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GENERAL INTRODUCTION

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

¹ Suidas.
the Aegean, of which he obviously has personal knowledge, but also in a large part of what we call the Near East. He saw with his own eyes much of Asia Minor; Egypt, as far south as Assuan; Cyrene and the country round it; Syria, and eastern lands perhaps as far as Mesopotamia; and the northern coast of the Black Sea. Within these limits, πολλῶν ἀνθρώπων ἡδὲν ἀστεά καὶ νόον ἔγγυο. 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 ρροσθηκας, 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

1 How and Wells’ Commentary on Herodotus.
merits."  

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

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

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

Always and everywhere, Herodotus gives us the best that is accessible to him; and it is one of his great merits as a historian that he does not give it uncritically. Scanty justice, till lately, has been done him in this matter; in reality, his manner of retailing what has been told him shows anything but credulity. Definite acceptance is much rarer than plain expressions of disbelief in what he has heard; "they say, but I do not believe it" is a very frequent introduction. This attitude is shown by the grammatical construction of the narrative—a construction which translation cannot always reproduce without awkwardness, and which is sometimes therefore overlooked altogether; the fact remains that much of the story is cast in the mould of reported speech, showing that the writer is not stating that so-and-so is a fact but only that it has been told him; and the oratio obliqua is maintained throughout the narrative.
Herodotus deliberately professes that this is his method; ἐγὼ δοθέω λέγειν τὰ λεγόμενα, πείθεσθαι γε μὴν παντάπασιν οίκ δοθέιο (Bk. vii.); τοῖσι μὲν νῦν ὑπ' Αἰγυπτίων λεγομένωι χράσθω ὅτεω τὰ τοιαῦτα πιθανά ἐστι; ἐμοὶ δὲ παρὰ πάντα τὸν λόγον ὑποκεῖται 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 Τὸ θεῖον 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 ὃβρις εἰ πολλῶν ὑπερπλησθῆ μάταν | ἀκρότατον εἰσαναβᾶσ’ | ἀπότομον ὄρονσεν εἰς ἀνάγκαιαν. 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 τὴν Ἰάδος ἀριστὸς κανὼν, this must refer rather to his pre-eminence as an Ionian stylist than to the “purity” of his dialect; which in fact is rightly described as μεμυγμένη and τοικίλη. Perhaps Herodotus’ language was affected by his residence at Athens. But Ionic and “Old Attic” appear to have been so nearly akin that it is difficult to draw a clear line of division between them. From whatever sources drawn, his diction is pervaded by an indefinable but unmistakably archaic quality which constitutes not the least of a translator’s difficulties.

1 Sophocles, Oedipus Tyrannus, 874–7.
2 Hermogenes, περὶ ἰδεῶν
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
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“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
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
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
1. Ἡροδότου Ἀλικαρνησσέως ἱστορίης ἀπὸ δεξιὸν ἤδε, ὡς μήτε τὰ γενόμενα ἐξ ἀνθρώπων τῷ χρόνῳ ἐξίτηλα γένηται, μήτε ἔργα μεγάλα τε καὶ θωμαστά, τὰ μὲν Ἑλλησὶ τὰ δὲ βαρβάρους ἀποδεχθέντα, ἀκλεᾶ γένηται, τὰ τε ἄλλα καὶ δι᾿ ἦν αἰτίην ἐπολέμησαν ἀλλήλοις.

Περσέων μὲν νυν οἱ λόγιοι Φοίνικας αἰτίους φασὶ γενέσθαι τῆς διαφορῆς. τούτους γὰρ ἀπὸ τῆς Ἐρυθρῆς καλεομένης θαλάσσης ἀπικομένους ἐπὶ τὴν τῆς θάλασσαν, καὶ οἰκήσαντας τοῦτον τὸν χώρον τὸν καὶ νῦν οἰκέουσιν, αὐτίκα ναυτιλίης μακρήσι ἐπιθέοθαντας δὲ φορτία Ἀιγύπτια τε καὶ Ἀσσύρια τῇ τε ἄλλῃ ἔσαπικυνεσθαι καὶ δὴ καὶ ἐς "Ἀργος. τὸ δὲ Ἀργος τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον προεῖχε ἀπασὶ τῶν ἐν τῇ νῦν Ἑλλάδι καλεομένῃ χώρῃ ἀπικομένους δὲ τοὺς Φοίνικας ἐς δὴ τὸ Ἀργος τοῦτο διατίθεσθαι τὸν φόρτουν πέμπτη δὲ ἡ ἐκτῇ ἡμέρῃ ἀπ᾿ ἓν ἀπίκουτο, ἐξεμπολημένων σφὶ σχεδὸν πάντων, ἐλθεῖν ἐπὶ τὴν θάλασσαν γυναῖκας ἄλλας τε πολλὰς καὶ δὴ καὶ τοῦ βασιλέως θυγατέρα: τὸ δὲ οἱ οὐνομα ἐναι, κατὰ τῶντὸ τὸ καὶ Ἑλληνες λέγουσι, Ἰοῦν τὴν
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BOOK I

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: τάυτας στάσας κατά πρύμνην τῆς νεός ωνέεσθαι τῶν φορτίων τῶν σφι ὅν θυμὸς μάλιστα: καὶ τῶν Φοίνικας διακελευσαμένους ὀρμήσαι ἐπ' αὐτάς. τὰς μὲν δὴ πλεύνας τῶν γυναικῶν ἀποφυγεῖν, τὴν δὲ 'Ιούν σὺν Ἀλλησὶ ἀρπασθήναι. ἐσβαλομένους δὲ ἐς τὴν νέα οἰχεσθαί ἀποπλέουντας ἐπ' Αἰγύπτου.

2. Οὔτω μὲν 'Ιούν ἐς Αἴγυπτον ἀπικέσθαι λέγουσι Πέρσαι, οἷκ ὡς "Ελληνες, καὶ τῶν ἀδικημάτων πρῶτον τούτο ἀρξαί. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα 'Ελλήνων τινάς (οὐ γὰρ ἔχουσι τούνομα ἀπηγήσασθαι) φασὶ τῆς Φοίνικης ἐς Τύρων προσχόντας ἀρπάσαι τοῦ βασιλέως τὴν θυγατέρα Εὐρώπην. εἴησαν δ' ἀν οὗτοι Κρήτες. ταῦτα μὲν δὴ ἵσα πρὸς ἵσα σφὶ γενέσθαι, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα "Ελληνας αἰτίους τῆς δευτέρης ἀδικίας γενέσθαι καταπλώσαντας γὰρ μακρὰ υἱὸς ἐς Αἰάν τε τὴν Κολχίδα καὶ ἐπὶ Φᾶσιν ποταμόν, ἐνθεύτεν, διαπρηξαμένους καὶ τάλλα τῶν εἴνεκεν ἀπίκατο, ἀρπάσαι τοῦ βασιλέως τὴν θυγατέρα Μηδείην. πέμψαντα δὲ τῶν Κόλχων βασιλέα ἐς τὴν 'Ελλάδα κήρυκα αἰτεῖν τα δίκας τῆς ἀρπαγῆς καὶ ἀπαιτεῖν τὴν θυγατέρα. τοὺς δὲ ὑποκρίνασθαι ὡς οὔδε ἐκεῖνοι Ἰους τῆς Ἀργείης ἔδοσάν σφὶ δίκας τῆς ἀρπαγῆς· οὔδὲ δὲν αὐτοὶ δώσειν ἐκεῖνοι.

3. Δευτέρη δὲ λέγουσι γενεὴ μετὰ ταῦτα Ἀλέξανδρον τῶν Πριάμου, ἀκηκοῦσα ταῦτα, ἐθελήσαει οἱ ἐκ τῆς 'Ελλάδος δι' ἀρπαγῆς γενέσθαι γυναῖκα, ἐπιστάμενον πάντως ὅτι οὐ δώσει δίκας· οὔδὲ γὰρ ἐκεῖνος διδόναι. οὔτω δὲ ἀρπάσαντος αὐτοῦ Ἐλένην, τοίς Ἠλλησι δόξαν πρῶ-
stood about the stern of the ship: and while they bargained for such wares as they fancied, the Phoenicians heartened each other to the deed, and rushed to take them. Most of the women escaped: Io with others was carried off; the men cast her into the ship and made sail away for Egypt.

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

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

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1 This is the legendary cruise of the Argonauts.
τῶν πέμψαντας ἀγγέλους ἀπαίτεειν τῇ Ἑλενήν καὶ δίκας τῆς ἀρπαγής αἰτεείν. τοὺς δὲ, προϊ-
σχοιμένων ταῦτα, προφέρειν σφι Μηθείης τῇ ἀρπαγῆ, ὡς οὗ δόντες αὐτοῖ δίκας οὐδὲ ἐκδόντες ἀπαίτεοντων βουλοιατὸ σφι παρ’ ἅλλων δίκας γίνεσθαι.

4. Μέχρι μὲν οὖν τούτου ἀρπαγὰς μούνας εἶναι παρ’ ἅλληλων, τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ τούτου Ἑλληνας δὴ μεγάλως αἰτίους γενέσθαι προτέρους γὰρ ἀρξαί στρατεύέσθαι ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην ἡ σφέας ἐς τὴν Εὐρώπην. τὸ μὲν νῦν ἄρπαξειν γυναικας ἀνδρῶν ἄδικων νομίζειν ἐργον εἶναι, τὸ δὲ ἀρπασθείσεων σπουδὴν ποιήσασθαι τιμωρεῖν ἀνοήτων, τὸ δὲ μηθείδαι ὡρην ἔχειν ἀρπασθείσεων σωφρόνων δῆλα γὰρ δὴ ὅτι, εἰ μὴ αὐταὶ ἐβουλούντο, οὐκ ἂν ἦρπαξοντο. σφέας μὲν δὴ τοὺς ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίης λέγουσι Πέρσαι ἀρπαξομενέων τῶν γυναικῶν λόγου οὐδένα ποιήσασθαι, Ἑλληνας δὲ Δακεδαιμονίης εἶνεκεν γυναικός στόλον μέγαν συναγείραι καὶ ἑπείτα ἐλθόντας ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην τὴν Πριάμου δύναμιν κατελεῖν. ἀπὸ τού-
του αἰεὶ ἡγησάσθαι τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν σφίσι εἶναι πολέμιον. τὴν γὰρ Ἀσίην καὶ τὰ ἐνοικεοντα ἔθνεα βάρβαρα ὅκισεύται οἱ Πέρσαι, τὴν δὲ Εὐρώπην καὶ τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν ἡγηται κεχωρίσθαι.

5. Οὔτω μὲν Πέρσαι λέγουσι γενέσθαι, καὶ διὰ τὴν Ἰλίου ἅλωσιν εὐρίσκουσι σφίς ἐσύσαιν τὴν ἄρχην τῆς ἔχθρης τῆς ἐς τοὺς Ἑλληνας. περὶ δὲ τῆς Ἰουνίου ὦκ ὀμολογέοντε Πέρσης οὔτω Φοι-

1 ἔθνεα [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 έμισγετο τῷ ναυκλήρῳ τῆς νεός· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἔμαθε ἐγκυνος ἐῴσα, αἰδεομένῃ τοὺς τοκέας οὕτω δὴ ἐθελοντὴν αὐτὴν τοῖς Φοίνιξι συνεκπλῶσαι, ὡς ἀν μὴ κατάδηλος γένηται.

Ταῦτα μὲν νῦν Πέρσαι τε καὶ Φοίνικες λέγουσιν ἀγὼ δὲ περὶ μὲν τούτων οὐκ ἔρχομαι ἐρέων ὡς οὕτω ἢ ἄλλος κως ταῦτα ἐγένετο, τὸν δὲ οἶδα αὐτὸς πρότον ὑπάρξαντα ἀδίκων ἔργων ἐς τοὺς Ἐλλήνας, τούτον σημήνας προβήσομαι ἐς τὸ πρόσω τοῦ λόγου, ὁμοίως σμικρὰ καὶ μεγάλα ἀστεὰ ἀνθρώπων ἐπεξίων. τὰ γὰρ τὸ πάλαι μεγάλα ἦν, τὰ πολλὰ σμικρὰ αὐτῶν γέγονε· τὰ δὲ ἑπὶ ἐμεῖν ἤν μεγάλα, πρότερον ἦν σμικρά. τὴν ἀνθρωπηνὴν ὄν ἐπιστάμενος εὐδαιμονίαν οὐδαμὰ ἐν τῶντῷ μένουσαι, ἐπιμνήσομαι ἀμφοτέρων ὁμοίως.

6. Κροίσος ἦν Αυθὸς μὲν γένος, παῖς δὲ Ἀλυάττεως, τύραννος δὲ ἐθνεών τῶν ἔντος Ἄλνος ποταμοῦ, διὸ ἐν αἱ μεσαμβρίας μεταξὺ Συρίων τε καὶ Παφλαγόνων ἐξεις πρὸς βορέην ἄνεμον ἐς τὸν Εὐξείνου καλέμενου πόλον. οὕτως οἱ Κροίσος βαρβάρων πρῶτος τῶν ἔμεις ἔδμεν τοὺς μὲν κατεστρέψατο Ἐλλήνων ἐς φόρον ἀπαγωγῆς, τοὺς δὲ φίλους προσεποιήσατο. κατεστρέψατο μὲν Ἰωνὰς τε καὶ Αἰολέας καὶ Δωρίας τοὺς ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ, φίλους δὲ προσεποιήσατο Δακεδαιμονίους. πρὸ δὲ τῆς Κροίσου ἀρχῆς πάντες Ἐλληνες ἤσαν ἐλεύθεροι· τὸ γὰρ Κιμμερίων στράτευμα τὸ ἐπὶ τὴν Ἰωνίαν ἀπεκόμενον Κροίσον ἔδω προσβύτερον οὐ καταστροφὴ ἐγένετο τῶν πολίων ἀλλ’ ἐξ ἐπιδρομῆς ἀρπαγῆς.

7. Ἡ δὲ ἠγεμονία οὕτω περιήλθε, ἐοῦσα Ἄρα-
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
κλειδεύων, ἐς τὸ γένος τὸ Κροίσου, καλεομένους δὲ Μερμενάδας. ἦν Κανδαύλης, τὸν οἱ "Ελληνες Μυρσίλον ὄνομάζουσι, τύραννος Σαρδίων, ἀπόγονος δὲ Ἀλκαίου τοῦ Ἰρακλέος. Ἀγρων μὲν γὰρ ο Νίνου τοῦ Βήλου τοῦ Ἀλκαίου πρῶτος Ἰρακλείδεων βασιλεὺς ἐγένετο Σαρδίων, Κανδαύλης δὲ ὁ Μύρσου ὑστατος. οὶ δὲ πρότερον Ἀγρωνος βασιλεύσαντες ταύτης τῆς χώρης ᾦσαν ἀπόγονοι Δυνόυ τοῦ "Ατυν, ἀπ' ὅτε ο δῆμος Δύδιος ἐκλήθη ὁ πᾶς οὗτος, πρότερον Μηίων καλεόμενος. παρὰ τούτων Ἰρακλείδαι ἐπιτραφθέντες ἐσχόν τῇ ἄρχῃ ἐκ θεοπροτόου, ἐκ δούλης τῇ Ἰαρδάνου γεγονότες καὶ Ἰρακλέος, ἄρξαντες μὲν ἐπὶ δύο τε καὶ εἴκοσι γενεάς ἄνδρῶν ἔτεα πέντε τε καὶ πεντακόσια, παῖς παρὰ πατρὸς ἐκδεκόμενος τῇ ἄρχῃ, μέχρι Κανδαύλεω τοῦ Μύρσου.

8. Οὗτος δὴ ὁ Κανδαύλης ἡράσθη τῆς ἐωτοῦ γυναικὸς, ἔρασθεὶς δὲ ἐνόμιζε οἱ εἶναι γυναῖκα πολλῶν πασέων καλλιστὴν. ὥστε δὲ ταύτα νομίζων, ἦν γὰρ οἱ τῶν αἴχμωσε ἁγγειν ὁ Δασκύλου ἀρεσκόμενος μάλιστα, τοῦτῳ τῷ Ἕγγη καὶ τὰ σπουδαιότερα τῶν πρηγμάτων ὑπερετίθετο ὁ Κανδαύλης καὶ δὴ καὶ τὸ εἴδος τῆς γυναικὸς ὑπερεπαινεῖν. χρόνου δὲ οὗ πολλοῦ διελθόντος (χρήν γὰρ Κανδαύλη γενέσθαι κακῶς) ἔλεγε πρὸς τὸν Ἕγγην τοιάδε. "Ὕγη, οὐ γὰρ σε δοκεῖ μοι πείθοντες περὶ τοῦ εἴδους τῆς γυναικος (ὅτα γὰρ τυχαίνει άνθρώπους ἐκεῖντα ἀπιστότερα ὀφθαλμῶν), ποίει ὡκώς ἐκείνην θείσεαι γυμνήν." ὃ δ' ἀμβώσας εἶπε "δέσποτα, τίνα λέγεις λόγον οὐκ ὑγεία, κελεύων με δέσποινοι
the descendants of Heracles,¹ fell to the family of Croesus—the Mermnadae as they were called—in the following way. Candaules, whom the Greeks call Myrsilus, was the ruler of Sardis; he was descended from Alcaeus, son of Heracles; Agron, son of Ninus, son of Belus, son of Alcaeus, was the first Heraclid king of Sardis, and Candaules, son of Myrsus, was the last. The kings of this country before Agron were descendants of Lydus, son of Atys, from whom all this Lydian district took its name; before that it was called the land of the Meii. From these the Heraclidæ received the sovereignty and held it in charge, by reason of an oracle; and they ruled for two and twenty generations, or 505 years, son succeeding father, down to Candaules, son of Myrsus.

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

¹ *Descendants of Heracles* seems to mean descended from the Asiatic sungod identified with Heracles by the Greeks.
ναῦ τῆς ἐμῆς θείσασθαι γυμνῆς; ἀμα δὲ κιθὼν ἐκδυμένως συνεκδύσεται καὶ τὴν αἰδώ γυνῆ. πάλαι δὲ τὰ καλὰ ἀνθρώπους ἐξεύρηται, ἄτ' ὅσ' ἡμᾶς ὑπερήλθεν ὑπὲρ τοῖς ἐν τοῖς ἐστὶ, σκοπεῖν τινά τὰ ἐωτοῦ. ἐγὼ δὲ πείθομαι ἐκείνην εἶναι πασέων γυναικῶν καλλίστην, καὶ σέο δέομαι μή δέεσθαι ἀνόμων.

9. Ὁ μὲν δὴ λέγων τοιαύτα ἀπεμάχετο, ἀρρω-δέων μή τί οὐ εὖ αὐτῶν γένηται κακῶν, ὅ δ' ἀμε-βετο τοῖς δίδε. "θάρσει, Γύνη, καὶ μὴ φοβεῖ μήτε ἐμὲ, ὡς σεό πειρόμενον 1 λέγω λόγου τόνδε, μήτε γυναῖκα τήν ἐμήν, μή τί τοι εὖ αὐτῆς γένηται θλάβος. ἀρχὴν γὰρ ἐγὼ μηχανήσαμαι ὅτω ὡστε μηδὲ μαθεῖν μιν ὀφθείσαν υπὸ σεῦ. ἐγὼ γάρ σε ἐσ τὸ ὀικήμα ἐν τῷ κοιμώμεθα ὅπισθε τῆς ἀνουγομένης θύρης στῆσω. μετὰ δ' ἐμὲ ἐσελθόντα παρέσται καὶ ἡ γυνὴ ἡ ἐμὴ ἐς κοίτον. κεῖται δὲ ἀγχοῦ τῆς ἑσόδου θρόνος· ἐπὶ τοῖτον τῶν ἰματίων κατὰ ἐν ἐκαστὸν ἐκδύουσα θῆσαι, καὶ κατ' ἀνεύρην πολλὴν παρέξει τοι θείσασθαι. ἐπεάν δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ θρόνου στείχῃ ἐπὶ τὴν εὐνήν κατὰ νότον τε αὐτῆς γένη, σοὶ μελέτῳ τὸ ἐνθέυτεν ὅκως μή σε ὄψεται ἕντα διὰ ἥπερων."

10. Ὁ μὲν δὴ ὡς οὐκ ἐδύνατο διαφυγεῖν, ἣν ἑτοίμος· ὅ δὲ Κανδαύλης, ἐπεί ἐδόκεε ὅρη τῆς κοίτης εἶναι, ἤγαγε τὸν Γύνηα ἐς τὸ ὀικήμα, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα αὐτίκα παρῆκ καὶ ἡ γυνή. ἐσελθοῦσαν δὲ καὶ τιθεῖσαν τὰ εἴματα ἐθνεῖετο ὁ Γύνης. ὡς δὲ κατὰ νῶτον ἐγένετο ἱούσης τῆς γυναικὸς ἐς τὴν κοίτην, ὑπεκδύς ἔχωρεε ἐξω, καὶ ἡ γυνὴ ἐπορᾶ μιν ἐξιόντα. μαθοῦσα δὲ τὸ ποιήθεν ἐκ τού

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

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

10. As Gyges could not escape, he consented. Candaules, when he judged it to be bed time, brought Gyges into the chamber, his wife presently followed, and when she had come in and was laying aside her garments Gyges beheld her; and when she turned her back upon him, going to her bed, he slipped privily from the room. The woman saw him as he passed out, and perceived what her husband had done. But shamed though she was she never cried
ανδρὸς οὗτε ἀνέβωσε αἰσχυνθείσα οὗτε ἐδοξε μαθεῖν, ἐν νῷ ἔχουσα τίσεσθαι τὸν Κανδαύλεα. παρὰ γὰρ τοῖς Λυδοῖσι, σχεδὸν δὲ καὶ παρὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις βαρβάροις καὶ ἄνδρα ὀφθήναι γυμνὸν ἐς αἰσχύνην μεγάλην φέρει.

11. Τότε μὲν δὴ οὗτῳ οὐδὲν δηλώσασα ἡσυχίαν εἶχε· ὡς δὲ ἡμέρη τάχιστα ἐγεγόνει, τῶν οἰκετέων τοὺς μάλιστα ὡρα πιστοὺς ἐόντας ἐωτῷ, ἐτοῖμους ποιησαμένη ἐκάλεε τὸν Γύγηα. ὃ δὲ οὖδὲν δοκεὼν αὐτὴν τῶν πρικθέντων ἐπίστασθαι ἦλθε καλέο-μενος· ἐώθεε γὰρ καὶ πρόσθε, ὅκως ἡ βασίλεια καλέοι, φοιτῶν. ὡς δὲ ὁ Γύγης ἀπίκετο, ἐλεγε ἡ γυνὴ τάδε. "ὡν τοι δυνὸν ὅδων παρεουσέων Γύγη δίδωμι αἱρέσιν, ὁκοτέρην βουλέα τραπέσθαι. ἡ γὰρ Κανδαύλεα ἀποκτείνας ἔμε τε καὶ τὴν βασιλικὴν ἔχε τὴν Λυδῶν, ἢ αὐτὸν σε αὐτικά οὗτο ἀποθύησκειν δει, ὡς ἄν μὴ πάντα πειθόμενος Κανδαύλη τοῦ λοιποῦ ὅθης τὰ μὴ σε δει. ἀλλ᾽ ἵτοι κεῖον γε τὸν ταύτα βουλεύσαντα δει ἀπόλ-λυσθαι, ἢ σὲ τὸν ἐμὲ γυμνῆν θεσάμενον καὶ ποιήσαντα οὐ νομίζομεν." ὃ δὲ Γύγης τέως μὲν ἀπεθώμαζε τὰ λεγόμενα, μετὰ δὲ ἵκετεν μὴ μιν ἀναγκαίη ἐνδεέειν διακρίναι τοιαύτην αἱρέσιν. οὐκων δὴ ἐπείθε, ἀλλ' ὡρα ἀναγκαίην ἀληθέως προκειμένην ἢ τὸν δεσπότεα ἀπολλύναι ἢ αὐτὸν ὑπ' ἄλλων ἀπόλλυσθαι. αἱρέται αὐτὸς περείωναι. ἐπειρώτα δὴ λέγων τάδε. "ἐπεί με ἀναγκάζεις δεσπότεα τὸν ἐμὸν κτέενιν οὐκ ἐθέλοντα, φέρε ἀκούσω τέω καὶ τρόπω ἐπιχειρήσομεν αὐτῷ." ἡ δὲ ὑπολαβοῦσα ἐφη "ἐκ τοῦ αὐτοῦ μὲν χορίον ἡ ὁμὴ ἔσται ὅθεν περ καὶ ἐκεῖνος ἐμὲ ἐπεδέξατο γύμνην, ὑπ'ωμένῳ δὲ ἡ ἐπιχείρησις ἔσται."
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 ἐπιβουλήν, νυκτὸς γενομένης (οὐ γὰρ ἐμετίσετο ὁ Γύγης, οὔτε οἱ ἢν ἀπαλλαγῇ) οὐδεμιᾷ, ἀλλ’ ἐδεε ἡ αὐτὸν ἀπολωλέναι ἡ Κανδαύλεα) εἶπετο ἐς τὸν θάλαμον τῇ γυναικί, καὶ μιν ἑκέινῃ, ἐγχειρίδιον δοῦσα, κατακρύπτει ὑπὸ τὴν αὐτὴν θύρην. καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἀναπαυ-μένου Κανδαύλεω ὑπεκδύσε τε καὶ ἀποκτείνας αὐτὸν ἐσχε καὶ τὴν γυναικα καὶ τὴν βασιληῆν Γύγης τοῦ καὶ Ἀρχίλοχος ὁ Πάριος κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον γενόμενος ἐν ἰάμβῳ τριμέτρῳ ἐπεμνήσθη. ¹

13. Ἐσχε δὲ τὴν βασιληῆν καὶ ἐκρατύνθη ἐκ τοῦ ἐν Δελφοῖσι χρηστηρίου. ὥς γὰρ δὴ οἱ Δυσοὶ δεινὸν ἐποιεύντο τὸ Κανδαύλεω πάθος καὶ ἐν ὀπλοι σι ἕσαν, συνεβήσαν ἐς τώτῳ οἳ τε τοῦ Γύγεω στασίωτα καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ Δυσοὶ, ἢ γὰρ τὸ χρηστήριον ἀνέλη μιν βασιλέα εἶναι Δυσοῦ, τὸν δὲ βασιλεῦειν, ἢν δὲ μή, ἀποδοῦναι ὀπίσω ἐσ Ἡρακλείδας τὴν ἀρχήν. ἀνείλε τε δὴ τὸ χρη- στήριον καὶ ἐβασίλευσε οὔτω Γύγης. τοσοῦτε μέντοι εἶπε ἡ Πυθή, ὡς Ἡρακλείδησι τίσις ἤξει ἐς τὸν πέμπτου ἀπόγονον Γύγεω. τοῦτο τοῦ ἐπεος Δυσοὶ τε καὶ οἱ βασιλέες αὐτῶν λόγον οὐδένα ἐποιεύντο, πρὶν δὴ ἐπετελέσθη.

14. Τὴν μὲν δὴ τυραννίδα οὔτω ἔσχον οἱ Μερμνάδαι τοὺς Ἡρακλείδας ἀπελόμενοι, Γύγης δὲ τυραννεύσας ἀπεπεμψε ἀναθήματα ἐς Δελφοὺς οὐκ ὄλγα, ἀλλ’ ὅσα μὲν ἄργυρον ἀναθήματα, ἐστὶ οἱ πλείστα ἐν Δελφοῖσι, πάρεξ δὲ τοῦ ἄργυρου χρυσοῦ ἀπλετον ἀνέθηκε ἄλλον 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 Paros who lived about the same time.

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

14. Thus did the Mermnadae rob the Heraclidae of the sovereignty and take it for themselves. Having gained it, Gyges sent not a few offerings to Delphi: there are very many silver offerings of his there: and besides the silver, he dedicated great store of
τοῦ μάλιστα μνήμην ἢς ἔχειν ἔστι, κρητῆρες οἱ ἀριθμῶν ἤ πρὸς σαυρὰ, σταθμὸν ἔχων τριή-
κοντα τάλαντα· ἀληθεί δὲ λόγῳ πρὸς τοῦ Ἰδαίον ἤστι οἱ σαυρὰς, ἀλλὰ Κυψέ-
λου τοῦ Ἡτίωνος. οὗτος δὲ ὁ Γύγης πρῶτος βαρ-
βάρων τῶν ἡμεῖς ἤδειν ἔς Δελφοὺς ἀνέθηκε ἀναθήματα μετὰ Μίδην τὸν Γορδίεων φιλεῖ 
βασιλέα. ἀνέθηκε γὰρ δὴ καὶ Μίδης τὸν βασι-
λίμους θρόνον ἐς τὸν προκατίζων ἐδίκαζε, ἔφτα 
ἀξιοθέντων· κεῖται δὲ ὁ θρόνος οὗτος ἐνθα περ ὅ 
ἐς τοῦ Γύγεων κρητήρες. ὁ δὲ χρυσὸς οὗτος καὶ ὁ 
ἀργυρός τοῦ ὁ Γύγης ἀνέθηκε, ὑπὸ Δελφῶν 
καλέσετί Γυγάδας ἐπὶ τοῦ ἀναθέντος ἐπωνυμία.

15. Ἐσέβαλε μὲν νυν στρατιν καὶ οὗτος ἐπείτε 
ηρζε ἐς τὸ Μίλητον καὶ ἐς Σμύρνην, καὶ Κολοφῶ-
νος τὸ ἀστυ εἶλε· ἀλλ' οúdeν γὰρ μέγα ἀπ' αὐτοῦ 
ἀλλο ἔργον ἐγένετο βασιλεύσαντος Δυόν ἐδίων 
δεόντα τεσσεράκοντα ἐτεά, τούτον μὲν παρὴσομεν τοσάδα 
ἐπιμνησθέντες, "Ἀρδνος δὲ τοῦ Γύγεω μετὰ Γύγης 
βασιλεύσαντος μνήμην ποιήσομαι. οὗτος δὲ 
Πριηνέαις τε εἰλε ἐς Μίλητον τε ἐσέβαλε, ἐπὶ τού-
τοι τε τυραννεύοντος Σαρδίων Κιμμέριοι εἰς ἡθέον 
ὑπὸ Σκυθέων τῶν νομάδων ἐξαναστάντες ἀπίκοντο 
ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην καὶ Σάρδις πλὴν τῆς ἀκρόπολιος 
ἐλον.

16. Ἀρδνος δὲ βασιλεύσαντος ἤνδος ἐδίων ἐπει-
τήκουτα ἐτεα ἐξεδέξατο Σαδνάττης ὁ Ἀρδνος, καὶ 
ἐβασιλεύεστε ἐτεα δυνάδεκα, Σαδνάττεω δὲ Ἀλνάτ-
της. οὗτος δὲ Κυξάρη τε τῷ Δηικέω ἀπογόνῳ 
ἐπολέμησε καὶ Μῆδοις, Κιμμέριους τε ἐκ τῆς 
Ἀσίης ἐξήλασε, Σμύρνην τε τὴν ἀπὸ Κολοφῶνος.
gold: among which six golden bowls are the offerings chiefly worthy of record. These weigh 30 talents\(^1\) and stand in the treasury\(^2\) of the Corinthians: though in very truth it is the treasury not of the Corinthian people but of Cypselus son of Eetion. This Gyges then was the first foreigner (of our knowledge) who placed offerings at Delphi after the king of Phrygia, Midas son of Gordias. For Midas too made an offering, to wit, the royal seat whereon he sat to give judgment, and a marvellous seat it is; it is set in the same place as the bowls of Gyges. This gold and the silver offered by Gyges is called by the Delphians “Gygian” after its dedicator.

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

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

\(^1\) The “Attic” talent had a weight of about 58 lbs. avoir-dupois, the “Aeginetan” of about 82.

\(^2\) Many Greek states had special “treasuries” allotted to them in the temple precincts at Delphi, in which their offerings were deposited.
κτισθεῖσαν εἶλε, ἐς Κλαζομενᾶς τε ἐσέβαλε. ἀπὸ μὲν νυν τούτων οὐκ ὡς ἦθελε ἀπῆλλαξε, ἀλλὰ προσπταίσας μεγάλως:: ἀλλὰ δὲ ἐργα ἀπεδέξατο ἑων ἐν τῇ ἀρχῇ ἄξιαπηγητότατα τάδε.

17. Ἐπολέμησε Μιλησίωις, παραδεξάμενος τὸν πόλεμον παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς. ἐπελαύνων γὰρ ἐπολιόρκηε τὴν Μιλησίον τρόπῳ τοῖς ὀκὼς μὲν εἰγ ἐν τῇ γῇ καρπὸς ἄδρος, τηνικαῦτα ἐσέβαλλε τὴν στρατιὰ τῇ ἐστρατεύετο δὲ ὑπὸ συρίγγων τε καὶ πηκτίδων καὶ αὐλοῦ γυναικίου τε καὶ ἀνδριόου. ὡς δὲ ἐς τὴν Μιλησίαν ἀπίκουτο, οἰκήματα μὲν τὰ ἐπὶ τῶν ἀγρῶν οὔτε κατέβαλλε οὔτε ἐνεπίμπτη οὔτε θύρας ἀπέστα, ἢ δὲ κατὰ χώρην ἐστάναι. ὃ δὲ τὰ τέ δεύδρα καὶ τὸν καρπὸν τὸν ἐν τῇ γῇ ὀκὼς διαφθείρειε, ἀπαλλάσσετο ὁπίσω. τῆς γάρ θαλάσ- σης οἱ Μιλησίου ἐπεκράτεον, ὡστε ἐπέδρης μὴ εἶναι ἐργον τῇ στρατιᾷ. τὰς δὲ οἰκίας οὐ κατέβαλλε ο Λυδὸς τῶν δε οὔνεκα, ὀκὼς ἔχουεν ἐνθεύτευν ὁμώμενοι τὴν γῇς σπείρειν τε καὶ ἐργαζέσθαι οἱ Μιλησίου, αὐτὸς δὲ ἐκεῖνων ἐργαζομένων ἔχοι τι καὶ σύνεσθαι ἐσβάλλων.

18. Ταῦτα ποιεῖν ἐπολέμεε ἑστε ἐνδεκα, ἐν τοῖς τρώματα μεγάλα διφάσια Μιλησίων ἐγένετο, ἐν τὲ Διμηνηῖο χώρῃς τῆς σφετέρης μαχασμένων καὶ ἐν Μαιάνδρου πεδίῳ. τὰ μὲν νυν ἐξ ἑστε τῶν ἐνδεκα Σαδυάτης ο Ἀρδυὸς ἔτι Λυδῷ ἄρχῃ, ὁ καὶ ἐσβάλλων τηνικαῦτα ἐς τὴν Μιλησίαν τὴν στρα- τιὰ Σαδυάτης οὗτος γὰρ καὶ ὁ τὸν πόλεμον ἦν συνάψας: τὰ δὲ πέντε τῶν ἑτῶν τὰ ἐπόμενα τοῖς ἐξ Ἀλυάτης ο Σαδυάττεω ἐπολέμεε, ὡς παραδεξάμενος, ὡς καὶ προτερόν μοι δεδήλωται, παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς τὸν πόλεμον προσεῖχε ἐντετα-
and invaded the lands of Clazomenae. But here he came off not at all as he wished, but with great disaster. Of other deeds done by him in his reign these were most notable:

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

18. In this manner he waged war for eleven years, and in these years two great disasters befel the Milesians, one at the battle of Limeneion in their own territory, and the other in the valley of the Maeander. For six of these eleven years Sardyattes son of Ardys was still ruler of Lydia, and he it was who invaded the lands of Miletus, for it was he who had begun the war; for the following five the war was waged by Sardyattes' son Alyattes, who, as I have before shown, inherited the war from his father and carried
μένως. τοίσι δὲ Μιλήσιοισι οὐδαμοὶ Ἰώνων τῶν πόλεμον τούτον συνεπελάφρυνον ὅτι μὴ Χίοι μοῦνοι. οὕτως δὲ τὸ ὅμοιον ἀνταποδιδόντες ἐτί-μῶρεον καὶ γὰρ δὴ πρότερον οἱ Μιλήσιοι τοῖς Ἀθηναῖοι πόλεμον συνδιήνεικαν.

19. Τῷ δὲ δυσδεκάτῳ ἔτει η ληίν έμπιπραμένου ὑπὸ τῆς στρατιῆς συνηπείχθη τι τοιοῦδε γενέσθαι πρήγμα: ὃς ἀφθη τάχιστα τὸ λίγον, ἀνέμω βιώμενον ἄγατο ἐν Θεσπίσι ἀπεικόπησεν Ἄσ-σης, ἀφθεῖς δέ ὁ νῆσος κατεκαύθη. καὶ τὸ παραντίκα μὲν λόγοις οὖδεὶς ἐγένετο, μετὰ δὲ τῆς στρατιῆς ἀπικομένης ἑς Σάρδης ἐνώσησε ὁ Ἀλυάτ-της, μακροτέρης δὲ οἱ γινόμενης τῆς νοῦσου πέμπει ἐς Δέλφους θεοπρόπους, εἴτε δὴ συμβου-λεύσαντός τεν, εἴτε καὶ αὐτῷ ἐδόξη πέμψαντα τὸν θεὸν ἐπειράσθαι περὶ τῆς νοῦσου. τοῖς δὲ ἡ Πυθή ἀπικομένωσε ἐς Δέλφους οὐκ ἐφε χρήσεις πρὶν ἡ τοῦ νηῶν τῆς Ἀθηναίας ἀναρθώσωσι, τὸν ἐνέπρησαν χώρης τῆς Μιλήσιας ἐν Ἀσσησῳ.

20. Δέλφῶν οἶδα ὅγῳ οὐτώ ἀκούσας γενέσθαι· Μιλήσιοι δὲ τάδε προστιθεῖσι τούτοισι, Περίαν-δρον τὸν Κυψέλου ἐόντα Ὑρασυβούλῳ τῷ τότε Μιλήτου τυραννεύοντι ξεῖνον ἐς τὰ μάλιστα, πυθόμενον τὸ χρηστήριον τὸ τῷ Ἀλυάττῃ γενό-μενον, πέμψαντα ἄγγελον κατειπεῖν, ὅκως ἀν τι προειδῶς πρὸς τὸ παρεῦρο βουλεύσαι.

21. Μιλήσιοι μὲν νυν οὐτῶ λέγουσι γενέσθαι. Ἀλυάττῃς δε, ὡς οἱ τάντα ἐξαγγέλθη, αὐτῖκα ἐπεμπε κήρυκα ἑς Μιλήτου βουλόμενος σπουδᾶς ποιήσασθαι Ὑρασυβούλῳ τε καὶ Μιλήσιοις χρόνον ὅσον ἀν τὸν νηῶν οἰκοδομέη. δὲ μὲν δὴ
it on vigorously. None of the Ionians helped to lighten this war for the Milesians, except only the Chians: these lent their aid for a like service done to themselves; for the Milesians had formerly helped the Chians in their war against the Erythraeans.

19. In the twelfth year, when the Lydian army was burning the crops, it so happened that the fire set to the crops and blown by a strong wind caught the temple of Athene called Athene of Assesos: 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.
ἀπόστολος ἐς τὴν Μιλήτου ἢν, Ὁρασύβουλος δὲ σαφέως προπεπνυμένος πάντα λόγου, καὶ εἰδὼς τὰ Ἀλνάττης μέλλοι πονήσει, μηχανάται τοιάδε: ὅσος ἦν ἐν τῷ ἄστει σίτος καὶ ἑωτοῦ καὶ ἰδιωτικός, τούτον πάντα συγκομίσας ἐς τὴν ἀγορὴν προεῖπε Μιλησίους, ἐπεάν αὐτὸς σημήνη, τότε πίνειν τε πάντας καὶ κόμῳ χράσθαι ἐς ἀλλήλους.

22. Ταῦτα δὲ ἐποίεει τε καὶ προηγόρευε Θρασύβουλος τώνδε εἶνεκεν, ὅκως ἂν ἢ ὁ κήρυξ ὁ Σαρδικὸς ἢδον τε σωρὺν μέγαν σίτον κεκυμένου καὶ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἐν εὐπαθείᾳ ἐόντας ἀγγείλη Ἀλνάττης τὰ δὲ καὶ ἐγένετο. ὡς γὰρ δὴ ἰδών τε ἐκεῖνα ὁ κήρυξ καὶ εἴπας πρὸς Θρασύβουλον τοῦ Λυδοῦ τὰς ἐντολὰς ἀπῆλθε ἐς τὰς Σάρδις, ὡς ἐγὼ πυθόμενος, δι’ οὔδεν ἀλλο ἐγένετο ἡ διαλλαγή. ἐλπίζων γὰρ ὁ Ἀλνάττης συνδιδειν τε εἶναι ἰσχυρὴν ἐν τῇ Μιλήτῳ καὶ τὸν λεων τετρύσθαι ἐς τὸ ἔσχατον κακοῦ, ἥκουν τοῦ κήρυκος νοστῆσαντος ἐκ τῆς Μιλήτου τοὺς ἐναντίους λόγους ἢ ὡς αὐτὸς κατεδόκεε. μετὰ δὲ ἡ τε διαλλαγὴ σφι ἐγένετο ἐπ’ ὡς τε ξείνους ἀλλήλους εἶναι καὶ συμμάχους, καὶ δύο τε ἀντὶ ἐνὸς ὑνοῦς τῇ Ἀθηναίᾳ οἰκοδόμησε ὁ Ἀλνάττης ἐν τῇ Ἀσσιςφῳ, αὐτοῦ τε ἐκ τῆς νοῦσου ἀνέστῃ, κατὰ μὲν τὸν πρὸς Μιλησίους τε καὶ Θρασύβουλον πόλεμον Ἀλνάττη ὅδε ἔσχε.

23. Περίανδρος δὲ ἦν Κυψέλου παῖς, σύντος ὁ τῶν Ἐρασύβουλον τὸ χρηστήριον μηνύσας ἐτυράννευε δὲ ὁ Περίανδρος Κορίνθου. τῷ δὲ λέγουσι Κορίνθιοι (ὁμολογεύοις δὲ σφι λέσβιοι) ἐν τῷ βίῳ θώμα μέγιστον παραστήναι, Αρίωνα τὸν Μηθυμναίον ἐπὶ δελφίνος ἐξενεχθέντα ἐπὶ 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
εόντα κιθαρωδόν τῶν τότε εόντων οὐδενὸς δεύτερον, καὶ διδύραμβον πρῶτον ἀνθρώπων τῶν ἤμεις ἱδαμεν ποιησαντά τε καὶ δυνάμασαντα καὶ διδάξαντα ἐν Κορίνθῳ.

24. Τούτον τὸν ’Αρίωνα λέγουσι, τὸν πολλὸν τοῦ χρόνου διατρίβοντα παρὰ Περιάνδρῳ ἐπιθυμήσαι πλῶσαι ἐς Ἰταλίνην τε καὶ Σικελίην, ἑργασάμενον δὲ χρήματα μεγάλα θελήσαι ὅπισω εἰς Κορίνθον ἀπικέσθαι. ὀρμᾶσθαι μὲν νυν ἐκ Τάραντος, πιστεύοντα δὲ οὐδαμοίσι μᾶλλον ἢ Κορινθίοισι μισθώσασθαι πλοῖον ἀνδρῶν Κορινθίων. τοὺς δὲ ἐν τῷ πελάγει ἐπιβουλεύειν τὸν ’Αρίωνα ἐκβαλλόντας ἔχειν τὰ χρήματα. τὸν δὲ συνέντα τούτῳ λύσσεσθαι, χρήματα μὲν σφι προϊέντα, ψυχὴν δὲ παραίτεόμενον. οὐκὼν δὴ πείθειν αὐτὸν τούτοις, ἀλλὰ κελεύειν τοὺς πορθμέας ἢ αὐτὸν διαχράσθαι μιν, ὡς ἂν ταφῆς ἐν γῇ τύχῃ, ἢ ἐκπηδᾶν ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν τὴν ταχιστὴν ἀπειληθέντα δὴ τὸν ’Αρίωνα ἐς ἀπορίην παραίτησασθαι, ἐπειδὴ σφι οὐτω δοκεοί, περιδεῖν αὐτὸν ἐν τῇ σκεύῃ πάσῃ στάντα ἐν τοῖς ἐδωλίοις ἀέισαι ἀείσας δὲ ὑπεδέκετο ἐωτὸν κατεργάσασθαι. καὶ τοῖς ἐσελθεῖν γὰρ ἠδονῆν εἰ μέλλοιεν ἀκούσεσθαι τοῦ ἀρίστου ἀνθρώπων ἀοίδου, ἀναχωρήσας ἐκ τῆς πρύμνης ἐς μέσην νέα. τὸν δὲ ἐνυπνὰ τοῖς πάσαιν τὴν σκευὴν καὶ λαβόντα τὴν κιβάρην, στᾶντα ἐν τοῖσι ἐδωλίοις διεξελθεῖν νόμον τοῦ ὄρθιον, τελευτῶντος δὲ τοῦ νόμου ρίψαι μιν ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν ἐωτὸν ὡς εἴχε σὺν τῇ σκευῇ πάσῃ. καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἀποπλεέειν ἐς Κορίνθον, τὸ δὲ ἐδελφίνα λέγουσι ύπολαβόντα ἐξενεκαὶ 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 which he afterwards taught at Corinth.

24. Thus then, the story runs: for the most part he lived at the court of Periander; then he formed the plan of voyaging to Italy and Sicily, whence, after earning much money, he was minded to return to Corinth. Having especial trust in men of that city, he hired a Corinthian ship to carry him from Taras. But when they were out at sea, the crew plotted to cast Arion overboard and take his money. Discovering the plot, he earnestly entreated them, offering them all his money if they would but spare his life; but the sailors would not listen to him; he must, they said, either kill himself and so receive burial on land, or straightway cast himself into the sea. In this extremity Arion besought them, seeing that such was their will, that they would suffer him to stand on the poop with all his singing robes about him and sing; and after his song, so he promised, he would make away with himself. The men, well pleased at the thought of hearing the best singer in the world, drew away from the stern amidships; Arion, putting on all his adornment and taking his lyre, stood up on the poop and sang the "Shrill Strain," 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 ὕπνοιος ὑψὸς was a high-pitched (and apparently very well-known) song or hymn in honour of Apollo.
δε αυτον χωρεειν εσ Κορινθου συν τη σκευη, και ἀπικόμενον ἀπηγέεσθαι παν το γεγονος. Περὶ
ἀνδρον δε υπὸ ἀπιστίας 'Αρίονα μὲν εν φυλακῇ
ἐχειν οὐδαμῆ μετιέντα, ἀνακως δε ἐχειν τῶν
πορθμεόν. ὃς δὲ ἀρα παρεῖναι αυτοὺς, κλη-
θέντας ἱστορέσθαι εἰ τι λέγοιεν περὶ 'Αρίονος.
φαμένων δε ἐκεῖνων ὡς εἰη τε σὸς περὶ Ἰταλίην
καὶ μιν ευ πρήσουντα λύποιεν εν Τάραντι, ἐπι-
φανὴναι σφὶ τῶν 'Αρίονα ὦσπερ ἐχων ἐξεπήδησε
καὶ τοὺς ἐκπλαγέντας οὐκ ἐχειν ἐτι ἐλεγχομένους
ἀρνεσθαι. ταύτα μὲν νυν Κορινθιοί τε και
Λέσβιοι λέγουσι, καὶ 'Αρίονος ἐστὶ ἀνάθημα
χάλκεον οὐ μέγα ἐτὶ Ταινάρῳ, ἐπὶ δελφίνος
ἐπεδω ἀνθρωπος.

25. 'Αλνάττης δὲ ὁ Λυδὸς τὸν πρὸς Μιλησίους
πόλεμον διενείκας μετέπειτα τελευτά, βασιλεύσας
ἐτεα ἐπτὰ καὶ πεντήκοντα. ἀνέθηκε δὲ ἐκφυγὼν
τὴν νοῦσον δεύτερος οὕτως τῆς οἰκίας ταύτης ἐς
Δελφοὺς κρητήρα τε ἀργύρεον μέγαν καὶ ὑποκρη-
τηρίδιον σιδήρου κολλητόν, θές αξιον διὰ πάν-
tων τῶν ἐν Δελφοῖς ἀναθημάτων, Γλαύκου τοῦ
Χίου πόημα, δς μοῦνος δὴ πάντων ἀνθρώπων
σιδήρου κόλλησιν εξεῦρε.

26. Τελευτήσαντος δὲ Ἀλνάττων ἔξεδέξατο
τὴν βασιληὴν Κροίσος ὁ Ἀλνάττων, ἐτεὼν ἔων
ἡλικίαν πέντε καὶ τριήκοντα· δς δὴ Ἔλληνων
πρώτους ἐπεθήκατο Ἐφεσίοις. ἐνθα δὴ οἱ
'Εφέσιοι πολιορκεόμενοι ὑπ' αυτοῦ ἀνέθεσαν τὴν
πόλιν τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι, ἐξάφαντες ηκ τοῦ νηοῦ
σχοινίων ἐς τὸ τείχος. ἐστὶ δὲ μεταξὺ τῆς τε
παλαιῆς πόλιος, ἣ τότε ἐπολιορκεῖτο, καὶ τοῦ
νηοῦ ἐπτὰ στάδιοι. πρώτους μὲν δὴ τούτους
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, 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

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1 Croesus' reign began in 560 B.C., probably.
'Ας δέ ἄρα οἱ ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ Ἑλλήνες κατεστράφατο ἐς φόρου ἄπαγωγήν, τὸ ἐνθεύτευν ἐπενόεε νέας ποιησάμενος ἐπιχειρεῖν τοῖς νησιώτησι, ἔοντος δὲ οἱ πάντων ἐτοίμων ἐς τὴν ναυπηγίαν, οὗ μὲν Βίαντα λέγουσι τὸν Πριηνέα ἀπικόμενον ἐς Σάρδις, οὗ δὲ Πυττακῷ τὸν Μυτιληναίον, εἰρόμενον Κροίσου εἰ τι εἰη νεότερον περὶ τὴν Ἐλλάδα, εἰπόντα τάδε καταπαύσαι τὴν ναυπηγίαν “Ὡς βασιλεί, νησιώτα ἵππου συνωνεύονται μυρίην, ἐς Σάρδις τε καὶ ἔπὶ σὲ ἐν νόῳ ἠχοντες στρατεύεσθαι.” Κροίσον δὲ ἐπιτίσαντα λέγειν ἐκείνου ἀληθεῖα εἶπείν “Ἄρ γαρ τοῦτο θεοὶ ποιήσειαν ἐπὶ νόου νησιώτησι, ἐλθεῖν ἐπὶ Λυδών παῖδας σὺν ἱπποίσι.” τὸν δὲ ὑπολαβόντα φάναι “Ὡς βασιλεῖ, προθύμως μοι φαίνει εὐχασθαι νησιώτας ἵππευμένους λαβεῖν ἐν ἡπείρῳ, οἰκότα ἑλπίζον. νησιώτας δὲ τὶ δοκεῖς εὐχασθαι ἀλλο ἤ, ἐπείτε τάχιστα ἐπιθυμοῦντο σε μέλλοντα ἐπὶ σφὶσι ναυπηγεῖσθαι νέας, λαβεῖν ἀρώμενον Λυδοὺς ἐν θαλάσσῃ, ἵνα ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐν τῇ ἡπείρῳ οἰκημένων Ἑλλήνων τίσωνται σε, τοὺς συ δουλώσας ἔχεις;” κάρτα τε ἡσθῆναι Κροίσον τῷ ἐπιλόγῳ καὶ οἱ, προσφυέως γὰρ δοξαί λέγειν, πειθόμενον παύσασθαι τῆς ναυπηγίας. καὶ οὕτω τοῖς τὰς νῆσους οἰκημένοις Ἰωσι ξενίην συνεθήκατο.

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

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

28. As time went on, Croesus subdued well-nigh
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μένων σχεδὸν πάντων τῶν ἐντὸς "Ἀλνος ποταμῶν οἰκημένων. πλὴν γὰρ Κιλίκων καὶ Δυκίων τοὺς ἄλλους πάντας ὑπ' ἐσωτῆρ' εἴχε καταστρεφάμενος ὁ Κροίσος. εἰσὶ δὲ οἴδε, Λυδοί, Φρύγες, Μυσάι, Μαριανδοῦνοι, Χάλυβες, Παφλαγόνες, Θρηκεῖς οἱ Θυνοί τε καὶ Βυθῶν, Κάρες, Ἰωνεῖς, Δωρίες, Αἰολές, Πάμφυλοι ¹ κατεστραμμένοι δὲ τούτων καὶ προσεπικτωμένου Κροίσου Λυδοῖσι, 29. ἀπικνέονται ἐς Σάρδις ἀκμαζοῦσας πλούτῳ ἄλλοι τε οἱ πάντες ἐκ τῆς Ἑλλάδος σοφισταὶ, οἱ τούτων τοῦ χρόνον ἐτύγχανον ἑόντες, ὡς ἐκαστὸς αὐτῶν ἀπικνέοντο, καὶ δὴ καὶ Σόλων ἀνήρ 'Αθηναῖος, ὃς Ἀθηναῖοι νόμους κελεύσασι ποιήσας ἀπεδήμησε ἔτεα δέκα, κατὰ θεωρίας πρόφασιν ἐκπλώσας, ἦν δὴ μὴ τινὰ τῶν νόμων ἀναγκασθῇ λύσαι τῶν ἑθετο. αὐτοὶ γὰρ οὐκ οἴοι τε ἦσαν αὐτὸ ποιήσαι Ἀθηναῖοι· ὅρκίοισι γὰρ μεγάλοισι κατείχοντο δέκα ἔτεα χρήσεσθαι νόμοισι τοὺς ἀν σφι Σόλων θῆται.

30. Αὐτῶν δὴ ὅν τούτων καὶ τῆς θεωρίας ἐκδημήσας ὁ Σόλων εἰνεκεν ἐς Ἀγυπτὸν ἀπίκετο παρὰ Ἄμασιν καὶ δὴ καὶ ἐς Σάρδις παρὰ Κροίσον. ἀπικόμενος δὲ ἐξεινίζετο ἐν τούτωι βασιληοῦσι ὑπὸ τοῦ Κροίσουν· μετὰ δὲ ἡμέρῃ τρίτῃ ἢ τετάρτῃ κελεύσαντος Κροίσον τῶν Σόλωνα θεράπωφες περιήγην κατὰ τοὺς θησαυροὺς καὶ ἐπεδεικνύσαν πάντα ἑόντα μεγάλα τε καὶ δῆληα. θεισάμενον δὲ μιν τὰ πάντα καὶ σκεφάμενον ὡς οἱ κατὰ καιρὸν ἢν, εἴρετο ὁ Κροίσος τάδε. "Εἶνε 'Αθηναίε, παρ' ἡμέας γὰρ περὶ σέο λόγον ἀπίκεται

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, Thracians, Thynians, Bithynians, 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
πολλὸς καὶ σοφίς εἶνεκεν ¹ τῆς σῆς καὶ πλάνης, ὡς φιλοσοφέων γῆν πολλὴν θεωρίας εἶνεκεν ἐπελήλυθας· νῦν δὲν ἐπειρέσθαι μὲ ἵμερος ἐπῆλθέ σε εἰ τῶν ἢδη πάντων εἴδες ὀλβιώτατον.” δὲ μὲν ἐπίζων εἶναι ἀνθρώπων ὀλβιώτατος τάντα ἐπειρώτα· Σόλων δὲ οὐδὲν ὑποθωπεύσας ἀλλὰ τῷ ἐόντι χρησάμενος λέγει “Ὤ βασιλεῦ, Τέλλον Ἀθηναίον.” ἀποθωμάσας δὲ Κροῖσος τὸ λεχθὲν εἴρητο ἐπιστρεφέως “Κοίη δὴ κρίνεις Τέλλον εἶναι ὀλβιώτατον;” δὲ δὲ εἶπε “Τέλλῳ τούτῳ μὲν τῆς πόλιος εὐ ἠκουόσῃ παίδες ἦσαν καλοὶ τε κἀγαθοί, καὶ σφί εἴδε ἀπασὶ τέκνα ἐκγενόμενα καὶ πάντα παραμείναντα· τούτῳ δὲ τοῦ βίου εὑ ἰκοντι, ὡς τὰ παρ’ ἡμῖν, τελευτη τοῦ βίου λαμπροτάτη ἐπεγένετο· γενομένης γὰρ Ἀθηναίοις μάχης πρὸς τοὺς ἀστυνεῖτονας ἐν Ἑλευσίνι, βοθήσας καὶ τροπὴν ποιήσας τῶν πολεμίων ἀπέθανε κάλλιστα, καὶ μιν Ἀθηναίοι δημοσίη τε ἔθαψαν αὐτὸν τῇ περ ἐπεσε καὶ ἐτύμησαν μεγάλως.”

31. Ὄς δὲ τὰ κατὰ τὸν Τέλλον προετρέψατο ὁ Σόλων τὸν Κροῖσον εἶπας πολλὰ τε καὶ ὄλβια, ἐπειρώτα τίνα δεύτερον μετ’ ἐκείνων ἵδοι, δοκέων πάγχυν δευτερεία γῶν οἴσεσθαι. δ’ δ’ εἶπε “Κλέοβιν τε καὶ Βίτωνα. τοῦτοις γὰρ ἐπούσι γένος Ἀργείοντο βίος τε ἀρκενὸς ὑπῆν, καὶ πρὸς τούτῳ ρώμη σώματος τοιήδε· ἀεθλοφόροι τε ἀμφότεροι ὁμοίως ἦσαν, καὶ δὴ καὶ λέγεται ὅδε ὁ λόγος. ἐνοῦσης ὑρτῆς τῇ Ἡρῃ τοῖς Ἀργείοισι ἐδείκνυσεν πάντως τῇ μητέρᾳ αὐτῶν ἐξεύρη κομμοθήκαι ὅσ τὸ ἱρον, οἱ δὲ σφὶ βρέλε ἐκ τοῦ ἀγροῦ οὐ παρηγένευσεν ἐν ὑρῇ ἐκκλησίομενοι δὲ τῇ ὑρῇ οἱ νενιαι

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 stablished; moreover, having then as much wealth as a man may among us, he crowned his life with a most glorious death: for in a battle between the Athenians and their neighbours at Eleusis he attacked and routed the enemy and most nobly there died; and the Athenians gave him public burial where he fell and paid him great honour.”

31. Now when Solon had admonished Croesus by recounting the many ways in which Tellus was blest, the king further asked him whom he placed second after Tellus, thinking that assuredly the second prize at least would be his. Solon answered: “Cleobis and Biton. These were Argives, and besides sufficient wealth they had such strength of body as I will show. Both were prizewinners; and this story too is related of them. There was a festival of Here toward among the Argives, and their mother must by all means be drawn to the temple by a yoke of oxen. But the oxen did not come in time from the fields; so the young men, being thus thwarted by lack of time, put themselves
32. Σόλων μὲν δὴ εὐδαίμονίας δευτερεία ἐνεμε τούτοις, Κροίσος δὲ σπερχθεῖς εἶπε "Ὡς ξεῖνη Ἀθηναίε, ἡ δ’ ἡμετέρη εὐδαίμονία οὔτω τοι ἀπέρ- 
ρεται ἐς τὸ μηδὲν ὦστε οὐδέ ἰδιωτέων ἄνθρω 
πός ἦμεας ἐποίησας;" ὅ δὲ εἶπε "Ὡς Κροίσ 
ς, ἐπιστάμενον μὲ τὸ θεῖον πᾶν ἐνὸ φθονερὸν τὲ κα 
ὶ ταραχῶδες ἐπειρωτάς ἀνθρωπηνῶν προηγμάτω 
πέρι. ἐν γὰρ τῷ μακρῷ χρόνῳ πολλὰ μὲν ἑσ 
τῖ ἰδεῖν τὰ μῆτες ἐθέλει, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ παθεῖν. ἔ 
ς γὰρ ἐβδομήκοντα ἐτεα οὐρον τῆς ζωῆς ἀνθρώπω 
προτίθημι. οἵ τινες ἐνιαυτοὶ ἐβδομήκοντα 
παρέχονται ἡμέρας διηκοσίας καὶ πεντακισχίλιας 
καὶ δισμυρίας, ἐμβολίμου μηνὸς μή 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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second year be lengthened by a month so that the seasons and the calendar may rightly accord, then the intercalary months are five and thirty, over and above the seventy years: and the days of these months are one thousand and fifty; so then all the days together of the seventy years are seen to be twenty-six thousand two hundred and fifty; and one may well say that no one of all these days is like another in that which it brings. Thus then, Croesus, the whole of man is but chance. Now if I am to speak of you, I say that I see you very rich and the king of many men. But I cannot yet answer your question, before I hear that you have ended your life well. For he who is very rich is not more blest than he who has but enough for the day, unless fortune so attend him that he ends his life well, having all good things about him. Many men of great wealth are unblest, and many that have no great substance are fortunate. Now the very rich man who is yet unblest has but two advantages over the fortunate man, but the fortunate man has many advantages over the rich but unblest: for this latter is the stronger to accomplish his desire and to bear the stroke of great calamity; but these are the advantages of the fortunate man, that though he be not so strong as the other to deal with calamity and desire, yet these are kept far from him by his good fortune, and he is free from deformity, sickness, and all evil, and happy in his children and his comeliness. If then such a man besides all this shall also end his life well, then he is the man whom you seek, and is worthy to be called blest; but we must wait till he be dead, and call him not yet blest, but fortunate. Now
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συλλαβείν ἀνθρωπον ἐοντα ἀδύνατον ἐστι, ὡσπερ χώρη οὐδεμία καταρκέει πάντα ἐως ἡ παρέχουσα, ἀλλὰ ἄλλο μὲν ἔχει ἐτέρου δὲ ἐπιδέεται: ἢ δὲ ἂν τὰ πλείστα ἔχῃ, αὐτὴ ἀρίστη. ὃς δὲ καὶ ἀνθρώπον σῶμα ἐν οὐδὲν αὐτάρκες ἐστι· τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἔχει, ἄλλον δὲ ἐνδεές ἐστι: ὅς δὲ ἂν αὐτῶν πλείστα ἔχων διατελεύκα, καὶ ἔπειτα τελευτήσῃ εὐχαρίστως τὸν βίον, οὕτως παρ' ἐμοῖ τὸ οὐνομα τούτο ὁ βασιλεὺς δίκαιος ἐστι φέρεσθαι. σκοπέειν δὲ χρή παντὸς χρήματος τὴν τελευτήν, κῇ ἀποβήσεται; πολλοὶ γὰρ δὴ ύποδέξασ ὄλβον ὁ θεὸς προβρίζουσι ἀνέτρεψε.”

33. Ταῦτα λέγων τῷ Κροῖσῳ οὐ καὶ ὡς ὀυτε ἐχαρίζετο, ὡς λόγου μιν ποιησάμενος οὐδενὸς ἀποπέμπεται, κάρτα δόξας ἀμαθεὰ εἶναι, ὃς τὰ παρεόντα ἀγαθὰ μετεῖς τὴν τελευτήν παντὸς χρήματος ὅραν ἐκέλευε.

34. Μετὰ δὲ Σῶλωνα οἰχόμενον ἔλαβε ὁ θεὸς νέμεσις μεγάλῃ Κροῖσου, ὅσ εἰκάσαι, ὅτι ἐνόμισε ἐωτὸν εἶναι ἀνθρώπων ἀπάντων ὀλβιώτατον. αὐτίκα δὲ οἱ εὐδοντε ἐπέστη ὄνειρος, ὃς οὶ τὴν ἀληθείην ἔφανε τῶν μελλόντων γενέσθαι κακῶν κατὰ τὸν παίδα. ἦσαν δὲ τῷ Κροῖσῳ δύο παιδες, τῶν οὔτερος μὲν διέφθαρτο, ἦν γὰρ δὴ κωφός, ὁ δὲ ἐτερος τῶν ἥλικων μακρῷ τὰ πάντα πρῶτος οὖνομα δὲ οἱ ἂν Ἀτυσ. τούτων δὴ ὄν τὸν Ἀτυν σημαίνει τῷ Κροῖσῳ ὁ ὄνειρος, ὃς ἀπολέει μιν αἰχμη σιδηρῆ βληθεντα. ὁ δὲ ἐπείτε ἐξεγήρθη καὶ ἐωτὸς λόγου ἐδωκε, καταρρωδήσας τὸν ὄνειρον ἄγεται μὲν τῷ παιδί γυναῖκα, ἐωθῆτα δὲ στρατηγέειν μιν τῶν Λυδὸν οὐδαμὴ ἔτι ἐπὶ τοιοῦτο πρήγμα ἐξέπεμπτε· ἀκόντια δὲ καὶ δοράτια καὶ τὰ
no one (who is but man) can have all these good things together, just as no land is altogether self-sufficing in what it produces: one thing it has, another it lacks, and the best land is that which has most; so too no single person is sufficient for himself: one thing he has, another he lacks; but whoever continues in the possession of most things, and at last makes a gracious end of his life, such a man, O King, I deem worthy of this title. We must look to the conclusion of every matter, and see how it shall end, for there are many to whom heaven has given a vision of blessedness, and yet afterwards brought them to utter ruin.

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

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

35. "Εχωντι ¹ δὲ οἱ ἐν χερῶ τοῦ παιδὸς τὸν
gάμον, ἀπικνεῖται ἐς τὰς Σάρδις ἀνὴρ συμφορῇ
ἐχόμενος καὶ οὐ καθαρὸς χεῖρας, ἐδῶν Φρύξ µὲν
γενεῆ, γένεος δὲ τοῦ βασιλείου. παρέλθουν δὲ
οὕτος ἐς τὰ Κροῖσον οἰκία κατα νόμους τοὺς
ἐπιχόριους καθαρούς ἐδέθετο κυρήσαι, Κροῖσος δὲ
μὴν ἐκάθησε. ἔστι δὲ παραπλησία ἢ καθαροῖς
tοῖς Λυδίοις καὶ τοῖς "Ελλησι. ἐπείτε δὲ τὰ
νομιζόμενα ἐποίησε ὁ Κροῖσος, ἐπυθανέτο ὁκόθεν
tε καὶ τίς εἰς, λέγων τάδε: ""Ωνθρωπε, τίς τε ἔων
cαὶ κόθεν τῆς Φρυγίας ἤκον ἐπίστιος μοι ἐγένεο; τίνα
tε ἀνδρῶν ἢ γυναικῶν ἐφονεῦσας;" ὁ δὲ
ἀμένετο ""Ω βασιλεύ, Γορδίεω μὲν τοῦ Μίδεω
εἰμὶ πᾶς, ὁνομάζομαι δὲ "'Αδρηστος, φονεύσας δὲ
ἀδελφῶν ἐμεωτοῦ αἴκων πάρειμι ἐξεληλαμένος
tε ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ ἐστερημένος πάντων." Κροῖσος
dὲ μὴν ἀμένετο τούσιδε: "'Ανδρῶν τε
φίλων τυχχάνεις ἐκγόνως ἔων καὶ ἐληλυθας ἢς
φίλους, ἐνθὰ ἁμηχανήσεις χρήματος οὐδένος μένων
ἐν ἱμετέρου, συμφορὴν τε ταύτην ὡς κούφοτατα
φέρων κερδανεις πλείστων."

36. "Ὁ μὲν δὴ δίασταν εἰχε ἐν Κροῖσον. ἐν δὲ
τῷ αὐτῷ χρόνῳ τούτῳ ἐν τῷ Μυσίῳ Ὀλύμπῳ ύσι,
χρήμα γίνεται μέγα: ὀρμώμενος δὲ οὕτος ἐκ τοῦ
ὅρεος τούτον τὰ τῶν Μυσίων ἑργα διαφθείρεσκε,
πολλάκις δὲ οἱ Μυσῖ έπ' αὐτόν 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 entertained 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 αὐτοῦ. τέλος δὲ ἀπικόμενοι παρὰ τὸν Κροίσον τῶν Μυσῶν ἄγγελοι ἔλεγον τάδε. “*Ω βασιλεῦ, ύδος χρήμα μέγιστον ἀνεφάνη ἡμῖν ἐν τῇ χώρῃ, ὅσ τὰ ἔργα διαφθείρει. τούτον προθυμεύμενοι ἔλειν οὐ δυνάμεθα. νῦν ὃν προσδεόμεθα σεῦ τὸν παιδα καὶ λογάδας νεηνίας καὶ κύνας συμπέμψαμεν ἡμῖν, ὥσ ἂν μιν ἔξελωμεν ἐκ τῆς χώρης.” οἳ μὲν δὴ τούτων ἐδέοντο, Κροίσος δὲ μημομενοῦν τοῦ ὅνει- ρου τὰ ἔπεα ἔλεγε σφι τάδε. “Παιδὸς μὲν πέρι τοῦ ἐμοῦ μή μηνηθῆτε ἐτί· οὐ γὰρ ἂν ἡμῖν συμ- πέμψαμεν. νεόγαμὸς τε γὰρ ἐστὶ καὶ ταύτα οἱ νῦν μέλει. Λυδῶν μέντοι λογάδας καὶ τὸ κυνηγεσίον πᾶν συμπέμψαμεν, καὶ διακελεύσομαι τοῖς ίσοις εἶναι ὅσ προθυμοστάτοις συνεξελείν ἡμῖν τὸ θηρίον ἐκ τῆς χώρης.”

37. Ταῦτα ἀμείψατο· ἀποχρεωμένων δὲ τού- τωι τῶν Μυσῶν, ἐπεσέρχεται ὁ τοῦ Κροίσου παῖς ἁκηκώς τῶν ἐδέοντο οἵ Μυσοί. οὐ φαμένου δὲ τοῦ Κροίσου τὸν γε παῖδα σφι συμπέμψειν, λέγει πρὸς αὐτοῦ ὁ νεηνίς τάδε. “*Ω πάτερ, τὰ κάλλιστα πρότερον κοτὲ καὶ ἡγεναιότατα ἡμῖν ἂν ἐσ τε πολέμους καὶ ἂν ἄγρας φοιτέουσας εὐδοκι- μέειν νῦν δέ ἀμφοτέρως με τούτων ἀπόκλησις ἐξεις, οὔτε τινὰ δειλίν μοι παριδῶν οὔτε ἀθυμίν. νῦν τε τέοισί με χρὴ ὄμμασί ἐς τε ἀγορὴν καὶ ἂς ἀγορῆς φοιτέοντα φαίνεσθαι; κοίοις μὲν τις τοῖς πολιήτησι δόξῳ εἶναι, κοίος δὲ τοῖς τῇ νεογάμῳ γυναικί; κοίῳ δὲ ἐκείνῃ δόξει ἀνδρὶ συνουκεῖν; ἐμὲ δὲν σὺ ἢ μέτες ἔναι ἐπὶ τὴν θῆρην, ἢ λόγῳ ἀνάπεσον ἄκως μοι ἀμείνω ἐστὶ ταῦτα οὕτω ποιεόμενα.”

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

37. So he replied, and the Mysians were satisfied with this. But the son of Croesus now came in, who had heard the request of the Mysians; and when Croesus refused to send his son with them, "Father," said the young man, "it was formerly held fairest and noblest that we princes should go constantly to war and the chase and win thereby renown; but now you have barred me from both of these, not for any sign that you have seen in me of a coward or craven spirit. With what face can I thus show myself whenever I go to and from the market-place? What will the men of the city think of me, and what my new-wedded wife? With what manner of man will she think that she dwells? Nay, do you either let me go to this hunt, or show me by reason good that what you are doing is best for me."
38. Ἀμείβεται Κροῖσος τοῖς ἰδίοις. "Ἡ Ω παῖ, οὔτε δειλὴν οὔτε ἄλλο οὐδὲν ἄχαρι παριδῶν τοῦ ποιέω ταῦτα, ἀλλὰ μοι ὅψις ὁνείρου ἐν τῷ ὑπνῷ ἐπιστᾶσα ἐφή σε ὀλυγοχρόνιον ἔσσεθαί ὑπὸ γαρ αἰχμῆς σιδηρέως ἀπολέσθαι. πρὸς δὲ τὴν ὅψιν ταύτην τὸν τε γάμον τοῦ τούτον ἐσπευσά καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ παραλαμβανόμενα ὅικ ἀποτέμπω, φυλακὴν ἐξον, εἰ κως δυναίμην ἐπὶ τῆς ἔμης σε ζοῆς διακλέψαι. εἰς γάρ μοι μοῦνος τυγχάνεις ἐδώ παῖς τὸν γάρ δὴ ἔτερον διεφθαρμένου τῆς ἀκοὴν οὐκ εἶναι μοι λογίζομαι."

39. Ἀμείβεται ὁ νεανίς τοῖς ἰδίοις. "Συγγνώμη μὲν ὁ πάτερ τοῦ, ἰδόντι γε ὅψιν τουιαύτην, περὶ ἐμὲ φυλακὴν ἔχειν τὸ δὲ οὐ μανθάνεις ἀλλὰ λέληθε σε τὸ ὅνειρον, ἐμὲ τοῦ δίκαιον ἐστὶ φράζειν. φής τοῦ τὸ ὅνειρον ὕπο αἰχμῆς σιδηρέως φάναι ἐμὲ τελευτῆσειν. ὅς δὲ κοίται μὲν εἰς τέχνες, κοίτῃ δὲ αἰχμῆ σιδηρέως τὴν σὺ φοβεῖαι; εἰ μὲν γάρ ὕπο ὅδόντος τοῦ εἴπε τελευτῆσειν με, ἡ ἀλλον τευ ὁ τι τούτω έουκε, χρήν δὴ σε ποιέειν τὰ ποιέεις. νῦν δὲ ὕπο αἰχμῆς. ἐπεῖτε ὅν οὐ πρὸς ἀνδρας ἡμῖν γίνεται ἡ μάχη, μέτες με.

40. Ἀμείβεται Κροῖσος "Ἡ Ω παῖ, ἔστι τῇ μὲ νικᾶς γνώμην ἀποφαίνων περὶ τοῦ ἐνυπνίου. ὡς ὅν νεκτηκημένος ὕπο σέο μεταγινώσκω, μετήμι τε σὲ ἐναί ἐπὶ τὴν ἀγρην."

41. Εἴπας δὲ ταῦτα ὁ Κροῖσος μεταπέμπεται τὸν Φρύγα Ἀδρηστοῦ, ἀπικομένῳ δὲ οἱ λέγει τάδε. "Ἀδρηστε, ἐγὼ σε συμφορή πεπληγμένον ἄχαρι, τὴν τοῦ οὐκ ὁνειδίζω, ἐκάθερα καὶ οἰκίουσι υποδεξάμενοι ἔχο, παρέχων πάσαν δαπάνην. νῦν δὲν (ὁφείλεις γαρ ἐμοῦ προποιήσαντος χρηστά ἐσ
38. "My son," answered Croesus, "if I do this, it is not that I have seen cowardice or aught unseemly in you; no, but the vision of a dream stood over me in my sleep, and told me that your life should be short, for you should be slain by a spear of iron. It is for that vision that I was careful to make your marriage, and send you on no enterprise that I have in hand, but keep guard over you, so that haply I may trick death of you through my lifetime. You are my only son: for that other, since his hearing is lost to him, I count no son of mine."

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

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

41. Having said this, Croesus sent for Adrastus the Phrygian and when he came thus addressed him: "Adrastus, when you were smitten by grievous misfortune, for which I blame you not, it was I who cleansed you, and received and still keep you in my house, defraying all your charges. Now therefore (as you owe me a return of good service for the benefits
σὲ χρηστοίσι με ἀμείβεσθαι) φύλακα παιδὸς σὲ τοῦ ἐμοῦ χρησίων γενέσθαι ἐς ἀγρην ὅρμωμένου, μή τινες κατ᾽ ὄδον κλώπες κακούργου ἐπὶ δηλήσω φανέωσι ὑμῖν. πρὸς δὲ τούτῳ καὶ σὲ τοι χρεῶν ἑστὶ ἑναὶ ἑνθα ἀπολαμπρύνεαι τοῖσι ἔργοις: πατρώων τε γὰρ τοῦ ἑστὶ καὶ προσέτι ῥόμη ὑπάρχει."  

42. Ἀμείβεται ὁ Ἀδρηστός "Ὡ βασιλεὺ, ἄλλως μὲν ἔγινε ἢν οὐκ ἦν ἢ ἀεθλῶν τοιὸνδε: οὔτε γὰρ συμφορῇ τοιῇ δε κεχρημένου οἰκός ἑστὶ ἐς ὅμηλικας εὔ πρῆσουσας ἑναί, ὄψε τὸ βούλεσθαι πάρα, πόλλαχῃ τε ἄν ἱσχον ἐμεσωτόν. ὅποι δὲ ἐπείτε σὺ σπεύδεις καὶ δεῖ τοι χαρίζεσθαι (όφειλὼ γὰρ σὲ ἀμείβεσθαι χρηστοίσι), ποιεῖν εἰμὶ ἐτοιμὸς ταῦτα, παῖδα τε σὸν, τὸν διακελεύεαι φυλάσσειν, ἀπήμονα τοῦ φυλάσσοντος εἶνεκεν προσδόκα τοι ἀπονοστήσειν."  

43. Τοιούτωσι ἐπείτε οὕτος ἀμείβατό Κροῖσον, ἢσαν μετὰ ταῦτα ἐξηρτυμένοι λογασὶ τε νεπυγχι καὶ κυσί. ἀπικόμενοι δὲ ἐς τὸν Ὁλυμπον τὸ ὅρος ἐξήτεον τὸ θηρῖον, εὐρόντες δὲ καὶ περιστάντες αὐτὸ κύκλῳ ἐσηκοντίζου. ἐνθα δὴ ὁ ξεῖνος, οὕτος δὴ ὁ καθαρῆς τῶν φῶνον, καλεόμενος δὲ Ἀδρηστος, ἀκοντίζον τὸν ὑν τοῦ μὲν ἀμαρτάνει, τυγχάνει δὲ τοῦ Κροῖσον παιδὸς. ὃ μὲν ὁ βληθεὶς τῇ αἰχμῇ ἐξέπλησε τοῦ ὀνείρου τὴν φήμην, ἔθεε δὲ τις ἀγγελέων τὸ Κροίσῳ τὸ γεγονός, ἀπικόμενος δὲ ἐς τὰς Σάρδις τὴν τε μάχην καὶ τὸν τοῦ παιδὸς μόρον ἐσήμηνε οἱ.  

44. Ὁ δὲ Κροίσος τῷ θανάτῳ τοῦ παιδὸς συντεταραγμένος μᾶλλον τι ἐδειγμολογεῖοτο ὅτι μὲν ἀπέκτεινε τὸν αὐτὸς φῶνον ἐκάθερε: περιημκετένων 48
which I have done you) I ask you to watch over my son as he goes out to the chase. See to it that no 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
δὲ τῇ συμφορῇ δεινῶς ἐκάλεε μὲν Δία καθάρσιον, μαρτυρόμενος τὰ ὑπὸ τοῦ ξείνου πεπονθῶς εἴη, ἐκάλεε δὲ ἐπίστιον τε καὶ ἐταιρῆιον, τὸν αὐτὸν τούτον ὄνομάξων θεόν, τὸν μὲν ἐπίστιον καλέων, διότι δὴ οἰκίοις ὑποδεξάμενος τὸν ξείνου φῶνα τοῦ παιδὸς ἐλάνθανε βόσκων, τὸν δὲ ἐταιρῆιον, ὡς φύλακα συμπέμψας αὐτὸν εὐρήκοι πολεμιστατον.

45. Παρῆσαν δὲ μετὰ τοῦτο οἱ Δυδοὶ φέροντες τὸν νεκρὸν, ὑπισθε δὲ εἰπετὸ οἱ ὁ φονεὺς. στὰς δὲ οὕτως πρὸ τοῦ νεκροῦ παρεδίδου ἐωτοῦν Κροῖσῳ προτείνων τὰς χεῖρας, ἐπικατασφάζαι μιν κελεύων τῷ νεκρῷ, λέγων τὴν πρὸ τοπρέτῃ ἐωτοῦν συμφορὴν, καὶ ως ἐπ' ἐκείνῃ τὸν καθήραντα ἄπολωλεκὼς εἶη, οὐδὲ οἱ εἰὴ βιώσιμοι. Κροῖσος δὲ τούτων ἀκούσας τὸν τε 'Ἀδρηστον κατοικτείρει, καίπερ ἔδων ἐν κακῶ οἰκηής τοσοῦτοι καὶ λέγει πρὸς αὐτὸν ""Ἐχώ ὁ ξείνη παρὰ σεῦ πᾶσαν τὴν δίκην, ἐπειδὴ σεωτοῦ καταδικάζεις θάνατον. εἰς δὲ οὐ σὺ μοι τοῦδε τοῦ κακοῦ αἰτίος, εἰ μὴ ὅσον ἀέκων ἐξεργάσαι, ἀλλὰ θεῶν κού τις, ὅσοι καὶ πάλαι προσέημαι τὰ μέλλοντα ἔσεσθαι." Κροῖσος μὲν νυν ἔθαψε ὃς οἰκος ἦν τὸν ἐωτοῦ παῖδα. 'Ἀδρηστος δὲ ο Γορδέω τοῦ Μίδεω, οὕτως δὴ οἱ φονεὺς μὲν τοῦ ἐωτοῦ ἄδελφοις γενόμενος φονεὺς δὲ τοῦ καθήραντος, ἐπείτε ἡσυχίᾳ τῶν ἄνθρωπων ἐγένετο περὶ τὸ σῆμα, συγγινωσκόμενος ἄνθρωπων εἰναι τῶν αὐτοῖς ἦδεε βαρυσύμφορωτασ, ἐπικατασφάζεί τῷ τύμβῳ ἐωτόν.

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
κατῆστο τοῦ παιδὸς ἐστερημένος. μετὰ δὲ ἡ Ἀστυάγεος τοῦ Κυαξάρεως ἡγεμονία καταιρεθεῖσα ὑπὸ Κύρου τοῦ Καμβύσεω καὶ τὰ τῶν Περσέων πρήγματα αὐξανόμενα πένθεος μὲν Κροῖσον ἀπέπαινε, ἐνέβησε δὲ ἐς φρουτίδα, εἰ κως δύναιτο, πρὶν μεγάλους γενέσθαι τοὺς Πέρσας, καταλαβεῖν αὐτῶν αὐξανομένην τὴν δύναμιν. μετὰ δὲν τὴν διάνοιαν ταύτην αὐτίκα ἀπεπειράτο τῶν μαντηλῶν τῶν τε ἐν "Ἐλλησι καὶ τοῦ ἐν Διβῦ, διαπέμψας ἀλλος ἄλλη, τοὺς μὲν ἐς Δελφοὺς ἰέναι, τοὺς δὲ ἐς "Αβας τὰς Φωκέων, τοὺς δὲ ἐς Δωδώνην" οὐ δὲ τινὲς ἐπέμποντο παρὰ τε Ἀμφιάρεων καὶ παρὰ Τροφώνιον, οὐ δὲ τῆς Μιλησίας ἐς Βραγχίδας. ταῦτα μὲν νῦν τὰ Ἐλληνικὰ μαντήμα τὰ ἐς ἀπέπεμψε μαντευσόμενος Κροῖσος. Διβῦς δὲ παρὰ Ἀμμωνα ἀπέστελλε ἄλλους χρησομένους. διέπεμπε δὲ πειρώμενος τῶν μαντηλῶν ὃ τι φρονέοιεν, ὡς εἰ φρονεύοντα τὴν ἀληθείαν εὐρεθεῖν, ἐπείρηται σφέα δεύτερα πέμπτων εἰ ἑπιχειρεῖ εἰπὶ Πέρσας στρατεύεσθαι.

47. Ἐντειλάμενος δὲ τούς Λυδοῖς τάδε ἀπεπεμπε ἐς τὴν διάπειραν τῶν χρηστηρίων, ἀπ' ἡς ἄν ἡμέρης ὀρμηθέωσι ἐκ Σαιρδίων, ἀπὸ ταύτης ἡμερολογεύοντας τῶν λοιπῶν χρόνων ἐκατοστή ἡμέρης χρᾶσθαι τούς χρηστηρίοις, ἐπειρωτώντας ὃ τι ποιέων τυνχάνοι τοῦ Λυδῶν βασιλεὺς Κροῖσος ὁ Ἀλυάττεως ἀσσά δ' ἂν ἔκαστα τῶν χρηστηρίων θεσπίσῃ, συγγραψάμενους ἀναφέρειν παρ' ἑωτόν. ὃ τι μὲν νῦν τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν χρηστηρίων ἑθέσπισε, οὐ λέγεται πρὸς σύνδαμων ἐν δὲ Δελφοῖς ὡς ἐνηλθήσαν τάχιστα ἐς τὸ μέγαρον οἱ Λυδοὶ χρησομένοι τῷ θεῷ καὶ ἐπειρώτων τὸ ἐντεταλμένον, ἡ Πυθίη ἐν ἐξαμέτρῳ τόνω 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 Amphiaras 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.
Ωίδα δ᾽ ἐγὼ ψαμμοῦ τ᾽ ἀριθμὸν καὶ μέτρα θαλάσσης, καὶ κωφοὶ συνήμμι, καὶ οὐ φωνεύτος ἀκοῦω. ὀδυμή μ᾽ ἐς φρένας ἦλθε κραταιρίνου ἄδορόντος ἐφομένη πον ἀλκοῦ ἀμ’ ἀρνείοισι κρέεσσιν, ἡ ἀλκικὸς μὲν ὑπέστρωταί, ἀλκικὸν δ᾽ ἐπιέσται.

48. Ταῦτα οἱ Λυδοὶ θεσπισάντης τῆς Πυθῆς συγγραφέμενοι οἱ χορτοὶ ἀπίστοτε ἔτας Σάρδις. ὡς δὲ καὶ ὄλλοι οἱ περιπεμφθέντες παράκειν ἐφέροντες τοὺς χρησμούς, ἐναύτα τὸ Κροίσος ἐκαστὰ ἀναπτύσσον ἐπάρα τῶν συγγραμμάτων. τῶν μὲν δὴ οὐδὲν προσίετό μιν’ ὅ δὲ ὡς τὸ ἐκ Δελφῶν ἦκοντε, αὐτίκα προσεύχετο τε καὶ προσεδέξατο, νομίσας μοῦν εῦλα τοῦ ἐν Δελφοῖσι, ὅτι οἱ ἐξευρήκες τὰ αὐτὸς ἐποίησε. ἐπείτε γὰρ δὴ διέπεμψε παρὰ τὰ χρηστήρια τοὺς θεοπρόπους, φυλάξας τὴν κυρίη τῶν ἁμερέων ἐμπερνᾶτο τοιάδε. ἐπιστημένος τὰ ἄνθρωπαν ἐξευρέων τε καὶ ἐπιφράσασθαι, χελώνην καὶ ἀρνα κατακόψας ὁμοῦ ἤψε αὐτὸς ἐν λέβητι χαλκέω, χάλκεων ἐπίθημα ἐπιθεῖς.

49. Τὰ μὲν δὴ ἐκ Δελφῶν οὖτω τῷ Κροίσῳ ἐχαίρησθε κατὰ δὲ τὴν Ἱμνιάρεω τοῦ μαντήλιον ὑπόκρισιν, οὐκ ἐχὼ εἰπεῖν ὅ τι τοῖς Λυδοῖσι ἔχρησε ποιήσασι περὶ τὸ ἱρὸν τὰ νομίζομεν (οὐ γὰρ όν οὔδε τὸ τούτο λέγεται), ἅλλο γε ἡ ὅτι καὶ τούτων ἐνόμισε μαντήλιον ἄψευδες ἐκτήσθαι.
"Grains of sand I reckon and measure the spaces of ocean,
Hear when dumb men speak, and mark the speech of the silent.
What is it now that I smell? ’tis a tortoise mightily armoured
Sodden in vessel of bronze, with a lamb’s flesh mingled together:
Bronze thereunder is laid and a mantle of bronze is upon it."

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

49. Such then was the answer from Delphi delivered to Croesus. As to the reply which the Lydians received from Amphiaraus when they had followed the due custom of the temple, I cannot say what it was, for nothing is recorded of it, saving that Croesus held that from this oracle too he had obtained a true answer.
50. Μετὰ δὲ ταύτα θυσίηςι μεγάλησί τὸν ἐν Δελφοῖς θεὸν ἰλάσκετο· κτήνεα τε γὰρ τὰ θύσιμα πάντα τρισχίλια ἔδυσε, κλίνας τε ἐπιχρύσους καὶ ἐπαργύρους καὶ φιάλας χρυσέας καὶ εἴματα πορφύρα καὶ κιθώνας, νῆσας πυρὴν μεγάλην, κατέκαιε, ἐλπίζων τὸν θεὸν μᾶλλον τι τούτοις ἀνακτήσειςαν. Ἀνδοῖσι τε πᾶσι προεῖπε θύειν πάντα τινὰ αὐτῶν τούτῳ ὦ τι ἔχοι ἐκαστος. ὅσ δὲ ἐκ τῆς θυσίης ἐγένετο, καταχεάμενος χρυσὸν ἀπλετον ἡμιπλινθία ἐξ αὐτοῦ ἐξῆλαυνε, ἐπὶ μὲν τὰ μακρότερα ποιέων ἔξαπαλαίστα, ἐπὶ δὲ τὰ βραχύτερα τριπάλαιστα, ὦψος δὲ παλαισταία. ἀριθμὸν δὲ ἐπτακαίδεκα καὶ ἐκατόν, καὶ τούτων ἀπέθανοι χρυσοῦ τέσσερα, τρίτον ἡμιτάλαντον ἐκαστὸν ἔλκοντα, τὰ δὲ ἅλλα ἡμιπλινθία λευκοῦ χρυσοῦ, σταθμὸν διτάλαντα. ἐποιεότε πὲ καὶ λέοντος εἰκόνα χρυσοῦ ἀπέθανοι ἔλκονσαν σταθμὸν τάλαντα δέκα. οὕτος δὲ λέων, ἐπεῖτε κατεκαίετο ὁ ἐν Δελφοῖς νησὶ, κατέπεσε ἀπὸ τῶν ἡμιπλινθίων (ἐπὶ γὰρ τούτοις ἱδρυτο), καὶ νῦν κεῖται ἐν τῷ Κορινθίους θησαυρῷ, ἐλκων σταθμὸν ἐβδομον ἡμιτάλαντον ἀπετάκη γὰρ αὐτοῦ τέταρτον ἡμιτάλαντον.

51. 'Επιτελέσας δὲ ὁ Κροῖσος ταύτα ἀπέπεμπε ἐς Δελφοὺς, καὶ τάδε ἅλλα ἁμα τοίσι, κρητῆρας δύο μεγάθει μεγάλους, χρύσεου καὶ ἀργύρου, τῶν ὦ μὲν χρύσεος ἐκείτο ἐπὶ δεξιὰ ἐσιότι ἐς τὸν νησίν, ὦ δὲ ἀργύρεος ἐπὶ ἀριστερά. μετεκινήθησαν δὲ καὶ οὕτω ὕπο τὸν νησίν κατακαέντα, καὶ ὦ μὲν χρύσεος κεῖται ἐν τῷ Κλαζωμενίους θησαυρῷ, ἐλκων σταθμὸν εἴνατον ἡμιτάλαντον καὶ ἐτὶ δυῶδεκα μνέας, ὦ δὲ ἀργύρεος ἐπὶ τοῦ προνησίου 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 μνᾶ = about 15 oz. Troy weight.
γωνίς, χωρέων ἀμφορεάς ἔξακοσίους ἐπικύρναται γὰρ ὑπὸ Δελφῶν θεοφανίοισι. φασὶ δὲ μὲν Δελφοὶ Θεοδώρου τοῦ Σαμίου ἔργον εἶναι, καὶ ἐγὼ δοκεώ· οὐ γὰρ τὸ συντυχὼν φαίνεται μοι ἔργον εἶναι. καὶ πίθους τε ἀργυρέους τέσσερας ἀπέπεμψε, οἳ ἐν τῷ Κορινθίων θησαυρὸ ἐστάσι, καὶ περιρραντήρια δύο ἀνέθηκε, χρύσεων τε καὶ ἀργυρίων, τῶν τῶν χρυσῶν ἐπιγέγρασσαν Δακεδαιμονίων φαμέων εἶναι ἀνάθημα, οὐκ ὀρθῶς λέγοντες· ἦστι γὰρ καὶ τοῦτο Κροίσου, ἐπέγραψε δὲ τῶν τις Δελφῶν Δακεδαιμονίοισι βουλόμενος χαρίζεσθαι, τοῦ ἐπιστάμενος τὸ οὖνομα οὐκ ἐπιμνήσομαι. ἄλλ' ὁ μὲν παῖς, δὴ οὗ τῆς χειρὸς ῥέει τὸ ὕδωρ, Δακεδαιμονίων ἦστι, οὐ μέντοι τῶν γε περιρραντηρίων οὐδέτερον. ἄλλα τε ἀναθήματα οὐκ ἐπίσημα πολλὰ ἀπεπεμψε ἄμα τούτοις ὁ Κροίσος, καὶ χεῖματα ἀργύρεα κυκλοτερέα, καὶ δὴ καὶ γυναικῶς εἴδωλον χρύσεων τρίπτηχυ, τὸ Δελφὸς τῆς ἀρτοκόπου τῆς Κροίσου εἰκόνα λέγοντες εἶναι. πρὸς δὲ καὶ τῆς ἐωτοῦ γυναικὸς τὰ ἀπὸ τῆς δειρῆς ἀνέθηκε ὁ Κροίσος καὶ τὰς ζώνας.

52. Ταῦτα μὲν ἐς Δελφοὺς ἀπέτεμψε, τὸ δὲ Ἀμφιάρεως, πυθόμενος αὐτοῦ τὴν τε ἄρετὴν καὶ τὴν πάθην, ἀνέθηκε σάκος τε χρύσου πᾶν ὀμοίως καὶ αἰχμὴν στερεὴν πᾶσαν χρυσέην, τὸ ξυστὸν τῇς λογχησὶ ἐὼν ὀμοίως χρύσεων τὰ ἐτὶ καὶ ἀμφότερα ἐς ἐμὲ ἢν κείμενα ἐν Θήβησι καὶ Θηβέων ἐν τῷ νηῷ τοῦ Ἰσμηνίου Ἀπόλλωνος.

53. Τούτι δὲ ἄγειν μέλλουσι τῶν Λυδῶν ταῦτα τὰ δώρα ἐς τὰ ἱρὰ ἐνετέλλετο ὁ Κροίσος ἐπειρωτάν τὰ χρηστηρία εἰ στρατεύηται ἐπὶ Πέρσας Κροίσος καὶ εἰ τινὰ στρατὸν ἀνδρῶν προσθέεσθο τίλουν. 58
bowl holds six hundred nine-gallon measures: for the Delphians use it for a mixing-bowl at the feast of the Divine Appearance.\(^1\) 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

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

ὡς δὲ ἀπικόμενοι ἐσ τὰ ἀπεπεμφθησαν οἱ Λυδοὶ ἀνέθεσαν τὰ ἀναθήματα, ἔχρεωντο τοῦι χρηστηρίσιοι λέγοντες "Κροίσος ὁ Λυδῶν τε καὶ ἄλλων ἑθνεῶν βασιλεύς, νομίσας τάδε μαντήμα εἶναι μοῦνα ἐν ἀνθρώποις, ὑμῖν τε ἄξια δῶρα ἔδωκε τῶν ἐξευρημάτων, καὶ νῦν ὑμέας ἐπειρωτὰ εἰ στρατεύηται ἐπὶ Πέρσας καὶ εἰ τινὰ στρατὸν ἀνδρῶν προσθέειτο σύμμαχον." οὗ μὲν ταῦτα ἐπειρώτων, τῶν δὲ μαντηίων ἄμφοτέρων ὡς τῶντο ἢνωμαί συνεδραμον, προλέγονται Κροίσῳ, ἦν στρατεύητα ἐπὶ Πέρσας, μεγάλην ἄρχὴν μιν καταλύειν τοὺς δὲ Ἑλλήνων δυνατοτάτους συνεβούλευν οἱ ἐξευρόντα φίλους προσθέσθαι.

54. Ἐπείτε δὲ ἀνενειχθέντα τὰ θεοπρόπτια ἐποθετο ὁ Κροίσος, ὑπερήσθη τε τοῖς χρηστηρίοις, πάγχυ τε ἐπίσεις καταλύσειν τὴν Κύρου βασιλείαν, πέμψας αὐτὸς ἐς Πυθῶν Νελφοὺς δωρεῖντα, πυθόμενος αὐτῶν τὸ πλῆθος, κατ’ ἄνδρα δύο στατήριοι ἔκαστον χρυσοῦ. Δελφὸι δὲ ἀντὶ τούτων ἔδοσαν Κροίσῳ καὶ Λυδοὶς προμαντήτην καὶ ἀτελείαν καὶ προεδρίαν, καὶ ἔσχον τῷ βουλομένῳ αὐτῶν γίνεσθαι Δελφὸν ἐς τὸν αἰεὶ χρόνον.

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

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

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

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

' Ἀλλ' ὅταν ἡμίονος βασιλεὺς Μῆδοις γένηται, καὶ τότε, Λυδὲ ποδαβρέ, πολυψήφιδα παρ' Ἐρμον

φεύγειν μηδὲ μένειν μηδ' αἰδεῖσθαι κακὸς εἶναι.

56. Τούτοις ἐλθοῦσι τοῖς ἔπεσι ὁ Κροῖσος πολλὸν τι μάλιστα πάντων ἢσθη, ἐλπίζων ἡμίονον οὐδαμά ἀν' ἀνδρός βασιλεύσειν Μῆδων, οὐδ' ὁν αὐτὸς οὐδὲ οἱ ἐξ αὐτοῦ παύσεσθαι κοτὲ τῆς ἀρχῆς. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἐφρόντιζε ἱστορέων τοὺς ἀν' Ἐλληνῶν δυνατωτάτους ἐόντας προσκτήσαιτο φίλους, ἱστορέων δὲ εὐρίσκει Δακεδαιμονίους καὶ Ἀθηναίους προέχοντας τοὺς μὲν τοῦ Δωρικοῦ γένεος τοὺς δὲ τοῦ Ἰωνικοῦ. ταῦτα γὰρ ἦν τὰ προκεκριμένα, ἐόντα τὸ ἁρχαίον τὸ μὲν Πελασγικὸν τὸ δὲ Ἐλληνικὸν ἔθνος. καὶ τὸ μὲν οὐδαμὴ καὶ ἐξεχώρησε, τὸ δὲ πολυπλάνητον κάρτα. ἐπὶ μὲν γὰρ Δευκαλίωνος βασιλέος οἶκε γῆν τὴν Φθιώτιν, ἐπὶ δὲ Δώρου τοῦ Ἐλληνος τὴν ὑπὸ τὴν Ὀσσαν τε καὶ τὸν Ὀλυμπον χώρην, καλεομένην δὲ Ἰστιαιῶτιν· ἐκ δὲ τῆς Ἰστιαιῶτιδος ὡς ἐξανέστη ὑπὸ Καδμείων, οἶκεν ἐν Πίνδῳ Μακεδόνων καλεόμενον· ἐνθεύτευν δὲ αὐτὸς ἐς τὴν Δρυστίδα μετέβη, καὶ ἐκ τῆς Δρυστίδος οὕτω 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 "Deucalion and Pyrrha were the survivors of the Deluge as known to Greek legend.

1 Deucalion and Pyrrha were the survivors of the Deluge as known to Greek legend.
2 The localities mentioned in the story of the migration into the Peloponnese are all in northern Greece.

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57. "Ἡντινα δὲ γλώσσαν ἵπταν οἱ Πελασγοὶ, οὐκ ἔχω ἀτρέκεως εἴπεῖν. εἰ δὲ χρεὸν ἐστὶ τεκμαίρομενον λέγειν τοὺς νῦν ἐτι ἐσύσι Πελασ-γῶν τῶν ὑπὲρ Τυρσηνῶν Κρηστῶνα πόλιν οἰκεύν-των, οἱ ὁμούρου κοτὲ ἦσαν τοὺς νῦν Δωριεύς καλεομένουι (οἰκεον δὲ τηνικάντα γῆν τὴν νῦν Θεσσαλίωτιν καλεομένην), καὶ τῶν Πλακίνην τε καὶ Σκυλάκην Πελασγῶν οἰκησάντων ἐν Ἑλλησ-πόντῳ, οἱ σύνοικοι ἐγένοντο Ἀθηναίοις, καὶ ὁσα ἄλλα Πελασγικὰ ἐόντα πολίσματα τὸ οὐνόμα μετέβαλε· εἰ τούτοις τεκμαίρομενον δεῖ λέγειν, ἦσαν οἱ Πελασγοὶ βάρβαρον γλώσσαν ἴέντες. εἰ τοῖνυν ἦν καὶ πάν τινοῦτο τὸ Πελασγικόν, τὸ Ἀττικὸν ἐθνὸς ἔδω Πελασγικὸν ἁμα τῇ μεταβολῇ τῇ ἐς Ἑλληνας καὶ τὴν γλώσσαν μετέμαθε, καὶ γὰρ δὴ οὔτε οἱ Κρηστωνικῆται οὐδαμόσι τῶν νῦν σφέας περιοικεύστων εἰσὶ ὁμόγλωσσοι οὔτε οἱ Πλακινοὶ, σφίσι δὲ ὁμόγλωσσοι δηλοῦσι τε ὅτι τῶν ἴενικαντο γλώσσης χαρακτῆρα μεταβαίνοντες ἐς ταῦτα τὰ χωρία, τούτον ἔχουσι ἐν φυλακῇ.

58. Τὸ δὲ Ἑλληνικὸν γλώσση μὲν ἐπείτε ἐγένετο αἰεὶ κοτε τῇ αὐτῇ διαχρᾶται, ὡς ἐμοὶ καταφαί-νεται εἶναι ἀποσχισθὲν μέντοι ἀπὸ τοῦ Πελασ-γικοῦ ἐδώ ἁσθενεῖς, ἀπὸ σμικρὸν τε τὴν ἅρχην ὀρμώμενον αὔξηται ἐς πλῆθος τῶν ἐθνῶν, Πε-λασγῶν μᾶλιστα προσκεχωρηκότων αὐτῷ καὶ ἄλλων ἐθνῶν βαρβάρων συχνῶν. πρόσθε δὲ ὅν ἐμοιγε δικείει οὔδε τὸ Πελασγικὸν ἐθνὸς, ἐδω βάρβαρον, οὐδαμὰ μεγάλως αὔξηθηναι.

59. Τούτων δὴ ὅν τῶν ἐθνῶν τὸ μὲν Ἀττικὸν κατεχόμενον τε καὶ διεσπασμένον ἐπυνθάνετο 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 Tyrrheni¹ 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 τοῦ τὸν χρόνον τυραννεύοντος Ἀθηναίων. Ἰπποκράτει γὰρ ἐόντι ἱδίωτη καὶ θεωρέοντι τὰ Ὀλύμπια τέρας ἐγένετο μέγα· θύσαντος γὰρ αὐτοῦ τὰ ἱδραί ὁ λέβητες ἐπεστεῖται καὶ κρεῶν τε ἐόντες ἐμπλεοὶ καὶ ὤδατος ἀνευ πυρὸς ἐξεσαυ καὶ ὑπερέβαλον. Χίλων δὲ ὁ Δακεδαιμώνιος παρατυχών καὶ θεσάμενος τὸ τέρας συνεβούλευ Ἰπποκράτει πρῶτα μὲν γυναῖκα μὴ ἀγεσθαί τέκνοποιὸν ἐς τὰ οἰκία, εἰ δὲ τυχχάνει ἔχων, δεύτερα τὴν γυναῖκα ἐκπέμπειν, καὶ εἰ τίς ἦ τυχχάνει ἐὼν παῖς, τοῦτο ἀπείπασθαί. οὐκοι ταῦτα παρανεσαντος Χίλωνος πείθεσθαι θέλειν τὸν Ἰπποκράτεα· γενέσθαι οἱ μετὰ ταῦτα τὸν Πεισιστράτου τοῦτον, ὁς στασιαζόντων τῶν παράλων καὶ τῶν ἐκ τοῦ πεδίου Ἀθηναίων, καὶ τῶν μὲν προστεθῶς Μεγακλέος τοῦ Ἀλκμέωνος, τῶν δὲ ἐκ τοῦ πεδίου Δυσκόργου Ἀριστολαίδεω, καταφρονήσας τὴν τυραννίδα ἡγείρει τρίτην στάσιν· συλλέξας δὲ στασιώτας καὶ τοῦ λόγῳ τῶν ὑπερακρίων προστάς μηχανάται τοιάδε. τρωματίσας ἐσωτὸν τε καὶ ἡμιόνως ἤλασε ἐς τὴν ἀγορὴν τὸ ξένως ὡς ἐκπεφευγὼς τοὺς ἔχθροὺς, οἱ μὲν ἐλαύνοντα ἐς ἀγρόν ἤθελησαν ἀπολέσαι δῆθεν, ἐδετὸ τε τοῦ δήμου φυλακής τινος πρὸς αὐτοῦ κυρῆσαι, πρὸτερον εὐδοκιμῆσας ἐν τῇ πρὸς Μεγαρέας γενομένῃ στρατηγίᾳ, Νίσαιαν τε ἐλών καὶ ἄλλα ἀποδεξάμενος μεγάλα ἔργα. ὁ δὲ δήμος ὁ τῶν Αθηναίων ἡπατηθεῖς ἐδωκὲ οἱ τῶν ἀστῶν καταλέγας ἀνδρὰς τούτους οἱ δορυφόροι μὲν οὐκ ἐγένοντο Πεισιστράτου, κορυνηφόροι δὲ ἑύλων γὰρ κορύνας ἑχοντες εἰποντὸ οἱ ὁπίσθε. συνεπαναστάντες δὲ
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
οὕτω ἁμα Πεισιστράτῳ ἐσχον τὴν ἀκρόπολιν. ἐνθα δὴ ὁ Πεισιστράτος ἤρχε Ἄθηναίων, οὔτε τιμᾶς τὰς ἐσόνας συνταράξας οὔτε θέσμια μεταλ-λάξας, ἐπὶ τε τοῖς κατεσχῆσαι ἔνεμε τὴν πόλιν κοσμεύσαι καλῶς τε καὶ εὖ.

