερα τὴν γυναῖκα ἐκπέμπειν, καὶ εἴ τις οἱ τυγχάνει ἔως παῖς, τούτῳ ἀπείπασθαι. οὐκὼν ταῦτα παραίσαντος Χίλωνος πείθεσθαι θέλειν τὸν Ἰπποκράτεα· γενέσθαι δὲ ὁ μετὰ ταῦτα τὸν Πεισιστράτον τοῦτον, ὡς στασιαζόντων τῶν παράλων καὶ τῶν ἐκ τοῦ πεδίου Ἀθηναίων, καὶ τῶν ἐν προστετῶτος Μεγακλέος τοῦ Ἀλκμέωνος, τῶν δὲ ἐκ τοῦ πεδίου Δυκούργου Ἀριστολαίδεω, καταφρονήσας τὴν τυραννίδα ἣγειρε τρίτην στάσιν· συλλέξας δὲ στασιώτας καὶ τῷ λόγῳ τῶν ὑπερακρίων προστάς μηχανᾶται τοιάδε. τρωματίσας ἐωντόν τε καὶ ἡμιόνον ἡλάσε ἐς τὴν ἀγορὴν τὸ ζεύγος ὡς ἐκπεφευγός τούς ἐχθρούς, οὐ μὲν ἔλαιοντα ἐς ἄγρον ἡθέλησαν ἀπολέσαν δῆθεν, ἐδεέτο τε τοῦ δήμου φυλακῆς τινος πρὸς αὐτοῦ κυρῆσαι, πρὸς τερον εὐδοκιμῆσας ἐν τῇ πρὸς Μεγαρέας γενουμένῃ στρατηγῆς, Νίκαιάν τε ἐλὼν καὶ ἄλλα ἀποδεξάμενος μεγάλα ἔργα. ὁ δὲ δῆμος ὁ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐξαιπατηθεῖς ἐδωκε οἱ τῶν ἀστῶν καταλέξας ἀνδρας τούτους οἱ δορυφόροι μὲν οὐκ ἐγένοντο Πεισιστράτου, κορυνηφόροι δέ· ξύλων γὰρ κορύνας ἔχοντες ἐνποτό οἱ ὅπισθε. συνεπαναστάντες δὲ 66
into factions by Pisistratus son of Hippocrates, who at that time was sovereign over the Athenians. This Hippocrates was but a private man when a great marvel happened to him as he was at Olympia to see the games: when he had offered the sacrifice, the vessels, standing there full of meat and water, boiled without fire till they overflowed. Chilon the Lacedaemonian, who chanced to be there and saw this marvel, counselled Hippocrates not to take into his house a childbearing wife, if so might be: but if he had one already, then at least to send her away, and if he had a son, to disown him. Hippocrates refused to follow the counsel of Chilon, and presently there was born to him this Pisistratus aforesaid. In course of time there was a feud between the Athenians of the coast under Megacles son of Alcmeon and the Athenians of the plain under Lycurgus son of Aristolaïdes. Pisistratus then, having an eye to the sovereign power, raised up a third faction. He collected partisans and pretended to champion the hillmen; and this was his plan. Wounding himself and his mules, he drove his carriage into the market place with a tale that he had escaped from his enemies, who would have slain him (so he said) as he was driving into the country. So he besought the people that he might have a guard from them: and indeed he had won himself reputation in his command of the army against the Megarians, when he had taken Nisaea and performed other great exploits. Thus deceived, the Athenian people gave him a chosen guard of citizens, of whom Pisistratus made not spearmen but clubmen: for the retinue that followed him bore wooden clubs. These
οὐδὲ ἀμα Πεισιστράτῳ ἔσχον τὴν ἀκρόπολιν. ἔνθα δὴ ὁ Πεισιστράτος ἤρχεται Ἀθηναίοι, οὔτε τιμᾶς τὰς οἴους συνταράξας οὔτε θέσμια μεταλλάξας, ἐπὶ τε τοῖς κατεστεῶσι ἐνεμε ἡν πόλιν κοσμέων καλῶς τε καὶ εὖ.

60. Μετὰ δὲ οὐ πολλὸν χρόνον τῶντὸ φρονήσαντες οἱ τοῦ Μεγακλέος στασιῶτατι καὶ οἱ τοῦ Δυκοῦργον ἔξελαύνουσι μιν. οὔτω μὲν Πεισιστράτος ἐσχε τὸ πρῶτον Ἀθήνας, καὶ τὴν τυραννίδα οὔκο κάρτα ἐρριζωμένην ἔχων ἀπέβαλε. οὐ δὲ ἐξελάσαντες Πεισιστράτον αὐτίς ἐκ νέης ἐπ’ ἀλλήλους ἑστασίασαν. περιελαυνόμενος δὲ τῇ στάσι ὁ Μεγακλέης ἐπεκηρυκεύετο Πεισιστράτῳ, εἰ βούλοιτο οἱ τὴν θυγατέρα ἐξειν γυναῖκα ἐπὶ τῇ τυραννίδι. ἐνδεξαμένου δὲ τῶν λόγων καὶ ὁμολογήσαντος ἐπὶ τούτοις Πεισιστράτον, μηχανῶντας δὴ ἐπὶ τῇ κατόδῳ πρήγμα εὐθεστατον, ὡς ἐγὼ εὐρίσκω, μακρῶ, ἐπεὶ γε ἀπεκρίθη ἐκ παλαιέρου τοῦ βαρβάρου ἔθνεος τὸ Ἐλληνικόν ένυ καὶ δεξιώτερον καὶ εὐθείας ἣλθίον ἀπηλλαγμένον μᾶλλον, εἰ καὶ τότε γε οὔτωι ἐν Ἀθηναίοις τοῖς πρώτοις λεγομένουι εἰναι Ἐλλήνων σοφίην μηχανῶνται τοιάδε. ἐν τῷ δῆμῳ τῷ Παιανίωι ἢν γυνὴ τῇ οὖνομα ἢν Φὑ, μέγαθος ἀπὸ τεσσάρων πηχέων ἀπολείπονσα τρεῖς δακτύλους καὶ ἄλλως εὐειδῆς ταύτην τὴν γυναῖκα σκευάσαντες πανοπλίης, ἐς ἄρμα ἑσβιβάσαντες καὶ προδέξαντες σχῆμα οἶνον τε ἔμελλε εὐπρεπεστατον φανέσθαι ἑχοῦσα, ἡλαυνοὶ ἐς τὸ ἀστύ, προδρόμους κῆρυκας προπέμψαντες· οὐ τὰ ἐντεταλμένα ἡγόρευον ἀπικόμενοι ἐς τὸ ἀστυ, λέγοντες τοιάδε: ὡς Ἄθηναιοι, δέκεσθε ἡγαθῷ νόῳ Πεισιστρατον, τὸν
with Pisistratus rose and took the Acropolis; and Pisistratus ruled the Athenians, disturbing in no way the order of offices nor changing the laws, but governing the city according to its established constitution and ordering all things fairly and well.

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

1 Local division of Attica:
61. Ἀπολαβὼν δὲ τὴν τυραννίδα τρόπῳ τῷ εἰρημένῳ ὁ Πεισίστρατος κατὰ τὴν ὀμολογίαν τὴν πρὸς Μεγακλέα γενομένην γαμεῖ τοῦ Μεγακλέος τὴν θυγατέρα. οἷα δὲ παίδων τέ οἱ υπαρχόντων νευνεών καὶ λεγομένων ἐναγέων εἶναι τῶν Ἀλκμεωνίδεων, οὐ βουλόμενος οἱ γενέσθαι ἐκ τῆς νεογάμου γυναικὸς τέκνα ἐμίσγετο οἱ οὐ κατὰ νόμον. τὰ μὲν νυν πρῶτα ἐκρυπτε ταύτα ἡ γυνή, μετὰ δὲ εἶπε ἱστορεύσῃ εἶτε καὶ οὗ φράζει τῇ ἐωτῆς μητρί, ἢ δὲ τῷ ἀνδρὶ. ὁργῇ δὲ ὡς εἶχε καταλλάσσετο τὴν ἔχθρην τοῦτοι στασιώτησι. μαθὼν δὲ ο Πεισίστρατος τὰ ποιεύμενα ἔτπ᾽ ἐωτῷ ἀπαλλάσσετο ἐκ τῆς χώρης τὸ παράπαν, ἀπικουμένος δὲ ἐς Ἑρέτριαν ἐβουλεύετο ἀμα τούτοι παισί. Ἡπίπεω δὲ γνώμη νικήσαντος ἀνακτᾶσθαι ὑπίσω τὴν τυραννίδα, ἐνθαῦτα ἦγειρον δωτίνας ἐκ τῶν πολίων αὐτίνες σφι προαιρέσθοι κού τι. πολλῶν δὲ μεγάλα παρασχόντων χρήματα, Θηβαίοι ύπερεβάλοντο τῇ δόσι τῶν χρημάτων. μετὰ δὲ, οὐ πολλῷ λόγῳ εἰπεῖν, χρονὸς διέφυ καὶ πάντα σφι ἐξήρτυτο ἐς τὴν κάτοδον καὶ γὰρ Ἀργείωι μισθωτὸς ἀπίκοντο ἐκ Πελοποννήσου, καὶ Νάξιος σφι ἀνήρ ἀπιγμένος ἐθελοντής, τῷ οὖνομα ἧν Δύνδαμις, προθυμίην πλείστην παρεῖχε, κομίσας καὶ χρήματα καὶ ἀνδρας.
herself honoured beyond all men and was bringing back to her own citadel." So the heralds went about and spoke thus: immediately it was reported in the demes that Athene was bringing Pisistratus back, and the townsfolk, persuaded that the woman was indeed the goddess, worshipped this human creature and welcomed Pisistratus.

61. Having won back his sovereignty in the manner which I have shown, Pisistratus married Megacles' daughter according to his agreement with Megacles. But as he had already young sons, and the Alcmeonid family were said to be under a curse, he had no wish that his newly wed wife should bear him children, and therefore had wrongful intercourse with her. At first the woman hid the matter: presently she told her mother (whether being asked or not, I know not) and the mother told her husband. Megacles was very angry that Pisistratus should do him dishonour: and in his wrath he made up his quarrel with the other faction. Pisistratus, learning what was afoot, went by himself altogether away from the country, and came to Eretria, where he took counsel with his sons. The counsel of Hippias prevailing, that they should recover the sovereignty, they set to collecting gifts from all cities which owed them some requital. Many of these gave great sums, the Thebans more than any, and in course of time, not to make a long story, all was ready for their return: for they brought Argive mercenaries from Peloponnesus, and there came also of his own free will a man of Naxos called Lygdamis, who was most zealous in their cause and brought them money and men.
62. Ἐξ Ἐρετρίης δὲ ὀρμηθέντες διὰ ἐνδεκάτου ἑτερος ἀπίκουντο ὑπίσω, καὶ πρῶτον τῆς Ἀττικῆς ἱσχυοσι Μαραθῶνα. ἐν δὲ τούτῳ τῷ χώρῳ σφι στρατοπεδευομένουι οὐ τε ἐκ τοῦ ἀστεος στα- σιῶται ἀπίκουντο ἄλλοι τε ἐκ τῶν δήμων προσ- ἐρρεον, τούσι ή τυραννίας πρὸ ἔλευθερίας ἐν ἀσπα- στότερον. οὕτου μὲν δὴ συνηλίζοντο, Ἀθηναίων δὲ οἱ ἐκ τοῦ ἀστεος, ἔως μὲν Πεισίστρατος τὰ χρήματα ἦγειρε, καὶ μεταύτις ὡς ἑσχε Μαραθῶνα, λόγον οὐδένα εἴχον· ἐπείτε δὲ ἐπύθοντο ἐκ τοῦ Μαραθώνος αὐτοῦ πορεύεσθαι ἐπὶ τὸ ἄστυ, οὕτω δὴ βοηθέουσι ἐπὶ αὐτῶν. καὶ οὕτω τε πανστρατιή ἦσαν ἐπὶ τοὺς κατιόντας, καὶ οἱ ἀμφὶ Πεισίστρατον, ώς ὀρμηθέντες ἐκ Μαραθῶνος ἦσαν ἐπὶ τὸ ἄστυ, ἐς τῶντο συνιόντες ἀπικυ- νέονται ἐπὶ Παλληνίδος Ἀθηναίης ἱρόν, καὶ αὐτία ἐθευτο τὰ ὅπλα. ἐνθαῦτα θεία πομπή χρεώμενος παρίσταται Πεισίστράτῳ Ἀμφίλυτος ὁ Ἀκαρναν χρησμολόγος ἀνήρ, ὃς οἱ προσιών χρῆ ἐν ἐξαμέτρω τόνω τάδε λέγουν:

"Ερριπταὶ δὲ ὁ βόλος, τὸ δὲ δίκτυν ἐκπεπέτασται, θύννοι δὲ οἰμήσονσι σεληναίης διὰ νυκτός."

63. "Ο μὲν δὴ οἱ ἐνθεάζων χρὰ τάδε, Πεισί- στρατος δὲ συλλαβῶν τὸ χρηστήριον καὶ φὰς δέκεσθαι τὸ χρησθὲν ἐπίγει τὴν στρατιήν. Ἀθη- ναῖοι δὲ οἱ ἐκ τοῦ ἀστεος πρὸς ἀριστον τετραμ- μένοι ἦσαν δὴ τηνικάτα, καὶ μετὰ τὸ ἀριστον μετεξέτεροι αὐτῶν οἱ μὲν πρὸς κύβους οἱ δὲ πρὸς ὑπνον. οὐ δὲ ἀμφὶ Πεισίστρατον ἐσπεσόντες τοὺς Ἀθηναίους τράπτουσι. φευγόντων δὲ τούτων βουλὴν ἐνθαῦτα σοφωτάτην Πεισίστρατος ἐπιτε-
62. So after ten years they set out from Eretria and returned home. The first place in Attica which they took and held was Marathon: and while encamped there they were joined by their partisans from the city, and by others who flocked to them from the country demes—men who loved the rule of one more than freedom. These, then, assembled; but the Athenians in the city, who, while Pisistratus was collecting money and afterwards when he had taken Marathon, made no account of it, did now, when they learnt that he was marching from Marathon against Athens, set out to attack him. They came out with all their force to meet the returning exiles. Pisistratus’ men, in their march from Marathon towards the city, encountered the enemy when they had reached the temple of Pallenian Athene, and encamped face to face with them. There (by the providence of heaven) Pisistratus met Amphilytus the Acarnanian, a diviner, who came to him and prophesied as follows in hexameter verses:

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

63. So spoke Amphilytus, being inspired; Pisistratus understood him, and, saying that he received the prophecy, led his army against the enemy. The Athenians of the city had at this time gone to their breakfast, and after breakfast some betook themselves to dicing and some to sleep: they were attacked by Pisistratus’ men and put to flight. So they fled, and Pisistratus devised a very subtle plan to keep
χνάται, ὅκως μήτε ἀλισθείειν ἔτι οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι διεσκεδασμένοι τε εἰεν· ἀναβιβάσας τοὺς παῖδας ἐπὶ ἱπποὺς προσεπεμπέ, οἱ δὲ καταλαμβάνοντες τοὺς φεύγοντας ἔλεγον τὰ ἐντεταλμένα ύπὸ Πεισιστράτου, θαρσεῖν τε κελεύοντες καὶ ἀπίειν ἐκαστὸν ἐπὶ τὰ ἑωυτοῦ.

64. Πειθομένων δὲ τῶν Ἀθηναίων, οὕτω δὴ Πεισιστράτος τὸ τρίτον σχῶν Ἀθήνας ἔρριξε σε τὴν τυρρανίδα ἐπικούροισι τε πολλοῖς καὶ χρημάτων συνόδους, τῶν μὲν αὐτῶν τῶν δὲ ἀπὸ Στρυμόνος ποταμοῦ συνιόταν, ὃμήρους τε τῶν παραμεινάντων Ἀθηναίων καὶ μὴ αὐτίκα φυγόντων παῖδας λαβὼν καὶ καταστήσας ἐς Νάξον (καὶ γὰρ ταύτην ὁ Πεισιστράτος κατεστρέψατο πολέμῳ καὶ ἐπέτρεψε Λυγδάμι), πρὸς τε ἐτι τούτοις τὴν νήσον Δήλου καθήρας ἐκ τῶν λογίων, καθήρας δὲ ὅδε· ἐπὶ ὅσον ἐποψίς τοῦ ἱροῦ ἐἰχε, ἐκ τούτου τοῦ χώρου παντὸς ἐξορύξας τοὺς νεκροὺς μετεφόρεε ἐς ἄλλον χῶρον τῆς Δήλου. καὶ Πεισιστράτος μὲν ἐτυράννευε Ἀθηναίων, Ἀθηναίων δὲ οὐ μὲν ἐν τῇ μάγ' ἐπεπτώκεσαν, οὐ δὲ αὐτῶν μετ' Ἀλκμεωνίδεων ἐφευγόν ἐκ τῆς οἰκήσεως.

65. Τοὺς μὲν νυν Ἀθηναίους τοιαῦτα τὸν χρόνον τούτον ἐπινυθάνετο ὁ Κροίσος κατέχουντα, τοὺς δὲ Δακεδαιμονίους ἐκ κακῶν τε μεγάλων πεφυγότας καὶ ἐόντας ἥδη τῷ πολέμῳ κατυπερτέρους Τεγεητέων. ἐπὶ γὰρ Λέοντος βασιλεύόντος καὶ Ἡγησικλέους ἐν Σπάρτῃ τοὺς ἄλλους πολέμους εὐτυχέοντες οἱ Δακεδαιμόνιοι πρὸς Τεγεητας μοῦνοι προσπέπταν. τὸ δὲ ἐτὶ πρότερον τούτων καὶ κακονομότατοι ἦσαν σχέδων πάντων Ἐλλήνων κατὰ τε σφέας αὐτῶν καὶ ξείνουσι ἀπρόσμενον.
them scattered and prevent their assembling again: he mounted his sons and bade them ride forward: they overtook the fugitives and spoke to them as they were charged by Pisistratus, bidding them take heart and depart each man to his home.

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

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

"Ἦνει ὁ Δυκόργης ἐμὸν ποτὶ πύονα νῃν Ἰηνί φίλος καὶ πᾶσιν Ἄλκμην δόμματ' ἔχουσι. δίζω ἡ σε θεόν μαντεύσομαι ἡ ἂνθρωπον.

ἀλλ' ἐτι καὶ μᾶλλον θεόν ἐλπομαι, ὁ Δυκόργης." 

οὗ μὲν δὴ τινες πρὸς τοῦτοι λέγουσι καὶ φράσαι αὐτῷ τὴν Πυθίην τὸν νῦν κατεστεώτα κόσμον Σπαρτιήτηρι. ὡς ἂ αὐτοὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι λέγουσι, Δυκούργον ἐπιτροπεύσαντα Δεωβώτεω, ἦδελφιδέου μὲν ἐωτοῦ βασιλεύοντος δὲ Σπαρτιητέων, ἐκ Κρήτης ἀγαγέσθαι τάντα. ὡς γὰρ ἐπετρόπευσε τάχιστα, μετέστησε τὰ νόμιμα πάντα, καὶ ἐφύλαξε τάντα μὴ παραβαίνειν· μετὰ δὲ τὰ ἐς πόλεμον ἔχοντα, ἐνωμοτίας καὶ τριηκάδας καὶ συνοιτία, πρὸς τε τοῦτοι τοὺς ἐφόρους καὶ γέροντας ἐστήσει Δυκούργος.

66. Οὗτω μὲν μεταβαλόντες εὐνομήθησαν, τῷ δὲ Δυκούργῳ τελευτήσαντι ἴρον εἰσάμενοι σέβονται μεγάλως. οὔ δὲ ἐν τε χώρῃ ἀγαθῇ καὶ πλῆθεὶ οὐκ ὀλγῶν ἂνδρῶν, ἀνὰ τε ἐδραμὼν αὐτίκα καὶ εὐθυρήθησαν, καὶ δὴ σφι οὐκέτι ἀπέχρα ἤσυχὴν ἄγειν, ἀλλὰ καταφρονήσαντες Ἀρκάδων κρέσσονες εἶναι ἐχρηστηριάζοντο ἐν Δελφοῖσι ἐπὶ πάσῃ τῇ Ἀρκάδῳ χώρῃ. ἢ δὲ Πυθίη σφι χρῆ τάδε.
Thus then they changed their laws for the better:—Lycurgus, a notable Spartan, visited the oracle at Delphi, and when he entered the temple hall, straightway the priestess gave him this response:

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

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

66. So they changed their bad laws for good ones, and when Lycurgus died they built him a shrine and now greatly revere him. Then, since their land was good and their men were many, very soon they began to flourish and prosper. Nor were they satisfied to remain at peace: but being assured that they were stronger than the Arcadians, they inquired of the oracle at Delphi, with their minds set on the whole of Arcadia. The Pythian priestess gave them this reply:
"'Αρκαδίην μ’ αίτεῖς· μέγα μ’ αίτεῖς· οὐ τοι δόσω. πολλοὶ ἐν 'Αρκαδίῃ βαλανηφάγοι ἄνδρες ἔσων, οὐ ο’ ἀποκοκλύσουσιν. ἔγω δὲ τοι οὔτε μεγαίρῳ δόσω τοι Τεγέην ποσσίκροτον ὀρχήσασθαι καὶ καλὸν πεδίον σχοῖνῳ διαμετρήσασθαι."

tαῦτα ὡς ἀπευθεῖθέντα ἢκουσαν οἱ Δακεδαιμόνιοι, 'Αρκάδων μὲν τῶν ἄλλων ἀπείχοντο, οὐ δὲ πέδας φερόμενοι ἐπὶ Τεγεήτας ἐστρατεύοντο, χρησμῷ κιβδήλῳ πίσυνοι, ὡς δὴ ἐξανδραπόδιομενοι τοὺς Τεγεήτας. ἔσωθέντες δὲ τῇ συμβολῇ, ὡςοι αὐτῶν ἐξωγρήθησαν, πέδας ταῖς ἐφέροντο αὐτοῖς καὶ σχοῖνῳ διαμετρήσαμενοι τὸ πεδίον τὸ Τεγεητέων ἐργάζοντο. αἱ δὲ πέδαι αὐταὶ ἐν τῇ ἔδεδεατο ἐτὶ καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ ἦσαν σῶς ἐν Τεγέη, περὶ τὸν νηόν τῆς Ἀλέης Ἀθηναίης κρεμάμεναι.

67. Κατὰ μὲν δὴ τὸν πρῶτον πόλεμον συνεχέως αἰεὶ κακῶς ἀέθλεον πρὸς τοὺς Τεγεήτας, κατὰ δὲ τὸν κατὰ Κροίσον χρόνον καὶ τὴν Ἄναξανδρίδεω πε καὶ Ἀρίστωνος βασιληὴν ἐν Δακεδαιμονίῳ ὑδὴ οἱ Σπαρτητηίται κατυπέρτεροι τῷ πολέμῳ ἐγεγόνεσαν, τρόπῳ τούῳ γενόμενοι. ἐπειδὴ αἰεὶ τῷ πολέμῳ ἐσσοῦντο ὑπὸ Τεγεητέων, πέμψαντες θεσπρόποις ἐς Δέλφους ἐπειρώτων τίνα ἄν θεῶν ἰλασάμενοι κατύπερθε τῷ πολέμῳ Τεγεητέων γενόιατο. ἥ δὲ Πυθίη σφί ἔχρησε τὰ Ὀρέστεω τοῦ Ἀγαμέμνονος ὡς οὕτε ἐπαγαγομένους. ὡς δὲ
"Askest Arcadia from me? 'Tis a boon too great
for the giving.
Many Arcadians there are, stout heroes, eaters of
acorns,—
These shall hinder thee sore. Yet 'tis not I that
begrudge thee:
Lands Tegeaean I'll give thee, to smite with feet in
the dancing,
Also the fertile plain with line I'll give thee to
measure."

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

67. In the former war, then, the Lacedaemonians
were unceasingly defeated in their contest with Tegea;
but in the time of Croesus, and the kingship of
Anaxandrides and Ariston at Sparta, the Spartans
had now gained the upper hand; and this is how it
came about. Being always worsted by the Tegeatae,
they sent inquirers to Delphi and asked what god
they should propitiate so as to gain the mastery over
Tegea in war. The Pythian priestess declared that
they must bring home the bones of Orestes son of
Agamemnon. Being unable to discover Orestes'
¹ That is, mapping the land out for cultivation.
ἀνευρεῖν οὐκ οἷοί τε ἐγένοντο τὴν θήκην τοῦ Ὀρέστεω, ἔπεμπον αὐτίς τὴν ἐς θεόν ἐπειρησομένους τὸν χώρον ἐν τῷ κέοιτο Ὀρέστης. εἰρωτῶσι δὲ ταῦτα τοῖς θεοπρόποιοι λέγει ἡ Πυθία τάδε.

"Εστι τις Ἀρκαδίης Τεγέη λευρῷ ἐν χώρῳ, ἐνθ' ἄνεμοι πνεύουσι δύω κρατέρις ὑπ' ἀνάγκης, καὶ τύπος ἀντίτυπος, καὶ πῆμ' ἐπὶ πῆματι κεῖται.

ἐνθ' Ἀγαμεμνονίδην κατέχει φυσίζους αἰα, τὸν σὺ κομισσάμενος Τεγέης ἐπιτάρροθος ἔσση."
tomb, they sent their messengers again to the god¹ to ask of the place where Orestes lay: and the priestess said in answer to their question:

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

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

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

¹ τὴν ἐσθεόν, explained as = τὴν ἐσθεόν ὅδόν. τὴν ἐθεόν (= the inspired one: after ἐπειρησομένους) would be an easy correction. But all MSS. have ἐσθεόν.
μαζεσ, ὁκου νην οὔτω τυγχάνεις θῶμα ποιεύμενος τὴν ἑργασίην τοῦ σιδήρου. ἐγὼ γὰρ ἐν τῇδε θέλων τῇ αὐλῇ φρέαρ ποιήσασθαι, ὀρύσσων ἐπέτυχον σορῷ ἐπταπήχει. ὑπὸ δὲ ἀπιστίας μὴ μὲν γενέσθαι μηδαμὰ μέξονας ἀνθρώπους τῶν νῦν ἀνοίξα αὐτὴν καὶ εἶδον τὸν νεκρὸν μήκει ἵσον ἐχοντα τῇ σορῷ· μετρήσας δὲ συνέχωσα ὑπίσω." ὅ μὲν δὴ οἱ ἔλεγε τὰ περ ὀπώπεε, ὅ δὲ ἑνώσας τὰ λεγόμενα συνεβάλλετο τὸν Ὀρέστεα κατὰ τὸ θεοπρόπιον τούτον εἶναι, τῇδε συμβαλλόμενος· τοῦ χαλκέος δύο ὅρεων φύσας τοὺς ἀνέμους εὐρισκε ἐόντας, τὸν δὲ ἄκμονα καὶ τὴν σφύραν τὸν τε τύπον καὶ τὸν ἀντίτυπον, τὸν δὲ ἐξελαυνόμενου σίδηρον τὸ πῆμα ἐπὶ πῆματι κεῖμενον, κατὰ τοιά· ὄνδε τι εἰκάζων, ὡς ἐπὶ κακῷ ἀνθρώπου σίδηρος ἀνεύρηται. συμβαλλόμενος δὲ ταῦτα καὶ ἀπελθὼν ἐς Σπάρτην ἐφράξε Λακεδαιμονίοις πᾶν τὸ πρὸγμα. οὐ δὲ ἐκ λόγου πλαστοῦ ἐπενείκαντες οἱ αὐτὴν ἐδίωξαν. ὁ δὲ ἀπικόμενος ἐς Τεγέην καὶ φράζων τὴν ἐωτοῦ συμφορήν πρὸς τὸν χαλκέα ἐμισθοῦτο παρ' οὐκ ἐκδιδόντος τὴν αὐλῆς χρόνῳ δὲ ώς ἀνέγυωσε, ἑνοικίσθη, ἀνορὔξας δὲ τὸν τάφον καὶ τὰ ὀστέα συλλέξας οἷχετο φέρων ἐς Σπάρτην. καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦτο τοῦ χρόνου, ὅκως πειρόμετο ἄλλη· λων, πολλῷ κατυπέρτεροι τῷ πολέμῳ ἐγίνοντο οἱ Λακεδαιμονίοι· ἢ δὲ σφι καὶ ἡ πολλῇ τῆς Πελοποννήσου ἦν κατεστραμμένη.

69. Ταῦτα δὴ ὅπω τάντα πυθαγορέμενος ὁ Κροῖςος ἐπεμπε ἐς Σπάρτην ἀγγέλους δῶρά τε φερόντας καὶ δεησομένους συμμαχίας, ἐντειλάμενος τε τὰ λέγειν χρῆν. οὗ δὲ ἐλθόντες ἔλεγον "Ἑπεμψε ἡμέας Κροῖςος ὁ Λυδῶν τε καὶ ἄλλων ἐθνῶν ἢμῶν ἡμῶν ἀνασκολοφοσθήσεται τὰ μεταξύ τῆς ἐκείνης ἐκ τῶν ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων ἔστιν τε.
BOOK I. 68-69

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

69. Croesus, then, being made aware of all this sent messengers to Sparta with gifts, to ask an alliance in words with which he charged them. They came, and said: “Croesus, King of Lydia and other
βασιλεύς, λέγων τάδε. Ὡ λακεδαίμωνι, χρήσαντος τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ Ἐλληνα φίλον προσβέσθαι, ύμέας γὰρ πυνθάνομαι προεστάναι τῆς Ἐλλάδος, ύμέας ἃν κατὰ τὸ χρηστήριον προσκαλέσμαι φίλος τε θέλων γενέσθαι καὶ σύμμαχος ἀνεύ τε δόλου καὶ ἀπάτης." Κροίσσος μὲν δὴ ταῦτα δὲ ἀγγέλων ἐπεκηρυκεύετο, Λακεδαίμωνι δὲ ἀκηκοότες καὶ αὐτοὶ τὸ θεοπρόπιον τὸ Κροίσῳ γενόμενον ἥσθησάν τε τῇ ἀπίξι τῶν Λυδῶν καὶ ἐποιήσαντο ὅρκια ἔξωθες πέρι καὶ συμμαχίας καὶ γὰρ τινὲς αὐτοὺς ἐυεργεσίαι εἰχον ἐκ Κροίσου πρότερον ἔτι γεγονοῦντα. πέμψαντες γὰρ οἱ Λακεδαίμωνι ές Σάρδις χρυσὸν ὄνεοντο, ἐς ἀγαλμα βουλόμενοι χρήσασθαι τοῦτο τὸ νῦν τῆς Λακωνικῆς ἐν Θόρνακι ἤδρυται Ἀπόλλωνος· Κροίσσος δὲ σφι ὑνεομένου ἐδώκε δωτῖνην.

70. Τούτων τε ἄν εἶνεκεν οἱ Λακεδαίμωνι τῆς συμμαχίας ἐδέξαντο, καὶ ὅτι ἐκ πάντων σφέας προκρίνας Ἐλλήνων αἱρέετο φίλους. καὶ τοῦτο μὲν αὐτοῖς ἦσαν ἐτοιμοὶ ἐπαγγείλαντι, τοῦτο δὲ ποιησάμενοι κρητῆρα χάλκεον ξωδίων τε ἔξωθεν πλησάντες περὶ τὸ χεῖλος καὶ μεγάθει τρικοσίους ἀμφορέας χωρέουντα ἤγον, δώρων βουλόμενοι ἀντιδοῦναι Κροίσῳ. οὔτος οἱ κρητὴρ οὐκ ἀπίκετο ἐς Σάρδις δι' αἰτίας διφασίας λεγομένας τάςδε· οἱ μὲν Λακεδαίμωνι λέγουσι ὡς ἐπείτε ἀγόμενος ἐς τάς Σάρδις οἱ κρητῆρ έγίνετο κατὰ τὴν Σαμίνην, πυθόμενοι Σάμῳ ἀπελοίατο αὐτὸν υψιλοί λακρήσῃ ἐπιπλώσαντες· αὐτοὶ δὲ Σάμῳ λέγουσι ὡς ἐπείτε ὑστέρησαν οἱ ἄγοντες τῶν Λακεδαίμων ἐς τὸν κρητῆρα, ἐπιμυθάνοντο δὲ Σάρδις τε καὶ Κροίσον ἢλωκέναι, ἀπέδοντο τὸν κρητῆρα ἐν Σάμῳ, ἰδιώτας.
nations, has sent us with this message: 'Lacedaemonians! the god has declared that I should make the Greek my friend; now, therefore, as I learn that you are the leaders of Hellas, I do so invite you, as the oracle bids; I would fain be your friend and ally, without deceit or guile.' Thus Croesus proposed by the mouth of his messengers: and the Lacedaemonians, who had already heard of the oracle given to Croesus, welcomed the coming of the Lydians and swore to be his friends and allies; and indeed they were bound by certain benefits which they had before received from the king. For the Lacedaemonians had sent to Sardis to buy gold, with intent to use it for the statue of Apollo which now stands on Thornax\(^1\) in Laconia; and Croesus, when they would buy it, made a free gift of it to them.

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

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\(^1\) A mountain north-east of Sparta, overlooking the Eurotas valley.
δὲ ἄνδρας πριαμένους ἀναθεῖναι μν ἐς τὸ Ἡραιον.
τάχα δὲ ἄν καὶ οἱ ἀποδόμενοι λέγοιεν ἀπικόμενοι
ἐς Σπάρτην ὡς ἀπαιρεθείησαν ὑπὸ Σαμίων. κατὰ
μὲν νυν τὸν κρητήρα οὐτω ἐσχε.

71. Κροῖσος δὲ ἀμαρτῶν τοῦ χρησμοῦ ἐποιεῖτο
στρατήγην ἐς Καππαδοκίην, ἐλπίσας καταιρῆσειν
Κύρον τε καὶ τὴν Περσέων δύναμιν. παρασκευα-
ζομένου δὲ Κροῖσου στρατεύεσθαι ἐπὶ Πέρσας,
τῶν τις Λυδῶν νομιζόμενος καὶ πρόσθε εἶναι
σοφὸς, ἀπὸ δὲ ταύτης τῆς γνώμης καὶ τὸ κάρτα
οὖνομα ἐν Λυδοῖς ἔχων, συνεβούλευε Κροῖσῳ
τάδε· οὖνομα οἱ ἦν Σάνδανις. "Ὤ βασιλεῦ, ἐπὶ
ἄνδρας τοιούτους στρατεύεσθαι παρασκευάζεις,
οἱ σκυτίνας μὲν ἀναξιρίδας σκυτίνην δὲ τὴν ἄλλην
ἔσθητα φορέουσι, σιτέονται δὲ οὐκ ὅσα ἔθελουσι
ἄλλ᾽ ὅσα ἔχουσι, χώρην ἔχουσες τρηχέαν. πρὸς
δὲ οὐκ οἶνῳ διαχρέωνται ἄλλα ὑδροπότεον σι, οὐ
σῦκα δὲ ἔχουσι τρόφιμα, οὐκ ἄλλῳ ἀγαθὸν οὖθεν.
ποῖο μὲν δὴ, εἰ νικήσεις, τί σφέας ἀπαιρήσεις,
τοῦτο γε μὴ ἔστι μηδὲν; τούτῳ δὲ, ἢ νικηθῆς,
μάθε ὅσα ἀγαθὰ ἀποβαλέεις; γευσάμενοι γὰρ
τῶν ἡμετέρων ἀγαθῶν περιέχονται οὖθε ἀπωστοῖ
ἔσονται. ἐγὼ μὲν νυν θεοῦσι ἔχω χάριν, οὐ οὐκ
ἐπὶ νόον ποιέουσι Πέρσηι στρατεύεσθαι ἐπὶ
Λυδοῖς." ταῦτα λέγων οὐκ ἔπειθε τὸν Κροῖσον.
Πέρσηι γάρ, πρὶν Λυδοὺς καταστρέψασθαι, ἢν
οὔτε ἀβρόν οὔτε ἀγαθὸν οὖθεν.

72. Οἱ δὲ Καππαδόκαι ὑπὸ Ἐλλήνων Σύριοι
ὄνομάξονται· ἦσαν δὲ οἱ Σύριοι οὔτοι τὸ μὲν
πρῶτον ἢ Πέρσας ἄρξαι Μήδων κατήκοιοι, τότε
dὲ Κύρον. ὁ γὰρ οὗρος ἦν τῆς τε Μήδικῆς ἀρχῆς
men, who set it up in the temple of Here. And it may be that the sellers of the bowl, when they returned to Sparta, said that they had been robbed of it by the Samians. Such are the tales about the bowl.

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

72. Now the Cappadocians are called by the Greeks Syrians, and these Syrians before the Persian rule were subjects of the Medes, and, at this time, of Cyrus. For the boundary of the Median
καὶ τὴς Λυδίκης ὁ "Αλνς ποταμὸς, διὸ ῥεῖ 
Ἄρμενίου ὀρέως διὰ Κιλίκων, μετὰ δὲ Ματιηνοῦς 
μὲν ἐν δεξιᾷ ἔχει ῥέων, ἐκ δὲ τοῦ ἔτερου Φρύγας· 
παραμειβόμενος δὲ τούτους καὶ ῥέων ἀνω πρὸς 
Βορέῃ ἀνεμον ἔνθεν μὲν Συρίους Καππαδόκας 
ἀπέργει, εὖ εὐνούμου δὲ Παφλαγόνας. οὐτὸς ὁ 
"Αλνς ποταμὸς ἀποτάμνει σχεδὸν πάντα τῆς 
Ἀσίας τὰ κάτω ἐκ θαλάσσης τῆς ἀντίον Κύπρου 
ἐς τὸν Εὐξεινον πόντον. ἐστὶ δὲ αὐχὴν οὕτως 
τῆς χώρης ταύτης ἀπάσις· μῆκος ὀδὸν εὐξων 
ἀνδρὶ πέντε ἥμερα ἀναισμοῦνται.

73. Ἐστρατεύετο δὲ ὁ Κροῖσος ἐπὶ τὴν Καππα-
δοκίην τῶν εἶνεκα, καὶ γῆς ἰμέρῳ προσκτήσασθαι 
πρὸς τὴν ἑωτοῦ μοῖραν βουλόμενος, καὶ μάλιστα 
τῷ χρηστηρίῳ πίστιν ἐὼν καὶ τίσασθαι θέλων ὑπὲρ 
Ἀστυάγεος Κῦρον. Ἀστυάγεα γὰρ τὸν 
Κυαξάρεω, ἐόντα Κροῖσον μὲν γαμβρὸν Μήδων 
δὲ βασιλέα, Κῦρος ὁ Καμβύσεως καταστρεψάμενος 
eἰχε, γενόμενον γαμβρὸν Κροῖσῳ ὀδὲ. Σκυθέων 
tῶν νομάδων εἶλῃ ἄνδρῶν στασιάσασα ὑπεξῆλθε 
ἐς γῆν τὴν Μηδικήν· ἑτυράννευε δὲ τὸν χρόνον 
tούτου Μήδων Κυαξαρῆς ὁ Φραόρτεω τοῦ Δηῖκεω, 
ὁς τοὺς Σκυθάς τούτους τὸ μὲν πρώτων περιείπε 
ev ὡς ἐόντας ἱκετας· ὡστε δὲ περὶ πολλοῦ ποιεό-
μενος αὐτοῖς, παῖδας σφὶ παρέδωκε τὴν γλῶσσαν 
te ἐκμαθεῖν καὶ τὴν τέχνην τῶν τῶν τόξων. χρόνου δὲ 
γενομένου, καὶ αἰεὶ ροτεοντω τῶν Σκυθέων ἐτί 
ἄγρην καὶ αἰεὶ τὶ φεροῦσιν, καὶ κοτε συνήνεικε 
ἐλείν σφεας μηδεν· νοστήσαντας δὲ αὐτοὺς κεινὺσι
and Lydian empires was the river Halys; which flows from the Armenian mountains first through Cilicia and afterwards between the Matieni on the right and the Phrygians on the other hand; then passing these and flowing still northwards it separates the Cappadocian Syrians on the right from the Paphlagonians on the left. Thus the Halys river cuts off wellnigh the whole of the lower part of Asia, from the Cyprian to the Euxine sea. Here is the narrowest neck of all this land; the length of the journey across is five days, for a man going unburdened.\footnote{73. The reasons of Croesus' expedition against Cappadocia were these: he desired to gain territory in addition to his own share, and (these were the chief causes) he trusted the oracle, and wished to avenge Astyages on Cyrus; for Cyrus, son of Cambyses, had subdued Astyages and held him in subjection. Now Astyages, king of Media, son of Cyaxares, was Croesus' brother-in-law: and this is how he came to be so. A tribe of wandering Scythians separated itself from the rest, and escaped into Median territory. This was then ruled by Cyaxares, son of Phraortes, son of Deioces. Cyaxares at first treated the Scythians kindly, as being suppliants for his mercy; and as he held them in high regard he entrusted boys to their charge to be taught their language and the craft of archery. As time went on, it chanced that the Scythians, who were wont to go hunting and ever to bring something back, once had taken nothing, and when they returned width from sea to sea of the \( \alpha \nu \chi \nu \) is obviously much under estimated by Hdt., as also by later writers; the actual distance at the narrowest part is about 280 miles as the crow flies; much more than a five days' march.}

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χερσί ὁ Κναξάρης (ὡς διεδέξε, ὀργῆν ἄκρος) τρηχέως κάρτα περιέστε ἀεικεῖν. οἱ δὲ ταῦτα πρὸς Κναξάρεω παθόντες, ὥστε ἀνάξια σφέων αὐτῶν πεπονθότες, ἐβούλευσαν τῶν παρὰ σφίσι διδασκομένων παῖδων ἕνα κατακόψαι, σκευάσαντες δὲ αὐτῶν ἁσπερ ἔωθεσαν καὶ τὰ θηρία σκεύαζεν, Κναξάρη δοῦναι φέροντες ὡς ἄγρην δήθεν, δόντες δὲ τὴν ταχύτητα κομίζεσθαι παρὰ Ἀλνάττεα τοῦ Σαδωάττεω ἐς Σάρδις. ταῦτα καὶ ἐγένετο· καὶ γὰρ Κναξάρης καὶ οἱ παρεόντες δαιτυμόνες τῶν κρεών τούτων ἐπάσαντο, καὶ οἱ Σκύθαι ταῦτα ποιήσαντες Ἀλνάττεω ἴκεται ἐγένοντο.

74. Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα, οὐ γὰρ δὴ ὁ Ἀλνάττης ἐξεδίδου τοὺς Σκύθας ἐξαιτεύοντι Κναξάρη, πόλεμος τοις Λυδοῖς καὶ τοῖς Μιῆδοις ἐγεγόνει ἐπὶ ἐτεα πέντε, ἐν τοῖς πολλάκις μὲν οἱ Μιῆδοι τοὺς Λυδοὺς ἐνίκησαν, πολλάκις δὲ οἱ Λυδοὶ τοὺς Μιῆδους, ἐν δὲ καὶ νυκτομαχίαν τινὰ ἐποίησαντο· διαφέρουσι δὲ σφὶ ἐπὶ ἱσης τὸν πόλεμον τῷ ἐκτῷ ἐτεῖ συμβολῆς γενομένης συννήσεικ ὡστε τῆς μάχης συνεπτέοσθ᾽ τῆς ἱμέρης ἐξαπίνης νῦκτα γενέσθαι. τὴν δὲ μεταλλαγήν ταυτήν τῆς ἱμέρης Ῥαλῆς ὁ Μιῆσιος τοῖς Ἰωσι προηγόρευσε ἐσσαθαι, οὔτων προθεμενος ἐνιαυτὸν τούτων ἐν τῷ δὴ καὶ ἐγένετο ἡ μεταβολή. οἱ δὲ Λυδοὶ τε καὶ οἱ Μιῆδοι ἐπείπτε εἶδον νῦκτα ἀντὶ ἱμέρης γενομένης, τῆς μάχης τε ἐπαύσαντο καὶ μᾶλλον τι ἐσπευσαν καὶ ἀμφότεροι εἰρήνην ἐωτοῦσί γενέσθαι.

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

74. After this, seeing that Alyattes would not give up the Scythians to Cyaxares at his demand, there was war between the Lydians and the Medes for five years; each won many victories over the other, and once they fought a battle by night. They were still warring with equal success, when it chanced, at an encounter which happened in the sixth year, that during the battle the day was suddenly turned to night. Thales of Miletus had foretold this loss of daylight to the Ionians, fixing it within the year in which the change did indeed happen.¹ So when the Lydians and Medes saw the day turned to night they ceased from fighting, and both were the more zealous to make that this latter was not total in Asia Minor: and Pliny’s mention of the phenomenon places it in the 170th year from the foundation of Rome. Thales died at an advanced age in 548 B.C.
οί δὲ συμβιβάσαντες αὐτούς ἦσαν οἴδε, Συνένεσις τε ὁ Κίλιξ καὶ Δαβύνητος ὁ Βαβυλώνιος. ἄτοι σφι καὶ τὸ ὄρκιον οἱ σπεύσαντες γενέσθαι ἦσαν καὶ γάμων ἐπαλλαγὴν ἐποίησαν Ἄλυάττεα γὰρ ἐγνωσαν δοῦναι τὴν θυγατέρα Ἀργήνων Ἀστυάγει τῷ Κναξάρεω παιδί· ἀνευ γὰρ ἀναγκαίης ἱσχυρῆς συμβάσεως ἱσχυραὶ οὐκ ἔθελον συμμένειν. ὅρκια δὲ ποιεῖται τάντα τὰ ἔθνεα τὰ πέρ τε Ἑλληνες, καὶ πρὸς τούτους, ἑπέαν τοὺς βραχύνας ἐπιτάμωνται ἐς τὴν ὁμοχρόην, τὸ αἷμα ἀναλείχουσι ἀλλήλων.

75. Τούτων δὴ ὁν τὸν Ἀστυάγεα Κύροσ ἐώντα ἑωυτοῦ μητροπάτορα καταστρεψάμενος ἐσχε δι’ αὐτίνην τὴν ἐγὼ ἐν τοῖς ὀπίσω λόγοις σημανέω· τὰ Κροίσος ἐπιμεμφόμενος τῷ Κύρῳ ἐς τε τὰ χρηστηρία ἐπεμπε εἰ στρατεύθητε ἐπὶ Πέρσας, καὶ δὴ καὶ ἀπικομενοῦ χρησμοῦ κιβδήλου, ἐλπίζας πρὸς ἑωυτοῦ τὸν χρησμὸν εἶναι, ἐστρατεύετο ἐς τὴν Περσέων μοῖραν. ὡς δὲ ἀπίκετο ἐπὶ τὸν Ἄλυν ποταμὸν ὁ Κροίσος, τὸ ἐνθεύτεν, ὡς μὲν ἐγὼ λέγω, κατὰ τὰς έσούσας γεφύρας διεβίβασε τὸν στρατὸν, ὡς δὲ ὁ πολλὸς λόγος Ἑλληνων, Θαλῆς οἱ ὁ Μιλήσιος διεβίβασε. ἀπορέουτος γὰρ Κροίσου ὅκως οἱ διαβήσεται τὸν ποταμὸν ὁ στρατὸς (οὐ γὰρ δὴ εἶναι καὶ τοῦτον τὸν χρόνου τὰς γεφύρας ταύτας) λέγεται παρεόντα τὸν Θαλῆν ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ ποιήσαι αὐτῷ τὸν ποταμὸν ἐξ ἀριστερῆς χειρὸς ἑρεντά τοῦ στρατοῦ καὶ ἐκ δεξιῆς ἑρέειν, ποιήσαι δὲ ὁδὲ ἀνωθεν τοῦ στρατοπέδου ἄρξάμενον διώρυχα βαθέαν ὀρύσσειν, ἀγοντα μηνειδέα, ὅκως ἄν τὸ στρατοπέδον ἱδρυμένον κατὰ νότον λάβοι, ταῦτη κατὰ τὴν διώρυχα
peace. Those who reconciled them were Syennesis the Cilician and Labynetus the Babylonian; they it was who brought it about that there should be a sworn agreement and an exchange of wedlock between them: they adjudged that Alyattes should give his daughter Aryenis to Astyages, son of Cyaxares; for without a strong bond agreements will not keep their strength. These nations make sworn compacts as do the Greeks; moreover, they cut the skin of their arms and lick each other's blood.

75. This Astyages then was Cyrus' mother's father, and was by him subdued and held subject for the reason which I shall presently declare. Having this cause of quarrel with Cyrus, Croesus sent to ask the oracles if he should march against the Persians; and when a quibbling answer came he thought it to be favourable to him, and so led his army to the Persian territory. When he came to the river Halys, he transported his army across it,—by the bridges, as I hold, which then were there; but the general belief of the Greeks is that the army was carried across by Thales of Miletus. This is the story: As the bridges aforesaid did not then yet exist, Croesus knew not how his army should pass the river: then Thales, being in the encampment, made the river, which flowed on the left hand, flow also on the right of the army in the following way. Starting from a point on the river higher up than the camp, he dug a deep semicircular trench, so that the stream, turned from its ancient course, should flow in the trench to the rear of the
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Verbally, the text is too complex to render directly into English. The Greek text appears to be a historical account, possibly from Herodotus' "Histories," detailing events involving various figures and places.

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

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

77. Croesus was not content with the number of his force, for his army which had fought was by far smaller than that of Cyrus; therefore, seeing that on
τῇ ὑστεραίῃ οὐκ ἐπειράτο ἐπίδων ὁ Κύρος, ἀπῆλαυνε ἐς τὰς Σάρδις, ἐν νῦν ἔχων παρακαλέσας μὲν Ἀγυπτίους κατὰ τὸ ὄρκιον (ἐποιήσατο γὰρ καὶ πρὸς Ἂμασίων βασιλεύοντα Ἀγυπτίου συμμαχίαν πρότερον ἢ περ πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους), μεταπεμψάμενος δὲ καὶ Βαβυλώνιους (καὶ γὰρ πρὸς τούτους αὐτῷ ἐπεπώητο συμμαχία, ἑτυράννευε δὲ τὸν χρόνον τούτων τῶν Βαβυλώνιων Λαβύνητος), ἐπαγγείλας δὲ καὶ Λακεδαιμονίοις παρείναι ἐς χρόνον ῥητόν, ἀλίσας τε δὴ τούτους καὶ τὴν ἑωτοῦ συλλέξας στρατὴν ἐνένωτο, τὸν χειμῶνα παρεῖς, ἀμα τὸ ἔαρι στρατεύειν ἐπὶ τοὺς Πέρσας. καὶ ὃ μὲν ταῦτα φρονεῖν, ὡς ἀπίκετο ἐς τὰς Σάρδις, ἐπεμπεῖ κηρυκας κατὰ τὰς συμμαχίας προερέοντας ἐς πέμπτον μήνα συλλέγεσθαι ἐς Σάρδις· τὸν δὲ παρεόντα καὶ μαχεσάμενον στρατὸν Πέρσης, ὅς ἦν αὐτῷ ξεινικὸς, πάντα ἀπεῖς διεσκέδασε οὐδαμὰ ἑλπίσας μὴ κοτε ἄρα ἀγωνισάμενος οὐτω παραπλησίώς Κύρος ἐξάση ἐπὶ Σάρδις.

78. Ταῦτα ἐπιλεγομένων Κροίσῳ τὸ προαίστειον πάν ὄφιων ἐνεπλήσθη· φανέντων δὲ αὐτῶν, οἱ ἵπποι μετιέντες τὰς νομὰς νέμεσθαι φοιτέοντες κατήσθιον. ἰδόντι δὲ τούτο Κροίσῳ, ὥσπερ καὶ ἦν, ἐδοξεί πέρας είναι· αὐτίκα δὲ ἐπεμπεῖ θεοπρόπους ἐς τῶν ἐξηγητέων Τελμησσέων. ἀπικομένοις δὲ τούσι θεοπρόποισι καὶ μαθοῦσι πρὸς Τελμησσέων τὸ θέλει σημαίνειν τὸ πέρας, οὐκ ἐξεγένετο Κροίσῳ ἀπαγγείλαν· πρὶν γὰρ ἢ ὀπίσω.
the day after the battle Cyrus essayed no second attack, he marched away to Sardis, intending to invite help from the Egyptians in fulfilment of their pledge (for before making an alliance with the Lacedaemonians he had made one also with Amasis king of Egypt), and to send for the Babylonians also (for with these too he had made an alliance, Labynetus being at this time their sovereign), and to summon the Lacedaemonians to join him at a fixed time. It was in his mind to muster all these forces and assemble his own army, then to wait till the winter was over and march against the Persians at the beginning of spring. With such intent, as soon as he returned to Sardis, he sent heralds to all his allies, summoning them to assemble at Sardis in five months' time; and as for the soldiers whom he had with him, who had fought with the Persians, all of them who were not of his nation he disbanded, never thinking that after so equal an issue of the contest Cyrus would march against Sardis.

78. Thus Croesus reasoned. Meantime it chanced that snakes began to swarm in the outer part of the city; and when they appeared the horses would ever leave their accustomed pasture and devour them. When Croesus saw this he thought it to be a portent, and so it was. Forthwith he sent to the abodes of the Telmessian interpreters,¹ to inquire concerning it; but though his messengers came and learnt from the Telmessians what the portent should signify, they could never bring back word to Croesus, for he was

¹ These were a caste of priests of Apollo at Telmessus or Telmissus in Lycia. τῶν ἑγητέων Τελμησσέων is contrary to Greek usage, ἑγη. being a substantive: Stein suggests that the true reading may be Τελμησσέων τῶν ἑγητέων.
σφέας ἀναπλῶσαι ἐς τὰς Σάρδις ἦλω ὁ Κροῖσος. Τελμησσέες μέντοι τάδε ἐγνωσαν, στρατὸν ἀλλόθρου προσδόκιμον εἶναι Κροῖσῳ ἐπὶ τὴν χώρην, ἀπικόμενον δὲ τοῦτον καταστρέψεσθαι τοὺς ἐπὶ χωρίοις, λέγοντες ὅφιν εἶναι γῆς παῖδα, ἵπποι δὲ πολέμιον τε καὶ ἐπῆλυδα. Τελμησσέες μὲν ὑπαύτα ὑπεκρίναντο Κροῖσῳ ἦδη ἡλωκότι, οὐδὲν κω εἴδοτες τῶν ἦν περὶ Σάρδις τε καὶ αὐτὸν Κροῖσον.

79. Κῦρος δὲ αὐτίκα ἀπελαύνοντος Κροῖσον μετὰ τὴν μάχην τὴν γενομένην ἐν τῇ Πτερίῃ, μαθὼν ὡς ἀπελάσας μέλλοι Κροῖσος διασκεδάν τὸν στρατὸν, βουλευόμενος εὐρισκε πρῆγμα οἶ εἶναι ἑλαύνειν ὡς δύναι τάχιστα ἐπὶ τὰς Σάρδις, πρὶν ἢ τὸ δεύτερον ἀλισθήναι τῶν Λυδῶν τὴν δύναμιν. ὡς δὲ οἱ ταύτα ἔδοξε, καὶ ἐποίηκε κατὰ τάχος: ἐλάσας γὰρ τὸν στρατὸν ἐς τὴν Λυδίην αὐτὸς ἀγγελος Κροῖσῳ ἐληλύθεε. ἐνθαῦτα Κροῖσος ἐς ἀπορίην πολλὴν ἀπιγμένος, ὡς οἱ παρὰ δόξαν ἐσχὲ τὰ πρῆγματα ἢ ὡς αὐτὸς κατεδόκεε, ὃμως τοὺς Λυδοὺς ἐξῆγη εἰς μάχην. ἦν δὲ τούτων τὸν χρόνον ἔθνος οὐδὲν ἐν τῇ Ἀσίῃ οὔτε ἀνδρηότερον οὐτε ἀλκιμώτερον τοῦ Λυδίου. ἦ δὲ μάχη σφέων ἦν ἀπ᾽ ἵππων, δόρατα τε ἐφόρεον μεγάλα, καὶ αὐτὸ ἦσαν Ἰππεύεσθαί ἀγαθοί.

80. Ἡς τὸ πεδίον δὲ συνελθόντων τούτῳ τὸ πρὸ τοῦ ἄστεος ἐστὶ τοῦ Σαρδηνοῦ, ἐδὲ μέγα τε καὶ ψιλὸν (διὰ δὲ αὐτοῦ ποταμοὶ ρέουσαι καὶ ἄλλοι καὶ Ἄλλος συρρηγνυσὶ ἐς τὸν μέγιστον, καλεῦμεν δὲ Ἕρμον, ἢς ἐξ ὀρεοὶ ἤρον Μητρός Λυδιμήνης ρέων ἐκδιδοῦ ἢς θύλασαν κατὰ Φωκαίην πόλιν), ἐνθαῦτα ὁ Κῦρος ὡς εἰδε τοὺς Λυδοὺς ἐς
a prisoner before they could make their voyage back to Sardis. Howbeit, this was the judgment of the Telmessians—that Croesus must expect a foreign army to attack his country, and that when it came it would subdue the dwellers in the land: for the snake, they said, was the child of the earth, but the horse was a foe and a foreigner. Such was the answer which the Telmessians gave Croesus, knowing as yet nothing of the fate of Sardis and the king himself; but when they gave it Croesus was already taken.

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

80. So the armies met in the plain, wide and bare, which is before the city of Sardis: the Hyllus and other rivers flow across it and rush violently together into the greatest of them, which is called Hermus (this flows from the mountain sacred to the Mother Dindymene \(^1\) and issues into the sea near the city of Phocaea). Here when Cyrus saw the Lydians arraying

\(^1\) Identified with the Phrygian and Lydian goddess Cybele.
μάχην τασσομένους, καταρρωδήσας τὴν ἵππου ἐποίησε Ἀρπάγον ὑποθεμένου ἄνδρος Μήδου τοιόνδε· ὅσα τῷ στρατῷ τῷ ἐωυτοῦ εἶποντο συνοφόροι τε καὶ σκευοφόροι κάμηλοι, ταύτας πάσας ἁλίσασα καὶ ἀπελὼν τὰ ἄχθεα ἄνδρας ἐπ' αὐτὰς ἀνέβησε ἵππαδα στολὴν ἐνεσταλμένους, σκευάσας δὲ αὐτοὺς προσέταξε τῆς ἄλλης στρατιᾶς προῖναι πρὸς τὴν Κροίσου ἵππον, τῇ δὲ καμήλῳ ἔπεσθαι τὸν πέζον στρατὸν ἐκέλευσε, ὅπιοςδε τοῦ πεζοῦ ἐπέταξε τὴν πᾶσαν ἱππον. ὡς δὲ οἱ πάντες διετετάχατο, παραίνεσε τῶν μὲν ἄλλων Λυδῶν μὴ φειδομένους κτείνειν πάντα τὸν ἐμποδὸν γινόμενον, Κροίσον δὲ αὐτὸν μὴ κτείνειν, μηδὲ ἦν συλλαμβανόμενος ἀμύνηταί, ταύτα μὲν παραίνεσε, τὰς δὲ καμήλους ἔταξε ἀντία τῆς ἱπποῦ τὼν ἐνεκεν κάμηλον ἱππὸς φοβέεται, καὶ οὐκ ἀνέχεται οὔτε τὴν ἱδέην αὐτοῦ ὅρεων οὔτε τὴν ὁδήν ὀσφραινόμενος. αὐτοῦ δὴ ὅπ τούτου ἐνεκεν ἔσσεσοφιστο, ἢν τῷ Κροίσῳ ἀχριστον ἢ τῷ ἱππικῷ, τῷ δὴ τι καὶ ἐπείχε ἐξλάμψεσθαι ὁ Λυδός. ὡς δὲ καὶ συνῆσαν ἐς τὴν μάχην, ἐνθαῦτα ὡς ὀσφραντό τάχιστα τῶν καμήλων οἱ ἱπποὶ καὶ εἴδον αὐτὰς, ὅπισώ ἀνέστρεφον, διέφθαρτο τε τῷ Κροίσῳ ἢ ἐλπίς. οὐ μέντοι οὐ γε Λυδοὶ τὸ ἐνθεύτεν δεὶλοὶ ἦσαν, ἄλλ' ὡς ἐμαθον τὸ γινόμενον, ἀποθορώντες ἀπὸ τῶν ἱππῶν πεζοὶ ποίσι Πέρσηι συνέβαλλον. ὁρῶν δὲ πεσόντων ἀμφοτέρων πολλῶν ἐτράποντο οἱ Λυδοὶ, κατειληθέντες δὲ ἔς το τείχος ἐπολιορκέουστο ὑπὸ τῶν Περσέων.

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

81. So then they were beleaguered. But Croesus, supposing that the siege would last a long time, sent
πολιορκίην ἔπεμπε ἐκ τοῦ τείχεος ἄλλους ἀγγέ-
λους ἐς τὰς συμμαχίας· οἱ μὲν γὰρ πρότεροι
dιεπέμποντο ἐς πέμπτον μῆνα προσερέοντες σύλ-
λέγεσθαι ἐς Σάρδις, τούτους δὲ ἐξέπεμπε τὴν
tαχύστην δέεσθαι βοηθεῖν ὡς πολιορκεομένου
Κροίσου.

82. Ἐσ τε δὴ ὑν τὰς ἄλλας ἐπεμπε συμμαχίας
καὶ δὴ καὶ ἐς Δακεδαίμονα. τοῖς δὲ καὶ αὐτοῖσι
tοῖσι Σπαρτιήτησι κατ᾽ αὐτὸν τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον
συνεπεπτώκεε ἐρις ἐοῦσα πρὸς Ἀργείους περὶ
χώρου καλεομένου Θυρέης· τὰς γὰρ Θυρέας ταύ-
tας ἐοῦσα τῆς Ἀργολίδος μοῖρας ἀποταμόμενοι
ἔσχον οἱ Δακεδαιμόνιοι. ἦν δὲ καὶ ἡ μέχρι Μα-
λέων ἡ πρὸς ἐσπέρην Ἀργείων, ὥτε ἐν τῇ ἡπείρῳ
χώρῃ καὶ ἡ Κυθηρίᾳ νῆσος καὶ αἱ λουπαὶ τῶν
νῆσων. βοηθησάντων δὲ Ἀργείων τῇ σφετέρῃ
ἀποταμομένῃ, ἐνθαῦτα συνέβησαν ἐς λόγους
συνελθόντες ὡστε τρικοσίους ἑκατέρων μαχέ-
σασθαι, σκότεροι δ᾽ ἀν περιγένωνται, τούτων εἶναι
tῶν χώρων· τὸ δὲ πλῆθος τοῦ στρατοῦ ἀπαλλάσ-
σεσθαι ἑκάτερον ἐς τὴν ἐωτοῦ μὴδε παραμένειν
ἀγωνιζόμενον, τῶν δὲ εἶναι ἡμὴ παρεόντων
τῶν στρατοπέδων ὀρῶντες οἱ ἐτεροὶ ἐσσουμένους
tοὺς σφετέρους ἐπαμύνοιεν. συνθέμενοι ταῦτα
ἀπαλλάσσοντο, λογίδες δὲ ἑκατέρων ὑπολει-
φθέντες συνέβαλον. μαχομένων δὲ σφέων καὶ
gυνομένων ἰσοπαλέων ὑπελείποντο ἐς ἀνθρῶν
ἐξακοσίων τρεῖς, Ἀργείων μὲν Ἀλκήνωρ τε
καὶ Χρομίος, Δακεδαιμονίων δὲ Ὀθρνάδης· ὑπε-
λείφθησαν δὲ οὗτοι νυκτὸς ἐπελθοῦσιν. οἱ μὲν
δὴ δύο τῶν Ἀργείων ὡς νευκηκότες ἔθεον ἐς
tὸ Ἀργος, ὁ δὲ τῶν Δακεδαιμονίων Ὀθρνάδης

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messengers again from the city to his allies; whereas the former envoys had been sent to summon them to muster at Sardis in five months' time, these were to announce that Croesus was besieged and to entreat help with all speed.

82. So he sent to the Lacedaemonians as well as the rest of the allies. Now at this very time the Spartans themselves had a feud on hand with the Argives, in respect of the country called Thyrea; for this was a part of the Argive territory which the Lacedaemonians had cut off and occupied. (All the land towards the west, as far as Malea, belonged then to the Argives, and not the mainland only, but the island of Cythera and the other islands.) The Argives came out to save their territory from being cut off; then after debate the two armies agreed that three hundred of each side should fight, and whichever party won should possess the land. The rest of each army was to go away to its own country and not be present at the battle; for it was feared that if the armies remained on the field, the men of either party would render help to their comrades if they saw them losing. Having thus agreed, the armies drew off, and picked men of each side were left and fought. Neither could gain advantage in the battle; at last, of six hundred there were left only three, Alcenor and Chromios of the Argives, Othryades of the Lacedaemonians: these three were left alive at nightfall. Then the two Argives, deeming themselves victors, ran to Argos; but Othryades, the Lacedaemonian,
σκυλεύσας τοὺς Ἀργείων νεκροὺς καὶ προσφορή-σας τὰ ὅπλα πρὸς τὸ ἑωτοῦ στρατόπεδον ἐν τῇ τάξι εἰχὲ ἑωτοῦν. ἡμέρη δὲ δευτέρῃ παρῆσαν πυνθανομενοὶ ἀμφότεροι. τέως μὲν δὴ αὐτοὶ ἐκά-τεροι ἐφασαν νικᾶν, λέγοντες οὐ μὲν ὁς ἑωτῶν πλεῦνες περιγεγόνασι, οὐ δὲ τούς μὲν ἀποφαίνον-τες πεφευγότας, τὸν δὲ σφήτερον παραμείναντα καὶ σκυλεύσαντα τοὺς ἐκείνων νεκροὺς· τέλος δὲ ἐκ τῆς ἑρίδος συμπεσόντες ἐμάχοντο, πεσόντων δὲ καὶ ἀμφότεροι πολλῶν ἐνίκων Δακεδαιμονίου.

Ἀργείων μὲν υπὸ τοῦτο τῷ χρόνῳ κατα-κειράμενοι τὰς κεφαλὰς, πρότερον ἐπάναγκες κομώντες, ἑποίησαντο νόμον τε καὶ κατάρην μή πρότερον θρέψεων κόμην Ἀργείων μηδένα, μηδὲ τὰς γυναικὰς σφὶ χρυσοφορήσειν, πρὶν Θυρέας ἀνασώσωνται. Δακεδαιμονίου δὲ τὰ ἐναντία τού-των ἐθεντο νόμον· οὐ γὰρ κομώντες πρὸ τοῦτο ἀπὸ τοῦτο κομᾶν. τὸν δὲ ἔνα λέγοντο ὁ περι-λειψθέντα τῶν τριηκοσίων Ὀθρυνᾶν, αἰσχυνό-μενον ἀπονοστείν ἐς Σπάρτην τῶν οἱ συλλοχι-τέων διεφθαρμένων, αὐτοῦ μω ἐν τῇ Θυρέησι καταχρήσασθαι ἑωτοὺ.

83. Τοιούτων δὲ τοῖς Σπαρτητήσι ένεστεώτων πρηγμάτων ἢκε ὁ Σαρδηνὸς κήρυξ δεόμενος Κροίσῳ Βοηθείων πολυορκεομένω. οὐ δὲ ὁμοι, ἐπεὶ τε ἐπύθοντο τοῦ κήρυκος, ὀρμέατο βοηθεῖν.

καὶ σφὶ ἠδὴ παρεσκευασμένοις καὶ νεῶν έουσέων ἐτόιμων ἢλθε ἀλλη ἀγγελία, ὡς ἠλώκοι τὸ τεῖχος τῶν Λυδῶν καὶ ἔχοιτο Κροίσος ξωγηθείς. οὕτω δὴ οὕτω μὲν συμφορήν ποιήσαμενι μεγάλην ἐπέπαιντο.

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

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

84. Now this is how Sardis was taken. When
καὶ δεκάτη ἐγένετο ἡμέρη πολιορκεομένῳ Κροῖσῳ, Κῦρος τῇ στρατιᾷ τῇ ἑωτοῦ διαπέμψα ἵππεὰς προείπε τῷ πρῶτῳ ἐπιβάντι τοῦ τείχεος δῶρα δώσειν. μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο πειρησαμένης τῆς στρατιῆς ὡς οὐ προεχώρη, ἐνθαῦτα τῶν ἀλλῶν πε-παυμένων ἀνὴρ Μάρδος ἐπειρᾶτο προσβαίνων, τῷ σύνομα τῷ Ἰτροιάδης, κατὰ τούτῳ τῆς ἀκρο-πόλιος τῇ ὀψεῖ ἔτετακτο φύλακος· οὐ γὰρ ἦν δεινὸν κατὰ τούτο μὴ ἄλῳ κοτε. ἀπότομος τε γὰρ ἐστὶ ταύτη ἡ ἀκρόπολις καὶ ἄμαχος· τῇ ὀψὲ Ἔλυσι οὗτος ὁ πρότερον βασιλεὺς Σαρῆδων μοῦνη οὐ περιήνεικε τὸν λέοντα τὸν οἳ ἡ παλλακὴ ἐτεκε, Τελμησσέων δικασάντων ὡς περιενεχθέντος τοῦ λέοντος τὸ τείχος ἐσονται Σάρδιες ἀνάλωτοι. οἱ δὲ Μῆλης κατὰ τὸ ἄλλο τεῖχος περιενείκας, τῇ ἦν ἐπίμαχον τὸ χωρίον τῆς ἀκροπόλιος, κατηλόγησε τοῦτο ὡς ἐὰν ἄμαχον τε καὶ ἀπότομον· ἔστι δὲ πρὸς τοῦ Τμώλου πετραμμένον τῆς πόλιος. οἱ δὲ Ἰτροιάδης ὀφθὸς οὗτος οὐ Μάρδος ἤδον τῇ προτεραίᾳ τῶν τινα Λυδῶν κατὰ τούτο τῆς ἀκροπόλιος καταβάντα ἐπὶ κυνέν ἀνωθεν κατακυλισθεῖσαν καὶ ἄνελόμενον, ἐφρά-σθη καὶ ἐς θυμὸν ἐβάλετο· τότε δὲ ἡ αὐτὸς τε ἀναβεβίκει καὶ κατ’ αὐτὸν ἄλλοι Περσέων ἄνε-βαινον· προσβάντω ὑπὸ συχνῶν οὗτο ἡ Σάρδιες τε ἴλωκεςαν καὶ πάν τὸ ἀστυ ἐπορθεῖ. 85. Κατ’ αὐτὸν δὲ Κροῖσον τάδε ἐγίνετο. ἦν οἱ παῖς, τοῦ καὶ πρότερον ἐπεμνήσθην, τὰ μὲν ἄλλα ἐπιεικής, ἀφωνος δὲ. ἐν τῇ ὧν παρελθοῦσῃ εὐεστοὶ ο Κροῖσος τὸ πᾶν ἐς αὐτὸν ἐπεποίηκε, ἄλλα τε ἐπιφραζόμενος, καὶ δὴ καὶ ές Δελφοὺς

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

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

\footnote{1 The Mardi were a nomad Persian tribe.}
περὶ αὐτοῦ ἐπεπόμφευε χρισομένους. ἢ δὲ Πυθίη
ὅι εἴπε τάδε.

Ἄδη γένος, πολλῶν βασιλεῖν, μέγα νήπιε
Κροίσε,
μὴ βούλου πολύευκτον ἢν ἀνὰ δώματ᾽ ἅκουέιν
παιδὸς φθεγγομένου. τὸ δὲ σοὶ πολὺ λώιον
ἀμφὶς
ἐμμεναί· αὐτήςει γὰρ ἐν ἡματὶ πρῶτον ἀνόλβῳ.
ἀλισκομένου δὴ τοῦ τείχεος, ἢμε γὰρ τῶν τῆς
Περσέων ἀλλογνώσας Κροίσου ὡς ἀποκτενέων,
Κροίσος μὲν νυν ὅρεων ἐπιόντα ὑπὸ τῆς παρεοῦσις
συμφορῆς παρημελήκεε, οὐδὲ τί οἱ διέφερε πλη-
γέντι ἀποθανείν· ὁ δὲ παῖς οὕτως ὁ ἄφωνος ὡς εἶδε
ἐπιόντα τὸν Πέρσην, ὑπὸ δέοντας τε καὶ κακοῦ ἐρηγέ
φωνήν, εἴτε δὲ "Ὡνθρώπη, μὴ κτεῖνε Κροίσουν."
οὕτος μὲν δὴ τοῦτο πρῶτον ἐφθεγάζατο, μετὰ δὲ
τοῦτο ἦδη ἐφώνεε τὸν πάντα χρόνον τῆς ζωῆς.

86. Οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι τὰς τε δὴ Σάρδις ἐσχον καὶ
αὐτὸν Κροίσον ἐξώγησαν, ἄρξαντα ἔτεα τεσσερες-
καίδεα καὶ τεσσερεσκαίδεα ἡμέρας πολυρκη-
θέντα, κατὰ τὸ χρηστήριον τε καταπαύσαντα τὴν
ἐωτοῦ μεγαλήν ἄρχην. λαβόντες δὲ αὐτὸν οἱ
Πέρσαι ἡγαγον παρὰ Κύρον. ὁ δὲ συνισχας
πυρήνι μεγαλήν ἀνεβίβασε ἐπ᾽ αὐτὴν τὸν Κροίσον
τε ἐν πέδησι δεδεμένον καὶ δις ἐπτὰ Λυδῶν παρ'
αὐτὸν παίδας, ἐν νός ἔχων εἴτε δὴ ἁκροθίμα
ταῦτα καταγιεῖν θεῶν ὀτεφ δή, εἴτε καὶ εὐχὴν
ἐπιτελέσαι θέλων, εἴτε καὶ πυθόμενος τὸν Κροίσον
εἶναι θεοσεβέα τοῦτε εἴνεκεν ἀνεβίβασε ἐπὶ τὴν
πυρῆν, βουλόμενος εἰδέναι εἰ τίς μιν δαμόμοιν
ῥύσται τοῦ μὴ ξόντα κατακαυθὴναι. τὸν μὲν δὴ
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oracle concerning him. The Pythian priestess thus answered him:

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

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

86. So the Persians took Sardis and made Croesus himself prisoner, he having reigned fourteen years and been besieged fourteen days, and, as the oracle foretold, brought his own great empire to an end. Having then taken him they led him to Cyrus. Cyrus had a great pyre built, on which he set Croesus, bound in chains, and twice seven Lydian boys beside him: either his intent was to sacrifice these firstfruits to some one of his gods, or he desired to fulfil a vow, or it may be that, learning that Croesus was a god-fearing man, he set him for this cause on the pyre, because he would fain know if any deity would save him from being burnt alive. It is related
poieinen tauta. to de Krouisow estesteiti epi tis pурhês eselthein, kaipera en kakow eonti tosoント, to toû Solwos ws oî eîh sún thew eîrhamenow, to mephéna einai tôn zwonton òlbion. ws de ñra mîn prosostînai touto, ãneveikâmênon te kai âna-stevnâxanta ek pollhês ësuvkîhês es trîs ònomàsai "Solwos." kai tôn Kûron âkoûxanta kelleusai toûs êrmhneas épereiðhsai tôn Krouisow tîna touton épikaleûito, kai toûs prosothontas epierotow Krouisow de téws mév sîghêne eîchon eîrotoûmenow, metâ de ws ënangkâxeto, eîpeîn "Toû an eîgô pûsi tûrânnoisî proestîmhsa megalw chrômâton es lógonos eltheîn." ws de sphi ânlhma eîfrache, páliw epierîwton tâ legeômene. lîparoûntwv de autôn kai ôxlon paréxontwv, ëlege de ëh ws ëlthe ãrkhôn ô Solwos ëwv 'Athanaios, kai òheisâmênos pànta tòn ëwtoû òlbion apoflaurosie oîa de eîpata, ws te autô pànta ápobehîkoi tê per ekeînos eîpe, oudeûn ti málloon es ëwtoûn légoûn ë oûk es ãpata to ânthrôpînou kai màlistatous para sfísi autôisî òlbhîous dokéontas eînai. tîn mev Krouisow tauta ápêgeîxha, tîh de pûrîs ëiðh ërmhénhs kaiéseîh tî perieschita. kai tôn Kûron âkoû-santa tôn êrmhnewôn tâ Krouísow eîpe, metaghônta te kai ënnwosanta òti kai autôs ânthrôpîs ëwrn álloon ânthrôpou, genômenou ëwtonu eûdaîmounîh ouk ëlásow, zônta pûrî didoîh, prós te toutous deîsanata tîh tíswn kai épîleûxâmênon ës oûdên eîh tôn en ânthrôpîsi asfalwos ejhon, kelleûin sbenínuâi tîh techîsthn tî kaiómenou pûr2 kai

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

87. Ἐνθαῦτα λέγεται ὑπὸ Δυδῶν Κροίσου
μαθόντα τῇν Κύρου μετάγγυσιν, ὡς ὥρα πάντα μὲν ἀνδρα σβενύντα τὸ πῦρ, δυναμένους δὲ
οὐκέτι καταλαβεῖν, ἐπιβώσασθαι τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνα
ἐπικαλεόμενον, εἳ τί οἱ κεχαρισμένοι ἐξ αὐτοῦ
ἐδωρήθη, παραστήναι καὶ ῥύσασθαι αὐτὸν ἐκ τοῦ
παρεόντος κακοῦ. τὸν μὲν δακρύνοντα ἐπικαλε-
σθαί τὸν θεόν, ἐκ δὲ αἰθρῆς τε καὶ νηνεμίῳ
συνδραμεῖν ἐξαπίνης ἱέφεα καὶ χειμδὼν τε καταρ-
ραγῆται καὶ ὕσαι ὑδάτι λαβροτάτῳ, κατασβε-
σθήματε τὴν πυρῆν. οὐτῶ δὲ μαθόντα τὸν
Κύρον ὡς εἴη ὁ Κροίσος καὶ θεοφίλης καὶ ἀνὴρ
ἀγαθός, καταβιβάζαστα αὐτὸν ἀπὸ τῆς πυρῆς
εἰρέσθαι τάδε. “Κροίσε, τίς σὲ ἀνθρώπων
ἀνέγνωσε ἐπὶ γῆν τὴν ἐμὴν στρατευσάμενον
πολέμιον αὐτῷ φίλου ἐμοὶ καταστήναι;” ὁ δὲ εἶπε
“Ὡ βασιλεῦ, ἔγω ταῦτα ἐπρηξὰ τῇ σῇ μὲν
ἐνδαιμονίᾳ, τῇ ἐμεωυτοῦ δὲ κακοδαιμονίᾳ, αὐτίς
δὲ τούτων ἐγένετο ὁ Ἑλλήνων θεὸς ἐπαείρας ἐμὲ
στρατευέσθαι. οὐδεὶς γὰρ οὕτω ἀνόητος ἐστὶ
όστις πόλεμον πρὸ εἰρήνης αἱρέται· ἐν μὲν γὰρ
τῇ οἱ παῖδες τοὺς πατέρας θαπτούσι, ἐν δὲ τῷ οἱ
πατέρες τοὺς παῖδας. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα δαίμοσί κου
φίλον ἢν οὕτω γενέσθαι.”

88. Ὅ μὲν ταῦτα ἔλεγε, Κύρος δὲ αὐτὸν λύσας
κατείσε τε ἐγγύς ἐωτοῦ καὶ κάρτα ἐν πολλῇ
προμηθῇ εἶχε, ἀπεθάμαζε τέ ὅρεων καὶ αὐτὸς
καὶ οἱ περὶ ἐκείνου ἐόντες πάντες. ὁ δὲ συννοίη
ἐχόμενος ἠσύχος ἦν· μετὰ δὲ ἐπιστραφεῖς τε καὶ

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fire with all speed and bring Croesus and those with him down from the pyre. But his servants could not for all their endeavour now master the fire.

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

88. So said Croesus. Then Cyrus loosed him and set him near to himself and took much thought for him, and both he and all that were with him were astonished when they looked upon Croesus. He for his part was silent, deep in thought. Presently he
ϊδόμενος τούς Πέρσας τὸ τῶν Λυδῶν ἄστυ κεραίζοντας εἶπε ὡς βασιλεὺς, κόστερον λέγειν πρὸς σὲ τὰ νοέαν τυγχάνω ἢ σιγάν ἐν τῷ παρεόντι χρῆ;” Κύρος δὲ μιν θαρσέουτα ἐκέλευε λέγειν ὦ τι βούλοιτο. ὃ δὲ αὐτὸν εἰρώτα λέγων “Οὐτος ὁ πολλὸς ὁμιλοι τὰ ταῦτα πολλῇ σπουδῇ ἐργάζεται;” ὃ δὲ εἶπε “Πόλιν τε τὴν σὴν διαρπάζει καὶ χρήματα τὰ σὰ διαφορέει.” Κροίσος δὲ ἀμείβετο “Οὐτε πόλιν τὴν ἐμὴν οὔτε χρήματα τὰ ἐμὰ διαρπάζει· οὐδὲν γὰρ ἐμὸι ἐτὶ τούτων μέτα· ἀλλὰ φέροντι τε καὶ ἀγοοῦσι τὰ σὰ.” 89. Κύρω δὲ ἐπιμελέσες ἐγένετο τὰ Κροίσος εἶπε· μεταστήσαμενος δὲ τοὺς ἄλλους, εἴρετο Κροίσον ὅ τι οἱ ἐνορφὴ ἐν τοῖς ποιεῖτε. ὃ δὲ εἶπε ὡς ἐπείτε μὲ θεοὶ ἐδωκαν δούλουν σοι, δικαὶ, εἰ τι ἐνορέω πλέον, σημαίνειν σοι. Πέρσαι φῦσιν ἑόντες ύβρισταί εἰσὶ ἀχρήματοι. ἢν δὲ σὺ τούτους περιῆς διαρπάζαντας καὶ κατασχόντας χρήματα μεγάλα, τάδε τοι έξα αὐτῶν ἑπίδοξα γενέσθαι· ὃς δὲ αὐτῶν πλείστα κατά σχῆ, τούτων προσδέκεσθαι τοῖς ἐπαναστησόμενοι. νῦν δὲν ποίησον ὦδε, εἰ τοι ἀρέσκει τὰ ἑγὼ λέγω· κάτισον τῶν δορυφόρων ἐπὶ πάσης ἀρέσκεις πύλησι φυλάκουσ, οἱ λεγόντων πρὸς τοὺς ἐκφέροντας τὰ χρήματα ἀπαίρεόμενοι ὡς σφέα ἀναγκαίως ἐχει δεκατευθύμια τῷ Δίῳ. καὶ σὺ τὲ σφί οὐκ ἀπεχθήσεις βίη ἀπαίρεόμενος τὰ χρήματα, καὶ ἐκεῖνοι συγγνώμονες ποιεῖν σὲ δίκαια ἐκόντες προῆσον.” 90. Ταῦτα ἀκούον ό Κύρος ὑπερήδετο, ὡς οἱ ἐδόκεε εἰς ὑποτίθεσθαι· αἰνέσας δὲ πολλά, καὶ ἐντειλάμενος τούς δορυφόρους τὰ Κροίσος ὑπεθήκατο ἐπιτελεῖν, εἶπε πρὸς Κροίσον τάδε. 114
turned and said (for he saw the Persians sacking the city of the Lydians), "O King, am I to say to you now what is in my mind, or keep silence?" Cyrus bidding him to say boldly what he would, Croesus asked, "Yonder multitude, what is this whereon they are so busily engaged?" "They are plundering," said Cyrus, "your city and carrying off your possessions." "Nay," Croesus answered, "not my city, nor my possessions; for I have no longer any share of all this; it is your wealth that they are ravishing."

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

90. When Cyrus heard this he was exceedingly pleased, for he deemed the counsel good; and praising him greatly, and bidding his guards to act as Croesus
"Κροίσε, ἀναρτημένου σεῦ ἀνδρὸς βασιλέως χρηστά ἔργα καὶ ἐπεα ποιεῖν, αἰτεό δόσιν ἡμών Βούλεαί τοι γενέσθαι παραντικὰ." ὃ δὲ εἶπε Ἡ στον τά ἐστί τοῦ θεῶν τῶν Ἐλλήνων, τῶν ἑγὼ εἶτμησα θεῶν μάλιστα, ἐπειρέσθαι πέμψαντα τάσδε τᾶς πέδας, εἰ ἐξαπατᾶν τούς εὗ ποιεῖνας νόμος ἔστι οί. Κύρος δὲ εὔρετο ὅ τι οἱ τοῦτο ἐπηγορέων παραιτεύτο. Κροίσος δὲ οἱ ἐπαλλλλόγησε πᾶσαν τῆν ἑωτοῦ διάνοιαν καὶ τῶν χρηστηρίων τὰς ὕποκρίσιας καὶ μάλιστα τὰ ἀναθήματα, καὶ ὡς ἐπαερθεῖς τὸν καντήμιον ἐστρατεύσατο ἐπὶ Πέρσας· λέγων δὲ ταύτα κατέβαινε αὕτις παρατείμονος ἐπείναυ ὁι τῶ θεῶν τοῦτο ὅνειδίσαι. Κύρος δὲ γελάσας εἶπε "Καὶ τοῦτο τεῦξει παρ᾽ ἐμευ, Κροίσε, καὶ ἂλλον παντὸς τοῦ ἀν ἐκάστοτε δή." ὡς δὲ ταύτα ἦκουσε ὁ Κροίσος, πέμπτων τῶν Δυδῶν ἐς Δελφοῦς ἐνετέλεσε τιθέντας τὰς πέδας ἐπὶ τοῦ νηοῦ τῶν οὐδὸν εἰρωτῶν εἰ ὃ πι σωτριχύνεται τοῖς μαντηλίοις ἐπαείρας Κροίσον στρατεύσας ἐπὶ Πέρσας ὃς καταπαύσοντα τὴν Κύρου δύναμιν, ἀπ᾽ ὃς οἱ ἀκροθίνα τοιαύτα γενέσθαι, δεικνύντας τὰς πέδας ταύτα τε ἐπειρωτῶν, καὶ εἰ ἄχαριστοι νόμος εἶναι τοῦτι Ἐλληνικοῖς θεοῖς.

91. Ἀπικομένοις δὲ τούτῳ Δυδῶι καὶ λέγουσι τὰ ἐνεταλμένα τὴν Πυθίαν λέγεται εἰπεῖτι τίδε. "Τὴν πεπρωμένην μοῖραν ἀδύνατα ἐστὶ ἀποφυγεῖν καὶ θεῶ. Κροίσος δὲ πέμπτου γονέως ἀμαρτάδα ἐξέπλησε, ὃς ἐὼν δορυφόρως Ἰρακλειδέων, δόλῳ γυνακηίῳ ἐπιστόμενος ὕψωσε τὸν δεσπότεα καὶ ἐσχε τὴν ἐκείνου τιμὴν οὐδέν ὁ προσήκομαν. προθυμεομένου δὲ Δοξίεω ὁκὼς ἀν κατὰ τοὺς
had counselled, he said: "Croesus, now that you, a king, are resolved to act and to speak aright, ask me now for whatever boon you desire forthwith." "Master," said Croesus, "you will best please me if you suffer me to send these my chains to that god of the Greeks whom I chiefly honoured, and to ask him if it be his custom to deceive those who serve him well." Cyrus then asking him what charge he brought against the god that he made this request, Croesus repeated to him the tale of all his own intent, and the answers of the oracles, and more especially his offerings, and how it was the oracle that had heartened him to attack the Persians; and so saying he once more instantly entreated that he might be suffered to reproach the god for this. At this Cyrus smiled, and replied, "This I will grant you, Croesus, and what other boon soever you may at any time ask me." When Croesus heard this, he sent men of the Lydians to Delphi, charging them to lay his chains on the threshold of the temple, and to ask if the god were not ashamed that he had persuaded Croesus to attack the Persians, telling him that he would destroy Cyrus' power; of which power (they should say, showing the chains) these were the first-fruits. Thus they should inquire; and further, if it were the manner of the Greek gods to be thankless. 

91. When the Lydians came, and spoke as they were charged, the priestess (it is said) thus replied: "None may escape his destined lot, not even a god. Croesus hath paid for the sin of his ancestor of the fifth generation: who, being of the guard of the Heraclidae, was led by the guile of a woman to slay his master, and took to himself the royal state of that master, whereto he had no right. And it was the desire of Loxias that the evil hap of Sardis should
παίδας τοῦ Κροίσου γένοιτο τὸ Σαρδίων πάθος καὶ μὴ κατ’ αὐτὸν Κροίσου, οὐκ ὅλων τε ἐγίνετο παραγαγείν μοίρας. ὅσον δὲ ἐνέδωκαν αὐταί, ἦνυσε τε καὶ ἐχαρίσατο οἱ· τρῖα γὰρ ἦταν ἐπανεβάλετο τὴν Σαρδίων ἀλώσιν, καὶ τοῦτο ἐπιστάσθη Κροίσος ὡς ύστερον τοῖς ἑτεσι τούτοις ἀλούς τῆς πεπρωμένης. δεύτερα δὲ τούτων καιομένων αὐτῶ ἐπηρίκεσε. κατὰ δὲ τὸ μαντήμον τὸ γενόμενον οὐκ ὅρθως Κροίσος μέμφεται. προηγόρευε γὰρ οἱ Δοξίης, ἣν στρατεύηται ἐπὶ Πέρσας, μεγάλην ἀρχὴν αὐτῶν καταλύσειν. τὸν δὲ πρὸς ταῦτα χρήν εὐ μέλλοντα βουλεύεσθαι ἐπειρέσθαι πειμαστὰ κόπερα τὴν ἐωτοῦ ἢ τὴν Κύρου λέγου ἀρχὴν. οὐ συλλαβὼν δὲ τὸ ὑπὸν οὐδ’ ἐπανειρμένος ἐωτοῦ αὐτίον ἀποφαίνετω· τῷ καὶ τὸ τελευταῖον χρηστηριαζομένῳ ἐίπε Δοξίης περὶ ήμιόνου, οὔτε τοῦτο συνέλαβε. ἦν γὰρ δὴ ο Κύρος οὕτος ήμίονος· ἐκ γὰρ δυὸν οὐκ ὁμοεθνῶν ἐγεγόνει, μητρὸς ἀμείνονος, πατρὸς δὲ ὑποδειστέρου· ἦ μὲν γὰρ ἢν Μηδίς καὶ Ἀστυάγεως θυγατὴρ τοῦ Μηδίων Βασίλεως, δὲ Πέρσης τε ἦν καὶ ἀρχόμενος ὑπ’ ἐκείνους καὶ ἐνερθὲ ἐών τοῖς ἀπασὶ δεσποτὶ τῇ ἐωτοῦ συνοίκεις.” ταύτα μὲν ἢ Πυθή ὑπεκρίνατο τοῦς Λυδοῖς, οὐ δὲ ἀνήνεϊκαν ἐς Σάρδις καὶ ἀπήγγειλαν Κροίσῳ. δὲ δὲ ἀκούσας συνέγειο ἐωτοῦ εἶναι τὴν ἀμαρτάδα καὶ οὐ τοῦ θεοῦ. κατὰ μὲν δὴ τὴν Κροίσου τε ἀρχὴν καὶ Ἰωνίς τὴν πρώτην καταστροφῆν ἔσχε οὕτω. 92. Κροίσῳ δὲ ἔστι ἄλλα ἀναθήματα ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι πολλὰ καὶ οὐ τὰ εἰρημένα μοῦνα. ἐν μὲν
fall in the lifetime of Croesus' sons, not his own, but he could not turn the Fates from their purpose; yet did he accomplish his will and favour Croesus in so far as they would yield to him: for he delayed the taking of Sardis for three years, and this let Croesus know, that though he be now taken it is by so many years later than the destined hour. And further, Loxias saved Croesus from the burning. But as to the oracle that was given him, Croesus doth not right to complain concerning it. For Loxias declared to him that if he should lead an army against the Persians he would destroy a great empire. Therefore it behoved him, if he would take right counsel, to send and ask whether the god spoke of Croesus' or of Cyrus' empire. But he understood not that which was spoken, nor made further inquiry: wherefore now let him blame himself. Nay, when he asked that last question of the oracle and Loxias gave him that answer concerning the mule, even that Croesus understood not. For that mule was in truth Cyrus; who was the son of two persons not of the same nation, of whom the mother was the nobler and the father of lesser estate; for she was a Median, daughter of Astyages king of the Medians: but he was a Persian and under the rule of the Medians, and was wedded, albeit in all regards lower than she, to one that should be his sovereign lady." Such was the answer of the priestess to the Lydians; they carried it to Sardis and told it to Croesus; and when he heard it, he confessed that the sin was not the god's, but his own. And this is the story of Croesus' rule, and of the first overthrow of Ionia.

92. Now there are many offerings of Croesus in Hellas, and not only those whereof I have spoken.
γὰρ Ὁμήρος τῇ Βοιωτῶν τρίπους χρύσεος, τὸν ἀνέθηκε τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι τῷ Ἱσμηνίῳ, ἐν δὲ Ἑφέσῳ αὖ τε βόες αἱ χρύσαι καὶ τῶν κίονων αἱ πολλαί, ἐν δὲ Προνήης τῆς ἐν Δελφοῖς ἀστὶς χρυσὴ μεγάλη. ταῦτα μὲν καὶ ἔτι ἐσ ἐμὲ ἴν περεύοντα, τὰ δὲ ἐξαπόλωλε τῶν ἀναθημάτων· τὰ δὲ ἐν Βραγχίδης τῇ Μιλησίων ἀναθήματα Κροῖσῳ, ὡς ἐγὼ πυθαγόμαι, ἤσα τε σταθμὸν καὶ ομοία τοῖς ἐν Δελφοῖσι 1 . . . τὰ μὲν νῦν ἐς τε Δελφοὺς καὶ ἐς τῷ Ἀμφιάρεω ἀνέθηκε οἰκήμα τε ἐόντα καὶ τῶν πατρῴων χρημάτων ἀπαρχῆν· τὰ δὲ ἄλλα ἀναθήματα ἐξ ἀνδρὸς ἐγένετο ὀυσίης ἐχθροῦ, ὡς οἱ πρὶν ἡ βασιλεύσαι ἀντιστασίως κατεστήκεε, συςτεύδων Πανταλέωντι γενέσθαι τὴν Λυδῶν ἄρχην. ὦ δὲ Πανταλέων ἦν Ἀλυάττεω μὲν παῖς, Κροῖσον δὲ ἀδελφός οὖκ ὀμομήτριος. Κροῖσος μὲν γὰρ ἐκ Καιρῆς ἦν γυναικὸς Ἀλυάττη, Πανταλέων δὲ ἐξ Ἰάδος. ἐπείτε δὲ δόντος τοῦ πατρὸς ἐκράτησε τῆς ἄρχης ὁ Κροῖσος, τὸν ἀνθρωπὸν τὸν ἀντιπρήσσοντα ἐπὶ κνάφον ἐλκὼν διέφθειρε, τὴν δὲ οὐσίην αὐτοῦ ἐτι πρότερον κατιρώσας τότε τρόπῳ τῷ εἰρημένῳ ἀνέθηκε ἐς τὰ εἰρήται. καὶ περὶ μὲν ἀναθημάτων τοσαῦτα εἰρήσθων.

93. Θώματα δὲ γῆ ἡ Λυδίη ἐς συγγραφὴν οὔ μάλα ἔχει, οὐ τε καὶ ἄλλῃ χώρῃ, πάρεξ τοῦ ἐκ τοῦ Τμώλου καταφερομένου ψήγματος. ἐν δὲ ἔργον πολλὸν μέγιστον παρέχεται χωρὶς τῶν τοῦ Ἀγνυττίων ἔργων καὶ τῶν Βαβυλονίων ἐςτι αὐτόθι Ἀλυάττεω τοῦ Κροῖσου πατρὸς σῆμα, τοῦ

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

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

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

2 The temple of Athene Proneia ( = before the shrine) was situated outside the temple of Apollo.
HERODOTUS

ἡ κρητικὴς μὲν ἔστι λίθων μεγάλων, τὸ δὲ ἄλλο σῆμα χώμα γῆς. ἔξεργάσαντο δὲ μιν οἱ ἄγοραῖοι ἀνθρώποι καὶ οἱ χειρώνακτες καὶ αἱ ἐνεργαζόμεναι παιδίσκαι. οὕροι δὲ πέντε ἐόντες ἔτι καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ ἤσαν ἐπὶ τοῦ σήματος ἄνω, καὶ σφι γράμματα ἑνεκεκόλαπτο τὰ ἐκαστοὶ ἔξεργάσαντο, καὶ ἔφαινετο μετρεόμενον τὸ τῶν παιδισκῶν ἔργον ἐδὸν μέγιστον. τοῦ γὰρ ἢ Ἄυδοῖν δήμου αἱ θυγατέρες πορνεύονται πᾶσαι, σύμπλεγονσαι σφίσι φερνάς, ἐς δὲν συνοικισῶσι τοῦτο ποτένσαι· ἐκδιδοῦσι δὲ αὐταί ἑωτὰς. ἡ μὲν δὴ περίοδος τοῦ σήματος εἰσὶ στάδιοι ἢ καὶ δύο πλέθρα, τὸ δὲ ϊυρος ἐστὶ πλέθρα τρία καὶ δέκα. Λίμνη δὲ ἔχεται τοῦ σήματος μεγάλη, τὴν λέγουσι Ἄυδοῖ λείνανθε εἰναι· καλέεται δὲ αὐτὴ Γυγαίη. τοῦτο μὲν δὴ τοιοῦτο ἐστὶ.

94. Ἄυδοῖ δὲ νόμοις μὲν παραπλησίοισι χρέωνται καὶ Ἑλληνες, χωρίς ἢ ὅτι τὰ θήλεα τέκνα καταπορνεύονσι, πρῶτοι δὲ ἀνθρώπων τῶν ἣμεῖς ἴδμεν νόμοσμα χρυσοῦ καὶ ἀργύρου κοψίμενοι ἑχρήσαντο, πρῶτοι δὲ καὶ κάπηλοι ἐγένοντο. φασὶ δὲ αὐτοὶ Ἄυδοῖ καὶ τὰς παιγνίας τὰς νῦν σφίσι τε καὶ Ἑλλησι κατεστεώσας ἑωτῶν ἐξεύρημα γενέσθαι ἢμα δὲ ταύτας τε ἐξευρεθημέναι παρὰ σφίσι λέγουσι καὶ Τυρσηνίην ἠποικίσασι, ὅδε περὶ αὐτῶν λέγοντες. ἐπὶ τοῦ Ατύου τοῦ Μάιεως βασιλέως σινοδείην ἰσχυρὴν ἀνὰ τὴν Λυδίην πᾶσαν γενέσθαι, καὶ τοὺς Ἄυδοὺς τέως μὲν διάγειν λυπαρόντας, μετὰ δὲ ὅς οὐ παύεσθαι, ἀκαὶ δίζησθαι, ἄλλοι δὲ ἄλλο ἐπιμηχανάσθαι αὐτῶν. ἐξευρεθήμεν δὴ ὧν τότε καὶ τῶν κύβων καὶ τῶν ἀστραγάλων καὶ τῆς σφαίρης καὶ τῶν ἄλλων

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

94. The customs of the Lydians are like those of the Greeks, save that they make prostitutes of their female children. They were the first men (known to us) who coined and used gold and silver currency; and they were the first to sell by retail. And, according to what they themselves say, the pastimes now in use among them and the Greeks were invented by the Lydians: these, they say, were invented among them at the time when they colonised Tyrrhenia. This is their story: In the reign of Atys son of Manes there was great scarcity of food in all Lydia. For a while the Lydians bore this with what patience they could; presently, when there was no abatement of the famine, they sought for remedies, and divers plans were devised by divers men. Then it was that they invented the games of dice and knuckle-bones and
πασέων παγνιών τὰ εἴδεα, πλὴν πεσσῶν τούτων γὰρ ὃν τὴν ἔξευρεσιν οὐκ οἰκηιόνται Λυδοί. ποιεῖν δὲ ὡδε πρὸς τὸν Λιμὸν ἔξευρόντας, τὴν μὲν ἔτέρην τῶν ἡμερέων παῖξειν πᾶσαν, ὥσ ἡ μὴ ζητείαν οἰκηίον, τὴν δὲ ἔτερην σιτεύσθαι πανομένους τῶν παγνιῶν. τοιούτῳ τρόπῳ διάγειν ἐπ᾽ ἐτεα δυῶν δέοντα εἴκοσι. ἐπείτε δὲ οὐκ ἀνίεναι τὸ κακὸν ἀλλ᾽ ἐτὶ ἐπὶ μᾶλλον βιάζεθαι, οὗτῷ δὴ τὸν βασιλεά αὐτῶν δύο μοῖρας διελόντα Λυδῶν πάντων κληρώσαι τὴν μὲν ἐπὶ μόνη τὴν δὲ ἐπὶ ἐξόδῳ ἐκ τῆς χώρης, καὶ ἐπὶ μὲν τῇ μένειν αὐτοῦ λαγχανοῦσα τῶν μοιρῶν ἐωτυτῶν τῶν βασιλεᾶ προστάσσειν, ἐπὶ δὲ τῇ ἀπαλλασσομένη τὸν ἐωτου παιδα, τῷ οὐνομα ἐσθαι Τυρσην. λαχόντας δὲ αὐτῶν τοὺς ἔτέρους ἐξείναι ἐκ τῆς χώρης καταβῆναι ἐς Σμύρνην καὶ μηχανήσασθαι πλοῖα, ἐς τὰ ἐσθεμένους τὰ πάντα ὅσα σφὶ ἦν χρηστὰ ἐπὶ-πλοῖα, ἀποπλέειν κατὰ βίον τε καὶ γῆς ἥξησιν, ἐσ ὃ ἐθνεα πολλὰ παραμειψαμένους ἀπικέσθαι ἐς Ὄμβρικος, ἐνθα σφεας ἐνιδρύσασθαι πόλιας καὶ οἰκείειν τὸ μέχρι τοῦτε. ἀντὶ δὲ Λυδῶν μετονομάσθηναι αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ τοῦ βασιλεῶς τοῦ παιδός, ὃς σφεας ἀνήγαγε, ἐπὶ τούτου τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν ποιευμένους ὀνομαςθῆναι Τυρσηνοὺς.

Λυδοὶ μὲν δὴ ὑπὸ Πέρσης ἐδεδουλώντο.

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

The Lydians, then, were enslaved by the Persians.

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

¹ In northern and central Italy; the Umbria of Roman history perpetuates the name.
'Ασσυρίων ἄρχόντων τῆς ἄνω 'Ασίης ἐπ’ ἔτεα εἶκοσι καὶ πεντακόσια, πρώτοι ἀπ’ αὐτῶν Μῆ-δοι ἦρξαντο ἀπίστασθαι, καὶ κως οὗτοι περὶ τῆς ἐλευθερίας μαχεσάμενοι τοῖς 'Ασσυρίοισι ἐγένοντο ἄνδρες ἀγαθοὶ, καὶ ἀπωσάμενοι τὴν δουλοσύνην ἐλευθερώθησαν, μετὰ δὲ τούτους καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ἐθνεά ἐποίεε τώντο τοῖς Μῆδοισι.

96. Ἐόντων δὲ αὐτονόμων πάντων ἀνὰ τὴν ἡπειρον, ὧδε αὐτίς ἐς τυραννίδα περιῆλθον. ἀνήρ ἐν τοῖς Μῆδοισι ἐγένετο σοφὸς τῷ οὕνομα ἦν Δημόκης, παῖς δ’ ἦν Φραόρτεω. οὗτος ὁ Δημόκης ἔρασθεὶς τυραννίδος ἐποίεε τοιάδε. κατοικημένων τῶν Μῆδων κατὰ κόμας, ἐν τῇ ἐσωτὴρ ἕως καὶ πρότερον δόκιμος καὶ μᾶλλον τι καὶ προθυμότερον δικαιοσύνην ἐπιθέμενος ἢσκεε· καὶ ταῦτα μέντοι ἐσύνης ἀνομίας πολλής ἀνὰ πάσαν τὴν Μηδικὴν ἐποίεε, ἐπιστάμενος ὅτι τῷ δικαίῳ τὸ ἄδικον πολέμου ἐστί. οἱ δ’ ἐκ τῆς αὐτῆς κόμης Μῆδοι ὀρῶντες αὐτοῖς τοὺς τρόπους δικαστῆν μιν ἐσωτῆν αἱρέοντο. ὃ δὲ ἐκ, ὃτα μυώμενος ἄρχην, ἵθες τε καὶ δίκαιος ἦν, ποιεῖν τε ταῦτα ἐπαινοῦ εἰχε οὐκ ἀλλὶς πρὸς τῶν πολιτεῶν, οὗτοι ἄστε πυνθανο-μενοι οἱ ἐν τῇ ἐλληνικῇ κόμῃ ἦν Δημόκης εἶχε ἀνήρ μοῦνος κατὰ τὸ ὀρθὸν δικάζων, πρότερον περιπίπτοντες ἄδικοις γνώμης, τότε ἐπείτε ἀνακαλοῦ ἀψεμενοι ἐφοῖτων παρὰ τῶν Δημίκεα καὶ αὐτοὶ δικασόμενοι, τέλος δὲ υἱὴν ἄλλῳ ἐπετράποντο.