60. Μετὰ δὲ οὐ πολλὸν χρόνον τὸντο φρονή-σαντες οἳ τοῦ Μεγακλέος στασιόταται καὶ οἱ τοῦ Δυκούργου ἔξελαύνουσί μιν. οὐτω μὲν Πεισιστράτος ἐσχε τὸ πρῶτον Ἀθήνας, καὶ τὴν τυραν-νίδα ὦκω κάρτα ἑρρίζωμένην ἔχουν ἀπέβαλε. οἳ δὲ ἐξελάσαντες Πεισιστράτον αὐτὸς ἐκ νέης ἐπʼ ἀλλήλοις ἐστασίασαν. περιέλαυνόμενος δὲ τῇ στάσι τὸ Μεγακλέης ἐπεκηρυκεύετο Πεισιστράτῳ, εἰ βούλοιτο οἳ τὴν θυγατέρα ἔχειν γυναῖκα ἐπὶ τῇ τυραννίδι. ἐνδεξαμένου δὲ τῶν λόγων καὶ ὄμολο-γήσαντος ἐπὶ τούτοις Πεισιστράτῳ, μηχανώνται δὴ ἐπὶ τῇ κατόδῳ πρήγμα εὐθέστατον, ὡς ἐγὼ εὐρίσκω, μακρῷ, ἐπεὶ γε ἀπεκρίθη ἐκ παλαιτέρου τοῦ βαρβάρου ἔθνεως τὸ Ἐλληνικὸν ἐν καὶ δεξιώτερον καὶ εὐθείας ἡλιθίου ἀπηλλαγμένον μᾶλλον, εἰ καὶ τότε γε οὕτω εἰ Ἀθηναίοισι τοῖς πρώτοις λεγομένουι εἰσιν Ἐλλήνων σοφίν μηχανώνται τοιάδε. ἐν τῷ δήμῳ τῷ Παιανίει ἤν γυνὴ τῇ οὐνομα ἡν Φύη, μέγαθος ἀπὸ τεσσέρων πηχέων ἀπολείπουσα τρεῖς δακτύλους καὶ ἀλλῶς εὐείδης· ταύτην τὴν γυναίκα σκευάζαντες παιο-πλή, ἐς ἀρμα ἐσβιβάσαντες καὶ προδέξαντες σχῆμα ὦν τι ἐμέλλε εὐπρεπέστατον φανέροι ἔχουσα, ἤλαιον ἐς τὸ ἄστυ, προδρόμους κή-ρυκας προπεμψαντες· οἳ τὰ ἑντεταλμένα ἡγόρευον ἀπεκακόμενοι ἐς τὸ ἄστυ, λέγοντες τοιάδε· "Ὄ Αθηναίοι, δέκεσθε ἀγαθῷ νῷ Πεισιστράτον, τὸν
with Pisistratus rose and took the Acropolis; and Pisistratus ruled the Athenians, disturbing in no way the order of offices nor changing the laws, but governing the city according to its established constitution and ordering all things fairly and well.

60. But after no long time the faction of Megacles and Lycurgus made common cause and drove him out. Thus did Pisistratus first win Athens, and thus did he lose his sovereignty, which was not yet firmly rooted. Presently his enemies who had driven him out began once more to be at feud together. Megacles then, being buffeted about by faction, sent a message to Pisistratus offering him his daughter to wife and the sovereign power besides. This offer being accepted by Pisistratus, who agreed on these terms with Megacles, they devised a plan to bring Pisistratus back, which, to my mind, was so exceeding foolish that it is strange (seeing that from old times the Hellenic has ever been distinguished from the foreign stock by its greater cleverness and its freedom from silly foolishness) that these men should devise such a plan to deceive Athenians, said to be the cunningest of the Greeks. There was in the Paeanian deme¹ 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.
αὐτῇ ἡ 'Αθηναίη τιμήσασα ἀνθρώπων μάλιστα κατάγει ἐς τὴν ἐωυτής ἀκρόπολιν." οὐ μὲν δὴ ταύτα διαφορετώντες ἔλεγον· αὐτίκα δὲ ἐς τοὺς δήμους φάτις ἀπίκετο ὡς 'Αθηναίη Πεισίστρατον κατάγει, καὶ οἱ ἐν τῷ ἀστεί πειθόμενοι τῇ γυναίκᾳ εἶναι αὐτῇ τὴν θεὸν προσεύχοντο τε τὴν ἀνθρώπον καὶ ἐδέκοντο Πεισίστρατον.

61. Ἀπολαβὼν δὲ τὴν τυραννίδα τρόπῳ τῷ εἰρημένῳ ὁ Πεισίστρατος κατὰ τὴν ὁμολογίαν τὴν πρὸς Μεγακλέα γενομένην γαμεᾶς τοῦ Μεγακλέος τῆς θυγατέρα. οὐ δὲ παίδων τέ ὁ ὑπαρχόντων νεωτέρων καὶ λεγομένων ἐναγέων εἶναι τῶν Ἀλκμεωνιδῶν, οὐ βουλόμενος οἱ γενέσθαι ἐκ τῆς νεογάμου γυναικὸς τέκνα ἔμισγετο οἵ οὗ κατὰ νόμον. τὰ μὲν νυν πρώτα ἐκρυπτεὶ ταύτα ἡ γυνὴ, μετὰ δὲ εἶτε ἱστορεύσῃ εἶτε καὶ οὗ φράζει τῇ ἐωυτῆς μητρῆ, ἡ δὲ τῷ ἀνδρὶ. ὡργῇ δὲ ὡς εἴχε καταλλάσσετο τὴν ἐχθρὴν τοῦτοι στασιώτησι. μαθὼν δὲ ὁ Πεισίστρατος τὰ ποιεύμενα ἐπ᾽ ἐωυτῷ ἀπαλλάσσετο ἐκ τῆς χώρης τὸ παράπαυ, ἀπικόμενος δὲ ἐς Ἑρέτριαν ἐβουλεύετο ἀμα τοίσι παισί. Ἰπτίεω δὲ γνώμης νικήσαντος ἰνακτᾶσθαι ὑπόσω τὴν τυραννίδα, ἐνθαῦτα ἤγειρον δωτῖνας ἐκ τῶν πολίων αὐτινὲς σφὶ προαιδέευτο κού τι. πολλῶν δὲ μεγάλα παρασχόντων χρήματα, Θηβαῖοι ὑπερβάλοντο τῇ δόσι τῶν χρημάτων. μετὰ δὲ, οὗ πολλῷ λόγῳ εἰπεῖν, χρόνος διέφυ καὶ πάντα σφὶ ἐξήρτυτο ἐς τὴν κάτοδον· καὶ γὰρ Ἀργεῖοι μισθωτοὶ ἀπίκευτο ἐκ Πελοποννήσου, καὶ Νάξιοι σφὶ ἀνήρ ἀπηγμένος ἐθηλούτης, τῷ οὖνομα ἦν Δύγδαμις, προθυμόν πλείστην παρείχετο, 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 Euboea, where he took counsel with his sons. The counsel of Hippias prevailing, that they should recover the sovereignty, they set to collecting gifts from all cities which owed them some requital. Many of these gave great sums, the Thebans more than any, and in course of time, not to make a long story, all was ready for their return: for they brought Argive mercenaries from Peloponnesus, and there came also of his own free will a man of Naxos called Lygdamis, who was most zealous in their cause and brought them money and men.
62. Ἕξ' Ἐρετρίης δὲ ὤρμηθέντες διὰ ἐνδεκάτου ἔτεος ἀπίκουτο ὑπίσω, καὶ πρῶτον τῆς Ἀττικῆς ἵσχουσι Μαραθώνα. ἐν δὲ τούτῳ τῷ χῶρῳ σφι στρατοπεδευμένουι οὐ τε ἐκ τοῦ ἀστεος στα- σιῶται ἀπίκουτο ἄλλοι τε ἐκ τῶν ὅμων προσ- ἔρρεον, τούσι ἡ τυραννίς πρὸ ἐλευθερίης ἤν ἀσπα- στότερον. οὕτω μὲν δὴ συγνηλίζοντο, Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ οἱ ἐκ τοῦ ἀστεος, ἐὼς μὲν Πεισίστρατος τὰ χρήματα ἥγειρε, καὶ μεταύτις ὡς ἔσχε Μαραθώνα, λόγον οὐδένα εἰχον ἐπείτε δὲ ἐπύθουντο ἐκ τοῦ Μαραθώνος αὐτὸν πορεύεσθαι ἐπὶ τὸ ἄστυ, οὕτω δὴ βοηθέουσι ἐπὶ αὐτὸν. καὶ οὕτωι τε πανοπλισθή ήσαν ἐπὶ τοὺς κατίόντας, καὶ οἱ ἀμφὶ Πεισίστρατον, ὡς ὀρμηθέντες ἐκ Μαραθώνος ἠσαν ἐπὶ τὸ ἄστυ, ἐς τῶντο συνιόντες ἀπικ- νέονται ἐπὶ Παλληνίδος Ἀθηναῖης ἱρόν, καὶ ἀντία ἐθεντο τὰ ὄπλα. ἐνθαῦτα θείη πομπῇ χρεώμενος παρίσταται Πεισίστράτῳ Ἀμφίλυτος ὁ Ἀκαρνάν χρησμολόγῳ ἀνήρ, ὃς οἱ προσώπων χρᾶ ἐν ἕξαμέτρῳ τόνῳ τάδε λέγων·

"'Ἐρριπται δ' ὁ βόλος, το δὲ δίκτυνον ἐκπεπέτασται, θύνωι δ' οἰμήσουσι σεληναίης διὰ νυκτός."

63. Ὁ μὲν δὴ οἱ ἐνθεάξων χρᾶ τάδε, Πεισί- στρατος δὲ συλλαβῶν τὸ χρηστήριον καὶ φάς δέκεσθαι τὸ χρησθὲν ἐπῆγι τήν στρατιν. Ἀθη- ναῖοι δὲ οἱ ἐκ τοῦ ἀστεος πρὸς ἄριστον τετραμ- μένου ἦσαν δὴ τηνικαῦτα, καὶ μετὰ τὸ ἄριστον μετεξέτεροι αὐτῶν οἱ μὲν πρὸς κύβους οἱ δὲ πρὸς ὑπνον. οἱ δὲ ἀμφὶ Πεισίστρατον ἐσπεσόντες τοὺς Ἀθηναίους τράπουσι. φευγόντων δὲ τούτων βουλήν 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 ἀλισθεῖν ἐτὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι διεσκεδασμένοι τε ἐλεν. ἀναβιβάσας τοὺς παῖδας ἐπὶ ὑποὺς προέπεμπτε, οὐ δὲ καταλαμβάνοντες τοὺς φεύγοντας ἔλεγον τὰ ἐντεταλμένα ὑπὸ Πεισίστρατον, θαρσεῖν τοῖς κελεύοντες καὶ ἀπίναι ἐκαστὸν ἐπὶ τὰ ἐωτοῦ.

64. Πειθομένων δὲ τῶν Ἀθηναίων, οὔτω δὴ Πεισίστρατος τὸ τρίτον σχῶν Ἀθηναῖς ἐρρίξωσε τὴν τυρρανίδα ἐπικούρουσι τε πολλοῖς καὶ χρημάτων συνόδοις, τῶν μὲν αὐτόθεν τῶν δὲ ἀπὸ Στρυμόνος ποταμοῦ συνιότων, ὀμήρους τε τῶν παραμεινάντων Ἀθηναίων καὶ μὴ αὐτίκα φυγόντων παῖδας λαβὼν καὶ καταστήσας ὡς Νάξον (καὶ γὰρ ταύτην ὁ Πεισίστρατος κατεστρέφατο πολέμῳ καὶ ἐπέτρεψε Δυσόραμιν), πρὸς τὸ τε τοῦτοι συν νήσου Δήλου καθήρας ἐκ τῶν λογίων, καθήρας δὲ ὕπ' ὁσον ἐποψίς τοῦ ἱροῦ εἰχε, ἐκ τούτου τοῦ χώρου παντὸς ἐξορύξας τοὺς νεκροὺς μετεφόρε ὡς ἄλλον χώρον τῆς Δήλου. καὶ Πεισίστρατος μὲν ἐτυράννευ Ἀθηναίων, Ἀθηναίων δὲ οἱ μὲν ἐν τῇ μάχῃ ἐπεπτῶκεσαν, οὐ δὲ αὐτῶν μετ' Ἀλκμενιδέων ἐφευγον ἐκ τῆς οἰκήης.

65. Τοὺς μὲν νυν Ἀθηναίοις τοιαῦτα τὸν χρόνον τοῦτον ἐπυνθάνετο ὁ Κροίσος κατέχοντα, τοὺς δὲ Δακεδαιμονίους ἐκ κακῶν τε μεγάλων πεφευγότας καὶ ἐόντας ἤδη τῷ πολέμῳ κατυπερτέρους Τεγεητέων. ἐπὶ γὰρ Δέοντος βασιλεύοντος καὶ Ἡγησικλέος ἐν Σπάρτῃ τοὺς ἄλλους πολέμους εὑρίχεοντες οἱ Δακεδαιμόνιοι πρὸς Τεγεητάς μοῦνας προσέπταν. τὸ δὲ ἐτὶ πρότερον τοῦτων καὶ κακονομώτατοι ἦσαν σχεδον πάντων Ἑλλήνων κατὰ τε σφέας αὐτοὺς καὶ ξείνουσι ἀπρόσμι-
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 ὅδε ἐς εὐνομίην. Δυκούργουν
tῶν Σπαρτιητέων δοκίμου ἄνδρός ἐλθόντος ἐς
Δελφοὺς ἐπὶ τὸ χρηστήριον, ὡς ἐσήμε ἐς τὸ με-
γαρον, εὐθὺς ἡ Πυθίη λέγει τάδε.

"Ἡκεὶς ὁ Δυκόοργης ἐμὸν ποτὶ πῖονα νηὸν
Ζηνὶ φίλος καὶ πᾶσιν Ὁλύμπια δόματ' ἔχονσι.
δίζω ἡ σε θεον μαντεύσομαι ἡ ἄνθρωπον.
ἀλλ' ἔτι καὶ μᾶλλον θεον ἐλπομαι, ὁ Δυκόοργη."
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:
ταύτα ὃς ἀπενεχθέντα ἦκουσαν οἱ Λακεδαιμονιοὶ, Ἀρκάδων μὲν τῶν ἄλλων ἀπείχοντο, οὗ δὲ πέδας φερόμενοι ἐπὶ Τεγεήτας ἐστρατεύοντο, χρησμῷ κιβδήλῳ πίσυνοι, ὡς δὴ ἔξανδραποδιώμενοι τοὺς Τεγεήτας. ἔσσωθέντες δὲ τῇ συμβολῇ, ὅσοι αὐτῶν ἔξωγρήθησαν, πέδας τε ἔχοντες τὰς ἐφέροντο αὐτοὶ καὶ σχοῖνῳ διαμετρησάμενοι τὸ πεδίον τὸ Τεγεητέων ἔργαζοντο. αἳ δὲ πέδαι αὕται ἐν τῇ ἵσι ἐδεδέατο ἔτι καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ ἦσαν σῶαι ἐν Τεγέῃ, περὶ τὸν νηὸν τῆς Ἀλέης Ἀθηναίης κρεμάμεναι.

67. Κατὰ μὲν δὴ τὸν πρῶτον πόλεμον συνεχέος αἰεὶ κακῶς ἀέθλεον πρὸς τοὺς Τεγεήτας, κατὰ δὲ τὸν κατὰ Κροίσον χρόνον καὶ τὴν Ἀναξανδρίδεω τε καὶ Ἀρίστωνος βασιληίνην ἐν Λακεδαιμονιᾷ ἦδη οἱ Σπαρτιάται κατυπέρτεροι τῷ πολέμῳ ἐγεγόνεσαν, τρόπῳ τοιῷδε γενόμενοι. ἐπειδὴ αἰεὶ τῷ πολέμῳ ἔσσοντο ὑπὸ Τεγεητέων, πέμψαντες θεοπρόπους ἐς Δελφοὺς ἐπειρώτων τίνα ἄν θεῶν ἱλασάμενοι κατύπερθε τῷ πολέμῳ Τεγεητέων γενοίατο. ἦ δὲ Πυθία σφῆ ἔχρησε τὰ Ὀρέστεω τοῦ Ἀγαμέμνονος ὀστέα ἐπαγαγομένους. ὡς δὲ 78
"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. 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 ἑγίνοντο τὴν θήκην τοῦ Ὀρέστεω, ἐπεμπον αὐτὶς τὴν ἐς θεὸν ἐπειρησομένους τὸν χῶρον ἐν τῷ κέοιτο Ὀρέστης. εἰρωτῶσι δὲ ταῦτα τοῖς θεοπρόποιοι λέγει ἡ Πυθία τάδε.

"Εστὶ τις Ἀρκαδίης Τεγέα λευρῷ ἐν χῶρῳ, ἐνθ' ἀνεμοι πνείουσι δύω κρατερῆς ὑπ' ἀνάγκης, καὶ τύπος ἀντίτυπος, καὶ πῆμ' ἐπὶ πτήματι κέιται.

ἐνθ' Ἀγαμεμνονίδην κατέχει φυσίζους αἷα, τὸν σὺ κομισσάμενος Τεγέας ἐπιτάρροθος ἔσσῃ." ὃς δὲ καὶ ταῦτα ἄκουσαν οἱ Δακεδαμώνιοι, ἀπεί- χον τῆς ἐξευρέσιος οὐδὲν ἔλασσον, πάντα διζή- μενοι, ἐσ' ἄρ' Λίχης τῶν ἀγαθοεργῶν καλεομέ- νων Σπαρτιητέων ἀνέβε. οἴ δὲ ἀγαθοεργοὶ εἰσὶ τῶν ἄστων, ἐξίοντες ἐκ τῶν ἱππέων αἰεὶ οἱ πρεσβύτατοι, πέντε ἐτεος ἐκάστου τοὺς δὲ τοῦ- τον τοῦ ἔνιαυτον, τὸν ἀν ἐξίσου ἐκ τῶν ἱππέων, Σπαρτιητέων τῷ κοινῷ διαπεμπομένους μὴ ἐλινυόν ἀλλοὺς ἄλλη.

68. Τούτων δὲ τῶν ἀνδρῶν Λίχης ἄνεβε ἐν Τεγέῃ καὶ συντυχώ ἱρησάμενοι καὶ σοφί. ἐοῦ- σης γάρ τούτων τῶν χρόνων ἐπιμιξῆς πρὸς τοὺς Τεγεήτας, ἐλθὼν εἰς χαλκῇν ἐθηεῖτο σίδη- ρον ἐξελαυνόμενον, καὶ ἐν θώματι ἣν ὀρέων τὸ ποιεόμενον. μαθῶν δὲ μιν ὁ χαλκεὺς ἀποθωμάζοντα εἶπε πανεσάμενος τῷ ἐργῳ "Ἡ κοιν ἀν, ὁ ἔξειν Δάκων, εἰ περ εἰδες τὸ περ ἐγὼ, κάρτα ἀν ἐθω-
tomb, they sent their messengers again to the god to ask of the place where Orestes lay: and the priestess said in answer to their question:

"There is a place, 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 ἔσθε θεόν, explained as = τὴν ἔσθε θεόν ὀδὸν. τὴν ἐνθεον (= the inspired one: after ἐπειρησομένους) would be an easy correction. But all MSS. have ἔσθε θεόν.
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μαζε, ὁκον νῦν οὕτω τυγχάνεις θώμα ποιεύμενος τὴν ἐργασίαν τοῦ σιδήρου. ἐγὼ γὰρ ἐν τῇδε θέλων τῇ αὐλή φρέαρ ποιήσασθαι, ὀρύσσων ἐπέτυχον σορῷ ἐπταπήθει· ὑπὸ δὲ ἀπιστίας μὴ μὲν γενέσθαι μηδαμὰ μέξονας ἀνθρώπους τῶν νῦν ἄνοιξα αὐτὴν καὶ εἶδον τὸν νεκρὸν μὴκεῖ ἵσον ἐόντα τῇ σορῷ· μετρήσας δὲ συνέχωσα ὅπιοσ." ὃ μὲν δὴ ὃι ἐλεγε τὰ περ ὀπώτεε, ὃ δὲ ἐννώσας τὰ λεγόμενα συνεβάλλετο τὸν Ὄρεστα κατὰ τὸ θεοπρόπιον τοῦτον εἶναι, τῇ δὲ συμβαλλόμενος τοῦ χαλκέους δύο ὅρεων φύσας τοὺς ἀνέμους εὐρισκε ἑόντας, τὸν δὲ ἄκμονα καὶ τὴν σφύραν τὸν τε τύπον καὶ τὸν ἀντίτυπον, τὸν δὲ ἐξελαυνόμενον σίδηρον τὸ πῆμα ἐπὶ τῇματι κείμενον, κατὰ τοῦτον ὁι εἰκάζων, ὡς ἐπὶ κακῷ ἀνθρώπου σίδηρος ἀνεύρηται. συμβαλλόμενος δὲ ταῦτα καὶ ἀπελθὼν ἐς Ἐπάρτην ἑφραξε Δακεδαμονίουσι πάν τὸ πρῆγμα. οἱ δὲ ἐκ λόγου πλαστὸν ἐπενείκαστές ὁι αὐτὴν ἐδίωξαν. ὃ δὲ ἀπικόμενος ἐς Τεγένη καὶ φράξῳ τὴν ἑωτοῦ συμφορὴν πρὸς τὸν χαλκέα ἐμισθοῦτο παρ' οὐκ ἐκδιδόντος τὴν αὐλήν· χρόνῳ δὲ ὡς ἀνέγυωσε, ἐνοικίσθη, ἀνορύξας δὲ τὸν τάφον καὶ τὰ ὅστεα συλλέξας οὔχετο φέρων ὃς Ἐπάρτην. καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦτου τοῦ χρόνου, ὅκως πειράσατο ἀλλήλων, πολλῷ κατυπέρτησε τῷ πολέμῳ ἐγίνοντο οἱ Δακεδαμόνιοι· ἦδη δὲ σφι καὶ ἡ πολλὴ τῆς Πελοποννήσου ἦν κατεστραμμένη.

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

69. Croesus, then, being made aware of all this sent messengers to Sparta with gifts, to ask an alliance in words with which he charged them. They came, and said: “Croesus, King of Lydia and other
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βασιλεύσ, λέγων τάδε. "Ω Δακεδαιμόνιοι, χρήσαντος τού θεού τῶν Ἑλλήνων προσβέσθαι, ύμέας γὰρ πυθάνομαι προεστάναι τῆς Ἑλλάδος, ύμέας δὲν κατὰ τὸ χρηστήριον προσκαλεύμαι φίλος τε θέλων γενέσθαι καὶ σύμμαχος ἀνεν τε δόλου καὶ ἀπάτης." Κροίσος μὲν δὴ ταύτα δι' ἄγγέλων ἐπεκηρυκεύετο, Δακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ ἀκήκοστες καὶ αὐτοὶ τὸ θεοπρόπτιον τὸ Κροίσῳ γενώμενον ἥσθησάν τε τῇ ἀπίξι τῶν Λυδῶν καὶ ἐποίησαν ὅρκια ξεινίας πέρι καὶ συμμαχίας· καὶ γὰρ τινὲς αὐτούς εὐεργεσία εἰχόν ἐκ Κροίσου πρότερον ἑτὶ γεγονόιᾳ. πέμψαντες γὰρ οἱ Δακεδαιμόνιοι ἐν Σάρδις χρυσὸν ὠνέοντο, ἐς ἀγαλμα Βουλόμενοι χρήσασθαι τοῦτο τὸ νῦν τῆς Λακωνικῆς ἐν Θόρνακι ἢδρυται Ἀπόλλωνος· Κροίσος δὲ σφὶ ωνεομένοις ἔδωκε δωτῖνην.

70. Τούτων τε ὁν εἴνεκεν οἱ Δακεδαιμόνιοι τὴν συμμαχίαν ἐδέξαντο, καὶ ὦτι ἐκ πάντων σφέας προκρίνας Ἑλλήνων αἰρέτο φίλους. καὶ τούτῳ μὲν αὐτοὶ ἦσαν ἑτοιμοὶ ἐπαγγείλαντι, τούτῳ δὲ ποιησάμενοι κρητῆρα χάλκεους ξυδίων τε ἐξωθὲν πλήσαντες περὶ τὸ χεῖλὸς καὶ μεγάθει τριηκοσίους ἀμφόρεας χωρέοντα ἡγοῦν, δόρων Βουλόμενοι ἀντιδοῦναι Κροίσῳ. οὕτος δὲν κρητὴ ὡς ἀπίκετο ἐς Σάρδις δὶ αἱτίας διφασίας λεγομένας τάσθε· οἱ μὲν Δακεδαιμόνιοι λέγουσι ως ἐπείτε ἀγάμενος ἐς τὰς Σάρδις δὲ κρητῆρ ἐγίνετο κατὰ τὴν Σάμιν, πυθόμενοι Σάμιοι ἀπελοίατο αὐτὸν νησὶ μακρὴστι ἐπιπλώσαντες· αὐτοὶ δὲ Σάμιοι λέγουσι ως ἐπείτε ὑστέρησαν οἱ ἄγοντες τῶν Δακεδαιμονίων τὸν κρητῆρα, ἐπιυθόντο δὲ Σάρδις τε καὶ Κροίσον ἡλωκέναι, 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

\(^1\) A mountain north-east of Sparta, overlooking the Eurotas valley.
71. Κροίσος δὲ ἀμαρτῶν τοῦ χρησμοῦ ἐποιεῖτο στρατηγὴν ἐς Καππαδοκίαν, ἐλπίσας καταρρήσειν Κῦρον τε καὶ τὴν Περσέων δύναμιν. παρασκευαζομένου δὲ Κροίσου στρατεύσθαι ἐπὶ Πέρσας, τῶν τις Λυδῶν νομίζομεν καὶ πρόσθε εἶναι σοφός, ἀπὸ δὲ ταύτης τῆς γνώμης καὶ τὸ κάρτα οὖνομα ἐν Λυδίᾳ ἔχων, συνεβουλευσε Κροίσω τάδε: ὦνομα οἱ ἦν Σάινδανις. Ἡ Ὡς βασιλεὺς, ἐπὶ ἄνδρας τοιούτους στρατεύεσθαι παρασκευάζει, οἱ σκυτίνας μὲν ἀναξιρίδας σκυτίνην δὲ τὴν ἀλλήν ἐσθῆτα φορέουσι, σιτεόνται δὲ οὐκ ὡσα ἐθέλουσι ἀλλὰ ὡσα ἔχουσι, χώρην ἔχουσε τρηχέαν. πρὸς δὲ οὐκ οὐν διαχρέωνται ἀλλὰ υδροποτεύουσι, οὐ σὺκα δὲ ἔχουσι τρόφιμα, οὐκ ἀλλο ἀγαθὸν οὐδέν. τούτῳ μὲν δὴ, εἰ νικήσεις, τί σφέας ἀπαρήστησαι, τούτ᾽ γε μή ἐστι μηδέν; τούτῳ δὲ, ἢ νικήσῃς, μάθε ὡσα ἀγαθὰ ἀποβαλλεῖς. γενσάμενοι γὰρ τῶν ἡμετέρων ἀγαθῶν περιέξονται οὐδὲ ἀπωστοῦ ἐσονται. ἡγὼ μὲν γὰρ θεαί ἐχὼ χάριν, οἱ οὐκ ἐπὶ νόον ποιεόντος Περσηγι στρατεύεσθαι ἐπὶ Λυδοῦς.“ ταύτα λέγων οὐκ ἐπεεῖθε τὸν Κροίσον. Περσηγι γὰρ, πρὶν Λυδοὺς καταστρέψασθαι, ἢν οὔτε ἀβρόν οὔτε ἀγαθὸν οὐδέν.

72. Οἱ δὲ Καππαδόκαι ὑπὸ Ἐλλήνων Σύριοι ὄνομάζονται. ἦσαν δὲ οἱ Σύριοι οὕτωι τὸ μὲν πρότερον ἢ Πέρσας ἄρξαι Μηδῶν κατηκοοὶ, τότε δὲ Κῦρον. ὁ γὰρ οὕρος ἦν τῆς τε Μηδικῆς ἀρχῆς
men, who set it up in the the temple of Here. And it may be that the sellers of the bowl, when they returned to Sparta, said that they had been robbed of it by the Samians. Such are the tales about the bowl.

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

72. Now the Cappadocians are called by the Greeks Syrians, and these Syrians before the Persian rule were subjects of the Medes, and, at this time, of Cyrus. For the boundary of the Median
καὶ τῆς Δυνικῆς ὁ "Αλυς ποταμός, ὃς ῥέει ἐξ Ἀρμενίου ὅρεος διὰ Κιλίκων, μετὰ δὲ Ματικηνοὺς μὲν ἐν δεξιᾷ ἔχει ρέων, ἐκ δὲ τοῦ ἑτέρου Φρύγας· παραμεθόμενος δὲ τοῦτοι καὶ ρέων ἀνώ πρὸς Ζορένην ἀνέμου ἐνθὲν μὲν Συρίους Καππαδόκας ἀπέργει, ἐξ εὐωνύμου δὲ Παφλαγόνας. οὗτοι ὁ "Αλυς ποταμός ἀποτάμνει σχεδὸν πάντα τῆς Ἀσίης τὰ κάτω ἐκ θαλάσσης τῆς ἀντίον Κύπρου ἐς τὸν Εὐξείνου πόλιν. ἐστὶ δὲ αὐχήν οὕτος τῆς χώρης ταύτης ἐπάσης· μήκος ὁδοῦ εὐξώνῳ ἀνδρὶ πέντε ἦμέραι ἀναισιμοῦνται.

73. Ἐστρατεύετο δὲ ὁ Κροίσσος ἐπὶ τὴν Καππα- δοκίην τῶνδε ἑύνεκα, καὶ γῆς ἡμέρῳ προσκτήσασθαι πρὸς τὴν ἑωτοῦ μοίραν βουλόμενος, καὶ μάλιστα τῷ χρηστηρίῳ πίσων ἐὼν καὶ τίσασθαι θέλων ὑπὲρ Ἀστυαγοῦς Κύρον. Ἀστυάγεα γὰρ τὸν Κυιάξαρεω, ἐόντα Κροίσσον μὲν γαμβρὸν Μῆδων δὲ βασιλέα, Κύρος ὁ Καμβύσεως καταστρεφάμενος εἰχε, γενόμενον γαμβρὸν Κροίσῳ δὲ. Σκυθέων τῶν νομάδων εἶλῃ ἀνδρῶν στασιάσασα υπεξήλθε ἐς γῆν τῆν Μηδικήν· ἐτυράννευε δὲ τὸν χρόνον τοῦτον Μῆδων Κυιάζαρης ὁ Φραόρτεω τοῦ Δηίκεω, δς τοὺς Σκύθας τοῦτος τὸ μὲν πρῶτον περιείπε εὑ ός έόντας ἱκετας· ὡςτε δὲ περὶ πολλοῦ ποιεό- μενος αὐτοὺς, παϊδάς σφί παρέδωκε τὴν γλωσσάν τε ἐκμαθεῖν καὶ τὴν τέχνην τῶν τόξων. χρόνου δὲ γενομένου, καὶ οἱ φιοτεύντων τῶν Σκυθέων ἐπὶ ἀγρῆν καὶ αἱ τι φερόντων, καὶ κοτε συνήνεικε ἐλεῖν σφεας μηδέν' νοστήσαντας δὲ αὐτοὺς κεινήσι

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

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 ἀβχυ is obviously much underestimated by Hdt., as also by later writers; the actual distance at the narrowest part is about 280 miles as the crow flies; much more than a five days' march.

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χερσὶ ὁ Κυαξάρης (ἡν γὰρ, ὡς διέδεξε, ὅργην ἄκρος) τρηχέως κάρτα περιέστε ἀεικεῖν. οὐ δὲ ταῦτα πρὸς Κυαξάρεω παθόντες, ὡστε ἀνάξια σφέων αὐτῶν πεποιθότες, ἐβούλευσαν τῶν παρὰ σφίσι διδασκομένων παῖδων ἕνα κατακόψαι, σκευάσαντες δὲ αὐτὸν ὥσπερ ἐώθεσαν καὶ τὰ θηρία σκευάζειν, Κυαξάρη δούναι φέροντες ὡς ἄγρην δήθεν, δόντες δὲ τὴν ταχύστην κομίζεσθαι παρὰ Ἀλυάττεα τὸν Σαδνάττεω ἐς Σάρδις. ταῦτα καὶ ἐγένετο· καὶ γὰρ Κυαξάρης καὶ οἱ παρέοντες δαιμόνες τῶν κρεῶν τούτων ἐπάσαντο, καί οἱ Σκύθαι ταῦτα ποιῆσαντες Ἀλυάττεω ἱκέται ἐγένοντο.

74. Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα, οὐ γὰρ δὴ ὁ Ἀλυάττης ἐξεδίδων τοὺς Σκύθας ἐξαιτεόντι Κυαξάρη, πόλεμος τοῖς Λυδοῖς καὶ τοῖς Μῆδοις ἐγεγόνεε ἐπ’ ἔτεα πέντε, ἐν τοῖς πολλάκις μὲν οἱ Μῆδοι τοὺς Λυδοὺς ἑνίκησαν, πολλάκις δὲ οἱ Λυδοὶ τοὺς Μῆδους, ἐν δὲ καὶ νυκτομαχίῃ τινὰ ἐποίήσαντο· διαφέρουσι δὲ σφι ἐπὶ ἐσχὶ τὸν πόλεμον τῷ ἔκτῳ ἐτεὶ συμβολῆς γενομένης συνήσεικε ὡστε τῆς μάχης συνεστεώσῃς τὴν ἡμέρην ἐξαπίνης νῦκτα γενέσθαι. τὴν δὲ μεταλλαγήν ταύτην τῆς ἡμέρης Θαλής ὁ Μιλήσιος τοῖς Ἰωσί προηγόρευσε ἐσέσθαι, οὐρον προθέμενος ἐνιαυτὸν τούτον ἐν τῷ δή καὶ ἐγένετο ἡ μεταβολή. οἱ δὲ Λυδοὶ τε καὶ οἱ Μῆδοι ἑπεὶσε ἐλδον νῦκτα ἀντὶ ἡμέρης γενομένης, τῆς μάχης τε ἐπαύσαντο καὶ μᾶλλον τι ἐσπευσαν καὶ ἀμφότεροι εἰρήνην ἐωυτοίσι γενέσθαι.

1 All evidence, historical and astronomical, fixes the date of this eclipse as May 28, 585 B.C. There was another eclipse of the sun in Alyattes’ reign, on Sept. 30, 610; but it appears 90
empty-handed, Cyaxares (being, as hereby appeared, prone to anger) treated them very roughly and 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 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.
οἱ δὲ συμβιβάσαντες αὐτοὺς ἦσαν οἴδε, Συέννεαῖς τε ὁ Κίλιξ καὶ Δαβύνητος ὁ Βαβυλώνιος. οὕτως σφι καὶ τὸ ὀρκίον οἱ σπεύσαντες γενέσθαι ἦσαν καὶ γάμων ἐπαλλαγὴν ἐποίησαν. Ἀλυάττεα γὰρ ἐγνωσαν δοῦναι τὴν θυγατέρα Ἂρρήματι Ἀστυάγει τῷ Κυαξάρεω παιδί· ἀνευ γὰρ ἀναγκαίας ἱσχυρῆς συμβάσεως ἱσχυρῶς οὐκ ἔθέλουσι συμμένεν. ὀρκὶα δὲ ποιεῖται ταῦτα τὰ ἔθνεα τὰ πέρ τε Ἑλληνες, καὶ πρὸς τοῦτοι, ἐπεῖν τοὺς βραχίονας ἐπιταμῳλότας ἐστὶ τὴν ὁμοχροίην, τὸ αἷμα ἀναλείχουσι ἀλλήλων.

75. Τοῦτον δὴ ὄν τὸν Ἀστυάγεια Κύρος ἐόντα ἑωυτοῦ μητροπάτορα καταστρεφάμενος ἐσχε δὲ αὐτῖν τὴν ἐγὼ ἐν τοῖς ὀπίσω λόγοις σημανέω τὰ Κροίσος ἐπιμεμφόμενος τῷ Κύρῳ ἐσ τα ἱερσηθηρία ἐπεμπε ἐστρατεύοντα ἐπὶ Πέρσας, καὶ δὴ καὶ ἀπικομένου χρησμοῦ κιβδήλου, ἐλπίσας πρὸς ἑωυτοῦ τὸν χρησμὸν εἶναι, ἐστρατευότερο ἐστὶν Περσῶν μοίραν. ὦς δὲ ἀπίκετο ἐπὶ τὸν Ἄλνυν ποταμὸν ὁ Κροίσος, τὸ ἐνθεῦτεν, ὡς μὲν ἐγὼ λέγω, κατὰ τὰς ἐνύσας γεφύρας διεβιβάσε τὸν στρατόν, ὡς δὲ ὁ πολλὸς λόγος Ἑλλήνων, Θαλῆς οἱ ὁ Μιλήσιος διεβιβάσε. ἀπορέουτος γὰρ Κροίσου ὡκς οἱ διαβηστεὶ τὸν ποταμὸν ὁ στρατὸς (οὐ γὰρ δὴ εἶναι κω τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον τὰς γεφύρας ταύτας) λέγεται παρέοντα τὸν Θαλῆν ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ ποιήσαι αὐτῷ τὸν ποταμὸν ἐξ ἁριστήρης χείρος ἱέοντα τοῦ στρατοῦ καὶ ἐκ δεξιῆς ῥέουν, ποιήσαι δὲ ὦδε· ἀνωθεν τοῦ στρατοπέδου ἀρξάμενον διώρυχα βαθέαν ὀρύσσεων, ἀγοντα μηνοεῖδε, ὡκως ἀν τὸ στρατόπεδον ἱδρυμένον κατὰ νώτου λάβοι, ταύτη 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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66. Κροίσος δὲ ἐπείτε διαβάς σὺν τῷ στρατῷ ἀπίκετο τῆς Καππαδοκίας ἐς τὴν Πετρίνην καλεο-
μένην (ἢ δὲ Πετρίη ἐστὶ τῆς χώρης ταύτης τὸ 1 ἰσχυρότατον, κατὰ Σινώπην πόλιν τὴν ἐν Εὐξείνῳ
πόντῳ μάλιστα κη κειμένη), ἐνθαῦτα ἐστρατο-
pedeύετο φθείρων τῶν Συρίων τοὺς κλήρους· καὶ
εἴλε μὲν τῶν Πετρίων τὴν πόλιν καὶ ἱνδραποδί-
σατο, εἴλε δὲ τὰς περιοικίδας αὐτῆς πάσας,
Συρίους τε οὔδὲν ἑοντας αὐτίους ἀναστάτους
ἐποίησε. Κύρος δὲ ἀγείρας τὸν ἐωτοῦν στρατὸν
καὶ παραλαβῶν τοὺς μεταξὺ ὀικέοντας πάντας
ἄντιοῦτο Κροίσῳ. πρὶν δὲ ἐξελαύνειν ὀρμήσαι
τὸν στρατὸν, πέμψας κήρυκας ἐς τοὺς Ἰωνας ἐπει-
ράτῳ σφέας ὑπὸ Κροίσου ἀπιστᾶναι. Ἰωνες μὲν
νυν ὦν ἐπείθοντο. Κύρος δὲ ὡς ἀπίκετο καὶ
ἀντεστρατοπεδεύσατο Κροίσῳ, ἐνθαῦτα ἐν τῇ
Πετρίη χώρῃ ἐπειρώντο κατὰ τὸ ἰσχυρὸν ἀλλή-
λων. μάχης δὲ καρτερῆς γενομένης καὶ πεσόντων
ἀμφότερων πολλῶν, τέλος οὐδέτεροι νικήσαντες
diέστησαν νυκτὸς ἐπελθούσης. καὶ τὰ μὲν στρατό-
peda ἀμφότερα οὔτω ἡγωνίσατο.
67. Κροίσος δὲ μεμφθεὶς κατὰ τὸ πλήθος τὸ
ἐωτοῦ στράτευμα (ἢ γὰρ οἱ ὁ συμβαλῶν στρατὸς
τολλῶν ἐλάσσων ἢ ὁ Κύρου), τοῦτο μεμφθεὶς, ὀς

1 [τὸ] 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
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τὴ ὑστεραλὴ τοῖς ἐπιδότῳ ἔπιθων ὁ Κύρος, ἀπήλαυνε ἐς τὰς Σάρδις, ἐν νόῳ ἔχων παρακαλέσας μὲν Αἰγυπτίους κατὰ τὸ ὅρκιον (ἐποιήσατο γὰρ καὶ πρὸς Ἀμασίων βασιλεύοντα Αἰγύπτου συμμαχίην πρότερον ἥ περ πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους), μεταπεμψάμενος δὲ καὶ Βαβυλωνίους (καὶ γὰρ πρὸς τούτους αὐτῷ ἐπεποίητο συμμαχίη, ἐτυράννευε δὲ τὸν χρόνον τούτον τῶν Βαβυλωνίων Δαβύνητος), ἔπαγγείλας δὲ καὶ Λακεδαιμονίους παρεῖναι ἐς χρόνον ῥήτων, ἀλὰσας τε δὴ τούτους καὶ τὴν ἐωτοῦ συλλέξας στρατηγὶν ἐνένωτο, τὸν χειμῶνα παρεῖς, ἀμα τῷ ἔαρι στρατεύειν ἐπὶ τοὺς Πέρσας. καὶ δὲ μὲν ταῦτα φρονεῖν, ὡς ἀπίκετο ἐς τὰς Σάρδις, ἔπεμπτε κήρυκας κατὰ τὰς συμμαχίας προερέοντας ἐς πέμπτον μῆνα συλλέχεσθαι ἐς Σάρδις· τὸν δὲ παρεόντα καὶ μαχεσάμενον στρατὸν Πέρσῃ, δὺ ἦν αὐτοῦ ξεινικός, πάντα ἀπεῖς διεσκέδασε οὐδαμῶ ἐπίτεις μὴ κοτε ἄρα ἀγωνισάμενος οὕτω παραπλησίως Κύρος ἐλάσθη ἐπὶ Σάρδις.

78. Ταῦτα ἐπιλεγομένων Κροίσῳ τὸ προάστειον πάν ὁφίων ἐνεπλήσθη· φανέντων δὲ αὐτῶν, οἱ ἱπποὶ μετείνετε τὰς νομᾶς νέμεσθαι φοιτεύοντες κατῆσθιον. ἱδόντι δὲ τούτῳ Κροίσῳ, ὥσπερ καὶ ἦν, ἔδοξε τέρας εἶναι· αὐτίκα δὲ ἐπέμπτε θεοπρότους ἐς τῶν ἔξηγητέων Τελμησσέων. ἀπικομένοις δὲ τοῖς θεοπρόποις καὶ μαθοῦσι πρὸς Τελμησσέων τὸ θέλει σημαίνειν τὸ τέρας, οὐκ ἔξεγενετο Κροίσῳ ἀπαγγέλλας· πρὸν γὰρ ἡ ὅπισω

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

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

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1 These were a caste of priests of Apollo at Telmessus or Telmissus in Lycia. τῶν ἐξηγητέων Τελμησσέων is contrary to Greek usage, ἐξηγ. being a substantive: Stein suggests that the true reading may be Τελμησσέων τῶν ἐξηγητέων.
σφέας ἀναπλώσαι ἐς τὰς Σάρδις ἦλω ὁ Κροίσος. Τελεμησσεῖς μέντοι τάδε ἔγρωσαν, στρατὸν ἄλλοθρον προσδόκιμον εἶναι Κροίσῳ ἐπὶ τὴν χώρην, ἀπικόμενον δὲ τοῦτο καταστρέψεσθαι τοὺς ἐπιχωρίους, λέγοντες ὅφιν εἶναι γῆς παῦδα, ὦππον δὲ πολέμιον τε καὶ ἐπῆλυδα. Τελεμησσεῖς μὲν ὑνὶ ταῦτα ὑπεκρίναντο Κροίσῳ ὡδὴ ἠλωκότι, οὐδὲν κω εἰδότες τῶν ἤν περὶ Σάρδις τε καὶ αὐτὸν Κροίσον.

79. Κύρος δὲ αὐτίκα ἀπελαύνοντος Κροίσου μετὰ τὴν μάχην τὴν γενομένην ἐν τῇ Πτερή, μαθὼν ὡς ἀπελάσας μέλλοι Κροίσος διασκεδὰν τὸν στρατὸν, Βουλευόμενος εὐρισκε πρήγμα οἰ εἶναι ἐλαύνειν ὡς δύνατο τάχιστα ἐπὶ τὰς Σάρδις, πρὶν ἢ τὸ δεύτερον ἀλισθῆναι τῶν Λυδῶν τὴν δύναμιν. ὦς δὲ οἱ ταῦτα ἐδοξε, καὶ ἐποίεε κατὰ τάχος· ἐλάσας γὰρ τὸν στρατὸν ἐς τὴν Λυδίην αὐτὸς ἁγγελος Κροίσῳ ἐληλύθη. ἐνθαῦτα Κροίσος ἐσ ἀπορήν πολλὴν ἀπιγμένος, ὡς οἱ παρὰ δόξαν ἐσχε τὰ πρήγματα ἢ ὡς αὐτὸς κατεδόκεε, ὦμως τοὺς Λυδοὺς ἔξηγε ἐς μάχην. ἢν δὲ τούτων τὸν χρόνον ἔθνος οὐδὲν ἐν τῇ Ἀσίῃ οὔτε ἄνθρωπο- τερον οὔτε ἀλκιμῶτερον τοῦ Λυδίου. ἢ δὲ μάχη σφέων ἢν ἀπ᾽ ἔπτων, δόρατα τε ἐφόρεσαν μεγάλα, καὶ αὐτοὶ ἤσαν ἰππεύσθαι ἄγαθοι.

80. Ἐς τὸ πεδίον δὲ συνελθόντων τούτω τὸ πρὸ τοῦ ἁστεοῦ ἐστὶ τοῦ Σαρδηνοῦ, ἐδ᾽ ἐν μέγα τε καὶ ψυλῶν (διὰ δὲ αὐτοῦ ποταμοῦ ἑρευνάτε καὶ ἄλλοι καὶ Ἁλλιος συγγύνησι ἐς τὸν μέγιστον, καλεό- μενον δὲ Ἔρμον, δὲ ἐξ ὅρεος ἵππων διήρηκε Λυδι- μήνῃς ἕρων ἑκάστι ἐς θάλασσαν κατὰ Φωκαίην πόλιν), ἐνθαῦτα ὁ Κύρος ὡς εἴδε τοὺς Λυδοὺς ἐς 98
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 and issues into the sea near the city of Phocaea). Here when Cyrus saw the Lydians arraying

\[\text{Identified with the Phrygian and Lydian goddess Cybele.}\]
μάχην τασσομένους, καταρρωθήσας τὴν ἦπτον ἐποίησε Ἄρταγον ὑποθεμένου ἀνδρὸς Μήδου τοιόνδε· ὅσαι τῷ στρατῷ τῷ ἐκούσαντο συντοφόροι τε καὶ σκευοφόροι κάμηλοι, ταύτας πά− σας ἀλίσας καὶ ἀπελὼν τὰ ἀχθεα ἀνδρας ἐπ’ αὐτὰς ἀνέβησε ἱππάδα στολὴν ἐνεσταλμένους, σκευάσας δὲ αὐτοὺς προσέταξε τῆς ἀλλής στρα− τῆς προῖναι πρὸς τὴν Κροίσον ἦπτον, τῇ δὲ καμήλῳ ἐπεσθαί τὸν πεζὸν στρατὸν ἐκέλευσε, ὅπισθε δὲ τοῦ πεζοῦ ἐπέταξε τὴν πᾶσαν ἦπτον. ὥσ δὲ οἱ πάντες διετετάχατο, παραίνεσε τῶν μὲν ἀλλῶν Λυδῶν μὴ φελομένους κτείνευν πάντα τῶν ἐμπόδων γινόμενον, Κροίσον δὲ αὐτὸν μὴ κτείνειν, μηδὲ ἦν συλλαμβανόμενος ἀμύνηται. ταῦτα μὲν παραίνεσε, τὰς δὲ καμήλους ἔταξε ἀντία τῆς ἦπ− ποι τῶν ἐνεκεν· κάμηλον ἦπος φοβεῖσαι, καὶ οὐκ ἀνέχεται οὔτε τὴν ἰδέην αὐτοῦ ὁρέων οὔτε τὴν ὁδήγην ὀσφραίνομενος. αὐτοῦ δὴ ὡν τούτου ἐνεκεν ἔσεσοφιστο, ἵνα τῷ Κροίσῳ ἄχρηστον ἢ τὸ ἦππικόν, τῷ δὴ τι καὶ ἐπείχε ἐλλάμψεσθαι ὁ Λυδός. ὡς δὲ καὶ συνήσαν ἐς τὴν μάχην, ἐν− θαῦτα ὡς ὀσφραντο τάξιστα τῶν καμῆλῶν οἱ ἦπποι καὶ εἶδον αὐτὰς, ὀπίσω ἀνέστρεφοι, διέ− φθαρτό τε τῷ Κροίσῳ ἢ ἐλπίς. οὐ μέντοι οἳ γε Λυδοὶ τὸ ἐνεβάλετον δειλοὶ ἦσαν, ἀλλ’ ὡς ἔμαθον τὸ γινόμενον, ἀποθορώντες ἀπὸ τῶν ἦππων πεζοὶ τοῖς Πέρσησι συνέβαλλον. χρόνῳ δὲ πεσόντων ἀμφοτέρων πολλῶν ἐπράποντο οἱ Λυδοὶ, κατειλή− θέντες δὲ ἐς τὸ τείχος ἐπολιορκεόντο ὑπὸ τῶν Περσέων.

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

81. So then they were beleaguered. But Croesus, supposing that the siege would last a long time, sent
πολυορκήν ἔπεμπε ἐκ τοῦ τείχεος ἀλλοις ἀγγέ-
λους ἐς τὰς συμμαχίας· οἱ μὲν γὰρ πρώτεροι
dιεπέμποντο ἐς πέμπτον μήνα προερέοντες συλ-
λέγεσθαι ἐς Σάρδις, τούτοις δὲ ἐξέπεμπε τὴν
tαχύτητι δέσσθαι βοηθεῖν ὡς πολυορκεομένοι
Κροίσου.

82. „Εἰς τε δὴ ὄν τὰς ἄλλας ἔπεμπε συμμαχίας
cαὶ δὴ καὶ ἔς Δακεδαίμονα. τοῖσι δὲ καὶ αὐτοῖς
tοῖσι Σπαρτήτησι κατ’ αὐτὸν τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον
συνεπεττάκεε ἔρις ἔφυσα πρὸς Ἀργείους περὶ
χώρου καλεόμενον Θυρέης· τὰς γὰρ Θυρέας ταύ-
tας ἐφύσας τῆς Ἀργολίδος μοίρης ἀποταμώμενοι
ἔσχον οἱ Δακεδαίμονιοι. ἦν δὲ καὶ ἡ μέχρι Μα-
λέων ἡ πρὸς ἐσπέρην Ἀργείων, ἢ τε ἐν τῇ ἡπείρῳ
χώρῃ καὶ ἡ Κυθηρίη νῆσος καὶ αἱ λοιπαὶ τῶν
νῆσων. βοηθησάντων δὲ Ἀργείων τῇ σφετέρῃ
ἀποταμομένῃ, ἐνθαῦτα συνεβησαν ἐς λόγους
συνελθόντες ὡστε τρικοσίους ἐκατέρων μαχέ-
σασθαι, ὡς τούτοις δ’ ἂν περιγένονται, τούτων εἶναι
τῶν χώρων· τὸ δὲ πλῆθος τοῦ στρατοῦ ἀπαλλάσ-
σεσθαι ἐκάτερον ἐς τὴν ἔωτον μηδὲ παραμένειν
ἀγωνιζομένων, τόπος εἶνεκεν ὡς μὴ παρεόντων
tῶν στρατοπέδων ὅρωντες οἱ ἔτεροι ἐσομφένοις
tῶν σφετέρων ἐπαρμόνοιεν. συνθέμενοι ταῦτα
ἀπαλλάσσοντο, λογάδες δὲ ἐκατέρων ὑπολει-
φθέντες συνέβαλον. μαχομένων δὲ σφέων καὶ
γινομένων ἱσοπαλέων ὑπελείποντο ἐς ἄνδρῶν
ἐξακοσίων τρεῖς. Ἀργείων μὲν 'Αλκήνωρ τε
καὶ Χρομίος, Δακεδαίμονίων δὲ 'Οθρυάδης· ὑπε-
λείφθησαν δὲ οὕτω νυκτὸς ἐπέλθοσθη. οἱ μὲν
δὴ δύο τῶν Ἀργείων ὡς νενικηκότες ἔθεον ἐς
τὸ Ἀργος, δ’ ἐς τῶν Δακεδαίμονίων Ὁθρυάδης.
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 προσφορήσας τὰ ὄπλα πρὸς τὸ ἐσωτέρους στρατόπεδον ἐν τῇ τάξι εἰχὲ ἐσωτέρους. Ἡμέρη δὲ δευτέρῃ παρῆσαν πυνθανόμενοι ἀμφότεροι. τέως μὲν δὴ αὐτοὶ ἐκατεροί ἔβαζον νικᾶν, λέγοντες οἱ μὲν ὡς ἐσωτέρους πλεῦνες περιγεγόνασι, οἳ δὲ τοὺς μὲν ἀποφαίνοντες πεθευγότας, τὸν δὲ σφέτερον παραμείναντα καὶ σκυλεύσαντα τοὺς ἐκείνους νεκροὺς τέλος δὲ ἔκ τῆς ἔριδος συμπεσόντες ἑμάχοντο, πεσόντων δὲ καὶ ἀμφότερων πολλῶν ἐνίκων Λακεδαιμόνιοι. Ἀργεῖοι μὲν υἱὸν ἀπὸ τούτου τοῦ χρόνου κατακείμενοι τὰς κεφαλὰς, πρότερον ἐπάναγκες κομῶντες, ἐποίησαντο νόμον τε καὶ κατάρην μή πρότερον θρέψειν κόμην Ἀργεῖων μηδένα, μηδὲ τὰς γυναῖκας σφὶ χρυσοφορήσειν, πρὶν Θυρέας ἀνασώσωνται. Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ τὰ ἐναντία τούτων ἔθεντο νόμον οὐ γὰρ κομῶντες πρὸ τούτου ἀπὸ τούτου κομᾶν. τὸν δὲ ἔνα λέγουσι τὸν περιλειψάντα τῶν τριηκοσίων Ὀθρυάδην, αἰσχυνομένον ἀπονοστέειν ἐς Σπάρτην τῶν οἱ συλλοχιτέων διεθαρμένων, αὐτοῦ μὲν ἐν τῇ Θυρέῃ καταχρήσασθαι ἐσωτέρους.

83. Τοιούτων δὲ τοῦτο Σπαρτήτησι ἑνεστεὼν πρηγμάτων ἦκε οἱ Σαρδηνὸς κηρυξ δέομενος Κροίςων βοηθείῃ πολιορκεομένῳ. οἳ δὲ ὅμως, ἐπείτε ἐπύθοντο τοῦ κήρυκος, ὁρμεάτο βοηθεῖν. καὶ σφὶ ἣδε παρεσκευασμένοις καὶ νεῶν ἐουσεῶν ἑτοίμων ἔλθῃ ἄλλῃ ἀγγελίᾳ, ὡς ἠλώκοι τὸ τεῖχος τῶν Λυδῶν καὶ ἔχουσο Κροίσως ζωγρηθεῖς. οὐτω δὴ οὕτως μὲν συμφόρην ποιησάμενοι μεγάλην ἐπέπαυσαν.

84. Σάρδιες δὲ ἠλωσαν ὅδε. ἐπειδή 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 Thyreæ; 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 Thyreæ.

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 δεκατὴ ἐγένετο ἡμέρη πολιορκεομένῳ Κροῖσῳ, Κύρος τῇ στρατιᾷ τῇ ἑωντοῦ διαπέμψας ἵππεὰς προεῖπε τῷ πρῶτῳ ἐπιβάντι τοῦ τείχεος δώρα δώσειν. μετὰ δὲ τούτῳ πειρησαμένης τῆς στρατιῶς ὡς οὖ προεχώρησε, ἐνθαῦτα τῶν ἄλλων πεπαυμένων ἄνὴρ Μάρδος ἐπείρατο προσβαίνων, τῷ σύνομα ἧν Ἀρνάδης, κατὰ τοῦτο τῆς ἀκροπόλιος τῇ οὐδεὶς ἔτετακτο φύλακας· οὐ γὰρ ἦν δεινον κατὰ τοῦτο μὴ ἀλῷ κοτέ. ἀπότομος οὖ γὰρ ἐστὶ ταυτῆ ἡ ἀκρόπολις καὶ ἁμαχὸς· τῇ οὐδὲ Μήλης ὁ πρῶτερον βασιλεὺς Σαρδῶν μοῦνη ὡς περιήμεικε τὸν λέοντα τὸν οἱ ή παλλακή ἔτεκε, Τελμησσέων δικασάντων ὡς περιενεχθέντος τοῦ λέοντος τὸ τείχος ἐσονται Σάρδιες ἀνάλωτοι. ὁ δὲ Μήλης κατὰ τὸ ἄλλο τείχος περιενείκας, τῇ ἦν ἐπίμαχον τὸ χωρίον τῆς ἀκροπόλιος, κατηλόγησε τοῦτο ὡς ἐν ἁμαχὸν τε καὶ ἀπότομον· ἔστι δὲ πρὸς τοῦ Τμώλου τετραμμένον τῆς πόλιος. ὥ δὲ ἀριάδης οὗτος ὁ Μάρδος ἱδὼν τῇ προτεραίᾳ τῶν τινα Δυνδῶν κατὰ τοῦτο τῆς ἀκροπόλιος καταβάντα ἐπὶ κυνέην ἀνωθὲν κατακυλισθείσαν καὶ ἀνελόμενον, ἐφράσθη καὶ ἐς θυμὸν ἐβάλετο· τότε δὲ δὴ αὐτὸς τε ἄναβεβήκε καὶ κατ' αὐτὸν ἄλλοι Περσέων ἀνεβαινον προσβάντων δὲ συχνῶν οὕτω δὴ Σάρδιες τε ἡλώκεσαν καὶ πάν το ἀστυ ἐπορθέτο. 85. Καὶ αὐτὸν δὲ Κροῖσον τάδε ἐγύνετο. ἦν οἱ παῖς, τοῦ καὶ πρότερον ἐπεμήνησθην, τὰ μὲν ἄλλα ἐπιεικῆς, ἀφωνος δὲ. ἐν τῇ δὲ παρελθοῦσῃ ἔως τοῦ Κροῖσος τὸ πᾶν ἐς αὐτὸν ἐπεποιήκεε, ἄλλα τε ἐπιφραζόμενος, καὶ δὴ καὶ ἐς Δελφοῦς

1 τὸ χωρίον is bracketed by Stein.
BOOK I. 84–85

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 Telmesians having declared that if this lion were carried round the walls Sardis could never be taken. Meles then carried the lion round the rest of the wall of the acropolis where it could be assaulted, but neglected this place, because the height was sheer and defied attack. It is on the side of the city which faces towards Tmolus. So then it chanced that on the day before this Mardian, Hyroeades, had seen one of the Lydians descend by this part of the citadel after a helmet that had fallen down, and fetch it; he took note of this and considered it, and now he himself climbed up, and other Persians after him. Many ascended, and thus was Sardis taken and all the city like to be sacked.

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

1 The Mardi were a nomad Persian tribe.
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περὶ αὐτοῦ ἐπεπόμφεε χρησμένους. ἡ δὲ Πυθίη
οἱ εἶπε τάδε.

Αὐδὲ γένος, πολλῶν βασιλεῶν, μέγα νύπτε
Κροῖσε,
μὴ βούλου πολύευκτον ἢν ἀνὰ δώματ᾽ ἀκούειν
παιδὸς φθεγγομένου. τὸ δὲ σοὶ πολὺ λῶιν
ἀμφὶς
ἐμμεναι. αὐδήσει γὰρ ἐν ἡματι πρῶτον ἀνόλβῳ.

ἀλισκομένου δὴ τοῦ τείχεος, ἦς γὰρ τῶν τις
Περσέων ἄλλογνώσας Κροῖσον ὡς ἀποκτενέων,
Κροῖσος μὲν νυν ὅρεων ἐπιοῦτα ὑπὸ τῆς παρεούσης
συμφορῆς παρημελήκει, οὐδὲ τὶ οἱ διέφερε πλη-
γέντι ἀποθανεῖν. ὁ δὲ παῖς οὗτος ὁ ἄφωνος ὡς εἰδὲ
ἐπιοῦτα τὸν Πέρσην, ὑπὸ δέονς τε καὶ κακοῦ ἔρρηξε
φωνῆν, εἶπε δὲ “Ωμβρώπε, μὴ κτείνε Κροῖσον.”
οὗτος μὲν δὴ τούτῳ πρῶτον ἐθεδεχόμενο, μετὰ δὲ
τούτῳ ἡδὴ ἐφόνεω τῶν πάντα πρὸν τῆς ζώης.

86. Οἶ δὲ Πέρσαι τάς τε δὴ Σάρδις ἐσχῶν καὶ
αὐτῶν Κροῖσον ἔξωγρησαν, ἄρξαντα ἔτεα τεσσερεσ-
καίδεκα καὶ τεσσερεσκαίδεκα ἡμέρας πολύρκη-
θεντα, κατὰ τὸ χρηστήριον τε καταπάυσαντα τὴν
ἐωτοῦ μεγάλην ἁρχήν. λαβὼντες δὲ αὐτὸν οἱ
Πέρσαι ἥγαγον παρὰ Κόρου. δὲ δὲ συννήσας
πυρῆν μεγάλην ἀνεβίβασε ἐπὶ αὐτὴν τὸν Κροῖσον
τε ἐν πέδησι δεδεμένον καὶ δις ἐπτὰ Λυδῶν παρ'
αὐτὸν παῖδας, ἐν νῦν ἔχων εἶτε δὴ ἀκροθίνια
tαῦτα καταγειν θεῶν ὅτερ δὴ, εἶτε καὶ εὐχήν
ἐπιτελέσαι θέλων, εἰτε καὶ πυθόμενος τὸν Κροῖσον
eῖναι θεσσεβέα τούδε εἰνεκεν ἀνεβίβασε ἐπὶ τὴν
πυρῆν, βουλόμενος εἰδέναι εἰ τὸς μὲν δαιμόνων
ῥύσεται τοῦ μὴ ξώντα κατακαυθῆναι. τὸν μὲν δὴ
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
ποιεῖν ταῦτα· τῷ δὲ Κροῖσῳ ἐστεώτι ἐπὶ τῆς πυρῆς ἐσελθεῖν, καίπερ ἐν κακῷ ἐόντι τοσοῦτο, τὸ τοῦ Σόλωνος ὡς οἱ εἶη σὺν θεῷ εἰρημένον, τὸ μηδένα εἶναι τῶν ἄκωντων ὄλβιον. ὡς δὲ ἀρα μὴν προστήναι τούτο, ἀνενεκαμένον τε καὶ ἀναστενάξαντα ἐκ πολλῆς ἡσυχίας ἐς τρὶς ὄνομάσα "Σόλων." καὶ τὸν Κύρον ἀκούσαντα κελεύσαι τοὺς ἐρμηνεάς ἐπειρέσθαι τὸν Κροῖσον τίνα τούτον ἐπικαλέσας, καὶ τοὺς προσελθόντας ἐπειρωτῶν Κροῖσον δὲ τέως μὲν σιγὴν ἔχειν εἰρωτῶμεν, μετὰ δὲ ὡς ἡγαγκάζετο, εἰπεῖν "Τὸν ἀν ἐγὼ πᾶσιν τυράννοισι προετίμησαι μεγάλων χρημάτων ἐς λόγους ἔλθείν." ὡς δὲ σφί ἀσημα ἐφραζε, πάλιν ἐπειρωτῶν τὰ λεγόμενα. λιπαρεόντων δὲ αὐτῶν καὶ ὁχλον παρεχόντων, ἔλεγε δὴ ὡς ἦλθε ἁρχὴν ὁ Σόλων ἐὼν Ἀθηναῖος, καὶ θεσσάμενος πάντα τὸν ἑωτοῦ ὄλβον ἀποφλαυρίσειε οίᾳ δὴ εἴπας, ὡς τε αὐτῷ πάντα ἀποβεβήκοι τῇ περ ἐκείνος εἴπε, οὐδὲν τι μᾶλλον ἐς ἑωτοῦ λέγων ἢ οὐκ ἐς ἀπαν τὸ ἀνθρώπινον καὶ μᾶλιστα τοὺς παρὰ σφύς αὐτοῦ ὅλβιονς δοκεόντας εἶναι. τὸν μὲν Κροῖσον ταῦτα ἀπηγεέσθαι, τῆς δὲ πυρῆς ἡ ἀμμένης καίεσθαι τὰ περέσχατα. καὶ τὸν Κύρον ἀκούσαντα τῶν ἐρμηνεῶν τὰ Κροῖσος εἴπε, μεταγυνότα τε καὶ ἐννώσαντα ὅτι καὶ αὐτὸς ἀνθρώπως ἐδών ἄλλον ἀνθρωπον, γενόμενον ἑωτοῦ εὐδαιμονία ὡς ἐλάσσω, ἐῶς τινα πυρὶ διδο iov, πρὸς τε τοῦτοι δείσαντα τὴν τίσιν καὶ ἐπιλεξάμενον ὡς οὐδὲν εἶη τῶν ἐν ἀνθρώποις ἀσφαλέως ἔχον, κελεύειν σβενύναι τὴν ταχίστην τὸ καιόμενον πῦρ καὶ

1 πῦρ is bracketed by Stein.
then that he did this; but Croesus, as he stood on the pyre, remembered even in his evil plight how divinely inspired was that saying of Solon, that no living man was blest. When this came to his mind, having till now spoken no word, he sighed 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 ἐτὶ τοῦ πυρὸς ἐπικρατήσαι.

87. Ἐνθαῦτα λέγεται ὑπὸ Λυδῶν Κροίσου μαθόντα τὴν Κύρου μετάγωσιν, ὡς ὥρα πάντα μὲν ἄνδρα σβεννύντα τὸ πῦρ, δυναμένους δὲ οὐκέτι καταλαβέιν, ἐπιβώσασθαι τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα ἐπικαλεόμενον, εἰ τί οἱ κεχαρισμένοι εἷς αὐτοῦ ἐδωρήθη, παραστήναι καὶ ρύσασθαι αὐτὸν ἐκ τοῦ παρεόντος κακοῦ. τὸν μὲν δακρύοντα ἐπικαλέσθαι τὸν θεὸν, ἐκ δὲ αἰθρίας τε καὶ νηνεμίας συνδραμεῖν ἐξαπίνης νέφεα καὶ χειμώνα τε καταραγήναι καὶ ὑσαί ὑδατι λαβροτάτῳ, κατασβεσθήναι τε τὴν πυρῆν. οὕτω δὴ μαθόντα τὸν Κύρου ὡς εἰη ὁ Κροίσος καὶ θεοφιλὴς καὶ ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς, καταβιβάσαντα αὐτὸν ἀπὸ τῆς πυρῆς εἰρέσθαι τάδε. "Κροῖσε, τῆς σε ἀνθρώπων ἀνέγγυσε ἐπὶ γῆν τὴν ἐμὴν στρατευσάμενον πολέμιον ἀντὶ φίλου ἐμοὶ καταστήναι;" ὁ δὲ εἰπε ὡς βασιλεύ, ἐγὼ ταῦτα ἐπρηξα τῇ σῇ μὲν εὐδαιμονίᾳ, τῇ ἐμεωτοῦ δὲ κακοδαιμονίᾳ, αὐτίος δὲ τὸῦ ἐγένετο ὁ Ἐλλήνων θεὸς ἑπαείρας ἐμὲ στρατευέσθαι. οὐδείς γὰρ ὦτῳ ἀνόητος ἐστὶ οὕτω πόλεμον πρὸ εἰρήνης αἱρέσται· ἐν μὲν γὰρ τῇ οἱ παῖδες τοὺς πατέρας θάπτουσι, ἐν δὲ τῷ οἱ πατέρες τοὺς παῖδας. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα δαίμονι κον φίλου ἤν οὐτῳ γενέσθαι."

88. "Ο μὲν ταῦτα ἔλεγε, Κύρος δὲ αὐτῶν λύσας κατεἰσε τε ἐγγύς ἑωτοῦ καὶ κάρτα ἐν πολλῇ προμηθῇ εἰχὲ, ἀπεθάνατεν τε ὑπὲρων καὶ αὐτῶς καὶ οἱ περὶ ἐκεῖνον ἐόντες πάντες. ὁ δὲ συννοίη ἐχόμενος ἡσυχὸς ἤν· μετὰ δὲ ἐπιστραφεῖς τε καὶ
fire with all speed and bring Croesus and those with him down from the pyre. But his servants could not for all their endeavour now master the fire.

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

88. So said Croesus. Then Cyrus loosed him and set him near to himself and took much thought for him, and both he and all that were with him were astonished when they looked upon Croesus. He for his part was silent, deep in thought. Presently he
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ιδόμενος τοὺς Πέρσας τὸ τῶν Λυδῶν ἀστυ κεραί-ζουτας εἶπε ὡς βασιλεύ, κόστερον λέγειν πρὸς σὲ τὰ νοέων τυχανόν ἢ συγάν ἐν τῷ παρεῦντι χρή;" Κύρος δὲ μιν θαρσέουτα ἐκέλευε λέγειν ὃ τι βούλοντο. ὃ δὲ αὐτῶν εἰρώτα λέγουν "Οὔτος ὁ πολλὸς ὁμίλος τὶ ταύτα πολλῇ σπουδῇ ἐργα-ζεται;" ὃ δὲ εἶπε "Πόλιν τε τὴν σὴν διαρπάζει καὶ χρήματα τὰ σὰ διαφορεῖ." Κροίσος δὲ ἀμείβετο "Οὔτε πόλιν τὴν ἐμὴν ὑπὲρ χρήματα τὰ ἐμὰ διαρπάζει· οὔθὲν γὰρ ἐμοὶ ἐτὶ τοῦτων μετὰ ἀλλὰ φέρουσι τε καὶ ἀγονοῦσι τὰ σὰ.

89. Κύρῳ δὲ ἐπιμελέσθε ἐγένετο τὰ Κροίσος εἶπε·μεταστησάμενος δὲ τοὺς ἄλλους, εἶρετο Κροίσον ὃ τι οἱ ἐνορφὴ ἐν τοῖς ποιευμένοις. ὃ δὲ εἶπε "Ἐπείτε με θεοὶ ἐδώκαν δούλων σοι, δικαίω, εἰ τι ἐνορέω πλέον, σημαίνει σοί. Πέρσαι φύσιν ἑόντες υβρισταῖ εἰσὶ ἁρηματοί. ἢν ὁν σὺ τούτους περίδης διαρπάζαντας καὶ κατασχόντας χρήματα μεγάλα, τάδε τοι ἐξ αὐτῶν ἐπίδοξα γενέσθαι ὃς ἂν αὐτῶν πλείστα κατάσχῃ, τοῦτον προσδέκεσθαι τοι ἐπαναστησάμενον. νῦν ὁν ποίησαι δὲ, εἰ τοι ἀρέσκει τὰ ἐγὼ λέγω· κάτισον τῶν δορυφόρων ἐπὶ πάσης τῆς πύλης φυλάκουσί, οἱ λεγόντων πρὸς τοὺς ἐκφέροντας τὰ χρήματα ἀπαρεόμενοι ὡς σφέα ἀναγκαῖος ἐχει δεκατευθύναι τῷ Διῷ. καὶ σὺ τὰ σφι ὁν ἀπεχθήσεαι βίῃ ἀπαρεόμενος τὰ χρήματα, καὶ ἐκεῖνοι συγγνώτες ποιέσθε σε δίκαια ἐκόντες προῆσονσι.

90. Ταύτα ἀκοῦσαν ὁ Κύρος ὑπερήδετο, ὡς οἱ ἐδώκεε εὐ ὑποτίθεσθαι· αἰνέσας δὲ πολλά, καὶ ἐντείλαμενος τοῖς δορυφόροις τὰ Κροίσος ὑπεθηκατο ἐπιτελεέων, εἶπε πρὸς Κροίσον τάδε.
BOOK I. 88-90

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

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

90. When Cyrus heard this he was exceedingly pleased, for he deemed the counsel good; and praising him greatly, and bidding his guards to act as Croesus
"Κροίσε, ἀναρτημένον σεῦ ἄνδρος βασιλέως χρηστὰ ἔργα καὶ ἔπεα ποιεῖν, αἰτεό δόσιν ἣτινα βούλεαί τοι γενέσθαι παραντίκα.” ὦ δὲ εἶπε "ὦ δεσποτα, ἐάσας με χαριεῖ κατά μάλιστα τῶν θεῶν τῶν Ἑλλήνων, τῶν ἐγὼ ἐτίμησα θεῶν μάλιστα, ἐπειρέσθαι πέμψαντα τάς τάς πέδας, εἰ ἐξαιπταύνας τοὺς εὐ ποιεῖσθαι νόμος ἐστὶ οἱ. Κύρος δὲ εἰρετο ὁ τι οἱ τοῦτο ἐπηγορόειν παραντεύοιτο. Κροίσος δὲ οἱ ἐπαλλλλύγησε πᾶσαν τὴν ἑωτοῦ διάνοιαν καὶ τῶν χρηστηρίων τὰς ὑποκρίσιας καὶ μάλιστα τὰ ἀναθήματα, καὶ ὡς ἐπαερθεὶς τὸ μαντήμα ἐστρατεύσατο ἐπὶ Πέρσας. λέγων δὲ ταύτα κατέβαινε αὐτίς παραντεύομενος ἐπειναί οἱ τῷ θεῷ τοῦτο ὁνειδίσαι. Κύρος δὲ γελάσας εἶπε "Καὶ τοῦτον πεύξειν παρ’ ἐμεῦ, Κροίσε, καὶ ἄλλου παντὸς τοῦ ἀν ἐκαστότερο δεη.” ὡς δε ταύτα ἦκουσε ο Κροίσος, πέμπτων τῶν Λυδῶν ἐς Δελφοὺς ἐνετελέσε τιθέντας τὰς πέδας ἐπὶ τοῦ νησί τοῦ νῦν εἰρωτάν εἰ οὐ τι ἐπαισχύνεται τοῖς μαντήσωσι ἐπαιεῖρας Κροίσον στρατεύσεθαι ἐπὶ Πέρσας ὡς καταπαύσωστα τὴν Κύρου δύναμιν, ἀπὶ ἡς οἱ ἀκροβία τοιαῦτα γενέσθαι, δεικνύντας τὰς πέδας ταύτα τε ἐπειρωτάν, καὶ εἰ ἀχαρίστοις νόμος εἶναι τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ θεὼν.

91. Ἀπικομένοις δὲ τοῖς Λυδοῖς καὶ λέγουσι τὰ ἐντεταλμένα τὴν Πυθίαν λέγεται εἰπεῖν τάδε. "Τὴν πεπρωμένην μοιρὰν ἄδυνατα ἐστὶ ἀποφυγεῖν καὶ θεῶ. Κροίσος δὲ πέμπτων γονέως ἀμαρτάδα ἐξέπλησε, ὥς ἐων δορυφόρος Ἦρακλειδέων, δόλω γυναικηίῳ ἐπιστόμενος ἐφόνευσε τὸν δεσπότεα καὶ ἐσχε τὴν ἐκείνου τιμήν οὐδέν οἱ προσέκουσαν. προθυμεομένου δὲ Δοξίως ὁκὼς ἀν κατὰ τούς
had counselled, he said: "Croesus, now that you, a king, are resolved to act and to speak aright, ask me now for whatever boon you desire forthwith." "Master," said Croesus, "you will best please me if you suffer me to send these my chains to that god of the Greeks whom I chiefly honoured, and to ask him if it be his custom to deceive those who serve him well." Cyrus then asking him what was the meaning of this request, Croesus repeated to him the tale of all his own intent, and the answers of the oracles, and more especially his offerings, and how it was the oracle that had heartened him to attack the Persians; and so saying he once more instantly entreated that he might be suffered to reproach the god for this. At this Cyrus smiled, and replied, "This I will grant you, Croesus, and what other boon soever you may at any time ask me." When Croesus heard this, he sent men of the Lydians to Delphi, charging them to lay his chains on the threshold of the temple, and to ask if the god were not ashamed that he had persuaded Croesus to attack the Persians, telling him that he would destroy Cyrus' power; of which power (they should say, showing the chains) these were the first-fruits. Thus they should inquire; and further, if it were the manner of the Greek gods to be thankless.

91. When the Lydians came, and spoke as they were charged, the priestess (it is said) thus replied: "None may escape his destined lot, not even a god. Croesus hath paid for the sin of his ancestor of the fifth generation: who, being of the guard of the Heraclidae, was led by the guile of a woman to slay his master, and took to himself the royal state of that master, whereto he had no right. And it was the desire of Loxias that the evil hap of Sardis should
παιδας του Κροισου γενοιτο το Σαρδιων παιδος και μη κατ αυτον Κροισον, ουκ οιν τε εγυντο παραγαγειν μοιρας. οσον δε ενεδωκαν αυται, ζυνσε τε και εχαρισατο οιτρια γαρ έτεα έπανεβάλετο την Σαρδιων άλωσιν, και τουτο έπιστασθω Κροισος ως άστερον τοισι έτηρε τουτοις άλογος της πεπρωμενης. δευτερα δε τουτων καιομενων αυτω επιτηρησε. κατα δε το μαυτημον το γενομενον ουκ ορθως Κροισος μεμφεται. προηγορευε γαρ οι Δοξης, ην στρατευηται επι Περσας, μεγαλην αρχην αυτων καταλύσειν. τω δε προσ ταυτα χρην ευ μελλοντα βουλευεσθαι επειρησθαι πεμψαντα κότερα την ύποτου η την Κυρου λεγου αρχην. ου συλλαβον δε το ρηθεν ουδ' επανειρομενος ύποτου αυτων αποφαινετων τω και το τελευταιον χρηστηριαζομενω ειπε Δοξης περι ημιονου, ουδε τουτο συνέλαβε. ην γαρ δη ο Κυρος ουτος ημιονος· εκ γαρ δυων ουκ ομοθυνων έγενομεναι, μητρος αμείνους, πατρος δε υποδεεστερου· η μεν γαρ ην Μηδις και 'Αστυαγεος θυγατηρ του Μηδων βασιλεος, δε Περσης τε ην και αρχομενος ηπ' εκείνοις και ενερθε έων τοισι ἀπασι δεσποινη τη ύποτου συνοικεν· ταυτα μεν η Πυθη υπεκρινατο τοισι Αγοισι, οι δε άνηδεικας συνεγινω ύποτου ειναι την άμαρταια και ου του θεου. κατα μεν δη την Κροισου τε αρχην και ίωνης την πρωτην καταστροφην έσχε ουτω.

92. Κροισω δε έστι άλλα αναθήματα εν τη 'Ελλαδι πολλα και ου τα ειρημένα μονα. εν μεν
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.
γάρ Θήβησι τῆς Βοιωτῶν τρίτους χρύσεος, τὸν ἀνέθηκε τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι τῷ Ἰσμηνίῳ, ἐν δὲ Ἐφέσῳ αἱ τε βόες αἱ χρύσεαι καὶ τῶν κιόνων αἱ πολλαί, ἐν δὲ Προνήης τῆς ἐν Δελφοῖς ἁστίς χρυσῆ μεγάλη. ταῦτα μὲν καὶ ἕτι ἐς ἔμε ἦν περιεόντα, τὰ δὲ ἔξαπόλωλε τῶν ἀναθημάτων· τὰ δ' ἐν Βραγχίδης τῇ τῆς Μιλησίων ἀναθήματα Κροίσῳ, ὡς ἐγὼ πυνθάνομαι, ἦσα τε σταμὸν καὶ ὡμοίοι τοῖς ἐν Δελφοῖς. τὰ μὲν υἱὸν ἐς τε Δελφοὺς καὶ ἐς τοῦ Ἀμφιάρεω ἀνέθηκε οἰκῆμα τε ἐόντα καὶ τῶν πατρῴων χρημάτων ἀπαρχὴν· τὰ δὲ ἄλλα ἀναθήματα ἕως ἄνδρος ἐγένετο ὀυσίς ἑχθροῦ, ὡς οἱ πρὶν ἢ βασιλεύσαι ἀντιστασίωτης κατεστήκη, συστείῳν Πανταλέοντι γενέσθαι τὴν Δυσδῶν ἀρχὴν. ὁ δὲ Πανταλέων ἦν Ἀλβάττεω μὲν παῖς, Κροίσου δὲ ἀδελφός οὐκ ὀμομήτριος· Κροίσος μὲν γὰρ ἐκ Καέρης ἦν γυναικὸς Ἀλβάττη, Πανταλέων δὲ ἐξ Ἰάδος. ἔπειτα δὲ δόντω τοῦ πατρὸς ἐκράτησε τῆς ἀρχῆς ὁ Κροίσος, τὸν ἄνθρωπον τὸν ἀντιπρόσωπα ἐπὶ κυάφου ἐλκῶν διέφθειρε, τὴν δὲ ὀυσίν αὐτῷ ἐτε πρότερον κατηρώσας τότε τρόπῳ τῷ εἰρημένῳ ἀνέθηκε ἐς τὰ εἴρηται. καὶ περὶ μὲν ἀναθημάτων τοσαῦτα εἰρήσθων.

93. Θώματα δὲ γῆ ἡ Λυδίη ἐς συγγραφὴν οὐ μάλα ἔχει, οἷα τε καὶ ἄλλῃ χώρῃ, πάρεξ τοῦ ἐκ τοῦ Τμώλου καταφερομένου ψῆγματος. ἐν δὲ ἔργον πολλῶν μέγιστον παρέχεται χωρὶς τῶν τε Αἰγυπτίων ἔργων καὶ τῶν Βαβυλωνίων ἔστι αὐτῷ Ἀλβάττεω τοῦ Κροίσου 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 Amphiaras 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.
Η κρητίς μὲν ἔστι λίθων μεγάλων, τὸ δὲ ἄλλο σῆμα χώρα γῆς. ἐξεργάσαντο δὲ μιν οἱ ἄγοραὶ ἀνθρωποι καὶ οἱ χειρώνακτες καὶ αἱ ἐνεργαζόμενοι παιδίσκαι. οὐροὶ δὲ πέντε ἐόντες ἔτι καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ ἦσαν ἐπὶ τοῦ σήματος ἄνω, καὶ σφὶ γράμματα ἐνεκεκόλαπτο τὰ ἐκαστοὶ ἐξεργάσαντο, καὶ ἐφαίνετο μετρεόμενο τὸ τῶν παιδισκέων ἔργον ἐὼν μέγιστον. τοῦ γὰρ δὴ Λυδὸν δήμου αἱ θυγατέρες πορνεύονται πᾶσαι, συλλέγουσι σφίσι φερνᾶς, ἐς δὲ ἄν συνοικήσωσι τοῦτο ποιέουσαι ἐκδιδοῦσι δὲ αὐταὶ ἑωυτᾶς. η μὲν δὴ περίοδος τοῦ σήματος εἰσὶ στάδιοι ἐξ καὶ δύο πλέθρα, τὸ δὲ εὗρος ἐστὶ πλέθρα τρία καὶ δέκα. λίμνη δὲ ἔχεται τοῦ σήματος μεγάλη, τὴν λέγουσι Λυδοὶ ἀείναι εἰναι καλέται δὲ αὕτη Γυμαίη. τοῦτο μὲν δὴ τοιοῦτο ἐστὶ.

94. Λυδοὶ δὲ νόμοις μὲν παραπλησίοις χρέωνται καὶ Ἑλληνες, χωρίς ἢ ὅτι τὰ θήλεια τέκνα καταπορνεύουσι, πρώτοι δὲ ἀνθρώπων τῶν ἡμεῖς ἱδομεν νόμισμα χρυσοῦ καὶ ἀργυροῦ κοσμάμενοι ἔχρησαντο, πρώτοι δὲ καὶ κατηλοὶ ἐγένοντο. φασὶ δὲ αὐτὸι Λυδοὶ καὶ τὰς παγνίας τὰς νῦν σφίσι τε καὶ Ἑλληνικαὶ κατεστέωσας ἑωυτῶν ἐξεύρημα γενέσθαι· ἀμα δὲ ταῦτα τε ἐξευρεθήμαι παρὰ σφίσι λέγουσι καὶ Τυρσηνίην ἀποικίσαι, ὅπερ περὶ αὐτῶν λέγουτες. ἔπτι Ἀτυος τοῦ Μάνεω βασιλέως σιτοδείνην ἰσχυρῆν ἀνα τὴν Λυδίην πάσαν γενέσθαι, καὶ τοὺς Λυδοὺς τέως μὲν διάγειν λυπαρέσχουσι, μετὰ δὲ ὡς οὐ παύεσθαι, ἀκεῖ διξήσθαι, ἀλλοι δὲ ἄλλο ἐπιμηχανᾶσθαι αὐτῶν. ἐξευρεθήμαι δὴ ὑπὸ τὸτε καὶ τῶν κύβων καὶ τῶν ἀστραγάλων καὶ τῆς σφαιρῆς καὶ τῶν ἀλλέων.
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 παιρνιέων τὰ εἴδεα, πλὴν πεσσῶν τούτων γὰρ ὅν τὴν ἐξεύρεσιν οὐκ οἰκηιοῦνται Δυδοῖ. πολείων δὲ ὅδε πρὸς τὸν λιμὸν ἐξευρόντας, τὴν μὲν ἑτέρην τῶν ἡμερέων παῖξειν πᾶσαν, ἵνα δὴ μὴ ξητέοιει σιτία, τὴν δὲ ἑτέρην σιτιέσθαι πανομένους τῶν παιρνιέων. τοιούτω τρόπῳ διάγειν ἐπ’ ἔτεα δυνῶν δέοντα εἴκοσι. ἐπείτε δὲ οὐκ ἄνιέναι τὸ κακὸν ἀλλ’ ἐτι ἐπὶ μᾶλλον βιάζεσθαι, οὐτῶ δὴ τὸν βασιλέα αὐτῶν δῦο μόρας διελόντα Δυδῶν πάντων κληρώσαι τὴν μὲν ἐπὶ μόνη τὴν δὲ ἐπὶ ἐξόδῳ ἐκ τῆς χώρης, καὶ ἐπὶ μὲν τῇ μένειν αὐτοῦ λαγχανοῦσῃ τῶν μοιρέων ἐσωτῆρ᾽ τῶν βασιλέα προστάσσεων, ἐπὶ δὲ τῇ ἀπαλλασσομένῃ τὸν ἐωτοῦ παίδα, τῷ οὖνομα εἶναι Τυρσηνός. λαχάντας δὲ αὐτῶν τοὺς ἑτέρους ἐξιέναι ἐκ τῆς χώρης καταβήναι ἐς Σμύρνην καὶ μηχανήσασθαι πλοία, ἐς τὰ ἐσθημένους τὰ πάντα ὅσα σφῆν ἡν χρηστὰ ἐπὶ-πλοα, ἀποπλέειν κατὰ βίου τε καὶ γῆς ξήτησιν, ἐς ὁ ἠθεία πολλὰ παραμεθαμένους ἀπικέσθαι ἐς Ὁμβρίκους, ἐνθὰ σφεάς ἐνυδρύσασθαι πόλιας καὶ οἰκείας τὸ μέχρι τοῦτο. αὐτὶ δὲ Δυδῶν μετονομάζειται αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ τοῦ βασιλέως τοῦ παιδός, ὅς σφεάς ἀνήγαγε, ἐπὶ τούτου τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν ποιευμένους ὀνομασθήμεναι Τυρσηνοὺς.

Δυδοῖ μὲν δὴ ὑπὸ Πέρσης ἐδεδουλωτοί.

95. Ἔπειδήξηται δὲ δὴ τὸ ἐνθεύτειν ἡμῶν ὁ λόγος τῶν τε Κύρον ὁστὶς ἦν τὴν Κραίσου ἀρχὴν κατείλε, καὶ τοὺς Πέρσας ότεϕ τρόπῳ ἡγήσαντο τῆς Ἀσίας. ὁς δὲν Περσέων μετεξέτεροι λέγουσι, οἱ μὴ βουλόμενοι σεμνοῦν τὰ περὶ Κύρον ἀλλὰ τῶν ἐόντα λέγειν λόγον, κατὰ ταύτα 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, 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.
HERODOTUS

ἐπιστάμενος περὶ Κύρου καὶ τριφασίας ἄλλας λόγων ὁδοὺς φῆναι.

'Ασσυρίων ἄρχόντων τῆς ἀνω 'Ασύης ἐπ' ἔτεα εἶκοσι καὶ πεντακόσια, πρώτοι ἄπ' αὐτῶν Μήδωι ὄρξαντο ἀπίστασθαι, καὶ καὶ καὶ ὁ τέλειος ἐλευθερίης μαχεσάμενοι τοίς 'Ασσυρίωιν ἐγένοντο ἄνδρες ἀγαθοὶ, καὶ ἀπωσάμενοι τὴν δουλοσύνην ἐλευθερώθησαν. μετὰ δὲ τούτοις καὶ τὰ ἄλλα έθνεα ἐποίευ τόντο τοῖς Μήδοις.

96. 'Εοντων δὲ αὐτονόμων πάντων ἀνὰ τὴν ὃπειρον, ὡδε αὐτίς ἐς τυραννίδα περιήλθον. ἀνὴρ ἐν τοῖς Μήδοις ἐγένετο σοφὸς τῷ ὀνόματα ἦν Δημόκης, παῖς δὲ ἦν Φραόρτεω. ὅτος δ' ἦν Δημόκης ἐρασθεὶς τυραννίδος ἐποίει τοιάδε. κατοικημένων τῶν Μήδων κατὰ κώμας, ἐν τῇ ἐωτοῦ ἔως καὶ πρότερον δόκιμος καὶ μᾶλλον τι καὶ προθυμότερον δικαιοσύνην ἐπιθέμενος ἠκακεί καὶ ταῦτα μέντοι ἑυσίς ἀνομίας πολλῆς ἀνὰ πᾶσαν τὴν Μηδικήν ἐποίεε, ἐπιστάμενος ὅτι τῷ δικαίῳ τὸ δίκαιον πολέμων ἐστὶ. οἱ δ' ἐκ τῆς αὐτής κώμης Μήδων ὄρωντες αὐτοῦ τοὺς τρόπους δικαστήν μιν ἔωτῶν αἱρέοντο. δ' ἄδη, οἷα μνώμενος ἄρχην, ἱθὺς τε καὶ δίκαιος ἦν, ποιεών τε ταῦτα ἐπαινοῦν εἴχε οὐκ ὀλίγον πρὸς τῶν πολιτητῶν, οὕτω ὡστε πυθανόμενοι οἱ ἐν τῇ ἄλλῃ κώμη ὃς Δημόκης εἶν ἤν ἀνὴρ μοῦνος κατὰ τὸ ὄρθον δικαίων, πρότερον περιπέπτοντες ἀδίκους γνώμης, τότε ἐπείτε ἥκουσαν ἁσμενοὶ ἐφοίτων παρὰ τῶν Δημόκεων καὶ αὐτοὶ δικασόμενοι, τέλος δὲ οὖδειν ἄλλῳ ἑπετράποντο.

97. Πλεῦνος δὲ αἰεὶ γνωμένον τοῦ ἐπιφοιτεοντος, οἷα πυθανόμενον ταῖς δίκαις 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 years¹ their subjects began to revolt from them: first of all, the Medes. These, it would seem, proved their valour in fighting for freedom against the Assyrians; they cast off their slavery and won freedom. Afterwards the other subject nations too did the same as the Medes.

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

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

¹ From 1229 to 709 B.C., as Deioces' reign began in 709.
κατὰ τὸ ἐόν, γινοὺς ὁ Δημόκης ἐς ἐωτῦν πᾶν ἀνακείμενον οὔτε κατίζειν ἐτὶ ἰθελε ἐνθα περ πρότερον προκατίζων ἐδίκαζε, οὔτε ἐφη δικάν ἐτὶ οὗ γὰρ οἱ λυσιτελεῖν τῶν ἐωτοῦ ἐξημεληκότα τούτι πέλας δι’ ἡμέρης δικάζειν. ἐούσης δὲ ἀρπαγῆς καὶ ἀνομίας ἐτὶ πολλῷ μᾶλλον ἀνὰ τὰς κώμας ἢ πρότερον ἦν, συνελέξθησαν οἱ Μήδοι ἐς τῶντὸ καὶ ἐδίδοσαν σφίσι λόγον, λέγοντες περὶ τῶν κατηκόντων. ὡς δ’ ἐγὼ δοκεώ, μάλιστα ἔλεγον οἱ τοῦ Δημόκεω φίλοι "Οὐ γὰρ δὴ τρόπῳ τῷ παρεόντι χρεώμενοι δυνατοὶ εἰμέν οἰκείειν τὴν χώρην, φέρε στήσωμεν ἡμέων αὐτῶν βασιλέα· καὶ οὕτω ἢ τε χώρη εὐνομῆσται καὶ αὐτοὶ πρὸς ἔργα τρεφόμεθα, οὐδὲ ὑπ’ ἀνομίας ἀνάστατοι ἐσόμεθα." ταῦτα κη λέγοντες πέθουσι ἐωτοὺς βασιλεύεσθαι.

98. Αὐτίκα δὲ προβαλλομένων δυντινα στήσονται βασιλέα, ὁ Δημόκης ἢν πολλὸς ὑπὸ παντὸς ἀνδρὸς καὶ προβαλλόμενος καὶ αἰνεόμενος, ἐς δ’ τούτου κατανέουσι βασιλέα σφίσι εἶναι. δ’ ἐκέλευε αὐτοὺς οἰκία τε ἐωτῷ ἄξια τῆς βασιλείης οἰκοδομήσαι καὶ κρατύναι αὐτῶν δορυφορίους ποιεῦσι δὴ ταῦτα οἱ Μήδοι: οἰκοδομεύσοι τε γὰρ αὐτῷ οἰκία μεγάλα τε καὶ ἵσχυρά, ιὰν αὐτὸς ἑφρασε τῆς χώρης, καὶ δορυφόρους αὐτῷ ἐπιτράπουσι ἕκ πάντων Μήδων καταλέξασθαι. δ’ δὲ ὡς ἐσχε τὴν ἀρχήν, τοὺς Μήδους ἡμᾶς καὶ ἡμῶν πόλειμα ποιήσασθαι καὶ τοῦτο περιστέλλοντας τῶν ἄλλων ἵππου ἐπιμέλεσθαι. πειθομένων δὲ καὶ ταῦτα τῶν Μήδων οἰκοδομεῖ τείχεα μεγάλα τε καὶ καρτερὰ ταῦτα τὰ νῦν Ἀγβάτανα κέκληται, ἔτερον ἐτέρῳ κύκλῳ ἐνεστεδότα. μεμη-
accorded with the truth. The Deioces, seeing that all was now entrusted to him, would not sit in his former seat of judgment, and said he would give no more decisions; for it was of no advantage to him (he said) to leave his own business and spend all the day judging the cases of his neighbours. This caused robbery and lawlessness to increase greatly in the townships; and the Medes gathering together conferred about their present affairs, and said (here, as I suppose, the chief speakers were Deioces' friends), "Since we cannot with our present manner of life dwell peacefully in the country, come, let us set up a king for ourselves; thus will the country be well governed, and we ourselves shall betake ourselves to our business, and cease to be undone by lawlessness." By such words they persuaded themselves to be ruled by a king.

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

¹ Modern Hamadân, probably: but see Rawlinson's note.
χάνηται δε ούτω τούτο το τεῖχος ώστε ο ἕτερος τού ἕτερων κύκλος τούτων προμαχώσει μούνασθαι ἐστὶ υψιλότερος. το μέν κού τι καὶ τὸ χωρίον συμμαχεῖε κολωνύς ἔως ώστε τοιοῦτο εἶναι, τὸ δὲ καὶ μᾶλλον τι ἔπετηδεύθη. κύκλων δὲ ἕοντων τῶν συναπάντων ἐπτά, ἐν δὴ τῷ τελευταίῳ τὰ βασιλὴια ἐνεστὶ καὶ οἱ θησαυροί. τὸ δὲ αὐτῶν μέγιστον ἐστὶ τεῖχος κατὰ τὸν Ἀθηναῖον κύκλον μάλιστα κη τὸ μέγαθος. τοῦ μὲν δὴ πρώτων κύκλων οἱ προμαχώσεις εἰσὶ λευκοὶ, τοῦ δὲ δευτέρου μέλανες, τρίτου δὲ κύκλου φοινίκεοι, τετάρτου δὲ κυάνεοι, πέμπτου δὲ σανδαράκινοι. οὔτω τῶν πέντε κύκλων οἱ προμαχώσεις ἧνθισίμενοι εἰσὶ φαρμάκοισιν δύο δὲ οἱ τελευταῖοι εἰσὶ δὲ μὲν καταργυρωμένους δὲ κατακεχρυσωμένους ἔχων τῶν προμαχώνας.

99. Ταῦτα μὲν δὴ ὁ Δημόκης ἐοιντὸ τε ἐτείχεε καὶ περὶ τὰ ἐοιντοῦ οἰκία, τὸν δὲ ἄλλον δὴμον πέρικε ἐκέλευε τὸ τεῖχος οἰκεῖειν. οἰκοδομηθέντων δὲ πάντων κόσμων τόνδε Δημόκης πρῶτος ἐστὶ ὁ καταστησάμενος, μὴτε ἐσιέναι παρὰ βασιλέα μιθένα, δι’ ἄγγελον δὲ πάντα χράσθαι, ὅρασθαι τε βασιλέα ὑπὸ μιθένας, πρὸς τε τούτοις ἐτὶ γελάν τε καὶ ἀντίον πτύειν καὶ ἀπασὶ εἶναι τοῦτο γε αἰσχρὸν. ταῦτα δὲ περὶ ἐοιντοῦ ἐσέμμυνε τῶνδε εἰνεκεν, ὡκως ἄν μὴ ὄροντες οἱ ὀμήλικες, ἐόντες σύντροφοι τε ἐκεῖνοι καὶ οἰκίς οἱ φλαυροτέρης οὐδὲ ἐσ ἀνδραγαθίην λευπόμενοι, λυπεοίατο καὶ ἐπιβουλεύοιεν, ἄλλα ἐτεροῖος σφι δοκέοι εἶναι μη ὄροσι.

100. Ἐπείτη δὲ ταῦτα διεκόσμησε καὶ ἐκράτυνε ἐοιντὸν τῇ τυραννίδι, ὡς τὸ δίκαιον φυλάσσων.
circle of walls is higher than the next outer circle by no more than the height of its battlements; to which end the site itself, being on a hill in the plain, somewhat helps, but chiefly it was accomplished by art. There are seven circles in all; within the innermost circle are the king’s dwellings and the treasuries; and the longest wall is about the length of the wall that surrounds the city of Athens. 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

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 τὲ δίκας γράφοντες ἐσω παρ᾽ ἐκεῖνων ἐσπέμπεσκον, καὶ ἐκεῖνος διακρίνων τὰς ἐσφερομένας ἐκπέμπεσκε. ταῦτα μὲν κατὰ τὰς δίκας ἐποίεε, τάδε δὲ ἄλλα ἐκεκοσμεῖτο οἳ· εἰ τινὰ πυθάνοιτο ὑβρίζοντα, τοῦτον ὡκώς μεταπέμψατο κατ᾽ ἀξίην ἐκάστου ἀδικήματος ἐδικαίευ, καὶ οἱ κατάσκοποί τε καὶ κατῆκοι ἦσαν ἀνὰ πᾶσαν τὴν χώρην τῆς ἱρχῆ.

101. Δημόκης μὲν νῦν τὸ Μηδικὸν ἔθνος συνεστρεψε μοῦνον καὶ τοῦτον ἱρξε· ἔστι δὲ Μηδών τοσάδε γένεα, Βούσαι Παρητακηνοὶ Στρούχατες 'Αριζαντοὶ Βούδιοι Μάγοι. γένεα μὲν δὴ Μηδών ἐστὶ τοσάδε.

102. Δημόκεως δὲ παῖς γίνεται Φραόρτης, ὁς τελευτήσαντος Δημόκεως, βασιλεύσαντος τρία καὶ πεντῆκοντα έτεα, παρεδέξατο τὴν ἄρχην, παραδεξάμενος δὲ οὐκ ἀπεχράτου οὐν Μηδών ἄρχειν, ἄλλα στρατευσάμενος ἐπὶ τοὺς Πέρσας πρῶτοι τε τούτοις ἐπεθήκατο καὶ πρῶτοις Μηδών ὑπηκόους ἐποίησε. μετὰ δὲ ἔχων δύο ταῦτα ἐδνεα καὶ ἀμφότερα ἰσχυρά, κατεστρέφετο τὴν 'Ασίην ἀπ᾽ ἄλλου ἐπ᾽ ἄλλο ίδων ἔθνος, ἐς δὲ στρατευσάμενος ἐπὶ τοὺς 'Ασσυρίους καὶ 'Ασσυρίων τούτους οὐ Νίνου εἶχον καὶ ἥρχουν πρότερον πάντων, τότε δὲ ἦσαν μεμονωμένοι μὲν συμμάχων ἄτε ἀπεστεώτων, ἄλλως μὲντοι ἐσοντων εὐ ἡκοντες, ἐπὶ τούτους δὴ στρατευσάμενος ὁ Φραόρτης αὐτὸς τε διεφθάρη, ἄρξας δύο καὶ εἶκοσι έτεα, καὶ ὁ στρατὸς αὐτοῦ ὁ πολλός.

103. Φραόρτεω δὲ τελευτήσαντός ἐξεδέξατο Κυκάρης ὁ Φραόρτεω τοῦ Δημόκεω παῖς. οὗτος λέγεται πολλὸν ἔντι γενέσθαι ἀλκιμότερος τῶν
man in the observance of justice. They would write
down their pleas and send them in to him; then would
he adjudge upon what was brought him and send his
judgments out. This was his manner of deciding cases
at law, and he took order too about other matters;
for when he heard that a man was doing violence he
would send for him and punish him as befitted each
offence: and he had spies and eavesdroppers every-
where 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.¹ Having so inherited, he was not content
to rule the Medes alone: marching against the Per-
sians, 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 him-
self 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

¹ Deioces died in 656 B.C.
προγόνων, καὶ πρῶτος τε ἐλοχίσε κατὰ τέλεα τοὺς ἐν τῇ Ἀσίῃ καὶ πρῶτος διέταξε χωρίς ἐκάστους εἶναι, τοὺς τε αὐχμοφόρους καὶ τοὺς τοξοφόρους καὶ τοὺς ἵππεας. πρὸ τοῦ δὲ ἀναμίξῃ ἤν πάντα ὀμοίως ἀναπεφυμένα. οὐτος ὁ τοῖσι Δυσδοὶς ἐστὶ μαχεσάμενος ὅτε νῦξ ἡ ἡμέρη ἐγένετο σφί μαχομένοις, καὶ ὁ τῇ Ἄλμου ποταμοῦ ἀνὼ Ἀσίην πᾶσαν συστήσας ἐσωτήρ. συλλέξας δὲ τοὺς ὑπ’ ἐσωτῷ ἀρχομένους πάντας ἐστρατεύετο ἐπὶ τὴν Νίνου, τιμωρεῖν τὸ πατρί καὶ τὴν πόλιν ταύτην θέλων ἕξελεῖν. καὶ οἶ, ὥς συμβαλῶν ἐνίκησε τοὺς Ἀσσυρίους, περικατημένῳ τὴν Νίνου ἐπῆλθε Σκυθέων στρατὸς μέγας, ἣγε δὲ αὐτούς βασιλεὺς ὁ Σκυθέων Μαδύθας Προτοθύεω παῖς. οὐ ἔσεβαλον μὲν ἐσ τῇ Ἀσίην Κιμμερίους ἐκβαλόντες ἐκ τῆς Εὐρώπης, τοῦτοι δὲ ἐπιστομενοὶ φεύγονοι οὔτω ἐσ τῇ Μηδικήν χώρην ἀπίκουστο.

104. Ἔστι δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς λίμνης τῆς Μαιήντιδος ἐπὶ Φᾶσιν ποταμοῦ καὶ ἐς Κόλχους τρικόντα ἡμερῶν εὕξῳν ὄδος, ἐκ δὲ τῆς Κόλχιδος οὐ πολλῶν ὑπερβῆναι ἐς τὴν Μηδικήν, ἀλλ’ ἐν τῷ διὰ μέσου ἥθους αὐτῶν ἔστι, Σάσπειρες, τοῦτο δὲ παραμειβομένοι εἶναι ἐν τῇ Μηδικῇ, οὐ μέντοι οὐ γε Σκύθαι ταύτῃ ἐσεβαλοῦν, ἀλλὰ τὴν κατυπερθέν ὄδον πολλῷ μακροτέρην ἐκτραπόμενοι, ἐν δεξιῇ ἔχοντες τὸ Καυκάσιον ὄρος. ἐνθαῦτα οἱ μὲν Μῆδοι συμβαλόντες το isize Σκύθησι καὶ ἐσωθέντες τῇ μάχῃ τῆς ἀρχῆς κατελύθησαν, οἱ δὲ Σκύθαι τῇ Ἀσίην πᾶσαν ἐπέσχον.
warrior than his fathers: it was he who first arrayed the men of Asia in companies and set each kind in bands apart, the spearmen and the archers and the horsemen: before this they were all blended alike confusedly together. This was the king who fought against the Lydians when the day was turned to night in the battle, and who united under his dominion all Asia that is beyond the river Halys. Collecting all his subjects, he marched against Ninus, wishing to avenge his father and to destroy the city. He defeated the Assyrians in battle; but while he was besieging their city there came down upon him a great army of Scythians, led by their king Madyes son of Protothyes. These had invaded Asia after they had driven the Cimmerians out of Europe: pursuing them in their flight the Scythians came to the Median country.  

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

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

2 The Maeetian lake is the Sea of Azov.
105. Ἐνθεύτευν δὲ ἦσαν ἐπ' Ἀιγύπτου· καὶ ἐπείτε ἐγένοντο ἐν τῇ Παλαιστίνῃ Συρίᾳ, Ψαμμῆτιχος σφέας Αἰγύπτου βασιλεὺς ἀντιάσας διώκοντι τε καὶ λυτῆσι ἀποτράπει τὸ προσωτέρῳ μὴ πορεύεσθαι. οὐ δὲ ἐπείτε ἀναχωρεόντες ὁπέσῳ ἐγένοντο τῆς Συρίας ἐν Ἀσκάλων πόλει, τῶν πλεόνων Σκυθέων παρεξελθόντων ἀσινέων, ὄλοι τυχὲς αὐτῶν ὑπολειφθέντες ἐσύλησαν τῆς οὐρανίης Ἀφροδίτης τὸ ἱρών. ἐστὶ δὲ τούτῳ τὸ ἱρών, ὡς ἐγὼ πυνθανόμενος εὐρίσκω, πάντων ἄρχαιότατον ἱρὸν ἅσα ταύτης τῆς θεοῦ καὶ γὰρ τὸ ἐν Κύπρῳ ἱρὸν ἐνθεύτευν ἐγένετο, ὡς αὐτοὶ Κύπριοι λέγουσι, καὶ τὸ ἐν Κυθῆρισι Φώκίκες εἰσὶ οἱ ἰδρυσάμενοι ἐκ ταύτης τῆς Συρίας ἐόντες. τοῖσι δὲ τῶν Σκυθέων συλήσασι τὸ ἱρών τὸ ἐν Ἀσκάλων καὶ τοῖσι τούτων αἰεὶ εἰκόνοις ἐνέσκηψε ὁ θεὸς θήλεαν νόοσον ὡστε ἅμα λέγουσι τε οἱ Σκύθαι διὰ τούτο σφέας νοσείν, καὶ ὅραν παρ' ἐσωτοῖς τοὺς ἀπικνεομένους ἐς τὴν Σκυθικὴν χώρην ὡς διακέβαι τοὺς καλέουσι Ἐνάρεας οἱ Σκύθαι.

106. Ἐπὶ μὲν νῦν ὁκτὼ καὶ εἰκοσὶ ἑτελέχου τῆς Ἀσίας οἱ Σκύθαι, καὶ τὰ πάντα σφι ὑπὸ τε ὑβρίσῃς καὶ διλιγορίας ἀνάστατα ἦν· χωρίς μὲν γὰρ φόρον ἔπρησθον παρ' ἐκάστῳ τὸν ἐκάστοις ἐπέβαλλον, χωρίς δὲ τοῦ φόρου ἐρπαζον περιελαύνοντες τούτῳ ὁ τὶ ἔχολεν ἐκαστοῖ. καὶ τούτων μὲν τοὺς πλείνας Κυαξάρης τε καὶ Μηδοὺς ξενίσαντες καὶ καταμεθύσαντες κατεφόνευσαν, καὶ οὔτω ἀνεσώσαντο τὴν ἀρχὴν Μηδοὺ καὶ ἐπεκράτεσαν τῶν περ καὶ πρότερον, καὶ την τε Νίνον

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

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

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

² The derivation of this word is uncertain; it is agreed that the disease was a loss of virility. In iv. 67 ἐναρής = ἀνδρόγυνος.
εἶλον (ὥς δὲ εἶλον, ἐν ἑτέροις λόγοισι δηλώσω) καὶ τοὺς Ἀσσυρίους ὑποχειρίους ἐποιήσαντο πλὴν τῆς Βαβυλονίας μοῖρης.

107. Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Κυαξάρης μὲν, βασιλεύσας τεσσεράκοντα ἑτέρα σὺν τοῖς Σκύθαις ἔρξαν, τελευτᾷ, ἐκδέκεται δὲ Ἀστυάγης Κυαξάρεω παῖς τὴν βασιλείαν.

Καὶ οἱ ἐγένετο θυγάτηρ τῇ οὐνομα ἔθετο Μανδάνην· τὴν ἐδόκεε Ἀστυάγης ἐν τῷ ὑπνῷ οὐρήσαι τοσοῦτον ὡστε πλῆσαι μὲν τὴν ἑωτοῦ πόλιν, ἔπικατακλύσαι δὲ καὶ τὴν Ἀσίην πᾶσαν. ὑπερθέμενος δὲ τῶν Μάγων τοῖς οὐνεροτόλοιοι τὸ ἐνύπνιον, ἐφοβήθη παρ’ αὐτῶν αὐτὰ ἑκαστὰ μαθῶν. μετὰ δὲ τὴν Μανδάνην ταῦτην ἑοῦσαν ἢδη ἀνδρὸς ὑπαίη Μῆδων μὲν τῶν ἑωτοῦ ἄξιων οὔ δειδοῦ διδοὶ γυναίκα, δεδοκὼς τὴν ὁψιν ὃ δὲ Πέρση διδοὶ τῷ οὐνομα ἢν Καμβύσης, τὸν εὐρίσκε ὁ ἱκίς ἡμὲν ἑώτα ἀγαθής τρόπον δὲ ἡμυχίου, πολλῷ ἑνερθεὶ ἁγων αὐτῶν μέσον ἀνδρὸς Μῆδου.

108. Συνοικεούσης δὲ τῷ Καμβύση τῆς Μανδάνης, ὁ Ἀστυάγης τῷ πρώτῳ ἔτει εἶδε ἀλλὴν ὁψιν, ἐδόκεε δὲ οἱ ἐκ τῶν αἰδοίων τῆς θυγατρὸς ταῦτης φύναι ἀμπελοῦν, τὴν δὲ ἀμπελοῦν ἐπισχεῖν τὴν Ἀσίην πᾶσαν. ἰδὼν δὲ τούτῳ καὶ ὑπερθέμενος τοῖς οὐνεροτόλοισι, μετεπέμψατο ἐκ τῶν Περσέων τὴν θυγατέρα ἐπίτεκα ἑοῦσαν, ἀπικομένην δὲ ἐφύλασσε βουλόμενος τὸ γενόμενον ἐξ αὐτῆς διαφθείραι· ἐκ γὰρ οἱ τῆς ὁψιος οἱ τῶν Μάγων οὐνεροτόλοι ἐσήμαινον ὅτι μέλλοι ο τῆς θυγατρὸς αὐτοῦ γόνος βασιλεύσει αὐτῶ ἐκεῖνον. ταῦτα δὴ δὲν φυλασσόμενοι ὁ Ἀστυάγης, ὡς ἐγένετο ὁ Κύρος, καλέσας"Ἀρταγον ἀνδρα οἰκήιον

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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 Μήδων καὶ πάντων ἐπίτροπον τῶν ἔωυτον, ἐλεγέ οἱ τοιᾶδε. ""Ἀρπαγε, πρήγμα τὸ ἂν τοῖς προσθέω, μηδαμῶς παραχρήσῃ, μηδὲ ἐμὲ τε παραβάλῃ καὶ ἄλλους ἐλόμενος ἐξ ύστέρης σοι αὐτῷ περιτέρῃς· λάβε τὸν Μανδάνη ἑτέκε παῖδα, φέρων δὲ ἐς σεωτοῦ ἀπόκτεινον, μετὰ δὲ θάψον τρόπῳ ὁτερ αὐτὸς βουλεῖ." ὃ δὲ ἀμείβεται ""Ω βασιλεῦ, οὕτε ἀλλοτέ κω παρείδες ἀνδρὶ τῶδε ἄχαρι οὐδὲν, φυλασσόμεθα δὲ ἐς σὲ καὶ ἐς τὸν μετέπειτα χρόνον μηδὲν ἐξαμαρτεῖν. ἀλλ’ εἰ τοῖς φίλοις τοῦτο οὕτω γίνεσθαι, χρὴ δὴ τὸ γε ἐμὸν ὑπηρετέσθαι ἐπιτιθέως."

109. Τουτοις ἀμείψαμενος ὁ "Ἀρπαγός, ὡς οἱ παρεδόθη τὸ παιδίον κεκοσμημένον τὴν ἐπὶ θανάτῳ, ἦν κλαίων ἐς τὰ οἰκίας παρελθὼν δὲ ἐφραζὲ τῇ ἔωυτοι γυναικὶ τῶν πάντα Αστυάγεος ῥηθέντα λόγον. ὃ δὲ πρὸς αὐτὸν λέγει ""Νῦν δὲν τί σοι ἐν νόῳ ἐστὶ ποιεῖν;" ὃ δὲ ἀμείβεται ""Οὐ τῇ ἐνετέλλετο Ἀστυάγης, οὐδ’ εἰ παραφρονήσεις τε καὶ μανέεται κάκιον ἤ νῦν μαίνεται, οὐ οἱ ἐγωγε προσθήσομαι τῇ γυνώμη οὐδὲ ἐς φόνον τοιοῦτον ὑπηρετήσω. πολλῶν δὲ εἶνεκα οὐ φονεύσω μιν, καὶ ὅτι αὐτῷ μοι συγγενής ἐστὶ ὁ παῖς, καὶ ὅτι Ἀστυάγης μὲν ἐστὶ γέρων καὶ ἀπαίς ἔρσενος γόνον. εἰ δ’ ἐθελήσῃ τοῦτον τελευτήσαντος ἐς τὴν θυγατέρα ταύτην ἀναβῆναι ἡ τυραννίς, τῆς νῦν τὸν υἱόν κτείνει δ’ ἐμεῖ, ἄλλο τι ἡ λείπεται τὸ ἐνθευτεν ἐμοὶ κινδύνων ὁ μέγιστος; ἄλλα τοῦ μὲν ἀσφαλέος εἶνεκα ἐμοὶ δεῖ τοῦτον τελευτάτον τὸν παῖδα, δεῖ μεντοι τῶν τινα Ἀστυάγεος αὐτοῦ φονεά 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 εἴπε καὶ αὐτίκα ἄγγελον ἔπεμπε ἐπὶ τῶν βουκόλων τῶν Ἀστυάγεος τὸν ἥπιστατον νομᾶς τε ἐπιτηδεοτάτας νέμοντα καὶ ὀρεα θηριω- δέστατα· τῷ οὖνομα ἢν Μιτραδάτης, συννοίκεε δὲ ἐωυτοῦ συνδούλη, οὖνομα δὲ τῇ γυναικὶ ἢν τῇ συννοίκεε Κυνῷ κατὰ τὴν Ἕλληνων γλώσσαν, κατὰ δὲ τὴν Μηδικῆν Ἐπικῶ· τὴν γὰρ κύνα καλέουσι σπάκα Μήδοι. αἱ δὲ ὑπώρεια εἰςι τῶν ὄρεων, ἑνθὰ τᾶς νομᾶς τῶν βοῶν εἶχε οὖτος δὴ ὁ βουκόλος, πρὸς βορέω τε ἀνέμου τῶν Ἀγβατάνων καὶ πρὸς τοῦ πόντου τοῦ Ἐβυζέλνου· ταύτη μὲν γὰρ ἡ Μηδικὴ χώρη πρὸς Σασπείρων ὁρεινὴ ἐστὶ κάρτα καὶ ψηλή τε καὶ ἰδιοὶ συνηρεφῆς, ἡ δὲ ἀλλὰ Μηδικὴ χώρῃ ἐστὶ πάσα ἀπεδος. ἔτει ἀν ὁ βουκόλος σπουδὴ πολλή καλεόμενος ἀπίκετο, ἔλεγε ὁ "Ἀρταγός τάδε. "Κελεύει σε Ἀστυάγης τὸ παιδίον τούτο λαβόντα θείναι ἐς τὸ ἑρμότατον τῶν ὀρέων, ὅκως ἀν τάχιστα διαφθαρεῖ καὶ τάδε τοι ἐκέλευς εἰπεῖν, ἢν μὴ ἀποκτέινης αὐτό ἀλλὰ τεῦ τρόπῳ περιποίησης, ὀλέθρῳ τῷ κακίστῳ σε διαχρῆσθαι. ἐπορὰν δὲ ἐκκείμενον τέταγμαι ἑγώ." 

111. Ταύτα ἀκούσας ὁ βουκόλος καὶ ἀναλαβὼν τὸ παιδίον ἢμε τὴν αὐτὴν ὑπίσω ὅδον καὶ ἀπι- κνέσται ἡς τὴν ἐπαυλίν. τῷ δὲ ἀρα καὶ αὐτῷ ἡ γυνὴ, ἐπίτεξ ἐνίσα πᾶσαι ἡμέρην, τὸτε κως κατὰ δαίμονα τίκτει οἰχομένου τοῦ βουκόλου ἐς πόλων. ἦσαν δὲ ἐν φροντίδι ἀμφοτέροι ἀλλήλων πέρι, ὅ μὲν τοῦ τόκου τῆς γυναικὸς ἀρρωδῶν, ἡ δὲ γυνὴ ὁ τι οὐκ ἐκθῶς ὁ "Ἀρταγός μεταπέμψαιτο αὐτῆς τῶν ἁνδρὰ. ἐπείτε δὲ ἀπονοστήσας ἐπέστη, ὁλα ἐξ ἀελπτου ίδούσα ἢ γυνὴ εἰρέτο προτέρη ὁ τι μην 142
110. So saying, he sent forthwith a messenger to that one of Astyages' cowherds whom he knew to pasture his herds in the likeliest places and where the mountains were most haunted of wild beasts. The man's name was Mitradates, and his wife was a slave like him; her name was in the Greek language Cyno, in the Median Spako: for "spax" is the Median name for a dog. The foothills of the mountains where this cowherd pastured his kine are to the north of Agbatana, towards the Euxine sea: for the rest of Media is everywhere a level plain, but here, on the side of the Saspires, the land is very high and mountainous and covered with woods. So when the cowherd came with all speed at the summons, Harpagus said: "Astyages bids you take this child and lay it in the most desolate part of the mountains, that it may thus perish as soon as may be. And he bids me say, that if you kill not the child, but in any way save it alive, you shall die a terrible death: and it is I who am ordered to see it exposed."

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

1 In the north-western part of Media: modern Azerbaijan.
ούτω προθύμως Ἀρταγός μετεπέμψατο. ὁ δὲ εἶπε "Ὡς γύναι, εἰδον τε ἐς πόλιν ἐλθὼν καὶ ἦκουσα τὸ μῆτε ὅφελον μῆτε κοτὲ γενέσθαι ἐς δεσπότας τοὺς ἡμετέρους. οἶκος μὲν πᾶς Ἀρταγὸν κλαυμὸν κατείχετο, ἔγω δὲ ἐκπλαγεῖσ ἦμα ἔσω. ὡς δὲ τάχιστα ἐσῆλθον, ὅρεω παιδίων προκείμενον ἀσπαίρον τε καὶ κραυγανώμενον, κεκοσμημένον χρυσῷ τε καὶ ἐσθήτι ποικίλη. ὁ Ἀρταγός δὲ ὅς εἰδε με, ἐκέλευε τὴν ταχιστὴν ἀναλαβόντα τὸ παιδίων οὔχεσθαι φέροντα καὶ θεὶναι ἐνθα θηριωδεστατον ἐν τῶν ὀρέων, φᾶς Ἀστυάγεα εἶναι τὸν ταύτα ἐπιθέμενον μοι, πόλλα ἀπειλήσας εἰ μὴ σφεα ποιήσαμι. καὶ ἐγὼ ἀναλαβὼν ἐφερον, δοκέων τῶν τινων οἰκετέων εἶναι ὡς γὰρ ἂν καὶ κατέδοξα ἐνθεν γε ἦν. ἐθάμβεον δὲ ὅρεων χρυσῷ τε καὶ εἶμαι κεκοσμημένον, πρὸς δὲ καὶ κλαυμὸν κατεστεῶτα ἐμφανέα ἐν Ἀρταγόν. καὶ πρόκατε δὴ κατ’ ὅδον πυνθάνομαι τὸν πάντα λόγον θεραποντος, ὡς ἐμὲ προπέμπων ἔξω πόλιος ἐνεχείρησε τὸ βρέφος, ὡς ἀρα Μανδώνης τε εἰν παῖς τῆς Ἀστυάγεος θυγατρὸς καὶ Καμβύσεω τοῦ Κύρου, καὶ μιν Ἀστυάγης ἐντέλλεται ἀποκτεῖναι. νῦν τε οἶδε ἐστὶ."

112. Ἄμα δὲ ταύτα ἐλεγε ὁ Βουκόλος καὶ ἐκκαλύφας ἀπεδείκνυε. ἡ δὲ ὣς εἰδε τὸ παιδίων μέγα τε καὶ ἐνειδῆς ἐὼν, δακρύσασα καὶ λαβομένη τῶν γονώτων τοῦ ἄνδρος ἐχρήζε μηδεμὴ τέχνη ἐκθεῖναι μιν. ὁ δὲ ὅν τῇ ἐφι οἴσ τ' εἶναι ἄλλως αὐτὰ ποιεῖν ἐπιφοιτήσεις γὰρ κατασκόπους ἐξ Ἀρταγόν ἐπουλομένους, ἀπολέσθαι τε κάκιστα ἢν μὴ σφεα ποιήσῃ. ὡς δὲ αὐτὸ ἐπειθε ἄρα τὸν ἄνδρα, δεύτερα λέγει ἢ γυνὴ τάδε. "Επεί 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 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
οῦ δύναμαι σε πείθειν μὴ ἐκθείναι, σὺ δὲ ὡς ἰδεῖ 
ποίησον, εἰ δὴ πᾶσα ἀνάγκη ὄφθηναι ἐκκείμενον. 
tέτοια γὰρ καὶ ἐγώ, τέτοια δὲ τεθνέος. τοῦτο μὲν 
φέρων πρόθεσ, τὸν δὲ τῆς Ἀστυάγεος θυγατρὸς 
παίда ὡς ἐξ ἡμέων ἐόντα τρέφωμεν. καὶ οὖτω 
οὔτε σὺ ἀλώσεαι ἁδικέων τοὺς δεσπότας οὔτε ἡμῖν 
κακῶς βεβουλευμένα ἔσται: ὦ τε γὰρ τεθνεὸς 
βασιλείας ταφῆς κυρῆσει καὶ ὁ περιεὼν οὐκ ἀπο-
λέει τὴν ψυχήν."

113. Κάρτα τε ἐδοξεῖ τῷ βουκόλῳ πρὸς τὰ 
παρεόντα εὐ λέγειν ἡ γυνῆ, καὶ αὐτίκα ἐποίε 
τὰ ταῦτα· τὸν μὲν ἐφέρε θανατώσων παίδα, τοῦτὸ 
μὲν παραδιδοῖ τῇ ἑωυτοῦ γυναικὶ, τὸν δὲ ἑωυτοῦ 
ἐόντα νεκρὸν λαβῶν ἔθηκε ἐς τὸ ἄγγος ἐν τῷ 
ἐφέρε τὸν ἔτερον κοσμῆσας δὲ τῷ κόσμῳ παντὶ 
τοῦ ἔτερου παιδός, φέρων ἐς τὸ ἐρημότατον τῶν 
ὄρεων τιθεῖ. ὡς δὲ τρίτη ἡμέρῃ τῷ παιδὶ ἐκκει-
μένῳ ἐγένετο, ἥει ἐς πόλιν ὁ βουκόλος, τῶν 
τινα προβοσκῶν φύλακον αὐτοῦ καταλιπών, ἐλθὼν δὲ 
ἐς τοῦ Ἐρπάγου ἀποδεικνύναι ἐφή ἔτοιμος εἶναι 
τοῦ παιδίου τὸν νέκνυν. πέμψας δὲ ὁ Ἐρπάγος 
tῶν ἑωυτοῦ δορυφόρῳ τοὺς πιστοτάτους εἶδε τὲ 
διὰ τοῦτον καὶ ἔθαψε τοῦ βουκόλου τὸ παιδίον, 
καὶ τὸ μὲν ἔτθαπτο, τὸν δὲ ύστερον τοῦτων 
Κύρου ὄνομασθέντα παραλαβοῦσα ἐτρέφε ἡ γυνὴ 
tοῦ βουκόλου, οὐνομα ἄλλο κοῦ τὶ καὶ οὐ Κύρου 
θεμένη.

114. Καὶ ὅτε ἦν δεκαέτης ὁ παῖς, πρήγμα ἐς 
αὐτὸν τοιόνδε γενόμενον ἐξέφηνε μιν. ἔπαιζε ἐν 
tῇ κώμῃ ταύτῃ ἐν τῇ ἡγαμ καὶ αἱ βουκολίαι 
αὐταῖ, ἔπαιζε δὲ μετ' ἄλλων ἡλίκων ἐν ὁδῷ καὶ 
oὶ παῖδες παῖζοντες εἶλοντο ἐωυτῶν βασιλέα
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 exceedingly 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
εἶναι τοῦτον δὴ τὸν τοῦ βουκόλου ἐπίκλησιν παίδα. ὁ δὲ αὐτῶν διέταξε τοὺς μὲν οἰκίας οἰκοδομέειν, τοὺς δὲ δορυφόρους εἶναι, τὸν δὲ κοὺ τινὰ αὐτῶν ὀφθαλμὸν βασιλέος εἶναι, τῷ δὲ τυνί τὰς ἀγγελίας φέρειν ἐδίδου γέρας, ὡς ἐκάστῳ ἔργων προστάσσων. εἰς δὲ τοῦτον τῶν παιδῶν συμπαλίζων, ἔδω Ἀρτεμιβάρεος παῖς ἀνδρὸς δοκίμου ἐν Μήδοις, οὐ γὰρ δὴ ἐποίησε τὸ προσταχθὲν ἐκ τοῦ Κύρου, ἐκεῖνεν αὐτὸν τοὺς ἀλλούς παιδὰς διαλαβεῖν, πειθομένων δὲ τῶν παιδῶν ὁ Κύρος τῶν παιδὰς τρηχέως κάρτα περιέσπε μαστιγέων. ὁ δὲ ἐπείτε μετείθη τάχιστα, ὡς γε δὴ ἀνάξια ἐσυντοῦ παθῶν, μᾶλλον τι περιημέκτεε, κατελθὼν δὲ ἐς πόλιν πρὸς τὸν πατέρα ἀποκτάζετο τῶν ὑπὸ Κύρου ἤτηςε, λέγων δὲ οὐ Κύρου (οὐ γὰρ κω ἤν τοῦτο τούνομα), ἀλλὰ πρὸς τοῦ βουκόλου τοῦ Ἀστυάγεος παιδός. ὁ δὲ Ἀρτεμιβάρῆς ὀργῆ ὡς εἰχὲ ἐλθὼν παρὰ τὸν Ἀστυάγεα καὶ ἁμα ἀγόμενος τὸν παιδὰ ἀνάρσια πρήγματα ἐφῆ πεποιθήκα, λέγων ""Ω βασιλεῦ, ὑπὸ τοῦ σοῦ δούλου, βουκόλου δὲ παιδὸς οἴδε περιβρίσμεθα," δεικνὺς τοῦ παιδὸς τοὺς ὁμοὺς.

115. Ἀκούσας δὲ καὶ ἤδων Ἀστυάγης, θέλων τιμωρῆσαι τὸ παιδὶ τιμῆς τῆς Ἀρτεμιβάρεος εἶνεκα, μετεπέμπτετο τὸν τε βουκόλου καὶ τὸν παιδὰ. ἐπείτε δὲ παρῆσαν ἀμφότεροι, βλέψας πρὸς τὸν Κύρον ὁ Ἀστυάγης ἐφῆ ""Σὺ δὴ ἐων τοῦδε τοιοῦτον ἐόντος παῖς ἐπόλμησας τὸν τοῦδε παιδὰ ἐόντος πρῶτον παρ' ἐμοὶ ἀεικείᾳ τοιῆδε περισπεῖν;" δὲ ἀμείβετο ὡδε. ""Ω δέσποτα, ἐγὼ ταύτα τοῦτον ἐποίησα σὺν δίκη. οἱ γὰρ με ἐκ τῆς κώμης παιδὲς, τῶν καὶ ὅδε ἦν, παιζοντες.
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 despitefully 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 ἔστησαντο βασιλέα· ἐδόκεον γὰρ σφι εἶναι ἐς τοῦτο ἐπιτηδεύτατος. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἄλλοι παῖδες τὰ ἐπιτασσόμενα ἐπετέλεσον, οὕτος δὲ ἀνηκούστε ὑπὲρ τοὺς καὶ λόγους εἰχὲ οὐδὲνα, ὡς ὁ ἔλαβε τὴν δίκην. εἰ δὲν δὴ τοῦτο εἶνεκα ἄξιος τευ κακοῦ εἰμί, ὁδὲ τοι πάρειμί.”

116. Ταῦτα λέγοντος τοῦ παιδὸς τοῦ Ἀστυάγεα ἐσήμε ἀνάγνωσις αὐτοῦ, καὶ οἶ ὁ τε χαρακτήρ τοῦ προσώπου προσφέρεσαν ἐδόκεε ἐς ἐωτὸν καὶ ἡ ὑπόκρισις ἐλευθερωτήτη εἶναι, ὡς ὁ χρόνος τῆς ἐκθέσιος τῇ ἥλικίᾳ τοῦ παιδὸς ἐδόκεε συμβαίνειν. ἐκπλαγεῖς δὲ τούτοις ἐπὶ χρόνον ἄφθογος ἦν· μόνης δὲ δὴ κοτε ἀνενεχθὲς ἐστε, θέλων ἐκπέμψαι τὸν Ἀρτέμβαρεα, ἢν τὸν βουκόλου μοῦνον λαβὼν βασινίσῃ, “Ἀρτέμβαρε, ἓγω ταῦτα ποιήσω ὅστε σὲ καὶ τὸν παιδὰ τὸν σὸν μηδὲν ἐπιμέμφεσθαι.” τὸν μὲν δὴ Ἀρτέμβαρεα πέμπει, τὸν δὲ Κύρον ἢγον ἐσω οἱ θεράπτοντες κελεύσαντος τοῦ Ἀστυάγεος, ἑπεὶ δὲ ὑπελείπετο ὁ βουκόλου μοῦνος μουνόθεν, τάδε αὐτῶν εὗρετο ὁ Ἀστυάγης, κόθεν λάβοι τὸν παιδὰ καὶ τίς εἴη ὁ παράδοις. δὲ ἐξ ἐωτοῦ τε ἐφῆ γεγονέναι καὶ τὴν τεκοῦσαν αὐτῶν εἶναι ἔτι παρ᾽ ἐωτῶ. Ἀστυάγης δὲ μιν οὐκ ἐν βουλεύσεθαι ἐφῇ ἐπιθυμέοντα ἐς ἀνάγκας μεγάλας ἀπικνεῖσθαι, ἀμα τε λέγων ταῦτα ἐσήμανε τούσι δορυφόροις λαμβάνειν αὐτῶν. δὲ ἀγόμενος ἐς τὰς ἀνάγκας οὕτω δὴ ἐφαίνε τὸν ἔωτα λόγον· ἀρχόμενος δὲ ἀρχής διέξκη ἡ ἄληθείς ἥρεώμενος, καὶ κατέβαινε ἐς λιτάς τε καὶ συγγρῶμην ἐωτῷ κελεύως ἔχειν αὐτῶν.

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

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

117. When the truth had been so declared Astyages took thereafter less account of the cowherd, but
'Αρπάγος δὲ καὶ μεγάλως μεμφόμενος καλέειν αὐτὸν τοὺς δορυφόρους ἐκέλευε. ὡς δὲ οἱ παρῆν ὁ 'Αρπαγός, εἴρετο μιν ὁ 'Αστυάγης "'Αρπαγε, τέῳ δὴ μόρῳ τὸν παίδα κατεχρήσαο τὸν τοι παρέδωκα ἐκ θυγατρὸς γεγονότα τῆς ἐμῆς;" ὡς ὁ "Αρπαγός ώς εἴδε τὸν βουκόλον ἔνδον ἕόντα, οὐ τράπεται ἐπὶ ψευδέα ὁδὸν, ἵνα μὴ ἐλευχόμενος ἀλίσκηται, ἀλλὰ λέγει τάδε. ὡς βασιλεὺς, ἐπείτε παρέλαβον τὸ παιδίον, ἐβούλευον σκοπέων ὅκας σοὶ τε ποιήσω κατὰ νόον, καὶ ἐγὼ πρὸς σὲ γινόμενος ἀναμάρτητος μήτε θυγατρὶ τῇ σῇ μήτε αὐτῷ σοι εἶναι αὐθέντης. ποιέω δὴ ὁδὲ καλέσας τὸν βουκόλον τόνδε παραδίδωμι τὸ παιδίον, φᾶς σὲ τε εἶναι τὸν κελεύωντα ἀποκτείναι αὐτὸ. καὶ λέγων τοῦτο γε οὐκ ἐψευδόμην σὺ γὰρ ἐνετέλλεο ὀὕτω. παραδίδωμι μέντοι τὸδε κατὰ τάδε ἐντελόμενος, θείαν μὴν ἐς ἔρημον ὅρος καὶ παραμένοντα φυλάσσειν ἄχρι οὗ τελευτήσῃ, ἀπειλήσας παντοία τὸδε ἢν μὴ τάδε ἐπιτελέα ποιήσῃ. ἐπείτε δὲ ποιήσαντος τοῦτο τὸ κελευόμενα ἐτελεύτησε τὸ παιδίον, πέμψας τῶν εὐνούχων τοὺς πιστοτάτους καὶ ἔδοικαν δὲ ἐκείνων καὶ ἔθαψα μὴν. οὕτω ἐσχε ὃ βασιλεὺς περὶ τοῦ πρήγματος τοῦτον, καὶ τοιοῦτο μόρῳ ἔχρησατο ὁ παις."

118. "'Αρπαγός μὲν δὴ τὸν ἰθὺν ἐφαίνει λόγον, 'Αστυάγης δὲ κρύπτων τὸν οἱ ἐνείχε χόλον διὰ τὸ γεγονός, πρῶτα μὲν, κατὰ περ ἥκουσε αὐτὸς πρὸς τὸν βουκόλον τὸ πρήγμα, πάλιν ἀπηγέετο τῷ 'Αρπάγῳ, μετὰ δὲ ὡς οἱ ἐπαλλιλλόγητο, κατέβαινε λέγων ὡς περίεστε τε ὁ παις καὶ τὸ γεγονός ἔχει καλῶς. "Τῶ τε γὰρ πεποιημένῳ ἐφή λέγων "ἐς τὸν παιδα τοῦτον 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 about this boy, and it weighed
τῇ ἐμῇ διαβεβλημένος οὐκ ἐν ἐλαφρῷ ἐποιεύμην. ὡς ὅν τῆς τύχης εὐ μετεστέωσης, τούτο μὲν τὸν σεωτυτὸν παίδα ἀπόπεμψον παρὰ τὸν παίδα τὸν νεήλυδα, τούτο δὲ (σώστρα γὰρ τοῦ παιδὸς μέλλω θύεων τοῖς θεοῖς τιμῇ αὐτὴ προσκέεται) πάρισθι μοι ἐπὶ δεῖπνου.

119. "Ἀρπαγὸς μὲν ὃς ἦκουσε ταῦτα, προσκυνήσας καὶ μεγάλα ποιησάμενος ὅτι τε ἡ ἄμαρτας οἱ ἐς δέον ἐγεγόνει καὶ ὅτι ἐπὶ τύχης χρηστῆς ἔπὶ δείπνου ἐκέκλητο, ἦν ἐς τὰ οἰκία. ἐσεῖθ'ν δὲ τὴν ταχύστην, ἣν γὰρ οἱ παῖς εἰς μοῦνος ἔτεα τρία καὶ δέκα κού μάλιστα γεγονός, τούτων ἐκπέμπει ἱέναι τε κελεύων ἐς Ἀστυάγεος καὶ ποιόν ο τι ἀν ἐκεῖνος κελεύη, αὐτὸς δὲ περιχαρῆ ἐὼν φράζει τῇ γνωαίκῃ τὰ συγκυρήσαντα. Ἀστυάγης δὲ, ὃς οἱ ἀπίκετο ὃ Ἁρπαγὸν παῖς, σφάξας αὐτὸν καὶ κατὰ μέλεα διελῶν τὰ μὲν ὁπτησε τὰ δὲ ἡγήσε τῶν κρεῶν, εὐτυκα δὲ ποιησάμενος εἴχε ἔτοιμα. ἐπείτε δὲ τῆς ὥρης γινομένης τοῦ δείπνου παρῆσαν οἱ τε ἄλλοι δαιτυμόνες καὶ ὁ Ὁ Ἀρπαγὸς, τοῖς μὲν ἄλλοισι καὶ αὐτῷ Ἀστυάγει παρετίθεατο τραπέζα ἐπίπλεαι μηλέων κρεῶν, Ἀρπάγῳ δὲ τοῦ παιδὸς τοῦ ἑωυτοῦ, πλῆν κεφαλῆς τε καὶ άκρων χειρῶν τε καὶ ποδῶν, τᾶλλα πάντα· ταῦτα δὲ χωρίς ἐκεῖτο ἐπὶ κανέω κατακεκαλυμμένα. ὡς δὲ τῷ Ὁ Ἀρπάγῳ ἐδόκεε ἄλλως ἔχειν τῆς βορίης, Ἀστυάγης εἰρετὸ μιν εἰ ἡθείη τι τῇ θοίνη. φαμένου δὲ Ὁ Ἀρπαγὸ καὶ κάρτα ἦσθημαι, παρέφερον τοῖς προσέκειτo τὴν κεφαλὴν τοῦ παιδὸς κατακεκαλυμμένην καὶ τὰς χειρὰς καὶ τῶν πόδας, Ὁ Ἀρπαγὸ δὲ ἐκέλευον προσστάντας ἀποκαλύπτειν τε καὶ λαβεῖν τὸ βουλεῖται αὐτῶν.
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 ἀποκαλύπτων ὁρᾶ τοῦ παιδὸς τὰ λείμματα, ἵδοι δὲ οὕτε ἐξετάζῃ ἐντὸς τε ἐνυτοῦ γίνεται. εἴρετο δὲ αὐτὸν ὁ Ἀστυάγης εἰ γυνώσκοι οτευ δηρίου κρέα βεβρῶκοι. ὃ δὲ καὶ γυνώσκειν ἐφή καὶ ἀρεστῶν εἶναι πᾶν τῷ ἀν βασιλεὺς ἔρθῃ. τούτωσι δὲ ἀμειβόμενοι καὶ ἀναλαβών τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν κρεῶν ἢς ἢς τὰ οἰκία, ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ ἐμελλε, ὡς ἐγὼ δοκέω, ἀλίσας θάψειν τὰ πάντα.

120. Ἀρτάγω μὲν Ἀστυάγης δίκην ταύτην ἐπέθηκε, Κύρου δὲ πέρι βουλευόν ἐκάλεε τοὺς αὐτοὺς τῶν Μάγων οἱ τὸ ἐνυπνιόν οἱ ταύτῃ ξηριναν. ἀποκομένους δὲ εἴρετο ὁ Ἀστυάγης τῇ ξηρινάν οἱ τὴν ὤψιν. οἱ δὲ κατὰ ταύτα ἔπαν, λέγοντες ὡς βασιλεύσαι χρῆν τὸν παιδα, εἰ ἐπέ-ξωσε καὶ μὴ ἀπέθανε προτερον. δὲ ἀμείβεται αὐτοὺς τοῦσιδε. "ἐστι τὸ παῖς καὶ περίεστι, καὶ μιν ἐπ' ἄγρον διαιτόμενον οἱ ἐκ τῆς κώμης παῖδες ἐστῆσαντο βασιλέα. δὲ πάντα ὅσα περ οἱ ἀληθεὶ λόγῳ βασιλεῖς ἐτελέωσε ποιήσας· καὶ γὰρ δορυφόρους καὶ θυρωρίους καὶ ἀγγελιερώρους καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ πάντα διατάξας ἤρξη. καὶ νῦν ἐς τὸ ὑμῖν ταύτα φαίνεσαι φέρειν;" εἴπαν οἱ Μάγοι ἡ ἐμὲ περίεστι τε καὶ ἐβασίλευσε ὁ παῖς μὴ ἐκ προνοίας τοῦν, θάρσει τὲ τοῦτον εἴνεκα καὶ θυμῶν ἔχε ἀγαθόν· οὗ γὰρ ἐπὶ τὸ δεύτερον ἀρχεῖ. παρὰ σμικρὰ γὰρ καὶ τῶν λογίῶν ἡμῖν ἐνα κεχώρηκε, καὶ τὰ γε τῶν ὀνειράτων ἑχόμενα τελέως ἐς ἀσθενεῖς ἔρχεται." ἀμείβεται ὁ Ἀστυάγης τοῦσιδε. "καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ Μάγοι ταύτῃ πλεῖστος γυνώσκειν ἐμί, βασιλέος ὀνομασθέντος τοῦ παιδὸς ἐξή- κειν τε τὸν ὀνειρον καὶ μοι τὸν παῖδα τοῦτον

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

120. Thus did Astyages punish Harpagus. But, to aid him to resolve about Cyrus, he called to him the same Magians who had interpreted his dream as I have said: and when they came Astyages asked them how they had interpreted his vision. They answered as before, and said that the boy must have been made king had he lived and not died first. Then said Astyages, "The boy is saved and alive, and when he was living in the country the boys of his village made him king, and he did duly all that is done by true kings: for he assigned to each severally the places of bodyguards and sentinels and messengers and all else, and so ruled. And to what, think you, does this tend?" "If the boy is alive," said the Magians, "and has been made king without foreknowledge, then fear not for aught that he can do but keep a good heart: he will not be made king a second time. Know that even in our prophecies it is often but a small thing that has been foretold, and the perfect fulfilment of the dream is but a trifling matter." "I too, ye Magians," said Astyages, "am much of your mind—that the dream came true when the boy was called king, and that I
εἶναι δεινὸν ἐτὶ οὖν. ὁμως μὲν γε τοι συμβουλεύσατε μοι ευ περισκεψάμενοι τὰ μέλλει ἀσφαλέστατα εἶναι οίκω τὸ τῷ ἐµῷ καὶ ὑµῖν." εἴπαν πρὸς ταύτα οἱ Μάγοι ὡς βασιλεὺ, καὶ αὐτοῖς ἦµῖν περὶ πολλοῦ ἔστι κατορθοῦσαι ἀρχὴν τῇ σῇ. κείνως μὲν γὰρ ἀλλοτριοῦται ἐσ τὸν παῖδα τούτων περιοῦσα ἐόντα Πέρσην, καὶ ἡμéis ἑόντες Μῆδοι θυλούμεθα τε καὶ λόγου οὐ̣δενὸς γνώμηθα πρὸς Περσέων, ἑόντες ξείνου· σέο δ' ἐνεστεώτος βασιλέος, ἑόντος πολιότεροι, καὶ ἅρχομεν τὸ μέρος καὶ τιμᾶς πρὸς σέο μεγάλας ἐχομεν. οὔτω δὲν πάντως ἦµῖν σέο καὶ τῆς σῆς ἀρχῆς προσπέτεον ἐστί. καὶ νῦν εἴ φοβερόν τι ἐνωρόμεν, παν ἀν σοι προεφράξομεν. νῦν δὲ ἀποσκήψαντος τοῦ ἐνυπνίου ἐς φαύλου, αὐτοῖ τε θαρσέομεν καὶ σοὶ ἑτερα τοιαύτα παρακελεύσωμεθα. τὸν δὲ παῖδα τούτων ἐξ ὄφθαλμῳ ἀπόπεμψαί ἐς Πέρσας τε καὶ τούς γειναμένους.”

121. Ἀκούσας ταύτα ὁ Ἀστυάγης ἔχαρη τε καὶ καλέσας τὸν Κύρον ἔλεγε οἱ τάδε. ὡς παί, σὲ γὰρ ἐγὼ δι' ὅψιν ὄνειρου ὑπελέγη τῇ σεωτοῦ δὲ μοίρῃ περείς· νῦν ὃν θε̣ χαίρων ἐς Πέρσας, πομποὺς δὲ ἐγὼ ἀμα πέμψω. ἐλθὼν δὲ ἑκεῖ πατέρα τε καὶ μητέρα εὐρήσεις οὐ κατὰ Μιτραδάτην τὸν θουκόλον καὶ τὴν γυναϊκα αὐτοὺ." 

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

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

122. So said Astyages and sent Cyrus away. When he returned to Cambyses’ house, his parents received him there, and learning who he was they welcomed him heartily, for they had supposed that long ago he had straightway been killed, and they asked him how his life had been saved. Then he told them, and said that till now he had known
εἰδέναι ἄλλ' ἡμαρτηκέναι πλείστου, κατ' ὀδὸν δὲ πυθέσθαι πᾶσαν τὴν ἐωτοῦ πάθην· ἐπίστασθαι μὲν γὰρ ὡς βουκόλου τοῦ Ἀστυάγεος εἶπα παῖς, ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς κεῖθεν ὀδοῦ τὸν πάντα λόγον τῶν πομπῶν πυθέσθαι. τραφήναι δὲ ἐλεγε ὑπὸ τῆς τοῦ βουκόλου γυναικὸς, ἢι τε ταύτην αἰνέων διὰ παντός, ἢν τε οἱ ἐν τῷ λόγῳ τὰ πάντα ἡ Κυνώ. οἱ δὲ τοκεῖς παραλαβόντες τὸ σῶμα τοῦτο, ἦν θειότέρως δοκεῖ τοῦτο Ἡρόσση περιείναι σφὶ ὅ παις, κατέβαλον φάτιν ὡς ἐκκείμενον Κύρων κύων ἐξέθρεφε.

123. Ἐνθεύτεν μὲν ἡ φάτις αὐτῆς κεχώρηκε. Κύρῳ δὲ ἀνδρευμένῳ καὶ ἐόντι τῶν ἡλίκων ἀνδρημοτάτῳ καὶ προσφιλεστάτῳ προσέκειτο ὁ Ἄρταγος δώρα πέμπτων, τίσασθαι Ἀστυάγεα ἐπιθυμεόντως ἀπ' ἐωτοῦ γὰρ ἐόντος ἱδιότερον οὐκ ἐνώρα τιμωρίην ἐσομένην ἐς Ἀστυάγεα, Κύρω δὲ ὀρέων ἐπιτρεφόμενον ἐποιέετο σύμμαχον, τὰς πάθας τὰς Ἐνθεύτης. ἐωτοῦ ὁμοιόμενος. πρὸ δ' ἔτι τοῦτο τάδε οἱ κατεργαστοὶ ἐόντος τοῦ Ἀστυάγεος πικροῦ ἐς τοὺς Μηδοὺς, συμμίσγων ἐν ἣν ἐκάστῳ ὁ Ἅρταγος τῶν πρῶτων Μηδῶν ἀνέπειθε ὡς κρῆ Κύρων προστησαμένους Ἀστυάγεα παῦσαι τῆς βασιληῆς. κατεργασμένον δὲ οἱ τοῦτο καὶ ἐόντος ἔτοιμον, οὕτω δὴ τῷ Κύρῳ διαιτομένῳ ἐν Πέρσσῃ βουλομένους Ἅρταγος δηλώσαι τὴν ἐωτοῦ γυνώμην ἀλλὰς μὲν οὐδαμώς ἔχε ἄτε τῶν ὀδῶν φυλασσομενέως, δ' ἐπιτευχύναται τοιόῦτο: λαγὸν μηχανησάμενος, καὶ ἀνασχίσας τοῦτο τὴν γαστέρα καὶ οὐδεν ἀποτίλας, ὡς δὲ εἴχε οὕτω ἐσέθηκε βυβλίον, γράψας τά οι ἐδόκεε ἀπορράψας δὲ τοῦ λαγοῦ τὴν γαστέρα, καὶ δικτυα ὁυς ἀτε θηρεῡτῆ τῶν 160
nothing but been greatly deceived, but that on the way he had heard all the story of his misfortune; for he had thought, he said, that Astyages' cowherd was his father, but in his journey from the city his escort had told him all the tale. And he had been reared, he said, by the cowherd's wife, and he was full of her praises, and in his tale he was ever speaking of Cyno. Hearing this name, his parents set about a story that Cyrus when exposed was suckled by a bitch, thinking thereby to make the story of his saving seem the more marvellous to the Persians.

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

124. Ταῦτα τε δὴ ὅπι ἐπιτελεία ἐγίνετο καὶ ὁ Κύρος παραλαβὼν τὸν λαγὸν ἀνέσχυσε· εὐρῶν δὲ ἐν αὐτῷ τὸ βυβλίον ἐνεὼν λαβὼν ἐπελέγετο, τὰ δὲ γράμματα ἐλεγε τάδε. "Ὤ παί Καμβύσεω, σὲ γὰρ θεοὶ ἐπορῶσι· οὐ γὰρ ἂν κοτὲ ἐς τοσοῦτο τύχης ἀπίκευν· σὺ νῦν Ἀστυάγεα τὸν σεβυτὸν φονέα τίσαι. κατὰ μὲν γὰρ τὴν τούτων προθυμίαν τέθυκας, τὸ δὲ κατὰ θεοὺς τε καὶ ἐμὲ περιές· τὰ σε καὶ πᾶλαι δοκεώ πάντα ἐκμεμαθηκέναι, σέο τε αὐτοῦ πέρι ὡς ἐπρήχθη, καὶ ὃδε ἐγὼ ὑπὸ Ἀστυάγεος πέπονθα, ὅτι σε οὐκ ἀπέκτεινα ἄλλα ἔδωκα τῷ βουκόλῳ. σὺ νῦν, ἦν βούλῃ ἐμοὶ πείθεσθαι, τῆς περ Ἀστυάγης ἄρχει χώρης, ταῦτης ἀπάσης ἀρξίεις. Πέρσας γὰρ ἀναπείσασκα ἀπίστασθαι στρατηλάτει ἐπὶ Μήδους· καὶ ἴν τε ἔγω ὑπὸ Ἀστυάγεος ἀποδεχθέω στρατηγὸς ἀντία σεῦ, ἐστὶ τοι τὰ σὺ βούλεαι, ἦν τε τῶν τις δοκίμων ἄλλος Μήδους· πρῶτοι γὰρ οὕτωι ἀποστάντες ἀπ' ἐκείνου καὶ γενόμενοι πρὸς σὲ Ἀστυάγεα καταφέκαν πειρήσονται. ὡς ὃν ἔτοιμον τοῦ γε ἐνθάδε ἐόντος, ποίεε ταῦτα καὶ ποίεε κατὰ τάχος."

125. Ἀκούσας ταῦτα ὁ Κύρος ἐφρόντιζε ὅτεφ τρόπῳ σοφωτάτῳ Πέρσας ἀναπείσει ἀπίστασθαι, φροντίζων δὲ εὐρίσκεται ταῦτα καριώτατα εἶναι· ἐποίεε δὴ ταῦτα. γράφας ἂς βυβλίον τὰ ἐβούλετο, ἄλην τῶν Περσέων ἐποιήσατο, μετὰ δὲ ἀναπτύξας τὸ βυβλίον καὶ ἐπιλεγόμενος ἐφη Ἀστυάγεια μν στρατηγὸν Περσέων ἀποδεικνύναι. "Νῦν τε," ἐφη.
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 Astyages appointed him leader of the Persian armies. "Now,"
λέγων, "ο Πέρσαι, προαγορεύω ύμίν παρεῖναι ἐκαστὸν ἔχοντα δρέπανον." Κύρος μὲν ταῦτα προηγόρευε. ἔστι δὲ Περσέων συνχά γένεα, καὶ τὰ μὲν αὐτῶν ὁ Κύρος συνάλισε καὶ ἀνέπεισε ἀπίστασθαι ἀπὸ Μήδων. ἔστι δὲ τάδε, ἐξ ὧν ὄλλοι πάντες ἀρτέαται Πέρσαι, Πασαργάδαι Μαράφιοι Μάστιοι. τούτων Πασαργάδαι εἰσὶ ἀριστοί, ἐν τοῖς καὶ Ἀχαιμενίδαι εἰσὶ φρήτρη, ἐνθεν οἳ βασιλεῖς οἳ Περσείδαι γεγόνασι. ἄλλοι δὲ Πέρσαι εἰσὶ οἴδε, Πανθιλαδοὶ Δηρουσιαῖοι Γερμάνιοι. οὕτωι μὲν πάντες ἀρτότρες εἰσὶ, οἳ δὲ ἄλλοι νομάδες, Δάοι Μάρδοι Δροτικοὶ Σαγάρτιοι.

126. Ὁσ δὲ παρῆσαν ἀπαντεῖς ἔχοντες τὸ προ- ειρημένον, ἐνθαῦτα ὁ Κύρος, ἢν γὰρ τις χώρος τῆς Περσικῆς ἀκανθώδης ὅσον τε ἔπὶ ὀκτώκαιδεκα σταδίους ἢ εἰκοσὶ πάντῃ, τούτῳ σφί τὸν χώρον προεῖπτε ἡμηρώσαι ἐν ἡμέρῃ. ἐπιτελεσάντων δὲ τῶν Περσέων τὸν προκείμενον ἀεθλον, δεύτερα σφί προεῖπτε ἐς τὴν υἱότεραν παρεῖναι λειο- μένους. ἐν δὲ τούτῳ τὰ τε αἰσθήματα καὶ τὰς ποίμνας καὶ τὰ βουκόλια ὁ Κύρος πάντα τοῦ πατρὸς συναλίσας ἐς τὸντὸ ἔθυσε καὶ παρεσκευ- ἀζε ὡς δεξόμενος τὸν Περσέων στρατὸν, πρὸς δὲ οἶνῳ τε καὶ σιτίῳ ὃς ἐπιτηδευτάτοις. ἀπικο- μένους δὲ τῇ υἱότερῃ τούς Πέρσας κατακλίνας ἐς λειμώνα εὐώχεε. ἐπείτε δὲ ἀπὸ δείπνου ἦσαν, εἰρετο σφέας ὁ Κύρος κότερα τὰ τῇ προτεραίᾳ ἐλχον ἢ τὰ παρεόντα σφι εἰς αἱρετότερα. οἱ δὲ ἐφασαν πολλὸν εἶναι αὐτῶν τὸ μέσον· τὴν μὲν γὰρ προτέρην ἡμέρην πάντα σφι κακὰ ἔχειν, τὴν δὲ τὸτε παρεόῦσαν πάντα ἀγαθά. παραλάβων δὲ τοῦτο τὸ ἔπος ὁ Κύρος παρεγύμνησε τὸν πάντα
said he in his speech, "I bid you all, men of Persia, to come each of you with a sickle." (There are many tribes in Persia: those of them whom Cyrus assembled and persuaded to revolt from the Medes were the Pasargadae, the Maraphii, and the 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 Derusiaei, 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
λόγου, λέγων "'Ανδρες Πέρσαι, οὕτω ύμῶν ἔχει. Βουλομένοισι μὲν ἐμέο πείθεσθαι ἔστι τάδε τε καὶ ἄλλα μυρία ἀγαθά, οὐδένα πόνον δουλοπρεπέα ἔχουσι, μὴ Βουλομένοισι δὲ ἐμέο πείθεσθαι εἰσὶ ύμῶν πόνοι τῷ χθεῖσα παραπλήσιοι ἀναρίθμητοι. νῦν δὲ ἐμέο πειθόμενοι γίνεσθε ἐλεύθεροι. αὐτὸς τε γὰρ δοκεῖ θείη τύχη γεγονὼς τάδε ἐς χεῖρας ἀγεσθαι, καὶ ύμεᾶς ἤγημαί ἀνδρὰς Μήδων εἶναι οὐ φανολόπερος οὕτε τὸλλα οὕτε τὰ πολέμια. ὡς δὲν ἐχόντων ὡδὲ, ἀπίστασθε ἀπ᾽ Ἀστυάγεος τὴν ταχίστην."

127. Πέρσαι μὲν νυν προστάτευσε ἐπιλαβόμενοι ἄσμενοι ἐλευθεροῦντο, καὶ πάλαι δεινὸν ποιεύμενοι ύπὸ Μήδων ἀρχεσθαι. Ἀστυάγης δὲ ὡς ἐπύθετο Κύρων ταύτα πρήσοσοντα, πέμψας ἄγγελον ἐκάλεε αὐτὸν. ὦ δὲ Κύρος ἐκέλευς τὸν ἄγγελον ἀπαγγέλλειν ὅτι πρότερον ἤξοι παρ᾽ ἑκεῖνον ἡ Ἀστυάγης αὐτὸς βουλήσεται. ἀκούσας δὲ ταύτα ὁ Ἀστυάγης Μήδους τε ὁπλισε πάντας, καὶ στρατηγὸν αὐτῶν ὡστε θεοβλαβῆς ἐων "Ἀρ- παγον ἀπέδεξε, λήθην ποιεύμενος τὰ μιν ἐόργεε. ὡς δὲ οἱ Μήδοι στρατευσάμενοι τοῖς Πέρσαις συνέμισσον, οἱ μὲν τινὲς αὐτῶν ἐμάχοντο, ὅσοι μὴ τοῦ λόγου μετέσχουν, οἱ δὲ αὐτομόλεον πρὸς τοὺς Πέρσας, οἱ δὲ πλείστοι ἐθελοκάκεοι τε καὶ ἐφευγον.

128. Διαλυθέντος δὲ τοῦ Μηδικοῦ στρατεύματος αἰσχρῶς, ὡς ἐπύθητο τάχιστα ὁ Ἀστυάγης, ἔφη ἀπειλέων τῷ Κύρῳ "Ἀλλ᾽ οὐδ᾽ ὃς Κύρος γε χαίρῃς." τοσαῦτα εὑπας πρὸτον μὲν τῶν Μάγων τους ὀνειροτόλους, οἱ μὲν ἄνεγιμωσαν μετείναι τὸν Κύρον, τούτους ἀνεσκολοπίσε, μετὰ δὲ ὁπλισε 166
bare all his purpose, and said: "This is your case, men of Persia: obey me and you shall have these good things and ten thousand others besides with no toil and slavery; but if you will not obey me you will have labours unnumbered, like to your toil of yesterday. Now, therefore, do as I bid you, and win your freedom. For I think that I myself was saved by a marvellous providence to take this work in hand; and I deem you full as good men as the Medes in war and in all else. All this is true; wherefore now revolt from Astyages with all speed!"

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

128. Thus the Median army was foully scattered. Astyages, hearing this, sent a threatening message to Cyrus, "that even so he should not go unpunished"; and with that he took the Magians who interpreted dreams and had persuaded him to let Cyrus go free, and impaled them; then he armed
τοὺς ὑπολειφθέντας ἐν τῷ ἀστείῳ τῶν Μήδων, νέους τε καὶ πρεσβύτας ἀνδρὰς. ἐξαγαγὼν δὲ τούτους καὶ συμβαλὼν τοὺς Πέρσης ἐσσώθη, καὶ αὐτὸς τε Ἀστυάγης ἐξωγιρήθη καὶ τοὺς ἐξήγαγε τῶν Μήδων ἀπέβαλε.

129. Ἐόντι δὲ αἰχμαλώτῳ τῷ Ἀστυάγει προσστάς ὁ Ἀρπαγος κατέχαρε τε καὶ κατεκερτόμεε, καὶ ἄλλα λέγων ἐς αὐτὸν θυμαλγέα ἐπεα, καὶ δὴ καὶ εἰρετό μν πρὸς τὸ ἐσωτοῦ δείπνου, τὸ μν ἔκεινον σαρξὶ τοῦ παιδὸς ἐθούνησε, ὁ τι εἴη ἡ ἔκεινον δουλοσύνη ἀντὶ τῆς βασιληῆς. ὃ δὲ μν προσιδῶν ἀντείρετο εἰ ἐσωτοῦ ποιεται τὸ Κύρον ἐργον. ὁ Ἀρπαγος δὲ ἔφη, αὐτὸς γὰρ γράφαι, τὸ πρήγμα ἐσωτοῦ δὴ δικαίως εἶναι. Ἀστυάγης δὲ μν ἀπέφαβε τῷ λόγῳ σκαϊστάτων τε καὶ ἀδικώτατον ἐνταν πάντων ἀνθρώπων, σκαϊστατον μὲν γε, εἰ παρεὺν αὐτὸ βασιλέα γενέσθαι, εἰ δὴ δὶ ἐσωτοῦ γε ἐπερίχθη τὰ παρεόντα, ἀλλὰ περείδηκε τὸ κράτος, ἀδικώτατον δὲ, ὧν τοῦ δείπνου εἰνεκεν Μήδους κατεδουλώσε. εἰ γὰρ δὴ δὲὶν πάντως περιθέειναι ἀλλὰς τεῷ τῆν βασιληῆν καὶ μὴ αὐτὸν ἔχειν, δικαίωτον εἶναι Μήδους τεῷ περιβαλεῖν τοῦτο τὸ ἀγαθὸν ἢ Περσέων. νῦν δὲ Μήδους μὲν ἀναιτίον τοῦτον ἐόντας δούλους ἀντὶ δεσποτῶν γεγονέναι, Πέρσας δὲ δούλους ἐόντας τὸ πρὶν Μήδων νῦν γεγονέναι δεσποτάς.

130. Ἀστυάγης μὲν νυν βασιλεύεις ἐπ’ ἐτεα πέντε καὶ τριήκοντα ὀυτῶ τῆς βασιληῆς κατεπαύσθη, Μήδοι δὲ ὑπέκυψαν Πέρσης διὰ τὴν τούτου πικρότητα, ἀρξαντες τῆς ἄνω "Ἀλνος ποταμοῦ Ἀσίης ἐπ’ ἐτεα τριήκοντα καὶ ἐκατόν δυὸν δέοντα, πάρεξ ἡ ὄσον οἱ Σκύθαι ἦρχον."
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.
131. Πέρσας δὲ οἶδα νόμοις τοιούτῳ χρεωμένους, ἀγάλματα μὲν καὶ νηροὺς καὶ βωμοὺς οὐκ ἐν νόμῳ ποιευμένους ἱδρύεσθαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ποιεύσι μωρίην ἐπιφέρονυ, ὡς μὲν ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν, ὅτι οὐκ ἀνθρωποφυέας ἐνόμισαν τοὺς θεοὺς κατὰ περ οἱ Ἕλληνες εἶναι, οὐ δὲ νομίζουσι Διὸ μὲν ἐπὶ τὰ ὕψηλύτατα τῶν ὄρεων ἀναβαίνοντες θυσίας ἔρδειν, τὸν κύκλον πάντα τὸν οὐρανὸν Δία καλέοντες. θύνουσι δὲ ἡλίῳ τε καὶ σελήνῃ καὶ γη καὶ πυρὶ καὶ ὅδατι καὶ ἀνέμουσι. τούτοις μὲν δὴ θύνουσι μοῦνοις ἀρχίζειν, ἐπιμεμαθήκασι δὲ καὶ τῇ Οὐρανίῃ θύειν, παρὰ τε Ἀσσυρίων μαθόντες καὶ Ἀραβίων. καλέουσι δὲ Ἀσσύριοι τὴν Ἀφροδίτην Μύλιττα, Ἀράβιοι δὲ Ἀλιλάτ, Πέρσαι δὲ Μίτραν.

132. Ἡσίη δὲ τοῖς Πέρσηι περὶ τοὺς εἰρήμενοι θεοὺς ὡς κατέστηκε οὗτε βωμοὺς ποιεῦνται οὗτε πῦρ ἀνακαίουσι μέλλοντες θύειν, οὐ σπονδῇ χρέωνται, οὐκαί αὐλάκῃ, οὐκ στέμμασι, οὐκι οὐλῆσι τῶν δὲ ὡς ἐκάστῳ θύειν θέλη, ἐς χῶρον

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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

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1 In 520 B.C.; the event is recorded in a cuneiform inscription.  
2 See note on ch. 105.
καθαροῦ ἀγαγὼν τὸ κτήνος καλέει τὸν θεόν, ἐστεφανωμένος τὸν τιάραι πυρσύνη μάλιστα. ἐωντῷ μὲν δὴ τῷ θύοντι ἴδῃ μούνῳ οὐ ὦ οἱ ἐγνύεται ἀράσθαι ἀγαθά, ὃ δὲ τοῦς πάσιν Πέρσῃς κατεύχεται εὐ γίνεσθαι καὶ τῷ Βασιλέᾳ· ἐν γὰρ δὴ τοῦς ἀπασι Πέρσῃς καὶ αὐτὸς γίνεται. ἐπεάν δὲ διαμιστύλας κατὰ μέλεα τὸ ἱρήμον ἐψήσῃ τά κρέα, ὑποπάσας ποίην ὡς ἀπαλωτάτην, μάλιστα δὲ τὸ τρίφυλλον, ἐπὶ ταύτης ἔθηκε ὅπ πάντα τὰ κρέα. διαθέντος δὲ αὐτοῦ Μάγος ἀνήρ παρεστῶς ἐπαείδει θεογονίην, οὔν δὴ ἐκεῖνοι λέγουσι εἶναι τὴν ἐπαοιδήν· ἄνευ γὰρ δὴ Μάγον οὐ σφι νόμος ἐστὶ θυσίας ποιεσθαί. ἐπισκόμενος δὲ ὀλίγον χρόνον ἀποφέρεται ὁ θύσας τὰ κρέα καὶ χρᾶται ὅ τι μὲν λόγος αἰρέει.

133. Ἡμέρην δὲ ἀπασέων μάλιστα ἐκεῖνην τιμᾶν νομίζουσι τῇ ἐκαστος ἐγένετο. ἐν ταύτῃ δὲ πλέον δαῖτα τῶν ἄλλων δικαιεύσι προτίθεσθαι· ἐν τῇ οἱ εὐδαίμονες αὐτῶν βοῦν καὶ ἵππου καὶ κάμηλον καὶ ὄνον προτιθέεται ὀλοὺς ὅπποις ἐν καμίνοις, οἱ δὲ πένητες αὐτῶν τὰ λεπτὰ τῶν προβάτων προτιθέον. σύτοις δὲ ὀλίγοις χρέωνται, ἐπιφορήσαι δὲ πολλοίς καὶ ὁυκ ἀλέσω· καὶ διὰ τοῦτο φασὶ Πέρσαι τοὺς ᾿Ελλήνας σιτεομένους πεινῶντας παύεσθαι, ὅτι σφι ἀπὸ δεῖπνου παραφορέεται οὐδὲν λόγον ἄξιον· εἰ δὲ τὶ παραφέρουτο, ἐσθίοντας ἄν οὐ παύεσθαι. ὀυνὶ δὲ κάρτα προσκέεται, καὶ σφι οὐκ ἐμέσαι ἐξεστί, οὐκὶ οὐρῆσαι ἀντίον ἄλλου. ταῦτα μὲν νῦν οὐτω φυλάσσεται, μεθυσκόμενοι δὲ ἐώθασι βουλεύεσθαι τὰ σπουδαίοτατα τῶν πρηγμάτων· τὸ δὲ ἂν ἄδη σφι βουλευομένουι, τοῦτο τῇ ὑστεραίῃ νήφουσι.
beast to an open space and then calls on the god, himself wearing a crown on his cap, of myrtle for choice. To pray for blessings for himself alone is not lawful for the sacrificer; rather he prays that it may be well with the king and all the Persians; for he reckons himself among them. He then cuts the victim limb from limb into portions, and having roasted the flesh spreads the softest grass, trefoil by choice, and places all of it on this. When he has so disposed it a Magian comes near and chants over it the song of the birth of the gods, as the Persian tradition relates it; for no sacrifice can be offered without a Magian. Then after a little while the sacrificer carries away the flesh and uses it as he pleases.

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

134. Ἐνυπηχάνοντες δ᾽ ἀλλήλοις ἐν τῇ στήσει ὀδοῖσι, τοῦτο ἄν τις διαγνώσει εἰ ὅμοιοι εἰσί οἱ συν-
υπηχάνοντες· ἀντὶ γὰρ τοῦ προσαγορεύειν ἀλλή-
λους φιλέουσι τοῖς στόμασι· ἢν δὲ ἦ σύντερος ὑποδεεστέρος ὅλγῳ, τὰς παρείας φιλέουσι· ἢν
dὲ πολλῷ ἦ σύντερος ἀγεννέστερος, προσπίπτουν
προσκυνεῖ τὸν ἔτερον. τιμῶσι δὲ ἐκ πάντων τοὺς
ἀγχιστα ἐωτῶν οἰκέοντας μετά γε ἐωτούς,
δεύτερα δὲ τοὺς δευτέρους· μετὰ δὲ κατὰ λόγον
προβαίνοντες τιμῶσι· ήκιστα δὲ τοὺς ἐωτῶν ἐκαστάτω οἰκημένους ἐν τιμῇ ἄγονται, νομίζοντες
ἐωτούς εἶναι ἀνθρώπων μακρῷ τὰ πάντα ἀρίσ-
tους, τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους κατὰ λόγον1 τῆς ἀρετῆς
ἀντέχεσθαι, τοὺς δὲ ἐκαστάτω οἰκέοντας ἀπὸ
ἐωτῶν κακίστους εἶναι. ἐπὶ δὲ Μήδων ἀρχον-
tου καὶ ἢρχε τὰ ἐδνεα ἀλλήλοις, συναπαντῶν
μὲν Μήδοι καὶ τῶν ἀγχιστα οἰκέοντων σφίσι, σύνοι δὲ καὶ τῶν ὁμούρων, οἱ δὲ μάλα τῶν ἐχο-
μένων, κατὰ τόν αὐτῶν δὴ λόγον καὶ οἱ Πέρσαι
tιμῶσι· προέβαινε γὰρ δὴ τὸ ἐδνος ἄρχον τε καὶ
ἐπιτροπεῦον.

135. Ἡεινικὰ δὲ νόματα Πέρσαι προσένεινται
ἀνδρῶν μάλιστα. καὶ γὰρ δὴ τὴν Μηδικὴν ἐσθήτα
νομίζοντες τῆς ἐωτῶν εἶναι καλλίω φορέουσι,
καὶ ἐς τοὺς πολέμοις τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους θῶρηκας·
καὶ εὐπαθείας τε παντοδαπὰς πυθανόμενοι 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.

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

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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.
τηθεύουσι, καὶ δὴ καὶ ἀπ’ Ἐλλήνων μαθόντες παιοί μύσχονται. γαμέουσι δὲ ἐκαστὸς αὐτῶν πολλὰς μὲν κουριδίας γυναῖκας, πολλῷ δ’ ἔτι πλεῦνας παλλακάς κτῶνται.

136. Ἀνδραγαθία δὲ αὐτῇ ἀποδέδεκται, μετὰ τὸ μάχεσθαι εἶναι ἄγαθον, ὅς ἂν πολλοὺς ἀποδέξῃ παίδας· τῷ δὲ τούς πλείστος ἀποδεικνύντι δώρα ἐκπέμπει βασιλεύς ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος. τὸ πολλὸν δὴ ἰγναται ἵσχυρον εἶναι. παιδεύουσι δὲ τοὺς παίδας ἀπὸ πενταέτεος ἀρξάμενοι μέχρι εἰκοσαέτεος τρία μοῦνα, ἵππευνεὶ καὶ τοξεύειν καὶ ἀληθίζεσθαι. πρὶν δὲ ἡ πενταέτης γέννησθαι, οὐκ ἀπικνεῖται ἔς ὑφιν τῷ πατρί, ἀλλὰ παρὰ τῇ γυναῖξι δώλοις ἔχει. τούδε δὲ εἴνεκα τοῦτο οὔτω ποιεῖται, ἵνα ἴνα ἀποθάνῃ τρεφόμενος, μηδεμίαν ἅσην τῷ πατρὶ προσβάλη.

137. Αἰνέω μὲν νυν τὸνδε τὸν νόμον, αἰνέω δὲ καὶ τὸνδε, τὸ μὴ μηδεις αἰτίης εἴνεκα μήτε αὐτὸν τὸν βασιλέα μηδένα φονεύειν, μήτε τῶν ἄλλων Περσῶν μηδένα τῶν ἑσοῦ τοῦ ὁμόθεον ἐπὶ μηδεῖς αἰτίης ἀνήκεστον πάθος ἔρχειν· ἀλλὰ λογισάμενος ἢν εὐρίσκῃ πλέω τε καὶ μέξι τὰ ἀδικήματα ἑώτα τῶν ὕποργημάτων, οὕτω τῷ θυμῷ χράται. ἀποκτεῖναι δὲ οὐδένα καὶ λέγοντι τὸν ἑσοῦ τοῦ πατέρα οὐδεὶ μητέρα, ἀλλὰ ὅκοσα ἑδὸν τοιαύτα ἑγένετο, πᾶσαν ἀνάγκην φασὶ ἀναξιεπόμενα ταύτα ἀνευρεθήναι ἣτοι ὑποβολμαία ἕωτα ἢ μοιχίδια. οὐ γὰρ ὃ δὴ φασὶ οἰκὸς εἶναι τὸν γε ἀληθέως τοκέα ὕπὸ τοῦ ἑσοῦ τοῦ παιδὸς ἀποθνήσκειν.

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

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

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

138. Moreover of what they may not do neither may they speak. They hold lying to be foulest of all, and next to that debt; for which they have
πολλών μὲν καὶ ἄλλων εἶνεκα, μάλιστα δὲ ἀναγκαίην φασὶ εἶναι τὸν ὀφείλοντα καὶ τι πεύδος λέγειν. ὃς ἄν δὲ τῶν ἀστῶν λέπρην ἡ λεύκην ἔχῃ, ἐς πόλιν οὕτως οὐ κατέχεται οὐδὲ συμμίσθεται τοῖς ἄλλοις Πέρσης: φασὶ δὲ μιν ἐς τὸν ἴλιου ἀμαρτόντα τι τάυτα ἔχειν. ξείον δὲ πάντα τὸν λαμβανόμενον ὑπὸ τουτέων πολλοὶ ἐξελαύνουσι ἐκ τῆς χώρης, καὶ τὰς λευκὰς περιστεράς, τὴν αὐτὴν αἰτίην ἐπιφέροντες. ἐς ποταμὸν δὲ οὕτε ἐνουρέουσι οὕτε ἐμπτύουσι, οὐ χεῖρας ἐναπονίζονται, οὐδὲ ἄλλον οὐδένα περιορώσι, ἀλλὰ σέβονται ποταμοὺς μάλιστα.

139. Καὶ τόδε ἄλλο σφι ὄδε συμπέπτωκε γίνεσθαι, τὸ Πέρσας μὲν αὐτούς λέληθε, ἡμέας μέντοι οὐ· τὰ οὖνόματα σφι ἔόντα ὁμοία τοῦτοι σώμασι καὶ τῇ μεγαλοπρεπείᾳ τελευτώσι πάντα ἐς τῶτο γράμμα, τὸ Δωρίες μὲν σὰν καλέουσι, Ἰωνεῖς δὲ σύγμα· ἐς τοῦτο διζήμενος εὐρήσεις τελευτῶντα τῶν Περσῶν τὰ οὖνόματα, οὐ τὰ μὲν τὰ δ᾽ οὐ, ἀλλὰ πάντα ὁμοίως.

140. Ταῦτα μὲν ἀτρεκέως ἔχω περὶ αὐτῶν εἰδὼς εἰπτέιν· τάδε μέντοι ὡς κρυπτόμενα λέγεται καὶ οὐ σαφηνέως περὶ τοῦ ἀποθανόντος, ὡς οὐ πρότερον θάπτεται ἄνδρος Πέρσων ὁ νέκυς πρὶν ἃν ὑπὸ ὀρνίθος ἡ κυνὸς ἐλκυσθῇ. Μάγους μὲν γὰρ ἀτρεκέως οἶδα ταῦτα ποιέοντας· ἐμφανέως γὰρ δὴ ποιεύσι. κατακηρώσαντες δὲ δὲν τὸν νέκυν Πέρσαι γῆ κρύπτοντοι. Μάγοι δὲ κεχωρίδαται πολλοὶ τῶν τῶν άλλων ἀνθρώπων καὶ τῶν ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ ἱρέων. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἀγνεύουσι ἐμψυχον μηδὲν κτεῖνειν, εἰ μὴ ὡςα θύουσιν· οἱ δὲ δὴ Μάγοι αὐτοχειρή πάντα πλὴν κυνὸς καὶ ἀνθρώπου κτείνουσι, καὶ
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.
141. "Ἰωνες δὲ καὶ Αἰολεῖς, ὡς οἱ Λυδοὶ τάχιστα κατεστράφατο ὑπὸ Περσέων, ἐπεμποντο ἄγγελους ἡς Σάρδις παρὰ Κύρον, ἐθέλοντες ἐπὶ τοῖς αὐτοῖς εἶναι τοῖς καὶ Κροίσῳ ἦσαν· κατηκοῦν. ὅ δὲ ἀκούσας αὐτῶν τὰ προϊσχοντο ἐλεξέ ἑσφι λόγον, ἄνδρα φᾶς αὐλητὴν ἰδόντα ἰχθῦς ἐν τῇ θαλάσσῃ αὐλέειν, δοκέοντα σφεάς ἐξελεύσεσθαι ἐς γῆν· ὅς δὲ ψευσθῆναι τῆς ἐλπίδος, λαβεῖν ἀμφίβληστρον καὶ περιβαλεῖν τε πλῆθος τολλὸν τῶν ἰχθυῶν καὶ ἐξειρύσαι, ἰδόντα δὲ παλλομένους εἰπεῖν ἀρα αὐτὸν πρὸς τοὺς ἰχθῦς "Παύσεσθέ μοι ὀρχεόμενοι, ἐπεὶ οὐδ’ ἐμέο αὐλέοντος ἥθελετε ἐκβαίνειν ὀρχεόμενοι." Κύρος μὲν τοῦτον τὸν λόγον τοῖς Ἰωσι καὶ τοῖς Αἰολεῖσι τὸνδε εἶνεκα ἐλεξέ, ὅτι δὴ οἱ Ἰωνες πρότερον αὐτοῦ Κύρου δεηθέντος δι’ ἄγγελων ἀπίστασθαι σφεάς ἀπὸ Κροίσου οὐκ ἐπείθοντο, τότε δὲ κατεργασμένων τῶν πρηγμάτων ἦσαν ἐτοιμοὶ πεἰθεσθαι Κύρῳ. ὁ μὲν δὴ ὅργη ἐχόμενος ἐλεγέ ςφι τάδε: Ἰωνες δὲ ὡς ἤκουσαν τοὺς ἀνευχέθεντον ἐς τὰς πόλιας, τείχεα τε περιβάλοντο ἐκαστοὶ καὶ συνελέγοντο ἐς Πανιώνιον οἱ ἄλλοι, πλὴν Μιλησίων πρὸς μούνοις γὰρ τοῦτος ὄρκιον Κύρος ἐποιήσατο ἐπ’ οἷοι πέρ ὁ Λυδὸς. τοῖς δὲ λοιποῖς Ἰωσι ἔδοξε κοινῶ λόγῳ πέμπτειν ἄγγελοὺς ἐς Σπάρτην δεησομένους Ἰωσι τιμωρεῖν.
and men; they kill all alike, ants and snakes, creeping and flying things, and take much pride therein. Leaving this custom to be such as it has been from the first, 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 Ἰωνεῖς οὔτοι, τῶν καὶ τὸ Παννόνιον ἔστι, τοῦ μὲν οὐρανοῦ καὶ τῶν ὄρεων ἐν τῷ καλ-
λίστῳ ἔτυγχανον ἰδουσάμενοι πόλιας πάντων ἀνθρώπων τῶν ἡμεῖς ἱδμεν· οὔτε γὰρ τὰ ἀνω αὐ-
tῆς χωρία τῶντο ποιεῖν τῇ Ἰωνίᾳ οὔτε τὰ κάτω οὔτε τὰ πρὸς τὴν ἡδὸν οὔτε τὰ πρὸς τὴν ἐσπέρην,¹ 
tὰ μὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ ψυχροῦ τε καὶ υγροῦ πιεζόμενα, 
tὰ δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ θερμοῦ τε καὶ αὐχμώδεσος. γλῶσ-
sαν δὲ οὐ τὴν αὐτὴν οὔτοι νεομικασὶ, ἄλλα τρό-
pους τέσσερας παραγωγέων. Μίλητος μὲν αὐτέων 
πρῶτη κέεται πόλις πρὸς μεσαμβρίνην, μετὰ δὲ 
Μυσίν τε καὶ Πριήνη. αὐταί μὲν ἐν τῇ Καρίᾳ 
kατοικηταί κατὰ ταύτα διαλεγόμεναι σφίσι, αἰδέ 
de ἐν τῇ Λυδίᾳ, Ἐφεσος Κολοφῶν Λέβεδος Τέως 
Κλαζομεναὶ Φώκαια. αὐταὶ δὲ αἱ πόλεις τῆς 
πρότερον λεχθεῖσθαι ὄμολογόουσι κατὰ γλώσσιν 
οὐδὲν, σφίσι δὲ ὁμοφωνέοναι. ἔτι δὲ τρεῖς ὑπό-
λοιποι Ἰάδες πόλεις, τῶν αἱ δύο μὲν νήσους οἰκέ-
tau, Σάμου τε καὶ Χίου, ἡ δὲ μία ἐν τῇ ἡπείρῳ 
ἦρυται, Ἐρυθραί. Χῖοι μὲν νυν καὶ Ἐρυθραίοι 
cata τῶν τῶν διαλεγόμεναι, Σάμοι δὲ ἐπ' ἐσοπτῶν 
μοῦνοι. οὔτοι χαρακτήρες γλώσσης τέσσερες 
γίνονται.

143. Τούτων δὴ δὲν τῶν Ἰώνων οἱ Μιλήσιοι μὲν 
ήσαν ἐν σκέπῃ τοῦ φῶβου, ὃρκιον ποιησάμενοι, 
toίσι δὲ αὐτῶν νησίωτην ἤν δεινὸν οὐδέν· οὔτε 
γὰρ Φώινικεῖς ἦσαν καὶ Περσέων κατῆκοι οὔτε 
αὐτοὶ οἱ Πέρσαι ναυβάται. ἀπεσχισθησαν δὲ 
ἀπὸ τῶν ἄλλων Ἰώνων οὔτοι κατ' ἄλλο μὲν οὐδὲν, 
ἀσθένεος 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,
γένεσις, πολλῷ δὴ ἦν ἀσθενέστατον τῶν ἔθνεων τὸ Ἰωνικὸν καὶ λόγου ἐλαχίστου· ὅτι γὰρ μὴ Ἄθηναι, ἦν οὐδὲν ἄλλο πόλισμα λόγιμον. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἄλλοι Ἰωνεῖς καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἔφυγον τὸ οὖνομα, οὐ βουλόμενοι Ἰωνεῖς κεκλησθαί, ἀλλὰ καὶ νῦν φαίνονταί μοι οἱ πολλοὶ αὐτῶν ἐπαισχύνεσθαί τῷ οὖνόματι· αἱ δὲ δυνάμεκα πόλιες αὐταὶ τῷ τε οὖνόματι ἡγάλλοντο καὶ ἵδρυσαντο ἐπὶ σφέων αὐτέων, τῷ οὖνομα ἔθειτο Πανιώνιοι, ἐβουλεύσαντο δὲ αὐτούς μεταδοῦναι μηδαμοῖς ἀλλοιοί Ἰώνων (οὐδ’ ἐδεήθησαν δὲ οὖδαμοι μετασχεῖν ὅτι μη Σμυρναῖοι). 144. κατὰ περ οἱ ἐκ τῆς πενταπόλιος νῦν χώρης Δωριέας, πρότερον δὲ ἐξαπόλιος τῆς αὐτῆς ταύτης καλεομένης, φυλάσσονται διὰ μηδαμοὺς ἐσδέξασθαι τῶν προσοίκων Δωριέων ἦς τὸ Τριστικὸν ἱρόν, ἀλλὰ καὶ σφέων αὐτῶν τοὺς περὶ τὸ ἱρὸν ἀνομίσαντας ἐξεκλήσαν τῆς μετοχῆς. ἐν γὰρ τῷ ἀγώνι τοῦ Τριστίου Ἀπόλλωνος ἐτίθεσαν τὸ πάλαι τρίποδας χαλκέους τοῖς νικῶσι, καὶ τούτους χρῆν τοὺς λαμβάνοντας ἐκ τοῦ ἱροῦ μὴ ἐκφέρειν ἀλλ’ αὐτοῦ ἀνατιθέναι τῷ θεῷ. ἀνήρ δὲν Ἀλικαρνησσεύς, τῷ οὖνομα ἦν Ἁγασικλέας, υικής τῶν νόμων κατηλόγησε, φέρων δὲ πρὸς τὰ ἐωτοῦ οἰκία προσεπασάλευσε τὸν τρίποδα. διὰ ταύτην τὴν αἰτίαν αἱ πέντε πόλεις, Ἁλίδος καὶ Ἰήλυσός τε καὶ Κάμειρος καὶ Κῶς τε καὶ Κνίδος ἐξεκλήσαν τῆς μετοχῆς τὴν ἐκτην πόλιν Ἀλικαρνησσοῦν. τούτοις μὲν νῦν οὗτοι ταύτην τὴν ἔσπερην ἔπεθήκαν.

145. Δυνάμεκα δὲ μοι δοκεόυσι πόλιας ποιήσασθαι οἱ Ἰωνεῖς καὶ οὐκ ἐθελήσασι πλεύνας ἐσδέξασθαι τοῦτο 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 the “Five-Cities”—once called the “Six-Cities”—country forbid the admitting of any of the neighbouring Dorians to the Triopian temple, nay, they barred from sharing the use of it even those of their own body who had broken the temple law. For long ago in the games in honour of Triopian Apollo they offered certain bronze tripods to the victors; and those who won these must not carry them away from the temple but dedicate them there to the god. Now a man of Halicarnassus called Agasicles, being a winner, disregarded this law, and carrying the tripod away nailed it to the wall of his own house. For this offence the five cities, Lindus, Ialysus, Camirus, Cos, and Cnidus, forbade the sixth city, Halicarnassus, to share in the use of the temple. Such was the penalty imposed on the Halicarnassians.

145. As for the Ionians, the reason why they made twelve cities and would admit no more was in my judgment this, that there were twelve divisions of
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οἴκεον, δυὸδεκα ἵνα αὐτῶν μέρεα, κατὰ περ ἕνν Ἀχαιῶν τῶν ἐξελασάντων Ἰωνας δυὸδεκα ἔστὶ μέρεα, Πελλήνῃ μὲν γε πρώτῃ πρὸς Σικυωνος, μετὰ δὲ Ἀγειρά καὶ Αἰγαί, ἐν τῇ Κράθις ποταμὸς ἀείναος ἐστὶ, ἀπ’ ὅτεν ὁ ἐν Ἰταλῆ ποταμὸς τὸ οὖνομα ἔσχε, καὶ Βοῦρα καὶ Ἐλίκη, ἐς τὴν κατέφυγον Ἰωνες ὕπο Ἀχαιῶν μάχη ἐσσωθέντες, καὶ Αἰγιον καὶ Ῥύπτες καὶ Πατρεές καὶ Φαρέες καὶ Ὀλευος, ἐν τῷ Πείρος ποταμὸς μέγας ἔστὶ, καὶ Δύμη καὶ Τριταίες, οὕθοι τούτων μεσόγαλοι οἰκεύοντο. ταῦτα δυὸδεκα μέρεα νῦν Ἀχαιῶν ἔστι καὶ τότε γε Ἰώνων ἦν.

146. Τούτων δὴ εἶνεκα καὶ οἱ Ἰωνες δυὸδεκα πόλιας ἐποιήσαντο· ἐπεὶ ὡς γε τι μᾶλλον οὕτω Ἰωνες εἰσὶ τῶν ἄλλων Ἰωνων ἢ κάλλιον τι γεγονασι, μορίη πολλή λέγειν τῶν Ἀβαντες μὲν ἐξ Εὐβοίης εἰσὶ οὐκ ἐλαχίστῃ μοῦρα, τοῖς Ἰωνίης μέτα οὖδὲ τοῦ οὖνόματος οὐδέν, Μινύαι δὲ Ὀρχομένιοι σφί ἀναμεμίχαται καὶ Καδμείοι καὶ Δρύοπες καὶ Φοκεῖες ἀποδάσμιοι καὶ Μολοσσοί καὶ Ἀρκάδες Πελασγοί καὶ Δωρίες Ἑπιδαύριοι, ἄλλα τε ἔθνεα πολλὰ ἀναμεμίχαται· οἱ δὲ αὐτῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ πρυτανηίου του Ἀθηναίων ὀρμηθέντες καὶ νομίζοντες γεννιότατοι εἰναι Ἰώνων, οὕτω δὲ οὐ γυναικας ἡγάγοντο ἐς τὴν ἀποικίαν ἄλλα Καέρας ἑσχον, τῶν ἐφόνευσαν τοὺς γονέας. διὰ τοῦτον δὲ τὸν φόνον αἱ γυναικες αὐταὶ νόμου θέμεναι σφίσι αὐτής ὅρκους ἔπηλάσαν καὶ παρέδοσαν τῆς θυγατράσι, μὴ κοτε ὁμοσιτήσας τοῖς ἄνδρασι μηδὲ οὖνόματι βῶσαι τῶν ἔωντης ἄνδρα, τοῦτε εἶνεκα ὅτι ἐφόνευσαν σφέων τοὺς πατέρας καὶ
BOOK I. 145-146

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

146. For this reason the Ionians too made twelve cities, and for no other; for it were but foolishness to say that these are more truly Ionian or better born than the other Ionians; seeing that not the least part of them are Abantes from Euboea, who are not Ionians even in name, and that there are mingled with them Minyans of Orchomenus, Cadmeans, Dryopians, Phocian seceders from their nation, Molossians, Pelasgian Arcadians, Dorians of Epidaurus, and many other tribes; and as for those who came from the very town hall of Athens and deem themselves the best born of the Ionians, these did not bring wives with them to their settlements, but married Carian women whose parents they had put to death. For this slaughter, these women made a custom and bound themselves by oath (and enjoined the same on their daughters) that none would sit at meat with her husband nor call him by his name, because the men had married
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147. Ταῦτα δὲ ἦν γινόμενα ἐν Μιλήτῳ. βασιλέας δὲ ἐστήσαντο οἱ μὲν αὐτῶν Δυκίων ἀπὸ Γλαύκου τοῦ 'Ιππολόχου γεγονότας, οἱ δὲ Καύκωνας Πυλίους ἀπὸ Κόδρου τοῦ Μελάνθου, οἱ δὲ καὶ συναμφοτέρους. ἀλλὰ γὰρ περέχονται τοῦ οὐνόματος μᾶλλον τῷ τῶν ἄλλων 'Ιώνων, ἐστώσαν δὴ καὶ οἱ καθαρῶς γεγονότες 'Ἰωνες. εἰσὶ δὲ πάντες 'Ἰωνες ὅσοι ἀπ' Ἀθηνέων γεγόνασι καὶ Ἀπατούρια ἀγοῦσι ὅρτῃν· ἀγοῦσι δὲ πάντες πλὴν Ἑφεσίων καὶ Κολοφωνίων· οὕτω γὰρ μοῦνοι 'Ἰώνων οὐκ ἀγοῦσι Ἀπατούρια, καὶ οὕτω κατὰ φόνον τινα σκῆφων.

148. Τὸ δὲ Πανιώνιον ἐστὶ τῆς Μυκάλης χώρος ἱρὸς πρὸς ἀρκτον τετραμμένος, κοινὴ ἔξαραιρημένος ὑπὸ 'Ἰώνων Ποσειδέων Ἔλικωνίων. ἡ δὲ Μυκάλη ἐστὶ τῆς ἡπείρου ἀκρη πρὸς ξέφυρον ἄνεμον κατήκουσα Σάμῳς καταντίου, ἐς τὴν συλλεγόμενον ἀπὸ τῶν πολίων 'Ἰωνες ἀγέσκον ὅρτῃν τῇ ἕθεντο οὖνομα Πανιώνια. [πετόνθασι δὲ οὕτι μοῦναί αἰ 'Ἰώνων ὅρταί τοῦτο, ἀλλὰ καὶ Ἐλλήνων πάντων ὁμοίως πᾶσαι ἐς τῶν ἑρώτημα τελευτῶσι, κατὰ περ τῶν Περσῶν τὰ οὖνόματα.]¹

149. Αὐταὶ μὲν αἱ 'Ἰάδες πόλεις εἰσὶ, αἱδὲ δὲ αἱ Αἰολίδες, Κύμη θ' Φρικώνis καλεομένη, Δήρισαι, Νέον 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 α-ending of names of festivals was specially Ionic.

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them after slaying their fathers and husbands and sons.

147. This happened at Miletus. And for kings some of them chose Lycian descendants of 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. All do so keep it, saving the men of Ephesus and Colophon; these are the only Ionians who do not keep it, and these by reason, they say, of a certain deed of blood.

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

149. I have now told of the Ionian cities. The Aeolian cities are these:—Cyme (called "Phriconian"),\(^\text{2}\) Lerisae, "the New Fort," Temnos, Cilla,\(^\text{1}\) 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.
Αἱγυρόσσα, Πιτάνη, Αἰγαίαι, Μύρινα, Γρύνεια. αὕται ἑνδέκα Αἰολέων πόλιες αἱ ἀρχαίαι· μία γὰρ σφέων παρελύθη Σμύρνη ὑπὸ Ἐώνων· ἦσαν γὰρ καὶ αὕται δυόδεκα αἱ ἐν τῇ ἡπείρῳ. οὕτοι δὲ οἱ Ἀιολεῖς χώρην μὲν ἔτυχον κτίσαντες ἀμείω τῆς Ἐώνων, ὑδέων δὲ ἢκουσαν οὐκ ὁμοίως.

150. Σμύρνην δὲ ὅδε ἀπέβαλον Αἰολέαις. Κολοφωνίων ἄνδρας στάσι ἐσσωθέντας καὶ ἐκπεσόντας ἐκ τῆς πατρίδος ὑπεδέξαντο. μετὰ δὲ οἱ φυγάδες τῶν Κολοφωνίων φυλάξαντες τοὺς Σμυρναίους ὀρτὴν ἔξω τείχεος ποιεμένους Διονύσῳ, τὰς πύλας ἀποκλήσαντες ἔσχον τὴν πόλιν. βοηθησάντων δὲ πάντων Αἰολέων, ὀμολογή ἐχρήσαντο τὰ ἐπιπλα ἀποδόντον τῶν Ἐώνων ἔκλυσεν Σμύρνην Αἰολέασ. πουσάντων δὲ ταῦτα Σμυρναῖων ἐπιδιείλουτο σφέας αἱ ἑνδέκα πόλιες καὶ ἐποίησαντο σφέων αὐτέων πολιτάς.

151. Αὕται μὲν νῦν αἱ ἱππερώτιδες Αἰολίδες πόλιες, ἔξω τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἰδη οἰκημένων κεχωρίδαται γὰρ αὕται. αἱ δὲ τὰς νῆσους ἔχουσιν πέντε μὲν πόλις τῆς Δέσβου νέμονται (τὴν γὰρ ἐκτὴν ἐν τῇ Δέσβῳ οἰκημένην Ἀρίσβαν ἑνδραπόδισαν Μηθυμναίοι ἐόντας ὁμόίως), ἐν Τενέδῳ δὲ μία οἰκηταὶ πόλις, καὶ ἐν τῇ Ἔκατον νῆσοι καλεομένηι ἀλλη μία. Δεσβίοισι μὲν νῦν καὶ Τενεδίοισι, κατὰ περ Ἐώνων τοῖς τὰς νῆσους ἔχουσι, ἦν δειμὸν οὐδὲν· τῇ δὲ λοιπῇ πόλισι εἶδε κοινή Ἐώσι ἐπεσθαί τῇ ἄν οὕτω ἐξηγέωνται. 190
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 between them (there was a sixth on Lesbos, Arisba, but its people were enslaved by their kinsfolk of Methymna); there is one on Tenedos, and one again in the "Hundred isles" 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.

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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. Ὡς δὲ ἀπίκοντο ἐς τήν Ἐπάρτην τῶν Ἰώνων καὶ Ἀιολέων οἱ ἀγγελοὶ (κατὰ γὰρ δὴ τάχος ἦν ταῦτα πρησσόμενα), εἶδοντο πρὸ πάντων λέγειν τὸν Φωκαέα, τῷ οὖνομα ἦν Πῦθερμος. δὲ πορφύρεον τε εἶμα περιβαλόμενος, ὡς ἄν πυνθανόμενοι πλείστοι συνέλθοιεν Σπαρτιητέων, καὶ καταστὰς ἔλεγε πολλὰ τιμωρείειν ἐξωτοίοι χρηίζον. Δακεδαμόνοι δὲ οὐ κως ἐσήκουν, ἀλλ' ἀπέδοξε σφι μὴ τιμωρεῖειν 'Ἰωσί. οἱ μὲν δὴ ἀπαλλάσσοντο, Δακεδαμόνοι δὲ ἀπωσάμενοι τῶν Ἰώνων τοὺς ἀγγέλους ὃμως ἀπέστειλαν πεντηκοντερφό ἄνδρας, ὡς μὲν ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ, κατασκόπους τῶν τε Κύρου πρηγμάτων καὶ Ἰωνίης. ἀπικόμενοι δὲ οὗτοι ἐς Φώκαιαν ἐπεμπον ἐς Σάρδις σφέων αὐτῶν τὸν δοκιμώτατον, τῷ οὖνομα ἦν Δακρίνης, ἀπερέωντα Κύρῳ Δακεδαμόνιοιν ῥήσιν, ὡς τῆς Ἐλλάδος μηδεμίαν πόλιν συναμωρεῖν, ὡς αὐτῶν οὐ περιοψομένων.

153. Ταῦτα εἰσόντος τοῦ κήρυκος, λέγεται Κύρον ἐπειρέσθαι τοὺς παρεόντας οἱ Ἐλληνῶν τίνες ἔντες ἀνθρωποὶ Δακεδαμόνοι καὶ κόσοι πλήθος ταῦτα ἐντῦ προαγορεύουσιν. πυνθανόμενοι δὲ μιν εἰπεὶ πρὸ τοῦ κήρυκα τῶν Σπαρτιήτην "Οὐκ ἔδεισά καὶ ἄνδρας τοιούτους, τοῖς ἐστὶ χῶρος ἐν μέσῃ τῇ πόλι ἀποδεδεγμένοι ἐς τῶν συλλεγόμενοι ἀλλήλους ὁμνύντες ἔξαπατος τοῖς, ἂν ἐγὼ ὑγιαῖν, οὐ τὰ Ἰώνων πάθεα ἐσται ἐκλεσχα ἀλλὰ τὰ οἰκία." ταῦτα ἐς τοὺς πάντας Ἐλληνας ἀπέρριψε ὁ Κύρος τὰ ἔπεα, ὅτι ἀγορὰς στηρίζομεν ὃν ἄρ γράφοι καὶ πρήσι χρέωνται αὐτοὶ γὰρ οἱ Πέρσαι ἀγορῆσι οὐδεὶς ἐὼθασι χρᾶσθαι, οὐδὲ σφι ἐστὶ τὸ παράπαν ἀγορὴ. μετὰ ταῦτα ἐπιτρέψας.
152. So when the envoys of the Ionians and Aeolians came to Sparta (for this was set afoot with all speed) they chose the Phocaean, whose name was Pythermos, to speak for all. He then put on a purple cloak, that as many Spartans as possible might assemble to hear him, and stood up and made a long speech asking aid for his people. But the Lacedaemonians would not listen to him and refused to aid the Ionians. So the Ionians departed; but the Lacedaemonians, though they had rejected their envoys, did nevertheless send men in a ship of fifty oars to see (as I suppose) how it fared with Cyrus and Ionia. These, coming to Phocaea, sent Lacrines, who was the most esteemed among them, to Sardis, to repeat there to Cyrus a proclamation of the Lacedaemonians, that he must harm no city on Greek territory; else the Lacedaemonians would punish him.

153. When the herald had so spoken, Cyrus (it is said) asked the Greeks that were present who and how many in number were these Lacedaemonians who made him this declaration. When he was told, he said to the Spartan herald, "I never yet feared men who have a place set apart in the midst of their city where they perjure and deceive each other. These, if I keep my health, shall have their own mishaps to talk of, not those of the Ionians." This threat he uttered against the whole Greek nation, because they have market-places and buy and sell there; for the Persians themselves use no market-places, nor have they such at all. Presently,
τὰς μὲν Σάρδις Ταβάλων ἀνδρὶ Πέρσῃ, τὸν δὲ χρυσὸν τὸν τε Κροίσου καὶ τὸν τῶν ἄλλων Λυδῶν Πακτύης ἀνδρὶ Λυδῷ κομίζειν, ἰπῆλανυε αὐτὰς ἐς Ἀγβάτανα, Κροίσου τε ἁμα ἄγομενος καὶ τοὺς Ἰωνας ἐν οὐδενὶ λόγῳ ποιησάμενος τὴν πρώτην εἶναι. ἦ τε γὰρ Βαβυλῶν οἱ ἦν ἐμπόδιος· καὶ τὸ Βάκτριον ἔθνος καὶ Σάκαι τε καὶ Λυγύπτιοι, ἐπὶ οὗς ἐπείχε τε στρατηγατικαῖς αὐτῶς, ἐπὶ δὲ Ἰωνας ἄλλον πέμπειν στρατηγόν.

154. Ὡς δὲ ἀπῆλασε ὁ Κύρος ἐκ τῶν Σαρδίων, τοὺς Λυδούς ἀπέστησε ὁ Πακτύης ἀπὸ τε Ταβάλου καὶ Κύρου, καταβὰς δὲ ἐπὶ θάλασσαν, ἀτε τὸν χρυσὸν ἔχον πάντα τὸν ἐκ τῶν Σαρδίων, ἐπικούρους τε ἐμισοθύτο καὶ τοὺς ἐπιθαλασσίους ἄνθρωπους ἐπείδη σὺν ἐωτῇ στρατεύεσθαι. ἔλασσαν δὲ ἐπὶ τὰς Σάρδις ἐπολιόρκεις Τάβαλου ἀπεργ-μένου ἐν τῇ ἀκροπόλι.

155. Πυθόμενος δὲ κατ' ὅδον ταῦτα ὁ Κύρος εἶπε πρὸς Κροίσου τάδε: "Κροίσε, τί ἐσται τέλος τῶν γινομένων τούτων ἐμοὶ· οὐ παύσονται Λυδοί, ὡς οίκασι, πρήγματα παρέχοντες καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐχοντες. φροντίζω μὴ ἀριστον ἢ ἐξανδραποδί-σασθαι σφέας. ὅμοιος γὰρ μοι νῦν γε φαίνομαι πεποιηκέναι ὃς εἶ τις πατέρα ἀποκτέων τῶν παῖδων αὐτοῦ φείσατο· δὲ δὲ καὶ ἐγὼ Λυδῶν τὸν μὲν πλέον τι ἡ πατέρα ἔστα σὲ λαβῶν ἂγω, αὐτοῖς δὲ Λυδοῖς τὴν πόλιν παρέδωκα, καὶ ἐπείτα θωμάξῳ εἶ μοι ἀπεστασῆ·" ὥ μὲν δὴ τὰ περ ἐνδεε ἐλεγε, ὅ δὲ ἀμείβετο τοῖς διδε, διέσεις μη ἀναστάσους ποιήσῃ τὰς Σάρδις. "Ὤ βασιλεῦ, τὰ μὲν οἰκότα εἰρήκας, σὺ μέντοι μὴ πάντα θυμῷ χρέο, μηδὲ πόλιν ἀρχαίν ἐξαναστήσῃς ἀναμάρ-
entrusting Sardis to a Persian called Tabalus, and charging Pactyes, a Lydian, to bring the gold of Croesus and the Lydians, he himself marched away to Agbatana, taking with him Croesus, and at first making no account of the Ionians. For he had Babylon on his hands and the Bactrian nation and the Sacae and Egyptians; he was minded to lead an army himself against these and to send other forces against the Ionians.