97. Πλεύνος δὲ αἰεὶ γινομένου τοῦ ἐπιφοιτέ-οντος, οῖα πυνθανομένων τὰς δίκας ἀποβαίνειν

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the truth, though there are no less than three other accounts of Cyrus which I could give.

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

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

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

1 From 1229 to 709 B.C., as Deioces’ reign began in 709.
κατά τὸ ἑόν, γνοὺς ὁ Δημόκης ἐς ἐωτοῦ τῶν ἀνακείμενον οὔτε κατίζειν ἔτι ἱθελε ἐνθα περ πρῶτον προκατίζων ἐδίκαζε, οὔτ' ἐφη δικὰν ἐτίν' οὐ γάρ οἱ λυσιτελεῖειν τῶν ἐωτοῦ ἐξημεληκότα τούς πέλας δ' ἡμέρης δικαζειν. ἔουσας ὁν ἀρταγής καὶ ἀνομίας ἐτὶ πολλῷ μᾶλλον ἀνὰ τὰς κόμας ἢ πρῶτον ἦν, συνελέγθησαν οἱ Μήδιοι ἐς τῶν κατηκότων. ὡς δ' ἐγώ δοκέω, μάλιστα ἐλεγον οἱ τοῦ Δημόκεως φίλοι "Οὐ γὰρ δὴ τρόπῳ τῷ παρεόντι χρεώμενοι δυνατοὶ εἰμέν οἰκέειν τὴν χώρην, φέρε σησώμεν ἢμέων αὐτῶν βασιλέα· καὶ οὔτω ἢ τε χώρη εὐνομῆσται καὶ αὐτοῖ πρὸς ἐργα τρεψομεθα, οὔδε ύπ' ἀνομίας ἀνιστατοὶ ἑσόμεθα." ταῦτα κη λέγοντες πείθουσι ἐωτοὺς βασιλεύσεθαι.

98. Ἀυτίκα δὲ προβαλλομένων ὄντων στή- σσοντι βασιλέα, ὁ Δημόκης ἦν πολλὸς ὑπὸ παιτὸς ἀνδρὸς καὶ προβαλλόμενος καὶ αἰνεόμενος, ἐς ὁ τούτον κατανέουσι βασιλέα σφίσι εἰναι. ὁ δ' ἐκέλευε αὐτοὺς οἰκία τε ἐωτῷ ἀξία τῆς βασιληῆς οἰκοδομήσαι καὶ κρατῶν πρὸς δορυφόρους ποιεύσι δὴ τάυτα οἱ Μήδιοι οἰκοδομέουσι τε γὰρ αὐτῷ οἰκία μεγάλα τε καὶ ἒσχυρά, ἢν αὐτὸς ἔφρασε τῆς χώρης, καὶ δορυφόρους αὐτῶ ἑπι- τράπουσι ἐκ πάντων Μήδων καταλέξασθαι. ὁ δὲ ὃς ἐσχε τὴν ἁρχήν, τοὺς Μήδους ἱμάγκασε ἐν πόλισμα ποιήσασθαι καὶ τοῦτο περιστελλοῦνɛ τῶν ἄλλων ἢσον ἐπιμέλεσθαι. πειθομένων δὲ καὶ τάυτα τῶν Μήδων οἰκοδομεῖ τείχεα μεγάλα τε καὶ καρτερὰ τάυτα τὰ νῦν Ἀγβάτανα κέ- κηται, ἔτερου ἐτέρῳ κύκλῳ ἐνεστεώτα. μεμή%-128
accorded with the truth. Then Deioces, seeing that all was now entrusted to him, would not sit in his former seat of judgment, and said he would give no more decisions; for it was of no advantage to him (he said) to leave his own business and spend all the day judging the cases of his neighbours. This caused robbery and lawlessness to increase greatly in the townships; and the Medes gathering together conferred about their present affairs, and said (here, as I suppose, the chief speakers were Deioces' friends), “Since we cannot with our present manner of life dwell peacefully in the country, come, let us set up a king for ourselves; thus will the country be well governed, and we ourselves shall betake ourselves to our business, and cease to be undone by lawlessness” By such words they persuaded themselves to be ruled by a king.

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

1 Modern Hamadān, probably; but see Rawlinson's note.
χάνηται δὲ οὖτω τούτῳ τὸ τείχος ὡστε ὁ ἐτερὸς τοῦ ἐτέρου κύκλος τοὺς προμαχέως μοῦνοις ἐστὶ ύψηλότερος. τὸ μὲν κοῦ τι καὶ τὸ χωρίον συμμαχεῖ κολωνὸς ἐώς ὡστε τοιοῦτο εἶναι, τὸ δὲ καὶ μᾶλλον τι ἐπετηδεύθη. κύκλων δ' ἐστὶ τῶν συναπάντων ἐπτά, ἐν δὴ τῷ τελευταίῳ τὰ βασιλῆια ἐνεστὶ καὶ οἱ θησαυροί. τὸ δ' αὐτῶν μέγιστον ἐστὶ τείχος κατὰ τὸν 'Ἀθηναίων κύκλων μάλιστα κη τὸ μέγαθος. τοῦ μὲν δὴ πρώτου κύκλου οἱ προμαχέων εἰσὶ λευκοί, τοῦ δὲ δεύτερου μέλαινες, τρίτου δὲ κύκλου φοινίκεοι, τετάρτου δὲ κνάνεοι, πέμπτου δὲ σαυδαράκινοι. οὖτω τῶν πέντε κύκλων οἱ προμαχέων ἡθισμένοι εἰσὶ φαρμάκοις· δύο δὲ οἱ τελευταῖοι εἰσὶ ο μὲν καταργυρωμένους ο δὲ κατακεχρυσωμένους ἔχου τοὺς προμαχεώνας.

99. Ταῦτα μὲν δὴ ὁ Δημόκρης ἐωυτῷ τε ἐτείχει καὶ περὶ τὰ ἐωυτοῦ οἰκία, τῶν δὲ ἄλλων δῆμον πέριξ ἐκέλευε τὸ τείχος οἰκέειν. οἰκοδομηθέντων δὲ πάντων κόσμον τόνδε Δημόκρης πρῶτος ἐστὶ ὁ καταστησάμενος, μήτε ἐσίειν παρὰ βασιλέα μηδένα, δι' ἀγγέλων δὲ πάντα χράσθαι, ὀράσθαι τε βασιλέα ύπὸ μηδενός, πρὸς τε τούτοις ἐτὶ γελᾶν τε καὶ ἀντίον πτῦειν καὶ ἀπασί ἑὶναι τοῦτο γε αἰσχρόν. ταῦτα δὲ περὶ ἐωυτοῦ ἐσέμυνεν τῶνε δε εἰνεκεν, ὅκως ἂν μὴ ὅρωντες οἱ ὕμηλίκαις, ἐστε σύντροφοί τε ἐκεῖνο καὶ οἰκίας οὐν ψαλντερής οὐδὲ ἐς ἀνδραγαθίην λειπόμενοι, λυπεῖστε καὶ ἐπιβουλεύοιεν, ἄλλ' ἐτεροίς σφι δοκέοι εἶναι μὴ ὅρωσι.

100. Ἐπείτη δὲ ταῦτα διεκόσμησε καὶ ἐκράτους ἐωυτὸ τῇ τυραννίδι, ἡν τὸ δικαίον φυλάσσων
circle of walls is higher than the next outer circle by no more than the height of its battlements; to which end the site itself, being on a hill in the plain, somewhat helps, but chiefly it was accomplished by art. There are seven circles in all; within the innermost circle are the king's dwellings and the treasuries; and the longest wall is about the length of the wall that surrounds the city of Athens. The battlements of the first circle are white, of the second black, of the third circle purple, of the fourth blue, and of the fifth orange: thus the battlements of five circles are painted with colours; and the battlements of the last two circles are coated, these with silver and those with gold.

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

100. Having ordered all these matters and strongly armed himself with sovereign power, he was a hard

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1 About eight miles, according to a scholiast's note on Thucyd. ii. 13; but this is disputed.  
2 Or, perhaps, different from themselves.
χαλεπός· καὶ τὰς τε δίκας γράφοντες ἐσώ παρ’ ἐκεῖνον ἐσπέμπεσκον, καὶ ἐκεῖνος διακρίνων τὰς ἐσφερομένας ἐκπέμπεσκε. ταῦτα μὲν κατὰ τὰς δίκας ἐποίεσε, τάδε δὲ ἄλλα ἐκεκοσμεῖτο οἷ· εἰ τινὰ πυθάνοιτο ὑβρίζοντα, τοῦτον ὅκως μετα- πέμψατο κατ’ ἀξίην ἐκάστου ἀδικήματος ἐδικαίειν, καὶ οἱ κατάσκοποί τε καὶ κατήκουν Ἰσαν ἀνὰ πᾶσαν τήν χώρην τῆς ἴρχε.

101. Δηιόκης μὲν νυν τὸ Μηδικόν θνὸς συνε- στρέψε μοῦν καὶ τοῦτον ἴρξε· ἔστὶ δὲ Μῆδων τοσάδε γένεα, Βοῦσαι Παρημακηνοὶ Στρούχατες Ἀριζαντοὶ Βοῦδιοι Μάγοι. γένεα μὲν δὴ Μῆδων ἔστι τοσάδε.

102. Δηιόκεω δὲ παῖς γίνεται Φραόρτης, ὃς τελευτήσαντος Δηιόκεω, βασιλεύσαντος τρία καὶ πεντήκοντα ἔτεα, παρεδέξατο τὴν ἄρχην, παρα- δεξάμενος δὲ οὐκ ἀπεχράτο μοῦν Μῆδων ἄρχειν, ἄλλα στρατευσάμενος ἐπὶ τοὺς Πέρσας πρῶτοις τε τούτοις ἐπεθήκατο καὶ πρῶτοις Μῆδων ὑπη- κόους ἐποίησε. μετὰ δὲ ἔχων δύο ταῦτα ἔθνεα καὶ ἀμφότερα ἰσχυρά, κατεστρέφετο τὴν Ἀσίην ἀπ’ ἄλλου ἐπ’ ἄλλο ἰδίων ἔθνος, ἐς τοῦ στρατευσά- μενος ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἀσσυρίους καὶ Ἀσσυρίους τούτους οἱ Νίνων ἐχὼν καὶ ἴρχον πρότερον πάντων, τὸτε δὲ ήσαν μεμονωμένοι μὲν συμμάχων ἀτε ἀπεστεώτων, ἄλλως μέντοι ἑωτῶν εἰ ἴκοντες, ἐπὶ τούτους δὴ στρατευσάμενος ὁ Φραόρτης αὐτὸς τε διεφθάρη, ἀρξας δύο καὶ έικοσί ἔτεα, καὶ ὁ στρατὸς αὐτοῦ ὁ πολλός.

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

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

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

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

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1 Deioces died in 656 B.C.
προγόνων, καὶ πρῶτος τε ἐλοχίσε κατὰ τέλεα τοὺς ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ καὶ πρῶτος διέταξε χωρίς ἐκάστους εἶναι, τοὺς τε αἰχμοφόρους καὶ τοὺς τοξοφόρους καὶ τοὺς ἱππέας· πρὸ τοῦ δὲ ἀναμίξῃ ἦν πάντα ὅμοιως ἀναπεφυμένα. οὕτος οὐκ ὅ τοις Δυδοῦσι ἐστὶ μαχεσάμενος ὡτε νὺξ ἡ ἡμέρη ἐγένετο σφί μαχημένοις, καὶ ὅ τῇ Ἀλυς ποταμοῦ ἄνω Ἀσίην πᾶσαν συστήσας ἐσωτήρ. συλλέξας δὲ τοὺς ὑπ’ ἑωτῆ ἀρχομένους πάντας ἐστρατεύετο ἐπὶ τὴν Νίνον, τιμώρεων τε τῷ πατρὶ καὶ τὴν πόλιν ταύτην θέλων ἑξελεῖν. καὶ οὐ, ὡς συμβαλών ἐνίκησε τοὺς Ἀσσυρίους, περικατημένῳ τῇ Νίνον ἐπῆλθε Σκυθεων στρατὸς μέγας, ἦγε δὲ αὐτοῖς βασιλεὺς ὁ Σκυθεων Μαδύς Προτοθύνω παῖς· οἱ ἐσέβαλον μὲν ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην Κιμμερίους ἐκβαλόντες ἐκ τῆς Εὐρώπης, τούτοις δὲ ἐπιστόμενοι φεύγουσι οὕτω ἐς τὴν Μηδικήν χώρην ἀπίκοντο.

104. Ἑστὶ δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς λίμνης τῆς Μαυήτιδος ἐπὶ Φᾶσιν ποταμῶν καὶ ἐς Κόλχους τριῆκοντα ἴμμερέων ἐυξώφῳ ὕδός, ἐκ δὲ τῆς Κολχίδος οὐ πολλῶν ὑπερβῆναι ἐς τὴν Μηδικήν, ἀλλ’ ἐν τῷ διὰ μέσου ἑθνος αὐτῶν ἐστὶ, Σάσπειρες, τούτο δὲ παραμεμβομέναι εἶναι ἐν τῇ Μηδικῆ. οὐ μέντοι οὐ γε Σκύθαι ταύτῃ ἐσέβαλον, ἀλλὰ τῇ κατύπερθε ὅδον πολλῷ μακροτέρην ἐκτραπόμενοι, ἐν δεξιῇ ἔχοντες τὸ Καυκάσιον ὄρος. ἐνθαῦτα οἱ μὲν Μηδοὶ συμβαλόντες τοῦτο Σκύθῃσι καὶ ἐσσωθέντες τῇ μάχῃ τῆς ἀρχῆς κατελύθησαν, οἱ δὲ Σκύθαι τῇ Ἀσίῃν πᾶσαν ἐπέσχον.
warrior than his fathers: it was he who first arrayed the men of Asia in companies and set each kind in bands apart, the spearmen and the archers and the horsemen: before this they were all blended alike confusedly together. This was the king who fought against the Lydians when the day was turned to night in the battle, and who united under his dominion all Asia that is beyond the river Halys. Collecting all his subjects, he marched against Ninus, wishing to avenge his father and to destroy the city. He defeated the Assyrians in battle; but while he was besieging their city there came down upon him a great army of Scythians, led by their king Madyes son of Protothyes. These had invaded Asia after they had driven the Cimmerians out of Europe: pursuing them in their flight the Scythians came to the Median country.\(^1\)

104. It is thirty days' journey for an unburdened man from the Maeetian lake\(^2\) to the river Phasis and the land of the Colchi; from the Colchi it is an easy matter to cross into Media: there is but one nation between, the Saspires; to pass these is to be in Media. Nevertheless it was not by this way that the Scythians entered; they turned aside and came by the upper and much longer road, having on their right the Caucasian mountains. There the Medes met the Scythians, who worsted them in battle and deprived them of their rule, and made themselves masters of all Asia.

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

\(^2\) The Maeetian lake is the Sea of Azov.
105. Ἐνθεύτεν δὲ ἦσαν ἐπ’ Ἀιγύπτον· καὶ ἐπείτε ἐγένοντο ἐν τῇ Παλαιστίνῃ Σύριᾷ, Ὑσμυτίχος σφέας Ἀιγύπτου βασιλεὺς ἀντιάσας δω-ροσί τε καὶ λυτῆσι ὑποτράπει τὸ προσωτέρῳ μὴ πορεύεσθαι. οὐ δὲ ἐπείτε ἀναχωρεόντες ὀπίσω ἐγένοντο τῆς Σύριας ἐν Ἀσκάλωνι πόλι, τῶν πλεύσων Σκυθεῶν παρέξελθόντων ἄσινεων, ὀλιγοὶ τινὲς αὐτῶν ὑπολειφθέντες ἐσύλησαν τῆς οὐρανίας Ἀφροδίτης τὸ ἱρών. ἔστι δὲ τοῦτο τὸ ἱρών, ὡς ἐγὼ πυθανόμενος εὐρίσκω, πάντων ἀρχαιότατον ἱρών ὁσα ταύτης τῆς θεοῦ· καὶ γὰρ τὸ ἐν Κύπρῳ ἱρών ἐνθεύτεν ἐγένετο, ὡς αὐτοὶ Κύπριοι λέγουσι, καὶ τὸ ἐν Κυθήροις Φοίνικες εἰσὶ οἱ ἰδρυσάμενοι ἐκ ταύτης τῆς Σύριας ἑοντες. τοῖσι δὲ τῶν Σκυ-θεῶν συλήσασι τὸ ἱρών τὸ ἐν Ἀσκάλωνι καὶ τοῖσι τοῦτοι αἰεὶ ἐκγόνοις ἐνέσκηψε ὁ θεὸς θῆλεαν νοῦσον· ὡστε ἄμα λέγουσι τε οἱ Σκύθαι διὰ τοῦτο σφέας νοσέειν, καὶ ὅραν παρ᾽ ἐωυτοῖς τοὺς ἀπικνεομένους ἐς τὴν Σκυθικήν χώρην ὡς δια-κέαται τοὺς καλέουσι Ἑνάρεας οἱ Σκύθαι.

106. Ἐπὶ μὲν ὑπὸ ὅκτῳ καὶ εἶκοσι ἐτεὰ ἱρχον τῆς Ἀσίας οἱ Σκύθαι, καὶ τὰ πάντα σφι ὑπὸ τε ὑβρίσει καὶ ὀλυγορίας ἀνάστατα ἦν· χωρίς μὲν γὰρ φόρου ἐπηρημόν παρ᾽ ἐκάστων τὸν ἐκάστοις ἐπεβάλλον, χωρίς δὲ τοῦ φόρου ἡρπαζὼν περιε-λάυνοντες τοῦτο ὁ τί ἔχοιεν ἐκαστοί· καὶ τοῦτων μὲν τοὺς πλεύσας Κυαξάρης τε καὶ Μήδου ἐνισ-ςαντες καὶ καταμεθύςαντες κατεφόνευσαν, καὶ οὔτω ἄνεσώσαντο τὴν ἀρχὴν Μήδου καὶ ἐπεκρά-τεον τῶν περ καὶ πρότερον, καὶ τὴν τε Νίνον
105. Thence they marched against Egypt: and when they were in the part of Syria called Palestine, Psammetichus king of Egypt met them and persuaded them with gifts and prayers to come no further. So they turned back, and when they came on their way to the city of Ascalon in Syria, most of the Scythians passed by and did no harm, but a few remained behind and plundered the temple of Heavenly Aphrodite. This temple, as I learn from what I hear, is the oldest of all the temples of the goddess, for the temple in Cyprus was founded from it, as the Cyprians themselves say: and the temple on Cythera was founded by Phoenicians from this same land of Syria. But the Scythians who pillaged the temple, and all their descendants after them, were afflicted by the goddess with the "female" sickness: insomuch that the Scythians say that this is the cause of their disease, and that those who come to Scythia can see there the plight of the men whom they call "Enareis." 2

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

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

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

107. Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Κυαξάρης μὲν, βασιλεύσας τεσσαράκοντα ἔτεα σὺν τοῖς Σκύθαις ἦρξαν, τελευτά, ἐκδεκέται δὲ Ἀστυάγης Κυαξάρεω παῖς τῆν βασιλείαν.

Καὶ οἱ ἐγένετο θυγάτηρ τῇ οὖν οἴνομα ἔθετο Μανδάνη· τῇν ἐδοκεῖ Ἀστυάγης ἐν τῷ ὕπνῳ οὐρήσαι τοσοῦτον ὡστε πλῆσαι μὲν τῇν ἑωτοῦ πόλιν, ἐπικατακλύσαι δὲ καὶ τῇν Ἀσίην πᾶσαν. Ὑπερθέμενος δὲ τῶν Μάγων τοῖς ὑνειροπόλοισι τὸ ἑνύπνιον, ἐφοβήθη παρ' αὐτῶν αὐτὰ ἐκαστὰ μαθῶν. μετὰ δὲ τῇ Μανδάνη ταῦτην ἑοῦσαν ἦδη ἀνδρὸς ὡραίην Μῆδου μὲν τῶν ἑωτοῦ ἄξιόν οὐδεὶ διδοὶ γυναῖκα, δεδοικός τῆν ὤσιν· ὃ δὲ Πέρση διδοὶ τῷ οὖν οἴνομα ἦν Καμβύσης, τὸν εὐρίσκει οἰκίης μὲν ἑώτα ἁγαθῆς τρόπου δὲ ἱσυχίου, πολλῷ ἐνερθεῖ ἁγὼν αὐτῶν μέσου ἀνδρὸς Μῆδου.

108. Συνοικεύσεως δὲ τῷ Καμβύσῃ τῆς Μανδάνης, ὃ Ἀστυάγης τῷ πρῶτῳ ἔτει εἰδε ἀλλήν ὤσιν, ἐδοκεῖ δὲ οἱ ἐκ τῶν αἰδοίων τῆς θυγατρὸς ταῦτης φύναι ἄμπελον, τὴν ἐκ ἄμπελον ἐπισχεῖν τὴν Ἀσίην πᾶσαν. ἐδών δὲ τοῦτο καὶ ὑπερθέμενος τοῖς ὑνειροπόλοισι, μετεπέμψα τὸ τῶν Περσῶν τὴν θυγατέρα ἐπίτεκε ἑοῦσαν, ἀπικομένη δὲ ἐφύλασσε βουλόμενος τὸ γενόμενον ἐξ αὐτῆς διαφθείραι· ἐκ γὰρ οἱ τῆς ὤσις οἱ τῶν Μάγων ὑνειροπόλοι ἐσήμαινον ὅτι μέλλοι ὁ τῆς θυγατρὸς αὐτοῦ γόνος βασιλεύσειν ἀντὶ ἐκείνου. ταῦτα δὴ ὃν φυλασσόμενος ὃ Ἀστυάγης, ὡς ἐγένετο ὁ Κῦρος, καλέσας Ἀρπαγοῦ ἀνδρὰ οἰκίην.
took Ninus (in what manner I will show in a later part of my history), and brought all Assyria except the province of Babylon under their rule.

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

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

108. But in the first year of Mandane's marriage to Cambyses Astyages saw a second vision. He dreamt that there grew from his daughter a vine, which covered the whole of Asia. Having seen this vision, and imparted it to the interpreters of dreams, he sent to the Persians for his daughter, then near her time, and when she came kept her guarded, desiring to kill whatever child she might bear: for the interpreters declared that the meaning of his dream was that his daughter's offspring should rule in his place. Wishing to prevent this, Astyages on the birth of Cyrus summoned to him a man of his household called Harpagus, who was his
καὶ πιστότατον τε Μίδων καὶ πάντων ἑπτροποῦν τῶν ἐωτοῦ, ἔλεγε οἱ τοιαίδε. ""Ἀρπαγε, πρήγμα τὸ ἀν τοῦ προσθεῶ, μηδαμῶς παραχρήση, μηδὲ ἐμὲ τε παραβάλῃ καὶ ἄλλους ἐλόμενος ἐξ ὑστέρης σοι αὐτῷ περιπέσης. λάβε τὸν Μανδάνη ἔτεκε παῖδα, φέρων δὲ ἐσ σεωτοῦ ἀπόκτεινον, μετὰ δὲ θάψου τρόπω ὅτεῳ αὐτῶς βούλειν." δὲ ἀμείβεται "Ὡ βασιλεὺς, οὔτε ἄλλοτε κω παρείδες ἄνδρι τῶδε ἄχαρι οὐδέν, φυλασσόμεθα δὲ ἐσ σὲ καὶ ἐς τὸν μετεπείτα χρόνον μηδὲν ἐξαμαρτεῖν. ἀλλ’ εἰ τοῦ φίλου τοῦτο οὐτώ γίνεσθαι, χρῆ δὴ τὸ γε ἐμὸν ὑπηρετέσθαι ἐπιτηδέως.”

109. Τούτωσι ἀμείψαμενος δ’ Ἡρακλῆς, ὡς οἱ παρεδόθη τὸ παιδίον κεκοσμημένον τὴν ἐπὶ θανάτῳ, ἦν κλαῖων ἐς τὰ οἵκια· παρεθῶν δὲ ἐφραζε τῇ ἐωτοῦ γυναικὶ τὸν πάντα Ἄστυάγεος ῥηθέντα λόγον. ἥ δὲ πρὸς αὐτὸν λέγει “Νῦν ὡν τί σοι ἐν νῦ ἐστὶ ποιεῖν;” δ’ ἀμείβεται “Οὐ τῇ ἐνετέλλετο Ἅστυάγης, οὔτ’ εἰ παραφρονήσῃ τε καὶ μανέεται κάκιον ἡ νῦν μαίνεται, οὐ οἱ ἐγώγε προσθίσομαι τῇ γνώμῃ οὐδὲ ἐσ φόνον τοιοῦτον ὑπηρετήσω. πολλῶν δὲ εἴνεκα οὐ φονεύσω μεν, καὶ ὅτι αὐτῷ μοι συγγενής ἐστί ὁ παῖς, καὶ ὅτι Ἅστυάγης μὲν ἐστὶ γέρων καὶ ἄπαις ἐρέσενος γόνων; εἰ δ’ ἐθελήσει τούτου τελευτήσαντος ἐς τὴν θυγατέρα ταύτην ἀναβίναι ἡ τυραννίς, τῆς νῦν τὸν νῦν κτείνει δ’ ἐμεῦ, ἀλλο τι ἡ λείπεται τὸ ἐνθεῦτεν ἐμοὶ κινδύνων ὁ μέγιστος; ἀλλὰ τοῦ μὲν ἀσφαλέος εἴνεκα ἐμοὶ δεῖ τοῦτον τελευτᾶν τὸν παῖδα, δεῖ μέντοι τῶν τινα Ἅστυάγεος αὐτοῦ φονέα γενέσθαι καὶ μὴ τῶν ἐμῶν.”
faithfullest servant among the Medes and was steward of all his possessions: then he said, "Do not mishandle this command of mine, Harpagus, nor forsake me for the service of others, lest hereafter it be the worse for yourself. Take the boy whom Mandane has borne, and carry him to your house and kill him: and then bury him in what manner you yourself will." "King," Harpagus answered, "never yet have you seen me do aught unpleasing to you; and I will ever be careful not to offend against you. But if it is your will that this should so be done, then it behoves that for my part I render you fitting service."

109. Thus answered Harpagus. The child was then given to him, adorned for its death, and he went to his house weeping. When he came in he told his wife all the command given him by Astyages. "Now, therefore," said she to him, "what purpose you to do?" "Not," he answered, "to obey Astyages' behest, no, not though he lose his wits and be more frantic than now he is: even so I myself will not serve his purpose, nor be his instrument for such a murder. There are many reasons why I will not kill the child: he is akin to myself, and further, Astyages is old, and has no male issue: now if after his death the sovereignty passes to this daughter of his, whose son he is now using me to slay, what is left for me but the greatest of all dangers? Nay, for my safety I must see that the boy dies, but the deed must be done by some one of Astyages' own men and not of mine."
110. Ταύτα εἶπε καὶ αὐτίκα ἄγγελον ἐπεμπε ἐπὶ τῶν βουκόλων τῶν Ἀστυάγεος τῶν ἡπίστατο νομᾶς τε ἐπιτηδεοτάτας νέμοντα καὶ ὀρέα θηριω- δέστατα· τῷ οὖνομα ἦν Μιτραδάτης, συνοίκηκε δὲ ἐωυτοῦ συνδούλῃ, οὖνομα δὲ τῇ γυναικὶ ἦν τῇ συνοίκηκε Κυνῷ κατὰ τὴν Ἑλληνῶν γῆωσαν, κατὰ δὲ τὴν Μηδικὴν Σπακὼ· τὴν γὰρ κύνα καλέουσι σπάκα Μήδιοι. αἴ δὲ ὑπώρεαι εἰσὶ τὸν ὅρεων, ἐνθα τὰς νομᾶς τῶν βοῶν εἶχε οὖντος δὴ ὁ βουκόλος, πρὸς βορέω τε ἀνέμου τῶν Ἀγβατάνων καὶ πρὸς τοῦ πόντου τοῦ Ἑυξείνου· ταύτη μὲν γὰρ ἡ Μηδικὴ χώρῃ πρὸς Σασπείρων ὀρεινή ἐστὶ κάρτα καὶ ψηλὴ τε καὶ ἱδησι συνηρεφη, ἡ δὲ ἄλλη Μηδικὴ χώρῃ ἐστὶ πᾶσα ἄπεδος. ἐπεὶ δὲν ὁ βουκόλος σπουδὴ πολλὴ καλέομενος ἀπίκετο, ἐλεγε ἡ Ἀρταγός τάδε. "Κελεύει σε Ἀστυάγης τὸ παιδίον τὸ τοῦτο λαβόντα θεῖναι ἐς τὸ ἔρημότατο τῶν ὅρεων, ὅκως ἄν τάχιστα διαφθαρεῖ καὶ τάδε τοι ἐκέλευσε εἰπεῖν, ἢν μὴ ἄποκτεινης αὐτὸ ἄλλα τεῦρον περιποίησις, ὀλέθρῳ τῷ κακίστῳ σε διαχρήσεσθαι. ἐπορᾶν δὲ ἐκκειμενον τέταγμα ἐγὼ."

111. Ταύτα ἄκουσας ὁ βουκόλος καὶ ἄναλαβὼν τὸ παιδίον ἣς τὴν αὐτὴν ὄπλων ὄδον καὶ ἀπικνέεται ἐς τὴν ἔπαιλυν. τῷ δ' ἄρα καὶ αὐτῷ ἡ γυνή, ἐπίτεξ εὐσά πᾶσαν ἡμέρην, τότε κως κατὰ δαίμονα τίκτει οἰχομένου τοῦ βουκόλου ἔς πόλως. ἡςαν δὲ ἐν φροντίδι ἀμφότεροι ἄλληλων πέρι, ὅ μὲν τοῦ τόκου τῆς γυναικὸς ἀρρωδέων, ἡ δὲ γυνή ὁ τι οὐκ ἐωθόθος ὃ Ἀρταγος μεταπέμψατο αὐτῆς τὸν ἄνδρα. ἐπείτε δὲ ἀπονοστῆσας ἐπέστη, φιλα ἐξ ἀέλπτον ἱδοῦσα ἡ γυνὴ εἰρετο προτέρη ὁ τι μὲν
110. So saying, he sent forthwith a messenger to that one of Astyages' cowherds whom he knew to pasture his herds in the likeliest places and where the mountains were most haunted of wild beasts. The man's name was Mitradates, and his wife was a slave like him; her name was in the Greek language Cyno, in the Median Spako: for "spax" is the Median name for a dog. The foothills of the mountains where this cowherd pastured his kine are to the north of Agbatana, towards the Euxine sea: for the rest of Media is everywhere a level plain, but here, on the side of the Saspires, the land is very high and mountainous and covered with woods. So when the cowherd came with all speed at the summons, Harpagus said: "Astyages bids you take this child and lay it in the most desolate part of the mountains, that it may thus perish as soon as may be. And he bids me say, that if you kill not the child, but in any way save it alive, you shall die a terrible death: and it is I who am ordered to see it exposed."

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

1 In the north-western part of Media: modern Azerbaijan.
οὔτω προθύμως Ἀρπαγος μετεπέμψατο. ὁ δὲ εἶπε "Ω γύναι, έιδόν τε ἐς πόλιν ἐλθὼν καὶ ἥκουσα τὸ μήτε ἱδεῖν ὄφελον μήτε κοτὲ γενέσθαι ἐς δεσπότας τοὺς ἡμετέρους. οίκος μὲν πᾶς Ἀρπάγος κλαυθμῷ κατείχετο, ἐγὼ δὲ ἐκπλαγεὶς ἤμη ἕσω. ὡς δὲ τάχιστα ἐσῆλθον, ὅρεω παιδιόν προκείμενον ἀσπαίρον τε καὶ κραυγανώμενον, κεκοσμημένον χρυσῷ τε καὶ ἐσθήτη ποικίλη. ὁ Ἀρπαγὸς δὲ ὡς εἴδε με, ἐκέλευε τὴν ταχύτητι ἀναλαβόντα τὸ παιδίον οὐχεσθαι φέροντα καὶ θείαν ἐνθα θηριωδεστατον εἰπ τῶν ὦρεών, φᾶς Ἀστυάγεα εἶναι τὸν ταῦτα ἐπιθέμενον μοι, πόλλ᾽ ἀπειλήσας εἰ μὴ σφεα ποιήσαιμι. καὶ ἐγὼ ἀναλαβὼν ἕφερον, δοκέων τῶν τινῶν οἰκετέων εἶναι οὐ γὰρ ἄν κοτὲ κατέδοξα ἐνθεν γε ἦν. ἔθαμβεν δὲ ὄρεὼν χρυσῷ τε καὶ εἰμασί κεκοσμημένου, πρὸς δὲ καὶ κλαυθμὸν κατεστεώτα ἐμφανέα ἐν Ἀρπάγῳ. καὶ πρόκατε δὴ κατ' ὅδον πυνθάνομαι τὸν πάντα λόγου θεραποντος, ὅς ἐμὲ προπέμπων ἐξω πόλιος ἑνεχείρισε τὸ βρέφος, ὃς ἀρα Μανδάνης τε εἰπ παῖς τῆς Ἀστυάγεος θυγατρὸς καὶ Καμβύσεω τοῦ Κύρου, καὶ μν Ἀστυάγης ἑντέλλεται ἄποκτείναι. νῦν τε ὅδε ἐστί." 112. Ἀμα δὲ ταῦτα ἐλεγε ὁ βουκόλως καὶ ἐκκαλύφας ἀπεδείκνυε. ἦ δὲ ὡς εἴδε τὸ παιδίον μέγα τε καὶ ἐνειδίς ἐὼν, δακρύσασα καὶ λαβομένη τῶν γουνάτων τοῦ ἄνδρος ἐχρῆζε μηδεμίῃ τέχνῃ ἐκθείναι μιν. ὁ δὲ οὐκ ἔφη οἶδος τ᾽ εἶναι ἄλλως αὐτὰ ποιέειν ἐπιφοιτήσειν γὰρ κατασκόπους ἐξ Ἀρπάγου ἐποψομένους, ἀπολέεσθαι τε κάκιστα ἢν μὴ σφεα ποιήσῃ. ὡς δὲ οὐκ ἔπειθε ἄρα τὸν ἄνδρα, δεύτερα λέγει ἡ γυνὴ τάδε. "Ἐπεί τοῖνυν
he could speak why Harpagus had so instantly summoned him. "Wife," he said, "when I came to the city, I saw and heard what I would I had never seen, and what I would had never happened to our masters. All the house of Harpagus was full of weeping; and I was astonished, and entered in; and immediately I saw a child laid there struggling and crying, decked out with gold and many-coloured raiment. And when Harpagus saw me, he bade me take the child with all speed and bear it away and lay it where there are most wild beasts in the mountains: it was Astyages, he said, who laid this command on me, and Harpagus threatened me grievously if I did not do his will. So I took up the child and bore him away, supposing him to be the child of someone in the household; for I could never have guessed whose he was. But I was amazed at seeing him decked with gold and raiment, and at hearing moreover the manifest sound of weeping in the house of Harpagus. Very soon on the way I heard all the story from a servant who brought me out of the city and gave the child into my charge: to wit, that it was the son of Mandane the king's daughter and Cambyses the son of Cyrus, and that Astyages bade him slay the child. And now, here is the child."

112. And with that the cowherd uncovered it and showed it. But when the woman saw how fine and fair the child was, she fell a-weeping and laid hold of the man's knees and entreated him by no means to expose him. But the husband said he could do no other; for, he said, there would be comings of spies from Harpagus to see what was done, and he must die a terrible death if he did not obey. So then being unable to move her husband, the woman said next: "Since I cannot move you from your
οὐ δύναμαι σε πείθειν μὴ ἐκθείναι, σὺ δὲ ὡδὲ πρόησον, εἰ δὴ πᾶσα ἀνάγκη ὀφθηναι ἐκκείμενον. τέτοκα γὰρ καὶ ἐγώ, τέτοκα δὲ τεθνεός. τοῦτο μὲν φέρων πρόθεσε, τὸν δὲ τῆς Ἀστυάγεος θυγατρὸς παίδα ὡς ἐξ ἡμέων ἐόντα τρέφωμεν. καὶ οὔτω οὔτε σὺ ἀλώσεις ἀδικέων τοὺς δεσπότας οὔτε ἡμῖν κακῶς βεβουλευμένα ἐσταί: ο̏ τε γὰρ τεθνεὼς βασιληψις ταφῆς κυρῆσει καὶ ὁ περιεών οὐκ ἀπολέει τὴν ψυχήν.”

113. Κάρτα τε ἐδοξε τῷ βουκόλῳ πρὸς τὰ παρεόντα εὐ λέγειν ἡ γυνὴ, καὶ αὐτικα ἐποίει ταῦτα· τὸν μὲν ἐφέρε θανατώσων παῖδα, τούτον μὲν παραδίδοι τῇ ἐωτοῦ γυναικὶ, τὸν δὲ ἐωτοῦ ἐόντα νεκρὸν λαβὼν ἔθηκε ἐς τὸ ἄγγος ἐν τῷ ἐφέρε τὸν ἐτερον· κοσμήσας δὲ τῷ κοσμῷ παντὶ τοῦ ἐτερον παιδός, φέρον ἐς τὸ ἔρημότατον τῶν ὅρεων τιθεὶ. ως δὲ τρίτη ἡμέρῃ τῷ παιδίῳ ἐκκείμενῳ ἐγένετο, ἢμε ἐς πόλιν ὁ βουκόλος, τῶν τινα προβοσκῶν φύλακον αὐτοῦ καταλιπὼν, ἐλθὼν δὲ ἑς τοῦ Ἀρπάγου ἀποδεικνύναι ἐφη ἐτοιμὸς εἶναι τοῦ παιδίου τὸν νέκυν. πέμψας δὲ ὁ Ἀρπαγὸς τῶν ἐωτοῦ δορυφόροι τοὺς πιστοτάτους εἶδε τε διὰ τούτων καὶ ἔθαψε τοῦ βουκόλου τὸ παιδίον, καὶ τὸ μὲν ἐτέθαπτο, τὸν δὲ ὑστερον τούτων Κύρου ὄνομασθέντα παραλαβοῦσα ἐτρεφε ἡ γυνὴ τοῦ βουκόλου, οὔνομα ἄλλο κοῦ τι καὶ οὐ Κύρου θεμένη.

114. Καὶ ὅτε ἦν δεκαέτης ὁ παῖς, πρήγμα ἐς αὐτὸν τοιόνδε γενόμενον ἐξέφημε μιν. ἔπαιζε ἐν τῇ κόμῃ ταύτῃ ἐν τῇ ἥσαν καὶ αἱ βουκολίαι αὐται, ἔπαιζε δὲ μετ’ ἄλλων ἠλίκων ἐν ὀδῷ. καὶ οἱ παιδεῖς παιζόντες εἴλοιτο ἐωτῶν βασιλέα

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

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

114. Now when the boy was ten years old, it was revealed in some such wise as this who he was. He was playing in the village where these herdsmen’s quarters were: there he was playing in the road with others of his age. The boys in their
εἰναι τούτων δὴ τῶν τοῦ βουκόλου ἐπίκλησιν παιδα. ὁ δὲ αὐτῶν διέσταξε τοὺς μὲν οἰκίας οἰκοδομεῖν, τοὺς δὲ δορυφόρους εἶναι, τῶν δὲ κοινῶν ὀφθαλμον βασιλέως εἶναι, τῷ δὲ τοιῷ ἀγγελίας φέρειν ἐδίδον γέρας, ὡς ἐκώστῳ ἔργον προστάσσον. εἰς δὴ τούτων τῶν παιδών συμπαλίζων, ἐὼν Ἀρτεμβάρεος παῖς ἀνδρὸς δοκιμόν ἐν Μήδοισι, οὐ γὰρ δὴ ἐποίησε τὸ προστάχθην ἐκ τοῦ Κύρου, ἐκέλευε αὐτῶν τοὺς ἄλλους παιδας διαλαβεῖν, πειθομένων δὲ τῶν παιδών ὁ Κύρος τὸν παιδὰ τρηχεῖως κάρτα περίεσπε μαστυγέων. ὁ δὲ ἐπείτε μετείθη τάχιστα, ὡς γε δὴ ἀνάξια ἐωτοῦ παθών, μᾶλλον τι περιημέκτεε, κατελθὼν δὲ ἐς πόλιν πρὸς τὸν πατέρα ἀποκτίζετο τῶν ὑπὸ Κύρου ἡμνησε, λέγων δὲ οὐ Κύρου (οὐ γὰρ κἂν τοῦτο τούνομα), ἀλλὰ πρὸς τοῦ βουκόλου τοῦ Ἀστυάγεος παιδός. ὁ δὲ Ἀρτεμβάρης ὅργη ὡς εἰχε ἐλθὼν παρὰ τὸν Ἀστυάγεα καὶ ἀμα ἀγόμενος τὸν παιδὰ ἀνάρσια πρήγματα ἔφη πεποιθέναι, λέγων ":"Ω βασιλεύ, ὑπὸ τοῦ σοῦ δούλου, βουκόλου δὲ παιδὸς ὡδὲ περιυβρίσμεθα," δεικνὺς τοῦ παιδὸς τοὺς ὠμοὺς.

115. Ἀκοῦσας δὲ καὶ ἰδὼν Ἀστυάγης, θέλων τιμωρῆσαι τὸ παιδὶ τιμῆς τῆς Ἀρτεμβάρεος εἶνεκα, μετεπέμπτε τὸν τε βουκόλο καὶ τὸν παίδα. ἐπείτε δὲ παρῆσαν ἀμφότεροι, βλέψας πρὸς τὸν Κύρον ὁ Ἀστυάγης ἔφη ":"Σὺ δὴ ἐὼν τοῦτο τοιούτου ἐόντος παιὸς ἐτόλμησας τὸν τοῦτο παιδὰ ἐόντος πρῶτον παρ' ἐμοὶ ἀεικεὶ τοιῇδε περισσείν;" ὁ δὲ ἀμείβετο ὡδὲ. ":"Ω δὲ σποτα, ἐγὼ ταῦτα τούτων ἐποίησα σὺν δίκη, οἱ γὰρ μὲ ἐκ τῆς κόμης παῖδες, τῶν καὶ ὡδὲ ἦν, παῖζοντες.
play chose for their king that one who passed for the son of the cowherd. Then he set them severally to their tasks, some to the building of houses, some to be his bodyguard, one (as I suppose) to be the King's Eye; to another he gave the right of bringing him messages; to each he gave his proper work. Now one of these boys who played with him was son to Artembares, a notable Median; as he did not obey the command Cyrus gave him, Cyrus bade the other boys seize him, and when they did so he dealt very roughly with the boy and scourged him. As soon as he was loosed, very angry at the wrong done him, he went down to his father in the city and complained of what he had met with at the hands of the son of Astyages' cowherd,—not calling him Cyrus, for that name had not yet been given. Artembares went with his anger fresh upon him to Astyages, bringing his son and telling of the cruel usage he had had: “O King,” said he, “see the outrage done to us by the son of your slave, the son of a cowherd!” and with that he showed his son’s shoulders.

115. When Astyages heard and saw, he was ready to avenge the boy in justice to Artembares’ rank: so he sent for the cowherd and his son. When they were both present, Astyages said, fixing his eyes on Cyrus, “Is it you, then, the son of such a father, who have dared to deal so spitefully with the son of the greatest of my courtiers?” “Nay, master,” answered Cyrus, “what I did to him I did with justice. The boys of the village, of whom he was one, chose me
σφέων αὐτῶν ἐστήσαντο βασιλέα· ἐδόκεον γάρ σφι εἶναι ἐς τούτο ἐπιτηδεύσατος. οἱ μὲν νῦν ἄλλοι παιδεῖς τὰ ἐπιτασσόμενα ἐπετέλεσον, οὕτως δὲ ἀνηκούστεε τε καὶ λόγον εἰχε οὐδένα, ἐς ὁ ἔλαβε τὴν δίκην. εἰ δὲν δὴ τοῦτε ἐνεκα ἄξιος τεν κακοῦ εἰμί, ὅδε τοι πάρειμι.”

116. Ταῦτα λέγοντος τοῦ παῖδος τοῦ Ἀστυάγεα ἑσήμε ἀνάγνωσις αὐτοῦ, καὶ οἱ θαρακτὴρ τοῦ προσώπου προσφέρεσθαι ἐδόκεε ἐς ἐωυτὸν καὶ ἡ ὑπόκρισις ἔλευθερωτέρη εἶναι, ὁ τε χρόνος τῆς ἐκθέσιος τῇ ἡλικίᾳ τοῦ παῖδος ἐδόκεε συμβαίνειν. ἐκπλαγεὶς δὲ τούτοις ἐπὶ χρόνου ἄφθογγος ἤν μόνις δὲ δὴ κοτε ἀνενεχθεῖς ἐπε, θέλων ἐκπέμψαι τὸν Ἀρτέμβάρεα, ἵνα τῶν βουκόλων μοῦνον λαβῶν βασανίσῃ, “Ἀρτέμβαρε, ἑγὼ ταῦτα ποιήσω ὡςτε σὲ καὶ τὸν παιδὰ τὸν σὸν μηδὲν ἐπιμέμφεσθαι.” τὸν μὲν δὴ Ἀρτέμβαρεά πέμπει, τὸν δὲ Κύρων ἕγον ἐσῳ οἵ θεράποντες κελεύσαντος τοῦ Ἀστυάγεος. ἐπεὶ δὲ ὑπελέλειπτο ὁ βουκόλως μοῦνος μουνόθεν, τάδε αὐτοῦ εἴρετο ὁ Ἀστυάγης, κόθεν λύβοι τὸν παιδὰ καὶ τῆς είη ὁ παραδοὺς. ὅ δὲ ἐξ ἐωυτοῦ τε ἔφη γεγονέναι καί τὴν τεκοόςαν αὐτὸν εἶναι ἐτι παρ’ ἐωυτῷ. Ἀστυάγης δὲ μιν οὐκ εὑ βουλεύέσθαι ἔφη ἐπιθυμέουτα ἐς ἀνάγκας μεγάλας ἀπικνέσθαι, ἀμα τε λέγων ταῦτα ἐσήμαινε τοῖς δορυφόροις λαμβάνειν αὐτόν. δὲ ἀγόμενος ἐς τὰς ἀνάγκας οὐτῳ δὴ ἐφαίνε τὸν ἐόντα λόγον· ἀρχόμενος δὲ ἀπ’ ἀρχῆς διεξῆς τῇ ἀληθείᾳ χρεώμενος, καὶ κατέβαινε ἐς λιτάς τε καὶ συγγνώμην ἐωυτῷ κελεύων ἐχείν αὐτόν.

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

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

117. When the truth had been so declared Astyages took thereafter less account of the cowherd, but
Αρπάγω δὲ καὶ μεγάλως μεμφόμενος καλέειν αὐτὸν τοὺς δορυφόρους ἐκέλευε. ὥς δὲ οἱ παρὶ ὁ Ἀρπαγός, εἴρετο μιν ὁ Ἀστυάγης "Ἀρπαγέ, τέῳ δὴ μόρῳ τὸν παιδὰ κατεχρίσασθαι τὸν τοῦ παρέδωκα ἐκ θυγατρὸς γεγονότα τῆς ἐμῆς;" δὲ ὁ Ἀρπαγός ὥς εἴδε τὸν Βούκόλον ἐνδόν ἔντα, οὐ τράπεται ἐπὶ ψευδέα ὄδον, ἵνα μὴ ἐλεγχόμενος ἁλήσκηται, ἀλλὰ λέγει τάδε. "Ὡς βασιλεῦ, ἐπείτε παρέλαβον τὸ παιδίον, ἐβούλευον σκοπέων ὅκως σοὶ τε ποιήσω κατὰ νόον, καὶ ἐγὼ πρὸς σὲ γινόμενος ἀναμάρτητος μήτε θυγατρὶ τῇ σῇ μήτε αὐτῷ σοι ἐὕνα αὐθέντης. ποιέω δὴ ὧδε· καλέσας τὸν Βούκόλον τόνδε παραδίδωμι τὸ παιδίον, φαὶ σὲ τε εἰναὶ τὸν κελεῦντα ἀποκτεῖναι αὐτό. καὶ λέγων τοῦτο γε ὦν ἐγνεῦδόμην· σὺ γὰρ ἐνετέλλεος ὡς. παραδίδωμι μέντοι τῶδε κατὰ τάδε ἐντελώμενος, θειναί μιν ἐς ἔρημον ὄρος καὶ παραμένοντα φυλάσσειν ἀχρὶ οὗ τελευθήσῃ, ἀπειλήσας παντοῖα τῶδε ἡμί τάδε ἐπιτελέα ποιήσῃ. ἐπείτε δὲ ποιήσαντος τούτου τὰ κελεύμενα ἐπελεύθησθαι τὸ παιδίον, πέμψας τῶν εὐνούχων τοὺς πιστοτάτους καὶ εἶδον δὴ ἐκείνου καὶ ἔθαψά μιν. οὔτω ἔσχε ὃ βασιλεῦ περὶ τοῦ πρῆγματος τούτου, καὶ τοιοῦτῳ μόρῳ ἐχρήσατο ὁ παῖς."

118."Αρπαγός μὲν δὴ τὸν ίδίων ἔφανε λόγον· Ἀστυάγης δὲ κρύπτων τὸν οἱ ἐνείχε χόλον διὰ τὸ γεγονός, πρῶτα μὲν, κατὰ περ ἦκουσε αὐτὸς πρὸς τοῦ Βούκόλον τὸ πρῆγμα, πάλιν ἀπηγέετο τῷ Ἀρπάγῳ, μετὰ δὲ ὃς οἱ ἐπαλελλόγητο, κατέβαινε λέγον ὡς περίεστί τε τὸ παῖς καὶ τὸ γεγονὸς ἔχει καλῶς· "Τῷ τε γὰρ πεποιημένῳ ἐφ' ἥμι λέγων "ἐς τὸν παῖδα τούτου ἐκαμνὸν μεγάλως, καὶ θυγατρὶ
he was very wroth with Harpagus and bade the guards summon him. Harpagus came, and Astyages asked him, "Harpagus, in what manner did you kill the boy, my daughter's son, whom I gave you?" Harpagus saw the cowherd in the house, and did not take the way of falsehood, lest he should be caught and confuted: "O King," he said, "when I took the boy, I thought and considered how I should do you pleasure, and not offend against you, yet not be held a murderer by your daughter or yourself. This then I did: I called to me yonder cowherd, and gave over the child to him, telling him that it was you who gave the command to kill it. And that was the truth; for such was your command. But I gave the child with the charge that the cowherd should lay it on a desolate mountainside, and wait there and watch till it be dead; and I threatened him with all punishments if he did not accomplish this. Then, when he had done what he was bid, and the child was dead, I sent the trustiest of my eunuchs and by them I saw and buried the body. This, O king, is the tale of the matter, and such was the end of the boy."

118. So Harpagus spoke the plain truth. Astyages hid the anger that he had against him for what had been done, and first he related the story again to Harpagus as he had heard it from the cowherd, then, after so repeating it, he made an end by saying that the boy was alive and good had come of it all. "For," so he said in his speech, "I was greatly afflicted by what had been done to this boy, and it weighed
τῇ ἐμῇ διαβεβλημένος οὐκ ἐν ἑλαφρῷ ἐποιεύμην. ὡς ὅτι τῆς τύχης εὑ μετεσπεύσης, τοῦτο μὲν τὸν σεωντοῦ παῖδα ἀπόπεμψαν παρὰ τὸν παῖδα τὸν νεόλυδα, τοῦτο δὲ (σῶστρα γὰρ τοῦ παιδός μέλλω θύει τοῖς θέων τιμὴ αὐτῇ προσκέεται) πάρισθι μοι ἐπὶ δεῖπνον.

119. "Ἀρπαγὸς μὲν ὡς ἦκουσε ταῦτα, προσκυνήσας καὶ μεγάλα ποιησάμενος ὅτι τε ἡ ἀμαρτάς οἱ ἐς δέον ἐγεγόνει καὶ ὅτι ἐπὶ τύχηι χρηστῆι ἐπὶ δεῖπνον ἐκέκλητο, ἦμε ἐς τὰ οἰκῖα. ἔσελθὼν δὲ τὴν ταχύστην, ἦν γὰρ οἱ παῖς εἰς μούνοι ἔτεα τρία καὶ δέκα ποιὰν τὸ καθίστα γεγονός, τοῦτον ἐκπέμπει ἵναι τε κελεύων ἐς Ἀστυάγεος καὶ ποιῶν ὁ τι ἀν ἐκεῖνος κελεύῃ, αὐτὸς δὲ περιχαρῆ ἐδὼ φράζει τῇ γυναικὶ τὰ συγκυρίζαντα. Ἀστυάγης δὲ, ὡς ὁ ἅπικετο ὁ Ἀρπάγου παῖς, σφάζας αὐτόν καὶ κατὰ μέλεα διελῶν τὰ μὲν ὄπτησε τὰ δὲ ἡψησε τῶν κρεών, εὐτυκα δὲ ποιησάμενος εἰχε ἔτοιμα. ἐπεὶ τὸ τῆς ὤρης γνωμένης τοῦ δείπνου παρῆσαν οἱ τε ἄλλοι δαιτυμόνες καὶ ὁ "Ἀρπαγὸς, τοῖς μὲν ἄλλοις καὶ αὐτῷ Ἀστυάγει παρετυθέατο τράπεζα ἐπίπλεαι μηλέων κρεών, Ἀρπάγῳ δὲ τὸν παιδὸς τοῦ ἑωτοῦ, πλὴν κεφαλῆς τε καὶ ἀκρῶν χειρῶν τε καὶ ποδῶν, τάλλα πάντα ταῦτα δὲ χωρίς ἐκείτο ἐπὶ κανέως κατακεκαλυμμένα. ὡς δὲ τῷ Ἀρπάγῳ ἔδοκεν ἀλίς ἔχειν τῆς βορῆς, Ἀστυάγης εἰρετῷ μὲν εἰ ἤσθείη τι τῇ θοίνῃ. φαμένου δὲ Ἀρπάγοι καὶ κάρτα ἡσθήναι, παρέφερον τοῖς προσέκειτο τὴν κεφαλὴν τοῦ παιδὸς κατακεκαλυμμένην καὶ τὰς χείρας καὶ τοὺς πόδας, "Ἀρπαγὸν δὲ ἐκέλευον προσστάντες ἀποκαλύπτειν τε καὶ λαβεῖν τὸ βουλεῖται αὐτῶν.
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heavily on me that I was estranged from my daughter. Now, therefore, in this lucky turn of fortune, send your own son to the boy who is newly come, and come hither to dine with me, for I am about to make sacrifice for the safety of my grandson to the gods to whom this honour is due.”

119. When Harpagus heard this he did obeisance and went to his home, greatly pleased to find that his offence had served the needful end and that he was invited to dinner in honour of this fortunate day. Coming in, he bade his only son, a boy of about thirteen years of age, to go to Astyages’ palace and do whatever the king commanded, and in his great joy he told his wife all that had happened. But when Harpagus’ son came, Astyages cut his throat and tearing him limb from limb roasted some and boiled some of the flesh, and the work being finished kept all in readiness. So when it came to the hour for dinner and Harpagus was present among the rest of the guests, dishes of sheeps’ flesh were set before Astyages and the others, but Harpagus was served with the flesh of his own son, all but the head and hands and feet, which lay apart covered up in a basket. And when Harpagus seemed to have eaten his fill, Astyages asked him, “Are you pleased with your meal, Harpagus?” “Exceeding well pleased,” Harpagus answered. Then those whose business it was brought him in the covered basket the head and hands and feet of his son, and they stood before Harpagus and bade him uncover and take of them what he would. Harpagus did so;
πειθόμενος δὲ ὁ "Ἀρταγός καὶ ἀποκαλύπτην ὅμως τοῦ παιδὸς τὰ λείμματα, ἵδιν δὲ οὗτε ἐξεπλάγη ἔντος τε ἐωυτοῦ γίνεται. εἱρετο δὲ αὐτὸν ὁ Ἀστυάγης εἰ γινώσκοι ὅτεν θηρίου κρέα βεβρῶκι. ὃ δὲ καὶ γινώσκειν ἔφη καὶ ἀρεστὸν εἶναι πάν τὸ ἂν βασιλεὺς ἔρθη. τεύτοισι δὲ ἀμειψάμενος καὶ ἀναλαβὼν τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν κρεῶν ἦσε τὰ οἰκία, ἐνθεύτεν δὲ ἐμελλε, ὡς ἐγὼ δοκέω, ἀλίσας θάψεων τὰ πάντα.

120. Ἀρταγός μὲν Ἀστυάγης δίκην ταύτην ἐπέθηκε, Κύρου δὲ πέρι βουλεύων ἐκάλεε τοὺς αὐτοὺς τῶν Μάγων οἱ τὸ ἐνύπνιον οἱ ταύτῃ ἕκριναν. ἀπικομένους δὲ εἰρετο ὁ Ἀστυάγης τῇ ἕκρινάν οἱ τὴν ὁψιν. οἱ δὲ κατὰ ταύτα εἴπαν, λέγοντες ὡς βασιλεύσαι χρὴν τὸν παῖδα, εἰ ἐπέ-ξωσε καὶ μὴ ἀπέθανε πρότερον. ὃ δὲ ἀμείβεται αὐτοὺς τοῖσιδε. "Ἔστι τε ὁ παῖς καὶ περίεστι, καὶ μὲν ἐπ' ἄγρον διαιτώμενοι οἱ ἐκ τῆς κόμης παῖδες ἐστήσαντο βασιλέα. ὃ δὲ πάντα ὅσα περ οἱ ἀληθεὶς λόγῳ βασιλέες ἐτελέωσε ποιήσας· καὶ γὰρ δορυφόρους καὶ θυρωρύς καὶ ἄγγελισθόρους καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ πάντα διατάξας ἔρχε. καὶ νῦν ἐς τὶ ύμῶν ταύτα φαίνεται φέρειν;" εἴπαν οἱ Μάγοι "Εἰ μὲν περίεστι τε καὶ ἐβασίλευσε ὁ παῖς μὴ ἐκ προνοίας τινός, θάρσεῖ τε τοῦτον εἰνὲκα καὶ θυμὸν ἑχε ἀγαθόν· οὐ γὰρ ἐτὶ τὸ δεύτερον ἄρχει. παρὰ σμικρὰ γὰρ καὶ τῶν λογίων ἡμῶν ἔννοια κεχώρηκε, καὶ τὰ γε τῶν ὀνειράτων ἑχόμενα τελέως ἐς ἀσθενεῖς ἔρχεται," ἀμείβεται ὁ Ἀστυάγης τοῖσιδε. "Καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ Μάγοι ταύτην πλείστος γνώμην εἰμί, βασιλέως ὀνομασθέντος τοῦ παιδὸς ἐξη-κεῖν τε τὰν ὀνειρον καὶ μοι τὸν παῖδα τούτον
he uncovered and saw what was left of his son: this he saw, but he mastered himself and was not dismayed. Astyages asked him, "Know you what beast's flesh you have eaten?" "Yea," he said, "I know, and all that the king does is pleasing to me." With that answer he took the rest of the flesh and went to his house, purposing then, as I suppose, to collect and bury all.

120. Thus did Astyages punish Harpagus. But, to aid him to resolve about Cyrus, he called to him the same Magians who had interpreted his dream as I have said: and when they came Astyages asked them how they had interpreted his vision. They answered as before, and said that the boy must have been made king had he lived and not died first. Then said Astyages, "The boy is saved and alive, and when he was living in the country the boys of his village made him king, and he did duly all that is done by true kings: for he assigned to each severally the places of bodyguards and sentinels and messengers and all else, and so ruled. And to what, think you, does this tend?" "If the boy is alive," said the Magians, "and has been made king without foreknowledge, then fear not for aught that he can do but keep a good heart: he will not be made king a second time. Know that even in our prophecies it is often but a small thing that has been foretold, and the perfect fulfilment of the dream is but a trifling matter." "I too, ye Magians," said Astyages, "am much of your mind—that the dream came true when the boy was called king, and that I
εἶναι δεινὸν ἐτι οὖδεν. ὡμως μὲν γέ τοι συμβουλεύσατε μοι εὐ περισκεψάμενοι τὰ μέλλει ἀσφαλέστατα εἶναι οἶκοι τε τῷ ἐμῷ καὶ ὑμῖν.” εἴπαν πρὸς ταῦτα οἱ Μάγοι ὁ δὲ Βασιλεὺς, καὶ αὐτοὶ ἤμιν περὶ πολλοῦ ἐστὶ κατορθοῦσθαι ἄρχην τὴν σήν. κεῖνος μὲν γὰρ ἀλλοτριοῦται ἡ τὸν παῖδα τούτου περισσοῦσα ἐόντα Πέρση, καὶ ἡμεῖς ἔστατοι Μῆδοι δουλούμεθα τε καὶ λόγου οὖν ὅμοιας γινόμεθα πρὸς Περσέων, ἔστως ἐξεύουν· σέο δ’ ἐνεστέωτος βασιλέος, ἐντὸς πολιήτεως καὶ ἀρχομεν τὸ μέρος καὶ τιμᾶς πρὸς σέο μεγάλας ἐχομεν. οὖτω δὲ πάντως ἦμιν σέο καὶ τῆς σῆς ἀρχῆς προσπέτεον ἐστί. καὶ νῦν εἰ φοβερὸν τι ἐνωρόμεν, πᾶν ἄν σοι προεφράζομεν. νῦν δὲ ἀποσκήψαντος τοῦ ἐνυπνίου ἐς φαύλου, αὐτοὶ τε θαρσέωμεν καὶ σοὶ ἑτερα τοιαύτα παρακελευόμεθα. τὸν δὲ παῖδα τούτου ἐξ ὀφθαλμῶν ἀπόπεμψαι εἰς Πέρσας τε καὶ τοὺς γειναμένους.”

121. Ἀκούσας ταῦτα ὁ Ἀστυάγης ἐχάρη τε καὶ καλέσας τὸν Κύρον ἔλεγε οἱ τάδε. “ὁ δ’ Παῖ, σὲ γὰρ ἐγὼ δὲ ὧν ὃνερον οὐ τελέην ἡδίκεον, τῇ σεωτοῦ δὲ μοίρῃ περίεις· νῦν ὃν ἢθι χαῖρον εἰς Πέρσας, πομποὺς δὲ ἐγὼ ἀμα πέμψω. ἐλθὼν δὲ ἐκεῖ πατέρα τε καὶ μητέρα εὐρήσεις οὐ κατὰ Μιτραδάτην τε τὸν Βουκόλον καὶ τὴν γυναικα αὐτοῦ.”

122. Ταῦτα εἴπασο ὁ Ἀστυάγης ἀποτείμπει τὸν Κύρον. νοστῆσαντα δὲ μιν ἐς τοῦ Καμβύσεω τὰ οἰκία ἐδέξαντο οἱ γενάμενοι, καὶ δεξάμενοι ὡς ἑποῦθοντο, μεγάλως ἀσπάζοντο οίδ’ ἐπιστάμενοι αὐτίκα τὸτε τελευτήσαι, ἱστορεοῦν τὸ ὁμοὶ τρόπῳ περιγένοιτο. δ’ ὡς σφι ἔλεγε, φᾶς πρὸ τοῦ μὲν οὐκ
have no more to fear from him. Nevertheless consider well and advise me what shall be safest both for my house and for you." The Magians said, "King, we too are much concerned that your sovereignty should stand: for in the other case it goes away from your nation to this boy who is a Persian, and so we Medes are enslaved and deemed of no account by the Persians, being as we are of another blood, but while you are established king, who are our countryman, we have our share of power, and great honour is paid us by you. Thus, then, it behoves us by all means to take thought for you and your sovereignty. And at the present time if we saw any danger we would declare all to you: but now the dream has had but a trifling end, and we ourselves have confidence and counsel you to be like-minded. As for this boy, send him away from your sight to the Persians and to his parents."

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

122. So said Astyages and sent Cyrus away. When he returned to Cambyses' house, his parents received him there, and learning who he was they welcomed him heartily, for they had supposed that long ago he had straightway been killed, and they asked him how his life had been saved. Then he told them, and said that till now he had known
εἰδέναι ἄλλ' ἡμαρτηκέναι πλεῖστον, κατ' ὁδὸν δὲ πυθέσθαι πᾶσαν τὴν ἐωυτοῦ πάθην ἐπίστασθαι μὲν γὰρ ὡς βουκόλου τοῦ Ἀστυνάγεος εἰὴ παῖς, ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς κεῖθεν ὁδὸν τὸν πάντα λόγον τῶν πομπῶν πυθέσθαι. τραφήναι δὲ ἔλεγε ύπὸ τῆς τοῦ βουκόλου γυναικὸς, ἢ τε ταῦτην αἰνέων διὰ παντός, ἢ τέ οἱ ἐν τῷ λόγῳ τὰ πάντα ἡ Κυνώ. οἱ δὲ τοκεῖς παραλαβόντες τὸ ὀνόμα τοῦτο, ἵνα θειοτέρως δοκεῖ τοῖς Πέρσησι περιεῖναι σφί ὁ παῖς, κατέβαλον φάτιν ὡς ἐκκείμενον Κῦρον κύων ἔξεδρεθε.

123. 'Ευθεύτεν μὲν ἡ φάτις αὐτὴ κεχώρηκε. Κῦρῳ δὲ ἀνδρευμένῳ καὶ ἐοντι τῶν ἥλικων ἀνδρηστάτῳ καὶ προσφίλεστάτῳ προσέκειτο ὁ Ἀρπαγός δῶρα πέμπων, τίσασθαι Ἀστυνάγεα ἐπιθυμέων· ἀπ' ἐωυτοῦ γὰρ ἐόντος ἰδιώτεω οὐκ ἐνώρα τιμωρίην ἐσομένην ἐς Ἀστυνάγεα, Κῦρον δὲ ὄρεων ἐπιτρέφομεν ἐποίεστο σύμμαχον, τὰς πάθας τὰς Κῦρον τῆς ἐωυτοῦ ὠμοιόμενος. πρὸ δὲ ἐτὶ τοῦτον τάδε οἱ κατέργαστο· ἐόντος τοῦ Ἀστυνάγεος πικροῦ ἐς τῶν Μήδων, συμμίσγων ἐν ἐκάστῳ ὁ Ἀρπαγὸς τῶν πρῶτων Μήδων ἀνέπειθε ὡς χρῆ Κῦρον προστησαμένοις Ἀστυνάγεα παύσαι τῆς βασιλείας. κατεργασμένον δὲ οἱ τούτου καὶ ἐόντος ἑτοίμου, οὕτω δὴ τῷ Κῦρῳ διατωμένῳ ἐν Πέρσησι βουλόμενος ὁ Ἀρπαγός δηλώσαι τὴν ἐωυτοῦ γνώμην ἀλλος μὲν ὑδαμών ἄχε ἀτε τῶν ὀδῶν φυλασσομενον, ὁ δὲ ἐπιτεχνύαται τοιόντε ξανθοῦν, καὶ ἀνασχίσας τούτῳ τὴν γαστέρα καὶ οὐδὲν ἀποτίλας, ὡς δὲ εἰχε οὕτω ἐσέθηκε βυβλίου, γράψας τα το εδόκεε· ἀπορράψας δὲ τοῦ λαγοῦ τὴν γαστέρα, καὶ δίκτυα δοὺς ἀτε θηρευτῇ τῶν
nothing but been greatly deceived, but that on the way he had heard all the story of his misfortune; for he had thought, he said, that Astyages' cowherd was his father, but in his journey from the city his escort had told him all the tale. And he had been reared, he said, by the cowherd's wife, and he was full of her praises, and in his tale he was ever speaking of Cyno. Hearing this name, his parents set about a story that Cyrus when exposed was suckled by a bitch, thinking thereby to make the story of his saving seem the more marvellous to the Persians.

123. This then was the beginning of that legend. But as Cyrus grew to man's estate, being the manliest and best loved of his peers, Harpagus courted him and sent him gifts, wishing to be avenged on Astyages; for he saw no hope of a private man like himself punishing Astyages, but as he saw Cyrus growing up he sought to make him an ally, for he likened Cyrus' misfortune to his own. He had already brought matters so far that—since Astyages dealt harshly with the Medians—he consorted with each of the chief Medians and persuaded them to make Cyrus their leader and depose Astyages. So much being ready and done, Harpagus desired to make known his intent to Cyrus, then dwelling among the Persians; but the roads were guarded, and he had no plan for sending a message but this—he artfully slit the belly of a hare, and then leaving it as it was without further harm he put into it a paper on which he wrote what he thought fit. Then he sewed up the hare's belly, and sent it to Persia by the trustiest of his servants,
οἰκετέων τῷ πιστοτάτῳ, ἀπέστελλε ἐς τοὺς Πέρσας, ἐντειλάμενος οἶ ἀπὸ γλώσσης διδόντα τὸν λαγὸν Κύρῳ ἐπειπέιν αὐτοχειρίᾳ μιν διελεῖν καὶ μηδένα οἱ ταύτα ποιεῖν ταρεῖν.

124. Ταύτα τε δὴ διὰ ἐπιτελέα ἐγένετο καὶ ὁ Κύρος παραλαβὼν τὸν λαγὸν ἀνέσχυσε· εὐρῷν δὲ ἐν αὐτῷ τὸ βυβλίον ἑνῶν λαβὼν ἐπελέγετο, τὰ δὲ γράμματα ἔλεγε τάδε. "Ω παῖ Καμβύσεω, σὲ γὰρ θεοὶ ἐπορῶσι· οὐ γὰρ ἂν κοτὲ ἐς τοσοῦτο τύχης ἀπίκευ· σὺ νῦν Ἀστυάγεα τὸν σεωντοῦ φονέα τίσαί. κατὰ μὲν γὰρ τὴν τούτου προσμύνη τέθυκας, τὸ δὲ κατὰ θεοὺς τε καὶ ἐμὲ περίεις· τὰ σὲ καὶ πάλαι δοκεῖ πάντα ἐκκεμαθηκέναι, σέο τε αὐτοῦ πέρι ὡς ἐπρήξῃ, καὶ ὅλα ἐγὼ ὑπὸ Ἀστυά-γεος πέποθα, ὅτι σὲ οὐκ ἀπέκτεινα ἄλλα ἔδωκα τῷ βουκόλῳ, σὺ νῦν, ἢν βούλῃ ἐμοὶ πείθολει, τῆς περ Ἀστυάγης ἀρχῆς χώρης, ταύτης ἀπάσης ἀρξεις. Πέρσας γὰρ ἀναπείσας ἄπιστασθαί στρατι- τηλάτεε ἐπὶ Μήδους· καὶ ἢν τε ἐγὼ ὑπὸ Ἀστυά-γεος ἀποδεχθέω στρατηγὸς αὐτία σεῦ, ἔστι τοι τὰ σὺ βούλεαι, ἢν τε τῶν τίς δοκίμων ἄλλος Μήδων, πρῶτοι γὰρ οὕτω ἀποστάντες ἀπ' ἐκείνου καὶ γενόμενοι πρὸς σέο Ἀστυάγεα καταλαίηεν πειρή- σονται. ὃς δὲν ἔτοιμον τοῦ γε ἐνθύδε ἐόντος, ποίει ταύτα καὶ ποίει κατὰ τάχος.

125. Ἀκούσας ταύτα ὁ Κύρος ἐφρόντιζε ὅτερ τρόπῳ σοφωτάτῳ Πέρσας ἀναπείσει ἄπιστασθαί, φρουτίζων δὲ εὐρίσκεται ταύτα καυρώτατα εἶναι· ἐποίεε δὴ ταύτα, γράψας ἐς βυβλίον τὰ ἐβουλεῖτο, ἀλιγν τῶν Περσῶν ἐποιήσατο, μετὰ δὲ ἀναπτύξιας τὸ βυβλίον καὶ ἐπιλεγόμενος ἔφη Ἀστυάγεα μιν στρατηγὸν Περσῶν ἀποδεικνύναι. "Νῦν τε," ἔφη
giving him nets to carry as if he were a huntsman. The messenger was charged to give Cyrus the hare and bid him by word of mouth cut it open with his own hands, none other being present.

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

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

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λέγων, "ο Πέρσαι, προαγορεύω ύμιν παρείναι ἐκαστὸν ἔχοντα δρέπανον." Κύρος μὲν ταῦτα προηγόρευσε. ἔστι δὲ Περσέων συχνὰ γένεα, καὶ τὰ μὲν αὐτῶν ὁ Κύρος συνάλλησα καὶ ἀνέπεισε ἀπίστασθαι ἀπὸ Μήδων. ἔστι δὲ τάδε, ἐξ ὧν ὀλλοὶ πάντες ἀρτέαται Πέρσαι, Πασαργάδαι Μαράφιοι Μάστιοι. τούτων Πασαργάδαι εἰσὶ ἀριστοί, ἐν τούτῳ καὶ Ἀχαμενίδαι εἰσὶν φρίτηρι, ἐνθαν οἱ βασιλεῖς οἱ Περσεῖδαι γεγόνασι. ἄλλοι δὲ Πέρσαι εἰσὶν οίδε, Πανθιαλαῖοι Δηρουσιαῖοι Γερμάνιοι. οὕτω μὲν πάντες ἀρωτῆρες εἰσὶ, οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι νομάδες, Δώιοι Μάρδοι Δροπικοὶ Σαγάρτιοι.

126. Ὁς δὲ παρῆσαν ἀπαντεῖς ἔχοντες τὸ προειρημένον, ἐνθαῦτα ὁ Κύρος, ὃς γὰρ τις χῶρος τῆς Περσικῆς ἀκαυθώδης ὦσον τε ἐπὶ ὀκτωκαίδεκα σταδίους ἢ εἰκοσὶ πάντῃ, τοῦτον σφι τὸν χῶρον προεύπτε ἐξημερώσαε ἐν ἡμέρῃ. ἐπιτελεσάντων δὲ τῶν Περσέων τὸν προκείμενον ἀεθλοῦν, δεύτερὰ σφι προεύπτε ἐς τὴν υστεραίην παρείναι λελουμένους. ἐν δὲ τούτῳ τα τε αἰσθάναι καὶ τὰς ποίμνας καὶ τὰ βουκόλια ὁ Κύρος πάντα τοῦ πατρὸς συναλίσαες ἐς τῶντὸ ἔθυσε καὶ παρεσκεύαζε ὡς ἐξομήνυος τὸν Περσέων στρατόν, πρὸς δὲ οὔως τε καὶ σιτίοις ὡς ἐπιτηδευτάτους. ἀπικομένους δὲ τῇ υστεραίη τοὺς Πέρσας κατακλώνας ἐς λειμῶνα εὐώχεε. ἔπειτε δὲ ἀπὸ δειπνοῦ ἦσαν, εἰρετὸ σφέας ὁ Κύρος κόστερα τῇ προτεραίῃ ἐχον ἡ τὰ παρεόντα σφι εἰς αἱρετώτερα. οἱ δὲ ἐφασαν πολλὰν εἰναι αὐτῶν τὸ μέσον· τὴν μὲν γὰρ προτέρην ἡμέρην πάντα σφι κακὰ ἔχειν, τὴν δὲ τότε παρεούσαν πάντα ἀγαθὰ. παραλαβὼν δὲ τούτο τὸ ἐπὸς ὁ Κύρος παρεγύμνου τὸν πάντα

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said he in his speech, "I bid you all, men of Persia, to come each of you with a sickle." (There are many tribes in Persia: those of them whom Cyrus assembled and persuaded to revolt from the Medes were the Pasargadae, the Maraphii, and the Maspii. On these hang all the other Persians. The chief tribe is that of the Pasargadae; to them belongs the clan of the Achaemenidae, the royal house of Persia. The other Persian tribes are the Panthialaei, the Derusiae, and the Germanii, all tillers of the soil, and the Dai, the Mardi, the Dropici, the Sagartii, all wandering herdsmen.)

126. So when they all came with sickles as commanded, Cyrus bade them clear and make serviceable in one day a certain thorny tract of Persia, of eighteen or twenty furlongs each way in extent. The Persians accomplished the appointed task; Cyrus then commanded them to wash themselves and come on the next day; and meanwhile, gathering together his father's goats and sheep and oxen in one place, he slew and prepared them as a feast for the Persian host, providing also wine and all foods that were most suitable. When the Persians came on the next day he made them sit and feast in a meadow. After dinner he asked them which pleased them best, their task of yesterday or their present state. They answered that the difference was great: all yesterday they had had nought but evil, to-day nought but good. Then taking their word from their mouths Cyrus laid
λόγον, λέγων "Ανδρές Πέρσαι, οὕτω ὑμῖν ἔχει. Βουλομένοισι μὲν ἐμέο πείθεσθαι ἐστὶ τάδε τε καὶ ἄλλα μνημία ἀγαθά, οὕτεν πόνον δουλοπρέπει ἔχουσι, μὴ βουλομένοισι δὲ ἐμέο πείθεσθαι εἰσὶ ὑμῖν πόνον τῷ χιίζῷ παραπλῆσιον ἀναρίθμητοι. νῦν δὲ ἐμέο πειθόμενοι γίνεσθε ἐλεύθεροι. αὐτὸς τε γὰρ δοκεῖ θείῃ τύχῃ γεγονός τάδε ἐς χείρας ἀγέσθαι, καὶ ὑμέας ἡγημαί ἄνδρας Μῆδων εἶναι οὐ φαυλοτέρους οὕτε τάλλα οὕτε τὰ πολέμια. ὡς ὑν ἐχόντων ὡδε, ἀπίστασθε ἀπ᾽ Ἀστυάγεος τὴν ταχιστήν."

127. Πέρσαι μὲν νῦν προσκόπους ἐπιλαβόμενου ἀσμενοὶ ἐλευθεροῦντο, καὶ πάλαι δεινοῖο ποιεύμενοι ὑπὸ Μῆδων ἄρχεσθαι. Ἀστυάγης δὲ ὡς ἐπύθετο Κύρου ταύτα πρήσοστα, πέμψας ἀγγελοὺν ἐκάλεσε αὐτόν. ὁ δὲ Κύρος ἐκέλευε τὸν ἀγγέλου ἀπαγγέλλειν ὅτι πρότερον ἤξοι παρ᾽ ἐκείνου ἢ Ἀστυάγης αὐτὸς βουλήσεται. ἀκούσας δὲ ταύτα ὁ Ἀστυάγης Μῆδους τε ὡπλισε πάντας, καὶ στρατηγὸν αὐτῶν ὡστε θεοβλαβής ἐδω "Αρ-παγον ἀπέδεξε, λήθην ποιεύμενος τὰ μὲν ἔόργηε. ὡς δὲ οἱ Μῆδοι στρατευσάμενοι τοῖς Πέρσηι συνέμισσαν, οὐ μὲν τινὲς αὐτῶν ἐμάχοντο, ὡςοι μὴ τοῦ λόγου μετέσχον, οὐ δὲ αὐτομόλεου πρὸς τοὺς Πέρσας, οὐ δὲ πλεῖστοι ἐθελοκάκεον τε καὶ ἐφευγον.

128. Διαλυθέντος δὲ τοῦ Μῆδικοῦ στρατευ-ματος αὐσχρῶς, ὡς ἐπύθετο τάχιστα ὁ Ἀστυάγης, ἔφη ἀπειλέων τῷ Κύρῳ "Ἀλλ᾽ οὐδ᾽ ὃς Κύρος γε χαρηθεῖ." τοσαύτα εἶπας πρῶτον μὲν τῶν Μάγων τοὺς ὑπεροπόλους, οὐ μὲν ἀνέγνωσαν μετειναὶ τὸν Κύρον, τούτους ἀνεσκολόπισε, μετὰ δὲ ὡπλισε

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

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

128. Thus the Median army was foullly scattered. Astyages, hearing this, sent a threatening message to Cyrus, "that even so he should not go unpunished"; and with that he took the Magians who interpreted dreams and had persuaded him to let Cyrus go free, and impaled them; then he armed
τοὺς ὑπολειψθέντας ἐν τῷ ἀστεί τῶν Μήδων, νέους τε καὶ πρεσβύτας ἀνδρας. ἐξαγαγὼν δὲ τούτοις καὶ συμβαλὼν τοίσι Πέρσηι ἔσσωθη, καὶ αὐτὸς τε Ἀστυάγης ἐξωγρήθη καὶ τοὺς ἔξηγαγε τῶν Μήδων ἀπέβαλε.

129. Ἐόντι δὲ αἰχμαλώτῳ τῷ Ἀστυάγει προσκήνητας ὁ "Ἀρπαγος κατέχαιρε τε καὶ κατεκερτόμεε, καὶ ἄλλα λέγον ἐς αὐτὸν θυμαλγέα ἐπεα, καὶ δῇ καὶ εἰρετὸ μιν πρὸς τὸ ἐωτοῦ δεῖπνον, τὸ μιν ἐκεῖνος σαρξὶ του παίδος ἑθοίηςε, ὥ τι εἶή ἡ ἐκεῖνος διουλοσύνῃ ἀτι τῆς βασιλικῆς. ὃ δὲ μιν προσιδῶν ἀντείρετο εἰ ἐωτοῦ ποιέται τὸ Κύρος ἔργον. "Ἀρπαγος δὲ ἐφη, αὐτὸς γὰρ γράψαι, τὸ πρήγμα ἐωτοῦ δῇ δικαίως εἶναι. Ἀστυάγης δὲ μιν ἀπέφαυνε τῷ λόγῳ σκιάτοτὸν τε καὶ ἐδικασταὶ τὸν ἐόντα πάντων ἀνθρώπων, σκιασταὸν μὲν γε, εἰ παρεῦν αὐτῷ βασιλέα γενέσθαι, εἰ δῇ δῇ ἐωτοῦ γε ἐπρήξθη ὡς παρεύν, ἀλλῶ περιεθηκε τὸ κράτος, ἐδικασταὶ δὲ, ὅτι τοῦ δείπνου εἰνεκεν Μήδως κατεδουλώσε. εἰ γὰρ δῇ δεῖν πάντως περίθεται ἀλλῷ τῶν ἐναντίων καὶ μὴ αὐτῶν ἐχειν, δικαίωτερον εἶναι Μήδων τῶν περιβαλεῖν τοῦτο τὸ ἄγαθον ἡ Περσέων. νῦν δὲ Μήδων μὲν ἀναίτιον τοῦτο ἐόντας δούλους ἀντὶ δεσποτέων γεγονέναι, Πέρσας δὲ δούλους ἐόντας τὸ πρὶν Μήδων νῦν γεγονέναι δεσπότας.

130. Ἀστυάγης μὲν νυν βασιλεύσας ἐπ' ἔτεα πέντε καὶ τριήκοντα οὖτω τῆς βασιλικῆς καταπαύσθη, Μήδοι δὲ ὑπέκυψαν Πέρσηι διὰ τὴν τούτων πικρότητα, ἀρξαίτες τῆς ἀνω "Ἀλὼς ποταμὸς Ἀσίής ἐπ' ἔτεα τριήκοντα καὶ ἐκατὸν δύον δέοντα, πάρεξ ἡ ὁσον οἱ Σκύθαι ἤρχον. 168
the Medes who were left in the city, the youths and old men. Leading these out, and encountering the Persians, he was worsted: Astyages himself was taken prisoner, and lost the Median army which he led.

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

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

\(^1\) 687 to 559 B.C. The Scythians ruled 634–606 B.C.
HERODOTUS

υστέρω μέντοι χρόνως μετεμέλησε τέ σφι ταύτα ποιήσασι καὶ ἀπέστησαν ἀπὸ Δαρείου, ἀποστάντες δὲ ὅπισώ κατεστράφησαν μάχη νυκτῆνες. τότε δὲ ἔπλα Ἀστυάγεος οἱ Πέρσαι τε καὶ ὁ Κῦρος ἐπαναστάντες τοὺς Μήδους ἆρχον τὸ ἀπὸ τούτου τῆς Ἀσίης. Ἀστυάγεα δὲ Κῦρος κακὸν οὐδὲν ἄλλο ποιήσας εἶχε παρ’ ἑωτυῖ, ἐς ὃ ἐτελεύτησε.

Οὔτω δὴ Κῦρος γενόμενος τε καὶ τραφεῖς ἐβασίλευσε καὶ Κροῖσον ύστερον τούτων ἀρξαντα ἀδικίας κατεστρέψατο, ὡς εἰρηταὶ μοι πρότερον, τούτω δὲ καταστρεψάμενος οὔτω πάσης τῆς Ἀσίης ἤρξε.

131. Πέρσας δὲ οἶδα νόμοισι τοιοῦτοι χρεωμένους, ἀγάλματα μὲν καὶ νῆοι καὶ βωμοὺς οὐκ ἐν νόμῳ ποιεομένους ἱδρύεσθαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖσι ποιεύσι μωρὶν ἐπιφέρουσι, ός μὲν ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν, ὅτι οὐκ ἀνθρωποφυέας ἐνόμισαν τοὺς θεοὺς κατὰ περ οἱ Ἑλληνες εἶναι. οὐ δὲ νομίζουσι Δῖ μὲν ἐπὶ τὰ ὑψηλότατα τῶν ὁρέων ἁναβαίνοντες θυσίας ἔρδειν, τὸν κύκλον πάντα τοῦ ὀὐρανοῦ Δία καλέοντες: θύουσι δὲ ἥλιῳ τε καὶ σελήνῃ καὶ γῆ καὶ πυρὶ καὶ ὕδατι καὶ ἀνέμοισι. τούτοισι μὲν δὴ θύουσι μοῦνοις ἄρχῇθεν, ἐπιμεμαθήκασι δὲ καὶ τῇ Οὐρανίᾳ θύειν, παρὰ τε Ἀσσυρίων μαθόντες καὶ Ἄραβιων. καλέουσι δὲ Ἀσσυρίοι τὴν Ἀφροδίτην Μύλιττα, Ἀράβιοι δὲ Ἀλιλάτ, Πέρσαι δὲ Μίτρας.

132. Ὁνυόν δὲ τοῖσι Πέρσηι περὶ τοὺς εἰρήμενους θεοὺς ἥδε κατέστηκε: οὐτε βωμοὺς ποιεώται οὐτε πῦρ ἀνακαίουσι μέλλοντες θύειν, οὔτε σπουδὴ χρέωνται, οὐκι αὐλῶν, οὐ στέμμασι, οὐκι οὐλήσι: τῶν δὲ ὡς ἐκάστω θύειν θέλῃ, ἐς χώρον

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

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

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

132. And this is their fashion of sacrifice to the aforesaid gods: when about to sacrifice they neither build altars nor kindle fire, they use no libations, nor music, nor fillets, nor barley meal; but to whomsoever of the gods a man will sacrifice, he leads the
καθαρὸν ἀγαγῶν τὸ κτῆμος καλέει τὸν θεόν, ἐστεφανομένος τὸν τιάραν μυρσίνη μάλιστα. ἕωστῷ μὲν δὴ τῷ θύουτι ἱδίῃ μοῦνοι οὐ ὦν ἐγγίνεται ἀράσθαι ἀγαθά, ὁ δὲ τοῖς πάσι Πέρσης κατεύχεται εὖ γίνεσθαι καὶ τῷ βασιλεῖ· ἐν γὰρ δὴ τοὺς ἀπασί Πέρσης καὶ αὐτὸς γίνεται. ἐπεάν δὲ διαμιστύλας κατὰ μέλεα τὸ ῥήμιον ἑψήφῃ τὰ κρέα, ὑποπάσας ποίην ὡς ἀπαλωτάτην, μάλιστα δὲ τὸ τρίφυλλον, ἐπὶ ταύτης ἑθηκε δὲν πάντα τὰ κρέα. διαθέντος δὲ αὐτοῦ Μάγος ἀνὴρ παρεστὼς ἐπαιδεύει θεογονίαν, οὗν δὴ ἐκεῖνοι λέγουσι εἶναι τὴν ἐπαλιδήν· ἀνευ γὰρ δὴ Μάγον οὐ σφι νόμος ἐστὶ θυσίας ποιέσθαι. ἐπισχῶν δὲ ὀλύγον χρόνων ἀποφέρεται ο θύσας τὰ κρέα καὶ χράται ο τι μὲν λόγος αἴρειεν.

133. Ἡμέρην δὲ ἀπασέων μάλιστα ἐκεῖνην τιμᾶν νομίζουσι τῇ ἐκαστος ἐγένετο. ἐν ταύτῃ δὲ πλέω δαίτα τῶν ἀλλέων δικαίευσι προτίθεσθαι· ἐν τῇ οἱ εὐδαίμονες αὐτῶν βοῦν καὶ ἵππον καὶ κάμηλον καὶ όνον προτιθέμενοι ὅλους ὅππους ἐν καμίνοις, οἱ δὲ πέννητες αὐτῶν τὰ λεπτὰ τῶν προβάτων προτιθέμενοι. σῖτοισι δὲ ὀλῖγοις χρέωνται, ἐπιφορῆμασι δὲ πολλοὶς καὶ οὐκ ἀλέσι· καὶ διὰ τοῦτο φασὶ Πέρσαι τοὺς Ἐλλήνας στειομένους πεινῶντας παύεσθαι, ὅτι σφι ἀπὸ δείπνου παραφύεται οὐδὲν λόγου ἄξιον· εἰ δὲ τι παραφέροιτο ἐσθίοντας ἀν οὐ παύεσθαι. οὐνω δὲ κάρτα προσκέπαται, καὶ σφι οὐκ ἐμέσαι ἔξεστι, οὐκί οὐρῆσαι ἀντίοιο ἄλλου. ταῦτα μὲν νυν οὕτω φυλάσσεται, μεθυσκόμενοι δὲ ἐώθασι βουλεύεσθαι τὰ σπουδαίοτατα τῶν πρηγμάτων. τὸ δὲ ἀν ἄδη σφι βουλευομένους, τούτο τῇ ὑστεραίῃ νήφουσι
beast to an open space and then calls on the god, himself wearing a wreath on his cap, of myrtle for choice. To pray for blessings for himself alone is not lawful for the sacrificer; rather he prays that it may be well with the king and all the Persians; for he reckons himself among them. He then cuts the victim limb from limb into portions, and having boiled the flesh spreads the softest grass, trefoil by choice, and places all of it on this. When he has so disposed it a Magian comes near and chants over it the song of the birth of the gods, as the Persian tradition relates it; for no sacrifice can be offered without a Magian. Then after a little while the sacrificer carries away the flesh and uses it as he pleases.

133. The day which every man most honours is his own birthday. On this he thinks it right to serve a more abundant meal than on other days; before the rich are set oxen or horses or camels or asses, roasted whole in ovens; the poorer serve up the lesser kinds of cattle. Their courses are few, the dainties that follow are many and not all served together. This is why the Persians say of the Greeks, that they rise from table still hungry, because not much dessert is set before them: were this too given to the Greek (say the Persians) he would never cease eating. They are greatly given to wine; none may vomit or make water in another’s presence. This then is prohibited among them. Moreover it is their custom to deliberate about the gravest matters when they are drunk; and what they approve in their counsels is proposed to them the next day by the master of the house where they deliberate, when they are now sober
προτίθει ὁ στέγαρχος, ἐν τού ἀν ἔντες βουλεύων-
tαι, καὶ ἴνα μὲν ἅδη καὶ νῆφουσι, χρέωνται αὐτῷ,
ἀν δὲ μὴ ἅδη, μετείησι. τὰ δὲ ἀν νῆφοι τε προ-
βουλεύσωνται, μεθυσκόμενοι ἐπιδιαγινώσκουσι.

134. Ἐντυγχάνοντες δὲ ἀλλήλοις ἐν τῆι ὡδοῖσι, τοῦτο Ἰν τις διαγνοίη ἐι ὁμοίοι εἰσὶ οἱ συν-
tυγχάνοντες· ἀντὶ γὰρ τοῦ προσαγορεύειν ἀλλή-
λος φιλέουσι τοῖσι στόμασι· ἢν δὲ ἢ οὔτερος
ὑποδεéseτερος ὅλγω, τὰς πτερείας φιλέουται· ἢν
δὲ πολλῷ ἢ οὔτερος ἀγεννέστερος, προσπήπτων
προσκυνεῖ τὸν ἔτερον. τιμῶσι δὲ ἐκ πάντων τοὺς
ἀγχιστα ἔωστὐν οἰκεύοντας μετά τε ἐως τοῖσι,
δεύτερα δὲ τοὺς δεύτερους· μετὰ δὲ κατὰ λόγον
προσβάινοντες τιμῶσι· ἢκίστα δὲ τοὺς ἐωστῶν
ἐκαστάτω οἰκημένως ἐν τιμῇ ἄγονται, νομίζοντες
ἐως τοὺς εἶναι ἀνθρώπων μακρῷ τὰ πάντα ἄρισ-
tους, τοὺς δὲ ἀλλοὺς κατὰ λόγον τῆς ἀρετῆς
ἀντέχεσθαι, τοὺς δὲ ἐκαστάτω οἰκεύοντας ἀπὸ
ἔως τῶν κακιστῶν εἶναι. ἐπὶ δὲ Μήδων ἄρχον-
tῶν καὶ ἢρχε τὰ ἐθνεὰ ἀλλήλων, συναπάντων
μὲν Μήδου καὶ τῶν ἄγχιστα οἰκεύοντων σφίσι,
οὐτοὶ δὲ καὶ τῶν ὑμοῦρων, οἱ δὲ μᾶλλα τῶν ἐχο-
μένων, κατὰ τὸν αὐτοῦ δὴ λόγον καὶ οἱ Πέρσαι
τιμῶσι· προέβαινε γὰρ δὴ τὸ ἔθνος ἄρχον τε καὶ
ἔπιτρυπεύον.

135. Ἐνικὰ δὲ νόμαια Πέρσαι προσίενται
ἀνδρῶν μάλιστα. καὶ γὰρ δὴ τῆι Μηδικῆι ἐσθῆτα
νομίζοντες τῆς ἔως τοὺς εἶναι καλλίω φορέοντι,
καὶ ἐς τοὺς πολέμους τοὺς Ἀιγυπτίους θώρηκας·
καὶ εὐπαθείας τε παντοδαπᾶς πυνθανόμενοι ἐπι-

1 κατὰ λόγον [τῷ λεγομένῳ] Stein.
and if being sober they still approve it, they act thereon, but if not, they cast it aside. And when they have taken counsel about a matter when sober, they decide upon it when they are drunk.

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

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

\(^1\) This appears to mean, that the farther off a subject nation is, the less direct is the control exercised by the Medes; on the same principle as that which makes the Persians hold their subjects in less and less estimation in proportion to their distance from the seat of empire.
τηδεύουσι, καὶ δὴ καὶ ἀπ' Ἑλλήνων μαθόντες παισὶ μύσγονται. γαμέουσι δὲ ἐκαστὸς αὐτῶν πολλὰς μὲν κουριδίας γυναῖκας, πολλῷ δ' ἐτὶ πλεῦνας παλλακάς κτόνται.

136. Ἀνδραγαθίη δὲ αὐτὴ ἀποδέδεκται, μετὰ τὸ μάχεσθαι εἶναι ἄγαθόν, ὅσ ἀν πολλοὺς ἀποδέξῃ παῖδας· τῷ δὲ τοὺς πλείστους ἀποδεικνύντι δωρα ἐκτέμπει βασιλεὺς ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος. τὸ πολλὸν δ' ἤγεσταί ἵσχυρὸν εἶναι. παιδεύουσι δὲ τοὺς παῖδας ἀπὸ πενταέτεος ἀρξάμενοι μέχρι ἐκκοσαέτεος τρία μοῦνα, ἵππευει καὶ τοξεύειν καὶ ἀληθὶζεσθαι. πρὶν δὲ ἡ πενταέτής γένηται, ὦκ ἀπικνέεσται ἐς ὁφὶν τῷ πατρὶ, ἄλλα παρὰ τῇ σῇ γυναῖξι δίαιταν ἔχει. τούδε δὲ εἴνεκα τοῦτο ὄυτῳ ποιέεται, ἢν ἡν ἀποθάνῃ τρεφόμενος, μηδεμίαν ἁσὴν τῷ πατρὶ προσβάλη.

137. Αἰνέω μὲν ὑπὸ τὸν νόμον, αἰνέω δὲ καὶ τόνδε, τὸ μὴ μὴς αὐτής εἴνεκα μῆτε αὐτῶν τὸν βασιλέα μηδένα φονεύειν, μῆτε τῶν ἅλλων Περσέων μηδένα τῶν ἐωτοῦ ὦκετέων ἐπὶ μὴς αὐτῆς ἀνήκεστον πάθος ἔρθειν· ἀλλὰ λογισάμενος ἢν εὐρίσκῃ πλέον τε καὶ μέξω τὰ ἀδικήματα ἕωτα τῶν ὑπουργημάτων, ὦτῳ τῷ θυμῷ χρᾶται. ἀποκτείνα δὲ οὐδένα καὶ λέγουσι τὸν ἐωτοῦ πατέρα οὐδὲ μητέρα, ἀλλὰ ὡσκα ἢδε τοιαῦτα ἐγένετο, πᾶσαν ἀνάγκην φασὶ ἀναζητέομαι ταῦτα ἀνευρεθήναι ἦτοι ὑποβολουμαί ἕωτα ἢ μοιχίδια· οὐ γὰρ δὴ φασι οἰκὸς εἶναι τὸν γε ἀληθεῶς τοκέα ὑπὸ τοῦ ἐωτοῦ παιδὸς ἀποθηνήσκειν.

138. Ἀσσα δὲ σφι ποιέειν οὐκ ἔξεστι, ταῦτα οὐδὲ λέγειν ἔξεστι. αὐχιστὸν δὲ αὐτοῦς τὸ Ψεῦδεσθαι νενόμισται, δεύτερα δὲ τὸ ὄφειλεν χρέος,
are of all kinds, and all borrowed; the Greeks taught them unnatural vices. Every Persian marries many lawful wives, and keeps still more concubines.

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

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

138. Moreover of what they may not do neither may they speak. They hold lying to be foulest of all and next to that debt; for which they have
πολλῶν μὲν καὶ ἄλλων εὐνεκα, μάλιστα δὲ ἀναγκαίην φασὶ εἶναι τὸν ὀφείλοντα καὶ τὸν ψεύδος λέγειν. ὃς ἂν δὲ τῶν ἀστῶν λέπρην ἡ λεύκην ἔχῃ, ἐς πόλιν οὕτος οὐ κατέχεται οὔτε συμμίσγεται τοῖς ἀλλοίς Πέρσηι· φασὶ δὲ μιν ἐς τὸν ἥλιον ἀμαρτόντα τι ταῦτα ἔχειν. ξείνου δὲ πάντα τὸν λαμβανόμενον ὑπὸ τούτων πολλοὶ ἐξελαύνουσι ἐκ τῆς χώρης, καὶ τὰς λευκὰς περιστερὰς, τὴν αὐτὴν αἰτίην ἐπιφέροντες. ἐς ποταμὸν δὲ οὕτε ἐνυφρέουσι οὕτε ἐμπτύουσι, οὐ χείρας ἐναπούξονται, οὔτε ἄλλον οὕδενα περιορώσι, ἀλλὰ σέβονται ποταμοῦ μάλιστα.

139. Καὶ τὸδε ἄλλο σφὶ ὅδε συμπέπτωκε γίνεσθαι, τὸ Πέρσας μὲν αὐτοὺς λέληθε, ἥμεας μέντοι οὐ· τὰ οὖνοματὰ σφὶ ἐόντα ὁμοία τούς σώμασι καὶ τῇ μεγαλοπρεπείᾳ τελευτῶσι πάντα ἐς τῶν γράμμα, τὸ Δωρίες μὲν σὰν καλέουσι, ἴωνες δὲ σίγμα· ἐς τοῦτο διξήμενος εὐρήσεις τελευτῶντα τῶν Περσῶν τὰ οὖνοματα, οὐ τὰ μὲν τὰ δ' οὐ, ἀλλὰ πάντα ὁμοίως.

140. Ταῦτα μὲν ἀτρεκέως ἔχω περὶ αὐτῶν εἰδὼς εἰπεῖν· τάδε μέντοι ὡς κρυπτόμενα λέγεται καὶ οὐ σαφηνέως περὶ τοῦ ἀποθανόντος, ὡς οὐ πρότερον θάπτεται ἀνδρός Πέρσεως ὁ νέκυς πρὶν ἀν ὑπ' ὀρμιδος ἡ κυνὸς ἐλκυσθῆ. Μάγους μὲν γὰρ ἀτρεκέως οἴδα ταῦτα ποιέοντας· ἐμφανέως γὰρ ἢ ποιεῖσι. κατακηρώσαντες δὲ ὅν τῶν νέκυν Πέρσαι γῆ κρύπτουσι. Μάγοι δὲ κεχωρίδαται πολλοὶ τῶν τε ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων καὶ τῶν ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ ἱρέων, οἵ μὲν γὰρ ἀγνεύουσι ἐμψυχον μηδὲν κτεῖνειν, εἰ μὴ ἄσα θύουσι· οἱ δὲ δὴ Μάγοι αὐτοχειρὶ πάντα πλὴν κυνὸς καὶ ἀνθρώπου κτείνουσι, καὶ

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

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

140. So much I can say of them of my own certain knowledge. But there are other matters concerning the dead which are secretly and obscurely told—how the dead bodies of Persians are not buried before they have been mangled by bird or dog. That this is the way of the Magians I know for a certainty; for they do not conceal the practice. But this is certain, that before the Persians bury the body in earth they embalm it in wax. These Magians are much unlike to the priests of Egypt, as to all other men: for the priests count it sacrilege to kill aught that lives, save what they sacrifice; but the Magians kill with their own hands every creature, save only dogs
αγώνισμα μέγα τοῦτο ποιεῖται, κτείνοντες ὁμοίως μύρμηκας τε καὶ ὄφις καὶ τάλλα ἑρπετὰ καὶ πε- 
τεινά. καὶ ἀμφι μὲν τῷ νόμῳ τούτῳ ἑχέτω ὡς καὶ ἀρχὴν ἐνομίσθη, άνειμι δὲ ἐπὶ τὸν πρότερον 
λόγον.

141. Ἡωνες δὲ καὶ Αἰσλέες, ὡς οἱ Λυδοὶ τάχιστα 
κατεστράφατο ὑπὸ Περσέων, ἐπεμπτὸν ἀγγέλους 
ἐς Σάρδις παρὰ Κύρου, ἐθέλοντες ἐτὶ τοῖσι αὐ- 
τοῖσι εἶναι τοῖσι καὶ Κροίσῳ ἦσαν κατήκοι. ὦ 
δὲ ἀκούσας αὐτῶν τὰ προίσχοντο ἐλεξέ σφι 
λόγον, ἀνδρὰ φᾶς αὐλητὴν ἱδοῦτα ἰχθὺς ἐν τῇ 
θαλάσσῃ αὐλέειν, δοκέοντα σφέας ἐξελύσσεσθαι 
ἐς γῆν· ὥς δὲ ψευσθήναι τῆς ἔλπιδος, λαβεῖν 
ἀμφιβληστρον καὶ περιβαλεῖν τε πλῆθος πολλὸν 
tῶν ἰχθῶν καὶ ἐξειρύσσαι, ἱδοῦτα δὲ παλλομένους 
eἰπεῖν ἀρα αὐτὸν πρὸς τοὺς ἰχθύς "Παύεσθε μοι 
ὄρχεόμενοι, ἐπεὶ οὐδ᾽ ἐμέα αὐλέόντος ἡθέλετε 
ἐκβαίνειν ὄρχεόμενοι." Κύρος μὲν τοῦτον τὸν 
λόγον τοῖσι Ἡωςι καὶ τοῖσι Αἰσλέεσι τῶνδε εἴνεκα 
ἐλεξε, ὅτι δὲ οἱ Ἡωνες πρότερον αὐτοῦ Κύρου 
δεηθέντος δὲ ἀγγέλων ἀπίστασθαι σφέας ἀπὸ 
Κροίσου οὖν ἐπείθουσα, τότε δὲ κατεργασμένων 
tῶν προγμάτων ἦσαν ἐτοιμοὶ πεῖθεσθαι Κύρῳ. ὦ 
μὲν δὴ ὅργη ἐχόμενος ἐλεγέ σφι τάδε· Ἡωνες δὲ 
ὡς ἔκουσαν τοὺτον ἀνενεκθέντων ἐς τὰς πόλιας, 
tείχεα τε περιεβάλοντο ἐκαστοὶ καὶ συνελέγοντο 
ἐς Πανιώνιον οἱ ἄλλοι, πλὴν Μιλησίων πρὸς 
μούνους γὰρ τούτους ὄρκιον Κύρος ἔποιήσατο ἐπὶ 
οἶσι περὶ ὁ Λυδός. τοῖσι δὲ λοιποῖοι Ἡωςι ἔδοξε 
κοινῷ λόγῳ πέμπτειν ἀγγέλους ἐς Σπάρτην δεησο- 
μένους Ἡωςι τιμωρέειν.
and men; they kill all alike, ants and snakes, creeping and flying things, and take much pride therein. Leaving this custom to be such as it has been from the first, I return now to my former story.