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

155. When Cyrus had news of this on his journey, he said to Croesus, "What end am I to make, Croesus, of this business? it seems that the Lydians will never cease making trouble for me and for themselves. It is in my mind that it may be best to make slaves of them; for now methinks I have done like one that should slay the father and spare the children. So likewise I have taken with me you who were more than a father to the Lydians, and handed the city over to the Lydians themselves; and then forsooth I marvel that they revolt!" So Cyrus uttered his thought; but Croesus feared that he would destroy Sardis, and thus answered him: "O King, what you say is but reasonable. Yet do not ever yield to anger, nor destroy an ancient city that is guiltless both of
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τητον ἐόδσαν καὶ τῶν πρότερον καὶ τῶν νῦν ἐστεώτων. τὰ μὲν γὰρ πρότερον ἐγὼ τε ἐπρηξα καὶ ἐγὼ κεφαλὴ ἀναμάξας φέρω· τὰ δὲ νῦν παρεόντα Πακτύης γὰρ ἐστὶ ο ἄδικεων, τῷ σὺ ἐπέτρεψας Σάρδις, οὕτως δότω τοι δίκην. Λυ- δοῖσι δὲ συγγνώμην ἔχων τάδε αὐτοὶσι ἐπίταξου, ὥς μήτε ἀποστέωσι μήτε δεινοὶ τοι ἑωσί· ἀπειπε μὲν σφι πέμψας ὅπλα ἀρήμα μὴ ἐκτῆσθαι, κέλευε δὲ σφέας κινδώνας τε ὑποδύειν τοῖσι εἰμασί καὶ κοθόρνους ὑποδέσσθαι, πρὸειπε δ' αὐτοῖσι κιθαρί- ξεν τε καὶ ψάλλειν καὶ κατηλεύειν παιδεύειν τούς παῖδας. καὶ ταχέως σφέας ο βασιλεύς γυναῖκας ἀντ' ἀνδρῶν ὦφεαι γεγονότας, ὡστε οὐδὲν δεινοὶ
tοι ἐσοῦται μὴ ἀποστέωσι." 156. Κροίσος μὲν δὴ ταῦτά οἱ ὑπετίθετο, αἱρε- τότερα ταῦτα εὐρίσκων Λυδοῖσι ή ἀνδραποδι- σθέντας πρηθήκαι σφέας, ἐπιστάμενος ὅτι ἢν μὴ ἀξίωρεον πρόφασιν προτείνῃ, οὐκ ἀναπείσει μην μεταβουλεύσασθαι, ἀρρωδεόν δὲ μὴ καὶ ὑστερον
cotè οἱ Λυδοί, ἢν τὸ παρεῖν ῥπεκδράμωσι, ἀπο- στάντες ἀπὸ τῶν Περσέων ἀπόλολωνται. Κύρος δὲ ἡσθεὶς τῇ ὑποθήκῃ καὶ ὑπεῖς τῆς ὀργῆς ἐφη οἱ πειθέσσαν καλέσας δὲ Μαξὰρεα ἄνδρα Μήδουν, ταῦτα τε οἱ ἐνετελάτο προειπεῖν Λυδοῖσι τὰ ὁ Κροίσος ὑπετίθετο, καὶ πρὸς ἐξανδραποδίσασθαι τοὺς ἄλλους πάντας οἱ μετὰ Λυδῶν ἐπὶ Σάρδις ἑστρατεύσαντο, αὐτὸν δὲ Πακτύην πάντως ἐστὶ άγαγείν παρ' ἐωτὸν. 157. "Ὁ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα ἐκ τῆς ὅδου ἐντειλά- μενος ἀπήλαυνε ἐς ἴθεα τὰ Περσέων, Πακτύης δὲ πυθόμενος ἄγχοι εἶναι στρατὸν ἐπ' ἐωτὸν μίαν 

deisas oixeto feuywov es Kýmhn. Maξărhis de 196
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 ἐλάσαις ἐπὶ τὰς Σάρδις τοῦ Κύρου στρατοῦ μοίραν ὅσῃ δὴ κοτε ἔχει, ὡς οὐκ εὑρε ἔτι ἔοντας τοὺς ἀμφὶ Πακτύνην ἑν Σάρδισι, πρῶτα μὲν τοὺς Λυδοὺς ἡμάγκασε τὰς Κύρου ἐντολὰς ἐπιτελεῖν, ἐκ τούτοι δὲ κελευσμοσύνης Λυδοὶ τὴν πᾶσαν δίαιταν τῆς ζόης μετέβαλον. Μαζάρης δὲ μετὰ τούτῳ ἐπεμπε ἐς τὴν Κύμην ἀγγέλους ἐκδιδόναι κελεύων Πακτύνην. οἱ δὲ Κυμαίοι ἐγνωσαν συμ- βουλῆς πέρι ἐς θεοῦ ἀνοίσαι τὸν ἐν Βραγχίδῃς τὴν γὰρ αὐτὸθι μαντήμων ἐκ παιαίοι ἐδρυμένων, τῷ Ἰωνίᾳ τε πάντες καὶ Αἰολεῖς ἔωθεσαν χράσθαι. ὁ δὲ χώρος οὐτὸς ἐστὶ τῆς Μυλησίας ὑπὲρ Πανόρμου Λιμένος.

158. Πέμψαντες δὲν οἱ Κυμαίοι ἐς τοὺς Βραγχίδας θεοπρόττους εἰρότευν περὶ Πακτύνην ὅκοιν τι ποιέοντες θεοῖς μέλλονεν χαρεῖσθαι, ἐπειρω- τῶσι δὲ σφι ταῦτα χρηστήμων ἐγένετο ἐκδιδόναι Πακτύνην Πέρσηι. ταῦτα δὲ ὡς ἀπενειχθέντα ἤκουσαν οἱ Κυμαίοι, ὅρμεατο ἐκδιδόναι ὥρμη- μένου δὲ ταῦτῃ τοῦ πλήθεος, Ἀριστόδικος ὁ Ἡρακλείδεω ἀνὴρ τῶν ἀστῶν ἐδώ ὅκιμος ἐσχε μὴ ποίησαι ταῦτα Κυμαίους, ἀπιστεόμεν τε τῷ χρησμῷ καὶ δοκέων τοὺς θεοπρόττους ὧν λέγειν ἄλλῃς, ἢ ὁ τὸ δεύτερον περὶ Πακτύνω ἐπειρη- σόμενοι ἠσιαὶ ἄλλοι θεοπρόττοι, τῶν καὶ Ἀριστό- δικος ἦν.

159. Ἀπικομένων δὲ ἐς Βραγχίδας ἐχρηστη- ριάζετο ἐκ πάντων Ἀριστόδικος ἐπειρωτῶν τάδε. ἢ Ὄναξ, ἠλθε ταρ ἡμέας ἰκέτης Πακτύνης ὁ Λυδός, ἄγγεων θάνατου βίαιον πρὸς Περσέων οἱ δὲ μν ἐξετέονται, προεῖναι Κυμαίους κελεύοντες. ἡμεῖς δὲ δεμαίνοντες τὴν Περσέων δύναμιν τὸν ἰκέτην

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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
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έσ τόδε οὐ τετολμήκαμεν ἐκδιδόναι, πρὶν ἂν τὸ ἀπὸ σεῦ ἡμῶν δὴλωθῇ ἀτρεκέως ὁκότερα ποι- ἐωμεν." ο μὲν ταῦτα ἐπειρώτα, ο δ' αὐτές τὸν αὐτὸν σφὶ χρησμὸν ἐφαίνε, κελεύων ἐκδιδόναι Πακτύνην Πέρσης. πρὸς ταῦτα ὁ 'Αριστόδικος ἐκ προνοϊς ἐποίεε τάδε: περιών τὸν νηῦν κύκλῳ ἐξαίρετοι τοὺς στροφοὺς καὶ ἀλλα ὡς ἢν νεος- σεμένα ὀρνίθων γένεα ἐν τῷ νηῷ. ποιεό στος δὲ αὐτοῦ ταῦτα λέγεται φωνὴν ἐκ τοῦ ἀδύτου γε- νέσθαι φέρουσαν μὲν πρὸς τὸν Αριστόδικον, λέγουσαν δὲ τάδε "Ἀνοσσώτατε ἀνθρώπων, τῷ τάδε τολμᾶς ποιεῖν; τοὺς ἵκετας μον ἐκ τοῦ νηῦ κεραῖες;" Ἀριστόδικον δὲ οὐκ ἀπορήσασιν πρὸς ταῦτα εἰπείν "Ωναξ, αὐτὸς μὲν οὗτοι τοισὶ ἵκετης βοηθέεις, Κυμαιῶς δὲ κελεύεις τὸν ἵκετην ἐκδι- δόναι;" τὸν δὲ αὐτὸς ἀμείψασθαι τοίσιδε "Ναὶ κελεύσω, ἵνα γε ἀσεβησαντες θάσσων ἀπόλησθε, ὡς μῆ τὸ λοιπὸν περὶ ἱκετέων ἐκδόσιος ἐλθητε ἐπὶ τὸ χρηστήριον."

160. Ταῦτα ὡς ἀπενεχθέντα ἠκούσαν οἱ Κυ- μαῖοι, οὐ βουλόμενοι οὗτε ἐκδόντες ἀπολέσθαι οὗτε παρ' ἐσφαίρὶ ἐχοντες πολιορκέσθαι, ἐκπέμ- πουσι αὐτὸν ἐς Μυτιλήνην. οὶ δὲ Μυτιληναῖοι ἑπιτέμπουσι τοῦ Μαζάρεος ἀγγελίας ἐκδιδόναι τὸν Πακτύνην παρεσκευάζοντο ἐπὶ μισθῷ ὡς δὴ οὐ γὰρ ἔχω τοῦτο γε ἐιπείν ἀτρεκέως· οὐ γὰρ ἐτελεώθη. Κυμαῖοι γὰρ ὡς ἐμαθον ταῦτα προη- σόμενα ἐκ τῶν Μυτιληναίων, πέμψαντες πλοίον ἐς Δέσβου ἐκκομίζουσι Πακτύνην ἐς Χίον. ἐνθεύτεν δὲ ἐξ ἰροῦ 'Αθηναὶς πολιούχοι ἀποσπασθεῖς ὑπὸ Χίων ἐξεδόθη· ἐξέδοσαν δὲ οἱ Χίοι ἐπὶ τῷ 'Αταρνει μισθῷ· τοῦ δὲ 'Αταρνέος τούτου ἐστὶ χώρος

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to give up this our suppliant, until thy will be clearly made known to us, whether we shall do this or not." Thus Aristodicus questioned; and the god gave again the same answer, that Pactyes should be delivered up to the Persians. With that Aristodicus did as he had already purposed; he went round about the temple, and stole away the sparrows and all other families of nestling birds that were in it. But while he so did, a voice (they say) came out of the inner shrine calling to Aristodicus, and saying, "Thou wickedest of men, wherefore darest thou do this? wilt thou rob my temple of those that take refuge with me?" Then Aristodicus had his answer ready: "O King," said he, "wilt thou thus save thine own suppliants, yet bid the men of Cyme deliver up theirs?" But the god made answer, "Yea, I do bid them, that ye may the sooner perish for your impiety, and never again come to inquire of my oracle concerning the giving up of them that seek refuge with you."

160. When this answer was brought to the hearing of the Cymaeans they sent Pactyes away to Mytilene; for they desired neither to perish for delivering him up nor to be besieged for keeping him with them. Then Mazares sent a message to Mytilene demanding the surrender of Pactyes, and the 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
τῆς Μυσίς, Λέσβου ἀντίος. Πακτύην μὲν νυν παραδεξάμενοι οἱ Πέρσαι εἶχον ἐν φυλακῇ, θελοντες Κύρῳ ἀποδέξασθαι. Ἡν δὲ χρόνος οὗτος οὐκ ὁλίγοις γινόμενος, οῦτε Χίων οὔδεὶς ἐκ τοῦ Ἀταρνεός τούτου οὔτε οὐλάς κριθέων πρόχυσιν ἐποιεῖτο θεῶν οὔδειν οὔτε πέμματα ἐπέσσετο καρποῦ τοῦ ἐνθεύτεν, ἀπείχετο τε τῶν πάντων ἱρῶν τὰ πάντα ἐκ τῆς χώρης ταύτης γινόμενα.

161. Χίοι μὲν νυν Πακτύην ἐξέδοσαν. Μαζάρης δὲ μετὰ ταύτα ἐστρατεύετο ἐπὶ τοὺς συμπολιορκήσαντας Τάβαλον, καὶ τούτῳ μὲν Πριηνέας ἔξην-δραπόδισατο, τούτῳ δὲ Μαιάνδρου πεδίον πᾶν ἐπέδραμε λήπην ποιεύμενος τῷ στρατῷ, Μαγηνησίην τε ὦσαύτως. μετὰ δὲ ταύτα αὐτίκα νοῦσῳ τελευτᾶ.

162. Ἀποθανόντος δὲ τούτου, "Ἀρταγός κατέβη διάδοχος τῆς στρατηγίας, γένος καὶ αὐτὸς ἐὼν Μῆδος, τὸν ὁ Μῆδων βασιλεὺς Ἀστυάγης ἄνωμο τραπέζῃ ἔδαυσε, ὁ τῷ Κύρῳ τὴν βασιλῆν συγκατεργασάμενος. οὗτος ὁ νήρ τότε ὑπὸ Κύρου στρατηγὸς ἀποδεχθεῖς ὡς ἀπίκετο ἐς τὴν Ἰωνίην, αἱρεῖ τὰς πόλιας χώμασι: ὅκως γὰρ τειχίσας ποιήσει, τὸ ἐνθεύτεν χώματα χῶν πρὸς τὰ τείχεα ἐπόρθεε.

163. Πρώτῃ δὲ Φωκαίᾳ Ἰωνίης ἐπεχείρησε. οἱ δὲ Φωκαιέες οὗτοι ναυτιλήσι μακρὴσι πρῶτοι Ἐλλήνων ἐχρήσαντο, καὶ τὸν τε Ἀδρινὸ καὶ τὴν Τυρσηνίην καὶ τὴν Ἰβηρίην καὶ τὸν Ταρτησσὸν οὗτοι εἰσὶ οἱ καταδέξαντες· ἐναυτίλ-λυντο δὲ οὐ στροφύλησι νυσσοῦ ἀλλὰ πεντηκοντέρους· ἀπικόμενοι δὲ ἐς τὸν Ταρτησσὸν προσ-μιλεῖς ἐγένοντο τῷ βασιλεῖ τῶν Ταρτησσῶν,

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in Mysia over against Lesbos. The Persians thus received Pactyes and kept him guarded, that they might show him to Cyrus; and for a long time no Chian would offer sacrifice of barley meal from this land of Atarneus to any god, or make sacrificial cakes of what grew there; nothing that came from that country might be used for any sacred rite.

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

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

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

¹ The lower valley of the Guadalquivir. Later Tartessus was identified with Gades (Cadiz), which Herodotus (iv. 8) calls Gadira.
τὸ οὖνομα μὲν ἂν Ἐργανθώνιος, ἐτυράννευσε δὲ Ταρτησσοῦ ὑγδόκοντα ἔτεα, ἐβίωσε δὲ πάντα εῖκοσι καὶ ἑκατὸν. τούτω δὴ τὸ ἀνδρὶ προσφιλέεις οἱ Φωκαίες οὖτο δὴ τι ἐγένοντο ὡς τὰ μὲν πρῶτα σφέας ἐκλιπόντας Ἰωνίην ἐκέλευε τῆς ἐωτοῦ χώρης οἰκήσαι ὁκον βούλονται: μετὰ δὲ, ὥς τούτο γε οὐκ ἔπειθε τοὺς Φωκαίες, ὃ δὲ πυθόμενος τὸν Μῆδον παρ' αὐτῶν ὡς αὐξότω, ἐδίδου σφὶ χρήματα τείχος περιβάλεσθαι τὴν πόλιν, ἐδίδου δὲ ἀφειδέως καὶ γὰρ καὶ ἡ περίοδος τοῦ τείχους οὐκ ὅλιγοι στάδιοι εἰσὶ, τοῦτο δὲ πᾶν λίθων μεγάλων καὶ εὖ συναρμοσμένων.

164. Τὸ μὲν δὴ τείχος τοῖσι Φωκαίεισι τρόπῳ τοιῶδε ἔξεπτοιήθη. ὁ δὲ Ἀρπαγος ὡς ἐπῆλασε τὴν στρατηγὴν, ἐπολιόρκησε αὐτοὺς, προϊσχόμενος ἔπεα ὡς οἱ καταχρᾶτοι βοῦλονται Φωκαίες προμαχεῖνα ἕνα μοῦνον τοῦ τείχους ἔρειψαι καὶ οἰκήμα ἐν κατηρώσασι. οἱ δὲ Φωκαίες περιημεκτέοντες τῇ δουλοσύνῃ ἔφασαν θέλειν βουλεύσασθαι ἡμέρῃ μίαν καὶ ἔπειτα ὑποκρινέσθαι· ἐν δὲ βουλεύσασθαι αὐτοῖ, ἀπαγαγείν ἐκεῖνον ἐκέλευον τὴν στρατηγὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχους. ὁ δὲ Ἀρπαγος ἐφη εἰδέναι μὲν εὖ τὰ ἐκεῖνοι μέλλοις ποιέων, ὠμος δὲ σφὶ παρεῖναι βουλεύσασθαι. ἐν δὲ ὅν ὁ Ἀρπαγὸς ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχους ἀπῆγαγα τὴν στρατηγὴν, οἱ Φωκαίες ἐν τούτῳ καταστάσασαντες τὰς πεντηκοντάρους, ἐσθέμενοι τέκνα καὶ γυναῖκας καὶ ἐπιπλα πάντα, πρὸς δὲ καὶ τὰ ἀγάλματα τὰ ἐκ τῶν ἱρῶν καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ἄναθήματα, χωρὶς δὲ τὶ χαλκὸς ἢ λίθος ἢ γράφη ἢν, τὰ δὲ ἄλλα πάντα ἐσθέντες καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐσβάντες ἐπὶ Χίου. τὴν δὲ Φωκαίην ἐρημωθεῖσαν ἀνδρῶν ἔσχοι 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 Φωκαίες, ἐπείτε σφι Χίοι τὰς νήσους τὰς Ὀινούσσας καλεομένας οὐκ ἐβοῦλοντο ὀνευμένοισι πολέειν, δειμαίνοντες μὴ αὐτής μὲν ἐμ-πόριον γένωνται, ἢ δὲ αὐτῶν νῆσος ἀποκλημεθή τούτων εἶνεκα, πρὸς ταῦτα οἱ Φωκαίες ἐστέλλοντο ἐς Κύρνον· ἐν γὰρ τῇ Κύρνῳ εἶκοσι ἐτεσί πρότερον τούτων ἐκ θεσπροπίου ἀνεστήσαντο πόλιν, τῇ οὖνομα ἵνα Ἀλαλίη. Ἀργανθώνιος δὲ την-καύτα ἥδη τετελευτήκεε. στελλόμενοι δὲ ἐπι τὴν Κύρνου, πρώτα καταπλεύσαντες ἐς τὴν Φωκαίην κατεφόνευσαν τῶν Περσέων τὴν φυλακήν, ἡ ἐφρούρεε παραδεξαμένη παρὰ Ἀρπάγον τὴν πόλιν. μετὰ δὲ, ὡς τοῦτο σφι ἐξέρχαστο, ἐπουη-σαντο ἰσχυρὰς κατάρας τῷ ὑπολειπομενῷ ἐωντῶν τοῦ στόλου, πρὸς δὲ ταύτησι καὶ μύδρων σιδήρεων κατεπόντωσαν καὶ ὠμοσαν μὴ πρὶν ἐς Φωκαίην ἦξειν πρὶν ἢ τῶν μύδρων τούτων ἀναφανῆαι. στελλόμενοι δὲ αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τὴν Κύρνου, ὑπερη-μίσεας τῶν ἀστῶν ἔλαβε πόθος τε καὶ οίκτος τῆς πόλιος καὶ τῶν ἡθέων τῆς χώρης, ψευδόρκιοι δὲ γενόμενοι ἀπέπλεον ὅπισώ ἐς τὴν Φωκαίην. οὐ δὲ αὐτῶν τὸ ὀρκίου ἐφύλασσον, ἀερθέντες ἐκ τῶν Ὀινούσσεων ἐπίλευσαν.

166. Ἐπείτε δὲ ἐς τὴν Κύρνου ἀπίκουντο, οἴκεου κοινῆ μετὰ τῶν πρότερον ἀπικομενών ἐπ' ἔτεα πέντε, καὶ ἵνα ἐνιδρύσαντο. καὶ ἦγον γὰρ δὴ καὶ ἐφερον τοὺς περιόκους ἀπαντας, στρατεύ-ονται δὲ ἐπ' αὐτοῦς κοινῆ λόγῳ χρησάμενοι Τυρσηνοὶ καὶ Καρχηδόνιοι, νηυσὶ ἐκάτεροι ἐξήκοντα. οἱ δὲ Φωκαίες πληρώσαντες καὶ αὐτὸλ τὰ πλοῖα, ἔοντα ἀριθμὸν ἐξήκοντα, ἀντίαξον ἐς τὸ Σαρδόνιον καλεομένου 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 Tyrrhenians and Carchedonians made common cause against them, and sailed to attack them each with sixty ships. The Phocaeans also manned their ships, sixty in number, and met the enemy in the sea called Sardonian. They joined

1 Between Chios and the mainland.
2 Corsica.
γόντων δὲ τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ Καδμείᾳ τις νίκη τοῖς Φωκαιεύσι ἐγένετο· αἱ μὲν γὰρ τεσσεράκοντά σφι νέας διεφθάρησαν, αἱ δὲ εἶκοσι αἱ περιεσοῦσιν ᾦσαν ἄχρηστοι· ἀπεστράφατο γὰρ τοὺς ἐμβόλους. καταπλώσαντες δὲ ἐσ τὴν Ἀλαλίνην ἀνέλαβον τὰ τέκνα καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας καὶ τὴν ἄλλην κτῆσιν ὡς εἰς τοὺς αἱ νέας σφι ἄγειν, καὶ ἔπειτα ἀπέντες τὴν Κύριον ἐπλεον ἔσ Ρήγμον.

167. Τὸν δὲ διαφθαρεισέων νεῶν τοὺς ἄνδρας οἳ τε Καρχηδόνιοι καὶ οἳ Τυρσηνοὶ [διέλαχον, τὸν δὲ Τυρσηνῶν οἳ Ἀγυλλαῖοι] ἐλαχὸν τε αὐτῶν πολλῷ πλεῖστοις καὶ τοῦτοις ἐξαγαγόντες κατέλευσαν. μετὰ δὲ Ἀγυλλαῖοις πάντα τὰ παριόντα τὸν χῶρον, ἐν τῷ οἳ Φωκαιές καταλεύσθησεν ἐκέαστο, ἐγίνετο διάστροφα καὶ ἐμπηρα καὶ ἀπόπληκτα, ὅμως πρόβατα καὶ ὑποξύγια καὶ ἄνθρωποι. οἳ δὲ Ἀγυλλαῖοι ἐσ Ὀλφοὺς ἐπέμπον βουλόμενοι ἀκέσασθαι τῇ οἱμαρτάδα. ἢ δὲ Πυθίη σφέας ἐκέλευσε ποιέειν τὰ καὶ νῦν οἳ Ἀγυλλαῖοι ἔτι ἐπιτελεύσαν. καὶ γὰρ ἐναγι-ξουσί σφι μεγάλως καὶ ἀγώνα γυμνικὸν καὶ ἑττικὸν ἐπιστάσθησαν καὶ οὕτωις μὲν τῶν Φωκαιέων τουούτῳ μόρῳ διεχρήσαντο, οἳ δὲ αὐτῶν ἐσ τὸ Ρήγμον καταφυγόντες ἐνθεύτεν ὀρμώμενοι ἐκτή-σαντο πόλιν γῆς τῆς Οἰνωτρίης ταύτην ἥτις νῦν 'Τέλη καλέσαν· ἐκτισάν δὲ ταύτην πρὸς ἄνδρος Ποσειδωνιτέως μαθόντες ως τὸν Κύριον σφι ἢ Πυθίη ἔχρησε κτίσαι ἢρων ἐόντα, ἀλλ' οὐ τὴν νῆσον.

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

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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 Hyele; this they founded because they learnt from a man of Posidonia that when the Pythian priestess spoke of founding a settlement and of Cyrnus, it was the hero that she signified and not the island.

1 Polynices and Eteocles, sons of Oedipus and descendants of Cadmus, fought for the possession of Thebes and killed each other. Hence a Cadmean victory means one where victor and vanquished suffer alike.
2 Later Caere in Etruria.
3 Oenotria corresponds to Southern Italy (the Lucania and Bruttium of Roman history).
4 Later Elea (Velia).
168. Φωκαίης μέν νυν πέρι τής ἐν Ἰωνίη οὔτω ἔσχε, παραπλήσια δὲ τούτου ποι ὑπὸ τῷ Θηγήσαν. ἔπειτε γὰρ σφέων εἶλε χώματι τὸ τεῖχος Ἀρπαγος, ἐσβάντες πάντες ἐς τὰ πλοῖα οἴχοντο πλέοντες ἐπὶ τῆς Θρήκης, καὶ ἐνθαῦτα ἐκτίσαν πόλιν Ἀβδηρα, τὴν πρότερον τούτων Κλαζομένιος Τιμήσιος κτίσας οὐκ ἀπόνητο, ἀλλ’ ὕπο Θρήκεων ἐξελάσθεις τιμᾶς νῦν ὑπὸ Τηλών τῶν ἐν Ἀβδηροισί ὡς ἦρως ἔχει.

169. Οὕτω μὲν νυν Ἰωνων μοῦνοι τὴν δουλοσύνην οὐκ ἀνεχόμενοι ἐξέλιπτον τὰς πατρίδας· οἱ δ’ ἄλλοι Ἰωνεῖς πλὴν Μιλησίων διὰ μάχης μὲν ἀπίκοντο Ἀρπάγω κατὰ περ οἱ ἐκλεπτόντες, καὶ ἄνδρες ἐγένοντο ἀγαθοὶ περὶ τῆς ἑωυτοῦ ἐκαστος μαχόμενοι, ἐσσωθέντες δὲ καὶ ἀλόντες ἐμενον κατὰ χώρην ἐκαστοι καὶ τὰ ἐπιτασσόμενα ἐπετέλεον. Μιλησίοι δὲ, ὡς καὶ πρότερον μοι εἰρηται, αὐτὸν Κύρω ὄρκιον ποιησάμενοι ἱσυχίην ἤγουν. οὔτω δὴ τὸ δεύτερον Ἰωνίη ἐδεδούλωτο. ὡς δὲ τοὺς ἐν τῇ ἡπείρῳ Ἰωνας ἐχειρόσατο Ἀρπαγος, οἱ τὰς νῆσους ἔχοντες Ἰωνεῖς καταρρωδήςαντες ταῦτα σφέας αὐτοὺς ἔδοσαν Κύρῳ.

170. Κεκακωμένων δὲ Ἰωνων καὶ συλλεγομένων οὐδὲν ἦσον ἐς τὸ Πανιώνιον, τυνθάνομαι γνώμην Βίαντα ἄνδρα Πρηνέα ὁποδέξασθαι Ἰωσι χρησιμωτάτην, τῇ εἰ ἐπείθοντο, παρεῖχε ἀν σφε εὐδαιμονείων Ἐλλήνων μάλιστα· ὅσ᾽ ἐκέλευε κοινῷ στόλῳ Ἰωνας αἰρθέντας πλέον ἐς Σαρδῶ καὶ ἐπείτα πόλιν μίαν κτίζειν πάντων Ἰωνων, καὶ οὔτω ἀπαλλαχθέντας σφέας δουλοσύνης εὐδαιμονήσειν, νῆσων τε ἀπασέων μεγίστην νεμομένους καὶ ἅρχοντας ἄλλων· μένουσι δὲ σφε 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 ὦκ ἐφὴ ἐνορᾶν ἐλευθερίην ἔτι ἐσομένην. αὕτη μὲν Βίαντος τοῦ Προηνέος γνώμη ἔπι διε-
φθαρμένοις 'Ιωσί γενομένην, χρηστή δὲ καὶ πρὶν
ἡ διαφθαρῆιν 'Ιωνίην Θάλεω ἀνδρὸς Μιλησίουν
ἐγένετο, τὸ ἀνέκαθεν γένος ἐόντος Φοίνικος, ὃς
ἐκέλευεν ἐν βουλευτήριον Ἰώνας ἐκτήσθαι, τὸ δὲ
εἶναι ἐν Τέσω (Τέσω γὰρ μέσον εἶναι 'Ιωνίης), τὰς
δὲ ἄλλας πόλιας οἰκεομένας μηδὲν ἕσσον νομί-
ζεσθαι κατὰ περ εἰ δὴμοι εἰείν· οὕτοι μὲν δὴ σφῖ
γνώμας τοιάσοδε ὑπεδέξαντο.

171. Ἀρσαγός δὲ καταστρεψάμενος 'Ιωνίην
ἐποίετο στρατήγην ἐπὶ Κάρρας καὶ Καυνίους καὶ
Δυκίους, ἀμα ἀγόμενος καὶ 'Ἰωνας καὶ Αἰολέας.
εἰσὶ δὲ τοῦτων Κάρρες μὲν ἀπιγμένοι ἐς τὴν ἦπειρον
ἐκ τῶν νῆσον. τὸ γὰρ παλαιὸν ἐόντες Μίνω κατή-
κοι καὶ καλέομενοι Δέλεγες εἶχον τὰς νῆσους,
φόρον μὲν οὐδένα ὑποτελέοντες, ὡς καὶ ἐγὼ
δυνατός εἰμι ἐπὶ μακρότατον ἐξικέσθαι ἀκοή· οὐ
δὲ, ὅκως Μίνως δέοιτο, ἐπλήρουν οἱ τὰς νέας. ἄτε
δὴ Μίνω τε καταστραμμένου γῆν πολλήν καὶ εὐ-
tυχέοντος τῷ πολέμῳ, τὸ Καρμκὸν ἦν ἔθνος λογι-
μοτατον τῶν ἐθνῶν ἀπάντων κατὰ τούτον ἀμα
τὸν χρόνον μακρὸ μάλιστα. καὶ σφὶ τρίξα
ἐξευρήματα ἐγένετο, τοῖσι οἱ "Ἐλληνες ἐχρήσαντο·
καὶ γὰρ ἐπὶ τὰ κράνεα λόφους ἐπιδέεσθαι Κάρρες
εἰσὶ οἱ καταδέξαντες καὶ ἐπὶ τὰς ἀσπίδας τὰ
σημά να ποιέσθαι, καὶ ὄχανα ἀσπίζει οὕτοι εἰσὶ οἱ
ποιησάμενοι πρῶτοι. τέως δὲ ἄνειν ὄχανων ἐφόρεον
τὰς ἀσπίδας πάντες οἱ περ ἐώθεςαν ἀσπίζοι χρά-
σθαι, τελαμώσει σκυτώσει οἰκηκίζοντες, περὶ τοῖσι
αὐχέσι τε καὶ τοῖσι ἀριστεροῖσι οἱ οὕμοι περικεί-
said) no hope of freedom for them. Such was the counsel which Bias of Priene gave after the destruction of the Ionians; and good also was that given before the destruction by Thales of Miletus, a Phoenician by descent; he would have had the Ionians make one common place of counsel, which should be in Teos, for that was the centre of Ionia; and the state of the other cities should be held to be no other than if they were but townships. Thus Bias and Thales advised.

171. Harpagus, after subduing Ionia, made an expedition against the Carians, Caunians, and Lycians, taking with him Ionians and Aeolians. Now among these the Carians were a people who had come to the mainland from the islands; for in old time they were islanders, called Leleges and under the rule of Minos, not (as far as I can learn by hearsay) paying him tribute, but manning ships for him when he needed them. Seeing then that Minos had subdued much territory to himself and was victorious in war, this made the Carians too at that time to be very far the most regarded of all nations. Three things they invented in which they were followed by the Greeks: it was the Carians who first taught the wearing of crests on their helmets and devices on their shields, and who first made for their shields holders; till then all who used shields carried them without these holders, and guided them with leathern baldrics which they slung round
μενοι. μετὰ δὲ τοὺς Κάρας χρόνῳ ὕστερον πολλῷ
Δωρίες τε καὶ Ἰωνεῖς ἐξανέστησαν ἐκ τῶν νῆσων,
καὶ οὗτοι ἐς τὴν ἥπειρον ἀπίκουντο. κατὰ μὲν δὴ
Κάρας οὗτοι Κρῆτες λέγουσι γενέσθαι οὖ μέντοι
αὐτοῖ γε ὀμολογεύονσι τούτοις οἱ Κάρες, ἀλλὰ
νομίζουσι αὐτοὶ ἑώτυτος εἶναι αὐτόχθονας ἡπει-
ρώτας, καὶ τῷ οὐνόματι τῷ αὐτῷ αἰεὶ διαχρεωμέ-
νους τῷ περ ὑν. ἀποδεικνύσι δὲ ἐν Μυλάσσουι
Δίως Καρίου ίρὸν ἀρχαῖον, τοῦ Μυσοῦι μὲν καὶ
Λυδοὶς μέτεστι ὡς κασιγνήτουι ἐουσί τοῖς
Καρσί· τὸν γὰρ Λυδὸν καὶ τὸν Μυσὸν λέγουσι
εἶναι Καρὸς ἀδελφεούς. τούτοις μὲν δὴ μέτεστι,
ὅσοι δὲ ἔσοντες ἄλλου ἐθνος ὀμόγλωσσοι τοῖς
Καρσί ἐγένοντο, τούτοις δὲ οὐ μέτα.
172. Οἱ δὲ Καύνιοι αὐτόχθονες δοκεῖειν ἐμοὶ
eἰσί, αὐτοὶ μέντοι ἐκ Κρῆτης φασὶ εἶναι. προσ-
κεχωρήκασι δὲ γλώσσαν μὲν πρὸς τὸ Καρικὸν
ἐθνος, ἢ οἱ Κάρες πρὸς τὸ Καυνικὸν (τοῦτο γὰρ
οὐκ ἔχω ἀτρεκέως διακρίναι), νόμοις δὲ χρέωνται
κεχωρισμένοις πολλοῖς τῶν τε ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων
καὶ Καρὼν. τοῖς γὰρ κάλλιστον ἐστὶ κατ’
ἡλικίᾳ τε καὶ φιλότητα εἰλαδὸν συγγίνεσθαι ἐς
πόσιν, καὶ ἀνδράσι καὶ γυναιξί καὶ παισί. ἱδρυ-
θέντων δὲ σφί ἱρῶν ἕξειν, μετέπειτα ὡς σφί
ἀπέδοξε, ἐδοξὲ δὲ τοῖς πατρίοις μοῦνον χρᾶσθαι
θεοῦς, ἐνδύντες τὰ ὅπλα ἀπαντες Καύνιοι ἡβηδόν,
τύπτοντες δόρασι τὸν ἥρα, μέχρι οὖρων τῶν
Καλυνδικῶν εἴποντο, καὶ ἐφασαν ἐκβάλλειν τοὺς
ξεινικοὺς θεοὺς.
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the neck and over the left shoulder. Then, a long time afterwards, the Carians were driven from the islands by 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 speaking the same language as the Carians.

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

1 This is the management of the Homeric "man-covering" shield, as shown in the Iliad. The shield is not carried on the arm, but hangs by a belt which passes over the left shoulder and under the right arm-pit; by a pull on the τελαμών it can be shifted so as to protect breast or back.
173. Καὶ οὗτοι μὲν τρόποισι τοιούτοισι χρέονται, οἱ δὲ Λύκιοι ἐκ Κρήτης τῷ ῥόχαδίῳ γεγόνασι (τὴν γὰρ Κρήτην ἔχουν τὸ παλαιὸν πᾶσαν βάρ-βαροι). διευκέεντοι δὲ ἐν Κρήτῃ περὶ τῆς βασιλείας τῶν Εὐρώπης παῖδον Σαρπηνδόνος τε καὶ Μίνω, ὡς ἐπεκράτησε τῇ στάσι τοῦ Μίνω, ἐξηλασε αὐτὸν τε Σαρπηνδόνα καὶ τοὺς στασιώτας αὐτοῦ, οἳ δὲ ἀπωσθέντες ἀπίκουντο τῆς 'Ἀσίνης ἦς γῆν τῆς Μιλνάδα. τὴν γὰρ ὑνὶ Λύκιοι νέμονται, αὗτῆ τὸ παλαιὸν ἦν Μιλνα, οἳ δὲ Μιλναὶ τότε Σόλυμοι ἐκαλέοντο. ἦσοι μὲν δὲ αὐτῶν Σαρπηνδῶν ἦρξα, οἳ δὲ ἐκαλέοντο τὸ πέρ περὶ τῆς ἦνεικαντο ὀνύμωνα καὶ νῦν ἔτι καλέονται υπὸ τῶν περιοίκων οἳ Λύκιοι, Τερμίλας ὁς δὲ ἔξε 'Αθηνέων Λύκος ὁ Πανδίονος, ἐξελασθεὶς καὶ οὕτως ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀδελ-ϕεοῦ Αὐγέος, ἀπίκετο ἐς τοὺς Τερμίλας παρὰ Σαρπηνδόνα, οὗτῳ δὴ κατὰ τὸν Λύκου τὴν ἐπωνυμίην Λύκιοι ἀνὰ χρόνων ἐκλήθησαν. νόμοισι δὲ τὰ μὲν Κρήτικοις τὰ δὲ Καρικοῖς χρέονται. ἦν δὲ τὸ ἰδίον νεομίκασι καὶ οὐδαμοίς ἀλλοισι συμφέρονται ἀνθρώπων καλέοντι ἀπὸ τῶν μητέρων ἐωυτοὺς καὶ οὐκὶ ἀπὸ τῶν πατέρων εἰρμένου δὲ ἐτέρου τῶν πλησίον τῆς ἐις, καταλέξει ἐωυτῶν μητρόθεν καὶ τῆς μητρὸς ἀνανεμέεται τάς μητέρας. καὶ ἦν μὲν γε γυνὴ ἀστῇ δούλῳ συνοικήσῃ, γενναία τὰ τέκνα νεόμισται. ἦν δὲ ἀνήρ ἀστός καὶ ὁ πρῶτος αὐτῶν γυναίκα ξείνη ἡ παλλακῆν ἔχη, ἀτιμὰ τὰ τέκνα γίνεται.

174. Οἱ μὲν νῦν Κάρεσι οὐδὲν λαμπρὸν ἔργον ἀποδεξάμενοι ἐδοιλώθησαν ὑπὸ Ἀρτάγου, οὗτοι αὐτοὶ οἱ Κάρεσι ἀποδεξάμενοι οὐδέν, οὗτος δὲ οἵοι 'Ελλήνων ταύτην τὴν χώρην οἰκέους: οἰκέουσι. 216
173. Such are their fashions. The Lycians were of Crete in ancient times (for of old none that dwelt in Crete were Greek). Now there was a dispute in Crete about the royal power between Sarpedon and Minos, sons of Europe; Minos prevailed in this division and drove out Sarpedon and his partisans who, being thrust out, came to the Milyan land in Asia. What is now possessed by the Lycians was of old Milyan, and the Milyans were then called Solymi. For a while Sarpedon ruled them, and the people were called Termilae, which was the name that they had brought with them and that is still given to the Lycians by their neighbours; but after the coming of Lycus son of Pandion—another exile, banished by his brother Aegeus—to join Sarpedon in the land of the Termilae, they came in time to be called Lycians after Lycus. Their customs are in part Cretan and in part Carian. But they have one which is their own and shared by no other men; they take their names not from their fathers but from their mothers; and when one is asked by his neighbour who he is, he will say that he is the son of such a mother, and recount the mothers of his mother. Nay, if a woman of full rights marry a slave, her children are deemed pure-born; and if a true-born Lycian man take a stranger wife or concubine, the children are dishonoured, though he be the first in the land.

174. Neither then the Carians nor any Greeks who dwell in this country did any deed of note before they were all enslaved by Harpagus.
δὲ καὶ ἄλλοι καὶ Λακεδαιμονίων ἀποικοὶ Κνίδιοι. οἱ τῆς χώρης τῆς σφετέρης τετραμμένης ἐς πόντον, τὸ δὴ Τριόπιον καλέσαι, ἀργμένης δὲ ἐκ τῆς Χερσονήσου τῆς Βυβασσίας, ἐούς τε πάσης τῆς Κνίδίης πλὴν ὀλύγης περιρρόου (τὰ μὲν γὰρ αὐτῆς πρὸς βορέῃ ἄνεμον ὁ Κεραμεικὸς κόλπος ἀπέργεται, τὰ δὲ πρὸς νότου ἢ κατὰ Σύμην τε καὶ Ἄρδων θάλασσα), τὸ δὲ ὀλὴν τοῦτο, ἕως ὡς τε ἐπὶ πέντε στάδια, ὡρυσοῦν οἱ Κνίδιοι ἐν ὁσῳ Ἀρταγόσ τὴν Ἰωνίην κατεστρέφετο, βουλόμενοι νῆσον τὴν χώρην ποιῆσαι. ἐντὸς δὲ πᾶσα σφι ἐγίνετο: τῇ γαρ ἡ Κνίδιη χώρη ἐς τὴν ἑπειρον τελευτᾷ, ταύτη ὁ ἱσθμός ἐστι τῶν ὡρυσοῦν. καὶ δὴ πολλὴ χειρὶ ἐργαζόμενων τῶν Κνίδίων, μᾶλλον γὰρ τι καὶ θειότερον ἐφαίνοντο τιτρώσκεσθαι οἱ ἐργαζόμενοι τοῦ οἰκότος τὰ τε ἄλλα τοῦ σώματος καὶ μάλιστα τὰ περὶ τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς θραυσμένης τῆς πέτρης, ἐπεμποῦν ἐς Δελφοὺς θεοπρόπους ἐπειρησιμένους τὸ ἀντίξουν. ἦ δὲ Πυθίη σφι, ὡς αὐτοὶ Κνίδιοι λέγουσι, χρὰ ἐν τριμέτρῳ τῶν τάδε.

'Ἰσθμὸν δὲ μὴ πυργοῦτε μηδ' ὡρύσσετε. Ζεὺς γὰρ κ' ἐθηκε νῆσον, εἰ κ' ἐβούλετο.

Κνίδιοι μὲν ταῦτα τῆς Πυθίης χρησάσης τοῦ τε ὀρύγματος ἑπαύσαντο καὶ Ἀρτᾶγός ἐπιοῦστι σὺν τῷ στρατῷ ἀμαχητες σφέας αὐτοὺς παρέδοσαν.

175. Ἡσαν δὲ Πηδασέες οἰκέοντες ύπὲρ Ἀλικαρνησσοῦ μεσόγαιαν· τοῖς ὁκώς τι μέλλοι ἀνεπιτήδεους ἔσεσθαι, αὐτοῖς τε καὶ τοῖς περιοίκοις, ἡ ἑρείη τῆς Ἀθηναίης πώγωνα μέγαν ἴσχε. τρίς σφι τοῦτο ἐγένετο, ὡς 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 Pedasus, dwelling inland of Halicarnassus; when any misfortune was coming upon them or their neighbours, the priestess of Athene grew a great beard. This had happened to them thrice. These were the only
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ἀνδρῶν μούνοι τε ἄντεσχον χρόνον 'Αρπάγω καὶ πρήγματα παρέσχον πλείστα, ὅρος τειχίσαντες τῷ οὐνομα ἐστὶ Διδη.

176. Πηδασέες μὲν νυν χρόσσω ἐξαιρέθησαν. Δύκιοι δὲ, ὡς ἐς τὸ Ξάνθιον πεδίον ἦλασε ὁ "Αρπαγός τὸν στρατόν, ἐπεξιώτες καὶ μαχόμενοι ὀλίγοι πρὸς πολλοὺς ἀρετᾶς ἀπεδείκνυτο, ἑσσωθέντες δὲ καὶ κατειληθέντες ἐς τὸ ἀστὸ συνῆλθαν ἐς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν τὰς τε γυναικας καὶ τὰ τέκνα καὶ τὰ χρήματα καὶ τοὺς οἰκέτας, καὶ ἔπειτα ὑπῆφαν τὴν ἀκρόπολιν πᾶσαν ταύτην καἰσθαι. ταῦτα δὲ ποιήσαντες καὶ συνομόσαντες ὅρκους δεινοὺς, ἐπεξελθόντες ἅπεθανον πάντες Ξάνθιοι μαχόμενοι. τῶν δὲ νῦν Δυκίων φαμέαν Ξανθίων εἶναι οἱ πολλοὶ, πλην ὄγδώκοντα ἱστιέων, εἰς ἐπιθυμίας αἱ δὲ ὄγδώκοντα ἱστιαί αὐταὶ ἐτυχὸν τημικαῦτα ἐκδημέουσαι καὶ οὕτω περιεγένοντο. την μὲν δὴ Ξάνθουν οὕτω ἔσχε ὁ "Αρπαγός, παραπλησίως δὲ καὶ τὴν Καῦνον ἔσχε καὶ γὰρ οἱ Καῦνοι τοὺς Δυκίους ἐμμησάντο τὰ πλέον.

177. Τὰ μὲν νυν κάτω τῆς Ἀσίης "Αρπαγός ἀνάστατα ἐποίεε, τὰ δὲ ἀνω αὐτῆς αὐτὸς Κύρος, πᾶν ἐθνὸς καταστρεφόμενος καὶ οὐδὲν παρεῖς. τὰ μὲν νυν αὐτῶν πλέον παρῆσομεν· τὰ δὲ οἱ παρέσχε τε πόνον πλείστον καὶ ἀξιαπηγητότατα ἐστὶ, τούτων ἐπιμυνήσομαι.

178. Κύρος ἐπείτε τὰ πάντα τῆς ἑπείρου ὑποχειρία ἐποιήσατο, Ἀσσυρίοισι ἐπετίθετο. τῆς δὲ Ἀσσυρίας ἐστὶ μὲν κοῦ καὶ ἄλλα πολίσματα μεγάλα πολλά, τὸ δὲ ὄνομαστότατον καὶ ἰσχυρότατον καὶ ένθα σφι Νίνου ἀναστάτον γενομένης τὰ βασιλεία κατεστήκεε, ἴνα Βαβυλών, ἐστισα

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men near Caria who held out for long against Harpagus, and they gave him the most trouble; they fortified a hill called Lide.

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

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

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

1 606 B.C. Ninus = Nineveh.
τοιαύτη δὴ τις πόλις. κέεται ἐν πεδίῳ μεγάλῳ, μέγαθος ἐσώσα μετωπον ἐκαστον εἴκοσι καὶ ἐκατόν στάδιων, ἐνύσης τετραγώνου. οὔτοι στάδιοι τῆς περιόδου τῆς πόλιος γίνονται συνάπαντες ὁγδώ- κοντα καὶ τετρακόσιοι. τὸ μὲν νῦν μέγαθος τοσοῦτον ἐστὶ τοῦ ἀστεοῦ τοῦ Βαβυλωνίου, ἐκε- κόσμητο δὲ ὡς οὔδὲν ἄλλο πόλισμα τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν. τάφρος μὲν πρῶτα μιν βαθέα τε καὶ εὐρέα καὶ πλέν ὑδατός περιθείει, μετὰ δὲ τείχος πεντῆ- κοντα μὲν πηχέων βασιληών ἐδο τὸ εὐρός, ὕψος δὲ διηκοσίων πηχέων. ὁ δὲ βασιλῆς πῆχυς τοῦ μετρίου ἐστὶ πήχεως μέξων τρισὶ δακτύλουσι.

179. Δεὶ δὴ με πρὸς τούτοις ἐτί φράσαι ἓνα τε ἐκ τῆς τάφρου ἡ γῆ ἀνασιμώθη, καὶ τὸ τείχος ὄντων τρόπον ἕργαστο. ὁρύσσοντες ἑμι τὴν τάφρον ἐπλίνθην εἰς τὴν γῆν τὴν ἐκ τοῦ ὄρυγμάτως ἐκφερομένην, ἐλκύσαστε δὲ πλίνθους ἱκανὰς ὑπηρεσίαν αὐτὰς ἐν καμίνοις; μετὰ δὲ τέλματι χρεώμενοι ἀσφάλτῳ θερμῆ καὶ διὰ τριήκοντα δόμων πλίνθου τάρσους καλάμων διαστοιβά- ξοντες, ἐδείμαν πρῶτα μὲν τῆς τάφρου τὰ χεῖλεα, δεύτερα δὲ αὐτὸ τὸ τείχος τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον. ἔπαυσε δὲ τοῦ τείχους παρὰ τὰ ἐσχατὰ οἰκήματα μουνόκωλα ἐδείμαν, τετραμμένα ἐς ἀλληλα. τὸ μέσον δὲ τῶν οἰκημάτων ἐλιπον τεθρίππων περιέ- λαιν. πύλαι δὲ ἐνεστάσι περίξ τοῦ τείχους ἐκατόν, χάλκεα πᾶσαι, καὶ σταθμοὶ τε καὶ υπέρθυρα ὡσάυτως. ἐστὶ δὲ ἀλλῃ πόλις ἀπε- χουσα ὁκτὼ ἡμερέων ὁδὸν ἀπὸ Βαβυλῶνος. "Ἔστι οὖνομα αὐτῇ. ἐνθά ἐστὶ ποταμὸς οὐ μέγας. "Ἔστι καὶ τὸ ποταμῷ τὸ οὖνομα: ἐσβάλλει δὲ ὦντοι ἐς τὸν Ἐὐφρήτην ποταμὸν τὸ βρέθρον. ὦντος ὁν
describe. It lies in a great plain, and is in shape a square, each side an hundred and twenty furlongs in length; thus four hundred and eighty furlongs make the complete circuit of the city. Such is the size of the city of Babylon; and it was planned like no other city whereof we know. Round it runs first a fosse deep and wide and full of water, and then a wall of fifty royal cubits' thickness and two hundred cubits' height. The royal cubit is greater by three fingers' breadth than the common cubit.\(^1\)

179. Further, I must show where the earth was used as it was taken from the fosse and in what manner the wall was wrought. As they dug the fosse, they made bricks of the earth which was carried out of the place they dug, and when they had moulded bricks enough they baked them in ovens; then using hot bitumen for cement and interposing layers of 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

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1 Common cubit, 18\(\frac{1}{2}\) inches: royal, 20\(\frac{1}{2}\).

2 The modern Hit or Ait, where the Euphrates enters the alluvial plain.
ο ἶσον τοιαύτα ἀμα τῷ ὑδατὶ θρόμβους ἀσφάλτου ἀναιδιδοὶ πολλοὺς, ἐνθεὶν ἡ ἀσφαλτος ἐς τὸ ἐν Βαβυλῶνι τείχοις ἐκομίσθη.

180. Ἐτετείχιστο μὲν υπὸ τοῦ Ἡβραίων τρόπῳ τουβόδε, ἐστι δὲ δύο φάρσεα τῆς πόλιος. τῷ γὰρ μέσῳ αὐτῆς τοιαύτας διέργει, τῷ οὖνομα ἑστὶ Εὐφρήτης. ῥέει δὲ ἐξ Αρμενίων, ἔων μέγας καὶ βαθὺς καὶ ταχύς. ἔξει δὲ ὦτος ἐς τὴν Ἐρυθρὴν θάλασσαν. τὸ δὲ τείχος ἐκάτερον τῶν ἀγκώνας ἐς τὸν ποταμὸν ἐληλαταὶ: τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ τούτοις αἱ ἐπικαμπαὶ παρὰ χειλὸς ἐκάτερον τοῦ ποταμοῦ αἱμασιαὶ πλίνθους ὑπεύθυνον παρατείνει. τὸ δὲ ἀστυ αὐτὸ, ἐδών πλήρεις οἰκιεών τριωρόφοιν καὶ τετρωρόφουν, κατατέμηται τὰς όδους ιδέας τὰς τὰς ἄλλας καὶ τὰς ἐπικαρσίας τὰς ἐπὶ τὸν ποταμὸν ἐχούσας. κατὰ δὴ ὦν ἐκάστην ὄδον ἐν τῇ αἱμασιαὶ τῇ παρὰ τὸν ποταμὸν πυλίδες ἐπη- σαν, ὃςαν περ αἱ λαύραι, τοσαῦται ἄριθμον. ἦσαν δὲ καὶ αὐταὶ χάλκεαι1 ἐς αὐτῶν τοῦ ποταμοῦ.

181. Τούτο μὲν δὴ τὸ τείχος θώρηξ ἑστὶ, ἐτερον δὲ ἐσωθεὶ τείχος περιθέει, οὐ πολλῷ τεως ἀσθενε- στερον τοῦ ἐτερού τείχος, στεινότερον δὲ. ἐν δὲ φάρσει ἐκάτερο τῆς πόλιος ἐτετείχιστο ἐν μέσῳ ἐν τῷ μὲν τὰς βασιλείας περιβόλους μεγάλω τε καὶ ἰσχυρῷ, ἐν δὲ τῷ ἐτέρῳ Δίως Βήλου ἱρὸν χαλκό- πυλον, καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ ἐτὶ τούτῳ ἐόν, δύο σταδίων πάντη, ἐν τετράγωνον. ἐν μέσῳ δὲ τοῦ ἱροῦ πύργοι στερεῶς οἰκοδομηταῖ, σταδίου καὶ τὸ μῆκος καὶ τὸ εὔρος, καὶ ἐπὶ τούτῳ τῷ πύργῳ ἄλλος

1 Stein supposes that there was here a mention of steps leading to the river, and that καὶ αὐταῖ 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 ἔτερος μάλα ἐπὶ τούτῳ, μέχρι οὗ ὁκτὼ πύργοι. ἀνάβασις δὲ ἐσι αὐτοῦς ἐξωθέν κύκλῳ περὶ πάντας τοὺς πύργους ἔχουσα πεποίηται. μεσούντι δὲ κοι τῆς ἀναβάσιος ἐστὶ καταγωγῆ τε καὶ θώκοι ἀμπαυστήριοι, ἐν τοῖς κατίζοντες ἀμπαύνονται οἱ ἀναβαίνοντες. ἐν δὲ τῷ τελευταίῳ πύργῳ νῦν ἐπεστὶ μέγας· ἐν δὲ τῷ νηφί κλίνῃ μεγάλῃ κέεται εὐ ἐστρωμένη, καὶ οἱ τράπεζα παρακέεται χρυσῆ. ἄγαλμα δὲ οὐκ ἐν υδάτι ἐνεδρυμένον, οὐδὲ νῦκτα ούδεις ἐναν- λίζεται ἀνθρώπων ὅτι μὴ γυνὴ μοῦνῃ τῶν ἐπι- χωρίων, τόν ἀν ὁ θεὸς ἐληταὶ ἐκ πασέων, ὡς λέγουσι οἱ Χαλδαιοὶ ἐόντες ἱρείς τοῦτον τοῦ θεοῦ.

182. Φασὶ δὲ οἱ αὐτὸι οὕτωι, ἐμοὶ μὲν οὐ πιστὰ λέγοντες, τὸν θεὸν αὐτὸν φοιτάν τε ἐς τὸν νηθὸν καὶ ἀμπαῦσθαι ἐπὶ τῆς κλίνης, κατὰ περ ἐν Ἰηβησὶ τῆς Ἀιγυπτίσι κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον, ὡς λέγοντι οἱ Ἀιγυπτίοι καὶ γὰρ δὴ ἐκεῖθε κοιμᾶται ἐν τῷ τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Ἰηβαίεος γυνῆ, ἀμφότεροι δὲ αὐταὶ λέγονται ἀνδρῶν οὐ- δαιμόν ὡς ὀμιλίην φοιτᾶν· καὶ κατὰ περ ἐν Πατάροις τῆς Δυκίης ἢ πρόμαντις τοῦ θεοῦ, ἐπεάν γένηται· οὐ γὰρ ὃι αἰεὶ ἐστὶ χρηστήριον αὐτόθι: ἐπεάν δὲ γένηται τότε ὃν συγκατακλη- λεται τὰς νύκτας ἐσω ἐν τῷ νηθῷ.

183. Ἔστι δὲ τοῦ ἐν Βαβυλῶν ἱροῦ καὶ ἄλλος κἀτω νηθός, ἐνθα ἄγαλμα μέγα τοῦ Διὸς ἐνι κατήμενον χρύσεον, καὶ οἱ τράπεζα μεγάλῃ παρα- κέεται χρυσῆ, καὶ τὸ βάθρον οἱ καὶ ὁ θρόνος χρύσεος ἐστὶ· καὶ ὃς ἔλεγον οἱ Χαλδαιοὶ, ταλάν- των ὑκτακοσίων χρυσίου 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 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 Ἀμών-Απί); cp. ii. 42. 2 Apollo.
δὲ τοῦ νησί ὑμῶν ἔστι χρύσεος, ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἄλλος βωμὸς μέγας, ἐπ’ οὗ θύεται τὰ τέλεα τῶν προβάτων· ἔπὶ γὰρ τοῦ χρυσέου βωμοῦ οὐκ ἔξεστι θύειν ὅτι μὴ γαλαθηνᾶ μοῦνα, ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ μέξικον βωμοῦ καὶ καταγίζουσι λιβανωτοῦ χίλια τάλαντα ἔτεος ἐκάστου οἱ Χαλδαῖοι τότε ἐπεάν τὴν ὀρθὴν ἁγώνα τῷ θεῷ τούτῳ. ἢν δὲ ἐν τῷ τεμένει τούτῳ ἔτι τὸν χρόνον ἐκεῖνον καὶ ἄνδριας δυόδεκα πτχέων χρύσεως στερεός· ἐγὼ μὲν μην οὐκ εἶδον, τὰ δὲ λέγεται ὑπὸ Χαλδαίων, ταῦτα λέγω. τούτῳ τῷ ἄνδριαντι Δαρείοις μὲν ὁ Τστά- στεος ἐπιβουλεύσας οὐκ ἐτόλμησε λαβεῖν, Ξέρ- ξης δὲ ὁ Δαρείου ἐλαβε καὶ τὸν ἱέα ἀπέκτευεν ἀπαγορεύοντα μὴ κινεῖν τὸν ἄνδριαντα. τὸ μὲν δὴ ἱρὸν τούτο ὁυτὸ κεκόσμηται, ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἰδια ἀναθήματα πολλά.

184. Τῆς δὲ Βαβυλώνος ταύτης πολλοὶ μὲν κου καὶ ἄλλοι ἐγένοντο βασιλεὺς, τῶν ἐν τοῖς Ἀσσυρίοις λόγοις μνήμην ποιήσομαι, οὐ τὰ τείχεα τε ἐπεκόσμησαν καὶ τὰ ἱρά, ἐν δὲ δὴ καὶ γυναῖκες δύο. ἢ μὲν πρότερον ἄρξασα, τῆς ὑστερὸν γενεῆι πέντε πρότερον γενομένη, τῇ οὖν ζωῇ τῆς Σεμίραμις, αὕτη μὲν ἀπεδέξατο χώματα ἀνὰ τὸ πεδίον ἐξώτα ἄξιοθέτα· πρότερον δὲ ἑώθεε ὁ ποταμὸς ἀνὰ τὸ πεδίον πάν πελαγίζειν.

185. Ἡ δὲ δὴ δεύτερον γενομένη ταύτης βασι- λεία, τῇ οὖν ζωῇ τὴν Νήσσικρις, αὕτη δὲ συνετωτέρη γενομένῃ τῆς πρότερον ἄρξασθαι τούτῳ μὲν μνημο- συνα ἐλίπτετο τὰ ἐγὼ ἀπηγήσομαι, τοῦτο δὲ τὴν Μήδουν ὄρῳσα ἁρχὴν μεγάλην τε καὶ οὐκ ἀτρεμί- ξουσαν, ἀλλ’ ἄλλα τέ ἄραιρημένα ἀστεα αὐτοῖς, ἐν δὲ δὴ καὶ τὴν Νήνον, προεφυλάξατο ὁσα ἐδὺ-
Outside of the temple is a golden altar. There is also another great altar, whereon are sacrificed the full-grown of the flocks; only sucklings may be sacrificed on the golden altar, but on the greater altar the Chaldeans even offer a thousand talents' weight of frankincense yearly, when they keep the festival of this god; and in the days of Cyrus there was still in this sacred demesne a statue of solid gold weighing twelve talents. I myself have not seen it, but I tell what is told by the Chaldeans. Darius son of Hystaspes purposed to take this statue but dared not; Xerxes his son took it, and slew the priest who warned him not to move the statue. Such is the adornment of this temple, and there are many private offerings besides.

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

185. The second queen, whose name was Nitocris, was a wiser woman than the first. She left such monuments as I shall record; and moreover, seeing that the rulers of Media were powerful and unresting, insomuch that Ninus itself among other cities had fallen before them, she took such care as she could
νατο μάλιστα. πρώτα μὲν τὸν Ἐυφρήτην ποταμὸν βέοντα πρότερον ἴθων, ὡς σφι διὰ τῆς πόλεως μέσης βέει, τοῦτον ἄνωθεν διώρυγας ὅρυξασα οὔτω δὴ τι ἐποιήσε σκολιῶν ὡστε δὴ τρίς ἐς τῶν τινα κωμέων τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἀσσυρίᾳ ἀπικνέεται βέων τῇ δὲ κώμη οὖνομα ἔστι, ἐς τὴν ἀπικνέεται ὁ Ἐυφρήτης, Ἀρδέρικκα. καὶ νῦν οὐ ἂν κομίζωντα ἀπὸ τῆς τῆς θαλάσσης ἐς Βαβυλώνα, καταπλέοντες τὸν Ἐυφρήτην ποταμὸν τρίς τε ἐς τὴν αὐτὴν ταύτην κόμην παραγίνονται καὶ ἐν τρισὶ ἐμέρχεται. τούτο μὲν δὴ τοιοῦτον ἐποίησε, χῶμα δὲ παρέχωσε παρ’ ἐκάτεροι τοῦ ποταμοῦ τὸ χεῖλος ἄξιον θώματος μέγαθος καὶ ύψος ὅσον τι ἐστὶ. κατύπερθε δὲ πολλῷ Βαβυλώνως ὥρυσσε ἐλυτρον λίμνη, ὄλων τι παρατείνουσα ἀπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ, βάθος μὲν ἐς τὸ ὕδωρ αἰεὶ ὅρυσσουσα, εὔφορο δὲ τὸ περίμετρον αὐτοῦ ποιεύσα ἐκόσι τε καὶ πετρακοσίων σταδίων τὸν δὲ ὅρυσσόμενον χοῦν ἐκ τοῦτον τοῦ ὅρυγματος ἀναίσιμον παρὰ τὰ χείλεα τοῦ ποταμοῦ παραχέουσα. ἐπείτε δὲ οἱ ὁρώρυκτο, λίθους ἀγαγομένη κρηπίδα κύκλῳ περὶ αὐτὴν ἤλασε. ἐποίεε δὲ ἀμφότερα ταῦτα, τὸν τε ποταμὸν σκολιῶν καὶ τὸ ὅρυγμα τὰν ἔλος, ὡς ὁ τι ποταμὸς βραδύτερος εἴη περὶ καμπάς πολλὰς ἀγνύμενος, καὶ οἱ πλῶσι ἔωσι σκολιοὶ ἐς τὴν Βαβυλώνα, ἐκ τέ τῶν πλώσι ἐκδέκεται περίοδος τῆς λίμνης μακρή. κατὰ τοῦτο δὲ ἐργάζετο τῆς χώρης τῇ αἱ τε ἐσβολαὶ ἱσαν καὶ τὰ σύντομα τῆς ἐκ Μήδων ὄδοι, ἵνα μὴ ἐπιμυσγόμενοι οἱ Μήδοι ἐκμαυθάνοιεν αὐτὴς τὰ πρήγματα. 186. Ταῦτα μὲν δὴ ἐκ βάθεος περεβάλετο, τοιὴδε δὲ ἐξ αὐτῶν παρενθήκην ἐποιήσετο. τῆς 230
for her protection. First she dealt with the river Euphrates, which flows through the middle of her city; this had before been straight; but by digging canals higher up she made the river so crooked that its course now passes thrice by one of the Assyrian villages; the village which is so approached by the Euphrates is called Ardericca. And now those who travel from our seas to Babylon must as they float down the Euphrates spend three days in coming thrice to the same village. Such was this work; and she built an embankment along either shore of the river, marvellous for its greatness and height. Then a long way above Babylon she dug the basin of a lake, a little way aside from the river, digging always deep enough to find water, and making the circuit of the lake a distance of four hundred and twenty furlongs; all that was dug out of the basin she used to embank either edge of the river; and when she had it all dug, she brought stones and made therewith a coping all round the basin. Her purpose in making the river to wind and turning the basin into a marsh was this—that the current might be slower by reason of the many windings that broke its force, and that the passages to Babylon might be crooked, and that next after them should come also the long circuit of the lake. All this work was done in that part of the country where are the passes and the shortest road from Media, that the Medes might not mix with her people and learn of her affairs.

186. So she made the deep river her protection; and from this work grew another which she added to
πόλιος ἐνοῦς δύο φαρσέων, τοῦ δὲ ποταμοῦ μέσον ἐχοῦτος, ἐπὶ τῶν πρώτῃυς βασιλέως ὄκως τις ἑθελο ἐκ τοῦ ἐτέρου φάρσεος ἐς τούτῃυς διαβήναι, χρῆν πλοίῳ διαβάινειν, καὶ ἦν, ώς ἐγὼ δοκέω, ὁχληρὸν τοῦτο. αὐτὴ δὲ καὶ τούτῳ προείδε. ἔπειτε γὰρ ὄρυσσε τὸ ἐλυτρον τῇ λίμνῃ, μνημόσυνον τὸδε ἅλλο ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἔργου ἐλιπετο· ἔταμνετο λίθους περιμήκειας, ὡς δὲ ηῶν οἱ λίθοι έτοιμοι καὶ τὸ χωρίον ὀρώρυκτο, ἐκτρέψασα τοῦ ποταμοῦ τὸ ἐρέθρον πᾶν ἐς τὸ ὄρυσσε χωρίον, ἐν ὦ ἐπίμπλατο τοῦτο, ἐν τούτῳ ἀπεξηρασμένου τοῦ ἄρχαιον ἐρέθρου τοῦτο μὲν τὰ χείλεα τοῦ ποταμοῦ κατά τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὰς καταβάσιας τὰς ἐκ τῶν πυλίδων ἐς τὸν ποταμὸν φερούσας ἀνοικοδόμησε πλήθοις ὀπτῆς κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν λόγον τῷ τείχει, τοῦτο δὲ κατὰ μέσην κον μάλιστα τὴν πόλιν τούτο λίθοις τοὺς ὑρίζατο οἰκοδόμεε γέφυραν, δένουσα τοὺς λίθους σιδήρῳ τε καὶ μολύβδῳ. ἐπιτείνεσκε δὲ ἐπ αὐτήν, ὅκως μὲν ἡμέρῃ γένοιτο, ξύλα τετράγωνα, ἐπ` ὧν τὴν διάβασιν ἐποιεῖτο οἱ Βαβυλώνιοι· τὰς δὲ νύκτας τὰ ξύλα ταῦτα ἀπαρέσκουσαν τοῦδε εἶνεκα, ἵνα μὴ διαφοιτέουσας τὰς νύκτας κλέπτουεν παρ` ἀλλήλων. ὡς δὲ τὸ τε ὄρυχθεν λίμνη πλήρης ἐγεγόνει ὑπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ καὶ τὰ περὶ τὴν γέφυραν ἐκεκόσμητο, τὸν Εὐφρήτην ποταμόν ἐς τὰ ἄρχαια ῥέθρα ἐκ τῆς λίμνης ἐξῆγαγε, καὶ οὔτω τὸ ὄρυχθεν ἔλος γενόμενον ἐς δέον ἐδόκεε γεγονέναι καὶ τούτῳ πολυτήτι τέρα γέφυρα ἢν κατεσκευασθείη. 187. Ἡ δ` αὐτὴ αὐτὴ βασίλεια καὶ ἀπάτην τούτῳ δινᾶ ἐμηχανήσατο· ὑπὲρ τῶν μάλιστα λεωφόρων πυλῶν τοῦ ἄστεος τάφον ἐως τῇ κατε-
it. 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 πυ-
λέων, ἑνεκόλαψε δὲ ἐς τὸν τάφον γράμματα λέ-
γοντα τάδε. "Τῶν τις ἔμευ ὑστερον γινομένων
Βαβυλώνος βασιλέων ἢν σπανίσης χρημάτων, ἀνοί-
ξας τὸν τάφον λαβέτω οἰκόσα βούλεται χρήματα:
μὴ μέντοι γε μὴ σπανίσας γε ἄλλως ἀνοίξῃ· οὐ
γὰρ ἀμεινοῦ" οὕτως οὐ τάφος ἢν ἀκίνητος μέχρι
οὐ ἐς Δαρείου περιήλθε ἡ βασιληή· Δαρείῳ δὲ
καὶ δεινὸν ἐδόκεε εἶναι τῇ πύλῃς ταύτης
μηδὲν χρᾶσθαι, καὶ χρημάτων κειμένων καὶ αὐτῶν
τῶν γραμμάτων ἑπικαλεομένων, μὴ οὐ λαβεῖν
αὐτά· τῇς δὲ πύλης ταύτης οὐδὲν ἐχράτο
τούτει εἴνεκα, ὅτι ὑπὲρ κεφαλῆς οἶ εἴγνετο ὁ
νεκρὸς διεξελαύνοντι. ἀνοίξας δὲ τὸν τάφον εὗρε
χρήματα μὲν οὖ, τῶν δὲ νεκρὸν καὶ γράμματα
λέγοντα τάδε· "Εἰ μὴ ἀπληστός τε ἐξας χρημάτων
καὶ αἰσχροκερδῆς, οὐκ ἂν νεκρῶν θήκας ἀνέφγας."
αὕτη μὲν νυν ἡ βασίλεια τοιαύτη τις λέγεται
γενέσθαι.

188. Ὁ δὲ ὁ Κῦρος ἐπὶ ταύτης τῆς γυναικὸς
τὸν παῖδα ἐστρατεύετο, ἔχοντα τε τοῦ πατρὸς τοῦ
ἔωντος τούνομα Δαβιδῆτον καὶ τὴν Ἀσσυρίως
ἀρχῆν. στρατεύεται δὲ ὁ βασιλεὺς ὁ μέγας καὶ
σιτίωσι εἰ ἐσκευασμένος εἷς οἶκου καὶ προβά-
τοις, καὶ δὴ καὶ ὑδωρ ἀπὸ τοῦ Χοαστέω τοτα-
μοῦ ἄμα ἀγεται τοῦ παρὰ Σοῦσα ρέοντος, τοῦ
μοῦνον πίνει βασιλεὺς καὶ ἄλλου οὐδὲνος τοτα-
μοῦ. τούτοι δὲ τοῦ Χοαστέω τοῦ ύδατος ἀπεψη-
μένου πολλαὶ κὰρτα ἄμαξας τετράκυκλοι ἡμῶ-
νει κομίζουσι εὖ ἀγγησίοις ἀργυρέοις ἐπονταῖ,
ὅτι ἃν ἑλαύνῃ ἐκάστοτε.

189. Ἐπείτε δὲ ὁ Κῦρος 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 ἐγίνετο ἐπὶ Γύνδην ποταμῷ, τοῦ αἱ μὲν πηγαὶ ἐν Ματηνοῖοι ὤρεσι, ἤει δὲ διὰ Δαρδανέων, ἐκδίδοι δὲ ἐς ἔτερον ποταμὸν Τίγρην, ὃ δὲ παρὰ Ὄσπιν πόλιν ἐπὶ ἔς τὴν Ἑρυθρὴν θάλασσαν ἐκδίδοι, τούτον δὴ τὸν Γύνδην ποταμὸν ὡς διαβαίνεται ἐπειράτο ὁ Κύρος ἐόντα νησιστήρητον, ἐνθαῦτα οἱ τῶν τις ἱρῶν ὑπ' ὅπων τῶν λευκῶν ὑπὸ ὑβριδος ἐσβᾶς ἐς τὸν ποταμὸν διαβαίνειν ἐπειράτο, ὁ δὲ μιν συμψήγξας ὑποβρυχίων οἰχώκει εἴρων. κάρτα τε δὴ ἔχαλέπαινε τὸ ποταμῷ ὁ Κύρος τούτῳ ὑβρίσαντι, καὶ οἱ ἐπιπείλησε οὕτω δὴ μιν ἀσθενεῖα ποιήσειν ὡςτε τοῦ λοιποῦ καὶ γυναίκάς μιν ἐντετέως τὸ γόνον οὐ βρεχούσας διαβήσεσθαι. μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἀπειλήν μετείς τὴν ἐπὶ Βαβυλώνα στράτευσιν διαίρεσε τὴν στρατιὰν δίχα, διελὼν δὲ κατέτεινε σχοινοτενεάς ὑποδέξας διώρυγας ὑγιδόκοντα καὶ ἐκατὸν παρ' ἐκάτερον τὸ χείλος τοῦ Γύνδεω τετραμένας πάντα τρόπον, διατάξας δὲ τὸν στρατὸν ὁρύσσειν ἐκέλευε. οἳ δὲ ὦμίλου πολλοῦ ἐργαζόμενων ἦνετο μὲν τὸ ἔργον, ὦμος μέντοι τὴν θερείν πᾶσαν αὐτοῦ ταύτη διέ- τριψαν ἐργαζόμενοι.

190. Ὄσς δὲ τὸν Γύνδην ποταμὸν ἐτίσατο Κύρος ἐς τρικοσίας καὶ ἐξήκουντα διώρυγας μιν διαλαβῶν, καὶ τὸ δεύτερον ἔαρ ὑπέλαμπτε, οὕτω δὴ ἡλαυνε ἐπὶ τὴν Βαβυλώνα. οἳ δὲ Βαβυλώνοι ἐκστρατευσάμενοι ἔμενον αὐτοῦ. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐγένετο ἠλαύνων ἄγχος τῆς πόλιος, συνεβαλὼν τε οἱ Βαβυλώνοι καὶ ἐσσωθέεντες τῇ μάχῃ κατειλθήσαν ἐς τὸ ἀστυ. οἳ δὲ ἐξεπιστάμενοι ἔτι πρότερον τὸν Κύρον οὐκ ἀτρεμίζοντα, ἀλλ' ὄρεοντες αὐτοῦ παντὸ ἐθνεὶ ὀμοίως ἐπιχειρέοντα, 236
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.
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προεσάξαντο σιτία ἐτέων κάρτα πολλών. ἐνθαῦτα οὖτοι μὲν λόγου εἶχον τῆς πολιορκίας οὐδένα, Κῦρος δὲ ἀπορίστα ἐνείχετο, ἀτε χρόνου τε ἐγγυνομένου συχνοῦ ἀνωτέρω τε οὐδὲν τῶν πρηγμάτων προκοπτομένων.

191. Εἴτε δὴ διὸ ἄλλος οἱ ἀπορεόμενοι ὑπεθήκατο, εἴτε καὶ αὐτὸς ἔμαθε τὸ ποιητέον οἱ ἢν, ἔποιες δὴ τοιόνυμε. τάξας τὴν στρατιὰν ἀπάσαν ἐξ ἐμβολῆς τοῦ ποταμοῦ, τῇ ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἐσβάλλω, καὶ ὅπισθε αὐτὶς τῆς πόλεος τάξας ἑτέρους, τῇ ἐξεί ἐκ τῆς πόλεος ὁ ποταμός, προείπε τῷ στρατῷ, ὅταν διαβατῶν τὸ μέθρον ἱδοντεὶ γενόμενον, ἔσιέναι ταῦτη ἐς τὴν πόλιν. οὖτω τε δὴ τάξας καὶ κατὰ ταύτα παρανεόςα ἀπῆλαυσε αὐτὸς σὺν τῷ ἀχρῆῳ τοῦ στρατοῦ. ἀπικόμενος δὲ ἔπι τὴν λίμνην, τὰ περ ἡ τῶν Βαβυλωνίων βασίλεια ἐποίησε κατὰ τε τὸν ποταμόν καὶ κατὰ τὴν λίμνην, ἐποίες καὶ ὁ Κῦρος ἐτερά τοιοῦτα. τὸν γὰρ ποταμόν διώρυχε ἐσαγαγόν ἐς τὴν λίμνην ἐόυσαν ἔλος, τὸ ἄρχαῖον ἰεδρὸν διαβατῶν εἶναι ἐποίησε, ὑπονοστήσαντος τοῦ ποταμοῦ. γενομένου δὲ τοῦτον τοιοῦτον, οἱ Πέρσαι οἱ περ ἐτετάχατο ἐπὶ αὐτῷ τοῦτῳ κατὰ τὸ ἰεδρὸν τοῦ Ἐὐφράτεω ποταμοῦ ὑπονοστήσαντος ἀνδρὶ ὡς ἐς μέσον μηρὸν μάλιστα κη, κατὰ τούτο ἐσῆσαν ἐς τὴν Βαβυλώνα. εἰ μὲν νῦν προεσάξατο ἢ ἐμαθῆνι οἱ Βαβυλώνιοι τὸ ἐκ τοῦ Κῦρον ποιεῖμενον, οἱ δ᾽ ἃν περιλάμβανες τοὺς Πέρσας ἐσπείρειν ἐς τὴν πόλιν διέφθειραν ἀν κάκιστα· κατακλησαντες γὰρ ἂν πάτασαν τὰς ἡς ἐς τὸν ποταμὸν πυλίδας ἔχουσας καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐπὶ τὰς αἰμασίας ἀναβάντες τὰς παρὰ τὰ χείλεα τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἐληλαμένας, ἔλα-238
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
βον ἄν σφέας ὡς ἐν κύρτῃ. νῦν δὲ ἔξ ἀπροσδοκήτου σφι παρέστησαν οἱ Πέρσαι. ὑπὸ δὲ μεγάθεος τῆς πόλεως, ὡς λέγεται ὑπὸ τῶν ταύτης οἰκημένων, τῶν περὶ τὰ ἔσχατα τῆς πόλεως ἑαλωκότων τοὺς τῶν μέσου οἰκέοντας τῶν Βαβυλωνίων οὐ μανθάνειν ἑαλωκότας, ἅλλα τυχεῖν γάρ σφι έσούσαν ὅρτην, χορεύειν τε τούτου τὸν χρόνον καὶ ἐν εὐπαθείᾳ εἶναι, ἐς δὴ καὶ τὸ κάρτα ἐπύθοντο.

192. Καὶ Βαβυλῶν μὲν οὕτω τότε πρῶτον ἀραίρητο. τὴν δὲ δύναμιν τῶν Βαβυλωνίων πολλοῦτε μὲν καὶ ἀλλοῦτε δηλώσω ὅση τις ἐστί, ἐν δὲ δὴ καὶ τῶδε. βασιλεῖ τῷ μεγάλῳ ἐς τροφὴν αὐτοῦ τε καὶ τῆς στρατιῆς διαράγηται, πάρεξ τοῦ φόρου, γῇ πάσα ὁση ἀρχεῖ. δυνώθεκα δὲ μηνῶν ἐντων ἐς τῶν ἐνιαυτῶν τοὺς τέσσερας μήνας τρέφει μιν ἢ Βαβυλωνίης χώρη, τοὺς δὲ ὀκτῶ τῶν μηνῶν ἡ λοιπὴ πᾶσα Ἀσίη. οὕτω τριτημορίῃ ἡ Ἀσσυρίη χώρη τῇ δυνάμι τῆς ἄλλης Ἀσίης. καὶ ἡ ἀρχὴ τῆς χώρης ταύτης, τὴν οἱ Πέρσαι στρατηγήνα καλέουσι, ἐστὶ ἀπασέων τῶν ἀρχῶν πολλῶν τις κρατίστῃ, ὅκου Τριταντάξῃ τῷ 'Ἀρταβάζου ἐκ βασιλέως έχοντι τῶν νομῶν τούτων ἀργυρίου μὲν προσήει ἐκάστης ἡμέρης ἀρτάβης μεστή. ἡ δὲ ἀρτάβη, μέτρον έδών Περσικῶν, χωρεῖ μεδίμνου Ἀττικοῦ πλέον χοίρῳ τρισὶ Ἀττικῆσι. ἦπποι δὲ οἱ αὐτοῦ ἔσαν ἱδίη, πάρεξ τῶν πολεμιστηρίων, οἱ μὲν ἀναβαίνοντες τὰς θηλεὰς ὁκτάκοσιοι, αἱ δὲ βαλοῦμενα ἔξακισχίλιαι καὶ μύριαν ἀνέβαινε γὰρ ἐκαστὸς τῶν ἐρσέων τούτων εἶκοσι ἦπποις. κυνῶν δὲ Ἰνδικῶν τοσοῦτο
banks, and so caught their enemies as in a trap. But as it was, the Persians were upon them unawares, and by reason of the great size of the city—so say those who dwell there—those in the outer parts of it were overcome, yet the dwellers in the middle part knew nothing of it; all this time they were dancing and making merry at a festival which chanced to be toward, till they learnt the truth but too well.

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

\(^1\) The Attic medimnus = about 12 gallons; it contained 48 χοίνικες.
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dή τι πλήθος ἐτρέφετο ὡστε τέσσερες τῶν ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ κόμαι μεγάλαι, τῶν ἄλλων ἔσονσαι ἀτελεῖς, τοιούτου κατὰ προσετετάχατο σιτία παρέχειν. τοιαύτα μὲν τῷ ἄρχοντι τῆς Βαβυλώνος ὑπῆρχε ἕως ταῦτα ἐν καιρῷ τῷ ἐκτρέφον τῆν ῥίζαν τοῦ σίτου ἔστι τούτῳ ἀρδόμενον μὲντοι ἐκ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἀδρύνεται τε τὸ λήμνον καὶ παραγίνεται ὁ σῖτος, οὐ κατὰ περ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ αὐτοῦ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἀναβαίνοντος ἐστὶ τὰς ἀρόωρας, ἀλλὰ χερσὶ τε καὶ κηλωνίῳσι ἀρδόμενον. ἡ γὰρ Βαβυλωνίη χώρη πᾶσα, κατὰ περ ἡ Αἰγυπτίη, κατατέθηκε ἐς διώρυχας καὶ ἡ μεγίστῃ τῶν διωρύχων ἔστι νησιτέρητος, πρὸς ἡλιον τετραμμένη τὸν χειμερινὸν, ἐσέχει δὲ ἐς ἄλλου ποταμὸν ἐκ τοῦ Ἐὐφρήτου, ἐς τὸν Τίγρην, παρ’ ὑπὸ Νῖνος πόλεως οἰκήτω. ἐστὶ δὲ χωρέων αὐτῇ πασέων μακρῷ ἀρίστῃ τῶν ἡμεῖς ἵδμεν Δήμητρος καρπὸν ἐκφέρειν ... 1 τὰ γὰρ δὴ ἄλλα δένδραα οὐδὲ πειρᾶται ἄρχην φέρειν, οὔτε συκένν οὔτε ἀμπέλον οὔτε ἐλάιην. τὸν δὲ τῆς Δήμητρος καρπὸν ὁδε ἀγαθὴ ἐκφέρειν ἐστὶ ωστε ἐπὶ διηκόσια μὲν τὸ παράπαν ἀποδιδόν, ἐπειδὰν δὲ ἀριστα αὐτῇ ἐωστίν ἑνείκη, ἐπὶ τριηκόσια ἐκφέρει. τὰ δὲ φύλλα αὐτοὶ τῶν τε πυρῶν καὶ τῶν κρυθέων τὸ πλάτος γίνεται τεσσερώς εὐπτετῶς δακτύλων. ἐκ δὲ κέγχρου καὶ σησάμου ὅσον τι δένδρον μεγαθὸς γίνεται, ἐξεπιστάμενοι μνήμην οὐ ποιήσομαι, εὑ εἰδώς ὅτι τοῦτι μὴ ἀπιγιμένοισι χώρην καὶ τὰ εἰρήμενα καρπῶν ἐχόμενα

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

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

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

\(^1\) That is, by the "shadoof," a familiar object to travellers on the Nile; a lever with a bucket attached, revolving on a post.
ἐς ἀπιστίην πολλὴν ἀπίκτατι. χρέωνται δὲ οὐδὲν ἐλαῖῳ ἀλλ’ ἢ ἐκ τῶν σησάμων ποιεῖντες. εἰσὶ δὲ σφι φοινίκες πεφυκότες ἀνὰ πάν τὸ πεδίον, οἱ πλεύνες αὐτῶν καρποφόροι, ἐκ τῶν καὶ σιτία καὶ οἶνον καὶ μέλι ποιεῖνται τοὺς συκέων τρόπον θεραπεύουσι τά τε ἄλλα καὶ φοινίκων τοὺς ἔρσενας "Ελληνες καλέουσι, τούτων τὸν καρπὸν περιδέουσι τῇ βαλανηφόρουσι τῶν φοινίκων, ἵνα πεπαίνῃ τε σφι ὁ ψήν τὴν βάλανον ἐσδύνων καὶ μή ἀπορρέῃ ὁ καρπὸς τοῦ φοινίκος· ψήνας γὰρ δὴ φέρουσι ἐν τῷ καρπῷ οἱ ἔρσενες κατὰ περ δὴ οἱ ὀλυνθοί.

194. Τὸ δὲ ἀπάντων θῶμα μέγιστὸν μοι ἐστὶ τῶν ταύτης μετὰ γε αὐτὴν τὴν πόλιν, ἔρχομαι φράσων· τὰ πλοῖα αὐτοῖσι ἐστὶ τὰ κατὰ τὸν ποταμὸν πορεύομενα ἐς τὴν Βαβυλῶνα, ἔναντα κυκλοτερέα, πάντα σκύτια. ἐπεάν γὰρ ἐν τοῖς ἄρμαιναι τοῖς κατύπερθε Ἀσσυρίων οἰκημένοις νομέας ἱτέης ταμώμενοι ποιήσωνται, περιτείνουσι τοῦτοι διφθέρας στεγαστρίδας ἐξωθεὶς ἐδάφεος τρόπον, οὔτε πρόμνην ἀποκρίνοντες οὔτε πρώῃς συνάγουσι, ἀλλ’ ἀσπίδος τρόπον κυκλοτερέα ποιήσαντες καὶ καλάμης πλήσαντες πᾶν τὸ πλοῖον τοῦτο ἀπείσι κατὰ τὸν ποταμὸν φέρεσθαι, ψηφιῶν πλήσαντες· μάλιστα δὲ βίκους φοινικήσις κατάγουσι οἶνον πλέον. ἰθύνεται δὲ υπὸ τε δύο πλήκτρων καὶ δύο ἄνδρῶν ὀρθῶν ἐστεφῶν, καὶ ὁ μὲν ἔσω ἐλκεῖ τὸ πλήκτρον ὃ δὲ ἐξω ὀθέει. ποιεῖται δὲ καὶ κάρτα μεγάλα ταύτα τὰ πλοῖα καὶ ἐλάσσω· τὰ δὲ μέγιστα αὐτῶν καὶ πεντακισχιλίων ταλάντων γόμον ἔχει. ἐν ἑκάστῳ δὲ πλοίῳ ὅνος ἡπτὼς ἔνεστι, ἐν δὲ τοῖς μέζοις
Babylonia. They use no oil save what they make from sesame. There are palm trees there growing all over the plain, most of them yielding fruit, from which food is made and wine and honey. The Assyrians tend these like figs, and chiefly in this respect, that they tie the fruit of the palm called male by the Greeks to the date-bearing palm, that so the gall-fly may enter the dates and the fruit of the palm may not fall; for the male palms, like unripe figs, have gall-flies in their fruit.

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

1 Sesame-oil or "Benre-oil" is still in common use in the East.
2 The Attic talent = about 58 lbs. avoirdupois; the Aeginetan = about 82.
πλέυνες. ἔπεαν δὲν ἀπίκωνται πλέοντες ἐς τὴν Βαβυλῶνα καὶ διαθέωνται τὸν φόρτον, νομέας μὲν τοῦ πλοίου καὶ τὴν καλάμην πάσαν ἀπ’ δὲν ἐκήρυξαν, τἀς δὲ διφθέρας ἐπισάξαντες ἔπι τοὺς ὅνους ἀπελαύνουσι ἐς τοὺς Ἀρμενίους. ἀνὰ τὸν ποταμὸν γὰρ δὴ ὦν οἶα τε ἐστὶ πλέειν οὐδενὶ τρόπῳ ὑπὸ τάχεος τοῦ ποταμοῦ· διὰ γὰρ ταῦτα καὶ ὦν ἐκ ἕλμων ποιεῦνται τὰ πλοῖα ἀλλ’ ἐκ διφθερέων. ἔπεαι δὲ τοὺς ὅνους ἐλαύνουτες ἀπικωνται ὑπὸ σω ἐς τοὺς Ἀρμενίους, ἀλλὰ τρόπῳ τὸ αὐτῷ ποιεῦνται πλοία.

195. Τὰ μὲν δὴ πλοῖα αὐτοῖς ἐστὶ τοιαύτα· ἐσθητὶ δὲ τοιχήδε χρέωνται, κιθώνι ποδηνεκές λινέω, καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦτον ἄλλον εἰρήνευν κιθώνα ἐπευδύνει καὶ χλανίδων λευκὸν περιβαλλόμενος, ὑπὸδήματα ἤχοιν ἑπιχώρια, παραπλήσια τῆς Βοιωτίης ἐμβάσι. κομὸντες δὲ τὰς κεφαλὰς μότρησι αναδεόνται, μεμυρισμένοι πάν τὸ σῶμα. σφηνίδα δὲ ἐκαστος ἐχεὶ καὶ σκῆπτρον χειροποίητον· ἐπ’ ἐκάστῳ δὲ σκῆπτρῳ ἐπεστὶ πεποίθηθε· μένον ἡ μηλὸν ἡ ρόδον ἡ κρίνον ἡ αἰετὸς ἡ ἄλλο τω ἀνευ γὰρ ἐπισήμουν οὐ σφι νόμος ἐστὶ ἐχειν σκῆπτρον.

196. Αὐτὴ μὲν δὴ σφὶ ἀρτησὶς περὶ τὸ σῶμα ἐστὶ νόμοι δὲ αὐτοῖς δὴ κατεστᾶσι, ὁ μὲν σοφῶτατος οὐδὲ κατὰ γνώμην τὴν ἡμετέρην, τῷ καὶ Ἰλλυρίων Ἐνετὸς πυνθάνομαι χρᾶσθαι. κατὰ κόμας ἐκάστας ἀπαξ τοῦ ἐτεος ἐκάστου ἐποιεῖτο τάδε· ὡς ἂν αἱ παρθένοι γενοίατο γάμων ὥραίαι, ταύτας ὤκως συναγάγοιες πάσας, ἐς ἐν χωρίον ἐσάγεσκοι ἄλεας, πέριξ δὲ αὐτὰς ἵστατο ὄμιλος ἀνδρῶν, ἀνιστὰς δὲ κατὰ μίαν ἐκάστην 246
more than one in the larger. So when they have floated down to Babylon and disposed of their cargo, they sell the framework of the boat and all the reeds; the hides are set on the backs of asses, which are then driven back to Armenia, for it is not by any means possible to go up stream by water, by reason of the swiftness of the current; it is for this reason that they make their boats of hides and not of wood. When they have driven their asses back into Armenia they make more boats in the same way.

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

196. Such is the equipment of their persons. I will now speak of their established customs. The wisest of these, in my judgment, is one which as I have heard is also a custom of the Eneti in Illyria. It is this: once a year in every village all the maidens as they came to marriageable age were collected and brought together into one place, with a crowd of men standing round. Then a crier would stand up and offer them for sale one by one, first
κήρυξ πωλέεσκε, πρώτα μὲν τὴν εὐειδεστάτην ἐκ πασέων· μετὰ δὲ, ὅκως αὐτῇ εὑροῦσα πολλῶν χρυσίον πρηθεῖν, ἀλλὰν ἄν ἐκήρυσσε ἤ μετ’ ἐκείνην ἐσκε εὐειδεστάτην ἐπωλέοντο δὲ ἐπὶ συνοικῆς. ὅσοι μὲν δὴ ἐσκὸν εὐδαίμονες τῶν Βασιλείων ἐπίγαμοι, ὑπερβάλλοντες ἀλλήλους ἐξωνέοντο τὰς καλλιστευούσας· ὅσοι δὲ τοῦ ὅμοιον ἐσκὸν ἐπίγαμοι, οὕτως τὸ ἐδέοντο χρηστοῦ, οὐ δ’ ἂν χρῆματα τε καὶ αἰσχύνας παρθένους ἐλάμβαναν. ὡς γὰρ δὴ διεξήλθοι τὸ κήρυξ πωλέων τὰς εὐειδεστάτας τῶν παρθένων, ἀνίστη ἂν τὴν ἀμορφεστάτην, ἢ εἰ τις αὐτέων ἐμπηρος ἐη, καὶ ταύτην ἄν ἐκήρυσσε, ὅστις θέλοι ἐλάχιστον χρυσίον λαβῶν συνοικεῖς αὐτῇ, ἐς ὅ τῳ τὸ ἐλάχιστον ὑπισταμένῳ προσέκειτο. τὸ δὲ ἄν χρυσίον ἐγίνετο ἀπὸ τῶν εὐειδέων παρθένων καὶ οὕτως αἷ εὐμορφοί τὰς ἀμώρφους καὶ ἐμπήρους ἐξεδίδοσαν. ἐκδούναι δὲ τὴν ἐωυτοῦ θυγατέρα ὅτε ντο βούλοι ἐκάστος οὐκ ἐξῆν, οὐδὲ ἄνευ ἐγγυητέω ἀπάγεσθαι τὴν παρθένου πριάμενον, ἀλλ’ ἐγγυητὰς χρὴν καταστῆσαι τῇ μὲν συνοικήσεως αὐτῇ, οὕτω ἀπάγεσθαι. εἰ δὲ μὴ συμφεροῖτο, ἀποφέρειν τὸ χρυσίον ἐκείτο νόμος. ἐξῆν δὲ καὶ ἐξ ἄλλης ἐλθόντα κόμης τῶν βουλόμενων ὀνει- εσθαί. ὁ μὲν νυν κάλλιστος νόμος οὕτως σφι ἦν, οὐ μέντοι νῦν γε διατελείει ἐώς, ἀλλο δὲ τί ἐξευρή- κασι νεωστὶ γενέσθαι [ἵνα μὴ ἀδικοῖεν αὐτὰς μηδ’ εἰς ἐτέραν πόλιν ἀγωνtau]. ἑπεῖτε γὰρ ἄλοντες ἐκακώθησαν καὶ οἰκοφορήθησαν, πᾶς τὸς τοῦ ὅμοιον βίον σπανίζον καταπορνεύει τὰ θήλεα τέκνα.

1 The words in brackets do not seem to be relevant here; they might more naturally come after οὕτω ἀπάγεσθαι above.
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 κάμμουντας ἐς τὴν ἀγορὴν ἐκφορέουσι· οὖ γὰρ δὴ χρέωνται ἱηροίσι. προσίουντες δὲν πρὸς τὸν κάμμοντα συμβουλεύονσι περὶ τῆς νοῦσου, εἴ τις καὶ αὐτὸς τοιοῦτο ἐπαθεὶς ὄκοιον ἂν ἔχῃ ὁ κάμμων ἢ ἂλλον εἶδε παθόντα, ταῦτα προσίουντες συμβουλεύονσι καὶ παρανεῶσι ἂσσα αὐτὸς ποιήσας ἔξεφυγε ὁμοίη νοῦσον ἢ ἂλλον εἶδε ἐκφυγόντα. σιγὴ δὲ παρεξελθεὶν τὸν κάμμοντα οὐ σφι ἔξεστι, πρὶν ἂν ἐπείρηται ἡμίνα νοῦσον ἔχει.

198. Ταφαλ δὲ σφι ἐν μέλιτι, θρήνοι δὲ παραπλήσιον τοῦσι ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ. ὀσάκες δὲ ἄν μικθή γυναικὶ τῇ ἐωτοῦ ἀνὴρ Βαβυλώνιος, περὶ θυμίημα καταγιζόμενον ἰζεῖ, ἐτέρωθε δὲ ἡ γυνη τῶν τοῦτο ποιεῖ, ὀρθρον δὲ γενομένου λοῦντα καὶ ἀμφότεροι ἁγγείς γὰρ οὐδενὸς ἄφονται πρὶν ἂν λουσώνται. ταῦτα δὲ ταῦτα καὶ Ἀράβιοι ποιεῦσι.

199. 1 ὁ δὲ ἄιχιστος τῶν νόμων ἐστὶ τοῦσι Βαβυλωνίοισι ὦδε· δεῖ πᾶσαν γυναίκα ἐπιχωρίην ἰζομένην ἐς ἱρὸν Ἀφροδίτης ἀπαξ ἐν τῇ ἁλή μικθήναι ἁνδρὶ ἱζεῖν. πολλαι δὲ καὶ οὐκ ἁζεικαίναι αναμίσχεσθαι τῇσι ἄλλησι, οία πλούτῳ ύπερφρονεύοσι, ἐπὶ ξενγεῶν ἐν καμάρησι ἐλάσσασι πρὸς τὸ ἱρὸν ἐστάσις. θεραπηή δὲ σφι ὀπίσθε ἐπεται πολλή. αἱ δὲ πλευνες ποιεῦσι δδὲ· ἐν τεμένει Ἀφροδίτης κατέστηκε στέφανον περὶ τῇσι κεφαλῆσι ἐχουσαί θωμιγγος πολλαὶ γυναικεσ· αἱ μὲν γὰρ προσέρχουσαί, 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.

200. Νόμοι μὲν δὴ τοῖς Βαβυλωνίοις οὕτω κατεστάσι· εἰσὶ δὲ αὐτῶν πατριαὶ τρεῖς αἱ οὐδὲν ἄλλο σιτέονται εἰ μὴ ἰχθὺς μοῦνον, τοὺς ἐπείτε ἄν θηρεύσαντες αὐήνωσι πρὸς ἥλιον, ποιεῦσι τάδε· ἐσβάλλουσι εἰς ὅλον καὶ λείψαντες ὑπέροις σῶσι διὰ σινδόνος, καὶ ὁς μὲν ἄν θυσίν μεν αὐτῶν ἀτε μάζαιν μαξάμενος ἔχει, ὁ δὲ ἅρτου τρόπον ὅπτησας.

201. Ὡς δὲ τῷ Κύρῳ καὶ τούτῳ τὸ ἔθνος κατέρ-γαστο, ἐπεθύμησε Μασσαγέτας ὑπ’ ἑωτῷ 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 ἀλκιμον, οἰκημένον δὲ πρὸς ἥτω τε καὶ ἤλιον ἀνατολάς, πέρην τοῦ Ἀράξεω ποταμοῦ, ἀντίον δὲ Ἰσσηδόνων ἀνδρῶν. εἰσὶ δὲ οὕτινες καὶ Σκυθικόν λέγουσι τοῦτο τὸ ἔθνος εἶναι.

202. Ὅ δὲ Ἀράξης λέγεται καὶ μέξων καὶ ἐλάσσων εἶναι τοῦ Ἰσσηνοῦ νῆσου δὲ ἐν αὐτῷ Δέσβῳ μεγάθεα παραπλησίας συνχάσα φασί εἶναι, ἐν δὲ αὐτῆς ἀνθρώπους οὐ συτέονται μὲν ρίζας τὸ θέρος ὀργύσοντες παντοίας· καρποὺς δὲ ἀπὸ δενδρέων ἐξευρημένους σφί ἐς φορβὴν κατατίθεσθαι ώραῖος, καὶ τούτους συτέοσθαι τὴν χειμερινήν. ἀλλὰ δὲ σφί ἐξευρῆσθαι δένδρεα καρποὺς τοιούτῳ τινάς φέροντα, τοὺς ἑπείτε ἀν ἐς τῶτο συνέλθωσι κατὰ εἴλας καὶ τῦρ ἀνακαύσονται κύκλῳ περιεξομένους ἐπιβάλλειν ἐπὶ τὸ πῦρ, ὀσφραυνομένους δὲ καταγιζομένου τοῦ καρποῦ τοῦ ἐπιβαλλομένου μεθύσκεσθαι τῇ ὀδήμῃ κατὰ πέρ Ἑλληνας τῷ οἴνῳ, πλεῦνος δὲ ἐπιβαλλομένου τοῦ καρποῦ μᾶλλον μεθύσκεσθαι, ἐς δὲ ὦρχησιν τε ἀνίστασθαι καὶ ἐς ἀοιδὴν ἀπικνέσθαι. τούτων μὲν αὕτη λέγεται διάιτα εἶναι. Ὅ δὲ Ἀράξης ποταμὸς ῥέει μὲν ἐκ Ματινών, ὁθεν περ ὁ Γύναδος τὸν ἔς τὰς διώρυγας τὰς ἐξῆκοντά τε καὶ τρικοσίας διελαβὲ ὁ Κύρος, στόμασι δὲ ἐξερεύνηται τεσσεράκοντα, τῶν τὰ πάντα πλὴν ἔνδος ἐς ἑλεά τε καὶ τεῦγα ἑκδιδότεν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις κατοικήσει κατέγονοι ἱχθὺς ωμοὺς σιτεομένους, ἑσθίτη δὲ νομίζοντας χρασθαι φωκέων δέρμασι. τὸ δὲ ἐν τῶν στομάτων τοῦ Ἀράξεω ῥέει διὰ καθαροῦ ἐς τὴν Καστίνην θάλασσαν.

203. Ὅ δὲ Καστίνη θάλασσα ἐστὶ ἐπ’ ἐωυτῆς, οὐ συμμίσγουσα τῇ ἐτέρᾳ 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

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1 The Araxes of this chapter appears to be, from the description of its course, the modern Aras. But the Araxes of ch. 205, separating Cyrus' kingdom from the Massagetae, must be either the Oxus (Jihon) or Jaxartes (Sihon), both of which now flow into the Aral Sea. For a full discussion of the question the reader is referred to Essay IX. in the Appendix to Book I. of Rawlinson's Herodotus.
"Ελληνες ναυτίλλουντα πᾶσα καὶ ἡ ἔξω στηλέων θάλασσα ἡ Ἀτλαντὶς καλεομένη καὶ ἡ Ἔρυμβρῇ μία ἑοῦσα τυγχάνει· ἡ δὲ Κασπίη ἐστὶ ἑτέρη ἐπ' ἑωτῆς, ἑοῦσα μῆκος μὲν πλόου εἰρεσίη χρεωμένῳ πεντεκαίδεκα ήμερέων, εὕρος δὲ, τῇ εὐρυτάτῃ ἐστὶ αὐτῇ ἑωτῆς, ὅκτω ήμερέων. καὶ τὰ μὲν πρὸς τὴν ἑσπέρην φέροντα τῆς θαλάσσης ταύτης ὁ Καύκασος παρατείνει, ἐδὲ ὑρέων καὶ πλῆθεί μεγίστον καὶ μεγάθεϊ ψηλότατον. ἐθνεα δὲ ἀνθρώπων πολλὰ καὶ παντοῦ ἐν ἑωτῷ ἔχει ὁ Καύκασος, τὰ πολλὰ πάντα ἀπ' ὕλης ἀγρίης ξύοντα· ἐν τοίς καὶ δενδρεα φύλλα τοῦδε ἰδείς παρεχόμενα εἶναι λέγεται, τὰ τρίβοντας τὲ καὶ παραμίσγοντας ὕδωρ ξῶα ἑωτοῦι ἐς τὴν ἐσθήτα ἐγγράφειν τὰ δὲ ξῶα ὅμως ἐκπλύνεσθαι, ἀλλὰ συγκαταγράσκειν τῷ ἀλλῷ εἰρίῳ κατὰ περ ἐνυφανθέντα ἀρχήν. μῆξιν δὲ τούτων τῶν ἀνθρώπων εἶναι ἐμφανέα κατὰ περ τοῦτο προβάτους.

204. Τὰ μὲν δὴ πρὸς ἑσπέρην τῆς θαλάσσης ταύτης τῆς Κασπίης καλεομένης ὁ Καύκασος ἀπέργει, τὰ δὲ πρὸς ἠδὲ τὲ καὶ ἠλιον ἀνατέλλοντα πεδίον ἐκδεκεται πλῆθος ἀπειρον ἐς ἀποψιν. τού ὄντι δὴ πεδίου τούτου τοῦ μεγάλου ὅμως ἐλαχιστὴν μοίραν μετέχουσι οἱ Μασσαγέται, ἐπ' οὓς ὁ Κύρος ἐσχε προσθεμίῃ στρατεύσασθαι. πολλὰ τὲ γάρ μιν καὶ μεγάλα τὰ ἑπαείροντα καὶ ἑποτρύνοντα ἡμι, πρῶτον μὲν ἡ γένεσις, τὸ δοκείειν πλέον τι εἶναι ἀνθρώπου, δεύτερα δὲ ἡ ἐνυχία ἡ κατὰ τοὺς πολέμους γενομένη· ὅκη γὰρ ἰδύσεε στρατεύεσθαι Κύρος, ἀμήχανον ἡν ἑκεῖνο τὸ ἔθνος διαφυγεῖν.

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

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

205. Now at this time the Massagetae were ruled
Μασσαγετέων βασίλεια: Τόμυρις οἱ ὑπόνομοι. ταύτην πέμπτον ὁ Κύρος ἐμνάτο τῷ λόγῳ θέλων γυναῖκα ἢ ἔχειν. ἢ δὲ Τόμυρις συνεισά οὐκ αὐτὴν μιν μνώμενον ἀλλὰ τὴν Μασσαγετέων βασιληγήν, ἀπείπατο τὴν πρόσοδον. Κύρος δὲ μετὰ τούτο, ὡς οἱ δόλῳ οὐ προεχώρησε, ἐλάσας ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀράξεα ἐποιεῖτο ἐκ τοῦ ἐμφανεὸς ἐπὶ τους Μασσαγετας στρατηγήν, γεφύρας τε ξενυγνῶν ἐπὶ τοῦ ποταμοῦ διάβασιν τῷ στρατῷ, καὶ πῦργους ἐπὶ πλοίων τῶν διαπορθμενῶν τὸν ποταμὸν οἰκοδομέμενος.