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

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

2 See ch. 148.
142. Οἱ δὲ Ἰωνεὶς οὕτωι, τῶν καὶ τὸ Πανωμοῦν ἐστὶ, τοῦ μὲν οὐρανοῦ καὶ τῶν ὦρεών ἐν τῷ καλ-
λίστῳ ἔτυγχαν ίδρυσάμενοι πόλισι πάντων ἀνθρώπων τῶν ἡμεῖς ἱδμεν' οὕτε γὰρ τὰ ἄνω αὐ-
τῆς χωρία τῶντο νοεῖ τῇ Ἰωνίῃ οὔτε τὰ κάτω οὔτε τὰ πρὸς τὴν ἡδονή ὑπὲρ τὰ πρὸς τὴν ἐσπέρην,1 τὰ μὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ ψυχροῦ τε καὶ ὑγροῦ πιεζόμενα, τὰ δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ θερμοῦ τε καὶ αὐχμώδεοι. γλώσ-
σαν δὲ οὖ τὴν αὐτὴν οὕτωι νενομίκασι, ἀλλὰ τρό-
πους τέσσερας παραγγελέοι. Μίλητος μὲν αὐτέων πρώτῃ κέεται πόλις πρὸς μεσαμβρήνη, μετὰ δὲ Μυσὸς τε καὶ Ποιήνη. αὐταί μὲν ἐν τῇ Καρίᾳ κατοίκηνται κατὰ ταύτα διαλεγόμεναι σφίσι, αἴδε 
δὲ ἐν τῇ Λυδίᾳ, Ἑφεσος Κολοφῶν Δέβεδος Τέως 
Κλαζομεναί Φώκαια. αὐταί δὲ αἱ πόλιες τῆς 
πρότερον λεχθείσης ὁμολογέουσι κατὰ γλώσσαν ὀυδένη, σφίσι δὲ ὁμοφωνέουσι. ἔτι δὲ τρεῖς ὑπό-
λοιποὶ Ἰάδες πόλιες, τῶν αἱ δύο μὲν νήσους οἰκέ-
και, Σάμου τε καὶ Χίου, ἡ δὲ μία ἐν τῇ ἱπείρῳ ἱδρυται, Ἐρυθραί. Χίου μὲν νυν καὶ Ἐρυθραίοι 
κατὰ τῶντο διαλέγονται, Σάμιου δὲ ἐπ' ἐσωτήρ 
μοῦνοι. οὕτωι χαρακτήρες γλώσσης τέσσερες 
γίνονται.

143. Τούτων δὴ ἦν τῶν Ἰώνων οἱ Μιλήσιοι μὲν 
ἡσαν ἐν σκέπῃ τοῦ φόβου, ὁρκοῦν ποιησάμενοι, 
tοῖσι δὲ αὐτῶν ησιώτησι ἡν δεινὸν οὐδέν' οὕτε 
γὰρ Φοῖνικες ἦσαν καὶ Περσέων κατήκους οὕτε 
αὐτοὶ οἱ Πέρσαι ναυβάται. ἀπεσχύθησαν δὲ 
ἀπὸ τῶν ἄλλων Ἰώνων οὕτωι κατ' ἀλλο μὲν οὐδέν,
ἵσθενος δὲ ἐόντος τοῦ παντὸς τὸτε Ἑλληνικοῦ

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

143. Among these Ionians, the Milesians were sheltered from the danger (for they had made a treaty), and the islanders among them had nothing to fear; for the Phoenicians were not yet subjects of the Persians, nor were the Persians themselves shipmen. But they of Asia were cut off from the rest of the Ionians in no other way save as I shall show. The whole Hellenic race was then but small,
γένεσιν, πολλῷ δὴ ἦν ἀσθενεῖστατον τῶν ἑθνῶν τὸ Ἰωνικὸν καὶ λόγου ἐλαχίστον ὥστε γὰρ μὴ Ἀθηναῖαι, ἦν οὔδεν ἄλλο πόλισμα λόγιμον. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἄλλοι Ἰωνες καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναίοι ἔφυγον τὸ οἴνομα, οὐ βουλόμενοι Ἰωνες κεκλησθαί, ἀλλὰ καὶ νῦν φαίνονται μοι οἱ πολλοὶ αὐτῶν ἐπαισχύνεσθαι τῷ οἴνοματι ἡγάλλοντο καὶ ἵνα ἵδρυσαντο ἐπὶ σφέων αὐτῶν, τῷ οἴνομα ἐθεντὸ Πανιώνιον, ἐβουλεύσαντο δὲ αὐτοῦ μεταδόναι μηδαιμοίτι άλλοις Ἰώνοις (οὔδ' ἐδεήθησαν δὲ οὐδαμοὶ μετασχεῖν ὅτι μὴ Σμυρναίοι). 144. κατὰ περ οἱ ἐκ τῆς πενταπόλιος νῦν χώρης Δωρίες, πρότερον δὲ ἐξαπόλιος τῆς αὐτῆς παῦτης καλεομένης, ηφιάσονται ὁμ μηδαιμοίς ἐσδεξασθαί τῶν προσοίκων Δωρίέων ἐς τὸ Τριοπικὸν Ἰρὸν, ἀλλὰ καὶ σφέων αὐτῶν τόυς περὶ τὸ ἴρον ἀνομήσαντας ἐξεκλήσαν τῆς μετοχῆς. ἐν γὰρ τῷ ἀγώνι τοῦ Τριοπίου Ἀπόλλωνος ἐτίθεσαν τὸ πάλαι τρίποδας χαλκέους τοῖς νικῶσι, καὶ τούτους χρῆ τοὺς λαμβάνοντας ἐκ τοῦ ἴροῦ μὴ ἐκφέρειν ἄλλ' αὐτοῦ ἀνατιθέναι τῷ θεῷ. ἀνὴρ ὁς Ἀλικαρνησσεύς, τῷ οἴνομα ἦν Ἀγασικλέης, νικήσας τὸν νόμον κατηλόγησε, φέρων δὲ πρὸς τὰ ἑωντὸ οἰκία προσεπασσάλευσε τὸν τρίποδα. διὰ ταύτην τὴν αὐτήν αἱ πέντε πόλιες, Δίνδος καὶ Ἰήλυσός τε καὶ Κάμειρος καὶ Κῶς τε καὶ Κνίδος ἐξεκλήσαν τῆς μετοχῆς τὴν ἑκτὴν πολὺν Ἀλικαρνησσοῦν. τούτοις μὲν νῦν οὕτω ταύτῃ τὴν ζημίῃ ἐπέδηκαν.

145. Δυόδεκα δὲ μοι δοκέομαι πόλιας ποιησασθαι οἱ Ἰωνες καὶ οὐκ ἐθελήσας πλεύνας ἐσδεξασθαί τούδε εἶνεκα, ὅτι καὶ ὅτε ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ
and the least of all its parts, and the least regarded, was the Ionian stock; for saving Athens it had no considerable city. Now the Athenians and the rest would not be called Ionians, but spurned the name; nay, even now the greater number of them seem to me to be ashamed of it; but the twelve cities aforesaid gloried in this name, and founded a holy place for themselves which they called the Panionion, and agreed among them to allow no other Ionians to use it (nor indeed did any save the men of Smyrna ask to be admitted); 144. even as the Dorians of what is now the country of the "Five Cities"—the same being formerly called the country of the "Six Cities"—forbid the admitting of any of the neighbouring Dorians to the Triopian temple, nay, they barred from sharing the use of it even those of their own body who had broken the temple law. For long ago in the games in honour of Triopian Apollo they offered certain bronze tripods to the victors; and those who won these must not carry them away from the temple but dedicate them there to the god. Now a man of Halicarnassus called Agasicles, being a winner, disregarded this law, and carrying the tripod away nailed it to the wall of his own house. For this offence the five cities, Lindus, Ialysus, Camirus, Cos, and Cnidus, forbade the sixth city, Halicarnassus, to share in the use of the temple. Such was the penalty imposed on the Halicarnassians. 145. As for the Ionians, the reason why they made twelve cities and would admit no more was in my judgment this, that there were twelve divisions of
οίκεον, δυόδεκα ἂν αὐτῶν μέρεα, κατά περ ὑν Ἀχαίων τῶν ἐξελασάντων Ἰωνας δυόδεκα ἐστὶ μέρεα, Πελλήνη μὲν γε πρώτῃ πρὸς Σικυώνος, μετὰ δὲ Αἰγειρα καὶ Αἰγαί, ἐν τῇ Κράτις ποταμὸς ἀείναος ἐστὶ, ἀπ’ ὅτεν ο ἐν Ἰταλική ποταμὸς τὸ ὑμόμα ἔσχε, καὶ Βοῦρα καὶ Ἔλυκη, ἐς τὴν κατέφυγον Ἰωνες υπὸ Ἀχαίων μάχη ἐσσοθέντες, καὶ Αἰγιον καὶ Ῥύπες καὶ Πατρέες καὶ Φαρέες καὶ Ὀλενοὶ, ἐν τῷ Πεἰρος ποταμὸς μέγας ἐστὶ, καὶ Δύμη καὶ Τριταιέες, οὐ μοῦνοι τούτων μεσόγαιοι οἰκέουσι. ταῦτα δυόδεκα μέρεα νῦν Ἀχαίων ἐστὶ καὶ τότε γε Ἰώνων ἦν.

146. Τούτων δὴ εἶνεκα καὶ οἱ Ἰωνες δυόδεκα πόλιαι ἐποίησαντο· ἐπεὶ ὡς γέ τι μᾶλλον οὕτοι Ἰωνες εἰσὶ τῶν ἄλλων Ἰώνων ἢ κάλλιον τι γεγονασί, μωρή πολλὴ λέγειν τῶν Ἀβαντες μὲν ἐξ Εὐβοίης εἰσὶ οὐκ ἐλαχίστη μοῦρα, τούτοι Ἰωνῆς μέτα οὐδὲ τοῦ ὑμόματος οὐδὲν, Μινώα δὲ Ὀρχομένιοι σφι ἀναμεμίχαται καὶ Καδμεῖοι καὶ Δρυσπες καὶ Φοκέες ἀποδάσμοι καὶ Μολοσσοὶ καὶ Ἀρκάδες Πελασγοὶ καὶ Δωρίες Ἐπιδαύριοι, ἀλλα τε ἐθνεα πολλὰ ἀναμεμίχαται, οἱ δὲ αὐτῶν ἄπο τοῦ πρυτανηῦ τοῦ Ἀθηναίων ὁμηθέντες καὶ νομίζοντες γενναίοτατοι εἰναι Ἰώνων, οὕτοι δὲ οὐ γυναῖκας ἡγάγοντο ἐς τὴν ἀποικίην ἄλλα Καερας ἐσχον, τῶν ἐφόνευσαν τοὺς γονέας. διὰ τούτον δὲ τὸν φόνον αἱ γυναίκες αὐται νόμον θέμεναι σφίσι αὐτῆς ὅρκους ἐπήλασαν καὶ παρέδοσαν τῇ βυγατράσι, μὴ κοτε ὁμοσιτῆσαι τοῖς ἀνδρασι μηδὲ ὑμόματι βῶσαι τὸν ἐωτῆς ἄνδρα, τούτες εἶνεκα ὅτι ἐφόνευσαν σφέων τοὺς πατέρας καὶ
them when they dwelt in Peloponnesus, just as there are twelve divisions of the Achaeans who drove the Ionians out, Pellene nearest to Sicyon, then Aegira and Aegae, where is the never-failing river Crathis, from which the river in Italy took its name; Bura and Helice, whither the Ionians fled when they were worsted in battle by the Achaeans; Aegion, Rhype, Patrae, Phareae, and Olenus, where is the great river Pirus; Dyme and Tritaeae, the only inland city of all these; these were the twelve divisions of the Ionians, as they are now of the Achaeans.

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

147. Ταῦτα δὲ ἦν γινόμενα ἐν Μιλήτῳ. βασιλέας δὲ ἐστήσαντο οἱ μὲν αὐτῶν Δυκίους ἀπὸ Γλαύκου τοῦ Ἰππολόχου γεγονότας, οἱ δὲ Καῦκωνας Πυλίους ἀπὸ Κόρδου τοῦ Μελάνθου, οἱ δὲ καὶ συναμφοτέρους. ἀλλὰ γὰρ περιέχονται τοῦ ὀνόματος μᾶλλον τι τῶν ἄλλων Ἰώνων, ἐστώσαν δὴ καὶ οἱ καθαρῶς γεγονότες Ἰωνες. εἰσὶ δὲ πάντες Ἰωνες ὅσοι ἀπ' Ἀθηνεῶν γεγόνασι καὶ Ἀπατούρια ἄγουσι ὀρτήν· ἄγουσι δὲ πάντες πλὴν Ἐφεσίων καὶ Κολοφωνίων· οὖτοι γὰρ μοῦν Ἰώνων οὐκ ἄγουσι Ἀπατούρια, καὶ οὗτοι κατὰ φόνου τινὰ σκήψιν.

148. Τὸ δὲ Πανιώνιον ἔστι τῆς Μυκάλης χώρος ἴρος πρὸς ἀρκτον τετραμμένος, κοινῇ ἐξαραιρημένος ὑπὸ Ἰώνων Ποσειδέων Ἐλικωνίω. ἤ δὲ Μυκάλη ἔστι τῆς ἕπειροι ἀκρῆ πρὸς ἥξυρον ἀνεμον κατηκουσα Σάμῳ καταντίον, ἐς τὴν συνλεγόμενοι ἀπὸ τῶν πολίων Ἰωνες ἀγεσκον ὀρτὴν τῇ ἔδεντο οὖνομα Πανιώνια. [πεπόνθασι δὲ οὕτι μοῦναι αἱ Ἰώνων ὀρταὶ τοῦτο, ἀλλὰ καὶ Ἑλλήνων πάντων ὀμοίως πᾶσαι ἐς τῶντο γράμμα τελευτώσι, κατὰ περ τῶν Περσέων τὰ οὖνομα.] ¹

149. Ἀυταὶ μὲν αἱ Ἰάδες πόλεις εἰσὶ, αἴδε δὲ αἱ Ἀιολίδες, Κύμη ἡ Φρικώνις καλεομένη, Δήρισαι, Νέων τεῖχος, Τήμνος, Κίλλα, Νότιον,

¹ The bracketed words are clearly out of place. Probably they are a marginal note with reference to some commentator's assertion that the a-ending of names of festivals was specially Ionic.
them after slaying their fathers and husbands and sons.

147. This happened at Miletus. And for kings some of them chose Lycian descendants of Glaucus son of Hippolochus, and some Caucones of Pylus, descendants of Codrus son of Melanthus, and some both. Yet seeing that they set more store by the name than the rest of the Ionians, let it be granted that those of pure birth are Ionians; and all are Ionians who are of Athenian descent and keep the feast Apaturia.\(^1\) All do so keep it, saving the men of Ephesus and Colophon; these are the only Ionians who do not keep it, and these by reason, they say, of a certain deed of blood.

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

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

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

\(^2\) Perhaps so called from a mountain in Aeolis, Phricion, near which the Aeolians had been settled before their migration to Asia.
Αἰγιρόςσα, Πιτάνη, Αἰγαίαι, Μῦρινα, Γρύνεια. αὐταί ἐνδεκα Ἀιολέων πόλεις αἱ ἀρχαῖαι· μία γὰρ σφέων παρελύθη Σμύρνη ὑπὸ Ἰώνων ἤσαν γὰρ καὶ αὐταί δυόδεκα αἱ ἐν τῇ ἡπείρῳ. οὕτω δὲ οἱ Ἀιολὲς χώρην μὲν ἐτυχον κτίσαντες ἀμείνω Ἰώνων, ὄρεων δὲ ἦκουσαν οὐκ ὁμοίως.

150. Σμύρνην δὲ ὁδὲ ἀπέβαλον Ἀιολέες. Κολοφωνίους ἄνδρας στάσι ἐσσωθέντας καὶ ἐκπεσόντας ἐκ τῆς πατρίδος ὑπεδέξαντο. μετὰ δὲ οἱ φυγάδες τῶν Κολοφωνίων φυλάξαντες τοὺς Σμυρναίους ὅρτην ἔξω τείχεος ποιεμένους Διονύσῳ, τὰς πύλας ἀποκλησάντες ἔσχον τὴν πόλιν. βοηθησάντων δὲ πάντων Ἀιολέων, ὁμολογὴ ἔχρησαν τὰ ἐπιπλα ἀποδόντων τῶν Ἰώνων ἐκλιπεῖν Σμύρνην Ἀιολέας. ποιησάντων δὲ ταῦτα Σμυρναίων ἐπιδιείλοντο σφέας αἱ ἐνδεκα πόλεις καὶ ἐποιήσαντο σφέων αὐτῶν πολιήτας.

151. Αὗται μὲν νῦν αἱ ἡπειρώτιδες Ἀιολίδες πόλεις, ἔξω τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἰδῇ οἰκημενέων κεχωρίδαται γὰρ αὕται. αἰ δὲ τὰς νῆσους ἔχουσαι πέντε μὲν πόλεις τὴν Δέσβουν νέμονται (τὴν γὰρ ἐκτιθ ἐν τῇ Δέσβῳ οἰκημένην Ἀρίσβαν ἡνδραπόδισαν Μηθυμναίοι έόντας ὁμαίμους), ἐν Τενέδῳ δὲ μία οἰκηταὶ πόλεις, καὶ ἐν τῇ ΄Εκατόν νῆσοις καλεομένης ἄλλη μία. Δεσβίοισι μὲν νῦν καὶ Τενεδίοις, κατὰ περ Ἰώνων τοῖς τὰς νῆσους ἔχουσι, τὰν δεινὸν οὐδέν τῇ ΄Ε καὶ λοιπῇ πόλισι ἐδει κοινῇ Ἰωσί ἐπεσθαὶ τῇ ἀν οὗτοι ἐξηγέωνται.
BOOK I. 149-151

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

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

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

1 These places lie between Smyrna and Pergamum, on or near the coast. But Aegiroessa has not been exactly identified.

2 A group of small islands between Lesbos and the mainland.
152. Ὅς δὲ ἀπίκοντο ἐς τὴν Σπάρτην τῶν Ἰώνων καὶ Αιολέων οἱ ἀγγέλοι (κατὰ γὰρ δὴ τάχος ἦν ταῦτα πρησσόμενα), εἶλοντο πρὸ πάντων λέγειν τὸν Φωκαία, τῷ οὕνομα ἦν Πύθερμος. ὃ δὲ πορφύρεον τε εἶμα περιβαλόμενος, ὡς ἄν πυθανόμενοι πλεῖστοι συνέλθοιεν Σπαρτητέων, καὶ καταστὰς ἔλεγε πολλὰ τιμωρεῖν ἐσωτήρια χρηίζων. Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ οὐ κως ἔσηκον, ἀλλ' ἀπέδοξε σφι μὴ τιμωρεῖν Ἰωσί. οὐ μὲν δὴ ἀπαλλάσσοντο, Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ ἀπωσάμενοι τῶν Ἰώνων τοὺς ἀγγέλους ὡμοι ἀπέστειλαν πεντηκοντέρῳ ἄνδρας, ὡς μὲν ἔμοι δοκεῖ, κατα-
σκόπους τῶν τε Κύρου πρηγμάτων καὶ Ἰωνίης. ἀπικόμενοι δὲ οὕτωι ἐς Φώκαιαν ἐπεμπον ἐς 
Σάρδις σφέων αὐτῶν τὸν δοκιμώτατον, τῷ οὕνομα ἦν Λακρίνης, ἀπερέοντα Κύροω Λακεδαιμονίων 
ῥήσιν, γῆς τῆς Ἑλλάδος μηδεμίαν πόλιν σιω-
μωρεῖν, ὡς αὐτῶν οὗ περιοψομένων.

153. Ταῦτα εἰπόντος τοῦ κήρυκος, λέγεται 
Κύρον ἑπειρέσθαι τοὺς παρεόντας οἱ Ἑλλήνων 
tίνες ἑόντες ἄνθρωποι Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ κόσοι 
πλήθος ταῦτα ἐσωτερικοῖ προαιρεσθοῦσιν πυθανόμενοι 
δὲ μιν εἰπεῖν πρὸς τὸν κήρυκα τὸν 
Σπαρτητὴν ὡς ἐδεισά καὶ ἄνδρας τοιούτοις, τοῖς ἐστὶ χῶρος 
ἐν μέσῃ τῇ πόλι ἀποδεδεγμένοι ἐς τὸν συλλεγό-
μένοι ἀλλήλους ὀμνύντες ἐξαπατώσιν τοῖς, ἡν 
ἐγὼ ὑγιαίνω, οὗ τὰ Ἰώνων πάθεα ἐσται ἔλλεσχα 
ἄλλα τὰ οἰκία. ταῦτα ἐς τοὺς πάντας Ἑλληνας 
ἀπέρριψε ὁ Κύρος τὰ ἑπειρεῖ, ὅτι ἄγοράς στησά-
μενοι ών ἔτε καὶ πρῆσι χρέωμαν αὐτοὶ γὰρ οἱ 
Πέρσαι ἄγορήσι οὐδὲν ἐὼθασι χρῆσθαι, οὐδὲ σφι 
ἐστὶ τὸ παράπταν ἄγορή. μετὰ ταῦτα ἐπιτρέψεις
152. So when the envoys of the Ionians and Acolians came to Sparta (for this was set afoot with all speed) they chose the Phocaean, whose name was Pythermos, to speak for all. He then put on a purple cloak, that as many Spartans as possible might assemble to hear him, and stood up and made a long speech asking aid for his people. But the Lacedaemonians would not listen to him and refused to aid the Ionians. So the Ionians departed; but the Lacedaemonians, though they had rejected their envoys, did nevertheless send men in a ship of fifty oars to see (as I suppose) how it fared with Cyrus and Ionia. These, coming to Phocaea, sent Lacrines, who was the most esteemed among them, to Sardis, to repeat there to Cyrus a proclamation of the Lacedaemonians, that he must harm no city on Greek territory; else the Lacedaemonians would punish him.

153. When the herald had so spoken, Cyrus (it is said) asked the Greeks that were present who and how many in number were these Lacedaemonians who made him this declaration. When he was told, he said to the Spartan herald, "I never yet feared men who have a place set apart in the midst of their city where they perjure themselves and deceive each other. These, if I keep my health, shall have their own mishaps to talk of, not those of the Ionians." This threat he uttered against the whole Greek nation, because they have market-places and buy and sell there; for the Persians themselves use no market-places, nor have they such at all. Presently,
τὰς μὲν Σάρδις Ταβάλῳ ἀνδρὶ Πέρση, τὸν δὲ χρυσὸν τὸν τε Κροίσον καὶ τὸν τῶν ἄλλων Λυδῶν Πακτὺθ ἀνδρὶ Λυδῷ κομίζειν, ἀπῆλαυνε αὐτὸς ἔς Ἀγβάτανα, Κροίσον τε ἀμα ἀγόμενος καὶ τοὺς Ἡώνας ἐν οὐδενὶ λόγῳ ποιησάμενος τὴν πρώτην ἐπι. η τε γὰρ Βαβύλων οἱ ἤν ἐμπόδιος καὶ τὸ Βάκτριον έθνος καὶ Σάκαι τε καὶ Αἰγύπτιοι, ἐτ' οὖς ἐπείχε τε στρατηλατεῖν αὐτός, ἐπὶ δὲ Ἡώνας ἄλλων πέμπειν στρατηγὸν.

154. Ὡς δὲ ἀπῆλασε ὁ Κύρος ἐκ τῶν Σαρδίων, τοὺς Λυδοὺς ἀπέστησε ὁ Πακτὺθ ἀπὸ τε Ταβάλου καὶ Κύρου, καταβὰς δὲ ἐπὶ θάλασσαν, ἀτε τὸν χρυσὸν ἔχων πάντα τὸν ἐκ τῶν Σαρδίων, ἐπίκουρος τε ἐμισθοῦτο καὶ τοὺς ἐπιθαλασσίους ἀνθρώπους ἐπείδε σὺν ἐωντὸ στρατεύσθαι. ἐλάσσας δὲ ἐπὶ τὰς Σάρδις ἐπολιόρκεε Ταβάλου ἀπεργμένον ἐν τῇ ἀκρόπολι.

155. Πυθόμενος δὲ κατ' ὅδον ταῦτα ὁ Κύρος ἐπὶ πρὸς Κροίσον τάδε. "Κροίσε, τί ἐστι τέλος τῶν γινομένων τούτων ἐμοί; οὐ παύσονται Λυδοί, ὃς οἴκασι, πρήγματα παρέχοντες καὶ αὐτοὶ ἔχοντες. φροντίζω μὴ ἄριστος ἢ ἐξαιρεῖτο ὁ ἐπιθαλασσιος σφέας. ὁμοίως γὰρ μοι νῦν γε φαίνομαι πεποιηκέναι ὑπὲρ τῆς πατέρα ἀποκτείναι τῶν παίδων αὐτοῦ φείσατο· ὢς δὲ καὶ ἔγω Λυδῶν τὸν μὲν πλέον τι ἐπὶ πατέρα ἐόντα σὲ λαβὼν ἄγω, αὐτοῖς δὲ Λυδοὶς τὴν πόλιν παρέδωκα, καὶ ἐπειτα θωμάζω εἰ μοι ἀπεστάσι." ὁ μὲν δὴ τὰ περ ἐνόεε ἐλεγε, ὁ δ' ἀμείβετο τοίσιδε, δεῖσας μὴ ἀναστάτους ποιήσῃ τὰς Σάρδις. "Ὡς βασιλεῦ, τὰ μὲν οἰκότα εὑρήκασ, σὺ μέντοι μὴ πάντα θυμῷ χρέο, μηδὲ πόλιν ἀρχαῖον ἐξαναστήσῃς ἀναμάρ-
entrusting Sardis to a Persian called Tabalus, and charging Pactyes, a Lydian, to take charge of the gold of Croesus and the Lydians, he himself marched away to Agbatana, taking with him Croesus, and at first making no account of the Ionians. For he had Babylon on his hands and the Bactrian nation and the Sacae and Egyptians; he was minded to lead an army himself against these and to send another commander against the Ionians.

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

155. When Cyrus had news of this on his journey, he said to Croesus, "What end am I to make, Croesus, of this business? it seems that the Lydians will never cease making trouble for me and for themselves. It is in my mind that it may be best to make slaves of them; for now methinks I have done like one that should slay the father and spare the children. So likewise I have taken with me you who were more than a father to the Lydians, and handed the city over to the Lydians themselves; and then forsooth I marvel that they revolt!" So Cyrus uttered his thought; but Croesus feared that he would destroy Sardis, and thus answered him: "O King, what you say is but reasonable. Yet do not ever yield to anger, nor destroy an ancient city that is guiltless both of
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τητον ἐούσαν καὶ τῶν πρῶτερον καὶ τῶν νῦν ἐστεότων. τὰ μὲν γὰρ πρῶτερον ἐγὼ τε ἔπρηξα καὶ ἐγὼ κεφαλῆ ἀναμάξας φέρω τὰ δὲ νῦν παρεοῦτα Πακτύης γὰρ ἔστὶ ὁ ἄδικος, τῷ σὺ ἐπέτρεψας Σάρδις, οὗτος δότω τοι τίκην. Λυ- δοῖσι δὲ συγγρώμην ἔχων τάδε αὐτοῖς ἐπίταξον, ὥσ μήτε ἀποστέωσι μήτε δεϊνο τοι ἔσων ἀπείπε μὲν σφι πέμψα ὅπλα ἁρῆμα μὴ ἐκτήσθαι, κέλευν δὲ σφέας κιθώνᾶς τε ὑποδύεν τοῖς εἴμαι καὶ κοθόρνους ὑποδέσθαι, πρόειπε δ’ αὐτοῖς κιθαρί- ζειν τε καὶ ψάλλειν καὶ καπηλεύειν παϊδεύειν τούς παίδας. καὶ ταχέως σφέας ὃ βασιλεὺς γυναῖκας ἀντ’ ἀνδρῶν ὅψεα γεγοιότας, ὡστε οὐδ’ ἐν δεῖν τοι ἐσονται μὴ ἀποστέωσι.”

156. Κροῖσος μὲν δὴ ταῦτα οἱ ὑπετίθετο, αἱρε- τέρα ταῦτα εὐρίσκων Λυδοῖσι ἡ ἀνδραπόδι- σθέντας πρήθημαι σφέας, ἐπιστάμενος ὅτι ἦν μὴ ἢξιόχρεον πρόφασιν προτεύνη, οὐκ ἀναπείσει μιν μεταβουλεύσασθαι, ἀρρωδέων δὲ μὴ καὶ ὑστερον κοτὲ οἱ Λυδοὶ, ἢν τὸ παρεόν ὑπεκδράμωσι, ἀπο- στάντες ἀπὸ τῶν Περσέων ἀπόλωνται. Κύρος δὲ ἡσθεῖσ τῇ ὑποθήκῃ καὶ ὑπεῖς τῆς ὀργῆς ἐφι οἱ πείθεσθαι καλέσας δὲ Μαξίμεα ἀνδρα Μῆδοιν, ταῦτά τέ ὁ ἐνετιλατο προεπεῖν Λυδοῖσι τὰ ὁ Κροῖσος ὑπετίθετο, καὶ πρὸς ἑξανδραποδίσασθαι τοὺς ἄλλους πάντας οἱ μετὰ Λυδὸν ἐπὶ Σάρδις ἕστατεύσαντο, αὐτὸν δὲ Πακτύην πάντως ξόντα ἀγαγεῖν παρ’ ἐσωτόν.

157. Ὁ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα ἐκ τῆς ὀδοῦ ἐντειλά- μενος ἀπῆλαυνε ἢ θεα τὰ Περσέων, Πακτύης δὲ πυθόμενος ἀγχοῦ εἶναι στρατὸν ἐπ’ ἐσωτόν οὖντα δείσας οὐχετο φεύγων ἐς Κύμην. Μαξίμης δὲ ὁ
the former and of the latter offence. For the beginning was my work, and on my head is the penalty; but it is Pactyes, in whose charge you left Sardis, who does this present wrong; let him therefore be punished. But let the Lydians be pardoned; and lay on them this command, that they may not revolt or be dangerous to you; send, I say, and forbid them to possess weapons of war, and command them to wear tunics under their cloaks and buskins on their feet, and to teach their sons lyre-playing and song and dance and huckstering. Then, O king, you will soon see them turned to women instead of men; and thus you need not fear lest they revolt.”

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

157. Having given these commands on his journey, he marched away into the Persian country. But Pactyes, learning that an army sent against him was drawing near, was affrighted and fled to Cyme.
Μήδες ἐλάσας ἐπὶ τὰς Σάρδις τοῦ Κύρου στρατοῦ μοίραν οὐσιν δή κοτε ἔχων, ὡς οὐκ ἐυρε ἐτι ἕωνας τοὺς ἀμφί Πακτῦν ἐν Σάρδισι, πρώτα μὲν τοὺς Λυδοὺς ήνάγκασε τὰς Κύρου ἐντολὰς ἐπιτελεῖν, ἐκ τούτου δὲ κελευσμοσύνης Λυδοὶ τὴν πᾶσαν δίαιταν τῆς ζώης μετέβαλον. Μαξάρης δὲ μετὰ τούτο ἔπεμπε ἐς τὴν Κύμην ἀγγέλους ἐκδίδοναι κελεύουν Πακτῦν. οἱ δὲ Κυμαῖοι ἐγνωσαν συμβουλής πέρι ἐς θεων ἀνοιγαν τὸν ἐν Βραγχίδησι· ἦν γάρ αὐτόθι μαντῆσιν ἐκ παλαιοῦ ἱδρυμένων, τῷ Ἰωνεὶς τε πάντες καὶ Αἰολέες ἔωθεσαν χρᾶσθαι. ο δὲ χώρος οὐτος ἔστι τῆς Μιλησίας ὑπὲρ Πανόρμου λιμένων.

158. Πέμψαντες δὲν οἱ Κυμαῖοι ἐς τοὺς Βραγχίδας θεοπρότους εἰρωτευν περὶ Πακτῦν ὁκολοῦ τι οἱγόντες θεοῖς μέλλοιεν χαριεῖσθαι. ἔπειρωτῶσι δὲ σφι ταῦτα χρηστήριον ἐγένετο ἐκδίδονάι Πακτῦν Πέρσησι. ταῦτα δὲ ὡς ἄπενειχθέντα ἦκουσαν οἱ Κυμαῖοι, ὀρμέατο ἐκδίδοναι· ὀρμημένου δὲ ταυτη τοῦ πλῆθεος, Ἀριστόδικος ο Ἥρακλείδεω ἀνὴρ τῶν ἀστῶν ἐων δόκιμος ἐσχε μή ποιήσαι ταῦτα Κυμαῖους, ἀπιστεῶν τε τῷ χρησμῷ καὶ δοκέων τοὺς θεοπρόπους οὐ λέγειν ἀληθέως, ἐς ὁ τὸ δεύτερον περὶ Πακτύων ἐπειρησόμενοι ἦσαν ἄλλοι θεοπρόποι, τῶν καὶ Ἀριστόδικος ἦν.

159. Ἀπικομένων δὲ ἐς Βραγχίδας ἐχρηστηρίαζετο ἐκ πάντων Ἀριστόδικος ἐπειρωτῶν τάδε. "Ωναξ, ἀλθεὶ παρ' ἡμέας ἱκέτης Πακτῦς ο Λυδός, φεύγων θάνατον βίαιον πρὸς Περσέων οι δὲ μν ἔξαιτέονται, προεῖναι Κυμαῖους κελεύουντες· ἡμεῖς δὲ δειμαίνοντες τὴν Περσέων δύναμιν τοὺς ἱκέτην

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

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

159. When they came to Branchidae Aristodicus speaking for all put this question to the oracle: "O King, Pactyes the Lydian hath fled to us for refuge to save him from a violent death at the hands of the Persians; and they demand him of us, bidding the men of Cyme to give him up. But we, for all that we fear the Persian power, have not made bold
ἐς τόδε οὖν τετολμήκαμεν ἐκδιδόναι, πρὶν ἀν τὸ ἀπὸ σεῦ ἡμῖν δηλωθῇ ἀπρεκέως ὁκότερα ποι-έωμεν." δὲ μὲν ταῦτα ἐπειρώτα, ὃ δ’ ἀυτὸς τὸν αὐτὸν σφὶ χρησμὸν ἐφαίνε, κελεύων ἐκδιδόναι Πακτύνην Πέρσησι. πρὸς ταῦτα ὁ Ἀριστόδικος ἐκ προνοίας ἐποίεε τάδε: περισῶν τὸν νηὸν κύκλῳ ἐξαίρει τοὺς στρουθοὺς καὶ ἄλλα ὅσα ἦν νεοσ-σευμένα ὀρνίθων γένεα ἐν τῷ νηῷ. ποιέωντος δὲ αὐτοῦ ταῦτα λέγεται φωνὴν ἐκ τοῦ ἀδύτου γε-νέθαι φέρουσα μὲν πρὸς τὸν Ἀριστόδικον, λέγουσαι δὲ τάδε ἂνουσιώτατε ἀνθρώπων, τί τάδε τολμᾶσ ποιέων; τοὺς ἵκετας μου ἐκ τοῦ νηοῦ κεραίζεισ;" Ἀριστόδικος δὲ οὐκ ἀπορήσαντα πρὸς ταῦτα εἰπεῖν ὡς, ἀυτὸς μὲν οὕτω τοὺς ἵκετας βοηθεῖς, Κυμαίους δὲ κελεύεις τὸν ἤκετα ἐκδι-δόναι;" τὸν δὲ αὐτὸς ἀμείψασθαι τοῖς ὦ εἰς "Ναὶ κελεύω, ἵνα ἂσεβήσαντες θάσσον ἀπόλησθε, ὅσ-μη τὸ λοιπὸν περὶ ἵκετῶν ἐκδόσιος ἐλθητε ἐπὶ τὸ χρηστήριον."

160. Ταῦτα ὡς ἀπενειχθέντα ἦκουσαν οἱ Κυ-μαίοι, οὐ βουλόμενοι οὔτε ἐκδόντες ἀπολέσθαι οὔτε παρ’ ἐσωτείρῃ εὐχοίτες πολιορκεῖσθαι, ἐκπέμ-πουσι αὐτὸν ἐς Μυτιλήνῃν. οἱ δὲ Μυτιληναῖοι ἐπιπέμπουσι τοῦ Μαξάρεος ἀγγέλιας ἐκδόναι τὸν Πακτύνην παρεσκευάζοντο ἐπὶ μισθῷ ὅσῳ δή- οὐ γὰρ ἔχω τοῦτό γε εἰπεῖν ἀπρεκέως οὐ γὰρ ἐτελεώθη. Κυμαίοι γὰρ ὡς ἔμαθον ταῦτα πρησ-σόμενα ἐκ τῶν Μυτιληναίων, πέμψαντες πλοῖον ἐς Λέσβου ἐκκομίζουσι Πακτύνην ἐς Χίον. ἐνθεύτεν δὲ ἐξ ιροῦ Ἀθηναίης πολιούχου ἀποσπασθεῖς ὕπο Χίων ἐξεδόθη: ἐξέδοσαν δὲ οἱ Χῖοι ἐπὶ τῷ Ἀταρνεί μισθῷ τοῦ ἀπὸ Χίων ἐπὶ τῷ Ἀταρνεός τοῦτον ἐπὶ χόρος.
to give up this our suppliant, until thy will be clearly made known to us, whether we shall do this or not.” Thus Aristodicus questioned; and the god gave again the same answer, that Pactyes should be delivered up to the Persians. With that Aristodicus did as he had already purposed; he went round about the temple, and stole away the sparrows and all other families of nesting birds that were in it. But while he so did, a voice (they say) came out of the inner shrine calling to Aristodicus, and saying, “Thou wickedest of men, wherefore darest thou do this? wilt thou rob my temple of those that take refuge with me?” Then Aristodicus had his answer ready: “O King,” said he, “wilt thou thus save thine own suppliants, yet bid the men of Cyme deliver up theirs?” But the god made answer, “Yea, I do bid them, that ye may the sooner perish for your impiety, and never again come to inquire of my oracle concerning the giving up of them that seek refuge with you.”

160. When this answer was brought to the hearing of the Cymaeans they sent Pactyes away to Mytilene; for they desired neither to perish for delivering him up nor to be besieged for keeping him with them. Then Mazares sent a message to Mytilene demanding the surrender of Pactyes, and the Mytilenaeans prepared to give him, for a price; I cannot say with exactness how much it was, for the bargain was never fulfilled; for when the Cymaeans learnt that the Mytilenaeans had this in hand, they sent a ship to Lesbos and brought Pactyes away to Chios. Thence he was dragged out of the temple of City-guarding Athene and delivered up by the Chians, they receiving in return Atarneus, which is a district
τής Μυσις, Λεσβον αντίος. Πακτύην μέν νυν παραδεξάμενοι οί Πέρσαι εἰχον ἐν φυλακῇ, θέλοντες Κύρῳ ἀποδέξαι. ἦν δὲ χρόνος οὗτος οὐκ ὁλίγος γινόμενος, οτε Χών οὐδείς έκ τοῦ Ἀταρνέος τούτου οὔτε οὐλας κριθέων πρόχυσιν ἐποιέοτο θεῶν οὐδενὶ οὔτε πέμματα ἑπέσσετο καρποῦ τοῦ ἐνθεύτεν, ἀπείχετο τε τῶν πάντων ἱρῶν τά πάντα ἐκ τῆς χώρης ταύτης γινόμενα.

161. Χιοί μέν νυν Πακτύην ἐξέδοσαν. Μαζάρης δὲ μετὰ ταύτα ἑστρατεύετο ἐπὶ τοὺς συμπολιορκήσαντας Τάβαλον, καὶ τούτο μὲν Πριηνέας ἐξην-δραποδίσατο, τούτο δὲ Μαιάνδρου πεδίον πῶν ἐπέδραμε λήθην ποιεύμενος τῷ στρατῷ, Μαγνήσιην τε ὀσαύτως. μετὰ δὲ ταύτα αὐτίκα νοῦσω τελευτά.

162. Ἀρπαγος κατέβη διάδοχος τῆς στρατηγίας, γένος καὶ αὐτὸς ἐδών Μῆδος, τὸν ὁ Μῆδων βασιλεὺς Αστυάγης ἀνόμω τραπεζῇ ἔδαεσε, ὁ τῷ Κύρῳ τῇ βασιληνίᾳ συγ-κατεργασάμενος. οὗτος ὄνηρ τότε ὑπὸ Κύρου στρατηγὸς ἀποδεξθεῖς ὡς ἀπίκετο ἐς τὴν Ἰωνίαν, αἱρεῖ τὰς πόλιας χώμασι: ὅκως γὰρ τειχήρεας ποιήσειε, τὸ ἐνθεύτεν χώματα χὼν πρὸς τὰ τείχα ἐπόρθεε.

163. Πρώτῃ δὲ Φωκαίη Ἰωνίης ἐπεχείρησε. οἱ δὲ Φωκαιὲς οὕτως ναυτιλίσας μακρίσι πρῶτοι Ἐλληνῶν ἐχρήσαντο, καὶ τὸν τε Ἀδρίην καὶ τὴν Τυρσηνίναι καὶ τὴν Ἰβηρίνην καὶ τὸν Ταρτησοῦν οὕτως εἰναὶ οἱ καταδέξαντες· ἐναυτιλλοντο δὲ οὐ στρογγυλῆσθαι νησὶ άλλα πεντηκοντέροις. ἀπικόμενοι δὲ ἐς τὸν Ταρτησοῦν προσ-φιλεῖς ἐγένοντο τῷ βασιλεῖ τῶν Ταρτησσίων,
in Mysia over against Lesbos. The Persians thus received Pactyes and kept him guarded, that they might show him to Cyrus; and for a long time no Chian would offer sacrifice of barley meal from this land of Atarneus to any god, or make sacrificial cakes of what grew there; nothing that came from that country might be used for any sacred rite.

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

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

163. Phocaea was the first Ionian town that he assailed. These Phocaeans were the earliest of the Greeks to make long sea-voyages: it was they who discovered the Adriatic Sea, and Tyrrhenia, and Iberia, and Tartessus,¹ not sailing in round freight-ships but in fifty-oared vessels. When they came to Tartessus they made friends with the king of the lower valley of the Guadalquivir. Later Tartessus was identified with Gades (Cadiz), which Herodotus (iv. 8) calls Gadira.

¹ The lower valley of the Guadalquivir. Later Tartessus was identified with Gades (Cadiz), which Herodotus (iv. 8) calls Gadira.
τῶν ούνωμα μὲν ἦν Ἀργανθώνιος, ἐτυράννευσε δὲ Ταρτησσοῦ ὁγδόκοντα ἔτεα, ἐβίωσε δὲ πάντα εἰκοσι καὶ ἑκατόν. τούτῳ δὴ τῷ ἀνδρὶ προσφιλέεις οἱ Φωκαίες οὖντο δὴ τι ἐγένοντο ὡς τὰ μὲν πρῶτα σφέας ἐκλιπόντας Ἰωνίην ἐκέλευε τῆς ἐωτοῦ χώρης οἰκήσαι ὅκου βούλονται· μετὰ δὲ, ὡς τούτῳ γε οὐκ ἔπειθε τοὺς Φωκαίας, ὁ δὲ πυθόμενος τῶν Μηδίου παρ' αὐτῶν ὡς αὐξότο, ἐδίδον σφὶ χρήματα τείχος περιβαλέσθαι τὴν πόλιν, ἐδίδον δὲ ἀφειδεῖς· καὶ γὰρ καὶ ἡ περίοδος τοῦ τείχεος οὐκ ὀλίγοι στάδιοι εἰςί, τούτῳ δὲ πάν λίθων μεγάλων καὶ εὐ συναρμοσμένων.

164. Τὸ μὲν δὴ τείχος τοῖς Φωκαίεσι τρόπῳ τοιοῦτο ἐξεποιήθη. ὁ δὲ Ἀρπαγος ὡς ἐπήλασε τὴν στρατινὴν, ἑπολύρκεε αὐτοὺς, προσχόμενος ἐπεα ὡς οἱ καταχρᾶ εἰ βούλονται Φωκαίες προμαχεώνα ἕνα μοῦνον τοῦ τείχεος ἔρεισαι καὶ οἰκήμα ἐν κατιρώσαι. οἱ δὲ Φωκαίες περιμεμκέτοντες τῇ δουλοσύνη ἐφασαν θέλειν βουλεύσασθαι ἡμέρην μίαν καὶ ἔπειτα ὑποκρινεσθαι· ὥς δὲ βουλεύονται αὐτοί, ἀπαγαγεῖν ἐκεῖνον ἐκέλευν τὴν στρατινὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχεος. ὁ δὲ Ἐρπαγος ἑφὶ εἰδέναι μὲν τῇ τὰ ἐκεῖνοι μέλλοιεν ποιεῖν, ὡμος δὲ σφὶ παριέναι βουλεύσασθαι. ἐν δὲ ὅν ὁ Ἐρπαγος ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχεος ἀπήγαγε τὴν στρατινὴν, οἱ Φωκαίες ἐν τούτῳ κατασπασάντες τὰς πεντηκοντέρους, ἐσθέμενοι τέκνα καὶ γυναῖκας καὶ ἐπιπλα πάντα, πρὸς δὲ καὶ τὰ ἀγάλματα τὰ ἐκ τῶν ἰρῶν καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ἀναθήματα, χωρὶς δὲ τί χαλκὸς ἢ λίθος ἢ γραφὴ ἢν, τὰ δὲ ἄλλα πάντα ἐσθέντες καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐσβάντες ἐπλεον ἐπὶ Χίου. τὴν δὲ Φωκαιῆν ἐρημωθεῖσαν ἀνδρῶν ἐσχον οἱ Πέρσαι.
Tartessians, whose name was Arganthonius; he ruled Tartessus for eighty years and lived an hundred and twenty. ¹ The Phocaeans so won this man’s friendship that he first entreated them to leave Ionia and settle in his country where they would; and then, when he could not persuade them to that, and learnt from them how the Median power was increasing, he gave them money to build a wall round their city therewith. Without stint he gave it; for the circuit of the wall is of many furlongs, and all this is made of great stones well fitted together.

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

¹ A common Greek tradition, apparently; Anacreon (Fr. 8) says “I would not . . . rule Tartessus for an hundred and fifty years.”
165. Οἱ δὲ Φωκαιέες, ἐπείτε σφι Χίοι τὰς νῆσους τὰς Οἰνούσσας καλεομένας οὐκ ἐβούλουσιν ἀνευμένοισι πωλέειν, δειμαίνοντες μὴ αἱ μὲν ἔμποροι γένωνται, ἡ δὲ αὐτῶν νῆσος ἀποκλημαθὴ τοῦτον ἐύνεκα, πρὸς ταῦτα οἱ Φωκαιέες ἐστέλλοντο ἐς Κύρνον· ἐν γὰρ τῇ Κύρνῳ εἰκοσὶ ἐτεσί πρῶτον τούτων ἐκ θεοπροπίου ἀνεστήσαντο πόλιν, τῇ οὖνομα ἤν Ἀλαλίῃ. Ἀργανθώνίος δὲ την-καῦτα ἦδη τετελευτήκεε. στελλόμενοι δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν Κύρνον, πρῶτα καταπλεύσαντες ἐς τὴν Φωκαιήν κατεφώνευσαν τῶν Περσέων τὴν φυλακήν, ἢ ἐφορύρεε παραδεξαμένη παρὰ Ἀρτάγυνον τὴν πόλιν. μετὰ δὲ, ὡς τοῦτο σφι ἐξεργαστο, ἐποιη-σάντο ἱσχυρὰς κατάρας τῇ ὑπολειπομένῳ ἐνωτῶν τοῦ στόλου, πρὸς δὲ ταὐτῆσι καὶ μύδροι σιδήρεοι κατεπόντωσαν καὶ ὁμοσαν μὴ πρὶν ἐς Φωκαιήν ὤξειν πρὶν ἢ τὸν μύδρον τοῦτον ἀναφανῆναι. στελλόμενοι δὲ αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τὴν Κύρνον, ὑπερη-μίσεας τῶν ἁστῶν ἐλαβεῖ πόθος τε καὶ οίκτος τῆς πόλεως καὶ τῶν ἡθέων τῆς χώρης, ψευδόρκιοι δὲ γενόμενοι ἀπέπλεουν ὁπίσω ἐς τὴν Φωκαιήν. οὐ δὲ αὐτῶν τὸ ὁρκίον ἐφύλασσον, ἀερθέντες ἐκ τῶν Οἰνουσσέων ἐπλευσίοι ἐς τὴν Κύρνον ἀπίκοντο, οἶκεον κοινῆ μετὰ τῶν πρῶτερον ἀπικομένων ἐπ' ἔτεα πέντε, καὶ ἢγον γὰρ δὴ καὶ ἐφευρον τοὺς περιοίκους ἀπαντας, στρατεύονται ὅν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς κοινῷ λόγῳ χρησάμενοι Τυρσηνοὶ καί Καρχηδόνιοι, νησί ἐκάτεροι ἐξη-κόντα. οὐ δὲ Φωκαιέες πληρώσαντες καὶ αὐτὸ τὰ πλοία, ἐόντα ἁριθμοῦν ἐξήκοντα, ἀντίαζον ἐς τὸ Σαρδόνιον καλεομένον πέλαγος. συμμισ-
165. The Phocaeans would have bought of the Chians the islands called Oenussae; but the Chians would not sell them, because they feared that the islands would become a market and so their own island be cut off from its trade: so the Phocaeans made ready to sail to Cyrnus, where at the command of an oracle they had twenty years before this built a city called Alalia. Arganthonius was by this time dead. While making ready for their voyage, they first sailed to Phocaea, where they slew the Persian guard to whom Harpagus had entrusted the defence of the city; and this being done, they called down mighty curses on whosoever of themselves should stay behind when the rest sailed. Not only so, but they sank in the sea a mass of iron, and swore never to return to Phocaea before the iron should again appear. But while they prepared to voyage to Cyrnus, more than half of the citizens were taken with a longing and a pitiful sorrow for the city and the life of their land, and they broke their oath and sailed back to Phocaea. Those of them who kept the oath set out to sea from the Oenussae.

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

1 Between Chios and the mainland.
2 Corsica.
γόντων δὲ τῇ ναυμαχίῃ Καλατίας τις νίκη τοῖς Φοκαιεύσι ἐγένετο. αἱ μὲν γὰρ τεσσεράκοντα σφι
νέες διεφθάρησαν, αἱ δὲ εἶκοσι αἱ περιευθοῦσι ἦσαν ἄχρηστοι. ἀπεστράφατο γὰρ τοὺς ἐμβό-
λους. καταπλώσαντες δὲ ἐς τὴν Ἀλαλίαν ἀνελαβον τὰ τέκνα καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας καὶ τὴν ἄλλην
κτῆσιν ὡσὶν οἰαὶ τε ἐγκυόντο αἱ νεῖς σφι ἁγειν, καὶ ἐπειτα ἀπέντε τὴν Κύρνου ἔπλευν ἐς
Ῥήγουν.

167. Τὸν δὲ διαφθαρεώσεων νεῶν τοὺς ἄνδρας
οἳ τε Καρχερδόνοι καὶ οἱ Τυρσηνοὶ [διέλαχον, τῶν
dὲ Τυρσηνῶν οἱ Ἀγυλλαίοι] ἐλαχὸν τε αὐτῶν
πολλῷ πλείωστοι καὶ τούτους ἐξαγαγόντες κατέ-
λευσαν. μετὰ δὲ Ἀγυλλαίουσι πάντα τὰ παρι-
όντα τὸν χώρον, ἐν τῷ οἱ Φοκαιεῖς καταλευ-
σθέντες ἐκέατο, ἐγίνετο διάστροφα καὶ ἐμπηρα
καὶ ἀπόπληκτα, ὀμοίως πρόβατα καὶ ὑποζύγια
καὶ ἄνθρωποι. οἱ δὲ Ἀγυλλαίοι ἐς Δελφοὺς
ἐπεμπὸν βουλόμενοι ἀκέσασθαι τὴν ἀμαρτάδα.
ἡ δὲ Πυθίη σφίας ἐκέλευσε ποιεῖν τά καὶ νῦν
οἱ Ἀγυλλαίοι ἔτι ἐπιτελέοντο καὶ γὰρ ἐναγί-
ζουσί σφι μεγάλως καὶ ἁγῶνα γυμνώς καὶ
ἰππικῶν ἐπιστάσι. καὶ οὐτοὶ μὲν τῶν Φοκαιέων
τοιούτω μόρῳ διεχρήσαντο, οἱ δὲ αὐτῶν ἐς τὸ
Ῥήγουν καταφυγόντες ἐνθευτέν ὄρμωμενοι ἐκτή-
σαντο πόλιν γῆς τῆς Οινωπρῆς ταύτην ὡς τῶν
Τέλη καλεῖται ἐκτισαν δὲ ταύτην πρὸς ἄνδρος
Ποσειδωνίτεως μαθόντες ὡς τῶν Κύρνου σφι ἢ
Πυθίη ἔχρησε κτίσαι ἢρων ἐώντα, ἀλλ' οὗ τῆς
νῆσου.

1 The words in brackets are Stein's conjecture; the MSS. have nothing between Τυρσηνοὶ and ἐλαχοῦ.
battle, and the Phocaeans won, yet it was but a Cadmean victory; for they lost forty of their ships, and the twenty that remained were useless, their rams being twisted awry. Then sailing to Alalia they took on board their children and women and all of their possessions that their ships could hold, and leaving Cyrnus they sailed to Rhegium.

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

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

2 Later Caere in Etruria.

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

4 Later Elea (Velia).
168. Φωκαίης μέν νυν πέρι τής εν Ἰωνίης οὕτω ἔσχε, παραπλήσια δὲ τούτοις καὶ Τήμιοι ἐποίησαν. ἐπείτε γὰρ σφέων εἶλε χώματι τὸ τείχος Ἀρπαγος, ἐσβάντες πάντες ἐς τὰ πλοία οὐχοῦν πλέοντες ἐπὶ τῆς Ἐρηνίκης, καὶ ἐνθαῦτα ἔκτισαν πόλιν Ἀβδηρα, τὴν πρώτης τούτων Κλαξομένιος Τιμήσιος κτίσας οὐκ ἀπόνητο, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ Ἐρηνίκων ἐξελασθεῖς τιμᾶς νῦν ὑπὸ Τήνων τῶν ἐν Ἀβδήροις ὡς ἦρως ἔχει.

169. Ὅτουι μέν νυν Ἰώωνοι μόνοι τῇ δουλοσύνην οὐκ ἀνεχόμενοι ἐξέλιπον τὰς πατρίδας· οἱ δ' ἀλλοι Ἰωνικὸς πλήν Μιλήσιων διὰ μάχης μὲν ἀπίκωντο Ἀρπάγῳ κατὰ περ οἱ ἐκλείποντες, καὶ ἀνδρεὶς ἐγένοντο ἀγαθοὶ περὶ τῆς ἑωτοῦ ἐκαστὸς μαχόμενοι, ἐσσωθέντες δὲ καὶ ἀλόντες ἔμενον κατὰ χώρην ἐκαστοὶ καὶ τὰ ἐπιτασσόμενα ἐπετέλεον. Μιλήσιοι δὲ, ὡς καὶ πρῶτον μοι εἰρήνη του Ὀρυφρό όρκιον ποιησάμενοι ἡσυχίην ἤγουν, οὕτω δὴ τὸ δεύτερον Ἰωνικὴ ἐδεδούλωτο. ὡς δὲ τοὺς ἐν τῇ ἡπείρῳ Ἰωνικὸς ἐχειρώσατο Ἀρπαγῳς, οἱ τὰς νήσους ἑχοντες Ἰωνικὸς καταρρῳδήσαντες ταῦτα σφέας αὐτοὺς ἐδοσαν Κύρῳ.

170. Κεκακωμένων δὲ Ἰώωνοι καὶ συλλεγομένων οὐδὲν ἤσουν ἐς τὸ Πανιώνιον, πυνθάνομαι γνώμην Βίαντα ἄνδρα Πρηνέα ἀποδέξασθαι Ἰωσί χρησιμωτάτην, τῇ εἰ ἐπείθοντο, παρεἰχὲ αὖ σφι εὐδαιμονεῖν Ἐλλήνων μάλιστα· δὴ ἐκέλευε κοινῷ στόλῳ Ἰωνικὸ ἀερθέντας πλέειν ἐς Σαρδῶ καὶ ἐπείτα πόλιν μίαν κτίσει πάντων Ἰώωνοι, καὶ οὕτω ἀπαλλαχθέντας σφέας δουλοσύνης εὐδαιμονήσειν, νῆσον τε ἅπασέων μεγίστην νεμομένους καὶ ἄρχοντας ἄλλων· μένουσι δὲ σφι ἐν τῇ
168. Thus, then, it fared with the Ionian Phocaea. The Teians did in like manner with the Phocaeans: when Harpagus had taken their walled city by building a mound, they all embarked on shipboard and sailed away for Thrace. There they founded a city, Abdera, which before this had been founded by Timesius of Clazomenae; yet he got no good of it, but was driven out by the Thracians. This Timesius is now honoured as a hero by the Teians of Abdera.

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

170. When the Ionians, despite their evil plight, did nevertheless assemble at the Panionion, Bias of Priene, as I have heard, gave them very useful advice, which had they followed they might have been the most prosperous of all Greeks: for he counselled them to put out to sea and sail all together to Sardo and then found one city for all Ionians: thus, possessing the greatest island in the world and bearing rule over others, they would be rid of slavery and win prosperity; but if they stayed in Ionia he could see (he
'Ιωνίη οὐκ ἐφη ἐνορὰν ἐλευθερίην ἐτὶ ἐσομένην. αὕτη μὲν Βίαντος τοῦ Πριηνέος γυώμη ἐπὶ διεφθαρμένοι ἦν Ἐφί, ἡ διαφθαρῆ ή, Ἰωνίην Θάλεω ἀνδρὸς Μιλησίου ἐγένετο, τὸ ἀνέκαθεν γένος ἡ τότε φοίνικος, ἦς ἔκελευ ἐν βουλευτήριῳ Ἰωνας ἐκτῆσθαι, τὸ δὲ εἶναι ἐν Τέο (Τέων γὰρ μέσον εἶναι Ἰωνίης), τᾶς δὲ ἄλλας πόλεις οἰκεομένας μηδὲν ἥσσον νομίζεσθαι κατὰ περὶ ἐε ἰδίῳ ὁ ποτὲ μὲν δὴ σφι γυώμας τοιάσκετο ἀπεδέξαντο.

171. Ἀρπαγος δὲ καταστρεψάμενος Ἰωνίην ἐποιεῖτο στρατηγίην ἐπὶ Κάρας καὶ Καννίων καὶ Δυκίων, ἀμα ἀγόμενος καὶ Ἰωνας καὶ Λισλέας. εἰς δὲ τούτων Κάρας μὲν ἀπιγμένου ἐς τὴν ἤπειρον ἐκ τῶν νήσων. τὸ γὰρ παλαιοῦ ἐόντες Μίνω κατηκοῦ καὶ καλεόμενου Δέλεγες εἰχον τᾶς νῆσους, φόρον μὲν οὐδένα υποτελέσθησαν, ὥσον καὶ ἐγὼ δυνατός εἰμι ἐπὶ μακρότατον ἐξεκέκαθι ἀκοῇ· οὐ δὲ, ὡκος Μίνως δέοιτο, ἐπλήρουν οἱ τὰς νέας. ἀτε δὴ Μίνω τε κατεστραμμένου γῆν πολλῆν καὶ εὐτυχεότατος τῷ πολέμῳ, τὸ Καρικὸν ἤν ἐθνὸς λογιμωτάτων τῶν ἐθνῶν ἄπαντων κατὰ τούτων ἀμα τὸν χρόνον μακρὰ μάλιστα, καὶ σφι τριξ' ἐξευκρήματα ἐγένετο, τοῖσι οἱ Ἑλληνες ἐχρήσαντο· καὶ γὰρ ἐπὶ τὰ κράνεα λόφους ἐπίδεεσθαι Κάρας εἰσὶ οἱ καταδέξαντες καὶ ἐπὶ τᾶς ἀσπίδας τὰ σημήνα ποιέσθαι, καὶ ὁχανα ἀσπίσει οὕτω εἰςοι οἱ ποιησάμενοι πρῶτοι τέως δὲ ἀνευ ὁχανῶν ἐφορέσων τᾶς ἀσπίδας πάντες οὐ περ ἐώθεσαν ἀσπίσι χράσθαι, τελαμώσι σκυτύνοισι οἰκηκίζοντες, περὶ τοῖσι αὐχέσι τε καὶ τοῖσι ἀριστεροῖσι ὁμοίσι περικεί-
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said) no hope of freedom for them. Such was the counsel which Bias of Priene gave after the destruction of the Ionians; and good also was that given before the destruction by Thales of Miletus, a Phoenician by descent; he would have had the Ionians make one common place of counsel, which should be in Teos, for that was the centre of Ionia; and the state of the other cities should be held to be no other than if they were but townships. Thus Bias and Thales advised.

171. Harpagus, after subduing Ionia, made an expedition against the Carians, Caunians, and Lycians, taking with him Ionians and Aeolians. Now among these the Carians were a people who had come to the mainland from the islands; for in old time they were islanders, called Leleges and under the rule of Minos, not (as far as I can learn by hearsay) paying him tribute, but manning ships for him when he needed them. Seeing then that Minos had subdued much territory to himself and was victorious in war, this made the Carians too at that time to be very far the most regarded of all nations. Three things they invented in which they were followed by the Greeks: it was the Carians who first taught the wearing of crests on their helmets and devices on their shields, and who first made for their shields holders; till then all who used shields carried them without these holders, and guided them with leathern baldries which they slung round
μενοι. μετὰ δὲ τοὺς Κάρας χρόνω ύστερον πολλά Δωρίες τε καὶ Ἰωνεῖς ἐξανέστησαν ἐκ τῶν νῆσων, καὶ οὔτω ἐσ τὴν ἥπειρον ἀπίκουτο. κατὰ μὲν δὴ Κάρας οὕτω Κρήτες λέγουσι γενέσθαι οὐ μέντοι αὐτοὶ γε ὀμολογέουσι τούτοις οἱ Κάρες, ἀλλὰ νομίζουσι αὐτοὶ ἐωτοὺς εἶναι αὐτόχθονας ἥπειρωτας, καὶ τῷ οὖν μοι τῷ αὐτῷ αἰεὶ διαχρεωμένους τῷ περὶ νῦν. ἀποδεικνύσι δὲ ἐν Μυλάσοις Δίως Καρίου ἱοῦ ἄρχαίοι, τοῦ Μυσοίς μὲν καὶ Λυδοίς μέτεστι ὡς κασιγνήτοις ἐσόντες τοῖς Καρσίς τῶν γὰρ Λυδῶν καὶ τῶν Μυσῶν λέγουσι εἶναι Καρδὸς ἀδελφεοῦς. τούτοις μὲν δὴ μέτεστιν, ὅσοι δὲ ἔοντες ἄλλου ἐθνεος ὀμόγλωσσοι τοῖς Καρσίς ἐγένοντο, τούτοις δὲ οὐ μέτα.

172. Οἱ δὲ Καύνιοι αὐτόχθονες δοκεῖειν ἐμοὶ εἰσι, αὐτοὶ μέντοι ἐκ Κρήτης φασὶ εἶναι. προσ-κεχωρήκασι δὲ γιλῶσαν μὲν πρὸς τὸ Καρικὸν ἔθνος, η δ ὁι Κάρες πρὸς τὸ Καυνικόν (τοῦτο γὰρ οὐκ ἔχω ἀτρεκέως διακριναί), νόμοις δὲ χρέωνται κεχωρισμένοις πολλῶν τῶν τε ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων καὶ Φαρδών. τοῖς γὰρ κάλλιστον ἔστι κατ' ἴλικιν ὑπὸ ταῦτα εἰλαδὸν συγγίνεσθαι ἐς πόσιν, καὶ ἀνδρᾶς καὶ γυναῖξι καὶ παισι. ἱδρυ-θέντων δὲ σφὶ ἱρῶν ξεινικῶν, μετέπειτα ὡς σφὶ ἀπεδόξε, ἐδοξε δὲ τοῖς πατρίοις μοῦνον χράσθαι θεοίσι, ἐνδύντες τὰ ὅπλα ἀπαντεῖς Καύνιοι ἡβηδόν, τύπτοντες δόρασι τῶν ἥρα, μέχρι οὐρῶν τῶν Καυνιδικῶν εἴποντο, καὶ ἐφασαν ἐκβάλλειν τοὺς ξεινικοὺς θεούς.

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

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

1 This is the management of the Homeric “man-covering” shield, as shown in the Iliad. The shield is not carried on the arm, but hangs by a belt which passes over the left shoulder and under the right arm-pit; by a pull on the τελαμών it can be shifted so as to protect breast or back.
173. Καὶ οὖτω μὲν τρόποις τοιούτοις χρεώνται, οί δὲ Λύκιοι έκ Κρήτης τώρχαίον γεγονόσι (τήν γὰρ Κρήτην εἶχον τὸ παλαιόν πᾶσαν βάρβαροι) διενεχθέντων δὲ ἐν Κρήτῃ περὶ τῆς βασιλείας τῶν Εὐρώπης παῖδων Σαρπηδόνος τε καὶ Μίνω, ὡς ἐπεκράτησε τῇ στάσι Μίνως, ἐξῆλασε αὐτῶν τε Σαρπηδόνα καὶ τούς στασιώτας αὐτού, οί δὲ ἀπωσθέντες ἀπίκουτο τῆς Ἀσίης ἐς γῆν τὴν Μιλυάδα: τὴν γὰρ ἐνν Λύκιοι νέμονται, αὐτὴ τὸ παλαιὸν ἡν Μιλυάς, οί δὲ Μιλύαι τότε Σόλυμοι ἐκαλέοντο. ἔως μὲν δὴ αὐτῶν Σαρπηδόν ἡρχε, οἴ δὲ ἐκαλέοντο τὸ πέρ τε ἡνείκαιντο οὖνομα καὶ νῦν ἔτι καλέονται ὑπὸ τῶν περιόικοι οἱ Λύκιοι, Τερμίλαι· ὡς δὲ ἐξ Ἀθηνέων Λύκος ὁ Παυδίωνος, ἐξελασθεὶς καὶ οὕτως ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ Ἀγέσσος, ἀπίκετο ἐς τοὺς Τερμίλας παρὰ Σαρπηδόνα, οὕτω δὴ κατὰ τοῦ Λύκου τὴν ἐπωνυμίην Λύκιοι ἀνὰ χρόνον ἐκλήθησαν. νόμοισι δὲ τὰ μὲν Κρητικοίσι τὰ δὲ Καρικοίσι χρεώνται. ἐν δὲ τόδε ἱδιον νεομίκασι καὶ οὐδαμοίσι ἀλλοισι συμφέρονται ἀνθρώπων καλέονται ἀπὸ τῶν μητέρων ἐνοτος καὶ οὐκ ἀπὸ τῶν πατέρων εἱρομένου δὲ ἐτέρου τὸν πλησίον τῆς εἴη, καταλέξει ἐνωτὸν μητρόδεν καὶ τῆς μητρὸς ἀνανεμέεται τὰς μητέρας. καὶ ἴν μὲν γε γυνὴ ἀστὴ δουλῶ συνοικίσῃ, γενυαία τὰ τέκνα νεομίσται· ἢν δὲ ἁνήρ ἀστὸς καὶ ὁ πρῶτος αὐτῶν γυναίκα ξείνην ἢ παλλακὴν ἔχη, ἀτιμα τὰ τέκνα γίνεται.

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

174. Neither then the Carians nor any Greeks who dwell in this country did any deed of note before they were all enslaved by Harpagus. Among
δὲ καὶ ἄλλοι καὶ Λακεδαίμονίων ἄποικοι Κνίδιοι. οὐ τῆς χώρης τῆς σφετέρης τετραμμένης ἐς πόντον, τὸ δὲ Τριόπτιον καλέσατο, ἀργυρέος δὲ ἐκ τῆς Χαρσονῆσου τῆς Βυβασσίης, ἔοισις τε πάσης τῆς Κνίδιης πλὴν ὀλίγης περιμόρου (τὰ μὲν γὰρ αὐτῆς πρὸς βορέην ἀνεμον ὁ Κεραμεικός κόλπος ἀπέργει, τὰ δὲ πρὸς νότον ἡ κατὰ Σύμην τε καὶ Ὁρόδον θάλασσα), τὸ δὲν δὴ ὀλίγον τούτο, ἐδὲ ὄσον τε ἐπὶ πέντε στάδια, ἄρωσον οἱ Κνίδιοι ἐν ὅσῳ ᾧ Ἀρπαγος τὴν Ἰωνίην κατεστρέφετο, βουλόμενοι νῆσον τὴν χώρην ποιῆσαι. ἔιτὸς δὲ πᾶσα σφί ἐγίνετο τῇ γαρ ἢ Κνίδιη χώρη ἐς τὴν ἠπειρον τελευτᾶ, ταύτῃ ὁ ἱσθμὸς ἐστὶ τὸν ἄρωσον. καὶ δὴ πολλῇ χειρὶ ἐργαζόμενοι τῶν Κνίδων, μᾶλλον γὰρ τι καὶ θειότερον ἐβαίνοντο τιτρῶσκεσθαι οἱ ἐργαζόμενοι τοῦ οἰκότος τά τε ἄλλα τοῦ σώματος καὶ μάλιστα τὰ περὶ τοῦ ὀφθαλμοῦς θραυσμένης τῆς πέτρης, ἔπεμπον ἐς Δελφοὺς θεοπρόπους ἐπειρησομένους τὸ ἀντίξοον. ἢ δὲ Πυθίη σφί, ὦς αὐτοὶ Κνίδιοι λέγουσι, χρῆ ἐν τριμέτρῳ τῶν τάδε.

'Ισθμὸν δὲ μὴ πυργοῦτε μὴδ' ὀρύσσετε.
Ζεῦς γὰρ κ' ἐθηκε νῆσον, εἰ κ' ἐβούλετο.

Κνίδιοι μὲν ταύτα τῆς Πυθίης χρησάσης τοῦ τε ὀρύγματος ἐπαύσαστο καὶ Ἀρπάγορ ἐπιώντα σὺν τῷ στρατῷ ἀμαχητί σφέας αὐτοὺς παρέδοσαν.

175. Ὅσαν δὲ Πηδασέες οἰκέοντες ὑπὲρ Ἀλικαρνησσοῦ μεσόγαιαν· τοίσι ὁκὼς τι μέλλοι ἀνεπιτήδηον ἔσεσθαι, αὐτοῖσι τε καὶ τοῖσι περιουκισι, ἢ ἱρείῃ τῆς Ἀθηναίης πώγωνα μέγαν ἵσχε. τρίς σφί τούτο ἐγένετο. οὕτωι τῶν περὶ Καρίην
those who inhabit it are certain Cnidians, colonists from Lacedaemon. Their country (it is called the Triopion) lies between the sea and that part of the peninsula which belongs to Bubassus, and all but a little part of the Cnidian territory is sea-girt; for it is bounded on the north by the gulf of Ceramicus, and on the south by the sea off Syme and Rhodes. Now while Harpagus was conquering Ionia, the Cnidians dug a trench across this little space, which is about five furlongs wide, in order that so their country might be an island. So they brought it all within the entrenchment; for the frontier between the Cnidian country and the mainland is on the isthmus across which they dug. Many of them were at this work; and seeing that the workers were more often hurt and less naturally than ordinary, some in other parts, but most in the eyes, by the breaking of stones, the Cnidians sent envoys to Delphi to inquire what it was that so hindered them. Then, as they themselves say, the priestess gave them this answer in iambic verse:

“Nor wall nor dig across your isthmus; long ago

Your land had been an isle, if Zeus had willed it so.”

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

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

ανδρῶν μούνοι τε ἀντέσχον χρόνον Ἀρπάγῳ καὶ πρήγματα παρέσχον πλείστα, ὄρος τείχισαντες τῷ οἴνῳ μα ἐστὶ Λίδη.

176. Ηδασεῖς μὲν νων χρόνῳ ἐξαιρέθησαν. Λύκιοι δὲ, ὡς ἐς τὸ Ξάνθιον πεδίον ἠλασε ὁ Ἀρπαγὸς τὸν στρατὸν, ἐπεξίοντες καὶ μαχόμενοι ὠλέγοι πρὸς πολλοὺς ἀρετὰς ἀπεδείκνυντο, ἐσσωθέντες δὲ καὶ κατειλθέντες ἐς τὸ ἀστυ συνηλίσαν ἐς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν τὰς τε γυναῖκας καὶ τὰ τέκνα καὶ τὰ χρήματα καὶ τοὺς οἰκέτας, καὶ ἔπειτα ὑπῆφαν τὴν ἀκρόπολιν πᾶσαν ταύτην καίεσθαι. ταύτα δὲ ποιήσαντες καὶ συνομόσαντες ὀρκοὺς δεινοὺς, ἐπεξελθόντες ἀπέθανον πῶντες Ξάνθιοι μαχόμενοι. τῶν δὲ νῦν Λυκίων φαμέων Ξάνθιοι εἶναι οἱ πολλοί, πλὴν ὀγδώκοντα ἱστίεων, εἰσὶ ἐπίλυσιν: αἱ δὲ ὀγδώκοντα ἱστίαι αὐταὶ ἐτυχὼν τηνικαῦτα ἐκδημέουσαι καὶ οὕτω περιεγένυτο. τὴν μὲν δὴ Ξάνθιον οὗτω ἔσχε ὁ Ἀρπαγὸς, παραπλησίως δὲ καὶ τὴν Καῦνον ἔσχε: καὶ γὰρ οἱ Καῦνοι τοὺς Λυκίοις ἐμμηνάντω τὰ πλέω.

177. Τὰ μὲν νυν κατὼ τῆς Ἀσίνης Ἀρπαγὸς ἀνάστατα ἐποίεε, τὰ δὲ ἄνω αὐτῆς αὐτὸς Κῦρος, πῶν ἔθνος καταστρεφόμενος καὶ οὐδὲν παρεῖς. τὰ μὲν νυν αὐτῶν πλέω παρῆσομεν: τὰ δὲ οἱ παρέσχε τε πῶν πλείστον καὶ ἀξιαπηγητότατα ἐστὶ, τούτων ἐπιμυνήσομαι.

178. Κῦρος ἔπειτε τὰ πάντα τῆς ἰπείρου ὑποχείρια ἐποιήσατο, Ἀσσυρίοις ἐπετίθετο. τῆς δὲ Ἀσσυρίς ἔστι μὲν κω καὶ ἄλλα πολίσματα μεγάλα πολλά, τὸ δὲ δομαστότατον καὶ ἵσχυρότατον καὶ ἐνθα σφ Νίνου ἀναστάτου γενομένης τὰ βασιλεία κατεστήκες, ἡν Βαβυλὼν, έσυσα
men near Caria who held out for long against Harpagus, and they gave him the most trouble; they fortified a hill called Lide.

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

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

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

1 606 B.C. Ninus = Nineveh.
τοιαύτη δή τις πόλις. κέεται ἐν πεδίῳ μεγάλῳ, μέγαθος ἕνοσα μέτωπον ἐκαστὸν εἰκοσὶ καὶ ἐκατὸν στάδίων, εὕσης τετραγώνου· οὕτωι στάδιοι τῆς περιόδου τῆς πόλιος γίνονται συνάπαντες ὀγδόκοντα καὶ τετρακόσιοι. τὸ μὲν νυν μέγαθος τοσοῦτον ἐστὶ τοῦ ἀστεοῦ τοῦ Βαβυλωνίου, ἐκεκόσμητο δὲ ὃς οὐδὲν ἄλλο πόλισμα τῶν ἥμεις ἤδεν. τάφρος μὲν πρώτα μιν βαθέα τε καὶ εὐρέα καὶ πλήθ ὦδατος περιθέει, μετὰ δὲ τείχος πεντήκοντα μὲν πηχέων βασιλείων ἐκ τοῦ εὐρος, ὄψος δὲ διηκοσίων πηχέων· ὁ δὲ βασιλέως πήχυς τοῦ μετρίου ἐστὶ πήχεος μέξων τριοί δακτύλοις.

179. Δεὶ δὴ με πρὸς τούτοις ἐτὶ φράσατι ἱνα τε ἐκ τῆς τάφρου ἡ γῆ ἀνασκιμώθη, καὶ τὸ τείχος ὀντινα τρόπον ἑργαστὸ. ὦρυσσοντες ἄμα τὴν τάφρον ἐπιλύθενον τὴν γῆν τὴν ἐκ τοῦ ὀρύγματος ἐκφερομένην, ἐλκύσαντες δὲ πλίθους ἴκανὰς ὀπτήσαν περὶ ἑυμοὶ περιθέεν, μετὰ δὲ τέλματι χρεώμενοι ἀσφάλτῳ θερμῷ καὶ διὰ τριήκοντα δόμων πλίθου τάρσοις καλάμων διαστοιβάζοντες, ἐδειμαν πρώτα μὲν τῆς τάφρου τὰ χείλεα, δεύτερα δὲ αὐτὸ τὸ τείχος τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον. ἐπάνω δὲ τοῦ τείχους παρὰ τὰ ἐσχάτα οἰκήματα μοῦνόκωλα ἐδειμαν, τετραμένα ἐς ἄλληλα· τὸ μέσον δὲ τῶν οἰκημάτων ἐλπιν τεθρίππω περιέλασιν. πῦλαι δὲ ἑνεστάσι πέριξ τοῦ τείχους ἐκατόν, χάλκεαι πᾶσαι, καὶ σταθμὶ τε καὶ ὑπέρθυρα ὦσαύτως. ἐστὶ δὲ ἄλλη πόλις ἀπεχουσα ὁκτὼ ἱμερέων ὁδὸν ἀπὸ Βαβυλῶνος· Ἰς ὀνύομα αὐτῇ. ἐνθα ἑστὶ ποταμὸς συ μέγας· Ἰς καὶ τὸ ποταμὸ τὸ ὀνύομα· ἐσβάλλει δὲ οὕτως ἐς τὸν Ἐὐφρήτην ποταμὸν τὸ ἑεθρον. οὕτος ὄν
describe. It lies in a great plain, and is in shape a square, each side an hundred and twenty furlongs in length; thus four hundred and eighty furlongs make the complete circuit of the city. Such is the size of the city of Babylon; and it was planned like no other city whereof we know. Round it runs first a fosse deep and wide and full of water, and then a wall of fifty royal cubits' thickness and two hundred cubits' height. The royal cubit is greater by three fingers' breadth than the common cubit.¹

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

¹ Common cubit, 18½ inches: royal, 20½.
² The modern Hit or Ait, where the Euphrates enters the alluvial plain.
HERODOTUS

180. 'Εστειχίστο μὲν νυν ἡ Βαβυλὼν τρόπῳ τοιώδε, ἐστὶ δὲ δύο φάρσεα τῆς πόλεως. τὸ γὰρ μέσον αὐτῆς ποταμὸς διέργει, τῷ ὑπομα ἐστὶ Εὐφρήτης· ῥέει δὲ ἐξ Ἰρμενίων, ἐών μέγας καὶ βαθὺς καὶ ταχὺς· ἐξεῖ δὲ οὕτως ἐς τὴν Ἔρυθρὴν θάλασσαν, τὸ δὲ ὅτι τεῖχος ἐκάτερον τοὺς ἀγκώνας ἐς τὸν ποταμὸν ἐνῆλαται· τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦτον αἰ ἐπικαμπαὶ παρὰ χεῖλος ἐκάτερον τοῦ ποταμοῦ αἰμασίη πλήθων ὁπτέων παρατείνει. τὸ δὲ ἀστυ αὐτό, ἐνο πλήρες οἰκίεσιν τριφορφοῖν καὶ τετραφορφοῖν, κατατέρμηται τάς ὀδοὺς θέας τάς τε ἄλλας καὶ τάς ἐπικαρπίας τάς ἐπὶ τὸν ποταμὸν ἑχούσας. κατὰ δὲ ὅτι ἐκάστην ὡδὸν ἐν τῇ αἰμασίῃ τῇ παρὰ τὸν ποταμὸν πυλῶν ἐπή- σαν, ὡσαί περ αἱ λαυραι, τοσαῦταί ἄρισθών· ἤσαν δὲ καὶ αὐταὶ χάλκεαι. ἐς αὐτὸν τὸν ποταμὸν.

181. Τοῦτο μὲν δὴ τὸ τεῖχος θώρηξ ἐστὶ, ἐτερων δὲ ἐσωθὲν τεῖχος περιθέει, οὐ πολλῷ τεω ἀσθενε- στερων τοῦ ἐτέρου τεῖχος, στευότερον δὲ. ἐν δὲ φάρσει ἐκατέρω τῆς πόλεως ἐστειχίστο ἐν μέσῳ ἐν τῷ μὲν τὰ βασιλικά περιβόλω μεγάλῳ τε καὶ ἱσχυρῷ, ἐν δὲ τῷ ἐτέρῳ Διὸς Βῆλου ἱρὸν χαλκό- πυλον, καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ ἐτὶ τοῦτο ἐόν, δύο σταδίων πάντη, ἐν τετράγωνον. ἐν μέσῳ δὲ τοῦ ἱροῦ πύργος στερεῶς οἰκοδόμηται, σταδίου καὶ τὸ μήκος καὶ τὸ ἐύρος, καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦτο τῷ πύργῳ ἄλλος

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

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

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

1 Bel or Baal, the greatest of Assyrian gods.
πύργος ἐπιβέβηκε, καὶ άτερος μάλα ἐπὶ τούτω, μέχρι οὗ ὠκτὼ πύργων. ἀνάβασις δὲ ἐς αὐτοὺς ἐξωθεὶ κύκλῳ περὶ πάντας τοὺς πύργους ἔχουσα πεποίηται. μεσοῦντι δὲ κοινής ἀναβάσισις ἔστιν καταγωγή τε καὶ θώκοι ἀμπαυστήριοι, ἐν τοῖς κατέχοντες ἀμπαύονται οἱ ἀναβαίνοντες. ἐν δὲ τῷ τελευταίῳ πύργῳ νῆσος ἐπεστὶ μέγας· ἐν δὲ τῷ νησί κλίνῃ μεγάλῃ κέεται εὖ ἐστρωμένη, καὶ οἱ τράπεζαι παρακέεται χρυσῆ. ἀγαλμα δὲ οὐκ ἐνι oúdeν αὐτόθι ἐνιδρυμένου, οὐδὲ νύκτα οὔδεις ἐναυλίζεται ἀνθρώπων ὅτι μὴ ἴση μούνη τῶν ἐπιχωρίων, τήν ἀν ὁ θεὸς ἐληταὶ ἐκ πασέων, ὡς λέγουσι οἱ Χαλδαιοὶ εἴοντες ἱρεῖς τοῦτον τοῦ θεοῦ.

182. Φασί δὲ οἱ αὐτοὶ οὗτοι, ἐμοὶ μὲν οὐ πιστὰ λέγοντες, τοῦ θεοῦ αὐτὸν φοιτῶν τε ἐς τὸν νησὶ καὶ ἀμπαύεσθαι ἐπὶ τῆς κλίνης, κατὰ περ ἐν Θηβαῖσι ἔτη τῆς Αἰγυπτίης κατὰ τοῦ αὐτοῦ τρόπου, ὡς λέγουσι οἱ Αἰγύπτιον· καὶ γὰρ δὴ ἔκειθι κοιμᾶται ἐν τῷ τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Θηβαίεος γυμνῷ, ἀμφότεραι δὲ αὐταὶ λέγονται ἀνδρῶν οὖν δαμῶν ἐς ὀμιλίαν φοιτῶν· καὶ κατὰ περ ἐν Πατάροισι τῆς Δυκίης ἡ πρόμαντες τοῦ θεοῦ, ἐπεαν γένηται οὐ γὰρ ὃν οἰεί ἐστὶ χρηστήριον αὐτόθι· ἐπεαν δὲ γένηται τότε ὃν συγκατακλη- ἱεται τὰς νύκτας ἐσῳ ἐν τῷ νησί.

183. Ἐστι δὲ τοῦ ἐν Βαβυλονί ἱροῦ καὶ ἄλλος κατοι νησὸς, ἐνθα ἁγαλμα μέγα τοῦ Διὸς ἐνι κατήμενον χρυσοῦ, καὶ οἱ τράπεζαι μεγάλῃ παρακέεται χρυσῆ, καὶ τῷ βάθρον οἱ καὶ ὁ θρόνος χρύσεος ἐστὶ· καὶ ὡς ἔλεγον οἱ Χαλδαιοὶ, ταλάν- των δικτακοσίων χρυσοῦ πεποίηται ταῦτα. ἐξω
from this, and from it yet another, till at last there are eight. The way up to them mounts spirally outside all the towers; about halfway in the ascent is a halting place, with seats for repose, where those who ascend sit down and rest. In the last tower there is a great shrine; and in it a great and well-covered couch is laid, and a golden table set hard by. But no image has been set up in the shrine, nor does any human creature lie therein for the night, except one native woman, chosen from all women by the god, as say the Chaldaeans, who are priests of this god.

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

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

1 Amon-Api (Greek Ἀμωπή); cp. ii. 42. 2 Apollo.
δὲ τοῦ νησί βωμός ἐστὶ χρύσεως, ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἄλλος βωμός μέγας, ἐπὶ οὖν θύεται τὰ τέλεα τῶν προβάτων. ἐπὶ γὰρ τοῦ χρυσέου βωμοῦ οὐκ ἔξεστι θύειν ὅτι μὴ γαλαθήμα μοῦνα, ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ μέξουνος βωμοῦ καὶ καταγίζουσι λιβανωτοῦ χίλια τάλαντα ἐτεος ἐκάστου ὁ Χαλδαιοὶ τότε ἐπειὰν τὴν ὀρτὴν ἄγωσι τῷ θεῷ τούτῳ. ἦν δὲ εὖ τῷ τεμένει τούτῳ ἐτι τῶν χρόνων ἐκεῖνον καὶ ἀνδριάς δυσδέκα πηχέων χρύσεσι στερεός· ἐγὼ μὲν μιν οὐκ ἐίδον, τὰ δὲ λέγεται ὑπὸ Χαλδαιῶν, ταῦτα λέγω. τούτῳ τῷ ἀνδριάντι Δαρείος μὲν ὁ Ἑστά-
σπεος ἐπιβουλεύσας οὐκ ἐτόλμησε λαβεῖν. Οὐρ-
θῆς δὲ ὁ Δαρείου ἠλάβε καὶ τὸν ἱρέα ἀπέκτεινε ἀρπαγορεύοντα μὴ κινεῖν τῶν ἀνδριάντα. τὸ μὲν δὴ ἱρὸν τούτο οὕτω κεκόσμηται, ἐστὶ δὲ καὶ ἰδια ἀναθῆματα πολλά.

184. Τῆς δὲ Βαβυλώνος ταύτης πολλοὶ μὲν κοι καὶ ἄλλοι εξένυντο βασιλεῖς, τῶν ἐν τοῖς Ἀσσυρίσοις λόγοις μιήμην ποιήσομαι, οὗ τὰ τείχεα τε ἐπεκόσμησαν καὶ τὰ ἱρά, ἐν δὲ δὴ καὶ γυναῖκες δύο. η μὲν πρότερον ἀρξασα, τῆς ύπερτεροις πέντε πρότερον γενομένη, τῇ ὁνόμα ἦν Σεμίραμις, αὕτη μὲν ἀπεδέξατο χώρατα ἀνὰ τὸ πεδίον ἐόντα ἄξιοθέτα: πρότερον δὲ ἔωθεν ὁ ποταμὸς ἀνὰ τὸ πεδίον πάν πελαγίσειν.

185. Ὅ δὲ δὴ δεύτερον γενομένη ταύτης βασι-
λεια, τῇ ὁνόμα ἦν Νίτωκρις, αὐτῆς δὲ συνετοτέρη γενομένη τῆς πρότερον ἀρξάσης τούτῳ μὲν μνημο-
συμα ἔλιπτο τα ἐγὼ ἀπηγήσομαι, τούτῳ δὲ τὴν Μήδων ὄροσα ἀρχῆν μεγάλην τε καὶ οὐκ ἀντεμι-
ζοωσαν, ἀλλ' ἄλλα τε ἀραιμήνα ἀστεα αὐτοῖς, ἐν δὲ δὴ καὶ τὴν Νίνον, προεφυλάξατο ὁσα ἐδύ-
Outside of the temple is a golden altar. There is also another great altar, whereon are sacrificed the full-grown of the flocks; only sucklings may be sacrificed on the golden altar, but on the greater altar the Chaldeans even offer a thousand talents' weight of frankincense yearly, when they keep the festival of this god; and in the days of Cyrus there was still in this sacred demesne a statue of solid gold twelve cubits high. I myself have not seen it, but I tell what is told by the Chaldeans. Darius son of Hystaspes purposed to take this statue but dared not; Xerxes his son took it, and slew the priest who warned him not to move the statue. Such is the adornment of this temple, and there are many private offerings besides.

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

185. The second queen, whose name was Nitocris, was a wiser woman than the first. She left such monuments as I shall record; and moreover, seeing that the rulers of Media were powerful and unresting, insomuch that Ninus itself among other cities had fallen before them, she took such care as she could
νατο μάλιστα. πρώτα μὲν τὸν Εὐφρήτην ποταμὸν ῥέοντα πρότερον ίθὺν, ὅσοι διὰ τῆς πόλεως μέσης ῥέοι, τοῦτον ἄνωθεν διώρυξας ὄρυξας οὖν δὴ τι ἐποίησε σκολιῶν ὡστε δὴ τρίς ἐς τὸν τινα κωμέων τὸν ἐν τῇ Ἀσσυρίᾳ ἀπικνέεται ῥέων· τῇ δὲ κώμῃ οὐνόμα ἑστὶ, ἐς τὴν ἀπικνέεται ὁ Εὐφρήτης, Ἀρδερικκα. καὶ νῦν ὦν ἂν κομίξωνται ἀπὸ τῆς δη τῆς θαλάσσης ἐς Βαβυλώνα, καταπλέοντες τὸν Εὐφρήτην ποταμὸν τρῖς τε ἐς τὴν αὐτὴν ταύτην κωμήν παραγίνονται καὶ ἐν τρισὶ ἡμέρῃ. τούτῳ μὲν δὴ τουιτοῦν ἐποίησε, χῶμα δὲ παρέχωσε παρ᾽ ἐκάτερον τοῦ ποταμοῦ τὸ χείλος ἄξιον θώματος μέγαθος καὶ ύψος ὅσον τι ἐστὶ. κατύπερθε δὲ πολλῷ Βαβυλώνος ὄρυσε ἔλυτρον λίμνην, ὅλιγον τι παρατείνουσα ἀπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ, βάθος μὲν ἐς τὸ ὑδωρ αἰεὶ ὄρυσσουσα, εὕρος δὲ τὸ περίμετρον αὐτοῦ ποιεῦσα εἶκοσὶ τε καὶ πετρακσίων σταδίων· τὸν δὲ ὀρυσσόμενον χοῦν ἐκ τοῦτοι τοῦ ὄρυγματος ἀναισίμου παρὰ τὰ χείλεα τοῦ ποταμοῦ παραχέουσα, ἔτειτε δὲ οἱ ὄρων κτο, λίθους ἠγαγομένη κρηπίδα κύκλῳ περὶ αὐτὴν ἡλασε. ἔποιες δὲ ἀμφότερα ταῦτα, τὸν τε ποταμὸν σκολιοῦ καὶ τὸ ὄρυγμα πάν ἐλος, ὡς ὦ τοῦτοι ποταμῶι παρὰ ἤπειρας αὐτῶν πολλὰς ἀγνύμενοι, καὶ οἱ πλόοι ἐωσὶ σκολιοὶ ἐς τὴν Βαβυλώνα, ἐκ τῶν πλόων ἐκδεκήται περίοδος τῆς λίμνης μακρῆς. κατὰ τοῦτο δὲ ἐργάζετο τῆς χώρης τῇ αἱ τε ἐσβολαὶ ἦσαν καὶ τὰ σύντομα τῆς ἐκ Μήδων ὀδοῦ, ἵνα μὴ ἐπιμεταγόμενοι οἱ Μήδοι ἐκμανθάνοιεν αὐτῆς τὰ πρήγματα. 186. Ταῦτα μὲν δὴ ἐκ βάθεος περιβάλετο, τοιὴν δὲ ἐξ αὐτῶν παρευθήκην ἐποιήσατο. τῆς
for her protection. First she dealt with the river Euphrates, which flows through the middle of her city; this had before been straight; but by digging canals higher up she made the river so crooked that its course now passes thrice by one of the Assyrian villages; the village which is so approached by the Euphrates is called Ardericca. And now those who travel from our seas to Babylon must as they float down the Euphrates spend three days in coming thrice to the same village. Such was this work; and she built an embankment along either shore of the river, marvellous for its greatness and height. Then a long way above Babylon she dug the basin of a lake, a little way aside from the river, digging always deep enough to find water, and making the circuit of the lake a distance of four hundred and twenty furlongs; all that was dug out of the basin she used to embank either edge of the river; and when she had it all dug, she brought stones and made therewith a coping all round the basin. Her purpose in making the river to wind and turning the basin into a marsh was this—that the current might be slower by reason of the many windings that broke its force, and that the passages to Babylon might be crooked, and that next after them should come also the long circuit of the lake. All this work was done in that part of the country where are the passes and the shortest road from Media, that the Medes might not mix with her people and learn of her affairs.

186. So she made the deep river her protection; and from this work grew another which she added to
πόλιος ἑούσης δύο φαρσέων, τοῦ δὲ ποταμοῦ μέσον ἔχοντος, ἐπὶ τῶν πρῶτον βασιλέων ὅκως τις ἐθέλοι ἐκ τοῦ ἑτέρου φάρσεος ἐς τούτους διαβήναι, χρήν πλοίῳ διαβάινειν, καὶ ἦν, ὡς ἐγὼ δοκέω, ὄχληρον τοῦτο. αὕτη δὲ καὶ τοῦτο προείδε. ἐπείτε γὰρ ὄρυσε τὸ ἔλυτρον τῆς λίμνης, μνημόσυνον τὸ δὲ ἀλλο ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἔργου ἐλήμπτο: ἐτάμνετο λίθοις περιμήκεαι, ὡς δὲ οἱ ἦσαν οἱ λίθοι ἔτοιμοι καὶ τὸ χωρίον ὅρφωρκτο, ἐκτρέψασα τοῦ ποταμοῦ τὸ ἱέθρον πᾶν ἐς τὸ ὄρυσε χωρίον, ἐν οὗ ἐπίμπλατο τοῦτο, ἐν τούτῳ ἀπεξηρασμένου τοῦ ἁρχαίου ἱέθρου τοῦτο μὲν τὰ χέιλεα τοῦ ποταμοῦ κατὰ τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὰς καταβάσιας τὰς ἐκ τῶν πυλίδων ἐς τὸν ποταμὸν φεροῦσας ἀνοικοδόμησε πλύνθοισι ὀπτῆσι κατὰ τὸν αὐτοῦ λόγον τῷ τείχεϊ, τοῦτο δὲ κατὰ μέσην κοι μάλιστα τῆν πόλιν τοῖς λίθοις τοὺς ὄρυξατο οἰκοδόμει γέφυραν, δέουσα τοὺς λίθους σιδήρῳ τε καὶ μολύβδῳ. ἐπιτείνεσκε δὲ ἐπ’ αὐτῆς, ὅκως μὲν ἡμέρῃ γόνιτο, ἕνα τετράγωνα, ἐπ’ ὕψῳ τὴν διαβαίνον ἐποιεύτο οἱ Βαβυλώνιοι: τὰς δὲ νῦκτας τὰ ἕνα ταῦτα ἀπαιρέσκουν τοῦτε ἐνεκα, ἵνα μὴ διαφορείνετε τὰς νῦκτας κλεπτοῖν παρ’ ἀλλήλων. ὡς δὲ τὸ τε ὀρυχθὲν λίμνη πλήρης ἐγεγόνει ὑπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ καὶ τὰ περὶ τῆς γέφυραν ἐκεκόσμητο, τὸν Ἐὐφρήτην ποταμὸν ἐς τὰ ἁρχαῖα ἱέθρα ἐκ τῆς λίμνης ἐξῆγαγε, καὶ οὕτω τὸ ὀρυχθὲν ἔλος γενόμενον ἐς δέον ἐδόκεε γεγονέναι καὶ τοῖς πολίτησι γέφυρα ἢν κατεσκευασμένη.

187. Ἦ δ’ αὕτη αὕτη βασίλεια καὶ ἀπάτην τοιχύünde τινὰ ἐμηχανήσατο· ὑπὲρ τῶν μάλιστα λεωφόρων πυλέων τοῦ ἁστεός τάφον ἔωτῆ κατε-
Her city was divided into two portions by the river which flowed through the centre. Whenever in the days of the former rulers one would pass over from one part to the other, he must cross in a boat; and this, as I suppose, was troublesome. But the queen provided also for this; when the digging of the basin of the lake was done, she made another monument of her reign out of this same work. She had very long blocks of stone hewn; and when these were ready and the place was dug, she turned the course of the river wholly into it, and while it was filling, the former channel being now dry, she bricked with baked bricks, like those of the wall, the borders of the river in the city and the descents from the gates leading down to the river; also about the middle of the city she built a bridge with the stones which had been dug up, binding them together with iron and lead. She laid across it square-hewn logs each morning, whereon the Babylonians crossed; but these logs were taken away for the night, lest folk should be ever crossing over and stealing from each other. Then, when the basin she had made for a lake was filled by the river and the bridge was finished, Nitocris brought the Euphrates back to its former channel out of the lake; thus she had served her purpose, as she thought, by making a swamp of the basin, and her citizens had a bridge ready for them.

187. There was a trick, moreover, which this same queen contrived. She had a tomb made for herself and set high over the very gate of that entrance or
σκευάσατο μετέωρον ἐπιπολῆς αὐτῶν τῶν πυλῶν, ἐνεκόλαψε δὲ ἐς τῶν τάφων γράμματα λέγοντα τάδε. "Τῶν τις ἐμεῖ ὑστερον γινομένων Βαβυλῶνος βασιλέων ἢ σπανίση χρημάτων, ἀνοίξας τὸν τάφον λαβέτω ὁκόσα θεολεταί χρήματα· μὴ μέντοι γε μὴ σπανίσας γε ἄλλως ἀνοίξῃ· οὐ γὰρ ἄμεινον" ὦτος ὁ τάφος ἢν ἄκινητος μέχρι οὐ ἐς Δαρείου περὶλθε ἡ βασιλην. Δαρείῳ δὲ καὶ δεινον ἐδόκεε εἶναι τῇς πύλης ταύτης μηδὲν χράσθαι, καὶ χρημάτων κείμενων καὶ αὐτῶν τῶν γραμμάτων ἐπικαλεομένων, μὴ οὐ λαβεῖν αὐτά· τῇς δὲ πύλης ταύτης οὐδὲν ἔχρατο τούδε εἶνεκα, ὅτι ὑπὲρ κεφαλῆς οἱ ἐγίνετο οὐ νεκρῶς διεξελαύνοντε. ἀνοίξας δὲ τὸν τάφον εὑρε χρήματα μὲν οὔ, τὸν δὲ νεκρόν καὶ γράμματα λέγοντα τάδε· "Εἰ μὴ ἀπληστὸς τοι ἔστως χρημάτων καὶ αἰσχροκερδής, οὐκ ἄν νεκρῶν θήκας ἀνέψωγεν." αὕτη μὲν νυν ἡ βασίλεια τοιαύτη τις λέγεται γενέσθαι.

188. Ὁ δὲ δὴ Κῦρος ἐπὶ ταύτης τῆς γυναικὸς τὸν παίδα ἐστρατεύετο, ἐχοντά τε τοῦ πατρὸς τοῦ ἑωτοῦ τοῦνομα Λαβυνῆτο καὶ τὴν Λισυρίων ἀρχήν. στρατεύεται δὲ δὴ βασιλεύς ὁ μέγας καὶ σιτίοις εὖ ἐσκευασμένοις εξ οἴκου καὶ προβάτοις, καὶ δὴ καὶ ὑδωρ ἀπὸ τοῦ Χοασπεω ποταμοῦ ἀμα ἄγεται τοῦ παρὰ Σοῦσα ρέοντος, τοῦ μοῦνον πίνει βασιλεύς καὶ ἄλλου οὐδενὸς ποταμοῦ. τούτων δὲ τοῦ Χοασπεω τοῦ ύδατος ἀπεψημένου πολλαὶ κάρτα ἀμαξαί τετράκυκλοι ἡμιοει ὑμιοει κομίζουσι ἐν ἀγγείοις ἀργυρείοις ἐπούνται, ὅκη ἂν ἐλαύνῃ ἐκάστοτε.

189. Ἐπείτε δὲ ὁ Κὺρος πορευόμενος ἐπὶ τὴν
the city which was most used, with a writing graven on the tomb, which was this: "If any king of Babylon in future time lack money, let him open this tomb and take whatso money he desires: but let him not open it except he lack; for it will be the worse for him." This tomb remained untouched till the kingship fell to Darius. He thought it a very strange thing that he should never use this gate, nor take the money when it lay there and the writing itself invited him to the deed. The cause of his not using the gate was that the dead body must be over his head as he passed through. Having opened the tomb, he found there no money, but only the dead body, with this writing: "Wert thou not insatiate of wealth and basely desirous of gain, thou hadst not opened the coffins of the dead." Such a woman, it is recorded, was this queen.

188. Cyrus, then, marched against Nitocris' son, who inherited the name of his father Labynetus and the sovereignty of Assyria. Now when the Great King marches he goes well provided with food and flocks from home; and water from the Choaspes which flows past Susa is carried with him, whereof alone, and of none other, the king drinks. This water of the Choaspes\(^1\) is boiled, and very many four wheeled waggons drawn by mules carry it in silver vessels, following the king whithersoever he goes at any time.

189. When Cyrus on his way to Babylon came

\(^1\) Modern Kerkha.
Βαβυλώνα ἔγινετο ἐπὶ Γύνδη ποταμῷ, τοῦ αἱ μὲν πηγαὶ ἐν Ματηνοῦσὶ ὀρεσὶ, ρέει δὲ διὰ Δαρδανέων, ἐκδίδοι δὲ ἐς ἑτερον ποταμῷ Τύγρην, ὃ δὲ παρὰ Ὄμπιν πόλιν ῥέων ἐς τὴν Ἑρυθρὴν θάλασσαν ἐκδίδοι, τοῦτον δὴ τὸν Γύνδην ποταμὸν ὡς διαβαίνειν ἐπειρᾶτο ὁ Κύρος ἑοντα νυστιπέρητον, ἐνθαύτα ὁ τῶν τις ἱρῶν ἰππῶν τῶν λευκῶν ὑπὸ ὑβρίος ἐσβᾶς ἐς τὸν ποταμὸν διαβαίνειν ἐπειρᾶτο, ὁ δὲ μιν συμψήσας ὑποβρύχιον οἰχώκεε φέρων. κάρτα τε δὴ ἐχαλέπαινε τὸν ποταμὸν ὁ Κύρος τοῦτο ὑβρίσαντι, καὶ οἱ ἐπηπείλξεσθε οὕτω δὴ μιν ἄσθενεα ποιήσειν ὡστε τοῦ λοιποῦ καὶ γυναῖκας μιν εὐπετέως τὸ ῥόμνο οὐ βρεχοῦσας διαβῆσθαι. μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἀπείλην μετεῖς τὴν ἐπὶ Βαβυλὼνα στράτευσιν διψαίρε τῆς στρατιᾶς δίκα, διελῶν δὲ κατέτεινε σχοινωτενέσας ὑποδέξας διώρυχας ὑγδώκοντα καὶ ἕκατον παρ’ ἑκάτερον τὸ χεῖλος τοῦ Γύνδεω τετραμμένας πάντα τρόποιν, διατάξας δὲ τὸν στρατὸν ὀρύσσειν ἐκέλευς. οὐα δὲ ομίλου πολλοῦ ἔργαζομένου ἑκετο μὲν τὸ ἔργον, ἰμως μέντοι τὴν θερείῃν πᾶσαν αὐτοῦ ταύτης διετρυφαν ἔργαζόμενοι.

190. Ὑς δὲ τὸν Γύνδην ποταμὸν ἐτίσατο Κύρος ἐς τριηκοσίας καὶ ἐξῆκοντα διώρυχας μιν διαλαβῶν, καὶ τὸ δεύτερον ἐαρ ὑπέλαμπε, οὕτω δὴ ἥλανε ἐπὶ τὴν Βαβυλὼνα. οἱ δὲ Βαβυλώνοι ἐκστρατευσάμενοι ἔμενον αὐτῶν. ἔπει δὲ ἐγένετο ἐλαύνων ἄγχοι τῆς πόλιος, συνέβαλον τε οἱ Βαβυλώνοι καὶ ἐσσωθέντες τῇ μάχῃ κατειλήθησαν ἐς τὸ ἀστυ. οὐα δὲ ἐξεπιστάμενοι ἔτι πρὸ τοῦ Κύρου οὐκ ἀπεμέιζοντα, ἀλλ’ ὀρέοντες αὐτῶν πάντι ἐδιεὶ ὀμολόγως ἐπιχειρεύοντα,
to the river Gyndes, which rises in the mountains of the Matieni and flows through the Dardanean country into another river, the Tigris, which again passes the city of Opis and issues into the Red Sea—when Cyrus, I say, essayed to cross the Gyndes, it being there navigable, one of his sacred white horses dashed recklessly into the river that he might win through it, but the stream whelmed him and swept him under and away. At this violent deed of the river Cyrus was very wroth, and he threatened it that he would make it so weak that women should ever after cross it easily without wetting their knees. Having so threatened he ceased from his march against Babylon, and dividing his army into two parts he drew lines planning out a hundred and eighty canals running every way from either bank of the Gyndes; then he arrayed his army along the lines and bade them dig. Since a great multitude was at the work it went with all speed; yet they spent the whole summer there before it was finished.

190. Then at the opening of the second spring, when Cyrus had punished the Gyndes by parting it among the three hundred and sixty canals, he marched at last against Babylon. The Babylonians sallied out and awaited him; and when in his march he came near to their city, they joined battle, but they were worsted and driven within the city. There, because they knew already that Cyrus was no man of peace, and saw that he attacked all nations alike, they had

1 Modern Diala.
προεσάξαμεν σιτία ἐτέων κάρτα πολλῶν. ἐνθαῦτα οὐτοὶ μὲν λόγου εἴχον τῆς πολιορκίας οὐδένα, Κύρος δὲ ἀπορίησε ἐνείχετο, ἀλλ᾽ χρόνου τε ἐγγυνομένου συχνοῦ ἀνωτέρω τε οὐδέν τῶν πραγμάτων προκοπτομένων.

191. Εἰτε δὴ ὄν ἄλλος οἱ ἀπορέοντι ὑπεθήκατο, εἴτε καὶ αὐτὸς ἐμαθεὶ τὸ ποιητέον οἳ ἦν, ἔποιε ὄν τοιοῦδε. τάξας τὴν στρατιὰν ἀπασάν ἐξ ἐμβολῆς τοῦ ποταμοῦ, τῇ ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἐσβάλλει, καὶ ὅπως αὕτις τῆς πόλιος τάξας ἔτερος, τῇ ἐξει ἐκ τῆς πόλιος ὁ ποταμὸς, προεῖπε τῷ στρατῷ, ὅταν διαβατὸν τὸ ῥέθρον ἰδονταῖ γενόμενον, ἐσιέναι ταῦτῃ ἐς τὴν πόλιν. οὗτο τε δὴ τάξας καὶ κατὰ ταῦτα παραινέσας ἀπῆλανεν αὐτὸς σὺν τῷ ἀχρήσι τοῦ στρατοῦ. ἀπικόμενος δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν λίμνην, τὰ περ ἡ τῶν βαβυλωνίων βασίλεια ἐποίησε κατὰ τε τῶν ποταμῶν καὶ κατὰ τὴν λίμνην, ἔποιε καὶ ὁ Κύρος ἑτέρα τοιαῦτα. τὸ γὰρ ποταμὸν διώρυχον ἐσαγαγὼν ἐς τὴν λίμνην ἐσόσαν ἔλος, τὸ ἀρχαῖον ῥέθρον διαβατὸν εἶναι ἐποίησε, ὑπονοστήσαντος τοῦ ποταμοῦ. γενομένου δὲ τούτῳ τοιοῦτο, οἱ Πέρσαι οἳ περ ἐτετάχατο ἐπὶ αὐτῶ τοῦτο κατὰ τὸ ῥέθρον τοῦ Ἑὐφρήτεω ποταμοῦ ὑπονεστηκότοι ἀνδρὶ ὡς ἐς μέσον μηρὸν μάλιστα κη, κατὰ τοῦτο ἐσόμισαν ἐς τὴν βαβυλῶνα. εἰ μὲν νῦν προεπύθοντο ἢ ἐμαθοῦν οἱ βαβυλώνιοι τὸ ἐκ τοῦ Κύρου ποιεμένον, οἳ δὲ ἀν περιῳδόντες τοὺς Πέρσας ἐσελθέν ἐς τὴν πόλιν διέφθειραν ἄν κάκιστα, κατακλησαντες γὰρ ἂν πάσας τὰς ἐς τῶν ποταμῶν πυλίδας ἐγχύσας καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐπὶ τὰς αἵμασιας ἀναβάντες τὰς παρὰ τὰ χείλεα τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἐκλαμάμενας, ἐλα-
BOOK I. 190–191

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

191. Whether, then, someone advised him in his difficulty, or he perceived for himself what to do, I know not, but this he did: he posted his army at the place where the river enters the city, and another part of it where the stream issues from the city, and bade his men enter the city by the channel of the Euphrates when they should see it to be fordable. Having so arrayed them and given this command, he himself marched away with those of his army who could not fight; and when he came to the lake, Cyrus dealt with it and with the river just as had the Babylonian queen: drawing off the river by a canal into the lake, which was till now a marsh, he made the stream to sink till its former channel could be forded.

When this happened, the Persians who were posted with this intent made their way into Babylon by the channel of the Euphrates, which had now sunk about to the height of the middle of a man's thigh. Now if the Babylonians had known beforehand or learnt what Cyrus was planning, they would have suffered the Persians to enter the city and brought them to a miserable end; for then they would have shut all the gates that opened on the river and themselves mounted up on to the walls that ran along the river
HERODOTUS

βον δὲν σφέας ὡς ἐν κύρτῃ. νῦν δὲ εἶ ἀπροσδοκίστου σφὶ παρέστησαν οἱ Πέρσαι. ὑπὸ δὲ μεγάθεος τῆς πόλιος, ὡς λέγεται ὑπὸ τῶν ταύτῃ ὀικημένων, τῶν περὶ τὰ ἐσχάτα τῆς πόλιος ἐαλωκότων τοὺς τὸ μέσον οἰκέωνται τῶν Βα-
βυλωνίων οὐ μανθάνειν ἐαλωκότας, ἀλλὰ τυχεῖν γὰρ σφὶ ἔοισαν ὀρτῆν, χορεύειν τε τούτον τὸν χρόνον καὶ ἐν εὐπαθείᾳ εἶναι, ἐς ὁ δὴ καὶ τὸ κύρτα ἐπύθοντο.

192. Καὶ Βαβυλὼν μὲν οὖτω τότε πρὸτον ἀραίρητο. τὴν δὲ δύναμιν τῶν Βαβυλωνίων πολ-
λοίσι μὲν καὶ ἄλλοισι δηλώσω ὡς τίς ἐστί, ἐν δὲ δὴ καὶ τῶδε. βασιλεῖ τῷ μεγάλῳ ἐς τροφήν
αὐτοῦ τε καὶ τῆς στρατιᾶς διαραίηται, πάρεξ τοῦ
φόρου, γῆ πᾶσα ὡς ἄρχειν δυσδέκα ὥς μηνὶν ἐῶντων ἐς τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν τοὺς τέσσερας μῆνας
τρέφει μιν ἡ Βαβυλωνίη χώρη, τοὺς δὲ ὀκτὼ τῶν
μηνῶν ἡ λοιπὴ πᾶσα Ἀσίη. οὖτω τριτημορίῃ
ἡ Ἀσσυρίη χώρη τῇ δυνάμι τῆς ἀλλής Ἀσίης.
καὶ ἡ ἄρχῃ τῆς χώρης ταύτης, τὴν οἱ Πέρσαι
σατραπῆσι καλέουσι, ἐστὶ ἄπασεῖν τῶν ἄρχεων
πολλῶν τὶ κρατῖστη, ὅκου τριτανταίχη 
Ἀρταβάζου ἐκ βασιλέως ἔχοντι τῶν νομῶν τοῦτων
ἀργυρίων μὲν προσῆ ἐκάστης ἡμέρης ἀρτάβη
μεστή. ἡ δὲ ἀρτάβη, μέτρου ἐδὲν Περσικῶν,
χωρεῖν μεθύμνου Ἀττικοῦ πλέον χοίνιξε τρισὶ
Ἀττικῆς. ἔποιο δὲ οἱ αὐτοῦ ὄσαν ἰδίῃ, πάρεξ
τῶν πολεμιστηρίων, οἱ μὲν ἀναβαίνοντες τὰς
θηλέας ὁκτάκοσιοι, οἱ δὲ βαινόμεναι ἐξακισχίλαι
cαὶ μύριαν ἀνέβαινε γὰρ ἐκαστος τῶν ἔρεινον
tούτων εἰκοσὶ ἔπους. κυνῶν δὲ Ἰνδικῶν τοσοῦτο

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banks, and so caught their enemies as in a trap. But as it was, the Persians were upon them unawares, and by reason of the great size of the city—so say those who dwell there—those in the outer parts of it were overcome, yet the dwellers in the middle part knew nothing of it; all this time they were dancing and making merry at a festival which chanced to be toward, till they learnt the truth but too well.

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

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1 The Attic medimnus = about 12 gallons; it contained 48 xoivines.
δὴ τι πλῆθος ἐτρέφετο ὡστε τέσσερες τῶν ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ κῶμαι μεγάλαι, τῶν ἄλλων έούσαι ἀτελεῖς, τοῖς κυσὶ προσετετάχατο σιτία παρέχειν. τοι-άυτα μὲν τῷ ἀρχοντὶ τῆς Βαβυλώνος ἐπήρχε ἑόντα.

193. Ἡ δὲ γῆ τῶν 'Ασσυρίων ἡταί μὲν ὀλίγως, καὶ τὸ ἐκτρέφου τὴν ῥίζαν τοῦ σίτου ἐστὶ τοῦτο ἀρδόμενον μέντοι ἐκ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἀδρύνεται τε τὸ λήμιον καὶ παραγίνεται ὁ σῖτος, οὐ κατὰ περ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ αὐτοῦ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἀναβαίνοντος ἐστὶς ἀρούρας, ἀλλὰ χερσὶ τε καὶ κηλωνηίσι χρόνος. ἡ γὰρ Βαβυλωνία χώρῃ πᾶσα, κατὰ περ ἡ Αἰγυπτία, κατατέθηκαί ἐστὶ διώρυχας καὶ ἡ μεγίστη τῶν διωρύχων ἐστὶ νησιτερίτως, πρὸς ἦλιον τετραμμένη τὸν χειμερινόν, ἐσέχει δὲ ἐς ἅλλον ποταμὸν ἐκ τοῦ Εὐφρήτου, ἐς τὸν Τίγρην, παρ’ ὑμὶν Νίνος πόλις οὐκέτο. ἐστὶ δὲ χωρέων αὕτη πασέως μακρὰ ἀρίστη τῶν ἡμεῖς ἵδειν Δῆμητρος καρπὸν ἐκφέρειν... 1 τὰ γὰρ ἅλλα δένδρα οὔδε πειρᾶται ἀρχὴν φέρειν, οὔτε συκένων οὔτε ἀμπελοῦν οὔτε ἑλαῖν. τῶν δὲ τῆς Δῆμητρος καρπὸν ὁδὲ ἀγαθὴ ἐκφέρειν ἐστὶ οὕστε ἐπὶ διη-κόσια μὲν τὸ παράπαν ἀποδίδοι, ἐπειδὰν δὲ ἀριστα ἀὕτη ἑωτύθης ἐνείκη, ἐπὶ τριηκόσια ἐκφέρει. τὰ δὲ φύλλα αὐτόθι τῶν τε πυρῶν καὶ τῶν κριθέων τὸ πλάτος γίνεται τεσσάρως εὐπετέως δακτύλων. ἐκ δὲ κένχρου καὶ σησάμου ὁσον τι δένδρον μέγα-θος γίνεται, ἐξεπιστάμενος μνήμην οὐ ποιήσομαι, εὐ εἰδῶς ὅτι τοῖς μὴ ἀπτιγμένοις ἐς τὴν Βαβυ-λωνίαν χώρην καὶ τὰ εἰρημένα καρπῶν ἐχόμενα

1 Stein marks a lacuna after this word, the meaning of τὰ ἅλλα δένδρα not being quite clear.
that four great villages of the plain were appointed to provide food for the dogs and eased from all other burdens. Such were the riches of the governor of Babylon.

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

¹ That is, by the "shadoof," a familiar object to travellers on the Nile; a lever with a bucket attached, revolving on a post.
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ες ἀπιστήν πολλὴν ἀπίκται. χρέωνται δὲ οὐδὲν ἐλαίῳ ἂλλ᾽ ἢ ἐκ τῶν σησάμων ποιεῦντες. εἰσὶ δὲ σφὶ φοινίκες πεφυκότες ἀνὰ πάν τὸ πεδίον, οἱ πλεύνες αὐτῶν καρποφόροι, ἐκ τῶν καὶ σιτία καὶ ὀίνου καὶ μέλι ποιεῦνται τοὺς συκέων τρόπον ϑεραπεύουσι τά τε ἄλλα καὶ φοινίκων τοὺς ἔρσενας "Ελληνες καλέουσι, τούτων τῶν καρπῶν περιδέουσι γῇ βαλανηφόροις τῶν φοινίκων, ἵνα πεπαίνῃ τε σφὶ ὁ ψῆν τὴν βάλανον ἐσδύνων καὶ μὴ ἀπορρέῃ ὁ καρπὸς τοῦ φοινίκος. Ψῆνας γὰρ δὴ φέρουσι εν τῷ καρπῷ οἱ ἔρσενες κατὰ περ δὴ οἱ ὀλυνθοὶ.

194. Τὸ δὲ ἀπάντων θῶμα μέγιστὸν μοι ἐστὶ τῶν ταύτη μετά γε αὐτὴν τὴν πόλιν, ἔρχομαι φράσων. τὰ πλοῖα αὐτοῖς ἐστὶ τὰ κατὰ τὸν ποταμὸν πορευόμενα ἐς τὴν Δικτίαν, ἐόντα κυκλοτερέα, πάντα σκύτων, ἐπεάν γὰρ ἐν τοῖς Ἀρμενίοις τοῖς κατύπερθε Ἀσσυρίων οἰκήμενοι νομέας ἱτέρης ταμομένοι ποιήσωσίνας περιτείνουσι τούτοις διῳδότως στεγαστρίδας ἐξωθεὶν ἐδάφεος τρόπον, οὔτε πρώην ἀποκρίνοντες οὔτε πρώην συναγωντες, ἀλλ᾽ ἀποθέος τρόπον κυκλοτερέα ποιῆσαντες καὶ καλάμης πλήσαντες παῖν τὸ πλοῖον τοῦτο ἀπίεισι κατὰ τὸν ποταμὸν φέρεσθαι, φορτίων πλήσαντες μάλιστα δὲ βίκους φοινικήσις κατάγουσι οἶνου πλέον. Ιθύνεται δὲ ὑπὸ τε δύο πλήκτρων καὶ δύο ἀνδρῶν ὀρθῶν ἐστεώτων, καὶ ὁ μὲν ἔσω ἔλκει τὸ πλήκτρον ὅ δὲ ἐξω ὀθέει. ποιεῖται δὲ καὶ κάρτα μεγάλα ταύτα τὰ πλοῖα καὶ ἐλάσσω τὰ δὲ μέγιστα αὐτῶν καὶ πεντακισχιλίων ταλάντων γόμον ἔχει. ἐν ἕκάστῳ δὲ πλοίῳ ὄνος ξώς ἑνεστὶ, ἐν δὲ τοῖς μέξοι
Babylonia. They use no oil save what they make from sesame.\(^1\) There are palm trees there growing all over the plain, most of them yielding fruit, from which food is made and wine and honey. The Assyrians tend these like figs, and chiefly in this respect, that they tie the fruit of the palm called male by the Greeks to the date-bearing palm, that so the gall-fly may enter the dates and cause them to ripen, and that the fruit of the palm may not fall; for the male palms, like unripened figs, have gall-flies in their fruit.

194. I will now show what seems to me to be the most marvellous thing in the country, next to the city itself. Their boats which ply on the river and go to Babylon are all of skins, and round. They make these in Armenia, higher up the stream than Assyria. First they cut frames of willow, then they stretch hides over these for a covering, making as it were a hold; they neither broaden the stern nor narrow the prow, but the boat is round, like a shield. They then fill it with reeds and send it floating down the river with a cargo; and it is for the most part palm wood casks of wine that they carry down. Two men standing upright steer the boat, each with a paddle, one drawing it to him, the other thrusting it from him. These boats are of all sizes, some small, some very great; the greatest of them are even of five thousand talents\(^2\) burden. There is a live ass in each boat, or

\(^1\) Sesame-oil or “Benre-oil” is still in common use in the East.

\(^2\) The Attic talent = about 58 lbs. avoirdupois; the Aeginetan = about 82.
πλεύνες. ἔπεαν δὴ ἀπίκωνται πλέοντες ἐς τὴν Βαβυλώνα καὶ διαθέωνται τὸν φόρτον, νομεὰς μὲν τοῦ πλοίου καὶ τὴν καλὰμην πᾶσαν ἀπ’ ὅν ἐκήρυξαν, τὰς δὲ διφθέρας ἐπισάξαντες ἐπὶ τοὺς οὖνος ἀπελαύνονσι ἐς τοὺς Ἀρμεῖον. ἀνὰ τὸν ποταμὸν γὰρ δὴ οὐκ οἶδα τε ἐστὶ πλεέων οὐδὲν τρόπῳ ὑπὸ τάχεος τοῦ ποταμοῦ· διὰ γὰρ ταῦτα καὶ οὖν ἐκ ξύλων ποιεῦνται τὰ πλοῖα ἀλλ’ ἐκ διφθερέων. ἐπεαν δὲ τοὺς οὖνος ἐλαιόνωτες ἀπικωνταί ὁπίσω ἐς τοὺς Ἀρμεῖον, ἀλλὰ τρόπῳ τῷ αὐτῷ ποιεῦνται πλοῖα.

195. Τὰ μὲν δὴ πλοῖα αὐτοῖσι ἐστὶ τοιαῦτα· ἐσθῆτι δὲ τοιῆδε χρέωνται, κιθώνι ποδηνεκέν λινέοι, καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦτον ἄλλον εἰρίνεον κιθώνα ἐπειδύνει καὶ χλανίδιον λευκὸν περιβαλλόμενος, ὑποδήματα ἔχων ἑπιχώρία, παραπλήσια τῇ Βωιστίσῃ ἐμβάσι. κομῶντες δὲ τὰς κεφαλὰς μύτρησι ἀναδέουνται, μεμυρισμένοι πάν τὸ σῶμα. σφρηγίδα δὲ ἐκαστὸς ἔχει καὶ σκῆπτρον χειροποίητῳ· ἐπ’ ἐκάστῳ δὲ σκῆπτρῳ ἔπεστι πεποιημένον ἡ μῆλον ἡ ρόδον ἡ κρίνον ἡ αἰετὸς ἡ ἀλλ’ τιν ἄνεν γὰρ ἐπισήμου οὐ σφι νόμος ἐστὶ ἔχειν σκῆπτρον.

196. Αὐτὴ μὲν δὴ σφι ἄρτισις περὶ τὸ σῶμα ἐστὶ· νόμοι δὲ αὐτοῖσι ὃδε κατεστᾶσι, οὶ μὲν σοφώτατος ὅδε κατὰ γνώμην τὴν ἡμετέρην, τὸ καὶ Ἰλλυρίων Ἐνετοὺς πυθανόμαι χρᾶσθαι. κατὰ κώμας ἐκάστας ἀπαξ τοῦ ἔτεος ἐκάστου ἐποίεοτο τάδε· ὅς ἄν αἱ παρθένοι γενοίατο γάμων ὡραίαι, ταῦτα ὠκῶς συναγάγοιεν πάσας, ἐς ἐν χωρίον ἐσάγεσκοιν ἄλεας, πέριξ δὲ αὐτὰς ἱστατο ὀμίλος ἀνδρῶν, ἀνιστὰς δὲ κατὰ μίαν ἐκάστην
more than one in the larger. So when they have floated down to Babylon and disposed of their cargo, they sell the framework of the boat and all the reeds; the hides are set on the backs of asses, which are then driven back to Armenia, for it is not by any means possible to go up stream by water, by reason of the swiftness of the current; it is for this reason that they make their boats of hides and not of wood. When they have driven their asses back into Armenia they make more boats in the same way.

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

196. Such is the equipment of their persons. I will now speak of their established customs. The wisest of these, in my judgment, is one which as I have heard is also a custom of the Eneti in Illyria. It is this: once a year in every village all the maidens as they came to marriageable age were collected and brought together into one place, with a crowd of men standing round. Then a crier would display and offer them for sale one by one, first
κήρυξ πωλέσκε, πρῶτα μὲν τὴν εὐειδεστάτην ἐκ πασέων· μετὰ δὲ, ὅκως αὐτὴ εὐροῦσα πολλοὺν χρυσίων πρηθείη, ἀλλὴν ἀν ἐκήρυσσε ἢ μετ’ ἐκείνην ἔσκε εὐειδεστάτην ἐπωλέσων δὲ ἐπὶ συνοικίσαι. Ὡσοὶ μὲν δὴ ἔσκοι ευδαίμονες τῶν Βαβυλωνίων ἐπίγαμοι, ὑπερβάλλοντες ἀλλήλους ἐξωνέοντο τὰς καλλιστευούσας· Ὡσοὶ δὲ τοῦ δῆμου ἔσκοι ἐπίγαμοι, οὕτοι δὲ εἰδοὶ μὲν οὐδὲν ἐδέοντο χρηστοὶ, οἳ δ’ ἀν χρήματα τε καὶ αἰσχίνας παρθένους ἐλάμβανον, ὡς γὰρ δὴ διεξέλθοι ὁ κήρυξ πωλέοις τὰς εὐειδεστάτας τῶν παρθένων, ἀνίστη ἂν τὴν ἀμορφεστάτην, ἢ εἰ τις αὐτέων ἐμπήρος εἴη, καὶ ταύτῃ ἂν ἐκήρυσσε, ὡστὶς θέλοι ἐλάχιστον χρυσίον λαβῶν συνοικεύειν αὐτῇ, ἐς ὅ τὸ τὸ ἐλάχιστον ὑπεσταμένῳ προσέκειτο. τὸ δὲ ἂν χρυσίον ἐγίνετο ἀπὸ τῶν εὐειδέων παρθένων καὶ οὔτω αἱ εὐμορφοὶ τὰς ἀμορφοὺς καὶ ἐμπήρους ἐξεδίδοσαν. ἐκδοῦναι δὲ τὴν ἐωτοῦ θυγατέρα ὅτε οὐ βούλοιτο ἐκαστὸς οὐκ ἐξήν, οὔτε ἂνεν ἐγγυητέω ἀπάγεσθαι τὴν παρθένον πριώμενον, ἀλλ’ ἐγγυητάς χρῆνα καταστήσας τῇ μὲν συνοικήσειν αὐτῇ, οὔτω ἀπάγεσθαι. εἰ δὲ μὴ συμφερόιατο, ἀποφέρει τὸ χρυσίον ἐκείτο νόμος. ἐξῆν δὲ καὶ ἔξ ἄλλης ἔλθοντα κόμης τοῦ βουλομένου ὁμοεσθαί. οὗ μὲν νυν κάλλιστος νόμος οὔτος σφι ἢν, οὐ μέντοι νῦν γε διατελεῖ ἐών, ἄλλο δὲ τί ἐξευρή-κασι νεωστὶ γενέσθαι [ὢνα μὴ ἀδικοὶ εἰν αὐτὰς μηδ’ εἰς ἑτέραν πόλιν ἀγωνταί]. ἐπείτη γὰρ ἐλόυτε ἐκακώθησαν καὶ οἰκοφθορήθησαν, πᾶς τις τοῦ δή-μου βίου σπανίζον καταπορνεύει τὰ θήλεα τέκνα.

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

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the fairest of all; and then when she had fetched a great price he put up for sale the next comeliest, selling all the maidens as lawful wives. Rich men of Assyria who desired to marry would outbid each other for the fairest; the commonalty, who desired to marry and cared nothing for beauty, could take the ill-favoured damsels and money therewith; for when the crier had sold all the comeliest, he would put up her that was least beautiful, or crippled, and offer her to whosoever would take her to wife for the least sum, till she fell to him who promised to accept least; the money came from the sale of the comely damsels, and so they paid the dowry of the ill-favoured and the cripples. But a man might not give his daughter in marriage to whomsoever he would, nor might he that bought the girl take her away without giving security that he would indeed make her his wife. And if the two could not agree, it was a law that the money be returned. Men might also come from other villages to buy if they so desired. This then was their best custom; but it does not continue at this time; they have invented a new one lately [that the woman might not be wronged or taken to another city]; since the conquest of Babylon made them afflicted and poor, everyone of the commonalty that lacks a livelihood makes prostitutes of his daughters.
197. Δεύτερος δὲ σοφή ὦδε ἄλλος σφι νόμος κατέστηκε τοὺς κάμνοντας ἐς τὴν ἀγορὴν ἐκφορέ-ουσι: οὐ γὰρ δὴ χρέωνται ἤτροφοι. προσέντες δὲν πρὸς τὸν κάμνοντα συμβουλέυουσι περὶ τῆς νούσου, εἴ τις καὶ αὐτὸς τοιοῦτο ἔπαθε ὁκοίοι ἃν ἔχῃ ὁ κάμνων ἢ ἄλλον εἰδε παθόντα, ταῦτα προσ-έντες συμβουλέυουσι καὶ παραίνεοσι ἀσά αὐτὸς ποιήσας ἔξεφυγε ὁμοίη νούσου ἢ ἄλλον εἰδε ἐκφυγόντα. συγὴ δὲ παρεξελθεῖν τὸν κά-μνοντα οὐ σφι ἐξεστι, πρὸν ἂν ἐπειρήται ἢντια νούσου ἐχει.

198. Γαφαὶ δὲ σφι ἐν μέλιτι, θρήνοι δὲ παρα-πλήσιοι τοῖς ἐν Ἀιγύπτῳ. ὀσάκις δὲν μιχθὴ γυναίκι τῇ ἐσωτερικῇ ἀνὴρ Βασιλικῆς, περὶ θημί-ημα καταγίζουν ὧξε, ἐτέρωθε δὲ ἢ γυνὴ τὸντι τοῦτο ποιέει, ὀρθον δὲ γενομένου λοῦται καὶ ἀμφότεροι: ἅγγεσι γὰρ οὐδενὸς ἄφωνται πρὸν ἀν λούσωνται. ταῦτα δὲ ταῦτα καὶ Ἀράβιοι ποιεῦσι.

199. Ὅ δὲ δὴ αἰσχίστος τῶν νόμων ἐστὶ τοῖς Βασιλικῶιοις ὀδη δει πᾶσαν γυναίκα ἐπιχωρίην ἐξομένην ἐς ἕρων Ἀφροδίτης ἀπαξ ἐν τῇ ξύῃ μιχθήμα ἀνδρὶ ξείῳ. πολλαὶ δὲ καὶ οὐκ ἄξιευ-μεναι ἀναμισγεῖται τῇ ἕλλης, οἷα πλοῦτῳ ὑπερφυγόνουσι, ἐπὶ ξευγέων ἐν καμάρῃ ἐλά-σασαι πρὸς τὸ ἑρᾶν ἑστᾶσιν θεραπὴν δὲ σφι ὁπίσθε ἐπεταὶ πολλῆ. αἱ δὲ πλεύνας ποιεὺσι ὑδε: ἐν τεμένει Ἀφροδίτης κατέσται στέφανον περὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς ἔχουσαι θώμαγγος πολλαὶ γυναι-κες: αἱ μὲν γὰρ προσέρχονται, αἱ δὲ ἀπέρχονται.

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

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

199. The foulest Babylonian custom is that which compels every woman of the land once in her life to sit in the temple of Aphrodite and have intercourse with some stranger. Many women who are rich and proud and disdain to consort with the rest, drive to the temple in covered carriages drawn by teams, and there stand with a great retinue of attendants. But most sit down in the sacred plot of Aphrodite, with crowns of cord on their heads; there is a great multitude of women coming and going; passages marked by line run every way through the crowd, by which the stranger men pass and make their choice.
σχοινοτενέες δὲ διεξοδοὶ πάντα τρόπον ὁδὸν ἔχουσι διὰ τῶν γυναικῶν, δι’ ὅν οἱ ξεῖνοι διεξι-ούτες ἐκλέγονται. ἕνθα ἐπεάν ἦσθαι γυνὴ, οὐ πρό-τερον ἀπαλλάσσεται ἐς τὰ οἰκία ἡ τὰς οἱ ξεῖνων ἀργύριον ἐμβαλὼν ἐς τὰ γούνατα μικρῆ ἐξω τοῦ ἱροῦ. ἐμβαλόντα δὲ δεὶ εἰπεῖν τοσὸν ὑπὶ καλέω τοῦ τὴν θεὸν Μύλιττα” Μύλιττα δὲ καλέουσι τὴν Ἀφροδίτην Ἀσσύριον. τὸ δὲ ἀργύ-ριον μέγαθος ἐστὶ ὅσον ὅν, οὐ γὰρ μὴ ἀπώσηται-ν αὐτῷ ὅσις ἐστὶ γίνεται γὰρ ἱρὸν τούτο τὸ ἀργύριον. τῷ δὲ πρῶτῳ ἐμβαλόντι ἐπεται οὐδὲ ἀποδοκιμὰ οὐδένα. ἐπεάν δὲ μιχθῆ, ἀποσιωσα-μένη τῇ θεῷ ἀπαλλάσσεται ἐς τὰ οἰκία, καὶ τῶπο- τοῦτο οὐκ οὔτω μέγα τὶ οἱ δώσεις ὅς μὲν λάμ-ψει. ὅσις μὲν νυν εὐδεός τε ἐπαμμέναι εἰς ταῖ καὶ μεγάθεος, ταχὺ ἀπαλλάσσονται, ὅσις δὲ ἀμορφοι αὐτῶιν εἰς ῥοῖν, χρόνου πολλὸν προσμένουσι οὐ δυνάμεναι τὸν νόμον ἐκπληκτὸ-καὶ γὰρ τρίε-τεα καὶ τετραέτεα μετεξέτεραι χρόνου μένουσιν. ἐνιαχῇ δὲ καὶ τῆς Κύπρου ἐστὶ παραπλήσιος τοῦτο νόμος.

200. Νόμοι μὲν δὴ τοῖσι Βαζυλωνίοισι οὗτοι κατεστάσις εἰς ἔν δὲ αὐτῶιν πατριαὶ τρεῖς αὐ οὐδὲν ἄλλο σιτεύουσιν εἰ μὴ ἱχθὺς μοῦνον, τούς ἐπείτε ἂν θηρεύσαντες αὐνήρωσι πρὸς ἡλιοῦ, ποιεῖσθι τάδε ἐσβάλλοσιν ἐς ὅλον καὶ λεγόμενες ὑπέροισι σῶσι διὰ σινδόνος, καὶ ὅς μὲν ἂν βοῦληται αὐτῶιν ἀτε μάξαμα μαξάμενος ἐχει, ὃ δὲ ἄρτον τρόπον ὀπτήσας.

201. Ὀς δὲ τῷ Κύρῳ καὶ τούτῳ τὸ ἔθνος κατέρ-γαστο, ἐπεθύμησε Μάσσαγέταις ὑπ’ ἐωτῷ ποιή-σασθαι. τὸ δὲ ἔθνος τοῦτο καὶ μέγα λέγεται 252
When a woman has once taken her place there she goes not away to her home before some stranger has cast money into her lap and had intercourse with her outside the temple; but while he casts the money, he must say, "I demand thee in the name of Mylitta" (that is the Assyrian name for Aphrodite). It matters not what be the sum of the money; the woman will never refuse, for that were a sin, the money being by this act made sacred. So she follows the first man who casts it and rejects none. After their intercourse she has made herself holy in the goddess's sight and goes away to her home; and thereafter there is no bribe however great that will get her. So then the women that are fair and tall are soon free to depart, but the uncomely have long to wait because they cannot fulfil the law; for some of them remain for three years, or four. There is a custom like to this in some parts of Cyprus.

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

201. When Cyrus had conquered this nation also, he desired to subdue the Massagetae. These are
εἶναι καὶ ἀλκιμὸν, οἰκημένου δὲ πρὸς ἱῶ τε καὶ ἤλιον ἀνατολὰς, πέρην τοῦ Ἀράξεως ποταμοῦ, ἀντίον δὲ Ἰσσηδόνων ἀνδρῶν. εἰσὶ δὲ οἴτινες καὶ Σκυθικὸν λέγουσι τούτο τὸ ἔθνος εἶναι.

202. Ὅ δὲ Ἀράξης λέγεται καὶ μέζων καὶ ἐλάσσων εἶναι τοῦ Ἰστροῦ νῆσους δὲ ἐν αὐτῷ Δέσβῳ μεγάθεα παραπλησίας συχνὰς φασὶ εἶναι, ἐν δὲ αὐτῇ ἀνθρώπους οἱ σιτέονται μὲν ρίζας τὸ θέρος ὀρύσσοντες παντοῖας καρποὺς δὲ ἀπὸ δενδρῶν ἐξευρήμενοι σφί ἐς φορβῆν κατατίθεσθαι φραίους, καὶ τούτους σιτέονται τὴν χειμερινὴν. ἄλλα δὲ σφὶ ἐξευρήθαι δενδρεά καρποὺς τοιούτους τινὰς φέροντα, τοὺς ἑπείτε ἄν ἐς τῶντο συνέλθωσι κατὰ εἶλαι καὶ πῦρ ἀνακαύσωνται κύκλῳ περιηγομένου ἐπιβάλλειν ἐπὶ τὸ πῦρ, ὀσφραινομένους δὲ καταγιζομένου τοῦ καρποῦ τοῦ ἐπιβαλλομένου μεθύσκεσθαι τῇ ὁδηγῇ κατὰ περ Ἑλληνας τῷ οἴνῳ, πλεύνος δὲ ἐπιβαλλομένου τοῦ καρποῦ μάλλον μεθύσκεσθαι, ἐς δὲ ὀρχησίν τε ἀνίστασθαι καὶ ἐς ἀοιδὴν ἀπικνέσθαι. τούτων μὲν αὐτὴ λέγεται διάιτα εἶναι. οὗ δὲ Ἀράξης ποταμὸς ρέει μὲν ἐκ Ματιηνῶν, θεῖον περ ὁ Γύνδης τῶν ἐς τὰς διώρυχας τὰς ἐξήκοντα τε καὶ τριηκοσίας διέλαβε ὁ Κύρος, στόμασι δὲ ἐξερεύνεται τεσσεράκοντα, τῶν τὰ πάντα πλὴν ἑνὸς ἐς ἑλεά τε καὶ τενάγεα ἐκδίδοι. ἐν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις κατοικήσει λέγουσι ἰχθὺς ὀμοίας σιτεομένους, ἐσθήτι δὲ νομίζοντας χρᾶσθαι φῶκας ἀβόμματι. τὸ δὲ ἐν τῶν στομάτων τοῦ Ἀράξεως ρέει διὰ καθαροῦ ἐς τὴν Καστίην θάλασσαν.

203. Ἡ δὲ Καστίη θάλασσα ἐστὶ ἐπτ' ἐωτυθῆς, οὐ συμμίσγουσα τῇ ἐτέρῃ θαλάσσῃ. τὴν μὲν γὰρ
said to be a great people and a mighty, dwelling towards the east and the sunrise, beyond the Araxes and over against the Issedones; and some say that they are a Scythian people.

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

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

The Araxes of this chapter appears to be, from the description of its course, the modern Aras. But the Araxes of ch. 205, separating Cyrus' kingdom from the Massagetae, must be either the Oxus (Jihon) or Jaxartes (Sihan), both of which now flow into the Aral Sea. For a full discussion of the question the reader is referred to Essay IX. in the Appendix to Book I. of Rawlinson's Herodotus.
"Ἐλληνες ναυτίλλονται πᾶσα καὶ ἡ ἐξω στηλέων θᾶλασσα ἡ Ἀτλαντὶς καλεομένη καὶ ἡ Ἐρυθρῇ μᾶ ἐνυσα τυγχάνει: ἡ δὲ Κασπίη ἐστὶ ἑτέρῃ ἐπ᾽ ἐωτῆς, ἐνυσα μῆκος μὲν πλοῦν εἰρεσίη χρεωμένῳ πεντεκαίδεκα ἦμερέων, εὐρὸς δὲ, τῇ εὐρυτάτῃ ἐστὶ αὐτῇ ἐωτῆς, ὁκτὼ ἦμερέων. καὶ τὰ μὲν πρὸς τὴν ἑσπέρην φέροντα τῆς θαλάσσης ταύτης ὁ Καύκασος παρατείνει, ἐδιὸ ὅρεων καὶ πληθεὶ μεγίστον καὶ μεγάθει υψηλότατον. ἔθνεα δὲ ἀνθρώπων πολλὰ καὶ παντοτι ἐν ἐωτῶ ἔχει ὁ Καύκασος, τὰ πολλὰ πάντα ἀπ᾽ ὑλῆς ἄγριης ξώνοντα· ἐν τοίσι καὶ δένδρα πύλλα τοιήσδε ἰδὲς παρεχόμενα εἶναι λέγεται, τὰ τρίβοντάς τε καὶ παραμύσοντας ὑδρὸς ξώα ἐωτοῖσι· ἐς τὴν ἑσθήτα ἐγγράφειν τὰ δὲ ζώα ὁκ ἐκπλύνεσθαι, ἀλλὰ συγκαταγηράσκειν τῷ ἄλλῳ εἰρίῳ κατὰ περ ἐνυφανθέντα ἄρχην. μὲν δὲ τούτων τῶν ἀνθρώπων εἶναι ἐμφανέα κατὰ περ τοῖσι προβάτοισι.

204. Τὰ μὲν δὴ πρὸς ἑσπέρην τῆς θαλάσσης ταύτης τῆς Κασπίης καλεομένης ὁ Καύκασος ἄπεργει, τὰ δὲ πρὸς ἑνὸ τε καὶ ἡλιον ἀνατέλλοντα πεδίον ἐκδέκεται πλῆθος ἀπειρον ἐς ἀποψιν. τοῦ ὅν δὴ πεδίου τούτου τοῦ μεγάλου ὡκ ἐλαχίστην μοίραν μετέχουσι οἱ Μασσαγέται, ἐπὶ οὓς ὁ Κύρως ἐσχε προθυμήσει στρατεύσασθαι. πολλὰ τε γὰρ μιν καὶ μεγάλα τὰ ἐπαείροντα καὶ ἐποτρύνοντα ἦν, πρότον μὲν ἡ γένεσις, τὸ δοκεῖν πλέον τι εἶναι ἀνθρώπου, δεύτερα δὲ ἡ εὐνυχίη ἤ κατὰ τοὺς πολέμους γενομένη ὁκὴ γὰρ ἰδύσει στρατεύεσθαι Κύρος, ἀμήχανον ἦν ἐκεῖνο τὸ ἔθνος διαφυγεῖν.

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

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

205. Now at this time the Massagetae were ruled
Μασσαγετέων βασίλεια: Τόμυρις οί ἦν οὐνομα. ταύτην πέμπτων ὁ Κῦρος ἐμπέθανε τῷ λόγῳ θέλων γυναῖκα ἦν ἔχειν. ἦ δὲ Τόμυρις συνείσα εὐκαίριον ἐν τῇ Μασσαγετέων βασιλείᾳ, ἀπείπατο τῇ πρόσοδοι. Κῦρος δὲ μετὰ τούτο, ὡς οἱ δόλῳ οὐ προεχόμεθα, ἐλάσας ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀράξεα ἐποίεσα ἐκ τοῦ ἐμφανεὸς ἐπὶ τοὺς Μασσαγεταῖς στρατηγίην, γεφύρας τε ξενισμῶν ἐπὶ τοῦ ποταμοῦ διάβασιν τῷ στρατῷ, καὶ πύργους ἐπὶ πλοίων τῶν διαπόρθυμενῶν τὸν ποταμὸν ὁικὸδομεόμενον.

206. Ἐχοντι δὲ οἱ τούτοι τὸν πόλιν πέμψασα ἡ Τόμυρις κήρυκα ἔλεγε τάδε. "Ὡς βασιλεὺς Ἡδων, παῦσαι σπεύδων τὰ σπεύδεις· οὐ γὰρ ἀν εἰδείς εἰ τοι ἐστὶ καὶ πάντως μᾶλλον ἢ δὲ Ἰουκίς εἴναι· σὺ δὴ εἰ μεγάλως προθυμεῖς Μασσαγετέων πείραθηναι, φέρε μόχθον μὲν τὸν ἔχεις ξενισμὸς τὸν ποταμὸν ἄπες, σὺ δὲ ἡμέων ἀναχωρήσαυτοι ἀπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ τρὶῶν ἡμέρων ὅδον διάβανε ἐς τὴν ἡμέτερην· εἰ δὲ ἡμέας βούλεισε ἐσθελαθαι μᾶλλον ἐς τὴν ἡμέτερην, σὺ τῶν τούτων τοιες." ταῦτα δὲ ἀκούσας ὁ Κῦρος συνεκάλεσε Περσέως τοὺς πρώτους, συναγείρας δὲ τούτους ἐς μέσον σφι προετίθεε τὸ πρῆγμα, συμβουλευόμενος ὁκότερα ποιεῖ. τῶν δὲ κατὰ τῶν ἀν αὐτῷ πυθάναι συνεξέπιπτον κελεύοντον ἐσθελαθαί Τόμυριν τε καὶ τὸν στράτον αὐτῆς ἐς τὴν χώρην.
by a queen, called Tomyris, whose husband was dead. Cyrus sent a message with a pretence of wooing her for his wife, but Tomyris would have none of this advance, well understanding that he wooed not her but the kingdom of the Massagetae. So when guile availed him nothing Cyrus marched to the Araxes and openly prepared to attack the Massagetae; he bridged the river that his army might cross, and built towers on the pontoons that should carry his men over.

206. But while he was at this work Tomyris sent a herald to him with this message: “Cease, king of the Medes, from that on which you are intent; for you cannot know if the completion of this work will be for your advantage. Cease, and be king of your own country; and be patient to see us ruling those whom we rule. But if you will not take this counsel, and will do all rather than remain at peace, then if you so greatly desire to essay the strength of the Massagetae, do you quit your present labour of bridging the river, and suffer us to draw off three days' journey from the Araxes; and when that is done, cross into our country. Or if you desire rather to receive us into your country, do you then yourself withdraw as I have said.” Hearing this, Cyrus assembled the chief among the Persians and laid the matter before them, asking them to advise him which he should do. They all spoke to the same purpose, urging him to suffer Tomyris and her army to enter his country.
207. Παρεδών δὲ καὶ μεμφόμενος τῇ γυνώμην παύτην Κροίσος ο Δυδός ἀπεδέικνυτο ἐναυτήν τῇ προκειμένῃ γυνώμη, λέγων τάδε. "Ὡς βασιλεὺς, εἰπον μὲν καὶ πρότερον τοι ὅτι ἐπεῖ με Ζεὺς ἔδωκε τοι, τὸ ἀν ὀρό φᾶλμα ἐνώ οἶκῳ τῷ σῷ, κατὰ δύναμιν ἀποτρέψειν. τὰ δὲ μοι παθήματα ἐόντα ἀχάριτα μαθήματα γέγονε. εἰ μὲν ἀθάνατος δοκεῖς εἰναι καὶ στρατής τοιαύτης ἄρχεις, οὐδὲν ἂν εἰς πρήγμα γυνώμας ἐμὲ σοι ἀποφαίνεσθαι. εἰ δὲ ἐγγύνωκας ὅτι ἀνθρώπος καὶ σὺ εἰς καὶ ἑτέρων τοιῶν ἄρχεις, ἐκεῖνο πρῶτον μάθε, ὡς κύκλος τῶν ἀνθρωπινῶν ἐςτὶ πρηγμάτων, περιφερόμενος δὲ οὐκ ἂν αἰεὶ τοὺς αὐτοὺς εὐνυχεύειν. ἦδη δὲν ἕχω γυνώμην περὶ τοῦ προκειμένου πρήγματος τὰ ἐμπαλιν ἡ οὕτω. εἰ γὰρ ἐθελήσωμεν ἐσδέξασθαι τοὺς πολεμίους ἐς τὴν χώρην, οὐδὲ τοι ἐν αὐτῷ κύνδυνος ἐνι, ἑσσοθεὶς μὲν προσαπολλύεις πᾶσαν τὴν ἄρχήν. δῆλα γὰρ δὴ ὅτι νικῶντες Μασσαγέταις οὐ τὸ ὅπισώ χεύονται ἄλλ', ἐπ' ἄρχας τὰς σὰς ἐλώσι. νικῶν δὲ οὐ νικᾶς τοσοῦτον ὅσον εἰ διαβᾶς ἐς τὴν ἐκείνων, νικῶν Μασσαγέτας, ἔποιε φεύγουσι. τῶντὸ γὰρ ἀντιθήσω ἐκείνω, ὅτι νικήσας τοὺς ἀντισωμένους ἐλὰς ἕθυ τῆς ἄρχης τῆς Τομύριος. χωρὶς τοῦ ἀπηγγημένου αἰσχρόν καὶ οὐκ ἀνασχετὸν Κύρόν γε τὸν Καμβύσεω γυναικὶ εἶχαντα ὑποχωρήσαι τῆς χώρης. νῦν δὲν μοι δοκεῖς διαβάντας προελθεῖν ὅσον ἂν ἐκείνω ὑπεξῆλθο, ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ τάδε ποιεῖται πεισθαὶ εἰκῶν περιγενέσθαι. ὡς γὰρ ἐγὼ πυνθάνομαι, Μασσαγέται εἰσὶ ἄγαθον τε Περσικῶν ἀπειροι καὶ καλῶν μεγάλων ἀπαθεές. τούτοισι
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207. But Croesus the Lydian, who was present, was displeased by their counsel and spoke against it. "Sire," said he, "you have ere now heard from me that since Zeus has given me to you I will to the best of my power turn aside whatever mischance I see threatening your house. And disaster has been my teacher. Now if you deem yourself and the army that you lead to be immortal, it is not for me to give you advice; but if you know that you and those whom you rule are but men, then I must first teach you this: men's fortunes are on a wheel, which in its turning suffers not the same man to prosper for ever. Then, if that be true, I am not of the same mind on the business in hand as these your other counsellors. This is the danger if we agree to suffer the enemy to enter your country: if you lose the battle you lose your empire also, for it is plain that if the Massagetae win they will not retreat back but will march against your provinces. And if you conquer them it is a lesser victory than if you crossed into their country and routed the Massagetae and pursued them; for I balance your chances against theirs, and suppose that when you have worsted your adversaries you will march for the seat of Tomyris' power. And besides what I have shown, it were a thing shameful and not to be borne that Cyrus the son of Cambyses should yield and give ground before a woman. Now therefore it is in my mind that we should cross and go forward as far as they go back, and that then we should endeavour to overcome them by doing as I shall show. As I learn, the Massagetae have no experience of the good things of Persia, nor have they ever fared well in respect of what is greatly desirable. For these men, therefore,
дріси ἀνδράσι τῶν προβάτων ἀφειδέως πολλά κατακόψαντας καὶ σκευάζαντας προθείναι ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ τῷ ἡμετέρῳ δαίτα, πρὸς δὲ καὶ κρητήρας ἀφειδέως οἴνου ἀκρήτου καὶ σιτία παντοῦ ποιήσαντας δὲ ταῦτα, ὑπολογομένους τῆς στρατιάς τὸ φλαυρότατον, τοὺς λοιποὺς αὐτὺς ἐξαναχωρεῖν ἐπὶ τὸν ποταμόν. ἦν γὰρ ἐγὼ γνώμης μὴ ἅμαρτω, κεῖνοι ἰδόμενοι ἀγαθὰ πολλὰ τρέψονται τε πρὸς αὐτὰ καὶ ἡμῖν τὸ ἐνθεῦτεν λείπεται ἀπὸ δεξιῶν ἔργων μεγάλων.

208. Γνώμαι μὲν αὐταὶ συνέστασαν. Κύρος δὲ μετεῖς τὴν προτέρην γνώμην, τὴν Κροίσου δὲ ἐλόμενος, προηγόρευε Τομύρη ἐξαναχωρεῖν ὡς αὐτοῦ διαβησμένου ἐπ’ ἐκείνην. ἦ μὲν δὴ ἐξαιρετός κατὰ ὑπέσχετο πρῶτα: Κύρος δὲ Κροίσου ἐς τὰς χεῖρας ἐσθήεις τῷ ἐνυτῳ παιδὶ Καμβύσῃ, τῷ περὶ τὴν Βασιλῆιν ἐδίδου, καὶ πολλὰ ἐτειλάμενος οἱ τιμῶν τε αὐτοῦ καὶ εὐ ποιεῖν, ἦν ἡ διάβασις ἦ ἐπὶ Μασσαγέτας μὴ ὀρθώθη, ταῦτα ἐντειλάμενος καὶ ἀποστείλας τούτους ἐς Πέρσας, αὐτὸς δὲ βαίνε τὸν ποταμὸν καὶ ὁ στρατὸς αὐτοῦ.

209. Ἡπείτε δὲ ἐπεραιώθη τὸν Ἀράξεα, νυκτὸς ἐπελθούσης εἰς ὁψὶν εὐδῶν ἐν τῶν Μασσαγετέων τῇ χώρᾳ τοιήντε. ἐδόκεε ο Κύρος ἐν τῷ ὑπνῷ ὅραν τῶν Ῥοστάπεος παίδων τῶν πρεσβύτατον ἠχοντα ἐπὶ τῶν ὁμοῖων πτέρυγας καὶ τούτων τῇ μὲν τὴν Ἀσίην τῇ δὲ τὴν Εὐρώπην ἐπισκιάζειν. Ῥοστᾶσπεῖ δὲ τῷ Ἀρσάμεος ἔφυτον ἀνδρὶ Ἀχαιμενίδῃ ἦν τῶν παῖδων Δαρείος πρεσβύτατος, ἐὼν τότε ἥλικίνη ἐς εἰκοσὶ κού μᾶλιςτα ἑτεά, καὶ οὕτος κατελέλειπτο ἐν Πέρσῃς. οὗ γὰρ εἰχὲ καὶ ἥλικίνῃ στρατεύεσθαι. ἐπεὶ δὲν δὴ ἐξηγήρθη ο Κύρος, 262
I counsel you to cut up the flesh of many of your sheep and goats into portions unstintingly, and to cook it and serve it as a feast in our camp, providing many bowls of unmixed wine withal and all manner of food. Then let your army withdraw to the river again, leaving behind that part of it which is of least account. For if I err not in my judgment, when the Massagetae see so many good things they will betake them to feasting thereon; and it will be for us then to achieve mighty deeds."

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

209. Then, being now across the Araxes, he dreamt at night while sleeping in the country of the Massagetae, that he saw the eldest of the sons of Hystaspes wearing wings on his shoulders, the one wing overshadowing Asia and the other Europe. (Hystaspes son of Arsames was an Achaemenid, and Darius was the eldest of his sons, being then about twenty years old; this Darius had been left behind in Persia, being not yet of an age to follow the army.) So when
έδίδον λόγον ἑσυχῇ περὶ τῆς ὁψιος. ὡς δὲ οἱ ἐδόκεε μεγάλη εἶναι ἡ ὁψις, καλέσας Ὀστάσπεα καὶ ἀπολαβὼν μοῦνον εἶπε "Ὅστάσπε, παῖς σος ἐπιβουλεύων εμοὶ τε καὶ τῇ ἐμῇ ἀρχῇ ἐάλωκε. ώς δὲ ταῦτα ἀτρεκέως οἶδα, ἐγὼ σημανέω· ἐμεῦ θεοὶ κηδωνται καὶ μοι πάντα προδεικνύουσι τὰ ἐπιφερόμενα. ἦδη δὴν ἐν τῇ παροιχομενῇ νυκτὶ εὔδων εἶδον τῶν σῶν παιδῶν τὸν πρεσβύτατον ἐχοντα ἐπὶ τῶν ὦμων πτέρυγας καὶ τουτέων τῇ μὲν τῆς Ὀσίμη τῇ δὲ τὴν Ἐὐρόπῃ ἐπισκιάζειν. οὐκών ἔστὶ μιχανῆ ἀπὸ τῆς ὁψιος ταύτης οὐδεμία τὸ μὴ ἐκείνων ἐπιβουλεύειν εμοὶ· σὺ νῦν τὴν παρατηθῆν πορεύον ὁπίσω εἰς Πέροσα καὶ ποιεῖν ὁκώς, ἐπεαὖν ἐγὼ τάδε καταστρεφόμενος ἐλθὼν ἐκεῖ, ὥς μοι καταστήσεις τὸν παιḍὰ ἐς ἐλεγχον.

210. Κύρος μὲν δοκεῖν οἱ Δαρείοι ἐπιβουλεύειν ἐλεγη τάδε· τῷ δὲ ὁ δαίμον προέφαιν ὡς αὐτὸς μὲν τελευτῆσιν αὐτὸ ταύτη μέλλοι, ἡ δὲ βασιλείη αὐτὸν περιχωρέου ές Δαρείοι. ἀμείβεται δὴ δὴν ὁ Ὀστάσπης τοῖσιδε. "Ὤ βασιλεύ, μὴ εἰς ἀνὴρ Πέροσης γεγονῶς ὁστις τοι ἐπιβουλεύσητε, εἰ δ’ ἔστι, ἀπολογοῦ ὡς ἑξιστα. ὃς αὐτὶ μὲν δούλων ἐποίησας ἐλευθέρους Πέροσα εἶναι, ἀντὶ δὲ ἀρχεσθαι ὑπ’ ἄλλων ἀρχον ἀπαντών. εἰ δὲ τίς τοι ὁψις ἀπαγγέλλει παιδὰ τῶν ἐμῶν νεωτερα βουλεύειν περὶ σέο, ἐγὼ τοι παραδίδωμι χράσθαι αὐτῷ τούτῳ ὁ τι σὺ βουλειαι."

211. Ὀστάσπης μὲν τούτῳ ἀμειψάμενος καὶ διαβὰς τὸν Ἀράξεα ἢ ἔς Πέροσας φυλάξων Κύροι τῶν παίδα Δαρείοι, Κύρος δὲ προελθὼν ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀράξεων ἡμέρης ὅδον ἐποίεε κατὰ τὰς Κροίσου ὑποθήκας. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Κύροι τε
Cyrus awoke he considered his vision, and because it seemed to him to be of great import, he sent for Hystaspes and said to him privately, "I find, Hystaspes, that your son is guilty of plotting against me and my sovereignty; and I will tell you how I know this for a certainty. I am a man for whom the gods take thought, and show me beforehand all that is coming. Now this being so, I have seen in a dream in the past night your eldest son with wings on his shoulders, overshadowing Asia with the one and Europe with the other; wherefore it is from this vision most certain that he is plotting against me. Do you therefore go with all speed back to Persia, and so act that when I come thither after subduing this country you shall bring your son before me to be questioned of this."

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

211. Having so answered, Hystaspes returned across the Araxes to Persia to watch Darius for Cyrus; and Cyrus, going forward a day's journey from the Araxes, did according to Croesus' advice. After this Cyrus and the sound part of the Persian
καὶ Περσέων τοῦ καθαροῦ στρατοῦ ἀπελάσαντο ὁπίσω ἔπὶ τὸν 'Αράξεα, λειψάντως δὲ τοῦ ἀχρήσου, ἐπελθοῦσα τῶν Μασσαγετέων τριτημορίς τοῦ στρατοῦ τοὺς τε λειπόντας τῆς Κύρου στρατῆς ἐφόνευε ἄλεξομένους καὶ τὴν προκειμένην ἴδιοντες δαίτα, ὡς ἐχειρώσαντο τοὺς ἑναντίους, κλιθότες ἐδαίνυντο, πληρωθέντες δὲ φορβῆς καὶ οἴνου ήδον. οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι ἐπελθόντες πολλοὺς μὲν σφέων ἐφόνευσαν, πολλῷ δὲ ἔτι πλεῦνας ἔξωγρησαν καὶ ἄλλους καὶ τὸν τῆς βασιλείας Τομύριος παίδα στρατηγέοντα Μασσαγετέων, τῷ οὖνομα ἦν Σπαργαπίς.

212. "Η δὲ πυθομίνη τά τε περὶ τὴν στρατῆν γεγονότα καὶ τά περὶ τὸν παῖδα, πέμπουσα κύρικα παρὰ Κύρου ἐλεγε τάδε. "Απληστε αἴματος Κῦρε, μηδὲν ἐπαερθῆς τῷ γεγονότι τῶδε πρήγματι, εἰ ἀμπελίνῳ καρπῷ, τῷ περ αὐτοῦ ἐμπιπλάμενοι μαίνεσθε οὔτω ώστε κατιόντος τοῦ οὐνοῦ ἐς τὸ σώμα ἐπαναπλέειν ὑμῖν ἐπεα κακά, τοιοῦτῳ φαρμάκῳ δολώσας ἐκράτησας παιδὸς τοῦ ἐμοῦ, ἀλλ' οὔ μάχη κατὰ τὸ καρτερὸν. νῦν ὁν μεν εὐ παραινεούσης ὑπολαβεῖ τοὺς λόγους ἄποδους μοι τὸν παῖδα ἀπιθὲ ἐκ τῆς τῆς χώρης χαλκοῦ, Μασσαγετέων τριτημορίδι τοῦ στρατοῦ κατυβρίσας. εἰ δὲ ταῦτα οὐ ποιήσεις, ἥλιον ἐπόμνυμι τοῖς τῶν Μασσαγετέων δεσπότην, ἥ μὲν σε ἐγὼ καὶ ἀπληστὸν ἐόντα αἵματος κορέσω."
army marched away back to the Araxes, leaving behind those that were useless; whereupon a third part of the host of the Massagetae attacked those of the army who were left behind and slew them despite resistance; then, seeing the banquet spread, when they had overcome their enemies they sat down and feasted, and after they had taken their fill of food and wine they fell asleep. Then the Persians came upon them and slew many and took many more alive, among whom was the son of Tomyris the queen, Spargapises by name, the leader of the Massagetae.

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

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

214. Καὶ δὴ οὕτως μὲν τρόπῳ τοιούτῳ τελευτᾷ: Τόμυρις δέ, ὡς οἱ Κύρος οὐκ ἐσήκουσε, συνλέξασα πάσαν τὴν ἐωτῆς ὅψαμιν συνέβαλε Κύρω. ταὐτὴν τὴν μάχην, ὅσαι δὴ βαρβάρων ἀνδρῶν μάχαι ἑγένοντο, κρίνω ἵσχυροτάτην γενέσθαι, καὶ δὴ καὶ πυνθάνομαι οὕτω τούτω γενόμενω. πρῶτα μὲν γὰρ λέγεται αὐτοὺς διαστάντας ἐς ἀλλήλους τοξεύειν, μετὰ δὲ ὡς σφί τὰ βέλεα ἐξετέτοξευτο, συμπεσόντας τῆς αἰχμῆτι τε καὶ τοῖς ἐγχειριδιοίς συνέχεσθαι. χρόνον τε δὴ ἐπὶ πολλὸν συνεστάναι μαχομένους καὶ οὐδετέρους ἐθέλειν φεύγειν. τέλος δὲ οἱ Μασσαγέται περιεγένοντο. ἢ τε δὴ πολλὴ τῆς Περσικῆς στρατιῶς αὐτοῦ ταύτης διεφθάρη καὶ δὴ καὶ αὐτὸς Κύρος τελευτᾷ, βασιλεύσας τὰ πάντα ἐνὸς δέοντα τριήκοντα ἔτεα. ἀσκὸν δὲ πλήσασα αἴματος ἀνθρωπηίον Τόμυρις ἔδιζητο ἐν τοῖς τεθνεόσι τῶν Περσέων τὸν Κύρου νέκνυν, ὡς δὲ εὕρε, ἑναπήκει αὐτοῦ τὴν κεφαλῆν ἐς τὸν ἄσκον, λυμαινομένη δὲ τῷ νεκρῷ ἐπέλεγε τάδε. “Σὺ μὲν ἔμε ζῶσάν τε καὶ νικῶσάν σε μάχῃ ἀπώλεσας, παῖδα τοῦ ἐμὸν ἐλῶν δόλως: σὲ δ’ ἐγώ, κατά περ ἡπείλησα, αἴματος κορέσω.” τὰ μὲν δὴ κατὰ τὴν Κύρου τελευτὴν τοῦ βίου, πολλῶν λόγων λεγομένων, ὡδε μοι ὁ πιθανώτατος εὑρήται.

215. Μασσαγέται δὲ ἐσθῆτά τε ὁμοίην τῇ Σκυθικῇ φορέουσι καὶ διάϊταν ἔχουσι, ἵπποτα δὲ εἰσὶ καὶ ἀνιπποι (ἀμφοτέρων γὰρ μετέχουσι) καὶ τοξόται τε καὶ αἰχμοφόροι, σαγάρις νομίζοντες ἔχειν. χρυσῷ δὲ καὶ χαλκῷ τὰ πάντα χρέωνται.
him; but no sooner was he loosed and had the use of his hands, than he made away with himself.

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

215. These Massagetae are like the Scythians in their dress and manner of life. They are both horsemen and footmen (having some of each kind), and spearmen and bowmen; and it is their custom to carry battle-axes. They ever use gold and bronze;
δόσα μὲν γὰρ ἐστὶ ἀίχμας καὶ ἄρδις καὶ σαγάρις, χαλκῷ τὰ πάντα χρέωνται, ὅσα δὲ περὶ κεφαλῆς καὶ ξωστήρας καὶ μασχαλιστήρας, χρυσῷ κοσμοῦνται. ὡς δ’ αὐτῶς τῶν ἵππων τὰ μὲν περὶ τὰ στέρνα χαλκέους θώρηκας περιβάλλουσι, τὰ δὲ περὶ τοὺς χαλινους καὶ στόμια καὶ φάλαρα χρυσῷ, σιδήρῳ δὲ οὐδ’ ἀργύρῳ χρέωνται οὐδὲν οὐδ’ γὰρ οὐδ’ σφί ἐστὶ ἐν τῇ χώρῃ, ὅ δὲ χρυσός καὶ ὁ χαλκὸς ἀπλετος.

216. Νόμοισι δὲ χρέωνται τοιοῦτοί. γυναῖκα μὲν γαμεῖ εἶκαστος, ταῦτησι δὲ ἐπίκοινα χρέωνται τὸ γὰρ Σκύθας φασί "Ελληνες ποιέων, οὗ Σκύθαι εἰσὶ οἱ ποιεόντες ἀλλὰ Μασσαγέται τῇ γὰρ ἐπιθυμήσῃ γυναίκος Μασσαγέτης ἄνηρ, τὸν φαρετρέων ἀποκρεμάσας πρὸ τῆς ἀμάξης μύσχεται ἄδεως. οὕρος δὲ ἡλικίας σφὶ πρόκειται ἄλλος μὲν οὐδεὶς ἐπεὰν δὲ γέρων γένηται κάρτα, οἱ προσήκοντες οἱ πάντες συνελθόντες θύουσί μιν καὶ ἀλλα πρόβατα ἁμα ἀυτῶ, ἐψήσαντες δὲ τὰ κρέα κατευχέονται ταῦτα μὲν τὰ ὁλβιώτατα σφὶ νενόμισται, τὸν δὲ νοῦσῳ τελευτήσαντα οὐ καταστέονται ἀλλὰ γῆ κρύπτουσι, συμφορὴν ποιεύμενοι ὅτι οὐκ ἱκετο ἐς τὸ τυθῆναι. σπείρουσι δὲ οὐδὲν, ἀλλ’ ἀπὸ κτηνῶν ξώσουσι καὶ ἱχθύων οἱ δὲ ἀφθόνοι σφὶ ἐκ τοῦ Αράξεω ηπαμοῦ παραγίνονται γαλακτοπόται δ’ εἰσὶ. θεῶν δὲ μοῦν ἡλιον σέβονται, τῷ θύουσι ἱππον. νόος δὲ οὔτος τῆς θυσίας τῶν θεῶν τῷ ταχιστῷ πάντων τῶν θυντῶν τὸ τάχιστον δατέονται.
all their spear-points and arrow-heads and battle-axes are of bronze, and gold is the adornment of their headgear and belts and girdles. They treat their horses in like manner, arming their forehands with bronze breastplates and putting gold on reins, bits, and cheekplates. But iron and silver they never use; for there is none at all in their country, but gold and bronze abounds.

216. Now, for their customs: each man marries a wife, but the wives are common to all. The Greeks say this is a Scythian custom; it is not so, but a custom of the Massagetae. There, when a man desires a woman, he hangs his quiver before her waggon, and has intercourse with her, none hindering. Though they set no certain term to life, yet when a man is very old all his kin meet together and kill him, with beasts of the flock besides, then boil the flesh and feast on it. This is held to be the happiest death; when a man dies of a sickness they do not eat him, but bury him in the earth, and lament that he would not live to be killed. They never sow; their fare is their live-stock and the fish which they have in abundance from the Araxes. Their drink is milk. The sun is the only god whom they worship; to him they sacrifice horses; the reason of it is that he is the swiftest of the gods and therefore they give him the swiftest of mortal things.
BOOK II
1. Τελευτησαντος δε - Κύρου παρέλαβε την βασιλικήν Καμβύσης, Κύρου ἐδω παῖς καὶ Κασ-
σανδάνης τής Φαρνάσπεω ϑυγατρός, τής προαπο-
θανούσης Κύρος αὐτός τε μέγα πένθος ἐποιήσατο καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις προεῖπε πάσι τῶν ἰρχὲ πένθος ποιέσθαι. ταύτης δὴ τῆς γυναικὸς ἐδω παῖς καὶ Κύρου Καμβύσης Ἰωνᾶς μὲν καὶ Αἰσολέας ὡς δοῦ-
λους πατρωίους ἐόντας ἐνόμιζε, ἐπὶ δὲ Αἰγυπτῶν ἐποιέστο στρατηλασίην ἄλλους τε παραλαβῶν τῶν ἰρχὲ καὶ δὴ καὶ Ἐλλήνων τῶν ἐπεκράτει.

2. Οἱ δὲ Αἰγυπτιοὶ, πρὶν μὲν ἡ Ψαμμήτιχον σφέων βασιλεύσαι, ἐνόμιζον ἐωτοὺς πρῶτους γενέσθαι πάντων ἀνθρώπων· ἐπειδὴ δὲ Ψαμ-
μήτιχος βασιλεύσας ἥθελησε εἰδέναι οἰτίνες γενοῖ-
ατο πρῶτοι, ἀπὸ τοῦτον νομίζουσι Φρύγας προτέρους γενέσθαι ἐωτῶν, τῶν δὲ ἄλλων ἐωτοὺς. Ψαμμήτιχος δὲ ὡς οὐκ ἐδύνατο πυν-
θανόμενος πόρον οὐδένα τοῦτο ἀνευρεῖν, οὐ γενοῖατο πρῶτοι ἀνθρώπων, ἐπιτεχνᾶται τοὺοιδε. παιδία δύο νεογνὰ ἀνθρώπων τῶν ἐπιτυχόντων δίδωσι ποιμένα τρέφειν ἐς τὰ ποίμνια τροφὴν τινα τούινδε, ἐντευλάμενος μηδένα ἀντίον αὐτῶν μηδεμίαν φωνὴν ἱέναι, ἐν στέγῃ δὲ ἐρήμη ἐπ’ ἐωτῶν κέεσθαι αὐτά, καὶ τὴν ὀργὴν ἐπαγινεῖν σφι αἰγᾶς, πλήσαντα δὲ γάλακτος τάλλα διατρήσεσθαι· ταῦτα δὲ ἐποίεῖ τε καὶ ἐνετέλλετο Ψαμμήτιχος θέλων ἀκοῦ-
BOOK II

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

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

\(^1\) In 664 B.C., probably.
σαι τῶν παιδίων, ἀπαλλαχθέντων τῶν ἁσήμων κυνζημάτων, ἤμενα φωνὴν ῥήξουσι πρώτην· τὰ περ ἄν καὶ ἐγένετο. ὡς γὰρ διέτης χρόνος ἐγε
γόνει ταῦτα τῷ ποιμένι πρῆσσοντι, ἵνα γονιω
τῇ θύρῃ καὶ ἐσίτοντα τὰ παιδία ἀμφότερα προσπίπτοντα βεκὸς ἐφώνεον, ὀρέγοντα τὰς χεῖ
ρας. τὰ μὲν δὴ πρῶτα ἀκούσας ἤσυχος ἤν ὁ
ποιμὴν· ός δὲ πολλάκις φοιτέοντι καὶ ἐπιμελο
μένῳ πολλόν ἢν τοῦτο τὸ ἔπος, οὔτω δὴ σημῆνας τῷ
dεσπότῃ ὑμαγε τὰ παιδία κελεύσαντος ἐς ὧν ὑπ
τῇ ἐκείνῳ. ἀκούσας δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ Ψαμμήτηχος ἐπυνθάνετο οὔτες ἄνθρωπων βεκὸς τι καλέουσι,
pυθανόμενος δὲ εὐρίσκε Φρύγας καλέοντας τὸν
ἀρτο. οὔτω συνεχώρησαν Αἰγύπτιοι καὶ τοιοῦτο
σταθμήσαμεν πρῆκματι τοῦς Φρύγας πρεσβυ
τέρους εἶναι ἑωτῶν. ὥδε μὲν γενέσθαι τῶν ἱρέων
τοῦ Ἡφαίστου τοῦ ἐν Μέμφι ἐκοιν. Ἐλληνες
δὲ λέγουσι ἄλλα τι μάταια πολλά καὶ ὡς ἐγναίκων
tὰς γλώσσας ὁ Ψαμμήτηχος ἐκταμῶν τὴν δίαιταν
οὔτω ἐποιήσατο τῶν παιδῶν παρὰ ταύτης
τῇ γυναιξί.
3. Κατὰ μὲν δὴ τὴν τροφὴν τῶν παιδῶν
tοσαῦτα ἐλεγον, ἢκουσα δὲ καὶ ἄλλα ἐν Μέμφι
ἐλθὼν ἐς λόγους τοῖς ἱέρει τοῦ Ἡφαίστου. καὶ
dὴ καὶ ἐς Θῆβας τε καὶ ἐς Ἡλίου τῶν αὐτῶν
tούτων εἶνεκεν ἐτραπόμην, ἐθέλων εἶδέναι εἰ
συμβήσονται τοῖς λόγοις τοῖς ἐν Μέμφι·
οἱ γὰρ Ἡλιοπόλειται λέγονται Αἰγυπτίων εἶναι
λογισταίοι. τὰ μὲν νυν θεία τῶν ἀπειγημάτων
ολὰ ἢκουν οὐκ εἰμὶ πρόθυμος ἐξηγεῖσθαι, ἐξω ἢ
tα ὀνυόματα αὐτῶν μοῦνον, νομίζων πάντας
would first break from the children, when they were past the age of indistinct babbling. And he had his wish; for when the shepherd had done as he was bidden for two years, one day as he opened the door and entered both the children ran to him stretching out their hands and calling “Bekos.” When he first heard this he said nothing of it; but coming often and taking careful note, he was ever hearing this same word, till at last he told the matter to his master, and on command brought the children into the king’s presence. Psammetichus heard them himself, and inquired to what language this word Bekos might belong; he found it to be a Phrygian word signifying bread. Reasoning from this fact the Egyptians confessed that the Phrygians were older than they. This is the story which I heard from the priests of Hephaestus’ temple at Memphis; the Greeks relate (among many foolish tales) that Psammetichus made the children to be reared by women whose tongues he had cut out.

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

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

4. But as regarding human affairs, this was the account in which they all agreed: the Egyptians, they said, were the first men who reckoned by years and made the year to consist of twelve divisions of the seasons. They discovered this from the stars (so they said). And their reckoning is, to my mind, a juster one than that of the Greeks; for the Greeks add an intercalary month every other year, so that the seasons may agree; but the Egyptians, reckoning thirty days to each of the twelve months, add five days in every year over and above the number, and so the completed circle of seasons is made to agree with the calendar. Further, the Egyptians (said they) first used the appellations of twelve gods¹ (which the Greeks afterwards borrowed from them); and it was they who first assigned to the several gods their altars and images and temples, and first carved figures on stone. They showed me most of this by plain proof. The first human king of Egypt, they said, was Min. In his time all Egypt save the Thebaic² province was a marsh: all the country that we now see was then covered by water, north of the lake Moeris,³ which lake is seven days’ journey up the river from the sea.

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

¹ The southern part of Upper Egypt.
² In the modern Fayyum, west of the Nile.
ναυτίλλονται, ἕστι Αἰγυπτίοις ἐπίκτητος τε γη καὶ δῶρον τοῦ ποταμοῦ, καὶ τὰ κατύπερθε ἐτὶ τῆς λίμνης ταύτης μέχρι τριῶν ἁμέρεων πλόου, τῆς περὶ ἐκείνοι συνέπεται τοιόνδε ἔλεγον, ἔστι δὲ ἐτέρων τοιόνδε. Αἰγύπτου γὰρ φύσις ἐστὶ τῆς χώρης τουίδε. πρῶτα μὲν προσπλέων ἔτι καὶ ἡμέρης δρόμου ἀπ’ ἕως ἅπο ὅρης, κατεῖς καταπειρητηρίην πηλῶν τε ἀνοίσεις καὶ ἐν ἐνδέκα ὀργυὶσαί ἐστει. τούτῳ μὲν ἐπὶ τοσοῦτο δηλοὶ πρόχυσιν τῆς γῆς ἑούσαν.

6. Αὐτὶς δὲ αὐτῆς ἐστι Αἰγύπτου μήκος τὸ παρὰ θάλασσαν ἐξήκοντα σχοῖνοι, κατὰ ἴμεῖς διαγραφέομεν εἰναι Αἰγύπτου ἀπὸ τοῦ Πλινθινήτεο κόλπου μέχρι Σερβιούνδος λίμνης, παρ’ ἂν τὸ Κάσιον ὅρος τείνει ταύτης ὅν ἀπὸ οἱ ἐξήκοντα σχοῖνοι εἰσι. ὅσοι μὲν γὰρ γεωπέιναι εἰσὶ αὐθρώπων, ὀργυὶσαὶ μεμετρίκασι τὴν χώρην, οὓς δὲ ἦσσον γεωπεϊναι, σταθοῦσι, οὐ δὲ πολλὴν ἔχουσι, παρασάγγησι, οὐ δὲ ἄφθονον λῖνν, σχοῖνοις. δύναται δὲ ὁ παρασάγγης τρίχοντα στάδια, ὁ δὲ σχοῖνος, μέτρον ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ αὐτῇ ἐξήκοντα στάδια.

7. Οὕτω ἄν εἶχαν Αἰγύπτου στάδιοι ἐξακόσιοι καὶ τρισχίλιοι τὸ παρὰ θάλασσαν. ἐνθευτεύτεν μὲν καὶ μέχρι Πλίου πόλιος ἐς τὴν μεσογαιαν ἐστὶ ηὐρέα Αἰγυπτος, εὖσα πᾶσα ύπτίη τε καὶ ἑνυδρος καὶ ἑσύς. ἔστι δὲ ὀδὸς ἐς Ἡλίου πόλιν ἀπὸ θαλάσσας ἀνώ ἴοντι παραπλησίη τοῦ μήκος τῇ ἐξ Ἀθηνεῶν ὃς ἥ ἄπο τῶν δυσδέκα θεῶν τὸν βωμὸν φερουσίῃ ἐς τοῖς Πῖσαι καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν νηῶν τοῦ Δίος τοῦ Ὁλυμπίου. σμικρὸν τι τὸ διά-

1 All MSS. have ἑνυδρος, which is a strange epithet for the Delta. Modern editors read ἑνυδρος or ἑνυδρος.

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

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

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

¹ Literally "ropes."
HERODOTUS

φορον εὗροι τις ἂν λογιζόμενος τῶν ὀδῶν τούτων τὸ μὴ ἱσας μῆκος εἶναι, οὐ πλέον πεντεκαίδεκα σταδίων ἦ μὲν γὰρ ἐς Πίσαν ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν κατα- δεῖ πεντεκαίδεκα σταδίων μὴ εἶναι πεντακοσίων καὶ χιλίων, ἦ δὲ ἐς Ἡλίου πόλιν ἄποθαλάσσης πληροὶ ἐς τὸν ἀριθμὸν τούτον.

8. Ἀπὸ δὲ Ἡλίου πόλιος ἄνω ἱόντι στεινῆ ἦστι Ἀγινπτος. τῇ μὲν γὰρ τῆς Ἀραβίης ὅρος παρα- τεταία, φέρον ἀπὸ ἀρκτοῦ πρὸς μεσαμβρίην τε καὶ νότον, αἰεὶ ἄνω τέινων ἐς τὴν Ἐρυθρῆν καλεομένην θάλασσαν ἐν τῷ αἱ λιθοτομίαι ἐνεισί αἱ ἐς τὰς πυραμίδας κατατηθείσαι τὰς ἐν Μέμφι. ταύτῃ μὲν λήγων ἀνακάμπτει ἐς τὰ εὐρητὰ τὸ ὁρὸς. τῇ δὲ αὐτὸ ἑωυτοῦ ἐστὶ μακρότατον, ὡς ἐγὼ ἐπισφαλήνην, δύο μηνῶν αὐτὸ εἶναι τῆς ὁδοῦ ἀπὸ ἥος πρὸς ἐπέρην, τὰ δὲ πρὸς τὴν ἡδωνανωτο- φόρα αὐτοῦ τὰ τέρματα εἶναι. τούτῳ μὲν νῦν τὸ ὁρὸς τοιῶτο ἦστι, τὸ δὲ πρὸς Λιβύης τῆς Ἀγινπτοῦ ὁρὸς ἄλλο πετρινοῦ τείνει, ἐν τῷ αἱ πυραμίδες ἐνεισι, ψάμμῳ κατειλυμένον, κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον καὶ τοῦ Ἀραβίου τὰ πρὸς μεσαμβρίην φέροντα. τὸ ὅν δὴ ἀπὸ Ἡλίου πόλιος οὐκέτι πολλὸν χωρίου ὡς εἶναι Ἀγινπτοῦ, ἀλλ' ὅσον τε ἡμερέων τεσσέρων καὶ δέκα δὲ ἀναπλοῦσ ἐστὶ στεινῆ Ἀγινπτος, ἑώσα τῶν ὄρεων τῶν εἰρημένων τὸ μεταξὶ πεδίας μὲν γῆ, σταδίον δὲ μάλιστα ἐδόκεον μοι εἶναι, τῇ στενότατον ἐστὶ, διηκοσίων οὐ πλέουσ' ἐκ τοῦ Ἀραβίου ὁροῦς ἐς τὸ Λιβυκὸν καλεόμενον. τὸ δὲ ἐνθεῦτεν αὕτης εὐρέα Ἀγινπτος ἦστι. πέφυκε μὲν νῦν ἡ χώρῃ αὕτη οὕτω.

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

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

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

1 ὡς εἴναι Αἰγύπτου; so much of the Nile valley being outside Egypt. But it is possible that the words may mean "no great distance, for Egypt," i.e. no great distance relatively to the size of the country.
9. Ἀπὸ δὲ Ἡλίου πόλιος ἐς Θῆβας ἐστὶ ἀνάπλοος ἐννέα ἡμερέων, στάδιοι δὲ τῆς ὁδοῦ ἐξήκουτα καὶ ὁκτάκοσιοι καὶ τετρακισχίλιοι, σχοῖνων ἐνὸς καὶ οργδώκουτα ἑώτων. οὗτοι συντιθέμενοι οἱ στάδιοι Αἰγύπτου τὸ μὲν παρὰ θάλασσαν ἦδη μοι καὶ πρότερον δεδήλωται ὅτι ἐξακοσίων τε ἑστὶ στάδιον καὶ τρισχίλιων, ὅσον δὲ τι ἀπὸ θαλάσσης ἐς μεσόγαιαν μέχρι Θῆβας ἐστὶ, σημανέω· στάδιοι γὰρ εἰσὶ εἰκοσι καὶ ἑκατὸν καὶ ἐξακισχίλιοι. τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ Θῆβας ἐς Ἑλεφαντίνην καλομέμενην πόλιν στάδιοι χίλιοι καὶ ὅκτακοσίοι εἰσὶ.

10. Ταύτης δὲν τῇς χώρης τῆς εἰρημένης ἡ πολικη, κατὰ περὶ οἱ ἱέρεις ἔλεγον, εδόκεε καὶ αὐτῷ μοι εἶναι ἐπίκτητος Αἰγυπτίους. τῶν γὰρ ὀρέων τῶν εἰρημένων τῶν ὑπὲρ Μέμφι εἶλιν κειμένων τὸ μεταξὺ ἐφαίνετο μοι εἶναι κοτῆ κόλπος θαλάσσης, ἀσπερ γε τὰ περὶ Ἰλιον καὶ Τευθρανίνην καὶ Ἐφεσὸν τε καὶ Μαιάνδρον πεδίον, ὡς γε εἶναι σμικρὰ τάυτα μεγάλοισι συμβαλεῖν τῶν γὰρ ταύτα τὰ χωρία προσχωσάντων ποταμῶν ἐνὶ τῶν στομάτων τοῦ Νείλου, ἐόντος πενταστόμου, οὐδεὶς αὐτῶν πλήθεος πέρι ἄξιος συμβληθῆναι ἐστὶ. εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ ἄλλοι ποταμοὶ, οὐ κατὰ τὸν Νείλον ἐόντες μεγάθεα, οὕτως ἔργα ἀποδεξάμενοι μεγάλα εἰσὶ τῶν ἐγὼ φράσαι ἐχὼ οὐνόματα καὶ ἄλλων καὶ ὅν ἦκιστα Αἴξελον, ὡς ρέων δι' Ἀκαρπανίνης καὶ ἐξεῖς ἐς θαλάσσαν τῶν Ἐχινάδων νῆσων τὰς ἡμισέας ἦδη ἦπειρον πεποίηκε.

11. Ἐστι δὲ τῆς Ἀραβίας χώρης, Αἰγύπτου δὲ οὗ πρόσω, κόλπος θαλάσσης ἐσέχων ἐκ τῆς
9. From Heliopolis to Thebes it is nine days' journey by river, and the distance is four thousand eight hundred and sixty furlongs, or eighty-one schoeni. This then is a full statement of all the furlongs in Egypt: the seaboard is three thousand six hundred furlongs long; and I will now declare the distance inland from the sea to Thebes: it is six thousand one hundred and twenty furlongs. And between Thebes and the city called Elephantine there are eighteen hundred furlongs.

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

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

¹ The "sea called Red," it will be remembered, is the sea south and east of Arabia; the gulf entering in from it is our Red Sea. Suppose the Delta to have been once a gulf too, then there would have been two gulfs, both running up into Egypt, their heads not far from each other.
'Ερυθρής καλεομένης θαλάσσης, μακρὸς οὖτω δὴ τι καὶ στεινὸς ὡς ἔρχομαι φράσων μῆκος μὲν πλὸυν ἄρξαμένῳ ἐκ μυχοῦ διεκπλῶσαι ἐς τὴν εὐρέαν θάλασσαν ἥμεραι ἀναίσιμοῦνται τεσσερά-κοντα εἰρεσίᾳ χρεωμένῳ εὔρος δὲ, τῇ εὐρύτατος ἐστὶ ὁ κόλπος, ἡμισὶν ἡμέρης πλὸιν. ῥηχία δ᾿ ἐν αὐτῷ καὶ ἀμπωτις ἀνὰ πᾶσαν ἡμέρην γίνεται. ἔτερον τοιοῦτον κόλπον καὶ τὴν Ἀἴγυπτον δοκέω γενέσθαι κοτὲ, τὸν μὲν ἐκ τῆς βορίης θαλάσσης κόλπον ἐσέχοντα ἐπὶ Ἀἴθιοπίης, τὸν ὃν ἀράβιον, τὸν ἔρχομαι λέξων, ἐκ τῆς νοτίης φέροντα ἐπὶ Συρίης, σχεδὸν μὲν ἀλλήλους συντετραίνοντας τοὺς μυχοὺς, ὁλέγον δὲ τι παραλλάσσοντας τῆς χώρης. εἰ δὲν ἐθελήσει ἐκτρέψῃ τὸ ἰδέαθαν ὁ Νεῖλος ἐς τούτον τὸν Ἀράβιον κόλπον, τὸ μὲν κολύει ἰδέαθαν τοῦτον ἐκχωσθῆναι ἐντὸς γε δισ-μυρίων ἐτέων; ἐγὼ μὲν γάρ ἐλπομαί γε καὶ μυρίῳ ἐντὸς χωσθῆναι ἃν καὶ πολλὸν ἔτι τῷ προαναισιμωμένῳ χρόνῳ πρότερον ή ἐμὲ γενεύσθαι οὐκ ἂν χωσθείη κόλπος καὶ πολλῷ μέξων ἑτε τούτῳ υπὸ τοσοῦτον τε ποταμοῦ καὶ οὕτω ἐργατικοῦ;

12. Τὰ περὶ Ἀἴγυπτον δὴν καὶ τούτῳ λέγοντι αὐτὰ πείθομαι καὶ αὐτὸς οὖτω κάρτα δοκέω εἶναι, ἱδὼν τι τὴν Ἀἴγυπτον προκειμένην τῆς ἐχομένης γῆς κογχύλια τε φαινόμενα ἐπὶ τούτῳ ὀρεσι καὶ ἀλμην ἐπανθέουσαν, ὡστε καὶ τὰς πυραμίδας δηλέεσθαι, καὶ ψάμμον μοῦνον Ἀἴγυπτον ὅρος τοῦτο τὸ ὑπὲρ Μέμφιος ἔχον, πρὸς δὲ τῇ χώρῃ ὀὔτε τῇ Ἀραβίᾳ προσούρῳ ἐσύση τὴν Ἀἴγυπτον προσεικέλην ὀὔτε τῇ Διβύῃ, οὐ μὲν οὔδε τῇ Συρίᾳ (τῆς γὰρ Ἀραβίας τὰ παρὰ θάλασσαν 286
of which the length and narrowness is such as I shall show: for length, it is a forty days' voyage for a ship rowed by oars from its inner end out to the wide sea; and for breadth, it is half a day's voyage at the widest. Every day the tide ebbs and flows therein. I hold that where now is Egypt there was once another such gulf; one entered from the northern sea towards Aethiopia, and the other, the Arabian gulf of which I will speak, bore from the south towards Syria; the ends of these gulfs pierced into the country near to each other, and but a little space of land divided them. Now if the Nile choose to turn his waters into this Arabian gulf, what hinders that it be not silted up by his stream in twenty thousand years? nay, I think that ten thousand would suffice for it. Is it then to be believed that in the ages before my birth a gulf even much greater than this could not be silted up by a river so great and so busy?

12. Therefore, as to Egypt, I believe those who so speak, and I am myself fully so persuaded; for I have seen that Egypt projects into the sea beyond the neighbouring land, and shells are plain to view on the mountains and things are coated with salt (insomuch that the very pyramids are wasted thereby), and the only sandy mountain in Egypt is that which is above Memphis; moreover, Egypt is like neither to the neighbouring land of Arabia, nor to Libya, no, nor to Syria (for the seaboard of Arabia
Σύροι νέμονται), ἀλλὰ μελάγγαιον τε καὶ καταρρηγυμένην, ὡστε εὐόσαι ἐλύν τε καὶ πρόχυσιν ἔξ Ἀἰθιοπίης κατεννειγμένην ὑπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ. τὴν δὲ Λιβύην ὑδεμαν ἐρυθροτέρην τε γῆν καὶ ὑποψαμμοτέρην, τὴν δὲ Ἀραβίην τε καὶ Συρίην ἀργυλαδεστέρην τε καὶ ὑπόπτερον εὐόσαι.

13. Ἐλεγον δὲ καὶ τόδε μου μέγα τεκμήριον περὶ τῆς χώρης ταύτης οἱ ἱρέες, ὡς ἐπὶ Μοῖριος βασιλεός, ὅκως ἔλθοι οὐ ποταμὸς ἐπὶ ὁκτὼ πτήχεας τὸ ἐλάχιστον, ἀρδεσκε Αἰγύπτου τὴν ἐνέροθ Μέμφιος· καὶ Μοῖρι οὐκ ᾧν ἔτεα εἰνακόσια τετελευτηκότι ὄτε τῶν ἱρέων ταύτα ἐγὼ ἤκουον. νῦν δὲ εἰ μὴ ἔτι ἐκκαίδεκα ἡ πεντεκαίδεκα πτήχεας ἀναβῆ τὸ ἐλάχιστον οὐ ποταμός, οὐκ ὑπερβαίνει ἐς τὴν χώρην. δοκεύομαι τε μου Αἰγύπτιων οἱ ἐνερδε λίμνης τῆς Μοῖριος οὐκέοντες τά τε ἀλλα χωρία καὶ τὸ καλεόμενον Δέλτα, ἥν οὕτω η ἱρών ἄυτη κατὰ λόγον ἐπιδιδῶ ἐς υψὸς καὶ τὸ ὄμοιον ἀποδιδω ἐς αὔξεσιν,1 μὴ κατακλύζοντος αὐτῆν τοῦ Νείλου πείσεσθαι τὸν πάντα χρόνον τὸν ἐπίλοιπον Αἰγύπτιοι τὸ κοτὲ αὐτοὶ Ἑλληνας ἔφασαν πείσεσθαι. πυθόμενοι γὰρ ὡς ἔτεα πᾶσα η χώρη τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἅλλ' οὐ ποταμοῖς άρδεας κατὰ περὶ η σφετέρη, ἔφασαν Ἑλληνας ψευσθέντας κατὲ ἐπίδος μεγάλης κακῶς πεινῆ- σειν. τὸ δὲ ἐπος τοῦτο ἔθελε λέγειν ὡς, εἰ μὴ ἔθελεσε σφι ὑν εὼς ὁ θεὸς ἅλλα αὐχμφ διαχρα- σθαῖ, λιμῷ οἱ Ἑλληνες αἱρεθήσονται οὐ γὰρ δὴ σφι ἄστι ὅδατος ὀὐδεμία ἅλλη ἀποστροφὴ ὅτι μὴ ἐκ τοῦ Δίως μοῦνον.

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

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

\(^1\) Supposing this statement to be true, Moeris must have been king much more than 900 years before Hdt.: 900 years being much too short a period for a rise of eight cubits in the height of the Nile valley.
14. Καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ἐς Ἐλληνας Ἀιγυπτίωσι ὀρθῶς ἔχουσα εἴρηται· φέρε δὲ νῦν καὶ αὕτωσι Ἀιγυπτίοισι ὡς ἔχει φράσω· εἰ σφι θέλοι, ὡς καὶ πρῶτερον εἴποι, ἡ χώρῃ ἡ ἐνερθεῖ Μέμφιος (ἀντὶ γὰρ ἐστὶ ἡ αὐξανομένη) κατὰ λόγον τοῦ παροιχο-μένου χρόνου ἐς ύψος αὐξάνεσθαι, ἀλλο τι ἢ οἱ ταῦτη οἰκέουντες Ἀιγυπτίων πεινάσσουσι; εἰ μήτε γε ύστεται σφι ἡ χώρῃ μήτε ὁ ποταμὸς οἰῶς τι ἐσται ἐς τὰς ἀρούρας ύπερβαίνειν. ἢ γὰρ δὴ νῦν γε οὗτοι ἀπονητότατα καρπὸν κομίζονται ἐκ γῆς τῶν τε ἀλλῶν ἀνθρώπων πάντων καὶ τῶν λαοτῶν Ἀιγυπτίων· οἳ οὕτε ἄροτρῳ ἀναρρηγνύντες αὐ-λακας ἔχουσι πόνους οὕτε σκάλλοντες οὕτε ἀλλο ἐργαζόμενοι οὐδὲν τῶν οἳ ἀλλοι ἀνθρώποι περὶ λίμων πονέουσι, ἀλλ’ ἔπειν σφι ὁ ποταμὸς αὐτό-ματος ἐπελθὼν ἁρση τὰς ἀρούρας, ἁρσας δὲ ἀπολίπῃ ὁπίσω, τότε σπέρας ἐκάστος τῆν ἐωτοῦ ἄρουραν ἐσβάλλει ἐς αὐτὴν ὃς, ἐπεάν δὲ κατα-πανίζῃ τῆς ὡς το σπέρμα, ἀμητὸν τὸ ἀπὸ τούτον μένει, ἀποδινήσας δὲ τῆς ὡς τὸν σῖτον οὕτω κομίζεται.

15. Εἰ δὲν βουλόμεθα γνώμησι τῇς Ἴὼνων χρᾶσθαι τὰ περὶ Ἀιγυπτοῦ, οὐ̃ς φασί τὸ Δέλτα μοῦνον εἶναι Ἀιγυπτοῦ, ἀπὸ Περσέως καλεομένης σκοπιῆς λέγωντες τὸ παρὰ θάλασσαν εἶναι αὐτῆς μέχρι ταριχήπτων τῶν Πηλούσιων, τῇ δὴ τεσ-σεράκοντα εἰς εἰς σχούνοι, τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ θαλάσσης λεγόντων ἐς μεσόγαιαν τείνειν αὐτὴν μέχρι Κερ-κασώρου πόλιος, καὶ τῇ σχίζεται ὁ Νεῖλος ὡς τῶν Πηλούσιων ἤεν καὶ ἐς Κάνωβον, τὰ δὲ ἄλλα λεγόντων τῆς Ἀιγυπτοῦ τὰ μὲν Διβύης τὰ δὲ Ἀραβιῆς εἶναι, ἀποδεικνύομεν ἄν τούτῳ τῷ
14. And this saying of the Egyptians about the Greeks was true enough. But now let me show what is the case of the Egyptians themselves: if (as I have already said) the country below Memphis—for it is this which rises—should increase in height in the same degree as formerly, will not the Egyptians who dwell in it go hungry, there being no rain in their country and the river being unable to inundate their fields? Now, indeed, there are no men, neither in the rest of Egypt, nor in the whole world, who gain from the soil with so little labour; they have not the toil of breaking up the land with the plough, nor of hoeing, nor of any other work which other men do to get them a crop; the river rises of itself, waters the fields, and then sinks back again; thereupon each man sows his field and sends swine into it to tread down the seed, and waits for the harvest; then he makes the swine to thresh his grain, and so garners it.

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

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1 At the southern point of the Delta, where the two main channels of the Nile divide, not far below Cairo.
λόγῳ χρεώμενοι Αἰγυπτίωσι ὦν ἔοισαν προτέρου χώρην. ἥδη γὰρ σφι τὸ γε Δέλτα, ὡς αὐτοὶ λέγοντοι Αἰγύπτιοι καὶ ἐμοὶ δοκεῖς, ἐστὶ κατάρρυτον τε καὶ νεωστὶ ὡς λόγῳ εἰπεῖν ἀναπεφηνός. εἰ τοίνυν σφι χώρη γε μηδεμία υπῆρχε, τί περιεργάζοντο δοκέοντες πρῶτοι ἀνθρώπων γεγονέναι; οὐδὲ ἔδει σφέας ἐς διάπειραν τῶν παιδίων ἱέναι, τίνα γλῶσσαν πρῶτην ἀπήσουσι. ἀλλ’ οὔτε Αἰγυπτίους δοκέω ἀμα τῷ Δέλτα τῷ ὑπὸ 'Ἰώνων καλεομένῳ γενέσθαι αἰεὶ τε εἶναι ἐξ ὧν ἀνθρώπων γένος ἐγένετο, προιόσθης δὲ τῆς χώρης πολλοὺς μὲν τοὺς ὑπολειπομένους αὐτῶν γενέσθαι πολλοὺς δὲ τοὺς ὑποκαταβαίνοντας. τὸ δ’ ὃν πᾶλαι αἱ Θῆβαι Αἰγυπτός ἐκαλεότο, τῆς τὸ περίμετρον στάδιοι εἰσὶ εἰκοσι καὶ ἐκατόν καὶ ἐξακισίλιοι.

16. Εἰ ὃν ἡμεῖς ὁρθῶς περὶ αὐτῶν γνώσκομεν, 'Ἰωνες οὐκ εὖ φρονέουσι περὶ Αἰγύπτου· εἰ δὲ ὁρθῇ ἐστὶ· δὴ γνώμη τῶν 'Ἰώνων, Ἑλληνάς τε καὶ αὐτοὺς 'Ἰωνας ἀποδείκνυμι οὐκ ἐπισταμένους λογίζεσθαι, οὐ φασί τρία μόρια εἶναι γῆν πάσαν, Εὐρώπην τε καὶ Ἀσίην καὶ Διβύην. τέταρτον γὰρ δὴ σφέας δεὶ προσλογίζεσθαι Αἰγύπτου τὸ Δέλτα, εἰ μὴ τε γε ἐστὶ τῆς Ἀσίης μὴ τῆς Διβύης: οὐ γὰρ δὴ ὁ Νεῖλος γε ἐστὶ κατὰ τούτον τὸν λόγον· ὁ τῆς Ἀσίης οὐρίζων τῆς Διβύης, τοῦ Δέλτα δὲ τούτων κατὰ τὸ ὄξυ περιρρήγυνται ὁ Νεῖλος, ὡστε ἐν τῷ μεταξὺ Ἀσίης τε καὶ Διβύης γίνοιτ’ ἂν.

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

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

17. Nay, we put the Ionians' opinion aside; and our own judgment concerning the matter is this: Egypt is all that country which is inhabited by
νὴν κατὰ περ Κιλικίην τὴν ὑπὸ Κιλίκων καὶ Ἀσσυρίην τὴν ὑπὸ Ἀσσυρίων, οὐρισμα δὲ Ἀσίη καὶ Λιβύη οὐδαμεν υὐδὲν ἐδο ὅρθῳ λόγῳ εἰ μὴ τοὺς Ἀγυπτίων οὐρους. εἰ δὲ τῷ ἕλπὶ Ἕλληνων νευμισμένῳ χρησόμεθα, νομισμεν Ἀγυπτίων πᾶσαν ἀρξαμένην ἀπὸ Καταδοῦπων τε καὶ Ἐλεφαντίνης πόλιος δίχα διαιρέεσθαι καὶ ἀμφοτέρων τῶν ἐπωνυμιών ἔχεσθαι, τὰ μὲν γὰρ αὐτῆς εἶναι τῆς Λιβύης τὰ δὲ τῆς Ἀσίῆς. ὁ γὰρ ὁ Νεῖλος ἀρξάμενος έκ τῶν Καταδοῦπων ῥεῖ μέσην Ἀγυ- πτίων σχίζων ἐς θάλασσαν. μέχρι μὲν γὰρ Κερκα- σώρον πόλιος ῥεῖ εἰς ἐων ὁ Νεῖλος, τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ ταύτης τῆς πόλιος σχίζεται τριφασίας ὁδοὺς, καὶ ἢ μὲν πρὸς ὧν τράπεται, τὸ καλέσται Πηλούσιον στόμα, ἢ δὲ ἔτερη τῶν ὁδῶν πρὸς ἐσπέρην ἔχει τούτῳ δὴ Κανωβικὸν στόμα κέκληται. ἢ δὲ δὴ ἰθέα τῶν ὁδῶν τῷ Νεῖλῳ ἐστὶ νὸς ἤδε ἄνωθεν φερό- μενος ἐς τὸ ὁξὺ τοῦ Δέλτα ἀπικνέεται, τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ τούτου σχίζων μέσου τὸ Δέλτα ἐς θάλασσαν ἔξει, οὕτε ἔλαχιστην μοῦραν τοῦ ὕδατος παρεχόμενος ταύτην οὕτε ἡκιστα ὅνυμαστήν τὸ καλέσται Σεβεννυτικὸν στόμα. ἐστὶ δὲ καὶ ἄτερα διφάσια στόματα ἀπὸ τοῦ Σεβεννυτικοῦ ἀποσχισθέντα, φέροντα ἐς θάλασσαν τοῖς οὐνόματα κέεται τάδε, τῷ μὲν Σαῖτικὸν αὐτῶν τῷ δὲ Μευδήσιον. τὸ δὲ Βολβίτινον στόμα καὶ τὸ Βουκολικὸν οὐκ ἰθαγενέα στόματα ἐστὶ ἀλλ' ὅρυκτα.

18. Μαρτυρεῖ δὲ μοι τῇ γνώμῃ, ὅτι τοσαῦτη ἐστὶ Ἀγυπτὸς ὅπου τινὰ ἔγω ἀποδείκνυμι τῷ λόγῳ, καὶ τὸ 'Αμμωνὸς χρηστήριον γενόμενον τὸ ἔγω τῆς ἐμεωτοῦ γνώμης ὤστερον περὶ Ἀγυ- πτον ἐπιθόμην. οἱ γὰρ δὴ ἐκ Μαρέης τε πόλιος

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

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

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\(^1\) On the island opposite Syene (Assuan).
καὶ Ἄπιος, οἰκέοντες Αἰγύπτου τὰ πρόσουρα Λιβύη, αὐτοὶ τε δοκέοντες εἶναι Λίβνες καὶ οὐκ Αἰγύπτιοι καὶ ἄχθομενοι τῇ περὶ τὰ ἱρὰ θρη-σκήνη, βουλόμενοι θηλέων βοῶν μὴ ἔργεσθαι, ἐπεμψαν ἐς Ἀμμωνα φάμενοι οὐδὲν σφίσι τε καὶ Αἰγυπτίοις κοινών εἶναι οἰκέειν τε γὰρ ἔξω τοῦ Δέλτα καὶ οὐδὲν ὁμολογεῖν αὑτοῖς, βουλεσθαί τε πάντων σφίσι ἐξείναι γενέσθαι. ο ὃ ἐτεὸς σφεὰς οὐκ ἐὰν ποιέειν ταῦτα, φᾶς Αἰγυπτόν εἶναι ταύτην τὴν ὁ Νεῖλος ἐπιών ἄρδει, καὶ Αἰγυπτίως εἶναι τούτους οἱ ἑνερθε Ἐλεφαντίνης πόλιοι οἰ-κέοντες ἀπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ τοῦτον πίνονσι. οὔτω σφι ταῦτα ἐχρήσθη.

19. Ἐπέρχεται δὲ ὁ Νεῖλος, ἐπεὰν πληθύνη, οὐ μοῦνον τὸ Δέλτα ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦ Λιβυκοῦ τε λεγομένου χωρίου εἶναι καὶ τοῦ Ἀραβίου ἐνιαχῆ καὶ ἐπιεύον ἡμερέων ἐκατέρωθι ὁδὸν, καὶ πλέον ἐτὶ τοῦτον καὶ ἔλασσον. τοῦ ποταμοῦ δὲ φύσιος πέρι οὔτε τι τῶν ἱέρων οὔτε ἄλλους οὐδενὸς παραλαβεῖν ἐδυνάσθην. πρόθυμος δὲ ἐὰν τάδε παρ’ αὐτῶν πυθέσθαι, ὁ τι κατέρχεται μὲν ὁ Νεῖλος πληθύνων ἀπὸ τροπέων τῶν θερινέων ἀρχάμενος ἐπὶ ἐκατον ἡμέρας, πελάσας δὲ ἐς τῶν ἄριθμῶν τούτων τῶν ἡμερέων ὁπίσω ἀπέρχεται ἀπολείποιν τὸ ῥέθρον, ὡστε βραχὺς τῶν χειμώνα ἀπαντὰ διατελεῖ ἐως μέχρι οὗ αὐτὸς τροπέων τῶν θερινέων. τούτων δὲν πέρι οὐδενὸς οὐδὲν οἶδος τε ἐγενόμην παραλαβεῖν παρὰ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων, ἱστορέων αὐτοὺς ἤντινα δύναμιν ἔχει ὁ Νεῖλος τὰ ἐμπαλιν πεφυκέναι τῶν ἄλλων ποταμῶν ταῦτά τε ὅτ’ ἔτι λελεγμένα βουλόμενος εἰδέναι ἴστορεον καὶ ὁ τι αὐράς ἀποπνεούσας μοῦνος ποταμῶν πάντων οὐ παρέχεται.
Apis, in the part of Egypt bordering on Libya, thinking themselves to be not Egyptians but Libyans, and misliking the observance of the religious law which forbade them to eat cows' flesh, sent to Ammon saying that they had no part or lot with Egypt: for they dwelt (said they) outside the Delta and did not consent to the ways of its people, and they wished to be suffered to eat of all foods. But the god forbade them: all the land, he said, watered by the Nile in its course was Egypt, and all who dwelt lower down than the city Elephantine and drank of that river's water were Egyptians. Such was the oracle given to them.