206. Ἐχοντι δὲ οἱ τούτων τὸν πόλου πέμψασα ἡ Τόμυρις κήρυκα ἐλεγε τάδε. „Ἄβασιλεῦ Μή-
δων, παῦσαι σπεύδων τὰ σπεύδεις, οὐ γὰρ ἂν εἰδείης εἰ τοῖς καιροῦ ἔσται ταῦτα τελεόμενα, παυσά-
μενος δὲ βασίλευς τῶν σεωτοῦ, καὶ ἡμέας ἀνέχειν ὀρέων ἀρχοντας τῶν περ ἀρχομέν. οὐκὼν ἑθελήσεις ὑποθήκησι τῆςδε χρᾶσθαι, ἀλλὰ πάντως μᾶλλον ἡ δὲ ἡσυχίας εἶναι· σὺ δὴ εἰ μεγάλος προθυμεῖ Μασσαγετέων πειρηθήναι, φέρε μόχθων μὲν τὸν ἐχεις ξενυγνὺς τὸν ποταμὸν ἄπες, σὺ δὲ ἡμέων ἀναχρησάντων ἀπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ τριῶν ἡμερῶν ὁδὸν διάβαινες ἐς τὴν ἡμετέρην· εἰ δὲ ἡμέας βού-
λεις ἐσδέξασθαι μᾶλλον ἐς τὴν ἡμετέρην, σὺ τῶντὸ τούτο ποιε.· ταῦτα δὲ ἀκούσας ὁ Κύρος συνεκάλεσε Περσέων τοὺς πρῶτους, συναγείρας δὲ τούτους ἐς μέσον σφι προετίθεε τὸ πρήγμα, συμβουλεύμενος ὁκότερα ποιε. τῶν δὲ κατὰ τῶντό αἳ γνώμαι συνεξέπιπτον κελεύνων ἐσδέ-
κεσθαι Τόμυριν τε καὶ τὸν στρατοῦ 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.
HERODOTUS

207. Παρεύτω δὲ καὶ μεμφόμενος τὴν γυνώμην ταύτην Κροίσος ὁ Λυδὸς ἀπεδείκνυτο ἐναυτῆν τῇ προκειμένῃ γυνώμη, λέγων τάδε. "Ὤ Βασίλευ, εἶπον μὲν καὶ πρῶτον τοῖς ὅτι ἐπεί με Ζεὺς ἐδωκέ τοι, τὸ ἄν ὁροὶ σφάλμα ἐδούν ὀίκῳ τῷ σῷ, κατὰ δύναμιν ἀποτρέψειν τὰ δὲ μοι παθήματα ἔνοτα ἀχάριτα μαθήματα γέγονε. εἰ μὲν ἀθάνατος δοκεῖς εἶναι καὶ στρατηγὸς τοιαύτης ἄρχειν, οὐδὲν ἂν εἰχά πρήγμα γυνώμας ἐμὲ σοι ἀποφαινέσθαι· εἰ δὲ ἐγνωρίω ὅτι ἄνθρωπος καὶ σὺ εἰς καὶ ἐτέρων τοιῶν ἄρχεις, ἐκεῖνο πρῶτον μάθε, ὡς κύκλος τῶν ἄνθρωπῶν ἐστὶ προηγμάτων, περιφερομένος δὲ οὐκ ἐὰν αἰεὶ τοὺς αὐτοὺς εὐτυχέσθαι. ἦδη δὲν ἔχω γυνώμην περὶ τοῦ προκειμένου πρήγματος τὰ ἐμπαλιν ἢ ὅρτοι. εἰ γὰρ ἐθελήσομεν ἐσδέξασθαι τοὺς πολέμους ἐς τὴν χώρην, ὅτι τοῦ ἐν αὐτῷ κινδυνοῦ ἐνι ἔσσωθεν εἰς προσαπολλύεις πᾶσαν τὴν ἀρχήν. δὴ δὲ ὅτι νικώντες Μασσαγέταις οὐ τὸ ὅπσιω φεύγονται ἄλλῳ ἐπὶ ἄρχας τὰς σάς ἐλώσι. νικῶν δὲ οὐ νικᾶς τοσοῦτον ὅσον εἰ διαβᾶς ἐς τὴν ἐκείνων, νικῶν Μασσαγέτας, ἐποιο φεύγουσι. τὸντό γὰρ ἀντιθῆσον ἐκεῖνῳ, ὅτι νικήσας τοὺς ἀντιομένους ἔλας ἰδὺ τῆς ἀρχῆς τῆς Τομύρου. χωρίς τοὐ ἀπηγγελμένου αἰείχρον καὶ οὐκ ἀνασχετὸν Κύρον γε τὸν Καμβύσεως γυναικὶ εἶξαντα ὑποχωρῆσαι τῆς χώρης. νῦν δὲν μοι δοκεῖ διαβάντας προελθεῖν ὅσον ἂν ἐκείνων ὑπεξίωσι, ἐνθεύτεν δὲ τάδε ποιεύντας πειρασάθην ἐκείνων περιγενέσθαι. ὡς γὰρ ἐγὼ πυθόμενος, Μασσαγέταις εἰς ἀγαθῶν τε Περσικῶν ἀπειροὶ καὶ καλῶν μεγάλων ἀπαθεῖς. τούτοις

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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,
δὲν τοῖς ἀνδράσι τῶν προβάτων ἀφειδέως πολλὰ κατακόψαντας καὶ σκεύασάντας προθεύει έν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ τῷ ήμετέρῳ δαίτα, πρὸς δὲ καὶ κρη- τήρας ἀφειδέως οἶνον ἀκρήτου καὶ σιτία παντοῖα πουήσαντας δὲ ταύτα, ὑπολιπομένους τῆς στρατιῆς τὸ φλαυρότατον, τοὺς λοιποὺς αὐτὸς ἕξαναχωρεῖν ἐπὶ τὸν ποταμὸν. Ἰὴν γὰρ ἐγὼ γνώμης μὴ ἁμάρτω, κεῖνοι ἴδομενοι ἄγαθὰ πολλὰ τρέψονται τε πρὸς αὐτὰ καὶ ἡμῖν τὸ ἐνθεύτεν λειπέται ἀπόδεξις ἔργων μεγάλων." 208. Ἡνώμει μὲν αὐτὰι συνέστασαν. Κῦρος δὲ μετεῖς τὴν προτέρην γνώμην, τὴν Κροίσου δὲ ἐλόμενος, προηγήνευε Τομύρι ἕξαναχωρεῖν ὡς αὐτοῦ διαβησμένου ἐπ' ἐκείνην. Ἡ μὲν δὴ ἑξανα- χώρεε κατὰ ὑπέσχετο πρώτα. Κῦρος δὲ Κροίσου ἐσ τὰς χεῖρας ἔσθεις τῷ ἑωτοῦ παιδὲ Καμβύση, τῷ περ τὴν βασιλικὴν ἐδίδου, καὶ πολλὰ ἐτει- λάμενος οἱ τιμᾶν τε αὐτὸν καὶ εὖ ποιέων, ἡν ἡ διάβασις ἡ ἐπὶ Μασσαγέτας μὴ ὀρθωθῇ, ταύτα ἐντειλάμενος καὶ ἀποστειλάς τούτους ἐς Πέρσας, αὐτὸς διέβαινε τὸν ποταμὸν καὶ ὁ στρατὸς αὐτοῦ.

209. Ἐπείτε δὲ ἐπερατόθη τὸν Ἀράξηα, νυκτὸς ἐπελθοῦσις εἴδε ὁψιν εὔδον ἐν τῶν Μασσαγέτεων τῇ χώρῃ τούτῳ: ἐδόκεε ὁ Κῦρος ἐν τῷ ὑπιπο ὑπὸ τῶν Ἱστάσπεος παίδων τὸν πρεσβύτατον ἑκούτα ἐπὶ τῶν ὁμών περνύγας καὶ τούτων τῇ μὲν τῆν Ἀσίαν τῇ ἐκ τῆς Ἐύρωπης ἐπισκιάζειν. Ἰστάσπεῖ δὲ τῷ Ἀρσάμεος ἐούτι ἀνδρὶ Ἀχαιμενίδῃ ἦν τῶν παίδων Δαρείους πρεσβύτατος, ἔως τότε ἧλικίην ἐς εἰκοσὶ κοι μάλιστα ἔτεα, καὶ οὗτος κατελέευπτο ἐν Πέρσης. οὐ γὰρ εἰσχε καὶ ἡλικίην στρατεύεσθαι. ἐπεὶ δὲν δὴ ἔξηγερθῆ ὁ Κῦρος,
I counsel you to cut up the flesh of many of your sheep and goats into portions unstintingly, and to cook it and serve it as a feast in our camp, providing many bowls of unmixed wine withal and all manner of food. Then let your army withdraw to the river again, leaving behind that part of it which is of least account. For if I err not in my judgment, when the Massagetae see so many good things they will betake them to feasting thereon; and it will be for us then to achieve mighty deeds."

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

209. Then, being now across the Araxes, he dreamt at night while sleeping in the country of the Massagetae, that he saw the eldest of the sons of Hystaspes wearing wings on his shoulders, the one wing overshadowing Asia and the other Europe. (Hystaspes son of Arsames was an Achaemenid, and Darius was the eldest of his sons, being then about twenty years old; this Darius had been left behind in Persia, being not yet of an age to follow the army.) So when
εδίδου λόγον ἐωντῷ περὶ τῆς ὀψιον. ὡς δὲ οἱ ἐδόκεε μεγάλη εἶναι ἡ ὄψις, καλέσας 'Τστάσπεα καὶ ἀπολαβὼν μοῦνον εἶπε "'Τστασπε, παῖς σὸς ἐπιβουλεύων ἐμοὶ τε καὶ τῇ ἐμῇ ἀρχῇ ἐάλωκε. ὡς δὲ ταύτα ἀτρεκέως οἶδα, ἐγὼ σημανέω· ἐμεῦ θεοὶ κύδονται καὶ μοι πάντα προδεικνύονι τά ἐπιφε- ρόμενα. ἧδη ὡν ἐν τῇ παροιχομένῃ νυκτὶ εὐδών εἶδον τῶν σῶν παίδων τὸν προσβύτατον ἔχοντα ἐπὶ τῶν ὦμων πτέρυγας καὶ τουτέων τῇ μὲν τῇ Ἀσίην τῇ δὲ τῇ Εὐρώπῃ ἐπισκιάζειν. οὐκών ἐστὶ μηχανὴ ἀπὸ τῆς ὀψιος ταύτης οὐδεμία τὸ μὴ ἐκεῖνον ἐπιβουλεύειν ἐμοὶ· σύ νυν τὴν ταχύτην πορεύει σπίσω εἰς Πέρσας καὶ ποιεῖ ὅκως, ἐπεᾶν ἐγὼ τάδε καταστρεφάμενος ἔλθω ἐκεῖ, ὅς μοι καταστήσεις τὸν παίδα ἐς ἔλεγχον."

210. Κύρος μὲν δοκέων οἱ Δαρείων ἐπιβουλεύειν ἔλεγε τάδε· τῷ δὲ ὁ δαίμων προέφαινε ὡς αὐτὸς μὲν τελευτήσειν αὐτοῦ ταύτη μέλλοι, ἦ δὲ βα- σιλήν αὐτοῦ περιχωρέων ἐς Δαρείων. ἀμείβεται δὴ ὡς ὁ 'Τστάσπης τούσιδε. "'Ω βασιλεῦ, μὴ εἰς ἄνηρ Πέρσης γεγονός ὡστὶς τοι ἐπιβολοῦσειν, εἰ δ' ἔστι, ἀπόλοιον ὡς τάχιστα· δς ἀντὶ μὲν δούλων ἐποίησας ἐλευθέρους Πέρσας εἰναι, ἀντὶ δὲ ἄρχε- σαι ὑπ' ἄλλων ἄρχεν ἀπάντων. εἰ δὲ τίς τοι ὀψις ἀπαγγέλλει παίδα τὸν ἐμὸν νεώτερα βου- λεύειν περὶ σέο, ἐγὼ τοι παραδίδωμι χρᾶσθαι αὐτῷ τούτῳ ὁ τι σὺ βούλειαν."

211. 'Τστάσπης μὲν τούτους ἀμειψάμενος καὶ διαβὰς τὸν Ἀράξεια ἦμε τοι Πέρσας φυλάξων Κύρων τὸν παίδα Δαρείων, Κύρος δὲ προελθὼν ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀράξεω ἡμέρης ὅδον ἐποίηε κατὰ τὰς Κροίσου ὑποθήκας. μετὰ δὲ ταύτα Κύρου τε 264
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 ἀπελά-
ςαντος ὃπίσω ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀράξεα, λειφθέντος δὲ
tοῦ ἀχρησίας, ἐπελθοῦσα τῶν Μασσαγετέων
τριτημορία τοῦ στρατοῦ τούς τε λειφθέντας τῆς
Κύρου στρατιῆς ἐφόνευε ἀλεξομένους καὶ τὴν
προκειμένην ἵδοντες δαίτα, ὡς ἐχειρώσαντο τοὺς
ἐναντίους, κλιθέντες ἐδαίνυντο, πληρωθέντες δὲ
φορβῆς καὶ οἶνον ἡνδὸν. οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι ἐπελθόντες
πόλλοις μὲν σφέων ἐφόνευσαν, πολλῷ δὲ ἔτι
πλεύνας ἐξώγρησαν καὶ ἄλλους καὶ τὸν τῆς βασι-
λείης Τομύριος παῖδα στρατηγεύοντα Μασσαγετέων,
tὸ οὖνομα ἦν Σπαργαπίσης.
212. “Ἡ δὲ πυθομένη τά τε περὶ τῆς στρατιῆς
γεγονότα καὶ τά περὶ τὸν παῖδα, πέμπουσα κῆρυκα
παρὰ Κύρου ἐλεγε τάδε. “Ἀπληστε αἵματος Κύρε,
μηδὲν ἐπαρθῆς τῷ γεγονότι τῶ ἀρώματι, εἰ
ἀμπελώνῳ καρπῷ, τῷ περ αὐτοῦ ἐμπυπλάμενοι
μαίνεσθε οὕτω ὡστε κατίόντος τοῦ οἶνου ἐς τὸ
σῶμα ἐπαναπλέειν ὡμῶν ἐπεα κακά, τοιούτῳ φαρ-
μάκῳ δολῶσας ἐκράτησας παιδὸς τοῦ ἐμοῦ, ἀλλ' οὐ
μάχῃ κατὰ τὸ καρτερόν. νῦν δὲ μεν εὐ παραι-
νεουσῆς ὑπόλαβε τὸν λόγον. ἀποδοὺς μοι τὸν
παῖδα ἀπείδῃ ἐκ τῆς ὁδῆς τῆς χώρης ἄζημιος, Μας-
σαγετέως τριτημορία τοῦ στρατοῦ κατυβρίσας.
εἰ δὲ ταῦτα οὐ ποιήσεις, ἥλιον ἐπόμυννό τι τὸν
Μασσαγετέων δεσπότην, ἢ μὲν σε ἑγὼ καὶ ἀπλη-
στον ἐόντα αἵματος κορέσω.”
213. Κύρος μὲν ἐπέων οὐδένα τούτων ἀνευ-
χθέντων ἐποίετο λόγον· ὃ δὲ τῆς βασιλείης
Τομύριος παῖς Σπαργαπίσης, ὡς μιν ὃ τε οἶνος
ἀνήκε καὶ ἐμαθε ἵνα ἦν κακοῦ, δειθεὶς Κύρου
ἐκ τῶν δεσμῶν λυθῆναι ἐτυχε, ὡς δὲ ἐλύθη τε
army marched away back to the Araxes, leaving behind those that were useless; whereupon a third part of the host of the Massagetae attacked those of the army who were left behind and slew them despite resistance; then, seeing the banquet spread, when they had overcome their enemies they sat down and feasted, and after they had taken their fill of food and wine they fell asleep. Then the Persians came upon them and slew many and took many more alive, among whom was the son of Tomyris the queen, Spargapises by name, the leader of the Massagetae.

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

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

214. Καὶ δὴ οὗτος μὲν τρόπῳ τοιούτῳ τελευτᾷ· Τόμυρις δὲ, ὡς οἱ Κύρος οὐκ ἐσήκουσε, συλλέξασα πᾶσαν τὴν ἑωτῆς δύναμιν συνέβαλε Κύρω. ταύτῃ τὴν μάχην, ὅσαι δὴ βαρβάρων ἀνδρῶν μάχαι ἐγένοντο, κρίνω ἱσχυροτάτην γενέσθαι, καὶ δὴ καὶ πυνθάνομαι οὗτο τούτο γενόμενον. πρῶτα μὲν γὰρ λέγεται αὐτοὺς διαστάντας ἐς ἄλληλους τοξεῦειν, μετὰ δὲ ὡς σφι τὰ βέλεα ἐξετεόξευτο, συμπεσόντας τῆς αἰχμῆς τε καὶ τούσ ἐγχειρι- δίοις συνέχεσθαι. χρόνου τε δὴ ἐπὶ πολλὰν συνεστάναι μαχομένους καὶ οὐδετέρους ἐθέλειν φεύγειν· τέλος δὲ οἱ Μασσαγέται περιεγένοντο. ἢ τε δὴ πολλὴ τῆς Περσικῆς στρατιᾶς αὐτοῦ ταύτης διεφθάρη καὶ δὴ καὶ αὐτὸς Κύρος τελευτᾷ, βασιλεύσας τὰ πάντα ἐνὸς δέοντα τριήκοντα ἐτεα. ἀσκὸν δὲ πλήσασα αἵματος ἀνθρωπηνίου Τόμυρις ἐδίξητο ἐν τούσ τεθνεῶσι τῶν Περσέων τοῦ Κύρου νέκων, ὡς δὲ εὔρη, ἐναπῆκε αὐτοῦ τὴν κεφαλὴν ἐς τὸν ἀσκόν, λυμαίνομενή δὲ τῷ νεκρῷ ἐπέλεγε τάδε: "Σὺ μὲν ἔμε ξώσαν τε καὶ νικῶσάν σε μάχη ἀπώλεσας, παίδα τῶν ἐμὸν ἐλών δόλως· σε δὲ ἐγὼ, κατὰ περ ἡπείλησα, αἵματος κορέσω." τὰ μὲν δὴ κατὰ τὴν Κύρου τελευτήν τοῦ βίου, πολλῶν λόγων λεγομένων, ὅτε μοι ὁ πιθανῶτατος εἰρηταί.  

215. Μασσαγέται δὲ ἐσθήτα τε ὁμοίαν τῇ Σκυθικῇ φορέουσι καὶ δίαμαν ἐχουσι, ἱππόται δὲ εἰσὶ καὶ ἀνυπποι (ἀμφοτέρων γὰρ μετέχουσι) καὶ τοξόται τε καὶ αἰχμοφόροι, σαγάρις νομίζοντες ἐχειν. 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;
великі, ардис, сагарис, халкіді та п'ятах хреонтаі, оσα ді пері кефалην
και ξωστήρας και μασχαλιστήρας, χρυσάκο κοσμεονται. ὃς ὁ αὐτως τὸν ὕππων τὰ μὲν περὶ τὰ
στέρνα χαλκέους θώρηκας περιβάλλονσι, τὰ δὲ περὶ τοὺς χαλινοὺς και στόμα και φάλαρα
κρυσάκ. σιδήρω δὲ οὐδ' ἀργυρῷ χρέωνται οὐδέν: οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδὲ σφι ἐστὶ ἐν τῇ χώρῃ, ο δὲ χρυσάκ
και ὁ χαλκὸς ἀπλετος.

216. Νόμοις δὲ χρέωνται τοιοίσιδε. γυναικα
μὲν γαμεί αἰκαστος, ταυτης δὲ ἐπίκοινα χρέωνται
τὸ γὰρ Σκύθιας φασὶ Ἑλλήνες ποιεῖν, οὐ Σκύθαι
εἰσὶ οἱ ποιεόντες ἀλλὰ Μασσαγέται· τῆς γὰρ
ἐπιθυμήσῃ γυναικὸς Μασσαγέτης ἀνήρ, τὸν 
φαρετρεώνα ἀποκρημάσας πρὸ τῆς ἀμάξῃς μίσογεται ἄδεως. 
ὅρος δὲ ἥλικίης σφὶ πρόκειται ἀλλὸς μὲν 
οὐδεὶς· ἐπεὶ δὲ γέρων γενήται κάρτα, οἱ προση-
κοντεῖς οἱ πάντες συνελθόντες θύοντι μὲν καὶ ἀλλά 
πρόβατα ἀμα αὐτῶν, ἐφήθαστες δὲ τὰ κρέα 
κατευχέονται. ταῦτα μὲν τὰ ὄλβιώτατα σφὶ 
νενόμισται, τὸν δὲ νοῦσῳ τελευτήσαντα οὐ κατα-
σίεονται ἀλλὰ γῆ κρύπτουσι, συμφορὴν ποιεύ-
μενοι ὅτι οὐκ ἵκετο ἐς τὸ τυθῆναι. σπείρουσι δὲ 
οὐδὲν, ἀλλὰ ἀπὸ κτηνῶν ζώουσι καὶ ἱχθύων,
οἱ δὲ ἄφθονοι σφὶ ἐκ τοῦ Ἀράξεω τομαμοὺ παρα-
γόνονται· γαλακτιστόται δ' εἰσὶ. θεῶν δὲ μοῦνον 
ἡλιον σέβονται, τῷ θύουσι ἔππους. νῦσ δὲ 
οὗτος τῆς θυσίας· τῶν θεῶν τῷ ταχίστῳ πάντων 
τῶν θυντῶν τὸ τάχιστον δατέονται.

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

216. Now, for their customs: each man marries a wife, but the wives are common to all. The Greeks say this is a Scythian custom; it is not so, but a custom of the Massagetae. There, when a man desires a woman, he hangs his quiver before her waggon, and has intercourse with her, none hindering. Though they set no certain term to life, yet when a man is very old all his kin meet together and kill him, with beasts of the flock besides, then boil the flesh and feast on it. This is held to be the happiest death; when a man dies of a sickness they do not eat him, but bury him in the earth, and lament that he would not live to be killed. They never sow; their fare is their live-stock and the fish which they have in abundance from the Araxes. Their drink is milk. The sun is the only god whom they worship; to him they sacrifice horses; the reason of it is that he is the swiftest of the gods and therefore they give him the swiftest of mortal things.
BOOK II
1. Τελευτήσαντος δὲ Κύρου παρέλαβε τὴν βασιλείαν Καμβύσης, Κύρου ἐως παῖς καὶ Κασσανδρᾶς τῆς Φαρμάσπεω θυγατρός, τῆς προαποθανούσης Κύρος αὐτὸς τε μέγα πένθος ἐποίησατο καὶ τούτι ἄλλοις προείπε πᾶσι τῶν ἠρχει πένθος ποιεσθαι. ταύτῃς δὴ τῆς γυναικὸς ἐως παῖς καὶ Κύρου Καμβύσης Ἰωνᾶς μὲν καὶ Αἰολέας ὡς δούλους πατρωίους ἔστωσαν ἐνόμιζε, ἐπὶ δὲ Αἰγύπτων ἐποιέοντες στρατηλασίην ἄλλους τε παραλαβὼν τῶν ἠρχει καὶ δὴ καὶ Ἐλλήνων τῶν ἑπεκράτει.

2. Οἳ δὲ Αἰγύπτιοι, πρὶν μὲν ἡ Ψαμμήτηχον σφέων βασιλεύσαι, ἐνόμιζον ἐσωτερικὸς πρώτους γενέσθαι πάντων ἀνθρώπων ἐπειδὴ δὲ Ψαμμήτηχος βασιλεύσας ἠθέλησε εἰδέναι οὕτως γενολατο πρώτοι, ἀπὸ τούτων νομίζουσι Φρύγας προτέρους γενέσθαι ἐσωτέρων τῶν δὲ ἄλλων ἐσωτέρων. Ψαμμήτηχος δὲ ὡς οὐκ ἐδύνατο πανθανόμενος πόρου τουτοῦ ἀνευρεῖν, οὐ γενολατο πρώτοι ἀνθρώπων ἐπιτεχνίαται τοιὸνδε. παῦδια δύο νεογνὸν ἀνθρώπων τῶν ἐπιτυχόντων δίδωσι ποιμέν τρέφειν ἐς τὰ ποίμνα τροφῆν τῶν τοιῆνδε, ἐντειλάμενος μηδένα ἀντίον αὐτῶν μηδεμίαν φωνὴν ἱέναι, ἐν στέγῃ δὲ ἐρήμῃ ἐπ' ἐσωτέρων κέεσθαι αὐτά, καὶ τὴν ὄρνην ἐπαγινεῖν σφί αἰγας, πλῆσαντα δὲ γάλακτος ταῖλα διαπρήσσεσθαι ταῦτα δὲ ἐποίει τε καὶ ἐνετέλλετο Ψαμμήτηχος 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.
HERODOTUS

σαί τῶν παίδιων, ἀπαλλαχθέντων τῶν ἀσήμων κυνζημάτων, ἦντινα φωνὴν ῥήξουσι πρώτην· τά περ ὦν καὶ ἐγένετο. ὡς γὰρ διήτης χρόνος ἐγε- γόνει ταῦτα τῷ ποιμένι πρῆσοντι, ἀνοίγοντι τὴν θύρην καὶ ἔσιόντι τὰ παιδία ἀμφότερα προσπίπτοντα βεκός ἐφόνεον, ὁρέγοντα τὰς χεῖ- ρας· τὰ μὲν δὴ πρῶτα ἀκούσας ἦσυχος ἦν ὁ ποιμήν· ὡς δὲ πολλάκις φοιτέοντι καὶ ἐπιμελο- μένῳ πολλὸν ἦν τοῦτο τὸ ἔτος, οὕτω δὴ σημῆνας τῷ δεσπότῃ ἤγαγε τὰ παιδία κελεύσαντος ἐσ ὦν ἢν τὴν ἐκεῖνον· ἀκούσας δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ Ψαμμήτης ἐπυνθάνετο οὕτως ἀνθρώπων βεκός τι καλέουσι, πυρθανόμενος δὲ εὐρίσκει Φρύγας καλέουσας τὸν ἄρτον. οὕτω συνεχώρησαν Αἰγύπτιοι καὶ τοιοῦτοι σταθμησάμενοι πρήγματι τοὺς Φρύγας πρεσβυ- τέρους εἶναι ἐσωτέρων· ὅδε μὲν γενέσθαι τῶν ἱρέων τοῦ Ἡφαιστοῦ τού ἐν Μέμφι ἤκουσιν· Ἕλληνες δὲ λέγουσι ἄλλα τε μάται πολλὰ καὶ ὡς γυναικῶν τὰς γυλώσας ὁ Ψαμμήτης ἐκτεταμένης τὴν δίαιταν ὦτῳ ἐποίησάτο τῶν παίδων παρὰ ταύτης τῆς γυναικῆς.

3. Κατὰ μὲν δὴ τὴν τροφὴν τῶν παίδων τοσαῦτα ἔλεγον, ἤκουσα δὲ καὶ ἄλλα ἐν Μέμφι ἐλθὼν εἰς λόγους τοῦ Ἡφαιστοῦ. καὶ δὴ καὶ ἐς Θήβας τε καὶ ἐς Ἡλίου τὸ πόλιν αὐτῶν τούτων εἰσεκεν ἐτραπόμην, ἐθέλων εἴδεαν εἰ συμβῆσονται τοῦ τοῦ λόγους τοῖς ἐν Μέμφι· οἳ γὰρ Ἡλιοπολίται λέγονται Ἀιγύπτιῶν εἶναι λογιώτατοι. τὰ μὲν νῦν θεία τῶν ἄπηγγεμάτων ἤκουσιν οὐκ εἴμι πρόθυμος ἐξηγεῖσθαι, ἦς ἡ τὰ οὐνόματα 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 third year, so that the seasons may agree; but the Egyptians, reckoning thirty days to each of the twelve months, add five days in every year over and above the number, and so the completed circle of seasons is made to agree with the calendar. Further, the Egyptians (said they) first used the appellations of twelve gods\(^1\) (which the Greeks afterwards borrowed from them); and it was they who first assigned to the several gods their altars and images and temples, and first carved figures on stone. They showed me most of this by plain proof. The first human king of Egypt, they said, was Min. In his time all Egypt save the Thebaic\(^2\) 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.).

\(^2\) The southern part of Upper Egypt.

\(^3\) In the modern Fayyum, west of the Nile.
ναυτίλλονταί, ἐστὶ Αἰγυπτίοισι ἐπίκτητός τε γῆ καὶ δώρον τοῦ ποταμοῦ, καὶ τὰ κατύπερθε ἐτι τῆς λίμνης ταύτης μέχρι τριῶν ἣμερέων πλόου, τῆς πέρι ἐκείνου οὐδὲν ἐτι τοιόνδε ἔλεγον, ἐστὶ δὲ ἔτερον τοιόνδε. Αἰγύπτιον γὰρ φύσις ἐστὶ τῆς χώρης τοιῇδε. πρῶτα μὲν ποσπλέων ἐτι καὶ ἡμέρης δρόμον ἀπέχον ἀπὸ γῆς, κατεῖς καταπειρητήριν πηλῶν τε ἀνοίσεις καὶ ἐν ἐνδεκα ὑργύηση ἔσεαυ. τούτῳ μὲν ἐπὶ τοσοῦτο δῆλοι πρόχυσι τῆς γῆς ἐόσσαν.

6. Αὕτης δὲ αὐτῆς ἐστὶ Αἰγύπτιον μέκος το παρὰ θάλασσαν ἐξήκοντα σχοῖνοι, κατὰ ἡμεῖς διαφέρομεν εἰναι Αἰγύπτιον ἀπὸ τοῦ Πλωθινῆτεω κόλπου μέχρι Σερβωνίδος λίμνης, παρ’ ἦν τὸ Κάσιον ὅροσ τεῖνει ταῦτης ὁν ἀπὸ οἱ ἐξήκοντα σχοῖνοι εἰσί. ὅσοι μὲν γὰρ γεωπεῖναι εἰσὶ ἀνθρώ- πων, ὑργύηση μεμετρήκασι τὴν χώρην, ὅσοι δὲ ἦσον γεωπεῖναι, σταδίοισι, οἱ δὲ πολλὴν ἔχουσι, παρασάγγησι, οἱ δὲ ἀθηνον λίνη, σχοῖνοισι. δύναται δὲ ὁ παρασάγγης τρήκοντα στάδια, ὁ δὲ σχοῖνοι, μέτρον ἐὸν Αἰγύπτιον, ἐξήκοντα στάδια.

7. Οὕτω ἄν εὔχαναν Αἰγύπτιον στάδιοι ἐξα- κόσιοι καὶ τρισχῖλοι το παρὰ θάλασσαν. ἐνθεῦ- τεν μὲν καὶ μέχρι Ηλίων πόλιος ἐς τὴν μεσόγαιαν ἐς τι εὐρέα Αἰγυπτος, ἐούσα πᾶσα ὑπτή τε καὶ ἐνυδρόσ ¹ καὶ ἱλύσ. ἐστὶ δὲ ὅδος ἐς Ἡλίων πόλιν ἀπὸ θαλάσσης ἀνω ἵντι παραπλησίη το μῆκος τῆς ἐξ Ἀθηναίων ὁδὸ τῆ ἀπὸ τῶν δυῶδεκα θεῶν τοῦ βωμοῦ φερούσῃ ἐς τὲ Πίσαν καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν νησίων τοῦ Διός τοῦ Ὀλυμπίου. σμικρόν τι τὸ διά-

¹ All MSS. have ἐνυδρόσ, which is a strange epithet for the Delta. Modern editors read ἐνυδρῶς or ἐνυδρός.
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,” that is of Egypt as we judge
it to be, reaching from the Plinthinet gulf to the
Serbonian marsh, which is under the Casian mountain;
between these there is this length of sixty schoeni.
Men that have scanty land measure by fathoms;
those that have more, by furlongs; those that have
much land, by parasangs; and those who have great
abundance of it, by schoeni. The parasang is of
thirty furlongs’ length, and the schoenus, which is
an Egyptian measure, is of sixty.

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

1 Literally “ropes.”
φορον εὑροι τις ἂν λογιζόμενοι τῶν ὀδῶν τουτέων τὸ μῆ ὑσας μήκος εἶναι, οὐ πλέον πεντεκαίδεκα σταδίων. ἢ μὲν γὰρ ἐσ Πῖσαν ἐξ Ἀθηνέων καταδεὶ πεντεκαίδεκα σταδίων μὴ εἶναι πεντακοσίων καὶ χιλίων, ἢ δὲ ἐσ Ἡλίου πόλιν ἀπὸ θαλάσσης πληροῖ ἐς τὸν ἀριθμὸν τούτων.
8. Ἀπὸ δὲ Ἡλίου πόλιος ἀνώ ὑόντι στεινῇ ἔστι Ἀιγυπτος. τῇ μὲν γὰρ τῆς Ἀραβίης ὅρος παρατέταται, φέρον ἀπ' ἄρκτον πρὸς μεσαμβρίην τε καὶ νότον, αἰεὶ ἀνώ τείνου ἐς τὴν Ἑρυθρήν καλεομένην θάλασσαν. ἐν τῷ αἰ λιθοτομίαι ἔνεις αἰ ἐς τὰς πυραμίδας κατατμῆθεται τὰς ἐν Μέμφι. ταύτη μὲν λήγουν ἀνακάμπτει ἐς τὰ εἰρητα τὸ ὅρος. τῇ δὲ αὐτῷ ἐωυτοῦ ἔστι μακρὸτατον, ὡς ἐγὼ ἐπυνθανόμην, δύο μηνῶν αὐτὸ εἶναι τῆς ὀδοῦ ἀπὸ ἱδίων πρὸς ἐσπέρην, τὰ δὲ πρὸς τὴν ἤδε λιβάνωσῃ-φόρα αὐτοῦ τὰ τέρματα εἶναι. τούτῳ μὲν νυν τὸ ὅρος τοιοῦτο ἔστι, τὸ δὲ πρὸς Διβύθης τῆς Ἀιγύπτου ὅρος ἀλλο πέτρινον τείνει, ἐν τῷ αἰ πυραμίδες ἔνεις, ψάμμῳ κατειλυμένον, κατὰ τὸν αὐτῶν τρόπον καὶ τοῦ Ἀραβίου τὰ πρὸς μεσαμβρίην φέρουτα. τὸ δὲ ἄπο Ἡλίου πόλιος οὐκέτι πολλὸν χωρίου ὡς εἶναι Ἀιγύπτου, ἀλλ' ὅσον τε ἡμερέων τεσσέρων καὶ δέκα 1 ἀναπλόου ἔστι στεινῇ Ἀιγύπτος, ἐόσα τῶν ὁρέων τῶν εἰρημένων τὸ μεταξὺ πεδίας μὲν γῆ, στάδιοι δὲ μάλιστα ἐδόκεων μοι εἶναι, τῇ στεινότατον ἔστι, διηκοσίων οὐ πλέον έκ τοῦ Ἀραβίου ὅρεος ἐς τὸ Διβύκον καλεόμενον. τὸ δ' ἐνθεύτευν αὐτὶς εὐρέα Ἀιγύπτος ἔστι. πέφυκε μὲν νυν ἡ χώρη αὐτὴ οὔτω.
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;¹ the narrow land has but a length of fourteen days' journey up the river. Between the mountain ranges aforesaid the land is level, and where the plain is narrowest it seemed to me that there were no more than two hundred furlongs between the Arabian mountains and those that are called Libyan. Beyond this Egypt is a wide land again. Such is the nature of this country.

¹ ὥσ εἶναι Αἰγύπτου; so much of the Nile valley being outside Egypt. But it is possible that the words may mean "no great distance, for Egypt," i.e. no great distance relatively to the size of the country.
9. Ἀπὸ δὲ Ἡλίου πόλιος ἐς Θῆβας ἐστὶ ἀνάπλους ἐνεά ήμερέων, στάδιοι δὲ τῆς ὁδοῦ ἐξήκοντα καὶ ὀκτακόσιοι καὶ τετρακισχίλιοι, σχοίνων ἐνὸς καὶ ὀγδώκοντα ἐόντων. οὕτω συντιθέμενοι οἱ στάδιοι Αἰγύπτου τὸ μὲν παρὰ θάλασσαν ἤδη μοι καὶ πρότερον δεδήλωται ὅτι ἐξακοσίων τε ἐστὶ στάδιον καὶ τρισχίλιων, ὡσον δὲ τι ἀπὸ θαλάσσης ἐς μεσόγαιαν μέχρι Θηβέων ἐστί, σημανέω· στάδιοι γὰρ εἰσὶ εἰκοσὶ καὶ ἐκατόν καὶ ἐξακισχίλιοι. τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ Θηβέων ἐς Ἑλεφαντίνην καλεομένην πόλιν στάδιοι χίλιοι καὶ ὀκτακόσιοι εἰσὶ.

10. Ταύτης δὲν τῆς χώρης τῆς εἰρημένης ἡ πολι- λή, κατὰ περὶ οἱ ίρες ἐλεγον, ἐδόκεε καὶ αὐτῷ μοι εἶναι ἐπίκτητος Αἰγυπτίους. τῶν γὰρ ὄρεων τῶν εἰρημένων τῶν ὑπὲρ Μέμφιν πόλιν κεμένων τὸ μεταξὺ ἐφαίνετο μοι εἶναι κοτὲ κόλπος θαλάσσης, ὡσπερ γε τὰ περὶ Ἰλιον καὶ Τευθρανίην καὶ Ἐφεσον τε καὶ Μαιάνδρου πεδίον, ὡς γε εἶναι σμικρὰ ταύτα μεγάλοισι συμβαλεῖν. τῶν γὰρ ταύτα τὰ χωρία προσχωσάντων ποταμῶν ἐν τῶν στομάτων τοῦ Νείλου, ἐόντως πενταστόμου, οὐ- δεὶς αὐτῶν πλῆθος πέρι ἄξιοι συμβληθήναι ἐστὶ. εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ ἄλλοι ποταμοί, οὐ κατὰ τὸν Νείλον ἐόντες μεγάθεα, οὕτως ἥργα ἀποδεξά- μενοι μεγάλα εἰσὶ τῶν ἐγὼ φράσαι ἕχω ὅπωρο- ματα καὶ ἄλλων καὶ οὐκ ἤκιστα Ἀχελώον, ὅς ῥέων δὲ Ἀκαρνανίης καὶ ἐξεις ἐς θάλασσαν τῶν Ἐχινάδων νῆσων τὰς ἡμισέας ήδη ἤπειρον πε- ποιηκε.

11. Ἐστὶ δὲ τῆς Ἀραβίης χώρης, Αἰγύπτου δὲ οὐ πρόσω, κόλπος θαλάσσης ἐσέχων ἐκ τῆς 284
9. From Heliopolis to Thebes it is nine days' journey by river, and the distance is four thousand eight hundred and sixty furlongs, or eighty-one schoeni. This then is the sum of all the furlongs in Egypt: the seaboard is three thousand six hundred furlongs long; and I will now declare the distance inland from the sea to Thebes: it is six thousand one hundred and twenty furlongs. And between Thebes and the city called Elephantine there are eighteen hundred furlongs.

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

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

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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.
Ἡρόδωτος καλεομένης θαλάσσης, μακρὸς οὕτω δὴ τι καὶ στεινὸς ὃς ἐρχομαί φράσων· μῆκος μὲν πλὸς άρξαμένῳ ἐς μυχοῦ διεκπλώσαι ἐς τὴν εὐρέαν θάλασσαν ἥμεραι ἀναίσιμοῦνται τεσσεράκοντα εἰρεσίή χρεωμένῳ· εὔρος δὲ, τῇ εὐρύτατος ἐστὶ ὁ κόλπος, ἠμοῦ ἥμερῃ πλόον. ἤχχη δὲ ἐν αὐτῷ καὶ ἀμπωτίς ἀνὰ πᾶσαν ἥμερην γίνεται. ἔτερον τοιούτου κόλπου καὶ τὴν Ἀἰγυπτοῦ δοκεῶ γενέσθαι κοτέ, τὸν μὲν ἐκ τῆς βορηίης θαλάσσης κόλπου ἐσέχοντα ἐπ' Ἀιδησίης, τὸν δὲ Ἀράβιον, τὸν ἐρχομαί λέξων, ἐκ τῆς νοτίης φέροντα ἐπὶ Συρίης, σχεδὸν μὲν ἀλληλοις συντεταράνθης τοὺς μυχοῦς, ὁλιγοὺς δὲ τὰ παραλλάσσοντας τῆς χώρης. εἰ δὲν ἐθελήσει εκτρέψαι τὸ ῥέθρον ὁ Νεῖλος ἐς τοῦτο τὸν Ἀράβιον κόλπου, τί μην κωλύει βέοντος τοῦτον ἐκχωσθῆναι ἐντὸς γε δισμυρίων ἑτέων; ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ ἐλπομαι γε καὶ μυρίων ἐντὸς χωσθῆναι ἀν κοῦ γε δὴ ἐν τῷ προαναίσιμωμένῳ χρόνῳ πρότερον ἢ ἐμὲ γενέσθαι οὐκ ἂν χωσθεὶς κόλπος καὶ πολλῷ μέξων ἔτι τοῦτον ὑπὸ τοσοῦτον τε ποταμὸν καὶ οὕτω ἔργατικοῦ;

12. Τὰ περὶ Ἀἰγυπτοῦ δὲν καὶ τοῖς λέγοντι αὐτὰ πείθομαι καὶ αὐτὸς οὕτω κάρτα δοκεῶ εἶναι, ἴδον τε τὴν Ἀἰγυπτοῦ προκειμένην τῆς ἔχομένης γῆς κογχύλια τε φαινόμενα ἐπὶ τοῖς ὀρεσί καὶ ἄλμην ἐπανθέουσαν, ὡστε καὶ τὰς πυραμίδας δηλέεσθαι, καὶ ψάμμων μοῦνον Ἀἰγυπτοῦ ὄρος τοῦτο τὸ ὑπέρ Μέμφιος ἑχούν, πρὸς δὲ τῇ χώρῃ οὔτε τῇ Ἀραβίη προσούρῳ ἐνοῦση τὴν Ἀἰγυπτοῦ προσεικέλην οὔτε τῇ Διβύη, οὐ μὲν οὐδὲ τῇ Συρίη (τῆς γὰρ Ἀραβίης τὰ παρὰ θάλασσαν

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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 made into land by a river so great and so busy?

12. Therefore, as to Egypt, I believe those who so speak, and I am myself fully so persuaded; for I have seen that Egypt projects into the sea beyond the neighbouring land, and shells are plain to view on the mountains and the ground is coated with salt (insomuch that the very pyramids are wasted thereby), and the only sandy mountain in Egypt is that which is above Memphis; moreover, Egypt is like neither to the neighbouring land of Arabia, nor to Libya, no, nor to Syria (for the seacoast of Arabia
Σύροι νέμονται), ἀλλὰ μελάγγαιον τε καὶ καταρρηγυμένην, ὡστε έούσαν ἵλν τε καὶ πρόχυσιν εἰς Αἰθιοπίης κατενηυσιγμένην ὕπο τοῦ ποταμοῦ. τὴν δὲ Διεύθυν ᾦδεμεν ἐμνοτήρην τε γὴν καὶ ὑποψαμμοτήρην, τὴν δὲ Ἀραβίην τε καὶ Συρίην ἀγγίλωδεστήρην τε καὶ ὑπόπτερον έούσαν.

13. Ἐλεγον δὲ καὶ τὸδε μοι μέγα τεκμήριον περὶ τῆς χώρης ταύτης οἱ ἱρεῖς, ὡς ἐπὶ Μοῖρας βασιλέος, ὅκως ἔλθοι οὐ ποταμός ἐπὶ ὁκτῶ πῆχεας τὸ ἐλάχιστον, ἀρδεσκε Αἰγυπτοῦ τὴν ἐνερβε Μέμφιοι καὶ Μοῖρι οὐκ ἦν ἔτεα εἰνακόσια τετελευτηκότι ὁτε τῶν ἱρεών ταύτα ἐγὼ ἦκονουν. νῦν δὲ εἰ μὴ ἐπ᾽ ἐκκαίδεκα ἣ πεντεκαίδεκα πῆχεας ἀναβῇ τὸ ἐλάχιστον οὐ ποταμός, οὐκ ὑπερβαίνει εἰς τὴν χώρην. δοκέουσι τε μοι Αἰγυπτίων οἱ ἐνερθε λίμνης τῆς Μοῖρας οἰκεύοντες τὰ τε ἄλλα χωρία καὶ τὸ καλεόμενον Δέλτα, ἦν οὐτώ ἢ χώρη αὕτη κατὰ λόγον ἐπιδιδῶ ἡ ψυχας καὶ τὸ ὁμοίου ἀποδιδῶ ἡς αὐξησιν,1 μὴ κατακλύζουντος αὕτην τοῦ Νείλου πείσεσθαι τὸν πάντα χρόνου τὸν ἐπίλουτον Αἰγύπτιοι τὸ κοτὲ αὐτοί Ἑλληνας ἑφασαν πείσεσθαι. πυθόμενοι γὰρ ὃς υπαί πάσα ἡ χώρη τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἀλλ᾽ οὐ ποταμοῖοι ἀρδεαί κατὰ περ ἡ σφετέρη, ἑφασαν Ἑλληνας ψευσθέντας κοτὲ ἐλπίδος μεγάλης κακῶς πεινῆσειν. τὸ δὲ ἐπος τοῦτο ἐθέλει λέγειν ὡς, εἰ μὴ ἔθελήσει σφί ὑπὸν ὁ θεὸς ἄλλα αὐχμῳ διαχράσθαι, λιμῷ οἱ Ἑλληνες αἰρεθήσονται: οὐ γὰρ ὅς σφι ἐστὶ ὑδατος οὐδεμία ἄλλη ἀποστροφή ὅτι μὴ ἐκ τοῦ Διὸς μοῦνον.

1 Stein brackets καὶ . . . αὔξησιν.
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 Ἕλληνας Ἀιγυπτίοις ὁρθῶς ἔχοντα εἰρηταί: φέρε δὲ νῦν καὶ αὐτοῖς Ἀιγυπτίοις ὡς ἔχει φράσω: εἴ σφι θέλω, ὡς καὶ πρότερον εἶπον, ἡ χώρη ἢ ἐνερθε Μέμφιος (αὕτη γὰρ ἐστὶ ἡ αὐξανομένη) κατὰ λόγον τοῦ παροικο-μένου χρόνου ἐς ύψος αὐξάνεσθαι, ἀλλο τι ἢ οἱ ταύτῃ οἰκέοντες Ἀιγυπτίων πεινήσουσι; εἴ μήτε γε ὑσεται σφι ἡ χώρη μήτε ὁ ποταμὸς οἶός τ' ἔσται ἐς τὰς ἀροῦρας ὑπερβαίνειν. ἡ γὰρ δὴ νῦν γε οὕτω ἀπονητότατα καρπὸν κομίζονται ἐκ γῆς τῶν τε ἀλλῶν ἀνθρώπων πάντων καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν Ἀιγυπτίων οὐ οὕτε ἀρότρωφο ἀναρρητήνυντες αὐ- λακας ἔχουσι πόνους οὕτε σκάλλοντες οὔτε ἄλλου ἐργαζόμενοι οὐδέν τῶν οἱ ἄλλαι ἀνθρωποὶ περὶ λήμνον πονέουσι, ἀλλ' ἐπειὰν σφι ὁ ποταμὸς αὐτό- ματος ἐπελθὼν ἁρσή τὰς ἀροῦρας, ἁρσας δὲ ἀπολίπῃ ὁπίσω, τότε σπείρας ἐκαστὸς τὴν ἐωτοῦ ἄρουραν ἐσβάλλει ἐς αὐτὴν ύς, ἐπειὰν δὲ κατα- πατήσῃ τῆς υσὶ τὸ σπέρμα, ἀμητοῦ τὸ ἀπ' τοῦτο μένει, ἀποδινήσας δὲ τῆς υσὶ τῶν σίτου οὕτω κομίζοται.

15. Εἰ δὲν βουλόμεθα γνωμησι τῆς Ἰόνων χράσθαι τὰ περὶ Ἀιγυπτοῦ, οὐ φασὶ τὸ Δέλτα μοῦνον εἶναι Ἀιγυπτοῦ, ἀπὸ Περσέως καλεομένης σκοπῆς λέγοντες τὸ παρὰ θάλασσαν εἶναι αὐτῆς μέχρι ταριχῆν τῶν Πηλουσιακῶν, τῇ δὴ τεσ- σεράκοντα εἰσὶ σχοῦνοι, τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ θαλάσσης λεγόντων ἐς μεσόγαιαν τείνειν αὐτὴν μέχρι Κερ- κασώρου πόλιος, κατ' ἥν σχῦζεται ὁ Νείλος ἐς τε Πηλουσιον ρέων καὶ ἐς Κάνοβον, τὰ δὲ ἀλλα λεγόντων τῆς Ἀιγυπτοῦ τὰ μὲν Διβύθης τὰ δὲ Ἀραβίης εἶναι, ἀποδεικνύομεν ἂν τοῦτο 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 get in their produce with so little labour; they have not the toil of ploughing up their land into furrows, nor of hoeing, nor of any other work which other men do to get them a crop; the river rises of itself, waters the fields, and then sinks back again; thereupon each man sows his field and sends swine into it to tread down the seed, and waits for the harvest; then he makes the swine to thresh his grain, and so garners it.

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

¹ At the southern point of the Delta, where the two main channels of the Nile divide, not far below Cairo.
λόγῳ χρεώμενοι Αἰγυπτίοισι οὖκ έδόσαν πρότερον χώρην. ἣδη γάρ σφι τὸ τῇ Δέλτα, ὡς αὐτοὶ λέγουσι Αἰγυπτίοι καὶ ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ, ἐστὶ κατάρρυτον τε καὶ νεωστὶ ὡς λόγῳ εἶπεν ἀναπεφηνός. εἰ τοίνυν σφι χώρη γε μηδεμία ὑπῆρχε, τί περιεργάζοντο δοκέοντες πρῶτοι ἀνθρώπων γεγονέναι; οὐδὲ ἔδει σφέας ἐς διάπεραν τῶν παιδίων ἰέναι, τίνα γλώσσαν πρώτην ἀπήσουσι. ἀλλ' οὔτε Αἰγυπτίους δοκεὼ ἀμα τῷ Δέλτα τῷ ὑπὸ Ἰῶνων καλεομένῳ γενέσθαι αἰεί τε εἶναι ἐξ οὗ ἀνθρώπων γένος ἐγένετο, προϊόσθης δὲ τῆς χώρης πολλοὺς μὲν τοὺς ὑπολειτουμένους αὐτῶν γενέσθαι πολλοὺς δὲ τοὺς ὑποκαταβαίνοντας. τὸ δ' ὅν πάλαι αἱ Θῆβαι Αἰγυπτος ἐκαλέστο, τῆς τὸ περίμετρον στάδιοι εἰσὶ εἰκοσὶ καὶ ἐκατὸν καὶ ἐξακισχίλιοι.

16. Εἰ δ' ἥμεις ὀρθῶς περὶ αὐτῶν γινώσκομεν, Ἰωνεσ οὖκ εὖ φρονέουσι περὶ Αἰγυπτοῦ. εἰ δὲ ὀρθῇ ἐστὶ ἡ γνώμη τῶν Ἰῶνων, Ἑλληνας τε καὶ αὐτοὺς Ἰωνις ἀποδείκνυμι οὐκ ἐπισταμένους λογίζεσθαι, οἴς φαινει τρία πάρια εἶναι γῆν πᾶσαν, Εὐρώπην τε καὶ ᾿Ασίην καὶ Διβύνην. τέταρτον γὰρ δὴ σφέας δεῖ προσλογίζεσθαι Αἰγυπτοῦ τῷ Δέλτα, εἰ μήτε γε ἐστὶ τῆς ᾿Ασίης μήτε τῆς Διβύνης οὐ γὰρ δὴ ὁ Νεῖλος γε ἐστὶ κατὰ τούτον τὸν λόγον ὁ τῆς ᾿Ασίης οὐρίζων τῇ Διβύνη, τοῦ Δέλτα δὲ τούτον κατὰ τὸ δὲ περιρρήγυνται ὁ Νεῖλος, ὅστε ἐν τῷ μεταξὺ ᾿Ασίης τε καὶ Διβύνης γίνοντ' ᾿αν.

17. Καὶ τὴν μὲν Ἰῶνων γνώμην άπέλεμεν, ἥμεις δὲ ὅδε καὶ περὶ τούτων λέγομεν, Αἰγυπτοῦ μὲν πᾶσαν εἶναι ταῦτην τὴν ὑπ’ Αἰγυπτίων οἰκεομέ-292
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
νην κατά περ Κιλικίην τὴν ὑπὸ Κιλίκων καὶ Ἀσσυρίην τὴν ὑπὸ Ἀσσυρίων, οὕρισμα δὲ Ἀσίη καὶ Διβύη οἴδαμεν οὐδὲν ἐδοῦ ὅρθω λόγῳ εἰ μὴ τοὺς Ἀγανπτίων οὐροὺς. εἰ δὲ τῷ ὑπὸ Ἑλλήνων νεομισμένω χρησόμεθα, νομοῦμεν Ἀγανπτον πᾶσαν ἀρξαμένην ἀπὸ Καταδούπων τε καὶ Ἑλε- φαντίνης πόλιος δίχα διαιρέεσθαι καὶ ἀμφοτερέων τῶν ἐπωνυμεών ἔχεσθαι: τὰ μὲν γὰρ αὐτῆς εἶναι τῆς Διβύης τὰ δὲ τῆς Ἀσίης. ὁ γὰρ δὴ Νεῖλος ἀρξάμενος εκ τῶν Καταδούπων ῥεει μέσην Ἀγα- πτον σχίζων ἐς θάλασσαν. μέχρι μὲν γὰρ Κερκα- σώρου πόλιος ῥεει εἰς ἐδών ὦ Νεῖλος, τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ ταύτης τῆς πόλιος σχίζεται τριφασίας ὁδοῦς. καὶ ἢ μὲν πρὸς ἢδ' ἀπέρεται, τὸ καλέσται Πηλούσιον στόμα, ἢ δὲ ἐτέρῃ τῶν ὁδῶν πρὸς ἐστέρην ἔχει· τούτῳ δὲ Κανωβικὸν στόμα κέκληται. ἢ δὲ δὴ ἰδέα τῶν ὁδῶν τῷ Νεῖλῳ ἄστι ἤδ' ἄνωθεν φερό- μενος ἐς τὸ δὲ τοῦ Δέλτα ἀπικνεέται, τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ τούτου σχίζων μέσον τὸ Δέλτα ἐς θάλασσαν ἐξει, οὕτε ἐλαχίστην μοῖραν τοῦ ὕδατος παρεχόμενος ταύτην οὕτε ἥκιστα ὁνομασθῆν· τὸ καλέσται Σεβεννυτικὸν στόμα. ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἐτερα διφάσια στόματα ἀπὸ τοῦ Σεβεννυτικοῦ ἀποσχισθέντα, φέροντα ἐς θάλασσαν· τοῖσι οὐνόματα κέεται τάδε, τῷ μὲν Σαίτικον αὐτῶν τῷ δὲ Μενδήσιον. τὸ δὲ Βολβίτινον στόμα καὶ τὸ Βουκολικὸν οὐκ ἰθαγενέα στόματα ἔστι ἀλλ' ὀρυκτά.

18. Μαρτυρεῖ δὲ μοι τῇ γυνώμη, ὧτι τοσαύτη ἐστὶ Ἀγανπτος ὅσην τινὰ ἐγὼ ἀποδείκνυμι τῷ λόγῳ, καὶ το Ὁμμωνος χρηστήριον γενόμενον· τὸ ἐγὼ τῆς ἐμεωτοῦ γυνώμης ύστερον περὶ Ἀγαν- πτον ἐπιθόμην. οἱ γὰρ δὴ ἐκ Μαρέθες τε πόλιος 294
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, to be divided into two parts, and to claim both the names, the one part belonging to Libya and the other to Asia. Now as far as the city Cercasorus the Nile flows in one channel, but after that it parts into three. One of these, which is called the Pelusian mouth, flows eastwards; the second flows westwards, and is called the Canobic mouth. But the direct channel of the Nile, when the river in its downward course reaches the sharp point of the Delta, flows thereafter clean through the middle of the Delta into the sea; in this is seen the greatest and most famous part of its waters, and it is called the Sebennytic mouth. There are also two channels which separate themselves from the Sebennytic and so flow into the sea, by name the Saïtic and the Mendesian. The 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

1 On the island opposite Syene (Assuan).
καὶ Ἀπιός, οἰκέοντες Ἀιγύπτου τὰ πρόσωπα Δισύ, αὐτοὶ τὲ δοκέοντες εἶναι Διβνες καὶ οὐκ Ἀιγύπτιοι καὶ ἀχθόμενοι τῇ περὶ τὰ ἴρα θρησκείᾳ, βουλόμενοι θηλέων βοῶν μὴ ἔργεσθαι, ἐπεμψαν ἐς Ἀμμωνα φάμενοι οὐδὲν σφίσι τε καὶ Ἀιγύπτιοι κοινὸν εἰναι οἰκεῖεν τῇ γαρ ἔξω τοῦ Δέλτα καὶ οὐδὲν ὁμολογεῖειν αὐτοῖς, βουλέσθαι τε πάντων σφίσι ἐξεῖναι γεύσθαι. ὁ δὲ θεὸς σφέας οὐκ ἔα ποιεῖν ταῦτα, οὶς Ἀγύπτιον εἰναι ταύτην τὴν ὥ Νείλος ἔτπον ἅρδει, καὶ Ἀιγύπτιοις εἰναι τούτους οἱ ἔνεργε Ἐλεφαντίνης πόλιος οἰκεόντες ἀπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ τούτου πίνουσι. οὕτω σφὶ ταῦτα ἔχρησθη.  

19. Ἐπέρχεται δὲ ὁ Νείλος, ἐπεαὶ πληθυ, οὐ μοῦνον τὸ Δέλτα ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦ Διβνυκοῦ τε λεγομένου χωρίου εἰναι καὶ τοῦ Ἀραβίου ἐνιακῆ καὶ ἐπὶ δύο ἡμερέων ἐκατέρωθι ὁδὸν, καὶ πλέον ἐτὶ τούτον καὶ ἕλασσον. τοῦ ποταμοῦ δὲ φύσιος πέρι ὡτὲ τῶν ἱρέων οὐτε ἄλλου οὐδενὸς παραλαβεῖν ἐδυνάσθην, πρόθυμος δὲ ἐὰν τάδε παρ’ αὐτῶν πυθέσθαι, ὁ τι κατέρχεται μὲν ὁ Νείλος πληθύνων ἀπὸ τροπέων τῶν θερινῶν ἡρξάμενος ἐπὶ ἐκατὸν ἡμέρας, πελάσας δὲ ἐς τὸν ἄρισθον τουτέων τῶν ἡμερέων ὁπίσω ἀπέρχεται ἀπολεῖπων τὸ ρέθρον, ὥστε βραχὺς τὸν χειμῶνα ἅπαντα διατελέει ἔως μέχρι οὗ αὐτὸς τροπέων τῶν θερινῶν. τούτων δὲν πέρι οὐδενὸς οὐδὲν οἶος τε ἐγενόμην παραλαβεῖν παρὰ τῶν Ἀγύπτιών, ἱστορέων αὐτοῦς ἡμνίωα δύναμιν ἔχει ὁ Νείλος τὰ ἐμπαλην πεφυκέναι τῶν ἄλλων ποταμῶν ταῦτα τε δὴ τὰ λελεγμένα βουλόμενοι εἰδέναι ἱστορέον καὶ ὁ τι αὕρας ἀποπνεοῦσας μόνονος 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 θυμάμενοι γενέσθαι σοφίν ἐλέξαν περὶ τοῦ ἤδατος τοῦτον τριφάσιος ὄδοὺς· τῶν τὰς μὲν δύο τῶν ὄδῶν οὐδ’ ἀξίω μνησθῆναι εἰ μὴ ὅσον σημὰντας βουλόμενος μοῦν τῶν ἡ ἔτερη μὲν λέγει τοὺς ἐτησίας ἄνεμους εἶναι αἴτιοι πληθύνεων τὸν ποτα-μόν, κωλύοντας ἐς θάλασσαν ἐκρέειν τὸν Νεῖλον. πολλάκις δὲ ἐτησία μὲν οὐκὼν ἐπνευσαν, ὅ δὲ Νεῖλος τῶντο ἐργάζεται. πρὸς δὲ, εἰ ἐτησίαι αἴτιοι ἦσαν, χρὴν καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ποταμοὺς, ὅσοι τοῦτο ἐτησίησιν ἀντίοι κέουσιν, ὅμοιος πάσχειν καὶ κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ τῷ Νεῖλῳ, καὶ μᾶλλον ἔτι το- σοῦτῳ ὅσῳ ἐλάσσονες ἐόντες ἀσθενέστερα τὰ ὑπόματα παρέχονται. εἰσὶ δὲ πολλοὶ μὲν ἐν τῇ Συρίᾳ ποταμοὶ πολλοὶ δὲ ἐν τῇ Διβύῃ, οἱ οὐδὲν τοιοῦτο πάσχουσι οἶνον τι καὶ ὁ Νεῖλος.

21. Ἡ δ’ ἐτέρη ἀνεπιστημονεστέρη μὲν ἐστὶν τῆς λει βεμένης, λόγῳ δὲ εἰπεῖν θωμασιωτέρη· ἥ λέγει ἀπό τοῦ ’Ωκεανοῦ βέντα αὐτὸν ταῦτα μηχανᾶσθαι, τὸν δὲ ’Ωκεανὸν γῆν περὶ πᾶσαν ἰόειν.

22. Ἡ δὲ τρίτη τῶν ὁδῶν πολλοὺς ἐπιεικεστάτη ἐσόνσα μάλιστα ἐψευστάτη· λέγει γὰρ δὴ οὐδ’ αὐτή οὐδέν, φαμένη τὸν Νεῖλον βέειν ἀπὸ τηκομένης χίωνος· ὃς ρέει μὲν ἐκ Διβύης διὰ μέσων Αἰθίο- πων, ἐκδιδοῖ δὲ ἐς Αἰγυπτοῦ. κὼς δὲν δήτα βέει ἀν ἀπὸ χίωνος, ἀπὸ τῶν θερμοτάτων ἰοίν ἐς τὰ ψυχρότερα τὰ πολλά ἐστὶν; ἀνθράγος λογίζεσθαι τοιοῦτον πέρι οἶνω τε ἐόντει, ὃς οὐδὲ οἰκὸς ἀπὸ χίωνος μνήμειν, πρῶτον μὲν καὶ μέγιστον μαρ- τυρίον οἱ ἀνεμοὶ παρέχονται πνεύματες ἀπὸ τῶν
20. But some of the Greeks, wishing to be notable for cleverness, put forward three opinions about this river; of which there are two that I would not even mention, save to show only what they are. One of these will have it that the etesian 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

\(^1\) The regular N.W. winds which blow in summer from the Mediterranean.
χωρέων τούτων θερμοὶ· δεύτερον δὲ ὅτι ἄνομβρος
ἡ χώρη καὶ ἀκρύσταλλος διατελεῖ έισθα, ἐπὶ δὲ
χίοις πεσοῦσι πᾶσα ἀνάγκη ἑστὶ ὑπερὶ ἐν πέντε
ἡμέρησι, ὡστε, εἰ ἐχιῶνις, οὕτοι ἂν ταῦτα τὰ
χωρία: τρίτα δὲ ὅτι ἄνθρωποι ὑπὸ τοῦ καύματος
μέλανες ἑόντες. Ἰκτίνωι δὲ καὶ χειλιδώνες ἓν ἔτεος
ἑόντες οὐκ ἀπολείπουσι, γέρανοι δὲ φεύγουσαι τοῦ
χειμῶνα τοῦ ἐν τῇ Σκυθικῇ χώρῃ γνώμενοι φοι-
τῶσι ἐσ χειμασίην ἐς τοὺς τόπους τούτους. εἰ
tούς ἐχιῶνις καὶ ὅσον ὀν ταύτην τὴν χώρην ἄ
η τε ἐνεὶ καὶ ἑκ τῆς ἄρχεται ρέων ὁ Νεῖλος, ἢν
ἀν τούτων οὐδεν, ὡς ἦ ἀνάγκη ἐλέγχει.

23. Ὅ δὲ περὶ τοῦ Ὀκεανοῦ λέξας ἐς ἄφανες τοῦ
μῦθον ἀνανείκασι ὦν ἐχει ἐλεγχον, οὐ γὰρ τινὰ
ἔγωγε οἶδα ποταμοῦ Ὀκεανοῦ ἑόντα, ὁμηροὺ δὲ
ἡ τινὰ τῶν πρώτον γενομένων ποιητέων δοκέω
tὸ ὅνυμα εὑρόντα ἐς ποιησιν ἐσενείκασθαι.

24. Εἰ δὲ δεὶ μεμψάμενον γνώμας τὰς προ-
κειμένας αὐτῶν περὶ τῶν ἄφανεών γνώμην ἀποδέ-
ξασθαι, φράσω δὲ ὅτι μοι δοκεῖ πληθύνεσθαι ὁ
Νεῖλος τοῦ θέρεως· τὴν χειμερνίην ὄρην ἀπε-
λαυνόμενος ὁ ἦλιος ἐκ τῆς ἀρχαῖης διεύθοδον ὑπὸ
tῶν χειμώνων ἐρχεται τῆς Διβύης τὰ ἄνω. ὡς
μὲν νυν ἐν ἐλαχίστῳ δηλῶσαι, πὰν εἰρήται· τῆς
γὰρ ἃν ἀγχοτάτῳ τῇ χώρῃς οὕτος ὁ θεὸς καὶ
κατὰ ἡμίνα, ταύτην οἰκὸς διψῆν τε ὑδάτων
μάλιστα καὶ τὰ ἐγχώρια βεῦμα μαραίνεσθαι
tῶν ποταμῶν.

25. Ὡς δὲ ἐν πλέον λόγῳ δηλῶσαι, ὅτε ἐχει
διεξοῦν τῆς Διβύης τὰ ἄνω ὁ ἦλιος τάδε ποτέεν
ἀτε διὰ παντὸς τοῦ χρόνου αἴθριον τε ἑόντω τοῦ
Ethiopia are hot. And the second proof is, that the country is ever without rain and frost; but after snow has fallen there must needs be rain within five days; 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 ταῦτα τὰ χωρία καὶ ἀλεεινῆς τῆς χώρης ἑούσης καὶ ἀνέμων ψυχρῶν, διεξίων ποιεῖι οἶνον περ καὶ τὸ θέρος ἐωθεὶ ποιεῖιν ὅν το μέσον τοῦ οὐρανοῦ. ἔλκει γὰρ ἐπὶ ἑωτὸν τὸ ὕδωρ, ἐλκύσας δὲ ἀπωθέει ἐς τὰ ἄνω χωρία, ὑπολαμβάνουτες δὲ οἱ ἀνέμοι καὶ διασκιδινάντες τῆς χώρης πνέουτες, ὃ τε νότος καὶ ὁ λίστερος ἀνέμων πολλῶν τῶν πάντων ὑπειωταῖο. δοκέει δὲ μοι οὐδὲ πάν τὸ ὕδωρ τὸ ἐπέτειον ἐκάστοτε ἀποπέμπεσθαι τοῦ Νείλου ὁ ἦλιος, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑπολείπεσθαι περὶ ἑωτοῦ. πρηνυμομένου δὲ τοῦ χειμῶνος ἀπέρχεται ὁ ἦλιος ἐς μέσον τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ὑπίσω, καὶ τὸ ἐνθεύτευν ἔδη ὁμοίως ἀπὸ πάντων ἔλκει τῶν πολλῶν. τέως δὲ οἱ μὲν ὁμβρίου ὕδατος συμμισθήσημεν πολλοῦ αὐτοῦ, ἀτε υφικευτες τε τῆς χώρης καὶ κεχαράδρωμενης, ἱεύουσι μεγάλοι τοῦ δὲ θέρεως τῶν τε ὁμβρών ἐπικλείουται αὐτοῦ καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ ἦλιου ἐλκύμενοι ἀσθενεῖς εἰσὶ. ο ὁ Νείλος ἐὼν ἀνομβρος, ἐλκύμενος δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ ἦλιου μοῦνος ποταμῶν τοῦτον τῶν χρόνον, οἰκότως αὐτὸς ἑουτῷ βρέει πολλῷ ὑποδεέστερος ἡ τοῦ θέρεως τοῖς μὲν γὰρ μετὰ πάντων τῶν ὑδατὼν ἱσον ἐλκεται, τὸν δὲ χειμῶνα μοῦνος πιέζεται.

26. Ὑπὸ τῶν ἦλιον νυκτομίκα τούτων αὐτίου εἶναι. αὐτίος δὲ ὁ αὐτὸς οὔτως κατὰ γνώμην τὴν ἐμὴν καὶ τὸν ἕρα αἰχρὸν τὸν ταύτη εἶναι, διακαιόντων τὴν διέξοδον ἑουτοῦ οὔτως τῆς Διβύδης τὰ ἄνω θέρος αἰεὶ κατέχει. εἰ δὲ ἡ στάσις ἡλλακτο τῶν ὄρεων, καὶ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ τῇ μὲν νῦν ὁ βορέης τε καὶ ὁ χειμῶν ἐστάσι, ταύτη μὲν τοῦ νότου ἡ στάσις καὶ τῆς μεσαμβρίης, 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
εστηκε, ταύτη δὲ ὁ βορεὺς, εἰ ταύτα οὖτω εἴχε, ὁ ἤλιος ἀν ἄπελαυνόμενος ἐκ μέσου τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ὑπὸ τοῦ χειμώνος καὶ τοῦ βορέως ἦς ἂν τὰ ἀνω τῆς Εὐρώπης κατὰ περ ὑν τῆς Διβύης ἐρχεται, διεξιόντα δ' ἂν μιν διὰ πάσης Εὐρώπης ἔλπομαι ποιεῖν ἂν τὸν Ἰστρον τά περ ὑν ἐργάζεται τὸν Νείλον.

27. Τῆς αὐρης δὲ πέρι, ὅτι οὐκ ἀποπνεύει, τῆνδε ἑξω γνώμην, ὡς κάρτα ἀπὸ θερμέων χωρέων οὐκ οἰκός ἐστι οὐδὲν ἀποπνέειν, αὐρη δὲ ἀπὸ ψυχροῦ τινος φιλεῖ πνεύει.

28. Ταύτα μέν νυν ἔστω ὡς ἐστι τε καὶ ὡς ἀρχὴν ἐγένετο τοῦ δὲ Νείλου τὰς πηγὰς οὔτε Αἰγυπτίων οὔτε Διβύων οὔτε Ἕλληνων τῶν ἐμοὶ ἄπικομένων ἐς λόγους οὔδεὶς ὑπέσχετο εἰδέναι, εἰ μὴ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ ἐν Σάι πόλι ο γραμματιστής τῶν ἱρῶν χρημάτων τῆς Ἀθηναίης. οὕτος δὲ ἔμουγε παίζεων ἐδόκεε φάμενοι εἰδέναι ἀτρεκέως· ἐλεγε δὲ ὡδε, εἶναι δύο ὅρεα ἑς ἄν τὰς κορυφὰς ἀπηγμένα, μεταξὺ Συκῆς τε πόλιος κείμενα τῆς Θηβαίδος καὶ Ἔλεφαντίνης, οὐνόματα δὲ εἶναι τοῖς ὀρεσι τῷ μὲν Κράθι τῷ δὲ Μώψῃ· τὰς ὄν ὅτι πηγὰς τοῦ Νείλου ἕωσας ἄβυσσους ἐκ τοῦ μέσου τῶν ὅρεων τούτων ῥεειν, καὶ τὸ μὲν ἡμισὶν τοῦ ὑδάτος ἐπ' Αἰγύπτου ῥεειν καὶ πρὸς βορεύν ἀνεμον, τὸ δ' ἐτερον ἡμισὶν ἐπ' Ἀἰδιοπίης τε καὶ νότον. ὡς δὲ ἄβυσσοι εἰσὶ αἰ πηγαί, ἐς διάπεραν ἐφ' τούτου Ψαμμήτηχον Αἰγύπτου βασιλέα ἀπικέσθαι πολλῆσιν γὰρ αὐτῶν χιλιάδων ὀργυεόν πλεξάμενον κάλου κατεῦναι ταύτῃ καὶ οὐκ ἐξικέσθαι ἐς βυσσον. οὕτω μὲν δὴ ὁ γραμματιστής, εἰ ἀρα ταύτα γινόμενα ἐλεγε, ἀπέφαινε, ὡς ἐμὲ κατανοείν, δίνας 304
now,—if this were so, the sun when driven from mid-heaven by the winter and the north wind would pass over the inland parts of Europe as he now passes over Libya, and I think that in his passage over all Europe he would work the same effect on the Ister as he now does on the Nile.

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

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

29. Ἡ ἄλλῃ τοσούδε μὲν ἄλλῃ ἐπὶ μακρότατον ἐπιθύμημι, μέχρι μὲν Ἐλεφαντίνης πόλιος αὐτόπτης ἔλθών, τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦτον ἁκοὴ ἡδὴ ἱστορέων. ἀπὸ Ἐλεφαντίνης πόλιος ἄνω ἱόντι ἀναντες ἐστὶς χωρίον ταύτη δὲν δεῖ τὸ πλοῖον διαδήσατας ἀμφοτέρωθεν κατὰ περ βοῦν πορεύεσθαι ἢν δὲ ἀπορραγῆ τὸ πλοῖον, οὔχεται φερόμενον ὑπὸ ἵσχύος τοῦ βύσσου. τὸ δὲ χωρίον τοῦτο ἐστὶ ἐπὶ ἡμέρας τέσσερας πλοῖος, σκολίος δὲ ταύτῃ κατὰ περ ὁ Μαίανδρος ἐστὶς ὁ Νεῖλος. σχοῖνοι δὲ δυνώδεκα εἰσὶν οὗτοι τοὺς δεῖ τοῦτῳ τὸ τρόπῳ διεκπλῶσαι. καὶ ἔπειτα ἀπίστευε ἐς πεδίον λείον, ἐν τῷ νῆσῳ περιφρείει ὁ Νεῖλος. Ταχομφίῳ οὐνομα αὐτὴ ἐστι. οὐκέουσι δὲ τὰ ἀπὸ Ἐλεφαντίνης ἄνω Αἰθίοπες ἡδῆ καὶ τῆς νῆσος τὸ ἡμίσυ, τὸ δὲ ἡμίσυν Ἀἰγύπτιοι. οὔχεται δὲ τῆς νῆσου λίμνη μεγάλη, τὴν περίξ νομάδες Αἰθίοπες νέμονται τὴν διεκπλώσας ἐς τὸν Νεῖλον τὸ ρέεθρον ᾦς εἰς, τὸ ἐς τὴν λίμνην ταύτην ἐκδιδοῖ. καὶ ἔπειτα ἀποβάς παρὰ τὸν ποταμὸν ὀδοιπορίην ποιήσει ἡμερέων τεσσεράκοντα. σκόπελοί τε γὰρ ἐν τῷ Νεῖλῳ ὄξεις ἀνέχουσι καὶ χοιράδες πολλαί εἰσι, δι᾽ ὅν οὐκ οἶδα τε ἐστὶ πλέειν. διεξελθὼν δὲ ἐν τῇ τεσσεράκοντα ἡμέρῃ τούτῳ τὸ χωρίον, αὐτίς ἐς ἔτερον πλοῖον ἐσβάς δυνώδεκα ἡμέρας πλέεσθαι, καὶ ἔπειτα ἦς εἰς τὸν πόλις μεγάλην τῇ οὖνομα ἐστὶς Μερόν. λέγεται δὲ αὐτὴ ἡ πόλις εἶναι μητρόπολις τῶν ἄλλων 306
BOOK II. 28–29

strong eddies and an upward flow of water, and the rushing of the stream against the hills makes the sounding-line when let down unable to reach the bottom.

29. From no other man could I learn anything. But this much I learnt by the farthest inquiry that I could make, by my own travel and sight as far as the city of Elephantine, and beyond that by question and hearsay:—Beyond Elephantine, the land rises. Here one must pass with the boat roped on both sides as men harness an ox; and if the rope break, the boat is carried away by the strength of the current. This part of the river is a four days' journey by boat, and the Nile here is winding like the Maeander; a length of twelve schoeni must be passed in the aforesaid fashion. After that you will come to a level plain, where there is an island in the Nile, called 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
HERODOTUS

Αἰθιόπων. οί δ' ἐν ταύτῃ Δία θεῶν καὶ Διόνυσου
μούνους σέβονται, τούτους τε μεγάλους τιμῶσι, καὶ σφι μαντήμιον Δίως κατέστηκε· στρατευοῦται
dὲ ἐπεάν σφεας ὁ θεὸς οὗτος κελεῦη διὰ θεσπισμά-
tων, καὶ τῇ ἀν κελεύη, ἐκεῖσε.

30. Ἀπὸ δὲ ταύτης τῆς πόλεως πλέων ἐν ἵσῳ
χρόνῳ ἄλλῳ ἤξεις ἐς τοὺς αὐτομόλους ἐν ὦσῳ περ
ἐξ Ἐλεφάντίνης ἠλθες ἐς τὴν μητρόπολιν τὴν
Αἰθιόπων. τοῖσι δὲ αὐτομόλοις τούτοισι οὖνομα
ἐστὶ Ἀσμάχ, δύναται δὲ τούτο τὸ ἔπος κατὰ τὴν
Ἐλλήνων γλῶσσαν οἱ εἰς ἀριστερῆς χειρὸς παρ-
ιστάμενοι βασιλέα. ἀπέστησαν δὲ αὐται τέσσε-
ρες καὶ εἶκοσι μυριάδες Ἀιγυπτίων τῶν μαχίμων
ἐς τοὺς Αἰθιόπας τούτους δὲ αἵτινη τοιήματε. ἔπι
Ψαμμητίχου βασιλέος φυλακαὶ κατέστησαν ἐν
tε Ἐλεφάντινη πόλι πρὸς Αἰθιόπων καὶ ἐν Δάφ-
νησι τῇ Πηλούσιη ἄλλῃ πρὸς Ἀραβίων τε
καὶ Ἀσσυρίων, καὶ ἐν Μαρέῃ πρὸς Διβύνης ἄλλῃ.
ἐτὶ δὲ ἐπι ἐμεῦ καὶ Περσίων κατὰ ταυτὰ αἱ
φυλακαὶ ἔχουσι ὡς καὶ ἐπὶ Ψαμμητίχου ἤσαν,
nυρὲ Ἐλεφάντινη Πέρσαι φρουρέουσι καὶ
ἐν Δάφνησι. τοὺς δὲν δὴ Ἀιγυπτίων τρία ἔτεα
φρουρίσαντες ἀπέλυε οúdeις τῆς φρουρῆς· οἱ δὲ
Βουλευσάμενοι καὶ κοίνῳ λόγῳ χρησάμενοι πάντες
ἀπὸ τοῦ Ψαμμητίχου ἀποστάντες ἦσαν ἐς Αἴθη-
οπίνην. Ψαμμητίχος δὲ πυθόμενος ἐδίωκε· ὡς δὲ
κατέλαβε, ἐδέετο πολλὰ λέγων καὶ σφεας θεοὺς
πατρώους ἀπολυπῶν οὐκ ἦν καὶ τέκνα καὶ γυναι-
κας. τῶν δὲ τινὰ λέγεται δέξαντα τὸ αἰðοῖον

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

30. From this city you will make a journey by water of equal distance with that by which you came from Elephantine to the capital city of Ethiopia, and you will come to the land of the Deserters. These Deserters are called Asmach, which signifies, in our language, those who stand on the left hand of the king. These once, to the number of two hundred and forty thousand Egyptians of fighting age, revolted and joined themselves to the Ethiopians. The reason was this:—In the reign of Psammetichus there were garrisons posted at Elephantine on the side of Ethiopia, at Daphnae of Pelusium on the side of Arabia and Assyria, and at Marea on the side of Libya. And still in my time the Persians hold these posts as they were held in the days of Psammetichus; there are Persian guards at Elephantine and at Daphnae. Now the Egyptians had been on guard for three years, and none came to relieve them; so taking counsel and making common cause, they revolted from Psammetichus and went to Ethiopia. Psammetichus heard of it and pursued after them; and when he overtook them he besought them with many words not to desert the gods of their fathers and their children and wives. Then one of them, so the story goes, said, pointing to his manly part, current above Elephantine, as those who have made the passage between the Assuan Dam and Assuan will realise. But the conditions have of course been entirely altered by the construction of the dam.
εἰπεῖν, ἐνθα ἂν τοῦτο ἢ, ἐσεσθαι αὐτοῦ ἐνθαῦτα καὶ τέκνα καὶ γυναῖκας. οὕτωι ἔπειτε ἐς Αἰθιοπίνην ἀπίκοντο, διδοῦσι σφέας αὐτός τῷ Αἰθιόπῳ βασιλεί, ὅ δὲ σφέας τῷ ἀντιδωρεῖται ἵσαν οἱ διάφοροι τινὲς γεγονότες τῶν Αἰθιόπων τούτους ἐκέλευε ἐξελόντας τὴν ἐκείνων γῆν οἰκείων. τούτων δὲ ἐσοικισθέντων ἐς τοὺς Ἀἰθιόπας ἦμεροτεροι γεγονασι Ἀἰθιόπες, ἥθεα μαθόντες Αἰγύπτια.

31. Μέχρι μὲν τῶν τεσσάρων μηνῶν πλόον καὶ ὀδὸς γυνώσκεται ὁ Νεῖλος πάρεξ τοῦ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ ἰεύματος· τοσοῦτοι γὰρ οὐμβαλλομένῳ μῆνες εὐρίσκονται ἄνασσιμομένοι εἰς Ἐλεφαντίνης πορευομένοι ἐς τοὺς αὐτομόλους τούτους. ῥεεὶ δὲ ἀπὸ ἐσπέρης τε καὶ ἡλίου δυσμέων. τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ τούδε οὐδεὶς ἔχει σαφέως φράσας· ἔρημος γὰρ ἐστὶ ἡ χώρη αὕτη ὑπὸ καύματος.

32. Ἀλλὰ τάδε μὲν ἦκουσα ἀνδρῶν Κυρηναῖων φαμένων ἐλθεῖν τε ἐπὶ τὸ Ἀρμωνος χρηστήριον καὶ ἀπικέσθαι ἐς λόγους Ἐτεάρχῳ τῷ Ἀρμωνίων βασιλεί, καὶ κως ἐκ λόγων ἄλλων ἀπικέσθαι ἐς λέσχην περὶ τοῦ Νείλου, ὥς οὐδεὶς αὐτοῦ οἴδε τὰς πηγάς, καὶ τὸν Ἐτεάρχον φάναι ἐλθεῖν κοτε παρ' αὐτὸν Νασαμώνας ἀνδράς. τὸ δὲ ἔθνος τοῦτο ἐστὶ μὲν Διβυκόν, νέμεται δὲ τὴν Ἐλυτινὶ τε καὶ τὴν πρὸς ἕω χώρην τῆς Ἐλυτίνους ὡς ἔπὶ πολλον. ἀπικομένους δὲ τοὺς Νασαμώνας καὶ ἐφυτευμένους εἰ τι ἔχουσι πλέον λέγειν περὶ τῶν ἐρήμων τῆς Διβύς, φάναι παρὰ σφίσι γενέσθαι ἀνδρῶν δυναμενῶν παίδας ὑβριστάς, τοὺς ἄλλα τε μηχανάσθαι ἀνδρωθέντας περισσάτερο δὲ καὶ ἀποκληρώσαι πέντε ἐσωτήρ βομένους τα ἔρημα τῆς Διβύς, καὶ εἰ τι πλέον ἰδοιεν τῶν τὰ μακρότατα 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 Deserters aforesaid. Beyond this none has clear knowledge to declare; for all that country is desert, by reason of heat.

32. But this I heard from certain men of Cyrene, who told me that they had gone to the oracle of Ammon, and there conversed with Etearchus king of the Ammonians, and that from other matters of discourse they came to speak of the Nile, how no one knows the source of it. Then Etearchus told them that once he had been visited by certain Nasamonians. These are a Libyan people, inhabiting the country of the Syrtis and the country a little way to the east of the Syrtis. When these Nasamonians on their coming were questioned if they brought any news concerning the Libyan desert, they told Etearchus that there had been among them certain sons of their chief men, proud and violent youths, who, when they came to man's estate, besides planning other wild adventures, had chosen by lot five of their company to visit the deserts of Libya, and see what they might beyond the utmost range of travellers. It must be known
τῆς γὰρ Διβύης τὰ μὲν κατὰ τὴν βορείῃν θάλασσαν ἀπ' Αἰγύπτου ἀρξάμενοι μέχρι Σολόεντος ἄκρης, ἢ τελευτά τῆς Διβύης, παρήκουσι παρὰ πᾶσαν Δίβυνες καὶ Διβύων ἔθνεα πολλά, πλὴν ὅσον Ἑλληνες καὶ Φοίνικες ἔχουσιν, τὰ δὲ ὑπὲρ θαλάσσης τε καὶ τῶν ἐπὶ θάλασσαν κατηκότων ἀνθρώπων, τὰ κατύπερθε θηριώδης ἐστὶ ἡ Διβύη, τὰ δὲ κατύπερθε τῆς θηριώδεος ψάμμος τε ἐστὶ καὶ ἀνυδρος δεινὸς καὶ ἔρημος πάντων. εἴπαι ὅν τοὺς νεκροὶς ἀποπεμπτομένους ὑπὸ τῶν ἥλικων, ὑδατὶ τε καὶ σιόλῳ εὐ πρέπει ν λύνεος μὲν διὰ τῆς οἰκειομένης, ταύτην δὲ διεξελθόντας ἐς τὴν θηριώδεα ἀπικέσθαι, ἐκ δὲ ταύτης τὴν ἔρημον διεξελείνα, τὴν ὅδον ποιεμένους πρὸς ξέφυρον ἄνεμον, διεξελθόντας δὲ χόρον πολλὸν ψαμμίδεα καὶ ἐν πολλῆς ἡμέρης ἑδεῖν δὴ κοτε δευδρεα ἐν πεδίῳ περικότα, καὶ σφέας προσελθόντας ἀπετέθαι τοῦ ἐπεύνοντος ἐπὶ τῶν δευδρέων καρποῦ, ἀποτελεσμοὶ δὲ σφι ἐπελθέων ἄνδρας μικροὺς, μετρίων ἐλάσσονας ἄνδρῳν, λαβόντας δὲ ἄγειν σφέας· φωνῆς δὲ οὐτε τι τῆς ἑκένων τοὺς Νασαμόνων γυνῶσκειν οὔτε τοὺς ἄγοντες τῶν Νασαμόνων· ἄγειν τε δὴ αὐτοὺς δι' ἑλέων μεγίστου, καὶ διεξελθόντας ταῦτα ἀπικέσθαι εἰς πόλιν ἐν τῇ πάντας εἶναι τοῖς ἄγοντες τὸ μέγαθος ἅγους, χρώμα δὲ μέλανας. παρὰ δὲ τὴν πόλιν ρέειν ποταμοῦ μέγαν, ρέειν δὲ ἀπὸ ἐσπέρης αὐτοῦ πρὸς ἥλιον ἀνατέλλοντα, φαίνεσθαι δὲ ἐν αὐτῷ κρικοδέλους.

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

33. This is enough to say concerning the story told by Etearchus the Ammonian; except that he said that the Nasamonians returned—as the men of Cyrene told me—and that the people to whose
34. 'Ο μὲν δὴ Ἰστρος, ἰκέι γαρ δ’ οἰκεομένης, πρὸς πολλῶν γινώσκεται, περὶ δὲ τῶν τοῦ Νείλου πηγῶν οὐδεὶς ἔχει λέγειν· ἀοίκητος τε γὰρ καὶ ἐρήμος ἦστι ἡ Λιβύη δι’ ἣς ἰκέι. περὶ δὲ τοῦ ῥεύματος αὐτοῦ, ἐπ’ ὅσον μακρότατον ἱστορεῖντα ἦν ἐξικέσθαι, εἰρηταῖ· ἐκδόθη δὲ ἐς Αἰγυπτοῦ. ἢ δὲ Ἀἰγυπτοῦ τῆς ὁρεινῆς Κιλικίας μάλιστα κη ἀντὶ κέεται· ἐνθεῦτε δὲ ἐς Σινώπην τὴν ἐν τῷ Εὐξείνῳ πόντῳ πέντε ἡμερῶν ἰδέα όδὸς εὐξώνω ἀνδρὶ· ἢ δὲ Σινώπη τῷ Ἰστρῷ ἐκδιδότα ἐς θάλασσαν ἀντίον κέεται. οὕτω τοῦ Νείλου δοκέω διὰ πάσης τῆς Λιβύης διεξόντα ἐξισοῦσθαι τῷ Ἰστρῷ.

35. Νείλου μὲν νυν πέρι τοσαῦτα εἰρήσθω· ἐρχομαι δὲ περὶ Αἰγυπτοῦ μηκυνέων τῶν λόγων, ὅτι πλείστα θωμάσια ἔχει ἡ ἡ ἀλλή πᾶσα χώρη καὶ ἡ πᾶσα νοηματικά. τῶν δὲ δὴ ποταμῶν τοῦτον τῶν παραρ-ρέοντα καὶ Ἑτέρχος συνεβάλλετο εἶναι Νείλου, καὶ δὴ καὶ ὁ λόγος οὐτω αἴρεει. Ῥἐει γὰρ ἐκ Λιβύῆς ὁ Νείλος καὶ μέσην τὰμων Λιβύην, καὶ ὡς ἐγὼ συμβάλλομαι τοῦτο ἐμφανέσθαι τὰ μὴ γινωσκόμενα τεκμαίρομενος, τῷ Ἰστρῷ ἐκ τῶν ἱσων μέτρων ἀρμᾶται. Ἰστρος τε γὰρ ποταμὸς ἀρξάμενος ἐκ Κελτῶν καὶ Πυρήνης πόλιος ἰκέι μέσην χῶζων τήν Εὐρώπην’ οἱ δὲ Κελτοὶ εἰσὶ ἐξω Ἡρακλέων στηλέων, ὁμουρέουσι δὲ Κυνη-σίσισι, οἳ ἐχθατο πρὸς δυσμέων οἰκέουσι τῶν ἐν τῇ Εὐρώπῃ κατοικημένων· τελευταὶ δὲ ὁ Ἰστρος ἐς θάλασσαν ἰκέν τὴν τοῦ Εὐξείνου πόντου διὰ πά-σης Εὐρώπης, τῇ Ἰστρίην οἱ Μιλησίων οἰκέουσι ἄποικοι.

1 ἐκ τῶν ἱσων 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. That river flows from the land of the Celtae and the city of Pyrene through the very midst of Europe; now the Celtae dwell beyond the pillars of Heracles, being neighbours of the Cynesii, who are the westernmost of all nations inhabiting Europe. The Ister, then, flows clean across Europe and ends its course in the Euxine sea, at Istria, which is inhabited by Milesian colonists.

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

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

Αἰγύπτιοι ἀμα τῷ οὐρανῷ τῷ κατὰ σφέας ἐόντι
ἐτεροίῳ καὶ τῷ ποταμῷ φῦσιν ἀλλοίην παρεχο-
μένῳ ἢ οἱ ἄλλοι ποταμοί, τὰ πολλὰ πάντα ἐμπαλιν
τοῖς ἀλλοισι ἀνθρώποισι ἐστήσαντο ἥθεα τε καὶ
νόμους· ἐν τοῖς αἱ μὲν γυναῖκες ἀγοράζουσι καὶ
κατηλεύουσιν, οἱ δὲ ἄνδρες κατ' οἶκους ἐόντες
ὑφαίνουσιν ὑφαίνουσι δὲ οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι ἄνω τὴν
κρόκην ὥθεοντες, Αἰγύπτιοι δὲ κάτω. τὰ ἄχθεα
οἱ μὲν ἄνδρες ἐπὶ τῶν κεφαλέων φορέουσι, αἱ δὲ
γυναῖκες ἐπὶ τῶν ὦμων. οὐρέουσι αἱ μὲν γυναῖκες
ὀρθαί, οἱ δὲ ἄνδρες κατήμενοι. εὐμαρείη χρέωνται
ἐν τοῖς οἴκοις, ἐσθίουσι δὲ ἔξω ἐν τῇσι σῶδοισι
ἐπιλέγοντες ὡς τὰ μὲν αἰσχρά ἀναγκαία δὲ ἐν ἀπο-
κρύφω ἐστὶ ποιέων χρεών, τὰ δὲ μὴ αἰσχρά ἀνα-
φανδόν. ἵραται γυνῆ μὲν οὐδεμία οὔτε ἔρσενος
θεοῦ οὔτε θηλῆς, ἄνδρες δὲ πάντων τε καὶ πα-
σεων. τρέφειν τοὺς τοκέας τοῖς μὲν παισὶ οὐδε-
μία ἀνάγκη μὴ βουλομένοις, τῇσι δὲ θυγατράσι
πᾶσα ἀνάγκη καὶ μὴ βουλομένης.

36. Οἱ ἱρεῖς τῶν θεῶν τῇ μὲν ἄλλῃ κομέουσι, ἐν
Αἰγύπτῳ δὲ ξυρόνται. τοῖς ἄλλοισι ἀνθρώποισι
νόμος ἀμα κήδει κεκάρθαι τὰς κεφαλὰς τοὺς μα-
λιστὰ ἰκνεύεται, Αἰγύπτιοι δὲ ὑπὸ τοὺς θανάτους
ἀνείποι δὲς τρίχας αὐξέσσαται τὰς τε ἐν τῇ κεφαλῇ
καὶ τῷ γενεῖ, τέως ἔξυραμένοι. τοῖς μὲν ἄλλοισι
ἀνθρῶποισι χωρὶς θηρίων ἡ δίαιτα ἀποκέκριται,
Αἰγυπτίοισι δὲ ὑμωθ θηρίουσι ἡ δίαιτα ἐστὶ. ἀπὸ
πυρῶν καὶ κρίθεων ἄλλοι ξώοντο, Αἰγυπτίων δὲ
tῷ ποιευμένῳ ἀπὸ τούτων τὴν ξόην ὁνείδος μέ-
γιστον ἐστὶ, ἀλλὰ ἀπὸ ὀλυρέων ποιεῦνται σιτία,
be seen so many works of unspeakable greatness; therefore I shall say the more concerning Egypt.

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

36. Everywhere else, priests of the gods wear their hair long; in Egypt they are shaven. With all other men, in mourning for the dead those most nearly concerned have their heads shaven; Egyptians are shaven at other times, but after a death they let their hair and beard grow. The Egyptians are the only people who keep their animals with them in the house. Whereas all others live on wheat and barley, it is the greatest disgrace for an Egyptian so to live; they make food from a coarse grain which some call
τὰς ξειάς μετεξέτεροι καλέουσιν. φυρώσι τὸ μὲν σταῖς τοῖς ποσῖ, τὸν δὲ πηλῶν τῆσι χεραί, καὶ τὴν κόπρον ἀναιρεύονταί. τὰ αἰδοία δὲλλοι μὲν ἐδώσι ὡς ἐγένοντο, πλὴν ὅσοι ἀπὸ τούτων ἔμαθον, Αἰγύπτιοι δὲ περιτάμνονται. εἰματα τῶν μὲν ἀνδρῶν ἐκαστὸς ἤχει δύο, τῶν δὲ γυναικῶν ἐν ἐκάστῃ. τῶν ἱστίων τοὺς κρίκους καὶ τοὺς κάλους οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι ἔξωθεν προσδέουσι, Αἰγύπτιοι δὲ ἔσωθεν. γράμματα γράφουσι καὶ λογίζονται ψή- φουσιν Ἐλληνες μὲν ἀπὸ τῶν ἀριστερῶν ἐπὶ τὰ δεξιὰ φέροντες τὴν χειρα, Αἰγύπτιοι δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν δεξιῶν ἐπὶ τὰ ἀριστερά· καὶ ποιεῖν ταῦτα αὐτοὶ μὲν φασὶ ἐπὶ δεξιὰ ποιεῖν, Ἐλληνες δὲ ἐπὶ ἀρι- στερὰ. διφασίσοι δὲ γράμμασὶ χρέωνται, καὶ τὰ μὲν αὐτῶν ἱρὰ τὰ δὲ δημοτικά καλέεται.

37. Θεοσεβεῖς δὲ περισσῶς ἐόντες μάλιστα πάντων ἀνθρώπων νόμοισι τοιοῦτοι χρέωνται. ἐκ χαλκέων ποτηρίων πίνουσι, διασμόντες ἀνὰ πᾶσαν ἡμέρην, οὐκ ὃ μὲν ὃ δὲ οὐ, ἄλλα πάντες. εἰματα δὲ λίνεα φορέουσι αἰεὶ νεόπλυτα, ἐπιτη- δεύοντες τοῦτο μάλιστα, τὰ τε αἰδοία περι- τάμνονται καθαρεύοντος εἴνεκεν, προτιμῶντες καθαροὶ εἶναι ἡ εὐπρεπεστέροι. οἱ δὲ ἱρεῖς ἄρωνται πὰν τὸ σῶμα διὰ τρίτης ἡμέρης, ἵνα μὴτε φθεῖρ μὴτε ἄλλο μυσαρόν μηδὲν ἐγγύηται σφιθέρας τοὺς θεοὺς. ἐσθίτα δὲ φορέουσι οἱ ἱρεῖς λινέαν μούνην καὶ ὑποδήματα βύζλινα· ἄλλην δὲ σφί ἐσθίτα ωκ ἐξεστὶ λαβεῖν οὐδὲ ὑποδήματα ἄλλα. λοῦνται δὲ δίς τῆς ἡμέρης ἐκάστης ψυχροῖ καὶ δίς ἐκάστης νυκτὸς, ἄλλας τε θρησκείας ἐπιτελέουσι μυρίας ὡς εἴπειν λόγῳ. πάσχουσι δὲ καὶ ἀγαθὰ οὐκ ὀλίγα· οὔτε τι γὰρ
spelt. They knead dough with their feet, and gather mud and dung with their hands. The Egyptians and those who have learnt it from them are the only people who practise circumcision. Every man has two garments, every woman only one. The rings and sheets of sails are made fast elsewhere outside the boat, but inside it in Egypt. The Greeks write and calculate by moving the hand from left to right; the Egyptians do contrariwise; yet they say that their way of writing is towards the right, and the Greek way towards the left. They use two kinds of writing; one is called sacred, the other common.¹

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

¹ Three kinds, really: hieroglyphic, hieratic (derived from hieroglyphic), and demotic, a simplified form of hieratic. See Rawlinson's essay, ch. 5, in his Appendix to Book II.
² On this plant, see ch. 92.
τῶν οἰκηίων τρίβοντι οὔτε δαπανώνται, ἄλλα καὶ συτία σφι ἐστί ἵδα πεσόμενα, καὶ κρεῶν βοεῶν καὶ χηνέων πλῆθος τι ἐκάστῳ γίνεται πολλῶν ἥμερης ἐκάστης, διδοταί δὲ σφι καὶ οἶνος ἀμπέλινος· ἰχθύων δὲ οὔ σφι ἐξεστὶ πάσασθαι. κυάμους δὲ οὔτε τι μάλα σπείρουν Αἰγύπτιοι ἐν τῇ χώρῃ, τούς τε γενομένους οὔτε τρώγουσι οὔτε ἔφοντες πατέονται, οἴ δὲ δὴ ἱρέες οὐδὲ ὅρεοντες ἀνέχονται, νομίζοντες οὐκ Καθαρὸν εἶναι μὲν ὀσπριον. ἵραται δὲ οὔκ εἰς ἐκάστῳ τῶν θεῶν ἄλλα πολλοί, τῶν εἰς ἐστὶ ἀρχιερεύς ἐπεάν δὲ τὶς ἀποθάνῃ, τούτῳ ὁ παῖς ἀντικατίσταται.

38. Τοὺς δὲ βοῶς τοὺς ἔρρειν, τὸν Ὑπάφου εἶναι νομίζουν, καὶ τοῦτον εἶνεκα δοκιμάζουσιν αὐτούς ὅδε· τρίχα ἵνα καὶ μίαν ἰδηται ἐπεούσαν μέλαιαν, οὐκ Καθαρὸν εἶναι νομίζει. δίζηται δὲ ταύτα ἐπὶ τοῦτο τεταγμένος τῶν τις ἱρέων καὶ ὀρθοῦ ἐστεῶτος τοῦ κτήνεος καὶ ὑπτίου, καὶ τὴν ὑλῶσαν ἐξειρύσας, εἰ καθαρῆ τῶν προκειμένων σημηνίων, τὰ ἐγὼ ἐν ἄλλῳ λόγῳ ἐρέω· κατορα δὲ καὶ τὰς τρίχας τῆς σύρης εἰ κατὰ φύσιν ἔχει πεφυκιάς. ἢν δὲ τοῦτον πάντως ἢ καθαρὸς, σημαίνεται βύβλῳ περὶ τὰ κέρεα εἰλίσσων καὶ ἐπείτα γῆν σημαντρίδα ἐπιπλάσσας ἐπιβάλλει τῶν δακτυλίου, καὶ οὕτω ἀπάγοντι. ἀσήμαντον δὲ θύσαιν θάνατος ἡ ζημία ἐπικείεται. δοκιμάζεται μὲν νυν τὸ κτήνος τρόπῳ τοιῷδε, θυσία δὲ σφι ἦδε κατέστηκε.

39. Ἀγαγόντες τὸ σεσημασμένον κτήνος πρὸς τῶν βωμῶν ὁκου ἀν θύωσι, πῦρ ἀνακαίουσι, ἐπείτα δὲ ἐπ’ αὐτοῦ οἶνον κατὰ τοῦ ἱρηίου ἐπιπείσαντες καὶ ἐπικαλέσαντες τῶν θεῶν σφάζουσι, σφά—
BOOK II. 37-39

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.
² iii. 28.
ξαντες δε ἀποτάμουνοι την κεφαλήν. σώμα μεν δή τοῦ κτήνεος δείρουσι, κεφαλῆ δε κεῖνη πολλὰ καταρησάμενοι φέρουσι, τοῖσι μεν ἄν ἣ ἀγορὴ καὶ Ἔλληνες σφι ἔσσει ἐπιδήμων ἐμποροί, οἱ δὲ φέροντες ἐς τὴν ἀγορὴν ἀπ' ἄν ἔδοντο, τοῖσι δὲ ἄν μὴ παρέσοι Ἔλληνες, οἱ δ' ἐκβάλλουσι ἐς τῶν ποταμῶν. καταρώντας δὲ τάδε λέγοντες τῆς κεφαλῆς, εἰ τι μέλλοι ἡ σφίζει τοῖσι θύουσι ἡ Αἰγύπτω τῇ συναπάσῃ κακὸν γενέσθαι, ἐς κεφαλῆς ταύτην τραπέσθαι. κατὰ μὲν γινομένου τῶν θυμόμενοι κτηνέων καὶ τὴν ἐπισπευσίαν τοῦ ὡναν πάντες Αἰγυπτίων νόμοις τοῖσι αὐτοῖσι χρέωνται ὁμοίως ἐς πάντα τὰ ἱππαράλλα, καὶ ἀπὸ τούτου τοῦ νόμου οὔδε ἄλλου οὐδένος ἐμφύχου κεφαλῆς γεύσεται Αἰγυπτίων οὐδείς.

40. Ἡ δὲ δὴ ἔξαρσεσι τῶν ἱρῶν καὶ ἢ καύσις ἀλλή περὶ ἄλλο ἱρῶν σφι κατεστηκε· τὴν δ' ὧν μεγίστην τε δαίμονα ήγηνται εἶναι καὶ μεγίστην οἱ ὡρτὴν ἀνάγονσι, ταύτην ἐρχομαι ἐρέων … ἐπειδ' ἀποδείρωσι τοὺς βοῶν, κατευθομένους κοίλησι μὲν κεῖνη πάσαν ἐξ ὧν εἶλον, σπλάγχνα δὲ αὐτοῦ λείπουσι ἐν τῷ σώματι καὶ τὴν πυμῆλῆν, σκέλεα δὲ ἀποτάμουνοι καὶ τὴν ὑσφύν ἄκρην καὶ τοὺς ὁμοὺς τε καὶ τὸν τράχηλον. ταύτα δὲ ποιῆσαντες τὸ ἄλλο σῶμα τοῦ βοῶς πιμπλάσι ἄρτων καθαρῶν καὶ μέλιτος καὶ ἀστα-φίδος καὶ σύκων καὶ λιβανοτοῦ καὶ σμύρνης καὶ τῶν ἄλλων θυμώματων, πλήσαντες δὲ τούτων καταγίζουσι, ἐλαιον ἀφθονον καταχέουντες προνηστεύσαντες δὲ θύουσι, καιομένων 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
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tύπτουνται πάντες, ἐπεάν δὲ ἀποτύψωνται, δαίτα προτίθενται τὰ ἐλίποντο τῶν ἱρῶν.