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

¹ Not from the river itself, perhaps; but there is a regular current of air blowing up the valley.
20. Ἀλλὰ Ἐλληνῶν μὲν τινὲς ἐπίσημοι βουλόμενοι γενέσθαι σοφίην ἔλεξαν περὶ τοῦ ὑδατος τούτου τριφασίας ὁδοὺς: τῶν τὰς μὲν δύο τῶν ὀδῶν οὐδ’ ἄξιον μην ἔχωμεν εἰ μὴ ὡς ποῦ σημῆναι βουλόμενοι μοῦνον· τῶν ἡ ἐπέρη μὲν λέγει τοὺς ἐτησίας ἀνέμους εἶναι αἰτίους πληθύειν τὸν ποταμὸν, κωλύοντας ἐς θάλασσαν ἐκρέειν τὸν Νείλον. πολλάκις δὲ ἐτησίαι μὲν οὐκών ἐπνευσαν, ὁ δὲ Νείλος τῶντο ἐργάζεται. πρὸς δὲ, εἰ ἐτησίαι αἰτίοι ἦσαν, χρὴν καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ποταμοὺς, ὡς τοῖς ἐτησίοις ἀντίοι ρέουσι, ὁμοίως πάσχειν καὶ κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ τῷ Νείλῳ, καὶ μᾶλλον ἐτι τοσοῦτῳ ὡς ἐλάσσονες ἢντες ἀσθενεστέρα τὰ μέματα παρέχονται. εἰσι δὲ πολλοὶ μὲν ἐν τῇ Συρίᾳ ποταμοὶ πολλοὶ δὲ ἐν τῇ Διβύῃ, αἱ οὐδὲν τοιοῦτο πάσχουσι οἶνον τι καὶ ὁ Νείλος.

21. Ἡ δ’ ἐπέρη ἀνεπιστημονεστέρη μὲν ἐστὶ τῆς λελεγμένης, λόγῳ δὲ εἰπεῖν θωμασιωτέρῃ· ἢ λέγει ἀπὸ τοῦ Ὁκεανοῦ ῥέουτα αὐτὸν ταῦτα μηχανᾶσθαι, τὸν δὲ Ὁκεανὸν γῆν περὶ πάσαν ρέειν.

22. Ἡ δὲ τρίτη τῶν ὀδῶν πολλῶν ἐπιεικεστάτη ἐοῦσα μάλιστα ἐψευσταί· λέγει γὰρ δὴ οὐδ’ αὐτὴ οὐδέν, φαμένῃ τὸν Νείλον ῥέειν ἀπὸ τηκομένης χιόνος· ὡς δὲ συν ἐκ Διβύης διὰ μέσων Αἰθιωπῶν, ἐκδιδοίδε ἐς Ἀιγυπτὸν. κἂς ὀν δὴτα βέοι ἀν ἀπὸ χιόνος, ἀπὸ τῶν θερμοστάτων ρέων ἐς τὰ ψυχρότερα τὰ πολλά ἐστι; ἄνδρὶ γε λογίζεσθαι τοιούτων πέρι οἶῳ τε ἐόντι, ὡς οὐδὲ οἶκος ἀπὸ χιόνος μὲν ῥεείν, πρῶτον μὲν καὶ μέγιστον μαρτύριον οἱ ἀνεμοί παρέχονται πνεόντες ἀπὸ τῶν 298
20. But some of the Greeks, wishing to be notable for cleverness, put forward three opinions about this river; of which there are two that I would not even mention, save to show only what they are. One of these will have it that the etesian winds\(^1\) are the cause of the rivers being in flood, because they hinder the Nile from flowing out into the sea. But there are many times when the etesian winds do not blow, yet the Nile does the same as before. And further, if the etesian winds were the cause, then the other rivers which flow contrary to those winds should be affected in like manner even as is the Nile, and all the more, inasmuch as being smaller they have a weaker current. Yet there are many rivers in Syria and in Libya, which are nowise in the same case as the Nile.

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

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

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\(^1\) The regular N.W. winds which blow in summer from the Mediterranean.
χωρέων τοιτέων θερμὸν. δεύτερον δὲ ὅτι ἀνομβρός ἡ χώρη καὶ ἀκρόσταλλος διατελεῖ ένώμα, ἐπὶ δὲ χίουν πεσούση πάσα ἀνάγκη ἐστὶ ὑπάρχει ἐν πέντε ἡμέρας, ὡστε, εἰ ἔχοντες, υπὸ ἀνταπὸ τὰ χωρία τρῖτα δὲ οἱ ἀνθρώποι ὑπὸ τοῦ καίματος μέλανες ἐόντες. ἵκτυιοι δὲ καὶ Χέλιδόνες δι’ ἐτεος ἐόντες οὐκ ἀπολείποντο, γερανοὶ δὲ φεύγουσι τὸν χειμῶνα τὸν ἐν τῇ Σκυθικῇ χώρῃ γινόμενον φοι-τῶς ἐς χειμασίαν ἐς τοὺς τόπους τούτους. εἰ τοίνυν ἔχοντες καὶ ὅσον ὅν ταύτην τὴν χώρην δι’ ἡς τε ἰῆν καὶ ἐκ τῆς ἀρχεῖται ἰέων ο Νεῖλος, ἢν ἀν τούτων οὐδέν, ὡς ἡ ἀνάγκη ἑλέγχει.

23. Ὁ δὲ περὶ τοῦ Ὀκεανοῦ λέξας ἡμεῖς τὰν ἀφανές τὸν μύθον ἀνενείκας οὐκ ἔχει ἑλέγχον· οὐ γὰρ τινὰ ἔγογε οἴδα ποταμὸν Ὀκεανὸν ἐόντα, ὁμήρου δὲ ἢ τινὰ τῶν πρὸ τερόθεν γενομένων ποιήτων δοκέω τὸ οὐνόμα εὐρόντα ἐς ποίησιν ἑσενείκασθαι.

24. Εἰ δὲ δεῖ μεμψάμενον γνώμας τὰς προ-κειμένας αὐτὸν περὶ τῶν ἀφανέων γνώμην ἀποδέ-ξασθαι, φράσω δι’ ὅ τι μοι δοκεί τὴν ἱδρύσεσθαι ο Νεῖλος τοῦ θέρεος· τὴν χειμερινήν ὄρην ἀπε-λαυνόμενος ὁ ἦλιος ἐκ τῆς ἀρχαιῆς διηζόδου ὑπὸ τῶν χειμώνων ἔρχεται τῆς Λιβύης τὰ ἀνω. ὡς μὲν νυν ἐν ἑλαχίστῳ δηλώσαι, πάν ἐηρται· τῆς γὰρ ἄν ἀγχοτάτῳ τε ἡ χώρης οὕτως ὁ θεὸς καὶ κατὰ ἡμῶν, ταύτην οίκος διήρην τε ὑδάτων μάλιστα καὶ τὰ ἐγχώρια ρεύματα μαραίνεσθαι τῶν ποταμῶν.

25. Ὁς δὲ ἐν πλέονι λόγῳ δηλώσαι, ὡδὲ ἔχει. διεξιόν της Λιβύης τὰ ἀνω ὁ ἦλιος τάδε ποιεῖ· ἀτε διὰ παντὸς τοῦ χρόνου αἰθρίου τε ἐόντος τοῦ

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Ethiopia are hot. And the second proof is, that the country is ever without rain and frost; but after snow has fallen there must needs be rain within five days; so that were there snow there would be rain in these lands. And the third proof is, that the men of the country are black by reason of the heat. Moreover, kites and swallows live there all the year round, and cranes, flying from the wintry weather of Scythia, come every year to these places to winter there. Now, were there but the least fall of snow in this country through which the Nile flows and whence it rises, none of these things would happen, as necessity proves.

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

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

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

1 It does not seem to be known what authority there is for this assertion.
Ηέρος τοῦ κατὰ ταύτα τὰ χωρία καὶ ἀλεεινής τῆς χώρης ἐσύσης καὶ ἀνέμων ψυχρῶν, διεξίων ποιεῖ οἶνον περ καὶ τὸ θέρος ἔωθε ποιεῖν ἵνα τὸ μέσον τοῦ οὐρανοῦ. Ἐλκει γὰρ ἐπ' ἑωτοῦ τὸ ὕδωρ, ἐλκύσας δὲ ἀπωθέει ἐς τὰ ἄνω χωρία, ὑπολαμβάνοντες δὲ οἱ ἀνέμοι καὶ διασκιδάντες τῆς οὐσίας καὶ εἰσὶ οἰκότως οἱ ἀπὸ ταύτης τῆς χώρης πνεύματες, ὁ τε νότος καὶ ὁ λίβος, ἀνέμων πολλῶν τῶν πάντων ὑετιώτατοι. δοκεῖ δὲ μοι οὐδὲ πᾶν τὸ ὕδωρ τὸ ἐπέτειον ἐκάστοτε ἀποπέμπεσθαι τοῦ Νείλου ὁ ἤλιος, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑπολείπεσθαι περὶ ἑωτοῦ. πρηνύμομεν δὲ τοῦ χειμῶνος ἀπέρχεται ὁ ἤλιος ἐς μέσον τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ὅπισω, καὶ τὸ ἐνθεύτεν ἦδη ὁμαίως ἀπὸ πάντων ἔλκει τῶν πτομάτων. τέως δὲ οἱ μὲν ὠμβρίου ὦδας συμμισσαγμένου πολλοῦ αὐτοῦ, ἀτε ύμηνος τε τῆς χώρης καὶ κεχαραδρωμένης, βέουσι μεγάλοι τοῦ δὲ θέρεος τῶν τε ὁμβρών ἐπιληπτῶντων αὐτούς καὶ ὕπο τοῦ ἤλιου ἐλκόμενοι ἀσθενεές εἰσί. ὁ δὲ Νείλος ἐων ἀνομβρος, ἐλκόμενος δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ ἤλιου μοῦνος ποταμῶν τοῦτον τῶν χρόνων, οἰκότως αὐτὸς ἑωτοῦ ῥεῖ πολλῷ ὑποδεέστερος ἦ τοῦ θέρεος· τότε μὲν γὰρ μετὰ πάντων τῶν ὑδάτων ἵσον ἐλκεται, τὸν δὲ χειμῶνα μοῦνος πιέζεται.

26. Οὕτω τὸν ἤλιον νενόμικα τοῦτων αὐτιων εἶναι. αὐτιως δὲ ὁ αὐτὸς οὕτως κατὰ γνωμὴν τὴν ἐμὴν καὶ τὸν ἥρα ἤηρον τὸν ταύτη εἶναι, διακαίων τὴν διέξοδον ἑωτοῦ· οὕτω τῆς Διβύης τὰ ἄνω θέρους αἰεὶ κατέχει. εἰ δὲ ἡ στάσις ἦλλακτο τῶν ὑψών, καὶ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ τῆς μὲν νῦν ὁ βορέης τε καὶ ὁ χειμών ἐστάσι, ταύτη μὲν τοῦ νότου ἣν ἡ στάσις καὶ τῆς μεσαμβρίας, τῇ δὲ ὁ νότος νῦν.
land warm and the winds cool—the sun does what he was wont to do in the summer in passing through the middle of the heaven: he draws the water to himself, and having so drawn it, expels it away to the inland regions, and the winds catch it and scatter and dissolve it; and, as is to be supposed, those that blow from that country, the south and the south-west, are the most rainy of all winds. Yet I think that the sun never lets go all the water that he yearly draws up from the Nile, but keeps some back near to himself. Then as the winter becomes milder, the sun returns back to the middle of the heaven, and after that he draws from all rivers alike. Meantime the other rivers are swollen to high flood by the much water from the sky that falls into them, because the country is rained upon and cut into gullies; but in the summer they are low, lacking the rain and being drawn up too by the sun. But the Nile being fed by no rain, and being the only river in winter drawn up by the sun, at this time falls far short of the height that he had in summer; which is but natural; for in summer all other waters too and not his alone are attracted to the sun, but in the winter it is he alone who is afflicted.

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

...εστικε, ταυτη δε ο βορεης, ει ταυτα ουτω ειχε, ο ηλιως αν ἀπελαυνόμενος έκ μέσου του ουρανου υπο του χειμωνος και του βορεω ήιε αν τα άνω της Ευρωπης κατα περ νυν της Διβυς έρχεται, διεξοντα δ' αν μιν δια πάσης Ευρώπης έλπομαι ποιειν αν τον Ίστρου τα περ νυν έργαζεται τον Νειλον.

27. Της αυρης δε περι, οτι ουκ άποτινει, τηνδε έχω γνωμην, ως καρτα απο θερμεων χωρεων ουκ οικος εστι ουδεν άποττεινειν, αυρη δε απο ψυχρου τινος φιλειν πνειν.

28. Ταυτα μειν νυν εστω ως εστι τε και ως αρχην εγενετο του δε Νειλου τας πηγας ουτε Αιγυπτιων ουτε Διβυων ουτε Ελληνων των εμοι απικομενων εσ λογους ουδεις υπεσχετο ειδειναι, ει μη εν Αιγυπτω εν Σαι πολι ο γραμματιστης των ιρων χρηματων της Αθηναις, ουτος δ' έμοιγε παισεων εδοκεε φαμενος ειδειναι άτρεκεως έλεγε δε αωδε, ειναι δυο ορεα ες οξυ τας κορυφας απηγμενα, μεταξι Συηνης τε πολιος κειμενα της Θηβαιδος και Ελεφαντινης, ουνοματα δε ειναι τοις ορει τω μεν Κροφι τω δε Μοφι τας ον δη πηγας του Νειλου έουσας αβυσσους εκ του μεσου των ορεων τουτων ρεειν, και το μεν ήμισυ του ύδατος επ' Αιγυπτου ρεειν και προς βορεην ανεμουν, το δ' έτερου ήμισυ επ' Αιθιοπις τε και νοτου. ως δε αβυσσοι εισι αι πηγαι, ες διαπειραν έφη τουτου Ψαμμητιχου Αιγυπτου βασιλεα απικεσθαι πολ- λεων γαρ αυτων χιλιαδων οργυεων πλεξαμενον καλου κατειναι ταυτη και ουκ έξικεσθαι ες βυσσον. ουτω μεν δη ο γραμματιστης, ει άρα ταυτα γινομενα έλεγε, απεφαινε, ως εμε κατανοειν, δινας
now,—if this were so, the sun when driven from mid-heaven by the winter and the north wind would pass over the inland parts of Europe as he now passes over Libya, and I think that in his passage over all Europe he would work the same effect on the Ister as he now does on the Nile.

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

28. Be these matters, then, as they are and as they were made to be in the beginning. But as to the sources of the Nile, none that conversed with me, neither Egyptian, nor Libyan, nor Greek, professed to know them, except only the recorder of the sacred treasures of Athene in the Egyptian city of Sais. He, I thought, jested with me when he said that he had exact knowledge; but this was his story:—Between the city of Syene in the Thebaid and Elephantine there are two hills with sharp peaks, the one called Crophi and the other Mophi. The springs of the Nile, which are unfathomed, rise between these hills; and half the water flows towards Egypt northwards, the other half southwards towards Ethiopia. That this source cannot be fathomed, Psammetichus king of Egypt proved by experiment: for he had a rope woven of many a thousand fathoms' length and let down into the spring, but he could not reach to the bottom. Thus, then, if the recorder spoke truth, he showed, as I think, that here are
29. Ἀλλού δὲ οὖνεν οὖν ἐδυνάμην πυθέσθαι. ἀλλὰ τοσόνδε μὲν ἄλλο ἐπὶ μακρότατον ἐπυθόμην, μέχρι μὲν Ἐλεφαντίνης πόλιος αὐτόττως ἐλθὼν, τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦτο ἄκοι ἦδη ἱστορέων. ἀπὸ Ἐλεφαντίνης πόλιος ἄνω ἵντι ἀναντε ἔστι χωρίον ταύτη ὅν δεῖ τὸ πλοῖον διαδήσαις ἀμφοτέρωθεν κατά περ βοῦν πορεύεσθαι· ἂν δὲ ἀπορραγή ὁ πλοῖον οἴχεται φερόμενον ὑπὸ ἰσχύος τοῦ ῥόου. τὸ δὲ χωρίον τούτο ἐστὶ ἐπ᾽ ἱμέρας τέσσερας πλόος, σκολίος δὲ ταύτη κατά περ ὁ Μαλανδρος ἐστὶ ο Νεῖλος· σχοίνοι δὲ δυώδεκα εἰσὶ υἱῶν τους δεὶ τούτῳ τῷ τρόπῳ διεκπλῶσαι. καὶ ἐπείτα ἀπίζει εἰς πεδίον λείουν, ἐν τῷ νῆσῳ περιρρέει ο Νεῖλος· Ταχωμψ όνυμοι αὐτή ἐστι. οἶκενοι δὲ τὰ ἀπὸ Ἐλεφαντίνης ἀνω Αἰθιόπες ήδή καὶ τῆς νῆσου τὸ ἡμισυ, τὸ δὲ ἡμισυ Αἰγύπτιοι. ἔχεται δὲ τῆς νῆσου λίμνη μεγάλη, τὴν περίξ νομάδες Αἰθιόπες νέμονται· τὴν διεκπλώσας ἐς τοῦ Νείλου τὸ βέσθρον ήξεις, τὸ ἐς τὴν λίμνην ταύτην ἐκδίδοι. καὶ ἐπείτα ἀποβὰς παρὰ τὸν ποταμὸν ὀδοιπορίην ποιήσει ἡμερέων τεσσεράκοντα· σκόπελοι τε γὰρ ἐν τῷ Νείλῳ ήξεῖς ἀνέχουσι καὶ χοιράδες πολλαί εἰσι, δι' ὅν οὐκ οἶα τε ἐστὶ πλέειν. διεξελθὼν δὲ ἐν τῆς τεσσεράκοντα ἡμέρης τούτῳ τὸ χωρίον, αὕτη ἐς ἐτερον πλοῖον ἐβῆς δυώδεκα ἡμέρας πλεύσει καὶ ἐπείτα ήξεῖς ἐς πόλιν μεγάλην τῇ οἴνωμα ἐστὶ Μερόπη· λέγεται δὲ αὕτη ἡ πόλις εἶναι μητρόπολις τῶν ἄλλων.
strong eddies and an upward flow of water, and the rushing of the stream against the hills makes the sounding-line when let down unable to reach the bottom.

29. From no other man could I learn anything. But this much I learnt by the farthest inquiry that I could make, by my own travel and sight as far as the city of Elephantine, and beyond that by question and hearsay:—Beyond Elephantine, as one travels inland, the land rises. Here one must pass with the boat roped on both sides as men harness an ox; and if the rope break, the boat is carried away by the strength of the current. This part of the river is a four days' journey by boat, and the Nile here is winding like the Maeander; a length of twelve schoeni must be passed in the aforesaid fashion. After that you will come to a level plain, where there is an island in the Nile, called Tachompso. Above Elephantine the country now begins to be inhabited by Ethiopians, and half the people of the island are Ethiopians and half Egyptians. Near to the island is a great lake, on the shores of which dwell nomad Ethiopians. Having crossed this, you will come to the stream of the Nile, which issues into this lake. Then you will disembark and journey along the river bank for forty days; for there are sharp projecting rocks in the Nile and many reefs, through which no boat can pass. Having traversed this part in forty days as I have said, you will take boat again and so travel for twelve days till you come to a great city called Meroe, which is said to be the capital of all Ethiopia. The
The Greek equivalents for Amun and Osiris.

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

30. From this city you will make a journey by water of equal distance with that by which you came from Elephantine to the capital city of Ethiopia, and you will come to the land of the Deserters. These Deserters are called Asmach, which signifies, in our language, those who stand on the left hand of the king. These once, to the number of two hundred and forty thousand Egyptians of fighting age, revolted and joined themselves to the Ethiopians. The reason was this:—In the reign of Psammetichus there were garrisons posted at Elephantine on the side of Ethiopia, at Daphnae of Pelusium on the side of Arabia and Assyria, and at Marea on the side of Libya. And still in my time the Persians hold these posts as they were held in the days of Psammetichus; there are Persian guards at Elephantine and at Daphnae. Now the Egyptians had been on guard for three years, and none came to relieve them; so taking counsel and making common cause, they revolted from Psammetichus and went to Ethiopia. Psammetichus heard of it and pursued after them; and when he overtook them he besought them with many words not to desert the gods of their fathers and their children and wives. Then one of them, so the story goes, said, pointing to his manly part,
31. Μέχρι μὲν εννιάδες μηνών πλόου καὶ ὁδοῦ γυνόωσκεται ὁ Νεῖλος πάρεξ τοῦ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ ῥεῖματος τοσοῦτοι γὰρ συμβαλλομένῳ μῆνες εὐρίσκονται ἀναίσιμουμένοι ἐξ ᾗ Ἐλεφαντῖνης πορευομένῳ ἐσ τοὺς αὐτομόλους τοῦτοὺς. ἡ δὲ ἀπὸ ἐσπέρης τε καὶ ἧλιον δυσμέων τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦτο ὑδαῖς ἑχει σαφέως φράσατε ἐρημὸς γὰρ ἐστὶ ἡ χώρη αὐτῇ ὑπὸ καύματος.

32. Ἀλλὰ τάδε μὲν ἢκουσα ἀνδρῶν Κυρηναίων φαμένων ἐλθείν τε ἐπὶ τὸ Ἀμμώνος χρηστήριον καὶ ἀπικέσθαι ἐς λόγους Ἐπεάρχῳ τῷ Ἀμμώνιοι βασιλεῖ, καὶ κως ἐκ λόγων ἄλλων ἀπικέσθαι ἐς λέσχην περὶ τοῦ Νεῖλου, ὡς οὖν ἡδεις αὐτοῦ οἶδε τὰς πηγὰς, καὶ τὸν Ἐπεάρχον φᾶναι ἐλθείν κοτὲ παρ’ αὐτὸν Νασαμώνας ἀνδρας. τὸ δὲ ἔθνος τοῦτο ἐστὶ μὲν Λιβυκοῦ, νέμεται δὲ τὴν Σὺρτιν τε καὶ τὴν πρὸς ἣδ χώρην τῆς Σὺρτιος οὐκ ἐπὶ πολλόν, ἀπικομένους δὲ τοὺς Νασαμώνας καὶ εἰρωτωμένους εἰ τι ἔχουσι πλέον λέγειν περὶ τῶν ἔρημων τῆς Λιβύης, φᾶναι παρὰ σφίσι γενέσθαι ἀνδρῶν δυναστέων παιδίς ὑβριστάς, τοὺς ἄλλα τε μηχανῶσθαι ἀνδρωθέντας περίσσα καὶ δὴ καὶ ἀποκληρώσαι πέντε ἑωτῶν ὑψομένων τὰ ἔρημα τῆς Λιβύης, καὶ εἰ τι πλέον ἰδοιεῖν τῶν τὰ μακρῶτατα ἰδομένων.
that wherever this should be they would have wives and children. So they came to Ethiopia, and gave themselves up to the king of the country; who, to make them a gift in return, bade them dispossess certain Ethiopians with whom he was at feud, and occupy their land. These Ethiopians then learnt Egyptian customs and have become milder-mannered by intermixture with the Egyptians.

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

32. But this I heard from certain men of Cyrene, who told me that they had gone to the oracle of Ammon, and there conversed with Etearchus king of the Ammonians, and that from other matters of discourse they came to speak of the Nile, how no one knows the source of it. Then Etearchus told them that once he had been visited by certain Nasamonians. These are a Libyan people, inhabiting the country of the Syrtis and the country a little way to the east of the Syrtis. When these Nasamonians on their coming were questioned if they brought any news concerning the Libyan desert, they told Etearchus that there had been among them certain sons of their chief men, proud and violent youths, who, when they came to man's estate, besides planning other wild adventures, had chosen by lot five of their company to visit the deserts of Libya, and see what they might beyond the utmost range of travellers. It must be known
τῆς γὰρ Διήνυς τὰ μὲν κατὰ τὴν βορηήν θάλασσαν ἦν Αιγύπτου ἀρξάμενοι μέχρι Σολῶντος ἄκρης, ἣ τελευτῶ τῆς Διήνυς, παρήκουσι παρὰ πᾶσαν Διήνυς καὶ Διήνυων ἔθνεα πολλά, πλὴν ὅσον Ἑλληνες καὶ Φωικοὶς ἔχουσι: τὰ δὲ ύπὲρ θαλάσσης τε καὶ τῶν ἐπὶ θάλασσαν κατηκόντων ἀνθρώπων, τὰ κατύπερθε θηριώδης ἐστὶ ἡ Διήνυς τὰ δὲ κατύπερθε τῆς θηριώδεος ψάμμος τε ἐστὶ καὶ ἀνυδρὸς δεινὸς καὶ ἐρήμως πάντων. εἰπαι δὲν τοὺς νενίας ἀποπεμπομένους ὑπὸ τῶν ἥλικων, ὡδαί τε καὶ σιτίοισι εὐ ἐξηρτυμένους, ἴεναι τὰ πρώτα μὲν διὰ τῆς οἰκειομενής, ταύτην δὲ διεξελθόντας ἐς τὴν θηριώδεα ἀπικέσθαι, ἐκ δὲ ταύτης τὴν ἐρήμην διεξίευναι, τὴν ὅδον ποιεμένους πρὸς ξέφυρον ἀνεμον, διεξελθόντας δὲ χῶρον πολλὸν ψαμμόδεα καὶ ἐν πολλῇ ἰμέρῃ ἰδεῖν δὴ κοτε δενδρεὰ ἐν πεδίῳ πεφυκότα, καὶ σφεᾶς προσελθόντας ἀπεσθαι τοῦ ἐπεόντος ἐπὶ τῶν δεσδρέων καρποῦ, ἀπομένοισι δὲ σφι ἐπελθείν ἀνδρας μικρούς, μετρίων ἐλάσσονας ἀνδρῶν, λαβόντας δὲ ἀγεῖν σφέας· φωνῆς δὲ οὕτε τι τῆς ἐκείνων τοὺς Νασαμῶνας γινώσκειν οὕτε τοὺς ἀγοντάς τῶν Νασαμῶναν· ἀγείνει τι δὴ αὐτοῦς δ' ἐλέων μεγίστων, καὶ διεξελθόντας ταῦτα ἀπικέσθαι εἰς πόλιν ἐν τῇ πάντῃ εἰναι τοῖς ἀγονσὶ τὸ μέγαθος ἱσοὺς, χρῶμα δὲ μέλανας· παρὰ δὲ τὴν πόλιν ῥεῖν ποταμοῦ μέγαν, ῥεῖν δὲ ἀπὸ ἔσπερης αὐτῶν πρὸς ήλιον ἀνατέλλοντα, φαίνεσθαι δὲ ἐν αὐτῷ κρυκοδέιλους.

33. 'Ο μὲν δὴ τοῦ Ἀμμιλίου Ἐστεάρχου λόγος ἐς τούτῳ μοι δεδηλώσθω, πλὴν ὅτι ἀπονοστήσαί τε ἐφασκε τοὺς Νασαμῶνας, ὡς οἱ Κυρηναῖοι ἔλεγον, καὶ ἐς τοὺς οὖτοι ὑπίκοντο ἀνθρώπους, γνῶτας εἰναι

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that all the northern seacoast of Libya—from Egypt as far as the promontory of Soloeis, which is the end of Libya—is inhabited through its whole length by Libyans, many tribes of them, except the part held by Greeks and Phoenicians; the region of Libya above the sea and the men of the seacoast is infested by wild beasts; and farther inland than the wild-beast country all is sand, exceeding waterless and wholly desert. This then was the story told by the young men:—When they left their companions, being well supplied with water and provisions, they journeyed first through the inhabited country, and having passed this they came to the region of wild beasts. After this, they travelled over the desert, towards the west, and crossed a wide sandy region, till after many days they saw trees growing in a plain; when they came to these and were plucking the fruit of the trees, they were met by little men of stature smaller than common, who took them and led them away. The Nasamonians did not know these men's language nor did the escort know the language of the Nasamonians. The men led them across great marshes, which having crossed they came to a city where all the people were of like stature with the escort, and black. A great river ran past this city, from the west towards the rising sun; crocodiles could be seen in it.

33. This is enough to say concerning the story told by Etearchus the Ammonian; except that he said that the Nasamonians returned—as the men of Cyrene told me—and that the people to whose
34. 'Ο μὲν δὴ Ἰστρος, ρέει γὰρ δι’ οἰκεομένης, πρὸς πολλῶν γινώσκεται, περὶ δὲ τῶν τοῦ Νείλου πηγέων οὕδεις ἔχει λέγειν’ ἅοικητὸς τε γὰρ καὶ ἔρημος ἐστὶ η Ἁμβην ὁ δὲ θερεῖ. περὶ δὲ τοῦ ῥεύματος αὐτοῦ, ἐπὶ ’δςον μακρότατον ἱστορεύντα ὑμ ἐξεικέσθαι, εἰρηταὶ ἐκδιδό δὲ ἔς Ἀγύπτον. ἡ δὲ Ἀγύπτος τῆς ὀρεινῆς Κιλίκίας μάλιστα καὶ ἀντίκε κέεται’ ἐνθεύτεν ὑμ ἐς Σιωπην τὴν εν τῷ Ἁμβην πόντῳ πέντε ἡμερέων θεὰ ὦδος εὐξάμων ἀνδρός. ἡ δὲ Σιωπὴ τῷ Ἰστρῳ ἐκδιδόντες ἐς θάλασσαν ἀντίκε κέεται. οὕτω τὸν Νείλον δοκόδει διὰ πάσης τῆς Ἁμβην διεξόντα ἐξεισοῦσθαι τῷ Ἰστρῳ.

35. Νείλου μὲν νων περὶ τοσαῦτα εἰρήθης ὡς ἐρχομαι δὲ περὶ Ἀγύπτου μηκενεών τὸν λόγον, οὕν πλεῖστα θωμάσια ἔχει ἡ ἡ ἀλλη πάσα χώρῃ καὶ

1 ἐκ τῶν ἴσων μέτρων is an obscure expression. What Hdt. appears to mean is, that as the Nile (according to him)
country they came were all wizards; as to the river that ran past the city, Etearchus guessed it to be the Nile; and that is but reasonable. For the Nile flows from Libya, and right through the midst of that country; and as I guess, reasoning as to things unknown from visible signs, it takes its rise from the same measure of distance as the Ister.¹ That river flows from the land of the Celtæ and the city of Pyrene through the very midst of Europe; now the Celtæ dwell beyond the pillars of Heracles, being neighbours of the Cynesii, who are the westernmost of all nations inhabiting Europe. The Ister, then, flows clean across Europe and ends its course in the Euxine sea, at Istria, which is inhabited by Milesian colonists.

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

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


ΗΡΟΔΟΤΟΣ

ἐργα λόγου μέξω παρέχεται πρὸς πᾶσαν χώρην τούτων εἶνεκα πλέω περὶ αὐτῆς εἰρήσεται.

Αἰγύπτιοι ἀμα τῷ οὐρανῷ τῷ κατὰ σφέας ἐόντι ἐτεροῖς καὶ τῷ ποταμῷ φῦσιν ἀλλοίην παρεχομένῳ ἢ οἱ ἄλλοι ποταμοί, τὰ πολλὰ πάντα ἐμπαλίν τοῖς ἀλλοίσι ἀνθρώποισι ἐστήσαντο ήθεά τε καὶ νόμους ἐν τοῖς αἱ μὲν γυναῖκες ἀγοράζουσι καὶ καπηλεῦουσι, οἱ δὲ ἄνδρες κατ' οἴκους ἐώτες υφαίνουσι̇ν υφαίνουσι̇ δὲ οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι ἄνω τὴν κρόκην ὁθέοντες, Αἰγύπτιοι δὲ κάτω. τὰ ἀχθεά οἱ μὲν ἄνδρες ἐπὶ τῶν κεφαλῶν φορέουσι, αἱ δὲ γυναῖκες ἐπὶ τῶν ὠμῶν. οὐρέουσι αἱ μὲν γυναῖκες ὀρθαί, οἱ δὲ ἄνδρες κατήμενοι. εὐμαρεία χρέωνται ἐν τοῖς οἴκοις, ἐσθίουσι δὲ ἐξώ ἐν τῇ ὁδοῖ ἐπιλέγοντες ὡς τὰ μὲν αἰσχρὰ ἀναγκαία δὲ ἐν ἀποκρύφῳ ἐστὶ ποιεῖν χρεόν, τὰ δὲ μὴ αἰσχρὰ ἀναφαίνον. ἱρᾶται γυνὴ μὲν οὐδεμία οὔτε ἔρσειος θεοῦ οὔτε θηλής, ἄνδρες δὲ πάντων τε καὶ πασεων. τρέφειοι τούς τοκέας τοῖς μὲν παισὶ οὐδεμία ἀνάγκη μὴ βουλομένοις, τῇ δὲ θυγατράσι πᾶσα ἀνάγκη καὶ μὴ βουλομένης.

36. Οἱ ἱρέες τῶν θεῶν τῇ μὲν ἄλλη κομέουσι, ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ δὲ ἐσφάγονται. τοῖς ἀλλοίσι ἀνθρώποισι νόμοις ἀμα κηδεὶς κεκάρθαι τὰς κεφαλὰς τῶν μιλιστα ἱκνέται, Αἰγύπτιοι δὲ ὑπὸ τοὺς θανάτους ἀνείσι τὰς τρίχας αὐξεσθαι τὰς τε ἐν τῇ κεφαλῇ καὶ τῷ γενείῳ, τέως ἐξυρημένοι. τοῖς μὲν ἀλλοίσι ἀνθρώποισι χωρίς θηρίῳ ἡ δίαιτα ἀποκέκριται, Αἰγυπτιοὶ δὲ ὁμοῦ θηρίοις ἡ δίαιτα ἐστὶ. ἀπὸ πυρῶν καὶ κριθέων ὀλλοὶ ἤσοσι, Αἰγυπτιῶν δὲ τῷ ποιειμένῳ ἀπὸ τούτων τὴν ἡ ὁπόιος ὀνειδος μεγιστὸν ἐστὶ, ἀλλὰ ἀπὸ ὄλυνθος ποιεῖται σιτία.

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be seen so many works of unspeakable greatness; therefore I shall say the more concerning Egypt.

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

36. Everywhere else, priests of the gods wear their hair long; in Egypt they are shaven. With all other men, in mourning for the dead those most nearly concerned have their heads shaven; Egyptians are shaven at other times, but after a death they let their hair and beard grow. The Egyptians are the only people who keep their animals with them in the house. Whereas all others live on wheat and barley, it is the greatest disgrace for an Egyptian so to live; they make food from a coarse grain which some call...
καὶ εἰς τὸ οὖν κῶπρον ἀναίρεσθαι. τὰ αἰδοῖα δὴ ὀλλοὶ μὲν ἐώσι ὡς ἐγένοντο, πλὴν ὠσι τοῦτων ἐμαθοῦν. Αἰγύπτιοι δὲ περιτάμονται. εἴματα τῶν μὲν ἀνδρῶν ἐκαστος ἔχει δύο, τῶν δὲ γυναικῶν ἐν ἐκάστη. τῶν ἱστίων τοὺς κρίκους καὶ τοὺς κάλους οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι ἐξώθεν προσδέουσι, Αἰγύπτιοι δὲ ἐσωθεν. γράμματα γράφονται καὶ λογίζονται ψῆφοι. "Ελληνες μὲν ἀπὸ τῶν ἀριστερῶν ἐπὶ τὰ δεξία φέροντες τὴν χεῖρα, Αἰγύπτιοι δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν δεξιῶν ἐπὶ τὰ ἀριστερὰ καὶ ποιεῦντες ταῦτα αὐτοῖ μὲν φασὶ ἐπὶ δεξία ποιεῖν,"Ελληνες δὲ ἐπὶ ἀριστερά. διαφαίνεσθαι δὲ γράμματι χρεώνται, καὶ τὰ μὲν αὐτῶν ἱρὰ τὰ δὲ δημοτικὰ καλέσται.

37. Θεοσεβεῖς δὲ περισσῶς ἐόντες μάλιστα πάντων ἀνθρώπου νόμοις τοιούτοις χρεώνται. ἐκ χαλκεῶν ποτηρίων πίνουσι, διασμόντες αἰνᾶ πᾶσαν ἡμέρην, οὐκ ὃ μὲν ὃ ὃ οὐ, ἄλλα πάντες. εἴματα δὲ λίνα αἰεὶ πορεοῦσι αἰεὶ νεόπλυτα, ἐπιτη- δεύοντες τοῦτο μάλιστα, τὰ τε αἰδοῖα περι- τάμονται καθαρειότητος εἰνεκεν, προτιμῶντες καθαροὶ εἶναι ἡ εὐπρεπέστεροι. οἱ δὲ ιρεῖς ποροῦνται πάν τὸ σώμα διὰ τρίτης ἡμέρης, ὡς μήπε φθείρα μήπε ἄλλῳ μυσαρόν μηδὲν ἐγγίνηται σφιθεραπεοῦσι τοὺς θεοὺς. ἐσθήτα δὲ φορέουσι οἱ ιρεῖς λινέων μούνην καὶ ύποδήματα βύθλων· ἄλλην δὲ σφι ἐσθήτα οὐκ ἐξέτη λαβεῖν οὐδε ὑποδήματα ἄλλα. λούνται δὲ διὸ τῆς ἡμέρης ἐκάστης ψυχρῆς καὶ διὸ ἐκάστης νυκτὸς, ἄλλας τε θρησκείας ἐπιτελέουσι μυρίας ὡς εἰπεῖν λόγως. πάσχουσι δὲ καὶ ἀγαθὰ οὐκ ὅλγα: οὔτε τι γάρ.
spelt. They knead dough with their feet, and gather mud and dung with their hands. The Egyptians and those who have learnt it from them are the only people who practise circumcision. Every man has two garments, every woman only one. The rings and sheets of sails are made fast elsewhere outside the boat, but inside it in Egypt. The Greeks write and calculate by moving the hand from left to right; the Egyptians do contrariwise; yet they say that their way of writing is towards the right, and the Greek way towards the left. They use two kinds of writing; one is called sacred, the other common.\footnote{Three kinds, really: hieroglyphic, hieratic (derived from hieroglyphic), and demotic, a simplified form of hieratic. See Rawlinson's essay, ch. 5, in his Appendix to Book II.}

37. They are beyond measure religious, more than any other nation; and these are among their customs:—They drink from cups of bronze, which they cleanse out daily; this is done not by some but by all. They are especially careful ever to wear newly-washed linen raiment. They practise circumcision for cleanliness' sake; for they set cleanliness above seemliness. Their priests shave the whole body every other day, that no lice or aught else that is foul may infest them in their service of the gods. The priests wear a single linen garment and sandals of papyrus\footnote{On this plant, see ch. 92.}: they may take no other kind of clothing or footwear. Twice a day and twice every night they wash in cold water. Their religious observances are, one may say, innumerable. But also they receive many benefits: they neither consume nor spend aught of
τῶν οἰκημάτων τρίβουσι ὅτε δαπανῶνται, ἄλλα καὶ σιτία σφί ἐστὶ ἱρὰ πεσοῦμενα, καὶ κρεῶν βοεῶν καὶ χηνέων πλῆθος τι ἐκάστω γίνεται πολλὸν ἡμέρης ἐκάστης, δίδοται δὲ σφί καὶ οἶνος ἀμπέλινος· ἰχθύων δὲ οὗ σφί ἐξεστὶ πάσασθαι. κυάμοις δὲ οὔτε τι μάλα σπείρονσι Ἀιγύπτιοι ἐν τῇ χώρῃ, τοὺς τε γινομένους οὔτε τρώγουσι οὔτε ἐψοντες πατέονται, οἱ δὲ δὴ ίρες οὐδὲ ὀρέοντες ἀνέχονται, νομίζοντες οὐ καθαρὸν εἶναι μὲν ὀσπρίον. ἢράται δὲ οὐκ εἰς ἐκάστον τῶν θεῶν ἀλλὰ πολλοὶ, τῶν εἰς ἐστὶ ἀρχιερεύς· ἐπεὰν δὲ τις ἀποθάνη, τοῦτον ὁ παῖς ἀντικατιστᾶται.

38. Τοὺς δὲ βοῦς τους ἔρσενας τοὺ Ἐπάφοις εἶναι νομίζομεν, καὶ τοῦτο τε ἐνεκα δοκιμᾶσθαι αὐτοὺς ὅτε τρίχα ἢν καὶ μίαν ἔδηται ἐπεεύθαναν μέλαιναι, οὐ καθαρὸν εἶναι νομίζει. δίξηται δὲ ταῦτα ἐπὶ τούτῳ τεταγμένος τῶν τις ἱέρων καὶ ὁρθοῦ ἐστεῖντος τοῦ κτήμος καὶ ὕπτιον, καὶ τὴν γλῶσαν εξειρύσας, εἰ καθαρή τῶν προκειμένων σημείων, τὰ ἐγὼ ἐν ἄλλῳ λόγῳ ἔρεω· κατορᾶ δὲ καὶ τὰς τρίχας τῆς ὑφῆς εἰ κατὰ φύσιν ἔχει πεφυκώς. ἢν δὲ τούτων πάντων ἡ καθαρός, σημαίνεται βύβλῳ περὶ τὰ κέρεα εἰζύσων καὶ ἐπείτα γῆν σημαντρίδα ἐπιπλάσας ἐπιβάλλει τὸν δακτύλιον, καὶ οὕτω ἀπάγουσι. ἀσήμαντον δὲ θύσαντι θάνατος ἡ ζημία ἐπικέεται. δοκιμᾶσθαι μεν γὰς τὸ κτήμος τρόπῳ τοιοῦτο, θυσίῃ δὲ σφί ήδε κατέστηκε.

39. Ἀγαγότης τὸ σεσημασμένον κτήμος πρὸς τὸν βωμὸν ὅκου ἄν θύωσι, πῦρ ἀνακαίνουσι, ἔπειτα δὲ ἐπὶ αὐτοῦ οἴνον κατὰ τοῦ ἱρήνον ἐπιστείσαντες καὶ ἐπικαλέσαντες τὸν θεὸν σφάζουσι, σφά-
their own; sacred food is cooked for them, to each man is brought every day flesh of beeves and geese in great abundance, and wine of grapes too is given to them. They may not eat fish. The Egyptians sow no beans in their country; if any grow, they will not eat them either raw or cooked; the priests cannot endure even to see them, considering beans an unclean kind of pulse. Many (not one alone) are dedicated to the service of each god. One of these is the high priest; and when a high priest dies his son succeeds to his office.

38. They hold that bulls belong to Epaphus,¹ and therefore test them thus to see if there be as much as one black hair on them; if there be, the bull is deemed not pure; one of the priests, appointed to this task, examines the beast, making it to stand and to lie, and drawing out its tongue, to know whether it bear none of the stated signs which I shall declare hereafter.² He looks also to the hairs of the tail, to see if they grow naturally. If it be pure in all these respects, the priest marks it by wrapping papyrus round the horns, then smears it with sealing-earth and stamps it with his ring; and after this they lead the bull away. But the penalty is death for sacrificing a bull that the priest has not marked. Such is the manner of proving the beast; I will now show how it is sacrificed.

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

¹ Epaphus is the Greek form of Apis or Hapi, the bull-god of Memphis; for bulls of Mair's Oppian (L.C.L.) Cyn. II. 86, note.
² iii. 28.
ξαντες δε ἀποτάμυνουσι την κεφαλήν. σώμα μὲν δή τοι κτίνεος δείρουσι, κεφαλὴ δε κείνη πολλὰ καταρησάμενοι φέρουσι, τοῖσι μὲν ἄν ἢ ἁγορὴ καὶ Ἐλληνες σφι ἐωσι ἐπιδήμωι ἐμποροι, οὐ δὲ φέρουτε ἐς τὴν ἁγορὴν ἀπ’ ὅν ἐδοντο, τοῖσι δὲ ἄν μὴ παρέωσι Ἐλληνες, οὐ δ’ ἐκβάλλουσι ἐς τὸν ποταμόν· καταρώνται δὲ τάδε λέγοντες τής κεφαλῆς, εἰ τι μέλλοι ἢ σφίσε τοῖσι θύουσι ἡ Ἀιγύπτιος τῇ συναπάσῃ κακὸν γενέσθαι, ἐς κεφαλήν ταύτην τραπέσθαι. κατὰ μὲν γὰρ τὰς κεφαλὰς τῶν θυμοέων κτηνέων καὶ τὴν ἐπίσπεισιν τοῦ ὦν πάντες Ἀιγύπτιοι νόμοισι τοῖσι αὐτοῖσι χρέωνται ὁμοίως ἐς πάντα τὰ ἴρα, καὶ ἄπο τούτου τοῦ νόμου οὐδὲ ἄλλου οὐδένος ἐμψύχου κεφαλῆς γεύσται Ἀιγυπτίων οὐδείς.

40. Ἡ δὲ ἡ ἐξαίρεσις τῶν ἵρων καὶ ἡ καύσις ἀλλὴ περὶ ἄλλῳ ἵρων σφί κατέστηκε τὴν δ’ ὅπως μεγιστὴν τε δαίμονα ἵγημεν εἴναι καὶ μεγίστην ὅρις ἀνάγοντες, ταύτην ἐρχομαι ἐρέων ... ¹ ἐπεὶ άποδείρωσι τὸν βοῦν, κατευ-ξάμενοι κοιλήν μὲν κείνην πᾶσαν ἐξ ὧν εἶλον, στεγάζεσα δὲ αὐτοῦ λείπουσι ἐν τῷ σώματι καὶ την πιμελήν, σκέλεα δὲ ἀποτάμυνοι καὶ τὴν ὀσφύν ἀκρην καὶ τοὺς ὠμοὺς τε καὶ τὸν τραχήλον. ταῦτα δὲ ποιήσαντες τὸ ἄλλο σώμα τοῦ βοῶς πιμπλάσι ἄρτων καθαρῶν καὶ μέλιτος καὶ ἀσταφίδος καὶ σύκων καὶ λιβανωτοῦ καὶ σμύρνης καὶ τῶν ἄλλων θυωμάτων, πλήσαντες δὲ τούτων καταγίζουσι, ἔλαιον ἄφθονον καταχέουσες προ-νηστεύσαντες δὲ θύουσι, καιρομένων δὲ τῶν ἱρῶν

¹ There is an obvious lacuna; probably the name of the goddess (Isis) was given here.
having so done they sever the head from the body. They flay the carcase of the victim, then invoke many curses on its head and carry the same away. Where there is a market, and Greek traders in the place, the head is taken to the market and sold; where there are no Greeks, it is thrown into the river. The imprecation which they utter over the heads is, that whatever ill threatens themselves, who sacrifice, or the whole of Egypt, may fall upon that head. In respect of the heads of sacrificed beasts and the libation of wine, the practice of all Egyptians is the same in all sacrifices; and from this ordinance no Egyptian will taste of the head of anything that had life.

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

41. Τοὺς μὲν νυν καθαροὺς βοῦς τοὺς ἐρεσενας καὶ τοὺς μόσχους οἱ πάντες Αἰγυπτιοί θύουσι, τὰς δὲ θηλέας οὐ σφι ἔξεστι θύειν, ἀλλὰ ἱραί εἰσι τῆς Ἰσίου τὸ γὰρ τῆς Ἰσίος ἁγαλμα ἐὼν γυναικήν βούκερων ἐστὶ κατὰ περὶ Ἐλληνες τῇ Ἰοῦν γράφουσι, καὶ τὰς βοῦς τὰς θηλέας Ἀιγυπτιοί πάντες ὀμόσως σέβονται προβάτων πάντων μάλιστα μακρὸ. τῶν εἶνεκά οὔτε ἀνὴρ Αἰγυπτιος οὔτε γυνὴ ἀνδρα Ἐλληνα φιλήσειε ἀν τῷ στόματι, οὐδὲ μαχαίρῃ ἄνδρὸς Ἐλληνος χρῆσεται οὐδὲ ὀβελοῦσι οὐδὲ λέβητι, οὐδὲ κρέως καθαροῦ βοὸς διατετμημένον Ἐλληνικῇ μαχαίρῃ γεύσεται. θα-πτουσι δὲ τοὺς ἀποθνήσκοντας βοῦς τρόπον τούνδε τὰς μὲν θηλέας ἐς τὸν ποταμὸν ἀπεισὶ, τοὺς δὲ ἐρέσενας κατορύσσουσι ἐκαστοῖ τὸ τοῖς προα-στείοις, τὸ κέρας τὸ ἔτερον ἥ καὶ ἀμφότερα ὑπερέχουσα σημιῆν εἶνεκεν ἐπεὰν δὲ σαπῇ καὶ προσίθ ὁ τεταγμένος χρόνος, ἀπεκνεῖται ἐς ἐκάστην πόλειν βάρις ἐκ τῆς Προσωπίτιδος καλεμένης νήσου. ἦ δ’ ἑστι μὲν ἐν τῷ Δέλτα, περίμετρον δὲ αὐτῆς εἰσὶ σχούνοι ἐννέα. ἐν ταύτῃ ὁν τῇ Προσωπίτιδι νήσῳ ἑνείσι μὲν καὶ ἄλλαι πόλεις συνχαί, ἐκ τῆς δὲ αἱ βάριες παραγίονται ἀναιρησόμεναι τὰ ὀστέα τῶν βοῶν, οὕνωμα τῇ πόλι Ἀτάρβηχις, ἐν δ’ αὐτῇ Ἁφροδίτης ἱρὸν ἁγιον ἱδρυται. ἐκ ταύτης τῆς πόλιος πλανῶνται πολλοὶ ἄλλοι ἐς ἄλλας πόλις, ἀνορύζαντες δὲ ἀ ὀστέα ἀπάγουσι καὶ θάπτουσι ἐς ἕνα χώρον πάντες. κατὰ ταύτα δὲ τοῖς βουσὶ καὶ τάλλα κτήμα θάπτουσι ἀποθνήσκοντα· καὶ γὰρ περὶ
lamentation is over, they set out a meal of what is left of the victim.

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

¹ No doubt from Athor or Hathor, under which name Isis was often worshipped.
ταύτα οὕτω σφι νευμονεδέτηταια κτείνουσι γὰρ
dὴ οúde ταύτα.

42. "Οσοὶ μὲν δὴ Δίος Ἐθβαίεος ἱδρυνται ἴρον
ἡ νομοῦ τοῦ Ἐθβαίου εἰσί, οὕτωι μὲν νυν πάντες
οίῳν ἀπεχόμενοι αἰγας θύουσι. θεοὺς γὰρ δὴ οὐ
τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἀπαντες ὁμοίως Αἰγύπτιοι σέβονται,
πλὴν Ἰσιὸς τε καὶ Ὠσίριος, τὸν δὴ Διὸνυσον εἵναι
λέγουσιν τούτους δὲ ὁμοίως ἀπαντες σέβονται.
ὁσοὶ δὲ τοῦ Μένδητος ἐκτηνται ἴρον ἡ νομοῦ τοῦ
Μενδησίου εἰσί, οὕτωι δὲ αἰγῶν ἀπεχόμενοι διὸς
θύουσι. Ἐθβαίοι μὲν νυν καὶ ὁσοὶ διὰ τούτους
οίῳν ἀπεχόνται, διὰ τάδε λέγουσι τὸν νόμον
tόνδε σφίσι τεθήναι. Ἡρακλέα θελὴσαι πάντως
ἰδέσθαι τὸν Δία, καὶ τὸν οὐκ ἐθέλειν ὑφθῆναι ὑπὸ
αὐτοῦ· τέλος δὲ, ἐπείτε λιπαρέειν τὸν Ἡρακλέα,
tάδε τὸν Δία μηχανήσασθαι· κριὸν ἐκδείραντα
προσχέσθαι τε τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀποταμόντα τοῦ
κριοῦ καὶ ἐνδύντα τὸ νάκοσ οὕτω οἱ ἑωυτὸν
ἐπιδέξαι. ἀπὸ τούτου κριοπρόσωπον τοῦ Δίος
τῶγαλμα ποιεῖσθι ΑἰγύπτιΟι, ἀπὸ δὲ Αἰγυπτίων
Ἁμμώνιοι, έόντες Αἰγυπτίων τε καὶ Ἀθλιόπων
ἄποικοι καὶ φωνὴν μεταξὺ ἀμφοτέρων νομίζοντες.
δοκεῖσιν δὲ μοι, καὶ τὸ οὐνομα Ὁμμώνιοι ἀπὸ τούδε
σφέει τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν ἐποιήσαντο. Ἡμοῦν γὰρ
Αἰγύπτιοι καλέουσι τὸν Δίαι. τοὺς δὲ κριοὺς οὐ
θύουσι Ἐθβαίοι, ἀλλ' εἰσί σφι ἴροι διὰ τούτο.
μή δὲ ἡμέρῃ τοῦ ἐναυτοῦ, ἐν ὀρτῇ τοῦ Δίος, κριὸν
ἐνα κατακόψαντες καὶ ἀποδείραντες κατὰ τῶντὸ
ἐνδύουσι τῶγαλμα τοῦ Δίος, καὶ ἐπείτα ἀλλο
respecting these also; for they, too, may not be killed.

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

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

2 The Greeks identified with Heracles an Egyptian god Shu (called at Thebes Chonsu-Neferhotep, Ἀγαθόδαλμων).
άγαλμα Ἦρακλεός προσάγουσι πρὸς αὐτό. ταύτα δὲ ποιήσαντες τύπτονται οἱ περὶ τὸ ἱρὸν ἀπαντεῖ τὸν κριόν καὶ ἑπείτα ἐν ἱρῇ θήκῃ θάπτουσι αὐτῶν.

43. Ἦρακλεός δὲ πέρι τόνδε τὸν λόγον ἠκούσα, ὅτι εἶ ἡ τῶν δυώδεκα θεῶν τοῦ ἐτέρου δὲ πέρι Ἦρακλεος, τὸν Ἐλληνας οἴδαςι, οὐδαμὴ Αἰγύπτου ἐδυνάσθη ἄκοιναι. καὶ μὴν ὅτι γε οὐ παρ’ Ἐλλήνων ἔλαβον τὸ σύνομα Αἰγύπτιοι τοῦ Ἦρακλεος, ἀλλὰ Ἐλληνες μᾶλλον παρ’ Αἰγυπτίων καὶ Ἐλληνων οὗτοι οἱ θέμενοι τῷ Ἀμφιτρύωνος γόνω τούνομα Ἦρακλεα, πολλὰ μοι καὶ ἄλλα τεκμήρια ἐστὶ τούτο οὕτω ἔχειν, ἐν δὲ καὶ τόδε, ὅτι τε τοῦ Ἦρακλεος τούτου οἱ γονεῖς ἀμφότεροι ἦσαν Ἀμφιτρύων καὶ Ἀλκμήνη γεγονότες τὸ ἀνέκαθεν ὑπ’ Αἰγύπτου, καὶ διὸτι Αἰγύπτιοι οὔτε Ποσειδέωνος οὔτε Διοσκούρων τὰ σύνομα ταῖς εἰδέναι, οὐδὲ σφι θεοὶ οὗτοι ἐν τοῖς ἀλλοισιθεοῖς ἀποδεδέχοταί. καὶ μὴν εἰ γε παρ’ Ἐλλήνων ἔλαβον ὑπομονὰ τεν δαίμονος, τούτων οὐκ ἦκιστα ἀλλὰ μάλιστα ἐμελλὼν μνήμην ἔχειν, εἰ περ καὶ τότε ναυτιλήσῃ ἐχρέωτο καὶ ἦσαν Ἐλλήνων τινες ναυτίλου, ὡς ἐλπομαί τε καὶ ἐμὴ γνώμη αἱρέει· ἠστε τούτων ἀν καὶ μᾶλλον τῶν θεῶν τὰ σύνομα ἐξεπιστεύετο Ἀιγύπτιοι ἦ τοῦ Ἦρακλεος. ἀλλὰ τὴς ἀρχαιοῦ ἐστὶ θεὸς Αἰγυπτίως Ἦρακλέης· ὥς δὲ αὐτὸλ λέγοντες, ἔτηα ἐστὶ ἐπηκουχίλει καὶ μῦρα ἐς Ἀμασίν βασιλεύσαντα, ἐπείτε ἐκ τῶν ὁκτῶ θεῶν οἱ δυώδεκα θεοὶ ἐγένοντο τῶν Ἦρακλεα ἐνα νομίζουσι.

44. Καὶ θέλων δὲ τούτων πέρι σαφές τι εἰδέναι ἐξ ὧν οἷῶν τε ἡν, ἐπλευσα καὶ ἐς Τύρουν τῆς
they bring an image of Heracles near to it. Having done this, all that are about the temple mourn for the ram, and presently bury it in a sacred coffer.

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

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

1 As grandchildren of Perseus, for whose Egyptian origin see 91.
Φοινίκης, πυθανόμενος αυτόθι εἶναι ἵρον Ἤρακλέος ἁγιον, καὶ εἶδον πλουσίως κατεσκευασμένου ἄλλοισι τε πολλοῖσι ἀναθήμασι, καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ ἦσαι στῆλαι δύο, ἣ μὲν χρυσοῦ ἀπέφθου, ἥ δὲ σμαράγδου λίθου λάμποντος τὰς νύκτας μέγαθος. ἐς λόγους δὲ ἐλθὼν τοῖσι ἱρέυσι τοῦ θεοῦ εἰρόμην ὁκόσος χρόνος εἶχὲ ἤς οὐ σφί τὸ ἱρὸν ἱδρυται. εὕρον δὲ οὐδὲ τούτους τοῖσι "Ελλησίσι συμφερομένους· ἐφασαν γὰρ ἀμα Τύρῳ οἰκιζομένη καὶ τὸ ἵρον τοῦ θεοῦ ἱδρυθήναι, εἶναι δὲ ἔτεα ἄπτ' οὖ Τύρων οἰκέουσι τριηκόσια καὶ δισχίλια. εἶδον δὲ ἐν τῇ Τύρῳ καὶ ἀλλο ἵρον Ἤρακλέος ἐπωνυμίην ἐχοντος Θασίου εἶναι· ἀπικόμην δὲ καὶ ἐς Θᾶσον, ἐν τῇ εὕρον ἵρον Ἔρακλέος ὑπὸ Φοινίκων ἱδρυμένον, οἱ κατ' Εὐρώπης ζήτησιν ἐκπλώσαντες Θᾶσον ἐκτυσαν· καὶ ταῦτα καὶ πέντε γενεῆι ἀνδρῶν πρότερα ἐστὶ ἡ τὸν Ὄμφιτρώνος Ἡρακλέα ἐν τῇ Ἔλλαδι γενέσθαι. τὰ μὲν γὰρ ἱστορημένα δῆλοι σαφέως παλαιὸν θεόν Ἡρακλέα ἕωντα, καὶ δοκέουσι δὲ μοι οὔτοι ὅρθοτα Ελλήνων ποιείν, οἱ διὰ Ἡράκλεια ἱδρυσάμενοι ἐκτυσαν, καὶ τῷ μὲν ὡς ἠθανάτῳ Ὀλυμπίῳ δὲ ἐπωνυμίην θύουσι, τῷ δὲ ἔτερῳ ὃς ἦρωι ἐναγίζουσι.

45. Δέγουσι δὲ πολλὰ καὶ ἄλλα ἀνεπισκέπτως οἱ Ἔλληνες, εὐθηνεὶς δὲ αὐτῶν καὶ δὲ ο ὅμος ἐστὶ τοῦ περὶ τοῦ Ἡρακλέους λέγουσι, ὡς αὐτὸν ἀπικόμενον ἐς Αἰγύπτου στέψαντες οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι ὑπὸ πομπῆς ἐξήγουν ὡς θύσουντες τῷ Διῶ τὸν δὲ τέως μὲν ἡσυχίην ἔχειν, ἔπει δὲ αὐτοῦ πρὸς τῷ βωμῷ

1 The Tyrian god Melkart.
ship to Tyre in Phoenice, where I heard that there was a very holy temple of Heracles.\(^1\) There I saw it, richly equipped with many other offerings, besides that in it there were two pillars, one of refined gold, one of emerald, a great pillar that shone in the night-time; and in converse with the priests I asked how long it was since their temple was built. I found that neither did their account tally with the belief of the Greeks; for they said that the temple of the god was founded when Tyre first became a city, and that was two thousand three hundred years since. At Tyre I saw yet another temple of that Heracles called the Thasian. Then I went to Thasos, too, where I found a temple of Heracles built by the Phoenicians, who made a settlement there when they voyaged in search of Europe; now they did so as much as five generations before the birth in Hellas of Heracles the son of Amphitryon. Therefore, what I have discovered by inquiry plainly shows that Heracles is an ancient god. And further: those Greeks, I think, are most in the right, who have established and practise two worships of Heracles, sacrificing to one Heracles as to an immortal, and calling him the Olympian, but to the other bringing offerings as to a dead hero.\(^2\)

45. But among the many ill-considered tales told by the Greeks, this is a very foolish story which they relate about Heracles—how when he came to Egypt the Egyptians crowned him and led him out in a procession to sacrifice him to Zeus; and for a while (they say) he followed quietly, but when they began

\(^1\) There is a dual Heracles in the *Odyssey*, xi. 601 *seqq.* An εἰδώλον of him is seen in the world of the dead; but "he himself" is an immortal among the gods of heaven.
κατάρχοντο, ἐς ἄλκην τραπόμενον πάντας σφέας καταφονεύσαι. ἐμοὶ μὲν ὑμὶν δοκεοῦσι ταῦτα λέγοντες τῆς Ἀγαμπτίων φύσιος καὶ τῶν νόμων πάμπαν ἀπείρως ἔχειν οἱ Ἕλληνες, τοῦτο γὰρ οὐδὲ κτήνεα ὅσιθον θεοὶ ἔστι χωρίς ὤν καὶ ἔρσευνος βοῶν καὶ μόσχων, ὅσῳ ἂν καθαροὶ ἔσοντος, καὶ χηνῶν, κἂν ὄντων ἀνθρώπων θύοιεν; ἐτὶ δὲ ἐνα ἐόντα τὸν Ἰππακλέα καὶ ἐτὶ ἀνθρωπον, ὡς δὴ φασὶ, κἂν φύσιν ἔχει πολλὰς μυριάδας φονεύσαι; καὶ περὶ μὲν τούτων τοσοῦτα ἤμιλοι καὶ παρὰ τῶν θεῶν καὶ παρὰ τῶν ἣρων εὐμενεῖ ἐνή.

46. Τὰς δὲ δὴ ἀίγας καὶ τοὺς τράγους τῶνδε ἐώνεκα οὐ θύοντι Αἰγαμπτίων οἱ εἰρημένοι τὸν Πάνα τῶν ὅκτω θεῶν λογίζονται εἶναι οἱ Μενδήσιοι, τοὺς δὲ ὅκτω θεοὺς τούτους προτέρους τῶν δυόδεκα θεῶν φασὶ γενέσθαι. γράφουσι τε δὴ καὶ γλύφουσι οἱ ξωγράφοι καὶ οἱ ἀγαλματοφιοὶ τοῦ Πανὸς τῶγαλμα κατὰ περ Ἕλληνες ἀγοροσωποὶ καὶ τραγοσκελέα, οὔτι τοιοῦτον νομίζουσι εἶναι μιν ἄλλα ὁμοίον τοὺς ἄλλοις θεοῖς οἴεν δὲ εώνεκα τοιοῦτον γράφουσι αὐτὸν, οὐ μοι ἥδιον ἐστὶ λέγειν. σέβονται δὲ πάντας τοὺς αἴγας οἱ Μενδήσιοι, καὶ μᾶλλον τοὺς ἐρσενας τῶν θηλέων, καὶ τούτων οἱ αὐτὸλοι τιμᾶς μέξονας ἔχουσι· ἐκ δὲ τούτων ἔνα μάλιστα, ὅσις ἔπειλαν ἀποθάνη, πένθος μέγα παντὶ τῷ Μενδησίῳ νομῷ τίθεται. καλέται δὲ ὁ τε τράγος καὶ ὁ Πάν Αἰγαμπτίστι Μένδης. ἐγένετο δὲ ἐν τῷ νομῷ τούτῳ ἐπ᾽ ἐμεύ τούτῳ τὸ τέρας· γυναικὶ τράγος ἐμίσγετο ἀναφανδόν. τοῦτο ἐσ ἐπίδεξιν ἀνθρώπων ἀπίκετο.

47. Τν δὲ Αἰγαμπτίοι μιαρὸν ἤγηνται θηρίων εἶναι, καὶ τούτῳ μὲν ἢν τις ψαὐση αὐτῶν παριῶν.
the first rites of sacrifice upon him at the altar, he resisted and slew them all. Now it seems to me that by this story the Greeks show themselves wholly ignorant of the character and customs of the Egyptians; for how should they sacrifice men, who are forbidden to sacrifice even the lower animals, save only swine and bulls and bull-calves, if they be unblemished, and geese? Moreover, Heracles being alone, and still but a man, as they say, how is it natural that he should slay a countless multitude? So much I say of this matter; may no god or hero be displeased with me therefor!

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

47. Swine are held by the Egyptians to be unclean beasts. Firstly, if an Egyptian touch a hog in
Αυτοίς τοῖσι ἰματίσκει ὑπ’ ὁν ἐβαφεῖ ἑωτὸν βας ἐς τῶν ποταμῶν τοῦτο δὲ οἱ συβῶται ἔοντες Λαγύπτειοι ἐγγεεῖες ἐς ἱρὸν οὐδὲν τῶν ἐν Λαγύπτεῳ ἐσέρχονται μοῦνοι πάντων, οὐδὲ σφὶ ἐκδίδοσθαι οὐδεὶς θυγατέρα ἔθελει οὐδ’ ἄγεσθαι εἷς αὐτῶν, ἀλλ’ ἐκδίδονται τε οἱ συβῶται καὶ ἄγονται ἐξ ἀλλήλων. τοὺς μὲν νυν ἀλλοισι θεοίσι θύειν ὑς οὐ δικαίευσι Λαγύπτειοι, Σελήνη ὅτ’ καὶ Διονύσιος μοῦνοι τοῦ αὐτοῦ χρόνου, τῇ αὐτῇ πανσελήνῳ, τοὺς ύς θύσαντες πατέονται τῶν κρεῶν. διότι δὲ τοὺς ύς ἐν μὲν τῆς ἀλληγοί ὀρτήσει ἀπεστραγγήκασι ἐν δὲ ταύτῃ θύουσι, ἐστὶ μὲν λόγος περὶ αὐτοῦ ὑπ’ Λαγύπτειῳ λεγόμενος, ἐμοὶ μέντοι ἐπισταμένῳ υἱκ εὐπρεπέστερος ἐστὶ λέγεσθαι. θυσίᾳ δὲ ὑδὲ τῶν ύδων τῇ Σελήνῃ ποιέται ἐπεάν θυσί, τῇ οὐρήν ἁκρὴν καὶ τὸν σπῆλην καὶ τὸν ἐπίπλουν συνθείς όμοῦ κατ’ δὲν ἐκάλυψε πάσῃ τοῦ κτήνεος τῇ πιμελῇ τῇ περὶ τὴν υδάν γυμνών, καὶ ἐπείτα καταγίζει πυρί. τὰ δὲ ἀλλα κρέα σιτέονται ἐν τῇ πανσελήνῳ ἐν τῇ ἀν τὰ ἱρὰ θύσωσι, ἐν ἀλλή δὲ ἡμέρῃ υἱκ ἄν ἐτί γευσαίατο. οἱ δὲ πένητες αὐτῶν ὑπ’ ἀσθενείς βίον σταιτίνας πλύσαντες ύς καὶ ὀπτήσαντες ταύτας θύουσι.

48. Τῷ δὲ Διονύσῳ τῆς ὀρτῆς τῇ δορπείᾳ χοῖρον πρὸ τῶν θυρέων σφάξας ἐκαστὸς διδόθ ἀποφέρεσθαι τὸν χοῖρον αὐτῷ τῷ ἀποδομένῳ τῶν συβωτέων. τῇ δὲ ἄλλῃ ἀνάγουσι ὀρτὴν τῷ Διονύσῳ οἱ Λαγύπτειοι πλὴν χορῶν κατὰ ταῦτα σχεδὸν πάντα. "Ελλησίν ἀντὶ δὲ φαλλὼν ἄλλα σφι ἐστὶ ἐξευρημένα, ὥσον τε πηχναίᾳ ἀγάλματα νευρόσπαστα, τὰ περιφορέουσι κατὰ κῶμας γυναίκες, νεῦν τὸ αἰδοίου, οὐ πολλῷ τεφ ἐλασσον
passing by, he goes to the river and dips himself in it, clothed as he is; and secondly, swineherds, native born Egyptians though they be, are alone of all men forbidden to enter any Egyptian temple; nor will any give a swineherd his daughter in marriage, nor take a wife from their women; but swineherds intermarry among themselves. Nor do the Egyptians think right to sacrifice swine to any god save the Moon and Dionysus; to these they sacrifice their swine at the same time, in the same season of full moon; then they eat of the flesh. The Egyptians have an account of the reason why they sacrifice swine at this festival, yet abominate them at others; I know it, but it is not fitting that I should relate it. But this is how they sacrifice swine to the Moon: the sacrificer lays the end of the tail and the spleen and the caul together and covers them up with all the fat that he finds about the belly, then burns all with fire; as for the rest of the flesh, they eat it at the time of full moon when they sacrifice the victim; but they will not taste it on any other day. Poor men, having but slender means, mould swine of dough, which they then bake and sacrifice.

48. To Dionysus, on the evening of his festival, everyone offers a porker which he kills before his door and then gives to the swineherd himself who has sold it, for him to take away. The rest of the festival of Dionysus is ordered by the Egyptians much as it is by the Greeks, except for the dances; but in place of the phallus they have invented the use of puppets a cubit long moved by strings, which are carried about the villages by women, the male member moving and near as big as the rest of the
Άθη δὲν δοκείει μοι Μελάμπους ο' Ἀμυθέωνος τῆς θυσίας ταύτης οὕκ εἶναι ἀδαίς ἀλλ' ἐμπειρός. Ἐλλησι γὰρ δὴ Μελάμπους ἐστὶ ὁ ἐξηγησάμενος τοῦ Διονύσου τό τε οὐνομα καὶ τὴν θυσίαν καὶ τὴν πομπὴν τοῦ φαλλοῦ. ἀπρεκέως μὲν ού πάντα συλλαβῶν τὸν λόγον ἔφηνε, ἀλλ' οἱ ἐπιγενόμενοι τούτω σοφίσται μεξόνως ἐξέφηναι τὸν δ' ὄνομα τοῦ τῷ Διονύσῳ πεμπόμενον Μελάμπους ἐστὶ ὁ κατηγησάμενος, καὶ ἀπὸ τούτου μαθόντες ποιεῦσι τὰ ποιεῖσθαι "Ελλησι καὶ τὰ περὶ τὸν Διονύσου, ὅλγα αὐτῶν παραλλάξαντα. οὐ γὰρ δὴ συμπεσεῖν γε φήσω τὰ τέλεια τὸν Αἰγύπτων ποιεύμενα τῷ θεῷ καὶ τὰ ἐν τοῖς "Ελλησι' ὁμότροπα γὰρ ἂν ἂν τοῖς "Ελλησι καὶ οὐ νεωστὶ ἐσηγμένα. οὐ μὲν οὐδὲ φήσω ὁκεν Αἰγύπτιοι παρ' "Ελλήνων ἔλαβον ὅ τοῦτο ἢ ἄλλο κοῦ τι νόμαιον. πυθέσθαι δὲ μοι δοκεὶ μάλιστα Μελάμπους τὰ περὶ τὸν Διονύσου παρὰ Κάδμου τε τοῦ Τυριὸν καὶ τῶν σὺν αὐτῷ ἐκ Φοινίκης ἀπικομένων ἐς τὴν νῦν Βοιωτίαν καλεομένην χώρην.

Σχεδὸν δὲ καὶ πάντων τὰ οὐνόματα τῶν θεῶν ἐξ Αἰγύπτου ἔληλυθε ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα. διότι μὲν γὰρ ἐκ τῶν βαρβάρων ἦκει, πυθανόμενος οὕτω εὑρίσκω ἐν· δοκεῖσι δ' ὄν μάλιστα ἄπ' Αἰγύπτου ἀπέχθαι. ὅτι γὰρ δὴ μὴ Ποσειδέωνος καὶ Διοσ-
body; a flute-player goes before, the women follow after, singing of Dionysus. There is a sacred legend which gives the reason for the appearance and motions of these puppets.

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

50. Indeed, wellnigh all the names of the gods came to Hellas from Egypt. For I am assured by inquiry that they have come from foreign parts, and I believe that they came chiefly from Egypt. Except the names of Poseidon and the Dioscuri, as I have
κούρων, ως καὶ πρότερον μοι τάῦτα εἶρηται, καὶ Ἡρης καὶ Ἰστίης καὶ Θέμιος καὶ Χαρίτων καὶ Νηρηύδων, τῶν ἄλλων θεῶν Αἰγυπτίους αἰεί κοτε τά οὐνόματα ἐστὶ εἰ τῇ χώρῃ. Λέγω δὲ τὰ λέγουσι αὐτοὶ Αἰγύπτιοι. τῶν δὲ οὐ φασί θεῶν γινώσκειν τὰ οὐνόματα, οὕτου δὲ μοι δοκεόμει ὑπὸ Πελασγῶν ὄνομασθήναι, πλὴν Ποσειδέων τοῦτον δὲ τὸν θεὸν παρὰ Διβύων ἐπίθυοντο· οὕδαμοι γὰρ ἀπ’ ἀρχῆς Ποσειδέων ὄνομα ἐκτίναιται εἰ μὴ Δίβυνες καὶ τιμῶσι τὸν θεὸν τοῦτον αἰεί· νομίζουσι δ’ δὲν Αἰγύπτιοι οὕδ’ ἤρωσι οὐδέν.

51. Τάυτα μὲν νυν καὶ ἄλλα πρὸς τοῦτοις, τὰ ἐγὼ φράσω, Ἑλλήνες ἀπ’ Αἰγυπτίων νεομόκασικτοῦν δὲ Ἐρμέω τὰ ἁγάλματα ὅρθὰ ἔχειν τὰ αἰδοία ὑποεύντες οὕκ ἀπ’ Αἰγυπτίων μεμαθήκασι, ἀλλ’ ἀπὸ Πελασγῶν πρῶτοι μὲν Ἑλλήνων ἀπάντων Ἀθηναίοι παραλαβόντες, παρὰ δὲ τοῦτων ἄλλοι. Ἀθηναῖοι γὰρ ἡδὴ τηνικαύτα ἐσ’ Ἑλλήνας τελέοντι Πελασγοὶ σύνοικοι ἐγένοντο εἰ τῇ χώρῃ, οἴδεν περ καὶ Ἑλλήνες ἡμᾶς ὑπομισθήναι· ὅστις δὲ τὰ Καβείρων ὄργα μεμύηται, τὰ Σαμοθρῆκες ἐπιτελέουσι παραλαβόντες παρὰ Πελασγῶν, οὕτως ὑμήρ οίδε τὸ λέγω· τὴν γὰρ Σαμοθρῆκην οἶκευν πρότερον Πελασγοὶ οὕτου οἱ περὶ Ἀθηναίους σύνοικον ἐγένοντο, καὶ παρὰ τοῦτων Σαμοθρῆκες τὰ ὄργα παραλαμβάνουσι. ὅρθὰ δὲν ἔχειν τὰ αἰδοία τὰ ἁγάλματα τοῦ Ἐρμέω Ἀθηναίοι πρῶτοι Ἑλλήνων μαθόντες παρὰ Πελασγῶν ἐποίησαντο· οἱ δὲ Πελασγοὶ ιρόν τινα λόγον περὶ αὐτοῦ ἔλεξαν, τὰ ἐν τοῖς ἐν Σαμοθρῆκη μυστηρίους δεδήλωται.

52. Ἐθνοὶ δὲ πάντα πρότερον οὐ Πελασγοὶ θεοῦσι ἐπευχόμενοι, ως ἐγὼ ἐν Δωδώνῃ οἶδα ἀκού−
already said, and Here, and Hestia, and Themis, and the Graces and the Nereids, the names of all the gods have ever existed in Egypt. I say but what the Egyptians themselves say. The gods whose names they say they do not know were, as I think, named by the Pelasgians, save only Poseidon, of whom they learnt the knowledge from the Libyans. Alone of all nations the Libyans have had among them the name of Poseidon from the first, and they have ever honoured this god. The Egyptians, however, are not accustomed to pay any honours to heroes.

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

52. Formerly, in all their sacrifices, the Pelasgians called upon gods (this I know, for I was told at
σας, ἐπωνυμίην δὲ οὐδ’ οὐνομα ἐποιεύντο οὐδενὶ αὐτῶν· οὐ γὰρ ἀκηκόεσαί κω̃. θεοὺς δὲ προσω-
νόμασαν σφέας ἀπὸ τοῦ τοιοῦτον, ὅτι κόσμῳ
θέντες τὰ πάντα πρῆγματα καὶ πάσας νομᾶς
εἶχον. ἐπετα δὲ χρόνου πολλοὶ διεξελθόντος
ἐπύθοντο ἐκ τῆς Αἰγύπτου ἀπικόμενα τὰ οὐνόματα
τῶν θεῶν τῶν ἄλλων, Διονύσου δὲ ὑστερον πολλῷ
ἐπύθοντο. καὶ μετὰ χρόνου ἔχρηστηριάζοντο
περὶ τῶν οὐνομάτων ἐν Δωδώνη· τὸ γὰρ δὴ μαντήν
τοῦτο νευόμενα αρχαιότατον τῶν ἐν Ἑλλησὶ
χρηστηρίων εἶναι, καὶ ἂν τὸν χρόνον τοῦτον μοῦ-
νον. ἐπεὶ δὲν ἔχρηστηριάζοντο ἐν τῇ Δωδώνῃ οἱ
Πελασγοὶ εἰ ἄνελωνται τὰ οὐνόματα τὰ ἀπὸ τῶν
βαρβάρων ἠκούτα, ἀνείλε τὸ μαντήν χρᾶσθαι.
ἀπὸ μὲν δὴ τοῦτο τοῦ χρόνου ἐθυνον τοῖς οὐνόμασι
τῶν θεῶν χρεώμενοι· παρὰ δὲ Πελασγῶν Ἑλλησὶ̃
ἐξεδεξαντο ὑστερον.

53. Ὅσθεν δὲ ἐγένοντο ἐκαστὸς τῶν θεῶν, εἶτε
αἰεὶ ἦσαν πάντες, οὐκοὶ τε τεινές τὰ εἰδεα, οὐκ
ηπιστέατο μέχρι ὡς ἐπρώην τε καὶ χθές ὡς εἰπεῖν
λόγῳ. Ἡσίοδον γὰρ καὶ Ὁμηρον ἥλικὴν τετρα-
κοσίοισι ἐτεσὶ δοκέω μεν πρεσβυτέρους γενέσθαι
καὶ οὐ πλέοσι· οὕτω δὲ εἰσὶ οἱ ποιήσαντες θεο-
γονίαις Ἑλλησὶ καὶ τοῖς θεοῖς ταῖς ἐπωνυμίαις
δόντες καὶ τεινεας διελόντες καὶ εἰδεα
αὐτῶν σμηνίαντες. οἱ δὲ πρὸτερον ποιηταὶ λεγό-
μενοι τοῦτον τῶν ἀνδρῶν γενέσθαι ὑστερον, ἐμοιγε
δοκεῖν, ἐγένοντο. τοῦτον τὰ μὲν πρῶτα αἱ Δωδώ-
nίδες ἱρεῖαι λέγουσι, τὰ δὲ ὑστερα τὰ ἐς Ἠσίοδον
τε καὶ Ὁμηρον ἑχοῦτα ἐγὼ λέγω.

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

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

54. But as concerning the oracles in Hellas, and

⁠¹ On the supposition that theós meant "a disposer," connected with theos, θέσω, τίθημι, etc.
τοῦ ἐν Διβύη τόνδε Αἰγυπτιοὶ λόγον λέγουσιν. ἐφασαν οἱ ἱρέες τοῦ Ὡθβαίεος Δίως δύο γυναῖκας ἱρεῖας ἐκ Θηβέων ἐξαχθῆναι ὑπὸ Φοινίκων, καὶ τὴν μὲν αὐτέων πυθέσθαι ἐς Διβύῃ προθείσαν τὴν δὲ ὑπὸ τοὺς Ἔλληνας· ταῦτα δὲ τὰς γυναῖκας εἶναι τὰς ἱδρυσαμένας τὰ μαντήμα τρώτας ἐν τοῖς εἰρημένοις ἔθνεσι. εἰρημένου δὲ μὲν ὁκόθεν οὕτω ἀπρεκέως ἐπιστάμενοι λέγουσιν, ἐφασαν πρὸς ταῦτα ζήτησιν μεγάλην ἀπὸ σφέων γενέσθαι τῶν γυναικῶν τουτέων, καὶ ἀνευρέω μὲν σφέας οὐ δύνατοι γενέσθαι, πυθέσθαι δὲ ὑστερον ταῦτα περὶ αὐτέων τὰ περὶ δὲ ἔλεγον.

55. Ταῦτα μὲν νῦν τῶν ἐν Ὁρίσσοι ἱρέων ἦκονον, τάδε δὲ Δωδώναιων φασίν αἱ προμάντεις· δύο πελειάδας μελαίνας ἐκ Θηβέων τῶν Αἰγυπτιῶν ἀναπταμένας τὴν μὲν αὐτέων ἐς Διβύην τὴν δὲ παρὰ σφέας ἀπικέσθαι, ἱζομένην δὲ μὲν ἐπὶ φηγόν ἀνδιάξασθαι φωνῇ ἀνθρωπίᾳ ὡς χρεόν εἰ ἡ μαντήματον αὐτόθι Δίως γενέσθαι, καὶ αὐτοὺς ὑπολαβεῖν θείον εἶναι τὸ ἐπαγγελλόμενον αὐτοῖς, καὶ σφέας ἐκ τούτοις ποιῆσαι. τὴν δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν Δίβυνας οἰχαμένην πελειάδα λέγουσιν Ἀμμώνος χρηστήριον κελεῦσαι τοὺς Δίβυνας ποιέων· ἢπτε δὲ καὶ τοῦτο Δίως. Δωδώναιων δὲ αἱ ἱρεῖαι, τῶν τῇ πρεσβυτάτῃ οἴνομα ἦν Προμένεια, τῇ δὲ μετὰ ταῦτην Τιμαρέτη, τῇ δὲ νεωτάτῃ Νικάνδρη, ἔλεγον ταῦτα· συνομολόγεοι δὲ σφι καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι Δωδώναιοι οἱ περὶ τὸ ἱρόν.

56. Ἐγὼ δὲ ἔχω περὶ αὐτῶν γυνώμην τὴνδε· εἰ ἄληθεύωσι οἱ Φοινίκες ἔξηγαγον τάς ἱρὰς γυναῖκας καὶ τὴν μὲν αὐτέων ἐς Διβύην τὴν δὲ ὑπὸ τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἄπεδοντο, δοκεῖέν ἐμοί ἡ γυνὴ αὐτὴ τῆς
that one which is in Libya, this is the account given by the Egyptians. The priests of Zeus of Thebes told me that two priestesses had been carried away from Thebes by Phoenicians; one of them (so, they said, they had learnt) was taken away and sold in Libya, and the other in Hellas; these women, they said, were the first founders of places of divination in the countries aforesaid. When I asked them how it was that they could speak with so certain knowledge, they said in reply that their people had sought diligently for these women, and had never been able to find them, but had learnt later the tale which was now told to me.

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

56. But this is my own belief about it. If the Phoenicians did in truth carry away the sacred women and sell one in Libya and one in Hellas, then to my thinking the part of what is now Hellas, but
νῦν Ἐλλάδος, πρότερον δὲ Πελαισγίης καλευμένης τῆς αὐτῆς ταύτης, πριθῆμαι ἐς Θεσπρωτοῦς, ἔπειτα δουλεύουσα αὐτῶθι ἱδρύσασθαι ὑπὸ φηγῆ πεφυκυίη ἵρὸν Δίως, ὁπερὶ Ἦν οἰκὸς ἀμφιπολεύουσαν εἰς Ἕβησι ἵρὸν Δίως, ἐνθά ἀπίκετο, ἐνθαῦτα μνήμην αὐτοῦ ἔχειν· ἐκ δὲ τοῦτον χρηστήριον κατηγήσατο, ἐπείτε συνέλαβε τῆν Ἐλλάδα γλῶσσαν· φάναι δὲ οἱ ἁδελφεῖν ἐν Λιβύῃ πεπρήσθαι ὑπὸ τῶν αὐτῶν Φοινίκων ὑπὸ δὲ καὶ αὐτῇ ἐπρήθη.

57. Πελειάδες δὲ μοι οἰκεόουσι κληθῆμαι πρὸς Δωδώναιών ἐπὶ τούδε αἱ γυναῖκες, διότι βάρβαροι ἔσαν, ἐδόκεον δὲ σφι ὁμοίως ὄρυσι φθέγγεσθαι· μετὰ δὲ χρόνον τὴν πελειάδα ἀνθρωπηγὴ φωνὴ αὐδάξασθαι λέγουσι, ἐπείτε συνετά σφι ηὐδα ἡ γυνὴ· ἐως δὲ ἐβαρβάριζε, ὄρυσθος τρόπον ἐδόκεε σφι φθέγγεσθαι, ἐπεὶ τέω ἄν τρόπῳ πελείας γε ἀνθρωπηγή φωνὴ φθέγξαιτο; μέλαιναν δὲ λέγοντες εἶναι τὴν πελειάδα σημαίνουσι ὅτι Αἰγυπτίη ἡ γυνὴ ἦν.

58. Ἡ δὲ μαντηήη ἦ τε ἐν Ἕβησι τῇσι Αἰγυπτίησι καὶ ἐν Δωδώνῃ παραπλήσιαι ἀλλήλησι τυγχάνουσι εὔσασι. ἔστι δὲ καὶ τῶν ἵρων ἡ μαντικὴ ἀπ' Αἰγύπτου ἀπειγμένη. πανηγύρις δὲ ἀρα καὶ πεμπᾶς καὶ προσαγωγὰς πρῶτοι ἀνθρώπων Αἰγύπτιοι εἰσι οἱ ποιησάμενοι, καὶ παρὰ τούτων Ἑλληνες μεμαθήκασι· τεκμηρίου δὲ μοι τούτον τόδε· αἱ μὲν γὰρ φαίνονται ἐκ πολλοῦ τευ χρόνου ποιεύμεναι, αἱ δὲ Ἑλληνικαὶ νεωστὶ ἐποιήθησαν.

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

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

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

59. The Egyptians hold solemn assemblies not

¹ Perhaps Herodotus' explanation is right. But the name "doves" may be purely symbolic; thus priestesses of Demeter and Artemis were sometimes called Bees.
ΗΡΟДΟΤΟΣ

ἐνιαυτοῦ, πανηγύρις δὲ συχναί, μάλιστα μὲν καὶ προθυμότατα ἐσ Βοῦβαστιν πόλιν τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι, δεύτερα δὲ ἐς Βούσιριν πόλιν τῇ Ἰσιν ἐν ταύτῃ γὰρ δὴ τῇ πόλις ἐστὶ μέγιστον Ἰσιος ἰρόν, ἱδρυται δὲ ἡ πόλις αὐτῇ τῆς Αἰγύπτου ἐν μέσῳ τῷ Δέλτα. Ἰσις δὲ ἐστὶ κατὰ τὴν Ἑλληνὼν γυλώσαν Δημήτριην. τρίτα δὲ ἐς Σάιν πόλιν τῇ Ἀθηναίη πανηγυρίζουσι, τέταρτα δὲ ἐς Ἡλίου πόλιν τῷ Ἡλίῳ, πέμπτα δὲ ἐς Βούτοιν πόλιν τῇ Δητοὶ, ἐκτα δὲ ἐς Πάπρημιν πόλιν τῷ Ἀρεί.

60. 'Ες μὲν νυν Βοῦβαστιν πόλιν ἐπεάν κομίζονται, ποιεῦσι τοιάδε. πλέουσι τέ γὰρ δὴ ἅμα ἄνδρες γυναιξὶ καὶ πολλὸν τι πλῆθος ἐκατέρων ἐν ἑκάστῃ βάρι' αἱ μὲν τινὲς τῶν γυναικῶν κρόταλα ἔχουσα κροταλίζουσι, οὐ δὲ αὐλέουσι κατὰ πάντα τὸν πλόου, αἱ δὲ λοιπὶν γυναῖκες καὶ ἄνδρες ἀείδουσι καὶ τὰς χεῖρας κροτέουσι. ἐπεάν δὲ πλέουσιν κατὰ τινα πόλιν ἀλλήν γένονται, ἑγχρίμψαντες τὴν βάριν τῇ γῇ ποιεῦσι τοιάδε. αἱ μὲν τινὲς τῶν γυναικῶν ποιεῦσι τά περ εἰρηκα, αἱ δὲ τωθάξουσι βοῶσαι τὰς ἐν τῇ πόλις ταύτη γυναῖκας, αἱ δὲ ὀρχέουσι, αἱ δὲ ἀνασύρουσι ἀνιστάμεναι. ταῦτα παρὰ πᾶσαν πόλιν παραποταμίην ποιεῦσιν ἐπεάν δὲ ἀπίκουσιν ἐς τὴν Βοῦβαστιν, ὁρτάζουσι μεγάλας ἀνάγοντες θυσίας, καὶ οὗν ἀμπέλινος ἀνασυμμοῦται πλέων ἐν τῇ ὤρτῃ ταύτῃ ἢ ἐν τῷ ἀπαντὶ ἐνιαυτῷ τῷ ἐπιλόμω. συμφοιτῶσι δὲ, ὅ τι ἄνηρ καὶ γυνὴ ἐστὶ πλὴν παιδίων, καὶ ἐς ἐβδομήκοντα μυριάδας, ὁς οἱ ἐπιχώριοι λέγουσι.

61. Ταῦτα μὲν δὴ ταύτῃ ποιεῖται, ἐν δὲ Βούσιρι πόλι ὡς ἀνάγονσι τῇ Ἰσι τὴν ὀρτήν, εἰρήται πρότερον μοι· τύπτονται μὲν γὰρ δὴ μετὰ τὴν θυσίην 346.
once in the year, but often. The chiepest of these and the most zealously celebrated is at the town of Bubastis in honour of Artemis, and the next is that in honour of Isis at Busiris. This town is in the middle of the Egyptian Delta, and there is in it a very great temple of Isis, who is in the Greek language, Demeter. The third greatest festival is at Sais in honour of Athene; the fourth is the festival of the sun at Heliopolis, the fifth of Leto at Buto, and the sixth of Ares at Papremis.

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

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

1 Bubastis in the Delta, the "city of Pasht," where the cat-headed goddess Pasht (identified by Herodotus with Artemis) was worshipped.
62. Ἔσει Σάιν δὲ πόλιν ἐπεάνει συλλεχθέωσι, τῆς θυσίας ἐν τῇ νυκτί λύχνα καίουσι πάντες πολλά ὑπαίθρια περί τὰ δόματα κύκλω τὰ δὲ λύχνα ἐστὶ ἐμβάφια ἔμπλεα ἀλὸς καὶ ἐλαίου, ἐπιτολῆς δὲ ἐπεστὶ αὐτὸ τὸ ἔλλυχνον, καὶ τοῦτο καίεται παννύχιον, καὶ τῇ ὅρτῇ οὐνομα κέεται λυχνοκαί. οὗ δὲ ἀν μὴ ἔλθωσι τῶν Λιγυπτίων ἐς τὴν πανῆγυριν ταύτην, φυλάσσοντες τὴν νύκτα τῆς θυσίας καίουσι καὶ αὐτοὶ πάντες τὰ λύχνα, καὶ οὕτω οὐκ ἐν Σαί μοῦν καίεται ἄλλα καὶ ἃν πᾶσαν Λλυ-
γυπτον. ὅτεν δὲ ἐνεκα φῶς ἐλαχὲ καὶ τιμὴν ἡ νυξ αὐτή, ἔστι ίρὸς περὶ αὐτοῦ λόγος λεηρὸμενος.

63. Ἔσεὶ δὲ Ἡλίου τε πόλιν καὶ Βουτοῦν θυσίας μοῦνας ἐπιτελέουσι φοιτέουσε. ἐν δὲ Παπρήμι θυσίας μὲν καὶ ἱρὰ κατὰ περ καὶ τῇ ἀλλῃ ποιεῦσον εὑρίσκετο αὐτὸ ἐγκαταφης ὁ ἡλιος, ὅλογοι μὲν τινὲς τῶν ἱρέων περὶ τῶγαλμα πεπονείεται, οὐ δὲ πολλαὶ αὐτῶν ἐξώλων κορύνας ἔχουσες ἐστάσει τὸν ἱρὸν ἐν τῇ ἐσόδῳ, ἀλλοι τοι εὐχωλαὶ ἐπιτελέουσες πλεῖνες χιλίων ἀνδρῶν, ἐκαστοὶ ἔχουσες χύλα καὶ οὕτω, ἐπὶ τὰ ἔτερα ἄλεες ἐστάσει. τὸ δὲ ἅγαλμα ἐν τῇ νηφιμον ἱερῷ κατακεχυρισμένῳ προεκκομίζουσι τῇ προτεραιῇ ἐς ἀλλο οὐκημα ἱρὸν. οὐ δὲ οὐκ ἠλόγοι οἱ περὶ τῶγαλμα λεεϊμμένοι ἐλκουσον τετράκυκλον ἀμαξαν ἄγουσαν τῶν νηφιν τε καὶ τὸ ἐν τῷ νηφι ἐνεόν ἅγαλμα, οὐ δὲ οὐκ ἐδώσι
lament, in countless numbers; but it were profane for me to say who it is for whom they lament. Carian dwellers in Egypt do even more than this, for they cut their foreheads with knives; showing thereby, that they are not Egyptians but strangers.

62. When they assemble at Sais, on the night of the sacrifice, they all keep lamps burning in the open air round about their houses. These lamps are saucers full of salt and oil, the wick floating thereon, and burning all night. This is called the Feast of Lamps. Egyptians who do not come to this assemblage are careful on the night of sacrifice to keep their own lamps burning, and so they are alight not only at Sais but throughout all Egypt. A sacred tale is told showing why this night is thus lit up and honoured.

63. When the people go to Heliopolis and Buto they offer sacrifice only. At Papremis sacrifice is offered and rites performed as elsewhere; but when the sun is sinking, while a few of the priests are left to busy themselves with the image, the greater number of them beset the entrance of the temple, with clubs of wood in their hands; they are confronted by more than a thousand men, all performing vows and all carrying wooden clubs like the rest. The image of the god, in a little wooden gilt casket, is carried on the day before this from the temple to another sacred chamber. The few who are left with the image draw a four-wheeled cart carrying it in its casket; the other priests stand in the temple porch and prevent its
ἐν τοῖς προπυλαίοις ἐστείλετε ἐσείναι, οί δὲ εὐχωλιμαῖοι τιμωρέοντες τῷ θεῷ παίουσι αὐτοὺς ἀλέξομένους. ἐνθαῦτα μάχη εὐλογίη καρτερὴ γίνεται κεφαλάς τις συναράσσονται, καὶ ὃς ἐγὼ δοκεῖ πολλοὶ καὶ ἀποθυήσουσι ἐκ τῶν τρωμάτων οὐ μέντοι οἳ γε Λιγύπτιοι ἐφασαν ἀποθυήσεις εὐδένα. τὴν δὲ πανήγυριν ταύτην ἐκ τούτῳ νομίσαι φασὶ οἱ ἐπιχώριοι· οἰκείων ἐν τῷ ἱρῷ τούτῳ τοῦ Ἀρεοῦ τήν μητέρα, καὶ τῶν Ἀρεά ἀπότροφοι γενόμενον ἠλθείν ἔξανδρωμένον ἔθελοντα τῇ μητρὶ συμμίξαι, καὶ τοὺς προπόλους τῆς μητρὸς, οία οὐκ ὀπωπότας αὐτῶν πρότερον, οὐ περιορὰν παριέναι ἀλλὰ ἀπερύκειν, τὸν δὲ ἐξ ἀλλῆς πόλιος ἀγαγόμενον ἀνθρώπους τοὺς τε προπόλους τρηχέως περισπείν τυ ἐσελθείν παρὰ τὴν μητέρα. ἀπὸ τούτου τῷ Ἀρεὶ ταύτην τὴν πληγήν ἐν τῇ ὀρτῃ νεομικέναι φασὶ.

64. Καὶ τὸ μῆ πόγεσθαι γυναιξὶ ἐν ἱροῖς μηδὲ ἀλούτους ἀπὸ γυναικῶν ἐς ἱρὰ ἐσιέναι οὕτωι εἰσὶ οἱ πρῶτοι θρησκεύσαντες. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἄλλοι σχεδὸν πάντες ἁνθρώποι, πλὴν Λιγυπτίων καὶ Ἐλλήνων, μίσγονται ἐν ἱροὶς καὶ ἀπὸ γυναικῶν ἀνιστάμενοι ἀλούτου ἐσέρχονται ἐς ἱρὸν, νομίζοντες ἁνθρώπους εἶναι κατά περ τὰ ἄλλα κτήνεα· καὶ γὰρ τὰ ἄλλα κτήνεα ὃρᾶν καὶ ὀρνίθων γένεα ὁχενόμενα ἐν τε τούσι νηοὶς τῶν θεῶν καὶ ἐν τοῖς τεμένεσι· εἰ ὃν εἶναι τῷ θεῷ τούτῳ μὴ φίλου, οὐκ ἄν οὐδὲ τὰ κτήνεα ποιεῖν. οὕτωι μὲν νυν τοιαῦτα ἐπιλεγόντες ποιεῦσι ἐμοῦγε οὐκ ἀρεστά. Λιγύπτιου δὲ θρησκεύσαντες περισσῶς τὰ τε ἄλλα περὶ τὰ ἱρὰ καὶ δὴ καὶ τάδε.

65. Ἐσισά ἡ Λιγύπτιος ὅμουρος τῇ Λιβύῃ οὐ
entrance; the votaries take the part of the god, and smite the priests, who resist. There is hard fighting with clubs, and heads are broken, and as I think (though the Egyptians told me no life was lost), many die of their wounds. The assemblage, say the people of the country, took its rise thus:—The mother of Ares dwelt in this temple; Ares had been reared away from her, and when he grew to manhood came to hold converse with his mother; but as her attendants, never having seen him before, kept him off and would not suffer him to pass, Ares brought men from another town, roughly handled the attendants, and gained access to his mother. From this, they say, arose this custom of a battle of blows at the festival in honour of Ares.1

64. Further, it was the Egyptians who first made it a matter of religious observance not to have intercourse with women in temples, nor enter a temple after such intercourse without washing. Nearly all other men are less careful in this matter than are the Egyptians and Greeks, and hold a man to be like any other animal; for beasts and birds (they say) are seen to mate both in the temples and the sacred precincts; now were this displeasing to the god neither would the beasts do so. This is the reason given by others for practices which I for my part mislike; but the Egyptians in this and in all other matters are exceeding strict against desecration of their temples.

65. Though Egypt has Libya on its borders, it is

1 It is uncertain what Egyptian deity Herodotus identifies with Ares. In a Greek papyrus, "Ares" is the equivalent for the Egyptian Anhur, a god, apparently, not clearly differentiated from "Shu" or "Heracles."
μάλα θηριώδης ἦστι· τὰ δὲ ἐόντα σφί ἀπαντᾷ ἵππα νεόμισται, καὶ τὰ μὲν σύντροφα αὐτοῖσι τοῖς ἀνθρώποισι, τὰ δὲ οὐ. τῶν δὲ εἶνεκεν ἀνεῖται τὰ θεῖα ἵππα εἰ λέγοιμι, καταβαίνειν ἄν τῷ λόγῳ ἐστὶ τὰ θεῖα πρήγματα, τὰ ἐγὼ φεύγω μάλιστα ἀπηγεέσθαι· τὰ δὲ καὶ εἴρηκα αὐτῶν ἐπιψαύσας, ἀναγκαῖη καταλαμβανόμενος εἶπον. νόμος δὲ ἐστὶν περὶ τῶν θηρίων ὡδὲ ἕχων μελεδωνοὶ ἀποδε-δέχαται τῆς τροφῆς χωρίς ἐκάστων καὶ ἔσενες καὶ θῆλεα τῶν Ἀιγυπτίων, τῶν παῖς παρὰ πατρὸς ἐκδέκεται τὴν τιμήν. οὐ δὲ ἐν τῇς πόλισι ἐκαστοί ἐνχάς τάσδε σφί ἀποτελέουσι· ἐνχόμενοι τῷ θεῷ τοῦ ἄν ἦ τὸ θηρίον, ἐξερωτῆς τῶν παιδίων ἡ πᾶσαν τὴν κεφαλήν ἢ τὸ ἱμισὺ ἢ τὸ τρίτον μέρος τῆς κεφαλῆς, ἵστασι σταθὼ πρὸς ἀργύριον τὰς τρίχας· τὸ δ' ἂν ἐλκύσῃ, τοῦτο τῇ μελεδωνῷ τῶν θηρίων διδοῖ, ἢ δὲ ἀντ' αὐτοῦ τάμνουσα ἵχθυς παρέχει βορῆν τοῖς θηρίοις. τροφὴ μὲν δὴ αὐτοῖσι τοιαύτη ἀποδέδεκται· τὸ δ' ἂν τῆς τῶν θηρίων τούτων ἀποκτείνη, ἢν μὲν ἐκών, θάνατος ἢ ξημία, ἢν δὲ ἀέκων, ἀποτίνει ξημίαν τὴν ἂν οἱ ἱέες τάξωνται. δὲ δ' ἂν ἵβων ἢ ἴρηκα ἀποκτείνη, ἢν τε ἐκὼν ἢ τε ἀέκων, τεθνάναι ἀνάγκη.

66. Πολλῶν δὲ ἐόντων ὀμοτρόφων τοῖς ἀνθρώ-ποισι θηρίων πολλῶ ἄν ἔτι πλέω ἐγίνετο, εἰ μὴ κατελάμβανε τοὺς αἰελουροὺς τοιόδε· ἐπειδ' ἐκωσι αἱ θήλαι, οὐκέτι φοιτεύσι παρὰ τοὺς ἔρσενας· οὗ δὲ διηγήμενοι μίσγεσθαι αὐτήσι οὐκ ἔχουσι. πρὸς δ' ἂν ταῦτα σοφίζονται τάδε· ἀρπά-ξοντες ἀπὸ τῶν θηλέων καὶ ὑπαιρεόμενοι τὰ τέκνα κτείνουσι, κτείναντες μέντοι οὐ πατέονται· αἱ

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not a country of many animals. All of them are held sacred; some of these are part of mens' households and some not; but were I to declare the reason why they are dedicated, I should be brought to speak of matters of divinity, of which I am especially unwilling to treat; I have never touched upon such save where necessity has compelled me. But I will now show how it is customary to deal with the animals. Men and women are appointed guardians to provide nourishment for each kind severally; a son inherits this office from his father. Townsmen in each place, when they pay their vows, make prayer to the god to whom the animal is dedicated, shaving the whole or the half or the third part of their children's heads, and weighing the hair in a balance against a sum of silver; then whatever be the weight in silver of the hair is given to the female guardian of the creatures, who buys fish with it, cuts them up and feeds them therewith. Thus is food provided for them. Whoever kills one of these creatures with intention is punished with death; if he kill by mischance he pays whatever penalty the priests appoint. Whoever kills an ibis or a hawk, with intention or without, must die for it.

66. There are many household animals; and there would be many more, were it not for what happens to the cats. When the females have kittened they will not consort with the males; and these seek them but cannot get their will of them; so their device is to steal and carry off and kill the kittens (but they do not eat what they have killed). The mothers,
δὲ στερισκόμεναι τῶν τέκνων, ἀλλών δὲ ἐπιθυμέουσαι, οὗτο δὴ ἄπικνέονται παρὰ τοὺς ἐρσεναὶ φιλότεκνον γὰρ τὸ θηρίον. πυρκαῖς δὲ γενομένης θεία πρήγματα καταλαμβάνει τοὺς αἰελούρους: οἱ μὲν γὰρ Αἰγύπτιοι διαστάντες φυλακὰς ἔχουσι τῶν αἰελούρων, ἀμελήσαντες σβεννύναι τὸ καϊμενον, οἱ δὲ αἰέλουροι διαδύνοντες καὶ ὑπερβρόσκοντες τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἐσώθλονται ἐς τὸ πῦρ. ταῦτα δὲ γινόμενα πένθεα μεγάλα τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους καταλαμβάνει. ἐν ὀτέοισι δὲ ἀν οἰκίσασθαι αἰέλουρος ἀποθάνῃ ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτομάτου, οἱ ἐνοικέοντες πάντες ξυρήνται τὰς ὀφρύας μούνας, παρ’ ὀτέοισι δὲ ἀν κῦων, πᾶν τὸ σῶμα καὶ τὴν κεφαλήν.

67. Ἀπάγονται δὲ οἱ αἰέλουροι ἀποθανόντες ἐς ἱρὰς στέγας, ἐνθαθάπτονται ταριχευθέντες, ἐν Βου-βάστι πόλις τὰς ἐν κύνας ἐν τῇ ἐωτῶν ἐκαστοί πόλεθάπτοσι ἐν ἱρήθη ἁθήκησι. ὥσ δὲ αὐτῶς τής κυσί οἱ ἐκνευταὶ θάπτονται. τὰς δὲ μυγαλές καὶ τοὺς ἱρηκὰς ἀπάγουσι ἐς Βούτον πόλιν, τὰς δὲ ἱβίς ἐς Ἐρμέω πόλιν. τὰς δὲ ἀρκτοὺς ἐόσσας σπανίας καὶ τοὺς λύκους οὐ πολλῷ τεω ἐόντας ἀλωπέκων μέξονας αὐτοῖς θάπτουσι τῇ ἀν εὐρεθέουσι κεῖμενοι.

68. Τῶν δὲ κροκοδίλων φύσεις ἐστὶ τουίδε, τοὺς χειμεριωτάτους μῆνας τέσσερας ἑσθήει οὐδέν, ἐν δὲ τετράπους χερσαίον καὶ λιμναίον ἐστῖ. τίκτει μὲν γὰρ ὁδὰ ἐν γῆ καὶ ἐκλέπτει, καὶ τὸ πολλὸν τῆς ἡμέρης διατρίβει ἐν τῷ ξηρῷ, τὴν δὲ νύκτα πάσαν ἐν τῷ ποταμῷ: θερμότερον γὰρ δὴ ἐστὶ τὸ ὕδωρ τῆς τε αἰθρίης καὶ τῆς δρόσου. πάντων δὲ τῶν ἡμείς ἴδμεν θυντῶν τούτο ἐξ ἐλαχίστου μέγιστων γίνεται: τὸ μὲν γὰρ ὁδὸς ἐν χηνέων οὐ πολλῷ μέξονα τίκτει, καὶ ὁ νεοσσός κατὰ λόγον
deprived of their young and desiring to have more will then consort with the males; for they are creatures that love offspring. And when a fire breaks out very strange things happen to the cats. The Egyptians stand round in a broken line, thinking more of the cats than of quenching the burning; but the cats slip through or leap over the men and spring into the fire. When this happens, there is great mourning in Egypt. Dwellers in a house where a cat has died a natural death shave their eyebrows and no more; where a dog has so died, the head and the whole body are shaven.

67. Dead cats are taken away into sacred buildings, where they are embalmed and buried, in the town of Bubastis; bitches are buried in sacred coffins by the townsmen, in their several towns; and the like is done with ichneumons. Shrewmice and hawks are taken away to Buto, ibises to the city of Hermes. There are but few bears, and the wolves are little bigger than foxes; both these are buried wherever they are found lying.

68. I will now show what kind of creature is the crocodile. For the four winter months it eats nothing. It has four feet, and lives both on land and in the water, for it lays eggs and hatches them out on land, and it passes the greater part of the day on dry ground, and the night in the river, the water being warmer than the air and dew. No mortal creature known to us grows from so small a beginning to such greatness; for its eggs are not much bigger than goose eggs, and the young crocodile is of a bigness answering
τοῦ φῶν γίνεται, αὐξανόμενος δὲ γίνεται καὶ ἐς ἔπτακαίδεκα πῆχεας καὶ μέζων ἐτῃ. ἔχει δὲ ὀφθαλμοὺς μὲν ύός, ὀδόντας δὲ μεγάλους καὶ χαυλιόδοντας κατὰ λόγον τοῦ σώματος. γλώσσαν δὲ μούνων θηρίων οὐκ ἐφύσε, οὐδὲ κινεῖ τὴν κάτω γνάθον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦτο μούνων θηρίων τὴν ἀνω γνάθον προσάγει τῇ κάτω. ἔχει δὲ καὶ ὄνειχας καρτεροὺς καὶ δέρμα λεπίδωτον ἀρρηκτον ἐπὶ τοῦ νῦτον. τυφλὸν δὲ ἐν ύδατι, ἐν δὲ τῇ αἰθριᾷ ὀξυδερκέστατον. ἄτε δη ὅν ἐν ὑδατι δίαιταν πολεύμενον, τὸ στόμα ἐνδοθεῖ φοείει πάν μεστὸν βδελλέων. τὰ μὲν δὴ ἄλλα ὅρνεα καὶ θηρία φεύγει μιν, ὁ δὲ τροχίλος εἰρηναῖον οἴ ἐστὶ ἀτε ὀφελεμένῳ πρὸς αὐτοῦ· ἐπειτὰ γὰρ ἐς τὴν γῆν ἐκβῇ ἐκ τοῦ υδατος ὁ κροκόδειλος καὶ ἐπείτα χάνῃ (ἐώθε γὰρ τούτο ὡς ἐπὶ παν πολείει πρὸς τὸν ἐφύρον), ἐνθαῦτα ὁ τροχίλος ἐσδύων ἐς τὸ στόμα αὐτοῦ καταπίνει τὰς βδέλλας· ὁ δὲ ὀφελεμένος ἡμεταί καὶ ὑμήν σώνεται τῶν τροχίλων.

69. Τοῦτο μὲν δὴ τῶν Διγυμπτίων ἱροί εἰσί οἱ κροκόδειλοι, τοῦτο δὲ οὐ, ἀλλ' ἀτε πολεμίος περιέπουσι οἱ δὲ περὶ τε Θηρίας καὶ τὴν Μοῖρος λίμνην οἰκέοντες καὶ κάρτα ἤγγιντα αὐτούς εἶναι ἱροὺς· ἐκ πάντων δὲ ἐνα ἑκάτεροι τρέφουσι κροκόδειλον δεδιδαγμένον εἶναι χειροήθεα, ἀρτήματα τε λίθων χυτὰ καὶ χρύσεα ἐς τα ὡτα ἐνθέντες καὶ ἀμφιδέας περὶ τοὺς ἐμπροσθίους πόδας, καὶ σιτία ἀποτακτὰ διδόντες καὶ ἱρίμα, καὶ περιέπουστε ὡς κάλλιστα ἤπτας· ὑποθανόντας δὲ θάπτουσι ταραχεύοντες ἐν ἱρήσι θήκησι. οἱ δὲ περὶ Ἐλεφαντίνην πόλιν οἰκέοντες καὶ ἐσθίουσι αὐτούς οὐκ ἤγεόμενοι ἱρούς εἶναι. καλέονται δὲ οὐ κροκόδειλοι.
thereto, but it grows to a length of seventeen cubits and more. It has eyes like pigs' eyes, and great teeth and tusks answering to the bigness of its body. It is the only animal that has no tongue. Nor does it move the lower jaw. It is the only creature that brings the upper jaw down upon the lower. It has also strong claws, and a scaly impene-
trable hide on its back. It is blind in the water, but very keen of sight in the air. Since it lives in the water, its mouth is all full within of leeches. All birds and beasts flee from it, except only the sandpiper,\(^1\) with which it is at peace, because this bird does the crocodile a service; for whenever the crocodile comes ashore out of the water and then opens its mouth (and this it does for the most part to catch the west wind), the sandpiper goes into its mouth and eats the leeches; the crocodile is pleased by this service and does the sandpiper no harm.

69. Some of the Egyptians hold crocodiles sacred, others do not so, but treat them as enemies. The dwellers about Thebes and the lake Moeris deem them to be very sacred. There, in every place one crocodile is kept, trained to be tame; they put orna-
ments of glass and gold on its ears and bracelets on its forefeet, provide for it special food and offerings, and give the creatures the best of treatment while they live; after death the crocodiles are embalmed and buried in sacred coffins. But about Elephantine they are not held sacred, and are even eaten. The Egyptians do not call them crocodiles, but champsae.

\(^1\) Egyptian spur-winged lapwing (*Hoplopterus armatus*).
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άλλα χάμψαν κροκοδείλους δὲ Ἰωνεὶς ὕψωσαν, εἰκάζοντες αὐτῶν τὰ εἶδεα τοῖς παρὰ σφίσι γινομένοις κροκοδείλοις τοῖς ἐν τῇς αἴμασιχίς.

70. Ἀγραὶ δὲ σφέων πολλαὶ κατεστάσει καὶ παντοῖαι ἡ δ' ὄν ἐμοιγε δοκεῖις ἄξιωσάτη ἀπηγήσιος εἶναι, ταύτην γράφω. ἐπειών νῦτων ύς δελεάσῃ περὶ ἄγκιστρων, μετεῖ ἐς μέσον τῶν ποταμῶν, αὐτῶς δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ χείλεως τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἔχων δέλφακα χωῆν ταύτην τύπτει. ἐπακούσας δὲ τῆς φωνῆς ὁ κροκόδειλος ἔται κατὰ την φωνήν, ἐντυχῶν δὲ τῷ νῦτῳ καταπίνειν ο郤 δὲ ἐλκουσί, ἐπειὼν δὲ ἐξελκυσθῇ ἐς γῆν, πρωτῶν ἀπάντων ὁ θηρευτὴς πηλῶ κατ᾽ ὄν ἐπλασε αὐτοῦ τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς τούτῳ δὲ ποιήσας κάρτα εὐπετέως τὰ λοιπὰ χειροῦνται, μὴ ποιήσας δὲ τούτῳ σὺν πόνῳ.

71. Οἱ δὲ ἵπποι οἱ ποταμῶι νομῷ μὲν τῷ Πάπρομώτῃ ἱροῖ εἰςι, τοῖς δὲ ἀλλοις Λιγυπτίοις οὐκ ἱροῖ. φύσιν δὲ παρέχονται ἰδέας τοιῆδε τετράπονν ἐστί, δίχηλοι, ὅπλαι βοῶς, σιμῶν, λοφίην ἔχον ἵππου, χαλκίδοντας φαῖους, οὐρῆν ἵππου καὶ φωνήν, μέγαθος ὅςον τε βοῦς ὁ μεγίστος τὸ δέρμα δ' αὐτοῦ οὔτω δὴ τι παχὺ ἐστὶ ὡστε αὖν γενομένου ἐξυστὰ ποιέσθαι ἀκόντια εξ αὐτοῦ.

72. Γίνονται δὲ καὶ ἐνύδριεσ ἐν τῷ ποταμῷ, τὰς ἱρὰς ἑγγυαὶ εἶναι. νομίζουσι δὲ καὶ τῶν ἱχθύων τὸν καλεύμενον λεπιδωτὸν ἱρόν εἶναι καὶ τὴν ἐγχέλυν, ἱροὺς δὲ τούτους τὸν Νείλου φασὶ εἶναι, καὶ τῶν ὄρνίθων τοὺς χηναλότεκας.

73. Ἐστὶ δὲ καὶ ἄλλος ὀρνις ἱρός, τῶν υγιώμα φοίνιξ. ἐγὼ μὲν μιν ὕκ ἐδον εἰ ὑ ὅνων γραφῇ καὶ γάρ δὴ καὶ σπάνιος ἐπιφοιτά σφι, δι' ἐτέων, 358
The Ionians called them crocodiles, from their likeness to the lizards which they have in their walls.\textsuperscript{1}

70. There are many and various ways of crocodile hunting; I will write only of that one way which I think most worthy of mention:—The hunter baits a hook with a chine of pork, and lets it float into the midst of the river; he himself stays on the bank with a young live pig, which he beats. Hearing the cries of the pig, the crocodile goes after the sound, and meets the chine, which it swallows; then the hunters pull the line. When the crocodile is drawn ashore, first of all the hunter smears its eyes over with mud; when this is done the quarry is very easily mastered, which, without that, is no light matter.

71. River horses are sacred in the province of Papremis, but not elsewhere in Egypt. For their outward form, they are four-footed, with cloven hoofs like oxen; their noses are blunt; they are maned like horses, with tusks showing, and have a horse’s tail and a horse’s neigh; their bigness is that of the biggest oxen. Their hide is so thick that when it is dried spearshafts are made of it.

72. Otters also are found in the river, which the Egyptians deem sacred; and they hold sacred that fish too which is called the scale-fish, and the eel. These, and the fox-goose\textsuperscript{2} among birds, are said to be sacred to the god of the Nile.

73. Another bird also is sacred; it is called the phoenix. I myself have never seen it, but only pictures of it; for the bird comes but seldom into Egypt,

\textsuperscript{1} \textit{κροκόδειλος} is Ionic for a lizard; the commoner word is \textit{σαῦρα} or \textit{σαῦρος}. \textit{χάμψα} is the Egyptian "em-suh," a name which survives in the Arabic "timsah," \textit{i.e.} em-suh with the feminine article prefixed.

\textsuperscript{2} Or "Nile-goose." The Egyptian goose (\textit{Chenalopex Aegyptica}).
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ως Ἡλιοπολῖται λέγουσιν, πεντακοσίων φοιτῶν δὲ τότε φασὶ ἐπεάν οἱ ἀποθανή ὁ πατήρ. ἔστι δὲ, εἰ τῇ γραφῇ παρόμοιοι, τοσόσδε καὶ τοιόσδέ τα μὲν αὐτοῦ χρυσόκομα τῶν πτερῶν τὰ δὲ ἐρυθρὰ ἐς τὰ μάλιστα: αιετῷ περιγγῆσιν ὁμοίότατος καὶ τὸ μέγαθος. τούτων δὲ λέγουσι μηχανάσθαι τάδε, ἐμοὶ μὲν οὐ πιστὰ λέγοντες ἥξὶ Ἀραβίης ὀρμῶ-μενον ἐς τὸ ἱρὸν τοῦ Ἡλίου κομίζειν τῶν πατέρα ἐν σμύρνῃ ἐμπλάσοντα καὶ θάπτειν ἐν τοῦ Ἡλίου τῷ ἱρῷ, κομίζειν δὲ οὖτω: πρώτον τῆς σμύρνης ὧν πλάσσειν ὅσον τε δυνάτος ἐστὶ φέρειν, μετὰ δὲ πειράσθαι αὐτῷ φορέοντα, ἐπεάν δὲ ἀποπειρήθη, οὔτω δὴ κοιλήμαντα τὸ ὄν τὸν πατέρα ἐς αὐτὸ ἐντιθέναι, σμύρνη δὲ ἀλλὰ ἐμπλασοῖς τοῦτο κατ᾽ οἱ τοῦ ὕδατ έκκοιλήμας ἐνέθηκε τῶν πατέρας ἐσκειμένον δὲ τοῦ πατρὸς γίνεσθαι τῶν τοῦ βάρος ἐμπλασοῦσα δὲ κομίζειν μιν ἐπ᾽ Αἰγύπτου ἐς τοῦ Ἡλίου τὸ ἱρὸν. τάντα μὲν τοῦτων τὸν ὅρων λέγουσι ποιέειν.

74. Ἐσι δὲ περὶ Θιβάς ἰροὶ ὄφιες, ἀνθρώπων οὐδαμῶς δηλήμονες, οὐ μεγάθει ἐόντες μικρῷ δύῳ κέρεα φορέοντα πεφυκότα ἤξὶ ἀκρῆς τῆς κεφαλῆς τοὺς θάπτουσι ἀποθανόντας ἐν τῷ ἱρῷ τοῦ Δίος τοῦτο γὰρ σφέας τοῦ θεοῦ φασὶ εἶναι ἰροὺς.

75. Ἐσι δὲ χῶρος τῆς Ἀραβίης κατὰ Βουτόν πόλιν μάλιστα κη κείμενος, καὶ ἐς τοῦτο τῷ χωρίῳ ἢλθον πυθανόμενοι περὶ τῶν πτερωτῶν ὤφιων ἀπικόμενοι δὲ εἶδον ὅστεα ὤφιων καὶ ἀκάνθας πληθεῖ μὲν ἁδύνατα ἀπηγηγάσθαι, σωροὶ δὲ ἥσαν ἀκανθίων καὶ μεγάλοι καὶ υποδέστεροι καὶ ἐλάσσονες ἐτὶ τούτων, πολλοὶ δὲ ἥσαν οὔτοι. ἐστὶ δὲ ὁ χῶρος οὕτως, ἐν τῷ αἰ ἄκανθαι κατακεχύμαται.
once in five hundred years, as the people of Heliopolis say. It is said that the phoenix comes when his father dies. If the picture truly shows his size and appearance, his plumage is partly golden but mostly red. He is most like an eagle in shape and bigness. The Egyptians tell a tale of this bird's devices which I do not believe. He comes, they say, from Arabia bringing his father to the Sun's temple enclosed in myrrh, and there buries him. His manner of bringing is this: first he moulds an egg of myrrh as heavy as he can carry, and when he has proved its weight by lifting it he then hollows out the egg and puts his father in it, covering over with more myrrh the hollow in which the body lies; so the egg being with his father in it of the same weight as before, the phoenix, after enclosing him, carries him to the temple of the Sun in Egypt. Such is the tale of what is done by this bird.

74. Near Thebes there are sacred snakes, harmless to men, small in size and bearing two horns on the top of their heads. These, when they die, are buried in the temple of Zeus, to whom they are said to be sacred.

75. Not far from the town of Buto, there is a place in Arabia to which I went to learn about the winged serpents. When I came thither, I saw innumerable bones and backbones of serpents; many heaps of backbones there were, great and small and smaller still. This place, where lay the backbones
τοιόσοδε τις, ἐσβολὴ ἐξ ὀρέων στεινῶν ἐς πεδίον μέγα, τὸ ὑπείποι τούτο συνάπτει τῷ Ἀἰγυπτίῳ πεδίῳ. λόγος δὲ ἐστὶ ἀμα τῷ ἔαρι πτερωτοὺς ὃφις ἐκ τῆς Ἀραβίης πέτεσθαι ἐπὶ Ἀἰγύπτον, τὰς δὲ ἱβις τὰς ὀρυχίας ἀπαντώσας ἐς τὴν ἐσβολὴν ταύτης τῆς χώρης οὐ παριέναι τοὺς ὁφις ἀλλὰ κατακτέειν. καὶ τὴν ἱβιν διὰ τούτο τῷ ἔργῳ τετιμῆσθαι λέγουσι Ἀράβιοι μεγάλως πρὸς Ἀἰγυπτίους ὀμολογέουσι δὲ καὶ Ἀἰγύπτιοι διὰ ταύτα τιμᾶν τὰς ὀρυχίας ταύτας.

76. Εἶδος δὲ τῆς μὲν ἱβιος τόδε μελαίνα δεινῶς πᾶσα, σκέλεα δὲ φορέει γεράνου, πρόσωπον δὲ ἐς τὰ μάλιστα επίγρυπτον, μέγαθος ὅσον κρέξ. τῶν μὲν δὴ μελαίνεων τῶν μαχομενέων πρὸς τοὺς ὁφις ἢδε ἱδέη, τῶν δὲ ἐν ποσὶ μᾶλλον εἴλευμενεών τοῖσι ἀνθρώποισι (διεῖς γὰρ δὴ εἰσὶ ἱβιες) ψιλὴ τὴν κεφαλὴν καὶ τὴν δειρὴν πᾶσαν, λευκὴ πτεροῦσι πλὴν κεφαλῆς καὶ αὐχένος καὶ ἀκρέων τῶν πτερύγων καὶ τοῦ πυγαίον ἄκρου (ταῦτα δὲ τὰ εἴποι πάντα μελανα ἐς τί δεινῶς), σκέλεα δὲ καὶ πρόσωπον ἐμφερῆς τῇ ἐτέρῃ. τοῦ δὲ ὁφιος ἡ μορφὴ οὐ περ τῶν ύδρων, πτίλα δὲ οὐ πτερωτὰ φορέει ἀλλὰ τοῖσι τῆς νυκτερίδος πτεροῦσι μάλιστα κα ἐμφερέστατα.

Τοσαῦτα μὲν θηρίων πέρι ἱρῶν εἰρήσθω.

77. Αὐτῶν δὲ δὴ Ἀἰγυπτίων οἱ μὲν περὶ τὴν σπειρομένην Ἀἰγυπτον οἰκέουσι, μνήμην ἀνθρώπων πάντων ἐπασκέοντες μάλιστα λογιώτατοι εἰςι μακρὸ τῶν ἐγὼ ἐς διάπειραν ἀπικόμην, τρόπῳ δὲ ξώς τοιῷδε διαχρέωνται συμμαίζουσι τρεῖς ἡμέρας ἐπεξῆς μηνὸς ἐκάστου, ἐμέτοιχοι θηρώμενοι τὴν ὑγιεῖν καὶ κλύσμασι, νομίζουσι ἀπὸ τῶν τρε-362
scattered, is where a narrow mountain pass opens into a great plain, which is joined to the plain of Egypt. Winged serpents are said to fly at the beginning of spring, from Arabia, making for Egypt; but the ibis birds encounter the invaders in this pass and kill them. The Arabians say that the ibis is greatly honoured by the Egyptians for this service, and the Egyptians give the same reason for honouring these birds.

76. Now this is the appearance of the ibis. It is all deep black, with legs like a crane's, and a beak strongly hooked; its size is that of a landrail. Such is the outward form of the ibis which fights with the serpents. Those that most consort with men (for the ibis is of two kinds) have all the head and neck bare of feathers; their plumage is white, save the head and neck and the tips of wings and tail (these being deep black); the legs and beak of the bird are like those of the other ibis. The serpents are like water-snakes. Their wings are not feathered but most like the wings of a bat.

I have now said enough concerning creatures that are sacred.

77. Among the Egyptians themselves, those who dwell in the cultivated country are the most careful of all men to preserve the memory of the past, and none whom I have questioned have so many chronicles. I will now speak of the manner of life which they use. For three following days in every month they purge themselves, pursuing after health by means of emetics and drenches; for they think

1 Geronticus Calvus and Ibis Aethiopica.
φόντων σιτίων πάσας τὰς νυσσοὺς τοῖς ἀνθρώποις γίνεσθαι. εἰσὶ μὲν γὰρ καὶ ἄλλως Δισύπτιοι μετὰ Λιβνας ὑγιηστάται πάντων ἀνθρώπων τῶν ὦρέων δοκεῖν ἐμοὶ εἶνεκα, ὅτι οὐ μεταλλάσσονσι αἱ ὄραν ἐν γὰρ τῇς μεταβολῆς τοῖς ἀνθρώποις αἱ νυσσοί μάλιστα γίνονται τῶν τε ἄλλων πάντων καὶ δὴ καὶ τῶν ὦρέων μάλιστα. ἀρτοφαγέουσι δὲ ἐκ τῶν ὀλυρεῶν ποιεύσσετε ἄρτους, τοὺς ἐκεῖνοι κυλλήστερος ὑνομάζονσι. οἷνο δὲ ἐκ κριθέων πεποιημένω διαχρέως τὸν ἀγάρ σφι εἰσὶ ἐν τῇ χώρῃ ἀμπελου. ἵχθυσι δὲ τοὺς μὲν πρός ἥλιον αὖθινατες ὤμοις σιτεύονται, τοὺς δὲ ἔξ ἄλμης τεταριχευμένους. ὀρνίθων δὲ τοὺς τε ὠρτυγας καὶ τὰς νήσσας καὶ τὰ μικρὰ τῶν ὀρνίθων ὡμὰ σιτεύονται προταριχεύσαντες. τὰ δὲ ἄλλα ὀσα ἢ ὀρνίθων ἢ ἵχθυων σφι ἐστὶ ἐχόμενα, χωρίς ἦ ὀκόσοι σφι ἱροὶ ἀποδεδέχαται, τοὺς λοιποὺς ὤπτους καὶ ἐφθοὺς σιτεύονται.

78. Ἡν δὲ τῇς συνουσίας τοῖς εὐδαίμοσι αὐτῶν, ἐπειδὴ ἀπὸ δεῖπνου γένονται, περιφέρει ἀνήρ νεκρὸν ἐν σορῷ ἕξωνυν πεποιημένον, μεμιμημένου ἐσ τὰ μάλιστα καὶ γραφή καὶ ἔργο, μέγαθος ὁςον τε πηχυαίον ἡ δίπηχυν, δεικνὺς δὲ ἐκάστω τῶν συμποτεὺν λέγει "Ἐσ τούτων ὀρέων πινέ τε καὶ τέρπεν· ἐστει γὰρ ἀποθανόν τοιοῦτος." ταῦτα μὲν παρὰ τὰ συμπόσια ποιεύσι.

79. Πατρίωσι δὲ χρεώμεροι νόμοις ἄλλων ὦν-δέα ἐπικτῶνται· τοῖς ἄλλα τε ἐπαύξια ἐστὶ νόμιμα, καὶ δὴ καὶ ἄεισμα ἐν ἐστὶ, Λίνος, ὀσπερ ἐν τε Φοινικῆ ἀοίδημος ἐστὶ καὶ ἐν Κύπρῳ καὶ ἄλλη, κατὰ

1 MSS. πάντῃ πηχυαίον; Stein brackets πάντῃ, "a cubit's length every way" being unintelligible here.

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it is from the food which they eat that all sicknesses come to men. Even without this, the Egyptians are the healthiest of all men, next to the Libyans; the reason of which to my thinking is that the climate in all seasons is the same; for change is the great cause of men's falling sick, more especially changes of seasons. They eat bread, making loaves which they call "clylestis"\(^1\) of coarse grain. For wine, they use a drink made of barley; for they have no vines in their country. They eat fish uncooked, either dried in the sun or preserved with brine. Quails and ducks and small birds are salted and eaten raw; all other kinds of birds, as well as fish (except those that the Egyptians hold sacred) are eaten roast and boiled.

78. At rich men's banquets, after dinner a man carries round a wooden image of a corpse in a coffin, painted and carved in exact imitation, a cubit or two cubits long. This he shows to each of the company, saying "Drink and make merry, but look on this; for such shalt thou be when thou art dead." Such is the custom at their drinking-bouts.

79. They keep the ordinances of their fathers, and add none others to them. Among other notable customs of theirs is this, that they have one song, the Linus-song,\(^2\) which is sung in Phoenice and Cyprus

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\(^1\) Loaves twisted to a point, apparently.

\(^2\) This is the hymn for a slain youth (said to typify the departure of early summer), Thammuz, Atys, Hylas, or Linus; the Semitic refrain \(aì\ lenu\), "alas for us," becomes the Greek \(aì\ Linos\), from which comes the name Linus.
μέντοι ἔθνεα οὐνόμα ἔχει, συμφέρεται δὲ ὦντος εἶναι τὸν ὁ Ἕλληνες Λίνον ὄνομάζουσε ἀείδουσι, ὥστε πολλὰ μὲν καὶ ἄλλα ἀποθωμάζειν με τῶν περὶ Αἴγυπτον ἐόντων, ἐν δὲ δὴ καὶ τὸν Λίνον ὄκωθεν ἔλαβον τὸ οὐνόμα· φαίνονται δὲ αἰεὶ κοτε τούτον ἀείδουτες. ἔστι δὲ Αἰγυπτιστὶ ὁ Λίνος καλεύμενος Μανερῶς. ἤφασαν δὲ μιν Αἰγύπτιοι τοῦ πρώτου βασιλεύσαντος Αἴγυπτοι παῖδα μούνογενέα γενέσθαι, ἀποθανόντα δὲ αὐτὸν ἄνωρον θρήνουσι τούτοις ὑπὸ Αἴγυπτιον τιμηθῆναι, καὶ ἀοιδὴν τε ταύτην πρώτην καὶ μούνην σφίσι γενέσθαι.

80. Συμφέρονται δὲ καὶ τόδε ἄλλο Αἰγύπτιοι Ἕλληνων μοῦνοισι Δακεδαιμονίοις· οἱ νέωτεροι αὐτῶν τοίσι πρεσβυτέροισι συντυγχάνοντες εἰκουσὶ τῆς ὁδοῦ καὶ ἐκτράπονται καὶ ἐπιούσι εἴς ἔδρης ὑπαινιστέαται. τόδε μέντοι ἄλλοισι Ἕλληνων οὔδαμοίσι συμφέρονται· ἀντὶ τοῦ προσαγορεύειν ἄλληλους ἐν τῇσι ὀδοὶσι προσκυνεύοσι κατιέντες μέχρι τοῦ γούνατος τῆς χείρα.

81. 'Ενδεδύκασι δὲ κιθώνας λινέοις περὶ τὰ σκέλεα θυσανωτούσ, τοὺς καλέουσι καλασίρις· ἐπὶ τούτοις δὲ εἰρίνεα εἴματα λευκὰ ἐπαναβλήθησον φορέουσι· οὐ μέντοι ἐς γε τὰ ἵρα ἑσφέρεται εἰρίνεα οὕδε συγκαταθάπτεται σφί· οὐ γὰρ ὅσιον, ὀμολογέουσι δὲ ταύτα τούσι Ὄρφικοισι καλεομένοισι καὶ Βακχικοίσι, ἔσοντι δὲ Αἰγυπτίοισι καὶ Πυθαγορεύοσι· οὐδὲ γὰρ τούτων τῶν ὄργιων μετέχοντα ὅσιον ἔστι· ἐν εἰρίνεοισι εἶμασι θαφθῆναι. ἔστι δὲ περὶ αὐτῶν ἱρὸς λόγος λεγόμενος.

82. Καὶ τάδε ἄλλα Αἰγυπτίοισι ἔστι ἐξευρημένα, μεῖς τε καὶ ἡμέρη ἐκώστη θεῶν ὅτευ ἐστι, 366
and elsewhere; each nation has a name of its own for this, but it is the same song that the Greeks sing, and call Linus; wherefore it is to me one of the many strange things in Egypt, whence the Egyptians got the name. Plainly they have ever sung this song; the name for Linus in Egyptian is Maneros. The Egyptians told me that Maneros was the only son of their first king, who died untimely, and this dirge was sung by the Egyptians in his honour; and this, they said, was their earliest and their only chant.

80. There is a custom too which no Greeks save the Lacedaemonians have in common with the Egyptians:—younger men, when they meet their elders, turn aside and give place to them in the way, and rise from their seats when an older man approaches. But they have another custom which is nowhere known in Greece: passers-by do not address each other, but salute by lowering the hand to the knee.

81. They wear linen tunic; with fringes hanging about the legs, called "calasiris," and loose white woollen mantles over these. But nothing of wool is brought into temples, or buried with them; that is forbidden. In this they follow the same rule as the ritual called Orphic and Bacchic, but which is in truth Egyptian and Pythagorean; for neither may those initiated into these rites be buried in woollen wrappings. There is a sacred legend about this.

82. I pass to other inventions of the Egyptians. They assign each month and each day to some god;

1 Maneros, probably from the refrain ma-n-hra, "come back to us."
καὶ τῇ ἐκαστῇ ἡμέρῃ γενόμενος ὀτέουσι ἐγκυρίσει καὶ ὅκως τελευτήσει καὶ ὅκοιδς τὸς ἔσται. καὶ τούτοις τῶν Ἔλληνων οἱ ἐν ποιήσι φενόμενοι ἐχρήσαντο. τέρατα τε πλέω σφί ἀνεύρθηται ἢ τοῦι ἄλλοισι ἀπασί ἀνθρώποισι γενομένοι γὰρ τέρατος φυλάσσουσι γραφόμενοι τῷ ποποβαῖνον, καὶ ἢν κοτε ὑστερον παραπλήσιον τούτῳ γένηται, κατὰ τῶντό νομίζουσι ἀποβήσεσθαι.

83. Μαντικῆ δὲ αὐτῶσι ὁδὲ διακέεσται ἀνθρώπων μὲν οὐδενὶ προσκέεστι ἢ τέχνη, τῶν δὲ θεῶν μετεξετέρουσι καὶ γὰρ Ἰρακλέους μαντήτων αὐτόθι ἐστὶ καὶ Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ Ἀθηναίης καὶ Ἀρτέμιδος καὶ Ἀρεως καὶ Δίως, καὶ τὸ γε μάλιστα ἐν τιμῇ ἄγονται πάντων τῶν μαντητῶν, Δητούς ἐν Βουτοῖ πόλι ἐστί. οὐ μέντοι αἱ γε μαντήται σφί κατὰ τῶντό ἐστάσι, ἀλλὰ διάφοροι εἰσὶ.

84. Ἡ δὲ ἤθηρικὴ κατὰ τάδε σφί δεδασταὶ μῆς νούσου ἐκαστὸς ἤθηρός ἐστὶ καὶ οὗ πλεόνων. πάντα δὲ ἤθηρῶν ἐστὶ πλέα. οὐ μὲν γὰρ ὁ θαλμῶν ἤθηροι κατεστάσι, οἱ δὲ κεφαλῆς, οὗ δὲ ὀδόντων, οὗ δὲ τῶν κατὰ νηῦν, οὗ δὲ τῶν ἀφανῶν νούσων.

85. Ὁρήνωι δὲ καὶ ταφαὶ σφενῶ εἰσὶ αἱδὲ τοῖσι ἄν ἀπογένηται ἐκ τῶν οἰκίῶν ἀνθρώπως τοῦ τις καὶ λόγος ἢ, τὸ θῆλυ γένος πὰν τὸ ἐκ τῶν οἰκίῶν τούτων καὶ ὧν ἐπιλάσατο τὴν κεφαλὴν πηλῶ ἢ καὶ τὸ πρόςωπον, κάπετα ἐν τοῖσι οἰκίοις λιπούσαι τὸν νεκρὸν αὕτα ἄνα τὴν πόλιν στρωφώμεναι τύπτοταν ἐπεξώσαμέναι καὶ φαίνουσαι τοὺς μαξούς, σὺν δὲ σφί αἱ προσήκουσαι πᾶσαι, ἐτέρωθεν δὲ οἱ ἄνδρες, τύπτοταν ἐπεξωμένοι καὶ οὕτωι ἐπειὰν δὲ ταῦτα ποιήσωσι, οὕτω ἐς τὴν ταρίχευσιν κομίζουσι τὸ

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they can tell what fortune and what end and what disposition a man shall have according to the day of his birth. This has given material to Greeks who deal in poetry. They have made themselves more omens than all other nations together; when an ominous thing happens they take note of the outcome and write it down; and if something of a like kind happen again they think it will have a like result.

83. As to the art of divination among them, it belongs to some of the gods, but to no one among men; there are in their country oracles of Heracles, Apollo, Athene, Artemis, Ares, and Zeus, and (which is the most honoured of all) of Leto in the town of Buto. Nevertheless they have diverse ways of divination, not one only.

84. The practice of medicine is so divided among them, that each physician is a healer of one disease and no more. All the country is full of physicians, some of the eye, some of the teeth, some of what pertains to the belly, and some of the hidden diseases.

85. They mourn and bury the dead as I will show. Whenever a man of note is lost to his house by death, all the womenkind of the house daub their faces or heads with mud; then, with all the women of their kin, they leave the corpse in the house, and roam about the city lamenting, with their garments girt round them and their breasts showing; and the men too lament in their place, with garments girt likewise. When this is done, they take the dead body to be embalmed.
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86. Ἐσι δὲ οἱ ἐπὶ αὐτῷ τούτῳ κατέαται καὶ
tέχνην ἔχουσι ταῦτῃ. οὗτοι, ἔπειτα σφι κομισθῇ
νεκρός, δεικνύουσι τοῖς κομίσασι παραδείγματα
νεκρῶν ξύλινα, τῇ γραφῇ μεμιμημένα1 ... , καὶ τὴν
μὲν σπουδαιότάτην αὐτῶν φασὶ εἶναι τοῦ οὐκ ὅσιον
ποιεῖμαι τὸ οὐνόμα ἐπὶ τοιούτῳ πρήγματι ὁνομά-
ζειν, τὴν δὲ δευτέρην δεικνύουσι ὑποδεικτέρην τε
tαύτης καὶ εὐτελεστέρην, τὴν δὲ τρίτην εὐτελε-
stάτην: φράσαντες δὲ πυθάνονται παρ' αὐτῶν
cατὰ ἴμιστα βούλονται σφι σκευασθῆναι τὸν
νεκρόν. οἱ μὲν δὲ ἐκποδῶθαι μισθῷ ὁμολογήσαντες
ἀπαλλάσσονται, οὐ δὲ ὑπολειπόμενοι ἐν οἰκήμασι
ὁδὲ τὰ σπουδαιότατα ταριχεύοντι. πρῶτα μὲν
σκολιῶν σιδήρω διὰ τῶν μυξωτήρων ἔξαγονοι τὸν
ἐγκέφαλον, τὰ μὲν αὐτοῦ οὕτω ἔξαγοντες, τὰ δὲ
ἐγχέωντες φάρμακα· μετὰ δὲ λίθῳ Ἀἰθιοπικῷ ὑζέι
παρασχίσαντες παρὰ τὴν λαπάρην ἐξ ων εἶλον τὴν
κοιλὴν πᾶσαν, ἐκκαθήραντες δὲ αὐτὴν καὶ διηθή-
σαντες οἶνῳ φοινικῇσι αὐτῖς διηθέσοις θυμιῆμασι
tetramménoi· ἔπειτα τὴν νηδῶν σμύρνης ἀκηράτου
tetramméνης καὶ κασίης καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ψυμημάτων,
πλὴν λιβανωτοῦ, πλήσαντες συρράπτουσι ὀπίσω.
taūta δὲ ποιήσαντες ταριχεύονσι λίτρῳ κρύσα-
ντες ἡμέρας ἐβδομήκοντα· πλεύνασι δὲ τούτων οὐκ
ἐξέστι ταριχεύειν. ἔπειτα δὲ παρέλθωσι αἱ ἐβδο-
mήκοντα, λούσαντες τὸν νεκρὸν κατειλίσσουσι πᾶν
αὐτοῦ τὸ σώμα σινδόνος βυσσίνης τελαμώδῳ κατα-
tetramménoi, ὑποχρίοντες τῷ κόμμι, τῷ δὲ ἀντι
κόλλης τὰ πολλὰ χρέωνται Ἀἰγύπτιου. ἔιθεντεν
δὲ παραδεξάμενοί μιν οἱ προσήκοντες ποιεῦνται
ξύλινον τύπον ἀνθρωποείδεα, ποιησάμενοι δὲ

1 MSS. appear to show indications of a lacuna here.
86. There are men whose whole business this is and who have this special craft. These, when a dead body is brought to them, show the bringers wooden models of corpses, painted in exact imitation; the most perfect manner of embalming belongs, they say, to One whose name it were profane for me to speak in treating of such matters; the second way, which they show, is less perfect than the first, and cheaper, and the third is the least costly of all. Having shown these, they ask the bringers of the body in which fashion they desire to have it prepared. The bearers, having agreed in a price, go their ways, and the workmen, left behind in their place, embalm the body. If they do this in the most perfect way, they first draw out part of the brain through the nostrils with an iron hook, and inject certain drugs into the rest. Then, making a cut near the flank with a sharp knife of Ethiopian stone, they take out all the intestines, and clean the belly, rinsing it with palm wine and bruised spices; and presently, filling the belly with pure ground myrrh and casia and any other spices, save only frankincense, they sew up the anus. Having done this, they conceal the body for seventy days, embalmed in saltpetre; no longer time is allowed for the embalming; and when the seventy days are past they wash the body and wrap the whole of it in bandages of fine linen cloth, anointed with gum, which the Egyptians mostly use instead of glue; which done, they give back the dead man to his friends. These make a hollow wooden figure like a man, in
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ἔσεργυσι τὸν νεκρόν, καὶ κατακλησάντες οὕτω θησαυρίζουσι ἐν οἰκήματι θηκαίῳ, ἵσταντες ὦρθὸν πρὸς τοῖχον.

87. Οὗτοι μὲν τοὺς τὰ πολυτελέστατα σκευάζουσι νεκροὺς, τοὺς δὲ τὰ μέσα βουλομένους τὴν δὲ πολυτελεῖν φεύγοντας σκευάζουσι ὡδὲ ἔπεαν τοὺς κλυστήρας πλήσωσται τοῦ ἀπὸ κέδρου ἀλειφατὸς γυμνομένου, ἐν δὲν ἐπλησαν τοῦ νεκροῦ τὴν κοιλίαν, οὔτε ἀναταμώνεις αὐτὸν οὔτε ἐξελόντες τὴν νηδὺν, κατὰ δὲ τὴν ἔδραν ἐσπηνεύσαντες καὶ ἐπιλαβόντες τὸ κλύσμα τῆς ὁπίσω ὀδοῦ ταριχεύουσι τὰς προκειμένας ἡμέρας, τῇ δὲ τελευταίᾳ ἐξειποῦ ἐκ τῆς κοιλίας τὴν κεδρίην τὴν ἐσήκαν πρότερον. ἦ δὲ ἔχει τοσαύτην δύναμιν ὡστε ἀμα ἐωτὴ τὴν νηδὺν καὶ τὰ σπλάγχνα κατατετηκότα ἐξάγει τὰς δὲ σάρκας τὸ λίτρον κατατίκει, καὶ δὴ λειπεῖ τοῦ νεκροῦ τὸ δέρμα μοῦνον καὶ τὰ ὀστέα. ἐπεάν δὲ ταῦτα ποιήσωσι, ἀπὶ δὲν ἐδωκαν οὕτω τῶν νεκρῶν, οὐδέν ἐτι πρηγματευθέντες.

88. Ἡ δὲ τρίτη ταριχευσίς ἐστὶ ἢδε, ἢ τοὺς χρήμασι ἀσθενεστέρους σκευάζεις συμμαίνῃ διηθήσαντες τὴν κοιλίαν ταριχεύουσι τὰς ἐβδομήκοντα ἡμέρας καὶ ἔπειτα ἀπ' δὲν ἐδωκαν ἀποφέρεσθαι.

89. Τὰς δὲ γυναίκας τῶν ἐπιφανέων ἀνδρῶν, ἐπεάν τελευτήσωσι, οὐ παραντικὰ διδοῦσι ταριχεύειν, οὔδ' ὥσις ὡσὶς ἐνειδεῖς κάρτα καὶ λόγου πλεύνος γυναίκες: ἀλλ' ἐπεάν τριταίαι ἢ τεταρταίαι γένονται, οὐτως παραδιδοὺσι τοῖσι ταριχεύουσι. τούτο δὲ ποιεῖσι οὕτως τοῦτε εἴνεκεν, ἵνα μὴ σφι οἱ ταριχευται μίσγωνται τῆς γυναίκες: λαμφθήναι γαρ τινὲς φασὶ μισγόμενον νεκρὸ προσφάτῳ γυναίκος, κατειπεῖν δὲ τὸν ὀμότεχνον. 372
which they enclose the corpse, shut it up, and preserve it safe in a coffin-chamber, placed erect against a wall.

87. This is how they prepare the dead who have wished for the most costly fashion; those whose wish was for the middle and less costly way are prepared in another fashion. The embalmers charge their syringes with cedar oil and therewith fill the belly of the dead man, making no cut, nor removing the intestines, but injecting the drench through the anus and checking it from returning; then they embalm the body for the appointed days; on the last day they let the oil which they poured in pass out again. It has so great power that it brings away the inner parts and intestines all dissolved; the flesh is eaten away by the saltpetre, and in the end nothing is left of the body but skin and bone. Then the embalmers give back the dead body with no more ado.

88. When they use the third manner of embalming, which is the preparation of the poorer dead, they cleanse the belly with a purge, embalm the body for the seventy days and then give it back to be taken away.

89. Wives of notable men, and women of great beauty and reputation, are not at once given over to the embalmers, but only after they have been dead for three or four days; this is done, that the embalmers may not have carnal intercourse with them. For it is said that one was found having intercourse with a woman newly dead, and was denounced by his fellow-workman.

1 τούς τὰ πολυτελέστατα, 8c. βουλομένους.
90. Ὅσε δ' ἂν ἡ αὐτῶν Ἀιγυπτίων ἡ ξείνων ὁμοίως ὑπὸ κροκοδείλου ἀρπασθεὶς ἢ ὑπ' αὐτὸν τοῦ ποταμοῦ φαίνηται τεθνεώς, κατ' ἧν ἂν πόλιν ἐξευθείσης, τούτους πάσα ἀνάγκη ἐστὶ ταριχεύ-σαντας αὐτὸν καὶ περιστείλαντας ὡς κάλλιστα θάψαι ἐν ἅρησι θήκης: οὐδὲ ψαύσαι ἐξεστὶ αὐτοῦ ἄλλου οὐδένα οὔτε τῶν προσηκόντων οὔτε τῶν φίλων, ἄλλα μιν αἱ ἱρεῖς αὐτοῦ τοῦ Νείλου ἀτε πλέον τι ἡ ἀνθρώπου νεκρῶν χειραπτάξουτες θάπτονσι

91. Ἐλληνικοὶ δὲ νομαίοις φεύγουσι χράσθαι, τὸ δὲ σύμπαν εἰπεῖν, μηδ' ἄλλων μηδαμὰ μηδα-μῶν ἀνθρώπων νομαίοισι. οἱ μὲν νυν ἄλλοι Ἀιγύ-πτιοι οὗτοι τοῦτο φυλάσσουσι, ἐστὶ δὲ Χέμμις πό-λις μεγάλη νομοῦ τοῦ Θιβαίκοι ἐγγὺς Νέης πόλιος· ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ πόλι ἐστὶ Περσέος τοῦ Δανάης ἰρὸν τετράγωνων, πέριξ δὲ αὐτοῦ φοίνικες πεφύ-κασιν. τὰ δὲ πρόπυλα τοῦ ἱροῦ λίθινα ἐστὶ κάρτα μεγάλα· ἔπτὶ δὲ αὐτοῖς ἄνδριάντες δύο ἐστάσι λίθινοι μεγάλοι. ἐν δὲ τῷ περιβεβλημένῳ τούτῳ νησὶ τε ἐν καὶ ἀγαλμα ἐν αὐτῷ ἐνέστηκε τοῦ Περ-σέος. οὕτως οἱ Χεμμίται λέγουσι τῶν Περσῶν πολλάκις μὲν ἂν τὴν γῆν φαίνεσθαι σφί πολλάκις δὲ ἔσω τοῦ ἱροῦ, σαινδάλιον τε αὐτοῦ πεφορημένον εὐρίσκεσθαι ἐδώ το μέγαθος διπήχω, τὸ ἐπεάν φανῆ, εὐθηνέειν ἀπασαν Αἰγυπτον. ταῦτα μὲν λέγουσι, ποιεῖσι δὲ τάδε Ἐλληνικὰ τῷ Περσεί. ἀγώνα γυμνικὸν τιθείσι διὰ πάσης ἀγωνιᾶς ἔχοντα, παρέχοντες ἅθλα κτήνεα καὶ χλαίνας καὶ δέρ-ματα. εἰρρομένου δὲ μεν ὁ τι σφὶ μοῦνοισι ἐσθε ὁ Περσεύς ἐπιφαίνεσθαι καὶ ὁ τι κεχωρίδαται Αἰγυπτῖων τῶν ἄλλων ἀγώνα γυμνικὸν τιθέντες.
90. When anyone, be he Egyptian or stranger, is known to have been carried off by a crocodile or drowned by the river itself, such an one must by all means be embalmed and tended as fairly as may be and buried in a sacred coffin by the townsmen of the place where he is cast up; nor may any of his kinsfolk or his friends touch him, but his body is deemed something more than human, and is handled and buried by the priests of the Nile themselves.

91. The Egyptians shun the use of Greek customs, and (to speak generally) the customs of any other men whatever. Yet, though the rest are careful of this, there is a great city called Chemmis, in the Theban province, near the New City; in this city is a square temple of Perseus son of Danae, in a grove of palm trees. The colonnade before this temple is of stone, very great; and there stand at the entrance two great stone statues. In this outer court there is a shrine with an image of Perseus standing in it. The people of this Chemmis say that Perseus is often seen up and down this land, and often within the temple, and that the sandal he wears is found, and it is two cubits long; when that is seen, all Egypt prospers. This is what they say; and their doings in honour of Perseus are Greek, in that they celebrate games comprising every form of contest, and offer animals and cloaks and skins as prizes. When I asked why Perseus appeared to them alone, and why, unlike all other Egyptians, they celebrate games,
Εφασάν τὸν Περσέα ἐκ τῆς ἐωτῶν πόλεως γεγονέναι· τὸν γὰρ Δαναὸν καὶ τὸν Δυνκέα ἐόντας Χεμμίτας ἐκπλῶσαι ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα, ἀπὸ δὲ τούτων γενειλογεόντες κατέβαυνον ἐς τὸν Περσέα. ἀπεικόμενον δὲ αὐτὸν ἐς Αἰγύπτον κατ’ αὐτὴν τὴν καὶ Ἕλληνες λέγουσι, οὗσοντα ἐκ Διβύης τὴν Γοργοὺς κεφαλῆς, ἐφασαν ἐλθεῖν καὶ παρὰ σφέας καὶ ἀναγνώσας τοὺς συνηγεγένας πάντας· ἐκμεμαθηκότα δὲ μὲν ἀπικέσθαι ἐς Αἰγύπτον τὸ τῆς Χέμμιος οὖνομα, πεπνυμένου παρὰ τῆς μητρὸς. ἀγώνα δὲ οἱ γυμνικὸν αὐτοῦ κελεύσαντος ἐπιτελέειν.

92. Ταῦτα μὲν πάντα οἱ κατύπερθε τῶν ἔλεων οἰκέοντες Αἰγύπτιοι νομίζουσι· οἱ δὲ δὴ ἐν τοῖς ἐλεσι κατοικημένοι τούσι μὲν αὐτοῖς νόμοις χρέωνται τοίσι καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι Αἰγύπτιοι, καὶ τὰ ἄλλα καὶ γυναικὶ μὴ ἐκαστὸς αὐτῶν συνοικεῖς κατὰ περὶ Ἕλληνας, ἀτὰρ πρὸς εὐτελεῖν τῶν σιτίων τάδε σφι ἄλλα ἐξεύρηται. ἐπεὰν πλήρης γένηται ο ποταμὸς καὶ τὰ πεδία πελαγίς, φύεται ἐν τῷ ύδατι κρίνεα πολλά, τὰ Αἰγύπτιοι καλέουσι λωτον· ταῦτ’ ἐπεὰν δρέψωσι αὐτιούσι πρὸς ἤλιον καὶ ἐπειτα τὸ ἐκ μέσου τοῦ λωτοῦ, τῇ μῆκοι τοῖς ἐμφερέσι, πτίσαντες ποιεῦνται εξ αὐτοῦ ἄρτους ὀπτοὺς πυρὶ. ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἡ ῥίξα τοῦ λωτοῦ τούτου ἐδωδάμη καὶ ἐγγυλύσσει ἐπιεικέως, ἐὸν στρογγύλου, μέγαθος κατὰ μῆλον. ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἄλλα κρίνεα ῥόδουσι ἐμφερέα, ἐν τῷ ποταμῷ γινόμενα καὶ ταῦτα, ἐξ ὧν ὁ καρπὸς ἐν ἄλλῃ κάλυκι παραφυσμένη ἐκ τῆς ῥίξης γίνεται, κηρῶι σφηκῶν ἰδένυ ὀμοιότατον· ἐν τούτῳ τρωκτὰ ὅσον τε πυρῆν ἐλαίης ἐγγύνεται συχνά, τρώγεται δὲ καὶ ἀπαλά ταῦτα καὶ αὐν. τὴν δὲ βυβλίον τῇ ἐπέτειον γινομένην 376
they told me that Perseus was by lineage of their city; for Danaus and Lynceus, who voyaged to Greece, were of Chemmis; and they traced descent from these down to Perseus. They told too how when he came to Egypt for the reason alleged also by the Greeks—namely, to bring the Gorgon's head from Libya—he came to Chemmis too and recognised all his kin; and how before he came to Egypt he had heard the name of Chemmis from his mother. It was at his bidding, said they, that they celebrated the games.

92. All these are the customs of Egyptians who dwell above the marsh country. Those who inhabit the marshes have the same customs as the rest, both in other respects, and in that each man has one wife, as in Greece. They have, besides, devised means to make their food less costly. When the river is in flood and overflows the plains, many lilies, which the Egyptians call lotus, grow in the water. They pluck these and dry them in the sun, then they crush the poppy-like centre of the plant and bake loaves of it. The root also of this lotus is eatable, and of a sweetish taste; it is round, and of the bigness of an apple. Other lilies also grow in the river, which are like roses; the fruit of these is found in a calyx springing from the root by a separate stalk, and is most like to a comb made by wasps; this produces many eatable seeds as big as an olive-stone, which are eaten both fresh and dried. They use also the byblus which
ἐπεὰν ἀνασπάσωσι ἐκ τῶν ἑλέων, τὰ μὲν ἄνω αὐτῆς ἀποτάμνουτες ἐς ἄλλο τι τράπουσι, τὸ δὲ κάτω λελειμμένον ὅσον τε ἐπὶ πῆχυν τρόγχουσι καὶ πωλέουσι· ¹ οὐ δὲ ἀν καὶ κάρτα βουλώνται χρηστὴ τῇ βύβλῳ χρᾶσθαι, εὖ κλιβάνῳ διαφανεῖ πνεύματες οὕτω τρόγχουσι. οὐ δὲ τινὲς αὐτῶν ξώσι ὑπὸ τῶν ιχθύων μοῦνον, τοὺς ἐπεὰν λάβωσι καὶ ἐξέλωσι τὴν κοιλίν, αὐαίνουσι πρὸς ἥλιον καὶ ἐπειτα αὐνοσ εἶνται σπεόνται.

93. Οἳ δὲ ἰχθὺες οἱ ἅγελαιοι ἐν μὲν τοῖσι ποταμοῦσι οὐ μάλα γίνονται, τρεφόμενοι δὲ ἐν τῇ λίμνῃ τοιάδε ποιεύσι. ἐπεὰν σφες ἐσὶ οἴστρος κυίσκεσθαι, ἀγεληδὸν ἐκπλώουσι ἐς θάλασσαν. ἠγεύονται δὲ οἱ ἔρσενες ἀπορραίνοντες τοῦ θοροῦ, αὐτὸς ἐπομεναι ἀνακάπτουσι καὶ ἐς αὐτοῦ κυίσκονται. ἐπεὰν δὲ πλὴρες γένωνται ἐν τῇ θαλάσσῃ, ἀναπλώουσι ὅπίσω ἐς ἡθεα τὰ ἐωτῶν ἐκαστοι, ἠγεύονται μέντοι γε οὐκέτι οἱ αὐτοί, ἀλλὰ τῶν θηλέων γίνεται ἡ ἠγεύμην ἠγεύμεναι δὲ ἀγεληδὸν ποιεύσι οἶνον περ ἐποίενν οἱ ἔρσενες τῶν γὰρ φῶν ἀπορραίνοντι κατ' ὠλίγους τῶν κέγχρων, οἱ δ' ἔρσενες καταπίνουσι ἐπόμενοι. εἰσὶ δὲ οἱ κέγχροι οὕτοι ἰχθύες. ἐκ δὲ τῶν περιγινομένων καὶ μὴ καταπινομενών κέγχρων οἱ τρεφόμενοι ἰχθύες γίνονται. οἳ δ' ἄν αὐτῶν ἀλώσι ἐκπλώοντες ἐς θάλασσαν, φαίνονται τετριμμένοι τὰ ἐπὶ ἁριστέρα τῶν κεφαλέων, οἳ δ' ἄν ὀπίσω ἀναπλώοντες, τὰ ἐπὶ δεξιά τετρίφραται. πάσχουσι δὲ ταῦτα διὰ τόδε εὖ ὁμοιέιγε τῆς γῆς ἐπ' ἁριστέρα καταπλώοντι ἐς θάλασσαν, καὶ ἀναπλώοντες ὅπίσω τῆς αὐτῆς

¹ c. in brackets καὶ πωλεόμουσι, as being inappropriate; it should perhaps come after τράπουσι above.
grows annually: it is plucked from the marshes, the top of it cut off and turned to other ends, and the lower part, about a cubit’s length, eaten or sold. Those who wish to use the byblus at its very best bake it before eating in a redhot oven. Some live on fish alone. They catch the fish, take out the intestines, then dry them in the sun and eat them dried.

93. Fish that go in shoals do not often come to birth in the river; they are reared in the lakes, and this is the way with them: when the desire of spawning comes on them, they swim out to sea in shoals, the males leading, and throwing out their seed, while the females come after and swallow it and so conceive. When the females have become pregnant in the sea, then all the fish swim back to their homes; but now it is the females and not the males who lead the way, going before in a shoal, and (like the males) throwing off ever and anon a few of their eggs (which are like millet-seeds), which the males devour as they follow. These millet-seeds, or eggs, are fish. It is from the surviving eggs, which are not devoured, that the fish which grow come to the birth. Those fish that are caught while swimming seawards show bruises on the left side of their heads; those that are caught returning, on the right side. This happens to them because as they swim seawards they keep close to the left bank, and hold
ἀντέχονται, ἐγχριμπτόμενοι καὶ ψαύνοντες ὡς μάλιστα, ὡς δὴ μὴ ἀμάρτοιεν τῆς ὀδοῦ διὰ τὸν ῥόον. ἔπεαν δὲ πληθύνεσθαι ἀρχηταὶ ὁ Νεῖλος, τὰ τὲ κοῦλα τῆς γῆς καὶ τὰ τέλματα τὰ παρὰ τὸν ποταμὸν πρῶτα ἀρχεῖται πίμπλασθαι διηθέοντος τοῦ ὑδατος ἐκ τοῦ ποταμοῦ καὶ αὐτίκα τε πλέα γίνεται ταῦτα καὶ παραχρῆμα ἵχθυων σμικρῶν πίμπλαται πάντα. κόθεν δὲ οἶκος αὐτοὺς γίνεσθαι, ἐγὼ μοι δοκεῖ κατανοεῖν τούτοι τοὺς προτέρου ἔτεος ἐπεάν ἀπολίπῃ ὁ Νεῖλος, οἱ ἵχθυες ἐντεκόντας ὡς ἐσ τὴν ἱλινὴν ἀμα τῇ ἐσχάτῳ ὕδατι ἀπαλλάσσονται ἐπεάν δὲ περιελθόντος τοῦ χρόνου πάλιν ἐπέλθη τὸ ὕδωρ, ἐκ τῶν ὕδων τούτων παραυτίκα γίνονται οἱ ἵχθυες οὕτω.
to the same bank also in their return, grazing it and touching it as much as they may, I suppose lest the current should make them miss their course. When the Nile begins to rise, hollow and marshy places near the river are the first to begin to fill, the water trickling through from the river, and as soon as they are flooded they are suddenly full of little fishes. Whence it is like that these come into being I believe that I can guess. When the Nile falls, the fish have spawned into the mud before they leave it with the last of the water; and as the time comes round, and in the next year the flood comes again, this spawn at once gives birth to these fishes.

94. So much then for the fishes. The Egyptians who live about the marshes use an oil drawn from the castor-berry, which they call kiki. They sow this plant on the banks of the rivers and lakes; it grows wild in Hellas; in Egypt it produces abundant but ill-smelling fruit, which is gathered, and either bruised and pressed, or boiled after roasting, and the liquid that comes from it collected. This is thick and as useful as oil for lamps, and gives off a strong smell.

95. Gnats are abundant; this is how the Egyptians protect themselves against them: those who dwell higher up than the marshy country are well served by the towers whither they ascend to sleep, for the winds prevent the gnats from flying aloft; those
δὲ περὶ τὰ ἑλεα οἴκεουσι τάδε ἀντὶ τῶν πύργων ἄλλα μεμηχάνηται· πάς ἄνηρ αὐτῶν ἀμφίβληστρον ἔκτηται, τῷ τῆς μὲν ἡμέρης ἱχθύς ἀγρεύει, τὴν δὲ νύκτα τάδε αὐτῷ χρᾶται· ἐν τῇ ἀναπαύεται κοίτη, περὶ ταύτην ἱστησί τὸ ἀμφίβληστρον καὶ ἔπειτα ἐνδὺς ὑπ’ αὐτὸ κατεύθει. οἴ δὲ κώνωπες, ἢν μὲν ἐν ἴματίῳ ἐνειλιξάμενος εὔδη ἃ σινδόνι, διὰ τούτων δάκνουσι, διὰ δὲ τοὺ δικτύου οὐδὲ πειρῶνται ἀρχήν.

96. Τὰ δὲ δὴ πλοῖα σφι, τοῖσι φορτηγεύουσι, ἐστὶ ἐκ τῆς ἀκάνθης ποιεύμενα, τῆς ἡ μορφὴ μὲν ἐστὶ ὀμοιοτάτη τῷ Κυρηναίῳ λωτῷ, τὸ δὲ δάκρυνον κόμμι ἐστὶ. ἐκ ταύτης δὲν τῆς ἀκάνθης κοψάμενοι ξύλα ὅσον τε διπήχεια πλωθῆδον συντιθείσι ναυπηγεύμενοι τρόπον τοιῶνδε· περὶ γόμφους πυκνοὺς καὶ μακροὺς περιείρουσι τὰ διπηχεία ξύλα· ἐπεάν δὲ τῷ τρόπῳ τούτῳ ναυπηγήσωσι, ξυγὰ ἐπιπολῆς τείνουσι αὐτῶν· υμεύσι δὲ οὐδὲν χρεώνται· ἐσωθεὶ δὲ τὰς ἀρμονίας ἐν ὁν ἐπάκτωσαν τῇ βύβλῳ. πηδάλιον δὲ ἐν ποιεύntαι, καὶ τούτο διὰ τῆς τρόπους διαβύνεται. ἰστῷ δὲ ἀκανθίνω χρέωνται, ἵστοισι δὲ βυβλίνουσι. ταῦτα τὰ πλοῖα ἀνὰ μὲν τὸν ποταμὸν οὐ δύναται πλέειν, ἢν μὴ λαμπρὸς ἄνεμος ἐπέχη, ἐκ γῆς δὲ παρέλκεται, κατὰ ῥόον δὲ κομίζεται ὅδε· ἐστὶ ἐκ μυρίκης πεποιημένη θύρη, κατερραμμένη ρίπτει καλάμων, καὶ λίθος τετρημένος διτάλαντος μάλιστα κη σταθμὸν τούτων τῆς μὲν θύρης δεδεμένην κάλω ἐμπροσθε τοῦ πλοίου ἀπει ἐπιφέρεσθαι, τὸν δὲ λίθον ἀλλὰ κάλω ὀπισθε. ἢ μὲν δὴ θύρη τοῦ ρούν ἐμπίπτοντος χωρεῖ ταχέως καὶ ἐλκεῖ τὴν βárιν (τούτο γὰρ δὴ οὐνομά ἐστὶ
living about the marshes have a different device, instead of the towers. Every man of them has a net, with which he catches fish by day, and for the night he sets it round the bed where he rests, then creeps under it and so sleeps. If he sleep wrapped in a garment or cloth, the gnats bite through it; but through the net they do not even try at all to bite.

96. The boats in which they carry cargo are made of the acacia,¹ which is in form most like to the lotus of Cyrene, and its sap is gum. Of this tree they cut logs of two cubits length and lay them like courses of bricks,² and build the boat by making these two-cubit logs fast to long and close-set stakes; and having so built they set crossbeams athwart and on the logs. They use no ribs. They caulk the seams within with byblus. There is one rudder, passing through a hole in the boat's keel. The mast is of acacia-wood and the sails of byblus. These boats cannot move upstream unless a brisk breeze continue; they are towed from the bank; but downstream they are thus managed: they have a raft made of tamarisk wood, fastened together with matting of reeds, and a pierced stone of about two talents' weight; the raft is let go to float down ahead of the boat, made fast to it by a rope, and the stone is made fast also by a rope to the after part of the boat. So, driven by the current, the raft floats swiftly and tows the "baris" (which is the name of

¹ The "Mimosa Nilotica," still used for boat-building in Egypt.
² That is, like bricks laid not one directly over another but with the joints alternating:  [Image of alternating bricks]
τοίσι πλοίοισι τούτοισι), ὁ δὲ λίθος ὀπισθε ἐπελκόμενος καὶ ἐὼν ἐν βυσσῷ κατιδύνει τὸν πλόον. ἦστι δὲ σφι τὰ πλοία ταῦτα πλήθει πολλά, καὶ ἄγει ἑναὶ πολλὰς χιλιάδας ταλάντων.

97. Ἐπεὰν δὲ ἐπέλθη ὁ Νεῖλος τὴν χώρην, αἱ πόλεις μοῦναι φαίνονται ὑπερέχουσαι, μάλιστα κη ἐμφερεῖς τῇσι ἐν τῷ Αἰγαίῳ πόντῳ νήσουσι· τὰ μὲν γὰρ ἄλλα τῆς Ἀιγύπτου πέλαγος γίνεται, αἱ δὲ πόλεις μοῦναι ὑπερέχουσι. πορθμεύονται ὁν, ἐπεὰν τοῦτο γεννηται, οὐκέτι κατὰ τὰ βρεθρα τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἄλλα διὰ μέσου τοῦ πεδίου. ἐς μὲν γε Μέμφιν ἐκ Ναυκράτιος ἀναπλώντι παρ᾽ αὐτὰς τὰς πυραμίδας γίνεται ὁ πλόος· ἦστι δὲ οὐδ᾽ οὕτος, ἄλλα παρὰ τὸ ὅξυ τοῦ Δέλτα καὶ παρὰ Κερκά- σωρον πόλιν· ἐς δὲ Ναύκρατιν ἀπὸ θαλάσσης καὶ Κανώβου διὰ πεδίου πλέων ἥξεις κατ᾽ Ἀνθυλλᾶν τε πόλιν καὶ τήν Ἀρχάνδρου καλεμένην.

98. Τούτων δὲ ἡ μὲν Ἀνθυλλᾶ ἐσύσα λογήμη πόλεις ἐς ὑποδήματα ἔξαρσεν δίδοται τοῦ αἰεὶ βασιλεύοντος Ἀιγύπτου τῇ γυναικί (τοῦτο δὲ γίνεται ἐς ὅσον ὑπὸ Πέρσης ἐστὶ Αἰγύπτου), ἡ δὲ ἑτέρη πόλις δοκεῖ εἰ μοῦ τὸ οὐνόμα ἔχειν ἀπὸ τοῦ Δαναοῦ γαμβροῦ Ἀρχάνδρου τοῦ Θῆλου τοῦ Ἀχαιοῦ· καλέεται γὰρ δὴ Ἀρχάνδρου πόλις. εἰ ἴ δ᾽ ἄν καὶ ἄλλος τις Ἀρχάνδρος, οὐ μέντοι γε Ἀιγύπτου τὸ οὐνόμα.

99. Μέχρι μὲν τοῦτον ὁψις τε ἐμὴ καὶ γνώμη καὶ ἱστορία ταῦτα λέγουσα ἦστι, τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦδε Ἀιγύπτιος ἔρχομαι λόγους ἐρέων κατὰ τὰ ἥκουν· προσέσται δὲ αὐτοῖσι τι καὶ τῆς ἐμῆς ὁψιος. Μίνα τὸν πρῶτον βασιλεύσαντα Ἀιγύπτου οἱ
these boats,) and the stone dragging behind on the river bottom keeps the boat’s course straight. There are many of these boats; some are of many thousand talents’ burden.

97. When the Nile overflows the land, the towns alone are seen high and dry above the water, very like to the islands in the Aegean sea. These alone stand out, the rest of Egypt being a sheet of water. So when this happens folk are ferried not, as is their wont, in the course of the stream, but clean over the plain. From Naucratis indeed to Memphis the boat going upwards passes close by the pyramids themselves; the usual course is not this, but by the Delta’s point and the town Cercasorus: but your voyage from the sea and Canobus to Naucratis will take you over the plain near the town of Anthylla and that which is called Archandrus’ town.

98. Anthylla is a town of some name, and is specially assigned to the consort of the reigning king of Egypt, for the provision of her shoes. This has been done since Egypt has been under Persian dominion. The other town, I think, is named after Archandrus son of Phthius the Achaean, and son-in-law of Danaus; for it is called Archandrus’ town. It may be that there was another Archandrus; but the name is not Egyptian.

99. Thus far all I have said is the outcome of my own sight and judgment and inquiry. Henceforth I will record Egyptian chronicles, according to that which I have heard, adding thereto somewhat of what I myself have seen. The priests told me that Min was the first king of Egypt, and that first he

1 The meaning of these words is not clear. Some think that they mean “though here the course is not so” and that perhaps ὁ ἐνθέως has been lost after ὁτος.
κατέλεγον οἱ ἱρέες τοῦτο μὲν ἀπογεγυρώσαι τὴν Μέμφιν. τὸν γὰρ ποταμὸν πάντα ῥέειν παρὰ τὸ ὄρος τὸ ψάμμιον πρὸς Διβύης, τὸν τε Μίνα ἀνωθέν, ὅσον τε ἐκατὸν σταδίους ἀπὸ Μέμφιος, τὸν πρὸς μεσαμβρήσης ἀγκώνα προσχώσαντα τὸ μὲν ἀρχαίον ῥέον ἀποξηρῆναι, τὸν δὲ ποταμὸν ὀχετεύσαι τὸ μέσον τῶν ῥέων ῥέειν. ἔτι δὲ καὶ νῦν ὑπὸ Περσέων ὁ ἄγκων οὖσι τοῦ Νείλου ὡς ἀπεργμένος ῥέῃ ἐν φυλακῇ μεγάλης ἔχεται, φρασσόμενος ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος· εἰ γὰρ ἐθελήσῃ ρήξας ὑπερβῆιν ὁ ποταμὸς ταύτη, κώδυνος πάση Μέμφι κατακλυσθῆναι ἐστὶ. ὡς δὲ τῷ Μίνι τοῦτῳ τῷ πρῶτῳ γενομένῳ βασιλείᾳ χέρσον γεγονέαι τὸ ἀπεργμένον, τότῳ μὲν ἐν αὐτῷ πόλιν κτίσαι ταύτην ἤτις νῦν Μέμφις καλέται· ἕστι γὰρ καὶ ἡ Μέμφις ἐν τῷ στεινῷ τῆς Λιγύπτου ἐξεσθενεὶ δὲ αὐτῆς περιορύζαι λίμνην ἐκ τοῦ ποταμοῦ πρὸς βορέῃν τε καὶ πρὸς ἐσπέρην (τὸ γὰρ πρὸς τὴν ἱδρύσασθαι αὐτῇ, εἶν μέγα τε καὶ ἀξιαπηγγεῖτάτοιν.

100. Μετὰ δὲ τούτῳ κατέλεγον οἱ ἱρέες ἐκ βύζλου ἀλλῶν βασιλεῶν τριηκοσίων καὶ τριήκοντα σύνοματα. ἐν τοσαύτησι δὲ γενεῖσι ἀνθρώπων ὀκτώκαιδεκα μὲν Λιδίασπες ἦσαν, μία δὲ γυνὴ ἐπιχωρή, οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι ἅρδες Λιγύπτιοι. τῇ δὲ γυναικὶ οὖνομα ἦν, ἢτις ἐβασίλευσε, τὸ περ τῇ Βαβυλωνίᾳ, Νίτωκρις τὴν ἐλεγον τιμωρέουσαν ἀδελφῆν, τὸν Λιγύπτιον βασιλεύνοντα σφέων ἀπεκτείνας, ἀποκτείναντες δὲ οὕτω ἐκεῖνη ἀπέδοσαν τὴν βασιλῆιν, τούτω τιμωρέουσαν πολλοὺς Λιγυπτίων.
separated Memphis from the Nile by a dam. All the river had flowed close under the sandy mountains on the Libyan side, but Min made the southern bend of it which begins about an hundred furlongs above Memphis, by damming the stream; thereby he dried up the ancient course, and carried the river by a channel so that it flowed midway between the hills. And to this day the Persians keep careful guard over this bend of the river, strengthening its dam every year, that it may keep the current in; for were the Nile to burst his dykes and overflow here, all Memphis were in danger of drowning. Then, when this first king Min had made what he thus cut off to be dry land, he first founded in it that city which is now called Memphis—for even Memphis lies in the narrow part of Egypt—and outside of it he dug a lake to its north and west, from the river (the Nile itself being the eastern boundary of the place); and secondly, he built in it the great and most noteworthy temple of Hephaestus.

100. After him came three hundred and thirty kings, whose names the priests recited from a papyrus roll. In all these many generations there were eighteen Ethiopian kings, and one queen, native to the country; the rest were all Egyptian men. The name of the queen was the same as that of the Babylonian princess, Nitocris. She, to avenge her brother (he was king of Egypt and was slain by his subjects, who then gave Nitocris the sovereignty) put
διαφθεῖραι δόλω. ποιησαμένην γάρ μιν οίκημα περίμηκες ὑπόγαιοι καὶ νοῦν τῷ λόγῳ, νόμω δὲ ἄλλα μηχανάσθαι· καλέσατον δὲ μιν Αἰγυπτίων τοὺς μάλιστα μετατίθεν τοῦ φόνου ἥδε θηλών πολλοὺς ἰστιῶν, δαινυμένοις δὲ ἐπειναὶ τὸν ποταμὸν διὰ αὐλώνος κρυπτοῦ μεγάλου. ταύτης μὲν πέρι τοσαῦτα ἐλεγον, πλὴν ὅτι αὐτὴν μιν, ὡς τοῦτο ἐξέργαστο, ρήσαι ἐς οἰκήμα σποδοῦ πλέον, δικὼς ἀτιμώρητος γενήται.

101. Τῶν δὲ ἄλλων βασιλέων οὐ γάρ ἐλεγον οὐδεμίαν ἔργων ἀποδέξιαν καὶ οὐδὲν εἶναι λαμπρότητος, πλὴν ἔνος τοῦ ἐσχάτου αὐτῶν Μοίριος· τούτων δὲ ἀποδέξασθαι μιμήσουνα τοῦ Ἡφαίστου τὰ πρὸς βορέω ἄνεμον τετραμμένα προπύλαια, λίμνην τε ὀρύξαι, τῆς ἡ περίοδος ὅσων ἐστὶν σταδίων ὑστερῶν δηλῶσι, πυραμίδας τε ἐν αὐτῇ οἰκοδομήσαι, τῶν τοῦ μεγάθεος πέρι ὅμοι αὐτῇ τῇ λίμνῃ ἐπιμνήσομαι· τούτων μὲν τοσαῦτα ἀποδέξασθαι, τῶν δὲ ἄλλων οὐδέν οὐδὲν.

102. Παράμειψάμενοι ὦν τούτων τοῦ ἐπὶ τούτων γενομένου βασιλέως, τῷ οὐνόμα ἦν Σέσωστρις, τοῦτον μνήμην ποιήσομαι· τὸν ἐλευθερίαν ἡμᾶς ἵππους πρώτον μὲν πλοίοις μακροίς ὥρμηθέντα ἵνα τοῦ Ἀραβίου κόλπου τοὺς παρὰ τὴν Ἐρυθρήν ὀλάσσαν κατοικημένους καταστρέφεσθαι, ἐς ὁ πλέοντα καὶ πρόσω ἀπικέσθαι ἐς θάλασσαν ὑπὸ βραχέως. ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ ὡς ὅπισώ ἀπίκετο ἐς Αἰγυπτοῦ, κατὰ τῶν ἱρέων τὴν φάτνια, πολλὴν στρατιὰν τῶν . . . λαβὼν ἡλαυνε διὰ τῆς ἕπειρου, πάν ἔθνος τὸ ἐμποδῶν καταστρεφόμενος.

1 A word is omitted, perhaps ἤρχεν; τῶν ἤρχεν =. of his subjects.
many of the Egyptians to death by guile. She built a spacious underground chamber; then, with the pretense of handselling it, but with far other intent in her mind, she gave a great feast, inviting to it those Egyptians whom she knew to have been most concerned in her brother’s murder; and while they feasted she let the river in upon them by a great and secret channel. This was all that the priests told of her, save that also when she had done this she cast herself into a chamber full of hot ashes, thereby to escape vengeance.

101. But of the other kings they related no achievement or deed of great note, save of Moeris, who was the last of them. This Moeris was remembered as having built the northern forecourt of the temple of Hephaestus, and dug a lake, of as many furlongs in circuit as I shall later show; and built there pyramids also, the size of which I will mention when I speak of the lake. All this was Moeris’ work, they said; of none of the rest had they anything to record.

102. Passing over these, therefore, I will now speak of the king who came after them, Sesostris. This king, said the priests, set out with a fleet of long ships from the Arabian Gulf and subdued all the dwellers by the Red Sea, till as he sailed on he came to a sea which was too shallow for his vessels. After returning thence back to Egypt, he gathered a great army (according to the story of the priests) and marched over the mainland, subduing every nation to

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1 Rameses II., called by the Greeks Sesostris; said to have ruled in the fourteenth century B.C.
2 Ships of war.
οτέοισι μὲν νυν αὐτῶν ἀλκίμοισι ἐνετύγχανε καὶ
dεινῶς γλυχομένοισι περὶ τῆς ἐλευθερίας, τούτοισι
μὲν στῆλας ἐνίστη ἐς τὰς χώρας διὰ γραμμάτων
λεγούσας τὸ τε ἐωτοῦ ὄνυμα καὶ τῆς πάτρης,
καὶ ὡς δυνάμι τῇ ἐωτοῦ κατεστρέψατο σφέας·
οτεων δὲ ἀμαχητὶ καὶ εὐπετέως παρέλαβε τὰς
πόλιας, τούτοισι δὲ ἐνέγραφε ἐν τῇ στήλῃ καὶ
κατὰ ταῦτα καὶ τοῖσι ἀνδρηίοισι τῶν ἐθνῶν γε-
νομένοις, καὶ δὴ καὶ αἰδοία γυναικὸς προσ-
eνέγραφε, δῆλα βουλόμενος ποιέων ὡς εἴησαν
ἀνάλκιδες.

103. Ταῦτα δὲ ποιέων διεξήμε τὴν ἡπειρον, ἐς
ὁ ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίης ἐς τὴν Εὐρώπην διαβὰς τοὺς τε
Σκύθας κατεστρέψατο καὶ τοὺς Ἐρήμικους. ἐς τού-
tους δὲ μοι δοκεῖ καὶ προσώτατα ἀπικέσθαι ὁ
Ἀιγύπτιος στρατὸς· ἐν μὲν γὰρ τῇ τούτων χώρῃ
φαίνονται σταθεῖσαι αἱ στῆλαι, τὸ δὲ προσωτέρω
τούτων οὐκέτι. ἐνθεύτεν δὲ ἐπιστρέψας ὁπίσω
ἡς, καὶ ἐπείτε ἐγίνετο ἐπὶ Φάσιν ποταμῷ, οὐκ
ἐχὼ τὸ ἐνθεύτεν ἀτρεκέως εἰπεῖν εἴτε αὐτὸς ὁ
βασιλεὺς Σέσωστρις ἀποδιδόμενος τῆς ἐωτοῦ
στρατιῆς μόριον ὅσον δὴ αὐτὸυ κατέλιπε τῆς
χώρης οἰκήτορας, εἴτε τῶν τινές στρατιωτῶν τῇ
πλάνῃ αὐτοῦ ἀχθεσθέντες περὶ Φάσιν ποταμὸν
κατέμειναν.

104. Φαίνονται μὲν γὰρ ἐόντες οἱ Κόλχοι Αἰ-
γύπτιοι, νοῆσας δὲ πρὸτερον αὐτὸς ἢ ἀκούσας
ἄλλων λέγω. ὡς δὲ μοι ἐν φρουτίδι ἐγένετο,
εἰρόμην ἀμφοτέρους, καὶ μᾶλλον οἱ Κόλχοι ἐμε-
μένατο τῶν Αἰγυπτίων ἢ οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι τῶν
Κόλχων· νομίζειν δ' ἔφασαν οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι τῆς
Σεσωστρίου στρατιῆς εἶναι τοὺς Κόλχους. αὐτὸς
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which he came. When those that he met were valiant men and strove hard for freedom, he set up pillars in their land whereon the inscription showed his own name and his country's, and how he had overcome them with his own power; but when the cities had made no resistance and been easily taken, then he put an inscription on the pillars even as he had done where the nations were brave; but he drew also on them the privy parts of a woman, wishing to show clearly that the people were cowardly.

103. Thus doing he marched over the country till he had passed over from Asia to Europe and subdued the Scythians and Thracians. Thus far and no farther, I think, the Egyptian army went; for the pillars can be seen standing in their country, but in none beyond it. Thence he turned about and went back homewards; and when he came to the Phasis river, it may be (for I cannot speak with exact knowledge) that King Sesostris divided off some part of his army and left it there to dwell in the country, or it may be that some of his soldiers grew weary of his wanderings, and stayed by the Phasis.

104. For it is plain to see that the Colchians are Egyptians; and this that I say I myself noted before I heard it from others. When I began to think on this matter, I inquired of both peoples; and the Colchians remembered the Egyptians better than the Egyptians remembered the Colchians; the Egyptians said that they held the Colchians to be part of Sesostris' army. I myself guessed it to be
δὲ εἰκασα τῇδε, καὶ ὅτι μελάγχροες εἰσὶ καὶ οὐλότριχες. καὶ τούτο μὲν ἐς οὖν ἀνήκει· εἰσὶ γὰρ καὶ ἔτεροι τοιούτοι· ἀλλὰ τοίσιδε καὶ μᾶλλον, ὅτι μοῦνοι πάντων ἀνθρώπων Κόλχων καὶ Αἰγύπτιοι καὶ Αἰθίοπες περιτάμυνονται ἀπ’ ἀρχῆς τὰ αἴδοια. Φοινίκες δὲ καὶ Σύριοι οἱ ἐν τῇ Παλαιστίνῃ καὶ αὐτοὶ ὁμολογεοῦντι παρ’ Αἰγυπτίων μεμαθηκέναι, Σύριοι δὲ οἱ περὶ Θερμώδοντα καὶ Παρθένιον ποταμὸν καὶ Μάκρωνες οἱ τοῦτοισι ἀστυνεῖτονες ἔόντες ἀπὸ Κόλχων φασὶ νεωστὶ μεμαθηκέναι. οὕτω γὰρ εἰσὶ οἱ περιταμύνομενοι ἀνθρώπων μοῦνοι, καὶ οὕτω Αἰγυπτίοις φαίνονται ποιεῖντες κατὰ ταύτα. αὐτῶν δὲ Αἰγυπτίων καὶ Αἰθίοπων οὐκ ἔχω εἰπεῖν ὁκότεροι παρὰ τῶν ἑτέρων ἐξέμαθον· ἀρχαῖον γὰρ δὴ τι φαίνεται ἐόν. ὡς δὲ ἐπιμισγόμενοι Αἰγύπτῳ ἐξέμαθον, μέγα μοι καὶ τὸδε τεκμήριον γίνεται. Φοινίκων οὐκόσιοι τῇ Ἕλλαδί ἐπιμισγόταν, οὐκέτι Αἰγυπτίους μιμέονται κατὰ τὰ αἴδοια, ἀλλὰ τῶν ἐπιγινομένων οὐ περιτάμυνουσι τὰ αἴδοια.

105. Φέρε νῦν καὶ ἄλλο εἰπὼν περὶ τῶν Κόλχων, ὡς Αἰγυπτίοισι προσφερέσσεσ εἰσὶ· λίνον μοῦνοι οὕτω τε καὶ Αἰγύπτιοι ἐργάζομαι καὶ κατὰ ταύτα, καὶ ἡ ξώη πᾶσα καὶ ἡ γλώσσα ἐμφερής ἐστι ἀλλήλοις. λίνον δὲ τὸ μὲν Κολχικὸν ὑπὸ Ἕλληνων Σαρδωνικῶν κέκληται, τὸ μέντοι ὑπ’ Αἰγύπτου ἀπικνεύμενον καλεῖται Αἰγύπτιον.

106. Αἱ δὲ στῆλαι ταῦ ἑστα κατὰ τὰ χώρας ὁ Αἰγύπτου βασιλεὺς Σέσωστρις, αἱ μὲν πλεύνες
so, partly because they are dark-skinned and woolly-haired; though that indeed goes for nothing, seeing that other peoples, too, are such; but my better proof was that the Colchians and Egyptians and Ethiopians are the only nations that have from the first practised circumcision. The Phoenicians and the Syrians of Palestine acknowledge of themselves that they learnt the custom from the Egyptians, and the Syrians of the valleys of the Thermodon and the Parthenius, as well as their neighbours the Macrones, say that they learnt it lately from the Colchians. These are the only nations that circumcise, and it is seen that they do even as the Egyptians. But as to the Egyptians and Ethiopians themselves, I cannot say which nation learnt it from the other; for it is manifestly a very ancient custom. That the others learnt it from intercourse with Egypt I hold to be clearly proved by this—that Phoenicians who hold intercourse with Hellas cease to imitate the Egyptians in this matter and do not circumcise their children.

105. Nay, and let me speak of another matter in which the Colchians are like to the Egyptians: they and the Egyptians alone work linen, and have the same way, a way peculiar to themselves, of working it; and they are alike in all their manner of life, and in their speech. Linen has two names: the Colchian kind is called by the Greeks Sardonian;¹ that which comes from Egypt is called Egyptian.

106. As to the pillars which Sesostris, king of Egypt, set up in the countries, most of them are no

¹ There seems to be no reason for connecting Colchian linen with Sardinia (as Σαρδωνικόν would imply). The Colchian word may have had a similar sound.
οὐκέτι φαίνονται περιευόσαι, ἐν δὲ τῇ Παλαιστίνῃ Συρίᾳ αὐτὸς ὄρων ἔοιεσας καὶ τὰ γράμματα τὰ εἰρημένα ἐνεόντα καὶ γυναικὸς αἴδοια. εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ περὶ Ἰωνίων δύο τύποι ἐν πέτρησι ἐγκεκολαμμένοι τούτων τοῦ ἀνδρὸς, τῇ τε ἐκ τῆς Ἐφεσίας ἐς Φώκαιαν ἔρχονται καὶ τῇ ἐκ Σαρδίων ἐς Σμύρνην. ἐκατερωθεὶ δὲ ἀνὴρ ἐγγέγυται μέγαθος πέμπτης σπιθαμῆς, τῇ μὲν δεξιᾷ χειρὶ ἑχὼν αἶχμην τῇ δὲ ἀριστερᾷ τόξα, καὶ τὴν ἄλλην σκευὴν ὁσσαύτως· καὶ γὰρ Αἰγυπτίων καὶ Αἰθιοπίδα ἔχει· ἐκ δὲ τοῦ ὠμοῦ ἐς τὸν ἔτερον ὁμοῦ διὰ τῶν στηθῶν γράμματα ἱπά Αἰγυπτία διήκει ἐγκεκολαμμένα, λέγοντα τάδε· "Ἐγὼ τὴν ὕπνοι ὁμοίοι τοῖς ἐμοῖς ἐκτησάμην." ὅστις δὲ καὶ ὀκόθεν ἐστί, ἔνθαῦτα μὲν οὐ δηλοῖ, ἐτέρωθι δὲ δεδήλωκε· τὰ δὴ καὶ μετεξέτεροι τῶν θεσσαμένων Μέμνωνος εἰκόνα εἰκάζουσί μιν εἰναι, πολλῶν τῆς ἀληθείας ἀπολελειμμένοι.

107. Τούτων δὴ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων Σέσωστριν ἀναχωρέοντα καὶ ἀνάγοντα πολλοὺς ἀνθρώπους τῶν ἐθνῶν τῶν τὰς χώρας κατεστρέψατο, ἔλεγον οἱ ἱρέες, ἐπείτε ἐγίνετο ἀνακομιζόμενος ἐν Δάφνησι τῆς Πηλούσιης, τὸν ἄδελφον ἐωυτοῦ; τὸ ἐπέτρεψε ὁ Σέσωστρις τὴν Αἰγυπτιαν, τούτων ἐπὶ ξείνια αὐτὸν καλέσαντα καὶ πρὸς αὐτῷ τοὺς παίδας περινήσας ἔξωθεν τὴν οἰκίαν ἥλη, περινήσας δὲ ὑποπρῆσαι. τὸν δὲ ὡς μαθεῖν τούτο, αὕτη συμβουλεύεσθαι τῇ γυναίκει· καὶ γὰρ δὴ καὶ τὴν γυναίκα αὐτὸν ἁμα ἀγέσθαι· τὴν δὲ οἱ συμβουλεύσας τῶν παίδων ἐόντων ἐξ τοῦς δύο ἐπὶ τὴν πυρῆν ἐκτείναντα γεφυρώσαι τὸ καιόμενον, αὐτοῖς δὲ ἐπὶ ἐκείνων ἐπιβαίνοντας ἐκσώζεσθαι. ταῦτα ποιήσαι τὸν Σέσωστριν, καὶ δύο
longer to be seen. But I myself saw them in the Palestine part of Syria, with the writing aforesaid and the women's privy parts upon them. Also there are in Ionia two figures 1 of this man carven in rock, one on the road from Ephesus to Phocaea, and the other on that from Sardis to Smyrna. In both places there is a man of a height of four cubits and a half cut in relief, with a spear in his right hand and a bow in his left, and the rest of his equipment answering thereto; for it is both Egyptian and Ethiopian; and right across the breast from one shoulder to the other there is carven a writing in the Egyptian sacred character, saying: "I myself won this land with the might of my shoulders." There is nothing here to show who he is and whence he comes, but it is shown elsewhere. Some of those who have seen these figures guess them to be Memnon, but they are far indeed from the truth.

107. Now when this Egyptian Sesostris (so said the priests), being on his way homewards and bringing many men of the nations whose countries he had subdued, had come in his return to Daphnae of Pelusium, his brother, to whom he had given Egypt in charge, invited him and his sons to a banquet and then piled wood round the house and set it on fire. When Sesostris was aware of this, he took counsel at once with his wife, whom (it was said) he was bringing with him; and she counselled him to lay two of his six sons on the fire and to make a bridge over the burning whereby they might pass over the bodies of the two and escape. This Sesostris did;

1 Two such figures have been discovered in the pass of Karabel, near the old road from Ephesus to Smyrna. They are not, however, Egyptian in appearance.
μὲν τῶν παίδων κατακαίημαι τρόπῳ τοιούτῳ, τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς ἀποσωθήμαι ἁμα τῷ πατρί.

108. Νοστήσας δὲ ὁ Σέσωστρις ἐς τὴν Αἰγυπτίων καὶ τισάμενος τὸν ἄδελφεόν, τῷ μὲν ὀμίλῳ τὸν ἐπηγάγετο τῶν τὰς χώρας κατεστρέψατο, τούτῳ μὲν τάδε ἐχρήσατο· τοὺς τέ ὁ λίθους τοὺς ἐπὶ τούτου τοῦ βασιλέως κομισθέντας ἐς τοῦ Ἰθαί-στοῦ τὸ ἱρόν, ἐόντας μεγάθει περιμήκεας, οὕτω ἤσαν οἱ ἐκλύσαντες, καὶ τὰς διώρυχας τὰς νῦν ἑοῦσας ἐν Αἰγυπτίῳ πάσας οὕτω ἀναγκαζόμενοι ὁρυσσον, ἐπούεν τούτών ἐκόντες Αἰγυπτίου, τὸ πρὶν ἑοῦσαν ἱππασίμην καὶ ἀμαξευμένην πᾶσαν, ἐνδεὰ τοῦτων. ἀπὸ γὰρ τούτου τοῦ χρόνου Αἰ-γυπτίου ἑοῦσα πεδίας πᾶσα ἀνυππός καὶ ἀναμά-ξεντος γέγονε· αὕται δὲ τούτων αἱ διώρυχες γεγόνασι ἑοῦσα πολλαὶ καὶ παντοῦς τρόπους ἔχουσαι. κατέταμε δὲ τοὺδε εἴνεκα τὴν χώρην ὁ βασιλεὺς· ὅσοι τῶν Αἰγυπτίων μὴ ἐπὶ τῷ πο-ταμῷ ἐκτητὸν τὰς πόλις ἀλλ' ἀναμέσους, οὕτω, ὅκως τε ἦπιοι ὁ ποταμὸς, σπανίζοντες ὕδατων πλατυτέρῳ ἐχρέωντο τοῖς πόμασι, ἓκ φρεάτων χρεώμενοι.

109. Τούτων μὲν δὴ εἶνεκα κατετμῆθη ἡ Αἰ-γυπτίων· κατανεῖμαι δὲ τὴν χώρην Αἰγυπτίοισι ἀπασί τούτου ἔλεγον τὸν βασιλέα, κλήρον ἵναν ἐκάστῳ τετράγωνον διδόντα, καὶ ἀπὸ τούτου τῶν προσόδους ποιήσασθαι, ἐπιτάξαντα ἀποφορὴν ἐπιτελέσαι κατ' ἐναυτόν. εἰ δὲ τωσ τοῦ κλήρου ὁ ποταμός τι παρέλοιπο, ἐλθὼν ἄν πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐσήμαινε τὸ γεγενημένον· ὃ δὲ ἐπερεῖς τοὺς ἐπι-σκεψόμενους καὶ ἀναμετρήσωτας ὅσοι ἐλάσσον ὁ χώρος γέγονε, ὅκως τοῦ λοιποῦ κατὰ λόγον

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two of his sons were thus burnt, but the rest were saved alive with their father.

108. Having returned to Egypt, and taken vengeance on his brother, Sesostris found work, as I shall show, for the multitude which he brought with him from the countries which he had subdued. It was these who dragged the great and long blocks of stone which were brought in this king's reign to the temple of Hephaestus; and it was they who were compelled to dig all the canals which are now in Egypt, and thus, albeit with no such intent, made what was before a land of horses and carts to be now without either. For from this time Egypt, albeit a level land, could use no horses or carts, by reason of the canals being so many and going every way. The reason why the king thus intersected the country was this: those Egyptians whose towns were not on the Nile but inland from it lacked water whenever the flood left their land, and drank only brackish water from wells.

109. For this cause Egypt was intersected. This king moreover (so they said) divided the country among all the Egyptians by giving each an equal square parcel of land, and made this his source of revenue, appointing the payment of a yearly tax. And any man who was robbed by the river of a part of his land would come to Sesostris and declare what had befallen him; then the king would send men to look into it and measure the space by which the land was diminished, so that thereafter it should
τῆς τεταγμένης ἀποφορῆς τελέοι. δοκεῖ δὲ μοι ἐνθεύτεν γεωμετρία εὑρέθεισα ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἑπανελθεῖν· πόλον μὲν γὰρ καὶ γνώμονα καὶ τὰ δυνάμεις μέρεα τῆς ἡμέρης παρὰ Βαβυλωνίων ἐμαθὼν οἱ Ἑλληνες.

110. Βασιλεὺς μὲν δὴ οὗτος μοῦνος Αἰγύπτιος Ἀἰθιοπίης ἦρξε, μνημόσυνα δὲ ἐλίπετο πρὸ τοῦ Ἡφαίστειον ἀνδριάντας λιθίνους, δύο μὲν τριήκοντα πηχέων, ἐωτοῦ τε καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα, τοὺς δὲ παῖδας ἐόντας τέσσερας εἶκοσι πηχέων ἐκαστοῦ τῶν δὴ ὁ ἱερεὺς τοῦ Ἡφαίστου χρόνῳ μετέπειτα πολλῷ Δαρείων τὸν Πέρσην οὐ περεῖδε ἵσταντα ἐμπροσθεὶς ἀνδριάντα, φας οὐ οἱ πεποίησθαι ἔργα οἶα περ Σεσώστρι τῷ Αἰγυπτίῳ. Σεσώστρις μὲν γὰρ ἄλλα τε καταστρέψαςθαι ἑθελεν οὐκ ἐλάσσω ἑκείνου καὶ δὴ καὶ Σκύθας, Δαρείων δὲ οὐ δυνάσθηναι Σκύθας ἑλεῖν· οὕκων δίκαιον εἶναι ἱστάναι ἐμπροσθεὶς τῶν ἑκείνου ἀναθημάτων μὴ οὐκ ὑπερβαλλόμενον τοὺς ἔργοις. Δαρείων μὲν ὑνν λέγουσι πρὸς ταῦτα συγγενῶμην ποιήσασθαι.

111. Σεσώστριος δὲ τελευτήσαντος ἐκδέξασθαι ἔλεγον τὴν βασιλην τὸν παῖδα αὐτοῦ Φερών, τὸν ἀποδέξασθαι μὲν οὐδεμιᾶν στρατηγήν, συνενεχθῆναι δὲ οἱ τυφλὸν γενέσθαι διὰ τοιόον ἰρήγμα. τοῦ ποταμοῦ κατελθόντος μέγιστα δὴ τότε ἐπὶ ὁκτώκαιδεκά πῆχεας, ὡς υπερβαλε τὰς ἀροῦρας, πνεῦμας ἐμπεσόντος κυματίς ὁ ποταμὸς ἐγένετο· τὸν δὲ βασιλεὰ λέγουσι τούτων ἀτασθαλίᾳ χρησάμενον, λαβόντα αἰχμὴν βαλεῖν ἐς μέσας τὰς δίνας τοῦ ποταμοῦ, μετὰ δὲ αὐτίκα καμόντα αὐτὸν τὸν ὀφθαλμοὺς τυφλώθηναι. δέκα μὲν δὴ
pay in proportion to the tax originally imposed. From this, to my thinking, the Greeks learnt the art of measuring land; the sunclock and the sundial, and the twelve divisions of the day, came to Hellas not from Egypt but from Babylonia.

110. Sesostris was the only Egyptian king who also ruled Ethiopia. To commemorate his name, he set before the temple of Hephaestus two stone statues of himself and his wife, each thirty cubits high, and statues of his four sons, each of twenty cubits. Long afterwards Darius the Persian would have set up his statue before these; but the priest of Hephaestus forbade him, saying that he had achieved nothing equal to the deeds of Sesostris the Egyptian; for Sesostris (he said) had subdued the Scythians, besides as many other nations as Darius had conquered, and Darius had not been able to overcome the Scythians; therefore it was not just that Darius should set his statue before the statues of Sesostris, whose achievements he had not equalled. Darius, it is said, let the priest have his way.

111. When Sesostris died, he was succeeded in the kingship (so said the priests) by his son Pheros.¹ This king made no wars; and it happened that he became blind, for the following reason: the Nile came down in a flood such as never was before, rising to a height of eighteen cubits, and the water which overflowed the fields was roughened by a strong wind; then, it is said, the king was so infatuated that he took a spear and hurled it into the midst of the river eddies. Straightway after this he suffered from a disease of the eyes, and became blind. When he had been blind for ten years, an

¹ Manetho’s list shows no such name. It is probably not a name but a title, Pharaoh.
ήτα είναι μν τυφλόν, εινδεκάτω δὲ έτει ἀπικέσθαι
οἱ μαντήιοι εκ Βουτοῦς πόλιος ὡς ἔσχει τέ ὀι
ὁ χρόνος τῆς ξημῆς καὶ ἀναβλέψει γυναικὸς οὐρω
νυφάμενος τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς, ἦτις παρὰ τοῦ ἑωτής
ἄνδρα μούνον πεφοίτηκε, ἀλλον ἄνδρᾶν ἐσύσα
ἀπειρόσ. καὶ τὸν πρώτης τῆς ἑωτοῦ γυναικὸς
πειράσθαι, μετὰ δὲ, ὡς οὐκ ἀνέβλεπε, ἐπεξῆς
πασέων πειράσθαι ἀναβλέψαντα δὲ συναγαγεῖν
τὰς γυναῖκας τῶν ἐπερίθη, πλὴν ἢ τῆς τῷ οὐρω
νυφάμενος ἀνέβλεψε, ἐς μίαν πόλιν, ἢ ἵνα κα-
λέεται Ἐρυθρή βώλος· ἐς ταῦτην συναλίσαντα
ὑποπρήσαι πάσας σὺν αὐτῇ τῇ πόλι. τῆς δὲ
νυφάμενος τῷ οὐρῷ ἀνέβλεψε, ταῦτην δὲ ἔσχε
αὐτὸς γυναῖκα. ἀναθήματα δὲ ἀποφυγον τῆν
πάθην τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν ἄλλα τε ἀνὰ τὰ ἱρὰ πάντα
τὰ λόγιμα ἀνέθηκε καὶ τοῦ γε λόγου μάλιστα
ἀξιον ἐστὶ ἐχεῖν, ἐς τοῦ Ἡλίου τὸ ἱρὸν ἀξιοθέντα
ἀνέθηκε ἔργα, ὁ βελούς δύο λιθίνους, ἕξ ἐνὸς ἐόντα
ἐκάτερον λίθον, μῆκος μὲν ἐκάτερον πηχέων
ἐκατὸν, εὐρὸς δὲ ὁκτὼ πηχέων.

112. Τούτου δὲ ἐκδεξασθαι τὴν βασιλείην ἐλε-
γον ἄνδρα Μεμφίτην, τῷ κατὰ τὴν Ἐλλήνων
γλῶσσαν οὖνομα Πρωτέα εῖναι τοῦ γνόν τέμενος
ἐστὶ ἐν Μέμφι κάρτα καλὸν τε καὶ ἐφ ἐσκενασ-
μένου, τοῦ Ἡφαιστείου πρὸς νῦτον ἀνεμὼν κεῖ-
μενον. περιοικέουσι δὲ τὸ τέμενος τοῦτο Φοῖνκες
Τύριοι, καλεῖται δὲ ὁ χῶρος οὗτος ὁ συνάπας
Τυριῶν στρατόπεδον. ἐστὶ δὲ ἐν τῷ τεμένει τοῦ
Πρωτέοι ιρὸν τὸ καλεῖται ξείνης Ἀφροδίτης·
συμβάλλομαι δὲ τοῦτο τὸ ιρὸν εἶναι Ἐλένης τῆς
Τυνδάρω, καὶ τὸν λόγον ἀκηκοώς ὡς διαίηθηθη
Ἐλένη παρὰ Πρωτέι, καὶ δὴ καὶ ὧτι ξείνης Ἀφρο-
oracle from the city of Buto declared to him that
the time of his punishment was drawing to an end,
and that he should regain his sight by washing his
eyes with the issue of a woman who had never had
intercourse with any man but her own husband.
Pheros made trial with his own wife first, and as
he still remained blind, with all women, one after
another. When he at last recovered sight, he took
all the women of whom he had made trial, save only
her who had made him to see again, and gathered
them into one town, that which is now called "Red
Clay"; where having collected them together he
burnt them and the town; but the woman by whose
means he had recovered sight he took to wife.
Among the many offerings which he dedicated in all
the noteworthy temples for his deliverance from
blindness, most worthy of mention are the two mar-
vellous stone obelisks which he set up in the temple
of the Sun. Each of these is made of a single
block, and is an hundred cubits high and eight cubits
thick.

112. Pheros was succeeded (they said) by a man
of Memphis, whose name in the Greek language
was Proteus. This Proteus has a fair and well-
adorned temple precinct at Memphis, lying to the
south of the temple of Hephaestus. Round the pre-
cinct dwell Phoenicians of Tyre, and the whole place
is called the Camp of the Tyrians. There is in the
precinct of Proteus a temple entitled the temple of
the Stranger Aphrodite; this I guess to be a temple
of Helen, daughter of Tyndareus, partly because
I have heard the story of Helen's abiding with
Proteus, and partly because it bears the name of
δίτης ἐπώνυμον ἔστι, ὅσα γὰρ ἄλλα Ἀφροδίτης ἵρα ἔστι, οὐδαμῶς Ξείνης ἐπικαλέεται.

113. Ἔλεγον δὲ μοι ὅτι ἱερεῖς ἱστορέοντι τὰ περὶ Ἑλένην γενέσθαι ὅδε. Ἀλέξανδρον ἀρπάσαντα Ἑλένην ἐκ Σπάρτης ἀποπλέειν ἐς τὴν ἑωτοῦ καὶ μιν, ὡς ἐγένετο ἐν τῷ Ἀιγαίῳ, ἐξῆσται ἄνεμοι ἐκβάλλουσι ἐς τὸ Ἀἰγύπτιον πέλαγος, ἐνθεύτων δὲ, οὐ γὰρ ἀνείῃ τὰ πνεύματα, ἀπικνέεται ἐς Ἀἰγύπτου καὶ Ἀἰγύπτου ἐς τὸ νῦν Κανωβίκον καλεῦμενοι στόμα τοῦ Νείλου καὶ ἐς Ταριχείας.