41. Τοὺς μὲν νυν καθαροὺς βοῦς τοὺς ἔροσενας καὶ τοὺς μόσχους οἱ πάντες Αἰγύπτιοι θύουσι, τὰς δὲ θηλέας οὐ σφὶ ἐξεστὶ θύειν, ἀλλὰ ἱρὰ ἐίσαι τῆς Ἰσιος· τὸ γὰρ τῆς Ἰσιος ἁγαλμὰ ἐδὼ γυναικήν βούκερων ἔστι κατὰ περ Ἑλλήνες τὴν Ἰουν γράφουσι, καὶ τὰς βοῦς τὰς θηλέας Αἰγύπτιοι πάντες ὁμόιως σέβονται προβάτων πάντων μάλιστα μακρῷ. τῶν εἶνεκα οὔτε ἀνὴρ Αἰγύπτιος οὔτε γυνὴ ἄνδρα Ἑλληνα φιλήσει ἂν τῷ στόματι, οὐδὲ μαχαίρῃ ἄνδρος Ἑλληνος χρήσεται οὐδὲ ὀβελοῖσι οὐδὲ λέβητι, οὐδὲ κρέως καθαροῦ βοὸς διατετμημένου Ἑλληνικῆ μαχαίρῃ γεύσεται. θάπτουσι δὲ τοὺς ἀποθνήσκοντας βοῦς τρόπον τόνδε· τὰς μὲν θηλέας ἐς τὸν ποταμὸν ἀπειείσι, τοὺς δὲ ἐροσενας κατορύσσουσι ἐκαστοι ἐν τοῖς προαστελοισι, τὸ κέρας τὸ ἔτερον ἢ καὶ ἀμφότερα ὑπερέχουσα σημεῖα εἶνεκεν· ἐπεάν δὲ σατῆ καὶ προσίη ὁ τεταγμένος χρόνος, ἀπικνέεται ἐς ἐκάστην πόλιν βάρις ἐκ τῆς Προσωπώτιδος καλευμένης νήσου. ἢ δ' ἐστὶ μὲν ἐν τῷ Δέλτα, περίμετρον δὲ αὐτῆς εἰσὶ σχοῦνοι ἐννέα. ἐν ταύτῃ ὅτι τῇ Προσωπώτιδι νήσῳ ἔνεσι μὲν καὶ ἄλλαι πόλεις συχναί, ἐκ τῆς δὲ αἱ βάριες παραγίνονται ἀναιρησόμεναι τὰ ὀστεά τῶν βοῶν, οὕνωμα τῇ πόλι Ἀτάρβηχις, ἐν δ' αὐτῆ Ἀφροδίτης ἱρὸν ἁγιον ἱδρυται. ἐκ ταύτης τῆς πόλιος πλανῶνται πολλοὶ ἄλλοι ἔς ἄλλας πόλις, ἀνορύζοντες δὲ τὰ ὀστεὰ ἀπάγουσι καὶ θάπτουσι ἐς ἔνα χώρον πάντες. κατὰ ταύτα δὲ τοῖς βουσὶ καὶ τάλλα κτήνεα θάπτουσ ἀποθνήσκοντα· καὶ γὰρ περὶ

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BOOK II. 40–41

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 νεομοθέτηται· κτείνουσι γὰρ δὴ οὐδὲ ταύτα.

42. Ἡρωδότος Θεσβαίος ἱδρυνται ἤρων ἡ νομοῦ τοῦ Θεσβαίου εἰσί, οὕτως δὲ νυν πάντες οἴων ἀπεχόμενοι αἰγὰς θύουσι. θεοὺς γὰρ δὴ οὐ τοὺς αὐτούς ἀπαντεῖς ὡμοίως Αἰγύπτιοι σέβονται, πλὴν Ἰσίος τε καὶ Ὀσύριος, τὸν δὴ Διόνυσον εἶναι λέγουσι· τούτοις δὲ ὡμοίως ἀπαντεῖς σέβονται, ὡσοὶ δὲ τοῦ Μενδησίου ἔκτηνται ἤρων ἡ νομοῦ τοῦ Μενδησίου εἰσί, οὕτως δὲ αἰγῶν ἀπεχόμενοι οὶς θύουσι. Θεσβαίοι μὲν νυν καὶ ὡσοὶ διὰ τούτους οἴων ἀπέχονται, διὰ τάδε λέγουσι τὸν νόμον τόυτο σφίσι τεθῆναι. Ἡρακλέα θελῆσαι πάντως ἱδέσθαι τὸν Δία, καὶ τὸν ὁὐκ ἐθέλειν ὄφθηναι ὑπ' αὐτοῦ. τέλος δὲ, ἐπείτη λιπαρέειν τὸν Ὡρακλέα, τάδε τὸν Δία μηχανῆσασθαι· κρινὸν ἐκδείραντα προσχέσθαι την κεφαλὴν ἀποταμόντα τοῦ κριοῦ καὶ ἐνδύντα τὸ νάκος οὗτω οἱ ἔωστον ἐπιδέξαι. ἀπὸ τοῦτου κριοπρόσωπον τοῦ Δίος τῶγαλμα ποιεῦσι Αἰγύπτιοι, ἀπὸ δὲ Αἰγύπτιοι Αμμώνιοι, ἐόντες Αἰγύπτιοι τε καὶ Ἀιθιόπων ἀποικοὶ καὶ φωνὴ μεταξὺ ἀμφοτέρων νομίζοντες. δοκεῖ εἰς μοι, καὶ τὸ οὖνομα Αμμώνιοι ἀπὸ τοῦτο σφίσι τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν ἑποίησαντο· Ἀμμών γὰρ Αἰγύπτιοι καλέουσι τὸν Δία. τοὺς δὲ κριοὺς οὐ θύουσι Θεσβαίοι, ἀλλ' εἰσὶ σφὶ ἤρων διὰ τοῦτο. μὴ δὲ ἡμέρῃ τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ, ἐν ὀρθῇ τοῦ Δίος, κριῶν ἕνα κατακόψαντες καὶ ἀποδέιραντες κατὰ τῶν ἐνδύνουσι τῶγαλμα τοῦ Δίος, καὶ ἐπείτη ἄλλο

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

42. All that have among them a temple of Zeus of Thebes, or are of the Theban province, sacrifice goats but will not touch sheep. For no gods are worshipped in common by the whole of Egypt save only Isis and Osiris, whom they say to be Dionysus; these are worshipped by all alike. Those who have a temple of Mendes\(^1\) 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\(^2\) (they say) would by all means look upon Zeus, and Zeus would not be seen by him. At last, being earnestly entreated by Heracles, Zeus contrived a device, whereby he showed himself wearing the head and the fleece of a ram which he had flayed and beheaded. It is from this that the Egyptian images of Zeus have a ram's head; and in this the Egyptians are imitated by the Ammonians, who are colonists from Egypt and Ethiopia and speak a language compounded of the tongues of both countries. It was from this, I think, that the Ammonians got their name too; for Amun is the Egyptian name for Zeus. The Thebans, then, hold rams sacred for this reason, and do not sacrifice them. But on one day in the year, at the festival of Zeus, they cut in pieces and flay a single ram and put the fleece on the image of Zeus, as in the story; then

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\(^{1}\) 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, \(\Lambda \gamma \alpha \theta \omicron \delta \alpha \lambda \mu \nu \alpha\)).
ἀγαλμα Ἡρακλέος προσάγουσι πρὸς αὐτό. ταῦτα δὲ ποιήσαντες τύπτονται οἱ περὶ τὸ ἱρὸν ἀπαντεῖ τὸν κριόν καὶ ἐπειτα ἐν ἱρῇ θήκῃ θάπτουσι αὑτὸν.

43. Ἡρακλέος δὲ πέρι τόνδε τὸν λόγον ἦκουσα, ὅτι εἰ ἡ τῶν δυνάμεως θεῶν τοῦ ἔτερου δὲ πέρι Ἡρακλέους, τῶν Ἑλληνες οἴδασι, οὐδὲμῇ Ἀἰγύπτον ἐδυνάσθην ἀκούσαι. καὶ μὴν ὅτι γε οὐ παρ’ Ἑλλήνων ἔλαβον τὸ οὐνομα Ἀἰγύπτιοι τοῦ Ἡρακλέους, ἀλλὰ Ἑλληνες μᾶλλον παρ’ Ἀἰγύπτιον καὶ Ἑλληνῶν οὕτοι οἱ θέμενοι τὸ Ἀμφιτρύωνος γόνον τοῦνομα Ἡρακλέα, πολλά μοι καὶ ἀλλα τεκμήρια ἐστὶ τούτῳ οὕτῳ ἔχειν, ἐν δὲ καὶ τόδε, ὅτι τε τοῦ Ἡρακλέους τούτου οἱ γονεῖς ἀμφότεροι ἦσαν Ἀμφιτρύων καὶ Ἀλκμήνη γεγονότες τὸ ἀνέκαθεν ἀπ’ Αἰγύπτου, καὶ διὸτι Ἀἰγύπτιοι οὔτε Ποσειδέων οὔτε Διοσκοῦρον τὰ οὐνόματα φασὶ εἰδέναι, οὐδὲ σφὶ θεοὶ οὕτοι ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις θεοῦσι ἀποδεδέχαται. καὶ μὴν εἰ γε παρ’ Ἑλλήνων ἔλαβον οὐνομά τευ δαίμονος, τούτων οὖν ἡκιστά ἀλλὰ μάλιστα ἐμελλὼν μνήμην ἔξειν, ἐὰν περ καὶ τότε ναυτιλίησι ἐχρέωντο· καὶ ἦσαν Ἑλλήνων τινὲς ναυτῖλοι, ὡς ἐλπομαι τε καὶ ἑμὴ γνώμη αἰρέει· ὥστε τούτων ἄν καὶ μᾶλλον τῶν θεῶν τὰ οὐνόματα ἐξεπιστέατο Ἀἰγύπτιοι ἡ τοῦ Ἡρακλέος. ἀλλὰ τις ἄρχαιος ἐστὶ θεὸς Ἀἰγύπτιοι Ἡρακλέας· ὡς δὲ αὐτοὶ λέγονσιν, ἔτεα ἐστὶ ἐπτακισχίλια καὶ μύρια ἐς Ἄμασιν βασιλεύσαντα, ἐπείτε ἐκ τῶν ὀκτὼ θεῶν οἱ δυνάμεις θεοὶ ἐγένοντο τῶν Ἡρακλέα ἐνα νομίζουσι.

44. Καὶ θέλων δὲ τούτων πέρι σαφῆς τι εἰδέναι εἰ τὸν οὖν τε ἦν, ἐπλευσα καὶ ἐς Τύρων 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;¹ and that the Egyptians deny knowledge of the names of Poseidon and the Dioscuri, nor are these gods reckoned among the gods of Egypt. Yet had they got the name of any deity from the Greeks, it was these more than any that they were like to remember, if indeed they were already making sea voyages and the Greeks too had seafaring men, as I suppose and judge; so that the names of these gods would have been even better known to the Egyptians than the name of Heracles. Nay, Heracles is a very ancient god in Egypt; as the Egyptians themselves say, the change of the eight gods to the twelve, of whom they deem Heracles one, was made seventeen thousand years before the reign of Amasis.

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

¹ As grandchildren of Perseus, for whose Egyptian origin see 91.
Φοινίκης, πυνθανόμενος αὐτόθι εἶναι ἤρων Ἡρακλέος ἄγιον, καὶ εἶδον πλουσίως κατεσκευασμένον ἀλλοισὶ τε πολλοῖς ἀναθήμασι, καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ ἦσαν στῆλαι δύο, ἡ μὲν χρυσοῦ ἀπέφθεγκη, ἡ δὲ σμαράγδου λίθον λάμποντος τὰς νύκτας μέγαθος. ἔς λόγους δὲ ἐλθὼν τοῖς ἱρεύσι τοῦ θεοῦ εἰρήμην ἀκόσος χρόνος εἶ ἐξ οὗ σφι τὸ ἱρὸν ἱδρυταί. εὐρὸν δὲ οὖδὲ τούτους τοῖς Ἐλλησὶ συμφερομένους ἐφασαν ἡμὰρ ἀμα Τύρῳ οἰκιζομένη καὶ τὸ ἱρὸν τοῦ θεοῦ ἱδρυθήναι, εἶναι δὲ ἐτεα ἀπὸ οὗ Τύρῳ οἰκέουσι τρητάκοσία καὶ δισχίλια. εἴδον δὲ ἐν τῇ Τύρῳ καὶ ἀλλὰ ἤρων Ἡρακλέους ἐπινυμήν ἔχοντος ᾿Ασίου εἶναι ἀπικόμην δὲ καὶ ἐς Θάσον, ἐν τῇ εὐρον ἤρων Ἡρακλέους ὑπὸ Φοινίκων ἱδρυμένον, οὐ κατ’ Ἐυρώπης ξητησὶ ἐκπλώσαντες Θάσον ἐκτισαν καὶ ταῦτα καὶ πέντε γενεῆσι ἀνδρῶν πρότερα ἐστὶ ἦ τὸν Ἀμφιτρύωνος Ἡρακλέαι ἐν τῇ Ἔλλαδὶ γενέσθαι. τὰ μὲν νῦν ἱστοριμένα δῆλοί σαφέως παλαιῶν θεῶν Ἡρακλέαι ἐόντα, καὶ δοκέουσι δὲ μοι οὕτως ὀρθῶτα Ἐλλήνων ποιεῖν, οὐ διξὰ Ἡράκλεια ἱδρυμέναιν ἐκτηταί, καὶ τῷ μὲν ὡς ἄθανάτῳ Ὀλυμπίῳ δὲ ἐπωνυμήν θύουσι, τῷ δὲ ἐτέρῳ ὡς ἦρωι ἐναγίζουσι.

45. Δέγνουσι δὲ πολλὰ καὶ ἀλλα ἀνεπισκέπτως οἱ Ἐλληνες, εὐθῆς δὲ αὐτῶν καὶ οἶδε ὁ μύθος ἐστὶ τὸν περὶ τοῦ Ἡρακλέους λέγουσι, ὡς αὐτῶν ἀπικόμενον ἐς Αἰγύπτου στέψαντες οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι υπὸ πομπῆς ἐξῆγγον ὡς θύσουτες τῷ Διῷ τὸν δὲ τέως μὲν ἰσχιῆν ἔχειν, ἐπεὶ δὲ αὐτοῦ πρὸς τῷ βωμῷ

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

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

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2 There is a dual Heracles in the Odyssey, xi. 601 seqq. An ἑλεφαντος of him is seen in the world of the dead; but "he himself" is an immortal among the gods of heaven.
κατάρχοντο, ἦς ἀλκην τραπόμενον πάντας σφέας καταφονεῦσαι. ἔμοι μὲν γὰρ ὄντες τῆς Ἀιγυπτίων φύσιος καὶ τῶν νόμων πάμπαν ἀπείρως ἔχειν οἱ "Ελληνες· τοίσι γὰρ ὁμῆρον κτῆμα ὅσι θύειν ἐστι χωρὶς ὑών καὶ ἑρσένων βοῶν καὶ μόσχων, ὅσιον ἂν καθαροὶ ἔσωσι, καὶ χνῦνων, κὼς ἂν οὔτοι ἀνθρώπους θύουειν; ἑτὶ δὲ ἔνα ἐόντα τὸν Ἡρακλεά καὶ ἑτὶ ἀνθρώπων, ὡς δὴ φασί, κὼς φύσιν ἔχει πολλὰς μυριάδας φονεῦσαι; καὶ περὶ μὲν τούτων τοσάντα ἡμῖν εἴποισι καὶ παρὰ τῶν θεῶν καὶ παρὰ τῶν ἥρωων εὔμενει ἐν ἑστὶ.  

46. Τὰς δὲ δὴ αἰγας καὶ τοὺς τράγους τῶν ἔνοικα οὐ θύουσι Αἰγυπτίων οἱ ἐφημένοι τῶν Πάνω τῶν ὀκτῶθεόν λογίζονται εἶναι οἱ Μενδήσιοι, τοὺς δὲ ὀκτῶθεος τούτος προτέρους τῶν δυόδεκα θεῶν φασὶ γενέσθαι. γράφουσι τε δὴ καὶ γλύφουσι οἱ ζωγράφοι καὶ οἱ ἁγαλματοποιοὶ τοῦ Παινὸς τῶν ἀγάλματος κατὰ περ "Ελληνες αἰγοπρόσωπων καὶ τραγοσκελέα, οὕτω τοιοῦτω νομίζοντες εἶναι μὲν ἀλλὰ ὁμοῖον τοῦτο ἄλλοις θεοῖς· ὅτεν δὲ ἔνοικα τοιοῦτον γράφουσι αὐτοῦ, οὐ μοι ἢδον ἐστὶ λέγειν. σέβονται δὲ πάντας τοὺς αἰγας οἱ Μενδήσιοι, καὶ μᾶλλον τοὺς ἐρσενας τῶν θηλέων, καὶ τοιοῦταὶ οἱ αἵπτολοι τιμᾶς μέξονας ἔχουσι· ἐκ δὲ τοιοῦτων ένα μάλιστα, ὅσιες ἐπεὰν ἀποδάνη, πένθος μέγα παντὶ τῷ Μενδῆσιο νυμῷ τίθεται. καλέται δὲ ὁ τε τράγος καὶ ὁ Πάν Αἰγυπτιστὶ Μένδης. ἐγένετο δὲ ἐν τῷ νυμῷ τούτῳ ἐπ᾽ ἐμεῖ τοῦτο τὸ τέρας· γυναικὶ τράγος ἐμφανέτο ἀναφανδόν. τοῦτο ἐς ἐπίδεξιν ἀνθρώπων ἀπίκετο.  

47. Ἰν δὲ Αἰγυπτιοὶ μιαρὸν ἦγηνται θηρίον εἶναι, καὶ τοῦτο μὲν ἢ τις θαύσῃ 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 nature and customs of the Egyptians; for how should they sacrifice men, who are forbidden to sacrifice even the lower animals, save only swine and bulls and bull-calves, if they be unblemished, and geese? Moreover, Heracles being alone, and only a man too, as they say, how is it natural that he should slay a countless multitude? So much I say of this matter; may no god or hero be displeased with me therefor!

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

47. Swine are held by the Egyptians to be unclean beasts. Firstly, if an Egyptian touch a hog in
HERODOTUS

υός, αὐτοίσι τοῖσι ἵματίοισι ἀπ' ὅν ἔβαψε ἑωυτὸν βας ἐς τὸν ποταμὸν· τοῦτο δὲ οἱ συβώται ἐόντες Αἰγύπτιοι ἐγγενεῖς ἐς ἱρὸν οὐδὲν τῶν ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ ἐσέρχονται μούνοι πάντων, οὐδὲ σφί ἐκδίδοσθαι οὐδεὶς θυγατέρα ἐθέλει οὐδ' ἄγεσθαι ἐξ αὐτῶν, ἀλλ' ἐκδίδονταί τε οἱ συβώται καὶ ἄγονται ἐξ ἀλλήλων. τοῖσι μὲν νυν ἄλλοισι θεοίσι θύειν ὑς οὔ δικαίωσι Αἰγύπτιοι, Σελήνη δὲ καὶ Διονύσῳ μοῦνοισι τοῦ αὐτοῦ χρόνου, τῇ αὐτῇ παυσελήνῳ, τοὺς ὑς θύσαντες πατέονται τῶν κρεών. διότι δὲ τοὺς ύς ἐν μὲν τῆς ἄλλης ὀρτῆς ἀπεστυγῆ-κασι ἐν δὲ ταύτη θύουσι, ἔστι μὲν λόγος περὶ αὐτοῦ ὑπ' Αἰγύπτιων λεγόμενος, ἐμοί μέντοι ἐπι-σταμένῳ οὐκ εὐπρεπέστερος ἔστι λέγεσθαι. θυσίν δὲ ἤδε τῶν ύων τῇ Σελήνῃ ποιέονται· ἔπεαν θύσῃ, τὴν σύρῃ ἄκρην καὶ τὸν σπλήνα καὶ τὸν ἐπίπλουσι συνθεῖς ὁμοῦ κατ', ἄν ἐκάλυψε πάση τοῦ κτήνεος τῇ πιμέλῃ τῇ περὶ τὴν υγόν γυμνόν, καὶ ἔπειτα καταγίζει πυρί· τὰ δὲ ἀλλὰ κρέα σιτέονται ἐν τῇ παυσελήνῳ ἐν τῇ ἄν τὰ ἱρὰ θύσῳς, ἐν ἄλλῃ δὲ ἡμέρῃ οὐκ ἄν ἐτὶ γευσάτο. οἱ δὲ πένητες αὐτῶν ὑπ' ἀσθενεῖς βίου σταυτίνας πλάσαντες ὑς καὶ ὀπτύσαντες ταύτας θύουσι.

48. Τῷ δὲ Διονύσῳ τῆς ὀρτῆς τῇ δορτῆχ χοίρον πρὸ τῶν θυρεῶν σφάξας ἔκαστος διδοὶ ἀπο-φέρεσθαι τὸν χοίρον αὐτῷ τῷ ἀποδομένῳ τῶν συβωτέων. τὴν δὲ ἄλλην ἀνάγουσι ὀρτῆν τῷ Διονύσῳ οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι πλὴν χορῶν κατὰ ταύτα σχέδου πάντα ὁ Ἐλλησι· ἀντὶ δὲ φαλλῶν ἄλλα σφί ἐστὶ ἐξευρημένα, ὅσον τε πηχυαία ἀγάλματα νευρόσπαστα, τὰ περιφορέουσι κατὰ κώμας γυ-ναίκες, νεῦσεν τὸ αἰδοίον, οὐ πολλῷ τε ἐλασσον 334
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
49. Ἡδὴ ὁν ὁθείει μοι Μελάμπους ὁ Αμωθέωνος τῆς θυσίας ταύτης ὡς εἶναι ἀδαίς ἀλλ' ἐμπειρο. Ἔλλησι γὰρ ἰδ Μελάμπους ἐστὶ ο ἐξηγησάμενος τοῦ Διόνυσου τὸ τε οὖνομα καὶ τὴν θυσίαν καὶ τὴν πομπὴν τοῦ φαλλοῦ ἀτρεκέως μὲν οὐ πάντα συλλαβῶν τὸν λόγον ἐφηνε, ἀλλ' οἱ ἐπιγενόμενοι τούτῳ σοφισταὶ μεξόνως ἐξέφηναν τὸν δ' ὁν φαλλὸν τὸν τὸ Διονύσῳ πεπόμενον Μελάμπους ἐστὶ ο κατηγορόμενος, καὶ ἀπὸ τούτοις μαθῶντες ποιεῖσθι τὰ ποιεύσι Ἔλληνες. ἐγὼ μὲν νυν φημὶ Μελάμποδα γενόμενον ἀνδρα σοφὸν μαντικῆν τῇ ἐσωτῆρι συντήσαι καὶ πυθόμενον ἀπ' Αἰγύπτου ἄλλα τε πολλὰ ἐνεργήσασθαι Ἔλλησι καὶ τὰ περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον, ὅλῳν αὐτῶν παραλλάξαντα. οὐ γὰρ δὴ συμπεσεῖν γε φήσω τὰ τε ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ ποιεύμενα τῷ θεῷ καὶ τὰ ἐν τοῖς Ἔλλησι σιμότροπα γὰρ ἂν ἦν τοῖς Ἐλλησι καὶ οὐ νεωστὶ ἐσηγημένα. οὐ μὲν οὐδὲ φήσω ὅκως Αἰγύπτιοι παρ' Ἐλληνῶν ἔλαβον ἢ τοῦτο ἢ ἄλλο κοῦ τι νόμαιν. πυθέοσθαι δὲ μοι δοκεῖ μάλιστα Μελάμπους τα περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον παρὰ Κάδμου τε τὸν Τυρίου καὶ τῶν σῦν αὐτῷ ἐκ Φοινίκης ἀπικομένων ἐς τὴν νῦν Βοιωτίην καλεομένην χώρην.

50. Σχεδὸν δὲ καὶ πάντων τὰ οὖνοματα τῶν θεῶν ἵν' Αἰγύπτου ἐλήλυθε ἐς τὴν Ἐλλάδα. διότι μὲν γὰρ ἤτοι τῶν βαρβάρων ἤκει, πυθανόμενος οὕτω εὐφράκοι ἐὼν δοκεῖ δ' ὁν μάλιστα ἀπ' Αἰγύπτου ἀπίστησι. ὅτι γὰρ δὴ μὴ Ποσειδέωνος καὶ Διοσ-
BOOK II. 48-50

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

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

50. Indeed, wellnigh all the names of the gods came to Hellas from Egypt. For I am assured by inquiry that they have come from foreign parts, and I believe that they came chiefly from Egypt. Except the names of Poseidon and the Dioscuri, as I have
κούρων, ὡς καὶ πρότερον μοι ταῦτα εἴρηται, καὶ Ἡρης καὶ Ἰστίης καὶ Θέμιος καὶ Χαρίτων καὶ Νηρηίδων, τῶν ἄλλων θεῶν Αἰγυπτίωσι αἰεὶ κοτε τὰ οὐνόματα ἐστὶ ἐν τῇ χώρῃ. λέγω δὲ τὰ λέγουσι αὐτῷ Αἰγύπτιοι. τῶν δὲ οὔ φασι θεῶν γυνώσκειν τὰ οὖνομα, οὕτοι δὲ μοι δοκέουσι ὅτι Πελασ-γῶν ὄνομαθήναι, πλὴν Ποσειδέωνος· τοῦτον δὲ τὸν θεὸν παρὰ Δίβυνων ἐπύθοντο· ούδαμοι γὰρ ἀπ' ἀρχῆς Ποσειδέωνος οὖνομα ἐκτιναὶ εἰ μὴ Δίβυνος καὶ τιμῶσι τὸν θεὸν τούτον αἰεὶ. νομί-ζουσι δ' ὅν Αἰγύπτιοι οὐδ' ἠρωσι οὐδέν.

51. Ταῦτα μὲν νυν καὶ ἄλλα πρὸς τοῦτοι, τὰ ἐγὼ φράσω, „Εὐλήνης ἀπ' Αἰγυπτίων νευμίκαστι τοῦ δὲ Ἐρμέω τὰ ἀγάλματα ὅρθα ἔξειν τὰ αἰδοία ποιεῖντες οὔκ ἀπ' Αἰγυπτίων μεμαθήκασι, ἂλλ' ἀπὸ Πελασγῶν πρῶτοι μὲν Ἐλλήνων ἀπάντων 'Αθηναῖοι παραλαβόντες, παρὰ δὲ τούτων ὄλλοι. 'Αθηναίοις γὰρ ἱδή τηνικαίτα ἐσ Ἔλληνας τε-λέουσι Πελασγοὶ σύνοικοι ἐγένοντο ἐν τῇ χώρῃ, οἴθεν περ καὶ Ἐλλήνης ἡρξαντο νομισθήναι. ὡστε δὲ τὰ Καβεῖρων ὄργια μεμύκηται, τὰ Σαμοθρῆκες ἐπιτελέουσι παραλαβόντες παρὰ Πελασγῶν, οὕτος ὅνηρ οἴδε τὸ λέγω· τὴν γὰρ Σαμοθρῆκην οἴκεου πρότερον Πελασγοὶ οὕτοι οἱ περ Ἀθηναίοις σύνοικοι ἐγένοντο, καὶ παρὰ τούτων Σαμοθρῆκες τὰ ὄργια παραλαμβάνουσι. ὡρθὰ δὲν ἔχειν τὰ αἰδοία τὰ ἀγάλματα τοῦ Ἐρμέω Ἀθηναῖοι πρῶτοι Ἐλλήνων μαθόντες παρὰ Πελασγῶν ἐποιησαντο· οἱ δὲ Πελασγοὶ ἰρὸν τινα λόγον περί αὐτοῦ ἐλεξαν, τὰ ἐν τοῖς ἐν Σαμοθρῆκην μυστηρίουι διδήλωται.

52. Ἐθυνον δὲ πάντα πρότερον οἱ Πελασγοὶ θεοὶ ἐπευχόμενοι, ὡς ἐγὼ ἐν Δαδώνῃ 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 knowledge from the Libyans. Alone of all nations the Libyans have had among them the name of Poseidon from the first, and they have ever honoured this god. The Egyptians did not so; nor do they worship heroes.

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

52. Formerly, in their sacrifices, the Pelasgians called upon gods (this I know, for I was told at
οὐδ’ οὖνομα ἐποιεῖτο οὐδενὶ αὐτῶν· οὐ γὰρ ἀκηκόεσάν κω. θεοῖς δὲ προσωνόμασαν σφέας ἀπὸ τοῦ τοιούτου, ὅτι κόσμῳ θέντες τὰ πάντα πρήγματα καὶ πάσας νομας εἶχον. ἔπειτα δὲ χρόνου πολλοῦ διεξέλθοντο ἐπόθοντο ἐκ τῆς Αἰγύπτου ἀπικόμενα τὰ οὖνόματα τῶν θεῶν τῶν ἄλλων, Διονύσου δὲ ὑστερον πολλῷ ἐπόθοντο. καὶ μετὰ χρόνου ἐξηρηστηριαζόντο περὶ τῶν οὐνομάτων ἐν Δωδώνῃ τὸ γὰρ δὴ μαντήιον τοῦτο νενόμησαι ἀρχαίοτατον τῶν ἐν Ἔλλησι χρηστηρίων εἶναι, καὶ ἂν τῶν χρόνων τούτων μοῦνον. ἔπει δὲν ἐξηρηστηριαζόντο ἐν τῇ Δωδώνῃ οἱ Πελασγοὶ εἰ ἀνελωνται τὰ οὖνόματα τὰ ἀπὸ τῶν βαρβάρων ἴκοντα, ἀνείλε τὸ μαντήιον χράσθαι. ἀπὸ μὲν δὴ τούτο τοῦ χρόνου ἔθνου τοῦσι οὖνόμασι τῶν θεῶν χρεώμενοι· παρὰ δὲ Πελασγῶν Ἔλληνες ἔξεδεξαντο ὑστερον.

53. Ἔνθεν δὲ ἐγένοντο ἐκαστος τῶν θεῶν, εἴτε αἰεὶ ἴσαν πάντες, οἵκοι κέ τινες τα εἴδεα, οὐκ ἡπιστέατο μέχρι οὐ πρώην τε καὶ χθές ὡς εἰπείν λόγῳ. Ἡσίοδον γὰρ καὶ ὁ Ὀμηρὸν ἡλικίαν τετρακοσίοις ἐτεσὶ δοκέω μεν πρεσβυτέρους γενέσθαι καὶ οὐ πλέοσι· οὕτω δὲ εἰσὶ οἱ ποιήσαντες θεογονίαν Ἔλλησι καὶ τοῖς θεοῖς τὰς ἐπωνυμίας δόντες καὶ τιμάς τε καὶ τέχνας διελούντες καὶ εἴδεα αὐτῶν σημήναντες. οἱ δὲ πρῶτον ποιηταὶ λεγόμενοι τούτων τῶν ἀνδρῶν γενέσθαι ύστερον, ἐμοιγε δοκεέων, ἐγένοντο. τούτων τὰ μὲν πρῶτα αἱ Δωδώνιδες ἱρείαι λέγουσι, τὰ δὲ ύστερα τὰ ἐς Ἡσίοδον τε καὶ ὁ Ὀμηρὸν ἔχοντα ἐγὼ λέγω.

54. Χρηστηρίων δὲ πέρι τοῦ τε ἐν Ἔλλησι καὶ
Dodona) without giving name or appellation to any; for they had not as yet heard of such. They called them gods\(^1\) 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 \(\text{θεός}\) meant “a disposer,” connected with \(\text{θεσμός}, \text{τίθημι}\), etc.
τοῦ ἐν Διβύη τόνδε Αἰγυπτίων λόγον λέγουσιν ἔφασαν οἱ ἱρέες τοῦ Ἡθβαϊῶς Δίὸς δύο γυναίκας ἱρείας ἐκ Ἡθβεῶν ἐξαχθήναι ὑπὸ Φοινίκων, καὶ τὴν μὲν αὐτέων πυθέοντας ἔστι Διβύην προσεῖσαν τὴν δὲ ἐς τὸν Ἐλληνας ταύτας δὲ τὰς γυναίκας εἶναι τὰς ἱδρυσαμένας τὰ μαντήμα πρῶτας ἐν τοῖς εἰρήμενοι ἔθνεσι. εἰρημένου δὲ μεν ὁκοθεν οὕτω ἀτρεκέως ἐπιστάμενοι λέγουσιν, ἔφασαν πρὸς ταύτα ξήτησιν μεγάλην ἀπὸ σφέας γενέσθαι τῶν γυναικῶν τούτων, καὶ ἀνευρεῖν μὲν σφέας οὐ δυνατοί γενέσθαι, πυθέοντας δὲ ύστερον ταύτα περὶ αὐτέων τὰ τα δὲ ἐλεγον.

55. Ταύτα μὲν νυν τῶν ἐν Ἡθβησι ιρέων ἡκούον, τάδε δὲ Δωδωναιῶν φασὶ αἱ προμάντιες δύο πελειάδας μελαινας ἐκ Ἡθβεῶν τῶν Αἰγυπτίων ἀναπταμένας τὴν μὲν αὐτέων ἐς Διβύην τὴν δὲ παρὰ σφέας ἀτικέσθαι, ἱζομένην δὲ μιν ἐπὶ φηγοῦν αὐτάξασθαι φωνῇ ἀνθρωπηγῇ ὡς χρειᾶν εἰς μαντήμα τοῦτο αὐτόθι Δίὸς γενέσθαι, καὶ αὐτοὺς ὑπολαβεῖν θείον εἶναι τὸ ἑπαγγελλόμενον αὐτοῖς, καὶ σφέας ἐκ τούτων ποιῆσαι. τὴν δὲ ἐς τοὺς Δίβνας οἰχομένην πελειάδα λέγουσι Ἀμμωνος χρηστήριον κελεύσαι τοὺς Δίβνας ποιεῖν· ἔστι δὲ καὶ τυχὸ Δίως. Δωδωναίων δὲ αἱ ἱρεῖαι, τῶν τῇ προσβυτάτῃ οὐνομα ἤν Προμένεια, τῇ δὲ μετὰ ταύτην Τιμαρέτη, τῇ δὲ νεοτάτῃ Νικάνδρη, ἐλεγον ταύτα- συνωμολόγεον δὲ σφι καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι Δωδωναῖοι οἱ περὶ τὸ ἱρόν.

56. Ἡ ἔγω δ’ ἔχω περὶ αὐτῶν γνώμην τῆνδε εἰ ἀληθεὺς οἱ Φοινικεῖς ἐξήγαγον τὰς ἱρᾶς γυναίκας καὶ τὴν μὲν αὐτέων ἐς Διβύην τὴν δὲ ἐς τὴν Ἐλλάδα ἀπέδουτο, δοκεῖειν 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 a beech tree, and uttered there human speech, declaring that there must be there a place of divination from Zeus; the people of Dodona understood that the message was divine, and therefore they established the oracular shrine. The dove which came to Libya bade the Libyans (so they say) to make an oracle of Ammon; this also is sacred to Zeus. Such was the tale told by the Dodonaean priestesses, of whom the eldest was Promeneia and the next in age Timarete, and the youngest Nicandra; and the rest of the servants of the temple at Dodona likewise held it true.

56. But this is my own belief about it. If the Phoenicians did in truth carry away the sacred women and sell one in Libya and one in Hellas, then to my thinking the part of what is now Hellas, but
νῦν Ἐλλάδος, πρότερον δὲ Πελασγίας καλευμένης τῆς αὐτῆς ταύτης, πρηθήναι ἐς Θεσπρωτῶς, ἔπειτα δουλεύουσα αὐτόθι ἰδρύσασθαι ὑπὸ φηνῆ
πεφυκυῖῃ ἱρὸν Διός, ὥσπερ ἢν οἰκὸς ἀμφιπολεύο-
σαν ἐν Θήβῃς ἵναν Διός, ἐνθὰ ἀπίκετο, ἐνθαῦτα
μνήμην αὑτοῦ ἔχειν· ἓκ δὲ τούτῳ χρηστήριον
κατηγήσατο, ἔπειτε συνέλαβε τὴν Ἐλλάδα γλῶσ-
σαν· φαναι δὲ οἱ ἀδελφεῖς ἐν Διβύῃ πεπρῆσθαι
ὑπὸ τῶν αὐτῶν Φωνίκων ὑπ’ ὄν καὶ αὐτὴ ἐπρήθη.

57. Πελειάδες δὲ μοι δοκέουσι κληθήναι πρὸς
Δωδώναιόν ἐπὶ τούδε αἱ γυναῖκες, διότι βαρβαροὶ
ἡσαν, ἐδόκεον δὲ σφὶ ὁμοίως ὄρνυσι φθέγγεσθαι
μετὰ δὲ χρόνων τὴν πελειάδα ἀνθρωπηφίῃ φωνῇ
ἀυδάξασθαι λέγουσι, ἐπείτε συνετὰ σφὶ ηὗδα ἡ
γυνῆ· ἔως δὲ ἐβαρβάριζε, ὄρνυθος τρόπον ἐδόκεε
σφὶ φθέγγεσθαι, ἐπεὶ τέφ ἃν τρόπῳ πελειάς ἱε
ἀνθυρωπηφίῃ φωνῇ φθέγξαίτο; μέλαιναν δὲ λέ-
γοντες εἶναι τὴν πελειάδα σημαίνουσι ὅτι Ἀιγυ-
πτίῃ ἡ γυνῆ ἡ.

58. Ἡ δὲ μαντηφὴ ἦ τε ἐν Θήβῃς τῆς Ἀιγυ-
πτίης καὶ ἐν Δωδώνῃ παραπλήσιαι ἀλλήλησι
τυγχάνουσι ἐοῦσαι. ἔστι δὲ καὶ τῶν ἱρῶν ἡ μαν-
τικὴ ἄπ’ Ἀιγύπτου ἀπεγμένη. πανηγύρις δὲ ἄρα
καὶ τομπᾶς καὶ προσαγωγὰς πρῶτοι ἀνθρώπων
Ἀιγύπτιοι εἰσὶ οἱ ποιησάμενοι, καὶ παρὰ τούτων
”Ἑλληνες μεμαθήκασι. τεκμήριον δὲ μοι τούτῳ
τόδε· αἱ μὲν γὰρ φαίνονται ἐκ πολλοῦ τευ χρόνων
ποιεύμεναι, αἱ δὲ Ἕλληνικα νεώστι ἐποιήθησαν.

59. Πανηγυρίζουσι δὲ Ἀιγύπτιοι οὐκ ἀπαξ τοῦ

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

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

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

59. The Egyptians hold solemn assemblies not

¹ Perhaps Herodotus' explanation is right. But the name "doves" may be purely symbolic; thus priestesses of Demeter and Artemis were sometimes called Bees.
ενιαυτοῦ, πανηγύρις δὲ συχνά, μάλιστα μὲν καὶ 
προθυμότατα ἐσ Βούβαστιν πόλιν τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι, 
δεύτερα δὲ ἐσ Βούσιριν πόλιν τῇ Ἰσιν ἐν ταύτῃ 
γὰρ δὴ τῇ πόλις ἐστὶ μέγιστον Ἰσιος ἵρον, ἵδρυται 
δὲ ἡ πόλις αὐτῇ τῆς Αιγύπτου ἐν μέσῳ τῷ Δέλτα- 
'Ἰσις δὲ ἐστὶ κατὰ τὴν Ἑλλήνων γῆς σαν Δημή- 
τηρ. τρίτα δὲ ἐς Σάιν πόλιν τῇ Ἀθηναίη πανηγυ- 
ρίζουσι, τέταρτα δὲ ἐς Ἡλίων πόλιν τῷ Ἡλίῳ, 
πέμπτα δὲ ἐς Βούντου πόλιν τῇ Δησάι, ἔκτα δὲ ἐς 
Pάπρημιν πόλιν τῷ Ἀρεί.

60. Ἕσ μὲν νῦν Βούβαστιν πόλιν ἐπεάν κομί- 
ξωνταί, ποιεύσι τοιάδε. πλέουσι τε γὰρ δὴ ἀμά 
ἀνδρες γυναιξὶ καὶ πολλόν τι πλῆθος ἐκατέρων ἐν 
ἐκάστῃ βάρι, αἰ μὲν τινὲς τῶν γυναικῶν κρόταλα 
ἐχουσι κροταλίζουσι, οἳ δὲ αὐλέουσι κατὰ πάντα 
tὸν πλόου, αἰ δὲ λοιπὲς γυναῖκες καὶ ἄνδρες 
ἀείδουσι καὶ τὰς χείρας κροτέουσι. ἐπεάν δὲ πλέ- 
ουσι κατὰ τίνα πόλιν ἄλλην γένωνται, ἐγχρύμ- 
ψαντες τὴν βάριν τῇ γῇ ποιεύσι τοιάδε. αἰ μὲν 
tινὲς τῶν γυναικῶν ποιεύσι τὰ περ έἰρηνια, αἰ 
δὲ τωθάξουσι βοῶσαί τᾶς ἐν τῇ πόλι ταύτῃ γυναικας, 
αἰ δὲ ὅρχευσι, αἰ δὲ ἀνασύρουσι ἀνιστάμεναι. 
τάουτα παρὰ πάσαν πόλιν παραποταμίαν ποιεύσιν 
ἐπεάν δὲ ἀπίκωνται ἐς τὴν Βούβαστιν, ὅρτάζουσι 
μεγάλας ἀνάγοντες θυσίας, καὶ οἶνος ἀμπέλινος 
ἀναισιμοῦνται πλέων ἐν τῇ ὀρτῇ ταύτῃ ἐν τῷ 
ἀπαντὶ ἐνιαυτῷ τῷ ἐπιλοίπῳ. συμφοιτώσι δὲ, 
ὁ τι ἄνηρ καὶ γυνὴ ἐστὶ πλὴν παιδίων, καὶ ἐς 
ἐβδομήκοντα μυριάδας, ὡς οἱ ἐπιχώριοι λέγουσι.

61. Τάουτα μὲν δὴ ταύτῃ ποιείται, ἐν δὲ Βουσίρι 
πόλι ὡς ἀνάγουσι τῇ Ἰσι τὴν ὀρτήν, εἰρηται πρό-
τερον μου τύπτονται μὲν γὰρ δὴ μετὰ τὴν θυσίν  
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once in the year, but often. The chiefest of these and the most zealously celebrated is at the town of Bubastis\(^1\) in honour of Artemis, and the next is that in honour of Isis at Busiris. This town is in the middle of the Egyptian Delta, and there is in it a very great temple of Isis, who is in the Greek language, Demeter. The third greatest festival is at Sais in honour of Athene; the fourth is the festival of the sun at Heliopolis, the fifth of Leto at Buto, and the sixth of Ares at 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.
πάντες καὶ πᾶσαι, μυριάδες κάρτα πολλαὶ ἀνθρώπων τὸν δὲ τύπτονται, οὐ μοι ὅσιον ἐστὶ λέγειν. ὅσοι δὲ Καρδών εἰσὶ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ οἰκέοντες, οὕτωι δὲ τοσοῦτον ἐτὶ πλέω ποιεύσι τούτων ὅσῳ καὶ τὰ μέτωπα κόπτονται μαχαίρις, καὶ τούτῳ εἰσὶ δήλοι ὅτι εἰσὶ ξεῖνοι καὶ οὐκ Αἰγύπτιοι.

62. Ἡσ Σάιν δὲ πόλιν ἐπεάνυ συλλεχθέωσι, τῆς θυσίας ἐν τῇ νυκτὶ λύχνα καίουσι πάντες πολλὰ ύπαίθρια περὶ τὰ δῶματα κύκλω τὰ δὲ λύχνα ἐστὶ ἐμβάφια ἐμπλεά ἄλος καὶ ἐλαίον, ἐπιτολής δὲ ἐπέστη αὐτὸ τὸ ἐλλύχων, καὶ τούτο καίεται πανυχίων, καὶ τῇ ὀρτῇ οὖνομα κέεται λυχνοκαία. οὐ δ' ἂν μὴ ἔλθωσι τῶν Αἰγύπτιων ἐς τὴν πανήγυριν ταύτην, φυλάσσουσε τὴν νύκτα τῆς θυσίας καίουσι καὶ αὐτοί πάντες τὰ λύχνα, καὶ οὕτω οὐκ ἐν Σάι μούνῃ καίεται ἀλλα καὶ ἀνὰ πᾶσαν Αἰγύπτιον. ὅτεν δὲ εἰνέκα φῶς ἔλαχε καὶ τιμὴν ἡ νύξ αὐτῆ, ἔστι ἱρὸς περὶ αὐτοῦ λόγος λεγόμενος.

63. Ἡσ δὲ Ἡλίου τε πόλιν καὶ Βουτοῦν θυσίας μούνας ἐπιτελέουσι φοιτέουσι. ἐν δὲ Πατρήμι θυσίας μὲν καὶ ἱρὰ κατὰ περ καὶ τῇ ἄλλῃ ποιεύσιν εὐτ' ἂν δὲ γίνηται καταφερῆς ὁ ἥλιος, ὅλυνιοι μὲν τινὲς τῶν ἱρῶν περὶ τῶν ἵππων πεπονέαται, οἱ δὲ πολλοὶ αὐτῶν ξύλων κορύνας ἔχουσε ἐστάσι τοῦ ἱροῦ ἐν τῇ ἔσόδῳ, ἄλλοι τε εὐχωλὰς ἐπιτελέουσε ἀλευρίς ἐχύλων καὶ ἐκαστοί ἔχοντες ἕστησε καὶ οὕτοι, ὅτι τὰ ἔτερα ἀλέες ἐστάσι. τὸ δὲ ἀγαλμα ἔως ἐν νησὶ μικρῷ ἔχυλων κατακεχρυσωμένῳ προ- εκκομίζουσι τῇ προτεραίῃ ἐς ἄλλο οἴκημα ἱρόν. οἱ μὲν δὴ ὅλυνιοι οἱ περὶ τῶν ἵππων λελειμμένοι ἐλκουσί τετράκυκλον ἄμαξαν ἀγούσαν τῶν νησί τε καὶ τὸ ἐν τῷ νησί ἐνεόν ἀγαλμα, οὐ δὲ οὐκ ἔστι
lament, in countless numbers; but it were profane for me to say who it is for whom they lament. Carian dwellers in Egypt do even more than this, for they cut their foreheads with knives; showing thereby, that they are not Egyptians but strangers.

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

63. When the people go to Heliopolis and Buto they offer sacrifice only. At Papremis sacrifice is offered and rites performed as elsewhere; but when the sun is sinking, while a few of the priests are left to busy themselves with the image, the greater number of them beset the entrance of the temple, with clubs of wood in their hands; they are confronted by more than a thousand men, all performing vows and all carrying wooden clubs like the rest. The image of the god, in a little wooden gilt casket, is carried on the day before this from the temple to another sacred chamber. The few who are left with the image draw a four-wheeled cart carrying it in its casket; the other priests stand in the temple porch and prevent its
ἐν τοῖς προπυλαίοις ἐστεώτες ἐσιέναι, οἱ δὲ εὐχαλμαίοι τιμωρέοντες τῷ θεῷ παῖουσι αὐτοὺς ἀλεξομένους. ἐνθαυτὰ μάχη ξύλωσι καρτερὴ γίνεται κεφαλάς τε συναράσσονται, καὶ ὡς ἐγὼ δοκέω πολλοὶ καὶ ἀποθνήσκουσι ἐκ τῶν τρωμάτων οὐ μέντοι οἳ γε Ἀιγύπτιοι ἔφασαν ἀποθνήσκειν οὐδένα. τὴν δὲ πανήγυριν ταύτην ἐκ τούδε νομίσαι φασί οἱ ἐπιχώριοι οἴκειες ἐν τῷ ἱρῷ τούτῳ τοῦ Ἀρείος τὴν μητέρα, καὶ τὸν Ἀρεά ἀπότροφον γενόμενον ἐλθεῖν ἐξανδρωμένον ἐθέλοντα τῇ μητρὶ συμμίξαι, καὶ τοὺς προπόλους τῆς μητρὸς, οἷα οὐκ ὀπωφότας αὐτὸν πρῶτον, οὐ περιορᾶν παριέναι ἄλλα ἀπερύκειν, τὸν δὲ ἐξ ἀλλῆς πόλιος ἀγαγόμενον ἀνθρώπους τοὺς τέ προπόλους τρηχέως περισπεῖν καὶ ἔσελθεῖν παρὰ τὴν μητέρα. ἀπὸ τούτου τῷ Ἀρεὶ ταύτην τὴν πληγήν ἐν τῇ ὀρτῇ νεομικέναι φασί.

64. Καὶ τὸ μῆνίς γεσθαι γυναιξὶ ἐν ἱροῖσι μηδὲ ἀλούτους ἀπὸ γυναικῶν ἐσ ἱρὰ ἐσιέναι οὐτοὶ εἰσὶ οἱ πρῶτοι θρησκεύσαντες. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἄλλοι σχεδὸν πάντες ἀνθρώποι, πλὴν Αἰγυπτίων καὶ Ἐλλήνων, μίσχονται ἐν ἱροῖσι καὶ ἀπὸ γυναικῶν ἀνυστάμενοι ἀλούτοι ἐσέρχονται ἐς ἱρὸν, νομίζοντες ἀνθρώπους εἶναι κατὰ περ τὰ ἄλλα κτήνεα· καὶ γὰρ τὰ ἄλλα κτήνεα ὀρᾶν καὶ ὁμοίους γένεα ὀχυρώμενα ἐν τοῖς νηοῖς τῶν θεῶν καὶ ἐν τοῖς τερένεσιν ἔι δὲν εἶναι τῷ θεῷ τοῦτο μὴ φίλου, οὐκ ἄν οὔδε τὰ κτήνεα ποιεῖν. οὐτοὶ μὲν νυν τοιαῦτα ἐπιλέγοντες ποιεῦσι ἐμουγε οὐκ ἀρεστά· Αἰγυπτίοι δὲ θρησκεύουσι περισσῶς τα ἀλλα περὶ τὰ ἱρὰ καὶ δὴ καὶ τάδε.

65. Ἐοῦσα ἡ Αἰγυπτίως ὁμορος τῇ Διβύη οὗ
BOOK II. 63–65

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

64. Further, it was the Egyptians who first made it a matter of religious observance not to have intercourse with women in temples, nor enter a temple after such intercourse without washing. Nearly all other men are less careful in this matter than are the Egyptians and Greeks, and hold a man to be like any other animal; for beasts and birds (they say) are seen to mate both in the temples and the sacred precincts; now were this displeasing to the god neither would the beasts do so. This is the reason given by others for practices which I for my part 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 ἐστὶ· τὰ δὲ ἐόντα σφὶ ἀπαντᾷ ἵπα νεόμισται, καὶ τὰ μὲν σύντροφα αὐτοῖσι τοῖσι ἀνθρώποισι, τὰ δὲ οὐ. τῶν δὲ εἶνεκεν ἀνεῖται τὰ θηρία ἵπα εἰ λέγωμι, καταβαίνῃ ἄν τῷ λόγῳ ἕσ τὰ θεία πρήγματα, τὰ ἐγὼ φεύγω μάλιστα ἀπηγέεσθαι· τὰ δὲ καὶ εὐρήκα αὐτῶν ἐπιψαύσας, ἀναγκαῖη καταλαμβανόμενος εἴπτων. νόμος δὲ ἐστὶν περὶ τῶν θηρίων ὡδε ἔχων· μελεδωνοὶ ἀποδε- δέχαται τῆς τροφῆς χωρίς ἐκάστων καὶ ἔρσενες καὶ θήλεις τῶν Ἀγνυπτῶν, τῶν παῖς παρὰ πατρὸς ἐκδέκται τὴν τιμῆν. οὗ δὲ ἐν τῇ συνόλοι ἐκαστοί εὐχὰς τάσδε σφὶ ἀποτελέουσι· εὐχόμενοι οὖ τῷ θεῷ τοῦ ἄν θεῷ τῆς θηρίων, ἔφυροντες τῶν παιδῶν ἡ πάσαν τὴν κεφαλὴν ἢ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἢ τῷ τρίτῳ μέρος τῆς κεφαλῆς, ἰστάσι σταθμὸ πρὸς ἄργυρον τᾶς τρίχας· τὸ δ' ἄν ἐλκύσῃ, τοῦτο τῇ μελεδωνῷ τῶν θηρίων διδοῖ, ἢ δὲ ἀντ' αὐτοῦ τάμνουσα ἵθης παρέχει βορῆν τοῦσι θηρίοις. τροφὴ μὲν δὴ αὐτοῖσι τοιαύτη ἀποδεδέκται· τὸ δ' ἄν τις τῶν θηρίων τούτων ἀποκτείνῃ, ἢν μὲν ἐκὼν, θάνατος ἢ ζημίᾳ, ἢν δὲ ἄεκων, ἀποτίνει ζημίᾳ τὴν ἄν οἱ ἱρέες τάξονται. δὲ δ' ἄν ἱζων ἡ ἱρήκα ἀποκτείνῃ, ἢν τε ἐκὼν ἢν τε ἄεκων, τεθνάναι ἀνάγκη.

66. Πολλῶν δὲ ἐόντων ὁμοτρόφων τοῖσι ἀνθρώ- ποισι θηρίων πολλὶ ἄν ἐτι πλέω ἐγίνετο, εἰ μὴ κατελάμβανε τοὺς αἰελουρίους τοιάδε· ἐπεάν τέκωσι καὶ θήλειαί, οὐκέτι φοιτέουσι παρὰ τοῖς ἔρσενας· οὗ δὲ διζήμενοι μίσγεσθαι αὐτήσι οὐκ ἔχουσι. πρὸς δὲ τὰ ταῦτα σοφίζουσι τάδε· ἀρτά- ξοντες ἀπὸ τῶν θηλέων καὶ ὑπαγείωμενοι τὰ τέκνα κτείνουσι, κτείναντες μέντοι οὐ πατέονται· αἱ
not a country of many animals. All of them are held sacred; some of these are part of mens' households and some not; but were I to declare the reason why they are dedicated, I should be brought to speak of matters of divinity, of which I am especially unwilling to treat; I have never touched upon such save where necessity has compelled me. But I will now show how it is customary to deal with the animals. Men and women are appointed guardians to provide nourishment for each kind severally; a son inherits this office from his father. Townsmen in each place, when they pay their vows, make prayer to the god to whom the animal is dedicated, shaving the whole or the half or the third part of their children's heads, and weighing the hair in a balance against a sum of silver; then whatever be the weight in silver of the hair is given to the female guardian of the creatures, who buys fish with it and feeds them therewith. Thus is food provided for them. Whoever kills one of these creatures with intention is punished with death; if he kill by mischance he pays whatever penalty the priests appoint. Whoever kills an ibis or a hawk, with intention or without, must die for it.

66. There are many household animals; and there would be many more, were it not for what happens to the cats. When the females have kittened they will not consort with the males; and these seek them but cannot get their will of them; so their device is to steal and carry off and kill the kittens (but they do not eat what they have killed). The mothers,
δὲ στερισκόμεναι τῶν τέκνων, ἄλλων δὲ ἐπιθυμεύουσαι, οὗτοι δὴ ἀπικνέονται παρὰ τοὺς ἔρσενας· φιλότεκνον γὰρ τὸ θηρίον. πυρκαίης δὲ γενομένης θεία πρήγματα καταλαμβάνει τοὺς αἰέλουρους· οἱ μὲν γὰρ Αἰγυπτίοι διαστάντες φυλακὰς ἔχουσι τῶν αἰέλουρων, ἀμελήσαντες σβεννύναι τὸ καλό· μενον, οἱ δὲ αἰέλουροι διαδύνοντες καὶ ὑπερθρώσκοντες τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἐσάλλονται ἐς τὸ πῦρ. ταῦτα δὲ γνώμενα πένθεια μεγάλα τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους καταλαμβάνει. ἐν ὅτεοισι δ' ἂν οἰκίσωσι αἰέλουρος ἀποθάνη ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτοματοῦ, οἱ ἐνοικέοντες πάντες ἐμπέντειον τὰς ὀφρύας μούνας, παρὰ ὅτεοισι δ' ἂν κύων, πάν τὸ σῶμα καὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν.

67. Ἀπάγονται δὲ οἱ αἰέλουροι ἀποθανόντες ἐστὶν ἁπτυοῖται παραχεῖσθαι, ἐν Βουβᾶστι πόλιν. τὰς δὲ κύνας ἐν τῇ ἑωτῶν ἐκαστοὶ πόλις ἀπάτουσι ἐν ἑρῆσι θήκησι. ὡς δὲ αὐτῶς τῇ κυσί οἱ ἱχνευόνται ἀπάτουσι· τὰς δὲ μυγαλάς καὶ τοὺς ἴρηκας ἀπάγουσι ἐς Βουβοῦν πόλιν, τὰς δὲ ἴβις ἐς Ἑρμέων πόλιν. τὰς δὲ ἀρκτοὺς ἐσύσας σπανίας καὶ τοὺς λύκους οὐ πολλῷ τερὸ ἑοῦτας ἀλωπέκων μέξονας αὐτοῦ ἀπάτουσι τῇ ἂν ἐυρεθέσῳ κείμενοι.

68. Τῶν δὲ κροκοδείλων φύσις ἐστὶν τοῦτο. τοὺς χειμεριωτάτους μήνας τέσσερας ἐσθείει οὐδὲν, ἐν δὲ τετράπον χερσαίον καὶ λιμναίον ἐστὶ. τίκτει μὲν γὰρ ὁ ἐν γῇ καὶ ἐκλέπει, καὶ τὸ πολλὸν τῆς ἡμέρης διατρίβει ἐν τῷ ἡμῆρῳ, τὴν δὲ νύκτα πάσαν ἐν τῷ ποταμῷ· θερμότερον γὰρ δὴ ἑστὶ τὸ ὑδωρ τῆς τε αἰθρίης καὶ τῆς δροσοῦ. πάντων δὲ τῶν ἡμείς ἴδομεν ψυντῶν τούτο ἐξ ἐλαχίστου μέγιστον ἔμενεται· τὰ μὲν γὰρ ὁ ἄν χιονέων οὐ πολλῷ μέξονα τίκτει, καὶ ὁ νεοσσὸς 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
τού φοῦ γίνεται, αὐξανόμενος δὲ γίνεται καὶ ἐστὶ ἐπτάκαλδικα πήχειας καὶ μέξουν ἐτί. ἔχει δὲ ὀφθαλμόν μὲν υός, ὀδόντας δὲ μεγάλους καὶ χαλύβοντας κατὰ λόγον τοῦ σώματος. γλώσσαν δὲ μοῦνον θηρίων οὐκ ἔφυσε, οὔδε κινεῖ τὴν κάτω γνάθον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τούτῳ μοῦνον θηρίων τὴν ἀνω γνάθον προσάγει τῇ κάτω. ἔχει δὲ καὶ ὀνυχὰς καρτεροὺς καὶ δέρμα λεπίδωτον ἀρρηκτὸν ἐπὶ τοῦ νωτοῦ. τυφλὸν δὲ ἐν ὑδατί, ἐν δὲ τῇ αἰθρίᾳ ὄξυυδερκέστατον. ἀτε δὴ ἄν ἐν ὑδατι διάται ποιεύμενον, τὸ στόμα ἐνδοθεν φορεῖι πᾶν μεστὸν βδελλέων. τὰ μὲν δὴ ἄλλα ὄρνεα καὶ θηρία φεύγει μιν, ὁ δὲ τροχίλος εἰρηναῖον οἷος ἐστὶ αὐτῷ ὁφελεμένῳ πρὸς αὐτοῦ. ἔπεαν γὰρ ἐς τὴν γῆν ἐκβῇ ἐκ τοῦ ὕδατος ὁ κροκόδειλος καὶ ἐπείτα χάνῃ (ἐὼθε γὰρ τοῦτο ὡς ἐπίπαν ποιεῖν πρὸς τὸν ξέφυρον), ἐνθάδητα δὲ τροχίλος εὐδούνων ἐς τὸ στόμα αὐτοῦ κατατίνει τὰς βδέλλας· ὁ δὲ ὄφελεύμενος ἡδεται καὶ οὕδεν σίνεται τὸν τροχίλον.

69. Τοῖς μὲν δὴ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων ἱροῖ εἰσὶ οἱ κροκόδειλοι, τοῖς δὲ οὗ, ἄλλῃ ἀτε πολεμίους περιέπουσι· οἱ δὲ περὶ τὴν Ἐβραίας καὶ τὴν Μοῖρος λίμνην οἰκεύοντες καὶ κάρτα ἰγνοῦται αὐτοὺς εἰναι ἱροὺς· ἔκ πάντων δὲ ἐνα ἐκάτεροι τρέφουσι κροκόδειλον δεδιαγμένον εἰναι χειροθεα, ἀρτήματα τε λίθινα χυτὰ καὶ χρύσεα ἐς τὰ ὅτα ἐνθέντες καὶ ἀμφίδεας περὶ τούς ἐμπροσθίους πόδας, καὶ σιτία ἀποτάκτα διδόντες καὶ ἴρημα, καὶ περιέπουτες ὡς κάλλιστα ξώντας· ἀποθανόντας δὲ θάπτουσι ταριχεύουστε ἐν ἱρήθι θήκης. οἱ δὲ περὶ Ἑλε-φαντίνην πόλιν οἰκεύοντες καὶ ἐσθίουσι αὐτοὺς οὐκ ἰγνομένοι ἱροὺς εἰναι. καλέονται δὲ οὖ κροκόδειλοι
BOOK II. 68–69

there to, 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, 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.
άλλα χάμψαι κροκοδείλους δὲ Ἰωνες ὄνομασαν, εἰκάζοντες αὐτῶν τὰ εἴδεα τοῦι παρὰ σφίζει γινο-
μένουσι κροκοδείλους τοῖς ἐν τῇσι αἰμασίσῃ.

70. Ἀγραι δὲ σφέων πολλαὶ κατεστάσι καὶ
παντοῖαι. ἢ δ' ὄν ἐμοίγε δοκεῖι ἀξιωτάτη ἀπηγή-
σιος εἶναι, ταύτην γράφω. ἔπειδ' ἐντὸν ὑὸς δε-
λεάσῃ περὶ ἄγκιστρον, μετει ἐς μέσον τὸν ποταμὸν,
αὐτὸς δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ χείλεσ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἔχων δέλ-
φακα ξωήν ταύτην τύπτει. ἐπακούσας δὲ τῆς
φωνῆς ὁ κροκόδειλος ἵπτα ἐκατὰ τῆν φωνῆν,
ἐντυχὼν δὲ τῷ νότῳ καταπίνει: ὅι δὲ ἔλκουσι,
ἐπεῖν δὲ ἐξελκυσθῇ ἐς γῆν, πρῶτον ἀπάντων ὁ
θηρευτὴς πηλῷ κατ' ὄν ἐπλασε αὐτόν τοὺς
ὀφθαλμοὺς· τοῦτο δὲ ποιήσας κάρτα εὐπτεύως τὰ
λοῦτα χειροῦται, μὴ ποιήσας δὲ τοῦτο σὺν πόνῳ.

71. Οἳ δὲ ἵππου οἱ ποτάμου νομῷ μὲν τῷ
Παπρημίτῃ ἱροὶ εἰσὶ, τοῖς δὲ ἄλλοις Αἰγυπτίοισι
οὐκ ἱροὶ. φύσιν δὲ παρέχονται ἱδέας τοιήματι:
tετράπον ἑστὶ, δίχηλου, ὀπλαὶ βοῶς, σιμῶν,
λοφικὴν ἑχον ἵππου, χαυλιόδουνας φαῖνον, οὐρὴν
ἵππου καὶ φωνήν, μέγαθος ὤσον τε βοῶς ὁ μέ-
γιστος· τὸ δὲρμα δ' αὐτοῦ ὀὐτῷ δὴ τι παχῦ ἐστὶ
ὡςτε αὐτὲ γενομένου ξυστὰ ποιεσθαι ἀκόντια
ἐς αὐτοῦ.

72. Γίνονται δὲ καὶ ἐνυδρίες εἰς τῷ ποταμῷ, τὰς
ἱρὰς ἴγνυται εἶναι. νομίζουσι δὲ καὶ τῶν ἱχθῶν
τὸν καλεύοντοι λεπιδωτὸν ἱρὸν εἶναι καὶ τὴν
ἐγχελυν, ἱροὺς δὲ τοῦτος τοῦ Νεῖλου φασὶ εἶναι,
καὶ τῶν ὀρνίθων τοὺς χηναλώπεκας.

73. Ἐστὶ δὲ καὶ ἄλλος ὄρνις ἱρὸς, τῷ ὄνομα
φοίνιξ· ἐγὼ μὲν μν ὄν ἐδον εἰ μη ὄσον γράφη·
καὶ γὰρ δὴ καὶ σπάνιος ἐπιφοιτά σφι, δι' ἐτέων,
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BOOK II. 69-73

The Ionians called them crocodiles, from their likeness to the lizards which they have in their walls.¹

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

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

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

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

¹ ἵππος is Ionic for a lizard; the commoner word is σάβρα or σάφρος. χάμψα is the Egyptian "em-suh," a name which survives in the Arabic "timsah," i.e. em-suh with the feminine article prefixed.

² Or "Nile-goose."
HERODOTUS

ως Ηλιοπόλειται λέγουσι, πεντακοσίων φοιτῶν δὲ τότε φασὶ ἐπεάν οί ἀποθάνην ὁ πατήρ. ἔστι δὲ, εἰ τῇ γραφῇ παρόμοιος, τοσὸςδὲ καὶ τοιὸςδέ· τὰ μὲν αὐτοῦ χρυσόκομα τῶν πτερῶν τὰ δὲ ἐρυθρὰ ἐς τὰ μάλιστα· αιετῶ περιήγησιν ὁμοιότατος καὶ τὸ μέγαθος. τοῦτο δὲ λέγουσι μηχανάσθαι τάδε, ἐμοὶ μὲν οὐ πιστὰ λέγοντες. ἐξ Ἀραβίης ὀρμώμενον ἐς τὸ ἱρὸν τοῦ Ἡλίου κομίζειν τὸν πατέρα ἐν σμύρνῃ ἐμπλάσσοντα καὶ θάπτειν ἐν τοῦ Ἡλίου τῷ ἱρῷ, κομίζειν δὲ οὔτω πρῶτον τῆς σμύρνης φῶν πλάσσειν ὅσου τε δυνατός ἐστι φέρειν, μετὰ δὲ πειράσθαι αὐτὸ φορέοντα, ἐπεάν δὲ ἀποτελεθῇ, οὔτω δὴ κοιλήματα τὸ ἐὸν τὸν πατέρα ἐς αὐτὸ ἐντιθέναι, σμύρνη τῇ ἀλλῇ ἐμπλάσσειν τοῦτο κατ᾽ ὁ τι τοῦ φῶν ἐκκοιλήμας ἐνέθηκε τὸν πατέρα· ἐσκεμμένου δὲ τοῦ πατρὸς γίνεσθαι τῶν βάρος ἐμπλάσαντα δὲ κομίζειν μιν ἐπ᾽ Ἀἰγυπτίου ἐς τοῦ Ἡλίου τὸ ἱρὸν. ταῦτα μὲν τοῦτον τῶν ὀρμῶν λέγουσι ποιέειν.

74. Εἰσὶ δὲ περὶ Ἡβας ἱροῖ ὀφίες, ἀνθρώπων οὐδαμῶς δηλήμονες, οἵ μεγάθει ἐντεῖς μικροὶ δύο κέρεα φορέονσι πεφυκότα ἐξ ἀκρῆς τῆς κεφαλῆς· τοὺς ἁπτούσι ἀποθανόντας ἐν τῷ ἱρῷ τοῦ Δίως· τοῦτον γὰρ σφέας τοῦ θεοῦ φασὶ εἶναι ἑρώες.

75. Ἐστι δὲ χῶρος τῆς Ἀραβίης κατὰ Βουτοῦν πόλιν μάλιστα κῇ κείμενος, καὶ ἐς τοῦτο τὸ χῶριον ἤλθον πυθανόμενοι περὶ τῶν πτερωτῶν ὀφίων· ἀπικόμενος δὲ εἶδον ὡστε αὐτῷ καὶ ἀκάνθας πλήθει μὲν ὑδώνατα ἀπηγήσασθαι, σωρὸς δὲ ἤσαν ἀκανθέως καὶ μεγάλοι καὶ ὑποδεέστεροι καὶ ἐλάσσονες ἐτὶ τούτων, πολλοὶ δὲ ἤσαν οὔτοι. Ἐστὶ δὲ ὁ χῶρος οὗτος, ἐν τῷ αἱ ἀκανθαὶ 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 and partly red. He is most like an eagle in shape and bigness. The Egyptians tell a tale of this bird’s devices which I do not believe. He comes, they say, from Arabia bringing his father to the Sun’s temple enclosed in myrrh, and there buries him. His manner of bringing is this: first he moulds an egg of myrrh as heavy as he can carry, and when he has proved its weight by lifting it he then hollows out the egg and puts his father in it, covering over with more myrrh the hollow in which the body lies; so the egg being with his father in it of the same weight as before, the phoenix, after enclosing him, carries him to the temple of the Sun in Egypt. Such is the tale of what is done by this bird.

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

75. Not far from the town of Buto, there is a place in Arabia to which I went to learn about the winged serpents. When I came thither, I saw innumerable bones and backbones of serpents; many heaps of backbones there were, great and small and smaller still. This place, where lay the backbones
τούσδε τις, ἐσβολὴ ἔξ ὅρεων στεινῶν ἐς πεδίον μέγα, τὸ δὲ πεδίον τοῦτο συνάπτει τῷ Ἀιγυπτίῳ πεδίῳ. λόγος δὲ ἐστὶ ἀμα τῷ ἐκρι πτερωτούς ὁφις ἐκ τῆς Ἀραβίης πέτσεθαί ἐπὶ Ἀιγύπτου, τας δὲ ἴβις τὰς ὄρνιθὰς ἀπαντώσας ἐς τὴν ἐσβολὴν ταύτης τῆς χώρης οὐ παριέναι τοὺς ὁφις ἀλλὰ κατακτείνειν. καὶ τὴν ἴβιν διὰ τοῦτο τὸ ἔργον τετιμήσθαι λέγουσι Ἀραβιοὶ μεγάλως πρὸς Ἀιγυπτίων· ὁμολογεύουσι δὲ καὶ Ἀιγύπτιοι διὰ ταῦτα τιμᾶν τὰς ὄρνιθας ταύτας.

76. Εἶδος δὲ τῆς μὲν ἴβιος τόδε· μέλαιανα δεινῶς πᾶσα, σκέλεα δὲ φορεῖε γεράνου, πρόσωπον δὲ ἐς τὰ μάλιστα ἐπίγρυπυν, μέγαϑος ὡσον κρέξ. τῶν μὲν δὴ μελαινέων τῶν μαχομενέων πρὸς τοὺς ὁφις ἤδε ἵδη, τῶν δὲ ἐν ποσὶ μᾶλλον εἰλευμενέων τοῖς ἀνθρώποις (διῄξαν γὰρ δὴ εἰς ἴβιες) πυλὴ τὴν κεφαλὴν καὶ τὴν δειρὴν πᾶσαν, λευκὴ πτεροῖσι πλὴν κεφαλῆς καὶ αὐχένος καὶ ἀκρέων τῶν πτερύγων καὶ τοῦ πυγαῖον ἄκρου (ταῦτα δὲ τὰ εἴπον πάντα μέλαια ἐςτὶ δεινῶς), σκέλεα δὲ καὶ πρόσωπον ἐμφερῆς τῇ ἐτέρῃ. τοῦ δὲ ὀψιος ἡ μορφὴ οὴ περ τῶν υδρῶν, πτίλα δὲ οὐ πτερωτά φορεῖε ἀλλὰ τοῖς τῆς υγκτερίδος πτεροῖσι μᾶλιστα κη ἐμφερέστατα.

Τοσαύτα μὲν θηρίων πέρι ἤρων εἰρήσθω.

77. Αὐτῶν δὲ δὴ Ἀιγυπτίων οἱ μὲν περὶ τὴν σπειρομένην Ἀιγυπτιοὺς οἰκέουσι, μνήμην ἀνθρώπων πάντων ἐπασκέοντες μᾶλιστα λογιώτατοι εἰςὶ μακρῖ τῶν ἑγώ εἰς διάπειραν ἀπικόμην, τρόπω δὲ ξόος τοῦτο διαχρέωται· συρμαίζουσι τρεῖς ἡμέρας ἐπεξῆς μηνὸς ἕκαστον, ἐμέτοιοι θηρώμενοι τὴν ὑγιείνην καὶ κλύσμασι, νομίζοντες ἀπὸ τῶν τρε-
scattered, is where a narrow mountain pass opens into a great plain, which is joined to the plain of Egypt. Winged serpents are said to fly at the beginning of spring, from Arabia, making for Egypt; but the ibis birds encounter the invaders in this pass and kill them. The Arabians say that the ibis is greatly honoured by the Egyptians for this service, and the Egyptians give the same reason for honouring these birds.

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

I have now said enough concerning creatures that are sacred.

77. Among the Egyptians themselves, those who dwell in the cultivated country are the most careful of all men to preserve the memory of the past, and none whom I have questioned have so many chronicles. I will now speak of the manner of life which they use. For three following days in every month they purge themselves, pursuing after health by means of emetics and drenches; for they think
φόντων σιτίων πάσας τὰς νούσους τοῖσι ἀνθρώ-ποιις γίνεσθαι. εἰσὶ μὲν γὰρ καὶ ἄλλως Δικύπτειοι μετὰ Δίβνας ὑγιηρέστατοι πάντων ἀνθρώπων τῶν ὦρέων δοκεέω ἐμοὶ εἶνεκά, ὅτι οὐ μεταλλάσσοντι αἱ δραί ἐν γὰρ τῆςι μεταβολὴν τοῖσι ἀνθρώ-ποιις αἱ νούσοι μάλιστα γίνονται τῶν τε ἄλλων πάντων καὶ δὴ καὶ τῶν ὦρέων μάλιστα. ἀρτο-φαγέουσι δὲ ἐκ τῶν ὀλυρέων ποιεύντες ἄρτους, τοὺς ἐκεῖνοι κυλλῆσις ὀνομάζοντι. οἶνῳ δὲ ἐκ κρυδόν τετεινεύμων διαχρέωνται οὐ γὰρ σφι εἰσὶ ἐν τῇ χώρῃ ἀμπελοί. ἰχθύων δὲ τοὺς μὲν πρὸς ἥλιον αὔνοντες ὅμοιοι σιτέονται, τοὺς δὲ ἐξ ἀλμης τεταρειχμένους. ὀρνιθῶν δὲ τοὺς τε ὀρτυγας καὶ τὰς νήσους καὶ τὰ μικρὰ τῶν ὀρνιθῶν ὡμὰ σιτέονται προταριχεύσαντες. τὰ δὲ ἅλλα ὅσα ὡς ὥρνιθων ἢ ἰχθυών σφὶ ἐστὶ ἐχόμενα, χωρὶς ὡς ὅκοσοι σφὶ ἰροῖ ἀποδεδέχαται, τοὺς λοιποὺς ὄπτοντι καὶ ἐφθούς σιτέονται.

78. Ἐν δὲ τῷ συνουσίῃ τοῖσι εὐδαίμοσι αὐτῶν, ἐπεαι ἀπὸ δείπνου γένονται, περιφέρει ἀνήρ νεκρὸν ἐν σορῷ ξύλινον πεποιημένον, μεμιμη-
μένον ἐς τὰ μάλιστα καὶ γραφὴ καὶ ἔργω, μέγαθος ὅσον τε πηχναῖον γῇ δίπτηχν, δεικνὺς δὲ ἐκάστῳ τῶν συμποτῶν λέγει "Ἐσ τοῦτον ὀρέων πινὲ τε καὶ τέρπει· ἑσεῖαι γὰρ ἀποθανόν τοιοῦτος." ταῦτα μὲν παρὰ τὰ συμπόσια ποιεύσι.

79. Πατρίοιοι δὲ χρεώμενοι νόμοισι ἄλλων οὐ-
δένα ἐπικτῶνται· τοῖσι ἄλλα τε ἐπάξια ἐστὶ νό-
μιμα, καὶ δὴ καὶ ἄειμα ἐν ἐστὶ, Λίνως, ὀσπερ ἐν τε Φοινίκη ἀοίδιμος ἐστὶ καὶ ἐν Κύπρῳ καὶ ἄλλη, κατὰ

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

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

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

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

\(^2\) This is the hymn for a slain youth (said to typify the departure of early summer), Thammuz, Atys, Hylas, or Linus; the Semitic refrain *ai lenu*, "alas for us," becomes the Greek *αἷμων*, from which comes the name Linus.
μέντοι ἔθνεα οὖνομα ἔχει, συμφέρεται δὲ ὅυτὸς εἶναι τὸν οἱ Ἑλληνες Λίνων ὀνομάζοντες ἀείδουσιν, ὡστε πολλὰ μὲν καὶ ἄλλα ἀποθεωμάζειν μὲ τὸν περὶ Αἰγύπτουσιν ἔοντων, ἐν δὲ δὴ καὶ τὸν Λίνων ὡκόθεν ἔλαβον τὸ οὖνομα· φαίνονται δὲ αἰεὶ κοτε τούτον ἀείδουσιν. ἔστι δὲ Αἰγύπτιστι ὁ Λίνως καλεύμενος Μανερὼς. ἔφασαν δὲ μν Αἰγύπτιοι τοῦ πρώτου βασιλεύσαντος Αἰγύπτου παῖδα μουνογενέα γενέσθαι, ἀποθανόντα δὲ αὐτοῦ ἀνωρον θρήνοις τούτοις ὑπὸ Αἰγύπτιων τιμηθεῖναι, καὶ ἀοιδὴν τε ταύτης πρώτην καὶ μοῦνην σφύσι γενέσθαι.

80. Συμφέρονται δὲ καὶ τόδε ἀλλοι Αἰγύπτιοι Ἑλλήνων μουνοισι Δακεδαιμονίσωσι· οἱ νεώτεροι αὐτῶν τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις συντυγχάνοντες εἴκοσι τῆς ὀδοῦ καὶ ἑκτάπονται καὶ ἐπιοῦσι εἰς ἔδρας υπανυστέαται. τόδε μέντοι ἄλλοι Αἰληνῶν οὐδαμοίσι συμφέρονται· ἀντὶ τοῦ προσαγορεύειν ἀλλήλους ἐν τῷ ὀδόις προσκυνέουσι κατεύθυντες μέχρι τοῦ νοῦνας τῆς χείρα.

81. Ἐνδεδύκασι δὲ κιβώνας λινέους περὶ τὰ σκέλεα θυσιαυτοὺς, τοὺς καλέουσι καλασίρις· ἐπὶ τούτοις δὲ εἰρίνεα ἐκματα λευκὰ ἐπαναβληθέν φορέονσι. ὁ μενέτοι ἐς γε τὰ ἱρὰ ἐσφέρεται εἰρίνεα οὐδὲ συγκαταθάπτεται σφί· οὔ γὰρ ὁσιον. ὁμολογέοσι δὲ ταῦτα τοῖς 'Ορφικοῖς καλεσκεμένοις καὶ Βακχικοῖς, ἐσώσι δὲ Αἰγύπτιοι καὶ Πυθαγορεύσι· οὐδὲ γὰρ τούτων τῶν ὀργιών μετέχοντα ὁσιον ἕστι ἐν εἰρίνειοι εἴμαις ἡθήνηκα. ἔστι δὲ περὶ αὐτῶν ἱρὸς λόγος λεγόμενος.

82. Καὶ τάδε ἄλλα Αἰγύπτιοι ἔστι ἐξευρημένα, μείας τε καὶ ἡμέρη ἐκάστη  θεῶν ὀτευ ἐστὶ, 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.\(^1\) The Egyptians told me that Maneros was the only son of their first king, who died untimely, and this dirge was sung by the Egyptians in his honour; and this, they said, was their earliest and their only chant.

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

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

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

\(^1\) Maneros, probably from the refrain \textit{ma-n-hra}, “come back to us.”

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καὶ τῇ ἔκαστος ἡμέρῃ γενόμενοι ὅτεοις ἐγκυρήσει καὶ ὁκὼς τελευτήσει καὶ ὁκοῖς τις ἐσται. καὶ τοῦτοις τῶν Ἑλλήνων οἱ ἐν ποιήσῃ γενόμενοι ἔχρήσαντο. τέρατὰ τε πλέω σφὶ ἀνεύρηται ἢ τοῖς ἀλλοις ἀπασὶ ἀνθρώποις· γενομένου γὰρ τέρατος φυλάσσουσι γραφόμενοι τῶποβαίνουν, καὶ ἢν κοτε ὕστερον παραπλήσιον τοῦτῳ γένηται, κατὰ τῶντὸ νομίζουσι ἀποβῆσθαι.

83. Μαντικῇ δὲ αὐτοῖς ὅδε διακέεσαι ἀνθρώπων μὲν ὑδεύν προσκέεσαι ἡ τέχνη, τῶν δὲ θεῶν μετεξεῖτέροις καὶ γὰρ Ἡρακλέος μαντήσιων αὐτόθι ἐστὶ καὶ Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ Ἀθηναίης καὶ Ἀρτέμιδος καὶ Ἄρεος καὶ Δίος, καὶ τὸ γε μάλιστα ἐν τιμῇ ἄγωνται πάντων τῶν μαντητίων. Λητοῦς ἐν Βουτών πόλι ἐστὶ. οὐ μέντοι αἳ γε μαντησία σφὶ κατὰ τῶντὸ ἐστάσι, ἀλλὰ διάφοροι εἰσὶ.

84. Ἡ δὲ ἑτρικῇ κατὰ τάδε σφὶ δέδασται· μῆς νοῦσον ἔκαστος ἑτρός ἐστὶ καὶ οὐ πλεόνων. πάντα δ' ἑτρῶν ἐστὶ πλέα· οἶ μὲν γὰρ ὀφθαλμῶν ἑτροὶ κατεστάσι, οἳ δὲ κεφαλῆς, οἳ δὲ ὄδόντων, οἳ δὲ τῶν κατὰ νηδῶν, οἳ δὲ τῶν ἀφανέων νοῦσων.

85. Ὄρθροι δὲ καὶ ταφαὶ σφεὼν εἰσὶ αἴδε· τοῖς ἀν ἀπογενόμεναι ἐκ τῶν οἰκίων ἀνθρώπως τοῦ τις καὶ λόγος ἢ, τὸ θῆλυ γένος πάν τὸ ἐκ τῶν οἰκίων τούτων καὶ ὧν ἐπιλάσατο τὴν κεφαλὴν πηλῶν ἢ καὶ τὸ πρόσωπον, κάπετα ἐν τοῖς οἰκίσι αἴλησαι τὸν νεκρὸν αὐταὶ ἀνὰ τὴν πόλιν στρωφῶ· μενεὶ τύπτονται ἐπεξωσμέναι καὶ φαίνουσαι τοὺς μαζοὺς, σὺν δὲ σφὶ αἱ προσήκουσαι πᾶσαι, ἐτέρωθ' δὲ οἱ ἄνδρες, τύπτονται ἐπεξωμένοι καὶ οὕτωι. ἐπεάν δὲ ταῦτα ποιήσωσι, οὕτω ἐς τὴν ταρίχευσιν κομίζουσι.
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.
86. Εἰσὶ δὲ οἱ ἐπὶ αὐτῶ ποιήσαντες κατέσταται καὶ τέχνην ἔχουσι ταύτην. οὕτως, ἐπεάν σφι κομίσσῃ νεκρός, δεικνύουσι τούτοι κομίσασι παραδείγματα νεκρῶν ξύλων, τῇ γραφῇ μεμιμημένα 1... καὶ τὴν μὲν σπουδαιότάτην αὐτέων φασί εἶναι τοῦ οὐκ ὄσιον ποιεῖον τὸ σύνομα ἐπὶ τοιοῦτο πρῆγματί ὁνομάζειν, τὴν δὲ δευτέρην δεικνύουσι ὑποδεικνύοντες τε ταύτης καὶ εὐτελεστήρην, τὴν δὲ τρίτην εὐτελεστάτην φράσαντες δὲ πυθόνοιται παρ’ αὐτῶν κατὰ ἦμηνα βούλονταί σφι σκευασθήσει τοῖς νεκρῶν. οὗ μὲν δὴ ἐκποδῶν μισθῷ ὁμολογήσαντες ἀπαλλάσσονται, οὗ δὲ ὑπολειπόμενοι ἐν οἰκήμασι ὁδὲ τὰ σπουδαιότατα ταριχεύουσι. πρῶτα μὲν σκολιῷ σιδηρῷ διὰ τῶν μνεώτηρῶν ἔξαγονοι τόν ἐγκέφαλον, τὰ μὲν αὐτῶν οὔτω ἔξαγοντες, τὰ δὲ ἐγχέοντες φάρμακα· μετὰ δὲ λίθῳ Ἀἰθιοπικῷ ὀξὺ παρασχίσαντες παρὰ τὴν λαταρίην ἔξ ὄν ἐἴλον τὴν κοιλίην πᾶσαν, ἐκκαθήραντες δὲ αὐτήν καὶ διηθήσαντες οὐνὶ φοινικῆ ἀντὶς διηθέουσι θυμήσεις τετριμένους· ἔπειτα τὴν νηδὺν σμύρνην ἀκριπῶν τετριμένην καὶ κασίνῃ καὶ τῶν ἀλλῶν γυμνῶν, πλὴν λίπαντον, πλησάντες συμπάπτοντο ὅπισώ. ταῦτα δὲ ποιήσαντες ταριχεύοντο λίτρῳ κρύσαντες ἡμέρας ἐβδομήκοντα· πλεῦνας δὲ τούτων οὐκ ἔξεστι ταριχεύειν. ἐπεάν δὲ παρέλθωσι οἱ ἐβδομήκοντα, λύσαντες τὸν νεκρὸν κατειλίσσουσι πάν αὐτῶ τὸ σῶμα σινδόνος βυσσώνης τελαμῶν κατετειμήσοντας, ὑποχρόνους τῷ κόμμῳ τῷ δ’ ἄντι κόλλης τὰ πολλὰ χρεώνταντι Ἀἰγύπτιοι. ἐνθεύτεν δὲ παραδεξάμενοι μὲν οἱ προσήκοντες ποιεῦνται ξύλων τύπον ἀνθρωποειδῶ, 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 it up again. Having done this, they conceal the body for seventy days, embalmed in saltpetre; no longer time is allowed for the embalming; and when the seventy days are past they wash the body and wrap the whole of it in bandages of fine linen cloth, anointed with gum, which the Egyptians mostly use instead of glue; which done, they give back the dead man to his friends. These make a hollow wooden figure like a man, in
87. Όυτω μὲν τούς τὰ πολυτελέστατα σκευάζουσι νεκρούς, τοὺς δὲ τὰ μέσα θυσιασμούς τὴν δὲ πολυτελείαν φεύγουσας σκευάζουσι ὄτε ἐπεάν τοὺς κυνηγός πλῆσσων τοῦ ἀπὸ κέδρου ἀλει-φατος γυνομένου, ἐν δὲ ἐπιθειαν τοῦ νεκροῦ τὴν κοιλίην, οὔτε ἀναταμώσεις αὐτῶν οὔτε ἐξελόντες τὴν νηδὺν, κατὰ δὲ τὴν ἔξοδον ἐσηθήσαντες καὶ ἐπι-λαβόντες τὸ κλύσμα τῆς ὀπίσω ὀδὸν παρακεύσουσι τὰς προκειμένας ἡμέρας, τῇ δὲ τελευταίᾳ ἐξείσι ἐς τῆς κοιλίης τὴν κεδρίην τὴν ἐσθήκαν πρότερον. ἢ δὲ ἔχει τοσαύτην δύναμιν ὡστε ἅμα ἐστὶν τὴν νηδὺν καὶ τὰ σπλάγχνα κατατεθήκοτα ἐξάγει· τὰς δὲ σάρκας τὸ λίθρον κατατηκεί, καὶ δὴ λείπεται τοῦ νεκροῦ τὸ δέρμα μοῦνον καὶ τὰ ὀστεά. ἐπειδ' ἐτὰ ποιήσωσι, ἀπ' δὲν ἔδωκαν οὕτω τῶν νεκρῶν, οὔδεν ἔτι πρηγματεύθητες.

88. Ἡ δὲ τρίτη ταριχεύσεως ἐστὶ ήδε, ή τοὺς χρήματι ἀσθενεστέρους σκευάζει· συρμαὶς διηθήσαντες τὴν κοιλίην ταριχεύουσι τὰς ἐβδομήκοντα ἡμέρας καὶ ἔπειτα ἀπ' δὲν ἔδωκαν ἀποφέρεσθαι.

89. Τὰς δὲ γυναῖκας τῶν ἐπιφανεῶν ἀνδρῶν, ἐπειδ' ἐν τελευτήσωσι, οὐ παρανυκτείσις ταρι-χεύειν, οὔδε ὅσα ἂν ἐσοφθείς καὶ λόγοις πλεύσεις γυναίκες· ἀλλ' ἐπειδ' τριταῖς ἂν τεταρ- ταίς ἠγέρσωνται, οὕτω παραδοῦσι τοὺς ταρι- χεύουσι. τούτο δὲ ποιεύσει οὕτω τούδε εἴνεκεν, ἵνα μὴ σφι οἱ ταριχευταί μίσγωσιν τῇ γυναιξί· λαμβάνονται γὰρ τινὰ φασὶ μισομένον νεκρῷ προσφάτῳ γυναικὸς, κατευθεῖν δὲ τὸν ὁμότεχνον.
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 τοὺς τὰ πολυτελέστατα, sc. βουλομένους.
90. Ἡ αὐτῶν Ἀιγυπτίων ἡ ξείνων ὁμοίως ὑπὸ κροκοδείλου ἄρπασθεὶς ἦν ἀυτοῦ τοῦ ποταμοῦ φαίνηται τεθνεός, κατ’ ἄν ἂν πόλιν ἐξενειχθῆ, τούτους πᾶσα ἀνάγκη ἐστὶ ταριχεύ- 
σαντας αὐτῶν καὶ περιστεῖλαντας ὡς κάλλιστα θάψαι ἐν ἱρήσι θῆκοσι, οὐδὲ ψαύσαι ἐξεστὶ αὐτοῦ ἀλλον οὐδένα οὔτε τῶν προσηκόντων οὔτε τῶν 
φίλων, ἀλλὰ μὲν αἱ ἱρεῖς αὐτοῦ τοῦ Νείλου ἄτε πλέων τι ἡ ἀνθρώπου νεκρῶν χειραπτάξαντες θάπτουσιν.

91. Ἐλληνικοῖσι δὲ νομαίοισι φεύγουσι χρᾶσθαι, 
τὸ δὲ σύμπαν εἴπειν, μηδ’ ἄλλων μηδαμά μηδα- 
μῶν ἀνθρώπων νομαίοισι. οἱ μὲν νυν ἄλλοι Ἀιγύ- 
πτιοὶ οὖτω τούτῳ φυλάσσουσι, ἐστὶ δὲ Χέμμων πό- 
λις μεγάλη νομοῦ τοῦ Θηβαίκου ἐγγὺς Νέης πό- 
λιος· ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ πόλι ἐστὶ Περσέος τοῦ Δανάης 
ἱὸν τετράγωνον, περίξ δὲ αὐτοῦ φοίνικες πεφύ- 
καςι. τὰ δὲ πρόπυλα τοῦ ἱροῦ λίθων ἐστὶ κάρτα 
μεγάλα· ἐπὶ δὲ αὐτοῖσι ἀνδριάντες δύο ἐστάσι 
θινοι μεγάλοι. ἐν δὲ τῷ περιβεβλημένῳ τούτῳ 
νηὸς τε ἐνι καὶ ἄγαλμα ἐν αὐτῷ ἐνέστηκε τοῦ Περ- 
σέος. οὕτω δὲ Χεμμῖται λέγουσι τὸν Περσέα 
πολλάκις μὲν ἀνὰ τὴν γῆν φαίνεσθαι σφὶ πολλάκις 
δὲ ἔσω τοῦ ἱροῦ, σανδάλιον τοῦ αὐτοῦ πεθομένου 
εὑρίσκεσθαι ἐὼν τὸ μέγαθος δίπχως, τὸ ἐπεὰν 
φανῇ, εὐθηνεῖεν ἀπασαν Ἀιγυπτοῦ. ταύτα μὲν 
λέγουσι, ποιεῖσι δὲ τάδε Ἐλληνικὰ τὸ Περσέαν 
ἀγῶνα γυμνικοῦ τιθείσι διὰ πάσης ἀγωνίης ἔχοντα, 
παρέχοντες ἀεθλὰ κτήμα καὶ χλαίνας καὶ δέρ- 
ματα. εἰρομένου δὲ μεν ὁ τι σφὶ μοῦνοις ἐωθὲ ὁ 
Περσέας ἐπιφαίνεσθαι καὶ ὁ τι κεχωρίδαται 
Ἀιγυπτίων τῶν ἄλλων ἀγῶνα 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,
ἐφασαν τὸν Περσέα ἐκ τῆς ἑσυκτῶν πόλεως γεγονέναι· τὸν γὰρ Δαναὸν καὶ τὸν Δυνκέα ἐόντας Χεμμίτας ἐκπλῶσαι ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα, ἀπὸ δὲ τούτων γενεθλογούντες κατέβαινον ἐς τὸν Περσέα. ἀπικόμενον δὲ αὐτὸν ἐς Αἰγυπτον κατ' αἰτίαν τὴν καὶ Ἑλληνες λέγουσι, οὕσοντα ἐκ Διβύς τὴν Ποργοὺς κεφαλὴν, ἐφασαν ἐλθεῖν καὶ παρὰ σφέας καὶ ἀναγράνουν τοὺς συγγενεῖς πάντας· ἐκμεμαθηκότα δὲ μιν ἀπικέσθαι ἐς Αἰγυπτον τὸ τῆς Χέμωνος ὀνόμα, πεπυσμένον παρὰ τῆς μητρὸς. ἀγώνα δὲ οἱ γυμνικὸν αὐτοῦ κελεύσαντος ἐπιτελεύειν.

92. Ταῦτα μὲν πάντα οἱ κατύπερθε τῶν ἑλέων οἰκέοντες Αἰγυπτιοι νομίζουσι· οἱ δὲ δὴ ἐν τοίς ἐλεσι κατοικημένοι τοῖς μὲν αὐτοῖς νόμοις χρέωνται τοῖς καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι Αἰγυπτιοι, καὶ τὰ ἄλλα καὶ γυναικὶ μὴ ἕκαστος αὐτῶν συνοικεῖ κατὰ περ Ἑλληνες, ἀτὰρ πρὸς εὐτελείν τῶν σιτίων τάδε σφί ἄλλα ἐξεύρηται. ἐπεάν πλήρῃς γένηται ὁ ποταμὸς καὶ τὰ πεδία πελαγίσῃ, φύεται ἐν τῷ ὑδαί κρίνεα πολλά, τὰ Αἰγυπτιοι καλέουσι λωτὸν· ταῦτ᾽ ἐπεάν δρέψωσι αὐάινουσι πρὸς ἧλιον καὶ ἐπείτα τὸ ἐκ μέσου τοῦ λωτοῦ, τῇ μῆκων ἐνν ἐμφερέσι, πτισάντες ποιοῦνται ἐκ αὐτοῦ ἄρτους ὀπτοὺς τυρί. ἐστὶ δὲ καὶ ἡ ῥίζα τοῦ λωτοῦ τούτου ἐδωδίμη καὶ ἐγυλύσει ἐπιεικέως, ἐν στρογγύλοιν, μέγαθος κατὰ μῆλον. ἐστὶ δὲ καὶ ἄλλα κρίνεα ῥόδοισι ἐμφερέα, ἐν τῷ ποταμῷ γινόμενα καὶ ταῦτα, ἐξ ὧν ὁ καρπὸς ἐν ἄλλῃ κάλυκι παραφυμένη ἐκ τῆς ῥίζης γίνεται, κηρῶ σφηκῶν ἱδέν ὀμοίωτοτον ἐν τούτῳ τρωκτὰ ὅσον τε πυρὴν ἐλαίης ἐγγίνεται συχνά, τρώγεται δὲ καὶ ἀπαλὰ ταῦτα καὶ αὰ. τὴν δὲ βύβλου τὴν 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
ἐπεδώ ἀνασπάσωσι ἐκ τῶν ἐλέων, τὰ μὲν ἄνω αὐτῆς ἀποτάμωντες ἐς ἀλλο τὶ τράπουσι, τὸ δὲ κἀτω λειεμένου ὅσον τε ἐπὶ τῆς τρώγουσι καὶ πωλέουσι: 1 οἳ δὲ ἄν καὶ κάρτα βούλωνται χρηστῇ τῇ βύβλῳ χράσθαι, ἐν κλιβάνῳ διαφανεί πνεύμαντες οὔτω τρώγουσι. οἳ δὲ τινὲς αὐτῶν ἔσσι ἀπὸ τῶν ἱχθυῶν μουνοῦ, τοὺς ἐπεδὼ λάβωσι καὶ ἐξέλοσι τὴν κοιλήν, ἀναίνουσι πρὸς Ἦλιον καὶ ἐπείτα αὐσος ἔντας σιτέονται.

93. Οἳ δὲ ἱχθύες οἳ ἀγελαίοι εἰ μὲν τοῖς ποταμοὺς οὐ μάλα γίνονται, τρεφόμενοι δὲ ἐν τῇ λίμνῃ τους δὲ ποιεύσι. ἐπεάν σφεας ἐσὶν οἴστρος κυϊσκεσθαι, ἀγεληθὸν ἐκπλώουσι ἐς θάλασσαν. ἡγέονται δὲ οἳ ἔρσενες ἀπορραίνοντες τοῦ θόρου, αἰ δὲ ἐπόμεναι ἀνακάπτουσι καὶ εἰς αὐτοῦ κυνόκονται. ἐπεάν δὲ πλῆρες γένονται εἰ τῇ θαλάσσῃ, ἀναπλώουσι ὁπίσω ἐς ἥθεα τά ἐωτῶν ἐκαστοι, ἡγέονται μέντοι γε οὐκέτι οἳ αὐτοί, ἀλλὰ τῶν θηλέων γίνεται ἡ ἡγεμονία. ἡγεύμεναι δὲ ἀγεληθὸν ποιεύσι οἴνον περ ἐποίειν οἳ ἔρσενες τῶν γαρ φῶν ἀπορράινοσι κατ' ὀλίγους τῶν κέγχρων, οἳ δὲ ἔρσενες καταπίνουσι ἐπόμενοι. εἰσὶ δὲ οἳ κέγχροι οὕτω ἱχθύες. ἐκ δὲ τῶν περιγιγνόμενων καὶ μὴ καταπινομένων κέγχροι οἳ τρεφόμενοι ἱχθύες γίνονται. οἳ δ' ἄν αὐτῶν ἀλῶσι ἐκπλάνουσι ἐς θάλασσαν, φαίνονται τετριμένοι τὰ ἐπὶ ἀριστερὰ τῶν κεφαλῶν, οἳ δ' ἄν ὁπίσω ἀναπλώουσι, τὰ ἐπὶ δεξία τετρίφαται. πάσχουσι δὲ ταῦτα διὰ τόδεν ἐχομενοὶ τῆς γῆς ἐπὶ ἀριστερὰ καταπλώουσι ἐς θάλασσαν, καὶ ἀναπλώουσι ὁπίσω τῆς αὐτῆς.

1 Stein brackets καὶ πωλέουσι, 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 roast it before eating in a redhot oven. Some live on fish alone. They catch the fish, take out the intestines, then dry them in the sun and eat them dried.

93. Fish that go in shoals do not often come to birth in the river; they are reared in the lakes, and this is the way with them: when the desire of spawning comes on them, they swim out to sea in shoals, the males leading, and throwing out their seed, while the females come after and swallow it and so conceive. When the females have become pregnant in the sea, then all the fish swim back to their homes; but now it is the females and not the males who lead the way, going before in a shoal, and (like the males) throwing off ever and anon a few of their eggs (which are like millet-seeds), which the males devour as they follow. These millet-seeds, or eggs, are fish. It is from the surviving eggs, which are not devoured, that the fish which grow come to the birth. Those fish that are caught while swimming seawards show bruises on the left side of their heads; those that are caught returning, on the right side. This happens to them because as they swim seawards they keep close to the left bank, and hold
αντέχονται, ἐν χριμπτόμενοι καὶ ψαύνοντες ὡς μάλιστα, ὰνα δὴ μὴ ἀμάρτοιεν τῆς ὁδοῦ διὰ τὸν ῥόον. ἐπεῖν δὲ πληθύνεσθαι ἀρχηται ὁ Νεῖλος, τὰ τε κοίλα τῆς γῆς καὶ τὰ τέλματα τὰ παρὰ τὸν ποταμὸν πρῶτα ἀρχηται πίμπλασθαι διηθέοντος τοῦ ὕδατος ἐκ τοῦ ποταμοῦ· καὶ αὐτικα τε πλέα γίνεται ταῦτα καὶ παραχρήμα ἰχθύων σμικρῶν πίμπλασται πάντα. κόθεν δὲ οἰκὸς αὐτοὺς γίνεσθαι, ἐγὼ μοι δοκέω κατανοεῖν τούτο· τοῦ προτέρου ἔτεος ἐπεῖν ἀπολύπη ὁ Νεῖλος, οἱ ἰχθύες ἐντεκόντες ὅλα ἐσ τὴν ἱλυν ἁμα τῷ ἐσχάτῳ ὕδατι ἀπαλλάσσονται. ἐπεῖν δὲ περιελθόντος τοῦ χρόνου πάλιν ἐπέλθη τὸ ὕδωρ, ἐκ τῶν ψῶν τούτων παραιτικὰ γίνονται οἱ ἰχθύες οὕτωι.

94. Καὶ περὶ μὲν τοὺς ἰχθύας οὕτω ἔχει. ἀλειφατί δὲ χρέωνται Αἰγυπτίων οἱ περὶ τὰ ἔλεα οἰκέοντες ἀπὸ τῶν σιλικυτρῶν τοῦ καρποῦ, τὸ καλεῦσι μὲν Αἰγυπτίοι κίκι, ποιεύσι δὲ ὅδε. παρὰ τὰ χείλεα τῶν τε ποταμῶν καὶ τῶν λιμνῶν σπείρουσι τὰ σιλικύπτρια ταῦτα, τὰ ἐν Ἐλλησι αὐτόματα ἀγριὰ φύεται· ταῦτα ἐν τῇ Αἰγύπτῳ σπειρόμενα καρπῶν φέρει πολλῶν μὲν δυσόδεα δὲ τοῦτον ἐπείν συλλέξωνται, οἱ μὲν κόψαντες ἀπε-τούσι, οὐ δὲ καὶ φρύγαντες ἀπέψυκοι, καί τὸ ἀπορρέον ἀπ᾽ αὐτοῦ συνκομίζονται. ἔστι δὲ πῖον καὶ οὐδὲν ἴσον τοῦ ἐλαιοῦ τῷ λύχνῳ προσηνές, ὄμην δὲ βαρέαν παρέχεται.

95. Πρὸς δὲ τοὺς κώνωπας ἀφθόνους ἐόντας τάδε σφὶ ἔστι μεμηχανμένα. τοὺς μὲν τὰ ἀνώ τῶν ἔλεων οἰκέοντας οἱ πύργοι ὀφελοῦσι, ἐς τοὺς ἀναβαίνοντες κοιμῶνται· οἱ γὰρ κώνωπες ύπὸ τῶν ἀνέμων οὐκ οἶοι τε εἰσὶν ύψοι πέτεσθαι. τοὺς 380
to the same bank also in their return, grazing it and touching it as much as they may, I suppose lest the current should make them miss their course. When the Nile begins to rise, hollow and marshy places near the river are the first to begin to fill, the water trickling through from the river, and as soon as they are flooded they are suddenly full of little fishes. Whence it is like that these come into being I believe that I can guess. When the Nile falls, the fish have spawned into the mud before they leave it with the last of the water; and as the time comes round, and in the next year the flood comes again, this spawn at once gives birth to these fishes.