ἐπὶ τῆς ἴμονος τὸ καὶ νῦν ἔστι Ἡρακλεός ἰρόν, ἐς τὸ ἴον καταφυγὼν οἰκέτης ὅτεν ὄν ἀνθρώπων ἐπιβάλλεισται στῦματα ἵρα, ἑωτικὸς ἰδίῳ ἐς τὸ ὕδωρ, οὐκ ἔξεστι τοῦτον ἄψασθαι. ὁ νόμος οὗτος διατελεῖ ἐως ὅμοιος μέχρι ἐμεύ τῷ ἀπ’ ἀρχής. τοῦ ὧν δὴ Ἀλέξανδρον ἀπίστευσαν θεράπουντες πυθόμενοι τὸν περὶ τὸ ἴον ἔχουντα νόμουν, ἰκέται δὲ ἰξόμενοι τοῦ θεοῦ κατηγόρεου τοῦ Ἀλέξανδρον, βουλόμενοι βλάπτειν αὐτὸν, πάντα λόγου ἐξηγεύμενοι ὡς εἰς ἄρῃ τὴν Ἑλένην τε καὶ τὴν ἐς Μενέλεων ἀδικίᾳ κατηγόρεου δὲ ταῦτα πρὸς τὸ τοὺς ἱέρας καὶ τὸν τοῦ στόματος τοῦτον φύλακον, τῷ οἴνομα ἦν Θώνες.

114. Ἀκούσας δὲ τούτων ὁ Θώνες πέμπει τὴν ταχίστην ἐς Μέμφιν παρὰ Πρωτέα ἀγγελίαν λέγουσαν τάδε. "Ἡκεί Ξείνοις γένος μὲν Τευκρός, ἔργον δὲ ἀνόσιον ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι ἐξηγεύσασθας Ξείνου γὰρ τοῦ ἑωτοῦ ἐξαπατήσας τὴν γυναικὴν αὐτὴν τε ταύτην ἄγων ἦκει καὶ πολλὰ κάρτα χρήματα, ὑπὸ ἀνέμων ἐς γῆν ταύτην ἀπενειχθεῖς. κότερα δὴ τούτων ἐώμεν ἀσίνεα ἐκπλεῖειν ἡ
the Stranger Aphrodite; for no other of Aphrodite’s temples is called by that name.

113. When I enquired of the priests, they told me that this was the story of Helen:—After carrying off Helen from Sparta, Alexandrus sailed away for his own country; violent winds caught him in the Aegean, and drove him into the Egyptian sea; whence (the wind not abating) he came to Egypt, to the mouth of the Nile called the Canopic mouth, and to the Salting-places. Now there was on the coast (and still is) a temple of Heracles; where if a servant of any man take refuge and be branded with certain sacred marks in token that he delivers himself to the god, such an one may not be touched. This law continues to-day the same as it has ever been from the first. Hearing of the temple law, certain of Alexandrus’ servants separated themselves from him, threw themselves on the mercy of the god, and brought an accusation against Alexandrus with intent to harm him, telling all the story of Helen and the wrong done to Menelaus. They laid this accusation before the priests and the warden of the Nile mouth, whose name was Thonis.

114. When Thonis heard it, he sent this message with all speed to Proteus at Memphis: “There has come hither a Teucrian stranger who has done great wrong in Hellas. He has deceived his host and robbed him of his wife, and brought her hither driven to your country by the wind, with very great store of wealth besides. Shall we suffer him to sail away unharmed, or take away from him that which
απελώμεθα τὰ ἔχων ἦλθεν," ἀντιπέμπει πρὸς ταῦτα ὁ Πρωτεύς λέγοντα τάδε. "Ἀνδρα τοῦτον, ὅστις κοτὲ ἔστὶ ἀνόσια ἔργασμένος ξεῖνον τὸν ἔωτον, συνλαβόντες ἀπάγετε παρ' ἐμε, ἵνα εἴδεω ὁ τι κοτὲ καὶ λέξει.

115. Ἅκουσας δὲ ταῦτα ὁ Θόνις συνλαμβάνει τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον καὶ τὰς νέας αὐτοῦ κατίσχει, μετὰ δὲ αὐτοῦ τε τοῦτον ἄνήγαγε ἐς Μέμφιν καὶ τὴν 'Ελένην τε καὶ τὰ χρήματα, πρὸς δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἱκέτας. ἀνακομσθέντων δὲ πάντων, εἰρώτα τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον ὁ Πρωτεύς τὸς εἶναι καὶ ὅκόθεν πλέοι. ὁ δὲ οἱ καὶ τὸ γένος κατέλεξε καὶ τῆς πάτρης εἰπε τὸ οὖνομα, καὶ δὴ καὶ τὸν πλόον ἀπηγήσατο ὅκόθεν πλέοι. μετὰ δὲ ὁ Πρωτεύς εἰρώτα αὐτὸν ὅκόθεν τὴν Ἐλένην λάβοι πλανωμένου δὲ τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον ἐν τῷ λόγῳ καὶ οὐ λέγοντος τὴν ἀληθείαν, ἦλεγχον οἱ γενόμενοι ἱκέται, ἐξηγεύμενοι πάντα λόγον τοῦ ἀδικήματος. τέλος δὲ δὴ σφι λόγον τόνδε ἐκφαίνει ὁ Πρωτεύς, λέγων ὅτι "Ἑγὼ εἰ μὴ περὶ πολλοῦ ἡγεύμην μηδένα ξείνων κτείνειν, ὅσοι ὑπ' ἀνέμων ἤδη ἀπολαμβάνειτε ἠλθοῦν ἐς χώρην τὴν ἔμην, ἐγὼ ἂν σε ὑπὲρ τοῦ Ἐλληνος ἔτισάμην, ὅσι, ὅ κάκιστε ἀνδρῶν, ξεινών τυχών ἐργον ἀνοσιώτατον ἐργάσασθα παρὰ τοῦ σεωτοῦ ξείνου τῆς γυναικὰ ἠλθες. καὶ μάλα ταῦτα τοι ὁκ ἠρκεσε, ἀλλ' ἀναπτέρώσας αὐτὴν οἴχεαι ἔχων ἐκκλέψας. καὶ οὐδὲ ταῦτα τοι μοῦνα ἠρκεσε, ἀλλ' καὶ οἰκία τοῦ ξείνου κεραίας ἠκείσ. νῦν δὲ ἐπειδὴ περὶ πολλοῦ ἡγημαί μὴ ξεινοκτονεῖν, γυναῖκα μὲν ταῦτην καὶ τὰ χρήματα οὐ τοῖς προήσῳ ἀπαγαγεῖαι, ἀλλ' αὐτὰ ἐγώ τῷ Ἐλληνι ξείνῳ φυλάξω, ἐς ὁ ἀν αὐτὸς ἐλθὼν ἑκείνος ἀπαγαγέσθαι.
he has brought?" Proteus sent back this message: "Whoever be this man who has done a wrong to his own host, seize him and bring him to me, that I may know what he will say."

115. Hearing this, Thonis seized Alexandrus and held his ships there, and presently brought him with Helen and all the wealth, and the suppliants with, to Memphis. All having come thither, Proteus asked Alexandrus who he was and whence he sailed; Alexandrus told him of his lineage and the name of his country, and of his voyage, whence he sailed. Then Proteus asked him whence he had taken Helen; Alexandrus made no straightforward or truthful answer; but the men who had taken refuge with the temple disproved his tale, and related the whole story of the wrongful act. When all was said, Proteus thus gave sentence:—"Were I not careful to slay no stranger who has ever been caught by the wind and driven to my coasts, I would have avenged that Greek upon you; seeing that, O basest of men! you have done foul wrong to him who hospitably entreated you, and have entered in to the wife of your own host. Nay, and this did not suffice you; you made her to fly with you and stole her away. Nor was even this enough, but you have come hither with the plunder of your host's house. Now, therefore, since I am careful to slay no stranger, I will not suffer you to take away this woman and these possessions; I will keep them for the Greek stranger, till such time as he shall himself come to
HERODOTUS

ἔθέλη· αὐτὸν δὲ σὲ καὶ τοὺς σοὺς συμπλόους τριῶν ἡμερέων προαγορεύω ἐκ τῆς ἐμῆς γῆς ἐς ἀλλην τινὰ μετομίζεσθαι, εἰ δὲ μὴ, ἀτε πολεμίους περέψεσθαι."

116. Ἐλένης μὲν ταύτην ἀπὶξιν παρὰ Πρωτέα ἐλεγον οὶ ἱρεῖς γενέσθαι· δοκεῖ εἰ δὲ μοι καὶ Ὄμηρος τὸν λόγον τοῦτον πυθέσθαι· ἀλλ' οὐ γὰρ ὁμοίως ἢς τὴν ἐποποίησιν εὐπρεπῆς ἦν τῷ ἐτέρῳ τῷ περ ἐχρήσατο, ἐκὼν μετήκε αὐτὸν, δηλώσας ὡς καὶ τοῦτον ἐπίστατο τὸν λόγον· δῆλον δὲ κατὰ γὰρ ἐποίησε ἐν Ἰλιάδι (καὶ οὐδαμῇ ἀλλῇ ἀνεπόδισε ἐωτόν) πλάνην τὴν Ἀλέξανδρου, ὡς ἀπηνείχθη ἀγών Ἐλένην τῇ τε δὴ ἄλλῃ πλαζόμενος καὶ ως ἐς Σιδῶνα τῆς Φοινίκης ἀπίκετο. ἐπιμέμνηται δὲ αὐτοῦ ἐν Διομήδους ἀριστηθῇ λέγει δὲ τὰ ἔπεα ὠδε.

"Ἐνθ’ ἔσαν οἱ πέπλοι παμποίκιλοι, ἔργα γυναικῶν Σιδωνίων, τὰς αὐτὸς Ἀλέξανδρος θεοειδής ἤγαγε Σιδωνίηθεν, ἐπιπλῶς εὐρέα πόντου, τῇν ὀδόν ἦν Ἐλένην περ ἀνήγαγεν εὐπατέρειαν.

ἐπιμέμνηται δὲ καὶ ἐν Ὀδυσσείῃ ἐν τοίσιδε τοίσι ἔπεσι.

Τοῖν Διὸς θυγάτηρ ἔχε φάρμακα μητιώνητα, ἐσθλά, τὰ οἱ Πολύδαμνα πόρεν Θῶνοι παράκοιτος
Αἰγυπτίη, τῇ πλείστα φέρει ζείδωρος ἀρουρα φάρμακα, πολλά μὲν ἐσθλὰ μεμυγμένα, πολλὰ δὲ λυγρά.

1 κατά = καθά, "according as." γὰρ is out of place here.
take them away; but as for you and the companions of your voyage, I warn you to depart from my country elsewhither within three days, else I will deal with you as with enemies."

116. This, by what the priests told me, was the manner of Helen's coming to Proteus. And, to my thinking, Homer too knew this story; but seeing that it suited not so well with epic poetry as the tale of which he made use, he rejected it of set purpose, showing withal that he knew it. This is plain, from the passage in the Iliad (and nowhere else does he return to the story) where he relates the wanderings of Alexandrus, and shows how he with Helen was carried out of his course, among other places, to Sidon in Phoenice. This is in the story of the Feats of Diomedes, where the verses run as follows:

There were the robes in his house, inwrought with manifold colours,
Work of the women of Sidon, whom godlike Paris aforetime
Brought from their eastern town, o'er wide seas voyaging thither,
E'en when he won from her home fair Helen, the daughter of princes.\(^1\)

He makes mention of it in the Odyssey also:

Suchlike drugs of grace, for a healing cunningly mingled,
Once in the land of Nile had the wife of Thon, Polydamna,
Giv'n to the daughter of Zeus; for there of the country's abundance,
Potent to heal or to harm, are herbs full many engendered:\(^2\)

καὶ τάδε ἄτερα πρὸς Τηλέμαχον Μενέλεως λέγει.

Ἄιγύπτῳ μ’ ἔτι δεύρο θεοὶ μεμαῦτα νέεσθαι ἔσχον, ἐπεὶ οὔ σφιν ἑρέξα τελησσας ἐκατόμβας.  

ἐν τοῦτοι τοῖσι ἔπεσι δηλοῖ ὅτι ἡπίστατο τὴν ἐς Ἀιγύπτου Ἀλέξανδρον πλάνην ὄμουρεί γὰρ ἡ Συρίη Ἀιγύπτῳ, οἱ δὲ Φοίνικες, τῶν ἐστὶ ἡ Σιδών, ἐν τῇ Συρίῃ οἰκέουσι.

117. Κατὰ ταύτα δὲ τὰ ἔπεα καὶ τόδε τὸ χωρίον οὐκ ἦκιστα ἅλλα μάλιστα δηλοὶ ὅτι οὐκ Ὄμηρον τὰ Κύπρια ἔπεα ἐστὶ ἅλλ᾽ ἅλλοι τινός. ἐν μὲν γὰρ τοῖσι Κυπρίοισι εὑρῆται ὡς τριταῖος ἐκ Σπάρτης Ἀλέξανδρος ἀπίκετο ἐς τὸ Ἰλιον ἄγων Ἐλένην, εὐαίτε τε πνεύματι χρησάμενος καὶ θαλάσσῃ λεῖη ἐν δὲ Ἰλιάδι λέγει ὡς ἐπιλάξετο ἄγων αὐτὴν.

118. Ὅμηρος μὲν ὑν καὶ τὰ Κύπρια ἔπεα χαιρέτω. εἰρομένου δὲ μεν τοὺς ἱέρας εἰ μάταιον λόγον λέγουσι οἱ Ἑλληνες τὰ περὶ Ἰλιον γενεισθαὶ ἢ οὔ, ἐφασαν πρὸς ταύτα τάδε, ἱστορίσας φάμενοι εἰδέναι παρ’ αὐτὸν Μενέλεως. ἔλθειν μὲν γὰρ μετὰ τὴν Ἐλένης ἀρπαγήν ἐς τὴν Τευκρίδα γῆν Ἑλλήνων στρατινὴν πολλὴν βοηθεύσαν Μενέλεως, ἐκβᾶσαν δὲ ἐς γῆν καὶ ιδρυθείσαν τὴν στρατινὴν πέμπτειν ἐς τὸ Ἰλιον ἄγγελους, σὺν δὲ σφί ἵναι καὶ αὐτὸν Μενέλεων τοὺς δ’ ἐπείτε ἐσελθείν ἐς τὸ τεῖχος, ἀπαιτεῖν Ἐλένην τε καὶ τὰ χρήματα τὰ οἱ οὐχετο κλέψαι Ἀλέξανδρος, τῶν τε ἀδικημάτων δίκας αἰτείειν τοὺς δὲ Τευ-

1 Stein brackets ἐπιμελήματι . . . ἐκατόμβας, because (as he says) the quotations from the Odyssey have nothing to do with the story of Alexandrus.
and again Menelaus says to Telemachus:

Eager was I to return, but the gods fast held me in Egypt,
Wroth that I honoured them not nor offered a sacrifice duly.¹

In these verses the poet shows that he knew of Alexandrus’ wanderings to Egypt; for Syria borders on Egypt, and the Phoenicians, to whom Sidon belongs, dwell in Syria.

117. These verses and this passage prove most clearly that the Cyprian poems are by the hand not of Homer but of another. For the Cyprian poems relate that Alexandrus reached Ilion with Helen in three days from Sparta, having a fair wind and a smooth sea; but according to the Iliad he wandered from his course in bringing her.

118. Enough, then, of Homer and the Cyprian poems. But when I asked the priests whether the Greek account of the Trojan business were vain or true, they gave me the following answer, saying that they had inquired and knew what Menelaus himself had said:—After the rape of Helen, a great host of Greeks came to the Teucrian land on Menelaus’ behalf. Having there disembarked and encamped, they sent to Ilion messengers, of whom Menelaus himself was one. These, on coming within the city walls, demanded restitution of Helen and the possessions which Alexandrus had stolen from Menelaus and carried off, and reparation besides for the wrong done; but the Teucrians then and ever afterwards

¹ Od. iv. 351, 2.
κροὺς τὸν αὐτὸν λόγον λέγειν τότε καὶ μετέπειτα, καὶ ὀμνυότας καὶ ἀνωμοτί, μὴ μὲν ἔχειν Ἑλένην μηδὲ τὰ ἐπικαλεύμενα χρήματα, ἀλλὰ εἶναι αὐτὰ πάντα ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ, καὶ οὐκ ἂν δικαίως αὐτὸ δίκας ὑπέχειν τῶν Πρωτεύς ὁ Αἰγύπτιος βασιλεὺς ἔχει. οὐ δὲ Ἑλληνες καταγελάσθαι δοκεόντες ὑπ' αὐτῶν οὗτω δὴ ἐπολιόρκεον, ἢ δὲ ἐξείλον ἐλούσι δὲ τὸ τείχος ὡς οὐκ ἐφαίνετο ἡ Ἑλένη, ἀλλὰ τὸν αὐτὸν λόγον τῷ προτέρῳ ἐπινυθάνοντο, οὕτω δὴ πιστεύσαντες τὸ λόγῳ τῷ πρώτῳ οὐ Ἑλληνες αὐτὸν Μενέλασων ἀποστέλλουσι παρὰ Πρωτέα.

119. Ἀπικόμενος δὲ ὁ Μενέλασως ἐς τὴν Αἰγύπτιον καὶ ἄναπλώσας ἐς τὴν Μέμφιν, εἶπας τὴν ἀληθείαν τῶν προγμάτων, καὶ ξειώνων ἠμτησε μεγάλων καὶ Ἑλένην ἀπαθεὰ κακῶν ἠπέλαβε, πρὸς δὲ καὶ τὰ ἐωτοῦ χρήματα πάντα. τυχὼν μέντοι τούτων ἐγένετο Μενέλασως ἀνήρ ἄδικος ἐς Αἰγύπτιον. ἀποπλέειν γὰρ ὀρμημένον αὐτὸν ἵσχον ἀπλοῖαν ἐπειδὴ δὲ τοῦτο ἐπὶ πολλὸν τοιοῦτον ἦν, ἐπιτεχναται πρήγμα οὐκ ὄσιον λαβὼν γὰρ δύο παιδία ἀνδρῶν ἐπίχωρῶν ἑντομὰ σφέα ἐποίησε. μετὰ δὲ ὡς ἐπάιστος ἐγένετο τοῦτο ἐργασμένος, μυσθεῖς τε καὶ διωκόμενος οἷχετο φεύγων τῆς νῆου ἐπὶ Λιβύης· τὸ ἐνθιεῦτεν δὲ ὅκου ἑτὶ ἐτράπετο οὐκ εἰχὸν εἰπεῖν Αἰγύπτιοι. τούτων δὲ τὰ μὲν ἱστορίησι ἐφασαν ἐπίστασθαι, τὰ δὲ παρ' ἐωτοῦι γενόμενα ἀτρεκέως ἐπιστάμενοι λέγειν.

120. Ταῦτα μὲν Αἰγύπτιοι οἱ ἱρεῖς ἔλεγον· ἐγὼ δὲ τῷ λόγῳ τῷ περὶ Ἑλένης λεχθέντι καὶ αὐτὸς προστίθεμαι, τάδε ἐπιλεγόμενος, εἰ ἦν Ἑλένη ἐν
declared, with oaths and without, that neither Helen nor the goods claimed were with them, she and they being in Egypt; nor could they (so they said) justly make reparation for what was in the hands of the Egyptian king Proteus. But the Greeks thought that the Trojans mocked them, and therewith besieged the city, till they took it; and it was not till they took the fortress and found no Helen there, and heard the same declaration as before, that they gave credence to the Trojans' first word and so sent Menelaus himself to Proteus.

119. Menelaus then came to Egypt and went up the river to Memphis; there, telling the whole truth of what had happened, he was very hospitably entertained and received back Helen unharmed and all his possessions withal. Yet, albeit so well entreated, Menelaus did the Egyptians a wrong. For when he would have sailed away he was stayed by stress of weather; and this hindrance continuing for long, he devised and did a forbidden deed, taking two children of the land and sacrificing them. When it was known that he had so done, the people hated and pursued him, and he fled away with his ships to Libya; and whither he thence betook himself the Egyptians could not say. The priests told me that they had learnt some of this tale by inquiry, but that they spoke with exact knowledge of what had happened in their own country.

120. So much was told me by the Egyptian priests. For myself, I believe their story about Helen: for I reason thus—that had Helen been in Ilion, then
'Ιλίῳ, ἀποδοθήμα τίνα ἄν αὕτην τοίσι Ἔλλησι ὢτοι ἐκόντος γε ἢ ἀέκοντος Ἀλεξάνδρου. οὐ γὰρ δὴ οὐτῳ γε φρενοφλαβής ἢν ὁ Πρίαμος οὐδὲ οἱ ἄλλοι οἱ προσήκοντες αὐτῷ, ὡστε τοίσι σφετέροισι σώμασι καὶ τοῖσι τέκνοισι καὶ τῇ πόλιι κινδυνεύειν ἐβούλοντο, διόσκα Άλεξανδρὸς Ἐλένη συνοικέσσει. εἰ δὲ τοι καὶ ἐν τοῖσι πρῶτοισι χρόνοισι ταῦτα ἐγώσκοι, ἐπεὶ πολλοὶ μὲν τῶν ἄλλων Τρώων, ὅκοτε συμμίσχοιεν τοῖσι Ἔλλησι, ἀπώλευτο, αὐτοῦ δὲ Πριάμου οὐκ ἔστι ὅτε οὐ δύο ἡ τρεῖς ἢ καὶ ἔτι πλέονς τῶν παῖδων μάχης γινομένης ἀπέθνησκοιν, εἰ χρή τι τοῖσι ἐποποιοῦσι χρεώμενον λέγειν, τοῦτω δὲ τοιούτων συμβαινόντων ἐγὼ μὲν ἔλπομαι, εἰ καὶ αὐτὸς Πρίαμος συνοίκεσσε Ἐλένη, ἀποδοῦναι ἄν αὑτήν τοῖσι Ἀχαίοισι, μέλλοντά γε ἢ τῶν παρέοντων κακῶν ἀπαλλαγήσεσθαι. οὐ μὲν οὐδὲ ἡ βασιλικὴ ἐς Ἀλεξάνδρον περιήμε, ὡστε γέροντος Πριάμου ἐόντος ἐπ᾽ ἐκείνῳ τὰ πρήγματα εἰναι, ἀλλὰ Ἑκτώρ καὶ πρεσβύτερος καὶ ἄνὴρ ἐκείνου μᾶλλον ἐδώ ἐμελλε αὑτὴν Πρίαμον ἀποθανόντος παραλάμψεσθαι, τὸν οὐ προσήκε ἀδικέοντι τῷ ἄδελφῳ ἐπιτράπειν, καὶ ταῦτα μεγάλων κακῶν δὴ αὐτὸν συμβαινόντων ἵδη τε αὐτῷ καὶ τοῖσι ἄλλοις πᾶσι Τρωσί. ἀλλὰ οὐ γὰρ εἶχον Ἐλένην ἀποδοῦναι, οὐδὲ λέγουσι αὐτοῦσι τὴν ἀληθείαν ἐπίστευον οἱ Ἐλληνες, ὡς μὲν ἐγὼ γνώμην ἀποφαίνομαι, τοῦ δαιμονίου παρασκευάζοντος, ὅκως πανωλεθρίᾳ ἀπολομένοι καταφανὲς τούτο τοῖσι ἀνθρώποισι ποιήσωσι, ὡς τῶν μεγάλων ἀδικημάτων μεγάλαι εἰσὶ καὶ αἱ τιμωρίαι παρὰ τῶν θεῶν. καὶ ταύτα μὲν τῇ ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ εἰρηται. 121. Πρωτέος δὲ ἐκδέξασθαι τὴν βασιλικήν
with or without the will of Alexandrus she would have been given back to the Greeks. For surely neither was Priam so mad, nor those nearest to him, as to consent to risk their own persons and their children and their city, that Alexandrus might have Helen to wife. Even be it granted that they were so minded in the first days, yet when not only many of the Trojans were slain in fighting against the Greeks, but Priam himself lost by death two or three or even more of his sons in every battle (if the poets are to be trusted), in this turn of affairs, had Helen been Priam’s own wife, I cannot but think (for myself) that he would have restored her to the Greeks, if by so doing he could escape from the present evil plight. Nay, nor was Alexandrus next heir to the kingship, whereby he might have been the real ruler, Priam being old; it was Hector, an older and a more valiant man than Alexandrus, who was like to receive the royal power at Priam’s death; and it was none of Hector’s business to consent to his brother’s wrong-doing, least of all when that brother was the cause of great calamity to Hector himself and the whole of Troy beside. But matters fell out as they did because the Trojans had not Helen there to give back, yet though they spoke the truth the Greeks would not believe them; for, as I am convinced and declare, the powers above ordained that the utter destruction of Troy should prove in the sight of all men that the gods do greatly punish great wrong-doing. This is my own belief and thus I declare it.

121. The next to reign after Proteus (they said)
'Ραμψίνιτον ἐλεγον, ὡς μημόσυνα ἐλήπτετο τὰ προπύλαια τὰ πρὸς ἐσπέρην τετραμμένα τοῦ Ἡφαίστειον, ἀντίους δὲ τῶν προπυλαίων ἐστήσε ἀνδριάντας δύο, ἐόντας τὸ μέγαθος πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι πηχέων, τῶν Διονύστιοι τῶν μὲν πρὸς βορέω ἐστεῴτα καλέουσι θέρος, τὸν δὲ πρὸς νότον χει-
μῶνα καὶ τὸν μὲν καλέουσι θέρος, τούτων μὲν προσκυνεύσι τε καὶ εὕ ποιεύσι, τὸν δὲ χει-
μῶνα καλεόμενον τὰ ἐμπαλίν τούτων ἐρδοῦσι. πλούτων δὲ τούτω τῷ βασιλεί γειέσθαι ἀργύρων μέγαν, τὸν οὐθένα τῶν ύπερθερμῶν ἐπιτραφέντων βασιλέων δύνασθαι ύπερβαλέσθαι οὐδ’ ἐγγύς ἐλθεῖν. βουλόμενον δὲ αὐτὸν εἰς φαλείς τὰ ἁρμάτα θησαυρίζειν οἰκοδομέσθαι οἰκήμα λί-
θινον, τοῦ τῶν τοῖχων ἑνὰ ἑς τὸ ἑξῳ μέρος τῆς οἰκίας ἐχεῖν. τὸν δὲ ἐργαζόμενον ἐπιβουλεύοντα τάδε μηχανᾶσθαι τῶν λίθων παρασκευάσασθαι ἑνὰ ἐξαιρετὸν εἰναι ἐκ τοῦ τοίχου ῥηιδίως καὶ ὑπὸ δύο ἀνδρῶν καὶ ὑπὸ ἐνός. ὡς δὲ ἐπετελέσθη τὸ οἰκήμα, τὸν μὲν βασιλέα θησαυρίζαι τὰ ἁρμάτα ἐν αὐτῷ. χρόνου δὲ περιώντος τὸν οἰκοδόμον περὶ τελευτήν του βίου ἑόντα ἀνακαλέσασθαι τοὺς παῖδας (εἰναι γὰρ αὐτῶ δύο), τούτους δὲ ἀπηγη-
σασθαι ὡς ἐκείνων προορῶν, ὡκως βίον ἄφθονον ἔχωσι, τεχνάσατο οἰκοδομέων τὸν θησαυρὸν τοῦ βασιλέως. σαφέως δὲ αὐτοῖσι πάντα ἐξηγησά-
μενον τὰ περὶ τὴν ἐξαίρεσιν τοῦ λίθου δούναι τὰ μέτρα αὐτοῦ, λέγοντα ὡς ταῦτα διαφυλάσσοντες ταμίαι τῶν βασιλέως χρημάτων ἔστησαν. καὶ τὸν μὲν τελευτήσαι τὸν βίου, τοὺς δὲ παῖδας οὐκ ἐς μακρὴν ἐργον ἐχεσθαι, ἐπελθόντας δὲ ἐπὶ τὰ βασιλεία νυκτὸς καὶ τὸν λίθον ἐπὶ τῷ οἰκοδο-
was Rhampsinitus. The memorial of his name left by him was the western forecourt of the temple of Hephaestus; before this he set two statues of twenty-five cubits' height; the northernmost of these is called by the Egyptians Summer, and the southernmost Winter; that one which they call Summer they worship and entreat well, but do contrariwise to the statue called Winter. This king (they told me) had great wealth of silver, so great that none of the later-born kings could surpass or nearly match it. That he might store his treasure safely, he made to be built a stone chamber, one of its walls abutting on the outer side of his palace. But the builder of it craftily contrived that one stone should be so placed as to be easily removed by two men or even by one. So when the chamber was finished, the king stored his treasure in it. But as time went on, the builder, being now near his end, called to him his two sons and told them how he had provided an ample livelihood for them by the art with which he had built the king's treasure-house; he made them clearly to understand concerning the removal of the stone, and gave the measurements which would find it; saying that if they kept these in mind they would be stewards of the king's riches. So when he was dead, his sons set to work with no long delay: coming to the palace by night, they easily found and
μήματι ἀνευρόντας ῥημὰς μεταχειρίσασθαι καὶ τῶν χρημάτων πολλὰ ἔξευείκασθαι. ὡς δὲ τυχεῖν τὸν βασιλέα ἀνοίξαντα τὸ ὀϊκήμα, θωμάσαι ἱδόντα τῶν χρημάτων καταδεὰ τὰ ἀγγήμα, οὐκ ἔχειν δὲ ὄντων ἑπατιτάτα, τῶν τε σημάντρων ἐόντων σῶν καὶ τοῦ οἰκήματος κεκλημένου. ὡς δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ δίς καὶ τρὶς ἀνοίξαντι αἰεί ἐλάσσω φαίνεσθαι τὰ χρήματα (τοὺς γὰρ κλέπτας οὕκ ἀνίεναι κερατζουσας), ποιήσαι μὲν τάδε πάγας προστάξαι ἐργάσασθαι καὶ ταύτας περὶ τὰ ἀγγήμα ἐν τοῖς τὰ χρήματα ἐνήμερται. τῶν δὲ φωρῶν ὤσπερ ἐν τῷ πρὸ τοῦ χρόνῳ ἐλθόντων καὶ ἐσδύντος τοῦ ἔτερου αὐτῶν, ἐπεί πρὸς τὸ ἀγγός προσήλθη, ἤθελος τῇ πάγῃ ἐνέχεσθαι. ὡς δὲ γνώναι αὐτὸν ἐν οἷς κακῷ ἦν, ἤθελος καλέειν τὸν ἀδελφεῖν καὶ δηλοῦν αὐτῷ τὰ παρέοντα, καὶ κελεύειν τὴν ταχὺστην ἐσδύντα ἀποταμεῖν αὐτοῦ τὴν κεφαλήν, ὅκως μὴ αὐτὸς ὀφθεῖς καὶ γνωρισθεῖς δὲ εἰ προσαπολέσῃ κάκεινον. τῷ δὲ δόξαι εὐ λέγειν, καὶ ποιῆσαι μὲν πεισθέντα ταύτα, καὶ καταρμόσαντα τὸν λίθον ἀπιέναι ἐπὶ οἴκου, φέροντα τὴν κεφαλὴν τοῦ ἀδελφεοῦ. ὡς δὲ ἡμέρῃ ἐγένετο, ἐσελόντα τὸν βασιλέα ἐς τὸ ὀϊκήμα ἐκπεπλήχθαι ὀρῶντα τὸ σῶμα τοῦ φωρὸς ἐν τῇ πάγῃ ἀνευ τῆς κεφαλῆς ἐόν, τὸ δὲ ὀϊκήμα ἀσινεῖς καὶ οὕτε ἔσοδον οὕτε ἔκδυσιν οὐδεμίαν ἔχουν. ἀπορεόμενον δὲ μὲν τάδε ποιῆσαι τοῦ φωρὸς τὸν νέκυν κατὰ τοῦ τείχους κατακρεμάσαι, φυλάκους δὲ αὐτοῦ καταστήσαντα ἐντείλασθαι σφί, τὸν ἄν ἱδώντα ἀποκλαύσαντα ἡ κατοικτισάμενον, συλλαβόντας ἄγειν πρὸς ἐσωτόν. Ἄνακρεμαμένου δὲ τοῦ νέκυος τῆς μητέρας δεινῶς φέρειν, λόγους δὲ πρὸς τὸν περιεύντα παιδα
handled the stone in the building, and took away much of the treasure. When the king opened the building, he was amazed to see the vessels lacking their full tale of treasure; yet he knew not whom to accuse, seeing that the seals were unbroken and the chamber fast shut. But when at the second and third opening of the chamber he saw the treasure grown ever less (for the thieves ceased not from plundering), he bid traps to be made and set about the vessels in which his riches lay. The thieves came as they had done before, and one of them crept in; when he came near the vessel, at once he was caught and held in the trap. Seeing his evil plight, he straightway called to his brother, and, showing him how matters stood, "Creep in quickly," said he, "and cut off my head, lest I be seen and recognised and so bring you too to ruin." The brother consented and did this, thinking the counsel good. Then he set the stone in place again, and went away home, carrying his brother's head. When it was morning the king came to the chamber, and was amazed to see the thief's headless body in the trap, yet the chamber unbroken, with no way of passing in or out; and he knew not what to do. But presently he hung the thief's dead body on the outer wall, and set guards over it, charging them to seize and bring before him whomsoever they should see weeping or making lamentation.

But the thief's mother, when the body had been so hung, was greatly moved: she talked with
ποιευμένην προστάσειν αὐτῷ ὅτερ τρόπῳ δύναται μηχανᾶςθαι ὅκως τὸ σῶμα τοῦ ἄδελφεοῦ καταλύσαι κομμεί· εἰ δὲ τούτων ἀμελήσει, διαπείλειν αὐτήν ὡς ἐλθοῦσα πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα μηνύσει αὐτὸν ἔχοντα τὰ χρήματα. ὡς δὲ χαλεπῶς ἐλαμβάνετο ἡ μῆτρ πορείωντος παῖδος καὶ πολλὰ πρὸς αὐτὴν λέγων οὐκ ἔπειθε, ἐπιτεχνησάσθαι τοιάδε μνῷ ὅνως κατασκευασάμενον καὶ ἀσκοὺς πλήσαντα οἶνον ἐπιθειναὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ὄνων καὶ ἐπειτὰ ἐλαύνειν αὐτοὺς· ὡς δὲ κατὰ τοὺς φυλάσσοντας ἧν τὸν κρεμάμενον νέκυιν, ἐπισπάσαντα τῶν ἀσκῶν δύο ἡ τρεῖς ποδεώνας αὐτὸν λύειν ἀπαμένους· ὡς ἔρρεε ο οἶνος, τὴν κεφαλὴν μνὸς κόπτεσθαι μεγάλα βοῶντα ὡς οὐκ ἔχοντα πρὸς ὄκοιον τῶν ὄνων πρώτων τράπηται. τοὺς δὲ φυλάκους· ὡς ἰδεῖν πολλὰ ἔρευντα τῶν οἴνων, συντρέχειν ἐς τὴν ὀδὸν ἄγγελον ἔχοντας, καὶ τὸν ἐκκεχυμένου οἶνου συγκομίζειν εὐ κέρδει ποιευμένους· τὸν δὲ διαλοιδορέσθαι πάσι ὅργῃ προσποιεύμενον, παραμυθευμένων δὲ αὐτῶν τῶν φυλάκων χρόνῳ πρῆνεσθαι προσποιεῖσθαι καὶ ὑπίεσθαι τῆς ὀργῆς, τέλος δὲ ἐξελάσαι αὐτῶν τοὺς οἴνους· ἐκ τῆς ὀδοῦ καὶ κατασκευάξειν. ὡς δὲ λόγους τὲ πλέον ἐγγίνεσθαι καὶ τινα καὶ σκῶψαι μνὶ καὶ ἐς γελωτα προαγαγέσθαι, ἐπιδιδοῦναι αὐτοῖς τῶν ἁσκῶν ἔνα· τοὺς δὲ αὐτοῦ ὁσπερ ἐξον κατακλιθέντας πίνειν διανοεῖσθαι, καὶ ἐκεῖνον παραλαμβάνειν καὶ κελεύειν μετ' ἑωντῶν μέναντα συμπίνειν· τὸν δὲ πεισθῆναι τῇ δή καὶ καταμείναι. ὡς δὲ μνὶ παρὰ τὴν πόσιν φιλοφρόνως Ἑσπάξοντο, ἐπιδοῦναι αὐτοῖς καὶ ἄλλον τῶν ἁσκῶν· δαψίλει δὲ τῷ ποτῷ χρησαμένους τοὺς φυλάκους ὑπερμε-
her surviving son, and bade him contrive by whatever means to loose and bring her his brother's body, threatening that if he would not obey her she would go to the king and lay an information that he had the treasure. So when she bitterly reproached him and for all he said he could not overpersuade her, the brother devised a plot: he got his asses and loaded them with skins full of wine and then drove them before him till he came near those who guarded the hanging body; then he pulled at the feet of two or three of the skins and loosed their fastenings; and the wine so running out, he cried aloud and beat his head like one that knew not which of his asses he should deal with first. The guards, seeing the wine running freely, all took vessels and ran into the highway, where they caught the spilt wine, and thought themselves lucky; the man pretended to be angry and reviled each and all of them; but the guards speaking peaceably to him, he presently made as if he were comforted and appeased, till at last he drove his asses aside from the highway and put his gear in order. So the guards and he fell into talk, and one of them jesting with him, so that there was laughter, he gave them one of the skins: whereupon without more ado they sat down and began to drink, making him one of their company and bidding him stay and drink with them; and he consented and stayed. They drank to him merrily, and he gave them yet another of the skins, till the guards grew very drunk with the abundance of
...ινα καὶ κρατηθέντας υπὸ τοῦ ὑπονοί αὐτοῦ ἐνθὰ περ ἐπινὸν κατακοιμηθῆναι. τὸν δὲ, ὡς πρόσω ἦν τῆς νυκτὸς, τὸ τε σῶμα τοῦ ἀδελφεοῦ καταλύσαι καὶ τῶν φυλάκων ἐπὶ λύμη πάντων ἐξυρῆσαι τὰς δεξιὰς παρηίδας, ἐπιθέντα δὲ τῶν νέκυν ἐπὶ τοὺς ὄνους ἀπελαύνειν ἐπὶ οἶκου, ἐπιτελέσαντα τῇ μητρὶ τὰ προσταχθέντα.

Τὸν δὲ βασιλέα, ὡς αὐτὸ ἀπηγγέλθη τοῦ φωρὸς ὁ νέκυς ἐκκεκλεμένος, δεινὰ ποιεῖν πάντως δὲ βουλόμενον εὐρεθῆναι ὅστις κωτὲ εἶ ὁ ταῦτα μηχανῶμενος, ποιήσαί μιν τάδε, ἐμοὶ μὲν ὡς πιστὰ τὴν θυγατέρα τὴν ἐωτοῦ κατίσαι ἐπὶ οἰκείματος, ἐντειλάμενον πάντας τε ὁμοίως προσδέκεσθαι, καὶ πρὶν συγγενέσθαι, ἀναγκαζεῖν λέγειν αὐτῇ ὅ τι δὴ ἐν τῷ βίῳ ἐργαστὶ αὐτῷ σοφώτατον καὶ ἀνοσιώτατον· ὅς δὲ ἀν ἀπηγγήσηται τὰ περὶ τὸν φῶρα γεγενημένα, τούτῳ συλλαμβάνειν καὶ μὴ ἀπιέναι ἔξω. ὡς δὲ τὴν παιδα ποιεῖν τὰ ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς προσταχθέντα, τὸν φῶρα πυθόμενον τῶν εἶνεκα ταῦτα ἐπρήσετο, βουληθέντα πολυτροπὴ τοῦ βασιλεοῦ περιγενέσθαι ποιεῖν τάδε· νεκροὺ προσφάτοι ἀποταμώντα ἐν τῷ ὤμῳ τὴν χεῖρα ἱέναι αὐτὸν ἔχοντα αὐτὴν ὑπὸ τῷ ἰματίῳ. ἐσελθόντα δὲ ὡς τοῦ βασιλεοῦ τὴν θυγατέρα καὶ εἰρωτώμενον τὰ περὶ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι, ἀπηγγήσασθαι ὡς ἀνοσιώτατον μὲν εἴη ἐργασμένος ὅτι τοῦ ἀδελφεοῦ ἐν τῷ θησαυρῷ τοῦ βασιλεοῦ ὑπὸ πάγης ἀλόντος ἀποτάμοι τὴν κεφαλὴν, σοφώτατον δὲ ὅτι τοὺς φυλάκους καταμεθύσας καταλύσειε τοῦ ἀδελφεοῦ κρεμάμενον τὸν νέκυν. τὴν δὲ ὡς ἰκουσε ἀπτεσθαί αὐτοῦ. τὸν δὲ φῶρα ἐν τῷ σκότει προτεῖναι ὑπὶ τοῦ νεκροῦ.
liquor, and at last being overmastered by sleep lay
down in the place where they had been drinking.
When the night was far spent, the thief cut down
his brother's body and then (first shaving all the
guard's right cheeks by way of insult) laid it on his
asses and drove them home, having so fulfilled his
mother's commands for her.

When the king was told of the stealing away of
the dead thief's body he was very angry, and re-
solved by all means to find who it was that had
plotted the deed. So he bade his daughter (such
is the story, but I myself do not believe it) to sit in
a certain room and receive alike all who came;
before she had intercourse with any, she should
compel him to tell her what was the cleverest trick
and the greatest crime of his life; then if any told
her the story of the thief she must seize him and
not suffer him to pass out. The girl did as her
father bade her. The thief, learning the purpose
of the king's act, was minded to get the better of
him by ready cunning. He therefore cut off the
arm of a man newly dead at the shoulder, and went
to the king's daughter, carrying it under his cloak,
and when asked the same question as the rest, he
told her that his greatest crime was the cutting off
of his brother's head when the brother was caught
in a trap in the king's treasury, and his cleverest
trick the release of his brother's hanging body by
making the guards drunk. Hearing this, the prin-
cess would have laid hands on him, but the thief in
τὴν χείρα· τὴν δὲ ἐπιλαβομένην ἔχειν, νομίζουσαν αὐτὸν ἐκείνου τῆς χειρὸς ἀντέχεσθαι· τὸν δὲ φῶρα προέμειν αὐτὴ οὐχ ξεσθαι διὰ θυρέων φεύγοντα.

Ως δὲ καὶ ταῦτα ἐς τὸν βασιλέα ἀνηνείχθη, ἐκπεπλῆχθαι μὲν ἐπὶ τῇ πολυφροσύνῃ τε καὶ τόλμῃ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου, τέλος δὲ διαπέμποντα ἐς πάσας τὰς πόλις ἐπαγγέλλεσθαι ἀδείην τε διδόντα καὶ μεγάλα ὑποδεκόμενον ἐλθόντι ἐς οὕσιν τὴν ἐωστοῦ. τὸν δὲ φῶρα πιστεύσαντα ἐλθεῖν πρὸς αὐτὸν, Ὁρυφίντον δὲ μεγάλως θωμάσαι, καὶ οἱ τὴν θυγατέρα ταύτην συνοικίσαι ὡς πλείστα ἐπισταμένῳ ἀνθρώπῳν. Αἰγυπτίους μὲν γὰρ τῶν ἄλλων προκεκρισθαί, ἐκείνον δὲ Αἰγυπτίων.

122. Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἔλεγον τούτον τὸν βασιλέα ξών καταβηναι κάτω ἐς τὸν οἷς Ἔλληνες Ἄιδην νομίζοψι εἶναι, καὶ κεῖθε συνκυβεύειν τῇ Δήμητρι, καὶ τὰ μὲν νικᾶν αὐτὴν τὰ δὲ ἐσσοῦσθαι ὑπ’ αὐτῆς, καὶ μὲν πάλιν ἀπικέσθαι δώρων ἔχοντα παρ’ αὐτῆς χειρόμακτρον χρύσεων. ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς Ὁρυφίντου καταβάσισιος, ὡς πάλιν ἀπίκετο, ὅρθῃ δὴ ἀνάγειν Αἰγυπτίους ἔφασαν· τὴν καὶ ἐγὼ οἶδα ἐτὶ καὶ ἐσ’ ἐμὲ ἑπιτελέσθωτα αὐτοῦ, οὐ μὲντοι εἰ γε διὰ ταῦτα ὀρτάζουσι ἐχὼ λέγειν. φῶροι δὲ αὐτὴμερον ἐξυφήνατε οἱ ἱρέες κατ’ ὄν ἐδησαν ἐνὸς ἐωυτῶν μίτρῃ τοὺς ὄφθαλμοὺς, ἀγαγόντες δὲ μὲν ἔχοντα τὸ φῶρος ἐς ὅδον φέρουσαν ὡς ἤρων Δήμητρος αὐτοὶ ἀπαλλάσσονται ὁπίσω· τὸν δὲ ἱρέα τούτον καταδεδεμένου τοὺς ὄφθαλμοὺς λέγουσι υπὸ δύο λύκων ἀγέσθαι ἐς τὸ ἱρὸν τῆς Δήμητρος ἀπέχου τῆς πόλιος εἰκοσι σταδίους, καὶ αὖτις ὁπίσω ὡς τοῦ ἱροῦ ἀπάγειν μὲν τοὺς λύκους ἐς τῶντὸ χωρίον.
the darkness giving her the dead man’s arm, she seized that, thinking that she was grasping the arm of the thief, who, having given it to her, made his escape by way of the door.

When this also came to the king’s ears, he was astonished at the man’s ingenuity and daring, and in the end, he sent a proclamation to every town, promising the thief impunity and a great reward if he would come into the king’s presence. The thief trusted the king and came before him; Rhampsinitus admired him greatly and gave him his daughter to wife for his surpassing cleverness, for as the Egyptians (said he) excelled all others in craft, so did he excel the Egyptians.

122. After this (said the priests) this king went down alive to the place which the Greeks call Hades; there he played dice with Demeter, and after both winning and losing he returned back with a gift from her of a golden napkin. From this descent of Rhampsinitus the Egyptians were said by the priests to have kept a festival after his return, which to my own knowledge they celebrate to this day, but whether it be for that cause I cannot say. On the day of this festival the priests weave a cloth and bind it for a headgear on the eyes of one among themselves, whom they then lead, wearing the cloth, into a road that goes to the temple of Demeter; they themselves return back, but this priest with his eyes bandaged is guided (say they) by two wolves\(^1\) to Demeter’s temple, a distance of twenty furlongs from the city, and led back again from the temple by the wolves to the same place.

\(^1\) Jackals appear on Egyptian monuments, symbolising Anubis, the guide of the dead.
123. Τοῦσι μὲν νυν ὑπ’ Αἰγυπτίων λεγομένους χράσθω ὅτερ τὰ τοιάντα πιθανά ἐστιν; ἐμοὶ δὲ παρὰ πάντα τῶν λόγων ὑπόκειται ὅτι τὰ λεγόμενα ὑπ’ ἐκάστων ἀκοῇ γράφω. ἀρχηγετεῖν δὲ τῶν κάτω Αἰγυπτίων λέγουσι Δήμητρα καὶ Διόνυσον. πρῶτοι δὲ καὶ τόνδε τῶν λόγων Αἰγυπτίωι εἰσὶ οἱ εἰπόντες, ὡς ἀνθρώπου ψυχῇ ἀθάνατος ἐστίν, τού σώματος δὲ καταφθίνοντος ἐστὶν ἄλλο ξύλον αἰεὶ γινόμενον ἐσδύεται, ἐπεάν δὲ πάντα περιέλθῃ τὰ χερσαία καὶ τὰ θαλάσσια καὶ τὰ πετεινά, αὐτὸς ἐστὶν ἀνθρώπου σῶμα γινόμενον ἐσδύειν τὴν περιήλυσιν δὲ αὐτῇ γίνεσθαι ἐν τρισχιλίοις ἑτεριν. τούτῳ τῷ λόγῳ εἰσὶ οἱ Ἑλλήνων ἐχρήσαντο, οἱ μὲν πρότερον οἱ δὲ ὑστερον, ὡς ἴδιον ἐωυτῶν ἐντι τῶν ἐγὼ εἴδως τὰ οὐνόματα οὐ γράφω.

124. Μέχρι μὲν νυν Ὁραμψικίτου βασιλέως εἶναι ἐν Αἰγυπτῷ πᾶσαν εὐνομίην ἐλευγον καὶ εὐθυμεῖν Ἀἰγυπτον μεγάλως, μετὰ δὲ τοῦτον βασιλεύσαντα σφέων Χέσπα ἐστὶ πᾶσαν κακότητα ἐλάσαι. κατακλήσαντα γάρ μιν πάντα τὰ ἤρα πρότα μὲν σφέας θυσίων τοιτέων ἀπέρξη, μετὰ δὲ ἐργάζεσθαι ἐωυτῷ κελεύειν πάντας Αἰγυπτίους. τοῖσι μὲν δὴ ἀποδεδέχθαι ἐκ τῶν λιθοτομίων τῶν ἐν τῷ Ἀραβίω ὀρεί, ἐκ τοιτέων ἐλκειν λίθους μέχρι τοῦ Νείλου διαπεραιωθέντας δὲ τῶν ποταμῶν πλοίοις τοὺς λίθους ἐτέρωσι ἐπέταξα ἐκδέκεσθαι καὶ πρὸς τὸ Διβυκῶν κελεύμενον ὅρος, πρὸς τοῦτο ἐλκειν, ἐργάζοντο δὲ κατὰ δέκα μυριάδας ἀνθρώπων αἰεὶ τὴν τρίμηνν ἐκάστην. χρόνον δὲ ἐγγενέσθαι τριβομένω τῷ λεῷ δέκα ἐτεά μὲν τῆς ὀδοῦ κατ’ ἦν εἴλκου τοὺς λίθους, τὴν ἑδειμαν ἐργον ἐδών οὐ πολλῷ τεφρ ἐλασσον τῆς πυραμίδος. ὡς ἐμοί

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123. These Egyptian stories are for the use of whosoever believes such tales: for myself, it is my rule throughout this history that I record whatever is told me as I have heard it.

It is believed in Egypt that the rulers of the lower world are Demeter and Dionysus. Moreover, the Egyptians were the first to teach that the human soul is immortal, and at the death of the body enters into some other living thing then coming to birth; and after passing through all creatures of land, sea, and air (which cycle it completes in three thousand years) it enters once more into a human body at birth. Some of the Greeks, early and late, have used this doctrine as if it were their own; I know their names, but do not here record them.

124. Till the time of Rhampsinitus Egypt (so the priests told me) was in all ways well governed and greatly prospered, but Cheops, who was the next king, brought the people to utter misery. For first he shut up all the temples, so that none could sacrifice there; and next, he compelled all the Egyptians to work for him, appointing to some to drag stones from the quarries in the Arabian mountains to the Nile: and the stones being carried across the river in boats, others were charged to receive and drag them to the mountains called Libyan. They worked in gangs of a hundred thousand men, each gang for three months. For ten years the people were afflicted in making the road whereon the stones were dragged, the making of which road was to my thinking a task but a little lighter than the building of the pyramid,

1 Isis and Osiris.
2 The "Great Pyramid."
δοκεών τῆς μὲν γὰρ μῆκος εἰσὶ πέντε στάδιοι, εὐρὸς δὲ δέκα ὀργυιά, ὕψος δὲ, τῇ ψηλοτάτῃ ἐστὶ αὐτὴ ἐωτής, ὡκτὸ ὀργυιά, λίθου δὲ ἔστοι καὶ χρῶν ἐγγεγλυμμένων ταύτης τε δὴ τὰ δέκα ἔτεα γενέσθαι καὶ τῶν ἐπὶ τοῦ λόφου ἐπ’ οὐ ἐστάσι αἱ πυραμίδες, τῶν ὑπὸ γῆν οἰκημάτων, τὰς ἐποιεῖτο θῆκας ἐωτῷ ἐν νήσῳ, διάφρυχα τοῦ Νείλου ἐσαγαγών. τῇ δὲ πυραμίδι αὐτῆς χρόνον γενέσθαι εἰκοσι ἔτεα ποιεμένη τῆς ἐστὶ πανταχῇ μέτωπον ἐκαστὸν ὡκτὸ, πλέθρα ἐούσης τετραγώνου καὶ ὕψος ἵσον, λίθου δὲ ἔστοι τε καὶ ἀρμοσμένου τὰ μάλιστα οὐδεὶς τῶν λίθων τριήκοντα ποιῶν ἐλάσσων.

125. Ἐποιήθη δὲ ὅδε αὐτὴ ἡ πυραμίς ἀναβαθμὺ δεδομένη πρόπον, τὰς μετεξέτεροι κρόσσας οἱ δὲ βωμίδας ὄνομαζοσι τοιαύτην τὸ πρῶτον ὑπέτει ἐποίησαν αὐτὴν ἤειρον τοὺς ἐπιλοίπους λίθους μηχανὴν ξύλων βραχέων πεποιημένην, χαμᾶθεν μὲν ἐπὶ τὸν πρῶτον στοῖχον τῶν ἀναβαθμῶν ἀείροντες ὅκως δὲ ἄνιοι ο λίθος ἐπ’ αὐτὸν, ἐς ἐτερην μηχανὴν ἠτίθετο ἐστεώσαν ἐπὶ τὸν πρῶτον στοῖχον ἀπὸ τοῦτον ἐπὶ τὸν δεύτερον ἐκλεκτὸ στοῖχον ἐπ’ ἀλλὰς μηχανῆς ὅσοι γὰρ δὴ στοῖχοι ἱσαν τῶν ἀναβαθμῶν τοσαῦται καὶ μηχαναὶ ἱσαν εἰτε καὶ τὴν αὐτὴν μηχανὴν ἐούσαν μίαν τε καὶ εὐβάστακτον μετεφόρεων ἐπὶ στοῖχον ἐκαστον ὅκως τὸν λίθον ἐξέλοιεν λελέχθω γὰρ ἴμών ἐπ’ ἀμφότερα, κατὰ περ ἔγεται. ἐξεποίηθη δ’ ὅπο τὰ ἀνώτατα αὐτῆς πρῶτα, μετὰ δὲ τὰ ἐχόμενα τούτων ἐξεποίειν, τελευταία δὲ αὐτῆς τὰ ἐπίγαια καὶ τὰ κατωτάτω ἐξεποίησαν. σεσήμανται δὲ διὰ γραμμάτων Αἰγυπτίων ἐν τῇ πυρα-
for the road is five furlongs long and ten fathoms broad, and raised at its highest to a height of eight fathoms, and it is all of stone polished and carven with figures. The ten years aforesaid went to the making of this road and of the underground chambers on the hill whereon the pyramids stand; these the king meant to be burial-places for himself, and encompassed them with water, bringing in a channel from the Nile. The pyramid itself was twenty years in the making. Its base is square, each side eight hundred feet long, and its height is the same; the whole is of stone polished and most exactly fitted; there is no block of less than thirty feet in length.

125. This pyramid was made like a stairway with tiers, or steps. When this, its first form, was completed, the workmen used levers made of short wooden logs to raise the rest of the stones; they heaved up the blocks from the ground on to the first tier of steps; when the stone had been so raised it was set on another lever that stood on the first tier, and a lever again drew it up from this tier to the next. It may be that there was a new lever on each tier of the steps, or perhaps there was but one lever, and that easily lifted, which they carried up to each tier in turn, when they had taken out the stone; I leave this uncertain, both ways being told me. But this is certain, that the upper part of the pyramid was the first finished off, then the next below it, and last of all the base and the lowest part. There are writings on the pyramid

1 That is, the stones which were to fill up the angles of the steps, and make the side of the pyramid a smooth inclined plane. The pyramids built by Cheops, Chephren, and Mycerinus respectively are the pyramids of Gizeh, near Cairo.

2 Or, "in."
μίδι ὁσα ἐσ τε συρμαίνη καὶ κρόμμα καὶ σκόροδα ἀναίσιμῳ ἑτοί ἐργαζομένουι· καὶ ὡς ἐμὲ ἐν μεμνησθαι τὰ ὁ ἔρμηνεως μοι ἐπιλεγόμενος τὰ γράμματα ἐφ', ἐξακόσια καὶ χίλια τάλαντα ἀργυρίου τετελέσθαι. εἰ δ' ἐστι οὕτω ἔχουτα ταῦτα, κόσα οἰκός ἄλλα δεδαπανήσθαι ἔστε ἐσ τε σίδηρων τῷ ἐργαζότο καὶ σιτία καὶ ἐσθήτα τοῖσι ἐργαζομένουι, ὁκότε χρόνιον μὲν οἰκοδόμεον τὰ ἐργα τὸν εἰρημένον, ἀλλον δὲ, ὡς ἑγὼ δοκέω, ἐν τῷ τοὺς λίθους ἐταμών καὶ ἤγον καὶ τὸ ὑπὸ γῆν ὀρνύμα ἐργάζοτο, οὕκ ὀλίγον χρόνον.

126. Ἐς τοῦτο δὲ ἐλθεὶν Χέσπα κακότητος ὡστε χρημάτων δεόμενον τὴν θυγατέρα τὴν ἐωτοῦ κατίσαντα ἐπ' οἰκήματος προστάζαι πρήσεσθαι ἀργυρίου ὄκοσον δὴ τι· οὐ γὰρ δὴ τοῦτο γε ἔλεγον. τὴν δὲ τά τε ὑπὸ τοῦ πάτρος ταχθέντα πρήσεσθαι, ἴδιῃ δὲ καὶ αὐτὴν διανοηθῆναι μυνημίου καταλυπέσθαι, καὶ τοῦ ἐσιώντος πρὸς αὐτὴν ἐκάστου δέεσθαι ὅκως ᾧν αὐτὴ ἕνα λίθον ἐν τοῖς ἐργοῖς δωρεότο. ἐκ τούτων δὲ τῶν λίθων ἔφασαν τὴν πυραμίδα οἰκοδομηθῆναι τὴν ἐν μέσῳ τῶν τριῶν ἐστηκυίᾳ, ἐμπροσθε τῆς μεγάλης πυραμίδος, τῆς ἐστὶ τὸ κάλον ἐκαστὸν ὅλου καὶ ἡμίσεως πλέθρου.

127. Βασιλεύσατι δέ τὸν Χέσπα τοῦτον Αἰ- γύπτιον ἔλεγον πεντῆκοντα ἑτεα, τελευτήσαντος δὲ τοῦτον ἐκδεξασθαι τὴν βασιληὴν τὸν ἄδελφεον αὐτοῦ Χεφρῆνα· καὶ τοῦτον δὲ τῷ αὐτῷ τρόπῳ διαχράσθαι τῷ ἐτέρῳ τά τε ἄλλα καὶ πυραμίδα ποιῆσαι, ἐς μὲν τὰ ἐκείνου μέτρα οὐκ ἀνήκουσαν ταῦτα γὰρ ὧν καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐμετρήσαμεν· (οὔτε γὰρ ὑπεστὶ οἰκήματα ὑπὸ γῆν, οὔτε ἐκ τοῦ Νέιλου
in Egyptian characters showing how much was spent on purges and onions and garlic for the workmen; and so far as I well remember, the interpreter when he read me the writing said that sixteen hundred talents of silver had been paid. Now if that is so, how much must needs have been expended on the iron with which they worked, and the workmen’s food and clothing? seeing that the time aforesaid was spent in building, and the hewing and carrying of the stone and the digging out of the underground parts was, as I suppose, a business of long duration.

126. And so evil a man was Cheops that for lack of money he made his own daughter to sit in a chamber and exact payment (how much, I know not; for they did not tell me this). She, they say, doing her father’s bidding, was minded to leave some memorial of her own, and demanded of everyone who sought intercourse with her that he should give one stone to set in her work; and of these stones was built the pyramid that stands midmost of the three, over against the great pyramid; each side of it measures one hundred and fifty feet.

127. Cheops reigned (so the Egyptians said) for fifty years; at his death he was succeeded by his brother Chephren, who bore himself in all respects like Cheops. Chephren also built a pyramid, of a less size than his brother’s. I have myself measured it. It has no underground chambers, nor is it entered
διὸ ρωξ ἦκει ἐς αὐτὴν ὀσπερ ἔς την ἔτερην ρέουσα·
δὲ οἰκοδομημένου δὲ αὐλῶνος ἔσω νήσου περιρρέει,
ἐν τῇ αὐτῶν λέγουσι κείσθαι Χέοπα· ὑποδέιμας
dὲ τὸν πρώτον δόμον λίθου Αἰθιοπικοῦ ποικίλου,
tεσσεράκοντα πόδας ύποβᾶς τῆς ἔτερης τῶντο μέ-
γαθος, ἐχομένην τῆς μεγάλῃς οἰκοδόμησε. ἐστάσι
δὲ ἐπὶ λόφου τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἁμφότεροι, μάλιστα ἐς
ἐκατὸν πόδας ύψηλοῦ. βασιλεύσαι δὲ ἐλεγον
Χεφρῆνα ἐς καὶ πεντήκοντα ἔτεα.

129. Μετὰ δὲ τούτων βασιλεύσαι Αἰγύπτου
Μυκερίνων ἔλεγον Χέοπος παίδα· τῷ τὰ μὲν τοῦ
πατρὸς ἐργα ἀπαδέει, τὸν δὲ τὰ τῇ ἰρᾷ ἀνοίξαι
καὶ τὸν λεῖν τετρυμένου ἐς τὸ ἔσχατον κακοῦ
ἀνεῖναι πρὸς ἐργα τε καὶ θυσίας, δίκας δὲ σφι
πάντων βασιλέων δικαιότατα κρίνειν. κατὰ τοῦτο
μὲν τὸν ἔργον ἀπάντων ὅσοι ἦδη βασιλεῖς
ἐγένοντο Αἰγυπτίων αἰνέουσι μάλιστα τούτων. τὰ
tε ἀλλὰ γάρ μιν κρίνειν εὖ, καὶ δὴ καὶ τῷ ἐπιμεμ-
φομένῳ ἐκ τῆς δίκης παρ᾽ ἐωτοῦ διδόντα ἄλλα
ἀποτιμόλαναι αὐτοῦ τὸν θυμόν. ἐόντι δὲ ἦπὶ τῷ
Μυκερίνῳ κατὰ τοὺς πολίτας καὶ ταῦτα ἐπιτη-
δεύοντι πρότον κακῶν ἀρξάει τὴν ϑυγατέρα ἀπο-
θανοῦσαν αὐτοῦ, τὴν μοῦνον οἱ εἶναι ἐν τοῖς
οἰκίσισι τέκνον. τὸν δὲ ὑπεραλγῆσαντά τε τῷ

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like the other by a canal from the Nile, but the river comes in through a built passage and encircles an island, in which, they say, Cheops himself lies. This pyramid was built of the same bigness as the other, save that it falls forty feet short of it in height; it stands near to the great pyramid; the lowest layer of it is of variegated Ethiopian stone. Both of them stand on the same ridge, which is about an hundred feet high. Chephren, they said, reigned for fifty-six years.

128. Thus they reckon that for a hundred and six years Egypt was in great misery and the temples so long shut were never opened. So much do the people hate the memory of these two kings that they do not greatly wish to name them, and call the pyramids after the shepherd Philitis, who then pastured his flocks in this place.¹

129. The next king of Egypt, they said, was Cheops' son Mycerinus. He, being displeased with his father's doings, opened the temples and suffered the people, now ground down to the depth of misery, to go to their business and their sacrifices; and he was the justest judge among all the kings. It is on this account that he is praised beyond all the rulers of Egypt; for not only were his judgments just, but if any were not contented with the sentence Mycerinus would give such an one a present out of his own estate to satisfy him for his loss. Such was his practice, and so he ruled his people with clemency, yet calamities befel him, of which the first was the death of his daughter, the only child of his household. Greatly grieving

¹ This is the form which Hdt. gives to the story of the rule of the "shepherds" (Hyksos) in Lower Egypt, perhaps from 2100 to 1600 B.C.
PERIEPEPTÔKEE PRÎΓMÂTÎ, KAI BÔULÔMÊNOU PERIS-
SÔTERÔN TI TÔN ÂLLÔN THÂΨAÏ TÔN THUGATÊRA,
POU̱SASTHAI BOÛN XÏVLÎNHN KOÎLHN, KAI ᾫPEIATA
KATAKHHSOÛSánta MI Norton ŒΩÔ ÎV AÚTÎ HÁΨAÏ
TAÛTÎN ÆI TÔN ÂPÔTHANÔUSAN THUGATêRA.

130. ΑÚTÎ ÏV H BOÛS HÎ H ÎKÎÎΦTH, ÆLΛ’ ÉTÎ
KAI ÉS ÊMÊ HÎ FÂNEΡH, ÊV ΣÀI MÈN PÔLÎ ÈÔUSA,
KÎMÎNÎ ÓEÎ ÏV TOÏSI BÂSÌΛHÎΟUSI ÓEÎ ÎÎKÎMÂTI ḪΣΚΗ-
MÎNÔ. XHMMÎHÎA DÈ PÀR AÚTÎ PÂNTOÏA KATA-
GÎZÎUSI ÊNÀ PÁSÀN ÎMÉΡH, ÎÎKTA DÈ ĖKÂSTÎN
PÀÎNÎKΧHOS LÎΧHOS PÂRAKAIÈTAI. ÆΓΧHÔ DÈ TÎS
BOÛS TAÚTÎS ÊV ÂLLÔW ÎÎKÎMÂTI EIKÎONES TÔN PÀL-
LAKÎWÔN TÔN MUKERÎNÔU ÈSTÔSÎ, ÔS ÔLÈGÛN ÔI ÊV
ΣÀI PÔLÎ ÎRÉES. ÈSTÔSÎ MÈN GÀΡ XÎLÎNAI KÔLÎSOßÎ,
ÈÔUSAI ÎRÎBÎNÔ ÔS ÔÎKÎSÎ MÂΛÎSTÎ KΗ, GYNNÂI
ÊRGÂSÎMÂNÂI: ÂÚTIWES MÈNTOI ÈISÎ, ÔÛK ÈΧW ÈÎPEÎN
PÎH Î TÀ LÊGÔMENÂ.

131. ÔI DÈ TÎNÈS LÊGÔUSI PÈRÎ TÎS BOÛS TAÚTÎS
KAI TÔN KÔLÎSOßÔN TÔNÎDÈ TÔN LÔGÔN, ÔS MUKERÎNÔS
HÎRÁSTH HÎ ÈWÔTOÎ XHGRÂTÔS KAI ÈPEIATA ÈMÎGÎH ÔI
ÂEKOUŞÎ ÔMETÎ DÈ LÊGÔUSI ÔS Î PÂIS ÆPÎHÎΓZATO
ÛPÔ ÔΧHOS, Ô DÈ MÎN ÈΘHÂSE ÎN TÊ BOÎ TAÚTÎ, Ô DÈ
MÎTÎR AÚTÎS TÔN ÂMFÎPÎÎLÎWÔN TÔN PRÔDÔUSÈÎWÔN
TÎN XHGRÂTEÎA TÔ PÀTRÎ ÆPÎTAME TÀS XÈÎRÂS, KAI
ÎÎN TÀS EIKÎONAS AÚTÎWÔN ÈÎNÂI PÆPÔNÎHÎWÂS TÀ PÈR
AÎ XWAI ÈPÂSÂN. TAÚTA DÈ LÊGÔUSI FLÎNÎRÊÔÛNTES,
ÔS ÈΓW ÎDÎKÎW, TÀ TÊ ÂLΛΛA KAI ÔH KAI TÀ PÈRÎ TÀS
XÈÎRÂS TÔN KÔLÎSOßÔN TAÚTÎS GÀR Ô.vn KAI ÎMÎEÎS
ÔRÎMÎN ÔTÎ ÛPÔ XHÎNÔUS TÀS XÈÎRÂS ÂPÔBEBÎLÎ-
KÂSÎ, AÎ ÈN PÔSÎ AÚTÎWÔN ÈΦÂÎNÔUNTÎ ÈÔUSAI ÈTÎ KAI
ÈS ÈMÎ.

132. 'H DÈ BOÛS TÀ MÈN ÂLΛΛA KATAKÎKRPÎTÎ
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over this misfortune, he desired to give her a burial something more excellent than ordinary; he made therefore a hollow cow's image of gilded wood and placed therein the body of his dead daughter.

130. This cow was not buried in the earth but was to be seen even in my time, in the town of Sais, where it lay in an adorned chamber of the palace; incense of all kinds is offered daily before it, and a lamp burns by it all through every night. There is another chamber near to this image, where stand the statues of Mycerinus' concubines, as the priests of Sais told me; and indeed there are about twenty colossal wooden figures there, made like naked women, but I have only the priests' word to show who they are.

131. Some have a story about the cow and the statues, how Mycerinus conceived a passion for his own daughter and did her foul wrong, and she strangled herself for grief: then he buried her, they say, in this image of a cow; the girl's mother cut off the hands of the attendants who had betrayed the daughter to her father, so that now (it is said) their statues are in the plight to which the living women were brought. But this I believe to be a foolish tale, especially as respects the hands of the figures. As we ourselves saw, it is time which has made the hands to drop away; they were to be seen even in my day lying on the ground before the statues.

132. As for the cow, it is covered with a purple
HERODOTUS

φοινικέω εἵματι, τὸν αὖχενα δὲ καὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν
φαίνει κεχρυσωμένα παχέι κάρτα χρυσῷ· μεταξὺ
δὲ τῶν κερέων ὁ τοῦ ἥλιου κύκλος μεμιμημένος
ἐπεστὶ χρύσεος. ἔστι δὲ ἡ βοῦς οὐκ ὅρθη ἀλλὰ
ἐν γούνασι κειμένη, μέγαθος δὲ ὅση περι μεγάλῃ
βοῦς ζωῆ. ἐκφέρεται δὲ ἐκ τοῦ οἰκήματος ἀνὰ
πάντα ἔτεα, ἐπειδὲ τύπτωται Λιγύπτιοι τὸν οὐκ
όνομαζόμενον θεὸν ὅπ' ἐμεῦ ἐπὶ τοιούτῳ πρῆγματι:
tότε ὑπ' ὁ καὶ τὴν βοῦν ἐκφέρουσι ἐς τὸ φῶς· φασὶ
γὰρ αὐτὴν δειθῆμαι τοῦ πατρὸς Μυκερίνου ἀπο-
θυνῆσκουσαν ἐν τῷ ἐνιαυτῷ ἀπαξ μιν τὸν ἥλιον
κατιδεῖν.

133. Μετὰ δὲ τῆς θυγατρὸς τὸ πάθος δεύτερα
τοῦτῳ τῷ βασιλείᾳ τάδε γενέσθαι· ἔλθεῖν οἱ
μαντήιοι ἐκ Βουτοῦς πόλιος ὡς μέλλοι ἐξ ἔτεα
μοῦνον βιοὺς τῷ ἐβδόμῳ τελευτήσειν. τὸν δὲ
δεινὸν ποιησάμενον πέμψαι ἐς τὸ μαντήιον τῷ
θεῷ οὐκείδισμα, ἀντιμεμφόμενον οτι ὁ μὲν αὐτοῦ
πατὴρ καὶ πάτρως, ἀποκλησάντες τὰ ἱρὰ καὶ
θεῶν οὐ μεμημένοι ἄλλα καὶ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους
φθείροντες, ἐβίωσαν χρόνον ἐπὶ πολλόν, αὐτὸς
δ' εὔσεβῆς ἔως μέλλοι ταχέως οὕτω τελευτήσειν.
ἐκ τοῦ χρηστηρίου αὐτῷ δεύτερα ἐλθεῖν
λέγοντα τοῦτον εἶναι καὶ συνταχύσειν αὐτὸν
tὸν βίον· οὐ γὰρ ποιήσαι μιν τὸ χρεόν ἢ
ποιεῖν· δειν γὰρ Λιγύπτοι κακοῦσθαι ἐπὶ ἔτεα
πεντήκοντά τε καὶ ἑκατόν, καὶ τοὺς μὲν δύο τοὺς
πρὸ ἐκείνον γενομένοις βασιλέας μαθεῖν τοῦτο,
κεῖνον δὲ οὐ. ταῦτα ἄκούσαντα τὸν Μυκερίνου,
ὡς κατακεκριμένων ἢ ὁῖτοι τοῦτοι, λύχνα ποιη-
σάμενον πολλά, ὅκως γηνοῖτο νῦς, ἀνάψαντα

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robe, and shows only the head and neck, which are encrusted with a very thick layer of gold. Between its horns it bears the golden figure of the sun's orb. It does not stand, but kneels; its stature is that of a live cow of great size. This image is carried out of the chamber once in every year, whenever the Egyptians make lamentation for the god whom I name not in speaking of these matters; it is then that the cow is brought out into the light, for Mycerinus' daughter, they say, entreated him at her death that she might see the sun once a year.1

133. After the grievous death of his daughter, it next happened to Mycerinus that an oracle was sent to him from the city of Buto, declaring that he had but six years to live and must die in the seventh. The king deemed this unjust, and sent back to the oracle a message of reproach, blaming the god: why must he die so soon who was pious, whereas his father and his uncle had lived long, who shut up the temples, and regarded not the gods, and destroyed men? But a second utterance from the place of divination declared to him that his good deeds were the very cause of shortening his life; for he had done what was contrary to fate; Egypt should have been afflicted for an hundred and fifty years, whereof the two kings before him had been aware, but not Mycerinus. Hearing this, he knew that his doom was fixed. Therefore he caused many lamps to be made, and would light these at nightfall and drink and make

1 The cow-worship is no doubt the cult of Isis, honoured at Sais under the name Nit.
αὐτὰ πίνειν τε καὶ εὐπαθεῖεν, οὕτε ἡμέρης οὕτε νυκτὸς ἀνέντα, ἐς τε τὰ ἔλεα καὶ τὰ ἄλσεα πλανώμενον καὶ ἦνα πυνθάνοιτο εἶναι ἐνυβητήρια ἐπιτιθέοτα. ταῦτα δὲ ἐμηχανᾶτο θέλων τὸ μαντήμαν ψευδόμενον ὑποδέξαι, ἦν οἱ δυνάδεκα ἔτεια ἀντὶ ἔξ ἐτέων γένηται, αἱ νύκτες ἡμέραι ποιεύμεναι.

134. Πυραμίδα δὲ οὕτος ἀπελίπετο πολλὸν ἐλάσσω τοῦ πατρός, εἶκοσὶ ποδῶν καταδέουσαν κόλου ἐκαστὸν τριῶν πλέθρων, ἐνύσης τετραγώνου, λίθου δὲ ἐς τὸ ἡμίσιν Ἀἰθιοπικοῦ· τὴν δὴ μετεξέτεροι φασὶ Ἔλλήνων Ἐροδώπιος ἐταίρης γυναικὸς εἶναι, οὐκ ὅρθῶς λέγοντες. οὐδὲ ὦν οὔδὲ εἰδότες μοι φαίνονται λέγειν οὕτως ήτις ἦν ἢ Ἐροδώπις· οὐ γὰρ ἂν οἱ πυραμίδα ἀνέθεσαν πουίσασθαι τοιαῦτῃ, ἐς τὴν ταλάντων χιλιάδες ἀναρίθμητοι ὡς λόγῳ εἰπεῖν ἀνασίμονται· πρὸς δὲ ὅτι κατὰ Ἀμασίν βασιλεύσαντα ἢ ἀκμάζουσα Ἐροδώπις, ἀλλ' οὐ κατὰ τούτον. ἔτεισι γὰρ κάρτα πολλοῖσι ύστερον τοῦτων τῶν βασιλέων τῶν τὰς πυραμίδας ταύτας ἦν λιπομένων Ἐροδώπις, γενείη μὲν ἀπὸ Ἑρηνίκης, δούλη δὲ ἦλ Ἰάδμωνος τοῦ Ἡφαιστοπόλιος ἄνδρος Σαμίου, σύνδονος δὲ Αἰσώπου τοῦ λογοποιοῦ. καὶ γὰρ οὕτος Ἰάδμωνος ἐγένετο, ὃς διέδεξε τῆς ὅπως ἢκιστα· ἐπείτε γὰρ πολλάκις κηρυσσόντων Δελφῶν ἐκ θεοπροπίου ὃς βούλοιτο ποιήν τῆς Αἰσώπου ψυχῆς ἀνελέσθαι, ἅλλος μὲν οὔδεις ἄφανς, Ἰάδμωνος δὲ παιδὸς παῖς ἅλλος Ἰάδμων ἀνείλετο. οὕτω καὶ Αἰσώπος Ἰάδμωνος ἐγένετο.

135. Ἐροδώπις δὲ ἔς Αἰγυπτοῦ ἀπίκετο Ἑάνθεω τοῦ Σαμίου κομίσαντος, ἀπικομένη δὲ κατ' ἐργασίην
merry; by day or night he never ceased from reveling, roaming to the marsh country and the groves and wherever he heard of the likeliest places of pleasure. Thus he planned, that by turning night into day he might make his six years into twelve and so prove the oracle false.

134. This king too left a pyramid, but far smaller than his father's; its sides form a square whereof each side is two hundred and eighty feet in length; as far as the half of its height it is of Ethiopian stone. Some Greeks say that it was built by Rhodopis, the courtesan, but they are in error; indeed it is clear to me that when they say this they do not know who Rhodopis was, else they would never have credited her with the building of a pyramid whereon what I may call an uncountable sum of talents must have been expended. And it is a further proof of their error that Rhodopis flourished in the reign of Amasis, not of Mycerinus, and thus very many years after these kings who built the pyramids. She was a Thracian by birth, slave to Iadmon, son of Hephaestopolis, a Samian, and fellow-slave of Aesopus the story-writer. For he also was owned by Iadmon; of which the chiefest proof is that when the Delphians, obeying an oracle, issued many proclamations inviting whosoever would to claim the penalty for the killing of Aesopus, none would undertake it but only another Iadmon, grandson of the first. Thus was Aesopus too shown to be the slave of Iadmon.

135. Rhodopis was brought to Egypt by Xanthes of Samos, and on her coming was for a great sum of
ελύθη χρημάτων μεγάλων ὑπὸ ἀνδρὸς Μυτιληναίου Χαράξου τοῦ Σκαμανδρωνύμου παιδός, ἰδελφεοῦ δὲ Σαπφοῦς τῆς μουσοποιοῦ. οὔτω δὴ ἦ Ρωδώπις ἐλευθερώθη, καὶ κατέμεινε τε ἐν Λιγύπτῳ καὶ κάρτα ἐπαφρόδιτος γενομένη μεγάλα ἐκτήσατο χρήματα ὡς ἀν εἶναι Ἱοδώπι, ἀτὰρ οὐκ ὦ γε ἐς πυραμίδα τοιαύτην ἐξικέσθαι. τῆς γὰρ τὴν δεκάτην τῶν χρημάτων ἰδέσθαι ἐστὶ ἐτι καὶ ἐς τὸ δὲ παντὶ τῷ βουλομένῳ, οὔδὲν δὲι μεγάλα οἱ χρήματα ἀναθείναι. ἐπεθύμησε γὰρ Ἱοδώπις μνημήν οὐσὶς ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι καταλιπέσθαι, ποιήμα ποιησαμένη τούτῳ τῷ μὴ τυνχάνοι ἄλλῳ ἐξενημένων καὶ ἀνακείμενον ἐν ἰρῷ, τοῦτο ἀναθείναι ἐς Δελφοὺς μνημόσυνον οὐσίας. τῆς δὲ δεκάτης τῶν χρημάτων ποιησαμένη ὄβελους βουτόρους πολλοὺς σιδηρέους, ὅσον ἐνεχώρεε ἡ δεκάτη οἱ, ἀπέπεμπε ἐς Δελφοὺς. οἵ καὶ ἱν ἐτι συννενέαται ὅπισθε μὲν τοῦ βωμοῦ τὸν Χῖοι ἀνέθεσαν, ἀντίον δὲ αὐτοῦ τοῦ νηοῦ. φιλέουσι δὲ κως ἐν τῇ Ναυκράτῃ ἐπαφρόδιτοι γίνεσθαι αἰ ἐταϊραί. τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ αὐτῇ, τῆς πέρι λέγεται ὅδε ὁ λόγος, οὔτω δῇ τῇ κλεινῇ ἐγένετο ὡς καὶ οἱ πάντες Ἠλληνες Ῥοδώπιος τὸ ὕνομα ἐξέμαθον. τοῦτο δὲ ὑστερον ταύτης, τῇ ὕνομῇ τῇ Ἀρχιδίκῃ, ἀοίδιμος ἀνὰ τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἐγένετο, ἦσσον δὲ τῆς ἐτέρης περισσεχύνετο. Χάραξος δὲ ὡς λυσάμενος Ῥοδώπιν ἀπενύστησε ἐς Μυτιλήνην, ἐν μέλει Σαπφῶ πολλὰ κατεκερτόμησε μιν.

136. Ῥοδώπιος μὲν νῦν πέρι πέπαυμα. μετὰ δὲ Μυκερίνου γενέσθαι Λιγύπτου βασιλέα ἔλεγον οἱ ἱέρες Ἀσυχιν, τὸν τὰ πρὸς ἡλιον ἀνίσχοντα ποιῆσαι τῷ Ἡφαιστῷ προπύλαια, ἐόντα πολλὰ

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money freed for the practice of her calling by Charaxus of Mytilene, son of Scamandronynmus and brother of Sappho the poetess. Thus Rhodopis was set free and abode in Egypt, where, her charms becoming well known, she grew wealthy enough for a lady of her profession, but not for the building of such a pyramid. Seeing that to this day anyone who wishes may know what was the tenth part of her possessions, she cannot be credited with great wealth. For Rhodopis desired to leave a memorial of herself in Greece, by having something made which no one else had contrived and dedicated in a temple and presenting this at Delphi to preserve her memory; so she spent the tenth part of her substance on the making of a great number of iron ox-spits, as many as the tithe would pay for, and sent them to Delphi; these lie in a heap to this day, behind the altar set up by the Chians and in front of the shrine itself. It seems that the courtesans of Naucratis ever have the art of pleasing, for the woman of whom this story is told became so famous that all Greeks knew the name of Rhodopis, and in later days one Archidice was the theme of song throughout Greece, albeit less spoken of than the other. Charaxus, after giving Rhodopis her freedom, returned to Mytilene and was bitterly attacked by Sappho in one of her poems.

136. Enough has been said of Rhodopis. After Mycerinus, said the priests, Asuchis became king of Egypt. He built the eastern outer court of Hephaestus' temple; this is by much the fairest and
τε κάλλιστα καὶ πολλῷ μέγιστα: ἕχει μὲν γὰρ καὶ τὰ πάντα προπύλαια τύπους τε ἐν γεγενημένοις καὶ ἀλλὰν ὤψιν οἰκοδομημάτων μυρίην, ἐκεῖνα δὲ καὶ μακρῷ μάλιστα. ἐπὶ τούτου βασιλεύσεως ἐλέγον, ἀμφείς ἐνόσις πολλῆς χρημάτων, γενέσθαι νόμον Αἰγυπτίοισι, ἀποδεικνύτα ἐνέχυρον τοῦ πατρὸς τῶν νέκων οὔτω λαμβάνειν τὸ χρέος: προστεθήναι δὲ ἔτι τούτῳ τῷ νόμῳ τόνδε, τὸν διδόντα τὸ χρέος καὶ ἀπάσης κρατεῖν τῆς τοῦ λαμβάνοντος θήκης, τὸ δὲ ὑποτιθέντο τοῦ τὸ ἐνέχυρον τίνδε ἐπείναι ζημίαν μὴ βουλομένῳ ἀποδοῦναι τὸ χρέος, μήτε αὐτῷ ἐκεῖνῳ τελευτήσαντι εἶναι ταφῆς κυρῆσαι μήτ' εὖ ἐκείνῳ τῷ πατρῶι τάφῳ μήτ' εὖ ἄλλῳ μηδενί, μήτε ἄλλου μηδένα τῶν ἔωτον ἀπογενόμενον θάψαι. ὑπερβαλέσθαι δὲ βουλομενου τούτου τὸν βασιλέα τοὺς πρότερον ἐωτοῦ βασιλείας γενομένους Αἰγύπτου μυημόσυνον πυραμίδα λιπέσθαι ἐκ πλίνθων ποιήσαντα, εὖ τῇ γράμματα εὖ λίθῳ ἐγκεκολαμμένα τάδε λέγοντα ἑστὶ. “Μὴ με κατονοσθῇς πρὸς τὰς λιθίνας πυραμίδας: προέχω γὰρ αὐτῶν τοσοῦτον ὅσον ὁ Ζεὺς τῶν ἄλλων θεῶν. κοντῷ γὰρ ὑποτύπποντες ἐς λίμνην, ὃ τι πρόσχοιτο τοῦ πηλοῦ τῶ κοντῶ, τοῦτο συλλέγοντες πλίνθους εἰρυσαν καὶ μὲ τρόπῳ τουούτῳ ἐξεποίησαν.”

137. Τούτων μὲν τοσαῦτα ἀποδέξασθαι. μετὰ δὲ τούτου βασιλεύσαι ἀνδρα τυφλῶν ἐξ Ἀνύσιος πόλιος, τῷ οὖνομα Ἀνύσιν εἶναι. ἐπὶ τούτου βασιλεύσεως ἐλάσαι ἐπ’ Αἰγυπτον χειρὶ πολλὴ Αἰθιοπᾶς τε καὶ Σαβακῶν τὸν Αἰθίωπων βασιλέα. τὸν μὲν δὲ τυφλῶν τούτου οἰχεσθαι φεύγοντα ἐστὰ ἔλεα, τὸν δὲ Αἰθιοπα βασιλεύειν Αἰγύπτου

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largest of all the courts, for while all have carven figures and innumerable graces of architecture, this court has far more than any. In this king’s reign as they told me, money in Egypt passed not readily from hand to hand; wherefore a law was made that a man might borrow on the security of his father’s dead body; and the law provided also, that the lender should have a lien on the whole burial-vault of the borrower, and that the penalty for the giver of this security, should he fail to repay the debt, should be that he might neither himself be buried at death nor bury any deceased of his kin either in that tomb of his fathers nor in any other. Moreover, being desirous of excelling all who ruled Egypt before him, this king left a pyramid of brick to commemorate his name, on which is this writing, cut on a stone:—“Deem me not less than the pyramids of stone; for I am as much more excellent than they as Zeus is than the other gods; for they struck a pole down into a marsh and collected what mud clave to the pole; therewith they made bricks, and thus was I built.”

137. These were the acts of Asuchis. After him reigned a blind man called Anysis, of the town of that name. In his reign Egypt was invaded by Sabacos king of Ethiopia and a great army of Ethiopians.¹ The blind man fleeing away into the marshes, the Ethiopians ruled Egypt for fifty years. It is

¹ In Manetho’s list three Ethiopian kings form the twenty-fifth dynasty, Sabacon, Sebichos, and Taracos (the Tirhaka of the Old Testament).
ἐπ' ἐτεῖ πεντήκοντα, ἐν τοῖς αὐτῶν τάδε ἄποδέξασθαι· ὅκως τῶν τις Λιγυπτίων ἀμάρτοι τι, κτείνειν μὲν αὐτῶν οὐδένα ἔθελεν, τὸν δὲ κατὰ μέγαθος τοῦ ἄδικήματος ἐκάστῳ δικάζειν ἐπιτάσσοντα χώματα χοῦν πρὸς τῇ ἐσωτέρῳ πόλι, θεῖν ἐκαστὸς ἤν τῶν ἄδικεόντων. καὶ οὕτω ἔτι αἱ πόλεις ἐγένοντο ὑψηλότερα· τὸ μὲν γὰρ πρῶτον ἐγώθησαν ὑπὸ τῶν ταῖς διώρυχας ὑφράκων ἐπὶ Σεσώστριος Βασιλέως, δεύτερα δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ Αἰθίοπος καὶ κάρτα ὑψηλαὶ ἐγένοντο. ὑψηλέων δὲ καὶ ἐτερὲων γενομενέων ἐν τῇ Ἀιγύπτῳ πολίων, ὡς ἐμιλ δοκεῖ, μᾶλιστα ἦ ἐν Βουβάστι πολισ ἐξεχώρθη, ἐν τῇ καὶ ἰρόν ἐστὶ Βουβάστιος ἄξιαπηγητοτάτων· μέξω μὲν γὰρ ἄλλα καὶ πολυδαπανώτερα ἐστὶ ἤρα, ἢδονὴ δὲ ἰδέσθαι οὐδὲν τούτου μᾶλλον. ἡ δὲ Βούβαστις κατὰ Ἑλλάδα γλῶσσαν ἐστὶν Ἀρτεμις.

138. Τὸ δ' ἰρόν αὐτῆς ὅδε ἔχει. πλὴν τῆς ἐσώδου τὸ ἄλλο ὑήσος ἐστὶ· ἐκ γὰρ τοῦ Νείλου διώρυχας ἐσέχουσι οὐ συμμίσγουσι ἀλλήλησι, ἀλλ' ἄχρι τῆς ἐσώδου τοῦ ἰροῦ ἐκατέργα ἐσέχει, ἢ μὲν τῇ περιπρέουσα ἢ δὲ τῇ, εὔρος έούσα ἐκατέργα ἐκατόν ποδῶν, δεύδρεσι κατάσκιος. τὰ δὲ προπύλαια ὕψος μὲν δέκα ὀργυιῶν ἐστὶν, τύποισι δὲ ἐξαπήχει σκευαζότατοι ἀξίωσι λόγον. ἐν δὲ ἐν μέσῃ τῇ πόλι τὸ ἰρόν κατορᾶται πάντοθεν περιόντων· ἀτε γὰρ τῆς πόλιος μὲν ἐκκεχωσμένης ὑψοῦ, τοῦ δ' ἰροῦ οὐ κεκινημένου ὡς ἀρχῇ ἐπούθη, ἐσσοπτὸν ἐστὶ· περιθέει δὲ αὐτὸ αἰμασίη ἐγγεγλυμμένη τύποισι, ἐστὶ δὲ ἐσωθὲν ἄλος δευδρέων μεγίστων πεφυτευμένων περὶ νηὸν μέγαν, ἐν τῷ δ' ἰρῷ καὶ μήκως τοῦ ἰροῦ πάντη σταδίου ἐστὶ. κατὰ
recorded in the history of his reign that he would never put to death any Egyptian wrongdoer, but sentenced all, according to the greatness of their offence, to raise embankments in the town of which each was a native. Thus the towns came to stand yet higher than before; for having been first built on embankments made by the diggers of the canals in the reign of Sesostris, they were yet further raised in the reign of the Ethiopian. Other Egyptian towns, to my thinking, were so dealt with, but the level of Bubastis was raised more than any. In this town there is a temple of Bubastis, and it is a building most worthy of note. Other temples are greater and more costly, but none pleasanter to the eye than this. Bubastis is, in the Greek language, Artemis.

138. I will now show the form of her temple: save for the entrance, it stands on an island; two separate channels approach it from the Nile, and after coming up to the entry of the temple, they run round it on opposite sides; each of them is an hundred feet wide, and overshadowed by trees. The outer court has a height of ten fathoms, and is adorned with notable figures six cubits high. The temple is in the midst of the city, the whole circuit of which commands a view down into it; for the city's level has been raised, but that of the temple has been left as it was from the first, so that it can be seen into from without. A stone wall, carven with figures, runs round it; within is a grove of very tall trees growing round a great shrine, wherein is the image of the goddess; the temple is a square, each side measuring a furlong.
μὲν δὴ τὴν ἔσοδον ἑστρωμένη ἦστι οἶδος λίθου ἐπὶ σταδίους τρεῖς μάλιστα κη, διὰ τῆς ἁγορῆς φέρουσα ἐσ τὸ πρὸς ἥῶ, εὑρός δὲ ὡς τεσσέρων πλέθρων. τῇ δὲ καὶ τῇ τῆς ὀδοῦ δένδρα οὐρανομῆκε πέφυκε· φέρει δὲ ἐσ Ἐρμέω ἱρὸν. τὸ μὲν δὴ ἱρὸν τούτῳ οὔτω ἔχει,

139. Τέλος δὲ τῆς ἀπαλλαγῆς τοῦ Αἰθίοπος ὄδε ἔλεγον γενέσθαι· ὃψιν ἐν τῷ ὕπνῳ τούτῳ ἰδόντα αὐτὸν οἴχεσθαι φεύγοντα· ἔδοκεε οἱ ἄνδρα ἐπιστάντα συμβουλεύειν τοὺς ἱρέας τοὺς ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ συλλέξαντα πάντας μέσους διαταμεῖν. ἰδόντα δὲ τὴν ὁψιν ταύτην λέγειν αὐτὸν ὡς πρόφασίν οἱ δοκεί ταύτην τοὺς θεοὺς προδεικνύειν, ἵνα ἀσεβήσας περὶ τὰ ἱρὰ κακῶν τι πρὸς θεῶν ἡ πρὸς ἄνθρωπων λάβοι· οὗκων ποιήσειν ταύτα, ἀλλὰ γὰρ οἱ ἐξεληλυθόνει τὸν χρόνον, ὁκόσον κεχρήσθαι ἄρξαντα Αἰγύπτου ἐκχωρήσειν. ἐν γὰρ τῇ Αἰθιοπίᾳ ἔσυντι αὐτῷ τὰ μαντήματα, τοὺς χρέωνται Αἰθιόπες, ἀνεῖλε ὡς δέοι αὐτὸν Αἰγύπτου βασιλεύσαι ἔτεα πειτήκοντα. ὡς ὃν ὁ χρόνος οὔτος ἐξῆς καὶ αὐτὸν ἡ ὁψις τοῦ ἐνυπνίου ἐπετάρασε, ἐκών ἀπαλλάσσετο ἐκ τῆς Αἰγύπτου ὁ Σαβακώς.

140. Ὡς δ᾽ ἀρα οἴχεσθαι τὸν Αἰθίοπα ἐξ Αἰγύπτου, αὐτίς τὸν τυφλὸν ἄρχειν ἐκ τῶν ἑλέων ἀπικόμενον, ἐνθα πειτήκοντα ἔτεα νῆσον χώσας σποδῷ τε καὶ γῆ οἰκεί. ὁκώς γὰρ οἱ φοιτᾶν σίτον ἀγοντας Αἰγυπτίων, ὡς ἐκάστοιοι προστετάχθαι, συγῇ τοῦ Αἰθίοπος, ἐς τὴν δωρεὴν κέλευειν σφέας καὶ σποδὸν κομίζειν. ταύτην τὴν νῆσον οὐδεὶς πρότερον ἐδυνάσθη Ἀμυρταίου ἐξευρεῖν, ἀλλὰ ἔτεα ἐπὶ πλέω ἡ ἑπτάκοσια σύκ οἰοί τε ἦσαν
A road, paved with stone, of about three furlongs' length leads to the entrance, running eastward through the market place, towards the temple of Hermes; this road is about four hundred feet wide, and bordered by trees reaching to heaven. Such is this temple.

139. Now the departure of the Ethiopian (they said) was accomplished on this wise. He fled away from the country, having seen in a dream one who stood over him and counselled him to gather together all the priests in Egypt and cut them in sunder. Having seen this vision, he said that he supposed it to be a manifestation sent to him by the gods, that he might commit sacrilege and so be punished by gods or men; he would not (he said) act so, but otherwise, for the time foretold for his rule over Egypt, after which he was to depart, was now fulfilled: for when he was still in Ethiopia the oracles which are inquired of by the people of that country declared to him that he was fated to reign fifty years over Egypt. Seeing that this time was now completed and that he was troubled by what he saw in his dream, Sabacos departed from Egypt of his own accord.

140. The Ethiopian having left Egypt, the blind man (it is said) was king once more, returning from the marshes, where he had dwelt fifty years on an island which he built of ashes and earth; for the Egyptians, who were severally charged to bring him food without the Ethiopian's knowledge, were bidden by the king to bring ashes whenever they came, as their gift. This island was never discovered before the time of Amyrtaeus; all the kings before him sought it in vain
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αὐτὴν ἀνευρεῖν οἱ πρῶτοι γενόμενοι βασιλεῖς Ἀμυρταίου. οὐνομα δὲ ταύτη τῇ νήσῳ Ἐλβῶ, μέγαθος δὲ ἐστὶ πάντη δέκα σταδίων.

141. Μετὰ δὲ τοῦτον βασιλέως τὸν ἱρέα τοῦ Ἡφαίστου, τῷ οὐνόμα εἶναι Σεθῶν τὸν ἐν ἀλο-

γίσαν 

ἐχειν παραχρησάμενοι τῶν μαχιμῶν Ἀ-

γυπτίων ὡς οὐδὲν δεησόμενον αὐτῶν, ἀλλὰ τε δὴ ἁτιμα ποιεῦντα ἐς αὐτοὺς, καὶ σφεας ἀπελέσθαι 

τὰς αρούμες· τοῖς ἐπὶ τῶν προτέρων βασιλέων δεδόσθαι ἐξαιρέτοις ἐκάστω δυσδεκα ἀροῦρας. 

μετὰ δὲ ἐπὶ Ἀιγυπτον ἑλαύνειν στρατὸν μέγαν 

Σαναχάριβον βασιλέα Ἀραβίων τε καὶ Ἀσσυ-

ρίων οὐκὼν δὴ ἐθέλειν τοὺς μαχιμους τῶν 

Ἀιγυπτίων βοηθεῖν. τὸν δ’ ἱρέα ἐς ἀπορίην 

ἀπειλημένοιν ἐσελθόντα ἐς τὸ μεγαρὸν πρὸς τῷ-

gαλμα ἀποδύσεθαι οία κινδυνεύει παθεῖν. ὅλο-

φυρόμενον δ’ ἁρὰ μιν ἐπελθεῖν ὑπινον, καὶ οἱ δόξαι 

ἐν τῇ ὕψῳ ἐπιστάντα τὸν θεὸν θαρσύνειν ὡς οὐδὲν 

πεῖσται ἄχαρι ἀντιάζων τὸν Ἀραβίων στρατὸν· 

αὐτὸς γὰρ οἱ πέμψειν τιμωροῦσ. τοῦτοισι δὴ μιν 

πίσυνον τοῖς ἐνυπνίοις, παραλαβόντα Αἰγυπτίων 

touς βουλομένους οἱ ἑπεσθαίντο, στρατοπεδεύσνασθαι 

ἐν Πηλονίω· ταύτη γὰρ εἰσὶ οἱ ἐβολαί· ἑπε-

σθαι δὲ οἱ τῶν μαχιμῶν μὲν οὐδένα ἁνδρῶν, κατη-

λους δὲ καὶ χειρώνακτας καὶ ἱγόρᾳοις ἁνθρώπους. 

ἐνθαῦτα ἀπικομένοις 1 τοῖς ἐναντίοις αὐτοῖς ἑπι-

χυθέντας νυκτὸς μὺς ἄροιροις κατὰ μὲν 

φαγεῖν τους φαρετρῶνας αὐτῶν κατὰ δὲ τὰ τόξα, 

πρὸς δὲ τῶν ἀσπίδων τὰ ῥάνα, ὥστε τῇ ύστεραίῃ

1 Stein reads ἀπικομένοις, and supposes a lacuna after ἐναντίοις; ἀπικομένοις has the best authority.
for more than seven hundred years. The name of it is Elbo, and it is ten furlongs long and of an equal breadth.

141. The next king was the priest of Hephaestus, whose name was Sethos. He despised and took no account of the warrior Egyptians, thinking he would never need them; besides otherwise dishonouring them, he took away the chosen lands which had been given to them, twelve fields to each man, in the reign of former kings. So presently came king Sanacharib against Egypt, with a great host of Arabians and Assyrians; and the warrior Egyptians would not march against him. The priest, in this quandary, went into the temple shrine and there bewailed to the god's image the peril which threatened him. In his lamentation he fell asleep, and dreamt that he saw the god standing over him and bidding him take courage, for he should suffer no ill by encountering the host of Arabia: "Myself," said the god, "will send you champions." So he trusted the vision, and encamped at Pelusium with such Egyptians as would follow him, for here is the road into Egypt; and none of the warriors would go with him, but only hucksters and artificers and traders. Their enemies too came thither, and one night a multitude of fieldmice swarmed over the Assyrian camp and devoured their quivers and their bows and the handles of their shields likewise, inso-

1 Sennacherib's attack on Hezekiah of Judaea was made on his march to Egypt.—II Kings, xviii.

2 This is Hdt.'s version of the Jewish story of the pestilence which destroyed the Assyrian army before Jerusalem. Mice are a Greek symbol of pestilence; it is Apollo Smintheus (the mouse god) who sends and then stays the plague in Homer, II. 1. It has long been known that rats are carriers of the plague.

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φευγόντων σφέων γυμνῶν πεσείν πολλούς. καὶ
νῦν οὕτως ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐστηκε ἐν τῷ ἱρῷ τοῦ Ἡφαί-
στον λίθινος, ἔχων ἐπὶ τῆς χειρὸς μοῦν, λέγων
dιὰ γραμμάτων τάδε: "Ἐσ ἐμὲ τις ὀρέων ἐνσεβης
ἐστο."  
142. Ἐσ μὲν τοσόνδε τοῦ λόγου Αἰγύπτιοί τε
cαὶ οἱ ἱρεῖς ἔλεγον, ἀποδεικνύντες ἀπὸ τοῦ πρῶτον
βασιλέος ἤ τοῦ Ἡφαίστου τὸν ἱρέα τοῦτον τὸν
tελευταίον βασιλεύσαντα μίαν τε καὶ τεσσερά-
kοντα καὶ τριηκοσίας γενεὰς ἀνθρώπων γενομένας,
cαὶ ἐν ταύτης ἀρχιερείᾳ καὶ βασιλέας ἐκατέρους
tοσοῦτοις γενομένους. καίτοι τριηκοσίαι μὲν
ἀνδρῶν γενεὰι δυνᾶται μῦρτα ἔτεα· γενεὰι γὰρ
τρεῖς ἀνδρῶν ἐκατὸν ἔτεα ἔστι· μὴς δὲ καὶ τεσ-
σεράκοντα ἐτί τῶν ἐπιλοίπων γενεῶν, αἱ ἐπῆσαν
τῆς τριηκοσίης, ἔστι τεσσεράκοντα καὶ τριηκοσία
καὶ χίλια ἔτεα. οὕτω ἐν μυρίοις τε ἔτεσι καὶ χι-
λίοις καὶ τριηκοσίοις τε καὶ τεσσεράκοντα ἔλεγον
θεῶν ἄνθρωποιδέα οὐδένα γενέσθαι οὐ μέντοι
οὐδὲ πρότερον οὐδὲ ὑστερον ἐν τούτῳ ὑπολοίποισι
Αἰγύπτω ἐπὶ βασιλεύσι γενομένους ἔλεγον οὐδὲν
τοιοῦτο. ἐν τοῖς τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ τετράκις
ἔλεγον ἔξ ἢθεών τῶν ἡλίου ἀνατείλας ἐνθα τε νῦν
καταδύεται, ἐνθεῦτεν δις ἐπανείλαι, καὶ ἐνθεῦ
νῦν ἀνατέλλει, ἐνθαύτα δίς καταδύει. καὶ οὐδὲν
τῶν κατ' Αἰγύπτου ὑπὸ ταῦτα ἐτεροιωθήναι, οὔτε
τὰ ἐκ τῆς γῆς οὔτε τὰ ἐκ τοῦ ποταμοῦ σφι
γινόμενα, οὔτε τὰ ἄμφι νούσους οὔτε τὰ κατὰ
tοὺς θανάτους.

143. Πρότερον δὲ Ἐκατάιῳ τῷ λογοποιῷ ἐν
Θῆβῃςι γενεγλογησαντί τε ἐωτου καὶ ἀναδή-
σαντι τὴν πατρίνην ἐς ἐκκαιδέκατον θεῶν ἐποίησαν

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much that they fled the next day unarmed and many fell. And at this day a stone statue of the Egyptian king stands in Hephaestus' temple, with a mouse in his hand, and an inscription to this effect: “Look on me, and fear the gods.”

142. Thus far went the record given me by the Egyptians and their priests; and they showed me that the time from the first king to that priest of Hephaestus, who was the last, covered three hundred and forty-one generations of men, and that in this time such also had been the number of their kings, and of their high priests. Now three hundred generations make up ten thousand years, three generations being equal to a century. And over and above the three hundred the remaining forty-one cover thirteen hundred and forty years. Thus the whole sum is eleven thousand three hundred and forty years; in all which time (they said) they had had no king who was a god in human form, nor had there been any such thing either before or after those years among the rest of the kings of Egypt. Four times in this period (so they told me) the sun rose contrary to his wont; twice he rose where he now sets, and twice he set where now he rises; yet Egypt at these times underwent no change, neither in the produce of the river and the land, nor in the matter of sickness and death.

143. Hecataeus the historian was once at Thebes, where he made for himself a genealogy which connected him by lineage with a god in the sixteenth

1 Hecataeus died soon after the Persian war.
oι ίρες τού Διός οίον τι καὶ ἐμοί οὐ γενεηλθήσαντι ἐμεωτῶν ἐσαγαγότες ἐς τὸ μέγαρον ἔσω ἐν μέγα ἐξηρίθμευν δεικνύντες κολοσσοὺς εὐλίνους τοσούτους ὀσους περ εἴπον ἀρχιερεὺς γὰρ ἐκαστος αὐτὸθι ἵστὰ ἐπὶ τῆς ἐωτοῦ ζωῆς εἰκόνα ἐωτῶν ἀριθμούντες οὗ καὶ δεικνύντες οἱ ίρες ἐμοί ἀπεδείκυναν παιδὰ πατρὸς ἐωτῶν ἐκαστον ἐόντα, ἐκ τοῦ ἀγχιστα ἀποθανόντος τῆς εἰκόνος διεξόντες διὰ πατέων, ἐως οὐ ἀπέδεξαν ἀπάσας αὐτάς. Ἐκαταίω δὲ γενεηλογήσαντι ἐωτοῦ καὶ ἀναδησαντι ἐς ἐκκαίδεκατοι θεοὺς ἀντεγενηλόγησαν ἐπὶ τῇ ἀριθμήσι, οὐ δεκόμενοι παρ' αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ θεοῦ γενέσθαι ἀνθρώπων· ἀντεγενηλόγησαν δὲ ὁδε, φάμενοι ἐκαστον τῶν κολοσσῶν πίρωμιν ἐκ πιρώμιος γεγονέναι, ἐς ὁ τοὺς πέντε καὶ τεσσεράκοντα καὶ τριηκοσίους ἀπέδεξαν κολοσσοὺς [πίρωμιν ἐπονομαζόμενον],¹ καὶ οὔτε ὁθέν οὔτε ἐς ἱρώα ἀνέδησαν αὐτοὺς. πίρωμις δὲ ἔστi κατὰ Ἐλλάδα γλώσσαν καλὸς κἀγαθὸς.

144. Ἡδὴ δὲν τῶν αἱ εἰκόνες ἦσαν, τοιούτους ἀπεδείκυναν σφέας πάντας ἐόντας, θεοὺς δὲ πολλῶν ἀπαλλαγμένους. τὸ δὲ πρότερον τῶν ἀνδρῶν τοῦτων θεοὺς εἶναι τοὺς ἐν Λίγυπτῳ ἀρχιντας, οὐκ ἐόντας ἀμα τοῦσ ἀνθρώπους, καὶ τοῦτοι αἱ ἐνα τῶν κρατέων εἶναι ὤστατον δὲ αὐτῆς βασιλεύσαι Ὡρον τὸν Ὅσιρος παίδα, τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα Ἔλληνες ὀνομάζουσιν· τοῦτον καταπάυσαντα Τυφώνα βασιλεύσαι ὤστατον Λίγυπτου. Ὅσιρις δὲ ἔστi Διόνυσος κατὰ Ἐλλάδα γλώσσαν.

¹ Whether we read ἐπονομαζόμενον (with Stein) or πιρώμιν ἐκ πιρώμιος γενόμενον (with the MSS.) the words do not accord with the construction of the sentence.
generation. But the priests did for him what they did for me (who had not traced my own lineage). They brought me into the great inner court of the temple and showed me there wooden figures which they counted up to the number they had already given, for every high priest sets there in his life-time a statue of himself; counting and pointing to these, the priests showed me that each inherited from his father; they went through the whole tale of figures, back to the earliest from that of him who had lateliest died. Thus when Hecataeus had traced his descent and claimed that his sixteenth forefather was a god, the priests too traced a line of descent according to the method of their counting; for they would not be persuaded by him that a man could be descended from a god; they traced descent through the whole line of three hundred and forty-five figures, not connecting it with any ancestral god or hero, but declaring each figure to be a "Piromis" the son of a "Piromis," that is, in the Greek language, one who is in all respects a good man.

144. Thus they showed that all whose statues wood there had been good men, but wholly unlike gods. Before these men, they said, the rulers of Egypt were gods, but none had been contemporary with the human priests. Of these gods one or other had in succession been supreme; the last of them to rule the country was Osiris’ son Horus, called by the Greeks Apollo; he deposed Typhon,¹ and was the last divine king of Egypt. Osiris is, in the Greek language, Dionysus.

¹ Typhon is the Egyptian Set, the god of destruction.
145. Ἐν "Ἐλλησὶ μὲν νῦν νεώτατοι τῶν θεῶν νομίζονται εἶναι Ἦρακλέης τε καὶ Διόνυσος καὶ Πᾶν, παρ’ Ἀιγυπτίοις δὲ Πᾶν μὲν ἄρχαιότατος καὶ τῶν ὁκτὼ τῶν πρώτων λεγομένων θεῶν, Ἦρακλέης δὲ τῶν δευτέρων τῶν δυώδεκα λεγομένων εἶναι, Διόνυσος δὲ τῶν τρίτων, οἶκ τῶν δυώδεκα θεῶν ἐγένοντο. Ἦρακλεὶ μὲν δὴ ὅσα αὐτοὶ Αἰγύπτιοι φασὶ εἶναι ἔτεα ἐς "Ἀμασίν βασιλέα, δεδήλωσαί μοι πρόσθε. Πανὶ δὲ ἔτι τοῦτον πλέονα λέγεται εἶναι, Διονύσῳ δ’ ἐλάχιστα τούτων, καὶ τούτῳ πεντακισχίλια καὶ μῦρια λογίζονται εἶναι ἐς "Ἀμασίν βασιλέα. καὶ ταῦτα Αἰγυπτιοὶ ἀτρεκέως φασὶ, ἐπίστασθαι, αἰεὶ τε λογιζόμενοι καὶ αἰεὶ ἀπογραφόμενοι τὰ ἔτεα. Διονύσῳ μὲν νῦν τῷ ἐκ Σεμέλης τῆς Κάδμου λεγομένῳ γενέσθαι κατὰ ἐξακόσια ἔτεα καὶ χίλια μάλιστα ἐστὶ ἐς ἐμὲ, Ἦρακλεὶ δὲ τῷ Ἀλκμήνης κατὰ εἰνακόσια ἔτεα. Πανὶ δὲ τῷ ἐκ Πηνελόπης (ἐκ ταύτης γὰρ καὶ Ἐρμέω λέγεται γενέσθαι ὑπὸ Ἐλλήνων ὁ Πᾶν) ἐλάσσω ἔτεα ἐστὶ τῶν Τρωικῶν, κατὰ ὀκτακόσια μάλιστα ἐς ἐμὲ.

146. Τούτων ὃν ἀμφότέρων πάρεστι χρᾶσθαι τοῖς τις πείσεται λεγομένουσι μᾶλλον, ἐμοὶ δ’ ὃν ἡ περὶ αὐτῶν γνώμη ἀποδέδοκται. εἰ μὲν γὰρ φανεροὶ τε ἐγένοντο καὶ κατεγίρασαν καὶ οὕτω εὖν τῇ Ἐλλάδι, κατὰ περ Ἦρακλέης ὁ ἐξ Ἀμφιτρύωνος γενόμενος, καὶ δὴ καὶ Διόνυσος ὁ ἐκ Σεμέλης καὶ Πᾶν ὁ ἐκ Πηνελόπης γενόμενος, ἔφη ἀν τις καὶ τούτως ἄλλους ἀνδρᾶς γενομένους ἔχειν τὰ ἐκείνων συνόματα τῶν προγεγογοτῶν θεῶν, νῦν δὲ Διόνυσον τε λέγουσι οἱ "Ἑλληνες ὡς αὐτίκα γενόμενον ἐς τὸν μηρὸν ἐνερράψατο Ζεὺς καὶ
145. Among the Greeks, Heracles, Dionysus, and Pan are held to be the youngest of the gods. But in Egypt Pan is the most ancient of these and is one of the eight gods who are said to be the first of all, Heracles belongs to the second dynasty (that of the so-called twelve gods), and Dionysus to the third, which came after the twelve. How many years there were between Heracles and the reign of Amasis, I have already shown; Pan is said to be earlier still; the years between Dionysus and Amasis are the fewest, and they are reckoned by the Egyptians at fifteen thousand. Of all this the Egyptians claim to have certain knowledge, seeing that they had always reckoned the years and chronicled them in writing. Now the Dionysus who was called the son of Semele, daughter of Cadmus, was about sixteen hundred years before my time, and Heracles son of Alcmeone about nine hundred years; and Pan the son of Penelope (for according to the Greeks Penelope and Hermes were the parents of Pan) was about eight hundred years before me, and thus of a later date than the Trojan war.

146. With regard to these two, Pan and Dionysus, a man may follow whatsoever story he deems most credible; but I here declare my own opinion concerning them:—Had Dionysus son of Semele and Pan son of Penelope been made manifest in Hellas and lived there to old age, like Heracles the son of Amphitryon, it might have been said that they too (like Heracles) were but men, named after the older Pan and Dionysus, the gods of antiquity; but as it is, the Greek story has it that no sooner was Dionysus born than Zeus sewed him up in his thigh and carried

1 The Egyptian Khem.
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ηνεικε ἐς Νῦσαν τὴν ὑπὲρ Λιγύπτου ἐσύσαν ἐν τῇ Ἀιθιοπίᾳ, καὶ Παίνος γε πέρι οὐκ ἔχουσι εἰπεῖν ὅκη ἑτράπετο γενόμενος. δὴ λά μοι δὲν γέγονεν ὅτι ὑστερον ἐπύθοντο οἱ "Ελληνες τούτων τὰ οὐνόματα ἢ τὰ τῶν ἄλλων θεῶν. ἀπ' οἷ δὲ ἐπύθοντο χρόνου, ἀπὸ τούτου γενεθλογέουσι αὐτῶν τὴν γένεσιν.

147. Ταῦτα μὲν νυν αὐτοὶ Λιγύπτιοι λέγουσιν ὅσα δὲ οἳ τε ἄλλοι ἀνθρωποί καὶ Λιγύπτιοι λέγουσιν ὅμολογεύοντες τοῖσι ἄλλοισι κατὰ ταύτην τὴν χώρην γενέσθαι, ταῦτ' ἤδη φράσω προσέσται δὲ τι αὐτοῖσι καὶ τῆς ἐμῆς ὑψίος.

"Ελευθερωθέντες Αἰγύπτιοι μετὰ τὸν ἴρεα τοῦ Ἡφαίστου βασιλεύσαντα, οὐδένα γὰρ χρόνον οἷοι τε ἦσαν ἄνευ βασιλέως διαίτασθαι, ἐστήσαντο δυώδεκα βασιλέας, δυώδεκα μοίρας δασάμενοι Λιγύπτου πᾶσαν. αὐτοὶ ἐπιγαμίας ποιησάμενοι ἐβασίλευσαν νόμοισι τοῖσι χειράμενοι, μὴτε καταρέειν ἄλληλους μὴτε πλέον τι δίκησθαι ἔχειν τὸν ἐτερον τοῦ ἐτέρου, εἶναι τε φίλους τὰ μάλιστα. τῶν δὲ εἶνεκα τοὺς νόμους τούτους ἐποιεόντο, ἵσχυρὸς περιστέλλοντες ἐκέχρηστο σφὶ κατ' ἄρχὰς αὐτίκα ἐνισταμένοις ἐς τὰς τυραννίδας τῶν χαλκῆς φιάλης σπείσαντα αὐτῶν ἐν τῷ ἱρῷ τοῦ Ἡφαίστου, των τούτων ἀπάσης βασιλεύσειν Λιγύπτου· εἶ γὰρ δὴ τὰ πάντα ἴρα συνελέγοντο.

148. Καὶ δὴ σφὶ μνημόσυνα ἐδοξὲ λιπέσθαι κοινῇ, δόξαν δὲ σφὶ ἐποιήσαντο λαβύρινθον, ὅλιγον ὑπὲρ τῆς λίμνης τῆς Μοίριος κατὰ Κροκοδείλων καλεσμένην πόλιν μάλιστα κη κείμενον· τὸν ἐγὼ ἤδη εἶδον λόγον μέζω. εἰ γὰρ τις τὰ ἐξ` Ἐλληνων τείχεα τε καὶ ἔργων ἀπόδεξιν συλλογίσατο,
him away to Nysa in Ethiopia beyond Egypt; and as for Pan, the Greeks know not what became of him after his birth. It is therefore plain to me that the Greeks learnt the names of these two gods later than the names of all the others, and trace the birth of both to the time when they gained the knowledge.

147. Thus far I have recorded what the Egyptians themselves say. I will now relate what is recorded alike by Egyptians and foreigners to have happened in that land, and I will add thereto something of what I myself have seen.

After the reign of the priest of Hephaestus the Egyptians were made free. But they could never live without a king, so they divided Egypt into twelve portions and set up twelve kings. These kings intermarried, and agreed to be close friends, undertaking not to depose one another nor to seek to possess one more than another. The reason of this agreement, which they zealously guarded, was this: at their very first establishment in their several lordships an oracle was given them that that one of them who poured a libation from a bronze vessel in the temple of Hephaestus (where, as in all the temples, it was their wont to assemble) should be king of all Egypt.

148. Moreover they resolved to preserve the memory of their names by some joint enterprise; and having so resolved they made a labyrinth, a little way beyond the lake Moeris and near the place called the City of Crocodiles. I have myself seen it, and indeed no words can tell its wonders; were all that Greeks have builded and wrought added together

1 This "labyrinth" was a horseshoe-shaped group of buildings, supposed to have been near the pyramid of Hawâra (Sayce).

2 I take ἕδη as = ἕ δή, with λόγον μέζω.  

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ελάσσονος πόνον τε ἄν καὶ δαπάνης φανεὶ ἑόντα τοῦ λαβύρινθου τούτου. καίτοι ἀξιόλογος γε καὶ ὁ ἐν Ἐφέσῳ ἐστὶ νηὸς καὶ ὁ ἐν Σάμῳ. ἦσαν μὲν υνν καὶ αἱ πυραμίδες λόγου μέξους, καὶ πολλῶν ἐκάστη αὐτέων Ἐλληνικῶν ἔργων καὶ μεγάλων ἀνταξίᾳ, ὁ δὲ δὴ λαβύρινθος καὶ τὰς πυραμίδας ὑπερβάλλει τοῦ [γὰρ] ὑπόδεκα μὲν εἰσὶ αὐλαὶ κατάστηγοι, ἀντιπύλου ἀλλήλησι, ἐξ μὲν πρὸς βορέω ἐξ δὲ πρὸς νότον τετραμμέναι, συνεχεῖς τοῖχοι δὲ ἕξωθεν ὁ αὐτὸς σφαίρας περιέχει. οἰκήματα δ' ἐνεστὶ διπλὰ, τα μὲν ὑπόγαια τὰ δὲ μετέωρα ἐπ' ἐκεῖνοι, τρισχίλια ἀριθμόν, πεντακοσίων καὶ χιλίων ἑκάτερα. τὰ μὲν υνν μετέωρα τῶν οἰκημάτων αὐτοὶ τε ὁρῶμεν διεξόντες καὶ αὐτοὶ θεησάμενοι λέγομεν, τὰ δὲ αὐτῶν ὑπόγαια λόγοις ἐπινυθανόμεθα· οἱ γὰρ ἐπεστῶτες τῶν Ἀιγυπτίων δεικνύμαι αὐτὰ οὐδαμῶς ὦθελον, φάμενοι θῆκας αὐτὸθι εἶναι τῶν τε ἀρχῆν τὸν λαβύρινθον τούτον οἰκοδομησαμένων βασιλέων καὶ τῶν ἱρῶν κροκοδείλων. οὕτω τῶν μὲν κατω πέρι οἰκημάτων ἀκοῇ παραλαβόντες λέγομεν, τὰ δὲ ἄνω μέξους ἀνθρωπηνίαν ἔργων αὐτοὶ ὁρῶμεν· αἳ τε γὰρ διέξοδοι διὰ τῶν στεγῶν καὶ οἱ ἐλιγμοὶ διὰ τῶν αὐλέων ἑόντες ποικιλώτατοι θῶμα μυρίων παρεῖχοντο ἐξ αὐλῆς τε ἐς τὰ οἰκήματα διεξιότισι καὶ ἐκ τῶν οἰκημάτων ἐς παστάδας, ἐς στέγας τε ἀλλὰς ἐκ τῶν παστάδων καὶ ἐς αὐλὰς ἀλλὰς ἐκ τῶν οἰκημάτων. ὅροφὴ δὲ πάντων τούτων λιθίνη κατά περ ὦ τοῖχοι, οἱ δὲ τοῖχοι τύπων ἐγγεγλυμμένων πλέοι, 

1 γὰρ is bracketed, τοῦ as a relative being in accordance with Herodotus' practice.
the whole would be seen to be a matter of less labour and cost than was this labyrinth, albeit the temples at Ephesus and Samos are noteworthy buildings. Though the pyramids were greater than words can tell, and each one of them a match for many great monuments built by Greeks, this maze surpasses even the pyramids. It has twelve roofed courts, with doors over against each other: six face the north and six the south, in two continuous lines, all within one outer wall. There are also double sets of chambers, three thousand altogether, fifteen hundred above and the same number under ground. We ourselves viewed those that are above ground, and speak of what we have seen; of the underground chambers we were only told; the Egyptian wardens would by no means show them, these being, they said, the burial vaults of the kings who first built this labyrinth, and of the sacred crocodiles. Thus we can only speak from hearsay of the lower chambers; the upper we saw for ourselves, and they are creations greater than human. The outlets of the chambers and the mazy passages hither and thither through the courts were an unending marvel to us as we passed from court to apartment and from apartment to colonnade, from colonnades again to more chambers and then into yet more courts. Over all this is a roof, made of stone like the walls, and the walls are covered with carven figures, and every
αὐλὴ δὲ ἐκάστη περίστυλος λίθον λευκοῦ ἁρμοσμένον τὰ μάλιστα. τῆς δὲ γωνίας τελευτῶντος τοῦ λαβυρίνθου ἔχεται πυραμίς τεσσερακοντόγυνος, ἐν τῇ ξώδῃ μεγάλα ἐγγέγυλυπταὶ ὁδὸς δὲ ἐς αὐτὴν ὑπὸ γῆν πεποίηται.

149. Τοῦ δὲ λαβυρίνθου τούτου ἐόντος τοιούτου θόμα ἔτι μέζων παρέχεται ἡ Μοίριος καλεομένη λίμνη, παρ’ ἦν ὁ λαβύρινθος οὗτος οἰκοδομηται: τῆς τὸ περίμετρον τῆς περίῳδου εἰςὶ στάδιοι ἕξακόσιοι καὶ τρισχίλιοι, σχοῖνων ἕξικοντα ἐόντων, ἵσι καὶ αὐτῆς Λιγύπτου τὸ παρὰ θάλασσαν. κεῖται δὲ μακρὴ ἡ λίμνη πρὸς βορέην τε καὶ νότου, ἔοισα βάθος, τῇ βαθυτάτῃ αὐτῆ ἑωτυῆς, πεντηκοντόγυνος. ὅτι δὲ χειροποιητὸς ἐστὶ καὶ ὅρυκτη, αὐτῇ ἰδοὺ: ἐν γὰρ μέσῃ τῇ λίμνῃ μάλιστα κη ἐστᾶσι δύο πυραμίδες, τοῦ ὕδατος ὑπερέχουσαι πεντήκοντα ὄργυνας ἐκατέρθη, καὶ τὸ κατ’ ὕδατος οἰκοδομηται ἑτερον τοσοῦτον, καὶ ἐπ’ ἀμφιτέρησι ἐπεστὶ κολοσσὸς λίθινος κατῆμενος ἐν θρόοι. οὕτω αἱ μὲν πυραμίδες εἰςὶ ἐκατόν ὄργυνας, αἱ δ’ ἐκατὸν ὄργυνα ἀπεκτείνει εἰς’ στάδιον ἕξαπλεθρον, ἐξαπέδου τε τῆς ὄργυνῆς μετρομένης καὶ τετραπήκχεος, τῶν ποδῶν μὲν τετραπαλαίστων ἐόντων, τοῦ δὲ πῆχεος ἐξαπαλαίστου. τὸ δὲ ὑδωρ τὸ ἐν τῇ λίμνῃ αὐθιγενές μὲν οὐκ ἔστι (ἀνυδρος γὰρ ἐὰν ἐρ γενίδως ἐστὶ ἡ ταύτην), ἐκ τοῦ Νείλου δὲ κατὰ διῳρυχα ἐσηκται, καὶ ἦ ἐς μὲν μῆνας ἐσω ῥεῖς ἐς τὴν λίμνην, ἦ δὲ μῆνας ἐξω ἐς τὸν Νείλου αὐτίς καὶ ἐπεαὖ μὲν ἐκρεῖ ἐξω, ἦ δὲ τότε τοὺς ἦς μῆνας ἐς τὸ βασιλήιου καταβάλλει ἐπ’ ἡμέρην ἐκαττην τύλαυτον ἀργυρίου ἐκ τῶν ἱχθύων, ἐπεαὖ δὲ ἐς τῷ τὸ ὑδωρ ἐς αὐτὴν, ἐικοσὶ μίνεας.
court is set round with pillars of white stone most exactly fitted together. Hard by the corner where the labyrinth ends there stands a pyramid forty fathoms high, whereon great figures are carved. A passage has been made into this underground.

149. Such is this labyrinth; and yet more marvellous is the lake Moeris, by which it stands. This lake has a circuit of three thousand six hundred furlongs, or sixty schoeni, which is as much as the whole seaboard of Egypt. Its length is from north to south; the deepest part has a depth of fifty fathoms. That it has been dug out and made by men’s hands the lake shows for itself; for almost in the middle of it stand two pyramids, so built that fifty fathoms of each are below and fifty above the water; atop of each is a colossal stone figure seated on a throne. Thus these pyramids are a hundred fathoms high; and a hundred fathoms equal a furlong of six hundred feet, the fathom measuring six feet or four cubits, the foot four spans and the cubit six spans. The water of the lake is not natural (for the country here is exceeding waterless) but brought by a channel from the Nile; six months it flows into the lake, and six back into the river. For the six months that it flows from the lake, the daily take of fish brings a silver talent into the royal treasury, and twenty minae for each day of the flow into the lake.
150. Ἐλεγον δὲ οἱ ἐπιχώριοι καὶ ὡς ἐς τῇν Σύρτιν τῇν ἐς Διβύνην ἐκδιδοὶ ἡ λίμνη αὐτή ὑπὸ γῆν, τετραμμένη τὸ πρὸς ἐσπέρην ἐς τὴν μεσόγαιαν παρὰ τὸ ὄρος τὸ ὑπὲρ Μέμφιος. ἔπειτε δὲ τοῦ ὀρύγματος τούτου οὐκ ὄρους τὸν χοῦν οὐδαμῶν ἑόντα, ἐπιμελές γὰρ δὴ μοι ἦν, εἰρήμην τοὺς ἀγχιστὰς οἰκέοντας τής λίμνης ὅκου εἶ οἱ χοῦς ὁ ἐξορυχθεῖς. οὐ δὲ ἐφρασάν μοι ἵνα ἐξεφορήθη, καὶ εὐπτεῖως ἔπειθον ἤδεα γὰρ λόγῳ καὶ ἐν Νίνω τῇ 'Ασσυρίων πόλις γενόμενον ἔτερον τοιοῦτον. τὰ γὰρ Σαρδαναπάλλου του Νίνου βασιλέως ἑόντα μεγάλα χρήματα καὶ φυλασσόμενα ἐν θησαυροῖς καταγαίοσι ἐπενόησαν κλώπες ἐκφορήσαι. ἡ δὴ ὅτι τῶν σφετέρων οἰκίων ἀρξάμενοι οἱ κλώπες ὑπὸ γῆν σταθμεύμενοι ἐς τὰ βασιλῆς οἰκία ὀρυσσόν, τὸν δὲ χοῦν τὸν ἐκφορεόμενον ἐκ τοῦ ὀρύγματος, ὅκως γένοιτο νῦξ, ἐς τὸν Τύγρην ποταμὸν παραρρέοντα τὴν Νίνου ἐξεφόρεον, ἐς δὲ κατεργάσαντο ὁ τι ἐβούλουτο. τοιοῦτον ἔτερον ἤκουσα καὶ κατὰ τὸ τῆς ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ λίμνης ὀρυγμα γενέσθαι, πλὴν οὐ νυκτὸς ἀλλὰ μετ’ ἡμέρην ποιεύμενον ὀρύσσοντας γὰρ τὸν χοῦν τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους ἐς τὸν Νείλον φορέειν. δὲ ὑπολαμβάνων ἐμελλὲ διαχέειν. ἢ μὲν νυν λίμνη αὐτή οὕτω λέγεται ὀρυχθῆναι.

151. Τῶν δὲ δυώδεκα βασιλέων δικαιοσύνης χρεωμένων, ἀνὰ χρόνων ὡς ἔθυσαν ἐν τῷ ἱρῷ τοῦ Ἡφαίστου, τῇ ύστατῇ τῆς ὀρτῆς, μελλόντων κατασπεισεῖν, ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς ἐξήνεικε σφι φιάλας χρυσέας, τῇς περ ἐωθέσαν σπένδειν, ἀμαρτῶν τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ, ἐνδέκα δυώδεκα έσοῦσι. ἐνθαῦτα ὡς οὐκ εἰχε φιάλην ὁ ἐσχάτος ἐστείως αὐτῶν Ψαμ-460
150. Further, the people of the country said that this lake issues by an underground stream into the Libyan Syrtis, and stretches inland towards the west along the mountains that are above Memphis. I could not anywhere see the earth taken from the digging of this lake, and this giving me matter for thought, I asked those who dwelt nearest to the lake where the stuff was that had been dug out. They told me whither it had been carried, and I readily believed them, for I had heard of a like thing happening in the Assyrian city of Ninus. Sardanapallus king of Ninus had great wealth, which he kept in an underground treasury. Certain thieves were minded to carry it off; they reckoned their course and dug an underground way from their own house to the palace, carrying the earth taken out of the dug passage at night to the Tigris, which runs past Ninus, till at length they accomplished their desire. This, I was told, had happened when the Egyptian lake was dug, save only that the work went on not by night but by day. The Egyptians bore the earth dug out by them to the Nile, to be caught and scattered (as was to be thought) by the river. Thus is this lake said to have been dug.

151. Now the twelve kings dealt justly; and as time went on they came to sacrifice in Hephaestus' temple. On the last day of the feast, they being about to pour libations, the high priest brought out the golden vessels which they commonly used for this; but he counted wrongly and gave the twelve only eleven. So he who stood last of them, Psammetichus, got no vessel; wherefore taking off his
μήτιχος, περιελόμενος τήν κυνήγη έσυβαν χαλκένυ
υπέσχε τε και ἐσπενδέ. κυνέας δὲ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι
ἀπαντεῖ ἐφόρον τε βασιλέες καὶ ἐτύγχανον τότε
ἐχοντες. Ψαμμήτιχος μὲν υνν οὐδενὶ δολερῷ νόῳ
χρεώμενος ὑπέσχε τήν κυνήγ. οὐ δὲ ἐν φρενὶ
λαβόντες τό τε ποιήθεν ἐκ Ψαμμήτιχου καὶ τῷ
χριστῷ καὶ ὑπεραχοῦσαν τόν χαλκένυ σπεί-
σαντα αὐτῶν φιάλη τοῦτο βασιλέα ἔσσεσθαι μοῦ-
νον Λιγύπτου, ἀναμνισθέντες τοῦ χρησμοῦ κτεῖναι
μὲν οὐκ ἐδικαίωσαν Ψαμμήτιχον, ὡς ἀνεύρων
βασανίζοντες ἐξ οὐδεμίης προνοίας αὐτῶν ποιή-
σαντα, ἐσ δὲ τὰ ἔλεη ἐδοξῆ χρῆσθαι πιστῶμαι-
ντας τὰ πλείστα τῆς δυνάμεως, ἐκ δὲ τῶν ἔλεων
ὄρμωμενοι μὴ ἐπιμίσγοισθαι τῇ ἄλλῃ Λιγύπτῳ.

152. Τὸν δὲ Ψαμμήτιχου τοῦτον πρότερον φεύ-
γοντα τὸν Αἴθιοπα Σαβάκων, ὡς ὁ τὸν πατέρα
Νεκὼν ἀπέκτεινε, τοῦτον φεῦγοντα τότε ἑς Συρίνην,
ἐνος ἀπαλλάχθη ἐκ τῆς ὁψιν τοῦ ὑνεῖρον ὁ Αἰθίοψ,
κατήγαγον Λιγυπτίων ὁ τούτῳ ὡς ἐκ νομοῦ τοῦ
Σαίτεω εἰσὶ. μετὰ δὲ βασιλεύοντα τὸ δεύτερον
πρὸς τῶν ἐνδέκα βασιλέων καταλαμβάνει μν διὰ
τὴν κυνήγῃ φεύγον ἑς τὰ ἔλεη. ἕπιστάμενοι δὲ
ἐπὶ περιβρισκόμενος οὐ πρὸς αὐτῶν, ἐπενόεε τίς σα-
θαι τοὺς διώξαντας. πέμψαντι δὲ ὁ ἐς Βουτοῦν
πόλιν ἑς τὸ χριστῷ τῆς Λητοῦς, ἐνθα δὴ
Λιγυπτίοισι ἐστὶ μαντίγιον ἄψευδοιστου, ἦλθε
χρησμὸς ὡς τίς ἥξει ἀπὸ ταλάσσης χαλκέων
ἀνδρῶν ἐπιφανείῶν. καὶ τῷ μὲν δὴ ἀπιστί-
γαλὴ ὑπεκέχυτο χαλκέους οἱ ἄνδρας ἥξειν ἐπι-
κόρους. χρονοὺν δὲ οὐ πολλῷ διελθόντος ἀναγ-
καίῃ κατέλαβε· Ἰωνᾶς τε καὶ Κάρας ἄνδρας κατὰ
ληήν ἐκπλῶσαντας ἀπενειχθήναι ἐς Λιγύπτουν,
bronze helmet he held it out and poured the libation with it. All the other kings too were wont to wear helmets, and were then helmeted; it was not in guile, then, that Psammetichus held out his headgear; but the rest marked Psammetichus’ deed, and remembered the oracle which promised the sovereignty of all Egypt to whosoever should pour libation from a vessel of bronze; wherefore, though they deemed Psammetichus not to deserve death (for they proved him and found that he had acted without intent), they resolved to strip him of the most of his power and chase him away into the marshes, and that he was not to concern himself with the rest of Egypt.

152. This Psammetichus had formerly been in Syria, whither he had fled from Sabacos the Ethiopian, who killed his father Necos; then, when the Ethiopian departed by reason of what he saw in a dream, the Egyptians of the province of Sais brought him back from Syria; and now Psammetichus was for the second time king, when it happened to him to be driven away into the marshes by the eleven kings by reason of the matter of the helmet. Therefore he held himself to have been outrageously dealt with by them and had a mind to be avenged on those who had expelled him, and he sent to inquire of the oracle of Leto in the town of Buto, which is the most infallible in Egypt; the oracle answered that he should have vengeance when he saw men of bronze coming from the sea. Psammetichus secretly disbelieved that men of bronze would come to aid him. But after no long time, certain Ionians and Carians, voyaging for plunder, were forced to put in on the coast of Egypt, where they disembarked in
ἐκβάντας δὲ ἐς γῆν καὶ ὄπλισθέντας χαλκῷ ἀγ- 
γέλλει τῶν τις Ἀιγυπτίων ἐς τὰ ἔλεα ἀπικόμενος 
τῷ Ψαμμητίχῳ, ὡς οὐκ ἱδὼν πρώτερον χαλκῷ 
ἀνδρας ὄπλισθέντας, ὡς χάλκεοι ἀνδρες ἀπηγμένοι 
ἀπὸ θαλάσσης λειψανεύσει τὸ πεδίον. ὃ δὲ μαθὼν 
τὸ χρηστήριον ἐπιτελεύμενον φίλα τοῖς Ἰωσὶ 
καὶ Καρσὶ ποιέται καὶ σφεας μεγάλα ὑπισχνεύ-
μενος πείθει μετ' ἑωτοῦ γενέσθαι. ὡς δὲ ἐπείσε, 
οὕτω ἀμα τοῖς τὰ ἑωτοῦ βουλομένοις Ἀιγυπτί-
οις καὶ τοῖς ἐπικούροις καταρέει τοὺς βασι-
λεας.

153. Κρατήσας δὲ Ἀιγυπτίην πάσης ὁ Ψαμμή-
τιχος ἐποίησε τῷ Ἡφαίστῳ προπύλαια εἰς Μέμφι 
τὰ πρὸς νότον ἀνεμον τετραμμένα, αὐλήν τε τῷ 
Ἀπὶ, ἐν τῇ τρέφεται ἐπειδὰν φανὴ ὁ Ἀπὶς, οἰκοδο-
μησε ἐναντίον τῶν προπυλαίων, πᾶσαν τε περι-
στυλον ἐσύσαν καὶ τύπων πλένην ἀντὶ δὲ κιόνων 
ὑπεστάσι κολοσσοὶ δυσδεκατήσεις τῇ αὐλῇ. ὃ δὲ 
Ἀπὶς κατὰ τὴν Ἑλλήνων γλῶσσαν ἐστὶ Ἐπαφος.

154. Τοῖς δὲ Ἰωσὶ καὶ τοῖς Καρσὶ τοῖς 
συγκατεργασμένοις αὐτῷ ὁ Ψαμμήτιχος δίδωσι 
χόρους ἔνοικήσαι ἀντίους ἀλλήλων, τοῦ Νείλου 
tὸ μέσον ἑχοντος, τοῖς οὐνόματα ἐτέθη Στρατό-
pεδα. τούτους τε δὴ σφι τοὺς χόρους δίδωσι καὶ 
tὰ ἀλλὰ τὰ ὑπέσχετο πάντα ἀπέδωκε. καὶ δὴ 
καὶ παῖδας παρέβαλε αὐτοῖς Ἀιγυπτίους τὴν 
Ἑλλάδα γλῶσσαν ἐκδιδάσκεσθαι. ἀπὸ δὲ τού-
tων ἐκμαθότων τὴν γλῶσσαν οἱ νῦν ἐρμηνεύει ἐν 
Ἀιγύπτῳ γεγονασι. οἱ δὲ Ἰωνές τε καὶ οἱ Κάρε 
tούτους τοὺς χόρους οἰκήσαν χρόνον ἐπὶ πολλῶν 
εἰς δὲ οὕτωι οἱ χώροι πρὸς θαλάσσης ὀλύγων 
ἐνερθὲ Βουβάστιος πόλιος, ἐπὶ τῷ Πηλοουσίων.
their mail of bronze; and an Egyptian came into the marsh country and brought news to Psammetichus (for he had never before seen mailed men) that men of bronze were come from the sea and were foraging in the plain. Psammetichus saw in this the fulfilment of the oracle; he made friends with the Ionians and Carians, and promised them great rewards if they would join him, and having won them, with the aid of such Egyptians as consented and these allies he deposed the eleven kings.

153. Having made himself master of all Egypt, he made the southern outercourt of Hephaestus' temple at Memphis, and built over against this a court for Apis, where Apis is kept and fed whenever he appears; this court has an inner colonnade all round it and many carved figures; the roof is held up by great statues twelve cubits high for pillars. Apis is in the Greek language Epaphus.

154. The Ionians and Carians who had helped him to conquer were given by Psammetichus places to dwell in called The Camps, opposite to each other on either side of the Nile; and besides this he paid them all that he had promised. Moreover he put Egyptian boys in their hands to be taught the Greek tongue; these, learning Greek, were the ancestors of the Egyptian interpreters. The Ionians and Carians dwelt a long time in these places, which are near the sea, on the arm of the Nile called the Pelusian, a little way below the town of Bubastis.
καλεομένης στόματι τοῦ Νείλου. τούτους μὲν δὴ χρόνῳ ύστερον βασιλεὺς Ἀμασίς ἐξαναστήσας ἑπταύτεν κατοίκιος ἐς Μέμφιον, φυλακὴν ἐωυτοῦ ποιεύμενος πρὸς Αἰγυπτίων. τούτων δὲ οἰκισθέντων ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ, οἱ "Ελληνες οὔτω ἐπιμισθόμενοι τούτους τὰ περὶ Αἰγυπτίων γινόμενα ἀπὸ Ψαμμητίχου βασιλέος ἀρξάμενοι πάντα καὶ τὰ ύστερον ἐπιστάμεθα ἀτρεκέως· πρῶτοι γὰρ οὗτοι ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ ἀλλόγλωσσοι κατοικίσθησαν. εξ ὧν δὲ εξανέστησαν χώρων, ἐν τούτοις δὲ οἱ τῶν νεῶν καὶ τὰ ἐρείπια τῶν οἰκημάτων τὸ μέχρι ἑμεν ἔσαν.

155. Ψαμμητίχος μὲν νυν οὖτω ἐσχε Αἰγυπτίων. τοῦ δὲ χρηστηρίου τοῦ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ πολλὰ ἐπεμνήσθην ἡδὴ, καὶ δὴ λόγον περὶ αὐτοῦ ὡς ἄξιον ἐόντος ποιήσομαι. τὸ γὰρ χρηστηρίου τούτο τὸ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ ἐστὶ μὲν Λητοῦς ἵρον, ἐν πόλι δὲ μεγάλη ἰδρυμένον κατὰ τὸ Σεβενυντικὸν καλεομενὸν στόμα τοῦ Νείλου, ἀναπλέοντι ἀπὸ θαλάσσης ἄνω. οὐνομα δὲ τῇ πόλι ταύτη ὅκου τὸ χρηστηρίου ἐστὶ Βουτώ, ὡς καὶ πρότερον ὠνομασταί μοι. ἵρον δὲ ἐστὶ ἐν τῇ Βουτῷ ταύτῃ Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ Ἀρτέμιδος, καὶ ὁ γε νῆς τῆς Λητοῦς, ἐν τῷ δὴ τὸ χρηστηρίου ἐνι, αὐτὸς τε τυγχάνει ἐών μέγας καὶ τὰ προπύλαια ἑχει ἐς ψύσος δέκα ὀργυείων. τὸ δὲ μοι τῶν φανερῶν ἢν θώμα μέγιστον παρεχόμενον, φράσω· ἐστὶ ἐν τὰ τεμένει τούτῳ Λητοῦς νῆς ἐξ ἐνὸς λίθου πεποιμένος ἐς τὲ ψύσος καὶ ἐς μήκος καὶ τοῖχος ἐκαστὸς τούτους ἱσος τεσσεράκοντα πηχέων τούτων ἐκαστον ἐστὶ, τὸ δὲ καταστέγασμα τῆς ὀροφῆς ἅλλος ἐπίκειται λίθος, ἐχον τὴν παρωροφίδα τετράπηχυν.
Long afterwards, king Amasis removed them thence and settled them at Memphis, to be his guard against the Egyptians. It comes of our intercourse with these settlers in Egypt (who were the first men of alien speech to settle in that country) that we Greeks have exact knowledge of the history of Egypt from the reign of Psammetichus onwards. There still remained till my time, in the places whence the Ionians and Carians were removed, the landing engines\(^1\) of their ships and the ruins of their houses.

155. This is the story of Psammetichus' conquest of Egypt. I have often made mention of the Egyptian oracle, and I will now treat fully of it, for this it deserves. This Egyptian oracle is in a temple sacred to Leto, and is situated in a great city by the Sebennytic arm of the Nile, on the way up from the sea. The name of the city where is this oracle is Buto; I have already named it. In Buto there is a temple of Apollo and Artemis. The shrine of Leto in which is the oracle is itself very great, and its outer court is ten fathoms high. But I will now tell of what was the most marvellous among things visible there: in this precinct is the shrine of Leto, whereof the height and length of the walls is all made of a single stone slab; each wall has an equal length and height, namely, forty cubits. Another slab makes the surface of the roof, the cornice of which is four cubits broad.

\(^1\) Probably capstans for hauling the ships ashore.
156. Οὔτω μὲν νυν ὁ νῆσος τῶν φανερῶν μοι τῶν περὶ τούτο τὸ ἱρὸν ἐστὶ θωμαστότατον, τῶν δὲ δευτέρων νῆσος ἡ Χέμμως καλεμένη ἐστι μὲν ἐν λίμνῃ βαθείᾳ καὶ πλατείᾳ κείμενη παρὰ τὸ ἐν Βούτων ἱρὸν, λέγεται δὲ ὑπ’ Αἰγυπτίων εἶναι αὐτὴ ἡ νῆσος πλωτή. αὐτὸς μὲν ἔγωγε οὔτε πλέουσαν οὔτε κινηθεῖσαν εἴδον, τέθηπα δὲ ἄκουόν εἰ νῆσος ἀληθέως ἐστὶ πλωτή. ἐν δὲ ὑπ’ αὐτὴν ταύτην νῆσον τε Ἀπόλλωνος μέγας ἐνὶ καὶ βομβίων τριφάσιον ἐνιδρύται, ἐμπεφύκασι δ’ ἐν αὐτῇ φοίνικες συχνοὶ καὶ ἄλλα δένδρα καὶ καρποφόρα καὶ ἄφορα πολλά. λόγον δὲ τὸν ἐπιλέγοντες οἱ Αἰγυπτίοι φασὶ εἶναι αὐτὴν πλωτήν, ὡς ἐν τῇ νῆσῳ ταύτῃ οὐκ ἐούσῃ πρότερον πλωτήν Λητῶ, εούσα τῶν ὁκτὼ θεῶν τῶν πρώτων γενομένων, οἰκέουσα δὲ ἐν Βούτων πόλι, ἵνα δὴ οἱ τὸ χρηστηρίου τούτο ἐστὶ, Ἀπόλλωνα παρ’ ἰσίος παρακαταθήκην δεξαμενῆ διέσωσε κατακρύψασα ἐν τῇ νῦν πλωτῇ λεγομένῃ νῆσῳ, ὅτε τὸ πῶν διζήμενον ὁ Τυφών ἐπῆλθε, θέλων ἐξευρεῖν τοῦ Ὀσίριος τὸν παῖδα. Ἀπόλλωνα δὲ καὶ Ἀρτεμίν Διονύσου καὶ Ἰσίος λέγονσι εἶναι παῖδας, Λητῶν δὲ τροφῶν αὐτοῦσι καὶ σώτεραν γενέσθαι. Αἰγυπτιστὶ δὲ Ἀπόλλων μὲν Ὄρος, Δημήτηρ δὲ Ἰσίς, Ἀρτεμίς δὲ Βούβαστις. ἐκ τούτου δὲ τού λόγου καὶ οὐδενὸς ἄλλου Αἰσχύλος ὁ Εὐφορίων ἦρπασε τὸ ἐγὼ φράσον, μοῦνος δὴ ποιητῶν τῶν προγενομένων ἐποίησε γὰρ Ἀρτεμίν εἶναι θυγατέρα Δήμητρος. τὴν δὲ νῆσον διὰ τοῦτο γενέσθαι πλωτὴν. ταύτα μὲν οὔτω λέγουσι.

157. Ψαμμήτιχος δὲ ἐβασίλευσε Αἰγυπτοῦ τέσσερα καὶ πεντήκοντα ἑτεα, τῶν τὰ ἑώς δέοντα

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156. Thus then the shrine is the most marvellous of all things that I saw in this temple; but of things of lesser note, the most wondrous is the island called Chemmis. This lies in a deep and wide lake near to the temple at Buto, and the Egyptians say that it floats. For myself I never saw it float, nor move at all, and I thought it a marvellous tale, that an island should truly float. However that be, there is a great shrine of Apollo thereon, and three altars stand there; many palm trees grow in the island, and other trees too, some yielding fruit and some not. The story told by the Egyptians to show why the island moves is this: when Typhon came seeking through the world for the son of Osiris, Leto, being one of the eight earliest gods, and dwelling in Buto where this oracle of hers is, received Apollo in charge from Isis and hid him for safety in this island which was before immovable but is now said to float. Apollo and Artemis were (they say) children of Dionysus and Isis, and Leto was made their nurse and preserver; in Egyptian, Apollo is Horus, Demeter Isis, Artemis Bubastis. It was from this and no other legend that Aeschylus son of Euphorion stole an imagination, which is in no other poet, that Artemis was the daughter of Demeter. For the aforesaid reason (say the Egyptians) the island was made to float. Such is the tale.

157. Psammetichus ruled Egypt for fifty-four years; for twenty-nine of these he sat before Azotus,
τριήκοντα "Αξωτον τῆς Συρίης μεγάλην πόλιν προσκατήμενος ἐπολιώρκεε, ἐς ὦ ἐξεῖλε. αὐτῇ δὲ ἡ "Ἀξωτος ἀπασέων πολίων ἐπὶ πλείστον χρόνον πολιορκεομένη ἀντέσχε τῶν ἥμεις ἱδείν.

158. Ψαμμητίχου δὲ Νεκὼς παῖς ἐγένετο καὶ ἐβασίλευσε Αιγυπτίων, ὅ τι διώρυχι ἐπεχείρησε πρῶτος τῇ ἐς τὴν Ἔρυθρην θάλασσαν φεροῦσα, τὴν Δαρείος ὁ Πέρσης δεύτερα διώρυξε· τῆς μῆκος ἐστὶ πλὸς ἥμεραι τέσσερες, εὔφος δὲ ὥρυχθη ὡστε τριήρες δύο πλέειν ὁμορ ἐλαστρευμένας. ἢκται δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ Νέιλου τὸ ύδωρ ἐς αὐτήν· ἢκται δὲ κατύπερθε ὀλύγων Βουβάστιος πόλιος παρὰ Πάτουμον τὴν 'Αραβίην πόλιν, ἐσέχει δὲ ἐς τὴν Ἔρυθρην θάλασσαν. ὁρώρυκται δὲ πρῶτον μὲν τοῦ πεδίου τοῦ Αιγυπτίων τὰ πρὸς 'Αραβίην ἔχοντα· ἔχεται δὲ κατύπερθε τοῦ πεδίου τὸ κατὰ Μέμφιν τείνον ὁρος, ἐν τῷ αἰ λιθοτομία ἐνείσι τοῦ ὄντος τοῦτον παρὰ τὴν ὑπωρέην ἢκται ἡ διώρυξ αὖ ἐσπέρης μακρὴ πρὸς τὴν ἥω, καὶ ἐπειτα τείνει ἐς διασφάγας, φέρουσα ἀπὸ τοῦ ὁρος πρὸς μεσαμβρίην τε καὶ νότον ἕκεμον ἐς τὸν κόλπον τὸν 'Αράβιον. τῇ δὲ ἐλαχίστον ἐστὶ καὶ συντομώτατον ἐκ τῆς βορηίης θαλάσσης ὑπερβήναι ἐς τὴν νοτίην καὶ Ἔρυθρην τὴν αὐτῆν ταῦτην καλεομένην, ἀπὸ τοῦ Κασίου ὅρεος τοῦ οὐρίζουτος Αιγυπτίων τε καὶ Συρίην, ἀπὸ τοῦτο εἰςι στάδιον ἀπαρτὶ χίλιοι ἐς τὸν 'Αράβιον κόλπον, τοῦτο μὲν τὸ συντομώτατον, ὡ δὲ διώρυξ πολλῷ μακροτέρῃ, ὡσὶ σκολιωτέρῃ ἔστι· τὴν ἐπὶ Νεκὼ βασιλέως ὄρυσσοντες Αιγυπτίων ἀπώλοντο δυσδεκα μυριάδες. Νεκὼς μὲν νυν μεταξὺ ὄρυσσον ἐπαύσατο μαυτὴν ἐμποδίου γενομένου τοιοῦτο, 470
a great city in Syria, and besieged it till he took it. Azotus held out against a siege longer than any city of which I have heard.

158. Psammetichus had a son Necos, who became king of Egypt. It was he who began the making of the canal into the Red Sea, which was finished by Darius the Persian. This is four days' voyage in length, and it was dug wide enough for two triremes to move in it rowed abreast. It is fed by the Nile, and is carried from a little above Bubastis by the Arabian town of Patumus; it issues into the Red Sea. The beginning of the digging was in the part of the Egyptian plain which is nearest to Arabia; the mountains that extend to Memphis (in which mountains are the stone quarries) come close to this plain; the canal is led along the lower slope of these mountains in a long reach from west to east; passing then into a ravine it bears southward out of the hill country towards the Arabian Gulf. Now the shortest and most direct passage from the northern to the southern or Red Sea is from the Casian promontory, which is the boundary between Egypt and Syria, to the Arabian Gulf, and this is a distance of one thousand furlongs, neither more nor less; this is the most direct way, but the canal is by much longer, inasmuch as it is more crooked. In Necos' reign a hundred and twenty thousand Egyptians perished in the digging of it. During the course of excavations, Necos ceased from the work, being stayed by a prophetic

1 This canal ran from near Tel Basta (Bubastis) apparently to Suez. Inscriptions recording Darius' construction of it have been found in the neighbourhood.
τῷ βαρβάρῳ αὐτὸν προεργάζεσθαι. βαρβάρους δὲ πάντας οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι καλέουσι τοὺς μὴ σφίσι ὀμογλώσσους.

159. Παυσάμενος δὲ τῇς διώρυξος ὁ Νεκὼς ἐτράπτετο πρὸς στρατηγίας, καὶ τρίηρες αὐτὶ μὲν ἐπὶ τῇ βορνηῇ θαλάσσῃ ἐποίηθησαν, ἀεὶ δὲ ἐν τῷ Ἀραβὶ κόλπῳ ἐπὶ τῇ Ἐρυθρῇ θαλάσσῃ, τῶν ἔτι οἰ ὀλκοὶ ἐπίδηλοι. καὶ ταύτης τε ἐξήρατο ἐν τῷ δέοντι καὶ Σύρουσι πεζῷ ὁ Νεκὼς συμβαλὼν ἐν Μαγδώλῳ ἐνίκησε, μετὰ δὲ τὴν μάχην Κάδυτων πόλιν τῆς Συρίας ἐόυσαν μεγάλην εἶλε. ἐν τῇ δὲ ἐσθήτῃ ἔτυχε ταῦτα κατεργασάμενος, ἀνέθηκε τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι πέμψας ἐς Βραγχίδας τὰς Μιλησίων. μετὰ δὲ, ἐκκαίδεκα ἔστε τὰ πάντα ἁρξας, τελευτᾷ, τῷ παιδὶ Ψάμμη παραδούς τὴν ἀρχήν.

160. Ἐπὶ τούτων δὴ τῶν Ψάμμων βασιλεύοντα Αἰγύπτου ἀπίκοντο Ἡλείων ἀγγελοί, αὐχέοντες δικαίοτατα καὶ κάλλιστα τιθέναι τὸν ἐν Ὀλυμπίῃ ἁγώνα πάντων ἀνθρώπων, καὶ δικέοντες παρὰ ταῦτα οὐδὲν ἄν τοὺς σοφωτάτους ἄνθρωπον Αἰγύπτιοι οὐδὲν ἔπεξευρεῖν· ὡς δὲ ἀπικόμενοι ἐς τὴν Αἰγύπτου οἱ Ἡλείοι ἔλεγον τῶν εἰνεκα ἀπίκοντο, ἐνθαῦτα ὁ βασιλεὺς οὗτος συγκαλεῖται Αἰγυπτίων τοὺς λεγομένους εἶναι σοφωτάτους. συνέλθοντες δὲ οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι ἐπυνθάνοντο τῶν Ἡλείων λεγόντων ἀπαντα τὰ κατήκει σφέας ποιείν περὶ τῶν ἁγώνα· ἀπηγηγάμενοι δὲ τὰ πάντα ἐφασαν ἥκειν ἐπιμαθησόμενοι εἰ τῷ ἔχοιν Αἰγυπτίοι τούτων δικαιότερον ἐπεξευρεῖν. οὐ δὲ βουλευσάμενοι ἐπειρώτων τοὺς Ἡλείους εἰ σφι οἱ πολιται ἐναγωνίζονται. οὐ δὲ ἐφασαν καὶ σφέων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων ὀμοίως τῷ βουλομένῳ ἐξείναι.
utterance that he was toiling beforehand for the barbarian. The Egyptians call all men of other languages barbarians.

159. Necos then ceased from making the canal and engaged rather in warlike preparation; some of his ships of war were built on the northern sea, and some in the Arabian Gulf, by the Red Sea coast: the landing-engines of these are still to be seen. He used these ships at need, and with his land army met and defeated the Syrians at Magdolus,\(^1\) taking the great Syrian city of Cadytis\(^2\) after the battle. He sent to Branchidae of Miletus and dedicated there to Apollo the garments in which he won these victories. Presently he died after a reign of sixteen years, and his son Psammis reigned in his stead.

160. While this Psammis was king of Egypt he was visited by ambassadors from Elis, the Eleans boasting that they had ordered the Olympic games with all the justice and fairness in the world, and claiming that even the Egyptians, albeit the wisest of all men, could not better it. When the Eleans came to Egypt and told the purpose of their coming, Psammis summoned an assembly of those who were said to be the wisest men in Egypt. These assembled, and inquired of the Eleans, who told them of the rules of the games which they must obey, and, having declared these, said they had come that if the Egyptians could invent any juster way they might learn this too. The Egyptians consulted together, and then asked the Eleans if their own townsmen took part in the contests. The Eleans answered that this was so: all Greeks from Elis or elsewhere

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1 Magdolus appears to be the Migdol of O.T.  
2 Gaza.
'Αγωνίζομαί τε. οί δὲ Αιγύπτιοι ἔφασαν σφέας οὕτω τιθέντας παντὸς τοῦ δικαίου ἡμαρτηκέναι. οὐδεμίαν γὰρ εἶναι μηχανὴν ὑκὼς οὐ τῷ ἀστῷ ἁγωνιζόμενῳ προσθήσονται, ἀδικεόμενες τὸν ξείνον. ἀλλ' εἰ δὴ βούλονται δικαίως τιθέναι καὶ τούτου εἶνεκα ἀπικοίλατο ἐς Αἰγύπτου, ξείνοιοι ἁγωνιστὴσι ἐκέλευον τὸν ἁγώμα τιθέναι, 'Ηλείων δὲ μηδενὶ εἶναι ἁγωνίζομαί τε. ταῦτα μὲν Αιγύπτιοι Ἡλείωις ὑπεθήκαντο.

161. Ψάμμιος δὲ ἐξ ἑτεὰ μοῦνον βασιλεύσαντος Αἰγύπτου καὶ στρατευσαμένου ἐς Αἰθιοπίαν καὶ μεταντικά τελευτήσαντος ἐξεδέξατο Ἀπρίης ὁ Ψάμμιος· δὸς μετὰ Ψαμμῆτιχον τὸν ἑωτοῦ προπάτορα ἐγένετο εὐδαίμονεστατος τῶν πρότερον βασιλέων, ἐπ' ἑτεὰ πέντε καὶ εἰκοσὶ ἄρξας, ἐν τοῖς ἑπὶ τε Σιδῶνα στρατὸν ἠλάσε καὶ ἐναυμάχησε τῷ Τυρίῳ. ἐπεὶ δὲ οἱ ἠδεὶ κακῶς γενόμασθαί, ἐγίνετο ἀπὸ προφάσιος τὴν ἐγώ μεξόνως μὲν ἐν τοῖς Λιβυκοῖς λόγοις ἀπηγήσεμαι, μετρίως δ' ἐν τῷ παρεώτι. ἀποπέμψας γὰρ στράτευμα ὁ Ἀπρίης ἐπὶ Κυρηναίος μεγαλωσάν τροσέπταισε, Αἰγύπτιοι δὲ ταῦτα ἐπιμεμφόμενοι ἀπέστησαν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ, δοκεόμενες τὸν Ἀπρίῃν ἥκ προνοίης αὐτοῦς ἀποπέμψας ἐς φαινόμενον κακόν, ἓν δὴ σφέων φθορῆ γενηται, αὐτὸς δὲ τῶν λοιπῶν Αἰγυπτίων ἁσφαλέστερον ἄρχοι. ταῦτα δὲ δεινὰ ποιεύμενοι οὕτωι τε οἱ ἀπονοστήσαντες καὶ οἱ τῶν ἀπολομένων φίλου ἀπέστησαν ἐκ τῆς ἱδέης.

162. Πυθόμενος δὲ Ἀπρίης ταῦτα πέμπτε ἐπ' αὐτοὺς 'Αμασίων καταπαύσομαί λόγοια. δ' ἐπεὶ ἀπικόμενος κατελάμβανε τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους

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might contend. Then the Egyptians said that this rule was wholly wide of justice: "For," said they, "it cannot be but that you will favour your own townsmen in the contest and deal unfairly by a stranger. Nay, if you will indeed make just rules and have therefore come to Egypt, you should admit only strangers to the contest, and not Eleans." Such was the counsel of the Egyptians to the Eleans.

161. Psammis reigned over Egypt for six years only; he invaded Ethiopia, and immediately thereafter died, and Apries¹ his son reigned in his stead. He was more fortunate than any former king (save only his great-grandfather Psammetichus) during his rule of twenty-five years, in which he sent an army against Sidon and did battle by sea with the king of Tyre. But when it was fated that ill should befall him, the cause of it was one that I will now deal with briefly, and at greater length in the Libyan part of this history. Apries sent a great host against Cyrene and suffered a great defeat. The Egyptians blamed him for this and rebelled against him; for they thought that Apries had knowingly sent his men to their doom, that by their so perishing he might be the safer in his rule over the rest of the Egyptians. Bitterly angered by this, those who returned home and the friends of the slain openly revolted.

162. Hearing of this, Apries sent Amasis to them to persuade them from their purpose. When Amasis came up with the Egyptians he exhorted them to

¹ Apries is the Hophra of O.T.; he reigned from 589 to 570 B.C., apparently. But the statement that he attacked Tyre and Sidon is inconsistent with Jewish history (Jerem. xxvii., Ezek. xvii.).
ταύτα μὴ ποιέειν, λέγοντος αὐτοῦ τῶν τις Ἀλ-
γυπτίων ὅπως στὰς περιέθηκε οἱ κυνέην, καὶ
περιτιθεῖς ἐφὴ ἐπὶ βασιληὴ περιτιθέναι. καὶ τῷ
οὐ κως ἀεικούσιον ἐγίνετο τὸ ποιεύμενον, ὡς διε-
δείκνυε. ἐπείτη γὰρ ἐστήσαντό μιν βασιλέα τῶν
Αλγυπτίων οἱ ἀπεστεῶτες, παρεσκευάζετο ὡς ἔλον
ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀπρίην. πυθόμενος δὲ ταῦτα ὁ Ἀπρίης
ἐπεμπε ἐπ' Ἀμασιν ἄνδρα δόκιμον τῶν περὶ
ἐωυτῶν Ἀλγυπτίων, τῷ οὕνωμα ἣν Πατάρβημι,
ἐντειλάμενοι αὐτῷ ξόντα Ἀμασιν ἀγαγεῖν παρ' ἐωυτῶν.
ὡς δὲ ἀπικόμενοι τὸν Ἀμασιν ἐκάλεε οἱ
Πατάρβημις, ὁ Ἀμασις, ἔτυχε γὰρ ἐπ' ὕππου
κατήμενος, ἐπαείρας ἀπεματάισε, καὶ τοῦτο μιν
ἐκέλευε Ἀπρίη ἀπάγειν. ὀμος δὲ αὐτὸν ἄζιοῦν
τὸν Πατάρβημιν βασιλέας μεταπεμπτομένου ἴδεῖ
πρὸς αὐτὸν τὸν δὲ αὐτῷ ὑποκρίνεσθαι ὡς ταύτα
πάλαι παρεσκευάζετο ποιεύειν, καὶ αὐτῷ οὐ μέμ-
ψεσθαι Ἀπρίη παρέσεσθαι γὰρ καὶ αὐτὸς καὶ
ἀλλος ἄζειν. τὸν δὲ Πατάρβημιν ἐκ τε τῶν
λεγομένων οὐκ ἀγνοεῖν τὴν διάνοιαν, καὶ παρα-
σκευαζόμενον ὅρθων σπουδὴ ἀπέλει, βουλόμενον
τὴν τάχιστην βασιλεῖ δηλῶσαι τὰ πρησσόμενα.
ὡς δὲ ἀπικέσθαι αὐτὸν πρὸς τὸν Ἀπρίην οὐκ
ἀγοντα τὸν Ἀμασιν, οὔδενα λόγον αὐτῷ δόντα
ἀλλὰ περιθύμως ἔχοντα περιταμεῖν προστάξαι
αὐτὸν τὰ τε ὅτα καὶ τὴν ρίνα. άδόμενοι δ' οἱ
λοιποὶ τῶν Ἀλγυπτίων, οἱ ἢτ τὰ ἐκεῖνον ἐφρόνουν,
ἀνδρα τὸν δοκιμώτατον ἐωυτῶν οὕτω αἰσχρῶς
λύμη διακείμενον, οὔδενα δὴ χρόνου ἐπισχύντες
ἀπιστέατο πρὸς τοὺς ἑτέρους καὶ ἐδίδοσαν σφέας
αὐτοὺς Ἀμάσι.

163. Πυθόμενος δὲ καὶ ταύτα ὁ Ἀπρίης ὤπλιξε
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desist from what they did; but while he spoke an Egyptian came behind him and put a helmet on his head, saying it was the token of royalty. And Amasis showed that this was not displeasing to him, for being made king by the rebel Egyptians he prepared to march against Apries. When Apries heard of it, he sent against Amasis an esteemed Egyptian named Patarbemis, one of his own court, charging him to take the rebel alive and bring him into his presence. Patarbemis came, and summoned Amasis, who lifted his leg with an unseemly gesture (being then on horseback) and bade the messenger take that token back to Apries. But when Patarbemis was nevertheless instant that Amasis should obey the king’s summons and go to him—such is the story—Amasis answered that he had long been making ready to do this, and Apries should be well satisfied with him: “For I will come myself,” quoth he, “and bring others with me.” Hearing this, Patarbemis could not mistake Amasis’ purpose; he saw his preparations and made haste to depart, that he might with all speed make known to the king what was afoot. When Apries saw him return without Amasis he gave him no chance to speak, but in his rage and fury bade cut off Patarbemis’ ears and nose. The rest of the Egyptians, who still favoured his cause, seeing the foul despite thus done to the man who was most esteemed among them, changed sides without more ado and delivered themselves over to Amasis.

163. This news too being brought to Apries, he
τοὺς ἐπικούρους καὶ ἤλαυνε ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἀιγυπτίους·
eἰχε δὲ περὶ ἑωυτοῦ Καράς τε καὶ Ἰωνας ἀνδρας
ἐπικούρους τρισμυρίους· ἦν δὲ οἱ τὰ βασιλήηα ἐν
Σαί πόλι, μεγάλα ἑόντα καὶ ἄξιοθέντα. καὶ οἱ τε
περὶ τὸν Ἀπρίην ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἀιγυπτίους ἦσαν καὶ
οἱ περὶ τὸν ᾿Αμασιν ἐπὶ τοὺς ξείνους· ἐν τε δὴ
Μωμέμφι πόλι ἐγένοντο ἀμφότεροι καὶ πειρή-
σεσθαι ἐμελλον ἀλλήλων.

164. Ἔστι δὲ Ἀιγυπτίων ἐπτὰ γένεα, καὶ
tούτων οἱ μὲν ίρεῖς οἱ δὲ μάχιμοι κεκλέαται, οἱ
de βούκολοι οἱ δὲ συβῶται, οἱ δὲ κάπηλοι, οἱ δὲ
ἐρμύνες, οἱ δὲ κυβερνήται. γένεα μὲν Ἀιγυ-
pτίων τοσαῦτα ἐστί, οὐνόματα δὲ σφι κέεται ἀπὸ
tῶν τεχνών. οἱ δὲ μάχιμοι αὐτῶν καλέονται μὲν
Καλασιριές τε καὶ Ἐρμοτύβιες, ἐκ νομῶν δὲ
tῶν ἐστὶ· κατὰ γὰρ δὴ νομὸς Ἀιγυπτος ἀπασα
dιαράφται.

165. Ἐρμοτύβιων μὲν οἴδε εἰσὶ νομοί, Βουσι-
ριτῆς, Σαίτης, Χεμμίτης, Παπρημίτης, νῆσος ἡ
Προσωπίτεις καλεομένη, Ναθὼ τὸ ᾿Ημισ. ἐκ μὲν
τούτων τῶν νομῶν Ἐρμοτύβιες εἰσί, γενόμενοι,
οτε ἐπὶ πλείστους ἐγένοντο, ἐκκαίδεκα μυριάδες.
καὶ τούτων βαναυσίης οὐδεὶς δεδάχηκε οὐδέν, ἀλλ’
ἀνέονται ἐς τὸ μάχιμον.

166. Καλασιριῶν δὲ οἴδε ἄλλοι νομοὶ εἰσι, Ὁη-
βαῖος, Βουβαστίτης, ᾿Αφβίτης, Ταυίτης, Μευ-
dήσιος, Σεβενύτης, ᾿Αθρυβίτης, Φαρβαίδιτης,
Θομούτης, ᾿Ουνυφίτης, ᾿Αὐτίως, Μικεφορίτης·
οὗτος ὁ νομὸς ἐν νῆσῳ οἰκέει ἀντίον Βουβάστιος
πόλιος, οὗτοι δὲ οἱ νομοὶ Καλασιρίων εἰσι, γε-
νόμενοι, ὅτε ἐπὶ πλείστους ἐγένοντο, πέντε καὶ
eἴκοσι μυριάδες ἀνδρῶν. οὐδὲ τούτοις ἐξεστὶ
armed his guard and marched against the Egyptians; he had a bodyguard of Carians and Ionians, thirty thousand of them, and his royal dwelling was in the city of Sais, a great and marvellous palace. Apries' men marched against the Egyptians, and so did Amasis' men against the strangers; so they came both to Momemphis, where it was their purpose to prove each other's quality.

164. The Egyptians are divided into seven classes, severally entitled priests, warriors, cowherds, swineherds, hucksters, interpreters, and pilots. So many classes there are, each named after its vocation. The warriors are divided into Kalasiries and Hermotubies, and they belong to the following provinces (for all divisions in Egypt are made according to provinces).

165. The Hermotubies are of the provinces of Busiris, Sais, Chemmis, and Papremis, the island called Prosopitis, and half of Natho—all of these; their number, at its greatest, attained to a hundred and sixty thousand. None of these has learnt any common trade; they are free to follow arms alone.

166. The Kalasiries for their part are of the provinces of Thebes, Bubastis, Aphthis, Tanis, Mendes, Sebennys, Athribis, Pharbaithis, Thmuis, Onuphis, Anytis, Myecphoris (this last is in an island over against the city of Bubastis)—all these; their number, at its greatest, attained to two hundred and fifty thousand men. These too may practise
167. Εἰ μὲν νῦν καὶ τοῦτο παρ’ Ἀιγυπτίων μεμαθήκασι οἱ "Ελληνες, οὐκ ἔχω ἀτρεκέως κρίναι, ὅρεων καὶ Ὀρήκας καὶ Σκύθας καὶ Πέρσας καὶ Λυδοὺς καὶ σχεδὸν πάντας τοὺς βαρβάρους ἀποτιμοτέρους τῶν ἀλλῶν ἡγημένους πολιτείων τοὺς τὰς τέχνες μαυθάνοντας καὶ τοὺς ἐκγόνους τούτων, τοὺς δὲ ἀπαλλαγμένους τῶν χειρωναξίων γενναιούς νομιζομένους εἶναι, καὶ μάλιστα τοὺς ἐς τὸν πόλεμον ἀνεμένους· μεμαθήκασι δ’ ὅν τοῦτο πάντες οἱ "Ελληνες καὶ μάλιστα Λακεδαιμόνιοι. ἤκιστα δὲ Κορίνθιοι ὄνονται τοὺς χειροτέχνας.

168. Γέρεα δὲ σφι ὅν τάδε ἔξαραριμένα μοῦνοισι Ἀιγυπτίων πάρεξ τῶν ἱρέων, ἀρουραί ἔξαίρετοι δυόδεκα ἐκάστῳ ἄτελεῖς. ἢ δὲ ἀρουρα ἐκατὸν πηχέων ἔστὶ Ἀιγυπτίων πάντη, ὅ δὲ Ἀιγύπτιος πῆχυς τυγχάνει ἴσος ἐὼν τῷ Σαμίῳ. ταῦτα μὲν δὴ τοῦσι ἰάπασι ἢν ἔξαραριμένα, τάδε δὲ ἐν περιτροπῇ ἐκαρποῦντο καὶ οὐδαμὰ ὡντοί. Καλασιρίων χίλιοι καὶ Ἐρμοτυβίων ἐδορυφόρεον ἐναυτῶν ἐκαστοὶ τῶν βασιλεά· τούτοις ὅν τάδε πάρεξ τῶν ἀρουρέων ἄλλα ἐδίδοτο ἐπ’ ἡμέρῃ ἐκάστῃ, ὅπτοι σῖτου σταθμὸς πέντε μνέαι ἐκάστῳ, κρεών βοεών δύο μνέαι, οἶνου τέσσερες ἀρυστῆρες. ταῦτα τοῦσι αἰεὶ δορυφορέουσι ἐδίδοτο.

169. Ἐπείτε δὲ συνιότες ὁ τε Ἀπρίλης ἄγων τοὺς ἐπικούρους καὶ ὁ Ἀμασίς πάντας Ἀιγυπτίους ἀπίκοντο ἐς Μώμεμφιν πόλιν, συνεβαίλον καὶ ἐμαχέσαντο μὲν εὐ οἱ ξεῖνοι, πλῆθει δὲ πολλῷ ἐλάσσονες ἐόντες κατὰ τοῦτο ἐσσώθησαν. Ὁ Ἀπρίεω δὲ
no trade but only war, which is their hereditary calling.

167. Now whether this separation, like other customs, has come to Greece from Egypt, I cannot exactly judge. I know that in Thrace and Scythia and Persia and Lydia and nearly all foreign countries those who learn trades and their descendants are held in less esteem than the rest of the people, and those who have nothing to do with artisans’ work, especially men who are free to practise the art of war, are highly honoured. Thus much is certain, that this opinion, which is held by all Greeks and chiefly by the Lacedaemonians, is of foreign origin. It is in Corinth that artisans are held in least contempt.

168. The warriors were the only Egyptians, except the priests, who had special privileges: for each of them there was set apart an untaxed plot of twelve acres. This acre is a square of a hundred Egyptian cubits each way, the Egyptian cubit being equal to the Samian. These lands were set apart for all; it was never the same men who cultivated them, but each in turn.¹ A thousand Kalasiries and as many Hermotubies were the king’s annual bodyguard. These men, besides their lands, received each a daily provision of five minae’s weight of roast grain, two minae of beef, and four cups of wine. These were the gifts received by each bodyguard.

169. When Apries with his guards and Amasis with the whole force of Egyptians came to the town of Momemphis, they joined battle; and though the foreigners fought well, they were by much the fewer, and therefore were worsted. Apries, they say,

¹ That is, each twelve-acre plot was cultivated by a new occupier every year.
λέγεται εἶναι ἢδε διάνοια, μηδ' ἂν θεόν μιν μηδένα
dύνασθαι παύσαι τῆς βασιλείας: οὔτω ἀσφαλέως
ἐωτῷ ἱδρύσθαι ἐδόκεε. καὶ δὴ τότε συμβαλῶν
ἐσσωθῇ καὶ ζωγρηθεὶς ἀπ'ήχθῃ ἐς Σάιν πόλιν, ἐς
τὰ ἐωτου ὁικία πρότερον ἐὼντα, τότε δὲ Ἄμασιος
ηδῆ βασιλῆσ. ἐνθαῦτα δὲ τέως μὲν ἐπέφεστο ἐν
tοῖς βασιλείοις, καὶ μιν Ἄμασις εὑ περειπε
tέλος δὲ μεμφομένων Λεγιπτίων ὡς οὐ ποιεῖι
dίκαια τρέφων τόν σφίσι τε καὶ ἐωτῷ ἔχοιστον,
οὔτω δὴ παραδοῦ τῶν Ἄπρημο τοῖς Λεγιπτίοιςι.
οὗ δὲ μιν ἀπέπνευαν καὶ ἐπείτα ἔθαψαν ἐν τῇ
πατρωίη ταφῆς αἱ δὲ εἰς ἐν τῷ ἱρῷ τῆς Ἀθη
ναίης, ἀγχοτάτῳ τοῦ μεγάρου, ἐσιοῦτε ἀριστερῆς
χειρός. ἔθαψαν δὲ Σαίται πάντας τοὺς ἐκ νομοῦ
tοῦτον γενομένους βασιλεάς ἔσω ἐν τῷ ἱρῷ.
καὶ γὰρ τὸ τοῦ Ἄμασιος σήμα ἐκαστέρῳ μὲν ἐστὶ τοῦ
μεγάρου ἡ τοῦ Ἄπρεω καὶ τῶν τεῦτων προ
πατόρων, ἐστὶ μεντοι καὶ τούτω ἐν τῇ ἀνή τοῦ
ἱροῦ, παστάς λιθίη μεγάλη καὶ ἠσκημένη στύ
λωσι τε φοίνικας τὰ δένδρα μεμιμεύονται καὶ
τῇ ἀλλῇ δαπάνῃ ἔσω δὲ ἐν τῇ παστάδι διξά
θυρώματα ἐστηκε, ἐν δὲ τούσι θυρώμασι ἡ θήκη
ἐστὶ.

170. Εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ αἳ ταφαὶ τοῦ οὐκ ὅσιον
ποιεῦμαι ἐπὶ τοιοῦτῳ πρήγματε ἐξαγορεύειν τὸ
οὐνομα ἐν Σάι, ἐν τῷ ἱρῷ τῆς Ἀθηναίης, ὅπισθε
tοῦ νηοῦ, παντὸς τοῦ τῆς Ἀθηναίης ἑχομενα
τοῖχου. καὶ ἐν τῷ τεμένει ὀβελοὶ ἐστάσι μεγάλοι
λίθιοι, λίμνη τε ἐστὶ ἑχομένη λιθίη κρηπίδι
cεκοσμημένη καὶ ἔργασμένη εὗ κύκλῳ καὶ
μέγαθος, ὡς ἐμοὶ ἐδύκεε, ὅσῃ περ ἢ ἐν Δηλω ἡ
τροχοεἰδῆς καλεομένη.
supposed that not even a god could depose him from
his throne; so firmly he thought he was established;
and now being worsted in battle and taken captive
he was brought to Sais, to the royal dwelling which
belonged once to him but now to Amasis. There
he was sustained for a while in the palace, and well
entreated by Amasis. But presently the Egyptians
complained that there was no justice in allowing one
who was their own and their king's bitterest enemy
to live; whereupon Amasis gave Apries up to them,
and they strangled him and then buried him in the
burial-place of his fathers. This is in the temple of
Athene, very near to the sanctuary, on the left of the
entrance. The people of Sais buried within the
temple precinct all kings who were natives of their
province. The tomb of Amasis is farther from the
sanctuary than the tomb of Apries and his ancestors;
yet it also is within the temple court; it is a great
colonnade of stone, richly adorned, the pillars whereof
are wrought in the form of palm trees. In this
colonnade are two portals, and the place where the
coffin lies is within their doors.

170. There is also at Sais the burial-place of him
whose name I deem it forbidden to utter in speaking
of such a matter; it is in the temple of Athene,
behind and close to the whole length of the wall of
the shrine. Moreover great stone obelisks stand in
the precinct; and there is a lake hard by, adorned
with a stone margin and wrought to a complete
circle; it is, as it seemed to me, of the bigness of the
lake at Delos which they call the Round Pond.
171. Ἐν δὲ τῇ λίμνῃ ταύτῃ τὰ δείκηλα τῶν παθέων αὐτοῦ νυκτὸς ποιεῦσι, τὰ καλέουσι μυστήρια Αἰγύπτιοι. περὶ μὲν νυν τούτων εἰδότι μοι ἐπὶ πλέον ὡς ἔκαστα αὐτῶν ἐξει, εὐστομα κείσθω, καὶ τῆς Δήμητρος τελετῆς περὶ, τὴν οἵ Ἔλληνες θεσμοφορία καλέουσι, καὶ ταύτης μοι πέρι εὐστομα κείσθω, πλὴν ὅσον αὐτῆς ὅσιῃ ἔστι λέγειν: αἱ Δαναοὶ θυγατέρες ἦσαν αἱ τὴν τελετὴν ταύτην ἐξ Ἀιγύπτου ἐξαγαγοῦσαι καὶ διδάξασαι τὰς Πελασγιώτιδας γυναῖκας: μετὰ δὲ ἔξαναστάσης πάσης Ἡ πελατοποννήσιον ὑπὸ Δωρίεων ἐξαπώλετο ἡ τελετή, οἵ δὲ ὑπολειφθέντες Πελατοποννήσιων καὶ οὐκ ἔξαναστάντες Ἀρκάδες διέσωζον αὐτὴν μοῦνοι.

172. Ἀπρίεω δὲ ὅδε καταραίημενον ἐβασίλευσε Ἀμασίς, νομοῦ μὲν Σαίτεω ἔως, ἐκ τῆς δὲ ἦν πόλιος, οὐνομα ὁ ἑστὶ Σιουφ. τὰ μὲν δὴ πρῶτα κατώνυντο τὸν Ἀμασίῳ Αἰγύπτιοι καὶ ἐν οὐδεμιᾷ μοίρῃ μεγάλῃ ἤγον ἀτε δὴ δημότην τὸ πρὶν ἐόντα καὶ οἰκίης οὐκ ἐπιφανέος: μετὰ δὲ σοφή αὐτοῦ ὁ Ἀμασίς, οὐκ ἀγνωσσοῦν προσηγάγετο. ὅτι οἱ ἄλλα τε ἀγαθὰ μυρία, ἐν δὲ καὶ ποδανπιπτὴρ χρύσεος, ἐν τῷ αὐτὸς τε ὁ Ἀμασίς καὶ οἱ δαίτυμοις οἱ πάντες τοὺς πόδας ἐκάστοτε ἐναπενίζοντο τοῦτον καὶ ὃν κόψας ἄγαλμα δαίμονος ἐξ αὐτοῦ ἐποιήσατο, καὶ ἱδρυσε τῆς πόλιος ὅκου ἦν ἐπιτηδεύτατον· οἱ δὲ Αἰγύπτιοι φοιτέοντες πρὸς τῶγαλμα ἐσέβοντο μεγάλως. μαθὼν δὲ ὁ Ἀμασίς τὸ ἐκ τῶν ἀστῶν ποιεύμενον, συγκαλέσας Αἰγύπτιον ἐξέφημε φᾶς ἐκ τοῦ ποδανπιπτῆρος τῶγαλμα γεγο-

1 Stein brackets πάσης, as not consistent with the following words.
171. On this lake they enact by night the story of the god's sufferings, a rite which the Egyptians call the Mysteries. I could speak more exactly of these matters, for I know the truth, but I will hold my peace; nor will I say aught concerning that rite of Demeter which the Greeks call Thesmophoria, saving such part of it as I am not forbidden to mention. It was the daughters of Danaus who brought this rite out of Egypt and taught it to the Pelasgian women; afterwards, when the people of Peloponnesus were driven out by the Dorians, it was lost, except in so far as it was preserved by the Arcadians alone, the Peloponnesian nation that was not driven out but left in its home.

172. Apries being thus deposed, Amasis became king; he was of a town called Siuph in the province of Sais. Now at first he was contemned and held in but little regard by the Egyptians, as having been but a common man and of no high family; but presently he won them to him by being cunning and not arrogant. He had among his countless treasures a golden foot-bath, in which he and all those who feasted with him were ever wont to wash their feet. This he broke in pieces and made thereof a god's image, which he set in the most fitting place in the city; and the Egyptians came ever and anon to this image and held it in great reverence. When Amasis knew what the townsmen did, he called the Egyptians together and told them that the image had been made out of the foot-bath; once (said he)

1 A festival celebrated by Athenian women in autumn.
νέαι, ἐς τὸν πρότερον μὲν τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους ἐνεμέειν
tε καὶ ἐνορρείν καὶ πόδας ἐναπονίζεσθαι, τότε δὲ
μεγάλως σέβεσθαι. ᾦδη δὲν ἐφη λέγων ὀμοίως
αὐτῶς τῷ ποδανυπτῆρι πεπρηγέναι· εἰ γὰρ πρό-
tερον εἶναι δημότης, ἀλλὰ ἐν τῷ παρεόντι εἶναι
αὐτῶν βασιλεύς· καὶ τιμᾶν τε καὶ προμηθέεσθαι
ἐωτοῦ ἐκέλευε.

173. Τοιούτῳ μὲν τρόπῳ προσηγάγετο τοὺς
Αἰγυπτίους ὡστε δικαιοῦν δουλεύειν, ἔχρατο δὲ
καταστάσι κρηγμάτων τοιῷδε· τὸ μὲν ὄρθριον
μέχρι ὅτεν πληθούσης ἀγορῆς προθύμως ἐπρησσε
τὰ προσφέρομεν πρήγματα, τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ τούτον
ἐπινέ τε καὶ κατέσκωπτε τοὺς συμπότας καὶ ἤν
μάταιος τε καὶ παιγνιών. ἀχθεσθέντες δὲ τού-
tοισὶ οἱ φίλοι αὐτοῦ ἐνουθέτεον αὐτῶν τοιάδε
λέγοντες. “Ὤ βασιλεῦ, οὐκ ὄρθως σεωτοῦ προ-
έστηκας, ἐς τὸ ἄγαν φαύλον προάγον σεωτόν.
σὲ γὰρ ἐχρῆν ἐν θρόνῳ σεμνῷ σεμνὸν θωκέουτα δι’
ημέρης πρήσσεων τὰ πρήγματα, καὶ οὕτω Αἰγύ-
πτιοί τ’ ἀν ἡπιστέατο ως ὑπ’ ἄνδρος μεγάλου ἄρχον-
tαι, καὶ ἀμεινὸν σὺ ἄν ἥκουσε· νῦν δὲ ποιεῖς
οὐδαμῶς βασιλικά.” ὁ δ’ ἀμείβετο τοῦσιδε αὐτοὺς.
“Τὰ τόξα οἱ ἐκτημένοι, ἐπεὰν μὲν δέωνται χρᾶσθαι,
ἐντανύσων· εἰ γὰρ δὴ τὸν πάντα χρόνον ἐντε-
tαμένα εὑ, ἐκραγεῖν ἀν, ὡστε ἐς τὸ δέον οὐκ ἅν
ἐχοιεν αὐτοὶσι χρᾶσθαι. οὕτω δὲ καὶ ἀνθρώπου
κατάστασις· εἰ ἐθέλοι κατεσπυδάσθαι αἰεὶ μηδὲ
ἐς παιγνίην τὸ μέρος ἐωτοῦ ἀνιέναι, λάθοι ἃν
ἦτοι μανεῖς ἢ ὅ γε ἀπόπληκτος γενόμενος· τὰ ἐγὼ
ἐπιστάμενοι μέρος ἐκατέρφι νέμω.” ταῦτα μὲν τοὺς
φίλους ἀμείβατο.

174. Δέγγεται δὲ ὁ Ἀμασίς, καὶ ὅτε ἦν ἰδιώτης,
his subjects had washed their feet in it and put it to yet viler uses; now they greatly revered it. “So now” (quoth he to them) “it has fared with me as with the foot-bath; once I was a common man, now I am your king; it is your duty to honour me and hold me in regard.”

173. In this manner he won the Egyptians to consent to be his slaves; and this is how he ordered his affairs: in the morning, till the filling of the market place, he wrought zealously at such business as came before him; the rest of the day he spent in drinking and jesting with his boon companions in idle and sportive mood. But this displeased his friends, who thus admonished him: “O King, you are ill guided so to demean yourself. We would have you sit aloft on a throne of pride all day doing your business; thus would the Egyptians know that they have a great man for their ruler, and you would have the better name among them; but now your behaviour is nowise royal.” “Nay,” Amasis answered them, “men that have bows bend them at need only; were bows kept for ever bent they would break, and so would be of no avail when they were needed. Such too is the nature of men. Were they to be ever at serious work nor permit themselves a fair share of sport they would go mad or silly ere they knew it; I am well aware of that, and give each of the two its turn.” Such was his answer to his friends.

174. It is said that before Amasis was a king he
ΗΡΩДΟΤΟΣ

ὅς φιλοπότης ἦν καὶ φιλοσκόμμων καὶ οὐδαμῶς κατεσπουδασμένος ἄνήρ. ὅκως δὲ μὲν ἐπιλείποι πίνοντά τε καὶ εὐπαθέοντα τὰ ἐπιτήδεα, κλέπτεσκε ἄν περιών· οὐ δ’ ἂν μιν φάμενοι ἔχειν τὰ σφέτερα χρήματα ἀρνεύμενον ἀγέσκοι ἐπὶ μαντήιον, ὅκου ἐκάστοις εἰη. πολλὰ μὲν δὴ καὶ ἡλικεῖτο ὑπὸ τῶν μαντηίων, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ἀπέφευγε. ἔπειτε δὲ καὶ ἐβασίλευσε, ἐποίησε τοιάδε· ὅσιοι μὲν αὐτῶν τῶν θεῶν ἀπέλυσαν μὴ φώρα εἰναι, τούτων μὲν τῶν ἰρῶν οὕτε ἐπεμέλετο οὕτε ἐς ἐπισκεύην ἐδίδον οὐδέν, οὐδὲ φοιτέων ἔθυν ὡς οὐδένος ἐοὐσι ἄξιοισι ψευδά τε μαντήια ἐκτημένοις· ὅσιοι δὲ μὲν κατέδησαν φώρα εἰναι, τούτων δὲ ὡς ἀληθεῶν θεῶν ἑόντων καὶ ἀψευδά μαντήια παρεχομένων τὰ μάλιστα ἐπεμέλετο.

175. Καὶ τούτω μὲν ἐν Σωί τῇ Ἀθηναίᾳ προπύλαιῳ θωμάσια οἷα ἔξεποιῆσε, πολλῶν πάντας υπερβαλόμενος τῷ τε ψεΐ καὶ τῷ μεγάθει, ὅσων τε τὸ μέγαθος λίθων ἐστὶ καὶ ὅκοίων τεῶν· τούτῳ δὲ κολοσσοὺς μεγάλους καὶ ἀνδρόσφιγγας περιμήκεις ἀνέθηκε, λίθους τε ἄλλους ἐς ἐπισκεύην υπερφυέας τὸ μέγαθος ἐκόμισε. ἦγαγετο δὲ τούτων τοὺς μὲν ἐκ τῶν κατὰ Μέμφιν ἐουσέων λιθοτομεῶν, τοὺς δὲ υπερμεγάθεας ἐξ Ἐλεφαντίνης πόλιος πλόον καὶ εἰκοσὶ ἠμερέων ἄρηχούσης ἀπὸ Σάιος. τὸ δὲ οὐκ ἦκιστα αὐτῶν ἀλλὰ μάλιστα θωμάξω, ἐστὶ τόδε· οὐκ ἦμι μουνόλιθον ἐκόμισε ἐξ Ἐλεφαντίνης πόλιος, καὶ τούτῳ ἐκόμισον μὲν ἐπ'
was a man nowise serious-minded but much given to drinking and jesting; and when his drinking and merrymaking brought him to penury, he would wander around and steal from one and another. Then those others, when he denied the charge that he had taken their possessions, would bring him to whatever place of divination was nearest them; and the oracles often declared him guilty and often acquitted him. When he became king, he took no care of the shrines of the gods who had acquitted him of theft, nor gave them aught for maintenance, nor made it his practice to sacrifice there, for he deemed them to be worthless and their oracles to be false; but he tended with all care the gods who had declared his guilt, holding them to be gods in very truth and their oracles infallible.

175. Amasis made a marvellous outer court for the temple of Athene at Saïs, surpassing, in height and grandeur, and in the size and splendour of the stones, all who had erected such buildings; moreover, he set up huge images and vast man-headed sphinxes, and brought enormous blocks of stone besides for the building. Some of these he brought from the stone quarries of Memphis; those of greatest size came from the city Elephantine, distant twenty days' journey by river from Saïs. But let me now tell of what I hold the most marvellous of his works. He brought from Elephantine a shrine made of one single block of stone; three years it

1 Apparently, Nit; also identified with Demeter (132, note).

2 Visitors to Karnak will remember the double row of sphinxes leading to the temple.

3 The island opposite Assuan; the Assuan quarries have always been famous.
βεβερυζόταν. Τις δὲ στέγης ταύτης τὸ μὲν μῆκος ἔξωθεν ἐστὶ εἰς τε καὶ έίκοσί πῆχες, εὕρος δὲ τεσσερεσκαίδεκα, ὕψος δὲ ὀκτῶ. ταῦτα μὲν τὰ μέτρα ἔξωθεν τῆς στέγης τῆς μουνολίθου ἐστὶ, ἀτὰρ ἔσωθεν τὸ μῆκος ὀκτω-καίδεκα πηχέων καὶ πυγόνος . . ., τὸ δὲ ὕψος πέντε πηχέων ἐστὶ. αὐτὴ τοῦ ίροῦ κέεται παρὰ τὴν ἐσοδον· ἔσω γὰρ μιν ἐς τὸ ἱρὸν φασὶ τῶν ἐϊνεκα οὐκ ἐσελκύσαι· τὸν ἀρχιτεκτονα αὐτῆς ἐλκο-μένης τῆς στέγης ἀναστενάξαι, οὐ τε χρόνον ἐγγεγονότος πολλοῦ καὶ ἀχθομενον τῷ ἑργῷ, τὸν δὲ "Αμασιν εὐκλείμιον ποιησάμενον οὐκ ἐάν ἐτὶ προ-σωτέρω ἐλκύσαι. ἡδη δὲ τινὲς λέγουσι ὡς ἀνθρω-πος διεφθαρή ὑπ' αὐτῆς τῶν τις αὐτῆς μοχλευόν-των, καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦτο οὐκ ἐσελκυσθῆναι.

176. Ἀνέθηκε δὲ καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις ἴροις ὁ "Αμασις πάσι τοῖς ἐλλογίμοις ἔργα τὸ μέγαθος ἀξιοθέντα, ἐν δὲ καὶ ἐν Μέμφι τὸν ὑπτιόν κείμενον κολοσσὸν τοῦ 'Ἱμαστέου ἐμπροσθε, τοῦ πόδες πέντε καὶ ἐβδομήκοντα εἰσὶ τὸ μῆκος· ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ αὐτῷ βαθρῷ ἐστάσι τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἐόντος λίθου δύο κολοσσοί, εἰκοσὶ ποδῶν τὸ μέγαθος ἐὼν ἐκάτερος, ὃ μὲν ἔνθεν ὁ δ' ἔνθεν τοῦ μεγαλοῦ. ἐστὶ δὲ λίθινος ἐτερος τοσοῦτος καὶ ἐν Σάι, κείμενος κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸ τρόπον τῷ ἐν Μέμφι. τῇ Ἰσι τε τὸ ἐν Μέμφι ἴρον "Αμασις ἐστὶ ὁ ἐξοικοδομήςας, ἐδών μέγα τε καὶ ἀξιοθετότατον.

177. Ἐπ' Ἀμάσιος δὲ βασιλεός λέγεται Αὔγυ-πτος μάλιστα δὴ τότε εὐδαιμονήσαι καὶ τὰ ἀπὸ τοῦ

1 This lacuna is in one MS. filled by the words τὸ δὲ εὕρος διώδεκα πηχέων.
was in the bringing, and two thousand men were charged with the carriage of it, pilots all of them. This chamber measures in outer length twenty-one cubits, in breadth fourteen, in height eight. These are the outer measurements of the chamber which is made of one block; its inner length is of eighteen cubits and four-fifths of a cubit, and its height of five cubits. It lies by the entrance of the temple; the reason why it was not dragged within into the temple was (so they say), that while it was being drawn the chief builder groaned aloud for the much time spent and his weariness of the work, and Amasis taking this to heart would not suffer it to be drawn further. Some again say that a man, one of them that heaved up the shrine, was crushed by it, and therefore it was not dragged within.

176. Moreover Amasis dedicated, besides monuments of marvellous size in all the other temples of note, the huge image that lies supine before Hephaestus' temple at Memphis; this image is seventy-five feet in length; there stand on the same base, on either side of the great image, two huge statues hewn from the same block, each of them twenty feet high. There is at Saïs another stone figure of like bigness, lying as lies the figure at Memphis. It was Amasis, too, who built the great and most marvellous temple of Isis at Memphis.

177. It is said that in the reign of Amasis Egypt attained to its greatest prosperity, in respect of what
ποταμόν τῇ χώρᾳ γινόμενα καὶ τὰ ἀπὸ τῆς χώρης τοῖς ἀνθρώποις, καὶ πόλεις ἐν αὐτῇ γενέσθαι τὰς ἀπάσας τότε δισμύριας τὰς οἰκεομένας. νόμον τε Ἀιγυπτίους τόνδε Ἄμασις ἔστι ὁ καταστήσας, ἀποδεικνύναι ἔτεοι ἐκάστου τῷ νομάρχῃ πάντα τινὰ Ἀιγυπτίων ὅθεν βιοῦται· μὴ δὲ ποιεῖται ταῦτα μηδὲ ἀποφαίωνται δικαίως τότε ἱθύνεσθαι θανάτῳ. Σόλων δὲ ὁ Ἀθηναῖος λαβὼν ἐξ Ἀιγυπτίων τούτων τῶν νόμων Ἀθηναίοις ἔθετο· τῷ ἔκεινοι ἐς αἰεὶ χρέωνται ἐόντι ἀμόρμοι νόμῳ.

178. Φιλέλλην δὲ γενόμενος ὁ Ἄμασις ἄλλα τε ἐς Ἐλλήνων μετεξετέρους ἀπεδέξατο, καὶ δὴ καὶ τοῖς ἀπικυνεύμονοις ἦς Ἀιγυπτίων ἔδωκε Ναύκρατιν πόλιν ἐνοικήσας· τοῖς δὲ μὴ βουλομένοις αὐτῶν οἰκεῖοι, αὐτοῦ δὲ ναυτιλλομένοις ἔδωκε χώρους ἐνιαρύσασθαι βωμοὺς καὶ τεμένεα θεοῖς. τὸ μὲν νυν μέγιστον αὐτῶν τέμενος, καὶ ὄνομαστότατον ἐδώ καὶ χρησιμωτάτον, καλεύμενον δὲ Ἐλλήνιον, αἴτε αἱ πόλεις εἰσὶ αἱ ἱδρυμέναι κοινῇ, Ἰώνων μὲν Χῖος καὶ Τέως καὶ Φώκαία καὶ Κλαζομενᾶς, Δωριέων δὲ Ῥόδος καὶ Κυίδος καὶ Ἀλικαρνησσοῦς καὶ Φάσηλος, Αἰσιλεων δὲ ἡ Μυτιληναῖον μοῦν. τουτέων μὲν ἐστὶ τοῦτο τὸ τέμενος, καὶ προστάτας τοῦ ἐμπορίου αὐτῶς αἱ πόλεις εἰσὶ αἱ παρέχουσαι· ὅσι αἱ ἄλλαι πόλεις μεταποιεύσεται, οὐδὲν σφὶ μετεδοὺς μεταποιεύεται. χωρίς δὲ Ἀιγύπτιται ἐπὶ ἐωτῶν ἱδρύσαντο τέμενος Δίος, καὶ ἄλλο Σάμιοι Ἡρῆς καὶ Μιλήσιοι Ἀπολλωνος.

179. Ην δὲ τὸ παλαιὸν μοῦν Ναύκρατις ἐμπόριον καὶ ἄλλο οὐδὲν Ἀιγύπτων· εἰ δὲ τις ἐς τῶν τι ἄλλο στομάτων τοῦ Νείλου ἀπικοίτο, χρῆν 492
the river did for the land and the land for its people; and that the whole sum of inhabited cities in the country was twenty thousand. It was Amasis also who made the law that every Egyptian should yearly declare his means of livelihood to the ruler of his province, and, failing so to do or to prove that he had a just way of life, be punished with death. Solon the Athenian got this law from Egypt and established it among his people; may they ever keep it! for it is a perfect law.

178. Amasis became a lover of the Greeks, and besides other services which he did to some of them he gave those who came to Egypt the city of Naucratis to dwell in, and to those who voyaged to the country without desire to settle there he gave lands where they might set altars and make holy places for their gods. Of these the greatest and most famous and most visited precinct is that which is called the Hellenion, founded jointly by the Ionian cities of Chios, Teos, Phocaea, and Clazomenae, the Dorian cities of Rhodes, Cnidus, Halicarnassus, and Phaselis, and one Aeolian city, Mytilene. It is to these that the precinct belongs, and these are they that appoint wardens of the port; if any others claim rights therein they lay claim to that wherein they have no part or lot. The Aeginetans made a precinct of their own, sacred to Zeus; and so did the Samians for Here and the Milesians for Apollo.

179. Naucratis was in old time the only trading port in Egypt. Whosoever came to any other mouth of the Nile must swear that he had not come of his
όμοσαι μη μὲν ἐκόντα ἐλθεῖν, ἀπομόσαντα δὲ τῇ νητῇ αὐτῇ πλέειν ἐς τὸ Κανωβικόν ς εἰ μη γε οἶα τε εἰη πρὸς ἀνέμους αὐτῶς πλέειν, τὰ φορτία ἐδει περιάγειν ἐν βάρισι περὶ τὸ Δέλτα, μέχρι οὗ ἀπίκοιτο ἐς Ναύκρατιν. οὕτω μὲν δὴ Ναύκρατις ἔτετίμητο.

180. Ἀμφικτυόνων δὲ μισθωσάντων τὸν ἐν Δελ-φοῖσι νῦν ἐόντα νηὺν τρικησίων ταλάντων ἐξεργά-σασθαι (ὅ γὰρ προτερον ἔων αὐτόθι αὐτόματος κατεκά), τοὺς Δελφοὺς δὴ ἐπέβαλλε τεταρτη-μόριον τοῦ μισθώματος παρασχεῖν. πλανώμενοι δὲ οἱ Δελφοὶ περὶ τᾶς πόλεως ἔδωτοναξον, ποιεύντες δὲ τὸύτο οὐκ ἐλάχιστον ἐξ Αἰγύπτου ἥνεικαντο. Ἀμασις μὲν γὰρ σφι ἔδωκε χίλια στυπτηρίς τάλαντα, οἱ δὲ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ οἰκέουτες Ἐλληνες εἰκοσὶ μένες.

181. Κυρηναῖοι δὲ ἃ Ἀμασις φιλότητα τε καὶ συμμαχίην συνεδήκατο, ἐδικαίωσε δὲ καὶ γῆμαι αὐτόθεν, εἰτ᾿ ἐπιθυμήσας Ἐλληνίδος γυναίκος εἰτε καὶ ἄλλως φιλότητος Κυρηναῖων εἰνεκα· γαμέει δὲ ὅν οἱ μὲν λέγουσι Βάττου οἱ δ᾿ Ἀρκεσίλεως θυγατέρα, οἱ δὲ Κριτοβούλου ἀνδρὸς τῶν ἀστῶν δοκίμου, τῇ ὁμοῦμα ἣν Λαδίκη· τῇ ἐπείτε συγκλί-νοιτο ὁ Ἀμασις, μισγεσθαι οὐκ οἶδος τε ἐγίνετο, τῆς δὲ ἄλλης γυναιξὶ ἐχράτο. ἐπείτε δὲ πολλὸν τοῦτο ἐγίνετο, εἶπε ὁ Ἀμασις πρὸς τὴν Λαδίκην ταύτην καλεομένην, “ὤ γύναι, κατὰ μὲ ἐφάρμαξας, καὶ ἐστὶ τοι ὁμεδία μηχανὴ μη οὐκ ἀπολολέναι κάκιστα γυναικῶν πασέων.” ἡ δὲ Λαδίκη, ἐπείτε οἱ ἀρισμένη οὐδὲν ἐγίνετο πρηνύτερος ὁ Ἀμασις, εὐχεταὶ εἰν τῷ νῷ τῷ Ἄφροδίτῃ, ἢν οἱ υπὸ ἐκείνην
own will, and having so sworn must then take his ship and sail to the Canobic mouth; or, if he could not sail against contrary winds, he must carry his cargo in barges round the Delta till he came to Naucratis. In such honour was Naucratis held.

180. When the Amphictyons had contracted for three hundred talents the work of finishing the temple that now stands at Delphi (that which was formerly there having been burnt by pure mischance), it fell to the Delphians to provide a fourth part of the cost. They went about from city to city collecting gifts, and in this business they got most from Egypt; for Amasis gave them a thousand talents' weight of astringent earth,¹ and the Greek dwellers in Egypt twenty minae.

181. Amasis made friends and allies of the people of Cyrene. Moreover he thought fit to take himself a wife from thence; whether it was that he desired a Greek woman, or that he had other cause for winning the friendship of Cyrene, I know not; but he married one Ladice, said to be the daughter of Battus by some, of Arcesilaus by others, and by others again of Critobulus, an esteemed citizen of the place. But it so fell out that Ladice was the only woman with whom Amasis could not have intercourse; and this continuing, Amasis said to this Ladice, "Woman, you have cast a spell on me, and most assuredly you shall come to the most terrible end of all women." So, the king's anger not abating for all her denial, Ladice vowed in her heart to

¹ Alum, apparently.
τὴν νύκτα μιχθῇ ὁ Ἀμασίς, τοῦτο γὰρ οἱ κακοὶ εἶναι μῆχος, ἀγαλμά οἱ ἀποπέμψειν ἐς Κυρήνην. μετὰ δὲ τὴν εὐχὴν αὐτίκα οἱ ἐμίχθη ὁ Ἀμασίς. καὶ τὸ ἐνθεύτεν ἦδη, ὅκιτε ἔλθοι Ἀμασίς πρὸς αὐτὴν, ἐμίσγετο, καὶ κάρτα μιν ἐστερέξ μετὰ τοῦτο. ἡ δὲ Λαδίκη ἀπέδωκε τὴν εὐχὴν τῇ θεῷ, ποιήσα-μένη γὰρ ἀγαλμα ἀπέπεμψε ἐς Κυρήνην, τὸ ἐτὶ καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ ἦν σοῦν, ἔξω τετραμμένου τοῦ Κυρηναίων ἀστεος. ταύτῃ τὴν Λαδίκην, ὡς ἐπεκράτησε Καμ-βύςθης Αἰγύπτου καὶ ἐπύθετο αὐτῆς ἦτις εἰῆ, ἀπε-πεμψε ἁσινέα ἐς Κυρήνην.

182. Ἀνέθηκε δὲ καὶ ἀναθῆματα ὁ Ἀμασίς ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα, τοῦτο μὲν ἐς Κυρήνην ἀγαλμα ἐπίχρυσον Αθηναίης καὶ εἰκόνα ἐωτοῦ ἡγραφὴ εἰκασμένην, τοῦτο δὲ τῇ ἐν Λίνδῳ Ἀθηναίη δύο τε ἀγάλματα λίθων καὶ θώρηκα λίνεον ξιοθέτητον, τοῦτο δ’ ἐς Σάμου τῇ Ἡρη εἰκόνας ἐωτοῦ διφασίας ξυλίνας, αἱ ἐν τῷ νηῷ τῷ μεγάλῳ ἱδρύατο ἐτὶ καὶ τὸ μέχρι ἐμεῦ, ὅπισθε τῶν θυρέων. ἐς μὲν νυν Σάμου ἀνέθηκε κατὰ ξεινίαν τὴν ἐωτοῦ τε καὶ Πολυκράτεος τοῦ Λίακεος, ὡς τῇ ἐν Λίνδῳ ξεινίας μὲν οὐδεμιῆς εἰνεκεν, ὅτι δὲ τῷ ἰρὸν τῷ ἐν Λίνδῳ τῇ Ἡ Ἀθηναίης λέγεται τὰς Δαναοῦ θυγατέρας ἱδρύσασθαι προσ-σχώσεις, ὅτε ἀπεδίδησικοι τοὺς Αἰγύπτου παῖδας. ταύτα μὲν ἀνέθηκε ὁ Ἀμασίς, εἰλὲ δὲ Κύπρου πρῶτος ἀνθρώπων καὶ κατεστρέψατο ἐς φόρου ἀπαγωγήν.
Aphrodite that she would send the goddess a statue to Cyrene if Amasis had intercourse with her that night; for that would remedy the evil; and thereafter all went well, and Amasis loved his wife much. Ladice paid her vow to the goddess; she had an image made and sent it to Cyrene, where it stood safe till my time, facing outwards from the city. Cambyses, when he had conquered Egypt and learnt who Ladice was, sent her away to Cyrene unharmed.

182. Moreover Amasis dedicated offerings in Hellas. He gave to Cyrene a gilt image of Athene and a painted picture of himself, to Athene of Lindus two stone images and a marvellous linen breast-plate, and to Here in Samos two wooden statues of himself, which stood yet in my time behind the doors in the great shrine. The offerings in Samos were dedicated by reason of the friendship between Amasis and Polycrates¹ son of Aeaces; what he gave to Lindus was for no friendship with any man, but because it is said that the temple of Athene in Lindus was founded by the daughters of Danaus, when they landed there in their flight from the sons of Egyptus. Such were Amasis' offerings. Moreover he was the first conqueror of Cyprus, which he made tributary to himself.

¹ Polycrates' rule began probably in 532 B.C. For the friendship between him and Amasis, see iii. 39
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<td>Musaeus: Hero and Leander. Cf. Callimachus</td>
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<td>Oppian</td>
<td>Colluthus, Tryphiodorus. A. W Mair.</td>
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<td>Parthenius</td>
<td>Cf. Daphnis and Chloë</td>
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