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

95. Gnats are abundant; this is how the Egyptians protect themselves against them: those who dwell higher up than the marshy country are well served by the towers whither they ascend to sleep, for the winds prevent the gnats from flying aloft; those
δὲ περὶ τὰ ἐλεά οἰκέουσι τάδε ἀντὶ τῶν πύργων ἄλλα μεμηχανήται· πᾶς ἀνήρ αὐτῶν ἀμφίβληστρον ἐκτηται, τὸ τῆς μὲν ἡμέρης ἱχθῶς ἀγρεύει, τὴν δὲ νύκτα τάδε αὐτῶ χράται· ἐν τῇ ἀναπαύεται κοίτῃ, περὶ ταύτην ἵστησι τὸ ἀμφίβληστρον καὶ ἐπειτα ἐνδὺς ὑπ’ αὐτὸ κατεύθει. οἱ δὲ κώνωπες, ἢν μὲν ἐν ἰματίῳ ἐνειλιξάμενος εὔδη ἢ σινδόνι, διὰ τούτων δάκνουσι, διὰ δὲ τοῦ δικτύου οὐδὲ πειράνται ἁρχὴν.

96. Τὰ δὲ δὴ πλοία σφι, τοῖσι φορτηγέουσι, ἐστὶ ἐκ τῆς ἀκάνθης ποιεύμενα, τῆς ἡ μορφὴ μὲν ἐστὶ όμοιοτάτη τῷ Κυρηναίῳ λωτῶ, τὸ δὲ δάκρυνον κόμμι ἐστὶ. ἐκ ταύτης ὁμ τῆς ἀκάνθης κοψάμενοι ξύλα ὅσον τε διπηχεια πλωθηδὸν συνιθεῖσι ναυτηγεύμενοι τρόπον τοιόνυμε· περὶ γόμφους πυκνοὺς καὶ μακροὺς περιείρουσι τὰ διπηχεῖα ξύλα· ἐπειὰν δὲ τῷ τρόπῳ τούτῳ ναυτηγήσωνται, ξυγὰ ἐπιτολὴς τείνουσι αὐτῶν· νομεῦσι δὲ οὐδὲν χρέωνται· ἐσώθεν δὲ τὰς ἁρμονίας ἐν δὲν ἐπάκτωσαν τῇ βύβλῳ. πηδάλιον δὲ ἐν ποιεύται, καὶ τούτο διὰ τῆς τρόπιος διαβύνεται. ἰστῷ δὲ ἀκανθῖνῳ χρέωνται, ἰστίοισι δὲ βυβλίνοισι. ταύτα τὰ πλοία ἀνὰ μὲν τὸν ποταμὸν οὐ δύναται πλέειν, ἢν μὴ λαμπρὸς ἀνέμος ἐπέχῃ, ἢ γῆς δὲ παρέλκεται, κατὰ ρόον δὲ κομίζεται ὅδε· ἐστὶ ἐκ μυρίκης πεποιημένῃ θύρη, κατερραμμένῃ ῥύπεἰ καλάμων, καὶ λίθος τετρημένος διτάλαντος μάλιστα κη σταθμὸν τούτων τήν μὲν θύρην δεδεμένην κάλῳ ἐμπρόσθε τοῦ πλοίου ἀπεὶ ἐπιφέρεσθαι, τὸν δὲ λίθον ἄλλῳ κάλῳ ὀπίσθε. ἢ μὲν δὴ θύρη τοῦ ροοῦ ἐμπίπτοντος χωρεῖ ταχέως καὶ ἐλκεῖ τὴν βάριν (τοῦτο γὰρ δὴ σύνομα ἐστὶ

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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, 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, 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:
τοῖσι πλοίοισι τούτοισι), ὁ δὲ λίθος ὀπίσθεν ἐπελκόμενος καὶ ἐδώ ἐν βυσσῷ κατιθύνει τῷ πλόῳ. ἔστι δὲ σφί τα πλοία ταῦτα πλήθει πολλά, καὶ ἀγει ἐνὶα πολλὰς χελιάδας ταλάντων.

97. Ἐπεαν δὲ ἐπέλθη ὁ Νεῖλος τῇν χώρῃ, αἱ πόλεις μοῦναι φαίνονται ὑπερέχουσαι, μάλιστα ἡ ἐμφερέεις τῇ ἐν τῷ Ἀιγαίῳ πόντῳ νῆσοις τὰ μὲν γὰρ ἀλλὰ τῆς Ἀιγύπτου πέλαγος γίνεται, αἱ δὲ πόλεις μοῦναι ὑπερέχουσι. πορθμεύονται δὲν, ἐπεάν τοῦτο γένηται, οὐκέτι κατὰ τὰ λέεθρα τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἀλλὰ διὰ μέσου τοῦ πεδίου. ἔς μὲν γε Μέμφιν ἐκ Ναυκράτιος ἀναπλώντων παρ’ αὐτὰς τὰς πυραμίδας γίνεται ὁ πλόος· ἐστὶ δὲ οὐδ’ οὕτος, ἀλλὰ παρὰ τὸ ὀξὺ τοῦ Δέλτα καὶ παρὰ Κερκά-

σωρον πόλιν: ἐς δὲ Ναύκρατιν ἀπὸ θαλάσσης καὶ Κανώβου διὰ πεδίου πλέων ἥξεις κατ’ ᾿Ανθυλλάν τε πόλιν καὶ τήν Ἀρχάνδρου καλεμένην.

98. Τοιτεών δὲ ἡ μὲν ᾿Ανθυλλα ἑοῦσα λογίμη πόλις ἐς υποδήματα ἐξαίρετος διδοται τοῦ αἰεὶ βασιλεύοντος Ἀιγύπτου τῇ γυναικί (τοῦτο δὲ γίνεται ἐξ ὀσον ὑπὸ Πέρσησι ἐστὶ Δεῖρατος), ἡ δὲ ἐτέρη πόλις δοκείει μοι τὸ ὁνόμα ἐχειν ἀπὸ τοῦ Δαναοῦ γαμβροῦ ᾿Αρχάνδρου τοῦ Φθίου τοῦ Ἀχαιοῦ καλέσται γὰρ δὴ ᾿Αρχάνδρου πόλις. εἰς δ’ ἂν καὶ ἄλλος τῆς ᾿Αρχανδρος, οὐ μέντοι γε Ἀιγύπτου τὸ ὁνόμα.

99. Μέχρι μὲν τοῦτον ὅψις τε ἐμὴ καὶ γνώμη καὶ ἱστορίη ταῦτα λέγουσα ἔστι, τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀιγυπτίως ἐρχομαι λόγους ἐρέων κατὰ τὰ ἥκοινον προσέσται δὲ αὐτοῖς τι καὶ τῆς ἐμῆς ὅψιος. Μίνα τὸν πρῶτον βασιλεύοντα Ἀιγύπτου οἰ
these boats,) and the stone dragging behind on the river bottom keeps the boat's course straight. There are many of these boats; some are of many thousand talents' burden.

97. When the Nile overflows the land, the towns alone are seen high and dry above the water, very like to the islands in the Aegean sea. These alone stand out, the rest of Egypt being a sheet of water. So when this happens folk are ferried not, as is their wont, in the course of the stream, but clean over the plain. From Naucratis indeed to Memphis the boat going upwards passes close by the pyramids themselves; though here the course runs not so,¹ but by the Delta's point and the town Cercasorus; but your voyage from the sea and Canobus to Naucratis will take you over the plain near the town of Anthylla and that which is called Archandrus' town.

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

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

¹ The meaning of these words is not clear. Some think that they mean "the usual course is not this," and that perhaps ἐκτός has been lost after ὅτος.
ΗΡΟДΟΤΟΣ

ιρεές ἔλεγον τοῦτο μὲν ἀπογεφυρώσαι τὴν Μέμφιν. τὸν γὰρ ποταμὸν πάντα ῥεεὶν παρὰ τὸ ὄρος τὸ ψάμμινον πρὸς Διβύης, τὸν δὲ Μῦνα ἀνωθὲν, ὅσον τε ἐκατὸν σταδίους ἀπὸ Μέμφιος, τὸν πρὸς μεσαμβρίης ἀγκώνα προσχώσαντα τὸ μὲν ἀρχαῖον ῥέθρον ἀποξηρῆναι, τὸν δὲ ποταμὸν ὄχετεύσαι τὸ μέσον τῶν ὅρεων ῥεεῖν. ἔτι δὲ καὶ νῦν ὑπὸ Περσέων ὁ ἀγκών οὕτως τοῦ Νείλου ὡς ἀπεργημένος ῥέῃ ἐν φυλακὴς μεγάλης ἔχεται, φρασσόμενος ἀνὰ πάν ἔτος. εἰ γὰρ ἐθελήσῃ ἡμᾶς ὑπερβηθῆναι ὁ ποταμὸς ταύτῃ, κύνδυνος πάση Μέμφι κατακλυσθῆναι ἐστὶ. ὡς δὲ τῷ Μῦν τούτῳ τὸ πρῶτον γενομένῳ βασιλεία χέρσου γεγονέναι τὸ ἀπεργημένον, τοῦτο μὲν ἐν αὐτῷ πόλιν κτίσαι ταύτῃ ἦτις νῦν Μέμφις καλέσται. ἐστὶ γὰρ καὶ ἡ Μέμφις ἐν τῷ στεινῷ τῆς Ἁγίουτον ἔξωθεν δὲ αὐτῆς περιορύζει λίμνην ἐκ του ποταμοῦ πρὸς βορέαν τε καὶ πρὸς ἐσπέρην (τὸ γὰρ πρὸς τὴν ἡῶν αὐτὸς ὁ Νείλος ἀπέργει), τοῦτο δὲ τῷ Ἰραίστῳ τὸ ἱρὸν ῥυσασθῇ ἐν αὐτῇ, ἐν μέγα τε καὶ ἄξιαπηγητότατον.

100. Μετὰ δὲ τούτων κατέλεγον οἱ ιρεές ἐκ βύβλου ἄλλων βασιλέων τρικοσίων καὶ τριήκοντα οὐνόματα. ἐν τοσάττησι δὲ γενεῖσα ἄνθρωπῶν ὁκτωκαίδεκα μὲν Ἀθηναῖες ἦσαν, μία δὲ γυνὴ ἐπιχωρήσῃ, οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι ἄνδρες Ἁγίουτιοι. τῇ δὲ γυναικὶ οἶνομα ἦν, ἦτις ἐβασίλευσε, τὸ περ τῇ Βαβυλωνίᾳ, Νίτωκρις τὴν ἔλεγον τιμωρέουσαν ἁδελφοῖ, τῶν Ἀγίουτιοι βασιλεύοντα σφέων ἀπέκτειναν, ἀποκτείναντες δὲ οὕτω ἔκεινῃ ἀπέδοσαν τὴν βασιλεία, τούτῳ τιμωρέουσιν πολλοὺς Ἁγίουπτιον.
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
διαφθείραι δόλω. ποιησαμένην γάρ μιν οίκημα περίμηκες ὑπόγαιον καίνουν τῷ λόγῳ, νῦν δὲ ἄλλα μηχανάσθαι· καλέσασαν δὲ μιν Αἰγυπτίων τοὺς μάλιστα μετατίθουσι τοῦ φόνου ἦδεε πολλοὺς ἵστιάν, δαινυμένοισι δὲ ἐπείναι τὸν ποταμὸν δι᾿ αὐλῶνος κρυπτοῦ μεγάλου. ταῦτας μὲν πέρι τοσάτα ἑλεγον, πλὴν ὧτι αὐτὴν μιν, ὡς τοῦτο ἐξέργαστο, βίψας ἐς οἶκημα σποδοῦ πλέον, ὡκὸς ἀτιμώρητος γένηται.

101. Τῶν δὲ ἄλλων βασιλέων οὐ γὰρ ἑλεγον ὁúdeμιαν ἔργων ἀπόδεξιν καὶ ὁúden εἶναι λαμπρότητος, πλὴν ἐνὸς τοῦ ἐσχάτου αὐτῶν Μοίριος· τούτων δὲ ἀποδέξασθαι μνημόσυνα τοῦ Ἡφαίστου τὰ πρὸς βορείην ἀνεμον τετραμένα προπύλαια, λίμνῃ τε ὁρύξαι, τῆς ἡ περίοδος ὅσον ἐστὶ σταδίων ὑστερον δηλώσο, πυραμίδας τε ἐν αὐτῇ οἰκοδομῆσαι, τῶν τοῦ μεγάθεος πέρι ὁμοί αὐτῇ τῇ λίμνῃ ἐπιμνήσομαι· τούτων μὲν τοσάτα ἀποδέξασθαι, τῶν δὲ ἄλλων ὁúdeνα ὁúden.

102. Παραμεινόμενος δὲν τούτους τοῦ ἐπὶ τούτους τοὺς ἐπὶ τούτους γενομένου βασιλέος, τῷ ὁύνομα ἢν Σέσωστρις, τούτου μνήμην ποιήσομαι· τῶν ἑλεγον οἱ ἱρέες πρὸς τὸν μὲν πλοίοις μακροῖς ὁρμηθέντα ἔκ τοῦ Ἀραβίου κόλπου τοὺς παρὰ τὴν Ἐρυθρῆν θάλασσαν κατοικημένους καταστρέφεσθαι, ἐς δὲ πλέοντά μιν πρόσω ἀπικέσθαι ἐς θάλασσαν οὐκέτι πλωτὴν ὑπὸ βραχέων. ἐνθεύτευν δὲ ὡς ὢν ὅπισον ἀπίκετο ἐς Αἰγυπτον, κατὰ τῶν ἱρέων τῆν φάτιν, πολλῆν στρατηγὴν τῶν . ἐὰν ἅβαν ἥλανυ διὰ τῆς ἢπείρου, πὰν ἔθνος τὸ ἐμποδῶν καταστρέφομενος.

1 A word is omitted, perhaps ἢρχεν; τῶν ἢρχεν = of his subjects.
many of the Egyptians to death by guile. She built a spacious underground chamber; then, with the pretence 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.
δὲ ποιεών διεξήμετο τὴν ἦπειρον, ἐς ὁ ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίης ἐς τὴν Εὐρώπην διαβάς τοὺς τε Σκύθας κατεστρέψατο καὶ τοὺς Θρήκας. ἐς τούτους δὲ μοι δοκεῖ καὶ προσώτατα ἀπικέσθαι ὁ Αἰγύπτιος στρατὸς: ἐν μὲν γὰρ τῇ τούτων χώρῃ φαίνονται σταθεῖσαι αἱ στῆλαι, τὸ δὲ προσωτέρω τούτων οὐκέτι. ἐνθεύτην δὲ ἐπιστρέφας ὅπισώ ἦμε, καὶ ἐπείτε ἐγίνετο ἐπὶ Φάσι ποταμῷ, οὐκ ἔχω τὸ ἐνθεύτων ἀτρεκέως εἰπέων εἴτε αὐτὸς ὁ Βασιλεὺς Σέσωστρις ἀποδασάμενος τῆς ἑωτοῦ στρατιᾶς μόριον ὅσον ἔτη αὐτοῦ κατέλιπε τῆς χώρης οἰκήτορας, εἰτε τῶν τινες στρατιωτέων τῇ πλάγῃ αὐτοῦ ἄχθεσθέντες περὶ Φάσιν ποταμὸν κατέμειναν.

104. Φαίνονται μὲν γὰρ ἐόντες οἱ Κόλχοι Αἰγύπτιοι, νοῆσας δὲ πρὸτερον αὐτῶν ἢ ἄκουσας ἄλλων λέγω. ὦς δὲ μοι ἐν φροντίδι ἐγένετο, εἰρώμεν ἀμφοτέρους, καὶ μᾶλλον οἱ Κόλχοι ἐμεμένατο τῶν Αἰγύπτων ἢ οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι τῶν Κόλχων: νομίζειν δὲ ἐξασάν οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι τῆς Σεσώστριος στρατιᾶς εἶναι τοὺς Κόλχους. αὐτὸς 390
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 εἰκασά τῇ δε, καὶ ὅτι μελάγχροις εἰσὶ καὶ οὐλοτριχεῖς. καὶ τούτο μὲν ἐς οὐδὲν ἀνήκει: εἰσὶ γὰρ καὶ ἑτεροὶ τοιοῦτοι ἀλλὰ τοιχίδε καὶ μᾶλλον, ὅτι μοῦνοι πάντων ἀνθρώπων Κόλχων καὶ Αἰγύπτιων καὶ Αἰθίοπες περιτάμυνται ἀπ' ἀρχῆς τὰ αἰδοῖα. Φοινίκες δὲ καὶ Σύροι οἱ ἐν τῇ Παλαιστίνῃ καὶ αὐτοὶ ὁμολογέοσι παρ' Αἰγυπτίων μεμαθηκέναι, Σύροι δὲ οἱ περὶ Θερμώδοντα καὶ Παρθένων ποταμῶν καὶ Μάκρωνες οἱ τούτους ἀστυνείτουν ἐόντες ἀπὸ Κόλχων φασὶ νεωστὶ μεμαθηκέναι. οὗτοι γὰρ εἰσὶ οἱ περιταμνόμενοι ἀνθρώπων μοῦνοι, καὶ οὗτοι Αἰγυπτίοις φαίνονται ποιεύντες κατὰ ταυτά. αὐτῶν δὲ Αἰγυπτίων καὶ Αἰθιόπων οὐκ ἔχω εἶπεῖν ὥστε τοῖς παρὰ τῶν ἑτερῶν ἐξέμαθον ἁρχαῖον γὰρ δῆ τι φαίνεται ἐόν. ὡς δὲ ἐπιμισγόμενοι Αἰγύπτων ἐξέμαθον, μέγα μοι καὶ τὸ δέ τεκμήριον γίνεται. Φοινίκων οἷος οἱ τῇ Ἑλλάδι ἐπιμισγόνται, οὐκέτι Αἰγυπτίοις μιμεύονται κατὰ τὰ αἰδοῖα, ἀλλὰ τῶν ἐπιμισγόμενων οὐ περιτάμυνοι τὰ αἰδοῖα.

105. Φέρε ὕψι καὶ ἄλλο εἶπον περὶ τῶν Κόλχων, ὅσι Αἰγυπτίοις προσφερέσθαι εἰσὶ: λίνον μοῦνοι οὗτοί τε καὶ Αἰγύπτιοι ἐργάζονται καὶ κατὰ ταυτά, καὶ ἡ ξόη πᾶσα καὶ ἡ γλώσσα ἐμφερής ἐστι ἄλληλοις. λίνον δὲ τὸ μὲν Κολχικὸν ὑπὸ Ἑλλήνων Σαρδωνικόν κέκληται, τὸ μέντοι ἀπ' Αἰγύπτου ἀπικυνεύμενον καλεῖται Αἰγύπτιος.

106. Αἱ δὲ στήλαι τὰς ἔστα κατὰ τὰς χώρας ὁ Αἰγύπτου βασιλεὺς Σέσωστρις, αἱ μὲν πλεῦνες
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 Ma- crones, 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 Σαρδωνικός would imply). The Colchian word may have had a similar sound.
οὐκέτι φαίνονται περιευθύναι, ἐν δὲ τῇ Ἡλλαιστίνῃ Συρίᾳ αὐτὸς ἄρων ἔσορας καὶ τὰ γράμματα τὰ εἰρημένα ἐνεόντα καὶ γυναικὸς αἴδοία. εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ περὶ Ὕσην ἄρ τύποι ἐν πέτρησι ἐγκεκολαμμένοι τούτου τοῦ ἀυδρός, τῇ τε ἐκ τῆς Ἐφεσίας ἐς Φώκαιαν ἔρχονται καὶ τῇ ἐκ Σαρδίων ἐς Σμύρνην. ἐκατέρωθι δὲ ἀνήρ ἐγγέγυνυται μέγαθος πέμπτης σπιθαμῆς, τῇ μὲν δεξιῇ χειρὶ ἔχων αἰχμήν τῇ δὲ ἀριστερῇ τῶν, καὶ τὴν ἀλλήν σκευὴν ὁσαύτως· καὶ γὰρ Αἰγύπτερι καὶ Αἰδιοπίδα ἔχει· ἐκ δὲ τοῦ ὦμου ἐς τὸν ἔτερον ὦμον διὰ τῶν στηθῶν γράμματα ἱπάτων ἐγκεκολαμμένα, λέγουτα τάδε· "Ἐγὼ τήνυν τὴν χώρην ὦμοις τούτο ἐμοίσι ἐκτησάμην.” ὡστὶς δὲ καὶ ὁκόθεν ἐστὶ, ἐνθαῦτα μὲν ὦ δηλοί, ἐτέρωθι καὶ δεδήλωκε· τὰ δὴ καὶ μετεξετέρου τῶν θεσαμένων Μέμνους εἰκόνα εἰκάζουσι μιν εἶναι, πολλὸν τῆς ἀληθείας ἀπολελειμμένου.

107. Τούτων δὴ τῶν Αἰγύπτεων Σέσωστριν ἀναχωρέοντα καὶ ἀνάγοντα πολλοὺς ἀνθρώπους τῶν ἐθνῶν τῶν τὰς χώρας κατεστρέψατο, ἔλεγον οἱ ἱρέες, ἐπεῖτε ἐγνήτο ἀνακομιδόμενος ἐν Δάφνησι τῇ Πηλουσίσι, τῶν ἀδελφῶν ἐωτοῦ, τῷ ἐπέτρεψε ο Σέσωστρις τῇ Αἰγύπτου, τούτον ἐπὶ ἤσσια αὐτὸν καλεσάντα καὶ πρὸς αὐτῷ τὸν παιδας περινήσαι ἐξοθεν τὴν οἰκίνην ὑλή, περινη- σάντα δὲ ὑποπρῆσαι. τὸν δὲ ὡς μαθεῖν τοῦτο, αὐτίκα συμβουλεύσασθαι τῇ γυναικὶ καὶ γὰρ δὴ καὶ τὴν γυναίκα αὐτὸν ἀμα ἄγεσθαι. τὴν δὲ οἱ συμβουλεύσασι τῶν παιδῶν ἐόντων ἐς τοὺς δύο ἐπὶ τὴν πυρὴν ἐκτείναντα γεφυρώσαι τὸ καλό- μενον, αὐτοὺς δὲ ἐπὶ ἑκείνων ἐπιβάλλοντας ἐκσώ- ζεσθαι. ταῦτα ποιήσαι τὸν Σέσωστριν, καὶ δύο

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longer to be seen. But I myself saw them in the Palestine part of Syria, with the writing aforesaid and the women’s privy parts upon them. Also there are in Ionia two figures of this man carven in rock, one on the road from Ephesus to Phocaea, and the other on that from Sardis to Smyrna. In both places there is a man of a height of five ells and a half cut in relief, with a spear in his right hand and a bow in his left, and the rest of his equipment answering thereto; for it is both Egyptian and Ethiopian; and right across the breast from one shoulder to the other there is carven a writing in the Egyptian sacred character, saying: “I myself won this land with the might of my shoulders.” There is nothing here to show who he is and whence he comes, but it is shown elsewhere. Some of those who have seen these figures guess them to be Memnon, but they are far indeed from the truth.

107. Now when this Egyptian Sesostris (so said the priests), being on his way homewards and bringing many men of the nations whose countries he had subdued, had come in his return to Daphnae of Pelusium, his brother, to whom he had given Egypt in charge, invited him and his sons to a banquet and then piled wood round the house and set it on fire. When Sesostris was aware of this, he took counsel at once with his wife, whom (it was said) he was bringing with him; and she counselled him to lay two of his six sons on the fire and to make a bridge over the burning whereby they might pass over the bodies of the two and escape. This Sesostris did;

1 Two such figures have been discovered in the pass of Karabel, near the old road from Ephesus to Smyrna. They are not, however, Egyptian in appearance.
μὲν τῶν παίδων κατακαίναν τρόπῳ τοιούτῳ, τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς ἀποσωθῆναι ἀμα τῷ πατρὶ.

108. Νοστήσας δὲ ὁ Σέσωστρις ἐσ τὴν Ἁγιντπότο καὶ τισάμενος τὸν ἀδελφόν, τῷ μὲν ὁμῖλῳ τὸν ἐπηγάγετο τῶν τὰς χώρας κατεστρέψατο, τούτῳ μὲν τάδε ἔχρησατο· τοὺς τέ ὁ λίθους τοὺς ἔπι τοῦτον τοῦ βασιλέας κομισθέντας ἐς τοῦ Ἡφαι- στοῦ τὸ ἱρόν, ἑόντας μεγάθει περιμῆκες, οὕτω ἦσαν οἱ ἐλκύσαντες, καὶ τὰς διώρυχις τὰς νῦν ἐόσις ἐν Ἁγιντπό τάσας οὕτοι ἀναγκαζόμενοι ὠρυσοῦν, ἐποίευν τε οὐκ ἐκόντες Ἁγιντπότο, τὸ πρὶν ἐούσαν ἐπιπασίμην καὶ ἀμαξευμένην πᾶσαν, ἐνδεά τοῦτων. ἀπὸ γὰρ τοῦτον τοῦ χρόνου Ἁ- γιντπότο ἐούσα πεδίας πάσα ἁνιππός καὶ ἀναμά- ἔντος γέγονε· αὕτια δὲ τοῦτων αἱ διώρυχαι γεγόνασι ἐούσαι πολλαὶ καὶ παντοτίων τρόπους ἔχουσαι. κατέταμε δὲ τοῦτο εἶνεκα τὴν χώρην ὁ βασιλεύς· ὅσοι τῶν Ἁγιντπῶν μὴ ἐπὶ τῷ πο- ταμῷ ἐκτητοῦ τὰς πόλις ἀλλ’ ἀναμέσους, οὕτοι, ὅκως τε ἅπιον ὁ ποταμὸς, σπανίζοντες ὑδάτων πλατυτέρωσι ἐχρέωτο τοῦτο πόμαι, ἐκ φρεάτων χρεώμενοι.

109. Τούτων μὲν δὴ εἶνεκα κατετμήθη ἡ Ἁ- γιντπότο. κατανεῖμαι δὲ τὴν χώρην Ἁγιντπίουσι ἀπασί τοῦτον ἔλεγον τὸν βασιλέα, κλήρου ἵσον ἐκάστῳ τετράγωνῳ διδόντα, καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦτον τὰς προσόδους ποιήσασθαι, ἐπιτάξαντα ἀποφορὴν ἐπιτελέσας καὶ ἐνιαυτῶν. εἰ δὲ τῶν τοῦ κλήρου ὁ ποταμὸς τι παρέλοιπο, ἐλθὼν ἃν πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐσήμανε τὸ γεγενημένον· δὲ ἐπέμπε τοὺς ἐπι- σκεψις φοιμένους καὶ ἀναμετρήσοντας ὅσῳ ἐλάσσων ὁ χώρος γέγονε, ὅκως τοῦ λοιποῦ κατὰ λόγον 396.
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
τής τεταγμένης ἀποφορῆς τελέοι. δοκεῖ δὲ μοι ἐνθεύτευν γεωμετρὶς εὑρεθείσα ἐς τὴν 'Ελλάδα ἐπανελθεῖν, πόλον μὲν γὰρ καὶ γνώμονα καὶ τὰ δυνάμεα μέρεα τῆς ἡμέρης παρὰ Βαβυλωνίων ἔμαθον οἱ 'Ελληνες.

110. Βασιλεύς μὲν δὴ οὗτος μοῦνος Αἰγύπτιος Ἀἰθιοπίης ἢρξε, μυνμόσυνα δὲ ἐλίπετο πρὸ τοῦ Ἡφαίστειον ἀνδριάντας λιθίνους, δύο μὲν τριήκοντα πτχέων, ἐωτοὺς τε καὶ τὴν γυναικὴν, τοὺς δὲ παῖδας ἑόντας τέσσερας εἰκοσὶ πτχέων ἔκαστον τῶν δὴ ὁ ἱρεὺς τοῦ Ἡφαῖστου χρῶνω μετέπειτα πολλῷ Δαρείων τὸν Πέρσην οὐ περιείδε ἰστάντα ἐμπροσθεὶς ἀνδριάντα, φας oὐ οἱ πεποίησθαι ἔργα οἷα περὶ Σεσωστρὶ πῶ Αἰγύπτιως. Σεσωστρὶ μὲν γὰρ ἀλλὰ τε καταστρέφασθαι ἔθενε οὐκ ἔλασσον ἐκείνω καὶ δὴ καὶ Σκύθας, Δαρείον δὲ οὐ δυνάσθην Σκύθας ἐλεῖν οὐκοι δικαίοι εἰναι ἰστάναι ἐμπροσθεὶς τῶν ἐκείνων ἀναθημάτων μὴ οὐκ ὑπερβαλλόμενον τοῖσι ἐργοσι. Δαρείον μὲν τὸν λέγοντι πρὸς ταῦτα συγγνώμων ποιήσασθαι.

111. Σεσωστρίας δὲ τελευτήσας ἐκδέξασθαι ἔληγον τὴν βασιληὴν τὸν παίδα αὐτοῦ Φερῶν, τὸν ἀποδέξασθαι μὲν οὐδεμίαν στρατηγὴν, συνενεχθῆναι δὲ οἱ τυφλοὶ γενέσθαι διὰ τοῦ ὁδεγήμα. τοῦ ποταμοῦ κατελθόντος μέγιστα δὴ τὸτε ἐπὶ ὀκτώκαιδεκα πήχεας, ὡς ὑπερβαλε τὰς ἀροῦρας, πνεύματος ἐμπεσόντος κυματῆς ὁ ποταμὸς ἐγένετο. τὸν δὲ βασιλεὰ λέγοντι τοῦτον ἀτασθαλίᾳ χρησάμενον, λαβόντα αἰχμὴν βαλεῖν ἐς μέγας τὰς δίνας τοῦ ποταμοῦ, μετὰ δὲ αὐτίκα καμόντα αὐτὸν τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς τυφλωθῆναι. δέκα μὲν δὴ
pay the appointed tax in proportion to the loss. From this, to my thinking, the Greeks learnt the art of measuring land; the 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. 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

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1 Manetho's list shows no such name. It is probably not a name but a title, Pharaoh.
ετεα είναι μιν τυφλόν, ἐνδεκάτῳ δὲ ἐτεῖ ἀπικέσθαι
οἱ μαντήιοι ἐκ Βουτοῦς πόλιος ὡς ἐξήκει τε ὦ
ὁ χρόνος τῆς ξημῆς καὶ ἀναβλέψει γυναικὸς οὐρῷ
νυφόμενος τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς, ἢτις παρὰ τὸν ἑωτῆς
ἄνδρα μοῦνον πεφοίτηκε, ἀλλων ἀνδρῶν ἐοῦσα
άπειρος. καὶ τὸν πρώτης τῆς ἑωτοῦ γυναικὸς
πειρᾶσθαι, μετὰ δὲ, ὡς οὐκ ἀνέβλεπε, ἐπεξής
πασέων πειρᾶσθαι. ἀναβλέψαντα δὲ συναγαγεῖν
τὰς γυναικὰς τῶν ἐπειρήθη, πλὴν ἡ τῆς τῷ οὐρῷ
νυφόμενος ἀνέβλεψε, ἐς μίαν πόλιν, ἣ νῦν κα-
λεῖται Ἔρυθρη βόλος. ἐς ταύτην συναλίσαντα
ὑποπρῆσαι πάσας σὺν αὐτῇ τῇ πόλι. τῆς δὲ
νυφόμενος τῷ οὐρῷ ἀνέβλεψε, ταύτην δὲ ἔσχε
αὐτὸς γυναῖκα. ἀναθήματα δὲ ἀποφυγών τὴν
πάθην τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν ἄλλα τε ἄνα τὰ ἱάρα πάντα
τὰ λόγιμα ἀνέθηκε καὶ τοῦ γε λόγον μάλιστα
ἀξιον ἐστὶ ἔχειν, ἐς τοῦ Ἑλίου τὸ ἱρὸν ἀξιοθέτητα
ἀνέθηκε ἔργα, ὁ βελώνος δύο λιθίνους, ἐξ ἐνὸς ἐοῦτα
ἐκάτερον λίθου, μῆκος µὲν ἐκάτερον πηχέων
ἐκατόν, εὐρος δὲ ὅκτω πηχέων.

112. Τούτου δὲ ἐκδεξασθαί τὴν βασιληνήν ἔλε-
γον ἄνδρα Μεμφίτην, τὸ κατὰ τὴν Ἑλλήνων
γλώσσαν οὖνοµα Πρωτέα εἶναι· τοῦ νῦν τέµενος
ἐστὶ ἐν Μέµφι κάρτα καλὸν τε καὶ εὐ ἐσκευασ-
μένον, τοῦ Ἡφαιστείου πρὸς νότον ἀνεµον κει-
μένον. περιοικεῦσι δὲ τὸ τέµενος τοῦτο Φοίνικες
Τύριοι, καλεῖται δὲ ὁ χώρος οὗτος ὁ συνάπας
Τυρίων στρατόπεδον. ἐστὶ δὲ ἐν τῷ τεµένει τοῦ
Πρωτέος ἱρὸν τὸ καλεῖται ξείνης Ἀφροδίτης·
συμβάλλομαι δὲ τοῦτο τὸ ἱρὸν εἶναι Ἑλένης τῆς
Τυνδάρεω, καὶ τὸν λόγον ἀκηκοῦσι ως διαίτηθη
Ἑλένη παρὰ Πρωτέι, καὶ δὴ καὶ δὴ ξείνης Ἀφρο-
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oracle from the city of Buto declared to him that
the time of his punishment was drawing to an end,
and that he should regain his sight by washing his
eyes with the issue of a woman who had never had
intercourse with any man but her own husband.
Pheros made trial with his own wife first, and as
he still remained blind, with all women, one after
another. When he at last recovered sight, he took
all the women of whom he had made trial, save only
her who had made him to see again, and gathered
them into one town, that which is now called "Red
Clay"; where having collected them together he
burnt them and the town; but the woman by whose
means he had recovered sight he took to wife.
Among the many offerings which he dedicated in all
the noteworthy temples for his deliverance from
blindness, most worthy of mention are the two mar-
vellous stone obelisks which he set up in the temple
of the Sun. Each of these is made of a single
block, and is an hundred cubits high and eight cubits
thick.

112. Pheros was succeeded (they said) by a man
of Memphis, whose name in the Greek language
was Proteus. This Proteus has a fair and well-
adorned temple precinct at Memphis, lying to the
south of the temple of Hephaestus. Round the pre-
cinct dwell Phoenicians of Tyre, and the whole place
is called the Camp of the Tyrians. There is in the
precinct of Proteus a temple entitled the temple of
the Stranger Aphrodite; this I guess to be a temple
of Helen, daughter of Tyndarus, partly because I
have heard the story of Helen's abiding with
Proteus, and partly because it bears the name of
δίτης ἐπώνυμον ἔστι: ὃσα γὰρ ἀλλὰ Ἀφροδίτης ἱρά ἔστι, οὐδαμῶς ξείνης ἐπικαλέεται.

113. Ἡ Ἑλέγον δὲ μοι ὦ ἱερεῖς ἱστορέοντι τὰ περὶ Ἑλένην γενέσθαι ὅδε. Ἀλέξανδρον ἄρπασαντα Ἑλένην ἐκ Σπάρτης ἀποπλέειν ἐς τὴν ἐωτοῦ καὶ μυν, ὡς ἐγένετο ἐν τῷ Ἀἰγαίῳ, ἐξώσται ἀνεμοὶ ἐκβάλλουσι ἐς τὸ Ἀἰγύπτιον πέλαγος, ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ, οὐ γὰρ ἀνιεῖ τὰ πνεύματα, ἀπικυνεῖται ἐς Ἀι-γυπτιον καὶ Ἀιγύπτιον ἐς τὸ νῦν Κανωβικὸν καλεύμενον στόμα τοῦ Νείλου καὶ ἐς Ταριχείας. ἢν δὲ ἐπὶ τῆς ἡμέρας τὸ καὶ νῦν ἔστι Ἡρακλέως ἱρόν, ὡς τὸ ἦν καταφυγῶν οἰκήτης ὅτεν ὁ ἄνθρω-πων ἐπιβάλλεται στίγματα ἱρά, ἐωτοῦ διδοὺς τῷ θεῷ, οὐκ ἔξεστι τοῦτον ἄψασθαι. ὁ νόμος οὗτος διατελεί ἐώς ὁμοίος μέχρι ἐμέ τῷ ἄτῳ ἄρχῃς.

τοῦ ἄν δὴ Ἀλέξανδρον ἀπιστεύεται θεράποντες πυθόμενοι τὸν περὶ τὸ ἱρόν ἔχοντα νόμον, ἱκέται δὲ ἵλομενοι τοῦ θεοῦ κατηγόρεοι τοῦ Ἀλέξανδρου, βουλόμενοι βλάπτειν αὐτόν, πάντα λόγον ἐξηγοῦ-μενοί ὡς εἶχε περὶ τὴν Ἑλένην τε καὶ τὴν ἐς Μενέλεων ἀδικίαν· κατηγόρευσον δὲ ταῦτα πρὸς τε τοὺς ἱρέας καὶ τὸν τοῦ στόματος τοῦτον φύλακαν, τῷ οὖνομα ἢν Ὄῳνις.

114. Ἀκούσας δὲ τούτων ο Θώνις πέμπει τὴν ταχύστην ἐς Μέμφιν παρὰ Πρωτέα ἄγγελλην λέγουσαν τάδε. "Ἡκει ξείνοις γένος μὲν Τευκρός, ἔργον δὲ ἀνόσιον ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι ἐξεργασμένοις· ξείνου γὰρ τοῦ ἐωτοῦ ἐξαπατήσας τὴν γυναικα αὐτῆς τε ταύτην ἄγων ἥκει καὶ πολλὰ κάρτα χρήματα, οὐπό ἀνέμων ἐς γην ταύτην ἀπενειχθείς. κότερα δήτα τούτου ἐῳμεν ἀσινεά ἐκπλέειν ἢ
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 Teurician 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 ἥλθε;” ἀντιπέμπετο πρὸς ταύτα ο Πρωτεύς λέγοντα τάδε. “’Ανδρα τούτων, οὐσίς κοτέ ἐστὶ ἀνόσια ἐργασμένος ξείνων τῶν ἐσωτοῦ, συλλαβόντες ἀπάγετε παρ’ ἐμὲ, ἵνα εἰδέω ὦ τι κοτέ καὶ λέξει.”

115. Ἀκούσας δὲ ταύτα ὁ Θόδως συλλαμβάνει τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον καὶ τὰς νέας αὐτοῦ κατόσχει, μετά δὲ αὐτὸν τε τούτων ἀνήγαγε ἐς Μέμφῳ καὶ τὴν Ἐλενήν τε καὶ τὰ χρήματα, πρὸς δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἰκέτας. ἀνακοιμοβέντων δὲ πάντων, εἰρώτα τὸν Άλέξανδρον ο Πρωτεύς τίς εἶναι καὶ ὁκόθεν πλέοι. ὁ δὲ οἱ καὶ τὸ γένος κατέλεξε καὶ τῆς πάτρης εἶπε τὸ σύνομα, καὶ δὴ καὶ τὸν πλὸν ἀπηγήσατο ὁκόθεν πλέοι. μετὰ δὲ ο Πρωτεύς εἰρώτα αὐτὸν ὁκόθεν τὴν Ἐλενήν λάβως πλανωμένου δὲ τοῦ Ἀλέξανδρον ἐν τῷ λόγῳ καὶ οὗ λέγοντος τὴν ἀληθείαν, ἠλεγχὼν οἱ γενόμενοι ἰκέται, ἐξηγοῦμενοι πάντα λόγον τοῦ ἀδικήματος. τέλος δὲ δὴ σφὶ λόγον τόνδε ἐκφαίνει ο Πρωτεύς, λέγων ὃτι “Ἐγώ εἰ μὴ περὶ πολλοῦ ἡγεύμην μηδένα ξείνων κτεῖνειν, ὅσοι ὑπ’ ἀνέμων ἦδη ἀπολαμβάνετε ἡλθον ἐς χώρην τὴν ἔμην, ἐγὼ ἄν σε ὑπέρ τοῦ Ἐλληνος ἐτίσαμην, ὅσο, ὁ κάκιστο ἀνδρῶν, ξεινίων τυχὼν ἔργον ἀνοσιώτατον ἐργάσας παρὰ τοῦ σεπτοῦ ξείνων τῆς γυναίκα ἡλθε. καὶ μάλα ταύτα τοι οὐκ ἤρκεσε, ἀλλ’ ἀναπτερώσας αὐτὴν οἴχαι έχων ἐκκλεψα. καὶ οὐδὲ ταύτα τοι μοῦνα ἤρκεσε, ἀλλὰ καὶ οἴκια τοῦ ξείνου κεραίας ἡκείς. γινὼ ὑπ’ ἐπειδὴ περὶ πολλοῦ ἠγημαι μὴ ξεινοκτονεῖν, γυναίκα μὲν ταύτην καὶ τὰ χρήματα οὐ τοι προῆσο ἀπάγεσθαι, ἀλλ’ αὐτὰ ἐγὼ τοῦ Ἐλλην ξείνῳ φυλάξω, ὅτε δ’ ἂν αὐτὸς ἐλθὼν ἐκείνοις 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 there-
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

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ἐθέλη αὐτοῦ δὲ σε καὶ τοὺς σους συμπλόους τριῶν ἥμερεών προαγορεύω ἐκ τῆς ἐμῆς γῆς ἐσ ἀλλὴν τινὰ μετομύζεσθαι, εἰ δὲ μή, ἀτε πολέμιοις περέψεσθαί.

116. Ἐλένης μὲν ταύτῃ ἄπιξιν παρὰ Πρωτέα ἔλεγον οἱ ἱρέες γενέσθαι. δοκεῖ δὲ μοι καὶ Ὄμηρος τὸν λόγον τοῦτον πυθέσθαι· ἄλλῳ οὖ γὰρ ὁμοίως ἐσ τὴν ἐπιτομίαν εὐπρεπῆς ἦν τῷ ἑτέρῳ τῷ περ ἐχρήσατο, ἐκὼν μετήκε αὐτοῦ, δηλώσας ὡς καὶ τοῦτον ἐπίστατο τὸν λόγον. δῆλον δὲ κατὰ [γὰρ] ἐποίησε ἐν Ἰλιάδι (καὶ οὐδαμῇ ἄλλῃ ἀνεπόδισε ἑωτὸν) πλάνην τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου, ὡς ἀπηνείχθη ἄγων Ἐλένη τῇ τῇ ἄλλῃ πλαξόμενος καὶ ὡς ἐς Σιδώνα τῆς Φοινίκης ἀπίκετο. ἐπιμέμνηται δὲ αὐτοῦ ἐν Διομήδεος ἀριστήν. λέγει δὲ τὰ ἐπεα ὧδε.

"Ἐνθ' ἦσαν οἱ πέπλοι παμποίκιλοι, ἔργα γυναικῶν Σιδώνίων, τὰς αὐτοῦ Ἀλέξανδρὸς θεοειδῆς ἦγαγε Σιδούνιθεν, ἐπιτπλῶς εὐρέα πόντου, τὴν ὄδον ἦν Ἐλένην περ ἀνήγαγεν εὐπατέρειαν.

ἐπιμέμνηται δὲ καὶ ἐν Ὄδυσσείᾳ ἐν τοῖς ἐπει ἐπεσι.

Τοῖς Δίῳς θυγάτηρ ἔχε φάρμακα μητιόεντα, ἐσθλά, τά οί Πολύδαμμα πόρεν Θῶνος παράκοιτος Ἀγυπτῖν, τῇ πλεῖστα φέρει ζείδωρος ἀρουρα φάρμακα, πολλὰ μὲν ἐσθλὰ μεμυγμένα, πολλὰ δὲ λυγρά.

1 κατὰ = 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

¹ II. vi. 289-92. ² Od. iv. 227-30.
και τάδε ἔτερα πρὸς Τηλέμαχον Μενέλεως λέγει.

Αἰγύπτῳ μὴ ἔτει δεῦρο θεοὶ μεμαώτα νέεσθαι ἐφ' οἷον, ἐπεὶ οὐ σφιν ἐφεξὰ τεληέσσας ἐκατόμβας.¹

ἐν τούτοις τοῖς ἐπεσὶ δηλοὶ ὅτι ἥπιστατο τὴν ἐσ Αἰγύπτῳ Ἀλεξάνδρου πλάνην· ὤμορεει γὰρ ἡ Συρίη Αἰγύπτῳ, οἱ δὲ Φοίνικες, τῶν ἐστὶ η Σιδών, ἐν τῇ Συρίῃ οἴκεουσι.

117. Κατ' αὐτὰ δὲ τὰ ἔπεα καὶ τόδε τὸ χωρίον οὐκ ἦκιστα ἄλλα μάλιστα δηλοὶ ὅτι οὐκ Ὄμηρον τὰ Κύπρια ἐπεα ἐστὶ ἄλλα ἄλλου τινός. ἐν μὲν γὰρ τοῖς Κυπρίοις εἰρηται ὡς τριταῖς ἐκ Σπάρτης Ἀλεξάνδρος ἀπίκετο ἐσ τὸ Ἰλιον ἄγων Ἐλένην, εὐαί τε πνεύματι χρησάμενο καὶ θαλάσση λείην ἐν δὲ Ἰλιάδι λέγει ὡς ἐπλάζετο ἄγων αὐτήν.

118. Ὅμηρος μὲν νυν καὶ τὰ Κύπρια ἐπεα χαρέτω. εἰρομένου δὲ μεν τοὺς ἱέας εἰ μάταιον λόγον λέγουσι οἱ Ἐλλήνες τὰ περὶ Ἰλιον γενεθεῖν ἐστὶν ὁ οὐ, ἐφασαν πρὸς ταῦτα τάδε, ἱστορήσι φάμενοι εἰδέναι παρ' αὐτοῦ Μενέλεως. ἐλθεῖν μὲν γὰρ μετὰ τὴν Ἐλένης ἀρπαγήν ἐς τὴν Τευκρίδα γῆν Ἐλλήνων στρατιῶν πολλῆν βοηθείσαν Μενέλεως, ἐκβάσαν δὲ ἐς γῆν καὶ ἱδρυθείσαν τὴν στρατιῶν πέμπειν ἐς τὸ Ἰλιον ἀγγέλους, σὺν δὲ σφι λέαναι καὶ αὐτοῦ Μενελέων τοὺς δ' ἐπείτε ἐσελθεῖν ἐς τὸ τεῖχος, ἀπαιτεῖν Ἐλένην τε καὶ τὰ χρήματα τὰ οἰ οὐχετο κλέψας Ἀλεξάνδρος, τῶν τε ἀδικημάτων δίκας αἰτεῖν τοὺς δὲ Τευ-

¹ Stein brackets ἐπιμέμηνται... 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 Teutician 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.
κρούς τοῦ αὐτοῦ λόγου λέγειν τότε καὶ μετέπειτα, καὶ ὡμούντας καὶ ἀνωμοτὶ, μὴ μὲν ἔχειν Ἑλένην μηδὲ τὰ ἐπικαλεύμενα χρῆματα, ἀλλὰ εἶναι αὕτα πάντα ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ, καὶ οὐκ ἂν δικαίος αὐτοὶ δίκας ὑπέχειν τῶν Πρωτεύς ὁ Αἰγύπτιος βασιλεὺς ἔχει. οἱ δὲ Ἑλληνες καταγελάσθαι δοκεόντες ὑπ’ αὐτῶν οὕτω δὴ ἐπολιόρκεον, ἡς ὁ ἐξειλοῦν· ἐλοῦσι δὲ τὸ τεῖχος ὡς οὐκ ἐφαίνετο ἡ Ἑλένη, ἀλλὰ τὸν αὐτὸν λόγον τῷ προτέρῳ ἐπισυνάντω, οὕτω δὴ πιστεύσαντες τῷ λόγῳ τῷ πρῶτῳ οἱ Ἑλληνες αὐτὸν Μενέλεων ἀποστέλλουσι παρὰ Πρωτέα.

119. Ἀπικόμενος δὲ ὁ Μενέλεως ἐς τὴν Αἰγύπτιον καὶ ἀναπλώσας ἐς τὴν Μέμφιν, εἶπας τῇ ἀληθείᾳ τῶν προγμάτων, καὶ ξενίσων ἤντησε μεγάλων καὶ Ἑλένην ἀπαθεά κακῶν ἀπελαβε, πρὸς δὲ καὶ τὰ ἐωτοῦ χρῆματα πάντα. τυχὼν μὲντοι τούτων ἐγένετο Μενέλεως ἀνήρ ἄδικος ἡς Αἰγύπτιος. ἀποπλέειν γὰρ ὅρμημένον αὐτὸν ἰσχον ἀπλοῖαν· ἐπειδή δὲ τούτῳ ἐπὶ πολλῶν τοιούτων ἦν, ἐπιτεχνᾶται πρήγμα ὁμοὶ ὅσιον· λαβὼν γὰρ δύο παιδία ἀνδρῶν ἐπιχωρίων ἐντομα σφέα ἐποίησε. μετὰ δὲ ὡς ἐπάϊστος ἐγένετο τοῦτο ἐργασμένος, μισθείες τε καὶ διωκόμενοι οἴχετο φεύγων τῇς νυνὶ ἐπὶ Διβύνης· τὸ ἐνεβεβείν δὲ ὅκου ἐπὶ ἐτράπτετο οὐκ εἰχὼν εἰπεῖν Αἰγύπτιοι. τούτων δὲ τὰ μὲν ἱστορίησε ἔφασαν ἐπίστασθαι, τὰ δὲ παρ’ ἐωτοῖς γενόμενα ἀτρεκέως ἐπιστάμενοι λέγειν.

120. Ταῦτα μὲν Ἀιγύπτιοι οἱ ἰρέες ἔλεγον· ἐγὼ δὲ τὸ λόγῳ τῷ περὶ Ἑλένης λεχθέντι καὶ αὐτὸς προστίθεμαι, τάδε ἐπιλεγόμενος, εἰ ὁ Ἑλένη ἐν

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declared, with oaths and without, that neither Helen nor the goods claimed were with them, she and they being in Egypt; nor could they (so they said) justly make reparation for what was in the hands of the Egyptian king Proteus. But the Greeks thought that the Trojans mocked them, and therewith besieged the city, till they took it; and it was not till they took the fortress and found no Helen there, and heard the same declaration as before, that they gave credence to the Trojans' first word and so sent Menelaus himself to Proteus.

119. Menelaus then came to Egypt and went up the river to Memphis; there, telling the whole truth of what had happened, he was very hospitably entertained and received back Helen unharmed and all his possessions withal. Yet, albeit so well entreated, Menelaus did the Egyptians a wrong. For when he would have sailed away he was stayed by stress of weather; and this hindrance continuing for long, he devised and did a forbidden deed, taking two children of the land and sacrificing them. When it was known that he had so done, the people hated and pursued him, and he fled away with his ships to Libya; and whither he thence betook himself the Egyptians could not say. The priests told me that they had learnt some of this tale by inquiry, but that they spoke with exact knowledge of what had happened in their own country.

120. So much was told me by the Egyptian priests. For myself, I believe their story about Helen: for I reason thus—that had Helen been in Ilion, then
HERODOTUS

'Ἰλίῳ, ἀποδοθῆναι ἂν αὐτήν τοῖς Ἑλλησι ήτοι ἐκόντος γε ἢ ἀέροντος Ἀλεξάνδρου. οὐ γὰρ δὴ ὅτω γε φρενοβλαβῆς ἦν ὁ Πρίαμος ο笑意 οἱ ἄλλοι οἱ προσήκοντες αὐτῷ, ὡστε τοῖς σφητέροισι σώμασι καὶ τοῖς τέκνοις καὶ τῇ πόλι τινί δυνανεῖν ἐβούλοντο, ὡκὼς Ἀλέξανδρος Ἐλένη συνοική. εἰ δὲ τοι καὶ ἐν τοῖς πρώτοισι χρόνοις ταύτα ἐγίνοσκον, ἐπεὶ πολλοὶ μὲν τῶν ἄλλων Τρώων, ὅκδε συμμίσγοιον τοῖς Ἑλλησι, ἀπώλεστο, αὐτόν δὲ Πριάμου οὐκ ἔστε ὅτε οὐ δύο ἡ τρεῖς ἢ καὶ ἔτι πλέουσι τῶν παίδων μάχης γινομένης ἀπέθανον, εἰ χρή τι τοῖς ἐποποιοῦσι χρεώμενον λέγειν, τούτων δὲ τοιούτων συμβαίνοντων ἐγὼ μὲν ἔλποιμαι, εἰ καὶ αὐτὸς Πριάμος συνοίκηκε Ἐλένη, ἀποδοθῆναι ἂν αὐτήν τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς, μέλλοντα γε δὴ τῶν παρεόντων κακῶν ἀπαλλαγήσεσθαι. οὐ μὲν οὐδὲ ἡ βασιλική ἐς Ἀλέξανδρον περιήγη. ὡστε γέροντος Πριάμου ἐόντος ἐπὶ ἑκεῖνῳ τὰ πρῆγματα εἶναι, ἀλλὰ Ἐκτωρ καὶ πρεσβύτερος καὶ ἀνὴρ ἑκεῖνοι μᾶλλον ἑδῶ ἐμελέλει αὐτὴν Πριάμου ἀποθανόντων παραλάμψεσθαι, τὸν οὐ προσῆκε ἄδικεοντι τῷ ἄδελφῳ ἐπιτράπεω, καὶ ταῦτα μεγάλων κακῶν δι' αὐτῶν συμβαίνοντων ἱδίη τε αὐτῷ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις πασὶ Τρωσί. ἀλλ' οὐ γὰρ εἰχον Ἐλένην ἀποδοθῆναι, οὖδε λέγοισθαί αὐτοῖς τὴν ἀληθείαν ἐπίστευον οἱ Ἑλλησι, ὡς μὲν ἑκὼ γνώμην ἀποφαίνομαι, τοῦ δαιμόνιου παρασκεύαζοντος, οἰκὼς πανωλθερίᾳ ἀπολόμενοι καταφανεῖς τούτο τοῖς ἀνθρώποισι ποιήσωσι, ὡς τῶν μεγάλων ἀδικημάτων μεγάλαι εἰσὶ καὶ αἱ τιμωρίαι παρὰ τῶν θεῶν. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν τῇ ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ εἰρήται.

121. Πρωτέος δὲ ἐκδεξασθαι 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 wrongdoing, 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 wrongdoing. This is my own belief and thus I declare it.

121. The next to reign after Proteus (they said)
Ραμψίνιτον ἔλεγον, δὲ μνημόσυνα ἐλίπετο τὰ προπύλαια τὰ πρὸς ἐσπέρην τετραμμένα τού Ἡφαιστείου, ἀντίος δὲ τῶν προπυλαίων ἔστησε ἀνδριάντας δύο, ἕωςτα τὸ μέγαθος πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι πηχέων, τῶν Ἀιγύπτιων τῶν μὲν πρὸς βορέω ἐστεώτα καλέουσι θέρος, τὸν δὲ πρὸς νότον χειμώνα· καὶ τὸν μὲν καλέουσι θέρος, τούτοις μὲν προσκυνεώσει τε καὶ εὗ ποιέουσι, τὸν δὲ χειμώνα καλέομεν τὰ ἐμπαλιν τούτων ἔρωσι. πλοῦτον δὲ τούτῳ τῷ βασιλείᾷ γενέσθαι ἀργύρου μέγαν, τῶν οὖδενα τῶν ύστερον ἐπιτραφέντων βασιλέων δύνασθαι ὑπερβαλέσθαι οὐδὲ ἐγγὺς ἐλθεῖν. βουλόμενον δὲ αὐτὸν ἐν ἀσφαλείᾳ τὰ χρήματα θησαυρίζειν οἰκοδομέσθαι οἴκημα λίθινον, τοῦ τῶν τοίχων ἕνα ἐς τὸ ἔξω μέρος τῆς οἰκίας ἔχειν. τὸν δὲ ἐργαζόμενον ἐπιβουλεύοντα τάδε μηχανάσθαι· τῶν λίθων παρασκευάσασθαι ἕνα ἕξιαρετὸν εἶναι ἐκ τοῦ τοίχου ῥηιδίως καὶ ὑπὸ δύο ἀνδρῶν καὶ ὑπὸ ἐνός· ὥς δὲ ἑπτελέσθη τὸ οἶκημα, τὸν μὲν βασιλέα θησαυρίζατα τὰ χρήματα ἐν αὐτῷ· χρόνου δὲ περιόριστος τὸν οἰκοδομῶν περὶ τελευτὴν τοῦ βίου ἔντα ἀνακαλέσασθαι τοὺς παῖδας (ἐναὶ γὰρ αὐτῷ δύο), τούτοις δὲ ἀπηγήσασθαι ὡς ἐκείνων προορῶν, ὅκως βίον ἀφθονον ἔχωσι, τεχνάσατο οἰκοδομέων τὸν θησαυρὸν τοῦ βασιλέως· σαφέως δὲ αὐτοῖς πάντα ἔξηγησάμενον τὰ περὶ τὴν ἔξαιρεσιν τοῦ λίθου δοῦναι τὰ μέτρα αὐτοῦ, λέγοντα ὡς ταῦτα διαφυλάσσοντες ταμίαι τῶν βασιλέως χρημάτων ἔσονται. καὶ τὸν μὲν τελευτήσαι τὸν βίον, τοὺς δὲ παῖδας οὐκ ἐσ μακρὴν ἐργον ἔχεσθαι, ἐπελθόντας δὲ ἐπὶ τὰ βασιλῆια 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 ῥημίως μεταχειρίσασθαι καὶ τῶν χρημάτων πολλὰ ἐξευείκασθαι. ὡς δὲ τυχεὶν τὸν βασιλέα ἀνοίξαντα τὸ οἶκημα, θωμάσαι ἵδοντα τῶν χρημάτων καταδεῖ τὰ ἀγγύμα, οὐκ ἔχειν δὲ ὁντινα ἐπαιτιᾶται, τῶν τε σημαντρῶν ἐόντων σῶν καὶ τοῦ οἰκήματος κεκλημένου. ὡς δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ δις καὶ τρίς ἀνοίξαντι αἰεὶ ἐλάσσω φαίνεσθαι τὰ χρήματα (τοὺς γὰρ κλέπτας οὐκ ἀνιέναι κεφαλίζοντας), ποιῆσαι μίν τάδε πάγας προστάξει ἐργάσασθαι καὶ ταύτας περὶ τὰ ἀγγύμα ἐν τοῖς τά χρήματα ἐνὴν στήσαι. τῶν δὲ φωρῶν ὠστερ ἐν τῷ πρὸ τοῦ χρόνῳ ἐλθόντων καὶ ἐσύντους τοῦ ἐτέρου αὐτῶν, ἐπεὶ πρὸς τὸ ἄγγος προσήξει, ἵθεως τῇ πάγῃ ἐνέχεσθαι. ὡς δὲ γνώναι αὐτὸν ἐν οἷῳ κακῷ ἤν, ἤθεως καλέειν τὸν ἀδελφὸν καὶ δηλοῦν αὐτῷ τὰ παρεόντα, καὶ κελεύειν τὴν ταχίστην ἐσόμετα ἀποταμεῖν αὐτοῦ τὴν κεφαλῆν, ὁκὼς μὴ αὐτὸς ὀφθεῖς καὶ γνωρισθεῖς δεieron προσαπολέσῃ κακεῖνον. τῷ δὲ δόξαι εἰν λέγειν, καὶ ποιῆσαι μίν πεισθέντα ταύτα, καὶ καταρρόσαντα τὸν λίθον ἀπιέναι ἐπὶ οἶκου, φέροντα τὴν κεφαλὴν τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ. ὡς δὲ ἡμέρῃ ἐγένετο, ἐσέλθοντα τὸν βασιλέα ἐς τὸ οἶκημα ἐκπεπλήχθαι ὁρῶντα τὸ σῶμα τοῦ φωρὸς ἐν τῇ πάγῃ ἄνευ τῆς κεφαλῆς ἑν, τὸ δὲ οἶκημα ἀσινεῖς καὶ οὕτε ἔσσεθαι οὔτε ἐκδυσιν οὐδεμίαν ἔχων. ἀπορεύμενον δὲ μίν τάδε ποιῆσαι τοῦ φωρὸς τῶν νέκυν κατὰ τοῦ τείχεως κατακρεμᾶσαι, φυλάκως δὲ αὐτοῦ καταστήσαντα ἐντείλασθαι σφι, τὸν ἀν ἰδοῦντα ἀποκλαύσαντα ἢ κατοικτισάμενον, συλλαβόντας ἄγειν πρὸς ἐσωτὸν. Ἀνακρεμαμένον δὲ τοῦ νέκυος τὴν μητέρα δεινὸς φέρειν, λόγους δὲ πρὸς τὸν περιεόντα παῖδα 416
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 προστάσσειν αυτῷ ὅτερ τρόπῳ δύναται μηχανᾶσθαι ὅκως τὸ σῶμα τοῦ ἄδελφου καταλύσας κομιεῖ: εἰ δὲ τούτων ἀμελῆσει, διαπειλέειν αὐτὴν ὡς ἐλθοῦσα πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα μηνύσει αὐτόν ἔχοντα τὰ χρήματα. ὥς δὲ χαλεπῶς ἐλαμβάνετο ἡ μήτηρ τοῦ περιεύοντος παιδὸς καὶ πολλὰ πρὸς αὐτὴν λέγων οὐκ ἔπειθε, ἐπιτεχνήσασθαι τοιάδε μν ὄνους κατασκευασάμενον καὶ ἁσκοὺς πλήσαντα οἶνου ἐπιθεῖναι ἐπὶ τῶν ὀνῶν καὶ ἔπειτα ἐλαύνειν αὐτούς· ὡς δὲ κατὰ τοὺς φυλάσσοντας ἢ τὸν κρεμάμενον νέκυιν, ἐπισπάσαντα τῶν ἁσκῶν δύο ἢ τρεῖς ποδεώνας αὐτὸν λύειν ἀπαμένους· ὡς δὲ ἔρρεε ὁ οἶνος, τὴν κεφαλὴν μν κόπτεσθαι μεγάλα βοῶντα ὡς οὐκ ἔχοντα πρὸς οἰκοῦν τῶν ὀνῶν πρῶτον τράπηται. τοὺς δὲ φυλάκους ὡς ἱδεῖν πολλὸν ῥέοντα τὸν οἶνον, συντρέχειν ἐς τὴν ὀδὸν ἀγγῆμα ἔχοντας, καὶ τὸν ἐκκεχυμένον οἴνου συγκομίζειν ἐν κέρδει ποιευμένους· τὸν δὲ διαλοιδορέσθαι πᾶσι ὄργῃν προσποιεύμενον, παραμυθευμένον δὲ αὐτὸν τῶν φυλάκων χρόνῳ πριήνεσθαι προσποιεύμεσθαι καὶ ὑπίσθαι τῆς ὄργης, τέλος δὲ ἐξελάσαι αὐτὸν τοὺς οἶνους ἐκ τῆς ὀδοῦ καὶ κατασκευάζειν. ὡς δὲ λόγοις τε πλέον ἐγγίνεσθαι καὶ τινὰ καὶ σκόψαι μν καὶ ἐς γέλωτα προσγαγέσθαι, ἐπιδοῦναι αὐτοῖς τῶν ἁσκῶν ἔνα· τοὺς δὲ αὐτοῦ ὄσπερ εἶχον κατακλιθέντας πίνειν διανοίεσθαι, καὶ ἐκείνον παραλαμβάνειν καὶ κελέειν μετ' ἑωτῶν μείναντα συμπίνειν· τὸν δὲ πεισθῆναι τε δὴ καὶ καταμείναι. ὡς δὲ μν παρὰ τὴν πόσιν φιλοφρόνως ἕπισάξοντο, ἐπιδοῦναι αὐτοῖς καὶ ἄλλον τῶν ἁσκῶν· δαψιλεὶ δὲ τῷ ποτῷ χρησαμένους τοὺς φυλάκους ὕπερμε-
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
θυσθήναι καὶ κρατηθέντας ὑπὸ τοῦ ὕπνου αὐτοῦ ἐνθα περ ἑπίων κατακομμηθήναι. τὸν δὲ, ὡς πρόσω ἢν τῆς νυκτὸς, τὸ τε σῶμα τοῦ ἀδελφεοῦ καταλύσαι καὶ τῶν φυλάκων ἐπὶ λύμη πάντων ἕυρήσαι τὰς δεξιὰς παρηγίδας, ἐπιθέντα δὲ τὸν νέκυν ἐπὶ τοὺς ὄνους ἀπελαύνειν ἐπὶ οὐκου, ἐπιτε- λέσαντα τῇ μητρὶ τὰ προσταχθέντα.

Τὸν δὲ βασιλέα, ὡς αὐτῷ ἀπηγγέλθη τοῦ φωρὸς ὁ νέκυς ἐκεκλεμμένος, δεινὰ ποιεῖν πάντως δὲ βουλόμενον εὑρεθῆναι ὅστις κοτὲ εὖ ὁ ταῦτα μηχανώμενος, ποτήρας μιν τάδε, ἔμοι μὲν οὐ πιστὰ τήν θυγατέρα τήν ἐωτοῦ κατίσαι ἐπὶ οἰκήματος, ἐντειλάμενον πάντας τῇ ὁμοίῳς προσ- δέκεσθαι, καὶ πρὶν συγγενέσθαι, ἀναγκάζειν λέγειν αὐτῇ ὅ τι δὴ ἐν τῷ βίῳ ἔργασται αὐτῷ σοφότατον καὶ ἀνοσίωτατον· ὡς ὅ ἂν ἀπηγγε- σηται τὰ περὶ τὸν φῶρα γεγενημένα, τούτοις συλλαμβάνειν καὶ μὴ ἀπιέναι ἑξώ. ὡς δὲ τὴν παίδα ποιεῖν τὰ ἔκ τοῦ πατρὸς προσταχθέντα, τὸν φῶρα πυθόμενον τῶν εἰνεκὰ ταῦτα ἐπρήσετο, βουλήθεντα πολυτροπὴ τοῦ βασιλέος περιγενε- σθαι ποιεῖν τάδε νεκρῷ προσφάτου ἀποταμώντα ἐν τῷ ὁμώ τὴν χείρα ἕναι αὐτὸν ἔχοντα αὐτῆν ὑπὸ τῷ ἰματίῳ· ἐσελθόντα δὲ ὡς τοῦ βασιλέος τὴν θυγατέρα καὶ εἰρωτόμενον τὰ περ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι, ἀπηγγήσασθαι ὡς ἀνοσίωτατον μὲν εὖ ἐργασμένος ὅτι τοῦ ἀδελφεοῦ ἐν τῷ θησαυρῷ τοῦ βασιλέος ὑπὸ πάγης ἀλόντος ἀποτάμοι τὴν κε- φαλὴν, σοφότατον δὲ ὅτι τοὺς φυλάκους κατα- μεθύσας καταλύσει τοῦ ἀδελφεοῦ κρεμάμενον τὸν νέκυν. τὴν δὲ ὡς ἤκουσε ἀπτεσθαι αὐτῷ. τὸν δὲ φῶρα ἐν τῷ σκότει προτείναι αὐτῇ 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 the guards’ right cheeks by way of insult) laid it on his asses and drove them home, having so fulfilled his mother’s commands for her.

When the king was told of the stealing away of the dead thief’s body he was very angry, and resolved by all means to find who it was that had plotted the deed. So he bade his daughter (such is the story, but I myself do not believe it) to sit in a certain room and receive alike all who came; before she had intercourse with any, she should compel him to tell her what was the cleverest trick and the greatest crime of his life; then if any told her the story of the thief she must seize him and not suffer him to pass out. The girl did as her father bade her. The thief, learning the purpose of the king’s act, was minded to get the better of him by ready cunning. He therefore cut off the arm of a man newly dead at the shoulder, and went to the king’s daughter, carrying it under his cloak, and when asked the same question as the rest, he told her that his greatest crime was the cutting off of his brother’s head when the brother was caught in a trap in the king’s treasury, and his cleverest trick the release of his brother’s hanging body by making the guards drunk. Hearing this, the princess would have laid hands on him, but the thief in
τὴν χείρα· τὴν δὲ ἐπίλαβομένην ἔχειν, νομίζουσαν αὐτοῦ ἐκείνου τῆς χειρὸς ἀντέχεσθαι· τὸν δὲ φῶρα προέμενον αὐτῇ οἴχεσθαι διὰ θυρέων φεύγοντα.

Ὡς δὲ καὶ ταῦτα ἐς τὸν βασιλέα ἀνηνείκηθη, ἐκπεπλήξθαι μὲν ἐπὶ τῇ πολυφροσύνῃ τε καὶ τόλμῃ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου, τέλος δὲ διαπέμποντα ἐς πάσας τὰς πόλις ἐπαγγέλλεσθαι ἀδειήν τε διδόντα καὶ μεγάλα ὑποδεκόμενον ἠλθόντι ἐς ὅψιν τὴν ἑωτοῦ. τὸν δὲ φῶρα πιστεύσαντα ἐλθεὶν πρὸς αὐτὸν, Ῥαμψίνιτον δὲ μεγάλως θωμάσαι, καὶ οἱ τὴν θυγατέρα ταύτην συνοικίσαι ὡς πλείστα ἐπισταμένῳ ἀνθρώπων. Αἰγυπτίους μὲν γὰρ τῶν ἀλλῶν προκεκρίσθαι, ἐκείνων δὲ Αἰγυπτίων.

122. Μετὰ δὲ ταύτα ἔλεγον τούτων τὸν βασιλέα ξωὸν καταβῆναι κατῶ τοῦ οἷ "Ελληνες "Αἰδην νομίζουσι εἶναι, καὶ κεῖθε συγκυβεῖν τῇ Δήμητρι, καὶ τὰ μὲν υἱῶν αὐτῆς τὰ δὲ ἐσοῦσθαι ὑπ' αὐτῆς, καὶ μιὰ πάλιν ἀπικέσθαι δῶρον ἔχοντα παρ' αὐτῆς χειρόμακτρον χρόσεον. ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς Ῥαμψίνιτος καταβάσσιος, ὡς πάλιν ἀπίκετο, ὅρτην δὴ ἀνάγειν Αἰγυπτίους ἐφασαν· τὴν καὶ ἐγὼ οἶδα ἐτί καὶ ἐς ἐπιτελέσωτας αὐτοὺς, οὐ μὲντοι εἰ γε διὰ ταύτα ὀρτάξουσι ἔχω λέγειν. φῶρος δὲ αὐτημερὸν ἐξυφήνασεν οἱ ἱρεῖς καὶ ὴν ἔδησαν ἐνὸς ἑωτῶν μέτρη τοὺς ὀβθαλμοὺς, ἀγαγότες δὲ μιὰν ἔχοντα τὸ φῶρος ἐς ὁδὸν ἠφοισαν ἐς ἱρὸν Δήμητρος αὐτοῦ ἀπαλλάσσονται ὀπίσω· τὸν δὲ ἱρεῖα τούτων καταδεδεμένον τοὺς ὀβθαλμοὺς λέγουσι ὑπὸ δύο λύκων ἀγεσθαι ἐς τὸ ἱρὸν τῆς Δήμητρος ἀπέχου τῆς πόλιος ἐκοσι σταδίους, καὶ αὐτὶς ὀπίσω ἐκ τοῦ ἱροῦ ἀπάγειν μιὰν τοὺς λύκους ἐς τῶντο χωρίον.

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the darkness giving her the dead man's arm, she seized that, thinking that she was grasping the arm of the thief, who, having given it to her, made his escape by way of the door.

When this also came to the king's ears, he was astonished at the man's ingenuity and daring, and in the end, he sent a proclamation to every town, promising the thief impunity and a great reward if he would come into the king's presence. The thief trusted the king and came before him; 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 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. Τοῖς μὲν νυν ὑπ’ Αἰγυπτίων λεγομένουι χράσθω ὅτεφ τὰ τοιαῦτα πιθανά ἔστι· ἐμοὶ δὲ παρὰ πάντα τὸν λόγον ὑπόκειται ὅτι τὰ λεγόμενα ὑπ’ ἐκάστων ἀκοῇ γράφω. ἀρχηγετεῖν δὲ τῶν κατὸν Αἰγύπτιον λέγουσι Δήμητρα καὶ Διόνυσον. πρῶτοι δὲ καὶ τόνδε τὸν λόγον Αἰγύπτιοι εἰσὶ οἱ εἰπόντες, ὡς ἀνθρώπου ψυχῆ ἀθάνατος ἐστὶ, τοῦ σώματος δὲ καταφθάνοντος ἐς ἄλλο ξύον αἰεὶ γινόμενον ἔσται, ἐπεὶ ἐς πάντα περιέλθη τὰ χερσάκα καὶ τὰ θαλάσσια καὶ τὰ πετεινά, αὕτως ἐς ἀνθρώπου σώμα γινόμενον ἔσται· τὴν περὶ- λυσιν δὲ αὐτῆ γίνεσθαι ἐν τρισχιλίοις ἐτεσί. τούτῳ τῷ λόγῳ εἰσὶ οἱ Ἐλλήνων ἔχρησαντο, οἱ μὲν πρότερον οὐ δὲ ὑστερον, ὡς ἰδίω ἐωτῶν ἐντυ- τῶν ἐγὼ εἰδὼς τὰ σύνοματα ὑπ’ γράφω.

124. Μέχρι μὲν νυν Ῥαμφυνίτου βασιλέως εἶναι ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ πᾶσαν εὐνομίην ἔλεγον καὶ εὐθηνείαν Αἰγύπτων μεγάλως, μετὰ δὲ τούτον βασιλεύσαντα σφέων Χέσπα ἐς πᾶσαν κακότητα ἔλασαι. κατα- κλησαντα γάρ μην πάντα τὰ ἑρὰ πρῶτα μὲν σφέας ὑσιεὼν τοιτέων ἀπέρξαι, μετὰ δὲ ἐργά- ξεθαι εὐμώ κελεύειν πάντας Αἰγυπτίους. τοῖς μὲν δὴ ἀποδεδέχθαι ἐκ τῶν λιθοτομεών τῶν ἐν τῷ Ἀραβίῳ ὤρει, ἐκ τουτέων ἐλκειν λίθους μέχρι τοῦ Νείλου διαπεραιωθέντας δὲ τῶν ποταμῶν πλοίοις τοὺς λίθους ἐτέροις ἐπέταξε ἐκδέκεσθαι καὶ πρὸς τὸ Διβυκὸν καλεῷμενον ὄρος, πρὸς τοῦτο ἐλκειν. ἐργαζόμενο δὲ κατὰ δέκα μυριάδας ἀνθρώπων αἰεὶ τὴν τρίμηνον ἐκαστην. χρόνον δὲ ἐγγενεσθαι τριβομένῳ τῷ λεώ δέκα ἑταὶ μὲν τῆς ὀδοῦ κατ’ ἦν εἴλκου τοὺς λίθους, τὴν ὑδατικὴν ἐργον ἑνὸν οὐ πολλῷ τῷ ἐλασσὸν τῆς πυραμίδος. ὡς ἐμοὶ 424
123. These Egyptian stories are for the use of whosoever believes such tales: for myself, it is my rule in this history that I record whatever is told me as I have heard it.

It is believed in Egypt that the rulers of the lower world are Demeter and Dionysus. Moreover, the Egyptians were the first to teach that the human soul is immortal, and at the death of the body enters into some other living thing then coming to birth; and after passing through all creatures of land, sea, and air (which cycle it completes in three thousand years) it enters once more into a human body at birth. Some of the Greeks, early and late, have used this doctrine as if it were their own; I know their names, but do not here record them.

124. Till the time of Rhampsinitus Egypt (so the priests told me) was in all ways well governed and greatly prospered, but Cheops, who was the next king, brought the people to utter misery. For first he shut up all the temples, so that none could sacrifice there; and next, he compelled all the Egyptians to work for him, appointing to some to drag stones from the quarries in the Arabian mountains to the Nile: and the stones being carried across the river in boats, others were charged to receive and drag them to the mountains called Libyan. They worked in gangs of a hundred thousand men, each gang for three months. For ten years the people were afflicted in making the road whereon the stones were dragged, the making of which road was to my thinking a task but a little lighter than the building of the pyramid,²

¹ Isis and Osiris.
² The "Great Pyramid."
δοκεῖειν· τῆς μὲν γὰρ μῆκος εἰσὶ πέντε στάδια, εὖρος δὲ δέκα ὄργυια, ὑψὸς δὲ, τῇ ψυγιλοτάτῃ ἐστὶ αὐτῇ ἐωυτῆς, ὄκτῳ ὄργυια, λίθον δὲ ἕσστοι καὶ ξώνων ἐγγεγυμμένων· ταύτης τε δὴ τὰ δέκα ἔτεα γενέσθαι καὶ τῶν ἐπὶ τοῦ λόφου ἐπὶ οὐ ἔσται αἱ πυραμίδες, τῶν ὑπὸ γῆς οἰκημάτων, τὰς ἐποιέεσθε θήκας ἐωυτῷ ἐν νήσῳ, διώρυχα τοῦ Νείλου ἐσαγαγών. τῇ δὲ πυραμίδι αὐτῇ χρόνου γενέσθαι εἴκοσι ἔτεα ποιεμένην· τῆς ἐστὶ πανταχῇ μέτωπον ἐκαστῶν ὄκτῳ πλέθρα ἐούσης τετραγώνου καὶ ὑψὸς ὕσον, λίθον δὲ ἕσστοι τε καὶ ἀρμοσμένον τὰ μάλιστα· οὔδεὶς τῶν λίθων τριήκοντα ποδῶν ἐλάσσων.

125. Ἕποιήθη δὲ ὁδὲ αὐτῇ ἡ πυραμίς· ἀναβαθμῶν τρὸπον, τὰς μετέξετερας κρόσσας οἱ δὲ βωμίδαις ὀνομάξουσι, τοιαύτην τὸ πρῶτον ἔπειτε ἐποίησαν αὐτὴν, ἥειρον τοὺς ἐπιλοίπους λίθους μηχανήσι ξύλων βραχέων πεποιημένην, χαμάθεν μὲν ἐπὶ τὸν πρῶτον στοῖχον τῶν ἀναβαθμῶν ἀείροντες· ὅκως δὲ ἀνίοις ὁ λίθος ἐπὶ αὐτὸν, ἐς ἐτερημχανὴν ἐτίθετο ἐστεῶσαν ἐπὶ τοῦ πρῶτου στοῖχου, ἀπὸ τοῦτον δὲ ἐπὶ τὸν δεύτερον ἐξεκένσο στοῖχον ἐπὶ ἄλλης μηχανῆς· ὅσοι γὰρ δὴ στοῖχου ἦσαν τῶν ἀναβαθμῶν, τοσαύτα καὶ μηχανιά ἦσαν, εἴτε καὶ τὴν αὐτὴν μηχανὴν ἐοῦσαν μίαν τε καὶ εὐβάστακτον μετεφόρεσθε ἐπὶ στοῖχου ἐκαστοῦ, ὅκως τὸν λίθον ἐξέλοιον λελέχθῳ γὰρ ἡμῖν ἐπὶ ἀμφότερα, κατὰ περ λέγεσθαι. ἐξεποίηθη δὴ ὅτι τὰ ἀνώτατα αὐτῆς πρῶτα, μετα δὲ τὰ ἐχόμενα τοῦτον ἐξεποίειν, τελευταία δὲ αὐτῆς τὰ ἐπίγαια καὶ τὰ κατωτάτου ἐξεποίησαν. σεσήμανται δὲ διὰ γραμμάτων Ἀἰγυπτίων εἰς 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, courses, or steps. When this, its first form, was completed, the workmen used levers made of short wooden logs to raise the rest of the stones; they heaved up the blocks from the ground on to the first tier of steps; when the stone had been so raised it was set on another lever that stood on the first tier, and a lever again drew it up from this tier to the next. It may be that there was a new lever on each tier of the steps, or perhaps there was but one lever, and that easily lifted, which they carried up to each tier in turn; I leave this uncertain, both ways being told me. But this is certain, that the upper part of the pyramid was the first finished off, then the next below it, and last of all the base and the lowest part. There are writings on the pyramid

1 That is, the stones which were to fill up the angles of the steps, and make the side of the pyramid a smooth inclined plane. The pyramids built by Cheops, Chephren, and Mycerinus respectively are the pyramids of Gizeh, near Cairo.

2 Or, "in."
μέν ὅσα ἐσ τε συρμαίνῃ καὶ κρόμμα καὶ σκόροδα ἀναυσμώδη τοῖς ἐργαζομένοισιν καὶ ὃς ἔμε εὖ μεμνήσθαι τὰ τὸ ἐρμηνεύει μοι ἐπιλεγόμενος τὰ γράμματα ἐφὶ, ἑξακόσια καὶ χίλια τάλαντα ἀργυρίου τετελέσθαι. εἰ δὲ ἔστι οὖτω ἔχοντα ταῦτα, κόσα οἰκὸς ἄλλα δεδαπανηθῆσαι ἔστι ἐς τε σίδηρον τῷ ἐργάζοντο καὶ σιτία καὶ ἐσθήτα τοῖς ἐργαζόμενοι, ὅκοτε χρόνον μὲν οἰκοδόμευ τὰ ἐργα τὸν εἰρημένον, ἄλλον δὲ, ὅς ἐγὼ δοκεῶ, ἐν τῷ τοὺς λίθους ἐταμνον καὶ ἤγον καὶ τὸ ὑπὸ γῆν ὀρχύμα ἐργάζοντο, οὐκ ὁλίγον χρόνον.

126. Ἐσ τούτῳ δὲ ἔλθειν Χέστα κακότητος ὡστε χρημάτων δεόμενον τὴν θυγατέρα τὴν ἐωτοῦ κατίσαντα ἐπὶ οἰκήματος προστάξαι πρήσεσθαι ἀργυρίον οἰκόσον δὴ τί· οὐ γὰρ δὴ τοῦτό γε ἔλεγον. τὴν δὲ τά τε ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς ταχθέντα πρήσεσθαι, ἱδὴ δὲ καὶ αὐτὴν διανοηθῆναι μνημήνιον καταλπέσθαι, καὶ τοῦ ἐσιόντος πρὸς αὐτὴν ἐκάστῳ δέσπερθαί ὅκως ἂν αὐτῇ ἕνα λίθον εὖ τοῖς ἐργοις δορέωτο. ἐκ τούτων δὲ τῶν λίθων ἔφασαν τὴν πυραμίδα οἰκοδομηθῆναι τὴν ἐν μέσῳ τῶν τριῶν ἑστηκυίαν, ἐμπροσθε σῆς μεγάλης πυραμίδος, τῆς ἐστὶ τὸ κῶλον ἐκαστὸν ὅλου καὶ ἡμίσεος πλέθρων.

127. Βασιλεύσα οὐ τούτῳ Χέστα τοῦτον Ἀἰγύπτιον ἔλεγον πεντήκοντα ἔτεα, τελευτήσαντος δὲ τοῦτον ἐκδέξασθαι τὴν βασιληὴν τὸν ἄδελφεν αὐτοῦ Χεφρήνα· καὶ τοῦτον δὲ τῷ αὐτῷ τρόπῳ διαχράσθαι τῷ ἐτέρῳ τὰ τέ ἄλλα καὶ πυραμίδα ποιῆσαι, ἐσ μὲν τὰ ἐκείνου μέτρα οὐκ ἀνήκουσαν ταὐτα γὰρ ὅν καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐμετρήσαμεν· (οὔτε γὰρ ύπεστι οἰκήματα ὑπὸ γῆν, οὔτε ἐκ τοῦ Νείλου.
in Egyptian characters showing how much was spent on purges and onions and garlic for the workmen; and to my sure remembrance the interpreter when he read me the writing said that sixteen hundred talents of silver had been paid. Now if that is so, how much must needs have been expended on the iron with which they worked, and the workmen's food and clothing? seeing that the time aforesaid was spent in building, and the hewing and carrying of the stone and the digging out of the underground parts was, as I suppose, a business of long duration.

126. And so evil a man was Cheops that for lack of money he made his own daughter to sit in a chamber and exact payment (how much, I know not; for they did not tell me this). She, they say, doing her father's bidding, was minded to leave some memorial of her own, and demanded of everyone who sought intercourse with her that he should give one stone to set in her work; and of these stones was built the pyramid that stands 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
διώρυξ ἦκει ἐς αὐτὴν ὤσπερ ἐς τὴν ἐτέρην ἰέουσαν. δι’ οἰκοδομημένου δὲ αὐλῶν ἐσο νήσου περιρρέει, ἐν τῇ αὐτῶν λέγουσι κείσθαι Χέοσπα). ὑποδέμας δὲ τὸν πρώτον δόμον λίθον Αἰθιοπικοῦ ποικίλου, τεσσεράκοντα πόδας ὑποβας τῆς ἐτέρης τῶν τούτο μέγαθος, ἐχομένην τῆς μεγάλης οἰκοδόμησε. ἔστάσι δὲ ἐπὶ λόφον τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἀμφότεραι, μάλιστα ἐς ἐκατὸν πόδας ψηλοῦ. βασιλεύσαι δὲ ἔλεγον Χεφρῆνα ἦς καὶ πεντήκοντα ἐτεα.

128. Ταῦτα ἦς τε καὶ ἐκατὸν λογίζονται ἐτεα, ἐν τοῖς Αἰγυπτίοισι τε πᾶσαν εἶναι κακότητα καὶ τὰ ἱρὰ χρόνου τοσούτου κατακλημοθέντα οὐκ ἀνοιχθῆναι. τοῦτος ὑπὸ μίσεος οὐ κάρτα θέλουσι Αἰγυπτιοὶ ὄνομάζεσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰς πυραμίδας καλέουσι ποιμένος Φιλίτιος, ὅς τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον ἐνεμε κτήνεα κατὰ ταῦτα τὰ χωρία.

129. Μετὰ δὲ τοῦτον βασιλεύσαι Αἰγυπτιοῦ Μυκερίνου ἔλεγον Χέοσπος παιδᾶ. τὸ τὰ μὲν τοῦ πατρὸς ἔργα ἀπαδεῖν, τὸν δὲ τὰ τε ἱρὰ ἀνοίξαι καὶ τὸν λεών τετρυμένον ἐς τὸ ἐσχατὸν κακοῦ ἀνεῖναι πρὸς ἔργα τε καὶ τυσίας, δίκαια δὲ σφι πάντων βασιλέως δικαιότατα κρίνειν. κατὰ τοῦτο μὲν ὑπὸ τὸ ἔργον ἀπάντων ὅσοι ἦδη βασιλεῖς ἐγένουτο Αἰγυπτίων αἰνέουσι μάλιστα τοῦτον. τὰ τε ἄλλα γὰρ μὲν κρίνειν εὖ, καὶ δὴ καὶ τὸ ἐπιμεμφομένω ἐκ τῆς δίκης παρ’ ἐσωτοῦ διδόντα ἄλλα ἀποτιμπλάναι αὐτοῦ τὸν θυμὸν. ἐόντι δὲ ἡπίῳ τῷ Μυκερίνῳ κατὰ τοὺς πολιτάς καὶ ταῦτα ἔπιτη δεύοντι πρῶτον κακῶν ἄρξαι τὴν θυγατέρα ἀπωθανοῦσαν αὐτοῦ, τὴν μοῦνον οἱ εἶναι ἐν τοῖς οἰκίσσι τέκνοι. τὸν δὲ υπεραλγησάντα τε τῷ
like the other by a canal from the Nile, but the river comes in through a built passage and encircles an island, in which, they say, Cheops himself lies. This pyramid was built of the same bigness as the other, save that it falls forty feet short of it in height; it stands near to the great pyramid; the lowest layer of it is of variegated Ethiopian stone. Both of them stand on the same ridge, which is about an hundred feet high. Chephren, they said, reigned for fifty-six years.

128. Thus they reckon that for a hundred and six years Egypt was in great misery and the temples so long shut were never opened. So much do the people hate the memory of these two kings that they do not greatly wish to name them, and call the pyramids after the shepherd Philitis, who then pastured his flocks in this place. 1

129. The next king of Egypt, they said, was Cheops' son Mycerinus. He, being displeased with his father's doings, opened the temples and suffered the people, now ground down to the depth of misery, to go to their business and their sacrifices; and he was the justest judge among all the kings. It is on this account that he is praised beyond all the rulers of Egypt; for not only were his judgments just, but if any were not contented with the sentence Mycerinus would give such an one a present out of his own estate to satisfy him for his loss. Such was his practice, and so he ruled his people with clemency, yet calamities befel him, of which the first was the death of his daughter, the only child of his household. Greatly grieving

1 This is the form which Hdt. gives to the story of the rule of the "shepherds" (Hyksos) in Lower Egypt, perhaps from 2100 to 1600 B.C.
περιπεπτώκεε πρήγματι, καὶ βουλόμενον περισσότερον τι τῶν ἄλλων θάψαι τὴν θυγατέρα, ποιήσασθαι βοῶν ξυλίνην κοῖλην, καὶ ἔπειτα καταχρυσώσαστα μιν ταύτην ἔσω ἐν αὐτῇ θάψαι ταύτην δὴ τὴν ἀποθανοῦσαν θυγατέρα.

130. Αὐτῇ δὲν ἦν βοῦς γῇ οὐκ ἐκρύφθη, ἀλλὰ ἔτι καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ ἦν φανερή, ἐν Σάι μὲν πόλι έδούσα, κειμένη δὲ ἐν τοῖς βασιλείοις ἐν οἰκήματι ἱσκήμενος θυμιήματα δὲ παρ’ αὐτῇ παντοῖα καταγίζουσι ἀνὰ πάσαν ἡμέρην, νύκτα δὲ ἐκάστην πάννυχος λύχνοις παρακαίτεται. ἀγχοῦ δὲ τῆς βόος ταύτης ἐν ἄλλῳ οἰκήματι εἰκόνες τῶν παλλακέων τῶν Μυκερίνου ἑστάσις, ὡς ἐλεγον οἱ ἐν Σάι πόλι ἱρέες. ἔστάσι μὲν γὰρ ξύλιναι κολοσσοί, ἐούσαι ἀριθμὸν ὡς εἰκοσιάκας κη, γυμναὶ ἐργασιμέναι αὔτινες μέντοι εἴσι, οὐκ ἔχω εἰπεῖν πλὴν ἤ τά λεγόμενα.

131. Οὐ δὲ τινὲς λέγουσι περὶ τῆς βοὸς ταύτης καὶ τῶν κολοσσῶν τόνδε τῶν λόγων, ὡς Μυκερίνους ἡρασθή τῆς ἐσωτοῦ βυνατρός καὶ ἔπειτα ἐμίγη οἱ ἀεκούση. μετὰ δὲ λέγουσι ὡς ἡ παῖς ἀπῆγξατο υπὸ ἄχεος, ὡς δὲ μιν ἔθαψε ἐν τῇ βοὶ ταύτῃ, ἢ δὲ μήτηρ αὐτῆς τῶν ἀμφιτόλων τῶν προδουσέων την θυγατέρα τῷ πατρὶ ἀπέταμε τὰς χείρας, καὶ νῦν τὰς εἰκόνας αὐτέων εἶναι πεποιηθ Workbook τὰ περ αἱ ξωαὶ ἔπαθον. ταύτα δὲ λέγουσι φλυρέοντες, ὡς ἐγὼ δοκέω, τά τε ἄλλα καὶ δὴ καὶ τά περὶ τὰς χείρας τῶν κολοσσῶν ταύτας γὰρ δὲν καὶ ἡμεῖς ὠρῶμεν ὅτι ὑπὸ χρόνου τὰς χείρας ἀποβεβλήκασι, αἰ ἐν ποσὶ αὐτέων ἐφαίνοντο εὐθύς ἐτὶ καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ.

132. Ἡ δὲ βοῦς τὰ μὲν ἄλλα κατακέκρυπται

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over this misfortune, he desired to give her a burial something more excellent than ordinary; he made therefore a hollow cow's image of gilded wood and placed therein the body of his dead daughter.

130. This cow was not buried in the earth but was to be seen even in my time, in the town of Sais, where it lay in an adorned chamber of the palace; incense of all kinds is offered daily before it, and a lamp burns by it all through every night. There is another chamber near to this image, where stand the statues of Mycerinus' concubines, as the priests of Sais told me; and indeed there are about twenty colossal wooden figures there, made like naked women, but I have only the priests' word to show who they are.

131. Some have a story about the cow and the statues, how Mycerinus conceived a passion for his own daughter and did her foul wrong, and she strangled herself for grief: then he buried her, they say, in this image of a cow; the girl's mother cut off the hands of the attendants who had betrayed the daughter to her father, so that now (it is said) their statues are in the plight to which the living women were brought. But this I believe to be a foolish tale, especially as respects the hands of the figures. As we ourselves saw, it is time which has made the hands to drop away; they were to be seen even in my day lying on the ground before the statues.

132. As for the cow, it is covered with a purple
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φοινικέω εἴματι, τὸν αὐχένα δὲ καὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν φαίνει κεχρυσωμένα παγεί κάρτα χρυσῷ· μεταξὺ δὲ τῶν κερέων ὁ τοῦ ἥλιου κύκλος μεμιμημένος ἐπεστὶ χρύσεος. ἔστι δὲ ἡ βοῦς οὐκ ὀρθῇ ἀλλ' ἐν γούνασι κειμένη, μέγαθος δὲ ὅση περι μεγάλῃ βοῦς ζωῆ. ἐκφέρεται δὲ ἐκ τοῦ οἰκήματος ἀνὰ πάντα ἔτεα, ἐπεάν τύπτονται Αἰγύπτιοι τὸν οὐκ ὄνομαζόμενον θεόν ὑπ' ἐμεῦ ἐπὶ τοιοῦτῳ πρήγματι· τότε ὅν καὶ τὴν βοῦν ἐκφέροντες ἐτὸ φῶς· φασὶ γὰρ αὐτήν δηθήναι τὸν πατρὸς Μυκερίνου ἀποθνῄσκονταν ἐν τῷ ἐνιαυτῷ ἀπαξ μιν τὸν ἥλιον κατίδειν.

133. Μετὰ δὲ τῆς θυγατρὸς τὸ πάθος δεύτερα τοῦτο τῷ βασιλεί τάδε γεινέσθαι· ἐλθεῖν οἰ μαντήιοι ἐκ Βούτων πόλιος ός μέλλοι εξ ἔτεα μοῦνος βιοῦ τῷ ἐβδόμῳ τελευτήσειν. τὸν δὲ δεινὸν ποιησάμενον πέμψαι ἐς τὸ μαντήιον τῷ θεῷ ὁνείδισμα, ἀντιμεμφόμενον ὅτι ὁ μὲν αὐτοῦ πατὴρ καὶ πάτρως, ἀποκλησάντες τὰ ἱρὰ καὶ θεῶν οὐ μεμιμήμενοι ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους φθείροντες, ἐβίωσαν χρόνον ἐπὶ πολλόν, αὐτὸς δ' εὐσεβὴς ἐδοί μέλλοι ταχέως οὕτω τελευτήσειν. ἐκ δὲ τοῦ χρυστρηρίου αὐτῷ δεύτερα ἐλθεῖν λέγοντα τοῦτων εἶνεκα καὶ συνταχώνειν αὐτοῦ τὸν βίον οὐ γὰρ ποιῆσαι μιν τὸ χρεύον ἣν πολέειν· δεῖν γὰρ Αἰγύπτων κακοῦσθαι ἐπ' ἔτεα πεντήκοντα τε καὶ έκατόν, καὶ τοὺς μὲν δύο τοὺς πρὸ ἐκείνου γενομένους βασιλέας μαθεῖν τοῦτο, κείνου δὲ οὐ. ταῦτα ἀκούσαντα τὸν Μυκερίνον, ὡς κατακεκριμένων ἦδη οἱ τούτων, λύχνα ποιησάμενον πολλά, ὅκως γίνοιτο νῦξ, ἀνάψαντα

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robe, and shows only the head and neck, which are encrusted with a very thick layer of gold. Between its horns it bears the golden figure of the sun's orb. It does not stand, but kneels; its stature is that of a live cow of great size. This image is carried out of the chamber once in every year, whenever the Egyptians make lamentation for the god whom I name not in speaking of these matters; it is then that the cow is brought out into the light, for Mycerinus' daughter, they say, entreated him at her death that she might see the sun once a year.¹

133. After the grievous death of his daughter, it next happened to Mycerinus that an oracle was sent to him from the city of Buto, declaring that he had but six years to live and must die in the seventh. The king deemed this unjust, and sent back to the oracle a message of reproach, blaming the god: why must he die so soon who was pious, whereas his father and his uncle had lived long, who shut up the temples, and regarded not the gods, and destroyed men? But a second utterance from the place of divination declared to him that his good deeds were the very cause of shortening his life; for he had done what was contrary to fate; Egypt should have been afflicted for an hundred and fifty years, whereof the two kings before him had been aware, but not Mycerinus. Hearing this, he knew that his doom was fixed. Therefore he caused many lamps to be made, and would light these at nightfall and drink and make

¹ The cow-worship is no doubt the cult of Isis, honoured at Sais under the name Nit.
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αὐτὰ πίνειν τε καὶ εὐπαθεῖεν, οὐτε ἡμέρης οὔτε νυκτὸς ἄνιεντα, ἐς τε τὰ ἔλεα καὶ τὰ ἄλσεα πλανόμενον καὶ ἵνα πυθήνουτο εἶναι ἐνῆβητήρια ἐπιπτηδέοτα. ταῦτα δὲ ἐμηχανάτο θελών τὸ μαντήιον ψευδόμενον ἀποδέξας, ἵνα οἱ δυόδεκα ἔτεα ἀντὶ ἐξ ἐτῶν γένηται, αἱ νύκτες ἡμέραι ποιεῖμεναι.

134. Πυραμίδα δὲ οὕτως ἀπελεύπετο πολλῶν ἐλάσσω τοῦ πατρός, εἰκοσὶ ποδῶν καταδέουσαν κάλου ἐκαστὸν τριῶν πλέθρων, ἐούσης τετρα- γώνου, λίθου δὲ ἐς τὸ ἡμισὺν Αἰθιοπικοῦ· τὴν δὴ μετεξέτερω φασὶ Ἑλλήνων Ῥοδώπιος ἐταίρης γυναικὸς εἶναι, οὐκ ὅρθως λέγοντες. οὑδὲ ὁν οὐδὲ εἰδότες μοι φαίνονται λέγειν οὕτω ἤτις ἢ ἢ Ῥοδώπις· οὐ γὰρ ἂν οἱ πυραμίδα ἀνέθεσαν παυσάσθαι τοιαύτην, ἐς τὴν ταλάντων χιλιάδες ἀναρίθμητοι δὲς λόγῳ εἶπεῖν ἀναίσθηματι· πρὸς δὲ ὁτι κατὰ Ἄμαστιν βασιλεύσατα ἢν ἀκμάζουσα Ῥοδώπις, ἄλλ' οὐ κατὰ τούτον. ἐτεσι γὰρ κάρτα πολλοῖσιν ὑστερον τούτων τῶν βασιλέων τῶν τὰς πυραμίδας ταύτας ἢν λαπομένων Ῥοδώπις, γενεὴν μὲν ἀπὸ Ὄρθηκης, δούλη δὲ ἢν Ἰάδμονος τοῦ Ἡφαιστοπόλιος άνδρὸς Σαμίου, σύνδουλος δὲ Αἰσώπου τοῦ λογοποιοῦ. καὶ γὰρ οὕτος Ἰάδμονος ἐγένετο, ὡς διέδεξε τῆς δὲ ὅτι ἦκιστα· ἐπείτε γὰρ πολλάκις κηρυσσόντων Δελφῶν ἐκ θεοπροτιόν δὲ βούλουτο ποιήν τῆς Αἰσώπου ψυχῆς ἀνελέσθαι, ἄλλος μὲν οὐδεὶς ἐφάνη, Ἰάδμονος δὲ παιδὸς παῖς ἄλλος Ἰάδμων ἀνελέτη. οὕτω καὶ Αἰσωπός Ἰάδμονος ἐγένετο.

135. Ῥοδώπις δὲ ὡς Αἰγυπτίων ἀπίκετο Ξάνθεω τοῦ Σαμίου κομίσαντος, ἀπικομένη δὲ κατ' ἐργασίην 436
merry; by day or night he never ceased from reveling, roaming to the marsh country and the groves and wherever he heard of the likeliest places of pleasure. Thus he planned, that by turning night into day he might make his six years into twelve and so prove the oracle false.

134. This king too left a pyramid, but far smaller than his father’s; its sides form a square whereof each side is two hundred and eighty feet in length; as far as the half of its height it is of Ethiopian stone. Some Greeks say that it was built by Rhodopis, the courtesan, but they are in error; indeed it is clear to me that when they say this they do not know who Rhodopis was, else they would never have credited her with the building of a pyramid whereon what I may call an uncountable sum of talents must have been expended. And it is a further proof of their error that Rhodopis flourished in the reign of Amasis, not of Mycerinus, and thus very many years after these kings who built the pyramids. She was a Thracian by birth, slave to Iadmon, son of Hephaestopolis, a Samian, and fellow-slave of Aesopus the story-writer. For he also was owned by Iadmon; of which the chiefest proof is that when the Delphians, obeying an oracle, issued many proclamations inviting whosoever would to undertake atonement for the killing of Aesopus, none would undertake it but only another Iadmon, grandson of the first. Thus was Aesopus too shown to be the slave of Iadmon.

135. Rhodopis was brought to Egypt by Xanthes of Samos, and on her coming was freed for the
ελύθη χρημάτων μεγάλων ύπο αὐνδρὸς Μυτιληναίου Χαράξου τοῦ Σκαμανδρωνύμου παιδός, ἀδελφευ ἐκεῖ Σαπφώς τῆς μουσοποιοῦ. οὕτω δὴ ἡ Ῥοδώπης ἐλευθερώθη, καὶ κατέμεινε τε ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ καὶ κάρτα ἐπαφρόδιτος γενομένη μεγάλα ἔκτησατο χρήματα ὡς ἄν εἶναι Ῥοδώπη, ἀτὰρ οὐκ ὡς γε ἐς πυραμίδα τοιαύτην ἐξικέσθαι. τῆς γὰρ τὴν ἐκάτερα τῶν χρημάτων ἴδεσθαι ἐστὶ ἐτί καὶ ἐς τόδε παντὶ τῷ Βουλομένῳ, οὐδὲν δει μεγάλα οἱ χρήματα ἀναθεῖναι. ἐπεθύμησε γὰρ Ῥοδώπης μνημήνων ἑωτῆς ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι καταλιπτέσθαι, ποίημα ποιησαμένη τούτῳ τῷ μὴ τυχχάνοι άλλῳ ἐξευρημένου καὶ ἀνακείμενον ἐν ἰρφ., τούτῳ ἀναθεῖναι ἐς Δελφοὺς μνημόσυνον ἑωτῆς. τῆς ὧν ἐκάτερα τῶν χρημάτων ποιησαμένη ὃ βελοὺς βουτόρους πολλοὺς σιδηρέους, ὅσον ἐνεχόρρεε ἡ ἐκάτη οἱ, ἀπέπεμπε ἐς Δελφοὺς· οἱ καὶ νῦν ἐτι συνυνενέστατι ὅπισθεν μὲν τοῦ βωμοῦ τὸν Χίον ἀνέθεσαν, ἀντίον δὲ αὐτοῦ τοῦ νησοῦ. φιλέουσι δέ κως ἐν τῇ Ναυκράττι ἐπαφρόδιτοι γίνεσθαι αἱ ἐταίραι. τούτῳ μὲν γὰρ αὕτη, τῆς πέρι λέγεται ὅδε ὁ λόγος, οὕτω δὴ τι κλεινή ἐγένετο ὡς καὶ οἱ πάντες Ἑλληνες Ῥοδώπιος τὸ ὑμνομα ἐξέμαθον· τούτῳ δὲ ὑστερον ταύτης, τῇ ὑμνομα ἡν Ἀρχιδίκη, ἀοίδιμος ἀνὰ τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἐγένετο, ἦσυν δὲ τῆς ἐτέρης περιλεσχῆνωντας. Χάραξος δὲ ὡς λυσάμενος Ῥοδώπων ἀπενόστησε ἐς Μυτιλήνην, ἐν μελεί Σαπφώ πολλά κατεκερτόμησε μιν.

136. Ῥοδώπιος μὲν νῦν πέρι πέπαυμα· μετὰ δὲ Μυκερίνον γενόθεα Αἰγύπτου βασιλέα ἔλεγον οἱ ἱερεῖς Ἀσυχίν, τὸν τὰ πρὸς ἢλιον ἀνύσχοντα ποιήσαι τῷ Ἡφαίστῳ προπύλαια, ἐὼντα πολλῷ.
practice of her calling by Charaxus of Mytilene, son of Scamandronymus and brother of Sappho the poetess. Thus Rhodopis was set free and abode in Egypt, where, her charms becoming well known, she grew wealthy enough for a lady of her profession, but not for the building of such a pyramid. Seeing that to this day anyone who wishes may know what was the tenth part of her possessions, she cannot be credited with great wealth. For Rhodopis desired to leave a memorial of herself in Greece, by having something made which no one else had contrived and dedicated in a temple and presenting this at Delphi to preserve her memory; so she spent the tenth part of her substance on the making of a great number of iron ox-spits, as many as the tithe would pay for, and sent them to Delphi; these lie in a heap to this day, behind the altar set up by the Chians and in front of the shrine itself. It seems that the courtesans of Naucratis ever have the art of pleasing, for the woman of whom this story is told became so famous that all Greeks knew the name of Rhodopis, and in later days one Archidice was the theme of song throughout Greece, albeit less spoken of than the other. Charaxus, after giving Rhodopis her freedom, returned to Mytilene. He is bitterly attacked by Sappho in one of her poems.

136. Enough has been said of Rhodopis. After Mycerinus, said the priests, Asuchis became king of Egypt. He built the eastern outer court of Hephaestus' temple; this is by much the fairest and
τε κάλλιστα καὶ πολλῷ μέγιστα· ἔχει μὲν γὰρ
cαὶ τὰ πάντα προπύλαια τύπους τε ἐγγεγλυμ-
μένους καὶ ἄλλην ὄψιν οἰκοδομημάτων μυρίην,
ἐκεῖνα δὲ καὶ μακρὸ μάλιστα. ἔτι τούτου βασι-
λεύοντος ἐλεγον, ἀμιξής ἐσώσης πολλῆς χρημάτων,
γενέσθαι νόμον Αἰγυπτίους, ἀποδεικνύντα ἐνέχυρον
τοῦ πατρὸς τὸν νέκυν οὐτῳ λαμβάνειν τὸ χρέος·
προστεθήναι δὲ ἔτι τούτῳ τὸ νόμῳ τόυτῳ, τὸν
dιδόντα τὸ χρέος καὶ ἀπάσης κρατεῖν τῆς τοῦ
λαμβάνοντος θήκης, τῷ δὲ ὑποτιθέντι τοῦτο τὸ
ἐνέχυρον τήνδε ἐπείναι ξημήν μὴ βουλομένῳ
ἀποδοθήναι τὸ χρέος, μήτε αὐτῷ ἐκείνῳ τελευτήσαι
εἶναι ταφῆς κυρῆσαι μήτ' ἐν ἐκείνῳ τῷ πατρῴῳ
tάφῳ μήτ' ἐν ἄλλῳ μηδενί, μήτε ἄλλων μηδένα
tῶν ἑωτοῦ ἀπογενόμενον θάψαί. ὑπερβαλέσθαι
de βουλόμενον τούτου τὸν βασιλέα τοὺς πρότερον
ἐωτοῦ βασιλέας γενομένους Αἰγυπτοῦ μνημόσυνον
πυραμίδα λυπέσθαι ἐκ πλύσθων ποιήσαντα, ἐν τῇ
γράμματα ἐν λίθῳ ἐγκεκολαμμένα τάδε λέγοντα
ἔστι. "Μὴ με κατονοσθῆς πρὸς τὰς λιθίνας
πυραμίδας· προέχω γὰρ αὐτῶν τοσοῦτον ὅσον
ὁ Ζεὺς τῶν ἄλλων θεῶν. κοινῷ γὰρ ὑποτύπτοντες
ἐς λίμνην, ὁ τι πρόσχοιτο τοῦ πῆλου τῷ κοινῷ,
tοῦτο συλλέγοντες πλύσθους εἰρύσαν καὶ με τρόπῳ
τοιοῦτῳ ἐξεποίησαν."
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 commemo-rate 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. 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’ ἔτεα πεντήκοντα, ἐν τοῖς αὐτῶν τάδε ἀπο- 
δεξασθαί· ὅκως τῶν τις Αἰγυπτίων ἀμάρτιοι τι, 
κτείνειν μὲν αὐτῶν οὐδένα ἐθέλειν, τὸν δὲ κατὰ 
μέγαθὸς τοῦ ἀδικήματος ἐκάστῳ δικάζειν ἐπιτάσ-
σοντα χώματα χοῦν πρὸς τῇ ἑωτῶν πόλιν, ὅθεν 
ἐκαστὸς ᾗ τῶν ἀδικευόντων. καὶ οὕτω ἔτι αἱ 
πόλεις ἐγένοντο ὑψηλότεραι· τὸ μὲν γὰρ πρῶτον 
ἐχώσθησαν ὅπο τῶν τὰς διώρυχας ὄρυξαντων ἐπὶ 
Σεσώστριος Βασιλέος, δεύτερα δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἀἰθίοπος 
καὶ κάρτα ὑψηλαὶ ἐγένοντο. ὑψηλῶν δὲ καὶ 
ἐτερῶν γενομενῶν ἐν τῇ Αἰγύπτῳ πολίων, ὡς 
ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ, μάλιστα ἢ ἐν Βούβαστι πόλι ἐξεχώρηθη, 
ἐν τῇ καὶ ἱρὸν ἐστὶ Βούβαστιος ἀξιαπηγγεῖτατον 
μέξω μὲν γὰρ ἄλλα καὶ πολυδαπανώτερα ἐστὶ 
ἱρά, ἢδονῃ δὲ ἰδέσθαι οὐδὲν τούτου μάλλον. ἢ δὲ 
Βούβαστιος κατὰ Ἔλλαδα γλώσσαν ἐστὶ ἀρτεμις. 
138. Τὸ δ’ ἱρὸν αὐτῆς ὅδε ἔχει. πλὴν τῆς 
ἐσόδου τὸ ἄλλο νῆσος ἐστὶ· ἐκ γὰρ τοῦ Νείλου 
διώρυχες ἐσέχουσι ὑπο συμμίσγουσαι ἀλλήληςι, 
ἀλλ’ ἄχρι τῆς ἐσόδου τοῦ ἱροῦ ἐκατέρχη ἐσέχει, 
ἡ μὲν τῇ περιρρέουσα ἢ δὲ τῇ, εὔρος ἐοῦσα 
ἐκατέρχῃ ἐκατὸν ποδῶν, δένδρεσι κατασκίος. τὰ 
δὲ προπύλαια υψὸς μὲν δέκα ὀργυεῖον ἐςτὶ, 
tύποισι δὲ ἐξαπήχεσι ἐσκευάδαται ἀξίοις λόγον. 
ἐν δ’ ἐν μέσῃ τῇ πόλι τὸ ἱρὸν κατορᾶται πάντο-
θεν περιώντι· ἀτε γὰρ τῆς πόλεως μὲν ἐκκεχω-
σμένης υψοῦ, τοῦ δ’ ἱροῦ οὐ κεκινημένον ὡς 
ἀρχθηθεν ἐποιήθη, ἐσοπτον ἐςτὶ. περιθέει δὲ 
αὐτὸ αἴμασθε ἐγκεγελυμένη τύποισι, ἐςτὶ δὲ 
ἐσώθεν ἄλλος δενδρῶν μεγίστων πεφυτευμένον 
περὶ υἱον μέγαν, ἐν τῷ δ’ ὁ ὥγολον μέγαν, ἐν τῷ δὲ 
τῶν ὄραλμα ἐμεν εὔρος 
δὲ καὶ μῆκος τοῦ ἱροῦ πάντη στάδιον 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, running in contrary directions as far as the entry of the temple; each of them is an hundred feet wide, and overshadowed by trees. The outer court has a height of ten fathoms, and is adorned with notable figures six cubits high. The temple is in the midst of the city, the whole circuit of which commands a view down into it; for the city’s level has been raised, but that of the temple has been left as it was from the first, so that it can be seen into from without. A stone wall, carven with figures, runs round it; within is a grove of very tall trees growing round a great shrine, wherein is the image of the goddess; the temple is a square, each side measuring a furlong.
μὲν δὴ τὴν ἐσοδον ἐστρωμένη ἐστὶ ὁδὸς λίθου ἐπὶ σταδίους τρεῖς μάλιστα κη, διὰ τῆς ἀγορῆς φέρουσα ἐς τὸ πρὸς ἥδω, εὐρὸς δὲ ὡς τεσσάρων πλέθρων. τῇ δὲ καὶ τῇ τῆς ὁδοῦ δεύδρα οὐρανομῆκε πέφυκε φέρει δὲ ἐς Ἐρμεῶν ἱρόν. τὸ μὲν δὴ ἱρὸν τούτῳ οὐτω ἔχει.

139. Τέλος δὲ τῆς ἀπαλλαγῆς τοῦ Αἰθίοπος ὥδε ἐλεγον γενέσθαι: ὁψιν ἐν τῷ ὑπνῷ τοιήυδε ἴδοντα αὐτὸν οἴχεσθαι φεύγοντα· ἑδόκεε οἱ ἄνδρα ἐπιστάντα κυμβολεύειν τοὺς ἱρέας τοὺς ἐν Ἀἰγύπτῳ συνέλεξαντα πάντας μέσους διαταμείν. ἴδοντα δὲ τὴν ὁψιν ταύτην λέγειν αὐτὸν ὡς πρόφασιν οἱ δοκέοι ταύτην τοὺς θεοὺς προδεικνύναι, ἵνα ἀσεβήςας περὶ τὰ ἱρὰ κακὸν τι πρὸς θεῶν ἢ πρὸς ἀνθρώπων λάβοι· οὕκων ποιήσειν ταῦτα, ἀλλὰ γὰρ οἱ ἐξελήλυθέναι τὸν χρόνον, ὠκόσον κεχρήσθαι ἀρξαντα Αἰγύπτου ἐκχωρήσειν. ἐν γὰρ τῇ Αἰθιοπίῃ ἐσωτα αὐτῷ τὰ μαντήματι, τοὺς χρέωνται Αἰθιόπες, ἀνείλε ὡς δέοι αὐτὸν Ἀἰγύπτου βασιλεύσαι ἐτεα πεντήκοντα. ὡς δὲν ὁ χρόνος οὕτως ἐξῆκε καὶ αὐτὸν ἦ ὁψις τοῦ ἐνυπνίου ἐπετάρασε, ἐκὼν ἀπαλλάσσετο ἐκ τῆς Αἰγύπτου ὁ Σαβακῶς.

140. Ὄς δ' ἀρα οἴχεσθαι τοῦ Αἰθίοπα ἐξ Αἰγύπτου, αὕτης τὸν τυφλὸν ἄρχειν ἐκ τῶν ἐλέων ἀπικόμενον, ἐνθα πεντήκοντα ἐτεα νήσου χώςας σποδῷ τε καὶ γῆ οἶκε. ὅκως γὰρ οἱ φοιτῶν σῖτον ἄγοντας Αἰγυπτίων, ὡς ἐκάστοις προστετάχθαι, συγῆ τοῦ Αἰθίοπος, ἐς τὴν δωρεὴν κελεύειν σφέας καὶ σποδῶν κομίζειν. ταύτην τὴν νῆσου οὐδεὶς πρότερον ἐδυνάσθη Ἀμυρταίου ἐξευρεῖν, ἀλλὰ ἐτεα ἐπὶ πλέω ἦ ἐπτακόσια οὐκ οἷοι τε Ἡσαυν
A paved road of about three furlongs' length leads to the entrance, running eastward through the market place, towards the temple of Hermes; this road is about four hundred feet wide, and bordered by trees reaching to heaven. Such is this temple.

139. Now the departure of the Ethiopian (they said) was accomplished on this wise. He fled away from the country, having seen in a dream one who stood over him and counselled him to gather together all the priests in Egypt and cut them in sunder. Having seen this vision, he said that he supposed it to be a manifestation sent to him by the gods, that he might commit sacrilege and so be punished by gods or men; he would not (he said) act so, but otherwise, for the time foretold for his rule over Egypt, after which he was to depart, was now fulfilled: for when he was still in Ethiopia the oracles which are inquired of by the people of that country declared to him that he was fated to reign fifty years over Egypt. Seeing that this time was now completed and that he was troubled by what he saw in his dream, Sabacos departed from Egypt of his own accord.

140. The Ethiopian having left Egypt, the blind man (it is said) was king once more, returning from the marshes, where he had dwelt fifty years on an island which he built of ashes and earth; for the Egyptians, who were severally charged to bring him food without the Ethiopian's knowledge, were bidden by the king to bring ashes whenever they came, to add to their gift. This island was never discovered before the time of Amyrtaeus; all the kings before him sought it in vain.
αὐτὴν ἀνευρεῖν οἱ πρῶτοι γενόμενοι βασιλεῖς Ἀμυρταίου. οὖνομα δὲ ταύτη τῇ νήσῳ Ἕλβῳ, μέγαθος δὲ ἐστὶ πάντη δέκα σταδίων.

141. Μετὰ δὲ τοῦτον βασιλεύσαι τὸν ἱρέα τοῦ Ἡφαιστοῦ, τῷ οὖνομα εἶναι Σεθῶν· τὸν ἐν ἀλογίσει ἐχειν παραχρησάμενον τῶν μαχιμῶν Αἰγυπτίων ὡς οὔδεν δεησόμενον αὐτῶν, ἀλλὰ τῇ ἀτιμα ποιεύντα ἐς αὐτούς, καὶ σφες ἀπελέσθαι τὰς ἀρούρας· τοῖς ἐπὶ τῶν προτέρων βασιλέων δεδόσθεν ἐξαιρέτους ἐκάστῳ δυσδεκα ἀρούρας. μετὰ δὲ ἐπ' Αἰγυπτον ἐλαύνειν στρατὸν μέγαν Σαναχάριβον βασιλέα Ἀραβίων τε καὶ Ἀσσυρίων· οὐκών δὴ ἐθέλειν τοὺς μαχιμῶς τῶν Αἰγυπτίων βοηθεῖν. τὸν δ' ἱρέα εἰς ἀπορίην ἀπειλημένου ἐσελθόντα ἐς τὸ μέγαρον πρὸς τῷ γαλμα ἀποδύρεσθαι οἷα κινδυνεύει παθεῖν. ὁλόφυρόμενον δ' ἁρα μὴν ἐπελθεῖν ὑπον, καὶ οἱ δόξαι ἐν τῇ ὤψι ἐπιστάντα τὸν θεὸν βαρσύνειν ὡς οὐδὲν πείσεται ἄχαρι ἀντιάζον τὸν Ἀραβίων στρατὸν· αὐτὸς γὰρ οἱ πέμψεις τιμωροῦσ. τούτοις δὴ μὴν πίσυνου τοῦτι ἐνυπνίοις, παραλαβόντα Αἰγυπτίων τοὺς Βουλομένους οἱ ἐπεσθαί, στρατοπεδεύσασθαι ἐν Πηλοσίω· ταύτη γὰρ εἰσὶ οἱ ἐσβολαί· ἐπεσθαί δὲ οἱ τῶν μαχιμῶν μὲν οὐδένα ἄνδρῶν, κατηλούσ δὲ καὶ χειρώνακτας καὶ ἀγοραίους ἄνθρωποις. ἐνθάντα ἀπικομένους 1 τοῖς ἐναντίοις αὐτοἵσι ἐπιχυθέντας νυκτὸς μὺς ἀρουραῖος κατὰ μὲν φαγεῖν τοὺς φαρετρέωνς αὐτῶν κατὰ δὲ τὰ τόξα, πρὸς δὲ τῶν ἀσπίδων τὰ ὀχανα, ὡστε τῇ ύστεραίῃ

1 Stein reads ἀπικομένους, and supposes a lacuna after ἐναντίοις; ἀπικομένους 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 Sanacharib¹ 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 fieldmice² 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, Il. 1. It has long been known that rats are carriers of the plague.
Φευγόντων σφέων γυμνῶν πεσείν πολλούς. καὶ νῦν ὁ γὰρ Ἡρόδων ἢστηκε ἐν τῷ ἱρῷ τοῦ Ἡφαι-στοῦ λίθινος, ἐχων ἐπὶ τῆς χειρὸς μῦν, λέγων διὰ γραμμάτων τάδε: “Ἐσ ἐμε το ὀρέων ἐυσεβής ἔστω.”

142. Ἐσ μὲν τοσόνδε τοῦ λόγου Αἰγυπτιοὶ τε καὶ οἱ ἱρέες ἔλεγον, ἀποδεικνύστε ἀπὸ τοῦ πρώτου βασιλέως ἢσ τοῦ Ἡραίστου τὸν ἱρέα τοῦτον τῶν τελευταίων βασιλεύσαντα μίαν τε καὶ τεσσεράκοντα καὶ τριηκοσίας γενεὰς άνθρώπων γενομένας, καὶ ἐν ταύτῃ ἄρχιερέας καὶ βασιλέας ἐκατέρους τοσούτους γενομένους. καὶ τοι τριηκοσίαι μὲν ἀνδρῶν γενεά δυνέαται μύρια ἔτεα· γενεά γὰρ τρεῖς ἀνδρῶν ἐκατόν ἔτεα ἔστιν μής δὲ καὶ τεσσεράκοντα ἐπὶ τῶν ἐπιλοίπων γενεῶν, αἱ ἐπήνας τῆς τριηκοσίης, ἐστὶ τεσσεράκοντα καὶ τριηκοσία καὶ χίλια ἔτεα. οὕτω ἐν μυρίοις τε ἔτεσι καὶ χιλίοις καὶ τριηκοσίοις τε καὶ τεσσεράκοντα ἔλεγον θεῶν ἀνθρωποειδέα οὐδένα γενέσθαι· οὐ μέντοι οὐδεὶ πρῶτον οὐδὲ ὑστερον ἐν τοίς ὑπολοίποις Αἰγυπτίου βασιλεύσι γενομένοις ἔλεγον οὐδέν τοιόντο. ἐν τοῖς τούτω τῷ χρόνῳ τετράκις ἔλεγον ἐξ ἡθέων τὸν ἢλιον ἀνατελλαί· ἔνθα τε νῦν καταδύεται, ἐνθευτείν δὲ ἐπαντεύει, καὶ ἐνθευτείν νῦν ἀνατέλλει, ἐνθαῦτα δὲς καταδύεται. καὶ οὐδέν τῶν κατ’ Ἁγιοπτοῦ ὑπὸ ταύτα ἐτερωθήσειν, οὔτε τὰ ἐκ τῆς γῆς οὔτε τὰ ἐκ τοῦ ποταμοῦ σφι γυνόμενα, οὔτε τὰ ἀμφί νοούσους οὔτε τὰ κατὰ τοὺς θανάτους.

143. Πρῶτον δὲ Ἐκαταύῳ τῷ λόγοποι ἐν Θηβησὶ γενελογήσαντί τε ἔσωτον καὶ ἀναδησαντὶ τὴν πατρίην ἐσ ἐκκαίδεκατον θεῶν ἐποίησαν.
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 \(^1\) the historian was once at Thebes, where he made for himself a genealogy which connected him by lineage with a god in the sixteenth

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\(^1\) Hecataeus died soon after the Persian war.
οἱ ἱρεῖς τοῦ Δεσοῦ οἴον τι καὶ ἐμοὶ ὅγευν ὑγιή- 
σαντι ἐμεωτύν· ἐσαγαγόντες ἐς τὸ μέγαρον ἐς ἐν 
τὸ μέγα ἐξηράθμευν δεικνύντες κολοσσόσιν ἵππον 
τοσοῦτοι ὅσους περ εἰποῦν ἁρχίερεὺς γὰρ ἕκα- 
στος αὐτῷ ἵστα ἐπὶ τῆ τοῦ ἑωτύν ζῆς εἰκόνα 
ἐωτύν· ἀρίθμεοντες δὲ καὶ δεικνύντες οἱ ὅρειες 
ἐμοὶ ἀπεδείκνυσαν παῖδα πατρὸς ἑωτύν ἔκαστον 
ἔντα, ἐκ τοῦ ἁγιεστα ἀποθανόντων τῆς εἰκόνος 
διέξιντες διὰ πασέων, ἐως ὅτι ἀπέδεξαν ἀπάσας 
αὐτὰς. Ἐκαταίω ὃς ὅγευν ὑγιήσαστι ἐωτύν καὶ 
ἀναδήσασι ταῖς ἐκκαιδέκατον θεοῦ ἀντεγενεθὼ- 
γησαν ἐπὶ τῇ ἀριθμησί, ὅτι δεκόμενοι παρ’ αὐτόν 
ἀπὸ θεοῦ ἑγείσθαι ἀνθρωπον· ἀντεγενεθὼγησαν 
δὲ ὅδε, φάμενοι ἔκαστον τῶν κολοσσῶν πίρωμι 
ἐκ πιρώμιος γεγονέναι, ἐς δ’ τοὺς πέντε καὶ τεσ- 
σεράκοντα καὶ τριήκοσίους ἀπεδέξαν κολοσσῶν 
[πίρωμιν ἐπονομαζόμενον], καὶ οὕτω ἐς θεοῦ οὕτη 
ἐς ἡρωά ἀνέδησαν αὐτούς. πίρωμις δὲ ἐστὶ κατὰ 
Ἑλλάδα γλώσσαν καλὸς καγαθός.

144. Ἡθὴ δὲν τῶν αἰ εἰκόνες ἦσαν, τοιούτων 
ἀπεδείκνυσαν σφέας πάντας ἑόντας, θεῶν 
δὲ πολλῶν ἀπαλλαγμένους. τὸ δὲ πρότερον τῶν 
ἀνδρῶν τούτων θεῶν εἶναι τοὺς ἐν Αὐγύπτῳ 
ἀρχοντας, οὐκ ἑόντας ἀμα τοῦ ἀνθρωποῖ, καὶ 
τούτων αἶε ἐν τὸν κρατέων εἶναι· ὁστατον δὲ 
αὐτῆς βασιλεύσαι ὤρων τοῦ Ὀσίριος παῖδα, τῶν 
Ἀπόλλωνα Ἐλληνες ὅνομαζόμενοι· τοῦτον κατα- 
pαύσαντα Τυφώνα βασιλεύσαι ὁστατον Αὐγύπτου. 
"Ὀσίρις δὲ ἐστὶ Διόνυσος κατὰ Ἑλλάδα γλώσσαν.

1 Whether we read ἐπονομαζόμενον (with Stein) or πίρωμι 
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 lifetime a statue of himself; counting and pointing to these, the priests showed me that each inherited from his father; they went through the whole tale of figures, back to the earliest from that of him who had lateliest died. Thus when Hecataeus had traced his descent and claimed that his sixteenth forefather was a god, the priests too traced a line of descent according to the method of their counting; for they would not be persuaded by him that a man could be descended from a god; they traced descent through the whole line of three hundred and forty-five figures, not connecting it with any ancestral god or hero, but declaring each figure to be a "Piromis" the son of a "Piromis," that is, in the Greek language, one who is in all respects a good man.

Thus they showed that all whose statues stood there had been good men, but wholly unlike gods. Before these men, they said, the rulers of Egypt were gods, but none had been contemporary with the human priests. Of these gods one or other had in succession been supreme; the last of them to rule the country was Osiris' son Horus, called by the Greeks Apollo; he deposed Typhon,¹ and was the last divine king of Egypt. Osiris is, in the Greek language, Dionysus.

¹ Typhon is the Egyptian Set, the god of destruction.
145. Ἐν Ἕλλησι μὲν νυν νεώτατοι τῶν θεῶν νομίζονται εἶναι Ἡρακλέης τε καὶ Διόνυσος καὶ Πάν, παρ' Αἰγυπτίοισι δὲ Πᾶν μὲν ἀρχαῖοτατος καὶ τῶν ὁκτὼ τῶν πρῶτων λεγομένων θεῶν, Ἡρακλέης δὲ τῶν δευτέρων τῶν δυώδεκα λεγομένων εἶναι, Διόνυσος δὲ τῶν τρίτων, οἳ ἐκ τῶν δυώδεκα θεῶν ἐγένοντο. Ἡρακλέη μὲν δὴ ὅσα αὐτοὶ Αἰγύπτιοι φασὶ εἶναι ἔτεα ἐς Ἀμασίν βασιλέα, δεδήλωται μοι πρόσθε: Παῦλ δὲ ἐτὶ τοῦτων πλέονα λέγεται εἶναι, Διονύσῳ δ' ἐλάχιστα τοῦτων, καὶ τούτῳ πεντακισχίλια καὶ μύρια λογίζονται εἶναι ἐς Ἀμασίν βασιλέα. καὶ ταῦτα Αἰγύπτιοι ἀπερκέως φασὶ ἐπίστασθαι, αἰεὶ τε λογιζόμενοι καὶ αἰεὶ ἀπογράφομεν τὰ ἔτεα. Διονύσῳ μὲν νυν τῷ ἕκ Σεμέλης τῆς Κάδμου λεγομένωφ γενέσθαι κατὰ ἑξακόσια ἔτεα καὶ χίλια μᾶλστα ἔστι ἐς ἐμὲ, Ἡρακλέῃ δὲ τῷ Ἀλκμήνης κατὰ εἰνακόσια ἔτεα: Παῦλ δὲ τῷ ἕκ Πηνελόπης (ἐκ ταύτης γὰρ καὶ Ἑρμήν λέγεται γενέσθαι ὑπὸ Ἕλληνων ὁ Πάν) ἐλάσσω ἔτεα ἕστι τῶν Τρωικῶν, κατὰ ὀκτακόσια μᾶλστα ἐς ἐμὲ.

146. Τούτων ὁν ἀμφοτέρων πάρεστι χρῆσθαι τοῖς τις πείσεται λεγομένουσι μᾶλλον. εἰ δὲ ὁν ἡ περὶ αὐτῶν γνώμη ἀποδέδεκται. εἰ μὲν γὰρ φανερῷ τε ἐγένοντο καὶ κατεγράφαν καὶ οὕτω ἐν τῇ Ἕλλαδί, κατὰ περὶ Ἡρακλέης ὁ ἐξ Ἀμφιτρύώνος γενόμενος, καὶ δὴ καὶ Διόνυσος ὁ ἐκ Σεμέλης καὶ Παῦλ ὁ ἐκ Πηνελόπης γενόμενος, ἔφη ἄν τις καὶ τούτους ἄλλους ἀνδρας γενομένους ἔχειν τὰ ἐκεῖνων οὐνόματα τῶν προγεγονότων θεῶν. νῦν δὲ Διόνυσον τε λέγουσι οἱ Ἕλληνες ὡς αὐτίκα γενόμενον εἰς τὸν μηρὸν ἐνερράψατο Ζεὺς καὶ

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145. Among the Greeks, Heracles, Dionysus, and Pan are held to be the youngest of the gods. But in Egypt Pan ¹ is the most ancient of these and is one of the eight gods who are said to be the first of all, Heracles belongs to the second dynasty (that of the so-called twelve gods), and Dionysus to the third, which came after the twelve. How many years there were between Heracles and the reign of Amasis, I have already shown; Pan is said to be earlier still; the years between Dionysus and Amasis are the fewest, and they are reckoned by the Egyptians at fifteen thousand. Of all this the Egyptians claim to have certain knowledge, seeing that they have reckoned the years and chronicled them in writing. Now the Dionysus who was called the son of Semele, daughter of Cadmus, was about sixteen hundred years before my time, and Heracles son of Alcmene about nine hundred years; and Pan the son of Penelope (for according to the Greeks Penelope and Hermes were the parents of Pan) was about eight hundred years before me, and thus of a later date than the Trojan war.

146. With regard to these two, Pan and Dionysus, a man may follow whatsoever story he deems most credible; but I here declare my own opinion concerning them:—Had Dionysus son of Semele and Pan son of Penelope been visible in Hellas and lived there to old age, like Heracles the son of Amphitrion, 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.
Ηνεικε ἐσ Νῦσαν τὴν ὕπερ Αἰγύπτου ἑοῦσαν ἐν τῇ Αἰθιοπίᾳ, καὶ Πανός γε πέρι οὐκ ἤχουσι εἰπεῖν ὅκη ἐτράπτεστο γενόμενος. δῆλα μοι ὅν γέγονε ὃτι ὑστερον ἐπύθοντο οἱ Ἑλληνες τούτων τὰ οὐνόματα ἢ τὰ τῶν ἄλλων θεῶν, ἀπ' οὗ δὲ ἐπύθοντο χρόνου, ἀπὸ τούτου γενελογεύσουσι αὐτῶν τὴν γένεσιν.

147. Ταύτα μὲν νυν αὐτοὶ Αἰγύπτιοι λέγουσι· ὅσα δὲ οἵ τε ἄλλοι ἀνθρώποι καὶ Αἰγύπτιοι λέγουσι ὁμολογεύοντες τοίς ἄλλοις κατὰ ταύτην τὴν χώρην γενέσθαι, ταύτ' ἢδη φράσω· προσέσται δὲ τι αὐτοῖς καὶ τῆς ἐμῆς ὅψιος.

Ἐλευθερωθέντες Αἰγύπτιοι μετὰ τὸν ἱρέα τοῦ Ἡφαίστου βασιλεύσαντα, οὐδένα γὰρ χρόνον οὗτ' τε ἤσαν ἄνευ βασιλέως διαίτασθαι, ἐστήσαντο δυώδεκα βασιλέας, δυώδεκα μοίρας δασάμενοι Αἰγύπτου πᾶσαν. οὕτω έπηγαμίας ποιησάμενοι ἐβασίλευσαν νόμοις τοίς ἱδρεύμενοι, μήτε καταβρέειν ἄλληλους μήτε πλέον τι δίζησθαι ἔχειν τὸν ἄτερον τοῦ ἕτερον, εἰναί τε φίλους τὰ μάλιστα. τῶν δὲ εἶνεκα τοὺς νόμους τούτους ἐποίεοντο, ἰσχυρῶς περιστέλλοντες· ἐκέχρηστο σφι κατ' ἄρχας αὐτικὰ ἐνισταμένοισι ἐς τὰς τυραννίδας τὸν χαλκόν ἐματζαίναντα αὐτῶν ἐν τῷ ἱρῷ τοῦ Ἡφαίστου, τούτων ἀπάσης βασιλεύσεως Αἰγύπτου· ἐς γὰρ δὴ τὰ πάντα ἱρὰ συνελέγοντο.

148. Καὶ δὴ σφι μνημόσυνα ἔδοξε λιπεῖσθαι κοινῇ, δόξαν δὲ σφι ἐποίησαντο λαβύρινθον, ὡλιγον ὑπὲρ τῆς λίμνης τῆς Μοίριος κατὰ Κροκοδέλων καλευμένην πόλιν μάλιστα κη κείμενον· τὸν ἕγω ἢδη εἴδον λόγου μέξω. εἰ γάρ τις τὰ ἐξ Ἑλληνῶν τείχεα τε καὶ ἔργων ἀπόδεξεν συλλογίσαντο,
him away to Nysa in Ethiopia beyond Egypt; and as for Pan, the Greeks know not what became of him after his birth. It is therefore plain to me that the Greeks learnt the names of these two gods later than the names of all the others, and trace the birth of both to the time when they gained the knowledge.

147. Thus far I have recorded what the Egyptians themselves say. I will now relate what is recorded alike by Egyptians and foreigners, and I will add thereto something of what I myself have seen.

After the reign of the priest of Hephaestus the Egyptians were made free. But they could never live without a king, so they divided Egypt into twelve portions and set up twelve kings. These kings intermarried, and agreed to be close friends, none deposing another nor seeking to possess more than he. The reason of this agreement, which they zealously guarded, was this: at their very first establishment in their several lordships an oracle was given them that that one of them who poured a libation from a bronze vessel in the temple of Hephaestus (where, as in all the temples, it was their wont to assemble) should be king of all Egypt.

148. Moreover they resolved to preserve the memory of their names by some joint enterprise; and having so resolved they made a labyrinth, 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

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1 This "labyrinth" was a horseshoe-shaped group of buildings, supposed to have been near the pyramid of Hawâra (Sayce).
2 I take ἤδη as = ἤδη, with λέγου μείζων.
Heraclides pontios te de kai dapaînos faneiê ëonata toû laðurînïou tóuton. Kai toû âzîolohos ge kai ò en 'Eféßw êstî nêos kai ò en Sàmûr. Ìsasen mên vûn kai ai pûramîdes lógonu mêzoves, kai pûllôn ekásti aûtêwv 'Ellhnikôn ërign kai megalôn antaξiê, ð de ðì laðurînïos kai tâs pûramîdas ùperebâllexî toû [gár]¹ dusoðeka mên eisî aûlai kapatstegou, antîpulyoil alllîlhsi, ñz mên prôs borênê ñz ðì prôs vôtou tetrámênai, syneçhês toîchos de ëxwthen ð aûtûs sfeas periergei. oikîmata ðì 'ënëstî diptlà, tâ mên úpôgnîa ta de metêwra éò ëkeînousi, trigosîlia ârûmôw, penvakosîw kai chîlîw ekátera. Ta mên vûn metêwra twn oikîmâtwn aûtoi te ërômewn dieziôntes kai aûtoi thegásâmenvo lêgomev, tâ ðì aûtôn úpôgnîa lôgousi ëptunvthanómêba' òi gár ëphestoûtes twn Aîgûppítôn deiknuîn aûta ouðâmôs õthelîn, fâmenvo ðîkas aûtîthei eînai twv te ãrhoûv twn laðurînïôn tóutôv oikîdomhsamênwv bapsleow kai twn ërôn krokodëîlwv. Õutw twn mên kàtw pérî oikîmâtôn akôî paralaðwntes lêgomev, tâ ðì ânôw meçôna anðhrôphtîv ërignw aûtoi ërômewn. aî tê gár diêzodî diâ twn stegevwn kai oî elignwv diâ twn aûllwv ëîntes poikilwtaîto ðôma muðîn parêîchontos ñz aûlîhs te ñz tê oikîmata dieziûsî kai ñk twn oikîmâtwn ñs pàstсадas, ñs stegeas te ãllas ëk twn pàstadwv kai ñs aûllas ãllas ëk twn oikîmâtwn. Òrhoîh de pàntow touvn lîthîh kaîta per oî toî- òhî, oî de toîchô touv toûwn ënggegûmmênwv plêoi,
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
αὐλή δὲ ἐκάστη περίστυλος λίθου λευκοῦ ἄρμοσμένου τὰ μάλιστα. τῆς δὲ γωνίας τελευτῶντος τοῦ λαβυρίνθου ἐχεται πυραμίς τεσσερακοντόγυνος, ἐν τῇ ξώδα μεγάλα ἐγγέγυλυνται. ὁδὸς δὲ ἐσ αὐτῆς ὑπὸ γῆν πεποίηται.

149. Τοῦ δὲ λαβυρίνθου τούτου ἐόντος τοιούτου θόμα ἐτί μέζου παρέχεται ἡ Μοίριος καλεομένη λίμνη, παρ' ἦν ὁ λαβυρίνθος οὕτος οἰκοδόμηται. τῆς τὸ περίμετρον τῆς περιόδου εἰσὶ στάδιον ἐξακόσιοι καὶ τρισχίλιοι, σχοινών ἐξέχωντα ἐόντων, ἵσοι καὶ αὐτῆς Ἀγύπτου τὸ παρὰ θάλασσαν. κεῖται δὲ μακρὴ ἡ λίμνη πρὸς βορέως τε καὶ νότον, ἐούσα βάθος, τῇ βαθυτάτῃ αὐτῆ εὐωτύς, πεντήκονταργυνος. ὅτι δὲ χειροποιητὸς ἐστὶ καὶ ὀρυκτῆ, αὐτὴ δηλοῖ ἐν γὰρ μέσῃ τῇ λίμνῃ μάλιστα καὶ ἐστάσι δύο πυραμίδες, τοῦ ὕδατος ὑπερέχουσα πεντήκοντα ὄργυνας ἑκατέρη, καὶ τὸ κατ' ὕδατος οἰκοδόμηται ἐτερον τοσοῦτον, καὶ ἐπ' ἀμφοτέρῃς ἐπεστὶ κολοσσός λίθινος κατήμενος ἐν θρόνῳ. οὕτω αἱ μὲν πυραμίδες εἰσὶ ἑκατὸν ὄργυνας, αἱ δ' ἑκατὸν ὄργυνα δίκαιαι εἰσὶ στάδιον ἑξάπλεθρον, ἐξαπέδου τε τῆς ὄργυνῆς μετρεομένης καὶ τετραπήχεος, τῶν ποδῶν μὲν τετραπαλαίστων ἐόντων, τοῦ δὲ πήχεος ἑξαπαλαίστον. τὸ δὲ ὑδωρ τὸ ἐν τῇ λίμνῃ αὐθινεὶς μὲν οὐκ ἐστὶ (ἀνυδρὸς γὰρ δὴ δεινὸς ἐστὶ ἡ ταύτη), ἐκ τοῦ Νείλου δὲ κατὰ διώρυχα ἐσήκται, καὶ ἐξ μὲν μῆνας ἐσῳ ῥει ἐς τὴν λίμνην, ἐξ δὲ μῆνας ἐξω ἐς τὸν Νείλον αὐτὶς καὶ ἐπεάν μὲν ἐκρεί ἐξω, ἡ δὲ τότε τοὺς ἐξὶ μῆνας ἐς τὸ βασιλῆου καταβάλλει ἐπ' ἡμέρην ἑκάστην τάλαντον ἄργυριον ἐκ τῶν ἱχθύων, ἐπεὰν δὲ ἐσὶ ἡ τὸ ὑδωρ ἐς αὐτὴν, εἴκοσι μνέας.
court is set round with pillars of white stone most exactly fitted together. Hard by the corner where the labyrinth ends there stands a pyramid forty fathoms high, whereon great figures are carved. A passage has been made to this underground.

149. Such is this labyrinth; and yet more marvellous is the lake Moeris, by which it stands. This lake has a circuit of three thousand six hundred furlongs, or sixty schoeni, which is as much as the whole seaboard of Egypt. Its length is from north to south; the deepest part has a depth of fifty fathoms. That it has been dug out and made by men's hands the lake shows for itself; for almost in the middle of it stand two pyramids, so built that fifty fathoms of each are below and fifty above the water; atop of each is a colossal stone figure seated on a throne. Thus these pyramids are a hundred fathoms high; and a hundred fathoms equal a furlong of six hundred feet, the fathom measuring six feet or four cubits, the foot four spans and the cubit six spans. The water of the lake is not natural (for the country here is exceeding waterless) but brought by a channel from the Nile; six months it flows into the lake, and six back into the river. For the six months that it flows from the lake, the daily take of fish brings a silver talent into the royal treasury, and twenty minae for each day of the flow into the lake.
150. Ἔλεγον δὲ οἱ ἐπιχώριοι καὶ ὡς ἐσ τὴν Σύρτιν τὴν ἐς Λιβύην ἐκκενδοῦ ἡ λύμνη αὐτῆ ὑπὸ γῆν, τετραμμένη τὸ πρὸς ἐστέρην ἐς τὴν μεσόγαιαν παρὰ τὸ ὄρος τὸ ὑπὲρ Μέμφιος. ἔπειτε δὲ τοῦ θύραματος τούτου οὐκ ὤρων τῶν οὐδαμοῦ ἐόντα, ἐπιμέλεις γὰρ δὴ μοι ἦν, εἰρὸμην τοὺς ἀγχιστὰς οἰκέοντας τῆς λύμης ὄκου εἶ ὁ χοῦς ὁ ἐξορυχθείς. οὶ δὲ ἔφρασάν μοι ἵνα ἐξεφορηθῇ, καὶ εὐπετέως ἐπείθο, ἥδεα γὰρ λόγῳ καὶ ἐν Νίνῳ τῇ Ἀσσυρίων πόλι γενόμενον ἔτερον τοιούτον. τὰ γὰρ Σαρδαναπάλλου τοῦ Νίνου βασιλέος ἐόντα μεγάλα χρήματα καὶ φυλασσόμενα ἐν θησαυροῖς καταγαίνοισι ἐπενόησαν κλώπες ἐκφορῆσαι. ἐκ δὴ δὲν τῶν σφετέρων οἰκίαν ἀρξάμενοι οἱ κλώπες ὑπὸ γῆν σταθμέομεν εἰς τα βασιλήματα οἰκία ὀρυσόν, τῶν δὲ χοῦν τὸν ἐκφορεόμενον ἐκ τοῦ ὀρύγματος, ὄκως γένοιτο νῦς, ἐς τὸν Τίγρην ποταμὸν παραρρέοντα τὴν Νίνον ἐξεφόρεον, ἐς δὲ κατεργάσαντο τὸ ἐβούλοντο. τοιούτον ἔτερον ἴκουσα καὶ κατὰ τὸ τῆς ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ λύμης ὀρυγμα γενέσθαι, πλὴν οὐ νυκτὸς ἀλλὰ μετ᾽ ἡμέρῃ ποιεύμενον ὀρύσσοντας γὰρ τὸν χοῦν τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους ἐς τὸν Νείλου φορέειν. δὲ ὑπολαμβάνων ἐμελλε δια-χέειν. ἡ μὲν νυν λύμη αὐτὴ οὔτω λέγεται ὀρυξθήναι.

151. Τῶν δὲ δυώδεκα, βασιλέων δικαιοσύνη χρεωμένων, ἀνὰ χρόνον ὡς ἔθυσαν ἐν τῷ ἱρῷ τοῦ Ἡφαίστου, τῇ ύπάτη τῆς ὀρτῆς, μελλόντων καταστείσειν, ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς ἐξήνεικε σφί φιάλας χρυσεάς, τῇ περ ἐσθεσαν στενδείν, ἀμαρτῶν τοῦ ἄρθρου, ένδεκα δυώδεκα ἐγώσι. ἐναύτα ὡς οὐκ εἰχε φιάλην ὁ ἐσχατος ἐστεως 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 below the mountains that are above Memphis, having the inland country on its western side. I could not anywhere see the earth taken from the digging of this lake, and this giving me matter for thought, I asked those who dwelt nearest to the lake where the stuff was that had been dug out. They told me whither it had been carried, and I readily believed them, for I had heard of a like thing happening in the Assyrian city of Ninus. Sardanapallus king of Ninus had great wealth, which he kept in an underground treasury. Certain thieves were minded to carry it off; they reckoned their course and dug an underground way from their own house to the palace, carrying the earth taken out of the dug passage at night to the Tigris, which runs past Ninus, till at length they accomplished their desire. This, I was told, had happened when the Egyptian lake was dug, save only that the work went on not by night but by day. The Egyptians bore the earth dug out by them to the Nile, to be caught and scattered (as was to be thought) by the river. Thus is this lake said to have been dug.

151. Now the twelve kings dealt justly; and as time went on they came to sacrifice in Hephaestus' temple. On the last day of the feast, they being about to pour libations, the high priest brought out the golden vessels which they commonly used for this; but he counted wrongly and gave the twelve only eleven. So he who stood last of them, Psammetichus, got no vessel; wherefore taking off his
μήτιχος, περιελόμενος τὴν κυνέην ἐόυσαν χαλκέην ὑπέσχε τε καὶ ἐσπευδε. κυνέας δὲ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι ἀπαντεῖ· ἔφορεον τε βασιλέες καὶ ἐτύγχανον τὸτε ἐχοντες. Ψαμμήτιχος μὲν υπ' οὖν οὐδενὶ δολερῶ νῦν χρεόμενος ὑπέσχε τὴν κυνέην· οἳ δὲ ἐν φρενὶ λαβόντες τὸ τε πονηθέν ἐκ Ψαμμήτιχον καὶ τὸ χρηστήριον, ὅτι ἐκέχρηστο σφί τὸν χαλκήν σπείραντα αὐτῶν φιάλη τοῦτον βασιλέα ἔσεσθαι μοῦνον Αἰγύπτου, ἀναμυνθέντες τοῦ χρησμοῦ κτείναι μὲν οὐκ ἐδικαίωσαν Ψαμμήτιχον, ὡς ἀνεύρισκον βασανίζουσες εἰς οὖδεμιής προνοίας αὐτῶν ποιήσαντα, ἐσ δὲ τὰ ἔλεα ἐδοξέ σφι διώξαε ψιλώσαντας τὰ πλείστα τῆς δυνάμιος, ἐκ δὲ τῶν ἐλέων ὁμοίων μὴ ἐπιμισθεσθαι τῇ ἅλῃ Αἰγύπτῳ.

152. Τὸν δὲ Ψαμμήτιχον τούτου πρότερον φεύγοντα τὸν Αἰδίοπα Σαββακὼν, ὡς ὁ τὸν πατέρα Νεκὼν ἀπέκτεινε, τούτον φεύγοντα τὸτε ἐς Συμίην, ὡς ἀπαλλάχθη ἐκ τῆς ὦμοιο τοῦ ἀνείρου ὁ Αἰθιοῦς, κατήγαγον Αἰγυπτίων οὔτοι οὐκ ἐκ νομοῦ τοῦ Σαῖτεω εἰσί. μετὰ δὲ βασιλεύσοντα τὸ δεύτερον πρὸς τῶν ἐνδεκα βασιλέων καταλαμβάνει μιν διὰ τὴν κυνέην φεύγειν ἐς τὰ ἔλεα. ἐπιστάμενος δὲν ὡς περιφρίσμενοι εἰπὶ πρὸς αὐτῶν, ἐπενεχθεῖν τίσασθαι τοὺς διώξαντας. πέμψατε δὲ οἱ Εβουτοῖν πόλιν ἐς τὸ χρηστήριον τῆς Ληταίας, ἐνθα δὴ Αἰγυπτίοισι ἐστὶ μαντήιοι ἄψευδότατοι, ἦλθε χρησμὸς ὡς τίσις ἦζει ἀπὸ θαλάσσης χαλκέων ἄνδρῶν ἐπιφανέντων. καὶ τῷ μὲν δὴ ἀπίστικη μεγάλη ὑπεκέχυτο χαλκέους οἱ ἄνδρας ἦζειν ἐπικουροὺς. χρόνον δὲ οὗ πολλοῦ διελθόντος ἀναγκαίη κατέλαβε Ἰουάς τε καὶ Κάρας ἄνδρας κατὰ ληήν ἐκπλώσαντας ἀπενευχθήναι ἐς Αἰγύπτου, 462
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, not to come out from thence and enter other parts of Egypt.

152. This Psammetichus had formerly been in Syria, whither he had fled from Sabacos the Ethiopian, who killed his father Nicos; 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
εκβάντας δὲ ἐς γῆν καὶ ὀπλισθέντας χαλκῷ ἀγγέλλει τὸν τις Αἰγυπτίων ἐς τὰ ἔλεα ἁπικόμενος τῷ Ψαμμητίχῳ, ὡς οὐκ ἠδῶν πρότερον χαλκῷ ἄνδρας ὀπλισθέντας, ὡς χάλκεοι ἄνδρες ἀπαγόμενοι ἀπὸ θαλάσσης λεηλατεύσι τὸ πεδίον. δὲ μαθὼν τὸ χρηστήριον ἐπιτελεύμενον φίλα τοῖς Ἱωσὶ καὶ Καρσὶ ποιεῖται καὶ σφεάς μεγάλα ὑποσχενεμενοῖ πεῖθει μετ᾽ ἐωντοῦ γενέσθαι. ὡς δὲ ἐπεεισε, οὐτώ ἀμα τοῖς τὰ ἐωντοῦ βουλομένοισι Αἰγυπτίωσι καὶ τοῖς ἐπικούροισι καταίρει τοὺς βασιλέας.

153. Κρατήσας δὲ Αἰγύπτου πάσης ὁ Ψαμμήτιχος ἐποίησε τῷ Ῥησίστῳ προπύλαια ἐν Μέμφι τὰ πρὸς νότον ἄνεμον τετραμμένα, αὐλήν τε τῷ Ἀπτῷ, ἐν τῇ τρεῖτῃ ἐπεὰν φανή ὁ Ἀπτὸς, οἰκοδομήσει ἐναντίον τῶν προπύλαιων, πᾶσαν τε περὶστεροῦν ἐούσαν καὶ τῶν τῶν πλέην ἀντὶ δὲ κιόνων ὑπεστᾶσι κολοσσόι δυσδεκαπήχεις τῇ αὐλή. δὲ ὁ Ἀπτὸς κατὰ τὴν Ἕλληνων γῆσσαν ἐστὶ Ἐθαφος.

154. Τοῖς δὲ Ὡσὶ καὶ τοῖς Καρσὶ τοῖς συγκατεργασαμένοις αὐτῷ ὁ Ψαμμήτιχος ἔδωσε χώρους ἐνοικίσαι αὐτίξως ἀλλήλων, τοῦ Νεῖλου τὸ μέσον ἄχοντος, τοῖς οὐνόματο ἑτέθη Στρατόπεδα τούτους τε δῇ σφι τούς χώρους ἔδωσε καὶ τὰ ἄλλα τὰ ὑπέσχετο πάντα ἀπέδωκε. καὶ δῇ καὶ παίδας παρέβαλε αὐτοῖς Αἰγυπτίους τὴν Ἕλλαδα γῆσσαν ἐκδιδάσκεσθαι. ἀπὸ δὲ τούτων ἐκμαθητόν τήν γῆσσαν οἱ νῦν ἔρμηνες ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ γεγονασι. οί δὲ Ἰωνεῖς τε καὶ οἱ Κάρες τούτους τοὺς χώρους οἰκίσαν χρόνον ἐπὶ πολλών εἰσὶ δὲ οὕτωι οἱ χώροι πρὸς θαλάσσης οὐλήν ἐνερῆθε Βουβάστιος πόλιος, ἐπὶ τῷ Πηλοσίω 464
their mail of bronze; and an Egyptian came into the marsh country and brought news to Psammetichus (for he had never before seen mailed men) that men of bronze were come from the sea and were foraging in the plain. Psammetichus saw in this the fulfilment of the oracle; he made friends with the Ionians and Carians, and promised them great rewards if they would join him, and having won them, with the aid of such Egyptians as consented and these allies he deposed the eleven kings.

153. Having made himself master of all Egypt, he made the southern outercourt of Hephaestus' temple at Memphis, and built over against this a court for Apis, where Apis is kept and fed whenever he appears; this court has an inner colonnade all round it and many carved figures; the roof is held up by great statues twelve cubits high for pillars. Apis is in the Greek language Epaphus.

154. The Ionians and Carians who had helped him to conquer were given by Psammetichus places to dwell in called The Camps, opposite to each other on either side of the Nile; and besides this he paid them all that he had promised. Moreover he put Egyptian boys in their hands to be taught the Greek tongue; these, learning Greek, were the ancestors of the Egyptian interpreters. The Ionians and Carians dwelt a long time in these places, which are near the sea, on the arm of the Nile called the Pelusian, a little way below the town of Bubastis.
καλεομένω στόματι τοῦ Νείλου. τούτους μὲν δὴ χρόνῳ ὑστερον βασιλεὺς Ἀμασίς ἐξαναστήσας ἐνθεύτευ κατοίκισε ἐς Μέμφιν, φυλακὴν ἐωτοῦ ποιεύμενος πρὸς Αἰγυπτίων. τούτων δὲ οἰκισθέντων ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ, οἱ "Ελληνες οὔτω ἐπιμισθόμενοι τούτοις τὰ περὶ Αἰγυπτου γινόμενα ἀπὸ Ψαμμητίχου βασιλέως ἀξίμανοι πάντα καὶ τὰ ὕστερον ἐπιστάμεθα ἀτρεκέως· πρῶτοι γὰρ οὗτοι ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ ἀλλόγλωσσοι κατοικίσθησαν. εἷ δὲ ἐξανέστησαν χώρων, ἐν τούτοις δὲ οἱ τὸ ὅλον τῶν νεῶν καὶ τὰ ἐρείπια τῶν οἰκημάτων τὸ μέχρι ἐμευ ἦσαν.

155. Ψαμμήτιχος μὲν νυν οὔτω ἐσχε Αἰγυπτον. τοῦ δὲ χρηστηρίου τοῦ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ πολλὰ ἐπεμνήσθην ἢδη, καὶ δὴ λόγον περὶ αὐτοῦ ὧς ἄξιόν ἐόντος ποιήσομαι. τὸ γὰρ χρηστήριον τούτο τὸ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ ἐστὶ μὲν Δητοὺς ἱρόν, ἐν πόλι δὲ μεγάλῃ ἱδρυμένον κατὰ τὸ Σεβεννυτικὸν καλεόμενον στόμα τοῦ Νείλου, ἀναπλέοντι ἀπὸ βαλάσσης ἄνω. οὕνωμα δὲ τῇ πόλι ταύτῃ ὅκου τὸ χρηστήριον ἐστὶ Βουτῶ, ὦς καὶ πρότερον ἀνόμασται μοι. ἱρόν δὲ ἐστὶ ἐν τῇ Βουτῷ ταύτῃ Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ Ἀρτέμιδος, καὶ ὁ γε νῆς τῆς Δητοῦς, ἐν τῷ δὴ τὸ χρηστήριον ἔτι, αὐτὸς τε τυγχάνει ἑων μέγας καὶ τὰ προπύλαια ἔχει ἐς ύψος δέκα ὄργυτεων. τὸ δὲ μοὶ τῶν φανερῶν ἦν θῶμα μέγιστον παρεχόμενον, φράσω· ἐστὶ ἐν τῷ τεμένει τούτῳ Δητοὺς νῆς ἐξ ἐνός λίθου πετοημένος ἐς τὸ ύψος καὶ ἐς μήκος καὶ τοῖχος ἐκατόσως τούτοις ἵσος πεσοῦκατα τηχέων τούτων ἐκαστον ἐστι, τὸ δὲ καταστέγασα μᾶ τῆς ὀροφῆς ἄλλος ἐπικεκαλεῖ τῆς, ἐχων τὴν παρωροφίδα τετράπτηχνην. 466
Long afterwards, king Amasis removed them thence and settled them at Memphis, to be his guard against the Egyptians. It comes of our intercourse with these settlers in Egypt (who were the first men of alien speech to settle in that country) that we Greeks have exact knowledge of the history of Egypt from the reign of Psammetichus onwards. There still remained till my time, in the places whence the Ionians and Carians were removed, the landing engines\(^1\) of their ships and the ruins of their houses.

155. This is the story of Psammetichus' conquest of Egypt. I have often made mention of the Egyptian oracle, and I will now treat fully of it, for this it deserves. This Egyptian oracle is sacred to Leto, and is situated in a great city by the Sebennytic arm of the Nile, on the way up from the sea. The name of the city where is this oracle is Buto; I have already named it. In Buto there is a temple of Apollo and Artemis. The shrine of Leto in which is the oracle is itself very great, and its outer court is ten fathoms high. But I will now tell of what was the most marvellous among things visible there: in this precinct is the shrine of Leto, whereof the height and length of the walls is all made of a single stone slab; each wall has an equal length and height, namely, forty cubits. Another slab makes the surface of the roof, the cornice of which is four cubits broad.

\(^1\) Probably capstans for hauling the ships ashore.
156. Οὕτω μὲν νυν ὁ νηὸς τῶν φανερῶν μοι τῶν περὶ τοῦτο τὸ ἱρόν ἦστι θωμαστότατον, τῶν δὲ δευτέρων νῆσος ἡ Χέμμις καλευ-μένη ἦστι μὲν ἐν λίμνῃ βαθός καὶ πλατές κει-μένη παρὰ τὸ ἐν Βουτοῖ ἱρόν, λέγεται δὲ ὑπ’ Αἰγυπτίων εἶναι αὐτὴ ἡ νῆσος πλωτῆ. αὐτὸς μὲν ἔγωγε οὔτε πλέουσαν οὔτε κινηθέσαν εἴδον, τε-θητα δὲ ἀκούων εἰ νῆσος ἀληθέως ἦστι πλωτῆ, ἐν δὲ ὄν ταύτῃ νῆσος τε Ἀπόλλωνος μέγας ἔτι καὶ βωμοὶ τριφάσιοι ἐνιδρύται, ἐμπεφύκαστ' ὅ ἐν αὐτῇ φώνικες συχνοὶ καὶ ἄλλα δένδρα καὶ καρ-ποφόρα καὶ ἄφορα πολλά. λόγον δὲ τόνδε ἐπι-λέγοντες οἱ Αἰγυπτιοὶ φασὶ εἶναι αὐτὴν πλωτήν, ὡς ἐν τῇ νῆσῳ ταύτῃ οὐκ ἔσφη πρότερον πλωτῆ Δητώ, ἐσύσα τῶν ὅκτω θεῶν τῶν πρῶτων γενο-μένων, οἰκέουσα δὲ ἐν Βουτοῖ πόλι, ἵνα δὴ οἱ τὸ χρηστήριον τοῦτο ἦστι, Ἀπόλλωνα παρ’ Ἰσιος παρακαταθήκην δεξαμένη διέσωσε κατακρύψασα ἐν τῇ νῆσῳ πλωτῇ λεγομένῃ νῆσῳ, ὅτε τὸ πὰν δίζημενος ὁ Τυφῶν ἔπηλθε, θέλων ἔξευρεῖν τοῦ ῶσίρος τὸν πάιδα. Ἀπόλλωνα δὲ καὶ Ἀρτεμίν Διονύσου καὶ Ἰσιος λέγουσι εἶναι παῖδας, Δητῶν δὲ τροφὸν αὐτοῖσι καὶ σώτεραν γενέσθαι. Αἰγυπτιοὶ δὲ Ἀπόλλων μὲν Ὄρος, Δημήτηρ δὲ Ἰσιος, Ἀρτεμίς δὲ Βούβαστις. ἐκ τούτου δὲ τοῦ λόγου καὶ οὔδεν ᾧ ἀλλὸν Ἀἰσχύλος ὁ Εὐφόριώνος ἤρπασε τὸ ἐγὼ φράσιο, μοῦνος δὴ ποιητέων τῶν προγενο-μένων ἐποίησε γὰρ Ἀρτεμίν εἶναι θυγατέρα Δήμητρος. τὴν δὲ νῆσον διὰ τοῦτο γενέσθαι πλωτῆν. ταύτα μὲν οὕτω λέγουσι.

157. Ψαμμητίχος δὲ ἐβασίλευσε Αἰγύπτου τέσσερα καὶ πεντήκοντα ἔτεα, τῶν τὰ ἐνὸς δέοντα
156. Thus then the shrine is the most marvellous of all things that I saw in this temple; but of things of lesser note, the most wondrous is the island called Chemmis. This lies in a deep and wide lake near to the temple at Buto, and the Egyptians say that it floats. For myself I never saw it float, nor move at all, and I thought it a marvellous tale, that an island should truly float. However that be, there is a great shrine of Apollo thereon, and three altars stand there; many palm trees grow in the island, and other trees too, some yielding fruit and some not. The story told by the Egyptians to show why the island moves is this: when Typhon came seeking through the world for the son of Osiris, Leto, being one of the eight earliest gods, and dwelling in Buto where this oracle of hers is, received Apollo in charge from Isis and hid him for safety in this island which was before immovable but is now said to float. Apollo and Artemis were (they say) children of Dionysus and Isis, and Leto was made their nurse and preserver; in Egyptian, Apollo is Horus, Demeter Isis, Artemis Bubastis. It was from this and no other legend that Aeschylus son of Euphorion stole an imagination, which is in no other poet, that Artemis was the daughter of Demeter. For the aforesaid reason (say the Egyptians) the island was made to float. Such is the tale.

157. Psammetichus ruled Egypt for fifty-three years; for twenty-nine of these he sat before Azotus,
τριήκοντα Ἀζωτος τῆς Συρίης μεγάλην πόλιν προσκατήμενος ἐπολιόρκεε, ἐς ἃ έξειλε. αὐτή δὲ ἡ Ἀζωτος ἀπασέων πολίων ἐπὶ πλείστον χρόνου πολιορκεομένη ἀντέσχε τῶν ἡμεῖς ἱδμεν.

158. Ψαμμητίχου δὲ Νεκῶς παῖς ἐγένετο καὶ ἐβασίλευσε Αἰγύπτου, ὡς τῇ διώρυχι ἐπεχείρησε πρῶτος τῇ ἐς τὴν Ἔρυθρην θάλασσαν φεροῦσῃ, τὴν Δαβίδοις ὁ Πέρσης δεύτερα διώρυξε· τῆς μῆκος ἐστὶ πλοῶς ἥμεραι τέσσερες, εὐρός δὲ ἀφρύχθη ὥστε τριήμερα δύο πλέειν ὡμοί ἐλαστρευμένας. ἢκται δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ Νείλου τὸ ὕδωρ ἐς αὐτὴν· ἢκται δὲ κατύπερθε ὄλγον Βουβάστιος πόλιος παρὰ Πάτομου τὴν Ἀραβίην πόλιν, ἐσέχει δὲ ἐς τὴν Ἔρυθρην θάλασσαν. ὁρώρυκται δὲ πρῶτον μὲν τοῦ πεδίου τοῦ Αἰγυπτίου τὰ πρὸς Ἀραβίην ἑχοντα· ἐχεται δὲ κατύπερθε τοῦ πεδίον τὸ κατὰ Μέμφην τεῖνον ὅρος, ἐν τῷ αἱ λιθοτομίαι ἑνεισὶ· τοῦ ὅν δὴ ὅρεος τοῦτον παρὰ τὴν ὑπωρέην ἢκται ἡ διώρυξι ἀπ’ ἑσπέρης μακρὴ πρὸς τὴν ἦδο, καὶ ἐπειτὰ τεῖνει ἐς διασφάγας, φέρουσα ἀπὸ τοῦ ὅρους πρὸς μεσαμβρίην τε καὶ νότον ἁνεμον ἐς τὸν κόλπον τῶν Ἀράβιων. τῇ δὲ ἐλάχιστον ἐστὶ καὶ συντομώτατον ἐκ τῆς βορηῆς θαλάσσης ὑπερβήναι ἐς τὴν νοτίην καὶ Ἐρυθρῆν τὴν αὐτὴν ταὐτην καλεομένην, ἀπὸ τοῦ Κασιλοῦ ὅρεος τοῦ ὁμίζους Αἰγυπτίων τε καὶ Συρίης, ἀπὸ τοῦτοι εἰς ἵπποι ἀπαρτὶ χίλιοι ἐς τὸν Ἀράβιον κόλπον. τοῦτο μὲν τὸ συντομώτατον, ἡ δὲ διώρυξι πολλῷ μακροτέρη, ὥσφ’ σκολιώτερή ἐστὶ· τὴν ἐπὶ Νεκῶ βασιλέος ὄρυσσοντες Αἰγυπτίων ἀπώλοντο δυνάκε δυκαὶ μυριάδες. Νεκῶς μὲν νυν μεταξὺ ὅρυσσων ἐπαύσατο μαντηίου ἐμποδίου γενομένου τοιούτῳ,
BOOK II. 157-158

a great city in Syria, and besieged it till he took it. Azotus held out against a siege longer than any city of which I have heard.

158. Psammetichus had a son Necos, who became king of Egypt. It was he who began the making of the canal into the Red Sea,\(^1\) which was finished by Darius the Persian. This is four days' voyage in length, and it was dug wide enough for two triremes to move in it rowed abreast. It is fed by the Nile, and is carried from a little above Bubastis by the Arabian town of Patumus; it issues into the Red Sea. The beginning of the digging was in the part of the Egyptian plain which is nearest to Arabia; the mountains towards Memphis (in which mountains are the stone quarries) come close to this plain; the canal is led along the lower slope of these mountains, where its longest reach is from west to east; passing then into a ravine it bears southward out of the hill country towards the Arabian Gulf. Now the shortest and most direct passage from the northern to the southern or Red Sea is from the Casian promontory, which is the boundary between Egypt and Syria, to the Arabian Gulf, and this is a distance of one thousand furlongs, neither more nor less; this is the most direct way, but the canal is by much longer, inasmuch as it is more crooked. In Necos' reign a hundred and twenty thousand Egyptians perished in the digging of it. Necos ceased from the work, being stayed by a prophetic

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\(^1\) 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 τῆς διόρισχος ὁ Νεκῶς ἐτράπετο πρὸς στρατηγίας, καὶ τριήρες αἱ μὲν ἐπὶ τῇ βορηγῇ θαλάσσῃ ἐποιήθησαν, αἱ δὲ ἐν τῷ Ἀραβίῳ κόλπῳ ἐπὶ τῇ Ἃρυθρῇ θαλάσσῃ, τῶν ἔτει οἱ ὅλκοι ἐπίδηλοι. καὶ ταύτης τε ἐχράτῳ ἐν τῷ δέοντι καὶ Σύροις πεζῆ ὁ Νεκῶς συμβαλὼν ἐν Μαγδόλῳ ἐνίκησε, μετὰ δὲ τὴν μάχην Κάδυτων πόλιν τῆς Συρίας ἔουσαν μεγάλην εἰλε. ἐν τῇ δὲ ἐσθήτι ἐτυχε ταῦτα κατεργασάμενος, ἀνέθηκε τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι πέμψας ἐς Βραγχίδας τὰς Μιλησίων. μετὰ δὲ, ἐκκαίδεκα ἔτεα τὰ πάντα ἀρξας, τελευτᾷ, τῷ παϊδὶ Ψάμμῳ παραδόου τὴν ἀρχήν.

160. Ἐπὶ τούτων δὴ τῶν Ψάμμων βασιλεύοντα Αἰγύπτου ἀπίκουτο Ἡλείων ἀγγελοί, αὐχεόντες δικαϊότατα καὶ κάλλιστα τιθέναι τὸν ἐν Ὀλυμπίῃ ἀγώνα πάντων ἀνθρώπων, καὶ δοκέοντες παρὰ ταῦτα οὐδὲν ἀν τοὺς σοφιτάτους ἀνθρώπων Αἰγυπτίους οὐδὲν ἐπεξευρέων ὡς δὲ ἀπικόμενοι ἐς τὴν Αἰγύπτου οἱ Ἡλεῖοι ἐλεγοὺν τῶν εἶνεκα ἀπίκουτο, ἐνθαῦτα ὁ βασιλεὺς οὗτος συνκαλεῖται Αἰγυπτίων τοὺς λεγομένους εἶναι σοφιτάτους. συνελθόντες δὲ οἱ Αἰγυπτίοι ἐπιυπνάντοι τῶν Ἡλείων λεγόντων ἀπαντὰ τὰ κατὰτειχὲς ποιέων περὶ τὸν ἀγώνα. ἀπηγηγάμενοι δὲ τὰ πάντα ἐφασαν ἥκειν ἐπιμαθησάμενοι εἰ τι ἔχονεν Ἁγυπτίων τούτων δικαιότερον ἐπεξευρέων. οἱ δὲ βουλευσάμενοι ἐπειρώτων τοὺς Ἡλείοις εἰ σφὶ οἱ πολλοί ἑναγωνίζονται. οἱ δὲ ἐφασαν καὶ σφέων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Ἐλλήνων ὁμοίως τῷ βουλομένῳ ἐξείναι.
utterance which bade him deal first with the barbarian. The Egyptians call all men of other languages barbarians.

159. Necos then ceased from making the canal and engaged rather in warlike preparation; some of his ships of war were built on the northern sea, and some in the Arabian Gulf, by the Red Sea coast: the landing-engines of these are still to be seen. He used these ships at need, and with his land army met and defeated the Syrians at Magdolus, taking the great Syrian city of Cadytis 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.
HERODOTUS

ἀγωνίζεσθαι. οἱ δὲ Ἀιγύπτιοι ἐφασαν σφέας οὔτω τιθέντας παντὸς τοῦ δικαίου ἡμαρτηκέναι. οὐδεμίαν γὰρ εἶναι μηχανήν ὅκως οὐ τῷ ἀστῷ ἀγωνιζομένῳ προσθέσονται, ἀδικεόντες τὸν ξεῖνον. άλλ’ εἰ δὴ βούλονται δικαίως τιθέναι καὶ τοῦτο εἶναι ἀπικοίλιοτο έσ Αἰγυπτοῦ, ξείνοισι ἀγωνιστήσι εκέλευον τὸν ἀγώνα τιθέναι, Ἡλείων δὲ μηδὲν εἶναι ἀγωνίζεσθαι. ταῦτα μὲν Ἀιγυπτίου Ἡλείοισι ὑπεδήκαντο.

161. Ψάμμιος δὲ ἐξ έτεα μοῦνον βασιλεύςαντος Ἀιγύπτου καὶ στρατευσμένου ές Αἴθιοπίν καὶ μεταυτίκα τελευτήσαντος έξεδέξατο Ἀτρίης ο’ Ψάμμιος. δὲ μετὰ Ψαμμήτιχον τὸν ἐωτοῦ προπάτορα ἐγένετο εὐδαιμονέστατος τῶν πρότερον βασιλέων, ἐπ’ ἐτεα πέντε καὶ έϊκοσι άρξεις, εν τοισι ἐπὶ τε Σιδώνα στρατὸν ἡλάσε καὶ ἑναιμάχησε τῷ Τυρίῳ. ἐπεὶ δὲ οἱ έδεε κακῶς γενέσθαι, ἐγίνετο ἀπὸ προφάσιος τὴν ἑγὼ μεζόνως μὲν εν τοισι Διβυκοίσι λόγοισι ἀπηγήσομαι, μετρίως δ’ εν τῷ παρεόντι. ἀποπέμψας γὰρ στράτευμα ὁ Ἀτρίης ἐπὶ Κυρηναίους μεγαλωστὶ προσέπτασε, Αἰγύπτιοι δὲ ταῦτα ἐπιμεμφόμενοι ἀπέστησαν ἀπ’ αὐτοῦ, δοκεόντες τὸν Ἀτρίην ἐκ προνοίας αὐτοὺς ἀποπέμψαι ἐς φαινόμενον κακόν, ἵνα δὴ σφέων φθορῆ γένηται, αὐτὸς δὲ τῶν λουτῶν Αἰγυπτίων ἀσφαλέστερον ἄρχου. ταῦτα δὲ δεινὰ ποιεύμενοι οὔτοι τε οἱ ἀπονοστήσαντες καὶ οἱ τῶν ἀπολομένων φίλοι ἀπέστησαν ἐκ τῆς ιθέης.

162. Πυθόμενος δὲ Ἀτρίης ταῦτα πέμπει ἐπ’ αὐτοὺς "Ἀμασίν καταπαύσουτα λόγουσι. δὲ ἐπείτε ἀπικόμενος κατελάμβανε τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους
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, λέγωντος αὐτοῦ τῶν τις Αἰγυπτίων ὅπισθε στὰς περιέθηκε οἱ κυνῆν, καὶ περιτιθεὶς ἐφὴ ἐπὶ βασιλῆῃ περιτιθέναι. καὶ τῷ οὐ κως ἀκούσιον ἔγινετο τὸ ποιεύμενον, ὡς δειδείκνυε. ἐπείτε γὰρ ἐστήσαντο μὲν βασιλέα τῶν Αἰγυπτίων οἱ ἀπεστεῶτες, παρεσκευάζετο ὡς ἐλὼν ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀπρίην. πυθόμενος δὲ ταύτα ὁ Ἀπρίης ἔπεμπε ἐπὶ Ἄμασιν ἄνδρᾳ δόκιμον τῶν περὶ ἔως οὗ Ἀγυπτίων, τῷ οὖνομα ἂν Πατάρβημι, ἐντειλάμενος αὐτῷ ἔρημα Ἀμασιν ἀγαγείν παρ' ἔωστόν. ὡς δὲ ἀπικόμενος τὸν Ἀμασιν ἐκάλεσε ὁ Πατάρβημις, ὁ Ἀμασίς, ἔτυχε γὰρ ἐπὶ ὡς κατήμενος, ἐπαινεὶς ἀπεματάσσε, καὶ τούτῳ μὲν ἐκέλευε Ἀπρίην ἀπάγειν. ὡμως δὲ αὐτὸν ἀξιοῦν τὸν Πατάρβημιν βασιλέος μεταπεμπομένον ἠναίρεσον αὐτῷ τοῦ δὲ αὐτὸν ὑποκρίνεσθαι ὡς ταύτα πάλαι παρεσκευάζετο ποιεῦμεν, καὶ αὐτῷ οὐ μέμφεσθαι Ἀπρίην παρέσεσθαι γὰρ καὶ αὐτὸς καὶ ἀλλοὺς ἀξείν. τὸν δὲ Πατάρβημιν ἐκ τῶν λεγομένων οὐκ ἀγνοείν τὴν διάνοιαν, καὶ παρασκευαζόμενον ὅρωντα σπουδῇ ἀπίεινα, βουλόμενον τὴν ταχίστην βασιλεία δηλώσαι τὰ προσόμενα. ὡς δὲ ἀπικόμενος αὐτὸν πρὸς τὸν ὁ Ἀπρίην οὐκ ἀγνοτα τὴν Ἀμασίν, οὕδενα λόγον ἑωτ.RemoveEmptyEntries δῶντα ἀλλὰ περιθύμως ἔχοντα περιτιθεὶν προστάξει αὐτοῦ τὰ τε ὅτα καὶ τὴν ῥίνα. ἴδομενοι δὲ οἱ λοιποὶ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων, οὗ ἠτὶ τὰ ἑκεῖνον ἑφρόνεον, ἄνδρα τὸν δοκιμῶσιν οὐτῶν οὐτῶ οἶκῷς ἀπεκείμενον, οὗδενα δὴ χρόνον ἑπισχόντες ἀποστέατο πρὸς τοὺς ἑτέρους καὶ ἐδίδοσαν σφέας αὐτοὺς Ἀμάσι.
BOOK II. 162-163

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 took no thought with himself, but in his rage and fury bade cut off Patarbemis’ ears and nose. The rest of the Egyptians, who were till now Apries’ friends, seeing the foul despite thus done to the man who was most esteemed among them, changed sides without more ado and delivered themselves over to Amasis.

163. This news too being brought to Apries, he
τοὺς ἐπικούρους καὶ ἦλωνν ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἀιγυπτίους·
εἰχε δὲ περὶ ἑωτὸν Κάρας τε καὶ Ἰωναα ἄνδρας
ἐπικούρους τρισμυρίους· ἤν δὲ οἱ τὰ βασιλῆια ἐν
Σαί τόλι, μεγάλα ἑόντα καὶ ἄξιοθέητα. καὶ οἱ τε
περὶ τὸν Ἀπρίην ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἀιγυπτίους ἦσαν καὶ
οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἄμασιν ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἐλίνους· ἐν τε δὴ
Μωμέμφι πόλι ἐγένοντο ἀμφότεροι καὶ πειρή-
σεθαί ἐμελλον ἀλλήλων.

164. 'Εστὶ δὲ Ἀιγυπτίων ἐπτα γένεα, καὶ
tοῦτων οἱ μὲν ἱρέες οἱ δὲ μάχιμοι κεκλειαῖ, οἱ
de βούκολοι οἱ δὲ συβδᾶται, οἱ δὲ κάτηλοι, οἱ δὲ
ἐρμήνες, οἱ δὲ κυβερνῆται. γένεα μὲν Ἀιγυ-
pτίων τοσαῦτα ἐστὶ, οὐνόματα δὲ σφι κέεται ἀπὸ
tῶν τεχνῶν. οἱ δὲ μάχιμοι αὐτῶν καλέονται μὲν
Καλασίρες τε καὶ Ὁρμοτύβιες, ἐκ νομῶν δὲ
tῶν ὡς εἰσὶ· κατὰ γὰρ ὅτε νομοὺς Ἀιγυπτος ἄπασα
διαραίηται.

165. Ὁρμοτύβινων μὲν οὐδὲ εἰσὶ νομοῖ, Βουσι-
ρίτης, Σαύτης, Χεμμίτης, Παπρημίτης, νήσος ἡ
Προσωπίτις καλεομένη, Ναθὼ τὸ ἱμισν. ἐκ μὲν
τούτων τῶν νομῶν Ἡρμοτύβιες εἰσὶ, γενόμενοι,
ὅτε ἐπὶ πλείστους ἐγένοντο, ἐκκαίδεκα μυριάδες.
καὶ τοῦτων βαναυσίας οὐδὲς δεδακη οὐδεν, ἄλλ
ἀνέωνται ἐς τὸ μάχιμον.

166. Καλασίρων δὲ οὐδὲ ἄλλοι νομοὶ εἰσί,
Θηβαίοις, Βουβαστίτης, Ἀφθίτης, Ταύτης, Μεν-
δήσιος, Σεβεννύτης, Ἀθρίτης, Φαρβαϊθής,
Θμουίτης, Ὀνουφίτης, Ἀνύτιος, Μυεκφιτής·
οὕτος ὁ νομὸς ἐν νήσῳ οἰκεέ αὐτίον Βουβαστίος
πόλιος. οὕτοι δὲ οἱ νομοὶ Καλασίρων εἰσί, γε-
νόμενοι, ὅτε ἐπὶ πλείστους ἐγένοντο, πέντε καὶ
εἴκοσι μυριάδες ἄνδρῶν. οὐδὲ τοῦτοι έξεστι
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armed his guard and marched against the Egyptians; he had a bodyguard of Carians and Ionians, thirty thousand of them, and his royal dwelling was in the city of Sais, a great and marvellous palace. Apries' men marched against the Egyptians, and so did Amasis' men against the strangers; so they came both to Momemphis, where it was their purpose to prove each other's quality.

164. The Egyptians are divided into seven classes, severally entitled priests, warriors, cowherds, swine-herds, 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
τέχνην ἐπασκήσαι οὐδεμιάν, ἀλλὰ τὰ ἐς πόλεμου ἐπασκέουσι μοῦνα, παῖς παρὰ πατρὸς ἐκδεκόμενος.

167. Εἰ μὲν νυν καὶ τοῦτο παρ’ Ἀιγυπτίων μεμαθήκασι οἱ Ἑλλήνες, οὐκ ἔχω ἀτρεκέως κρίναι, ὁρέων καὶ Ὁρήκας καὶ Σκύθας καὶ Πέρσας καὶ Λυδοὺς καὶ σχεδόν πάντας τοὺς βαρβάρους ἀποτιμοτέρους τῶν ἄλλων ἤγημένους πολιητέων τοὺς τὰς τέχνας μανθάνοντας καὶ τοὺς ἐκγόνους τούτων, τοὺς δὲ ἀπαλλαγμένους τῶν χειρωναξίων γενναίους νομικομένους εἶναι, καὶ μάλιστα τοὺς ἐς τὸν πόλεμον ἅνειμένους μεμαθήκασι δ’ ὅν τοῦτο πάντες οἱ Ἑλλήνες καὶ μάλιστα Δακεδαιμόνιοι. ἦκιστα δὲ Κορώνθιοι ὄνονται τοὺς χειροτέχνας.

168. Γέρεα δὲ σφὶ ἦν τάδε ἐξαραίρημένα μοῦνοι σι Ἀιγυπτίων πάρεξ τῶν ἱρέων, ἄρουραι ἐξαιρετοὶ δυσδεκα ἐκάστῳ ἀτελὲες. ἢ δὲ ἄρουρα ἐκατὸν πηχέων ἐστὶ Αἰγυπτίων πάντη, ὁ δὲ Αἰγύπτιος πῆχυς τυγχάνει ἵσος ἐὼν τῷ Σαμίῳ. ταῦτα μὲν δὴ τούσι ἀπασὶ ἦν ἐξαραιρημένα, τάδε δὲ ἐν περιτροπῇ ἐκαρποῦντο καὶ οὐδαμὰ ὀντοί. Καλασιρῶν χίλιοι καὶ Ἑρμοτυβίων ἐδορυφόρουν ἐνιαυτὸν ἐκαστοὶ τῶν βασιλέα· τούτοις δὲν τάδε πάρεξ τῶν ἄρουρέων ἄλλα ἐδίδοτο ἐπ’ ἱμερὴ ἐκάστῃ, ὅπτοι σίτου σταθμὸς πέντε μνεῖ αὐτὲς, κρεών βοεῶν δύο μνεῖαι, ὁμοί τέσσερες ἀρυστῆρες. ταῦτα τούσι αἰεὶ δορυφορέοντε ἐδίδοτο.

169. Ἑπείτε δὲ συνιόντες ὁ τε Ἀπρίθης ἄγων τοὺς ἐπικούρους καὶ ὁ Ἀμασίς πάντας Αἰγυπτίους ἀπίκοντο ἐς Μώμεμφιν πόλιν, συνέβαλον καὶ ἐμαχέσαντο μὲν εὖ οἱ ξεῖνοι, πλήθει δὲ πολλῷ ἐλάσσονες έόντες κατὰ τοῦτο ἐσσώθησαν. Ἀπρίθεω δὲ
no trade but only war, which is their hereditary calling.

167. Now whether this separation, like other customs, has come to Greece from Egypt, I cannot exactly judge. I know that in Thrace and Scythia and Persia and Lydia and nearly all foreign countries those who learn trades are held in less esteem than the rest of the people, and those who have least to do with artisans' work, especially men who are free to practise the art of war, are highly honoured. Thus much is certain, that this opinion, which is held by all Greeks and chiefly by the Lacedaemonians, is of foreign origin. It is in Corinth that artisans are held in least contempt.

168. The warriors were the only Egyptians, except the priests, who had special privileges: for each of them there was set apart an untaxed plot of twelve acres. This acre is a square of a hundred Egyptian cubits each way, the Egyptian cubit being equal to the Samian. These lands were set apart for all; it was never the same men who cultivated them, but each in turn.¹ A thousand Kalasiries and as many Hermotubies were the king's annual bodyguard. These men, besides their lands, received each a daily provision of five minae's weight of roast grain, two minae of beef, and four cups of wine. These were the gifts received by each bodyguard.

169. When Apries with his guards and Amasis with the whole force of Egyptians came to the town of Momemphis, they joined battle; and though the foreigners fought well, they were by much the fewer, and therefore were worsted. Apries, they say,

¹ That is, each twelve-acre plot was cultivated by a new occupier every year.
λέγεται εἶναι ἦδε διάνοια, μηδ' ἄν θεόν μιν μηδένα δύνασθαι παῦσαι τῆς βασιλικῆς· οὐτω ἀσφαλέως ἐστὶν ἵδρυσθαι ἔδοκε. καὶ δὴ τοῖς συμβαλὼν ἐσσώθη καὶ ἰσωρηθεὶς ἀπήχθη ἡ Ἀθηναία. ἐνθαῦτα δὲ τέως μὲν ἑτέρωτο ἐν τοῖς βασιλεύσι, καὶ μιᾶ Ἀμασίος ἐν περιείπτε· τέλος δὲ μεμφομένων Ἀιγυπτίων ὡς οὐ ποιέω δίκαια τρέφων τὸν σφίσι te καὶ ἑωτῷ ἑχθιστον, οὐτω δὴ παραδίδοι τὸν Ἀπρίεω τοῖς Ἀιγυπτίοις. οὐ δὲ μιᾶ ἀπεπνέυσι καὶ ἐπείτα ἠθαφαν εἰς τῆς πατρώης ταφῆς: αἱ δὲ εἰσὶ εἰν τῷ ἱρῷ τῆς Ἀθη- ναίαις, ἀγχοτάτω τοῦ μεγάρου, ἐστοίντι ἀριστερῆς χειρός. ἠθαφαν δὲ Σαύται πάντας τοὺς ἐκ νομοῦ τούτου γενομένους βασιλέας ἔσω εἰς τῷ ἱρῷ. καὶ γαρ τὸ τοῦ Ἀμάσιος σῆμα ἐκαστέρῳ μὲν ἐστι τοῦ μεγάρου ἢ τὸ τοῦ Ἀπρίεω καὶ τῶν τούτων προ- πατόρων, ἐστι μέντοι καὶ τοῦτο ἐν τῇ αὐλῇ τοῦ ἱροῦ, παστάς λιθίνη μεγάλη καὶ ἵσκεμένη στυ- λοῦσι τε φῶνικας τὰ δεινδρεα μεμφιμένοις καὶ τῇ ἄλλῃ δαπάνη· ἔσω δὲ ἐν τῇ παστάδι διξά θυρώματα ἐστηκε, ἐν δὲ τοῖς θυρώμασι ἡ θήκη ἐστί.
supposed that not even a god could depose him from his throne; so firmly he thought he was established; and now being worsted in battle and taken captive he was brought to Sais, to the royal dwelling which belonged once to him but now to Amasis. There he was kept alive for a while in the palace, and well entreated by Amasis. But presently the Egyptians complained that there was no justice in keeping alive one who was their own and their king’s bitterest enemy; whereupon Amasis gave Apries up to them, and they strangled him and then buried him in the burial-place of his fathers. This is in the temple of Athene, very near to the sanctuary, on the left of the entrance. The people of Sais buried within the temple precinct all kings who were natives of their province. The tomb of Amasis is farther from the sanctuary than the tomb of Apries and his ancestors; yet it also is within the temple court; it is a great colonnade of stone, richly adorned, the pillars whereof are wrought in the form of palm trees. In this colonnade are two portals, and the place where the coffin lies is within their doors.

170. There is also at Sais the burial-place of him whose name I deem it forbidden to utter in speaking of such a matter; it is in the temple of Athene, behind and close to the whole length of the wall of the shrine. Moreover great stone obelisks stand in the precinct; and there is a lake hard by, adorned with a stone margin and wrought to a complete circle; it is, as it seemed to me, of the bigness of the lake at Delos which they call the Round Pond.

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171. 'Εν δὲ τῇ λίμνῃ ταύτῃ τὰ δείκνυα τῶν παθέων αὐτοῦ νυκτὸς ποιεῖσθι, τὰ καλέουσι μυστήρια Αἰγύπτιοι. περὶ μὲν υπὸ τοὺτον εἰδότει μοι ἐπὶ πλέον ὡς ἐκαστα αὐτῶν ἔχει, εὕστομα κείσθω. καὶ τῆς Δήμητρος τελετῆς πέρι, τήν οἷς Ἑλληνες θεσμοφορία καλέουσι, καὶ ταύτης μοι πέρι εὐστόμα κείσθω, πλὴν ὅσον αὐτῆς ὁσίη ἐστὶ λέγειν· αἱ Δαναοῦ θυγατέρες ἦσαν αἱ τήν τελετήν ταύτην ἔξ Ἀιγύπτου ἐξαγαγοῦσαι καὶ διδάξασαι τὰς Πελασγιώτιδας γυναῖκας· μετὰ δὲ ἐξαναστάσεις πάσης ¹ Πελοποννήσου ὑπὸ Δωρίεων ἐξαπόλεστο ἡ τελετή, οἱ δὲ ύπολειφθέντες Πελοποννησίων καὶ οὐκ ἐξαναστάντες Ἀρκάδες διέσωξον αὐτὴν μοῦνοι.

172. Ἀπρέω δὲ ὅδε καταραίημένου ἐβασίλευσε ὁ Ἀμασίς, νομοῦ μὲν Σαίτεω ἔως, ἐκ τῆς δὲ ἡν πόλεως, οὐνομά οἳ ἐστὶ Σιούφ. τὰ μὲν δὴ πρῶτα κατώτοντο τὸν ὁ Ἀμασίν Αἰγύπτιοι καὶ ἐν οὐδεμίῃ μοίρῃ μεγάλῃ ἡγοῦ ἄτε δὴ δημότην τὸ πρὶν ἐόντα καὶ οἰκίης οὐκ ἐπιφανέος. μετὰ δὲ σοφία αὐτοῦ οSCALL ὁ Ἀμασίς, οὐκ ἄγνωστην προσηγάγετο. ἦν οἳ ἄλλα τε ἀγαθὰ μυρία, ἐν δὲ καὶ ποδανιτήρ χρύσεος, ἐν τῷ αὐτὸς τε ὁ ὁ Ἀμασίς καὶ οἱ δαιτυμόνες οἱ πάντες τοὺς πόδας ἐκάστωτε ἐναπενίζοντο τούτων κατ᾽ ὧν κόψας ἀγαλμα δαίμονος ἐς αὐτοῦ ἐπονήσατο, καὶ ἱδρυσε τῆς πόλεως ὅκου ἦν ἐπιτηδεύτατον· οἱ δὲ Αἰγύπτιοι φοιτέουσε καὶ πάντες τῶν γαλαμα ἐςβούσαν· μαθῶ δὲ ὁ Ἀμασίς τὸ ἐκ τῶν ἀστῶν ποιεύμενον, συγκαλέσας Αἰγυπτίους ἐξέφηνε φᾶς ἐκ τοῦ ποδανιτήρος τῶν γαλαμα 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 Saïs. Now at first he was contemned and held in but little regard by the Egyptians, as having been but a common man and of no high family; but presently he won them to him by being cunning and not arrogant. He had among his countless treasures a golden washpot, in which he and all those who feasted with him were ever wont to wash their feet. This he broke in pieces and made thereof a god’s image, which he set in the most fitting place in the city; and the Egyptians came ever and anon to this image and held it in great reverence. When Amasis knew what the townsmen did, he called the Egyptians together and told them that the image had been made out of the washpot; once (said he)

1 A festival celebrated by Athenian women in autumn.
νέαι, ἐς τὸν πρότερον μὲν τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους ἐνεμέειν τε καὶ ἐνουρέειν καὶ πόδας ἐναπονίζεσθαι, τότε δὲ μεγάλως σέβεσθαι. ἣδη ὃν ζῆφη λέγων ὁμοίως αὐτός τῷ ποδανιπτήρι πεπηγέναι· εἴ γὰρ πρότερον εἶναι δημότης, ἀλλ’ ἐν τῷ παρεόντι εἶναι αὐτῶν βασιλεὺς· καὶ τιμᾶν τε καὶ προμηθεέσθαι ἐστίν τοῦ ἐκέλευε.

173. Τοιούτῳ μὲν τρόπῳ προσηγάγετο τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους ὡστε δικαιοῦν δουλεύειν, ἔχρατο δὲ καταστάσι πρηγμάτων τοιοῦτος τὸ μὲν ὁρθρον μέχρι ὅτεν πληθοῦσις ἀγορῆς προθύμως ἐπηρήσε τὰ προσφερόμενα πρήγματα, τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦτο ἐπινε τε καὶ κατέσκωπτε τοὺς συμπότας καὶ ἣν μάταιος τε καὶ παιγνιώμων. ἀχθεσθέντες δὲ τοῦτοι ὐἱ φίλοι αὐτοῦ ἐνοθέτευον αὐτὸν τοιάδε λέγοντες. "Ὡς βασιλεὺς, οὐκ ὁρθῶς σεωτοῦ προ-

174. Δένεται δὲ ὁ Ἀμασις, καὶ ὅπερ ἦν ἴδιωτης,
his subjects had washed their feet in it and put it to yet viler uses; now they greatly revered it. “So now” (quoth he to them) “it has fared with me as with the washpot; once I was a common man, now I am your king; it is your duty to honour me and hold me in regard.”

173. In this manner he won the Egyptians to consent to be his slaves; and this is how he ordered his affairs: in the morning, till the filling of the market place, he wrought zealously at such business as came before him; the rest of the day he spent in drinking and jesting with his boon companions in idle and sportive mood. But this displeased his friends, who thus admonished him: “O King, you are ill guided so to demean yourself. We would have you sit aloft on a throne of pride all day doing your business; thus would the Egyptians know that they have a great man for their ruler, and you would have the better name among them; but now your behaviour is nowise royal.” “Nay,” Amasis answered them, “men that have bows bend them at need only; were bows kept for ever bent, they would break, and so would be of no avail when they were needed. Such too is the nature of men. Were they to be ever at serious work nor permit themselves a fair share of sport they would go mad or silly ere they knew it; I am well aware of that, and give each of the two its turn.” Such was his answer to his friends.

174. It is said that before Amasis was a king he
HERODOTUS

ός φιλοπότης ἦν καὶ φιλοσκώμων καὶ οὐδαμῶς κατεσπουδασμένος ἀνήρ· ὅκως δὲ μιν ἐπὶλείποι πίνοντά τε καὶ εὐπαθέοντα τὰ ἐπιτήρεια, κλέπτεσκε ἀν περιών· οὐ δὲ ἄν μιν φάμενοι ἔχειν τὰ σφέτερα χρήματα ἀρνεύμενον ἄγεσκον ἐπὶ μαντήιον, ὅκου ἐκάστοις εἶη. πολλὰ μὲν δὴ καὶ ἡλίσκετο ὑπὸ τῶν μαντηίων, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ἀπέφευγε. ἐπεῖτε δὲ καὶ ἐβασίλευε, ἐποίησε τοιάδε· ὅσοι μὲν αὐτὸν τῶν θεῶν ἀπέλυσαν μὴ φῶρα εἶναι, τούτων μὲν τῶν ἱρῶν οὔτε ἐπεμέλετο οὔτε ἐς ἐπισκευὴν ἐδίδον οὐδὲν, οὐδὲ φοιτέων ἔθνε ὡς οὐδενός ἐσοῦσι ἀξίοισι ψευδεὰ τε μαντήα ἐκτημένοισιν ὅσοι δὲ μιν κατέδησαν φῶρα εἶναι, τούτων δὲ ὡς ἄληθέων θεῶν ἔόντων καὶ ἀψευδέα μαντήα παρεχομένων τὰ μάλιστα ἐπεμέλετο.

175. Καὶ τούτο μὲν ἐν Σάι τῇ Ἀθηναίᾳ προπύλαια θωμάσια οἷα ἐξεποίησε, πολλὸν πάντας ὑπερβαλόμενος τῷ τε ὑψεῖ καὶ τῷ μεγάθει, ὅσων τε τὸ μέγαθος λίθων ἐστὶ καὶ ὅκοιὼν τεῦν· τούτο δὲ κολοσσοὺς μεγάλους καὶ ἀνδρόσφιγγας περιμήκεας ἀνέθηκε, λίθους τε ἀλλούς ἐς ἐπισκευὴν ὑπερφυέας τὸ μέγαθος ἐκόμισε. ἦγάγετο δὲ τούτων τοὺς μὲν ἐκ τῶν κατὰ Μέμφιν ἐουσέων λιθοτομεῶν, τοὺς δὲ ὑπερμεγάθεας ἐξ Ἐλεφαντίνης πόλιος πλόου καὶ εἰκοσὶ ἠμερέων ἀπεχούσης ἀπὸ Σάιος. τὸ δὲ ὅντι ἤκιστα αὐτῶν ἀλλὰ μάλιστα θωμάζω, ἔστι τόδε· οἴκημα μουνόλιθον ἐκόμισε ἐξ Ἐλεφαντίνης πόλιος, καὶ τούτο ἐκόμιζον 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 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, exceeding all that any had built in height and greatness, and in the size and splendour of the stone blocks; moreover, he set up huge images and vast man-headed sphinxes, and brought enormous blocks of stone besides for the building. Some of these he brought from the stone quarries of Memphis; those of greatest size came from the city Elephantine, distant twenty days' journey by river from 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.
This lacuna is in one MS. filled by the words τὸ δὲ ἕστα ἐνδέκα την χρήσην.
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
ποταμοὺ τῇ χώρῃ γινόμενα καὶ τὰ ἀπὸ τῆς χώρης τοῖς ἀνθρώποισι, καὶ πόλεις ἐν αὐτῇ γενέσθαι τὰς ἀπάσες τὸτε διαμυρίας τὰς οἰκεομένας. νόμον τε Ἀιγυπτίοις τόνδε Ἅμασις ἐστὶ ὁ καταστήσας, ἀποδεικνύναι ἔτεος ἐκάστος τῷ νομάρχῃ πάντα τινὰ Ἀιγυπτίων ὅθεν βιοῦται. μὴ δὲ ποιεύτα ταῦτα μηδὲ ἀποφαίνοντα δικαίην ξόην ἱθύνεσθαι θανάτῳ. Σόλων δὲ ὁ Ἀθηναίος λαβὼν εἶ τῷ Αἰγύπτῳ τούτων τὸν νόμον Ἀθηναίοις ἔθετο· τῷ ἐκείνοι ἐστὶν χρεώνται ἐόντι ἀμώμῳ νόμῳ.

178. Φιλέλλην τε γενόμενος ἥ Ἅμασις ἄλλα τε ἢ Ἔλληνων μετεξετέρους ἀπεδέξατο, καὶ δὴ καὶ τοῖς ἀπικνευμένοις ἐστὶν Ἀιγυπτίων ἔδωκε Ναύκρατιν πόλιν ἐνοικήσας· τοῖς δὲ μὴ βουλομένοις αὐτῶν ὅικεῖν, αὐτοῦ δὲ ναυτιλομένους ἔδωκε χώρους ἐνιδρύσασθαι βουλής καὶ τεμένεα θεοῦ. τὸ μὲν μὲν μέγιστον αὐτῶν τέμενος, καὶ ὅνομαστότατον ἐδώ καὶ χρησιμώτατον, καλεῦμεν δὲ Ἔλληνον, αἰδὲ αἱ πόλεις εἰσὶ αἱ ἱδρυμέναι κοινῇ, Ἰόνων μὲν Χίος καὶ Τέεως καὶ Φώκαια καὶ Κλαξομεναῖ, Δωριέων δὲ Ῥόδος καὶ Κυίδος καὶ Ἀλικαρνησσῶς καὶ Φάσηλις, Αἰολέων δὲ ἡ Μυτιληναίων μοῦνα. τούτων μὲν ἐστὶ τούτῳ τῷ τέμενος, καὶ προστάτας τοῦ ἐμπορίον αὐταῖ αἱ πόλεις εἰσὶν αἱ παρέχουσα· ὅσι δὲ ἀλλὰ πόλεις μεταποιεῦται, οὑδὲν σφι μετέον μεταποιεῦται. χωρίς δὲ Ἀιγυπτίων ἐπὶ ἐωτῶν ἱδρύσαντο τέμενος Διός, καὶ ἄλλο Σάμιοι Ἡρης καὶ Μιλήσιοι Ἀπόλλωνος.

179. Ἡν δὲ τὸ παλαιὸν μοῦνη Ναύκρατις ἐμπόριον καὶ ἄλλο οὐδὲν Ἀιγύπτου· εἰ δὲ τις ἐς τῶν τι ἄλλο στομάτων του Νείλου ἀπίκοιτο, χρήν.
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
ομόσαι μη μεν ἐκόντα ἐλθεῖν, ἀπομόσαντα δὲ τῇ νητ αὐτῇ πλέειν ἐς τὸ Κανωβικὸν ἢ εἰ μή γε οἷά τε εἰ τε πρὸς ἀνέμους ἀντίοις πλέειν, τὰς φορτία ἔδεε περιάγειν ἐν βάρισι περὶ τὸ Δέλτα, μέχρι οὐ ἀπίκουτο ἐς Ναύκρατιν. οὔτω μὲν δὴ Ναύκρατις ἐτετίμητο.

180. Ἀμφικτυόνων δὲ μισθωσάντων τὸν ἐν Δελ- 

181. Κυρηναῖοι δὲ ὁ Ἀμασίς φιλότητά τε καὶ 

συμμαχίην συνεθήκατο, ἐδικαίωσε δὲ καὶ γήμαι 

αὐτόθεν, εἰτ' ἐπιθυμήσας Ἑλληνίδος γυναῖκος εἶτε 

καὶ ἄλλως φιλότητος Κυρηναίων εὐνεκα' γαμέει 

δὲ ὅν οἱ μὲν λέγουσι Βάττου οὗ δὲ Ἀρκεσίλεως 

θυγατέρα, οὗ δὲ Κριτοβούλου ἀνδρός τῶν ἄστων 

dοκίμου, τῇ οὐνομα ἢν Λαδίκη. τῇ ἐπείτε συγκλί-

νοντοῦ ὁ Ὅμασίς, μύσγεσθαι οὐκ οἰδος τε ἐγίνετο, 

τῇ δὲ ἄλλης γυναῖξι ἐξραῖτο. ἐπείτε δὲ πολλὸν 

τοῦτο ἐγίνετο, εἴπε ὁ Ὅμασίς πρὸς τὴν Λαδίκην 

ταύτην καλεομένην, "Ὅ γυναῖ, κατὰ μὲ ἑφάρμαξας, 

καὶ ἐστὶ τοις οὐδεμίᾳ μηχανῇ μὴ οὐκ ἀπολολέων ἀκαίρα 

πασέων," ή δὲ Λαδίκη, ἐπείτε οἱ ἀρνευμένη οὐδὲν ἐγίνετο πρηνύτερος ὁ Ὅμασίς, 

εὐχεταὶ ἐν τῷ νόῳ τῇ Ἀφροδίτῃ, ἢν οἱ ὑπ' ἐκεῖνην
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 hired out for three hundred talents the work of finishing the temple that now stands at Delphi (that which was formerly there having been burnt by pure mischance), it fell to the Delphians to provide a fourth part of the cost. They went about from city to city collecting gifts, and in this business they got most from Egypt; for Amasis gave them a thousand talents' weight of astringent earth,¹ and the Greek dwellers in Egypt twenty minae.

181. Amasis made friends and allies of the people of Cyrene. Moreover he thought fit to take himself a wife from thence; whether it was that he desired a Greek woman, or that he had other cause for winning the friendship of Cyrene, I know not; but he married one Ladice, said to be the daughter of Battus by some, of Arcesilaus by others, and by others again of Critobulus, an esteemed citizen of the place. But it so fell out that Ladice was the only woman with whom Amasis could not have intercourse; and this continuing, Amasis said to this Ladice, "Woman, you have cast a spell on me, and most assuredly you shall come to a terrible end." So, the king's anger not abating for all her denial, Ladice vowed in her heart to Aphrodite that she

¹ Alum, apparently.
τὴν ὑκτὰ μιχθῇ ὁ Ἡμάσις, τούτο γάρ οἱ κακοῦ εἶναι μῆχος, ἀγαλμά οἱ ἀποπέμψειν ἐς Κυρήνην. μετὰ δὲ τὴν εὐχὴν αὐτίκα οἱ ἐμίχθη ὁ Ἡμάσις καὶ τὸ ἐνθεύτεν ἕδη, ὅκοτε ἐλθοὶ Ἡμάσις πρὸς αὐτήν, ἐμίσγετο, καὶ κάρτα μὲν ἑστερὲξε μετὰ τούτο. ἢ δὲ Λαδίκη ἀπέδωκε τὴν εὐχὴν τῇ θεῷ ποιήσα- , ὑ, γὰρ ἀγαλμα ἀπέτεμψε ἐς Κυρήνην, τὸ ἐτὶ καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ ἦν σοῦν, ἐξω τετραμμένον τοῦ Κυρηναίων ἀστεος. ταύτην τὴν Λαδίκην, ὡς ἑπεκράτησε Καμ- βύσης Αἰγύπτου καὶ ἐπύθετο αὐτῆς ἡτις εἶν, ἀπέ- τεμψε ἀσινεά ἐς Κυρήνην.

182. Ἀνέθηκε δὲ καὶ ἀναθήματα ὁ Ἡμάσις ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα, τούτο μὲν ἐς Κυρήνην ἀγαλμα ἐπίχρυσον Ἀθηναίης καὶ εἰκόνα ἑωτοῦ γραφῆ εἰκασμένην, τούτο δὲ τῇ ἐν Δίνδῳ Ἀθηναίη δύο τε ἀγάλματα λίθῳν καὶ θάρηκα λίνου ἁξιοθέητον, τούτο δὲ ἐς Σάμου τῇ Ἑρη εἰκόνως ἑωτοῦ διφασίας ξυλίνας, αἰ ἐν τῷ υἱῷ τῷ μεγάλῳ ἱδρύατο ἐτὶ καὶ τὸ μέχρι ἐμεῦ, ὀπισθε τῶν θυρεῶν. ἐς μὲν νυν Σάμου ἀνέθηκε κατὰ ξεινίαν τὴν ἑωτοῦ τε καὶ Πολυκρά- τεος τοῦ Αἰάκεος, ἐς δὲ Δίνδου ξεινίας μὲν οὐδεμιῆς εἰνεκεν, ὅτι δὲ τῷ ἱρὸν τὸ ἐν Δίνδῳ τὸ τῆς Ἀθηναίης λέγεται τὰς Δαναοῦ θυγατέρας ἱδρύσασθαι προσ- σχόσας, ὅτε ἀπεδίδησκον τοὺς Αἰγύπτου παῖδας. ταῦτα μὲν ἀνέθηκε ὁ Ἡμάσις, ἐόλε δὲ Κύπρον πρῶτος ἀνθρώπων καὶ κατεστρέψατο ἐς φόρον ἀπαγωγῆν.
would send the goddess a statue to Cyrene if Amasis had intercourse with her that night; for that would remedy the evil; and thereafter all went well, and Amasis loved his wife much. Ladice paid her vow to the goddess; she had an image made and sent it to Cyrene, where it stood safe till my time, outside the city. Cambyses, when he had conquered Egypt and learnt who Ladice was, sent her away to Cyrene unharmed.

182. Moreover Amasis dedicated offerings in Hellas. He gave to Cyrene a gilt image of Athene and a painted picture of himself, to Athene of Lindus two stone images and a marvellous linen breast-plate, and to Here in Samos two wooden statues of himself, which stood yet in my time behind the doors in the great shrine. The offerings in Samos were dedicated by reason of the friendship between Amasis and Polycrates' 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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0  100  200  300  400 Stadia
0  10  20  30  40  50 Miles
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